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AUTHORS: Hasan PEKER

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A New Funerary Stele from Karkemish and New Values for Some
Anatolian Hieroglyphic Signs

Hasan Peker*

Abstract

Karkemish is located on the West bank of Euphrates River, about 60 kilometres southeast of Gaziantep, Turkey, and 100 kilometres northeast of Aleppo, Syria. Ruins of the city, over 90 hectares, of which over 55 lie in Turkey and around 35 in Syria. Since 2011 Karkemish has been newly explored by a joint Turco-Italian Archaeological Expedition. During the 2016 excavation campaign by the Turco-Italian Archaeological Expedition at Karkemish, a fragment of a funerary stele bearing a Hieroglyphic Luwian text was unearthed in the Lower Palace area. The stele probably dates to the early eighth century BCE (reign of Yariri/Yarri) and belonged to the wife of a cultic official. In this article, after presenting an edition of the inscription in question, new values for the Anatolian hieroglyphic sign L375 (which is attested on the stele in the writing PURUS-L375-*sá* of the word **kummayalli(ya)s*, “sacred priest”) and related signs such as L375, L144 (= *521), L74, L129, and L398 are suggested while reinterpreting several passages of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from both the Empire and Late Hittite periods.

Keywords: Karkemish, Iron Age Funerary Stele, Anatolian Hieroglyphic Script, Luwian, Birds of Prey.

* Assoc. Prof., Istanbul University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Ancient Languages and Cultures, Istanbul/TÜRKİYE, hasan.peker@istanbul.edu.tr ORCID: 0000-0002-4290-5858

Karkamış'tan Yeni Bir Mezar Steli ve Bazı Anadolu Hiyeroglif Yazısı İşaretleri için Yeni Değerler

Öz

Karkamış antik kenti, Fırat Nehri'nin batı kıyısında, Gaziantep (Türkiye) kentinin yaklaşık 60 kilometre güneydoğusunda ve Halep (Suriye) kentinin 100 kilometre kuzeydoğusunda yer almaktadır. 90 hektarın üzerinde bir alana sahip kentin kalıntılarının 55 hektarı Türkiye'de, 35 hektarı ise Suriye sınırları içerisinde yer almaktadır. 2011 yılından bu yana Karkamış antik kentinde, Bologna Üniversitesi, Gaziantep Üniversitesi ve İstanbul Üniversitesi'nin kurucusu olduğu bir Türk-İtalyan ekip çalışmalara başlamıştır. Türk-İtalyan Karkamış Kazılarının 2016 sezonunda, Aşağı Saray Bölgesinde, Anadolu hiyeroglif yazılı Luvice büyük bir mezar steli parçası (KH.16.O.378) ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Stel muhtemelen MÖ. 8. yüzyılın başına (Yarri/Yariri'nin hükümdarlığına) tarihlendirilmelidir ve bir kült görevlisinin eşine aittir. Bu makalede söz konusu yazıtın edisyonu sunulduktan sonra, İmparatorluk ve Geç Hitit dönemlerinden çeşitli Anadolu hiyeroglif yazılı Luvice yazıtlardan pasajlar yeniden yorumlanırken, stelde PURUS-L375-sá olarak geçen *kummayalli(ya)s sözcüğünü yazmakta kullanılan Anadolu hiyeroglif yazısı işareti L375 ve L144 (= *521), L74, L129 ve L398 gibi ilgili işaretler için yeni değerler önerilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Karkamış, Demir Çağı Mezar Steli, Anadolu Hiyeroglif Yazısı, Luvice, Alıcı Kuşlar.

Introduction

The renewed Turco-Italian Excavations at Karkemish since 2011 have contributed to a new understanding of this capital city through its many occupational phases, especially as regards the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, corresponding to the Empire and Late Hittite historical phases¹. The epigraphic materials from the latter phase that have been retrieved² do not just expand the already substantial corpus of

¹ The Turco-Italian Archaeological Expedition of the Universities of Bologna, İstanbul and Gaziantep, funded by the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, by that for Education, Universities and Research, and by the University of Bologna is directed by Nicolò Marchetti, with the author as deputy director. We gratefully acknowledge the cooperation with the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Directorate General for Cultural Heritage and Museums). Nicolò Marchetti and Gianni Marchesi provided useful comments on this manuscript, for which I am grateful, although I solely bear responsibility for the views expressed here. For abbreviations, which are not given in the text, see *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute*, Chicago, 1980- (CHD).

² Nicolò Marchetti, "Recent archaeological discoveries at Karkemish. Anatomy and trajectories

Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from the Iron Age known thus far, but also continue to provide new historical and linguistic insights, which in turn allow us to put forward novel interpretations of previously known inscriptions. This article represents a case in point. In the religious and administrative core of the Late Hittite city, the so-called Lower Palace area, we retrieved the top part of an inscribed funerary stele (KH.16.O.378) made of limestone³. The front and left sides of the stele are partially preserved, with three-stepped crenelations on its top bearing a rosette in their middle. The inscription runs sinistoverse. An edition of it is presented below (§ 1). The name of the owner of the stele is lost; only the owner's qualification as "the woman of Tarhu-wasu" and the profession of Tarhu-wasu as the "sacred priest of the Harmanean god(dess)" are preserved. However, the spelling of this professional name in the present text offered the cue for a study of the Anatolian hieroglyphic sign L375 and a series of related signs, whose results are reported in the second part of this article (§§ 2-3).

1. Edition of the Funerary Stele KH.16.O.378

Date: Early 8th century BCE (based on paleography)⁴.

Dimensions: ht. 39.5 cm; w. 41.5 cm; th. 25.5 cm; line ht. 9.5 cm.; preserved line length: 34.5 cm.

UTM 37S coordinates: 412291.262 E, 4076588.19 N; elevation 351.7 m amsl.

Current location: Gaziantep Museum.

of a capital city on the Middle Euphrates", *News from the Lands of the Hittites. Scientific Journal for Anatolian Research*, Vol. 3-4, 2020, pp. 312-330.

³ The stele comes from a secondary context of Abbasid date, F.6637, in area C North.

⁴ The cursive forms of *ma* and *na* should be noted; *wa/i* shows a hook-shaped central stroke. For the dating of these signs, see Hasan Peker, *Texts from Karkemish I. Luwian Hieroglyphic Inscriptions from the 2011-2015 Excavations*, Ante Quem, Bologna 2016 (here after abbreviated as *TK I*), p. 27.



Figure 1: Top, left, and front sides of the stele (KH.16.O.378)

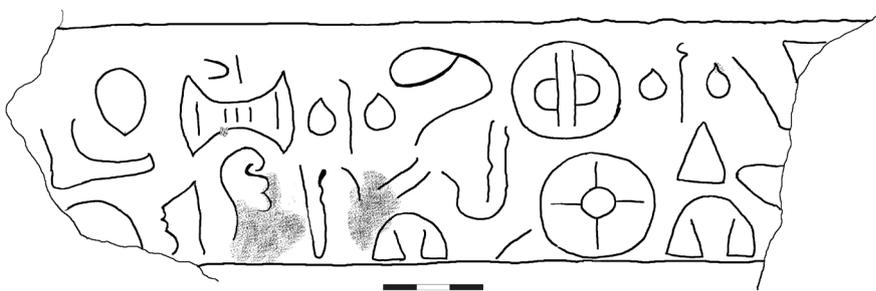


Figure 2: Drawing of the inscription on the stele

Transliteration

[*za-wa/i* STELE-*za* ¹PN ¹]TONITRUS-*hu-wa/i-su-sa*
 (DEUS)*hara/i-ma-na-wa/i-na-sa^a* | PURUS-L375-*sá* FEMINA-*ti-sa*

Translation

[This stele (is) of PN,] wife/woman of Tarhu-wasu,
 the sacred priest of the Harmanean god(dess).

Commentary

[¹]TONITRUS-*hu-wa/i-su-sa*, “of Tarhu-wasu”. The name Tarhu-wasu can be interpreted as a possessive compound: “(Having) the favor of the Storm-god”; or as a *Satznamen*: “The Storm-god succeeds / The Storm-god (has) succeeded”⁵. This name is well attested in the Hittite Empire period⁶ as well as in the Late Hittite one; in fact, this could be the same individual as the one who is mentioned in CEKKE § 171⁷.

(DEUS)*hara/i-ma-na-wa/i-na-sa^a*, “of the Harmanean god(dess)”. Harmana possibly played an important role in the cult of the consort of the Stag-god, Alanzu(wa), in the Bronze Age pantheon of Anatolia. The attestations for this yet unlocated city of the Iron Age⁸ are as follows:

KARKAMIŠ A15b § 10⁹:

(DEUS)*hara/i-ma-na-wa/i-na-sa-pa-wa/i*(URBS)DEUS.DOMUS-*tà*
 AEDIFICARE+*MI-ha*

“I built the temple of the Harmanean god(dess)”.

- 5 Cf. TOPADA §18 in John David Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions 1. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin - New York 2000 (here after abbreviated as *CHLI*), p. 425. See, H. Craig Melchert, “Naming Practices in Second- and First-Millennium Western Anatolia”, *Names in Ancient Anatolia*, ed. Robert Parker, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, pp. 31-49.
- 6 See *NH* 1278; *KBo* 32.1 rev. 5, 9, 11 (¹*Tar-hu-wa-su-*); *KBo* 15.28 obv. 3 (^{1d}U-SIG₃).
- 7 Cf. the similar name TONITRUS.GENUFLECTERE-*pa-wa/i-su-*[...] in MARAŞ 11 § 7 (*CHLI*, p. 271).
- 8 Harmana of the 13th century BCE may be located between Galba (Tell Irīz²) and Mulukku/Tell Mulūk; see Michael C. Astour, “The Kingdom of Siyannu-Ušnatu”, *UF*, Vol. 11, 1979, p. 22; and *RGTC* 12/2, p. 33, Harmana = West Sem. ‘Armānu.
- 9 *CHLI*, p. 131; Hasan Peker, *Anadolu Hiyeroglif Yazılı Belgeler 1: Geç Hitit Karkamış Krallığı Yazıtları*, Ante Quem, Bologna 2022, Cat. 20.

KULULU 5 § 1¹⁰:

(DEUS)á-la-zú-wa/i-sa | | hara/i-ma-na(URBS)

“(the deity) Alanzuwa, in the city of Harmana”.

It seems that, during the reign of Yariri, a Harmanean deity was introduced into the pantheon of Karkemish with a temple consecrated to him/her (and the findspot of our stele may suggest that this temple was located in the Lower Palace area). In light of KULULU 5 § 1 (see above), one can perhaps equate this deity with Alanzu(wa)¹¹.

|PURUS-L375-sá = *kummayalli(ya)s*,¹² “of the sacred priest”. The L375 sign should be analyzed as a phonetic complement and the only phonetic value that can apply to it is /li/ (for additional attestations of L375 = /li/, see below). The word *kummayalli-* is also attested in cuneiform Luwian, in *KUB* 35.110. The present text makes it clear that the word in question represents a title of a cult official, a kind of priest. It can be equated with Hittite *suppis* L^USANGA, “sacred SANGA-priest”, or simply “sacred priest”.

2. The Anatolian Hieroglyphic Signs L375 and L144 (= *521¹³): New Values

2.1. The phonetic value of L375

The L375 sign is attested in several texts as a syllabogram¹⁴ to write the verb *lili(ya)-*, meaning, we suggest, “to change; improve; alter, falsify”. MANUS/MANUS.L218 might add or imply a negative sense, while SA₄ adds a positive sense to the verb: “to improve”¹⁵. The preverbs/adverbs *arha* and *sara* delimit or denote the intensity of the action.

¹⁰ *CHLI*, p. 485.

¹¹ The goddess’ name is also attested as a personal name (or an epithet) on a seal impressed on several sealings from Karkemish (KH.20.O.283+) dating to Iron Age I. The relevant inscription reads as follows: a) *zi/a* BONUS₂ SIGILLUM *ma-ti-i(a)* BONUS₂ FEMINA b) DARE-*ma á-la-zu(wa)* BONUS₂ FEMINA, “This good seal (is) of Matiya, the wealthy woman; given by Alanzu(wa), the wealthy woman”; or, less likely, “This good seal (is) of Matiya, the wealthy woman (and of Piyama-Alanzu(wa), the wealthy woman”.

¹² A fully phonetic writing of this word occurs in MALPINAR § 7 (*CHLI*, p. 342).

¹³ The sign is already listed under L144, (the number *521 should be deleted). See *NEWELL* 376 in Table 3 (E) and Table 4.

¹⁴ The very similar sign L74 is certainly a logogram (see SUVASA C in Table 2).

¹⁵ SA₄ as the logogram of the word *kwannala-*, “carver”, in BOYBEYPINARI 1-2 § 11 (*CHLI*, p. 336) and İVRİZ frags. 1-3 (*CHLI*, p. 530) also adds a positive sense.

Table 1: Attestations of L375 and the verb *lili(ya)-*

Transliteration	Word class	Inscription
(MANUS) <i>li-L375-ti</i>	pres. sg. 3	GÜRÜN upper § 6
<i>li-L375-ti</i>	pres. sg. 3	ŞIRZI (side) § 5
[] <i>L375-[li-t]i</i>	pres. sg. 3	ŞIRZI (top) § 8
("MANUS.L218") <i>li-L375-ti</i>	pres. sg. 3	TELL AHMAR frag. 5
(SA) <i>li-li-ia</i>	imp. sg. 2	TELL AHMAR 5 § 12
MANUS.L218-LU/A/I	inf. (without ending)	CEKKE § 21
<i>ta-L375-li-i-sa</i>	<i>talili</i> (hapax legomenon)	SULTANHAN § 47
L129- <i>ni+i-L375</i>	<i>arili</i> -bird ¹⁶ D.L.sg.	KARKAMIŞ A19j1
DOMUS- <i>ni-L375</i> [personal name	KARKAMIŞ A16e1
DOMUS- <i>ni-L375-[i]-iaⁱ</i>	personal name D.L.sg.	ASSUR letter <i>d</i> § 1

2.1.1. Attestations of L375 in the writing of the verb *lili(ya)-*:

2.1.1.1. GÜRÜN upper § 6¹⁷ (curse protasis):

za-pa-wa/i (COR¹⁸)*za+ra/i-sà REL-i-sa* | *ARHA* (MANUS)*li-L375-ti*

za=pa=wa zar(t)-sa kwis arha liliti

“(He) who shall **change** this *will* (lit. heart)...”

¹⁶ Here L129 is a logogram for Luwian **arili* and the possibly rhotacised form of **alili-*, denoting an augural bird and/or a bird of prey (cf. Hit./Luw. *alila-*, *ali(li)li-*, *alilya-*, *al(l)iya-*, *ālli-* in *HED* 1, 34; and *kallikalli-*, “falcon”, in *HED* 4, 24). The /ala/i/ value of the L144 sign (“Empire” forerunner of L375) is presumably derived from the onomatopoeic name of this bird. The only other attestation of L129 is in KARKAMIŞ A27 *kk*** (*CHLI*, p. 213). The Latin term BUTEO can be proposed for L129 (which is a sort of bird of prey, possibly “buzzard/hawk/falcon”, serving augural, ritual, and hunting purposes), and BUTEO₂ for its cursive form L74 (see Fig. 3), in order to separate them from the general AVIS group. L132 with the phonetic value /ara/i/ is probably a member of the BUTEO group, too (see Table 5). The sign L128 AQUILA (as a bird of prey¹⁷) and categorisation of its attestations would be beyond the scope of this paper. But three examples of L128 might be given here: with a logographic/syllabic value on *SBo* 2.164 reads *zi/a-L128-VIR*, *zi/al(l)a/izⁱ* or L128-VIR. *zT*, *Ali(li)-ziti/Ala-ziti*, KARABEL A reads L128+*li*, *Alantalli* (see below) and with a logographic value on SUVASA C (see Table 2). If these attestations are a graphical confusion of L128/L129 even in the Empire period, then in the late period L128 and its cursive form L71 (very similar shape maybe the same with L375 on SULTANHAN) with phonetic value *wa_x* is further extent of this confusion (cf. Petra Goedegebuure, “The Hieroglyphic Luwian Signs *128 (AVIS ‘BIRD’) = *wa_x* and *30 = *HAPA*”, *Acts of the Ninth International Congress of Hittitology*, Cilt 1, ed. Aygül Süel, T.C. Çorum Valiliği İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü Yayınları, Çorum 2019, pp. 295-316).

¹⁷ *CHLI*, p. 296.

¹⁸ According to our collation, the sign is COR and not ANNUS (cf. *CHLI*, p. 296).

2.1.1.2. ŞIRZI (side) § 5¹⁹ (curse protasis):

|za-pa-wa/i | | i-mara/i PES₂.PES-pa-mi-na |REL-sá |ARHA | **li-L375-ti**

zan=pa=wa immara tarpamin kwis arha liliti

“(He) who shall **alter/change** this countryside path²⁰...”

2.1.1.3. ŞIRZI (top) § 8 (curse protasis):

[|z]a[-i]a-pa-wa/i [kwi/a]-za-ma[-ia] |ARHA [|]REL-sá [|]L375-[li-i]i

zaya=pa=wa kwanzamaya arha kwis liliti

“(He) who shall **falsify/change** these carvings, ...”

2.1.1.4. CEKKE § 21²¹ (curse protasis):

nī-pa-wa/i FINES-hi-zi ARHA MANUS.L218-lu/a/i ha-i

nīpa=wa irhinzi arha lili hai

“or he shall be convinced²² **to change** the frontiers, ...”

2.1.1.5. TELL AHMAR 5 § 12²³:

|SUPER+ra/i-a-wa/i-ta |(SA₄)**li-li-ia** wa/i-na-*a |COR-tara/i-i-na BONUS-li-

ia-nu-wa/i

sara=wa=an=ta liliya a=wa=an atrin walliyanuwa

“You (= Hamiyata) **improve** him up! And exalt him, himself!”

2.1.2. Attestations of L375 in the writing of personal names:

2.1.2.1. KARKAMIŠ A16e1²⁴

DOMUS-nī-L375[...] (= Parnili)

¹⁹ *CHLI*, p. 323.

²⁰ It might be a “beaten earth road” (constructed also for hunting/ritual purposes?), which passed next to the inscription. See Helmut Theodor Bossert, “Die Felsinschrift von Şırzı”, *AfO*, Vol. 17, 1954-1956, pp. 56-70; Cf. *CHLI*, pp. 322-324; Zsolt Simon, “What was built in the Hieroglyphic Luvian inscription of ŞIRZI?”. *NABU*, Vol. 2014/4, 2014, p. 151. The passive participle form of the verb *tarpa-*, “trample”, also fits such a meaning; see Ilya Yakubovich, “Nugae Luvicae”, *Anatolian Languages*, eds. Vitaly Shevoroshkin - Paul J. Sidwell, Association for the History of Language, Canberra 2002, pp. 189-209.

²¹ *CHLI*, p. 146.

²² The verb *ha(i/ya)-* can be compared with Hit. *hai-*, “to believe, trust, be convinced” (*HED* 3, 9).

²³ See *CHLI*, p. 232; and cf. H. Craig Melchert, “Enclitic Subject Pronouns in Hieroglyphic Luvian”, *AfNES*, Vol. 6/2, 2011, pp. 73-86.

²⁴ *CHLI*, p. 198.

2.1.2.2. ASSUR letter *d* § 1 (*CHLI*, 535)²⁵

DOMUS-*ni*-L375-[*i*]-*ia* in

2.1.3. Attestations of L375 in hapax legomena:

2.1.3.1. KARKAMIŠ A19j1 (*CHLI*, 204):

[*wa/i-mu*]-*tá* (DEUS)*ku*+AQUILA-*sá* | | L129-*ri+i*-L375 *a-tá za-a-ti* | *á-sa₅-za-ta^a*
 [<*a*>=*wa=mu*]=*ta Kúpapas arili anta zati assazata*

“And inside the **alili-bird** (= through the observation of an augural bird), thus spoke Kubaba to me: ...”

2.1.3.2. SULTANHAN § 46-47 (*CHLI*, 467; curse protasis):

|*za-pa-wa/i* |*a+ra/i-ma-za* |REL-*sa^a* |*za+ra/i-ti-ti-i-i* | | |*ni-pa-wa/i-ta^a*
 |“FEMINA”-*na-ti-i-sa* | ***ta-L375-li-i-sa*** |*pa+ra/i-sa₅+ra/i* |*u-pa-i*
za=pa=wa aramanza kwis zartiti nipa=wa=ata wanattis talilis parsari upai

“He who desires this renown, either he (is) of a TALILLI-women (and) brings/ carries²⁶ it (=the name/renown) by (that) *occasion*...”.

Although the hapax legomenon *ta-L375-li-i* could theoretically be also read as **talali*,²⁷ this is not enough to posit a vocalization in /a/ of the L375 sign in the Late Hittite period; therefore, a transliteration of it as *li₄* is suggested here.

One can observe that the L74 sign (whose form is also very similar to L375) is possibly the cursive form of the L129²⁸. Both the phonetic (/ali/) and logographic (augural bird of prey) values fit the contexts of all the known attestations (see Table 2, below).

25 Cf. the personal names Parnawari (possibly meaning “Help to the house(hold)”), written (“L69”) *pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-ri+i-sa* in KARKAMIŠ A17a1 § 6 (*CHLI*, p. 192); Parniwari, written |DOMUS-*ni-wa/i+ra/i-ia* in ASSUR letter *b* § 1 (*CHLI*, p. 534) and [|DOMUS]-*ni-wa/i+ra/i-ia* in ASSUR letter *g* § 33 (*CHLI*, p. 537); and Parnapi(ya), written DOMUS-*na-pi* (see Ali Dinçol - Belkis Dinçol, “Neue hethitische Siegelabdrücke aus den Ausgrabungen von Soli und aus der Privatsammlung Haluk Perk”, *Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu'na 65. Yaş Armağam EUERGETES Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu zum 65. Geburtstag*, 1. Cilt, eds. İnci Delemen - Sedef Çokay-Kepçe - Aşkın Özdzibay - Özgür Turak, Suna - İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü, Antalya 2008, p. 383).

26 Cf. *CHLI*, p. 639

27 It is possible that there was a confusion between L375 and L71. If so, then we can read *ta-L375-li-i* as *tawal(i)i-* (from *tawa*, “eye”) and translate this word as “favorite” or, in this context, “mistress”.

28 See above, sub 2.1.3.1 and Fig. 3.



Figure 3: Forms of L129 (KARKAMIŠ 19j1, KARKAMIŠ 17kk**) and L74 (KARKAMIŠ A28a1, SUVASA C, TOPADA § 25)

Table 2: Attestations of L74 (= cursive form of L129)

Transliteration	Value type	Translation	Inscription
L74- <i>li</i> -[log./ syll.	-	KARKAMIŠ A28a1
LITUUS.L128 VIR.L74- <i>ha</i> MAGNUS.REX SERVUS- <i>la/i</i>	log.	the falconer/bird-watcher and the bird-watcher/ catcher ²⁹ servant of the Great King	SUVASA C

²⁹ The sign LITUUS here might represent a falconer's tool such as the curve-ended stick for flushing game (cf. Jeany Vorys Canby, "Falconry (Hawking) in Hittite Lands", *JNES*, Vol. 61, 2002, pp. 162 and 170) or a hunting tool. However, LITUUS is also a logogram determining verbs of perception such as **mana-*, "to see"; *uni-*, "to know"; *aza-*, "to love"; *tiyari(ya)-*, "to guard, supervise"; etc. in the hieroglyphic writing (*CHLL*, p. 380). The sign complex VIR.L74 (literally, "man of L74") could also stand for "falconer" (he who hunts with a bird of prey) or "bird-catcher" (he who catches augural birds and/or birds of prey) or "bird-watcher" (he who observes birds to take omens). These three highly connected professions' cuneiform correspondents as ^{LI}IGI.MUŠEN, ^{LI}MUŠEN.DÙ and ^{LI}IGI.DÙ, and a comparison of the sign L135(2) with ^{LI}IGI.MUŠEN see Mark Weeden, *Hittite Logograms and Hittite Scholarship*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2011, pp. 250-251 and *BoHa* 19, p. 311. A Contrary view for L135(2) as MEDICUS/MAGUS (^{LI}HAL "exorcist" or ^{LI}A.ZU/^{LI}AZU "physician") suggested by A. Dinçol and B. Dinçol (*BoHa* 22, pp. 67-68.) had further support from the Karkemish excavations. The sign L135(2) has a clear depiction of a reptile (a kind of horned viper) with a blunt nose and a protrusion that looks like a horn on a cylinder seal (KH.17.O.448) from Karkemish (see Hasan Peker, "Some Remarks on the Imperial Hittite Sealings from the 2017 Excavations at Karkemish". *NABU*, Vol. 2017/4, 2017, pp. 178-179; Hasan Peker, "Philological Remarks on the Sealings from Empire Period of Karkemish", *Administrative Practices and Political Control in Anatolian and Syro-Anatolian Polities in the 2nd and 1st Millennium BCE*, eds. Clelia Mora - Giulia Torri, Firenze University Press, Firenze 2023, pp. 131, 148, Fig. 19) and it has also supported by the new finds from Kayalıpınar (see Andreas Müller-Karpe, "Kulthandlungen und Kultpersonal in hethitischen Palästen", *Cult, Temple, Sacred Spaces. Cult Practices and Cult Spaces in Hittite*

L74- <i>wa/i₇-[ni]-sá</i> ³⁰	syll.	<i>aliwanis</i> , “enemy”	TOPADA § 25 ³¹
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2.2. The Phonetic Value of L144 (= the “Empire” forerunner of L375)

The appearance of the L375 sign is a bird-head with a sketchy body presenting an abstract depiction of its bumpy fore-neck and chest. One can observe that L144 has a similar form (see Table 3) and can be interpreted as the Transitional and Empire Period form of L375. The examples below support this equivalence. We may also add the L461 sign as a homonym of L144, as the occurrences of the former suggest that it was used to write an identical syllable or word.

Table 3: Forms of L375 and L144

L375 <i>li₄</i>			L144 <i>ala/i</i>				
							
(1)*	(2)*	(3)*	(A)*	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)
(1) ASSUR letter <i>d</i> (2) SULTANHAN (3) KARKAMIŠ A16e1 (A) KARAHÖYÜK (ELBİSTAN) (B) <i>BoHa</i> 19.695 (C) <i>BoHa</i> 22.199 (D) <i>BoHa</i> 19.697 (E) <i>NEWELL</i> 376 (* = mirrored)							

Anatolia and Neighbouring Cultures, Proceedings of the First International HFR Symposium, Mainz, 3-5 June 2019, eds. Susanne Görke - Charles W. Steitler, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2020, pp. 209-212).

- 30 Both the photographs and the drawing (*CHLI*, pls. 252-253) show that there is enough space for the *ni* sign (L411) above the *sá* sign.
- 31 TOPADA §§ 25-26, “The Parzu/atean cavalry and all rebels stood (still?) at our borderland(s) where(ver) the **enemy** brought/carried away the spoils, and the women-children into slavery.” § 27, “And they/he did not guard it (=my borderland)”. ‘The enemy’ mentioned here might be ‘the first of first’ on § 21. The subject of the § 27 might be ‘The Great (of) Horse(s)’ on § 16 (with the Parzu/atean cavalry and all rebels) and he looks like neglected guarding the borderland(s) of Wasusarma while ‘the enemy’ was raiding it. As for the verb on § 27 which is transliterated as AVIS₂-i(a)+ra/i by L. d’Alfonso, we suggest x+L462 as a logogram instead of AVIS₂, and the ‘x’ looks like a handle of an object (maybe a kind of shield) and x+L462 could be connected with ‘protect, guard’ concept (see also *TK I*, pp. 17 and 36). Thus, we could take the verb as *tiyari(ya)*- ‘guard; supervise’ on both §§ 16 and 27. Cf. *CHLI*, pp. 452-453; Mark Weeden, “Tuwati and Wasusarma: Imitating the Behaviour of Assyria”. *Iraq*, Vol. 73, 2010, pp. 39-61.; Lorenzo d’Alfonso, “War in Anatolia in the Post-Hittite Period: The Anatolian Hieroglyphic Inscription of Topada Revised”, *JCS*, Vol. 71, 2019, pp. 133-152.

Table 4: Attestations of L144 and L461 with the values /ala/i/ and/or *ALA*

Transliteration	Name	Inscription
L144	Ala/i ³²	<i>NEWELL</i> 376
L144	Ala/i	<i>BoHa</i> 14.153
L144-OMNIS	Alantalli	<i>SBo</i> 2.62
L144- <i>mu(wa/i)</i>	Ala-muwa ³³	<i>BoHa</i> 19.694
L144- <i>tá</i>	Alanta	<i>BoHa</i> 19.695
L144- <i>zu(wa)</i> -CERVUS- <i>ti</i>	Alanzu-Runtiya	<i>BoHa</i> 19.696
L144- <i>zu(wa)</i> -CERVUS ₃	Alanzu-Runtiya	<i>BoHa</i> 19.697
L144 ² -CERVUS ₃ + <i>ra/i</i>	Ala-Innar(a)	Bo 211/r ³⁴
L144-L461.L398 or L144-L461-L398	Ali-ALA.L398 or Ala/i-alatu	<i>BoHa</i> 19.698-699 ³⁵
L144-VIR	Ala/i(n)zi(ya) or Ala/i-ziti ³⁶	<i>SBo</i> 2.134
L144-VIR	Ala/i(n)zi(ya) or Ala/i-ziti	<i>SBo</i> 2.211 ³⁷
L144- <i>x-ta</i>	Ala/i...	<i>BoHa</i> 19.776
*505- <i>pa</i> -L1 [44]	Harpali(ya)	<i>TARSUS</i> 16 ³⁸

32 Cf. Alliya (*HKM* 100 obv. 12') and Alli (*StBoTB* 4.22 obv. 31 and 33; *KUB* 58.96 rev. 7).

33 Or Ali-muwa.

34 Bo = Excavation inventory numbers in Thomas Beran, "Stempelsiegel und gesiegelte Bullen", *MDOG*, Vol. 93, 1962, fig. 54.

35 See below, sub 3.4.

36 See *NH* 30.

37 The drawing of it must be turned 90° clockwise.

38 Catalog numbers in Ignace J. Gelb, "Hittite Hieroglyphic Seals and Seal Impressions", Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Gözliü Kule, Tarsus II*, Princeton University Press, Princeton - New Jersey 1956, pp. 242-256. The reading of the name as Harpali(ya) is based on the value /har(a)/ of the sign *505 (Emmanuel Laroche, "Les hiéroglyphes d'Altintepe", *Anadolu*, Vol. 15, 1971[1973], pp. 55-61; Jeffrey J. Klein, "Urartian Hieroglyphic Inscriptions from Altintepe", *AnSt*, Vol. 24, 1974, p. 87.), which reads 1 1/2' á-*505-ku 2 tu<+ra/i-za> and has parallels in the ALTINTEPE pithos inscriptions (see *CHLI*, pp. 588-589) in *aharku* (= *agarqi*) and *turuza/turaza* (= *terusi*). The alternative value /har(a)/ for the sign in question is not otherwise attested. An additional attestation of *505 in BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG) § 7, *ta*-*505(URBS), may stand for Tahara, a hydronym known cuneiform sources; see *RGTC* 6/2, 211; cf. John David Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 1995, p. 21.

<i>pa</i> -L144- <i>i(a)</i> or <i>pa-i(a)</i> -L144	Palaya or Payala/ ³⁹	<i>Bo</i> 3.27 ⁴⁰
L461-L144- <i>*a</i>	Alalli	<i>PARIS</i> 45, 46, 47 ⁴¹
L144-L461	Alalli	<i>BoHa</i> 22.289
<i>a</i> -L144-L461	Alalli	<i>BoHa</i> 22.199
L144- <i>zi/a</i> -3	Ala/ <i>i-zantara</i> ⁴²	<i>ASHMOLEAN</i> 30 ⁴³
(DEUS)L461- <i>hi-la-ni</i>	Ala-hilani	<i>BOROWSKI</i> 26 ⁴⁴
LEO ₂ -L461 or L461-LEO ₂	Walwalli ⁴⁵ or Ala/ <i>i-walwi</i> ⁴⁶	<i>Bo</i> 3.35
L461 [?] -L172	Ala/ila	<i>SBo</i> 2.122 ⁴⁷
(DEUS.FEMINA)L461	Ala	EMIRGAZĪ altars ⁴⁸

In addition to having these phonetic values in personal names, the L144 sign was used to write a conjugated verb in KARAHÖYÜK (ELBİSTAN) § 18⁴⁹: SUPER-L144-*ha*, *sarla/iha*⁵⁰, “I offered/exalted”.

39 Cf. similar names in *NH* (nos. 905-923).

40 Catalog numbers in Kurt Bittel, Rudolf Naumann, Thomas Beran, Rolf Hachmann, Kurth Gottfried, *Boğazköy III, Funde aus den Grabungen 1952-1955*, Verlag Gebr. Mann, Berlin 1957.

41 Catalog numbers in Douglas A. Kennedy, “Sceaux hittites conservés à Paris”, *RHA*, Vol. 65, 1959, pp. 147-172.

42 A male name Zantara is attested in *AT* 107:21. Ala-Zithariya could also be taken into account.

43 Catalog numbers in Douglas A. Kennedy, “The inscribed Hittite seals in the Ashmolean Museum”, *RHA*, Vol. 63, 1958, pp. 65-84.

44 Catalog numbers in Massimo Poggio, Sandro Salvatori, *La collezione anatolica di E. Borowski*, Gjes Edizioni, Pavia 1981.

45 See *KuT* 50 rev. 54.

46 See *NH* 34; *KuSa* 1/1.3 rev. 5; and *BoHa* 19.644.

47 L461[?] is placed horizontally over L172. A similar arrangement can be observed in *BOROWSKI* 26.

48 See Hawkins, *ibid*, pp. 88-102.

49 *CHLI*, p. 290.

50 *sarla-*, “to offer; exalt” (*CHLI*, p. 147; cf. H. Craig Melchert, *Cuneiform Luwian Lexicon*, Self-published, Chapel Hill 1993, p. 191).

3. The New Values Attributed to L375 and L144: Some Consequences

3.1. Comments on some spellings (in table 4 above) that include L144 and/or L461

3.1.1. L144-OMNIS = Alantalli

This personal name, which is otherwise known from cuneiform sources,⁵¹ is possibly a derivative of **alant-*, “(he who) belongs to the place”,⁵² and may then mean “local?”. Or it could be a derivative of the toponym Alanta.⁵³ A possible alternative writing of it, L128+*li*, occurs in KARABEL A⁵⁴. Finally, note the similar name Alantimuwa, “Having the might of the place”, written either ¹LOCUS-*ti* | -L273-*wa/i-sa* or ¹LOCUS-*la/i-ti-mu-wa/i-sa* in sources from the Late Hittite period⁵⁵.

3.1.2. L144-*mu(wa/i)* = Alamuwa⁵⁶

An alternative writing of the same name in the Late Hittite period is ¹*á-lá/i-mu(wa/i)-sá*⁵⁷.

3.1.3. L144-*tá* = Alanta

See Alantalli, above.

3.1.4. *a*-L144-L461 = Alalli

This can be interpreted as “He who belongs to Ala”.

3.1.5. (DEUS.FEMINA)L461 = (divine-woman/lady) Ala

BOROWSKI 26 clearly shows that the divine name Ala could be written with the L461 sign alone. Thus, L19 in STAG-rhyton⁵⁸ and EMÍRGAZÍ altars should be analyzed as a logogram instead of considering it as a part of the name of the goddess Ala.

51 See *NH* 25 and Bo 86/299 iv 36.

52 See Ilya Yakubovich, “The Luwian Word for ‘Place’ and its Cognates”, *Kadmos*, Vol. 56/1-2, 2017, pp. 1-27.

53 *RGTC* 6, 6.

54 See Hawkins1998.

55 SHEIZAR §8 and BOYBEYPINARI 1 § 11 (see *CHLI*, pp. 417 and 336, respectively).

56 See *NH* 24 and *DBH* 46/2, 158 obv. 23’.

57 ŞARAGA (see Massimo Poetto, “Un nuovo verbo luvio-geroglifico: zapa-, e la sua correlazione al luvio cuneiforme zapp(a)-”, *Ex Anatolia Lux. Anatolian and Indo-European Studies in Honor of H. Craig Melchert on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, eds. Ronald Kim - Norbert Oettinger - Elisabeth Rieken - Michael Weiss, Beech Stave Press, Ann Arbor - New York 2010, pp. 296-302).

58 For the previous readings of both epigraphs, see Theo P.J. van den Hout, “The Silver Stag Vessel: A Royal Gift”, *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Vol. 53, 2018, pp. 114-127. Van den Hout mentions the logographic value of L19 but prefers the phonetic reading, and recognizes the sign on the top of the epigraph on the left as a determinative (REGIO).

3.2. The spellings of the divine name Ala and the epigraphs of the STAG-rhyton

One of the personal names in Table 4 above is a theophoric compound with the name of the goddess Ala. One can legitimately assume that the name of this goddess could also have been written otherwise, that is, syllabically⁵⁹ or with a homophonic value. In fact, the L172 sign has the phonetic value /ala/ when it occurs in the initial position in the Empire period⁶⁰. If we assume that L172 was also used to write the homophonic divine name Ala, then the epigraphs on the STAG-rhyton might be interpreted as follows:



STAG-rhyton left	STAG-rhyton right	
<i>ANKARA</i> 12B	<i>HATAY</i> 26A	
KH.19.O.137A	<i>BoHa</i> 22.227	KÖYLÜTOLU

Figure 4: Forms of OMNIS₂ (L430) and *ala* (L172).

⁵⁹ Some examples of Ala written syllabically in the Late Hittite period are probably (FEMINA)*á-lá/i-* (ANCOZ 5; see *CHLI*, p. 350) and *á-la-* (ERKİLET 2; see *CHLI*, p. 494), contra M. Hutter, who interpreted these spellings as writings of a Hurrian epithet (Manfred Hutter, “‘The Lady’ Kubaba (ANCOZ 1 § 2, etc.) in Hieroglyphic Luwian”, *NABU*, Vol. 2016/4, 2016, pp. 30-32).

⁶⁰ Conventional transliteration of L172 in the Empire period is *ala* in the initial position, and (*a*)*la* in the other positions; *lá/i* in the Late Hittite period (Elisabeth Rieken, Ilya Yakubovich, “The new values of Luwian signs L 319 and L 172”, *Ipanati kistamati pari tumatimis. Luwian and Hittite Studies Presented to J. David Hawkins on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, ed. Itamar Singer, Published by the Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology (Bequeathed by the Yass Estate, Sydney, Australia) of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University Tel Aviv 2010, pp. 199-219).

The epigraph on the right must go with the individual who libates and the offerers, according to the direction of the sign OMNIS₂ (L430)⁶¹. In fact, both signs of this epigraph are dextroverse, and the first sign is not CERVUS_x but rather L172 (*ala*), here used, presumably, to write the name of the goddess Ala (Fig. 4). Furthermore, the libating individual (and/or his gesture of adoration) along with all the other offerers depicted here can be taken as a part of the inscription itself: LIBARE (and) ADORARE⁶², “to libate/offer (and) worship”. Thus, the scene with the epigraph on the right can be read as follows:

Ala OMNIS₂ (LIBARE = *depiction of offerers*)
 “Libating/offering to all (the names of) Ala.”⁶³

While the epigraph on the left reads:

FRONS₂⁶⁴ REGIO OMNIS₂ FILIA
 “The foremost daughter of the entire country/all lands”⁶⁵.

61 We suggest to interpret the second sign as L430 (OMNIS₂) rather than DEUS_x. The sign L430 with a horizontal stroke (side A) and a vertical stroke (side B) inside is attested at Karkemish on a biconvex button seal (KH.19.O.137) dating to the Early Iron Age. An almost identical form with an attached *ra/i* (L383) is attested in ANKARA 12B (for the catalog numbers, see Ali Dinçol, Belkis, *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesinde Bulunan Hitit Hiyeroglif Mühürleri/ Hethitische Hieroglyphensiegel im Museum für Anatolische Zivilisationen*, Ankara Turizmi, Eskieserleri ve Müzeleri Sevenler Derneği Yayınları, Ankara 1981.) and İSTANBUL 33A (for the catalog numbers, see Ali Dinçol, “Adana, Hatay ve İstanbul Müzelerinde Bulunan Hitit Hiyeroglif Mühürleri/Hethitische Hieroglyphensiegel in den Museen zu Adana, Hatay und Istanbul”. *JkF*, Vol. 19, 1983, pp. 173-249). The name on ANKARA 12B can be read *pú+ra/i-L172* = Purilla, which is attested in HKM 99 and the name on İSTANBUL 33A can be read *pú+ra/i* = Puri(ya).

62 Cf. the whole body of a depicted person standing as a syllable of the individual’s name (in *BoHa* 19.400); the customized L1-2 signs; and the depiction of an individual to represent a pronoun in the Iron Age (KARKAMIŞ A1b, KARKAMIŞ A3d, ARSUZ 1, KARKAMIŞ A6, MARAŞ 1 and 4, etc.). The scene here looks like a thanksgiving ceremony to the goddess Ala after a (sacred/royal) deer-hunt (dissected body parts of a deer are under a tree). Hunting scenes are also depicted on the KINIK bowl (Kutlu Emre, Aykut Çımaroğlu, “A Group of Metal Hittite Vessels from Kınık – Kastamonu”, *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and Its Neighbors: Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, eds. Machteld J. Mellink - Edith Porada - Tahsin Özgüç, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1993, pp. 675-713); on Alacahöyük orthostats; and *SBo* 2.220 and 221.

63 Cf. the expression “to all the names of Ala” in cuneiform sources (*KUB* 2.1 obv. iii 26 and *KUB* 40.107+ 5; see Gregory McMahon, *The Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities*, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago 1991, pp. 109 and 116; cf. Weeden, *ibid*, p. 267). The occurrence of this expression both in cuneiform sources and on the STAG-rhyton allows us to securely date the latter to the reign of Tudhaliya IV.

64 Along with the depiction of forehead-eye-nose as FRONS, one can assign the same value to L19 (FRONS₂, graphically = FRONS + eye-lips-chin-neck) as the logogram of the words *hanta*, “in front of”; *hant(a)*- n., “face”; *hantahiti*- c., “preeminence”; and *hantili*- adj., “foremost”.

65 REGIO OMNIS₂ means either “the entire country (of Hatti)” or “all lands” (cf. Anna H. Bauer,

Or, as a less likely alternative, by interpreting L19 (FRONS₂) as a postposition: (*depiction of Ala and/or her bird of prey*⁶⁶ = ALA) FRONS₂ REGIO OMNIS₂ FILIA ALA OMNIS₂ (LIBARE = *depiction of offerers*)
 “In front of Ala, the daughter of the entire country/all lands, libating/offering to all (the names of) Ala”.

3.3. Attestations of L461 and L19 (FRONS₂) in Context

One can apply the interpretation proposed above for the sign L19 (FRONS₂) to the inscription of EMİRGAZİ altars. The sign L19 (FRONS₂) follows the divine Mount Sarpa as a postposition in all attestations (listed below).

3.3.1. EMİRGAZİ 1 § 2-3:⁶⁷

*wa/i- *a* (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS **FRONS₂** CERVUS₃.L463-*zi/a* PONERE
zi/a-ha-wa/i-mi STELE *pa+ra/i- *a* PONERE

“I set up the *stone/object* of the stag(-god) of the countryside (= EMİRGAZİ 1 A-D) **in front of** (=at the foot of?) the Mount Sarpa, and afterward I put this stele (= EMİRGAZİ 2 or lost).”

3.3.2. EMİRGAZİ 1 § 26 (curse apodosis):

See 3.4.1.1 below.

3.3.3. EMİRGAZİ 1 § 29:

*wa/i-na- *a* (DEUS)SOL SOL+RA/I (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM (DEUS) CERVUS₃-*ti*.L463 (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS **FRONS₂** (DEUS.FEMINA) L461 *su-na-sa-ti* PUGNUS-*mi-tu*

“May the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of the sky, the Stag-god of the countryside, **in front of** the divine Mount Sarpa, make him firm/strengthen him with the abundance of Ala”.

Morphosyntax of the Noun Phrase in Hieroglyphic Luwian, Brill, Leiden - Boston 2014, pp. 63-65). Also cf. “mistress/lady of all lands”, epithet of Istar of Niniveh (EA 23); and Puduhepa as the “daughter of Kizzuwatna” in FRAKTIN.

66 See Canby, *ibid*, pp. 161-201; Daniş Baykan, “İkonografide MÖ 1. Bine Kadar Alıcı Kuşlar”, *Işık Şahin’e Armağan (Studies in Honour of Işık Şahin)*, eds. S. Melike Zeren-Hasdağlı - Emre Taştemür, Trakya Üniversitesi Yayınları, Edirne 2022, pp. 39-58; Susanne Görke, Ekin Kozal, “Birds of Prey in Pre-Hittite and Hittite Anatolia (c. 1970–1180 BCE): textual evidence and image representation”, *Raptor and Human Falconry and Bird Symbolism throughout the Millennia on A Global Scale*, Book 4, eds. Karl-Heinz Gersmann - Oliver Grimm, Wachholtz Verlag - Murmann Publishers, Kiel - Hamburg 2018, pp. 1667-1689.

67 Cf. Hawkins, *ibid*, p. 88.

3.3.4. EMİRGAZI 1 § 30:

REL-*i(a)-sa-ha* (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS **FRONS**₂ CERVUS₃.L463-*zi/a*
PONERE

And (he) who will put the Stag(-god) of the countryside-*stone* **in front of** the divine Mount Sarpa...

3.3.5. EMİRGAZI 1 § 37:

*wa/i-tu-*a* (DEUS)CERVUS₃-*ti*.L463 (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS **FRONS**₂
(DEUS.FEMINA)L461 *su-na-sa-ti á-na+ra/i-zú-ha-ti* PRAE *hwi/a-i(a)-tu*

“May the Stag-god of the countryside, **in front of** the divine Mount Sarpa, run before him with the abundance (and) forcefulness of Ala!”

Accepting a further attestation of L19 used as a logogram (FRONS₂) in KARAKUYU might improve our understanding of this inscription, as well:

3.3.6. KARAKUYU:⁶⁸

FRONS₂ MONS.THRONUS (MONS)L417(3)-*wa/i-tá* (MONS)*su-na+ra/i*
CERVUS₄.IACULUM *HATTI*(URBS)×MONS.TU TONITRUS.PURUS.
L417(4) REL-*i-pa*⁶⁹

“(I/he) hunt(ed) **in front of** (=at the foot of?) the Mount Sarpa, Mount Saluwanda, Mount Sunnara, (and) indeed, (at) the Storm-god’s sacred vault of Mount Tudhaliya *in(side)* Hattusa”⁷⁰.

68 Cf. John David Hawkins, “Tudhaliya the Hunter”, *The Life and Times of Hattusili III and Tuthaliya IV: Proceedings of a Symposium held in Honour of J. De Roos, 12-13 December 2003*, ed. Theo P.J. van den Hout, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden 2006, p. 61; John David Hawkins, “Hittite Monuments and Their Sanctity”, *Sacred Landscapes of Hittite and Luwians. Proceedings of the International Conference in Honour of Franca Pecchioli Daddi, Florence, February 6th–8th 2014*, eds. Anacleto D’Agostino - Valentina Orsi - Giulia Torri, Firenze University Press, Firenze 2015, pp. 4-5; Mark Weeden, “Hittite Epigraphic Finds from Büklükale 2010-14”, *Anatolian Archaeological Studies*, Vol. 19, 2016, p. 92.

69 If we accept that the inscription is complete, Luwian *kwiþa* or *kwi=þa* is never attested in the final position of a sentence (see H. Craig Melchert, “Hieroglyphic Luwian REL-*iþa* ‘indeed, certainly’”, *Indo European Perspectives, Papers from the 13th East Indo-European Conference*, ed. Mark R.V. Southern, Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph, Washington D.C. 2002, pp. 223-232; Petra Goedegebuure, “The Hieroglyphic Luwian particle REL-*i=þa*”, *Acts of the Third International Congress of Hittitology*, eds. Sedat Alp - Aygül Süel, Nurel Matbaacılık, Ankara 1998, pp. 233-245). However, we may assume that *kwiþa* is here used as *=þat*, like in Hittite sentences, or we may assume that a verb ‘to hunt’ was omitted (but this seems unnecessary).

70 Graphically, the sign complex MONS.TU is placed within (marked by “×” in the transliteration) the *HATTI* sign, possibly to mean “in(side)”.

3.4. Royal L398 and Ala's L398

A controversial sign, L398, is attested both in association with the goddess Ala and as an epithet (or a part of it) of the king connected with hunt (and/or hunting ground). The form of the sign looks like a rectangular object(?), an encircled area(?), or also a piece of ground being shaped. We tentatively suggest it could be a kind of road (cf. sub 2.1.1.2 and fn. 16, above). The sign in question has possibly the phonetic value /tu/ in KARAHÖYÜK (ELBİSTAN) and on some seals (see 5.2). All the known attestations of L398 in context are given below.

3.4.1. L398 as a logogram:

3.4.1.1. EMİRGAZİ 1 § 26 (curse apodosis):

wa/i-tu-tá-^{}a (DEUS)SOL SOL+RA/I (DEUS)TONITRUS.CAELUM (DEUS) CERVUS₃-*tí*.L463⁷¹ (DEUS)MONS.THRONUS FRONS₂ (DEUS.FEMINA) L461 **REX.L398**-*zi/a sara/i-zi/a* INFRA *tara/i-zi/a-nú-wa/i-tu**

“For him, in front of the divine Mount Sarpa, may the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of the sky (and) the Stag-god of the countryside turn/throw down the superior/high **royal L398s** of Ala!”

3.4.1.2. EMİRGAZİ 2 § 13:

[(DEU)S]SOL SOL+RA/I *a-mi* DOMINUS. *NA* [**RE**]X.L398-*ha-ti* PONERE⁷²

“[And] (I) put (them⁷³) by/from/via (my) royal **L398(s)**, for/to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady”.

3.4.1.3. YALBURT Block 16-10:⁷⁴

(By the grace of the Storm-god, I conquered all lands,)

CERVUS₄ *wa/i-sà-tí* | | *wa/i-mi-^{*}a HEROS **L463.L398** CERVUS₄.IACULUM MAGNUS.REX*

“and by the grace of the Stag(-god), I (am) the Hero, the **Countryside-L398**, the Hunter, the Great King”.

71 An additional late attestation of the Stag-god of the countryside is in MALATYA 5: (DEUS) L463.CERVUS₃ REX.PUGNUS+CULTER, “countryside-Stag-god of the mighty King”, or, less likely, “mighty countryside-Stag-god of the King” (cf. *CHLI*, p. 306). For the interpretation of L29 (PUGNUS+CULTER) and L30 (PUGNUS) as *muwa(ti)*-, “might; mighty”, see *TK I*, p. 191 fn. 4.

72 The transliteration given here is based on photographs made by the author.

73 The accusative object of the sentence is “people of Kwalatarna and Tlawa” (mentioned in previous section(s)).

74 Cf. Hawkins, *ibid*, p. 69-70.

3.4.1.4. EMİRGAZİ 3:⁷⁵

(DEUS)CERVUS₃-ti.L463 *wa/i-sà-ti wa/i-mi-*a* CERVUS₄IACULUM **L463**.
L398 H[ERO ...]

“and by the grace of the Stag-god of the countryside, I (am) the Hunter, the
Countryside-L398, the H[ero ...].”

3.4.1.5. *BoHa* 19.411 and *BoHa* 19.695-696:

MAGNUS.L398

“Great/Chief (of) L398(s).”

3.4.1.6. BOROWSKI 16:

HI-VIR.ŽI/A BONUS₂ L398

“Hekur-ziti, wealthy (man of) L398”.

3.4.2. L398 as a syllabogram:

3.4.2.1. KARAHÖYÜK (ELBİSTAN) § 24:

a-wa/i-sa (DEUS)TONITRUS POCULUM.PES.L67 LIS-**L398** *a-sa-tu*

a=wa=as Tarhunzas POCULUM.PES.L67 (*za*)*sali(ya)s=tu astu*

“Let him, the Storm-god of ELBİSTAN, be the prosecutor against him!”

3.4.2.2. *Bo* 5.8:⁷⁶

zi/a-**L398** REX.FILIA,

“Zitu,⁷⁷ the Prince.”

3.4.2.3. *BoHa* 19.623:

LINGUA+CLAVUS-**L398**-*tà-sa* = Haddudasa.

3.4.2.4. *BoHa* 19.598:

BOS-**L398** = (M)u(wa/i)tu².

3.4.2.5. *BoHa* 19.765:

x-**L398**-*x*

3.4.2.6. *BoHa* 19.698-699:

L144-L461-L398 = Ala/i-alatu or L144-L461.L398 = *Ali-ALA*-L398 (possibly
“high² Ala’s road”).

⁷⁵ Transliteration based on Hawkins, *Tudhaliya*, fig. 9 on page 74.

⁷⁶ Catalog numbers in Kurt Bittel, Hans Gustav Güterbock, Günter Neumann, Peter Neve, Heinrich Otten, Ursula Seidl, *Boğazköy V. Funde aus den Grabungen 1970 und 1971*, Gebr. Mann Verlag, Berlin 1975.

⁷⁷ Cf. the similar name Zidandu in *NH* (no. 1556).

3.4.2.7. BOROWSKI 36:

L398-*sà*-LUNA/*sa*² = Tusasa²

Similar constructions to that of 3.4.2.5 can be observed with REX.L398 (3.4.1.1 and 3.4.1.2) and L463.L398 (3.4.1.3 and 3.4.1.4). Alternatively, one could suggest “royal road” for REX.L398; “countryside road” for L463.L398; and, as an epithet of the king, “hero of the countryside road(s)”, for L463.L398.HEROS (3.4.1.3) and HEROS.L463.L398 (3.4.1.4).

Table 5: List of discussed signs

L number	Logographic value	Phonetic value
L19	FRONS ₂	<i>á</i>
L71 =L375* ²	AQUILA ₂	<i>wa_x</i>
L74	BUTEO ₂	<i>ali</i>
L128 ⁷⁸	AQUILA	<i>zi₄</i> <i>wa_x</i>
L129	BUTEO <i>ALILF</i>	-
L132	BUTEO ₄	<i>ara/i</i>
L144	BUTEO _{3A}	<i>alá/i</i>
L172	<i>ALA₂</i>	<i>(a)la</i> <i>lá/i</i>
L366	OMNIS	<i>TAL(A)</i>
L375	BUTEO _{3B}	<i>li₄</i>
L398	VIA ₂	<i>tu₅</i>
L430	OMNIS ₂	<i>pú</i>
L461	<i>ALA</i>	<i>ala/i</i>
*505	-	<i>har(a)</i>
*521	discarded, see L144	

78 See fn. 16, below.

Conclusions

The spelling PURUS-L375-*sá* in KH.16.O.378 reveals that L375 has a phonetic value /li/. The graphic resemblance of the sign L144 (= *521) with L375 leads us to identify it as the “Empire” (and “Transitional”) form of L375, while its attestations on seals and in KARAHÖYÜK (ELBİSTAN) allow us to posit a phonetic value /ala/i/ for it. Furthermore, the L375 sign (sometimes misidentified as L19) is attested with L461 in several inscriptions and seal legends. A contextual analysis of these attestations provided new readings and interpretations for these signs.

In addition, we could establish that the L19 sign has both phonetic (*á*) and logographic (FRONS₂) values in the Empire period. Occurrences of L19 together with the goddess Ala show that this sign is not part of the spelling of the goddess’ name, but it rather represents a postposition. The logographic values (“in front of / at the foot of” and “foremost”) suggested in this paper fit the attestations of L19 in EMİRGAZİ altars, KARAKUYU inscriptions, and the left side of the STAG-rhyton.

As for the signs originating from a bird of prey (see the signs for BUTEO in Table 5), they occur with the phonetic values /ala/i/ and /li/ in a series of personal names (see Table 4). Finally, a newly recognized verb, *lili(ya)-*, “to alter/change; improve”, allows us to improve our comprehension of several passages in Iron Age hieroglyphic inscriptions (see 2.1).

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Abbreviations

* before numerals see *CHLI*, p. 24.

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