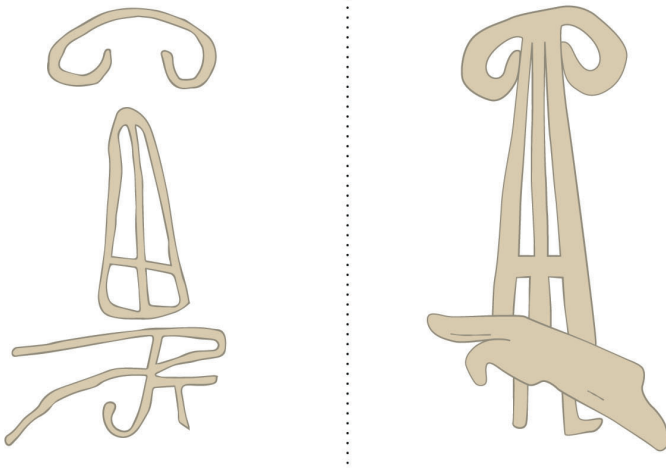


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Fred C. Woudhuizen

Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts in Late Bronze Age Scribal Tradition



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INTRODUCTION

Of all the texts in Luwian hieroglyphic, the ones from the Bronze Age, or, to be more specific, in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition (which includes the earliest phase of the Early Iron Age), have received limited attention. If books on the topic may serve as an indication, I know of only three, Massimo Poetto's edition of the Yalburt text of 1993, David Hawkins' edition of the Südburg text of 1995 (which additionally treats the Emirgazi text), and my own attempt at presenting a collection of texts inscribed in rock or stone of 2004a.

In the work last mentioned, I edited 10 texts entailing a total of 145 phrases. As opposed to this, the present monograph contains as much as 31 texts entailing a total of 233 phrases. This is a significant increase within a term of about one and a half a decade. Newly included are Borowski no. 26, Karakuyu, and Afyon, treated by me in 2013, Çalapverdi 3, which I discussed in 2014, Ankara 2, discussed by me in 2017a, Beyköy 1, Torbalı, and Latmos, included in my recent book on the western Luwians of 2018a, Taşçı and Ankara 3, which I treated in 2019a (Notes 1 and 2), and the Kastamonu or Kınık bowl, Boğazköy 1, 2, and 12, Kızıldağ 3, Burunkaya, and the most recently discovered (2019) Türkmen-Karahöyük. The criterium used is that the inscription entails one full phrase or more.

Most dramatically in terms of the number of phrases, however, has been the rediscovery of Luwian hieroglyphic texts from western Anatolia dating to the final stage of the Bronze Age by Eberhard Zangger in 2017 when searching for the so-called "Beyköy Text" in the Mellaart files. In doing so, he stumbled upon the drawings of 8 Luwian hieroglyphic texts, 4 of which are lengthy enough to be included here, among which features most prominently Beyköy 2 with as much as 50 phrases in sum. The shorter ones are reported to be from Edremit, Yazılıtaş, and Dağardı. All these texts are stated to have been first discovered in the latter half of the 19th century AD.

In the mean time, the presumed cuneiform "Beyköy Text", of which only a "translation" into English was found, has been exposed as a product of James Mellaart's imagination.¹ This being the case, one immediately wonders whether the Luwian hieroglyphic texts rediscovered in the Mellaart files are falsifications as well. Such a view may easily apply to the smaller texts, which mainly consist of enumerations of place-names. However, one runs into difficulties with this view in connection with the largest one, Beyköy 2. It is not so easy to falsify a Luwian hieroglyphic text of such length, let alone one from the Late Bronze Age. Given the fact that the text was presented at a conference in Ghent in 1989, the only available model for such an undertaking was the Emirgazi text, the contents of which, at that

¹ Zangger 2018.

time, were not well understood and, more importantly, of an entirely different nature, entailing regulations for the use of the altar stones on which it is written.

It is often taken for granted that the contents of the texts in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition are difficult to grasp for the lack of grammatical features. Such a view is too pessimistic, an intimate study of these texts allows for the reconstruction of the paradigms of nominal and pronominal declension as well as verbal conjugation of the Luwian language dating to this early period (see Part II, Table III). It is true, though, that endings are summarily indicated in the texts from this period and that the function of a word in the phrase often needs to be reconstructed on the basis of the context. And precisely this phenomenon, the restricted use of endings, complicates the undertaking of the falsification of a Luwian hieroglyphic text in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition to a great deal.

Beyköy 2 fits exactly within the picture of Luwian hieroglyphic texts conducted in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition as it has been established since the 1990s, which means after its possible fabrication antedating 1989. This is the reason to include it, together with 3 of the smaller texts from the Mellaart files, in the present study, with the proviso that much attention will be paid to arguments pro and contra its authenticity. One observation stands out in this connection, namely that a text cannot be falsified on the basis of data not available to the falsifier at the time of his or her presumed activity. As noted by the late Annelies Kammenhuber in a letter dated September 14, 1989, the at that time unparalleled title *URA+HANTAWAT +infans^m* “great prince” occurs in Beyköy 2 (**Bk-2**, § 26), which served as an argument for her to expose the text as a falsification. Since then, the advance of research in the field has resulted into a dramatic change concerning the validity of this title as it has been discovered in a rock inscription at Latmos in the hinterland of classical Miletos published in 2001 (cover design).² It now turns out, therefore, that this title is not suspect but rather to be expected in Luwian hieroglyphic texts from western Anatolia dating to the latest phase of the Bronze Age.

If Beyköy 2 is a genuine text, as I maintain, it constitutes the most important find in the field of Luwian hieroglyphics since the discovery of the Karatepe text in 1946. It is incredibly detailed about the period of the upheavals of the Sea Peoples, c. 1180-1170 BC—a period about which we are otherwise little informed, to say the least. It shows that the great king of Mira at the time, Kupantakuruntas III, thanks to the naval expedition all the way to Askalon and Gaza in the southern Levant of his vassal, great prince Muksas of Wilusa, profited most of the downfall of the Hittite Empire c. 1190 BC and occupied the former Hittite province of the Lower Land as well as coastal sites along the southern coast of Asia Minor in order to secure his contacts with the outposts in the southern Levant.³

² Peschlow-Bindokat & Herbordt 2001: 373, Abb. 7a.

³ Zangger & Woudhuizen 2018; Woudhuizen & Zangger 2018.

Beyköy 2 is also of importance for the discussion on the reading of Luwian hieroglyphic, and this is probably the reason that Hawkins, who was familiar with this text since the Ghent meeting of 1989, has deliberately withhold it from his colleagues. In 1973, Hawkins, together with Anna Morpurgo-Davies and Günter Neumann introduced the so-called “new reading”. According to this new reading, the pair of signs *376 and *377,⁴ formerly read as *i* and *ī*, exclusively render the values *zi* (during the Late Bronze Age also *za*) and *za*, respectively. As a consequence, the pair of signs *209 and *210, formerly read as *a* and *ā*, are supposed to render the values *i* and *ya*, respectively, because otherwise the vowel *i* happens to be absent in the syllabary, “a basically improbable assumption”.⁵ In the Beyköy text, however, *376 is demonstrably used for the expression of the value of the “old reading” *i*:

- (1) *ma-sa-hù+*376-ti* (**Bk-2**, §§ 1, 5) = Hit. *Mashuittas*
376-ku-wa-na* (Bk-2**, § 50) = Hit. *Ikkuwaniya* (mod. Konya)

as well as that of the “new reading” *zi* or *za*:

- (2) *mi-*376+r(i)* (**Bk-2**, § 28) = Hit. *Mizri* (mod. Egypt)
*ka-*376* (**Bk-2**, § 28) = *Kaza* (mod. Gaza)

Now, since the early 1980s I have argued that the “new reading”, notwithstanding the fact that it is generally accepted by the colleagues in the field, in its present form is untenable.⁶ At first, I argued to stick to the “old reading” altogether, but since 2004 I acknowledged the then available bilingual evidence for the reading of *376 as *zi* (or also *za*) and *377 as *za*. However, I did so with the notable distinction that these “new readings” are not the exclusive values of these signs, but that in other instances the “old readings” still apply, in other words that the signs *376 and *377 are subject to *polyphony* as paralleled for other signs from the syllabary.⁷ I subsequently elaborated this line of approach in the extended version of my *Selected Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts* of 2011, in which I presented an overview of the bilingual evidence for on the one hand the “new reading” of *376 and *377 as *zi* and *za* and on the other hand their “old reading” as *i* and *ī*, respectively.⁸

One thing stands out as certain in this discussion: that the weakest link in the argument of the protagonists of the “new reading” is formed by the consequence of reading *376 and *377 exclusively as *zi* and *za*, namely that *209 and *210 must

⁴ Numbering of the signs according to Laroche 1960.

⁵ Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies & Neumann 1973: 155.

⁶ Woudhuizen 1984-5a: 104-113.

⁷ Woudhuizen 2004a: 8; 167-170; Woudhuizen 2004b: 8-11.

⁸ Woudhuizen 2011: 89-98.

be read as *i* and *ya*. As I have demonstrated conclusively in my recent overview of all available data, there can be no doubt that *209 renders the value *a*.⁹ As a consequence, the “new reading” must be wrong in the assumption that *376 and *377 exclusively render the values *zi* and *za* otherwise a sign for *i* being absent in the syllabary. *Ergo*: these signs must be considered polyphonic, being used for the expression of both “old reading” *i* and *ī* and “new reading” *zi* and *za*.¹⁰ In this manner, then, we arrive at the correct reading of these two pairs of signs, most adequately addressed as “adjusted old reading”.

A minor detail concerns the interpretation of the two oblique strokes at the lower side which distinguish *210 and *377 from *209 and *376. In connection with the vowels, this expresses length: *a* (*209) becomes *ā* (*210) and *i* (*376) becomes *ī* (*377). In line with this observation, when the sibilant value applies *377 should preferably be transliterated as *zā*.¹¹

Until recently, the addition of oblique strokes were considered as the hallmark of texts conducted in Early Iron Age scribal tradition. It so happens, however, that this device to distinguish *210 and *377 from *209 and *376 is already used in Beyköy 2, which dates from the latest phase of the Bronze Age. That this device indeed was already introduced during the Bronze Age has been proved by Willemijn Waal, who discovered an instance of *377 on a Hittite tablet.¹² In light of the Beyköy 2 evidence, the addition of the double bars at the lower side of *377 appears to be a typically Arzawan innovation. Note in this connection that the earliest text in Early Iron Age scribal tradition from North Syria, Aleppo 6, dating from the latter half of the 11th century BC, is somewhat idiosyncratic in having the oblique strokes represented by a horizontally placed *450 *ā*—a combination (*zi*+*ā*) more suitable for writing *zā* than *ī*.

Other criteria for the distinction of the Late Bronze Age scribal tradition are:¹³

(2) As we have already noted, in texts conducted in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition the polyphonic *376 *i*, *zi* is used for the expression of *za* as well.

(3) In texts conducted in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition *209, 1-3 and 6, a variant of *209 *a* with four nudges or additional strokes at the top, occurs in exactly the same position as the later *210 *ā* of the Early Iron Age scribal tradition and is accordingly transliterated in this work as *ā*.

(4) The distinction of *na*₄ from *nā*₄ by two oblique strokes is, in line with the pairs *209-210 and *376-377, introduced after the demise of the Late Bronze Age scribal tradition.

⁹ Woudhuizen 2019a: Note 4.

¹⁰ Woudhuizen 2019a: Note 3.

¹¹ Woudhuizen 2011: 98.

¹² Waal 2017: 304-305, Fig. 7.

¹³ Cf. Woudhuizen 2011: 102-106.

(5) In texts conducted in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition the sign *386, 1 usually designated as “crampon” is used to express male gender (transliteration ^m). As opposed to this, in texts conducted in Early Iron Age scribal tradition this sign is used—apart from its continued use in its original function in the determinative *45 *infans*^m—as a word-divider.

(6) In texts conducted in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition the sign for the relative pronoun, *329, still renders the original value *KWA*, whereas in those conducted in Early Iron Age scribal tradition it is used for lenited *HWA*.

(7) Contrary to the procedures of the Early Iron Age scribal tradition, in texts conducted in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition the N(m/f) sg. ending *-sa* and A(m/f) sg. ending *-na* are in the main not indicated in the realm of the noun. The exceptional cases in which these endings are written in texts conducted in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition are given in Part II, chapter 1.

(8) Contrary to the procedures of the Early Iron Age scribal tradition, in texts conducted in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition the N-A(n) sg. ending *-ī* is not indicated in both the realm of the noun and the pronoun. In principle, the same verdict applies to the N-A(n) ending in *-sa*, but in the exceptional cases this is written it happens to be used for the expression of the plural.

(9) In texts conducted in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition the G sg. ending in *-sa* is also used for the expression of the pl.

For an overview of how the transliteration applied in this book relates to current *communis opinio* as established at the conference held at Procida (Marazzi 1998), see the concordance. Note in this connection that the “adjusted old reading” as adhered to in this work also implies that all the adjustments to accommodate the new reading, like *214 *ná* becoming *ní*, *411 *nà* becoming *ní*, and *174 *sá* becoming *sí*, and the assumption of interchange between the vowels *a* and *i* for the signs *439 *wa* becoming *wa/i*, *165 *wá* becoming *wà/i*, *166 *wà* becoming *wá/i*, and *134 *ara* becoming *ara/i*, need to be redressed.

Acknowledgement: my thanks are due to Eberhard Zangger for sharing his rediscovery of the Luwian hieroglyphic texts from the Mellaart files with me. The subsequent cooperation resulted into two joined papers, Zangger & Woudhuizen 2018 and Woudhuizen & Zangger 2018, from which I heavily drew in the discussion of Beyköy 2 as presented in this book.

Fred C. Woudhuizen
Heiloo, March 2020

ABBREVIATIONS

General

N: nominative	GN: god's name
A: accusative	MN: man's name
D: dative	FN: female name
G: genitive	TN: town's name
Abl.: ablative	BT: Bronze Tablet
Loc.: locative	PIE: Proto-Indo-European
sg.: singular	MBA: Middle Bronze Age
pl.: plural	LBA: Late Bronze Age
m: masculine	EIA: Early Iron Age
f: feminine	CL: cuneiform Luwian
n: neuter	Hit.: Hittite

Texts

Af: Afyon	Ka: Karadağ
A: Aleppo	Ke: Karahöyük-Elbistan
Aa: Ankara	Kr: Kızıldağ
Bğ: Boğazköy	Kö: Köylütolu
Bk: Beyköy	Kr: Karakuyu
Bo: Borowski	Lm: Latmos
Br: Burunkaya	N: Nişantaş
Çv: Çalapverdi	S: Südburg
D: Dağardı	Tb: Torbalı
Ed: Edremit	Tç: Taşçı
E: Emirgazi	Tk: Türkmen-Karahöyük
F: Fraktin	Y: Yalburt
Km: Kastamonu	Yz: Yazılıtaş

Khatti	date	Karkamis	Assuwa/Arzawa/Mira
Tudkhaliyas I	1465-1440		
Khattusilis II	1440-1425		
Tudkhaliyas II	1425-1390		Piyamakuruntas Kukkulis
Arnuwandas I	1400-1370		Kupantakuruntas I
Tudkhaliyas III	1370-1350		Tarkhunaradus
Suppiluliumas I	1350-1322	Sarrikusukh	Ukhkhazitis
Arnuwandas II	1322-1321		
Mursilis II	1321-1295	Sakhurunuwas	Maskhuiluwas Kupantakuruntas II
Muwatallis II	1295-1272		
Mursilis III	1272-1265		
Khattusilis III	1265-1239	Initesup I	
Tudkhaliyas IV	1239-1209		Alantallis
		Talmitesup I	Tarku(ndimu)was
Arnuwandas III	1209-1205		Maskhuittas
Suppiluliumas II	1205-1190	Kuzitesup	Kupantakuruntas III
	c. 1150	Aritesup	
	c. 1100	Initesup II	

Chart I. Synchronisms between the royal houses of Khatti, Karkamis, and Assuwa/Arzawa/Mira.

PART I: THE TEXTS

1. THE LEGEND OF SEAL BOROWSKI NO. 26

The seal-ring of silver and bronze catalogued as Borowski no. 26 presents us with the largest extant Luwian hieroglyphic Late Bronze Age inscription as preserved up to this date for glyptic sources. The inscription of the ring has been discussed in detail by Massimo Poetto in his *editio princeps* of the text,¹⁴ whereas some attention is also paid to it by Clelia Mora in her catalogue of seals inscribed with a Luwian hieroglyphic legend.¹⁵

The Luwian hieroglyphic legend of the seal consists of two parts, one positioned in the center, and the other in the outer ring. On the basis of the excellent photographs of the seal side and its imprint as produced by Poetto (his Tav. XXVI, reproduced here as our Fig. 1), I suggest the following what I consider improvements of the reading of the text in the outer ring, which starts with the A(m/f) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *i-na* (*376-35) at a little to the right of the top side:

(1) in between the symbol of lightning in 3rd position (*199) and just before the instance of *41 *tà* are clearly visible the contours of *411 *nà*, which therefore takes the 4th position;

(2) the sign in 9th position consists of an instance of *39 *ta*;

(3) the sign in 16th position, which is also present in the legend of the center, where it appears in 2nd position, reads *462 *pá* instead of *461;

(4) the sign in 29th position can, on the basis of the “thorn” at its right side, positively be identified as *389 *ta+r*;

(5) the sign in 30th position in its ductus bears the closest resemblance to *285 *WATA, zú*.

If we plug in these improvements as to the reading, we arrive at the following transliteration in numbers (for the grouping of the signs in combinations, see linguistic commentary):

center

360-462 370-79

414-175-214-370 79-370

outer ring

376-35 199-411-41 17+383, 2 79 39-391-103 45* 384-175

360-462-35 215-100-19-110-90-209-225 370+383, 2-90 376-175 389-285-228

¹⁴ Poetto & Salvatori 1981: 31-34.

¹⁵ Mora 1987: 205, discussion of VIII 11.1.

By next substituting the respective values for the given numbers, this leads us to the following transliteration and translation:

Borowski 26 seal-ring of silver and bronze with Luwian hieroglyphic legends in the center and in the outer ring which on account of the mention of a king of Tarsus, the capital of Kizzuwatna, can be assigned to the 16th or 15th century BC.

center

1. ^{MASANA} *pá<+r+ti> hi-la-ná-su* “The stag-god of the gate; good lady.”
ASU-WANATI

outer ring

2. *i-na TARHUNT-nà-tá* “With respect to this (god): Tarkhunata,
HANTAWAT+r(i) WANATI lady on behalf of the king, second
ta-mi-rú infans^f TÚWA-la daughter (of) Tamirus,”
3. ^{MASANA} *pá<+r+ti>-na* “with respect to the stag-god in the
ha-ta₄-á-ma-ti-ā^{UMINA} town of the fief, in(to) abundance
su+r<-na>-ti i-la ta+r-zú^{UTNA} favorable the land (of) Tarsos.”

COMMENTS

This translation takes as its starting point that the 17th sign *35 *na* functions as the A(m/f) sg. ending of the preceding deity name which in undeclined variant is also present in the text of the center. If this is correct, we happen to be confronted with the following evidence of declension (or otherwise relevant linguistic features) in what for the absence of a verbal form are to be taken for noun phrases:

- (1) *i-na*: A(m/f) sg. in *-na* of the demonstrative pronoun *i-*;
- (2) *HANTAWAT+r(i)*: Abl. sg. in *+r(i)* of the noun *HANTAWAT-* “king”;
- (3) *TÚWA-la*: ordinal in *-la* of the numeral *TÚWA-* “2”;
- (4) ^{MASANA} *pá<+r+ti>-na*: A(m/f) sg. in *-na* of the deity name ^{MASANA} *pá<+r+ti>-*; ¹⁶
- (5) *ha-ta₄-á-ma-ti-ā^{UMINA}*: Loc. sg. in *-tiā* of the place-name *ha-ta₄-á-ma-^{UMINA}*;
- (6) *su+r<-na>-ti*: Abl. sg. in *-ti* of the noun *su+r<-na>-* “abundance”.

¹⁶ Note that the indication of the A(m/f) sg. in *-na* in the nominal declension is exceptional for texts in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition, according to which it is usually omitted, see Woudhuizen 2011: 103-104.

In order to underpin the given translation more in detail, in addition to the given evidence of declension (or otherwise relevant linguistic features), the following linguistic comments are in order:

- (1) the deity name ^{MASANA}*pá-* is known from the Late Bronze Age Emirgazi texts (E §§ 27, 30, 37, and 39), and can, thanks to a suggestion by Václav Blažek, be identified as an abbreviation of what in the Early Iron Age text Malatya 5 reads ^{MASANA}*pá+r+tì* in full—a reflex of PIE **b^hrent-* for the stag-god;¹⁷
- (2) in the apposition to the name of the deity, *414 represents nothing but a variant of *413 *hi*, so that we arrive at the reading *hi-la-na-su*, an adjectival formation in *-s-* of the root *hilana-* “gate”;¹⁸
- (3) the form of the demonstrative, *i-na*, refers back to the name of the deity as mentioned in the part of the text in the center, and as such confronts us with an *accusativus respectus* in exactly the same way as we found this on a clay bar inscribed with Cretan variant of Luwian hieroglyphic;¹⁹
- (4) the name of the owner of the seal, *TARHUNT-nà-tá*, is of the type *Tarhundapiya-*, *Tarhundaradu-*, *Tarhundawara-*, *Tarhundazalma-*, *Tarhundaziti-*, which, however, are all male, the only female example being provided by ^d*U-ma-na-wa-*;²⁰
- (5) it is of interest to observe that the owner of the seal in the first place emphasizes herself to have been raised to the rank of “lady” by the king and only after this presents her genealogy, according to which she was the second (with ordinal in *-la-* as paralleled for Etruscan *esl-* or *zal* “first” and *cial-* “third”)²¹ daughter of *Tamirús*—no doubt a reflex of the Cilician priestly name Ταμύρας as reported for the founding father of the Ταμυράδαι, a priestly family responsible for the cult of Paphian Aphrodite in Cyprus;
- (6) for the root of the indication of place, *ha-ta-á-ma-*, cf. *HATAMAha-tà-ma-* or *ha-ta-ma-* “fief” as recorded for Early Iron Age texts from Karkamis (K-A2/3, § 11)

¹⁷ Blažek 2005: sub 5, see also Emirgazi § 27 and note 275 below. Note that this divine name also occurs in variant writing *334 *pa* as deducible from the association of this latter sign with the image of a stag on a seal from Aleppo (Mora 1987: IX 5.4), probably to be attributed to the Aleppian king *Halpazitis* for the plausible reading of the name of the owner as the hypercoristicon *215-175-66-376 *ha-la-pi-zi/i*.

¹⁸ Note that the F3 stag-god, variously addressed as *Kurunt-* or *Runt-* (Woudhuizen 2018b: 97-116), for the latter’s association with the adjective *apárasa* /embrasa/ “of the field” (cf. cuneiform Luwian *immara-* and Hittite *gimraš* < PIE **ǵ^heym-/ǵ^him-* “winter, snow”, see Woudhuizen 2011: 399-400, note 1; 412), is worshipped in the open field, and that the gate forms the connection between the urban center on the one hand and the open field on the other. Moreover, in the Hittite tradition images of deities were indeed sometimes exposed at the gates (a case in point is the “King’s gate” at Boğazköy/Khattusa).

¹⁹ Woudhuizen 2016a: 160-164.

²⁰ Laroche 1966, s.v.

²¹ Woudhuizen 2008: 177-178; Woudhuizen 2019c: 185-186.

and Kululu (**KI-1**, § 2),²² so that it may safely be inferred that we are not dealing with a place-name *in sensu stricto*, but only the more generic reference “town of the fief”;

(7) for the form *su+r<-na>-ti*, cf. *SÚRNA-ti* “in plenty, abundance” as attested for the Late Bronze Age Yalburt text (**Y**, §§ 18, 40), which is based on the root *SURA(+R)su+r(a)-* “abundance” as recorded for the Early Iron Age Karatepe text (**Kt**, §§ 6, 36);²³

(8) for *i-la*, cf. *i-la* “favorably, lavishly, faithfully” from the Late Bronze Age Südburg text (**S**, §§ 6, 7, 10);

(9) for the variant of the place-name *ta+r-zú* “Tarsos”, which in Hittite text occurs as ^{URU}*tar-ša*, with [z], cf. *Ba'al Tarz* (= Santas)²⁴ as recorded for coins from Tarsos dating from the Iron Age;²⁵ note that the *a/u*-vowel change is paralleled for *hilanásu* (expect *hilanasa*)²⁶ and *Tamirús* (expect *Tamiras*).

In so far as the dating of the seal-ring under discussion is concerned, it deserves our attention that a king of the land of Tarsos (Map III), in other words: of Kizzuwatna, to which reference appears to be made in its legend, cannot possibly be situated after the reign of Sunassura II, who was a contemporary of the Hittite great king Tudkhaliyas II. As it seems, then, the reign of this particular king of Kizzuwatna, which is assigned by Jacques Freu to the last quarter of the 15th century BC, serves as a *terminus post quem non*.²⁷ But it should be realized that such a date in actual fact only provides for a *terminus ante quem*, and that the seal-ring of the lady Tarkhunata may just as well belong to the period of the reign of some earlier king of Kizzuwatna, even one from before the period of the interlude of Hittite annexation of this realm during the reign of Tudkhaliyas I. Now, the successful campaign of Tudkhaliyas I against Aleppo in North Syria, which, as cogently argued by Freu, again, probably antedates Tuthmosis III activities in the region of 1447 BC,²⁸ was celebrated by one of his lower officials with the dedication of a silver bowl, presently exhibited in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations at Ankara, with *the earliest Luwian hieroglyphic inscription of non-glyptic nature and of some length known up to this date*.²⁹ If the seal-ring Borowski no. 26, then,

²² Woudhuizen 2011: EIA index, s.v.; Woudhuizen 2015b: EIA index, s.v.

²³ Woudhuizen 2011: indices, s.v.; Woudhuizen 2015b: indices, s.v.

²⁴ No doubt to be identified with the F3 hunting-god in Louvre 20.138, see Woudhuizen 2018a: 56-59 and cf. Woudhuizen 2018b: 97-116, and as such a hypostase of the stag-god *Párti-* or *Kurunt-* or *Runt-*.

²⁵ Haider 2006: 43, Abb. 1.

²⁶ Woudhuizen 2011: EIA index s.v. *HILANA-lá-nà-sá-a-* “of the gate” as attested for a text from Karkamis (**K-A11b/c**, § 34).

²⁷ Freu 2001: 31.

²⁸ Freu 2003: 46-47.

²⁹ Woudhuizen 2017a (see next chapter).

should indeed be assigned to the period before the Hittite interlude, like the reign of Sunassura I or even one of his predecessors, we would as such happen to be dealing with *the earliest Luwian hieroglyphic of some length, be it this time of glyptic nature*. However this may be, one thing is clear: our seal-ring does not belong to the 13th century BC, as Mora wants to have it, but, in like manner as the other seals with hieroglyphs in the outer ring, to the general period of the 15th or even 16th century BC!

2. THE ANKARA SILVER BOWL (ANKARA 2)

The Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions of a silver bowl exhibited in the collection of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations at Ankara, Turkey, takes a crucial position in the discussion on the earliest use of the script (Fig. 2). Therefore, it seems worthwhile to review the opinions of the various authors who addressed the topic and add my own thoughts about it.

The inscriptions of the Ankara silver bowl, catalogued as Ankara 2, have been published first by David Hawkins in 1997 and, in order to enhance its accessibility, reprinted with addenda in *Studia Troica* 15 of 2005. As I could lay a hand only on this latter version, I start my review with this publication.

According to Hawkins,³⁰ then, the Luwian hieroglyphic legends run as follows in transliteration and translation:

Inscription 1

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| § 1 | <i>zi/a-wa/i-ti CAELUM-pi</i>
<i>*a-sa-ma-i(a) REGIO.HATTI VIR₂</i>
<i>*273 i(a)-sa₃-zi/a-tá REX</i>
<i>ma-zi/a-kar-hu-ha REX PRAE-na</i> | “This bowl Asmaya, the man of the land
Hattusa, <i>dedicated(?)</i> for himself
before King Maza-Karhuha,” |
|-----|--|--|

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| § 2 | <i>tara/i-wa/i-zi/a-wa/i (REGIO)</i>
<i>REL+ra/i MONS.[tu] LABARNA+la</i>
<i>hu-la-i(a)-tá</i> | “when Tudhaliya Labarna smote the land
of Tarwiza—” |
|-----|--|--|

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------------------|
| § 3 | <i>*a-wa/i-na *a-pa-ti-i(a)</i>
<i>ANNUS-i(a) i(a)-zi/a-tá</i> | “it in that year he made.” |
|-----|---|----------------------------|

Inscription 2

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| § 4 | <i>zi/a CAELUM-pi SCRIBA 2</i>
<i>pi²-t[i²]-x[...]</i> *414 [... | “This bowl the second(-rank) scribe
Benti?-[...], the *414 [... inscribed(?)].” |
|-----|---|--|

For comparisons, the author points to a bronze bowl from the Kastamonu treasure, which according to its Luwian hieroglyphic inscription has been dedicated by a Hittite official named Tapramis (see chapter 7), whose term in office fell in the later part of the Hittite Empire period. Presumably the silver bowl under discussion has been referred to already by Emmanuel Laroche,³¹ who, if so, specified its provenance as Karkamis. As far as the use of the script is concerned, it stands out that the three verbs, each governing its own phrase the beginning of which is

³⁰ Hawkins 2005a: 194.

³¹ Laroche 1960: xxx.

marked in each case by the sentence introductory particle *-wa*, are written out syllabically. Hawkins considers this a feature typical of the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions of some length from the reigns of Tudkhaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC) and Suppiluliumas II (1205-1190 BC) like the ones on the altar stones from Emirgazi, along the sides of a water basin at Yalburt, and on the rock monument of Nişantaş at the Hittite capital Boğazköy. In his opinion clearly distinct is the inscription on the inner side of a chamber in the dike of a large water reservoir called the Südburg monument in Boğazköy, also from the reign of Suppiluliumas II, which is singled out by the logographic nature of its writing.

As to the contents, it deserves note that the repetition of the title REX “king” in § 1 to flank the personal name *Maza-Karhuha* in a sort of aedicula is regular on seals at least from the time of Suppiluliumas I (1350-1322 BC) onwards. Furthermore, it so happens that the name of the king in question is written with the sign *315 *kar* solely attested for inscriptions from Karkamis. Now, the latter observation tallies with the fact that the second element of this personal name, *karhuha-*, corresponds to the form of address of the stag-god typical for Karkamis, *Karhuhas*, as mentioned for the first time in the annals of Suppiluliumas I. No doubt, this theophoric onomastic element induced Laroche to attribute a Karkamisian provenance to the silver bowl. As opposed to this, the country name *Tarwiza* in § 2 leads Hawkins in a totally different direction, as in his opinion the closest comparable evidence is formed by cuneiform *Taru(w)isa*, the Hittite equivalent of Homeric Greek Troy, situated in the northwest corner of Asia Minor. Next, it is remarkable that the dating formula characterized by the adverb REL+*ra/i* “when” in § 2 and the expression **a-pa-ti-i(a)* ANNUS-*i(a)* “in that year” is paralleled for the Südburg inscription §§ 1 and 18. Finally, the second inscription, referred to here as § 4, specifies the name of the scribe of which the first element presumably corresponds to Khurritic *Benti-* as in *pi-ti-SARRUMA* attested for seal impressions from the Nişantepe-archive at Boğazköy.

In the following, Hawkins distinguishes two categories of evidence, the one epigraphical and the other historical, the first of which suggests a dating to the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV (though he ends this section with the observation that a dating to the reign of Tudkhaliyas I/II in the late 15th or early 14th century BC cannot be ruled out), whereas the second points to a link with the events of the Assuwa campaign of Tudkhaliyas I/II. As far as epigraphic evidence is concerned, the tradition of digraphic royal seals (inscribed in Hittite cuneiform as well as Luwian hieroglyphic) is traced back to the reign of Tudkhaliyas I/II. The only earlier seal in Hawkins’ opinion is that of the king of Tarsus Ispatakhshus, a contemporary of Telipinus (1525-1500 BC) of the Old Kingdom period. In his overview of the attestation of Luwian hieroglyphic signs in the various sources for the period from the reign of Tudkhaliyas I/II in the late 15th or early 14th century BC up to that of Khattusilis III (1264-1239 BC), in which he claims to be

exhaustive,³² a prominent position is taken by the so-called cruciform seal from the reign of Mursilis II (1322-1295 BC) which records the names of kings and queens from the Old Kingdom period and the Empire period. Now, if the cruciform seal informs us indeed about the lay-out of the seal of Tudkhaliyas I/II, the possibility that the *labarnas* Tudkhaliyas as mentioned in § 2 of the text on the Ankara silver bowl may be identified with Tudkhaliyas I/II indeed gains weight. In connection with the historical evidence, the identification of Tarwiza with cuneiform *Taru(w)isa* “Troy” would clearly indicate that the commemorated event belongs to the Assuwa campaign of Tudkhaliyas I/II because this is the only event in which *Taru(w)isa* features.³³ How a king of Karkamis should be integrated into the Assuwa campaign remains unclear, but the observation that from the reign of Suppiluliumas I onwards all the Late Bronze Age kings of Karkamis are known by name and that hence “A king of Karkamiš named *Maza-Karhuha* could only be accommodated in the reign of Tudhaliya I/II”³⁴ surely hits the nail on the head—that is to say under the condition that we restrict our survey to the Bronze Age. With this latter observation in mind, it is of relevance that Tudkhaliyas I/II is reported to have been militarily active in North Syria and to have defeated Aleppo, an important city in the neighborhood of Karkamis.

In his conclusions, Hawkins remarks about the dating of the Ankara silver bowl that “If forced to offer an opinion, I would say that the historical links with Tudhaliya I/II should probably be given more weight than the lack of epigraphical parallels (really an argument *e silentio*), which might urge a later dating.”

Clelia Mora in her discussion of the Ankara silver bowl of 2007³⁵ departs from the transliteration and translation as presented by Hawkins.³⁶ She considers the main problems to be the identification of the persons mentioned, the date of the object, and the place of its production. First of all, one wonders: is *Maza-Karhuha* a king of Karkamis? In that case Mora fairly admits that he must be dated to before the Empire period (in effect the reign of Suppiluliumas I). But she also allows for the possibility that it is the name of a divinity. As to the location and date, the arguments of Hawkins are mentioned that the use of the sign *315 *kar* points to Karkamis and that the country name *Tarwiza* recalls cuneiform *Taru(w)isa* of Tudkhaliyas I/II’s Assuwa campaign. However, in the opinion of Mora “This would give us an unexpected early dating for a hieroglyphic inscription of such a length”, and the early hypothesis of Hawkins would at present make the document unique. Therefore Mora prefers a later dating, to the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV or even to the period after the Bronze Age during the earliest phase of the Early Iron Age.

³² Hawkins 2005a: 199: “indeed the only data”.

³³ So also Alp 2001: 29-30.

³⁴ Hawkins 2005a: 200.

³⁵ Mora 2007: 517-519.

³⁶ Hawkins 2005a: 194.

In order to substantiate her later dating, Mora sums up a number of arguments. In the first place there are, apart from the seals, no Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions dating from the period before the end of the 14th or beginning of the 13th century BC. Furthermore, it is maintained that the prevailing use of syllabograms is the hallmark of a late dating. This latter opinion is based on the view that the Luwian hieroglyphic script developed from a primitive logographic phase, when it was not fit for the writing of complex texts, to a full-blown logosyllabic phase only attested for the latter part of the Late Bronze Age, when the writing of complex texts became possible. In line with these two basic tenets, it comes as no surprise that all features of the inscriptions on the Ankara silver bowl which Mora subsequently sums up, like the use of the sign *315 *kar*, of the title *labarnas*, of “initial-*a*-final” (marked by * in the transcription), of phrases marked by the adverb *REL-ra/i* or *KWAR(ā)* “when” (for which Mora refers to Karahöyük-Elbistan § 2 of the 12th century BC instead of Südburg § 1 as Hawkins does), are paralleled only for texts of later date than the reign of Tudkhaliyas I/II.

If the inscriptions indeed date to the later part of the Late Bronze Age or more in specific the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV, one thing is clear, namely that *Maza-Karhuha* cannot be king of Karkamis but must be a local North Syrian dignitary of unknown origin. This is Mora’s most likely scenario, but she does not exclude the possibility (with *Maza-Karhuha* now being out of the way) that the Tudkhaliyas of the Ankara silver bowl is to be identified with namesake Karkamisan rulers as mentioned in the Early Iron Age texts Karkamis A16c and Karkamis fragments a/b, a great king,³⁷ or Kelekli, a king who married the daughter of the country-lord Sukhis II, the term of office of the latter being safely situated in the second half of the 10th century BC.³⁸

In a section devoted to the Ankara silver bowl, Ilya Yakubovich³⁹ follows the transliteration of Hawkins, but suggests a different translation of § 1:⁴⁰

- § 1 “This bowl, man of Hattusa, bought from (lit. “in the presence of”) the king Maza-Karhuha.”
 § 2 “When Labarna Tuthaliya smote Tarwiza,”
 § 3 “in that year he (Tuthaliya) had it made.”

The difference is formed by his interpretation of the verb *i(a)-sa₅-zi/a-* in line with *contractus asa-* “to buy” in Cekke § 6, where however it is associated with the adverb CUM or ^{KATA}*s(i)-nà*, not with the postposition *PRAE-na* or *PÁRA-na* “in front of” as in the present text. In view of this observation, the new interpretation may safely be discarded. The same verdict applies to the inference that the bowl had been forged

³⁷ Hawkins 2000: 82; 590-591.

³⁸ Hawkins 2000: 92-93.

³⁹ Yakubovich 2008a: 14-18.

⁴⁰ Yakubovich 2008a: 14.

in the reign of Tudkhaliyas I/II, but bought as an antique object by *Asmaya* from *Maza-Karhuha* during the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV.

However, the main concern of the section in which the Ankara silver bowl features is not with this inscription itself, but with the origins and development of the Luwian hieroglyphic script more in general. Starting point is the early date as envisaged by Hawkins, who, as we have seen, prefers a date in the reign of Tudkhaliyas I/II, and the latter's association of the inscription with a military event in the west on the basis of the identification of the country name *Tarwiza* with cuneiform place-name *Taru(w)isa* "Troy". In contrast to Hawkins, Yakubovich takes this particular association as an argument for a western Anatolian provenance of the bowl. In so doing, he can next call into play an argument of Hawkins for a western Anatolian homeland of the Luwian hieroglyphic script, namely structural similarities with Cretan Linear A and Mycenaean Linear B.

The view of Yakubovich on the origins of the Luwian hieroglyphic script are most clearly set out in his monograph of 2010.⁴¹ Here he distinguishes as much as four phases or stages:

Stage I:

pictographic representations on Anatolian cylinder seals of the Colony period, 20th to 18th century BC;

Stage II:

symbols like *369 VITA and *370 BONUS on stamp seals of the Old Kingdom period (c. 1650-1500 BC); to this stage belongs the sealing of Ispitakhsus of Kizzuwatna, as we have noted in the above a contemporary of the Hittite king Telipinus, which Yakubovich for its assumed uniqueness in the region ascribes to Hittite influence;

Stage III:

rudimentary writing system with syllabograms appearing next to logograms on seals from the early 14th century BC; a case in point is the sealing with the name of the wife of Tudkhaliyas III (1370-1350 BC) *sà-tà-tu-ha-pa* as dug up in Maşat-höyük; this stage "does not yet give the impression of an elaborate system capable of rendering complex messages"⁴² and still abounds in logographic renderings of personal names like MONS.TU "Tudkhaliyas" and PURUS.FONS.ma_x "Suppiluliumas";

Stage IV:

full-fledged writing system as attested for monumental inscriptions of some length from Fraktin and Aleppo dating from about the time of the reign of Khattusilis III

⁴¹ Yakubovich 2010: 286-289.

⁴² Yakubovich 2010: 288.

in the 13th century BC; in this stage the connection is made for the first time between the Anatolian hieroglyphic script and the Luwian language, and so in the mixed Hittite-Luwian environment at the capital of the Hittite Empire, Khattusa.

Now, working from this four-staged model of the development of the Luwian hieroglyphic script, the monumental inscriptions and seals or sealings discovered in western Anatolia, which all date to the period after the conquest of Arzawa by Mursilis II during the late 14th century BC, are due to the influence of the “long arm” of the Hittite Empire, in other words: the script is introduced in this region by Hittite scribes from Khattusa. *Ergo*: Hawkins’ suggestion of a western Anatolian origin of the Luwian hieroglyphic script cannot be maintained, and a complex text as that on the Ankara silver bowl, if from the west or not, is only conceivable for Stage IV in the development of the script.

Yakubovich’ model of the development of the Luwian hieroglyphic script is highly influential and therefore presented here *in extenso*. However, it can only be maintained by the grace of an insufficient knowledge of the earliest attestations of the Luwian hieroglyphic script. For starters, Yakubovich seems to be unaware of cylinder seals from western Anatolia of which the stamp side is inscribed with the legend *á-su-wi* “Assuwiya” written out syllabically which belong to the period of the greatness of the Assuwan League before its defeat by the Hittite great king who owing to the work of Jacques Freu of 2007a can positively be identified as Tudkhaliyas II (1425-1390 BC) sometime in the late 15th century BC.⁴³ To these seals from western Anatolia with Luwian hieroglyphic legends dating from the period before its inclusion to the Hittite Empire may be added a seal from Alacahöyük with the legend *KURUNT HANTAWAT á-su-wi* as this likely belonged to the king of Arzawa and leader of the Assuwan League Piyamakuruntas who is reported to have been deported by Tudkhaliyas II after his defeat to Khattusa within the bend of the Halys river.⁴⁴ Furthermore, it deserves attention that Yakubovich is unacquainted with the stamp seal from Beycesultan also from western Anatolia, which dates from *c.* 2000 BC and therefore confronts us with the earliest datable evidence of the Luwian hieroglyphic script.⁴⁵ In actual fact, we may conclude that the author has overlooked the entire corpus, modest though it may be, of Middle Bronze Age Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions which entails 18 seals or sealings and 41 individual signs among which feature a substantial number of syllabograms, thus proving that the script was logo-syllabic and thus capable of recording complex texts from the very start.⁴⁶ Also the connection with the Luwian language is there from the very start, as in the legend on the stamp seal from Beycesultan features the enclitic conjunction *-ha* “and”—not to mention the fact

⁴³ See Mora 1987: Ia 1.2 and 1.3.

⁴⁴ Mora 1987: XIb 1.1; cf. Bryce 2010: 124-126.

⁴⁵ Mora 1987: XIb 3.3.

⁴⁶ Woudhuizen 2015a: 20-28; Woudhuizen 2018a: 37-40.

that this is embedded in the acrophonic principle according to which the syllabic values are deduced from logographic ones and which, notwithstanding Yakubovich' Hittite bias, in the overwhelming majority has a bearing on Luwian vocabulary words.⁴⁷ Even his assumption that the sealing of Ispataksus is unique for the region of Kizzuwatna is incorrect, as among the Middle Bronze Age Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions we come across the Indilimma seal of unknown origin but plausibly attributed to Tarsos. To this may be added the seal-ring with, as far as the category of seals is concerned, the longest Luwian hieroglyphic legend, Borowski 26, in which Tarsos is explicitly mentioned and which for the mention of a king may safely be assigned to the period of the 16th or 15th century BC—the reign of Sunassura II of Kizzuwatna, a contemporary of the Hittite great king Tudkhaliyas II,⁴⁸ serving as a *terminus ante quem*.⁴⁹

In 2009 Zsolt Simon dedicated a paper to the discussion of the Ankara silver bowl. His transliteration of the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions follows Hawkins' one, but his translation in German reads as follows:⁵⁰

- § 1 “Diese Schale hat Asamaya, der Hethiter, selbst vor dem König Mazi/a-Karhuha dargebracht.”
 § 2 “Als Tudhaliya, der Labarna, das Land von Tara/i-wa/i-zi/a besiegt hat,”
 § 3 “in jenem Jahr hat er es getan.”
 § 4 “Benti'-[...], Schreiber im zweiten Rang, der *414, hat diese Schale [... geschrieben].”

With respect to § 3, Simon makes a point about the fact whether the accusative *genus commune* of the enclitic pronoun *-na* can refer to the object as CAELUM-*pi* or KATANA-*PIA* “bowl” or “dedicatory bowl” which may well be a neuter. But such a distinction is inconsequential with a view to the evidence for frequent incongruency in gender. On the other hand, his suggestion that the dedicator *Asmaya* may well be the subject not only of § 1 but also of § 3 may well be correct.

About the question of the date of the silver bowl, Simon presents an overview of the previous literature consisting of Hawkins 2005, Mora 2007, and Yakubovich 2008. In this overview he sides with Yakubovich about the assumption that “die hieroglyphen-luwische Schrift (...) bis Hattušili III. für das Verfassen komplexere Texte ungeeignet gewesen zu sein [scheint]”.⁵¹ Next he criticizes Hawkins' identification of the country *Tarwiza* with cuneiform *Taru(w)isa* on account of the fact that interchange between [z] and [s] is problematic. Yakubovich accepts this identification, though, and even points in this connection to a text of

⁴⁷ Woudhuizen 2015b: 345-347.

⁴⁸ Freu 2001: 31.

⁴⁹ Poetto & Salvatori 1981: 31-34; 95, Tav. XXVI; Woudhuizen 2015b: 15.

⁵⁰ Simon 2009: p. 247-248.

⁵¹ Simon 2009: 250.

Tudkhaliyas IV in which preparations for a campaign against *Taru(w)isa* are related—a view which according to Freu is entirely unfounded.⁵² Furthermore, Simon takes *Maza-Karhuha* as a king not of Karkamis but of some other Syrian or Anatolian political entity. A similar position is maintained by Mora, who, as we have noted, for the identification of the Tudkhaliyas mentioned also favors Tudkhaliyas IV, but does not exclude namesake kings of Karkamis of later, post-Bronze Age, date.

Next, Simon sets out to discuss the possibilities for the identification of the name of the ruler Tudkhaliyas more in detail, for which in his opinion five options are relevant: Tudkhaliyas I/II (= in fact a grouping together of two kings who need to be distinguished), Tudkhaliyas III, Tudkhaliyas the younger (= son of Tudkhaliyas III murdered before his accession to the throne), Tudkhaliyas IV, all of the Hittite Empire period, and Tudkhaliyas of Karkamis (in fact, as we have noted above, a great king Tudkhaliyas V as referred to in Karkamis A16c and fragments a/b and a later king Tudkhaliyas VI, a contemporary of Sukhis II). In order to settle this matter, arguments are put forward in order to decide between these five options. On the basis of epigraphic parallels, the first three options are excluded. On the basis of the fact that the inscription on the bronze bowl from the Kastamonu treasure is largely of logographic nature, Tudkhaliyas IV, from the period of whose reign (or that of his father Khattusilis III) this bowl dates, is according to Simon also to be excluded. This leaves us with Tudkhaliyas of Karkamis, which option is open since the feature “initial-*a*-final” in the opinion of Melchert is not confined to the latest phase of the Late Bronze Age but continues into the earliest phase of the Early Iron Age. With this deduction tallies that *Maza-Karhuha* even as a ruler of some other Syrian or Anatolian political entity than Karkamis cannot be a contemporary of Tudkhaliyas IV as we are well informed about his higher and lower functionaries in all parts of his realm.

After discussing the possibilities of the continuous use of the title *labarnas* in the period after the Bronze Age, of the auto-ethnonym REGIO.HATTI VIR₂ “man of the land Khatti”, which in the opinion of Simon is restricted to the Hittite Empire period and therefore excludes identification of Tudkhaliyas with the Early Iron Age ruler of Karkamis as well, etc., the author draws the conclusion that none of the 5 options for the identification of Tudkhaliyas applies. As a solution to the problem, then, Simon postulates a *Tudkhaliyas V who was a son of Suppiluliumas II and reigned in the early 12th century BC after the change of the capital from Khattusa to an unknown location supposedly located in Tabal. This postulated king *Tudkhaliyas V gave the Ankara silver bowl as a gift of honor to *Maza-Karhuha*, a contemporary king of unknown location, in commemoration of the event of his victory against the land *Tarwiza* presumed to be located somewhere in eastern Anatolia. Together a whole lot of unknowns, and therefore I consider this scenario a nice example of *ignotum per ignotius*.

⁵² Freu 2010-1: 189-190.

S.P.B. Durnford in his contribution of 2010 on the Ankara silver bowl tried to cope with the dichotomy between the historical considerations, which favor an early dating in the reign of Tudkhaliyas I/II, and the epigraphical evidence suggesting a substantially later dating, in the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV, as noted by Hawkins in an unprecedented way. In his opinion, the inscriptions belong to the Late corpus (1100-700 BC), but the events these record are rooted in Empire history the memory of which is somehow preserved, orally or in literature. The silver bowl itself is in this scenario considered a heirloom of the descendants of *Asmaya*, living in Karkamis, and these latter added the inscriptions on the basis of historical information from the past transmitted to them. The story preserved in this manner is the victory of Tudkhaliyas I/II over the country *Tarwiza*, which Durnford in line with Hawkins identifies as *Taru(w)isa* of the Assuwa campaign—actually the feat of Tudkhaliyas II as per Freu 2007a. The expression REGIO.HATTI VIR₂ “man of Khatti” in Durnford’s line of thinking is an exonymic designation of *Asmaya* who has relocated from Khatti to Karkamis—a Late Bronze Age form of address considered still valid long after the fall of the Hittite Empire for the descendants of *Asamaya*.

In regard to epigraphic criteria, Durnford acknowledges that the text is in Late Bronze Age writing tradition, as the double bars below the signs *209 *a* and *376 *i*, *zi*, up till the rediscovery of Beyköy 2 the hallmark of texts in Early Iron Age scribal tradition, are still lacking, as is the writing of the nominative and accusative singular endings, yet another Late Bronze Age criterium. Furthermore, the use of “initial-*a*-final” starts in the Late Bronze Age texts but continues, as shown by Melchert, in texts dating up to the early first millennium BC. A basic tenet in judging the epigraphic situation is formed by the idea that the Luwian hieroglyphic script started off as a logographic writing system developing phonetic renderings by means of syllabic signs only in a later stage, see the discussion of Yakubovich’ four-tiered system in the above. This allows the author to consider the inscriptions to be of Late Bronze Age vintage but actually written down later because of the fully phonetic renderings of the verbs, introductory particles with enclitics, etc.

Durnford’s translation of the inscriptions shows some novelties and runs as follows.⁵³

- § 1 “This bowl for himself *A-sa-ma-i(a)*, man of Hatti/Hattusa, forged[?] during the reign of[?] king *Ma-zi/a-Karhuha*.”
- § 2 “The land of *Tara/i-wa/i-zi/a* when Tudhaliya *labarna* smote,”
- § 3 “it in that year he made.”
- § 4 “This bowl the second(-rank) scribe *Pi[?]-t[i[?]]-[...]*, the[?] *414, [...-ed].”

⁵³ Durnford 2010: 55, Table 1.

In the first place he interprets the postposition *PRAE-na* or *PÁRA-na* in line with Hittite *pēran* as “during the reign of”. The person whose reign in this manner is referred to, *Maza-Karhuha*, is considered a king of Karkamis dating from the period before the reign of Suppiluliumas I, who, as we have noted, installed his descendants as vice-regents here. Secondly, the sign *273 is identified as an anvil and suggested to be used as a determinative of the verb *i(a)-sa₅-za-*, which accordingly expresses the meaning “to forge”.⁵⁴ In this scenario, Asmaya comes into consideration as the silver smith who forged the bowl. Both these suggestions in my opinion are unwarranted, the interpretation of the postposition *PRAE-na* or *PÁRA-na* should remain within the frame of the relevant Luwian parallels, whereas *273 does not depict an anvil, but an *ureaus* or cobra in attacking position, a typically Egyptian symbol of royal power to be found in depictions of the Egyptian crown. Irrespective of the fact that Durnford is right or wrong in following Hawkins’ identification of the country *Tarwiza* with cuneiform *Taru(w)isa*, his observation that both these geographic names appear to be based on the IE Anatolian root **tāru-* “wood, tree” may well be of interest to a final solution.

The problem of the identification of the *labarnas* Tudkhaliyas mentioned in the text of the Ankara silver bowl has also drawn the attention of Jacques Freu. In his discussion of the topic he departs from Hawkins’ transliteration of the two inscriptions, whereas the translation rendered in French reads as follows:⁵⁵

- § 1 “Ce vase Asamaya le hittite l’a lui-même déposé devant le roi Mazi/a-Karhuha,”
- § 2 “alors que [Tudhaliya], le labarna, avait vaincu le pays de Tara/i-wa/i-zi/a,”
- § 3 “en cette année il l’a fait.”
- § 4 “Benti-[....] (?), le scribe de second rang [a inscrit] ce vase.”

Now Freu considers three options of relevance: Tudkhaliyas I (1465-1440 BC), Tudkhaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC), or an unrecorded *Tudkhaliyas V postulated in like manner as Simon does for the earlier part of the 12th century BC in the so-called Dark Age.

As to the interpretation of the text, Freu maintains that the silver bowl is a gift of a great king Tudkhaliyas to king *Maza-Karhuha* by means of an intermediary of a Hittite high functionary, *Asmaya*. Accordingly, the latter is subject of § 3.

In connection with the dating, the author adheres to the common view that the script cannot be earlier than the period of Tudkhaliyas IV and Suppiluliumas II in the final stage of the Bronze Age. As opposed to this, historical considerations sparked off from the identification of the country *Tarwiza* with cuneiform *Tar(w)isa* rather point into the direction of the time of the Assuwa campaign by

⁵⁴ So also Lebrun 2011: 223.

⁵⁵ Freu 2010-1: 185-186.

Tudkhaliyas II in the late 15th century BC. If king of Karkamis, *Maza-Karhuha* cannot be situated in the period of the Late Bronze Age from Suppiluliumas I onwards and therefore would also provide an argument in favor of such an early dating. However, as observed by Simon, the identification of *Tarwiza* with *Taru(w)isa* is uncertain because of the problematic interchange between [z] and [s] and the Kastamonu bronze bowl shows that dedicatory inscriptions of similar type were still largely logographic at the time of the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV. Furthermore, *Maza-Karhuha* may have been a ruler of some other political entity in Syria or Anatolia than Karkamis. Following this trail, Freu is much impressed by Simon's postulated *Tudkhaliyas V, son and successor of Suppiluliumas II who reigned somewhere in Tabal after the evacuation of the capital Khattusa in the first half of the 12th century BC. As noted in the above, for all its unknowns this is a *non sequitur*.

In his contribution on the Ankara silver bowl of 2013, Federico Giusfredi presents a handsome overview of the literature up till then, with the exception of Freu 2010-1. The key to the problem of the dating of the object in the view of this author is the identity of Asmaya. In regard to this issue, Giusfredi develops his argument from his alternative reading of REGIO.HATTI as REGIO.DOMINUS. This leads him to the following translation in which I have given the English rendering of REGIO.DOMINUS as “country-lord”:⁵⁶

- § 1 “This bowl Asmaya himself, the country-lord, the VIR₂, dedicated in front of the king Mazi-Karhuha”
 § 2-3 “when [Tu]dhaliyas the Labarna smote the land Tarwiza, in that year he made it.”
 § 4 “This bowl Pit(?)..., the “second rank” scribe ...”

On the basis of the identification of the title of Asmaya as “country-lord”, it becomes possible to identify the Tudkhaliyas in the text of the Ankara silver bowl with the great king Tudkhaliyas V of Karkamis as mentioned in Karkamis A16c and the fragments a/b. In Karkamis during the early phase of the Early Iron Age there were two dynastic lines ruling together, that of great kings whose pedigree no doubt can ultimately be traced back to the last known Karkamisian king, Kuzitesup, and that of their vice-regents known as the house of Sukhis. In the long run, the line of great kings declined to be merely king (Kelekli) and was ousted altogether by Katuwas, the son of Sukhis II and descendant of Sukhis I, who expelled the grandsons of great king Uratarkhuntas, Ar(nu)wantas and Ruwas, from Karkamis, after which event these latter took up their abode in the region of Malatya according to the inscriptions from Darende, Gürün, and Kötükale.⁵⁷ Now, great king Tudkhaliyas V was a predecessor of great kings Sapazitis and

⁵⁶ Giusfredi 2013: 674; cf. p. 666.

⁵⁷ Cf. Woudhuizen 2015b.

Urartarkhuntas ruling sometime in the 11th century BC. In similar vein, then, the country-lord Asmaya may have been a predecessor of the country-lord Sukhis I also officiating in the 11th century BC.

If this reconstruction applies, according to the text of the Ankara silver bowl *Asmaya* the country-lord was sent by his great king Tudkhaliyas V to *Tarwiza*, which in Giusfredi's scenario is ruled by the otherwise unknown king *Maza-Karhuha*, in order to hand over a diplomatic gift, the silver bowl itself. The author even goes as far as to suggest that *Maza-Karhuha* had been enthroned in *Tarwiza* by Tudkhaliyas V after the latter's military victory over it. One of the premises of this reconstruction is that inscriptions during the 11th century BC must be assumed to be still written in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition, without double bars below *209 *a* and *376 *i*, *zi*. In the light of the recently discovered inscription by the Philistine king Tatas baptized Aleppo 6, which is assigned to this early period,⁵⁸ this is unlikely to be the case. On the contrary, the occurrence of *210 *ya* or *ā* in Karkamis fragment b belonging to the reign of great king Tudkhaliyas V definitely proves that the texts of this ruler were already conducted in Early Iron Age scribal tradition.⁵⁹ Finally, it must be admitted that the entire argument rests on the reading of REGIO.HATTI as REGIO.DOMINUS and, unfortunately, this is epigraphically unacceptable.⁶⁰

Nevertheless, Rostislav Oreshko took this reading of Giusfredi as a starting point in his treatment of the inscriptions on the Ankara silver bowl.⁶¹ He is also the only author who questions the emendation of name of the Hittite great king as Tudkhaliyas. According to Oreshko the sign *TU* simply is not there and we should read *MONS.LABARNA*, which owing to its mention in Hama 7 can be identified with Mount Lebanon. Furthermore *Tar(a)wiza* is suggested to be an ethnic in *-za-* of *Danawa-* "Adana" by means of interchange between [r] and [n]. Accordingly, *Maza-Karhuha* is staged as a king of Adana who campaigned in the region of Mount Lebanon—a feat no doubt to be staged in the Early Iron Age, although the author refrains from being specific about the question of the date. Finally, Oreshko takes VIR₂. *273 *i(a)-sa₃-zi/a-tá* as a unit of which the phonetically rendered part is not understood, as it generally is, as a verbal form but as a noun *izis(a)ta-* "honor-gift" (note the fronting of *376 as against the epigraphic correct order according to which this sign follows *326). In sum this leads to the following translation:

- § 1 "This bowl is the honor-gift for Asma, the country-lord, before Mazi-Karhuha, the king."
 § 2 "When (the latter,) the Darawean, made a campaign to the Mountain(land) Lebanon,"

⁵⁸ Hawkins 2011.

⁵⁹ Payne 2015: 97, note 182.

⁶⁰ So also Payne 2015: 85, note 149.

⁶¹ Oreshko 2012.

§ 3 “in that year he dedicated it.”

Even though one cannot deny that Oreshko’s approach is highly creative, his novelties (Mount Lebanon, Adanawean, the noun *izis(a)ta-* “honor-gift”) are simply untenable.

Most recently, Annick Payne devoted a section in her dissertation of 2015 on the dating of the inscriptions on the Ankara silver bowl.⁶² Her starting point is their transliteration by Hawkins, which leads her to the following translation in German:⁶³

§ 1 “Dieses Schälchen weihte der Mann aus Hatti, Asmaya, selbst vor dem König Mazi/a-Karhuha.”

§ 2 “Als der Labarna Tudhaliya das Land Tara/iwa/iza/i schlug,”

§ 3 “in dem Jahr machte er sie.”

§ 4 “Dieses Schälchen hat der Schreiber eingepunzt und ge-x-**414-[t]*.”

In the part giving the name and title(s) of the scribe, § 4, in deviation from Hawkins’ attempt, she reconstructs two verbs, the first of which necessitates her to assume that the number 2 (phonetic *tuwa-*) is used for the expression of the acrophonic value *tu_x*, whereas later on⁶⁴ she presents the relevant evidence for the title SCRIBA 2 “second-rank scribe” alongside SCRIBA 3 and SCRIBA 4. As a consequence, her reconstruction seems unwarranted and should be discarded.

In like manner as Hawkins, she next presents an overview of the relevant data, first the epigraphical ones⁶⁵ and after this the historical ones.⁶⁶ The first category entails (I stick to the most important arguments):

(1) sentence introductory particles with chains of enclitics attested for the longer texts from the reign of Tutkhaliyas IV onwards;

(2) logograms written out phonetically or with a phonetic complement (which she assumes to be exemplified by **273* in front of the verb *i(a)-sa₅-za-*) occur only in texts of a more advanced date, starting with the latest in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition like Karahöyük-Elbistan and Kızıldağ 4 which date to the 12th century BC;

(4) the syllabic signs can all be paralleled in the longer texts from the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV, which therefore serves as a *terminus ante quem non*;

(5) the signs **209* and **376* do not yet occur in variant with two horizontal bars at their lower side, which (together with the use of **386* “crampon” as a word-divider instead of the indication of male gender ^m) are the hallmark of texts conducted in

⁶² Payne 2015: 84-98.

⁶³ Payne 2015: 85-87.

⁶⁴ Payne 2015: 150, Tabelle 16.

⁶⁵ Payne 2015: 89-94.

⁶⁶ Payne 2015: 94-98.