



HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW



VOLUME 1 | ISSUE 2 | 2020



HUNGARIAN
ASSYRIOLOGICAL
REVIEW



ON THE COVER:

Excavations at Grd-i Tle in 2019 –
the northern face of the tell with Trenches I and IV.
Photo: ELTE Archaeological Mission in Iraqi Kurdistan.

HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW



VOLUME 1, ISSUE 2
2020



ELTE
EÖTVÖS LORÁND
TUDOMÁNYEGYETEM

Institute of Archaeological Sciences
Institute of Ancient and Classical Studies
Eötvös Loránd University
Budapest



HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW

HAR – Hungarian Assyriological Review

Journal of the Institute of Archaeological Sciences and the Institute of Ancient and Classical Studies (Department of Assyriology and Hebrew Studies), Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary.

HAR is a peer-reviewed electronic journal (HU ISSN 2732-2610) published in two issues per year. The journal covers the philology and the archaeology of the Ancient Near East, publishing research articles, brief notes, and field reports.

Papers in HAR are published under the platinum open access model, which means permanent and free access in downloadable format (pdf) for readers and no publication fees for authors. The issues can be both downloaded for free and ordered as printed volumes at own cost.

For article submission guidelines, see <https://harjournal.com/author-guidelines/>

Editorial board

Editor-in-chief (*szerkesztésért felelős személy*):

Gábor Kalla, *Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest*

Associate editors:

Zsombor J. Földi, *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München*

Zsolt Simon, *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München*

Editorial board:

Tamás Dezső, *Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest*

Gábor Zólyomi, *Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest*

Technical editor:

Attila Király

Publisher (*kiadó és kiadásért felelős személy*):

Gábor Kalla, *Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest*

Registered office (*a kiadó székhelye*):

Institute of Archaeological Sciences, Múzeum krt. 4/B., 1088 Budapest, Hungary

Email address:

info@harjournal.com

Design and typesetting:

Attila Király (attila@litikum.hu)

using Noto font family by Google Inc., under the terms of the SIL Open Font License.

CONTENTS

Hungarian Assyriological Review

volume 1, issue 2, 2020

Early Babylonian tablets in the British Museum's Kuyunjik Collection 1: A fragment of an administrative document from Ur III Girsu? <i>Zsombor J. Földi</i>	89
The morphophonological analysis of Hittite <i>šipantaš, šipandaš</i> '(s)he libated' <i>Alwin Kloekhorst</i>	99
A fresh look at recently published Anatolian hieroglyphic seals <i>Massimo Poetto</i>	105
Floh im Ohr: Forrers <i>Ahhijawā</i> -Deutung, <i>Āhhijā</i> und ihr kilikischer Nachzügler <i>Hijawa</i> <i>Diether Schürr</i>	121
Hungarian Excavations at Grd-i Tle	
The geomorphological and environmental context of the Grd-i Tle archaeological site <i>István Viczián</i>	137
Hungarian Assyriological Review author guidelines	147





Early Babylonian tablets in the British Museum's Kuyunjik Collection 1: A fragment of an administrative document from Ur III Girsu?


Zsombor J. Földi*

* – Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Email: zsombor.foldi@gmail.com

Abstract: The present paper deals with cuneiform tablets in the British Museum's Kuyunjik Collection that were in all likelihood found in Babylonia, not in Nineveh. Following a brief and preliminary overview of the corresponding material, a fragment from this group is published for the first time. It is suggested that it may belong to an administrative record from Ur III Girsu.

Keywords: British Museum, Kuyunjik Collection, collection history, Ur III period, Girsu

Cite as Földi, Zs. J. 2020: Early Babylonian tablets in the British Museum's Kuyunjik Collection 1: A fragment of an administrative document from Ur III Girsu? *Hungarian Assyriological Review* 1: 89–97. <https://doi.org/10.52093/hara-202002-00006-000>

 This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.

Introduction

Besides what is commonly referred to as the 'Library of Ashurbanipal', the British Museum's Kuyunjik Collection¹ houses dozens of clay tablets and fragments that probably come from places other than Nineveh.² Tablets from the simultaneous excavations of various sites in the 19th century occasionally got confused before their shipment. Consequently, artefacts were sometimes mistakenly registered as belonging to the museum's Kuyunjik, Babylon, or Sippar Collections.³ This is best demonstrated by physical joins between tablets in the aforementioned three collections.⁴

The tablets in the Kuyunjik Collection for which this possibility can be reasonably considered are either later than the 7th century BC, significantly earlier, and/or written in non-Assyrian script.⁵ The situation is quite obvious for royal inscriptions of Neo-Babylonian kings and Late Babylonian documents, as these were written after the fall of Nineveh in 612 BC. It is more complicated,

¹ On the British excavations at Nineveh and for an overview of the collection see now [Turner 2020](#) and [George 2020](#) (both with earlier literature).

² By this, the discovery (and occasionally the acquisition) of tablets is meant. It does not apply to tablets that were written elsewhere but brought to Nineveh at the order of Ashurbanipal or one of his predecessors. On Ashurbanipal's tablet collecting practice see [Fincke 2003–2004](#) and [Frame – George 2005](#) (both with earlier literature).

³ 'The Kouyunjik Collection seems to have become a dumping ground for tablets which the Museum staff were unable to allocate to another registered collection' ([Leichty et al. 2019](#), 39). Compare also Walker's (*apud* [Lambert 1992](#), 73–80) list of Neo-Assyrian tablets in the British Museum's Babylonian collections.

⁴ See, e.g., [Heeßel 2005](#), 19; more recently [Leichty et al. 2019](#), 706–707 as well as [Hätinen 2019](#).

⁵ Numerous Nineveh tablets were written in Babylonian script (discussed in detail by [Fincke 2003–2004](#)), but it is often impossible to tell whether they were written in Nineveh or brought there from Babylonia. For the Neo-Elamite texts in the Kuyunjik Collection, [Vallat \(1988\)](#) suggested that they were discovered by W. K. Loftus in Malamir; it is more likely though that they were indeed unearthed in Nineveh ([Reade 1992](#) and [2000](#); see also [Potts 2016](#), 295 with further literature).

though, for earlier tablets: Some of them might be, at least theoretically, late – and sometimes even archaizing – copies of ancient texts. A few examples show that copies of early Assyrian⁶ and Babylonian⁷ rulers' inscriptions were sometimes preserved in the Nineveh libraries. Tablets of Middle Assyrian date and originally written in Aššur, most of which were probably present at the genesis of the library, are not uncommon either.⁸

Excluding Middle Assyrian manuscripts and the inscriptions of early rulers, there remain some thirty tablets that are considerably earlier than Neo-Assyrian, mostly dating to the Old Babylonian period (2003–1595 BC).⁹ Although there is a theoretical possibility that these were found in Nineveh,¹⁰ internal evidence makes it more likely that they come from Babylonian sites, excavated more or less at the same time as Nineveh.

Based on their contents, some of the aforementioned tablets can be securely assigned to Kutalla¹¹ or Uruk,¹² pointing to the excavations of W. K. Loftus at those sites as their most likely source. At least four such tablets – but probably more – likely originated in Ur and were unearthed there by J. G. (or J. E.) Taylor.¹³ At least one tablet shows Late Old Babylonian features and thus presumably originated from northern Babylonia.¹⁴

The contents of some of these inscriptions have already been recognized and their text has been edited.¹⁵ The present paper deals with K.14917 which may be the earliest piece within this category and aims to be the first instalment of a series of corresponding notes and articles.¹⁶

⁶ See Grayson 1987, 343–344; 1991, 411–414; 1996, 257. In several of these instances, Grayson speculates whether individual manuscripts of royal inscriptions in the Kuyunjik Collection were actually found in Aššur (e.g., Grayson 1987, 139, 248, 268; 1991, 40) or Kalḫu (e.g., Grayson 1991, 297–298, 327–328, 360). In the case of Ashurnasirpal II 47 (A.O.101.47) it is fairly probable that the two Nineveh manuscripts are indeed late copies of an inscription originally written on a statue of Ashurnasirpal II (see Grayson 1991, 316–317).

⁷ See Frame 1995, 340 and especially Bartelmus 2016, 489–532 F.3 with a bilingual inscription of Burna-Buriaš II, known exclusively from Nineveh tablets. In some instances, an Ashurbanipal colophon confirms that we are actually dealing with a Nineveh copy of the original inscription; see, e.g., Nebuchadnezzar I 5 and 8–9 in Frame's (1995) edition. A new edition of the latter two by T. Mitto (pers. comm.) is under preparation. K.7855, the only Old Babylonian royal inscription with a K number (see Frayne 1990, 834) was probably found by Loftus at Uruk; see Walker 1970, 88; Frayne 1990, 462.

⁸ See, e.g., Weidner 1952–1953, 204 and 208 no. 41; Lambert 1965; Reade 1986, 217–218; George 1988; Geller 1990, 211–212; Heeßel 2012, 174–182 no. 51 (refs. courtesy E. Jiménez).

⁹ These are conveniently listed at Leichty et al. 2019, 10. Previously, a handful of such tablets was referred to by Fincke *apud* Reade 2005, 369. Note that the DT, Sm, Rm and Rm-II collections, while containing mostly Neo-Assyrian material from Nineveh, also include a number of Late Babylonian tablets (see now Leichty et al. 2019, 48–52 and 194–202).

¹⁰ Note that a handful of fragments with Old Babylonian script were discovered by R. Campbell Thompson in the temple of Ištar in Nineveh; see Dalley 2001.

¹¹ K.1377, identified by means of prosopography as a file from the archive of Šilli-Ištar of Kutalla; see Leichty et al. 2019, 39 with literature.

¹² The contents of K.4709 (see n. 15) and K.7855 (see n. 7) make Uruk very likely as their place of discovery; see Leichty et al. 2019, 41.

¹³ In the case of K.8765 and K.13942, museographic evidence points in this direction; see Leichty et al. 2019, 42–43. K.14844 was joined by J. Politi to a tablet already associated with the city of Ur(!), see most recently Charpin 2020, 34. K.8860 (to be published in a next instalment of the present series) is a contract from Ur, as prosopography reveals. On Taylor's excavation at Ur and his findings see now Charpin 2020.

¹⁴ K.9569; see Leichty et al. 2019, 42.

¹⁵ See Leichty et al. 2019, 39–43 with the literature referred to there; for K.4709 see Michalowski – Beckman 2012. K.13942 was published by Alster (1987, 201; copy by M. J. Geller), see also Alster 2005, 52.

¹⁶ The forthcoming publication of the two of them has been announced recently: K.8765 (59-10-14, 107) falls into a group that D. Charpin (2020, 26–27 §2.2 with 28 n. 78) aims to examine. K.4755+ contains 'Iš-bi-Erra E' and will be included into P. Michalowski's forthcoming edition of that composition (see Metcalf 2019, 67 with previous literature).

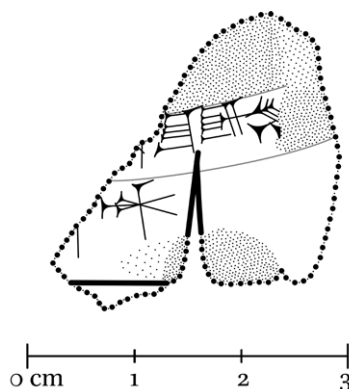


FIG. 1. Autograph of K.14917 (Zs. J. Földi).

A small fragment from Ur III Girsu?

K.14917 (Fig. 1) measures 2.6×1.5×1.2 cm and represents the lower right corner of a tablet. It was described by L. W. King in the following words:

‘Bottom right-hand corner, 1/2 in. by 1 in.; 2 + lines. Part of a copy of a text, written in archaic characters, probably from a votive inscription.’¹⁷

King’s assumption that the fragment contained a votive inscription was based on palaeographic reasons: considering the sign forms, archaic from a Neo-Assyrian point of view, it might have been a copy of a royal or dedicatory inscription.¹⁸ Such copies are indeed known from the Kuyunjik Collection (see above), but the sign forms they use are often pseudo-archaic rather than archaic.

The fragment preserves the end of two lines with three signs and the remains of two more; these are $x\ \dot{s}u\ gi_4$ and $x\ AN$, respectively. The sequence $\dot{s}u\ gi_4$ points to a text in Sumerian, but it is scarcely attested in the known corpus of royal and votive inscriptions. One exception is an inscription of Gungunum, king of Larsa (1932–1906 BC), where the ruler refers to himself as $\dot{s}u-gi_4-gi_4\ \acute{e}-b\acute{a}bb\bar{a}r-ra$ ‘the one who avenges the Ebabbar’,¹⁹ but even this would not fit the signs’ placement within the line. Otherwise, although there are different options for restoration, the word $\dot{s}u-gi_4$ ‘old’ is by far the most likely reading as shown by attestations in other genres. The AN sign, given its numerous different readings depending on the context, does not provide a comparable clue.

¹⁷ King 1914, 141 no. 1462.

¹⁸ The absence of K.14917 at Leichty et al. 2019, 39–43 may imply that the editors of that volume shared King’s view.

¹⁹ Until recently, a cone in the Schøyen Collection (CUSAS 17, 44; ed. George 2011, 96–97) was the only known manuscript of this text. On the 2nd of June 2020, another exemplar was sold at TimeLine Auctions Ltd. in London for £1,900 (recorded in CDLI under P519796). According to the description in the auction catalogue (TimeLine Auctions 2020, 103 no. 243), it was accompanied by W. G. Lambert’s and M. Ceccarelli’s notes. Note thus the appearance of two manuscripts of a previously unknown inscription in a relatively short period; for its implications compare Földi 2017, 15 (with earlier literature).

From the palaeographic point of view, the sign forms point to the late 3rd or early 2nd millennium BC, unless one assumes a scribe either exceptionally talented in using archaising sign forms or copying an inscription written on stone. That both šu and GI₄ were written with a row of five horizontal wedges is common in Ur III and early Old Babylonian documents but less typical in later tablets. Therefore, the sign forms make it less likely that the fragment belonged, e.g., to an Old Babylonian copy of a literary composition.

A further clue might be provided by the date of acquisition. Unfortunately, in the published record there is nothing to show when K.14917 was acquired or when it arrived at the British Museum.²⁰ C. Bezold's catalogue of the Kuyunjik Collection contains the K tablets up to K.14230²¹ and it is difficult to ascertain when the remaining fragments reached London.²² The first – and probably only – mention of K.14917 in Assyriological literature is the above description in King's catalogue in 1914. Nevertheless, there is evidence that K.14917 was registered as such in 1900 at the latest: tablets with slightly higher K numbers were included in R. Campbell Thompson's volume on lexical lists, published that year.²³ Their arrangement on plates 42–44 may imply that they were registered and autographed not long before the volume was published, but this does not reveal the date of acquisition that may be considerably earlier.

As for the possibility that the fragment belonged to an Ur III tablet, this fact virtually excludes the vast amounts of Ur III records from Puzriš-Dagān and Umma, discovered in 1908/9–1911 and makes Girsu a likely place of origin.²⁴ What was probably the archive of the Ur III governors of Girsu was found by E. de Sarzec in 1894, but an analysis of the Girsu documents acquired from the antiquities market makes it likely that clandestine diggers plundered the site already before the official excavation.²⁵

Considering the different genres of Ur III and Early Old Babylonian tablets at the British Museum in the last decade of the 19th century, the administrative records from Ur III Girsu are by far the most numerous among them. The question is whether there is a text group in this category with a phraseology that could fit the preserved signs on K.14917. Besides this, also the arrangement of this information within the lines needs to be considered.

There is at least one group that fits both criteria: the so-called plough animal inspection records, also known as gu₄-apin gub-ba texts in Assyriological literature. These record the status of draught animals and were subject to a thorough analysis by W. Heimpel. Based on their contents

²⁰ The registration of most Kuyunjik tablets took place long after their arrival at the British Museum, this is why many were already published before actually having a museum number; see [Bezold 1888](#), 745–746 and [Haupt 1890](#), 96–97 with 148–152 (refs. courtesy E. Jiménez). The identification of such fragments is still unfinished: for the recent identification of a long-lost fragment of Gilgameš see [Jiménez 2020](#), 245–246.

²¹ [Bezold 1893](#).

²² In King's (1914, xv) words: 'The numbers which follow them are assigned to small fragments of texts which were obtained during the earlier expeditions, but were considered at the time of their acquisition to be of too small an importance to justify their incorporation in the numbered collection of tablets. Hence, at the time the Catalogue was compiled, they remained unnumbered and were not included with the rest.'

²³ [Campbell Thompson 1900](#).

²⁴ See [Sallaberger 1999](#), 201–203 with [Firth 2016](#). On the very few Ur III tablets found by Loftus and Taylor see [Verderame 2008](#), 238; compare now [Leichty et al. 2019](#), 10. Although there are textual references to the city of Nineveh in Ur III documents (see [Goodnick Westenholz 2005](#), 10–11 and [Zettler 2006](#), both with earlier literature), no such record is known to have been found in Nineveh, which makes a Nineveh origin of K.14917 unlikely.

²⁵ [Jones 1975](#), 43; [Sallaberger 1999](#), 201.

and format, Heimpel sorted them into three (A, B and C) groups.²⁶ To judge from K.14917's preserved thickness and form (especially its curvature), it seems likely that it belonged to a small, one-column tablet rather than a large, multi-column one. This circumstance makes a text in group B the most likely as these do not have columns at all, but a group A tablet with two columns per side cannot be excluded either.²⁷

Accordingly, the following provisional restoration of K.14917's partially preserved two lines can be suggested:

- 1'. [(š u-nígin) x dùr]r² š u-gi₄
 2'. [g u b²-b a²-à]m
 '[(total?): n] "old" [male donk]eys(?): [asset]s(?)'

Philological notes: the traces preceding the sign šu make dūr '(young) male donkey, jackass' the most likely reading. 'Old' is a conventional translation of š u-gi₄, but it hardly fits this context, as one- and two-year-old animals could also be qualified as such. Consequently, in Heimpel's words, 'it must designate a quality that is typical but not exclusive of old age'.²⁸ In 2', a comparison with similar documents shows that g u b²-b a²-à m is by far the most frequently attested in this context, whereas lá-i-à m, libir-à m and zi-ga-à m are possible too. The translation 'assets' (lit. 'it is standing') follows Heimpel.²⁹

To sum up, there is a certain degree of probability that K.14917 belongs to an archival document on livestock from Ur III Girsu.³⁰ Only the eventual discovery of the missing part of the tablet can prove this hypothesis, however. Since thousands of Ur III Girsu documents in the British Museum as well as in other collections still await publication, the aforementioned tablet may very well turn up one day.

Should that happen, it will shed more light upon the acquisition history of K.14917. For the time being, it is impossible to tell how exactly it ended up among the Kuyunjik tablets. Given the absence of more Ur III documents in the Kuyunjik Collection, it is rather unlikely that the confusion took place already before the shipment of a corresponding batch of tablets to London.³¹ It is more probable that the fragment was found by clandestine diggers,³² acquired by the British Museum from the antiquities market after 1894 and mistakenly registered as belonging to the Kuyunjik Collection – possibly due to its size, as the latter was easily associated with tiny fragments.³³

²⁶ Heimpel 1995; see more recently Wilcke 2010.

²⁷ On group B texts see Heimpel 1995, 80–82, for a list of documents see Heimpel 1995, 142; the latter was supplemented by Wilcke 2010, 352 with nn. 3–7.

²⁸ Heimpel 2013, 205; 1995, 87–88; compare also Hilgert 2004, 79–80.

²⁹ Heimpel 1995, 86; see also Wilcke 2010, 356 with n. 19.

³⁰ The uncertainty of this solution is best demonstrated by an Old Babylonian contract from Kisurra. The last lines of RA 85, 45 16 read: IGI *ha-mu-šU¹.GI₄* / MU *ma²-na-ba²-al-ti/-e-el¹* / LUGAL 'before Hammu-šibum (the PN following Anbar – Stol 1991, 27; see also Goddeeris 2009, 36); the year: "King Manna-balti-el". As the final element of the king's name could be written with DIĜIR as well (e.g., ARM 2, 107, 9), the text, irrespective of its palaeography and other physical features, could account at least for the signs that are fully preserved of K.14917.

³¹ On the other hand, according to J. V. Scheil (1902, 19 with reference to Scheil 1895), the Ur III tablets from Girsu reached Mosul already in 1894 (see also Parrot 1948, 20–21; ref. courtesy L. Verderame). Therefore, it cannot be excluded that more Ur III tablets were mixed up with 'Kuyunjik' material but recognized at the British Museum as such and sorted out accordingly. Given the tiny size of K.14917, it might have escaped attention at that stage.

³² On the Ur III Girsu tablets supposedly found by H. Rassam in de Sarzez's absence, see Verderame 2008.

³³ Compare King 1914, xv.

Acknowledgements

The author gratefully acknowledges the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum to study and publish K.14917. His research was conducted as part of his work (04.2019–05.2020) in the Electronic Babylonian Literature project, led by Enrique Jiménez (LMU München). The author is particularly grateful to Enrique Jiménez who not only suggested studying the early Babylonian tablets in the Kuyunjik Collection but also read an earlier version of this paper and provided several useful references. Further thanks go to Manuel Molina, Sarah P. Schlüter, and Lorenzo Verderame for discussing various aspects, as well as to an anonymous reviewer whose questions contributed to the argumentation. Needless to say, the author is solely responsible for any remaining mistakes.

Bibliography

- ALSTER, B. 1987: Additional Fragments of The Instructions of Shuruppak. *Aula Orientalis* 5, 199–206.
- ALSTER, B. 2005: *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer*. Bethesda.
- ANBAR, M. – STOL, M. 1991: Textes de l'époque babylonienne ancienne III. *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 85, 13–48.
- BARTELMUS, A. 2016: *Fragmente einer großen Sprache. Sumerisch im Kontext der Schreiberausbildung des kassitenzeitlichen Babylonien*. (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 12) Boston – Berlin.
- BEZOLD, C. 1888: Die Thontafelsammlungen des British Museum. *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1888, 745–763.
- BEZOLD, C. 1893: *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* 3. London.
- CAMPBELL THOMPSON, R. 1900: *Cuneiform Tablets from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum* 11. London.
- CHARPIN, D. 2020: Les découvertes épigraphiques de Taylor à Ur en 1854: Nouvelle approche. In: CHARPIN, D. – BÉRANGER, M. – FIETTE, B. – JACQUET, A.: *Nouvelles recherches sur les archives d'Ur d'époque paléo-babylonienne*. (Archibab 4 = Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 22) Paris, 13–42.
- DALLEY, S. M. 2001: Old Babylonian Tablets from Nineveh; and Possible Pieces of Early Gilgamesh Epic. *Iraq* 63, 155–167. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4200507>
- FINCKE, J. C. 2003–2004: The Babylonian Texts of Nineveh. Report on the British Museum's Ashurbanipal Library Project. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 50, 111–149.
- FIRTH, R. 2016: Some Comments on “Drehem Tablets” in the British Museum. *Cuneiform Digital Library Bulletin* 2016/2.
- FÖLDI, Zs. J. 2017: Cuneiform Tablets and the Antiquities Market: The Archives from Dūr-Abī-ešuḫ. *Distant Worlds Journal* 2, 7–27. <https://doi.org/10.11588/dwj.2017.2.39064>
- FRAME, G. 1995: *Rulers of Babylonia. From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 BC)*. (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods 2) Toronto – Buffalo – London. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442657052>
- FRAME, G. – GEORGE, A. R. 2005: The Royal Libraries of Nineveh: New Evidence for King Ashurbanipal's Tablet Collecting. *Iraq* 67, 265–284. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021088900001388>

- FRAYNE, D. R. 1990: *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)*. (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 4) Toronto – Buffalo – London. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442678033>
- GELLER, M. J. 1990: Astronomy and Authorship. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 53, 209–213. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00026033>
- GEORGE, A. R. 1988: Three Middle Assyrian Tablets in the British Museum. *Iraq* 50, 25–37. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4200281>
- GEORGE, A. R. 2011: Other Second-Millennium Royal and Commemorative Inscriptions. In: GEORGE, A. R. (ed.): *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*. (Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 17 = Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, Cuneiform Texts 6) Bethesda, 89–125.
- GEORGE, A. R. 2020: Layard of Nineveh and the Tablets of Nineveh. In: ERMIDORO, S. – RIVA, C. (eds.): *Rethinking Layard 1817-2017*. Venice, 3–24.
- GODDEERIS, A. 2009: *Tablets from Kisurra in the Collections of the British Museum*. (Santag 9) Wiesbaden.
- GOODNICK WESTENHOLZ, J. 2005: The Old Akkadian Presence in Nineveh: Fact or Fiction. *Iraq* 66, 7–18. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002108890000156X>
- GRAYSON, A. K. 1987: *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)*. (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 1) Toronto – Buffalo – London.
- GRAYSON, A. K. 1991: *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC. I (1114–859 BC)*. (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 2) Toronto – Buffalo – London. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442671072>
- GRAYSON, A. K. 1996: *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC. II (858–745 BC)*. (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 3) Toronto – Buffalo – London. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442671089>
- HÄTINEN, A. 2019: Sippar meets Kuyunjik: Join of BM 68458 and K.11550. *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2019, 138–139 (No. 76).
- HAUPT, P. 1890: Ergebnisse einer erneuten Collation der Izdubar-Legenden. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* 1, 94–152.
- HEESSEL, N. P. 2005: Stein, Pflanze und Holz. Ein neuer Text zur ‘medizinischen Astrologie’. *Orientalia NS* 74, 1–22.
- HEESSEL, N. P. 2012: *Divinatorische Texte II. Opferschau-Omina*. (Keilschrifttexte aus Assur literarischen Inhalts 5 = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 139) Wiesbaden.
- HEIMPEL, W. 1995: Plow Animal Inspection Records from Ur III Girsu and Umma. *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 8, 71–171.
- HEIMPEL, W. 2013: Excursus C: Āl-Šarrākī and Sesame Cultivation in Sumer. In: OWEN, D. I.: *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saġrig / Āl-Šarrākī and the History of the Ur III Period. I: Commentary and Indexes*. (Nisaba 15/1) Bethesda, 201–205.
- HILGERT, M. 2004: Akkadisch *sa/erku(p)pu(m)* in der Ur III-Zeit – zur Landwirtschaft in Tell Išān Mīzyad. In: WAETZOLDT, H. (ed.): *Von Sumer nach Ebla und zurück. Festschrift Giovanni Pettinato zum 27. September 1999 gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*. (Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 9) Heidelberg, 73–92.

- JIMÉNEZ, E. 2020: From the Electronic Babylonian Literature Lab 10. New Fragments of Gilgameš Chiefly from the ‘Babylon Collection’. *Kaskal* 17, 236–246.
- JONES, T. B. 1975: Sumerian Administrative Documents: An Essay. In: LIEBERMAN, S. J. (ed.): *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen on His Seventieth Birthday, June 7, 1974*. (Assyriological Studies 20) Chicago – London, 41–61.
- KING, L. W. 1914: *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum. Supplement*. [London].
- LAMBERT, W. G. 1965: A Middle Assyrian Tablet of Incantations. In: GÜTERBOCK, H. G. – JACOBSEN, TH. (eds.): *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday April 21, 1965*. (Assyriological Studies 16) Chicago, 283–288.
- LAMBERT, W. G. 1992: *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum. Third Supplement*. London.
- LEICHTY, E. V. – FINKEL, I. L. – WALKER, C. B. F. 2019: *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Volumes IV–V*. (Dubsar 10) Münster.
- METCALF, C. 2019: *Sumerian Literary Texts in the Schøyen Collection. I: Literary Sources on Old Babylonian Religion*. (Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 38 = Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, Cuneiform Texts 12) University Park.
- MICHALOWSKI, P. – BECKMAN, G. M. 2012: The Promulgation of the Name of the Third Year of Rim-Anum of Uruk. In: BOIY, T. – BRETSCHEIDER, J. – GODDEERIS, A. – HAMEEUW, H. – JANS, G. – TAVERNIER, J. (eds.): *The Ancient Near East, A Life! Festschrift Karel Van Lerberghe*. (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 220) Leuven – Paris – Walpole, 425–433.
- PARROT, A. 1948: *Tello. Vingt campagnes de fouilles (1877-1933)*. Paris.
- POTTS, D. T. 2016: *The Archaeology of Elam. Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State*. (Cambridge World Archaeology) New York.
- READE, J. E. 1986: Archaeology and the Kuyunjik Archives. In: VEENHOF, K. R. (ed.): *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries. Papers read at the 30e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale; Leiden, 4-8 July 1983*. (Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 57) Leiden, 213–222.
- READE, J. E. 1992: The Elamite tablets from Nineveh. *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 1992, 87–88 (No. 119).
- READE, J. E. 2000: Elam after the Assyrian sack of Susa in 647 BC. *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2000, 89 (No. 80).
- READE, J. E. 2005: The Ishtar Temple at Nineveh. *Iraq* 67, 347–390. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002108890000142X>
- SALLABERGER, W. 1999: Ur III-Zeit. In: ATTINGER, P. – WÄFLER, M. (eds.): *Mesopotamien. Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*. (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/3) Freiburg – Göttingen, 119–390.
- SCHEIL, J. V. 1895: Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie assyriennes. XI–XVII. *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 17, 27–41.
- SCHEIL, J. V. 1902: *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar (Abou Habba). – [Janvier-Avril 1894]*. (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale I/1) Le Caire.
- TIMELINE AUCTIONS 2020: *Antiquities & Ancient Art. 2 June 2020*. [London].

- TURNER, G. E. 2020[†]: *The British Museum's Excavations at Nineveh, 1846–1855* (ed. RUSSELL, J. M.). (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 115) Leiden – Boston. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004435377>
- VALLAT, F. 1988: A propos de l'origine des tablettes élamites dites «de Ninive» conservées au British Muséum. *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 1988, 26–27 (No. 39).
- VERDERAME, L. 2008: Rassam's Activities at Tello (1879) and the Earliest Acquisition of Neo-Sumerian Tablets in the British Museum. In: MICHALOWSKI, P. (ed.): *On the Third Dynasty of Ur. Studies in Honor of Marcel Sigris*. (The Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series 1) Boston, 231–244.
- WALKER, C. B. F. 1970: A new inscription of Sîn-kāšid. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 23, 88–89.
- WEIDNER, E. F. 1952–1953: Die Bibliothek Tiglatpilesers I. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 16, 197–215.
- WILCKE, C. 2010: Eine Pflug-Zugtier-Inspektion aus Umma. Grenzen der Haftung für anvertrautes öffentliches Eigentum. In: STACKERT, J. – PORTER, B. N. – WRIGHT, D. P. (eds.): *Gazing on the Deep. Ancient Near Eastern and Other Studies in Honor of Tzvi Abusch*. Bethesda, 351–372.
- ZETTLER, R. L. 2006: Tišatal and Nineveh at the End of the 3RD Millennium BCE. In: GUINAN, A. K. – ELLIS, M. DEJ. – FERRARA, A. J. – FREEDMAN, S. M. – RUTZ, M. T. – SASSMANNSHAUSEN, L. – TINNEY, S. – WATERS, M. W. (eds.): *If a Man Builds a Joyful House. Assyriological Studies in Honor of Erle Verdun Leichty*. (Cuneiform Monographs 31) Leiden – Boston, 503–514.



The morphophonological analysis of Hittite *šipantaš, šipandaš* '(s)he libated'


Alwin Kloekhorst*

* – Leiden University. Email: a.kloekhorst@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Abstract: This article starts with the observation that the Hittite 3sg.pret.act. form *šipantaš, šipandaš* (OH/MS) '(s)he libated' can hardly be analysed as consisting of a *tarna*-class inflected stem *šipant/da-* + the 3sg.pret.act. ending *-š*, since the OH/MH verbal paradigm of 'to libate' contains no other *tarna*-class inflected forms. It is therefore argued that *šipantaš, šipandaš* should be analysed as consisting of the consonantal verbal stem *šipant-* + *-š*, which implies that the *a* in *šipantaš, šipandaš* is an empty vowel. In order to explain the spelling *-ntaš, -ntaš* vs. the spelling *-nza*, which is commonly used to note down the sequence */-nts/* < PIE **-nts*, it is argued that *-ntaš, -ndaš* denotes */-nts/*, the regular outcome of a PIE sequence **-nds*.

Keywords: Hittite, phonology, cuneiform

Cite as Kloekhorst, A. 2020: The morphophonological analysis of Hittite *šipantaš, šipandaš* '(s)he libated'. *Hungarian Assyriological Review* 1: 99–104. <https://doi.org/10.52093/hara-202002-00007-000>

 This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.

1. Introduction

The oldest attested 3sg.pret.act. forms of the verb *ši(p)pāntⁱ* 'to libate' are *ši-pa-an-ta-aš* (OH/MS) and *ši-pa-an-da-aš* (OH/MS, OH/NS), both attested multiple times.¹ As far as I am aware, no one has been explicit as to how to morphologically and phonologically interpret these forms.² In the following article, I will do so, and argue that these forms contain some interesting information on Hittite phonology.

2. A *tarna*-class interpretation?

At first sight, one may be inclined to morphologically analyse *šipant/daš* as consisting of a stem *šipant/da-* + the 3sg.pret.act. *hi*-conjugation ending *-š*. It would then be formed according to the

¹ *ši-pa-an-ta-aš* (KBo 15.10 iii 59, 66 (OH/MS)), *ši-pa-an-da-aš* (KBo 15.10 iii 64, 68 (OH/MS), KUB 40.107 obv. 6 + IBoT 2.18 ii 7 (NS)), cf. CHD Š, 385. The younger form *ši-pa-an-za-aš-ta* (KBo 8.68 iv² 5 (NS), KUB 20.59 v 6 (MH/NS)) can straightforwardly be interpreted as */sipántsta/*, i.e. consisting of the stem *ši(p)pant-* + the ending *-tta* (which originally belongs to the *mi*-conjugation, but which is replacing its *hi*-conjugated counterpart *-š* through time) + an intervening */s/* that automatically arose between two dental stops (cf. e.g. *ēzzasta /ʔétsta/* 'he ate' = stem */ʔet-* + intervening */-s-/* + ending */-ta/*).

² Cf. e.g. Oettinger 1979, 41 and Hoffner – Melchert 2008, 216, where these forms are cited without any comments on their morphophonological analysis.

so-called *tarna*-class inflection,³ in which we find a verbal stem ending in *-a* in strong stem forms, compare e.g. 3sg.pret.act. form *tarnaš* ‘he let go’ = *tarna-* + *-š*, or *pēdaš* ‘he brought’ = *pēda-* + *-š*. However, this interpretation is problematic since the paradigm of *ši(p)pānt-ⁱ* does not show any other specifically *tarna*-class inflected forms in its Old and Middle Hittite attestations. The 3sg.pres.act. form is in this period always *ši(p)pānti* (attested dozens of times), clearly showing the consonantal stem *ši(p)pānt-ⁱ*.⁴ In NS texts, too, *ši(p)pānti* is the dominant form (hundreds of attestations), although here we occasionally also find 3sg.pres.act. forms of the shapes *šippantai* (1×), *ši(p)pandai* (6×), *šippandāi* (3×) that do show a *tarna*-class stem *ši(p)pant/da-*.⁵ However, since these forms seem to have been relatively rare, specifically NH creations, they cannot be used as arguments in favour of analysing the OH/MS form *šipant/daš* as a *tarna*-class form. Likewise, in its 1pl. forms (pres. *šipanduṽani* (MH/NS), *šipandueni* (NS), not ***ši(p)pant/dumeni*; pret. *šipantuṽen* (LNS), *šipanduen* (MH/NS), not ***ši(p)ant/dumen*), its infinitive (*ši(p)pant/duṽanzi* (MS, NS), not ***ši(p)pant/dumanzi*) and its verbal substantive (*ši(p)pant/duṽar* (NS), not ***ši(p)pant/dumar*) no attestations with a *tarna*-class inflection can be found.⁶ All this shows that a *tarna*-class interpretation of *šipant/daš*, i.e. a morphological analysis as *šipant/da-* + *-š*, would fully detach this form from the rest of its paradigm and is therefore unsatisfactory.

3. Proposal: A consonantal stem interpretation

On the basis of the OH and MH 3sg.pres.act. form *ši(p)pānti*, which clearly shows a consonantal stem, *ši(p)pānt- + -i*, I want to propose that the OH/MS 3sg.pret.act. form *šipant/daš* should be interpreted as containing a consonantal stem, as well: *ši(p)pant- + -š*. This implies that the *-a* that is present in spelling between the stem and the ending *-š* should be interpreted as a so-called empty vowel.

4. The problem

Obviously, there is one problematic aspect to the idea that *šipant/daš* represents *ši(p)pant- + -š*: in Hittite orthography, a word-final cluster consisting of nasal + dental stop + sibilant is in principle always spelled as *°n-za*, a sequence that is omnipresent in Hittite texts, e.g. *a-da-an-za* ‘having eaten (nom.sg.)’, which consists of the stem *adant-* + nom.sg.c. ending *-š*, or *iš-pa-an-za* ‘night (nom.sg.)’, which consists of the stem *išpant-* + nom.sg.c. *-š*. So, if the 3sg.pret.act. form of ‘libate’ really had a morphological shape *ši(p)pant- + -š*, why was it not spelled ***ši-pa-an-za*, with *°n-za*? To my mind, this question can be answered by taking the two following points into account.

5. Point A: Different types of *TS*-clusters

First, as is well known, all Hittite consonants come in two variants, which are traditionally called ‘fortis’ and ‘lenis’: fortis consonants are in (graphic) intervocalic position spelled as geminates, *VC-CV*, whereas lenis consonants are spelled as singletons, *V-CV*. In the case of resonants and

³ See e.g. Oettinger 1979, 57–63 (“halbkonsonantische Klasse”); Kloekhorst 2008, 138–141.

⁴ Cf. CHD Š, 384–385.

⁵ CHD Š, 385. Compare also the one 3pl.pret.act. attestation *ši-ip-pa-an-ta-er* (KUB 5.6 iii 63 (NH/NS)), which is clearly a very late innovation vis-à-vis the normal form *ši(p)panter* (MS and NS), cf. CHD Š, 385.

⁶ Note that the 1sg.pres.act. and 1sg.pret.act. forms cannot be used as evidence: *ši(p)pantahḫi* / *ši(p)pan-tahḫun*, attested thus in OS, MS and NS texts, can be interpreted both as consonantal stem *ši(p)pant- + -ḫi* / *-ḫun* (with *-a* being an empty vowel) and as *tarna*-class stem *ši(p)panta- + -ḫi* / *-ḫun* (with *-a* being a real vowel). They are therefore ambiguous and do not add anything to the discussion.

fricatives, it is generally assumed that the phonological distinction between the fortis and lenis consonants is length: e.g. $Vr-rV =$ represents /r/ vs. $V-rV =$ /r/; or $Vš-šV =$ /s/ vs. $V-šV =$ /s/. In the case of stops, however, there is debate on the exact phonological interpretation of the fortis and lenis series, but I personally adhere to the line of thought that here we are dealing with a length opposition as well, e.g. $Vt-tV =$ /t/ vs. $V-tV =$ /t/.⁷ Although the difference between fortis and lenis consonants is best seen when graphically standing between vowels, there can be no doubt that this distinction was relevant in consonant clusters as well, cf. the difference between $ti-it-nu-$ / $ti-it-ta-nu-$ = /tit:nu-/ ‘to install’, with fortis /t/, and $ḫa-at-nu-$ / $ḫa-da-nu-$ / $ḫatnu-$ ‘to cause to dry up’, with lenis /t/.⁸ Additionally, I have recently argued that the fortis / lenis opposition (i.e. length opposition) is also relevant in clusters of dental stops + sibilant, for which I have proposed the existence of four types:⁹

1. a cluster of lenis /t/ + lenis /s/, spelled $Vz-zV$ (also $V-zV$)
(e.g. $^{\circ}š-ke-ez-zi$, $^{\circ}š-ke-zi =$ /-skétsi/ (3sg.pres.act. of imperfectives));
2. a cluster of lenis /t/ + fortis /s/, spelled $Vz-šV$ (also $V-za-aš-šV$)
(e.g. $e-ez-ši$, [e-za-]aš-ši = /ʔétsi/ ‘you eat’);¹⁰
3. a cluster of fortis /t/ + lenis /s/, spelled $Vz-zV$
(e.g. $az-zi-ik-ke/a-$ = /ətsiké/á-/ ‘to be eating’);¹¹
4. a cluster of fortis /t/ + fortis /s/, spelled $Vt-šV$
(e.g. $ku-it-ši =$ /k^witsi/ ‘what for him’).

This opens up the possibility that also in other positions in the word, or as a part of larger clusters, different TS -clusters may have existed. The fact that the spelling of $šipant/daš$ ‘he libated’ differs from a form like $išpanza$ ‘night’ may then mean that these words contain two different types of nTS -clusters.

6. Point B: Different types of -nt-clusters

Second, I have argued elsewhere¹² that in Old Hittite times the verb $išpānt-i$, $ši(p)pānt-i$ ‘to libate’ contained a cluster /-nt-/, with a fortis /t/, the regular outcome of PIE $*nd$, which differs from the cluster /-nt-/, with lenis /t/, that is the regular outcome of PIE $*nt$ and $*nd^h$.¹³ This idea is based

⁷ Cf. Melchert 1994, 14–21, 147; Kloekhorst 2008, 21–25; 2014a, 544–547; 2016, 213–223; Yates 2019. Note that the old idea that the phonological opposition between fortis and lenis stops was in fact voice ($Vt-tV =$ /t/ vs. $V-tV =$ /d/) has for a long time been the default assumption and can therefore be found in many handbooks (Luraghi 1997, 3–4; Kimball 1999, 54; Watkins 2004, 556; Vanséveren 2006, 39–40; van den Hout 2011, 64; Francia – Pisaniello 2019, 19; Weiss 2020, 99), and has recently been explicitly defended by Simon (2020). Moreover, Patri (2009; 2019) has argued for a third type of interpretation, i.e. $Vt-tV =$ /t^h/ vs. $V-tV =$ /d/. See Kloekhorst forthcoming, however, for a detailed refutation of the arguments of Simon (2020) and Patri (2009; 2019), arguing that the only viable interpretation of the phonological opposition between Hittite fortis and lenis stops is length.

⁸ Kloekhorst 2020, 165.

⁹ Kloekhorst 2019.

¹⁰ See Kloekhorst 2006, 77–81; 2008, 25–26; 2014a, 161–170, 325–341, 374–377 for my postulation of a phonemic glottal stop /ʔ/ in Hittite. For colleagues who are unconvinced by my arguments in favor of /ʔ/, the form $e-ez-ši$, [e-za-]aš-ši may be interpreted as /étsi/: the presence or absence of a glottal stop in this word is immaterial for the present argument about TS -clusters.

¹¹ See Kloekhorst 2014a, 337–341 for the postulation of an initial /ə/ in words spelled $aC-$, and see Kloekhorst 2008, 60–62; 2014b, 60–64 for the postulation of a phoneme /i/ in Hittite. For colleagues who are unconvinced by my arguments for /ə/ and /i/, the form $az-zi-ik-ke/a-$ may be interpreted as /atsiké/á-/: the presence or absence of /ə/ and /i/ in this stem is immaterial for the present argument about TS -clusters.

¹² Kloekhorst 2013, 131–139 (esp. 137–138).

¹³ The phonetic renderings of Old Hittite /-nt-/ and /-nt-/ were [-nt-] and [-nd-], respectively. Note that this etymological analysis makes sense within the glottalic theory I adhere to, which interprets PIE $*d$ as pre-glottalized /ʔt/, whereas PIE $*t$ = long plain /t/ and PIE $*d^h$ is short plain /t/ (Kloekhorst 2013, 138;

on the fact that, in OS texts, forms of this verb showed consistent spelling with *tV*-signs, not *dV*-signs:¹⁴ 3pl.pres.act. *ši-pa-an-ta-an-zi* (not ****ši-pa-an-da-an-zi**) ‘they libate’ = /sip:əntántsɪ/ < ***se-spnd-énti**; 3sg.pres.act. *iš-pa(-a)-an-ti*, *ši-pa(-a)-an-ti* (not ****n-di**) ‘he libates’ = /isp:ánti/, /sip:ánti/ < ***(se-)spónd-ei**; and deriv. *iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi* (not ****iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi**) ‘libation vessel’ = /isp:əntuttsɪ-/ < ***spnd-u-ti**.¹⁵ These spellings thus contrast with words containing a cluster /-nt-/, which show spellings both with *tV*- and *dV*-signs, e.g. OS *iš-pa-an-ti*, *iš-pa-an-di* ‘at night’ = /isp:ánti/ < ***k^wspénti**.

7. Phonological and morphological interpretation

Combining these two earlier insights, I now want to propose that the 3sg.pret.act. form *šipant/daš* represents a phonological form /sip:ánts/, with a word-final cluster /-nts/, with fortis /t/, which can therefore be morphologically analysed as consisting of the consonantal stem /sip:ánt-/ + the 3sg.pret.act. *hi*-conjugation ending /-s/.

8. Consequences for Hittite phonology

If this morphophonological analysis is correct, it implies that Hittite indeed did make a distinction between word-final clusters of the shapes /-nts/ (with lenis /t/) and /-nts/ (with fortis /t/), which were spelled *°n-za* and *°n-t/da-aš*, respectively. See the following table where the distinction between these two clusters and their relationship with intervocalic /-nt-/ vs. /-nt-/ is made more clear:

	/-nt-/	/-nt-/
before vowel	<i>iš-pa-an-ti</i> , <i>iš-pa-an-di</i> (OS) ‘at night’ = /isp:ánti/ < *k^wspénti	<i>ši-pa-an-ti</i> (not **n-di) (OS) ‘(s)he libates’ = /sip:ánt:i/ < *se-spónd-ei
before word-final /s/	<i>iš-pa-an-za</i> ‘night (nom.sg.)’ = /isp:ánts/ < *k^wspént-s	<i>ši-pa-an-t/da-aš</i> ‘(s)he libated’ = /sip:ánt:s/ < *se-spónd-s

As far as I am aware, there are no other Hittite words ending in *-ntaš* / *-ndaš* where a similar analysis would apply, which coincides with the fact that, as far as I know, no other Hittite lexemes exist for which the non-Anatolian Indo-European languages would point to the reconstruction of a PIE sequence ***-nds**.

2016, 232–235). The merger of PIE ***-nt-** = /-nt-/ and ***-nd^h-** = /-nt-/ into Hitt. /-nt-/ = [-nd-] is a matter of shortening of PIE ***-nt-** to pre-Hitt. ***[-nt-]** with subsequent voice assimilation to [-nd-] = /-nt-/, whereas PIE ***-n^ht-** first yielded pre-Hitt. ***[-n^ht-]**, where the glottal stop blocked voice assimilation, yielding Hitt. [-nt-] = /-nt-/.

¹⁴ In MS and NS texts we do find spellings with *dV*-signs (3pl.pres.act. *ši-(ip-)pa-an-da-an-zi*, deriv. *iš-pa-an-du-uz-zi*), and in Kloekhorst 2020, 158, I therefore concluded that after the OH period the original cluster /-nt-/ = [nt-] had undergone lenition to /-nt-/ = [-nd-] (= phonetic voice assimilation). However, evidence for this development only comes from intervocalic *-nT*-clusters, so this lenition may originally have only taken place in intervocalic position, not when being part of larger clusters. Therefore, this does not need to affect our interpretation of the OH/MS 3sg.pret.act. form *šipant/daš*.

¹⁵ See footnote 11 for the postulation of the phonemes /ə/ and /i/; also in these words they are not relevant for the present argument.

Bibliography

- CHD = GÜTERBOCK, H. G. – HOFFNER, H. A. – VAN DEN HOUT, TH. P. J. (eds.) 1983–: *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago.
- FRANCIA, R. – PISANIELLO, V. 2019: *La Lingua degli Ittiti*. (Collana di Lingue antiche del Vicino Oriente e del Mediterraneo) Milano.
- HOFFNER, H. A. – MELCHERT, H. C. 2008: *A Grammar of the Hittite Language*. (Languages of the Ancient Near East 1) Winona Lake.
- VAN DEN HOUT, TH. P. J. 2011: *The Elements of Hittite*. Cambridge. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139013369>
- KIMBALL, S. E. 1999: *Hittite Historical Phonology*. (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 95) Innsbruck.
- KLOEKHORST, A. 2006: Initial Laryngeals in Anatolian. *Historische Sprachforschung* 119, 77–108.
- KLOEKHORST, A. 2008: *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*. (Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 5) Leiden – Boston.
- KLOEKHORST, A. 2013: The signs TA and DA in Old Hittite: Evidence for a phonetic difference. *Altorientalische Forschungen* 40, 125–141. <https://doi.org/10.1524/aof.2013.0007>
- KLOEKHORST, A. 2014a: *Accent in Hittite: A Study in Plene Spelling, Consonant Gradation, Clitics, and Metrics*. (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 56) Wiesbaden. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ct-vc2rm8t>
- KLOEKHORST, A. 2014b: Once more on Hittite *ā/e*-ablauting *ḫi*-verbs. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 119, 55–77. <https://doi.org/10.1515/if-2014-0005>
- KLOEKHORST, A. 2016: The Anatolian stop system and the Indo-Hittite hypothesis. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 121, 213–247. <https://doi.org/10.1515/if-2016-0013>
- KLOEKHORST, A. 2019: The spelling of clusters of dental stop + sibilant in Hittite. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 73, 55–72.
- KLOEKHORST, A. 2020: The phonetics and phonology of the Hittite dental stops. In: KIM, R. I. – MYNÁŘOVÁ, J. – PAVÚK, P. (eds.): *Hrozný and Hittite: The First Hundred Years. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Charles University, Prague, 11–14 November 2015*. (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 107) Leiden – Boston, 147–175. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004413122_010
- KLOEKHORST, A. forthcoming: The phonetics and phonology of Hittite intervocalic fortis and lenis stops. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*.
- LURAGHI, S. 1997: *Hittite*. (Languages of the World/Materials 114) München – Newcastle.
- MELCHERT, H. C. 1994: *Anatolian Historical Phonology*. (Leiden Studies in Indo-European 3) Amsterdam – Atlanta.
- OETTINGER, N. 1979: *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums*. (Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft 64) Nürnberg.
- PATRI, S. 2009: La perception des consonnes hittites dans les langues étrangères au XIII^e siècle. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 99, 87–126. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ZA.2009.003>

- PATRI, S. 2019: *Phonologie hittite*. (Handbuch der Orientalistik I, 130) Leiden – Boston. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004394247>
- SIMON, Zs. 2020: The Anatolian stop system and the Indo-Hittite hypothesis – revisited. In: SERANGELI, M. – OLANDER, T. (eds.): *Dispersals and Diversification. Linguistic and Archaeological Perspectives on the Early Stages of Indo-European*. (Brill’s Studies in Indo-European Languages & Linguistics 19) Leiden – Boston, 236–250. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004416192_013
- VANSÉVEREN, S. 2006: *Nisili. Manuel de langue hittite I*. (Lettres orientales 10) Leuven.
- WATKINS, C. 2004: Hittite. In: WOODARD, R. D. (ed.): *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the World’s Ancient Languages*. Cambridge, 551–575.
- WEISS, M. 2020: *Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin*. Ann Arbor – New York.
- YATES, A. D. 2019: The phonology, phonetics, and diachrony of Sturtevant’s Law. *Indo-European Linguistics* 7, 241–307. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22125892-00701006>



A Fresh Look at Recently Published Anatolian Hieroglyphic Seals


Massimo Poetto*

* – University of Bari, emeritus. Email: poemax@libero.it

Abstract: Reexamination of Anatolian seals bearing legends in Hieroglyphic Luwian with revision and improvement of the readings presented in former editions.

Keywords: Anatolian glyptics, Hieroglyphic Luwian, Hittite, onomastics

Cite as Poetto, M. 2020: A Fresh Look at Recently Published Anatolian Hieroglyphic Seals. *Hungarian Assyriological Review* 1: 105–120 <https://doi.org/10.52093/hara-202002-00008-000>

 This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.

1) This stamp seal (Fig. 1.1) appears in the presentation by Ishida of the cuneiform tablets from the Middle Euphrates Region belonging to the Hirayama Collection, seal no. 057, tablet no. 13.¹ The reading of the name of the personage² as “*I-ra/ri-na / Irna*”³ has to be emended to *Mar^{+r}-n* (M 128+r-36 / L 462+389.2-35⁴). For a further recent example of the sign M 128+r / L 462+389.2 see a gorgeous silver signet-ring of the end of the Middle Hittite period from Ortaköy-Sapinuwa.⁵

The small element  behind the figure’s head is hard to identify, but it seems not to be a part of the man’s name (thus a second title rather than a weird space filler?).

2) In 2017 B. Dinçol proposed the interpretation of the legend on the central field (Fig. 1.2a–b) of a bulla,⁶ incomplete on the margin, unearthed at Alaca Höyük in 2012 (Fig. 1.3),⁷ another fragment of which (from the 1939 excavations) had previously been published by Güterbock.⁸

The author’s exegesis as “L.186 - L.247 - L.329 - L.90 (*Lu-DOMUS-kwi/a-ti*)”, which was read as “*Luparnakwati* or *Luparnakwiti*” (an anthroponym that “has not been encountered hitherto”),⁹

¹ Ishida (2017–2018, 54, see also 20 Fig. 3). Actually to be found already in Ishida (1991, 17; to be rotated 90° counterclockwise).

² A ‘son of the king’ (LUGAL.DUMU / REX.FILUS [M 276 / L 46]). On the value of this expression see Poetto 1992, 435 with references and, for some further examples, Ch. Lebrun 2014, 161 and Yamada 2019, 113 ad nos. “(10–11)”.

³ By Mitsuo Nakamura (so Ishida 2017–2018, 30 ad “Acknowledgements”), retained by Yamada (2019, 112).

⁴ For the decryption of the initial glyph cf. Melchert 1988, 36–38, substantiated by Hawkins (2006, 27 §21).

⁵ Süel – Weeden 2019.

⁶ Dinçol 2017, 227–228, Figs. 2a–c.

⁷ Çınaroğlu et al. 2014, 13, Fig. 1 (overturned).

⁸ Güterbock 1951, 196 ad “B.1.1. Al.d. 12”, pl. LXXVI, figs. 1a, 1b (upside-down).

⁹ Dinçol 2017, 227.

must be partly rectified: instead of “*Lu-*” (M 316 / L 186 “Étoile à quatre branches”¹⁰/445) the document shows LUGAL.DUMU.MUNUS (M 276a* / L 46.2 “REX.FILIA”) ‘princess’; top right stands M 219+365 / L 248 (i.e. “247 DOMUS+381 MINUS = DELERE”), with the value *MAR(A)*-¹¹ (see my modified drawing in Fig. 1.4), followed (as rightly given in the edition) by M 160 / L 329 *kwa/i-M 82 / L 90 ti*. The shadings on the edge of the glyphs are the smudges of the impression left on the fresh clay.

This new gyneconym *MAR(A)kwa/iti*¹² aptly matches the masculine *Marak(k)ui* (*Ma(-a)-ra(-ak)-ku-i*),¹³ with a *-ti*-enlargement¹⁴ as in, e.g., ^f*Muwat(t)i vs. m* *Muwa*.¹⁵

3) This interesting cylinder seal discovered at Elbistan-Karahöyük during the 2016 excavations¹⁶ was philologically presented by Alparslan and Uysal in 2018 (reproduced here, Fig. 2.1–2).¹⁷

The legend on the left register was read “L.115 (LEPUS/*tapa*) – L.209 (*i(a)*) –*515” (= M 121-171-300b*).¹⁸ However, the big-eared protome in the beginning of the column can hardly represent a hare head; rather, it depicts a wide- and roundish-eared donkey muzzle, i.e. *ta* (dextroverse; cf. M 92[a] / L 100), as it can also be perceived from the jaw shape, typical of the equids. Together with the sign underneath (M 171[.1] / L 209 [1st var.]) the interpretation of this andronym (given the identifier Δ.IL ‘vir’) is thus *Ta-a/i(a) /Taya/*, equivalent to *Tá-a/i(a)*¹⁹ on a number of bilingual clay sealings (responding to cun. *Ta-a’-e*) from Karkemish.

Also for the female name *Ki-ki-á* (M 214-214-17 / L 446-446-19.2 [varr.], characterized by the specular combination for ‘woman’ [Δ.MUNUS] on either side) in the first column of the following register, a direct correlation can be established. One side of a seal of the Ashmolean Museum actually bears²⁰ the gyneconym *Ki-ki-a/i(a)*:²¹ if my suggestion²² that final *-á* corresponds to *-a/i(a)* in various occurrences on glyptics is sound, then this link turns out to be impeccable. In that case, these names could join the series of “élargissement[s] en *-a*”²³ (as well as *-ya*, cf., e.g., also Hitt. *Tatti vs. Tattiya*²⁴), to which Hier. *Tù-wa/wi-à* (m.)²⁵ (*vs. Tù-wa/wi-á*: see below) might belong too.²⁶

¹⁰ With the author’s reading of this sign perhaps influenced by Güterbock (1951, 196; description 195–196 sub “V. Empreintes – B.1.1”): “On y voit au milieu quelques hiéroglyphes parmi lesquelles on voit un carré et une étoile à quatre rayons [italics mine]?”

¹¹ Cf. Melchert 1988, 34–36, 38. The appended vertical “stroke” (missing in B. Dinçol’s drawing) is still discernible on the photographs.

¹² Still unregistered in Zehnder (2010).

¹³ Laroche 1966, 113 no. 755; 1981, 25; Rüster – Wilhelm 2012, 266b; add ^m*Ma-ra-ku-in* (acc.; a ‘charioteer’) in HKM no. 44 (Mßt. 75/86) vo. 3’ (Alp 1991, 196–197, with 78).

¹⁴ For which see Laroche 1966, 332 ad 8; Zehnder 2010, 96 no. 27.

¹⁵ Laroche 1966, 124 no. 838 and Zehnder 2010, 224–225, with literature; Laroche 1966, 122 no. 832; 1981, 27.

¹⁶ Uysal – Çifçi 2018, 577, Fig. 11 (photograph of the object).

¹⁷ Alparslan – Uysal 2018, 237a, Figs. 3 and 4 (photograph and drawing of the piece, respectively).

¹⁸ Alparslan – Uysal 2018, 236b.

¹⁹ A ‘son of the king’ (see n. 2 above), professionally a ‘charioteer of (the goddess) Kubaba’: see Peker (2017, 178–179). – On the distribution and use of the Hieroglyphic signs *ta* and *tá* (M 65 / L 29), Vertegaal’s (2019) recent analysis does not appear cogent.

²⁰ As already referred in Alparslan – Uysal 2018, 236b n. 1.

²¹ Cf., e.g., Kennedy 1958, 70 no. 15 [B], Pl. II; Laroche 1966, 92 no. 569; cf. also Zehnder 2010, 188.

²² Poetto 2010, 272 §§3–4.

²³ Treated in Laroche (1966, 245–246), cf. also Zehnder 2010, 70 §165.

²⁴ Laroche 1966, 181 nos. 1304–1305.

²⁵ Herboldt 2005, nos. 470–471, Pls. 37 and 36 with Hawkins’ (2005, 276b) observations.

²⁶ Differently Simon (2013, 3–4): *-á* marks the end of the word and does not have a real phonetic value; therefore *Ki-ki-á* and *Ki-ki-i(a)* are not identical, but *Ki-ki-i(a)* is a derivative of *Ki-ki-á* (/Kiki/), exactly as in the quoted pattern *Tatti*: *Tattiya*. Similarly, *Tù-wa/wi-á* may match *Duwaia*, though the latter can be

Finally, the last row of signs in this register, again with the personal name ending in *-á* and the pairing Δ .IL for ‘vir’ here at the bottom. The interpretation of the initial pictogram (“in dieser Form etwas problematisch”²⁷) as “*zu*” (M 298.2 / L 285) is far-fetched; the discarded alternative “Ein L.88 (*tu*) [/ M 81 *tù*, dextroverse] käme [...] ebenfalls in Frage, der Name würde dann Tuwa gelesen werden müssen”²⁸ appears, instead, the right option.²⁹ The PN *Tù-wa/wi-á* matches thus Cun. *Duwaia* (^m*Du-wa-a-í[a, KBo 44.1 ro. 4*]).

4) This seal impression, found during the 1955 excavations in the Palais royal d’Ugarit, was first published by Masson³⁰ and recently republished by André-Salvini and Salvini³¹ (Fig. 3.1–2).

Masson interpreted the vertical script as “*Hu-li-à-na-ni*” – partly shared by Mora (“*Hu-li-à’-tà/(ni?)*”)³² and Zehnder (“^(m)*Hu-li-a-na-ni*”),³³ but *in toto* by Laroche and Beyer³⁴ –, while André-Salvini – Salvini modified it into “*wa/wi? - pi - a - na - ni*”, with the erroneous insertion: “Le même signe *ni* (HH 411), inversé, est répété à l’intérieur du signe précédent (*na*)”.

It should be emphasized, however, that the element on top is not a hieroglyph, but the representation of a bird with wings aligned along the body and head turned rightwards (my drawing, Fig. 3.3), an iconographic component comparable with the one portrayed in this same configuration – curiously upside-down and head facing left – on a Meskene-Emar tablet, on the right of the god’s turned head (here Fig. 3.4a–b).³⁵

Below this image is the first sign of the name, two antithetic, superimposed feet (M 84 / L 96) with the value *Tarpa-*, which return, e.g., at the beginning of an andronym (a ‘son of the king’ [see n. 2]) on a stele kept in Afyon Museum (ll. 2, 5³⁶); in later Hieroglyphic texts the name is written *Tarpa-* (KULULU lead strip 3a, cols. 16–17³⁷ / ASSUR letter a l. 2 §6³⁸). In Cun. Hittite it is likewise not widespread.³⁹

The completion of the personal name is made by the glyphs *-n-na/ni* (*n* [M 36[b] / L 35] sinistroverse, *na/ni* [M 388 / L 411] dextroverse, correctly singled out in the previous editions); thus, in full, *Tarpanani*, with *-nani* = ‘brother’. On the left stands the ordinary designation Δ .IL ‘vir’.

* * *

a derivative of /Tuwa/ too.

²⁷ Alparslan – Uysal 2018, 237a.

²⁸ Alparslan – Uysal 2018, 237 n. 3.

²⁹ Such untypical shape should be added to the manifold variants of the glyph presented in Herboldt (2005, 403), with Hawkins’ (2005, 432b) description.

³⁰ Masson 1975, 227 no. 16, 233 no. 2 (photograph), 236 Fig. 16 (drawing).

³¹ André-Salvini – Salvini 2019.

³² Mora 1987, 257 XLI.2.

³³ Zehnder 2010, 164 (*sub Huliyasuhani*).

³⁴ Laroche 1981, 16 no. 393a; Beyer 2001, 21 (reproduction of the drawing), 23, Pl. 4 ad no. 30.

³⁵ Beyer 2001, 390, Fig. 95, 261, Fig. 16, Pl. B, Pl. 36 tablet 542–544). If birds of prey are here involved, they might be entered in Görke – Kozal’s (2018) study.

³⁶ Şahin – Tekoğlu 2003, 542, Fig. [4] ([b] inverted). – Definitely much rarer are the other vocables determined by M 84 / L 96, that is *tar-* and *tar-za-* of ARSUZ 1 l. 2 §7 and ARSUZ 1 l. 8 / 2 l. 7 §24b (B. Dinçol et al. 2015, 64–65, commentary 67a, 68b).

³⁷ Meriggi – Poetto 1982, 100; Hawkins 2000, 511 at KULULU lead strip 3, side ii, *register* 1.

³⁸ Hawkins 2000, 534, with commentary 542b.

³⁹ HKM 100 vo. 20, 22 (Alp 1991, 99; Del Monte 1995, 98–99), HKM 101 vo. 5 (Del Monte 1995, 102). – For a doubtful inquiry on the sense of this formant in the PN *Tarpulasdu* (misprinted “*Tarpa*”) cf. Zehnder (2010, 51): “‘er soll in *tarpala-* (ein Kleidungsstück, Schärpe?) sein’ (?)”.

Here, separately, further Hieroglyphic glyptic material is worthy of discussion. It concerns a number of improper “corrections” of the original proper interpretations.

5) In 2005/2006, a cylinder seal was published by Schwemer (see Fig. 4.1–2).⁴⁰ His reading of the owner of the object as “*Pu-mu-za/i*” (*pu* [M 396 / L 328 var.] and *zi/za* [M 387.1 / L 376.2] dextroverse, *mu* [M 108 / L 107 var. (2)] sinistroverse) was altered to “*Pu-mu-wa-z(a)*, le signe WA étant gravé clairement en dessous de la gueule du bovin” by Lebrun (“Un nouvel anthroponyme”), with further onomastic considerations.⁴¹ Nonetheless, the element on the right of *zi/za* is not the glyph *wa/wi* (M 394 / L 439 var.), but the known space filler L 440,⁴² already identified as such by Schwemer. As an additional confirmation cf., e.g., the bulla no. 4 (2×) from Korucutepe;⁴³ the same applies to the final component on the Ebla impression presented by Archi:⁴⁴ filler / decoration,⁴⁵ not “-FRATER₂” (M 12a / L 276).

The beginning of the present name finds a parallel in ^f*Pu-mu-ti*⁴⁶ on face B of the Paris seal no. 14.⁴⁷

6) A well preserved biconvex seal of the Late Bronze Age from the Syrian archaeological site of Tell Tweini⁴⁸ bearing the personal name *S₃-ka-pi-a/i(a)* on both faces (*s₃* [M 98.1 / L 104.1] and *pi* [M 49.2 / L 66 var.] dextroverse, *ka* [M 281 / L 434] sinistroverse) – with the designation Δ.IL ‘vir’ plus the title M 408a / L 438 ‘shepherd’⁴⁹ (Fig. 5.1–2) – was provided by Bretschneider and Van Lerberghe.⁵⁰

This reading of the andronym was unfoundedly criticized by Lebrun and Tavernier: “de nouvelles recherches ont donné une autre lecture”, namely “*Sà-us-ga-pi-ya* (‘don de Šauška’)”.⁵¹ But the rendering *us* (L 421 [/ M 390b *w(a)s / us*]) for what *might* look like a vertical stroke attached to the horn of the animal protome is entirely untenable: the glyph *us* has a well-defined rhomboidal shape, while the present element is simply the lower rear section of the horn. For a very similar form of *s₃* cf. the Nişantepe seal no. 381b (here Fig. 5.3),⁵² where the silhouette of the appended *us* is clearly distinguishable and verifiable. What is more, *S₃-ka-pi-a/i(a)* finds a remarkable counterpart in cun. ^m*Sag-qa-bi*;⁵³ for the ending *-pi vis-à-vis -piya* note for instance ^m*Tulpi* vs. ^m*Tulpiya*.⁵⁴

7) In 1981, I quoted the legend on the unpublished seal of the British Museum no. 128868 (then on display), read by me through the showcase as *Pa-ti-la* (M 328-82-180 / L 334-90-175, all

⁴⁰ Schwemer 2005–2006, 251.

⁴¹ R. Lebrun 2010, 6 §5.

⁴² See Laroche (1960, 227), noting already: “Distingué de *wa* par Güterbock, SBo II (1942) 33, et Alp, Namen (1950) 13”.

⁴³ Güterbock 1973, 138 Fig. 1, Pl. 3 Fig. 2, 142.

⁴⁴ Archi 2008, 397 with Pl. 40[.1].

⁴⁵ As on the outer ring of the bulla no. 133 in Herbordt 2005, Pl. 10, with 136b.

⁴⁶ Reading in compliance with Mora 1987, 319 ad XIIb 1.71. Zehnder’s (2010, 254) analysis (*Pu- < Luw. puna- ‘ganz, alles’, “mit einer graphischen Verkürzung”*) seems unfeasible. In addition cf. Hawkins 2005, 269a, commentary to nos. 339–342, if the man’s name represents *Pu-mu* (in preference to *Pu-u*).

⁴⁷ Kennedy 1959, 153 with Pl. II (interpreted as “SCEAU?-*mu-ti*”).

⁴⁸ Located ca. 3 km from the coastal town of Jebleh, ca. 30 km south of Latakia.

⁴⁹ Bossert 1960, 411–412; cf. also, among others, Gonnet 1985, 74–75.

⁵⁰ Bretschneider – Van Lerberghe 2008, 33, 37 Ill. 37, and mentioned again in passing by Bretschneider et al. (2008, 37 n. 22) as well as by Al-Maqdissi et al. (2010, 33, 37 Fig. 28).

⁵¹ R. Lebrun – Tavernier 2012, 319–320, with extensive discussion on the goddess (320–326). – The interpretation of the title “VIR₂ PASTOR” as ‘Overseer of the domain’ by Bretschneider et al. (2008, 37 n. 22), is evidently due to an oversight.

⁵² Herbordt 2005, Pl. 30.

⁵³ Laroche 1981, 37 no. 1078a.

⁵⁴ Laroche 1966, 188 no. 1367; 1981, 45; Zehnder 2010, 70 §165 (with further examples).

sinistroverse).⁵⁵ Subsequently, in June 1998, I could study and photograph the piece (Fig. 6.1a).⁵⁶ The complex on the left part of the impression of this personal name (here Fig. 6.1b), that I gave as “Δ.408a” – with M 408a = L 438 representing the “Hirtensack”, hence ‘shepherd’⁵⁷ –, was manipulated by Zehnder: “wobei Δ.408a als BONUS₂.FEMINA zu verstehen sein dürfte”,⁵⁸ evidently with M 408a mistaken for L 408, an “oval” = L 79 ‘femme’, thus arbitrarily turning a male name into a female one!

8) Instead of the indisputable (collated!) reading ^f*Pi-zi/za-á* (M 49.2-87.1-17 / L 66 var.-376.2-19.2, all sinistroverse) of the inscription on side *b* of the Borowski seal no. 9 (here reproduced, Fig. 6.2a[-original]-2b[impression]),⁵⁹ Mora’s rectification “*Pi-ja/i?-á*”,⁶⁰ followed by Zehnder,⁶¹ has to be rejected: the “head” of the “arrow” (*zi/za*) is still recognizable (Fig. 6.2c, my drawing) and the short vertical stroke beside its lower section is merely a minimal scratch! My reading was, in any case, registered by Beckman as “^f*Pi-za-á*”.⁶²

In confirmation of the validity of the writing ^f*Pi-zi/za-á* – if there is still a need to – it behooves us to call in also the masculine anthroponym *Pi-zi/za-a/i(a)* (a ‘scribe’) on a seal of the Bibliothèque National de Paris.⁶³

A name common to both genders should not surprise: cf., one for all, ^{f/m}*Zizila*,⁶⁴ also occurring on the Borowski seal no. 27 beside the (unpublished) piece no. 126092 of the British Museum,⁶⁵ neglected by Zehnder⁶⁶ but reported by Beckman.⁶⁷

9) This biconvex seal was first made known by Garstang (Fig. 7.1) and subsequently by Hogarth (with decent photograph of the impression, here reproduced, Fig. 7.2).⁶⁸ Mora’s interpretation of face A as “*Tá?-za/i-tà* (o *pī?*)” (a ‘daughter of the king’, LUGAL.DUMU.MUNUS [see above, *sub 2*])⁶⁹ – to which Zehnder fully adheres⁷⁰ – is largely unjustified. The right solution was put forward by Hawkins:⁷¹ “*zi/a-pī?-zi/a-pī*” (M 387.1-49-387.1-49 / L 376.2-66-376.2-66, all sinistroverse; *-pi-* is beyond doubt [see my drawing, Fig. 7.3]), linked to the Anatolian gyneconym *Zibezibe* of the Old Assyrian documents.⁷² In defiance of this, Mora – by means of the plain hint: “Cf. Zehnder 2010, 290, with reference to Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005, no. 285a” – persisted in the inexact rendering “*Tá?/Pi?-za/i-tà*”!⁷³

⁵⁵ Poetto 1981, 34 *ad* no. 27 n. 62 of the Borowski collection.

⁵⁶ Thanks to a permit of the Trustees of the British Museum with the friendly support of Dr. Dominique Collon.

⁵⁷ Bossert 1960, 411–412.

⁵⁸ Zehnder 2010, 247.

⁵⁹ Poetto 1981, 19, Pl. IX.

⁶⁰ Mora 1987, 155 *ad* VIb 1.29.

⁶¹ Zehnder 2010, 248, with profuse discussion on “*Pi-i(a)?-á*” as possibly identifiable with Luw. *piya-* ‘gift’.

⁶² Beckman 1983, 625b *ad* no. 1037b.

⁶³ Kennedy 1959, 162 no. 43, Pl. IV; Wright 1886, Pl. XVII with neat drawing, Pl. XVI no. 14 (here reproduced, Fig. 6.2d–e).

⁶⁴ Laroche 1981, 51 no. 1564b; Zehnder 2010, 4, 323.

⁶⁵ Poetto 1981, 34(–35) with n. 62, also recalling the Cun. oronym ^{HUR.SAG}*Zizzilla*.

⁶⁶ Zehnder 2010, 323.

⁶⁷ Beckman 1983, 626b *ad* no. 1564b.

⁶⁸ Garstang 1908, Pl. XIV and Hogarth 1920, 90 Fig. 114.

⁶⁹ Mora 1987, 140 *ad* VIa 3.5.

⁷⁰ Zehnder 2010, 290.

⁷¹ Hawkins 2005, 285a *sub* no. 631 (followed by Bilgin 2018, 239 with n. 727).

⁷² Laroche 1966, 210 no. 1550. – At a closer look, it must be acknowledged that the name was already entirely recognizable on Hogarth’s photograph.

⁷³ Mora 2019, 636 with n. 19 *ad* VIa 3.5.

10) Finally, a last clarification. In 1980, I published a seal (here Fig. 7.4a–b), belonging to a private collection, bearing the woman’s name S_3 -pa-pa-à (M 98.1-328b-328b-18 / L 104a-334.1-334.1-450, all dextroverse [Fig. 7.4b, impression]).⁷⁴

This result was adjusted by Mora in “*Sà-pa-ha/e²-pa-à*”,⁷⁵ and to a certain extent taken into account by Zehnder (with a possible connection with ^{DINGIR}*Hepat* for the presumed second member).⁷⁶ However, I reaffirm that the element between the two *pa*’s does not portray the *ha* pictogram (M 191 / L 215, being too small and lacking the middle vertical stroke – collated!), but represents a little ornamental globe lined up in an intermediate position, exhibited likewise, e.g., on a Berlin seal reissued by Mora herself⁷⁷ (here Fig. 7.5; the sphere appears slightly out of alignment because of the space taken up by the “dagger” of *tá* in *Tá-ti-li*) or on the Nişantepe bulla no. 451 between *tá* and *ti* in *Tá-ti-x* (here Fig. 7.6),⁷⁸ not to mention the other impression from Nişantepe no. 172 under the coupled *ku*’s of *Ku-ku-la-n* (supported by the two globes on each edge, here Fig. 7.7)⁷⁹ and the endorsement to my reading S_3 -pa-pa-à by Dinçol and Dinçol (with the interpretative option \dot{A} -s₃-pa-pa).⁸⁰

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to Zsolt Simon for some integrative remarks.

Bibliography

- AL-MAQDISSI, M. – VAN LERBERGHE, K. – BRETSCHEIDER, J. – BADAWI, M. (eds.) 2010: *Tell Tweini – Onze campagnes de fouilles syro-belges (1999-2010)*. Damas.
- ALP, S. 1991: *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük*. Ankara.
- ALPARSLAN, M. – UYSAL, B. 2018: Ein Rollsiegel mit anatolischen Hieroglyphen aus Elbistan-Karahöyük. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 108, 235–239. <https://doi.org/10.1515/za-2018-0018>
- ANDRÉ-SALVINI, B. – SALVINI, M. 2019: Note sur une bulle scellée de Ras Shamra (RS 19.160). In: MATOÏAN, V. (ed.): *Archéologie, patrimoine et archives – Les fouilles anciennes à Ras Shamra et à Minet El-Beida II*. Leuven – Paris – Bristol (CT), 59–62.
- ARCHI, A. 2008: A Hittite Official at Ebla. *Orientalia NS* 77, 397–400, Pl. XL.
- BECKMAN, G. 1983: A Contribution to Hittite Onomastic Studies. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103, 623–627. <https://doi.org/10.2307/602045>
- BEYER, D. 2001: *Emar IV. Les sceaux – Mission archéologique de Meskéné-Emar. Recherche au pays d’Aštata*. (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 20) Göttingen.
- BİLGİN, T. 2018: *Officials and Administration in the Hittite World*. (Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 21) Berlin – Boston. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501509773>

⁷⁴ Poetto 1980, 3–4 no. 2, Pl. II.

⁷⁵ Mora 1987, 324 ad XIIb 1.91.

⁷⁶ Zehnder 2010, 265.

⁷⁷ Mora 1987, 320 ad XIIb 1.75.

⁷⁸ Herbordt 2005, Pl. 35.

⁷⁹ See Herbordt 2005, Pl. 14.

⁸⁰ Dinçol – Dinçol 1986, 239 ad no. 5A.

- BOSSERT, H. TH. 1960: Ist die B-L Schrift im wesentlichen entziffert ? *Orientalia NS* 29, 423–442.
- BRETSCHNEIDER, J. – VAN LERBERGHE, K. 2008: Tell Tweini, ancient Gibala, between 2600 B.C.E. and 333 B.C.E. In: BRETSCHNEIDER, J. – VAN LERBERGHE, K. (eds.): *In Search of Gibala – An archaeological and historical study based on eight seasons of excavations at Tell Tweini (Syria) in the A and C fields (1999-2007)*. Sabadell, 11–68.
- BRETSCHNEIDER, J. – VAN LERBERGHE, K. – VANSTEENHUYSE, K. – AL-MAQDISSI, M. 2008: The Late Bronze and Iron Age in the Jebleh Region: A View from Tell Tweini. In: KÜHNE, H. – CZICHON, R. M. – KREPPNER, F. J. (eds.): *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 29 March-3 April 2004, Freie Universität Berlin, 2: Social and Cultural Transformation: The Archaeology of Transitional Periods and Dark Ages. Excavation Reports*. Wiesbaden, 33–46.
- ÇINAROĞLU, A. – ÇELİK, D. – GÜNEY, A. 2014: 2011 ve 2012 yılı Alaca Höyük kazıları. In: DÖNMEZ, H. (ed.): *35. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 27–31 Mayıs 2013* 3. Muğla, 6–18.
- DEL MONTE, G. F. 1995: I testi amministrativi da Maşat Höyük/Tapika. *Oriens Antiqui Miscellanea* 2, 89–138.
- DİNÇOL, A. M. – DİNÇOL, B. 1986: Hethitische Hieroglyphensiegel in den Museen zu Samsun, Gaziantep und Kahramanmaraş. *Anadolu Araştırmaları. Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatistische Forschung* 10, 233–244, Pls. I–VIII
- DİNÇOL, B. 2017: A New Tablet Fragment and a Sealed Pottery Fragment from Alacahöyük. In: MOUTON, A. (ed.): *Hittitology Today: Studies on Hittite and Neo-Hittite Anatolia in Honor of Emmanuel Laroche's 100th Birthday. L'hittitologie aujourd'hui: Études sur l'Anatolie hittite et néo-hittite à l'occasion du centenaire de la naissance d'Emmanuel Laroche*. İstanbul, 225–228. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.ifeagd.3558>
- DİNÇOL, B. – DİNÇOL, A. – HAWKINS, J. D. – PEKER, H. – ÖZTAN, A. 2015: Two new inscribed Storm-god stelae from Arsu (İskenderun): ARSUZ 1 and 2. *Anatolian Studies* 65, 59–77. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461500006X>
- GARSTANG, J. 1908: Notes on a Journey through Asia Minor. (*Liverpool*) *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 1, 1–12, Pls. I–XV.
- GÖRKE, S. – KOZAL, E. 2018: Birds of prey in pre-Hittite and Hittite Anatolia (c. 1970-1180 BCE): textual evidence and image representation. In: GERSMANN, K.-H. – GRIMM, O. (eds.): *Raptor and human – falconry and bird symbolism throughout the millennia on a global scale*. Kiel – Hamburg, 1667–1689.
- GONNET, H. 1985: Deux sceaux hittites inédits: Louvre AO 28064 et Erlangen S 402. *Hethitica* 6, 69–81.
- GÜTERBOCK, H. G. 1951: Tablettes et sceaux – V. Empreintes: B. Sur de la Poterie. 1. In: KOŞAY, H. Z.: *Türk Tarih Kurumu Tarafından Yapılan Alaca Höyük Kazısı. 1937-1939 daki Çalışmalara ve Keşiflere Ait İlk Rapor. Les fouilles d'Alaca Höyük entreprises par la Société d'Histoire Turque. Rapport préliminaire sur les travaux en 1937-1939*. Ankara, 195–196, Pl. LXXVI.
- GÜTERBOCK, H. G. 1973: Hittite Hieroglyphic Seal Impressions from Korucutepe. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32, 135–147. <https://doi.org/10.1086/372227>
- HAWKINS, J. D. 2000: *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*. Berlin – New York.
- HAWKINS, J. D. 2005: Commentaries on the Readings / Commentary on the Sign List. In: HERBORDT 2005, 248–313, 426–436.

- HAWKINS, J. D. 2006: The Inscription. In: BUNNENS, G.: *A New Luwian Stele and the Cult of the Storm-God at Til Barsip-Masuwari*. (Tell Ahmar 2) Louvain – Paris – Dudley (MA), 11–31, 146–147, Figs. 21–22.
- HERBORDT, S. 2005: *Die Prinzen- und Beamtsiegel der hethitischen Grossreichszeit auf Tonbulen aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattusa*. (Boğazköy-Ḫattuša 19) Mainz am Rhein.
- HOGARTH, D. G. 1920: *Hittite Seals – With Particular Reference to the Ashmolean Collection*. Oxford.
- ISHIDA, K. (ed.) 1991: *Ancient Near Eastern Seals in Japan*. Tokyo.
- ISHIDA, K. 2017–2018: Seal Impressions on the Cuneiform Tablets from the Middle Euphrates Region in the Hirayama Collection. *Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum* 37, 13–86.
- KENNEDY, D. A. 1958: The Inscribed Hittite Seals in the Ashmolean Museum. *Revue Hittite et Asianique* 16/63, 65–84, Pls. I–V.
- KENNEDY, D. A. 1959: Sceaux hittites conservés à Paris. *Revue Hittite et Asianique* 17/65, 147–172, Pls. I–IV.
- LAROCHE, E. 1960: *Les hieroglyphes Hittites I. L'écriture*. Paris.
- LAROCHE, E. 1966: *Les noms des hittites*. Paris.
- LAROCHE, E. 1981: Les noms des hittites: supplément. *Hethitica* 4, 3–58.
- LEBRUN, CH. 2014: *Présence et pouvoir hittites à Ougarit – Le cas des DUMU.LUGAL*. Louvain-La-Neuve.
- LEBRUN, R. 2010: Varia scripta. In: LEBRUN, R. (ed.): *Syro Anatolica Scripta Minora VIII. Le Muséon* 123, 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.2143/MUS.123.1.2052763>
- LEBRUN, R. – TAVERNIER, J. 2012: Deux objets inscrits de Tell Tweini. In: BOIY, T. – BRETSCHNEIDER, J. – GODDEERIS, A. – HAMEEUW, H. – JANS, G. – TAVERNIER, J. (eds.): *The Ancient Near East, a Life! Festschrift Karel Van Lerberghe*. (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 220) Leuven – Paris – Walpole (MA), 319–333.
- MASSON, E. 1975 [1977]: Quelques sceaux hittites hiéroglyphiques. *Syria* 52, 213–239. <https://doi.org/10.3406/syria.1975.6506>
- MELCHERT, H. C. 1988: ‘Thorn’ and ‘Minus’ in Hieroglyphic Luvian Orthography. *Anatolian Studies* 38, 29–42. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3642839>
- MERIGGI, P. – POETTO, M. 1982: Note alle strisce di piombo di KULULU. In: NEU, E. (ed.): *Investigationes philologicae et comparativae. Gedenkschrift für Heinz Kronasser*. Wiesbaden, 97–115.
- MORA, C. 1987: *La glittica anatolica del II millennio a. C.: classificazione tipologica I. I sigilli a iscrizione geroglifica*. (Studia mediterranea 6) Pavia.
- MORA, C. 2019: Titles and Activities of Hittite Women: The Evidence of the Seals. In: D’ANDREA, M. – MICALE, M. G. – NADALI, D. – PIZZIMENTI, S. – VACCA, A. (eds.): *Pearls of the Past. Studies on Near Eastern Art and Archaeology in Honour of Frances Pinnock*. (Marru 8) Münster, 633–639.
- PEKER, H. 2017: Some Remarks on the Imperial Hittite Sealings from the 2017 Excavations at Karkemish. *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2017, 178–179 (No. 101).
- POETTO, M. 1980: Nuovi e vecchi sigilli in luvio geroglifico. *Kadmos* 19, 1–8, Pls. I–III. <https://doi.org/10.1515/kadmos-1980-0102>

- POETTO, M. 1981: Sigilli e iscrizioni in luvio geroglifico. In: POETTO, M. – SALVATORI, S.: *La collezione anatolica di E. Borowski*. (Studia mediterranea 3) Pavia, 11–121.
- POETTO, M. 1992: Nuovi sigilli in luvio geroglifico IV. In: OTTEN, H. – ERTEM, H. – AKURGAL, E. – SÜEL, A. (eds.): *Sedat Alp'a Armağan. Festschrift für Sedat Alp. Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*. Ankara, 431–443.
- POETTO, M. 2010: Nuovi sigilli in luvio geroglifico VII (Per il valore di á in alcune occorrenze). In: COHEN, Y. – GILAN, A. – MILLER, J. L. (eds.): *Pax Hethitica. Studies on the Hittites and their Neighbours in Honour of Itamar Singer*. (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 51) Wiesbaden, 271–277.
- RÜSTER, CH. – WILHELM, G. 2012: *Landschenkungsurkunden hethitischer Könige*. (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beiheft 4) Wiesbaden.
- SCHWEMER, D. 2005–2006: Ein Siegel mit hieroglyphen-luwischer Inschrift. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 51, 251.
- SIMON, Zs. 2013: Once again on the Hieroglyphic Luwian sign *19 <á>. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 118, 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1515/indo.2013.118.2013.1>
- SÜEL, A. – WEEDEN, M. 2019: A Silver Signet-Ring from Ortaköy-Sapinuwa. In: BOLATTI GUZZO, N. – TARACHA, P. (eds.): *“And I Knew Twelve Languages”. A Tribute to Massimo Poetto on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*. Warsaw, 661–668.
- ŞAHİN, S. – TEKOĞLU, R. 2003: A Hieroglyphic Stele from Afyon Archaeological Museum. *Athenaeum* 91, 540–545, Figs. 1–[4].
- UYSAL, B. – ÇİFÇİ, A. 2018: Elbistan Karahöyük Kazısı 2016. In: ÖZME, A. (ed.): *39. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 22–26 Mayıs 2017* 1. Bursa, 569–578.
- VERTEGAAL, A. 2019 [2020]: The spelling and phonology of the dental stops in Hieroglyphic Luwian. *Kadmos* 58, 1–31. <https://doi.org/10.1515/kadmos-2019-0001>
- WRIGHT, W. 1886: *The Empire of the Hittites*. London.
- YAMADA, M. 2019: The ‘Sons of the King’ in the Emar Tablets Belonging to the Hirayama Collection. *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2019, 112–114 (No. 64).
- ZEHNDER, TH. 2010: *Die hethitischen Frauennamen. Katalog und Interpretation*. (Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 29) Wiesbaden.

FIG. 1.



1



2a



2b



3



4

FIG. 2.



1



2

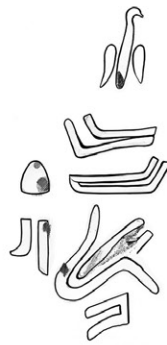
FIG. 3.



1



2



3



4a



4b

FIG. 4.



1



2

FIG. 5.



1



2



3

FIG. 6.



1a



1b



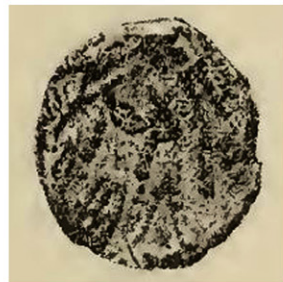
2a



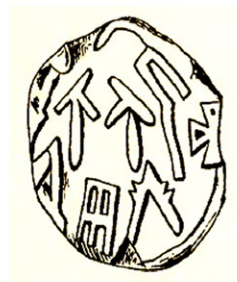
2b



2c



2d



2e

FIG. 7.



1



2



3



4a



4b



5



6



7



Floh im Ohr: Forrers *Ahhijawā*-Deutung, *Āhhijā* und ihr kilikischer Nachzügler *Hijawa*


Diether Schürr*

* – Independent scholar. Email: diether.schuerr@gmx.net

Abstract: It is very improbable that *Ahhiyawā*, a kingdom only attested in Hittite sources, is an adaptation of a Greek **Ak^haiwā* postulated by Forrer and that it was designating a great Mycenaean power not manifest otherwise. There is no ground to identify the earlier attested *Āhhijā* with *Ahhiyawā*, and it is also not possible to localize it. The much later attested *Hiyawa* in and for Plain Cilicia will not be derived from *Ahhiyawā*, and not be imported by imagined Greeks. It may be first attested by *Hiya*], the name of a town in the 14th c. BC, which was probably located in Plain Cilicia too.

Keywords: Hittites, Mycenaean Greeks, Emil O. Forrer, Late Luwian inscriptions

Cite as Schürr, D. 2020: Floh im Ohr: Forrers *Ahhijawā*-Deutung, *Āhhijā* und ihr kilikischer Nachzügler *Hijawa*. *Hungarian Assyriological Review* 1: 121–135. <https://doi.org/10.52093/hara-202002-00009-000>

 This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.

I

In hethitischen Texten ist öfters von *Ahhijawā* die Rede, einem „geheimnisvollen“ Land, dessen Realität „uns vielleicht immer verschlossen bleiben“ werde.¹ Bereits in den Anfängen der Hethitologie und vor Publikation der einschlägigen Texte trat aber Emil Forrer mit einer sensationellen These vor das Publikum, zuerst am 3. Januar 1924 in einem Vortrag, im März dann mit zwei Aufsätzen: „Die Griechen in den Boghazköi-Texten“² und „Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi“:³

„Undoubtedly the greatest furore was provoked by Forrer’s claim in the midtwenties that the Boghazköi tablets confirmed the existence in the 14th-13th centuries of an Achaean realm on the Greek mainland, and the existence of several personages known from the Greek tradition itself to boot.“⁴

Das hatte sicher auch enorm dazu beigetragen, der Hethitologie öffentliche Aufmerksamkeit zu verschaffen. Da Forrers These heute weithin als alternativlos gilt, in verschiedenen Modifikationen und gewöhnlich unter Mißachtung der Probleme, die ihr entgegenstehen, ist es geraten, zu

¹ Marazzi 1992, 375. Für Literatur und ein unveröffentlichtes Skript danke ich Max Gander, für die Verbesserung des Abstracts Stephen Durnford, für Hinweise und Literatur Zsolt Simon, für Einwände einem anonymen Gutachter, für ein PDF Michele Bianconi.

² Forrer 1924a.

³ Forrer 1924b.

⁴ Szemerényi 2004, 68.

Förrer zurückzugehen und seine Argumentation in Erinnerung zu rufen und zu analysieren.⁵ Es kommt ja schon darauf an, wie eine These ursprünglich begründet war, auch wenn sie sich irgendwann verselbständigt hat.

Förrer ging von den Ausführlichen Annalen des Mursili aus, wo im Jahr 3 das Land *Millawanda* und der König von *Ahhijawā* nacheinander genannt werden (AhT 1B⁶). Ersteres setzte er nach dem Anklang mit der Milyas (in Nordlykien/Pisidien) gleich⁷ und erklärte zu dem König ebenso apodiktisch, „sein Gebiet kann nur Pamphylien sein“,⁸ das benachbart ist. Darauf folgt, daß es nahe läge, „in Ahhijawā den Achäer-Namen Ἀχαΐφα zu sehen“⁹ – aber es war offenbar diese Einteilung, die ihn dazu inspirierte, das Gebiet dieses Königs in Pamphylien zu suchen, weil dieses später griechisch besiedelt war. Heute ist klar, daß Pamphylien im späteren 13. Jh. v. Chr. großteils zum Königreich Tarhundassa gehörte: „Vom Gebiet der Stadt Parhā aus (ist) ihm aber der Kaštaraja-Fluß die Grenze“.¹⁰ Das ist der antike Kestros mit Perge auf seiner Westseite.

Außerdem ist Ἀχαΐφα eine nirgendwo belegte, sondern von Förrer selbst erfundene Namenform. Im weiteren schloß er daraus, daß in einem späteren Vertrag nach den Königen von Ägypten, Babylon und Assur auch der König von *Ahhijawā* genannt wurde,¹¹ daß letzteres ebenfalls eine „Großmacht“ gewesen sei, weshalb nur Griechenland in Frage komme,¹² samt der pamphyliischen Kolonie. Geographische Argumente spielten dafür also bemerkenswerterweise gar keine Rolle, nur die postulierte Ethnizität.

An dieser Verbindung von *Ahhijawā* mit den homerischen Achaiern (und den lateinischen *Achivī*, die für *Ἀχαΐφοί sprechen)¹³ ist schon die Annahme fragwürdig, daß letzteres bereits in der Bronzezeit eine Bezeichnung der Griechen war: Es ist in Ilias und Odyssee eine von drei Bezeichnungen der Griechen, die einander nach den metrischen Bedürfnissen abwechseln, neben Danaern und Argeiern (lat. *Argivī*). Lediglich ein Stamm sind sie in der Odyssee-Stelle, wo Achaiern, Eteokreter (die ‚echten‘ Kreter), Kydonen, Dorer und Pelasger als Bevölkerung Kretas mit verschiedenen Sprachen aufgezählt werden (τ 175–177). Inzwischen ist zwar klar, daß die von Evans Linear B getaufte Schrift nicht nur in Knossos gebraucht wurde, sondern auch in Palästen

⁵ Von der uferlosen Literatur – siehe schon Sommer (1937): „Aḥḥijavā und kein Ende?“, was Beckman (2016) wiederaufgegriffen hat: „Aḥḥijawa und kein Ende: The Battle over Mycenaeans in Anatolia“ – ist daher auch nur das Notwendigste berücksichtigt. Es wird aber auch noch eine Namendeutung besprochen, die auf Förrers These aufbaut.

⁶ Mit der Sigle AhT wird auf Beckman et al. 2011 verwiesen.

⁷ Die spätere Gleichsetzung dieses Landes mit der Stadt Milet, die ein mykenischer Brückenkopf in Kleinasien war, stützt sich auf Förrers These, für die sie viel attraktiver ist. Es handelt sich dabei aber um einen Namen wohl kretischen Ursprungs, der von *Milla-wanda* ‚reich an Milla-‘ noch stärker abweicht als Milyas, Gen. Milyados. Die Feststellung, „that the city Millawanda (Milete) was under Aḥḥiyawan control or influence during the 14th/13th century“ und daß dies „is corroborated by archaeological evidence, as there is demonstrable Mycenaean material presence in Milete at that time“ (Waal 2019, 9) setzt die Gleichsetzungen voraus, die von mykenischem Material natürlich nicht erhärtet werden können.

⁸ Förrer 1924a, 113.

⁹ Förrer 1924a, 114.

¹⁰ Otten 1988, 13, i 61.

¹¹ AhT 2, aber wieder getilgt, was Förrer nur (1924b, 17) erwähnt.

¹² Förrer 1924a, 116.

¹³ Ein Vorspiel für diese Gleichsetzung war die der *A-q-j-w-sʹo. ä.*, die als eines der ‚Seevölker‘ Ende des 13. Jhs. im Heer des libyschen Anführers Mery auftauchen (später nie mehr), mit den Achaiern: Bereits Franz Joseph Lauth (1867, 13) setzte *Aqaiwascha* mit Ἀχαΐφος gleich und Emmanuelle de Rougé (1867, 95) – „sans difficulté“ – ebenfalls. Es ist auch vorstellbar, daß in der Zusammenbruchphase der mykenischen Kultur hier erstmals Achaiern auftraten, als Söldner und mit einem vielleicht libyschen Suffix, freilich überraschenderweise ohne Vorhaut: Ein Umstand, von dem die griechischen Sagen nichts wissen. Ein Zusammenhang mit dem Königreich *Ahhijawā* läßt sich nicht erkennen, und Förrer berief sich auch nicht auf diese Namengleichung.

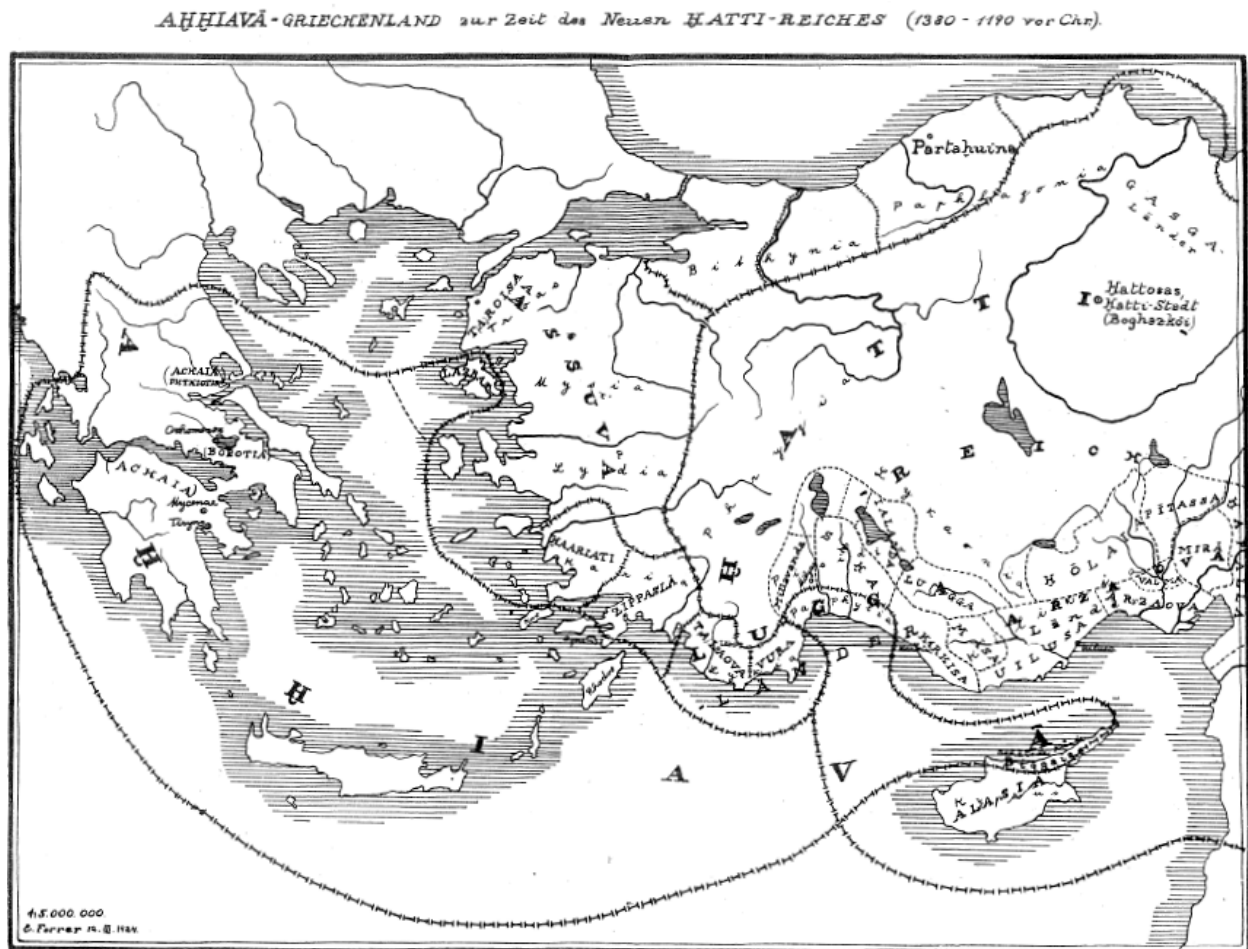


ABB. 1. Die Karte am Ende von Forrer 1924b.

auf dem griechischen Festland und die damit geschriebenen Buchhaltungstäfelchen eine frühe griechische Sprachform belegen. Aber: Eine Selbstbezeichnung als Achaier und ein Königreich **Akhaiwā* belegen sie nicht. In Knossos ist einmal *A-ka-wi-ja-de*, nach *A-ka-wi-ja'* belegt, aber das wird ein Ortsname sein,¹⁴ und bei der defektiven Schreibung von Linear B besteht eine Vielzahl von Lesemöglichkeiten. Eine mykenische „Großmacht“, die über die einzelnen Palastzentren hinausging und zumindest mehrere vereinigte, läßt sich auch nicht erschließen.¹⁵ Es gibt natürlich Gelehrte, die einen Oberkönig annehmen, allen voran Jorrit Kelder, aber das ist von den *Ahhijawā*-Zeugnissen inspiriert.¹⁶ Und eine schon mykenische Besiedlung von Pamphylien ist auch nicht nachweisbar. Forrers Gleichsetzung von *Ahhijawā* mit Griechenland, zumindest einem bedeutenden Teil davon¹⁷ plus Lesbos, Kreta, dem Dodekanes, Pamphylien und sogar einem Teil Zyperns (siehe die Karte am Ende des Aufsatzes, hier als **Abb. 1** wiedergegeben) wird also den heute

¹⁴ „*a-ka-wi-ja-de* = **Αχαυῖᾶν-δε* in a Knossos record of fifty he-goats (tablet C 914.B) clearly refers to a minor settlement in Crete. Its relationship to *Αχαοί* is often cited, but it is hard to interpret as, or to connect with, a universal name for pan-Mycenaean ethnic identity“ (Palaima 2011, 61 Anm. 19).

¹⁵ „It is generally agreed that Mycenaean Greece consisted of a number of independent states“ (Shelmerdine 2006, 73, der erste Satz). Im gleichen Band „Ancient Greece“ geht nur Kurt A. Raaflaub (2006, 451) in seinem Beitrag „Historical approaches to Homer“ auf die Heranziehung hethitischer Texte ein und bemerkt zu *Ahhijawā* in Parenthese: „wherever the latter was located“. Siehe nun auch Fischer (2020), der die Annahme eines mykenischen Großreichs ebenfalls für unbegründet hält.

¹⁶ Siehe etwa: „The attribution of the title of Great King, moreover, suggests that, in the 13th century BC at least, Ahhiyawa must have comprised not only a heartland, but various subject states as well“ (Kelder 2018, 205). Aus der Homogenität der mykenischen Kultur allein, die Kelder so betont, ließe sich kaum auf eine politische Einheit schließen.

¹⁷ Forrer 1924b, 15–16.

bekanntem Fakten nicht gerecht, und so wird diese kühne Vision meines Wissens von niemandem mehr vertreten, nur mehr oder weniger geschrumpfte Versionen.¹⁸ Was den Großmacht-Status von *Ahhijawā* selbst anbelangt, ist bedenklich, daß es außerhalb der hethitischen Quellen gänzlich unbekannt geblieben ist.

Von den Motiven für die Suche nach Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boğazköy hat das naheliegendste der Hethitologe Hans G. Güterbock benannt:

„Common sense tells us that the Greek world was no more remote from Anatolia than Babylon or Egypt, so that it is hard to understand why the Hittites should not have known and mentioned it.“¹⁹

Es gab allerdings sehr wenig hethitisch-mykenischen Kontakt, wie die überaus spärlichen Funde auf beiden Seiten zeigen, die aus dem jeweils anderen Bereich stammen.²⁰ Noch schlechter steht es mit dem sprachlichen Kontakt, wie er in Form von Lehnwörtern faßbar sein könnte.²¹ Das liegt daran, daß das Hethiterreich entschieden nach Südosten und Süden orientiert war. Aber jenseits des „common sense“ war ein anderes Motiv für die Suche nach Griechen viel wichtiger und folgenreicher: Das Bemühen, die sagenhafte griechische Vorzeit auf diese Weise zu historisieren. Diese Art von Gräkozentrismus trieb schon Forrer an und ist das wesentliche – und wenig wissenschaftliche – Motiv geblieben. Ferdinand Sommer ist dem in den dreißiger Jahren mit umfangreichen Publikationen entgegengetreten, aber ohne dauerhaften Erfolg. Martin Peters will in diesen Publikationen sogar eine Obsession erkennen, die auf ein respektloses Verhalten Forrers bei ihrer ersten Begegnung 1921 zurückginge – als ob es nicht genügend Gründe gegeben hätte, sein Vorgehen und sein Ziel zu kritisieren, und Sommers Edition der *Ahhijawā*-Texte nicht ein Meilenstein in der Entwicklung der Hethitologie gewesen wäre.²² Freilich war Forrer ein Genie, was erst Szemerényi wirklich gewürdigt hatte,²³ aber er neigte auch zu voreiligen, apodiktischen Schlüssen und dem Beharren darauf, was sicher dazu beitrug, daß ihm eine Karriere in Deutschland verwehrt blieb und er schließlich in Mittelamerika und in lange Zeit prekären Verhältnissen endete.

¹⁸ Siehe etwa [Latacz – Starke 2005](#), 191, wo das postulierte „Land Achaiwia“ auf Mittelgriechenland reduziert ist (was „offensichtlich“ sein soll). [Jung \(2005, 272\)](#) schrieb im gleichen Buch: „Es fällt schwer zu glauben, dass ein kleiner griechischer Landstrich wie etwa das zentrale und östliche Bötien mit dem Palast von Theben als Zentrum oder wie die Argolis und die Korinthia mit Mykene als Zentrum eine solche politische Rolle gespielt haben könnte.“

¹⁹ [Güterbock 1984](#), 114. Ein Scheinargument ist dagegen, es reiche „ein Blick auf die Karte, die die Lage des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. widerspiegelt, um festzustellen, dass es nicht mehr möglich ist, ein Großkönigreich Ahhiyawa nur allein [in] Westanatolien und viel[l]eicht auf den ägäischen Inseln zu lokalisieren“ ([Alparslan 2005](#), 34): Die Füllung solcher Karten mit Orts- und Ländernamen ist trotz gegenteiliger Behauptungen viel zu spekulativ, um ein solches Ausschlußargument zuzulassen.

²⁰ Siehe dazu beispielsweise [Genz 2004](#). Auf einer in Milet gefundenen späthelladischen Scherbe soll eine hethitische ‚Hörnerkrone‘ abgemalt sein (so zuerst – „obviously“ – [Güterbock 1984](#), 115 mit Fig. 5), aber die sitzt immer leicht schräg auf dem Kopf von männlichen Göttern und Königen, während das kornische Gebilde hier senkrecht steht und unklar bleibt, wie weit es herabreichte.

²¹ Siehe [Hajnal 2014b](#) und [2018](#); [Simon 2018](#); [Oreshko 2018a](#) und [Bianconi \(2020, 83: „the Anatolian element is not as strong as some proponents of a deep-contact scenario would wish“\)](#), während [Gasbarra – Pozza \(2019, 55\)](#) sich optimistischer geben („un’indubbia condizione di contatto tra il gruppo linguistico greco e quello anatolico già a partire dal II millennio a.C.“).

²² Siehe das Schlußwort in [Beckman 2016](#): „I believe that he could not see the forest for the trees. Nevertheless, Sommer’s *Ahhijawā*-*Urkunden* remains a monument in Hitt[iti]ological studies“. Peters’ (2019) Aufsatz ist trotzdem sehr lesenswert und für die Geschichte der Indogermanistik aufschlußreich.

²³ [Szemerényi 1988](#) (Wiederabdruck 2004).

II

Wie weit die viel spätere griechische Überlieferung irgendeinen Quellenwert für die Verhältnisse vor dem Untergang der mykenischen Palastkultur hat, ist äußerst fraglich. Und man kann nicht behaupten, daß Forrer sie wirklich ernstnahm. Denn die Ilias bietet ja keine Erinnerung an ein großes Königreich, sondern das Bild eines griechischen Fleckerlteppichs, einer ad-hoc-Koalition zum Kampf gegen Troja, siehe vor allem den Schiffskatalog (B 484-759). Homer kennt auch kein Achaia, sondern nur ein „achaisches Land“. Das ist A 254 (im Munde Nestors) offenbar das ganze griechische Gebiet:

„Wehe, wie großes Leid dem achaischen Lande herannaht!“

Γ 75 aber (im Munde des Trojaners Paris) ein begrenztes Gebiet: Da werden das „rossenährende Argos und Achais mit den schönen Frauen“ genannt, als Hendiadyoin für die Heimat der Griechen. Sonst kommt der Begriff nur noch in der Odyssee vor, wo insbesondere Ithaka dazu zählt: Odysseus sagt zu seiner Mutter in der Unterwelt, „noch bin ich nicht in die Nähe des Achaierlandes gekommen und habe noch nicht unser Land betreten“ (λ 166–167), Athene zu dem auf Ithaka angekommenen Odysseus, daß es von Troja heiße, „daß es weit entfernt sei von dem Achaierlande“ (ν 249), und Telemach zu den Freiern über seine Mutter:

„eine Frau, wie keine jetzt ist im Achaierlande, nicht in der heiligen Pylos noch in Argos noch Mykene, noch auf Ithaka selbst noch auf dem schwarzen Festland“ (φ 107–109).

Darin eine verblaßte Erinnerung an ein Reich der Achaier zu sehen, wäre Wunschglaube. Forrers *Ahhijawā*-Deutung hat also auch keinen Anhalt in den griechischen Sagen, wie sie Ilias und Odyssee darstellen. Und obwohl wir inzwischen über mykenische Schriftzeugnisse verfügen, tragen sie nichts zu einer Historisierung bei. Die mykenischen Könige (*wanaktes*) legten ja merkwürdigerweise keinen Wert darauf, sich in irgendeiner Weise in Bild und Schrift selbst darzustellen,²⁴ wie das selbst der König Tarkassanawas von Mirā in hethitischer Manier getan hat, auf seinem silbernen Siegel und dem Felsrelief am Karabel im Hinterland von Smyrna/Izmir. Dieses Defizit läßt sich mit hethitischen Zeugnissen auf keinen Fall beheben, selbst wenn sich *Ahhijawā* auf griechisches Gebiet bezöge. Die geschichtslose mykenische Kultur und die Geschichte produzierende hethitische sind inkompatibel, und die spätere griechische Sagenproduktion kann daran nichts ändern.

III

Forrer hatte auch Personennamen gefunden, die seine **Akhaiwā*-These stützen sollten: *Tawagalawa* (in AhT 4, dem sogenannten Tawagalawa-Brief²⁵) wurde von Forrer auf griechisch **Etevokelevēs* zurückgeführt,²⁶ und er fand dafür sogar eine Sagenfigur:

„Kein Epos knüpft an Orchomenos und sein einstiges Reich an, aber die örtliche Überlieferung [wo und wie belegt? – DS] hat die Könige von Orchomenos im Gedächtnis behalten und nennt als zweiten König den Eteokles oder, um keilschriftlich zu reden, den Tavaglavas. Eine bessere Übereinstimmung von archäologischen Ergebnissen [welchen? – DS], griechischer Überlieferung und keilschriftlichen Urkunden ist nicht denkbar.“²⁷

²⁴ Siehe dazu den lehrreichen Aufsatz von Blakolmer (2019).

²⁵ Neuausgabe von Heinhold-Krahmer – Rieken (2020).

²⁶ Forrer 1924b, 9.

²⁷ Forrer 1924b, 14.

Das illustriert die unkritische Benutzung griechischer Überlieferungen durch Forrer. Der Name ist nun in der von Forrer angesetzten Form durch das Patronym *E-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* tatsächlich mykenisch belegt, aber das stützt die griechische Erklärung von *Tawagalawas* nicht wirklich, dann man muß dafür 1. Aphärese, 2. durchgängig *a* statt *e*, 3. Auflösung von /kl/ und 4. Ersetzung von /k/ durch /g/ annehmen, alles nicht unproblematisch. Melchert bekräftigt zwar, „that Luvian aphaeresized (surely unaccented) initial *a*- in adapting foreign words“,²⁸ aber eine Regel ist das nicht, schon gar nicht für Namen in hethitischen Texten. Luwische Vermittlung, die schon Forrer angenommen hatte, könnte auch die Ersetzung des /e/ erklären, weil das Luwische diesen Laut nicht kannte, außer als ein seltenes Allophon von /i/ in spezieller Lautumgebung.²⁹ Aber sichern läßt sich eine solche Vermittlung nicht. Es gibt inzwischen auch eine deutlich bessere griechische Erklärung: Als Wiedergabe von **Twakolāwos* > Σακόλαος,³⁰ wofür man allerdings eher *ἸTuwakkalawa* erwarten sollte. Und diese griechische Erklärung ist auch nur eine Möglichkeit, mehr nicht. *Tawagalawa* ist erst einmal ein in sich reimendes Wortgebilde wie *Abrakadabra*, das wenig griechisch aussieht. Als Stütze für den griechischen Charakter von *Ahhijawā* eignet sich dieser Name also nicht wirklich.

Forrer wählte übrigens nicht den bekannteren Eteokles der griechischen Sage, den Sohn des Ödipus, weil er auch den Vater dieses orchomenischen Eteokles, Andreus nach Pausanias, in einem Orakeltext (AhT 20) wiederfinden wollte:

„Daß An-ta-ra-va-as Antravas zu lesen und mit Andreus gleichzusetzen ist, liegt klar zutage.“³¹

Aber daß in dem gleichen Text eine Gottheit von *Ahhijawā* und eine von *Lazpa*, das Forrer mit Lesbos gleichsetzte, erwähnt werden, ist kein Argument, in diesem *Antarawas* einen König von *Ahhijawā* oder Griechen zu sehen, und so ist diese Namengleichung inzwischen weitgehend vergessen.³²

IV

Forrer setzte außerdem einen zweiten Namen in den hethitischen Texten mit *Ahhijawā* gleich, nämlich *Āhhijā*, das er für eine jüngere Namenform hielt,³³ – die er mit dem griechischen Schwund des *w* erklären wollte, was Götze als „eine rein ad hoc gemachte Behauptung“ kritisierte.³⁴ Es hat sich inzwischen auch herausgestellt, daß *w* im mykenischen Griechisch noch wohl erhalten ist.

Āhhijā taucht im sogenannten Madduwatta-Text (AhT 3) §1 und 12 in Zusammenhang mit einem Unruhestifter namens *Attar(is)sija* auf, der da „Mann von Ahhijā“ genannt wird. Diese Bezeichnung kehrt auch in einem Orakeltext (AhT 22) in §25 als „Mann von *Ahhija*“ und wohl auch in einem der Texte von Ortaköy³⁵ als „Mann von *Ahhija*“ wieder. Es mag sich bei diesem *Āhhijā* um ein kleines Gebiet oder sogar nur um eine Stadt handeln, da es ja nur die Herkunft des Attarissija

²⁸ Melchert 2019, 359.

²⁹ Siehe Rieken 2017, 27.

³⁰ Kazansky 1997.

³¹ Forrer 1924b, 15.

³² Nicht mehr aufhalten muß man sich auch mit den griechischen Deutungen von *ajawala-* als Αἰ(φ)ολος ‚Aeolier‘ und *kuriwana-* als κοίρανος ‚Herrscher‘ (Forrer 1924a, 114, 117), siehe Tischler 1983, 5–6 ‚Repräsentant (des Königs)‘ und 647–648, unabhängig; nicht lehenspflichtig‘ sowie Puhvel 1984, 13 und 1997, 265–266.

³³ Forrer 1924a, 117 und 1924b, 18.

³⁴ Götze 1927, 54.

³⁵ Süel 2014, 937.

bezeichnet, der für den Verfasser kein König gewesen sein muß. Nichts spricht dafür, daß er aus einem Bereich außerhalb Kleinasien stammte. Und es spricht eigentlich auch nichts dafür, *Āhhijā* mit *Ahhijawā* gleichzusetzen, auch wenn das noch heute im Gefolge Förrers gewöhnlich diskussionslos vorausgesetzt wird. Da inzwischen der Madduwatta-Text ins frühe 14. Jh. gesetzt wird, könnte *Āhhijā* immerhin eine Art Vorläufer von *Ahhijawā* sein, auf welche Weise auch immer.

Förrer wollte aber in *Attar(is)sija* den sagenhaften König Atreus von Mykene wiedererkennen, der demnach Feldzüge in Kleinasien bis hin nach Zypern unternommen hätte (wovon die Sage nichts weiß):

„Und dieser Attariss(i)jas oder Attars(i)jas regierte etwa 1245 – 1210 v. Chr., d. h. sein Sohn regierte zu der Zeit, als – nach dem traditionellen zeitlichen Ansatz – Troja zehn Jahre lang von einem König von Griechenland belagert wird, dessen Vater Atreus hieß.“³⁶

Er bemerkte zwar, daß die Namenformen „nicht ohne weiteres gleichzusetzen“ wären, aber einen Zweifel an der Identität der beiden Personen erklärte er für „nicht möglich“.³⁷ Das ist also die Klammer, mit der Förrer *Āhhijā* und *Ahhijawā* verband, wobei er offenließ, wie sich der Atreus von Mykene mit dem Eteokles von Orchomenos vertragen sollte. Das zeigt auch, wie unkritisch und gleichzeitig willkürlich Förrer mit griechischen Sagen und sonstigen Erzählungen bis hin zur „traditionellen“ Datierung des Trojanischen Kriegs umsprang. Daß es sich dabei um spätere Erfindungen handelt, kam ihm nicht in den Sinn.

Der Name *Attar(is)sija* ist allerdings zweifellos anatolisch: Bereits Götze³⁸ verglich *Tarwissija*,³⁹ und in dem eben erwähnten Text von Ortaköy taucht ein *Tarhuissija* (mit *hu* statt *ú* geschrieben) zwischen zwei Belegen für Tarhunnaradu (vielleicht der schon bekannte König von Seha) auf, worauf der „Mann von Āhhija“ folgt. Der Name ist mit der Kurzform *Tarhu-* des Wettergottnamens gebildet, und *Tarwissija* wird der gleiche Name mit Ausdrängung des *h* in der Lautfolge /rhw/ zu sein, wie im Keilschrift-Luwischen sporadisch belegt ist.⁴⁰

Es wäre übrigens verlockend, diesen Namen mit Götze⁴¹ zu dem Landesnamen *Tarwisa* zu stellen.⁴²

V

Āhhijā ist nun noch weiter von Förrers *Ak^haiwā oder gar *Ak^haiwijā (wie inzwischen wegen des knossischen *A-ka-wi-ja* gewöhnlich angenommen wird) entfernt als *Ahhijawā*, und schon seine Existenz spricht entschieden gegen Förrers These. Lautlich ist aber auch die Verbindung der Achaier mit *Ahhijawā* abenteuerlich, auch wenn Starke jeden Zweifel daran als „fruchtlose und teilweise geradezu erbärmliche Diskussion“ abkanzelt und als „natürlich belanglos“ erklärt, daß *Āhhijā* früher belegt ist.⁴³ Beekes bemerkt lakonisch: „The equation is now generally accepted,

³⁶ Förrer 1924a, 18.

³⁷ Förrer 1924b, 21.

³⁸ Götze 1927, 49.

³⁹ Laroche 1966, Nr. 1294.

⁴⁰ Melchert 1994, 258.

⁴¹ Götze 1927, 49.

⁴² In diesem wollte Förrer (1924b, 7) Troja wiedererkennen, mit der Annahme, daß bei Übernahme ins Griechische „daraus, da s zwischen Vokalen zu h wird, Troiha und schließlich Troia werden“ mußte. Inzwischen weiß man allerdings, daß dieser Lautwandel schon in mykenischer Zeit vollzogen war.

⁴³ Starke 2019, 636–637 Anm. 149.

but the Hittite form has not been satisfactorily explained“.⁴⁴

Förre postulierte eine hethitische Lautregel „unbetontes *aji* > *ija*“,⁴⁵ die sich nicht bestätigt hat, und konnte noch annehmen, daß der mit *hh* wiedergegebene Laut irgendwie auf das griechische /k^h/ zurückginge (kommentierte das jedenfalls gar nicht), aber auch das läßt sich heute eigentlich nicht mehr vertreten. Eine Wiedergabe von /k^h/ durch *k* hätte wesentlich näher gelegen, siehe auch Linear B, wo /k^h/, /k/ und /g/ mit den gleichen Silbenzeichen wiedergegeben wurde.

Margalit Finkelberg glaubte aber 1988 einen Ausweg gefunden zu haben, der Förres Hypothese retten könnte: *Ahhijawā* gehe auf „a remote Greek ancestor of the form **Akhaiw*“ zurück,⁴⁶ aber in Wirklichkeit müßte das eine Form sein, die älter als das Urgriechische ist – also auch viel älter als die hethitischen Belege –, und ein Lautwandel eines der urindogermanischen ‚Laryngale‘ zu griechischem /k^h/ ist nicht belegt.

Das auf diese ‚Laryngale‘ zurückgehende *h* bzw. *hh*⁴⁷ ist vielmehr typisch für die hethitische und die luwische Sprache und spricht damit für genuin anatolische Namen. So sieht etwa Steiner in *Āhhijā* und *Ahhijawā* „in der Struktur anatolische Toponyme“⁴⁸ und Hajnal ein „echtanatolisches Toponym“.⁴⁹ Es ist aber fraglich, ob es sich bei letzterem bloß um eine Erweiterung von *Āhhijā* handelt; bemerkenswerterweise führt Hajnal in seiner Tabelle,⁵⁰ die ein „Suffixsystem hethitischer und luwischer Toponyme“ veranschaulichen soll, keine einzige echte Parallele an. Es könnte sich auch um Bildungen mit zwei verschiedenen Suffixen handeln.

Einen originellen Gebrauch von Förres Namendeutung macht Alwin Kloekhorst: Als „Argument 3“ für die umstürzende Hypothese, daß die Laryngale **h*₂ und **h*₃ auf Verschlusslaute zurückgehen würden, führt er die Verbindung von *Ahhijawā* mit den Achaiern an: Sie würde „easier“, wenn *Ahhijawā* auf *[aq:iaw-] zurückginge.⁵¹ Dann müßte der Achaiername freilich schon ins Uranatolische gelangt sein, d. h. deutlich vor 2000 v. Chr., was ebenso unwahrscheinlich ist wie Finkelbergs Hypothese. Das Argument belegt einmal mehr, wie sehr Förres Griechenhypothese zu einem Glaubensartikel geworden ist, bei dem auch ein sonst gut entwickeltes Kritikvermögen ausgeschaltet bleibt. Wirklich belegt – aber von Kloekhorst ignoriert – ist die umgekehrte Lautentwicklung: Beispielsweise werden aus spätluwisch TONITRUS-*hu-wa/i+ra/i-i-sá* und seinem Vater TONITRUS-*hu-za+ra/i-ma-* in EĞREK (Kappadokien)⁵² Ταρκουαρς oder Τροκοαρς und Τροκοζαρμας im Rauhen Kilikien.⁵³

VI

Irgendwelche Förres Idee wirklich stützenden Indizien sind also seit 1924 nicht aufgetaucht, so daß es schon merkwürdig ist, wie sehr sie sich durchgesetzt hat. Und sie hatte schließlich auch noch Konsequenzen für einen Namen, der erst lange nach dem Untergang des Hethiterreichs und

⁴⁴ Beekes 2010, 181.

⁴⁵ Förre 1924a, 114.

⁴⁶ Finkelberg 1988, 130.

⁴⁷ Was Förre noch nicht wußte.

⁴⁸ Steiner 2011, 277.

⁴⁹ Hajnal 2011, 251.

⁵⁰ Hajnal 2014a.

⁵¹ Kloekhorst 2018, 78–79.

⁵² Hawkins 2000, 492.

⁵³ Zgusta 1964, §1512-12, 23, 24. Siehe auch Weiss 2016, 334–336 zu neuassyrisch *qa* für spätluwisch *ha* und *hi-ia* in Hijawa.

weit weg von der Ägäis auftaucht: Im Ebenen Kilikien wurde in Çineköy eine Statue des Wettergottes aus dem 8. Jh. entdeckt, in deren spätluwischer Inschrift von *Hijawas* (URBS) die Rede ist (§VII) und der Stifter Warikas sich als dessen König bezeichnet. Bereits in der Erstpublikation wurde dieser Name quasi automatisch mit den Achaiern und dem Land *Ahhijawā* verbunden.⁵⁴ Der Name taucht auch bereits rund zweihundert Jahre früher in der Inschrift zweier Stelen auf, die bei Arsuz südlich von İskenderun gefunden wurden. Da ist in §13 *Hijawa*- allerdings ein Ländername.⁵⁵ Die Annahme, daß *Ahhijawā* zu *Hijawa* verkürzt worden wäre und der Name im Zuge einer mykenischen Besiedlung des Ebenen Kilikiens hierhergebracht worden wäre, stützt sich auf einigermaßen obskure griechische Fabeleien von einem griechischen Seher Mopsos, die trotzdem viele gläubige Anhänger gefunden haben.⁵⁶ Das phönizische Ethnikon DNNYM in den Inschriften vom Karatepe, das auch in der phönizischen Version von Çineköy als Pendant zu *Hijawa* wiederkehrt,⁵⁷ wird sogar schon seit 1947 mit den homerischen Danaern gleichgesetzt.⁵⁸ Es ist aber vom Ortsnamen 'DN bzw. den in den spätluwischen Versionen der Karatepe-Inschriften erst später entdeckten Entsprechungen *Adanawa*- und *Adanawan(ni)*- kaum zu trennen, trotz der Aphärese.⁵⁹ Daher hatte Bossert die Gleichsetzung mit den Danaern aufgegeben. Aber sie ist auch nicht totzukriegen, zumal mit *Hijawa* auch der Achaiername danebentreten sollte.⁶⁰

Eine griechische Präsenz ist inschriftlich erst viel später belegbar, und so spricht nichts für die Verbindung des offensichtlich nichtgriechischen Namens *Hijawa* mit mykenischen Griechen: Sie als Träger – aktiv oder passiv – für den Transport eines solchen Namens anzusehen, weil sie sich selbst womöglich *Akhaiwoi* nannten, ist vielmehr ein Kuriosum. Aber ohne solche Griechen wäre eine Namenübertragung von *Ahhijawā* auf das Ebene Kilikien ja nicht vorstellbar. Und die Annahme, daß in den Karatepe-Inschriften *Á*429-wa/i-* (URBS) von *Á-ta-na-wa/i-* (URBS) zu trennen und als *Á-HIYA-wa/i-* zu interpretieren wäre,⁶¹ beruht nur auf der hypothetischen Gleichsetzung mit dem ‚griechischen‘ *Ahhijawā*; Oreshkos Argumente für die Lesung des Zeichens *429 als *HIYA* sind ja äußerst schwach.⁶² Dazu kommt, daß in ARSUZ 1, §11 *429-*sa* mit dem Determinativ URBS erscheint, deutlich vom Land *Hijawa*- unterschieden.

⁵⁴ Tekoğlu – Lemaire 2000, 981–984; daher sogar bei Beckman et al. (2011) als AhT 28 aufgenommen. Starke (2019, 631) will übrigens das Ethnikon *Hijawann(i)*- von einer Ortsnamenform **Hija*- ableiten, statt wie üblich Haploglie anzunehmen. Denn: „Die schlagendste Parallele zu den Stammvarianten *Hija*- und *Hijawa*- liefern aber zweifellos die hethitisch bezeugten Stämme *Ahhijā*- und *Ahhijawa*-“ (Starke 2019, 635). Mir scheint, daß diese Konstruktion die postulierten Zusammenhänge noch merkwürdiger machen würde. Das neuassyrische *Qāwe/Qu(w)e* für das Ebene Kilikien will Starke dagegen auch noch (2019, 643–644) auf das in Karkamiš belegte, aber nicht lokalisierbare spätluwische *Ka-wa/i-* zurückführen statt auf *Hijawa*. Siehe zu diesen Namen nun auch Novák im Druck, 369–370.

⁵⁵ Dinçol et al. 2015, 64.

⁵⁶ Siehe dazu die ausführliche Analyse der vielfältigen Mopsos-Geschichten – alles andere als echte Sagen – und ihrer modernen Benutzung bei Scheer (1993, 154–271) und auch Schürr (2019).

⁵⁷ Der Gebrauch des Phönizischen neben dem Spätluwischen in Kilikien, wie früher schon im benachbarten Sam'al/Zincirli, ist bemerkenswert und spricht natürlich auch nicht für griechische Präsenz.

⁵⁸ Bossert – Alkim 1947, 29–30. Plausibler ist die Verbindung des ägyptischen *Tī-n-j(-w)*, neben *K-f-tī-w* (Kreta) im 15. und 14. Jh. belegt und sicher ebenfalls auf mykenisches Gebiet zu beziehen, mit dem Namen der Danaer, siehe dazu nun Oreshko 2018b, 44–46. Dagegen ist deren auf das 19. Jh. zurückgehende Verbindung mit dem ‚Seevölker‘-Namens *D3-jnjw-n3*, der im frühen 12. Jh. v. Chr. auftaucht, für die Oreshko da ebenfalls eintritt, kaum wahrscheinlich.

⁵⁹ So entspricht KARATEPE 1 in §XXXI den *Adanawanninzi* phönizisch DNNYM, dem Gebiet der Stadt *Adanawas* phönizisch 'MQ 'DN „plain of 'DN“. Dem luwischen Stadtnamen allein entspricht ebenfalls DNNYM, und der *Adanawannis* REX in §II ist ein MLK DNNYM. Zur hieroglyphischen Schreibung siehe besonders die beiden letzten Belege §XXXVII *á*429-wa/i-sá*(URBS) *á-ta-na-wa/i-za-ha*(URBS) TERRA+LA+LA-za: „Adanawa and the Adanawa plain“ bzw. „to the DNNYM and to all the plain of 'DN“ (Hawkins 2000, 48–58).

⁶⁰ Schrott (2008, 13) behauptete sogar, „daß die Bevölkerung dort [im Ebenen Kilikien] bereits im 2. Jahrtausend gleichzeitig als Achaier und Danaer bezeichnet wird“.

⁶¹ Oreshko 2013.

⁶² Siehe zur Kritik etwa Hawkins 2015, 54.

Es gibt auch eine buchstäblich näherliegende Verbindung zwischen der spätluwischen Stadt *Hijawa* und den hethitischen Texten: In den Annalen des Arnuwanda I., in dessen Zeit auch der Madduwatta-Text fällt, ist vom Wiederaufbau von Städten die Rede: [*Zu*]nnahara, *Adanija*, angeblich [*Sin*]uwanda und direkt danach *Hija*].⁶³ Davon gehören *Zunnahara* und *Adanija* ins Ebenen Kilikien, und letzteres kehrt in Karatepe als *Adanawa* wieder, phönizisch 'DN, griechisch später Ἰδανα und danach auch türkisch *Adana*. *Sinuwanda* aber lag an der Grenze zwischen Hatti und Tarhundassa, die über den Berg *Lu-u-la* lief,⁶⁴ und offenbar auf der Hatti-Seite, also sicher außerhalb des Ebenen Kilikien. Bereits Forrer verband es mit dem erst modern belegten Namen *Sinandi* eines Dorfes 8 km südöstlich von Ereğli,⁶⁵ was der Grenzberg stützen sollte, den er mit der byzantinischen Ortschaft (recte Burg) Λουλον gleichsetzte (bei Ulukışla). Diese liegt aber zu weit entfernt, durch andere Berge getrennt und auch in der falschen Richtung, nämlich nordöstlich von Sinandi 30 km vor der Kilikischen Pforte,⁶⁶ so daß diese Ansetzung nicht zu halten ist.⁶⁷ Aber es ist ganz gleichgültig, wo Sinuwanda gelegen hat, weil die Ergänzung zu [*Sin*]uwanda ja gar nicht zwingend ist: Es kommt auch *Winuwanda* in Frage, das auch im Ebenen Kilikien gelegen hat und wohl mit *Oeniandos*, wie nach Plinius (*Nat.* 5. 93) Epiphaneia früher geheißen hatte, gleichzusetzen ist (östlich von Adana).⁶⁸ *Hija*] kann also durchaus mit dem späteren *Hijawa* zu verbinden sein, wie Gander angenommen hatte.⁶⁹ Residenzstädte können wechseln, und so kann dieses *Hija*] ebenso Residenzstadt gewesen sein wie *Adanawa*. Und auf jeden Fall hat es einen mit *Hija*-beginnenden Ortsnamen schon in der Hethiterzeit gegeben, so daß nichts für Aphärese und die Griechentransporthypothese spricht.⁷⁰

VII

Ahhijā – Ahhijawā – Hijawa: Das sind drei Namen, die eigentlich außer dem Anklang nichts verbindet als der starke Glaube an diese Verbindung. Sie beziehen sich auf verschiedene, zeitlich und/oder räumlich getrennte Entitäten. Daß der gleiche Name erst durch ein Suffix verlängert und dann durch Aphärese verkürzt wurde, ist zwar vorstellbar, aber nicht wirklich plausibel zu machen. Aus der griechischen Sprache stammen alle drei sicher nicht, auch wenn Frank Starke in seiner erbitterten Verteidigung der These Forrers meint, „daß die von F. Sommer und J. Friedrich wider besseren Wissens und in raffiniert-böswilliger Weise aufgestellte Forderung eines ‚sprachwissenschaftlichen Beweises‘ in Form einer lautgesetzlichen Erklärung, die die Identifizierung von *Ahhijawa*- mit *Akhaiwiā* unter allen Umständen verhindern sollte und denn auch besonders gern gerade von ignoranten Forschern aufgegriffen wurde, auf die Adaption von Fremdnamen gar nicht anwendbar ist“.⁷¹ Selbst wenn man völlige Willkür bei Namenadaptionen akzeptieren wollte, ändert das nichts daran, daß „*Akhaiwiā*“ gar nicht belegt ist (nur ein *A-ka-wi-ja* in Knossos), schon gar nicht als Bezeichnung eines Königreiches. Und die Assoziation der drei Namen mit dem der Achaier ist seit 1924 nicht einleuchtender geworden.

⁶³ Siehe das Zitat bei Gander (2012, 288).

⁶⁴ Otten 1988, 13 i 43.

⁶⁵ Forrer 1926, 21. Heute in Büyükdöğän umbenannt, siehe Hild – Restle 1981, 279.

⁶⁶ Siehe Hild – Restle 1981, 223 und die Karten am Ende des Bandes.

⁶⁷ So Forlanini 2017, 241 mit Anm. 31, 258 mit Anm. 92, siehe auch die Karte 252 Fig. 18.1.

⁶⁸ Damit entfällt der Einwand von Forlanini (2012, 136–137) gegen die Ergänzung zu *Hija*[wa].

⁶⁹ Gander 2012, 288. Ein Argument für die Anwesenheit von Griechen schon um 1400 v. Chr. (Melchert 2019, 362) ist das natürlich nicht.

⁷⁰ Auf *hijāu* (Nominativ) oder *hijauwī* (Dativ) nach „Mann“ bzw. „Männer“ in zwei Briefen von Ugarit (um 1200, AhT 27A und B), die „sich zweifellos auf Staatsangehörige des spätbronzezeitlichen Ahhija-wa/Achaiwia beziehen“ (Starke 2019, 638) sollen, gehe ich nicht ein, weil es sich da um kein Toponym bzw. Ethnikon handeln muß (siehe Gander 2012, 284–286) und die Verbindung mit *Ahhijawā* und Achaiern auch Willkür ist.

⁷¹ Starke 2019, 637 Anm. 149.

Es ist außerdem nur beim letzten Namen klar, worauf er sich bezog: einen Ort im Ebenen Kilikien und auch dieses selbst. Warum, obwohl *Adanawa* damit konkurrierte, ist aber auch nicht klar. Die Verbindung mit Griechen führt zur Konstruktion einer Vorgeschichte für diese Region, die Fiktion bleibt. Im ersten Fall haben wir nichts als den „Mann von *Āhhijā*“, der Unruhe in Kleinasien stiftete, bevor *Ahhijawā* als ein Königreich auftaucht, dessen König im Tawagalawa-Brief vom hethitischen Großkönig als gleichrangig angesehen wurde, warum auch immer. Da es im Westen gelegen haben wird, läßt sich zwar vermuten, daß es in schon damals griechisch besiedelten Gegenden gelegen hat,⁷² aber in Ermangelung von deutlich griechischen Ortsnamen und deutlich griechischen Personennamen, die sich damit verbinden lassen, ist das immer noch eine Glaubenssache. *Ahhijawā* bleibt „geheimnisvoll“, und die hethitischen *Ahhijawā*-Urkunden sind, auch wenn sie sich auf griechisches Gebiet beziehen würden, viel zu unbestimmt, um etwas zur Historisierung der mykenischen Palastkultur beisteuern zu können, die sich selbst der Geschichte so entschieden verweigerte. Sie bleibt also Vorgeschichte.

Das ist freilich unbefriedigend – und ebenso mißlich ist es, von einem Königreich zu wissen, das auf keiner Landkarte zu fixieren ist. Schon deswegen ist der Floh, den Forrer damals in die Ohren gesetzt hatte, immer noch da. Aber vor allem, weil Gräkonzentrismus immer noch weitverbreitet ist und ebenso der Wunsch, in Sagen einen geschichtlichen Kern zu finden. Ein Atreus, der über ein mächtiges Achaia gebietet, ist ja auch sehr viel attraktiver, als ein nicht weiter faßbarer „Mann von *Āhhijā*“. Mit Sicherheit wird also *Ahhijawā* weiter als eine Art Avatar für das mykenische Griechenland fungieren.

Bibliographie

- ALPARSLAN, M. 2005: Einige Überlegungen zur Ahhiyawa-Frage. In: SÜEL, A. (Hg.): *V. Uluslararası Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri. Çorum 02-08 Eylül 2002. Acts of the Vth International Congress of Hittitology. Çorum, September 02-08, 2002*. Ankara, 33–41.
- BECKMAN, G. 2016: *Aḥḥijawa* und kein Ende: The Battle over Mycenaean in Anatolia. In: BYRD, A. M. – DELISI, J. – WENTHE, M. (Hg.): *Tavet Tat Satyam. Studies in Honor of Jared S. Klein on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*. Ann Arbor – New York, 1–12.
- BECKMAN, G. – BRYCE, T. R. – CLINE, E. H. 2011: *The Ahhiyawa Texts*. (SBL Writings from the Ancient World 28) Atlanta.
- BEEKES, R. 2010: *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. (Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 10) Leiden – Boston.
- BIANCONI, M. 2020: Some thoughts on the Anatolian lexicon in Mycenaean Greek. In: GARNIER, R. (Hg.): *Loanwords and Substrata in Indo-European Languages. Proceedings of the Colloquium held in Limoges (5th – 7th June, 2018)*. (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 164) Innsbruck, 63–88.

⁷² Eine Ausnahme machte Mellaart (1993, 415), der kritisierte, daß „‘Gleichklang’ of names was invoked to place Assuwa in Asia, Ahhiyawa in Mycenaean Greece (or in its supposed dependencies), Lukka in Lycia, Milawanda at Miletus or in the Milyas, and Wilusa and Taruisa had to be Homer’s Ilios and Troy“. Er erklärte dann (Mellaart 1993, 418): „Ahhiyawa is not Mycenaean Greece, but Thrace“, siehe auch seine Map 1 (Mellaart 1993, 421). Dafür berief er sich allerdings auf „unpublished texts“, die er von A. Goetze (1971 verstorben) und E. I. Gordon (1976 verstorben) mitgeteilt bekommen hätte. Er unterfütterte also seine Vorstellungen mit dem Mißbrauch von Autoritäten und schließlich auch selbstfabrizierten Texten, die freilich kaum jemand ernstnahm.

- BLAKOLMER, F. 2019: No kings, no inscriptions, no historical events? Some thoughts on the iconography of rulership in Mycenaean Greece. In: KELDER, J. M. – WAAL, W. J. I. (Hg.): *From 'LUGAL. GAL' to 'Wanax': Kingship and Political Organisation in the Late Bronze Age Aegean*. Leiden, 49–94.
- BOLATTI GUZZO, N. – TARACHA, P. (Hg.) (2019): *“And I Knew Twelve Languages”. A Tribute to Massimo Poetto on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*. Warsaw.
- BOSSERT, H. TH. – ALKIM, U. B. 1947: *Karatepe: Kadirli and its Environments. Second preliminary report*. Istanbul.
- DE ROUGÉ, E. 1867: Extraits d'un mémoire sur les attaques dirigées contre l'Égypte par les peuples de la Méditerranée vers le quatorzième siècle avant notre ère. *Revue archéologique* 16, 35–45, 91–103.
- DİNÇOL, B. – DİNÇOL, A. – HAWKINS, J. D. – PEKER, H. – ÖZTAN, A. 2015: Two new inscribed Storm-god stelae from Arsuz (İskenderun): ARSUZ 1 and 2. *Anatolian Studies* 65, 59–77. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S006615461500006X>
- FINKELBERG, M. 1988: From Ahhiyawa to Ἀχαιοί. *Glotta* 66, 127–134.
- FISCHER, J. 2020: Mykenische Monarchie. In: BERGER, L. – LANG, F. – REINHOLDT, C. – TOBER, B. – WEILHARTNER, J. (Hg.): *Gedenkschrift für Wolfgang Wohlmayr*. (ArchaeoPlus 13) Salzburg, 111–120.
- FORLANINI, M. 2012: The Historical Geography of Western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age: Still an open question. *Orientalia NS* 81, 133–140.
- FORLANINI, M. 2017: South Central: The Lower Land and Tarḫuntašša. In: WEEDEN, M. – ULLMANN, L. Z. (Hg.): *Hittite Landscape and Geography*. (Handbuch der Orientalistik I, 121) Leiden – Boston, 239–252.
- FÖRRER, E. 1924a: Die Griechen in den Boghazköi-Texten. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 27, 113–118. <https://doi.org/10.1524/olzg.1924.27.16.57>
- FÖRRER, E. 1924b: Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 63, 1–21.
- FÖRRER, E. 1926: *Forschungen I.1. Die Arzawa-Länder*. Berlin.
- GANDER, M. 2012: Ahhiyawa – Hiyawa – Que: Gibt es Evidenz für die Anwesenheit von Griechen in Kilikien am Übergang von der Bronze- zur Eisenzeit? *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 54, 281–309.
- GASBARRA, V. – POZZA, M. 2019: *Percorsi lessicali nel Mediterraneo orientale antico*. (ΕΛΛΑΔΑ 4) Alessandria.
- GENZ, H. 2004: Eine mykenische Scherbe aus Boğazköy. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2004, 77–84.
- GÖTZE, A. 1927: *Madduwattaš*. (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft 32. Hethitische Texte 3) Leipzig.
- GÜTERBOCK, H. G. 1984: Hittites and Akhaeans: A New Look. *Proceedings of the American Philological Society* 128, 114–122.
- HAJNAL, I. 2011: Namen und ihre Etymologien – als Beweisstücke nur bedingt tauglich? In: ULF, CH. – ROLLINGER, R. (Hg.): *Lag Troia in Kilikien? Der aktuelle Streit um Homers Ilias*. Darmstadt, 241–263.

- HAJNAL, I. 2014a: Beobachtungen zum Suffixsystem hethitischer und luwischer Toponyme. In: RAMPL, G. – ZIPSER, K. – KIENPOINTNER, M. (Hg.): *In Fontibus Veritas. Festschrift für Peter Anreiter zum 60. Geburtstag*. Innsbruck, 147–162.
- HAJNAL, I. 2014b: Die griechisch-anatolischen Sprachkontakte zur Bronzezeit – Sprachbund oder loser Sprachkontakt? *Linguarum Varietas* 3, 105–116.
- HAJNAL, I. 2018: Graeco-Anatolian contacts in the Mycenaean period. In: FRITZ, M. A. – JOSEPH, B. D. – KLEIN, J. S. (Hg.): *Handbook of Comparative and Historical Indo-European Linguistics*. (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 41) Berlin – Boston, 2037–2055. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110542431-041>
- HAWKINS, J. D. 2000: *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions I. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*. Berlin – New York.
- HAWKINS, J. D. 2015: Addendum to ‘Phoenician and Luwian in Early Iron Age Cilicia’ by Ilya Yakubovich. *Anatolian Studies* 65, 54–55. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0066154615000022>
- HEINHOLD-KRAHMER, S. – RIEKEN, E. (Hg.) 2020: *Der „Tawagalawa-Brief“. Beschwerden über Piyamaradu. Eine Neuedition*. (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 13) Berlin – Boston. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110581164>
- HILD, F. – RESTLE, M. 1981: *Kappadokien (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos)*. (Tabula Imperii Byzantini) Wien.
- JUNG, R. 2005: Die mykenischen Palastzentren und das mykenische Staatssystem. In: YALÇIN, Ü. – PULAK, C. – SLOTTA, R. (Hg.): *Das Schiff von Uluburun. Welthandel vor 3000 Jahren*. Bochum, 265–274.
- KAZANSKY, N. N. 1997: Les noms mycéniens dans les textes hittites. *Emerita* 65, 189–193. <https://doi.org/10.3989/emerita.1997.v65.i2.204>
- KELDER, J. M. 2018: The Kingdom of Ahhiyawa: Facts, Factoids and Probabilities. *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici NS* 4, 200–208.
- KLOEKHORST, A. 2018: Anatolian evidence suggests that the Indo-European laryngeals $*h_2$ and $*h_3$ were uvular stops. *Indo-European Linguistics* 6, 69–94. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22125892-00601003>
- LAROCHE, E. 1966: *Les noms des hittites*. Paris.
- LATA CZ, J. – STARKE, F. 2005: Die politische Landschaft im östlichen Mittelmeerraum in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. In: YALÇIN, Ü. – PULAK, C. – SLOTTA, R. (Hg.): *Das Schiff von Uluburun. Welthandel vor 3000 Jahren*. Bochum, 187–192.
- LAUTH, F. J. 1867: *Homer und Aegypten*. (Programm des Königl. Maximilians-Gymnasiums in München zum Schlusse des Studienjahres 1866/67) München.
- MARAZZI, M. 1992: Das „geheimnisvolle“ Land Ahhiyawa. In: OTTEN, H. – ERTEM, H. – AKURGAL, E. – SÜEL, A. (Hg.): *Sedat Alp’a Armağan. Festschrift für Sedat Alp. Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*. Ankara, 365–377.
- MELCHERT, H. C. 1994: *Anatolian Historical Phonology*. (Leiden Studies in Indo-European 3) Amsterdam – Atlanta.
- MELCHERT, H. C. 2019: The Anatolian Hieroglyphic Signs L 41, L 172 and L 319 = L 416. In: BOLATTI GUZZO – TARACHA 2019, 356–377.

- MELLAART, J. 1993: The Present State of “Hittite Geography”. In: MELLINK, M. J. – PORADA, E. – ÖZGÜÇ, T. (Hg.): *Aspects of Art and Iconography. Anatolia and its Neighbors. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*. Ankara, 415–422.
- NOVÁK, M. (Im Druck): Azatiwada, Awariku from the “House of Mopsos”, and Assyria: On the dating of Karatepe in Cilicia. With a contribution by A. Fuchs. In: PAYNE, A. – VELHARTICKÁ, Š. – WINTJES, J. (Hg.): *Beyond All Boundaries: Anatolia in the 1st Millennium B. C.*, 363–432.
- ORESHKO, R. 2013: ‘The Achaean Hides, Caged in Yonder Beams’: The Value of Hieroglyphic Luwian Sign *429 Reconsidered and a New Light on the Cilician Ahhiyawa. *Kadmos* 52, 19–33. <https://doi.org/10.1515/kadmos-2013-0002>
- ORESHKO, R. 2018a: Anatolian linguistic influences in Early Greek (1500–800 BC)? Critical observations against sociolinguistic and areal background. *Journal of Language Relationship* 16, 93–118. <https://doi.org/10.31826/9781463240134-008>
- ORESHKO, R. 2018b: *Ahhiyawa - Danu(na)*. Aegean Ethnic Groups in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Light of Old and New Hieroglyphic-Luwian Evidence. In: NIESIOŁOWSKI-SPANÒ, Ł. – WĘCOWSKI, M. (Hg.): *Change, Continuity, and Connectivity. North-Eastern Mediterranean at the turn of the Bronze Age and in the early Iron Age*. (Philippika 118) Wiesbaden, 23–56. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvckq4zg.5>
- OTTEN, H. 1988: *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV*. (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beiheft 1) Wiesbaden.
- PALAIMA, TH. G. 2011: Euboea, Athens, Thebes and Kadmos: The Implications of the Linear B References. In: RUPP, D. W. – TOMLINSON, J. E. (Hg.): *Euboea and Athens. Proceedings of a Colloquium in Memory of Malcolm B. Wallace, Athens 26-27 June 2009*. Athens, 53–75.
- PETERS, M. 2019: Geheimrat Sommer und sein Weißer Wal. In: BOLATTI GUZZO – TARACHA 2019, 484–495.
- PUHVEL, J. 1984: *Hittite Etymological Dictionary 1: Words beginning with A*. Berlin – New York – Amsterdam. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110823370>
- PUHVEL, J. 1997: *Hittite Etymological Dictionary 4: Words beginning with K*. Berlin – New York. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110801231>
- RAAFLAUB, K. A. 2006: Historical approaches to Homer. In: DEGER-JALKOTZY, S. – LEMOS, J. S. (Hg.): *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*. Edinburgh, 449–462.
- RIEKEN, E. 2017: Word-internal plene spelling with <i> and <e> in Cuneiform Luwian texts. *Journal of Language Relationship* 15, 19–30. <https://doi.org/10.31826/9781463237813-005>
- SCHERER, T. S. 1993: *Mythische Vorväter: Zur Bedeutung griechischer Heroenmythen im Selbstverständnis kleinasiatischer Städte*. (Münchener Arbeiten zur Alten Geschichte 7) München.
- SCHROTT, R. 2008: *Homers Heimat. Der Kampf um Troia und seine realen Hintergründe*. München.
- SCHÜRR, D. 2019: Ein Königssohn, der Mops hieß (oder Mucks?): Von Phantasie-Inschriften, antiken Fabeleien und Namenbelegen zwischen Pylos und Karatepe. *Gephyra* 17, 11–23. <https://doi.org/10.37095/gephyra.499180>
- SHELMERDINE, C. W. 2006: Mycenaean palatial administration. In: DEGER-JALKOTZY, S. – LEMOS, J. S. (Hg.): *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*. Edinburgh, 73–86.
- SIMON, Zs. 2018: Anatolian influences on Greek. In: NIESIOŁOWSKI-SPANÒ, Ł. – WĘCOWSKI, M. (Hg.): *Change, Continuity, and Connectivity. North-Eastern Mediterranean at the turn of the Bronze Age and in the early Iron Age*. (Philippika 118) Wiesbaden, 376–418. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvckq4zg.23>

- SOMMER, F. 1937: Aĥĥijavā und kein Ende? *Indogermanische Forschungen* 55, 169–297. <https://doi.org/10.1515/if-1937-0146>
- STARKE, F. 2019: Zu Ansatz, Lautung und Herkunft einiger luwischer Ländernamen des 12.-8. Jh. In: BOLATTI GUZZO – TARACHA 2019, 610–660.
- STEINER, G. 2011: Namen, Orte und Personen in der hethitischen und der griechischen Überlieferung. In: ULF, CH. – ROLLINGER, R. (Hg.): *Lag Troia in Kilikien? Der aktuelle Streit um Homers Ilias*. Darmstadt, 265–291.
- SÜEL, A. 2014: Tarhunnaradu / Tarhundaradu in the Ortaköy Texts. In: TARACHA, P. (Hg.): *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Hittitology. Warsaw, 5-9 September 2011*. Warszawa, 932–942.
- SZEMERÉNYI, O. 2004: Hounded out of Academe ...: The Sad Fate of a Genius. In: GRODDEK, D. – RÖSSLE, S. (Hg.): Šarnikzel. *Hethitologische Studien zu Gedenken an Emil Orgetorix Forrer (19.02.1894-10.01.1986)*. (Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 10) Dresden, 59–100 (= In: IMPARATI, F. (Hg.): *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*. (Eothen 1) Firenze, 1988, 257–294).
- TEKOĞLU, R. – LEMAIRE, A. 2000: La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy. *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 144, 961–1007. <https://doi.org/10.3406/crai.2000.16174>
- TISCHLER, J. 1983: *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar I. A-K*. (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 20) Innsbruck.
- WAAL, W. 2019: 'My brother, a great King, my peer': Evidence for a Mycenaean kingdom from Hittite texts. In: KELDER, J. M. – WAAL, W. J. I. (Hg.): *From 'LUGAL.GAL' to 'Wanax': Kingship and Political Organisation in the Late Bronze Age Aegean*. Leiden, 9–29.
- WEISS, M. 2016: The Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals and the Name of Cilicia in the Iron Age. In: BYRD, A. M. – DELISI, J. – WENTHE, M. (Hg.): *Tavet Tat Satyam. Studies in Honor of Jared S. Klein on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*. Ann Arbor – New York, 331–340.
- ZGUSTA, L. 1964: *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*. Prag.



The geomorphological and environmental context of the Grd-i Tle archaeological site


István Viczián*

* – Geographical Institute, Research Centre for Astronomy and Earth Sciences, Budapest.
Email: viczian.istvan@csfk.org

Abstract. The geology, geomorphology and hydrography of the area around Grd-i Tle played an important role in the choice of location and the subsequent development of the settlement. The exceptionally abundant Saruchawa Spring as well as the fertile plains and gentle slopes around it made the settlement an important one on the Rania Plain. Grd-i Tle is located on the alluvial plain of the Qashan and Saruchawa Streams, at the foot of the Makook Ridge where several alluvial fans cover the plain at the mountain front. The fertile toe area of the fans and the alluvial plains have long been irrigated by the water of the Saruchawa Spring through a system of canals. The geomorphological position of the spring allows the irrigation of large areas around the tell. The raw materials used in the construction of the 28-metre-high tell with a volume of 1,716,496 m³ were available from nearby sources in considerable quantities. The building material for mud bricks came from the streams' floodplain near the tell. The morphological and lithological examination of the stones from the site and its broader area indicates that the stones for construction were collected from the coarse sediment of the upper part of the alluvial fan nearby Grd-i Tle.

Keywords: Grd-i Tle, tell, Rania Plain, Zagros, Makook, geomorphology, archaeology, environment

Cite as Viczián, I. 2020: The geomorphological and environmental context of the Grd-i Tle archaeological site. *Hungarian Assyriological Review* 1: 137–145. <https://doi.org/10.52093/hara-202002-00010-000>

 This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License, which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited.

1. Introduction

The geomorphological investigation of the Grd-i Tle tell settlement and its broader area began in the 2019 excavation season of the Grd-i Tle Expedition. The main goal of the research is to improve our understanding of the archaeological sites and their environmental context by reconstructing past human-environment interactions and site formation processes.

The studied 28-metre-high artificial mound is the largest tell on the Rania Plain and it was presumably one of the most important settlement in the region. Our general approach is to understand which geographical features made this place attractive for human settlement and how the settlement prospered for millennia.

This paper presents the first results of the environmental reconstruction. Following a brief overview of the area's geological and hydrographic conditions and its landforms, we focus on two

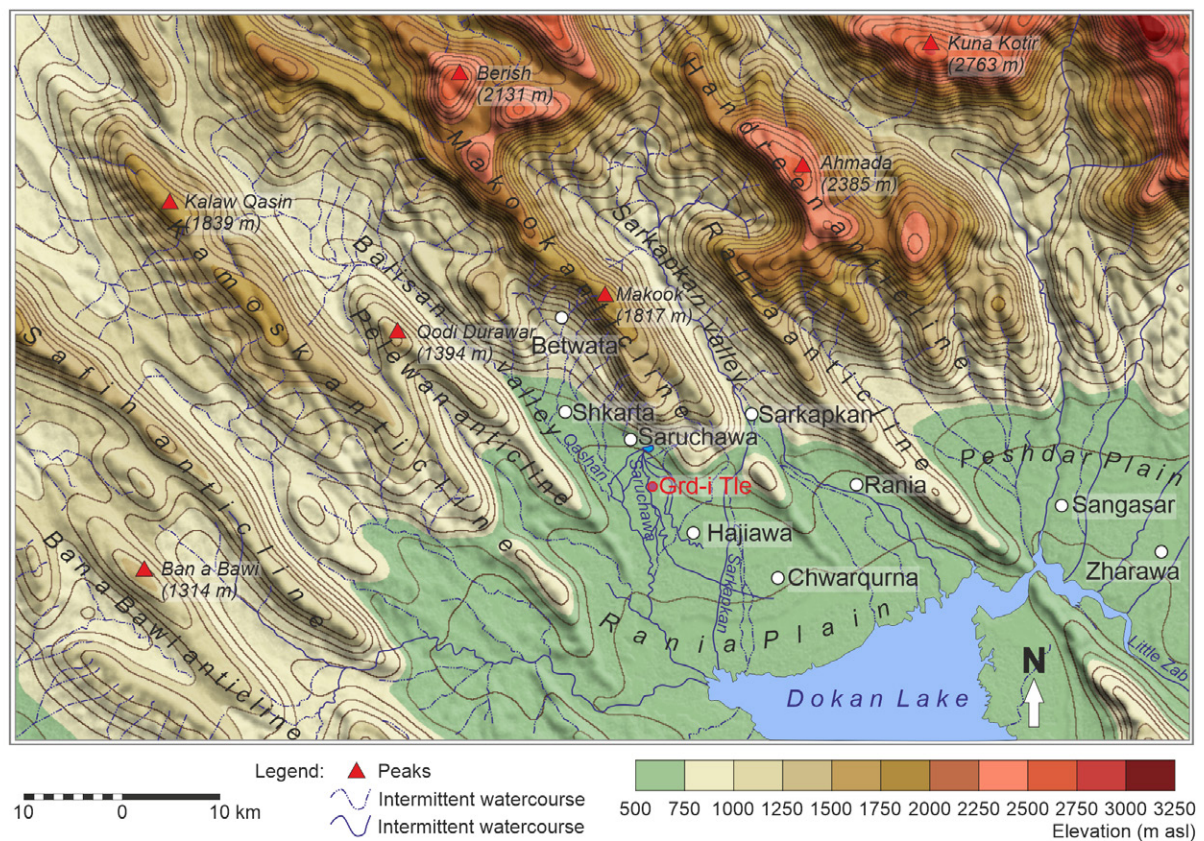


FIG. 1. Topographic map of the study area (I. Viczián). The map is based on the 90 m SRTM elevation data and the JOG map of Iraq, series 1501 AIR, sheet NJ 38-14, by the Defence Mapping Agency Aerospace Center, St. Louis, Missouri, 1991.

research topics. The first one reveals the geographical potentials for irrigated agriculture and the role of the abundant Saruchawa Spring. The second one examines the potential source of construction material for building this large mound.

2. Methods

The project involved geomorphological fieldwork: exploring, mapping and analysing landforms, revealing processes, patterns and evolution, and observing human-environmental interactions in the landscape. The morphological and lithological examination of stones from the site and its broader area was also part of the work. Soil and sediment samples were collected from archaeological profiles in the excavation area and from boreholes drilled with a hand-operated Eijkelkamp auger in the broader area. The results of the laboratory analysis of the soil's physical and chemical properties are not presented here.

The geomorphological investigations were based on data analysis from various sources: the United States' first photographic spy-satellite mission¹ from corona.cast.uark.edu; modern satellite images such as Google and Yandex at satellites.pro; SRTM 90m DEM Digital Elevation Database from srtm.csi.cgiar.org; topographic maps from legacy.lib.utexas.edu and field observations. The topographic data were analysed and presented in GIS. The maps and figures were produced using the ArcGIS, Photoshop 3D map generator, SAS Planet and Corel Draw programs.

¹ CORONA, 1960–1972.

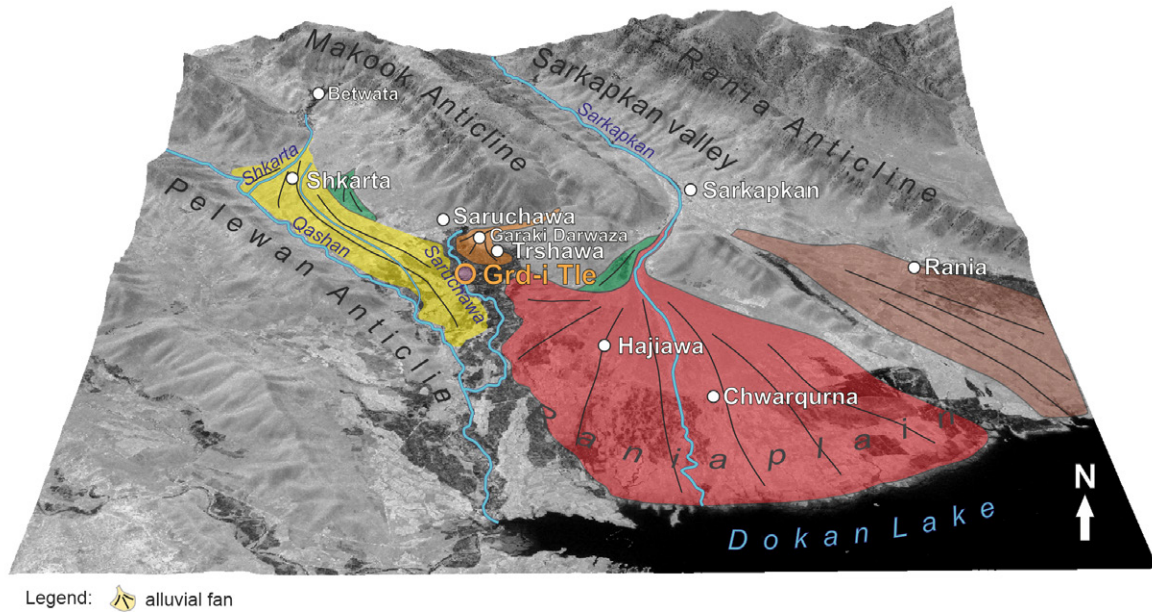


FIG. 2. Alluvial fans in the broader area of Grd-i Tle (I. Viczián). The base maps for the DEM are the CORONA 1968 spy-satellite images from corona.cast.ark.edu

3. Location and geological context

The Rania Plain lies within the Zagros Fold-and-Thrust Belt. This mountain range extends over 2000 km from Turkey to southeastern Iran and is formed mainly by the collision of the converging Arabian and Eurasian/Iranian tectonic plates since the Late Cretaceous.²

The Zagros orogenic belt consists of five tectonic zones that for the most part run parallel to one another along a northwest to southeast strike.³ The Rania Plain lies within the High Folded Zone (HFZ) between the Foothill Zone to the southwest and the High Zagros or Imbricated Zone to the southeast. The HFZ consists of three to six parallel, highly folded, massive northwest to southeast trending limestone ridges, sets of mountain ridges (anticlines) and valleys in-between (synclines).⁴ The Rania Plain forms a wide tectonic gap, dissecting the series of longitudinal and narrow anticlines and synclines due to a set of northeast to southwest trending normal step faults. The subsiding eastern part of the Rania Plain developed along several transversal features. The block above the fault (the hanging wall) corresponds to the Makook and the Rania anticlinal ridges, and the Sarkapkan valley in-between (Fig. 1).⁵ The subsiding fault block (the footwall) corresponds to the main part of the Rania Plain, whose greater part is now inundated by an artificial lake. The Lake Dokan reservoir covers an area of about 25,000 ha. The construction of the Dokan Dam on the River Little Zab between 1954 and 1959 created this reservoir. The neotectonic activity in the Rania region is consistent with the shortening across the fold–thrust belt and associated with occurrences of earthquakes.⁶

The Qashan Stream⁷ (or Rubar-i-Basalam) is a tributary of the Little Zab on the right bank. Its alluvial plain lies in the valley between the Makook and the Pelewan anticlinal ridges in the Balisan

² Jassim – Buday 2006, 71–83; Le Garzic et al. 2019, 51–69.

³ Molnar 2006, 1–18.

⁴ Sissakian et al. 2016, 35–63.

⁵ Sissakian et al. 2016, 35–63.

⁶ Doski 2018, 303–318.

⁷ Abdullah 2015, 67.

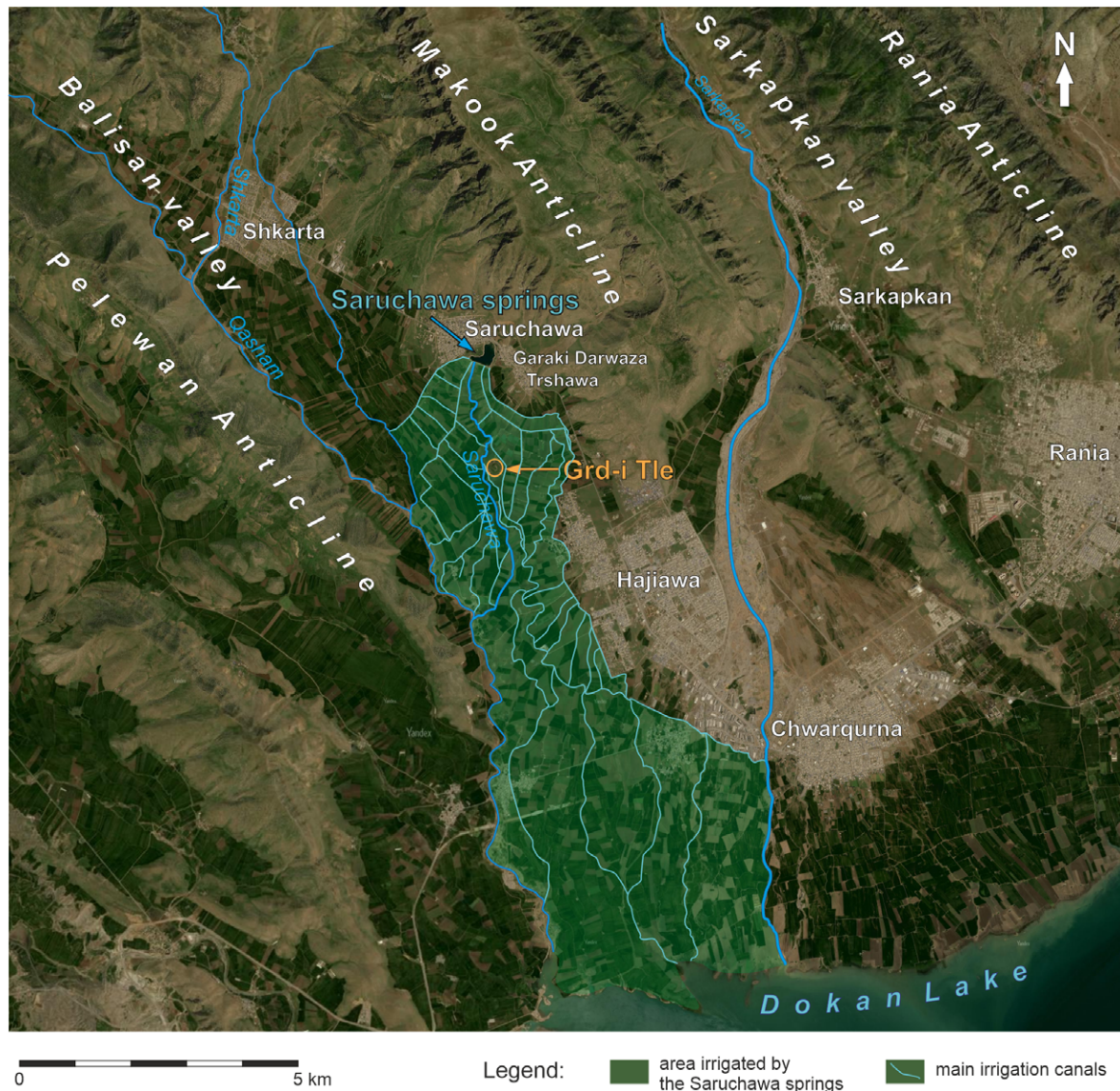


FIG. 3. Irrigated areas in the broader area of Grd-i Tle (I. Viczián). Base map: Yandex satellite imagery

synclinal valley (Figs 1–2). Its area forms a tongue of the Rania Plain extending northwestward. The stream has a terraced valley; the channel is incised in Quaternary deposits. The stream currently has long, intermittent sections. Its main tributaries take their source from abundant perennial karst springs on its left side, such as the Saruchawa, Shkarta and Betwata Springs and the springs along the Sarkapkan Stream.⁸

The site of Grd-i Tle is located in the western part of the Rania Plain, on the alluvial plain of the Qashan Stream near the village of Saruchawa (Fig. 1). It lies about halfway between the mountain front of Makook and the Qashan Stream, approx. two kilometres from both. The tell overlooks the Saruchawa Stream, which takes its source from a group of particularly abundant karst springs in Saruchawa.⁹ The springs have an estimated average annual discharge of 6514 l/s.¹⁰ The water has been used for irrigating the land for millennia. Grd-i Tle lies in the centre of the area irrigated by a fine network of irrigation canals.

⁸ Mustafa et al. 2015, 50–51.

⁹ Mustafa et al. 2015, 48–68.

¹⁰ Al-Manmi 2008, 1–225.

4. Results

4.1. Geomorphological context

The fundamental landforms of the study area are the parallel mountain ridges and the alluvial plains in the basins and valleys. The Grd-i Tle site is located in the Balisan synclinal valley. The Qashan Stream is the axial watercourse of the alluvial plain. The Qashan has an asymmetric valley. The stream flows close to the mountain front of the Pelewan anticlinal ridges and has a steep north-facing slope on the right side (Fig. 2). On the left side, it has a comparatively broad and gentle south-facing terraced alluvial plain in the foreland of the Makook. The location of the river terraces indicates that the riverbed gradually shifted southward and incised into its former alluvial plain. The avulsion of the channel is controlled by the orogenic uplift of the Makook region and the Quaternary climate changes. The Qashan alluvial plain is dissected by the channels of its left side tributaries such as the Saruchawa, Shkarta and Sarkapkan Streams.

A series of alluvial fans and debris cones are lined up at the junction of the alluvial plain and the mountain front of the Makook Ridge (Fig. 2). The alluvial fans accumulate at the mouth of the high gradient, narrow mountain valleys at the base of the ridges, where the stream suddenly decreases its transporting power. The fan is composed of poorly sorted streamflow and debris flow sediments. The fan heads are rich in rock fragments, boulders, cobbles and local gravels. The fan deposit is much less coarse toward its distal margin than headward. Alluvial fans extend to the surface of the fluvial terraces and cover it partly with their sediments. Streams mark the natural boundary of the alluvial fan formation. Besides the alluvial fans, the area receives considerable amounts of slope sediments from the Makook. These sediments cover the feet of the mountain slopes and the area between the cones of the alluvial fans. Watercourses such as the Saruchawa Stream cross the belt of alluvial fans and the alluvial plain below (Fig. 2). The Saruchawa Stream developed its floodplain along the channel between the alluvial fans and within the alluvial plain of the Qashan Stream (Fig. 2). The area north of Grd-i Tle is part of the toes of the alluvial fan, while the area to its south of the alluvial plain of the Qashan Stream and its tributaries. Both the inactive distal fans and the alluvial plains are used as agricultural land. Their surfaces are stable and flat and are covered with a reddish-brown clayey soil.

The fans confined by the Saruchawa Stream are the following: the coalesced fan at the villages of Shkarta and Saruchawa in the west, the fan around the villages of Garaki Darwaza and Trshawa to the north, and the fan around Hajiawa and Chwarqurna to the southeast. These will be described in detail below.

The first alluvial fan is in the west at the mountain front of the Makook Ridge where a sequence of adjacent alluvial fans laterally coalesces to form a bajada. It is a coalesced fan of the abundant karst spring of Shkarta and other perennial, intermittent or ephemeral mountain streams and debris cones. The bajada covers the alluvial plain with sediments of gradually decreasing extent and thickness towards the Qashan Stream. The most active depositional lobe is located along the current channel of the Shkarta Stream. It flows into the Qashan, west of Shkarta (Fig. 3). Arable farming dominates the fluvial terraces and the inactive, abandoned lobes of alluvial fans. The Saruchawa lies in the mid-fan area on the right side of the Saruchawa Stream, in the northeastern angle of the coalesced fan. This alluvial fan interfingers with the alluvial fan lying north of Grd-i Tle.

The second alluvial fan is in the north, located above Trshawa. It sources in a mountain valley in the Makook Ridge, formed by intermittent and ephemeral streams. The valley and the fan-head have rough surfaces with boulders, cobbles, and other unconsolidated sediments. The

valley provides a natural route to the mountain region for shepherds. The lower mid-fan and the distal areas are under arable cultivation. The end of the alluvial fan is marked by the Saruchawa Stream, which flows along the curve of the fans' distal west margin. The stream turns south-southeast after Grd-i Tle, from where its channel pattern changes from a single straight and meandering channel to an anabranching multi-channel one. The stream flows between the western and eastern alluvial fans on its inter-fan alluvial plain.

The arable land on the stream's left side lies on gentle slopes: its northern section developed on debris slopes, its southern part beyond Hajiawa was formed on the abandoned fan lobe of the Sarkapkan Stream. The third alluvial fan is located east of Grd-i Tle and is one of two fans formed by the Sarkapkan Stream. Both fans are located at the fault scarp in the slopes below the mountain margins beyond the village of Sarkapkan (Fig. 2). The watercourse has a large drainage basin as it collects the waters of numerous karst springs along its valley. One alluvial fan lies in the southeastern continuation of the Sarkapkan valley around the city of Rania. The fan's lobe became abandoned here since the main course of the Sarkapkan Stream no longer flows in this area. The second larger fan developed below Sarkapkan, where the present watercourse makes an abrupt turn to the southwest and the fan spreads towards Hajiawa, Chwarqurna and Grd-i Tle. The active depositional lobe lies between Hajiawa and Chwarqurna. The settlements in both fans are located on the abandoned older fan segments in the upper part of the mid-fan zones. The arable land lies below, at the lower mid-fan section and the base of the fan.

4.2. The irrigation system and its geomorphological context

The Saruchawa Spring emerges at the meeting point of mountains and the alluvial plain, which is also the meeting point of the two different types of agriculture. Pastoralism has a long tradition in the mountain area and the alluvial plain consists mostly of arable land. The fields around Grd-i Tle are irrigated by the surface water of the Saruchawa Spring (Fig. 3). Springs serve as watering places for sheep as well. The Saruchawa Spring emerges at an altitude of 547–559 m a.s.l., 2–3 km away from the Qashan Stream. It takes its source 20 m above the local base level: the channel of the Qashan. This relative elevation difference and the topographic conditions allow for the distribution of water across large areas. The karst spring discharges water at an exceptionally high flow rate all year round. The water flows by gravity through canals, ditches and the natural channel of the Saruchawa Stream. The open-surface irrigation system has an extensive canal network; it irrigates 12 km² of arable land and creates fishponds. This area represents about 2.5% of the total area of the Rania Plain.

The irrigated land is part of the lower mid-fan and distal fan of the surrounding alluvial fans, the attaching debris slopes and the alluvial plain of the Qashan and Saruchawa Streams. The pattern of the irrigation system aligns with the landform of the alluvial fans to a great extent. The primary canals run along the lobe curvatures of the alluvial fans in the west, north and east. The secondary canals align with the alluvial fan's radial lines. The adjacent streams mark the natural boundary of the canal system. The areas irrigated by the Saruchawa Stream are considered to have the most favourable conditions in the region in terms of arable farming, even without the spring. They are flat or have a gentle slope. Alluvial deposits are less coarse and covered with a thick layer of soil, and the groundwater table is closer to the surface than in the upper parts of the fan. Other areas of the Rania Plain, which lack an irrigation system, are also used for growing crops and fruits. These are characterized by an array of small open pits through which groundwater is accessed for irrigation purposes. This is especially common around Rania and Chwarqurna at the toe of the alluvial fans of the Sarkapkan Stream.



FIG. 4. Boulders and cobbles in the proximal zone of the alluvial fan in the Garaki Darwaza–Trshawa area, 1–3 km north-east of the tell (Photo: I. Viczián).

4.3. Potential source of Grd-i Tle's construction materials

Grd-i Tle lies on the left bank of the stream and rises above the surrounding plain by 26–28 m. The original relative height was presumably over 30 m. The present, eroded plateau of the tell lies 30 m higher than the top of the canal excavated in the outer city. The remains of a well-built stone embankment built on top of a previous city wall were identified at the foot of the tell along the stream. The tell is an artificial mound built up by some 1,716,496 m³ of material, calculated from the 3D GIS analysis of drone-captured images. This magnitude demonstrates the importance of the tell, as this high ground in the middle of the plain was an ideal location for observing enemy movements and actions, and for controlling the area. The analysis of the CORONA spy-satellite images from the 1960s and field observations revealed that there was a network of tells in the vicinity of the investigated tell. Grd-i Tle was undoubtedly the most important among them, both in terms of its size and significance.¹¹

The tell mainly accumulated from the remains of degraded mudbricks and the stone remains of foundations and walls. Raw materials used in construction were available from nearby sources in considerable quantities. Water, clayey soil, or fine alluvial sediments used for mud-brick manufacturing can be found at the waterfronts near the tell, while organic ingredients such as straw or other fibres would have been readily accessible from the nearby fields.

The stones found on the site have been predominantly identified as the hard carbonate rocks of the Bekhme and the Kometan formations. A large proportion of the building stones on the tell are unworked or nearly unworked; their shape and material resemble the boulders, cobbles and

¹¹ Kalla – Dezső 2019, 1–12.

pebbles¹² found on the alluvial fan in the Garaki Darwaza–Trshawa area northeast of the tell (Fig. 4). The fan's proximal zone and backfilled mountain front embayment lying 1–3 kilometres from the site are rich in coarse gravelly sediments. The building stones most probably originated from the upper part of this fan. The stones used for construction did not have to be mined from open quarries; it was sufficient to collect stones of the appropriate size and material from the surface. Aside from this source, the solid rocks of thick-bedded limestone at the mountain front next to the fan are also suitable for extracting stone as building material in an open-pit mine. It should be noted that no surface features indicating significant quarrying activity can be observed in the broader area. It is still common practice to use the material of alluvial fan deposits for construction purposes. The active depositional lobe of the Hajiawa–Chwarqurna alluvial fan in particular is heavily quarried today.

5. Conclusion

Grd-i Tle is located in the Balisan synclinal valley between the Makook and the Pelewan anticlinal ridges on the terraced alluvial plain of the Qashan Stream. It lies at the meeting point of the mountains, where pastoral farming prevails, and the alluvial plains, where arable farming predominates. The nearby Saruchawa springs provide an exceptionally abundant supply water for both domestic and irrigation needs all year around, a very precious feature in a semi-arid continental area.

The tell lies on the left bank of the Saruchawa Stream, surrounded by alluvial fans. The Saruchawa Spring emerges at a mid-fan area, 20 m above the local base level of the Qashan Stream. The main irrigation canals run along the contour line of the alluvial fan cones and network the fertile lower part of the fans and the alluvial plains. These areas are covered with well-developed soil. Subsurface waters are stored near the ground in large aquifers, also accessible for agriculture.

The tell is predominantly made up of degraded mudbricks and blocks of stones. The morphological and lithological analysis of the stones from the tell and its broader area indicates that the construction material was collected from the boulders of the nearby fan-head area of the alluvial fan around Garaki Darwaza and Trshawa, two kilometres to the north. Raw materials used for mud-brick production were available on the floodplain of the Saruchawa Stream surrounding Grd-i Tle.

The geographical features around Grd-i Tle are unique and most favourable for human settlement on the entire Rania Plain and it is therefore hardly surprising that the place has been repeatedly or continuously occupied since the Neolithic.

Bibliography

- ABDULLAH, H. SH. 2015: *Water quality assessment for Dokan lake using Landsat 8 OLI satellite images*. Unpublished MSc Thesis (University of Sulaimani). Sulaimani. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.11499.03360>
- AL-MANMI, D. 2008: *Water Resources Management in Rania Area, Sulaimaniyah NE-Iraq*. Unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Baghdad). Baghdad.

¹² Kalla – Dezső 2019, 1–12.

- CORONA 1960–1972: <https://corona.cast.uark.edu/> - Center for Advanced Spatial Technologies, University of Arkansas/U.S. Geological Survey.
- DOSKI, J. A. H. 2018: Tectonic interpretation of the Raniya earthquake, Kurdistan, northern Iraq. *Journal of Seismology* 23, 303–318. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10950-018-9807-0>
- JASSIM, S. Z. – BUDAY, T. 2006: Tectonic Framework. In: JASSIM, S. Z. – GOFF, J. C. (eds.): *Geology of Iraq*. Brno, 71–83.
- KALLA, G. – DEZSŐ, T. 2019: Hungarian Archaeological Expedition in the Mountains of Iraqi Kurdistan. Excavations Undertaken by the Faculty of Humanities, Eötvös Loránd University, at Grdi Tle (Rania Plain). *Hungarian Archaeology* 8/4, 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.36338/ha.2019.4.4>
- LE GARZIC, E. L. – VERGÉS, J. – SAPIN, F. – SAURA, E. – MERESSE, F. – RINGENBACH, J. C. 2019: Evolution of the NW Zagros Fold-and-Thrust Belt in Kurdistan Region of Iraq from balanced and restored crustal-scale sections and forward modelling. *Journal of Structural Geology* 124, 51–69. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsg.2019.04.006>
- MOLNAR, M. 2006: Tertiary development of the Zagros Mountains. Geol 418-Earth History. https://people.uwec.edu/jolhm/Student_Research/Molnar/reports/zagros.pdf
- MUSTAFA, O. – MERKEL, B. – WEISE, S. M. 2015: Assessment of hydrogeochemistry and environmental isotopes in karst springs of Makook anticline, Kurdistan Region, Iraq. *Hydrology* 2, 48–68. <https://doi.org/10.3390/hydrology2020048>
- SISSAKIAN, V. K. – ABDUL AHAD, A. D. – AL-ANSARI, N. – HASSAN, R. – KNUTSSON, S. 2016: The regional geology of Dokan area, NE Iraq. *Journal of Earth Sciences and Geotechnical Engineering* 6, 35–63.

Hungarian Assyriological Review

Author Guidelines

Manuscripts should be submitted electronically to info@harjournal.com, both in Microsoft Word (doc, docx, rtf) and pdf format. We accept manuscripts in English and German. Non-native speakers must have their text vetted by a native speaker before submission. The manuscript should include the title, the author's name, affiliation and e-mail address, text with footnotes, list of works cited, figure captions, 3-5 keywords, and an abstract in English (100-200 words). It should be typed single-spaced in 12-point Times New Roman or Semiramis font without any additional formatting, e.g. paragraph indenting, page breaks, page numbering, etc. Any special fonts used for characters that cannot be produced with the above fonts must be submitted electronically together with the manuscript. Abbreviations of text editions should follow the system of the [RIA](#). Tables, plates, and figures should not be embedded in the text, but submitted as separate files.

Notes

HAR does not use in-text citation. Notes (including the references) should be formatted as footnotes, not as endnotes. References in footnotes should consist of the author's last name, the year of publication, and the relevant inclusive pages, figures, plates, etc. Do not use abbreviations such as *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, *ibid*, *idem*, *passim*, *infra*, *supra* or vague page ranges (e.g., 125f. or 125ff.). Since page numbers are rarely available in the case of online publications, use any available structuring element (e.g., §16, s.v., etc.), if applicable.

References

¹ [Radner 2013, 443](#). (Single work cited)

² [Radner 2013, 445–447, fig. 22.1–22.2](#); [Fales 2001](#). (Multiple works cited, separated by semicolons)

³ [Radner 2008](#); [2009a, 181, 190](#); [2009b](#). (Multiple references to the same author, separated by semicolons. Use alphabetical suffixes for publications by the same author in one year such as 2009a, 2009b, etc.)

⁴ [Radner – van Koppen 2009, 95–101](#).

⁵ [Radner et al. 2014, 141–145, 147–151](#). (In the case of three or more authors, use et al.)

Bibliography

The manuscripts should close with a list of works cited, in alphabetical order by the last name of the first author according to the conventions of the manuscript's language. If the name's initial letter does not exist in the alphabet of the manuscript's language, the name should be placed after the end of the base letter (e.g. Çoşkun should stand after names starting with C). Authors' and editors' first names should be given as initials adapted to the orthography (i.e. "Th." for Thomas, etc.). Name suffixes such as "Jr.", "IV" should be omitted. Unlike in the references, all authors of an article should be listed. Titles of journals and series should not be abbreviated, but given in

full. Collective works with more than three articles cited should be included in the bibliography as individual titles. Do not give dates of reprints, but rather supply the original date of publication. Edition information should appear in upper index preceding the year (e.g. ²2007), editions without numbering (“Revised Edition”, etc.) should be supplied after the title. If the real year of publication is significantly different from the official year of publication, you may wish to add the real year in square brackets, e.g. “(2013) [2015]”. Volume information should consist only of the number of the volume (without any abbreviations as “Vol. 2.”). In the case of online publications without a recognizable date, use “(online)” instead of the year and place it after the author’s publications with a known date. Please ensure that all references listed in the bibliography are cited in the text and that all cited works are included in the bibliography. The manuscript will be returned to the author if significant reformatting of the references is required. In case of uncertainty, consult the journal’s last issue or contact the editors. Samples:

Book:

COHEN, M. E. 1993: *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East*. Bethesda.

SCURLOCK, J. – ANDERSEN, B. R. 2005: *Diagnoses in Assyrian and Babylonian Medicine. Ancient Sources, Translations, and Modern Medical Analyses*. Urbana – Chicago.

NISSEN, H. J. – DAMEROW, P. – ENGLUND, R. K. 1990: *Frühe Schrift und Techniken der Wirtschaftsverwaltung im alten Vorderen Orient. Informationsspeicherung und -verarbeitung vor 5000 Jahren*. Berlin.

Edited volume:

ÁLVAREZ-MON, J. – GARRISON, M. B. (eds.) 2011: *Elam and Persia*. Winona Lake.

Book in a series:

SALLABERGER, W. 1999: „Wenn Du mein Bruder bist, ...“ *Interaktion und Textgestaltung in altbabylonischen Alltagsbriefen*. (Cuneiform Monographs 16) Groningen.

Book chapter:

STOL, M. 2002: Personen um den König in altbabylonischer Zeit. In: LORETZ, O. – METZLER, K. A. – SCHAUDIG, H. (eds.): *Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux. Festschrift für Manfred Dietrich zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*. (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 281) Münster, 735–758.

Journal article:

STEINKELLER, P. 1988: The Date of Gudea and His Dynasty. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 40, 47–53.

Journal article in a journal without volume numbering:

CHARPIN, D. 2005: Samsu-ditana était bien le fils d’Ammi-šaduqa. *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2005, 37–38 (No. 36).

Entry in an encyclopaedia or lexicon:

ARO, S. 2012: Tabal. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 13, 388–391.

Review:

POETTO, M. 2014: Review of G. Bunnens, A New Luwian Stele and the Cult of the Storm-God at Til Barsib-Masuwari. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 71, 793–797.

Unpublished thesis:

BOWES, A. W. 1987: *A Theological Study of Old-Babylonian Personal Names*. Unpublished PhD dissertation (Dropsie College). Merion, Pennsylvania.

Online publication:

YAKUBOVICH, I. (online): *Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts*. <http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/> (accessed: 12 May, 2019).

Papers in German shall use German bibliographical terminology and the heading *Literatur*.

Figures

References to figures in the text must appear in consecutive order. Please refer to all types of illustrations (images, drawings, maps, tables, plates, etc.) as Fig. in abbreviated form. A list of figures with appropriate captions and credits should be provided at the end of the manuscript. All explanatory material and legends should be placed in captions. Captions should be set as suggested below, with credits placed in parentheses and ending with a period.

Fig. 1. Aerial view of the excavation area (Photo: R. Matthews).

Fig. 2. Details of the inscription (Durand 2005, 7).

It is the author's responsibility to obtain written permission for reproducing copyrighted images. While there is no limit to the number of figures, their number should be proportional to the length of the text. We accept digital images in colour or grayscale: tiff format of at least 300 dpi resolution is recommended. We accept charts in separate, editable formats only and not as tiff or jpeg files. The file name of any digital image and chart should consist of the author's last name and the figure number (e.g. Kramer_Fig1.tiff). Consider the page size of HAR which is A4 (210×297 mm) when sizing your images.

In case of any questions, contact the editors at info@harjournal.com.



HAR 1.2