

A Hittite Tablet from Büklükale

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ABSTRACT

This article presents the philological publication of a fragment of a Hittite cuneiform tablet found during excavations conducted by the Japanese Institute of Anatolian Archaeology under the direction of K. Matsumura at the site of Büklükale in 2010. The fragment contains part of a letter. Despite its being broken it is possible to suggest on the basis of some of the phraseology that this letter was probably written by a royal personage. After a summary consideration of the possible geographical implications of the find and of potential identifications of the site with ancient place-names, the fragment is presented in hand-copy (*Fig. 1*) and photograph (*Figs. 2-3*), transliteration and translation. A detailed philological commentary and palaeographic analysis is appended.

1. INTRODUCTION

The tablet fragment under consideration (BKT 1) was found in secondary layering at the site of Büklükale during excavations of the Japanese Institute of Anatolian Archaeology on 29.06.2010. This is the most westerly find of any Hittite cuneiform tablet in Turkey to date. The following article provides a brief discussion of the geographical and historical issues related to the site as a prelude to a philological presentation of the fragment. A future article will discuss the geographical and historical significance of Büklükale more generally. Of particular importance here is the question of whether the site functioned as a node on a Hittite route to the west, and the related question of how the content of the tablet, which is clearly a letter, might be interpreted against this background. Neither question can currently be answered with any certainty.

The site has been surveyed three times (1991,

2001, 2008) by the Japanese Institute of Anatolian Archaeology, led by S. Omura (id. 1993: 368, Büyükkaletepe; 2007: 50). Since 2009 the JIAA has conducted four years of excavation at Büklükale under the directorship of K. Matsumura (id. 2010; 2011). Using the evidence collected from these investigations it has not yet proven possible to arrive at a conclusive interpretation of the historical or archaeological context of the tablet at the site of Büklükale.

2. BÜKLÜKALE AND HITTITE GEOGRAPHY: SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The site of Büklükale, otherwise referred to in some literature as Kapalıkaya, Büyükkale, or Büyükkaletepe, is located on the western bend of the Kızılırmak on its western bank, opposite the village of Köprüköy, about 100km southeast of Ankara (coordinates 39° 35' 0" N by 33° 25' 42" E, 785m above sea-level). Here the river is crossed by the modern Bâla-Kırşehir road (D260), next to which stands a Seljuk bridge from the 13th century BC, and beside that the remains of a Roman bridge. This was one of the few crossings of the Kızılırmak throughout antiquity, the nearest older one to the north being 50km away at Develioğlu, the nearest to the south being found 30km away at Kesikköprü, just to the north of the Hirfanlı Barajı. There is also a further Kesikköprü, used at least during the Byzantine period, to the south of Kırşehir. The location of Büklükale thus suggests that the site will have had an important strategic function for whoever had power over it.

Heading southeast from Büklükale one route leads via Kaman-Kalehöyük, excavated by the JIAA

since 1986, and Yassihöyük, also excavated since 2009, to Kırşehir, from where one can turn north, eventually up to Boğazköy/Hattusa the capital of the Hittite kingdom, or south, into Cappadocia over the Kesikköprü bridge.

A shorter way of reaching Boğazköy/Hattusa would be to turn northeast shortly after Büklükale and reach the Kılıçözü valley (Barjamovic 2011: 390-391), passing the site of Büyükkale/Küçükkale and eventually arriving at the Delice valley, from where one can turn off either to approach Boğazköy from the south via Büyüknefes, or from the northwest via Sungurlu. Cappadocia could be reached coming from the west alternatively by turning south at Büklükale on the west bank of the river and continuing southwards along the west of the Ekecek mountains to Şereflikoçhisar and Aksaray, or turning east to the north of the Ekecek mountains into the plains of north-west Cappadocia.

This position on a node of routes already led the Victorian scholar W.M. Ramsay to identify the site of the crossing at the Seljuk bridge (called the Çeşniğir köprüsü) with the area under the protection of the Byzantine military way-station of Saniana, an important stop and fork in the road on the way eastwards from Dorylaion (Ramsay 1890: 218-221). However, Ramsay put the fortress of Saniana on the east bank of the river (1890: 218-219). Modern Byzantinists either appear to follow Ramsay, although placing Saniana further to the west of the river nearer Ankara (Wortley 2010: 44 fn. 69), or they locate Saniana to the east of the crossing at Kesikköprü, the next ford 30km to the south of Büklükale (Belke and Restle 1984: 173).

It is thus possible that Büklükale and the crossing it commanded were located on an important route to and from the west at least during the Byzantine period, although further research is clearly needed on this matter. Whether this would also have been just as important in the Hittite period is a different question. Indeed, G. Barjamovic argues that the route via Büklükale, important in his opinion in the Old Assyrian period, would have largely fallen out of use during Hittite times (Barjamovic 2010: 21).

Heading west from Büklükale one runs directly into the escarpment of the Haymana plateau, which needs to be circumnavigated if one is to continue a journey in the same direction. After traversing the

Upper Sakarya plain, and crossing the Sakarya river (Classical Sangarios, Hittite Sehiriya) one reaches Sivri Hırsar, which J. Garstang equated with Hittite Sallapa, the mustering point for Hittite campaigns to the West (Hawkins 1998: 14, 22). The Annals of Mursili II inform us that the river Sehiriya needed to be crossed before reaching this city (KUB 14.15 ii 1-14; Goetze 1933: 44-49).

Sallapa has, however, also been supposed to be located further south at classical Selme (suggestion of M. Forlanini, see Gurney 1992: 220), an area which would hardly be best reached via a route that crossed the Kızılırmak at Büklükale and then proceeded across the Sakarya. The question of the location of Sallapa is thus one to which evidence from Büklükale indicating the use of the site as a major crossing of the Kızılırmak towards the west during Hittite times may greatly contribute. Unfortunately, the evidence from the tablet-fragment presented here does not offer us any conclusive proof, and the evidence from the excavations thus far remains ambiguous.

In recent times there have been two proposals for an identification of Büklükale with an ancient place-name, both of them being particularly significant for the network of Old Assyrian Trade. G. Barjamovic has argued that it is the site of ancient Waḥšušana, the important trading centre of the Old Assyrian Colony period, which is hardly attested again in Hittite sources (2010: 21-22; 2011: 391). Waḥšušana was clearly located at or near a river-crossing and was a major stopping-point on the 'copper-route' from ancient Durḫumit, which Barjamovic locates in the area of Merzifon in the north-east, to Puruḫattum, which he locates near Bolvadin in the west of Anatolia (2011: 242-266; 357-378; 382-386; 404-408).

By contrast, M. Forlanini has located Durḫumit itself at Büklükale, envisaging a much smaller circuit of Old Assyrian trade (2008: 68-74; 2009: 56-58; 2010: 135-139, older literature fn. 6). While a Waḥsusana is hardly mentioned during the Hittite period, the Hittite town of Turmitta is assumed to be identical with Old Assyrian Durḫumit. It is mainly on the basis of evidence for the location of Turmitta in Hittite sources that Forlanini argues the presence of Durḫumit at Büklükale. Most important among these is an offering-list (KUB 48.103+) which is organized according to geographical criteria.

Far from offering confirmation for either of these hypotheses, with the wide-ranging implications for Bronze Age Anatolian geography that this would have, the surveys of the lower town conducted by the JIAA at Büklükale have tended to indicate provisionally that neither may be correct. This is primarily based on the pottery found in the lower town during these surveys, which is not Old Assyrian. This absence of evidence seems for the moment to indicate against there having been a significant settlement in the lower city during the Old Assyrian period. A localization at Büklükale of either Dur̥humit or Waḥšušana, with their associated *kārum*-settlements for Assyrian traders, would be impossible in this case. However, future excavation may well call for a revision of this viewpoint.

3. THE CURRENT EXCAVATIONS AND THE TABLET

The site of Büklükale consists of a lower town of some 500x650m with an outer fortification wall at its western edge and a 30m high citadel at its eastern edge overlooking terraces which lead down to the river. Even before excavations began, what appeared to be an impressive monumental wall was still visible at the eastern edge of the citadel. Later excavation showed this to be part of the wall of a monumental terrace building. It was directly to the east of this wall, in Ottoman fill from the construction of a basement-style house, that the tablet was found: grid N2E1, Provisional Layer 2, excavation no. BK100147 (BK 10-53).

While the tablet could be dated to the early 14th century on the basis of palaeography and language (see below, part 6), excavation of the wall, which was all in all some 7.5m high, and of the structure associated with it, has revealed part of a monumental building of an entirely different period. The wall has three metres of ash-layers on its outside. ¹⁴C analysis conducted by T. Omori of Tokyo University using a Bayesian statistical model on nine samples from the ash-layers on the outside of the wall has produced dates from the 20th to the early 16th centuries BC.

These results leave us with an apparent paradox. An occupation level that definitely corresponds to the time of the tablet has not yet been securely iden-

tified on the citadel in the areas investigated so far, although minimal architectural features which must post-date a burn-layer dating to the early 16th century have been uncovered. The evidence from the tablet itself, however, must indicate that it would have been at home in a significant Hittite city, although it is currently unclear what its function at Büklükale would have been under any interpretation of its content. The 2012 season also yielded three impressions of hieroglyphic seals, each with the same name, from a further secondary context on the citadel (BK 120195; 120150; 120173). The seals could be tentatively dated to the late 15th or early 14th centuries on the basis of stylistics combined with an appreciation of the level of development of the hieroglyphic script employed.

The results of excavation so far are thus doubly inconclusive for the context of the tablet, and currently for the function of Büklükale as a node on a possible Hittite route to the West. Not only do we not know where the tablet was originally in situ, but we also have not yet definitely identified an archaeological stratum to which it might belong. We can hypothesize that Büklükale is likely to have been an important site for the Hittites because of its location and the find of a tablet with most probably royal epistolary content appears to confirm this importance. This hypothesis remains to be tested by further excavation.

4. BKT1: FORM AND BASIC CONTENT

The tablet was baked in antiquity. As there is as yet no burn-layer dating to the same period (early 14th century BC) the baking either happened through accidental burning in a fire or through purposeful baking in an oven. Further research is required on this, but it may be that the Hittites sometimes baked letters in order to protect them on journeys. Sender and addressee are unknown. Only half of the obverse and none of the reverse are preserved, apart from several lines which trespass onto the obverse from the reverse via the right edge.

The shape of the tablet is typical for a letter. The fragment is 8.1cm high, and maximally 5.4cm wide. Its right edge is 9mm thick at the top and 7mm

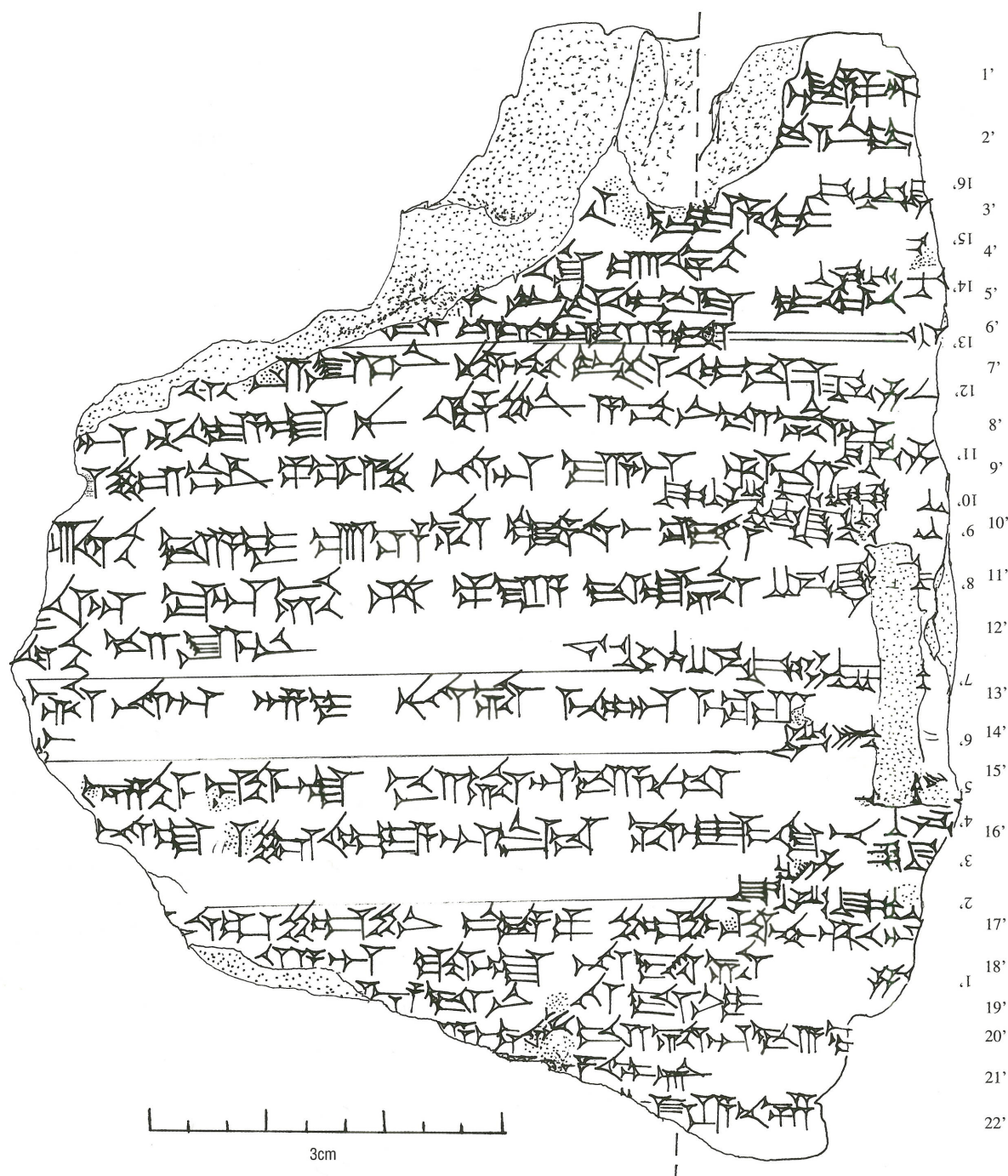


Fig. 1 Copy of BKT 1

thick at the bottom, with a maximal thickness in the middle of 2.2cm. On some of the varying sizes of letter-tablets see Hoffner 2009: 45-46. For reasons outlined below it is supposed that the tablet must have originally been roughly square in shape, c. 8.5-9cm horizontally x 9cm vertically.

The repeated mention of KUR-KA, “your land”, which is usually only used in communication with kings and gods in Hittite texts, and LÚ TE₄-MI-KA “your messenger”, make it probable that we are

dealing with royal diplomatic correspondence. The sender writes from the perspective of *kī* KUR^{[H].A}, “these lands”. The geographical location of the find makes it likely to have been sent or written by a Hittite king to a ruler in the west, or less likely the other way round, although it cannot be excluded that the ultimate destination of the tablet was to have been another part of Anatolia. Nor can it be excluded that the letter was in fact written at Büklükale and not sent. The letter has also been suggested by

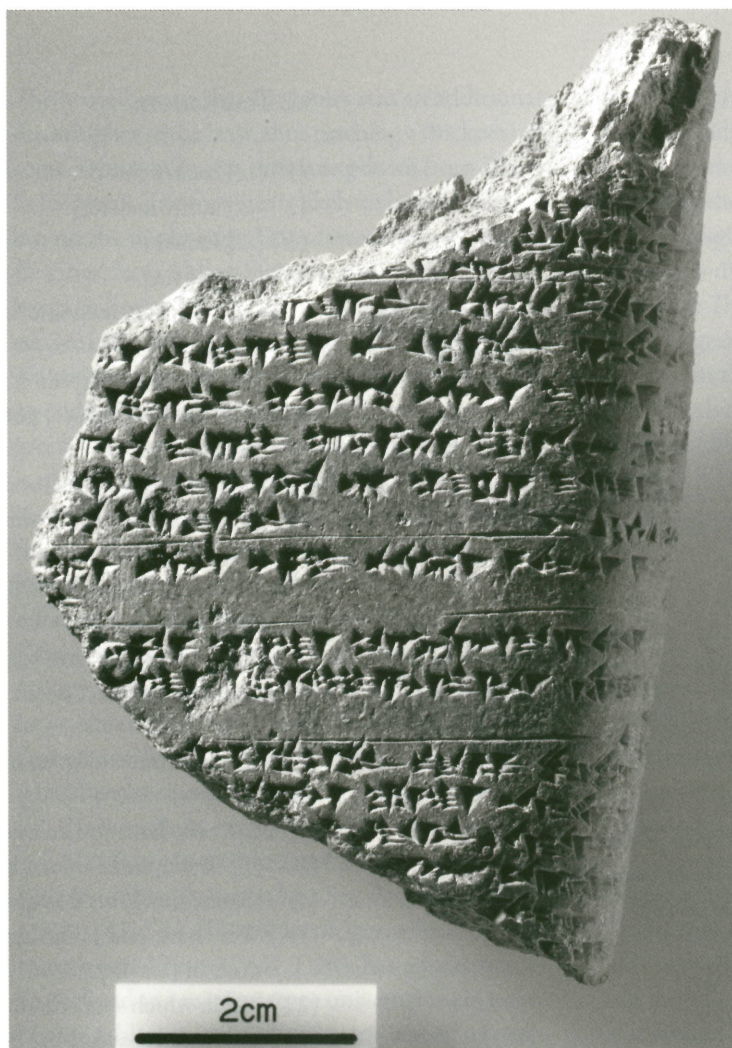


Fig. 2 Photo of Obverse of BKT 1



Fig. 3 Photo of Right Edge of BKT 1

D. Yoshida (personal communication) to be a draft version, although this may be at variance with the fact that it was baked in antiquity.

How we understand the tone of the letter depends almost entirely on the kind of restorations we are prepared to entertain, particularly in lines 7' and 12', and these depend on the amount of space the original unbroken dimensions are likely to have afforded. Any historical conclusions based on such restorations are of course to be avoided. The repeated mention of "delay" (Hitt. *istandāi-*) may refer to the common topos of detaining one's messengers, although this is not completely assured. Possible interpretations of the entire background context range from a hostile exchange concerning detention of messengers prior to or during a military expedition, to a relatively friendly exchange regard-

ing delays during the run-up to a celebration or wedding. Palaeography suggests a 14th century dating (see below), and archaic elements of the language (*issumeni*, *wes=a*) support an earlier rather than later dating within this timespan.

What such a letter would be doing at Büklükale is unclear. It may have been an archive copy made on its way to another destination (in the west?) or it may have been received by the recipient or his representative there, either as a way-station for communication, or because the town was under their power at that moment in time. It may have been written by a Hittite king or prince while he was at Büklükale, perhaps returning from campaigns in the west or just beginning them, and was for whatever reason, not sent. Further historical speculation should await continued excavation at Büklükale.

5. THE TEXT.

5.1 Transliteration:

Obv.

- 1') [...] EGIR-pa-[a]n
 2') [... ud-d)a-ni-i
 3') [... x i'-ia-mi
 4') [...] x'-ki ū-UL
 5') [...] ut?-[t]ar LÚ TE₄-MI-KA I-DI-pát
 6') [...-t]i-iš? iš-ta-an-da-a-it
 7') [...]-UL [i]š-šu-me-ni nu-wa-mu LÚ TE₄-MI-KA
 8') [...]-an ti-ia-at nu SIG₅-in a-pé-ni-iš-ša-an
 9') [... A-NA² G⁶] KIRI₆.GEŠTIN pa-iz-zi na-an ma-a-an MUŠEN-iš
 10') [...] U¹-UL da-a-i ū-e-ša EGIR.UD-aš ku-it
 11') [... -d]a-an ma-an-ga MUŠEN pa-ra-a da-at-ta
 12') [...]-UL iš-šu-me-ni
 13') [...]-ta na-an ha-l-za-i nu-ut-ta me-mi-an me-ma-ú
 14') [...] x
 15') [... a-pu]-u¹-un-wa ku-wa-at iš-ta-an-da-a-nu-uš
 16') [...] na-at šar-mi-ia-an-du-uš ša-ak-ki-pát
 17') [...] x-al-li-in EGIR-pa li-li-wa-aḥ-ḥu-u-an-[zi]
 18') [na-a-i? nu? d]a-a-an ku-wa-at na-it-ta
 19') [... k]u-e-da-ni-pát! ud-da-ni-i
 20') [...] x-A₁-AŠ-ŠA iš-ta-an-da-a-i[t]
 21') [...] u?-e¹?-mi-ir
 22') [... -a]t!-ra-a-nu-un

Rev.

- 1')]-mu
 2')]-a¹-at-ta-at
 3') k]i-i KUR^{1u1A}
 4')]-da
 5')]x [x]x
 6')]x e¹-eš-ta
 7')]x kal-li-iš-tar-wa-ni
 8') ha-pa?-]a[l]i?-ki-iš
 9')]x e-šu-un
 10')]x i-ia-an-ta-at
 11')] KUR-KA
 12')]x KUR-KA
 13')]-LIM²
 14')]-pár an-da
 15')]x
 16') k]e-e-ez

5.2 Translation:

- (1') [...] back/behind
 (2') [...] in the ma[tt]er
 (3') [...] I make
 (4') [...] not [...]
 (5') [...] your messenger at least knows about [...
 mat]ter,
 (6') [...] has been delayed.
 (7') [...] "we will ([n]ot?) perform [...]. your mes-
 senger
 (8') stepped [...] to me". Good so!
 (9') [if?...] goes [to the]? vineyard and even if the
 bird
 (10') [...] does not take/put him/it, all the same we,
 in future,
 (12') will ([n]ot?) perform [...] because
 (11') you have selected/taken out a bird [...] in any
 way.
 (13') [...], call him and let him tell you the story
 (14') ...
 (15') [...] "why have you delayed [th]at? one?"
 (16') [...] Sarmiyandu at least knows it.
 (17') [Send? the.].. back as quickly as possible.
 (18') Why have you sent/turned [...] for a second
 time/in [rea]lity?
 (19') [...] in which very? matter [...]
 (20') [...] ... and that one has been delayed.
 (21') [...] they found/arrived?
 (22') [...] I [w]rote?.

Rev.

- (1') [...] (to) me (2') [...] it was x-ed (3') [...]
 these lands (4') [...] -ed? (5') [...] (6') [...] was (7') [...] at the festival [of...]
 (8') [...] [i]ron? (9') [...] I was (10') [...] they marched/walked (11') [...] your
 country (12') [...] your country (13') [...] (14') [...] (15') [...] in (16') [...] from here/these.

5.3 Philological Commentary:

The thickness of the right edge is 7mm at the top. There is a blank space of some 3mm at the top on the obverse before the beginning of the text on the top right corner. There must be room for 2-3 lines beforehand, which would have contained the address formula and which did not encroach on the right edge.

This would mean that the tablet was an additional 6mm higher at the least, thus reaching a thickness of some 3–4mm at its top, estimating down from 2.2cm in its centre. The first line is likely to have been written on the upper edge. The alternative conclusion, that there is no address formula, would entail a highly irregular beginning to a letter, although not unattested. See HKM 35 (Alp 1991: 182–183), although this is a very particular case. Note that if there is room for an address formula there is unlikely to be room for a greeting formula, perhaps indicating that the sender is speaking to an inferior (Hoffner 2009: 56–61). D. Yoshida suggests by personal communication that the lack of greeting formula is evidence for the letter being a draft rather than the finished article, with reference to Hagenbuchner 1989: 47. See, however, KBo 18.48, where address and greeting formula occupy only two lines. KBo 18.48 is also likely to be a draft as it was clearly not sent. The geographical find-spot of BKT 1 at Büklükale might indicate that it had been sent and was on its way somewhere.

2') Restoration suggested by D. Schwemer.

5') LÚ TE₄-MI-KA nom. sg.+ S2 poss. pron., Akk. *bēl tēmi*, Hitt. *ḫalugatalla-*. See Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 142–144. This Akkadogram, peculiar to Hittite cuneiform (CAD T 96), has a tendency to be declined as a *māršipru* type univerbation in many Hittite tablets (nom. sg. LÚ TE₄-MU, acc. sg. LÚ TE₄-MA, pl. LÚ^{MEŠ} TE₄-ME/I). These forms mainly appear on palaeographically later tablets, although see nom. sg. LÚ TE₄-MU at HKM 56, 7', 14' (MS), and the typologically parallel LÚ ME-ŠE-DU (nom. sg.) in IBoT 1.36 iii 27 (MS). The syntactical form using a notional Akkadian determinate genitive *ša tēmi*, as in BKT 1, with the genitive marked irrespective of whether the whole phrase is in the nominative or accusative, is found mainly on Middle Script tablets: KUB 23.72 obv. 13 MH/MS, rev. 22 (acc.), 22 (id.), 42 (id.) CTH 146; KUB 14.1 obv. 40 MH/MS CTH 147, KuT 50 obv. 26 (acc.) MS. There are some later uses: e.g. KBo 5.6 rev. iii 9 NS CTH 40. See also Hoffner 2009: 53 with further literature.

6') The second sign could also be DA, in which case the grounds for interpreting the first trace as [T]I would also be significantly weakened. If the reading [-t]i¹ is correct, this is likely to be a nom. sg.

The single paragraph-divider is written double at the end of the line, and partially over the final

word, which is written in smaller script. The mixture of double and single paragraph dividers here, without a noticeable change in topic, is atypical. It is caused by the fact that the paragraph divider did not leave enough space to write the sentence, so a new paragraph divider had to be drawn, under the word *istandāit*. This is of interest as it indicates that the first paragraph divider was drawn before the text was written, in this case at least. The second paragraph line was also not low enough and cuts through the middle of the second half of the word *istandāit*.

7'-12') Syntax and meaning are very obscure. The translation attempts to follow the available syntax in as literal a manner as possible. There are two possibilities for general background interpretation. Either this passage contains a reference to augury, possibly in connection with travel or a military expedition, or the mention of the birds frames a metaphor, such as is found elsewhere in connection with detention of messengers, or one whose reference is unclear. It may even be a case of a metaphor or simile involving augury!

7') *issa-* is one of the verbs used for the performance of a ritual or celebration (HED 1.2, 300–305). One thinks of *kallistarwani* “at the festival” in rev. 7', although this is most likely a blind alley. *issa-* does not introduce direct speech, unless via an object such as *arkuwar*, “plea, address”, so the quotative particle in *nu-wa* needs to be explained. Quite possibly a further *-wa* was present in the break, in which case a verb of writing and a quotative particle would need to be supplied, eg. [*ku-it* (*ḫa-at-ra-a-eš*) *nu-wa*]. The quoted words would thus belong to previous communication from the addressee of BKT 1 (suggestion D. Schwemer, personal communication). A verb of writing is usually expressed in such contexts (Hoffner 2009: 62), and the complete phrase would occupy approximately 4.4 cm. The roughly parallel line 15' requires some 3.5 cm of restoration to provide a verb of speaking. By comparison the restoration [*ku-it* (*ḫa-at-ra-a-eš*) *nu-wa*] at the beginning of line 7' may even be a little large for the estimated available space.

One might consider restoring the Akkadographic negative [*ū*]-UL here and in line 12' before *issumeni*. The text would then contain two refusals, one on the part of the addressee from previous correspondence, and one on the part of the sender. A further possibility for the restoration of

the beginnings of lines 7' and 12', as suggested by D. Yoshida (personal communication), is to see here a noun ending in *-ul*: e.g. [*iš-ḥi-ú*]-*ul* "treaty", or [*ták-šu*]-*ul* "peace treaty", possibly also [*a-aš-šu*]-*ul* "greeting, friendship". The space required for this restoration is likely to entail the use of the shortened version of the phrase commonly employed to refer to the recipient's previous message: [*ku-it nu-wa*]. The restoration changes the tone of the letter considerably. It would, however, explain the use of first plural *issumeni*: "we" would be sender and addressee. In the case of a restoration of the negative, the first plural verb-form would need to be explained as "we (the people on my side)", a plural of majesty.

The verb *essa-/issa-*, iterative of *iya-* "do", was apparently not yet attested with the change of *w > m* known from *tumeni*, *tarnumeni*, which is usually associated with verbs that have a variant stem-form that does not end in *-a* (GHL §1.82, p. 34-35). That *issa-* originally had consonantal inflection had been predicted from the forms *i-iš-te-e-ni* and *i-iš-te-en* (GHL §13.15).

In the second instance of (*natta'*) *issumeni* (l. 12'), *wes=a* may be its subject, which would leave the strangely embedded clause: *kuit* [... *d*] *an manka mušen parā datta*. It appears that there are two grounds for the (lack of?) action on the part of the sender signaled by (*natta'*) *issumeni*. One is the behaviour of the sender's messenger towards the recipient (*nu-wa-mu* [...]-*an ti-ia-at*), the mention of which in connection with the statement (*natta'*) *issumeni* was positively evaluated (*nu SIG₅-in apēnissan*) by the sender. The other is the fact that the recipient has (not?) already "selected/taken out a bird", which is obscure (see below).

8') Among the possible restorations are [EGIR-*pa*]-*an tiya-*, "look after, support", [... *kat-ta*]-*an tiya-* and [... *an-da*]-*an tiya-* "come into (my) presence". The phrase *nu SIG₅-in apēnissan* must refer back to a previous topic, rather than forward to the next topic, for which we would expect *kissan* instead of *apēnissan* (GHL §7.2, p. 142). A. Taggar-Cohen points out that the phrase is used to comment favourably on what a correspondent has said in a previous letter (personal communication). EGIR.UD-*aš* = Hitt. *appasiwattas*, "in future" (HWb2 166-168). This spelling is thus far unique, as opposed to usual EGIR. UD^{KAM}/-*MI*.

The referent of *na-an* in l. 9' could be either the person or animal that "goes", or the vineyard itself, as the gender of the latter fluctuates between common and neuter (Hoffner 1997: 200). *ma-a-an* cannot be used in equative function to the noun here, as it would need to be placed after MUŠEN-*iš*. It is unclear with which main clause the subordinate clause *na-an ma-a-an* MUŠEN-*iš* ... Ū-UL *da-a-i* should be construed, or indeed if this is one clause. The unusual placing of the enclitic pronoun also needs to be addressed, *na-an ma-a-an* rather than more usual *ma-a-na-an*.

The presence of *wes=a*, with the archaic adversative =*a* (allomorph of =*ma*) after the verb *dāi* signals a change of topic, or may suggest a concessive clause type of construction: "and even if a bird takes (?) him/it ..., all the same we will (not?) do". For this type of construction see GHL §30.46, and compare for the order of unmarked enclitic pronoun and *mān* the following sentence from KUB 26.58 obv. 14-20: *ma-a-an ū-iz-zi DUMU-ŠU DUMU.DUMU-ŠU ŠA 'GAL-^D10 A-NA 'UTU-ŠI* (15) *me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da wa-aš-ta-i nu-uš-ši wa-aš-túl pu-nu-uš-ša-an-du na-aš ma-a-an du-ud-du-nu-ma-aš ma-a-na-aš ku-na-an-na-aš* ... (18) *é-SÚ-ma-aš-ši-kán* [*le-e*] (19) *da-an-zi na-at da-me-e-da-ni an-tu-uḥ-ši* ... (20) *le-e pí-an-zi* "if it happens that a son or grandson of Ura-Tarhunda sins with regard to My Majesty, let them investigate his crime, and whether if he be liable for pardoning or for execution ..., even so let them [not?] take his house and let them not give it to another man ...". See Imparati 1974: 98 fn. 153, 101. For an identical sequence of *mān* ... *n=as mān*, followed in this case by an adversative particle attached to a further disjunctive (*mān=ma=as*), see CTH 264 §6/2, 6 (KUB 13.5 ii 11-12 // KUB 40.63 i 17, ed. Taggar-Cohen 2006: 47).

These syntactic comparisons may suggest that [*ma-a-an* x x (subject) *A-NA'*] be restored at the beginning of line 9' and/or that [*ma-a-na-an* x x] may need to be restored at the beginning of 10', indicating mutually exclusive subjects for Ū-UL *da-a-i*: "if ... goes to the vineyard, even if a bird [or a ...] does not take him/it". This would mean that lines 9'-12' are essentially one long sentence with inserted concessive (*na-an ma-a-an* ... *da-a-i*) and causal (*ku-it* ... *da-at-ta*) subordinate clauses. The whole sentence would be a response to the quoted speech from previous

correspondence in 7'-8'. The sentence ends with the same verb as the quoted speech starts with, *issumeni*. This interpretation of the syntax allows the mention of a bird in line 9' and of the bird in line 10' to balance each other syntactically and semantically. They are also possibly connected to the same verb (*dā-* "to take"), once as subject, once as object. Even if this suggestion for the understanding of the syntax could be verified, however, the intended meaning of the whole remains unclear. It should also be remarked that the embedded sentence dependent on *kuit* would be quite without parallel in Hittite.

The use of *manka* "at all, in any way" without an immediately preceding negative is rare (CHD L-N 176, three attestations). Among possible restorations might be [(*ú-UL*) *ha-an-š* *d*] *a-an ma-an-ga* "(not) really in any way", although this collocation is nowhere attested, or [(*ú-UL*) *ú-wa-an-d*] *a-an ma-an-ga* MUŠEN, "a bird that [flie]s [not?] at all", also unattested. The spelling of *manka* as *ma-an-ga* as opposed to *ma-an-qa* is less frequent according to the collection of attestations at CHD L-N 175, but there appears to be no chronological bias.

The double occurrence of MUŠEN(-*is*) immediately suggests that bird-oracles may provide the background. The language of the preserved text, however, does not agree with that of other such contexts. "Taking" a bird is attested in a context where it might be considered to describe the taking of a bird-oracle: KUB 7.54 obv. ii 2 MUŠEN-an UGU {SIG₅} *ú-wa-an-da-an da-a-an-zi*, *ibid.* 4 *nu* MUŠEN EGIR-ŠÚ *ú-wa-an-da-an da-an-zi* "they take a bird(-oracle) flying behind (up out of the good)". Our understanding of this particular passage is in contrast to that which sees the officials taking the birds that have flown in this manner for use in the ritual (Bawanyeck 2005: 133, 252).

While it may be that "take a bird" can mean to perform a bird-oracle, it is difficult to see how it is significant if a "bird doesn't take (+direct object)" or if someone "selects" a bird (*parā datta*, CHD P 115). The verb *dā-* with the reflexive particle *-za* can be used in the context of augury for a bird changing direction (Archi 1975: 169), with the bird as subject, but here the reflexive particle is not present.

For a bird "to take" something as subject is clearly something undesirable in the following passage (Bo. 4130 6-9, Otten 1982: 286, Fuscagni 2007: 65):

le-e-m[a-at] NIM.LÀL-aš d[a-]

May the bee not ta[ke] them/it

le-e-ma-at la-la-ú-i-š[a-aš]

May the ant not [take] them/it

le-e-ma-at KU₆-uš ME-x[...]

May the fish not ta[ke] them/it

le-e-ma-at MUŠEN-iš ME-x[...]

May the bird not ta[ke] them/it

Unfortunately the rest of this context is not known, as the tablet has yet to be published. It is unlikely that the relevance of "taking" performed by a bird can be generalized from this context to that of a man or a vineyard. A "garden bird" *iš-šur KIRI₆^{MUŠEN}* appears as an unlucky omen in Standard Babylonian *Šumma Ālu* (CT 41.7, 47; CT 41.24 iii 11, CAD I-J 208), but it is unnecessary to infer influence from this direction when the Hittites already possessed such a rich and indigenous tradition of augury.

We should be wary of reading bird-oracles into a passage simply because birds have been mentioned. One alternative interpretation is to read this passage as a metaphor involving birds for messengers, although the precise terms of the comparison must remain obscure. Birds are referred to as the messengers of gods: *tu-el LÚ TE₄-MI SUR₁₄.DÜ.A*, "your (sc. ⁹KAL) messenger, the falcon" KBo 20.107+ obv. ii 21 (Bawanyeck 2005: 110). In a letter of Tušratta to the Pharaoh (EA 28, 20-28), a simile involving birds is used precisely in the context of the detention of messengers. There, however, the context and terms of comparison are clear. The messengers are not birds that might fly away, so why is the Pharaoh detaining them? Here the context is not clear at all.

Bird imagery of an entirely different nature is used by Suppiluliuma I in KUB 19.20+ rev. 22'-23' (van den Hout 1994: 65; Freu 2004: 87). There the images of the falcon and the chick appear to be used to refer metaphorically to the predatory treatment of Suppiluliuma's son, Zannanza, by the Egyptian authorities.

13') From *na-an ...* the sentence makes perfect sense syntactically. This leaves a very small space to fit another meaningful sentence ending in *-ta* beforehand. See further the note on lines 15'-16'. If we are prepared to admit more space before the break in (13') it may be possible to restore something like [*nu ku-it me-mi-iš*]-*ta*, "[and as for what he sai]d".

14') The horizontal wedge is too high for *-aš*. *LÁ* does not occur in contexts that might be helpful here.

15'-16') *Sarmiyandu*: PN otherwise unattested. Unless this is a foreign name, it may contain an initial element presumably related to Hittite *sarmiya*, a wild animal of some kind, discussed at Alp 1991: 326-332, CHD Š 278. For *-andu* see of course Alaksandu (Laroche 1966 no. 21). The name may well be Luwian, although this should have no bearing on the geographical origin of the person bearing it.

Problematic is that the transition from 15' to 16' makes good sense without requiring any further restorations. One would have to assume that line 16' was indented, which is itself unusual. Furthermore, if the reading [... *a-pu*]-*u¹-un-wa* in l. 15' is in fact correct, it has significant implications for the width of the tablet, as it must either have stood at the beginning of the line (thus [*a-pu*-]), or at the beginning of a new clause after another phrase [... *a-pu*-], most likely [*ku-it ha-at-ra-a-eš a-pu*]-*u¹-un-wa*. If the latter is the case, the width of the tablet must have been significantly larger, by some 3.5cm. This amount of break makes the possibility of understanding the remaining lines all the more remote. If the former is the case, then we are left with no options for restoring the syntax comprehensibly in the other lines.

The parallel constructions (5') *LÚ TE₄-MI-KA I-DI-pát* and (16') *šar-mi-ia-an-du-uš ša-ak-ki-pát* "your messenger/Sarmiyandu does know", make it a possible assumption that Sarmiyandu is identical

with "your messenger". This would mean that line 5' would again need to be reported speech from the addressee's previous correspondence. If this is not the case, then "your messenger" in 5' may refer to the addressee's messenger, who may have been delayed with the sender, possibly the [*apⁱ*]*un* of line 15', maybe even the unclear [*apⁱ*]*āssa* of line 20'. Reading lines 7' and 15' also as quotations from the recipient's previous correspondence, Sarmiyandu would be the sender's messenger, who is with the recipient. What he knows is possibly the answer to the question posed by the recipient in previous correspondence (l. 15').

17'-18') The first word is unclear. [*an-n*]*a-al-li-in* "previous" does not fit the traces, nor do [... *š*]*a-al-li-in* or [... *-t*]*a-al-li-in* exactly. The top right Winkelhaken of TA is usually written much higher on this tablet. It could possibly be [... *-d*]*a-al-li-in*, although this too is dubious from the traces. The use of *naitta* "you turned, sent" in line 18' in a question, makes it fairly likely that the attested phrase *appa liliwahhuwa[nzi nāi]*, "send back as quickly as possible" is to be restored at the end of 17' and beginning of 18' in the previous sentence. *liliwahhuwanzi* is attested exclusively in Middle Hittite letters (CHD L-N 61, reference courtesy D. Yoshida). It is unlikely but not impossible that [*na-a-i*] would have strayed from the obverse to the reverse and thus stayed in line 17'. [*d*]*a-a-an* might mean for a second time, thus "why have you sent/turned for a second time?" A negation could possibly be accommodated in the gap, "why did you [not] send for a second time?" An alternative restoration may involve [*ha-an-d*]*a-a-an* "why did you really send?". Restoring [*ha-an-d*]*a-a-an* here would be an argument to exclude the restoration [*ha-an-d*]*a-an* in obv. 11'.

19') It looks as though the scribe began to write something after *ku-e-da-ni* over a stone in the clay (Fig. 4) and then gave up. It may be an aborted *-pát* that the scribe tried to write, which was then re-inserted below the stone. See below.

20') The sequence *-A-AŠ-ŠA* is rare and could give us some leverage on the topic of this paragraph. There are several possibilities: (i) [*a-p*]*a-₁a₁-aš-ša(-pát²¹)* "and that one" (ii) [*š*]*A A-AŠ-ŠA-TT²¹* "of the wife" (iii) [*KUR^{URU}M*]*A-A-AŠ-ŠA* x. For the second option see *šA A-AŠ-ŠA-TT¹-I[A]* KUB 26.18, 7' (NSb, CTH 275). However, the use of Akkadographic *AŠŠATU* instead of Sumerian



Fig. 4 Detail of BKT 1 obv. 19'-21'

DAM, “wife”, is extremely rare in Hittite. Otherwise only: ^{MUNUS}A-ŠA-ZU (KBo 21.45 obv. i 3’ NS CTH 500); [A-Š]A-AT conjectured at 1513/u+ obv. i 24 (Otten 1981: 18). For the third option see KUR ^{URU}MA-A-AŠ-ŠA KUB 19.10 obv. i 20 // KUB 19.11 rev. iv 29, although we should be wary of this solution given its historical implications.

Most problematic, however, is the sign between ŠA and iš- (Fig. 4). The whole sign is written extremely small, and above the level of the rest of the line. At first sight the sign appears to be KUR, which makes little sense. Closer inspection, using alternately a microscope and direct sunlight, shows that the right-hand Winkelhaken is significantly larger than the left-hand wedge, the latter resembling more the head of a horizontal. If this is to be read TI¹, then the bottom of the sign has been omitted as a scribal error. The amount of damage does not allow the conclusion that it has been lost.

An alternative reading would see this as D¹10, the storm-god, although again the signs have been somewhat squashed, due to the lack of space, losing both the broken horizontal wedge and the bottom of the vertical wedge of the DINGIR-sign. By way of comparison, collation of the letter from Suppiluliuma I to Egypt, KUB 19.20+ rev. 13’, in 2005 in Berlin, showed a similar form of D¹10, which also has no lower half of the DINGIR sign as well as a not discernibly broken horizontal. Reading D¹10 gives us either an obscure phrase “the storm-god has been delayed [in the land of M]āssa?” or an incomplete personal name, —*assa-Tarhunda* (suggestion M.T. Larsen, personal communication). A compatible name is not attested.

J.L. Miller suggests (comment after paper at 8th International Congress of Hittitology, Warsaw, 2011) that the problematic sign is BAD, giving a reading [a-p]a-[a]-aš-ša-pát¹ “and just that one ...”, with the top wedge on the sign BAD being a mistake. The sign -pát would in this case be written very high, and may even belong to the line above, to which it was added on a lower level after a stone prevented its being written where it belonged. Thus one would have in line 19’ *ku-e-da-ni-pát¹ ud-da-ni-i* “in which very matter”. The errant top wedge would thus belong to the interrupted attempt to write -pát over the stone in line 19’, although its shape is not entirely convincingly explained by this hypothesis.

The reading [a-p]a-[a]-aš-ša(-pát¹) presents the most comprehensive explanation of all the traces, involves continuation of the already established topic of detention of a person, possibly a messenger, but maybe someone else, and does not require that extraneous historical information be imported into the text on the basis of an insecure reading. It is thus preferable to the other solutions envisaged. In the phrase *apāssa(=pat) istandāit*, the pronoun may refer back to the same individual as denoted by the pronoun in [ap]ūn=*wa istandanus*.

6. PALAEOGRAPHY

Any statements on the palaeography of a small fragment such as this are provisional, dependent on the sign-forms in the rest of the tablet and developments in Hittite palaeography more generally. Given the importance of this find, some attempt should be made, however. Comparative statements in the following are based on a survey the palaeography of tablets belonging to 76 historical texts which formed the initial database for Weeden 2011. For the relevant categories of Hittite palaeography used here see Starke 1985: 24-25; Klinger 1996: 32-39; CHD L-N xi; Weeden 2011: 42-52).

The writing is neat, ordered, although proceeding at a slant upwards from left to right. Uprights are regularly little more than 2mm long and there is spacing of around 1-2 mm between most of the lines and 1-2mm between the words.

The palaeography of this tablet is largely Middle Script, using the typically Old and Middle Hittite forms of the signs TAR, E, AG, LI. The forms of DA and IT are of interest, combining: those that show a stepped length of the horizontals with the two bottom horizontals being of equal length and longer than the top one (HZL 214/1); with the middle horizontal being extended longer than the surrounding two (HZL 215/9), with the top horizontal being longer than the bottom two (HZL 214/11, 215/10), and with all horizontals being of equal length (HZL 214A, 215A). However, the differences in length are in most cases minimal. Throughout the text, the script shows a tendency to step piled horizontals with the top one being the longest (e.g. ŠU in obv. 7’). One further idiosyncratic feature is a tendency

to write the top Winkelhaken in the signs ŠA and TA very high.

Not entirely consonant with a Middle Script dating is the form of SAR with two equally high verticals in obv. 9' (HZL 353B), while the form in l. 16', with a shorter initial vertical, is also found in the Maşat letters (Alp 1991: 118, HZL 353/5). Also the form of AḪ in obv. 17' shows a horizontal that is slightly pulled out of the three Winkelhaken, or at least does not have its head buried in their midst, like the older form of AḪ. This sign-form can also be found at Maşat Höyük, according to S. Alp's list of signs (Alp 1991: 117).

The form of DU in obv. 16' also shows a form that is similar to a New Script variant (HZL 128B). With its right tail extended, the top Winkelhaken looks almost more like a top horizontal. It is, however, not quite parallel to the horizontal below it, which is itself set at a slight angle. The variant form of DU with two parallel top horizontals rather than a horizontal and a Winkelhaken makes a typologically "early" appearance in KUB 19.37, an Early New Script (NSa) tablet of the Annals of Mursili II (collated Berlin 2006), which has older E, LI, IG, GI, TAR, but always AZ with a ZA-subscript (ii 30, 31 contra copy). Note that this tablet must have been written quite late in Mursili's reign, as it contains details of campaigns from years 17 and 18 (Houwinkten Cate 1967: 55).

In view of these few later forms, the question must be asked whether the older sign-forms are being used in an archaizing fashion or whether the newer signs are here found among their earlier attestations. Usually we date tablets by the non-appearance of later sign-forms, the most value being accorded to the youngest sign-form present. However, some criterial value must also fall to the typology of use of the older signs in later texts, in combination with later sign-forms. The older LI is used frequently in later tablets with later ductus-types (NSb-c), less so the older AG, although it does appear occasionally (e.g. KBo 4.4; KBo 14.42; KUB 6.41, with late LI and DA and IT only with unbroken central horizontal, collated Berlin 2006; KBo 14.42 with late URU; KUB 14.16 with late LI; all Mursili II texts, but those with late LI probably later tablets).

The form of E with a lower initial vertical is used rarely in later tablets, sometimes in special cir-

cumstances: KUB 21.15 rev. iv 6' (Hattusili III), a tablet which shows a deliberately archaizing script (see URU, LI, AḪ, AZ). KUB 19.9 obv. i 8', 10', 21', ii 13', 22', 23', 24' (Photo B1651 collated in Mainz at the *Forschungstelle Hethitologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur*, 2006), is another Hattusili III text which has some archaizing features. It also occurs at KUB 19.37 obv. ii 20, 33, rev. iii 24', but this tablet also uses E with the high initial vertical (see table). See also KBo 19.53 rev. iii 4', 8' a small fragment of the Deeds of Suppiluliuma I as told by Mursili II, which is given the palaeographic label "m(ittell)h(ethitisch)?" in S. Košak's *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte* (www.hethiter.net).

Extremely rare in later tablets is this particular form of TAR (HZL 7B). It is shared by the Maşat letters as well as by KUB 19.20+ (Suppiluliuma I). Other than on clearly Old and Middle Script tablets it occurs at KBo 18.105, 6, which is classed as j(ung) h(hethitisch) by S. Košak's *Konkordanz*, although this is one of the only datable sign-forms on the tablet. The form with the horizontals and uprights at right-angles (HZL 7A) is, on the other hand, relatively frequently found in New Script: e.g. KUB 19.37 obv. ii 9' Mursili II NSa; KUB 14.16 obv. i 29, rev. iii 41, Mursili II, but uses both old and late forms of LI, thus possibly a later ms.; KBo 4.7 obv. i 10, rev. iii 13' Mursili II but with late LI; KUB 1.6 rev. iii 14'; KUB 1.8 rev. iv 10, 35; KUB 19.29 ii 3, KUB 21.29 ii 3; KUB 19.71, 7' all Hattusili III; KUB 23.68 obv. 11.

Although no statistics for the distribution of these older sign-forms on later tablets are currently available, the data we have at our disposal suggest that the presence of this form of TAR, and less so the form of E, especially in combination with the older forms of AG and LI, can be used to establish an earlier rather than later date of inscription for BKT 1. This means 14th century rather than 13th century.

The comparative table appended shows some differences between the sign-forms as used here and those used in tablets from the reigns of Suppiluliuma I (KUB 19.20+) and Arnuwanda I (KUB 14.1, collated Berlin 2005, 2007). Both of these use forms of ŠA and TA with internal verticals reaching or superseding the top horizontal. Here the internal verticals are lower. Both forms are apparently attested at Maşat Höyük (Alp 1991: 115). Suppiluliuma's letter to the Pharaoh's widow also shows E with a raised

initial vertical, as does the probably contemporary ms. B of the Hukkana Treaty KBo 19.44+ (Early New Script, Klinger 1996: 34 fn. 11).

While fine-dating is generally something to be avoided, in this case we can tell that we must be very near the end of the use of Middle Script. The last kings some of whose documents are written in Middle Script were Suppiluliuma I (KUB 3.7+, Akkadian language) and possibly also Mursili II (KBo 19.53, although a small fragment). Documents dated to Suppiluliuma's reign also show the Early New Script (NSa) variety (KUB 19.20+, KUB 19.44+ if not a later copy; for Mursili II see KUB 19.37). The New Script leveling of the height of

the verticals in the sign E has not been applied in BKT 1, but the occurrence of signs typically associated with New Script (SAR, AH, DU?) may make a dating to the reign of Suppiluliuma I, or his predecessor Tudhaliya III, quite likely. The tablet is unlikely, for example, to have been written in the period of Arnuwanda I, although this is not inconceivable. It could also have been written in the reign of Mursili II (or Arnuwanda II) although the form of TAR would be unusual. Thus the best dating that can be arrived at on the basis of palaeography alone is to the 14th century. Linguistic considerations (e.g. *wes=a, issumeni*) indicate an earlier rather than a later date within this time period.

HZL	BKT 1	KUB 14.1	MAŞAT	KUB 19.20+	KUB 19.37
7 TAR					
81 AG					
128 DU					
133 KA					
158 ŠA					
160 TA					
183 AL					
187 E					
214 DA					
215 IT					
249 TE					
313 KI					
332 AH					
343 LI					
353 SAR					

Fig. 5 Comparative Sign-List for BKT 1

6.1 Key to Palaeographic Chart (Fig. 5)

<u>TAR</u>	BKT 1 rev. 7'	KUB 14.1 obv. 10	KUB 19.20 rev. 25'	KUB 19.37 ii 9;
<u>AG</u>	BKT 1 obv. 16'	KUB 14.1 obv. 15	KUB 19.20 obv. 17'	
			obv. 21';	
<u>DU</u>	BKT 1 obv. 16'	KUB 14.1 obv. 15	KUB 19.20 rev. 9'	KUB 19.37 ii 23;
<u>KA</u>	BKT 1 obv. 5'	KUB 14.1 obv. 14	KUB 19.20 obv. 16'	KUB 19.37 iii 46';
	rev. 11'			
<u>ŠA</u>	BKT 1 obv. 10'	KUB 14.1 obv. 49	KUB 19.20 obv. 17'	KUB 19.37 ii 19;
			obv. 14'	
<u>TA</u>	BKT 1 obv. 11'	KUB 14.1 obv. 12	KUB 19.20 obv. 15'	KUB 19.37 iii 26';
<u>AL</u>	BKT 1 obv. 17'	KUB 14.1 obv. 67	KUB 19.20 obv. 3'	KUB 19.37 ii 3;
			obv. 15'	

<u>E</u>	BKT 1 obv. 10'	KUB 14.1 obv. 10	KUB 19.20 obv. 13'	KUB 19.37 ii 20;
<u>DA</u>	BKT 1 obv. 10' 11'; 19', 19', 6' 15'; 23', 20'	KUB 14.1 obv. 12	KUB 19.20 rev. 27'	KUB 19.37 ii 24 ii 5;
<u>IT</u>	BKT 1 obv. 6' 10'; 18'	KUB 14.1 obv. 13 41	KUB 19.20 obv. 17'	KUB 19.37 ii 33 ii 7;
<u>TE</u>	BKT 1 obv. 5'	KUB 14.1 obv. 68	KUB 19.20 obv. 7'	KUB 19.37 ii 18;
<u>KI</u>	BKT 1 obv. 4'	KUB 14.1 obv. 13 63	KUB 19.20 obv. 11' rev. 15'	KUB 19.37 ii 7;
<u>AH</u>	BKT 1 obv. 17'	KUB 14.1 obv. 31	KUB 19.20 obv. 8' obv. 10'	KUB 19.37 iii 21;
<u>LI</u>	BKT 1 obv. 17'	KUB 14.1 obv. 41 63	KUB 19.20 rev. 35'	KUB 19.37 iii 6';
<u>SAR</u>	BKT 1 obv. 9' 16'	KUB 14.1 obv. 41.		

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TECHNICAL ABBREVIATIONS:

MS:	Middle Script.
NSa:	New Script, category (a), otherwise known as Early New Script.
PN:	Proper Name.

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BKT:	Büklükale Text.
CAD:	<i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i> . Published by the Oriental Institute. Chicago, Illinois. From 1956.
CHD:	Güterbock, H.G., Hoffner, H.A., Hout, Th. van den (eds) <i>Chicago Hittite Dictionary</i> . Published by the Oriental Institute, Chicago, Illinois. From 1980.
CT:	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. London. From 1896.
CTH:	Laroche, E. <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris. 1971.
GHL:	Hoffner, H.A. and Melchert, H.C. <i>A Grammar of the Hittite Language</i> . Languages of the Ancient Near East. Winona Lake. 2008.
HED 1.2:	Puhvel, J. <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> . Vol. 1. Words beginning with A. Vol. 2. Words beginning with E and I. Berlin - New York - Amsterdam.
HKM:	Alp, S. <i>Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Maşat Höyük</i> . Ankara. 1991.
HWb ² :	Friedrich, J., Kammenhuber, A., Hoffman, I. <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch: Zweite, völlig überarbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen</i>

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