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fondata da Fiorella Imparati e Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli
diretta da Stefano de Martino

Stefano de Martino – Elena Devecchi

ANATOLIA BETWEEN THE 13th AND THE 12th CENTURY BCE



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BACK TO THE 13th OR 12th CENTURY BC? THE SÜDBURG INSCRIPTION AT BOĞAZKÖY-HATTUŠA

Mark Weeden¹

1. INTRODUCTION

The SÜDBURG inscription was excavated starting in 1988 in the Upper City at Boğazköy-Hattuša by Peter Neve.² It is found on the western wall of a vaulted chamber (Kammer 2) cut into the northern corner of a dam created by heaping up the earth from the digging out of a large “sacred” pond. On the other (western) side of the dam there is another apparently identically structured chamber (Kammer 1), which does not have an inscription. Kammer 2 faces towards Temple 31 and beyond that the citadel on Büyükkale. On the eastern side of the chamber is a figure of a deified king (i.e. wearing a horned helmet) Šuppiluliuma, and at the back of the chamber there is a deity holding a cross-like symbol (ANKH?) over a shallow trench.³ The chamber was dated by Neve to the 13th century BC, in line with his dating of the whole of the Upper City, and there appeared to be philological arguments that supported this, e.g. the apparent mention of the city of Tarhuntašša (STORM-GOD CITY), meaning that the king must be Šuppiluliuma II.⁴ The inscription was published in full in 1995 by J.D. Hawkins, who followed this dating although with some reservations due to the apparently archaic nature of the script and orthography — which he thus interpreted as archaizing in style. The dating went unchallenged for the next 16 years. Since then a series of conference contributions and publications

¹ I am grateful to J. David Hawkins for reading this essay through and commenting, and to H. Craig Melchert, Natalia Bolatti Guzzo and Massimiliano Marazzi for providing me with pre-publication copies of their articles, as well as M. Novák for allowing me access to digital versions of photographs taken by H. Ehringhaus. The “Project Hattusa”-team (N. Bolatti Guzzo, M. Marazzi, L. Repola and S.S. Tilia) is to be sincerely thanked for preparing digital shots of their scans of NIŠANTAŠ for comparison with J.D. Hawkins’ drawing thereof. Any mistakes remain my responsibility.

² Neve 2018, 45-68, with previous literature.

³ Neve 1992, 70; 2018, 56.

⁴ Otten 1989, 333-337; Hawkins 1995.

have attempted to backdate the inscription to an earlier period, that of Šuppiluliuma I during the 14th century BC.⁵ This tendency in scholarship is now beginning to be countered: the tide is turning back in the opposite direction although without any arguments being offered that could be considered definitive.⁶

In the following contribution we will look at the main argument-types that have been used to put the case for either an earlier or a later dating forward and evaluate the likelihood that it will be possible to advance a convincing hypothesis as to the date of the inscription on the basis of the data they use. This paper does not conclude firmly for one side or the other, but leans towards a dating to the reign of Šuppiluliuma II, mainly on the basis of new developments in the reading of another hieroglyphic inscription that is securely dated to his reign: NİŞANTAŞ (BOĞAZKÖY 5).⁷ The other data are simply too insecure to be used profitably to indicate a dating one way or the other. The fields of evidence that we shall review in order are: Archaeological context; sign-forms (whether they be archaic, archaizing or simply unique and thus useless for dating); orthography (few connectives, no nominative or accusative singular noun-endings, only one verbal ending); place-names (particularly the land of STORM-GOD—CITY); rhetorical style (like an Assyrian inscription?); comparisons with other inscriptions of the 13th and 12th centuries BC: YALBURT, EMİRGAZI, KIZILDAĞ 4, and particularly NİŞANTAŞ. Firstly, however, we should cast a view over the content of the inscription, if only to illustrate why it is important to get the dating right.

I will not attempt a translation of the SÜDBURG inscription, as too much remains insecure and the amount of commentary required to justify readings and translations would lead too far from the purpose of the presentation. The following rendition is an attempt to summarize the conceptual framework of the inscription, with selected candidates for potential syntactic links between words being indicated in brackets. It should also be remembered that not only the meanings of words are difficult to identify, but also the syntactic boundaries between clauses are often either unmarked and thus subject to debate, or it is sometimes unclear whether a particular unit designates a verb, which should be at the end of a clause (but

⁵ Goedegebuure 2011; Oreshko 2013; 2016; Klingner 2015; Payne 2015, 81-84; van Quickenberghe 2015.

⁶ Melchert 2018, 232 fn. 5; Marazzi 2019, 344 fn. 13; Bolatti Guzzo – Marazzi in press.

⁷ Hawkins apud Neve 2018, 137-147.

not always), or some other part of speech. The following clause division must therefore also be held to be provisional and interpretive, and the word order in the text below reproduces that in the inscription, not the subject-first syntax of English.⁸

- §1 When (in? of?) all the lands of Hattusa⁹ (the?) (*aliwani* (I?) subjected.
 §2 VITIS+x, Tamina, Masa, Luka, *Ikuna* (he/I/they?) x-ed/(were) x-es in front of/before pre-eminent/previous Great Kings.
 §3 But now (for?) Suppiluliuma Great King Hero, all the gods, the sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of Hattusa, the Storm-god of the army, Sauska of the campaign, the Sword-god, the Storm-god of Sa-x-x, the gods of Hattusa x *with fullness* stood.
 §4 HEAD(S)+MEN (of) all the lands of Hattusa, (at) the borders of Hattusa (from?) the (*aliwani*s took away.
 §5 (I?) Suppiluliuma Great King hero thereupon all the lands of Hattusa fortified.
 §6 x-city, x-city, x-land, x-city, x-city, Tihihasa-city, *Tarahna*-city (he) x-ed (and) then (he) fortified.
 §7 Mt x (the) (*aliwani* subjected (and) held¹⁰
 §8 Suppiluliuma Great King (and) (the) (*aliwani* subjected
 §9 Mt x x-ed
 §10 HEAD(S)+MEN (of) Mt x thereafter Hattusa held
 §11 The land of STORM-GOD—CITY (the) (*aliwani* subjected (and) held
 §12 Previously (for?) the grandfathers and grandmothers not even for anyone (was) x(-ed)
 §13 Suppiluliuma Great king (and) (the) (*aliwani* subjected
 §14 HEAD(S)+MEN (of) STORM-GOD—CITY subjected (and) took away
 §15 (in) STORM-GOD—CITY, x-rsama—City, x—city a libation/rite to the gods I gave.
 §16 Here in that year a x (GOD[?].EARTH+ROAD[?]) (I) made.

⁸ This presentation of the contents of SÜDBURG has benefitted from discussions with J.D. Hawkins.

⁹ Note that I use *Hattusa* for the land, the city and the people, following Kryszewski 2017.

¹⁰ For this interpretation of the meaning of PUGNUS.PUGNUS see Melchert 2014; Oreshko (2016, 39) has “protect”. Both attempts at translation assume a positive rather than a negative connotation for the sign that is denoted by two fists, PUGNUS.PUGNUS, which is not to be excluded.

The above demonstrates that this inscription would be very interesting, if we knew how the elements hung together or what they were referring to. As has been noted especially by Bolatti Guzzo and Marazzi, king Šuppiluliuma II did not leave us historiographical Annals written in cuneiform, with the exception of KBo 12.38, which appears to have a complex relationship to the NIŞANTAŞ inscription.¹¹ We thus have very little grasp of the events of his reign, particularly inside Anatolia.

2. ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

P. Neve interpreted the whole of the Upper City as having been created in a centrally planned fashion during the 13th century BC.¹² Key in his argumentation was the way the buildings were orientated in relationship to one another. This approach has been seriously challenged over the last two decades on the basis of radio-carbon dates and stratigraphy, with the result that the current estimate of the construction of significant parts of the Upper City is dated by the last two excavators at Boğazköy-Hattuša to the 16th century BC.¹³ This does not mean that the whole of the Upper City was built at this time: there seems to have been a chronological development in the styles of the temples there.¹⁴ However, as noted by J. Klinger, the one case where archaeological opinion still tends to favour a late date is that of the complex around Nişantepe and the SÜDBURG inscription.¹⁵

A. Schachner, the current excavator at Boğazköy, for example, sees the Nişantaş-complex and the SÜDBURG inscription as part of a kind of late building renaissance in the Upper City at Hattuša, after it had been abandoned, or at least re-functionalised as an industrial area, during much of the 13th century BC.¹⁶ It is currently unclear what the stratigraphic relationship is between Kammer 2 and the East Ponds in the Upper City, into the northern rampart of one of which it is built, whether the chambers were built along with the pond's construction or whether they are later additions

¹¹ Bolatti Guzzo – Marazzi 2003; Bolatti Guzzo – Marazzi in press.

¹² E.g. Neve 1992, 16.

¹³ Seeher 2006a; Schoop – Seeher 2006; Klinger 2006; Schachner 2009.

¹⁴ Müller-Karpe 2003.

¹⁵ Klinger 2015, 95, 98-99.

¹⁶ Schachner 2011, 96-97; more cautiously Seeher apud Neve 2018, 87; further Marazzi 2019.

using the rampart as a starting point.¹⁷ It is also not at all clear when the East Ponds were constructed in the first place. It is possible that several phases of building construction lay behind them perhaps even reaching back to the extension of the Upper City in the 16th or 15th centuries BC.¹⁸ If one rejects Neve's view of the genesis of the Upper City then a dating to the 14th century for the construction of the chambers and of the inscription of the SÜDBURG is perfectly reasonable, but not demonstrable. There is no stratigraphic indication whether one should opt for a 13th century or a 14th century date.¹⁹ The archaeological context is therefore currently unclear, and the temptation is strong for archaeologists to follow philologists in arriving at a dating for the whole complex.²⁰ The philological data are, however, just as ambiguous as the archaeological ones.

3. PALAEOGRAPHY

The sign-forms of SÜDBURG often have a lumpy and inchoate appearance, almost as if they had either not been finished properly or had not yet developed fully.²¹ However, this is no conclusive indication of an earlier or later date. The writing of Šuppiluliuma's name both on the SÜDBURG inscription on the west wall and on the figure on the east wall corresponds to the way Šuppiluliuma I writes his name, not Šuppiluliuma II, as was already recognised early on in the process of decipherment.²² This was supposed by the late-dating Hawkins to be an affectation on the part of the latter, imitating the writing of his eponymous ancestor.²³ This example grasps the

¹⁷ Schachner – Wittenberg (2012, 253) raise the possibility that the chambers served a hydrological function, but even so this function does not have to have been realized by means of these chambers at the time of the pond's initial construction rather than later.

¹⁸ Seeher 2006b, 21; Seeher apud Neve 2018, 86.

¹⁹ With respect to the re-dating of SÜDBURG to Šuppiluliuma I: "Auch dies wäre mit den neuen Grabungsergebnissen vereinbar — hier bleibt eine Entscheidung der philologischen Forschung abzuwarten." Seeher apud Neve 2018, 87.

²⁰ Klinger 2015, 106.

²¹ Payne 2015, 81, interpreting this as a possible indication of greater age for SÜDBURG by comparison with YALBURT and NIŞANTAŞ.

²² This topic is dealt with in C. Mora's contribution in this volume.

²³ Hawkins 1990, 314; 1995, 31. One might possibly even consider that the figure on the east wall is earlier than the inscription on the west wall, that the figure is Šuppiluliuma I, and that the archaic writing on the west wall has thus been affected with direct reference to that on the figure. Against this speaks the style of the figure, which seems similarly inchoate to the sign-forms of the inscription. Already Hawkins (1995, 19-20) and van den Hout (1995) interpreted the figure as referring to the long deceased Šuppiluliuma I, but as co-eval with the inscription on the west wall. Otten suggested to Hawkins that the Šuppiluliuma figure could

heart of the problem here. Even if we are able to establish that some of the sign-forms on the inscription are “older”, there is nothing to exclude older signs being used in a later inscription. How and why they would come to be used is a different question, but also very important.

For palaeography to work it must establish what the latest sign-form in an inscription is, not the earliest. In the case of the SÜDBURG there are no cases of signs being used that display a distinctively later form by contrast to signs that were used at the time of Šuppiluliuma I. There are, however, earlier sign-forms, which could be explained as part of an archaizing style, if we are able to agree that this is the kind of practice that was possible in Hieroglyphic writing in the first place. J. Klinger has expressed some doubt about whether an archaizing style was something that could be consciously followed by writers of either cuneiform or hieroglyphs, and asks what the sense of an archaizing writing of the name could be, if not to pretend that the inscription was actually by Šuppiluliuma I.²⁴ A few words should be reserved for this topic, before we look at examples of sign-forms in SÜDBURG that have been or can be claimed as archaic variants.

Perhaps the best example of an archaizing hieroglyphic inscription is from the Iron Age: KARKAMISH A21b, which is widely agreed to be written in an archaizing style despite also containing some late features.²⁵ This is of course not entirely wonderful as a comparandum, given the distance in time from writing practices in the Late Bronze Age some 450 or indeed 600 years previously, but it allows us to make a point about Hieroglyphic writing and its potential for archaism affecting antiquity. One particular example that has escaped attention previously is the form of the sign POST, which was originally interpreted as being a form of the sign *na*.²⁶ The recent recognition²⁷ that the sign POST in the Late Bronze Age

be the equivalent of the missing “I am PN” that might be expected at the beginning of the inscription (Hawkins 1995, 20).

²⁴ Klinger 2015, 105-106.

²⁵ Hawkins 1995, 21; d’Alfonso – Payne 2016, 122. The archaic features are such as the lack of differentiation between *zi* and *za*, the writing of NEG+*a* with an archaic looking and obvious form of the sign *a* rather than the two strokes usually found in later texts, the forms of *ma* and *mu*, L. 418 (*la/i*) and FINES, while a later sign-form is *sa* — at least comparatively speaking for the later period. Payne (2015, 53) books this form of *sa* (L. 415) as “Bronzezeit — wird auch in frühen eisenzeitlichen und späten, archaisierenden Inschriften verwendet.”

²⁶ KARKAMISH A21b §§7-8: [wa/i]-[t]á tá-ti-zi/a mi-zi/a SERVUS-la/i wa/i-da POST¹ zi/a-ti LOCUS²-ti SOLIUM-nú-tá, “my fathers (were) servant(s) (or: “served”), and she re-established them in this place”. Hawkins forthcoming a.

²⁷ Hawkins forthcoming b; forthcoming a.

Emirgazi inscriptions had a knobbed top part and was thus closed at the top can lead to a re-reading of line 6 in KARKAMISH A21b (see fig. 1). The re-reading makes good sense. The sign POST, which here occurs in a form that attempts to reconstruct the archaic outline, is nowhere else attested in this form in the Iron Age.

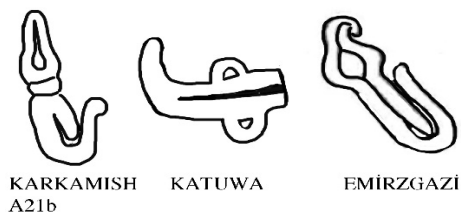


Fig. 1. POST: archaic (EMIRGAZI) and archaizing (KARK A21b).

We thus see how an archaic sign-form could be preserved over hundreds of years and re-activated for use in an archaizing inscription. If this was possible in the passage from the Late Bronze Age into the Iron Age over some 500 years, it was certainly possible over the 130-150 years during the Late Bronze Age that separate Šuppiluliuma I and II. In KARKAMISH A21b a number of features come together, which are all attested in earlier inscriptions. For this reason we tend to term their use “archaizing” in this late inscription. But it is quite correct to say that we have no idea whether their use would have been perceived as archaizing by their users.²⁸ It may have been perceived differently - simply as special, using a different register to normal.

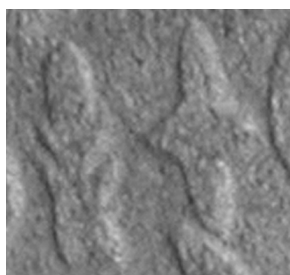


Fig. 2. *i(a)* and *lu* from SÜDBURG, photo H. Ehringhaus, courtesy M. Novák.

²⁸ Klinger 2015, 105.

J. Klinger has referred to the form of the sign *lu* on SÜDBURG as resembling that used on the seal of Lupakki, an official from the time of Šuppiluliuma I.²⁹ However, even if this is a palaeographically significant sign-form, one cannot exclude that such a form was still current and available in the period of Šuppiluliuma II. Furthermore, consideration of close-ups of H. Ehringhaus’s photographs (fig. 2) of SÜDBURG may even suggest that there was some, albeit incomplete, attempt to indicate internal elements, but this is extremely subjective. One other sign form, however, seems to have been superseded or at least archaic even by the time of Šuppiluliuma I: the form of L. 209, *i(a)*. This makes the argument against a style that incorporates archaic elements more difficult to formulate. Even if SÜDBURG is dated to the mid-to-late 14th century BC, it was still using sign-forms of L. 209 that had likely become obsolete in the 15th and early 14th centuries, and was itself thus already “archaising”.

L. 157.2



Kaman-Kalehöyük
Yoshida Yoshida
2006: Abb.7 2006 Abb.10

L. 209



Yalburt Henti
Poetto Malkaya BoHa 23
1993 Tav. XV inscr. 4 Kat. 14.1

Fig. 3. L. 157.2 and L. 209 = *i(a)*.

I have argued elsewhere that the sign given the catalogue number L. 157.2 is in fact an earlier form of L. 209 = *i(a)*, rather than being an upside-down variant of L. 160 (= *wiya*).³⁰ The value *i(a)* works in all attestations of

²⁹ Klinger 2015, 103-104. The palaeographic assessment revolves around whether the sign LU has internal elements or is written as a block. These internal decorations would have been very difficult to indicate on the form of the sign on Lupakki’s seal (BoHa 19.207), or for that matter on the stylistically rather somewhat similar sealings of Luwa (BoHa 19.210-212), due to the fact that the seal-face is very crowded and the LU is correspondingly small.

³⁰ Hawkins – Weeden 2008; Weeden 2014a, 95-97; Weeden 2018, 331-332.

L. 157.2 and the form of L. 209 on the Malkaya inscription (fig. 3) looks much closer to L. 157.2 than to the more regular Empire period shape of *i(a)* on seals. It is possible, but not demonstrable, that L. 157.2 is a pictograph of an ear of corn, although this does not help particularly with the derivation of the sound-value. The form of L. 209 on sealings of Šuppiluliuma I (only in the name Henti, fig. 3) is already identical to the classic form known from the Empire period.³¹ Although not indicated by Hawkins' drawings, consideration of the photograph by H. Ehringhaus (fig. 2) suggests that the form of the sign L. 209 = *i(a)* on SÜDBURG is in fact quite close to this older form (L. 157.2) especially with regard to its rounded top, whether or not the two of them could be said to have any resemblance to an ear of corn.

If any sign in SÜDBURG is archaic, then it is this one, and yet it is already too archaic for Šuppiluliuma I. It thus becomes more difficult to use archaic sign-forms as an argument against a time of inscription during the reign of Šuppiluliuma II, or after it if he is the deified Šuppiluliuma of the relief, as older forms and styles did persist in availability if not always in use through the ages.³² However, as noted above, there is no positive evidence of any single sign-form thus far recognised in SÜDBURG that is demonstrably later than the forms used in the time of Šuppiluliuma I. The palaeographical data thus end in obscurity and are unable to help us further.

4. ORTHOGRAPHY

The usual sentence connectives and the enclitic particle =*wa* are missing from the SÜDBURG inscription, which makes any reading of it infuriatingly difficult. There are also no nominative-accusative noun-endings at all, depending on interpretation, and only one verb ending. The writing is furthermore highly logographic. The latter was used by Hawkins as an indication of archaism or archaic writing.³³ This does not have to be the case, however. Although not explicitly mentioned by anyone in the debate on the SÜDBURG inscription, the view of I.J. Gelb, that there is a consistent direction to the development from more logographic writing fashions to more phonetic ones over time in all writing systems has been exposed to a good deal of criticism in recent years, and cannot serve as a justification for

³¹ Herbordt – Bawanypeck – Hawkins 2011, Tafel 2, Kat. 14.1.

³² For criticism of the idea that the figure could date post-Šuppiluliuma II, see Klinger 2015, 102.

³³ Hawkins 1995, 21.

saying that more logographic writing is older than predominantly phonetic writing in all cases.³⁴ There are thus no general grounds rooted in alleged principles of the history of writing that one could use to make a case for an earlier dating. In the specific case of hieroglyphic writing, earlier seals may seem to use pictographic or logographic writings more frequently, but this impression is often a consequence of the fact that we do not really understand how the writing system is functioning in the earlier period in all cases, and that the boundary between a pictographic, heraldic or logographic use of a sign with a contextually determined lexical realisation are difficult to pin down.³⁵

The use of writing in a more logographic fashion than phonetic does not have to be one that is explainable by chronological considerations, it can also be explainable by style or some other factor, such as the use of more complex or cryptic writings. As J. Klinger pointed out during the discussion after my paper at this conference, the kings' names tend to be written logographically until the end of the tradition, whereas queens' names are written phonetically. Whatever the grounds for this distribution, the distinction in writing practice demonstrates that more than just chronology is at stake.³⁶

To take one example of the phenomenon of non-writing of noun-endings, we can look at the word (*a*)*liwani*, which appears without singular noun-endings in SÜDBURG, unless all cases indicate a dative-locative as understood by H.C. Melchert, but with them in YALBURT.³⁷ Here I would compare the case of KIZILDAĞ 4, where the word also occurs apparently without a noun ending, again unless it is in the dative-locative. KIZILDAĞ 4 is dated to the early 12th century, or by some even to the 13th, but not any earlier.³⁸ This phenomenon is thus also not to be used to indicate antiquity, and it does not even have to be an archaism. However, the actual case syntax is in all cases so obscure that it would be useless building an argument for dating on the basis of the lack of noun endings in the first place. The spelling

³⁴ Gelb 1950; Daniels 2016.

³⁵ See Mora 1991; 1994.

³⁶ One explanation might be that the queen's names are usually in Hurrian, which may have influenced the choice of writing style. However, this does not cover all cases: e.g. Gaššulawiya, which is unlikely to be Hurrian (Zehnder 2010).

³⁷ Yakubovich (2008) "enemy"; Weeden (2014b, 54, 221) "troops"; Oreshko (2016, 77, 104-105) "ruler, free"; Melchert (2018) "troops, order".

³⁸ Hawkins 2000, 434; Sürenhagen 2008; d'Alfonso 2014, 230.

conventions of SÜDBURG, as with the palaeography, thus remain obscure, wanting an explanation and of no use for our question.

5. PLACE-NAMES

The logographic writing of Hattuša (L. 196) is well established.³⁹ A number of other names are written phonetically or with relatively transparent rebus writings. Those place-names that can be relatively securely read for SÜDBURG in my opinion are thus the following, although there is not universal agreement even on these readings: *Hattusa*, *Tamina*, *Masa*, *Luka*, *Ikuna*, *Tarahna*, *Tihhasa*. Consensus only rules for *Hattusa*, *Masa* and *Luka*. The rest either use unidentified signs or they are written logographically and are in my view indecipherable. A methodology that involves finding rebus values on the basis of establishing what a symbol is depicting according to our modern perception and then deciding what word would have been used in Hittite or Luwian to express that object is highly unsatisfactory and should only be used with the utmost care in exceptional situations using well established transparent rebus values without circular reasoning.⁴⁰

The problem is further compounded by the fact that certain logographic writings could likely have multiple readings depending on context. The prime example of this has to be the case of the land of STORM-GOD—CITY (TONITRUS.URBS (REGIO)), which was originally read as Tarhuntašša and was thus instrumental in dating the inscription to the second king called Šuppiluliuma given the fact that Tarhuntašša had not been adopted as capital, possibly not even founded, before the time of Muwattalli II. In his contribution to the edition of the seals from Nišantepe published in 2005 Hawkins already supposed that a particular name belonging to a clearly important person written TONITRUS.URBS-*li* was unlikely to correspond to the unattested **Tarhuntassili* and was more likely to be a writing for the well attested prince known from cuneiform documentation: *Nerikkaili*.⁴¹ If TONITRUS.URBS is to be read as Nerik, then this would exclude a dating of the SÜDBURG to the reign of the first Šuppiluliuma, for whom Nerik

³⁹ Hawkins 1995, 24.

⁴⁰ For examples of a different approach, one that holds greater faith in our ability to identify depicted objects and in the significance of doing so than I am able to muster, see Goedegebuure 2011 and van Quickenberghe 2015.

⁴¹ Hawkins apud Herbordt 2005, 273, 286, 436.

was out of reach, despite his campaigns in the northern regions. Indeed it is quite possible that Šuppiluliuma II was active in the region around Nerik, as a cuneiform tablet inscribed in a palaeographically late style has been found there which mentions a “Šuppiluliuma”, assumed to be Šuppiluliuma II.⁴²

However, the writing also occurs elsewhere. The ÇAĞDIN inscription on a stele of the storm-god found between Karkemiš and Gaziantep reads, as already noted by Güterbock: “Storm-god of Storm-god city”.⁴³ It is unlikely that this is the Storm-god of Tarhuntašša, and also rather unlikely that it is the Storm-god of Nerik, unless it is to be interpreted as an example of triumphant Hittite religious imperialism after the re-conquest of Nerik by Hattušili II/III. Much more likely is that this is a local Storm-god, possibly even a distant relative of the one later worshipped as Jupiter Dolichenus in precisely this region, or the one at Karkemiš, or an as yet unidentified Storm-god from the area.⁴⁴ In other words, the signs STORM-GOD—CITY are to be interpreted according to local context, and the place designated by these signs could be anywhere where a significant sanctuary of the Storm-god was found.⁴⁵

The particular place designated by TONITRUS.URBS (REGIO) in the SÜDBURG inscription would thus have been expected to be obviously identifiable in its context. This does not mean that it has to refer to Hattuša, given that this is where the inscription is found. This location already has a different logographic writing in the same inscription. It is merely to say the logogram was readily understandable in the narrative context. It may have referred to Tarhuntašša, to Nerik (which would be especially significant in favour of a dating to Šuppiluliuma II), to Zippalanda, to Šapinuwa, or to any number of places where a cult of the Storm-god can be traced, although probably not those for which we already have a regular hieroglyphic writing such as in the cases of Hattuša or Aleppo. Thus, the writings of the place-names, like the other factors we have looked at so far, leave us equally in the dark regarding the dating of SÜDBURG and are not to be trusted. None of

⁴² Klinger 2016, 56.

⁴³ Güterbock 1947, 66-67; the query of this reading by Kohlmeyer (1983, 84 fn. 17) is invalidated by Hawkins’ collation of the stele (Hawkins 1992, 82, Hawkins forthcoming a).

⁴⁴ Blömer 2015; Collar 2011.

⁴⁵ Two seal-impressions reconstructed by the author from fragments excavated at Ortaköy-Šapinuwa may be of relevance for this discussion, as they read: TONITRUS-TÁ.URBS, even if this writing raises further questions. At any rate, it is very unlikely that this writing would be referring to Tarhuntašša or Nerik at Šapinuwa, where apparently two Storm-gods were venerated (Corti 2018). The seals are being published by the author in collaboration with A. Süel.

the place-names that can be read phonetically exclude a dating to either of the Šuppiluliumas, although this is partly to do with the fact that our knowledge of Šuppiluliuma II's inner-Anatolian adventures is so limited. Once more, what had been thought to be a promising avenue of research turns into a blind alley for SÜDBURG.

6. ASSYRIAN STYLE?

A further point that has been mentioned a number of times is the stylistic construction of the inscription, which seems to emulate that of an Assyrian annalistic narrative inserted into a building inscription.⁴⁶ If this is in fact the case, then a dating to the reign of Šuppiluliuma I is very unlikely, as the Assyrian royal inscriptions had not yet taken this form, which they only began to do clearly during the reign of Adad-Nārārī I (1295-1264 BC).⁴⁷ The typical form, which is also not well attested among the inscriptions of Adad-Nārārī I, starts after a series of epithets and possible invocations to the gods with the subordinating *enūma* “when”, which is then reprised after a long narrative of events, with the phrase *ina ūmīšu* “at that time” followed by a description of a piece of building work. The building inscription part could also be introduced by a non-subordinating *enūma*, which could also have the meaning “at that time”.⁴⁸ Thus one has for Adad-Nārārī I the following example on a slab found at Aššur, which would have been meant for display:

A.0.76.4 (paraphrase)

1-4 Epithets

1-14 when (*enūma*) Šattuara rebelled, I defeated him.

15-36 After him (i.e. when he died) his son Wasašatta rebelled, went to Hittites, who took his bribes but did not help. With the help of the gods, I captured his cities (including his royal city Taidu), and took the loot back to Assur. I destroyed (the city) Irridu.

⁴⁶ Hawkins 1990, 310; 1995, 26, 45; Mora 1997, 428; Melchert 2018, 232; skeptically Klinger 2015, 104 fn. 74.

⁴⁷ One inscription of his predecessor, Arik-dīn-ili (1307-1296 BC) no. 8, appears to have narrative segments, but it is unclear whether this is a chronicle text or a royal inscription with chronicle-style sections (Grayson 1987, 125-127).

⁴⁸ E.g. A.0.76.7: *enūma mušlala ša bēt Aššur bēlīya ... ēnaḥma iḥḥis u inūš* “At that time the Step Gate of the temple of the god Aššur, my lord, ... had become dilapidated, sagged and shook” (Grayson 1987, 140).

- 37-40 At that time (*in ūmīšu*) the [something] of (the city) Taidu was dilapidated, so I restored it.
- 42-46 May a later prince also restore it in future.
- 46-53 Curses on anyone who alters my inscription.⁴⁹

A number of objects are preserved with a similar introduction to a building inscription for Taidu, although they were all found at Assur.⁵⁰ According to A.K. Grayson, “this second type of introduction contains the first real narrative of military conquest in Assyrian royal inscriptions, which previously have had only general statements.”⁵¹ Closer in time to Šuppiluliuma II are the inscriptions of Tukultī-Ninurta I (1233-1197 BC), in which the campaign narratives have become much longer and the structure more complicated, with repeated use of *enūma* and *ina ūmīšu* introducing different narrative sections, sometimes with the deeds embedded into the king’s epithets, nevertheless leading the reader towards a final building achievement “at that time”.⁵² The shorter version that we find on SÜDBURG, even if without the introductory epithets, or even the identification of the speaker, and certainly no wishes or curses for the future, is nevertheless difficult to separate from this Assyrian structure, and has been noted to have a parallel in the more elaborate structure of an Iron Age Hieroglyphic inscription from Karkemiš.⁵³

Doubtless the lines of influence and cross-pollination between Assyria and the Hittite Empire were multifarious and complex. In the later 14th century BC the Hittites knew written annalistic narrative as a historiographical form, while there is little evidence for this in Assyria at that time. But it does not appear that this form of combining a campaign narrative with a building inscription is in evidence before the 13th century BC, either in Assyria or in Hittite Anatolia. If Šuppiluliuma I is the author of the SÜDBURG, then this specific combination would have to have been invented by the Hittites, or imported from an unidentified source. Old Babylonian Royal Inscriptions show a limited use of campaign narrative in the context of commemorative building inscriptions, so it is conceivable that

⁴⁹ Grayson 1987, 137-138.

⁵⁰ A.0.76.3 (Grayson 1987, 135-137).

⁵¹ Grayson 1987, 135.

⁵² For example A.0.78.2, 17 *enūma* “at that time” followed by deeds, all narrated as part of the king’s epithets, 39-46 *ina ūm[ēšu]* “at that time ... I built a palace ... and deposited my monumental inscriptions” (Grayson 1987, 239-241).

⁵³ KARKAMISH A11b+c §§7-15 (Hawkins 2000, 103); Melchert 2018, 232.

the influence was not Assyrian if it was not a Hittite invention.⁵⁴ It would however, involve channels that are less well attested as textual types and involve a fair amount of reconstruction of historical and textual relations. The most economical explanation of the available evidence is that the similarity between the structure of the SÜDBURG and the Middle Assyrian royal narratives is due to Assyrian influence after the time of Adad-Nārārī I, i.e. some time during or shortly after the 13th century BC. But it is quite possible that the available evidence may change with new finds at any time.

7. COMPARISON WITH NIŞANTAŞ

The inscription of NIŞANTAŞ is among the longest known and least understood of Hittite period texts. It is securely dated to Šuppiluliuma II, not least due to the extensive genealogy that the inscription contains. Recently a number of advances have been made in decipherment using entirely different approaches. On the one hand we have the publication of an edition by J.D. Hawkins in 2018 on the basis of work done on the inscription using optimum sunlight during September 1992 and 1993.⁵⁵ On the other we have the “Project Hattuša” directed by M. Marazzi, which has used several methods of 3-Dimensional scanning to arrive at digital images of the inscription that can form the basis for further decipherment. These two projects have proceeded independently from one another.

It is therefore of interest both to compare the results of each of them, as well as to see what contribution can be made to understanding SÜDBURG, if any. If overlap is detected between the two, then we need to ask whether this might indicate that SÜDBURG deals with some of the same events that are treated in NIŞANTAŞ. However, it should be noted that the processing of the digital scans takes a long time, and thus the project of comparison cannot be achieved immediately. I am very grateful to M. Marazzi and N.

⁵⁴ Sometimes the king is instructed to kill his enemies by the gods as part of a building inscription, which may initiate a short combat narrative e.g. Samsuiluna E4.3.7.7, 1-79 injunction of the gods, 80-115 combat narrative, 116-127 building work at Kiš (Frayne 1990, 384-388); a long narrative text of Samsuiluna in Sumerian from the papers of W.G. Lambert is in preparation for publication by the author. Although the beginning and end of the text are not preserved, it is likely that this extensive military discourse was being related to celebrate a dedication, possibly even of the statue on which the text is preserved. A narrative of this length is very unusual for an Old Babylonian Royal inscription, and demonstrates just how limited our evidence for the typology even of the well known category “royal inscription” really is.

⁵⁵ Hawkins apud Neve 2018, 137-147.

here. The bottom part of the sign *á* slopes down between two elements which could be *ka* and *ha*, certainly the traces do not exclude these readings, and in the case of the more circular left-hand trace, *ħa* is veritably suggested by them. It thus also looks as if NİŞANTAŞ may give us a further indirect validation of the first person narrative voice of the SÜDBURG, if the sign -*ha* can be read.⁵⁹

Then the reading of the next clause (§e) also includes the city of Tamina as well as an either undeclined or dative-locative use of the word (*a*)*liwani*. The ears of the donkey-head *ta* are clear, as is the jaw and snout, and the sign *na* also appears relatively secure.⁶⁰ There are also traces above the *na* where one would expect the sign *mi*, although here the overlap between the drawing and the scans is not so clear. Tamina is attested nowhere else other than here and in the SÜDBURG, and an attempt has been made to re-read it in SÜDBURG as Mitana, which offends against the rather clear order of the signs.⁶¹ If the reading of Tamina in NİŞANTAŞ can be validated, then this gives us a very good basis for saying that SÜDBURG and NİŞANTAŞ are dealing with the same narrative material, and that SÜDBURG is thus to be dated to the same time as NİŞANTAŞ.

Comparison with the scans provided by the “Project Hattuša” team seems to confirm Hawkins’ reading of NİŞANTAŞ in this case, even to the point of being able to remove the question marks, although it is clear that different opinions may be held about the precise interpretation of the signs and their placement. While this does not present a final certitude, it seems to be a serious indication that the SÜDBURG inscription is co-eval with Šuppiluliuma II. Much further research needs to be done on this, but the prospects of finding an answer to our initial question of the dating of the SÜDBURG seem to be improved somewhat by the gradual publication of NİŞANTAŞ. How and why the SÜDBURG then comes to look so different is the next question which would need to be addressed, although the prospects for finding an answer to this beyond *ad hoc* opinions are rather slim, given the uniqueness of the text and its location.

⁵⁹ Melchert 2018 infers this from the first-person narrative in KARKAMISH A11b+c §§7-15.

⁶⁰ I have not included a number of the shots from the scans of this passage sent to me by Natalia Bolatti Guzzo, which contain “stretched” variants of the 3-D images and look very promising. The images in fig. 4 serve merely to give an idea of the potential of this material.

⁶¹ Oreshko 2016, 215-216.

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