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the Ancient Near East*

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edited by

L. FELIU, J. LLOP, A. MILLET ALBÀ, AND J. SANMARTÍN

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Contents

56th World Congress for Assyriology and Near Eastern Archaeology, Barcelona 2010	xi
ADDRESS (JULY 26, 2010) PROF. JOAQUÍN SANMARTÍN, CHAIRMAN	
Program	xv
OPENING LECTURES	
Time before Time: Primeval Narratives in Early Mesopotamian Literature . . . GONZALO RUBIO	3
The Extent of Literacy in Syria and Palestine during the Second Millennium B.C.E. WILFRED H. VAN SOLDT	19
TIME AND HISTORY IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST	
Time “Pulled up” in Ashurnasirpal’s Reliefs LAURA BATTINI	35
Akkadian and Aramaic Terms for a ‘Favorable Time’ (<i>ḥidānu</i> , <i>adānu</i> , and <i>‘iddān</i>): Semitic Precursors of Greek <i>kairos</i> ? . . . DANIEL BODI	47
Masters of Time: Old Babylonian Kings and Calendars DOMINIQUE CHARPIN AND NELE ZIEGLER	57
Notes on the Neo-Assyrian Siege-Shield and Chariot FABRICE DE BACKER	69
Changing Space, Time, and Meaning: The Seal of Yaqaru from Ugarit— A Reconversion? SILVANA DI PAOLO	79
Time in Neo-Assyrian Letters FREDERICK MARIO FALES	91
The Historical Preamble of the Talmi-Šarruma Treaty (CTH 75) and Some Chronological Problems of the History of Halap DARIA GROMOVA	101
Magie et Histoire: les rituels en temps de guerre CYNTHIA JEAN	107

Time and Again: Marduk's Travels	113
ERIKA D. JOHNSON	
Time in Death and Afterlife: The Concept of Time and the Belief in Afterlife	117
DINA KATZ	
Concepts and Perception of Time in Mesopotamian Divination	127
ULLA SUSANNE KOCH	
Temps, mémoire et évolution des cultures aux époques archaïques: écriture du passé et listes lexicales	143
CAMILLE LECOMPTE	
Time in Ancient Israel: Hebrew <i>‘ôlām</i> , Past and Future	159
BARUCH A. LEVINE	
“Lange Jahre” und Lebenszeit bei den Hethitern	169
JÜRGEN LORENZ	
The Heuristic Value of E. de Martino's Concept of Metahistory and Related Topics in Research into Mesopotamian Cultural History	181
ALESSANDRO DI LUDOVICO	
“I Read the Inscriptions from before the Flood . . .” Neo-Sumerian Influences in Ashurbanipal's Royal Self-Image	199
NATALIE NAOMI MAY	
Mesopotamian Idea of Time through Modern Eyes (Disruption and Continuity)	211
ÀNGEL MENARGUES RAJADELL	
Temporalité et spatialité dans les rites de passage de l'Anatolie hittite	229
ALICE MOUTON	
Reconsidering the Categories of Time in Ancient Iraq	245
SUSANA B. MURPHY	
“Internal” and “External” Evidence for a Reconstruction of Nuzi Chronology	253
P. NEGRI SCAFA	
The Other Face of the Moon: Some Hints on the Visual Representation of the Moon on Third-Millennium B.C.E. Mesopotamian Glyptic	265
SARA PIZZIMENTI	
The Tuleilat al-Ghassul Star Painting: A Hypothesis Regarding a Solar Calendar from the Fourth Millennium B.C.	273
ANDREA POLCARO	
The Monster's Gaze: Vision as Mediator between Time and Space in the Art of Mesopotamia	285
K. SONIK	
A Time to Rejoice: The Egalkura Rituals and the Mirth of Iyyar	301
HENRY STADHOUDERS	
Der Kalendar von Adab im 3. Jahrtausend	325
M. SUCH-GUTIÉRREZ	

Divine or Human Creation of Time? The Issue of Time as a Factor Determining the Relationship of Man to God	341
KRZYSZTOF ULANOWSKI	

WORKSHOPS

Architecture and Archaeology

Modern Architecture and Archaeology: The Case of the Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Neo-Assyrian Palace at Tell Massaikh (Syria), 2007–2009	357
JORDI ABADAL, PEDRO AZARA, DAVID CAPELLAS, ALBERT IMPERIAL, AND MIGUEL ORELLANA	
Idea and Image: How What We Know Determines What We Want to Know . .	369
FERNANDO ESCRIBANO MARTÍN	
Architecture and Ancient Near East in Drawings, Buildings, and Virtual Reality: Issues in Imagining and Designing Ancient and Modern Space	379
MARIA GABRIELLA MICALE	
Invented Space: Discovering Near Eastern Architecture through Imaginary Representations and Constructions	391
DAVIDE NADALI	
Fragments d'arts mésopotamiens: aux origines des empires	405
MARIA GRAZIA MASETTI-ROUAULT	
Reception of Ancient Near Eastern Architecture in Europe and North America in the 20th Century	413
BRIGITTE PEDDE	
Assyrian Wall Paintings and Modern Reconstructions	423
PAOLA POLI	

Early Akkadian and Its Semitic Context

Form und Datierung früher semitischer Lehnwörter im Sumerischen	445
J. KEETMAN	
Stativität und Perfektivität in den Ost- und Westsemitischen Sprachen . . .	455
EULÀLIA VERNET I PONS	

Hurrian Language

A Hurro-Akkadian Expression for Changing One's Testimony Attested in Nuzi Trial Records	471
JEANETTE C. FINCKE	
Hurrian Personal Names in the Kingdom of Ḫatti	481
STEFANO DE MARTINO	
Gedanken zu den Textstellen I:90 und III:30 in dem Mittanni-Brief	487
J. OLIVA	

Law in the Ancient Near East

- Historical Context and Social Theories: Its Influence on the Study of
Mesopotamian Juridical Phenomena 495
ELEONORA RAVENNA
- The Importance of Time in Old Babylonian Juridical Texts 503
CRISTINA SIMONETTI

Middle Assyrian Texts and Studies

- Sag mir quando, sag mir wann 509
STEFAN JAKOB
- Contractual Formalism and *Zukunftsbewältigung* in
Middle Assyrian Agricultural Accounting 525
J. CALE JOHNSON
- The Eponym Bēr-nādin-apli and the Documents Referring
to the Expeditions to the City of Tille in the Reign of
Tukultī-Ninurta I (1233–1197 B.C.E.) 549
JAUME LLOP
- Die tägliche Speisung des Assur (*ginā’u*) und deren politische Bedeutung . . . 561
STEFAN M. MAUL
- Imperial Culture: Some Reflections on Middle Assyrian Settlements 575
ALINE TENU

VARIA

- Tugdamme and the Cimmerians: A Test of Piety in
Assyrian Royal Inscriptions 587
SELIM F. ADALI
- The Changing Approaches to History in the Neo-Assyrian Palace Reliefs . . . 595
MEHMET-ALI ATAÇ
- Genres Meet: Assurbanipal’s Prayer in the Inscription L⁴
and the Bilingual Communal Lamentations 611
AMITAI BARUCHI-UNNA
- L’incorrutable et l’éphémère: le miel et la glace, composants sacrés
des boissons royales 625
DANIEL BONNETERRE
- Three Kings of the Orient in Archaic Ur 635
PETR CHARVÁT
- Illum-išar et Apil-kīn: deux nouvelles inscriptions de Mari 645
LAURENT COLONNA D’ISTRIA AND ANNE-CAROLINE RENDU LOISEL
- A Few Thoughts about Late Chalcolithic Architecture and
the Uruk Expansion in the Middle Euphrates Area 657
JESÚS GIL FUENSANTA AND JUAN MANUEL GONZALEZ SALAZAR
- Further Considerations on the Ankara Silver Bowl 665
FEDERICO GIUSFREDI

The Evolution of the Side Court House in Late MB Central and Southwestern Anatolia	681
FABRIZIO GIOVANNETTI	
The Role of the Saġġa in Ur III Based on the Puzriš-Dagān Texts	689
JORGE HERNÁNDEZ	
Life Extension: Secondary Burial and the Making and Unmaking of Self in EB IA	705
RICK HAUSER	
The Offering for the Ritual of King Seleucus III and His Offspring	739
YASUYUKI MITSUMA	
Some New Light on Pre-Sargonic Umma	745
SALVATORE F. MONACO	
Settlement Patterns and Interactions in the West Bank Highlands in the Iron Age I Period: A New Approach	751
ALESSIO PALMISANO	
Computational and Spatial Approaches to the Commercial Landscapes and Political Geography of the Old Assyrian Colony Period	767
ALESSIO PALMISANO	
Eunuchs in Hatti and Assyria: A Reassessment	785
ILAN PELED	
Eridu Texts	799
GIOVANNI PETTINATO†	
Les particularités d'emploi des signes cunéiformes à différentes périodes de la langue hittite	803
OLGA POPOVA	
Recent Researches in the Erbil Region: 2010 Excavations in Kilik Mishik (Iraqi Kurdistan)	809
OLIVIER ROUAULT	
Wer war Großkönig I(a)+ra/i-TONITRUS der KARAHÖYÜK-Inschrift?	823
ZSOLT SIMON	
Identification of an Unfinished Statue Found in a Quarry at Karakiz, Yozgat, Turkey	833
DR. İLKNUR TAŞ, ÖMER YILMAZ, AND ÖZLEM SİR GAVAZ	



Further Considerations on the Ankara Silver Bowl

FEDERICO GIUSFREDI

MÜNCHEN/PAVIA

0. Premise

The so-called Ankara Silver Bowl is a small, precious item belonging to the Hittite collection of the Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi in Ankara. It carries a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription that mentions three obscure historical figures. Emmanuel Laroche saw it in the 1950s and included it in his list of unpublished hieroglyphic texts (in his book *Les hiéroglyphes hittites*, p. xxx, which appeared in 1960). Since the late 1990s, scholars have been discussing the date, provenance, and meaning of the inscribed bowl. In this paper, I will try to provide a new interpretation that should resolve some of the interpretive problems that still persist.

Before starting, however, it is necessary to address a preliminary point, the importance of which I was made aware of by some of the questions raised at the end of my presentation at the Barcelona RAI on Tuesday, July 27, 2010.

Is the Ankara Silver Bowl an original item? All the specialists who have discussed the artefact and its hieroglyphic inscription seem to agree on its authenticity. Nonetheless, the problem has never been addressed in a published paper and, therefore, it would be useful to try to discuss it briefly.

Without the aid and support of the natural sciences, it is virtually impossible to demonstrate that the bowl is a truly historical item. Nonetheless, there are some observations that can be made by a philologist:

If the bowl is the same one that Emmanuel Laroche saw at the end of the 1950s, we can assure the sceptics that, at that time, it would have been impossible for anyone (including specialists of worldwide renown) to falsify such a complex Luwian inscription. In the 1950s, the script and language were deciphered only in part, and some features of the text obey rules of a grammar that were still unknown.

1. If the bowl is not the one seen by Laroche, then it is impossible to guarantee its authenticity, although one could wonder where the *other* bowl—the one Laroche saw—is now, and why the hypothetical counterfeiter decided to invent new historical figures, such as Asmaya (written with initial-*a*-final!)

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- and Mazi-Karhuha, instead of using the names of officials and kings who were already known to historians.
2. The bowl could be the same one that Laroche saw, but part of the text (for instance, one of the two inscriptions) could have been added or modified by a counterfeiter.

All in all, the likelihood of counterfeiting is very low. The first picture of the bowl was published by A. Toker in 1992, and this date represents the *terminus ante quem* for the work of an alleged counterfeit. At the beginning of the 1990s, only very few specialists would have been able to compose such a complex text, and this appears to be a conclusive argument in favor of the authenticity of the item and of the text it carries.

1. The Inscription

The first mention of the Ankara Silver Bowl in scientific literature can be found in the above-mentioned book by Laroche (1960: xxx). The entry by Laroche reads as follows: “*Coupe en argent, provenant de Kargamis(?)—Inédite.*” In 1993, a picture of the bowl, published for the first time in a catalogue of the Ankara Museum (Toker 1992), drew the attention of the British philologist J. David Hawkins to the existence of the item. Shortly afterward, Hawkins published an edition of the text in the journal of the Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi of Ankara (1997: 7–24); eight years later, the same edition, with some minor changes, was republished in the 15th volume of *Studia Troica* (2005: 193–204).

Before discussing the previous studies dedicated to the bowl, it is necessary to present its Hieroglyphic Luwian text, which runs as follows:

Inscription 1:

- (1) *za/i-wa/i-ti CAELUM-pi *a-sa-ma-i(a) REGIO.HATTI VIR₂*
*(*273)i(a)-sa5-za/i-tá REX maza/i-kar-hu-ha REX PRAE-na*
- (2) *tara/i-wa/i-za/i-wa/i(REGIO) REL+ra/i MONS.[tu] IUDEX!+la*
hu-la/i-i(a)-tá
- (3) **a-wa/i-na *a-pa-ti-i(a) ANNUS-i(a) i(a)-za/i-tà*

Inscription 2:

*za/i CAELUM-pi SCRIBA 2 pi?-t[i?]-x[. . .] *414*

Inscription 1:

- (1) This bowl Asmaya himself, man of the land Hatti, donated in front of the king Mazi-Karhuha (2–3) when [Tu]dhaliyas the Labarna smote the land Tarwiza, in that year he made it.¹

Inscription 2:

This bowl Pit(?). . . , the “second rank” scribe . . .

1. The presence of a clitic pronoun *-an, generis communis*, seems to imply that the word for “bowl,” *CAELUM-pi*, was *generis communis* as well. This fact would represent a problem if the phonetic complement *-pi* represents the nominal ending of the word. However, I see no problem in assuming that the writing represented some kind of rebus-rendering of a word close to *tapis(a)na* (cf. Hawkins 2005: 196). Simon’s (2009: 248f.) observation, that the word for sky, *tapis(a)*, hidden behind the logogram *CAELUM*, was actually a neutral stem, is no real problem: there are several cases of logograms that had a generalised phonetic value that did not depend on the original semantic meaning. For instance, the writing *tara/i-pi-°* in the inscription Tünp 1 (3.§5) employs the logogram “3”, but the use is merely phonographic and there is no connection between the verb *tarpi* and the numeral 3.

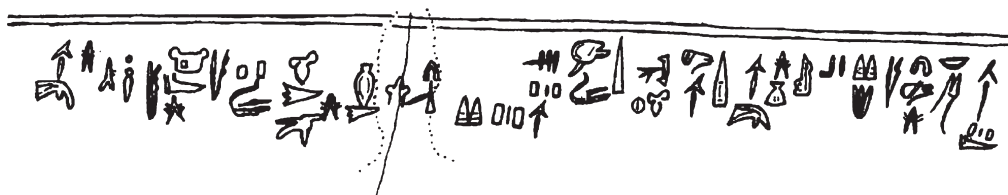


Fig. 1. Ankara Silver Bowl, Inscription 1 (Courtesy of J. David Hawkins).

2. Previous Studies

One may say that the Silver Bowl was discovered three times: in 1960 by La-roche, in 1992 by Toker, and finally in 1997 and 2005 by Hawkins. As a matter of fact, it was only after its “third discovery” that the scientific community realized its potential historical meaning. In the last five years, several articles have appeared attempting to provide an interpretation of the inscription and identification of the figures mentioned by the text.

In his aforementioned editions, Hawkins (1997: 2005) provided the first transcription and translation of the text(s) and pointed out the central problems that need to be solved in order to identify the geographical provenance of the bowl, as well as the date and the meaning of the inscription(s). Regarding the date, the British scholar formulates two different hypotheses. From the point of view of epigraphy, he suggests that an identification of the Tudhaliyas mentioned in the text with Tudhaliyas IV appears to be likely, because the writing system is extremely developed—meaning that the phonetic rendering of the words prevails in the logographic and ideographic forms. On the other hand, Hawkins proposes a historically-oriented reconstruction according to which the city of Tarwiza could be identified with the Tarwiša mentioned in the cuneiform sources of the time of Tudhaliyas I/II (KUR^{URU}*ta-ru-i-ša* in KUB 23, 11 ii 19; KUR^[URU]*a-ru-u-i-š[a]* in the duplicate KUB 23, 12 ii 13²), and, therefore, he assumes a Middle-Hittite date.³ In conclusion, the British scholar states that, if forced to take a position, he would lean toward the latter interpretation.⁴

2. Text in Carruba 1977 (*SMEA* 18): 156ff. The toponym occurs in a list of locations and cities conquered (or simply reached?) by Tudhaliyas.

3. Hawkins (1997: 2005) also bases his hypothesis of a date to the reign of Tudhaliyas I/II based on the possible comparison with a cuneiform inscription on metal, the so called bronze sword of Tudhaliyas (on which see Ertekin and Ediz 1993: 719ff.; Salvini and Vagnetti 1994: 215ff.; and recently van den Hout 2009: 90 for further references). The inscription runs as follows (Ünal 1993: 727ff.): *i-nu-ma mDu-ut-ha-li-ya LUGAL.GAL KUR^{URU}A-aš-šu-wa ú-hal-liq GÍR^{HLA} an-nu-tim a-na D¹ŠKUR be-lí-šu u-se-li* “When the Great King Tudhaliyas destroyed the land of Assuwa, he donated these swords to the Stormgod, his lord.” It is vaguely similar to the one on the Ankara Silver Bowl, but the comparison is not precise. The sword inscription is written in Akkadian and probably by a native speaker or by someone competent enough. Moreover, the sword is a dedication by the Hittite king, found in Hattuša, and not a celebration of the deeds of the *Labarna* sent to a foreign king as a secular gift.

4. The on-line Konkordanz of the HPM (URL: <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk-> vers. 1.80—January 7, 2011) lists the Ankara Silver Bowl (called there “Kargamis Silberschale”) under the CTH-number 142, implicitly accepting the second suggestion made by Hawkins. Looking at the entry, one tends to get the following wrong impressions: (1) that the date is sure, while to my knowledge Hawkins and Carruba are the only scholars who have supported it in a published work; (2) that the provenance is certainly Karkemiš; (3) that the text carved on the bowl *belongs* to the Annals of Tudhaliyas I/

A couple of years later, Clelia Mora (2007: 515–21) published a paper in the *Festschrift* for Belkis and Ali Dinçol in which she acknowledged Hawkins's hypothesis, adding at the same time some further considerations and a new hypothesis regarding the date. The Italian scholar observes that the bowl may not come from Hatti but rather from the Syrian area of Karkemiš/Emar. The extra-Anatolian provenance would be indicated by the presence of the title "REGIO.HATTI VIR₂," which, in Mora's opinion (2007: 518), would have been omitted, unless the bowl was composed in a country other than Hatti. Mora does not reject the identification of Tarwiza and the cuneiform city of Tarwiša (see above), but she also mentions a possible connection with the *TAR-WI²/WU²/PI²/YU²* troops attested in some texts from the Late Bronze age city of Emar (Mora 2007: 519).

Moreover, Mora points out the existence, in the 13th-century Emar archives, of an administrative text from the 13th century in which a personal name occurs that contains the rare segment *Mazi* (Mazi-Teššup; see below, §5). Even though no identification of this figure with the king Mazi-Karhuha is conceivable or suggested, the identity of the initial segments can be seen as a sign of the Syrian origin of the Silver Bowl. Regarding the identity of Tudhaliyas, Mora emphasizes the problems that the highly developed writing system would represent in the case of a Middle Hittite date. At the same time, she takes into consideration the option of a post-Hittite hypothesis and mentions the existence of an Iron Age Luwian king from Karkemiš who bore the name Tudhaliyas.⁵

In 2008, two works appeared, by Ilya Yakubovich and Onofrio Carruba, respectively, which, although being dedicated to problems wider and other than the bowl itself, included extensive commentaries on the inscribed item. Carruba (2008: 143ff.) simply emphasizes the historical importance of the data that point to a Middle Hittite date, proposing that the city of Tarwiza be identified either with Trysa or with Troy itself. Yakubovich (2008: 14ff.), on the other hand, interprets the form *PRAE-na i(a)-za-i-tà* as a variant of the verbal construction *CUM-ni i(ya)sa-*, "to buy from."⁶ According to the Russian linguist, the bowl would have been physically forged at the time of Tudhaliyas I/II but would have been bought and inscribed by Asmaya from Mazi-Karhuha at the time of Tudhaliyas IV.⁷ Unfortunately, the alternation of the two prepositions, *CUM-ni* and *PRAE-na*, is nowhere to be found in the entire remaining Luwian corpus. Moreover, the historical interpretation the scholar proposes is hardly conceivable: the commercial transaction that Yakubovich thinks took place in Karkemiš⁸ implies the existence of some kind of antiquarian market of former royal gifts during the 13th century on the periphery of the Hittite Empire.

II, which would not be the case even if the early date were correct. Generally speaking, I find the choice of attributing CTH-numbers to the Hieroglyphic Luwian texts (and especially to those of the Iron Age, such as Karatepe I, listed under CTH 215) quite confusing.

5. On the Great King Tudhaliyas of Karkemiš, see Hawkins 1995: 2000; F. Giusfredi 2009b, 2010: 45ff.

6. On the construction *CUM-ni i(ya)sa*, see Davies and Hawkins 1982.

7. Yakubovich also argues that, if Asmaya is in fact the subject of the sentence—the person who buys the bowl—then the presence of the medial-reflexive pronouns *-ta* would be explained, since he bought the bowl "for himself." However, Yakubovich also notes that several reflexive pronouns had lost their original function in some specific constructions of Hieroglyphic Luwian; I therefore prefer to interpret the *-ta* as a generically emphatic element, as Simon (2009) does, "Asmaya . . . selbst" and not "Asmaya für sich selbst."

8. The reason why Yakubovich assumes that the purchase had taken place in Karkemiš is, again, the presence of the sign KAR. However, as of 2008, the inscription Tell Ahmar 6 was already known: a Dark Age text from a state close to but different from Karkemiš, in which KAR also occurs.

In 2009, finally, a paper was published in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* by Zsolt Simon, who, on the basis of the convincing hypothesis formulated by Seeher (2001) that the city of Hattuša was abandoned by the Hittite court at the end of the 13th century, suggests recognizing in Tudhaliyas a direct (or almost direct) successor of Suppiluliuma II, to be henceforth indicated by the name Tudhaliyas V (Simon 2009: 259ff.). The author exhaustively lists and criticizes the previous proposals (except Carruba 2008), providing several, although not always conclusive, arguments and presents parallel cases of diplomatic gifts in support of the hypothesis that the bowl was sent to Mazi-Karhuha on the occasion of a special event that took place in his kingdom (Simon 2009: 249).

3. *The Inscription in the Context of the Anatolian Historical Production*

In order to begin discussion of the meaning of the inscription carved on the Silver Bowl, it is necessary to try to understand the position of the document in the context of later Anatolian textual production. Because the item on which the text is inscribed is a precious *Trinkschale* (thus Simon 2009: 249), it would perhaps be natural to compare it to the so-called Kastamonu Vase, a gold inscribed vase from the age of Tudhaliyas IV who, according to Hawkins, Mora, and Yakubovich, could be the very king who also had the Silver Bowl inscribed. However, the analogies are only superficial. The text carved on the Kastamonu Vase contains a religious dedication,⁹ while the Silver Bowl inscription seems to refer to historical events. Moreover, the Kastamonu Vase does not contain any date formula, while the Silver Bowl apparently does. Therefore, as Mora (2007: 519) observed, it would probably be more convincing to compare our text with some post-Hittite historical Luwian inscriptions, such as the Karahöyük stele.

That the Silver Bowl contains a date formula is a very astonishing fact. Date formulas are completely absent from the Hittite cuneiform production, since the Hittites apparently had no thing like the Assyrian eponyms lists, nor did they explicitly count the throne-years of their rulers (which makes the reconstruction of absolute chronologies an excruciating work for modern historians). Accordingly, even the Hieroglyphic Luwian occurrences that may be interpreted as date formulas are anything but the result of a systematic chronological record.¹⁰ As apparently already implied by Simon (2009), the incipit of the Karahöyük stele (§§1–2)¹¹ is not properly a date formula but rather the historical record of an event that took place in the city (or area) where the text was composed in the very year in which the stele was erected. The same can be said of the other allegedly parallel passages, such as,

9. Cf. Mora 2007: 516 for further references. The inscription on the Kastamonu Vase runs as follows: *zi/a CAELUM-pi DEUS.SCRIBA BONUS₂.VIR.*254 LEPUS+ra/i-mi BONUS₂.VIR₂.*254 PONERE* “This bowl (to the?) God-Scribe Taprammi, the BONUS₂.VIR₂, the *254, placed.”

10. The absence of a systematic chronological record of the historical events in the Hittite culture can be counted as a further argument against the interpretation by Yakubovich (see above, §2), who assumes that the text on the silver bowl was inscribed during the reign of Tudhaliyas IV, but it refers, with extreme chronological precision, to events that took place during the reign of Tudhaliyas I/II.

11. Karahöyük §§1–2 (DEUS)TONITRUS POCULUM.PES.*67(REGIO) STELE LUNA.PRATER, PITHOS.VIR.DOMINUS || *la-mi-ni-*’ PRAE PONERE MAGNUS.REX *i(a)+ra/i*-TONITRUS MAGNUS.REX REL+*ra/i-i(a)* || POCULUM.PES.*67(REGIO) PES+*ra/i* “(To) the Storm-God of the land POCULUM (this) stele Armananis, Lord of the Pithos-Men, dedicated, at the time when Ir-Tesub, the Great King, came to the land POCULUM.”

for instance, Karkemiš A11B+C:¹² all the occurrences of sentences that apparently date a text of the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus always discuss events that directly involved the ruler or the official who had the inscription composed or, at least, they discuss events that took place not far from their country, city, or region.

This unquestionable feature of the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus necessarily establishes a connection between the location in which the text of the Silver Bowl was composed (or the kingdom ruled by the sovereign who received it as a gift) and the events mentioned in the formula “when [Tu]dhaliyas the Labarna smote the land Tarwiza, in that year he made it.” Therefore, if it is possible to show that the text was very likely composed in Syria (see below), then the early date suggested by Hawkins (1997; 2005) would automatically become very unlikely: the annalistic texts by Tudhaliyas I/II do not mention any Syrian allies of the king during his western campaigns (and the contrary would be historically surprising).

4. *The Provenance of the Inscription*

Because the Silver Bowl was probably bought from a private owner, or at least because there are no data about its provenance, the only way to investigate the geographical origin of the item is to examine the internal evidence.

A first attempt at understanding the provenance of the Silver Bowl was made by Hawkins (2005: 196; followed by Yakubovich 2008: 15), who observed that the Karkemiš origin (originally suggested by Laroche) is in fact plausible due to the occurrence of the sign *KAR* in the name of the god Karhuha, a feature that occurred—until 2006—in the Karkemiš texts only. Naturally, in this reconstruction, the cultural area of Karkemiš would be only the location where the bowl was inscribed: Hawkins and Yakubovich remain convinced that the bowl is a Hittite artefact and that the text refers to a Hittite king Tudhaliyas.

Regarding the epigraphic argument, however, it is worth noticing that the sign *KAR* is now attested also in the recently found inscription Tell Ahmar 6 (Simon 2009: 254).¹³ Naturally, given the location of Tell Ahmar in northern Syria, it can still be argued that the *KAR* sign was a graphic peculiarity of the Syrian documentation, but its occurrence in the Silver Bowl can no longer be regarded as a conclusive argument about the provenance of the silver artefact.

At any rate, a Syrian origin is also suggested by Mora (2007: 518), who, as already said, interpreted the sequence “REGIO.*HATTI* VIR₂” as an exonymic designation, indicating that the bowl was *not* forged and inscribed in Hatti. Simon (2009: 256f.) proved that this statement is not conclusive, showing that the argument is made invalid by the several occurrences of the logogram *HATTI* in the hieroglyphic documentation from the archives and deposits of the capital city Hattuša, which show that the use of the substantive *Hatti* in the Anatolian documentation always has the function of a *Selbstbezeichnung*.

12. Karkemiš A11B+C §7, §15 *a-wa/i* |REL-*a-ti-i* |(ANNUS)*u-si-i ka-wa/i-za-na*(URBS) |(CURRUS) *wa/i+ ra/i-za-ni-ná* |PES₂-*za-ha* (. . .) *za-zi-ha-wa/i-mi-i* (DOMUS.SUPER)*ha+ra/i-sà-tá-ni-zi pa-ti-i-*’ (“ANNUS”) *u-si* |AEDIFICARE-*mi-ha* “In the year in which I carried (in) the city Kawa’s chariot(ry) (. . .) these upper floors in that year I built myself.”

13. The epigraphic argument, that the *KAR* sign is not attested outside of Karkemiš, was originally presented by Hawkins 2005: 196. Mora (2007: 518) and Yakubovich (2008: 15) also mention this fact, although the inscription Tell Ahmar 6 was already published when their works were published.

All in all, none of the arguments provided in support of a Syrian or Karkemiš origin of the Ankara Silver Bowl has been successfully invalidated, but all of them have been proved inconclusive. There is, however, a further kind of information that may be helpful in investigating the provenance of the bowl: the linguistic identity of the personal names of the characters mentioned by the text.

The name of the king Mazi-Karhuha is formed from a Luwian theonym preceded by an element, *mazi-*, which is also present in the name of the father of a witness mentioned in the 13th-century Emar text ME 120: Mazi-^DISKUR-*ub*.¹⁴ Naturally, for chronological and onomastic reasons, the two figures cannot have anything to do with each other, but the parallelism of the two *mazi*-segments unquestionably testifies to the Hurrian origin of both names.¹⁵ In the very same text, by an incredible coincidence, another witness is mentioned who bears the name Asmiya. According to Regine Pruzsinszky (2003: 249) and Mauro Giorgieri and Stefano De Martino (2008 s.v. *ažm*), Asmiya is also a Hurrian name, a well-attested formation on the Hurrian root *ažm*. Therefore, it seems to me safe enough to assume that the personal names of both the characters mentioned in the Ankara Silver Bowl indicate that they belonged to a Hurro-Luwian region.

Once again, it is impossible to speak of conclusive arguments, but several different data seem to point to a northern Syrian provenance of the inscribed precious bowl.

5. *Mazi-Karhuha King of Tarwiza?*

Regardless of the geographical origin, however, it is a fact that the bowl registers some sort of interaction between a *labarna* Tudhaliyas and a local king named Mazi-Karhuha. Understanding the occasion on which this interaction took place is a crucial problem that cannot be neglected. Simon (2009: 249f.) was well aware of it, because he dedicates some portion of his work to the discussion of this very point. He correctly observes that the historical occasion coincided with the actual donation of the bowl, an event that he analyzes as follows:

Da die Schale anhand ihrer Größe (Dm. 20,2 cm; H. 7,3 cm) als Trinkschale zu identifizieren ist, kann es sich statt einer Weihung eher um eine Gabe von Tudhaliya an Mazi/a-Karhuha handeln, da Silbergefäße, besonders Trinkschalen, typischerweise zu den königlichen Geschenken im Alten Orient gehören. Die Anlässe für solche Ehrengeschenke waren diplomatische Geschenke an Ausländer, besondere Taten, Feste, Vertragsabschluss, Geburt, Hochzeit, Tod und im allgemeinen königliche Festmahle und Bankette (Sallaberger 1999: 250–52;

14. The name is misquoted as Mazi-^DU by Mora 2007: 518f. and Simon 2009: 251f.; a similar name, *Mazi*-^DISKUR, also occurs in RPAE VI/2 212.

15. The name of the king mentioned by the Ankara Silver Bowl contains the Luwian theonym Karhuhas as its second element. This fact, however, does not disprove the Hurrian origin of the name. Theonyms can appear in several languages and be included in double names. Moreover, compound names can easily be created using words that come from a different tradition. Akkadian and Sumerian segments, for instance, appear in several personal names from the Babylonian King List, for instance ENLIL-nadin-ahi, NINURTA-nadin-shumi and many others. The hypothesis, recently supported by Carruba (2008: 144³), of a connection of *mazi* to Luw. *masani-*, “god,” is graphically unparalleled and phonetically unconvincing. Carruba’s (2008: 146) attempt at a Luw. analysis of the name of Asmaya (which he compares to *Eseimiyu*) is equally to be rejected, because it simply complicates a problem that can easily be solved comparing cuneiform Hurrian *Asmiya*.

2003: 602). Beispiele können eigentlich aus jeder Zeit und Region erwähnt werden, wie z.B. Ur III-Zeit (Sallaberger 1999: 250–52), Ebla (Sallaberger 2003: 602), Mari (Guichard 1994: 237–40), Amarna-Zeit (Cochavi-Rainey 1999: 68–69), neuassyrische Zeit (Radner 1999–2001: 21–22) und achämenidische Zeit (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989: 131–35). Der Anlass wäre hier der Sieg über Tara/i-wa/i-zi/a (sonst gäbe es keinen Grund, dies anzuführen), und Asamaya wäre der Überbringer der königlichen Gabe. §2–3 wären also nicht nur eine bloße Datierung, sondern auch die Formulierung von Anlass oder Grund (das Subjekt des §3 ist also Asamaya).

Even though one may want to note that none of the parallel cases provided by the Hungarian scholar actually come from the Hittite and Luwian world, it is evident that these kind of diplomatic donations did exist. And regardless of the kind of event or celebration that may or may not have taken place at the court of Mazi-Karhuha, one can be certain that the sending of the bowl must be historically close to and connected with the siege of Tarwiza mentioned by the text.¹⁶

Because the text refers to a military expedition, one can naturally assume that Mazi-Karhuha could have taken part in Tudhaliyas's campaign. The Syrian ruler, perhaps, was an ally of the *labarna*, and the *labarna* may have sent the precious gift as a reward to the friendly and collaborative ally. This interpretation, however, is not unproblematic. In fact, the inscription contains no mention whatsoever of the name of the kingdom ruled by Mazi-Karhuha, which is the kind of information I would expect a diplomatic text to contain.

There is, indeed, a second possibility. The name of the kingdom of Mazi-Karhuha may be actually present in the text if we assume that the king ruled, in fact, the city of Tarwiza itself. One may wonder: why would Tudhaliyas have sent a gift to the king of the city he had just besieged? I can suggest two possible scenarios: either Mazi-Karhuha, after the defeat, became an ally of Tudhaliyas, or, even more likely, he was the new king of the city, enthroned by Tudhaliyas after the victory.

This second option seems more convincing to me: the enthroning of a friendly ruler after the conquest of a city or region was standard military and diplomatic policy in the ancient Near East. One can compare, for instance, the rulers enthroned by the Hittite kings in northern Syria during the late Bronze Age¹⁷ or the Assyrian kings of the late 8th century B.C.E., who put friendly rulers on the thrones of the formally independent little states of Cilicia and Tabal.¹⁸

6. Identity of Asmaya

All of the solutions that have so far been proposed for the date of the Ankara Silver Bowl and for the interpretation of its meaning depend on the identification of the Tudhaliyas mentioned in the text with one of the already-known historical figures who bore the same name.¹⁹ The only exception to this tendency is put for-

16. Thus Simon (2009: 249): "Der Anlass wäre hier der Sieg über Tara/i-wa/i-zi/a (sonst gäbe es keinen Grund, dies anzuführen), und Asmaya wäre der Überbringer der königlichen Gabe."

17. One can mention, for instance, the enthroning of Piyassili and Talmi-Sharruma in Karkemış and Aleppo at the time of Suppiluliuma I.

18. On the several cases of Tabalite and Cilician rulers enthroned by the Assyrians, see the historical overview in Giusfredi 2010: 60ff.

19. The kings considered thus far are Tudhaliyas I/II (proposed by Hawkins 2005 and Carruba 2008), Tudhaliyas IV (proposed by Hawkins 2005, Mora 2007, and Yakubovich 2008) and the post-Hittite

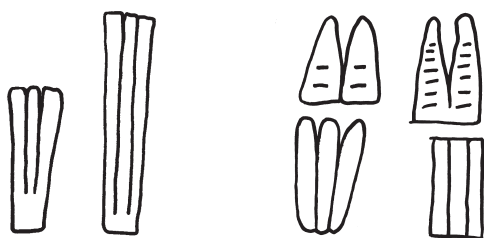


Figure 2 (far left). A sign *HATTI* from the Yalbur Inscription (left) and a sign *DOMINUS* from the Inscription Karkemiš A3 (right).

Figure 3 (left). Asmaya's title in the ANKARA SILVER BOWL (left) and the title *REGIO.DOMINUS* in the Inscription KARKEMIŠ A27c (right). Note that the apparent "flower-like" divergence of the vertical lines is more evident in the published drawings than in the actual inscription and likely depends on the fact that the scribe was writing very small signs on a curved tri-dimensional surface of metal and not on a flat surface of stone.

ward by Simon, who preferred to hypothesize the existence of a fifth Hittite sovereign named Tudhaliyas, who would have ruled shortly after Suppiluliuma II. Mazi-Karhuha, on the contrary, was generally considered to be a king of Karkemiš or a local king of another small state, and the date of his reign always depends on which Tudhaliyas the different scholars chose for the identification of the *labarna*. The identity of the third person named in the text, Asmaya, on the other hand, has been neglected. In my opinion, however, understanding his role and provenance may be the key to a different interpretation of the inscribed bowl.

Generally speaking, all we know about Asmaya is that he bears a title that Hawkins transcribed *REGIO.HATTI VIR₂*. This reading is not unproblematic. First of all, the sequence itself is unattested; moreover, the position of the ideogram/determinative *REGIO* is unique: normally, it occurs right after the toponym, and not before it. As a matter of fact, *REGIO.HATTI VIR₂* is not the only possible reading of the sequence. The sign here transcribed *HATTI* is a logogram used for the writing of the names of the Hittite country, of the city Hattuša and of the personal name of the Hittite king Hattušili III. There is a logogram that occurs in several seals during the Bronze Age, as well as in several stone inscriptions during the Dark and the Iron Ages, the shape of which is very similar to *HATTI*, to the point that in some cases the differences in the two signs are hardly discernible: the sign *DOMINUS* (see the caption to fig. 3 for further details).

If one agrees that the correct reading is *DOMINUS*, not *HATTI*, several problems disappear. First of all, it is not necessary to assume that the text had anything to do with the Bronze Age Hittite court. As a consequence, it becomes futile to try to fit the events into the historical scenario of the reign of a specific Hittite king—an attempt that would become very difficult if someone tried to identify Mazi-Karhuha with a king of Karkemiš during the reign of Tudhaliyas IV, something that would be virtually impossible. Last, but not least, the philological problem presented by the position of the logogram/determinative *REGIO* would be automatically solved: *REGIO* would not be a determinative but, rather, a logographic component of a widely attested Hieroglyphic Luwian compound title.

Tudhaliyas from Karkemiš (Mora 2007). Two figures have been neglected: a Tudhaliyas from Alalah (on which see Yener 2002–3: fig. 7) and a mysterious Tudhaliyas mentioned in the text KBo. 3, 3 iv 3, 6 (on which see D'Alfonso 2005: 58¹⁶, Miller 2007: 4). However, both of these indistinct figures are not convincing candidates for an identification, the former probably being simply a prince.

The first post-Hittite occurrences of REGIO.DOMINUS appear in Karkemiš and Malatya during the Dark Age and the early Iron Age. As Hawkins (1995; cf. also Giusfredi 2009b and 2010: 45ff., 97ff.) argued, the title, originally an official designation probably corresponding to cuneiform EN.KUR (*udniyašha-*), became the main indicator of the monarchic power of the ruling dynasties of the two cities. In Karkemiš, furthermore, the sovereigns who used this title (along with the other “new” Luwian royal designation *tarwanis*)²⁰ belong to the so-called House of Suhis, a family of officials and priests that—during the 10th century B.C.E.—managed to dethrone the old dynasty of the Great Kings and became rulers of the Syrian state.

In the Ankara Silver Bowl, in addition to REGIO.DOMINUS, we also read an occurrence of the sign L 386. In the present context, there are two possible explanations for its meaning. It may be read VIR₂, being a second title borne by Asmaya, but it may also be read as a rather common word divider, frequently used to accompany important words and logograms in the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus until the end of the Neo-Hittite tradition (on this sign, cf. Poetto 1993: 29). According to the reading I am suggesting here, the text of the Ankara Silver Bowl should be read as follows (I do not repeat the transcription and translation of Inscription 2, which is simply a scribal signature and remains unvaried):

Inscription 1:

- (1) *za/i-wa/i-ti CAELUM-pi *a-sa-ma-i(a) REGIO.DOMINUS VIR₂ (Or:
REGIO.DOMINUS I) (*273) i(a)-sa5-za/i-tá REX maza/i-kar-hu-ha REX
PRAE-na*
- (2) *tara/i-wa/i-za/i-wa/i(REGIO) REL+ra/i MONS.[tu] IUDEX!+la
hu-la/i-i(a)-tá*
- (3) **a-wa/i-na *a-pa-ti-i(a) ANNUS-i(a) i(a)-za/i-tà*

Inscription 1:

- (1) This bowl Asmaya himself, the REGIO DOMINUS, the VIR₂(?), dedicated in front of the king Mazi-Karhuha (2–3) when [Tu]dhaliyas the Labarna smote the land Tarwiza, in that year he made it.

7. The Identity of Tudhaliyas

Although the epigraphic argument of the occurrence of the sign KAR is not conclusive any longer, there are elements that point to a Syrian provenance of the Silver Bowl: the Hurrian names of two of the characters involved and the presence of the Luwian god Karhuha. If one assumes that the title of Asmaya was REGIO.DOMINUS, Karkemiš becomes, once again, an ideal location for the production of the bowl and for the composition of the text. Because a local dynasty of REGIO.DOMINUS's existed at the beginning of the Iron Age, and because this dynasty had ruled the city not earlier than the 10th century B.C.E., it is natural to assume the family already existed in the centuries immediately before. During the Dark Age, it is likely that the REGIO.DOMINUS of Karkemiš served as a high official at the court of the Karkemiš Great Kings.

Accordingly, if the transcription and translation presented above are correct, the Hittite Empire would have nothing to do with the inscription on the bowl. As-

20. On the title *tarwanis*, see Giusfredi 2009a, 2009b, 2010. The family of Suhis in Karkemiš bore both titles, *tarwanis* and REGIO.DOMINUS, and its members continued using them once they became rulers of the city.

maya was an official, entitled REGIO.DOMINUS, who was sent with a diplomatic gift by a king of Karkemiš to a city—Tarwiza—ruled by an otherwise unknown king named Mazi-Karhuha, who had probably been enthroned by Tudhaliyas himself after a military siege. In order to complete my reconstruction, I will now take into consideration the possibility that the Tudhaliyas mentioned by the text was in fact a king of Karkemiš.

Mora (2007: 518f.) has already considered a similar hypothesis. She suggested identifying the *Labarna* who had the text inscribed, with a 10th-century ruler of the Syrian capital city. The MAGNUS.REX Tudhaliyas Mora refers to is mentioned in the inscriptions Karkemiš A16c, Karkemiš Frgm. a/b, and Kelekli21. Unfortunately, if one sticks to the traditional chronology of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms, this suggestion is unacceptable. The writing system employed for the Ankara Silver Bowl is necessarily earlier than the 10th century, and this fact is unquestionably proved by the twofold value of the sign ZA/I, which is not present in the other texts from the Iron Age corpus.

However, in two recent works (Giusfredi 2009b, 2010: 45ff.) I have proposed a different chronology for the 11th–10th century rulers of Karkemiš in order to solve the historical problems posed by the presence of two contemporary dynasties during the first half of the tenth century. According to my reconstruction, the Tudhaliyas mentioned in the inscriptions of Kelekli and Karkemiš A16c and the one named by the Karkemiš Frgm. A/B were two different rulers.

The former, who never appears to be entitled MAGNUS.REX, was the last member of the family of the Great Kings. He tried to rule as king and—with no success—to protect his throne from the emerging family of the Suhides by marrying a daughter of Suhis I. His life and his attempts to keep the power his family traditionally had should therefore be dated to the first half of the 10th century:²² not early enough to make him a candidate for the bowl's inscription.

The latter Tudhaliyas, on the other hand, must have ruled in Karkemiš not later than the 11th century B.C.E. An identification of this Great King with the Tudhaliyas mentioned in the Ankara Silver Bowl is consistent with the level of development of the writing system employed. There is also a further argument in support of this hypothesis. The title borne by the Ankara Silver Bowl's Tudhaliyas is IUDEX[+la], to be read *Labarna*, and it is probably also borne by his 11th-century Karkemiš homonym in the Karkemiš Frgm. A/B.²³ The title *Labarna* was not used by any Luwian ruler of the Iron Age, but the Karkemiš provenance of the inscription A/B makes it very likely that the Great Kings of Karkemiš started bearing it during the Dark Age, along with the title Great King (MAGNUS.REX). In other words, the identification of the king who had the Ankara Silver Bowl sent to Mazi-Karhuha with the Dark Age Great King Tudhaliyas of Karkemiš is not only consistent with the level of development of the writing system used in the Hieroglyphic Luwian

21. Texts in Hawkins 2000: 82, 92f., 590f.

22. In Hawkins's reconstruction, on the other hand, there would have been only one Tudhaliyas, to be dated to the time of Suhis II, two generations after Suhis I. Dating the inter-dynastic marriage to the time of Suhis II, however, poses a huge historical problem as the Suhides had already taken over power at the time of Astuwatamanza I, two generations earlier (see Giusfredi 2009b, 2010: 45ff.).

23. See the text in Hawkins 2000: 590f. The shape of the sign is actually quite irregular, and it probably represents a Dark Age transitional phase of the sign *LABARNA*/IUDEX (but cf. also Simon 2009a: 255, for a different interpretation).

inscription but also with the internal history of the Syrian city and with the titles the Great King bore.

7. Conclusion

I am aware that it is currently impossible to prove or disprove with certainty any of the theories formulated about the origin and the date of the Ankara Silver Bowl. Even though a Middle Hittite date seems extremely unlikely due to the development of the syllabic values of the signs, one cannot definitely exclude it: future discoveries may show that the Hieroglyphic Luwian syllabary was older than scholars currently think. The same can be said about the theories that date the bowl to the reign of Tudhaliyas IV. The number of syllabic writings is definitely higher in the bowl inscription than in Yalburt, and the use of the isolated title *labarna* in the inscriptions by Tudhaliyas IV is unattested (thus Simon 2009a: 255f.). Nonetheless, these counter-arguments are far from being conclusive. Finally, the hypothesis of a successor to Suppiluliuma II, named Tudhaliyas, cannot be excluded, although no other evidence can be found pointing to the existence of this king, and one may say that *reges non sunt multiplicandi praeter necessitatem*.

On the other hand, the existence of one or more post-Hittite kings named Tudhaliyas is proved by the aforementioned inscriptions from Karkemiš (Mora 2007: 519), and it is highly likely that one of these kings actually ruled during the Dark Age (Giusfredi 2009b, 2010: 45ff.), a phase that would be consistent with the structural development of the hieroglyphs used in the bowl inscription. Carruba's criticism of the idea of a post-Hittite date, based on the lack of importance the Italian scholar attributes to the Iron age Luwian kingdoms, is severe in tone but is unfounded, when one considers the evidence.²⁴

If, however, the reading of the title of Asmaya is REGIO.DOMINUS, as I am suggesting in this paper and as would be reasonable to assume for philological reasons, the post-Hittite Karkemiš cultural environment would definitely be an optimal solution. The problem of the inverted order of determinative and substantive in the unattested sequence REGIO.HATTI would be solved. Furthermore, it would be possible to identify the occasion on which the bowl was donated as during a diplomatic expedition. The bowl was brought to Mazi-Karhuha, who was perhaps a king of the very city of Tarwiza, by Asmaya, an official entitled REGIO.DOMINUS. Asmaya, coming from a city in which this title was actually used, delivered the gift, acting on behalf of a king Tudhaliyas, who bears the title *labarna*. This Tudhaliyas is already known from other sources and he actually ruled in Karkemiš, probably during the 11th century B.C.E.

* * * * *

[*Post scriptum*: This article is current as of July, 2010, when I read my paper in Barcelona. In December, 2010, a new article was published by P. Durnford ("How Old Was the Ankara Silver Bowl When Its Inscriptions Were Added?" in *Anatolian*

24. Carruba 2008: 147. Commenting on the two suggestions presented by Mora, namely a date for Tudhaliyas IV or a date for an Iron Age Luwian Tudhaliyas, the scholar dismisses the post-Hittite option by writing simply: "Il secondo scenario che deve mettere in scena una guerricciola ancora più piccola ci sembra irrealizzabile".

Studies 60 2010: 51–70), who suggests that the two inscriptions on the bowl could have been written by the members of the family of Asmaya, a Hittite man whose descendants lived in Karkemiš, and that the references to events that possibly took place at the time of the Hittite kingdom would represent an attempt to connect the origins of the family to Bronze Age Anatolian history. The hypothesis presented by Durnford is interesting and will certainly be discussed in future publications, and the author deserves the gratitude of fellow scholars. However, in my opinion, some of the arguments he proposes are flawed by some unclear assumptions and ill-defined statements. For instance, Durnford neglects the paper by Simon (2009a) and still assumes that the sign *KAR* is only attested in Karkemiš (p. 59), which was already proved wrong by the publication of the stele of Tell Ahmar 6 in 2006. Moreover, his approach to palaeography is not completely convincing, because he does not properly distinguish between hieroglyphs written on stone and hieroglyphs written on metal (pp. 59f.). Also, some of the historical observations are unclear: the definition of the Hittite society as “heroic” (p. 67)—which the author leaves almost unexplained—and the excursus about Western Anatolia (pp. 62ff.)—which lacks references to the rich scientific literature that has appeared in the last twenty years (for instance, but not only, the series *Studia Troica* [Tübingen 1991ff.] with 18 published volumes²⁵)—are a couple of examples. Finally, the comparison between the hieroglyphic sign *273 and a modern(!) goldsmith’s anvil (p. 60) is worth considering but is not supported by any discussion of Iron Age material culture, and the article does not provide a convincing explanation for some of the several meanings of such an ideogram.]

25. Recently—and, to be fair, too recently for the author to quote them—two monographs appeared, dedicated to the historical and geographical problems related to the most important Western Anatolian regions: R. Fischer, *Die Ahhijawa-Frage: Mit einer kommentierten Bibliographie* (DBH 26), Wiesbaden 2010; and M. Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder* (TH 29), Heidelberg, 2010. Both books contain detailed and rich bibliographies on the western peripheries of Hittite Anatolia.

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