

APPENDIX I

The Phoenician Inscriptions

The Bilingual

The North Gate: Phu/A

Transliteration*

Phu/A I (pls. 7-9)

- 1 ʾNK ʾZTWD HBRK BʿL ʿBD
- 2 BʿL ʾŠ ʾDR ʾWRK MLK DNNYM
- 3 PʿLN BʿL LDNNYM LʾB WLʾM YH̄W ʾNK ʾYT
- 4 DNNYM YRḤB ʾNK ʾRŠ ʿMQ ʾDN LMMŠʾŠ
- 5 MŠ WʿD MBʾY WKN BYMTY KL NʿM LDNNY
- 6 M WŠBʿ WMNʿM WMLʾ ʾNK ʿQRT PʿR WPʿ
- 7 L ʾNK SS ʿL SS WMGN ʿL MGN WMḤNT ʿL
- 8 MḤNT BʿBR BʿL WʾLM WŠBRT MLŠM
- 9 WTRQ ʾNK KL HRʿ ʾŠ KN BʾRŠ WYṬNʾ ʾNK
- 10 BT ʾDNY BNʿM WPʿL ʾNK LŠRŠ ʾDNY NʿM
- 11 WYŠB ʾNK ʿL KSʾ ʾBY WŠT ʾNK ŠLM ʾT
- 12 KL MLK WʾP BʾBT PʿLN KL MLK BŠDQY W
- 13 BḤKMTY WBNʿM LBY WBN ʾNK ḤMYT ʿ
- 14 ZT BKL QŠYT ʿL GBLM BMQMM BʾŠ KN
- 15 ʾŠM RʿM BʿL ʾGDDM ʾŠ BL ʾŠ ʿBD
- 16 KN LBT MPŠ WʾNK ʾZTWD ŠTNM TḤT PʿM
- 17 Y WBN ʾNK ḤN[Ⓢ]YT¹ BMQMM HMT LŠBTN̄M DNN
- 18 YM BNḤT LBNM WʿN ʾNK ʾRŠT ʿZT BMBʾ
- 19 ŠMŠ ʾŠ BL ʿN KL HMLKM ʾŠ KN LPNY Wʾ
- 20 NK ʾZTWD ʿNTNM YRDM ʾNK YŠBM ʾNK
- 21 BQŠT GBLY BMSʾ ŠMŠ WDNNYM

* The transliteration of the Phoenician texts follows the rules which are valid in most of the publications of epigraphic monuments. I use capital letters for all the preserved signs and small letters enclosed in square brackets

for those that are restored. Signs which are partly destroyed and doubtful or uncertain in the reading are marked by a superimposed little circle.

¹ Scribal error for ḤMYT.

Phu/A II

1 I am Azatiwada, the *abarakku* of Ba'al, servant of
 2 Ba'al, whom Awarikku, king of the Danunians, made powerful.
 3 Ba'al made me a father and a mother to the Danunians. I revived
 4 the Danunians. I extended the land of the plain of Adana from the rising of the
 5 sun to its setting. And in my days the Danunians had everything (that was) good,
 6 and satiation, and welfare. And I filled the granaries of Pahar. And I
 7 added horse upon horse, and shield upon shield, and army upon
 8 army, by the grace of Ba'al and the god. And I shattered dissenters,
 9 and I extirpated every evil which was in the land. And I founded
 10 the house of my lord on pleasure. And I acted kindly towards the offspring of my lord,
 11 and I let him sit on his father's throne. And I established peace with
 12 every king. And indeed every king treated me as a father because of my righteousness,
 13 and because of my wisdom, and because of my goodness of heart. And I built strong
 14 fortresses in all the remote areas on the borders, in those places wherever there were
 15 wicked men, leaders of gangs, not one of whom had been servant
 16 of the house of Mopsos. But I Azatiwada placed them under my feet.
 17 And I built fortresses in these places so that the Danunians might dwell in them
 18 with their minds at peace. And I subdued strong lands at the setting
 19 of the sun, which none of the kings who were before me had been able to subdue. But I
 20 Azatiwada subdued them. I brought them down. I settled them
 21 on the edge of my borders at the rising of the sun. And I settled

The North Gate: Phu/A

Translation

Phu/A I

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 2 Ba'al, whom Awarikku, king of the Danunians, made powerful.
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 4 the Danunians. I extended the land of the plain of Adana from the rising of the
 5 sun to its setting. And in my days the Danunians had everything (that was) good,
 6 and satiation, and welfare. And I filled the granaries of Pahar. And I
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 9 and I extirpated every evil which was in the land. And I founded
 10 the house of my lord on pleasure. And I acted kindly towards the offspring of my lord,
 11 and I let him sit on his father's throne. And I established peace with
 12 every king. And indeed every king treated me as a father because of my righteousness,
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 14 fortresses in all the remote areas on the borders, in those places wherever there were
 15 wicked men, leaders of gangs, not one of whom had been servant
 16 of the house of Mopsos. But I Azatiwada placed them under my feet.
 17 And I built fortresses in these places so that the Danunians might dwell in them
 18 with their minds at peace. And I subdued strong lands at the setting
 19 of the sun, which none of the kings who were before me had been able to subdue. But I
 20 Azatiwada subdued them. I brought them down. I settled them
 21 on the edge of my borders at the rising of the sun. And I settled

Phu/A II (pls. 7, 10–11)

- 1 YŠBT ŠM WKN BYMTY BKL
- 2 GBL ‘MQ ʾDN LMMŠʾ ŠMŠ
- 3 W‘D MBʾY WBMQMM ʾŠ KN
- 4 LPNM NŠT‘M ʾŠ YŠT‘ ʾDM LLKT
- 5 DRK WBYMTY ʾNK ʾŠT TK LHD
- 6 Y DL PLKM B‘BR B‘L WʾLM
- 7 WKN BKL YMTY ŠB‘ WMN‘M WŠBT
- 8 N‘MT WNHT LB LDNNYM WLKL ‘M
- 9 Q ʾDN WBN ʾNK HQRT Z WŠT
- 10 ʾNK ŠM ʾZTWDY K B‘L WRŠP
- 11 ŠPRM ŠLHN LBNT WBNY ʾNK B
- 12 ‘BR B‘L WB‘BR RŠP ŠPRN^② B
- 13 ŠB‘ WBMN‘M WB^③ŠBT³ N‘MT WBNHT
- 14 LB LKNY MŠMR L‘MQ ʾDN WLB
- 15 T MPŠ K BYMTY KN LʾRŠ ‘MQ ʾ
- 16 DN ŠB‘ WMN‘M WBL KN MTM LDNNY
- 17 M LL BYMTY WBN ʾNK HQRT Z ŠT
- 18 ʾNK ŠM ʾZTWDY YŠB ʾNK BN
- 19 B‘L KRNTYŠ WYLK ZBḤ LKL

Phu/A III (pls. 7, 12–15)

- 1 HMSKT ZBḤ YMM ʾLP · WB[‘t ḥ]RŠ
- 2 Š · WB‘T QŠR Š · WBRK B‘L KR[n]
- 3 TRYŠ ʾYT ʾZTWD ḤYM WŠLM
- 4 W‘Z ʾDR ‘L KL MLK LTTY B‘L KRNTYŠ⁴
- 5 WKL ʾLN QRT LʾZTWD ʾRK YMM WRB
- 6 ŠNT WRŠʾT N‘MT W‘Z ʾDR ‘L KL ML
- 7 K WKN HQRT Z B‘LT ŠB‘ WTRŠ W‘M
- 8 Z ʾŠ YŠB BN YKN B‘L ʾLPM WB‘
- 9 L ŠʾN WB‘L ŠB‘ WTRŠ WBRBM YLD^⑤
- 10 WBRBM YʾDR WBRBM Y‘BD LʾZ
- 11 TWD WLBT MPŠ B‘BR B‘L WʾLM
- 12 WʾM MLK BMLKM WRZN BRZNM ʾM ʾ
- 13 DM ʾŠ ʾDM ŠM ʾŠ YMḤ ŠM ʾZTW
- 14 D BŠ‘R Z WŠT ŠM ʾM ʾP YḤMD ʾY

² Scribal error for ŠPRM.

³ First B forgotten by the scribe and added over Š.

⁴ The whole word forgotten by the scribe and added on the next orthostat.

⁵ The letter is partly destroyed by a break in the stone and resembles an ‘Ayin, but cf. PhSt/C IV 10.

Phu A II

1 Danunians (up) there. And in my days they were on all
 2 the borders of the plain of Adana from the rising of the sun
 3 to its setting. Even in the places which were
 4 formerly dreaded, where a man was afraid to walk
 5 on a road – but in my days a woman could walk by herself
 6 with (her) spindles, by the grace of Ba'al and the god.
 7 And in all my days the Danunians and the whole plain of
 8 Adana had everything (that was) good, and satiation, and welfare, and peace of mind.
 9 And I built this city, and I established
 10 its name Azatiwadaya. For Ba'al and Resheph-
 11 ŠPRM had commissioned me to build it. And I built it by
 12 the grace of Ba'al, and by the grace of Resheph-ŠPRM, with
 13 satiation, and welfare, and with gracious living, and with peace
 14 of mind, so that it might be a protection for the plain of Adana and for the
 15 house of Mopsos. For in my days the land of the plain of
 16 Adana had satiation and welfare; and the Danunians never had
 17 night in my days. And I built this city, I established
 18 its name Azatiwadaya. I made Ba'al-
 19 KRNTRYŠ dwell in it, and may bring a sacrifice to him all

Phu/A III

1 the (river-)plains: an annual sacrifice of one ox, and at ploughing-time
 2 one sheep, and at harvest time one sheep. And may Ba'al-KRNTRYŠ
 3 bless Azatiwada with life and health
 4 and powerful strength above every king because he, Ba'al-KRNTRYŠ
 5 and all the gods of the city give to Azatiwada length of days, and multitude of
 6 years, and a pleasant old age (?), and powerful strength above every king!
 7 And may this city be owner of plenty (of grain) and wine; and may
 8 this people who dwell in her be owners of oxen, and owners
 9 of sheep, and owners of plenty (of grain) and wine; and may they bear many (children),
 10 and as they grow many become powerful, and as they grow many serve
 11 Azatiwada and the house of Mopsos, by the grace of Ba'al and the god.
 12 But, if a king among kings, or a prince among princes, or
 13 any man whose name is "man", effaces the name of
 14 Azatiwada from this gate and puts up his (own) name, or more than that, covets

15 T HQRT Z WYS‘ HŠ‘R Z ʾŠ P‘L ʾ
 16 ZTWD WYP‘L L Š‘R ZR WŠT ŠM ‘LY
 17 ʾM BḤMDT YS‘ ʾM BŠNʾT WBR‘ YS‘
 18 HŠ‘R Z WMḤ B‘L ŠMM WʾL QN ʾRS

on the bases (*pls.* 16–17)

19 WŠMŠ ‘LM WKL DR BN ʾLM ʾYT HMMLKT Hʾ WʾYT HMLK Hʾ WʾYT

Phu/A IV Portal Lion (*pls.* 18–19)

1 ʾDM Hʾ ʾŠ ʾDM ŠM ʾPS
 2 ŠM ʾZTWD YKN L‘LM KM ŠM
 3 ŠMŠ WYRH

The South Gate: Pho/B

Transliteration

Pho/B I Portal Lion (*pls.* 20–27)

1' [ʾnk ʾztdw hbrk bʿl ʿbd bʿl ʾš ʾdr ʾwrk mlk dn]
 2' [nym pʿln bʿl ldnnym l]ʾB WLʾM YḤW ʾNK ʾYT DNN¹[ym yrḥb ʾnk ʾrš ʿ]MQ ʾ[dn]
 3' LMMSʾ ŠM[š wʿd mb]ʾY WKN BYMT[ʿy kl] ḤʿM [ld]ḤḤYḤM WŠB[ʿ] W[mnʿm wml]ʾ
 ʾN[k]
 4' ʿQRT PʿR [wpʿl ʾnk ss ʿl] ŠS WM[gn ʿl m]GN WMḤNT ʿL MḤN[t] BʿB²[r bʿl w]ʾL[m]
 5' WŠBRT ML[šm wtrq ʾnk kl hrʿ ʾš kn bʾ]RŠ WYṬN³ ʾNT⁴ BT ʾD[ny bnʿm wp]
 6' ʿL ʾNK L[šrš ʾdny nʿm wyšb ʾnk] ʿL KSʾ ʾBY WŠT ʾ[nk šlm ʾt]
 7' KL M[lk wʾp bʾbt pʿl]Ḥ K[l mlk b]Š[d]QY WBḤKMTY W[bnʿm lby]

¹ Fragment with 3 letters (DNN) is lost today (see *p.* 18, *pl.* 26).

² This fragment with 5 letters (l. 4: BʿB; l. 5: ʾD) shown by Bossert, 1953, Fig. 12, is absent today (see *p.* 18, *pl.* 26).

³ Scribal error (haplography) for WYṬNʾ.

⁴ Scribal error for ʾNK.

- 15 this city and pulls down this gate which Azatiwada
 16 made, and makes another gate for it and puts his (own) name on it,
 17 whether it is out of covetousness or whether it is out of hatred and malice that he pulls down
 18 this gate, — then let Ba'al-Shamem and El-Creator-of-Earth

on the bases

- 19 and Shamash-ʿolam and the whole generation of the sons of the god efface that kingdom and that king and

Phu/A IV Portal Lion

- 1 that man whose name is "man"! The name
 2 of Azatiwada only may last for ever like the name
 3 of the sun and the moon!

The South Gate: Pho/B

Translation

Pho/B I Portal Lion

- 1' [I am Azatiwada, the *abarakku* of Ba'al, servant of Ba'al, whom Awarikku, king of the Dan-]
 2' [unians, made powerful. Ba'al made me] a father and a mother [to the Danunians]. I revived the Danun[i-]
 3' from the rising of the sun [to] its setting. And in [my] days [the Da]nunians had everyt[hing (that was)
 4' the granaries of Pahar. [And I added horse upon] horse, and shie[ld upon shi]eld, and army upon army,
 5' [by the grace of Ba'al and] the god.
 6' And I shattered dissen[ters, and I extirpated every evil which was in the] land. And I founded the house
 7' of [my] lor[d on pleasure. And] I
 8' acted [kindly] towards [the offspring of my lord, and I let him sit] on his father's throne. And [I] established
 9' [peace with]
 10' every ki[ng. And indeed ev]ery [king treated me as a father because] of my righteousness, and because of
 11' my wisdom, and [because of my goodness of heart.]

- 8' W̄[bn ʾnk ḥmyt ʿzt bk]L QŠ[yt ʿl gblm] B̄MQM[m] B̄Š K̄[n ʾšm rʿm]
- 9' ʾŠ̄ [bl ʾš ʿbd kn] LB⁵[t mpš] Wʾ[nk ʾztdw štnm tḥt pʿmy wbn ʾnk ḥmyt]
- 10' LŠ[btm dnnym bnḥt lbnm wʿn ʾ]NK ʾRŠT ʿZ̄T̄ [bmbʾ šmš ʾš bl ʿn kl hmlkm]
- 11' WʾN[k ʾztdw ʿntm yrđm ʾnk y]ŠBM ʾNK BQŠT GBL[y bmsʾ šmš wdnym]
- 12' [y]ŠBT Š̄[m wkn bymty] B̄[kl gbl ʿmq] ʾDN LMMSʾ ŠMŠ WʿD MB̄ʾȲ W̄[bmqmm ʾš kn]
- 13' LPNM NŠ[tʿ]M ʾ[š] YŠTʿ ʾDM LLKT DRK WBYMTY ʾNK ʾŠ̄[t tk lḥdy]
- 14' DL P̄L̄K̄[m]⁶ B[ʿbr bʿl] WʾLM WKN BKL YMTY ŠBʿ WMNʿM WŠBT [nʿmt ldnnym]
- 15' WLKL [ʿmq ʾdn wbn ʾnk hqrt z]⁷ WŠT ʾNK ŠM ʾZTDWY
- 16' [k bʿl wršp] ŠPRM ŠLḤN LBNT WBNY
- 17' [ʾnk bʿbr bʿl wb]ʿBR RŠP ŠPRM

Pho/B Orthostat (*pls. 28–31*)

- 1 BŠBʿ WBM̄[nʿm wšbt nʿmt wbnḥt l]B
- 2 LKNȲ M̄[šmr lʿmq ʾdn wlbḥt mpš k by]MTȲ
- 3 [kn lʾrš ʿmq ʾd]N̄ ŠB̄[ʿ wmnʿm] WBL KN
- 4 [mtm ll bymty] LDNNȲM̄⁸ [wbn] ʾNK HQ
- 5 [rt z št ʾnk š]M ʾZTDWȲ [y]ŠB̄ ʾNK
- 6 [bn bʿl] KRNTRYŠ⁹ WBRK B[ʿl krntryš]
- 7 [ʾyt] ʾZTDW ḤYM WŠ[lm w]ʿZ ʾDR̄ [ʿl]
- 8 [kl] MLK LTTY [bʿl] KRNTRYŠ WKL ʾ[ll]
- 9 N QRT Lʾ[ztdw ʾ]R̄K̄ YMM WRB Š
- 10 N̄T WRŠ̄¹⁰[t nʿmt wʿz ʾd]R̄ ʿL KL MLK
- 11 [wkn hqrt z bʿlt šbʿ wtrš wʿ]M̄ Z ʾŠ Y
- 12 [šb bn ykn bʿl ʾlpm wbʿl šʾ]N̄ WBʿ
- 13 [l šbʿ wtrš ...¹⁰]

⁵ Fragment with two letters only, to be placed probably here or l. 7', 9, 10' or 14' (see Frag. 2 Ph, p. 19, pl. 26).

⁶ Probably omitted by the scribe.

⁷ Reconstruction doubtful because space is for ca. 10–11 letters only (see also p. 19).

⁸ The word-order must have been different from Phu/A II 16/17.

⁹ The passage Phu/A II 19b until Phu/A III 2a has been omitted.

¹⁰ The rest of the text on the orthostat is lost.

- 8' And [I built strong fortresses in] all the remote are[as on the borders,] in those places wherever there were
[wicked men]
9' of whom [not one had been a servant of the house of Mopsos.] But I [Azatiwada placed them under my
feet. And I built fortresses]
10' so that [the Danunians might] dw[ell in them with their] minds [at peace. And I subdued] strong lands [at
the setting of the sun, which none of the kings had been able to subdue.]
11' But I [Azatiwada subdued them. I brought them down.] I settled them on the edge of [my] borders [at
the rising of the sun. And I settled Danunians]
12' (up) there. [And in my days they were] on [all the borders of the plain] of Adana from the rising of the
sun to its setting. Even [in the places which were]
13' formerly dreaded, [where a] man was afraid to walk on a road – but in my days a wo[man could walk
by herself]
14' with (her) spindles, by [the grace of Ba'al] and the god. And in all my days [the Danunians and]
15' the whole [plain of Adana had] everything (that was) good, and satiation, and wel[fare. And I built this
city,] and I established its name Azatiwadaya.
16' [For Ba'al and Resheph]-ŠPRM had commissioned me to build it. And [I] built it
17' [by the grace of Ba'al, and by the] grace of Resheph-ŠPRM,

Pho/B II Orthostat

- 1 with satiation, and wel[fare, and with gracious living, and with peace of mind, so that it]
2 might be a pro[tection for the plain of Adana and for the house of Mopsos. For in] my days
3 [the land of the plain of Adana had satiation and welfare; and the Danunians never had
4 [night in my days. And] I [built this]
5 city, [I established] its name Azatiwadaya. [I made Ba'al-]
6 KRNTRYŠ dwell [in it.] And may Ba[al-KRNTRYŠ]
7 [bless] Azatiwada with life and hea[lth and] powerful strength
8 [above every] king because he, [Ba'al-KRNTRYŠ and all the g[od]s
9 of the city give to [Azatiwada le]ngth of days, and multitude of
10 years, and [a pleasant] old age (?), [and powerful stren]gth above every king!
11 [And may this city be owner of plenty (of grain) and wine; and may] this people who
12 dw[ell in her be owners of oxen, and owners of she]ep, and
13 owne[rs of plenty (of grain) and wine ...

Commentary

NB: This commentary discusses only words or text-passages which, in my opinion, have not been conclusively explained by Bron (1979) and whose interpretation is still open to dispute.

Phu/A I 1 = PhSt/C I 1: ʾzʿtwd: as Hawkins has shown, the Luwian name of the author of the inscriptions ^{LITUUS} á-za-ti-(i)wa/i-tà-, i. e. “beloved of (the sun-god) Tiwat”, implies a Phoenician rendering Azatiwada, rather than Azitawadda, the conventionally used form (for example in KAI).

hbrk b^cl: the translation “the blessed of Ba^cal” – although often used – is problematic since semitic syntax does generally not allow a *status constructus*, which is already determined within itself, by a noun preceded by the article *b-* standing first. The solution proposed by Bron (1979, p. 30), that the passive participle *brk* could have been construed as a verbal form, is also unsatisfactory (cf. Pardee 1983, pp. 64 f.).

For these reasons Lipiński (1974, pp. 45–47) prior to others, proposed that *hbrk* represents *abarakku* “chief steward” (see CAD A₁, 1964, pp. 32–35), the Akkadian designation for a functionary, which is non-semitic and probably non-sumerian in origin (Krebernik, 1984, p. 91). This interpretation is strengthened by more recent arguments raised by evidence from the Ebla texts (Krebernik 1984, pp. 89 ff.) where the orthography has <*babara/uk-kum. Further support is provided by the Luwian text of the bilingual which reads CAPUT-ti-i-sá compared with phrase XLIX where the Phoenician *w-brk b^cl krntryš* (Phu/A III 2 = Pho/B II 6 = PhSt/C III 16/17) doubtless corresponds to the verbal form *u-sa-nu-wa/i-tu-u*. The inscribed seals from Anatolia published by A. Lemaire (1977; cf. also Lemaire, 1991, pp. 134 f.) and cited by F. Bron also support this explanation. One of these seals bears the inscription *l-mwnnš hšpr hbrk hštm* z “This seal belongs to Muwa-nanas, the scribe, the *abarrakku*”, which is best understood if *hbrk* is a second title or designation of the profession of the owner of the seal. Otherwise the bestower of the blessing is not mentioned.

An acceptance of *abarakku*, however, creates two problems. The first is the fact that the title *abarakku* in the Neo Assyrian and probably also in the Middle Assyrian period has been replaced by *masennu* (cf. A. R. Millard, 1994, p. 7 note 14), in Neo-Babylonian by *mašennu*. But outside of the Assyrian administration such titles may have survived, eventually with a different function.

The second problem is the explanation of *b^cl* (cf. Swiggers, 1980, p. 337a “majordomo of Ba^cal” – without parallels). The “religious formulation of a political title” (Pardee, 1983, p. 65) is a mere hypothesis and on the whole finds no support in the inscription. As a consequence the *b^cl* could have been an overlord of Azatiwada who, probably for political reasons, has not been mentioned by name. But this is highly speculative and can by no means be regarded as proven.

Considering the fact that the following *b^cl* can only be interpreted as an allusion to the personal god of Azatiwada, namely Tarhunza, according to the Hieroglyphic Luwian version, or Ba^cal KRNTRYŠ, according to the Phoenician version, the Hieroglyphic Luwian text, which mentions the sun-god *tiua(ti)*, who is also present in the name of Azatiwada (cf. Arbeitman, 1980, pp. 9–11), points to a function of the author of the inscription as servant of this god, who, in this instance also, is called not by his name, but by his general designation *Ba^cal*.

Phu/A I 2 = PhSt/C I 2: ʾšʾdr: the Phoenician text alone allows the translation “strong man”, as a further title of Azatiwada (at least Levi Della Vida, 1949, p. 280), but the Luwian version requires a rendering as a relative clause. It follows from this construction that the subject of *p^cln* (l. 3) is *Ba^cal* and not Urikki (contrary to Pardee, 1983, p. 65).

Phu/A I 6 = Pho/B I 4' = PhSt/C I 10: ʿqrt: this word is a *hapax legomenon* in Phoenician. It seems possible to me to connect it with a root *g/qrn* with a feminine ending *-t* (ʿqrt < *ʿqrnt); still the ʿAyin at the beginning of the word remains unexplained. For the basis of this explanation consider the corresponding term in Luwian *ka-ru-na(-zi)*, in Maraş *ka-luna* “granary, magazine”, and the reference of Swiggers (1980, p. 338a) to Hebrew *goren*, Ugaritic *grn* “threshing-floor, open place”. The corresponding Akkadian word is *q/gurunnu* “heap, mound”. All these words can have a plural in the feminine form.

p^cr: this corresponds to the Luwian *pa-há+ra/i* with the postponed determinative for city names, also to *Pagras* in Ptolemaios V 14.9 and Hittite *Paḫura* in the vicinity of Paḫuwa (cf. G. F. del Monte–J. Tischler, 1978, p. 295). It may also be found on an object of unknown provenance and purpose with the short Phoenician inscription *p^cr ḫmn* (P. Bordreuil, 1988, p. 310 f.).

Phu/A I 6/7 = PhSt/C I 11: for *p^{cl}* with the meaning "to acquire" cf. J. Greenfield, 1966, pp. 103–105; id., 1975, pp. 314 f. and recently Hoftijzer/Jongeling, DNWSI, p. 926.

Phu/A I 8 = Pho/B I 4' = PhSt/C I 13 f.: the text on the Divine Statue repeats the prepositional expression *b^{cl}br* "by the grace of ..." before the two divine designations *b^{cl} w^{lm}*. Contrary to the commentary of Bron, 1979, p. 49 f., I prefer to interpret *w^{lm}* as a singular form, which is suitable throughout the text. This interpretation is strongly supported by the text on the Divine Statue PhSt/C IV 2, 16 and 19 where singular forms are necessary. Because of the usage of *w^{lm}* in these places, *dr bn w^{lm}* Phu/A III 19 can be reliably regarded as referring to the *b^{cl} krntryš* of the statue (cf. to the contrary Weippert, 1969, p. 210).

Phu/A I 8 = Pho/B I 5' = PhSt/C I 15: *mlsm*: for the discussion of this word, another *bapax legomenon* in Phoenician, cf. most recently Gevirtz, 1990, pp. 145–158; Hoftijzer/Jongeling, DNWSI, pp. 575 f. sub 2.

Phu/A I 9 = PhSt/C I 15: *wtrq w^{nk}* (A) or *[wt]rqt* (C) "and I extirpated" is probable from the context but the etymology of the verb is uncertain (cf. most recently E. Lipiński, 1982, p. 458; Swiggers, 1980, p. 338b; Greenstein, 1982, p. 201; Hoftijzer/Jongeling, DNWSI, pp. 1233 f.).

Phu/A I 11 = Pho/B I 6' = PhSt/C I 19: *wyšb w^{nk} 'l ks' w^{by}*: "and I let him sit on his father's throne" should be interpreted according to the Hieroglyphic-Luwian version as a yiphil-form of the verb with a 3. pers. sing. masc. suffix which is unexpressed in the Phoenician orthography. Because *w^{by}* could represent the noun with a suffix of the 1. pers. sing. a translation "and I sit down on the throne of my father" is also possible from the Phoenician version of the text.

Phu/A I 12 = PhSt/C I 21: *b^wbt* "as a father", but the derivation of the noun is not at all certain; it is possibly an abstract noun to *w^b* "father" (cf. Hoftijzer/Jongeling, DNWSI, p. 8 with previous discussions).

Phu/A I 13 = PhSt/C II 1: *hmyt* "fortresses" is quite a common form of a feminine plural of a noun which is derived from a root *hmi* "protect", (cf. ugar. *hmyt*, Amarna *hu-mi-tu* and see P. Marrassini, 1971, pp. 54–56).

Phu/A I 14 = PhSt/C II 2: *'l gblm*: the commonly accepted translation "on the borders", which results

from the Northwest-Semitic meaning of *gbl*, cannot be proven from the Hieroglyphic Luwian version since this passage is missing in that text. The special meaning "mountain" was developed only in Northern Arabic. The speculations of Bron (1979, p. 65) are unfounded.

Pho/B I 8' ff.: as the portal lion of the South Gate was destroyed, the definitive reconstruction of the Phoenician text is impossible; nevertheless, the careful examination of the preserved fragments leads with certainty to a text very similar to those of the North Gate and of the Divine Statue. The limited space available in lines 8' to 15', however, suggests that the text of Pho/B I must have been shorter. The omissions proposed here comply with the overall sense of the inscription, but they are by no means certain. In particular the phrase at the beginning of line 11', which is in contrast to the assertion at the end of line 10', requires an expression according to the text of Phu/A I 18 f. Although the space available in line 15' is not sufficient for the proposed reconstruction, no reduction of the text seems possible at the beginning of the line.

Phu/A I 16 = PhSt/C II 4: *bt mps:* an interpretation of this expression is discussed most recently by J. Vanschoonwinkel, 1990, pp. 185–211.

Phu/A I 17 f. = Pho/B I 10' = PhSt/C II 7 f.: *lšbtm dnyym b-nht lbnm*: this phrase is repeated in Phu/A II 8 and II 13 f. and has corresponding expressions in Akkadian, Hebrew and Ugaritic, cf. Greenfield, 1978, pp. 74 f. For the grammatical analysis cf. PPG³ § 268 (accusative) and for the prolepsis B. Peckham, 1972, p. 464.

Phu/A II 1 ff. = Pho/B I 12' ff. = PhSt/C II 14 – III 7: for this part of the text one should compare the description of a peaceful time by Ashurbanipal of Assyria in M. Streck, 1916, Vol. 2, p. 260, 18 ff.: "The overbearing men who were always bent on waging war against those who did not submit to them, (even) they (now) took rest. In no city or house did any man take any belongings of his neighbour by force. Throughout the whole extent of the land not a single man committed a crime. The solitary traveler could walk safely (even) on remote roads. There was no robber or murderer, no waylaying. The lands lived in safety, the entire world was as pleasant as fine oil."

Phu/A II 10 = Pho/B I 15' = PhSt/C III 8: the name of the city has been pronounced *Azatiwadaya*

according to the Hieroglyphic Luwian version. The traditional rendering als Phoenician *Azatiwadiya and its explanation as a formation comparable to ethnical derivations (for example KAI 2 p. 41; Bron, 1979, p. 87) is excluded by grammatical reasons: the fem. *qrt* “town, city” would require a form **ʔtwdt* instead of *ʔtwdy*. Besides this F. Bron is right with his statement concerning the place-name: “cet usage semble autrement inconnu du monde ouest-sémitique”. Neither in Phoenician nor in Assyrian is such a name-pattern known.

Phu/A II 16 f.: the sequence of the words here and in PhSt/C III 13 f. and Phu/B II 3 f. respectively differs slightly. *w-bl kn mtm ll b-ynty l-dnny* ... should be read, confirming the supposition that *ll* here is the Phoenician word for “night”.

Phu/A II 16 = PhSt/C III 14: *mtm* is discussed by Bron (1979, pp. 91–93) and translated “(il n’y avait pas) de malheureux (parmi les Danouniens)”, but cf. the discussions of Ginsberg (1973, pp. 135 f.), Greenstein (1982, p. 201) and Greenfield, (1982, p. 180) with reference to Syriac *mʔtóm* (but not *mtum* in the Xanthos bilingual!), which supports my explanation in KAI 2, 42 (coherence with Akkadian *matīma*).

Phu/A II 19 = PhO/B II 5 f. = PhSt/C III 16: the inscription on the Divine Statue adds to *bʕl kerntyrʕ* the explanation *bʔlm ʕ* “this god” in order to refer to the statue itself.

Phu/A II 19 – III 2a = PhSt/C IV 2–6: this phrase about the offerings to the gods of the river-plains was misunderstood by earlier commentators until Morpurgo Davies / Hawkins (1987, p. 270 ff.) stressed the fact that the Hieroglyphic-Luwian text unmistakably names *hapari-* the “river-land(s)” and that the corresponding Phoenician text must therefore be understood accordingly. A derivation from the root *nsk*, in comparison with Akkadian *nasāku* “to shoot, to hurl, to scatter”, as a noun with the formation *maqtal(t)* and as a fem. plural with the meaning “(river)-plains” has been proposed by Röllig (1995, pp. 206–208).

Phu/A III 6 = PhSt/C III 20: *rʕʔt nʕmt* “pleasant old age” has been discussed extensively (cf. Bron, 1975 and 1979, pp. 105 f., Barré, 1981, pp. 1 ff.), but other explanations (“authority, rule”, “abundance, prosperity”) should also be considered, (cf. recently Hofstijzer/Jongeling, DNWSI, pp. 1084 f. with references). The Hieroglyphic-Luwian text is debated

in this section, (cf. F. Starke, 1990, pp. 386 f. note 1397a.). With respect to the literary composition of the whole formula cf. M. L. Barré, 1982, pp. 177–194.

Phu/A III 7 = PhSt/C IV 6 f.: *bʕlt šbʕ wtrʕ* “owner of plenty and wine”. This interpretation of the passage, contrary to the concrete “blé” in Bron, (1979, p. 107), has been accepted by Hofstijzer/Jongeling, (DNWSI, p. 1102 sub *šbʕ*₃ and is confirmed by DEUS^{BONUS}-*sa* “property” in the Hieroglyphic-Luwian text (cf. also Röllig, 1981, p. 186).

Phu/A III 9 = PhSt/C IV 10: *wbrbm yld*: “and may they bear many children”. The reading in Phu/A is not absolutely clear because the D is very small. However, in comparison with text PhSt/C, which is clear in this instance, and comparing the shape of other letters, e.g. the ‘Ayin in text Phu/A, acceptance of this reading seems inevitable, especially when the Hieroglyphic-Luwian text *ba-sa/sá-tu/tu₄(-)* “may they give birth” is taken into consideration.

Phu/A III 12 f. = PhSt/C IV 14: *ʔdm ʔš ʔdm šm*: the exact meaning of this phrase is disputable, and may be interpreted as, either “a man of renown” (Bron, 1979, pp. 112 f.) or “a man who is (just) called a man” i. e. an ordinary human being without title of any sort, (cf. Hofstijzer/Jongeling, DNWSI, p. 1157 sub 3 with references). The syntactical formation and the parallel to a similar enumeration in the Old Babylonian Yahdun-Lim inscription from Mari (*awilum šū lu šarrum lu šakkanakkum lu rabiānum lu awilūtum šumša*) “that man, whether he be king, viceroy, mayor, or common man” (D. R. Frayne, 1990, E4.6.8.2, ll. 132–135) makes the latter version more plausible. The use of a repeated *ʔm* “if” before this phrase suggests that this meaning may have been the intention of the scribe (cf. Swiggers, 1980a, p. 340).

Phu/A III 16: *wypʕl / šʕr ʕr*: this phrase differs from a comparable phrase in PhSt/C IV 17 f. *w-yʔmr ʔpʕl sml ʕr* ... “and he says, I will make another statue ...”, in that it includes the construction of the verb *pʕl* followed by the preposition *l*. Bron (1979, p. 117) proposed a dittography, but Ginsberg (1973, p. 140) interpreted it as preposition and unrepresented in the Phoenician orthography 3. pers. sing. fem. suffix referring to the aforementioned city. This interpretation seems convincing considering the literary structure of the text: first there is a reference to the name only being removed from the gate and another name written instead, and later, to the overall destruction

of town and gate and the refounding with a completely new gate, belonging to the new sovereign and bearing his name. This situation justifies the stressed reference to the “gate for the (new) city” and the name on it. – It should be noted that the Hieroglyphic Luwian text uses a formulation comparable to the Phoenician text on the Divine Statue: “and if he speaks in the following manner: I shall make the gates my own, and I shall incise my name for myself”.

Phu/A IV 2 f.: *šm ʔxtvd ykn lʼlm km šm šmš wyrh*: this phrase has parallels in an Old Babylonian inscription of Samsu-iluna (D. R. Frayne, 1990, E4.3.7.7, p. 388,

132–134): *šulmam u balāṭam ša kīma dŠin u dŠamaš dārium* “well-being and life which like the gods Šin and Šamaš is eternal”, and the Ugaritic (KTU 1.108, 24–26): *ʿzke dmrk ... ḥtkk nmrtk btk ugrt lymt špš wyrh* “may your strength, your protective force ... your authority, your divine power be in Ugarit as long as the days of Šapš and Yariḥ”, and may also be compared with the final section of the Pyrgi-inscription (KAI 277, 9–11): *w-šnt l-mʾš ʾlm b-bty šnt km b-kkbn ʾl* “and may the years of the statue of the god in his/her temple years be (numerous) as these stars”. Biblical parallels can also be cited, for example Ps 89, 37 f. and Ps 72, 5. 17 (cf. S. B. Parker, 1970, p. 247).

8 in setting. And in my days the
 9 Damascus had everything that was good and
 10 well. And I filled the gates of the city
 11 And I aided before upon
 12 [house], and should upon [house], and
 13 army upon army, by the great of
 14 Ba'al and by the great of the god. And
 15 I shanted [house] [and] I [house] [house]
 16 evil which was in the land. And I [house]
 17 the house of my lord on [house]. And I [house]
 18 kindly [house] [and] [house] [house]
 19 and I let him sit on his father's throne.
 20 And I [house] [house] [house] [house]
 21 [house] [house] [house] [house]
 22 [house] [house] [house] [house]

8 in setting. And in my days the
 9 Damascus had everything that was good and
 10 well. And I filled the gates of the city
 11 And I aided before upon
 12 [house], and should upon [house], and
 13 army upon army, by the great of
 14 Ba'al and by the great of the god. And
 15 I shanted [house] [and] I [house] [house]
 16 evil which was in the land. And I [house]
 17 the house of my lord on [house]. And I [house]
 18 kindly [house] [and] [house] [house]
 19 and I let him sit on his father's throne.
 20 And I [house] [house] [house] [house]
 21 [house] [house] [house] [house]
 22 [house] [house] [house] [house]

II C/2d

1 of heart. And I [house] [house]
 2 the [house] [house] [house] [house]
 3 there were wicked men, leaders of [house]
 4 and [house] [house] [house] [house]
 5 But I [house] [house] [house] [house]
 6 [house] [house] [house] [house]
 7 [house] [house] [house] [house]
 8 [house] [house] [house] [house]
 9 [house] [house] [house] [house]
 10 [house] [house] [house] [house]
 11 But I [house] [house] [house] [house]

II C/2d
 1 of heart. And I [house] [house]
 2 the [house] [house] [house] [house]
 3 there were wicked men, leaders of [house]
 4 and [house] [house] [house] [house]
 5 But I [house] [house] [house] [house]
 6 [house] [house] [house] [house]
 7 [house] [house] [house] [house]
 8 [house] [house] [house] [house]
 9 [house] [house] [house] [house]
 10 [house] [house] [house] [house]
 11 But I [house] [house] [house] [house]

The Statue: PhSt/C

Transliteration

PhSt/C I (*pls. 34–35, 42–43*)

- 1 ʾNK ʾZTWD HBRK Bʿ[ʃ]
- 2 ʿBD BʿL ʾŠ ʾDR ʾWĀR[k]
- 3 MLK DNNYM PʿLN Bʿ
- 4 L LDNNYM LʾB WĀLʾM
- 5 YḤW ʾNK ʾYT Ḍ[n]NY[m]
- 6 YRḤB ʾNK ʾ[rš ʿmq]
- 7 ʾDN LMMSʾ [šmš wʿd]
- 8 MBʾY WKN [b]YMT[y k]L N
- 9 ʿM LDNNYM WŠBʿ WM[n]
- 10 ʿM WMLʾ ʾNK ʿQRT P[ʿ]
- 11 Ṛ WPʿL ʾNK S[s ʿ]
- 12 [ss] WMGN ʿL [m]GN WM
- 13 ḤN[t] ʿL MḤNT BʿBR B
- 14 ʿL WBʿBR ʾLM WŠB
- 15 RT MLŠM [w]RQT KL H
- 16 Rʿ ʾŠ KN BʾRŠ WYT[n]
- 17 ʾT BT ʾDNY BNʿM WPʿ
- 18 L ʾNK LŠRŠ ʾDNY Nʿ[m]
- 19 WYŠB ʾNK ʿL KSʾ ʾBY
- 20 WŠT ʾNK ŠLM ʾT KL MLK [w]
- 21 ʾP BʾBT PʿLN KL MLK [bš]
- 22 DQY [w]BḤKMTY W[bnʿm]

PhSt/C II (*pls. 34, 36–37, 44–45*)

- 1 LBŶ [w]BN ʾNK ḤMYT ʿZT BKL
- 2 QŠYT ʿL GBLM BMQMM Bʾ
- 3 Š ḲN ʾŠM RʿM BʿL ʾGDDM
- 4 ʾŠ BL ʾŠ ʿBD KN LBT MPŠ
- 5 Wʾ[n]K ʾZTWD ŠTNM TḤT
- 6 P[ʿmy] WBN ʾNK ḤMYT B
- 7 [mqmm] HMT LŠBTNM DNNYM
- 8 [bnḥt] LBNM WʿN ʾNK
- 9 [ʾrš]T ʿZT BMBʾ ŠMŠ ʾŠ BL
- 10 [ʿn k]L HMLKM ʾŠ KN LPNY
- 11 WʾN[k] ʾZTWD ʿNTNM YR

The Statue: PhSt/C

Translation

PhSt/C I

1 I am Azatiwada, the *abarakku* of Ba'al,
 2 servant of Ba'al, whom made powerful Awarikku,
 3 king of the Danunians. Ba'al made me
 4 a father and a mother to the Danunians.
 5 I revived the Danuni[ans.]
 6 I extended the la[nd of the plain]
 7 of Adana from the rising [of the sun to]
 8 its setting. And in my days the
 9 Danunians had everything (that was) good and satiation and
 10 welfare. And I filled the granaries of Pahar.
 11 And I added ho[rse upon]
 12 [horse], and shield upon [sh]ield, and
 13 army upon army, by the grace of
 14 Ba'al and by the grace of the god. And
 15 I shattered dissenters [and] I extirpated every
 16 evil which was in the land. And I founded
 17 the house of my lord on pleasure. And I acted
 18 kindly towards the offspring of my lord.
 19 and I let him sit on his father's throne.
 20 And I established peace with every king. [And]
 21 indeed every king treated me as a father [because]
 22 of my righteousness, [and] because of my wisdom and [because of] my [goodness]

PhSt/C II

1 of heart. [And] I built strong fortresses in all
 2 the remote areas on the borders, in those places wherever
 3 there were wicked men, leaders of gangs,
 4 not one of whom had been servant of the house of Mopsos.
 5 But I Azatiwada placed them under
 6 [my fe]et. And I built fortresses in
 7 these [places] so that the Danunians might dwell in them
 8 with their minds [at peace]. And I subdued
 9 strong [lands] at the setting of the sun, which none
 10 of the kings who were before me had been [able to subdue.]
 11 But I Azatiwada subdued them. I brought

- 12 DM ʾ[n]Ḳ YŠBM ʾNK BQŠT
 13 GBL[y] BMSʾ ŠMŠ WDNNY
 14 M Y[š]BT ŠM WKN BYM
 15 ʾ^(c)Y [bk]L GBL ʾMQ ʾDN

PhSt/C III (*pls. 37–39, 46–47*)

- 1 LMMSʾ ŠMŠ WʾD MBʾY WBMQMM
 2 ʾŠ KN LPNM NŠTʾM ʾŠ YŠTʾ ʾD
 3 M LLKT DRK WBYMTY ʾNK ʾŠT TK
 4 LḤDY DL PLKM BʾBR BʾL WBʾBR
 5 ʾLM WKN BKL YMTY ŠBʾ WMNʾM
 6 WŠBT NʾMT WNḤT LB LDNNYM
 7 WLKL ʾMQ ʾDN WBN ʾNK HQRT Z
 8 WŠM² ʾZTWDY KBʾL WRŠP ŠPRM
 9 ŠLḤN LBNT WBNY ʾNK BʾBR B
 10 ʾL WBʾBR RŠP ŠPRM BŠBʾ WBMN̄
 11 ʾM WBSBT NʾMT WBNḤT LB LKNY
 12 MŠMR LʾMQ ʾDN WLBT MPŠ K BYMT
 13 Y KN LʾRŠ ʾMQ ʾDN ŠBʾ WMNʾM WBL KN
 14 MTM LL BYMTY LDNNYM WBN ʾNK H
 15 QRT Z WŠT ʾNK ŠM ʾZTWDY WYŠB
 16 ʾNK HʾLM Z BʾL KRNTYŠ WBRK
 17 BʾL KRNTYŠ ʾYT ʾZTWD BḤ
 18 YM WBŠLM WBʾZ ʾDR ʾL KL MLK
 19 LTTY BʾL KRNTYŠ LʾZTWD
 20 ʾRK YMM WRB ŠNT WRŠʾT N̄[ʾ]MT

PhSt/C IV (*pls. 39–41, 48–49*)

- 1 WʾZ ʾDR ʾL ḲḶ MLK
 2 WZBḤ ʾŠ Y[^lk x x l]ʾLM
 3 KL HMSKT Z³
 4 Z ZBḤ ʾ[^lmm] ʾ[^lp 1 w]B
 5 ʾT ḤRŠ [š 1] W̄BʾT Q̄[š]R
 6 Š 1 WKN [h^q]R̄T Z BʾL̄[t]
 7 ŠBʾ WTRŠ W[ʾ]M̄ Z ʾ[š]
 8 YŠB B̄N YK̄N̄ BʾL̄ ʾLPM W
 9 BʾL ŠʾN̄ WBʾL Š[bʾ w]TRŠ

¹ The scribe did not execute the vertical stroke of T.

² The scribe omitted (W)ŠT ʾNK, see Phu/A II 17–18.

³ The line 3 has been forgotten by the scribe and after

the beginning of line 4 with Z added above as a new line with smaller letters. Z is a dittography from ZBḤ.

12 them down. I settled them on the edge
 13 of [my] borders at the rising of the sun. And Danunians
 14 I settled (up) there. And in my days they were
 15 [on a]ll the borders of the plain of Adana

PhSt/C III

1 from the rising of the sun to its setting. Even in the places
 2 which were formerly dreaded, where a man was afraid
 3 to walk on a road – but in my days a woman could walk
 4 by herself with (her) spindles, by the grace of Ba'al and by the grace
 5 of the god. And in all my days (existed) everything (that was) good, and satiation
 6 and welfare, and peace of mind for the Danunians
 7 and the whole plain of Adana. And I built this city,
 8 and (I established) its name Azatiwadaya. For Ba'al and Resheph-ŠPRM
 9 had commissioned me to built it. And I built it by the grace
 10 of Ba'al and by the grace of Resheph-ŠPRM, with satiation and welfare,
 11 and with gracious living, and with peace of mind, so that it might
 12 be a protection for the plain of Adana and for the house of Mopsos. For in my days
 13 the land of the plain of Adana had satiation and welfare; and
 14 the Danunians never had night in my days. And I built
 15 this city, and I gave it the name Azatiwadaya, and I made
 16 this god Ba'al-KRNTRYŠ dwell (in it). So may bless
 17 Ba'al-KRNTRYŠ Azatiwada with life
 18 and with health, and with powerful strength above every king!
 19 May Ba'al-KRNTRYŠ give to Azatiwada
 20 length of days, and many years, and a pleasant old age

PhSt/C IV

1 and powerful strength above every king!
 2 And the sacrifice which [... shall] bring for this god
 3 all the (river-)plains:
 4 the [yearly] sacrifice of [one] o[x and] at
 5 ploughing time [one sheep] and at harvest time
 6 one sheep. And may this [cit]y be owner of
 7 plenty (of grain) and wine. And may this [peop]le who
 8 dwell in her be owners of oxen and
 9 owners of sheep, and owners of pl[enty (of grain) and] wine.

- 10 WBRĀM YLD WBR[b]M̄ [y]ᵀDR
 11 WBR[b]M̄ YᵀBD LᵀZTWD WL
 12 BT M̄[p]ᵀᵀ BᵀBR BᵀL WBᵀBR ᵀLM
 13 Wᵀ[m] MLᵀK̄ BMLKM WRZN BR[z]NM
 14 M⁴ ᵀM̄ ᵀDM ᵀᵀ ᵀDM ᵀM̄ ᵀᵀ Yᵀ
 15 M[r] LM̄HT ᵀM̄ ᵀZTWD BSML
 16 ᵀ[M̄] Z Wᵀᵀ ᵀM̄ ᵀᵀ ᵀP YᵀMD
 17 ᵀ[y]T HQRT Z WYᵀMR ᵀPᵀL
 18 ᵀML ᵀZR Wᵀᵀ ᵀMY ᵀLY WᵀY
 19 T SML HᵀLM ᵀᵀ PᵀL ᵀZTWD
 20 BᵀL KRNTRYᵀ ᵀᵀBR ᵀMᵀᵀᵀ B
 21 NNHLᵀᵀ ᵀMᵀᵀ[x (x)] M̄ ᵀLK̄ [] K̄ᵀ [x]

PhSt/C V Bull Socle (*pls. 50–51*)

- 1 [] DN B [] R̄ []
 2 []
 3 []
 4 [] B̄ []
 5 N [] ᵀ [x] ᵀ [xᵀ] ᵀ [x x (x)] ᵀ [x] W̄[ᵀm]
 6 ᵀZTWDYᵀᵀ YKN LᵀLM KM ᵀM̄
 7 ᵀM̄ᵀ WYRH

Commentary

The inscription on the statue of the god KRNTRYᵀ is paralleled in the inscription of the North Gate (Phu/A) in columns I to III with the minor addition in Column III 16. The text is carefully executed in letters smaller than those on the orthostats. Damage to the sculpture has resulted in the loss of parts of the text, but the nature of the spaces allows the text to be completed using the evidence from the parallels. Beginning with PhSt/C III 13 there are some changes in the wording and a separate translation follows from this line on. The commentary will not repeat explanations which have been given for the inscription Phu/A but concentrates on the variants and differences from this “standard-version”.

PhSt/C III 13 f.: *wbl kn mtm ll bynty ldnym*: the word order differs from Phu/A II 16 f. but seems to have been paralleled in the badly damaged text Pho/B

II 3 f. The overall sense, however, remains unchanged.

PhSt/C III 15 f.: *wst ᵀnk*: the text differs slightly from Phu/A II 17 with the addition of the copula *w-*, thereby connecting the building activities directly with the name-giving procedure. It is possible that the letter *w-* was omitted in inscription Phu/A due to a mistake of the scribe. The same omission occurs in the following verbal form *yᵀb* in Phu/A II 18. On the other hand, the text of PhSt/C III 16 disregards the reference to the newly founded city with the preposition *b* enlarged by adding *bn* “in it” (i. e. Azatiwadaya). For the addition *bᵀlm* cf. the commentary to Phu/A II 19. The phrase referring to the sacrifices which follows immediately in Phu/A, appears later in PhSt/C IV 2 ff.

PhSt/C III 19: the reference to *kl ᵀln qrt* of Phu/A III 5 obviously does not appear in this passage.

⁴ Scribal error, dittography.

⁵ Written as if it were RᵀMᵀᵀ. The fourth letter is according to the remnants an ᵀ and not a L.

⁶ May be another letter.

⁷ Questionable if a letter or a break in the stone.

⁸ Dittography.

10 And may they bear many (children), and as they grow many [become] powerful
 11 and as they grow many serve Azatiwada and the
 12 house of [Mopso]s, by the grace of Ba'al and by the grace of the god!
 13 But, if a king among kings, or a prince among princes,
 14 or any man whose name is "man", gives
 15 orders to efface the name of Azatiwada from the statue
 16 of this god, and puts up (his own) name, or if he also covets
 17 this city and says, I will make
 18 another statue and put my own name on it, and the
 19 statue of the god which Azatiwada made,
 20 Ba'al-KRNTYŠ, I will break, I will throw down (?) into
 21 the river (?), I will throw (?) ...

PhSt/C V Bull Socle

1 .. x x x ...
 2
 3
 4 x ..
 5 ... O[nly the name]
 6 of Azatiwada(!) last for ever like the name
 7 of the sun and the moon!

PhSt/C IV 3 f.: for the mistakes of the scribe in these lines see the notes on the text.

PhSt/C IV 12: in contrast to Phu/A III 11, the text here repeats the prepositional *b'br*.

PhSt/C IV 14 f.: instead of the simple and direct action 𐤓𐤕 *ymh šm* "who effaces the name" which appears in Phu/A III 13, indirect action is produced by a causative version and an infinitive-construction: 𐤓𐤕 *y' m[r] l mht šm* "who gives order to efface the name". This difference seems to be intentional: at the gate of the town someone might himself change the name, but on the statue of the god the curse is so strong that the evildoer will prefer not to act himself but to send someone else, who will be stricken by the divine punishment. This idea and its literary expression is to be found in Mesopotamian texts from the 3rd millenium onward (cf. the references cited by K. R. Veenhof, 1963, pp. 142–144).

PhSt/C IV 16 f.: the passage 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤕 *yhmd 𐤓yt hqrt* 𐤔 corresponds to Phu/A III 14 f. but is here a mere repetition of this text and superfluous, because the destruction of the divine statue or the effacing of the

name on it is alone the subject of the whole sentence. From this observation it is evident that the adaptation of the "main" text – if Phu/A can be accepted as such a prototype – for the inscription on the statue is not always satisfactory. – The following phrase *w-y' mr 𐤓p' l sml 𐤔r* ... "and he says: I will make another statue ..." is a form of self-reflection of the evil-doer and has no correspondence in the "main" text.

PhSt/C IV 18: *wšt šmy 'ly* "and I will put my own name on it". The construction with the verb in the 1. pers. sing. perfect and with *waw*-consecutivum is required by the suffix to *šm-y* (Bron, 1979, p. 127).

PhSt/C IV 20 f.: the destruction of the lower part of the statue has made the reconstruction and reading of this part of the text extremely difficult. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that the "main" text of the North Gate has here been changed to fulfil the different purpose of the inscription on the statue. Furthermore, it is extremely probable that more than one line of the text continued on the socle of the statue where it is illegible today. Therefore a satisfactory elucidation of these two lines is impossible.

b^cl krntryš: the space available and the beginning of the preceding lines make it impossible to restore a preposition as *b* or *l* at the beginning of the line contrary to Lipiński (1983, p. 50). Therefore this name of the god represented by the statue must be understood as an apposition to *sml b^clm* in line 19 or as the subject of the following sentence.

ʾšbr “I will break”: this reading and translation was proposed by Lipiński (1983, p. 50) and is supported by an examination of the text. The final letter is probably *r* and not *b* as shown in earlier publications.

The construction of the following sentence is not at all clear. It is possible that the conjunction ʾm introducing a conditional clause has been used. This may be supported by the somewhat separate writing of these two letters. After this conjunction(?) the letters Aliph and Ṭet follow twice, and in line 20 also, where the first letter is partly destroyed, no other reading is possible. In this line the letter *t* is undoubtedly followed by *b*. The letters *nmḥ* at the beginning of line 21 are slightly damaged but the reading is certain. The following letter resembles *l*, but *b*, *d* and *r* are possible alternatives.

Taking all this into consideration a construction parallel to the verbal form ʾšbr seems also possible, i. e. twice a 1. pers. sing. imperfect ʾm^ct. Here the problem emerges that neither in Phoenician nor in

related Semitic languages – according to my knowledge – is a root *m^ct reported. Nevertheless I risk a proposition: the curse formulas of many of the Babylonian boundary-stones contain passages as for instance *ša narâ annâ lū ana nāri inaddū lū ana būri inassuku lū ina abni ubbatu lū ina išāti iqallu ...* “Whoever shall cast this stone record into a river, or shall put it in a well, or shall destroy it with a stone, or shall burn it with fire ...” (BBS no. IX col. V 1–3, no. III col. V 39–45; no. IV col. III 2–4; no. VI col. II 35 f. etc.; cf. CAD N₁ p. 365 b; K p. 495). The “stone” (*narū, kudurru*) in these instances is the inscribed monument decorated with the symbols of the gods, comparable to the divine statue of Ba‘al-KRNTRYŠ in the Phoenician text. Consequently the verbal form should correspond to the Akkadian *nadū* “to cast down, to throw” or *nasāku* “to shoot, to throw (into water)”. If I risk a further proposition with the emendation of *bnnḥl* as a ditto-graphy for *b-nḥl* “into the river” I get a satisfactory interpretation, as the beginning of the curse formula runs as follows: “... he says, I will make another statue ... and the statue of the god ... Ba‘al-KRNTRYŠ I will break (*šbr*), I will throw down (?) (*m^ct*) into the river, I will throw down [...]”. Unfortunately the rest of the sentence is broken, and the malediction which followed on the bull-socle can not be restored.

Separate Inscriptions

Pho/S.I.a (pls. 106–107)

During the excavation and the collection of stone material some fragments have been found which H. Th. Bossert published in 1953 (Bossert, 1953 b, pp. 148 f. figs. 14 and 15). He argued that the 5 fragments which constituted his fragment A could belong at the end of the inscription of the South Gate (Pho/B I). A. Alt also discussed the newly found fragments (Alt, 1955, pp. 182 f.) but stated clearly that the fragments “zu den bisher behandelten (Inschriften) anscheinend in keinerlei näherer Beziehung stehen” (see also above p. 35). Later on – and also in the comprehensive book of F. Bron (Bron, 1979) – these texts have been neglected.

Over the years H. Çambel and her staff checked every fragment of basalt which might belong to one of the sculptures, reliefs or inscriptions. In the course of these investigations 3 further fragments were identified as belonging to a very fragmentary inscription, maybe part of an orthostat. This made it possible to join the other 9 fragments, known since 1953. Thus, we now have a fragmentary inscription composed of 12 pieces, with a maximum width of 66 cm, and a maximum height of 24 cm, showing the remains of 5 lines. The lower right-hand edge is preserved; the end at the left side can not be determined.

The different lines have the following number of letters:

- line 1 shows 22 letters, including 1 doubtful
- line 2 shows 21 letters, including 1 doubtful
- line 3 shows 11 letters, including 2 doubtful
- line 4 shows 14 letters, including 3 doubtful
- line 5 shows 6 letters, including 1 doubtful.

The script of this fragmentary inscription is less carefully executed and apparently differs slightly from that of the others (especially the letter Z, cf. the chapter concerning palaeography, *pp.* 75*f.*). Therefore, this text may not have been drawn up and executed by the same scribe or stonecutter, and might even be slightly younger. As far as I understand the text, its content has no exact parallels in the other inscriptions, although the name of the city is mentioned in its well attested form.

Transliteration

- (1) [x x (x)]BK BNN ʾYT HQRT Z ʾYT ʾZTWDY W̄?/K? [...
- (2) [x (x)]D PʿL NWWL[xʾ]NMʾŠ HMSKR K[x x (x)] BʿL H[...
- (3) [x (x)]HŠʿR [x] BN ŠŠŠ BN [...
- (4) MKN [x x] Y[x] KL[x]PYŠ HSK[N ...
- (5) ʿx[x x x x x x x x x]N ʾYT [...

Translation

- (1) [In a jung]le(?) we built this town (named) Azatiwadaya x[...
- (2) [] x made NWWL(xʾ)NMŠ, the herald⁽²⁾, x [in favour of(?)] Baʿal H[...
- (3) [and² this²] gate built ŠŠŠ, son of [...
- (4) the foundation(?) [x (x)] Y [x] Kulapiyas, the gover[nor ...
- (5) x [.....bui]lt the [...

Commentary

Line 1: At the beginning of this line considering the initial fragment of line 4, two or three letters are missing. Therefore a completion of the two letters which are in all likelihood the remains of the first word(s) is difficult. For grammatical and stylistic reasons an adverb or an adverbial expression with a local or temporal sense should be expected. Nevertheless, the number of roots available is restricted. Hebrew has a verb *sbk* with the meaning “to twist” (in Piʿel) and an appertaining nomen *sbk* “net(work)”. Hebrew also has a variant of this root *sbk*, in Akkadian *sabāku*, and a noun derived from this root variant *sobek* “thicket” (2 Sam 18, 9), which could fit the context if combined with the preposition *b* “in”.

This calls to mind the well known conditions in the mountainous and nearly inaccessible regions in Hīlakku i. e. Rough Cilicia, described by Assyrian and Babylonian kings, for example Sennacherib in his annals col. IV 74 (Luckenbill, 1924, p. 61) or Neriglissar as *qaqqar šadû maršu ša amēlu arki amēli illaku* “difficult mountainous lands, where men must walk in single file” (Grayson, 1975, p. 103, l. 11).

On the other hand the *-k* could be the suffix of the 2. pers. sing. following a noun or a verbal form; but the verbal form which follows makes this proposal unfavourable. Further on it is possible to isolate the *k* as a particle of declaration “then” or as a conjunction “when” (cf. PPG³ § 251; 257 c). In this

case the preceding word could have been a noun as *sb(y)b* “circuit” or a form of the verb *sbb* “to twist”; an adverbial use “round about” is also possible.

bnn should be interpreted as a verbal form of the root *bni* “to build”, well known with a city as object – as in the main Karatepe-Aslantaş inscriptions. If so, the form is either a 1. pers. plural perfect Qal or a 3. pers. sing. perfect Qal with a suffix of the 1. pers. sing. or plural. Although not to be disregarded with respect to orthography, the last solution is highly improbable. Therefore we are confronted with the situation that not just a single builder of the city existed – as the other inscriptions from the place suggest – but that more than one man was engaged in the building (or rebuilding?) of the town. Due to this, it would be most unlikely that the beginning of the line is to be completed with a personal name (or with personal names).

ʾyt *hqrt* ʾ: cf. Phu/A III 14 f. with the same formulation, but see *ibid.* II 9 *wbn ʾnk hqrt* ʾ without the *nota accusativi* in a well defined context there.

The present text, which may have been used as an official “building inscription” has had to introduce the town in a stressed form at the beginning and, therefore, with an – in a certain sense – emphatic *nota accusativi*, which is used at other places in the main Karatepe-Aslantaş inscriptions such as Phu/A

I 3 f. *yhw ʾnk ʾyt dnyym* “I revived the Danunians” or Phu/A III 18 f. *wmh bʿl ... ʾyt bmmkkt bʾ wʾyt bmlk bʾ* “and let Baʿal ... efface that kingdom and that king...”.

ʾyt ʾztywdy: the name of the town is the same as in the main bilingual (cf. Phu/A II 10, 18; Pho/B I 15'; PhSt/C III 8, 15 and see pp. 59f.).

It should be stressed that the use of the *nota accusativi* here is in the sense of a kind of *explicativum*, i. e. in retrospect to the aforementioned word “just this town which is (called) Azatiwada...”.

The little stroke, i. e. the rest of a letter at the end of the line, cannot be explained in any satisfactory way. Its shape and direction point to a W or a K.

Line 2: The beginning of the line is missing and should be completed with one or two letters. The word ending with *d* may thus have begun in the preceding line, so that one cannot make a plausible suggestion. If in line 3 the mention of a “gate” were certain, it would be conceivable that another part of the town might have been named here. But in comparison with the Eshmunazar-inscription KAI 14, 18 a supplement to ... *wʿ]d pʿl* “and besides he made ...” seems also possible.

pʿl: this may be the verb with the well known meaning “to make, to build”, used in Phu/A III 15/16 in connection with the gate, built by Azatiwada, in PhSt/C IV 19 designating the erection of the statue of the god. However, in Phu/A I 12 = Pho/B I 7' it describes the relationship of other kings to Azatiwada: “and beyond that every king treated me (*pʿln*) as a father because of my righteousness ...” It may also mean “to accumulate” as for example in the formulation *w pʿl ʾnk ss ʿl ss ...* “and I added horse on horse ...” (Phu/A I 6/7 = Pho/B I 4' = PhSt/C I 11). However, it cannot be excluded that the letter *p* belongs to another word, partly lost in the lacuna, and that the preposition *ʿl* is intended. But this is not very probable in this context.

Next in the text the division of the words is problematic. Considering that the stone displays two small natural vesicular holes after *pʿl* it is conceivable that the stonemason left a space there; and the following letter *n* might belong to the verbal form. In parallel to *bmm* in line 1 the form could be a 1. pers. plural perfect Qal, i. e. “we made”. This verbal form is documented in Neo-Punic in the long inscription from Mactar KAI 145, 11. Yet if the interpretation of the following words is accepted, a singular form is preferable. Consequently, the inscription may document

building activities in different parts of the town and its surroundings.

The letters which follow pose some epigraphical problems. It seems unquestionable to me that the next two letters, of which only the heads have survived, must be read as WW. There follows a short, slightly curved stroke, the remains of the upper part of a letter – it may be a L. The next two letters are once again nearly duplicate, but the second one's horizontal line is a little larger than that of the first. They should be read NN or NM. After a small gap, one can see the remains of a flat letter, probably a Š. The reading of the next letters is for the most part undisputed, though the downstroke of the proposed R is short in comparison with the same letter in line 1. It is conceivable that the letter could be a D.

The next word (*bmskr*) is, in my opinion, a title, preceded by the article in the well known form, none too seldom in the main Karatepe-Aslantaş inscriptions (cf. Bron, 1979, p. 134). The title itself, which is repeated in Pho/S.I.b 2, reminds one of the *maškēr* in Old Testament sources (2 Sam 8, 16; 20, 24; 1 Reg 4, 3; 2 Reg 18, 18. 37 [corr. to Isa 36, 3. 22]; 1 Chron 18, 15; 2 Chron 34, 8) who was a high-ranking official in Israel with functions of a herald (see v. Reventlow, 1959, pp. 161–175; Mettinger, 1971, pp. 52–62). The title is not yet known from Phoenician-Punic sources, but the office may have existed in the Syro-Palestinian states elsewhere. The orthography with *s* instead of a Hebrew *z* corresponds to the usual representation of the Semitic *d* in Phoenician (cf. PPG³ § 46 a). – It seems improbable to refer here to the *bn msk ymm* in the Eshmunazar-inscription KAI 14, 3. 13. f. not yet satisfactorily explained.

The preceding letters are, then, to be interpreted as belonging to a personal name of Anatolian origin. For an ending *-m-š* in such names I refer to the name(s) *msn(ʿ)zms* i. e. *Masanasimi(š) in the inscription from Cebel Ires Dağı A/B line 1. 7. 8 and C 2 (Mosca/Russell, 1987, pp. 1–27, cf. Lemaire, 1991, pp. 142–145). The Luwian nominative ending *-s* following a vowel is well known. – For the initial part of the name I refer to Cuneiform Luwian *niyalli* “weak; child” (cf. Starke, 1990, p. 452). But it is possible that after a supposed *pʿln* there follows the conjunction *wa-* and thereafter a name beginning with **yali-* “strong” (cf. Starke, l. c.). The second element of the name (*[-x]nmʾ*) is not yet clear to me.

After the K, which is clearly defined, there exists a lacuna of two or three letters. The sign following is

partly broken. It may be a letter B, but R or Q are also possible. Next, either the preposition *ʿl* may well be intended and not the noun *bʿl* or else the name of a god beginning with Baʿal.

Line 3: At the beginning of this line one or two letters are missing. It seems possible to supply a *waw* and to read the following letters as *bsʿr*. But it must be stressed that this reading is extremely hypothetical. It is supported by the mention of the gate(s) in the main Karatepe-Aslantaş inscriptions e.g. Phu/A III 14–18.

The next word, which is preserved, could be either the noun *bn* “son” or else the verb *bnī* “to build”, with the next name as its subject and the “gate” as its object. The wide gap between *šʿr* and *bn*, as well as the stylistic argument that the verb should have its position at the beginning of the sentence, seem to invalidate such a simple solution. Both of these arguments can be invalidated by supplying the demonstrative pronoun *z* which would imply a hint at one of the two gateways at Karatepe-Aslantaş.

ŠŠŠ could be, again, a personal name of Cilician origin with the ending of the nominative singular *-s* after a vowel. I am unable to present an identification, but suggest comparing Hittite *Zuṣṣu* (Laroche, 1966, N° 1588). Further on it cannot be excluded that the name of the “River-Lord”, whom D. Hawkins has found in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription Ho/S.I. Karatepe 3 (cf. Corpus, forthcoming) is present here. The name of this functionary begins with the syllable *sa-* but nothing more is preserved.

The double letter Š also calls to mind the well known kind of birds mentioned in the Marseille tariff of sacrifices (KAI 69, 11) but this has not as yet been explained in a satisfactory manner (cf. at latest Delcor, 1990, pp. 89–92). However, it seems extremely improbable that this term is used in the context of the present inscription.

The *bn* which follows is either the beginning of the filiation or else – corresponding to the preceding line – the first element of a title, for example in Hebrew *bn hmlk* “son of the king” (cf. Brin, 1969, pp. 433–465). The determining *status constructus*, necessary in this case, could be an explanation for the missing article.

If the preceding word is, indeed, the name of the “River-Lord”, his filiation as “son of (Mukatalas)” as well as his title may have been added and are now lost.

Line 4: The beginning of this line lies along the right border of the stone (orthostat?) which bears the inscription. Therefore, it is possible though uncertain, that it also corresponds to the beginning of a word.

mkn, to be connected with the root *kūn*, has its correspondence in Hebrew *mākōn* “place, ground, foundation”, cf. also *mʿkūnā* “place, base”. In Neo-Punic the phrase *mʿs bnḥšt ʿl mʿkn* “the statue of bronze on its base” occurs (Tripolitana 37 = Levi Della Vida/Amadasi Guzzo, 1987, no. 31 = KAI 119, 4). In the present inscription it may designate the foundation of the building(s) – in which case the traces of a sign at the end of this fragment can represent the *-y* of the possessive suffix 3. pers. sing. related to the town, the wall etc. But it is possible, too, that the “base” of the statue of the deity is meant. – It is also possible to separate the verb *kn* (**kwn*) “to exist, to be, to belong to” with many references in the Karatepe-Aslantaş inscriptions (cf. Bron, 1979, p. 42), or the adverb *kn* (in Hebrew *ken*) “thus”. – Unfortunately a reconstruction of the letters which follow is impossible.

kl[n]pys is with certainty an Anatolian name with the nominative ending as in the preceding lines 2 and 3. My colleague F. Starke refers to *κουλα-πιας* i. e. **kula(na)-piās* in Zgusta, 1964, § 726–1 with the meaning “gift of/to the army”. Comparable are names such as *klmw* i. e. **kula-muwa* KAI 24, 1, *klm-mw* i. e. **kulana-muwa* in Ugarit, cf. Dietrich/Loretz, 1976, no. 4. 44, 21. 25, and Luwian names such as *Kulaziti* etc. (cf. Starke, 1990, p. 236 and note 806).

bsk[n]: This title – also present in Pho/S.I.b 3 – is well known, but not frequent in Phoenician (and Old Aramaic), cf. *skn bs⟨k⟩nm* KAI 1, 2; *skn qrtḥdšt* KAI 31, 1. 2 and *skn skn* on a Nimrud-ivory (Degen/Müller/Röllig, 1974, p. 49 no. 8). A meaning “governor, commander”, corresponding to Akkadian (esp. Assyrian) usage, is probable. It must, however, be remembered that in the inscriptions Phu/A III 12 and PhSt/C IV 13 the *rzn brznm* “prince among princes” is named. The relationship of this term to the *skn* – also in a comparable sentence of the Aḥī-rōm-inscription KAI 1 – is not yet defined. – A. Alt once proposed a connection of this word with an Ugaritic noun *skn* “stele” (Alt, 1955, p. 183), but this proposal – resulting from the fragmentary state of the inscription – must be rejected today. From the Anatolian name which precedes it it is clear now that the title is meant and the same holds true for the mention in Pho/S.I.b 3.

Line 5: The traces at the beginning of this line, after the 'Ayin, make a reading ' / possible but not certain. There follows a big lacuna of around 8 or 9 letters. At the end of this space, a verb such as [b(n)]n can be supplied, but many other complements for the single preserved *n* are imaginable. The *nota accusativi* which follows may be complemented, as at the beginning of this fragmentary inscription, with the name of the town, a part of the town or with something else.

In spite of the fragmentary state of this inscription the information delivered by the partly restored lines is respectable. We see that some officials besides Azatiwada were engaged in the building activities of the city and/or fortress of Azatiwadaya. All these functionaries bear non-Semitic but Anatolian names. This is a situation that is to be expected in the light

of the Separate Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions Ho/S.I. which name for example the scribes/stonecutters Masanis and Masanasimis (see D. Hawkins, *Corpus*, Karatepe 4, forthcoming) and which A. Alt (Alt, 1948, p. 121–124; 1955, p. 183) already took into consideration (cf. also recently Lemaire, 1991, pp. 140 ff.).

If my interpretation is correct, functionaries with titles corresponding to the West-Semitic designations *sōkēn* and *mas/zkār* (though the latter has not, as yet, been read in Phoenician inscriptions) were employed at Azatiwadaya. It seems that these functionaries had certain obligations in the course of the building of the town or fortress, though only the gate and a foundation or socle can be identified in the fragmentary text.

Pho/S.I.b (pls. 106–107)

The second fragmentary inscription is engraved on a piece of basalt which may have been part of the same orthostat as Pho/S.I.a. This opinion is supported by the content of the inscription which repeats at least two words from the aforementioned text. The fragment has a maximum width of 21 cm, a maximum height of 26 cm and is nearly triangular in shape. The surface of the upper part is destroyed but the left edge is preserved. The lower part of the fragment is without traces of script. In consequence it follows that the end of this text has been reached at the beginning or in course of a conjectured fourth line (see also p. 35).

This fragmentary text contains the remains of three lines only:

- line 1' show traces of 2 letters only
- line 2' shows 4 letters
- line 3' shows 6 letters.

The script has its parallels in that in which the inscription Pho/S.I.a has been carved, but no particularities can be observed.

Transliteration

- 1' [] x N[?][...]
- 2' [] WMSK[R]
- 3' [] SKN 'Š P

Translation

- 1'
- 2' [.....) and (the) heral[d]
- 3' [.....] the governor which ma⟨de(?)⟩

Line 1': A reading of the two signs which have been partially preserved in this line is extremely doubtful. The direction of the last stroke points to an N, but M or K are also possible. No further letters can be suggested.

Line 2': As stated before (cf. commentary to Pho/S.I.a line 2) the title *msk[r]* is repeated here, preceded by the conjunction *w(a)* – but without any context. Therefore an interpretation seems impossible.

Line 3': The title *skn* has been complemented in Pho/S.I.a 4 according to the appearance here. It should have been preceded by the article *b(a)* – but no traces of this letter are preserved on the fragment. The phrase continues with the relative pronoun *ʾš* and should be completed by a verbal form.

H. Çambel states (cf. *p.* 35): “The two pieces (i. e. Pho/S.I.a + b) presumably belong together to form part of an orthostat.” If so, then it seems possible that the fragment Pho/S.I.b formed a part of the left side of this orthostat; more exactly it preserves the left edge of the stone and has its parallels in the lines 2–4 of fragment a. This reconstruction is supported by the dimension of the orthostats. Their width is normally around 80 cm (cf. Phu/A I = 78.5 cm; Phu/A II = 73 cm; Phu/A III = 80.5 cm; Pho/B II = 79 cm). Taking this reconstruction into consideration, it may be that the letter P at the end of this line is succeeded by the alleged *ʾl* at the beginning of line 5 of fragment a and can be read as *pʾl* “he made”. After this word follows a lacuna of around 8–10 letters on Pho/S.I.a which cannot be filled.

Palaeography* (see “Table” pp. 80–81)

The Phoenician texts on the sculptures and relief orthostats of Karatepe-Aslantaş are the longest of this kind known until now. They are repetitive with the exception of parts of the Divine Statue (PhSt/C) which differs from PhSt/C III 16 on because of the different purpose of this object, i. e. its consecration as an image of the Storm God. Due to their deplorable state of preservation, the distribution of a part of the lines and signs on the lion (Pho/B I) and on the orthostat (Pho/B II) in the South Gate remains uncertain. Indeed, the beginnings of the lines 3' to 15' and the end of the lines 15' until 17' of the lion-inscription Pho/B I are preserved and also the contact-zone between this lion (line 17') and the beginning of the orthostat (see also *p.* 19). But the end of the text is not preserved and the distribution of the text on certain parts of the lion remains obscure. It can not be excluded that the text here was slightly shorter than that of the North Gate (Phu/A).

The inscriptions of the North Gate are located on 4 orthostats, 1 relief and 4 base-blocks, i. e.

21 + 19 + 18 + 1 = 59 lines

in the South Gate on the figure of the Lion and on 1 orthostat, partly preserved

16 + 12 = 28 lines

on the Divine Statue 4 columns on the robe of the deity and some lines on the left bull of the socle, partly preserved

22 + 15 + 20 + 21 + 5 = 83 lines.

With additional fragments, also partly preserved

5 lines on Pho/S.I.a

2 lines on Pho/S.I.b

the inscriptions comprise a total of 177 lines of differing length. The longest fully preserved line (Phu/A III 19) consists of 42 letters, the shortest (PhSt/C V 7) – except the fragments – of 6 letters only.

The long texts show a certain uniformity in the shape and size of the letters. The intervals between the single letters are also normally uniform, though sometimes the scribe was forced to consider faults in the stone material, and therefore leave a blank space.

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stant help and advice and the opportunity for discussing many problems in connection with our common endeavour for a better understanding of the texts, their formation and function. I profited very much from her thorough knowledge of the ruins, their discovery and reconstruction. I also thank my distinguished colleague and friend M. G. Amadasi Guzzo/Rome for a critical perusal of the manuscript and many useful suggestions.

In contrast to the general Phoenician and Aramaic usage in the 9th/8th Century B. C. – exceptions: the Nora-stone KAI 46, the Limassol-bowls KAI 31, the Hasanbeyli-inscription KAI 23 and the Sfire-inscriptions KAI 222–224 – generally no sentence- or word-dividers are used; inexplicable exceptions are three small strokes in Phu/A III 1–2. The single words are not normally separated by a space. The scribes/stonecutters sometimes took care to have the end of a word coincide with the end of a line. Yet, nonetheless, broken words are none too seldom (for example Phu/A I 4/5, 6/7, 13/14, 16/17, 17/18, 19/20, II 5/6, 8/9, 11/12, 12/13, 14/15, 15/16, III 2/3, 6/7, 7/8, 8/9, 10/11, 12/13, 13/14, 14/15, 15/16 etc.).

The script is for the most part carefully executed and shows a consistent flow of writing. The letters are not placed on a “line”, i. e. they vary in height, but the heads of the signs follow an imaginary line, thus being normally at the same height. Sometimes letters as *Lamed* or *Yoth* surpass this line. The single lines are separated by spaces varying in width but mostly clearly defined. In the inscription of the North Gate (Phu/A) the three columns on four orthostats are executed independently, i. e. each column differs from the other in height, spacing of the lines etc.

Scribal errors are – considering the length of the whole text – very rare. They appear in Phu/A I 17, II 12 and 13, III 4. – Pho/B I 5' (twice). – PhSt/C II 15, IV 3–4, IV 14, V 6. They were noticed and corrected by the scribe three times (Phu/A II 13, III 4 and PhSt/C IV 3 f.).

The script used corresponds (with the exception of *Mem*) to the well known Phoenician-Aramaic *koine* of the 8th century B. C. of Northern Syria and Anatolia (cf. Naveh, 1982, pp. 53 ff.). The single signs are not absolutely uniform (cf. below), but similar. Some peculiarities of certain texts can be observed. The execution of certain letters differs slightly between the North Gate (Phu/A), the South Gate (Pho/B), the statue of the Storm God (PhSt/C) and the Separate Inscription (Pho/S.I.a), cf. the commentary on *Beth*, *Daleth*, *Zayin*, *Heth*, *Mem*, *Resh* and *Shin*. Therefore, it seems to me that a single scribe or some scribes made the first draft (concept) of the inscriptions while different stonecutters – in all probability not the scribes themselves – may have executed these texts according to their usual writing-practice. But no traces of a supposed practice of work-division can be found on the single stones, i. e. none of the orthostats or columns of a single text shows a typical different picture of the execution of the script from the other. But the script of the inscription on the Storm God (PhSt/C) as a whole differs slightly from the rest (see also *p. 11*). Considering the fact that the execution of these long texts probably took weeks to engrave, some slight differences in the form of some letters may thus be explained.

A notable exception is the Separate Inscription Pho/S.I.a which differs in particular in the execution of the letter *Zayin*, and, on the whole, shows a slightly divergent style of writing.

Description of single characters:

Aliph (𐤀): This letter differs with regard to its size in proportion of height to width:

- in Phu/A between 35 : 32 mm, 40 : 34 mm and 65 : 50 mm (on the lion)
- in Pho/B I between 31 : 35 mm, 37 : 28 mm and 38 : 30 mm
- in PhSt/C between 21 : 18 mm, 24 : 19 mm and 30 : 24 mm.

The downstroke is often, yet not consistently upright, not seldom it slants slightly to the left, the lower part is longer than the upper, i. e. the angle is situated in the upper half of the downstroke. The angle is normally shaped in such a way that the lower bar is nearly horizontal, while the upper and normally shorter bar points downwards from right to left and joins the lower one at approximately one quarter of its length after the downstroke. The angle is therefore relatively wide. Its upper bar is often slightly shorter than the lower. At the meeting-point of both bars, they often come together in a slightly open triangle, sometimes with a sharp but not seldom with a rounded point.

Beth (𐤁): The letter differs in its size in the proportions of height to width:

- in Phu/A between 33 : 22 mm and 44 : 26 mm,
- in Pho/B I between 28 : 15 mm and 32 : 18 mm,
- in PhSt/C between 20 : 16 mm and 30 : 16 mm.

This letter differs slightly in shape. The downstroke is mostly upright, but sometimes a little tilted to the left. The head is often rounded at the left, occasionally it seems to be nearly square, triangular on the divine statue PhSt/C (contrary to Bron, 1979, p. 154), but never opened at the top as in Aramaic inscriptions. The foot is often a short stroke, right-angled to the downstroke, sometimes somewhat raised to the left and slightly rounded. It also has (on Pho/B and PhSt/C) a second form with a slightly rounded downstroke at the end, continuing to the foot. Both shapes have parallels in the inscription from Hasanbeyli (Lemaire, 1983, pp. 9 ff.) perhaps from the 2nd half of the 8th century B. C.

Gimel (ג): This letter is relatively seldom but uniform; its proportions do not vary much, for example

in Phu/A 37 : 14 mm and 37 : 26 mm

in PhSt/C 22 : 10 mm.

The downstroke is nearly upright with a slight tendency to incline leftwards. The upper stroke is short and slopes slightly downwards. This form corresponds exactly to its shape in the monumental inscriptions of the 10th to the 8th centuries B. C. (cf. Röllig, in: Krings (ed.), 1995, pp. 204 f.).

Daleth (ד): The proportions of this letter are nearly regular; its height to width is for example:

in Phu/A 25 : 18 mm, 28 : 22 mm and 50 : 36 mm (on the lion)

in PhSt/C 19 : 12 mm, 22 : 19 mm.

The shape is always so characteristic that a confusion with *Resh* is excluded. The downstroke is short, protrudes about a third of its length out of the lower part of the head; it is often slightly tilted to the right. The head of the letter is always closed, mostly rounded but sometimes square, and on the divine statue PhSt/C triangular. The letter differs strikingly in shape and size from examples in later inscriptions, yet corresponds closely to the Hasanbeyli type.

Heh (ה): The letter does not occur very often, but is virtually consistent in its appearance.

The proportions are height vs. width:

in Phu/A 32 : 19 mm, 42 : 30 mm and 60 : 36 mm (on the lion)

in PhSt/C 30 : 15 mm.

These proportions demonstrate that the letter is always about twice as high as it is broad. Its straight downstroke is mostly tilted slightly to the left, though upright examples also occur. The three parallel strokes pointing to the left are, therefore, inclined to the left, too. They are attached to the downstroke, the upper two are mostly similar in length, while the lowest one is usually somewhat longer than the two others and points in a smaller angle to the left. The letter corresponds closely to the form found in other inscriptions of the 8th century B. C.

Waw (ו): The shape of this letter has more variations than that of other signs.

The proportions are height to width:

in Phu/A 45 : 20 mm, 52 : 27 mm and 70 : 30 mm (on the lion)

in Pho/B I 32 : 13 mm, 40 : 15 mm

in PhSt/C 28 : 12 mm, 32 : 16 mm.

The letter is relatively tall, usually upright and sometimes tilted slightly to the right. The head is often rounded as a semicircle, the left side of this roundel is occasionally higher than the right side. Nonetheless, there are also examples where the downstroke is not in the middle of the rounded head but more to the right. Occasionally, instead of the rounded head, the upper part of the letter is shaped like a left-facing hook open at the top. Yet such different shapes of the letter may appear in one and the same line, for example PhSt/C IV 11, 13 etc. A close parallel to the rounded shape will be found in the Nora-stone (CIS I 144; 9th/8th century B. C.); the hook-form is common in Hasanbeyli.

Zayin (ז): This letter is uniform in its appearance in the main bilingual, but differs radically in the Separate Inscription Pho/S.I.a.

The proportions in the bilingual are height to width:

in Ph/A 16 : 22 mm, 22 : 22 mm, 29 : 28 mm (on the lion)

in PhSt/C 12 : 25 mm, 13 : 14 mm.

The letter consists of two parallel horizontal lines with a vertical line in between. The vertical stroke is often shorter than both horizontals. The lower horizontal line occasionally declines somewhat to the right. The upper horizontal stroke has sometimes (for example Phu/A I 1) a very short downstroke at the right end – but this may result from the stonemason's chisel-stroke and does not belong to the typical form of the letter. This type of the letter *Zayin* is called by J. B. Peckham, "the archaic form" (Peckham, 1968, p. 143). The other type, represented in the Separate Inscription Pho/S.I.a, appears in the shape of a Z, and is in Phoenician context, apart from Karatepe-Aslantaş, first attested in Cyprus on the Kition-bowl (Amadasi Guzzo/Karageorghis, 1977, D 21) dated ca. 800 B.C., and on the ivory-plaque from Sarepta (cf. Amadasi Guzzo, 1990, pp. 62 ff.). It is already used in Aramaic at the end of the 9th century B.C., for example in the "Booty inscription" of Hazael (cf. Kyrieleis/Röllig, 1988, p. 69) and on the Melqart-stele from Brëğ (KAI 201).

Heth (𐤇): The letter is very consistent in its execution in the different texts but with some slight divergencies. The proportions are height vs. width:

- in Phu/A 43 : 26 mm, 34 : 20 mm, 53 : 35 mm (on the lion)
- in Pho/B I 40 : 20 mm, 24 : 18 mm
- in PhSt/C 28 : 15 mm, 17 : 10 mm.

These proportions demonstrate that the letter varies considerably in its size. It consists always of two vertical and three horizontal strokes. The letter is usually upright, sometimes tilted to the left. The left vertical stroke is often higher at the top than the right stroke – it then exceeds the right vertical stroke. There exists a notable difference between the inscription at the North Gate (Phu/A) and the others: this inscription has the usual Phoenician form of the letter with the three horizontal bars reaching the vertical strokes at the left and at the right. In the inscriptions Pho/B and PhSt/C the lower horizontal bars only connect the vertical strokes, while the upper horizontal one is not connected with the right vertical stroke. This is a typical feature of the Karatepe-Aslantaş inscriptions, absent from most of the other Phoenician inscriptions except the gold pendant inscription (CIS I 6057 = KAI 73) found at Carthage (cf. Peckham, 1968, pp. 105, 119 ff.) and dated to the beginning of the 7th century B.C.

Teth (𐤈): This letter is not very frequent but shows a peculiar shape and is easy to identify. The proportions are height vs. width:

- in Phu/A 40 : 19 mm
- in Pho/B I 37 : 19 mm
- in PhSt/C 24 : 14 mm, 30 : 17 mm.

The letter is never executed in the form of a circle but always shows an elliptic shape, occasionally open at the top and once (PhSt/C IV 20) badly rounded. It never stands upright, but normally inclines to the right. The cross-strokes within the letter are also bent to the right. A similar shape can already be observed on the bronze bowl inscriptions from Limassol/Cyprus (KAI 31, 2) from the 2nd half of the 8th century B.C. and in Aramaic inscriptions from Sfire (KAI 222–224) and Zincirli (Hadad inscription KAI 214) of the same date.

Yoth (𐤉): The letter is executed in a certain variety of shapes. They are not bound to certain inscriptions but common.

The proportions are height vs. width:

- in Phu/A 41 : 28 mm, 30 : 28 mm, 52 : 42 mm (on the lion)
- in Pho/B I 28 : 20 mm
- in PhSt/C 18 : 20 mm, 15 : 20 mm.

This demonstrates that a much smaller variety of the sign is used in the inscription of the statue of the Storm God (PhSt/C). There exist two shapes, a more angular and more rounded form of this letter. The latter corresponds roughly to an inverted S; the short stroke in the centre often points down to the left. There also exist examples with a sharp angle at the foot and a lengthy bar stretching up to the right. The letter is usually upright or slightly tilted to the left. Comparable forms are to be found in the Kulamuwa inscription (KAI 24) of the 9th century B.C. from Zincirli, in Hasanbeyli and on the bronze Ashtart Hispania 14 from the 2nd half of the 8th century B.C. (Amadasi Guzzo, 1993, p. 176).

Kaph (כּ): The execution of this letter is nearly uniform.

The proportions are height vs. width:

in Phu/A 60 : 23 mm, 45 : 14 mm, 90 : 26 mm (on the lion)

in Pho/B I 42 : 14 mm, 40 : 13 mm

in PhSt/C 35 : 15 mm, 32 : 12 mm.

The shaft of this letter is tilted to the right, but its foot points to the left and is mostly slightly rounded at the end, yet straight examples can also be found. The line at the left of the shaft points slightly up and ends either in a little hook pointing down, or in a short stroke parallel to the shaft of the letter. This very peculiar form of the letter (cf. Szyner, 1981, p. 49) resembles the type used in the gold pendant from Carthage (CIS I 6057 = KAI 73), dated around 700 B.C., and in Aramaic context in the Sfire inscriptions (KAI 222–224).

Lamed (ל): This letter is, as usual, positioned in the higher part of the imaginary line and stretches higher up than other signs.

The proportions are height vs. width:

in Phu/A 42 : 23 mm, 27 : 21 mm, 47 : 25 (on the lion)

in PhSt/C 28 : 15 mm, 22 : 12 mm.

The shape of this letter corresponds to the type well known from Phoenician inscriptions of the 8th/6th century B.C. It is bent to the left and usually rounded up at the foot, but a sharp edge can also be observed. Because no peculiar forms are found, the letter is not suitable for dating purposes.

Mem (מ): Different shapes of this letter can be observed.

The proportions are height vs. width:

in Phu/A 56 : 26 mm, 53 : 28 mm, 68 : 46 mm (on the lion)

in Pho/B I 42 : 22 mm, 29 : 15 mm

in PhSt/C 32 : 16 mm, 28 : 18 mm.

The shaft of this letter is – comparable to *Kaph* – slightly tilted to the right while the foot bends sometimes somewhat to the left. The head sits in the upper third and is either angular or slightly rounded. This last type is rarer than the other, but both types, the rounded and the more angular one, are used. The little downstroke in the middle of the head stops at the cross-stroke in the Separate Inscription Pho/S.I.a and sometimes in the inscription on the statue of the Storm God (PhSt/C), but it breaks below the baseline in the inscriptions of both the North Gate (Phu/A) and the South Gate (Pho/B I and II). This type of *Mem* has no predecessors, – earlier texts of the 8th century, for example Hasanbeyli, use the zigzag-form, – but is familiar in later inscriptions beginning in the 7th century, cf. RES 922 from Chytroi and CIS I 123 from Malta with both types, being in use until the 5th century (Peckham, 1968, p. 156; Szyner, 1981, pp. 48 f.).

Nun (נ): The letter has no special features, its shape conforming with those of comparable inscriptions.

The proportions are height vs. width:

in Phu/A 58 : 18 mm, 44 : 16 mm, 57 : 30 mm (on the lion)

in Pho/B I 43 : 19 mm

in PhSt/C 40 : 15 mm, 33 : 13 mm.

The letter most often has a nearly upright position, but its foot is frequently bent to the left. The head-stroke is often short, and flows sometimes in a slight curve into the horizontal stroke, which differs in its length. Depending on its execution, the horizontal one is either longer and straight, or shorter and slightly curved to the right. There are slender examples (cf. for example Pho/S.I.a) with a very short horizontal stroke, where the letter resembles a vertical stroke with a hooked head. The shape of the letter in the inscriptions corresponds to that used otherwise in the 8th/7th century B.C.

Samek (ס): This very characteristic letter shows no special peculiarities in the inscriptions.

Its proportions are height vs. width:

in Phu/A 50 : 32 mm, 35 : 23 mm, 70 : 42 mm (on the lion)

in PhSt/C 26 : 17 mm.

The vertical stroke in the middle is always straight and relatively long – therefore the letter is narrow and upright. The three horizontal strokes are most often of equal length and in a symmetrical distance from one

another. Sometimes the upper stroke is slightly longer than the following two. The three strokes are arranged in the upper two-thirds of the sign. If J. B. Peckham (Peckham, 1968, p. 161) sees a peculiarity of the Karatepe-Aslantaş inscriptions in “ticks ... added to the right tip of all three crosslines”, this opinion is only based on photographs: the letter was executed without these “ticks”, which arise sometimes, due to a deeper incision of the stonemason’s chisel-stroke on the right side. It should be noticed that the form of this sign, with the crossing vertical stroke, is not to be found in Phoenician inscriptions of the mid-seventh century (for example the ivory-box from Ur, KAI 29) and later and changes in Zincirli with the Panamuwa inscription to the form without the crossing stroke.

ʿAyin (𐤀): This letter is frequent in the inscriptions, and hardly varies. Diameter:

- in Phu/A 18 mm, 20 mm, 23 mm, 30 mm (on the lion)
- in PhSt/C 17 mm, 15 mm.

The shape is a carefully executed circle which is small in relation to the other letters. It seems that this special letter has been executed by a tool adapted specifically for this purpose, but the diameter varies notably.

Pe (𐤁): The letter is normally very carefully executed.

Its proportions are height vs. width:

- in Phu/A 45 : 20 mm, 40 : 16 mm, 62 : 30 mm (on the lion)
- in PhSt/C 35 : 10 mm, 30 : 13 mm.

The head of the letter is a carefully carved curve from the left to the right, the shaft swings in an elegant curve to the left ending in a thin line. In comparison with later inscriptions, for example the Ur-box (KAI 29), which display a slight inward curl at the left tip, the head of the letter in the Karatepe-Aslantaş inscriptions is more open and almost semicircular.

Ṣade (𐤂): This characteristic letter shows some variant forms.

The proportions are height vs. width:

- in Phu/A 40 : 31 mm, 36 : 31 mm
- in Pho/B I 45 : 22 mm, 37 : 21 mm
- in PhSt/C 27 : 22 mm, 24 : 18 mm.

This letter has slightly different shapes. The length of the shaft corresponds to that of other letters and is nearly upright, sometimes with a little shift to the right. The head which stretches relatively far to the right is wavy, in some examples comparable to the *Zayin* of the Separate Inscription Pho/S.I.a. Other examples have a little stroke slanting to the right and a continuation with a kind of semi-circle. In other shapes this head is a flat wavy line only. The upright form of this letter which is bent to the left in younger documents is also represented in the Limassol bowls (CIS I 5 = KAI 31) from the 2nd half of the 8th century B. C.

Qoph (𐤃): This letter occurs in the inscriptions in a great variety of slightly differing shapes.

The proportions are height vs. width:

- in Phu/A 50 : 36 mm, 40 : 36 mm, 42 : 28 mm
- in Pho/B I 45 : 31 mm, 36 : 27 mm
- in PhSt/C 45 : 24 mm, 31 : 27 mm.

The shaft of this letter is normally in a straight, upright position. The head may differ: there are examples with a nearly elliptic circle through which the vertical stroke passes, others consist of two little circles close together at the top of the shaft; another type shows a semi-circle on the top at the left side of the shaft, a second and smaller semi-circle slightly lower at the right side of the shaft. Comparable forms of this letter are to be found, apart from the Phoenician examples from Chytroi (RÉS 922; 7th century B. C.) and Spain (Hispania 14), in Hebrew inscriptions of the 9th and 8th century B. C. (cf. Renz/Röllig, 1995, Arad (8): 80; 103).

Resh (𐤄): The letter shows two different types, but can be clearly differentiated from the Daleth.

The proportions are height vs. width:

- in Phu/A 35 : 22 mm, 70 : 29 mm (on the lion)
- in Pho/B I 41 : 17 mm, 35 : 17 mm
- in PhSt/C 31 : 13 mm, 27 : 12 mm.

The letter always takes an upright position, the vertical downstroke is straight and nearly of the same length as for example the downstroke of the letter *Beth*. Thus it is clearly distinguished from the letter *Daleth*. The head is small, rounded, sometimes slightly angular, but – as in the letter *Daleth* – often triangular in the inscription on the statue of the Storm God (PhSt/C).

Shin (𐤑): The shape of this letter is very well defined and consistent.

The proportions are height vs. width:

in Phu/A 32 : 29 mm, 27 : 38 mm, 52 : 57 mm (on the lion)

in Pho/B I 30 : 36 mm, 27 : 28 mm

in PhSt/C 28 : 19 mm, 18 : 22 mm.

The letter corresponds widely to the archaic form, i. e. it has the typical saw-toothed shape with four strokes in contrast to the later forms (for example Sarepta Ivory, Abu Simbel CIS I 111, 112, beginning of the 6th century B. C.) with three strokes only. Two types are used: in the inscriptions in the North Gate (Phu/A) and the South Gate (Pho/B) the letter engraved with a slightly longer right arm that is stretched out farther, is predominant. But on the statue of the Storm God (PhSt/C) and in the Separate Inscription Pho/S.I.a a shape with four strokes of nearly equal length is used. The first mentioned shape of the letter seldom appears in the same form in other Phoenician inscriptions (gold pendant from Carthage CIS I 6057 = KAI 73), but is to be found in Hebrew texts from the late 8th century B. C. (Hirbat el-Köm, tomb-inscription, cf. Renz/Röllig, 1995, Kom(8): 3; Tall el-Orême, jar-inscription, cf. ibid. Or(8): 2).

Taw (𐤐): This letter is frequent and differs in its appearance but shows a certain uniformity.

The proportions are height vs. width:

in Phu/A 58 : 19 mm, 46 : 17 mm, 60 : 28 mm (on the lion)

in Pho/B I 48 : 18 mm, 38 : 20 mm

in PhSt/C 44 : 14 mm, 30 : 9 mm.

These proportions demonstrate that the letter is long and small. The shaft is tilted to the right; it is often straight but sometimes curved. Positioned at the end of the upper third is the crossbar, which is short and normally horizontal, occasionally at a right angle to the shaft, i. e. slightly slanting down to the right. This crossbar is normally longer to the right than to the left. The “very short tick, at times no more than a downward dip in the crossline” at the right end of the crossbar (Peckham, 1968, p. 172) does not exist but is – similar to the same phenomenon seen in the crossbars of the *Samek* – a consequence of the deeper incision of the stonemason’s chisel. This type of bent *Taw* is familiar in inscriptions during the 2nd half of the 8th and during the 7th century B. C. cf. for example Hispania 14 and CIS I 6057, but the shape in Hasanbeyli differs notably.

Considering all these palaeographical data, it is clear that these inscriptions must have been executed in the second half of the 8th century B. C., or at the beginning of the following century by a scribe/by scribes educated in a centre of standard Phoenician writing. The texts show an intermediate state of the development of the Phoenician script in this period. Besides certain letters with traditional forms such as *Beth*, *Daleth*, *Yoth*, *Samek*, *Shin* and also *Zayin* (in Phu/A, Pho/B and PhSt/C), new, more developed shapes can be found in the letters *Kaph*, *Mem* and also *Zayin* (in Pho/S.I.a) and partially “modernized” types in *Aliph*, *Waw* and *Taw*. Surprisingly the script on the different monuments varies in some respect: the inscriptions in the North Gate (Phu/A) and in the South Gate (Pho/B) are close together with more rounded heads of *Beth*, *Daleth*, *Resh* and *Shin* with a lengthy right stroke. The short Separate Inscription Pho/S.I.a shows – according to the shape of *Zayin* – the most developed stage of the script at Karatepe-Aslantaş. In certain aspects – letters *Heb*, *Mem*, eventually *Waw*, – it has affinities with the inscription on the statue of the Storm God (PhSt/C).

Palaeographical Table

	Phu/A I	Phu/A II	Phu/A III	Pho/B I	Pho/B II
כ					
ג					
ד					
ה					
ו					
ז					
ח					
ט					
י					
כ					
ל					
מ					
נ					
ס					
ע					
פ					
צ					
ק					
ר					
ש					
ת					

PhSt/C I	PhSt/C II	PhSt/C III	PhSt/C IV	Pho/S.I.a
$\text{K}^1 \text{K}^2 \text{K}^5 \text{K}^{19}$	$\text{K}^2 \text{K}^3 \text{K}^8 \text{K}^9$	$\text{K}^1 \text{K}^1 \text{K}^9$	$\text{K}^1 \text{K}^2$	$\text{K}^5 \text{K}^1$
$\text{G}^2 \text{G}^6 \text{G}^{13} \text{G}^{14}$	$\text{G}^1 \text{G}^1 \text{G}^3 \text{G}^{12}$	$\text{G}^1 \text{G}^4 \text{G}^{10} \text{G}^{11}$	$\text{G}^2 \text{G}^{11}$	$\text{G}^3 \text{G}^1$
$\text{I}^{12} \text{I}^{12}$	I^3			
$\text{A}^1 \text{A}^{16} \text{A}^{18}$	$\text{A}^3 \text{A}^4 \text{A}^5 \text{A}^{11}$	$\text{A}^1 \text{A}^4 \text{A}^{13} \text{A}^8$	A^1	
E^1	E^7	$\text{E}^7 \text{E}^{14} \text{E}^{16}$	E^{19}	$\text{E}^1 \text{E}^4 \text{E}^2$
$\text{Y}^{14} \text{Y}^{17} \text{Y}^{19} \text{Y}^{20}$	$\text{Y}^5 \text{Y}^8 \text{Y}^{14}$	$\text{Y}^1 \text{Y}^5 \text{Y}^8 \text{Y}^{10}$	$\text{Y}^2 \text{Y}^{11}$	Y^2
	$\text{I}^5 \text{I}^{11}$	$\text{I}^8 \text{I}^{15} \text{I}^{17}$	$\text{I}^1 \text{I}^2$	$\text{Z}^1 \text{Z}^1$
$\text{H}^5 \text{H}^6 \text{H}^{13}$	$\text{H}^5 \text{H}^6$	$\text{H}^4 \text{H}^{11} \text{H}^{17}$	H^2	
O^{16}			$\text{O}^{20} \text{O}^{21}$	
$\text{Z}^4 \text{Z}^8 \text{Z}^{18}$	$\text{Z}^6 \text{Z}^{10} \text{Z}^{13}$	$\text{Z}^1 \text{Z}^3 \text{Z}^9 \text{Z}^{15}$		$\text{Z}^4 \text{Z}^5 \text{Z}^1$
$\text{Y}^5 \text{Y}^{20} \text{Y}^{20}$	$\text{Y}^1 \text{Y}^6 \text{Y}^8$	$\text{Y}^2 \text{Y}^3 \text{Y}^{18}$	Y^{13}	$\text{Y}^1 \text{Y}^2 \text{Y}^4$
$\text{C}^4 \text{C}^{12} \text{C}^{19} \text{C}^{21}$		$\text{C}^1 \text{C}^2 \text{C}^5 \text{C}^6$		$\text{C}^2 \text{C}^2$
$\text{Y}^{12} \text{Y}^{13}$	$\text{Y}^2 \text{Y}^9 \text{Y}^{14}$	$\text{Y}^1 \text{Y}^6 \text{Y}^{19} \text{Y}^{20}$	Y^{13}	$\text{Y}^2 \text{Y}^4$
$\text{S}^5 \text{S}^{18} \text{S}^{18} \text{S}^{19}$	$\text{S}^1 \text{S}^2 \text{S}^7 \text{S}^9$	$\text{S}^6 \text{S}^9 \text{S}^{11}$		$\text{S}^1 \text{S}^1 \text{S}^2$
F^{19}				F^4
$\text{O}^{16} \text{O}^{19} \text{O}^{21}$	$\text{O}^1 \text{O}^8$	$\text{O}^8 \text{O}^{16}$		$\text{O}^3 \text{O}^2 \text{O}^5$
$\text{J}^{11} \text{J}^{21} \text{J}^{21}$	J^{10}	$\text{J}^2 \text{J}^4$		$\text{J}^2 \text{J}^4$
K^7	K^{12}	$\text{K}^1 \text{K}^{10}$		$\text{K}^3 \text{K}^3$
	$\text{Q}^2 \text{Q}^2 \text{Q}^{12} \text{Q}^{15}$	$\text{Q}^1 \text{Q}^7 \text{Q}^{12} \text{Q}^{15}$	Q^{17}	Q^1
Q^{18}	$\text{Q}^3 \text{Q}^{11}$	$\text{Q}^4 \text{Q}^{17} \text{Q}^{20} \text{Q}^{20}$	Q^1	Q^1
	$\text{W}^3 \text{W}^9 \text{W}^9$	$\text{W}^5 \text{W}^5 \text{W}^{20}$	W^2	$\text{W}^3 \text{W}^4$
	$\text{X}^7 \text{X}^6 \text{X}^{12}$	$\text{X}^3 \text{X}^{11} \text{X}^{19} \text{X}^{19}$		$\text{X}^1 \text{X}^1$

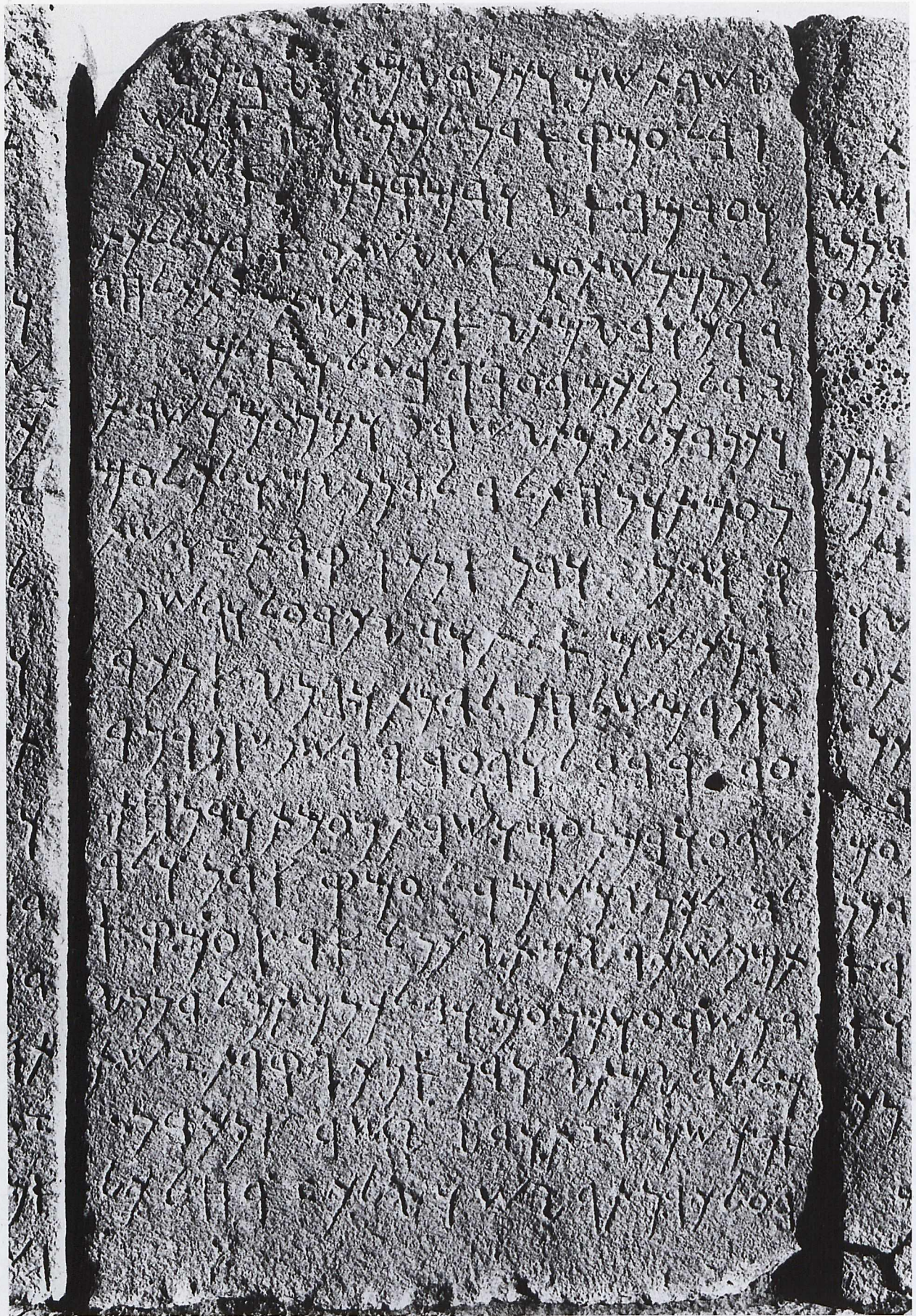
I
 II
 III
 IV
 ... (Handwritten text in various columns and sections) ...

North Gate, text of Phu/A I-IV. Copy drawn from photograph

... (Handwritten text, possibly a correction or additional note) ...



North Gate, orthostats Phu/A I. Photo Dursun Cankut



North Gate, orthostat Phu/A II. Photo Dursun Cankut

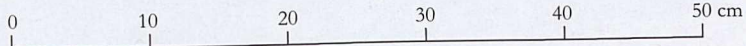
ረገዳጌ ተሳጊ ገንጠላ ሆኖ ተገዳጊ
 ወጪዎቹ የሚሰጡት ገንጠላ ገንጠላ
 ገንጠላ ሆኖ ስላገለገለች ገንጠላ ገንጠላ
 ተገጠመች ስላገለገለች ስላገለገለች
 ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ
 ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ
 ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ
 ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ
 ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ
 ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ
 ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ
 ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ
 ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ
 ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ
 ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ ገንጠላ

1

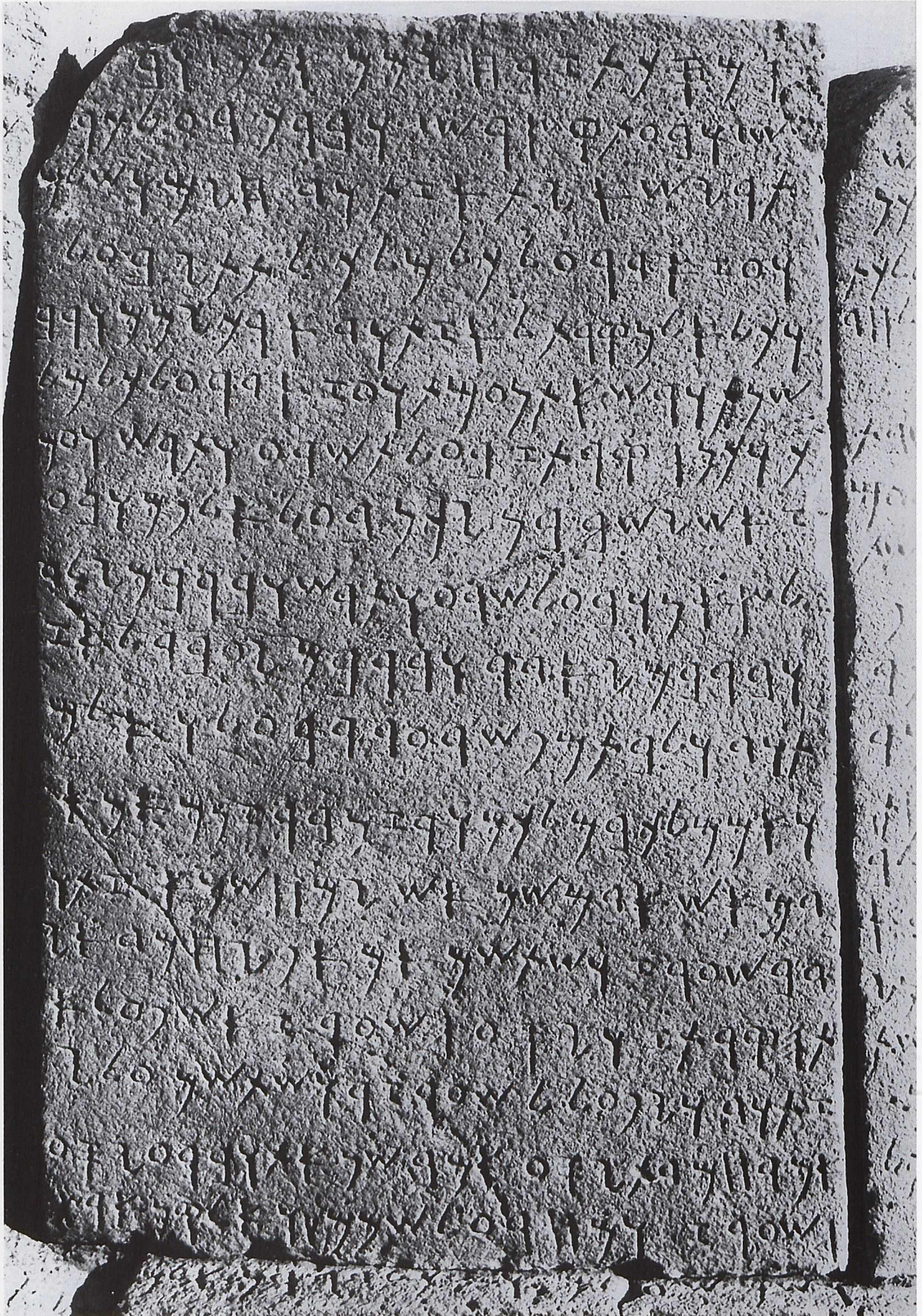
5

10

15



North Gate, orthostat Phu/A II. Copy drawn from photograph



North Gate, orthostat Phu/A III. Photo Dursun Cankut

wq

29 x 597

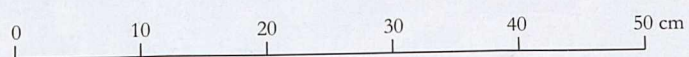
9Y 17 L K 442 M G I T 7 F 4 A
 9Y 6 0 9 Y 9 9 Y 1 W 9 T P X 0 9 Y 1 W
 4 L W Y 4 2 M 9 Y T I K T 2 K W 2 9 T
 6 0 9 2 T T L Y L Y L Y 6 0 9 9 K I 0 Y
 9 9 Y 4 4 2 7 9 K 9 Y T I K L X 9 9 Y L K L Y Y
 6 Y L Y 6 0 9 9 K I 0 Y T 4 0 7 T K W 9 Y T 5 W
 4 0 Y W 9 X Y 0 9 W T 6 0 9 I T 9 9 A 5 7 Y 7
 0 9 Y 4 7 L K 6 0 9 5 7 2 5 9 9 W 2 W K I
 6 L 2 4 9 9 9 Y W 9 T Y 0 9 W 6 0 9 4 5 K T L
 I K L 9 9 0 2 4 9 9 9 Y 9 9 K 2 4 9 9 9 Y
 4 L K Y 6 0 9 9 9 0 9 W 7 4 T 9 6 Y 9 Y T
 K 4 K 4 5 I 9 9 5 I 9 Y 4 7 L 4 9 7 L 4 4 K Y
 Y X I K 4 W M 4 2 W K 4 W 4 9 K W K 4 9
 2 K 9 4 M 2 7 K 4 K 4 W T W Y I 9 0 W 9 9
 K 6 0 7 W K I 9 0 W 3 0 F 2 Y I T 9 9 A T
 2 6 0 4 W T W Y 9 I 9 0 W L 6 0 7 2 Y 9 Y T I
 0 F 2 0 9 9 Y X K 5 W 9 4 K 0 F 2 X 9 4 M 9 4 K
 W 9 K 5 9 L K Y 4 4 W 6 0 9 M 4 Y I 9 0 W 3

1

5

10

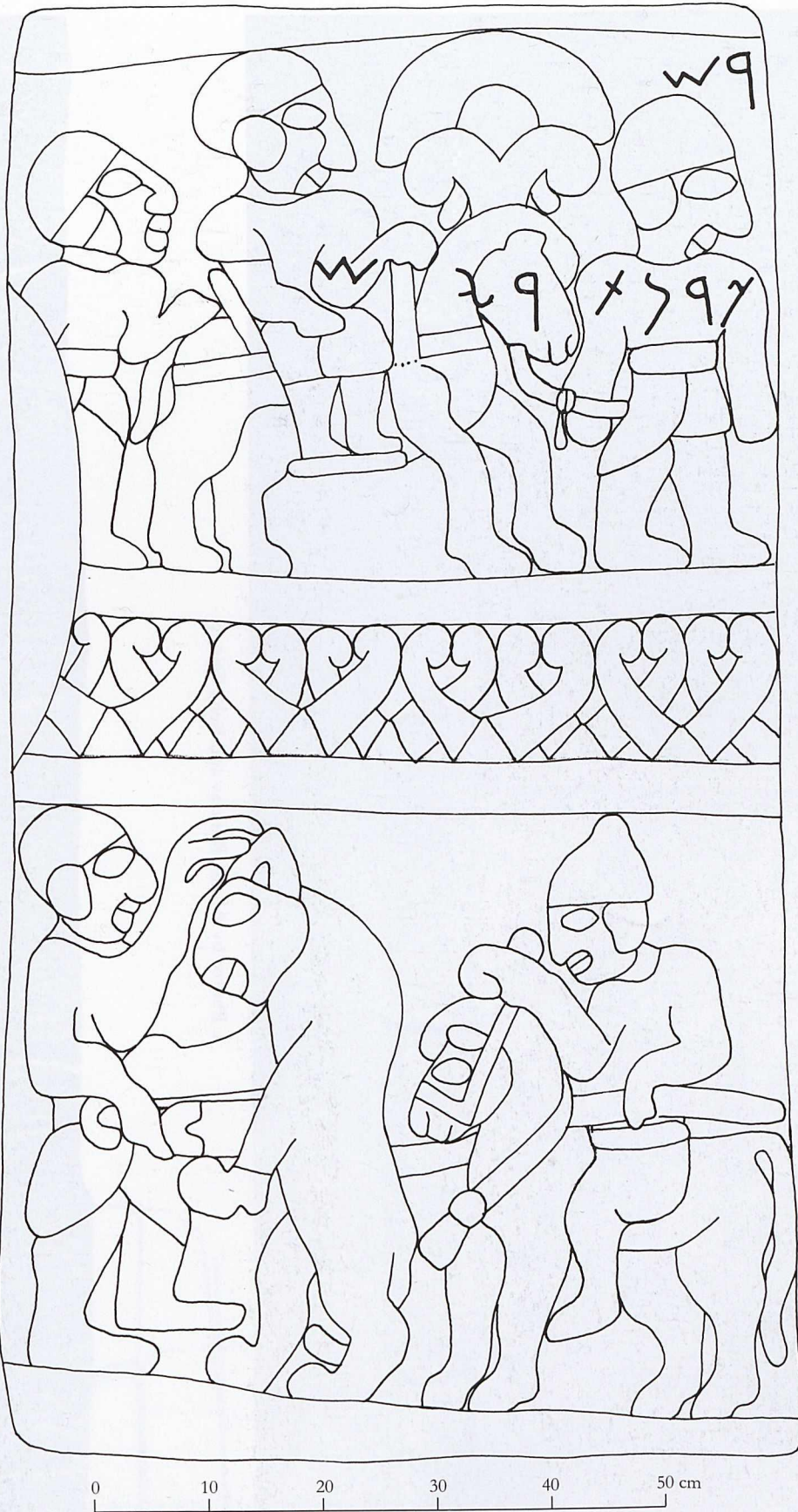
15



North Gate, orthostat Phu/A III. Copy drawn from photograph



North Gate, relief orthostat with signs erroneously omitted in Phu/A III. Photo Dursun Cankut



North Gate, relief orthostat with signs erroneously omitted in Phu/A III. Copy drawn from photograph

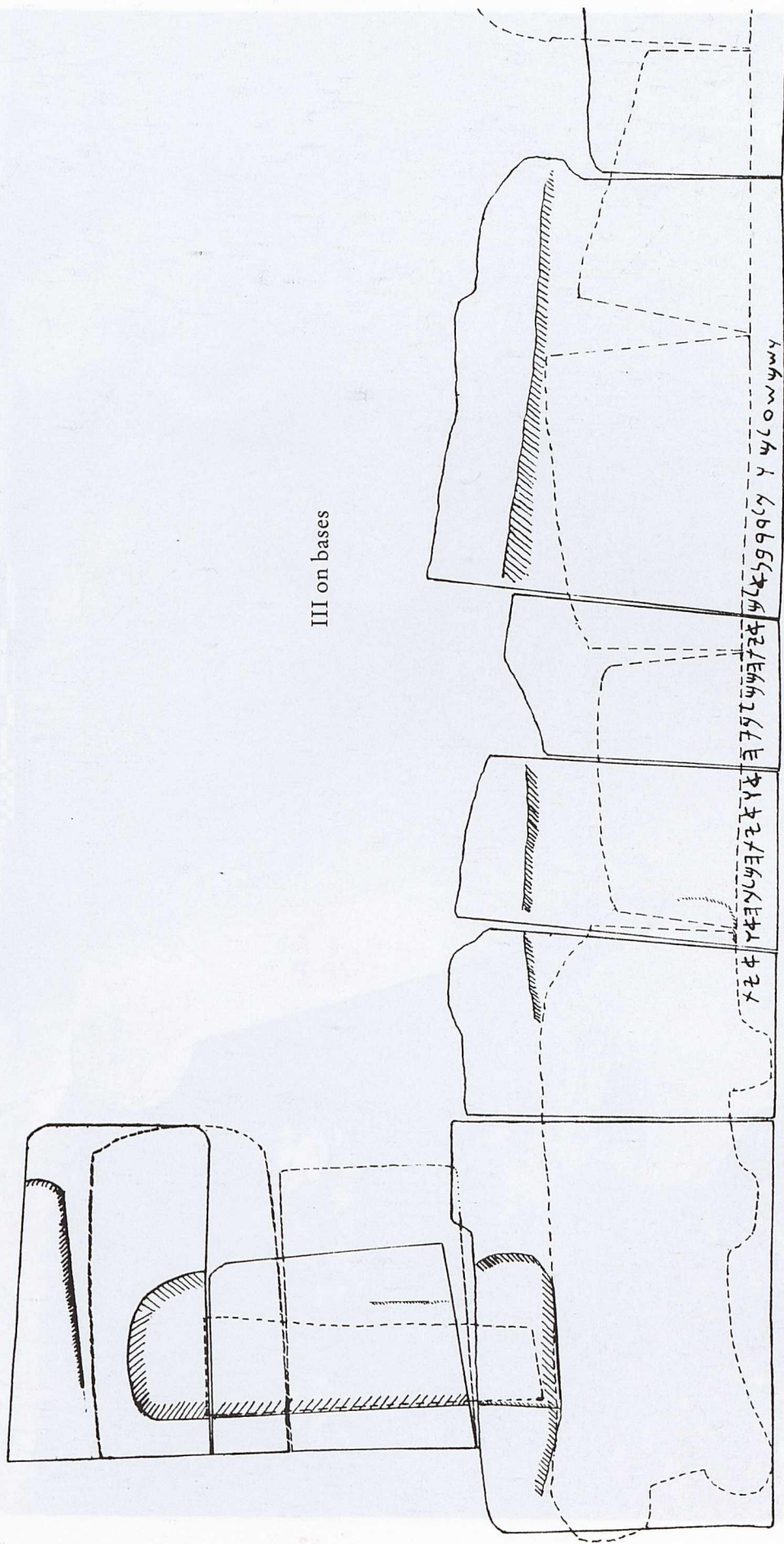


a. Photos by Ahmet Boratav and Reha Günay



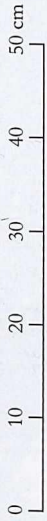
0 10 20 30 cm

b. Photo of squeeze by Josephine Powell, print by Elisabeth Steiner
North Gate, end of Phu/A III on bases





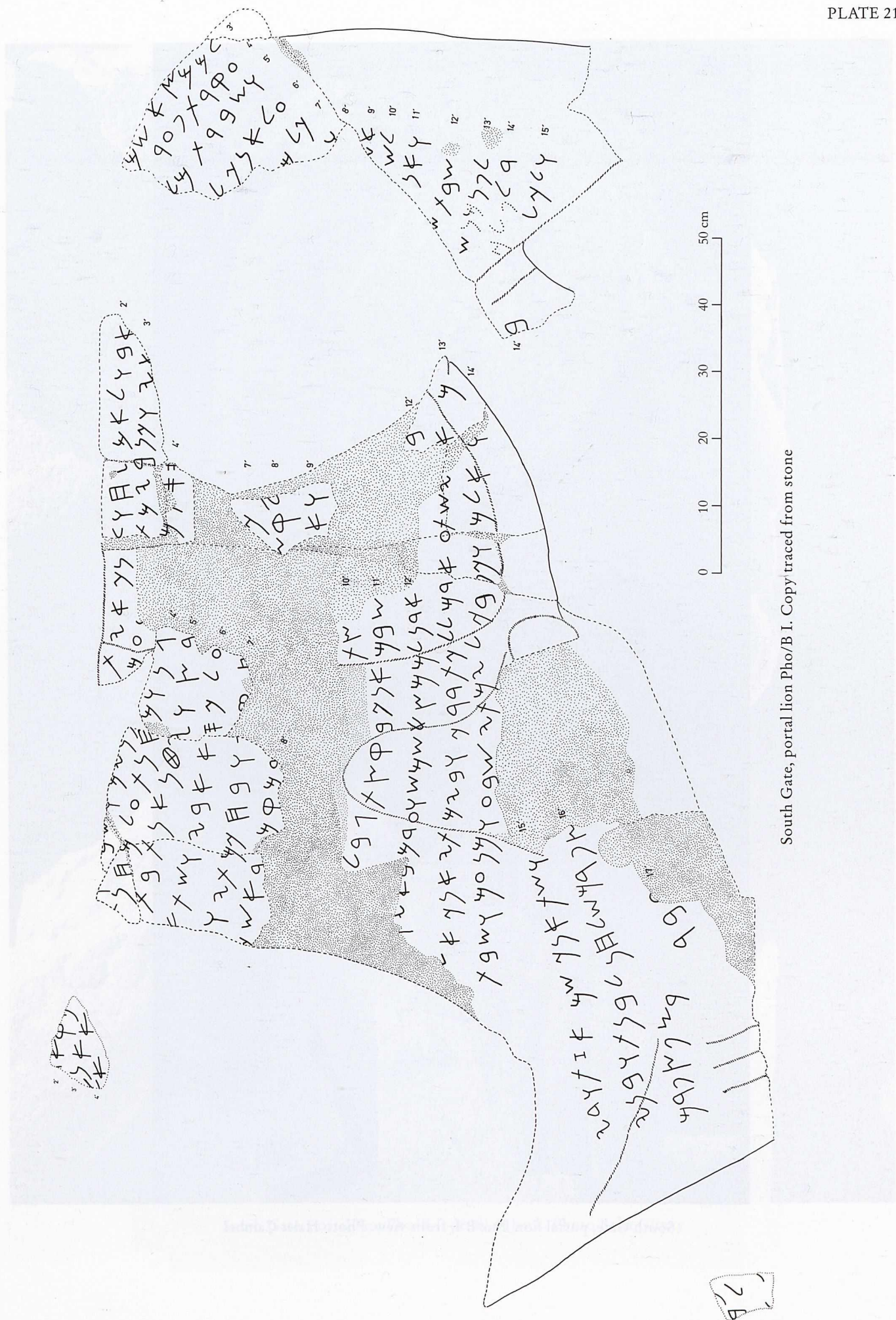
North Gate, portal lion Phu/A IV. Photo Reha Günay



North Gate, portal lion Phu/A IV. Copy drawn from photograph



South Gate, portal lion Pho/B I, side view. Photo Reha Günay



South Gate, portal lion Pho/B.I. Copy traced from stone



South Gate, portal lion Pho/B I, front view. Photo Halet Çambel



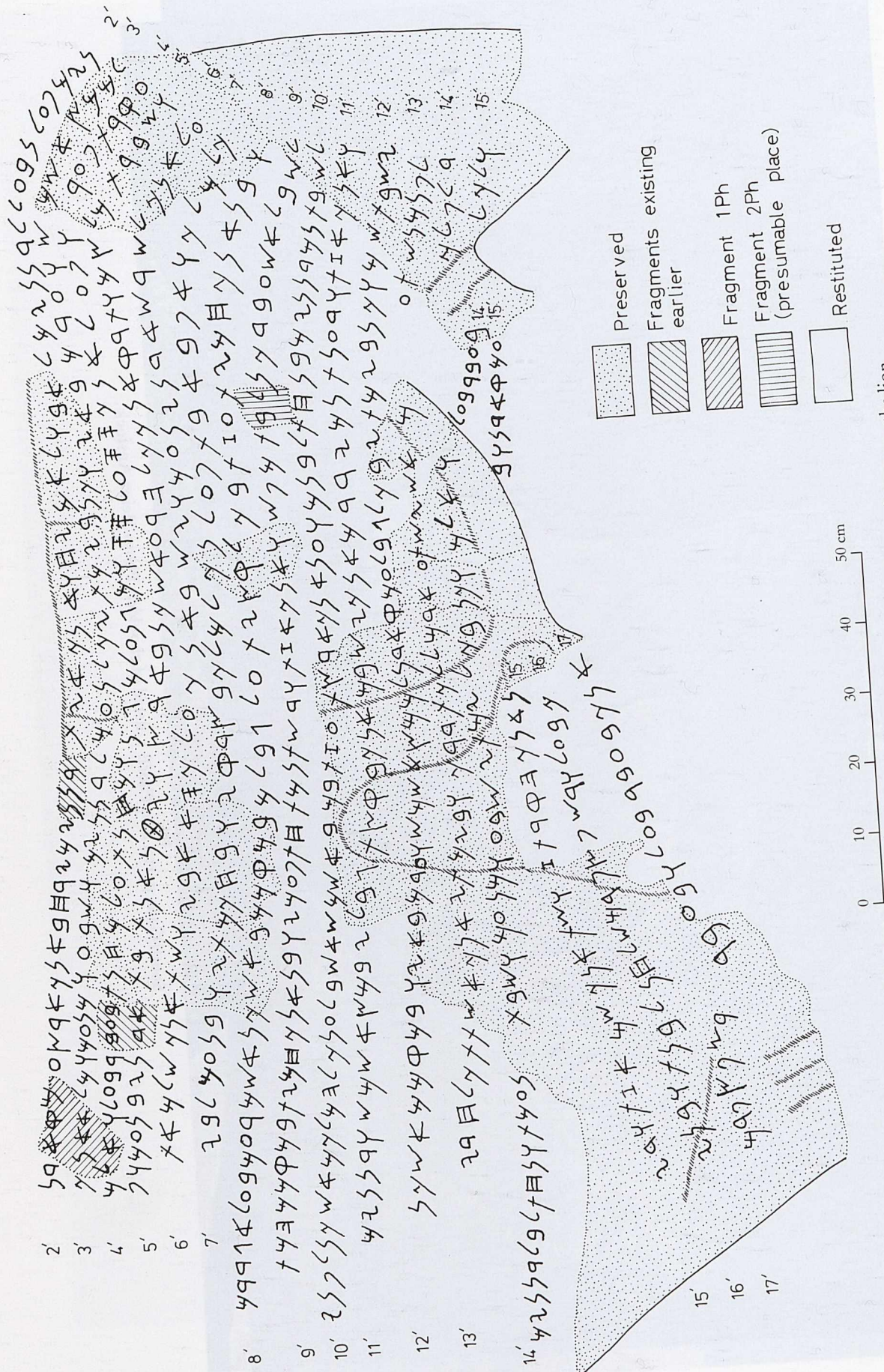
South Gate, portal lion Pho/B I, detail of back. Photo Reha Günay



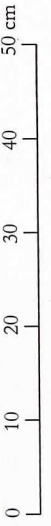
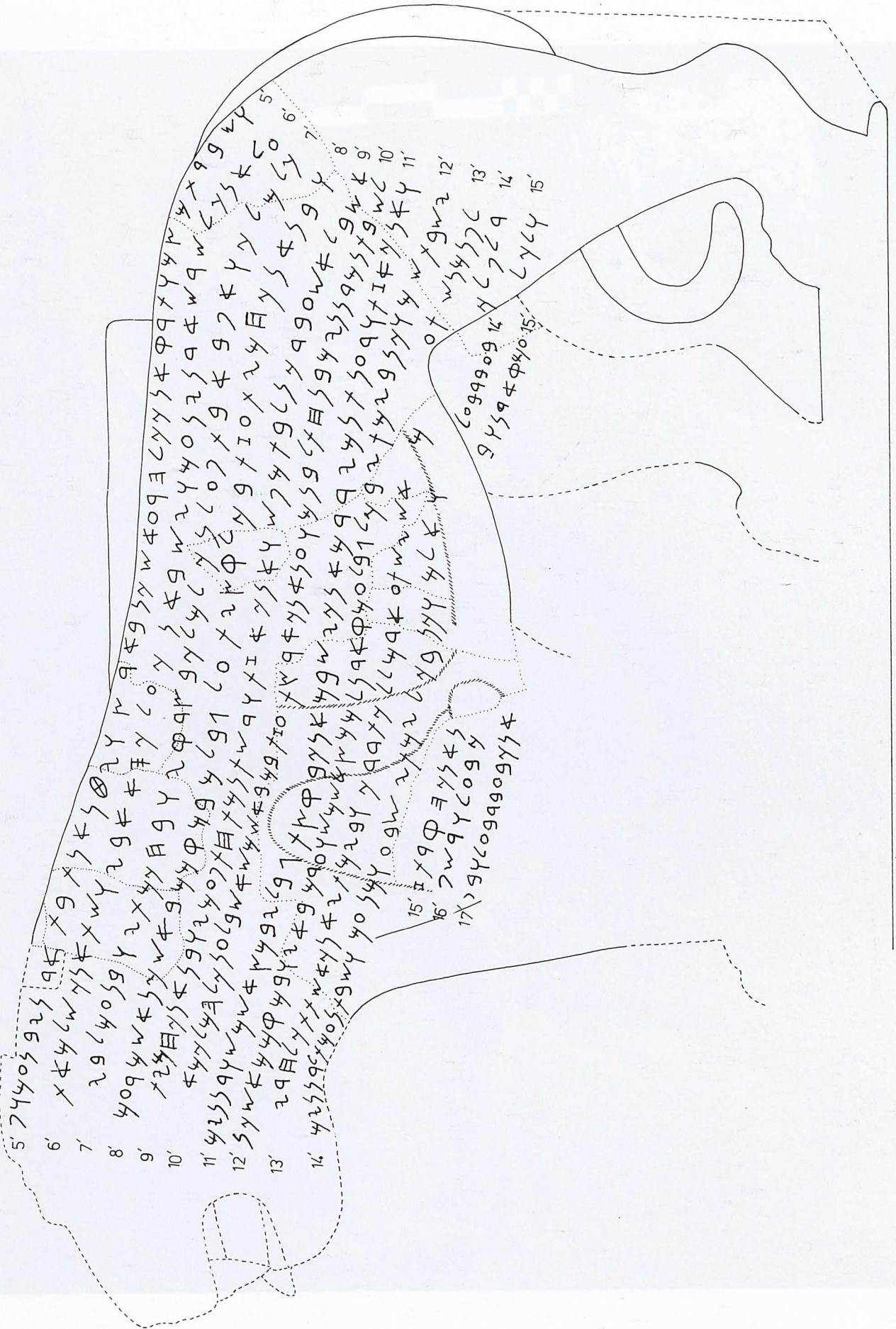
South Gate, portal lion Pho/B I, detail of inscription on top of trunk. Photo Reha Günay



South Gate, portal lion Pho/B I, detail of shoulder. Photo Heinz Anstock



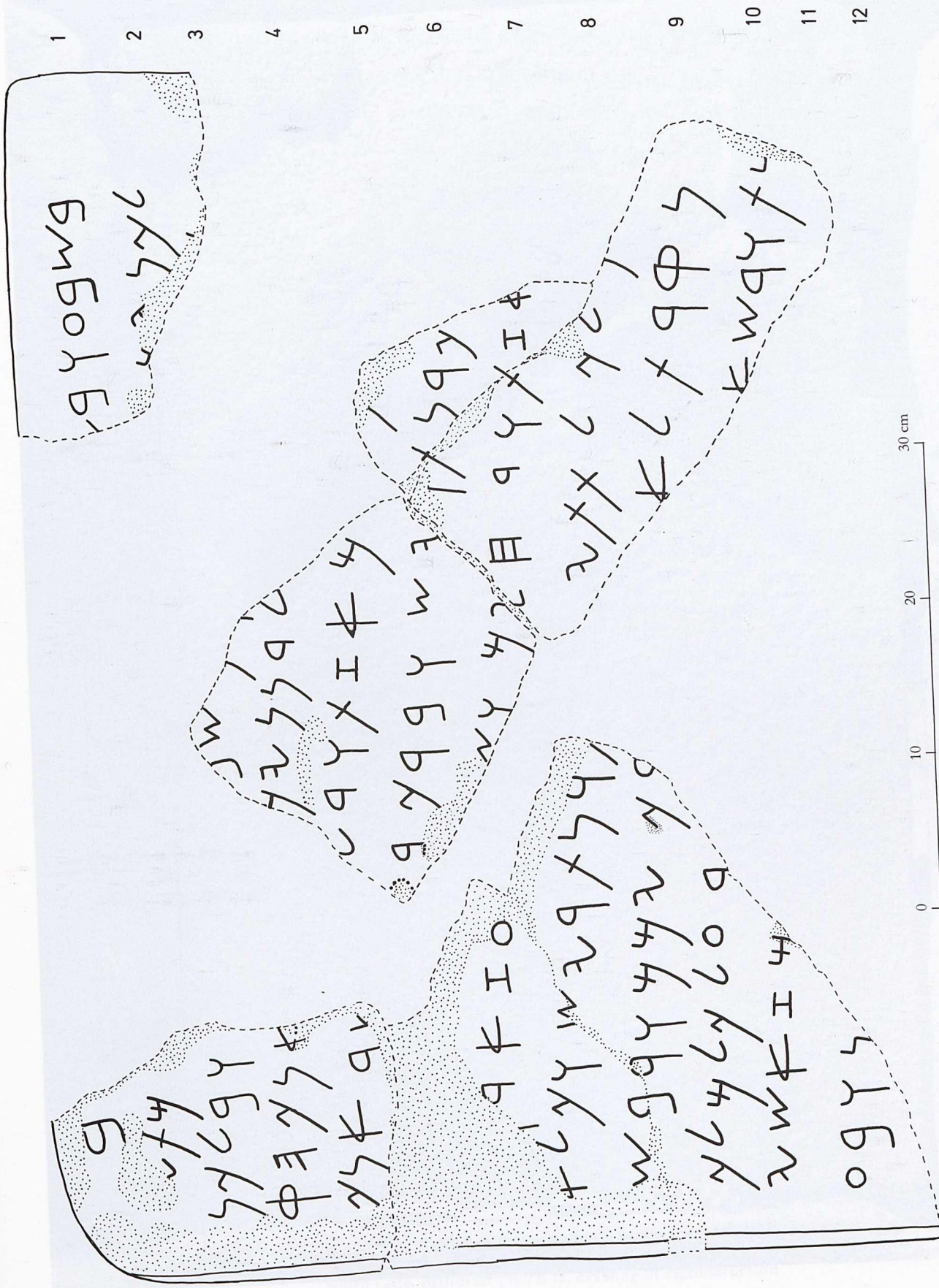
South Gate, portal lion Pho/B I, an attempt to allocate the text on the lion



South Gate, portal lion Pho/B I, an attempt at reconstruction



South Gate, orthostat Pho/B II, before restoration. Photo Halet Çambel



South Gate, orthostat Pho/B II, before restoration. Copy traced from stone



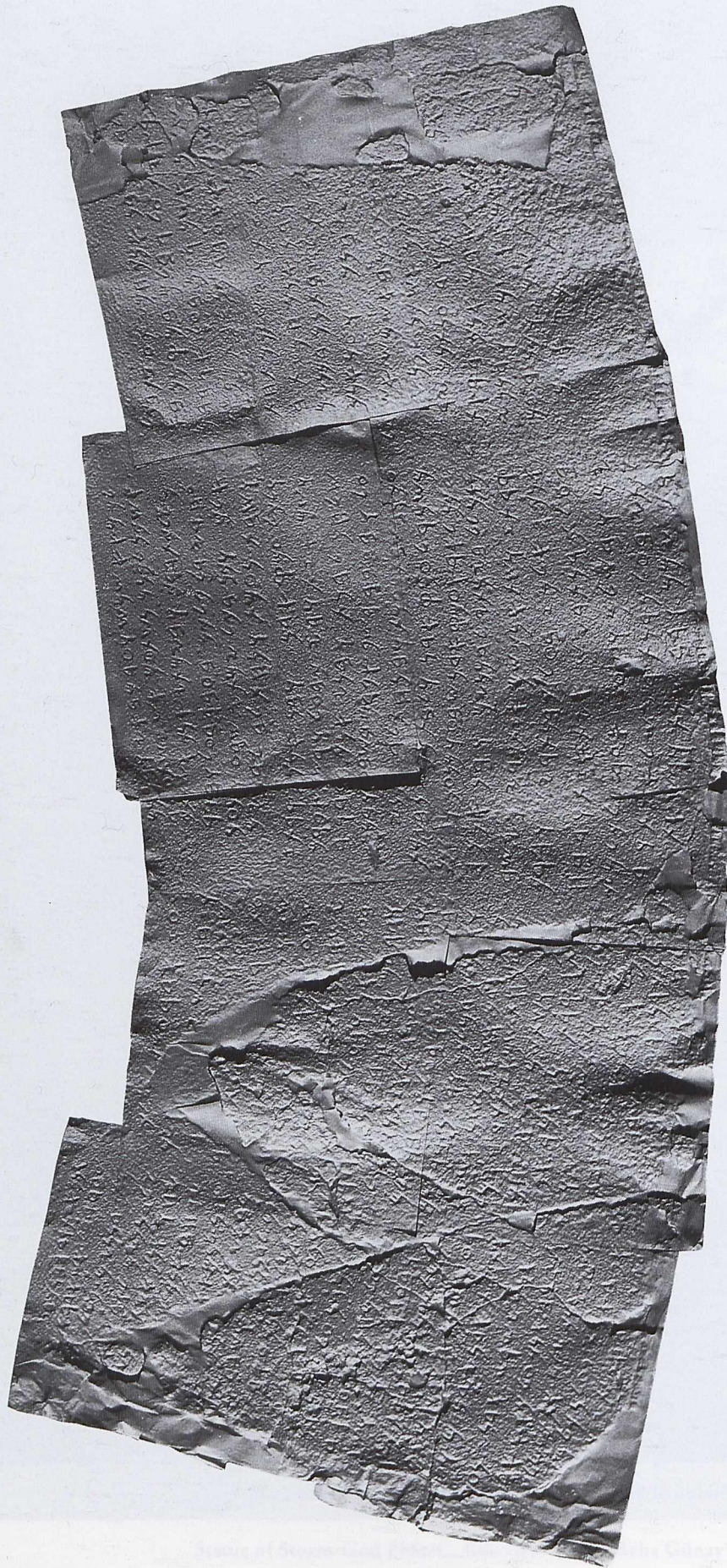
South Gate, orthostat Pho/B II, after restoration. Photo Reha Günay



Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C, side view. Photo Reha Günay



Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C, back view. Photo Füsün Yaraş

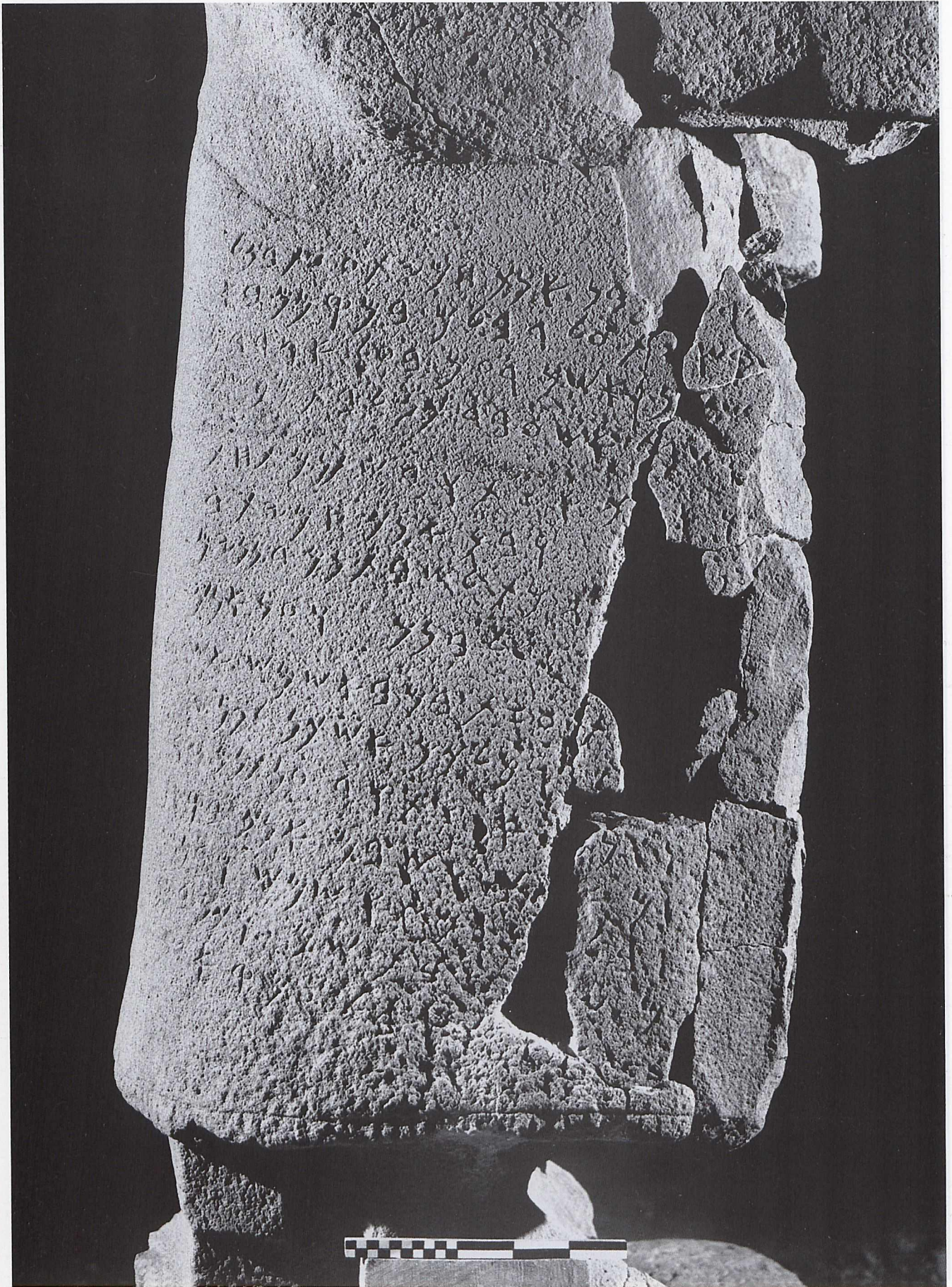


0 10 20 30 cm

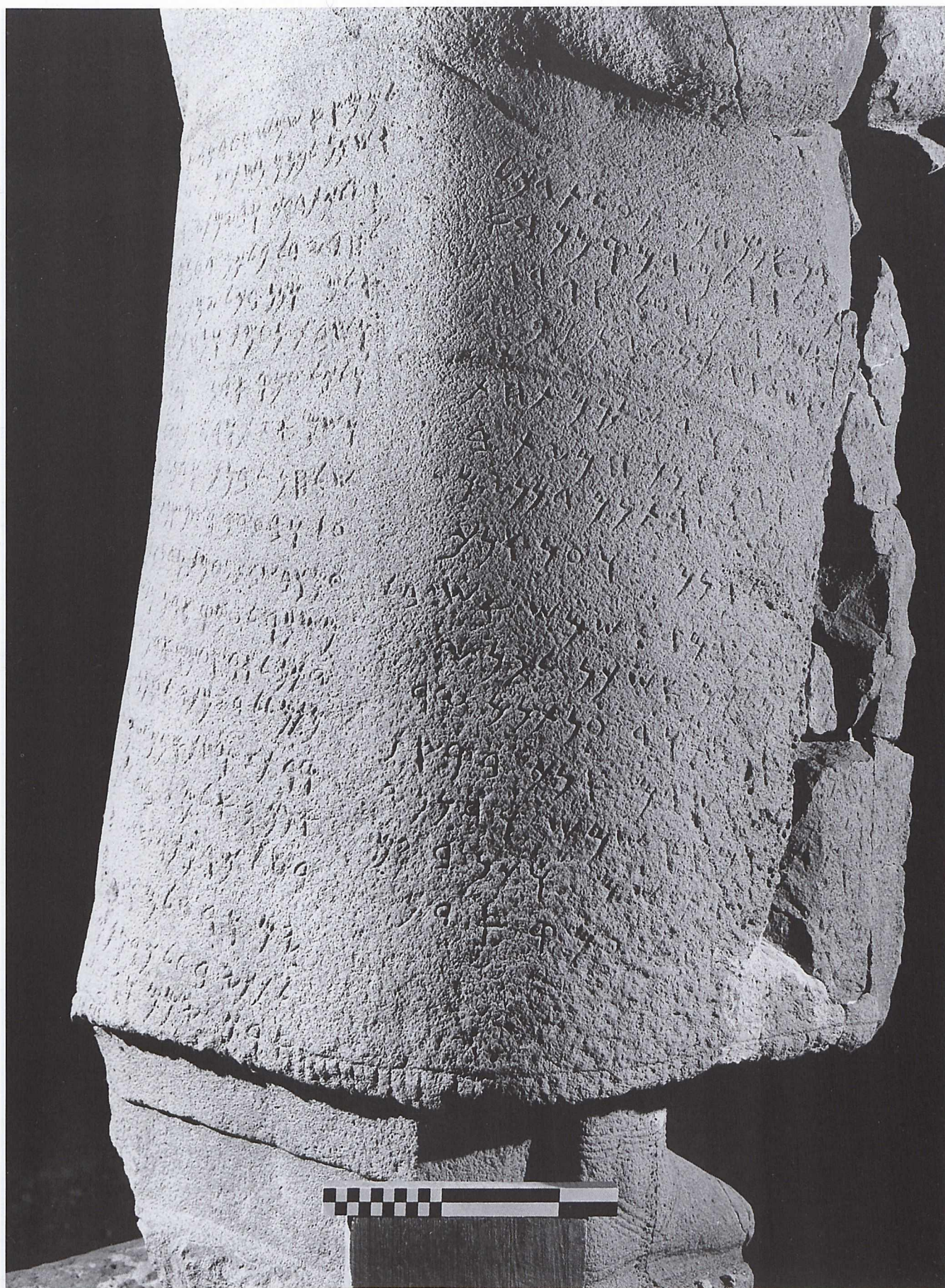
Inscription on Storm-God PhSt/C. Squeeze. Photo Josephine Powell, print Elisabeth Steiner



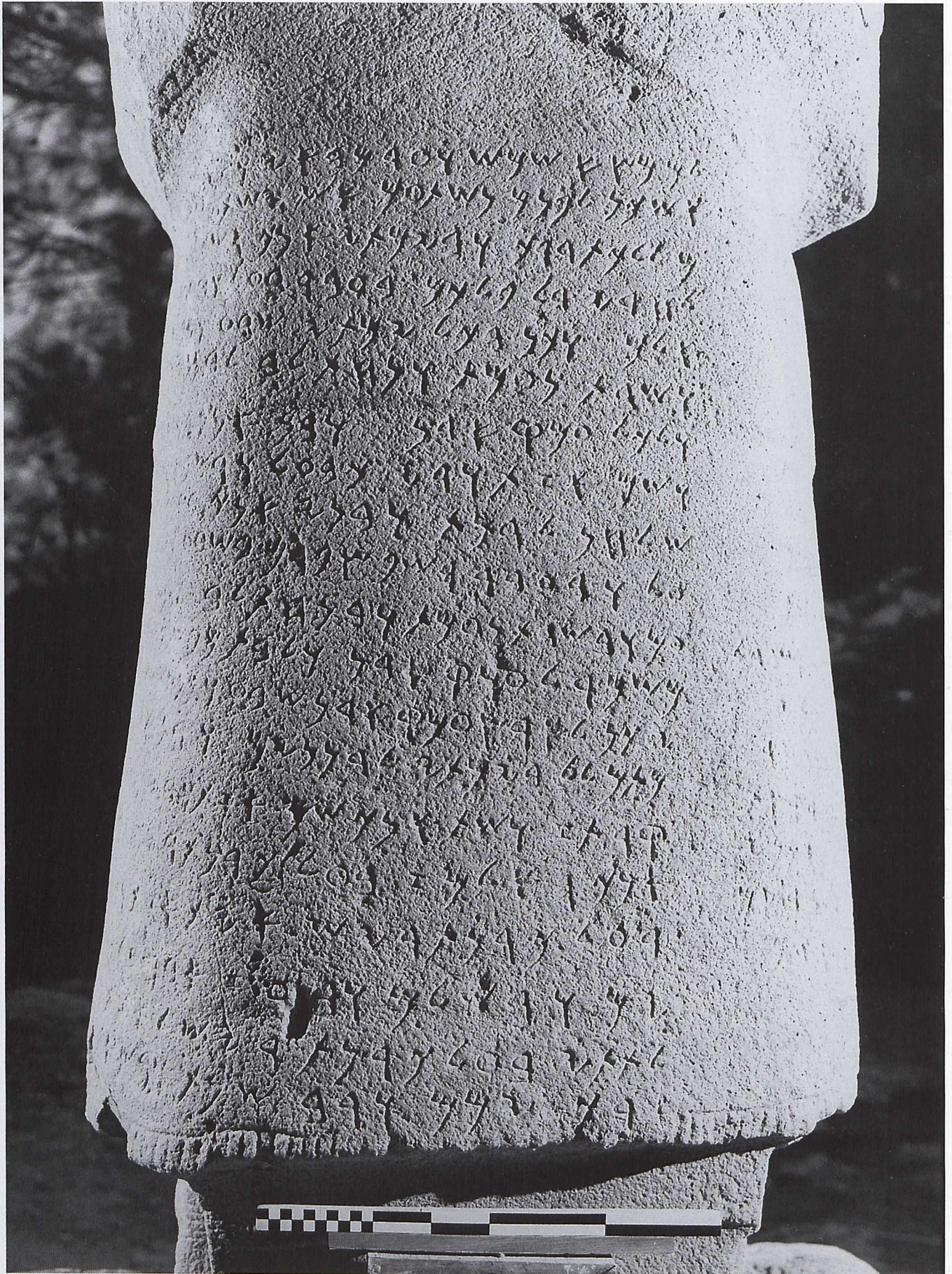
Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C I. Photo Reha Günay



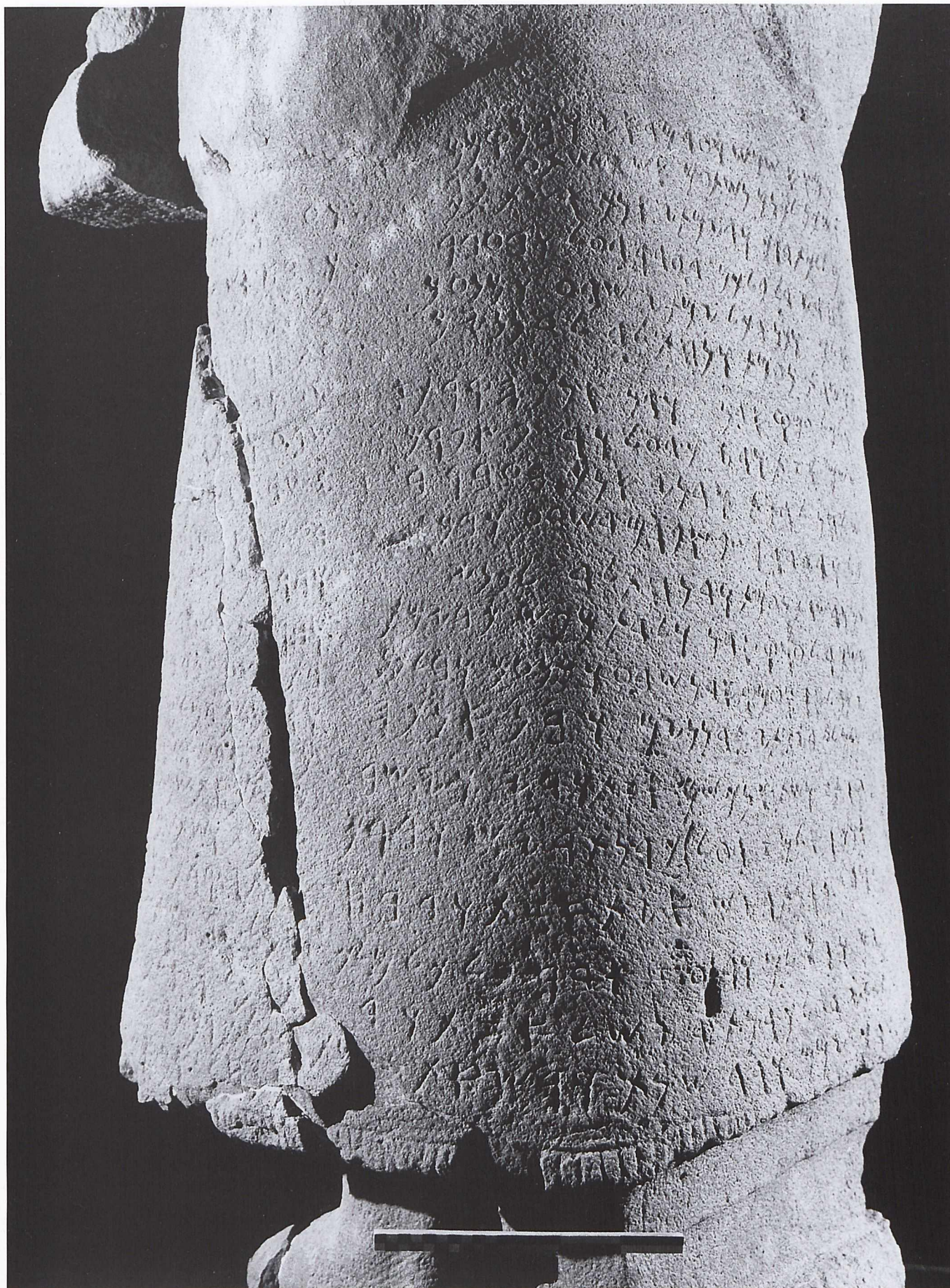
Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C II. Photo Reha Günay



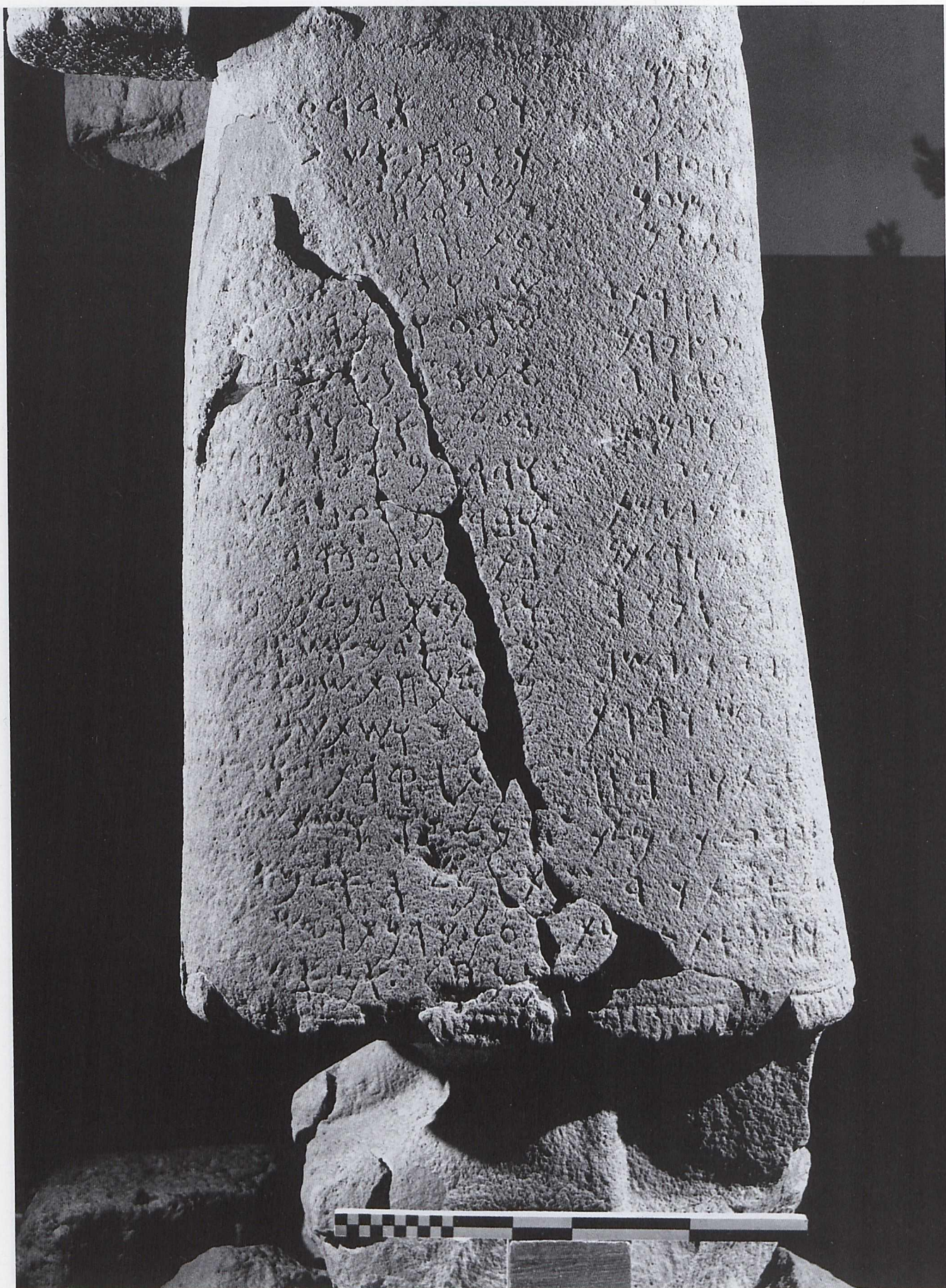
Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C II - III. Photo Reha Günay



Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C III. Photo Reha Günay



Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C III-IV. Photo Reha Günay



Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C IV. Photo Reha Günay



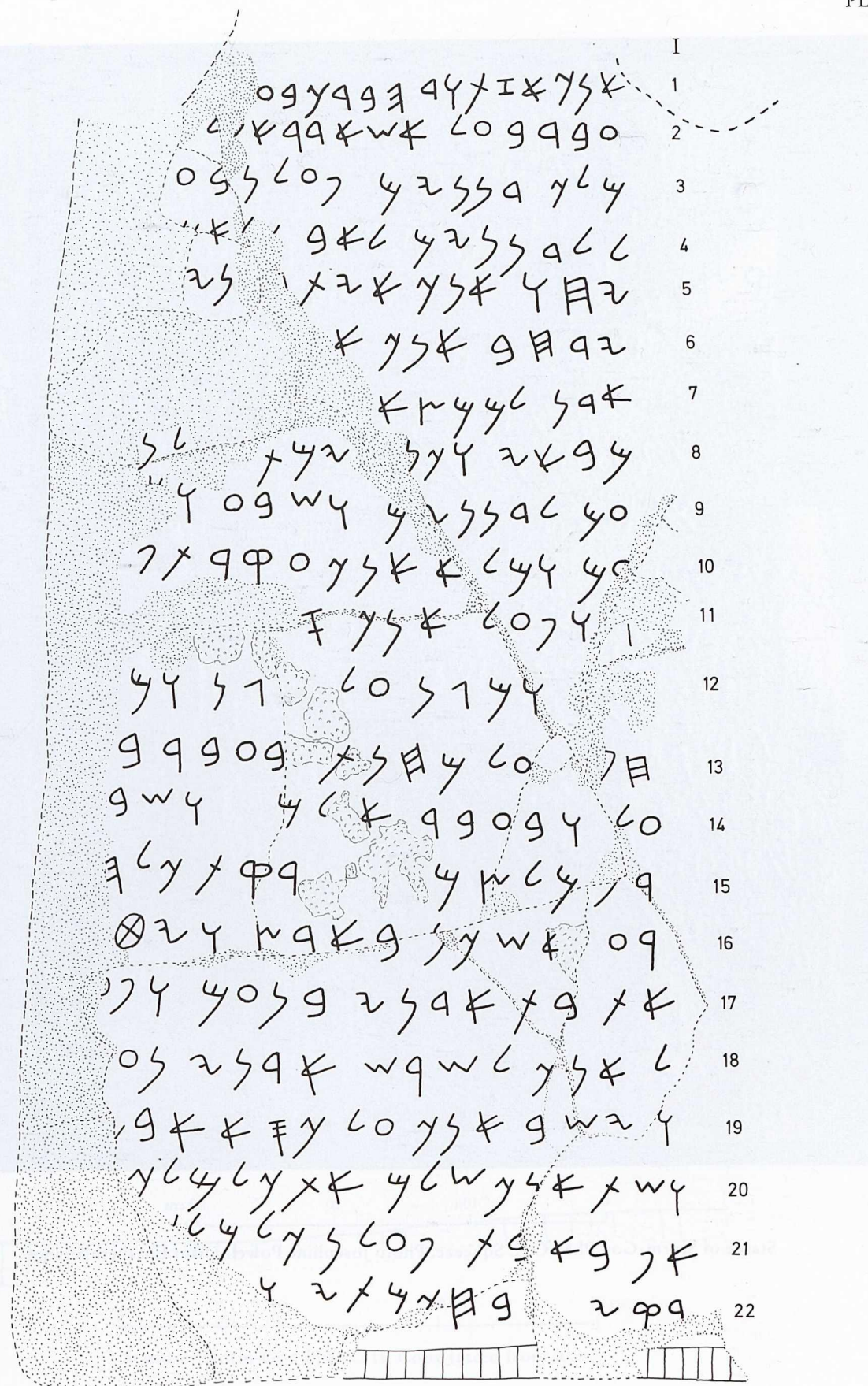
Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C IV-I. Photo Reha Günay

Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C IV-I. Copy of the original statue.



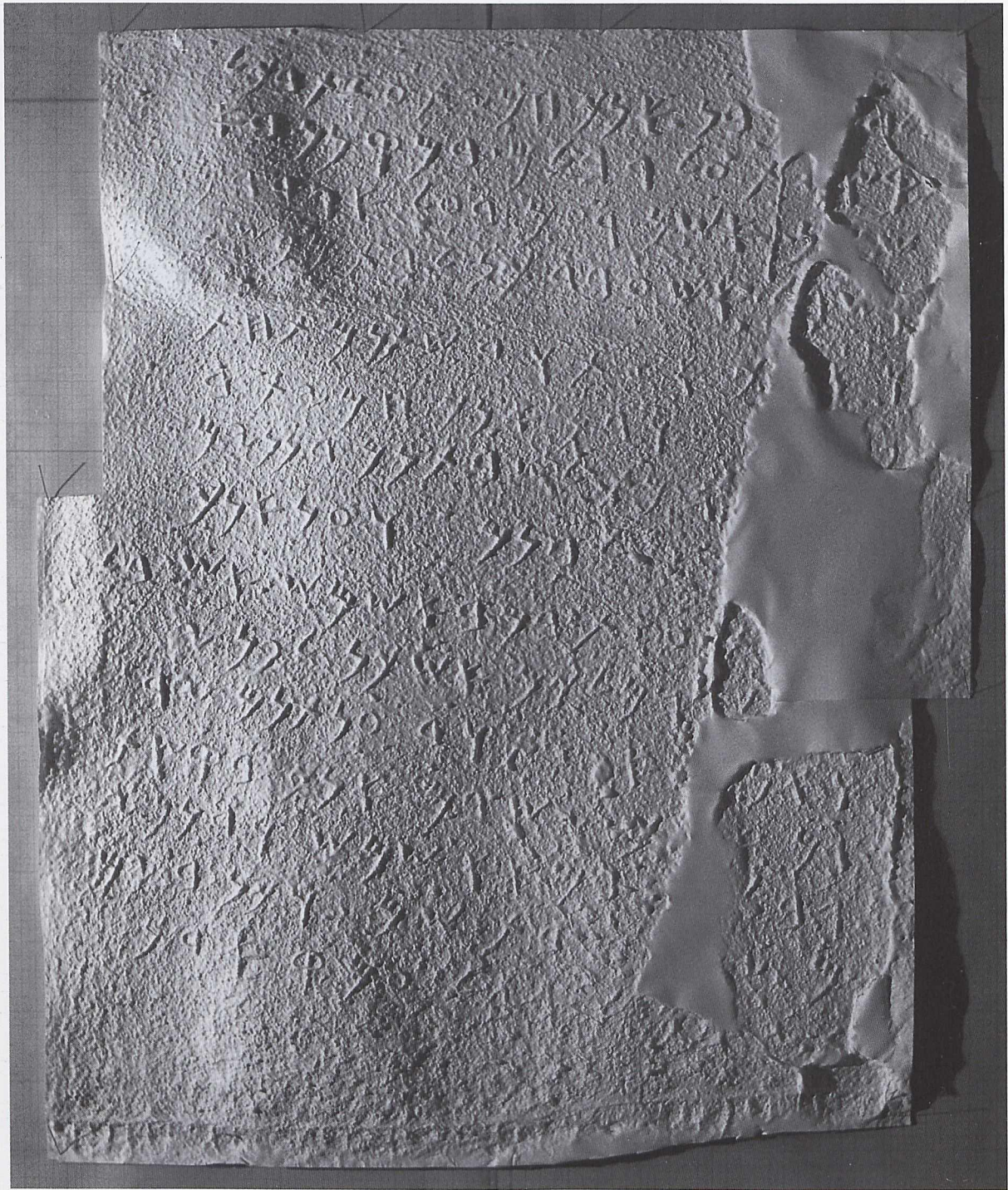
0 10 20 30 cm

Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C I. Squeeze. Photo Josephine Powell, print Elisabeth Steiner



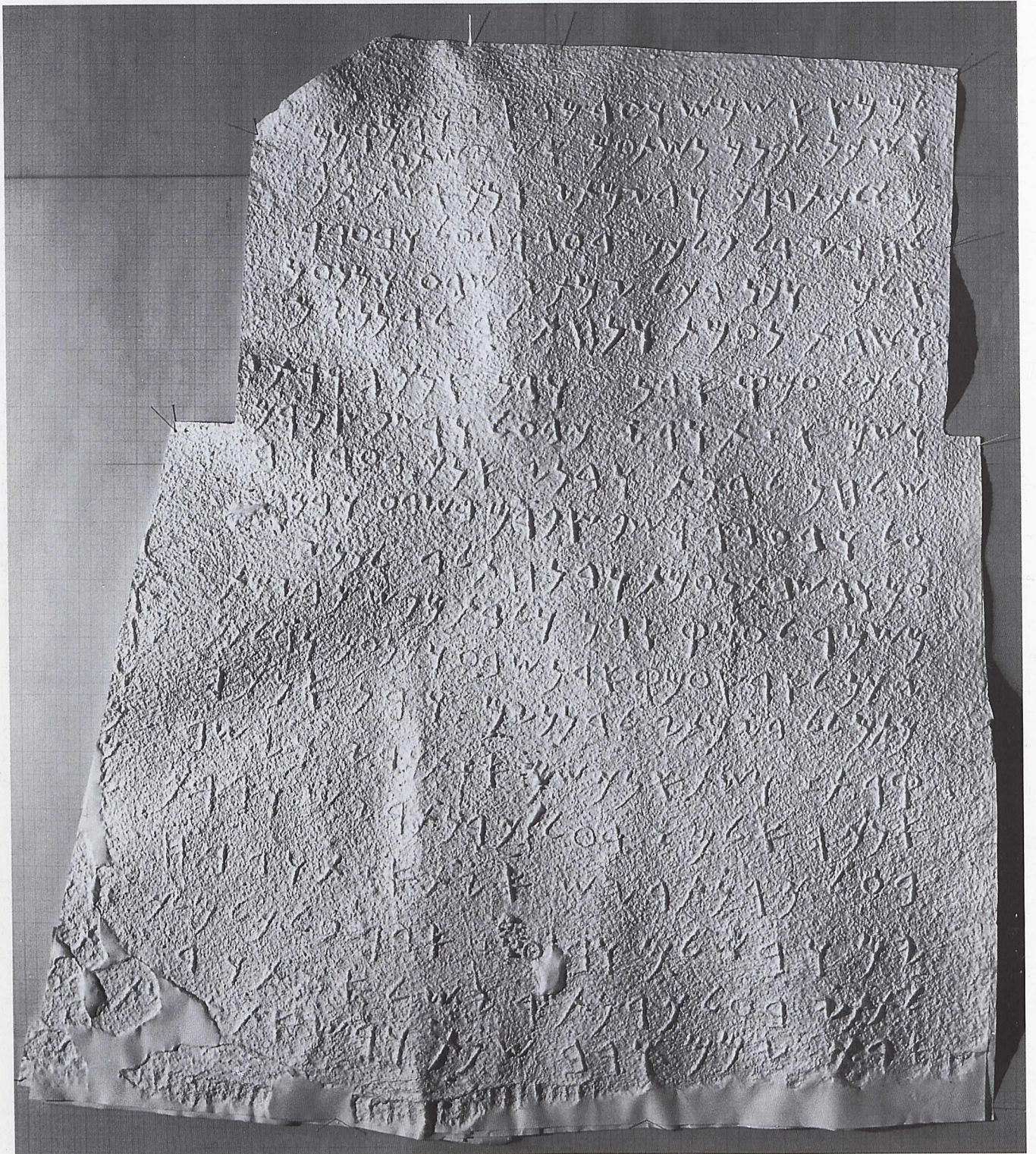
0 10 20 30 40 50 cm

Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C I. Copy traced from stone



0 10 20 30 cm

Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C II. Squeeze. Photo Josephine Powell, print Elisabeth Steiner



0 10 20 30 cm

Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C III. Squeeze. Photo Josephine Powell, print Elisabeth Steiner

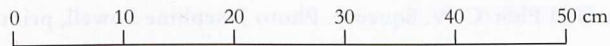
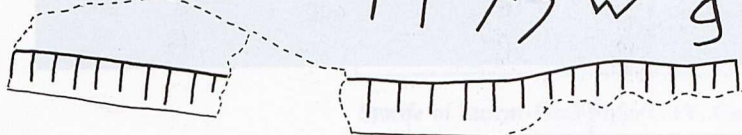
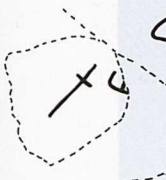
44049 Y 2 4 9 4 0 4 W 4 W 4 4 4 4 4
 9 0 4 w 2 w 4 4 0 4 w 3 4 3 4 4 4 4
 4 4 4 w 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
 9 9 0 9 Y 4 0 9 9 9 0 9 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
 4 0 3 4 4 0 9 w 2 4 4 2 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
 4 2 3 3 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4

I 4 9 0 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
 4 9 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
 9 9 9 0 9 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
 4 9 4 0 9 w 4 9 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4

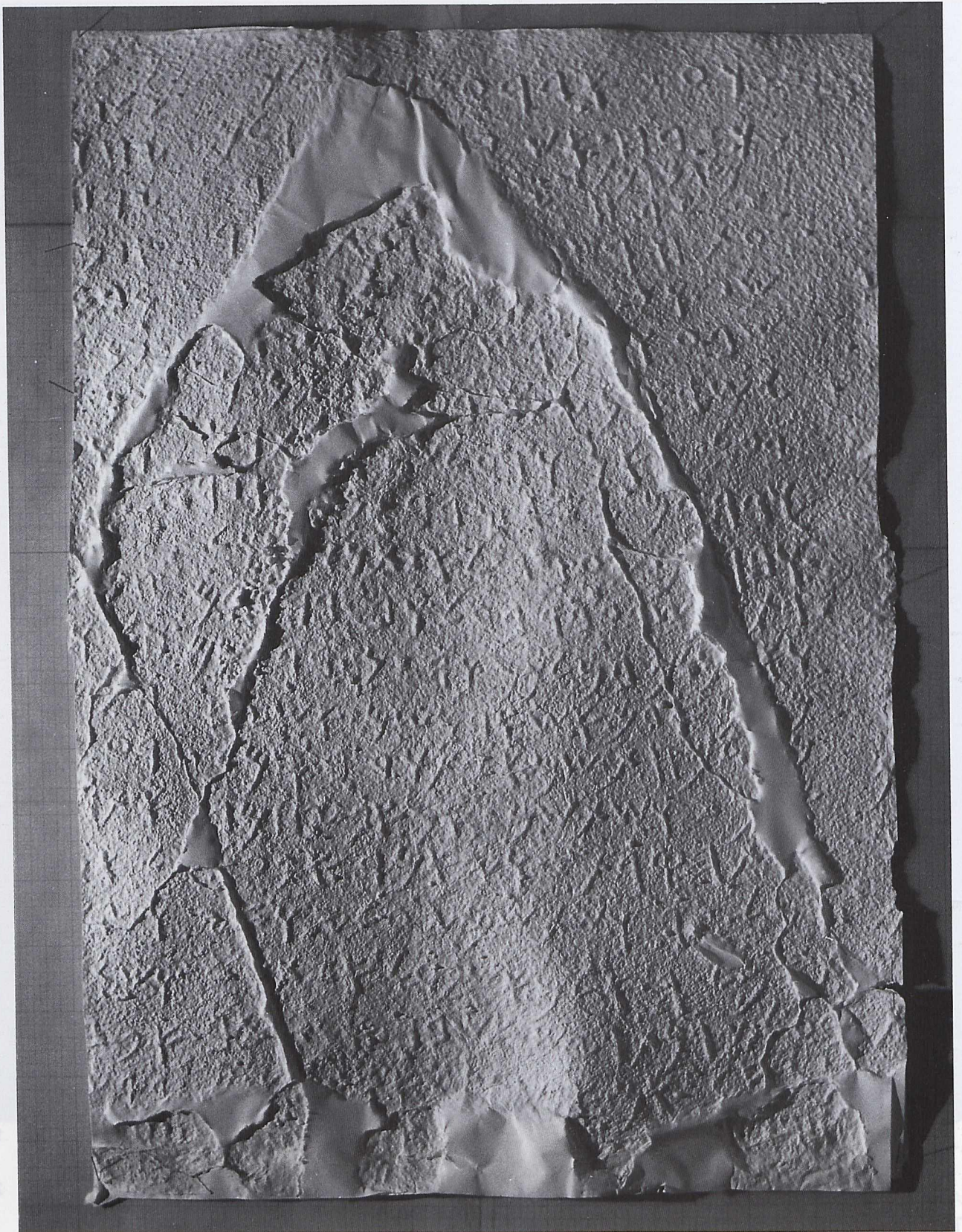
2 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4

9 w 2 Y 2 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
 4 9 9 4 w 2 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
 4 9 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4

4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
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 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4

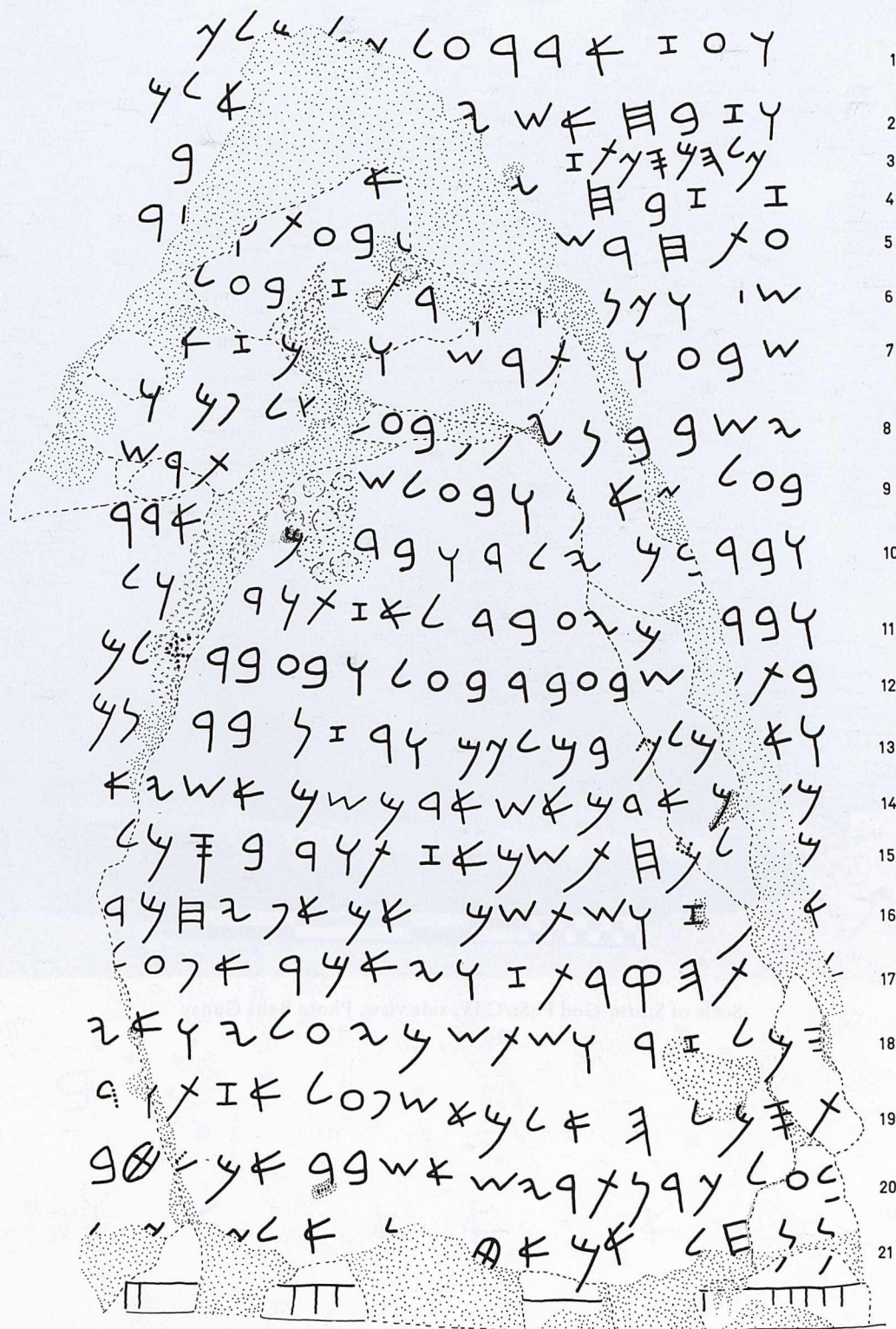


Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C III. Copy traced from stone



0 10 20 30 cm

Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C IV. Squeeze. Photo Josephine Powell, print Elisabeth Steiner

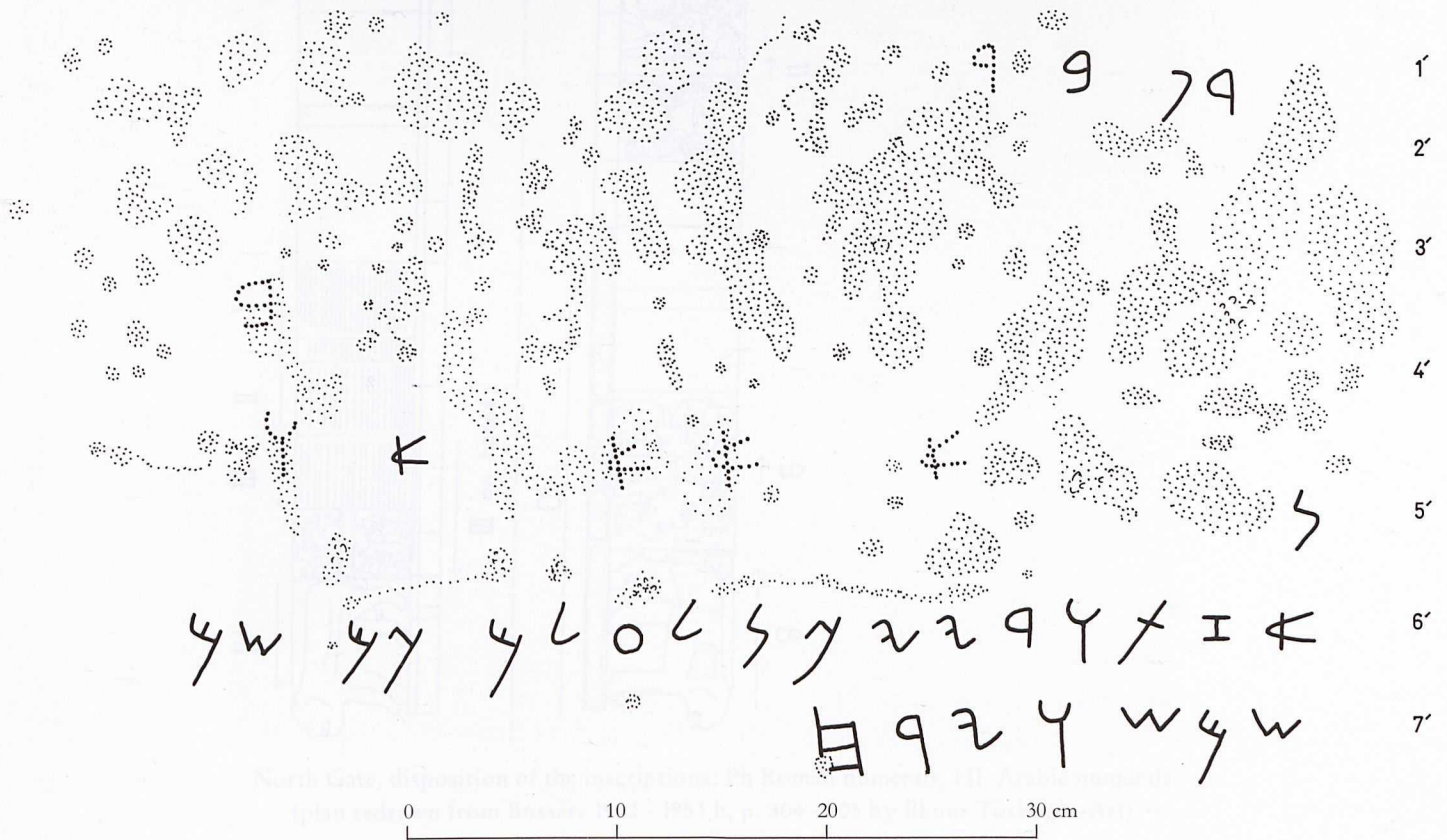


0 10 20 30 cm

Statue of Storm-God PhSt/C IV. Copy traced from stone



Socle of Storm-God PhSt/C IV, side view. Photo Reha Günay



Socle of Storm-God PhSt/C IV, side view, detail. Photo Reha Günay (above). Copy traced from stone (below)

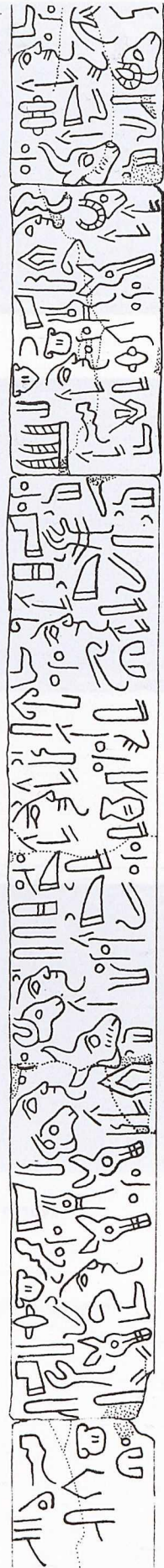


f

e

d

c



f

e

d

c

North Gate, row of bases Hu 10 c-f. Photo Ahmet Boratav (c-d), Reha Günay (e-f).
Copy drawn from photograph



a



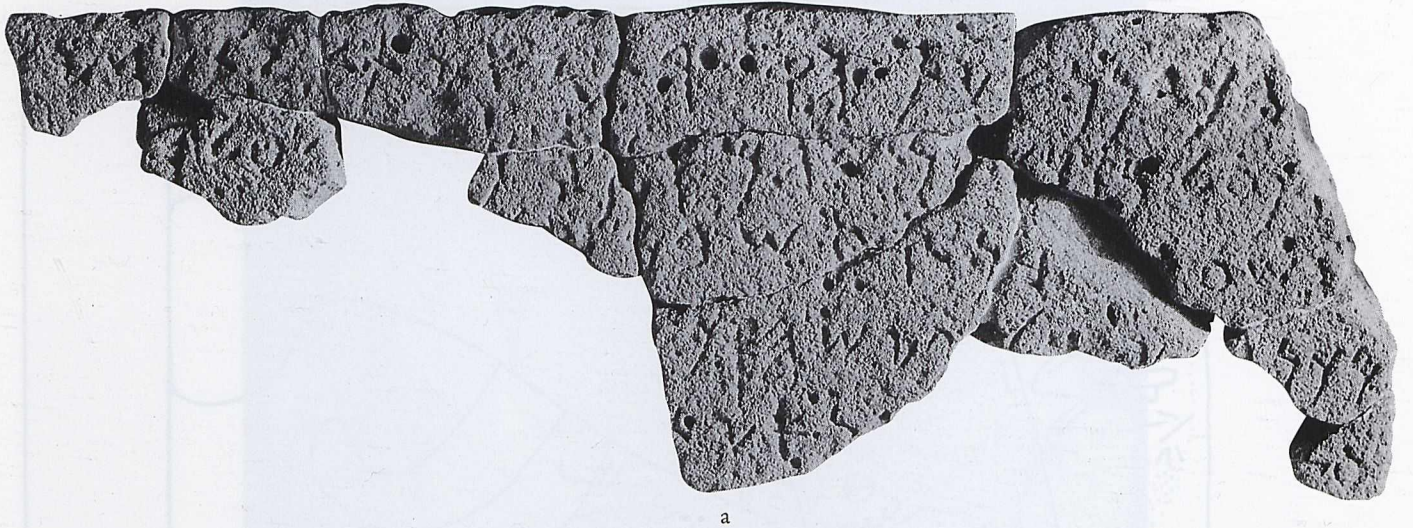
a



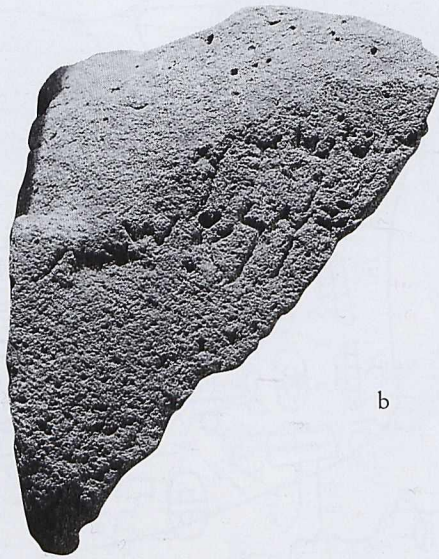
c

b

North Gate, row of bases Hu 10 a-c. Photo Josephine Powell



a

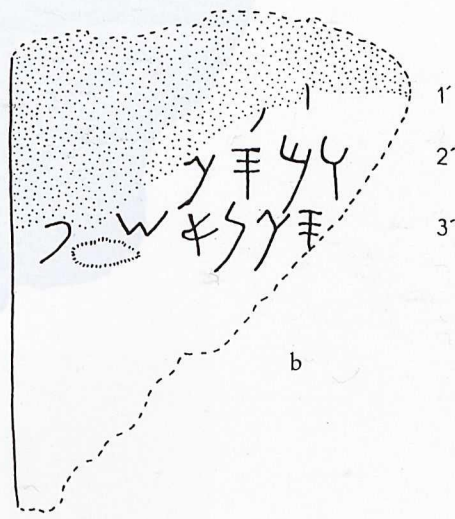
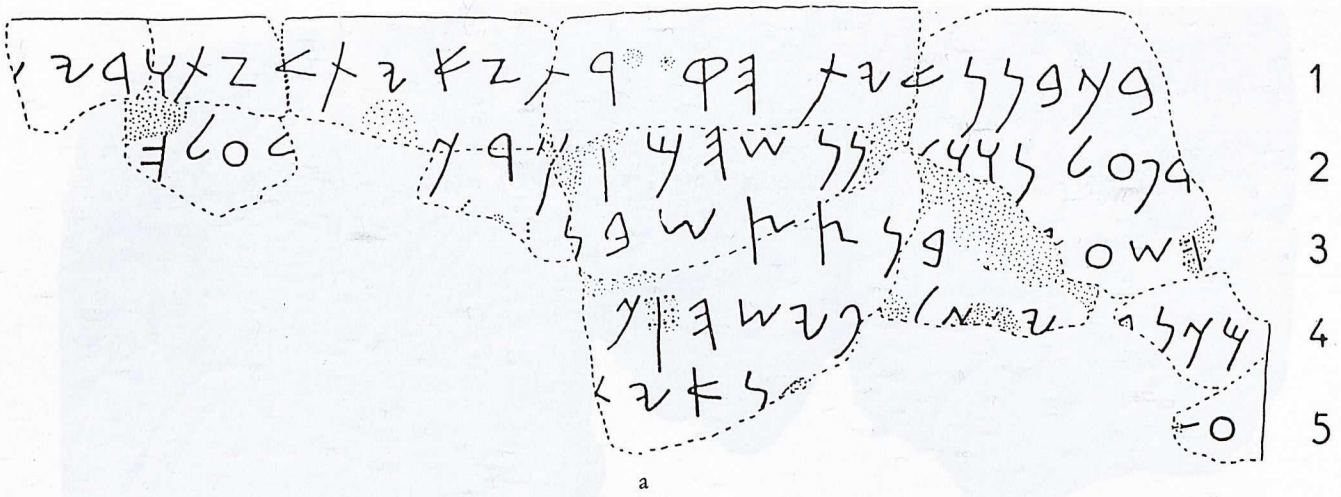


b



Separate Inscriptions Pho/S. I. a and b. Photos Reha Günay

South Gate panel from the 1st century AD at the site of the Temple of Isis at Philae, Egypt. The panel is made of dark granite and is decorated with hieroglyphs and a central figure. The panel is shown in a photograph and a drawing. The drawing is a line drawing of the panel, showing the hieroglyphs and the central figure. The drawing is made by E. Rindler-Schjerve.



Separate Inscriptions Pho / S. I. a and b. Copies traced from stone

Separate Inscriptions No 5 | 'Assyriaca et cetera' Phoen Asia Altit.