

The Hieroglyphic Rock Inscription of Malkaya: A New Look

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The Malkaya inscription has been studied and published on several occasions. After its discovery in 1947, H. Th. Bossert studied it briefly in 1950, before he spent three days working on it in 1956 with a number of students and helpers. An extensive publication was then presented in *Orientalia* for 1958, in which he went as far as to comment that no one would ever have to do any work on the inscription again (Bossert 1958: 327). A further edition was prepared by P. Meriggi on the basis of photographs and published in 1975. The monument was included in E.P. Rossner's archaeological guidebook to Hittite rock reliefs (1988), including a good photograph of its situation, and finally in H. Ehringhaus's book on Hittite rock reliefs of the Empire period (2005), which includes excellent photos of one side of the rock, as well as of the continuing damage inflicted on it by alleged treasure-hunters.

An expedition starting from Kaman-Kalehöyük on September the 6th and 7th 2006 succeeded in recognising a previously unread sign, thus revealing that previous interpreters had mistaken the gender of one of the persons whose name appears on the rock. This unique appearance of a "Hittite" princess on a rock-cut inscription should alone be enough to justify a further edition. It was, however, co-incidental to the original intention behind the expedition, which was the closer inspection of specific sign-forms at Malkaya and their possible comparison with hieroglyphic sign-forms from Boğazköy and Kaman-Kalehöyük. For this purpose, a new copy was made of the inscription by tracing directly from the rock and is presented here¹⁾.

The expedition was very generously supported by Dr. S. Omura, director of the Kaman-Kalehöyük excavation, as well as by the director and further

representatives of Kırşehir museum. Sincere gratitude is here due to these. The expedition consisted of Prof. J.D. Hawkins, Dr. D. Yoshida, M. Weeden, N. Zaitseva (conservator), T. Oshima (photographer) and Osman Bey (driver).

Malkaya lies 8km West of Kırşehir in a plain below a steep incline with rock crag at its top. There are no ancient settlements in the immediate environs and inspection of the hill-top did not reveal pottery remains. The speculation of H. Th. Bossert to the effect that this was an inscription by a random hunting party is thus comprehensible, although other explanations are equally conceivable. The rock itself may have fallen from the crag above at some time before being inscribed. The rock is soft, porous limestone. It contained inscriptions on all sides, which are grouped and numbered differently by Meriggi, Bossert and ourselves:

Bossert	South	West	North (3 inscr.)	East (2 inscr.)
Meriggi	South	West	North a, b, c (right to left)	East a+b
Ehringhaus	South	SW	WNW (310°), West	North (?)
Authors	Inscr. 1 South	Inscr. 2 SW	Inscr. 3, 4, 5 (r. to l.- West to NW)	Inscr. 6 East

There is some confusion about the compass directions between the different authors. Clearly, however, Bossert and Meriggi's "North" side is on the West and North-West²⁾.

Bossert and Meriggi both treat the series of inscriptions on their "North" side as progressing from right to left (clockwise), at least partially, although the direction of reading on their "South" and "East" sides

¹⁾ See figures, with photographs by T. Oshima.

²⁾ We had difficulty taking a compass reading with a traditional compass on the site ourselves.

progresses from left to right (counter-clockwise). Bossert continues in this counter-clockwise direction with the first inscription on his “North” side, but then jumps to the opposite end of the “North” side to read the other two inscriptions clockwise. Both Meriggi and Bossert read the traces on their “West” side, our inscription 2, in final position.

An opposed system of approach has been chosen here, although one should be clear that it is hard to identify the system of approach with a system of composition. The inscriptions are given numbers running in a continuous clockwise direction around the rock, beginning with “Inscription 1”, which carries the largest writing of the most frequently mentioned name and title, and following the direction of the most clearly directed part, being the three inscriptions of the West side (Meriggi and Bossert’s “North”).

Besides the damage inflicted by treasure-hunters, who have drilled several holes into “Inscription 1” since Bossert’s day thus rendering it even more illegible, as well as attempting to blow the whole rock to smithereens by drilling a dynamite funnel into the top, we must also register that possible damage has been caused to the surface of the rock by Bossert’s efforts to clear the surface algae with hydrochloric acid followed by the application of a (wire?) brush (Bossert 1958: 327).

The “text” of the inscription thus reads as follows:

Inscription 1 (fig. 1)

L.324-VIR.*zi* REX.FILIUS
“x-*ziti*, prince”

For the damage caused to this by drills since Bossert’s time, see Ehringhaus *loc. cit.*

Inscription 2

pari x FEMINA
“*pari-na* (?), woman/wife/mother”

In Bossert’s time the rock had already been attacked with dynamite on this side. A large chunk of rock now lies on the floor with the paltry remains of Bossert/Meriggi’s “West” inscription, our “Inscription 2”. We were unable to make any progress with this in

photographs or tracings, and must therefore rely on Bossert’s chalk tracings, which he himself declares to be unreliable (TAB. XXIV, Abb. 15; TAB. XXII, Abb. 11). A hypothesis as to the content is, however, possible.

The sign FEMINA, “woman, wife, mother”, occurs to the left of one top sign resembling *pari*, with the “tongue” of the profile facing rightwards. The bottom sign is not all too different from a *na*, although with a peculiar vertical orientation. Given that the name x-*parinaia* (vel sim.) occurs twice more on the inscription, it is at least possible that this is another example of this name.

Inscription 3 (fig. 2)

L.324-VIR.*zi* REX.FILIUS X-*pari-na-ia* REX.FILIA
“x-*ziti*, prince, x-*parinaia*, princess”

The state of preservation of the main name-element sign from “Inscription 1” has suffered particularly, there under the drill-bit, but in “Inscription 3” possibly as a result of corrosion (see fig. 6). The two names are written each in two columns next to each other, each stepping slightly leftward at the third sign and with the titles written to the left of the bottom sign in each case.

The “hand” part of the sign FILIA has a very square bottom “fist”. The FEMINA sign beneath it was mistaken for VIR₂ with the reversed crampon by earlier editors. Its left side is certainly very straight for the FEMINA sign, but the cut goes all the way round and is not divided into two strokes.

The *zi* sign is sinistroversive. Here as elsewhere in the inscription, the sign REX sometimes lacks a bottom horizontal.

The sign SCRIBA which Meriggi claimed to have made out on a photo, appears to have been an illusion (Meriggi 1975: 286, terza serie TAV. V.).

Inscription 4 (fig. 3)

L.324 (?) - VIR.*zi* REX.FILIUS BRACCHIUM-MI-ti
FILIUS X-*pari-na-ia* REX.FILIA
PES₂.PES-*zi/a*
“x-*ziti*, prince, son of x-*miti*, x-*parinaia*, princess
they (?) (are) x (-es)”

The names are written vertically but turn

boustrophedon-style with the second name and title. Both *zi/a* in the name *x-ziti* and in the word *PES₂.PES-zi/a* are sinistroverse, which may indicate that the final part of this inscription is not to be considered part of the boustrophedon arrangement, and thus to be considered separately.

The second name in the series, *BRACCHIUM-MI-ti* is not identified, partly due to the fact that the (Hittite/) Luwian reading for “arm” is unknown. Given that Prince *x-ziti* apparently may also be the son of Ura-Tarhunda (cf. inscr. 5), one might plausibly suggest that this is his mother’s name. However, see discussion of *personae* in the interpretation section.

PES₂.PES occurs on the KOCAOĞUZ-stele in Afyon museum as an onomastic element in the name of a prince: *PES₂.PES CANIS.IACULUM. CANIS. IACULUM* may here be the prince’s title, “hunter with dogs”³⁾. Here too the phonetic realisation of *PES₂.PES* is unknown⁴⁾.

The syntactic function of *PES₂.PES-zi/a* in Malkaya is also obscure. A nominative plural noun is a possibility, although the *zi/a-* element of the sign-group could also represent the sound at the beginning or in the middle of the word. From later hieroglyphic the sign-group *PES₂-zi/a-* could correspond to the verbs (“*PES₂*”) *paza-*, “go, live” (Melchert *Fs. Morpurgo-Davies* “allocate”) or (“*PES₂*”) *waza-*, “carry (?)”. A possible reading here could be: *PES₂-zi/a-ti* for *pazanti* “they go, live”

Inscription 5 (fig. 4)

L.324-VIR. *zi* REX.FILIUS URBS.PATER.MATER MAGNUS.TONITRUS-*tá* INFANS

“*x-ziti*, prince, (of the) city (the) father (and) mother, son of Ura-Tarhunda”

The peculiar ordering and spacing of the signs appear to have been dictated by the contours of the rock. Under this interpretation, which allows priority to the signs in an order going from right to left, *URBS.PATER. MATER* is another title of prince *x-ziti*.

³⁾ Hawkins 2006: 61 for interpretation of L.109. L.285 as *CANIS. IACULUM*, a title. For interpretation as part of the name, see Şahin/Tekoğlu 2003.

⁴⁾ Şahin/Tekoğlu 2003 interpret *PES₂.PES* as having the value *TARPA-*. This does not appear to be relevant for Malkaya.

The crampon used as the male determiner under the sign *INFANS*, as copied by Meriggi and Bossert, was not visible.

Inscription 6 (fig. 5)

L.324-VIR. *zi* REX.FILIUS <<MAGNUS.TONITRUS>> MAGNUS.TONITRUS-*tá*

“*x-ziti*, prince (and) Ura-Tarhunda <<Ura-Tarhun (da)>>”

This was divided into two inscriptions by Bossert: one detailing Ura-Tarhunda (the son) of Ura-Tarhunda, the other *x-ziti*, the prince. We take both as one inscription, albeit with 1 meter between. The upper example of *MAGNUS.TONITRUS* without the phonetic determinative *tá* could be taken as a false start. The two names, *x-ziti* and Ura-Tarhunda, perhaps needed to be more parallel to one another in height, although this is not achieved due to the contours of the rock.

INTERPRETATION

Following the order and interpretation given here the inscriptions proceed from *x-ziti* the prince through details of his wife (?) and parentage to the final inscription (6) with his and his father’s name parallel to each other.

Striking here is that *x-ziti* is a *REX.FILIUS*, “prince”, but neither of the figures taken as his parents is a king. The name is not known from the Hittite royal family of the Empire Period. As is well known, the title *REX.FILIUS* was used by officials who were not actually sons of kings (cf. Imparati 1975: 87ff.) . If we accept that *x-ziti* was one of these people, then we can probably exclude that the princess *x-parinaia* was his sister⁵⁾. She must have been either his wife, and thus made into a “princess” when he became a “prince”, or she was an otherwise unknown female member of the royal family and he became a prince when he married her. The possibility that she was his mother, which would also explain how he was a prince, is less likely, due to the fact that he already has two parents detailed and one of

⁵⁾ Professor A. Morpurgo-Davies kindly points this out.

these, Ura-Tarhunda, is not a prince or king. Adoption, or yet other relations between the names, cannot be excluded however.

It is also possible that the INFANS after Ura-Tarhunda in inscription 5 is an error, the completion of the crampon as male determiner under the “hand”-component of the sign being prevented once this was realised. In this case BRACCHIUM-*MI-ti* would be the father. In fact, one might expect the father to be mentioned first in a genealogy, but one cannot second-guess conventions in a context we know so little about. *x-parinaia* could then be the mother, but the relationship to Ura-Tarhunda would be obscure.

On the other hand one might also countenance the possibility that the INFANS in inscription 5 does not designate “son of” at all, as it is unusual in this inscription to express genealogy without using FILIUS (with the “crampon” under the “hand”), but that Ura-Tarhunda in Inscription 5 is in fact the “child” of L.324-*ziti*. Inscription 5 in this case would read:

“(of) *x-ziti*, father (and) mother to/of the city, Ura-Tarhunda (is) (his) child”.

This would allow BRACCHIUM-*MI-ti* to be the father of L.324-*ziti*, as one might indeed expect the father’s name to be given first in a genealogy.

The seals from Boğazköy and Tarsus characterise L.324-*ziti* as a scribe, not as a prince⁶. The two designations are not mutually exclusive, and there are a number of examples in the Nişantepe archive of persons with one seal designating them as “prince” and another as “scribe” (Herbordt 2005: 111).

The further characterisation of L.324-*ziti* as “father (and) mother to/of the city”, recalls the phrase used in the bilingual Phoenician/Luwian KARATEPE inscription (end of the 8th century BC) to describe Azatiwatas’ relationship to the city of Adana: “Tarhunzas made me mother and father to Adanawa”⁷. It also recalls the action of Pithana, the father of Anitta, to the inhabitants of Nesa (Kaneš): “he made them fathers and mothers” in the Old

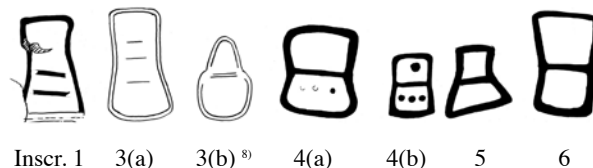
Hittite “Anitta” text.

Several individuals called Ura-Tarhunda are known from Empire Period cuneiform and hieroglyphic sources. However, none apparently matches the prosopographical possibilities sketched above (cf. van den Hout 1995: 157-164). One Ura-Tarhunda appears on one side of a seal with a “princess” on the other side although he does not appear to be a prince himself (ibid.:164). The princess’s name is only legible enough to exclude *x-parinaia*.

A later Ura-Tarhunda is the “great king” of the hieroglyphic inscription KARKAMIŠ A4b. This inscription is from the 10th century, although Ura-Tarhunda may himself belong to the 11th century. He has a father with the name *x-pa-VIR.zi*, a name ending in *-ziti*. An equation with the Ura-Tarhunda of Malkaya is excluded by its palaeography, which dates it to the Empire Period. See in particular the form of *pari* at Malkaya and the discussion concerning the sign-form of *i(a)* below.

Sign-forms: L.324

This forms the first element of a name ending in *-ziti*, written L.324-VIR.*zi*. The first, upper element of the name is unclear, but has been associated with a similar sign on seals from Tarsus and Boğazköy, L.324. The forms of this sign at Malkaya, are by no means uniform, as far as can still be seen.



We assume the identity of all forms of this sign on Malkaya that are contained in the name “*x-ziti*”: forms 1, 3(a), 4(a), 5 and 6. Forms 3(b) and 4(b), on the other hand, are prefixed in some way to the name *x-pari-na-ia*, which may suggest that they are related, although clearly having very different shapes. The form of 4(b) may suggest a relation with the other forms from the name L.324-*ziti*. However, the presence of a dot in the upper

⁶ SBo II 127, 133 (?); Herbordt 2005 no. 641-642; Tarsus 4, 5 (Goldman 1956: pl. 405).

⁷ Hawkins 2000: 49. *wal-i-mu-u* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa á-TANA-wal-i-ll-ia* (URBS) MATER-*na-tí-na tá-tí-ha i-zi-i-tà*. The Phoenician has a slightly different construction: “Baal made me as father and as mother to the DNNYM”.

⁸ The signs 3(a) and 3(b) have particularly eroded since Bossert’s day (fig. 6). See the tracings from squeezes on TAB. XXI Abb. 8 in Bossert 1958.

register of 4(b) may be significant.

The sign-forms in the name L.324-*ziti* on the seals from Boğazköy and Tarsus similarly distinguish between those which have a narrower top than bottom and those which have top and bottom being roughly the same size, if they are in fact the same signs⁹⁾. None of them have a dot in the upper register. E. Laroche suggested identity with SIGILLUM (L.327), the sign representing a “seal” (Luwian *sasa-*), although this generally has a more pronounced “handle”¹⁰⁾. If this were the case the name could be read *Sasa-ziti*. This name is otherwise unknown¹¹⁾. It may, however, be related to a professional title known from Boğazköy sealings and from cuneiform Hittite texts: (DOMUS) SIGILLUM = (?) LÚ É^{NA4}KIŠIB (Hawkins apud Herbordt 2005: 309). However, equation of L.324 with the sign SIGILLUM (L.327) is far from assured.

It remains unclear if the signs 3(b) and 4(b) are to be related, or how they could then be read. This is all the more frustrating given that the name *Par(i)naia*, although not otherwise attested, appears to be a regularly formed and explainable name: *pari* “in front”, *naia* “lead” (vel sim.). Addition of a further syllable or element beforehand is disconcerting, even assuming we can safely identify sign-forms 3(b) and 4(b) with each other. The writing is possibly phonetic, [?]*sa*₃[?]-*pari-na-ia*, although it is difficult to connect this with any known name or compositional complex: [?](*S*)*par(i)naia*[?], [?](*Sas*)*parinaia*[?], etc., none of which are otherwise attested or immediately analysable. The first element, and thus the entire name, remains a mystery.

⁹⁾ Hawkins apud Herbordt 2005: 285f. SBo II 127 (Empire Period style) has a much shorter and fatter sign than SBo II 133 (pre-Empire Period). This latter, taller and thinner sign is most probably to be kept separate (collation in Ankara Museum, October 2007). Tarsus 4 (Goldman 1956 pl. 405, an Empire Period seal impression) clearly has the same name, the sign L.324 having two dots in the lower register, and Tarsus 5 probably has it too (ibid., crudely carved biconvex button seal from Iron Age context). Tarsus 4 has the name qualified by the office of “Scribe”, while Tarsus 5 simply has *BONUS VIR*, “good man”.

¹⁰⁾ For the Empire Period form of SIGILLUM, L.327, see Emirgazi §36, Altar B, Hawkins 2006: 55, 72 fig. 6.

¹¹⁾ Bossert’s tentative suggestions that the sign be either L.322 (*suppi-*), or L.325 (*tu*) are unlikely due to the sign’s orientation. See Bossert 1958: 340ff.

i(a) (L.209)

The form of *i(a)* in Malkaya is unusual and bears some resemblance to a sign attested at Kaman-Kalehöyük on several seal-impressions including the frequently occurring “Seal 1”. This has otherwise been interpreted as a form of VITIS (L.160, the vine) with the acrographic phonetic value *wi(ya)* from Hittite/Luwian *wiyana-*, “wine” (tentatively Yoshida 2006: 155f.)¹²⁾. It is submitted here that the Kaman-Kalehöyük sign might alternatively be interpreted as an “ear of corn” (L.157.2), possibly with the phonetic value *i(a)*, as at Malkaya. See also SBo II no. 256 and Alaca Seal 4 (to be read *á-ia*). Further speculation about how an “ear of corn” came to signify *i(a)* is presently inadvisable. This gives a viable name for the central panel of “Seal 1” at Kaman-Kalehöyük, *Naia*, which may share an element with the second half of the name *x-Parinaia* at Malkaya. The Kaman-Kalehöyük seals are, however, to be dated to the first half of the 14th century BC, thus significantly earlier than the Malkaya inscription. It may be that Malkaya has preserved an archaic form of *i(a)* deriving from a local writing tradition. A selection is given below for comparative purposes:



K-K Yoshida
2006: Abb. 713

K-K Yoshida
2006 Abb. 10

K-K Yoshida
2006 Abb. 9

SBo II 256

Mal. inscr. 4

inscr. 5

The differences between the Kaman-Kalehöyük and the Malkaya versions of the signs are partly to be explained by the fact that Malkaya is incised whereas the Kaman-Kalehöyük (and Boğazköy) forms are in relief. In both cases one notes a “head” with what appear to be arms of some kind with an open bottom. Two examples from Kaman-Kalehöyük are closed at the bottom (see also Yoshida 2006: Abb. 7).

¹²⁾ This sign (L.157.2) is now attested on two seals from Boğazköy at Dinçol / Dinçol 2008: Nr. 14, 194, discussion pp. 20, 46, where the identification of the signs L.157.2 and L.160 is also proposed and a reading *wi(ya)* also followed. A reading L.157.2 = *i(a)* is also possible in these cases, however. Space does not allow for a full discussion of this here.

¹³⁾ With photo of sign from bulla 95000039.

CONCLUSION

The Malkaya rock inscription still holds a number of mysteries and there is further work to be done. The elucidation of the precise nature of the signs here subsumed under the catalogue entry L.324 is still outstanding.

The inscription contains a series of details concerning the family of L.324-*ziti*, a prince and “father and mother to/of the city”. It either proceeds from him through his wife, the princess *x-parinaia*, then his mother to his father, or alternatively from him through his wife, then his father to end up with his child. If the latter, a child’s birth may conceivably have been the occasion for the making of the inscription. It is not possible at present to link the inscription in with definite historical personalities. The “city” mentioned will have been local, as Bossert already surmised.

The writing is typical of the Empire Period, but may contain at least one local, archaic feature, possibly to be compared with Kaman-Kalehöyük.

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- Abbreviation*
SBo II = H.G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy, Zweiter Teil, Die Königssiegel von 1939 und die übrigen Hieroglyphensiegel*, AoF Beiheft 7, Berlin 1942.
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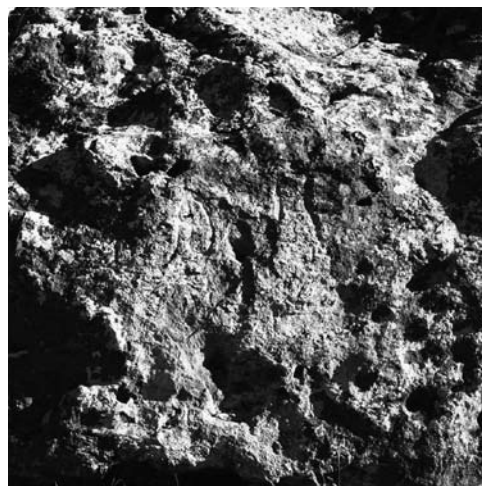


Fig. 1 inscr. 1



Fig. 2 inscr. 3



Fig. 3 inscr. 4



Fig. 4 inscr. 5

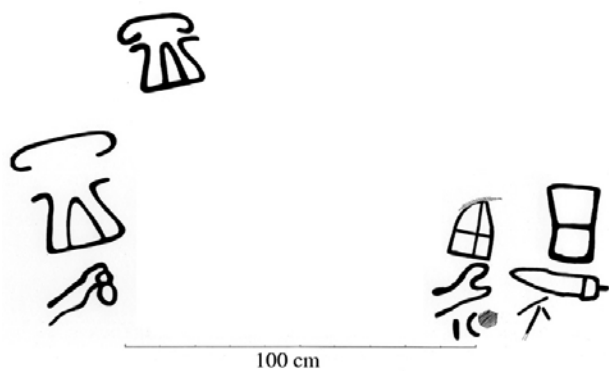


Fig. 5 inscr. 6



Fig. 6 (detail of inscr. 3) showing damage since Bossert



Fig. 7 Malkaya North-West, West, South-West



Fig. 8 Malkaya, East Side

