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The City of Togarma in Neo-Assyrian Sources¹

For Prof. Tomoo Ishida, my teacher,
on his 75th birthday

1. Introduction

Togarma is mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, specifically in the table of nations in Genesis (10:3), as one of the three sons of Gomer, himself a son of Japheth and grandson of Noah. The house of Togarma (Beth-Togarma) is referred to in the book of Ezekiel (27:14) as the source of Anatolian horses for Tyre, the Phoenician mercantile city. The biblical Togarma is well attested in Old Assyrian and Hittite cuneiform documents as Tegarama, Takarama, etc., a city or region located on a route between Syria and central Anatolia.² It may perhaps be identified with the city called La/ukarma in the hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from Karahöyük (Elbistan), probably written in the twelfth century BC³, and has also long been identified with Til-garimmu, referred to in the inscriptions of two Neo-Assyrian kings, Sargon II (722-705 BC) and Sennacherib (705-681 BC).⁴ The city thus survived with basically the same name from at least the beginning of the second millennium BC down to the seventh century BC.⁵ It has generally been identified with modern Gürün, classical Gauraena, located on the upper course of Tohma-Su, the stream flowing into the Euphrates

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² For references, see Nashef (1991), 117 (*sub* Tegarama); del Monte – Tischler (1978), 383f. (*sub* Takarama); del Monte (1992), 154.

³ Hawkins, (2000), 288–295 and pls. 133–134, esp. § 16. The identification was first suggested by E. Laroche (as cited in Hawkins [2000], 294b); cf. also Na’aman (1982), 430. Hawkins prefers to read the city name as Lukarma, noting that the sign *la/li/lu* might be expected to have the value of *lu* only in the early period of composition (Hawkins [2000], 294).

⁴ For references, see Parpola (1970), 353–354 (TIL-GARIMMU), and below, Table 1.

⁵ The variation of spelling probably reflects the **tl*-sound at the beginning of the original Anatolian place name (Na’aman [1982]). The Late Assyrian spelling Til-garimmu appears to have been formulated on the basis of this original sound, with the etymological interpretation of the first element *tl*- as the Akkadian word *tīl*- “a mound, hill”.

via the Malatya plain.⁶ Some scholars, however, have raised doubts about this identification.⁷ This paper reviews the evidence relating to this city in Neo-Assyrian texts, while adding a number of new references. It will scrutinize the geopolitical “continuity and discontinuity” of the city and its surroundings from the Assyrian viewpoint.

Table 1: References to “Togarma” in Neo-Assyrian Sources

Spelling	Text references*	Date	Historical Details
URU <i>Ta-ga-ri-[im-mu/e]</i>	Yamada (2000b), 81: 187’.	835 BC	Shalmaneser III conquered the city during his campaign to <u>Melid and Tabal</u> .
URU DU ₆ - <i>kar-me</i>	Tadmor (1994), 66 (Ann. 13*): 9	743-738 BC	Tiglath-pileser III conquered and annexed the city, which had <u>belonged to Gurgum</u> .
URU DU ₆ - <i>kar-me</i>	Tadmor (1994), 104 (St. II B): 14’		
URU [DU ₆]- <i>ga-ri-im-me</i>	Fuchs (1994), 127 (Ann.): 210	711 BC	Sargon II captured the city and annexed it with the whole <u>land of Kammanu</u> , which probably included both the cities of Til-garimmu and <u>Melid</u> .
URU DU ₆ - <i>ga-ri-im-me</i>	Fuchs (1994), 127 (Ann.): 213		
URU DU ₆ - <i>ga-rim-me</i>	Fuchs (1994), 216-7 (Prunk.): 81, 82		
URU DU ₆ - <i>ga-ri-im-me</i>	Heidel (1953), 151: 30	695 BC	Sennacherib conquered and destroyed the city that was “ <u>on the border of Tabal</u> ”.
URU DU ₆ - <i>ga-ri-[im-me]</i>	Luckenbill (1924), 62: 2		
URU DU ₆ - <i>ga-rim-me</i>	Luckenbill (1924), 77: 24		
URU DU ₆ - <i>ga-rim-mu</i>	Luckenbill (1924), 86: 19		

* For details of the text references, see further below, nn. 11, 19, 35, 42 and 43.

2. The Assyrian Invasion of Anatolia during the Ninth Century BC

After the decline of the Hittite Empire, Tiglath-pileser I of Assyria (1114-1076 BC) invaded eastern Anatolia twice, reaching Melid in the Malatya plain on the western bank of the upper Euphrates.⁸ A period of Assyrian decline in the eleventh and tenth centuries

⁶ Forrer (1920), 75; Veenhof (1980), 42f.; Forlanini – Marazzi (1986), Map XVI; Parpola – Porter (2001), 2 and 17 (Tilgarimmu).
⁷ For example, Nashef, (1991), 117; Hawkins (1993–1997), 36b (locating it in the plain of Elbistan); cf. Hawkins (1995), 90; Hawkins (2000), 285, n. 45.
⁸ The first invasion was probably in his third regnal year (Grayson [1991], A.0.87.1, v 33–41), and the second some time later (ibid., A.0.87.4, ll. 31–33); cf. Hawkins (2000), 283.

BC intervened, but was followed by the resumption of Assyrian expeditions to the west from the ninth century BC onwards. Repeated Assyrian incursions sought to gain control over the Habur region, Syria and then eastern Anatolia. As part of this trend, Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) campaigned in the countries of south-eastern Anatolia⁹, such as Que, Tabal and Melid (839, 836-835, 833-831 BC).¹⁰ His control of these regions gave the Assyrians access to the Anatolian resources of stone, metals and probably horses.

The first attestation of the toponym in question, Togarma, is found in an inscription of this Assyrian king, as I have already discussed elsewhere.¹¹ The inscription is one of the two latest versions of the king’s annals, engraved on the statue of the king found at Calah by British excavators in the 1950s (ND 5500, IM 60496).¹² The pertinent passage (ll. 181’b–194’a) records a campaign against Melid and Tabal in 835 BC:

[In my 23rd *palû*] (182’) I crossed the Euphrates (and) received [the tribute of the kings of Hatti]. (183’) I departed from the towns [of the land of Hatti], (184’) traversed Mt. Pala[...] and went down to [the towns of Lalla of Melid]. (185’) I [besieged and conquered the city of Ue[tash, his fortified city, (and)] (186’) [took] its booty. [I departed from Uetash] (187’) [and approached] the city of Tagari[mmu/e] (URU *Ta-ga-ri-[im-mu/e ...aqtirib]* ...) (188’) came to me [and seized my feet. His tribute] (189’) I received [and I imposed upon him (annual)] tax and tribute. (190’) I departed from [Tagarimmu/e] (and) approached the city/tow[ns] [of ...] (191’) The awe-inspiring radi[ance of the god Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them]. (192’) They abandoned [the town(s) and fled to the mountain] to sa[ve their lives]. (193’) I destroyed their towns [and set them on fire]. (194’) From the twenty kings of the land of [Tabal, I received their tribute].

The text is badly damaged, but most of it can be reliably restored, on two grounds: firstly, the briefer account of the campaign preserved on the Black Obelisk records that Shalmaneser III conquered Uetash, a fortified city of Lalla, king of Melid, and received tribute from the kings of Tabal in this year.¹³ Secondly, one can safely assume that the pertinent passage on the statue was composed in the formulaic language common in Shalmaneser’s annalistic texts, describing the king’s acts, such as his movement from one place to another, his destruction of towns, his subjugation of enemies and his receipt of tribute, etc.

The toponym in question is restored as URU *Ta-ga-ri-[im-mu/me]* (l. 187’). This exact spelling is not attested anywhere else, but is similar enough to Old Assyrian and Hittite

⁹ In this article, I define the countries of south-eastern Anatolia as those lying west of the line of the upper Euphrates and the Amanus mountain ridges, including Melid (Malatya), Kummuh (Samsat), Gurgum (Maraş) and Que (Cilicia) near the south-eastern border.
¹⁰ For the chronology and historical details of Shalmaneser III’s Anatolian campaigns, see Yamada (2000a), 59–66, 197–205 and 209–221. Preceding the reign of Shalmaneser III, however, envoys from Anatolian countries, Gurgum and Melid, took part in the inauguration of the new Assyrian capital of Calah, held by Ashur-nasirpal II (Grayson [1991], A.0.101.30, ll. 145–146). Thus, already at that time, Assyrian political influence extended beyond Syria over a part of Anatolia.
¹¹ Yamada (2000b), 81–85; Yamada (2000a), 214–217.
¹² Grayson (1996), A.0.102.16; cf. Yamada (2000b), 76–85.
¹³ Grayson (1996), A.0.102.14, ll. 107–110.

Tegarama/Takarama, etc., and Late Assyrian Til-garimmu/e.¹⁴ The text shows that Shalmaneser III entered lands dominated by Lalla, the king of Melid, to conquer the city of Uetash¹⁵, and then advanced to Tagarimmu, which he subjugated before receiving tribute from twenty kings of Tabal. The location of Tagarimmu suggested by this context is on the border between Melid and Tabal, and this is perfectly compatible with the geographical data given in the later inscriptions of Sargon II and Sennacherib, which I shall discuss later.¹⁶

Assyrian dominion over Syria was severely weakened after the extensive internal revolt that took place towards the end of Shalmaneser III's reign and continued for seven years, until the third year of his successor Shamshi-Adad V (826-820 BC).¹⁷ The eastern Anatolian countries now liberated themselves from Assyrian pressure, and the kingdom of Urartu, especially under the kings Menua (c. 810-780 BC), Argishti I (c. 780-760 BC) and Sarduri II (c. 760-730 BC), extended its influence from Armenia over eastern Anatolia, specifically the territories of Melid and Kummuh.¹⁸

3. Tiglath-pileser III's Military Advance to Anatolia and Til-karme of Gurgum

The seventy to eighty years of independence from the Assyrian presence in Anatolia ended with the rise of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 BC) to the Assyrian throne. This monarch, with his aggressive expansionist policy that would eventually build up a firm territorial-administrative basis for the Neo-Assyrian Empire, annexed a number of countries in North Syria and subjugated many others in Syria-Palestine and south-eastern Anatolia.

In 738 BC (his eighth *palû*), Tiglath-pileser III conquered and annexed cities of North Syria, more specifically those in the land of Unqi (Patin, Lower Orontes valley) and "19 districts of Hamath", composed of the northern part of the Mediterranean coast and inland Syria.¹⁹ After this military achievement, Tiglath-pileser III settled deportees from other lands in the annexed cities, as recorded in his annals (Ann. 13*: 1-10).²⁰ The toponyms

¹⁴ M. C. Astour restored URU *Ta-ga-ri-[ma]* in the preliminary publication of the text by J. Læssøe (Læssøe 1959, 155), and identified it with Hittite Tegarama, later Assyrian Til-garimmu (Astour 1979, 5, n. 32). I overlooked this note by Astour in my previous studies (quoted in n. 11).

¹⁵ Uetash is probably to be identified with Uita(ni), which was referred to a century later in the Annals of Sarduri II, king of Urartu (König [1967], 103, § 9, l. 55) (Astour [1979], 5, following Melikishvili). The Annals record that he marched against the land of Qumaha (Assyrian Kummuh) and conquered Uita with other cities. It appears that Uita/Uetash was located on the border between Melid and Kummuh on the Taurus plateau (Astour, *ibid.*). Thus it seems that the city, which originally belonged to Melid, was entrusted to the pro-Assyrian state of Kummuh after the campaign of Shalmaneser III; it was then conquered by Sarduri II in the middle of the eighth century BC.

¹⁶ The city Tagari[mmu/e] may have belonged either to the kingdom of Melid or to that of Gurgum, as discussed below.

¹⁷ As recorded in the Eponym Chronicle, B4 and B10 (Millard [1994], 30-31 and 57).

¹⁸ For a convenient historical overview of the Urartian advance to eastern Anatolia, see Hawkins (2000), 284b-285a and 331a-332a.

¹⁹ Tadmor (1994), 58-63, Ann. 19*: 1-11.

²⁰ Tadmor (1994), 66-69.

mentioned as the places where the deportees were settled include the cities of Kunalia, Huzarra, Tae, Tarmanazi, Kulmadara, Hatatirra and Irgillu in the land of Unqi (Patin), Šimirra, Arqa, Usnu and Siannu on the Phoenician coast, the district (*pīhānu*) of the city Tu'imme, and finally the city of Til-karme. The name of Til-karme, where Tiglath-pileser III is said to have settled 555 deportees from Bit-Sangibuti of the Zagros (Il. 8-9), is noticeably similar to Til-garimmu/e, the later name of Togarma.

The same city name is also mentioned in the inscription on the Iran Stele of Tiglath-pileser III, which was probably set up during his campaign against Media in 737 BC.²¹ The relevant part of the text (St. II B: 4'-16'), inscribed on the fragment published in 1994 (Fragment 3), summarizes the extension of Assyrian rule over Syria and Anatolia up to this time:²²

(4') The [entire] land of Bit-Agusi (5') the entire land of Patin, from the city of [...] (6') the city of Nanpigi on the bank of the Euphrates (7') the cities of Qarne, Hadatete, Da[...] (8') Qinasrina of the steppe [as far as] (9') the city of Damascus (and) the land of Hamath, (10') Mounts Hasuatti (and) Turinaqadina, the land of Siannu its entirety, the cities of Ellishu, Šimera at the foot of Lebanon, the city of Reshi-šuri, Mount Šapuna, the city of Ahta, (13') the trading post(s) on the seashore, the royal 'store-house(s)', the boxwood mountain, (14') the city of Tu'ammu as far as the city Til-karme of Gurgum (URU.DU₆-kar-me šá KUR Gúr-gu-me), (15') I annexed to Assyria, (and thus) I added many lands to the border of Assyria. (16') I added countless people unto its people.

This reveals that the city of Til-karme belonged to the Neo-Hittite state of Gurgum (l. 14'). The text contains an extensive list of lands and cities in Syria which were conquered and annexed to Assyria, up to and including 738 BC (see below), i.e. until the year of the setting up of the stele (737 BC). The list starts with the region just west of the Euphrates bend (Nanpigi = modern Membij) and continues through the steppe region in Syria to the south (Damascus, Hamath), then westwards to the Mediterranean coast at the foot of Mts Lebanon and Amanus (the boxwood mountain), and finally back to the northern part of inner Syria (Tu'imme), ending with Til-karme of Gurgum.²³ It thus covers the broad area of North and Central Syria, and Til-karme of Gurgum concludes the list, definitely marking the northernmost end of the extension of Assyrian annexation. In my opinion, this Til-karme can be identified with Til-garimmu/e, and represents a folk-etymological spelling (see below). In the following, I shall look into the account of Tiglath-pileser III's campaigns against Anatolia, in order to examine the circumstances of the Assyrian occupation of this city and to discuss some geopolitical questions.

The first military encounter of Tiglath-pileser III with Anatolian countries took place in 743 BC, that is his 3rd *palû*. Though the relevant part of the Annals from Calah²⁴ is fragmentary, it is significantly supplemented by another annalistic record preserved on

²¹ Tadmor (1994), 91-110.

²² Tadmor (1994), 102-105.

²³ For the location of the toponyms, see the notes of Tadmor ([1994], 102-105) and R. Zadok's criticism on these notes (1996, 11-12).

²⁴ Tadmor (1994), 50-53, Ann. 17: 2'-16'.

the Iran Stele, again on its new fragment (Fragment 3).²⁵ These texts reveal that an anti-Assyrian coalition was formed at the instigation of Matiil of Arpad (Tell Rifaat) in North Syria, and that Sarduri II of Urartu, Surumal of Melid and Tarhulara of Gurgum came to his aid.²⁶ A battle is said to have been fought “between Kishtan and Halpi, districts (*nagē*) of Kummuh (Classical Commagene).”²⁷ Tiglath-pileser captured the enemies’ camp and pursued Sarduri of Urartu to the bank of the Euphrates.²⁸ Though the annals break off at this point, the text of the Iran Stele (St. I B: 33’–43’)²⁹ gives information about the continuation of the campaign:

(33’) Sarduri of Urartu rode off alone on a mare and (34’) escaped into the night [...] (35’) like a crawling (creature) [...] to [...] (36’) (amidst prickly) thistles and box thorns (37’) he crawled and vanished. He returned to his land. [I departed] from the city of Huti[...] (38’) 100 cities of Tarhularu of Gurgum I overwhelmed. [...] (39’) together with the villages around them, I conquered. Tar[hularu ...] (40’) together with the nobles of his country, [carrying their] corvée baskets [...] came and] (41’) kissed my feet. (His plea) not to destroy [Gur]gum [...] (42’) I accepted. From Gurgum I departed (and) [I approached] the cities of [...] (43’) (where) I pitched camp. The city of Kadamu, the city of Al... [...] (break)

It appears that Tiglath-pileser left the realm of Kummuh after his battle with the Urartians, and marched westwards through the area of Pazarcik in order to destroy the cities of Gurgum in the Maraş plain. The Assyrian army won the subjugation of Tarhularu, king of Gurgum, and advanced further to another land, whose name is unfortunately broken (l. 42’). Though the eventual goal of the expedition is thus left unclear, it seems to have continued to the realm of Melid, the country that played a major role in the anti-Assyrian coalition. In any case, Til-karme of Gurgum was possibly conquered in this campaign.

The annals and another Assyrian chronographic document, i.e. the Eponym Chronicle, testify to Assyrian campaigns undertaken against North Syria in the following years, 742–740 and 738 BC (4th–6th *palû*, 8th *palû*).³⁰ By means of these campaigns, Tiglath-pileser III

²⁵ Tadmor (1994), 100–101, St. I B: 21’–43’. This material is supplemented to a lesser though still significant degree by several inscriptions of summary (display) type (Tadmor [1994], 124–125, Summ. 1:20–22; 132–135, Summ. 3:15’–21’; 166–169, Summ. 7:45–50). Cf. Astour (1979), 7–9 for the historical analysis of these textual data, though it was written before the publication of the Iran Stele Fragment 3 in Tadmor (1994).

²⁶ Though the position of Kummuh at this time is not described clearly in the surviving accounts, Kummuh probably remained as an Assyrian client and thus was attacked by Urartu (cf. Tadmor [1994], 168–169, translation and note of Summ. 7: 46). Sarduri II records in his own annals (König [1967], 103, § 9) that he subjugated Qumaha (Assyrian Kummuh), taking several cities including Uita (see above, n. 15), Halpa (Assyrian Halpi) and Parala. This military campaign may perhaps be identified with the battle of 743 BC. Otherwise, that campaign must have taken place slightly before it.

²⁷ Tadmor (1994), 100, St. I B: 25’–26’; 124, Summ. 1:21; 132, Summ. 3 17’–18’.

²⁸ Tadmor (1994), 52, Ann. 17:11’.

²⁹ Tadmor (1994), 100–103.

³⁰ The Annals are broken for 742–740 and only the passage relating to 738 survives: Tadmor (1994), 54–71 (Ann. 17:2’–16’, Ann. 21:1’–10’, Ann. 25:1’–12’, Ann. 19*:1–20, Ann. 13*:1–12, Ann. 14*:1–5). The Eponym Chronicle notes the military targets in these years as “to Arpad” (742), “to Arpad” (741), “to Arpad” (740), “Kullani conquered” (738) (Millard [1994], 44 and 59). Kullani is probably to be identified with Kunulua/Kinalia, etc., as suggested (Hawkins [1974], 82–83; Na’aman [1974], 37).

annexed Aramaean and Neo-Hittite states in North Syria, such as Arpad (Bit-Agusi), Unqi (Patin) and Hatarikka (Hadrach), and subjugated many other countries in Syria and south-eastern Anatolia, imposing tribute on them. The list from the Iran Stele examined above reflects the result of this series of Assyrian military activities. Til-karme must therefore have been conquered and then taken away from the realm of Gurgum, to be annexed to Assyria during 743–738 BC.

The territorial decline of Gurgum, as illustrated here by the loss of Til-karme, is further correlated with data from a different source – the well-known contemporary Aramaic inscription from Sam’al, a small state to the south of Gurgum.³¹ This text, dedicated by Bar-rakab son of Panammu, king of Sam’al, records that Panammu served Tiglath-pileser III as a faithful vassal. Panammu is said to have fought for Assyria and to have successfully led the state of Sam’al, being rewarded with the favour of the Assyrian overlord. The text in ll. 14–15 reads: “his lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, [added] towns from the territory of Gurgum [to] his (i.e. Panammu’s) territory ([...] *lgbhl. mr’h. tglplsr. mlk. ’swr. qyrt. mn. gbl. grgm*)”. The text is not free from damage and a verb “added” should be restored, but it is reasonably certain in this context.³² Thus, Tiglath-pileser III gave several towns from the territory of rebellious Gurgum to the faithful king of Sam’al. It thus appears that, as the result of an Assyrian military campaign, probably that of 743 BC described in the Iran Stele (St. I B: 33’–43’; see above), several towns were confiscated from the realm of Gurgum; some of them were given sooner or later to the pro-Assyrian state of Sam’al, while others were annexed to Assyria and entrusted to Assyrian governor(s), as in the case of Til-karme. If Til-karme is to be identified with Til-garimmu/e, as I believe, it must be sought on the northern border of the former territory of Gurgum, which faced the territories of Melid and Tabal (see below). It appears that the city became an Assyrian outpost or enclave, detached from the new Assyrian provinces of northern Syria, with the still independent small client states of Sam’al (Zenjirli) and Gurgum (Maraş) lying in between.

The east Anatolian countries seem to continue to pay tribute during the rest of Tiglath-pileser III’s reign.³³ The Assyrian presence in eastern Anatolia appears to have continued during the short and ill-documented reign of the next Assyrian monarch, Shalmaneser V (727–722 BC), who may have annexed Que as well as Sam’al, as some scholars assume.³⁴

³¹ Donner – Röllig (1964–66), no. 215.

³² Donner – Röllig (1964–66), vol. 2, 229 (“und mein Vater, [es fügte zu] seinem Gebiet ...”). Cf. also Gibson (1975), 80–81 (he restores the lacuna as [*whwsp lgbhl*]).

³³ A list of tribute-bearers concluding the historical record of the Iran Stele contains the names of Anatolian rulers from Kummuh, Que, Melid, Tabal, Atuna, Tuhana, Ishtundi, Hubishna, Kaska, Sam’al and Gurgum (probably around the 9th *palû*, i.e. 737 BC). A similar situation later in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III is suggested by the account of the campaign against the Arabs (in the 13th *palû*, i.e. 733) in Summ. 7: r. 3–13 (Tadmor [1994], 168–171), which includes a similar list of Anatolian tribute-bearers. For the detailed analysis of these lists, see Tadmor (1994), 265–268.

³⁴ For example, Forrer (1920), 70–71. Cf. Hawkins (1982), 415.

4. Anatolian Problems of Sargon II and Til-garimmu

The seizure of the Assyrian throne by Sargon II (722-705 BC), however, triggered the rebellion of countries in Syria and Anatolia against Assyria. Sargon first marched to repress the rebellion in Syria (720 BC), and then undertook a series of expeditions to various countries in eastern Anatolia, including Tabal (718 and 713 BC), Que (715 and 710 BC) and Melid (711 BC).³⁵ These campaigns enabled Sargon to bring the countries of the Anatolian plateau back to his side, keeping them away from the sphere of rising Phrygian influence. He eventually annexed several Anatolian countries as new Assyrian provinces, including Tabal/Bit-Purutash (713 BC), Gurgum (711 BC) and Kummuh (708 BC). The city of Til-garimmu is mentioned in the account of the campaign against Melid, which probably took place in the same year as that in which Gurgum was annexed (711 BC).³⁶ The account reads:

(204b-208a) In the tenth *palû* of my reign. Tarhunazi of Meliddu, who did not fear the name of the great gods – the wide land of Kammanu, which I had taken with trust in Ashur, my lord, (and) I had driven out Gunzinanu, their king, and had set him (Tarhunazi) upon his royal throne ... I had caused him to pay homage, and had entrusted the lordship over the wide countries to his hand – he (Tarhunazi) repeatedly dispatched [to Mita, king of Muski (Phrygia)] perfidious messages against the land of Ashur. (208b) In the anger of my heart, I [conquered (?)] the land of Kammanu in its totality. (209) His royal city Meliddu, like an earthen pot I destroyed, and all his subjects like a flock of sheep (210) I counted. But he himself, to save his life, entered [Til]-garimme. That city (211) like a cloud I covered. They feared the splendour of my weapons, and they opened their gates. Tarhunazi, (212) their prince, together with his warriors, I put in iron fetters; and his wife, sons (213) and daughters together with his 5,000 captive warriors, I brought into my city Ashur. Til-garimme (214) I annexed (*ana eššūti a[s]bat*). I brought into it the people whom my hands captured. The land of Kammanu in its totality (215) I had (them) occupy, and I entrusted it to the hands of my eunuch. Corvée labour, as upon Gunzinanu, (216) I imposed upon them. Ten strong fortresses I founded around it, and its inhabitants in peaceful dwellings (217) I caused to live. The cities of Luhsu, Purtir, Anmurru, Kiaka (and) Anduarsalia (218) against the land of Urartu I made strong with defences; Usi, Usian (and) Uargin (219) on the border of Muski I founded. So as to leave no exit (from those lands against Assyrian territory), I blocked their gates. Ellibir (220) (and) Sindarara against the people [of Kaska] I constructed. Meliddu, his royal city, (221) together with the district of ... I gave to Mutallu of Kummuh.

According to the text, Sargon had removed a certain Gunzinanu from the land called Kammanu and entrusted that land to Tarhunazi of Melid as an Assyrian client. Tarhunazi, however, now rebelled in his turn against Assyria. Sargon is said to have destroyed his capital city, Melid, then advanced to the city of Til-garimmu, pursuing Tarhunazi, who had sought asylum there, and eventually captured it.

Til-garimmu had once been occupied by Assyrians in the time of Tiglath-pileser III, as discussed above. It appears that the city had subsequently liberated itself from Assyrian control, probably in the disturbed period just after Sargon II's seizure of the Assyrian throne; thus it was reconquered now by Sargon.

³⁵ For the chronology of Sargon II's expeditions, see Fuchs (1994), 379–382 and Fuchs (1998), 81–88.

³⁶ Fuchs (1994), 125 ff., ll. 204b–221. I again follow A. Fuchs (above n. 35) for the date of this campaign.

Sargon carried Tarhunazi away from Til-garimmu, together with his family and 5,000 captive warriors, to Assyria. The city was annexed to Assyria, and the whole land of Kammanu was entrusted to an Assyrian state official. The city of Melid with its territory was detached from the Assyrian administration in the land of Kammanu and entrusted to Mutallu, king of Kummuh, who had definitely remained a faithful Assyrian client. The land of Kammanu, unattested elsewhere, seems to have been reorganized as a province including the city of Til-garimmu, while being detached from the city of Melid.³⁷ Ten fortresses (URU *bi-r[a]-a-te dan-na-te*) were founded, in order to defend the borders against intruders from Urartu, Phrygia (Muski) and another land, whose name is unfortunately broken off, though often restored as Kasku.³⁸ Though it is difficult to specify the location of the fortresses mentioned, their large numbers, as well as their role in facing the surrounding major powers, suggests the construction of an extensive fortification system across a very wide area.³⁹ This implies that Sargon attached special importance to the defence of this area as a focal point of his Anatolian policy.

In spite of the considerable military effort of Sargon II, Anatolia continued to prove troublesome to the Assyrians, culminating in the death of Sargon on a battlefield there. This fateful battle between Sargon and a figure with the Anatolian name Gurdi (previously read Eshpai) from a certain “land of Kulumma”, is briefly noted in the Assyrian Eponym Chronicle.⁴⁰ The battle probably took place in Anatolia, more specifically in the vicinity of Tabal, since a fragmentary passage of the Babylonian Chronicle refers to the name of “Tabal” for this year.⁴¹

5. Sennacherib's Campaign against Til-garimmu

The sudden death of Sargon destabilized Assyria's dominion over Syria and Anatolia. His successor Sennacherib (705-681 BC) definitely retained control of Syria, since he was able to pass through it in order to march to Philistia and Judah in his third campaign (701 BC).⁴² Assyrian influence in the more remote regions of Anatolia, however, was seriously weaken-

³⁷ Cf. B. Landsberger (1946), 20 f., n. 40. Hawkins (2000), I/1, 285, n. 45.

³⁸ Forrer (1920), 75; Landsberger (1946), 16 f., n. 34; Fuchs (1994), 128.

³⁹ Prof. A. Müller-Karpe drew my attention to the remains of a defensive wall on the mountain ridge of Kulmaç Dağları, south of Kuşaklı (Sarissa). He considers this wall to be the fortification system built by Sargon II following his conquest of Til-garimmu (Müller-Karpe *et al.* [1998], 109–112). It is perhaps not entirely impossible, in view of its location, to regard the wall as Assyrian, or more specifically, as a part of the defensive system “around” the land of Kammanu described in Sargon II's annals. However, it is too far north to be included in the land of Kammanu, roughly equated with the plain of Elbistan (see below).

⁴⁰ Millard (1994), 48 and 60 (B6, r. 8–10). E. Frahm (1998, 116) reads further in the entry of the next year (B6, r. 15): “the dignitaries went against Kulummaeans (GAL-ME(Š) *ina* UGU LÚ.Ku-lum-ma-a-a [...])”. This implies, as Frahm suggests, that the Assyrian army went out against Gurdi to avenge the death of Sargon, though it does not appear to have achieved much success.

⁴¹ Tadmor (1958), 97 and nn. 311–15.

⁴² Luckenbill (1924), 29–34, ii 37–iii 40; cf. Borger (1979), 68–87. For parallel texts, see E. Frahm (1997), 102–103 (T 16).

ed. The inscriptions of Sennacherib record that he sent his army against Anatolia twice, in 696 and 695 BC. The first campaign was undertaken to suppress the revolt that had erupted throughout Cilicia, including the city of Tarsus and the land of Hilakku (Cilicia Trachaea).⁴³ The campaign of the following year was against Til-garimmu.⁴⁴ The campaign account in the Annals reads:

(29) In the eponymy of Ashur-bel-ušur, governor of Kadmuhi, (30) against Til-Garimme, (31) a city on the border of Tabal, (32) where Gurdi, king of a vassal city, (33) had girded his weapons (against me) – (34) I selected bowmen, bearers of shields (35) and lances, chariots, horses, (36) and sent my royal army against it. (37) That city they surrounded (38) and by the heaping up of earth and the bringing up of battering-rams, (39) (and) the attack of foot soldiers they took the city. (40) The people, together with the gods dwelling therein, (41) they counted as spoil. (42) They destroyed and devastated that city (43) and turned it into a heap and ruin. (44) Among the spoil of those countries which I plundered, (45) 30,000 bows (and) 20,000 shields (46) I gathered from among them (47) and added (them) to my royal equipment. (48) The rest of the heavy booty of the enemy (49) I divided like sheep (50) among the whole of my camp, (51) my provincial governors, (52) and the people of my large cities.

In this latest attestation of the city of Til-garimmu in Neo-Assyrian sources, the city is described as “a city on the border of Tabal (*a-lum* [ša] *pa-a-ti KUR Ta-ba-li*)” (l. 31). The rebel was a certain Gurdi, called “the king of a vassal city (*šar URU ur-du-ti*)”, curiously a namesake of the afore-mentioned Anatolian enemy against whom Sargon II marched to meet his death. They may have been one and the same person, as suggested by E. Frahm.⁴⁵ The Assyrian army surrounded, conquered and destroyed the city of Til-garimmu, and carried out booty and captives. An interesting word play is found in the description of the city’s destruction. The text reads (on ll. 42–3): “they (i.e. Assyrian soldiers) destroyed and devastated that city”, then it continues: “and turned it into a heap and ruin (*a-na DU₆(tīli) ù kar-me ú-tir-ru*)”. This is certainly a pun on the name of the city, Til-garimmu/e, and the expression of “heap and ruin (*tīli u karme*)”.⁴⁶ This pun was probably in the mind of Tiglath-pileser III’s scribe forty years earlier, when he spelled the city name as Til-karme, literally meaning “a mound of ruin”. In this spelling, I believe, he explained the foreign city name, by means of folk etymology in his native Akkadian language, as the city that was completely destroyed and turned into a heap and ruin.⁴⁷

⁴³ Heide (1953), 146–150, iv 92–v 28 (Eponym Shulmu-beli); Cf. Frahm (1997), 87 (T 12).

⁴⁴ Heide (1953), 150–153, v 29–52 (Eponym Ashur-bel-ušur).

⁴⁵ Frahm (1997), 8, n. 29.

⁴⁶ The word play has already been noted by R. Borger (Borger [1967], 319; cf. Frahm (1997), 88b. The expression *ana tīli(m) (u) karmelim târu/turru* is often attested in Old Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian texts (CAD K, 218). It may have originated in the lexical text Proto-Ea (Landsberger [1951], 148, ii 28–29; cf. CAD K, p. 218), which includes a pair of entries: [*du-ú*] DU₆ = *tī-i*-[*lu-um*], *Ka(!)-ar(!)-mu(!)-um*. One may suppose that scribes educated with this lexical series remembered the word pair, *tīlum* – *karmum*, and reproduced it in the idiomatic expression under discussion.

⁴⁷ One need not suppose that the city of Til-garimmu/e was totally destroyed by Tiglath-pileser III, as the explanatory spelling Til-karme apparently suggests. It is possible that the spelling was adopted just for an Akkadian interpretation of the otherwise meaningless foreign name, without precisely reflecting reality.

6. Conclusion: The Geopolitical Position of Til-garimmu and the Plain of Elbistan

The investigation of Neo-Assyrian sources described here suggests that Til-garimmu/e (also called Til-karme or Tagari[mmu/e]) was located in the area surrounded by the Neo-Hittite countries of Melid, Tabal and Gurgum. This best fits the plain of Elbistan, the location suggested by J.D. Hawkins.⁴⁸ The most popular identification, that of Gürün along the Tohma-Su, is too far north to be associated with the territory of Gurgum. This conclusion may be supported by the mention of La/ukarma in the hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from the plain of Elbistan (KARAHÖYÜK), if that Luwian name is indeed equated with Til-garimmu.⁴⁹

To conclude, I will briefly review the post-Hittite geopolitical history of the Elbistan plain, where I have located Til-garimmu. The afore-mentioned inscription of KARAHÖYÜK, probably dating from the twelfth century BC, was commissioned by Armananis, a local official of Ir-Teshub, the “Great King (MAGNUS.REX)”. The text records that the “Great King” came to the land, apparently in the plain of Elbistan, and constructed cities and entrusted some of them, including La/ukarma, to Armananis. Thus the plain was placed under the influence of the “Great King”, whose homeland, however, remains unclear.⁵⁰

Thereafter, the plain of Elbistan came under the influence of Melid for a while. The hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of IZGIN, again from the Elbistan plain (probably dating from the eleventh-tenth centuries), testifies to the foundation of citie(s) and territorial gain by a king of Melid in the plain, as well as to the settling of Melidian people therein.⁵¹ This Melidian control of the plain seems to have been eroded later by the advance of Gurgum (Maraş), from the south.

The following pieces of evidence may perhaps bear witness to the Gurgumeran advance into the Elbistan plain as early as the ninth century BC. The Luwian inscription (MARAŞ 4) of Halparuntiyas II⁵² – identified with Qalparudda of Gurgum who paid tribute to Shalmaneser III in 853 BC⁵³ – tells of his conquest of a city called Hirika. This city may be identified, as Hawkins suggests, with Hiliki, one of the cities that were annexed to the territory of Melid some hundred years before, as recorded in the inscription of IZGIN (see above).⁵⁴ One may postulate, with this identification of Hirika/Hiliki, that it was located on the Melid-Gurgum border, probably in the plain of Elbistan, and that it was transferred from Melidian to Gurgumaeon control in the middle of the ninth century BC. If this is indeed

⁴⁸ See above, n. 7.

⁴⁹ See above, n. 3.

⁵⁰ Categorizing the inscription on the basis of its epigraphic style as belonging to the Tarhuntassa-Tabal group, Hawkins considers Ir-Teshub as belonging to the line of the post-Hittite “Great Kings” of Tarhuntassa, rather than those of Carchemish (Hawkins [2000], 283b, 287–291). If this conclusion is accepted, the Great King probably came from central Anatolia, the later land of Tabal.

⁵¹ Hawkins (2000), I/1, 314–318 and I/3, pls. 153–154, 160.

⁵² Hawkins (2000), I/1, 255–258, and I/3, pls. 108–109.

⁵³ Grayson (1996), A.O.102 (Kurkh Monolith), ii 84. For the well-established identification of Halparuntiyas with Qalparudda, see Hawkins (1974), 74; Jasink (1995), 71–72.

⁵⁴ Hawkins (2000), 257 and 318 (commentary on MARAŞ 4, § 2 and IZGIN 2, § 5); cf. also Hawkins (1995), 89.

the case, Shalmaneser III, who invaded the plain of Elbistan, attacking Til-garimmu (Tagari[mmu/e]) in 835 BC, found the city under the influence of Gurgum, rather than Melid. This, however, is far from being conclusive, since it is based on ambiguous evidence.

In any case, a century later, in the time of Tiglath-pileser III, Gurgum ruled Til-garimmu/e (Til-karme) in the plain of Elbistan, as discussed above. Tiglath-pileser III subsequently occupied the city as an Assyrian outpost, and then the entire plain (probably called the land of Kammanu) was eventually annexed as a province of Assyria by Sargon II.

How long it remained in Assyrian hands is uncertain. In all probability, it was lost with the violent death of Sargon II in Anatolia. Sennacherib's campaign account claims the total destruction of the city of Til-garimmu. Nevertheless, Assyrian occupation of the Elbistan plain does not seem to have continued then, and Assyrian control over the Anatolia plateau in general remained quite unstable for the rest of the Assyrian imperial period.⁵⁵

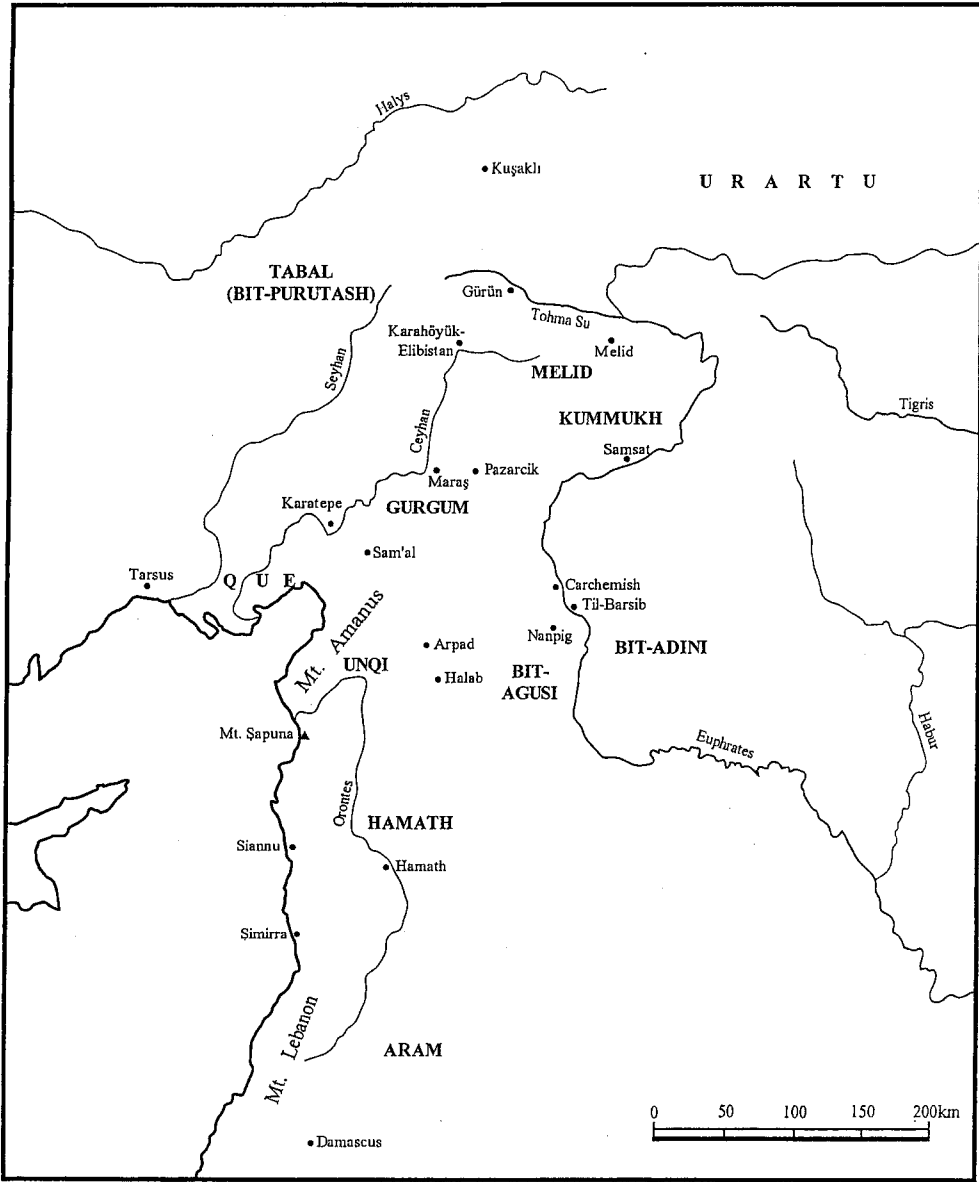
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⁵⁵ For the relations between Assyria and Anatolia in the Assyrian imperial period in general, see Hawkins (1982), 409–433.

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