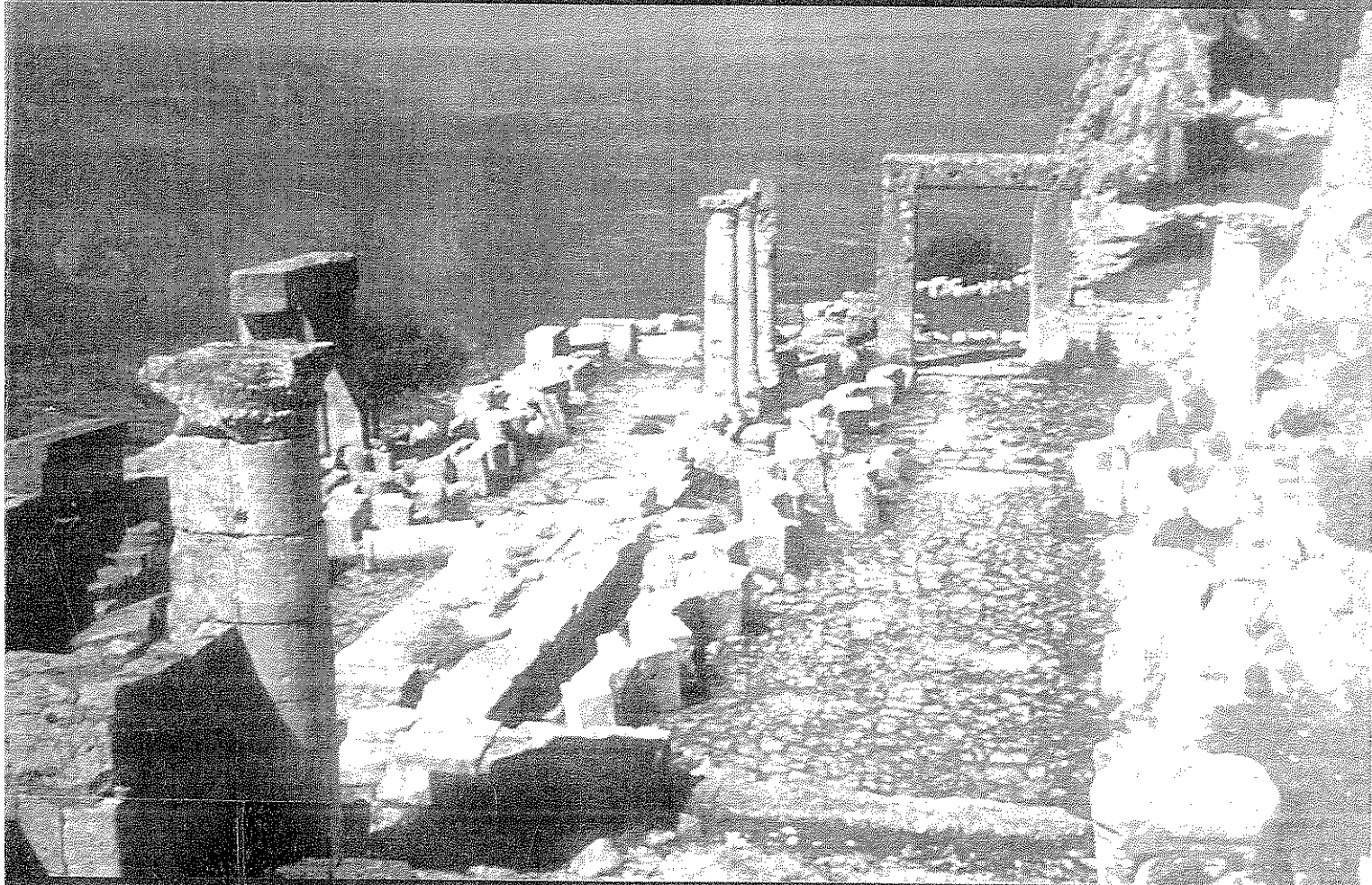


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KUZI-TEŠUB AND THE "GREAT KINGS" OF KARKAMIŠ

By J. D. HAWKINS

The recent discovery of a hitherto unknown king of Karkamiš of the Hittite Empire period is an event of some significance. This is the son of Talmi-Tešub (hitherto the last known king of the dynasty installed by Suppiluliumas I), Kuzi-Tešub by name, who is now attested on two impressions of his seal on bullae excavated at Lidar Höyük on the east bank of the Euphrates above Samsat.¹

The seal has a fine Storm-God figure standing on two mountain-men in the centre, and the rest of this area, apart from filling motifs of a rosette and an animal, is occupied by an inscription in Hieroglyphic. Around the outer circle, only partially preserved in both exemplars, is a Cuneiform legend. The Hieroglyphs divide into four groups: (1) the name of the Storm-God written above his outstretched left hand; (2) in front of the Storm-God a group reading "Kuzi-Tešub, King of the land of Karkamiš"; (3) behind him a group "Talmi-Tešub, King of the land of Karkamiš". This was all clearly read by Sürenhagen, who for the fourth group, below the Talmi-Tešub group, proposed a reading "Kuniti-muwas the King's Son".

The poorly preserved Cuneiform legend causes some problems of reading, but it certainly juxtaposes the names of Kuzi-Tešub and Talmi-Tešub, both apparently with the titles "King of the land of Karkamiš".²

Suspect features of the reading of the Hieroglyphic "Kuniti-muwas the King's Son" were pointed out to me by Dr. Albertine Hagenbuchner.³ Reflection suggested a completely different reading, i.e.:

¹Published with commendable promptitude by Dietrich Sürenhagen, "Ein Königssiegel aus Kargamis" (*MDOG* 118 (1986), pp. 183–90). An earlier and only partially preserved example of an impression of this seal was known to me from a photograph brought to the British Museum in 1981. This permitted the reading of the names of Kuzi-Tešub and Talmi-Tešub only, not the epithet. The photograph of the bulla was accompanied by another showing the reverse of a tablet with impressions of a stamp seal reading in Hieroglyphic *ku-ti-TO-NITRUS REX. INFANS* and a Cuneiform epigraph ^{na}kišib ¹ku-un-ti-^D10-ub DUMU ^{tal-mi-^D} LUGAL kar-ga-miš. The tablet is now known to be in Japan: see A. Tsukimoto, *Acta Sumerologica* 6 (1984), pp. 68, 70. At the time it looked as if the element *ku-zi-* was merely a variant of *kuniti-*, and that both names designated the same individual. The Lidar examples make this unlikely, providing the equivalent Hier. *ku-zi-* = Cun. *ku-zi-*, against the tablet's equivalent Hier. *ku-ti-* = Cun. *ku-un-ti-*. It is not known to me whether the bulla, like the tablet, has travelled to Japan. Nor of course is the provenance of the bulla or the tablet certainly known. Emar-Meskene seems likely for the tablet on internal evidence, as for a number of other tablets in the same collection. I do not know whether the bulla originally belonged with the tablet, but an Emar provenance for it too is not improbable.

²Sürenhagen read: "Kuzi-Tešub, King(!) of the land of Karkamiš, servant(!) of Kubaba, son of Talmi-Tešub King(!) of the land of Karkamiš, Hero(!)" (composite text from the two exemplars, translated into English). The main drawbacks to this are the forms of the signs marked (!) (Sürenhagen's notation). Albertine Hagenbuchner proposed an alternative reading based on the observation of the apparent sign *kišib* (taken by Sürenhagen as part of *LUGAL*) on the lower left of the circle. She would begin the reading here: "Seal (^{na}kišib) of the King of Karkamiš, Hero, Kuzi-Tešub, 'son' of the King of Karkamiš, Hero (for "servant of Kubaba"), 'son' (!) of Talmi-Tešub". While her reading *UR.SAG* (not *SU!*), in place of Sürenhagen's "servant of Kubaba", appears to be correct, her other readings suffer from the disadvantage of the insertion of the titles both times before the royal names, also the double restoration of "son".

³Principally the unparalleled combination of a Hurrian element *kuniti-* with Luwian *-muwa*; and the supposed appearance of a nom. sing. MF ending *-s*, unparalleled in Empire Period titularies; also the impossibility of reading *x + INFANS* as *REX. INFANS*, "king's son, prince" (see following note).

not *ku-ni-ti-muwa-sa* REX.INFANS,
but *DEUS-ni-ti u-ni-mi-sa* X + INFANS.⁴

This correction of the reading produces very satisfactory sense. We may now read and translate the entire Hieroglyphic legend (apart from *DEUS.TONITRUS*) as follows:

REX *ku-zi-TEŠUB-pa* REX *kar-ka-mi-sà* REGIO
REX *tal-mi-TEŠUB-pa* REX *kar-ka-mi-sà* REGIO
DEUS-*ni-ti u-ni-mi-sa* (X +)INFANS
“(King) Kuzi-Tešub, King of the land of Karkamiš,
(of) (King) Talmi-Tešub, King of the land of Karkamiš,
the son, recognized by the god(s).”⁵

This reading and interpretation avoids the earlier apparent difficulty of finding three names with no expressed relationship on a single seal, and this seal can now be unambiguously identified as that of Kuzi-Tešub alone. The evidence that he succeeded his father Talmi-Tešub on the throne of Karkamiš is also incontrovertible. Following this appearance of Kuzi-Tešub, it has also been recognized that the name does occur three times on Boğazköy texts, always in fragmentary contexts but doubtless referring to our individual.⁶

It is not possible from sources at present available to form a very clear idea of the dates of Talmi-Tešub, and thus of Kuzi-Tešub. Attested synchronisms of Talmi-Tešub with Suppiluliumas II (his third cousin) and with Ammurapi, last known king of Ugarit, merely place him generally in the late XIIIth century B.C.⁷ The four generations of kings known to have ruled Karkamiš from the conquest by Suppiluliumas I to the fall of the Hittite Empire, however estimated, are going to give rather long average reigns and generations, and the addition of a fifth

⁴DEUS for *ku*: both signs possible, but comparison with the example of either form in *DEUS.TONITRUS* and *ku-zi-TEŠUB* even on the photograph favours the identification as *DEUS*.

u-ni-mi- for *muwa-*: Sürenhagen is certainly right in observing that *mu(wa)* on Empire period seals may be written *u + mi* (but here *u* is always the full ox or ox-head Hieroglyph, never the cursive form). But he totally ignores the clear presence of the *-ni-*. For *uni-*, “know”, see following note.

X + INFANS for REX.INFANS: the element above INFANS, a small stroke or oval, certainly cannot be interpreted as REX. It must indeed be admitted that the identity, and hence the interpretation, of this element does remain uncertain. However, it can hardly be doubted, in spite of uncertainties of the reading there, that the Cuneiform legend does indeed record the affiliation of Kuzi-Tešub to Talmi-Tešub, and therefore the Hieroglyphic, whatever the status of the extra element, must do the same. Professor H. G. Güterbock tentatively suggests (by letter) the identification of the element as the numeral “one”, and an interpretation “only son” or “first son”.

⁵The verb *uni-*, “know” (written in the Late Period (LITUUS)*uni-*) has been identified by myself: *An. St.* XXV (1975), p. 150 f. app. 2; *Kadmos* 19 (1980), p. 125 f. An excellent Cuneiform parallel to the present phrase appears in a titulary of Hattusilis III: *šunit k[anešša]ndaš NUMUN-aš*, “(of) the seed recognized by the god(s)” (*KBo* VI, 28 obv. 5). A close Hieroglyphic parallel, besides that cited in *Kadmos*, loc. cit., n. 13, appears on MARAŞ I, §1h: *DEUS-na-ti* (LITUUS)*á-za-mi-sà* *CAPUT-ta-ti* (LITUUS)*u-ni-mi-sà* *FINES-ha-ti* *AUDIRE-mi-sà* *REX-ti-sà*, “the king loved by the gods, recognized by men, heard of abroad”; see my remarks *An. St.* XXX (1980), p. 142, and note that the reading (LITUUS)*u-ni-*, based on repeated collation, was not given there—I felt it to be too insecure, until the appearance of the present example provided confirmation. A useful comparable phrase has been noted on FRAKTIN by Güterbock: . . . *FILIA DEUS á-za-mi*, “. . . the daughter, loved by the god(s)” (see *FS Matouš* (ed. B. Hruška and G. Komoróczy; Budapest, 1978 [1980]), pp. 127–136). These two Empire Period writings, the Lidar seal and FRAKTIN, usefully demonstrate how the verbs *aza-*, “love”, and *uni-*, “know”, both written with the LITUUS in the Late Period, lack it earlier.

⁶Noted by Sürenhagen in his publication of the bulla: *MDOG* 118 (1986), p. 189.

⁷See Klengel, *GS* I, p. 87 f.

generation in the person of Kuzi-Tešub does not particularly clarify the picture.⁸ We can only attribute to him a general *floruit* of c. 1200 B.C., but we can hardly guess whether his father or he were on the throne of Karkamiš at the time of the collapse of the Hittite Empire, also at that approximate date.⁹

Surprising new evidence on Kuzi-Tešub appeared in the summer, 1987.¹⁰ I had long been trying to establish the correct readings of the names of the kings of Melid as given in the genealogies on the inscriptions GÜRÜN + KÖTÜKALE, İSPEKÇÜR and DARENDE.¹¹ Collation of the İSPEKÇÜR stele established the reading of the name of the grandfather of the Melidian king Arnuwantis as *ku-zi-TONITRUS*, entitled HEROS, "Hero". The same genealogy is given by Runtiyas (written CERVUS) on the inscriptions GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE, thus indicating that he was the brother of Arnuwantis of İSPEKÇÜR. On GÜRÜN the titles of the grandfather, *ku-zi-TONITRUS-sa₅*,¹² are given as MAGNUS. REX ... HEROS *kar-ka-mi-i-si-sa₅* (URBS), "Great King, Hero of Karkamiš".

Given the discovery of the seal of Kuzi-Tešub king of Karkamiš, we are surely forced to read the name of the Melidian grandfather as Kuzi-Tesub(as),¹³ and because of his titles on GÜRÜN, actually identify him as that king of Karkamiš, the son of Talmi-Tešub. A long sought piece of evidence for continuity between the Hittite Empire and the Neo-Hittite successor kingdoms is thus available with this recognition that two kings of Melid claimed descent from the great-great-grandson of Suppiluliumas I of Hatti. The genealogical information thus gained is here tabulated as Figure 1.

In estimating the likely dates of these rulers, a reckoning by generations should be useful, especially since the longer the generational sequence, the better the chance of the total life spans giving a consistent average.¹⁴ The line Suppiluliumas I to Talmi-Tešub consists of five generations, which span the period of the Hittite Empire, and the newly assembled line Kuzi-Tešub to Arnuwantis II a further five, which fall largely into the period after the collapse. Estimating a

⁸A recent review of the evidence proposes a drastically reduced date for Suppiluliumas's conquest of Karkamiš, following the lowering of Egyptian chronology, to 1325 or 1322: see below, nn. 14–15. One of the fragmentary Boğazköy references, *KUB* XXI, 7 (cf. above, n. 5), points to a synchronism between Kuzi-Tešub and Suppiluliumas II, but there is nothing to establish that he was already king of Karkamiš at the time.

⁹For recent considerations of the date of this event, see H. Otten, "Die letzte Phase des Hethitischen Grossreiches nach den Texten" (*Sitzungsbericht Öst. Akk. Wiss.* 418 (1983), pp. 13–21); I. Singer, "Dating the End of the Hittite Empire" (*Hethitica* VIII (1987), pp. 413–421). Note especially Singer's remarks on p. 418 with nn. 39 and 40.

¹⁰The actual sequence of events is perhaps worth noting. At the XXXIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale held in Istanbul, 6–10 July 1987, I made the acquaintance of Dr. Hagenbuchner, and in conversation we arrived at the readings of the seal of Kuzi-Tešub as detailed above p. 99 f. and nn. 2–5. At the Rencontre, I read a paper, "Hittites and Assyrians at Malatya", in which among other things I considered the Hieroglyphic evidence of the genealogies of the kings of Melid, including those from the inscriptions GÜRÜN + KÖTÜKALE, İSPEKÇÜR and DARENDE. But it was not until later that summer on a visit to Sivas, on 7 August, to collate İSPEKÇÜR, that I was able to establish the reading of the grandfather's name on that stele, and thus also on GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE.

¹¹Cf. my remarks in *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 76–9, esp. p. 77 n. 5.

¹²I had previously considered the first syllable to be *la/i/u*, but after the definite establishment of *ku* on İSPEKÇÜR, one can see from photographs that *ku* is a perfectly possible reading on GÜRÜN too.

¹³With the identification of *kuzi-* as a clear Hurrian onomastic element, the Hurrian (as opposed to the Luwian) reading of the logogram TONITRUS follows.

¹⁴Cf. a similar approach to the Kings of the Hittite Old Kingdom and "Middle Kingdom" by Gurney, in *Anatolian Studies ... Güterbock* (Istanbul, 1974), pp. 105–111. Cf. also the remarks of Henige, *BASOR* 261 (1986), pp. 60–3.

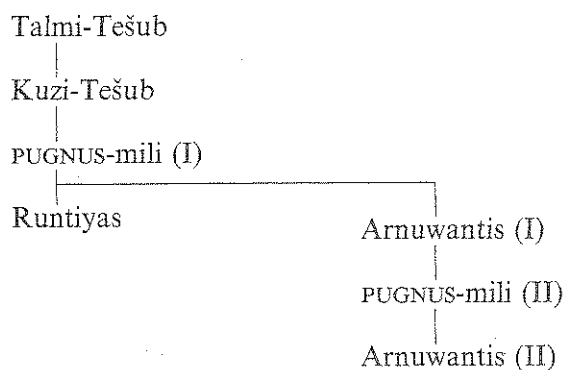


Figure 1.

generation as 25–30 years, the usual upper and lower averages, we see that the Suppiluliumas–Talmi-Tešub line fits without stress into the period *c.* 1325–1200 B.C.,¹⁵ and a like span will be expected for the second half of the line which places Arnuwantis II hardly later than 1050 B.C.

This identification of Kuzi-Tešub as the actual grandfather of two kings of Melid, which follows from the literal interpretation of the inscriptions' genealogies, gives some unexpected and perhaps problematic results for the chronology of Neo-Hittite sculpture and inscriptions.

In the context of this article these can only be outlined and left for subsequent consideration. The inscriptions GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE by Runtiyas, grandson of Kuzi-Tešub, would have to be dated not later than the second half of the XIIth century B.C., i.e. more than a century earlier than would previously have been supposed. Can we reconcile their palaeographic character with what is otherwise known of the development of the Hieroglyphic script?¹⁶

The two stelae ISPEKÇÜR and DARENDE, with their sculpture and inscriptions, are both the work of Arnuwantis II, the grandson of Arnuwantis, himself the grandson of Kuzi-Tešub.¹⁷ The literal interpretation of the genealogical information will thus date the two pieces to the fourth generation after Kuzi-Tešub, i.e. not later than the mid-XIth century B.C. This would be at least a century earlier than

¹⁵The approximate dates of the reign and the life of Suppiluliumas I were until recently generally agreed, at least approximately: accession (*aetat.* 20), *c.* 1380 B.C., reign of *c.* 40 years. This has now been sharply reduced by a recent review to: accession (*aetat.* ?), 1343 B.C., death 1322 or 1318 B.C.; see G. Wilhelm and J. Boese, "Absolute Chronologie und die heth. Geschichte des 15 und 14. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.", in P. Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?* (Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology; Paul Åströms Forlag, Gothenburg, 1987), Part 1, pp. 74–118. This actually has the effect of shortening the average length of the five generations in Karkamiš, Suppiluliumas–Talmi-Tešub, towards a reasonable 30 years each.

¹⁶The most obvious difficulty of such an early date for GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE is the occurrence of the signs *za* and *ia*, i.e. the forms differentiated from *zi* and *i* by the addition in ligature of *a*. While we have no specific evidence for the date of this innovation, the fact that it is not found on the KARAHÖYÜK stele must be borne in mind. Cf. below, p. 105 f., for the obstacle to a high dating of GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE presented by KARAHÖYÜK.

¹⁷As explained in my contribution to the papers of the XXXIV R.A.I. (see above, n. 10), forthcoming. ISPEKÇÜR is the work of Arnuwantis "the grandson", shown pouring a libation to the deified Arnuwantis (his grandfather) and the latter's deified wife (his grandmother). DARENDE is the work of a man with name written logographically AVIS, grandson of AVIS-wa/i-tá-sa₃ (genitive), shown pouring a libation to Hebat and Sarruma. The reading of AVIS as *Arnuwantis* has been demonstrated, and the identity of grandfather and grandson with those on ISPEKÇÜR is considered entirely probable.

would be envisaged by the most recent and reliable chronology of neo-Hittite sculpture.¹⁸ Can this much earlier dating be reconciled with this general scheme?

The date of ISPEKÇÜR and DARENDE has been approached largely in terms of comparison with the sculptures of the Lion Gate, most of which bear a king's name written PUGNUS-mili.¹⁹ Reference to the genealogical table, Figure 1 above, will show two attested kings of that name, PUGNUS-mili I the son of Kuzi-Tešub, and PUGNUS-mili II the son of Arnuwantis. The author of the Lion Gate could be identified with either, which would date the Lion Gate to the early or late XIIth century B.C., a date up to two centuries earlier than recent opinions favour.²⁰ Alternatively, PUGNUS-mili of the Lion Gate could be a third and later bearer of the name. How is this problem to be assessed in relation to the new evidence?²¹

In the assessment of this dynastic information a further point must be borne in mind. Tiglath-pileser I names a king of Milidia (Malatya) c. 1100 B.C., whose name has been reconstructed as Allumari.²² He would appear to belong to the period covered by the descendants of Kuzi-Tešub but is not obviously identifiable among the names of the indigenous Hieroglyphic inscriptions. How is he to be accommodated in the sequence of kings of Malatya?

If after due consideration the chronological implications of accepting the authors of the Malatya inscriptions and sculpture as the literal grandsons of Kuzi-Tešub prove too problematic in terms of the development of Neo-Hittite art and palaeography,²³ it will remain possible to lower their dates by interpreting "grandson" as indicating only "descendant." The high dating resulting from the literal interpretation should, however, first be subjected to a thorough examination to determine whether it may be acceptable.

However this may be decided, the unexpected discovery of descendants of a king of Karkamiš on the throne of Malatya is good evidence for the long suspected continuity of settlement and culture in both centres.²⁴ It is nowhere explicitly

¹⁸See Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spätheth. Kunst* (Bonn, 1971), p. 116 f.; Genge, *Nordsyrisch-sudanatolische Reliefs* (Copenhagen, 1979), p. 177 f.

¹⁹It cannot be emphasized too often that the identification of this king with Sulumal, named by Tiglath-pileser III in the period 743–732 B.C. is quite out of the question; and that the dependent reading of his name as *Suhumili*, now general in the literature, is thus without foundation. Evidence for the reading of PUGNUS is still awaited. The name is probably connected with a verb PUGNUS-mi- occurring in the EMIRGAZI inscriptions, for which cf. *An. St.* XXV (1975), p. 129 f. citation 10 (iv, vi).

²⁰Classified by Orthmann as his style *Malatya I*, and placed in his period *Spätheth. II(?)*, linked to *Karkemis II/III* (Suhis-Katuwas), etc.: *Untersuchungen*, pp. 91 ff.; cf. id., *Propyläenkunstgeschichte 14: Der Alte Orient* (Berlin, 1975), p. 430, no. 353 ("... kaum vor dem 10. Jahrhundert v. Chr. entstanden ..."); also Genge, *Reliefs*, pp. 172–9. A radio-carbon date for wood from a burnt layer underlying the Lion Gate comes out at 885–845 B.C. (M. Alessio *et al.*, *Radio-carbon 8* (1966), p. 405 f.). If this is a genuine *terminus post quem* for the building of the Gate, then it must be supposed that the sculptures, which can hardly be dated so late, must have been reused from an earlier structure.

²¹The dating of further Malatya sculpture and inscriptions depends on the examples already examined: principally that of the Lion Hunt (MALATYA 1), author Halpasulupis, linked to the Lion Gate by the epigraph of his name (MALATYA 4) on the portal lion; the Stag Hunt (MALATYA 3), stylistically close to the Lion Hunt; and the stele IZGN, author probably identical with the grandfather of Halpasulupis.

²²Text reconstructed from a number of fragmentary exemplars: Weidner, *Afo* 18 (1957–58), p. 350, = Grayson, *ARI* II, §96. The king's name occurs only on exemplars N (KAH II, no. 69, l. 8 *al-lu-x* [...]) and L (Weidner, loc. cit., Taf. XXVI, l. 31: [...]*m*²*a*²*-ri*).

²³Note in particular the difficulty of bringing the archaic features of the KARAHÖYÜK stele into too close a juxtaposition to the style of GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE, below pp. 105 f., 107.

²⁴See e.g. Bittel, *Sitzungsberichte Öst. Ak. Wiss.* 418 (Vienna, 1983), pp. 39 f., 46; Akurgal, *ibid.*, p. 76.

evidenced whether Kuzi-Tešub himself held Malatya (Hittite *Malitiya*,²⁵ Assyrian *Milidia*), so that he was able to divide his line between Karkamiš and Malatya, as had Suppiluliumas I between Hattusa and Karkamiš. For some indication, we should turn to a consideration of his titles.

While on his seal Kuzi-Tešub is entitled simply "king of the land of Karkamiš", following the titulary of his four predecessors, the inscription of his grandson, GÜRÜN, entitles him "Great King, Hero of the city Karkamiš". During the Empire Period the titles "Great King, Hero" were exclusively reserved for the Hittite king himself.²⁶ It is true that among the kings of Karkamiš, the powerful Ini-Tešub was close to the rank of "Great King",²⁷ but he never assumed the title, though on occasion he did take that of "Hero".²⁸ Further, very surprisingly, a bulla has been found at Boğazköy recently bearing impressions of a seal, which writes the name of Kurunta (of Tarhuntassa) inside the full royal aedicula of "My Sun, Great King, Labarna".²⁹ Clearly this Kurunta was of great importance, as has been emphasized recently by the discovery of the bronze tablet bearing the treaty between him and Tudhaliyas IV, where among other provisions, he is ranked with the dynasty of Karkamiš.³⁰ Elsewhere he is specifically described as a "mighty king".³¹ Yet his claim to the royal aedicula is wholly exceptional and will demand a special explanation.

In the light of these observations, how can Kuzi-Tešub's title of "Great King, Hero" best be explained? The combination of his own seal and his position in the Malatya genealogies imply that as king of Karkamiš, he not only survived the collapse of the Hittite Empire, but was able to expand his power at least as far as Malatya.³² In recognition of this, he would have been in a position, when the dynasty of Hattusa disappeared, to claim the vacant titles of his third cousin once removed, Suppiluliumas II, and of his great-great-grandfather, Suppiluliumas I.

It is doubtless significant in this regard that at least three other Neo-Hittite kings of Karkamiš also claimed the titles. On the archaic stele KARKAMIŠ A4b, both the "author" Ura-Tarhunzas,³³ and his father, x-pa-zitis, are so entitled, and on the comparable fragment KARKAMIŠ A16c, so is another king with a name probably to be read Tudhaliyas.³⁴ Whether these kings were direct descendants of Kuzi-Tešub, and thus ultimately of the house of Suppiluliumas I, cannot at present be

²⁵For the identification of Hitt. *Malitiya*, see my contribution "Hittites and Assyrians at Melid(Malatya)", papers of the XXXIV R.A.I., forthcoming; also my contribution to *RIA* VII, "Melid", §1.2, forthcoming.

²⁶See Gonnet, *Hethitica* III, pp. 18 f., 25.

²⁷The Ugarit text RS 18.06 + 17.635 (Nougayrol, *PRU* IV, p. 137 f., l. 20 f.); cf. the remarks of Klengel, *GS* I, pp. 83, 86.

²⁸E.g., in the Ugarit edicts RS 17.352, 17.68, 17.108 (*PRU* IV, pp. 121, 164 f.).

²⁹Neve, *AA* 1987/3, pp. 401-3.

³⁰Otten, *AA* 1987/3, pp. 410-2: note in particular §18.

³¹Tawagalawas letter, *KUB* XIV, 3 i 73 f.: see Singer, *An. St.* XXXIII (1983), p. 212.

³²The presence of examples of impressions of his seal at Lidar Höyük, and possibly at Emar (above, note 2) may indicate his control of these places.

³³The name is written logographically MAGNUS.TONITRUS, for which a Hurrian reading (*Talmi-Tešub*) would theoretically be as possible as the Luwian Ura-Tarhunzas. However, this ruler is to be identified in the later inscriptions of Katuwas, where reference is made to the "grandsons of MAGNUS.TONITRUS" (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§4, 30). Here the name is written 'MAGNUS+RA/I-TONITRUS-tá/ta-, where the phonetic complement indicates the reading -*Tarhunta-* rather than -*Tešub(a)-*. Cf. also the father's Luwian name, and my remarks *Iraq* 36 (1974), p. 70 f.

³⁴The reading 'MAGNUS.REX' MONS.[u] MAGNUS.REX *ka[r-ka-mi]-sà* [... REGIO.REX] confirmed by my collation of the surviving fragment, A16c1, in Ankara Museum.

known. Their relationship with the later rulers of Karkamiš, the house of Suhri, who bore the less grandiose titles "Ruler (*tarwani*-), Country-Lord of the city Karkamiš", requires a more detailed examination elsewhere.

With the recognition that four kings of Karkamiš, beginning with Kuzi-Tešub, assumed the titles "Great King, Hero", we should further consider the position of the Great King of the KARAHÖYÜK stele.³⁵ This was set up by a certain LUNA.FRATER₂³⁶ before the Storm-God of POCULUM.PES.*67-country, which is of unknown reading but presumably designates all or part of the plain of Elbistan. It has been assumed that the Great King named in the second clause was simply a local ruler with pretensions, but actually this does not necessarily follow from what is stated. This should be translated:

"When I(a)ra/i-TONITRUS the Great King came to POCULUM.PES.*67-country . . ."³⁷

Thus it may be seen that the inscription does not show that the Great King in question ruled in Elbistan, or even in Malatya. In view of the four Great Kings now seen to have ruled from Karkamiš, it may be thought likely that this ruler too belonged to that succession. The problem of the reading of the name—Hurrian or Luwian—remains.³⁸

Such an identification of the KARAHÖYÜK ruler as a Great King of Karkamiš may seem entirely probable, but the palaeography of the monument causes difficulties for the high dating of the various Malatya inscriptions, which seemed to follow from a literal interpretation of their genealogical links with Kuzi-Tešub. Thus KARAHÖYÜK shows a number of archaic palaeographic characteristics. These include: (1) the fact that the signs *i/ia* and *zi/za* are not distinguished by the adoption of the *à*-ligature forms; (2) frequent omission of connective particles; (3) frequent writing of verbs logographically without tense endings; (4) sign forms of archaic appearance (e.g. especially *ní*, *i(a)*, *tá*, *sa*, *mu*, *ma*, PONERE, DARE, CAPERE, TERRA, REL, NEG, CAPUT; (5) many signs unrecognized in the 1st millennium Hieroglyphic signary. In contrast, GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE, dated to Kuzi-Tešub's grandson, and İSPEKÇÜR and DARENDE, dated to his great-great-grandson do not appear outstandingly archaic, and in particular do not show the five archaic features of KARAHÖYÜK. The earliest possible date for the KARAHÖYÜK ruler as king of Karkamiš would be the generation after Kuzi-Tešub. Can we really envisage that KARAHÖYÜK's archaic features were abandoned in the following generation by

³⁵Note the contributions made by the recent treatments of E. Masson, in *Florilegium Anatolicum* (Paris, 1979), pp. 225–41; and H. Nowicki, *KZ* 95 (1981), pp. 251–73.

³⁶Luwian reading, Arma-nani, perhaps to be preferred to Hurrian *Kušu-šenni, a formation unparalleled in both elements.

³⁷The proper understanding of this clause depends on the recognition of the verb, PES₂ + RA/I, previously misidentified as a superfluous repetition of the sign *HH*. no. 67.

³⁸TONITRUS can of course be read either Hurrian -Tešub or Luwian -Tarhunzas as required. The first element *i(a)* + *ra/i* is open to a number of phonetic interpretations ranging from *yara*- to *ir*-. *Ir*-Tešub appears to be an attested name-form, although there are doubts as to whether *ir*- is phonetic or logographic and what it means—it is not recognized in Laroche's *Glossaire Hourrite*. The Boğazköy occurrences are confusing: *KBo* III 3 gives *Ir*-Tešub (ii 6, 9) = *DU*-Tešub (ii 10, 11, 15, 17, etc.), son of Abiratta; and *KUB* III 14, 15, etc. gives *DU*-Tešub = *KBo* I 8 obv. 8, *SUM*-Tešub, son of Aziru. Klengel follows Hrozný and Weidner in taking *ir* as the phonetic rendering of *DU* without considering the further equation *SUM* "give" = Hurr. *ar* (*Or.* 32 (1963), 41 n. 3); cf. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier*, 55, 64 ff. The Alalakh attestations of *ir*-^dIM/^dTeš(š)uba appear to confirm that *ir* is indeed a phonetic writing, since logographic writings in the onomasticon here are not usual, apart from a few divine names. Thus if we can confidently accept *Ir*-Tešub as a commonly occurring name (cf. Masson, *op. cit.* p. 234 n. 3), the Hurrian reading of the KARAHÖYÜK Great King's name may be preferred to the Luwian.

GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE? The timetable for the development of the script seems altogether too tight. This observation may be the determining factor in a decision to abandon the literal interpretation of the genealogical information in order to lower the dates of GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE and the linked inscriptions and sculpture. An alternative attribution of KARAHÖYÜK to a group of western "Great Kings" might however ease this apparent palaeographic problem (see below, p. 107).

Let us return, in conclusion, to the suggestion that Kuzi-Tešub on the fall of the Hittite Empire laid claims to the titles "Great King, Hero", which were subsequently claimed by at least three of his successors on the throne of Karkamiš, but abandoned by later rulers of the city in the IXth and VIIIth centuries B.C. A parallel development elsewhere has already been postulated by scholars and is rapidly coming into clearer focus. The powerful position of Kurunta, king of Tarhuntassa, has been noted above, in particular the clause of the treaty on the bronze tablet defining his power in terms similar to those applying to the kings of Karkamiš, and the extraordinary seal on which his name is written inside the aedícula of the Great King's titles. His descent from the royal house of Hattusa is emphasized by the treaty which designates his posterity as the "seed of Muwatallis".³⁹

In the period c. 1200–700 B.C., in the Hieroglyphic inscriptions only three further rulers, besides those of Karkamiš already noted, claimed the titles "Great King, Hero", and these all belong on the south-east of the Anatolian plateau, thus the extreme north-west of the area of the neo-Hittite states, as Karkamiš lay on the eastern frontier. The claimants are Hartapus of the inscriptions KIZILDAĞ, KARADAĞ and BURUNKAYA⁴⁰; and Wasusarmas, with his father Tuwatis, of the inscription TOPADA.⁴¹

The date of Hartapus's monuments has been much discussed.⁴² In the context of the present article I do not feel able to take issue directly with those who argue that features of Hartapus's throned figure demand a late date, perhaps VIIIth century B.C.⁴³ I will content myself simply with presenting the case for an early dating of the inscriptions, perhaps to the XIIth or XIth centuries B.C. I do not see that these could possibly be dated as late as the VIIIth century.

³⁹Otten, loc. cit. above n. 30, n. 38.

⁴⁰For the publication of the last inscription, together with a general survey of Hartapus's inscriptions, see S. Alp, "Eine neue hieroglyphenhethitische Inschrift der Gruppe Kızıldağ-Karadağ" (in *Anatolian Studies ... Güterbock* (Istanbul, 1974), pp. 17–27.

⁴¹Wasusarmas alone also bears these titles on the inscriptions of his servants at SUVASA, closely linked palaeographically to TOPADA.

⁴²See most recently H. Gonnet, "Nouvelles données archéologiques relatives aux inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de Hartapus à Kızıldağ" (*Archéologie et Religions de l'Anatolie Ancienne: Mélanges ... Naster* (ed. R. Donceel and R. Lebrun; Louvain-la-Neuve, 1983), pp. 119–25); also ead., *Hethitica V* (1983), pp. 21–8; and K. Bittel, "Hartapus and Kızıldağ" (in *Ancient Anatolia: Essays ... Mellink* (ed. J. V. Canby et al.; Wisconsin, 1986), pp. 103–111). The reading of the name of the king as Hartapusa by Dr. Gonnet in her last cited article (i.e. taking the -sa- as part of the stem and not the nom. sing. MF ending -s) was attributed to a remark of mine, but was unfortunately a misunderstanding. There are very few "cartouches" with royal names for the Late Period, but those of TOPADA (also SUVASA) do clearly write the names of Wasusarmas and Tuwatis with the ending -s. Since in this article the close connections between TOPADA and the Hartapus inscriptions are emphasized, it would seem that the -sa in the *Hartapu-* cartouches may also be safely identified as the ending -s.

⁴³Bittel previously inclined to the earlier date in agreement with Alp: see loc. cit. above, n. 24, pp. 40–2, 46. In his latest pronouncement he appears to concede the late dating, but announces his intention to re-examine the question (loc. cit. above, n. 42, especially p. 105 and n. 15).

The short, simple "cartouches" of Hartapus are not very informative or diagnostic, though it is interesting to note that they are both in relief (KIZILDAĞ 1, KARADAĞ 2) and incised (KIZILDAĞ 2). Of the somewhat longer inscriptions, KIZILDAĞ 3, KARADAĞ 1 and BURUNKAYA are incised, and KIZILDAĞ 4 in relief. These are still too short to provide much in the way of diagnostic traits of early date such as connective particles (or their lack) and verbs. But they do show the generally compressed and endless style of writing characteristic of the earlier stages, and in particular the undifferentiated form *zi/a* for *za*, and the archaic form of INFANS without the upper "crampon". Also KARADAĞ 1 has an example of the sign *HH* no. 468, otherwise known only on KARAHÖYÜK (separately listed as *HH*. no. 469). Altogether it is hard to envisage the inscriptions as having been written much later than c. 1000 B.C.

The discovery of BURUNKAYA has expanded the known sphere of action of Hartapus from the Karadağ-Kızıladağ area south-east of Konya some 150 km. to the north-east, beyond Aksaray. This inscription is only some 30 km. south-west of TOPADA, and we must now recognize clear links between the two, beginning with the very similar "cartouches" in which the names of Wasusarmas and his father Tuwatis, like those of Hartapus and his father Mursilis, are written. Yet TOPADA (and the closely associated SUVASA), for all its peculiar use of the script, must be dated to late in the VIIIth century B.C.⁴⁴ Indeed, none of the entire group of Tabalian inscriptions, including those of Tuwana, can be dated earlier than the VIIIth century B.C.⁴⁵ But it now seems clear that the Hartapus inscriptions are indeed ancestral to TOPADA both dynastically in the common titulary, and palaeographically, thereby explaining the extraordinary archaizing style of the latter.

The recognition of a group of western "Great Kings", perhaps descended from Kurunta of Tarhuntassa, could further permit the possibility of placing the Great King who went to KARAHÖYÜK-Elbistan (see above, p. 105 and nn. 35-38) in this group instead of that of Karkamiş. A journey of such a ruler from the south-east Anatolian plateau to Elbistan is just as likely as from Karkamiş. This could ease the palaeographic problem caused by the juxtaposition of the archaic KARAHÖYÜK with the more developed GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE: i.e. KARAHÖYÜK could represent a conservative epigraphic tradition of Anatolia surviving later in KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ and TOPADA; while GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE could represent a more innovative tradition, perhaps originating in Karkamiş.

Parallel situations may thus be seen to have existed both in the west in Tarhuntassa and in the east in Karkamiş as the Hittite Empire declined and

⁴⁴To be argued in detail in my treatment of TOPADA in my forthcoming corpus of Hier. Luwian inscriptions. The grounds for the late dating of TOPADA are: (1) historical—the identification of the names of Warpalawas and Kiyakias in the inscription; (2) epigraphic—the identification of Wasusarmas and Tuwatis with the rulers named in other Tabalian inscriptions (KULULU 1, ÇİFTLİK, SULTANHAN, BOHÇA, KARABURUN, NİĞDE 1, ANDAVAL, BOR, BULGARMADEN, NİĞDE 2, PORSUK) and of "private" individuals (HİSARCIK 1, KULULU 5, ERKİLET 1-2, KULULU 2, KULULU 3, EĞREK), also the economic KULULU lead strips. The few inscriptions executed in monumental relief style (İVRİZ, KAYSERİ, AKSARAY) have sufficiently clear links with the incised group. Of uncertain date are only the fragment EĞRIKOY, and HİSARCIK 2 and the ÇALAPVERDİ blocks.

⁴⁵On the whole these form a homogeneous group characterized by incised linear execution and by very full, regular phonetic writings. They include inscriptions of rulers and their servants (KULULU 1, KULULU 4, ÇİFTLİK, SULTANHAN, BOHÇA, KARABURUN, NİĞDE 1, ANDAVAL, BOR, BULGARMADEN, NİĞDE 2, PORSUK) and of "private" individuals (HİSARCIK 1, KULULU 5, ERKİLET 1-2, KULULU 2, KULULU 3, EĞREK), also the economic KULULU lead strips. The few inscriptions executed in monumental relief style (İVRİZ, KAYSERİ, AKSARAY) have sufficiently clear links with the incised group. Of uncertain date are only the fragment EĞRIKOY, and HİSARCIK 2 and the ÇALAPVERDİ blocks.

disappeared. Both Kurunta and Ini-Tešub have left evidence of positions of real power and titular claims beginning to reflect this. Evidence now further shows that Kuzi-Tešub actually did claim the Great King's titles, and this may have reflected reality to the extent that Karkamis may indeed have been left in control of a part of the Hittite Empire south-east of the Taurus stretching at least from Malatya to Emar. At least three of the subsequent kings of Karkamiš in the dark age c. 1200–1000 B.C. maintained the titular, and perhaps even some of the territory, though doubtless they were losing ground to the Arameans in the south with the formation of Bit-Adini and Bit-Agusi, and the remaining Hittite area was fragmenting into the states Melid, Kummuh and Gurgum. The sparser evidence in the west suggests that a similar process took place. Thus the titular and epigraphic tradition of Tarhuntassa seems to have survived in the inscriptions of Hartapus, whose father even bore the name of his probable forefather Mursilis II of Hatti. The tradition, possibly even the dynasty, lasted all the way through to Wasusarmas of Tabal, who in 730–729 B.C. was removed by Tiglath-pileser III and replaced by Hulli, a “son of a nobody”. If Wasusarmas were indeed descended from the Great Kings of Hattusa, that action was terminal indeed.

Bittel remarked in 1983:

“Es ist denkbar dass die Dynastie des einen oder des anderen [i.e. Hartapus and the Great King on KARAHÖYÜK] oder eines noch unbekannten Dritten wirklich von den alten hethitischen Königen abstammte, der Anspruch also einen realen Grund gehabt hat.”⁴⁶

The discoveries at Boğazköy of the bronze tablet and Kurunta bulla, and the appearance of Kuzi-Tešub's seal together with the recognition of his name in the Malatya genealogies, have speedily substantiated this observation.

⁴⁶Loc. cit. above, n. 24, p. 46.