

CHAPTER 9

THE NEO-HITTITE STATES IN
SYRIA AND ANATOLIA

J. D. HAWKINS

I. INTRODUCTION

1. *Change and Continuity*

The collapse of the Hittite Empire in Anatolia and Syria was accompanied by widespread destruction of the urban centres, and the sequence of historical record provided by the cuneiform archives of Khattusha and Ugarit comes to an abrupt end at this point. The prolonged dark age which ensued in this area is characterized by the almost total absence of any indigenous historical sources, a lack by no means filled by the very rare external references. The settlement patterns exhibit a considerable degree of discontinuity: the political centres of the Iron Age are not those of the Late Bronze Age but have moved to new sites which now rise to political prominence for the first time. The extinction of the tradition of cuneiform writing in Anatolia and Syria emphasizes the cultural break.

The immediate cause of this hiatus here and elsewhere seems to have been the large-scale population movements that occurred at the end of the Bronze Age, among them that of the Sea Peoples along the coasts from Anatolia to Palestine, that of the Phrygians into Anatolia, the Aramaean invasions all across the Fertile Crescent, and the entry of the Hebrews into Canaan.¹ However, in the area of the Hittites' most successful imperial expansion, namely south-east Anatolia, the Taurus mountains and north Syria as far as the Euphrates, it is clear that a basically 'Hittite' population survived and expanded. It seems likely that the main migration of Anatolian peoples to these territories followed the sack of their paramount capital Khattusha and the loss of central and western Anatolia. There, after a period of weakness and insignificance, they were able to revive a culture which shows clear links with the imperial past.²

These peoples and their culture may be termed 'Hittite' in a general

¹ For these events see B 471, 366ff; B 470; B 463, 529ff; B 733, 541ff.

² See especially B 545, 13ff, 26ff. This period and area have been partially treated in B 470, 422ff, 438ff; B 463, 526ff. New discoveries and fresh perspectives gained in recent research make appropriate a more extended treatment in the context of the present volume.

sense, as they were known to their contemporary neighbours, Assyrians, Hebrews and Urartians, at a time after the term 'land of Khatti' had been transferred by migration from Anatolia to Syria.³ As far as is known, these 'Late Hittites' no longer used the Hittite (i.e. Nesite) language, which vanished along with the cuneiform tradition of Khattusha, but a later dialect of the related language, Luwian, which had also been known at Khattusha, written both in the cuneiform script on clay tablets and in the indigenous hieroglyphic script on monumental inscriptions of stone. Even under the Hittite Empire, south-eastern Anatolia, the land of Kizzuwatna, had been an area of mixed Luwian-Hurrian population,⁴ while the Hurrian and Hittite migrations into Syria imposed successive layers of these ethnic groups on the formerly 'Amorite' population.⁵ When the Hittite cuneiform tradition disappeared, it was succeeded by that of the Luwian hieroglyphic. However the absence of evidence that the term 'Luwian' survived into the Iron Age may be taken to justify the designation of the people and culture as 'Late (or Neo-)Hittite'. Their language on the other hand will be designated '(Late) hieroglyphic Luwian' or, for convenience, 'Hieroglyphic'. The term 'Anatolian' will also be used to refer generally to an undifferentiated Hittite-Luwian tradition.

The Syrian Iron Age 'land of Khatti' lacked the control of any paramount capital, and was made up of a number of independent states. Typically these would consist of a geographically distinct tract of land, governed from a single capital city with dependent 'strong cities' and villages. These states, however, were far from stable, and their less clearly defined frontiers seem to have fluctuated with political vicissitudes. They were governed by dynasties whose onomastics proclaimed their inheritance of an Anatolian tradition, and whose inscriptions attest the survival of the Luwian language. In the absence of economic or other texts containing substantial bodies of onomastic material, evidence for the ethnic composition of the subject populations is limited, but where it exists, it points to the bulk of the population sharing the Anatolian affinities of their rulers.⁶

At least by 1000 B.C., a new and intrusive population group appeared in the area, namely the Aramaeans. Their penetration of Syria and foundation of their own states must have exerted pressure on the already settled Anatolian peoples, yet our sources do not suggest any fissures of the land along ethnic faults. However the neighbouring countries acknowledged the distinctness of the two peoples by referring to the lands

³ B 112, 67ff, especially n. 8.

⁴ B 500, chapter 1.

⁵ See in general B 541, III, chapters 3 and 4; cf. B 468, 17f.

⁶ See below, pp. 440f, the Onomastics. The theory of the Aramaization of the Hittite states expressed in B 463, 529 and 536 is without foundation.

and kings of 'Khatti and Aram'.⁷ The parallel term 'Syro-Hittite' will be used here to designate the gradual fusion of the two cultures which took place.

2. Historical geography of Khatti and Aram

The Syro-Hittite states formed gradually in the three centuries following the fall of the Hittite Empire, and attestations of them begin to appear in the historical sources. On the frontier of Khatti, yet in another sense its centre, the city-state of Carchemish⁸ held the crossing of the Euphrates as it had under the Hittite Empire. Immediately to its south, the large Aramaean tribal state of Bit-Adini,⁹ with its capital at Til-Barsib, controlled the Euphrates down to the mouth of the river Khabur. West of Bit-Adini another important Aramaean state, Bit-Agusi,¹⁰ with its capital at Arpad, usurped the already ancient predominance of Aleppo over this area. Bit-Agusi's southern neighbour was the large kingdom of Hamath¹¹ with its capital of the same name, modern Hama, which seems early to have incorporated the land of Lukhuti with its capital Khatarikka as its northern province, and later also the north Phoenician coastal strip from Latakiye to the mouth of the Nahr el-Kebir. South of Hamath, massive Aramaean penetration led to the rise of Damascus,¹² the centre of Aram as Carchemish was of Khatti.

North of Hamath and west of Bit-Agusi, the 'Amuq plain, embracing the lower Orontes river and a pass to the sea, was the seat of the Hittite kingdom of Unqi, also known as Pa(t)in (previously read 'Hattin'), with its capital at Kunulua – perhaps Tell Ta'yinat, the Iron Age successor of the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Mukish, capital Alalakh.¹³ To the north of Unqi at the foot of the eastern flank of the Amanus range lay the small, predominantly Aramaean state of Sam'al (modern Zincirli),¹⁴ and to the north of that, in an angle formed by the Amanus and Taurus ranges, the Hittite kingdom of Gurgum¹⁵ with its capital at Marqasi (modern Maraş). Gurgum's eastern and Carchemish's northern neighbour was another Hittite kingdom, Kummukh,¹⁶ the later Commagene, occupying a long stretch of the west bank of the Euphrates. To the north of Kummukh, on the Euphrates frontier with Urartu, controlling the north-eastern passes through the Taurus and the

⁷ B 511, §§4.2, 5.2. For these, and for Assyrian renderings of Syro-Hittite toponyms in general, see B 187.

⁸ B 581, 185; B 112, 69ff. Now B 5, VI s.p. Karkamiš, §§13–15.

⁹ B 614; B 581, 182.

¹⁰ Also called Yakhn: see B 519. For this and the following states, note in particular B 485.

¹¹ B 510; B 581, 194. For Lukhuti and Khatarikka, see below, n. 46.

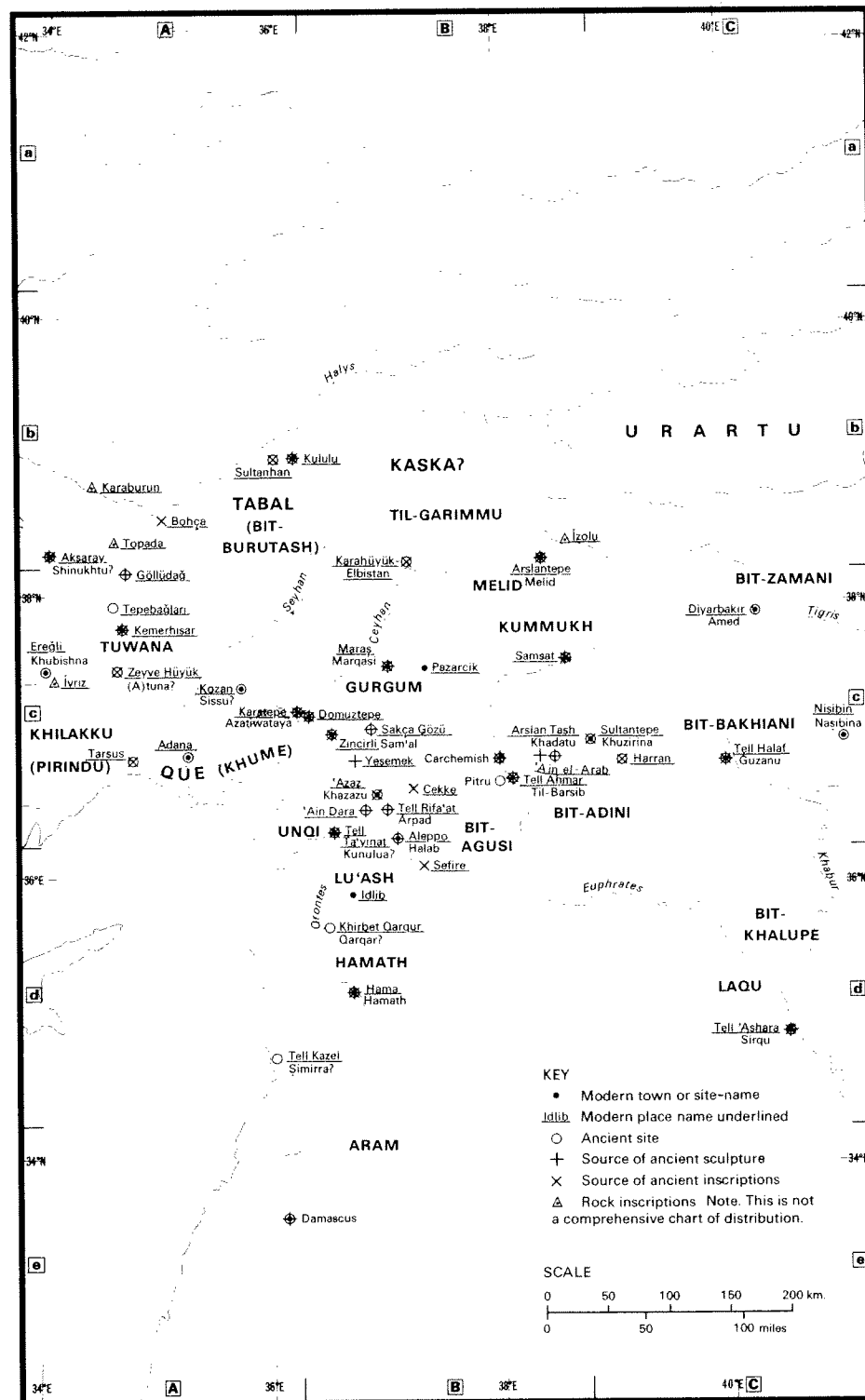
¹² B 610.

¹³ B 512; B 112, 81ff. For the location of Kunulua, see below, n. 139.

¹⁴ B 581, 199.

¹⁵ B 587; B 112, 73ff.

¹⁶ B 526, 5ff. Now B 5, VI s.p. Kummukh.



Map 14. The Syro-Hittite states.

Taurus country Til-garimmu, was Melid,¹⁷ the classical Melitene, with its capital of the same name near modern Malatya at Arslantepe. Westwards through the Taurus, the south-east corner of the Anatolian plateau was generally designated Tabal¹⁸ in this period, and seems to have been fragmented into a large number of principalities. It was later partially united into Bit-Burutash (or -Burutish) roughly corresponding to the modern provinces of Kayseri and Nevşehir, with its capital possibly at the modern village site of Kululu; and south of this, in the modern province of Niğde, the kingdom of Tuwana, classical Tyana, later established its independence and held the Anatolian end of the historic Taurus pass, the Cilician Gates. Cilicia itself was divided between the kingdom of Que, classical Plain Cilicia (Campestris), and the mountain people of Khilakku, classical Rough Cilicia (Aspera),¹⁹ and represented the southern end of the Late Bronze Age Kizzuwatna.

Beyond the confines of this Syro-Hittite world were other peoples and countries which impinged on it with varying degrees of force. To the south lay the Hebrew kingdom, soon to divide into Israel and Judah, states of stature comparable with those of Khatti and Aram; and to the west along the coast were the smaller Phoenician and Philistine states. The larger surrounding powers were as follows: in the south a normally inactive Late Dynastic Egypt; in the north-west, controlling central Anatolia, Phrygia, whose influence was only felt later in the period; in the north-east an Urartu which bore heavily on its Hittite neighbours in the first half of the eighth century B.C.; and above all, in the east an Assyria which was already a threat to the later Hittite Empire and now after a period of debility rose to become an ever more serious menace to Syro-Hittite independence.

3. *The historical sources*

The historical sources for the period consist in the first place of external textual references, primarily Assyrian, supplemented by rarer Babylonian, Hebrew and Urartian attestations. The chronological framework of the history of the Syro-Hittite states is primarily derived from the foreign chronographic documents, principally the Assyrian Eponym Canon,²⁰ the chronologically arranged Assyrian Royal Annals,²¹ and

¹⁷ B 581, 205; B 112, 76ff.

¹⁹ B 591, 27ff; B 515; B 472.

²⁰ B 245, especially the 'Eponym Chronicle', Canon type C^b, extant from the late reign of Shalmaneser III (840-) until the early reign of Sennacherib (-699); the reigns of Shamshi-Adad V and Shalmaneser V have the 'Chronicle' entries mutilated.

²¹ Cited here from B 100, Tiglath-pileser I to Ashurnasirpal II (1114-859); thereafter from the most accessible edition of each text, together with a note of the corresponding passage in B 158. References to B 48 and B 219, Tiglath-pileser I to Shalmaneser V (1114-722), included where necessary.

¹⁸ B 581, 217; B 591, 27ff.

later the Babylonian Chronicle.²² Historical detail is drawn from both annals and chronicles, and in default of the former, also from the summary royal 'Display Inscriptions'.²³ These sources are occasionally supplemented at certain periods, notably the Sargonid, by letters, contracts and administrative texts bearing on the West. The deficiency of these external sources is their one-sidedness. They document only attacks on the western states and their defeats and colonizations, never their periods of prosperity and peace.

For such evidence it is necessary to turn to the second group of sources, those provided by the Syro-Hittite states themselves. Here there are first the physical remains of their cities, of which the sites have received varying degrees of archaeological investigation. Levels of this period have been excavated at Carchemish;²⁴ Tell Aḥmar²⁵ and Arslan Tash²⁶ (Bit-Adini); Zincirli²⁷ with Yesemek²⁸ (Sam'al); Sakça Gözü;²⁹ Arslantepe³⁰ and Karahüyük-Elbistan³¹ (Melid); Tell Ta'yinat and other sites in the plain of Antioch³² and 'Ain Dara³³ (Unqi); Hama³⁴ (Hamath); Karatepe³⁵ (Azatiwataya) and Domuztepe;³⁶ Tarsus;³⁷ Zeyve Hüyük³⁸ (Atuna), Göllüdağ,³⁹ Tepebağları⁴⁰ (Tuwana); Kululu⁴¹ and Sultanhan⁴² (Tabal). Other known sites are substantially untouched, notably Maraş⁴³ (Marqasi-Gurgum); Samsat⁴⁴ (Kummukh); and Adana, Damascus, and Aleppo. Yet others are not yet certainly located, among them Paqarkhubuni,⁴⁵ Khatarikka,⁴⁶ Maṣuate,⁴⁷ Šimorra⁴⁸ and Šubutu.⁴⁹

The other principal indigenous source is the epigraphic, the native inscriptions on stone and rock faces and the often associated monumental sculpture. The inscriptions are written either in the hieroglyphic script (descended from the Luwian hieroglyphic of the Hittite Empire) and a dialect of the Luwian language;⁵⁰ or in the alphabetic script (borrowed

²² Cited from B 276 and B 98.

²⁴ B 531, B 626, B 627.

²⁶ B 608.

²⁸ B 466.

³⁰ B 478; B 593; B 585.

³² B 506 (further excavation reports awaited).

³⁴ B 510. §8 (further excavation reports awaited).

³⁶ B 612, 121 n. 2. Now B 5, v 5.0. Karatepe.

³⁷ B 503.

³⁹ B 606.

⁴⁰ B 563(f), 179; B 563(g), 116; B 563(b), 209; B 563(i), 271.

⁴¹ B 582; B 583.

⁴³ B 568, (1): 17ff, (3): 12ff.

⁴⁴ Notes of preliminary soundings in B 563(b), 143 and B 563(c), 146.

⁴⁵ See B 575, 96.

⁴⁶ Associated with the land Lukhuti. For the location see B 87, 58f; B 485, 96ff; B 569, 42f; B 476, 145f; B 926, 44 and n. 68.

⁴⁸ B 532. Possibly Tell Kazel: see B 539, 60 n. 50 (with bibliography).

⁴⁹ B 610, 42ff; B 476, 143f.

²³ As above, n. 21.

²⁵ B 609.

²⁷ B 615.

²⁹ B 493; B 494; B 481.

³¹ B 584.

³³ B 601.

³⁵ B 464.

³⁸ B 586; B 587.

⁴² B 486.

⁴⁷ B 168, 63 and n. 21; B 628, 56.

⁵⁰ B 566; B 567; B 547; B 549; B 530; B 525.

from Phoenicia) and the Phoenician or Aramaean languages.⁵¹ These texts owe their survival to the fact that they were written on stone, which in turn dictates their character. They are almost all the work of rulers and their dependants, and are generally building inscriptions and other dedications.⁵² They stand in complete contrast to the by then defunct cuneiform tradition of Khattusha with its royal library and archives of clay tablets; though Khattusha too did have a tradition of inscriptions on stone in Luwian hieroglyphic, but of this very few representatives survive.⁵³ Likewise for the Syro-Hittite period, a handful of documents (letters and economic texts) written in hieroglyphic on strips of lead⁵⁴ suggest the existence of an entire lost corpus of practical literacy normally committed to perishable materials. It is likely that documents analogous to those of the Boğazköy corpus – not only letters and economic texts but perhaps also laws and political and religious documents – continued to be written in the Syro-Hittite period, but the abandonment of cuneiform and the clay tablet in favour of hieroglyphic and a medium of wood or parchment has placed them for the most part for ever beyond our reach. It is likely that Aramaean literacy too existed beside that of their Hittite neighbours as in Assyria, but no more than a handful of epigraphs and graffiti preserved by chance confirm that this was so.⁵⁵

Of the Hittite and Aramaean monumental epigraphic traditions, the former is clearly the senior as well as the more substantial. Its *floruit* was c. 1000–700 B.C. and it numbers well over one hundred inscriptions and fragments, while the (Phoenician–)Aramaean corpus does not antedate c. 850 B.C. and numbers only some thirty pieces, although in later periods it was to have a thriving posterity.

It is likely too that the Aramaeans, while borrowing their script from the Phoenicians, modelled their literary style on that of their Hittite neighbours, since the two corpuses show marked similarities. Unlike the Assyrian tradition of commemorative inscriptions, which gave birth to a type of historiography, the Syro-Hittite texts offer comparatively little historical material,⁵⁶ being formulaic and jejune in composition and rigidly parochial in outlook. They evidence no internal chronological system, though more or less complete dynastic lists for the individual states can often be extracted from them. In some cases these

⁵¹ B 480, nos. 23–9, 201–30; B 496, II.

⁵² See below, pp. 437ff, the Inscriptions.

⁵³ B 567, 3a serie, nos. 11, 19–22, 95, 96, 306; and the largely illegible NIŞANTAŞ and unpublished ILGIN inscriptions.

⁵⁴ See below, p. 438.

⁵⁵ B 480, nos. 203–13, the graffiti from Hama. Most evidence of Aramaic practical literacy comes from Assyria: see B 570, B 555; also above, pp. 239f.

⁵⁶ See below, p. 437.

lists can be synchronized with the absolute Assyrian chronology by identification of royal names in the two sources, though in other cases the native and Assyrian documents may fail completely to overlap. This is doubtless due to the phenomenon that in general the native monuments belong to the most prosperous periods of the Syro-Hittite states, which tend to coincide with periods of Assyrian military weakness and the consequent scarcity of Assyrian historical references. Useful and reliable synchronisms are available however, especially for the states of Gurgum and Sam'al, and by reference to these, distinctive styles of sculpture, with and without associated inscriptions, may be dated.

In the field of the sculptures, much progress has recently been made.⁵⁷ Rigorous analysis has established the relative sequence of the various styles, which may then be linked to the absolute dates, although controversial items remain.⁵⁸ As the Hittite inscriptions provided the models for the later Aramaean style, so too it seems that in the early period, their sculpture was imitated in a newer, cruder rendering of this people,⁵⁹ though later the two styles grew together. The sculpture too may now be treated as a valuable historical source.

In the period under consideration, 1200–550 B.C., the historical sources as outlined above are very unevenly distributed. The crucial Assyrian sources are available c. 1100 and c. 900–630, while the indigenous sources extend from c. 1000 to c. 700. Hebrew references, particularly to Damascus and Hamath, occur intermittently from the tenth to the eighth century B.C., and those of Urartu only in the first half of the eighth century. The Babylonian Chronicle runs specifically from 745 to 668 B.C., with intermittent information on the West during that period, and later the years 612–597 and 557 relate especially to affairs in the West, as do a few references in Babylonian royal inscriptions. After c. 700, occasional references are found in classical authors to notable events in Anatolia and Syria.

Because the chronological framework of the history of the Syro-Hittite states is dependent on that of the Assyrian kings and the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, the periods into which it conveniently divides are dictated by the reigns and activities of those monarchs. We shall thus consider it in the following phases: (1) The early period: fall of the Hittite Empire – accession of Ashurnasirpal II (c. 1200–883 B.C.); (2) Reigns of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III (883–824); (3) Successors of Shalmaneser III (823–745); (4) Reigns of Tiglath-pileser III, Shalman-

⁵⁷ B 581; B 495.

⁵⁸ Discussed below as they occur.

⁵⁹ For a convincing demonstration of this thesis, see B 495, especially IV/9–10.

eser V and Sargon II (744–705); (5) Reigns of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal (704–627); (6) The Neo-Babylonian Empire: fall of Assyria to Cyrus' conquest of Lydia (612–547).

The necessity of dovetailing the native and external sources renders it expedient to consider first the outline history and chronology within each chronological division, and then to attempt to synchronize the indigenous evidence with it.

II. THE EARLY PERIOD

1. *Outline history*

Between the fall of the Hittite Empire and the reign of Shalmaneser III, the only Assyrian kings known for certain to have crossed over the western bend of the Euphrates into north Syria and to have left accounts of the trans-Euphratean states are Tiglath-pileser I and Ashurnasirpal II.⁶⁰ The earliest native sources are estimated to date back to c. 1000 B.C., and thus begin approximately mid-way between these two Assyrian points of reference. Thus of the first three centuries of our period, the first two are almost devoid of native sources but punctuated by the brief descriptions of Tiglath-pileser I, and the third sees the rise of the indigenous monuments, dated back to this era by comparison with later works.

Tiglath-pileser I, between the years 1104 and 1087 B.C., led an expedition to Amurru (Phoenicia), and on his return imposed tribute on Ini-Teshub, 'king of Khatti' (not 'Great-Khatti'!).⁶¹ This is taken to refer to Carchemish and to show that a century after the fall of the Hittite Empire, Carchemish was still regarded as Khatti and ruled by a king with a Hurrian name, the namesake of the well-known great-grandson of Shuppiluliuma I.⁶² Inferences of a Hittite confederation at this date, being based upon the erroneous 'Great-Khatti',⁶³ have however been shown to be groundless. A later king noted that Tiglath-pileser I had occupied Pitru (Hebrew Pethor, renamed by the Assyrians Ana-Ashur-uter-ašbat) and Mutkinu, on either bank of the Euphrates,⁶⁴ presumably on this campaign as an attempt to control the crossing. Tiglath-pileser was also in contact with the city of Milidia (later Melid, modern Malatya), which he considered also as a part of Khatti,⁶⁵ possibly on two occasions (in 1112 B.C. and after his Amurru campaign). On the second of these he took tribute from its king,

⁶⁰ Perhaps also Ashur-bel-kala (Broken Obelisk, see B 100, §248). For the supposed reference by Ashur-dan II to Yakhhan (B 100, §363), see below, n. 129.

⁶¹ B 100, §§81–2 and n. 107, 95 and nn. 126–8; B 48, 116 and 120 for the dating.

⁶² B 112, 70f.

⁶³ As in e.g. B 462, 154; B 463, 526f.

⁶⁴ See below, n. 160.

⁶⁵ Not Khanigalbat! See B 112, 78 and nn. 67–8.

Allumari.⁶⁶ This scanty information suggests a continuity of occupation at least in Carchemish from the days of the Empire, and shows that one of the later prominent Hittite states, Melid, was already in existence. An isolated Hieroglyphic inscription from Karahüyük-Elbistan,⁶⁷ perhaps already part of Melid, may be dated to this time and suggests that the period 1200–1000 B.C. may not originally have been as devoid of inscriptions as now appears. It is a dedication to a storm-god but cannot be fully understood and even the king's name is uncertain.⁶⁸

Tiglath-pileser I was the first Assyrian king to mention the Aramaeans, and he claimed to have crossed the middle Euphrates against them on twenty-eight campaigns.⁶⁹ For the following two centuries they maintained a severe pressure on Assyria, which was much weakened, until a series of vigorous kings beginning with Ashur-dan II (934–912 B.C.) turned the tide against them.⁷⁰ But in the meantime, they had already penetrated and settled upper Mesopotamia, forming large tribal states, notably Bit-Zamani, Bit-Bakhiani and Bit-Khalupe, and the population of this area was henceforth completely Aramaized. At the same time they were already thrusting in force into south Syria and settling there too, notably in Aram-Zobah, the later Assyrian city of Šubutu, where they came into conflict with the nascent Hebrew monarchy. In particular Hadad-ezer of Beth-Rehob, king of Zobah, was an opponent of David's in the early tenth century B.C.⁷¹

Between these two centres of Aramaean settlement, Upper Mesopotamia and south Syria, the Aramaean wave broke also upon the Hittite peoples of north Syria. The progress of their settlement here is little known, but its results are quite clear from the later discernible ethnic composition of the population. The states which they founded here, as noted above, were Bit-Adini, Bit-Agusi, and Sam'al, perhaps known as Bit-Gabbari. Of these Bit-Adini seems to be the oldest foundation.⁷² The two cities occupied by Tiglath-pileser I on the Euphrates were remembered to have been seized from Assyria by the 'king of Aram' at the time of Ashur-rabi II (1012–972 B.C.).⁷³ The king in question is thought to have been Hadad-ezer of Zobah, who was fighting on the Euphrates at the time of his defeat by David, and the incident has been plausibly connected with the Aramaean settlement of the Euphrates below Carchemish.⁷⁴ The earliest actual reference to Bit-Adini is that of Adad-nirari II, who in 899 B.C. received a gift from its ruler after

⁶⁶ B 100, §§32, 96; B 48, 113 and 119.

⁶⁷ B 547, xxv and 262; B 550; B 561.

⁶⁸ B 112, 78; B 561.

⁶⁹ E.g. B 100, §§34, 97. For this period in general, see B 463, 529ff. Also B 610, chapters III–IV and B 832.

⁷⁰ See above, pp. 248ff; also B 202, especially 233–40.

⁷¹ B 476, 143f.

⁷² B 614, 432.

⁷³ See above, p. 380 and below, n. 160. ⁷⁴ B 832, 142 and nn. 20–1.

his conquest of Khuzirina.⁷⁵ The eponymous founders of the two other tribal states may be more precisely dated. Gabbar was the second predecessor of Khaianu of Sam'al, a contemporary of Shalmaneser III, and is thus to be dated c. 920 B.C.,⁷⁶ while Agusi was encountered by Ashurnasirpal II, c. 870 B.C.⁷⁷

The Old Testament also preserves some other references to Syro-Hittite statues and rulers at the time of David and Solomon. When David defeated Hadad-ezer, he was congratulated by Toi (ט'י/ט'ו), king of Hamath, who sent his son with gifts.⁷⁸ This king's name, like that of a later king of Hamath, has been identified as Hurrian,⁷⁹ while that of his son, Hadoram, later Hebraized to Joram,⁸⁰ suggests that Hamath was open to Aramaean, and subsequently Hebrew, influence. Indeed the reigns of David and Solomon showed a vast extension of Hebrew power, which embraced Hamath and Tadmor.⁸¹ Solomon indeed traded with a late Hittite state which subsequently became prominent, namely Que (Old Testament Coa (QWH), i.e. Cilicia Campestris), as well as with 'all the kings of the Hittites (Ḫṭṭm) and all the kings of Aram'.⁸² This last is one of the comparatively rare general references of the Old Testament to the countries of the north and their two main population groups. However the reign of Solomon saw also the establishment of Damascus as an important centre of Aramaean power after its seizure by Rezon son of Eliada,⁸³ in place of the shattered Aram-Zobah. Hereafter this state was to play a leading though not always well-documented role in the Syro-Hittite world.

2. The native monuments

To this period of meagre external references of the reigns of Tiglath-pileser I, David and Solomon, may be dated groups of Hittite monuments from Gurgum, Carchemish, Unqi, Bit-Adini, and Melid, and also an early Aramaean group from Sam'al. Lacking any contemporary synchronisms, these monuments may be dated approximately by a combination of reckoning back from later fixed points and comparative stylistic analysis.

Gurgum: The Gurgum (Maraş) sculpture, none of which was regularly excavated,⁸⁴ consists of a remarkable series, three representative pieces

⁷⁵ B 100, §426; cf. above, p. 250.

⁷⁶ B 480, no. 24, lines 2-3; B 545, 37, n. 82.

⁷⁸ II Sam. 8: 9-10 and I Chron. 18: 9-10.

⁷⁹ B 556, 70. For the name Urhilina, see below, n. 169.

⁸⁰ B 556, 69; B 829, 6ff.

⁸¹ I Ki. 10: 28-9 (New English Bible): B 733, 593.

⁸² I Ki. 11: 23-5; B 610, 54; B 829, 5; B 463, 535.

⁸⁴ See above, p. 377 and n. 43.

⁷⁷ B 519.

⁸¹ B 829, 7; B 733, 592.

of which can confidently be linked to Assyrian chronology. The Maraş Lion inscription, to be dated c. 800 B.C., contains the genealogy of the author, Halparuntiyas (III), extending back for the six preceding generations.⁸⁵ The author can be shown to have been a contemporary of Adad-nirari III, and his grandfather and great-grandfather contemporaries of Shalmaneser III. The list ascends three generations further to the great-grandfather's great-grandfather, who bore a name found elsewhere in the Assyrian form Palalam.⁸⁶ This man may reasonably be identified as the author of an archaic-looking inscribed stela, MARAŞ 8, which can thus be approximately dated on a generation count to before 950 B.C. Allowing twenty-five years for a generation (probably too short) we gain minimal dates for the whole dynasty as follows:

<i>Palalam</i> I	(955-930)
Muwanzas	(930-905)
Halparuntiyas I	(905-880)
Muwatalis	(880-855; Assyrian attestation, 858)
Halparuntiyas II	(855-830; Assyrian attestation, 853)
<i>Palalam</i> II	(830-805)
Halparuntiyas III	(805-780; Assyrian attestation, 805)

The archaic Palalam stela thus probably belongs in the first half of the tenth century B.C.⁸⁷ and is the earliest approximately datable example of a series of similar monuments. At the lower end of the series stands an inscribed fragment of a colossal Ruler figure attributable to Halparuntiyas II (MARAŞ 4).⁸⁸ These two monuments neatly define a prominent sculptural style, which may be termed 'Early Late-Hittite'.⁸⁹

Carchemish: At Carchemish, a prominent and homogeneous group of sculptures with inscriptions announces itself to be the work of the four-generation dynasty of Suhis (formerly read Luhas), for which no direct links with Assyrian chronology have been found. The dynasty runs Suhis I-Astuwatamanzas-Suhis II-Katuwas,⁹⁰ and the inscribed monuments, mostly the work of Suhis II and Katuwas, are so closely similar in style that the group has been designated that of 'Suhis-Katuwas'.⁹¹ The pre-Ashurnasirpal II date originally postulated for this

⁸⁵ B 567, 1a serie, nos. 32-3, 126ff; B 527, 309f; B 112, 73f; also below, p. 401.

⁸⁶ Reading of Hieroglyphic uncertain (previously read LA + I-mas): cf. B 112, 73f; B 523.

⁸⁷ Cf. B 581, 86, 203ff (Maraş B/16); B 495, 1, ZeP2.

⁸⁸ B 581, 288 (Maraş B/3; the fragment consists of the lower part of a colossal figure in the round, preserved from the waist to the knees. The front shows the remains of the tassel and the staff and a sword hangs on the left hip. The inscription, beginning on the right hip and covering the right side, reverse, and left side of the piece, is introduced by a small relief figure showing the characteristic features of the ruler. Cf. below, p. 385 and n. 109, and p. 396.

⁸⁹ B 581, 133ff ('Späthethitisches I-II').

⁹⁰ B 581, 186f, 190f. For the spelling of the names see B 547, no. 370: II (Suhis); B 112, 70 n. 18 (Astuwatamanzas). ⁹¹ B 560; B 508, especially 94ff; B 624, 139; B 495, IV, 1-6, especially 5.

style is strongly supported by recent research.⁹² The *terminus ante quem* is the reign at Carchemish of Sangara (minimum dates, c. 870–848 B.C.), and the four generations can hardly have lasted less than a century, though just how close to 870 B.C. the end of the reign of Katuwas fell has not been established.

A certain group of uninscribed Carchemish sculpture, that of the 'Water Gate', is recognized as being more archaic than, but ancestral to, that of Suhis-Katuwas,⁹³ and is thus reasonably attributed to the earlier members of the dynasty Suhis I and Astuwatamanzas. A 'Great King' Ura-tarhunzas, author of an archaic Carchemish stela, has been identified as a probable predecessor of this dynasty.⁹⁴ At Carchemish too then, the sculptured sequence appears to stretch back towards c. 1000 B.C.

Unqi: A group of sculpture without inscription showing very similar characteristics to that of the Carchemish 'Water Gate' has recently been excavated at 'Ain Dara,⁹⁵ presumed to be part of the kingdom of Unqi. The earliest phase of the 'Early Late-Hittite' style is thus well represented in this area too, and again should probably be dated in the first half of the tenth century B.C.

Bit-Adini: In Bit-Adini, the Aramaean dynasty may date back to c. 1000 B.C. and was certainly established by 899.⁹⁶ The only king named in Assyrian sources is Akhuni, already on the throne by c. 876 and ruling until 855, when the city was seized by Shalmaneser III.⁹⁷

The main pre-Assyrian monuments from Til-Barsib are two colossal Storm-God stelae with hieroglyphic inscriptions⁹⁸ both badly mutilated, but originally containing much dynastic information.⁹⁹ Stela B was the work of a Hamiyatas, presumably king in Til-Barsib, and Stela A of the son of Ariyahinas (own name missing),¹⁰⁰ apparently a kinsman of Hamiyatas and his ultimate successor. A problem has been noted in determining the relationship of this apparently Hittite dynasty ruling in Til-Barsib and the presumably Aramaean leaders of Bit-Adini, including Akhuni.¹⁰¹ Did the Hittite dynasty mark a break in Aramaean tenure, subsequently regained, or was there here a mixed Syro-Hittite

⁹² B 581, 221; B 560; B 508, 94ff; B 495, IV 1–6. *Contra*: B 613 who maintains his earlier ascription of A 1a and associated sculpture to Sangara, a contemporary of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser III.

⁹³ B 581, 30f, 136f; *contra*: B 495, IV 7.

⁹⁴ B 112, 71f. Now B 5, v s.v. Karkamiš, §15.

⁹⁵ B 581, 56f, 136f; *contra*: B 495, VIII 4b. See above, n. 33.

⁹⁶ See above, pp. 318f and nn. 72–5.

⁹⁷ See below, pp. 388f., 390ff.

⁹⁸ B 581, 46f, 182f; B 527, 308; B 495, III 1.

⁹⁹ B 567, 2a serie, nos. 280–1.

¹⁰⁰ B 527, 308. Collation has shown that the name read *Ariyasanas* should in fact be read *Ariyahinas* – now *Anat. Stud.* 30 (1980) 139ff.

¹⁰¹ B 614. This article omits from consideration the Aramaean connexion of *Aḫuni mār Adini*, 'Akhuni of Bit-Adini'; cf. B 611, 190ff.

dynasty erecting sculpture in a purely Hittite style with hieroglyphic inscriptions? Could indeed the Hittite rulers have been members of the house of Adini? If the Hittite dynasty is indeed intrusive, the two stelae must be dated back into the late tenth century with a *terminus ante quem* of 899 B.C. Yet stylistically they, and some related fragments, belong closely with the Carchemish Suhis-Katuwas style and thus to the same general date.¹⁰²

Melid: Various groups of archaic-looking sculpture have been excavated at Melid, in particular the Lion Gate with its portal figures and small orthostat relief blocks. This sculpture shows more pronounced links with the art of the Hittite Empire than any other group. Whether it is genuinely archaic or merely archaizing is disputed, but even the latest dating suggested associates it with this early period.¹⁰³ It is inscribed with a king's name of uncertain reading, a recurring dynastic name in Melid.¹⁰⁴

Early Late-Hittite style: Apart from the idiosyncratic style of Melid, the Early Late-Hittite style shows a remarkable uniformity, with representatives of an earlier phase at 'Ain Dara, Carchemish and Maraş, and of a later phase from Carchemish, Maraş and Til-Barsib. Among its stereotyped renderings of gods, men, animals and scenes, two figures especially may be noted, those of the Storm God¹⁰⁵ and the Ruler.¹⁰⁶ The former is rendered as bearded and pig-tailed, wearing a short, fringed, belted tunic with sword at the waist, a horned helmet and sandals with upturned toes, and brandishing a thunder-bolt in the right hand and an axe in the left. The latter has hair with a brow band (showing that it is a wig?) falling in a rounded bunch on the nape, and a spade-shaped beard; he wears a long, short-sleeved, belted, fringed robe with sword at the waist and tassel down the front, and carries a staff. In the more elaborately worked examples the locks of hair are rendered in a characteristic pot-hook style. Three named rulers are shown in this guise, the archaic Palalam of Gurgum¹⁰⁷ (pre-950 B.C.), Katuwas of Carchemish (c. 900),¹⁰⁸ and Halparuntiyas II of Gurgum (c. 850)¹⁰⁹ providing between them a fair chronological range of the style and examples of early, median and late phases. Uninscribed figures undoubtedly representing other rulers have been found elsewhere, notably the 'Ain el-'Arab figure¹¹⁰ (a Hittite ruler of Til-Barsib?), and

¹⁰² So also B 611, 190ff, who, however, assigns and dates the Carchemish material differently.

¹⁰³ B 581, 91ff, 116f, 140ff; B 495, VIII 2.

¹⁰⁴ B 527, 310f; B 112, 78f. The name is often read *Sulumeli* on insufficient grounds.

¹⁰⁵ B 581, 233ff, especially Group A (238f).

¹⁰⁶ B 581, 287ff, especially Group B (291f).

¹⁰⁷ B 581, 288 (Maraş B/16); cf. above, p. 383 and n. 87.

¹⁰⁸ B 581, 288 (Karkemis K/28 – not 26!); cf. B 508, 96f.

¹⁰⁹ B 581, 288 (Maraş B/3); cf. above, p. 383 and n. 88 and below, p. 396.

¹¹⁰ B 581, 287 ('Ain el-'Arab 1).

the Zincirli colossus.¹¹¹ Fragments of closely similar colossi have been found at Gurgum (the Halparuntiyas II fragment already mentioned) and at Carchemish (doubtless representing Suhis or Katuwas).¹¹²

Zincirli: The appearance of this essentially Hittite figure at Zincirli (Sam'al) is somewhat surprising.¹¹³ Here the dynasty, as known from the inscription of Kilamuwa,¹¹⁴ a late contemporary of Shalmaneser III, was largely Aramaean, although Kilamuwa and some successors bore Hittite names.¹¹⁵ The inscription gives:¹¹⁶

Gabbar (c. 920?)

BMH (c. 890?)

Khaianu (Aramaic 𐤏𐤍𐤕; Assyrian attestations 858, 857, 853)

š'L (son of Khaianu)

Kilamuwa (Aramaic KLMW, son of Khaianu; c. 840–830)

The large assemblage of uninscribed early Sam'al sculpture is most important for the light which it sheds on the relationship between Hittite and Aramaean art, which may well parallel the wider social and political relationships for which there is no other evidence. There is a clear correlation between the Carchemish and Sam'al sculpture, in particular between the Suhis-Katuwas and the 'Äusseres Burgtor' groups.¹¹⁷ Many individual figures have exact correspondences at the two sites, but the style of execution is revealingly different, as may be seen for example in comparing the two different renderings of the Storm God¹¹⁸ or the Ruler.¹¹⁹ It has been convincingly argued that this striking difference marks a stage in the clumsy adoption of the traditional Hittite style by an Aramaean dynasty,¹²⁰ and the date of the borrowing has been shown, by comparison with a crude Aramaean-style representation of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.), to belong to the beginning of the ninth century.¹²¹ Such a cultural dependence on the Hittites by the Aramaeans in their early stage of settlement is by no means improbable. The seniority of the Hittite sculptural style and epigraphic traditions rooted in the Empire period and flowering early in the tenth century B.C. is adequately established, while the Aramaean borrowing of the sculptural tradition is paralleled by their borrowing of the Phoenician language and script (known earliest in the inscription

¹¹¹ B 581, 289 (Zincirli E/1).

¹¹² B 581, 287 (Karkemis F/17); cf. B 508, 96f; B 624, 138.

¹¹³ B 495, IV 10c.

¹¹⁴ B 480, no. 24.

¹¹⁵ B 556, 72.

¹¹⁶ B 545, 37ff and n. 82; B 581, 199ff.

¹¹⁷ B 581, 133ff; B 495, IV 9–10.

¹¹⁸ E.g. B 581, Karkemis C/1 with Zincirli B/14; cf. B 508, 106f; also B 495, III 2–3.

¹¹⁹ E.g. B 581, Karkemis K/28 with Zincirli B/5; B 495, IV 9a–b.

¹²⁰ B 581, 135 and note (citing Akurgal); B 495, IV 9.

¹²¹ B 495, II 3–4.

of Kilamuwa),¹²² and their adaptation of the script for their own language.

The inscriptions: The cultural remains of this period can thus be seen to be substantial, but the indigenous written sources are disappointing. No inscriptions were found with the Unqi ('Ain Dara) or Sam'al sculpture, while Melid has only short epigraphs.¹²³ The Palalam stela from Gurgum is largely unreadable.¹²⁴ Only Til-Barsib and Carchemish have produced substantial groups of contemporary inscriptions.

At the former site the mutilated inscriptions of Hamiyatas and the son of Ariyahinas contain interesting material related to the dynasty,¹²⁵ while at the latter, the large inscription of Suhis II (A 1 a), also mutilated, concerns military events depicted on the accompanying reliefs, but the places named are not identified.¹²⁶ The inscriptions of Katuwas also mention military and dynastic matters,¹²⁷ but are much more taken up with his building programme and good relations with the gods.

In assessing the period therefore we are largely dependent on the surviving art and architecture, discoveries of which are at present restricted to north Syria and the south-east Taurus region. No remains illuminate conditions in Anatolia, Cilicia or Kummukh. To us the period seems to be one of recovery from two mean and insignificant centuries, a time when the Late Hittite kings began again to build palaces, temples, and monumental gateways and to adorn them with sculptured orthostats in a manner remembered from the Hittite Empire. At the same time they revived a tradition of literacy stemming from the same period. Subjects depicted in the reliefs were part religious – processions of gods and their worshippers and mythological scenes, and part secular – scenes of warfare and hunting. The rulers presented themselves in a very stereotyped and distinctive fashion, implying close artistic contacts and common custom. Commemorative stelae and statues in the round are found in some quantity, and the figures, whether human or divine, are often supported on podia flanked by paired lions or bulls. All was rendered in a plain forthright style showing in its best examples considerable power, and susceptible, as attested by later work, of notable development. Late in the period the Aramaeans, settled among the Hittites since at least 1000 B.C., borrowed the forms of Hittite sculpture but rendered them in a style recognizably their own. Later under mutual influence these two styles tended to converge in one nearly homogeneous Syro-Hittite style.

¹²² B 545, 42ff.

¹²³ B 567, 2a serie, nos. 105–18.

¹²⁴ B 567, 2a serie, no. 139.

¹²⁵ See above, n. 99.

¹²⁶ B 508, 88ff.

¹²⁷ Principally similar reports in CARCHEMISH A 11 b, 3f and A 12, 2f; see B 567, 1a serie, 63f, 2a serie, 115f; and cf. B 525, 126 (2a–b) and 136 (32a–b). For dynastic affairs see above, p. 384 and n. 94. See now R. Stefanini, in O. Carruba, ed., *Studia mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata*, 595ff. Pavia, 1979.

III. ASHURNASIRPAL II AND SHALMANESER III¹²⁸1. *Outline history**Ashurnasirpal's western campaigns*

It was into such a Syro-Hittite world that Ashurnasirpal irrupted with his crossing of the Euphrates, c. 870 B.C. His three predecessors had re-established the Assyrian presence in Upper Mesopotamia by concentrating their attacks on the strategic Aramaean-held centres of Našibina, Guzana (Bit-Bakhiani), Amed (Bit-Zamani), and Khuzirina, as well as the tribes of the lower Khabur. Their inscriptions, however, do not indicate that they ever penetrated as far as the Euphrates at the point of its two chief states, Bit-Adini and Carchemish.¹²⁹ Ashurnasirpal, however, besides strengthening his hold on the already conquered states, extended his reach to the western Euphrates crossings. His western forays seem to have been limited to three campaigns, dated to between 876 and 868, between 875 and 867, and 866, according to his own annals, of which the inexactly dated accounts of the western campaigns form the source material for the outline of the history of the West in this reign.¹³⁰

His clash with Bit-Adini arose out of the interference of that power in the middle Euphrates states, first in 883 B.C., when a man from there was installed as king over the rebellious city Suru,¹³¹ and again in 877 during the course of Ashurnasirpal's hostilities with Laqe.¹³² This led to a punitive campaign, in 876 or after, against Kaprabu, a fastness of Bit-Adini east of the Euphrates, as a result of which Akhuni of Bit-Adini, mentioned here for the first time, submitted and paid tribute.¹³³

Ashurnasirpal followed up this campaign with an expedition across the Euphrates, the first such Assyrian venture since the days of Tiglath-pileser I.¹³⁴ His narrative of this, probably his only campaign into Syria,¹³⁵ preserves for us both an intelligible itinerary and an impression of the contemporary political scene in Syria.¹³⁶ After taking further tribute from Akhuni in Bit-Adini he passed across the Euphrates into the territory of Carchemish and received the submission of its king, Sangara, called here 'king of Khatti'. Thence he proceeded to the land of Akhan (Yakhan – better known as Bit-Agusi),¹³⁷ and passing north

¹²⁸ See in general B 235.

¹²⁹ The gift received from Bit-Adini by Adad-nirari II (above, pp. 381f and n. 75) is the only hint of earlier contact. A penetration by Ashur-dan II to the land of Yakhan is surely unthinkable (B 100, §363); see B 86, 291b; B 519; B 574; *contra*: B 259, 156, nn. 10–14.

¹³⁰ See B 219, 26ff; above, pp. 255f; B 104, 138ff.

¹³¹ B 100, §547; above, p. 256 n. 99.

¹³² B 100, §579; above, p. 257.

¹³³ B 100, §§582–3; above p. 255 n. 95.

¹³⁴ See above, p. 380 and n. 60.

¹³⁵ B 219, 27f, 31 n. 1; *contra*: B 54, 393f; B 104, 138ff.

¹³⁶ B 100, §§584–6. For the itinerary, see B 484, 240ff; B 485, 71ff; B 19, 398ff.

¹³⁷ Cf. above, nn. 10 and 129.

of its later known capital, Arpad, he came to Khazazu (modern 'Azaz),¹³⁸ at that time a city of Lubarna, king of Unqi (Pattin). From here he crossed the river Apre (modern Afrin) and marched down to Kunulua,¹³⁹ the capital of Unqi. Lubarna submitted and paid tribute, as did also Gusi of Yakhan, the eponymous ruler of Bit-Agusi. This account suggests an Unqi extending well beyond the 'Amuq plain and a Bit-Agusi perhaps only recently settled by Aramaeans.¹⁴⁰

From Kunulua Ashurnasirpal passed across the river Arantu (Orontes) to the river Sanguru (located perhaps at Jisr esh-Shughur, which may preserve the name),¹⁴¹ and thence to Aribua, a frontier fortress of Unqi with the land of Lukhuti (= Aramaic L'š, and probably Late Bronze Age Nukhashe),¹⁴² which he proceeded to ravage. These operations seem to have taken place in the neighbourhood of modern Idlib.¹⁴³ From here he went to Mount Lebanon and the Phoenician coastal cities, and returning northwards he climbed Mount Amanus, where he erected a stela, and then passed homewards by the northern country of Mekhru.

Ashurnasirpal's account of this expedition shows us the Aramaean states of Bit-Adini under Akhuni and Yakhan under Gusi, and the Hittite states of Carchemish under Sangara and Unqi (Pattin) under Lubarna, and gives sufficient geographical information to draw approximately their common frontiers. The northern Hittite states, Gurgum, Melid and Kummukh, lay beyond Ashurnasirpal's itinerary, although on a subsequent campaign to Khuzirina in 866 B.C. he received tribute from the king of Kummukh, Qatazilu.¹⁴⁴ In the south, the political status of the land Lukhuti is not clear. Already by the reign of Shalmaneser III it probably formed the northern province of the kingdom of Hamath, and may well have done so even at this date.¹⁴⁵

This expedition has been characterized as a peaceful progress rather than a massive feat of arms,¹⁴⁶ and certainly its military and political effects cannot have been very extensive. Although Ashurnasirpal claimed that prisoners from Bit-Adini, Khatti (= Carchemish), and Unqi (Pattin) were among those settled in his city Calah,¹⁴⁷ he also

¹³⁸ B 513.

¹³⁹ Not certainly located; recently identified with 'Ain Dara by Orthmann (B 581, 198, and n. 21), but this still open to the objection of Lewy (B 19, 400 and n. 2) that the Assyrian army could not then have travelled from Kunulua to the Sanguru in two days. An alternative possible location is in the Plain of Antioch, perhaps at Tell Ta'yinat; see B 522.

¹⁴⁰ B 512; B 519.

¹⁴¹ B 19, 399 and n. 2.

¹⁴² Cf. above, n. 46.

¹⁴³ Cf. the discussions of the itinerary cited above, n. 136.

¹⁴⁴ B 100, §587.

¹⁴⁵ Explicit connexion in the reign of Zakur; see below, p. 403. Shalmaneser III passed directly from Aleppo, probably in Bit-Agusi, to the territory of Hamath: see B 509; *contra*: B 476, 145 and n. 42.

¹⁴⁶ B 219, 27.

¹⁴⁷ E.g. in B 100, §§591, 677.

revealed that friendly envoys from Syria attended his inaugural banquet, including men of (Unqi) Pattin, Khatti, Tyre, Sidon, Gurgum and Melid.¹⁴⁸ The expedition was however important as a renewal of Assyrian contact with the West as well as a portent of the military expansion of the future. It may well be that this renewed contact led to the importation into Assyria of distinctive western influences. It is probably no coincidence that Ashurnasirpal, who doubtless saw in person an established tradition of inscribed orthostat and portal-figure relief-carving at Carchemish,¹⁴⁹ if not also in Til-Barsib¹⁵⁰ and Kunulua, and who had deportees from these centres at the newly built Calah, should have been the first Assyrian king known to have used this method of palace and temple decoration.¹⁵¹ He encountered Late Hittite art towards the end of its early phase,¹⁵² and while no surviving examples of it can be attributed with certainty to any of his contemporaries among the Syro-Hittite rulers,¹⁵³ there is evidence that this style continued to be used as late as the reign of Shalmaneser III.

Shalmaneser's western campaigns

The storm threatening the Syro-Hittite states since Ashurnasirpal's western expedition broke in the reign of Shalmaneser III. Of the latter's thirty-four recorded campaigns, nineteen were conducted across the Euphrates in Syria:¹⁵⁴ 858, 857, 856, against Bit-Adini; 855, to Mount Shitamat; 853, against Hamath and Damascus; 849, against Carchemish and Arpad; 848, against Hamath and Damascus; 847, against Paqarkhubuni; 845; against Hamath and Damascus; 842, up Mount Amanus; 841, against Damascus (Eponym Chronicle C^b4 begins here); 840, up Mount Amanus; 839, against Que; 838, against Damascus (C^b4: KUR *danabi*); 837, against Tabal; 836, against Melid; 834, 833 against Que; 831, against Unqi. During this period we are unusually well informed of the combinations of Syro-Hittite states and their rulers. Shalmaneser's own annals provide the general chronological framework for the outline history,¹⁵⁵ and the campaigns may be seen to fall into three groups according to their scenes of action and apparent goals:

¹⁴⁸ B 100, §682.

¹⁴⁹ Ussishkin's view that parts of the 'Suhis-Katuwas' group of sculpture should be attributed to Sangara, and thus should be dated to the period of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser III, is not generally accepted. See above, pp. 383f and nn. 91-2.

¹⁵⁰ Equally Ussishkin's attribution of the Til-Barsib fragments associated with the Carchemish 'Suhis-Katuwas' style to Akhuni of Bit-Adini (see above, pp. 384f and nn. 101-2) is not generally accepted.

¹⁵¹ For a contrary view see B 560, 65f, 82ff.

¹⁵² Cf. above, p. 383 and n. 89.

¹⁵³ Pace Ussishkin (above, nn. 149-50).

¹⁵⁴ For the discrepancy between the later dates on the Black Obelisk (year 21 onwards) and the Eponym Chronicle (838 B.C. onwards), see B 104, 140f. See also J. E. Reade, *ZA* 68 (1978) 251ff.

¹⁵⁵ See above, p. 259 and n. 114.

1. 858-855, against the Euphrates crossing (Bit-Adini) and north Syria.
2. 853-841, primarily against the south Syrian Hamath-Damascus alliance.
3. 840-831, primarily against Que and the Taurus states.

*The first phase:*¹⁵⁶ Shalmaneser's first western thrust seems to have had the twin objectives of eliminating the powerful and hostile Aramaean centre of Bit-Adini and of seizing its control of the crossing of the western bend of the Euphrates. In order to achieve this he had not only to attack Bit-Adini itself but also to strike into north Syria against the possible combination of Syro-Hittite states which might rally to the support of their threatened fellow. The impression conveyed by Shalmaneser's own narrative is that of a brilliant if sometimes rash blitzkrieg. In 858 B.C., after shutting up Akhuni of Bit-Adini in a stronghold, Shalmaneser immediately crossed the Euphrates and attacked the west-bank territory of Bit-Adini, Paqarkhubuni.¹⁵⁷ Two Hittite rulers, Qatazilu of Kummukh and Mutallu of Gurgum, perhaps inclining to a pro-Assyrian policy,¹⁵⁸ submitted and paid tribute without a fight. When however Shalmaneser turned south from Gurgum to Sam'al, then ruled by Khaianu, a close successor of the state's eponymous founder Gabbar,¹⁵⁹ he found Sam'al supported by a combination of Akhuni, Sangara of Carchemish and Sapalulme, a successor of Lubarna of Unqi (Pattin). Fighting his way out of this predicament, after setting up a victory stela at the foot of Mount Amanus, which he climbed perhaps at this point, Shalmaneser descended on Unqi itself, but here he was met by the same combination of Syro-Hittite allies, augmented now by the adherence of Cilician contingents of Kate of Que and Pikhirim of Khiluku (Khilakku) and others. This formidable opposition Shalmaneser seems to have defeated sufficiently decisively to be left in peace to play the tourist on the sea-shore and on the slopes of Mount Lallar. Returning, he took tribute from Arame of Bit-Agusi, a state notably absent from the earlier fighting.

This campaign seems effectively to have broken Syro-Hittite resistance, and the following year, after ravaging Bit-Adini and Carchemish, Shalmaneser received general submission and tribute from Qalparunda of Unqi (Pattin) (a new ruler since the previous year), Khaianu of Sam'al, Arame of Bit-Agusi, Sangara of Carchemish and Qatazilu of Kummukh. Gurgum is not mentioned, perhaps a chance omission. In

¹⁵⁶ Most detailed account on the Kurkh Monolith. See B 219, 87f for the various sources of years 1-4. For the problem of Mounts Amanus, Adalur and Lallar, see B 575, 92ff.

¹⁵⁷ See above, n. 45 for the question of its location.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. B 112, 80.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. above, p. 386 and n. 116.

856 B.C. Shalmaneser was able to seize the now defenceless Til-Barsib, Bit-Adini's strategic city on the Euphrates crossing, and other cities of the land, two of which he remembered to have been held by Tiglath-pileser I but lost to the 'king of Aram' in the reign of Ashur-rabi.¹⁶⁰ Til-Barsib was renamed Kar-Shalmaneser, and constituted as an Assyrian 'royal city', remaining subsequently in Assyrian hands apparently until the collapse of the empire.¹⁶¹ Shalmaneser received a general submission of the 'kings of the sea-coast and banks of the Euphrates', presumably the same Syro-Hittite rulers already registered for the previous year. In a further campaign in 855 B.C. he hunted down the fugitive Akhuni to his last stand on Mount Shitamat, a mountain fastness on the Euphrates north of Bit-Adini.¹⁶² Thus in four violent campaigns, Shalmaneser had seized the Euphrates crossing, the key to the gates of Syria.

The second phase: Having secured this passage, Shalmaneser turned directly against south Syria.¹⁶³ In 853, he began by emphasizing his domination of north Syria by receiving in his new city Ana-Ashur-uter-ašbat (formerly Hittite Pitru)¹⁶⁴ the tribute of the Syro-Hittite states, including that of Sangara, Arame, Khaianu and Qalparunda, who had all submitted in 855, of Kundashpi of Kummukh and Qalparunda of Gurgum, two new rulers, and of Lalli of Melid, a country hitherto beyond his reach. Thereafter, pausing en route only to sacrifice to the famous Storm God of Aleppo, he turned south to face for the first time a strong coalition of the south Syrian states headed by the main powers, Hamath and Damascus.

Old Testament references to these kingdoms in the days of David and Solomon have been noted,¹⁶⁵ and Hebrew relations with Damascus continue to be fitfully attested. In particular Ben-Hadad of Damascus, probably the second king of that name,¹⁶⁶ whose ancestry is noted but whose relationship to Rezon the founder of the state is unknown,¹⁶⁷ is recorded as playing a prominent part in the external politics of Israel in the time of Ahab. At the time of Shalmaneser's attack, Damascus was

¹⁶⁰ B 206, III 8, ii 35ff (= B 158, §603); cf. B 219, 72 and see above, pp. 380f.

¹⁶¹ B 235, 38f.

¹⁶² For the uncertain location see B 162(a), 65 n. 9. A newly-discovered rock relief of Shalmaneser III on the Euphrates north-east of Gaziantep, of which the inscription is a near-duplicate of B 158, §620-1 (Balawat Gates), may serve to locate this mountain more precisely. See B 240.

¹⁶³ Detailed narrative of year 6 on the Kurkh Monolith. See B 219, 87f for the sources.

¹⁶⁴ For the Assyrian reading, see B 219, 72, note to ii 85; for Pitru, Hebrew Pethor, see B 559, 97.

¹⁶⁵ See above, p. 382.

¹⁶⁶ It is possible that the Ben-Hadad contemporary with Baasha and the contemporary of Ahab were the same individual, but for contrary opinions see most recently B 832; B 167, 143f; B 84, 30 and n. 22. See also below, pp. 475f.

¹⁶⁷ B 610, 56f; B 832, 143 and n. 23. The 'Bar-Hadad' stela should not be cited as evidence, since Albright's reading is not accepted; see below, p. 397 and nn. 201-2.

led by Adad-idri, whose identity with Ben-Hadad is usually accepted,¹⁶⁸ and Hamath by Irkhuleni (Hittite Urhilina) a member of an Anatolian dynasty.¹⁶⁹

The army of the two kings with their Israelite, Phoenician, Egyptian and Arab allies, described elsewhere by Shalmaneser as 'twelve kings of Khatti and the sea-coast',¹⁷⁰ included besides Adad-idri and Urhilina, Ahab of Israel and contingents from Gubla, Egypt, Irqata, Arvad, Usanat, Siannu, the Arabs, Beth-Rehob and 'Amana'.¹⁷¹ This substantial force met Shalmaneser at Qarqar on the Orontes in the territory of Hamath, and the florid Assyrian account of the victory is shown up as empty rhetoric by the subsequent course of events.¹⁷² Shalmaneser had to fight further campaigns against the same alliance in 849, 848 and 845 B.C., of which the summary accounts, couched in almost identical language,¹⁷³ suggest that he could make little headway.

Between 845 and 841 however, the alliance broke up. The murder of Adad-idri/Ben-Hadad by his officer Hazael, who usurped the throne, seems to have precipitated the secession of Israel,¹⁷⁴ nor does Hamath appear again as a supporter of Damascus. More than a century later, Sargon II claimed to have imposed on the conquered Hamath 'tribute and tax, the bearing of the basket, the service on campaign like that which the kings my fathers imposed upon Irkhuleni the Hamathite'.¹⁷⁵ In the absence of any supporting boast by Shalmaneser, we may doubt the literal historicity of this memory, but it would seem that Hamath was indeed detached from the Damascus alliance, perhaps by diplomacy rather than coercion. Some forty years later Hamath enjoyed the position of favoured Assyrian client¹⁷⁶ and it is not unthinkable that the understanding might be traced back to this period.¹⁷⁷

Thus Hazael leading an isolated Damascus faced two Assyrian invasions, 841 and 838 B.C., in which Shalmaneser ravaged the country.¹⁷⁸ No note of Hazael's discomfiture however is preserved in

¹⁶⁸ Hazael seized the throne from, and murdered, Adad-idri (B 162(a), 57, lines 14-35 = B 158, §681)/Ben-Hadad (II Ki. 8: 15). This evidence is denied in B 817, 158ff. The O.T. does not designate the king by the Hebrew form of the name (Hadad-ezer) but by the 'dynastic' surname, Ben-Hadad; B 835, 135 and n. 17. For a further example of such a surname, see below, p. 404 and n. 258 (Atarshumki Bar-Gush); and possibly also p. 405 and n. 272 (Khadianu/Ben-Hadad (?)).

¹⁶⁹ The name Urhilina is analysed as Hurrian (cf. B 517 and B 556, 68) as was that of Toi (above, p. 382 and n. 79), but the names of his father and son are Hittite-Luwian and the dynasty wrote its inscriptions in hieroglyphic (see below, p. 396).

¹⁷⁰ B 162(a), 464, line 28; B 605; B 575, 97ff.

¹⁷¹ B 575, 98 n. 20; cf. above, p. 261 n. 124.

¹⁷² Cf. B 109, especially 160ff; for the opposing forces see B 84 and B 575, 97ff.

¹⁷³ Years 10, 11 and 14. See e.g. B 162(b), 34ff; B 162(a), 466ff; cf. B 84, 29ff.

¹⁷⁴ B 84, 30ff.

¹⁷⁵ J. Nougayrol in B 488, 12f and n. 48.

¹⁷⁶ In the reign of Zakur; see below, pp. 403f.

¹⁷⁷ B 542, 96. Cf. B 517.

¹⁷⁸ Years 18 and 21. For the sources, see B 219, 87ff; also B 162(a), 57ff (= B 158, §681, Ashur statue). Cf. B 40 and B 625.

the Old Testament, and the damage must have been small. Essentially Damascus, both supported and isolated, could withstand Shalmaneser's attacks, and the latter, after spending more than ten years battering on the gates of south Syria, seems to have abandoned the struggle at this point and turned elsewhere for adventure.

The third phase: In 858 B.C. the Cilicians of Que and Khilakku were among Shalmaneser's opponents,¹⁷⁹ and later that year, as again in 842 and 840,¹⁸⁰ the latter climbed Mount Amanus, from the summit of which he would have looked down into the Cilician plain. Almost as if he were pursuing an old grudge, but possibly also motivated by a more concrete incentive,¹⁸¹ Shalmaneser devoted the final phase of his aggressive career to an assault on the Hittite states of the Taurus, primarily Que. In 839 after assuring his passage by receiving a general submission of 'Khatti', he crossed the Amanus and descended on Que, still ruled by his old opponent Kate.¹⁸² He plundered the cities Lusanda, Abarnani, and Kisuatni, and traversing Cilicia, set up a stela at the 'beginning' and the 'end' of the country.¹⁸³

Subsequently he decided to show the flag in Anatolia ('Tabal'), an unparalleled undertaking for an Assyrian king. In 837, after a further submission of 'Khatti', he passed through Melid, and across the Antitaurus ('Mount Timur') on to the Anatolian plateau,¹⁸⁴ where he encountered a Tabalian king Tuatte and his son Kikki,¹⁸⁵ who submitted, as did 'twenty kings of Tabal'.¹⁸⁶ He proceeded southwards to Mounts Tunni and Muli, sources of silver and alabaster, clearly parts of the Taurus-Bolkar Dağ massif,¹⁸⁷ and thence against Pukhame of Khubushna (otherwise Khubishna, Classical Kybistra near modern Ereğli).¹⁸⁸ The narrative breaks off at this point, but we may guess that Shalmaneser descended on Que through the Cilician Gates and thus

¹⁷⁹ See above, p. 391.

¹⁸⁰ B 206, III 7, ii 9 (= B 158, §600); B 162(b), 38 and 40.

¹⁸¹ See below, p. 398 and n. 210.

¹⁸² Principally B 162(b), 40, lines 22-34; abbreviated versions on the Black Obelisk (B 158, §577) and the Kurba'il statue (B 127, 94).

¹⁸³ It may be that the newly-discovered relief at Uzunoğlantepe, though uninscribed, was one of these; see B 241, 169ff.

¹⁸⁴ Principally on the Nimrud statue (B 134, 153ff); cf. B 219, 79ff. Abbreviated versions on the Black Obelisk (B 158, §579) and the Ashur statue (B 158, §682).

¹⁸⁵ These are 'Anatolian' names attested elsewhere: see B 548, nos. 569, 1406; cf. also below, pp. 416, 417 and n. 374.

¹⁸⁶ Summarized simply as 'twenty-four kings of Tabal' in the abbreviated account.

¹⁸⁷ See e.g. B 162(a), 61 n. 19; B 118, 66f.

¹⁸⁸ The text's nonsensical Khubushkaya should of course be corrected to Khubushnaya (B 118, 66). Unhappily the confusion has crept into the *RLA*, where references to Puḫame and Ḫuḫiṣna should be deleted from B 552 and transferred to B 553. Similarly the location of Ḫuḫiṣna by reference to Ḫubuškia should be deleted from here. For the location, see B 540, with cited bibliography. Cf. B 926, 49 and n. 96.

returned home. In 836 another visit to Melid found the king, Lalli, still on the throne, and the renewed submission of Tabal was claimed.¹⁸⁹

The years 834 and 833 B.C. saw two further Que campaigns.¹⁹⁰ Cities of Que, listed as Timur, Tanakun (with its ruler Tulli) and Tarzu (Tarsus), bore the brunt of the attack, and Pakhri is also mentioned. On return from the first campaign Shalmaneser seized a town of Bit-Agusi where Arame still ruled; while on the second he installed Kate's brother Kirri as king of Que – but the fate of the former king is not noted.

This was apparently the last campaign fought by Shalmaneser in person. Thereafter the *turtānu* Dayyan-Ashur commanded the army (832-828 B.C.), and of these last campaigns, only one was to Syria.¹⁹¹ In 831 Lubarna II, king of Unqi (Pattin), was murdered and replaced by a usurper, Surri. The *turtānu* suppressed the revolt and installed a certain Sasi the Kuruṣṣean on the throne. This act suggests that Assyria was still in a position to intervene in Syro-Hittite affairs, and that Shalmaneser felt himself in some way bound to avenge the murdered king, although, in contrast with later times, there was no appeal to oaths or treaties.

2. The native monuments

As noted above, p. 390, no surviving Syro-Hittite monuments can be attributed to contemporaries of Ashurnasirpal. Shalmaneser's inscriptions attest the following kings:

North Syrian group:

Bit-Adini: Akhuni (858, 857, 856, 855)

Carchemish: Sangara (858, 857, 853, 849, 848)

Kummukh: Qatazilu (858, 857); Kundashpi (853)

Gurgum: Mutallu (858); Qalparunda (853)

Sam'al: Khaianu (858, 857, 853)

Unqi (Pattin): Sopalulme (858); Qalparunda (857, 853); Lubarna II, Surri, Sasi (831)

Bit-Agusi: Arame (858, 857, 853, 849, 848, 837, 834)

Melid: Lalli (853, 844, 836)

Also in the years after 853 B.C., a general tribute from kings of this group is listed for the years 842, 840, 839, 838, 837 and 834 B.C.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Nimrud statue and Black Obelisk (see above, n. 184).

¹⁹⁰ B 162(b), 221ff (= B 158, §582-3); also B 162(a), 58 (= B 158, §682).

¹⁹¹ B 162(b), 224ff (= B 158, §585).

¹⁹² Year 17 (B 162(b), 38); years 19 and 20 (B 162(b), 40); years 21 and 22 (B 134, 154, line 9 [B 219, 80, note] and line 20); year 25 (B 162(b), 220 = B 158, §582).

South Syrian group:

Hamath: Irkhuleni (853, 849, 848, 845)

Damascus: Adad-idri (853, 849, 848, 845); Hazael (841, 838)

Cilician-Anatolian group:

Que: Kate (858, 839, 834, 833); Kirri (833)

Khilakku: Pikhirim (858)

Tabal: Tuatte (with son Kikki) (837)

Khubushna: Pukhame (837)

To only a few of these kings can surviving Syro-Hittite monuments be attributed:

Qalparunda of Gurgum has already been identified with the Halparuntiyas II, son of Muwatilis, whose likeness and inscription appear on the fragment of the Maraş colossus, a late example of the traditional presentation of the Hittite ruler.¹⁹³ The broken inscription contains details of military action against unidentified, perhaps purely local, towns.¹⁹⁴

Qalparunda of Unqi (Pattin) has been identified with the Halparuntiyas whose name appears on the fragmentary base or podium inscription from Tell Ta'yinat, but unfortunately both the inscription itself and the accompanying sculpture are too mutilated to yield much information.¹⁹⁵

Irkhuleni of Hamath is recognized as the 'Urhilina, son of Paritas, Hamathite king', author of the largest of the famous 'Hamathite' stones¹⁹⁶ and of a pair of duplicate inscriptions from Restan and Apamea (Qal'at el-Mudiq).¹⁹⁷ These inscriptions, all dedications to the goddess Ba'alat (*Pahalatis*), show the opponent of Shalmaneser to have been an active builder. The other three Hamathite stones, together with two newly discovered ones, are very similarly formulated inscriptions of Uratamis, son of Urhilina, king of Hamath,¹⁹⁸ and relate to the building of 'this fortress', perhaps the citadel of Hamath itself. They indicate that Urhilina was succeeded by his son, who although otherwise unattested¹⁹⁹ must clearly be dated to late in the reign of Shalmaneser. There is however no significant body of sculpture to be connected with any of these inscriptions.

¹⁹³ See above, pp. 383f and n. 88, p. 385 and n. 109.

¹⁹⁴ B 567, 1a serie, 127ff (no. 32); supplement the translation from B 525, 134 (no. 24), 138 (no. 36), and 143. Also *Studia Meriggi*, 396, 431; *Anat. Stud.* 30 (1980) 143.

¹⁹⁵ See B 112, 81 and n. 95. Cf. above, n. 32; further publication of the sculpture awaited.

¹⁹⁶ B 567, 2a serie, 245ff (no. 312); supplement the translation from B 525, 137f (no. 33). For the dramatic history of the discovery of the Hamathite stones, see references in B 568, 1 5ff.

¹⁹⁷ B 567, 1a serie, 13ff (nos. 5-6).

¹⁹⁸ B 567, 1a serie, 17ff (no. 8); unpublished examples made known to me by the courtesy of Professor P. Riis and to be published in a forthcoming *Hama* volume.

¹⁹⁹ Unless he is to be identified as the *Ru-du-mu*, recipient of a letter found at Hama; B 490, 190 (6A 334).

The Bar-Hadad Melqart stela: this stela, found near Aleppo,²⁰⁰ shows a divine figure and has a badly worn Aramaic inscription, recording the dedication to the god Melqart by a Bar-Hadad, and mentioning in a damaged context the 'king of Aram'.²⁰¹ An earlier attempt to identify Bar-Hadad with Adad-idri/Ben-Hadad of Damascus, based on the proposed reading of his ancestry on the stela, has met with no recent support, and subsequent attempts at reading and identification have fared no better.²⁰² In spite of the doubtful ascription however, it does seem likely that the monument belongs approximately to this period or a little later, and it may provide a rare example of Aramaean-Damascene sculpture.²⁰³

The Hazael ivory plaque: Hazael of Damascus is epigraphically attested on ivory plaques from Arslan Tash and Nimrud, which bear the dedication 'for our lord Hazael'. This associates him with the notable school of ivory carving which was by this time established in Syria.²⁰⁴

Another Syro-Hittite king not specifically mentioned by Shalmaneser may be dated to the later part of his reign, namely Kilamuwa of Sam'al, son of Khaianu. An inscription of this king introduced by a small portrait figure, together with an associated stela showing a king with an attendant, is very informative, giving a summary history of the several-generation dynasty of Gabbar.²⁰⁵ His account of his predecessors is not glowing – they 'accomplished nothing' – and the inscription gives a vivid account of the perils of a small state like Sam'al surrounded by aggressive neighbours. It also presents the interesting phenomenon of an Aramaean dynasty, one of whose members, Kilamuwa himself, has like some of his successors a Hittite name. Kilamuwa wrote his inscription in Phoenician, where in the following century his successors used an early form of Aramaic, which perhaps implies that at this date Aramaic was not yet considered suitable for a literary-epigraphic composition of this type.²⁰⁶ In its indigenous inscriptions the state of Sam'al is alternatively referred to as ʾṣṣ, the erroneous vocalization of which as Ya'udi has led to much confusion with the Hebrew Judah, and even to the introduction of the baseless term 'Jaudisch' for the Sam'al dialect of Aramaic.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁰ B 26, no. 499 with bibliography on p. 308.

²⁰¹ B 480, no. 201; B 496, II no. 1. The reading of line 2 is crucial.

²⁰² See most recently B 555, 15ff, with bibliography. Scepticism of all recent attempts expressed in B 572, 174 f; also by J. Naveh (personal communication).

²⁰³ B 581, 481 ('nicht späthethitisch'); B 495, 1, ZzP5h ('Aram. Palastkunst, 850/820').

²⁰⁴ B 480, no. 232; B 496, II no. 2; cf. B 571, 143, with Nimrud reference. Also I. Winter, *Iraq* 43 (1981, forthcoming).

²⁰⁵ See above, p. 386 and nn. 114-16. For the association of the uninscribed stela with Kilamuwa's inscription, see B 581, 66f; B 495, II 1.

²⁰⁶ B 545, 42ff.

²⁰⁷ B 496, II 62, 70; B 518, B 521, with recent bibliography. For a recent study of the dialect which unfortunately continues the erroneous designation, see B 479.

Kilamuwa claimed to have 'hired', apparently at a bargain rate,²⁰⁸ the king of Assyria to support him against the 'king of the Danuna' (MLK DN[N]YM), i.e. Adana, a royal city of Que, now known as the indigenous Syro-Hittite designation of that kingdom.²⁰⁹ That Sam'al, situated directly at the foot of the Amanus pass leading to Cilicia, should feel pressure from that quarter is not surprising, and the involvement of the king of Assyria can refer only to one or more of the campaigns of Shalmaneser III against Que in 839, 834 and 833.²¹⁰ The information therefore provides a useful insight, rarely available from Assyrian sources, into the possible motivation of a series of campaigns, and is the first of a number of specific indications that Assyria did not always cross the Euphrates uninvited.²¹¹

The style of Kilamuwa's sculpture is also very interesting, in that the rendering of the royal figure is clearly a local imitation of a purely Assyrian style, plausibly traced back to the victory stelae erected by Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser III in the Amanus.²¹² Thus while in the reign of Ashurnasirpal western sculptural influences may, as suggested above, have penetrated to Assyria, in the reign of Shalmaneser III we begin to have clear evidence of the reverse influence of an Assyrian style on Syro-Hittite sculpture, and this influence was to become increasingly evident in future.²¹³

Of the achievements of Shalmaneser in the West, the most enduring was certainly his occupation of the Euphrates crossing, which ensured that thenceforth Assyrian involvement in western politics was inevitable. His attacks on Damascus would appear to have been a qualified failure since both Adad-idri and Hazael appear in the Old Testament as successful and powerful monarchs unshaken by Assyrian aggression. However, Shalmaneser may have succeeded in detaching Hamath from the Damascus alliance to the position of Assyrian client. His Cilician-Anatolian campaigns do at least attest the comparative security of his hold over north Syria, but it is hard to detect any motive for them beyond pure adventurism, and we may well suppose that they were both expensive in effort and ephemeral in effect. His weaker successors had to contend with a resurgent north Syrian alliance under Arpadite, and later Urartian, hegemony, and a strengthened Damascus dominating south Syria. It is perhaps instructive to compare these achievements with those of Tiglath-pileser III.²¹⁴

²⁰⁸ B 480, II 32f.

²⁰⁹ Evidence from the Karatepe inscriptions. See B 546; B 498, 50ff; B 480, II 39.

²¹⁰ B 612, 125, 133ff and n. 114.

²¹¹ Cf. below, pp. 403 (Ushpilulume of Kummukh, Zakur of Hamath), 408 (Panammu of Sam'al), 414 (Ahaz of Judah.)

²¹² B 581, 66f; B 495, II 1.

²¹³ B 581, 161.

²¹⁴ See below, p. 415. For a recent evaluation of the policy of Shalmaneser, see B 141.

IV. THE SUCCESSORS OF SHALMANESER III

1. Outline history

The disorder in Assyria which terminated the long reign of Shalmaneser III relieved the Syro-Hittite states of constant Assyrian pressure. Nevertheless the chronological outline of the following period must still be drawn from the now less abundant Assyrian sources. Assyrian royal and other inscriptions provide the bulk of this material, but these are no longer chronologically narrated annals, except those of Shamshi-Adad V (823-811), which do not concern the West. Adad-nirari III (810-783) left a number of 'Display Inscriptions' with pertinent information,²¹⁵ but of his three successors, no royal inscription bearing on the West has been recovered, although the last, Ashur-nirari V (754-745), concluded a treaty with Bit-Agusi, of which a fragment survives.²¹⁶ Among the inscriptions of high officials, that of the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu, from Til-Barsib, contains important information.²¹⁷ Finally two very important boundary stelae bearing inscriptions from the reigns of Adad-nirari III and Shalmaneser IV have recently come to light in Turkey.²¹⁸ The exact chronological data which all these documents lack can fortunately be largely supplied from the Eponym Chronicle, already noted as being extant for the end of the previous reign,²¹⁹ and now preserved for the entire period.²²⁰

Shamshi-Adad V, preoccupied with troubles at home, seems never to have crossed the Euphrates, and his inscriptions thus provide no information on Syro-Hittite affairs. He did however maintain Assyrian control of Kar-Shalmaneser (Til-Barsib), which he regarded as the western frontier of Assyria,²²¹ and this alone must have meant a continued, if temporarily quiescent, Assyrian presence in the West. According to Adad-nirari III, the Syro-Hittite states led by Arpad (Bit-Agusi) rebelled against his father,²²² though if any attempt to dislodge the Assyrians from Kar-Shalmaneser was made, it must have been unsuccessful.

Adad-nirari III was able to resume a more active role in Syria, and

²¹⁵ The stelae of Saba'a, Rimah and Sheikh Hammad, the Nimrud slab, and the Scheil fragment. See above, p. 272 and n. 190. See now W. H. Shea, JCS 30 (1978) 101ff.

²¹⁶ See above, p. 277 and n. 230.

²¹⁷ B 609, 141ff.

²¹⁸ At Pazarcık and Antakya (see below, nn. 222, 225, 227, 230, 233). They are on display in the museums of Maraş and Antakya and will be published by Professor K. Balkan, by whose courtesy reference is made here.

²¹⁹ See above, p. 390 and n. 154.

²²⁰ Damaged for the beginning of the reign of Shamshi-Adad V. See above, p. 269 and n. 173, p. 272 and n. 187, pp. 276f and n. 224.

²²¹ B 206, I 30, II 7ff (= B 158, §716).

²²² B 168, 58, lines 5-7; 60f, line 2'; B 238, 145, lines 13-15.

after a campaign in 808 B.C. against Guzana, presumably to regain a lost control, he fought western campaigns in 805 ('against the land Arpad'), in 804 ('against the city Khazazu') probably in 803 ('against the city Ba'li'), probably in 802 ('unto the Sea'), and in 796 ('against Manṣuate').²²³ There has in the past been some confusion in connecting the undated references of the display inscriptions with these chronological headings, but recent re-examination²²⁴ shows that Adad-nirari's Syrian campaigns probably fell into two phases comparable with the first two phases of the campaigns of Shalmaneser III, and new information supports this view.

First, in 805–804 (and perhaps also 803–802) the Assyrians directed their efforts against a group of 'rebellious' north Syrian kings (described as 'eight kings of Khatti') under the leadership of Atarshumki, son of Adramu, of Arpad.²²⁵ The composition of this alliance may be surmised from later similar groupings,²²⁶ and probably included (besides Arpad) Que, Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al, and Melid, and excluded Kummukh²²⁷ and Carchemish.²²⁸ These hostilities culminated in a battle in Paqar-khubuni, where Shalmaneser III had also fought, after which Adad-nirari was able to fix the boundary between Qalparunda son of Palalam of Gurgum and Ushpilulume of Kummukh, in favour of the latter, presumably near modern Pazarcık (stela in Maraş Museum; above, n. 218).

Subsequently, almost certainly on the Manṣuate campaign of 796 B.C., the Assyrians successfully attacked 'Mari' of Damascus, who may now be securely identified with Ben-Hadad III, son of Hazael,²²⁹ who would have been on the throne by this date. This event is probably to be linked in turn with an action by Adad-nirari and the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu, in which they set up the boundary between Zakur of Hamath and Atarshumki of Arpad in favour of the latter on the river Orontes.²³⁰ It might be argued that this act is to be dated later, but this would require the assumption that it was unconnected with any recorded western campaign. To date it earlier, to 805–802 B.C., would improbably prolong Shamshi-ilu's already massive tenure of office.²³¹

After the reign of Adad-nirari III, only sporadic western campaigns are recorded, for Shalmaneser IV in 775 ('to the Cedar Mountain'),

²²³ Above, p. 272 and n. 189; also B 238, 147f.

²²⁴ Especially B 168; B 238. *Contra* Shea, above n. 215.

²²⁵ See above, n. 222; B 511, §6.6; B 112, 74f, 80.

²²⁶ E.g., on the Zakur Stela; see below, p. 403.

²²⁷ B 526, 8f.

²²⁸ For this exception see below, pp. 406f.

²²⁹ This identification follows (*contra* B 817, 168f and n. 40) from the re-dating of the Damascus campaign from 805–803 to 796 B.C. Cf. B 164, 163f, and below, p. 405.

²³⁰ Antakya Stela. Cf. B 526, 8f; B 241, 180; B 519.

²³¹ For his dates see below, p. 404 and nn. 264–5.

in 773 ('against Damascus'), and in 772 ('against Khatarikka'); for Ashur-dan III in 765 and in 755 ('against Khatarikka'); and for Ashur-nirari V in 754 ('against Arpad').²³² Few documents supplement this meagre outline. A report of a campaign of Shalmaneser IV, and more specifically, the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu, against a Khadianu of Damascus, followed by the re-establishment of the Kummukh frontier in favour of the king Ushpilulume, should doubtless be dated to 773 B.C., the Damascus campaign.²³³ Similarly the Ashur-nirari V treaty with Mati'ilu of Arpad is normally associated with the Arpad campaign of 754 B.C.²³⁴

2. *The native monuments*

The following dated Syro-Hittite kings are thus known from the Assyrian sources:

Arpad: (Adramu); Atarshumki (805, 796); Mati'ilu (754)
Gurgum: (Palalam); Qalparunda (805)
Kummukh: Ushpilulume (805, 773)
Hamath: Zakur (796)
Damascus: 'Mari' (Ben-Hadad III) (796); Khadianu (773)

In the second half of the period, Urartian sources²³⁵ for the first time make limited and less precisely datable references to other Hittite kings:²³⁶

Melid: (Shakhu); Khelaruada (Argishti-Sarduri, c. 780–750)
Kummukh: Kushtashpi (Sarduri, c. 755)
Tabal(?): Tuatte (Argishti)

The following native monuments belong to this period:

1. Dated by direct synchronisms with Assyria in the references noted above:

Hittite:

Qalparunda of Gurgum, son of Palalam, has been identified with the Halparuntiyas III, author of the Maraş lion inscription²³⁷ (MARAŞ 1), which has already been used in establishing the chronology of earlier rulers of Gurgum.²³⁸ The inscription provides little further historical information, but the style of sculpture, characterized as strongly Assyrianizing and belonging to the end of the ninth century,²³⁹ provides a valuable exemplar for dating similar pieces.

²³² Eponym Chronicle: see above, n. 220.

²³³ Pazarcık Stela, reverse (see above, nn. 225 and 227).

²³⁴ See above, n. 216.

²³⁵ Cited from B 314.

²³⁶ For the individual names see B 314, 168ff, s.vv. Cf. below, pp. 405f.

²³⁷ B 112, 74f.

²³⁸ Cf. above, p. 383 and n. 85.

²³⁹ B 581, 205 and the comment in B 527, 310.

Ushpilulume of Kummukh is probably to be identified as the Shuppiluliuma whose wife(?) Panamuwatis dedicated two inscribed podia for thrones of the goddess Kubaba.²⁴⁰ These and similar fragmentary inscriptions from Kummukh have not preserved any significant historical material,²⁴¹ nor is the fragmentary sculpture with which they are associated any more informative, though Assyrian influence is visible.²⁴²

Aramaic:

Zakur of Hamath has long been known from his inscribed stela from Afis.²⁴³ This was originally surmounted by a figure now unfortunately mostly broken away.²⁴⁴ The dating of this, long a matter of controversy, seems to be well established by recent information and the inscription offers an important historical source.

Mati'ilu of Arpad, son of Atarshumki: the treaty of this king with a certain Bar-ga'ya of KTK, inscribed on stelae found at Sefire near Aleppo,²⁴⁵ is a historical document of great importance and one of the great enigmas of the whole period.

2. Dated by indirect synchronisms:

Panammu I of Sam'al (with his son(?) Bar-sur) is dated by his appearance in the later narrative of his descendant Bar-Rakib.²⁴⁶ A Storm-God statue bearing an inscription of his has been recovered.²⁴⁷

Tuatte (of Tabal?): the name is apparently a recurring dynastic one, and is attested in the hieroglyphic form *Tuwatis*. The native monuments inscribed with the name are probably to be attributed to Tuwatis, father of Wasusarmas, a contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III, and thus belong to this period.²⁴⁸

3. Lacking direct dating links provided by Assyrian reference:

Yariris of Carchemish (formerly read Araras)²⁴⁹ and his successor Kamanis. A substantial corpus of sculpture with associated inscriptions of these two rulers is known, and can be dated to this period largely by stylistic criteria.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁰ B 112, 80.

²⁴¹ B 514, especially 108f.

²⁴² B 563(a), 64 and pl. 12, figs. 6-8; B 514, 100ff, 105ff and pls. xviii; B 581, 101f.

²⁴³ B 480, no. 202; B 496, II no. 5.

²⁴⁴ B 589, pl. ix; B 581, 105 and 475.

²⁴⁵ B 480, nos. 222-4; B 496, II nos. 7-9 (with bibliographies). For recent treatments see B 555, 24-57 and B 574. See now B 5, VI s.v. KTK.

²⁴⁶ See below, p. 408.

²⁴⁷ B 480, no. 214; B 496, II no. 13.

²⁴⁸ See below, p. 406, and cf. p. 413.

²⁴⁹ B 112, 70 and n. 18.

²⁵⁰ Inscriptions listed B 112, 69f. For the style and date see B 581, 35ff, 135ff, 186ff; B 495, VII 3.

3. *Aspects of the period*

The Assyrian, Urartian and native documents may be combined to illuminate some aspects of the politics of this period in greater detail than for the earlier. In particular the careers of various prominent individuals command more attention, notably Ushpilulume, Atarshumki, Zakur, Shamshi-ilu; Yariris and Kamanis; Mati'ilu and the mysterious Bar-ga'ya; and Panammu I and Bar-sur.

Adad-nirari III and central Syria

Assyrian relations with Kummukh, Arpad, Hamath and Damascus are well illustrated by the various documents of this reign. Ushpilulume of Kummukh, who had called in the Assyrians to support him against Gurgum and perhaps Arpad in 805,²⁵¹ was clearly an Assyrian client in the manner of Kilamuwa of Sam'al earlier. The anti-Assyrian alliance led by Atarshumki of Arpad, apparently the son of the old opponent of Shalmaneser III,²⁵² resisted the invaders in a way not seen in north Syria since the collapse of Bit-Adini. In spite of the alleged defeat at Paqarkhubuni, probably in 805, this alliance apparently held firm, as had the Hamath-Damascus coalition against Shalmaneser III, for it appears still cohesive in connexion with the events provisionally dated to the year 796 B.C., the Eponym Chronicle's Manṣuate campaign. The documents which now appear to refer to this latter campaign are (1) the Adad-nirari display inscription references to the attack on Damascus; (2) the Zakur stela, with its reference to a Damascus-Arpad axis against Hamath; and (3) the Antakya stela recording the establishment of the Arpad-Hamath boundary by the Assyrians.²⁵³

According to Zakur, the Aramaean king of Hamath and Lu'ash²⁵⁴ and possibly a usurper,²⁵⁵ Bar-Hadad (Ben-Hadad) of Damascus, son of Hazael, incited against him a group of northern kings under 'Bar-Gush', including the kings of Que, Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al and Melid. They besieged him in Hazrak (Assyrian Khatarikka), the capital of his northern province Lu'ash, from which he was rescued by divine intervention. It has long been suspected that the necessary muscle-power was lent to the gods by the Assyrian army,²⁵⁶ and this appears to be confirmed by the documentary evidence that Assyria established the

²⁵¹ See above, p. 400; note especially B 526, 8.

²⁵² The father of Atarshumki, normally named Adramu, seems to appear once as Arame, the name of the king of Bit-Agusi under Shalmaneser III; cf. B 168, 61.

²⁵³ Cf. above, p. 400 and n. 230.

²⁵⁴ For Hamath and Lu'ash see above, p. 389 and nn. 142 and 145.

²⁵⁵ Hamath was last attested under the Anatolian dynasty of Urhilina and Uratamis in the reign of Shalmaneser III; see above, p. 396.

²⁵⁶ E.g. in B 542, 101.

Arpad–Hamath boundary. Likewise Bar-Gush has been recognized as a king of Arpad/Yakhan²⁵⁷ (Assyrian Bit-Agusi, Aramaic Bayt-Gush), and it now appears that this was the dynastic name or surname of Atarshumki.²⁵⁸ Since the Assyrian terms of settlement between Arpad and Hamath were clearly in favour of the former, in that the Arpad–Hamath frontier was placed as far west as the Orontes, it would seem that the Assyrians came to terms with Arpad and its allies while guaranteeing the security of Hamath.

The purpose of this Assyrian-inspired settlement between Arpad and Hamath was very probably to detach Arpad from the Damascus alliance and to isolate the latter diplomatically so that it could be dealt with alone. Evidence of the success of this policy is provided by the Assyrian claims of victory over ‘Mari’ of Damascus,²⁵⁹ and confirmed by Old Testament evidence of the weakness of Ben-Hadad son of Hazael²⁶⁰ and reference to a ‘saviour’ of Israel,²⁶¹ often recognized as the Assyrians. We may well suppose that this saviour was not the Assyrian king Adad-nirari himself but the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu, whose name appears for the first time in connexion with these events alongside that of Adad-nirari, nominally as a subordinate but in fact probably the prime mover now as later.

Shamshi-ilu and the West

This powerful governor has been independently identified in another Old Testament reference as ‘him that holdeth the sceptre in Beth-Eden’ (i.e. Bit-Adini).²⁶² His own inscriptions from Til-Barsib, referring to it as ‘Kar-Shalmaneser, city of my lordship’,²⁶³ confirm that it was at least one of his seats. He must have become *turtānu* some time between 808²⁶⁴ and 796 B.C., probably not long before the latter, and was still *turtānu* in 752 but no longer in 742,²⁶⁵ so that his office may well have been terminated by Tiglath-pileser III after 745. He was thus *turtānu* for a term which may well have exceeded fifty years. It is suggested that a recently discovered rock relief in the Hatay may represent him,²⁶⁶ and the apparently deliberate defacement of his monuments in Til-Barsib and Arslan Tash²⁶⁷ suggests that his career ended in the disgrace known to have befallen other over-powerful officials of the period.

He himself claimed among other titles that of ‘governor of the land

²⁵⁷ E.g. in B 600, IV and n. 7.

²⁵⁸ I.e. (Atarshumki) Bar-Gush; cf. *Mati’ilu mār Agusi* (Assyrian; B 213, 50, lines 30f). Cf. above, n. 168; B 164, 164; and B 913.

²⁵⁹ B 238, 143, lines 6b–9; 145, lines 18–20; 148, lines 14–21.

²⁶⁰ II Ki. 13: 25; B 610, 83f. ²⁶¹ II Ki. 13: 3–5; B 164, 162.

²⁶² B 828. ²⁶³ B 609, 148, lines 19f.

²⁶⁴ *Turtānu*: Nergal-ilaya (Eponym Chronicle, C^a1 + C^b1, obv. 9).

²⁶⁵ *Turtānu*: Nabu-danninanni (*ibid.* C^a1 + C^b1, rev. 32).

²⁶⁶ B 241, 180.

²⁶⁷ B 609, 142; B 207, 89, 93f.

of Khatti’ (*šāpir māt Hatti*),²⁶⁸ and he must indeed have had a very close relationship with the Syro-Hittite kings, especially the ruler of Carchemish, which lay no more than twenty kilometres upstream from Til-Barsib. He was effectively Assyrian king of the West, and his claimed victory over Argishti of Urartu²⁶⁹ is plausibly identified as the Urartian campaigns recorded by the Eponym Chronicle in the period 781–774 B.C.²⁷⁰ Also he played a large if not predominant part in the Manṣuate–Damascus campaign of 796. Similarly there is now evidence that while acknowledging the nominal suzerainty of Shalmaneser IV, he personally led the campaign against Damascus in 773 when a certain Khadianu was on the throne.²⁷¹ It is not impossible that this Khadianu is to be identified as Ben/Bar-Hadad son of Hazael (also called ‘Mari’ by the Assyrians), who could still have been on the throne in 773.²⁷² If not, Khadianu is an otherwise unattested successor.

Shamshi-ilu also claimed to have defeated the land of Mushku (the Phrygians),²⁷³ a people with whom Assyria had intermittent contact since the days of Tiglath-pileser I, but who would clash more seriously when Assyrian expansion touched the Anatolian plateau.

After this period and the reigns of Zakur and Ben-Hadad (and) Khadianu, little is heard of Hamath and Damascus until the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. The Old Testament suggests a general gain of Israelite power at their expense,²⁷⁴ and the Eponym Chronicle records three further campaigns to Khatarikka (i.e. northern Hamath) in the years 772, 765, and 755,²⁷⁵ which were presumably conducted by Shamshi-ilu in unknown circumstances.

The Urartian advance

Though Shamshi-ilu claimed to have defeated Argishti I of Urartu, the inscriptions of this king and those of his son Sarduri provide sufficient evidence of growing Urartian influence on the northern Hittite states. The country which bore the brunt of the Urartian thrust across the Euphrates was naturally Melid, where Khelaruada, son of Shakhu, is named as the victim by Argishti (c. 780) and again by Sarduri (c. 750),²⁷⁶ and physical corroboration of the Urartian presence is provided by Sarduri’s Izolu inscription on a cliff overlooking the Euphrates at the Melid crossing.²⁷⁷

²⁶⁸ B 609, 146, line 9.

²⁶⁹ B 609, 146, lines 11–18.

²⁷⁰ Above, p. 276.

²⁷¹ See above, pp. 400f and n. 233.

²⁷² The length of his reign is unknown: B 610, 89 and n. 39. If this identification is made, *Khadianu* (= Aramaic *Hexion*) would be his personal name, *Ben/Bar-Hadad* his dynastic name, and *Mari* a title. Cf. above, nn. 168 and 258.

²⁷³ B 609, 146, line 10.

²⁷⁴ II Ki. 14: 28; B 610, 91ff.

²⁷⁵ See above, p. 401 and n. 220; B 574, 236f.

²⁷⁶ See above, p. 401 and nn. 235–6; B 314, no. 80 §3 II, no. 102 rev.; no. 104 (see following note).

²⁷⁷ See most recently B 418.

A reference by Argishti to the 'land of the sons of Tuatē' in a western context apparently distinct from Melid²⁷⁸ recalls the name of Tuatē, a ninth-century king of Tabal,²⁷⁹ a name appearing also in hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Kayseri area, probably of the first half of the eighth century B.C., as 'Tuwatī, Great King'.²⁸⁰ If we may connect the Urartian reference with either of these, it should suggest that Urartian influence may already have been felt west of the Taurus. Another kingdom drawn within the Urartian orbit was Kummukh, where Kushtashpi, a more or less direct successor of Ushpilulume, was subjected by Sarduri, c. 750 B.C.²⁸¹ It is clear that the Urartian-dominated alliance which later confronted Tiglath-pileser III was being put together during these years, though no further details have been recovered.

*The position of Carchemish*²⁸²

A surprising silence from external sources concerning Carchemish, from 848 (last attested year of Sangara) to 738 B.C. (first attested year of Pisiri), can hardly be attributed to the weakness or insignificance of this city, since the sculptures of Yariris and his successor Kamanis show a high level of artistic achievement, and their associated inscriptions, the only historical source for the period,²⁸³ also suggest a degree of international prominence.

Yariris' inscriptions refer to a predecessor, Astiruwas, though contrary to what is often supposed none of the surviving monuments can certainly be attributed to this king.²⁸⁴ Yariris himself boasted an international reputation²⁸⁵ and claimed a degree of literacy in various scripts as well as proficiency in foreign languages.²⁸⁶ He also had some contact with an Assyrian king.²⁸⁷ He gave his successor Kamanis public advancement during his own reign,²⁸⁸ and the latter on the evidence of his own inscriptions duly became king.

Attempts have been made to identify Yariris' contemporary Assyrian king, and it has also been proposed to recognize an Urartian king's name in the inscriptions of Kamanis, both of which have been taken to confirm the already secure attribution of these monuments to the first half of the eighth century B.C. A reading of the name Ashur-dan (III) in an inscription of Yariris would provide a *terminus post quem* of 772 B.C. for the pieces but is in fact much too uncertain.²⁸⁹ The name

²⁷⁸ B 314, no. 80 §3 VII.

²⁷⁹ See above, p. 394 and n. 185, and p. 402.

²⁸⁰ B 566, s.v. The inscriptions are those of his servants (ÇİFTLİK, KULULU I) and his son (TOPADA).

²⁸¹ B 526, 9. Cf. below, p. 412.

²⁸² B 112, 72f. Also B 5, v s.v. Karkamiš, §(b) 5-9.

²⁸³ See above, n. 250.

²⁸⁴ B 508, 104 and n. 28a (citing B 581, 191).

²⁸⁵ B 525, 152.

²⁸⁶ B 525, 150f.

²⁸⁷ B 112, 72f.

²⁸⁸ B 567, 1a serie, 25f. For a discussion of the relationship of Astiruwas, Yariris and Kamanis, see B 523, 157ff.

²⁸⁹ 112, 72f and n. 40.

probably to be read *Sasturas* (or *Sasturis*) on a Kamanis inscription has been identified as that of Sarduri (II) of Urartu.²⁹⁰ A recent interpretation of the context however²⁹¹ appears to exclude the possibility, since *Sasturas* is stated to be the 'first servant' ('prime minister'?) of Kamanis, which could hardly be a reference to a king of Urartu.

Stylistic and prosopographic links between the sculpture of Kamanis and a group now attributed to Pisiri, last king of Carchemish,²⁹² have been noted. These would seem to imply a date not long before 738 B.C. for Kamanis.

Whatever the exact dates of Yariris and Kamanis, it seems inescapable that their tenure of office must have overlapped to a large degree with that of Shamshi-ilu in Til-Barsib. As very close neighbours the Hittite and Assyrian rulers must have established some *modus vivendi* not documented in our surviving sources. The contact which must have existed may well have provided a focal point for the exchange of goods, ideas and artistic styles. It would seem unlikely that Carchemish took part in any of the anti-Assyrian groupings of the early eighth century, nor is there at present any concrete evidence for Urartian influence or control in the city.

Arpad and Bar-ga'ya of KTK

In the mid-eighth century B.C., Atarshumki of Arpad, last heard of in 796 B.C., had been succeeded, not necessarily directly, by his son Mati'ilu.²⁹³ It would seem that this state remained the key to north Syria, for which we have the evidence of the two Mati'ilu treaties already mentioned, that with Ashur-nirari V of 754, and that with Bar-ga'ya of KTK.²⁹⁴ The fragmentary Ashur-nirari treaty is the earliest preserved example of the Assyrian *adû*-document, a loyalty oath, often translated 'treaty',²⁹⁵ similar to the Hittite treaties of the second millennium B.C. The preserved portions clearly show Mati'ilu to be the inferior partner on whom the oath was imposed. The much better preserved Bar-ga'ya treaty, inscribed in Aramaic on the stelae from Sefire near Aleppo, shows many parallels with the Assyrian document, notably that it is also an *adû*-document ('DY'),²⁹⁶ and that it shares 'the colourful curse formulae, and especially the divine witnesses to the oath, who are specifically Mesopotamian in both documents.'²⁹⁷ Bar-ga'ya appears as

²⁹⁰ B 475, 62f. This has been usually accepted (e.g. B 470, 424); for reservations see B 566, s.v. *S.s.262-5*.

²⁹¹ B 525, 149f, correcting B 508, 105. I now consider the translation 'Kamanis (is) the foremost servant of Sasturas' to be untenable on syntactic grounds; see B 523.

²⁹² See below, p. 412 and n. 329.

²⁹³ B 519.

²⁹⁴ See above, p. 401 and n. 234; p. 402 and n. 245.

²⁹⁵ B 184, 1/1, s.v. *adû* A (with discussion).

²⁹⁶ B 480, II 242; B 496, II 34.

²⁹⁷ B 578, especially 163f.

the dominant partner of the otherwise prominent state of Arpad,²⁹⁸ yet his identity, and that of his country, have proved difficult to demonstrate satisfactorily.²⁹⁹

The main powers who might have been able to impose such a treaty on Arpad were Assyria and Urartu, and others who might have gained a temporary advantage might include Hamath, Carchemish and perhaps Kummukh. While it is possible to suppose that 'Bar-ga'ya' is an Aramaic surname (like Bar-Hadad and Bar-Gush)³⁰⁰ which masks the identity of a known dynast, the country name KTK has remained an obstacle. Identifications of the name have ranged from the undemonstrable to the implausible, and the states so designated have been supposed to be, among others, Assyria, Urartu and Hamath.

A recent treatment of the problem argues strongly in favour of locating KTK in Hamath, or at any rate its northern provinces, but studiously avoids any chimerical identification of the place-name.³⁰¹ According to this view, Bar-ga'ya is to be seen as an otherwise unrecorded Aramaean successor of Zakur, king of Hamath and Lu'ash. The appropriateness of this interpretation to the contemporary political scene is cogently demonstrated and it may be hoped that it points the way to the final cutting of the Gordian knot of KTK.

The dynasty in Sam'al

Further insight into the political conditions in Syria prior to the arrival of Tiglath-pileser III comes from Sam'al, a one-time member of the Arpad alliance. A later inscription of Bar-Rakib³⁰² gives a somewhat mutilated account of dynastic strife culminating in the installation of his father as king of Sam'al by Tiglath-pileser III in 743–740 B.C. The earlier narrative thus belongs to the present period. It goes back to Panammu I, son of QRL, whose inscribed Storm-God statue was also found at Sam'al.³⁰³ Panammu I may have been Bar-Rakib's great-grandfather,³⁰⁴ and it is possible that he and QRL may have been direct successors of Kilamuwa. Panammu's own account of his reign depicts it as a literary idyll of paradigmatic prosperity, but the less optimistic account of Bar-Rakib makes it clear that a bloodthirsty dynastic feud was raging, in which his grandfather Bar-sur perished, and his father Panammu (II) barely escaped to Assyrian protection. Here again we find an appeal to an outside power, Assyria, like those of Kilamuwa, Ushpilulume, and Zakur. Doubtless other powers, in particular Urartu, would also become involved in this way.

²⁹⁸ For summary of views on this question see B 480, II 271f.

²⁹⁹ For summaries see B 480, II 271f; B 496, II 34; B 558, viii.

³⁰⁰ See above, n. 168.

³⁰¹ B 574.

³⁰² B 480, no. 215; B 495, II no. 14.

³⁰³ B 480, no. 214; B 495, II no. 13.

³⁰⁴ B 480, II 226.

At this point we should note that an earlier theory, which inserted an Azriyau into the Sam'al dynasty before Panammu II, has been decisively disproved.³⁰⁵

V. TIGLATH-PILESER III, SHALMANESER V AND SARGON II

In 745 B.C. Tiglath-pileser III seized the throne in an Assyria weakened by internal insurrection and the independence of the great provincial governors, and threatened by an Urartian pincer movement in the west and the east.³⁰⁶ After re-establishing central control and beating back the Urartian menace, he inaugurated a new policy of violent intervention in the west. Assyrian policy here, pursued with fluctuating success since Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, had traditionally consisted of periodic military intervention, the extraction of tribute, the support of pro-Assyrian factions, and the replacement of anti-Assyrian rulers. This was now abandoned in favour of a policy of total conquest, accompanied by the deportation of the populations and the establishment of Assyrian provinces under an Assyrian administration. This seems to have been an extension of a policy hitherto followed only east of the Euphrates, which had led to the successful establishment of a 'greater Assyria' in Upper Mesopotamia. The reigns of Shalmaneser V and especially of Sargon II saw the acceleration of this policy towards its logical conclusion. Most of the Syro-Hittite states, as well as the kingdom of Israel, were attacked, defeated and ruthlessly broken up to become provinces of a regularly constituted Assyrian empire.

Assyrian sources for the period become relatively abundant. The outline chronology comes as before from the Eponym Chronicle, fairly preserved for Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II,³⁰⁷ and in addition the annals of both these kings are partially preserved,³⁰⁸ though giving rise to some serious difficulties, especially in the case of the former. Other royal inscriptions supplement these chronographic documents, and as a corrective to their bombastic and one-sided accounts, royal and administrative letters begin to become available.³⁰⁹ As regards the native monuments, some groups of Syro-Hittite inscriptions and sculpture belong to this period. These, though they provide interesting details and perspectives, do not figure so prominently as historical sources as in earlier periods. The history of this period relies much more heavily on external, particularly Assyrian, sources.

³⁰⁵ B 603; B 850; B 518.

³⁰⁶ See *CAH* III.2, chapter 22.

³⁰⁷ B 245, 43off (C^b1 rev. 26–47; C^b3, critically mutilated for Shalmaneser V; C^b4 rev. 1–21 + C^b6 rev. 1–16).

³⁰⁸ For Tiglath-pileser III see especially B 236 and for Sargon B 237.

³⁰⁹ Cited below where relevant.

In the same sphere as the Syro-Hittite monuments, but completely overshadowing them as documents charting the impact of Assyrian violence on the western states, we have the passages of the historic and prophetic books of the Old Testament relating to the downfall of Israel.

1. *Tiglath-Pileser III*

Against Arpad and Unqi

In north Syria, Tiglath-pileser encountered an alliance led by Sarduri II of Urartu. The genesis of this alliance is poorly documented, although some steps in its formation have been considered above. Its full composition cannot be certainly ascertained from the defective sources,³¹⁰ but it is clear that Arpad under Mati'ilu was the leading indigenous power, and that Melid, Gurgum and Kummukh also participated. We may see it as a continuation of the alliance led by Mati'ilu's father Atarshumki in the years 805–796 B.C., with the difference that this time it was supported, or perhaps coerced, by the great-power presence of Urartu.

After a campaign against Namri, perhaps designed as a holding operation in the east,³¹¹ Tiglath-pileser struck directly at this alliance in 743, and by a decisive victory in Arpad,³¹² or, more accurately, in Kummukh,³¹³ rolled back the Urartian penetration of north Syria and left himself free to deal with the Syro-Hittite opposition. He invested the city of Arpad, which was captured after a three-year siege, according to a brief note in the Eponym Chronicle.³¹⁴ No other sources for this siege and its outcome are available, and we are thus uninformed as to how the other Syro-Hittite states lined up during the conflict, and on what terms they subsequently settled with the victor. The fate of Mati'ilu is unknown, but if he fell into Assyrian hands he was doubtless dealt with as a treaty-breaker.

The following year, 739, Tiglath-pileser campaigned in Ulluba, another attempt to secure the eastern frontier.³¹⁵ While he was there, renewed resistance developed in Syria, if we may judge from the recent elucidation of the events of 738 B.C.,³¹⁶ which has involved first, the association of the Eponym Chronicle's 'Kullani conquered' with the fragmentary annals' account of the conquest and annexation of Unqi; and secondly, the decisive removal of the grounds for identifying the

³¹⁰ B 158, §§785, 797, 813, 769. See B 236, 177, 180 and figs. 2–3. A recently discovered account contains more details: see B 239.

³¹¹ See *CAH* III.2, chapter 22.

³¹² Eponym Chronicle; see B 603, 253f; B 926, 36 and n. 32.

³¹³ As for n. 310 above.

³¹⁴ As for n. 312 above.

³¹⁵ Eponym Chronicle; see now also B 592, especially 56ff.

³¹⁶ B 603, 255ff; B 850, 36ff; B 112, 81ff; B 518; B 539; B 522. Now also B 5, VI *s.p.* Kullani.

'Azriyau' active at this time with Azariah of Judah, and the consequent elimination of the latter's supposed intervention in north Syrian affairs.

What can now be seen to have happened is that Tutammu of Unqi, a country last heard of as a part of Atarshumki's alliance against Zakur, revolted,³¹⁷ as did also 'nineteen districts of Hamath' including the northern province, Khatarikka, and the coastal plain, under the leadership of the otherwise unknown Azriyau.³¹⁸ Tiglath-pileser accused Tutammu of breaking his treaty-oaths (*adû*), and Azriyau and the Hamath districts of criminal rebellion, apparently in both cases implying the existence of a contractual relationship like the Mati'ilu–Ashur-nirari V treaty, a more concrete form of authority over western states than hitherto attested. He seized Unqi and deported Tutammu and his courtiers to Assyria,³¹⁹ and his treatment of the conquered country, narrated in a damaged annals passage³²⁰ was of a kind later to become familiar. People and animals were distributed as booty, the country was stripped of its wealth and the capital Kunulua was organized under a eunuch governor as a province later known by the variant form of the name as Kullani. The description of the fate of Arpad, were it extant, would doubtless have been on similar lines.

A lengthy preserved section of the annals immediately preceding the events of the ninth year (737 B.C.)³²¹ describes the thorough reorganization of north Syria presumably at the end of 738, following the Ulluba campaign and the suppression of the Unqi–Hamath revolt. Parts of Hamath were, like Unqi, constituted as provinces, probably two in all, Šimirra and Khatarikka.³²² Details of large-scale population movements, a prominent feature of later Assyrian imperialism, are given: Hamathites to Ulluba and easterners to the cities of Unqi and coastal Hamath.

The Syro-Hittite kings in 738 B.C.

The account of 738 is rounded off with a list of tributary western kings,³²³ which for the first time since the days of Shalmaneser III gives a comprehensive survey of the political divisions of the West and their rulers. An almost identical version of this list recently discovered³²⁴ has been shown to date back at least to 738 B.C. The absence of Unqi and Hamath from this list suggests that it was compiled at a time when these two countries were still in revolt, before the annexation of the former

³¹⁷ B 213, 16ff, lines 92–101 (= B 158, §769); see B 603, 256.

³¹⁸ B 213, 20ff, lines 126–32 (= B 158, §770); see B 603, 257; B 926, 40ff and n. 62; B 518; B 580, especially 42ff. Na'aman (in B 574) considers Azriyau to be king of the northern part of Hamath.

³¹⁹ B 216, 133.

³²⁰ See above, n. 317.

³²¹ B 213, 22ff, lines 132–50 (= B 158, §§771f).

³²² B 539, 56ff, correcting B 112, 83 n. 103.

³²³ B 213, 26, lines 150–7 (= B 182, 283(a)); cf. B 926, 33f.

³²⁴ B 926, especially 26ff, with bibliography; corrected in B 477; B 574.

and the reduction of the latter after the revolt of Azriyau. Besides the kings of Israel, Tyre(-Sidon) and Byblos, and the Arab queen, the latter account includes an apparently comprehensive roll of the Syro-Hittite rulers, many of whom are attested also in other sources:

Kushtashpi of Kummukh, who had been drawn into the Urartian orbit by Sarduri II³²⁵ and fought with the alliance in 743 B.C. Thereafter he seems to have been forgiven his perhaps enforced disloyalty and to have returned Kummukh to its pro-Assyrian allegiance.

Rakhianu of Damascus, a more or less direct successor of Khadianu (attested 773 B.C.), is known under the name of Rezin (RŠYN) in the Old Testament,³²⁶ where some account of his reign appears.³²⁷

Urikki of Que, a country last attested as a member of the Arpad alliance of 796 B.C. Urikki survived Tiglath-pileser to reappear in the reign of Sargon.³²⁸

Pisiri of Carchemish, who also survived into the reign of Sargon. His name is not preserved on any native monument, but it has been proposed that a style of inscribed sculpture should be attributed to him. If this is correct, he would be the son of Sasturas, probably the same as the 'prime minister' of Kamanis, and is thus linked with the earlier Carchemish rulers.³²⁹

Eni-ilu of Hamath, a more or less direct successor of Zakur, and also of Bar-ga'ya of KTK and Azriyau, a little-known ruler, perhaps an Assyrian nominee, under whom Hamath was shorn of its northern provinces.³³⁰

Panammu II of Sam'al, well known from the inscribed statue dedicated to him posthumously by his son Bar-Rakib,³³¹ which narrates how he escaped the dynastic turmoil of Sam'al to be re-instated on the throne by Tiglath-pileser III and awarded some of the territory of neighbouring Gurgum, presumably during the siege of Arpad. Sam'al is the only state attested as pro-Assyrian in this conflict.

Tarkhulara of Gurgum and *Sulumal of Melid*, who had both, like Kushtashpi, participated in the Urartian alliance, but were left on their thrones as tributaries, though Gurgum lost some territory. The submission of Tarkhulara is narrated in the newly discovered account (above, n. 310).

The list concludes with a group of Anatolian kings:

Dadilu of Kaska, a late representative of the unruly Kaska neighbours of the Hittite Empire, bearing a name probably to be analysed as

³²⁵ See above, p. 406 and n. 281; B 926, 46 and nn. 80-2.

³²⁶ B 926, 46, n. 83. ³²⁷ B 610, 95ff.

³²⁸ See below, p. 420.

³²⁹ B 112, 73, with references. For Sasturas see above, p. 407 and n. 291.

³³⁰ B 926, 40ff; B 574. ³³¹ See above, p. 408 and n. 302 (lines 7-15).

Anatolian.³³² The Kaska were now presumably located in the Taurus north of the Melid-Tabal route.

Wassurme of Tabal, known from his group of hieroglyphic inscriptions as Wasusarmas son of Tuwatis, claiming like his father the title of 'Great King'. The inscriptions found in the *vilayets* of Kayseri and Nevşehir approximately define his kingdom, Tabal.³³³ They are mostly dedications by his servants,³³⁴ but one long, very difficult inscription of his own is known, apparently narrating a battle fought in Parzuta(?), in which seven kings opposed him and three named kings were his allies, including apparently Warpalawas, Kiyakiyas (Kiakki) and an otherwise unknown Ruwatas.³³⁵

Urballa of Tukhana, best known of the group, from his surviving portrait sculpture and inscriptions, as Warpalawas of Tuwana.³³⁶ His kingdom was approximately the *vilayet* of Niğde, classical Tyana, and an inscription of a vassal shows that he controlled the Anatolian end of the Cilician Gates.³³⁷ He too survived well into the reign of Sargon.³³⁸

Ushkbitti of Atuna, *Tukhamme of Ishtunda* and *U(i)rimme of Khubishna*, probably minor figures ruling single cities only. Atuna³³⁹ and Khubishna³⁴⁰ are fairly certainly located but Ishtunda³⁴¹ is not.

Thus Tiglath-pileser III was the first Assyrian king since Shalmaneser III whose influence was felt on the Anatolian plateau. The only detailed evidence for the means by which Assyrian power was extended at this period comes from Sam'al, in the narrative of Panammu II, and from the Old Testament note of the coercion of Menahem,³⁴² both of which events must have occurred during the siege of Arpad. Similar unattested forays against Hamath, Damascus and Phoenicia, as well as into Que and Anatolia, must be envisaged.

Against Damascus

In the years 737-735 B.C. Tiglath-pileser had again to fight in the north and east to secure his position against Urartu.³⁴³ Rakhianu (Rezin) of

³³² B 545, 16f, n. 34; B 616, 68, 93 and n. 44.

³³³ See above, p. 376 and n. 18; B 535, 20f; B 926, 48f and n. 92.

³³⁴ B 567, 1a serie, no. 30 (SULTANHAN); 2a serie, no. 67 (KAYSERİ); 3a serie, no. 36 (SUVASA).

³³⁵ B 567, 1a serie, no. 31 (TOPADA): supplement translation from B 525, 127f and especially 150.

For the names of the supporters of Wasusarmas see B 523, 165f.

³³⁶ B 535, 21; B 926, 49f and nn. 95 and 97; B 198, 28f.

³³⁷ The inscription BULGARMADEN, written by his servant Tarkhunazas, mentions the donation of Mount Muti by Warpalawas. The local city was doubtless Zeyve Hüyük, which lies at the upper end of the Cilician Gates. See B 567, 1a serie, no. 25, and cf. B 118, 67; B 507, 107ff; B 926, 50 and n. 97.

³³⁸ See below, p. 421.

³³⁹ B 198, 30ff; B 926, 50f and n. 102; B 523, 166ff.

³⁴⁰ See above, n. 188. The identification with Cabissus, suggested in B 470, 424, is not acceptable.

³⁴¹ B 198, 30. The identification with Azatiwataya, noted in B 470, 424 n. 6 is not acceptable.

³⁴² II Ki. 15: 19-20; cf. CAH III.2, chapter 29.

³⁴³ Eponym Chronicle: 737 B.C., 'against the Medes'; 736, 'to the foot of Mount Nal'; 735, 'against the land of Urartu'. Cf. B 154, 14f, B 592, 56ff.

Damascus, tributary in 738, now felt strong enough to resume an initiative, showing that, as in the days of Shalmaneser III, Damascus retained an independence of action even when north Syria was firmly under Assyrian control. He combined with Pekah of Israel against Ahaz of Judah who, following in the tradition of many Syro-Hittite kings before him, appealed to Assyria, accompanying this with a large donation.³⁴⁴ Tiglath-pileser responded quickly. After a campaign in 734 against the Philistines,³⁴⁵ he concentrated on Damascus for 733–732.³⁴⁶ The bare facts of the capture of the city and the execution of Rakhianu are provided by the Old Testament narrative, but the detailed Assyrian account is largely lost.³⁴⁷ A personal detail appears in the biography of Panammu II of Sam'al, who perished while fighting for the Assyrians during the siege.³⁴⁸ Pekah of Israel, who had shared in this disastrous enterprise, was deposed and murdered at the Assyrian instigation and parts of his territory were annexed;³⁴⁹ while Ahaz of Judah, the catalyst of the crisis, was able to visit Tiglath-pileser inside the city of Damascus.³⁵⁰ The city itself was established as an Assyrian provincial centre and it is possible that some later-attested provinces were carved out of its territory at this date, possibly Šubutu and/or Manšuate.³⁵¹

The notice of a campaign against the Arabs apparently at this time survives in a fragmentary form in the annals and the Nimrud tablet,³⁵² and is directly followed in the latter source by a list of tributary kings,³⁵³ very similar in its first part to that of 738 B.C., but damaged so that one or two names are missing from each line. Of the Syro-Hittite kings, Kushtashpi, Urikki, Eni-ilu, Panammu II, Tarkhulara, Sulumal, Wassurme, Ushkhitti, Urballa and Tukhamme reappear, and the gaps must certainly have contained the name of Pisiri, and perhaps those of the kings of the Kaska and Khubishna. Names of recent casualties such as Rakhianu had presumably disappeared. This list purports to present a summary of tributaries in 732 after the fall of Damascus, but the various submissions can hardly have been simultaneous;³⁵⁴ for example

³⁴⁴ II Ki. 16: 5–10, II Chron. 28: 5–6, 16–23, Is. 7: 1–9; cf. *CAH* III.2, chapter 29.

³⁴⁵ Eponym Chronicle: 734 B.C. 'against the land Pilishta', explained by II Chron. 28: 18. Cf. B 280, 21ff; B 272; B 604, 88f.

³⁴⁶ Eponym Chronicle: 733, 732, 'against Damascus'.

³⁴⁷ B 213, 34ff, lines 195–209 (= B 158, §§776f); cf. B 182, 283 (a).

³⁴⁸ Above, n. 302 (lines 16–19).

³⁴⁹ II Ki. 15: 29–30; B 213, 80, lines 6–8, 15–18 (= B 182, 284 (a)). Cf. B 237, 37 and n. 133; B 87, 59f; *CAH* III.2, chapter 29.

³⁵⁰ II Ki. 16: 10.

³⁵¹ B 87, 62; B 610, 102. Not Haurina: see B 590. It is not clear whether Šubutu and Manšuate belonged to Hamath or Damascus.

³⁵² B 213, 36ff, lines 210–40 (= B 182, 283 (b)); B 213, 70, rev. 1'–6' (= B 158, §§798–800).

³⁵³ B 213, 70f, rev. 7'–13' (= B 158, §801); see B 269, 52f.

³⁵⁴ Cf. B 495, I Zdp2a.

Panammu II, who fell during the fighting, is listed instead of his son and successor, Bar-Rakib. Yaukhazi (Ahaz) of Judah, the circumstances of whose submission have been noted, also appears in the list.

The tribute list is followed in the Nimrud tablet by a brief note that Wassurme failed to present tribute,³⁵⁵ although he does appear in the foregoing list. The *rab ša rēši* was sent to replace him with a certain Khulli, 'son of a nobody', and to collect tribute. This action must have occurred between 732 and 729 B.C. (the terminal date of the Nimrud tablet). The lack of prominence given to this apparently easy operation implies an Assyrian military presence on the plateau, probably during the siege of Damascus as before during the siege of Arpad.

The phases of Tiglath-pileser's western campaigns show a pattern comparable with those of Shalmaneser III, and indeed those of Adad-nirari III, namely successive assaults upon north and then south Syria. Like them he had to deal with two Aramaean centres of resistance, the northern being Arpad (in Shalmaneser's day it had been Bit-Adini) and the southern Damascus. He apparently succeeded beyond the limits of his predecessors by adopting a more radical military approach and by being able to sustain a more concerted military effort involving two major sieges. This enabled him to gain physical control of the centres of opposition and in turn to seek the radical political expedient of a drastic dispersal of the resistance and the establishment of an Assyrian provincial system. The provinces established in this reign were, as far as is known, Arpad, Kullani (formerly Unqi), Khatarikka, Šimirra and Damascus, possibly with Šubutu and/or Manšuate, as well as some northern districts of Israel, a decisive and irrevocable step on the road to empire followed by his successors. At the same time he did not neglect a diplomatic offensive, and the willingness of some western states to call in the Assyrians is as well attested in his reign as earlier.

2. *Shalmaneser V*

The short reign of Shalmaneser V (726–722 B.C.) is ill-documented, since no royal annals are known and even the Eponym Chronicle entries are unfortunately destroyed for his reign. The main known event of the reign, begun but not apparently concluded, was the siege of Samaria,³⁵⁶ leading to the dissolution of the kingdom of Israel. Besides this it is sometimes supposed that two states found later as Assyrian provinces must have been annexed during this reign, on the negative evidence that this is not attested in the better-documented reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II; Sam'al and Que are the states in question.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵ B 158, §802.

³⁵⁶ Babylonian Chronicle: see B 237, 33ff; B 98, 73; *CAH* III.2, chapter 29.

³⁵⁷ B 87, 70ff; B 237, 33, n. 100; B 545, 77f; B 535, 23.

In Sam'al, Bar-Rakib had been installed by Tiglath-pileser on the death of his father, Panammu II, about 733–732.³⁵⁸ He continued a pro-Assyrian policy and seems to have enjoyed a reign of great prosperity during which he endowed Sam'al with an outstanding series of buildings and sculpture,³⁵⁹ accompanied by a group of informative inscriptions.³⁶⁰ The length of his reign was of unknown duration but presumably substantial, and nothing is subsequently heard of Sam'al until the appearance of an Assyrian governor in 681 B.C.,³⁶¹ after which the presence of an Esarhaddon stela³⁶² confirms its provincial status. However, the dating of the annexation *e silentio* to the reign of Shalmaneser V hardly seems to allow Bar-Rakib a sufficient reign (a maximum of about ten years) and cannot be regarded as conclusive.

The problem of Que is more complex and is considered below.³⁶³

A later remark of Sargon suggests that Khulli, Tiglath-pileser's nominee on the throne of Tabal, was deported to Assyria by Shalmaneser.³⁶⁴ This evidence that he was active in Anatolia raises the question of access. With Arpad and Kullani in Assyrian hands, the direct routes to Anatolia lay certainly through Que and perhaps also through Sam'al. Further evidence for the position of these two kingdoms at this date is required.

3. Sargon II

Revolt in the West

The Assyrian dynastic crisis in 722 B.C. brought to the throne Sargon II, who, by carrying the aggressive policy inaugurated by Tiglath-pileser III to its logical conclusion, terminated the independence of most of the surviving, largely Hittite, western states. The turmoil of this accession, however, provided the opportunity for a general western revolt which was swiftly seized. Yau-bi'di, king of the still independent but truncated Hamath, acting apparently in concert with Gaza and Egypt, incited to rebellion the newly formed provinces of Arpad, Šimarra and Damascus, as well as the conquered Samaria, and perhaps also Khatarikka,³⁶⁵ thereby demonstrating how precarious Assyrian control in the occupied territories still was. Sargon stigmatized Yau-bi'di as a usurper and showed special bitterness against him,³⁶⁶ perhaps because his rebellion fell at such a critical juncture. After securing his

³⁵⁸ Above, n. 302 (lines 19f).

³⁵⁹ Orthmann's 'Zincirli III (+IV?)', B 581, 63ff, 136, 199ff; Genge's 'Barrākibzeitlichen Bildwerke', B 495, VII 1b.

³⁶⁰ In addition to the inscribed statue of his father (above, n. 302), B 480, nos. 216–21; B 496, II nos. 15–17.

³⁶¹ See below, p. 426; but cf. B 545, 73ff.

³⁶² B 47, 96ff (Mnm A).

³⁶³ See below, pp. 418f and nn. 383f; p. 420.

³⁶⁴ B 155, 32, lines 194f; B 545, 78, n. 207. Cf. B 516.

³⁶⁵ B 237, 37 and n. 137.

³⁶⁶ B 520.

position in Assyria, Sargon was able to confront the western resistance in 720 B.C. at Qarqar in Hamath, where 133 years previously Shalmaneser III had also fought a western alliance. Sargon won a more conclusive victory than his predecessor. Yau-bi'di was captured, carried to Assyria and flayed alive, and Hamath was seized. Chariots, cavalry and troops were levied from the local population for service in the Assyrian army, and 6,300 rebel Assyrians, doubtless adherents of Shalmaneser V, were settled in its territory,³⁶⁷ which became a province under an Assyrian governor. Various forms of tribute and forced labour were imposed, and these were recorded on stelae set up in the conquered territory, pieces of two of which have been recovered.³⁶⁸ Since the name of Hamath itself is not subsequently attested as the designation of an Assyrian province,³⁶⁹ the seat of the Assyrian governor may have been elsewhere, possibly in Manṣuate or Šubutu, which would then have named the province.

At the same time Assyrian control was presumably reimposed on the provinces which had broken free, Arpad, Šimarra, Damascus and Samaria. It would also appear from his later references that Sargon intervened in Tabal and Melid early in his reign.³⁷⁰ This would have been possible at any date after 720 B.C.

The clash with Midas

After a year's campaign against Mannai which produced some captives for settlement in Khatti,³⁷¹ Sargon returned to the West in 718 B.C. for a Tabal campaign against a certain Kiakki of Shinukhtu,³⁷² whom he accused of breaking treaty-oaths and withholding tribute. Shinukhtu is plausibly identified with the Old Assyrian Shinakhuttum,³⁷³ for which a location in the neighbourhood of modern Aksaray is suggested by the recent discovery of a broken hieroglyphic stela probably attributable to this Kiakki, whose name has also been seen earlier as a one-time ally of Wasusarmas.³⁷⁴ It would seem that Kiakki's action was instigated by Mita of Mushku³⁷⁵ (Midas of Phrygia), who appears here for the first time. Concrete evidence for Assyrian involvement on the Anatolian

³⁶⁷ B 520, 273, source 10, lines 5–8.

³⁶⁸ B 520, 273, source 5 (Asharné stela), source 10 (perhaps from Sheizar).

³⁶⁹ B 490, 269, 277; B 510, §7.

³⁷⁰ See below, pp. 418f and nn. 379, 386, 390.

³⁷¹ B 155, 8ff, lines 58–68 (= B 158, II §6).

³⁷² B 237, 86 and n. 262, 94; B 154, 36, 46; B 155, 10, lines 68–71 (= B 158, II §7); B 271, 103, lines 28f (= B 158, II §55).

³⁷³ B 491, 123f (citing J. Lewy).

³⁷⁴ See above, p. 413 and n. 335, and below, p. 423 and n. 412. Information on the new discovery by courtesy of Professors N. Özgüç and M. Kalaç. The name *Kiyaki(ya)s* is a common Anatolian one and appears, e.g., on KULULU lead strip 1, rev. 1; cf. above, p. 394 and n. 185.

³⁷⁵ B 90, 180, lines 50–4. For Midas see B 564 and *CAH* III.2, chapter 24 (a).

plateau since Tiglath-pileser III installed Khulli on the throne of Tabal³⁷⁶ is lacking, so it is impossible to be certain under what circumstances Kiakki was laid under tributary oath, but at least from this point onwards, the clash of Assyrian and Phrygian interests in this area was constant. Sargon removed Kiakki and presented Shinukhtu to Kurti (previously read Matti)³⁷⁷ of Atuna, a successor of the Ushkhitti known to Tiglath-pileser III. The geography of this action is not entirely clear since Shinukhtu and Atuna seem to have lain on opposite sides of the Tuwana of Warpalawas.³⁷⁸ Sargon may have taken the opportunity of this campaign to intervene in the dynastic affairs of Tabal, as is attested by later evidence.³⁷⁹

Perhaps in retaliation for Assyrian moves in Anatolia, Midas seems to have intervened in Syrian affairs, for in 717 B.C. Sargon, alleging an intrigue between him and Pisiri of Carchemish, struck at the great Hittite centre.³⁸⁰ The sparsity of Assyrian references to Carchemish – Pisiri was recorded as tributary in 738 and probably also in 732 – do not seem to indicate any lack of wealth and power in this city. Sargon accused Pisiri too of breaking treaty-oaths, and carried him, his family and main adherents in chains to Assyria, along with the enormous booty of his land. As with Hamath, the native population was pressed into Assyrian service, and Assyrians were settled in the territory under a governor. Signs of Assyrian vengeance on the city were detected by the excavators in the shattered state of the monuments,³⁸¹ particularly those which may be attributed to Pisiri himself.³⁸² Thus suddenly and ingloriously the leading Hittite city, with a tradition stretching back more than six centuries to the conquest by Shuppiluliuma himself, was brought to an end, though the city itself lingered on as an Assyrian provincial centre for a further century before its final abandonment and ruin.

Though for the following three years Sargon was largely preoccupied with the problems of Mannai and Urartu, he found time to strike back at Midas in 715 B.C., when he restored some border cities annexed by the Phrygian to the land of Que.³⁸³ The status of the country at this date is uncertain. Its king, Urikki, had paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III in about 732 B.C., and was still alive in 710/9, by which time his

³⁷⁶ Above, p. 415 and n. 355.

³⁷⁷ Written KUR-ti-i: Kurti(ya), unlike the other possible readings (*mat-*, *fat-*, *lat-*), is a commonly attested Anatolian name occurring frequently in the KULULU lead strips; cf. B 548, no. 649. For the location of Atuna see above, n. 339. See also B 620, 213ff; B 563, 166.

³⁷⁸ If the locations at Aksaray and Zeyve Hüyük are correct.

³⁷⁹ B 516; cf. below, p. 419 and n. 386.

³⁸⁰ B 155, 10ff, lines 72–6 (= B 158, II §8); B 90, 179, lines 13–24; B 154, 36, lines 20–2; B 271, 170ff, lines 10, 21–2 (= B 158, II §§137f); B 237, 22f, lines 1'–14' (A.16947).

³⁸¹ B 626, 92.

³⁸² See above, n. 329.

³⁸³ B 155, 20ff, lines 118–20, 125–6 (= B 158, II §§16, 18); B 90, 182f, lines 34–40.

country was an Assyrian province.³⁸⁴ It has been asserted that it must have been a province by the time of the action in 715, and its conquest has been attributed to Shalmaneser V,³⁸⁵ but neither point is established. Sargon presumably passed through its territory on his Anatolian campaign of 718, and again in 713, but it may be that it was then under a client king rather than a regularly constituted province. The campaign of 715 B.C. could have been in support of such a client.

Khulli, after a spell of deportation in Assyria, had been restored to the throne of Tabal by Sargon, who later placed his son Ambaris (or Amris) on his father's throne, designating him king of Bit-Burutash, and giving him his own daughter in marriage with the land of Khilakku as dowry,³⁸⁶ another dispensation hard to understand geographically.³⁸⁷ The dates of these Anatolian interventions cannot be exactly determined, but in 713 B.C. Sargon, alleging conspiracy with Phrygia and Urartu against the favoured Ambaris, deported him with his family and nobles to Assyria and constituted his land a province in which Assyrians were settled. It has been suggested that Sargon's daughter continued to govern the country either nominally or in fact.³⁸⁸ The appearance of this Assyrian presence on the plateau may have subdued but did not eliminate the considerable number of independent principalities in that area, but one other Assyrian favourite, Kurti of Atuna, who was toying with the idea of defection to Phrygia, was apparently brought to heel.³⁸⁹

The year 712 saw the termination of the independence of Melid, recorded as tributary to Tiglath-pileser III in 738 and 732 B.C. under its king Sulumal. This man had been succeeded by one Gunzinanu, also tributary to Assyria until replaced by Sargon with Tarkhunazi. The dates of these events, like those in Tabal, cannot be precisely determined.³⁹⁰ After Tarkhunazi, like other Assyrian beneficiaries, succumbed to the pressure or blandishments of Midas, Sargon struck at Melid in 712 B.C., not apparently in person since that year he was 'in the land'.³⁹¹ Melid and another part of the kingdom, Kammanu, were ravaged and occupied. Tarkhunazi fled to Til-Garimmu in the Taurus mountains towards Tabal, but was apprehended and removed to Assyria. Til-Garimmu and Kammanu were settled with deportees and annexed, and, significantly, strong border fortresses were built which Sargon intended should hold the boundaries of the empire against Urartu and Phrygia. The city Melid itself was given to Kummukh, then

³⁸⁴ See below, p. 420 and n. 396.

³⁸⁵ See above, n. 357.

³⁸⁶ B 545, 78 n. 207; B 535, 23; B 516.

³⁸⁷ B 515, §2.

³⁸⁸ B 198, 31.

³⁸⁹ B 271, II no. 45, lines 3'–10' (= B 158, II §214).

³⁹⁰ B 545, 78f and n. 208; B 112, 79.

³⁹¹ B 155, 34ff, lines 204–21 (= B 158, II §§26f); B 271, I 112, lines 78–83 (= B 158, II §60) and 148, lines 23–7 (= B 158, II §92); B 269, 178, lines 9f (= B 158, II §79); B 90, 182f, lines 41–75. Cf. B 237, 92f, 95f.

ruled by Mutallu, presumably in the hope that a strong client Kummukh could play its part in holding the northern frontier.

The following year, 711 B.C., the annexation of Gurgum was added to that of its neighbour.³⁹² Tarkhulara, attested as king in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, was murdered by his son Mutallu at an unspecified date, perhaps not until 712/11.³⁹³ Mutallu's seizure of the throne without Assyrian sanction provoked Sargon to avenge the murdered king. He carried off Mutallu to Assyria, and constituted Gurgum as a province named from its capital city Marqasi (Maraş). The process is described in the usual stereotyped phrases. According to another account, one of the more blatantly self-contradictory of Assyrian records, it was Tarkhulara himself who revolted and paid the price.³⁹⁴

The Phrygian entente and the death of Sargon

At this point Sargon's empire was approaching its apogee, for only Kummukh and some of the smaller Anatolian states still retained their independence. For 709 B.C. Sargon records a successful expedition of the governor of Que (the earliest certain attestation of this officer) against Midas, whose submission is reported.³⁹⁵ A most remarkable document connected with this incident has fortunately been recovered, a letter from Sargon to his governor of Que, Ashur-sharra-uşur.³⁹⁶ This provides a far more accurate picture of the true state of affairs than any amount of unreliable bombast from the annals, and sheds a vivid light on Assyrian expansionist intentions and diplomatic methods. Drafted in the form of the king's instructions in reply to a series of quoted questions by the governor, it fully confirms the provincial status of Que at this date. The circumstances in which it was written were dramatic. The governor had reported that Midas had apprehended a fourteen-man embassy sent by Urik to Urartu and had handed them over to him. Urik is undoubtedly to be identified with the king of Que in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, who at the Assyrian annexation of his country must have preserved his life and sufficient independence to conduct an intrigue against the intruders, probably from the safety of exile. The reason for this sudden gesture of conciliation on the part of Midas, who had been implicated in almost every anti-Assyrian movement of the decade, is not explicit, but it may be supposed that the first onslaught of the Cimmerian invaders was by now being felt in Anatolia as in

³⁹² B 155, 38, lines 1-5 + 248 (= B 158, II §29); B 271, I 112ff, lines 83-9 (= B 158, II §61).

³⁹³ B 112, 75.

³⁹⁴ B 90, 182f, lines 41-75, also p. 185.

³⁹⁵ B 155, 66ff, lines 445-54 (= B 158, II §§42f); B 271, I 126ff, lines 150-3 (= B 158, II §71). For the date see B 198, 33.

³⁹⁶ Re-edited in B 198 (see p. 27 for the governor's name).

Urartu.³⁹⁷ Sargon's reaction to this démarche was exultant, and he urged his governor to follow up the advantage to the limit. His view, expressed in forcible, not to say brutal, language, was that if Phrygia and Assyria could act in concert the days of the small Anatolian principalities were numbered:

Let Ashur, Shamash, Bel and Nabu give the word, (and) all these kings will polish your sandals with their beards!... (ll. 28-30)

What will all those kings of Tabal do in future? You, from this side, and the Phrygian, from that side, will squeeze them... (ll. 48-50)

Among these Anatolian rulers Urballa (Warpalawas) is named in the letter. His long reign (at least 738-710 B.C.) was probably due to a policy of at least ostensible cooperation with the Assyrians, and his surviving monuments show a strongly Assyrianizing style of sculpture on the plateau.³⁹⁸ Some local unrest from the city-states of Atuna and Istuanda affecting Bit-Burutash (Paruta) is complained of, but essentially Sargon showed no apprehension of danger from Anatolia which he regarded as delivered into Assyrian hands by the Phrygian entente. The message to be delivered to the peoples of Anatolia by his governor was strongly reminiscent of that of Sennacherib's *rab šāqê* to Jerusalem:³⁹⁹

Now eat your bread, (and) drink your water under the shadow of the king my lord, (and) be glad! (ll. 40-1)

The last independent Syro-Hittite kingdom east of the Taurus, Kummukh, had been enlarged in 712 B.C. by the addition of the city of Melid, but in spite of this, its king Mutallu, in a dangerously exposed position surrounded by Assyrian provinces, seems to have sought alternative means to secure his survival. Sargon accused him of intriguing with Argishti II of Urartu and withholding tribute, perhaps truly or perhaps merely as a pretext for action.⁴⁰⁰ While he was in Babylon in 708, Sargon sent his generals against Kummukh.⁴⁰¹ Mutallu himself escaped, presumably to Urartu, and the country and its wealth fell into Assyrian hands to become a province and receive the deportees of Bit-Yakin as colonists. It seems to have been designated as the seat of the '*turtānu* of the left', perhaps in recognition of its crucial strategic position on the Urartian frontier.⁴⁰² Melid also presumably passed back into Assyrian hands as a result of this action.

³⁹⁷ Note the letter B 111, 197 cited in B 198, 31 n. 19.

³⁹⁸ B 581, 114f, 219f.

³⁹⁹ II Ki. 18: 31.

⁴⁰⁰ B 155, 70ff, lines 467-72 (= B 158, II §§45f); B 271, I 116ff, lines 112-17 (= B 158, II §64).

⁴⁰¹ Eponym Chronicle: C^b3 rev. 15 (B 245, 433); C^b6 rev. 2 (B 245, 435). For *kat* read *kum*! (A. R. Millard)). Cf. B 545, 72ff; B 237, 96.

⁴⁰² B 155, 72, line 10; B 87, 78f, 84; B 526, 10.

After the annexation of Kummukh, Sargon must have felt secure in the north-west. Urartu was preoccupied with the Cimmerians, Phrygia compliant, and the Syro-Hittite states all securely in Assyrian hands. In 707–706 he felt free to celebrate the inauguration of Dur-Sharrukin. In 705, however, he was summoned once more to his distant north-west frontier, to Tabal,⁴⁰³ perhaps by an appeal from an Assyrian governor or even by his recent ally Midas. The fatality of the outcome may reflect the magnitude of the crisis. In the words of the Eponym Chronicle, our meagre source for this disaster: 'King killed, camp of the king of Assyria [taken].'⁴⁰⁴ The enemy is given as the otherwise unknown Eshpai the Kulummean, conjecturally but plausibly identified as a Cimmerian tribal leader.⁴⁰⁵ The unprecedented death on the battlefield of the Assyrian king must have struck the newly conquered peoples with seismic force, and its reverberations can be heard in the Old Testament.⁴⁰⁶ Not long after, Midas too was swept away by the Cimmerians, traditionally in 696–695 B.C.⁴⁰⁷ The period seems to have been a turning-point for the Assyrian empire and Anatolia.

4. *The native monuments*

In Anatolia sculptural and epigraphic remains of the period of Assyrian domination, though scanty, are somewhat more numerous than for the preceding age. This general paucity is probably due to the continuing lack of large-scale excavations of any sites of this period, though preliminary investigations at sites in Tabal and Tuwana have located cities of the period and such sculptural and epigraphic remains as we have,⁴⁰⁸ as well as a style of painted pottery often but inaccurately termed 'Phrygian'.⁴⁰⁹ Most notably a large palace of the period with portal sculpture, some unfinished, has been found on the mountain-top site of Göllüdağ, and perhaps represents a summer palace or mountain fastness of Tuwana. Also the lead strips from Kululu inscribed with economic texts, largely issues of sheep and other commodities to listed persons,⁴¹⁰ though banal enough in themselves, are a useful reminder of the existence of a documentation now lost.

The main datable groups of inscriptions, some with associated

⁴⁰³ B 237, 97 and nn. 311–15.

⁴⁰⁴ C¹⁶ rev. 9f (B 245, 435); Babylonian Chronicle entry largely missing (B 98, 76 and note).

⁴⁰⁵ B 237, 97 n. 311.

⁴⁰⁶ Is. 14: 4–21; associated with the death of Sargon in B 270, 410ff.

⁴⁰⁷ See *CAH* III.2, chapter 34(a).

⁴⁰⁸ See above, nn. 38–42 (the sites of Zeyve Hüyük, Göllüdağ, Tepebağları, Kululu and Sultanhan).

⁴⁰⁹ See recently B 483, 103f (citing B 562).

⁴¹⁰ See below, pp. 438f and n. 542.

sculpture, are, as has been noted, those connected with Wasusarmas of Tabal and Warpalawas of Tuwana and their servants.⁴¹¹ Two very recently discovered Storm-God stelae are attributable to Kiakki of Shinukhtu, deposed in 718 B.C., and to the son of Warpalawas, who could not have become king until after 709 B.C. at the earliest.⁴¹² Short, not precisely datable, inscriptions are those of a king Sipis (KARABURUN), and a king Kurtis (BOHÇA), both of whom presumably belong among the kings of Tabal.⁴¹³

In the rest of the Syro-Hittite world the period of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II saw a final flowering of the sculptural style developed over the previous three centuries. The 'type site' may be regarded as Sam'al (Zincirli) where the well-preserved sequence of sculpture associated with the inscriptions of Bar-Rakib⁴¹⁴ provides a point of reference for other sculpture from elsewhere, such as the 'Pisiri-group' from Carchemish⁴¹⁵ and the colossal ruler-figure from Melid (Arslantepe).⁴¹⁶ The other main comparable group is the sculpture of Sakça Gözü,⁴¹⁷ which certainly belongs to this period, but which, lacking a certain attribution to any of the known kings or states, still presents something of a puzzle. Although the site lies so close to Zincirli, the sculpture shows divergences, notably that the ruler-figure agrees stylistically with those of Carchemish and Melid and seems to portray a specifically Hittite king in contrast to the Aramaean figure of Bar-Rakib. A possible candidate for identification is Tarkhulara of Gurgum⁴¹⁸ whose territory could have included the site of Sakça Gözü. Alternatively it has been ingeniously suggested that the Sakça Gözü and Melid ruler-figures represent the only individual who could be conceived as having ruled in both places, namely Mutallu of Kummukh who held Melid from Sargon in the years 712–708 B.C.⁴¹⁹ While it is true that the similarity of the representations does not demand the identity of the individuals represented, neither does it preclude it.⁴²⁰ It may be therefore that Sakça Gözü is a representative of a late style of Kummukh sculpture from the period immediately preceding its loss of independence.

⁴¹¹ See above, p. 413 and nn. 333–7.

⁴¹² See above, p. 417 and n. 374. Now published by M. Kalaç: (1) *Kubnes Zs.* 92 (1978) 117ff; (2) *VIII Tarib Kongresi*, 240ff. Ankara, 1979.

⁴¹³ B 567, 1a serie, nos. 26f.

⁴¹⁴ B 581, 63ff, 199ff; B 495, VII, 1b; B 621, 196ff.

⁴¹⁵ B 112, 73; B 495, VII, 3c.

⁴¹⁶ B 581, 99, 142; B 495, VII, 2; B 621, 223ff.

⁴¹⁷ B 581, 79ff, 138; B 495, VII, 2; B 621, 204ff.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. above, p. 420. Winter (B 621, 207ff) suggests that Sakça Gözü was built by Bar-Rakib, perhaps on territory ceded by Gurgum to Panammu II. Yet she does not go so far as to identify the Sakça Gözü ruler as Bar-Rakib himself.

⁴¹⁹ B 545, 76ff.

⁴²⁰ B 112, 80; B 495, V; VII, 2; B 581, 211; B 624, 139.

VI. SENNACHERIB, ESARHADDON AND ASHURBANIPAL

1. *The western empire*

The chronology of the conquests of the Syro-Hittite states is established by Assyrian chronographic sources, principally the Eponym Chronicle, and more detailed accounts of the actual conquests of some states are preserved in the historical sources, principally Assyrian annals and display inscriptions. To recapitulate (* indicates the survival of a detailed account):

Arpad	conquered 743–740
Unqi*	738
Damascus	733–732
(Israel*)	732, 724–722
Hamath*	738, 720
Carchemish*	717
Bit-Burutash and Khilakku*	713
Que	(?)before 710
Melid*	712
Gurgum*	711
Kummukh*	708
Sam'al	(?)before Esarhaddon

Though the detailed accounts are stylized and repetitive, they illustrate certain aspects of the conquests and the treatment meted out to the vanquished. The victims were often accused of violating treaty-oaths, and sometimes particularly savage punishments were inflicted on the rulers and others whom the Assyrians considered to be especially guilty of treasonable behaviour – that is, the leaders of the anti-Assyrian resistance. The typical Assyrian policy for pacification would include the mass removal of the population, especially craftsmen and those who could be drafted into the Assyrian army, to Assyria or another province of the empire, and the resettlement of the state with Assyrian colonists or other deportees under an Assyrian governor (*šaknu* or *bēl pīḫati*). The reactions of the conquered peoples to these catastrophes can only be judged from the Old Testament account of the fall of Israel, for no other indigenous accounts survive. The use of the demoralizing pressure of terror is well illustrated by the incident during Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem in 701 B.C., when the *rab šāqē* held up as a warning to the still unconquered Judah the terrible fate of Israel and the Syro-Hittite kingdoms:

Did the god of any of these nations save his land from the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad? ... Where are the gods of Samaria? Did they save Samaria from me? (II Kings 18: 34)

For most of the seventh century, the period of Assyrian ascendancy, the conquered states remained firmly in Assyrian hands as provinces, usually named from their chief cities, the seats of the Assyrian governors, not by their former country or tribal names – thus for example, Kullani for Unqi,⁴²¹ Samerina (Samaria) for Israel, and Marqasi for Gurgum. The mass deportations must have gone far towards obliterating their national identities (as can be seen in the case of Samaria), and they declined from the position of vital and independent centres to that of provincial and probably impoverished backwaters. Headquarters of the Assyrian administrations and other traces of occupation have been identified at Til-Barsib,⁴²² Carchemish,⁴²³ Sam'al,⁴²⁴ Melid,⁴²⁵ Unqi (Kullani),⁴²⁶ Tarsus,⁴²⁷ and possibly Hamath,⁴²⁸ as also in Megiddo (see *CAH* III.2, chapter 30). The loss of prominence of the western provinces is illustrated by the way in which references to them are relegated from the historical record of the royal inscriptions to the letters and economic texts of the Assyrian administration. Firm evidence for their continued provincial status is provided by these attestations, and more particularly by the attestations of the names of their governors, most commonly as eponyms and usually in the reign of Sennacherib. Thus attested provinces include:

Arpad: 692,⁴²⁹ reigns of Esarhaddon,⁴³⁰ Ashurbanipal⁴³¹ (undated)
 Kullani: 684,⁴²⁹ reigns of Esarhaddon,⁴³⁰ Ashurbanipal⁴³¹ (undated)
 Damascus: 694,⁴²⁹ reign of Esarhaddon⁴³⁰
 Samerina: 690,⁴²⁹ 646 (postcanonical)⁴³²
 Šimirra: 688,⁴²⁹ and postcanonical⁴³³
 Khatarikka: 689,⁴²⁹ reign of Esarhaddon⁴³⁰
 Manšuate: 680,⁴²⁹ reign of Esarhaddon⁴³⁰

⁴²¹ See above, pp. 410f and n. 316.

⁴²² B 608, chapters II and VI B.

⁴²³ Tablet (B 626, 135ff); sculpture fragment B 61a (B 627, 199, 239f); stela fragment A 33m (B 627, 280); inscribed bricks of Sargon (B 627, 265).

⁴²⁴ Assyrian rebuilding after destruction (B 615, II 177, IV 243); Esarhaddon stela (B 615, I 11ff). Cf. B 545, 79f.

⁴²⁵ Assyrian palace and fragments of Sargon cylinders: B 478, 9; B 538, 991, 1011; B 545, 81 and n. 213. Cf. G. R. Castellino in B 585, Appendix A.

⁴²⁶ B 581, 83 (double lion column-base, soldier reliefs); cf. B 621, 235f.

⁴²⁷ B 503, 8ff; B 499.

⁴²⁸ B 490, 269, 277. There appears to be little positive evidence for the identification of these remains as Assyrian.

⁴²⁹ B 245, 427 (C^d = B 222, 20); all these are corroborated by independent occurrences of the eponym names with titles in the dates on actual documents. For the provincial divisions of Israel see *CAH* III.2, chapters 29–30.

⁴³⁰ B 111, 43 (line 16), 372 (rev. 11). See B 203, 7ff, especially 14ff.

⁴³¹ B 131, 167, lines 12ff.

⁴³² B 245, 452a (*Nabu-šar-aḫḫēšu*); also B 68, 105, no. 29; B 69, 36, lines 52f; B 260, 208, A VII 5f; B 41, 64, lines 74f.

⁴³³ B 131, 301, line 22 = B 245, 450a (*Mannu-ki-aḫḫē*).

Šubutu: 683⁴²⁹

Carchemish: 691,⁴²⁹ 649⁴³⁴

Que: 710/9,⁴³⁵ 685 (?),⁴³⁶ 655,⁴³⁷ and postcanonical⁴³⁸

Marqasi: 682⁴²⁹

Kummukh: 668,⁴³⁹ 663,⁴⁴⁰ and postcanonical⁴⁴¹

Sam'al: 681,⁴²⁹ and postcanonical⁴⁴²

The absence of a name from this list of attestations may be fortuitous, but alternatively may indicate either that a previous capital city was not the seat of an Assyrian governor, as seems likely in the case of Hamath,⁴⁴³ or that the country in question did not in fact remain under Assyrian control. In the latter category the principal absentees are Melid and Tabal, and the campaigns fought by Sennacherib and Esarhaddon confirm that Assyrian control in these areas was less than complete, and also raise the question of the position of Que.

2. Sennacherib's western campaigns

It is plausibly suggested that the disastrous death of Sargon led to a general revolt of the north-western provinces,⁴⁴⁴ though the scanty evidence available does not permit any certainty as to its extent and duration. It seems unlikely that, if Assyrian control in central north Syria had been seriously shaken, Sennacherib would have been free to undertake his third campaign against Phoenicia, Palestine and Judah in 701 B.C., for Assyrian kings understandably seem to have regarded control of the former area as of primary importance. However, there is every reason to believe that Assyrian control of Tabal itself was lost for ever, and that in Melid and Que it was shaken to an extent yet to be determined.

Evidence is provided by an inscription of Sennacherib dated to 694,⁴⁴⁵ which after the standard account of the first five campaigns (702–699) includes two campaigns not led by the king himself, dated to 696 and 695. The former was occasioned by the revolt of a local ruler,

⁴³⁴ B 536, 207 = B 245, 441b (*Abi-ilaya*).

⁴³⁵ B 198, 27; see above, p. 420 and n. 396.

⁴³⁶ B 245, 427 (C^d = B 222, 20, iv 35). A. R. Millard kindly informs me that a collation from the photograph supports the reading [ku]r 'q^ul-e' and that an alternative reading is hard to suggest.

⁴³⁷ B 260, 206, line 25.

⁴³⁸ B 131, 47, line 27; 69, line 9 + 359, line 29 = B 245, 450b, 451b (*Marduk-šarra-ušur, Nabu-danninanni*).

⁴³⁹ B 131, 40, line 37; 101, line 41.

⁴⁴⁰ B 131, 56, line 16.

⁴⁴¹ B 131, 57, line 24; 376, line 49 = B 245, 454b (*Šalmu-šarra-iqbi*).

⁴⁴² B 122, 942, rev. 10 (*Bel-usate*).

⁴⁴³ See above, p. 417 and n. 369.

⁴⁴⁴ B 545, 81f; B 850, 33, n. 36.

⁴⁴⁵ B 126 no. 1, iv 61–v 22 and pp. 9ff; B 158A, 61ff + B 114, 150ff. Cf. B 472, 97ff.

Kirua, 'governor' (LÚ.EN.URU) of the city Illubru, who was joined by the men of Khilakku and the cities Ingira and Tarzu (Tarsus),⁴⁴⁶ effectively the whole of Cilicia as far as we may judge. The Assyrian account of the suppression of the revolt and the erection of a victory stela has been noted to tally well with one preserved in classical sources, stemming ultimately from Berossus,⁴⁴⁷ according to which the opponents of the Assyrians included Greeks and the victory of Sennacherib was costly. The classical sources later remembered monuments and buildings erected by Sennacherib after the victory, but the durability of Assyrian control at this date remains uncertain.

The following year the army was sent to Til-Garimmu where a certain Gurdi⁴⁴⁸ had seized control. Sennacherib claimed to have captured and sacked the city, but again in view of later developments it is questionable whether Assyrian control lasted beyond the departure of their army.⁴⁴⁹ The subsequent editing of these Que and Til-Garimmu campaigns out of later editions of the annals may have been due less to the fact that the king did not lead them in person,⁴⁵⁰ than that the final outcomes were unfortunate.

3. Esarhaddon's western campaigns

Although Esarhaddon's conduct of an invasion of Egypt may in general provide good evidence for the security of the Assyrian hold on the inner provinces of north Syria, his north-western campaigns, like those of Sennacherib, suggest that in this direction control was less assured. In 679 B.C. Esarhaddon defeated Teushpa the Cimmerian in the territory of Khubushna,⁴⁵¹ thus making the first Assyrian military appearance in Tabal probably since the death of Sargon there. To reach this area he would almost certainly have had to march through Cilicia and its pass to the plateau. Probably to be associated with this Tabal campaign is Esarhaddon's claimed defeat of the mountain-dwelling Hittites of Khilakku,⁴⁵² where in spite of the number of towns captured, no lasting effects of such a campaign were to be expected, nor are any claimed.⁴⁵³

Though Esarhaddon may have had a free passage through Cilicia in 679, trouble rapidly followed. Sanduarri, king of Kundu and Sissu, allied himself with the rebellious Abdi-milkutti of Sidon.⁴⁵⁴ The two cities Kundu and Sissu seem to have constituted a kingdom adjoining

⁴⁴⁶ For the topography see B 498, 51f, n. 19; B 465, 17ff; B 535, 25.

⁴⁴⁷ B 126, 9ff; B 472, 97ff.

⁴⁴⁸ For the correct reading (against *Ihi-di-i*), see B 596.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. B 87, 80f; B 545, 81f.

⁴⁵⁰ B 126, 10f.

⁴⁵¹ B 47, 33, line 18; 51, Episode 8; 100, §66, lines 23f and n. 24; B 98, 125f (Esarhaddon Chronicle).

⁴⁵² B 47, 51, Episode 9.

⁴⁵³ B 576, 79f; B 515, §2.

⁴⁵⁴ B 47, 49f, Episode 6; B 98, 83 (Babylonian Chronicle).

the Cilician plain – Sissu is probably to be located at Kozan (formerly Sis) and Kundu perhaps at Anavarza.⁴⁵⁵ In view of the Assyrian control of the overland routes this alliance should be thought of as based on naval contacts. Esarhaddon struck first at Sidon which he captured in 677, and then proceeded against the Cilician rebel. Both Abdi-milkutti and Sanduarri fell into Assyrian hands and were beheaded in 676, their severed heads being sent to Assyria. The independence shown by Sanduarri supports the view that Sennacherib's control of Que after 695 may have been of short duration. In 676 however, Esarhaddon probably re-established Que as an Assyrian province, since a governor is attested for 655 and again in the postcanonical period.⁴⁵⁶

While Esarhaddon may have enjoyed a measure of success in Que and even Tabal, his efforts against Melid were so fruitless that the account was quietly omitted from his public records, though the chronicles, not inhibited by similar restraints, record for 675 a campaign against this country and its king Mugallu.⁴⁵⁷ Esarhaddon's concern for the advance of this ruler breaks through in his questions to the oracular Shamash.⁴⁵⁸ It would seem that Mugallu had taken control of Melid from which Esarhaddon failed to dislodge him, and that he was acting in concert with a certain Ishkallu of Tabal in an anti-Assyrian manner. Thus by this date if not earlier Melid was again independent under its own king, as was also Tabal. The latter acting with the men of Khilakku can also be seen to have been threatening Que.⁴⁵⁹ Thus the available evidence suggests that this reign saw continued disturbance, if not the actual dissolution, of the north-western fringes of the empire.

4. *The end of the 'hieroglyphic tradition'*

The late flowering of Syro-Hittite art during the reigns of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon was to be its final phase. The disappearance of this culture and its monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions from Syria and the Taurus region was clearly due to the Assyrian conquest, which brought to an end the Syro-Hittite dynasties and scattered the indigenous populations. The only monuments of the ensuing period are all Assyrian provincial work, as seen in pieces from Til-Barsib, Carchemish, Sam'al, and Tell Ta'yinat.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁵ B 504, 91ff; B 535, 26; *contra* B 472, 129ff.

⁴⁵⁶ See above, p. 426 and nn. 437f; the possible attestation of a governor in 685 B.C. must be borne in mind.

⁴⁵⁷ B 98, 83, line 10 (Babylonian Chronicle); 126, line 15 (Esarhaddon Chronicle).

⁴⁵⁸ B 130, nos. 54-7; B 129, nos. 27-30 and p. lx; B 70, no. 64b, pp. 16 and xlv.

⁴⁵⁹ B 130, no. 60.

⁴⁶⁰ *Til-Barsib*: wall paintings, sculpture, stelae (above, n. 422); *Carchemish*: sculpture (above, n. 423); *Sam'al*: stela (above, n. 424); *Tell Ta'yinat*: sculpture (above, n. 426).

The end of this tradition on the Anatolian plateau however requires more explanation, since Assyrian influence there appears to have been a brief and evanescent phenomenon, and none of our evidence suggests that it was ever sufficiently disruptive to account for the extinction of the native culture. The recently discovered fine Storm-God stela dedicated by the son of Warpalawas, as noted above,⁴⁶¹ is the latest approximately datable representative of the style, but apart from this isolated piece we have no clear indications that the tradition of sculpture and writing survived long into the seventh century B.C.

The introduction in the late eighth century of alphabetic writing by the Phrygians into Anatolia⁴⁶² may be supposed to have contributed to the obsolescence of the hieroglyphic script, but the contemporaneous termination of the sculptural tradition may well have been occasioned by something more catastrophic. The Cimmerian hordes certainly appeared in Anatolia before the end of the eighth century.⁴⁶³ They had weakened Urartu, perhaps caused the death of Sargon in battle and swept away Midas and Phrygia before they were checked by Esarhaddon in 679. It seems likely that Tabal also was devastated by them during this period, perhaps severely enough to explain the disappearance of its characteristic culture. The rulers attested during this period, Gurdi⁴⁶⁴ of Til-Garimmu and especially Mugallu⁴⁶⁵ of Melid and Ishkallu⁴⁶⁶ of Tabal bear names which may plausibly be identified as Anatolian, and it seems likely that the Hittite-Luwian peoples of the south-eastern plateau succeeded in maintaining themselves, even if under external pressure they abandoned their script and other traditional features of their civilization.

5. *The problem of Karatepe*

A notable Hittite monument, the sole surviving representative of the art of Cilicia, was discovered at the small hill-top site of Karatepe lying north-east of the Cilician plain on the river Ceyhan.⁴⁶⁷ The two monumental gateways of this walled town were decorated with the usual portal figures and relief orthostats, but are notable particularly for the duplicate inscriptions in hieroglyphic Luwian⁴⁶⁸ and Phoenician⁴⁶⁹ borne by each, which provided the first proper bilingual text of the former. This text is also one of the longest and historically most informative of all the hieroglyphic inscriptions so far discovered.

⁴⁶¹ Above, p. 423 and n. 412.

⁴⁶² See below, chapter 20(b); also *CAH* III.2, chapter 34(a).

⁴⁶³ See *CAH* III.2, chapter 33(a). Cf. above, pp. 420f. and n. 397.

⁴⁶⁴ See above, n. 448 and cf. n. 377.

⁴⁶⁵ B 548, no. 813.

⁴⁶⁶ B 545, 81 n. 212.

⁴⁶⁷ B 612, 121 n. 2; also now B 5, v s.v. Karatepe.

⁴⁶⁸ B 567, 1a serie, no. 24; supplement translation from B 525, 132, 149f; B 529 and B 528.

⁴⁶⁹ B 480, no. 26. See now F. Bron, *Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe*. Paris, 1979.

The inscription was composed by Azatiwatas (also written Azatiwaras)⁴⁷⁰ who built the city, named after him Azatiwataya. It narrates⁴⁷¹ how he was promoted by Awarikus, king of Adana, and how later he ensured the succession on the throne of Adana of Awarikus' family, the house of Muksas (Phoenician mpš). Azatiwatas claims to have exercised such power over Adana that his position can hardly have been less than that of a powerful regent, and in view of his boasted relationship with other kings, he must have exercised some kingly power himself. Thus he is probably to be regarded as a nominally subordinate king ruling at some distance from Adana, presumably in the neighbourhood of Karatepe itself. His reign is represented as one of exemplary peace and prosperity for all Adana, and in literary style the inscription is closely comparable to the Aramaic text of Panammu I of Sam'al.⁴⁷²

The Muksas whose dynasty ruled Adana has been identified with the Mopsus known to the Greeks as a settler in Cilicia,⁴⁷³ and it is remarkable to find such confirmation of Greek tradition in the indigenous epigraphic sources. The hieroglyphic 'Adana', a city, appears in the Phoenician as DNNYM, i.e. *Danunim*, the Danuna, a people,⁴⁷⁴ who are also known from a number of sources, although considerable doubt still surrounds their origins and identity. The name of Awarikus, king of Adana, is identified with that of Urikki, king of Que in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III,⁴⁷⁵ and the identity of Awarikus/Urikki as one individual is possible but not directly demonstrable, since one could be the homonymous forebear of the other. It is clear however that Adana/Danuna is the indigenous designation of the kingdom of Que and its people.

If the Awarikus/Urikki identification is rejected, as it may be, firm evidence for the dating of the Karatepe monument is lacking, and widely divergent opinions have been expressed, based both on analysis of stylistic criteria and on attempts to establish other historical links.⁴⁷⁶ Also an attempt has been made to date the Phoenician inscription palaeographically.⁴⁷⁷ None of these criteria in isolation provides sufficiently clear and unambiguous results. Certain historical probabilities, however, should be borne in mind. It is unlikely that Karatepe could be dated to the long reign of Shalmaneser III, when other kings of Que are attested, or to the period from Tiglath-pileser III to Sargon II, since

⁴⁷⁰ For the spelling of the name see B 530, 162f.

⁴⁷¹ For a historical summary see B 581, 216f; cf. the comment in B 527, 311 and see B 528, 114ff.

⁴⁷² See above, p. 408 and n. 303.

⁴⁷³ B 535, 44ff; B 468, 1ff. Cf. also B 471, 363ff.

⁴⁷⁴ B 546. ⁴⁷⁵ B 581, 215 and n. 49, with bibliography.

⁴⁷⁶ B 612, with bibliography.

⁴⁷⁷ B 861, chapter IV, especially 116ff.

the tenor of the inscription seems to preclude strong Assyrian interference and the presence of an Assyrian governor in Que, and (if Awarikus = Urikki) Azatiwatas' reign largely postdated that of Awarikus, whose posterity he placed on the throne of Adana. The options for dating would thus be: (1) before 860 B.C.; (2) c. 820–740; (3) after 705. Recent analysis of sculptural style and motifs supports a late dating, which agrees with the evidence of palaeographic analysis.⁴⁷⁸

However, an attempt to identify Azatiwatas with a known king, 'Matti' of Atuna, may be decisively rejected.⁴⁷⁹ A further attempt to identify him with Sanduarri, king of Kundu and Sissu in the reign of Esarhaddon,⁴⁸⁰ has been tentatively proposed together with an exhaustive stylistic analysis of the sculptures.⁴⁸¹ This, the most recent treatment, suggests that they may well be dated stylistically to the later option, i.e. to the early seventh century B.C. If this is accepted, other plausible suggestions, which sought to show that Azatiwatas was involved in the revolt, suppressed in 696 B.C., of Kirua of Illubru against Sennacherib, find further support.⁴⁸²

6. Ashurbanipal's relations with Anatolia and Cilicia

The empire transmitted by Esarhaddon to Ashurbanipal was enlarged by the addition of Egypt and secure in its western provinces, as continued references attest, except on its north-west flank. The western empire was generally designated 'Khatti', a term which since the dissolution of the Hittite states of Syria and the Taurus under Sargon had lost any specific ethnic connotations, and now embraced former Aramaean, Phoenician and Palestinian territories.⁴⁸³ On the north-west frontier however, independent states descended from the Tabal, Melid and Khilakku of the hieroglyphic tradition may still be regarded as Hittite on onomastic evidence,⁴⁸⁴ although little evidence of the character of their culture has been recovered. Further west in Anatolia the vacuum left by the Cimmerian destruction of Phrygia was being filled by the growing power of Lydia. Assyria maintained an intermittent contact with these kingdoms.⁴⁸⁵

Early in his reign, perhaps in 668, after his Tyrian campaign, Ashurbanipal received embassies from Mugallu, now king of Tabal,

⁴⁷⁸ B 581, 214ff; B 495, VIII 1; B 621, 240ff; B 622. *Palaeography*: B 861; cf. B 612, 136f and n. 126.

⁴⁷⁹ B 617. *Matti* should probably be read *Kurti* (above, n. 377), and (*A*)*tuna* cannot be identified with Adana (above, n. 359).

⁴⁸⁰ B 621, 246; this was, however, both geographically and phonetically defensible: see further B 523.

⁴⁸² B 554; B 563; B 472, chapter 4.

⁴⁸⁴ Especially Cilicia: B 498, 54ff; B 535, chapters V–VII.

⁴⁸¹ B 622.

⁴⁸³ B 511, §4.5.

⁴⁸⁵ B 233, 1: CCCLff.

and Sandasarme, king of Khilakku, neither of whom, he noted, had submitted 'to the kings my fathers'.⁴⁸⁶ This must refer to Esarhaddon and perhaps also Sennacherib, and this estimate of the outcome of their Tabal-Melid and Cilician campaigns is surely closer to the truth than their own optimistic accounts.⁴⁸⁷ Mugallu's new title of Tabal probably represents an extension of authority since there is no evidence that he had lost control of Melid.⁴⁸⁸ Ashurbanipal boasted of the valuable presents sent by Mugallu and Sandasarme, and represented their embassies as submission. Since however it is unlikely that they were under any military threat from Assyria, it is usually supposed that it was pressure from the Cimmerians which drove the Anatolian kings to seek help from their former enemy, as was explicitly the case with Gyges of Lydia, a report of whose embassy follows directly in the narrative.⁴⁸⁹

The extent of Assyrian power and influence in Anatolia at this period is doubtful. Probably a loose alliance between Tabal and Assyria is to be envisaged, under which the Anatolian kingdom sent 'tribute', notably horses, in return for military support. Gyges perished in 652 B.C. in a Cimmerian assault led by Lygdamis.⁴⁹⁰ Mugallu lived to be succeeded by his son, who late in Ashurbanipal's reign turned from the Assyrian alliance and made common cause with Lygdamis (Dugdamme), for which disloyalty divine retribution punished him with a fiery death, as the Assyrian sources record with satisfaction.⁴⁹¹ Subsequently Lygdamis invaded Assyrian territory, and, according to a Classical source, was killed in Cilicia.⁴⁹² This information, along with the evidence of the appearance of a postcanonical eponym governor of Que and the discovery of the Tarsus tablets,⁴⁹³ confirms that Cilicia Campestris remained in Assyrian hands at this period.

Of the kingdom of Sandasarme, Khilakku (Cilicia Aspera and perhaps a part of the south-east Anatolian plateau), no more is heard, but it doubtless survived as an independent kingdom, since in the next century a much enlarged Cilicia is found playing a prominent part in Anatolian affairs. Similarly, whatever happened to Mugallu's kingdom at the death of his son, his union of Melid and Tabal foreshadowed the later kingdom of Cappadocia. The decline of Assyrian power at the end of the reign of Ashurbanipal left the Anatolian allies to fend for themselves, and was accompanied by the extinction of Assyrian historical documentation, previously one of the main sources of knowledge of Anatolian conditions.

Also at this period the Assyrian Empire in the West suffered the

⁴⁸⁶ B 535, 26 and n. 4 for sources.

⁴⁸⁸ *Contra* B 576, 85 and n. 20.

⁴⁹⁰ B 598, with sources.

⁴⁹² B 535, 27f nn. 6 and 1; B 576, 99 n. 63, for a date between 637 and 626 B.C. See also B 165, 10f.

⁴⁸⁷ See above, pp. 426ff.

⁴⁸⁹ B 576, 85 nn. 15-17.

⁴⁹¹ B 74, 88f, 105ff; B 576, 99.

⁴⁹³ Above, pp. 425f and nn. 438 and 427.

disaster of a Scythian invasion which reached the frontiers of Egypt and lasted twenty-eight years.⁴⁹⁴ This is not documented in the cuneiform sources and its role in subverting the Assyrian hold on the western provinces is unknown, as is also its impact on the surviving Anatolian states. However, after the fall of Nineveh, the rump of the Assyrian army was able with Egyptian support to fall back on some of the former provinces, particularly Harran, Kummukh, Carchemish and Hamath, until it was dislodged by the victorious Babylonians.⁴⁹⁵

VII. EPILOGUE: THE BABYLONIAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST

When the western provinces of Assyria fell to the Babylonians, the deportations and resettlements of the preceding century must already have gone far towards breaking up the ethnic structure of Syria-Palestine and replacing it with a partially assimilated population of very diverse origins. The whole area continued to be known, anachronistically, as 'Khatti' or alternatively as 'Beyond the River' (*eber nāri*).⁴⁹⁶ The replacement of Assyrian overlords by Babylonian, although poorly documented, need not be supposed to have been marked by any great discontinuity.

Meanwhile the Medes under Cyaxares were making a largely undocumented penetration across Upper Mesopotamia into Anatolia, so that by c. 590 B.C. they confronted the consolidated strength of Lydia across the river Halys. These two powers had between them rid Anatolia of both the Cimmerian and Scythian menaces,⁴⁹⁷ and a struggle for mastery between them was imminent. The Medes must have absorbed the land of Cappadocia (formerly Tabal-Melid), which is seldom attested as an independent entity.⁴⁹⁸

Cilicia alone survived as a state with a pedigree stemming from the Late Hittite state of the early Iron Age.⁴⁹⁹ Que has been seen to have been an Assyrian province under Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, while Khilakku had been an independent kingdom under Sandasarme. Early in the sixth century B.C., Cilicia, under a king Syennesis, and Babylon are found acting as seconds to the Lydians and Medes at their peace conference in 585.⁵⁰⁰ This Cilicia must have grown out of the kingdom of Khilakku (whence its name),⁵⁰¹ and may well have come to include

⁴⁹⁴ B 233, 1: CCCLXII, CCCLXV; B 588. Cf. *CAH* III.2, chapter 33(a).

⁴⁹⁵ B 276, 17ff; B 98, 94ff and n. 8. For the identification of Kimukhi with Kummukh see B 526, 10 and n. 39.

⁴⁹⁶ B 489; B 594; B 511, §5.3.

⁴⁹⁷ B 576, 100, with sources; B 233, 1: CDXIV and n. 2; B 551, 42of, §§41f; B 543, 939. Cf. *CAH* III.2, chapter 33(a).

⁴⁹⁸ A king Aribaeus, who fell opposing Cyrus, is attested (*Xen. Cyr.* II.1.5, IV.ii.31).

⁴⁹⁹ B 487, 76ff; B 535, 27ff; B 472, 144ff.

⁵⁰⁰ B 535, 29 and n. 1; B 472, 147.

⁵⁰¹ B 515, §3. Note also the Aramaic term 𐤇𐤊𐤍𐤍, 'Cilicians': B 498, 55 and n. 12.

the territory of the former Que. It is sometimes asserted that Que formed part of the Neo-Babylonian empire.⁵⁰² Nebuchadrezzar claimed the conquest of Khume (Que), Piriddu (Khilakku) and Lydia,⁵⁰³ and prisoners from the two former appear in a ration-list of 592.⁵⁰⁴ Also the presence of Babylon at the Medo-Lylian conference table in 585 B.C. is explained by the supposition of a Babylonian-controlled province of Que/Khume. Yet even if Nebuchadrezzar fought a successful campaign in Cilicia, his boasts of the further conquest of Piriddu and Lydia cast doubt on the validity of the claim, and at present it must be conceded that evidence for lengthy Babylonian domination of Que is inadequate.

It is in fact more likely that Nebuchadrezzar's activity in Cilicia was comparable with a campaign of Neriglissar recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle for 557 B.C.⁵⁰⁵ This was occasioned by an attack by Appuwashu, king of Pirindu (Piriddu), on Syria ('Beyond the River'). Neriglissar defeated Appuwashu in Khume, and carried the war into Pirindu as far as the Lydian border, but the Cilician escaped and Neriglissar went home. The narrative implies no permanent Babylonian control in Cilicia, and there is nothing to show that Khume was not in Appuwashu's hands before the attack and again afterwards. Those who see Khume as a Babylonian province have denied on those grounds alone that Appuwashu was a king of Cilicia as known to the classical world,⁵⁰⁶ yet it is hard to see any other position between Khume and Lydia which he could have occupied. Thus whatever the actual position of Khume/Que at this period, there do not appear adequate grounds for rejecting the evidence of a substantial kingdom of Cilicia (Khilakku/Pirindu) lying between Lydian and Babylonian spheres and lineally descended from the Khilakku of Sandasarme.

Nabonidus campaigned in Khume in 555 B.C., but again the brief chronicle report throws no light on the previous position of the country.⁵⁰⁷ If Babylonian control had ever existed, it did not long survive this. When Cyrus fought out the mastery of Anatolia with Croesus in 547, he seems to have had the support of the king of Cilicia, whom he rewarded with an enlargement of territory and the recognition of his dynasty as Persian satraps with a measure of local autonomy.⁵⁰⁸ We thus find the last of the Late Hittite states preserving a certain continuity and perhaps also its ethnic character into the Achaemenian period.

⁵⁰² As for n. 500. These scholars use Nebuchadrezzar's claims to discredit Herodotus' account of a 'greater Cilicia', but this is surely unwarranted.

⁵⁰³ B 139, 2, 7.

⁵⁰⁵ B 276, 37ff; B 98, 103f.

⁵⁰⁷ B 98, 105.

⁵⁰⁴ B 924, 934f; B 498, 54.

⁵⁰⁶ E.g. B 535, 29.

⁵⁰⁸ B 487, 93ff.

VIII. SYRO-HITTITE CIVILIZATION

1. *The architecture*

The character of the Syro-Hittite states as territorial units normally controlled by one capital city with dependent 'strong cities' and villages has been sufficiently illustrated above. Their geographical distinctness, and the way in which their frontiers followed natural features, may also be understood from their frequent correspondence to modern administrative provinces, of which the chief cities often stand directly on the ancient capitals, as in the case of Hama, Damascus and Maraş. The ancient sites are now marked by more or less imposing tells, the archaeological investigations of which have contributed most of what we know of the physical appearance and daily life of the Syro-Hittite cities. Most attention has been paid to their public buildings, the gates, fortifications, temples and palaces, which have yielded the characteristic portal figures and stone orthostats with relief sculpture and inscriptions.

The cities were typically divided into a citadel situated on top of an older tell and a lower town surrounded by fortification walls punctuated by gate towers.⁵⁰⁹ Building was normally in mud-brick and rubble, often with a traditional timber framework, and the use of dressed stone was confined to the lower parts of the walls which were faced with basalt or limestone orthostats. Gate-tower and entrance plans are perhaps the best known architectural elements, with examples known from almost all the excavated cities. Temples and palaces have been found at Carchemish, Zincirli, Tell Ta'yinat and Hama, among others,⁵¹⁰ but the excavations have paid little attention to the private houses of the period.

Schematic representations of these western cities are sometimes found on Assyrian reliefs and especially on the bronze gates of Shalmaneser III from Balawat,⁵¹¹ and these may be used in conjunction with the surviving architectural remains to reconstruct a general picture of the fortifications with their city gates, strategic towers and crenellated battlements. For the monumental architecture, a well-known element, the *bīt-hilāni* (a kind of columned portico), is generally supposed to have been borrowed by Assyria from the Syro-Hittite repertoire and has been the subject of much study.⁵¹² However, a detailed modern assessment of Syro-Hittite architecture remains a desideratum.

⁵⁰⁹ B 577 deals only incidentally with this period. For a short survey see B 557, 88ff. B 6, chapter 11 ('Arameans and Phoenicians in Syria') is still useful, though obsolete in its dating and in its refusal to recognize a specifically 'Hittite' tradition.

⁵¹⁰ B 577, 411ff, 470f; B 506, 38ff (West Central Area); B 490, chapter IX (Bâtiments I-IV).

⁵¹¹ B 124, naming Dabigu (XXI), Carchemish (XXXII), Parga (I), Ada (LII), Arne (LXIX), Ashtamaku (LXXIII), and including many unnamed cities. Cf. B 577, 316f and fig. 433.

⁵¹² See most recently B 602, with bibliography.

2. *The sculpture*

The dating of the sculpture, where relevant to Syro-Hittite history, has been outlined above. Syro-Hittite relief sculpture has been seen to be represented by fairly complete sequences from Carchemish and Zincirli, and less fully from Maraş and Malatya. The other more isolated, if no less significant, groups can now be associated with different phases of the known sequence. As analysed by Orthmann,⁵¹³ the sequence may be divided stylistically into (1) *Späthethitisch* I, characterized as archaic; (2) *Späthethitisch* II, which bears a certain, but still controversial, relationship to the beginning of Assyrian relief sculpture; and (3) *Späthethitisch* IIIa and b, groups which show increasingly strong Assyrian affinities.

The preferred approximate dates for these styles would seem to be:

Sph I, c. 1000–950:⁵¹⁴ Carchemish Water Gate, 'Ain Dara;

Sph II, c. 950–850:⁵¹⁵ Malatya Lion Gate, Til-Barsib stelae, Carchemish Suhis–Katuwas style, Zincirli south city-gate (early) and outer citadel-gate, Maraş Palalam stela (early) and miscellaneous pieces, also the Halparuntiyas II colossus (late);

Sph IIIa, c. 850–750:⁵¹⁶ Malatya and Maraş miscellaneous pieces, and Maraş Lion, Carchemish Yariris–Kamanis style, Zincirli Kilamuwa and Panammu I styles, early Sakça Gözü;

Sph IIIb, c. 750–700:⁵¹⁷ Malatya colossus, Carchemish Pisiri style, Zincirli Panammu II–Bar-Rakib style, late Sakça Gözü, Anatolian Warpalawas–Wasusarmas group, Karatepe (late?).

The subjects of the reliefs fall roughly into the following categories: (1) the religious, including mythological and cultic scenes, with heraldic beasts and beings, real and fabulous; (2) the royal, presenting the rulers, and sometimes their wives and families, and various activities, fighting, hunting, feasting and sacrificing; and (3) the personal, showing individuals other than royalty usually in family scenes, in particular the remarkable Maraş series of apparently funerary stelae.

For an examination of the human and ethnic types represented in this sculptural assemblage, a recent compilation of Assyrian representations of non-Assyrian peoples, including the Syro-Hittite, provides valuable comparative material.⁵¹⁸

Hittite and Aramaean styles of sculpture may be nearly as readily distinguishable from each other⁵¹⁹ as their respective inscriptions are by their scripts. However the idioms employed are very closely related,

⁵¹³ B 581, especially chapter III.

⁵¹⁵ See above, pp. 382ff.

⁵¹⁷ See above, pp. 422f.

⁵¹⁹ See above, pp. 386f.

⁵¹⁴ See above, p. 384 and nn. 93–5.

⁵¹⁶ See above, pp. 397f, 401.

⁵¹⁸ B 618.

probably because of the early modelling of the Aramaean on the Hittite style, and as with the passage of time the two styles grew together, it is quite proper to treat them as constituent parts of a single assemblage. A recent evaluation of Syro-Hittite sculpture in terms of 'schools' or 'workshops' is illuminating.⁵²⁰

3. *The inscriptions*

The hieroglyphic stone and rock inscriptions, which may or may not accompany the sculptures, are, as has been noted, mostly the work of kings or their dependants and are in general of a 'commemorative' character, being largely dedications to the gods of building work, land or objects.⁵²¹ Their subject matter, like that of the sculptures, may be approximately categorized as religious–cultic, royal–secular, and personal, and they may include information about the dedicator of an autobiographical or historical nature. Typically they begin in one of two ways, either 'I am PN the Ruler/servant of the Ruler...' or 'This object PN dedicated...' Within this rather restricted format however, there are some documents of a more diverse character: one (KARABURUN)⁵²² has the character of a short treaty, or at least an agreement; while others (CEKKE, CARCHEMISH A 4 a),⁵²³ both associated with the name of Kamanis, are deeds of land-sale.

As in the case of the sculpture, the Aramaean stone inscriptions, both Aramaic and Phoenician, have been noted to be modelled on the hieroglyphic genre.⁵²⁴ Most of these are of the royal autobiographical type (Kilamuwa, Zakur, Panammu I, Panammu II, and Bar-Rakib), though there is a dedicatory inscription (Bar-Hadad), and most notably a treaty (Mati'ilu–Bar-ga'ya) which seems to be modelled on a cuneiform Akkadian (or the earlier cuneiform Hittite) type.

In their autobiographies, the 'hieroglyphic' rulers, besides much information on their piety and good works, tell us of their battles (e.g. Suhis of Carchemish,⁵²⁵ Halparuntiyas II of Gurgum⁵²⁶ and Wasusarmas of Tabal⁵²⁷), their dynastic histories (e.g. Katuwas⁵²⁸ and Yariris⁵²⁹ of Carchemish, and the son of Ariyahinas of Til-Barsib⁵³⁰), and the pacification of a country (Azatiwatas at Karatepe⁵³¹). Yariris further boasts of his learning and his cosmopolitan connexions,⁵³² and introduces us to children apparently not his own.⁵³³ Queens too left

⁵²⁰ B 621, chapter III.

⁵²² See above, p. 423 and n. 413.

⁵²⁴ See above, pp. 377f and n. 51.

⁵²⁶ See above, p. 396 and n. 194.

⁵²⁸ See above, p. 387 and n. 127.

⁵³⁰ See above, p. 384 and nn. 99f.

⁵³² See above, p. 406 and nn. 285f.

⁵²¹ See above, pp. 377f and n. 50.

⁵²³ B 567, 1a serie, no. 28; 3a serie, no. 162.

⁵²⁵ See above, p. 387 and n. 126.

⁵²⁷ See above, p. 413 and n. 335.

⁵²⁹ See above, p. 406 and n. 284.

⁵³¹ See above, pp. 429f and n. 471.

⁵³³ For this problem see B 523, 157ff.

inscriptions, notably Watis, wife of Suhis of Carchemish,⁵³⁴ Panamuwatis, wife(?) of Ushpilulume/Shuppiluliuma of Kummukh,⁵³⁵ and a certain Kupapiyas, wife of a local dynast on a newly discovered stela from the environs of Hama.⁵³⁶

Rulers entitle themselves⁵³⁷ 'king', or commonly *tarwanis*, usually translated 'judge'; and sometimes simply *CAPUT-tis* (reading unknown) 'man' (i.e. 'prince'). The title 'Great King' is rare, though it is used for example by Wasusarmas of Tabal. The rulers of Carchemish mostly entitled themselves 'Land-Lord of Carchemish'. An additional title of frequent occurrence is 'Hero', corresponding to the Imperial Hittite *UR.SAG/haštališ*. Subordinate rulers could also bear the title *tarwanis*,⁵³⁸ though their dependent status is normally expressed by the term *mitas*, 'servant' (a *hantilis mitas*, 'prime minister', is attested⁵³⁹). A title *tapariyalis*, 'governor', is also found. These vassals too set up inscriptions recording their gratitude to royal and divine masters; servants of Tuwatis and Wasusarmas of Tabal and of Warpalawas of Tuwana have been noted.⁵⁴⁰

Besides these commemorative stone-inscriptions we have seen that a few letters (*ASSUR, a-g*)⁵⁴¹ and economic texts (*KULULU* examples)⁵⁴² survive as the sole representatives of what may be assumed to have been a substantial corpus. The six Ashur letters provide a glimpse into everyday existence, although our ignorance of the vernacular vocabulary still hampers an understanding of the texts. They appear to be dated late in the hieroglyphic corpus, since they show marked similarities to late stone-inscriptions (especially *KULULU* 1 and 2, and *SULTANHAN*), and their presence in Ashur perhaps should be explained by reference to the Hittite deportees of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II. They begin in a similar manner to cuneiform letters: 'Say to PN₁ (+PN₂), PN₃ (+PN₄) speak(s)',⁵⁴³ followed by greetings. The bulk of the letters consists of demands for various goods and commodities, and reproaches at the failure to provide these. Recognizable demands include shields, good *warmutali*-dogs, donkeys and 'good big drinking-horns'.

The *Kululu* lead strips present a banal type of document which could hardly have existed in isolation. The best-preserved record issues of

commodities to named persons identified by patronymics (PN₁ (son) of PN₂),⁵⁴⁴ designations of class or status (*arawani*, 'free man', is a readily intelligible example), and by place of origin or residence. Each entry is contained within a compartment into which the text is divided, and a typical one might read: 'Such a quantity of such a commodity to PN₁/(son) of PN₂/the free man/of such a city.' The only certainly identifiable commodity is sheep. A small document simply lists 'presents' (*piyanza*) to recipients.⁵⁴⁵ A less well-preserved type of *Kululu* text seems to be simply household registers in the manner found in land donations under the Empire, thus, for example: 'Of PN, 1 house, 1 man, 2 women, 3 oxen.'⁵⁴⁶ Texts such as these can also be found incorporated in the donations recorded on stone stelae (e.g. *CARCHEMISH A 4 a*, mentioned above).

4. The religion

The inscriptions and sculpture give a general impression of the pantheon worshipped at this period. It was headed as under the Empire by the Storm God, Tarkhunzas, often specifically designated 'the Celestial', and it included the gods Sarrumas, Runzas, Santas, Iyas (Ea), the Sun (Tiwarz) and the Moon (Armas), especially the Moon God of Harran.⁵⁴⁷ The chief goddess however only occasionally appears as the Empire-period Khebat,⁵⁴⁸ and much more usually as Kubaba, the 'Great Queen of Carchemish'.⁵⁴⁹ The *ISHTAR*-Shaushga of the earlier period is not named and may have been absorbed into the character of Kubaba, although various unnamed goddesses, especially the Nude Goddess of Carchemish, may have represented her in a distinct character.⁵⁵⁰ Tarkhunzas himself may have other attributes than 'the Celestial', notably a Tabalian form 'Tarkhunzas of the Vines', protector of the vineyards, best known from his representation at İvriz.⁵⁵¹ Partial syncretism of the Hittite and Aramaean pantheons is found at Karatepe where Tarkhunzas is identified with Ba'al, and Runzas with Resheph 'of the He-Goats'.⁵⁵² In Hamath the Hittite dynasty worshipped the Semitic goddess Ba'alat (*Pabalatis*).⁵⁵³ In the sculpture the gods were represented in a very stylized form and with stylized accoutrements.⁵⁵⁴

⁵³⁴ Most recently B 508, 94.

⁵³⁵ B 514, especially 77ff.

⁵³⁶ Cf. B 525, 120 and n. 15; 126, citation 1b (the stela was in the Beirut Museum); see B 524.

⁵³⁷ For the titles see B 547, nos. 10, 17, 18, 21, 115; 26, 371, 387; 2, 390; 3.

⁵³⁸ E.g. Tarkhunzas, servant of Warpalawas; cf. above, n. 337.

⁵³⁹ See above, p. 407 and n. 291.

⁵⁴⁰ See above, p. 406 and n. 280; p. 413 and n. 334; and nn. 337 and 338.

⁵⁴¹ B 467; B 567, 12 serie, nos. 34-40; supplement translation from B 525 (passages listed on p. 156).

⁵⁴² B 582, pls. XLVIII, L-LII, and the comments of Laroche on pp. 111ff. See now S. Erdem, *Studia Meriggi*, 143ff.

⁵⁴³ Cf. B 529, 132f.

⁵⁴⁴ B 525, 148.

⁵⁴⁵ B 582, 114 and pl. XLVIII.

⁵⁴⁶ See B 547, nos. 199, 80f, 102f, 104; 2, 209; 1, 210; 2, 191, 193; B 537. For the spellings see B 530, 158, 180ff.

⁵⁴⁷ B 547, nos. 16; 2, 128; 1.

⁵⁴⁸ B 547, nos. 225; 1b, 413.

⁵⁴⁹ B 581, chapter VII, 8.

⁵⁵⁰ B 547, no. 199; 1(d) 1-2.

⁵⁵¹ B 566, s.v. *Pabalati*.

⁵⁵² B 547, no. 199; 1(d) 1-2.

⁵⁵³ B 566, s.v. *Pabalati*.

⁵⁵⁴ See in general B 581, chapter VII, 1-9.

⁵⁴⁶ B 583, 26 and pls. XIII.

⁵⁴⁷ See B 547, nos. 199, 80f, 102f, 104; 2, 209; 1, 210; 2, 191, 193; B 537. For the spellings see B 530, 158, 180ff.

⁵⁴⁸ B 547, nos. 225; 1b, 413.

⁵⁴⁹ B 581, chapter VII, 8.

⁵⁵⁰ B 547, no. 199; 1(d) 1-2.

⁵⁵¹ B 566, s.v. *Pabalati*.

⁵⁵² B 547, no. 199; 1(d) 1-2.

⁵⁵³ B 566, s.v. *Pabalati*.

⁵⁵⁴ See in general B 581, chapter VII, 1-9.

5. *The onomastics*

As already noted, documents yielding substantial collections of onomastic material for this period are almost non-existent. The names of the rulers and their families as preserved in their own and Assyrian inscriptions offer a tiny sample of the onomastics of the ruling classes for examination, which permits the unsurprising conclusion that the writers of hieroglyphic texts normally bore Anatolian-Hittite names, and the writers of Phoenician and Aramaic, Semitic names. However Hittite names have been noted in the Aramaean dynasty of Sam'al⁵⁵⁵ and Hurrian names in those of Hamath⁵⁵⁶ and Carchemish.⁵⁵⁷

The only documents which offer a somewhat wider view are the land-sale documents, particularly CEKKE, and the KULULU economic texts. A comprehensive analysis of the onomastic material here provided remains to be written, but a preliminary survey suggests a very similar onomastic situation to those noted in recent studies of earlier (Hittite cuneiform) and later (alphabetic) groups.⁵⁵⁸ The recognized categories of names such as the primary, the reduplicated, the lexical, the compound and the theophoric, are all present, and the study when written will suggest the presence of a generally Anatolian population on the Anatolian plateau as in Cilicia, and its extension to northern Syria. It should be emphasized that though the evidence for the Anatolian character of the population of north Syria is not over-abundant, comparable evidence for substantial Aramaean penetration of this area (i.e. north of Bit-Adini and Bit-Agusi) is completely absent.

6. *The material remains*

For the small antiquities in general, studies of which may do so much to substantiate our picture of an ancient period and place, the Early Iron Age in Syria and south-east Anatolia has received very little detailed attention. General surveys of the pottery and metal-work, not to mention those of the more ecological materials such as bones and seeds, are lacking. Excavated material is presented with varying degrees of thoroughness in the respective archaeological reports, most notably those of Zincirli and Tarsus⁵⁵⁹ and one Hama volume,⁵⁶⁰ while in other cases it is still awaited, as for the further Hama material and that of the Chicago Plain of Antioch Excavations. Comprehensive syntheses may have to wait on further large-scale excavation as well as forthcoming publication of material in hand.

⁵⁵⁵ Kilamuwa, Panammu(wa) and perhaps QRL; cf. above, n. 115.

⁵⁵⁶ Toi, Urhilina; cf. above, nn. 79 and 169.

⁵⁵⁸ B 548; B 535, chapters vi; B 502.

⁵⁶⁰ B 595.

⁵⁵⁷ B 547, no. 90: v(b).

⁵⁵⁹ See above, nn. 27 and 37.

In the field of ivory carving, a recent assessment of the material stresses the Syro-Hittite contribution in this field and plausibly seeks the cause of its decline in the economic depression of the area following the Assyrian conquest.⁵⁶¹ Another recent contribution hints that the Syro-Hittite world should probably be regarded as an important centre of fine metallurgy,⁵⁶² although its central position in this craft has been overlooked because of the actual metal-working finds from the neighbouring Phrygia and Urartu.

Under the Hittite Empire, a prominent place among the small antiquities was occupied by the seals, of which those inscribed with royal names and titles provide important historical documentation.⁵⁶³ For this period, substantial corpuses of seals, or more commonly their impressions, have been recovered by excavation, most notably the Boğazköy corpus of stamp-seals and the Ras Shamra group in which the Anatolian stamp-seal tradition has been enlarged by that of the Mesopotamian cylinder-seal; and to these two groups will be added the recent glyptic discoveries of Maşat and Meskene-Emar.⁵⁶⁴ These regularly-excavated corpuses provide the points of reference by which the many unprovenanced seals now known may be dated and stylistically analysed. No such substantial collections are available for the Iron Age. Excavations of even major sites of this period have recovered few seals and even fewer inscribed ones, and in the general absence of tablets and bullae, seal-impressions are almost non-existent. By chance only, signets of two kings have been found, those of a king Runtiyas(?) of Melid and Bar-Takib of Sam'al.⁵⁶⁵ Because of this severe lack of properly excavated glyptic material, it is very hard to attribute any unprovenanced seals to this period. Indeed it is assumed that the scarcity of seals does reflect a genuine decadence of the glyptic art among the Syro-Hittite states.

⁵⁶¹ B 621; conclusions published in B 623.

⁵⁶² B 350; see also B 473 and B 573.

⁵⁶³ B 547, xxxiff ('Glyptique'). The bulk of datable examples certainly belong to the Late Bronze Age.

⁵⁶⁴ See now S. Alp, *Belleten* 44 (1980) 53ff; D. Beyer, in J. C. Margueron, ed., *Le moyen Orient: zone de contacts et d'échanges*, 265ff. Paris, 1980; E. Laroche, *Akkadica* 22 (1981) 5ff.

⁵⁶⁵ B 593, 45ff. On the spelling of the names see B 112, 76 n. 66; B 547, xxxv, ZINCIRLI, with reading under no. 446.

DIRECTOR'S LIBRARY
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY

SECOND EDITION

VOLUME III

PART I

The Prehistory of the Balkans;
and the Middle East and the Aegean world,
tenth to eighth centuries B.C.

Edited by

JOHN BOARDMAN F.B.A.

Lincoln Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art in the University of Oxford

I. E. S. EDWARDS F.B.A.

*Formerly Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities
The British Museum*

N. G. L. HAMMOND F.B.A.

Professor Emeritus of Greek, University of Bristol

E. SOLLBERGER F.B.A.

*Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities
The British Museum*

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE

LONDON NEW YORK NEW ROCHELLE

MELBOURNE SYDNEY