

HITTITES AND ASSYRIANS AT MELID (MALATYA)**

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The river Euphrates has always played a definitive role as frontier between Mesopotamia and Anatolia, and along its upper length, largely on the west bank, lie many historic sites, where Mesopotamian-Anatolian contact has concentrated. Of these, four cities may be singled out for their historical importance: from south to north, Meskene (Emar), Karkamış, Samsat (Kummuh) and Malatya (Melid). Only in the last case has the ancient name been preserved through all periods, perhaps by the continuity of its settlement, though it is a curious fact that the name has been relocated at least twice in the course of its history, most recently in 1838, when the present city was founded after a move from Eski Malatya, which itself grew up as an important strategic point in the later classical period and survived as a great Byzantine, Medieval Arab and Turkish city. The name Melite had arrived here from its previous location, the site of Arslantepe, so named from the visibility of the neo-Hittite lion sculptures, which had lost its importance after a destruction in the late 7th century B.C. At this site a vast sequence of settlement stretching back at least to the Uruk period is being revealed by archaeology. The excavations of Delaporte in the 1930's exposed levels IV-II, the Hittite Empire and neo-Hittite periods, which coincide with the attestations of the city in the historical record. The work of the present Italian mission, which has been in progress for more than 25 years, is now concentrating on the penetration of the earlier levels.

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** The subject of this paper was selected for presentation at the XXXIV R.A.I. in Istanbul because it seemed appropriate to the theme. At the same time I had just written the entry *Melid*, covering the historical and epigraphic sources for ancient Malatya, for the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, Band VII. It still seemed worthwhile to write up the present contribution in this form for inclusion in the *Rencontre* volume. Here the same facts are presented in a somewhat different manner, which it is hoped will be more generally intelligible and readable than the *Reallexikon* entry. References have been kept to a minimum and only the more important repeated. Readers who require full detail can always refer to the *Reallexikon*.

It is strange that an early form of the name Malatya has not yet been identified among the toponyms of the Old Assyrian period, when one would have supposed that the site was an important station on one of the routes through to Anatolia. It is possible that its name, which is probably to be derived from Hittite-Luwian *melit-/mallit-*, "honey"¹ had not yet been given to it at this period, and that the site lies concealed under an unlocated Old Assyrian toponym.

The identity of Malatya with the Hittite-attested city Maldiya or Malitiya, first proposed by Goetze on the basis of its occurrence in the Mita of Pahhuwa text², has gained in probability by the later publication of further references. The Mita text, now redated from the end of the Hittite Empire to the late 15th. century B.C., thereby becomes the earliest attestation of the city. The relevant section reads:

"The elders of the land Išuwa, the elders of the land Pahhuwa, the elders of the city Zuhma, the elders of the land [...], the elders of city Maldiya, all of them we have placed under oath to Arihipizzi the man of (Pittiyari)ga."³ It is the association with Išuwa and Zuhma, places now located along the lower Murat Su, just as Melid is later associated with Išuwa (also Enzata/Enzi) and Suhme⁴, which suggests the identification with Malatya.

Two more recently published texts show the city Malitiya to have been a bone of contention between Hittites and Assyrians in the reigns of Adad-nirari I (1307-1275 B.C.) and his son Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 B.C.). A series of questions on political and military problems addressed to a KIN-oracle, includes the following:

"Whether the king of Aššur in this [year] will not come to the city Malitiya...

Whether the king of Aššur in this year will not come to build..."⁵

¹ See now *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*, vol. 3/3, s.v. *milīt-*, for the various Hittite and Luwian forms and derivatives.

² *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography* (New Haven, 1940), p. 47 with n.182.

³ *KUB XXIII 72 + 1648/u + XL 10*, rev.36-37; cf. Hoffner, *JCS* 28 (1976), pp.60-62.

⁴ By Tiglath-pileser I, see below, nn.15,16; and by Shalmaneser III, see below, n.24.

⁵ *KBo XXII 264*, rev. iii 11-14, iv 8f. Earlier in the text in a fragmentary passage (ii 19), the name of Adad-nirari is found, so he is presumably the Assyrian king in question.

A fragment of a long letter in Hittite from a Hittite king, Hattusili III or Tudhaliya IV to Shalmaneser I, of which only the beginning and end of the tablet are preserved, terminates with the following section (but may have continued on a second tablet):

"As you (Shalmaneser) wrote to me, (saying): 'Send a trusted man of yours, and let him inspect Malitiya, whether my cities are not re[volt]ing(?),' now [...] and the King of Egypt [...] my frontier (....) going across"⁶.

The identification of Malitiya as Malatya in these two passages is completely consistent with what is known of the expansion of Adad-nirari I and Shalmaneser I into Upper Mesopotamia. Both claim conquests, including Harran, up to the Euphrates as far as Karkamiš⁷. It would not be surprising if the Hittite kings had feared for Malatya-Malitiya. Yet in the absence of any specific Assyrian claim or even mention of Malatya or of a Euphrates crossing, it does not seem likely that the Assyrians did more than threaten the city.

Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208 B.C.) unlike his father and grandfather did boast a Euphrates crossing, in the course of which he deported 28,800 Hittites to Assyria. The date of the raid, narrated only in Tukulti-Ninurta's late inscriptions but attributed to the beginning of the reign, has been much discussed⁸. Where did it take place? After his predecessors' conquest westwards to Harran and the Euphrates opposite Karkamiš, Tukulti-Ninurta was able to direct his main thrust north-west against Alzi⁹, as is emphasized in his frequently repeated conquest summaries. In one fragment Alzi is replaced by Kummuh¹⁰, so this could perhaps have been the site

⁶ *KBo XVIII 24*, rev. iv 11-17; cf. Otten, *AFO* 22 /1968/69, p.112f, and n.10. The restored translation supposes a reading of 11. 13-15 as: *ma-a-an-wa-kán [am]-mi-el URU*^{DIDL.HLA}.

[a-wa-an] ar-ha UL [ti-ia-a/n-te-eš].

⁷ Adad-nirari I: conquest summary, see Grayson *ARI* I, § 381; narrative, *ibid.*, § 393; Shalmaneser I: narrative, *ibid.*, § 530 f.

⁸ Only in two inscriptions: see Grayson, *ARI* I, Tukulti-Ninurta I nos. 16 and 17 (§§ 773, 783). The passage is reevaluated by Hannes Galter in the present volume.

⁹ Located east of the Euphrates (Firat) and south of the Murat Su: see Del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, s.v. *Alzi*; Nashef, *RGTC* 5, s.v. *Alzi*.

¹⁰ Grayson, *ARI* I, § 819. This is the earliest attestation of Kummuh, which is not mentioned again until the inscriptions of Aššurnasirpal.

of the raid¹¹. Otherwise Malatya-Malitiya itself might be expected to have been vulnerable.

Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 B.C.) is the first Assyrian king to mention Malatya. In 1112 B.C. returning from a campaign against king of Nairi which took him as far as the "Upper Sea (of the Sunset)" (Black Sea?¹²), he passed the city Milidia "of the land Hanigalbat", received its submission and imposed an annual tribute of lead lumps¹³. Later in the reign, c.1100 B.C., after his Mediterranean campaign and the subjection of Ini-Tešub, king of Hatti, who presumably ruled from Karkamiš¹⁴, Tiglath-pileser again marched against Milidia "of the great land Hatti" and received tribute of its king Allumari¹⁵. He proceeded to Enzata in the land Išua and the land Suhme. The location in Hatti and the juxtaposition with Išua and Suhme on the Murat Su leaves no room for doubt that Milidia is indeed Malatya¹⁶. In the earlier reference where Milidia is located in Hanigalbat, the latter term has been easily identified as a simple error for "the great land Hatti"¹⁷. Tiglath-pileser seems to have sought to control two crucial Euphrates crossings, Karkamiš and Malatya.

During the first half of the 1st millennium B.C., Malatya is attested as *Melid* in Assyrian inscriptions c. 870-640 B.C.¹⁸, *Melišeia* in Urartian ins-

¹¹ If Kummuh already occupied its later location on the west bank of the Euphrates, it is the only place across the Euphrates mentioned by Tukulti-Ninurta. Grayson's paraphrase "Syria" for "Beyond the Euphrates" (*ištu eberti* ¹⁰*puratte*, see above, n.8) is misleading. Tukulti-Ninurta's sphere of action lay far to the north of anywhere that could ever have been termed "Syria".

¹² *ah iāmti elēnīte* (*ša šalāmu 'šamše*). It is almost impossible to combine the itinerary (crossing the Euphrates, return via Milidia) with an identification of the sea as Lake Van. Tiglath-pileser designates the Mediterranean as the "Upper (or Great) Sea of the land of Amurru", and Lake Van as the "Sea of the land of Nairi". Cf. Salvini *Nairi e Ur(u)atri* (Rome, 1967), pp. 55, 57f.; Diakonoff, *The Pre-history of the Armenian People* (New York, 1984), p.69.

¹³ Grayson, *ARI* II, § 32, with n.69.

¹⁴ Grayson, *ARI* II, § 82, 95 with nn. 107, 127.

¹⁵ Grayson, *ARI* II, § 96. The next of the passage is composite, reconstructed from a number of fragments: see Weidner, *A/O* 18 (1957-58), pp.347 ff., especially p.350. The texts used in reconstruction are L, N, O, P, Q; but the only ones partially preserving the king's name are N (*KAH* II no. 69, 1.8.: *al-lu-x*[...]), and L (Weidner, loc.cit. Taf. XXVI, 1.31: [...-m/ a?-ri]), so the reading of the name is not entirely secure.

¹⁶ Cf. the Hittite association of Maldiya with Išua and Zuhma, above, p. 00 and n.4.

¹⁷ I.e. KUR *ha-ni-gal-bat* for KUR *ha-at-ti GAL- te*, see above n.13.

¹⁸ Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970), s.v. MELIDI.

criptions c. 790-760 B.C.¹⁹, and *mlz* in an Aramaic inscription c. 796 B.C.²⁰ It is not necessary here to give more than a summary of the known events²¹. Aššurnāširpal II did not attack it, but received Melidian envoys at the inauguration of Kalhu, c.865 B.C.²² Shalmaneser III received tribute from Lalli of Melid in 653 B.C.²³, and actually went to the city and received the submission of the same king in 844²⁴, 836²⁵ and 835 B.C.²⁶ An unnamed King of Melid took part in the Arpad-led alliance against Hamath c. 796 B.C.,²⁷ and at about the same time, Menua of Urartu conquered the territory up to the Euphrates frontiers of Melid and subjected the king²⁸. Argišti I c.780 B.C. conducted a campaign against the Hatti-lands, naming a king Hilaruada²⁹, who was identified as "son of Šahu, king of the Melišeians" by Sarduri II when the latter again subjected him³⁰. Subsequently Melid under a king Sulumal took part in the Urartian-Arpad led alliance which was defeated by Tiglath-pileser III in 743 B.C.³¹ Sulumal appears in the list of tributary kings for 738 and 732 B.C.³² In the earlier reign of Sargon a king Gunzinanu is recorded as tributary³³, but he was replaced by Tarhunazi, who was himself removed for disloyalty in 712 B.C.³⁴ A part of the kingdom Kammanu with the

¹⁹ Diakonoff and Kashkai, *RGTC* 9, s.v. *Melišeia*.

²⁰ Zakur stele, see Donner and Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften* (2nd. ed., Wiesbaden, 1968), no. 202 A 1.7.

²¹ For more detailed references, see my treatment in *RIA* VII, forthcoming, s.v. Melid.

²² Grayson *ARI*, II, § 682.

²³ Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, § 610.

²⁴ Michel, *WdO* 1/6 (1952), p. 470 11.46-57. The itinerary proceeds Suhni-Enzi-Melid, thus paralleling the associations of Hittite Maldiya (above, n.4) and Middle-Assyrian Melidia (above, n.16).

²⁵ Laessle, *Iraq* 21 (1959), p.154, 11. 19-23.

²⁶ Laessle, *ibid.*, p.155f., 11. 1-12; cf. Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, § 580.

²⁷ See above, n.20.

²⁸ König, *Handbuch der Chaldäischen Inschriften* (Graz, 1955), no.25, 11. 7-17.

²⁹ König, *ibid.*, no. 80, § 3, col.ii 11.5-22.

³⁰ König, *ibid.* no.102, rev. 11. 2-31, paralleled by no. 104.

³¹ Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, §§ 769, 797; also on a new fragment of the Iran stele of Tiglath-pileser, to be published by Levine and Tadmor in the latter's *Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III* (forthcoming)

³² Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, § 769, and Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran*, (Royal Ontario Museum, 1972), p.18 1.9; *ARAB* I, § 801.

³³ Luckenbill, *ARAB* II, § 326.

³⁴ *Ibid.*; also § 60; Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954), p. 182 f., 11. 41-76.

city Tilgarimmu (probably Elbistan) was annexed as an Assyrian province, but the city Melid was handed over to an Assyrian client, Mutallu of Kummuh. When he himself was removed in 708 B.C.³⁵ the city was probably itself constituted a province³⁶, but may well have regained its independence on the death of Sargon in 705. Sennacherib campaigned against an independent Tilgarimmu in 695 B.C.³⁷ but it is not certain whether he held Melid. The city was independent in the reign of Esarhaddon, under a hostile king, Mugallu, against whom Esarhaddon campaigned unsuccessfully in 675 B.C.³⁸ A Mugallu, probably the same man, appears as king of Tabal early in the reign of Aššurbanipal. He sought Assyrian aid in return for submission and a tribute of horses³⁹, which he was still paying in 651 B.C.⁴⁰ His son [...] ussi at first continued but then broke off the tribute, for which he suffered divine retribution⁴¹. The submission of these Anatolian rulers was probably prompted by fear of the Cimmerians, and the destruction of Arslantepe may be attributed to the agency of this people in the late 7th century B.C.⁴²

These attested rulers of Melid form a fairly continuous sequence c.852-640 B.C. apart from a gap of some 50 years c.830-780 B.C. (see below, p. 00, Table 1). In spite of attempts to do so, none of these rulers' names are found in the native Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from the city and its environs⁴³, with the possible exception of Šahu, father of Hilaruada. A comparatively large number of names and genealogical and dynastic information can however be gleaned from these native inscriptions,

³⁵ Luckenbill, *ARAB* II, §§ 41, 45, 64, 69.

³⁶ An Assyrian palace was excavated and fragments of Sargon's inscriptions found: Delaporte, *RHA* V/34 (1939), pp.52-54; Kalaç, *Sumeroloji Araştırmaları* (İstanbul, 1941), p. 990 f.; Castellino *apud* Pecorella, *Malatya* III, p.69-73.

³⁷ Luckenbill, *ARAB* II, §§ 290-292; cf. Heidel, *Sumer* 9 (1953), pp. 150f., 182.

³⁸ Grayson, *ABC*, p.83, iv 10; p.126 obv. 15. Note Esarhaddon's questions concerning Mugallu to the Šamaš oracle; for sources see my contribution *Mugallu*, in *RIA* VII (forthcoming).

³⁹ Luckenbill, *ARAB* II, §§ 781, 848, 911.

⁴⁰ Fales, *Assur* I/3 (1974), p.144.

⁴¹ Campbell Thompson, *LAAA* 20 (1933), p.88, 11.138-145.

⁴² Although there are references in the archaeological reports on Malatya - Arslantepe to the destruction of the Neo-Hittite levels by fire, insufficient evidence is published to date the destruction(s) with any certainty.

⁴³ For incorrect identifications of the names Lalli, Hilaruada, Sulumal and Tarhunazi, see *Melid*, § 3.2, in *RIA* VII (forthcoming).

though the names themselves are frequently written at least in part logographically, and present many uncertainties of reading. The reason for the lack of overlap between the two sources is clearly that the native written sources in general antedate the foreign attestations.

The earliest native Hieroglyphic inscription does not belong with the neo-Hittite corpus, being considerably more archaic and closer to the inscriptions of the Empire period⁴⁴: namely KARAHÖYÜK (Elbistan). Nor is it specifically connected with Malatya; but the evidence of the nearby IZGIN inscription shows that later, at least, Malatya controlled Elbistan (see below). The first two clauses of KARAHÖYÜK can now be confidently translated as follows:

"Before the Storm God of the country POCULUM.PES.*67 LU-NA.FRATER, the lord of the pithos-men placed the stele at the time

when I(a)ra/i-TONITRUS the Great King went to the country POCULUM.PES.*67..."⁴⁵.

There is no indication as to whether logographically written personal names are to be read in Luwian(Arma-nani, Yari-Tarhundas, or the like) or Hurrian (Kušuh-šeni, Ir-Tešub, or the like), and the logograms of the toponym are of completely unknown reading, though the presumption must be it represents the name of Elbistan itself.

The two initial clauses are followed by seven in which the verbs appear to be in the 3rd. person singular with the Great King as the most likely subject. They appear to concern building works. The narrative then switches to the 1st. person singular, probably to be understood as LU-NA.FRATER's own voice, since it concerns the relationship of the speaker with the Storm-God of the place.

⁴⁴ Archaic features include: (1) failure to distinguish *i/ia* and *zi/za* with the *a*-ligature forms; (2) frequent omission of connective particles; (3) frequent writings of verbs logographically without tense endings; (4) sign-forms of archaic appearance (e.g. especially *ni*, *i(a)*, *tá*, *sa*, *á*, *mu*, *ma*, *PONERE*, *DARE*, *CAPERE*, *TERRA*, *REL*, *NEG*, *CAPUT*); (5) many signs unrecognized in the 1st. millennium Hieroglyphic corpus.

⁴⁵ Recent editions, since Meriggi's 1975 *Manuale* II/3, by Masson, *Florilegium Anatolicum* (Paris, 1979), pp.225-241; and Nowicki, *KZ* 95 (1981), pp.252-273. These have contributed elucidations accepted here: "put before" (Masson); "lord of the pithos-men", "at the time" (Nowicki). The identification of the verb "went" in the second clause depends on the recognition of the sign as *PES*, + *RA/I* (in previous editions, this was taken as a repetition of *67).

The location of the Great King's seat is nowhere indicated: it could be Malatya but need not be⁴⁶.

Another Great King is found in the Malatya inscriptions as an ancestor in the genealogies of two different kings, who must be identified as brothers⁴⁷. The introduction to GÜRÜN reads as follows:

"The great Storm-God, the great Hebat, the great Sarruma:

Runtiyas, grandson of the Great King Kuzi-TONITRUS⁴⁸ the Hero of the city Karkamiš, the son of PUGNUS-mili, the Country-Lord of the city Malizi"⁴⁹.

The content of the inscription concerns the transference of three mountains from the city *428-*ta*⁵⁰ and the settlement of a city presumably in the vicinity of the inscription.

The inscription KÖTÜKALE⁵¹ begins with different gods but the same author and genealogy⁵², except that the epithet "Hero of the city Karkamiš" does not appear to have been present. The text describes the building of a road.

⁴⁶ The correct translation of the second clause obviates the necessity of locating the Great King actually in the country POCULUM. PES.*67.

⁴⁷ Identification of the same genealogies for the author of GÜRÜN + KÖTÜKALE and of İSPEKÇÜR rulers pointed out by myself, *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 76-79. The name of the grandfather, the Great King, was not established until my collation of İSPEKÇÜR in August 1987. At the time XXXIV R.A.I. in July, I was still reading it Luzi (?) - Tarhunzas.

⁴⁸ Examination of photographs shows that the reading of the grandfather's name is quite consistent with that established on İSPEKÇÜR, side B, by collation (see below, n. 53).

⁴⁹ Regular title of rulers of Malatya. The Hieroglyphic writing of Malatya-Melid is partially logographic and problematic: it is written "calf-head. leg"-zi (city). We may assume that this represents a native form *Malizi*, but there is no definite proof.

⁵⁰ Logogram of unknown reading, presumably located in the plain of Elbistan, since the IZGIN stele (see below) represents its (re)foundation document.

⁵¹ Seen and photographed only by Gelb, before it was buried in the course of road construction in 1935. Partially reexcavated by Bossert and Kalaç in 1954. A reexcavation and salvage attempt is highly desirable.

⁵² In the absence of the opportunity to collate, the reading of the grandfather's name is only provisional. Since the author Runtiyas (written CERVUS) is undoubtedly the same as that of GÜRÜN, there is no reason to suppose that the genealogy did not agree.

The stele İSPEKÇÜR⁵³ has figures with inscriptions on three of its four faces. On the middle side (B) a deified king faces right identifying himself in the inscription below⁵⁴:

"I am Arnuwantis the King, grandson of the Hero Kuzi-TONITRUS⁵⁵, son of PUGNUS-mili, Country-Lord of the city Malizi".

He can thus be seen to be the brother of Runtiyas the author of GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE, and probably his successor, since his own grandson was later king, as will appear below.

The figure on the right side (C) facing left, standing on a bull and pouring a libation, is identified simply as "Arnu[wa]ntis the Ki[ng], the Grandson"⁵⁶, thus bearing the same name as his grandfather. The female figure on the left side (A) facing right and standing on a tower is probably identified as the wife of Arnuwantis (the Elder)⁵⁷. The stele thus shows Arnuwantis the grandson offering a libation to his deified grandparents.

The stele DARENDE shows on its front a seated Hebat facing left and behind her on the right side the god Sarruma standing on a lion facing left. Both are drinking the libation poured to them by the figure on the left side, facing right standing on a lion. He is identified by his name written in a circle in front of him and his genealogy and title continue behind him, introducing the inscription on the back, reading as follows:

"AVIS, grandson of King AVIS, son of PUGNUS-mili, Country-Lord of the city Malizi".

⁵³ Subject of a stylistic analysis by Naumann, *Festschrift Otten* (Wiesbaden, 1973), p.217-220; and again by Törnük, *Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Bülteni* (Oct. - Dec. 1986), pp. 29-32. Neither study utilized the information to be gathered from the inscriptions. The readings offered here are based on collations made in Sivas Museum in August 1987, and should be used to correct those of Meriggi, *Manuale* II/2 (1975), no.103.

⁵⁴ Contrary to what has been stated, the figure is probably not holding a cup, but pointing towards his own face in the gesture to be read "I (am)...".

⁵⁵ Grandfather's name is clear from collation. That the same name occurs as that of the grandfather on GÜRÜN is clear from the examination of photographs.

⁵⁶ Contrary to what is assumed by Meriggi, very little has been lost in the cutting across the inscription. The four smaller signs on the left have run over from side B.

⁵⁷ Her rendering in a manner suggestive of a goddess (Hebat or Kubaba), as noted by e.g. Törnük, was doubtless due to the fact that she, like her husband, was represented as a deity.

The text concerns the foundation of a city and erection of the stele. The logographically written names of the author and grandfather are most probably to be read Arnuwantis and identified with the grandfather and grandson on İSPEKÇÜR⁵⁸.

The IZGIN stele, found reused in a cemetery in a village of that name very close to Karahöyük-Elbistan, begins as follows:

"I am CRUS, the Hero, the Country-Lord of the city Malizi.

When I sat myself on my paternal throne,

the Storm-God stood with me.

In my fa[ther's and grandfather's(?)] lands I added

river-lands upon river-lands.

I built the city *428,

and settled the Malizi(eans)"⁵⁹.

The text continues with further city building but becomes fragmentary. An Arnuwantis is mentioned in a broken context. A supplementary inscription on the reverse contains similar statements. Fairly clearly the stele represents the (re)foundation document for the city *428 and its colonization by people from Melid, and more generally the annexation ("frontiers on frontiers") of the well-watered plain of Elbistan ("river-lands") to Melid. The author, with name of uncertain reading, possibly *Taras*, does not give his genealogy, but claims to have been a legitimate ruler of Melid ("father's throne"). The Arnuwantis mentioned could be a predecessor and perhaps identical with Arnuwantis the grandson of İSPEKÇÜR and DARENDE.

The famous Lion-Hunt scene bears the inscription MALATYA 1, reading as follows:

⁵⁸ Correct writing and probable reading of the name of the author, also of his grandfather, noted by myself in *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 76-79.

⁵⁹ Improved readings, yielding a better text and translation than that of Meriggi, obtained from collation of the original in İstanbul Museum.

"These huntings are of Halpasulupis, grandson of CRUS, the Hero, the Lord of the city Malizi, son of Wasuruntiyas(?), the King(?)"⁶⁰.

The grandfather bears the same titles as the author of IZGIN and is doubtless the same. The father's name is of uncertain reading. The name of the author Halpasulupis recurs in the epigraph MALATYA 4 on a lion from the Lion Gate with the title "potent(?) king"⁶¹, establishing certainly that he ruled in Melid.

The Stag-Hunt scene has the inscription MALATYA 3, reading:

"These huntings are of Maritis, Suwarimis's son, the King(?)", apparently adding one or two more rulers of the city, linked stylistically to the Lion Hunt of Halpasulupis, but with unknown dynastic connections.

The main builder of the Lion Gate appears as a king shown repeatedly pouring libations to various gods: the Stag-God (MALATYA 5), Sarruma (MALATYA 7), the Storm-God (MALATYA 8) the Storm-God of POCULUM city (MALATYA 9), probably to be identified as Karahöyük-Elbistan), the Storm-God of the city Malizi (MALATYA 10), a procession of four unidentified deities (MALATYA 11), the Moon and the Sun (MALATYA 12), and the Sun (MALATYA 14). This king's name is written PUGNUS-mili, which has been identified with the Sulumal, contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III, and unfortunately this identification has passed into all the literature and into archaeological parlance. The Lion Gate sculpture must be *at least* 150-200 years earlier than Sulumal, and there is no evidence supporting a reading of PUGNUS (the "fist") as *su-lu* or the like. The PUGNUS-mili of the Lion Gate bears the title "potent(?) king"⁶¹. He could be identified with PUGNUS-mili (I), son of Kuzi-TONITRUS (see GÜRÜN, KÖTÜKALE, İSPEKÇÜR), or PUGNUS-mili (II), son of Arnuwantis (I) (see DARENDE), or, less likely, a third king of the same name.

A final Melidian dynasty is found on the rock inscription ŞIRZI, where the introduction reads:

⁶¹ Written REX. *462; the identification of the second sign and the translation follows Meriggi rather than Laroche.

⁶⁰ General sense of the inscription has been long understood. The names with their logograms remain difficult and uncertain.

"This...⁶² Sa(?)ti-Runtiyas, the Hero, the Country-Lord of the city Malizi, the son of Sa-REL-s, the Hero, the beloved servant of the Stag-God made".

The rest of the inscription concerns the cult of the Stag-God and the enigmatic construction. The father's name may be read *Sahu*, and this has been identified with the name *Šahu*, recorded by Sarduri II (see above p. 00 and n.30), which is not impossible. The name of the son here however, though of uncertain reading, cannot be identified with that of Hilaru-ada son of Šahu.

Other Malatyan inscriptions which do not concern the rulers are MALATYA 2, MALATYA 6, MALATYA 13, PALANGA and ARSLANTAS⁶³

The genealogical information from the native inscriptions permits the construction of four dynasties, A - D, covering a large number of generations. Dynasties A, B and C are probably but not certainly to be placed in this order, and there are hints of connections between A and B⁶⁴, and B and C⁶⁵, but no real evidence. It must be clear that as a block, dynasties A - C cannot possibly be accommodated in the period 853-640 B.C., where names of rulers are known from Assyria and Urartian sources. Dynasty D could however belong to this period. The information may be tabulated as follows.

This paper should perhaps end with a further consideration of the question of "Great Kings" already raised. In the Neo-Hittite period, after

⁶² The object is written *i-pa? PES*, *PES-pa-mi*. A recent fragment from ANCOZ (see Özdoğan, *Lower Euphrates Basin 1977 Survey* (Istanbul, 1977), p.101f., pl. 106) confirms that it is to be read *tarpami* - but the sense remains elusive.

⁶³ MALATYA 2: funerary stele of unknown individual; MALATYA 6: epigraph identifying Melidian princess; MALATYA 13: Karhuha-Kubaba stele with no identifiable ruler's names; PALANGA: statue dedicated by unknown individual; ARSLANTAS: completely illegible.

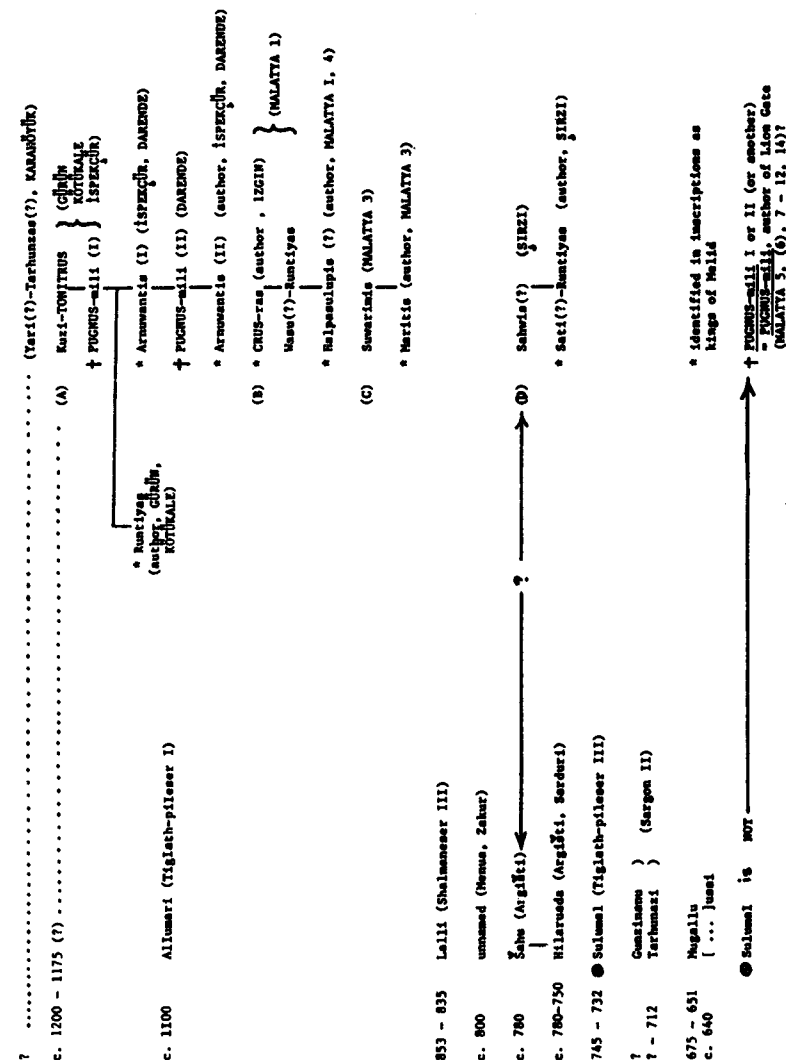
⁶⁴ Mention of an Arnuwantis in broken context on IZGIN 1, 11. 8-9; epigraph of Halpasulupis (MALATYA 4) on lion of Lion Gate, which otherwise bears inscriptions only of PUGNUS-mili.

⁶⁵ Stylistic similarities of Lion and Stag Hunt sculpture and inscriptions, MALATYA 1 and 3.

RULERS OF MELID

(1) Assyrian, Urartian, Aramaic sources

(2) Hieroglyphic Sources



the fall of the Hittite Empire dynasty and the destruction of the paramount capital Hattusa, the title "Great King" is not commonly found. Besides the attestations on KARAHÖYÜK and GÜRÜN + KÖTÜKALE it is found on two archaic stelae of kings of Karkamiš, KARKAMIŠ A4b. and 16c. Elsewhere it is claimed by the king Hartapu(sa) on the enigmatic KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ inscriptions of debated date⁶⁶, and by kings of Tabal, Wasusarmas, a contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III, and his father Tuwatis, on the inscriptions TOPADA and SUVASA. Recently there has appeared reason to believe that the KARADAĞ-KIZILDAĞ dynasty could represent a continuation of the Empire Period dynasty of Tarhuntassa⁶⁷. Similarly, if, as seems likely, the dynasty in Karkamiš survived the collapse of the Empire and continued, it would be intelligible if some members should lay claim to the vacant title. Further evidence for the continuity of the Karkamiš dynasty has recently appeared with the discovery at Lidar Höyük of the bullae with impressions of the seal of a previously unknown king, Kuzi-Tešub, son of Talmi-Tešub, who was previously the last known king⁶⁸. His title reads in Hieroglyphic:

"Kuzi-Tešub, king of the land of Karkamiš, son of Talmi-Tešub king of the land of Karkamiš, recognized by the god (s)"⁶⁹.

and in Cuneiform (probably):

"Kuzi-Tešub, king of the land of Karkamiš, Hero, son of Talmi-Tešub king of the land of Karkamiš, Hero".

In view of this, what are we to make of the name and titles of the ancestor of Malatya, dynasty A (GÜRÜN + KÖTÜKALE, İSPEKÇÜR):

"Kuzi-TONITRUS, Great King, Hero of the city of Karkamis".

It is hard to resist the conclusion that the name should be read Kuzi-Tešub⁷⁰, and identified as the newly discovered king of Karkamiš.

⁶⁶ See recently Gonnet, *Hethitica* 5 (1983), pp. 21-28; Bittel, *Ancient Anatolia* (Essays...Mellink; Wisconsin, 1986), pp. 103-111.

⁶⁷ After his study of the Boğazköy bronze tablet bearing the treaty between Tudhaliya IV and Kurunta of Tarhuntassa, Professor Otten has expressed this view.

⁶⁸ Sörenhagen, *MDOG* 118 (1986), pp. 183-190.

⁶⁹ "recognized by the gods" (DEUS -*nī-ti u-ni-mi-sa*) to be read in place of Sörenhagen's "Kuniti-muwas the prince". I am indebted to Dr. Albertine Hagenbuchner for pointing out to me that the latter reading could not possibly be correct. Her reevaluation of the information on the seal impression is forthcoming.

⁷⁰ That the sign TONITRUS continued to be used in the writing of names with Hurrian etymology and read "Tešub" is indicated by the comparatively late KARKAMIŠ A7d *ma-ti-i* TONITRUS-*pa-sá*, i.e. *Mali-Tispaš*; cf. the phonetically written names in -*ti-sa-pa-sa* A7f, g, i.

The implications of this identification remain to be explored in detail. A few points only may be made here. If it is accepted that these early kings of Malatya were indeed descended from the royal house of Karkamiš, a firm link would be established between their sculpture and inscriptions and the Empire period. The inscriptions GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE would belong to the second generation after Kuzi-Tešub, the inscribed sculpture İSPEKÇÜR and DARENDE to the fourth generation, and the Lion Gate sculpture perhaps to the first or third generations. If Kuzi-Tešub in the generation following Talmi-Tešub may be dated c. 1200-1175 B.C., the four generations of his descendants would stretch down well into the 10th century B.C. This would suggest a surprisingly early date for the sculptures İSPEKÇÜR and DARENDE and perhaps also the Lion Gate, and even more so for the inscriptions GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE⁷¹. There would be a problem with the king mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I, c.1100 B.C., whose name is reconstructed as Allumari⁷². Since his name does not appear in the inferred genealogy, the succession at Malatya would have gone less regularly than may be seen in the inscriptions.

Finally, we may return to Great King of the KARAHÖYÜK stele *I(a)ra/i*-TONITRUS, and repeat our question as to where he exercised his Great Kingship and when. With the identification of the Great King Kuzi-TONITRUS as a king of Karkamiš not Melid, we find three Karkamiš kings with the title but no Melidian. This might point to *I(a)ra/i*-TONITRUS also being a king of Karkamiš, but there would be considerable problems fitting him into the line within the construct of the present scheme. He could hardly precede Kuzi-Tešub and/or the fall of the Hittite Empire. Yet this inscription is sufficiently archaic⁷³ that one feels that it should be separated from the inscriptions GÜRÜN and KÖTÜKALE by a reasonable margin. Also there is the king Ini-Tešub, named as king of Hatti, i.e. probably Karkamiš, c.1100 B.C., by Tiglath-pileser I, to be taken into consideration.

These are perhaps only some of the difficulties which may be raised by this new identification. Whatever view finally taken however, these new facts are going to strengthen the long-expressed suppositions of cultural and even political continuity at Karkamiš and Malatya during the dark age, c.1200-1000 B.C.

⁷¹ A less extreme date would be obtained *either* by assuming that Kuzi-Tešub of GÜRÜN, KÖTÜKALE and İSPEKÇÜR was a descendant, perhaps grandson, of the Kuzi-Tešub of the Lidar bulla, *or* by assuming that "grandson" in the genealogies actually was used simply as "descendant". The following remarks are devoted to examining the possibilities of the identity of the two Kuzi-Tešub's and of taking the genealogies literally.

⁷² See above, n.15.

⁷³ See above, n.44.