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TUWATI AND WASUSARMA: IMITATING THE BEHAVIOUR OF ASSYRIA

By MARK WEEDEN¹

This essay reviews the evidence concerning the Tabalian king Wasusarma and his father Tuwati, who appear in Neo-Assyrian and Urartian annals. The context for the removal of Wasusarma (Uassurme) from power by the Assyrian king is assumed to have lain in the events depicted in the large inscription of TOPADA. The historical and geographical import of this inscription is explored through a close reading of its historical portion, concluding that its background is set in a local struggle for power over north-western Cappadocia.

The Neo-Hittite king Uassurme appears in the annals of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III for the years 738 and 732 BC as king of Tabal, and is attested in inscriptions from central Anatolia as king Wasusarma, son of Tuwati.² The following article attempts a review and consolidation of the evidence concerning this king and his father, and is presented with special regard to new excavation projects, which may well soon present us with new data to work with. The main work on Wasusarma and Tuwati has previously been done by J. D. Hawkins over many years, and this essay relies heavily on his work as well as on discussions with him personally.³ I am sure that he will appreciate any slight disagreements as a gesture of the very high respect in which I hold him. Before looking at the main historical document from the reign of Wasusarma, the inscription of TOPADA, we will review the evidence from sources external to Anatolia, and introduce some of the geographical and archaeological background. The focus of this collection of evidence is placed on identifying the geo-political and historical framework in which Wasusarma and Tuwati operated in Anatolia, especially with reference to the Assyrian empire.

The kingdom of Tabal: sources external to Anatolia

We most likely first encounter the Tabalian dynasty in question in 836 BC, when Shalmaneser III, coming from Melid (Malatya) via Mt Timur, invades Tabal, burns the cities of Tuatti (king) of Tabal, besieges his capital city, Artulu, and receives the submission and tribute of Tuatti's son Kikki along with that of twenty other unnamed "kings of Tabal".⁴ A subjugation of Tuatti himself after the siege of Artulu is not mentioned. These twenty kings of Tabal did not apparently include Puḫamme the Ḫupuškaean(!), against whose city, Ḫupušni, Shalmaneser then proceeds after a visit to Mount Tunni, the "silver mountain".⁵ With Puḫamme of Ḫupušni we are clearly dealing

¹ Most of this article was written while visiting excavations in Turkey during the summer of 2009. Among the many people who offered hospitality, support and critical discussion in relation to this project, I should gratefully mention S. Omura, M. Omura and K. Matsumura of the Japanese Institute of Anatolian Archaeology in Turkey, Y. Şenyurt, A. Akçay and Y. Kamaş of Gazi University, G. and F. Summers of the Middle East Technical University, and the director and staff of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, which served as my base for much of the year. Thanks are also due to the editors and readers of *Iraq*. The views expressed here and the faults therein remain my own.

² TOPADA §1 specifies his lineage (Hawkins 2000: 452).

³ Hawkins 1979: 162–7; 1995a: 97–9; 2000: 425–531; Hawkins and Postgate 1988: 36–9. See also Wäfler 1983: 183; Jasink 1995: 130–6; Yiğit 2000: 180–3. The unpublished PhD dissertation Aro 1998 was not available to me during the writing of this article, although the author kindly discussed issues with me.

⁴ Detailed account from the Nimrud Statue, ed. Laessoe 1959: 153–5 (frag. E) ll. 19'–34' = *RIMA* 3, A.0.102.16,

ll. 162'–81'; Hawkins 2000: 426–7. The reading of the city's name is provided with a question mark, ^{URU}ar-tu-lu(?) in Laessoe's edition, presumably due to the lack of one horizontal wedge in the sign LU in the copy (1959: 154, l. 25'; also Wäfler 1983: 182). In A. K. Grayson's edition in *RIMA* 3, l. 168', which took into account draft copies made by P. Hulin after collation of the original (Grayson 1996: 73), the question mark is omitted. The name *Artulu* itself is not otherwise attested, but may be connected with the Hurrian word for "city", *arde*. See also the Urartian city-name ^{URU}ar-du-ru-ú which is reasonably clearly not the same place, although the context is obscure (Rusa II; Salvini 2008/I: 567, but see note on r. 2). Could the use of this Hurro-Urartian city-name in Tabal be the result of confusion on the part of Shalmaneser's scribes?

⁵ ^{kur}ḫu-bu-uš-ka-a-a (l. 176') is presumably a mistake for ^{kur}ḫu-bu-uš-na-a-a, cf. Grayson 1996: 79 fn. ad loc. Note the occurrence of ^{uru}ḫu-bu-uš-ka-a later in l. 295' (Grayson 1996: 82) for the city Ḫubuškia near to Mannaea. Is this a further piece of confusion on the part of Shalmaneser's scribes with the geography of the northern Zagros? Tunni

with the most southerly part of the Anatolian plateau, Hittite Hupisna, classical Kybistra, near modern-day Ereğli, thus indicating that Tabal was considered to be a region further north.⁶

The name Tuate occurs in an allegedly dynastic context around 780 BC when Argišti I of Urartu extracts tribute from a country designated by a phrase usually translated as “the land of the son(s) of Tuate”. The passage was read by König as follows:⁷ (15) ^Dhal-di-ni-ni al-su-i-ši-[ni uš]-ta-a-di ^{KUR}ha-ti-i-na-ḫi-e (16) an-da-ni ^{tú-a-te-ḫi-ni-i} KUR-ni-[e ’]a-al-du-bi sal-ma-at-ḫ[i] ^{URU}me-li-ṭe-a-ni (17) ku-te-a-di “through the might of Haldi I set forth to the Hati(-lands), on the one hand I ’aldu-ed the land of the Tuatid, on the other I kutea-ed (with regard to the land of?) Melid”. Again, this activity appears to have brought him into contact with Malatya.⁸

It is ultimately not certain whether the “land of the son(s) of Tuate(?)” is to be considered partly identical with or separate from the entity “the Hati(-lands)”, which appear to be mentioned as the primary objective of the campaign. It does seem likely, however, that Malatya and the “Land of the Tuatid” taken together constitute the Hati(-lands).⁹ Most interpreters understand the phrase as a general reference to the dynasty of Tuate, whether Tuate be the earlier king encountered by Shalmaneser III or a completely different one.

More recently the translation of the phrase as “land of the son(s) of Tuate” and the reading of the Urartian have come under pressure. The form ^{tú-a-te-ḫi-ni-i} is in this previously widespread translation taken as a patronymic formed with the suffix *-hi-*. The following elements *-ni-i* were taken as the genitive of the “definite article” by M. Salvini, dependent on the head-noun *KUR-ni-[e]*, thus “the land of the one belonging to Tuate”. The Tuatid may refer to a specific son of a Tuate, who would presumably be the father of Tuwati the father of Wasusarma, or it may more generally refer to the dynasty.¹⁰

The interpretation of *Tuate = hi = ni = i* in this manner, however, leaves the suffixed form *Tuatehi-* without an ending. The ending is supplied after the insertion of the article, which is not entirely satisfactory. A different analysis of formations of this type has been offered by G. Wilhelm and is perhaps applicable here.¹¹ According to Wilhelm’s analysis the possessive suffix itself is */ḫi/* when the head-noun is in the nominative, but */ḫini/*, with addition of the relational article */ne/*, when it is in any oblique case. Here *KUR-ni-[e]* appears to be in the dative: “upon the land”.¹² If *=ḫini=i* is construed as a dative on a complex suffix composed of the relational article */ne/* and the possessive-suffix */ḫi/*, we have to translate “he x-ed (an x) on the land belonging to Tuate”. This would then be the first historical appearance of Wasusarma’s father Tuwati, although it means that he must have been in power for at least another thirty years before Wasusarma succeeded him.¹³

Most recently, however, Salvini has offered a new reading of the text here: ^{tú-a-te-ḫi-ni-i} KUR-ni [^{a-al}]-du-bi, and himself translates “il paese del Tuate”.¹⁴ Here we have an absolutive case for

the silver mountain and Muli the alabaster mountain are generally located in the Bolkar Dağ range (e.g. Hawkins 2000: 427).

⁶Hawkins 2000: 427. It is not immediately apparent, however, that Tabal is conceived as extending as far south as Hupušni at this time in this context (Hawkins: “south Tabal”).

⁷König 1957: 89 Nr. 80 §3 VII (15–17). The translation is my own. See below for Salvini’s new reading of the crucial portion of the text.

⁸That he travelled *past* Malatya is the interpretation of König 1957: 89, 221–2.

⁹Essentially following Salvini 1972: 102, who translates *an-da-ni . . . sal-ma-at-ḫ[i]* as “a destra? . . . a sinistra?”. Also Salvini 2008/I: 336. This interpretation of ^{KUR}Hati differs from the Assyrian use of ^{KUR}Hatti to denote Syria north of the Euphrates, and in particular Karkamiš. See Hawkins 1972–5: 153 f.; Ikeda 1984: 29, 31.

¹⁰Salvini 1979: 104–5. Also translated in the singular “des Tuatiden” by König 1957: 89 (also Wäfler 1983: 189), but in the plural, “the sons of Tuate”, by Hawkins and Postgate 1988: 36; Hawkins 2000: 427. The genitive plural ending is not present, however.

¹¹Wilhelm 1976: 112–13.

¹²The use of the transitive S1 ending requires that an absolutive object be supplied. All other cases of the phrase *andani GN₁ ’aldubi salmathi GN₂ kuteadi* are construed with the country GN₁ in the absolutive, see König 1957: 221.

¹³It is of course possible also under this interpretation that “Tuatean land” refers more generally to the dynasty, rather than to a specific individual. Hutter-Braunsar (2009: 81) also translates “Land des Tuate”, without offering any linguistic analysis but citing the unpublished dissertation Aro 1998: 128. According to a personal communication kindly provided by S. Aro, a linguistic argument was not pursued in that work either.

¹⁴Salvini 2008/I: 336. An explanation of this translation from the editor himself, and of its deviation from his previous opinion of the grammatical construction involved, will have to await the publication of vol. V of Salvini’s monumental *Corpus*. Salvini’s new reading of the text is not immediately and faultlessly translucent from the photo provided (Salvini 2008/III: 203/b) and was not mentioned in his 1992 collection of collations made during a visit to the monument (Salvini and André-Salvini 1992). The second half of the line, not visible in the photo, is available in a photo of a squeeze published at Arutiunian 2002: pl. LXXVII, and appears to justify König’s [^{a-al}]-du-bi

KUR-*ni*, as required by the verbal ending *-bi*, and the translation must assume that ^l*tú-a-te-ḫi-ni-i* is also construed in the absolutive, in which case the final *-i* would have no case-related morphological function. The absolutive, or “nominative” as he calls it, however, is the one case in which Wilhelm’s allomorphic suffix *-ḫini-* is not supposed to be used. One may fall back on interpreting the *-ni-i* simply as a “resumptive” suffix, in the absolutive case, although its position is proleptic: “the one of Tuate, the land”. While not entirely satisfactory, this explanation provides some linguistic support for the otherwise ungrounded tendency in recent scholarship to translate this phrase as “the land of Tuate”, with all the phrase’s attendant historical ramifications.

If this indeed was the Tuwati who was father of Wasusarma, then we must consider that he ruled for an extraordinarily long time. A Tuatti is named in a list of tribute-bearers to the Assyrian court on a tablet from Nineveh, which has been dated to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III, but before the year 738, on the grounds that Uassurme was clearly ruling in Tuatti’s place by that time.¹⁵ The occurrence in the same list of a king called Urbala’a, or Warpalawa of Tuwana as he is known in Anatolia, is also thought to fix the date, as is the equation of a king called Ašḫiti in the tablet with Ušḫiti of Atuna, also known from the tribute lists in Tiglath-Pileser III’s annals and possibly to be equated with Ashwi(sī), the father of king Kurti known from the BOHÇA inscription.¹⁶ A king Kurti of Atuna was given the kingdom of Šinuḫtu after the removal of its ruler Kiakki in 718 BC.¹⁷ That Ašḫiti should be his father makes chronological sense if the equation Ašḫiti = Ušḫiti = Ashwi(sī) can be upheld, and if the geographical difficulties involved in placing Atuna in the region of the BOHÇA inscription can be overcome. I shall address but not attempt to resolve these difficulties later on.

Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III for the years 738 and 732 BC mention Uassurme of Tabal in tribute lists for the West, alongside other kings whose lands stretch as far south as Gaza.¹⁸ There is some indication that the tribute lists are organised in groups conforming either to a roughly geographical order or to an order that reflects political alliances.¹⁹ The Iran stele in particular has Uassurme of Tabal appearing directly after Sulumal of Melid.²⁰ This may continue the apparent geographical order laid down in the inscription on the Nimrud statue of Shalmaneser III.

On the other hand H. Tadmor (1994: 266) sees Melid as forming, on its own with Kaska, a separate group among the tribute-bearers, albeit one which is divided in the Iran stele by the insertion between them of the whole Tabal group. According to this explanation the positioning of Melid before Tabal in the tribute lists would have nothing to do with geography. However, the variable position of Dadilu the Kaskaean in the tribute lists might alternatively be explained by Dadilu having resided in a geographical location that was not necessarily on the Assyrian route to Tabal, but could be if so chosen. The location of the Iron Age fortress of Havuzköy (see below) offers a prime position for such a ruler. It was on one route from Melid to Tabal, but not necessarily the most direct. The assumption that there is any kind of geographic logic behind the order in the tribute lists at this point merely assumes that Tiglath-Pileser’s scribes were continuing a previously established writing convention with its roots in actual geographical routes, such as that taken by Shalmaneser III.

(1957: 89) although Arutiunian himself reads [^l*a-a*]l-*du-bi* (2002: 161). From Salvini’s photo of the first half of the line in the new edition one can see a break after KUR-*ni*, with some possible traces that may need further collation, and presumably formed the basis of König’s drawing of an ^l*e* (König 1957: Tafel 53), which he nevertheless transliterated as [-*e*]. However, Salvini’s reading KUR-*ni* is of course currently the most up-to-date and authoritative. It is also the reading of Arutiunian 2002: 161.

¹⁵ Hawkins and Postgate 1988; Hawkins 2000: 479.

¹⁶ Hawkins and Morpurgo-Davies 1979: 389–90; Hawkins 2000: 479.

¹⁷ Sargon annals 68–71 (Fuchs 1993: 92–3).

¹⁸ Tadmor 1994: 89 (Calaḫ annals 27, 6); 108 (Iran stele IIIa, 10); 170–1 (Summary inscription 7, rev. 9’).

¹⁹ Weippert 1973: 48–52; Gurney apud Hawkins 1979:

167; Tadmor 1994: 265–6.

²⁰ Iran stele III A 9–10 (Tadmor 1994: 108). The Calaḫ annals (27) position Dadilu the Kaskaean between Sulumal and Uassurme (Tadmor 1994: 89 ann. 27, 5–6). This character appears at the very end of the Anatolian rulers in the Iran stele (Tadmor 1994: 108 stele III A 15: ^l*da-di-il* ^{ku}*kás-ka-a* + ^l*a*). Summary inscription 7, rev. 8’ is broken at the end of the line. From the photo of this tablet, K 3751 (Tadmor 1994: pl. LV), it appears that there may have been enough room for Dadilu the Kaskaean (at least eight signs) after Sul[umal of Melid] (also at least eight signs), although certainty is not possible due to the variable spacing of signs towards the line ends visible from the bottom of the tablet. Line 29’, for example, has 20 signs after the point in the line parallel to the break in 8’. Tadmor (1994: 171) assumes the presence of Dadilu the Kaskaean in his translation.

From Assyrian sources of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III it is also apparent that Uassurme was deposed by the Assyrians for defaulting on his tribute at some time between 732 and 729 BC, when the Assyrian king sent his chief eunuch to replace him with Ḫulli, the son of a nobody.²¹

(14') [ʾU]-as-sur-me^{kur} ta-bal-a + a a-na ep-šet kur aš-šur^{ki} ú-maš-šil-ma a-di mahri-ia la il-li-ka^{lú} šu-ut-sag-ia^{lú} gal[sag ana^{kur} Tabal ašpur . . .]

(15') [Ḫu]-ul-li-i dumu la ma-ma-na ina^{giš} gu.za lugal-ti-šu ú-še-šib

(14') [U]assurme of Tabal imitated the behaviour of Assyria and did not come into my presence. A eunuch of mine, the chief-[eunuch, I sent to Tabal . . .]

(15') [Ḫ]ulli, the son of a nobody, I set on his royal throne.²²

M. Weippert suggested that Uassurme's fault lay in his having assumed the title "Great King", which he uses in the TOPADA and SUVASA inscriptions.²³ Further on we shall consider whether the specific background to this arrogance of Wasusarma in the face of Tiglath-Pileser III is to be associated with the events described in the TOPADA inscription.

The story of Ḫulli need only concern us here in as far as it indicates the geo-political pressures that the Assyrians were contending with in the north-west at the time.²⁴ He was himself deported to Assyria along with his son, probably by Shalmaneser V, and then restored by Sargon II, who thenceforth called his kingdom either Bīt-Burutaš or Tabal.²⁵ It is most likely for conspiring with the Muški (i.e. Phrygians) that not only Ḫulli and later his son fell out of favour with the Assyrians, but other Anatolian kings too. For example Kikki of Šinuḫtu, a city which can be located in Aksaray due to the find of a stele belonging to a king *Ki-ia-ki-ia* in that city, was deposed by Sargon in 718 BC for breaking his divine oaths.²⁶ The kingdom of Šinuḫtu was then given to king Kurti of Atuna. So desperate was Sargon to keep the Anatolian kings on his side, that he gave Ḫulli's son Ambaris his own daughter in marriage and the kingdom of Hilakku as a dowry. This did not prevent Ambaris' further treachery, in conspiracy with the Phrygians, leading to his subsequent removal in 713 BC.

The Phrygian problem was finally solved in 710–709 BC, when Sargon received a letter from his governor in Que (Cilicia), indicating that king Meta the Muškaean (i.e. Midas the Phrygian)²⁷ was keen on making peace with the Assyrians and had turned over to him fourteen messengers from Urik of Que that he had intercepted on their way to Urartu as ambassadors.²⁸ Sargon mentions a number of specific Tabalian kings and their interests in the letter. They are contemptuously referred to as "all the kings of Tabal", who are to be squeezed between Sargon's governor and the Phrygians,²⁹ or to come and wipe the governor's sandals with their beards.³⁰ In this context it is clear, for example, that Urbala'a of Tuḫana, Anatolian Warpalawa of Tuwana, is considered to be one of these kings of Tabal, and that Tabal is thus supposed to include southern Cappadocia (i.e. the area around Niğde). The letter also contains an interesting reference to a *Bīt-Paruta*, which S. Parpola has associated with Sargon's expression *Bīt-Burutaš*, apparently

²¹ Tadmor 1994: 170–1 Summary inscription 7, 14'–15'; Summary inscription 9, rev. 27–9 (Wiseman 1956: 126); Hawkins 1979: 163 fn. 71. The Nimrud tablet of this inscription is dated to 729 BC by the last historical incidents in its otherwise geographically organised narrative of events (728 BC in Wiseman 1956: 118).

²² Tadmor 1994: 170–1, with slightly different translation. See *AHW* 624a; *CAD* M/1 357, mng. 5 "tried to equal"; for "imitate" see *ibid.* *naklat kīma manman lā umaššalu* "(she) is (so) tricky that no one can imitate (her)" (*VAS* 10 214 v 38, 42).

²³ Weippert 1973: 49. Hawkins (1992: 269–72; 2000: 429) sees a connection between Wasusarma's use of the titles and the earlier use of the titles by Hartapu in the Karadağ-Kızıldağ inscriptions and, more importantly, the Burunkaya inscription, which is only 30 km to the south-west of TOPADA.

²⁴ For narrative and sources see Saggs 1958: 202–7; Postgate 1973: 30–2; Hawkins 1979: 163; Hawkins and Postgate 1988: 37.

²⁵ The statement that Bīt-Burutaš was the most powerful state of Tabal during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (Fuchs 1993: 428) certainly needs correction. It is a Sargonic term, and we may legitimately ask where it comes from, and why it only appears during Sargon's reign. According to Wäfler (1983: 191–2) its appearance was due to an intensified Assyrian familiarity with the region and it referred to a political rather than a geographical entity. For a slightly different explanation see below (conclusions).

²⁶ Midas may have been connected, see Hawkins 2000: 427 fn. 44.

²⁷ For a thorough treatment of the terms Phrygians and Muškaeans, see Wittke 2004, esp. p. 183, where it is suggested that these two separate peoples were clearly seen as one by the Assyrians due to migration processes from west to east and east to west that had brought them into contact.

²⁸ *SAA* 1.1 obv. 3–6; Parpola 1987: 4.

²⁹ *SAA* 1.1 rev. 50–1; Parpola 1987: 6.

³⁰ *SAA* 1.1 obv. 29; Parpola 1987: 4.

referring to all or part of Tabal.³¹ For our purposes, Sargon's letter is of primary interest in that it appears to refer, if only obliquely, to a situation that pertained after Wasusarma had been removed.

Wasusarma was thus a vassal king with ties of loyalty to the Neo-Assyrian empire that were demonstrated by payment of tribute. His kingdom, Tabal, later assumed to be identical with Bīt-Burutaš in the inscriptions of Sargon II, is usually roughly equated with the area to the south of the Kızıl Irmak stretching from Kayseri down to Aksaray, but he may also have had control of land to the north of the river, as possibly suggested by new evidence (see below). His most important neighbour was king Warpalawa of Tuwana, associated with the classical Tyanitis, an area around Niğde just north of the entrance to the Taurus mountains. Warpalawa was known to the Assyrians as Urbala'a of Tušana and is attested in Assyrian sources from 738 BC, most probably at least as far as 710–709 BC.³²

The local inscriptions: geographical and archaeological background

The relevant hieroglyphic inscriptions for Tuwati and his son Wasusarma are collected by J. D. Hawkins in chapter 10 of his *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions (CHLI = Hawkins 2000)* under the heading "Tabal".

The inscriptions can be divided into those found to the east of the kingdom, nearer to modern Kayseri (i.e. north-east Cappadocia):

- (a) KULULU 1: stele of Ruwa, servant of Tuwati
- (b) KULULU 4: funerary stele of Ruwa, the *tarwani* (ruler), erected by his nephew ẖuli
- (c) ÇİFTLİK: stele of another servant of Tuwati
- (d) SULTANHAN: stele of Sarwatiwaras, servant of Wasusarma
- (e) KAYSERİ: stele of a servant of Wasusarma

and those found to the west, nearer to modern Aksaray (i.e. north-west Cappadocia):

- (f) TOPADA: rock inscription of Wasusarma (see below)
- (g) SUVASA: four inscriptions on a rock, one belonging to Sariya, "chief butler before Wasusarma" and one to AVIS.PISCIS-tawa,³³ possibly a servant of Wasusarma
- (h) GÖSTESİN: a fragmentary rock inscription possibly belonging to a scribe of Wasusarma.³⁴

The evidence is thin, but one may observe that inscriptions associated with Tuwati are not found to the west among this group. Wasusarma on the other hand could claim to rule, or at least have power, over an area stretching from the area around Kayseri to just before Aksaray, in other words northern Cappadocia, by the evidence of the spread of his inscriptions. Moreover, the question of power held by the kings of Tabal to the north of the Kızıl Irmak also needs to be borne in mind. Mention should also be made of the new GEMEREK inscription, which was brought to Sivas museum in 2004, and shares palaeographic and orthographic similarities with TOPADA and SUVASA, but also with the Malatya group. This inscription does not preserve its author's name, but indicates the spread of hieroglyphic writing culture on the eastern side the Kızıl Irmak, further north than previously attested.³⁵

³¹ Parpola 1987: 236.

³² 738 and 732: tribute lists of Tiglath-Pileser III; 710–709: letter of Sargon to the provincial governor in Que (*SAAT* 1.1). It is not necessary to assume, with F. C. Woudhuizen (2007: 23), that Warpalawa was a subordinate of Wasusarma. This assumption was also made by Weippert on the basis of Wasusarma's assumption of the title "Great King" (Weippert 1973: 48–9). The title can have a different significance in Iron Age Anatolia (see Hawkins 1995b) and may be interpreted to have dynastic rather than hegemonial connotations.

³³ F. C. Woudhuizen (2007: 30 fn. 14) reads this as *ARA-wa₈-tá-wa-sa₆* claiming that this is a variant of the name "Arnuwantis". This name, Arnuwantis in its more frequent Iron Age form, is indeed spelled with the sign AVIS at the beginning, but there is nothing else in common here. For

that reason, it is left half-logographic in my transcription.

³⁴ This fragmentary inscription is currently built into a building in the village of Ova Ören, formerly called Göstesin, and was announced at the 2007 Turkish archaeological symposium by Y. Şenyurt, who is excavating the mounds near Ova Ören. I am most grateful to Professor Şenyurt for allowing me access to his drawings of the inscription and to him and his assistant A. Akçay for showing me the site and discussing the related issues with me. See Şenyurt forthcoming.

³⁵ The GEMEREK stele is being published by R. Akdoğan and J. D. Hawkins. I am most grateful to the authors for showing me pictures and drawings of the inscription and discussing its content with me. Information on the date of accession of the stele I received from A. Müller-Karpe by personal communication.

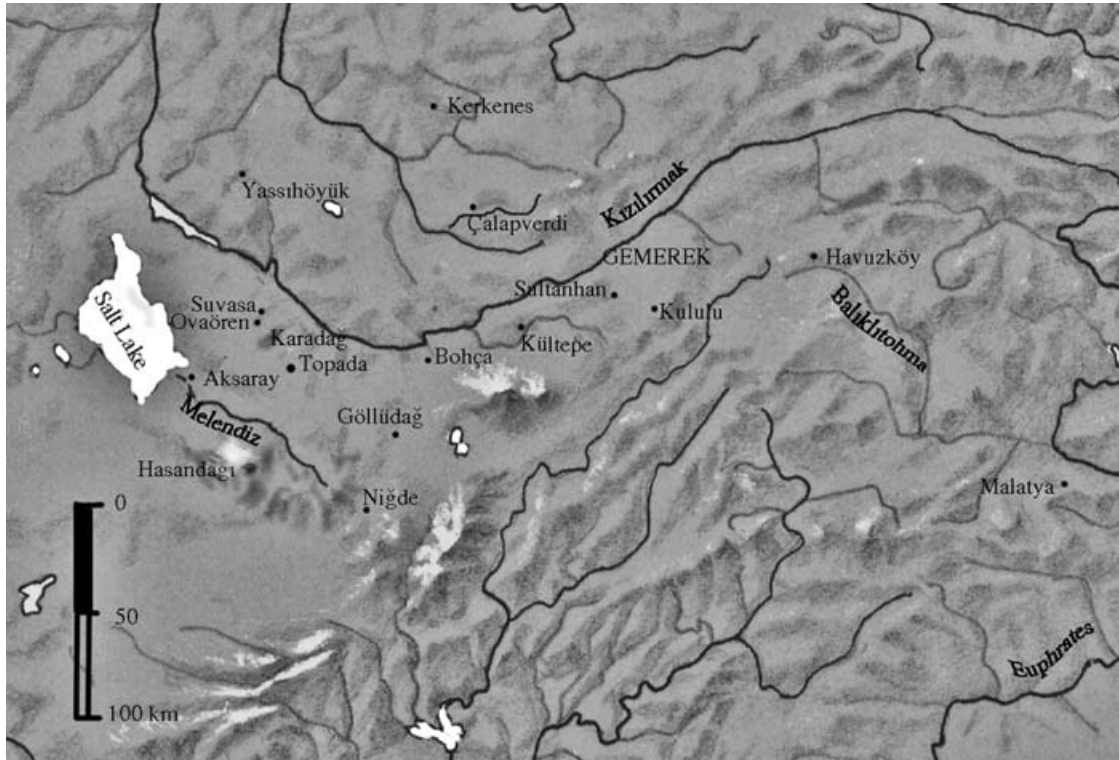


Fig. 1 Map of the southern Anatolian plateau.

Tuwati and Wasusarma's capital has usually been held to be the mound at Kululu.³⁶ Unless one travels via Havuzköy farther to the east, Kululu is the first site that one comes to when travelling from Malatya, the route taken into Tabal by Shalmaneser III. It is a typical Iron Age mountain-top fortress, as remarked by Tahsin Özgüç after the survey he conducted there in 1967. Lead strips with hieroglyphic economic documents inscribed on them, given to Tahsin Özgüç at Kululu by locals who had been using them to make lead shot, frequently mention the city of Tuna, of which there seem to have been two parts, "upper" and "lower" Tuna.³⁷ It is not unreasonable to suggest that this may have been the name of Kululu itself, although serious problems are bound up with this assertion, especially when one attempts to connect the Neo-Assyrian toponyms Tuna and Atuna, which have to be considered in this context.³⁸

Also to be considered with regard to the status of Kululu, is the fact that Ruwa, the "servant of Tuwati" as he is called in KULULU 1, is in KULULU 4 referred to as *tarwanis*, "ruler", with no reference to being the servant of Tuwati. Clearly *tarwanis* is not a title on the level of "Great King", which is the title given to Tuwati and Wasusarma. It is, however, an extremely high title, and sometimes occurs in combination with the title "king".³⁹ One might speculate that Ruwa's designation as *tarwanis* indicates that he is a governor of the area around Kululu. He says that

³⁶ Hawkins 1979: 163.

³⁷ SUPER + RA/I-sa | *tu-na-sa* (URBS) "of the town Upper Tuna" KULULU lead strip 1, §3, 7 (Hawkins 2000: 506); SUPER + RA/I-li | *tu-na-sa* (URBS?) "for the town Upper Tuna" KULULU lead strip 1 §9, 63 (Hawkins 2000: 508); *â-na-tara/i-sâ-' tu-na-sâ* (URBS) "of the town Lower Tuna" *ibid.* §4, 15, see also §7, 38, and further plain *tu-na-sâ* (URBS) "of the town Tuna" *ibid.* §9, 49, 53–7. There is also a "for the mother of the town Tuna", *tu-na-sa-na* (URBS) *â-na-ia* *ibid.* §9, 60 (Hawkins *loc. cit.*).

³⁸ The central issue revolves around the following contrasting indicators: the traditional association of the place-name (A)Tuna, known from Assyrian sources, with classical Tunna, at Zeyve Höyük just north of the Cilician Gates,

the possibly related name of Mount Tunni in the Bolkardağlar mountains, which was visited by Shalmaneser III; by contrast to indications placing Atuna and Tuna in the north. Such are the location of a king Kurti at BOHÇA, who may or may not be identical with the Kurti of (A)tu(n)na, to whom Sargon gave Šinuhtu (Aksaray) after deporting Kiakki (Fuchs 1993: 465), and the possible name Tuna for the settlement at Kululu. See Weippert 1973: 50 with fn. 102; Hawkins and Morpurgo-Davies 1979: 390–1; Hawkins 1979: 166 with editorial comment by Gurney; Hawkins 1995a: 99 with fn. 150; 2000: 427 fn. 43, 432 fn. 41.

³⁹ AKSARAY §9: *â-mu ki-ia-ki-ia-ia IUDEX-ni REX-ti* "... to me Kiyakiya, the ruler, the king (he gave it)". Further on *tarwani*- see Jasink 1998; Giusfredi 2009.

“I was dear to my lords and they commanded me/put me in command(?)”.⁴⁰ His self-designation in the same inscription continues with: “and I was house-lord in the lord’s house”.⁴¹ One might wonder whether this title can be compared with the Late Bronze Age Hittite title ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTU, “house-father”. This official, commonly translated as “majordomo”, in at least one context may celebrate rites that indicate he is to be in charge of Hattusa during an absence of the king on a ritual engagement to Nerik, i.e. he appears to be a caretaker ruler.⁴² Ruwa also gives himself the same epithet, the “sun-blessed one”, as that assumed by Azatiwada, who is himself a caretaker ruler in the region around Adana. Indeed, this epithet may be taken by “servants” of the great rulers, and may be understood to indicate that they have been caught in the radiance of their lords and thus elevated to high office.

Further archaeological sites of this region have been identified with settlements from this period that may be relevant as parts of Tabal and a summary presentation is given in Hawkins 2000.⁴³ I restrict myself here to the northern sites, as being those that may or may not have come within the sphere of influence of Tuwati and Wasusarma. How one defines relevance in this field is a thorny issue. The use of certain types of pottery, in this case Alişar IV-style decorated ceramics, may be one clue among others, but one should, as David Hawkins repeatedly tells me, avoid identifying pots with peoples.⁴⁴ Settlement type and location should be taken into account, in as far as they can be expressions of unified hegemonial and geo-political interests. A regional analysis of the material cultures of Iron Age settlements in central Anatolia, in the light of their geographical distribution, access to resources and trade-networks is a clear desideratum, but far from being realisable in view of the currently under-developed state of excavation in the area. Of course, the finding of inscriptional material is extremely useful for identifying regional political and/or ethnic entities, but this too has its limits.⁴⁵ Here it is merely my intention to present some background material on the geographical space in which Tuwati and Wasusarma were operating, before proceeding to a discussion of the main historical text from Wasusarma’s reign.

In addition to those sites already under discussion, one should mention Havuzköy, a similar Iron Age fortress to Kululu but further to the east through a pass in the Kulmaç Mountains, which leads along the Balıklıtohma valley to the Malatya plain.⁴⁶ It is also, as pointed out by Tahsin Özgüç, easily reachable from Tilgarimmu, which Sennacherib thought lay on the border with Tabal.⁴⁷

Proceeding south-westward from Kululu there is of course the Iron Age settlement of Sultanhan, largely destroyed by the construction of the Kayseri-Sivas railway,⁴⁸ and further along the road Kültepe, once the Old Assyrian trading capital, which had long since ceased to be a centre of any political importance.⁴⁹ To the south-west of Kayseri is the mound of Eğriköy, place of origin of a poorly preserved and incomprehensible hieroglyphic inscription named after the village, and also of the ÇIFTLIK inscription, which belongs to a servant of Tuwati.⁵⁰

In north central Cappadocia near Avanos there is the BOHÇA inscription of king Kurti, who, if he is identical with the Kurti of Atuna to whom Sargon gave the kingdom of Şinuhtu after

⁴⁰ (§6) *wa/i-ta* DOMINUS-na-za-’ á-mi-ia-za BONUS-si-ia-za-ha || (§7) | *wa/i-mu* LEPUS+ra/i-ia-la-ta “and I was dear to my lords, and they made me governor(?)” Hawkins 2000: 445. The verb is most probably *taparriyalanta*, which one might best translate as “they commanded me”, as in “they commanded me (to do something important)”. That task is presumably explained in the next clause.

⁴¹ DOMINUS-ni-ha-wa/i-mu DOMUS-ni-i DOMUS-ni(-)DOMINUS-ni-i-sa₄ | á-sá-ha (Hawkins 2000: 455).

⁴² I-NA É ^{LÚ}A-BU-[(BI-TI-m)a] (22) A-NA DINGIRMEŠ A-BU-BI-TIEZEN₄ ŠA KASKAL ^{URU}NE-RI-I[K] (23) i-ia-an-zi “they celebrate a festival of the road to Nerik in the house of the ^{LÚ}ABUBĪTU, for the house-father gods”, KUB 10.48 ii 20–3 // IBoT 2.8 obv. 9; Nakamura 2002: 21. This interpretation of the passage is to be found in Weeden, forthcoming.

⁴³ See also the presentation by Wittke 2004: 161–72. Her account also refers frequently to Aro 1998.

⁴⁴ The boundaries of Alişar IV painted pottery should not be taken as coterminous with the boundaries of any

particular peoples, for example. This is an immensely complex field, which I am in no way qualified to address. See in particular Summers 1994. For a summary see Wittke 2004: 260–7, from which it is apparent that there is a growing tendency among archaeologists to regard pottery of the Alişar IV type merely as “central Anatolian” and not Phrygian in any ethnic sense.

⁴⁵ The discovery of Phrygian inscriptions at Kerkenes Dağ near Sorgun (Yozgat) is a case in point. The inscriptions are in Phrygian and are extremely formulaic, like most Phrygian inscriptions. With one possible exception, however, the people named have Luwian names: Masa, Tatta, Uwa (C. Brixhe calls these “Anatolian” apud Draycott and Summers 2008: 75).

⁴⁶ Özgüç 1971. Surveyed by R. M. Boehmer (1967).

⁴⁷ E.g. Frahm 1997: 283.

⁴⁸ Özgüç 1971: 117; Wittke 2004: 163

⁴⁹ Özgüç 1971: 77–93.

⁵⁰ Özgüç 1971: 119; Hawkins 2000: 425 with fn. 6, 495, 448.

deposing its king Kiakki in 718 BC, must be contemporary with or slightly later than Wasusarma. At the time of writing the nearby Camii Höyük is the subject of a rescue excavation by Professor Y. Şenyurt of Gazi University, Ankara, and his team, before the advancing waters of yet another dam project on the Kızıl Irmak. Further west, and to the south of the Nevşehir-Aksaray road there is the TOPADA inscription, and the nearby Ağılı Höyük, which has been surveyed both by S. Omura and by Y. Şenyurt.⁵¹ To the south of this we reach the centre of Cappadocia and the volcano-top fortress of Göllü Dağ, excavated by B. Tezcan in the 1960s and more recently by W. Schirmer. There is no indication to whom this may have belonged.⁵²

Another current excavation relevant to this topic is at Ova Ören, near to Aksaray, consisting of a very large, flat mound (Yassihöyük), with a smaller mound in annex (Topak Höyük), currently being excavated by Y. Şenyurt. Ova Ören is very near to the SUVASA inscription, and only twenty-eight kilometres to the north-west of TOPADA. It also must be very near to the original location of the GÖSTESIN inscription, currently in the village of Ova Ören itself.

The question of whether Tabalian influence extended to the north of the Kızıl Irmak is a vexed one, but of primary importance for the topic under review. Borders have frequently been drawn at this river, due to its enduring geographical position.⁵³ The mountain fortress of Çalapverdi was also briefly surveyed by T. Özgüç in 1967. Although noting similarities in pottery and settlement type with other Iron Age Neo-Hittite centres, he hesitated to include it within the area of Tabal, suggesting instead that it may have been a frontier post for Tabal at certain times during its history.⁵⁴

Recently a lead strip with a Hieroglyphic Luwian letter incised upon it has been published, which is said to have been found at the mound of Yassihöyük near Kırşehir.⁵⁵ It is addressed to a Tuwati, who is designated as “my lord”, and is sent by someone designating himself as Muwatali “your servant”. Magnetic surveys at Yassihöyük, carried out by M. Omura of the Middle East Culture Centre of Japan over the last two years, have revealed a large (40 × 50 m) building in the centre of the mound.⁵⁶ The status and date of this building are far from being established, for excavations are only just beginning at the time of writing. The evidence of a letter addressed to a Tuwati and said to have been found at Yassihöyük cannot be sufficient to suggest that this was king Tuwati’s central residence, but it may indicate that he, and thus possibly his son, had interests north of the Kızıl Irmak river.

Whoever lived at Yassihöyük during the Middle Iron Age (eighth century BC), it was a relatively large site, with good natural mountainous defences to the south and east, while being reasonably open to the north. Indeed, it looks as though the city gate was on the north side. It is not, however, the type of mountain fortress that has been thought to be so typical of other larger Iron Age settlements.

The TOPADA inscription

The text containing the most historical information on the activities of Wasusarma is the TOPADA inscription, a large sandstone rock inscription located between Nevşehir and Aksaray (Fig. 2).⁵⁷ It is carved on a rock that protrudes at an angle from the rock corridor of which it is part, such that the tip of its corner faces directly towards Hasan Dağ, the highest mountain visible

⁵¹ Şenyurt 1999: 456 (Turkish) “Iron Age” ceramics found.

⁵² Schirmer 1998. Göllüdağ is held to be an Assyrian foundation by Wittke 2004: 166.

⁵³ Wäfler 1983: 191; Tabal extends “about from” the Kızıl Irmak according to Yiğit 2000: 180.

⁵⁴ Özgüç 1971: 118; Wittke 2004: 165.

⁵⁵ The lead strip was brought to Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilisations in January 2006 and published in Akdoğan and Hawkins 2009 (Turkish). The letter was also the subject of a paper by the authors at the 2008 Hittitological Congress in Çorum, and will receive an English-language publication in the proceedings of that conference. I am grateful to the authors for allowing me to see photographs of the object and for discussing it with me. As an artefact that has not come from controlled archaeo-

logical excavation, a doubt will always remain over the find-spot, no matter how grateful one is that the object was brought to the museum in the first place.

⁵⁶ See: <http://www.jiaa-kaman.org/en/excavation.html#yassi>; M. Omura 2009 (Turkish), where the possibility is aired that the building belong to the Assyrian-colony period. It may also be later than the 8th century of course, given the pottery found during surveys at Yassihöyük (S. Omura 2001: 43 with fig. 82.4–9 [English]), which have brought to light Late Iron Age and Middle Iron Age, beside Middle and Late Bronze Age ceramics; first information from the site suggests indeed Late Iron Age and Old Assyrian levels for the large building, see report in *Anatolian Archaeological Studies* 18 (forthcoming).

⁵⁷ I am indebted to geologist Professor K. Kashima for identifying the rock-type.



Fig. 2 The inscription of TOPADA at 11.00 am on 5 September 2009, photograph by T. Oshima.

from there. Due in part to its highly idiosyncratic use of archaizing or unusual sign-forms, it is extremely difficult to interpret. In this regard it shares many characteristics with the SUVASA inscription in particular, but also with other “north Tabalian” inscriptions, and the earlier inscriptions from the “Hartapu”-group at Karadağ, Kızıldağ and Burunkaya.⁵⁸ It will be of use to review some of the crucial passages of this inscription, which has been edited several times.⁵⁹ The following presents a close reading line by line, with epigraphic, grammatical and interpretive discussion, in an attempt to build a firmer picture of the inscription’s historical and geographical context.⁶⁰

The inscription appears to contain a mainly first-person narrative concerning a conflict with the city Parzuta. The whereabouts of this city, and the consequences of its location for not only Anatolian but also Assyrian history, will be discussed after the close reading of the historical part of the inscription.

The TOPADA inscription begins with the royal cartouche. It is more than likely, and there is quite enough space for it, that the winged disc would have capped the royal cartouche, intimating a claim of descent from Hattusan royalty of the second millennium. Absolute clarity on the identity of the narrator is not given. It is not entirely clear whether it is Wasusarma himself or one of his servants. The reason for this lack of clarity is the use of a post-positional phrase in the

⁵⁸ Hawkins 1979: 164; 2000: 429

⁵⁹ Hawkins 2000: 451–61 with details of previous editions; Woudhuizen 2007. I have Yalçın Kamyş of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism to thank for alerting me to the existence of this last edition. To deal with all disagreements with Woudhuizen’s edition would lead too far from the purpose of this presentation, which is a close reading of the historical part of the inscription. A full

edition should perhaps be envisaged after new inscriptional finds can be incorporated into the assessment of TOPADA’s *Sitz im Leben*. A new edition would also need to proceed from a new copy, made from the rock, which would be a very time-consuming exercise.

⁶⁰ Collations, presented in Fig. 3, were made during an excursion organised by Dr S. Omura of the Japanese Institute of Anatolian Archaeology.

introductory section §2, which Hawkins has taken to be reminiscent of a similar phrase in the SUVASA inscription:

§1. [MAGNUS.R]EX *wa/i₄-su-SARMA-ma-sa* 'MAGNUS'.REX 'HEROS' *tu-wa/i₄-ti-sa₇*
MAGNUS.REX HEROS-*li-sa* | INFANS⁶¹

§2. *wa/i₄-su-SARMA-ma-sa-wa/i₅* FORTIS *zi/a-ti* PRAE-*na* X.PISCIS(-)*sà-ta_x*

(§1) [Great K]ing Wasusarma, Great King, Hero, son of Tuwati, Great King, Hero.

(§2) Wasusarma *proclaimed* (his) conquest here.

Hawkins proposed the following interpretations of §2:

(1) “In the presence of Wasusarma Muwaziti was (X.PISCIS)”.⁶²

(2) “Wasusarma was .../...-ed for/with MUWIZ(ATI)”.⁶³

The position of the alleged postposition PRAE-*na* in §2 is not conducive to the first interpretation, however.⁶⁴ The second proposal suffers from the fact that the very next clause (§3) starts the first-person narrative which continues for the rest of the inscription. The simplest solution is to interpret X.PISCIS-*sà-ta_x* as a verb of speaking, presumably with an iterative suffix, and PRAE-*na* as a preverb: “Wasusarma ‘proclaimed’ MUWAZITI/MUWIZATI”. I am not able to explain what verb this is, or how the logogram comes to mean “speak *vel sim.*”⁶⁵ However, this problem notwithstanding, the resulting sense explains the transfer from third- to first-person narrative. This would thus clearly be an inscription of Wasusarma himself, and not of one of his servants. It also explains the use of *paran* (PRAE-*na*): “he spoke forth”.⁶⁶

The remaining word FORTIS(-)*zi/a-ti* is still problematic. I can envisage a number of solutions, each of which has its difficulties: (i) *muwaziti* is a neuter plural compound noun (< **muwazitiya*?) meaning “manly deeds”, the equivalent of Hittite *pesnatar*;⁶⁷ (ii) *zi/a-ti* represents *zadi* “here”, and FORTIS has a similar function to the preceding interpretation: “he proclaimed (his) strength (*muwan*) here”; (iii) MUWA/IZATI is an ablatival phrase used adverbially: “he proclaimed on the basis of strength”; (iv) *muwiza(n)ti* is a dative indicating the indirect object of the proclamation: “he proclaimed to the *muwiza(n)ti*”.⁶⁸ The least problematic of these, and the explanation that gives the best meaning, is option (ii): “Wasusarma proclaimed (his) power/conquest here”.⁶⁹

The following fragmentary sentence introduces the topic of the inscription:

§3. *wa/i-mu pa+ra/i-zu-ta_x* (URBS) 8 REX-*ti-sa* POST + *ra/i-zi/a* FRONS-*la/i/u-zi/a-ha*
x[. . .?](-)|| *sa-ta_x*

(§3) And eight kings, last and foremost, were x[. . .] to me in Parzuta.⁷⁰

⁶¹ Hawkins 2000: 454 follows Meriggi in interpreting the two vertical strokes after HEROS-*li-sa* as an indication of abnormal sign-order. This would usually be a function reserved for the word-divider, which is identical with the crampon seen under the sign INFANS and is not used in this inscription.

⁶² With reference to Suvasa B: PN ... *wa/i₄-su-SARMA-ma-sa* MAGNUS.REX-*sa₇* HEROS-*sa₄* PRAE-*na* MAGNUS.URCEUS-*sa₆* “(So-and-so,) Chief Butler in the presence of Wasusarmas, Great King, Hero” (Hawkins 2000: 454).

⁶³ Hawkins 2000: 455.

⁶⁴ Further problems are the lack of a mark for the nominative, and the phonetic rather than logographic writing of the name element *ziti-* (“man”), which is nowhere else attested.

⁶⁵ The first sign, X, bears a slight resemblance to the two profiles facing each other known from the sign LIS. On collation, however, the top of the left-hand “profile” is not apparently parallel to the structure of the right-hand one, giving the sign a slightly lop-sided appearance (collation not provided). The sign below appears to be PISCIS, the fish, which is only otherwise attested in SUVASA C. When Tuwati is quoted as having made a proclamation in KAYSERĪ §§19–20, the usual Luwian verb of speaking is used: *zà* “LOQUI”-*tà-zà-* | *à-sa₅-zà-t[a]* “pronounced this

word” (Hawkins 2000: 473). Note that this *asazat[a]* also has an iterative suffix, albeit a different one.

⁶⁶ H. C. Melchert distinguishes between *pari* the adverb “forth” and *paran* the postposition “in front of” (2004: 372 fn. 10, with reference to KARKAMIŞ A1a §10). This latter should, however, be construed with the genitive, not with the dative as here. Melchert’s prohibition of the use of PRAE-*na* as an adverb generally would be problematic for the interpretation offered here.

⁶⁷ The main objection to this, as well as to the interpretation offered by Hawkins (2000: 455), is that *ziti-* “man” is not written with the signs VIR.*zi*.

⁶⁸ Woudhuizen’s “(in front of) this fortress” (2006: 30) is based on a comparison of this sign (FORTIS, the arm holding a spear) with *485, which appears in apposition to a city-name in DARENDE 5 (Hawkins 2000: 305, pl. 146). The signs look nothing like each other.

⁶⁹ For alternation of FORTIS with *mu(wa)* as a verb (*muwata* “he conquered”) and as an adjective (*muwatali-*, epithet of the storm-god) see Hawkins 2000: 440–1 (KARADAG 1, §2 FORTIS-*tà* = KIZILDAĞ 4, §2b [*273]*mu(wa)-ta*, also YALBURT 16, §2a), and 439 (FORTIS = *muwatali-* as per Gonnet 1984).

⁷⁰ Hawkins 2000: 452 “Against me in the city Parzuta eight kings, lesser and more important, were *hostile*”.

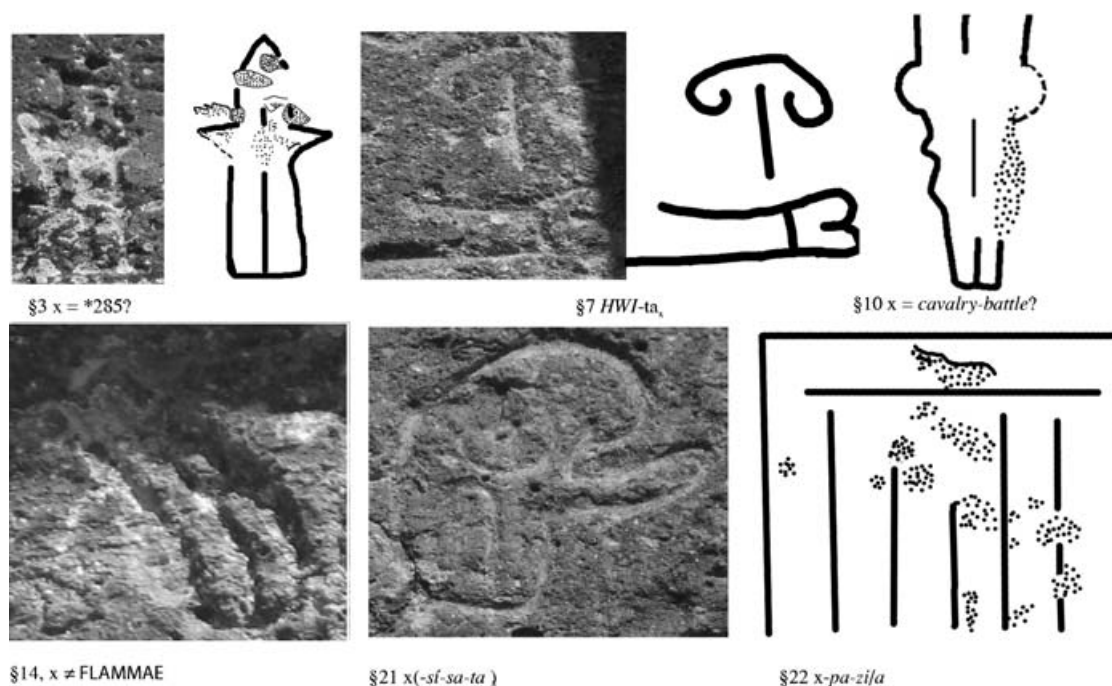


Fig. 3 Collations to TOPADA.

After doubts concerning the phonetic value of the sign *zu* (*432) in *pa + ra/i-zu-ta_x*, digraphic evidence from Meskene and Ras Shamra and the use of this sign to write the name *Zuzuli* on Empire-period sealings make *zu* by far the most likely reading of this sign.⁷¹ The identity of the sign at the break at the end of the line, where the rock is heavily pitted, covered with lichen and damaged, still cannot be ascertained with any certainty. However, collation suggests that this is similar to an archaic form of *IACULUM*, which occurs logographically as well as with the phonetic value *zu(wa)* in the Empire period (Fig. 3 §3). Its attestation here, at a characteristic although very slight angle to the neighbouring signs, is extremely surprising and thus lends some further doubt to the identification of the sign. Hawkins has identified *CERVUS₃*, *IACULUM* and *CANIS.IACULUM* as logographic writings for words meaning “hunter”, i.e. “deer-hunter”, “hunter with dogs”.⁷² The sign *IACULUM* (*285) represents a missile of some kind. One might expect it to be part of a compound logogram expressing hostility here, but such a one is not attested. The identification of the sign is thus extremely doubtful.

Parzuta appears here to be in the dative, not in the locative. There are, however, locative forms in *-a* in other Tabalian inscriptions.⁷³ A dative case assumes that the eight kings were being “hostile” in some sense both to Wasusarma and to Parzuta, or through being hostile to Parzuta they were also being hostile to Wasusarma. However, this does not sit well with the rest of the text, in which the “Parzutean” appears to be an enemy.

This hostile behaviour of the eight kings in §3 is contrasted with that of three friendly kings in §4:

§4. *wa/i-mu zi/a-tara/i REX-ti-zi CUM-ni wa/i₆-sa₇-ta_x wa/i₅ + ra/i-pa-la_x-wa/i-sa_x ki_x-ia-ki_x-ia-sa₄-ha rú-wa/i₇-ta-sa-ha* *92

(§4) And from this (side) the kings were friendly to me, Warpalawa, Kiyakiya and Ruwata the *92 (charioteer?).

This deviates from Hawkins’ reading of the signs as *tara/-zi/a*, “three kings”, for which the unusual sign-order in *†tara/i-zi/a* is disturbing (i.e. *zi/a-tara/i*). The order in l. 5 (§20) would be

⁷¹ Hawkins apud Herbordt 2005: 298; Dinçol and Dinçol 2008: 51–2, Kat. 230.

⁷² Hawkins 2006: 54–64.

⁷³ E.g. (“PES”) *pa-tà* “at (his) foot” SULTANHAN 2 §6, Hawkins 2000: 466.

more acceptable for this reading. Slightly more perturbing is the deviation from normal Hittite/Luwian numerical construction, which regularly sees a number construed with a noun in the singular. An alternative reading *zi/a-tara/i*, which preserves the sign-order in l. 2 §4, may give us *zadari*, a rhotacised form of **zadadi*, which, although otherwise unattested, would be the exact cognate of Hittite *kedaz* “from here/from this side”. An ablative interpretation may give a spatial sense: “from this side the kings were friendly to me”. Here one would have to object that this does not correspond to the Luwian ablative pair for the demonstrative pronouns, *zin* and *apin*, as established by P. Goedgebuure.⁷⁴ Notwithstanding this objection, the immediate “here” deixis of the preposition *za-* would have to refer to the place from which the king is speaking, namely the rock of TOPADA. It must also be opposed to somewhere else, “over there” possibly being the place where Wasusarma comes from.⁷⁵

Warpalawa is of course the well-known king of Tuwana, Assyrian Urbala’a of Tuḫana. Kiyakiya is likely to be identical with the king of the AKSARAY inscription, and may also be identical with the Kiakki of Šinuḫtu who was deported by Sargon in 718 BC. The third king, “Ruwata”, is not otherwise attested, but is given a further title, a logogram (*92) which consists of a foot with a ladder, or something similar, on top of a pair of wheels. Elsewhere this sign used to determine the verb *za-la-la-*, which is likely to be related to Hitt.-Luw. *zalla-/zalliya-* “to gallop”.⁷⁶ It is difficult not to understand this as “charioteer” or “chariot-rider”.⁷⁷ Chariots and cavalry are significant in the ensuing narrative.

- §5. *á-mu-x-wa/i* REX-*ra/i-ti* (ANIMAL)EQUUS-*wa/i-ti u-pa-ha*
 §6. *a-wa/i á-mí-ia-ná* FINES + *RA/I* + *HA-ḫa-lí* CASTRUM-*ni-sa₇* PONERE-*wa/i-ha*
 §7. *pa + ra/i-zu-ta_x-sí-sa₆-^rx¹-wa/i-mu-ta_x* FINES + *HI* || (CURRUS)*HWI-ta*
 §8. *wa/i-sa* (“PES₂”)-*i + ra/i á-pa-sa₅-ti* (ANIMAL)EQUUS-*wa/i-ti* OMNIS-*MI-ti* EXERCITUS-*lu/i/a-ti-ha á-pa_x-sí²-ná* FINES + *RA/I* + *HI-ná zi/a-ara/i* PUGNUS-*ri + i-ta_x*
 §9. PONERE-*wa/i-ta_x-pa-wa/i-ta_x* MONS-*ti*

(§5) But/and I with the royal horse brought⁷⁸ (§6) and established a fort at a frontier-post of mine,⁷⁹ (§7) and the Parzutean drove his chariot to my border, (§8) and he went with his horse and all (his) army, (and) raised his (own) frontier, (§9) but put (it) on the mountain.

⁷⁴Goedgebuure 2007. One would have to argue that *zin* and *apin* have their roots in old instrumental forms, whereas *zadari* preserves an original ablative. See the formulation at Yakubovich 2009: 172 fn. 17. There may have been a dialectal distribution for the late ablative, *zin* and *apin* being mainly attested in southern inscriptions, such as KARATEPE, and at Karkamiš.

⁷⁵Woudhuizen (2006: 26 and 30) translates “these three kings”. While I do not pretend to understand his explanation, this translation could be arrived at by using *376 as a logogram for “these”, phonetic *zanzi*, thus transliterating: HIC *tara/i* REX-*ti-zi/a*. This would be highly unusual.

⁷⁶Hawkins 2000: 455; Starke 1990: §211. KARKAMIŠ A24a2+3 §1.

⁷⁷With Hawkins and Starke loc. cit. This is of course very different from the Empire-period hieroglyphic designation for a “charioteer”, AURIGA, which seems to consist of a hand holding reins. The relationship between the various designations for “charioteer” and “chariot-fighter” in Hittite cuneiform texts has not yet been adequately explained. The “reins-lord”, ^{LU}*ismeriyas išas*, however, seems a good candidate for a Hittite equivalent to Hieroglyphic AURIGA, and thus also for the Akkadogram KARTAPPU which appears to correspond to it on digraphic seals from Ras Shamra (Hawkins apud Herbordt 2005: 301–2). Quite possibly we are dealing with a different word for a different function, with the logogram *92: the “chariot-rider” rather than the “chariot-driver”. This does not address, of course, the functions of the ^{LU}İŠ, and the ŠA ^{KUŠ}KA.TAB.ANŠE. As AURIGA is not attested in the Iron Age, it is possible that its function as “reins-lord” had

been eclipsed by *92.

⁷⁸Despite strong criticism, I still hold Hawkins’ interpretation of the verbal construction to give the best sense (2000: 455). Melchert (2004: 374 with fn. 16) suggests suppression of the object here to explain the syntax of the clearly transitive verb *upa-*, which appears to me to be essentially the same as Hawkins’ explanation. Yakubovich (2005: 245) lists this occurrence among the uses of *u-pa-* as a verb of motion, usually determined by (“PES”), and translates “I provided myself with the Royal Horse”. I am grateful to H. C. Melchert for alerting me to the existence of this last article and to Dr Yakubovich for sending me a copy of it.

⁷⁹The translation differs from Hawkins 2000: 453 “I myself with the Royal Horse brought and put walls (as) my frontier(-post)”. Hawkins assumes that *amiyan* has been written in error for *amin* in the accusative singular. This leaves *irhali* without an ending, which should also be *-in*. A slightly daring interpretation is to explain the stem *amiya-* as that of the substantivised form of the possessive *ami-* “my”, with the meaning “mine”. This is now attested in Kirşehir lead strip, which features the n.pl. acc. *amiya* “mine” (Akdoğan and Hawkins 2009: 9, §17). Note that it uses the same *-iya-* suffix to build the substantivised form as is used to form the genitival adjective on some *i*-stems, e.g. *tati-* “father”, *tatiya-* “paternal”. The ending *-an* would be the dative of the genitival adjective as seen with the usual stem *-assan*. The attestation with the irregular *-an* dative otherwise only seen attached to the stem *-assi* is highly suspect, however, on an adjective that should otherwise be thematically declined, and may indicate a lack of confidence with the language.

The activity of the Parzutean at Wasusarma's border in §7 is expressed by the logogram for "chariot" (CURRUS) together with an element of uncertain identification. Elsewhere the logogram CURRUS determines the word for chariot *warzani*.⁸⁰ Collation appears to confirm Woudhuizen's conjecture that the uncertain element is to be read *HWI*: (CURRUS)*HWI-ta_x* "he *drove* (his chariot) (Fig. 3 §7).⁸¹ The top curve of the sign has a slight chink in it to the right of the top of the upright, which corresponds to the usual spike in the right of the top curve of *HWI*, the position of which distinguishes it from the usual form of *REL*, the almost identical and in the late period frequently confused sign for the relative pronoun.

In some way this movement of the border in §§8–9 is the occasion for the ensuing conflict, which is very poorly understood.

§10. *á-mu-pa_x-wa/i₈-mi-ta_x a_x-mi-ia + ra/i REX + RA/I-ti (ANIMAL)EQUUS-wa/i-ti x-zá ANNUS-na(-)ha-sa_x-ha_x*

§11. *a-wa/i-sa₆ 2-sú zi/a-lá/i-ta_x*

§12. *CUM-ta_x-pa-wa/i-mi-ta_x ANNUS-na(-)ha-sa₅-ha*

(§10) But I myself with the Royal Horse —ed (with respect to?) the *cavalry battle* for myself, (§11) and he *galloped* a second time (lit. twice), (§12) but I —ed again for myself.

The presumable object of the verb in §10 is given by an unidentified sign (see collation, Fig. 3 §10), followed by *-zá*. This presumably indicates an acc. sg. neuter word.⁸² Its absence in §12, where the same verb is used to describe Wasusarma's activity, might be explained by interpreting its use in §10 as an accusative of respect. Whatever the verbal activity is, it appears to require a reflexive pronoun (*-mi*).

The reading of §11 given here differs considerably from that presented by Hawkins 2000: 453, and does only marginal violence to the order of the signs on the stone, which are quite crowded at this point. The new reading of *TA₅* as *ala* in the Empire period and as *lá/i* in the later Iron Age is used here to recover an S3 preterite verb *zalata/zalita* related to the activity of horses, from *zala-* "to gallop", comparable to *zalala-* which we already encountered being elsewhere determined by the logogram *92.⁸³ The action of the Parzutean is thus parallel to his activity at the border denoted by CURRUS + *HWI-ta_x* in §7. This was an activity involving horses and the army, which was countered by Wasusarma's ANNUS-na(-)ha-sa_x-ha in §10. A further Parzutean action is now countered by Wasusarma's use of the same verb in §12, and also appears to be related to horses.⁸⁴

The verb denoting Wasusarma's response in each case must mean "was victorious" in some sense. The division of the signs presented in my transliteration assumes a number of potential grammatical interpretations. This could be a phrasal construction *usin hasa-* "—ed the year", although it is not at all clear how this should mean "to win a cavalry-battle". The sign ANNUS itself resembles a pot, and it must be conceded that a related meaning could lie behind the expression "*let go* the year/pot". A further possible division could be (ANNUS)na-ha-sa₅-, assuming a stem *nah(a)sa-*, possibly an iterative.

Hawkins (2000: 455) reads CUM-ta_x-ta_x as a miswriting for INFRA-ta_x-ta_x. The only difference between the signs CUM and INFRA is the presence or absence of the "crooked staff" or LITUUS. CUM is always phonetically determined with *-ni*. Despite the fact that *katta*, which primarily means "down", can in Hittite texts also be used with the meaning "with", Hawkins' suggestion that this is a miswriting for INFRA¹-ta_x is to be preferred, due to the uniqueness of CUM-ta_x. My reading of the text leaves it with only one ta_x as phonetic complement, meaning that a reading such as *kattanda* is not necessary. *katta*, or more correctly *zanda*, will suffice.⁸⁵ My interpretation

⁸⁰ (CURRUS)wa/i + ra/i-za-ni-ná KARKAMIŠ A11b §7 (Hawkins 2000: 103).

⁸¹ Woudhuizen 2007: 26 and 30.

⁸² The collation is based solely on a freehand drawing made on inspection of the original. As a guess I would say that this logogram is perhaps related to horses again in some way, possibly even designating facial horse-armour.

⁸³ For the evidence concerning *TA_{4/5}* see Hawkins 2005. E. Rieken and I. Yakubovich propose the transliterations *TA₅ = ala*, *TA₄ = ali* for the Late Bronze Age and *TA₄/TA₅ =*

lá/li for the Iron Age in a well-founded article also written in honour of David Hawkins (2010). I am grateful to I. Yakubovich for sending me the article in advance of publication.

⁸⁴ Rieken and Yakubovich (2010: 211) read this section as follows: *a-wa-sa₆ II-sú zi-lá/i* "and then he (appeared) twice (again)".

⁸⁵ At the 7th International Hittite Congress in Çorum 2008, P. Goedgebuure presented evidence for reading Hieroglyphic INFRA-ta as *zanda*.

falters, however, when comparison is made with the similar context below in §23, although the reading there is not clear either.

§13. *wa/i-sa pa + ra/i-zu-ta_x-wa/i-ni_x* (URBS) “TERRA”-REL_x-*ra/i *273-ti* (“PES”) *i + ra/i*

(§13) He went into the Parzutean land (away from my) *might*.

The subject of this sentence, expressed through the unmarked enclitic particle *-as*, should grammatically be the Parzutean, but it is debatable whether this can make any sense in the following context. Hawkins takes the “royal horse” as the subject.

§14. *wa/i₅-ta_x || URBS + MI.AEDIFICIUM(-)ta_x-na x(-)la_x-há-nú-wa/i-ta_x*

(§14) And he —ed the city (and) buildings *tana*.

Hawkins takes the logogram determining the verb as a form, albeit reversed, of a sign usually found determining verbs meaning “to burn” (FLAMMAE), and infers that this verb also means to burn. This I find unconvincing. On collation the sign in question is not only reversed, but has a cross-bar reaching across its middle and is not joined at the top (Fig. 3 §14). I have no idea what it is.

It is also not clear that (-)ta_x-na has to be the phonetic complement of the logogram URBS + MI.AEDIFICIUM, as suggested in Hawkins’ transliteration. It is unlikely to be related to the Luwian term *tana* as known from the Empire-period Emirgazi inscription, which indicates a state that a stele is supposed to be in, and is translated by H. C. Melchert as “sanctified”.⁸⁶ Certainty is impossible, however. The logogram URBS + MI.AEDIFICIUM itself calls to mind the Hittite cuneiform logographic collocation URU BÂD, “fortified city”. Although it is not possible to establish a coherent meaning for the sentence, I would maintain that it is not necessarily a negative action that is carried out by the royal horse against enemy Parzutean territory, and that it is possible that this is actually an action carried out by the Parzutean in his own land. The Parzutean has advanced up to Wasusarma’s border, has moved his own border to the mountain, has been repelled in some fashion by Wasusarma and the royal horse, and now heads back to his own territory. Similar problems with the identity of the subject continue in the next sentence.

§15. **274-ia-pa-wa/i FEMINA.MANUS-zi/a-ha SERVUS-sa* (“PES”) *u-pa-ta_x*

(§15) But he sent the serfs and women-and-children into slavery.

This sentence is largely repeated in §25 with significant but obscure differences. Note that it is introduced with the adversative particle *-pa-*, indicating a contrast in some sense to the preceding sentence.

The logogram *274 is found determining the noun *ubatit-*, meaning “land-holding” and the verb *hatali-*, meaning “bludgeon”. Hawkins takes the former meaning and understands it as the direct object of the verb referring to the subjugation of the Parzutean enemy, with the “UPATIT(-) and the women (and) children” being taken into slavery.⁸⁷ The phonetic complement of *274-ia

⁸⁶For this see Melchert 1997. *ta*-NEG URBS AEDIFICARE at Südburg §16 was originally interpreted by Melchert as “I built TANA cities”, but this interpretation was rejected by him after a suggestion from David Hawkins that this is a reference to the city Adana (loc. cit. 48 fn. 1, with ref. to Hawkins 1995c: 42). If it were the correct reading it might have an obscure relevance here. A further possible attestation of this word occurs in the Kırşehir letter §20: CRUS-nú-pa-wa/i *187(-)ka-pa + ra/i-na.¹⁷¹ NEG₂ *tâ-na *69(-)sâ-tara/i-ti* PUGNUS.PUGNUS-*i-wa/i* “but now I will PUGNUS.PUGNUS with (my) fist the KAPAR(A)NA that are not TANA” (“fist” left untranslated by Akdoğan and Hawkins 2009: 10). Problematic here is the use of *69 as a logogram for “hand”, *is(t)ri-*. The interpretation also assumes a literal meaning for PUGNUS.PUGNUS, i.e. “beat up, smash up” (Hawkins 1995c: 118–20), although this is clearly not the only meaning conveyed by this logogram in the letter (see §§3, 7). The

disparate meanings of PUGNUS.PUGNUS, viz. “live, serve” vs. “beat up” require a separate treatment that I cannot go into in detail here. Some kind of rebus principle is most probably at the root of the double use, possibly on the basis of a phonetic similarity between the Iron Age descendants of Hitt./Luw. *hulliya-* “smash” and *huit-* “live”. One may note that here, again, *tana* is something desirable, the lack of which makes an object undesirable. Note also the connection with a cultic activity in Kırşehir letter §23 (*wa/i-mi-i* DEUS-*ni-na i-zi-i-ha* “(and) I made myself a god”, i.e. celebrated a cultic act of devotion).

⁸⁷The interpretation of FEMINA.MANUS-*zi/a-ha* as a compound logogram “women (and) children” is supported by the writing at YALBURT (blocks 6 §1; 15 §1): FEMINA.INFANS-*zi/a* (Hawkins 2000: 456). This is taken to be an archaising echo. For the use of MANUS as a form of INFANS (= MANUS + *386), see also Malkaya 5 (Hawkins and Weeden, in press).

is problematic, if it is supposed to come from a stem *ubatit-*. M. Marazzi sees it as a nom. acc. neut. pl. from a derived stem in *-ia* and translates “militia”.⁸⁸ The military context does not mean that these have to be soldiers, however, just as the women and children are not. I. Yakubovich has tentatively interpreted the form *SERVUS-sa* as a free-standing genitive, which interpretation is followed here.⁸⁹

It appears that the Parzutean has rushed back to his territory after the defeat at the hand of Wasusarma, has possibly secured his cities in some sense, but has given a number of the population into slavery, perhaps as a gesture of surrender. Despite this, Wasusarma’s side needs to keep a close watch on its border with the Parzutean, as we learn in the next clause:

§16. *MAGNUS-ra/i-zi/a-pa-wa/i-mu* (ANIMAL)EQUUS-*sa* POST-*ra/i(-ti?)* FINES + *HI(-ti-)zi/a* (LITUUS)*ti-ia-ri/a-ta_x*

(§16) But for the time after (that) the Great (of the) Horse *guarded* the borders for me.

The position of the *-ti-* under the sign FINES + *HI* remains problematic. As the vocalism of the *HI* in FINES + *HI* appears to be significant elsewhere in the inscription, I would incline to place the *-ti-* with POST-*ra/i-ti*, giving us *apparanti* “in the future, afterwards”, and *arhinzi* “borders”. However, this is now followed by a formulaic expression of the gods helping Wasusarma to victory. Narrative considerations do not lead us to expect that Wasusarma’s forces go from offensive to defensive and then win a victory. Rather I would suggest that Wasusarma is being continually provoked and that he then succeeds in battle.⁹⁰

§17 *wa/i-mu á-mí-sa₄* DOMINUS-*ni-sa* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*zi/a-sa₈* (DEUS) *SARMA-sa₈* (DEUS)*198-*sa₆* (DEUS)BOS.*206.PANIS-*sa₈-ha* PRAE-*na* *179-*ia-ta_x*

§18 *wa/i-mi-ta_x tù-pa-sa₆-ti wa/i₅-sù-ha*

(§17) And my lord Tarhunza, Sarruma, (the god) X, and (the god) Y ran before me, (§18) and I *succeeded by battle*.

The use of *179, which is usually used for “barley”, instead of the sign *HWI*, which is usual in this phrase (*paran huiyanta*), remains unexplained. Wasusarma was not content to win a victory with the help of the gods, for the victory appears to have been followed by an occupation:

§19. *a-mi-sa-há-wa/i₅-tu-ta₅* REX-*ra/i-sa₇* (ANIMAL)EQUUS-*sa₄* FRONS-*ti-ia-sí-sa* FRONS-*ti-sa₇* ANNUS-*n[a]* 2-*zi/a* “TERRA”-REL + *ra/i a-ta_x || ta-x*(URBS) *274-*sà-ta*

§20. *wa/i₇-tù-* ANNUS *tara/i-zi/a* TERRA-REL + *ra/i ta-x*(URBS) *a-ta_x* CRUS + FLUMEN-*ta_x*

(§19) And my Royal Horse, (and) the first of the first, kept smashing the city *Ta-x* in his⁹¹ country for two years, (§20) and for three years they crossed (the river) into his country of the city *Ta-x*.

The two clauses may be referring to the same offensive, possibly a two-year siege of the city *Ta-x* and a three-year occupation of the land of *Ta-x*, or these may be yearly sorties.⁹² What is crucially important here and tantalisingly vague, is that a river has to be crossed to get to this place.

⁸⁸ Marazzi 2002: 509. In this he is followed by Yakubovich 2002: 245. A further example of a derived noun in *-ia*, although from the stem *ubati-* rather than *ubatit-*, may be found at ANCOZ 7 §4 *za-a-zi-ha u + x?-pari-ia-zi* (Hawkins 2000: 356). Yakubovich (2008: 55 fn. 39) interprets this as the acc. pl. of *ubadi-*: “and these demesnes?”, in a context referring to lands and other possessions of a god. The acc. pl. com. may however refer to the people who belong to the demesne of the god, the *ubatiya-* belonging to the *ubati-*. Possibly the TOPADA usage is referring to serfs of some kind tied to land-holdings, with the acc. neut. pl. collective being used instead of the acc. com. pl. The ANCOZ example, however, is unsure due to the unidentified sign below the *u-*. The interpretation also assumes a partial semantic identity of the Luwian stems *ubati-* and *ubatit-*.

Cf. Starke 1990: 195–8.

⁸⁹ Yakubovich 2005: 245 fn. 25. H. C. Melchert (personal communication) compares the construction in §§94–5 of the Hittite Laws *tayazzilas pisker/pāi* “they used to give/he gives for theft”, literally “(to be) of theft” (Hoffner 1997: 92 §94). Note that Melchert interprets Luwian *upa-* as “provide, furnish”, translating here as “surrender” (2004: 374).

⁹⁰ Similarly Woudhuizen 2007: 33.

⁹¹ The possessive is again expressed through a dative S3 enclitic pronoun.

⁹² The nature of the second sign in the geographical name is unclear. The second attestation of it perhaps indicates its intended form more clearly, where it has a slightly more hour-glass shape with a proportionately larger top half.

It is interesting at this point in the text, that the Royal Horse and the “first of the first” appear to be acting independently of Wasusarma. They seem to spend some time in the land of the city Ta-x, where it appears that they meet up.

§21. *wa/i-tà 3-sa₄ ANNUS MAGNUS-zi/a EQUUS-zi/a FRONS-ti-ia-sa₅ + ra/i FRONS-ti-ia + ra/i x-sí-sa-ta_x*

§22. *wa/i-mu-ta_x 3 LUNA + MI-zi/a x-pa-zi/a PRAE-na *273-pa-mi NEG₃ {x x}’ PUGNUS’. PUGNUS’-tã’?*

(§21) And (in) the third year they, the Great Horse(-riders), *were united* with the first of the first, (§22) and for three months no *one fought battles* (against) me in front of the x-pa-s.

The precise sense of these clauses is greatly obscured by the use of otherwise unattested signs. The initial sign of x-sí-sa-ta_x is given in collation, and it appears to contain two 𐎠A or possibly DEUS signs (Fig. 3 §21). It is not known whether it is supposed to be a logogram or has a phonetic value. The translation “were united” is a guess from the context. I assume that it means a union of Wasusarma’s cavalry and infantry units, presumably in enemy territory. The result of their union in that territory is detailed in the next clause.

The sense of §22 seems relatively clear from the argument of the narrative as here reconstructed. The following clauses describe a further attack on the part of the Parzutean and his allies against the forces of Wasusarma (§§23–9). Prior to mentioning this, Wasusarma has been talking about his occupation (and pacification?) of Parzutean and allied territory. It only makes sense if clause §22 refers to a period of stability that was broken by the Parzutean. This is, admittedly, the complete opposite of the sense given to the clause by Hawkins, whose interpretation of TA_x-TA_x as a mistake for PUGNUS’.PUGNUS’ is followed here, nonetheless.⁹³

If this is the sense of §22, it is extremely difficult to extract it from the sentence as written. This difficulty is compounded by the obscurity of the traces directly after NEG₃ and under PUGNUS’.PUGNUS’. There is considerably more here on the rock than drawn by Hawkins in his edition, but I am currently unable to offer an explanation of what it is, nor do I as yet have accurate drawings of the traces. My impression on inspection was of a 𐎠REL₁ that had been partly erased, but this is an extremely tentative reading. The form of the first unidentified sign in §2 (x-pa-zi/a) is slightly different to that given in Hawkins’ drawing (collation, Fig. 3 §22), and does not permit identification with *430, “all” (*punati*-).

§23. *zi/a-tà-pa-wa/i-ta_x CRUS.CRUS (ANIMAL)EQUUS-ti pa + ra/i-zu-ta_x-wa/i-ni(URBS) “TERRA”-REL + ra/i pi-ta_x-ta_x (“PES₂”)pa-zi/a-ta_x*

§24. [. . .] URBS [. . .](-)la_x-ha-nú-wa/i-ta_x

§25. *74-wa/i-7-sà-pa-wa/i REL_x + RA/I-ta_x *274 FEMINA.MANUS-ha SERVUS-wa/i ARHA’
*u-pa-1 ta_x*¹

§26. *pa + ra/i-zu-ta_x-wa/i₉-ni-sa-pa-wa/i-ta_x (URBS) (ANIMAL) EQUUS-sa₈ (*219)ha + ra/i-pa-zi/a-1 ha’ OMNIS.MI-zi/a á-zu-sa₇-na FINES + HI HIC CRUS + RA/I*

§27. *wa/i-ti-ia-na NEG₂ x-i(a) + ra/i*⁹⁴

§28. (DEUS)TONITRUS-hu-zi/a-sa₄-pa-wa/i-tú-ta_x *273-RA/I *200-na ARHA CAPERE-ta_x

§29. *a-wa/i₅ NEG₂ REL_x-ha mu-wa/i-ta_x i-zi/a-ia-tà*

The first attestation is more squashed due to the need to cram three signs into the space. It thus resembles a vessel of some kind. More cannot presently be said. Place-names beginning with Ta- do not bring us any further, either. Tabal would be a great shock, of course, being the Assyrian name for Wasusarma’s own area. The towns *Ta-sà-ku* and *Ta-pa* from the Kululu lead strips are obscure and hardly relevant (KULULU lead strip 1 §7 41–2, Hawkins 2000: 509). One should not be misled by the fact that both towns, Tas(a)ku and Tapa, have separate denizens called Huliya, which sounds a little like Hulli the son of a nobody, who was given Wasusarma’s kingdom after his removal by the Assyrians. Huli(ya) was clearly a very common name,

belonging to four different individuals in the KULULU lead-strips.

⁹³ “He/they TA_x-TA_x-ed me *273-PA-ed forth for three whole months” (Hawkins 2000: 458). His interpretation takes NEG₃ as the accusative singular ending of *tupamin* or *warpamin*, agreeing with -mu at the sentence beginning, which I regard as being too distant. My interpretation, however, suffers under its explanation of the resultant *273-pa-mi. This must be a nom.-acc. neut. pl. from the i-stem participle, possibly used adverbially: “did not *beat up the smashed things*”, i.e. “fight battles”.

⁹⁴ The RA/I attached to NEG₂ in Hawkins’s transliteration is not there on collation.

(§23) But afterwards⁹⁵ he went⁹⁶ with infantry (and) cavalry to the Parzutean land, *to the plain*,⁹⁷ (§24) ... city ... *lahanuwa*-ed, (§25) but *while* he was *delivering* the *serfs* and women-and-children of the *74 *for servitude*,⁹⁸ (§26) then the Parzutean horse and all the rebels stood *here* on our border,⁹⁹ (§27) he did not *conquer* it for himself, (§28) but Tarhunzas took the *victory* by prowess away from him,¹⁰⁰ (§29) (he) did not make any *conquest*.

The first of the first and the cavalry having united in the land of the city Ta-x and spent three months patrolling it, someone goes to the Parzutean land with infantry and cavalry. The clitics joining §24 are not preserved, but it is to be expected that it is once again the Parzutean who is doing the *lah(a)nuwa*- action in that phrase, just as we argued that it was he who was the subject of the similar action in §14. If the infantry and cavalry are those of Wasusarma, then in all probability the pronoun and clitic *apas=wa* would have to be restored at the beginning of §24, in order to mark the re-introduction of the previous topic, the Parzutean. If they are those of the Parzutean, we should also expect some sort of pronominal marking of the change of topic at the beginning of §23. It is also a possibility that the Parzutean was understood as the underlying topic of §22, “no one fought battles”, in which case one might excuse a lack of pronominal marking at the beginning of §22.

Again it is clear that the Parzutean land must be on the border with Wasusarma’s kingdom. If it is the Parzutean who goes into the Parzutean land in §23, then must we assume that he has been elsewhere, perhaps fighting Wasusarma in the land of the city Ta-x. He returns armed to Parzuta and, we interpret, attacks Wasusarma’s border again during a hand-over of captives, if that is in fact what is going on.

The location of the Parzutean land

The location of the city Parzuta was assumed by Hawkins in *CHLI* to have been in the area of the TOPADA inscription itself, there being a Karahöyük in the vicinity.¹⁰¹ However, he also pointed out the similarity with the Hittite name ^{URU}*Pars(u)hunta/Parsuhanda/Purushanda* and Old Assyrian *Purušhattum*, which are usually assumed to be further to the west, being associated either with Acem Höyük or Karahöyük Konya.¹⁰² Recently K. Strobel has suggested that Parzuta is to be identified with Ova Ören, the two-mound site currently being excavated by Y. Şenyurt, on the other side of Aksaray from Acem Höyük.¹⁰³ However, F. C. Woudhuizen has suggested that Parwita, as he transcribes it, is to be found north of the Kızıl Irmak, in allegedly Phrygian territory.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁵ I here follow the suggestion of Rieken and Yakubovich (2010) to read this as a hypercorrection for *zi-la*, where *-la* is sometimes written *zi-ta₅/lá* and where *ta₅* is sometimes used to write /l/-sounds that have historically developed out of /d/-sounds.

⁹⁶ Pace Melchert 2004: 377 fn. 20, who translates this verb as “assign, allot”, envisaging the assignment of a “military column accompanied by chariotry”. Melchert’s suggestion (loc. cit.) to read CRUS.CRUS as *niyasha*- “procession”, instead of as a participle “(with) following (horse)” (Hawkins 2000: 458), is accepted here.

⁹⁷ This meaning is conjectured from the presumed existence of a Luwian word **pe/ida-*, “plain”, which apparently forms the basis of the toponym *Pedassa*. A similar suggestion, with comparison of *Pedassa* to Greek *pedion* “plain”, is made by Yakubovich 2009: 244, and has very tentatively been aired in classes at SOAS over many years by David Hawkins. Similarly to Luwian **paddant-* “place”, it would have to have developed an *-ant* suffix. This is perhaps a dative form *pida(n)ta*. For the writings of Luwian **paddant-* “place”, see Rieken and Yakubovich 2010: 207–9. For contrary suggestions for the reading of this passage see Hawkins 2000 ad loc.

⁹⁸ *SERVUS-wa/i* as opposed to *SERVUS-sa* in §11 is morphologically opaque to me, although the meaning is relatively clear. *74 appears to a title of Wasusarma parallel to *MAGNUS.REX*, “Great King”, in *Suvasa C* (Hawkins 2000: 463). I construe it here in the genitive. The “serfs and

women-and-children” are thus indeed destined for the service of Wasusarma.

⁹⁹ The use of the logogram HIC for *zadi* here, is slightly unusual, but not impossible. See other possibilities considered by Hawkins 2000: 458.

¹⁰⁰ On *200 (FULGUR) = *piha-* as referring to “strength” not “lightning” see Kloekhorst 2008: 675.

¹⁰¹ Called Ağıllı Höyük by Şenyurt 1998: 456.

¹⁰² In 1992 Hawkins had argued much more strongly for the equation *Purušhattum* = *Parsuhanda* = *Parzuta* and speculated that Wasusarma himself may have added the 8th century reliefs to the 12th century inscriptions of Hartapu on the Karaman Kızıldağ after a victory over Parzuta in the Konya region (Hawkins 1992: 272). G. Barjamovic argues that the Old Assyrian *Purušhattum* was in fact much further west, in the region of Bolvadin (Barjamovic 2010). I am most grateful to Dr Barjamovic for showing me his article prior to publication.

¹⁰³ This suggestion is contained in an article by Strobel published in the *Hacettepe Journal* and shown to me by Y. Kaniş. Unfortunately I have not been able to locate the article itself since he showed it to me.

¹⁰⁴ For criticism of the conception of Phrygia as a territorial state see Genz 2004: 44–5; 2009: 314. This is not to say that Phrygians or Phrygian culture are not to be found in the area. For criticism of the idea of a unified Phrygian culture in the Middle Iron Age see Wittke 2004: 289 and *passim*.

Although we do not know where Ruwata resided, the distance between the kingdoms of the other two friendly kings detailed in §4, Warpalawa and Kiyakiya, is noticeable although not great. The latter resides most likely in Aksaray, in extreme north-west Cappadocia, the former near Niğde in south-east Cappadocia. It is difficult to imagine that Ruwata had control of all the land in between. This is especially so when we also have the eight other kings to accommodate, if they are indeed to be accommodated here. With Wasusarma certainly established in north-east Cappadocia, perhaps even to the north of the Kızıl Irmak too, and Aksaray and Niğde also present in the list of his allies, we are left with a large gap where I would locate the heart of the aggressive confederation: at least the whole area of north-west central Cappadocia, possibly including Göllüdağ to its southern end.

The location of the frontiers mentioned in §§5–9 is crucial for the historical and geographical understanding of the inscription. This becomes particularly poignant in view of the presence of the remains of a 7 km wall with turrets on top of the Karadağ mountain to the south-east of Ova Ören, thus between Ova Ören and TOPADA, as pointed out to me by Y. Şenyurt.¹⁰⁵ If this wall is identical with the “border” erected by the Parzutean, we have very good grounds for locating Parzuta to the west of the wall, i.e. at Ova Ören or the area around Acemhöyük.¹⁰⁶ However, the Parzutean is not credited with erecting fortifications of any kind, but with moving his border. It is Wasusarma who builds a fort.¹⁰⁷ One should thus be wary of associating the wall on Karadağ with the frontier put on a mountain in this inscription. Indeed, the discovery of the GÖSTESIN inscription near Ova Ören, which is likely to be associated in some way with Wasusarma, makes it more unlikely that this wall has anything to do with the border disputes mentioned in this inscription, as both the GÖSTESIN and the SUVASA inscriptions lie to its north-west.¹⁰⁸

From TOPADA one can see numerous mountains. The most suitable location for a border, however, is the narrow range of hills lying directly to the east of the inscription, near the village of Topaç (Fig. 4), and more generally to the south of Nevşehir.

In TOPADA §20 we learn that a river is crossed to enter the land of (the city) Ta-x. Presumably this would have been a significant river, and crossing it would have constituted crossing into the territory of the town Ta-x. This leads Woudhuizen to hypothesize that the river in question must have been the Kızıl Irmak and that Wasusarma’s cavalry would have crossed it to reach Parzuta, implying that Parzuta was north of the Kızıl Irmak. There are of course many rivers in this region, but Woudhuizen is right to pick one that provided such a good natural border. This interpretation assumes, however, that Tabal, the Assyrian name for the domain of Tuwati and Wasusarma, was exclusively south of the Kızıl Irmak. There is some evidence against this, however, as we have already seen. Furthermore, nowhere does it say that the royal horse crossed the river into Parzuta. They crossed into the “land of the city Ta-x”.

So far the inscription has given us two main indications as to the spatial horizon of events. The Parzutean moves his border to a mountain, and the Royal Horse crosses a river to attack the land of Ta-x. There are two possibilities here:

1) The land of the city Ta-x is identical with Parzuta. In this case the attack on Ta-x proceeds from a border which is on a mountain and from a river, the two being separate places, both of which constitute borders between Wasusarma’s kingdom and Parzuta/the land of Ta-x. In this case the most eminently sensible choice for the location of the geographic features in question would indeed be the Kızıl Irmak as the river, and the mountains to the east of TOPADA as the mountain border. The Tabal of Wasusarma and Tuwati would thus have extended across the north of the Kızıl Irmak and south of it roughly from the east of Nevşehir, at least before their

¹⁰⁵ See Şenyurt forthcoming.

¹⁰⁶ Acemhöyük itself is most likely excluded, due the lack of Middle Iron Age remains found there in almost 50 years of excavation.

¹⁰⁷ For the possible interpretation of *CASTRUM-ni-sa₇* (*harnisa*) in §6 as “walls” rather than “fort” see Hawkins 2000: 453.

¹⁰⁸ The wall has great similarities with the long wall running along the mountain-tops to the south-east of Kuşaklı/Sarissa, near Sivas. A. Müller-Karpe, the excavator

at Kuşaklı, has supposed that this was a Neo-Assyrian wall (Müller-Karpe 1998: 109–12). If the similar wall on Karadağ near Ova Ören can legitimately be compared, it may well post-date Wasusarma. Indeed, a wall in this location against the north-west, and another at Sivas against the east, suit very well the geo-political situation under Sargon II, who faced pressure from both the Phrygians and Urartu during the earlier part of his reign (see Müller-Karpe 1998: 111).



Fig. 4 The line of hills to the east of TOPADA (photograph by the author).

conflict with the Parzutean and the eight kings. After the defeat of the Parzutean, Wasusarma was in control of the area to the west of Nevşehir and also south of the Kızıl Irmak.

2) The land of the city Ta-x is not identical with Parzuta, but is a geographical entity or kingdom that one reaches either from Parzuta or from another part of the border with Wasusarma's kingdom. If we assume that Parzuta is in fact where the TOPADA inscription is located, then the royal horse are either (i) proceeding north-westward towards Ova Ören, over one of the several minor tributaries of the Kızıl Irmak that lie between TOPADA and Ova Ören, or (ii) they are coming south, most likely from the Kırşehir region, which again leads them directly to Ova Ören, this time across the Kızıl Irmak itself. Göllüdağ, the only other major fortified settlement in the area, is not an option, because one does not have to cross a river to reach it, unless one crosses the Melendiz and goes round Göllüdağ to the west to approach it from the other side, a somewhat unlikely route.

The river to be crossed into the "land of the city Ta-x" could, however, be the Melendiz. This could be crossed near Aksaray in order to enter the flatlands to the south-west of the Salt Lake. This area was surveyed in 1997 by S. Omura, and judging by the photographs presented in his report, there are no large höyüks in that region, nor many with Middle Iron Age pottery, at least according to the results of the survey.¹⁰⁹ Despite this being a prime location for equestrian activities, I would thus be extremely hesitant to identify this area with the Royal Horse's next stop after Parzuta.

Of course, a crossing of the Melendiz near Aksaray might lead further afield down to Konya. This brings us back to the suggestion that Parzuta (= Puruṣhattum, = Parsuhanda?) is to be

¹⁰⁹ Omura 1998: 105–27 (figures). The one possible exception here is Pazartepe (p. 95, Japanese text), which is a medium-sized mound with possible Alishar IV, but also Late

Iron Age ware (figs. 137–8). I am not aware of any further research on this region which might illuminate its political status in the Middle Iron Age.

found rather in this region.¹¹⁰ Some support may be lent to this supposition by the amount of time that the cavalry and infantry spend in the land of the city Ta-x. One inference might be that this was not a small, local expedition. However, a recent attempt to locate Purušhattum even further to the west, at Bolvadin, if correct, would make this all the less likely, for one would come to Parzuta presumably only after crossing numerous other lands.¹¹¹ In fact it would surely be Parzuta that one “crossed the river” to reach and not the “land of the city Ta-x”. This is also already an objection to the location of Parzuta at Konya. It is my feeling that the equation Parzuta (TOPADA) = Purušhattum (Old Assyrian) = Parsuhanda (Hittite) should simply be abandoned, and that the Parzuta of this inscription should be located nearer to the immediate sphere of Wasusarma’s hegemony. That is not to say that the “land of the city Ta-x” is not itself still a larger entity beyond the Melendiz to the south-west.

Concluding remarks

To summarise the geographical information provided by the inscription is not easy. We have a river that leads into the land of the city Ta-x, we have a (mountainous) border that abuts between Wasusarma’s realm and Parzuta, and that is the source of all the tension between Wasusarma and his neighbour. I consider it very likely that this border is visible from the TOPADA inscription. The mountain-range at Topaç, south of Nevşehir, directly to the east of the inscription, provides a perfect location. The land of the city Ta-x is reached by a river, either from another part of Wasusarma’s kingdom, in which case it could be the area around Ova Ören which can be reached by crossing the Kızıl Irmak, if Wasusarma rules the area north of the Kızıl Irmak, or it is reached from Parzuta itself, in which case it may possibly refer to a much larger entity lying over the Melendiz to the west. I currently see no way of deciding this issue.

The find of the lead strip from the Kırşehir region suggests that Tuwati at least had interests and possibly also underlings to the north of the Kızıl Irmak, and perhaps had a residence there himself, even if it was not at Kırşehir-Yassıhöyük. Clearly he also had subalterns to the east of TOPADA, around Kayseri, as did Wasusarma at Kululu. If this was the situation inherited by Wasusarma, it is likely that the TOPADA inscription commemorates his new conquest of the area that approximately corresponds to north-western Cappadocia, essentially the area west of Nevşehir through to the Salt Lake. Thus he would have been consolidating the gap between his father’s holdings in the Sultanhan/Kululu/Kayseri area and those of his ally Kiyakiya at Aksaray. Indeed, if there is a relationship between the twelfth-century inscription of Hartapu at BURUNKAYA and the archaising style of eighth-century TOPADA (both inscriptions call their author “Great King”), then perhaps we might speculate that Wasusarma was enforcing an old dynastic claim.

TOPADA is of course not alone. The SUVASA inscription, on the other side of the Karadağ from TOPADA and near to Ova Ören, appears to be cut from the same cloth. Signs that only occur in TOPADA and SUVASA are *223 (sa₆), *316 (sa₇), *417 (sa_x) and probably *41.6 (ta_x). Both inscriptions are also heavily archaising: compare for example the forms of *132 in TOPADA §8 and SUVASA D. However, both inscriptions make use of -’ (the sign “a”) to mark a word end, which can be used to date inscriptions to the eighth century BC, or at least very late.¹¹² Both inscriptions make use of the MONS sign (*207) to write the phonetic value wa₄.

The addition of the GÖSTESIN inscription near the site of Ova Ören will hopefully throw more light on the questions raised here.¹¹³ This inscription, too, may use the MONS sign (*207) as wa₄, may also employ the sign *132, the reverse bird’s wing, in a very similar form to SUVASA and TOPADA,¹¹⁴ and uses a very distinctive form of the sign ma, a ram’s head with markedly curled horns, that is also found on SUVASA and TOPADA. One can also compare the forms of the sign ti, *90, the reversed foot, which has an upturned toe in all three inscriptions. The

¹¹⁰ Hawkins 1992.

¹¹¹ Barjamovic 2010.

¹¹² Admittedly this is only done once by SUVASA, in inscription B MAGNUS.REX-sa₇-. This practice should of course not be confused with the practice of “initial a-final” identified as an orthographic habit of Late Bronze

Age and Early Iron Age (Karkamiš) inscriptions by Hawkins 2003: 168–9.

¹¹³ See Şenyurt forthcoming for publication of the fragments.

¹¹⁴ The writing of the element SARMA, however, is similar to that of SULTANHAN §1 (Hawkins 2000: pl. 259).

similarities between the three, and their difference from what J. D. Hawkins has called the “Kululu”-style further to the east, perhaps indicate either a date or a style of inscription particular to a specific moment. Possibly the three inscriptions form part of a threefold conqueror’s installation, stretching over the whole range of formerly Parzutean influence from south-east to north-west.

If it is not too speculative, we should consider whether there is any connection between the conquest of Parzuta by Wasusarma and his replacement by the Assyrians with Ḫulli “the son of a nobody”. The behaviour indicated in the inscription might certainly be labelled an “imitation of the behaviour of Assyria”, as Tiglath-Pileser III put it. Wasusarma has annexed a territory and appears to be exacting tribute in the form of deportees.

One may also wish to consider whether there is any connection between these events and the appearance of Bit-Burutaš as an apparently northern part of the Tabal area during the reign of Sargon.¹¹⁵ When Urbala’a complains to Sargon’s governor that the Atunaeans and Ištuandaeans have taken away *būt(é) pa-ru-ta*, is it precisely this area that he is talking about? A location of Atuna near the BOHÇA inscription of king Kurti, the man to whom Sargon gave Kiakki’s kingdom of Šinuḫtu/Aksaray in 718 BC, would fit this hypothesis.¹¹⁶ It is precisely Kurti, his successors or confederates, who would have most benefited from the gradual removal of the Tuatid alliance in north-west Cappadocia by the Assyrians (first Wasusarma and then Kiakki), and from the apparent failure to install reliable puppet rulers in their place. It is quite possibly the vacuum left by the removal of Sargon’s son-in-law Ambaris, son of Ḫulli son of a nobody, in 713 BC which was being exploited by the Atunaeans and Ištuandaeans about whom Urbala’a complains in the famous letter *SAA* 1.1. This was an area that would appear to have been a bone of contention for a long time, and a local power-struggle that the Assyrians were finally unable to master. In fact, it mastered Sargon, who himself died fighting in Tabal several years later.

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¹¹⁵It would be tempting to derive *Burutaš* from Parzutassi- “the Parzutean”, although the loss of the sound /z/ in the transfer from Luwian into Assyrian would be difficult to accommodate. One would have to assume that

the Assyrian /r/ was very trilled in the context of a following /u/ and that it swallowed up the /z/. Comparable cases do not suggest themselves.

¹¹⁶See also Gurney’s editorial comment to Hawkins 1979.

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