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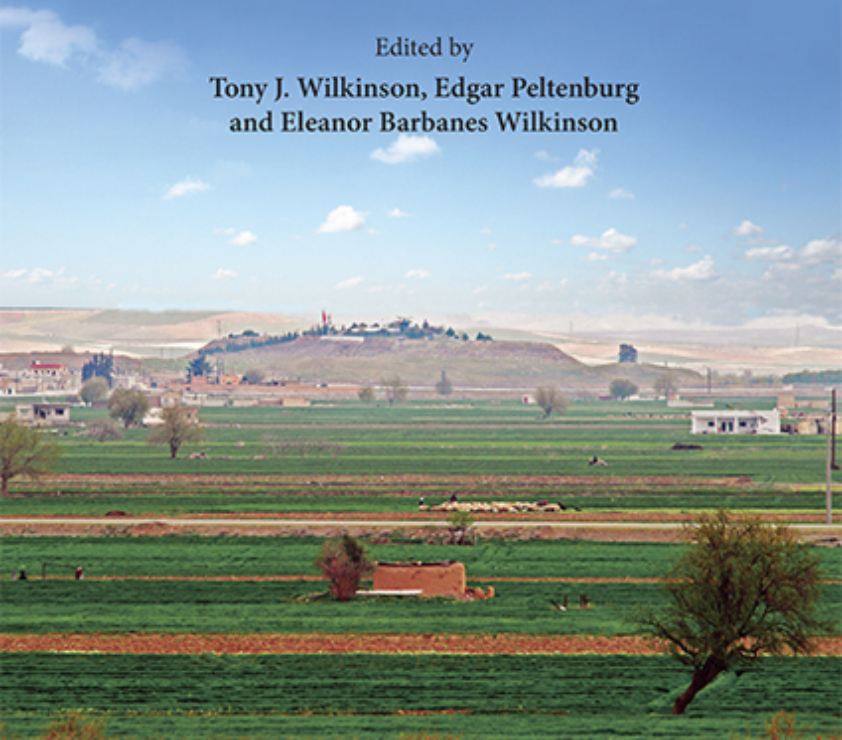
CARCHEMISH
IN CONTEXT

The Land of Carchemish Project, 2006–2010

Edited by
Tony J. Wilkinson, Edgar Peltenburg
and Eleanor Barbanes Wilkinson



Carchemish in Context

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Edited by

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Front cover: Carchemish from the south-east. Photo: P. Newson
Back cover: Ceramic lion head found during 2006 survey at site LCP 6. Photo: E. Wilkinson

The Land of Carchemish Project was the last regional survey conducted by T.J. Wilkinson, and this volume was one of the last that he brought to completion. Tony's vision, hard work, and expertise shaped the entire project, and every field season benefitted from his steady guidance, boundless enthusiasm and inclusive humour.

This book is dedicated to Tony, who left us much too soon.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AS	Algaze's survey along the banks of the Euphrates in Turkey (Algaze *et al.* 1994) see Chap. 1 bibliography
BRB	Bevelled-rim bowl
DEM	Digital Elevation Model
DGAM	Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums in Syria
EBA/EB	Early Bronze Age
EBSE	other Euphrates surveys in Syria by Moore and Sanlaville and McClellan and Porter
EME	Early Middle Euphrates period
ESA	Eastern Sigillata A
FCP	Fragile Crescent Project
GIS	Geographical Information System
GPS	Global Positioning System
GPCC	Global Precipitation Climatology Centre
IA	Iron Age
KCG	Karkemish Cist Grave
KOS	survey conducted by Mehmet Özdoğan and Necmi Karul in the Birecik district to the east of the Euphrates (Özdoğan and Karul 2002) see Chap. 1 bibliography
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LC	Late Chalcolithic
LCP	Land of Carchemish Project
LLC	Local Late Chalcolithic
MBA/MB	Middle Bronze Age
MP	McClellan and Porter survey
RIMA	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia (Grayson 1991, 1996 in Chap. 3 bibliography)
SAA	State Archives of Assyria.
SCM	Sanlaville, Copeland and Moore survey
SRTM	Shuttle Radar Topographic Mission
WP	GPS waypoint on geographical location in the field

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INTRODUCTION

T.J. Wilkinson and Edgar Peltenburg

Carchemish can be regarded as one of the iconic sites in the Middle East, a mound complex known both for its own intrinsic qualities as the seat of later Hittite power and Neo-Hittite kings, but also because its history of excavations included well known historical figures such as Leonard Woolley and T.E. Lawrence. According to Irene Winter (1982, 177):

> "Perhaps no other site in the region of northern Syria and south-eastern Anatolia played as important a role in the history of the early first millennium B.C. as Carchemish, 'on the banks of the Euphrates.' It is one of the best-documented sites of the period, due to a combination of Neo-Assyrian references and the excavated material of the site itself, including inscriptions, reliefs and large-scale architectural projects initiated by the rulers of Carchemish. All of these documents attest to its immense wealth and power."

However, because of its location within the military zone of the Turkish-Syrian border the site itself has been inaccessible to archaeologists for more than 90 years since the cessation of the British Museum's excavations there in 1920. What is less well known is that some 40% of the total site area remains within Syria, in the form of the Iron Age "Outer Town" as defined and mapped by P.L.O. Guy with Sir Leonard Woolley in 1920. Although part of this important settlement is buried beneath the modern Syrian town of Jerablus, a significant part remains within pistachio nut orchards and gardens adjacent to the border. Our aim in *Carchemish in Context* is therefore to summarize the results of regional investigations conducted within the Land of Carchemish Project in Syria, as well as other archaeological surveys in the region, in order to provide:

- a regional context for the development of the city;
- a summary of changes in the settlement and landscape of the region;
- an archaeological assessment of the 40 ha remains of the Outer Town within Syria;
- an historical context for Carchemish through a summary of the textual sources for the site, as well as an assessment of what is meant by the term "Land of Carchemish."

Chapter 8 of this volume provides the history of archaeological exploration and excavations at Carchemish. In this Introduction, we examine descriptions and commentary made by early archaeologists and travellers concerning the site, the surrounding landscape, and its broader geographical context. Sir Leonard Woolley, T.E. Lawrence, David Hogarth, and P.L.O. Guy all published useful background material on the geography. It is important to appreciate that during their campaigns the early British Museum teams devoted a great deal of time to exploring the area, amassing a considerable amount of background information, and their valuable records have informed our own investigations. The chapters in the present volume follow this lead, in part to re-create a balanced perspective on the sites and its region. *Carchemish in Context* provides a counterbalance to the tendency over the past 40 years for scholars to see the city of Carchemish through the lens of ever diminishing scales of analysis that have been focused upon primarily the reliefs and inscriptions of the area between the Water Gate and the King's Gate and the associated Long Wall of Sculpture, the Herald's Wall and the Temple of the Storm God. Because these areas fall within modern Turkey and because they have been covered by a number of recent analyses (Hawkins 2000; Harmanşah 2013; Gilibert 2011) and especially by the new investigations of the "Turco-Italian Joint Project at Karkemish" which started in 2011 (Marchetti 2012, 2014) we have chosen to focus upon a summary of the inscriptions, the latest evidence from the Outer Town as well as a geographical analysis of the region.

The Euphrates valley has, throughout history, held strategic value both as a border and as a corridor of communication, and it has long been a popular route for travellers. Consequently, numerous individuals and groups have traversed the region and some of them have left behind useful accounts which are particularly relevant to our study. For example, in 1879 Eduard Sachau journeyed southward from Carchemish to "Sreisat" (Land of Carchemish Project (henceforth LCP) Site 1; see Appendix A for site numbers) and noted rice and Durra growing in marshy surrounds in the vicinity of Carchemish, many wild pig in the Euphrates valley by Jerablus and, further south in the plain, well-watered areas for the rice (Sachau 1883, 169–174). Also, in his *Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, Ainsworth (1888) provides insightful comments on the location of one of our main sites, LCP 1, known as Seraisat. Not only is this site identified to the north of the area of Mughar and the River Sajur (Ainsworth 1888, 224), he also notes the presence of the fragmentary remains of an ancient town now known as Sarisat (*sic*), which he identifies as Ceciliana of the classical itineraries (Ainsworth 1888, 224). Whether this identification is correct is not certain, but it is significant that our survey discovered not only major multi-period settlements at the modern village (LCP 1), but also an adjoining Classical Roman site (LCP 18) which clearly extended as major buildings and cultural accumulations onto the flood plain where they had been trimmed and eroded by the Euphrates.

In her pioneering surveys through Syria Gertrude Bell (1924, 34) provides an excellent description of the Roman architecture as it remained on the surface of the Inner Town of Carchemish:

> "The northern mound is covered with the ruins of the Roman and Byzantine city, columns and moulded bases, foundations of walls set round paved courtyards, and the line of a colonnaded street running across the ruin field from the high ridge to a breach that indicates the place of a gate in the southern face of the enclosing wall. A couple of carved Hittite slabs, uncovered during Henderson's excavations and left exposed at the mercy of the weather, bear witness to the antiquity of the site."

Thanks to its fortuitous presence within what was the inaccessible Turkish military zone, much of this pattern still remains visible to the sensors of high resolution satellite imagery such as GeoEye.

Earlier visitors also supply useful observations on the Byzantine lower town at Qara Qozaq (Bell 1910, 516), a late Antique Islamic canal south of Carchemish previously published (Wilkinson *et al*. 2007; P.L.O. Guy map), cemeteries at Tell Amarna and its neighbourhood and the site of Deve Höyük (located just north of the border in Turkey; Moorey 1980). They also remind us of the fact that Carchemish was not always a major centre and that its fortunes were subject to the vagaries of geo-politics, communications and other impacts. In the 19th century AD, the Aleppo–Birecik route was one of the main routes to the east, bypassing the ruins of Carchemish which so attracted those interested in antiquity (Sachau 1883, 160–161 and map). Birecik was the political and commercial capital of the region, and it was to Birecik that Woolley and Lawrence repaired in order to obtain the necessary *firman* (permit) from the Ottoman authorities to carry out their excavations at Carchemish.

Fig. 1.1 The Euphrates near the junction with the Sajur River, south of Carchemish (by Gertrude Bell in February 1909); with thanks to Bell Archives: J117

Perhaps surprisingly, the bare un-wooded landscape, which is quite evident on Bell's photographs of the area (Fig. 1.1), contrasts markedly with the verdant, partially wooded appearance of the valley floor landscape evident today. Such valley floor woodland is partly a bi-product of the high water levels raised behind the modern Tishrin Dam downstream as well as recent settled conditions, population growth and need for more farming and poplars for roofing. This riparian vegetation is complemented today by the increasingly orchard-covered slopes which result from the copious planting of olive trees on the dry uplands over the past 20 years.

In addition, more recent investigations have made a major contribution to our understanding of the region. These include the French and British surveys of the late 1970s (Sanlaville *et al.* 1985), the survey conducted by Tom McClellan and Ann Porter of the greater Tishrin Dam area, as well as the survey of rock-cut features and Classical remains by Vivancos (2005). All supplied a foundation for the later investigations of the Land of Carchemish Project which were conducted between spring 2006 and July 2010. Although the Project was intended to be more intensive, it fell somewhat short of this goal because of the growth of civil unrest in Syria after 2011, and it must be emphasized that the results presented in this report are hardly comprehensive; rather, they are the synthesis of the results achieved up until the beginning of the current Syrian conflict.

The location of the site

As one of the most significant urban centres in the ancient

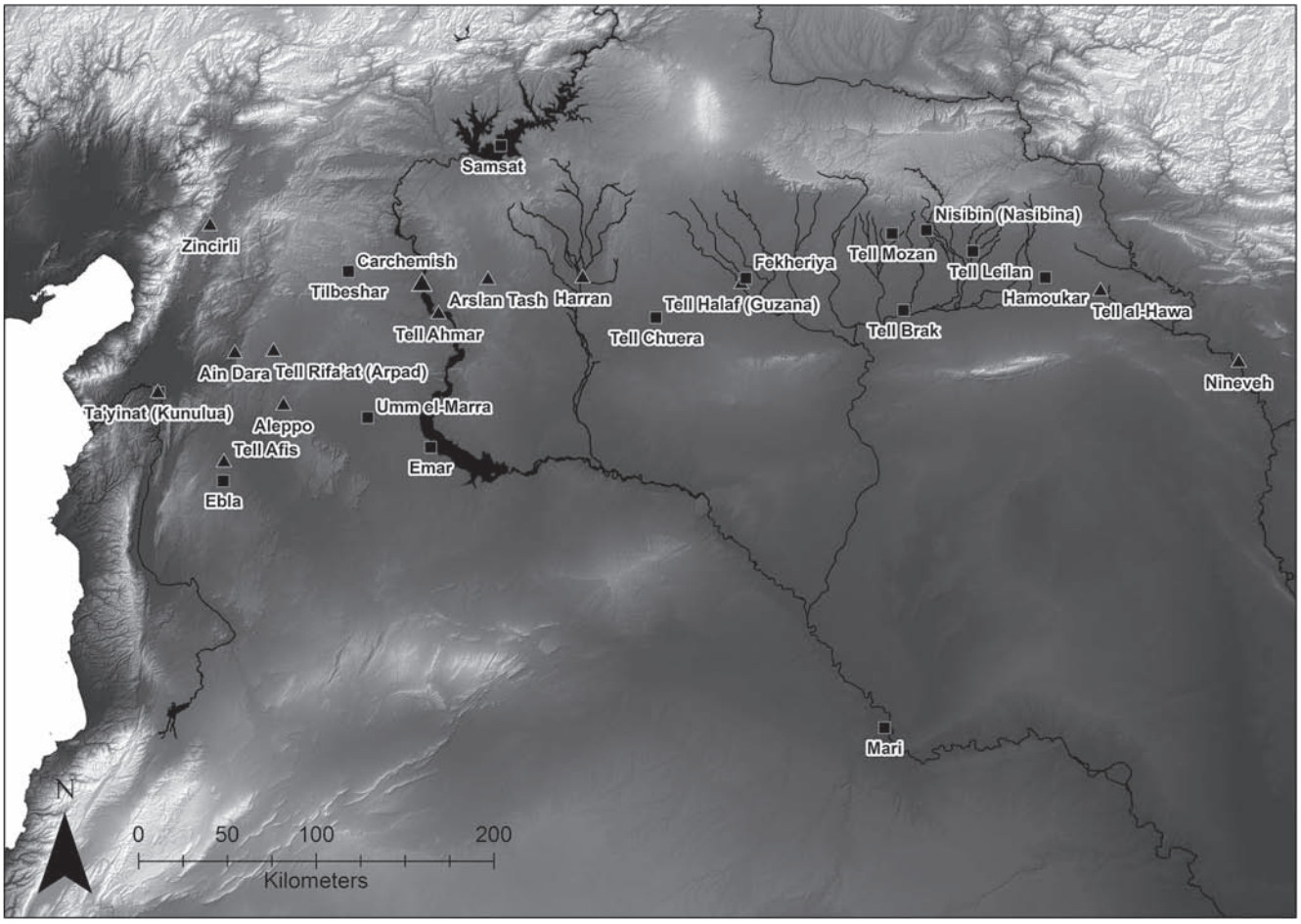

Fig. 1.2 Carchemish located within an arc of major sites between the Tigris and the Mediterranean. ▲: major Iron Age sites or with significant Iron Age occupation; ■ other significant sites discussed in text

Near East, Carchemish is characterized by not only a long history of occupation, but also by its prominence as a subject of investigation dating back to the pioneering days of Near Eastern archaeology. Perhaps in part due to the sheer volume of scholarly and popular studies, over the decades many generalizations have been made about the site, and some of these seem to be based more on speculation or conjecture than on actual archaeological evidence. One such generalization is that the city was situated at a major, well-used crossing point of the Euphrates (Chapter 5). In fact, as will be discussed in Chapters 3, 4 and 5, the more accurate characterization may be that the ancient city was situated within a broad arc of communication routes which, during the Iron Age, appear to have connected the Assyrian heartland at Nineveh through Tell Halaf, Harran, Arslan Tash, Carchemish, Rifa'at, Ain Dara and Ta'yinat to the Mediterrranean coast (Fig. 1.2). Unfortunately, only parts of this corridor can be recognized from its physical traces (Chapters 3 and 5), and it is clear that because of local political contingencies and centres of power, campaign routes by the Assyrian kings did not always follow the regularities of functionalist logic or "least-cost" pathways.

The topography of Carchemish includes three major components: a citadel mound or 'acropolis', an attached and ramparted Inner Town, and beyond it, the Outer Town mentioned above (see Fig. 8.1). The citadel mound presents a commanding position on the west (right) bank of the Euphrates overlooking a broad and fertile plain to the south and a somewhat narrower plain to the north. The semi-arid high terraces of the Euphrates and associated limestone uplands seem to have restricted settlement away from the river, although as the survey has made clear, in fact both uplands and the tributary valley floors away from the river to the west were rather well settled by relatively small communities back to at least the Halaf period.

Today the landscape has been dissected, disturbed and transformed by constant human intervention. The Aleppo-Baghdad railway cuts through the Outer Town of Carchemish to form the de-facto frontier; major dams create reservoirs to the north of the site (Birecik and Carchemish Dams), as

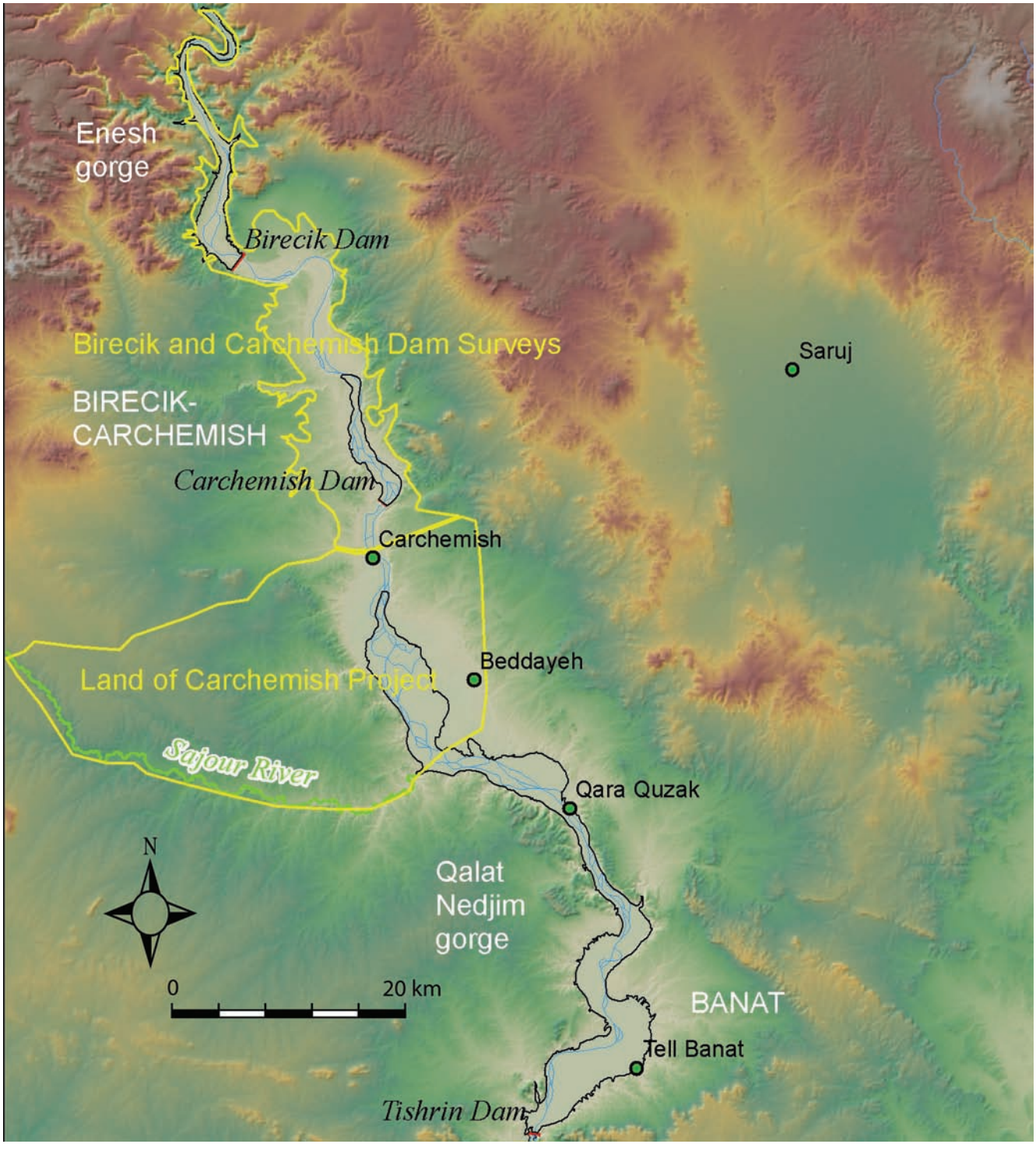

Fig. 1.3 Carchemish and the Land of Carchemish Project within the Middle Euphrates in Syria and Turkey (based on an original map by Niko Galiatsatos for the Fragile Crescent Project)

well as further to the south (Tishrin Dam; Fig. 1.3), and growing towns such as Jerablus are threatening to engulf parts of the Outer Town (Chapter 10). As a result of the dams the river has been effectively tamed and it is now difficult to appreciate how it may once have threatened many sites with flooding, or indeed how at other times the floodplain itself *may* have been settled and cultivated (Chapter 5). Until 2010, the frontier zone was perforated by minefields

which have been recognized and partly cleared to enable archaeological investigations and tourism to go ahead; but because of uncertainties related to the present Syrian conflict it is unclear how the area will develop in the near future. Because the site and region of Bronze Age Carchemish has been treated in an earlier volume (Peltenburg 2007), there is no reason to present detailed appraisals of the region during this period. Rather this volume acts as a complement to earlier publications which often lacked the resources such as remote sensing, GIS and digital elevation models that make it possible to analyze large areas relatively quickly.

The origins of the Land of Carchemish Project

The origin of the LCP lies in the excavations at Tell Jerablus Tahtani conducted by Edgar Peltenburg from 1992 to 2004, and specifically from 2003 when both Tony and Eleanor Wilkinson joined him at the Department of Archaeology, Edinburgh University. At the outset, it was clear that although during the rescue project's excavation results were appearing thick and fast, most were concentrated along the edge of the Euphrates on the lower terraces and there was little perspective on the nature of settlement away from the river. Therefore following an initial visit in 2004 by Tony Wilkinson to the post-excavation project at Jerablus, we initiated formal surveys in the spring and early summers of 2006, 2008 and 2009 (Chapters 4 and 5), with detailed investigations of Carchemish Outer Town in 2009 and 2010 (Chapter 8). Unfortunately, the initiation of civil unrest and the following Syrian conflict from spring 2011, made it impossible to continue fieldwork in that summer as planned. Therefore since 2011, the team has been engaged in compiling the collected data for this monograph.

Much ink has been spilt on the political geography of the Hittite and Neo-Hittite kingdoms. With the introduction of remote sensing as a significant survey tool, the Land of Carchemish Project has added a new dimension to previous surveys of the region, especially with respect to the identification of smaller or flat sites. The increased range of information garnered in this way is not simply more of the same, but informs on a variety of landscape uses and site contexts. It enables several contributors to this volume to make detailed contributions to the subject of the political geography of Carchemish and its hinterland, a goal that could only be tackled in a general manner with the kind of information available to earlier surveyors.

One period that all surveys have called particular attention to is the Early Bronze Age. In Chapter 4, Lawrence and Ricci show that the number of sites in the Birecik-Carchemish region expanded significantly during the 3rd millennium, in line with a general increase of settlements in Northern Mesopotamia. Additional insights into this phenomenon are provided by texts found in the ruins of palace G at Ebla, some 170 km south of Carchemish. They cover some two or three generations before its destruction, *c.* 2300 BC, and hence they provide a fleeting snapshot into what seems to have been volatile times.

During the 25th century BC, the general political situation in Northern Mesopotamia started to shift from largely independent polities to growing regional states (Archi 1996). Shortly thereafter the Carchemish area first appears in historical documentation. Iblul-Il, a king of Mari, apparently conquered several cities in the region of the Big Bend of the Euphrates, including Emar, Abarsal and Hassuwum. He was not the first Mariote king to venture into the Middle Euphrates valley and this has led some authorities to claim a Mari supremacy in the area of Carchemish prior to the expansion of Ebla (Archi and Biga 2003, 1–3). Discussion of the location of these cities epitomizes a general problem, namely, the location of places for which we have few pieces of independent corroboratory evidence. Abarsal is a case in point. Opinions range from locations to the north of Carchemish, to the east as far as the Khabur River catchment and even just some 20 km south of Carchemish, at Tell Ahmar (Milano and Rova 2000, 8, fig. 3; Bunnens 2007, 48–50 with references). If, as many assume, it lies to the east of the Euphrates, perhaps at Tell Chuēra, it is conceivable that the Euphrates River formed the border between Ebla and Abarsal in the vicinity of Carchemish or further south.

In contrast to Abarsal, there is some consensus about the location of *Gàr-gàr-mi-iš*^{ki} at Carchemish and that it was included within Ebla's territory (Archi 2011, 5; Biga 2014). The city served as a distribution centre for Eblaite textiles, Ebla gave certain residents gifts that included textiles, bracelets and other metals, and the city in turn provided food for Ibrium, the vizier of Ebla, and his army. That it was a regional centre of strategic value is suggested by the fact that kings and officials from several cities came to it to receive gifts from the envoy of the king of Ebla (Biga 2014, 76–79). Unlike many cities in this part of the Ancient Near East, however, Carchemish lacked a king or named ruler. It may have been a trading gateway rather than one possessed of political power, and if so, it may have had a distinctive relationship with smaller sites in the area. Be that as it may, we are still uncertain as to what it actually meant to be under the control of Ebla. Although individuals at the court of Ebla held estates far and wide, with land allocations on the Euphrates near Emar to the south of Carchemish, for example, a centralised state system seems unlikely. The situation was fluid and hegemony may have been more as Liverani characterizes: "the definition of boundaries not as lines but as lists of settlements politically and economically oriented toward the respective royal palaces" (quoted in Lafont 1999, 52 n. 25).

A general consensus that touches on the political geography of our region is the existence of several places with high ranking officials known as *badalum*. The title

refers to the king's substitute, or merchant, or trader, and they are found in cities in the area between Urfa and Gaziantep, immediately north of Carchemish. This *badalum* region with its distinctive political structure may have come into existence because of the intermediary role played by kingdoms there in the metals exchange system (Bonechi 1998, 235).

A polity that seems to have been located in this region of Syro-Anatolia had an organisation that suggests the co-existence of yet other political systems. *Luatum* apparently did not have a king, but was controlled by a group of elders. It was situated to the east, between Ebla and Abarsal (Archi 1989) or on the west bank of the Euphrates, south of the confluence between it and the Sajur (Milano and Rova 2000, 722–723, fig. 3). The polity possessed 52 forts (*bàd*^{ki} - *bàd*^{ki}). They may be no more than small strongholds, perhaps just fortified villages, but they suggest that some relatively minor polities included a network of defended sites and so held coherent territory. Such a configuration may have a bearing on our understanding of the proliferation of small sites in the region of Carchemish in the second half of the 3rd millennium BC.

In sum, with their focus on trade and conflict, the Ebla texts, considered together with the many heavily defended Early Bronze Age sites in the Middle Euphrates valley, have led some scholars to conclude that our region was a politically fragmented buffer zone and a 'theatre of war' (Milano and Rova 2000, 735–738).

As part of the post-survey investigations we organized a special session on the Land of Carchemish Project for the annual British Association of Near Eastern Archaeologists (BANEA) conference in Manchester, 8–10 June 2012. This provided the opportunity for many of the authors listed in this volume to present initial findings and obtain some feedback. We then supplemented this list with additional papers on the Land of Carchemish: these include the Neo-Hittite period (Brown and Smith, Chapter 3), the Classical, Roman, Late Antique and Roman periods (Newson, Chapter 9), and the destruction of archaeological sites (Cunliffe, Chapter 10). Here we have no intention of summarizing the detailed sequence of the part of the site that is within Turkey, because, as mentioned above, this work is currently ongoing (Marchetti 2012, 2014). However, we are grateful to Dr Marchetti for sending a presentation on the latest results which was read by Mark Weeden at the June 2012 BANEA meeting.

Layout of the volume

This volume commences with a summary and synthesis of the history of Carchemish by J.D. Hawkins and Mark Weeden, beginning with the period in which it was the seat of the Hittite viceroy in Syria and ending with the termination of Neo-Assyrian occupation, when the textual references for the site diminish (Chapter 2). Here it is necessary to make a clarification of the spelling: although Carchemish, rather than Karkamish/Karkemish, is used throughout most of the chapters in this volume, because epigraphic convention tends to prefer Karkamish or Turkish usage Karkemish, Karkamish has been used in Chapter 2. However, it has been necessary to retain the spelling of Carchemish for the remaining chapters because this was the name of the original field project beginning in 2006, and The Land of Carchemish Project (LCP) has been used for all subsequent field records and publications.

The volume continues with a regional overview of the Land of Carchemish as it is defined by archaeological features and key historical references through to the early Iron Age (Chapter 3, by Brown and Smith). Importantly, these observations provide insightful snapshots of the dynamics of an ancient state which can now be seen to have fluctuated dramatically in size throughout some 700–800 years, in part depending upon the power of the king of Carchemish or the aggressions of external powers.

Chapter 4 presents the major results from the Land of Carchemish Project to provide an overview of the main trends of settlement in the region over some 8000 years. Importantly, and building upon the PhD theses of Dan Lawrence and Andrea Ricci, the authors chart settlement from a combination of survey data bases to both north and south of the Syrian-Turkish border. Key to the success of this synthesis has been the help supplied by Professor Guillermo Algaze (Birecek-Carchemish Dam surveys; Algaze *et al.* 1994) and the survey conducted by Mehmet Özdoğan and Necmi Karul in the Birecik district to the east of the Euphrates (hereafter KOS) (Özdoğan and Karul 2002). In Chapter 4 the focus is upon the earlier phases of settlement from the Neolithic until the end of the Bronze Age (LBA) when Carchemish became an outpost of the Hittite empire.

The regional perspective on settlement continues in Chapter 5, beginning with a discussion of the physical and cultural landscapes of the Land of Carchemish Project. Following a summary of the geomorphology of the region and its relationship to the issue of site survival, this chapter focuses upon the Iron Age, a period blessed by numerous historical records, some blood-thirsty, others prosaic, some of which can be traced in the modern landscape. In addition, Chapter 5 discusses the Classical and later landscapes as they have been explored using off-site survey and related techniques.

Chapter 6, by Jesper Eidem, is the first of a series of more focussed chapters which explore site-specific aspects of the regional archaeology. In this chapter, Eidem draws particular attention to a series of important sites along the southern boundary of the survey area on the Sajur river, some of which were positioned along the main campaign routes of the Assyrian kings. Not only does this chapter

contribute fundamental insights into the nature of boundaries in the region, it also provides crucial anchor points for the archaeology.

In Chapter 7, Edgar Peltenburg discusses the close relationship between the Early Bronze Age (EBA) site of Tell Jerablus Tahtani and Carchemish, located some 5 km to the north. Although the precise size and archaeological sequence of the city of Carchemish during the 3rd millennium BC remains unclear it is suggested that during phases when Tell Jerablus Tahtani was abandoned (specifically around 2250 BC) the city of Carchemish itself expanded to accommodate the additional population.

Chapter 8, by Eleanor Wilkinson and Andrea Ricci, summarizes the results from the Carchemish Outer Town survey conducted in 2009 and 2010. These campaigns, which took place in the 40 ha outer town as defined by the British Museum team, provide important new data sources regarding the layout, defences and dates of occupation of this significant part of the city as well as a reassessment of the original town plan produced by C.L. Woolley and P.L.O. Guy in 1920.

The latest phases to be discussed, namely the periods of the Classical, Roman, Byzantine and Early Islamic occupations, are presented by Paul Newson as Chapter 9. In addition to discussing the later history of the city of Carchemish, this chapter describes and discusses the later stages of settlement and material culture of the land of Carchemish Project area.

It is important to appreciate that the exploration and investigations of Carchemish have taken place within dynamic and sometimes tempestuous economic and political climates: e.g. the growth of mechanized agriculture, the construction of railways, two World Wars, the creation of both the Syrian and the Turkish states together with their borders, as well as the current Syrian conflict. The conflicts, together with the intervening periods of political stability, have resulted in a considerable attrition of the archaeological features. Therefore in Chapter 10, Emma Cunliffe summarizes the evidence for this attrition mainly for the past fifty years (based upon Cunliffe 2013).

The overall narrative is brought to a close by a discussion (Chapter 11) which emphasizes the main results of the LCP campaigns and how they illuminate the historical context of Carchemish. Although the project may be seen as representing many sites and periods, it also was based upon a significant degree of inter-disciplinary research which crossed many chronological, academic and geographical boundaries. We therefore hope that this final Chapter brings out insights and connections which might otherwise have been lost.

Finally, we include an Appendix, in the form of a gazetteer, which summarises the basic details of the sites (LCP 1–80) recorded by the Land of Carchemish Project survey, together with locational and other relevant data on Table A.1. This Appendix is not intended to act as a final report on the survey, but rather to provide the basic data which will allow readers to check on site details not covered in the preceding chapters.

Acknowledgements

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2

Sketch history of Karkamish in the earlier Iron Age (Iron I–IIB)

J.D. Hawkins and M. Weeden

The city of Karkamish had served as the seat of the Hittite viceroy in Syria, where a line of direct descendants of the Hittite Great King Suppiluliuma I had administered Hittite rule in Syria since the mid-14th century BC. The end of the Hittite Empire remains a complex of events that is largely shrouded in mystery. Building on a narrative mainly constructed from Egyptian sources historians had until recently seen the Hittites engulfed in the flames of widespread upheavals associated with large-scale population movements and multiple destructions of sites along the Levantine littoral and in northern Syria.[1] More recent appraisals of events towards the end of the Hittite capital at Hattusa (modern Boğazkale/-köy) in central Anatolia have suggested rather that the city was abandoned in a more or less organised way before any destruction by fire occurred (Seeher 1998, 515–523). It has also been clear since the discovery of the seal of Kuzi-Teššub, king of Karkamish and son of the last known Hittite viceroy at Karkamish, that some kind of continuity exists between the end of the Late Bronze Age Hittite Empire and its Iron Age successor state in northern Syria (Hawkins 1988). Everything else, however, is entirely unclear.

The early 20th century excavations at Karkamish revealed next to no Late Bonze Age remains, a state of affairs which has even of late led to suggestions that the Hittite imperial seat was not situated at the site of the Iron Age city (Summers apud Aro 2013; Summers 2013, 316). At the time of writing new excavations conducted by N. Marchetti have not yet conclusively answered this challenge, but the material evidence for significant Late Bronze Age occupation at the site is growing (Marchetti 2012; Marchetti 2013). The extent of Hittite imperial control in the areas beyond the central Anatolian heartland is also a matter of discussion. Some scholars refrain from using the word "Empire" to describe the political form taken by Hittite hegemony whether in Syria or elsewhere, eschewing the notion of a centralized economic and administrative unit for that of a network of interlocking and competing interest groups.[2] The suddenness of the disappearance of Hittite control could be explained from this perspective by the fragility of its grip on the areas subordinated to it (Summers 2013, 316).

Against this view is ranged the picture of a rump state of the Hittite Empire in Northern Syria that survived the fall of the Empire and carried on using the same instruments of propaganda, Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, the same religious and military ideology, and a similar set of titles and offices as those that characterized Late Bronze Age Hittite state, society and culture. This rump state, however, at least by the 11th century BC, would not have had its capital at Karkamish, but further to the West in the Amuq plain, centred around the newly re-settled Kinaliya (Tell Tayınat), just opposite the site of a massive LBA Hittite fortress at Alalakh (Tell Atchana).[3] During this period Karkamish is supposed to have been weak. The scarcity of specifically Early Iron Age (Iron Ia) material culture at the site is also surprising, whether or not one can link this to any kind of political inferiority. From the 10th century down to its annexation by the Neo-Assyrian Empire in 717 BC Karkamish remained the centre of a thriving, wealthy and international trade network with a monumental culture itself befitting the centre of an Empire rather than the hub of a small state on the fringes of one. Its changing geographical boundaries and enduring topographical features are explored in the paper by M. Brown and S. Smith in this volume (Chapter 3).

The 12th century BC

Despite the declaration of Ramesses III to the contrary, it does not appear archaeologically to be the case, nor is it apparent from external textual records, that Karkamish was destroyed around the end of the Late Bronze Age.[4] The attestation of Kuzi-Teššub, king of Karkamish, son of Talmi-Teššub, King of Karkamish, both on seal-impressions from Northern Syria and in a cuneiform text at Boğazköy, has been held to indicate a continuity of rule at Karkamish beyond the fall of the central Hittite Empire.[5]

More information concerning the end of the Hittite Empire around 1192 BC is now available from as yet unpublished cuneiform tablets found at the Assyrian outpost at Tell Ṣabi Abyad on the Balih river in northern Syria. In one letter references are made to a presumably recent conflict between the former Hittite dependency of Emar on the Middle Euphrates and Karkamish.[6] The conflict would appear to have been resolved. A further letter asks for information concerning the "Land of Hatti", which must refer to the central Anatolian Hittite state.[7] This must be around the time of Kuzi-Teššub himself.

Possibly shortly after this, cuneiform texts from Emar mention a people referred to as the *tár-wa*, who have besieged the town (Arnaud 1991, no. 25 and 44; Singer 2000, 25). This must be from a time shortly before the destruction of Emar in 1175 BC, a date arrived at on the basis of a date-formula using the name of the Kassite king Meli-Šipak on a tablet from Emar (Cohen 2004, 95). The famous Ankara Silver Bowl may also belong in this period, with its dating by means of the phrase "in the year that T[udhaliya] Labarna smote the Tarwean land".[8] "Labarna", a Late Bronze Age Hittite royal title, would appear to indicate a supreme executive of some kind in the imperial Hittite tradition, but it is unclear where this character, T[udhaliya] (?), would have been located.[9] The inscription itself commemorates the fashioning, purchase or dedication, depending on interpretation, of the bowl on which it is found "in the presence of king Maza/i-Karhuha" by an individual called Asmaya. Maza/i-Karhuha contains as a theophoric element a divine name which is only ever found at Karkamish and in the immediate vicinity (Tell Ahmar), written with a sign (*kar*) that is only otherwise used to write the name of Karkamish. This person was thus likely to have been king there. It is possible that the relationship "Labarna: King" in some way prefigures the relationship "Great King: Country Lord" which is found at Karkamish from the 10th century BC onwards, where it seems likely that both the "Country Lord" and his "Great King" would have been located at Karkamish, although this is not definitively secure. Might one also have had a "Labarna" and a separate "King" in the 12th century at Karkamish?[10]

G. Summers argues that the Late Bronze Age Hittite grip on the region from Malatya down to Karkamish was weak, due to lack of Late Bronze Age occupation at Lidar Höyük and now, as currently seems to be the case from the latest readings of the dendrochronological data, also at Tille Höyük (Summers 2013). Here the current interpretation of the archaeological record would seem to be in conflict with that won from texts, where Kuzi-Teššub, a figure straddling Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, is certainly attested at Lidar.

Kuzi-Teššub, is not only known from impressions of his elaborate seal found at Lidar Höyük, but also from the inscriptions of the kings of Malatya, two of whom claim to be his "grandson" or "descendant" (Hawkins 1988; 2000, 285–287). The earliest Malatya inscriptions are dated to the late 12th or early 11th century BC on this basis, although the dating has recently been questioned (Singer 2012, 471). Lidar Höyük is itself halfway upstream from Karkamish towards Malatya along the Euphrates. A viable route between Karkamish and Malatya may have run along the river a certain way by boat, but is made virtually impassable by a deep gorge just before Malatya. The intervening terrain is mountainous and difficult to traverse, but roads did and do exist. Are we then to understand that Karkamish and Malatya formed some kind of political unit in the Early Iron Age? Or is it merely that the local kings legitimized their claims via the king of Karkamish as direct descendant of the Great Kings of Hattusa?

Doubtless belonging to the same geography as Malatya on topographical grounds is the Karahöyük-Elbistan stele, to be dated to sometime in the 12th century BC, in which a local official called Armanani apparently celebrates the visit of a "Great King" Ir(i)-Teššub to a country the name of which cannot yet be read due to being written logographically.[11] T.R. Bryce has supposed that the "Great King" in Karahöyük-Elbistan would have come from Karkamish, which is certainly worthy of consideration and F. Giusfredi suggests that the name is a by-form of the ancestral Karkamish ruler's name Ini-Teššub, predecessor of Talmi-Teššub king of Karkamish from the Empire Period (Bryce 2012, 86; Giusfredi 2010, 41). It is unlikely, however, that this name would have been misspelled in this way.

Palaeographically the inscription shows a number of similarities with those of the "Great King" Hartapu at Karadağ-Kızıldağ and Burunkaya on the southern Anatolian plateau, in particular in the shape of the sign/*sa*/.[12] These latter are almost certainly to be associated either directly with the late 13th century and possibly even still post-Hittite Empire kingdom of Tarhuntassa (classical Rough Cilicia), or with its successor state. Quite what form and extent such an Anatolian rump state of the Hittite Empire would have had, if it in fact existed, is currently difficult to determine on archaeological grounds, as well as being beyond the scope of this contribution. Thus in both these cases, Karkamish-Malatya and Elbistan-Tarhuntassa, the style and/or content of inscriptional evidence seems to hint at units of some

kind existing over and above what might be considered to be "natural" geographical boundaries. In the current state of our knowledge it is impossible to say whether these units were political in any sense.[13]

11th century BC

The annals of Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria (r. 1114–1086 BC) document for the year 1100 BC an encounter with a king called "Ini-Teššub, king of the land of Hatti".[14] Although not explicitly stated in the text, it is commonly assumed that this must have taken place at Karkamish itself. The names Karkamish and Hatti are frequently used interchangeably in Neo-Assyrian documents. The city may have inherited the toponymic designation of the Late Bronze Age Hittites. The assumption that the Ini-Teššub encountered by Tiglath-Pileser I was at Karkamish carries with it the implicit acceptance of a hypothesis that Karkamish continued as a Hittite capital throughout the 12th and into the 11th century. This must, however, be reconcilable with the fact that material remains for Iron I are poorly represented at the site.

A further variant of the rump state continuity view sees the Hittite centre shift south-west towards the Amuq and the kingdom of Walastin most likely centred at Tell Tayinat. In the 11th century a king of this "land of Palastin" had influence over the temple of the storm-god at Aleppo, only *c*. 100 km to the south-west of Karkamish. Two inscriptions of Taita, king of Palastin, dated to the 11th century on palaeographic grounds, were found in the Aleppo Temple (Hawkins 2011). One of these not only mentions Karkamish, but also Egypt.[15] The immediate context for mentioning Karkamish is damaged. There is no agreement that such a mention in an inscription of Palistin implies that Karkamish was in any way subjugated to this potentially larger territory at this stage (Hawkins 2011, 53; Weeden 2013, 17). See the accompanying contribution by M. Brown and S. Smith (Chapter 3) for consideration of the expanding and shrinking physical borders of Karkamish, especially in their relationship to the Quweiq valley and Aleppo.

Consideration of the status of Karkamish at this stage may also be tied in with that of Malatya and the intervening area of the Euphrates states, as in the previous century. The latest archaeological research at Malatya indicates that the city experienced degradation to a "squatter" occupation during the mid-11th century, which lasted until its eventual re-flowering in the 9th century BC (Liverani 2012; Frangipane and Liverani 2013). The late 12th and early 11th centuries, on the other hand, saw Malatya exhibiting a flourishing monumental culture and two of its kings claiming descent from Kuzi-Teššub, king of Karkamish. At the time of the encounter between Tiglath-Pileser I and Ini-Teššub of Hatti (= Karkamish) the ruler of Malatya was known as Allumari according to Assyrian royal inscriptions.[16] In the Assyrian royal view at least these were separate entities, both of which had sufficient status to warrant being mentioned in the course of campaign narrative.

The area between Karkamish and Malatya may itself have experienced a renaissance of sorts during the mid-12th century, before falling into decline in the early 11th century. Summers also notes that the 12th century architecture of Tille Höyük, in particular the gate, does not appear to be "imperial", although he associates it with a supra-regional state on the North Syrian Euphrates that reached as far as Malatya (Summers 2013, 317). Whatever we conclude from this, a similar development of decline during the 11th century both at Malatya and at Tille can be observed. Whether this was a regional phenomenon and whether that reached as far as Karkamish are both points which are unclear.

10th century BC

From the 10th century at the latest and through the early 9th Karkamish was ruled by a dynasty of so-called "Country Lords", during the earlier part of this period also in some sort of tandem with a "Great King" (Hawkins 1995; Payne 2014). The chronological framework for these rulers is delimited at the lower end of the period by the encounter of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III with "Sangara the Karkamishean" as part of an anti-Assyrian coalition including Gurgum, Sam'al and Patin in 858 BC.[17] This Sangara is not yet mentioned in any of the published native inscriptions and is thus assumed to be later than them. The two earliest inscriptions belong to a father and son, one stela erected by Suhi I "Country-Lord" and one by his son, the "Priest of Kubaba". The texts appear to be almost identical in content and are both dedicated to Ura-Tarhunda, "Great King, Hero, King of the Land of Karkamish, son of Sapaziti, Great King, Hero".[18] We thus have a Great King, a Country Lord and a priest of Kubaba, with inscriptions only being prepared by the last two, who were also related.

Suhi I calls himself a *muwida* of the king, using a logogram that is otherwise also found in the early Malatya inscriptions and is shown by later usage to have the afore-mentioned phonetic form.[19] The precise meaning is unclear, but a translation "seed(?)" is currently the best available, indicating that the Country Lord was possibly a distant blood relative of the Great King. The later inscription of KELEKLİ, from the reign of the grandson of Suhi I, Suhi II, indicates that intermarriage was also possible between the lines of "Great Kings" and "Country Lords" (Hawkins 2000, 93).

The earliest two inscriptions mention a conflict that came from the land of Sura. It has recently been proposed to identify this Sura with the designation "Leukosyroi" given by Greek authors to the Cappadocians and to assume that it was the native designation of the land called Tabal by the

Neo-Assyrians (Simon 2012). This proposal is essentially without foundation in the native inscriptions. The toponym Sura is more conventionally equated with Assyria, as unequivocally demonstrated by the correspondence between a toponym ʾšr in the Phoenician text of the 8th century BC ÇİNEKÖY Bilingual and Sura in the Hieroglyphic Luwian of the same text.[20] This identification has to contend with the consideration that Assyria was apparently weak in military and economic terms at the end of the 11th/beginning of the 10th century BC and might not have been expected to be conducting campaigns as far west as the Euphrates. Assyrian activity is attested on the Habur during this period (Grayson 1991, 126–127; Weeden 2013, 10).

The first longer narrative inscription was written by Suhi II, son of Astuwalamanza, grandson of Suhi I, and erected to accompany the Long Wall of Sculpture at Karkamish sometime during the 10th century BC.[21] It concerns injury done to and revenge exacted on behalf of the Storm-god of S(a)mar(i)ka, which H.C. Melchert compared with the Late Bronze Age Hittite toponym Ismerikka (Melchert 1988, 37). Siverek in the direction of Diyarbakir has often been identified with Ismerikka, although this identification is tentative.[22] The place-names Alatahana and Hazauna, which are mentioned in a hostile context by Suhi II in his inscription, have also not been located.[23] It is thus not possible to assess the extent of any military campaign in which Suhi II may have been involved. The mention of Hazauna, however, is closely followed by a fragmentary reference to a "grandfather" and "(of) my city", so it is possible that Suhi was re-asserting earlier territorial claims.[24]

The son of Suhi II, Katuwa, is by far the most prolifically attested among the authors of inscriptions. In the inscription KARKAMISH A11b+c we learn of an apparent transaction, according to the latest interpretation of the verb in question, (LOCUS)*pit*(*a*)*haliya*, between Katuwa and the "Grandsons of Ura-Tarhunda".[25] This may refer to the same Ura-Tarhunda who was "Great King" at the time of Suhi I, the great-grandfather of Katuwa. However, if the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunda are at all related to the Great Kings of the reigns of Suhi I and II, they are not given that title and this is the last we hear of them.

The passage is disputed, but the latest interpretation, offered by H.C. Melchert, implies that "this city", i.e. Karkamish, had both been empty for some time and previously belonged to a man called Ninuwi. Katuwa is supposed by Melchert to have rebuilt it, possibly exchanging it with the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunda for land-holdings of some kind in two other towns, Ipani and Muzik (Melchert 2011, 75–77). The latter of these might be associated with the Mount Munziganni to the west of Karkamish encountered by Aššurnāṣirpal II in 870 BC (Hawkins 2000, 105). While this interpretation is philologically possible, it is historically unlikely given the significant building activity at Karkamish registered by Katuwa's predecessor, Suhi II.

Katuwa almost certainly experienced a revolt at some time in his reign, presumably by relatives of his, who are referred to as the 20-*tá-ti-zi* in KARKAMISH A11a §5–6 (Hawkins 2000, 97). Comparison with occurrence of the same word in TELL AHMAR 1 makes it likely that these are "relatives",[26] while the verb used (*ARHA* CRUS+*RA*/*I*) suggests "secession" when compared with similar Late Bronze Age Hittite locutions.[27] Rather than these "relatives" being identical with the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunda, as previously assumed (Hawkins 2000, 97) it is possible that these latter helped Katuwa regain the city from the secession of the former, with the verb (LOCUS)*pit*(*a*)*haliya*- referring to the manner in which this occurred, whatever that was. An etymological explanation does not suggest itself, nor is it necessary. The further mention of the particular kind of land-holdings in the cities of Ipani and Muzik may then refer to additional confiscations, rather than gifts in exchange. Here the verb is lost in a break.[28]

Indeed, the narrative continues with further military achievements which took place in the year in which Katuwa completed the building of the "upper floors" for his wife which the inscription is commemorating.[29] These consist of "I carried/moved the chariotry of the city **Kawa/i*", and of the standard trope of marching further than any of one's ancestors.[30] This ethnic adjective *Kawiza*- has been interpreted as corresponding to the Assyrian provincial place-name Que (Plain of Cilicia), which is occasionally spelled Qaue in Assyrian cuneiform.[31]

However, it remains rather problematic why Karkamish inscriptions should refer to this place as **Kawa/i* when the Cilician ÇİNEKÖY inscription from the 8th century BC and now the two new stelae from ARSUZ from the 10th century BC, which commemorate a victory of the Walastinean king Suppiluliuma in the region, refer to the area as Hiyawa.[32] One would have to hypothesize that Karkamish, concomitant with its geographical location, uses a form of the name that was more usual either further to the east, possibly even forming the point of departure for the Assyrian borrowing of the name Q(a)ue itself, or in Aramaic.[33] Until the place-name Hiyawa is found on inscriptions from Karkamish, thus excluding that *Kawa/i refers to the same area, the matter cannot be considered closed.

An identification of *Kawa/i with Que, or at least with part of it, also tallies with the apparently western focus of the previous engagements, if Muzik can be associated with Mount Munziganni. It is thus interesting that both the land of Walastin and the land of Karkamish had military engagements with Que/Hiyawa during the 10th and early 9th centuries BC. This is doubtless to be seen in the light of the increasing wealth and resources that accrued to the diverse Neo-Hittite states during an economic upturn after the Early Iron Age period. Increased resources mean increased potential for the exercise of expansionist tendencies. It is into this heating cauldron of conflicting territorial interests

that the Assyrians marched in the second quarter of the 9th century BC.

9th century BC

For the bulk of the 9th century, inscriptions from Karkamish are lacking, although Katuwa might well fit into the beginning of this period and its end may accommodate the earlier inscriptions of the next dynasty to rule the city that is known from native inscriptions. Most of our information during this period is to be found in Assyrian royal inscriptions.

Neo-Assyrian policy towards Karkamish follows an interesting pattern of isolation, Karkamish being the last Neo-Hittite territory in Northern Syria to be annexed to the Assyrian Empire in 717 BC. By this time all the other Neo-Hittite states had first been reduced to vassal-status and then annexed to the Empire and provided with an Assyrian governor.

When Shalmaneser III (859–824 BC) crossed the Euphrates in 858 BC he seems to have done so to the north of Karkamish into the territory of Kummuh, and then moved around it into Gurgum and then Sam'al, where he met the forces of an anti-Assyrian alliance including Karkamish (Yamada 2000, 92). When he receives the tribute of the defeated enemies in the next year at Dabigu, after apparently dealing with Til-Barsip and the lands of Bit-Adini to the south and south-west of Karkamish, Karkamish itself is conspicuously absent from the list of tributaries recorded on the stone slab from Fort Shalmaneser.[34] According to the reconstruction of Shigeo Yamada this recalcitrance prompts an approach towards Karkamishean territory at Sazabê, "a fortified city of Sangara the Karkamishean".[35] The Kurkh monolith records the receipt of tribute by all the fearful "kings of the land H[atti]" after this action, including that of Karkamish, thus conflating the submission of tribute by Karkamish with that of the other states.[36]

Sangara appears already in the Balawat Bronze Bands of Aššurnāṣirpal II (883–859 BC) as a tributary of the Assyrian king, probably at some time between 875 and 868 BC (Yamada 2000, 74–75). He also appears in years 1, 2, 6, 10 and 11 of Shalmaneser III (859–824 BC) (Yamada 2000, 117 fn. 146). In the last of these Shalmaneser boasts of capturing 97 of his cities.[37] This does not necessarily indicate that Karkamish was any bigger than any of its neighbours. Certainly, however, the above-noted initial hesitancy of Shalmaneser in dealing with the state of Karkamish, and the apparent re-focussing of the narrative of the second regnal year in the Kurkh Monolith to place the panic of the "Kings of H[atti]" after the attack on Sazabê are both indications that the Assyrians perceived the "Land of Karkamish" as the strongest and most important of the Neo-Hittite states during the 9th century BC. If there ever had been any competition with the "Land of Walastin" (= Patin) during earlier centuries, this had been entirely overcome by now. Sangara himself, however, is likely to have been so tested by his Assyrian adversaries that he failed to leave any clearly identifiable inscriptional traces at the city of Karkamish itself.

Late 9th to 8th centuries BC

Apart from a brief mention by Samši-Adad V (824–811 BC), Karkamish does not appear in Assyrian sources from the mid-9th until the mid-8th century BC.[38] This is peculiar, as the Assyrians were clearly established very close by, only 20 km downstream, at Kar-Shalmaneser (formerly Til-Barsip, modern Tell Ahmar) during the whole of this period. Karkamish is not mentioned in the Pazarcık stela from 805 BC which includes details of pitched battle between Adad-Nerari III and an alliance of Ataršumki of Arpad and eight other kings at nearby Paqirahubuna.[39] Adad-Nerari III and his commander (*turtānu*), Šamši-ilu, established a border between Ataršumki of Arpad and Zakur of Hamath around 796 BC according to the Eponym Chronicle and the Antakya stele, an event probably to be related to that narrated in the Aramaic stele of the same Zakur from Tell Afis.[40] Here we are told that Bar-Guš (=Ataršumki of Bit-Agusi) had attacked Zakur at the instigation of Hazael of Damascus in an alliance with kings of Que, Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al, Melid and two or three other names which are lost in damage to the text. It would be strange if Karkamish were not mentioned here. However, the city is also not mentioned in the alliance led by Urartu and Arpad which was defeated by Tiglath-Pileser III in 743 BC, nor in any of the successive Assyrian actions against Arpad (742–740 BC) and Unqi (739–738 BC), but a king Pisiri of Karkamish does finally appear in the list of tributary kings from 738 BC.[41] This same Pisiri appears to have still been in power in 717 BC when Sargon II had him removed and deported to Assyria for colluding with Mita of Muski, and finally annexed the land of Karkamish to the Assyrian Empire.[42]

However, the period of the late 9th and first half of the 8th centuries coincides with a renewal of activity in the inscriptions and building work at Karkamish. Possibly Assyria was consciously leaving Karkamish alone during this period, a policy hardly fit to be mentioned in royal inscriptions, or there were yet other reasons for the Assyrian silence. Karen Radner has identified an Assyrian imperial tendency to leave major trading centres to their own devices, as long as politically expedient, in order to be able to profit from their already established and functioning networks and infrastructures.[43] Certainly Karkamish appears to have been left until last among all the Neo-Hittite states before being turned into a province.

During this period we find three generations of builders

and inscription-makers at Karkamiš. A king Astiruwa is referred to in the inscription of KÖRKÜN (Hawkins 2000, 171), who is then succeeded by a regent, Yariri, calling himself "ruler" (*tarwani-*), who appears to be a eunuch and has responsibility for the care of Astiruwa's son, Kamani, as well as for the rest of the family. Kamani apparently presides as "ruler", "country-lord" (REGIO.DOMINUS), and also once as "king", over a short-term expansion or consolidation of Karkamishean influence towards the Quweiq river, as possibly evidenced in the inscription found at Cekke, and is later replaced by an Astiru, who is not his son, but that of his vizier, Sastura. New evidence indicates that there may have also been a son of Kamani, called Atika, who for some reason did not become king or ruler (Akdoğan 2013; Hawkins *et al.* 2013). It is possible, but not certain, that the final king, Pisiri, known from the royal inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II, may also have had his name on a preserved monument at Karkamish.

The inscriptions of Yariri, who was regent while Kamani was a child, are among the most impressive and detailed from Karkamish. He was responsible for the Royal Buttress, a series of sculptures and inscriptions on orthostats added to a structure built by Katuwa beside the King's Gate. One of Katuwa's own inscriptions was thereby removed and re-used as paving slabs in the floor of the King's Gate. In the sculptures Yariri is shown, beardless and carrying a sceptre upside-down, leading Kamani by the arm, followed by the other children of Astiruwa. This depiction may suggest that he is a eunuch, as is further corroborated by the use of the word *wasinasi-* illustrated by the beardless bodyguards depicted on the Royal Buttress.[44] The word clearly refers in another context to (male) offspring who have been turned into eunuchs.[45] The structure itself is referred to as the ("MENSA.SOLIUM")*asa-*, possibly just a "seat (?)", to which Kamani used to run and where Yariri "seated him on high".[46]

International relations are prominent in the inscriptions of Yariri. On the inscription attached to the Royal Buttress he boasts that his name was heard "in Egypt, in Babylon(?), among the Musa, Muska and Sura".[47] The Musa and Muska are usually associated with Lydians (Mysioi) and Phrygians (Greek Moschoi, Assyrian Muški), but the precise associations of those terms are rather unclear. Even less clear is the identity of the Sura, supposed variously to be Urartians or the Anatolian Neo-Hittite group of states which was referred to by the Assyrians as Tabal.[48] The intended rhetorical opposition appears to be between Egypt and possibly Babylon on the southern field of the compass (west and east), and a suitably broad geographical sweep encompassing the corresponding world to the north-west and north-east of Karkamish. This understanding of the references in the inscription would make Urartu still the best candidate for Sura in this text.[49]

Another text written on a statue-base of Yariri found out of its original context refers to different types of writing and languages, after a break in the narrative:

> "… in the City's writing, in the Tyrian writing, in the Assyrian writing and in the Taimani writing, and I knew 12 languages. By means of travelling my lord *selected* every country's son for me because of language."[50]

Again, the precise the referents of the types of writing are not all agreed, in particular whether "S/Zurawani" in the text refers to Tyre (i.e. Phoenician) and whether Taimani refers to Teima and a very early stage of Early North Arabian Script, or to Aramaic via a similar-sounding tribal name known from Assyrian texts.[51] Yet the passage is clearly intended to highlight the pre-eminent position of Karkamish in the mercantile world (Radner 2004, 158). Multilingualism and knowledge of scripts rather than military engagements and conquests are here the currency in which Yariri's achievements are valued. One should be careful not to generalize from this depiction and infer a time of peace and prosperity in a military and political vacuum corresponding to silence in the Assyrian sources.

An unfortunately very broken text found among other stones at the bottom of the Great Staircase appears to have been attached to another statue of Yariri and explicitly refers to conflict with Assyria.[52] It is not entirely clear from the preserved fragments that Yariri was directly involved in the conflict, although he was active in some fashion and the context of a commemorative statue can only suggest that it was celebrating his or his lord's deeds. There is some clearly negative military action either on the part of mounted troops (?) towards a city called Parnassa, or directed by someone at mounted troops (?) from a city called Parnassi, after which Yariri becomes active in some way.[53] Then we have a clear historical reference, which has unfortunately not been identified in accounts from any of the other powers of the time: "[Wh]en(?) the Assyrian king *carried* off Halabean Tarhunzas, and he *smote* Assyria with a *firebrand* … Kubaba (nom. or acc.) brought forth … [and Assyr]ia(?) she x-ed away"[54]

The passage is not only badly broken but also peppered with *hapax legomena*, which hinder a clear understanding beyond the relatively secure reference to what Yariri thought was an Assyrian defeat. This would presumably be far too early to refer to the defeat inflicted on Assur-Nerari V by Sarduri II of Urartu in 754 BC, only 16 years before Pisiri is attested in Assyrian Annals as king of Karkamish. It seems likely that it would have been Urartu once again which punished the Assyrians for transgressing against the Storm-God of Aleppo, but another agent of his divine displeasure cannot be ruled out. One can only speculate on the circumstances behind this tantalizing reference.

There are three monuments which explicitly belong to the reign of Kamani: the Kubaba stele with appended inscription detailing the building of her temple; the storm-god stele from