CHAPTER 3

The Iron Age

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1 Introduction

The distinction between what we call the *Dark Age* and the full Iron Age, is conventional. Nonetheless, deciding whether a conventional divide is worth preserving depends on the validity of the criteria deemed relevant to the periodization. As made clear already in the previous chapter, it is no longer very accurate to state that the Dark Age is defined by a lack of sources. No catastrophic historical event makes a separation between Dark Age and Iron Age necessary for historical description. Moreover, from the perspective of the linguistic and cultural geography of the area (which is of the utmost interest for this overview), because significant changes occurred during the Dark Age—not at its end—they do not constitute viable criteria of demarcation for the beginning of the full Iron Age, either.

Nonetheless, the choice to preserve the label *Dark Age* and the distinction between the 11th and the full 10th century should be understood as a means to indicate an extension of the setting within a general pattern of continuity. If for the 12th and 11th centuries the available sources come from a limited number of regions, the 10th century is the stage during which the changes in the cultural and linguistic map of the Ancient Near East that originated in the previous centuries appear to be fully completed and begin to emerge, archaeologically and textually, in a wider area that corresponds to what Osborne (2021) has described as the area of the Syro-Anatolian Cultural Complex (SACC; see Chapter 2, Section 1). As a consequence, the regions mentioned in the present chapter are larger and more numerous than those discussed in the previous one, and the relationships between polities and cities also change, resulting in a geographical periodization that will be slightly different and more articulate than the one employed above.

When referring to the area to be discussed in the present chapter, however, it is first necessary to clarify how and why we select the regions of interest in terms of linguistic geography, but without mistakenly assuming that the linguistic criterion can be equated to the cultural, ethnic or political one. Not only is this equation a fallacy, as shown by Osborne: even the relationship between the political identity of a kingdom and the official linguistic and graphemic code it selects for communicating power is looser than one would expect.

Nonetheless, although it is clearly impossible to disentangle the Anatolian components of the Syro-Anatolian mixed culture, measuring the extension of the Luwian epigraphic culture is clearly important for the purpose of the present volume. The area that produced Luwian materials during the Iron Age is quite large, and, more importantly, it is interregional. Proceeding from the south, we find testimonies of the Luwian scribal culture in central Syria, northern Syria (Middle Euphrates region and Orontes Valley), Plain Cilicia, and central and eastern Anatolia. Farther to the west, we do not possess clear data, but a relatively late[1] Phoenician document from Cebelireis Dağı (Mosca and Russell 1987; Röllig 2008; Giusfredi 2024) contains proper names that are clearly Luwian.[2] Farther to the north, past the lower bend of the Kızılırmak, the situation is equally uncertain, but Simon (2017a) convincingly argued for a Luwian presence also in the central portions of Cappadocia (up to Alişar), which makes the Anatolian Luwians direct neighbors of the Phrygians.

1.1 *Continuity and Discontinuity, Internal and External Boundaries*

A stunning peculiarity of the rather large area where Luwian was used during the Iron Age is that (Fig. 3.1), from quite a few different perspectives, the language used appears to exhibit very little dialectological variation. The geographical labels that were employed in the previous paragraph of this chapter (Euphrates region, Orontes valley, central Syria, Cilicia, Anatolia) are historically meaningful, and, although they all belong to the SACC cultural continuum (Chapter 2, Section 1), they also exhibit cultural differences (to mention the most obvious one, the Semitic linguistic element in Anatolia is weaker than it is in Syria). Diachronically, too, evenemential criteria apply, in the context of the increasing frictions with the expanding influence of the Neo-Assyrian polity.[3] Of course, some distinctions may emerge, also regarding material culture. Even the type of epigraphic supports on which Luwian hieroglyphs were inscribed are somewhat different: orthostats are prevalent in northern Syria,

1 The date is uncertain, but for paleographic reasons a late 7th or early 6th century seems a plausible guess.

2 E.g., *MSNZMŠ* = Massanazammi 'beloved by the gods'; *WLWY* = Walwi or Walwiya, connected to *walwa/i-*, 'lion'; possibly also *'ŠLPRN* (which appears to be a relic of Hittite onomastics, if to be read, indeed, *Asulaparna-*). See now the new discussion and commentary by Giusfredi 2024.

3 For a general historical overview, see Giusfredi 2010, chapter 2; Bryce 2012. Both works, although somewhat outdated with respect to new epigraphic discoveries, do offer a useful general picture of the historical parable of the Syro-Anatolian states in the context of the Assyrian imperial expansion. For a more recent discussion, see Osborne 2021:126–164.

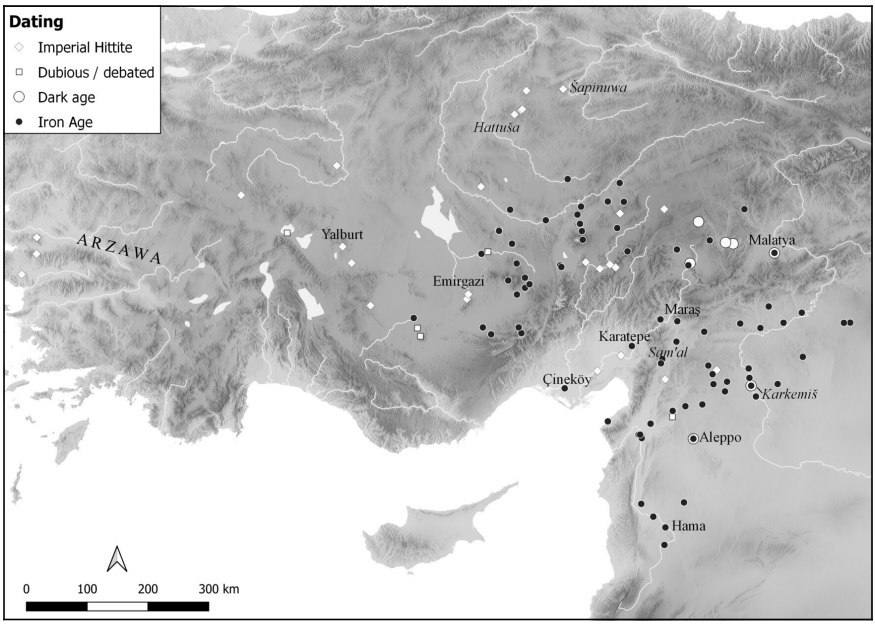

FIG. 3.1 Distribution of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions by date

whereas Anatolia makes intensive use of stele and rock-cut monuments, and Cilicia appears to be, again, a stand-alone area.

Iron Age Luwian, on the other hand, appears to be very consistent, from both a graphemic and a linguistic point of view.[4] Graphemically, there are no clear examples of signs that develop functional differences in different areas of the Luwian-writing macro-region. Of course, the fact that the northern Syrian and Anatolian scribal productions culminate in different phases may create some false impressions. The disappearance of the scribal habit of writing the initial /a/ at the end of the prosodic segment (the so-called *initial-a-final*) is mostly evident from 8th century Anatolian materials and, because we have few northern Syrian specimina after the early years of the House of Astiruwa in Karkemiš (at the turning point between 9th and 8th centuries), it is methodologically impossible to exclude the possibility that an areal tendency was at work in the regions that instead left a larger number of sources. We also have evidence of one *insular* graphemic tradition, such as the Suvasa-Topada area, in which a set of alternative syllabic signs are used; unfortunately, however, serious problems

4 Some attempts at identifying dialectal variation have however been made, e.g. Palmér (2021) observed a geographical distribution of the types of genitives employed.

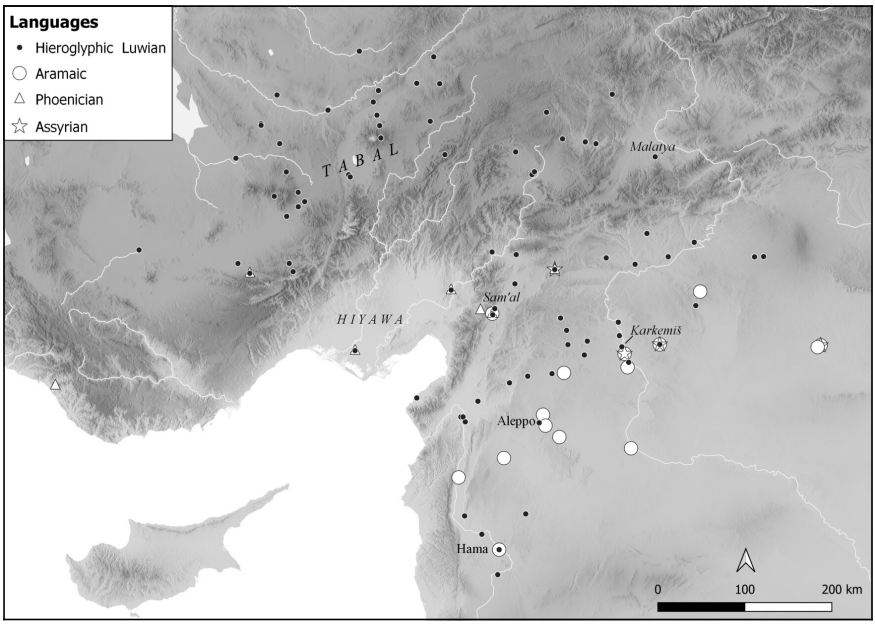

FIG. 3.2 Distribution of Iron Age inscriptions by languages

exist concerning the date of the texts, and the limited extension of the region in which the *local* syllabary appears to emerge makes it a rather localized phenomenon at best.[5]

If we consider the *external boundaries* of the area in which Luwian is employed, the internal consistency in the kind of code (combination of language and graphemics) is surprising: from west to east, from Türkmen-Karahöyük to Şekerli (about halfway between Adıyaman and Diyarbakır); and from north to south, from Çalapverdi (Yozgat province) to Hama in Syria (the RESTAN inscription, found outside of any recognizable archaeological context, certainly comes from the site of Hama). Such a large area entailed a number of interfaces that prompted interactions with other cultures and languages (Fig. 3.2). The mixing with the Aramaic element was typical of all the Syrian portion of the Luwian-writing regions, and phenomena of language-mixing emerge, for instance in the case of Yadiya/Sam'al (Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021b). Phoenician is also present in some areas, most notably Cilicia; outside of the Semitic world, the Urartian world borders with the eastern regions of Anatolia, and the Phrygian world borders with the central regions. Nonetheless, although some language

5 CHLI I:460–461, D'Alfonso 2019:134–136. Cf. also CHLI III:298.

contact phenomena emerge in the sources, when Luwian is the target language these are generally limited to localized and sporadic borrowings of lexical items and grammatical structures. In other words, they do not significantly alter the considerable uniformity of Iron Age Luwian as a linguistic code.

This fact may be attributable to the strong interconnections among the different subregions of the Iron Age Luwian-writing areas of Anatolia and Syria, but this explanation appears overconfident at best. Even though both Central Anatolia and Northern Syria belonged to a cultural continuum, there appears to have been considerable geographical and cultural distance (e.g., between 8th century Hama and 8th century Kululu). More likely, Luwian was so consistent in this stage and area because we are dealing with a rather artificial diamesic variety of the language. This variety was based on epigraphic traditions codified in the Bronze and Dark Age that were mostly maintained because the epigraphic production was not a direct function of an evolving, living language. Of course, Luwian was probably spoken and alive in some of the areas (most likely in central Anatolia), but it would be a methodological mistake to posit that the spoken variety or varieties were the same as that employed for the monumental inscriptions.

The traces of language contact in Iron Age epigraphic Luwian will be discussed in Chapter 5. Before proceeding, however, the cultural and historical features of the areas involved must be illustrated in order to characterize the geo-historical context of the linguistic phenomena.

2 The Syro-Anatolian Area from the 10th Century until the Assyrian conquest

2.1 *The Luwian Area Proper*

2.1.1 Tabal and Malatya

In Cappadocia and the southern Anatolian plateau, the full Iron Age saw the emergence of a loose constellation of cantonal polities generally known as *Tabal* after the Assyrians (Fig. 2.3), in a process of political reorganization whose timing and modalities remain largely unclear. As emphasized in the previous chapter, fortified settlements and administrative structures suggestive of a complex socio-economic organization were already present in the Tabal area in the 11th century. The large grain silos discovered at Niğde-Kınık Höyük remained in use until the late 10th century, while the site itself continued to be inhabited and encircled by fortifications throughout the Middle Iron Age.[6] This urban reorganization went hand in hand with developments in

6 Lanaro et al. 2020:216–217.

post-Hittite monumental art, whose earliest expression we may find by the early 9th century, if not earlier.[7] The 10th and 9th centuries also saw the areal expansion and intensification of interactions in central Anatolia chiefly suggested by the regional diffusion of prestigious figurative vessels of the Alişar IV type, seemingly circulated and used among elite groups on communal ritual occasions.[8]

The term *Tabal*, first attested in the 9th century BCE, is primarily an Assyrian designation with no precise geopolitical reference; in most cases it reflected a constellation of multiple polities extending to the west of the Antitaurus.[9] In scholarly usage, Tabal is generally understood to mean the region of central Anatolia featuring aspects of Syro-Anatolian culture, chiefly the use of Hieroglyphic Luwian and Syro-Anatolian monumental art. Based on these criteria, the eastern limits of Tabal are quite confidently set along the Antitaurus-Bolkardağ continuum, between the districts of Pınarbaşı (Kayseri) and Ereğli (Konya). It was likely on the northern stretches of this range that Shalmaneser III confronted the Tabalian king Tuatti in 836 BCE around the city of Artulu, perhaps identified with modern Kululu. This site was the findspot of several hieroglyphic inscriptions and Syro-Anatolian monuments. To the south, the kingdom of Tuwana, *Tuhana* in Assyrian, is firmly enclosed by local inscriptions and monuments within the Bor-Ereğli plain, giving access to the Cilician Gates that led across the Taurus to Hiyawa/Que. The best-known king of Tuwana is attested in local inscriptions as Warpalawa, *Urpalla* in Assyrian, who ruled in the late 8th century BCE. To the west of Tuwana, the unnamed kingdom of Hartapu/Kartapu was the westernmost Tabalian polity known so far. Between the lake Tuz Gölü and Mount Erciyes, we find a cluster of hieroglyphic inscriptions dedicated by Wasusarma, son of Tuwati, a contemporary of Tiglathpileser III (745–727 BCE) who knew him as *Uaššurme*. It is unclear how far north the Tabal cultural area spread. Most scholars would set a boundary on the upper and middle course of the Kızılırmak, but the finding of sporadic hieroglyphic inscriptions to the north of it (e.g., ÇALAPVERDİ 1–2) may suggest an extension up to the modern province of Yozgat.[10] Moreover, the late reappraisal of Syro-Anatolian monumental characters in the otherwise Phrygianizing site of Kerkenes Dağ, namely the use of figurative reliefs, statues in the round and the winged sun, may have been inspired by Tabalian models

7 Lanaro 2015; d'Alfonso 2020a.

8 D'Alfonso et al. 2022.

9 On the possible etymologies of Tabal and its relationship with the political landscapes of Iron Age central Anatolia, see d'Alfonso 2012 and Giusfredi et al. 2021.

10 Simon 2017a.

available in the neighboring area. Besides Syro-Anatolian art and Hieroglyphic Luwian, the Tabal area was also characterized by a broadly homogeneous material culture chiefly represented by dark monochrome geometric painted wares and, up to the 9th century, Alişar IV figurative wares. The spread of these features, however, was not limited to Tabal; it also involved other areas of central Anatolia, including Phrygian Gordion, and therefore should not be taken as proxies of Tabalian political control.

Rather than a top-down imposition from one political milieu over the other, the regional convergence reflected in cultural and social practices of the Tabal area was more likely the result of continuous competition and shifting allegiances within a fragmented political scenario, more directly documented by the textual records of the 9th–8th centuries. In this light, the term Tabal may reflect the Assyrian perception of a common areal background in central Anatolia in a way not dissimilar from how the term is intended by scholars today. When this term first occurred in the late 9th century inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, it was associated with a coalition of twenty-four kings faced by the Assyrians on their way across the Antitaurus. Similar leagues gathering multiple principalities are also documented in indigenous Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Tabal itself. The rock-cut inscription of TOPADA in northern Cappadocia tells of an alliance of three kings led by Wasusarma against the enigmatic polity of Parzuta (spelled *pa+ra/i-zu-ta*$_x$) and its own retinue of eight supporters.[11] Significantly, Wasusarma claims for himself and his father Tuwati the title of Great King, embedding it in the royal aedicula evocative of the Hittite imperial past. This evidence may actually reflect some form of hegemony of Wasusarma over neighboring regions. If so, the political influence of northern Tabal may have extended as far south as the Taurus, as Wasusarma lists among his allies Warpalawa, the ruler of Tuwana.[12] In turn, Tuwana may have been the head of a local hierarchy in its own region, as Warpalawa acted as the overlord of the *tar*(*ra*)*wanis* ('ruler') Tarhunaza according to the BULGAR-

11 The traditional interpretation (see Weeden 2023, now also CHLI III:298), identifies Wasusarma with the king Uaššurme attested in the inscriptions of Tiglathpileser III (mid-8th century BCE). Contrarily, d'Alfonso 2019 argues for dating TOPADA to the 10th century together with other related inscriptions (SUVASA, GÖSTESİN), based on paleographic and stylistic observations. The same article (144–145, with references to previous literature) also revisits the possible meaning of the toponym Parzuta, proposing a reading Prizu(wa)nda to be connected with Phrygia. For other interpretations, see Weeden 2010 and 2017; Simon 2020a.

12 See on this Simon 2013, whose hypothesis, however, is based strongly on hotly debated issues of historical geography (cf. Weeden 2017:726–731).

MADEN inscription, on the northern Taurus.[13] Another self-defined Great King is the Hartapu/Kartapu author of the inscription TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1, who claims to have fought the country of Mus(a)ka and the combined force of thirteen kings.[14] A growing consensus would now identify this ruler with the Hartapu who dedicated the inscription of BURUNKAYA commemorating a military victory in the area.[15] Interestingly, this inscription lies just about 35 km southwest of Topada, and may thus connect the exploits of Hartapu with the events recounted by Wasusarma.[16]

During the 9th and 8th centuries, Anatolia became the focus of a tripartite competition between the three major regional powers of the time: Assyria, Urartu and Phrygia.[17] In 836 BCE, the Assyrian army entered Tabal for the first time under the leadership of Shalmaneser III. This venture resulted in the *una tantum* imposition of a tribute to Tabalian rulers and probably had an impact on the local power balance, but it did not lead to durable forms of Assyrian hegemony in the area. On this occasion, as in the successive campaign of 835, Shalmaneser III reached Tabal from the east after obtaining tribute from Malatya, at this time ruled by a certain Lalli, not attested elsewhere outside the Assyrian corpus.[18] In the decades straddling the turn of the 8th century, Urartu took advantage of the political crisis that befell Assyria after the death of Shalmaneser III, seeking to consolidate its peripheries and gaining a foothold in central and southeastern Anatolia. The Urartian kings Menua (ca. 810–780 BCE) and his son Argišti I (ca. 780–756) claim the conquest of the Hatti lands, indicating the general region west of the Euphrates, and Malatya. Argišti I likely refers explicitly to Tabal when mentioning tributes from the 'land of (the ruler) Tuate' (i.e., Tuwati), perhaps identical with the father of Wasusarma or a predecessor thereof.[19]

In the Hatti lands, Argišti I encountered a ruler named Hilaruada, likely identical with the namesake son of Šahu, king of Malatya submitted years later by Argišti's son Sarduri II (756–730 BCE). This time external information may be connected with the hieroglyphic evidence from Malatya itself, if we can identify Šahu with Sahwi, attested in ŞIRZI as the father of the Malatyan Country

13 CHLI I:521–525.

14 Goedegebuure et al. 2020. On the dating of TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1 in relation to the remaining Hartapu's corpus, see Chapter 2.

15 CHLI I:429–442. On the issue of dating, see Goodegebuure et al. 2020; Hawkins and Weeden 2021; and Massa and Osborne 2022.

16 Massa and Osborne 2022:100–101; Weeden 2023:996–998.

17 Melville 2010; Adalı 2018.

18 Yamada 2000:210–217; Bryce 2012:107.

19 CTU A8–3 II, 15–16. Cf. Bryce 2012:142; Weeden 2023:995.

Lord Runtiya. Sahwi/Šahu may be the unnamed Malatyan king participating in the coalition led in the early 8th century by Bar-Hadad II of Damascus against Zakkur of Hama, during a conflict recorded in the so-called Zakkur stele (KAI 202).[20] Runtiya would have been a brother of Hilaruada, as suggested by Hawkins (CHLI I:323), or perhaps Hilaruada himself, as proposed by others on the basis of the shared theonym Runtiya = *-ruada* (e.g., Bryce 2012:108). At Arslantepe-Malatya, this period saw the arrangement of the famous Lion Gate, re-utilizing sculpted reliefs stripped from previous Early Iron Age monumental programs, possibly in a conscious attempt to reassert a local political identity.[21] The western, southern, and northern connections of this site attested in the historical record may find material manifestations in the Syrian, Anatolian and Urartian ceramic imports found in Middle Iron Age levels.[22]

The advent of Tiglathpileser III inaugurated a new phase of Assyrian expansion in the west. In 743, this king defeated a Urartian-led coalition involving Malatya, at this time ruled by Sulumal.[23] Malatya was thus submitted together with other Urartian allies, and became an Assyrian client. As of 738, Wasusarma/Uaššurme also starts to appear together with other Tabalian rulers among the regular Assyrian tributaries, thus suggesting that at this time Assyria had managed to reassert and maintain a hegemony in central Anatolia as well. Some years later, in 730, Wasusarma fell out of favor with Tiglathpileser III, who accused him of not paying the regular tribute and of 'behaving like an Assyrian.' Scholars believe that Tiglathpileser's irritation may have been caused by Wasusarma's hegemonic ambitions in central Anatolia, symbolized by his appropriation of the Great King title in TOPADA. As a result, Tiglathpileser III deposed Wasusarma and replaced him with Hulli, a 'son of nobody.'[24]

Assyrian direct interventions in the Tabalian political landscape intensified under Sargon II, when central Anatolia became a contested periphery between Assyria and the domain of Midas (Mita in the Assyrian sources), the king of Muški/ Phrygia.[25] In 718, Sargon II campaigned in Tabal to punish local defections toward Midas, and reinstated Hulli on the throne after he had been deposed and taken hostage in Assyria by Sargon's brother and predecessor Shalmaneser V. In doing so, Sargon II carved for Hulli a new domain called Bit Burutaš, later inherited by Hulli's son Ambaris. As a further strategy to consol-

20 Bryce 2012:107. On Zakkur, see Younger 2016:476–486.

21 Manuelli and Mori 2016; Manuelli 2020; Weeden 2023:991.

22 Manuelli 2013:379, 381.

23 Weeden 2023:991, with references to the primary sources.

24 Weeden 2010 and 2017. But see Matessi (forthcoming) for a different view.

25 On this subject, see Weeden 2017.

idate the Assyrian foothold in central Anatolia, Sargon married Ambaris to his daughter, bringing as a dowry the domain of Hilakku in Rough Cilicia. In this way, a direct dependency of Assyria was wedged in between Tabal and Phrygia, a move that Sargon must have hoped would check Midas' interference with Assyrian affairs in Anatolia. This strategy, however, did not work: Ambaris plotted with Rusa I of Urartu and Midas to form an anti-Assyrian coalition, forcing Sargon to intervene again with his army in 713 to reassert Assyrian hegemony. Notwithstanding these political and military efforts, neither Tabal nor Bit Burutaš were ever completely annexed to the Assyrian Empire. A different fate befell Malatya, which was made a province in 711 after the subsequent defections to the Phrygian side attempted by the local kings Gunzinanu and Tarhunazi. The capital Arslantepe-Malatya became the seat of an Assyrian administration, archaeologically testified by the Assyrian palace of Period IIB.

2.1.2 Maraş

The principality of Gurgum (Luw. *Kurkuma-*), centered in Maraş, Assyrian Marqasu, and the surrounding plain (Fig. 2.3), is first recorded in the Banquet Stele of Ashurnasirpal II among the polities sending representatives at the celebrations for the construction of the new Assyrian royal palace at Kalhu (RIMA 2 A.0.101.30). The dynastic succession of Gurgum is one of the best known among Syro-Anatolian polities. In fact, thanks to detailed genealogies opening several epichoric Luwian inscriptions, we can reconstruct an almost complete sequence of 11 Gurgumean rulers.[26] On account of recently published MARAŞ 16 (Peker 2022), this sequence now includes Hunita and his son Larama III, that would fill—at least in part—a gap of about 60 years between Halparuntiya III and Tarhulara, known only from Assyrian sources. Correspondences between native and Assyrian records offer fixed chronological points for anchoring individual rulers and relating their activity with the general historical context. The earliest king of Gurgum to be attested in Assyrian sources is Mutallu, appearing as a tributary of Shalmaneser III in 858. Five years later, Shalmaneser III found another person on the Gurgumean throne, named Qalparunda. Due to the short time elapsed between the two encounters, there is little doubt that Qalparunda, corresponding to *Halparuntiya* in Luwian, was a direct successor of Mutallu (i.e., Muwattalli). A secure correspondence is thus established with the only matching succession known from the Maraş corpus (i.e., between

26 To the dynasts considered by Bryce 2012:122–128, we must now add Hunita and his son Larama III after the finding and publication of MARAŞ 16: Peker 2022. These two rulers would fill—at least partially—the gap between Halparuntiya III and Tarhulara.

Muwattalli II and Halparuntiya II), allowing us to date the beginning of Halparuntiya's reign between 858 and 853 BCE. From this fixed point, we can move upward in the genealogical sequence provided by indigenous sources and, by counting generations, assign an approximate chronological range to each reign. With this rationale, the reign of Astuwalamanza, forefather of the Gurgumean dynastic line, can be dated to around the late 11th century BCE.[27]

The last attested Gurgumean rulers are Tarhulara and his son Mutallu (i.e., Muwattalli), known only from the Assyrian records as contemporaries of Tiglathpileser III and Sargon II. Unfortunately, no Bronze Age or Iron Age site in the Maraş area has been archaeologically investigated, and all known inscriptions have been found by chance during construction works or as a result of illicit digs.[28] Thus, apart from patchy information drawn from native textual records, next to nothing is known about socio-economic and cultural interactions involving Gurgum and their development from previous periods.

The earliest known Luwian inscription from Gurgum, dating to the mid-10th century BCE, was dedicated by Larama I, son of Muwattalli I and grandson of Astuwalamanza, to praise improvements in the local state economy granted by the colonization of new agricultural land (MARAŞ 8).[29] Interestingly, in this case neither Larama I nor his ancestors bear any title. However, in later inscriptions Larama I, as well as other successors, is referred to as a *tapariyalli* 'governor.' It is possible that over time, this title became fixed as a royal title *de facto* similar to Country Lord at Malatya, but, just like the latter, it may have originated as an honorific designation for rulers dependent on a superior authority.[30] The fact that most later genealogies mention Larama I as the first ancestor may indicate that Astuwalamanza and Muwattalli did not act as sovereign rulers, but rather as royal dignitaries of sorts on behalf of an unknown king.[31] In this case, Larama I may have attained power after a dynastic shift comparable to that documented at Karkemiš with the advent of the House of Suhi in the early 10th century.

Halparuntiya II in the mid-9th century was the first Gurgumean ruler to claim the title of *king* (MARAŞ 4). This change could be due to the influence

27 CHLI I:250–252.

28 For surveys in the area and their results, see Carter et al. 1999; Swartz Dodd 2007; Konyar 2010.

29 CHLI I:252–255. The same genealogy for Larama I would also appear in the newly discovered inscription of Muwizi (MARAŞ 17), preliminarily reported by Denizhanoğullari et al. 2018.

30 Giusfredi 2010:194–107; d'Alfonso 2023.

31 But see now the summary report on Muwizi's inscription MARAŞ 17 (Denizhanoğullari et al. 2018), preserving a genealogy up to Astuwalamanza.

of kingship ideologies entertained in Assyria, of which Gurgum had become a tributary state by 858 BCE,[32] but can also be a means of exalting particular achievements considered worthy of royal status. In fact, MARAŞ 4 is among the few inscriptions of Gurgum celebrating the military deeds of the author, as Halparuntiya II praises his capture of various locales in the land of Hirika. The latter may point to an undefined region between Maraş and Elbistan, for a quasi-homophonous Hiliki is mentioned in IZGIN as a frontier of military expansion reached by Tara, Country Lord of Malatya.[33] However, suggested comparisons of both toponyms with Hilakku, the Assyrian name of Rough Cilicia, may be more persuasive depending on the reading of Muwizi's inscription (MARAŞ 17), where Hiliki reportedly appears coupled with Adana.[34] An offensive reaching as far as Rough Cilicia would not have been impossible for Halparuntiya II, as he could have been one of the 'kings of Hatti' who followed Shalmaneser III in his campaign to Que in 839 BCE (see below).[35] For the next decades, Gurgum continued to be a loyal vassal of Assyria, much like its eastern neighbor, Kummuh. In 805, in the course of a campaign against Arpad, Adad-nirari III settled a territorial dispute between the two client states with a boundary stele near the modern village of Pazarcık, on the southeastern fringes of the Maraş province. However, in 743, both Kummuh and Gurgum eventually tried to shake off the Assyrian yoke by joining the anti-Assyrian alliance led by Urartu and Arpad (743–740 BCE). Tiglathpileser III managed to crush the revolt, but kept the rebel Gurgumean—known as Tarhulara—on the throne, albeit forcing him to cede part of his territory to more trustworthy Assyrian allies.[36] Decades later, Tarhulara was again caught conspiring with the enemy, this time Midas of Muški (Phrygia), and was eventually assassinated by his own son, Mutallu. Sargon II removed the usurper and made Gurgum an Assyrian province in 711 BCE.

2.1.3 Cilicia

Due to the position of Cilicia at the crossroads between Anatolia and the Levant, and to its manifold interactions somehow involving all the linguistic areas addressed in this volume (Luwian, Semitic, and Aegean), this region has a special significance in the Iron Age cultural landscape of the eastern Mediter-

32 D'Alfonso 2023.

33 CHLI I:251.

34 For the association Hilika/ Hirika-Hilakku, see CHLI I:127, fn. 9. The passage on Hilika and Adana of MARAŞ 17 is described only briefly by Denizhanoğullari et al. 2018.

35 Weeden 2023:968–969.

36 Especially Que, as documented by the İNCİRLİ stele.

ranean. This is why the historical and cultural frameworks of Iron Age Cilicia are addressed in this volume from many different angles. In the previous chapter, we considered social processes occurring in the region in the early post-Hittite period, before the formation of the polity known from indigenous Luwian sources as *Hiyawa* or *Adana*(*wa*), and in Assyrian as the country of *Que*. This paragraph presents a synthetic overview on the full Iron Age evidence, aiming to provide a bridge between the previous treatment and the frameworks examined in further detail in Chapter 4 and section 6 of Chapter 10, chiefly devoted to the cultural and historical geography of Iron Age Cilicia and its possible Aegean connections, respectively.

The earliest known Iron Age attestation of Hiyawa and Adana(wa) occurs in the twin steles of Arsuz, dedicated in the 10th century by the Palastinean king Suppiluliuma (1), son of Manana, to commemorate his military victories in the Arsuz area (cf. § 7: 'this city'), that is, the southern tip of the İskenderun Bay.[37] In this context, Hiyawa (*hi-ya-wa/i*) and Adana(wa) (*429(*TANA*)) figure as the other opponents of Suppiluliuma (§§ 11–14).[38] Interestingly, Adana(wa), corresponding to the modern city with this name (cf. Hitt. Adaniya) is designated as a 'city' (URBS) in ARSUZ 1 but as a 'land' (REGIO) in ARSUZ 2, whereas the only determinative preserved for Hiyawa—in ARSUZ 1—is the one for the 'land.' In all other Luwian attestations, dating to the 8th century BCE, Adanawa and Hiyawa are treated as quasi-synonyms and appear only as cities, likely to indicate the main urban components of a single regional unit. The alternated use of *land* determinatives for both toponyms in the Arsuz steles may suggest that in the 10th century, the two cities were still independent from each other as the capitals of two separate polities. Moreover, as noted by Melchert in this volume (Chapter 4) the phrasing of the passage in question suggests that Hiyawa and Adana were two different targets of Suppiluliuma's actions, which would also argue for splitting the two toponyms as two distinct territorial entities.

The recent discovery of another 10th century inscription (MARAŞ 17), so far only briefly summarized in a preliminary discussion, may add another piece to the geography of Cilicia in this period, as it reportedly mentions activities of the dedicator Muwizi of Gurgum around Adana and Hilika.[39] The latter toponym, and its possible variant *Hirika*, also appear as targets of expansionist ventures led by Malatya in the 11th century (IZGIN) and again by Gurgum around the

37 Dinçol et al. 2015.

38 An alternative reading of *429 as a variant writing of Ahhiyawa, suggested by Oreshko (2018a:27–28), gained little credence among specialists (see also Chapter 4, section 1.1, in this volume).

39 Denizhanoğullari et al. 2018. Cf. also CHLI III:131.

mid-9th century (MARAŞ 4). Moreover, Hilika/ Hirika is often compared with Assyrian Hilakku, generally identified with Rough Cilicia. In 858 BCE, Hilakku appears as an ally of Que and some Syrian polities in a coalition confronted by Shalmaneser III. Two decades later (839 BCE), this same Assyrian king claims to have traversed the Amanus and descended into the land of Que, where he defeated a local ruler named Kate and conquered several cities attributed to his realm, including Kisuatni (cf. Hitt. Kizzuwatna) and Lusanda (cf. Hitt. Lawazantiya). On this occasion, Shalmaneser III also claims to have mustered against Que 'all the kings of Hatti' (RIMA 3 A.0.102.10IV 23), clearly referring to the polities previously subjugated east of the Amanus range. This information is usually connected with the Phoenician inscription of Kulamuwa (KAI 24), where the author reports that he called for Assyrian support against the aggression of the king of the *DNNYM*. This term, in fact, would routinely recur in later Phoenician inscriptions from Cilicia as the designation for the people of the country referred to in Luwian as Hiyawa/Adanawa. Moreover, as suggested by Weeden (2023:969), Halparuntiya II of Gurgum may also have been among the kings of Hatti joining forces with Assyria, and his actions against Hilika/Hirika claimed in MARAŞ 4 may simply refer to this campaign.

When Shalmaneser III returned to Cilicia in the successive campaigns of the years 833–831 BCE, he again submitted Kate of Que and another ruler, Tulli, associated with the city of Tanakun. This latter may well have been an independent ruler active in Cilicia, as suggested by Weeden (2023:972), but the adjective Quean, referring to Kate, is preceded by the determinative KUR, whereas Tanakun is referred to only as a city. This situation would rather suggest that Tulli was the lord of an individual settlement serving as a vassal of Kate, in a relationship possibly similar to that attested one century later between Awariku and Azatiwada. Eventually, in 831 BCE Shalmaneser III reached Tarzu (i.e., Tarsus), where he appointed Kirri, the brother of Kate, as a local petty ruler.

In the 8th century, we begin to see inscriptions left by native Cilician rulers, written in Phoenician and Luwian both as bilingual or monolingual texts—or even trilingual, including Assyrian, in the case of İNCİRLİ. The longest and most famous text in this corpus is the Luwo-Phoenician bilingual inscription of KARATEPE, dedicated by Azatiwada on the monumental gate of the eponymous fortress that he had founded with the name of Azatiwadaya after himself.[40] In this inscription, Azatiwada, who bears no titles, claims to have acted with the favor of Awariku (Luw. *á-wa/i-ra/i-ku-sa*; Phoen. *'WRK*), king of Adanawa, corresponding in Phoenician to *'DN* (the city/country) and *DNNYM*

40 CHLI II; CHLI I:38–71.

(the people). The date of this inscription and its associated monumental complex has been long debated, but recent assessments combining iconographic, archaeological, historical and philological evaluations seem to agree on an earlier date than previously assumed, that is, to around the early/mid-8th century BCE instead of the early 7th century.[41]

According to this reassessment, the Awariku of KARATEPE would be the same as the one mentioned in the fragmentary Phoenician inscription of Hasanbeyli, considered slightly earlier than KARATEPE on paleographic grounds.[42] In any case, both inscriptions would precede the subordination of Que to Assyria, dated to 743 BCE based on Tiglathpileser III's tributaries lists, and would thus pre-date the Luwo-Phoenician bilingual of ÇİNEKÖY, featuring on a colossal statue of the Storm God found in the eponymous village south of Adana. The author of this latter inscription is Warika, king of Hiyawa/*DNNYM* (Luw. *wa/i+ra/i-ka-sa*; Phoen. *W* [...]), who praises himself for having extended his dominion across the whole plain with the blessing of the Assyrian king, defined as a 'father and mother' to Warika. The bond between Hiyawa and Assyria is further stressed by declaring that the two polities were made 'a single house.' It has been observed that, unlike the reliefs of Karatepe, the Çineköy statue displays clear Assyrian artistic influences, suggesting a stylistic subservience parallel to the political one reflected in the text.[43] On this account, this inscription should be dated to after 743 BCE, but before the full annexation of Que as a province of the Assyrian Empire, which likely occurred in the last quarter of the 8th century BCE.

A king named Warika (*WRYKS*), affiliated to the land of Que (*QW*) and the *DNNYM*, also appears as the author of the İNCİRLİ trilingual, issued to celebrate the donation by the Assyrian king Tiglathpileser III of a border territory with the nearby country of Gurgum.[44] ÇİNEKÖY and İNCİRLİ would thus chronologically fit together in the period of Quean subservience to Assyria, and there is indeed a general agreement that the author of both inscriptions is the selfsame Warika.[45] However, it is less clear how this chronological picture may be made to accommodate another reference to a king Warika, contained in the Phoenician inscription of Cebelireis Dağı, in Rough Cilicia.[46] If we accept

41 Novák 2021. For the later date, see CHLI I:44–45 and Simon 2014a.

42 Lemaire 1983. If so, the alliance between Hiyawa and Assyria seemingly referred to in this text should be connected with a campaign of Aššur-dan III in Syria around 760 BCE: see Simon 2014a:99 (based on Lipiński 2004:118) and Novák 2021:408.

43 Novák 2021:419.

44 Only the Phoenician version has been published: Kaufmann 2007.

45 Simon 2014a:101; Novák 2021:409, with references to previous literature.

46 Mosca and Russel 1987; Giusfredi 2024.

the paleographic date to the late 7th century BCE proposed by the editors, we should account for a later Warika ruling in Cilicia, under circumstances that remain poorly understood. The issue is further complicated by strong disagreement that persists about whether Warika and Awariku ought to be equated as two different spellings of the same name, or separated as different names/persons.[47]

As arguable from the above references, the native inscriptions of Cilicia provide an array of names for the country attributed to the king(s) attested, not only depending on the language. Looking at the Luwian versions, KARATEPE has Adana(wa), whereas ÇINEKÖY maintains Hiyawa. In Phoenician, the situation is even more complex, as there are references to Adana (KARATEPE, Hasanbeyli: *'DN*), the *DNNYM* (KARATEPE, ÇİNEKÖY, İNCİRLİ) and Que (İNCİRLİ). In Cebelireis Dağı there is mention of a toponym *KW*, although this is disconnected from the king's name and thus does not necessarily designate the country. This place is perhaps identical with the Kawa of KARKAMIŠ A11b+C § 7, but should likely be kept distinct from Que.[48] On the background of this apparent geographic diversity, the ruler(s) dedicating these inscriptions consistently claim a common dynastic descent from Muksa, a name that through its Phoenician rendering *MPŠ* has generally been connected with Mopsus, the seer of the Greek legends (Chapter 10).

As mentioned above, Que became a client of Assyria around the mid-8th century, and by 743 BCE it is regularly attested among the tributaries of Tiglathpileser III. As we know from the İNCİRLİ inscription,[49] the king of Que remained loyal to Tiglathpileser III during the conflict with Mati-El of Arpad (743–740 BCE), being rewarded with new territories on the Amanus region. This new arrangement was likely made at the expense of the neighboring kingdom of Gurgum, as punishment for having sided with the enemy under the rebellious ruler Tarhulara (see above). Throughout the 8th century, the only king consistently associated with Que in Assyrian sources is Urik(ki), which presents phonetic resemblance with both Awariku and Warika. Irrespective of the views regarding the number of individuals behind these names, we cannot discount the possibility they were perceived as one by the Assyrians and thus conflated in the form Urik(ki). After Tiglathpileser III, the next Assyrian references to Que date to the reign of Sargon II, when the region figures already as an Assyrian province entrusted to the Assyrian governor Aššur-šarru-uṣur. We do not know exactly when the annexation occurred, but it was most probably during

47 Simon 2014a; Payne 2015:189–190; Novák 2021:410–412. See also Chapter 5 in this volume.

48 See discussion in Chapter 4.

49 Only the Phoenician version of this inscription is published: Kaufmann 2007.

the poorly documented (and short-lived) reign of Sargon's predecessor, Shalmaneser V (727–722 BCE).[50] In 715 BCE, Sargon II led a successful campaign to Que to repulse the attack of Midas of Phrygia/Muški, who had invaded the region; about five years later, the governor of Que Aššur-šarru-uṣur apparently managed to push the enemy back beyond the Taurus. Phrygia convened with Assyria on a peace agreement and in a retrospective account contained in a royal letter to Aššur-šarru-uṣur, Sargon praises Midas for the capture of 14 Quean envoys whom Urik(ki) was sending to Urartu, archenemy of Assyria. In the course of these events, Assyrian control had reached to the west of Plain Cilicia, and Sargon II donated Hilakku to Ambaris of Bit-Burutaš (713 BCE).

2.2 *The Luwo-Semitic Interface Area*

2.2.1 The Euphrates Area

During the Iron Age proper, which begins roughly at the second half of the 10th century BCE, the Syro-Anatolian area of the Middle Euphrates would eventually be divided into three different kingdoms: Karkemiš, Kummuh, and Masuwari/Bit Adini (Fig. 2.3). Moving north to the Upper Euphrates, the kingdom of Malatya, whose status has been unclear (to say the least) during the Dark Age, would be independent, although during the 8th century the king of Karkemiš, Kamani, regained control over it for a time, or at least claimed to have done so in a pair of hieroglyphic inscriptions (CEKKE § 6, possibly also KARKAMIŠ A31+ § 1).[51]

Moving south, data regarding the kingdom of Kummuh are limited to the 9th and 8th centuries, and little has changed after Hawkins's historical synthesis (CHLI I:331–332). A king Hattusili I paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III in the 860s and 850s, but no hieroglyphic sources can be dated to this early stage. Between the end of the 9th century and the first quarter of the 8th, another king, Ušpilulme, is mentioned in the Assyrian sources. He is probably to be identified with the PURUS.FONS-*MI* (Suppiluliuma) mentioned in the Luwian inscriptions of BOYBEYPINARI 1 and 2, and appears already to have been under the protection of the Assyrian kings at the time of Adad-nirari III. The same hieroglyphic inscriptions also mention Suppiluliuma's wife, Panamuwatti, and their son Hattusili, who (obviously) is *not* the same person as the Qatazilu who must have lived a century earlier.

As for Masuwari/Bit Adini, its history as an independent kingdom was unusually short, being destroyed by the Assyrians as early as the 850s under Shal-

50 Lanfranchi 2005:486–494; Bagg 2011:231–232; Gabrieli 2021:336.

51 CHLI I:140–151; Peker 2016:47.

maneser III.[52] Accordingly, the surviving hieroglyphic sources all go back to the late 10th and early 9th centuries, and belong to what have been described as two distinct competing dynasties (CHLI I:224–226), both predating the ruler Ahuni who would unsuccessfully face the Assyrians a few decades later. The members of the first dynastic series appear to bear culturally (if not strictly linguistically[53]) Luwian names (Ariyahina and Hapatila), whereas the name Hamiyata, recurring in the second series, may be a Semitic one.[54] Of course, because the kingdom is deep within the heart of the area occupied by the mixed Syro-Anatolian culture, one should refrain from assuming that the difference in the onomastics of two dynasties—of which we know only a few generations—have ethnolinguistic implications. Nonetheless, it would be equally inadequate to refrain from observing that this superficial evidence for multilingualism for the Euphrates region emerges here alone, whereas the other kingdoms of Karkemiš, Kummuh, and Malatya appear to have maintained Luwian and the Anatolian hieroglyphs, respectively, as the language and script of power.

Apart from the short-lived kingdom of Masuwari/Bit Adini, data from the Euphrates region continue to emerge for the two kingdoms of Malatya and Kummuh. These may—and should, at this stage—be compared with those regarding Karkemiš, for which new epigraphic material has enabled some advancement in the past few years. These documents convey the impression that the former Hittite vice-kingdom still maintained some sort of preeminence and dominance in the region.

Here it would be unproductive to dwell on Peker's (2016) hypotheses of identification—which vary in strength—of new Karkemisean rulers: new names have emerged that were unknown at the time the CHLI I was published, and we may or may not have identified all rulers of the Iron Age dynasties. More interesting is the problem of the relationships between the kingdom of Karkemiš and surrounding polities before the final Assyrian conquest of the region. Apparently, Kummuh, Malatya and Karkemiš all survived the military crises of the mid-9th century—which resulted, on the contrary, in the final defeat of Masuwari/Til Barsip by the troops of Shalmaneser III. At this stage, Kummuh's king Hattusili (Qatazilu) paid tribute to the powerful enemy,[55] and so did the king of Malatya, Lalli, as well as—at least initially—king Sangara of Karkemiš (the Sakara of the KH.15.0.690 inscription; see Peker 2016:47). The sit-

52 RIMA 3 A.0.102.2 i 30–40, ii 14–20; A.0.102.10 ii 30–40.

53 See Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2022 for a discussion of these names as well as of the problem of relic of the Hurrian language in Iron Age Luwian onomastics.

54 Further discussion in Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2022:195.

55 RIMA 3 A.0.102.2 i 37; A.0.102.10 ii 39.

uation remained largely unchanged after the 850s: the three kingdoms appear to have continued facing Assyrian campaigns, and the houses of Sangara in Karkemiš and Hattusili in Kummuh survived into the next century.

The middle decades of the 8th century brought a new military crisis to the northern regions of the Syro-Anatolian world, with the Assyrians facing an alliance led by the kings of Urartu and Arpad, which included a number of smaller kingdoms, such as Malatya and Kummuh, and probably Karkemiš as well, even though the name of the latter is not preserved in the damaged text that describes Tiglathpileser III's victorious campaign of 743 BCE. Interestingly, however, the Assyrian sources do confirm that the Assyrian invaders perceived Malatya[56] as an autonomous kingdom, which would quite evidently contradict the claim made by king Kamani of Karkemiš, whose texts (especially in CEKKE) suggest that he ruled over both countries. Kamani probably ruled during the first half of the 8th century, so it is theoretically possible that he had conquered Malatya during his life and that his successor lost it by the time Tiglathpileser fought in the region during the 740s. However, a Karkemisean conquest of Malatya even during the early 8th century would appear problematic in light of the apparent independence of Kummuh, whose territory separates Karkemiš and Malatya and whose kings Suppiluliuma (II, mentioned in BOYBEYPINARI 1 and 2) and Kuštašpi (mentioned only by the Assyrian sources)[57] form a seemingly uninterrupted sequence between the early 770s and the late 740s.

The apparent contradiction is quite typical of a phase of history for which we possess only the superficial accounts of high-level, official documentations. The Aramaean and Luwian rulers' texts naturally convey a great deal of propaganda and frequently boast about exaggerated accomplishments. Despite the ultimate success of the Assyrians, who will indeed complete a virtually total conquest of the Middle and Upper Euphrates region by the end of the 8th century under Sargon II, it is not unlikely that the Mesopotamian sources exaggerated the successes of the kings of Assyria, as well.

Although the impossibility of reconstructing a full, detailed history for this region is not particularly problematic for the purpose of the present chapter, it is important to stress that we rely almost exclusively on royal and official inscriptions on all sides of the events, relaying conflicts and alliances that characterize the full Iron Age in the area under discussion. This situation may have some consequences for the way we represent the linguistic scenario. First of all, one should certainly refrain from assuming that, for instance, the *population* of

56 RINAP 1 9:4′; 14:12; 27:5; 32:5; 35 i 24, iii 9; 36:3′; 47 obv. 45, rev. 8; 54:10.

57 RINAP 1 11:7′; 14:10; 27:2; 31:9; 32:1; 35 iii 3; 47 obv. 46, rev. 7′.

Masuwari/Til Barsip was composed of Aramaeans as opposed to Luwian peoples who inhabited Karkemiš, Malatya and Kummuh. The population of the area was probably a mix of Anatolian and Semitic components, and unless evidence emerges that points to a different scenario, we should limit ourselves to assuming that both languages were spoken in all kingdoms.[58] On the other hand, that the rulers of Karkemiš apparently chose to maintain Hieroglyphic Luwian as the exclusive tool to communicate power is likely a consequence of the center's great importance during the Final Bronze Age as a southern capital of the Hittite Empire. The same happened in Malatya and Kummuh as a likely consequence of the fact that these territories were under Karkemišean influence during at least part of the Dark Age. As for the rulers of Masuwari/Til Barsip, they probably made the same choice as early as the 10th and early 9th centuries, but if a transition to a different representation of the local identity produced an Aramaization of the official sources, this must have depended on local political factors or micro-historical events that are not visible in the preserved sources.

2.2.2 Zincirli

The kingdom of Yadiya (Sam'al for the Assyrians), with its capital city corresponding to the modern site of Zincirli, lies approximately 70 km to the west of modern Gaziantep (Fig. 2.3). Because of its unique position, this small kingdom was located slightly too far to the north to be described as part of the Amuq region, slightly too far to the west to belong to the Euphrates region, and was separated from Plain Cilicia by the mountains.

Yadiya's documentary history possibly goes back to the late 10th century, if the fragmentary Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of PANCARLI is indeed as early as that. The PANCARLI text has been described as possibly dating back to the reign of king *GBR*, mentioned in later sources, but there is in fact no real reason to believe this attribution. The text is assumed to be earlier than the other inscriptions from the area, and *GBR* is the only name of a king we know who *may* have ruled during the 10th century. However, *GBR*'s fourth successor, *KLMW*, was the first ruler who certainly dictated a text that is available to us. His famous inscription contains a memorial text that refers to a social reform that he would have imposed during his reign, apparently vindicating a part of the population that used to be mistreated under his predecessors. It

58 An oft-quoted piece of indirect evidence showing that the notion of multilingualism existed in Karkemiš is regent Yariri's claim to have mastered 12 languages and several writing systems (including cuneiform, Phoenician, and possibly Aramaic), in KARKAMIŠ A15b §§ 19–20 (CHLI I:131).

is quite possible that the two components of the kingdom's demographic—referred to as *MŠKBM* and *BRRM,* respectively—are to be identified with two different cultural groups, as proposed by Giusfredi and Pisaniello (2021). What is certain, however, is that the cultural and linguistic environment in Yadiya was quite complex. *KLMW*'s name is Luwian, but it is unlikely to be his birth name, because the sources give us the name of a number of his relatives (and even a sibling), all of whom bear Semitic names. Two of the later members of his dynasty, *PNMW* I and *PNMW* II, also bear Luwian names, but others—including the last king, Bar-Rākib—still bear Semitic ones. Beside onomastics, the Yadiya inscriptions themselves are recorded into four different languages and with three different scripts. We have already mentioned the Hieroglyphic Luwian stele from Pancarlı, which is the only linguistically Anatolian document (if one does not count a few small inscribed objects that date to the reign of Bar-Rākib, during the 8th century BCE). *KLMW*'s text, on the other hand, is composed in Phoenician, a choice that appears more likely to have hinged on the prestige of the language, and less so on the relationships between Yadiya and Cilicia—for the king of the *DNNYM* is mentioned as an enemy in the inscription, while the king of Assyria is mentioned as an ally (even though *KLMW*'s claim to having hired the Assyrians is clearly not reliable).[59] As for the texts composed in Aramaic, those dictated by the kings *PNMW* I and *PNMW* II are written in a local dialect, the so-called *Sam'alian*, which may have undergone grammatical interference from Luwian, whereas those by the last king, Bar-Rākib, are written in standard Aramaic.[60]

From a political perspective, we know little of the origins of the kingdom; most of the hypotheses regarding the PANCARLI fragment are speculative, and we are not even entirely certain that it was, indeed, a royal inscription in the first place. What we do know is that as early as the 9th century, when Shalmaneser III raided Til Barsip and submitted several kings of the Euphrates region, *KLMW*'s father (the *Hayyanu* in cuneiform Assyrian) also submitted to the Assyrian king and paid tribute, a bond that was strengthened during the reign of *PNMW* II, who fought alongside Tiglathpileser III at the siege of Damascus in the 730s, and under *PNMW*'s son Bar-Rākib.[61] After Bar-Rākib's death in the 710s, Yadiya ceased to exist as an autonomous kingdom and was made an Assyrian province by Sargon.

59 KAI 24:7–8.

60 See Giusfredi and Pisaniello 2021b for further discussion and extensive references to previous scholarship.

61 RIMA 3 A.0.102.2i 53; KAI 215:16–18; RINAP 1 14:12; 27:4; 35: iii 17; 47 rev. 8.

2.2.3 Amuq

The history of the Amuq after the end of the Late Bronze Age coincides with that of the recently discovered kingdom of Palastin, which was presented in the previous chapter (Chapter 2, Section 4.2). Because most of the current scholarly discussion regards the earlier stages of Taita's dynasty and how the different members of the royal family should be distributed in the different centuries, we preferred to also include the few pieces of information we possess about the later kingdom of Pa(t)tina/Unqi in the same chapter, instead of splitting the topic into two different sections.

2.2.4 Hama

The Iron Age history of Hama until the 10th century remains largely unknown. The possibility that it was temporarily under the control of the kings of Palastin, as well as the mytho-historical reference to a king To'i in the Bible, have been discussed in the previous chapter (Chapter 2, Section 4.2).

Moving on to the direct historical sources, however, the first evidence we have of a local dynasty dates back to the 9th century BCE, when Urahilana—mentioned in a number of local Hieroglyphic Luwian sources—can be easily identified with the Irhuleni who features among the kings who opposed Shalmaneser III's army in the mid-850s. Urahilana's father, Parata, must have ruled during the first decades of the same century and no earlier than that. Because he is mentioned only in his son's texts, we have no further information regarding his genealogy, and the 10th century history of the kingdom remains mostly obscure. Urahilana's son, Uratammi,[62] clearly ruled in the final decades of the 9th century, a period for which the Assyrian sources are not as generous as they will be during the early 8th century, when King Zakkur and his successors will be mentioned as trusted allies of Assyria, at least until the rebellion of the last local ruler, Yaubi'di, against Sargon II.[63]

Hawkins's assumption (CHLI I:400), that Zakkur and his successors belonged to a dynasty different from the one that had composed Luwian texts in the previous century is not necessarily correct. Although it is true that there was a change in the official onomastics of the rulers and in the language and script of power, the better-known history of Yadiya testifies to the fact that rulers with *ethnolinguistically* different names could belong to the very same family and choose different languages to dictate their inscriptions.

The comparison between Hama and Yadiya is quite fitting, because these are the two kingdoms that exhibit the most visible cases of mixing of what

62 Mentioned in HAMA 4 and HAMA 1–3, respectively.

63 RINAP 2 7:33.

once would have been described as a Semitic linguistic culture with a Luwian one. Although the balance of the sources is somewhat asymmetrical, with a prevalence of Semitic inscriptions in Yadiya and a prevalence of Luwian ones in Hama, similarities are numerous. In both kingdoms we find alternating royal anthroponyms, mixed relationships with Assyria and with the surrounding polities, and, as we will illustrate in the next chapter, evidence for language contact not limited to lexical loans, but that appears to involve some degree of grammatical interference between Semitic and Anatolian.

2.3 *After the Syro-Anatolian Era: A Note on Anatolians in Assyria and Babylonia in the 7th and 6th Centuries BCE*

Although the exact date cannot be established—and likely does not even exist per se—one can place the end of the era of the Syro-Anatolian polities somewhere between the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th century BCE, with the expansion of the Assyrian empire and the growth of the Phrygian kingdom (see below, Section 3). Some polities may have survived longer, as was proposed by Simon in the case of the kingdom of Hiyawa (Simon 2021a), and occasional episodes of rebellions against Assyria involving former Syro-Anatolian areas, cities, or people bearing Anatolian names (such as Mugallu, a lord from Malatya who rebelled against Esarhaddon and had apparently become the king of a larger kingdom in Tabal during Ashurbanipal's reign). Nonetheless, these late developments are easily explained by the fact that the end of a political situation does not imply the immediate erasure of cultural or linguistic traits among the population of the affected area: elements of Syro-Anatolian culture certainly survived the Assyrian conquest and the rise of the Phrygians—although, of course, due to the impact of Assyria, it was destined to gradually change and eventually disappear over time.

At any rate, and with all possible caveats, the consequences of Assyria's full-fledged expansionist policy in the final century of its history (roughly between the reign of Tiglathpileser III and the fall of Nineveh) are well-known. Former independent kingdoms became provinces of an empire whose structural engine and main mean of production of wealth was the very army itself. Although it would be unproductive to dwell here on the socio-political and socio-economic features of this grand renovation of the Near East, for the purpose of the present work it is relevant to describe the consequences of the Assyrian expansion. These have been frequently emphasized by historians, who focused on the new geopolitics, culture—and, consequently, linguistic geography—of the areas where Anatolian languages were used, at least as a written medium.

As always, assessing the available sources alone would paint a misleading picture. Culturally speaking, the Neo-Assyrian Empire is but another expression of an Akkadian-speaking and cuneiform-writing culture. A closer examination will, of course, highlight the increasing relevance of Aramaic as a spoken language throughout the territories of the Empire, or, at the very least, throughout the core areas of Syria and Mesopotamia. Now, the visible part of the process is the Aramaization of the imperial elite. In all likelihood, this process reflected the Aramaization of Syro-Mesopotamia as a general trend, which is a much less visible phenomenon because Akkadian remained, quite explicitly, the official written language of the kingdom. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the emergence of West Semitic elements such as Aramaeans and Chaldeans in Assyria and Babylonia was gradual and occurred in the *longue durée*, and its effects become apparent only when a change in the polities that produced documentation make it possible for it to be represented (albeit opaquely) in the sources.

Aramaeans, however, were but one of the main cultural and linguistic components shaping the human geography of the Ancient Near East in the first millennium BCE. In particular, northern Syria had long been part of what has been characterized by Osborne (2021), as well as by the present work (albeit in slightly different terms), as a Syro-Anatolian cultural continuum that covered a large area. The Anatolian component of this continuum, represented by Luwian-speaking (or, at least, Luwian-writing) polities, although destined to gradually die out over the centuries, certainly did not vanish as soon as the last Syro-Anatolian kingdom was conquered by Assyria.

Indeed, Assyrian as well as Babylonian administrative records mention several individuals with Anatolian names (Zadok 2005 and 2010; Waerzeggers 2006). Starting with the names attested in the Assyrian records, some observations are in order regarding the methodology employed to identify them. Zadok (2010) considers "certainly Anatolian" both the bearers of names that are formally Luwian, such as *Sandapiya* (Sa-an-da-pi-i) or *Tarhuntapiya* (Tarhu-un-da-pi-i), and those who bear a supposed *name* that is in fact an Assyrian geographical adjective referring to a Luwian area, such as *Quayyu* (Qu-u-a-a), *Gargamisayyu* (Gar-ga-mis-a-a), or *Tabalayyu* (Ta-bal-a-a; Tab-URU-a-a).[64] Now, it would be superfluous to insist again on the difference between the language of origin of the name a person bears and the their ethnolinguistic identity, as we introduced this issue already in Chapter 4 of Volume 1. In this case, however, formal issues also apply, which, in turn, have sociolinguistic and

64 Zadok 1997 and 2010.

historical implications. The formal part of the problem is that, from a linguistic perspective, a name like *Sandapiya* is a Luwian linguistic sign, whereas a name *Quayyu* is an Assyrian one. This, in turn, prompts the following questions: Are names like *Quayyu*, *Gargamisayyu*, or *Tabalayyu* truly personal names? Or are they general designations used to identify people by provenance for administrative purposes? If they are personal names, they are clearly Assyrian ones. If, on the other hand, they are geographical designations, then they simply indicate that a certain individual was originally from Que, Karkemiš, or the Tabal region (or, even less compellingly, that said individual entertained some sort of relationship with the relevant region). Of course, this does not imply that these people were Anatolians; by the 7th century BCE, we have every reasons to believe that the population of the former Syro-Anatolian and Anatolian kingdoms was a combination of Anatolian and Semitic elements, even more so than before. Anatolians are also mentioned in the archives of the Neo-Babylonian kingdom, as well as in the Mesopotamian administrative documents of the Achaemenid age, although most of the evidence for these stages involves Carians (or, rather, people from Caria), whereas evidence for eastern Luwian onomastics is not prevalent in the corpora that were discussed in the literature.[65] Furthermore, in most cases, reference is made to people by using a geographical designation, whereas the number of etymologically Anatolian (Carian) names is extremely limited.[66]

Unsurprisingly, Anatolians who are mentioned in Mesopotamian texts after the end of the Syro-Anatolian age, and until the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid ages, appear to be members of the societies of the late Iron Age empires. The survival of onomastic material does not imply the survival of a Luwian language and culture after the end of the age of the kingdoms that were formerly called *Neo-Hittite*, while the presence of individuals and groups from western Anatolia is merely an indication of the multicultural composition of the demographics of the late Mesopotamian empires.

3 The Phrygian Area

Through the 9th and 8th centuries BCE, Phrygia emerged as the main regional political entity in Anatolia (Fig. 2.3), arriving at competing on equal terms with Assyria and Urartu for supremacy in the area.[67] The designations *Phrygia* and

65 Joannès 1991; Zadok 2005; Waerzeggers 2006.

66 Cf. Zadok 2005:80–83.

67 For a recent overview on the subject, see Payne 2023a.

Phrygians, as they are known today, derive from Greek sources (Φρυγία, -ας; Φρύξ, -ῦγος) and referred to the land and people living in northwestern central Anatolia, between the lower Kızılırmak, the Sakarya river basin (Classical Sangarios) and the Troad. According to the *Iliad* (2.816–877), the Phrygians were the eastern allies of the Trojans, and Hecuba, the wife of Priam, was a Phrygian. Herodotus (7.73) and his quasi-contemporary Xanthos of Lydia (cited by Strabo, 12.8.3) agree that the Phrygians came from southeastern Europe. Herodotus also adds that, according to the Macedonians, the Phrygians were called Βρίγες in their homeland, but then changed their name to Φρύγες after settling in Anatolia. By contrast, other Greek traditions saw the Phrygians as autochthonous in Anatolia.[68] The Phrygian king Midas is certainly the most famous Phrygian figure, immortalized by Greek legends about his *golden touch* or the ass's ears received as a punishment by Apollo for not adequately appreciating the deity's musical skills.

As these few examples show, most Greek accounts of the Phrygians are shrouded in myth, and thus offer very few clues for a reliable historical reconstruction. We would know nearly nothing about Midas as a historical personage without the Assyrian inscriptions of Sargon II, who mentions him as *Mita*, Assyria's main political competitor in Anatolia. This identification would thus provide a chronological placement for Midas's reign in the late 8th century BCE. Moreover, we also learn that the Assyrian name of the country of Phrygia was Muš/ski, which in turn may correspond to Urartian Muškini, Mus(a)ka in Luwian, and Mešek in the Bible.[69]

These external sources provide vital historical information that we could hardly obtain from native Phrygian records alone, which are known to exist from the late 9th century. The most ancient corpus of Phrygian inscriptions, known as *Old Phrygian* (late 9th–4th centuries BCE), was written in a local alphabet, readapted with the introduction of vocalization from West Semitic abjads. From this epigraphic material we learn that Phrygian was an Indo-European language, as most other coeval languages attested in Anatolia, but did not belong to the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European family, instead showing closest relations with Greek. This finding would thus support Herodotean claims about the intrusiveness of the Phrygians in Anatolia, out of migrations from the Balkans. Besides their invaluable linguistic contribution, however, Old Phrygian inscriptions offer very little historical information on the people who left them. To begin with, nothing is known from these texts about ethnic or

68 Drews 1993:15–18.
69 Wittke 2004.

political self-definitions used by the Phrygians themselves. Also, few names of Phrygian rulers are preserved beyond that of Midas, famously appearing on top of the so-called *Midas Monument* at Yazılıkaya/Midas City.[70] Monumental inscriptions on stone are indeed some of the best-preserved and most informative texts about Phrygian society, but they consist mostly of short dedications with few formulaic expressions, personal names and often obscure titles. Otherwise, the rest of the Old Phrygian corpus is represented mainly by graffiti on pottery or other supports, meant to mark the ownership of related objects.

3.1 *The Phrygians according to Phrygian Data*

Given the documentary situation summarized above, the Phrygian language should be considered first when identifying elements of Phrygian culture in the Anatolian landscape. In turn, the archaeological context of locales with a particular concentration of Phrygian inscriptions allows us to identify the most salient non-scribal features somehow associable to a Phrygian socio-cultural complex. The label *Phrygian*, in this case, must be intended in a broad discursive sense, with no necessary implication referring to ethnic, linguistic or political affiliations. By far the largest corpus of Old Phrygian inscriptions is found in the area of Gordion, the most important Phrygian city of the Iron Age known so far.[71] The site, corresponding to the mound of Yassıhöyük, was identified in the late 19th century CE as the seat of the Phrygian capital known by the Greeks as Gordion.[72] As we have seen in the previous chapter (Section 3), this site was already occupied during the Bronze Age, and its transition to the Early Iron Age is marked by a stark discontinuity affecting both architecture and material assemblages (12th–10th centuries BCE: YHSS 7B–A). The observation of these sudden cultural changes, coupled with the geographic range of suggested stylistic parallels, led scholars to suppose that during this phase Gordion was settled by immigrants coming from the Balkans and Thrace, thus lending further support to ancient accounts of the Phrygian migration. Whereas the layout of level YHSS 7B is indicative of a village community, the later phases of the Early Iron Age (YHSS 7A), covering the second half of the 10th century, saw the emergence of more complex forms of social organization, including the construction of fortification systems and large-scale production of wheel-made pottery.

These developments would continue in later phases and in fact anticipate the so-called *Early Phrygian period* (YHSS 6), when social life at Gordion took

70 Obrador-Cursach 2020a:427, no. M-01a, with references to previous literature.

71 For an updated and detailed overview on the site, see Kealhofer et al. 2022.

72 Körte 1897. For the attestation of the place name Gordion in a late Old Phrygian inscription, see Oreshko and Alagöz 2023.

on completely new forms and the settlement developed into a major urban complex. During this period, beginning in the early 9th century, the settlement extended more than 13 ha in two separate mounds, encircled by a single fortification system accessed through imposing monumental gates. The eastern mound was occupied by an elite quarter constituted by rows of megaron-style buildings: large rectangular structures composed of a main hall and an anteroom covered by double-pitched roofs.[73] Around the mid-9th century, the eastern citadel gate and/or its associated buildings were decorated with sculpted orthostats with clear iconographic parallels in the Syro-Anatolian imagery.[74] The Syro-Anatolian repertoire was thus vested with great symbolic value by the Early Phrygian elites of Gordion seeking legitimation of their power. Significantly, however, these artistic influences did not persist in later phases of the settlement, suggesting a shift toward other ideological models. Also dated to the mid-9th century are the earliest burial mounds (tumuli), peppering the hills to the east of the citadel within a radius of about 2 km. The largest—and earliest—tumulus within the Early Phrygian group, Tumulus W, had a special connection with the main settlement in that it aligned perfectly with the monumental citadel gate. Due to this disposition and its dimension, it is generally assumed that this tumulus served as a royal burial.[75] The Early Phrygian building program was terminated by a great fire, probably ignited by accident, that produced a thick deposit of burned debris termed the *Destruction Level* by archaeologists. Initially, this event was connected with the Cimmerian invasion reported by historical sources as having occurred at the end of the 8th century BCE. The new chronology, established through a scrupulous program of absolute radiocarbon and dendrochronological determinations, now firmly dates the Destruction Level to around 800 BCE, that is one century earlier than previously assumed.[76] The Destruction Level yielded the earliest known Phrygian inscriptions, which would date to the late 9th century according to the new chronology.

Immediately after the fire, the excavated Early Phrygian quarters were leveled with a massive 3–5 m fill layer deliberately brought on top of the settlement mounds. This operation, which surely required the mobilization of a substantial workforce indicative of a well-organized polity,[77] prepared the terrain for the re-building of the urban core, thus marking the beginning of the Middle

73 Rose 2017:141, Fig. 6.
74 Sams 1989.
75 On the Gordion tumuli, see Liebhardt et al. 2016.
76 Rose and Darbyshire 2011; Kealhofer et al. 2019.
77 Voigt and Henrickson 2000.

Phrygian settlement (YHSS 5: ca. 800–540 BCE). During this period, Gordion reached its floruit, extending beyond the mounds to occupy part of the lower plain and the western plateau for a total area of about 100 ha. The Middle Phrygian settlement is also deemed to have been the seat of king Midas, whose reign is attributed to the late 8th century BCE by available sources (see below). The official quarter of the eastern mound was rebuilt according to a plan that broadly replicated the Early Phrygian layout, thus signaling cultural continuity within approximately the same group of peoples. Burial mound traditions also continued and in fact reached an apex with the construction of Tumulus MM, the largest tumulus built at Gordion and one of the largest in Anatolia. Long thought to host the burial of Midas because of its size and riches (hence the label *Midas Mound*), this tumulus is now dated by dendrochronology to ca. 740 BCE, some decades before the supposed death of the famed Phrygian king. Therefore, it is now assumed that this mound was built *by* Midas as a burial for his father.[78]

The Middle Phrygian period saw the ultimate development of the typical material cultural package usually associated with the Phrygians, including fine metal-working and a class of prestigious vessels painted with animal motifs disposed in panels. The common ware used for daily household consumption was represented by monochrome gray wares, which saw a continuous development from the Early Iron Age in a broadly standardized shape repertoire. By the early 6th century, the power of the Phrygian polity centered at Gordion seems to have declined, and the site came under strong Lydian influence, perhaps due to the expansion of the kingdom of Alyattes and Croesus. The largest portion of Old Phrygian inscribed artifacts from Gordion belong to the Middle Phrygian period.

After Gordion, the second most conspicuous group of Old Phrygian inscriptions occurs in what appears to have been a sacred area to the Phrygians in the ridges and valleys of the so-called *Phrygian Highlands* south of Eskişehir, centered on the site nowadays popularized as Midas City (Turkish: Midas Şehri).[79] The most impressive feature in this location is the so-called *Midas Monument*, consisting of an imposing façade carved into the surface of a natural cliff. Six Old Phrygian inscriptions are engraved around the monument, one of which would identify it as a dedication to Midas, offered by Ates, son of Archias.[80] The most salient characteristic of this short epigraph are the titles *lavagtaei* and

78 Rose 2015:16.

79 Haspels 1971. On Phrygian rock-carving, see Berndt-Ersöz 2006.

80 Obrador-Cursach 2020a:427–429.

vanaktei, attributed to Midas as borrowings from the Mycenaean titles *lawagetas*, 'leader of the people,' and *wanaks*, 'lord, ruler' (cf. Greek (ϝ)άναξ, (ϝ)άνακτος) (see Chapter 8, Section 2.2.1). Suggested dates for the carving of the monument, and thus the Midas dedication, range from the 8th to 6th centuries BCE, but recent treatments tend to support an upper chronology grounded in stylistic and stratigraphic considerations on comparable Gordion data.[81] If those estimates are accurate, the Midas receiving the dedication would be none other than the famous king of Phrygia/Muški faced by Sargon II. The area surrounding Midas City to the north and west is crowded with other rock-cut monuments. Alongside other carved façades similar to the Midas Monument and rock-cut tombs, the most representative artifacts in this context are stepped altars, likely serving as cultic installations in honor of Matar, the main Phrygian deity. These monuments consisted of a series of steps carved into the natural rock, topped by stylized idols and often accompanied by short Phrygian dedications bearing the name of the donors.[82] Most known stepped altars are clustered in the Sakarya and Porsuk basins, between the modern provinces of Eskişehir, Kütahya and Sivrihisar, but some more isolated examples also occur elsewhere in central Anatolia. In most cases, these monuments lack internal elements that would allow for their absolute chronological contextualization beyond a general time span between the 9th and 6th centuries BCE, broadly corresponding to the Early and Middle Phrygian periods at Gordion.[83]

The two poles of Gordion and the Phrygian Highlands clearly defined a *Phrygian core area* during the Iron Age. Outside this area, another important cluster of Old Phrygian inscriptions features in the Kızılırmak bend, especially in the sites of Alaca Höyük, Boğazköy and Kerkenes Dağ. The latter is an immense site of more than 250 ha occupied during a single phase between the late 7th and mid-6th centuries BCE, probably founded anew for unknown reasons on previously barren land. Alongside a fragmentary monumental inscription (K-01) found at the entrance gate of a large institutional building,[84] several other Phrygian-style features occur at Kerkenes, most importantly megaron buildings, a semi-iconic cult-stele representing an idol, and tumulus burials. On this basis the site has generally been understood as a Phrygian settlement.[85] Scholars debate the reasons why such an extensive settlement, with strong Phrygian

81 Rose 2021, with references to previous literature.

82 Berndt-Ersöz 2006:40–49.

83 For different hypotheses, Berndt-Ersöz 2006:134–137; Summers 2018b; d'Alfonso 2020b: 179–181.

84 Obrador-Cursach 2020a:508, with references to previous literature.

85 Summers 2018a; 2021.

affiliations, would be founded anew so distant from the Phrygian core area. The question is particularly pressing also because the lifespan of Kerkenes corresponded to a time when the Phrygian polity of Gordion was already declining or, in any case, transiting under Lydian influence. Geoffrey Summers (2018b), director of the Kerkenes excavations until 2014, argues that the settlement was founded by Phrygian refugees from the west displaced by the Lydian conquest. An obstacle to this hypothesis is that several artifacts at Kerkenes show forms of hybridization with a Syro-Anatolian visual repertoire, such as the winged sun framed by the Phrygian inscription or the style of some statues and reliefs. These motifs had ceased to circulate in the Phrygian core region after the Early Phrygian period, that is, two centuries before the foundation of Kerkenes. Admittedly, typical Syro-Anatolian artistic expressions were already gone at Tabal as well by the 7th century BCE, but could still be visible in the area—as they are today in the case of rock-cut monuments—and could thus circulate as cultural memories for some generations. One should also consider that three of the four names attested on the K-01 inscription are Luwian (Masa, Urgi, and Tatta) and thus more at home around the Kızılırmak basin than in the Phrygian core area.

In other locations, Old Phrygian inscriptions occur as more isolated finds, but are nonetheless important to gauge the extent of Phrygian contacts. Fragments of stone inscriptions dating to the late 8th century, one of them reporting the name Midas, was found at Kemerhisar (Cl. Tyana), the likely capital of the Syro-Anatolian kingdom of Tuwana, while the name of a Phrygian individual was incised on an orthostat at Karkemiš. Lydia and the tumulus of Bayındır, in Lycia, are also findspots of Old Phrygian-inscribed materials dating at least from the mid-8th century, while a single inscribed vase was dedicated in the Treasury of the Corinthians at Delphi in the late 7th century.

3.2 *The Phrygians and Their Neighbors*

It is unclear to what extent the sparse Phrygian cultural expressions analyzed above, including language, could be an index of actual political control by a single Phrygian kingdom based at Gordion, more Phrygian polities with multiple power bases, or merely the result of Phrygian cultural influence.[86] The wealth and scale of public constructions and monuments found at Gordion certainly account for a well-organized centralized polity that controlled vast economic resources and was able to mobilize a substantial population. At the present stage, however, it is hard to define the geographic limits of such polity,

86 Summers 2023a; Santini, forthcoming.

if not through an association with Midas. In any case, such an association must remain conjectural, as this king is never attested in chronologically relevant phases at Gordion. As cogently argued by Santini (forthcoming), Midas himself—who is the only Phrygian king historically attested for the Iron Age—may have been little more than a particularly charismatic leader, not dissimilar from other coeval colleagues (e.g., Wasusarma), who was able to assembly a multiethnic coalition to expand his hegemony in Anatolia. In this sense, the *Phrygian kingdom*, no matter how extensive, was a short-lived experiment that—for better or worse—may have enshrouded Midas and Phrygia in the legendary aura echoed in later Greek traditions.

An idea of how far Phrygian political impact reached in Anatolia may derive from a brief evaluation of its attested political interactions with neighbors. The most important historical sources about Phrygia are found in the Assyrian records, namely the inscriptions of Sargon II, where Midas (spelled *Mita*) is consistently associated with the country of Muški. In earlier documents, dating from the 12th century on, Muški is attested in connection with geographical realities located in eastern Anatolia, around the region of the Tur Abdin, and it remains unclear how this term might have migrated all the way up to Phrygia. According to a hypothesis advanced by Wittke (2004:177), the Phrygian complex of the Iron Age resulted from the convergence of two migration streams arrived in northwest-central Anatolia by the beginning of the first millennium, one from the west (the Phrygians proper) and one from the east (the Muški). Another, more attractive, possibility is that *Muški* and other corresponding terms derived from a vague, perhaps derogatory, designation for semimobile populations located at the margins of literate societies, akin to the Kaška of the Hittite Empire period.[87] Be this as it may, the Muški attested in Assyrian sources before the 8th century were certainly something different from Midas' Muški and the Phrygians.

The formation of a major regional power in Anatolia posed a serious threat to Assyrian control on the western peripheries, and the activities of Sargon II against Midas were mainly oriented at avoiding the formation of coalitions between Phrygia and Syro-Anatolian states, which could be potentially fatal with Urartu on the horizon. In an initial phase, at the beginning of Sargon's reign, Muški/Phrygia and Assyria mostly vied indirectly for hegemony in Tabal. Between 718 and 711, Midas is reported as conspiring with Šinuhtu, Bit-Burutaš and other Tabalian polities, and his long arm even reached Malatya, Gurgum and Karkemiš in an attempt to draw them into anti-Assyrian coalitions. Inter-

87 Hawkins and Weeden 2021:395.

estingly, these historically documented connections between Phrygia and Syro-Anatolia are also in part reflected in the material record. As mentioned above, the region of Tuwana was the findspot of Phrygian inscriptions, and Warpalawa is famously depicted at İvriz wearing a Phrygian fibula.[88] Phrygian-style tumuli are also numerous in the region; some of them overlook Kemerhisar, the likely site of Tuwana itself.[89] Karkemiš was also the findspot of a Phrygian inscription, while Middle Iron Age levels at Malatya yielded ceramics typical of the Phrygian area.

Possible interactions (however sporadic) with Phrygia are also documented in indigenous Syro-Anatolian sources. It has been suggested that the country of *pa+ra/i-zu-ta*$_x$ figuring in TOPADA would reflect a reading *Prizuwanda* to be connected with Φρυγία via the ethnonym Βρίγες attributed to the Phrygians by the Herodotean tradition (see above).[90] More straightforward Luwian hieroglyphic references to Phrygia may be found in the toponym Mus(a)ka (cf. *musà-ka*), comparable with *Muški*. In Yariri's inscription KARKAMIS A6 (early 8th century), Mus(a)ka is mentioned among the countries to which the author's fame extended. More importantly, the newly found inscription of Türkmen-Karahöyük (TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1), to the west of the Karadağ in the Konya plain, reveals of a conflict between the local ruler, Hartapu, and the country of Muški.[91] Significantly, the inscription of KIZILDAĞ 4 also evokes similar events and is carved just beside a stepped monument closely resembling a Phrygian stepped altar.[92] Recent archaeological investigations based on survey collections suggest that the Konya plain was indeed subject to important cultural influences from the Phrygian area, especially revealed by ceramic contacts.[93] In 2021, the PALaC project supported a collaboration with the Konya Regional Archaeological Survey Project (P.I. Michele Massa),[94] aimed at more extensive investigation of these patterns through the integration of a historical, archaeological and archaeometric approach. The results of this collaboration are now being processed for publication, but a preliminary evaluation reveals, for example, the sizable presence in the Konya plain of elite figura-

88 On Phrygian-style fibulae in south-central Anatolia, see also Patrier 2015.

89 Akkaya 1991.

90 D'Alfonso 2019:144–145.

91 See, from different perspectives, Goedegebuure et al. 2020; Oreshko 2020b; Hawkins and Weeden 2021; Santini forthcoming. Perhaps the same event is also recorded in KIZILDAĞ 4, if we date this inscription to the Iron Age.

92 For different interpretations on dating and context: d'Alfonso 2020b:185–186; Massa and Osborne 2022:94–96.

93 Kealhofer et al. 2015.

94 For the KRASP project, see Massa et al. 2020.

tive wares typical of the late Early and Middle Phrygian period at Gordion.[95] These wares are otherwise rare elsewhere in sites ranging within Tabal, such as Kaman Kalehöyük or Kınık Höyük and Porsuk. One may even tentatively suggest that the *k*-variant of the ruler's name H/Kartapu, unique to the excised part of TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1, is the result of an interference with Phrygian that lacked the laryngeal in its phonetic system. This would imply that the scribe of the excised part of the inscription, stylistically very different from its incised continuation, was indeed a Phrygian not well accustomed to Hieroglyphic Luwian writing, as possibly suggested by the clumsy appearance of related signs.[96] Between 715 and 709 BCE, Sargon II and his lieutenants came to terms with Midas, confronting him in Cilicia before eventually signing a peace. We may wonder whether at this time the Konya plain already functioned as a Phrygian power base for further advance toward the south.

4 Western Anatolia from the 10th Century to the Achaemenids

Regardless of the exact *date* one wishes to pick for the *end* of the Syro-Anatolian polities, one can easily agree that, with the possible exception of Cilicia (about which we know too little after the end of the 8th century) and notwithstanding the obvious survival of Luwian anthroponyms in the Neo-Assyrian sources, starting from no later than the 6th century, no significant traces remain of the polities that had used Luwian as a written language.

As is well known, however, Anatolian languages would survive at least for a few more centuries, and they were used as official languages in a few areas of in western Anatolia (Fig. 3.3). The polities associated with the production of Anatolian corpora in that geographical region are quite elusive in general, even though the sources are rich thanks to the coexistence of local and Greek ones. Nonetheless, the most comprehensive history of Lydia, by Högemann and Oettinger (2018), is more than 500 pages long, whereas Keen's (1998) book on the history of Lycia exceeds 250. It would be fruitless to try to hastily summarize all the events that characterized the histories of the western Anatolian kingdoms. In this section, therefore, we will offer a general description of the main periods and corpora, aiming to contextualize the chapters that will deal with the Anatolian languages attested from the 6th century BCE to the first and second centuries CE.

95 Osborne and Massa, forthcoming; Matessi, forthcoming. For some syntheses on Gordion figurative ceramics, see Sams 1974 and 2012.

96 Matessi, forthcoming.

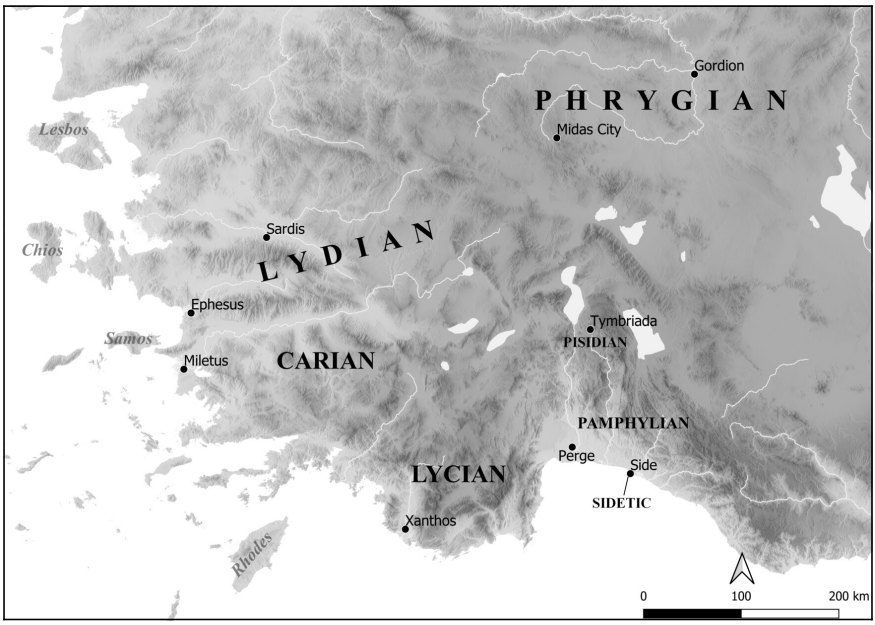

FIG. 3.3 Languages of Asia Minor during the late first millennium BCE

4.1 *Lydia*

Proceeding in chronological order by attestation of historical records, the kingdom of Lydia, with its capital city Sardis, is the first Anatolian polity of Asia Minor for which we possess information. The proto-historical stages of a Bronze Age Lydian civilization remain unknown, although some pieces of indirect evidence exist. Based on later Greek sources that associate them to the Mysians (see Högemann and Oettinger 2018:107–115, but cf. also Giusfredi and Matessi 2021), Lydians would come from a northern inland region roughly corresponding to what the Hittites called *Maša*.[97] On the other hand, Yakubovich (2010a:75–157) proposed, based on less-than-conclusive sociolinguistic considerations (mostly concerning proper names), that Lydians were already settled in Asia Minor during the Bronze Age.[98]

Moving on to the Iron Age, it is Herodotus who provides us with a (probably fictional) account of how the first true historical dynasty, that of the Mermnads, took over the kingdom at the expense of the last ruler of the mythological

97 See Giusfredi and Matessi 2021:17–19 for further discussion.

98 However, see also the review by Hawkins (2013) and the updated proposal by Yakubovich (2013).

house of the Heraclides.[99] The first member of the Mermnad house is the Gyges of Herodotus's *Histories*, whose name has long been recognized to represent an otherwise unattested Lydian cognate to Luwic and Hittite *huhha-* 'grandfather,' or possibly the Carian *quq-* (Payne 2023b:206). Unlike the members of the previous dynasty, Gyges is occasionally mentioned in the Assyrian annals of Ashurbanipal's reign, which guarantees his historicity.[100] He spent a significant part of his reign fighting the Cimmerians, and the same is likely true of his successors, who are (unfortunately) mentioned in Greek sources that, although providing important historical information (e.g., regarding the wars between Sardis and Miletus and other Ionian centers in the second half of the 7th century), do not allow a safe reconstruction of the dynastic sequence.[101] The dynasty ends by the mid-6th century with the defeat of king Croesus by the army of Cyrus and the Achaemenid conquest of Sardis.[102]

As was the case with other Iron Age polities, however, conquest by and annexation into the Achaemenid Empire did not mark the end of Lydian culture. Under Persian rule, Lydia remained a distinctive cultural region, which is reflected in the continuation of the local epigraphic culture. The oldest Lydian texts have been dated (based on rather shaky stratigraphic and/or contextual considerations) to the 8th or 7th century (Gusmani 1964:17; 1980:15; cf. now Payne 2023:192). The latest specimina can be dated to the second century BCE, well into the Hellenistic age. If the hypothesized date of the earliest texts is correct, this makes Lydian one of the three most longeval corpus languages of the Anatolian branch, together with Luwian and Hittite. The languages that came into contact with Lydian were Greek, Phrygian, the Luwic languages of southwestern Anatolia, and, starting from the mid-6th century BCE, Achaemenid Persian and Imperial Aramaic. In order to better characterize the linguistic and historical significance of the different types of contact, the interference phenomena occurring with the eastern languages of the Achaemenid Empire and those involving Greek will be treated in separate chapters (Chapter 7 and 15, respectively).

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99 On the mytho-historical dynasties of the Atydes and of the Heraclides, see Payne (2023b: 197–204).

100 RINAP 5 2 vi 14; 3 ii 86b, 92; 4 ii 61′, 67′; 6 iv 1′; 7 iii 17′, 24′; 9 ii 10, 16; 11 ii 95, 103, 119; 23:86b; 92 ii 2′; 125 A 1′; 207 obv. 19, 26.

101 For a summary of the Greek sources, see Payne and Wintjes 2016:31–37; Payne 2023b:206–215.

102 Even the very famous King Croesus is, unfortunately, known only indirectly through Greek sources. The only possible exception would be represented by the name *Qλdãns* attested on coins, which, according to Euler and Sasseville (2019), would represent the very name of Croesus. This hypothesis is, however, extremely speculative.

4.2 *Lycia and Caria*

If we can only speculate as to the Bronze Age origins of Lydia and the Lydians, the case is different for the two other main regions of Asia Minor in which Anatolian languages were used. Although the origins of the kingdom of Lycia are unknown,[103] the first dynasty of which we possess actual historical data (excluding, of course, the colorful characterizations of the origins of the Lycians that are conveyed by Greek sources)[104] is that commonly referred to as the *Harpagid dynasty*, from the name of the Persian general Harpagus, who conquered Lycia in the name of Emperor Cyrus in 546 BCE. The details of this dynasty are speculative, and one may refer to Keen (1998) and Klinkott (2023) for further discussion. The Lycian cities appear to have repeatedly switched alliances during the long series of Persian–Greek wars that started in the late 6th century BCE with the Ionian rebellions and continued through the 5th and 4th centuries until the end of the Achaemenid Empire. By the late 5th century, Lycia was securely on the Achaemenid side, and, following the reorganization of the Empire, by the mid-4th century it had fallen under the control of the satraps of the Hekatomnid dynasty of Caria (Klinkott 2023:610–614).

Caria, in turn, may or may not be equated with the region that Hittite cuneiform sources refer to as *Karkiša/Karkiya* (see Simon 2015a for discussion). In contrast to Lycia, for which no such stage is known from any available sources, Caria was perhaps part of the Lydian Empire during the early 6th century.[105] Eventually, it became part of the Achaemenid Empire, with the rulers of Halicarnassus, the Lygdamid dynasty, playing a major role in the local government (at least, judging from Herodotus's accounts). During the prolonged conflicts pitting the Greek cities against Persia, Caria too changed its alliance following the end of the early Persian Wars, only to return to the fold of the Achaemenid Empire by the last decades of the 5th century, under the local rule of the powerful Hekatomnid dynasts.

The two regions of Lycia and Caria, being close to each other, shared parallel historical fates, and the languages used there—Lycian, the sparsely attested Milyan dialect (or Lycian B) and Carian—were exposed to more or less the same areal context, which was incidentally similar to that of Lydian. Just as in the case of Lydian, hereinafter we will keep separate the discussion of interference with the eastern languages in the context of the Achaemenid Empire (Chapter 6) and that of the areal relationship with Greek (Chapter 15).

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103 For a discussion on the connection to the cuneiform Hittite toponym *Lukka*, see Gander 2010, also 2014 for the history of Lukka in the Late Bronze Age.

104 For an overview, cf. Keen 1998:34–60.

105 Payne and Wintjes 2016:34.

4.3 *Side, Pamphylia and the Very Late Case of Pisidia*

After the Hellenization of Asia Minor in the centuries after the Macedonian conquest of large portions of the Ancient Near East and the dissolution of the Achaemenid Empire, it becomes harder to detect traces of regions and polities in which the use of Anatolian languages survived. However, the level of difficulty depends on the nature of the available sources, and on their number. As in the case of the *extinction* of Luwian in the Syro-Anatolian regions, one should always remember that the apparent lack of polities that used a given language as their official medium of monumental communication or administration does not imply that the language was indeed dead: some official languages do not coincide with the language spoken by the population.

That said, there are indeed a few regions where Anatolian languages would emerge after the Hellenization of Asia Minor. All data seem to come from a rather small portion of southern Asia Minor, roughly coinciding with the northwestern portions of former Lycia (or, more precisely, Milya). In the region of Pamphylia, on the coast, traces of contamination of a Luwic language emerge in the local variety of Greek, which is attested in a number of inscriptions dating to a period between the 5th and second centuries BCE.[106] Furthermore, in the Pamphylian city of Side, a local Luwic language is also attested in epigraphic materials from the third and second centuries BCE.[107] Finally, in the second century CE, epigraphs from Pisidia (inland to the northwest of Pamphylia), record a distinct Luwic language, Pisidian,[108] which is, to date, the latest surviving member of the Anatolian branch of Indo-European. Given their late geo-historical context and relative isolation when compared to other Luwic materials of the Iron Age, a full chapter of this book will be dedicated to discussing these languages.

5 Concluding Remarks

The dissolution of the Late Bronze Age power system and the subsequent reorientation of interregional contacts across the Mediterranean Sea brought about new cultural frontiers, nesting upon novel political networks. On one hand, we have seen that the consequences of the collapse of the Hittite Empire did not homogeneously affect its former territories. Regions straddling the eastern

106 See Chapter 16 for further details on the corpus and its features.
107 See Chapter 16 for further details.
108 See Chapter 16 for further details.

Taurus, from Malatya to Aleppo, saw the continuation of Hittite-style monumental traditions and the use of Hieroglyphic Luwian script and language in display inscriptions in the frame of a general resilience in social organization. Also central Anatolia, the former core of the Hittite Empire, saw isolated instances of social resilience or rapid re-organization in the early post-Hittite period, but local Hittite-style traditions reappeared only much later, by the 8th century BCE—with the dubious early exception of Hartapu (I)'s inscriptions.

At least in part, we can perhaps ascribe to these differential developments the processes of cultural frontier formation that would become apparent in the full Iron Age, on the foreground of the general continuum represented by the Syro-Anatolian complex. As we have seen in the first volume of this project, throughout the Bronze Age the Taurus mountains formed a permeable barrier that channeled contacts affecting various spheres of social interaction, with a strong impact on linguistic scenarios. By contrast, during the Iron Age cross-Tauric exchange decreased and trajectories reoriented in other directions. Cilicia, Syria and the northern Levant so became more attracted in a Mediterranean network, while central Anatolia formed a network of its own having its poles in Tabal and Phrygia with the episodic participation of Urartu. The only arguable link between Anatolia and the Syro-Mesopotamian area, if any, is represented by Malatya, that throughout the post-Hittite period down to the Assyrian conquest entertained political and cultural relationships with regions both north and south of the Taurus. A clear linguistic proxy of this Taurus frontier is offered by the distribution of West Semitic languages, that did not find their way in central Anatolia until the Achaemenid period, with the sole exception of the Phoenician inscription of İVRİZ 2.[109]

From a linguistic perspective, a second frontier may be identified on the Amanus mountains, that formed an interface between Luwo-Phoenician (Cilicia) and Luwo-Aramaic (Sam'al and the northern Levant) milieus. This frontier, however, had less bearings on political or other types of interaction, as shown for example by the strong involvement of Hiyawa/Que into wars and coalitions with Syro-Levantine polities.

109 Dinçol 1994.