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*La famille dans le  
Proche-Orient ancien:  
réalités, symbolismes, et images*

Proceedings of the 55th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale  
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*edited by*  
LIONEL MARTI

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## *Astuwatamanzas 0 and the Family of Suhis in Karkemiš*

Frederico GIUSFREDI

### **1. Introduction**

It is a commonly known fact that, after the fall or abandonment<sup>1</sup> of the capital city Hattuša and the end of the so-called Hittite Empire (a historical entity that actually lasted no more than a few generations of sovereigns<sup>2</sup>), a cluster of Anatolian states and cultures survived and left us Hieroglyphic Luwian documentation (by which I mean Luwian texts written with Anatolian Hieroglyphs<sup>3</sup>) from the end of the Dark Age (12th–11th century B.C.E.) until the end of the 8th century B.C.E.

The so-called Neo-Hittite area was a large interregional one (see Table 1), that included, to the north, central and southern Anatolia (the so called Tabal, a word on which origin and meaning we still need to reflect<sup>4</sup>, and Cilicia<sup>5</sup>), to the south the Upper Euphrates region (Karkemiš, Tell Ahmar) and central Syria (with the kingdom of Hamath). The population, at least in Syria, was composed of a mixture of Luwian and Aramaean elements, but the official documentation (with the notable exception of Zincirli/Sa'mal) is written in Luwian.

In all there are nine political areas, assuming we consider Tabal as a whole, (which in my opinion would be incorrect<sup>6</sup>), and we do not consider Sa'mal as it only produced Aramaic documentation. Both the origin and the structure of these small states, or rather “political areas”, remain obscure. The modern scholars have produced theories that oscillate between paradigms of “innovation” (the Luwian states as “new formations”, analogous to the origin of the Semitic secondary states

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1. For the recent hypothesis concerning an abandonment of the Hittite capital city at the end of the 13th century B.C.E. see now J. Seeher, 2001: 623–634.

2. According to C. Mora and M. Giorgieri (1996: 64f.) the critical situation of Hatti during the reign of Suppiluliuma II is testified by the instruction text CTH 256 (ABoT 56).

3. Accepting, at least in part, the proposal by I. Yakubovich (2008), I prefer speaking of Anatolian Hieroglyphs, rather than Luwian Hieroglyphs.

4. The name Tabal is never attested in the Luwian sources, and it only appears in the Neo-Assyrian texts. It seems, since the time of Sargon II, to be interchangeable with the name Bit Burutaš. It was not a unitary kingdom, but rather a set of different states, which were twenty at the time of the Anatolian campaigns of Salmanassar III (RIMA 3 A.0.102.40; cfr. S. Aro (1998): 80 and D. Hawkins, (2000): 41). For the last decades of the 8th century it is possible to discern two major centers, namely the area of Kululu in central Anatolia and the area of Niğde to the South. The former was ruled by the dynasty of King Wasusarmas, the latter by the family of King Warpalawas. Both macro-areas were politically influenced by the Assyrian Kingdom.

5. The most significant and best known political formation of Cilicia, which included the important city of Karatepe, was *Hiawa* (Que in the Assyrian sources).

6. See above, footnote 4.



Fig. 1. Map of the Neo-Hittite Area.

of Aram, Phoenicia, Israel<sup>7</sup>) and paradigms of “conservation” (the Luwian states as what remains of the southern areas of the former Hittite Kingdom). As in almost every historical study, the periodization is, at least for the beginning of the phenomenon, quite blurry; nevertheless I will try and focus on some peculiar characteristics of the early Neo-Hittite history in order to try and discuss some aspects of the early chronology of the dynasties of rulers in one of the most important Luwian city states, Karkemiş, during the 10th century B.C.E.

## 2. *The Early Inscriptions from Karkemiş*

While in the case of Aleppo and Tell Ahmar new sources concerning the transitional phase of the 11th–10th centuries B.C.E. were found after the publication of the Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions by J. D. Hawkins (2000), no new evidence regarding Karkemiş came to light. Therefore, I am going to reconsider the same sources that were studied in the last decades, leading to a reconstruction of historical events that I will try to critically reexamine.

Since the 1990s Hawkins (1995a, 2000: 73–79) has published studies concerning the passage from the Dark Age to the Iron Age in the city of Karkemiş; he has focused both on the general historical trends and on the sources about specific events and, basing on the rather limited number of data we possess, he produced a model that, although coherent, requires revisiting.

The 10th century texts from Karkemiş are inscribed on stone (mostly basalt) stele and orthostats found *in situ* during the campaigns intensively conducted dur-

7. See A.H. Joffe, 2003: 432–446.



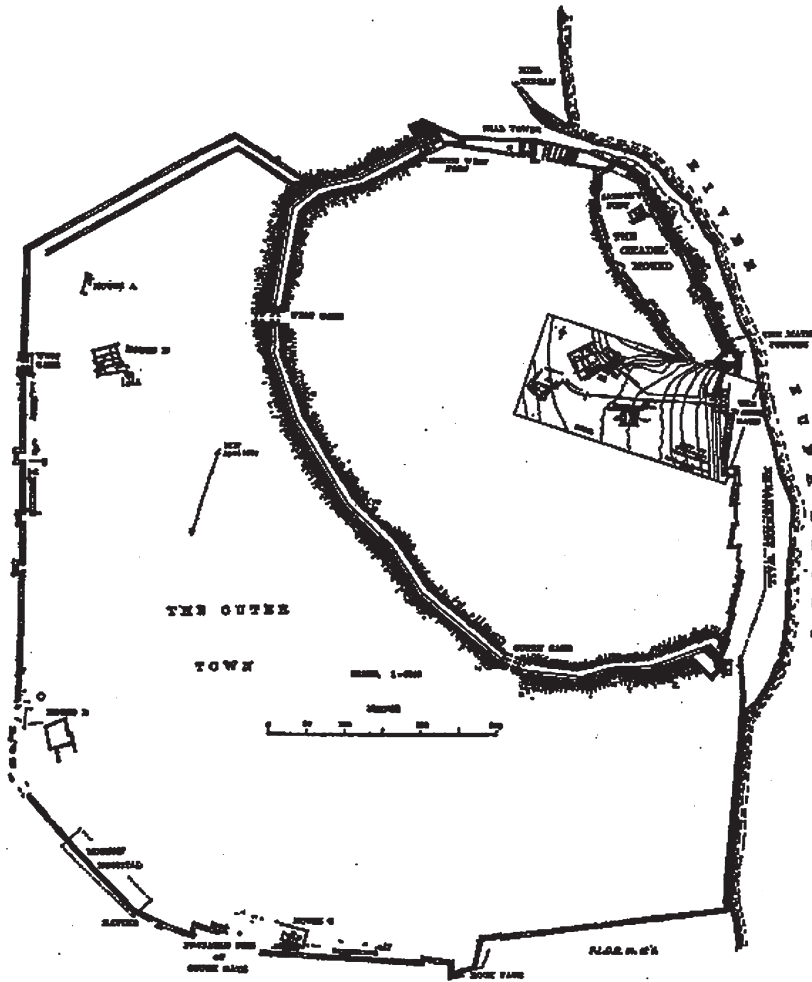


Fig. 2. The City of Karkemiš (from *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, s.v. Karkamiš).

ing the 1910s and the 1920s by Woolley (1921, 1956) and Hogarth (1914). The excavation of the Neo-Hittite levels of Karkemiš was limited to the southern area of the Inner Town, and the Hieroglyphic inscriptions were located in the proximity of the city gates or by the few structures that are archaeologically preserved (for a map of the city see fig. 2). In many cases the inscriptions were functionally connected to reliefs or other artworks (the inscription KARKEMIŠ A4D, the content of which is not really interesting for our purpose, was for instance carved on the base of a statue), that were first studied and dated by E. Akurgal (1969) and W. Orthmann (1971)<sup>8</sup>.

Disregarding some minor details, there is no significant disagreement between the archaeological, the iconographical and the philological dates of the pieces I am going to discuss: while in the case of the archaic group of inscriptions from Malatya

8. Further important studies in Neo-Hittite archaeology and iconography were carried out by H. Genze (1979) and S. Mazzoni (1977; 1981). More recent discussions and further developments can be found in D. Bonatz (2000, on funerary monuments), H. Bunnens (2006: 109–135, on the iconography of the Storm God), K. Kohlmerer (2000, on the Storm God Temple in Aleppo) Mazzoni (1997; 2005, on the representation of military triumph), M.N. Van Loon (1990).

(DARENDE, GÜRÜN, İSPEKÇÜR, KÖTÜKALE) a debate took place<sup>9</sup>, even the last studies in Neo-Hittite iconography look at the orthostats and stele of the two dynasties I am going to analyze in this paper as surely archaic. Specific disagreements may occur when discussing exact decades, or while attempting connections to artworks from neighboring areas, but no doubt exists that all the texts I will discuss below were composed between the end of the 11th and the end of the 10th century B.C.E.

### 3. *The Early Dynasty of the Great Kings*

Among the inscriptions of the early dynasties of the Syrian city, the stele KARKEMIŞ A4B was for a long time considered to be the oldest document available. The inscription, first photographically published by Hogarth (1914: 27f.) and edited by P. Meriggi (1975: 325ff.), and now offered by Hawkins (2000: 80f.) as well, briefly narrates some events that took place during the reign of a ruler named Ura-Tarhunzas and entitled Great King.

KARKEMIŞ A4B (Hawkins, 2000 no. II.1)

(1) MAGNUS.REX <sup>1</sup>MAGNUS.TONITRUS MAGNUS.REX HEROS *ka+ra/i-ka-mi-sà*(REGIO) REX

(2) *x-pa-VIR-ti-sa* MAGNUS.REX HEROS (INFANS)*ni-mu-za wa/i-tu-tá-'*

(3) CORNU+*RA/I-ti*(REGIO) | LIS *ARHA* SPHINX *wa/i-tá-'*

(4) | EXERCITUS-X | FRONS-*ti* | PONERE <sup>1</sup>MAGNUS.TONITRUS REX FORTIS (DEUS)TONITRUS (DEUS)*ku+AVIS*

(5) | FORTIS \*273 DARE *wa/i* | (FORTIS)*mu-[wa/i-]ta-* (6) *'la/i<sup>2</sup>-ti'*

(6) | [*\*273-ti'*] | LIS-*na ARHA* DELERE-*wa/i-ta* | *wa/i-tá-' za*

(7) STELE AVIS-*nu(-)\*466* | PONERE *su-hi-sa*

(8) [*. . . ?*] | IUDEX-*ni* | (INFANS)*ni-mu-za* | (DEUS)*ku+AVIS \*355-sa*.

(1) <Great King> Ura-Tarhunzas the Great King, the Hero, the king of the land of Karkemiš, (2) son of the Great King and Hero X-pazitis. (3) Against him from the land Sura(?) a dispute(?) came forth, (4) and a (enemy) sent the troops against him. The mighty Storm-God and Kubaba (5) gave the king Ura-Tarhunzas a mighty(?) courage(?) and by his [mighty(?)] courage(?) (6) he made the dispute(?) disappear. (7–8) This stele Arnu-X has erected, the priest of Kubaba, son of the *tarwanis* Suhis.

The text is not easy to interpret: first of all, the protagonist of the events is Ura-Tarhunzas the Great King, son of X-pazitis (*X-pa-VIR-ti-sa*), who on the other hand is not the person who had the stele composed. From lines 7 and 8, in fact, we learn that the monumental text was commissioned (or perhaps directly carved) by Arnu-x, *AVIS-nu(-)\*466*, who is not explicitly said to be related to the Great King or to his family. As a matter of fact, we only learn that Arnu-x was a priest (*\*355-sa*) of Kubaba (tutelary deity of Karkemiš) and that he was the son of a Suhis, who bears the title of *tarwanis* (IUDEX-*ni*).

Were our documentation limited to this very inscription, there would be no doubt that the priest and the *tarwanis* had to be members of the court of the Great King (Suhis could even have lived at the time of the father of the sovereign, X-pazitis, for all we know), and it would be impossible to determine the chronological relationship between the four figures mentioned by the text.

9. Exhaustive discussions on the stylistic and palaeographic dating of the Malatya inscribed reliefs can be found in Hawkins (2000: 287f.) and P. Poli (2008).

Fortunately, a small group of three fragmentary archaic inscriptions, also happens to mention other members of the dynasty of the Great Kings of Karkemiš.

KARKEMIŠ A16C (Hawkins, 2000 no. II.2)

(1) MAGNUS.REX MONS-*t*[*u*?] MAGNUS.REX HEROS *kar*-[*ka-mi*-]*sà* 'REGIO' REGIO.REX [. . .

(1) Great King Tudhaliyas Great King Hero of the land of Karkemiš (2) King of the land [. . .

KARKEMIŠ FRAGMENT A/B (Hawkins, 2000 no. II.74)

(1) [MAGNUS?R]EX MONS-*tu* [MA]GNUS.REX IUDEX? . . .

(2) [. . .*kar-ka-mi-s*]*à* REGIO REX <sup>1</sup>*pi-ia-si*-<sup>1</sup>*li*' [. . .

(1) [Great Kin]g Tudhaliyas [Gr]eat King Labarna? . . . (2) of the land of Karkemiš, Piyassilis[*s*'s descendent?]

The state of preservation of these first two inscriptions is extremely poor. Nevertheless, the name of a ruler Tudhaliyas (MONS-*tu*) entitled Great King (and Labarna) of Karkemiš is quite clearly readable in both texts. As correctly observed by Hawkins (2000: 590) the shape of the IUDEX? sign attested in KARKEMIŠ FRAGMENT A/B, line 1, represents a transitional phase between the logogram \*277, employed during the Bronze Age to write the title Labarna, and \*371, the Iron Age determinative/logogram associated with the title *tarwanis*. In my opinion, this palaeographic observation makes an early date extremely likely.

As I noted before, a third text exists, which mentions a member of the family of the Great Kings. Actually, it is not completely correct to make such a statement, since the title MAGNUS.REX is not attested in the inscription. Nevertheless, the KELEKLI stele base was traditionally attributed to this very dynasty, and specifically to the same Tudhaliyas mentioned by the two fragments I discussed above.

KELEKLI (Hawkins, 2000 no. II.8)

(1) EGO-*mi-i* <sup>1</sup>*su-hi-sa*-<sup>1</sup> IUDEX[. . . *kar-ka*-]*mi*<sup>2</sup>-*si-sa*(URBS) REGIO. DOMINUS-*ia-i*<sub>x</sub>-*sa*

(2) <sup>1</sup>*á-sa-tu-wa/i-ta*<sub>4</sub>-*ma-za*-[. . . . .]-*i*<sub>x</sub>-*sa wa/i-ti*-<sup>1</sup>*ku-ma* ||-*na*

(3) (MONS)T<sup>U</sup>-*sa*-<sup>1</sup>REX<sup>1</sup>-*ti-sa* [x x x x -]<sup>1</sup>*na*?<sup>1</sup> | *á-mi-na* BONUS-*mi-na* FILIA-*tara/i-na* | CAPERE-*i*?

(4) |*m*[*u*]-*pa*-[*wa/i*

(1) I (am) Suhis the *tarwanis* [. . . Karka]misean Country-Lord, (2) Astuwatamanzas's [. . .so]n. And when (3) 'King' [x-x-x-x] Tudhaliyas will take my daughter (in marriage) for himself, (4) me [. . .

Exploring the sources about the 10th century dynasty of the Great Kings of Karkemiš, for the second time we stumble across the name a figure (in both cases called Suhis) who apparently is not related to the family of the Great Kings; moreover, both Suhis's bear the title *tarwanis*: quite a problematic word, the meaning of which is still unclear. Nevertheless, I want to observe that, if the content of KARKEMIŠ A4B was entirely dedicated to the *res gestae* of the sovereign Ura-Tarhunzas, the case of KELEKLI seems to be different. In fact, the text is composed by Suhis in order to celebrate his own person (which is proven by the genealogical section at lines 1 and 2), and the *tarwanis* must have reached a prominent social position, since Tudhaliyas wishes to marry his very daughter.

Actually, the family of the *tarwanis*'s of Karkemiš is quite well known, since its four members left a large number of inscriptions. Before trying to explain the reason why the KELEKLĪ text is not dedicated to the king, but rather to the *tarwanis*, I will need to introduce the members of the family of Suhis, as they appear in the Karkamisean Hieroglyphic sources.

#### 4. *The Family of Suhis the tarwanis*

The first known member of the family of the *tarwanis*'s of Karkemiš is apparently the Suhis mentioned in the above presented stele A4b. Although he bears the title *tarwanis*, which in all the further Neo-Hittite texts will be borne only by rulers<sup>10</sup>, he evidently lived either during the reign of Ura-Tarhunzas (if he was alive during the composition of the stele) or perhaps during the reign of his father X-pazitis (assuming that he was already dead at the time A4B was composed and his name was only mentioned as a patronymic by Arnu-x). We do not know what his role was within the administration or government of the city, as there are no sources providing useful data, but we do know something more about the other members of his own family.

Regarding for instance Astuwatamanzas<sup>11</sup>, mentioned by the Suhis of KELEKLĪ as his own father, it is interesting to observe that the name coincides with the one borne by the person celebrated in the following text, which is carved on a fragment of a monumental lion that was found by the Great Staircase (see Table 2)<sup>12</sup>.

KARKEMIŠ A14B 1–3 (Hawkins, 2000 no. II.4)

(1) [E]GO-*mi á-sa-tú-[wa/i-ta<sub>4</sub>]-ma-[za]-sa* [. . .?]

(2) [*k*]ar-ka-mi-sà-zi+a-sa(REGIO) | REGIO.DOMINUS-i+a-sa <sup>1</sup>*su-hi-si* | IUDEX-ní-sa

(3) | INFANS-ní-mu-wa/i-zi+a-sa (sequitur)

(1) I (am) Astuwatamanzas [. . .] (2–3) the Karkamisean Country Lord, the son of the *tarwanis* Suhis. . .

I omit the rest of the text, since it is not particularly useful for my purpose, but it is worth mentioning that Astuwatamanzas will claim to have constructed the City Gates, possibly the so-called Water Gates, next to which the Lion was found. The inscription is almost complete, and no mention of a Great King is ever made: in KARKEMIŠ A14B, for the first time, a member of the family of Suhis behaves as the ruler of the city. Moreover, it is extremely interesting to note that, in this text, Astuwatamanzas bears the title of Country Lord (REGIO.DOMINUS). Such a title, derived from the Cuneiform EN.KUR<sup>11</sup>, but already employed as royal title by the rulers of Malatya in the 11th century B.C.E.<sup>13</sup>, would later be borne by his successors as well.

10. For details on the discovery, see Hawkins, 2000: 82f.

11. It has been proposed that the correct reading of the name may be *Astuwalamanza* (“may there be a name”). The reading with *-l-* is based on the hypothesis of a lateral value of the signs \*319 and \*172, formerly read *ta<sub>4</sub>* and *ta<sub>5</sub>* (Rieken–Yakubovich, forthcoming). Since the scientific community has not critically discussed such a proposal, for the time being I prefer to maintain the traditional transcription.

12. A second lion also exists, supporting the very fragmentary text A14a (Hawkins, 2000 no. II.4) by a Suhis, probably the son of Astuwatamanzas.

13. Hawkins, 1995: 73–76; Id. 2000: 286ff.

Proceeding in chronological sequence, we also know the name of the son of Astuwatamanzas. He is called Suhis (henceforth Suhis II). He built monuments, led military campaigns against cities such as Alatahana and Hazauna (KARKEMIŠ A1A 1, Hawkins, 2000 no. II.6) and had several inscriptions erected, but the only text that clearly establishes his genealogy was composed by his own son, the fourth and last known member of the family of the *tarwanis*'s, Katuwas.

KARKEMIŠ A11B 1–2 (Hawkins, 2000 no. II.11+12)

(1) EGO-*wa/i-mi* <sup>1</sup>*ka-tú-wa/i-sa* “IUDEX”-*ni-i-sa* DEUS-*ni-ti-i* (LITUUS)*á-za-mi-i-sa* *kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa*(URBS) | REGIO-*ni* DOMINUS-*sa* <sup>1</sup>*su-hi-si* | REGIO-*ni* DOMINUS-*ia-i-sa* | (INFANS)*ni-za-sa* <sup>1</sup>*a-sa-tú-wa/i-ta<sub>5</sub>-ma-za-si* REGIO-*ni* DOMINUS-*i-sa* | INFANS.NEPOS-*si-i-sa* *a-wa/i za-a-sa* URBS+MI-*ni-i-sa mi-sa-’* | *tá-tà-li-sa* AVUS-*ha-tà-li-sa*

(2) <sup>1</sup>\*447-*nu-wa/i-ia-si sa-tá-’ wa/i-sa-’* VACUUS-*ti-i-sa* | ARHA “LONGUS” *ia+ra/i-ia-ta wa/i-na-’* <sup>1</sup>MAGNUS+*ra/i* TONITRUS-*tá-sa-za* | INFANS.NEPOS-*sa-za* CUM-*ní* | (LOCUS)*pi-ta-ha-li-ia-ha* (sequitur)

(1) I (am) Katuwas the *tarwanis*, loved by the gods, the Karkamisean Country Lord, son of the Country Lord Suhis, grandson of the Country Lord Astuwatamanzas. The town of my father and grand father

(2) was Ninuwis’s. But he extended(?) an empty (hand)<sup>14</sup>. I exiled(?) him together with the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunzas. . .

The first line of this inscribed orthostat evidently lists the ancestors of Katuwas up to his own grandfather, Astuwatamanzas, therefore the following relative chronology can be easily assumed:

Astuwatamanzas → Suhis (II) → Katuwas

This is not the only information provided by the portion of text I just presented. In fact, we also learn that the fourth member of the family of the *tarwanis*'s fought a civil war against a rebel party that he calls the “grandsons of Ura-Tarhunzas”, where the word INFANS.NEPOS-*sa-za* could mean either “grandsons” or simply “descendants”. The leader of the rebel party is a figure named Ninuwis, and if the tentative interpretation that Hawkins (2000: 104f.) gives of the verb (LOCUS)*pi-ta-ha-li-ia-* is correct, we also learn that the rebels were forced to leave the city.

A reference to an episode of civil war, possibly the same, is made by Katuwas in a short clause contained in a second long text of his own.

KARKEMIŠ A11a 2 (Hawkins, 2000 no. II.9)

(2) . . .*mi-zi-pa-wa/i-mu-ta-’* | 20-*tá-ti-zi* ARHA CRUS+*ra/i* (sequitur)

(2) . . .and my kinsmen revolted against me. . .

The meaning of the word 20-*tá-ti-*, attested here in nominative plural, is “kinsman”: its occurrence in the inscription TELL AHMAR 1, §11 (Hawkins, 2000: 239ff.) clears any possible doubts. Therefore, if we assume with Hawkins (1995: 83) that the in-

14. Or perhaps “they extended (themselves) in vain”, since the direct object “hand” is unexpressed and the transitive verb (“LONGUS”) *ia+ra/i-ia-ta* could hardly have for subject a clitic pronoun. I therefore prefer to think that the verb was intransitive. A different solution in order to have Watkins’s law respected was proposed by H.C. Melchert (pers. comm. *apud* Hawkins, 2000: 104f.): according to him, the subject of the sentence would be the city of Karkemiš itself, and the translation of the sentence would be “it (the city) spread out desolate”.

scriptions A11B+C and A11A refer to the same episode of civil war, we have to conclude that the members of the rebel party Katuwas defeated and exiled not only descended from Ura-Tarhunzas, but were also related to the *tarwanis* himself.

### 5. *General Interpretation*

The most evident information that we receive from the above-cited texts consists of the fact that the relationships between the family of Ura-Tarhunzas and the family of Suhis, which were at least formally good at the time when the stele KARKEMIŠ A4b was composed, degenerated over the following decades until an open conflict exploded at the time of the *tarwanis* Katuwas, who expressly states that he fought and defeated the last members of the rival party.

Even if the exact meaning and etymology of the word *tarwanis* is still unclear<sup>15</sup>, all its occurrences, with the sole exception of KARKEMIŠ A4b, refer to sovereigns and rulers. If we consider the fact that the other title borne by the descendents of Suhis, Country Lord, had also become a royal title during the Dark Ages, we necessarily come to the conclusion that during the 10th century B.C.E. the dynasty of the Great Kings of Karkemiš lost their power to the emerging family of the *tarwanis*'s.

Such a scenario is consistent with the data we possess regarding the activity of Astuwatamanzas and Suhis II as military leaders and builders of public spaces, and it would explain the open conflict between Katuwas and the “descendents/grandsons of Ura-Tarhunzas”; nevertheless, the construction of a precise chronology of the events poses some serious historical problems.

### 6. *The Traditional Chronology*

Hawkins (1995) proposed stringing together all the above-listed pieces of information by making the following preliminary assumptions regarding the KELEKLI text: first, the therein-mentioned Tudhaliyas and the Tudhaliyas whose name appears in the fragments A16C and A/B were the same person; second, the Suhis, whose daughter is supposed to marry Tudhaliyas, was Suhis II. Hawkins also assumed that the reason why the descendents of Ura-Tarhunzas appear to be related to Katuwas is that, according to the British scholar, the family of the *tarwanis*'s and Country Lords was originally related to the family of Kuzi-Teššup, the son of Talmi-Teššup who ruled over the large kingdom of Karkemiš at the end of the Bronze Age, as the aforementioned Country Lords of Malatya apparently were (Hawkins, 1995: 83)<sup>16</sup>.

Given these premises, the British scholar provided the reconstruction in Table 1.

Such a chronology is perfectly consistent with the data about the internal succession of rulers that we can deduce from the sources. Nonetheless, in my opinion some problems remain. In order to understanding these problems and try to solve them, I will now summarize the data we find in the inscriptions I discussed above.

1. KARKEMIŠ A4b: the text is composed by a priest, son of the *tarwanis* Suhis, and it celebrates the MAGNUS.REX Ura-Tarhunzas, son of X-pazitis.
2. KARKEMIŠ A14a (and A14b): the texts have been composed by the Country Lord Astuwatamanzas and by a Suhis, also entitled Country Lord and

15. For a state-of-the-art discussion see Giusfredi, 2009.

16. Therefore, assuming that the dynasty of the 10th century Great Kings probably descended from the Bronze Age monarchs Talmi-Teššup and Kuzi-Teššup as well, the appellative *20-tati<sup>ni</sup>zi*, “kinsmen”, used by Katuwas in A11a, could easily refer to the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunzas mentioned in A11b+c.

Table 1

<i>Great King</i>	<i>The Sources</i>	<i>The Tarwanis</i>
X-pazitis (?)	KARKEMIŠ A4B	Suhis I
Ura-Tarhunzas	KARKEMIŠ A4B, A14A, A14B	Astuwatamanzas
Tudhaliyas	A16C, KELEKLI, KARKEMIŠ A/B	Suhis II
Grandsons of Ura-Tarhunzas (= kinsmen of Katuwas)	KARKEMIŠ A11A, A11B+C	Katuwas

son of Astuwatamanzas. They represent the dedicative inscriptions of two monumental lions.

3. KELEKLI: a Suhis, entitled Country Lord and *tarwanis*, son of Astuwatamanzas the Country Lord, foresees a marriage between his own daughter and a Tudhaliyas, who bears the title King.
4. KARKEMIŠ A16c and Fragm. a/b: a Tudhaliyas, MAGNUS.REX and *Labarna(?)* is mentioned. He is said to be a descendent of Piyassilis, probably the son of Suppiluliuma I and the first Hittite king of Karkemiš.
5. KARKEMIŠ A1a, A1b etc.: inscriptions by a Suhis, entitled Country Lord. The text A1b describes military campaigns.
6. KARKEMIŠ A11a, A11b+c, etc.: inscriptions of the *tarwanis* and Country Lord Katuwas, son of a Suhis. An episode of civil war involving the “grandsons of Ura-Tarhunzas” is mentioned.

As we can see, the reconstruction proposed by Hawkins implies that the family of the Great Kings of Karkemiš survived and maintained at least nominal power until and during the rule of Suhis II; Katuwas, the last known member of the family of Suhis, would be the only one who, having defeated the party of the Great King (Ninuwis and the “grandsons of Ura-Tarhunzas”), could rule over the city without contestants. Still, as evident from the sources, Astuwatamanzas and Suhis II were already active as rulers of Karkemiš, as they constructed public buildings (for instance the City Gates) and as at least Suhis personally led military expeditions.

The idea of the coexistence of two different political figures at the very same time, a Great King who had nominal power and a ruler who actually governed the city, is fascinating, and several historical parallels surely exist<sup>17</sup>. Nevertheless, it would be hard to explain why in none of the texts by Astuwatamanzas and Suhis II the name of a Great King appears, while the genealogical section is always dedicated to the family of Suhis. In other words, how could two dynasties co-exist in the very same city? And assuming one of them had the “real” power but not nominal authority, how could its members systematically neglect to mention the Great Kings in their own texts?

### 7. Is a Different Reconstruction Possible?

Evidently, the date of the KELEKLI inscription is the core problem of any hypothetical reconstruction of the events. If the attribution to Suhis II (Hawkins, 1995:

17. A good comparative example is represented by the Tokugawa shogunate in Japan, where the emperor kept holding nominal power in Edo while the shogun actually ruled over the country.

83) were questioned, it would be necessary to re-locate two distinct figures: Astuwatamanzas and Tudhaliyas. The reason why a relatively late date (second half of the 10th century) has been proposed for this inscription is fundamentally the following: at the lines 1 and 2 a fragmentary genealogy is reported, stating that the father of Suhis (and therefore the grandfather of the future bride of Tudhaliyas) was named Astuwatamanzas. From the other sources we learn that a man bearing this very name was the son of Suhis I, brother of Arnu-X and father of Suhis II. As long as no contrary evidence exists, it is natural to perform a full identification of all the KELEKLI names with figures that are already known.

Nevertheless, it is evident that the existence of two (or even more) members of a same family who were all named Suhis and whose fathers were named Astuwatamanzas is not incredible at all: for a prince or a noble person having the same name as his own grandfather is actually quite normal. Parallels exist in all human ages. Let us think for instance to the Country Lords of Malatya (there are two Arnuwantis whose fathers are two different figures, both named PUGNUS-mili), to the Seleucid dynasty (there are three different Antiochus, namely Anthiocus I, Anthiocus III and Anthiocus IV, who are sons of two different Seleucus), or even to the Carolingians (the first four kings of the Holy Roman Empire were Charles I, Ludwig I, Charles II and Ludwig II). This consideration is extremely relevant since, in our case, we have no idea what the name of the father of Suhis I was: in fact, the only text that, according to Hawkins, mentions Suhis I is KARKEMİŞ A4B, and it does not contain such information.

### 8. *Astuwatamanzas 0 and Tudhaliyas REX*

Considering the aforementioned points, an alternative scenario is actually possible. If we assign the KELEKLI text to Suhis I, instead of Suhis II, we are able to backdate the foreseen inter-dynastic marriage between a woman of the *tarwanis* family and King Tudhaliyas to the first half of the 10th century, one generation before the time of the Astuwatamanzas mentioned in the lion inscription and two generations before the military campaigns described by Suhis II in his own texts. The meaning of an inter-dynastic marriage in such a high phase would in my opinion be evident: the importance of the family of the *tarwanis* was growing while the power of the Great Kings was declining, therefore the latter party, seeking political stability, tried to merge with the former. We do not know for sure if the marriage ever took place, but since the descendants of Ura-Tarhunzas who, led by Ninuwis, revolted against Katuwas are said to be “kinsmen” of the fourth *tarwanis*, I am positive it did.

The first direct consequence of the backdating of the KELEKLI text is that the Astuwatamanzas whose name appears at the second line cannot be identified with the homonym figure we know from the lion A14B, but rather with his grandfather: henceforth I will refer to the first Astuwatamanzas as “Astuwatamanzas 0”, in order to distinguish him from his own grandson. As I already showed, there is no reason to think that the repetition of the same name is unlikely.

The second and more problematic consequence is that we already know the name of a Great King who ruled at the time Suhis I was alive: how could Tudhaliyas and Ura-Tarhunzas be contemporary?

If we assumed that at the time KELEKLI was inscribed Tudhaliyas was actually the ruling Great King, it would be difficult to explain the contemporaneity of him



and Ura-Tarhunzas. On other hand, in the KELEKLI text the title MAGNUS.REX does not occur: the stele only reports a title REX-*ti-sa*, that could be either nominative singular or genitive singular<sup>18</sup>, followed by a series of unreadable signs. Therefore, either Tudhaliyas was simply entitled “king”, differently from the other members of his family, or, if one wanted to integrate the lacuna with the typical Bronze Age title for princes REX(-*tis*) INFANS, he could have been entitled “son of the King”: in both cases, his title appears “weaker” than the title of Ura-Tarhunzas, which may reflect a situation in which Tudhaliyas had not ascended to the throne, yet, or perhaps simply a hard political scenario for the family of the Great Kings, whose members were now unable to exercise their traditional authority and were forced to seek a dynastic marriage with the emerging lineage of Suhis. Given this consideration, it is evident that Tudhaliyas could have been the son of Ura-Tarhunzas, who failed in succeeding his father and was unable to face the rising of the *tarwanis*’s and to preserve the traditional power he had inherited or was supposed to inherit.

### 9. Tudhaliyas REX and Tudhaliyas MAGNUS.REX

Naturally, if one assumes that the marriage between the daughter of Suhis and the heir of Ura-Tarhunzas represented the very moment of the ascent of the new family to the throne of Karkemiš, it becomes impossible to identify the KELEKLI Tudhaliyas with the Great King mentioned in KARKEMIŠ A16C and in the fragment A/B: if Astuwatamanzas and Suhis II were able to personally rule Karkemiš the situation of Tudhaliyas probably never improved, despite the marriage.

Since the two fragmentary inscriptions that mention him look extremely archaic, although no strict palaeographic criteria can be applied, I am leaning towards an earlier date than the one traditionally proposed. Tudhaliyas MAGNUS.REX was in my opinion an ancestor of Ura-Tarhunzas, who had ruled over Karkemiš during the 12th or 11th century B.C.E.<sup>19</sup>, and the presence of Piyassili’s name in one of his texts, KARKEMIŠ A/B, is probably a further strong argument for an early date.

### 10. Synopsis

I am finally ready to sketch the synopsis of an alternative chronology and to try and show the positive implications of it concerning the historical problems I discussed in the first pages of the present paper.<sup>20</sup>

18. The existence of a genitive in -s of the substantive *\*hantawati*, “king”, is demonstrated by the occurrences in the inscriptions from BULGARMADEN §1, MARAŠ 1 §13, TELL AHMAR 2 §2.

19. An even earlier date, during the Bronze Age, is theoretically also possible. In fact, considering the 14th century cuneiform passage KBo. 3, 3 iv 3ff., 6ff. (composed during the reign of Mursilis II)

*nu* LUGAL KUR URU *Kargamiš kuit Tudhaliyas Halpahhiss=a MAHAR* <sup>d</sup>UTUŠI *UL esir* [. . .]  
*mahhan* LUGAL KUR <sup>URU</sup>*Kargamiš Tudhaliyas Halpahhiss=a Tuppi-Teššupas=a MAHAR*  
<sup>d</sup>UTUŠI *uwanzi*

I want to agree with D’Alfonso (2005: 58<sup>164</sup> and references) that the distribution of conjunctions would point towards an identification of the figure named Tudhaliyas with the King of Karkemiš. Naturally, I also agree with the aforementioned author that the collocation of a Tudhaliyas on the throne of Karkemiš at that time would generate several problems within the dynastic succession we already know from several sources, and it would require adjustments and explanations. In this place I cannot discuss any further this possibility, which, remote as it is, is in my opinion at least worth of consideration.

20. The names of Was(u)tiš, spouse of Suhis II and possibly mother of Katuwas, and Anas, spouse of Katuwas, are also included within this table, although I never mentioned them because they do not play any important role in the dynastic events I am currently interested in.

As previously explained, I am assuming the existence of two different Tudhaliyas and two different Astuwatamanzas. From a formal point of view, this reconstruction respects the two fundamental data that the sources suggest:

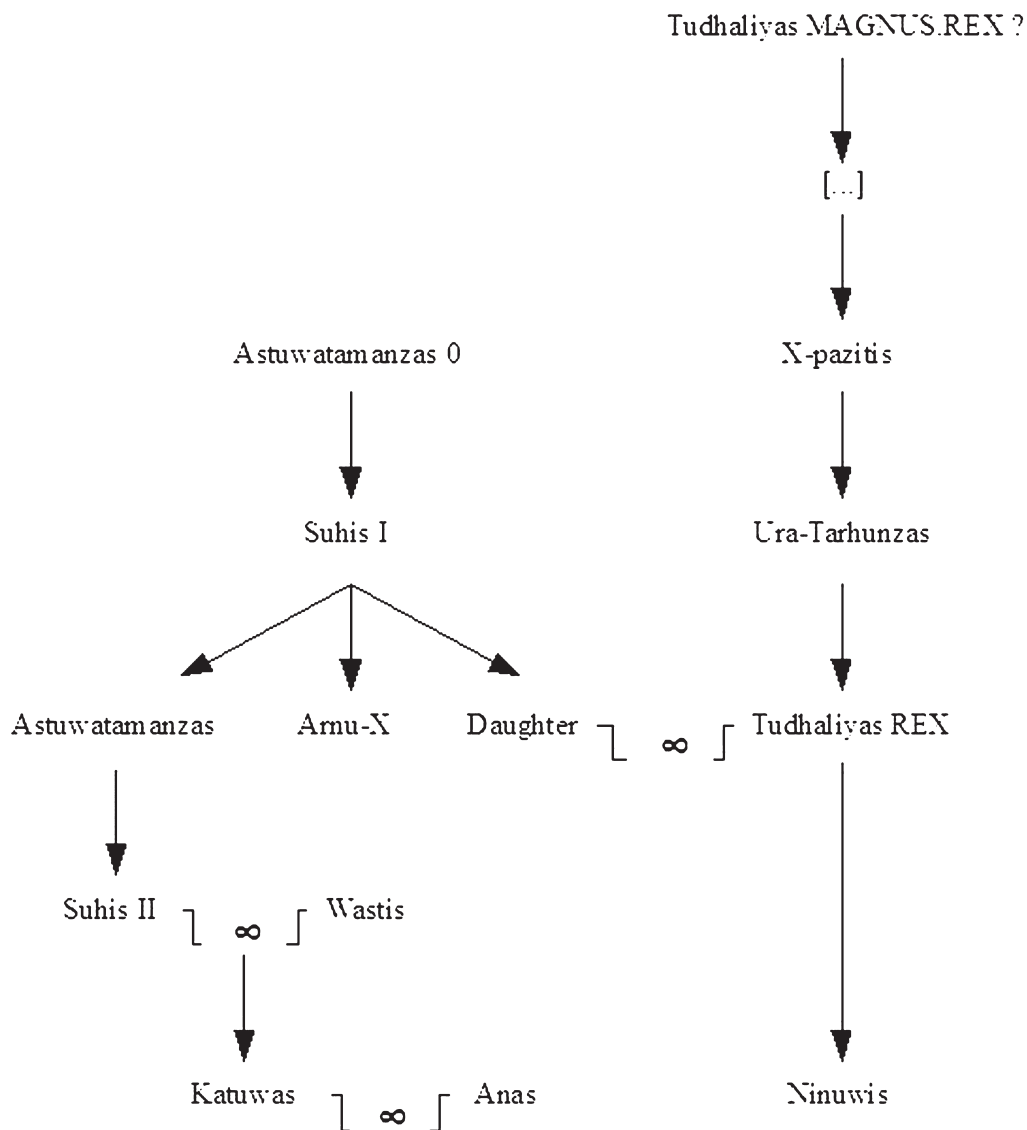
1. All evident patronymics are respected: Astuwatamanzas is son of Suhis, Suhis II is son of Astuwatamanzas;
2. The connection between the two families, derived from the marriage foreseen in KELEKLI takes place quite early, therefore Katuwas had good reasons to refer to Ninuwis and his party as his own “kinsmen”.

The biggest advantages of this chronology regard the very moment of the dynastic “turn-over” that brought the family of Suhis to the throne. By backdating the events referred to by the KELEKLI inscription to the time of Suhis I, we can shorten the long coexistence of the two families implied by Hawkins’s reconstruction. The decline of the Great Kings would have happened very soon, and it would have been quite immediate. Also, the transfer of royal power would have taken place just before (or at the very beginning of) the time of Astuwatamanzas who, as I anticipated above, is the first member of the family of Suhis who actually behaves like a ruler. Moreover, Astuwatamanzas is not only the first *tarwanis* who constructed public buildings and wrote his own inscriptions without mentioning any Great King: he is also the first one to bear the title of REGIO.DOMINUS, which represented a royal title already in the Dark Age kingdom of Malatya, and could have marked the “promotion” of the family of Suhis to the royal dignity in Karkemiš as well.

Naturally, some unclear points still exist: there is no way to positively *demonstrate* the existence of two distinct Tudhaliyas, a Dark Age Great King and an unlucky heir of Ura-Tarhunzas, and the possibility of a very early date for the first one requires further investigation. Also, the existence of another King of Karkemiš, named Huwa-Šarruma, should be mentioned. His name appears in a very fragmented and now lost fragment, KARKEMIŠ A18D: no context and no pieces of information remain that we can use in order to try and date him or his reign.

## **11. Conclusion**

I am aware that my reconstruction is not sufficient to explain all the aspects of the dynastic issues that characterized the 10th century history of Karkemiš. Nonetheless, I believe that investigating a possible model capable of shortening the alleged coexistence of two different dynasties at the same time in the very same city was a desideratum of Neo-Hittite historiography. It is naturally not impossible to accept the idea that the *tarwanis* and the Great Kings actually co-existed, and that they were invested with actual and nominal power respectively: what I wanted to demonstrate is that such a hypothesis is not the only possible one. The formal coherence of the scenario I depicted seems absolute to me, but no definitive proof can ever be found in human sciences. I hope to have contributed to the reconstruction of a very obscure phase of the history of the Ancient Near East and that further studies will keep improving our knowledge of the Iron Age Luwian world.



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