

TRIBUTE FROM TABAL

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ADD 908 (DT 214) is one of the less illuminating of the documents published by Johns in his second volume: the beginning of the lines were missing, neither the first nor the last lines of the obverse was preserved, and the connection between obverse and reverse was lost. This situation was dramatically changed in 1973 when Simo Parpola joined to it two more fragments from the DT collection (DT 219 and 256): although sadly we still lack the first lines of the tablet and the transition from obverse to reverse, the majority of the reverse can now be fully restored, and the content of the text as a whole is very much clearer. An edition will be routinely included in the volume of *State Archives of Assyria* devoted to administrative documents of this sort, but since the text is of some historical interest in its own right, and the new fragments are hitherto unpublished, Parpola has kindly agreed that we should present a copy and edition in advance of the volume. The tablet is copied and the text established by Postgate, the historical comment by Hawkins.

As the copy and photograph show, DT 214+219+256 was a single column tablet inscribed like a letter across the vertical axis, like many short administrative notes of Neo-Assyrian times. It is in a rather bold, rough and ready hand; the reddish-brown clay is rubbed on both faces, and split in places, but there are few areas which are hard to read. The following transliteration has profited from Parpola's own reading of the tablet, and has been checked at least twice against the original.

DT 214+219+256

Transliteration

Obverse

(perhaps 5 to 6 lines broken)

1' [^M] ^{ES} 2' AN[ŠE. x (x)] x
2' [] ša ^{ANSE} k[u-di(n)-n]i

- 3' [(x) x] *u-rat-a-ti* ANŠ[E.KUR.R]A^{MEŠ}
 4' [(x) x x-t]ú[?] ša ¹Tu-a[t]-ti
 5' [] x ¹Aš-hi-ti
 6' [] ¹[P]u-li-i
 7' [] ¹U]r[?]-bal-a
 8' [] LUGAL^{MEŠ}-ni
 9' [(x) x] [x x (x)] -ba/na-a-a
 10' [UR]U]Ta-bal-[l]a-a-a
 11' [ina] MU.AN.NA-šú-n[u SU]M[?]-[nu[?]]

- 12' [ma]-da-tú ša ¹x []
 13' [(x) U]RU]Šu-di(-)x []
 14' [(x) x] pu x []
 (about 2 lines broken)

Bottom Edge

(broken; if inscribed, another 2 lines broken)

Reverse

- 1 [] GÚ.U]N []
 2 [x (x) G]Ú.UN [(x)] x []
 3 [x (x)] GÚ.UN ^{NA4}GIŠ.N[U(11).GAL
 4 [x (x)] ANŠE]u-rat-a-ti AN[SE].KU[R.R]A[?]
 5 [()] ¹Tu-at-ti ¹Ha-[nu-bu[?]]-ni
 6 [()] ¹Aš-hi-tu ¹Ka-a-lu
 7 [()] ¹Pu-li-i ¹Hi-i-li
 8 [()] ¹Ú-lu[?]-an-[da[?]] ¹Ur-bal-la-a
 9 [()] ¹Pi-T[A]R-mu
 10 [(PAP)] 9 LUGAL^{MEŠ}-ni
 11 [i]na MU.AN.NA-[šú]-nu SUM-nu
 (remainder blank)

Translation

Obverse

(1') [.....] 2[?] [teams(?) (...)] of mules. (3') [x] teams of horses, [tribu]te[?] of Tuatti, [Hanubuni], Ašhiti, [Kālu], Pulī, [Hili, Uluanda[?],] Urbala'a, [PiTAR]mu - (in all 9[?]) kings of (and) of Tabal, (11) (who) have delivered in their year;

(12') Tribute of [PN of] (the city) Šudi[...] (rest of Obv. lost).

Reverse

(1) [x ta]lent(s) [of], [x] (2) talent(s) [of], (3) [x] talent(s) of

alab[aster(?)], (4) [x] teams of horses: (5) Tuatti, Hanubuni, (6) Ašhitu, Kālu, (7) Pulī, Hīli, (8) Uluanda[?], Urbala'a, (9) PiTARmu (10) - [(in all)] 9 kings (11) (who) have delivered in their year.

Notes

Obv. 1': the translation restores "[teams]" in this line on the assumption that some writing of ^{ANŠE}*urāte* was used, and is an attempt to take account of the *ša* before *kudinni* in the next line. Admittedly a corresponding *ša* is not used before the ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MES} in Obv. 3' or Rev. 4, but *urāti* is found in our texts much more commonly with *sīsē* than *kudinni*, and the use of *ša* may reflect the relative unfamiliarity of the phrase. At the end of l. 1' the traces would permit restoration of [ú-ru]-[┐]ú[┐].

2': if our understanding of l. 1' is correct, it is likely that this line was indented, and that nothing was written on the damaged beginning of the line.

3': no doubt a number has been lost in the initial break; as far as I am aware, the writing *u-rat-a-ti* is only known here and in Rev. 4. The scribe is using the regular 'pseudo-logogram' U.RAT and then adding the syllabic complement *-a-ti*, and the word should be realized as /urāti/ - not as some kind of double plural form such as **uratāti*!

4': the first word cannot be restored with confidence: one possibility, in view of l. 12', is [ma-da-t]ú, but others exist, such as [na-mur-t]ú (a suggestion of Parpola's, on which see below).

5'-8': the names are restored in the translation on the assumption that the list is repeated identically on the Rev., although there can be no certainty that there were in fact 9 kings here on the Obv., and indeed l. 7' would have been very cramped, with three names.

9': in the light of l. 10' this is presumably a gentilic from a place-name, probably Anatolian. The most probable reconstruction of ll. 8'-10' seems to be: ... PAP 9] LUGAL^{MES}-ni [^{URU}]...-a-a [^{UR}]U *Tabalāya*, and this is reflected in the translation, though obviously we cannot be sure of the [^{URU}] rather than [^{KUR}] we restore. Despite our best efforts, we are unable to provide a convincing suggestion for the toponym in this line: the first sign is most like a *m[u-*, but we cannot rule out *be-* or *nu-*, while there is even the chance that it is the lower half of a [┐]hu[┐]-. If one were looking for an Anatolian region comparable to Tabal, names like Hilakku, Hubišna and Kammanu spring to mind, but none of these are to be reconciled with the available traces. The final *-na-* or *-ba-* before *-a-a* was carefully compared with the *ba* and *na* signs in other lines, but it did not seem possible to decide between the two.

11': tribute, as the annals do not fail to remind us, was levied annually, *šattišam*. The concept of a regular annual delivery is presumably what lies behind this slightly unexpected phrase "in their year", implying, presumably, within the prescribed time limit. The translation presents ll. 1'-11' as something of an anacolouthon, but this may be misleading, since the entire passage can be constructed as a single coherent sentence:

“(so much tribute) of PN₁₋₉, kings of ... and Tabal, they have delivered”. Another interpretation - “of PN₁₋₉, in all 9 kings, the men of ... and Tabal have delivered” - seems less likely because these gentilics are absent from the corresponding passage on the Rev.

13’: ^{URU}š_u-di(- ...) is not identifiable. Šudu in the Habur region is epigraphically possible, of course, and perhaps not quite as improbable in this context as might seem at first sight (see the Commentary on the text below).

14’: epigraphically it would be feasible to read ¹]pu-l[i-i, but there is no special reason to restore a PN in this line.

Rev. 3: *gišnugallu*, generally translated “alabaster” is mentioned as an item of tribute or plunder by several Assyrian kings: Aššur-našir-apli, booty from Suru on the Habur (AKA 283, 84); Shalmaneser III, booty from Mt. Tunni (silver mountain) in the Taurus region [not Zagros, *pace AHw* p.203a], some of which may have been used for the Kurbail statue among others (see Kinnier Wilson, Iraq 24 [1962], p. 91; KAH I 30, ed. Michel, WdO 1 [1947-50] III.3-4); Sargon, from Mt. Ammanana in the same area, perhaps indeed the same place (*OIP* 2, 107 VI.54), this event also referred to in the eponym list for 700 B.C. (*RIA* 2, p. 435).

Commentary

This is a short administrative note of the Taurus region who have delivered their tribute, in horses and stone (as well as perhaps other commodities, cf. Rev. 1-2) to the Assyrians. It is divided, by sense and by the ruling, into two sections (it seems unlikely that there was a third section between l. 11’ and the beginning of the Rev., so that ll. 12’-14’ must constitute the beginning of the second section). The two sections are very similar, each listing horses and probably also the same 9 kings, and the broken parts of the text mean that it is difficult for us to see how the two sections differed from one another. Granted that the second section begins with l. 12’, the likeliest structure of this part would be:

“Tribute which [PN received] in Šudi[...]: *x* talents stone (etc.), *y* horses, PN₁-PN₉ (in all 9 kings) gave in their year”.

That the town Šudi[...] is named as the place where the tribute was received is of course a guess, but if it does belong in the same section as the Rev. it would not seem likely to be mentioned here for any other reason. Given that Šudi[...] is the place where the tribute was received, it is clearly conceivable that it was neither in central Assyria nor in the Taurus, but at some agreed midway point, and Šudu in the Habur region is therefore not an impossibility.

The simplest assumption would be that the first section of the text was similarly constructed (with the addition of the gentilics in ll. 9’-10’). If so, the question arises even more sharply, as to how the two sections differed. One solution, suggested by Parpola, is to restore [*na-mur-t*]ú in l. 4’, which implicitly sets up a division of the two sets of contributions into *nāmurtu* (“audience gifts”) and *maddattu* (“tribute”). This is cer-

tainly conceivable, but without some idea of purpose of the text and of the sources from which it was compiled, it would be rash to rule out other solutions, such as two sets of contributions separated not by class of obligation but by circumstances of time or space.

The 9 kings

The tablet gives us the names of nine kings from Tabal and another, illegible, place. Three of these names are well known in the Taurus region: Tuatti, Ašhittu and Urbala'a, and since Tuatti begins our list and Urbala'a comes near the end, it is probable that the unidentified gentile in l. 9' was also Anatolian. Let us now consider the names individually:

Tuatti. This name is attested in Tabal already in the 9th century (see below). This is the first occurrence in the late 8th century.

Hanubuni. If correctly read, a name not otherwise known.

Ašhittu. We presume this is the same name as Ušhit(t)i/u, mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III as the ruler of (A)tunu (^{KUR/URU}(A-)tu-na-a-a: cf. Tallqvist, *APN* s.v., also Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran*, p. 10 II.11). The initial *a-* could agree well with the tentative identification with hieroglyphic Askwisis (*AnSt* 29 [1979], p. 166).

Kālu. Not otherwise attested.

Pulī. There is no certain attestation of this person elsewhere, although a name written identically is found in texts from the reign of Sargon from Nimrud: *CTN* 3, No. 108 II.10, an Aramaean *rab kišri*, and ND 2803 II.32' (*Iraq* 23 [1961], p. 56) in a broken context. We may note that similar names do occur in the Taurus region: ¹*Tu-ul-li* (Shalmaneser's Black Obelisk III.133 - cf. Goetze, *JCS* 16 [1962] p. 53), Mt. *Mu-li-i* (Parpola, *NAT*, pp. 248-9); and Hullī, on whom see the next entry.

Hīli. No other attestation. There is of course the puppet king of Tabal called Hullī (see below), whose name is also encountered in ND 2691, 10 (*Iraq* 23 [1961] p. 44), but there are no solid grounds for equating the two names.

Uluanda (?). The second and fourth signs of this name are slightly uncertain. The second final vertical of the *lu*, if present, is extremely faint, and *ku* is also epigraphically possible. The last sign could epigraphically be read either *da* or *ša*: however, *da* is to be preferred because, as Parpola points out to us, "there are only 35 cases of final *-ša* in the whole [Neo-Assyrian] corpus against endless cases of *-šá* and *-da*". A name ending with *-anda* is of course readily acceptable in the Taurus region but the indigenous evidence gives no hints as to whether we should prefer *Uku-* or *Ulu-* at the beginning. In either case, the name is not attested elsewhere in the cuneiform.

Urbala'a. This is of course the famous Warpalawas (see below). His name is also written ¹*Ur-BAL-a* in the 'Midas letter' (SAA I, No. 1) where Parpola transcribes ¹*Ur-pala-a*. It is written as in Rev. 8 ¹*Ur-BAL-la-a* in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (refs. *APN* p. 242b; Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran*, p. 18 II.12), who refers to him as the king of Tuhana (not Tunnu, *pace* Tallqvist). The different writings of the name could be transcribed in Akkadian terms as /urbal'a/ or /urbala'a/. Naturally, we could also write /urpal(a)'a/, as to make the correspondence with Warpalawas closer, but this would be a purely cosmetic procedure without any serious basis in phonology. It is clear, though, that the writings *-bal-la-a* and *-bal-a* are intended to convey the existence of a final syllable introduced with some kind of a glottal stop.

Pi-TAR-mu. Cf. ¹*Pi-ša-ar-mu* (*ADD* 34 Rev.2) and]*pi-še-er-mu* (*CT* 53, 39 Rev. 1; ref. S. Parpola). All these names may well be identical, but if so, are we to read here *pi-tar-mu* (assuming an interdental written either *š* or *t*, i.e. /pita_rmu/), or *pi-šil-mu*, with an interchange of *l* and *r*?

The historical context and date

In 838 B.C. on his only Tabal campaign Shalmaneser III encountered a Tabalian king Tuatte and his son Kikki, also his capital city Artulu¹. He received submission from 20 Tabalian kings, and proceeded against Puhamme of Hubušni². A summary account mentions only the submission of 24 Tabalian kings³. This is the sole reference to Tabal in the 9th century B.C.

In c. 780 B.C., the Urartian king Argišti I in an attack on Malatya mentions the "land of the sons of Tuate"⁴, doubtless designating Tabal. The eponymous Tuatte could have been the contemporary of Shalmaneser III or a later bearer of the name (see below).

The greatest number of external references to Tabalian kings and kingdoms are found in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II, during whose reigns Assyrian power touched Tabal most strongly. Tiglath-pileser III in a list of tributary

¹) Detailed references to this and the other cuneiform and hieroglyphic sources used in this section are given in the forthcoming corpus: J.D. Hawkins, *Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions of the Iron Age* (*Studies in Indo-European Languages and Culture*, N.S. 5), Berlin, forthcoming. Brief references are also given here, and for this passage see the Nimrud statue, Laessøe, Iraq 21 (1959), pp. 153-5, frag. E, ll. 19-33.

²) The text has Hubuškaya, but since this is immediately followed by ^{URU}Hubušni, it is clear that we must emend to Hubušnaya.

³) Black Obelisk, Michel, WdO 2/II (1935), p. 154, 22d *palû*, actually 23rd regnal year; Assur statue, Michel, WdO 1/II (1947), p. 50.

⁴) König, *Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften*, No. 80, § 3 VII.16.

kings for 738 B.C.⁵ includes the following, whose ethnic designations locate them securely in Tabal:

- Uassurme the Tabalian (land)
- Ušhitti the Atunian (land)
- Urbala'a the Tuhanean (land)
- Tuhamme the Ištundian (land)
- Uirime the Hubišnean (land)

Perhaps also Dadilu the Kaskean (land) may also have belonged to Tabal.

The list is repeated, purportedly for the year 732 B.C., including the same Tabalian kings, except that the text is broken where the Hubišnean and Kaskean kings would have stood⁶. The same text proceeds directly with a report that Uassurme the Tabalian after failure to pay tribute, was removed by the *rab ša rēši* and replaced by Hullī, the son of a nobody. This event dates to c. 730 B.C.⁷

To judge from a later report of Sargon⁸, Hullī was removed to Assyria, probably by Shalmaneser V, but later reinstated by Sargon, who ensured that his son Ambaris succeeded his father and gave him his daughter in marriage. The dates of these events are not given.

During most of Sargon's reign Tabalian affairs were dominated by the conflict of Assyria with Mita of Muski (Midas of Phrygia). In 718 B.C. Sargon removed Kiakki of Šinuhtu for disloyalty and intrigue with Mita⁹. He gave Šinuhtu to Kurti of Atuna, a successor of Tiglath-pileser's contemporary Ušhitti. In 713 B.C. Ambaris of Tabal, a kingdom usually specified by Sargon as Bit-Burutaš (or Burutiš), was removed and his kingdom apparently constituted an Assyrian province, perhaps under Sargon's daughter, the disgraced king's wife¹⁰. Kurti of Atuna who also harboured disloyal thoughts was recalled to his allegiance by this move¹¹.

The letter from Sargon to his governor of Cilicia dating c. 710-709, and referring to a diplomatic *demarche* of Mita of Muski is informative on affairs in Tabal¹². Sargon refers to "all those kings of Tabal", whom he regards as now trapped between the Assyrians and the newly friendly Muski. Of the kings the letter names only Urbala'a, presumably the same as the contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III, but the rulers of Atuna and Istuanda (or possibly the people) are said to have seized some towns of Bit-Paruta

⁵ See *CAH*² III/1, pp. 411-3 for this list.

⁶ See *CAH*² III/1, p. 414.

⁷ Nimrud Tablet, rev. 14'-15'.

⁸ *CAH*² III/1, p. 419; *RIA* 4/6-7, s.v. Hulli.

⁹ The most detailed accounts are in Lie, *Sargon*, p. 10, ll. 68-71; Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran*, pp. 36, 69, ll. 17-19.

¹⁰ Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne (TCL 3)*, pp. XIVf.; Postgate, *Iraq 35* (1973), p. 31 and fn. 19.

¹¹ Prism fragment, Winckler, *Sargon*, Pl. 40 (S. 2022), ll. 3'-10'.

¹² NL 39; now Parpola, *SAA I*, No. 1.

(=Burutaš). Sargon clearly considered that the independence of these Tabalian kings was over, but only some four years later he himself was killed in battle, probably in Tabal itself¹³, fighting against an enemy Gurdi the Kulummean¹⁴. Certainly Tabal at this date passed for ever beyond significant Assyrian military control. Sennacherib went no closer than campaigns to Que (Cilicia) and Til-garimmu (plain of Elbistan?)¹⁵. Esarhaddon was able to fight a battle against the Cimmerians at Hubušna¹⁶, probably from a base in Que, but had already lost Melid¹⁷. Ashurbanipal maintained diplomatic relations with Sandasarme of Hilakku and Mugallu of Tabal, whom he claims to have supported like Gyges of Lydia against the Cimmerians¹⁸.

The evidence from Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon shows us the following kingdoms and kings in Tabal (attested dates, thus minimum reigns, given in brackets):

Tabal (Bit-Burutaš): Uassurme (738-730); Hullī (730- ?); Ambaris (? -713).

Tuhana: Urbala'a (738-710).

Atuna: Ušhitti (738-732); Kurti (718-713); unnamed (710).

Ištundi: Tuhamme (738-732); unnamed (710).

Hubišna: Uirime (738-732).

Šinuhtu: Kiakki (718).

A number of these kings and some others are known from the epichoric Hiero-Luwian inscriptions of Tabal written by themselves or their vassals. The best known, and indeed probably the most important, are Uassurme and Urbala'a, known under the proper forms of their names Wasusarmas and Warpalawas. Inscriptions of their father Tuwatis and Sarnuwanis, also kings, are attested too, and would belong to the period prior to Tiglath-pileser III, and a recent discovery has recovered a stele of the son of Warpalawas, by name Muwahanas (which could represent the native form of the Assyrian Mugallu)¹⁹. Warpalawas is entitled "king of the city Tuwana" (i.e. Greek Tyana), and the distribution of his inscriptions (BOR, IVRIZ and BULGARMADEN, the work of a vassal, Tarhunazas) indicates that he ruled the area of the Tyanitis and controlled the upper end of the Cilician Gates. Wasusarmas and his father Tuwatis do not name their kingdom but claim the titles "Great king, Hero" which definitely indicate

¹³ See Grayson, *ABC*, p. 76 II.6 and commentary; Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 83 and 97.

¹⁴ See Parpola, *SAA* I, p. 70f. for a collation of Millard's on the Eponym chronicle giving ¹*Gūr-di-i* in place of ¹*Eš-pa-i*, the Kulummean. This name is attested as a ruler of Til-garimmu in the reign of Sennacherib, which strengthens the Anatolian connection (see *CAH*² III/1, p. 427).

¹⁵ *CAH*² III/1, pp. 426-7.

¹⁶ Grayson, *ABC*, p. 125, obv. 9; Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 51 III.43-46.

¹⁷ Knudtzon, *AGS*, Nos. 56; 57. See Hawkins, *RIA*, s.v. Melid (forthcoming).

¹⁸ For these connections see *CAH*², *loc. cit.*, and Hawkins, *RIA* s.v. Mugallu (forthcoming).

¹⁹ NİĞDE 2, recently found on the citadel mound at Niğde; see the corpus mentioned in note 1.

hegemonic pretensions²⁰. Their inscriptions, mainly those of their vassals, cluster round Kayseri (KULULU 1, 4, ÇIFTLIK, SULTANHAN and KAYSERI) but extend as far as beyond Nevşehir (TOPADA, SUVASA). The site of Kululu is suspected of being their capital²¹.

Of the lesser kings probably ruling single cities, Kiakki may be identified with Kiyakiyas, whose recently discovered stele AKSARAY seems to locate Šinuhtu at that city²²; while Kurti could be identified with Kurtis of the BOHÇA stele, but the name seems to be not uncommon, and the findspot of BOHÇA does not appear to fit well with the problematic location of Atuna²³. An otherwise unknown king Sipis is named on the inscription KARABURUN.

It is among such rulers and names that the 9 Tabalian (and other?) kings of the tablet must be sought. The names Kālu, Pulī and Hīli do have a generally Anatolian appearance (cf. the onomastics of the KULULU lead strip, Hawkins, AnSt 37 [1987], pp. 135-162), and Uluanda and PiTARmu could be speculatively analysed as Hittite, though Hanubuni is less suggestive. In placing the text in historical context, though, it is Urbala'a and Tuatti who offer the main clues. Urbala'a-Warpalawas, with his minimum attested reign of 738-710 offers a choice of dates which is difficult to reconcile with the presence of Tuatti. For this name is firmly associated with the ruling of the main kingdom of Tabal, and its kings during that time span were Wasusarmas (738-730), Hullī, and Ambaris. The father of Wasusarmas was called Tuatti (Tuwatis), and one is therefore tempted to suggest a date before 738. Of course, there would be nothing improbable in postulating another Tuatti, as son or successor to Wasusarmas, but Tiglath-pileser tells us that he was displaced by the usurper Hullī (making no mention of any Tuatti), and although there is no certain proof that Hullī was directly succeeded by Ambaris, we may note that Ušhitti, king of Atuna in 738, has been replaced by Kurti in the reign of Sargon.

The likeliest date would therefore seem to be before 738 B.C. It was in 743 that Tiglath-pileser defeated Sarduris and reestablished Assyrian influence west of the Euphrates, and it is unlikely that a group of Taurus kings would have been sending tribute to Assyria before then. We are left therefore with a five year stretch between 743 and 738 B.C. as the best available date for our text. How a document from the earlier reign of Tiglath-pileser arrived in the DT collection, and therefore presumably in the royal palaces of Nineveh, is a separate question to which we prefer not to offer an answer.

²⁰) TOPADA; see Hawkins, AnSt 38 (1988) for these titles.

²¹) This complex issue is discussed in the Tabal section of the corpus mentioned in note 1.

²²) See AnSt 29 (1979), p.165 and fn. 91.

²³) The problems of locating (A)tuna are discussed in AnSt 29 (1979), pp. 166-7, and again more fully in the Tabal section of the corpus referred to in note 1.

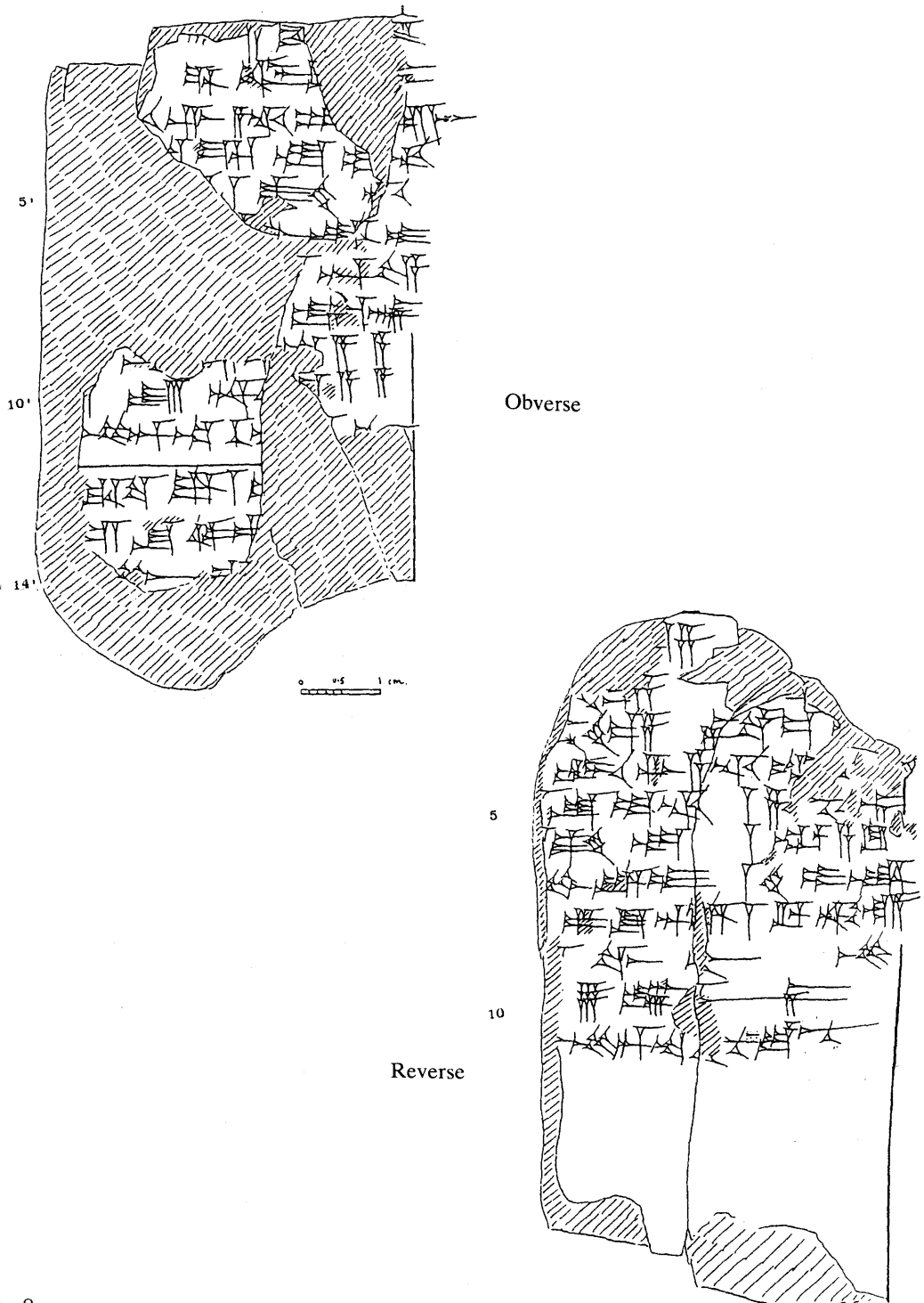


Fig. 8

DT 214+219+256