

Edward Lipinski (orientalist)



Edward (Edouard) Lipiński (born 18 June 1930 in Lodz, Poland)

is a Belgian Biblical scholar and Orientalist.

His first major work, published in 1965, was a monumental monograph entitled *La royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël*. In 1969, he was appointed professor at the Catholic University of Leuven, where he taught i.a. the comparative grammar of Semitic languages and history of ancient Near Eastern religions and institutions. He was head of the Department of Oriental and Slavonic studies at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from 1978 to 1984. He directed the publication of the *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique* (1992) and the *Studia Phoenicia* series (from 1983). He also published *Semitic Languages. Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (1997, 2001) and dealt extensively with Old Aramaic dialects and history, in particular in his *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics* (1975, 1994, 2010) and in *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (2000). Referring to the latter work a reviewer noted that it "embodies the accumulated insights of one of the greatest Semitic scholars of our time". Professor Edward Lipiński was awarded a doctorate honoris causa by the Lund University in 2003. Although he retired from KU Leuven in 1995, he continues teaching and doing research mainly in Aramaic and Phoenician studies.

The WorldCat database lists over a hundred publications by Edward Lipiński in his various fields of expertise.

A complete bibliography was published by The Enigma Press. Here is a short list of his major publications:

- *La Royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël* (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren, Jaarg. XXVII, Nr 55), Paleis der Academiën, Brussel 1965, 560 pp. ; second edition, Brussel 1968.
- *Le Poème royal du Psaume LXXXIX, 1-5.20-38* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 6), J. Gabalda et Cie, Paris 1967, 110 pp.
- *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics I –III* (Orient. Lov. An. 1, 57, 200), Leuven University Press, Peeters & Oriëntalistiek, Leuven 1975, 1994, 2010, 240 pp., 273 pp., XX + 308 pp.
- Author of volumes 1, 5 and 6 of *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata: Orientalia antiqua* published 1982 Peeters Publishers^[7]
- (Ed.), *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*, Brepols, Turnhout 1992, XXII + 502 p., 14 colour pls.
- *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique* (Orient. Lov. An. 64; Studia Phoenicia XIV), Peeters & Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven 1995, 536 p.
- *Semitic languages: outline of a comparative grammar*, 2000. ISBN 978-90-429-0815-4
- *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (Orient. Lov. An. 80), Peeters & Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven 1997, 756 pp.; 2nd ed., Leuven 2001, 780 pp.
- *The Aramaeans: their ancient history, culture, religion*, 2001. ISBN 978-90-429-0859-8
- *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (Orient. Lov. An. 100), Peeters & Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven 2000, 697 pp.
- *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Orient. Lov. An. 127; Studia Phoenicia XVIII), Peeters & Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven 2004, XXVI+ 622 pp.
- *On the Skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age. Historical and Topographical Researches* (Orient. Lov. An. 153), Peeters & Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven 2006, 484 pp.
- *Prawo bliskowschodnie w starożytności. Wprowadzenie historyczne* (The Near Eastern Law in Antiquity. A Historical Introduction; Studia historico-biblica 2), Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2009, 492 pp.
- *Resheph. A Syro-Canaanite Deity* (Orient. Lov. An. 181; Studia Phoenicia XIX), Peeters & Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven 2009, 297 pp.

HAMATH AND LUGATH

The present-day city of Ḥamā on the Orontes river, in central Syria, preserves the name of ancient Ḥamath. The northern quarter of the town is dominated by the partly artificial oval hill, about 30 m high, bordered on two sides by a meander of the river. This is the site of the antique acropolis excavated in 1932-38 by a Danish archaeological expedition, which uncovered the traces of an almost continuous occupation since the fifth millennium B.C.¹ Although the settlement is of great antiquity, its name Ḥamath is not attested definitely before the first millennium B.C. However, 'À-ma-tù^{ki} or 'À-ma-at^{ki} on the Ebla tablets could be Ḥamath², but this identification is not certain as yet. Besides, Ḥamath might be recognized in 'ḥwmwt, which occurs twice among the names of Egypt's potential enemies in the so-called Execration Texts of the early second millennium B.C.³ Further, the place name appears very likely in the geographical list of Thutmose III, where the sequence *T-m-ś-q*, 'I-t-r, 'I-b-r, *H-m-t*, 'I-q-d-w, Š-m-n, *B-ī-r-t*, *M-d-n*⁴ clearly concerns southern and central Syria. Besides Damascus (*T-m-ś-q*) and Ḥamath (*H-m-t*), one can recognize Muzunnum (*M-d-n*), which is known from sources of the second millennium B.C. and from a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of

¹ H. INGHOLT, *Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie (1932-1938)*, Copenhagen 1940; *Hama. Fouilles et recherches de la Fondation Carlsberg 1931-1938*, Copenhagen 1948-90, nine parts published; A. DE MAIGRET, *La cittadella aramaica di Hama. Attività, funzioni e comportamento* (Orientis Antiqui collectio 15), Roma 1979.

² This possibility is taken into account by A. ARCHI - A. PIACENTINI - F. POMPONIO, *I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla* (ARES II), Roma 1993, p. 132, and M. BONECHI, *I nomi geografici dei testi di Ebla* (RGTC 12/1), Wiesbaden 1993, p. 36. Instead, there is no reason why 'À-ma^{ki} should be identified with Ḥamath. This city can probably be located north of Ebla: M. BONECHI, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

³ K. SETHE, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des Mittleren Reiches*, Berlin 1926, e 29; G. POSENER, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, Bruxelles 1940, E 26.

⁴ List I, Nos. 13-20, in J. SIMONS, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia*, Leiden 1937. See also Y. AHARONI, *The Land of the Bible. A Historical Geography*, London 1967, p. 147, Nos. 13-20. Instead, Ḥamath is missing in a similar list from Amenhotep III's funerary temple, where *T-ms-q*, 'I-t-r-' and 'I-t-r, 'I-q-d, 'I-m-š-w-n, and *M-d-w-n* are mentioned; cf. E. EDEL, *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III.*, Bonn 1966, p. 11-18.

Uratami⁵, king of Ḥamath in the 9th century B.C. This city should be located about 30 km southwest of Aleppo⁶. Different possibilities have to be taken into account for the other towns. Thus, 'I-t-r may correspond to 'Adrā, 22 km northeast of Damascus. 'I-b-r, which is usually identified with Abila Lysaniae, the present-day Sūq Wādī Barada, may instead be Abil, a settlement 10 km south of Ḥomṣ, already mentioned by Yāqūt⁷. It is more difficult to locate the three towns that follow Ḥamath. These could be coastal cities connected with central Syria by the caravan route running through the Ḥomṣ pass, which cleaves its way between the Lebanon and the Anṣārīya mountains. Thus 'I-q-d-w might stand for Ugarit and Š-m-n for Šamnā, a town belonging probably to the kingdom of Ugarit⁸. Alternatively, they may be names of some of the numerous ancient cities whose sites are marked by tells in the area around Ḥamath. For instance, Š-m-n may be identified with the large Tell Samna, 28 km east of Ḥamā. Some sixty-five years ago, that mound was still showing remains of limestone wall on its eastern edge⁹. As for B-ī-r-t, one could mention Bi'rat al-Ġabal, 45 km west of Ḥamā and 12 km west of Dades as the crow flies, or Kafrā dā-Birtā, near Apamea¹⁰. The solution depends to some extent from the conception underlying the geographical list of Thutmose III. Does it reproduce real itineraries or aims at describing districts that include, in the case under consideration, territories east of the Anṣārīya and Lebanon ranges? The question should remain open at this stage of the inquiry.

⁵ References are collected by W. RÖLLIG, *Mušuni(pa)*, in *RLA* VIII, Berlin 1993-97, p. 499b. See also A.M. JASINK, *Gli stati neo-ittiti. Analisi delle fonti scritte e sintesi storica* (Studia Mediterranea 10), Pavia 1995, p. 102-103; *CHLI*, Hama 3.

⁶ See below, p. 297-298. It would be hazardous to identify this town with Tell Maṣṣīn, about 20 km north of Ḥamā and 3 km northwest of Ṣawrān, although the site was inhabited at the time of Thutmose III, but the human occupation seems to have ceased there in the 15th century B.C.; the preservation of the ancient name is therefore very doubtful. Cf. Comte DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, *Sourān et Tell Maṣīn*, in *Berytus* 2 (1935), p. 121-134 and Pl. XLVI-L.

⁷ YĀQŪT, *Mu'ḡam 'al-buldān*, ed. by F. WÜSTENFELD, Leipzig 1866-73, vol. I, p. 57. Cf. G. LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems. A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500*, London 1890, p. 381. It is unlikely that 'I-q-d-w is Qaṭwa, in the Ḥawrān region.

⁸ J. NOUGAYROL, *PRU* IV, Paris 1956, p. 16 and 77, r. 3'. Cf. W. VAN SOLDT, *Studies in the Topography of Ugarit* (2). *The Borders of Ugarit*, in *UF* 29 (1997), p. 683-703 (see p. 700). — For 'I-q-d-w, see also here below, p. 304, n. 362.

⁹ J. LASSUS, *Inventaire archéologique de la région au nord-est de Hama I. Texte*, Damas 1936, p. 216, No. 617.

¹⁰ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map VIII, A2, s.v. Biret el-Djebel. For Kafrā dā-Birtā, see E. HONIGMANN, *Nordsyrische Klöster in vorarabischer Zeit*, in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 1 (1922), p. 15-33 (see p. 19). At any rate, Birtā is a different word.

A frequently encountered approach to the ancient history of Ḥamath limits its object to central Syria and opens the debate by mentioning its king To'i (T'y) and his son Joram or Haddoram, alleged contemporaries and allies of David¹¹. Now, these biblical figures can hardly be regarded as historically attested rulers of Ḥamath, while the Ḥamathite king ruled, at least nominally, also in a part of the territory of the Laqē tribes, near the confluence of the Euphrates with the Ḥābūr¹². According to the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884 B.C.), the Assyrian king received "the tribute of the Ḥamathite (and) of the Laqaeen", *nāmurtu ša kurḤamatāya kurLaqāya*. This formula is repeated twice¹³, first in connection with the town of Šupru and then in connection with the town of Šūr of Bēt-Ḥalupē, but it probably bears on the whole section from Šupru to Šūr and characterizes "the land of Laqē" as Ḥamathite. In neither case can Ḥamatāya be considered as a personal name¹⁴, despite the fact that the annals of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) write it *Ḥamatāya* with the personal determinative in a passage reporting that the Laqaeans of Šūr "have killed their Ḥamathite governor", *Ḥamatāya šaknašunu idūkū*¹⁵. The annalist wrote an ethnic qualification instead of the governor's proper name that was either unknown to him or too difficult to reproduce, if it was Anatolian. This interpretation of *Ḥamatāya*, which implies an extension of the Ḥamathite territory until the land of Laqē beyond the Euphrates, is confirmed by the mention of the "valley" or "river-land of Laga" in one of the hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of king Uratami¹⁶ and by the letter sent to him by his neighbour Marduk-apla-ušur, the semi-independent ruler of Sūḥu¹⁷, a region southeast of the land of Laqē, on the Middle Euphrates. The relations of Uratami with this

¹¹ II Sam. 8, 9-10; I Chron. 18, 9-10, used by JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* VII, 5, 4, §107-108. For an analysis of this biblical episode, see the next chapter, below, p. 338-340. Its historical value is accepted, as it seems, by J.D. HAWKINS, *Hamath*, in *RLA* IV, Berlin 1972-75, p. 67-70 (see p. 67, § 2); SADER, *États araméens*, p. 214. The synthesis provided by DION, *Araméens*, p. 137-170, begins with the 9th century B.C. and is limited to central Syria.

¹² See here above, p. 100-102.

¹³ *RIMA* II, text A.0.100.5, p. 176, lines 87 and 101-102.

¹⁴ The opposite interpretation is proposed by H.F. RUSSELL, *The Historical Geography of the Euphrates and Habur according to the Middle- and Neo-Assyrian Sources*, in *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 57-74 (see p. 73 with n. 111).

¹⁵ *RIMA* II, text A.0.101.1, p. 198, line 75.

¹⁶ A.M. JASINK, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 102; *CHLI*, Hama 2. The identification with Laqē was already proposed by P. MERIGGI, *Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar*, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1962, s.v. *Lakawanas*. See also here above, p. 101.

¹⁷ S. PARPOLA, *A Letter from Marduk-apla-ušur of Anah to Rudamu/Uratamis, King of Hamath*, in P.J. RIIS - M.-L. BUHL (eds.), *Hama* II/2, København 1990, p. 257-265.

area are confirmed by the reference to “Naharima” in the same hieroglyphic Luwian inscription¹⁸. This name refers to the regions on both sides of the Middle Euphrates, inclusive the Balīḥ and Ḥābūr valleys. It was used in Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions to designate the kingdom of Mittanni¹⁹ and it occurs in the biblical phrase *’Āram Naharāyim*²⁰. The old identification of the latter with Greek Mesopotamia must obviously be abandoned, the more so that *Naharāyim* means “river-land” etymologically²¹, not “land of / between two rivers”, as if it was a dualis.

The oldest references to Ḥamath in the written sources of the first millennium B.C. thus connect this kingdom with the area of the Middle Euphrates that is situated precisely at the outlet of the caravan routes leading from the Mediterranean to Babylonia, through the oasis of Palmyra. Further historical mentions of Ḥamath date from the time of Shalmaneser III’s western campaigns in 853-845 B.C.²². The Assyrians were opposed then by a coalition led by Hadadezer, king of Damascus, and by Urḫilina, king of Ḥamath.

The latter was a member of an Anatolian dynasty which ruled over Ḥamath in the 9th century B.C. Although Urḫilina’s name was analyzed as Hurrian²³, the names of his father Parita and of his son Uratami are Hittite-Luwian, and the dynasty wrote its inscriptions in hieroglyphic Luwian²⁴. Since Uratami succeeded his father, the reign of the Anatolian dynasty lasted at least to the last quarter of the 9th century B.C. and the beginning of the Aramaean kingdom of Ḥamath can be placed therefore towards the end of the same century. The hieroglyphic dedications of Urḫilina and of Uratami to the goddess Ba‘lat (*Pahalatis*) seem to imply a strong Phoenician influence²⁵ rather

¹⁸ A.M. JASINK, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 102; *CHLI*, Ḥama 2. Cf. E. LAROCHE, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites* I, Paris 1960, Index III, s.v.

¹⁹ G. WILHELM, *Mittan(n)i. A. Historisch*, in *RLA* VIII, Berlin 1993-97, p. 286-296 (see p. 289-290, § 3.3).

²⁰ Gen. 24, 10; Deut. 23, 5; Judg. 3, 8; Ps. 60, 2; I Chron. 19, 6.

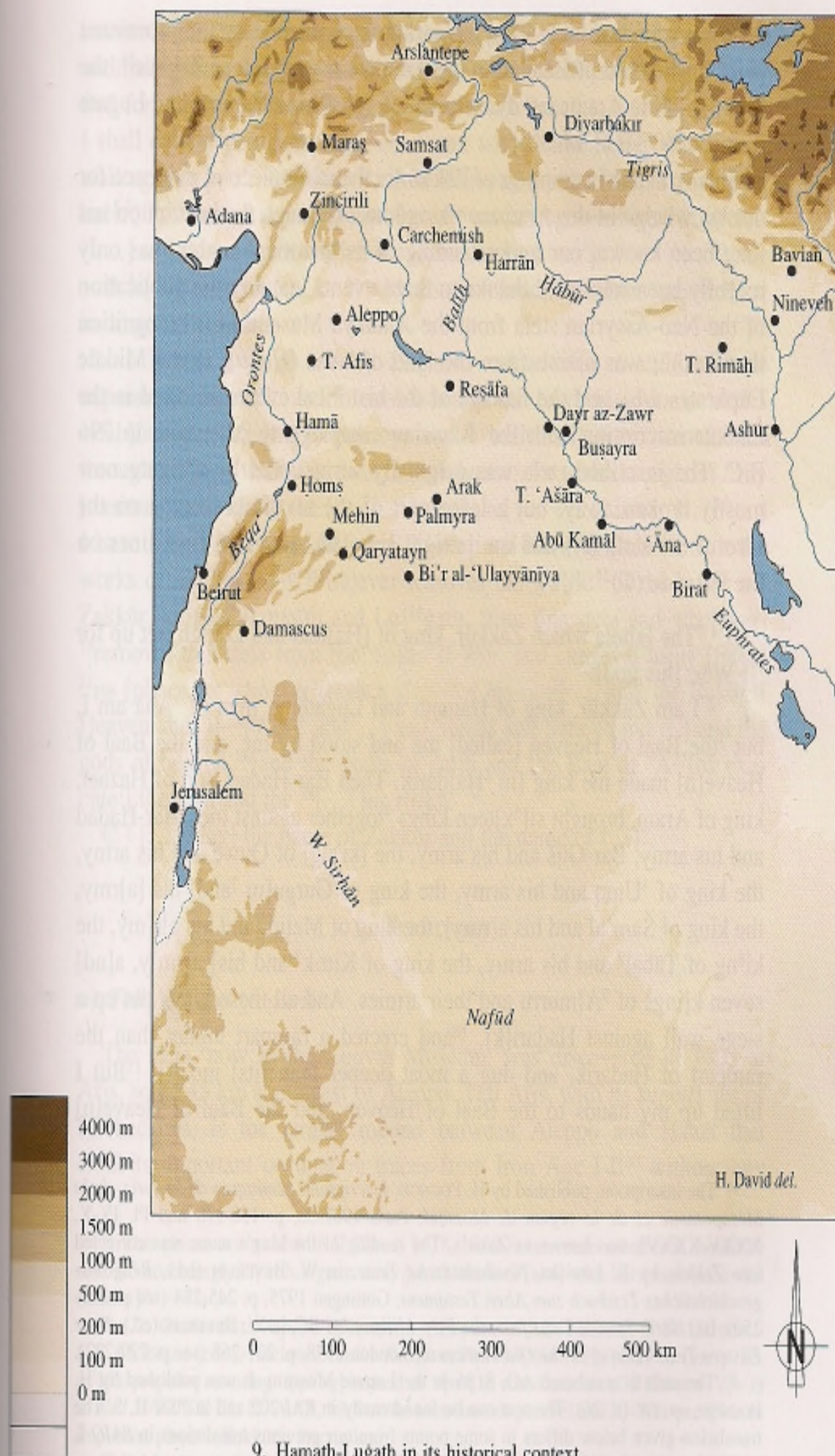
²¹ LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 29.54 and § 67.16.

²² The texts are conveniently collected and translated by SADER, *États araméens*, p. 186-203. They can be found now in *RIMA* III, texts A.0.102. One of the captions of the Balāwāt gates mentions a “battle against Ḥamath”, without further details: *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.86, p. 148.

²³ M. LIVERANI, *Antecedenti dell’onomastica aramaica antica*, in *RSO* 37 (1962), p. 65-76 (see p. 68); J.D. HAWKINS, *Irḫuleni*, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-80, p. 162.

²⁴ These inscriptions are included in *CHLI*. See also A.M. JASINK, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 96-105.

²⁵ The cult of this goddess continues in the Aramaean period, as indicated by the proper name *’bdb’lt*, “Servant of Ba‘lat”, in an Aramaic graffito found at Ḥamā; cf. OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 278, *AramGraf* 4.



than an Aramaean one. This indication is confirmed by the prominent place of the Baal of Heaven in the Aramaic inscription of Zakkūr²⁶, the founder of the Aramaean dynasty which ruled over Ḥamath and Luğath from *ca.* 807 B.C. on.

This Aramaic inscription of Zakkūr is the main piece of evidence for our knowledge of the Aramaean kingdom. Although the inscription has long been known, our understanding of its historical context has only recently been improved thanks to three events, namely the publication of the Neo-Assyrian stela from the Antakya Museum, the recognition that Zakkūr was native from the land of ‘Anā (*Ḥana*), in the Middle Euphrates area, and the linkage of the historical events reported in the Zakkūr inscription with the Assyrian campaign to Manṣuate in 796 B.C. The inscribed stela was originally surmounted by a figure now mostly broken away, but a large part of the text is preserved on the face of the stela (A) and on its right side (B), with two final lines on the left side (C)²⁷:

A ¹ “The [s]tela which Zakkūr, king of [Ḥa]mat and Luğath, set up for ‘Il-Wēr, [his god].

² I am Zakkūr, king of Ḥamath and Luğath. A man of ‘Anā am I, but ³the Baal of Heaven [called] me and stood by me, and the Baal of Heave[n] made me king [in ⁴Ḥa]darik. Then Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael, king of Aram, brought si[⁵x]teen kings ⁴together against me: ⁵Bar-Hadad and his army, Bar-Gūš and his army, the [ki⁶ng] of Quwē and his army, the king of ‘Umq and his army, the king of Gurgu[m ⁷and] his [a]rmy, the king of Šam’al and his a[rmy], the king of Melid [and his a]r[my], the ki⁸ng of Tābal⁷ and his army, the king of Kittik⁷ and his] a[rm]y, a[nd] seven k[ings of ⁹A]murru and their armies. And all these kings put up a siege wall against Ḥadari[k], ¹⁰and erected a rampart higher than the rampart of Ḥadarik, and dug a moat deeper than [its] moa[t]. ¹¹But I lifted up my hands to the Baal of Heaven, and the Baal of Heave[n]

²⁶ The inscription, published by H. POGNON, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*, Paris 1907-08, p. 156-178 and Pl. IX-X, XXXV-XXXVI, was known as Zakir’s. The reading of the king’s name was corrected into Zakkūr by E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Nordsemitische Texte*, in W. BEYERLIN (ed.), *Religions-geschichtliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, Göttingen 1975, p. 245-284 (see p. 247-250); ID., *North Semitic Texts from the First Millennium BC*, in W. BEYERLIN (ed.), *Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, London 1978, p. 227-268 (see p. 229-232).

²⁷ The stela is numbered AO. 8186 in the Louvre Museum. It was published by H. POGNON, *op. cit.* (n. 26). The text can be found easily in KAI 202 and in TSSI II, 5. The translation given below differs in some points from our previous translations in SAIO I, p. 22-23, and in the publications quoted in n. 26.

answered me, [and] ¹²the Baal of Heaven [spoke] to me [th]rough seers and through messengers, [and] ¹³the Baal of Heaven [said to me]: ‘Fear not, for it was I who made [you] ki[ng, and I ¹⁴shall st]and by you, and I shall deliver you from all [these kings who] ¹⁵have beaten out a siege wall against you’. And [the Baal of Heaven] said to [me: ‘I shall beat back⁷] ¹⁶all these kings who have beaten out [a siege wall against you ... ¹⁷...] and this rampart wh[ich they have erected ... ‘].

B ¹ [...] Ḥadārik [...] ² [...] with chariots [and] with horsemen²⁸ ³ [...] its king in its midst.

It was I ⁴[who re]buil[t Ḥadārik, and adde⁵[d to it] the whole expanse of ⁶[land⁷], and I established it as [my] king[dom, ⁷and I estab]lished it as [my] cou[ntry, and I built ⁸all] these strongholds throughout [my] territo[ry, ⁹and] I built houses for gods throughout ¹⁰my [territory], and I built the [...] ¹¹ [...] Apīš and [...] ¹² [...] house [...] ¹³ [...] I have set up ¹⁴the stela before [’Il-Wēr] and have wri[tten ¹⁵on] it the works of my hands. ¹⁶[Who]ever removes the wo[rk ¹⁷of the hands of] Zakkūr, king of Ḥama[th and Lu]¹⁸gath, from this stela and who[ever] ¹⁹removes this stela from [be²⁰fo]re ’Il-Wēr, and carries it away [from] ²¹its [pl]ace, or whoever sends a s[on ²²of his ... ²³ ... may the Ba]al of Heaven and ’Il-²⁴[Wēr²⁹ and ...] and Šamaš and Šehr ²⁵[and ...] and the gods of heaven ²⁶[and the god]s of earth and the Baal of ‘A²⁷[nā exe- cute⁷] the man and the ²⁸[...] his r[o]ot.

C ¹ [...] ²May] the name of Zakkūr and the name of [...]”.

1. TERRITORY

a) Tell Afis and Ḥadārik

The stela, now in the Louvre Museum, was discovered in 1903 at Afis, some 45 km southwest of Aleppo. Tell Afis, with its superficies of 32 hectares, is the largest mound between Aleppo and Ḥamā that exhibits important occupation traces from Iron Age I-II³⁰ without any

²⁸ This phrase occurs also in II Chron. 16, 8, but it is uncertain whether it should be restored accordingly: “[with a great army,] with chariots [and] with horsemen [in a vast number]”.

²⁹ J.C. GREENFIELD, *Aspects of Aramean Religion*, in P.D. MILLER - P.D. HANSON - S.D. MCBRIDE (eds.), *Ancient Israelite Religion*, Philadelphia 1987, p. 67-78 (see p. 75, n. 15), proposes restoring ’l[qn’rq] instead of ’l[wr] in consideration of B’lšmm w-’lqn’rš in KAI 26 = TSSI III, 15, A, III, 18, but the texts are not parallel and ’Il-Wēr occupies an important place in Zakkūr’s inscription.

³⁰ P. MATTHIAE, *Sondage à Tell Afis (Syrie)*, in *Akkadica* 14 (1979), p. 2-5 (see p. 2-3).

real break with the Late Bronze Age. Probably in the second half of the 9th century B.C., the city was enlarged by a lower outer town, surrounded by a mud-brick casemate wall, while extensive buildings were erected in the down-town and ceremonial units on the acropolis³¹. Considering these facts, as well as the contents of the inscription and its finding place, there can be little doubt that Afis is the precise location of Ḥadarik³². If the identification of 'Apiš in the inscription (B, 11) as the ancient name of the place where the stela was found could rule out the location of Ḥadarik at the very site of Afis³³, the same argument could be used against the identification of Zion with Jerusalem. The structure of the Aramaic inscription clearly indicates that Apiš was the city quarter where the temple of 'Il-Wēr was built (B, 11 ff.), probably its acropolis. Such a distinct name of a particular city quarter is paralleled in the ancient Near East not only by the name of Zion, often referred to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, but also by *Qrhh* in the Moabite Mesha inscription³⁴, by *Libb-āli*, "the heart of the city", the name of the old city

³¹ S. MAZZONI, *Settlement Pattern and New Urbanization in Syria at the Time of the Assyrian Conquest*, in M. LIVERANI (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, Roma 1995, p. 181-191 and Pl. I-II, in particular p. 188 with a plan of Tell Afis on p. 189. See also P. CIAFARDONI et al., *Tell Afis*, in *EVO* 10/2 (1987), p. 5-111; S. MAZZONI (ed.), *Tell Afis e l'Età del Ferro*, Pisa 1992; S.M. CECCHINI - S. MAZZONI (eds.), *Tell Afis (Siria). Scavi sull'acropoli 1988-1992*, Pisa 1998.

³² K. KESSLER, *Die Anzahl der assyrischen Provinzen des Jahres 738 v. Chr. in Nordsyrien*, in *WO* 8 (1975-76), p. 49-63 (see p. 61-62, n. 55). The location of Ḥadarik in the Lebanon (SAA I, 171, note, and map) "seems quite impossible to reconcile with all the other indications", as rightly stressed by J.D. HAWKINS, *The Political Geography of North Syria and South-East Anatolia in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, in M. LIVERANI (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, Roma 1995, p. 87-101 and Pl. I-X (see p. 96, n. 101). It results clearly from SAA I, 171, 3-13, that Bēl-dūri, governor of Damascus, had no authority on Ḥadarik. There is no reason therefore why this city should be located near Damascus.

³³ This argument has been repeated by several authors. See, for instance, J.D. HAWKINS, in *RLA* VII, Berlin 1987-90, p. 161a: "For the location of the city Ḥatarikka itself, the site of Afis where Zakur stele was found has been proposed, but is apparently ruled out by the probable identification of 'pš (error for 'pš) on the stele as the ancient name of the site".

³⁴ Lines 3, 21, 24, 25, possibly Is. 15, 2 as well; cf. E. EASTERLEY, *Is Mesha's qrhḥ mentioned in Isaiah XV 2?*, in *VT* 41 (1991), p. 215-220. The meaning of *Qrhh* results from the equation *qé-er-ḥu* = *du-u-ru*, "fort", in the Assyro-Babylonian *malku* = *šarru* list I, 236; cf. A. DRAFFKORN KILMER, *The First Tablet of malku = šarru together with Its Explicit Version*, in *JAOS* 83 (1963), p. 421-446 (see p. 428). This is corroborated by the use of *Qé-er-ḥa-am^{ki}* and *qé-er-ḥi* at Mari and at Chagar Bazar in the sense of "acropolis"; cf. J.-M. DURAND, *Villes fantômes de Syrie et autres lieux*, in *MARI* 5 (1987), p. 199-234 (see p. 225); Ph. TALON, *Old Babylonian Texts from Chagar Bazar* (Akkadica. Supplementum 10), Brussels 1997, No. 77, 19'. See also E. LIPÍŃSKI, *North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, in *OLP* 8 (1977), p. 81-117, in particular p. 95. It is possible that Mesha's *Qrhh* means "its acropolis" by reference to *qr*, "city".

of Ashur, still used by Polybius in his *History* V, 51, 2 (Λίββα), by *Kul(l)ab*, the name of a city quarter in Uruk and in Babylon, etc. 'A*piš* survived as the name of the mound, changed in Arabic into *Afis* according to well-known phonetic rules. This was certainly an easier pronounceable name than *Ḥadarik*, the correct form of which can be established by comparing Assyrian *Ḥatarikka*, Aramaic *Ḥzrk*, and Hebrew *Ḥdrk* (Zech. 9, 1). This is by no means a Semitic place name, and nothing indicates either that 'A*piš* has a Semitic etymology. In fact, its name is spelt in four or five different ways at Ebla, situated 12 km south of Tell Afis: *Áp-su^{ki}*, *Áp-š^u^{ki}*, *Áp-zu^{ki}*, *Áp-zú^{ki}*, probably *A-pá-zu^{ki}* as well³⁵. The variations in the spelling of the sibilant suggest a foreign name³⁶, despite the vicinity of the site to Ebla. The name still appears as ^{uru}*Ap-su(-ia)* in the 14th century B.C., in the historical prologue of the treaty between Shuppiluliuma I of Ḥatti and Shattiwaza of Mittanni³⁷, but the name of the town is replaced in the I millennium B.C. by *Ḥadarik*, while 'A*piš* is preserved as the appellation of the sacred precinct.

The location of *Ḥadarik* suggests that the city was the capital of the northern province Luḡath of Zakkūr's realm. The name of this region appears in the Late Bronze period as *Nuḡašše* in cuneiform syllabic script, as *N-g-š* in Egyptian sources, and probably as *Nḡt* in Ugaritic³⁸. A change *n > l* results in the later forms *Lu-ḡu-ti/te*, found in the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II and of Shalmaneser III³⁹, and *L'š*, attested in Aramaic by the stela of Zakkūr and by a Nimrud

³⁵ A. ARCHI - A. PIACENTINI - F. POMPONIO, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 86 and 145-147; M. BONECHI, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 11-15. It is questionable whether the same city is also called *Apsuna* at Ebla (*A-pá-zu-nu^{ki}*), Ugarit ('*Apsny*, ^{uru}*Ap-su-na*, ^{uru}*Ap-su-na-a*), and Alalakh (^{uru}*Ap-zu-na*); cf. M.C. ASTOUR, *The Geographical and Political Structure of the Ebla Empire*, in H. WAETZOLDT - H. HAUPTMANN (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla* (Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 2), Heidelberg 1988, p. 139-158 (see p. 145 with n. 41). See also S. MAZZONI, *Une nouvelle stèle d'époque araméenne de Tell Afis (Syrie)*, in *Transeuphratène* 16 (1998), p. 9-19 and Pl. I-II (see p. 18).

³⁶ K. HECKER, *Eigennamen und die Sprache von Ebla*, in L. CAGNI (ed.), *La lingua di Ebla*, Napoli 1981, p. 165-175 (see p. 170).

³⁷ G. F. DEL MONTE - J. TISCHLER, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte* (RGTC 6/1), Wiesbaden 1978, p. 28.

³⁸ Hittite sources: G. F. DEL MONTE - J. TISCHLER, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 291-292; G. F. DEL MONTE, *Supplement* (RGTC 6/2), Wiesbaden 1992, p. 116. — Egyptian sources: W. HELCK, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1971, p. 594a and 599a (index). — Ugaritic letter *KTU* 2.45, 4.21, belonging to the international royal correspondence. The context of line 4 is very fragmentary, but the sense of lines 20-21 seems to support the interpretation of *Nḡt* as a country name: *w.'at Nḡt.w.ytn.hm.lk*, "and come to Nuḡath and he will give them to you".

³⁹ PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 228. For the alternative *l/n*, see LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 17.4.

ivory⁴⁰. Since Egyptian *g* transcribes Semitic *ḡ* but is not used for 'ain, the Ugaritic form is correct and the Old Aramaic pronunciation of the place name must have been *Lūḡat*, spelt normally *L'š* in Early Aramaic orthography.

Although Zakkūr's royal title apparently implies the existence of a dual kingdom of Ḥamath and Luḡath⁴¹, the territory of Luḡath seems to form the northern province of the kingdom of Ḥamath already by the reign of Shalmaneser III who passed directly from Aleppo, depending most likely from Arpad⁴², to the territory of Ḥamath⁴³.

The list of cities conquered during the 853 campaign of Shalmaneser III gives a first indication of the territorial extension of the Ḥamathite kingdom. A further important source of information are the graffiti incised on the slabs found during the Danish excavations of Ḥamā. It is the first time that they will be used here in order to get an idea of the territory depending from Ḥamath. Additional information is provided by the Assyrian reports of Shalmaneser III's campaign in 848 and of Ashurnasirpal II's campaign in northern Syria, as well as by the Antakya stela from the reign of Adad-nirari III. The lists of place names in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III contain further important information, that can still be complemented by the hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. This material will of course be compared with later Graeco-Roman, Syriac, Mediaeval Islamic and Latin sources, as well as with the more recent toponymy.

b) Shalmaneser III's Campaign in 853 B.C.

The report of Shalmaneser III's campaign in 853 B.C. indicates that the Assyrian army did not turn southwards from Aleppo to Ḥadarik, but

⁴⁰ The name of *L'š* is inscribed on the fragment ND. 10359: A.R. MILLARD, *Alphabetic Inscriptions on Ivories from Nimrud*, in *Iraq* 24 (1962), p. 41-51 and Pl XXIII (see p. 41-42); W. RÖLLIG, *Alte und neue Elfenbeininschriften*, in *NESE* 2 (1974), p. 37-64 and Pl. III-V (see p. 47-48, Nos. 4-5); J.J. ORCHARD, *Equestrian Bridle-Harness Ornaments* (Ivories from Nimrud I/2), London 1967, No. 136 and Pl. 29c. The fragment ND. 10151 with the name of *Hmt* has been republished by G. HERRMANN, *Ivories from Room SW 37, Fort Shalmaneser* (Ivories from Nimrud IV), London 1986, No. 1272, p. 237 and Pl. 331.

⁴¹ G. BUCCELLATI, *Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria* (Studi semitici 26), Roma 1967, p. 145-146. This point of view was defended earlier by M. NOTH, *La'asch und Hazrak*, in *ZDPV* 52 (1929), p. 124-141, reprinted in *Id.*, *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*, Neukirchen 1971, vol. II, p. 135-147, and A. ALT, *Die syrische Staatenwelt vor dem Einbruch der Assyrier*, in *ZDMG* 88 (1934), p. 233-258 (see p. 244-245), reprinted in *Id.*, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* III, München 1959, p. 214-232 (see p. 221-223).

⁴² See here above, p. 207.

⁴³ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.2, p. 23, lines 86b-88a.

continued advancing westwards as far as the Orontes river. Although ^{uru}*El-li-tar-bi*, a Ḥamathite city located 30 km west of Aleppo⁴⁴, is not mentioned in the report of this campaign, ^{uru}*A-di-in-nu*, the first city conquered by the Assyrians⁴⁵, must be identified with the nearby Ad-Dānā, 38 km west of Aleppo⁴⁶. Its Greek name may appear as κώμη Ἀδανών⁴⁷. The second royal city of the Ḥamathite king captured by the Assyrians is called *Pār-qá-a* or *Pa-ar-qá-a*⁴⁸, and it is represented on the Gates of Balāwāt (Imgur-Enlil) as built on the banks of a river, obviously the Orontes⁴⁹. Now, this city must be related to the kingdom of Parqā (or Bargā/Pargā), known from the sources of the Late Bronze Age⁵⁰. It bordered on Nuḥašše/Luḡath and is mentioned with Qatna and Tunip in a fragment of a letter from the Amarna correspondence (EA 57). It comprised the city Iaruwatta, named in Hittite texts⁵¹, which probably was located on the east bank of the Middle Orontes⁵². For geographical and phonetical reasons, Parqā cannot be identified with Barqūm⁵³, 23 km southwest of Aleppo. Since Qatna is localized at

⁴⁴ E. UNGER, *Ellitarbi*, in *RLA* II, Berlin-Leipzig 1938, p. 357-358.

⁴⁵ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.2, p. 23, line 88.

⁴⁶ Thus E. FORRER, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1920, p. 58. The place name is written *A-ti-in-ni* in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (*Tigl. III*, p. 62, line 9; p. 89, Ann. 26, line 4). The other locations so far proposed do not fit in the itinerary of Shalmaneser III who has followed the valley of the Orontes, since the cities conquered during this campaign are represented on the Balāwāt gates as being on the banks of a river (see below). Nevertheless, M. ASTOUR, *The Partition of the Confederacy of Mukiš-Nuḥašše-Nii by Šuppiluliuma. A Study in Political Geography of the Amarna Age*, in *Or* 38 (1969), p. 381-414 (see p. 412, n. 3), prefers Dānā, 5 km north of Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān, while Tell Danīt, southeast of Idlib, is proposed by E.G. KRAELING, *Aram and Israel*, New York 1918, p. 73, followed by S. SHAATH, in *AfO* 28 (1981-82), p. 215-216, and SADER, *États araméens*, p. 222. Other proposals are quoted by E. HONIGMANN, *Atinni*, in *RLA* I, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, p. 310. ^{uru}*Da-a-na*, mentioned with Kullania and Arpad in *SAA* XIII, 86, r. 8, might correspond to *Tanna* in the Ravenna Cosmography (J. SCHNETZ [ed.], *Itineraria Romana* II, 2nd ed., Stuttgart 1990, p. 26:16) and *Thanna* in the Peutinger Table, and possibly be identified with Dahni Höyük on the Tüzel Suyu, 9 km southwest of Tilbeşar, as suggested in DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map XIV, B1; cf. A. ARCHI - P.E. PECORELLA - M. SALVINI, *Gaziantep e la sua regione* (Incunabula Graeca 48), Roma 1971, p. 64.

⁴⁷ *IG* XIV, 2326.

⁴⁸ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.2, p. 23, line 88; text A.0.102.74, p. 144.

⁴⁹ L.W. KING, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, London 1915, Pl. XLIX-L, band IX, upper register. Text: *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.74, p. 144.

⁵⁰ G.F. DEL MONTE - J. TISCHLER, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 304.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 135-136.

⁵² H. KLENGEL, *Der Schiedsspruch des Muršili II. hinsichtlich Barga und seine Übereinkunft mit Duppi-Tešup von Amurru (KBo III 3)*, in *Or* 32 (1963), p. 32-55 (see p. 47).

⁵³ Proposition made by DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 243.

Mišrife, 14 km south of the large Middle Orontes bend, while Tunip can probably be identified with Tell 'Ašarnē⁵⁴, on the Middle Orontes where also Iaruwatta must be looked for, it stands to reason that Parqā was in the same area.

Two toponymical elements can be taken here into account. First, there is the element *par-* that corresponds to a local name of the river, as suggested by Mediaeval sources and modern toponyms. According to William, archbishop of Tyre (*ca.* 1130-1186), the Orontes river was *verbo vulgari Fer dictus*⁵⁵, while Fulcher of Chartres (1059-*ca.* 1130) calls it *flumen Fernum*. The same name may have been used by Saladin's secretary 'Imād ad-Dīn (?-1201) who reports for 1188 that the Sultan has crossed the Orontes, 'al-Frt, at Darkūš⁵⁶. *Frt* cannot be the Euphrates here, but this may be a misspelling resulting from a confusion of 'al-Fr(n) with 'al-Frt. A place name Ġubb al-Far is found at the western edge of the Ġāb and a Tell al-Far is encountered further to the south, but both toponyms may contain the Arabic noun *fār*, "mouse". In any case, *Fer(n)* or *Far* does not explain the final element *-qā* of Parqā. Another approach is thus needed, based this time on the Westsemitic use of the noun *prq* in the sense "pass", "gorge". This meaning is attested by *pereq* in the Hebrew text of Abd. 14⁵⁷, and also in Aramaic, especially in Targum Jonathan on Abd. 14: *qamtā 'al-pirqā ləšēšā'ā yat mē'ā'rəqōhī*⁵⁸, "you stood at the gorge to exterminate its fugitives".

⁵⁴ This is cautiously proposed by H. KLENGEL, *Tunip und andere Probleme der historischen Geographie Mittelsyriens*, in K. VAN LERBERGHE - A. SCHOORS (eds.), *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East* (OLA 65), Leuven 1995, p. 125-134, with good arguments. Weaker is the hypothesis of N. NA'AMAN, *Qarqar = Tell 'Asharneh?*, in *NABU* 1999, p. 89-90, No. 89. Cf. below, p. 264-266, 274, n. 139.

⁵⁵ WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Chronicon* IV, 8, 40, ed. by R.B.C. HUYGENS (CCCM 63-63A), Turnhout 1986, p. 243; FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in *HistOcc* III, p. 423. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 171-172, neglects this information and misunderstands the origin of the Latin appellation *Pons Ferri*, "Bridge of the Fer river".

⁵⁶ 'IMĀD AD-DĪN AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, *Al-Fatḥ al-qussī fī l-fatḥ al-qudsī*: *HistOr* IV, Paris 1898, p. 375; C. DE LANDBERG (ed.), Leiden 1888, p. 154. French translation by H. MASSÉ, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin* (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades 10), Paris 1972. — According to R.J. VAN DER SPEK, *The Babylonian Temple during the Macedonian and Parthian Domination*, in *BiOr* 42 (1985), col. 541-562 (see col. 558), and ID., *New Evidence from the Babylonian Astronomical Diaries concerning Seleucid and Arsacid History*, in *AfO* 44-45 (1997-98), p. 167-175 (see p. 173-174), also ^{1d}*Ma-rat(-ta/tu₄)* was a name of the Orontes. This is to be reinterpreted in the light of WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Chronicon* XVII, 9, 58-59, *op. cit.* (n. 55), p. 772: *inter urbem Apamiam et opidum Rugiam, in eo loco qui dicitur Fons Muratus*.

⁵⁷ W. RUDOLPH, *Joel - Amos - Obadja - Jona* (Kommentar zum Alten Testament XIII/2), Gütersloh 1971, p. 305.

⁵⁸ A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic* III, Leiden 1962, p. 434.

This connotation is ancient in Aramaic and occurs already in Late Babylonian *per-qu ša nāri*⁵⁹, “the gorge of the river”, where *perqu* must be a loanword. Besides, Ptolemy mentions Φάργα as a town lying in Arabia Deserta, on the west bank of the Euphrates⁶⁰, apparently near the bluffs and the series of rapids above ‘Āna⁶¹. This suits the meaning of Aramaic *parqā*, transcribed with γ probably because of a voiced articulation of q⁶². Now, Darkūš was precisely “on the bank of the Orontes in a gorge”, *fī kahf*, as Ibn aš-Šiḥna explains it in his *Chosen Pearls*⁶³. This gorge of the Orontes, called Χάρυβδις by Strabo⁶⁴, certainly deserves the name *parqā*, “the gorge”, that favours the location of Shalmaneser III’s *Pār-qā-a* at Darkūš.

The name of Darkūš cannot antedate the Late Roman or the Byzantine period, since it derives from Aramaic *Dayr Kawš*, “convent of ascetic life”⁶⁵. This strategically important site had therefore another name in earlier periods, and that name was apparently Semitic in the Late Bronze Age and in the 9th century B.C., if our interpretation of *parqā* is correct. In any case, a settlement existed there in Roman times⁶⁶ and the monumental bridge probably provided passage over the river as well⁶⁷. In the Middle Ages, this important crossing was protected on the eastern bank by the fortress of Darkūš⁶⁸. The latter, called *Šaqīf Darkūš* by Yāqūt (1179-1229)⁶⁹, does not exist any more, because the stones have been reused in the building of the modern settlement.

Shalmaneser III’s annals do not mention any crossing of the river in the march of the Assyrian army to the south, towards Ġisr aš-Šuġūr. This place name, “Bridge of Šuġūr”, is related to the name of the old city *Aš-Šuġūr*, located 4 km northwest of the bridge, on the Nahr al-

⁵⁹ O. KRÜCKMANN, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte* (Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection ... in Jena 2), Leipzig 1933, No. 195, 4.

⁶⁰ PTOLEMY, *Geography* V, 18.

⁶¹ A. MUSIL, *The Middle Euphrates. A Topographical Itinerary*, New York 1927, p. 203 (ca. 90 km above ‘Āna) and 207 (ca. 75 km above ‘Āna).

⁶² LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 18.2-3.

⁶³ IBN AŠ-ŠIḤNA MUḤIBBADDĪN, *‘Ad-durr ‘al-muntaḥab fī tāriḥ mamlakat Ḥalab*, ed. by ŠAYḤO, Beirut 1909, p. 167. This work was translated into French by J. SAUVAGET, “*Les perles choisies*” d’Ibn ach-Chihna. *Matériaux pour servir à l’histoire de la ville d’Alep*, Beyrouth 1933. Cf. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 163.

⁶⁴ STRABO, *Geography* VI, 2, 9; XVI, 2, 7. Cf. ABEL, *Géographie* I, p. 464-465.

⁶⁵ WILD, *Ortsnamen*, p. 167.

⁶⁶ L. JALABERT - R. MOUTERDE, *IGLS* II, Paris 1939, Nos. 664-665.

⁶⁷ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 163; R. MOUTERDE - A. POIDEBARD, *Le limes de Chalcis* (BAH 38), Paris 1945, p. 28-29.

⁶⁸ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 160-164.

⁶⁹ YĀQŪT, *op. cit.* (n. 7), vol. III, p. 309.

Abyaḍ, that joins the left bank of the Orontes, flowing from the west⁷⁰. This stream is very likely the Sangura river⁷¹, on the banks of which Ashurnasirpal II's army passes the night after a two-days march from Kinalua, the capital of Pattin. If Shalmaneser III's troops had then been on the same side of the Orontes, — what is unlikely —, they would have to cross it again in order to capture the stronghold of ^{uru}Ar-ga-na-a⁷². This royal city cannot be identified with 'Arğūn, 3 km east-northeast of Tell an-Nabī Mend⁷³, since this place lies by far too much to the south. Instead, it should correspond to the site of the fortress of Arziḡān, called *Arcican(um)* in Mediaeval western sources⁷⁴, about 10 km north of Tell al-Qarqūr. There are two sites that should be taken into consideration, namely Arziḡān al-Fawqāni, on high ground, and Arziḡān al-Taḥtāni, 4 km to the southwest, on the right bank of the Orontes. The first one is probably the site of the Mediaeval castle⁷⁵, while the second one is near the crossing point. This place, called ^{uru}Ar-zi-ga-na, is mentioned earlier in a letter sent by the king of Carchemish to the king of Ugarit, in the 13th century B.C.⁷⁶ It is quite possible that a sign is missing in Shalmaneser III's Monolith Inscription II, 89 (^{uru}Ar-<zi>-ga-na-a), but there is no way of checking the spelling since *Ar(zi)ganā* is not mentioned on the Gates of Balāwāt that give, instead, the name of ^{uru}A-da-a, represented with Parqā, also on river banks⁷⁷. This place might correspond to several ancient mounds in the area. There is Tell Dahab or Hatab, 5 km northwest of Arziḡān, on the left bank of the Orontes, near the main road. This is an ancient site, certainly if a seal published by L. Delaporte has really been found on the mound⁷⁸. Mediaeval sources mention in this neighbourhood the Ḥiṣn Tell Kaṣfahan that R. Dussaud identifies with

⁷⁰ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 158-160. See also WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Chronicon* XIV, 4, 13, *op. cit.* (n. 55), p. 636.

⁷¹ RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 218, line 80.

⁷² RIMA III, text A.0.102.2, p. 23, line 88;

⁷³ This was proposed by K. FURRER, *Die antiken Städte und Ortschaften im Libanongebiet*, in ZDPV 8 (1885), p. 16-41 (see p. 30).

⁷⁴ Topographical and historical studies of these strategically important sites are provided by M. VAN BERCHEM - E. FATIO, *Voyage en Syrie* I, Le Caire 1913, p. 251-259; DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 154-162.

⁷⁵ G. TCHALENKO, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord* (BAH 50), vol. III, Paris 1958, p. 114.

⁷⁶ RS. 20.22, 42.43.52.53, published by J. NOUGAYROL, in *Ugaritica* V (BAH 80), Paris 1968, No. 27, see p. 95 and 385. It appears already at Ebla.

⁷⁷ See above, p. 259, n. 49. Epigraph in RIMA III, text A.0.102.75, p. 144.

⁷⁸ L. DELAPORTE, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental* II. *Acquisitions*, Paris 1923, A. 1088. Cf. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 161.



10. Hamath and Lughath.

For the Middle Orontes, Al-Ġāb, and Ġebel az-Zāwīya areas, see the map on p. 271.

the mound located just on the northern side of the Ġisr aš-Šuġūr⁷⁹ and called nowadays 'Ayn at-Tall⁸⁰. This is the site of another town, possibly of ^{uru}A-da-a⁸¹, but one cannot exclude other localizations along the Orontes river. Instead, the well-known Tell 'Ade⁸² cannot be taken into account, since it is situated 28 km east of Ḥamā and of the Orontes.

Also ^{uru}Qa-ar-qa-ra on the banks of the Orontes is represented on the Gates of Balāwāt with an inscription stating its conquest by Shalmaneser III⁸³. The annals for the year 853 B.C. report its destruction before relating the battle fought near the city⁸⁴. Besides the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions, also Aramaic texts mention Qarqar. Its name appears most likely in the Sefire treaties⁸⁵, in the inscription *šql Qrqr* engraved on a bronze weight from the 9th century B.C.⁸⁶, and in the graffito *Qrqr* incised in very small and neat letters on a red-polished slab from Ḥamath, dating to the mid-8th century B.C.⁸⁷.

The site of this important city was identified by R. Dussaud with Tell al-Qarqūr on the Orontes, 1 km east of the modern village bearing the same name⁸⁸ and about 6 km south of Ġisr aš-Šuġūr. A short excavations season in 1983-84 confirmed the occupation of the site in Iron Age II with a level B sealed off by remains of a violent destruction which the excavators' chronology would assign to the 7th century B.C.⁸⁹, while Sargon II's burning of the city took place in 720 B.C.⁹⁰. This discordance would obviously cast a doubt on the identification of Qarqar with Tell al-Qarqūr⁹¹, but the excavations resumed in 1993-98 do not support

⁷⁹ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 158-161.

⁸⁰ J.-Cl. COURTOIS, *Prospection archéologique dans la moyenne vallée de l'Oronte (El Ghab et Er-Roudj — Syrie du nord-ouest)*, in *Syria* 50 (1973), p. 53-99 and Pl. I-II (see p. 88).

⁸¹ However, this site corresponds quite well to the location of Ḥašašar, known from various Bronze Age texts; cf. P. VILLARD, *Un roi de Mari à Ugarit*, in *UF* 18 (1986), p. 387-412 (see p. 398); H. KLENGEL, *art. cit.* (n. 54), p. 130-131.

⁸² E. HONIGMANN, *Adâ*, in *RLA* I, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, p. 21.

⁸³ L.W. KING, *op. cit.* (n. 49), Pl. XLIX-L, band IX, lower register. Epigraph in *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.76, p. 144-145.

⁸⁴ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.2, p. 23, lines 89b-90a, and p. 24, line 97.

⁸⁵ Stela I, B, 9; see here above, p. 226.

⁸⁶ It was published upside down by P. BORDREUIL, in *Syrie: Mémoire et civilisation*, Paris 1993, p. 266-267, No. 231.

⁸⁷ It was published by OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 292, *AramGraf* 19.

⁸⁸ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 242. See also J.-Ch. COURTOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 80), p. 88 and Pl. II.

⁸⁹ J.M. LUNDQUIST, *Tell Qarqur. The 1983 Season*, in *AAAS* 33 (1983), p. 273-288.

⁹⁰ *Sargon II*, p. 89 and 314, Ann. 23-24; p. 201 and 345, Displ. 34-35.

⁹¹ SADER, *États araméens*, p. 222-225; EAD., *Quel était l'ancien nom de Hama-sur-l'Oronte?*, in *Berytus* 34 (1986), p. 129-133. See also above, p. 260, n. 54.

this particular chronology of an Iron Age IIB dated to 700-600 B.C.⁹². This hypothesis was based on the assumption that the violent end of Iron Age IA at Tarsus (Cilicia) had to be attributed to the destruction of the Cilician city by Sennacherib in 696 B.C.⁹³, but it is not substantiated by any concrete evidence⁹⁴. The assumed destruction level of Tell al-Qarqūr may therefore date from the time of Sargon II or have no connection whatsoever with the Assyrian campaign in 720 B.C. Instead, Shalmaneser III's account of his alleged victory at Qarqar in 853 B.C. supports the identification of the tell with the ancient city, because his description of corpses not slipping easily down to the nether world must refer to the swamps of Al-Ġāb that extend south of the village of Qarqūr: "The plain was too small to lay their corpses flat; the vast area was unable to receive their burial. I dammed up the Orontes with their bodies"⁹⁵.

As for the identification of Qarqar with the actual city of Ḥamā, as proposed by H. Sader⁹⁶, it cannot be sustained because the existence of two distinct towns, one called Qarqar and the other Ḥamath, is implied by the graffiti on the slabs from Ḥamath⁹⁷ and by the bronze weight standards bearing the inscriptions *šql Qrqr*⁹⁸, "shekel of Qarqar", *šql Ḥmt*⁹⁹, "(one) shekel of Ḥamath", *šqly Ḥmt*¹⁰⁰, "two shekels of Ḥamath", and *št šql Ḥmt*¹⁰¹, "half a shekel of Ḥamath".

The location of Qarqar and of the area reached in 853 B.C. by Shalmaneser III's army is confirmed besides by the king's claim to have defeated the allies "between the towns of Qarqar and of *Di-il-zi-a-ū*", with a variant *Gīl-za-ū* in the Monolith Inscription II, 97¹⁰². The first

⁹² Cf. R.H. DORNEMANN, *The Iron Age Remains at Tell Qarqur in the Orontes Valley*, in BUNNENS, *Syria*, p. 459-485.

⁹³ H. GOLDMAN et al., *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus III, The Iron Age*, Princeton 1963, in particular p. 14.

⁹⁴ B. HROUDA, in *AfO* 21 (1966), p. 99b.

⁹⁵ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.2, p. 24, lines 100-101a.

⁹⁶ SADER, *États araméens*, p. 222-225, and here above, p. 264, n. 91.

⁹⁷ OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 292-293, *AramGraf* 18-19.

⁹⁸ Cf. here above, p. 264, n. 86.

⁹⁹ M. HELTZER, *Phoenician Trade and Phoenicians in Hamath*, in K. VAN LERBERGHE - A. SCHOORS (eds.), *Immigration and Emigration in the Ancient Near East* (OLA 65), Leuven 1995, p. 101-105.

¹⁰⁰ P. BORDREUIL, *Poids inscrit de Hamat représentant un sphinx*, in *Au pays de Baal et d'Astarté: 10.000 ans d'art en Syrie*, Paris 1983, p. 219-220, No. 251; Id., in *Syria* 60 (1983), p. 340-341.

¹⁰¹ F. BRON - A. LEMAIRE, *Poids inscrits phénico-araméens du VIII^e siècle av. J.-C.*, in *ACFP* 2, Roma 1983, vol. III, p. 763-770 and Pl. CXLV (see p. 763-765 and Pl. CXLV, 1).

¹⁰² *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.2, p. 24, line 97.

reading, provided by the inscription on Shalmaneser III's throne-base¹⁰³, is certainly correct since the village of Dallōza, built in the middle of ancient ruins, is situated 19 km east-southeast of Qarqūr¹⁰⁴. The uniqueness of this toponym excludes the possibility of a casual similarity, while *Gīl-za-ú* can be explained easily as a scribal error occasioned by the Urartian place name *Gīl-za-a-ni* which is mentioned higher in the Monolith Inscription II, 60-61 and 63¹⁰⁵.

c) *Inscribed Slabs from Ḥamā*

Further important information, at least from the point of view of historical geography, is provided by the short cursive inscriptions incised on the slabs from Ḥamā and dated to the mid-8th century B.C.¹⁰⁶. A large number of these red-polished slabs, used as pavement in different structures, were found during the Danish excavations at Ḥamā. Only a few of them bear short inscriptions, scratched in cursive Aramaic script or in a script with partly "South-Arabian" characteristics. Since some of the inscriptions certainly reproduce well-known place names, as Ḥamath, Qarqar, and Šoba, one can assume that most of the other graffiti spell place names as well, besides some possible artisan's marks. When the name denotes a region rather than a city, as in the case of Šoba and of the Rūḡ¹⁰⁷, another name sometimes gives a further indication on the same slab.

The question of the purpose of these graffiti has to be answered if they are to be used as a genuine source for the history of Ḥamath. The fact that some graffiti provide place names, while others mention important personalities, as the governor of the royal palace¹⁰⁸, excludes the

¹⁰³ P. HULIN, *The Inscription on the Carved Throne-Base of Shalmaneser III*, in *Iraq* 25 (1963), p. 48-69 and Pl. X = *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.28, p. 103, line 32. The same reading occurs also in an inscription engraved on a door sill found at Fort Shalmaneser: *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.30, p. 107, line 27.

¹⁰⁴ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 211 with n. 3 and Map X, A3. The form of the actual name probably contains an allusion to the Aramaic word *lōzā*, "almond(-tree)", but the place name does not seem to derive from an original Dayr Lōzā, "Convent of the almond-tree". No vestiges of a convent have been discovered so far in the locality or in its neighbourhood; cf. A. CAQUOT, *Couvents antiques*, in G. TCHALENKO, *op. cit.* (n. 75), vol. III, p. 63-106, see p. 90.

¹⁰⁵ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.2, p. 21, lines 60b-61a and 63b.

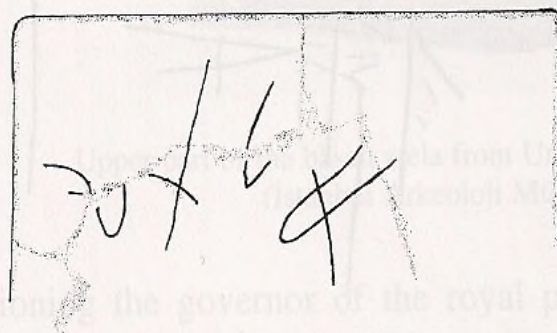
¹⁰⁶ J. NAVEH, *The Development of the Aramaic Script* (The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. Proceedings V/1), Jerusalem 1970, especially p. 12 and Fig. 2:1; OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 272-274.

¹⁰⁷ See here below, p. 272-274.

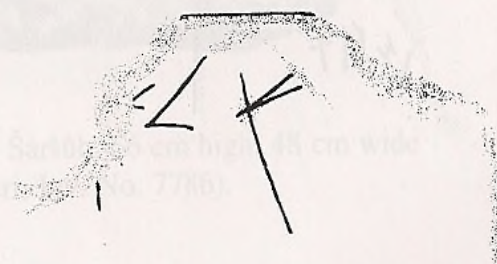
¹⁰⁸ OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 275-277, *AramGraf* 1-3.

assumption that these inscriptions are dedicatory formulas. Most likely they indicate the furnishers of various consignments or quotas of red-polished slabs which had to be provided by dignitaries of the kingdom and by particular districts or cities, alternatively by teams of workers representing these cities at Ḥamā. The inscriptions in a "South-Arabian" script type, incised on the slabs¹⁰⁹, indicate that this script was used in some regions of the kingdom of Ḥamath, especially in the remote areas at the confluence of the Euphrates and of the Ḥābūr.

The graffiti on the slabs from Ḥamā mention several little known places. Thus, the name 'lty appears in Aramaic script on one or two slabs¹¹⁰. This is most likely a place name to be related to the ethnic appellation *Hylatas*, which is reported by Pliny for central Syria next to the *Hemesenos* (Ḥoms)¹¹¹, and it should be identified with the Αουλθα that appears in the Greek dedication θεῶν ἐν Αουλθα, found in Ḥoms or in its surroundings¹¹². This holy place is located by L. Jalabert and L. Mousterde at the village of Al-Ḥula, 12 km north-northeast of Ḥoms, situated on the Ḥirbat Naṣriya¹¹³. The comparison of the Aramaic spelling 'lty with the later Greek and Latin transcriptions suggests a pronunciation 'Ūltay. This name recalls the *Yammā šel/də-Ḥultā*, "Lake of Ḥultā", and the *Ḥultā šel 'Anṭokyā* of Talmudic texts¹¹⁴, as well as the Οὐλάθα region given by the emperor Augustus to Herod in 20 B.C.¹¹⁵. The rele-



AramGraf 6



AramGraf 7

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 300-304, AramGraf 28-34.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 280, AramGraf 6 and 7.

¹¹¹ PLINY THE ELDER, *Naturalis Historia* V, 23 (81).

¹¹² L. JALABERT - R. MOUTERDE - C. MONDÉSERT, *IGLS* V, Paris 1959, No. 2221, p. 120-121.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 120-121; cf. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 102-103 and p. 196 with n. 2.

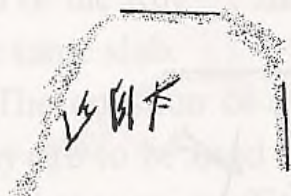
¹¹⁴ JASTROW, p. 435a; G. REEG, *Die Ortsnamen Israels nach der rabbinischen Literatur* (BTAVO B/51), Wiesbaden 1989, p. 301-302, s.v. *ym' dḥwlt'*.

¹¹⁵ FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Jewish Antiquities* XV, 10, 3, § 359-360; cf. *Id.*, *The Jewish War* I, 20, 4, § 400; DIO CASSIUS, *Roman History* LIV, 9, 3.

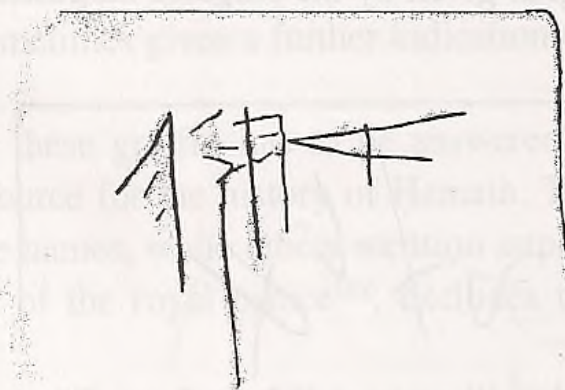
vant area corresponds to the region of the Ḥuleh Lake in Galilee¹¹⁶ and the city called Antioch must be the Hellenistic settlement of Ḥirbat or Tell Dafnē, 3 km southwest of Tell al-Qāḍi¹¹⁷. Despite the similarity of the names, there is thus no relationship between the two places.

The localization of the Αουλθα shrine at Al-Ḥula is based on the similitude of the names Ḥula and *Hylatas*. One wonders whether there is any connexion between the anonymous θεός of the Greek inscription and the divine figure represented on the upper part of a basalt stela in Syro-Assyrian style discovered in the neighbouring village of Umm Šaršūḥ, 14 km north of Ḥomṣ and 28 km south of Ḥamā. The village is built on top of a high elongated tell, on the right bank of the Orontes. The stela, first mentioned by M. Lidzbarski in *ESE* III (p. 167), was allegedly found in a *ruġm* north of the village. It dates probably from the 8th century B.C. and represents a god wearing a long beard, hair to his shoulders, and a horned miter with cylindrical top decorated with a band of feathers. His right hand is upraised in a blessing gesture. No characteristic feature allows identifying the god worshipped in this place around the 8th century B.C.

Two or three other slabs or fragments bear the inscription 'ḥmh¹¹⁸. Since two of these graffiti (*AramGraf* 15 and 22) belong to a slab men-



AramGraf 15



AramGraf 16

¹¹⁶ A. ALT, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* II, 2nd ed., München 1959, p. 391-392.

¹¹⁷ FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Jewish Antiquities* XIII, 15, 3, § 394; *The Jewish War* I, 4, 8, § 105; cf. IV, 1, 1, § 3. See ABEL, *Géographie* I, p. 304, 444; II, p. 303; A. ALT, *op. cit.* (n. 116), p. 391-392, n. 5. G. SCHMIDT, *Siedlungen Palästinas in griechisch-römischer Zeit* (BTAVO B/93), Wiesbaden 1995, p. 55, tentatively suggests Tel Anafa, 7 km south of Tell al-Qāḍi, at the foot of the Golan heights, but this site is close to the place where boundary stones of Galania have been found; cf. *ibid.*, p. 159, and M. AVI-YONAH, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine* (Qedem 5), Jerusalem 1976, p. 58 and 107, Map 2.

¹¹⁸ OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 288-289, *AramGraf* 15 and 16; cf. p. 295, *AramGraf* 22. Following A. LEMAIRE, *Notes d'épigraphie nord-ouest sémitique* 20. À propos de deux graffiti araméens de Hamat, in *Syria* 64 (1987), p. 214-216 (see p. 216, n. 70), we prefer reading 'ḥmh in *AramGraf* 16.



Upper part of the basalt stela from Umm Šaršūh, 66 cm high, 48 cm wide
(İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Inv. No. 7786).

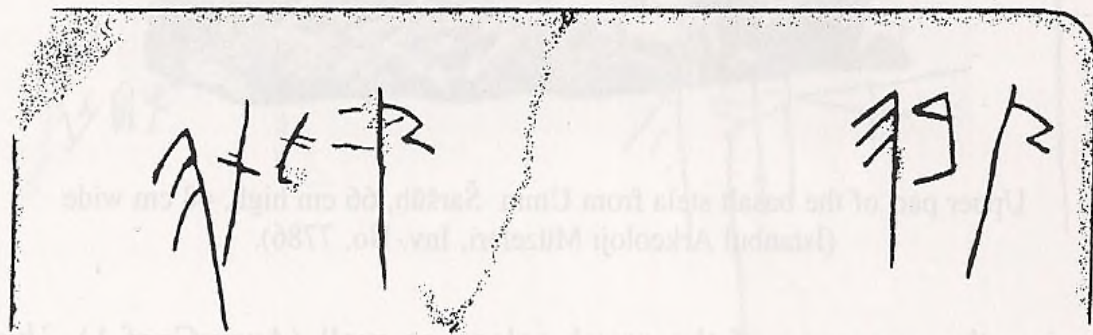
tioning the governor of the royal palace as well (*AramGraf* 1), 'ḥmh might be the name of an adjunct responsible for the delivery of a part of the slabs. This personal name is attested elsewhere¹¹⁹, but the nature of the graffiti may also support the view that 'ḥmh is a place in an area depending directly from the governor. Stephen of Byzantium mentions a city 'Ακμαθα in Arabia, that he identifies with 'Αμαθα explaining that the city “was so called because of the sand”, ἀπὸ τῆς ἄμμου¹²⁰. This

¹¹⁹ A probably Aramaic seal bears the inscription *l'ḥmh*; cf. F. VATTIONI, *I sigilli, le monete e gli avori aramaici*, in *Augustinianum* 11 (1971), p. 47-87 (see p. 49, No. 4); L.G. HERR, *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals*, Missoula 1978, p. 45, No. 92. See also *PNA* I/1, p. 65-66.

¹²⁰ STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*, ed. by A. MEINEKE, *Ethnicorum quae supersunt*, Berlin 1849, s.v. 'Αμαθα.

comment seems to indicate that the alternative pronunciation of the place name was "Ἀμμαθα (< *Ḥammata¹²¹), probably to be identified with *Ammatha* in *Not. Dign. Or.* XXXIII, 35¹²¹. *Ammatha* is located at Bi'r al-Ḥammām¹²², 90 km northeast of Ḥamath, about 125 km by ancient roads. Although the ruins on the site date from the 2nd-3rd century A.D., the well with abundant water was certainly a meeting point for nomadic tribes, following their flocks and herds over the steppe from time immemorial. However, too many assumptions would be involved if we identify 'ḥmh with Stephen's 'Ἀκμαθα and follow him in his identification of 'Ἀκμαθα with 'Ἀμαθα.

On one of the slabs from Ḥamā, the name *Ṣlth* appears about 12 cm to the left of *Ṣoba*¹²³. If this is a place name, as we believe, it may be related to *Saltatha* in the *Not. Dign. Or.* XXXII, 20. The latter was tentatively located at Namāra and at Ṣadad¹²⁴, but these suggestions lack any concrete basis. This is why we suggest either Ṣal'āta, 16 km east of Baṭrūn¹²⁵, or Tell as-Salad, 5 km north of Tell as-Salhab, at the southern end of the Ġāb¹²⁶. The latter location is perhaps preferable, since the first identification brings us quite far from Ḥamā. However, in neither case is there an apparent relationship to *Ṣoba*.



AramGraf 12

¹²¹ O. SEEK (ed.), *Notitia dignitatum utriusque Imperii*, Berlin 1876.

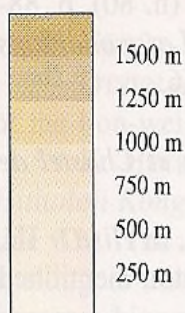
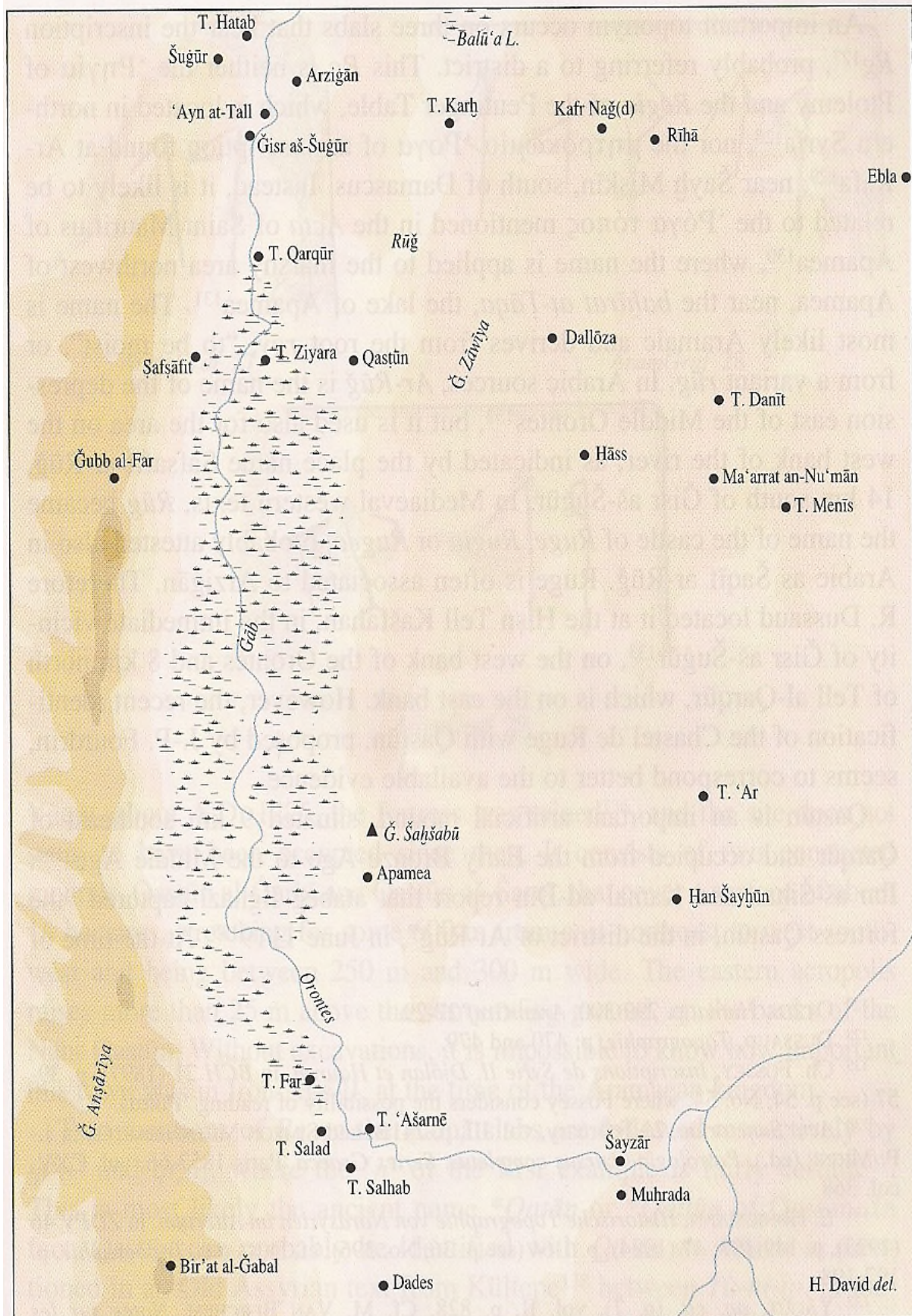
¹²² DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 276; R. MOUTERDE - A. POIDEBARD, *op. cit.* (n. 67), p. 85-86, 207-208.

¹²³ OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 286, *AramGraf* 12.

¹²⁴ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 268-269.

¹²⁵ M. FEGHALI, *Le parler de Kfar'abîda (Liban-Syrie)*, Paris 1919, p. 42, § 2. This is *Ṣil'āta* according to WILD, *Ortsnamen*, p. 119.

¹²⁶ J.-Cl. COURTOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 80), p. 56-57, No. 42.



0 10 20 km



11. Al-Ġāb and Ġebel az-Zāwīya.

An important toponym occurs on three slabs that bear the inscription *Rg*¹²⁷, probably referring to a district. This *Rg* is neither the ‘Ρηγία of Ptolemy and the *Regia* of the Peutinger Table, which is located in northern Syria¹²⁸, nor the μητροκωμία ‘Ρογα of an inscription found at Ar-Rāfa¹²⁹, near Šayḥ Miskīn, south of Damascus. Instead, it is likely to be related to the ‘Ρόγα τόπος mentioned in the *Acta* of Saint Mauritius of Apamea¹³⁰, where the name is applied to the marshy area northwest of Apamea, near the *baḥīrat at-Ṭāqa*, the lake of Apamea¹³¹. The name is most likely Aramaic and derives from the root *rgy*, “to be moist”, or from a variant *rūg*. In Arabic sources, *Ar-Rūğ* is the name of the depression east of the Middle Orontes¹³², but it is used also for the area on the west bank of the river, as indicated by the place name Šafšafit ar-Rūğ, 14 km south of Ġisr aš-Šuğūr. In Mediaeval western texts, *Rūg* became the name of the castle of *Ruge*, *Rugia* or *Rugea*, probably attested also in Arabic as Šaqīf ar-Rūğ. Ruge is often associated to Arziḡān. Therefore R. Dussaud located it at the Ḥiṣn Tell Kašfahan, in the immediate vicinity of Ġisr aš-Šuğūr¹³³, on the west bank of the Orontes and 8 km north of Tell al-Qarqūr, which is on the east bank. However, the recent identification of the Chastel de Ruge with Qaṣṭūn, proposed by J.-P. Fourdrin, seems to correspond better to the available evidence.

Qaṣṭūn is an important artificial mound, situated 9 km southeast of Qarqūr and occupied from the Early Bronze Age to the Middle Ages¹³⁴. Ibn aš-Šiḥna and Kamal ad-Dīn report that atabeg Ilghazi captured “the fortress Qaṣṭūn, in the district of Ar-Rūğ”, in June 1119¹³⁵. At the time of

¹²⁷ OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 299-300, *AramGraf* 27-29.

¹²⁸ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 470 and 479.

¹²⁹ Ch. FOSSEY, *Inscriptions de Syrie II. Djôlan et Hauran*, in *BCH* 21 (1897), p. 39-57 (see p. 54, No. 54, where Fossey considers the possibility of reading ‘Ρόπα).

¹³⁰ *Acta Sanctorum*, 21 February, vol. III, p. 241B, and SIMEON METAPHRASTES, in J.-P. MIGNE (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*, Paris 1857-66, vol. CXV, col. 368.

¹³¹ E. HONIGMANN, *Historische Topographie von Nordsyrien im Altertum*, in *ZDPV* 46 (1923), p. 149-193; 47 (1924), p. 1-64 (see p. 36, No. 396); cf. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 197-198.

¹³² YĀQŪT, *op. cit.* (n. 7), vol. II, p. 828. Cf. M. VAN BERCHEM, *Notes sur les croisades*, in *JA* 1902-I, p. 385 ff. (see p. 397); J.-Ch. COURTOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 80), p. 88-99; J. BESANÇON - B. GEYER, *La cuvette du Ruğ (Syrie du Nord). Les conditions naturelles et les étapes de la mise en valeur*, in *Syria* 72 (1995), p. 307-356.

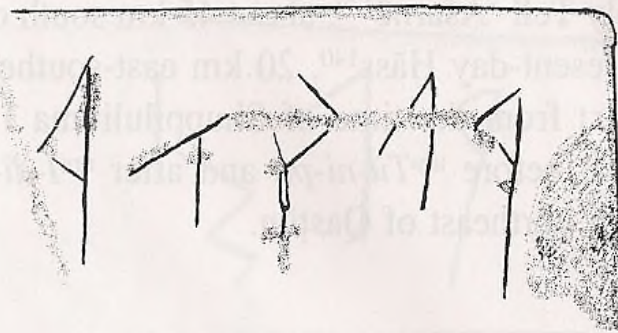
¹³³ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 165-178.

¹³⁴ J.-Cl. COURTOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 80), p. 84-88; J.-P. FOURDRIN, *Qaṣṭūn et Chastel de Ruge*, in *Syria* 72 (1995), p. 415-426.

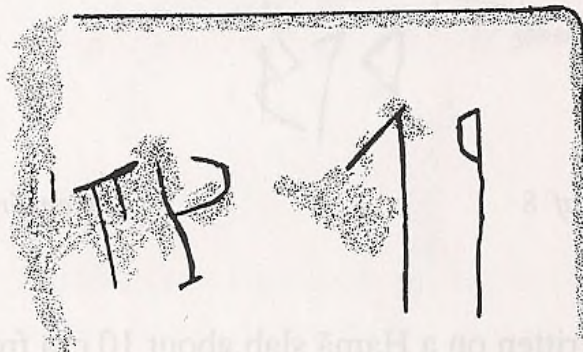
¹³⁵ IBN AŠ-ŠIḤNA MUḤIBBADDĪN, *op. cit.* (n. 63), p. 217; KAMAL AD-DĪN, in *HistOr* III, Paris 1884, p. 615. Qaṣṭūn of the Arab chroniclers is distinct from the Gaston mentioned by Western writers; cf. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 169 and 433.



AramGraf 27



AramGraf 28



AramGraf 29

Yāqūt, about A.D. 1225, the fortress was ruined¹³⁶, and the site does not seem to have been occupied since then. It consists of two connected mounds, Qaṣṭūn al-Ġarbī and Qaṣṭūn aš-Šarqī, that cover a surface of about 16 hectares, stretching for some 600 m from east-northeast to west-south-west and being between 250 m and 300 m wide. The eastern acropolis raises more than 25 m above the surrounding ground, on the banks of the Nahr Qaṣṭūn. Without excavations, it is impossible to know how important this town was in Iron Age II, at the time of the Aramaean kingdom.

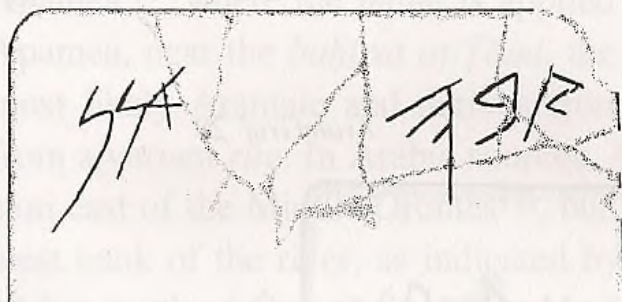
Two mentions of *Rg* on the Ḥamā slabs are followed respectively by *qt'n* and *qt'n*, where the 'n' of the first example is fairly certain¹³⁷. This is most likely the ancient name **Qatān* or **Qattūn* of Qaṣṭūn. In fact, Qaṣṭūn can probably be identified with *Qá-ta-an*, which is mentioned in an Old Assyrian text from Kültepe¹³⁸ between *Tù-ni-ip*, proba-

¹³⁶ YĀQŪT, *op. cit.* (n. 7), vol. IV, p. 97. Cf. G. LE STRANGE, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 490.

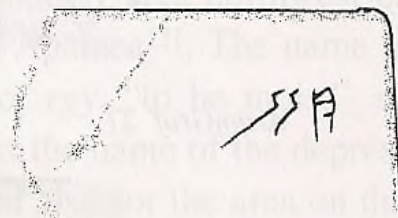
¹³⁷ OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 300, AramGraf 28-29. The second letter is very similar to the *t* of the lion-weights from Nineveh, that date from the last quarter of the 8th century B.C.

¹³⁸ K. HECKER, *Hitit Çivi Yazısının Kökeni Hakkında*, in S. ALP (ed.), *Uluslararası I. Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri (19-21 Temmuz 1990)*, Ankara 1993, p. 43-63 (see p. 53 ff., line 11). The editor suggests to identify this place with Qatna-Tell Mişrife, but the spelling is unusual for this city name and the distance between the towns mentioned becomes bigger.

bly Tell 'Ašarnē¹³⁹, about 45 km south of Qaṣṭūn, and *Haššu*, very likely present-day Ḥāss¹⁴⁰, 20 km east-southeast of Qaṣṭūn. Besides, a Hittite text from the time of Shuppiluliuma I seems to mention ^{ur}[^uQ]á-ta-an just before ^{uru}Tù-ni-pa and after ^{uru}I-dì-bá-a¹⁴¹, that might be Idlib, 35 km northeast of Qaṣṭūn.



AramGraf 8



AramGraf 9

The words *'nn*, written on a Ḥamā slab about 10 cm from *Šbh*, and *hnn*, on another slab¹⁴², may be place names as well. In fact, a town *Ḥananā* is mentioned in the Ḥarrān Census and both Anān and Ḥānin occur nowadays in Lebanon as toponyms. In Syria, Kafrnan (<*Kafr Anan) is the name of a village situated near the left bank of the Orontes, 28 km south of Ḥamā and 9 km southwest of Ar-Rastan. Besides, two Greek inscriptions mention a borough of K[α]πρανανέων¹⁴³ or Καπρονανέων¹⁴⁴, near Apamea. Both *'nn* and *hnn* can be transcribed -αναν- or -οναν-.

The place name *Rgm* occurs on three red-polished slabs¹⁴⁵. The three examples of the letter *m* are quite different, but there can be no doubt about the reading. The place name obviously derives from the word *rigm(ā)*, “stone”, and must allude to a sacred pillar or a megalithic structure. Although no other attestations of this name are available so far, one may link it with the citadel of Tell 'Ašarnē, culminating at 229 m and

¹³⁹ Line 7. Cf. above, p. 260. A possible alternative could be offered by the large mound of Ḥomṣ, where pottery going back to Early Bronze III was found: M. MOUSSELI, *Tell Ḥomṣ (Qal'at Ḥomṣ)*, in *ZDPV* 100 (1984), p. 9-11.

¹⁴⁰ Line 16. Cf. below, p. 293.

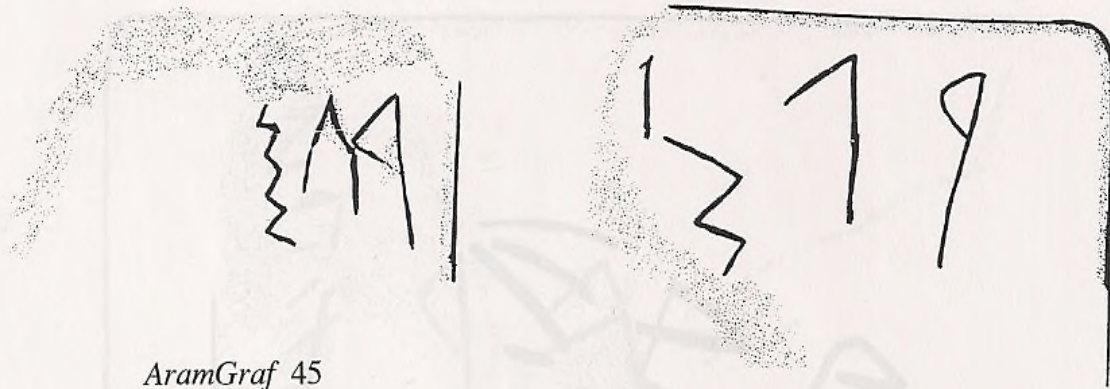
¹⁴¹ Compare H. KLENGEL, *art. cit.* (n. 54), p. 132, obv., lines 11'-12'.

¹⁴² OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 282, *AramGraf* 8 and 9. Both are interpreted by the editor as personal names.

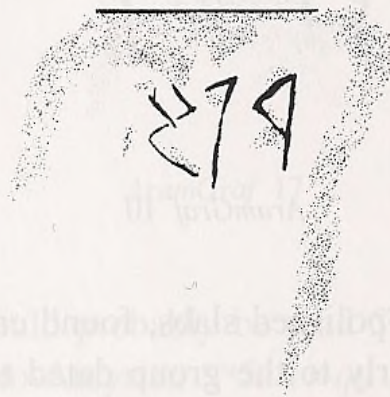
¹⁴³ *ICUR* III, 8048.

¹⁴⁴ *CIG* 9434 (facsimile in vol. III). Cf. D. FEISSEL, *Remarques de toponymie syrienne d'après des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes trouvées hors de Syrie*, in *Syria* 59 (1982), p. 319-343 (see p. 332-333).

¹⁴⁵ OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 311-312, *AramGraf* 45-47.



AramGraf 45



AramGraf 46

AramGraf 47

occupied in Iron Age II, or with the site of Umm ar-Raḡīm, 26 km southeast of Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān¹⁴⁶. This is the site of an ancient city where several Greek inscriptions of the Byzantine period and high quality architectural remains have been recovered¹⁴⁷.

A damaged red slab bears a clearly written inscription *Ybb*¹⁴⁸. The personal and tribal name *Yōbab* occurs several times in the Bible, and a similar name is encountered in Neo-Assyrian texts¹⁴⁹. Therefore, it may well be a personal or a tribal name, but one cannot exclude the possibility of its being a place name. In fact, a number of Semitic toponyms begin with the morpheme *ya-*, sometimes shortened to *a-*, and this might have been the case of the name given in Egyptian (*'Ip*) and in the Amarna correspondence to the area of Damascus, called KUR *A-bi* or *Ú-be* in cuneiforms, possibly **(Y)ābbi* > **(Y)ōbbe* from the same root as *Ybb*. Although no similar toponym occurs in the concerned Ḥamathite area, we would like to point here at the large and well shaped tell on the site of the village of Ḡobb aṣ-Ṣafā, only 8 km northeast of Ḥamā, on the road to Ma'ar Ṣaḥūr¹⁵⁰.

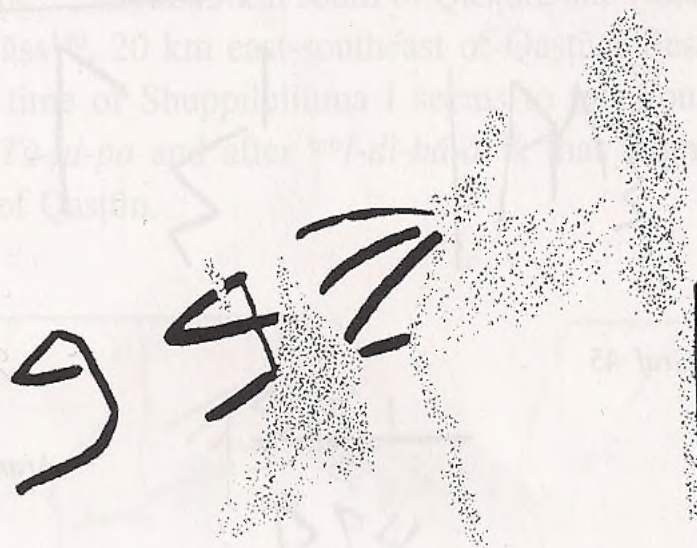
¹⁴⁶ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map X, B3.

¹⁴⁷ J. LASSUS, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 34-41.

¹⁴⁸ OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 284, AramGraf 10.

¹⁴⁹ E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Les Sémites selon Gen 10, 21-30 et 1 Chr 1, 17-23*, in ZAH 6 (1993), p. 193-215 (see p. 213).

¹⁵⁰ J. LASSUS, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 192 and Map No. 103.



AramGraf 10

One of the Ḥamā red-polished slabs, found casually in a mediaeval layer but belonging clearly to the group dated to the mid-8th century B.C., bears the inscription *yrs* instead of the editor's *yrh*¹⁵¹. This is likely to be a place name as well, that may occur also in a Hittite list of towns in central Syria, from the time of Shuppiluliuma I. There, [^{uru}]a-ra-aš-ša is mentioned immediately after [^{ur}]uZi-ia-ra¹⁵², a place name that corresponds exactly to that of Tell az-Ziyara, 7 km south of Qarqūr, on the east bank of the Orontes river¹⁵³. No precise location can be proposed yet for this town *Yaras.

Four clearly incised inscriptions in a "South-Arabian" script type provide the name of places in a remote area of the kingdom, near the confluence of the Euphrates and of the Ḥābūr. A deeply incised *Ylh* appears on one red-polished slab¹⁵⁴. If this is a place name, it should be related to *Yaliḥum* known from a Mari letter and very likely belonging to the area of Šaggaratum, a city on the Lower Ḥābūr, one day journey from Terqa, i.e. about 30 km. It was suggested above to identify Šaggaratum with Tell al-Ġubn and to localize Yaliḥum at Tell Maših, almost opposite Tell al-Ġubn, on the left bank of the Ḥābūr¹⁵⁵. The

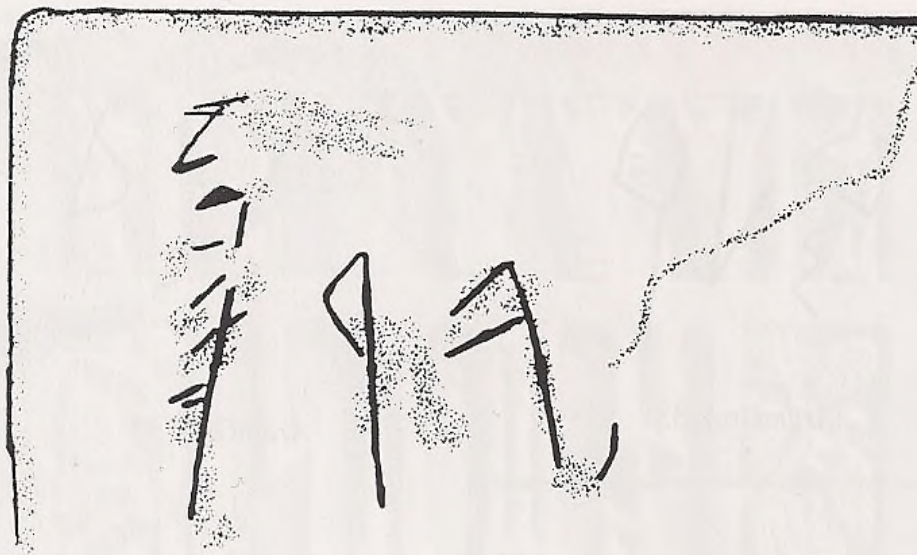
¹⁵¹ OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 291, AramGraf 17.

¹⁵² H. KLENGEL, *art. cit.* (n. 54), p. 132, obv. 3', with n. 40-42.

¹⁵³ J.-Cl. COURTOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 80), p. 56-57, No. 27.

¹⁵⁴ OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 303, AramGraf 33.

¹⁵⁵ See here above, p. 92 and 93-94. The one day's journey from Terqa to Šaggaratum is mentioned in ARM XIV, 115, 5-8, while the location of Yaliḥum in the area of Šaggaratum results from ARM XIV, 69; cf. J.-R. KUPPER, in ARM XVI/1, Paris 1979, p. 38.



AramGraf 17

second inscription should probably be read S^2rq^{156} , i.e. **Šerqu*, to be identified with the Neo-Assyrian ^{uru}*Se-er-qu* and the Old Babylonian Terqa, at the site now known as Tell al-‘Ašāra, on the right bank of the Euphrates¹⁵⁷. On the third slab, one can read *’dmh*, but no other source seems to preserve this name. The fourth slab probably bears the inscription *’rw’ttm*¹⁵⁸. This might be either the *Avatha* of Roman milestones, present-day Beḥara¹⁵⁹, some 15 km south of Palmyra, or the Αὐδατθα of Ptolemy who mentions it as a town lying in Arabia Deserta, on the west bank of the Euphrates, and situates it between Αὐζαρα, i.e. Dayr az-Zawr (Dēr ez-Zōr), and Αἰδδαρα, probably Dura Europos¹⁶⁰. It should then be located to the north of Abū Kamāl. The probable pronunciation of the name was either **’Awattum* or **’Awtattum*, with mimation, or the like. Ptolemy’s transcription witnesses the Aramaic change $t > t$, since τθ is a frequent Greek notation of geminated *tt*.

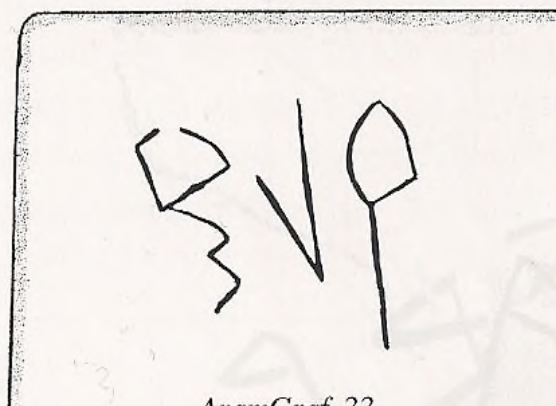
¹⁵⁶ OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 302, AramGraf 32. There is a striking similarity between the first letter and the cursive South Arabian s^2 .

¹⁵⁷ Cf. H.F. RUSSELL, *art. cit.* (n. 14), p. 63, and here above, p. 96.

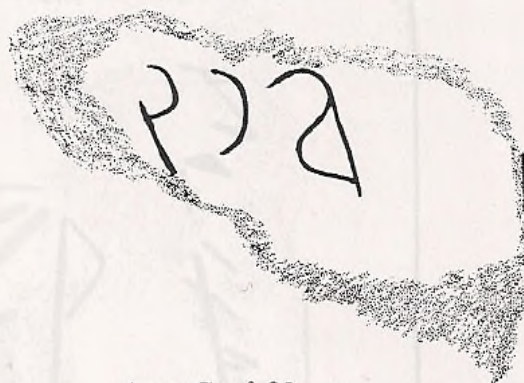
¹⁵⁸ Respectively OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 304, AramGraf 34, and p. 301, AramGraf 30.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. T. BAUZOU, *Activité de la mission archéologique “Strata Diocletiana” en 1990 à 1992*, in *Chronique archéologique en Syrie* 1 (1992 [1997]), p. 136-140 (see p. 137).

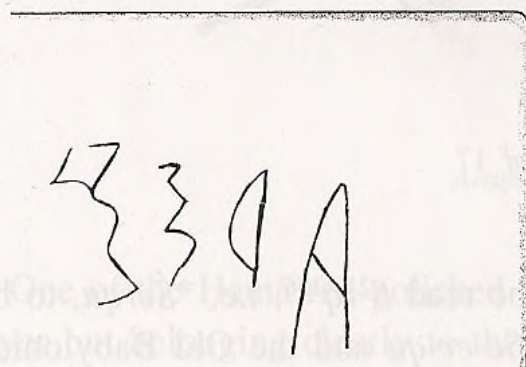
¹⁶⁰ PTOLEMY, *Geography* V, 18. These identifications and locations are proposed by DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 455-457. Despite some phonetic similarities, no connection can be established with the country Wadastani, “Water province”, mentioned in the hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Muḥrada and Qal‘at Šayzār, where the Ḥamā-Apamea road crosses the Orontes; cf. A.M. JASINK, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 104-105.



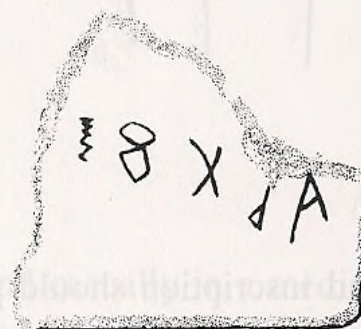
AramGraf 33



AramGraf 32



AramGraf 34



AramGraf 30

The slabs from Ḥamā date approximately from the same period as the archive of the virtually independent ruler of Sūḥu around 770 B.C. Now, one of the documents of this archive reports the ruler's victory over two thousand Aramaean tribesmen marching on Laqē and having a certain Yā'ē, son of Balaam, as leader of the ^{lū}A-mat-a-a, one of the invading tribes¹⁶¹. This tribal name has been related to Ḥamath¹⁶², but it certainly refers to a seminomadic tribe in Babylonia¹⁶³, not in the Syrian steppe, where the king of Ḥamath must have exercised a certain authority.

If this is the case, as suggested by the presence of a Ḥamathite governor in the land of Laqē, by the royal correspondence with the ruler of Sūḥu, by Zakkūr's origin from 'Anā, and by the inscribed slabs from Ḥamā, then one would expect that the Ḥamathite king also controlled the caravan route leading through the oasis of Palmyra to the land of Laqē. No explicit information is available so far, but one of the names appear-

¹⁶¹ A. CAVIGNEAUX - B. Kh. ISMAIL, *Die Statthalter von Suhu und Mari im 8. Jh. v. Chr. anhand neuer Texte aus den irakischen Grabungen im Staugebiet des Qadisija-Damms*, in *BaM* 21 (1990), p. 321-456 and Pl. 35-38, in particular Nos. 2 and 3 = RIMB II, text S.O.1002.2, p. 295, line 17; text S.O.1002.3, p. 201, line 8'.

¹⁶² DION, *Araméens*, p. 62-63.

¹⁶³ See here above, p. 106, and below, p. 425-428.



Ḥimyarite relief from the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. with the inscription *ḥtbn*, “the (sacred) precinct” (İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Inv. No. 7611). The first letter *ḥ* is identical with the last letter of *AramGraf* 33 and 34.

ing on the slabs of Ḥamā, namely *ʿwʿttm*, may designate Beḥara, as suggested above, while another one, *Zʿl*¹⁶⁴, may refer to the district of *kurA-za-al-la* in the Syrian steppe¹⁶⁵. According to the Tell ar-Rimāḥ stela, this area belonged to the province of Raṣappa¹⁶⁶, and *kurA-za-la-a-a* occurs also in a royal appointment that may date from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II¹⁶⁷. The report of an Ashurbanipal’s campaign against the Arabs provides more information, since it mentions *uruA-za-al-la* after *uruIa-ar-ki*¹⁶⁸, the present-day Arak, about 27 km east of Palmyra¹⁶⁹.

¹⁶⁴ OTZEN, *Hama*, p. 301, *AramGraf* 31. The *z* is the normal Aramaic cursive letter, attested from the 8th century B.C. on, while *ʿ* has the same shape as the Greek *A* borrowed from Semitic in the 8th century B.C.

¹⁶⁵ The Neo-Assyrian *a* prefixed to **Zaʿl* is paralleled in the same period by *Agūsi* for Aramaic *Gūš*.

¹⁶⁶ *RIMA* III, text A.O.101.7, p. 211, line 18.

¹⁶⁷ *SAA* XII, 83, r. 18.

¹⁶⁸ M. STRECK, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh’s*, Leipzig 1916, vol. II, p. 72, col. VIII, 107-108; p. 204, col. VI, [29]-30; R. BORGER, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, Wiesbaden 1996, p. 65 and 247, col. VIII, 107-108; p. 80, col. III, 46-48.

¹⁶⁹ I. EPHʿAL, *The Ancient Arabs*, Jerusalem 1982, p. 160-161 and 162. The identification of *uruIa-ar-ki* with *Beriarac* (*CIL* III, 14177, 4) and *Veriaraca* (*Not. Dign. Or.* XXXII, 34), 40 km southwest of Palmyra (Ḥān al-Ḥallābat), does not correspond, as it

If this district corresponds to the 'Azzāla valley, south-southwest of Palmyra¹⁷⁰, ^{uru}*Hu-ra-ri-na*, situated between ^{uru}*Ia-ar-ki* and ^{uru}*A-za-al-la*¹⁷¹, may correspond either to Ḥariġa, about 25 km southwest of Arak, or to Beḥara, 45 km southwest of Arak¹⁷², and ^{uru}*A-za-al-la*, where the Assyrian army pulled back for water¹⁷³, may be identified with Bi'r al-'Ulayyānīya, at the eastern end of the valley, 60 km south of Palmyra. In fact, this is a watering-place which the Bedouin hold in high esteem¹⁷⁴. This location of *Z'l* would allow an interpretation of the name *Dh'l*, that follows *Z'l* on the same slab¹⁷⁵. In fact, *Dh'l* might be related to Arabic *daḥala*, "to enter", which occurs in a place name like *Dahla*, "entrance", indicating a site where a road enters a geographically or politically determined area. However, the reading of the second letter is very uncertain.

d) Campaigns of Shalmaneser III (848 B.C.), Ashurnasirpal II, and Adad-nirari III

During his campaign of 848 against Ḥamath Shalmaneser III followed a less audacious route than in 853, along the Ġebel al-'Ala (^{kur}*Ia-ra-qu*)¹⁷⁶ and east of the Ġebel az-Zāwīya. At Ad-Dānā, as it seems on topographical grounds, he turned to the southwest and reached ^{uru}*Āš-ta(m)-ma-ku*¹⁷⁷, identified with Al-Maṣṭūma, Syriac 'Istamak ('ystmk), 5

seems, to the étapes of Ashurbanipal's itinerary. This identification is nevertheless favoured by M. WEIPPERT, *Die Kämpfe des assyrischen Königs Assurbanipal gegen die Araber*, in *WO* 7 (1973-74), p. 39-85 (see p. 64-65).

¹⁷⁰ A. MUSIL, *Arabia Deserta. A Topographical Itinerary*, New York 1927, p. 488 and Map.

¹⁷¹ See the references p. 279, under n. 168.

¹⁷² Cf. T. BAUZOU, *art. cit.* (n. 159), p. 138 and 139. The area of Beḥara, on the *Strata Diocletiana* (DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map XIV, 3C, sub Bouharra), has yielded Roman milestones. The Omayyad caliph al-Walid II was killed there in A.D. 744. — Musil's identification of Ḥurarīna with Qal'at al-Ḥurri, some 15 km northwest of Arak, does not correspond to Ashurbanipal's itinerary.

¹⁷³ M. STRECK, *op. cit.* (n. 168), vol. II, p. 72, col. VIII, 118-119; p. 204 and 206, col. VI, 39-40; R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 168), p. 65 and 247, col. VIII, 118-119; p. 80, col. III, 57-58.

¹⁷⁴ A. MUSIL, *Palmyrena. A Topographical Itinerary*, New York 1928, p. 294. Cf. I. EPH'AL, *op. cit.* (n. 169), p. 162-163.

¹⁷⁵ The shape of the second letter is irregular, but corresponds best to a *h*.

¹⁷⁶ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.6, p. 38, line 92; text A.0.102.10, p. 53, line 54; text A.0.102.16, p. 76, line 74'.

¹⁷⁷ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.6, p. 38, line 1 (^{uru}*Āš-tam-ma-ku*); text A.0.102.10, p. 53, line 56 (^{uru}*Ab-ši-ma-ku*); text A.0.102.16, p. 76, line 75' (^{uru}*Ab-ta-ma-ku*); text A.0.102.82, p. 147 (^{uru}*Āš-ta-ma-ku*).

km south of Idlib and about 60 km to the southwest of Aleppo¹⁷⁸. Although Shalmaneser III claims to have conquered ninety, eighty-nine or eighty-six localities, Aštamaku is the only one mentioned by name in the annals and on the Gates of Balāwāt. The fortified city, assaulted by archers, is represented there in a wooded region¹⁷⁹. Scaling ladders have been set up at each side of the fortress. Below, soldiers are seen swimming in the water, without any evident connection with the attack of the city. The Japanese excavations of the ancient mound, the size of which is about 200 m by 200 m, have recognized two upper levels from Iron Age II and six levels from the Bronze Age¹⁸⁰. The decline of the prosperous and well-planned city of Level I-2b, surrounded in a 10 km radius by seventeen recorded Iron Age sites, began in Level I-2a, most likely after the events of 848 B.C.

Aštamaku was probably the furthest place Shalmaneser III attained to during the 848 campaign against the kingdom of Ḥamath. Then he pulled back marching to ^{uru}Ap-pa-ra-su, a city of the kingdom of Arpad, that can be identified with Tell al-Barša, 14 km northeast of Al-Bāb¹⁸¹.

The annals of Shalmaneser III indicate that he never reached further than the northwestern province of the kingdom of Ḥamath, Qarqar being the southernmost point of his incursions. Instead, Ashurnasirpal II had gone further to the south when he marched two days from the banks of the Sangura river to establish his quarters in the fortress of ^{uru}A-ri-bu-a, that still belonged at that time to the kingdom of Pattin¹⁸². Aribua most likely corresponds either to the village of Raba'u > Rab'ō, 5 km northwest of Maşyaf¹⁸³, where Iron Age remains have been identified, or to

¹⁷⁸ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 239; A. CAQUOT, in G. TCHALENKO, *op. cit.* (n. 75), vol. III, p. 68-69.

¹⁷⁹ L.W. KING, *op. cit.* (n. 49), Pl. LXXV, band XIII, upper register. Cf. also ANEP, No. 365.

¹⁸⁰ N. EGAMI - S. MASUDA (eds.), *Tell Mastuma. Excavations in the Idlib District, Syria I-II*, Tokyo 1984-88; Sh. WAKITA et al., *Tell Mastuma — A Preliminary Report of the Excavations in Idlib, Syria, 1993*, in *Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum* 15 (1994), p. 23-49; ID. et. al., *Tell Mastuma*, in BUNNENS, *Syria*, p. 509-530.

¹⁸¹ See here above p. 207 with n. 74.

¹⁸² RIMA II, text A.O.101.1, p. 218, lines 78-82. The city is qualified as *āl dannūti*, while Kinalua/Kunulua is a *āl šarrūti*; cf. Y. IKEDA, *Royal Cities and Fortified Cities*, in *Iraq* 41 (1979), p. 75-87, in particular p. 76-77. The number of Ḥamathite "royal cities" in Shalmaneser III's annals (cf. *ibid.*, p. 79-80) casts a doubt on the real significance of this distinction.

¹⁸³ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 241. It is impossible to localize Aribua at Ġisr aš-Šuġūr, as proposed by M. LIVERANI, *Studies in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, 2: Topographical Analysis*, Roma 1992, p. 76-77, since the fortress was a two days' march distant from the Sangura river (RIMA II, text A.O.101.1, p. 218, lines 80-81). Following the road on the left side of the Orontes, the Assyrian army passed between Mounts Saratinu and Qalpānu, probably the Ġebel Wastāni, east of the river, and the Ġebel Quşayr, west

the Ḥiṣn al-Ḥariba, described in the 12th century A.D. by Usāma ibn Munqīd (1095-1184) in his *Kitāb al-I'tibār*¹⁸⁴, but so far not localized. The correct form of this place name, written *ḥrybh* or *ḥrbyh* without diacritics¹⁸⁵, seems to have been either *Ḥarība* or *Ḥarbiya*, which is a name almost identical with Assyrian *A-ri-bu-a*. It is important for our purpose to notice that Aribua served as Ashurnasirpal's basis to ravage the land of Luğath¹⁸⁶. These operations seem to have taken place northwest of Ḥamā and indicate how far to the south the state of Pattin and the province of Luğath were extending at that time. From there, Ashurnasirpal II went to Mount Lebanon and to the Phoenician coastal cities.

Although ^{kur}*Lu-ḥu-te* is mentioned on Shalmaneser III's stone statue from Ashur as one of the countries conquered by the king¹⁸⁷, Ḥamath is conspicuously missing in this list, and Ḥatarikka, the main city of Luğath, never appears in Shalmaneser III's inscriptions. The actual extension of the kingdom of Ḥamath in the 9th century B.C. cannot therefore be established on the sole basis of the Assyrian inscriptions from the 9th century B.C. and of the graffiti on the slabs found at Ḥamā. One thing is sure, nevertheless: the region southwest and even west of Aleppo, as far as the Orontes river, belonged to the kingdom of Ḥamath. Later Assyrian sources, dating from the time of the Aramaean kingdom, provide further indications.

An important source is the Antakya stela found fortuitously *ca.* 1968 about half-way between Antakya and Samandağ (Sweidiyeh), on the southern side of the road (13 km), near the Orontes¹⁸⁸. It is the record of

of the Orontes. The Assyrians pitched camp by "the Lakes" ([A.AB].BA.MEŠ), i.e. the marches of Al-Ġāb, west of Apamea, and they entered Aribua on the second day, apparently without meeting resistance.

¹⁸⁴ The unique manuscript so far known was first published by H. DERENBOURG (ed.), *Usāma b. Munqīd, un émir syrien au premier siècle des Croisades (1095-1188): Kitāb al-I'tibār, Autobiographie. Texte arabe*, Paris 1886, p. 36 and 58. French translation by H. DERENBOURG, *Ousama Ibn Mounqidh (1095-1188): Souvenirs historiques et récits de chasse*, Paris 1895, p. 48 and 79. Cf. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 145-147. There are other editions by P.K. HITTI (Princeton Oriental Texts 1, Princeton 1930), I.J. KRAČKOVSKY and E.A. BELYAEV (Moscow 1958), and Q. AL-SĀMARRĀ'Ī (Riyad 1987), as well as an English translation by P.K. HITTI (Princeton 1929).

¹⁸⁵ Edition by H. DERENBOURG, *op. cit.* (n. 184), p. 36, line 6.

¹⁸⁶ *RIMA* II, text A.0.101.1, p. 218, lines 81-84.

¹⁸⁷ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.25, p. 98, line 10.

¹⁸⁸ The inscription was published by V. DONBAZ, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae in the Antakya and Kahramanmaraş Museums*, in *ARRIM* 8 (1990), p. 5-24, in particular p. 6-7 = *RIMA* III, text A.0.104. 2, p. 203-204. The distance between Antakya and Samandağ (V. DONBAZ, *art. cit.*, p. 5) should be corrected from "3 km" into "13 km". A transliteration and translation of the text is given also by S. PONCHIA, *L'Assiria e gli stati transeufratici nella prima metà dell'VIII sec. a.C.*, Padova 1991, p. 10-11. It is obvious

a boundary agreement between the kings of Arpad and of Ḥamath which was arbitrated by the Assyrian *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu, who fixed the boundary on the river:

“⁴The boundary between Zakkūr (^m*Za-ku-ri*) the Ḥamathite ⁵(and) ‘Attarsumki, son of Hadrām (^m*A-tar-šum-ki* A ^m*Ad-ra-mu*), Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, (and) Shamshi-ilu, commander-in-chief, ⁶have established. The town of Naḥl-Aš(š)i (*Na-aḥ-la-si*) with its fields, its orchards, ⁷[and] its compounds belongs entirely to ‘Attarsumki. The Orontes river (^{id}*Ar-am-tū*) between themselves, ⁸they have [ha]lved and divided. Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, (and) Shamshi-ilu, ⁹commander-in-chief, have exonerated ⁸the territory of the Water province (NAM A) ⁹and given (it) to ‘Attarsumki, son of Hadrām, to his sons ¹⁰(and) to his subsequent grandsons as a gift. (That) his city (within) its boundaries ¹¹[belongs] to the territory of his country, they have decided.”

This inscription is not dated, but it must be placed certainly after 808 B.C., when Nergal-ilaya was still *turtānu*¹⁸⁹, and before 783 B.C., the last year of Adad-nirari III's reign. Besides, it has to be anterior to the Assyrian campaigns to the West, when ‘Attarsumki I and his son were Assyria's foes. Now, these campaigns occurred in the first half of Adad-nirari III's reign, beginning in 805 and apparently ending in 796 B.C.¹⁹⁰. The campaign of 805 resulted in the surrender of Arpad which, under its ruler ‘Attarsumki I, had incited its neighbours to rebel against Adad-nirari III (810-783 B.C.) and withhold tribute¹⁹¹. The crushing of this rebellion was followed in 804 by a campaign to Ḥazāzu, modern ‘Azāz, north of Arpad¹⁹². In these circumstances, — in 805 according to the

that the Orontes river is mentioned only as a border-mark; cf. N. WAZANA, *Water Division in Border Agreements*, in *SAAB* 10 (1996), p. 55-66. It is unlikely that the stela was conveyed down the Orontes, over some 100 km, from an assumed original emplacement near Ġisr aš-Šuġūr to the neighbourhood of Antakya, as assumed on unspecified grounds by J.D. HAWKINS, *art. cit.* (n. 32), p. 96.

¹⁸⁹ MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 33, where one must restore [*tur-t*]a-nu. Cf. S. PONCHIA, *op. cit.* (n. 188), p. 49.

¹⁹⁰ This chronological skeleton is provided by the Eponym Chronicle: MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 33-35. Cf. M. WEIPPERT, *Die Feldzüge Adadniraris III. nach Syrien: Voraussetzungen, Verlauf, Folgen*, in *ZDPV* 108 (1992 [1993]), p. 42-67.

¹⁹¹ H. TADMOR, *The Historical Inscriptions of Adad-nirari III*, in *Iraq* 35 (1973), p. 141-150, in particular p. 145: Saba'a Stela = *RIMA* III, text A.0.104.6, p. 208-209, lines 11b-18a; S. PAGE, *A Stela of Adad-nirari III and Nergal-ereš from Tell al Rimah*, in *Iraq* 30 (1968), p. 139-159 and Pl. XXIX, in particular p. 142 = *RIMA* III, text A.0.104.7, p. 211, lines 4-6a; A.R. MILLARD - H. TADMOR, *Adad-nirari III in Syria*, in *Iraq* 35 (1973), p. 57-64 and Pl. XXIX, in particular p. 58: BM. 131124 = *RIMA* III, text A.0.104.5, p. 207, lines 3-9; cf. A.R. MILLARD - H. TADMOR, *art. cit.* p. 61: Minassian stone slab = *RIMA* III, text A.0.104.4, p. 206; V. DONBAZ, *art. cit.* (n. 188), in particular p. 9: Kizkapanli (Pazarcık) stela = *RIMA* III, text A.0.104.3, p. 205, lines 7b-11a.

¹⁹² See here above, p. 199 and 215.

Kizkapanli (Pazarcık) stela¹⁹³, — Assyria acted as intermediary between Kummuh and Gurgum, and the stela was erected on the border between the two countries, on the bank of the Aksu, southeast of Kahramanmaraş (Maraş), where the stela was found. However, the inscription on the reverse indicates that the stela was given back to Shuppiluliuma under the reign of Shalmaneser IV, when the Assyrian army returned from a campaign against Damascus¹⁹⁴, certainly in 773 B.C.¹⁹⁵. It seems therefore that Bar-Hadad II of Damascus had taken the stela as booty on one of his campaigns in northern Syria¹⁹⁶. Shamshi-ilu has recovered it in Damascus and given back to the king of Kummuh.

The similar Assyrian arbitrage over a border dispute, reported by the Antakya stela, should date from the same period, but precede the events of 805 B.C., when the Assyrian army had attacked Arpad. Considering that Shamshi-ilu was not appointed *turtānu* before 807/6 B.C. and that the wording of the Antakya inscription clearly implies that ‘Attarsumki I still was a subdued vassal of the Assyrian king, the stela must date from 807 or 806 B.C.¹⁹⁷, thus preceding ‘Attarsumki I’s high-treason. Its consequence was lost of land taken away from him by Adad-nirari III in 805, at least if the following restoration of the Minassian stone slab, lines 8’b-10’a, is correct: [^mAttaršumki] ⁹’mār ^mA-ra-me u[l-tu qereb mātīšu abtuqma šallassu] ¹⁰’ana la ma-ni am-h[ur]¹⁹⁸, “[‘Attarsumki], son of Hadrām, [I cut off] fr[om his land, and his booty] beyond account I recei[ved]”. As for Zakkūr, mentioned in the Antakya inscription without patronymic as an usurper, he appears as an independent ruler, who probably allowed the Assyrian army to cross his country in 803 in order to lay the siege to Damascus and to capture this city, but whose position as ruler of Ḥamath was still somewhat uncertain in 807 or 806, when the Assyrian arbitrage has to be placed.

¹⁹³ According to the obverse inscription of the Kizkapanli (Pazarcık) stela, published by V. DONBAZ, *art. cit.* (n. 188), p. 8-10, the Assyrian arbitrage took place “in the same year” (*ina MU.AN.NA šá-a-te: RIMA III*, text A.0.104.3, p. 205, line 15) as the victorious expedition against Arpad, i.e. in 805 B.C. as stated in the Eponym Chronicle.

¹⁹⁴ This is stated explicitly on the reverse of the Kizkapanli (Pazarcık) stela: *RIMA III*, text A.0.105.1, p. 240, lines 11-13a.

¹⁹⁵ MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 58. Cf. below, p. 400.

¹⁹⁶ See also here below, p. 400.

¹⁹⁷ J. KAH-JIN KUAN, *Neo-Assyrian Historical Inscriptions and Syria-Palestine*, Hong Kong 1995, p. 77-78.

¹⁹⁸ See the copy published by V. SCHEIL, *Notules*, XXXV. *Fragment d’une inscription de Salmanasar, fils d’Aššurnāširpal*, in *RA* 14 (1917), p. 159-160 = *RIMA III*, text A.0.104.4, p. 206.

This dating and interpretation, which are the most likely in the light of the available scanty evidence¹⁹⁹, imply that 'Attarsumki I was not deprived of his throne after his rebellion²⁰⁰ and that Zakkūr had usurped the throne of Ḥamath already by 807/806 B.C. The latter's territory extends west of the Orontes, probably as far as the Mediterranean coast north of Latakia, but the lower course of the Orontes, in the plain of Antioch, forms its northern boundary, leaving the area of the Antakya Lake (Amık Gölü), the "Water province" (NAM A), in 'Attarsumki's realm. This situation justifies the opinion of J. Boardman who sees Al-Mina, founded in the beginning of the 8th century B.C.²⁰¹, the area surrounding this harbour town, and its hinterland as an Aramaean country, characterized by a mixed material culture²⁰². The Neo-Hittite kingdom of 'Umq/Pattin, mentioned among the allies intervening in 796 B.C. against Zakkūr, was thus reduced at that time to a small pocket around its capital Kinalua, probably Tell Tayinat on the northern bank of the Orontes²⁰³, near Demirköprü. This petty kingdom existed until 739/8 B.C., when Tiglath-pileser III captured its capital Kinalua and constituted the land as an Assyrian province²⁰⁴. As for the town of Naḥl-Aš(š)i, "Vale of Aš(š)i", granted to 'Attarsumki I by the agreement recorded in the inscription, it was most likely located in the region where the stela was found, in an area planted with trees and with orchards, on the bank of the Orontes.

This location suggests considering Aš(š)i not as a personal name²⁰⁵, but as a name of the Orontes river, reinterpreted later in Greek as Ἀξίος and in Arabic as 'Aṣi. The Macedonian military colony of Apamea, founded by Seleucus I Nicator on the Orontes, struck coins with the leg-

¹⁹⁹ The same conclusion is reached by É. PUECH, *La stèle de Bar-Hadad à Melqart et les rois d'Arpad*, in *RB* 99 (1992), p. 311-334 and Pl. XV-XVI, in particular p. 329-334.

²⁰⁰ Contrary to the conjectural restoration proposed by A.R. MILLARD - H. TADMOR, *art. cit.* (n. 191), p. 61. If 'Attarsumki I would have been deposed in these circumstances by Adad-nirari III, the mention of the Assyrian nominee would have followed in the inscription.

²⁰¹ See the synthesis of J. ELAYI, *Al-Mina sur l'Oronte à l'époque perse*, in E. LIPÍŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 249-266.

²⁰² J. BOARDMAN, *Al Mina and History*, in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 9 (1990), p. 169-186.

²⁰³ J.D. HAWKINS, *Kinalua*, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-80, p. 597-598.

²⁰⁴ *Tigl. III*, p. 56, 58, lines 3'-12'; cf. p. 66, lines [4-5]; p. 86, Ann. 2, lines 2-3; p. 148, lines 8-15; p. 152, lines [20-21]; p. 186, lines 26'-27'.

²⁰⁵ The personal name Aššī is often attested in the Neo-Assyrian period (APN, p. 31b; PNA I/1, p. 137-138), as A-si-i (SAA VI, 118, 1.4.13; SAA XI, 219, I, 21') or As-si-i (SAA XI, 203, r. II, 15'). It appears also later, especially as 'Aššī (JASTROW, p. 127b).

end ᾽Απαμέων τῶν πρὸς τῷ ᾽Αξίῳ²⁰⁶, practically quoted in the 5th century A.D. by Sozomen²⁰⁷. The precise form of the name was obviously suggested by the Macedonian ᾽Αξιός river. As for Arabic Nahr al-ʿAṣi, “the Rebel river”, it may reinterpret the old name directly, without any reference to a Greek intermediary²⁰⁸. The toponym Naḥl-Aš(š)i is paralleled in Assyrian sources by the ^{uru}*Naḥal Muṣur*²⁰⁹, which is “the Vale of the Borderland”²¹⁰, reinterpreted in Hebrew as “the Brook of Egypt”. The Assyrian determinative URU clearly indicates that this was no stream, but a town, probably present-day Al-ʿArīš²¹¹.

The Assyrian Eponym Chronicle for 796 B.C. records a campaign “to Manṣuate”, which will be later the chief-town of an Assyrian province in central Syria. The exact location of this city was subject of much discussion. Since this question is related to the events of 796 B.C., it will be examined below, in the section dealing with history²¹².

e) *Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III*

Another important source describing the Ḥamathite territory is provided by the annalistic inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 B.C.) that report on “the nineteen districts belonging to Ḥamath and the cities in their vicinity which are on the western seacoast”²¹³. This section refers to a great reorganization of the Assyrian provinces in 738 B.C., after the revolt

²⁰⁶ I. BENZINGER, *Axios* 3., in *PW* II/2, Stuttgart 1896, col. 2630, referring to J.H. VON ECKHEL, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, Wien 1792-98, vol. III, p. 309.

²⁰⁷ SOZOMEN, *Church History* VII, 15, 12, edited by J. BIDEZ - G.C. HANSEN, *Sozomenus: Kirchengeschichte* (GCS), Berlin 1960, p. 321: 24-25.

²⁰⁸ This was the opinion of ABEL, *Géographie* I, p. 463 with n. 2, and p. 462-463.

²⁰⁹ PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 256; M. WEIPPERT, *Naḥalmuṣur*, in *RLA* VIII/1-2, Berlin 1998, p. 81-82.

²¹⁰ This is the meaning of Akkadian *miṣru*: *AHW*, p. 659; *CAD*, M/2, p. 115b. Also an Old Arabian (?) plural is used in ^d*Dagān* ^{uru}*Muṣurūna* (*SAA* II, 2, VI, 21, with an erroneous emendation) and *M'n Mṣrn* (*RÉS* 3022, 1; 3535, 2), apparently referring to Minaean factories in the “Borderland” and to its “supervisors” (*kbry Mṣrn*: *RÉS* 3022, 1).

²¹¹ See references in ABEL, *Géographie* I, p. 301. However, one should notice that Νεῒλ does not mean “brook”, but “valley”, like in Ṣafaitic, or “palmgrove”, like in Arabic. More recent studies dealing with “the Brook of Egypt” are those by H. TADMOR, *The Assyrian Campaigns to Philistia: A Chronological-Historical Study*, in *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 22-40, 77-100 (see p. 7); A.F. RAINEY, *Toponymic Problems*, in *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982), p. 130-136 (see p. 131-132), as well as those quoted by M. WEIPPERT, *art. cit.* (n. 209), p. 82, where a questionable interpretation of *ana ittē* in Esarhaddon's texts leads to the conclusion that Rapiḥu was in the realm (“im Bereich”) of Naḥal Muṣur, while the phrase just means “near”.

²¹² See here below, p. 304-310.

²¹³ *Tigl. III*, p. 62, lines 9-10; p. 89, Ann. 26, lines 5-6.

led in Syria by 'Azriyau²¹⁴. The political influence of Ḥamath appears then to extend not only to coastal cities in the vicinity of present Latakia, as Ušnū, Ġabla, and Siyān, but also to Ṣumur, 'Arqā and Kasbuna.

The city ^{uru}Gu-ub-la, mentioned after Ḥadarik in Tiglath-pileser III's list²¹⁵, is not Byblos, but Ġabla, 20 km south of Latakia²¹⁶. The city ^{uru}Si-a(n)-nu is identified with Siānō, 8 km east of Ġabla²¹⁷, while ^{uru}Us-nu-u/ú would correspond to the small Tell Darūk, southeast of Ġabla²¹⁸. These three cities lay in a coastal plain which enjoys very favourable agricultural conditions. Siyān, besides, is located near a track crossing the Ġebel Anṣārīya in the direction of Ḥamā. Further south, the important city ^{uru}Ṣi-mir-ra must be identified with Tell al-Kāzil, 28 km south of Ṭartūs, on the right bank of the Nahr al-Abraš, 3.5 km from its mouth²¹⁹. It is the largest tell of this area, controlling the western outlet of the so-called Ḥomṣ pass which is the only natural road from central Syria to the Mediterranean coast. It is quite understandable therefore that Tiglath-pileser III chose Ṣumur as the head-quarters of one of the provinces he created for the former Ḥamathite territories annexed to Assyria²²⁰.

²¹⁴ See *Tigl. III*, p. 273-276, and below, p. 314-315.

²¹⁵ *Tigl. III*, p. 148, line 16; cf. p. 104, line 23'; p. 136, line 2'.

²¹⁶ References to classical sources in E. HONIGMANN, *art. cit.* (n. 127), p. 186, No. 180. For a description of the ancient site, see J.-P. REY-COQUAIS, *Arados et sa pérée* (BAH 97), Paris 1974. See also H. SEYRIG, *Scripta numismatica* (BAH 126), Paris 1986, p. 79-98.

²¹⁷ *Tigl. III*, p. 60, line 5; p. 66, line 6; p. 102, line 10'; p. 136, line 3'; p. 148, line 18; cf. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Siyān*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 418, with further literature. For the 1990 ff. excavations, see A. BOUNNI - M. AL-MAQDISSI, *Tell Sianu, un nouveau chantier syrien*, in G. C. IOANNIDÈS (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis*, Nicosia 1992, p. 129-140; ID. - ID., *Tell Sianū*, in *Syria* 70 (1993), p. 444-447; 72 (1995), p. 159-163; ID. - ID., *Compte rendu de la cinquième campagne de fouilles à Tell Sianū sur la côte syrienne*, in *Altorientalische Forschungen* 25 (1998), p. 257-264.

²¹⁸ *Tigl. III*, p. 60, line 5; p. 66, line 6; p. 136, line 3'; p. 148, line 18; cf. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Ushnatu/Ushnū*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 488, with further literature; J. LUND, *The Northern Coastline of Syria in the Persian Period. A Survey of the Archaeological Evidence*, in *Transeuphratène* 2 (1990), p. 13-36 (see p. 15-16).

²¹⁹ *Tigl. III*, p. 66, line 6; p. 102, line 11'; p. 136, line 2'; p. 148, line 17; p. 152, line 22; p. 176, line 9'; p. 186, line [1]. Cf. M. DUNAND - N. SALIBY, *À la recherche de Simyra*, in *AAS* 7 (1957), p. 3-16; M. DUNAND - A. BOUNNI - N. SALIBY, *Fouilles de Tell Kazel*, in *AAS* 14 (1964), p. 3-14; H. KLENGEL, *Ṣumar/Simyra und die Eleutheros-Ebene in der Geschichte Syriens*, in *Klio* 66 (1984), p. 5-18; E. GUBEL, *Tell Kazel (Ṣumur/Simyra) à l'époque perse*, in *Transeuphratène* 2 (1990), p. 37-49; H. SADER, *Tell Kazel and Ancient Simyra*, in *Berytus* 38 (1990), p. 17-22; R.R. STIEGLITZ, *The City of Amurru*, in *JNES* 50 (1991), p. 45-48; L. BADRE, *Recent Phoenician Discoveries at Tell Kazel*, in *ACFP* 2, Roma 1991, vol. II, p. 627-639; L. BADRE et al., *Tell Kazel (Syrie). Rapport préliminaire sur les 4^e-8^e campagnes de fouilles (1988-1992)*, in *Syria* 71 (1994), p. 259-359; E. CAPET - E. GUBEL, *Tell Kazel*, in BUNNENS, *Syria*, p. 423-458.

²²⁰ Cf. H. KESSLER, *art. cit.* (n. 32), p. 59-61.

Tiglath-pileser III's stela from Iran still mentions ^{uru}*El-li-šú* between ^{kur}*Si-an-nu* and ^{uru}*Ši-me-ra*²²¹. Mediaeval texts refer to *Aliis*, *Alus* or *Alosus* in the area around Bāniyās, where this city might be located. It is tempting to identify it with Qal'at al-Qūz, 2 km east of the shore-line, on the right bank of the Bāniyās river, where important remains of a fortified site, with walls 5-7 metres thick, are preserved for a length of 600 metres²²².

Two other towns of this region, ^{uru}*Ka-áš-bu-(ú-)na* and ^{uru}*Ar-qa-a*²²³, have been identified respectively with Kūsbā, between Tripoli and Baṭrūn, some 12 km inland²²⁴, and with the large Tell 'Arqā²²⁵, 17.5 km north of Tripoli, both in Lebanon. If the location of ^{uru}*Ar-qa-a* is convincing, that of ^{uru}*Ka-áš-bu-na* cannot be correct, since the text specifies that it lies "on the shore of the Lower Sea", *ša/šá a-aḥ tam-tim šap-li-ti*²²⁶. Instead of being in the south of the former Ḥamathite territory, it could be in the north and correspond to the excellent anchorage of Minat al-Kassab, at the present Turkish-Syrian border. The inland city of Kassab is commonly identified with the *Casambella* of the Crusaders²²⁷, while the ruins found near the shore have been related to the *Χαλαδρόπολις* of the

²²¹ *Tigl. III*, p. 104, line 11'. This place name might appear also in the annals, *ibid.*, p. 58, line 4: ^{uru}*El*-[...].

²²² Cf. C. FAURE, *Banias (Balanée)*, in *Revue Archéologique*, 2nd ser., 37 (1879), p. 223-232 and Pl. VIII; DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 127-128. It is quite uncertain whether this wall goes back to the Persian period, as proposed by M. DUNAND, *La défense du front méditerranéen de l'Empire achéménide*, in W.A. WARD (ed.), *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of the Mediterranean Civilizations*, Beirut 1968, p. 43-51 (see p. 46-47); cf. J. LUND, *art. cit.* (n. 218), p. 15. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 129 with n. 2, locates Alus in a different area, which does not seem to fit the indications provided by the Mediaeval sources.

²²³ For the first one see *Tigl. III*, p. 60, line 5; p. 138, line 5'; p. 152, line [22]; p. 176, line 8'; p. 186, line 1; p. 192, r. 1. The second one is mentioned in *Tigl. III*, p. 66, line 6; p. 137, line 2'; p. 148, line 17; p. 152, line 22; p. 186, line [1].

²²⁴ N. NA'AMAN, *Looking for KTK*, in *WO* (1977-78), p. 220-239 (see p. 230-231); *Id.*, *Province System and Settlement Pattern in Southern Syria and Palestine in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, in M. LIVERANI (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, Roma 1995, p. 103-115 (see p. 103-104). Cf. also H. TADMOR, "Rashpuna": A Case of Epigraphic Error, in *Erls* 18 (1985), p. 180-182 (in Hebrew).

²²⁵ The literature is given by E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Arqa*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 41. It should be completed now with J.-P. THALMANN, *Tell 'Arqa de la conquête assyrienne à l'époque perse*, in *Transeuphratène* 2 (1990), p. 51-57; *Id.*, *L'âge du Bronze à Tell 'Arqa (Liban): Bilan et perspectives (1981-1991)*, in *Berytus* 39 (1991), p. 21-38.

²²⁶ *Tigl. III*, p. 138, line 5'; p. 186, line 1; p. 192, r. 1; cf. p. 60, line 5; p. 152, line [22]; p. 176, line 8'.

²²⁷ *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux* I, Paris 1841, p. XXXVII; E.G. REY, *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Paris 1883, p. 335; DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 423. It was suggested that Kassab is the site of *Hlb Špn* in the documents from Ugarit: L.R. FISHER (ed.), *Ras Shamra Parallels* II, Rome 1975, p. 288, No. 43.

Stadiasmus Maris Magni 144, the *Charadrus* of Pliny V, 17 (79)²²⁸, and the *Portus Vallis* of the Middle Ages²²⁹. The identification of ^{uru}Ka-áš-bu-na with the harbour of Kassab, situated just west of the Ġebel az-Zāwīya, would explain the order followed in Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions, especially in the phrase [ul-tu ^{uru}Ka-áš]-bu-na šá a-aḥ tam-tim šap-li-ti⁶ [a-di ^{uru}Qa]-^rni⁷-te ^{uru}Ga-al-['-a-di ù ^{uru}A-bi-il-^rma⁷-en⁷] šá pāt^{kur}Bēt-Hu-um-ri-[a]²³⁰, "[from Kas]buna, which is on the shore of the Lower Sea, [until Qe]nat, Gilead, and Abil-'Mayin', which are on the border of Bēt-Omri", thus from the northwest to the southeast.

The northern location of Kasbuna is corroborated by some concrete information provided by Qurdi-Aššur-lāmur's letter ND. 2715 sent to the king²³¹. The Assyrian official rebuilt Kasbuna, sent in a garrison of thirty men from Siyān to keep guard, and announces in his letter that he will send water-men to Kasbuna, as soon as they are established in ^{uru}Im-mi-u (lines 40-41, 47-49). Now, Siyān is a northern town of the province, distant some 60 km from Kassab, while ^{uru}Im-mi-u (*'Immi'u) is certainly the well-known city of 'Imma²³², present-day Yenīşehir, mentioned also in an Aramaic inscription of Hazael ('m')²³³ and located about 60 km northeast of Kassab, on the main road from Aleppo to the Mediterranean sea. These particularities strongly support the northern location of Kasbuna, that may already appear as the land *Kusuna* on the "Ḥamathite stone" 6 from the time of Uratami who ruled over Ḥamath in the mid- and later 9th century B.C.²³⁴.

²²⁸ Cf. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 421-422. — The *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* is an excellent sailing direction which provides details of harbourages and water-spots, and distances from point to point. Its edition in *GGM* I, p. 427-514, contains arbitrary corrections, but the text of the manuscript is given in the critical apparatus.

²²⁹ E.G. REY, *Les Périples des côtes de Syrie et de la Petite Arménie*, in *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1884), p. 329-353 with a map (see p. 333).

²³⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 138, lines 5'-6'. One might also read A-bi-il-^ršit-ti⁷ (*Tigl. III*, p. 139), but the situation of Abel-ha-Shittim in southern Transjordan (Numb. 33, 49) does not fit the geographical area indicated by the inscription.

²³¹ H.W.F. SAGGS, *The Nimrud Letters, 1952 — Part II. Relations with the West*, in *Iraq* 17 (1955), p. 126-154 and Pl. XXX-XXXV (see p. 127-130 and Pl. XXX, No. 12); J.N. POSTGATE, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (Studia Pohl: Series maior 3), Rome 1974, p. 390-393. Cf. also G. KESTEMONT, *Tyr et les Assyriens*, in *Studia Phoenicia I-II* (OLA 15), Leuven 1983, p. 53-78, especially p. 74-76 (lines 1-29 of the letter).

²³² DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 231-232. The place cannot be identified with 'Amyūn, 15 km south of Tripoli, as proposed by N. NA'AMAN, *loc. cit.* (n. 224), who does not distinguish the initial 'Im- and 'Am-. Instead, 'Amyūn is probably the Ammiya of the Amarna correspondence.

²³³ SAIO II, p. 92-93.

²³⁴ CHLI, Ḥama 6. Cf. J.D. HAWKINS, *The Political Geography of North Syria and South-East Anatolia in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, in M. LIVERANI (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography* (Quaderni di Geografia Storica 5), Roma 1995, p. 87-101 and Pl. I-X (see p. 97 and Pl. IVb). This name would then imply an assimilation šb > šš.

Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions still mention ^{uru}*Zi-mar-ra* in the same geographical context²³⁵, which seems to support its identification with ^{uru}*Zi-im-ma-ri*, a town belonging in *ca.* 1300 B.C. to the reign of Ugarit²³⁶. The latter was located tentatively near the marshes of Al-Ġāb²³⁷, but this is uncertain. Less likely situations beyond the Ugaritian borders, but in the coastal area, are suggested by similar place names, as Zimra or Zimrin, 13 km northeast of Tartūs, or Şumra, discovered by W.M. Thomson in the 19th century, shown on a map by R. Dussaud in 1897, still recognized by A.T. Olmstead in 1904, and located by E. Forrer 19 km southwest of Arwad, thus south of the Nahr al-Abraş. However, this village could not be found any more, neither on the spot nor on maps, and there are few tells of any size in its alleged surroundings²³⁸. A third possibility is Smār or Şmār Ġbail, 3 km southeast of Baṭrūn.

Still two other cities are referred to in Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions as being in the coastal area: [^{uru}*Ma*]-'-*ra-ba-a*²³⁹ and ^{uru}*Ri*-'-*si-šu-ri*²⁴⁰. Since these towns are mentioned after Ušnū and Siyān, they should be located in the area of Latakia. The first one can be identified with *Ma'araba(y)*, a toponym that occurs in many texts from Ugarit²⁴¹ and obviously designates an important settlement of the ancient kingdom. As for the second town, it is attested also in a letter sent from Tyre to Ugarit, where ^{uru}SAG.DU-*şu-ri*²⁴² is no place near Tyre but a town close to Ugarit²⁴³. The logogram SAG.DU stands for Ugaritic *r'iš* or *r'aš*, "head" in the sense of "cape", while the

²³⁵ *Tigl. III*, p. 136, line 2'.

²³⁶ J. NOUGAYROL, *PRU IV*, p. 66, line 3', and p. 69, line 13'. The mention of the town in *Tigl. III*, p. 136, line 2', is not taken into account here by W. VAN SOLDT, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 688-689, but only on p. 698 in relation to the very doubtful ^{uru}*Zi-[ma-r]i*? in *PRU IV*, p. 72, line 15.

²³⁷ J. NOUGAYROL, *PRU IV*, p. 15; W. VAN SOLDT, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 688-689.

²³⁸ R.J. BRAIDWOOD, *Report on Two Sondages on the Coast of Syria, South of Tartous*, in *Syria* 21 (1940), p. 183-221 and Pl. XX-XXVII, in particular p. 218-219.

²³⁹ *Tigl. III*, p. 136, line 3'.

²⁴⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 136, line 3'; p. 148, line 19. The spelling ^{uru}SAG-*şu(r)-ri* occurs on p. 104, lines 12' and 22'.

²⁴¹ *PRU III*, p. 266b (index); *PRU IV*, p. 236, lines 3 and 5; J. NOUGAYROL, in *Ugaritica V*, Paris 1968, p. 17-18, No. 12, 1.13.14; *KTU* 3.7, 7; 4.27, 10; 4.33, 26; 4.45, 6; 4.63, 25; 4.68, 57; 4.213, 8; 4.307, 3; 4.375, 8; 4.377, 26; 4.777, 9; 9.482, 8'; F. MALBRAN-LABAT, in P. BORDREUIL (ed.), *Ras Shamra-Ougarit VII. Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville*, Paris 1991, No. 4, 24.

²⁴² F. MALBRAN-LABAT, in *op. cit.* (n. 241), No. 25, 16.37. The same place is called ^{uru}SAG.DU in line 39 and perhaps *Re-ši*, without determinative, in line 47. This abridged form of the toponym may also occur as ^{uru}SAG.DU, *ibid.*, No. 4, line 48, just before *Ma'hadu*, the harbour of Ugarit, and as *R'iš(y)* in *KTU* 4.141, 2; 4.310, 4.12.

²⁴³ F. MALBRAN-LABAT, *op. cit.* (n. 241), p. 59, n. 62, thinks that this is a "Cape of Tyre", near the city of Tyre, but the letter sent to Ugarit makes sense only if the settlement is close to Ugarit.

second element of the toponym must be either "Tyre" or the Semitic word for "rock" or "mountain" (**tūru*). The precise location of this harbour is unknown, although one might think of Rās Ibn Hānī, a site located 9 km north-northwest of Latakia and occupied throughout the Iron Age²⁴⁴, or of the Nahr ar-Rūs and Qal'at ar-Rūs, 14 km southeast of Latakia, where material from the Bronze Age and the Iron Age was found in two small soundings dug by E.O. Forrer²⁴⁵. In any case, it cannot be identified with ^{uru}*Ra-a-ša-sa-er*, that appears in an Ugaritic letter²⁴⁶, where the spelling *-sa-er* favours a comparison with Hebrew *sa'ar*, "tempest", thus "Cape of Tempest(s)". This place can possibly be identified with Minat al-Fasri, 20 km north of Latakia, near Aš-Šabatliya, for Al-Fasri is the Πασιερία of the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* 140²⁴⁷. The initial Πα- of the Greek name stands most likely for *Ba*-²⁴⁸, a frequent Aramaic abbreviation of *bayt*. In this case, Πασιερία (Crusaders' *Psichro*?) would go back to *Ba-(r'š-)s'r*.

Tiglath-pileser III's stela from Iran still mentions KUR *Ša-pu-na* and ^{uru}*Ah-ta-a* after ^{uru}*Rēši(SAG)-sur-ri*²⁴⁹. The first name must designate the region around Mount Saphon²⁵⁰, while the second one should be related

²⁴⁴ A general presentation of the important site of Rās Ibn Hānī, 5 km west of Rās Shamra/Ugarit and 9 km north-northwest of Latakia, is given by A. BOUNNI - N. SALIBY - J. and E. LAGARCE, *Ras Ibn Hani*, in *Syrian-European Archaeology Exhibition/Exposition syro-européenne d'archéologie*, Damas 1996, p. 107-112. A detailed synthesis is presented by A. BOUNNI - É. and J. LAGARCE, *Ras Ibn Hani I. Le Palais Nord du Bronze Récent. Fouilles 1979-1995, synthèse préliminaire* (BAH 151), Beyrouth 1998.

²⁴⁵ E.O. FORRER, in A.M.H. EHRICH, *Early Pottery of the Jebel Region*, Philadelphia 1939, p. 1-56; cf. P.J. RUS, *L'activité de la mission archéologique danoise sur la côte phénicienne en 1958*, in *AAS* 8-9 (1958-59), p. 110-117 (see p. 111, No. 1); G. SAADÉ, *Histoire de Lattaquié I*, Damas 1964, p. 95; ID., *Ougarit, métropole cananéenne*, Beyrouth 1979, p. 58, n. 42; J. LUND, *art. cit.* (n. 218), p. 20. Nahr ar-Rūs is mentioned by K. BAEDAEKER, *Palestine et Syrie*, 4th ed., Leipzig 1912, p. 353. The name *Rūs* is identical with the shorter form of the toponym mentioned in the letter concerned (p. 290, n. 242).

²⁴⁶ PRU VI, 10, 8'. For this toponym, see M.C. ASTOUR, *Ma'hadu, the Harbor of Ugarit*, in *JESHO* 13 (1970), p. 113-127 (see p. 115-117).

²⁴⁷ The identification of the site was made by DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 417-418.

²⁴⁸ For instance, the name *Banā-Bēl*, "Bēl has created", is transcribed Παναβήλος in the Zenon Archive, in 259 B.C. (W. PEREMANS - E. VAN 'T DACK, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* VI [Studia Hellenistica 17], Louvain 1968, p. 207, No. 16451; P.W. PESTMAN [ed.], *A Guide to the Zenon Archive* [Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 21], Leiden 1981, p. 386), but it is written Βαναβήλος in an inscription from Denizli (Turkey), dating from January 267 B.C. (M. WÖRRLE, *Antiochos I., Achaius der Ältere und die Galater*, in *Chiron* 5 [1975], p. 59-87 and Pl. 16-17, see lines 6-7 and 27).

²⁴⁹ *Tigl. III*, p. 104, line 12'.

²⁵⁰ R. ZADOK, *On Some Foreign Population Groups in First-Millennium Babylonia*, in *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), p. 164-181 (see p. 165); P. BORDREUIL, *Arrou Gourou et Šapanou: circonscriptions administratives et géographie mythique du Royaume d'Ougarit*, in *Syria* 61 (1984), p. 1-10 (see p. 8-10). KUR *Ba'-li-Ša-pu-na* is mentioned again in Sargon II's annals: *Sargon II*, p. 130, Ann. 230.

to the numerous Lebanese settlements called Kfar Ḥāta²⁵¹. If the following qualification *bēt ka-ri šá muḥḥi tam-tim*, “the emporium of the seashore”²⁵², refers to ^{uru}Aḥ-ta-a, this place should be located on the coast, perhaps at Rās al-Basit, 50 km north of Latakia and just south of Ġebel al-’Aqra’, the ancient Mount Saphon. Its settlement and its harbour situated in a large bay were occupied in the Neo-Assyrian period²⁵³ and may deserve the qualification *bēt kāri*. The place name ’Aḥtā would then be a derivative of the noun ’aḥ-, “shore”, “bank”, which is attested in Assyro-Babylonian²⁵⁴, in Ugaritic²⁵⁵, in Hebrew²⁵⁶, and in Phoenician²⁵⁷.

The inland Ḥamathite districts mentioned in the annalistic report of Tiglath-pileser III appear to be limited to the earlier northern part of the kingdom of Ḥamath. Thus, the district of ^{uru}Kār-^dIM²⁵⁸ was identified with modern Kafr-Hadad, 32 km south of Aleppo²⁵⁹ and 23 km east of Tell Afis, the site of Ḥadarik which is mentioned together with Kār-Hadad. There follows the district of ^{uru}Nu-qu-di-na²⁶⁰, which is called ^{kur}Tu-ri-Na-qa-di-na in Tiglath-pileser III’s stela from Iran²⁶¹. The element *Tu-ri-* is clearly the Aramaic word *tūr*, “mount”, so that the place name means “Mount of Shepherds”. It must be related to *χωρίον Καπερ-Ναγαθον*²⁶², in northwestern Syria. Yāqūt mentions a Kafr Nağd in the area of Ḥoms²⁶³ and a Kafar Nağd or Nağad, “a large bor-

²⁵¹ Three villages called “Kafr Ḥatta” are mentioned in DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 545. See also WILD, *Ortsnamen*, p. 118, 177, 364, with a questionable or popular etymology.

²⁵² *Tigl. III*, p. 104, line 13’.

²⁵³ Cf. the reports by P. COURBIN, *Bassit*, in *Syria* 64 (1986), p. 175-220. See also P. COURBIN, *Fouilles de Bassit. Tombes du Fer*, Paris 1993.

²⁵⁴ *AHW*, p. 22a, s.v. *aḥu(m)*, § 5a; *CAD*, A/1, p. 207-208.

²⁵⁵ *KTU* 1.10, 9.12: ’aḥ šmk, “the banks of Shamak”.

²⁵⁶ Gen. 41, 2.18; Job. 8, 11: ’āḥū.

²⁵⁷ *KAI* 145, 4: l’lm ḥqydš lš’t ’ḥt šmm bswb, “to the holy god, to the one who establishes the borders of the heavens round about”.

²⁵⁸ *Tigl. III*, p. 60, line [6]; p. 85, Ann. 22, line 3.

²⁵⁹ M. ASTOUR, *Place-Names from the Kingdom of Alalah in the North Syrian List of Thutmose III: A Study in Historical Topography*, in *JNES* 22 (1963), p. 220-241 (see p. 229). For further literature see K. KESSLER, *Kār-Adad I*, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-8, p. 401-402, and *Tigl. III*, p. 61. Probably as the result of a confusion with Kurba’il, this place name is written ^{uru}Kur-ba-il in ND. 10005, 11 (*CTN* III, 86), where the same man is supposed to serve Arpad and ^{uru}Kur-ba-il, that must obviously lie in the same general area. A similar error occurs in line 13 of the tablet, where one man has to serve Šam’al and ^{uru}Kāl-zi; the latter town must be Kilis (Turkey), not Kilizu in Assyria.

²⁶⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 60, line 7; p. 88, Ann. 22, line 4; p. 148, line 20.

²⁶¹ *Tigl. III*, p. 102, line 10’.

²⁶² *MAMA* III, 248 and 376. Cf. D. FEISSEL, *art. cit.* (n. 144), p. 323-324.

²⁶³ YĀQŪT, *op. cit.* (n. 7), vol. IV, p. 292. Cf. G. LE STRANGE, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 471; DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 111.

ough in the territory of Aleppo, in the Ġebel as-Summāq²⁶⁴, namely in the Ġebel az-Zāwīya, where this town may be identified with Kafr Nağ(d), 12 km southwest of Idlib and 2 km northwest of Ar-Rīḥā²⁶⁵, i.e. about 6 km southwest of Urḫilina's "royal city" ^{uru}Āš-ta-ma-ku²⁶⁶. This location suits ^{uru}Nu-qu-di-na perfectly, since the latter is followed by the mountain *Ha-su*²⁶⁷, the southern part of Ġebel az-Zāwīya. The Neo-Assyrian form ^{uru}Nu-qu-di-na or Na-qa-di-na of the toponym is still characterized by the plural termination -īna of the oblique case²⁶⁸, which is lost in recent forms of the name, preceded by the Aramaic word *kaper*, "village".

The site of Kafr-Nağ(d) does not give the impression of being the location of a chief-town of the Iron Age. However, the large Tell al-Karḥ with important surface findings from the Iron Age²⁶⁹ is distant only 10 km west of Kfar Nağ(d) and its name is obviously the Aramaic word *kark*, "(fortified) town"²⁷⁰, as opposed to *kaper*, "village". One may surmise therefore that Tell al-Karḥ was the real site of ^{uru}Nu-qu-di-na in the Neo-Assyrian period. This is the largest mound of the Rūğ area and may thus correspond to the chief-town of the district.

The general location of the district of ^{uru}Nu-qu-di-na is supported by the following mention of the nearby mountain *Ha-su* with the settlements in its vicinity. In the stela from Iran, the mountain is called ^{kur}*Ha-su-at-ti* and its name precedes ^{kur}*Tu-ri-Na-qa-di-na*²⁷¹. This area corresponds quite well to the mountainous region of Ḥāss, the name of which is attested also in the Byzantine period by κόμης Χασών²⁷². This borough is situated west of Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān, which is sometimes believed to follow immediately in Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions under the name ^{uru}A-ra-a²⁷³, identified with *Arra* in the *Itinerarium Antonini*, *Arhia* in the *Ravenna Cosmography* II, 15, and possibly 'r' in Syriac²⁷⁴.

²⁶⁴ YĀQŪT, *op. cit.* (n. 7), vol. IV, p. 291. Cf. G. LE STRANGE, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 471; DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 215.

²⁶⁵ A. CAQUOT, in G. TCHALENKO, *op. cit.* (n. 75), vol. III, p. 97.

²⁶⁶ See above, p. 280-281.

²⁶⁷ *Tigl. III*, p. 60, line [7]; p. 88, Ann. 22, line 4.

²⁶⁸ LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 31.11.

²⁶⁹ J.-Cl. COURTOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 80), p. 90.

²⁷⁰ WILD, *Ortsnamen*, p. 144.

²⁷¹ *Tigl. III*, p. 102, line 10'.

²⁷² G. BRUSIN - P.L. ZOVATTO, *Monumenti paleocristiani di Aquileia e di Grado*, Udine 1957, p. 345, No. 30. Cf. D. FEISSEL, *art. cit.* (n. 140), p. 334, n. 109.

²⁷³ *Tigl. III*, p. 60, line 7; p. 88, Ann. 22, line 5; p. 148, line 20.

²⁷⁴ Cf. E. HONIGMANN, *art. cit.* (n. 131), p. 165, No. 73; DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 188, 203, 238; E. EBELING, *Arâ*, in *RLA I*, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, p. 125; A. CAQUOT, in

However, Arabic writers mention *Ma'arra* and Mediaeval Latin sources write the city name *Marra*²⁷⁵. Therefore, the ancient site should rather be identified with Tell 'Ar, 6 km northeast of Ḥan Šayḥūn and about 20 km from Apamea. Like *Arra* in the *Itinerarium Antonini*, this mound lies along the road from Chalcis (Qinnasrin) to Ḥamā. If this locality can be identified with the κώμη Ἀρρών of a Greek inscription found in the Roman catacomb of S. Ciriaca²⁷⁶, it is possible that it is also mentioned as 'rw in Sefire inscription I, B, 10²⁷⁷. Instead, there is little likelihood that ^{uru}A-ra-a should be identified with Tell Arri, on the eastern edge of the former Balū'a Lake, 10 km west of Idlib²⁷⁸. No definite Iron Age traces are noticeable on the mound that seems, besides, to be situated in an area that does not correspond to the apparent geographic order followed in Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions.

The topographic list seems to shift after ^{uru}A-ra-a to the west, to continue northwards, and to end with the area west of Aleppo, without mentioning any known city in the surroundings of Apamea, the present-day Qal'at al-Muḏīq, that probably remained inside the boundaries of the reduced kingdom of Ḥamath. Thus, in connection with the mountain *Sa-ar-bu-ú-a*, apparently the "Cypress Mountain"²⁷⁹, Tiglath-pileser III's annalistic inscriptions mention the towns ^{uru}Áš-ḥa-ni and ^{uru}Ia-da-bi²⁸⁰. Since *Sa-ar-bu-ú-a* is likely to be the present-day Ġebel Šaḥšabū or Šaḥbū²⁸¹, whose name seems to echo the ancient *Sa-ar-bu-ú-a*, the two towns should be in the same area or north of the mountain. This does not favour the suggestion made by H.G. Tomkins, who identified ^{uru}Áš-ḥa-ni

G. TCHALENKO, *op. cit.* (n. 75), vol. III, p. 70-71. It results from the distances given by the *Itinerarium Antonini* (*Calcida — XX Arra — XXIII Capareas — XVI Epiphaneia*) that one halting place is missing between Chalcis (Qinnasrin) and Arra. In any case, the distances indicated are erroneous, since Capareas, present Kafr Rā'a, is located 11 km north-northeast of Ḥamā, while the XVI miles correspond to 23.5 km.

²⁷⁵ Several references are given by DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 188-189. The Μέγαρα of STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 10, ought to be identified rather with Megāra, northwest of Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān; cf. L. JALABERT - R. MOUTERDE, *IGLS* V, Paris 1959, p. 117-118.

²⁷⁶ CIG 9612 = ICUR 19790: Εὐσέβης Ἀβεδνεσουβου κώμης Ἀρρών οἰνοφόρου, "Eusebius, son of Abed-Nesoub, from the winegrowing borough of 'Arrō". Cf. E. HONIGMANN, *art. cit.* (n. 127), p. 165, No. 73; DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 188-189, n. 8, and p. 203, n. 2; cf. p. 238.

²⁷⁷ See above, p. 226.

²⁷⁸ J.-Cl. COURTOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 80), p. 94. The tell is indicated also on the map drawn by Lieutenant FROMENT, *Carte touristique et archéologique du Caza de Ḥārem*, in *Syria* 11 (1930), p. 280-292 and Pl. XLIII-XLVIII, see Pl. XLVIII below, between 8°25' and 8°50', with the comments on p. 291-292.

²⁷⁹ LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 11.6.

²⁸⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 62, line [8]; p. 89, Ann. 26, lines 2-3; p. 148, line 21.

²⁸¹ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 184; J.-Ch. COURTOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 80), p. 57 (map).

with Hān Šayhūn²⁸², a borough characterized by an important oval tell, 25 m high, which was occupied in the Bronze Age and in the Iron Age²⁸³. A jar found in a level dated to the 6th or to the beginning of the 5th century B.C. bears the Aramaic inscription *lbnyw*²⁸⁴, “(belonging) to Banā-Yaw”. This is a Jewish name that is well represented in Achaemenian Nippur in the 5th century B.C.²⁸⁵. Its attestation in central Syria is quite an interesting fact, but it does not solve the toponomastic problem. There is an ‘Ayn Saḥnā 700 m east of the bridge of Darkūš, but such a location would only be a guess. One should rather consider the possibility that *uruĀš-ḥa-ni* is just a fortress built at the strategical site of *Aš-Ša‘rāni*, on the southernmost spur of Ġebel Šaḥšabū that dominates the ‘Ayn at-Tāqa, 2 km north of Apamea²⁸⁶.

The second city, namely *uruIa-da-bi*, was identified with Idlib²⁸⁷, that may correspond also to *uruI-dī-bá-a* in the Hittite text mentioned above²⁸⁸. This location is plausible, since *uruIa-da-bi* is followed immediately by the Mount *Ia-ra-qu*²⁸⁹, which must be identified with Ġebel al-‘Ala, north of Idlib. The latter identification is corroborated by the route followed by Ashurnasirpal II ca. 870 B.C.²⁹⁰ and by Shalmaneser III in 848 B.C.²⁹¹, and it is supported by the existence of the village of Kafr ‘Arūq in this area²⁹². After a small gap, in which a city name is lost,

²⁸² H.G. TOMKINS, *Babylonian and Oriental Records*, London 1888, followed by DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 210 and 238.

²⁸³ Comte DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, *Une campagne de fouilles à Khan Sheikhoun*, in *Syria* 13 (1932), p. 171-188 and Pl. XXXI-XLI, in particular p. 171-185 and Pl. XXXI-XXXVII.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 181 and Pl. XXXVII, No. 271. The last letter, as copied, is clearly *w* and not *d*, as read by du Mesnil du Buisson.

²⁸⁵ M.D. COOGAN, *West Semitic Personal Names in the Murashû Documents* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 7), Missoula 1976, p. 15, 52-53, 68-69; R. ZADOK, *The Jews in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods according to the Babylonian Sources*, Haifa 1979, p. 12, 48, 55, 61, 120. For the 7th century: PNA I/2, p. 262.

²⁸⁶ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 238.

²⁸⁷ For the strategical importance of the site and the preserved stone foundations of an Hellenistic structure, see J. and J. Ch. BALTŲ, *Apamée de Syrie, archéologie et histoire I. Des origines à la Tétrarchie*, in *ANRW* II/8, Berlin 1977, p. 103-134 and Pl. I-VIII (see p. 114-115).

²⁸⁸ See above, p. 274 with n. 141. J. NOUGAYROL, *PRU* IV, p. 19, identified it also with *uruIa-ad-ba*, a town in the reign of Ugarit: *PRU* IV, p. 66, line 13’, and p. 68, line 4’. This equation is considered as uncertain by W. VAN SOLDT, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 691.

²⁸⁹ *Tigl. III*, p. 62, line [8]; p. 89, Ann. 26, line 3.

²⁹⁰ *RIMA* II, text A.0.101.1, p. 218, line 80. Mount Iahturu, on the left side of the Orontes, is apparently the northern part of Ġebel Quşayr.

²⁹¹ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.6, p. 38, line 72; text A.0.102.8, p. 47, line 36’; text A.0.102.10, p. 53, line 54; text A.0.102.16, p. 76, line 74’.

²⁹² DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 238-239.

the text mentions ^{uru}*El-li-ta-ar-bi* ^{uru}*Zi-ta-a-nu a-di lib-bi* ^{uru}*A-ti-in-ni*²⁹³. The first town has been identified convincingly with Al-'Atārib ('At-Tārib), Syriac *Lītāreb*, Greek Λιταρβα, *Cereb* of the Crusaders, 30 km west of Aleppo, where an artificial mound 50 m high, surrounded by the houses of the village of At-Tārib, marks the location of the ancient settlement²⁹⁴. The second town is well located at Zaytān, 18 km southwest of Aleppo²⁹⁵, while the phrase *adi libbi*, "as far as", clearly favours the identification of *A-ti-in-ni* with Ad-Dānā²⁹⁶, 34 km west of Aleppo. This city, already mentioned in Shalmaneser III's account of his campaign in 853 B.C., was one of the northernmost places of the Ḥamathite territory. The damaged place name that follows *A-ti-in-ni* can be restored as ^{uru}*Tu-ra-nu* in the light of the parallel topographical list of Tiglath-pileser III²⁹⁷. One might identify it with Turmanin, 4 km northeast of Ad-Dānā and about 30 km west of Aleppo. The last mentioned city is ^{uru}*Bu-ma-mi*²⁹⁸, which may possibly be identified with Tell Mamū, in the marshy lowland of Al-Mataḥ, about 22 km south of Aleppo as the crow flies. However, this identification is highly conjectural. Qinnasrin does not appear in the list, although its name occurs on the Iran stela of Tiglath-pileser III, namely ^{uru}*Qi-na-as-ri-na šá ma-ad-ba-ri*, "Qinnasrin of the steppe"²⁹⁹.

Although the pertinent passage of the annals enumerates "the 19 districts of Ḥamath", the city itself is not mentioned and the newly appointed ruler of Ḥamath³⁰⁰ appears among Tiglath-pileser III's tributaries for 738/7 B.C. and 732 B.C. This means that the king of Ḥamath was left in control of a much reduced kingdom, that extended further south in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.

f) Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions

Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of the Ḥamathite kings have been found not only at Ḥamā, but also at Qal'at al-Muḏīq and at Ar-Rastan,

²⁹³ *Tigl. III*, p. 62, line 90; p. 89, Ann. 26, line 4; p. 148, line 22.

²⁹⁴ H.G. TOMKINS, *op. cit.* (n. 282), p. 5; E. SACHAU, *Zur historischen Geographie von Nordsyrien*, in *SPAW*, Berlin 1892, p. 336-338; F. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig 1895, p. 277; S. SCHIFFER, *Die Aramäer*, Leipzig 1911, p. 188; Fr. CUMONT, *Études syriennes*, Paris 1917, p. 2 ff.

²⁹⁵ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 239.

²⁹⁶ See above, p. 259.

²⁹⁷ *Tigl. III*, p. 148, line 23. The section of lines 16-24 consists of "cities of the land of Ḥamath" (line 24).

²⁹⁸ *Tigl. III*, p. 62, line [9]; p. 89, Ann. 26, line 5. Nothing justifies the emending of this place name to ^{uru}*Bu-ta-me* (*ibid.*, p. 62).

²⁹⁹ *Tigl. III*, p. 102, line 8'.

³⁰⁰ See below, p. 315-316.

Greek Ἀρέθουσα³⁰¹, 20 km south of Ḥamā. Two other stelae were discovered between Ḥamā and Apamea: one at Muḥrada or Muḥarde, some 20 km northwest of Ḥamā, the other at Šayzār, near Muḥrada.

The names borne by these towns in the Iron Age are unknown, but the identification of Qal‘at al-Muḍīq, the Graeco-Roman Apamea, with the capital of the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Niya has long been proposed³⁰². However, this location of Niya lacks a factual basis, while the relation apparently existing between Zinzar, present-day Šayzār³⁰³, Šumur³⁰⁴, and Niya in two Amarna letters³⁰⁵ is not of the kind to suggest a location of Niya in central Syria, for exemple at Dades, the largest tell in the southern Ġāb³⁰⁶, 30 km west of Ḥamā and 2 km east of the village of Al-Amiya. The name of Qal‘at al-Muḍīq goes back to ‘*al-maḍīq*, “strait”, “defile”, that may represent an Arabization of the name of the northern city gate called Ἀμαξικὴ πύλη, “Gate for wagons”³⁰⁷.

Five hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from Ḥamā, each stating that “Uratami, son of Urḫilina, Ḥamathite king”, built the fortress, refer respectively to the “valleys of the lands Hurpata / Laga / Musanipa / Mount Labrana” and to “the land Kusuna”³⁰⁸. The first of these inscriptions (Ḥamā 1) also mentions “the men of Aleppo”³⁰⁹, a city which seems to belong at that time to the influence sphere of the kings of Arpad. It is likely therefore that Hurpata is Arpad and that its ruler became a vassal of Ḥamath after the unsuccessful Shalmaneser III’s campaigns in central Syria. The identification of *Lagawanas* with Laqē seems probable in the light of other sources³¹⁰, while Musanipa can

³⁰¹ APPIAN, *Syrian Wars* 57. Cf. E. HONIGMANN, *art. cit.* (n. 131), p. 163, No. 65. However, the local place name was Ἀριστία/*rstwn* according to the great inscription of Sapor I from Naqš-i Rustam. Similar forms occur in Latin (*Aristosa*) and Syriac (*ʾrstn*, *ʾArīstā*) texts; references in E. HONIGMANN - A. MARICQ, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, Bruxelles 1953, p. 153. This toponym might go back to *ʾrst/ʾarīsūt*, “tenancy”, attested in Aramaic already in the 7th-6th century B.C.; cf. *SAIO* I, p. 80, and here below, p. 560.

³⁰² This identification, first suggested tentatively by H. WINCKLER, *Dunip-Heliopolis*, in *MVAG* 1 (1896), p. 206-207 (see p. 206), remained always controversial; see O. WEBER, in J. A. KNUDTZON, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, Leipzig 1915, p. 1115-1116; J. and J.Ch. BALTU, *art. cit.* (n. 287), p. 109 with n. 33. For the toponymy, cf. E. HONIGMANN, *art. cit.* (n. 131), p. 160-161, No. 54.

³⁰³ E. EBELING, in *op. cit.* (n. 302), p. 1116-1117.

³⁰⁴ See above, p. 287, n. 219.

³⁰⁵ *EA* 53, 42 and 59, 27-35.

³⁰⁶ J.-Cl. COURTOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 80), p. 79-80.

³⁰⁷ E. HONIGMANN, Σκεπικὴ γειτονία, in *PW* IIIA/1, Stuttgart 1927, col. 515.

³⁰⁸ *CHLI*, Ḥama 1-3 and 6-7. See also A.M. JASINK, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 101-103.

³⁰⁹ *CHLI*, Ḥama 1. See also A.M. JASINK, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 102.

³¹⁰ See above, p. 101 and 251.

safely be identified with *Muzunnum* of the Mari documentation and be located about 30 km southwest of Aleppo³¹¹. More importantly, the Aramaic graffiti found at Ḥamā with the mention of Šoba indicate that the Beqa' Valley and the area to its northeast belonged to the kingdom of Ḥamath in the 8th century B.C., although Ḥamath may have lost a part of these territories in the course of that century³¹². In other words, the Aramaean kingdom of Ḥamath and Luğath was a major state in the Levant of the 8th century B.C. It extended from the Syrian steppe to the Mediterranean, with a coastal area facing Arwad, and from the Lower Orontes and the region southwest of Aleppo to a line running from Baṭrūn to Ġebel al-Ġarbī, with the addition of the Beqa' Valley. If Labrana is Lebanon³¹³, the Beqa' Valley or, at least, its northern part depended from Ḥamath since the mid-9th century B.C.

Still one of the last kings of Ḥamath, ^mA-i-ni-li, is named in letter ND. 2766 in relation to this area, with Riblah (^{uru}Ra-ab-le-e) and Qadesh-on-the-Orontes (^{uru}Qin-di-si)³¹⁴. Riblah, mentioned also in connection with the same king in Sargon II's correspondence (^{uru}Rab-la-a)³¹⁵, lies 34 km south of Ḥomṣ, on the crossroads of the military and commercial highways to Mesopotamia and to Egypt. It is referred to in the Bible³¹⁶, and it is named in Ez. 6, 14 as the theoretical northern limit of the Holy Land. It appears as the head-quarters of Nechao (II Kings 23, 33) and of Nebuchadnezzar II (II Kings 25, 6.21). As for Qadesh, the Tell an-Nabī Mend which lies some 12 km north of Riblah, it had lost its ancient importance: it is archaeologically well documented for the Middle and Late Bronze Age, while the Iron Age is poorly represented³¹⁷. The city is nevertheless qualified as *birtu* in a Neo-Assyrian letter, *bir-te* ^{uru}[Qin-]di-si³¹⁸, and it is the head of a province in the Neo-Babylonian period, as shown by a contract that mentions ^mMil-ki-i-di-ri

³¹¹ M.C. ASTOUR, *Note toponymique à la tablette A. 1270 de Mari*, in *RA* 67 (1973), p. 73-75; H. KLENGEL, *art. cit.* (n. 54), p. 130. The precise identification with Tell Marāq is not certain. The city name is Hurrian; cf. E. LAROCHE, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite II* (= *RHA* 35 [1977]), Paris 1979, p. 173, s.v. ^{uru}Mušunipa. See also here above, p. 249.

³¹² See here below, p. 311-312.

³¹³ See below, p. 322.

³¹⁴ H.W.F. SAGGS, *The Nimrud Letters, 1952 — Part VI*, in *Iraq* 25 (1963), p. 70-80 (see p. 79-80 and Pl. XIV).

³¹⁵ *SAA* I, 180, e.12'.

³¹⁶ Cf. ABEL, *Géographie* II, p. 436-437.

³¹⁷ M. PÉZARD, *Qadesh. Mission archéologique à Tell Nebi Mend, 1921-1922*, Paris 1931; S.J. BOURKE, *The Transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age in Syria: The Evidence from Tell Nebi Mend*, in *Levant* 25 (1993), p. 155-197.

³¹⁸ H.W.F. SAGGS, *art. cit.* (n. 231), p. 142, line 23; cf. B. ODED, *Two Assyrian References to the Town Qadesh on the Orontes*, in *IEJ* 14 (1964), p. 272-273.

lúEN.NAM (*pāhatu*) šá ^{uru}Qí-di-iš, “Milk-‘idri, governor of Qadesh”³¹⁹. Early Ḥamathite expansion is attested also on the northern Mediterranean coast of Syria, if *Kusuna* is identical with the later Neo-Assyrian *Kasbuna*³²⁰.

In this light, another hieroglyphic Luwian document may become meaningful, namely the fragment discovered in 1935 at Hines, in northern Iraq, 1 km from Bavian³²¹, and reading “Ḥamathite king”. In style it closely resembles the inscriptions of Urhilina and of Uratami, and thus seems to date from the mid-9th century B.C.³²². How it came to Hines is unexplained, but B. Landsberger was of the opinion that a king of Ḥamath had managed to penetrate into Assyria, some time before 800 B.C.³²³. However, one might also assume that the stone with Luwian hieroglyphs was taken as booty by the Assyrians.

2. HISTORY

The wording of the Zakkūr inscription suggests that he has ousted the Anatolian dynasty which was ruling in Ḥamath during the 9th century B.C.³²⁴. Zakkūr’s description of himself as ’š ’nh indicates that he was “a man of ‘Anā”, very likely in the sense “chief of ‘Anā”, either the land of the well-known Amorite tribe of the Middle Euphrates, called *Ḥa-na* in texts from Mari³²⁵, or the city ‘Āna (*Hanat*) on the Euphrates³²⁶. The

³¹⁹ Th.G. PINCHES, *From World Dominion to Subjection: The Story of the Fall of Nineveh and Babylon*, in *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* 49 (1917), p. 107-131 (see p. 128-129: BM. 81-4-28, 88, lines 3-4).

³²⁰ See above, p. 289.

³²¹ H. FRANKFORT - T. JACOBSEN, *Oriental Institute Discoveries in Iraq 1933/34* (Oriental Institute Communications 19), Chicago 1935, p. 101-103.

³²² A.M. JASINK, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 103.

³²³ B. LANDSBERGER, *Sam'al*, Ankara 1948, p. 33, n. 66.

³²⁴ See here above, p. 254.

³²⁵ J. F. ROSS, *Prophecy in Hamath, Israel and Mari*, in *HTR* 63 (1970), p. 1-28. The Northsemitic and Westsemitic ‘ain is often transcribed with cuneiform signs in ḥ, especially in the Old Babylonian texts from Mari; cf. LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 19.7. — A text from Dūr-katlimmu (DeZ 3281, line 12) mentions a ^{uru}KUR Ḥa-na AN.TA, “the land of Upper-Ḥana”, which implies the existence of a Lower-Ḥana, corresponding most likely to the valley of the Middle Euphrates, while Upper-Ḥana could be located somewhere in the area of the Middle Ḥābūr; cf. W. RÖLLIG, *Aspects of the Historical Geography of Northeastern Syria from Middle Assyrian to Neo-Assyrian Times*, in S. PARPOLA - R.M. WHITING (eds.), *Assyria 1995*, Helsinki 1997, p. 281-293, especially p. 289-290.

³²⁶ This interpretation of ’š ’nh, already considered as a possibility by M. LIDZBARSKI, *ESE* III, p. 6, is followed by A.R. MILLARD, *The Homeland of Zakkur*, in *Semitica* 39 (1990), p. 47-52. Both interpretations, “chieftain of ‘Anā” and “man of the city of ‘Āna”,

title "king of Mari and of the land of Ḥana", borne by Yaḥdun-Lim in the late 18th century³²⁷, reappears in the mid-11th century B.C. when Tukulti-Mēr, son of Ilu-iqīša, still claims to be "king of the land of Ḥana", MAN^{kur} *Ḥa-na*³²⁸. The theophorous element Mēr of his name clearly establishes a link with the god 'Il-Wēr to whom Zakkūr dedicates his stela³²⁹. The question whether Zakkūr presents himself as native from the city 'Āna, originally built on an island of the Middle Euphrates (Iraq)³³⁰, or as a chieftain from the land of 'Anā can be answered by examining the Aramaic spelling of the city name. The name of the tribe 'Anā (cuneiform *Ḥana*) must in any case be dissociated from the name of the city of 'Anat (cuneiform *Ḥanat*), situated some 200 km south of the tribal lands traditionally occupied by the 'Anā people.

The available documents show beyond any doubt that the final *-t* of 'Anat was not yet lost in the first century A.D. Thus, the *Parthian Stations* by Isidorus of Charax mention 'Αναθὼ νῆσος κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην³³¹, showing the dialectal Aramaic shift *ā* > *ō* in 'Anatā > 'Anatō³³². Arrian, probably describing the sailing of Trajan's fleet on the Euphrates, calls this settlement 'Ανάθα³³³. The final *-t* is even preserved in the latest epigraphic attestation of the place name in the great trilingual inscription of Sapor I at Naqš-i Rostam, known as the *Res gestae divi Saporis*, where Anat appears as the first Roman fortress seized by the Sassanid king, probably in A.D. 253³³⁴: 'Ανάθαν πόλιν

are taken into consideration by E. LIPÍŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 26), 2nd ed., Göttingen 1985, p. 248 with n. 7.

³²⁷ J.-R. KUPPER, *Ḥana*, in *RLA* IV, Berlin 1972-75, p. 74-76, in particular p. 74b with references.

³²⁸ Inscribed stone mace dedicated to Šamaš of Sippar: *RIMA* II, text A.0.2001, p. 111. Cf. E.F. WEIDNER, *Tukulti-Mēr*, in *Analecta Orientalia* 12, Roma 1935, p. 336-338; A.R. MILLARD, rec. in *Or* 39 (1970), p. 450; ID., in *JAOS* 100 (1980), p. 369; C.B.F. WALKER - D. COLLON, in L. DE MEYER, *Tell ed-Dēr* III, Leuven 1980, p. 104, No. 72. Tukulti-Mēr is probably identical with the man of the same name who was defeated by Ashur-bēl-kala (1073-1056 B.C.) and qualified by the latter "king of Mari" (*RIMA* II, text A.0.89.1, p. 89, lines 14'-15').

³²⁹ J.F. ROSS, *art. cit.* (n. 308), p. 20-22. On *Mēr* > *Wēr*, see W.G. LAMBERT *The Pantheon of Mari*, in *MARI* 4 (1985), p. 525-539, in particular p. 534-535.

³³⁰ Informations about the city of 'Āna, its name, and the archaeological findings are collected in A. NORTHEGE - A. BAMBER - M. ROAF, *Excavations at 'Āna, Qal'a Island*, Warminster 1988.

³³¹ See the references above, p. 60-61, n. 25.

³³² LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 21.23.

³³³ ARRIAN, *Parthica*, frg. 64, quoted by STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*; cf. A.G. ROOS, *Studia Arrianea*, Leipzig 1913, p. 50-51; ID., *Flavii Arriani quae exstant omnia II. Scripta minora et fragmenta*, Leipzig 1928, p. 243: 2.

³³⁴ For the historical context, see M. GAWLIKOWSKI, *Palmyre et l'Euphrate*, in *Syria* 60 (1983), p. 53-68, especially p. 62.

σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ³³⁵. Ammianus Marcellinus, reporting the events of the year A.D. 363, mentions *Anatha* as well³³⁶. If Palmyrene inscriptions of the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. write the name of the city 'n'³³⁷, Aphlad, the god of 'Āna, was called *d-'nt* at Palmyra³³⁸ and a Greek inscription from Dura Europos, dated in A.D. 54, explains the double name of Ἀφλαδ λεγούμενου θεοῦ τῆς Ἀναθ κώμης³³⁹ preserving the final -*t* of the place name, exactly as "Ḥamath".

It is therefore improbable that Anath was called 'nh in an Aramaic inscription from the beginning of the 8th century B.C. In consequence, 'š 'nh must be a reference to the land of 'Anā or Ḥana, like in the Tukulti-Mēr's inscription on the stone-mace dedicated to Šamaš of Sippar³⁴⁰. This region corresponds approximately to the territory of the kingdom of Mari, later to the area around Terqa³⁴¹, which is located at the site now known as Tell al-'Ašāra, just south of the confluence of the Ḥābūr with the Euphrates³⁴². There is no reason to believe that 'Anā or Ḥana designated another area in the 11th-8th centuries B.C. One may assume therefore that Zakkūr was native from the region of Šerqu, one of the main Laqaeen centres on the Middle Euphrates³⁴³. Although the Tell ar-Rimāḥ and Saba'a stelae, as well as a votive mace inscribed in 775 B.C., mention the land of Laqē as a territory administered by Nergal-ēreš³⁴⁴, the Assyrian governor

³³⁵ E. HONIGMANN - A. MARICQ, *op. cit.* (n. 301), p. 12 and 146; A. MARICQ, *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, in *Syria* 35 (1958), p. 295-360 and Pl. XXIII-XXIV (see p. 309, line 12). The Parthian or Pahlavi text reads 'nty, also with *t*. Cf. D.L. KENNEDY, *Ana on the Euphrates in the Roman Period*, in *Iraq* 48 (1986), p. 103-104.

³³⁶ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *History* XXIV, 1, 6.

³³⁷ CIS II, 3973; J. CANTINEAU, *Tadmora* 4°, in *Syria* 14 (1933), p. 178-180; Chr. DUNANT, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre III. Les inscriptions*, Rome 1971, p. 65, no. 51. These inscriptions can be found now also in D.R. HILLERS - E. CUSSINI, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*, London 1995, PAT 0200, 4; PAT 0319, 3; PAT 2757, 1.

³³⁸ J. STARCKY, *Autour d'une dédicace palmyrénienne à Šadrafa et à Du'anat*, in *Syria* 26 (1949), p. 43-85 and Pl. III-IV, especially p. 45; Chr. DUNANT, *op. cit.* (n. 337), p. 70-71, No. 58; RTP 329. See also D.R. HILLERS - E. CUSSINI, *op. cit.* (n. 337), PAT 0206, 2; PAT 0318, 3; PAT 2298, obv. 1.

³³⁹ C. HOPKINS, in M.I. ROSTOVITZ (ed.), *The Excavations at Dura Europos. Preliminary Report of Fifth Season of Work: Octobre 1931-March 1932*, New Haven 1934, p. 112-113, No. 416, and Pl. XIII; A. PERKINS, *The Art of Dura-Europos*, Oxford 1973, p. 77-78, Fig. 31. For this god, see E. LIPINSKI, *Apladad*, in *Or* 45 (1976), p. 53-74.

³⁴⁰ See here above, p. 300, n. 328.

³⁴¹ J.-R. KUPPER, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari*, Paris 1957, p. 38-41; Id., *art. cit.* (n. 327), p. 76, § 2.

³⁴² H.F. RUSSELL, *art. cit.* (n. 14), p. 63, and here above, p. 96.

³⁴³ See here above, p. 96.

³⁴⁴ S. PAGE, *art. cit.* (n. 191), p. 142 = RIMA III, text A.0.104.7, p. 211, line 13; H. TADMOR, *art. cit.* (n. 191), p. 145 = RIMA III, text A.0.104.6, p. 209, line 25; E. WEIDNER, *Die assyrischen Eponymen*, in *AfO* 13 (1939-40), p. 308-318, see p. 318 = RIMA III, A.0.104.2007, p. 230.

of Raṣappa, the real extent of the latter's power in the concerned area is open to question³⁴⁵. As for the function exercised by Zakkūr before he seized the throne, it is a matter for speculation, but similar cases, as Jehu's in Israel, may suggest that he was an army commander.

The siege of Ḥadarik reported in the Zakkūr inscription can probably be explained as a reaction to Zakkūr's expansionism and to his links with Assyria, aptly illustrated by a fragment of a black obelisk brought by G. Smith from Nineveh in 1874. Its bas-relief shows an apparently western tributary in a turban or cap, raising a bowl in one hand. Above the carved register there are traces of a cuneiform inscription, the lower line of which preserves the name ^m*Za-ku-r[i]*³⁴⁶. It is quite probable that this is none other than Zakkūr, king of Ḥamath and Luğath, paying tribute to Adad-nirari III (810-783 B.C.). Zakkūr's foes, gathering from both northern and southern Syria, obviously intended to react against a serious treat by joining their forces. Zakkūr's main adversary was Bar-Hadad II, king of Damascus, the only ruler from southern Syria. His participation in the siege is quite understandable if Zakkūr had allowed the Assyrian army to cross his country in 803 in order to attack Damascus. The second member of the coalition was the king of Arpad belonging to the dynasty of Gūš, probably the Bar-Hadad of the Melqart stela³⁴⁷. He had a long common border with the territories depending from Zakkūr. The Assyrian arbitrage documented by the Antakya stela³⁴⁸ did obviously not settle the matters, while the intervention of several rulers from regions situated even north of the kingdom of Arpad seems to indicate that Zakkūr's policy was seen as dangerous for them as well. The anti-Ḥamathite coalition consists thus also of the Neo-Hittite kings of Quwē, 'Umq, Gurgum, and Melid, and of the Aramaean king of Šam'al. Two place names of three or four letters are lost in a lacuna of the inscription. The geographical framework of the list might suggest that Kummuh was mentioned there³⁴⁹, and probably Kittik. However, Shuppiluliuma, king

³⁴⁵ G. VAN DRIEL, *Wine Lists and Beyond?*, in *BiOr* 38 (1981), col. 259-272 (see col. 268-269). Both stelae were found on the road from Assyria to the territories under his administration, not in their heartland. But see also here above, p. 105.

³⁴⁶ The fragment is numbered BM. 120429; cf. J.E. READE, *Fragments of Assyrian Monuments*, in *Iraq* 43 (1981), p. 145-156 and Pl VI-XXI, see p. 151 and Pl. XXc = *RIMA* III, text A.O.104.1003, p. 225. The inscription may refer to a superior carved register as well.

³⁴⁷ See here above, p. 215-216.

³⁴⁸ See here above, p. 284.

³⁴⁹ Suggestion made by J.C.L. GIBSON, *TSSI* II, p. 14, followed by A. LEMAIRE, *Joas de Samarie, Barhadad de Damas, Zakkur de Hamat: La Syrie-Palestine vers 800 av. J.-C.*, in *Avraham Malamat Volume* (ErIs 24), Jerusalem 1993, p. 148*-157* (see p. 151*).

of Kummuh, was clearly an Assyrian client, who had called in the Assyrians to support him against Gurgum and Arpad in 805 and had enjoyed the favours of Shamshi-ilu, the Assyrian commander-in-chief³⁵⁰. It is improbable in these circumstances that Kummuh would have joined Arpad and Gurgum in an alliance against Zakkūr, another Assyrian client. One of the two names lost in the lacuna was more likely Tābal, the Anatolian kingdom attacked by the Assyrians as early as 837 and 836 B.C.³⁵¹. The second name might be *Ktk* or *Kšk* that would fit the space neatly³⁵², while *Krkms*, suggested by J.C.L. Gibson³⁵³, has two supplementary letters and may be too long. Besides, considering the silence of the Assyrian sources and the importance of that state, “it would seem unlikely that Carchemish took part in any of the anti-Assyrian groupings of the early eighth century”³⁵⁴.

At the end of line 8, the foot of a letter is visible after *t* and suggests restoring *'m'[lky]*, followed in line 9 by *[']'mr'*, as proposed by A. Lemaire³⁵⁵. This reading is epigraphically justified and gives a better syntax and a consistent sense. The “seven kings of Amurru” could have included the rulers of some of the Phoenician city-states at the western outlet of the Ḥoms pass and possibly the king of Šoba or Bēt-Rehob, assuming that Šoba still was an independent state. Considering the anti-Assyrian grouping at the time of Shalmaneser III³⁵⁶, some fifty years earlier, one may assume that the text refers to the kings of Šumur, ‘Arqā, Arwad, Ušnū, Siyān, and Šoba. In fact, the *Mu-uš-ra-a-a* of the Monolith Inscription II, 92 is a metathesis for “Šumraean”³⁵⁷, just like *Sir-’-la-a-a*, in the same line, is a metathesis for “Israelite”³⁵⁸, while *Ir-qa-na-ta-a-a*, also in line 92, is a reflex of *Ar-ga-na-a* (line 89) and stands for ‘Arqā (*Irqata*). Shalmaneser III’s text does not mention Byblos in line 92, but

³⁵⁰ Kizkapanli (Pazarcık) stela, obverse and reverse; cf. V. DONBAZ, *art. cit.* (n. 184), p. 8-10 = *RIMA* III, text A.0.104.3, p. 205, and text A.0.105.1, p. 240.

³⁵¹ J.D. HAWKINS, in *CAH* III/1, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1982, p. 394-395.

³⁵² See here above, p. 225. Faint traces in the middle of line 8 might suggest the reading *ml]’k k’[tk*, but this is uncertain.

³⁵³ J.C.L. GIBSON, *TSSI* II, p. 14, followed by A. LEMAIRE, *art. cit.* (n. 349), p. 151*.

³⁵⁴ J.D. HAWKINS, *op. cit.* (n. 351), p. 407.

³⁵⁵ A. LEMAIRE, *art. cit.* (n. 349), p. 151*.

³⁵⁶ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.2, p. 23, lines 90b-95.

³⁵⁷ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.2, p. 23, line 92b. This suggestion was made by A. LEMAIRE, *art. cit.* (n. 349), p. 152*. A similar metathesis occurs on Shalmaneser III’s stone statue found at Calah; cf. *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.16, p. 79, line 162’, where the progression from the south to the north — Tyre, Sidon, Byblos — indicates that ^{kur}*Mu-šu-ru-na* stands for ^{kur}*Šu-mu-ru-na*.

³⁵⁸ LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 27.12.

Quwē (*Qū-a-a*) that appears as *Qwh* in the Zakkūr inscription, and it is improbable that a Bedouin chieftain, like Gindipū', would be counted among "the seven kings of Amurru". One ruler is thus missing, and the list of the Hamathite cities annexed by Tiglath-pileser III cannot serve as basis for inducing the existence of some other Phoenician city-states. As for Sennacherib's list of "the kings of Amurru"³⁵⁹, it includes Samsimuruna, Sidon, Arwad, Byblos, Ashdod, Ammon, Moab, and Edom, but the geopolitical situation of Syria-Palestine was quite different around 700 B.C. Since Maṣuate had to become a provincial chief-town under the Sargonids and was the aim of the Assyrian military campaign in 796 B.C., while Ashurnasirpal II had stopped short from attacking it, at a few kilometres north of Maṣyaf³⁶⁰, it might have been a royal town in Zakkūr's time, but no ruler of Maṣuate is known so far, neither in the Iron Age, nor in the Late Bronze Age, when the city is mentioned for the first time on the Memphite stela of Amenhotep II (ca. 1453-1419 B.C.)³⁶¹. On its way back from Niya and Ugarit³⁶², the Egyptian army "plundered the settlements of *M-n-d-t*", before reaching *H-t-r-*', possibly Haz(z)ūr or Hassūr, south of Maṣyaf³⁶³, and then Qadesh-on-the-Orontes. The phonetic correspondence of *M-n-d-t* to Maṣuate is perfect³⁶⁴ and its location at Maṣyaf, as proposed below, agrees with the general data of the stela³⁶⁵ and with the indications of the Assyrian sources.

The Assyrian campaign *a-na Man-ṣu-a-te*, "as far as Maṣuate", is known only from the Eponym Chronicle, which dates it from the office of Aššur-bēl-ušur, governor of Ḥabruri, i.e. from the year 796 B.C.³⁶⁶.

³⁵⁹ *Sennacherib*, p. 30, line 50-58;

³⁶⁰ See here above p. 281-282.

³⁶¹ The stela was first published by A. BADAWI, *Die neue historische Stele Amenophis II.*, in *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 42 (1943), p. 1-23 and Pl. I, see especially p. 11. The inscription was then republished by W. HELCK, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, Heft 17, Berlin 1955, see in particular p. 1303, 15. An English translation is given in *ANET*, p. 245-247.

³⁶² The name of the city is spelt *'I-k-t* on the stela, but it is often corrected into *'I-k-<r>-t*, although the same spelling occurs in the parallel inscription of the stela standing at the south of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak. Cf. M. LIVERANI, *Ras Shamra II. Histoire*, in *DBS IX*, Paris 1979, col. 1295-1348 (see col. 1298). Ugarit might also appear in Egyptian texts under the forms *'I-q-d-w* and *'I-q-d*; cf. here above, p. 249 and n. 4.

³⁶³ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 97, n. 3, and Map VIII, A3. The second place name has also been spelt Ḥaṣūr and Haḏūr. The context does not favour an identification with Hazor, in northern Israel.

³⁶⁴ The identification was first proposed by M. ASTOUR, *art. cit.* (n. 259), p. 235.

³⁶⁵ The mention of the tribute brought by a prince of *'I-n-i-q* to Amenhotep II at *H-t-r-*' confirms this general location, since *'I-n-i-q* corresponds to *Amqi* in the Amarna correspondence, where this name designates the Beqa' Valley.

³⁶⁶ Cf. MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 57.

But other texts may be referring to the same campaign without alluding to Manṣuate. The first problem, however, is the controversial location of the city itself, which became later the chief-town of an Assyrian province in Syria. It is mentioned in several administrative records³⁶⁷ and in the title of its governor Danānu³⁶⁸. Its name appears also in Assyrian letters, as in K. 1533, r. 4³⁶⁹, and in ND. 2680, 8'³⁷⁰, which seems to have been sent from Manṣuate itself, as results from the words ... *ana pāni ša* ^{uru}*Man-ṣu-a-te ina muḥḥi-ia i-tal-ka*, "he came over to Manṣuate for me" (lines 7'-9'). According to this letter, which is unfortunately broken, prisoners came from ^{uru}*Til-bar[-sip]* (line 3') to Manṣuate. If Til-Barsip is the correct reading³⁷¹, Manṣuate should be a city of north-central Syria, since Til-Barsip is situated south of Carchemish, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates³⁷². H.W.F. Saggs localizes Manṣuate south of Ḥadarik³⁷³, which is to be looked for at Afis³⁷⁴, north-east of ^{kur}*Sa-ú-e*, the actual Ġebel az-Zāwīya³⁷⁵. But this mention of Til-Barsip and of Manṣuate in the same letter does not constitute a sufficient indication of the exact site of the city, and no other Assyrian text allows a location more precise than in central Syria³⁷⁶. The perpetuating of the name in the local tradition and the Memphite stela of Amenhotep II are thus, as yet, the only key which could allow us to resolve the problem.

³⁶⁷ SAA VII, 116, 7'; SAA XI, 1, r. I, 10'; 2, II, 5; 6, 8'.

³⁶⁸ Cf. MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 93.

³⁶⁹ ABL 1450 = SAA XIII, 85.

³⁷⁰ The text has been published by H.W.F. SAGGS, *art. cit.* (n. 231), p. 141-142 and Pl. XXX, No. XXII.

³⁷¹ The restoration ^{uru}*Til-Bar[-sip]* is not rendered less probable by the fact that the name of this town was changed by Shalmaneser III into Kār-Šulmānu-ašarēdu. Indeed, the name occurs often in the Sargonid period, for instance SAA I, 4, 10'; 32, r. 13'; 183, r. 16; 184, r. 7; 187, r. 4; 191, 9; 192, 8; 193, r. 4.

³⁷² See here above, p. 167: T. Aḥmar.

³⁷³ H.W.F. SAGGS, *art. cit.* (n. 231), p. 142.

³⁷⁴ Cf. J. LEWY, *Studies in the Historic Geography of the Ancient Near East*, in *Or* 21 (1952) p. 1-12, 265-292, 393-425 (see p. 418-420).

³⁷⁵ See here above, p. 263.

³⁷⁶ E. FORRER, *op. cit.* (n. 46), p. 59, still mentions a fragment of a "Prunkinschrift" referring to administrative action by Tiglath-pileser III in connection with Manṣuate, in 734 B.C., but Manṣuate does not appear in TADMOR's edition *Tigl. III*. The name of Manṣuate has been restored in Sefire stela I, B, 10, by B. MAZAR, *The Aramean Empire and Its Relations with Israel*, in *BA* 25 (1962), p. 98-120 (see p. 118), and in *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader* II, New York 1964, p. 127-151 (see p. 148). He has been followed by Y. AHARONI, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 77. The restoration *M[nš]wt* is epigraphically implausible, since there is no trace of the final *t* and no space left for *n* (cf. J.A. FITZMYER, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*, 2nd ed. [Biblica et Orientalia 19A], Roma 1995, p. 105), but the reading *M[š]w* is quite possible (cf. here below, p. 308, n. 394). — All the known mentions of Manṣuate in Neo-Assyrian texts are listed in PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 238.

E. Forrer had suggested in 1921 to localize Manṣuate at Tell Menīs or Mannās, 57 km north of Ḥamā³⁷⁷. But, in 1924, E. Honigmann related the name of Manṣuate to the Greek name Μασσούας or Μαρσύας, denoting a city and the valley of Massyas or Marsyas³⁷⁸, which G. Hölscher, after others, identified with the Lebanese Beqa'³⁷⁹. For most authors, the obvious conclusion was that Manṣuate had to be looked for in the Beqa'³⁸⁰. Some scholars tried even to define the location of the city precisely. A. Kuschke related the name of Manṣuate to the actual name Māsī of a place situated 3.5 km east of Tell Rayyāq³⁸¹, while J. Lewy identified it with Chalcis of Lebanon³⁸². But, since the location of Manṣuate in the Beqa' is not certain at all, these attempts to determine the exact situation of the city are only guesses. The toponymy of central Syria suggests another solution, which is also historically more probable and supported by the Memphite stela.

Fourty-five km west-southwest of Ḥamā there is an old city whose name was pronounced by the local population *Maṣyat*, *Maṣyat*, *Maṣyaf*, or *Maṣyad*, and whose Latin transcription in the Middle Ages was *Mes-siat*³⁸³. The site has been described very well in the early 19th century by J.L. Burckhardt³⁸⁴ and E. Honigmann has identified the city with the Μαρσούα < Μασσούα of the Greek authors, which he distinguishes from

³⁷⁷ E. FORRER, *op. cit.* (n. 46), p. 59 (cf. also p. 52, 54, 63, 68, 84).

³⁷⁸ E. HONIGMANN, *art. cit.* (n. 131), p. 16, No. 302; ID., *Massyas*, in *PW XIV/2*, Stuttgart 1930, col. 2165-2166.

³⁷⁹ G. HÖLSCHER, *Marsyas* 5., in *PW XIV/2*, Stuttgart 1930, col. 1986. A geographical description of the Beqa' can be found in J.-P. REY-COQUAIS, *IGLS VI* (BAH 78), Paris 1967, p. 21-31. See also here below, p. 319-330.

³⁸⁰ Thus K. ELLIGER, *Die Nordgrenze des Reiches Davids*, in *PJ* 32 (1936), p. 34-73 (see p. 50); M. NOTH, *Das Reich von Hamath als Grenznachbar des Reiches Israel*, in *PJ* 33 (1937), p. 36-51 (see p. 42-43), reprinted in M. NOTH, *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*, Neukirchen 1971, vol. II, p. 148-160 (see p. 153-154); ABEL, *Géographie II*, p. 102; B. MAISLER (MAZAR), *The Historical Background of the Samaria Ostraca*, in *JPOS* 21 (1948), p. 117-133 (see p. 126); ID., *art. cit.* (n. 376), in *BA* 25 (1962), p. 118, and in *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader II*, p. 148; Y. AHARONI, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 332, Map 31; H. DONNER, *Adadnirari III. und die Vasallen des Westens*, in *Archäologie und Altes Testament. Festschrift für Kurt Galling*, Tübingen 1970, p. 49-59 (see p. 56); M. WEIPPERT, *art. cit.* (n. 186), p. 53.

³⁸¹ A. KUSCHKE, *Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Bikā'*, in *ZDPV* 70 (1954), p. 104-129; 71 (1955), p. 97-110; 74 (1958), p. 81-120 (see p. 115). The place is about 45 km north-northwest of Damascus as the crow flies.

³⁸² J. LEWY, *The Old West Semitic Sun-God Ḥammu*, in *HUCA* 18 (1943-44), p. 429-488 (see p. 448, n. 106). Cf. ABEL, *Géographie II*, p. 131, cf. p. 102. The place would be by road about 60 km northwest of Damascus.

³⁸³ Cf. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 143.

³⁸⁴ J.L. BURCKHARDT, *Travels in the Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822, p. 150-153.