

# Edward Lipinski (orientalist)

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**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<sup>[7]</sup>
- (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.



## ARPAD OR BĒT-GŪŠ

Arpad, modern Tell ar-Rif‘at, was the capital of the North-Syrian state founded in the early 9th century B.C. by Gūš of Yaḥan, chieftain of an Aramaean tribe which is mentioned first in the annals of Ashur-dan II of Assyria (934-912 B.C.). In his third campaign, Ashur-dan II successfully fought against the land of [<sup>kur</sup>]a-ḥa-a-nu, settled by Aramaeans at the time of Ashur-rabi II (1013-973 B.C.), and he conquered that territory<sup>1</sup>, thus removing the threat of Aramaean invasion from the Assyrian heartland. Yaḥan (*Yaḥan*) is a Westsemitic shortened personal name, paralleled by Amorite *Ia-ḥu-un-* and Phoenician *Yḥn-* / *-yḥn*<sup>2</sup>. It must therefore be considered as an Aramaic tribal name and not as an original toponym. The area occupied by this tribe in the 10th century B.C. corresponds to the triangle formed by the Tigris, the Ġebel Ḥamrīn, and the Al-‘Aḍaim river (Nahr al-‘Uḏaym), around Lake Šārī<sup>3</sup>. An Aramaean tribe bearing the same name is recorded later in northern Syria. The observation of two different locations for a tribal name — in the case northern Syria and Assyria — is by no means unparalleled, but the chronology of the events and Ashur-dan II’s mention of Aramaeans flying from his weapons<sup>4</sup> justify the assumption that the very same Aramaean tribe or some of its clans finished by emigrating from Assyria to northwestern Syria and settled some thirty years later near Lake Ġabbūl, southeast of Aleppo<sup>5</sup>.

The first two references to the western country of Yaḥan occur in the annals of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.), in connection with a king’s campaign in Syria *ca.* 870 B.C. Although the pertinent narrative

<sup>1</sup> *RIMA II*, text A.0.98.1, p. 133, lines 23-32; text A.0.98.2, p. 136, lines 6’-16’.

<sup>2</sup> H.B. HUFFMON, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, Baltimore 1965, p. 200; F.L. BENZ, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* (Studia Pohl 8), Rome 1972, p. 313-315. The vowel *a* probably results from the influence of the pharyngeal *ḥ* and it is lengthened as a consequence of the shortening of final *n*: *yahunn* > *yahann* > *yahān*.

<sup>3</sup> E. FORRER, *Assyrien*, in *RLA I*, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, p. 228-297 (see § 46, p. 291b).

<sup>4</sup> *RIMA II*, text A.0.98.1, p. 133, lines 28-29; p. 136, lines 12’-13’.

<sup>5</sup> Thus, we identify not only the name of the Mesopotamian and of the North-Syrian tribe, but we consider that the same tribe is referred to in the 10th and 9th centuries B.C., contrary to the opinion of J.D. HAWKINS, *Jaḥan*, in *RLA V*, Berlin 1976-80, p. 238-239 (see p. 238a).



continues without a break<sup>6</sup>, in fact two campaigns may be described<sup>7</sup>, possibly with winter quarters taken by the Assyrian troops in 'Umq/Pattin. When proceeding in the earlier stages of his campaign from Carchemish to Ḥazāzu, modern 'Azāz, then in the kingdom of 'Umq/Pattin, the Assyrian king passed <sup>kur</sup>A-ḥa-a-nu on his left<sup>8</sup>, thus leaving it to the south of his route. The determinative KUR does not refer in this context to a mountain, eventually the Ġebel Sim'ān<sup>9</sup>, since Gūš is qualified further in the annals as ruler of Yaḥan. In fact, later in the same campaign, Ashurnasirpal is reported to have received tribute from Gūš the Yaḥanaean (<sup>m</sup>Gu-ú-si <sup>kur</sup>Ia-ḥa-na-a-a)<sup>10</sup> in Kunulua, the capital of 'Umq. This account suggests that the kingdom of 'Umq extended then far to the east and that Arpad — not even mentioned in Ashurnasirpal II's annals, though it is visible from 'Azāz, — was not yet the capital of Yaḥan. This view is supported by the fact that there is no mention of Arpad in Assyrian inscriptions before Adad-nirari III's campaign against Arpad in 805 B.C.

Yet, the mention of the tribute paid by Gūš the Yaḥanaean *ca.* 870 implies that an Aramaean state of Yaḥan was firmly established by that time, while its later name *Bēt-(A)gūsi* in Assyrian and *Byt Gš* in Aramaic<sup>11</sup> clearly indicates that Gūš was considered as its founder and as the eponym of the ruling dynasty. The latter's beginning may safely be dated to *ca.* 890 or 880 B.C., since Hadrām, son of Gūš, was already reigning by 858 B.C.<sup>12</sup> However, inscriptions covering the first cam-

<sup>6</sup> RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 216-219, lines 56b-92a.

<sup>7</sup> A.K. GRAYSON, *Studies in Neo-Assyrian History: The Ninth Century B.C.*, in *BiOr* 33 (1976), p. 134-145 (see p. 138-140).

<sup>8</sup> RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 217, line 71.

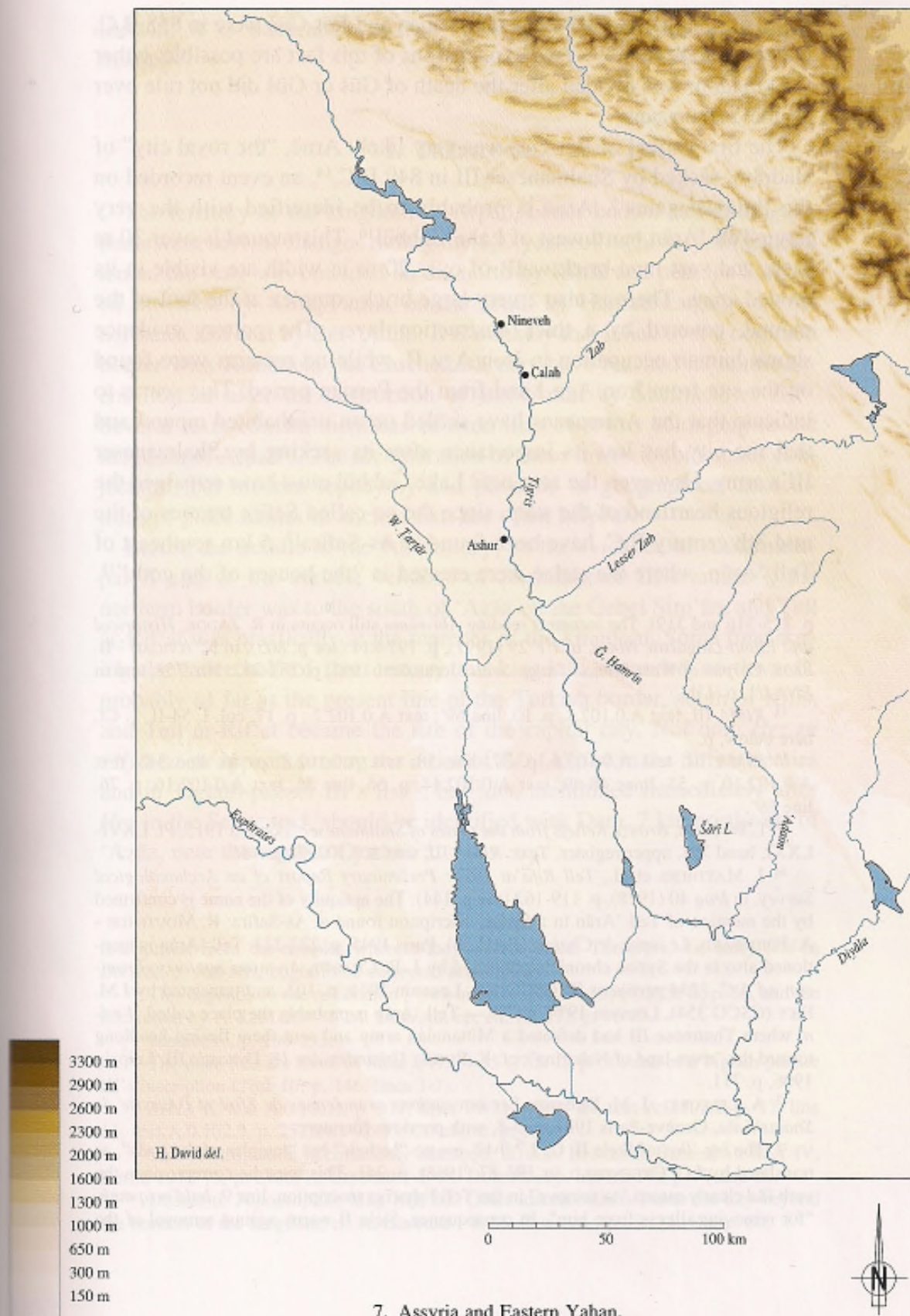
<sup>9</sup> This is the opinion of DION, *Araméens*, p. 114-115, who considers that the tribal name "Yaḥanaean" derives from the name of a Mount Aḥanu.

<sup>10</sup> RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 218, lines 77-78.

<sup>11</sup> For the Assyrian texts, see PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 76. The Aramaic name occurs on the Sefire stelae I, B, 11; II, B, 10; possibly I, A, 16, and on a Nimrud ivory: É. PUECH, *Un ivoire de Bît-Guši (Arpad) à Nimrud*, in *Syria* 55 (1978), p. 163-169 (see p. 165). The ruler of the Aramaean state is designated in Assyrian texts as DUMU-Gu-(ú-)si, DUMU-A-gu-(ú-)si, DUMU-A-gu-us-si, and in the Aramaic Zakkūr inscription as *Br Gš* (KAI 202 = TSSI II, 5, A, 5); cf. M. LIVERANI, *Bar-Guš e Bar-Rakib*, in *RSO* 36 (1961), p. 185-187 (see p. 185-186). The plural *Bny Gš* occurs at Sefire: Stela I, B, 3.

<sup>12</sup> RIMA III, text A.0.102.2, p. 17, line 12; cf. text A.0.102.1, p. 10, line [81']. The Assyrian spelling <sup>m</sup>A-ra-me should be interpreted in the light of <sup>m</sup>Ad-ra-mu, that occurs on the Antakya stela 5, of <sup>m</sup>Ad-ra-a-me on the Kizkapanli (Pazarcık) stela 11 (cf. V. DONBAZ, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae in the Antakya and Kahramanmaraş Museums*, in *ARRIM* 8 [1990], p. 5-24 = RIMA III, text A.0.104.2, line 5, and text A.0.104.3, line 11), and of *Hdrm* on the Melqart stela, line 2, as finally deciphered 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 (see







paign of Shalmaneser III show that Yaḥan and Bēt-Gūš were in 858 B.C. under separate rulers<sup>13</sup>. Two explanations of this fact are possible: either the kingdom was divided after the death of Gūš or Gūš did not rule over all the Yaḥanaeans.

The first capital of Bēt-Gūš was very likely Arnē, “the royal city” of Hadrām, sacked by Shalmaneser III in 849 B.C.<sup>14</sup>, an event recorded on the Balāwāt gates<sup>15</sup>. Arnē is probably to be identified with the very large Tell ‘Arān, northwest of Lake Ġabbūl<sup>16</sup>. This mound is over 30 m high, and vast mud-brick walls of over 20 m in width are visible in its eroded areas. There is also a very large brick complex at the foot of the mound, covered by a thick destruction layer. The pottery evidence shows human occupation in Iron Age II, while no remains were found on the site from Iron Age I and from the Persian period. This seems to indicate that the Aramaeans have settled on an uninhabited mound and that the city has lost its importance after its sacking by Shalmaneser III’s army. However, the area near Lake Ġabbūl must have remained the religious heartland of the state, since the so-called Sefire treaties of the mid-8th century B.C. have been found at As-Safīra<sup>17</sup>, 5 km southeast of Tell ‘Arān, where the stelae were erected in “the houses of the gods”<sup>18</sup>.

p. 315-316 and 319). The incorrect reading *Abī-rāmu* still occurs in R. ZADOK, *Historical and Ethno-Linguistic Notes*, in *UF* 29 (1997), p. 797-814 (see p. 805), in N. AVIGAD - B. SASS, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, Jerusalem 1997, p. 281-282, No. 752, and in *PNA* I/1, p. 13b.

<sup>13</sup> *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.1, p. 10, line 69’; text A.0.102.2., p. 17, col. I, 54-II, 1. Cf. here below, p.

<sup>14</sup> *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.6, p. 37, line 58; text A.0.102.8, p. 46, line 31’; text A.0.102.10, p. 53, lines 48-49; text A.0.102.14, p. 66, line 86; text A.0.102.16, p. 76, line 69’.

<sup>15</sup> L.W. KING, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, London 1915, Pl. LXVI-LXXI, band XII, upper register. Text: *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.80, p. 146.

<sup>16</sup> J. MATTHEWS et al., *Tell Rifa‘at 1977: Preliminary Report of an Archaeological Survey*, in *Iraq* 40 (1978), p. 119-162 (see p. 144). The antiquity of the name is confirmed by the mention of Tell ‘Arān in a Syriac inscription found at As-Safīra: R. MOUTERDE - A. POIDEBARD, *Le limes de Chalcis* (BAH 38), Paris 1945, p. 222-223. Tell ‘Arān is mentioned also in the Syriac chronicle published by J.-B. CHABOT, *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens* II (CSCO 82), Louvain 1916, p. 103, and translated by J.M. FIEY (CSCO 354), Louvain 1974, p. 77. — Tell ‘Arān is probably the place called ‘*I-r-i-n*, where Thutmose III had defeated a Mittannian army and sent them fleeing headlong toward the “river-land of Naharina”; cf. K. SETHE, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* III, Leipzig 1906, p. 711.

<sup>17</sup> A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré et l’Assyrie de Shamshi-ilu*, Genève-Paris 1984, p. 3-5, with previous literature.

<sup>18</sup> The *bty ’lhy* of Stela II, C, 2.7.9-10, are no “bethels” but “temples of the gods”, as translated by J.C. GREENFIELD, in *JBL* 87 (1968), p. 241. This must be correct, since the verb *lūd* clearly means “to remove” in the Tell Faḡarīya inscription, line 9: *lmlđ mrq mnḥ*, “for removing illness from him”. In consequence, Stela II warns against removal of the



Instead, it is uncertain whether Arnē itself is mentioned in these treaties<sup>19</sup>.

## 1. TERRITORY

The territory of the kingdom of Arpad, better known as *Bēt-(A)gūsi*, underwent several changes during the 150 years of its history. In general terms, the state was bounded on the north by Kittik and perhaps Šam'al, on the west by 'Umq/Pattin, on the south by Ḥamath-Luḡath, on the northeast and east by Bēt-'Adini. It is unlikely that it had ever a common border with Kummuh, but Carchemish may have reached its northeastern frontier after the destruction of Bēt-'Adini by Shalmaneser III<sup>20</sup>. Several texts contain mentions or even lists of towns belonging to the kingdom of Arpad<sup>21</sup>. The identification of these towns is sometimes conjectural, but modern toponymy and phonetic or geographical associations of place names in ancient lists are often helpful.

Before the middle of the 9th century, on the evidence of Ashurnasirpal II and of the earliest versions of Shalmaneser III's annals<sup>22</sup>, the northern border was to the south of 'Azāz on the Ġebel Sim'ān, and Tell ar-Rif'at was practically at the marches of the kingdom. Some time during the latter half of that century the kingdom expanded northwards, probably as far as the present line of the Turkish border, south of Kilis, and Tell ar-Rif'at became the site of the capital city. Not only Ḥzz or <sup>uru</sup>Ha-za-zu appears among the cities of *Bēt-(A)gūsi* in the Sefire treaties and in Tiglath-pileser III's list<sup>23</sup>, but 'dm, mentioned immediately after Ḥzz in the Sefire text, should be identified with Dam, 7 km northwest of 'Azāz, near the road to Cyrrhus<sup>24</sup>.

inscriptions from the temples wherein they were erected. Therefore, the entry *lwd* in *DNWSI*, p. 568-569, ought to be corrected accordingly.

<sup>19</sup> This depends on the restoration [']*rn*h in Stela I, A, 34-35; cf. *TSSI* II, p. 30, and the discussion by A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 76-77.

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 190-193.

<sup>21</sup> The main lists are those of Stela I, A, 34-35 (*TSSI* II, p. 30) and of a Tiglath-pileser III's inscription (*Tigl. III*, p. 146, lines 1-7).

<sup>22</sup> *RIMA* II, text A.0.101.1, p. 217, lines 70-71; *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.2, p. 17, line 11; text A.0.102.3, p. 25, lines 92-93. Cf. above, p. 196.

<sup>23</sup> This identification is commonly admitted; cf. J.D. HAWKINS, *Ḥazazu*, in *RLA* IV, Berlin 1972-75, p. 240b; A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 77 and 80.

<sup>24</sup> DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map XII, B2. Other identifications locate the city beyond the borders of the kingdom; cf. A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 80.



The northeastern boundary did probably not reach further than Šawrān or Šūrān, 15 km northeast of Tell ar-Rif‘at. It was facing Kittik to the north and Bēt-‘Adini to the east, since Tell Dābiq, on the west bank of the Quwaiq river and about 5.5 km southeast of Šawrān, is the very site of <sup>uru</sup>*Da-bi-gu* that belonged to Bēt-‘Adini until it was captured by Shalmaneser III in 857 B.C.<sup>25</sup> Further to the southeast, the territory of *Bēt-(A)gūsi* may be marked by the Tell al-Ġidain or Ġiġān, 4 km east of the Quwaiq river and 16 km southeast of Tell Dābiq. Tell al-Ġidain rises 24.50 m above its present surroundings and it has lower extensions to the north and to the west. It was occupied in Iron Age II, but no signs of human occupation have been found so far from the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age I, and the Persian period<sup>26</sup>. The older form of the place name with the consonants *-gid-* suggests a comparison with the name <sup>uru</sup>[ ]-*ag-da-a* of a town of *Bēt-(A)gūsi* represented on the Balāwāt gates and allegedly captured by Shalmaneser III in 849 B.C.<sup>27</sup>. The Arabic article *al-* may then correspond to the first element of the name which is lost in the inscription of the Balāwāt gates. Several cases of this kind are known in northern Syria<sup>28</sup>.

As for the city called Paqarahubuni or Paqirahubuna, it was never part of *Bēt-(A)gūsi*<sup>29</sup>. This city was situated near the border between Kummuh and Gurgum, probably in the Pazarcık area where Adad-nirari III’s stela was found<sup>30</sup>. It was the site of an important battle between the Assyrian army and a coalition headed by ‘Attarsumki I of *Bēt-(A)gūsi*, but it certainly lies beyond the borders of ‘Attarsumki’s own kingdom. It had belonged in the early half of the 9th century B.C. to Bēt-‘Adini<sup>31</sup>.

The western boundary of *Bēt-(A)gūsi* was initially the range of hills dividing the ‘Afrīn and Quwaiq valley systems. However, in the latter half of the 9th century, there was a very important expansion of the kingdom westwards, resulting in the reduction of the kingdom of ‘Umq/Pattin to a pocket around its capital Kinalua or Kunalua, most

<sup>25</sup> E. SACHAU, in *ZA* 12 (1897), p. 47, followed by S. SCHIFFER, *Die Aramäer*, Leipzig 1911, p. 70; DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 468 and 474; E. HONIGMANN, *Dabigu*, in *RLA* II, Berlin-Leipzig 1938, p. 96, etc.

<sup>26</sup> DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map XII, C3; J. MATTHEWS, *art. cit.* (n. 16), p. 120 and 123, No. 16.

<sup>27</sup> L.W. KING, *op. cit.* (n. 15), Pl. LXVI-LXXI, band XII, lower register. Text: *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.81, p. 146.

<sup>28</sup> For instance, Ad-Dānā for Assyrian <sup>uru</sup>*A-di-in-nu* or <sup>uru</sup>*A-ti-in-ni*, Al-‘Atārib for Assyrian <sup>uru</sup>*El-li-ta-ar-bi*, Al-Liġa or Iliġak for Assyrian <sup>uru</sup>*A-li-gu*.

<sup>29</sup> Contrary to the opinion of SADER, *États araméens*, p. 138 and 148.

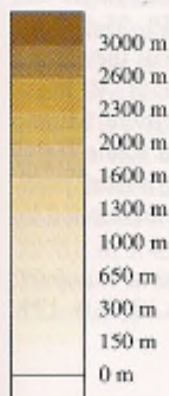
<sup>30</sup> J.D. HAWKINS, in *CAH* III/1, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1982, p. 400.

<sup>31</sup> See above, p. 177.

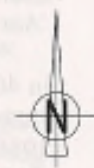




H. David del.



0 50 100 km



8. Arpad, Kittik, Šam'al.



likely the present-day Tell Tayinat<sup>32</sup>. This results mainly from Adad-nirari III's stela in the Antakya Museum, which implies that the kingdom of *Bēt-(A)gūsi* reached about 806 B.C. as far as the lower Orontes, in the area of Antakya<sup>33</sup>. The river was to form the border between the Ḥamathite kingdom of Zakkūr, on the south, and the kingdom of Arpad, which obtained the town of Naḥl-Aš(š)i on the northern bank. An earlier stage of this expansion westward is attested by Shalmaneser III's Black Obelisk reporting that the Assyrian king, returning from Quwē in 833 B. C., captured <sup>uru</sup>*Mu-ú-ru*, "the fortified city of Hadrām, son of Gūš". He turned it into a stronghold for himself, rebuilt the city gates, and erected a palace there as a royal residence<sup>34</sup>. Considering that the local dialect articulated the cluster *dr* almost like *r*, as shown by the usual Assyrian spelling *A-ra-me* of the name *Hadrām*, <sup>uru</sup>*Mu-ú-ru* is most likely the same city as *Mdr'* in the Sefire treaties<sup>35</sup> and <sup>uru</sup>*Mu-ud-r[u-?]* in Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions<sup>36</sup>, where the city is considered as belonging to 'Umq. Its proposed identification with 'Ayn Dārā<sup>37</sup>, on the right bank of the 'Afrīn<sup>38</sup>, about 22 km southwest of Tell ar-Rif'at, is supported by its location, by archaeological findings, and by the name Dārā, which is a Semiticized form of the probably Hurrian place name *Mudrā/u*<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> J.D. HAWKINS, *Kinalua*, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-80, p. 597-598; M. LIVERANI, *Studies on the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II*, 2. *Topographical Analysis*, Roma 1992, p. 74-75.

<sup>33</sup> V. DONBAZ, *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 6-7 = *RIMA* III, text A.0.104.2, p. 203-204. See also below, p. 285.

<sup>34</sup> *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.14, p. 68, lines 130-131 ("Black Obelisk"); cf. text A.0.102.16, p. 80, line [215'].

<sup>35</sup> Stela I, A, 34 (*TSSI* II, p. 30).

<sup>36</sup> *Tigl. III*, p. 148, line 13.

<sup>37</sup> H. FARZAT, *Le royaume araméen d'Arpad*, Paris 1972, p. 124, n. 44. For the site and the excavations, see now 'A. ABŪ 'ASSĀF, in *AfO* 26 (1978-79), p. 147-148; ID., 'Ain Dara — Eine neu entdeckte Residenzstadt, in *Land des Baal*, Mainz a/R 1982, p. 349-352; ID., *Der Tempel von 'Ain Dara* (Damaszener Forschungen 3), Mainz a/R 1990; ID., *Der Tempel von 'Ain Dara in Nordsyrien*, in *Antike Welt* 24 (1993), p. 155-171; J.H. MONSON, *Solomon's Temple and the Temple at 'Ain Dārā*, in *Qadmoniot* 29 (1996), p. 33-38 (in Hebrew). Only a tiny fragment of a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from the oldest phase of the temple was found on the site: 'A. ABŪ 'ASSĀF, *Die Kleinfunde aus 'Ain Dārā*, in *DaM* 9 (1996), p. 47-111 and Pl. 15-26 (see p. 107-108 and Pl. 25c).

<sup>38</sup> The place lay most likely on the route of the Greek mercenaries of Cyrus the Young in 401 B.C., since XENOPHON's river *Χάλος* (*Anabasis* I, 4, 9) is the 'Afrīn; cf. V. MANFREDI, *La strada dei Diecimila. Topografia e geografia dell'Oriente di Senofonte*, Milano 1986, p. 96-102. This unusual name *Χάλος* might be related to the ancient name Halys ('Αλυς) of the Kizil Irmak, i.e. "Red river", the largest river of Anatolia. 'Ayn Dārā probably corresponds to the administrative centre of the "Villages of Parysatis", mentioned by Xenophon (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>39</sup> The place name is apparently related to the word *mudri*, attested also as *mu-úr-ri*; cf. E. LAROCHE, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* II (= *RHA* 35 [1977]), Paris 1979, p. 171.



The southern boundary of *Bēt-(A)gūsi* was the range of hills separating the area around Aleppo from Luġath and Ḥamath; further east, the boundary was formed by Lake Ġabbūl and by the surrounding swamps. Several towns of *Bēt-(A)gūsi* mentioned in the Sefire treaties and in Tiglath-pileser III's list can be located west and southwest of Aleppo. Thus, <sup>uru</sup>*Ha-ú-ra-a-ni* may be identified with Ḥawwār, 15 km west of Aleppo, and <sup>uru</sup>*Tu-ka-a* with Toqāt or Toqād, Syriac *Tqd*, 24 km west of Aleppo<sup>40</sup>. *Tw'm*, most likely <sup>uru</sup>*Tu-'im-mi* or <sup>uru</sup>*Tu-'am-mu* of other Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions<sup>41</sup>, can be localized at At-Tawwāma, 29 km west of Aleppo<sup>42</sup>. *Byt'l* was identified with Kafr-Laha, 15 km southwest of Aleppo<sup>43</sup>, but another identification, namely with Bitīn on the 'Afrīn river, 21 km west of Tell ar-Rif'at and about 5 km north of 'Ayn Dārā, is perhaps a more convincing alternative<sup>44</sup>. Southeast of Aleppo, in the direction of Lake Ġabbūl, one encounters Nerab, i.e. <sup>uru</sup>*Né-ra-bu*<sup>45</sup>, Tell 'Arān, i.e. <sup>uru</sup>*Ar-ne* and possibly [<sup>']</sup>*rnh*<sup>46</sup>, Tell Abū Danne, very likely <sup>uru</sup>*Di-na-nu* and *Dynn*<sup>47</sup>.

The settlement goes back in origin to a period anterior to the formation of the Neo-Hittite state of Pattin and of the Aramaean state of Bēt-Gūš, possibly to the 13th - 12th century B.C.; cf. W. ORTHMANN, *Zur Datierung des Ištar-Reliefs aus Tell 'Ain Dārā*, in *IM* 43 (1993), p. 245-251 and Pl. 25, 1.

<sup>40</sup> *Tigl. III*, p. 146, lines 1 and 4. Cf. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map X, B1; A. CAQUOT, in G. TCHALENKO, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord III* (BAH 50), Paris 1958, vol. III, p. 80-81. Ḥawartinnahr or Ḥawart an-Nahr, 4 km south of Tell Dābiq, does not seem to correspond to any ancient site and lies probably beyond the borders of *Bēt-(A)gūsi*. As for Bāḥawwār, 6 km southwest of Tell ar-Rif'at, no ancient mound has been signalized there despite the survey of that area.

<sup>41</sup> Stela I, A, 34 (*TSSI II*, p. 30); *Tigl. III*, p. 66, line 8; p. 87, line 1; p. 104, line 14'. Tu'imme appears as the chief-town of a province in another text within the reign of Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II: *CTN III*, 86, 14.

<sup>42</sup> DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map X, B1. Among the various proposals mentioned by A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 75, this is the only one that takes the probable boundaries of *Bēt-(A)gūsi* into account.

<sup>43</sup> This is probably the location intended (DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map X, B1), instead of the doubtful Bēt-Laha, 30 km west of Aleppo, as referred to by M.-C. ASTOUR, *Continuité et changement dans la toponymie antique de la Syrie du Nord*, in *La toponymie antique*, Leiden 1977, p. 117-141 (see p. 139).

<sup>44</sup> DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map XII, B3. The proposal is based on a comparison with the Palestinian Beitīn derived from biblical *Byt'l*.

<sup>45</sup> *Tigl. III*, p. 146, line 3.

<sup>46</sup> See above, p. 198-199.

<sup>47</sup> *Tigl. III*, p. 146 line 6. A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 76, rightly observe that the reading *Dynn* is at least as probable as *Bynn* in Stela I, A, 34. They suggest the identification with Tell Abū Danne, where there was an important human occupation in Iron Age II. Cf. R. TEFNIN, *Deux campagnes de fouilles au Tell Abou Danné (1975-1976)*, in J.-Cl. MARGUERON (ed.), *Le Moyen-Euphrate*, Strasbourg 1980, p. 179-199; R. TEFNIN - J.-M. DOYEN - E. WARMENBOL, *Les niveaux supérieurs du Tell Abou Danné. Chantier A — 1977/78* (Syro-Mesopotamian Studies 3/3), Malibu 1980; M. LEBEAU, *La*



It would be surprising if As-Safīra, the site where the Sefire stelae have been found, was never mentioned, neither in the Aramaic inscriptions nor in Assyrian texts. Yet, there is an important tell next to the modern village whose inhabitants have carried clandestine excavations on the site around 1928-30. These have yielded not only the three Sefire stelae, but also the torso of a stone statuette with a cuneiform inscription<sup>48</sup> and a coin hoard<sup>49</sup>. No regular archaeological excavations seem to have taken place on the tell, since the information about C.-L. Brossé's dig is apparently based on a confusion of Tell as-Safīra with Tell Baydar<sup>50</sup>, while S. Ronzevalle has dugged at Suġin, 1,300 m from the village, not on the tell proper<sup>51</sup>.

R. Dussaud's identification of As-Safīra with Šipri<sup>52</sup>, a city mentioned once in the 14th century B.C., in the treaty between Shuppiluliuma I and Shattiwaza, has blocked further research on the ancient name of the town, although it was well known that it was called *Bersera* in Roman times<sup>53</sup>. This name appearing in the Peutinger Table was arbitrarily changed into *Berroa* (Aleppo) by R. Dussaud<sup>54</sup>, but there is little doubt that it goes back to an authentic Aramaic toponym \**Bēr Šehr*<sup>55</sup>, "Well of the Moon-god", and thus alludes to the deity worshipped at Nerab<sup>56</sup> and, most likely, at As-Safīra as well.

A new element for the interpretation of the Sefire treaties was brought in by the discovery that the ancient name of Tell Aḥmar or Til-Barsip, used in hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, was *Masuwari*<sup>57</sup>. Now, this

*céramique de l'Âge du Fer II-III à Tell Abou Danné et ses rapports avec la céramique contemporaine en Syrie*, Paris 1983.

<sup>48</sup> Aleppo Museum, M. 6525: R. DUSSAUD, *Torse de statuette de Sefiré*, in *Syria* 9 (1928), p. 170-171.

<sup>49</sup> M. THOMPSON - U. MØRKHOLM - C.M. KRAAY, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York 1973, No. 1511.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. E. WARMENBOL, *La statuette égyptisante de Sfiré, en Syrie du Nord: une image d'orant de la première moitié du I<sup>er</sup> millénaire av. n. è.*, in *Phoenicia and Its Neighbours* (Studia Phoenicia III), Leuven 1985, p. 163-180, in particular p. 165-166.

<sup>51</sup> S. RONZEVALLE, *Fragments d'inscriptions araméennes des environs d'Alep*, in *MUSJ* 15 (1930-31), p. 237-260, in particular p. 237-240 and 257-260.

<sup>52</sup> R. DUSSAUD, *art. cit.* (n. 48), p. 171.

<sup>53</sup> R. MOUTERDE - A. POIDEBARD, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 21, 64, 66, 136.

<sup>54</sup> DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 182 and 583.

<sup>55</sup> For the use of *bē* = *bayt* in place names, see WILD, *Ortsnamen*, p. 256-258.

<sup>56</sup> For the two stelae of his priests, see *TSSI* II, p. 93-98. There is no factual basis for the hypothesis that the two stelae were found at Tell Afis, as claimed by S. SAOUAF, *Alep dans sa plus ancienne histoire*, Alep 1972, p. 138-139 and 145, n. 19, followed by P. MATTHIAE, *Syrische Kunst*, in W. ORTHMANN (ed.), *Der Alte Orient* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14), Berlin 1975, p. 485, No. 421. See the precise report by Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Études d'archéologie orientale* II, Paris 1897, p. 182-187.

<sup>57</sup> See above, p. 165 with n. 17.



place name was borrowed into early Aramaic and it appears as *Mšr* in two passages of Stela I from As-Safīra<sup>58</sup>. The interpretation of the first passage has created problems to all the interpreters of the inscription because of an inadequate understanding of *Mšr*. Given that *Mšr* is Masuwari, there are two possible explanations of the clause in question. If the preceding word 'm is used to designate the "head" of a stirps like in Aramaic anthroponomy<sup>59</sup> and in Nabataean Aramaic<sup>60</sup> that keeps using some ancient terms<sup>61</sup>, one may assume that a haplography 'm 'm *Mšr* > 'm *Mšr* occurred in the engraving of the inscription, but this is by no means necessary. In fact, the following w'm bnwh may refer to the citizens of Masuwari, called "its sons" like in later Aramaic inscriptions<sup>62</sup>. Then the passage of Stela I, A, 5 specifies that the treaty is a solemn agreement "with all Aram and with Masuwari, and with its inhabitants who will come in [its] place", 'm 'rm klh w'm *Mšr* w'm bnwh zy ysqn b'šr[h]. Now, whether we supply a second 'm or not, the ruler of Masuwari at the time of the Sefire treaties was none else but the Assyrian *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu, who was certainly instrumental in the conclusion of these treaties in the aftermath of Ashur-nirari V's campaign against Arpad in 754 B.C.<sup>63</sup>.

The second passage where the place name *Mšr* occurs is much eroded (Stela I, B, 12), but it seems to refer to the sanctuaries ('šrt) where the

<sup>58</sup> Stela I, A, 5 and I, B, 12. Already Hittite *s* ("š") corresponds to Semitic *š* in the divine name <sup>d</sup>*El-ku-ni-ir-ša*; cf. LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 14. 1, and the similar phonetic equation of Russian *s* with Arabic *š* in R. JAKOBSON, *Mufaxxama — The 'Emphatic' Phonemes in Arabic*, in E. PULGRAM (ed.), *Studies Presented to Josuha Whatmough*, 's-Gravenhage 1957, p. 105-115 (see p. 107). The dogmatic statement "Aram. <š> hardly renders Luwian *s*" cannot be taken seriously: R. ZADOK, *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 799, n. 4. The Aramaic pronunciation, possibly influenced by the word *māšōr*, "stronghold", "rampart", may have been \**Māšūr* or the like, as suggested by the personal name <sup>m</sup>*Ma-šú-ra-nu/ni* (APN, p. 136a), borne by a "son of Zabdi", hence an Aramaean apparently called "Native of Masuwari", since -*ān* is used in onomastics also as an adjectival suffix.

<sup>59</sup> A large number of these names has been collected by ZADOK, *WSB*, p. 55-56. The Aramaeans were usually aware of the religious significance of their personal names, just like the Israelites.

<sup>60</sup> *DNWSI*, p. 866: *CIS* II, 182, 2; 354, 2. The noun may designate the great grandfather in a concrete context, but in general it qualifies the head of a stirps. Its meaning is thus different from Arabic 'amm, "paternal uncle". Cf. above, p. 153, n. 126.

<sup>61</sup> For example, the pa'el 'yr, "to transfer", "to alienate"; cf. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Aramaic Clay Tablets from the Gozan-Harran Area*, in *JEOL* 33 (1993-94), p. 143-150 (see p. 148).

<sup>62</sup> *DNWSI*, p. 194, in particular *kl bny qrth*, "all the inhabitants of the town", in J. NAVEH, *On Stone and Mosaic* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1978, p. 122, No. 83.

<sup>63</sup> For the career and the personality of Shamshi-ilu, see A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 38-43 and 107-111. The parallel treaty between Ashur-nirari V and the king of Arpad is reedited in *SAA* II, 2.



stelae were erected in order to bear witness to the treaties. Now, *Mšr w-Mrbh* appear in this context and seem therefore to indicate the sites where the stelae or the equivalent documents were kept<sup>64</sup>, namely Tell as-Safīra and Tell Aḥmar. If this reasoning is correct, *Mrbh* is the name of As-Safīra in Iron Age II; it appears also in the list of towns belonging to the kingdom of Arpad (Stela I, A, 34).

This conclusion is apparently confirmed by the cuneiform inscription engraved on the torso that was discovered during earth-work conducted on the Tell as-Safīra in the winter of the year 1927-28 and that entered the Archaeological Museum of Aleppo in March 1928. Dated first to the 15th-14th century<sup>65</sup>, the Egyptianizing statuette must finally be considered as a work of *ca.* 750-500 B.C.<sup>66</sup>. Its Neo-Babylonian inscription indirectly mentions the place where the statuette was dedicated by calling the local deity DINGIR *Ner-rú-bé<sup>k[i]</sup>* or *Nār-rú-bé<sup>k[i]</sup>*<sup>67</sup>. It is tempting to find here the name of Nerab, usually written *Né-ra-bu*, *Né-ri-bi*, *Né-ri-ib*, with a gentilic form *Né-ri-ba-a-a*<sup>68</sup>. However, the unusual spelling encountered in the inscription of the torso suggests another explanation, based on the Assyro-Babylonian bent for replacing the nominal prefix *ma-* by *na-* or *ne-* in nouns containing a bilabial<sup>69</sup>, like *Nerrube* or *Narrube*, and on the possible influence of the Babylonian verb *narrubu*, “to flee”. One may assume therefore that the correct form of the place name was *\*Marrube* or perhaps *\*Marubbe*, “Broad(-town)”, what would correspond exactly to *Mrbh*.

A further confirmation of the location of *Mrbh* at Tell as-Safīra is provided by the place name *Mzh* that immediately follows *Mrbh* in the Sefire treaties<sup>70</sup>. In fact, *Mzh* can best be identified with Tell Mizān, 7.5 km east

<sup>64</sup> Our interpretation of these words as common nouns meaning “a siege or a quarrel” (SAIO I, p. 34-35 and 50) did not gain much acceptance and it is now weakened by the recognition that *Mšr* is a place name, just as *Mrbh* on Stela I, A, 34.

<sup>65</sup> P. MATTHIAE, *Ars Syra* (Serie archeologica 4), Roma 1962, p. 31-33 and Pl. VI; A. SPYCKET, *La statuaire du Proche-Orient ancien*, Leiden 1981, p. 333-334.

<sup>66</sup> E. WARMENBOL, *art. cit.* (n. 50), p. 166-177. The comments by D. ARNAUD, *L'inscription du torse viril M. 6525 de Sfiré (Syrie)*, in *Aula Orientalis* 5 (1987), p. 143-144, may lead into error. As a matter of fact, the form *ultu*, *lū lā*, the suffix *-ia* after a noun in the accusative, the use of RUM for *rū*, all these peculiarities are attested in the mid-first millennium B.C. The alleged value *re<sub>12</sub>* of KAK should be cancelled and replaced by *rū*, which reflects the syllabary of the 8th-7th centuries, and the name *Ennāpi* < *El-nāpi* belongs to the anthroponymy of the first millennium B.C.

<sup>67</sup> The inscription was published by G. DOSSIN, *Une inscription cunéiforme de Haute Syrie*, in *RA* 27 (1930), p. 85-92, and 30 (1933), p. 90-91, but his reading and transcription require a few adjustments, cf. E. WARMENBOL, *art. cit.* (n. 50), p. 172-174.

<sup>68</sup> PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 268 and 269; *RGTC* 8, p. 238.

<sup>69</sup> LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 11.7 and § 29. 26.

<sup>70</sup> Stela I, A, 34 (*TSSI* II, p. 30).



of As-Safīra<sup>71</sup>, a site which was occupied from the Chalcolithic to the Hellenistic period<sup>72</sup>.

The eastern border of *Bēt-(A)gūsi* probably followed the line of the Nahr ad-Dahab. This assumption is based on the identification of <sup>uru</sup>Ap-pa-ra-su, captured by Shalmaneser III in 848 B.C.<sup>73</sup>, with Tell al-Barša, 14 km northeast of Al-Bāb<sup>74</sup>. This implies that the nearby Tell Qubessīn or Qabbāsīn and Tell Boṭnan, Roman Batnae, a few kilometres to the south, also were part of *Bēt-(A)gūsi*. Both mounds were occupied in Iron Age II, but so far there are no visible signs of human occupation on these sites from the Late Bronze Age, from Iron Age I, and from the Persian period<sup>75</sup>.

There were several towns in the central part of the kingdom of Arpad. The geographical position of Aleppo indicates that this religious centre has been part of *Bēt-(A)gūsi*<sup>76</sup>, and this is confirmed by one of the hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of Uratami, found at Ḥamā, that mentions “the river-land of Hurpata”, i.e. Arpad, and “the inhabitants of Aleppo”<sup>77</sup>. Aleppo is mentioned rarely in texts from the Neo-Assyrian period and was probably of no great political importance in the Iron Age, but its role as the holy city of the Storm-god remained constant<sup>78</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> M.-C. ASTOUR, *art. cit.* (n. 43), p. 140.

<sup>72</sup> R. MAXWELL HYSLOP et al., *An Archaeological Survey of the Plain of Jabbul, 1939*, in *PEQ* 74-75 (1942-43), p. 8-40 and Pl. I-X (see p. 36, No. 80).

<sup>73</sup> RIMA III, text A.0.102.6, p. 38, lines 10-11; text A.0.102.8, p. 47, lines 39'-40'.

<sup>74</sup> DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map XIII, A2. The proposed localization at Ṭaṭmaraš, 8 km northwest of Tell ar-Rif'at, lacks a factual basis, while Karağa, east of Kilis, lies beyond the borders of *Bēt-(A)gūsi*. Another possibility would be the site of Ğubb al-Barazīya, 5 km southeast of Tell al-Barša.

<sup>75</sup> J. MATTHEWS, *art. cit.* (n. 16), p. 119-120 and 123, Nos. 9 and 26. This situation creates a serious problem for the location of the satrapal centre of Syria in the area of Batnae. According to XENOPHON, *Anabasis* I, 4, 10, Cyrus the Young's army stopped in 401 B.C. at “the palace of Belesys, the satrap of Syria, where there was a large park near the source of the river Dardas”. Now, Dardas was often identified with the Nahr ad-Dahab (DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 475-476), the sources of which are around Batnae, but this identification should be discarded.

<sup>76</sup> J. MATTHEWS, *art. cit.* (n. 16), p. 146. It may be useful to stress here that Χάλυβων (STRABO, *Geography* XV, 3, 22) and Χάλυβωνίτις (PTOLEMY, *Geography* V, 15, 17) have nothing in common with Aleppo, contrary to the opinion of some authors; see, for example, the discussion by V. MANFREDI, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 97-98. This town, mentioned in Akkadian (*Ḫilbūnu*, *Ḫulbūnu*), Hebrew (*Ḥelbōn*), Aramaic (*Ḫilbwn*), and Greek texts (e.g. Pap. Cairo 59007), is called today Ḥalbūn and lies 25 km north of Damascus, in the Antilebanon range. Cf. ABEL, *Géographie* II, p. 347; F.-M. ABEL - A. BARROIS, *Ḥelbon et ses environs*, in *RB* 42 (1933), p. 255-262 and Pl. XX-XXI; A.R. MILLARD, *Ezekiel XXVII.19: The Wine Trade of Damascus*, in *JSS* 7 (1962), p. 201-203.

<sup>77</sup> A.M. JASINK, *Gli stati neo-ittiti. Analisi delle fonti scritte e sintesi storica* (Studia Mediterranea 10), Pavia 1995, p. 101-102; *CHLI*, Ḥama 1.

<sup>78</sup> J.C. GREENFIELD, *Asylum at Aleppo: A Note on Sfire III*, 4-7, in M. COGAN - I. EPH'AL (eds.), *Ah, Assyria... Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern His-*



As for the qualification of the territory of Arpad as “river-land” or “valley”, it may raise the question whether Tell ar-Rif‘at is really the site of ancient Arpad. The Sefire stelae are the only basis of the alternative identification of Arpad with Tell as-Safīra<sup>79</sup>, that seems to have been called *Mrbh* in the Iron Age, as argued above. Instead, Tell ar-Rif‘at, with its superficies of 88 hectares and its double wall, 18 metres wide, is the most imposing tell found in the area, with the exception of Tell ‘Arān, and it has produced an abundance of the 8th century red slipped and burnished platters that are characteristic of the destruction level of Ḥamā E and do not occur in such a quantity in any other tell of the area<sup>80</sup>. Therefore, despite the somewhat disappointing results of the Tell ar-Rif‘at excavations<sup>81</sup>, this site is rightly identified with Arpad<sup>82</sup>.

Its central role in the history of *Bēt-(A)gūsi* is confirmed by the vicinity (3 km) of another relatively important mound, occupied in Iron Age II and rising 27 m at its highest point above the present surrounding plain, namely Tell Kaffīn<sup>83</sup>, that H. Sader has identified with <sup>uru</sup>*Kap-[pi-nu/a]* in Tiglath-pileser III’s list<sup>84</sup>.

*toriography Presented to H. Tadmor* (Scripta Hierosolymitana 33), Jerusalem 1991, p. 272-278. The city was holy also to Luwians or Neo-Hittites, as shown by the three hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions found in Babylon, but dedicated to the Storm-god of Aleppo wherefrom they have been taken as booty. Two inscribed stone bowls were offered by apparently private persons, called Mitas and Runtiyas, while an inscribed stela (below, p. 635) commemorates a grant made by a certain Laparlas (Labarna), who styles himself as *tarwanis*, “ruler”, and possibly was the prince of the Holy City. Cf. A.M. JASINK, *op. cit.* (n. 77), p. 107-110; *CHLI*, Babylon 1-3. For the recently found Neo-Hittite Aleppo relief, see M.N. VAN LOON, *A Neo-Hittite Relief in Aleppo*, in Th.P.J. VAN HOUT - J. DE ROOS (eds.), *Studio Historiae Ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate*, Leiden 1995, p. 181-186. See further: W. KHAYYATA - K. KOHLMAYER, *Die Zitadelle von Aleppo - Vorläufiger Bericht über die Untersuchungen 1996 und 1997*, in *DaM* 10 (1998), p. 69-95 and Pl. 12-23.

<sup>79</sup> This suggestion was made by E. WARMENBOL, *De Rifa‘at à Sfiré et de Shipri à Arpad*, in *Phoenicia and Its Neighbours* (Studia Phoenicia III), Leuven 1985, p. 178-180.

<sup>80</sup> J. MATTHEWS, *art. cit.* (n. 16), p. 144 and 146.

<sup>81</sup> B. HROZNÝ, *The First Czechoslovakian Excavations in the Near East*, in *The Central European Observer* 4/29 (1926), p. 511-512; 4/30 (1926), p. 527-529; M.V. SETON WILLIAMS, *Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tell Rifa‘at*, in *Iraq* 23 (1961), p. 68-87 and Pl. XXXI-XLI; Id., *The Excavations at Tell Rifa‘at — 1964. Second Preliminary Report*, in *Iraq* 29 (1967), p. 16-33 and Pl. V-X. See also J. MATTHEWS (ed.), *The River Qoueiq, Northern Syria, and Its Catchment: Studies arising from the Tell Rifa‘at Survey 1977-79* (British Archaeological Reports, International Series 98), Oxford 1981.

<sup>82</sup> There is no reason why Arpad should be located at ‘Ayn Dārā, as suggested by ‘A. ABŪ ‘ASSĀF, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 24.

<sup>83</sup> J. MATTHEWS, *art. cit.* (n. 16), p. 120 and 123, No. 17.

<sup>84</sup> SADER, *États araméens*, p. 148, following a suggestion by M. ASTOUR, *art. cit.* (n. 43), p. 140; cf. *Tigl. III*, p. 146, line 6. Kaprabi was in Bēt-‘Adini and therefore should not enter here into account.





Torso from As-Safīra (Aleppo National Museum, Inv. No. M. 6525), front  
(Photo: 'Abdallah Haġar).



Another large mound, Tell 'Ağar or Hağar, 30.60 m high, is encountered 6 km northwest of Tell ar-Rif'at<sup>85</sup>. It was occupied in Iron Age I and II, and the lower extension to the tell on the east suggests the existence of an "acropolis" and of a lower city. There is little doubt therefore that the area around Tell ar-Rif'at formed the northern heartland of the kingdom, at least after the sack of Arnē by Shalmaneser III. As for the location of Arpad in a "river-land", it can be explained as a reference to the marshy area near Māri', 6 km to the east, and to the valley of the Quwaiq river.

The ruins of Erīn, about 20 km southwest of Tell ar-Rif'at, may be the site of <sup>uru</sup>A-ri-[na] in Tiglath-pileser III's list<sup>86</sup>. This rather small site on a spur in the hills dividing the 'Afrīn and Quwaiq valleys has been identified sometimes with Arnē<sup>87</sup>, but its stone walls characterize it rather as a fortified place facing 'Umq/Pattin, and it cannot be compared with the imposing Tell 'Arān, near Lake Ğabbūl<sup>88</sup>.

The borough Nubbul or Nubl, 7 km north of Erīn, seems to preserve the name of *Nblh* or *Mblh* mentioned in the Sefire treaties<sup>89</sup>. However, the ancient site would then correspond rather to Tell Karmīn, "the hill of the vineyards", 4 km to the east, on the opposite side of the road from Aleppo to 'Azāz. This tell rises 18.50 m at its highest point above the present surrounding ground and it has a lower extension to the east with many remains of stone structures that should date from Iron Age II, since no signs of a more recent human occupation have been discovered so far on the tell<sup>90</sup>.

On the east of the Quwaiq river, 22 km east of Nubbul, the high Tell Fafīn is surrounded by the modern town. It raises up to 28.50 m above the surrounding plain and was occupied in Iron Age II, as well as in Hellenistic and Early Roman times<sup>91</sup>. Since the valley here forms a plain which is about 8 km wide, Tell Fafīn might be the site of the *Šrn* of the Sefire treaties and of <sup>uru</sup>Sa-ru-na in Tiglath-pileser III's list. In fact, this toponym means "plain" in Westsemitic languages, while the other localizations of *Šrn*, so far proposed, are not convincing. In particular, Sārīn,

<sup>85</sup> J. MATTHEWS, *art. cit.* (n. 16), p. 119 and 123, No. 1.

<sup>86</sup> *Tigl. III*, p. 146, line 2. Nothing justifies the restoration A-ri-[bu-a].

<sup>87</sup> This opinion is still held by DION, *Araméens*, p. 116-117.

<sup>88</sup> J. MATTHEWS, *art. cit.* (n.16), p. 144.

<sup>89</sup> A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 74. Both readings *Nblh* and *Mblh* are possible.

<sup>90</sup> J. MATTHEWS, *art. cit.* (n. 16), p. 120 and 123, No. 18.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119 and 123, No. 12.



present-day Sazgīn, some 15 km southeast of Gaziantep<sup>92</sup>, is too distant, while Şawrān or Şūrān, 15 km northeast of Tell ar-Rif‘at<sup>93</sup>, did not produce any occupation traces of the concerned period and its name hardly corresponds to *Šārūn*. Iron Age remains have been found also 5 km downstream from Fafīn, on Tell Muslimiyya<sup>94</sup>, but not at Brēğ or Burēğ, 6 km further to the south, where the famous Melqart stela was discovered<sup>95</sup>. The stela has probably been brought from a nearby site, the nearest being ‘Ayn at-Tell, 3 km to the south<sup>96</sup>, which is completely covered by modern industrial buildings<sup>97</sup>, but has nevertheless yielded a monumental funerary statue<sup>98</sup>.

## 2. HISTORY

The crisis that brought the Aramaean tribe of Yaḥan to the emigration from the Tigris valley ended in the foundation of a dynastic state at the beginning of the 9th century B.C.<sup>99</sup>. It set in motion a chain of events that within some thirty or forty years transformed Yaḥan completely and made it one of the ranking Aramaean kingdoms of northern Syria. Unfortunately, we do not have any sources at our disposal that would illustrate this brief transitional period and the foundation of the dynastic state by Gūš, whose name means “solid body” or the like<sup>100</sup>. We do not

<sup>92</sup> This localization was proposed by K. ELLIGER, *Sam'al und Hamat in ihrem Verhältnis zu Hattina, Unqi und Arpad: Ein Beitrag zur Territorialgeschichte der nordsyrischen Staaten im 9. und 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, in *Festschrift O. Eissfeldt*, Halle 1947, p. 69-108 (see p. 93), followed by M. NOTH, *Der historische Hintergrund der Inschriften von Seferīre*, in *ZDPV* 77 (1961), p. 118-172 (see p. 136-137 with n. 54), reprinted in M. NOTH, *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*, Neukirchen 1971, vol. II, p. 161-210 (see p. 177-178 with n. 54), and M. WEIPPERT, in *GGA* 224 (1972), p. 159.

<sup>93</sup> The identification with Şawrān (DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map XII, C2) was proposed by A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 74-75, where other proposals are reported as well.

<sup>94</sup> J. MATTHEWS (ed), *op. cit.* (n. 81), p. 15-16 and 435.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 416.

<sup>96</sup> Suggestion made by E. WARMENBOL, *art. cit.* (n. 50), p. 169, n. 19.

<sup>97</sup> J. MATTHEWS, *art. cit.* (n. 16), p. 119, No. 4.

<sup>98</sup> W. ORTHMANN (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 56), Fig. 411.

<sup>99</sup> See above, p. 195-198.

<sup>100</sup> Gūš is no theonym, as <sup>m</sup>DUMU-DINGIR-gu-ši at Ugarit might suggest (RS. 16.257+, A, I, 5''), in J. NOUGAYROL, *PRU* III, Paris 1955, p. 199 and Pl. LXXXI), for a deity called Gūš is unknown. The Ugaritian name should most likely be read *Bin-Il-gūši* with *gūšu* qualifying Il. As for the Ugaritian alphabetic name *bn Gš*, it ought to be read *bn Gšl'* (KTU 4.309, 16) or *bn Gšm'*. The noun *gūš* is related to the root *gwš / gšš*, “to touch”, which is attested in Syriac under both forms, and it must mean “solid body”, “tangible



even know whether the new state had at once to fight for its life against its well established neighbours. In any case, Gūš managed to secure its further existence *ca.* 870 B.C. by paying tribute to Ashurnasirpal II<sup>101</sup> and to leave at least a part of the kingdom to his son and successor Hadrām, who succeeded him *ca.* 860 B.C. An inscription covering the first campaign of Shalmaneser III shows in fact that Yaḥan and Bēt-Gūš were in 858 B.C. under separate rulers<sup>102</sup>: namely Adān (<sup>m</sup>A-*da-a-nu*), ruler of Yaḥan, who joined the anti-Assyrian coalition<sup>103</sup>, and Hadrām (<sup>m</sup>Ad-*ra-me*), “son of Gūš”, who paid tribute<sup>104</sup>. Arnē was apparently the capital of Hadrām<sup>105</sup>, whose name includes the theophorous element *Had(d)*, the Semitic name of the Storm-god of Aleppo, and means “Haddu is exalted”. This name may imply a particular devotion of the new dynasty to the god of Aleppo, since the same theophorous element appears in the name of Bar-Hadad, Hadrām’s grandson.

Hadrām was confronted as early as 858 B.C. with Shalmaneser III’s expansionism to the West, but he avoided an armed conflict by paying tribute to the Assyrian king in 858, 857, and 855<sup>106</sup>. Considering probably that Shalmaneser III’s might was seriously weakened after the unsuccessful campaign to central Syria which ended at Qarqar in 853 B.C.<sup>107</sup>, Hadrām ceased paying tribute and was attacked by the Assyrians in 849 and in 848, losing the capital Arnē and the cities of Apparasu and [...] *ag-da-a*, possibly Tell al-Ġidain, both in the northeast of the country<sup>108</sup>. According to Shalmaneser III’s inscription, a hundred villages have been sacked and burnt by the Assyrians in the surroundings of Arnē during their campaign in 849 B.C.<sup>109</sup>. The same claim is repeated in relation to the campaign of 848<sup>110</sup> and does not have to be taken literally. Probably

body”, hence “ground, soil”, by opposition to “air, atmosphere”, like *gūš(ā)* in Jewish Aramaic; cf. JASTROW, p. 228a.

<sup>101</sup> RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 218, lines 77-78.

<sup>102</sup> See above, p. 196 and 198.

<sup>103</sup> RIMA III, text A.0.102.1, p. 10, line 69’; text A.0.102.2, p. 17, col. I, 54-II, 1.

<sup>104</sup> RIMA III, text A.0.102.2, p. 17, lines 12-13; text A.0.102.3, p. 25, lines 96b-98a; cf. text A.0.102.1, p. 10, line [81’].

<sup>105</sup> References here above, p. 198, n. 14.

<sup>106</sup> RIMA III, text A.0.102.1, p. 10, line [81’]; text A.0.102.2, p. 17, lines 12b-13a; p. 18, line 27b; p. 23, line 83.

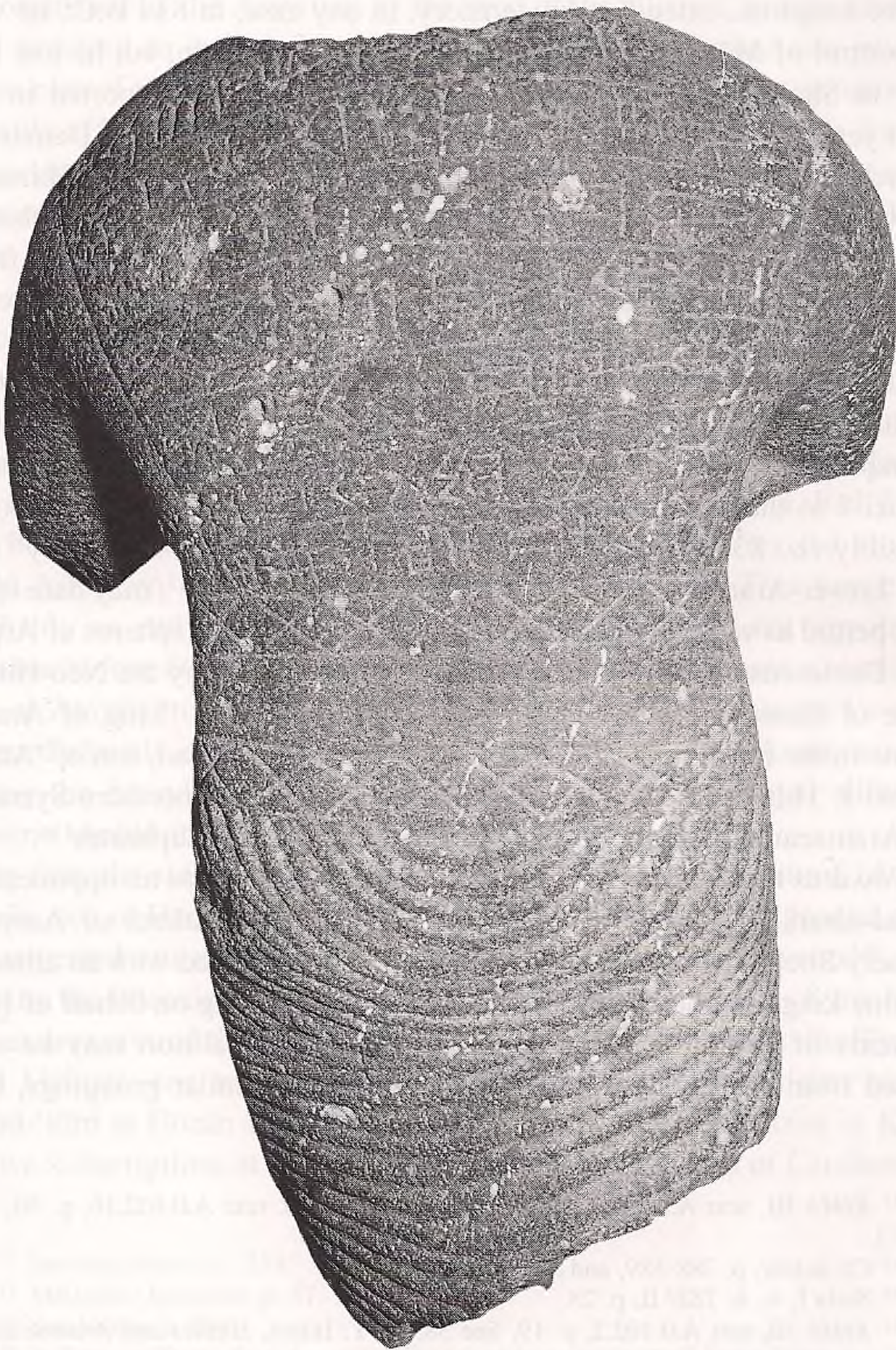
<sup>107</sup> Cf. below, p. 375-376.

<sup>108</sup> References here above, p. 198, 200, 207, in n. 14, 15, 27, and 73.

<sup>109</sup> RIMA III, text A.0.102.6, p. 37, line 59; text A.0.102.8, p. 46, lines 31’-32’; text A.0.102.10, p. 53, lines 49-50; text A.0.102.14, p. 66, line 86; text A.0.102.16, p. 76, lines 70’-71’.

<sup>110</sup> RIMA III, text A.0.102.6, p. 38, lines 70-71; text A.0.102.8, p. 47, lines 35’-36’; text A.0.102.10, p. 53, line 53; text A.0.102.16, p. 76, lines 72’-73’.





Torso from As-Safīra (Aleppo National Museum, Inv. No. M. 6525),  
inscription on the back (Photo: 'Abdallah Hağar).



in these circumstances Hadrām transferred his residence to Arpad and turned his attention to the consolidation of his power in the northern part of the kingdom, extending his territory. In any case, in 834 B.C., he was in control of Mū(d)ru, near the border with ‘Umq/Pattin, but he lost this city to Shalmaneser III<sup>111</sup>. No Assyrian campaigns are reported in the next years. Instead, this must be the period in which Hazael of Damascus launched military campaigns that brought him to northern Syria. Hazael’s booty inscriptions mention the crossing of the Orontes, rather than that of the Euphrates, the gift of a horse’s forehead ornament obtained from ‘Umq, the crossing of the ‘Imma pass (Yenişehir), and the possible capture of Ḥazāzu, rather than Aleppo<sup>112</sup>. The Aramaean state of Arpad has certainly been concerned by these events, but it may have acted then as an ally of Hazael and gained the control of a part of the territory of ‘Umq/Pattin. It is quite possible that the ruler of *Bēt-(A)gūsi* was ‘Attarsumki I at that time, who succeeded his father Hadrām on the throne, possibly *ca.* 830 B.C. The formal distinction of Upper-Aram (*‘ly ’rm*) and Lower-Aram (*tḥty ’rm*), found in the Sefire treaties<sup>113</sup>, may date from that period as well and imply a division of the influence spheres of Arpad and Damascus, which were separated from each other by the Neo-Hittite state of Ḥamath-Luḡath. This would explain the title “king of Aram” borne in the inscription of the Melqart stela by Bar-Hadad, son of ‘Attarsumki I. This title seems to have been borne earlier in northern Syria by an Aramaean chieftain ruling on the west bank of the Euphrates<sup>114</sup>.

Towards the end of his reign, ‘Attarsumki I appears as an opponent of Adad-nirari III. The latter’s aid was required by a client of Assyria, namely Shuppiluliuma of Kummuh who was confronted with an alliance of nine kings, headed by ‘Attarsumki I and intervening on behalf of Ḥalparunda of Gurgum<sup>115</sup>. The composition of this coalition may be surmised from the geographical situation and from similar groupings, like

<sup>111</sup> *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.14, p. 68, lines 130-131; cf. text A.0.102.16, p. 80, line [215’].

<sup>112</sup> Cf. below, p. 388-389, and *SAIO* II, p. 92-93.

<sup>113</sup> Stela I, A, 6: *TSSI* II, p. 28.

<sup>114</sup> *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.2, p. 19, line 38; cf. Y. IKEDA, *Hittites and Aramaeans in the Land of Bit-Adini*, in T. MIKASA (ed.), *Monarchies and Socio-Religious Traditions in the Near East*, Wiesbaden 1984, p. 27-35 (see p. 29), and here above, p. 163-164.

<sup>115</sup> Kizkapanli (Pazarcık) stela, obverse: V. DONBAZ, *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 5-24 = *RIMA* III, text A.0.104.3, p. 205, lines 7b-15a. The name of the king of Gurgum is usually written Qalparuda in Neo-Assyrian texts. He is the Halparuntiyas III of the hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions; cf. J.D. HAWKINS, in *CAH* III/1, 2nd ed. Cambridge 1982, p. 383; ID., *Maraş*, in *RLA* VII, Berlin 1987-90, p. 352-353.



on the Zakkūr stela<sup>116</sup>. Besides Arpad and Gurgum, it probably included Quwē, 'Umq, Šam'al, Kittik, Melid, and Tābal. The role of 'Attarsumki I, considered by the Assyrians as the head of the alliance, implies that he had acquired an influential position in the region and ruled also over a large part of the former territory of 'Umq. The hostilities culminated in a battle at Paqarahubuni, after which Adad-nirari III was able to fix the boundary between Ḫalparunda of Gurgum and Shuppiluliuma of Kummuh in favour of the latter, presumably near modern Pazarcık or near the village of Kizkapanlı, where the stela in the Kahramanmaraş Museum was found. These events date from 805 and 804 B.C., when the Eponym Canon mentions two campaigns to Arpad and to Ḫazāzu<sup>117</sup>. Despite his defeat, 'Attarsumki I did not lose his throne, but he may have been deprived of a part of his territory<sup>118</sup>. We do not know whether he managed to conserve the western extension of his kingdom as far as the lower Orontes, where Shamshi-ilu, the Assyrian *turtānu*, had fixed the boundary between him and Zakkūr of Ḫamath, leaving the city of Naḥl-Aš(š)i on the Orontes in 'Attarsumki I's hands. This happened probably as early as 806 B.C., since Shamshi-ilu was not appointed *turtānu* before 807/6 B.C., while 'Attarsumki I had become a declared foe of Assyria in 805 B.C.<sup>119</sup>. Besides, Bar-Hadad, 'Attarsumki I's son, reigned already over Upper-Aram around 800 B.C. The Antakya stela fixing the boundary on the Orontes river between two loyal allies of Assyria should thus be dated in 807 or 806 B.C.

In fact, the stela dedicated to Melqart by "Bar-Hadad, son of 'Attarsumki, son of Hadrām", must be dated around 800 B.C. This general date is suggested not only by palaeography and the historical events<sup>120</sup>, but also by the Phoenician influence which was very strong in this Syro-Anatolian area around 800 B.C. Beside Bar-Hadad's dedication to the Tyrian god Melqart, one may mention the presence of the Phoenician scribe 'Abd-'ilīm at Gōzān in Kapara's time<sup>121</sup>, the use of Phoenician in Kilamuwa's inscriptions at Zincirli<sup>122</sup>, and the claim of Yariris of Carchemish

<sup>116</sup> See here below, p. 254.

<sup>117</sup> MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 57.

<sup>118</sup> See below, p. 284.

<sup>119</sup> J. KAH-JIN KUAN, *Neo-Assyrian Historical Inscriptions and Syria-Palestine*, Hong Kong 1995, p. 77-78. See also here below, p. 283-285.

<sup>120</sup> É. PUECH, *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 322-334. Earlier discussions are conveniently summarized by F. BRIQUEL-CHATONNET, *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda* (OLA 46), Leuven 1992, p. 94-100.

<sup>121</sup> SAIO II, p. 45.

<sup>122</sup> TSSI III, 13-14. Cf. below, p. 234, 238-242.



that he understands "the Tyrian script"<sup>123</sup>. Assuming thus that the Melqart stela dates from *ca.* 800 B.C. one must conclude that Bar-Hadad succeeded his father very soon after the border agreement between 'Attarsumki I and Zakkūr. The wording of the Melqart stela lacks any political elements, but one might surmise that this thanksgiving stela, which records Bar-Hadad's vow and Melqart's hearing of his prayers, alludes to a victory won by Bar-Hadad, north of Aleppo, on Zakkūr's army and was followed by the siege of Ḥadarik, Zakkūr's residence<sup>124</sup>. The "son of Gūš" mentioned in Zakkūr's inscription would then be Bar-Hadad, not named by his proper name to avoid any possible confusion with Bar-Hadad II, king of Damascus<sup>125</sup>.

The consequences of the unsuccessful siege of Ḥadarik by the coalition are unknown so far and the lack of any Assyrian record of a campaign against Arpad seems to imply that Bar-Hadad and his successor 'Attarsumki II were paying tribute to Assyria and were depending, to a certain degree at least, from the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu who resided at Til-Barsip. No inscription of 'Attarsumki II is known so far, but the king's name appears in the seal inscription of one of his ministers *l-Nrš'* 'bd 'trsmk, "(belonging) to Nūr-Ši', servant of 'Attarsumki"<sup>126</sup>. This seal must date from the earlier half of the 8th century B.C. and 'Attarsumki cannot therefore be identified with 'Attarsumki I<sup>127</sup>, last heard of probably in 805 or 804 B.C.

In the mid-8th century B.C., Mati'-'Il succeeded his father 'Attarsumki II to the throne of Arpad<sup>128</sup>. Judging from the unexpected Assyrian campaign against Arpad in 754, following a campaign against Ḥadarik in 755<sup>129</sup>, one can assume that a new anti-Assyrian alliance was taking shape in northern Syria. The fragmentary Ashur-nirari V's treaty

<sup>123</sup> See A.M. JASINK, *op. cit.* (n. 77), p. 36, line 4; *CHLI*, Kargamiš A 15b, line 4: *Sù-ra/i-wa/i-ni-ti*<sup>urbs</sup>. The sign *sù*, as well as *su*, may correspond to Semitic *šu/so*; cf. here above, p. 205, n. 58.

<sup>124</sup> See here below, p. 302-303.

<sup>125</sup> É. PUECH, *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 331.

<sup>126</sup> P. BORDREUIL, *Catalogue des sceaux ouest-sémitiques inscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, du Musée du Louvre et du Musée biblique de Bible et Terre Sainte*, Paris 1986, No. 86.

<sup>127</sup> For the name 'Attarsumki and the distinction of both kings, see already SAIO I, p. 58-76. This distinction is still missing in PNA I/1, p. 236. The same name is written 'trsmky with the pronominal suffix marked on an Aramaic tablet in the bilingual archives from the Gōzān-Ḥarrān area: D. HOMÈS-FREDERICQ - P. GARELLI - E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Archives d'un centre provincial de l'Empire assyrien*, Bruxelles, forthcoming, No. 52, 3.

<sup>128</sup> 'Attarsumki II is mentioned once in Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions: *Tigl. III*, p. 100, line 21'.

<sup>129</sup> MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 59.





The gate of the Aleppo Citadel.

with Mati'-'Il<sup>130</sup>, dating from 754 B.C., clearly shows Mati'-'Il to be the inferior partner on whom the oath is imposed. The preserved parts of the treaty do not mention the obligation of paying tribute, but the name of Mati'-'Il (*l-Mt''l*) appears on one of the inscribed Nimrud bronzes<sup>131</sup>. Mati'-'Il appears also as the inferior partner in the Aramaic Sefire treaties concluded with Bar-Ga'ya, king of Kittik, but imposed on him by the Assyrians. The phrase "treaty and amity" (*'dy' wṭbt*), used on Stela II, B, 2 and attested in the very mid-8th century also at Nippur (*tābtu u adē*)<sup>132</sup>, should not put anyone on the wrong scent and make him believe that this is a treaty between equals. Mati'-'Il's inferior position results from the contents of the treaties with the mention of Masuwari<sup>133</sup>, governed by Shamshi-ilu, the invocation of Assyrian deities<sup>134</sup>, and the many parallels with Ashur-nirari V's treaty. Mati'-'Il's territorial claim to Tillim, situated about 20 km northwest of

<sup>130</sup> SAA II, 2.

<sup>131</sup> R.D. BARNETT, *Layard's Nimrud Bronzes and Their Inscriptions*, in E.L. Sukenik *Memorial Volume* (Erls 8), Jerusalem 1967, p. 1\*-7\* (see No. 10).

<sup>132</sup> Nippur IV, No. 7, 13-14.

<sup>133</sup> See above, p. 204-205.

<sup>134</sup> Stela I, A, 7-9: TSSI II, p. 28.



‘Azāz<sup>135</sup>, was resolved in favour of Bar-Ga’ya, who was obviously enjoying Assyrian support aimed at weakening the position of Arpad.

The territories concerned by the Sefire treaties embrace a much larger area than the kingdoms of Kittik and Arpad, practically including all the Aramaean states of Syria<sup>136</sup>. This seems to imply the former existence of an alliance which was broken by the Assyrian campaigns of 755 and 754 B.C., and whose members had to accept the terms of the treaties imposed on Mati’-’Il by Shamshi-ilu. However, the aging *turtānu* did not manage to prevent a further anti-Assyrian alliance, now involving Urartu as well.

The genesis of this coalition is poorly documented and its full composition cannot be ascertained, but it is clear that Urartu under Sarduri II was the leading great-power, while the alliance of the North-Syrian and South-Anatolian states was led by Mati’-’Il, supported at least by Gurgum, Kummuh, and Melid. As soon as Tiglath-pileser III had seized the throne of Assyria (745 B.C.), re-established a central power, and secured the eastern border, he struck directly at the western alliance in 743 B.C. By a decisive victory in Kummuh, between Kištan and Ḫalpi, he contained the Urartian penetration of north Syria<sup>137</sup>. The further course of the war against Mati’-’Il is not clear, but Tiglath-pileser III pressed his advantage, invaded Gurgum<sup>138</sup>, and invested the city of Arpad, which was captured after a three-year siege, according to a brief note of the Eponym Chronicle<sup>139</sup>. No other sources for this siege and its outcome are available so far, and we are thus uninformed also about the role of the Syro-Hittite allies of Mati’-’Il after 743. Even the latter’s fate is unknown, but the elegy echoed in II Kings 19, 13 and Is. 37, 13 — “Where are the kings of Arpad?” — may suggest that he fell into Assyrian hands. According to Tiglath-pileser III’s summary inscriptions, the battle fought in Kummuh was followed immediately by an Assyrian thrust into Urartian territory and by a siege of the capital Tušpa<sup>140</sup>. This looks like a synthetical presentation of the wars against Urartu, while the siege of its capital probably took place in 735 B.C., when the Eponym Chronicle places a campaign *a-na<sup>kur</sup>Ur-ar-ti*<sup>141</sup>.

<sup>135</sup> See below, p. 223.

<sup>136</sup> Stela I, B, 9-11. Cf. A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 80-85.

<sup>137</sup> *Tigl. III*, p. 100, lines 21’-37’; p. 124, lines 20-22; p. 132, 134, lines 15’-21’; cf. p. 50, 52, lines 2’-10’; p. 166, 168, lines 45-49.

<sup>138</sup> According to the stela from Iran: *Tigl. III*, p. 102, lines 38’-42’.

<sup>139</sup> MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 43-44 and 59.

<sup>140</sup> In Assyrian, Tušpa: *Tigl. III*, p. 124, lines 22-25; p. 134, lines 21’-26’; cf. p. 182, lines 3’-5’. According to M. SALVINI, *Geschichte und Kultur der Urartäer*, Darmstadt 1995, p. 73-74, Tiglath-pileser III never besieged Tušpa.

<sup>141</sup> MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 44 and 59.



How final victory was won by Tiglath-pileser III in Syria we do not know, but having conquered Arpad after three full years of siege he had to march to Arpad also in 740 B.C.<sup>142</sup>. In any case, he ravaged the country and carried off “30 talents of gold, 2,000 talents of silver, (and) movable property” to Assyria<sup>143</sup>. However, despite the elegy echoed in II Kings 18, 34 and Is. 36, 19 — “Where are the gods of Arpad?” —, it does not seem that Arpad was then destroyed completely. It took part in the revolt of Ilu-bi‘di in 720 B.C.<sup>144</sup> and, after the defeat of the Syrian coalition, an early stela of Sargon II (720 B.C.) mentions “the inhabitants of *Bēt-(A)gūsi*” (*a-ši-bu-tu* <sup>kurÉ-m</sup>*A-gu-si*)<sup>145</sup>, while Arpad itself is later the chief-town of an Assyrian provincial governor<sup>146</sup>.

Each of the six kings of *Bēt-(A)gūsi* appears to be the son of his predecessor, since papponymy suggests that ‘Attarsumki II was the grandson of ‘Attarsumki I<sup>147</sup>. A six-generation dynasty reigned thus for about 150 years, for its founder Gūš, mentioned *ca.* 870 B.C., was reigning then in a state the foundations of which were already well established. Therefore, we may propose the following chart for the Gūš dynasty:

|                |                | Assyrian                                             | Aramaic        |
|----------------|----------------|------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>ca.</i> 890 | Gūš            | ( <i>a-</i> ) <i>Gu-(ú-)si</i> , <i>a-Gu-us-si</i>   | <i>Gš</i>      |
| 880            |                |                                                      |                |
| 870            |                |                                                      |                |
| <i>ca.</i> 860 | Hadrām         | <i>Ad-ra-a-me</i> , <i>Ad-ra-mu</i> , <i>A-ra-me</i> | <i>Hdrm</i>    |
| 858            |                |                                                      |                |
| 834            |                |                                                      |                |
| <i>ca.</i> 830 | ‘Attarsumki I  | <i>A-tar-šúm-ki</i>                                  | ‘ <i>trsmk</i> |
| 807            |                |                                                      |                |
| 805            |                |                                                      |                |
| <i>ca.</i> 800 | Bar-Hadad      |                                                      | <i>Brhdd</i>   |
| 796            |                |                                                      |                |
| <i>ca.</i> 780 | ‘Attarsumki II | <i>A-tar-šúm-ki</i>                                  | ‘ <i>trsmk</i> |
| 760            |                |                                                      |                |
| 754            | Mati‘-’II      | <i>Ma-ti-’-DINGIR</i>                                | <i>Mt‘l</i>    |
| 740            |                |                                                      |                |

<sup>142</sup> MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 44 and 59.

<sup>143</sup> *Tigl. III*, p. 186, lines 24’-25’.

<sup>144</sup> *Sargon II*, p. 89 and 314, Ann. [25]; p. 201 and 345, Displ. 33.

<sup>145</sup> W.G. LAMBERT, in O.W. MUSCARELLA (ed.), *Ladders to Heaven*, Toronto 1981 = *Länder der Bibel*, Mainz a/R 1981, No. 83, col. II, 18.

<sup>146</sup> MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 50, sub 692; SAA I, 189, 11-12.

<sup>147</sup> One may compare the very suggestive situation in Gurgum: J.D. HAWKINS, in *CAH* III/1, 2nd ed., p. 383; A.M. JASINK, *op. cit.* (n. 77), p. 69.