

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.

CHAPTER IX

KITTIK OR BĒT-ŠULLŪL

An Aramaean state existed in the 8th century B.C. west of the Neo-Hittite city-state of Carchemish¹. It is known at least from the treaties, inscribed in Aramaic on the Sefire stelae², which call it *Ktk* by the name of its capital.

1. TERRITORY

The location of *Ktk* has been a Gordian knot in the interpretation of the Sefire treaties and “identifications of this name have ranged from the undemonstrable to the implausible”³. It may be hoped that the final cutting of the knot is provided by a source from the Late Antiquity.

In fact, the city of *Ktk* is attested as Κίττικα in the Late Roman period, in the 5th century A.D.⁴. Now, Κίττικα has been identified with Yel Baba, a mound situated at the eastern outskirts of the modern village of Šayḥ Ri’aḥ, about 11 km east of ‘Azāz⁵. The tell, which is 25.50 m high and has two peaks, is eroded on its northwestern side, near the village. It has never been excavated, but the surface survey conducted in 1977 by J. Matthers managed to recognize an occupation in the Early and Middle Bronze Age, in Iron Age II which corresponds to the date of the Sefire inscriptions, in Hellenistic times, in the Late Roman period when the borough of Κίττικα is mentioned in Theodoret’s *Religious History*, and finally in Ayyubid and Mameluk times⁶.

¹ For a synthesis on Carchemish, see J.D. HAWKINS, *Karkamiš*, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-80, p. 426-446.

² J.A. FITZMYER, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire* (Biblica et Orientalia 19/A), 2nd ed., Roma 1995, with earlier literature.

³ J.D. HAWKINS, in *CAH* III/1, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1982, p. 408. The different opinions are conveniently summarized by J.A. FITZMYER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 167-174. It is unnecessary to provide a similar summary here.

⁴ THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Religious History* XXIV, 2, 14, ed. by P. CANIVET - A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines de Syrie* II (SC 257), Paris 1979, p. 140.

⁵ P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme syrien selon Théodoret de Cyr* (Théologie historique 42), Paris 1977, § 148-149, p. 202-203. Cf. R. ZADOK, *Geographical and Onomastic Remarks*, in *NABU* 1996, p. 11-14, No. 17 (see p. 12).

⁶ J. MATTHERS et al., *Tell Rifa‘at 1977: Preliminary Report of an Archaeological Survey*, in *Iraq* 40 (1978), p. 119-162 and Pl. XIX, especially p. 120 and 123, No. 33.

The identification of the site is based on Theodoret's indication that a borough named Νιάρá was close to Κίττικα⁷ and on the still practised pilgrimages to the wali of Yel Baba⁸. Now, the modern village of Niyara is situated half-way between 'Azāz and Šayḥ Ri'aḥ⁹, while the religious practices near the cenotaph of the *waliya* seem to continue the pilgrimages to the tomb of the anachoret Zebinas at Kittika, as reported by Theodoret¹⁰ and confirmed by the numerous architectural remains from the Byzantine period at Yel Baba¹¹.

The absence of well defined Late Bronze pottery in the whole area surveyed by the team of J. Matthers creates a problem for the earlier history of the site, but not for its identification with *Ktk*. Therefore, it is open to question whether an occupation of Yel Baba also in the Late Bronze Age might be inferred from the mention of "four *Ktkym*" in a list from Ugarit and of a *rb Ktkym* on a Ugaritian docket, found on the surface by a countryman from the neighbourhood of Rās Shamra: *lrb Ktkym*, "to the chief of the men of Kittik"¹². In fact, these people, who were either members of a caravan, mercenaries, or the like, should not be identified with the distant Kaska tribes which were kindred with the populations of the Caucasus¹³ and inhabited the eastern corner of the Black Sea coast. The *Ktkym* of the Ugaritian docket were more likely natives from a less distant region, perhaps from Κίττικα, about 150 km northeast of Ugarit as the crow flies. The change $\underline{t} > t$ reflected in this hypothesis by the spelling *Ktk* of the Sefire treaties does not create a serious problem, since the dialect of these inscriptions already attests this phonetic shift in the case of the verb *yrt* < *yrt*, "to inherit"¹⁴. The

⁷ THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Religious History* XXIV, 5, 7-8, in *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 144.

⁸ P. CANIVET, *op. cit.* (n. 5), § 149, p. 203 with n. 187.

⁹ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 470 with n. 5, and Map XII, C2, where *Nigere* is an error for *Niyere*. See also PTOLEMY V, 14, 10; P. CANIVET, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 203, n. 186.

¹⁰ THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Religious History* XXV, 2, 13-19, in *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 140.

¹¹ P. CANIVET, *op. cit.* (n. 5), § 149, p. 203. An Islamic wali has often taken the place of the tomb of an anachoret; cf. B. CARRA DE VAUX, *Wali*, in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* IV, Leiden 1934, p. 1168-1170.

¹² KTU 4.319, 1-2 and 6.3. The actual whereabouts of this docket are unknown. For earlier discussions of this docket, see M. LIVERANI, *Storia di Ugarit* (Studi semitici 6), Roma 1962, p. 154-155. J.-P. VITA, *El Ejército de Ugarit*, Madrid 1995, p. 136, considers the *Ktkym* as mercenaries, but other explanations are possible.

¹³ See, in general, E. VON SCHULER, *Die Kaškäer. Ein Beitrag zur Ethnographie des alten Kleinasien*, Berlin 1965.

¹⁴ Sefire I, C, 24. One might add the spelling 'tr of the theophorous element 'Attar in the name of Mati-'Il's father, but this case is to be explained rather by the assimilation $\underline{tt} > tt$, cf. J. BLAU, *Marginalia Semitica* II, in *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972), p. 57-82 (see p. 72-73). Blau's attempt to explain *yrt* in a similar fashion seems to us, at present, to be too complicated, although we have considered it as a good alternative

older spelling of the city name would accordingly have been **Kšk*, since *š* is normally used at Sefire to express the interdental *t*.

In any case, the identity of the two toponyms *Ktk* and Κίττικα is not purely casual, as shown by the important stipulation of Stela III, 23-27 from Sefire¹⁵. It concerns the territory of *Tl'ym* which was restored by the treaty to the state of *Ktk* after having been occupied by the king of Arpad. In fact, *Tl'ym* has to be identified with the Late Roman borough of Τιλλίμα¹⁶, that should be located in the mountainous region around later Κύρρος¹⁷, about 20 km northwest of 'Azāz and 25 km northwest of Κίττικα. It is one of the eight boroughs which Theodoret mentions in his Letter 81, recording that he had converted many Marcionites there in the first years of his office as bishop of Cyrrhus¹⁸.

The former identification of *Tl'ym* with *Talhāyūm*¹⁹, repeatedly mentioned in the Mari letters of the 18th-17th centuries B.C.²⁰, cannot be sustained for philological and geographic reasons. In fact, not only the correspondence between a North- and Westsemitic 'aleph and an Old Babylonian *ha* would be quite unusual²¹, but even the final *m* of *Talhāyūm* is just a mimation, whereas the final *m* of *Tl'ym* belongs to the place name²². Besides, the location of *Talhāyūm* in the northwestern region of Al-Ğazira, in Upper Mesopotamia²³, makes this town geo-

solution; cf. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, in *OLP* 8 (1977), p. 81-117 (see p. 98).

¹⁵ TSSI II, p. 50.

¹⁶ THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Religious History* XXII, 1, 1, in *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 124.

¹⁷ DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 471; P. CANIVET, *op. cit.* (n. 5), §142, p. 194-195 with n. 162. — For a description and a history of Cyrrhus, one may consult E. FRÉZOUIS, *Cyrrhus et la Cyrrestique jusqu'à la fin du Haut-Empire*, in *ANRW* II/8, Berlin 1977, p. 164-192 and Pl. I-VIII. The name Qal'at Nabī Huru of the site results from the loss of the initial *q* of *Qūrūs*; cf. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 471.

¹⁸ THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Religious History* XII, 1, 1-3, in *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 124; cf., ID., *Letter 81*, ed. by Y. AZÉMA, *Théodoret de Cyr: Correspondance* II (SC 98), Paris 1964, No. 81, p. 196 ff.

¹⁹ This identification was first proposed by M. NOTH, *Der historische Hintergrund der Inschriften von Sefire*, in *ZDPV* 77 (1961), p. 118-172 (see p. 156-157), reprinted in M. NOTH, *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*, Neukirchen 1971, vol. II, p. 161-210 (see p. 195-196). This hypothesis was then developed by H. CAZELLES, *Tal'ayim, Tala et Muşur*, in *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer*, Paris 1971, p. 17-26. See also A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré et l'Assyrie de Shamshi-ilu*, Genève-Paris 1984, p. 66-72.

²⁰ Cf. ARM XVI/1, Paris 1979, p. 34. The same place name, written *Ta-al-ḥa-wi-im^{ki}* in the genitive, occurs in a text from Chagar Bazar: Ph. TALON, *Old Babylonian Texts from Chagar Bazar* (Akkadica. Supplementum 10), Brussels 1997, No. 45, 3.

²¹ This is admitted by A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 67-68.

²² M. KREBERNIK, rec. in *ZA* 74 (1984), p. 159.

²³ J.-M. DURAND, *Les Anciens de Talhayūm*, in *RA* 82 (1988), p. 97-113. In the light of a Mari letter, Durand had previously suggested to locate Talhāyūm in the neighbourhood

graphically unfit to become a bone of contention between the dynasties of Kittik and of Arpad.

The obvious question is whether the state and the city of Kittik are attested in other Iron II sources than the Sefire treaties. If the original pronunciation of their name was **Kittik*, as suggested by the Ugaritian docket, the ancient Aramaic spelling of the toponym was **Kšk* and its transcription into Neo-Assyrian ought to be **K-s-ku*. Now, the geographic location of this state and its name pair ^{uru}*Kas-ka-a-a* or ^{kur}*Kaš-ka-a-a* in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III²⁴ and ^{kur}*Kas-ku* or ^{kur}*Ka-as-ku* in the texts of Sargon II²⁵ exceedingly well and it would be unwise to restrain from their identification under the pretence of taking the vocalization into account. In fact, the vocalization is identical with that of ^{kur}*Kas-ka(-a)-ia* in the annals of Tiglath-pileser I²⁶, where this ethnic name refers to the Kaska peoples of northeastern Anatolia who had crossed the Kurdish mountains in huge numbers ("20,000 men") and were making their way down the Tigris valley towards Nineveh. These tribesmen, repelled and vanquished by Tiglath-pileser I in the first years of his reign, have nothing in common with the state of *Kasku* located west of the Middle Euphrates and mentioned almost four centuries later by Neo-Assyrian scribes who have vocalized its Aramaic name **Kšk* as if its inhabitants were the Kaskaean mountaineers known from old records. This practice was quite common among Neo-Assyrian scribes who were calling *Hatti* the regions west of the Euphrates, *Meluḥḥa* the land of Egypt under the Kushitic dynasty, *Aḥlamū* the Aramaean tribesmen, etc. The transposition was particularly easy in the case of **Kšk* with all the consonants recalling the name of the Kaskaean.

In consequence, the name of the ruler ^m*Da-di-īlu* ^{kur}*Kaš-ka-a-a*, who paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III in 738 B.C. according to the latter's annals and to the stela from Iran²⁷, does not need any more to be

of Emar (A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* [n. 19], p. 69-72), but he now proposes a different reading of the concerned passage: J.-M. DURAND, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari II* (LAPO 17), Paris 1998, p. 272.

²⁴ *Tigl. III*, p. 68, line 1; p. 89, line 6; p. 108, line 15.

²⁵ *Sargon II*, p. 33 and 290, Cyl. 15; p. 63 and 303, Bull. 21; p. 76 and 308, R. XIV 16; p. 262 and 359, Pavem. IV 36. The restoration of the name on p. 128 and 324, Ann. 220, is not justified, but the name appears also in Sargon II's inscription at Tang-i Var: G. FRAME, *The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var*, in *Or* 68 (1999), p. 31-57 and Pl. I-XVIII, see line 22. References in PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 203. Besides, see here below, p. 231.

²⁶ *RIMA II*, text A.0.87.1, p. 17, line 100.

²⁷ *Tigl. III*, p. 89, line 6; p. 108, line 15.

interpreted as an Anatolian personal name²⁸. It is an Aramaic name that means “(Ha)dad is god” and it confirms the Aramaean origins of the dynasty ruling in Kittik. Tiglath-pileser III’s stela dating probably from 737 B.C. uses the determinative KUR with most ethnic names appearing in the list of the tributary kings²⁹, but the annals seem to make a subtle distinction between KUR and URU, and mention ^m*Da-di-i-lu* ^{uru}*Kas-ka-a-a*³⁰, referring apparently to the capital city, the actual Tell Šayḥ Ri’aḥ or Yel Baba.

Dad’il was probably the immediate successor and perhaps the son of Bar-Ga’ya, the king acting in the Sefire treaties. He might have been also the last king of this Aramaean state which was annexed by Sargon II to Assyria, possibly in 711 B.C., the year in which neighbouring Gurgum was annexed³¹. Judging from the parallelism of *Bny Gš* or *Byt Gš* and of *Byt Šll* in the Sefire treaties (I, B, 3; II, B, 10), *Byt Šll* is to be understood as the dynastic name of the kingdom of Kittik³². This would imply that its real or legendary founder, or the eponym of the ruling dynasty, was a certain *Šulul* or *Šullūl*³³, who is not known from other sources.

One would expect to find an older mention of a king of Kittik in the Zakkūr inscription referring probably to events in 796 B.C. The constellation of names in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II, and Zakkūr suggest restoring [*wmlk Kšk/Ktk wmhnth*], “and the king of Kittik and his army”, on side A, 7-8, of the Zakkūr stela, but this is just a conjecture³⁴. One is also inclined to suppose that a king of Kittik was intended among the adversaries mentioned globally in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, but the state of Kittik may have not yet been in existence in the mid-9th century B.C. In fact, Shalmaneser III specifies that he conquered, in 858 B.C., “the towns Taia, Ḥazāzu, Nulia, (and) Butamu, which (belong) to the country Pattin”³⁵. Now, these cities lay on the later territory of Kittik or in its immediate surroundings.

²⁸ This is regularly done, sometimes with a note of caution, following B. LANDSBERGER, *Sam'al*, Ankara 1948, p. 16-17, n. 34, and E. VON SCHULER, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 68, 93 and n. 34, also by referring to E. LAROCHE, *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris 1966, p. 181, No. 1307.

²⁹ *Tigl. III*, p. 106 and 108. The only exceptions are Tyre and Carchemish.

³⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 89, line 6; also p. 68, line 1.

³¹ See below, p. 231 with n. 63.

³² A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 56-66. However, one cannot follow these authors when they identify *Byt Šll* with the house of the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu.

³³ The name ^m*Šu-lu-lu* is attested in the Neo-Assyrian period: *APN*, p. 206b; *SAA I*, 87, 6. Cf. E. LIPINSKI, rec. in *OLZ* 81(1986), col. 353.

³⁴ See below, p. 303.

³⁵ *RIMA III*, text A.0.102.2, p. 17, line 11.

Lines 9-12 of Stela I, B from Sefire use a figurative style to describe the large territory where the stipulations of the treaty ought to be proclaimed. The regions, mountains, and cities are mentioned not at random, but following a pattern based on the four cardinal points and expressed by the repetition of the formula *mn* (“from”) + place name + *w’d* (“and as far as”) + place name + *w* (“and”) + place name:

South → North: [*mn*] *Qrqr w’d Y’d[y w]Bz*.

West → East: *mn Lbnn w’d Yb[rd w...]*.

North → South: [*mn* ‘*m*] *q w’d ‘rw wM[š]w*.

East → West: *mn Bq’t w’d Ktk [w’rpd]*.

We are following A. Lemaire’s restoration for the first place name³⁶, since the slight trace of the initial letter suits a *qōf* as well as an ‘*ayn*, while the fourth letter, usually read *w*, does not have the shape of the clearly preserved *wāw* signs of the inscription, and corresponds rather to *r*. *Y’d[y]* indicates the Aramaean kingdom of Šam’al, in the north, and *Bz* may refer to Boz Tepe or Boz Dağ, a peak of the Amanus range (alt. 2,240 m), 18 km east of the shoreline of the Gulf of İskenderun and about 45 km southwest of Zincirli, the site of the capital of Šam’al. The place should thus be distinguished from Bāzu, possibly the Azraq oasis. We accept the usual restoration *Yb[rd]*, since this city lies to the east of the Lebanon ranges, and we read further [‘*m*] *q*³⁷, the state of ‘Umq in the north, while ‘Arrō (‘*rw*) and Manšuate (*M[š]w*) would indicate the south³⁸. The *Bq’t* cannot be simply identified with the Lebanese Beqa’, since this word means “valley” in general. Besides, the mention of Lebanon in the second phrase of the section seems to indicate that *Bq’t* refers to another region³⁹. The Euphrates valley seems to be the most appropriate place indicating the east, while *Ktk* and presumably [‘*rpd*] would stand for the west.

This schematic listing of the territories concerned by the Sefire treaties seems to confirm the northwestern situation of the kingdom of *Ktk* and to support the identification of the city of *Ktk* with Κίττικα.

The location of the kingdom of Kittik in northwestern Syria, where it bordered on territories inhabited by Anatolian populations, is further confirmed by the invocation of the divine couple of *Nkr* and *Kd’h* as

³⁶ A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 81-82.

³⁷ The restoration “Yab[rūd]” is suggested mainly by later attestations of the place name: L. JALABERT - R. MOUTERDE, *IGLS* V, Paris 1959, p. 308 with bibliography. The restoration “[‘Um]q” is proposed by A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 83.

³⁸ See below, p. 294 and 304-210.

³⁹ J.A. FITZMYER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 106.

witnesses to the treaty concluded by Bar-Ga'ya with Mati'-'Il, king of Arpad⁴⁰.

In fact, *Nkr* is a phonetic variant of the name of the Lycian and probably South-Anatolian Apollo, called *Natr(i)-* in the personal name *Natrbbijēmi* that translates Ἀπολλόδοτος in the trilingual inscription from Xanthos⁴¹. Now, Lycian provides evidence for the alternative *t/k* or for the change *t > k* not only in the cluster *kb < tb*⁴², but also in *kr/tr*, as shown by the name *Krupsse/i-* transcribed Θρύσις in Greek⁴³. The same cluster occurs in *Natr(i)- / *Nakr(i)-*, which makes the identification of the two names quite likely.

As for the second name *Kd'h*, it has the appearance of a feminine theonym. If we remain in the South-Anatolian or Neo-Hittite realm and notice that Semitic *d* corresponds to Luwian *tà*, e.g. in the name of Á+x-za-ti-wa/i-tà-, written 'ztwd in the Phoenician version of the Karatepe bilingual⁴⁴, we may assume that the *d* of *Kd'h* is the equivalent of *tu/tú* in the name of *Ka-tu/tú-wa-*, the ruler of Carchemish about 900 B.C. His numerous inscriptions are mainly taken up with his good relations with the gods⁴⁵ and his mention as **Kadu'ā* in the Sefire treaty would imply that the spirit of the dead king was considered as a divine being, equal to *Nakr(i)/Apollo*. The Hittite conception of the king deified upon his death

⁴⁰ Stela I, A, 10; cf. TSSI II, p. 28.

⁴¹ The name appears in lines 3-4 of the Greek text, first edited by H. METZGER, *La stèle trilingue récemment découverte au Létôn de Xanthos: le texte grec*, in CRAI 1974, p. 82-93 (see p. 85), and in line 4 of the Lycian text, first published by E. LAROCHE, *La stèle trilingue récemment découverte au Létôn de Xanthos: le texte lycien*, in CRAI 1974, p. 115-125 (see p. 116), who already noticed that *Natr-* is the Lycian equivalent of Apollo (p. 121). The official edition of the Xanthos trilingual appeared in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI. La trilingue de Létôn*, Paris 1979, the Greek text by H. Metzger (p. 29-48), the Lycian by E. Laroche (p. 49-127), the Aramaic by A. Dupont-Sommer (p. 131-178), with comments on Persian words by M. Mayrhofer (p. 180-185). For the divine name *Natr(i)-*, see G. NEUMANN, *Namen und Epiklesen lykischer Götter*, in *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, Paris 1979, p. 259-271 (see p. 263); R. LEBRUN, *Problèmes de religion anatolienne*, in *Hethitica* 8 (1987), p. 241-262 (see p. 244 and 255, n. 6); W. JENNIGES, *Mystagogus Lycius*, Bruxelles 1996, p. 37.

⁴² This is exemplified by the word *kbatra < *tbatra/twarta*, "daughter"; cf. F. STARKE, *Die Vertretung der uridg. *d^hugh₂tér - "Tochter" in den luwischen Sprachen und ihre Stammbildung*, in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 100 (1987), p. 243-269 (see p. 247-248); W. JENNIGES, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 75.

⁴³ L. ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, p. 187, § 435; W. JENNIGES, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 35-36.

⁴⁴ KAI 26 = TSSI III, 15. The final edition of the bilingual inscriptions is now available in H. ÇAMBEL - W. RÖLLIG - J.D. HAWKINS, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions II. Karatepe - Aslantaş*, Berlin-New York 1999.

⁴⁵ See A.M. JASINK, *Gli stati neo-ittiti. Analisi delle fonti scritte e sintesi storica* (Studia Mediterranea 10), Pavia 1995, p. 27-31; CHLI, Kargamiš A2, etc.

would thus survive in the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of the first millennium B.C.⁴⁶, his spirit being treated as a protective deity of lesser rank⁴⁷. However, Katuwa's deification and cult are by no means confirmed in the Hellenistic period by Anatolian names like Καδοας or *Katovaś*⁴⁸, or by an isolated reference to a legendary Lydian king called Κάδυς⁴⁹. Neither can we invert the data and assume that there was an Anatolian deity **Kadu'a*, whose name was used as a personal name, though this practice is one of the most characteristic features of Anatolian onomastics⁵⁰. Anatolian sources do not corroborate this hypothesis.

There is another possible explanation of *Kd'h*. In fact, a theophorous element *Kula* appears in Luwian proper names of the second millennium B.C. (e.g. *Kulaziti*, "Kula's man") and of the Graeco-Roman period (e.g. Κουλαπιας, "Kula's gift"⁵¹). Now, alternative forms with *l/d* often occur in Anatolian languages⁵²: they are attested not only by allomorphs involving the apparent change *d* > *l* but also by *l* > *d/t*, as shown e.g. by hieroglyphic Luwian (*a*)*daman*, "name", corresponding to Hittite *laman* (cf. Latin *nomen*). We can assume therefore that *Kd'h* stands for *Kuda'+h* of the Aramaic feminine, since the very element *Kula* is used in Anatolia as a feminine personal name (e.g. Γουλας, Κουδα, Κουλα⁵³) and seems thus to designate a female divine principle or entity.

The probable presence of **Nakri* and of **Kuda'a* among the deities of Kittik seems to imply a dependence from Carchemish. Beside the men-

⁴⁶ V. HAAS, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, Leiden 1994, p. 243-244. For a synthesis of the opinions concerning this problem see M. GIORGIERI - C. MORA, *Aspetti della regalità ittita nel XIII secolo a. C.* (Biblioteca di Athenaeum 32), Como 1996, p. 77-79.

⁴⁷ M. POPKO, *Religions of Asia Minor*, Warsaw 1995, p. 152-154.

⁴⁸ L. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 207-208, § 500.

⁴⁹ *FGH* IIA, p. 346-347, § 90, 44.

⁵⁰ Ph.H.J. HOUWINK TEN CATE, *The Luwian Population Groups of Licia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period*, Leiden 1961, p. 124, with former literature; E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 281-282.

⁵¹ Ph.H.J. HOUWINK TEN CATE, *op. cit.* (n. 50), p. 150-151; L. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 137, § 233; p. 252, § 718; p. 253, § 726; E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 96-97, Nos. 608-613.

⁵² H. KRONASSER, *Vergleichende Laut- und Formenlehre des Hethitischen*, Heidelberg 1956, § 72a; E. LAROCHE, *Comparaison du louvite et du lycien* II, in *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique* 55 (1960), p. 155-185, especially p. 181; L. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 143, § 252 and n. 57b; H. KRONASSER, *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache* I, Wiesbaden 1966, p. 61-64, § 50; G. NEUMANN, *Lykisch*, in *Alt kleinasiatische Sprachen*, Leiden 1969, p. 358-396, especially p. 376-377; A. HEUBECK, *Lydisch*, *ibid.*, p. 397-427, especially p. 405; M. POPKO, *Ludy i języki starożytnej Anatolii*, Warszawa 1999, p. 88, 110, 113, 124. As examples one can mention *Lamētru* = Demeter, *Lygdamis* = Tugdamme, *Labarna* = Tabarna, κανδαύλης = *χñtawata*, "king". See also F. STARKE, *Labarna*, in *RLA* VI, Berlin-New York 1980-83, p. 404-408.

⁵³ L. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 137, § 233-1; p. 252, § 718-2; p. 253, § 726-3.



Neo-Hittite orthostat from Carchemish with a musical scene,
second half of the 8th Century B.C. (Ankara Museum, Inv. No. 119).

tion of Anatolian divine figures, this dependence is suggested by the geographic position of Kittik.

It is uncertain where the northern frontier of Kittik should be placed. It is quite probable that the area of Kilis, ancient Cilliza⁵⁴, belonged to Kittik, but it is unlikely that its territory was reaching as far as Gaziantep, Crusaders' Hantab and ancient 'Ayn Ṭāb, near the sources of the Saḡūr (Sacir Suyu)⁵⁵, that may have belonged to Bēt-'Adini or to Gurgum. On the west, the mountainous region around later Κύρρος, with Tillima as the main centre, was recognized as Kittik's territory by the

⁵⁴ The city is probably mentioned in ND. 10005, 13 (CTN III, 86), where one man is supposed to serve Šam'al and ^{um}Kāl-zi, that cannot be here Kilizu in central Assyria.

⁵⁵ The ancient remains have been removed when the mediaeval castle was built; cf. A. ARCHI - P.E. PECORELLA - M. SALVINI, *Gaziantep e la sua regione* (Incunabula Graeca 48), Roma 1971, p. 67, No. 70, and Pl. XXIV, Fig. 88. The actual name of Gaziantep prefixes the Turkish word *gazi*, "hero", to the ancient name 'Ayn Ṭāb that seems to be Aramaic and to mean "good source".

Sefire treaties. The state was bounded on the southwest by 'Umq and later by Arpad, as on the south. It certainly had a common border with Carchemish on the east, as indicated by the hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from Cekke⁵⁶, only 11 km east of Yel Baba. The eastern boundary was, on the evidence of Cekke, the upper Quwaiq valley. The territory of Kittik was thus small and the importance of Kittik in the Sefire treaties must be ascribed exclusively to the Assyrian policy aiming at weakening Arpad. In an earlier period and after the destruction of Bēt-'Adini, the influence of the city-state of Carchemish was certainly prevalent in the area, but the region was bound on the west and the southwest by another Neo-Hittite state, namely 'Umq/Pattin. These western relations may explain why the name of the king of Kittik in the mid-8th century B.C. occurs in Cilicia as a patronymic Βαργαίας as late as the Hellenistic period, namely in Πονδαῖον Βαργαίου⁵⁷.

2. HISTORY

Although Bar-Ga'ya, king of Kittik, does not mention his ancestors in the Sefire treaties, the dynastic name Bēt-Şullūl (*Byt Şll*) of the country occurs in two passages of the stelae⁵⁸. The personal name *Şu-lu-lu* is attested in the Neo-Assyrian period⁵⁹ and, despite the similarity of the names, nothing indicates so far that it is historically related to the land of Izalla⁶⁰, which never appears with the determinative of personal names. Nothing is known about the origins of this dynastic name and any speculation would be dangerous. The Sefire treaties indicate that Bar-Ga'ya and his possible predecessors have ruled in the concerned area for some time, that they obviously enjoyed the Assyrian protection in the first part

⁵⁶ This inscription is the foundation charter of a city Kamana by Kamanis, king of Carchemish in the mid-8th century B.C., who had acquired the land by purchase from the men of the town Kanapu. Cf. J.D. HAWKINS - A. MORPURGO-DAVIES, *Buying and Selling in Hieroglyphic Luwian*, in *Serta Indogermanica. Festschrift für G. Neumann*, Innsbruck 1982, p. 91-105, especially p. 93 and 96.

⁵⁷ R. HEBERDEY - A. WILHELM, *Reisen in Kilikien*, Wien 1896, No. 131; L. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 120, §150-3, where the reconstruction Βαργαίος should be corrected into Βαργαίας.

⁵⁸ Stela I, B, 3 and Stela II, B, 10. Cf. A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 59-60, although there is no relation between this dynastic name and Shamshi-ilu.

⁵⁹ SAA I, 86, 6; APN, p. 206b.

⁶⁰ E. LIPÍŃSKI, rec. in *OLZ* 81 (1986), col. 353, contrary to A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 60-66. For Izalla, see J.N. POSTGATE, *Izalla*, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-80, p. 225-226.

of the 8th century B.C., and that Dad-'il, a Bar-Ga'ya's successor, paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III in 738 B.C.⁶¹

The region of Tillima (*Tl'ym*), lost to the kings of Kittik in the first part of the 8th century B.C., was restored to Bar-Ga'ya probably around 754 B.C., although different datings have been proposed for the single Sefire stelae⁶². Stela III fixing the boundary between Kittik and Arpad and retroceding Tillima to Bar-Ga'ya's dynasty may in fact be anterior or posterior to Stelae I and II, but the difference may just represent one year or two. The scribal and stylistic similarities between the stelae do not favour the hypothesis of longer periods separating their engraving on the same type of stone and apparently by the same stone-cutter.

The events of the last third of the 8th century B.C. are unknown in the present state of our knowledge and we can only assume that the small kingdom of Kittik, probably called *Kasku*, was annexed to Assyria by Sargon II, possibly in the same year 711 of the annexation of Gurgum⁶³. In fact, the inscriptions of Sargon II mention Kasku before Tabālu⁶⁴, before Tabālu and Hilakku⁶⁵, or between these two countries⁶⁶, thus implying a western location of the territory. Later traces of that Aramaean state are limited to a personal name like ^m*Kas-ka-a-a*⁶⁷.

⁶¹ F. VON LACHMANN, *Die Inschriften von Sargon II. 2. Teil: Die Inschriften aus den verschiedenen Sammlungen der Königs- und Königin zu Berlin* II, 131, Berlin 1893/1907.
⁶² F. VON LACHMANN, *Die Inschriften von Sargon II. 2. Teil: Die Inschriften aus den verschiedenen Sammlungen der Königs- und Königin zu Berlin* II, 131, Berlin 1893/1907, p. 44-54.

The original publication of the inscription was prepared by E. SARTON, *Die Inschriften des Königs Sargon II. von Sam'al in Assyrien* in *Sam'al in Assyrien* II, Berlin 1893, p. 33-54. More recent treatments of the inscription can be found in F. VON LACHMANN, *Die Inschriften von Sargon II.*, Wiesbaden 1973, and I. YERIN, *Die Inschriften von Sargon II.*, Wiesbaden 1993, with an improved interpretation of several passages in SARG II, p. 201-211.

⁶³ H. LAMMENGUTH, *Sam'al*, Ankara 1935, p. 36, n. 107; H. NISSE, *Zur Chronologie der Klänge von Sam'al im 8. und 7. Jh. v. Chr.*, in *SBG* II (1994), p. 71-75, esp. p. 71.

⁶⁴ F. VON LACHMANN, *Die Inschriften von Sargon II. 2. Teil: Die Inschriften aus den verschiedenen Sammlungen der Königs- und Königin zu Berlin* II, 131, Berlin 1893/1907, p. 33-54. The date from the 9th or 8th century B.C. is W. GERTMAN, *Untersuchungen zur aramäischen Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1973, p. 33-54. The date from the 9th or 8th century B.C. is W. GERTMAN, *Untersuchungen zur aramäischen Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1973, p. 33-54.

⁶¹ *Tigl. III*, p. 68, line 12; p. 89, Ann. 27, line 6; p. 108, line 15.

⁶² A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 57-58.

⁶³ *Sargon II*, p. 64 and 304, Bull 26; p. 76 and 308, R. XIV 10-11; p. 131-132 and 325-326, Ann. 238-241; p. 218 and 348, Displ. 86-89; p. 261 and 359, Pavem. IV 28-31.

⁶⁴ *Sargon II*, p. 33 and 290, Cyl. 15.

⁶⁵ *Sargon II*, p. 63 and 303, Bull 21-22; p. 76 and 308, R. XIV 16; p. 262 and 359, Pavem. IV 36. The restoration of the name of Kasku on p. 128 and 324, Ann. 220, is not justified. The same must be said about the parallel passage in Sargon II's annals from 711 B.C., despite A. FUCHS, *Die Annalen des Jahres 711 v. Chr. nach Prismenfragmenten aus Ninive und Assur* (State Archives of Assyria Studies 8), Helsinki 1998, p. 49, line 14'.

⁶⁶ G. FRAME, *art. cit.* (n. 25), line 22.

⁶⁷ *CTN III*, 34, 28.