

Geographical Notes

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WAS OROPUS THE CLASSICAL NAME OF CARCHEMISH?

THE name of the important Seleucid city which occupied the site of the ancient Carchemish is still uncertain. German scholars have identified it with the Oropus or Europus of classical geography, but as is pointed out by Commander Hogarth, who has discussed the question very fully in *Carchemish*, pt. i, pp. 19 sqq. (1914), if Oropus is identified with the town placed by the Peutinger Table between Birejik and the Sajur, and this again is identified with Carchemish, the mileage attached to it will not agree with the actual facts. There is the further difficulty that, although one of the modern names given to the site is Jerabîs, which could be derived from Oropus, or rather its later Greek deformation Europus, the more usual and probably older name is Jerablûs, which is Hierapolis.

But there is yet another difficulty. Ammianus Marcellinus (xiv, 8) states that one of the chief cities of Northern Syria in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates was Hierapolis, which was also called Ninus. The codices (Vaticanus and Petrensis) read *Hierapoli veterennino*, which has hitherto been wrongly emended. But it is evident that the first *n* should be *u*, as is so frequently the case in MSS., *u* or *v* standing here, as elsewhere, for *v(êl)*. Hence the original text will have been *Hierapoli vetere v(êl) Nino*, "the older Hierapolis or Ninus." The later Hierapolis was the modern Membij, where the archæological remains are not earlier than the Seleucid era, and which after the foundation of its temple inherited the traditions and name of the more ancient city. This explains why Membij (Mabug, Bambykê) is unknown to the Assyrian inscriptions.

My decipherment of the so-called Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions (which are really those of the Kaskians and Cilicians) has cleared up the origin of the name Ninus. Nana or Nina was the water-goddess (*ni* signifying "water" in Hittite); hence Nana, the mother of Attys, is said to have been a water-nymph, the daughter of the River Sangarios, a name which appears in that of the Sajur, Assyrian Sagura, Sangura, south of Carchemish. In the Carchemish texts the name of Nana is frequently replaced by the picture of a horse's head, with or without the phonetic complement *ana*. The belief in a water-horse has spread from the country where the horse was first domesticated throughout Western Asia and Europe, and in our own island has produced the kelpie or water-spirit of the Highlands, which assumes a horse's form. The Greek hippocampus or water-horse has played a conspicuous part in art, and the old belief is still embodied in the name of the hippopotamus of Egypt. Carchemish was not only situated on the banks of the Euphrates, it also commanded the chief ford of the high road from east to west, and it was therefore appropriate that it should have been called "the city of Nana". In the texts a synonym of *Karkamisiyas*, "a Carchemishian," is *Naná-tis* and *Niná-tis*, "a Ninian." The statement of Ammianus Marcellinus has thus been fully verified.

And now to return to Oropus. In the geographical list of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, the names of Mitanni and Carchemish are followed by Uru with the determinative of place. Uru is the Assyrian *uru* "the city", which with the Mitannian definite suffix *-pi* would be written Uru-pi. The suffix is found in a good many geographical names in that part of the world—Tunip, for instance, by the side of Tuna, Til-Barsip, by the side of Tulburs, etc. In Uru-pi, accordingly, I see the origin of the Greek Oropus.

According to Stephanus of Byzantium Oropus was "formerly called Tel-missos". Is Tel-missos intended for Carchemish, *tel* taking the place of *karka*, which was identified

with the Aramaic כרכא "the citadel"? In WAI. iii, 66, *Ob. d* 33 the name of Carchemish is actually written *Karku-(AN)mas*, "the citadel of (the god) Mas,"¹ and we know from the Old Testament that such etymological puns were common in the ancient Semitic world. In this case it would appear that the *Karkamish uru* of the Egyptian List was interpreted as meaning "the city of Carchemish", and not that Carchemish and "the city" were separate places. On the other hand, according to Shalmaneser III, Pitru, the Pethor of the Old Testament, called Pdri in the geographical list of Thothmes III, lay a little to the south of Carchemish, between that city and the Sajur, and Pitru may be a Mitannian or Asianic word for "city". In Vannic *patari* signifies "city", and seems to be the same word as the Pteria of Herodotus, usually supposed to be the district of Boghaz Keui, though we are told that it was near Sinôpê. At all events, the word *teira* in one or more of the Asianic languages had that signification; thus we have *Teira*, *Thya-teira*, by the side of *Thyia*, *Adrianu-thêrai*, *Têmeno-thyra*, *Grimeno-thêra*, *Das-teira*, by the side of *Das-Tarkon* and *Das-menda*, etc.,² to which must be added the *Khata-tirra* of the Assyrian inscriptions. Some of the coins of Tarsus, again, have the inscription *ορτυγο-θηρα*, which cannot signify "quail-hunt", but must be a Greek form of some such name as *Artuga-teira*. *Artug* is named in the geographical lists of the eighteenth and nineteenth Egyptian dynasties. Since the ideograph of "city" has the phonetic complement *-ri* in the cuneiform texts of Boghaz Keui, we may conclude that in the Hittite language spoken there the full word was either *teiri* or *patari*.³ The Greek *Kybis-tra* always appears as

¹ Nin-lil is said to be "the queen of heaven of Carchemish". Her Hittite name was *Khebe* or *Khiba*.

² Ramsay, *Cities and Bishopricks of Phrygia*, p. 144.

³ The name of the Lycian city *Patara* would not be connected if *Stephanus* of Byzantium is right in saying that it was the Lycian word for "a chest". *Pteria* reappears, letter for letter, in *Puterias*, which an inscription of the Vannic king *Menuas* (*Sayce*, xxxiii) gives as the

Khubis-na, "the land of Khubis," in the cuneiform inscriptions of Boghaz Keui and Assyria; in a Hittite hieroglyphic inscription found at Andaval (Messerschmidt, *Corpus inscriptionum Hettitarum*, xxxi, C) it is written *Ku-bi-is-sa mias*, "the city of Kubis," where the compound ideograph *mias* would have been read *teiri* in the language in which that word was used. The lengthened form *teirya* would have become *τερα* (for *τερρα*) in Greek, and so the *-tra* which we find in Asianic geographical names of the later period.

All this leads me to the conclusion that the name Uru-pi was employed in a double sense. Originally it would have denoted the township south of Carchemish, known to us as Pethor, but since Carchemish was *par excellence* the city of that region the title came to be attached to it, and eventually passed to the Greeks under the forms of Orôpus and Eurôpus. The double employment of the name would explain why the Peutinger Table (1) does not name the station between Birejik and the Sajur, and (2) gives a mileage which suits the site of Pethor but not the site of Carchemish.

In the sixth century Europus, which "popular etymology" substituted for Oropus, appears as Aghropos and Aghripos in Syriac documents. Aghripos could easily have yielded an Arabic Jerabas or Jerbas by assimilation to Jerablûs, i.e. Hierapolis, which must therefore have been the more customary name of the place, and Jerabas would naturally pass into Jerabîs, the normal plural of a word Jerbas. Dr. Trowbridge, the head of the American College at Aintab, told me many years ago that some of his converts who lived in the neighbourhood of Jerablûs had informed him that ancient name of Palu on the northern bank of the Euphrates (the modern Murad-su), about midway between Malatiyeh and Van. It lay near Gupa, the Assyrian Kuppu, Khuzâna (new Khozan), which is probably the Khuzarina of the Assyrians, and Aassa, called Aassata in the inscriptions of Boghaz Keui. A variant form of the word *teira* probably recurs in Qulbi-tarris, one of the cities of Melitene conquered by the Vannic king Sarduris II (Sayce, l). Qulbi-tarris must be the Kholma-dara of classical geography, Qulbi or Kholma being the deity Kholmis of the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Jerablûs was the "Arabic" and Jerabîs the "Turkish" name. Many of the places in that part of the world bear double names, as I learned when I was travelling there; the first village I passed after leaving Bab, for instance, was called Kebêsîn by the Arabs and Bash-Keui by the Turks, and an old city site near the ford across the Sajur was known as Tel Mansûr to the Turks and Tel el-Yansûl (also pronounced Yansûr and Yansûb) to the Arabs.

By way of conclusion I must add that the Mitannian *-pi* was also pronounced *-wi*, and could therefore be represented in cuneiform by *-mi*. In fact, the non-Semitic absence of distinction between *m* and *w* in Assyrian is one of several examples of Mitannian or Hittite influence that can be indicated upon Assyro-Babylonian. Sir W. M. Ramsay has shown that *m*, *b*, and *w* are interchangeable in the geographical names of Asia Minor, and in the cuneiform texts the same name can be written with *m*, *w*, *b*, and *p*. The character 𐎶 has the various values of *mi*, *pi*, *wi*, and *yi*. Consequently, Uru-pi could also appear in script as Uru-mi, Uru-ma, and the question, therefore, arises whether "the Hittite soldiers, Kaskians and Urumians", mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I as having occupied Subarti or Northern Syria—not to be confounded with the Supria of the Assyrian period¹—did not come from Carchemish. 'Urma (the modern Urûm), a little north of Carchemish, is already named in the geographical List of Thothmes III (No. 208 and perhaps 313),² while in the Hittite hieroglyphic texts the writers describe themselves as Kaskians. Thus, in the earliest text yet found at Carchemish, Yakhanas, who gave his name to the conquered district of Yakhan, calls himself not only "a Hittite" (*Khat-tu-wias*), but also "a Kaskian" (*Ki-is-ka-a-ni-is*), and he further takes the titles of a follower of the god Tarkus and of "the Sun-god of the Kaskian land".

¹ In a Boghaz Keui text (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi*, i, 22, Rev. 6) the land of Subari comes between Aleppo (Khalba) and Kinza.

² Maspero identifies it with the Greek Urma Gigantos. Gigantos is probably an echo of the old name of the district Gagati.

THE CITY OF BURSAXHANDA

In the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, December, 1915, I have transliterated and translated an interesting cuneiform text discovered in 1913-14 by the German excavators in the house of the Hittite Resident at Tel el-Amarna. The text, which is in the Hittite form of cuneiform script, contains a semi-legendary account of a campaign of Sargon of Accad in the later Cilicia, and was the first tablet of a series which seems to have been devoted to the earlier history of Asia Minor. The chief objective of Sargon's campaign was the city of Bursakhanda, which was situated on a mountain, and from which he brought back to Babylonia two species of fig-tree, vines, roses (*wurtinnu*), and other northern plants, as well as the *ulpanu* or *lupanu*, the nature of which is unknown. That the campaign of Sargon was a fact is now proved by Dr. Forrer's discovery of a tablet from Boghaz Keui, at present at Berlin, which records the invasion of eastern Asia Minor by a king of the dynasty of Akkad, and its repulse by the combined forces of the kingdoms of Kanis, Khatti, and Kursaura, the Garsaura of classical geography.

Another Boghaz Keui tablet, which embodies the annals of the Hittite king Telibinus, and has been translated by Professor Hrozný, informs us that Khattusilis I, the founder of the Khattu empire, conquered the Cilician cities of Khubis-na, Tûwanuwa, Nenassa, Lânda, Zallara, Barsukhanta, and Lu . . . na. Khubis-na is known to us from the Assyrian inscriptions, which show that it was the classical Kybis-tra; Tûwanuwa is the neighbouring Tyana; Lânda may be the Leandis of Ptolemy; and Nenassa reminds us of the classical Nanessos. Lu . . . na may be the Lamena of Shalmaneser III, which lay between Tanakun (Thanakê) and Tarsus, and was probably the Lapana of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. Barsukhanta is evidently the Bursakhanda of the Sargon legend, and will have been in the vicinity of Kybistra and Tyana, that is to say on one of the northern heights of

the Bulgar Dagh. Unnamisu, where Sargon is said to have spent his third year, will have been on the coast of the Gulf of Antioch, possibly where the Iônê of Stephanus Byzantinus was situated. It is possible that Barsukhanda should be identified with the city of [B]arrukhunda, which Tiglath-pileser I places in the province of Qumani. In KAB. iv, 13, Obv. 47, the name is written Barsukhuntas.

JAVAN

In Gen. x, 2, 4, Javan is the brother of Tubal and Meshech in Eastern Asia Minor, and the father of Elishah—the Alasia of the cuneiform records, whose name was preserved in that of the Alëian (= Alësyian) plain of Greek geography, as well as of Tarshish or Tarsus, of Kittim and of Rodanim, that is to say Cyprus and Rhodes. The geographical position assigned to him is confirmed by notices in Greek writers. Stephanus of Byzantium tells us that the Syrian Antioch was built on the site of the ancient Iônê, and the *Periplus Maritima* states that the town at the mouth of the Pyramus, afterwards known as Kephalos, was also called Ionê. In accordance with this Kedrenos states that the older name of Antioch was Iopolis. The Egyptian officer Amon-em-heb in the time of Thothmes III describes “the land of Mount Uan” as being to the west of Aleppo, and in the “Second” Arzawan letter in the Tel el-Amarna collection Labaia calls himself *memis-ta Uanwannas*, “thy spokesman of the land of Uan” (Knudtzon, 32, 2). In an Assyrian geographical list the name appears as Yaêna (WAI. ii, 53. 8), the country of Yaêna being preceded by the country of Cilicia (Khilakku) and followed by the country of Malatiyeh (Melidi). Yaêna by the side of Uan presents the same vowel-change as the Heb. *yáyin*, “wine,” Assyrian *înu*, by the side of *oîvor*, *vinum*. In fact it is possible that the country took its name from the vine; there was a city of Oinoandos somewhere in that part of the world. Mr. Tomkins was probably right in

identifying the Unai of the geographical list of Thothmes III (No. 145) with Uan.

KAS AND KUSA

The "country of Kasi", also written Kaśi and Kasse, in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, has been erroneously identified with the Kassite people of Babylonia, and supposed to represent Babylonia. Babylonia, however, is always called Karduniyas in the tablets, and the name of Kasi is given only (1) to Cush or Ethiopia (Knudtzon, 49. 20; in 131. 13 it is *matóti Kasi*, "the lands of Cush"), and (2) to a district which adjoined Mitanni, Naharaim, and the Hittites. Thus, in Knudtzon 76. 15 it is coupled with Mitanni, in 116. 71 we have Mitanni, Kaśi, and the Hittites, and in 288. 36 it is joined with Nakhrima or Naharaim. It thus corresponds with "the country of Kusâ" of the Assyrian texts. A letter published by Dr. Pinches in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1881, p. 13, informs us that the cities of Qarnê—the Karna and Atu-geren of the Egyptian geographical lists—Dâna, Kullania (the Biblical Calneh), Arpad, and Ísana, were all situated in the country of the Kusâ or Kusæans, which must, therefore, have comprised that part of Northern Syria which lay immediately to the north of Naharaim. In the larger "Hittite" hieroglyphic inscription from Hamath, line 1, as copied by myself from the original stone, the king calls himself "king of the land of Kus" (*Kusi-mia*), and in the Carchemish inscriptions one of the royal titles is king of "Kas" or "Kus" (*Kusannas*). It is worth notice that the first part of the name of the conqueror from Naharaim who subjugated Palestine in the twelfth century B.C. was Chushan (Judges iii, 8), which would exactly correspond with *Kusanna(s)*, "of the land of Kus." In any case, the name of the Kusâ was preserved in classical times in that of Mons Casius.

THE LEAD-MINES OF EARLY ASIA MINOR

The Cappadocian tablets, which belong to the age of the Third Dynasty of Ur (B.C. 2400), show that the mining and

export of lead was one of the chief industries carried on at Ganis, now Kara Eyuk, 18 kilometres N.E. of Kaisariyeh. According to a tablet in my possession the lead was exported to Assyria (*mat A-sur*), and from thence distributed throughout the Near East. The names are given of a good many of the places in which the metal was found. Among them are Abê, Amas, Nakhur (evidently the Semitic Nahor), Sasakki, Sarniga, and perhaps Luši and Niri, to which a fragment in my possession adds Zanuki. Another fragment belonging to myself refers to "a man of Abê" (*A-be-im*).
