

From Lower Land to Cappadocia

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It is commonly accepted since the decipherment of the cuneiform that the Greek toponym Καππαδοκία, first used by Herodotus with reference to central Anatolia, is related to Old Persian *Katpatuka* (*K-t-p-tu-u-k*), the central Anatolian satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire.¹ The earlier history of this place name is, however, unclear. Nineteenth-century attempts at its analysis include the reconstructions of pseudo-Akkadian **Katpa Tuka* (vel sim.) ‘land of (the tribe) *Duḫa*’ (cf. Hebrew *kāteṣ* ‘side’) or Iranian **Huwaspadahyu-* (vel sim.) ‘land of good horses’. These suggestions, which occasionally emerge in non-specialized literature up to now,² have no scholarly value. The first account operates with an unattested Akkadian lexeme for ‘side’ or ‘land’, while the second one assumes the cluster of non-trivial sound changes **Huwaspa- > Katpa-*, which does not have a parallel in any Iranian language.

Since the Achaemenid kings normally recycled pre-existing toponyms for the names of their satrapies, the Anatolian origin of the name *Katpatuka/Cappadocia* emerges as the *prima facie* hypothesis.³ According to Herodotus (V 52), Cappadocia lies between Phrygia and Cilicia, and its core area apparently coincided with the bend of the Halys river (modern Kızıl Irmak) and the eastern part of the Konya plain.⁴ The inscriptional evidence suggests that the Luvian language and the Anatolian hieroglyphic script continued to be used on this territory up to the eighth century BCE,⁵ even though a number of settlements on the eastern bank of the Halys river were Phrygian foundations or re-foundations. It is unclear to what extent the Cimmerian conquest of central Anatolia in the early seventh century BCE or the annexation of the same territory to the Median kingdom the early sixth century BCE could immediately alter the local linguistic

¹ Liesbeth Franck, “Sources classiques concernant la Cappadoce,” *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 24 (1966): 9, fn. 1; Rüdiger Schmitt, “Kappadoker,” *Reallexicon der Assyriologie*, vol. 5 (1976-1980): 399; J. Strobel, “Kappadokia,” *Der Neue Pauly*, vol. 6 (1999): 263.

² See most recently Adrian Room, *Placenames of the World*, 2nd edition (McFarland, 2006), p. 78 s.v. Cappadocia.

³ The recent decades brought about a growing consensus on this subject: see Strobel, “Kappadokia,” p. 263; Latife Summerer, “Amisos – eine griechische Polis im Land der Leukosyrer,” in *Pont-Euxin et Polis: Actes du Xe Symposium de Vani – 23-26 septembre 2002* (Besançon: Presses Universitaires Franc-Comtoises, 2005), p. 135; Ian Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 BC): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 158 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), p. 94. For the non-Iranian character of OPers. *Katpatuka* cf. already Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, American Oriental Series 33 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1953), § 83.III.

⁴ The detailed discussion of the changing borders of Cappadocia in the Achaemenid, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods lies beyond the scope of the present contribution. This issue is exhaustively addressed in Xavier de Planhol, “La Cappadoce: formation et transformations d’un concept géographique”, in *Le aree omogenee della Civiltà Rupestre nell’ambito dell’Impero Bizantino: la Cappadocia*, edited by Cosimo Damiano Fonseca (Lecce: Galatina, 1981).

⁵ On the Cappadocian kingdoms of Tabal and Tuwana, ruled by Neo-Hittite dynasties, see Trevor Bryce, “History,” in *The Luwians*, edited by H. Craig Melchert, *Handbuch der Orientalistik I*; 68 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 97-100. For the distribution of Iron Age Luvian hieroglyphic inscriptions over Anatolia, see the map in H. Craig Melchert (ed.), *The Luwians*, p. 142.

landscape. According to one interpretation, the statement of Herodotus (I 72) that the Greeks refer to Cappadocians as Syrians reflects the Greek perception of “Neo-Hittite” cultural unity stretching from the Konya plain to northern Syria.⁶

Unfortunately, all the existing Anatolian etymologies of Katpatuka/Cappadocia likewise appear to be fatally flawed. The proliferation of the view that it somehow represents a continuation of the Bronze Age toponym Kizzuwatna can be explained only in the context of the earlier identification of Kizzuwatna with the area of the Hellenistic kingdom of Pontus (also known as *Cappadocia ad Pontum*). At present, however, the Bronze Age kingdom of Kizzuwatna is universally identified with the Cilician plain and its surrounding mountains, an area that was clearly distinct from Cappadocia according to Herodotus.⁷ A different line of thought, according to which the first part of Gk. Καππαδοκία is genetically related to Hittite place-names *Kapa*, *Kapanuwanta*, *Kappatta*, *Kappitta* etc. ignores the phonotactics of OPers. *Katpatuka*.⁸ The abundance of mutually contradictory untenable hypotheses prompts many modern scholars to withhold their judgment with regard to the ultimate origin of the toponym Cappadocia.⁹

The only etymological suggestion that I consider to be a step in the right direction belongs to the French geographer Xavier de Planhol. According to his 1981 hypothesis, Cappadocia/ Katpatuka can be analyzed as “Low Land”, while the first morpheme of *Kat-patuka* is ultimately cognate with the Hittite preverb *katta* ‘down, below’. De Planhol stopped only one step short of completely solving the puzzle of Cappadocia, but his attachment to the Kizzuwatna connection prevented them from making this step. He cited the old idea of Emmanuel Laroche, according to whom Kizzuwatna could be read as **Katwatna* in the thirteenth-century hieroglyphic inscription of FIRAKTIN.¹⁰ Laroche had operated on the assumption that **Katwatna* represented a Luvian rendering of Kizzuwatna, while *Katpatuka* represents the further development of **Katwatna* in an unspecified linguistic environment.¹¹ It is not easy to reconcile this account with de Planhol’s interpretation of **Kat-watna* as “Low Land”, since the element *kiz(z)-* of Kizzuwatna does not mean ‘low’ in Hittite.

⁶ Summerer, “Amisos – eine griechische Polis im Land der Leukosyrer,” p. 133-134 with fn. 25. Pace Summerer, this interpretation need not imply that the Greeks of the Classical period preserved historical recollections of the Hittite Empire.

⁷ For the list of scholars who insisted on the etymological connection between Kizzuwatna and Cappadocia, see de Planhol, “La Cappadoce: formation et transformations d’un concept géographique”, p. 28, fn. 13. The determination of the currently accepted location of Kizzuwatna was accomplished in Albrecht Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography*, Yale Oriental Series 22 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940). On the proposed etymologies of Kizzuwatna cf. H.M. Kümmel, “Kizzuwatna,” *Reallexicon der Assyriologie*, vol. 5 (1976-1980): 627 and Ilya Yakubovich, “Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Chicago, 2008), p. 341 with fn. 80.

⁸ This unconvincing comparison can be found in Johann Tischler, *Kleinasiatische Hydronymie: Semantische und morphologische Analyse der griechischen Gewässernamen* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1977), p. 72.

⁹ For recent statements of uncertainty on these subject, see Mark Janse, “Aspects of Bilingualism in the History of the Greek Language,” in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word*, edited by J.N. Adams, Mark Janse; Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 348 and Summerer, “Amisos – eine griechische Polis im Land der Leukosyrer,” p. 135.

¹⁰ De Planhol, “La Cappadoce: formation et transformations d’un concept géographique,” p. 28.

¹¹ Emmanuel Laroche, “Comparaison du louvite et du lycien,” *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 53 (1958): 48-49.

This is not, however, the only reason why de Planhol's etymology failed to find general acceptance and the circle of its followers is limited to the historians of Classical and later periods.¹² By the time his paper appeared in print, the reading **Katwatna* had already been outdated for more than a decade. The same Emmanuel Laroche suggested in 1969 that the toponym Kizzuwatna is spelled *ká-**285-*na* in the FIRAKTIN inscription and offered compelling grounds for the phonetic reading of the sign **285* as <zu(wa)>.¹³ Subsequent research on the Anatolian hieroglyphic script has fully vindicated his second suggestion.¹⁴ On the other hand, the Hittite preverb *katta* 'down' is not attested anywhere in such a shape in the Luvian corpus, while Petra Goedegebuure has recently put together a cogent argument for taking Luvian *zanta* as its cognate and functional counterpart.¹⁵ Summing up, Kizzuwatna was never spelled **Katwatna*, and **Katwatna* could not mean "Low Land" in Luvian in any case.

In spite of this criticism, I intend to argue that the kernel of de Planhol's proposal can be salvaged. Cappadocia/Katpatuka did originally mean something similar to "Low Land" and contain *katta* as its first element, but this compound had nothing to do with Kizzuwatna and the language in which it had been formed was not Luvian but Hittite. The Hittite historical sources mention a large territory belonging to Hatti whose name is usually written heterographically, as KUR *ŠAPLITI*, lit. "land of the bottom", and which is conventionally rendered in English as 'Lower Land'. According to the scholarly *communis opinio*, the Bronze Age Lower Land is to be identified with the Konya Plain in the central part of Asia Minor.¹⁶ The fact that this elevated plateau received such a name has to do with the contrast with the Upper Land, commonly rendered as KUR *UGU-TI*, (but also as 1x KUR *ILITI*, 1x [KUR] *ELITI*) lit. "land of the top", in Hittite sources and identified with the upper course of the Halys river.¹⁷ Since the Halys river is adjacent to the Konya plain in its middle course, both designations are logical.

Although the combination of the Upper Land and the Lower Land defined the core area of the Hittite kingdom, the origin of both is probably Pre-Hittite. The geographic term *māt šapiltim* 'Lower Land' occurs in Old Assyrian commercial texts from Kaneš/Kültepe KTS 41 a 7 and Kt v/k 73 26-27. In the second context, a shipment of tin is expected to come from the Lower Land, and since the trade in tin constituted the

¹² See e.g. Nicole Thierry, *La Cappadoce de l'antiquité au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: Brepols 2002), p. 11; Tessa Hoffman, "Pontos und Kappadokien: Versuch einer Einführung", in *Verfolgung, Vertreibung und Vernichtung der Christen in Osmanischem Reich: 1912-1922*, edited by Tessa Hoffman (Berlin: LIT, 2004), p. 191, fn. 2.

¹³ Emmanuel Laroche, "Les Dieux de Yazılıkaya", *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 27 (1969): 89.

¹⁴ Horst Ehringhaus, *Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften: Die Felsreliefs der hethitischen Großreichzeit in der Türkei* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2005), p. 64; David Hawkins, "Reading of zu(wa) (L. 285)," contributed to *Die Prinzen- und Beamtsiegel der hethitischen Grossreichzeit auf Tonbullien aus dem Niantepe-Archiv in Hattusa* by Susanne Herboldt (Mainz: von Zabern, 2005), p. 298; Zsolt Simon, "Towards an Interpretation of the Hieroglyphic Luwian Pair of Signs **109.*285* and the Phonetic Value of **448*," *Kadmos* 47 (2008): 20-30. The old reading *KATA-WATA-na* is retained only in Fred C. Woudhuizen, *Luwian Hieroglyphic Monumental Rock and Stone Inscriptions from the Hittite Empire Period* (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck, 2004), p. 70-71.

¹⁵ Petra Goedegebuure presented her discovery at the 7th International Congress of Hittitology (Çorum, Turkey, 2008). The relevant paper will be published in the Proceedings of this congress.

¹⁶ Giuseppe F. del Monte and Johann Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes VI (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1978), p. 455. See also the map in H. Craig Melchert (ed.), *The Luwians*, p. 37.

¹⁷ Del Monte and Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, p. 293.

monopoly of Assyrian merchants, it is likely that this geographic term refers here to Assyria or Mesopotamia as a whole, as opposed to its northwestern periphery.¹⁸ In addition, the text Kt j/k 97, representing a narrative about the exploits of Sargon the Great, mentions *mātam elītam u šaplītam* ‘Upper and Lower Land (acc.)’ as the object of his conquest (l. 65). Since many other toponyms mentioned in this text are located in Asia Minor, one cannot absolutely exclude that Upper Land and Lower Land are used here in their Anatolian sense. It seems, however, much more likely that the two lands refer to the territories adjacent respectively to *tāmtu elītu* ‘Mediterranean Sea’ and *tāmtu šaplītu* ‘Persian Gulf’, and their combination refers to the whole of the Sargonic Empire.¹⁹

Two possibilities emerge from the above discussion. Either the Old Assyrian distinction between Upper Land and Lower Land was adapted in Anatolia with reference to the different, locally relevant regions, or there is no historical connection between the Mesopotamian and Anatolian dichotomies. The geographic designations similar to those under discussion are, of course, quite frequent cross-linguistically: in particular, Jared Miller reminds me about a similar distinction between High Lands and Low Lands in Scotland. An argument against the genetic connection in our case could be the relatively late date of the attestation of Upper Land and Lower Land in Hittite sources. No Hittite texts from the time before the reign of Suppiluliuma I (mid-fourteenth century BCE) mention either KUR UGU-*TI* or KUR *ŠAPLITI*, but the Old Kingdom version of the Hittite Laws draws a distinction between Hatti and Luviya as two separate lands under the Hittite jurisdiction.²⁰ In my doctoral dissertation I have endeavored to present converging evidence from various sources for the identification of Luviya with (part of) the Lower Land. I have hypothesized that this quasi-synonym eclipsed Luviya in the conditions when the old term stopped being descriptive enough, perhaps because new Luvian territories came under the Hittite control or because more Luvians settled in the Hittite core area.²¹ On the other hand, KUR^{URU} *HATTI* came eventually to be used for the whole of the Hittite Empire.

I find it, however, significant that the Upper Land and Lower Land of Hittite sources were always written Sumerographically or Akkadographically in Hittite, to the extent that their Hittite translation remains a matter of conjecture. To be sure, the use of pseudo-Akkadograms (endingless nouns) with reference to Anatolian geographic names in Hittite texts is quite common, but this is a vestige of a situation when Akkadian was the main written language in Asia Minor and Anatolian proper nouns were embedded in Akkadian texts as stem-forms. If the scribes had borrowed the new terms Upper Land and Lower Land from the colloquial Hittite language of the fourteenth century BCE, after the *Verschriftlichung* of Hittite had already taken place, they would have had no motivation

¹⁸ Emin Bilgiç and Cahit Günbattı, *Ankaraner Kültepe-Texte III*, Freiburger Altorientalische Studien, Beiheft 3 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), p. 119.

¹⁹ Cahit Günbattı, “Kültepe’den Akadlı Sargon’a âit bir Tablet,” *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 (1997): 119. For the English edition of Kt j/k 97, cf. Marc Van De Mieroop, “Sargon of Agade and his successors in Anatolia,” *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 42/1 (2000): 146-48.

²⁰ Harry A. Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites: A Critical Edition*, Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 29-32. Note that the identification between Luviya and Arzawa upheld on p. 30 is almost certainly incorrect; for details, see Yakubovich, “Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language”, pp. 131-36.

²¹ Yakubovich, “Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language”, pp. 297-308 and especially pp. 301-302.

to spell them Akkadographically. It stands to reason that they must have had access to some earlier written texts where these toponyms had already been in use. This fact and the close formal similarity between the Assyrian and Hittite toponyms prompt me to view them as genetically related. The precise channels of transmission remain unclear for the moment, but it appears that the refurbished terms Upper Land and Lower Land were introduced from above, as “politically correct” replacements for former Hatti and Luviya.

This, of course, does not mean that once the new use of the term Lower Land was officially sanctioned, it could not gain currency among the local population. Just as the Turks used the word *Anadolu* ‘Anatolia’ (< Gk. Ἀνατολή ‘sunrise, East’) as the name of one of the first two vilayets of the Ottoman Empire, so the Luvian speakers, constituting the bulk of the population of the Central Anatolian Plateau in the Late Bronze Age, could adopt the Hittite name for this region, even without fully understanding its meaning. But how could this name sound in the Hittite language? It is frequently assumed that the heterographic KUR *ŠAPLITI* literally corresponds to Hitt. **katteran udne* “lower country”,²² the expression that in fact occurs in Hittite texts as a designation for the Netherworld.²³ But positive evidence for this identification is not available. The reconstruction of [KU]R *kattirri* ‘Lower Land’ in KUB 26.9 obv. 6, which served as its only philological support,²⁴ fell apart after the join between KUB 26.9 and KBo 50.264 revealed that this sequence should be read *ša-ra-az[-z]i kat-ti-ir-ri-ya* ‘above and below’.²⁵ On the other hand, one may doubt whether the rulers of the Hittite Empire could accept the designation for the Netherworld as a name for a part of their own country.

I suggest that a Hittite term corresponding to KUR *ŠAPLITI* was **katta peda-*, literally “place below”.²⁶ Although this phrase is not directly attested, its grammaticality can be inferred from a similar collocation *istarna peda-* ‘place in the middle, central position’, which has numerous attestations in Hittite texts.²⁷ The same hypothesis implies that a designation for Upper Land could be **sara peda-*, literally “place above”.²⁸ This Hittite collocation is not directly attested either, but its Luvic counterpart may underlie

²² This identification was tentatively suggested for the first time in Albrecht Goetze, “Madduwattaš,” *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft* 32/1 (1927): 120, fn. 1. For its recent affirmations see e.g. J.M.G. Salazar, “Reflexiones sobre los últimos grandes reyes hititas,” *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 38 (2002): 256.

²³ Bo 3617 i 11, edited in Heinrich Otten and Jana Siegelová, “Die hethitischen Gulš-Gottheiten und die Erschaffung der Menschen,” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 23 (1970): 33, 36.

²⁴ Del Monte and Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, p. 455.

²⁵ Heinrich Otten, “Der Anfang der Ḫazannu-Instruction,” *Orientalia* 52 (1983): 134-35.

²⁶ It is worth noting that the western part of the Konya Plain, known to the Greeks as Lycaonia, was probably referred to as KUR ^{URU}*Pedassa* in the Hittite sources (Del Monte and Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, p. 455, H. Craig Melchert, “Prehistory,” in *The Luwians*, ed. H. Craig Melchert, pp. 6-7, and cf. the maps *ibid.* p. 37). This toponym was apparently derived with the productive suffix *-assa* from the same *peda-* ‘place’, but it would be strange if a place-name would literally mean “(belonging to a) place”. Perhaps one should reckon with the possibility of a secondary semantic development ‘place’ > ‘plain’, cf. the cognate Gk. πεδῖον ‘plain’.

²⁷ CHD(P) s.v. *pedan*, f 2’.

²⁸ One has to specify that *sara* and *katta* are predominantly used as directional adverbs in Hittite, while their counterparts *ser* and *kattan* usually have the locative function. Since the form of the toponym Cappadocia is more compatible with the reconstruction **katta peda-* than **kattan peda-*, one should possibly understand “place below” as “place in the downward direction”, the area of Hattusa being the likely orientation point.

the name of Sarpedon, the leader of the Lycians fighting on the Trojan side according to the Iliad.²⁹ It is not quite clear to me whether **sara peda-* and **katta peda-* were the only New Hittite designations for the respective territories or rather colloquial paraphrases of different Hittite terms, which were structurally more similar to KUR UGU-*TI* and KUR *ŠAPLITI*. But if the Hittite toponyms were invented secondarily, on the basis of the pre-existent heterograms, the exact structural isomorphism between the foreign and domestic terms is not expected.

Since the Luvian speakers did not have /e/ in their phonemic inventory, they had to borrow Hitt. *katta(n) peda-*, with certain phonetic modifications. I reconstruct their pronunciation of the Lower Land as **kattapadda-*, or something similar. The first part of this compound would be synchronically opaque in Luvian, while *padda-* presumably represents the regular Luvian cognate of Hitt. *peda-*, with the geminate due to the application of Čop's Law.³⁰ In other words, we are dealing here not with the mechanical adaptation of sounds, in which case one would expect ***kattapida-*, but with the etymological substitution of the second morpheme. An additional possible argument for the morphological transparency of **katta-padda-* "place of *katta-*" is the reconstruction of the derived Luvian adjective **katta-wanni-*, literally "belonging to *katta-*". According to the idea of Emmanuel Laroche,³¹ this adjective underlies the name of Cataonia (Gk. Καταονία), a region on the southeastern periphery of Hellenistic Cappadocia.³² For its structure, Cataonia should be compared with another Hellenistic Anatolian toponym designating a peripheral region of Cappadocia, namely Lycaonia, whose name goes back to **lukka-wanni-*, literally "belonging to the Lukka-tribes".³³ It is, however, unlikely that those responsible for the creation of **katta-wanni-* could understand the etymological meaning of *katta-* "down", because Cataonia is largely a mountainous area.

The syncopated form **katpadda-* probably came about as a result of a phonetic development within Luvian of the early first millennium BC. The Anatolian hieroglyphic orthography is, unfortunately, rather unhelpful for studying syncope in Iron Age Luvian inscriptions, but this sound change is well attested in the closely related Lycian

²⁹ S.P.B. Durnford, "Is Sarpedon a Bronze Age Anatolian personal name or a job description?" *Anatolian Studies* 58 (2008): 103-13. The author suggests that the reconstructed *sar-pēdan* should be taken as his title, literally "(one having) high position", but a name referring to the place of its origin ("Mr. Uphill") represents, in my opinion, an equally possible interpretation. To be sure, the Luvic topographic feature that possibly underlies Sarpedon's name need not to be identical to the Upper Land of Hittite sources.

³⁰ The reconstruction of the Iron Age Luvian word for 'place' based on its attestation in Anatolian hieroglyphic orthography is a rather complicated matter, which is given full attention in Elisabeth Rieken and Ilya Yakubovich, "The New Values of Luvian Signs L 319 and L 172," to appear in a forthcoming *Festschrift*. For the present purposes, it is enough to say that the derived Luvic stem **paddant-* 'place' appears to have been irregularly reinterpreted as **palant-* in a different dialect of Luvian but is preserved as *pddē* in Lycian. For Čop's Law in Luvian see H. Craig Melchert, *Anatolian Historical Phonology*, Leiden Studies in Indo-European 3 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), pp. 252-53.

³¹ Cited in De Planhol, "La Cappadoce: formation et transformations d'un concept géographique," p. 28. Laroche's literal translation of this adjective is "qui habite en bas".

³² For the diverging views of ancient scholars on the precise borders of Cataonia, see *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, v. 20, s.v. *Kataonia*.

³³ Wolfgang Jenniges, "Les Lyciens dans l'Iliade: sur les traces de Pandaros," *Quaestiones Homericae: Acta Colloquii Namurcensis habiti diebus 7-9 mensis Septembris anni 1995*, edited by Lambert Isebaert and René Lebrun (Louvain: Peeters, 1998) p. 41 with ref.

language.³⁴ The more distantly related Lydian even shows the syncopated form of the prefix under discussion, *kat-* < **katta-* ‘down’.³⁵ Given that syncope in unstressed open syllables is also attested in Luvic names from Cilicia preserved in Greek transmission,³⁶ this trivial sound change appears to represent an areal phenomenon that spread across all of the first-millennium Anatolian dialects.

Finally, the Luvian compound was borrowed into Old Iranian as **Katpad-uk-a-* or *Katpat-uk-a-*, where *-uk-* is a well-known Iranian suffix, productive with proper nouns. Although it is booked as “hypocoristic” in the recent literature,³⁷ one of its likely original functions was the formation of quasi-adjectival derivatives meaning ‘related to X’, ‘having X’ or ‘containing X’.³⁸ Just as the femal noun *Arjukā*, like its male counterpart *Arjaka-* literally meant “having **arjah-/value*”, i.e. “valuable”,³⁹ so the province name *Katpatuka-* could literally mean “containing (the region of) Katpadda”. The variation between **Katpaduka-* (borrowed in Greek as Καππαδοκία) and OPers. *Katpatuka-* may reflect two different phonetic adaptations of the voiced geminate **-dd-* to Old Iranian. As an alternative, one could hypothesize that **Katpaduka-* was the original name of a Median province, while the variant *Katpatuka-* is due to an irregular voicing assimilation in Old Persian.⁴⁰ The geographic distance between Cappadocia and Persis/Fars and the artificial character of the dialect of Achaemenid royal inscriptions increase the chance of imperfect phonetic transmission in this case. Irregular dissimilation in Gk. Καππαδοκία is, in my opinion, much less likely.

I have tried to demonstrate that the etymology of Cappadocia cannot be approached without taking into consideration the complex ethnic history of Asia Minor. At the same time, one has to appreciate toponymic continuity in this region across time. The Hittites were the first to apply the term Lower Land to the Central Anatolian Plateau, but they might have ultimately hearkened back to the Assyrian geographic terminology. The Luvians, who constituted the majority of the population of Central Anatolia, took over this term from the culturally dominant Hittite language, although they understood it only partially. The toponym persisted over the centuries of Luvian linguistic dominance

³⁴ Melchert, *Anatolian Historical Phonology*, pp. 318-21. For an isolated example of a syncope that can be traced back to Iron Age Luvian but not to Bronze Age Luvian see Ilya Yakubovich, “The Luvian Enemy,” *Kadmos* 47 (2009): 17.

³⁵ Roberto Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1964), p. 145.

³⁶ Cf. e.g. the Cilician compounds Πωνδερρας < **Runt(iy)a-tabara-*, Πωνδβης < **Runt(iy)a-piya-*, and Πωνδερβειμς < **Runt(iy)a-tarpami-* vs. the simplex Πωνδας < **Runt(iy)a-* (Lászlav Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague: Tschechoslowakische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1964), § 1339).

³⁷ Rüdiger Schmitt, “Die Kosenamensuffixe *-ina* und *-uka*”, contributed to *Onomastica Persepolitana* by Manfred Mayrhofer (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973), pp. 287-98, Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period*, p. 573.

³⁸ Grantovskij, Edwin A., *Ranniaja istorija iranskikh plemen perednej Azii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1970), p. 265, cf. *ibid.* p. 262.

³⁹ For citations of the respective forms, see Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period*, p. 113, but their analysis is mine. The *-uk-* suffix, in my opinion, need not be separated from the *-ak-* and *-ik-* suffixes, which formed both diminutives and quasi-adjectival derivatives in Old Iranian. This is not to deny that the first suffix came to be particularly frequently used for deriving abridged (“hypocoristic”) forms of compound personal names.

⁴⁰ The name of Katpatuka is also attested in Elamite, Babylonian, and Egyptian transmission, but none of these three orthographies is conducive to discriminating between the pronunciations /katpatuka-/ and /katpaduka-/. For attestations, see Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period*, p. 94.

in the region, and eventually passed over to the invading Iranians, who used it as a derivational base for the name of their administrative unit. Finally, the name of an Achaemenid satrapy was taken over by the Greeks, who eventually became the new masters of Asia Minor and applied it to an independent Hellenistic kingdom of Cappadocia. Once we accept this sociolinguistic scenario, the unproblematic formal solution lies at hand.