

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.

ARAMAEANS IN BABYLONIA

The known history of the Aramaeans around Babylonia from the 11th to the 7th century B.C. falls roughly into four phases¹. The first phase, which lasted until about the second half of the 10th century, shows the Aramaean nomads as raiders, active chiefly in the north, while the Chaldaeans were settling around the swamps in the south of the country. In the second phase, covering most of the 9th century, we find Babylonians, Chaldaeans, and Aramaeans allied against the Assyrians. The Chaldaeans are then settled along the Euphrates and in the Sealand, while North-Arabian tribes begin to filter gradually into Babylonia from the west. The third phase, corresponding to the first half of the 8th century, shows some of the Aramaean and North-Arabian tribes beginning to settle down in Babylonia. The major tribal areas lay then along the banks of the contemporary Euphrates and in the marshy territories on both sides of the Lower Tigris. In the fourth phase, the Aramaeans and North-Arabians are seen fighting or revolting against the Assyrians, generally as allies of the Chaldaeans and of the Elamites. The Assyrian policies initiated by Tiglath-pileser III in 745 and consisting in conquest, deportation, and annexation of territories, did not have lasting effects on these tribes.

1. 11TH-9TH CENTURIES B.C.

The Aramaean presence is recorded in Babylonia for the first time in the 11th century B.C. The Aramaeans appear then with the Suteans as invaders despoiling Babylonian cities under the reign of Adad-apla-iddina (1068-1047 B.C.). Although scholars once thought that this king was an Aramaean usurper, this has recently been shown not to have been the case: this longstanding opinion was the result of an erroneous division of the text in the so-called Synchronistic History². In reality,

¹ Cf. BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 280-281.

² The rectification was prompted by the publication of the new fragment BM. 27796 of a Babylonian Chronicle and by the collation of BM. 27859, both by C.B.F. WALKER, *Babylonian Chronicle 25: A Chronicle of the Kassite and Isin II Dynasties*, in G. VAN DRIEL -

“Adad-apla-iddina, son of Esaggil-šadūni, son of a nobody”, has been appointed by the Assyrian king Ashur-bēl-kala (1073-1056 B.C.) as successor of Marduk-šāpik-zēri (1081-1069 B.C.). Ashur-bēl-kala then married the daughter of the new ruler of Babylonia³, thus joining the people of the two lands in front of the Aramaean danger. In two Babylonian chronicles, Adad-apla-iddina is presented instead as son of Itti-Marduk-balātu. If the latter is the second king of the Second Dynasty of Isin, who ruled from 1139 to 1132 B.C., he might have been the ancestor of Adad-apla-iddina by a collateral line⁴. This linkage was possibly required by the circumstances, since Adad-apla-iddina’s legitimacy has been questioned by an usurper who was helped by Aramaeans, as stated in the Synchronistic History: “Adad-apla-iddina, son (i.e. descendant) of Itti-Marduk-balātu: the Aramaeans and a usurper king (^{kur}A-ra-mu u šarru ḥammā’u) rebelled against him”, desecrated the sanctuaries of the land, and “overthrew all the cities: Akkad, Dēr, Duranki (Nippur), Sippar, and Parsa (Dūr-Kurigalzu). The Suteans arose and took the spoils of Sumer and Akkad to their land”⁵.

The same events are recorded in an inscription of Simbar-Šihu, king of Babylon from 1025 to 1008 B.C.: “During the reign of Adad-apla-iddina, king of Babylon, hostile Aramaeans and Suteans, enemies of Ekur and Nippur, who desecrated Duranki, upset the cultic rites of the gods, plundered the land of Sumer and Akkad, overthrew all the temples, — the goods, Enlil’s property, which the Aramaeans had carried off but the Subartu (Assyria) had (re)taken at the command of Enlil, ... an Assyrian recognized the goods, Enlil’s property, and brought (it) to Baltil (Ashur). It returned from Baltil to i[ts] place in Duranki (Nippur)”⁶.

It results from the comparison of the two texts that the Aramaeans and the Suteans are no distinguishable groups in the Babylonian texts of this period⁷. It appears also that the Aramaeans (or Suteans), who had plundered Babylonian cities under the reign of Adad-apla-iddina, were coming from the north or the northwest, and did not remain in Babylonia,

Th. J.H. KRISPIJN - M. STOL - K. R. VEENHOF (eds.), *Zikir šumim*, Leiden 1982, p. 398-417 (see p. 414-415).

³ A.K. GRAYSON, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (TCS 5), Locust Valley 1975, p. 165, No. 21, II, 31’-37’; cf. C.B.F. WALKER, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 399-402.

⁴ *RIMB* II, p. 50.

⁵ A. K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 180-181, No. 24, 8-11, read according to C.B.F. WALKER, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 416, where the collated text of BM. 27859 is given in transliteration.

⁶ *RIMB* II, text B.3.1.1, p. 73, lines 10-19.

⁷ Thus BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 285; M. HELTZER, *The Suteans*, Naples 1981, p. 90-93.

since it is an Assyrian who managed to recuperate a part of the booty and brought it to Ashur before giving it back to the temple of Nippur. Also in a very fragmentary inscription of Ashur-bēl-kala (1073-1056 B.C.), the Suteans appear next to the Aramaeans in the area of the Middle Euphrates and of the Syrian steppe⁸. The correctness of this historical framework is confirmed by a further text, a stone inscription of Nabū-apla-iddina, who was king of Babylon some two centuries later, *ca.* 886-855 B.C. Although other Aramaean attacks of the sort described by Adad-apla-iddina and Simbar-Šihu may have occurred, the devastating was over by the mid-11th century, and the hostile Aramaean activity around Babylon and Borsippa during the reign of Nabū-mukīn-apli (*ca.* 978-943 B.C.) could not be compared with the events of the mid-11th century. Thus, at the time of Nabū-mukīn-apli, the Aramaeans have seized the Euphrates crossing at Kār-bēl-mātāti, near Babylon, and have prevented the ritual journeys of the statues of Nabū and Marduk for the New Year's festival⁹.

Despite these minor disturbances, the kudurru inscription of Nabū-apla-iddina¹⁰ refers again to the events of the 11th century, when the Suteans had invaded the land, and it explains how the rites of Šamaš at Sippar were then halted. Although Simbar-Šihu had partially restored them, it was only Nabū-apla-iddina who was supposed to have fully made good the damage. Thus, he regards himself as the avenger of these raids: "the overthrower of the wicked enemy, the Sutean, whose sin was great, the one to whom the great lord Marduk entrusted the righteous sceptre, the shepherding of the peoples, to avenge Akkad, to make the cities habitable, to found shrines, to carve reliefs, to put in perfect order the sacred offices and rites, to establish the regular offerings, and to multiply freewill offerings"¹¹. The particular emphasis on Sippar, the holy city of the Sun-god, is justified by the fact that the kudurru is the record of Nabū-apla-iddina's endowment of the Ebabbar temple at Sippar.

⁸ RIMA II, text A.0.89.6, p. 98, lines 6'-15'.

⁹ A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 137, No. 17, III, 4-10. The abbreviated references in the Chronicle, *ibid.*, p. 138, No. 17, III, 13-15, may refer to similar disturbances.

¹⁰ L.W. KING, *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum*, London 1912, No. XXXVI, p. 120-127. French translation by R. LABAT, in *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique*, Paris 1970, p. 115-116. See also W.G. LAMBERT, in *AfO* 18 (1957-58), p. 398; M. HELTZER, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 92-93. There is no reason whatsoever to suppose that "Suteans" is a cover for "Assyrians", as suggested in RIMB II, p. 102.

¹¹ Translation by W.G. LAMBERT, *loc. cit.* (n. 10).

Also a Babylonian literary work, the Erra Epos, refers to these events, especially in Tabl. IV, 50-74 and V, 25-27¹². It uses the literary and archaic term "Sutaeans" to designate the invaders who had destroyed Sippar, Uruk, Parsa (Dūr-Kurigalzu), and Dēr, and it can probably be dated from the very reign of Nabū-apla-iddina, whose kudurru inscription "shows exactly the same philosophy to current affairs as the Erra Epic"¹³. L. Cagni deduces from the mention of "Sutaeans and Sutean women darting dirges (*iarurāti*)" at Eanna, the great temple of Uruk (Tabl. IV, 54), that the invasion was a tribal migration and not a simple raid of plunderers¹⁴. However, the poetical nature of the Epic does not favour such historical deductions, unless its author, a certain Kabti-ilāni-Marduk, son of Dabībi (Tabl. V, 42), was under the impression of Aramaean migratory movements in his own time, probably in the first half of the 9th century B.C.

This is, in fact, the period when still nomadic or seminomadic Aramaean tribes, repelled by the armies of Ashur-dan II (934-912 B.C.), Adad-nirari II (911-891 B.C.), and Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884 B.C.) from the heartland of Assyria, on the Middle Tigris, had started moving southwards. Immediately after his enthronement, Ashur-dan II successfully fought against near-by Aramaean tribes, south of the city of Ashur. In his accession year and in his first regnal year (911 B.C.)¹⁵, he repelled an attack by the troops of the Aramaean ^{kur}*Ia-ú-sa-a-ia* tribesmen (**Ya'ūš*), who had come upstream, and then he plundered their settlements, including the city Ekal-pī-nāri, which might be located at the confluence of the Lesser Zab and of the Tigris¹⁶, as its name "Palace at the mouth of the river" would suggest. He slaughtered the survivors and burnt the Aramaean villages with their inhabitants. The second campaign,

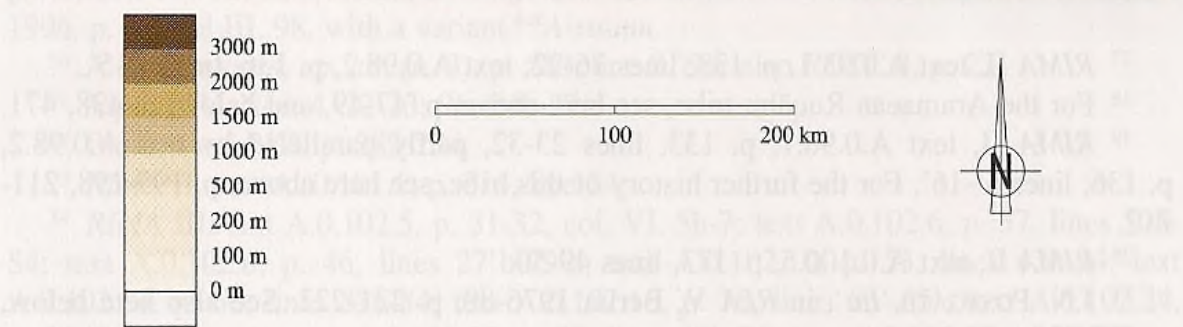
¹² The most recent edition is that by L. CAGNI, *L'épopée de Erra* (Studi semitici 34), Roma 1969; ID., *The Poem of Erra*, Malibu 1977.

¹³ W.G. LAMBERT, in *AfO* 18 (1957-58), p. 398-400; cf. L. CAGNI, *L'épopée de Erra*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 33-34; R. LABAT, *loc. cit.* (n. 10); M. HELTZER, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 93-94. For other historical allusions in the Epic and the divergent opinions concerning its date, see D.O. EDZARD, *Irri (Erra)-Epos*, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-80, p. 166-170, especially p. 168-169.

¹⁴ L. CAGNI, *L'épopée de Erra*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 33-34 and 232.

¹⁵ *RIMA* II, text A.0.98.1, p. 132-133, lines 6-15.

¹⁶ E. FORRER, in *RLA* I, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, p. 291a, suggests identifying the site with Tell Besan, 80 km northwest of Mosul, but the following campaigns point to an area south of Ashur. For some incomprehensible reason, E. WEIDNER, *Die Annalen des Königs Aššurdān II. von Assyrien*, in *AfO* 3 (1926), p. 151-161, especially p. 153, n. 10, 15, and ID., in *RLA* I, p. 209b, followed by D.O. EDZARD, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-80, p. 273, locates the Aramaean tribe in the area of Carchemish.



16. Babylonia and environs.

in 910 B.C., was aimed at regaining Assyrian territory which the Aramaeans had seized in the reign of Shalmaneser II (1030-1019 B.C.)¹⁷. The name of the Aramaean tribe is lost in the first line of the section, but its end mentions ^{kur}*Ru-qa-hu* and the Zab river, certainly the Lesser Zab. The verb is missing in the sentence, however, so one cannot say why the land of Ruqāhu is mentioned in this context¹⁸.

In his third campaign, in 909 B.C., Ashur-dan II attacked and annexed the territory of the Aramaean tribe Yaḥan¹⁹, in the triangle formed by the Tigris, the Ġebel Ḥamrīn, and the Al-‘Aḍaim river (Nahr al-‘Uḏaym). In 885, Tukulti-Ninurta II intervened in the same area against the Aramaean ‘Utū’ or ‘Itū’ tribe which he claims to have massacred²⁰, but this success was at least ephemeral, since the tribe is well attested in the following periods²¹ and provided special military units for the Assyrian army at the time of the Sargonids.

As we know from Assyrian annalistic texts and from the Synchronistic History, Adad-nirari II (911-891 B.C.) led at least two campaigns against Babylonia, in the area east of the Tigris where he claims to have conquered Laḥīru and Dēr²², but without mentioning the Aramaeans in this connection, although their presence in this region is well attested in a later period. The boundary agreed upon between Assyria and Babylonia at the end of the second of these conflicts, at the time of Nabū-šum-ukīn²³, suggests that Assyria finally lost ground, thus leaving a relatively open field to Aramaean tribesmen in the Diyāla region and beyond.

In fact, Aramaean and also Arab tribes, as we shall see, must have occupied territories in this area and probably south of the Diyāla river in the course of the 9th century B.C. This would explain why a “land of the Aramaeans” (^{kur}*A-ṛa⁷¹-mi*) seems to be mentioned in an inscription of Marduk-zākir-šumi I²⁴, king of Babylon sometime between 851 and 824 B.C., and why Aramaeans are named in Assyrian texts as allies of Marduk-balāssu-iqbi, king of Babylon between 823 and 813, who in 814 opposed an Assyrian invasion by Shamshi-Adad V (823-811 B.C.) at

¹⁷ *RIMA* II, text A.0.98.1, p. 133, lines 16-22; text A.0.98.2, p. 136, lines 1’-5’.

¹⁸ For the Aramaean Ruqāhu tribe, see here above, p. 47-49, and below, p. 438, 471.

¹⁹ *RIMA* II, text A.0.98.1, p. 133, lines 23-32, partly paralleled by text A.0.98.2, p. 136, lines 6’-16’. For the further history of this tribe, see here above, p. 195-198, 211-212.

²⁰ *RIMA* II, text A.0.100.5, p. 173, lines 49-50.

²¹ J.N. POSTGATE, *Iṭu’*, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-80, p. 221-222. See also here below, p. 437-438.

²² *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.2, p. 148, lines 26-29.

²³ A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 166-167, No. 21, III, 9-21. Cf. *RIMB* II, p. 100-101.

²⁴ *RIMB* II, text B.6.7.2, p. 106, r. 6’.

Dūr-Papsukkal²⁵, near the place where the Diyāla river flows through the Ġebel Ḥamrīn. Also later texts, from the mid-8th and 7th centuries, refer to an area in southeastern Babylonia which is called ^{lú}Bīt A-ram²⁶, or simply ^{lú}A-ram²⁷, A-ram²⁸, and ^{kur}A-ra-mu²⁹ or ^{kur}A-ra-mu-u³⁰. This appellation refers to the area in which Aramaeans dwelt and not to an organized state. In texts from Nippur, this territory is distinguished from the Nippur area³¹ and it was most likely situated to the east of this city.

J.A. Brinkman had proposed three different explanations for the Aramaean penetration in the area east of the Tigris, between Babylonia and Elam³²: a slow Aramaization of an ancient Amorite population; an Aramaean-Sutaeen invasion in the 11th century B.C.; an Aramaean immigration in the course of the 8th century B.C. In the light of the adduced evidence, the third explanation seems to be correct, but the beginnings of this Aramaean immigration should be updated to the 9th century B.C. Now, this is the period when the presence of the Chaldaeans in southern Babylonia is alluded to for the first time in Assyrian sources: the annalist reports that Ashurnasirpal II's reputed prowess caused fear even in the distant *māt Kaldu*³³. A generation later, in 850 B.C., Shalmaneser III encounters the three principal tribes of *māt Kaldi*: Bīt-Dakkūri, Bīt-Amukkāni, and Bīt-Yākīn³⁴. Then, in 814 B.C., the Chaldaeans help Marduk-balāssu-iqbi, who was fighting against the troops of Shamshi-Adad V near Dūr-Papsukkal, and they appear there as an independent ally of Babylonia, distinct from the Aramaeans who aided the Babylonian army

²⁵ RIMA III, text A.0.103.1, p. 188, lines 37-45; cf. A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 168, No. 21, III, 6'-9'.

²⁶ Nippur IV, No. 104, 5.

²⁷ Nippur IV, No. 96, 25.

²⁸ Nippur IV, No. 4, 23.

²⁹ ABL 1115 = SLA 27, 9; M. STRECK, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh's* (VAB 7), Leipzig 1916, vol. II, p. 30, col. III, 98; p. 40, col. IV, 98; R. BORGER, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, Wiesbaden 1996, p. 40, col. III, 98, with a variant ^{kur}A-ru-mu.

³⁰ A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 180, line 8. See also RGTC 8, p. 27.

³¹ Nippur IV, Nos. 4, 22-23; 96, 24b-27a.

³² BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 282-284.

³³ RIMA II, text A. 0.101.1, p. 214, line 24.

³⁴ RIMA III, text A.0.102.5, p. 31-32, col. VI, 5b-7; text A.0.102.6, p. 37, lines 50b-54; text A.0.102.8, p. 46, lines 27'b-29'a; text A.0.102.10, p. 53, lines 42b-44; text A.0.102.14, p. 66, lines 83b-84; text A.0.102.16, p. 76, lines 63'-65'; text A.0.102.24, p. 96, lines 12b-14a; text A.0.102.25, p. 98, lines 19b-20; text A.0.102.27, p. 101, lines 4b-5; text A.0.102.29, p. 106, lines 46-48; text A.0.102.30, p. 108, lines 30-31; text A.0.102.32, p. 110, line 10b; text A.0.102.59, p. 138, line 47; text A.0.102.61, p. 139; text A.0.102.79, p. 146; text A.0.102.85, p. 148. Cf. BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 197-199.

as well³⁵. From that time on, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Hebrew texts clearly distinguish the terms “Aramaeans” and “Chaldaeans”³⁶.

2. THE CHALDAEANS

The distinction between Aramaeans and Chaldaeans, maintained throughout the ancient sources, raises the question of the nature of this distinction. Namely, is it based on ethno-linguistic factors or purely cultural and social-economic³⁷? In other words, are the Chaldaeans a subdivision of the Aramaeans, distinguished from the so-called “Aramaeans” of Babylonia because of their social-economic and cultural development, or do they belong to another Westsemitic branch?

Tribal organization and structure are a first clue: “Each Chaldean tribe is referred to as the ‘House of PN’ (*Bīt-PN*), with the PN standing for the name of the eponymous ancestor; and each tribe seems to have been governed by a single ruler. For members of the tribe, tribal affiliation was usually indicated in the form PN ‘son’ of PN², with PN² standing for the eponymous tribal ancestor rather than the person’s real father”³⁸. This is exactly the situation encountered among the Aramaeans of Upper Mesopotamia and of Syria³⁹. Instead, the so-called “Aramaeans” tribe of Babylonia, “which was not designated as a unified ‘House’, was sometimes fragmented into several segments acting under individual leaders, and had the tribal affiliation of its members indicated by a gentilic adjective rather than by supposed ‘descent’”⁴⁰. One could add that the name of many tribes is formed by the “broken” plural of a noun or an adjective, which is often derived from an occupation, such as Warrior, Herdsman,

³⁵ Cf. here above, p. 415, n. 25. See also BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 207-209.

³⁶ In particular, the biblical genealogy of Gen. 22, 21-22 distinguishes Aram and Keśed, and a similar distinction occurred in Gen. 10, 23 and I Chron. 1, 17, where *’rp* (Arabs) and *kśd* (Chaldaeans) have been joined together and thus created the artificial name of Arpakshad; cf. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Les Sémites selon Gen 10, 21-30 et 1 Chr 1, 17-23*, in *ZAH* 6 (1993), p. 193-215 (see p. 193-194).

³⁷ The question was raised clearly by R. ZADOK, *Zur Geographie Babylonien während des sargonidischen, chaldäischen, achämenidischen und hellenistischen Zeitalters*, in *WO* 16 (1985), p. 19-79 (see p. 54).

³⁸ J.A. BRINKMAN, *Notes on Arameans and Chaldeans in Southern Babylonia in the Early Seventh Century B.C.*, in *Or* 46 (1977), p. 304-325, quotation from p. 306. See also BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 264-265 and 273, n. 1762.

³⁹ See here above, p. 78, 107, 119, 128, 161, 185, etc.

⁴⁰ J.A. BRINKMAN, *art. cit.* (n. 38), p. 307. Cf. also BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 273 with n. 1762.



The monumental lion of Babylon.

Camelherd, Wanderer, Shepherd, Kneader, or the like. Now, these characteristics occur in tribal names of modern Bedouin as well, with plurals like Ḥaweytāt, Ḥamā'id, Ġannāmāt, 'Azeyzāt, etc. For example, the Ḥaweytāt pretend that their ancestor was called Ḥaweyt, "guardian", but the Ḥamā'id — a plural of Ḥamīd, "laudable", — believe for some unspecified reason that their ancestor was called Fāḍel⁴¹. As for the Ġannāmāt, they are simply "shepherds", and the 'Azeyzāt have 'Azīz as eponymous ancestor, i.e. the "powerful" or "noble" man. This comparison of the South-Babylonian usage with the expression of tribal affiliation among bedouin Arabs is pertinent, especially when we consider that the majority of the so-called "Aramaeans" tribes of southern and southeastern Babylonia are demonstrably of Arab descent, as we shall see below. They were all called "Aramaeans" because their way of life was similar to that of better known Aramaean seminomads: they did not reside in large cities of their own, were roaming with their flocks between winter and summer grazing places, and appear often as members of raiding parties. The distinction between these "Aramaeans" and the "Chaldaeans" seems therefore to have been basically cultural and social-economic. The question whether the Chaldaeans themselves were Aramaeans or not must be answered by analyzing their names, especially the

⁴¹ Cf. A. JAUSSEN, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1908, p. 108-116.

names of their tribes and clans, and by attempting to determine the language that they were using among themselves. Since there are no texts preserved in the "Chaldaean" language, only non-Akkadian words and phrases in Assyro-Babylonian letters written by Chaldaeans can give a clue in this matter.

Semitic personal and tribal names generally have an intelligible meaning and they can be related to a determined language if they do not belong to the common Semitic onomastics. This may not be the case, when a group is named after a region bearing a pre-Semitic name, but this situation occurs rarely with nomadic or seminomadic tribes which are usually called by the name of an eponymous ancestor or by a collective name qualifying the tribesmen as "lions", "shepherds", etc. Unfortunately, there is no extensive corpus of Chaldaean personal names and most of these names are Assyro-Babylonian⁴². R. Zadok has shown that the other names — about a dozen — are either exclusively Aramaic or can be explained as Aramaic⁴³.

As for the term "Chaldaean" itself, it is a derivative of the root *kšd*⁴⁴, which is not operative in any known Aramaic dialect, except the one used in the Plaster text from Deir 'Allā (Jordan), dated *ca.* 800 B.C.⁴⁵, where *kšd* appears on Fragment IVq, but in a broken context⁴⁶. Besides, there is the particular use of *kašdīm* in Job 1, 17, where this word designates the raiders who carried Job's camels off. This occurrence of *kašdīm*, not related to Babylonia, may go back to an Aramaic common noun, like the one in the Deir 'Allā text. Such an interpretation cannot be excluded, since Ez. 14, 14.20 testifies to the existence of an ancient Job tradition which formed the basis of the biblical book. Moreover, ancient translators did not recognize the Chaldaeans of Babylonia in the *kašdīm* of Job 1, 17: the Greek Septuagint version translates *kašdīm* by ἵππεῖς, "horsemen", and the Testament of Job, preserved in Greek, replaces the *kašdīm* by the king of Persia who besieged Job's city⁴⁷. It is quite possible therefore that *kašdīm* meant "raiders" or the like, probably cameleers transformed into horsemen by the Septuagint, and this nuance is quite

⁴² BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 265-266.

⁴³ R. ZADOK, *art. cit.* (n. 37), p. 53-54.

⁴⁴ R.C. STEINER, *The Case for Fricative-Laterals in Proto-Semitic* (AOS 59), New Haven 1977, p. 137-143; E. LIPÍŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 36), p. 193.

⁴⁵ SAIO II, p. 104-110.

⁴⁶ Cf. J. HOFTIJZER - G. VAN DER KOOIJ, *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla* (Documenta et monumenta Orientis Antiqui 19), Leiden 1976, p. 259.

⁴⁷ Text edition by S.P. BROCK, *Testamentum Iobi*, in *Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece* II, Leiden 1967.

close to the meaning of the Assyro-Babylonian verb *kašādu*, “to reach, to conquer”. The account in Job 1, 17 uses a word preserved in Šafaitic anthroponomy (*Ks²d*, *Ks²dy*), it must be based on experience and, as such, recalls the raid imputed in a Babylonian letter from the mid-8th century to ‘Ubūlu tribesmen, accused of having stolen the dromedaries of some Urukians⁴⁸. “Raiders” may have been the original meaning of the name “Chaldaeans” as well, seen as a positive quality by the foraying tribesmen.

As for the names of the Chaldaean tribes, they are all Westsemitic or, more precisely, Aramaic. Five Chaldaean tribes are recorded in ancient sources:

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. Bīt-Dakkūr(i), | living southeast of Borsippa; |
| 2. Bīt-Amukkān(i), | in the area to the north of Uruk; |
| 3. Bīt-Yākīn, | around Ur and in the marches to the east; |
| 4. Bīt-Ša’alli, | near the Persian Gulf; |
| 5. Bīt-Sillān(i), | to the east of Bīt-Dakkūr(i). |

The word *Bīt*, “house”, is followed in each case by the proper name of the eponymous ancestor. *Dakkūr*⁴⁹, “male”, is a typically Aramaic name, which entered the Hebrew anthroponomy as *Zakkūr* in a later period⁵⁰, under Aramaic influence, and it can be distinguished from the corresponding Arabic name *Dākir* or *Dakar*. *Amukkān*, which was pronounced *Awukkān* in the Neo-Babylonian period⁵¹, goes back to ‘*Amuqān*⁵², an adjectival formation meaning “(the man) of the Lowland” or “Valley” (‘*Amuq*), obviously the region near the outlet of the Euphrates and of the

⁴⁸ *Nippur* IV, No. 32. For the Šafaitic anthroponomy, see HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 500, s.v. *KŠD* and *KŠDY*.

⁴⁹ An unambiguous writing of the double *k* is attested in *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.6, p. 37, line 52. Cf. E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 36), p. 197.

⁵⁰ All the biblical attestations of the name occur in texts that are posterior to 500 B.C.: Numb. 13, 4; Ezra 8, 14; Neh. 3, 2; 10, 13; 12, 35; I Chron. 4, 26; 24, 27; 25, 2.10.

⁵¹ This is indicated clearly by the spelling *Byt ’wkn* in the Ashur ostrakon, lines 4, 5, 9, 13, 15 (*KAI* 233 = *TSSI* II, 20). The transcription *Bīt-Awkānu*, adopted by R. ZADOK, *art. cit.* (n. 37), especially p. 52, omits the *u* which is written in cuneiform and is generally required in Neo-Babylonian to explain the intervocalic change *m* > *w*; cf. *GAG*, p. 31-32, § 31d; LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 11.8. The presence of this *u* is confirmed by the name of the Antakya plain, called ‘Αμύκης πεδίων by POLYBIUS, *History* V, 59, 10; etc.

⁵² E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 36), p. 193. The spelling ^{kur}É-^mE-muk-ka-ni with initial *e* < ‘*a* and double *kk* = *q*, attested by the Tang-i Var (Iran) inscription of Sargon II, confirms this explanation; cf. G. FRAME, *The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var*, in *Or* 68 (1999), p. 31-57 and Pl. I-XVIII, line 34. The spelling with double *kk* occurs also in *ABL* 258 = *SLA* 74, 10 and r. 3, a letter sent by Nabū-ušallim of Bīt-Dakkūri. It still indicates the original emphatic *q*, that probably stands also behind the sign MUG of other letters.

Tigris. *Yākīn*⁵³ is a shortened Westsemitic name of the type **Yākīn-'Il*, "God will make firm". *Ša'alli* is probably the abridged Aramaic name *Ša'alti(-'Il)*⁵⁴ with an assimilation *-lti* > *-lli* under the influence of the final *l*: "I have asked God". As for *Sillān*, the full correct form of which appears now as *A-šil-a-ni /'Aṭillān/* in Sargon II's inscription at Tang-i Var⁵⁵, it must be a derivative in *-ān* from *'aṭīl*, "highborn", "of noble descent", according to the meaning of this word in Arabic. Although this connotation does not occur in Aramaic, the root *'tl* is attested in Neo-Aramaic and in Classical Syriac, e.g. in Revelation 2, 10: "I will award you the crown of life". The name of the Chaldaean tribe can thus be considered as Aramaic. Besides, the eponymous ancestor of the clan Bīt-'Adini from the time of Shalmaneser V and of Sennacherib⁵⁶ bears the same name as the eponym of the northwestern Aramaean tribe of Bēt-'Adini⁵⁷. Also the Chaldaean towns *Dūr-(ša-)^mLadīni*, once upon a time capital of Bīt-Dakkūri⁵⁸, and *Dūr-^mTa-ni-e* in the Bīt-Ša'alli⁵⁹ contain personal names which are Aramaic⁶⁰.

The Ashur ostrakon sent *ca.* 652 B.C. from Uruk, which was an important city closely linked with the Chaldaean tribe of Bīt-Amukkāni, shows that Aramaic was the language used between people dwelling in this region⁶¹. In fact, the letter was sent by Bēl-ēṭir to "his brother" Pir'-Amurri, who had gone from Uruk to Ashur. Both were probably native from Chaldaea, although also Bēl-ēṭir had been previously in Ashur, apparently with a message for king Ashurbanipal from Nabū-ušabši, governor of Uruk⁶². It does not look as an accident either that the earliest

⁵³ The plene writings *^mla-a-ki-ni/kin₇* of the first syllable (PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 84-85; *RGTC* 8, p. 93 and 122, s.v. Dūr-Jakīni) clearly indicate that the verbal form is an imperfect haf'el of *kūn*, divided for some unspecified reasons between two roots in *DNWSI*, p. 493-495.

⁵⁴ *APN*, p. 189b; *ZADOK*, *WSB*, p. 84 and 243.

⁵⁵ Line 34 in G. FRAME, *art. cit.* (n. 52). An unambiguous writing of the double *l* is attested in *Sennacherib*, p. 181, line 47: *^lūBīt-^mšil-la-na*, whereas the transliteration on p. 43 must be corrected. The long *ā* is clearly indicated in earlier references (PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 89-90), especially in all Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions (*Tigl. III*, p. 296, index). The addition of the affirmative *-ān* explains the shortening of the vowel *ī* of *'aṭīl* and the gemination of *l*.

⁵⁶ *KAI* 233 = *TSSI* II, 20, 15; *Sennacherib*, p. 43, line 47.

⁵⁷ See here above, p. 163.

⁵⁸ R. ZADOK, *art. cit.* (n. 37), p. 54-55.

⁵⁹ *Sennacherib*, p. 54, line 40.

⁶⁰ For *Ladīnu*, see here below *'Ammu-ladīn*, p. 480-481. For *Tanīye*, see here below, p. 471-472.

⁶¹ *KAI* 233 = *TSSI* II, 20.

⁶² Cf. M. DIETRICH, *Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit (700-648)* (AOAT 7), Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970, p. 177 with n. 2.

known Aramaic epigraph on a Babylonian tablet dates probably from the reign of (Nabū-)Mukīn-zēri (731-729 B.C.)⁶³, a chief of Bīt-Amukkāni who had seized the throne of Babylon. More importantly, Aramaic words and grammatical forms occur in letters sent by Chaldaeans to Nineveh. For example, Nabū-ušallim of Bīt-Dakkūri calls ^{lú}*ba-ši-ḥi* the people dwelling in the swamps⁶⁴. This word is an Aramaic passive participle *bašī*‘, literally meaning “cut off”, “split off”⁶⁵, but it apparently had political connotations, since the letter describes those people as a group of Bīt-Dakkūri that had broken away from the tribe at the time of an earlier leader, Shamash-ibni. An example of Aramaic plural is encountered in the word *ḥi-ṭu-a-ta*⁶⁶, “sins”, “blames”, which occurs in a letter sent from Chaldaea and concerning Hīnnumu, governor of Uruk during the early 7th century, at least from the year 700 B.C. on⁶⁷. The plural of *ḥiṭtu*, that has lost the ending *-tu* and was thus pronounced *ḥiṭī*, is formed like the plural of Aramaic nouns ending in a vowel, for instance *’ās(a)wātā* from *’āsē*, “doctor”⁶⁸. A systematic study of such Aramaisms would certainly strengthen this argument. At any rate, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the Chaldaeans belong to the Aramaean stock of Western Semites.

There is no sure trace of the Chaldaeans before they are settled in southern Babylonia in the early 9th century B.C. However, a Middle Assyrian document, dating probably from the 11th century B.C., mentions a KUR *Kal-da-ie-e*^{meš}⁶⁹, which does not seem to designate southern Babylonia. It is likely therefore that the Chaldaeans came down from the northwest in the obscure period of the 11th/10th centuries, proceeding southwards along the Tigris or the Euphrates, to settle finally along the Lower Euphrates and around the swamps of the Sealand. Although

⁶³ There are only two letters: ‘d/r. The tablet was published by A.T. CLAY, *Babylonian Business Transactions of the First Millennium B.C.* (Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan 1), New York 1912, No. 22. For the approximate dating, cf. R.A. BOWMAN, *Aramaean, Aramaic, and the Bible*, in *JNES* 7 (1948), p. 65-90 (see p. 73-74).

⁶⁴ ABL 258 = SLA 74, 6.

⁶⁵ M. DIETRICH, *op. cit.* (n. 62), 147, n. 5. There is an erroneous explanation in CAD, B, p. 134: “a designation of a social class”.

⁶⁶ ABL 965, 25.

⁶⁷ J.A. BRINKMAN, *art. cit.* (n. 38), p. 311 and 317 (§ 15).

⁶⁸ LIPINSKI, *Semitic*, § 31.18. This subject probably deserves a systematic research.

⁶⁹ H. FREYDANK, *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte* I (VAS 19), Berlin 1976, No. 10, 13. The sign KAL might be read *D/Tan* and *Rib/p* as well; cf. R. ZADOK, *art. cit.* (n. 37), p. 50. See also K. NASHEF, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit* (RGTC 5), Wiesbaden 1982, p. 147.

they appear to be native Aramaeans, they became “Babylonized”, bearing Babylonian names, intervening in Babylonian social and political life, and engaging in agriculture. They maintained, nevertheless, their tribal structure and distinct identity, but they also provided several kings of Babylonia: Erība-Marduk (ca. 773-761 B.C.) and Marduk-apla-iddina II (721-710 and 703 B.C.) of Bīt-Yākīn, Nabū-šum-iškun (ca. 760-748 B.C.) and Mušēzib-Marduk (692-689 B.C.) of Bīt-Dakkūri, and (Nabū)Mukīn-zēri (731-729 B.C.) of Bīt-Amukkāni. These facts show how much the Chaldaean history in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. was linked with the Babylonian history in general⁷⁰, without even mentioning the history of the Chaldaean dynasty of Babylonia in 625-539 B.C. This is why an outline of the Chaldaean history goes beyond the scope of the present work. The far reaching assimilation of the Chaldaeans to the culture and the way of life of the earlier population of southern Mesopotamia and the recorded events of their past make it difficult to distinguish their history from the history of Babylonia.

3. ARAMAEANS AND NORTH-ARABIANS

The Assyro-Babylonian distinction between settled Chaldaeans and seminomadic Aramaeans requires, instead, a further examination of the so-called “Aramaean” tribes of southern and southeastern Babylonia. Since the cuneiform sources say nothing about their origin, while the archaeological evidence is practically absent because impermanent nomadic quarters do not leave traces that are readily identifiable, this question is still obscure. B. Moritz was the first to propose that the so-called “Aramaean” from southern Babylonia came from the Arabian peninsula⁷¹. His opinion was heavily criticized⁷², but the material has

⁷⁰ See J.A. BRINKMAN, *Prelude to Empire: Babylonian Society and Politics, 746-626 B.C.*, Philadelphia 1984; G. FRAME, *Babylonia 687-627 B.C.: A Political History*, Leiden 1992; St.W. COLE, *Nippur in Late Assyrian Times: c. 755-612 BC* (State Archives of Assyria Studies 4), Helsinki 1996, p. 30-34.

⁷¹ B. MORITZ, *Die Nationalität der Aramu-Stämme in Südost-Babylonien*, in *Oriental Studies published in commemoration of the Fortieth Anniversary of Paul Haupt*, Baltimore-Leipzig 1926, p. 184-211.

⁷² T.W. ROSMARIN, *Aribi und Arabien in den babylonisch-assyrischen Quellen*, in *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 16 (1932), p. 1-23 (see p. 2-3); F. ROSENTHAL, *Die aramaistische Forschung*, Leiden 1939, p. 11-12; I. EPH'AL, “Arabs” in Babylonia in the 8th Century B.C., in *JAOS* 94 (1974), p. 108-115 (see p. 108-109).

never been properly analyzed. In particular, the North-Arabian onomastics has not been taken seriously into account and the grammatical patterns of the tribal names have not been examined⁷³. Yet, the mixed constitution of the South-Babylonian population was clearly expressed in Sennacherib's annals⁷⁴: ^{lú}Úr-bi (or *Uru₈-bi*) ^{lú}A-ra-mu ^{lú}Kal-du, "Arabs⁷⁵, Aramaeans, Chaldaeans". It must be said, however, that the relative lack of Babylonian documents from the 9th and the first half of the 8th century B.C. seriously hampers the study. Therefore, even isolated texts are important, as the legal document BM. 40548 from the 9th year of king Erība-Marduk (*ca.* 765 B.C.) which will serve here as a test-case. It mentions a certain ^mKa-bi-tu mār ^mLi-ta-mi⁷⁶, whose patronymic seems to be the very name of an "Aramaean" tribe mentioned in Tiglath-pileser III's annals for 745 B.C.⁷⁷. If this is the case, as we believe, and if the name of this tribe is North-Arabian in reality, as we shall argue below⁷⁸, the man in question is an Arab. His name can be read ^mKa-pi-tu and thus be identical with the well attested North-Arabian name *Kfyt*, *Kft*⁷⁹. Two other people mentioned in the same document are presumably North-Arabian as well: ^mHa-as-sa-a-nu and ^mGa-ú-ma-nu⁸⁰, bearers of North-Arabian names *Ḥsn* and *Ġhmn*⁸¹. A third man, the sheikh ^mIl-ti-ḥa-ni⁸², has a name which may be either North-Arabian or

⁷³ ZADOK, *WSB*, p. 185-187, considers most tribal names as toponyms and does not examine their nominal patterns.

⁷⁴ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 39; p. 54, line 52; p. 57, line 12; *Sanherib*, p. 51, line 10.

⁷⁵ The reading ^{lú}Uru₈-bi (var. *Uru₁₃-bi*) would correspond exactly to the Arabic literary "broken" plural 'Urūb, "Arabs", but the pattern *fu'ul*, often abridged to *fu'l*, also forms "broken" plurals, and the form 'Urb(u) is actually attested in the pre-Classical and later language: D. NEIMAN, *Urbi* = "Irregulars" or "Arabs", in *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 60 (1969-70), p. 237-258. E. FRAHM, *Sanherib*, p. 104-105, does not seem to be aware of the fact that *Urbi* is borrowed from Arabic and that it appears only in South Mesopotamia and in Judaea, because these areas had an Arab population. The attempt by I. EPH'AL, *art. cit.* (n. 72), p. 110-111, n. 16, to interpret ^{lú}urbi only as a military term designating a special kind of warriors is not convincing, for "Arabs" may precisely form special military units because of their accoutrements and particular warfare.

⁷⁶ BM. 40548, line 10, quoted by BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 270-271 with n. 1738; p. 280, n. 1821. Cf. W. RÖLLIG, *Li'ta'u*, in *RLA* VII, Berlin 1987-90, p. 33.

⁷⁷ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, line 7; cf. p. 122, line 12; p. 130, line 6; p. 194, line 6; p. 196, line 6. See here below, p. 467-468.

⁷⁸ See here below, p. 467-468.

⁷⁹ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 501 and 502, where *Kft* is probably a monophthongized form of *Kfyt*. One should note however that the scribe of an Aramaic letter, in the 7th century B.C., bears the name ^mKab/Kap-ti-i (*ABL* 872 = *SLA* 195, 8-10).

⁸⁰ BM. 40548, lines 9 and 11; cf. BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 580.

⁸¹ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 189, s.v. *ḤSN* (cf. *ḥasuna*, "to be handsome"), and p. 170, s.v. *JHMN* (cf. *ḡahuma*, "to frown").

⁸² BM. 40548, line 3.

Aramaic. Two other people mentioned in the document bear Aramaic names, namely ^m*Ha-di-ia-a-ni* and ^m*Zab-di-ilu*⁸³. At any rate, such a document, dealing with agricultural land, not only attests the Aramaean and Arab presence in Babylonia, but also shows that these men owned small fields or orchards and participated in the Babylonian cultural and social life by *ca.* 765 B.C., far from being only pillagers, as documents from Sūḫu might suggest in the case of the Tū'mānu and Ḥaṭallū tribesmen that have attacked the territory of Sūḫu *ca.* 775 B.C. and have plundered the land of Laqē about 770 or 760 B.C.⁸⁴.

The overall picture is thus intricate and no global approach will have any chance of reflecting the complex reality of the Aramaean and North-Arabian tribal presence in southern Babylonia. Each situation and each tribe must be examined in particular, as far as the paucity of the evidence makes it possible.

They are several types of situations. Some seminomadic tribes were in a position to menace the sedentary population. This was the case of the Tū'mānu and of the Ḥaṭallū tribes, known from the Sūḫu documents. They will be examined first. Other tribes were in continuous contacts with urban population, like the Puqūdu and the smaller groups roaming in the region of Laḫīru. The next following paragraph will deal with them. A particular case is that of the 'Utū' or 'Itū' tribe, which lived along the western banks of the Tigris, north of Babylonia proper, and which had been fought against by Tukulti-Ninurta II in the early 9th century, but finished by working for Assyria. The history of the Rupū' and the Lab(a)dudu is similar, but these tribes did not have the importance of the 'Utū'. Several of the thirty-five "Aramaean" tribes of Babylonia named in the long Tiglath-pileser III's list, which goes back to the year 745 B.C., are not attested before that date and will be examined in apposite paragraphs. Additional tribes, like the Naqri and the Taniye, mentioned in Babylonian sources before 745 B.C., the important Gambūlu tribe, first named in Sargon II's inscriptions, the Ḥallatu, Ya'aš-'Il, Yadaqu, and Malaḫu, not recorded before Sennacherib, and the particular cases of the Gurasimmu, Udda, and Gurru will be presented in the further sections of this chapter. Each time, a particular attention will be paid to the question whether the tribe is Aramaean or North-Arabian.

⁸³ BM. 40548, lines 8 and 12.

⁸⁴ See here above, p. 105-107.

4. TŪ'MĀNU AND ḤAṬALLŪ

The main inscription of Shamash-rēsh-ušur, the semi-independent ruler of Sūḫu in the first two-thirds of the 8th century B.C.⁸⁵, celebrates his victory over the Aramaean tribe of ^{lu}Tu-'ma-a-nu which had attacked the town of Ribanish⁸⁶. From the four hundred attackers, only fifty got away alive. This tribe must be identical with the ^{lu/ku}Tu-'mu-na, known as an important Aramaean group from the inscriptions of Sargon II and of Sennacherib⁸⁷. At the time of Sargon II, the land of the Tu-'mu-na tribe seems to have been a large territorial entity, governed by men who had close relations with Chaldaea. Thus Sargon II claims to have “deported the Tū'mānu (tribesmen), who had made their sheikh prisoner and had brought him for the king of Chaldaea”, *šālil^{ku} Tū'mūna ša nasīk-šunu ipīdūma urrū maḥar šar^{ku} Kaldī*⁸⁸. Sennacherib's inscriptions do not provide any particular details concerning Tu-'mu-na, but this tribe is always mentioned as the first of the “non submissive” Aramaeans.

The tribal name seems to be formed from the noon *tū'am* with addition of the affirmative *-ān*, here probably the dual ending, thus “twins”: **Tū'mān*, later *Tū'mūn*, as the result of a change *ā > ō > ū* rather than an indication of the Assyrian vowel harmonization.

The inscriptions of Ninurta-kudurri-ušur, son and successor of Shamash-rēsh-ušur, celebrates his own victory over another Aramaean tribe, the Ḥaṭallū, who had attacked the land of Laqē about 770 or 760 B.C.⁸⁹, thus a few years after Shamshi-ilu, the powerful *turtānu* residing at Til-Barsip, had claimed to have devastated the lands of the 'Utū', Rupū', Ḥaṭallū, and Lab(a)dudu tribes⁹⁰.

⁸⁵ A historical synthesis is given in *RIMB* II, p. 275-277. For the literature on the history of Sūḫu, see here above, p. 105, n. 180.

⁸⁶ *RIMB* II, text S.O.1001.1, p. 280, lines 17'b-26'.

⁸⁷ *Sargon II*, p. 34 and 290, Cyl. 18; p. 89 and 314, Ann. 20-21; *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 43; p. 49, line 12; p. 54, line 55; p. 57, line 14; *Sanherib*, p. 51, line 12.

⁸⁸ D.G. LYON, *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's, Königs von Assyrien (722-705 v. Chr.)* (Assyriologische Bibliothek 5), Leipzig 1883, No. 1 (“Cylinder inscription”), line 18 = *Sargon II*, p. 34 and 290, Cyl. 18.

⁸⁹ See here above, p. 105-107.

⁹⁰ F. THUREAU-DANGIN - M. DUNAND, *Til-Barsip* (BAH 23), Paris 1936, p. 146, lines 10-11 = *RIMA* III, text A.O.104.2010, p. 232, lines 10-11. Thureau-Dangin's readings *Ha-[r]i-lu*, on one lion, and *Ha-[r]u-d[u?]*, on the other, should be reinterpreted in the light of the spelling *Ha-ṭal-lu*. In particular, the wedges of *[r]u* must belong to *RI* (*tal*) and the *d[u?]* must represent the left side of the sign *LU*. Both inscriptions (*RIMA* III, texts A.O.104.2010 and 2011, p. 232-234) deal mainly with a successful campaign against Argišti I, king of Urartu. This must be one of the six campaigns to Urartu listed in the Eponym Chronicle for the years 781-778, 776, and 774, the last including Namri (MIL-LARD, *Eponyms*, p. 58).

The territory of the Ḥaṭallū seems to have been situated in the steppe southwest of Assyria proper and west of the Wādī Tārtār, in the Iraqi Ġazira. In fact, the governor of Ashur province, probably under the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, complains in a letter to his counterpart in Calah that his correspondent's subjects have set fire to the steppe and thus destroyed grazing in his own area "as far as the land of Sūḥu and the land of the Ḥaṭallū"⁹¹. This shows that the territory between Ashur and the Euphrates, including the tribal land of the Ḥaṭallū, was under the jurisdiction of the governor of Ashur province, and this may be deduced also from the correspondence of another governor of Ashur, Tāb-šill-Ešarra, who was dealing with affairs in Ġiddān (*Hinzānu*) at the time of Sargon II⁹². Besides, the geographical position of the Ḥaṭallū land is indicated by the fact that their warriors had to pass along the territory of Sūḥu in order to plunder the land of Laqē⁹³, and this vicinity is obviously the reason why ^{kur}Sūḥu and ^{kur}Ḥaṭallū are named together in the above mentioned letter. There is no doubt therefore that the territory of the Ḥaṭallū and the place names referred to in Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur's inscriptions in connection with their incursion must be looked for to the east of the Middle Euphrates, and not in Upper Mesopotamia and in central Syria⁹⁴.

The Ḥaṭallū tribesmen were warriors, as their tribal name seems to suggest. Ḥaṭallū should in fact be related to the Assyro-Babylonian noun *eṭlu*, "male", "virile", and to the Aramaic name *Ḥaṭṭīl* built on the adjectival pattern *qattīl*⁹⁵. However, the etymological link with *eṭlu* becomes questionable if we relate Ḥaṭallū to the name of the clan or tribe *d-Ḥṭlm*, attested in Sabaic inscriptions⁹⁶, for the pharyngal *ḥ* should be preserved in Akkadian. The final geminated *ll*, written in a period when the short vowels of the case endings were no more pronounced, indicates that the name ends on a long *-ū* vowel, shortened in the current articulation⁹⁷. The presence of this phonemic *-ū* is confirmed by the related gentilic

⁹¹ CTN II, 188, with comments. The text was republished by F.M. FALES, *Lettere della corte assira*, Venezia 1992, p. 60-61, No. 8.

⁹² SAA I, 82; 83; 87.

⁹³ RIMB II, text S.O.1002.2, p. 295, lines 14b-16a; text S.O.1002.3, p. 301, lines 4'b-6'. This is the reason why M. LIVERANI, *Raṣappu and Hatallu*, in SAAB 6 (1992), p. 35-40, seems to situate the Ḥaṭallū land too much to the nord, but west of the Wādī Tārtār.

⁹⁴ This is the opinion of DION, *Araméens*, p. 62.

⁹⁵ Ezra 2, 67; Neh. 7, 59; cf. LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic* § 29.11.

⁹⁶ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 223.

⁹⁷ LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 21.10.

^{uru}*Ḥa-ṭal-lu-ú-a*⁹⁸ and should be explained as a masculine plural ending that the Aramaic dialect of the ḤataĻĻŪ would have shared with Šam'alīan and with Old Arabian (construct state)⁹⁹. In other words, the ḤataĻĻŪ or ḤataĻĻŪ were simply "valiant men" or the like.

Some clans or congeners of the ḤataĻĻŪ tribe are mentioned in Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur's inscriptions: ^{lu}*Sa-ru-gu*¹⁰⁰, ^{lu}*Lu-ḥu-ú-a-a*¹⁰¹, ^{lu}*Mi-nu-ú-i*¹⁰², ^{lu}*A-mat-a-a*¹⁰³. The first group cannot be identified with the city ^{uru}*Sa-ru-gi* in Upper Mesopotamia, but its name may correspond to the Šafaitic personal name *Šrg*¹⁰⁴. It is one of the numerous clans or tribes that cannot be identified as yet¹⁰⁵. The second name is borne later by a tribe mentioned in Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions among the thirty-five "Aramaean" tribes of southern Babylonia¹⁰⁶ and it is related to North-Arabian *Lhy*¹⁰⁷. The third group can at least be compared with Šafaitic *Mn*¹⁰⁸, but it is otherwise unknown. As for *A-mat-a-a*, it cannot be identified in this context with Ḥamath in central Syria¹⁰⁹: this must be the tribe named among the "Aramaean" tribes subjugated in the second half of the 8th century B.C. by Tiglath-pileser III and by Sargon II¹¹⁰. Despite the Arab flavour of these tribal names, the leader of the ^{lu}*Sa-ru-*

⁹⁸ M. W. STOLPER, *Entrepreneurs and Empire* (Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 54), Istanbul 1985, No. 69, 6. See also ^{uru}*Ḥa-ṭal-ú-a*, ^{lu}*Ḥa-ṭal-ú-a*, and ^{uru}*Ḥa-ṭa-al-lu-ú-a* in V. DONBAZ - M.W. STOLPER, *Istanbul Murašû Texts* (Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 79), Istanbul 1997, No. 16, 2.12.20. The correct form of the name is provided by spellings with the sign DA, also in ^{uru.m}*Ḥa-ṭa-la-*' (M.W. STOLPER, *op. cit.*, No. 44, 3) and ^{uru}*Ḥa-ṭa-la-*' (V. DONBAZ - M.W. STOLPER, *op. cit.*, No. 42, 2), beside ^{uru}*Ḥa-at-la-*' (*ibid.*, No. 52, 17). The spellings with the signs RI and AD may suggest a reading with *t* and another etymology, namely '*tl*', "to act violently". See also the transcriptions *ḤataĻĻu* and *ḤataĻĻūa*, adopted in *RGTC* 8, p. 157.

⁹⁹ LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 31.11. Other isoglosses common to Šam'alīan and to Palmyrene or North-Arabian are mentioned by E. LIPÍŃSKI, *The God 'Arqû-Rashap in the Samallian Hadad Inscription*, in M. SOKOLOFF (ed.), *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition*, Ramat-Gan 1983, p. 15-21.

¹⁰⁰ *RIMB* II, text S.O.1002.1, p. 292, lines 20, 21; p. 293, line 40; text S.O.1001.2, p. 295, lines 9, 12, 17; p. 297, line 23; text S.O.1002.3, p. 301, lines 2', 7'; text S.O.1002.8, p. 313, line 8'.

¹⁰¹ *RIMB* II, text S.O.1002.2, p. 295, line 10.

¹⁰² *RIMB* II, text S.O.1002.1, p. 292, line 20.

¹⁰³ *RIMB* II, text S.O.1002.2, p. 295, line 17; text S.O.1002.3, p. 301, line 8'.

¹⁰⁴ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 345, s.v. *ŠRJ*.

¹⁰⁵ It is still missing in the list compiled by R. ZADOK, *art. cit.* (n. 37), p. 70-74.

¹⁰⁶ See here below, p. 441-442.

¹⁰⁷ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 512. The name appears also in the compound name Lahai-Roi in Gen. 16, 13-14; 24, 62; 25, 11.

¹⁰⁸ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 568.

¹⁰⁹ Contrary to the opinion of DION, *Araméens*, p. 62-63.

¹¹⁰ See here below, p. 469-470.

gi bears the Aramaic name Ša-ma-'-Qā-am-lī¹¹¹, "the Betyl has listen to me". The word *qām*, which is used in the Targum to translate Hebrew *maššēbā*¹¹², appears as a theophorous element also in the name of the forefather of Aram, Qemu'el, "the Betyl of God", according to Gen. 22, 21¹¹³. The name of the leader of the ^{lu}A-mat-a-a is ^mIa-a-a-e or ^mIa-a-'-e, son of ^mBa-li-am-mu or ^mBa-la-am-mu¹¹⁴. The name *Y'y* is attested in Minaic¹¹⁵ and must derive from the same root as Hebrew *y'h* and Arabic *wa'ā*, "to remember". As for the patronymic, it can be interpreted confidently as *Ba'li-'ammu*, "the Ancestor is my lord"¹¹⁶. Both men were obviously well known in the land of Sūḥu, since the first one is characterized as a "dishonest servant"¹¹⁷, while the second one can be named with his patronymic.

The Ḥaṭallū tribe is mentioned in Tiglath-pileser III's list of the so-called "Aramaean" tribes¹¹⁸ and the tribal qualification ^{lu}Ha-ṭal-la-a-a occurs in a letter from the Sargonid period¹¹⁹. Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian documents often name ^{uru}Ha-ṭal-lu-ū-a, ^{uru}Ha-ṭal-ū-a, ^{uru}Ha-ṭa-al-lu-ū-a, ^{uru}Ha-aṭ-la-', ^{uru}Ha-ṭa-la-', which should be located in the area of Nippur¹²⁰, where some clans of the tribe must have settled. As explained above, the gentilic in -ū-a indicates that the name ended in a long vowel -ū, probably representing the masculine plural ending -ū of the tribal name¹²¹.

¹¹¹ RIMB II, text S.O.1002.1, p. 292, line 21; p. 293, line 39; text S.O.1002.2, p. 295, lines 12, 16; p. 297, line 23; text S.O.1002.3, p. 301, lines [1'], 7'; text S.O.1002.8, p. 313, line [8']. This phonemic transliteration does not exclude the possibility of an actual pronunciation Šama'-Gām-ni, with a voiced realization of the *qāf* and a partial progressive assimilation of the preposition *l-*.

¹¹² For example in Gen. 28, 22: A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic I*, Leiden 1959, p. 45.

¹¹³ For the theophorous element *Qām*, see E. LIPÍŃSKI, "Mon père était un Araméen errant", in *OLP* 20 (1989), p. 23-47 (see p. 43-46). See also here below, p. 600-604. These names testify to the originally aniconic cult of the early Aramaeans, which are not taken into account in the otherwise comprehensive work by T.N.D. METTINGER, *No Graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context*, Stockholm 1995.

¹¹⁴ RIMB II, text S.O.1002.2, p. 295, line 17; text S.O.1002.3, p. 301, line 8'.

¹¹⁵ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 677.

¹¹⁶ This name has no relation whatsoever with the name of Balaam, son of Beor; cf. SAIO II, p. 110-111.

¹¹⁷ RIMB II, text S.O.1002.1, p. 293, line 40; text S.O.1002.2, p. 295, line 12; p. 297, line 24; text S.O.1002.3, p. 301, line 2'; text S.O.1002.8, p. 313, line [9'].

¹¹⁸ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 5; cf. p. 150, line 5'; p. 194, line 5; p. 196, line 5.

¹¹⁹ ABL 721 = SLA 158, 8 and r. 4.

¹²⁰ RGTC 8, p. 157: "A suburb of Bīt-Zabīni in the Nippur region". For the spelling of the place name, see here above, p. 427, n. 98.

¹²¹ Cf. here above, p. 427 and n. 99.

5. PUQŪDU

The governor's archive from Nippur, originated between *ca.* 755 and 732 B.C.¹²², contains first-hand sources referring to Aramaean tribes in Babylonia. One of the more prominent Aramaean tribes of the region between the mid-8th century and 626 B.C. are the Puqūdu or Piqūdu, which sometimes are simply called "Aramaeans"¹²³. Their name is vocalized *Pəqōd* in the Hebrew Bible¹²⁴, while the Septuagint has the form Φακουδ in Ez. 23, 23, perhaps by identification with the town of ^{uru}*Pa-qu-ud* in Babylonia, in the province of Laḥīru¹²⁵. The original pronunciation of the tribal name was *Puqūdu*, already attested as *Pu-qu-du*, *Pu-qu-u-du-ú*, *Pu-qu-ú-da*, *Pu-qu-da-a-a* in the early Neo-Babylonian archive from Nippur¹²⁶. This form does not result from a Neo-Assyrian vowel harmonization¹²⁷, but represents the "broken" plural of *pāqīdu*, a noun used as personal name in Amorite¹²⁸. There seems to be little doubt, in fact, that Early Aramaic made use of "broken" plurals like Arabic and other Semitic languages¹²⁹. The pattern *fu'ūl*, as in *Puqūdu*, is used especially in Classical Arabic as the "broken" plural of verbal

¹²² *Nippur IV*, p. 1-6.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, No. 27, 16.20.

¹²⁴ Jer. 50, 21; Ez. 23, 23.

¹²⁵ SAA VI, 287, 11. Cf. ABL 268 = SLA 253,9. Also Jer. 50,21 seems to refer to the town, since he uses the phrase *yōšabē Pəqōd*, "the inhabitants of Paqūd"; likewise the Babylonian Talmud with *Nəhar Pəqōd* (*Bēšā* 29a; *Ketubot* 27b; *Hullīn* 127a). The transliteration *Pa-qu-tú* and the transcription *Pāqutu* (SAA VI, p. 231 and 341) reflect a misinterpretation of the place name which is certainly related to the Puqūdu tribe. In fact, the town belonged to the province of Laḥīru, the governor of which has sealed the tablet (SAA VI, 287, 1-2), and the territory of the Puqūdu is certainly situated in this area, as apparent in No. 46 of the archive published in *Nippur IV* and in Sennacherib's annals, where ^{uru}*La-ḥi-ru* and ^{lu}*Pu-qu-du* are associated: *Sennacherib*, p. 43, line 48.

¹²⁶ See the index in *Nippur IV*, p. 443. The Neo-Assyrian references to the Puqūdu are collected in PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 280-281. — The Neo-Babylonian spellings clearly exclude the interpretation of the tribal name in the same sense as the proper names of the *quttul* pattern, which were examined by H. HOLMA, *Die assyrisch-babylonischen Personennamen des Form quttulu mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Wörter für Körperfehler. Eine lexikalische Untersuchung*, Helsinki 1914.

¹²⁷ This was the opinion of ZADOK, *WSB*, p. 131.

¹²⁸ *Pa-qī-du-um* in Th.G. PINCHES, *CT* 45, London 1964, No. 89, II, 32. — Paqīdā was an Aramaic deity, attested in Graeco-Roman times: L.-H. VINCENT, *Le dieu saint Paqēidas à Gérasa*, in *RB* 49 (1940), p. 98-129; J.T. MILIK, *Les papyrus araméens d'Hermopolis et les cultes syro-phéniciens en Égypte perse*, in *Biblica* 48 (1967), p. 546-622 (see p. 559-560).

¹²⁹ SAIO II, p. 54-56, 63, 68, 77-78, 98; cf. LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 31.23-34. A recent study of the "broken" plural in Semitic languages, based on an unpublished doctoral dissertation, is provided by R.R. RATCLIFFE, *Defining Morphological Isoglosses: The 'Broken' Plural and Semitic Subclassification*, in *JNES* 57 (1998), p. 81-123.

adjectives¹³⁰, e.g. *qu'ūdu(n)*, plural of *qā'idu(n)*, “sitting”, but also as the plural of a name like “Arab”, thus ‘*Urūb*, “Arabs”. This pattern occurs in the name of several tribes attested in southern Babylonia by Assyro-Babylonian texts:

<i>Gurūm(u)</i>	<i>Rummūl(utu)</i>
<i>Luhū'(ātu)</i>	<i>Rupū'(u)</i>
<i>Nugū'(u)</i>	‘ <i>Ubūd(u)</i>
<i>Puqūd(u)</i>	‘ <i>Ubūl(u)</i>
<i>Rubbū</i>	‘ <i>Utū'</i>

Puqūdu should therefore be considered as a grammatical “broken” plural of *pāqīdu*¹³¹. The later Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian spelling *Pi-qu-du*¹³² reveals the weakening of the short vowel *u* > *ə* and already announces the Masoretic Hebrew vocalization *Pəqōd*. It is evident, in fact, that cuneiform signs of the *PI* type may stand not only for phonetic *pe*, but also for *pə*, and that the vocalic reduction *u* > *ə* is a phenomenon which is not restricted to Ethio-Semitic.

Since Arabic *fāqīd* means “deprived”, it is unlikely that the name of the tribe would derive from this word. This meaning conforms to the connotation “to miss” of *faqada* in Arabic and of *fqd* in Epigraphic South-Arabian. In Aramaic instead, the *pāqīd* is the “care-taker” or “overseer”, a connotation which is close to the basic meaning of *pqd* in Semitic, “to look for/at”. Used in the plural, as the name of a tribe of shepherds, *puqūdu* must mean “herdsmen”. This use of the root is illustrated by the clause *wə-pāqadtā nāwəkā* in Job 5, 24: “may you be informed that all is well with your tent, take care of your transhumant flock¹³³, and suffer no loss”. In fact, the *Puqūdu* were shepherds, who

¹³⁰ A. MURTONEN, *Broken Plurals: Origin and Development of the System*, Leiden 1964, p. 2; W. FISCHER, *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch*, Wiesbaden 1972, p. 51, § 88, Anm. 1, and p. 68, § 122.

¹³¹ An objection might be raised against this interpretation because of the patronymic *Pu-qū-du-um* that occurs in a text from the time of king Mananāya (1799-1786 B.C.) in central Babylonia; cf. M. RUTTEN, *Un lot de tablettes de Mananā*, in *RA* 52 (1958), p. 208-225; 53 (1959), p. 77-96; 54 (1960), p. 19-40, 147-152, in particular p. 77, No. 11, 24: witness *Ī-lī-ia mār Pu-qū-du-um*. This name must be read *Puquddūm*, in Assyro-Babylonian “trust”, something committed to a person’s care; cf. *AHW*, p. 880a. There is also a similar Assyro-Babylonian name *Paqūdu* or *Paquddu* meaning “intrusted”; cf. A.Y. AHMAD, *The Archive of Aššur-mātu-taqqin found in the New Town of Aššur and dated mainly by Post-Canonical Eponyms*, in *Al-Rāfidān* 17 (1996), p. 207-288, especially ^m*Pa-qud-du* in text 9, r. 29; text 15, line 15; text 16, line 13; text 24, line 10; ^m*Pa-qu-du* in text 18, line 14; text 22, lines 1 and 5; text 32, line 13; text 34, r. 18; cf. *AHW*, p. 826b-827a.

¹³² K.L. TALLQVIST, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, Helsinki 1905, p. 298b.

sometimes were selling the wool of their sheep for a price that merchants judged too high in consideration of its inferior quality¹³⁴.

If the name of the Puqūdu tribe seems to be Aramaic, some of its clans were probably North-Arabian. In fact, Saḥdu, the brother of the Puqūdaean rebel leader Nabū-ušēzib in 652-648 B.C.¹³⁵, bears one of the most common North-Arabian names, namely Š'd¹³⁶, which is not used in Aramaic before later Syriac texts. Among the few Westsemitic names of the Puqūdaeans dedicated by Sargon II and by Sennacherib to the goddesses Ištar of Uruk and Nanaya¹³⁷, one finds ^mHa-'il-Na-na-a, which is the North-Arabian name Hy'l¹³⁸ with the theophorous element *Nanaya* specifying 'l. The loose structure of the tribe, having several sheikhs at a time¹³⁹, allows for a mixed composition of Aramaean and North-Arabian clans.

The early Neo-Babylonian correspondence of Nippur's governors indicates that the Puqūdu were very active at that time in the Nippur area. The entire Puqūdu tribe, as well as other Aramaean tribes, was even coming to Nippur in the month of Ulūlu for a festival (*isinnu*)¹⁴⁰, starting perhaps on the first day of the month of Tishri and thus anticipating the later Jewish New Year. It appears from the same correspondence that the Puqūdaean sheikhs had concluded an alliance with Bīt-Amukkāni and with the Aramaean tribe of Ḥamdān¹⁴¹, which should not be identified with the South-Arabian tribe of Hamdān¹⁴², living later on

¹³³ For the meaning of the noun *nāweh*, see F.R. KRAUS, *Akkadische Wörter und Ausdrücke* XI. — *nawûm*, in *RA* 70 (1976), p. 172-179.

¹³⁴ *Nippur* IV, No. 46, 16b-19a.

¹³⁵ ^mSa-aḥ-du: *ABL* 1028 = *SLA* 23, 10.

¹³⁶ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 318, s.v. S'D; J.K. STARK, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*, Oxford 1971, p. 53 and 115, s.v. Š'D; A. NEGEV, *Personal Names in the Nabatean Realm* (Qedem 32), Jerusalem 1991, p. 66, No. 1172.

¹³⁷ J.B. NIES - C.E. KEISER, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J.B. Nies II*, New Haven 1920, No. 132, that dates from the reign of Ashurbanipal. With regard to these names, cf. ZADOK, *WSB*, p. 181-182 and 311-312. See also G. FRAME, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 46, 60, 75 (n. 59), 201.

¹³⁸ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 209; *Safaitic Cairns*, p. 571; A. NEGEV, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 28, No. 430.

¹³⁹ *ABL* 622+1279, r. 4.

¹⁴⁰ *Nippur* IV, No. 27, 9-13.

¹⁴¹ *Nippur* IV, No. 14. *Ḥamdān* occurs in Gen. 36, 26, as noticed already by M. STRECK, *MVAG* 11 (1906), p. 210. The name of the tribe is erroneously spelt *Hmrn* in I Chron. 1, 41. The tribe is apparently related to 'Anā (*Ḥana*), on the Middle Euphrates (Gen. 36, 25).

¹⁴² For attestations of the tribal name *Hmdn* in Sabaic, see HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 623. Contrary to St.W. COLE, *Nippur* IV, p. 65, comments to No. 14, 18, and *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 39, there is no reason why Old Arabian *h* should be transcribed here in cuneiform by *ḥa*: ^{lū}Ha-am-da-an. For such cases, however, see LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 19. 17.

the high plateau to the north of Šan‘ā’. This alliance does not seem to have outlived the great anti-Assyrian revolt of 652-648¹⁴³, since the Puqūdu and Bīt-Amukkāni had become bitter rivals by that time¹⁴⁴.

The royal inscriptions of the Assyrian kings, Tiglath-pileser III¹⁴⁵, Sargon II¹⁴⁶, and Sennacherib¹⁴⁷, show that the Puqūdu were an important force to reckon with along the Babylonian-Elamite frontier. Tiglath-pileser III does not name the Puqūdu in his great list of tribes labelled as Aramaean, but a special paragraph of the main summary inscription deals with the ^{lu}*Pu-qu-du* and with the cities ^{uru}*La-ḫi-ru ša I-di-bi-ri-i-na*, ^{uru}*Hi-li-im-mu*, and ^{uru}*Pi-il-lu-tu*, “which lay at the Elamite border”. The Assyrian king claims to have subjugated them and annexed their territories to Assyria, joining them to the province of Arrapha¹⁴⁸. The relation between the Puqūdu tribe and the city of Laḫīru appears clearly from a letter addressed to the governor of Nippur in the mid-8th century B.C., where a distinction is nevertheless made between the Laḫīrians and the Puqūdaeans¹⁴⁹.

Laḫīru, the name of which is spelled *Lā‘īr* in the Bible¹⁵⁰, was situated to the east of the Tigris, somewhere between Gannanāte, on the Diyāla, and Dēr, since the people of Laḫīru conducted caravan trade with Elam via Dēr¹⁵¹. Dēr, called once ^{uru}*Bīt-Derāya* in Tiglath-pileser III’s inscriptions¹⁵², is localized at Tell ‘Aqar near modern Badrah, close to the Iranian frontier. The name Bīt-Derāyā appears much later in Syriac sources¹⁵³ and it explains the old Arabic form *Badarāya*, which is preserved in the present-day city name Badrah¹⁵⁴.

¹⁴³ M. DIETRICH, *op. cit.* (n. 62), p. 78-125; J.A. BRINKMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 93-104; G. FRAME, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 131-190.

¹⁴⁴ See, e.g., *ABL* 275 = *SLA* 78.

¹⁴⁵ *Tigl. III*, p. 122, line 12; p. 130, line 6; p. 160, line 7; p. 194, line 6; p. 196, line 6.

¹⁴⁶ Index in *Sargon II*, p. 454, s.v. See also G. FRAME, *art. cit.* (n. 52), line 32.

¹⁴⁷ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 47; p. 43, line 48; p. 49, line 13; p. 54, line 56; p. 57, line 15; *Sanherib*, p. 51, line 13.

¹⁴⁸ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, lines 13-14. The Puqūdu are mentioned also *ibid.*, p. 122, line 12; p. 130, line 6; p. 204, line 1’.

¹⁴⁹ *Nippur IV*, No. 46.

¹⁵⁰ II Kings. 19, 13 and Is. 37, 13, where a “king of Laḫīru” is mentioned. The identity of biblical *L’yr* with Laḫīru was already recognized by A. SARSOWSKY, *Notizen zu einigen biblischen geographischen und ethnographischen Namen*, in *ZAW* 32 (1912), p. 146-151 (see p. 146). The city is mentioned also in one of Arsham’s letters: *TAD I*, A6.9, 1 (*L’r*). The following *sprwym* or *spryym* (1QIs^a) might then correspond to cuneiform *ša (Di-i-)bi/pí-ri-i-na* (cf. here below, p. 433, n. 158).

¹⁵¹ *Nippur IV*, No. 43. For the location of Laḫīru, see BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 178, n. 1093.

¹⁵² *Tigl. III*, p. 86, Ann. 2, line 2.

¹⁵³ E. HERZFELD, *The Persian Empire*, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 42, n. 3.

¹⁵⁴ R. ZADOK, in *BiOr* 33 (1976), p. 306.

Aramaeans herdsman pastured their flocks in the region around Laḥīru, which is evidenced not only by a letter from the Nippur archive, where Laḥīru appears as a centre where Nippur's textile traders bought wool¹⁵⁵, but also by the inscriptions of Sargon II. Therein it is claimed that the Assyrian king received horses, mules, oxen, sheep, and goats as tribute from the sheikhs (*nasīkāte*) of this region, which he called ^{kur}*Ia-ad-bu-ru* or ^{kur}*Ia-a-di-bi-ri*¹⁵⁶, dialectal variants of Tiglath-pileser III's *I-di-bi-ri-i-na*¹⁵⁷ and Ashurbanipal's *Di-bi-ri-i-na*¹⁵⁸. This is obviously the name of the region the centre of which was Laḥīru. The preformative *ya-* is attested with proper names, especially geographical¹⁵⁹, and the ending *-īn* is no plural termination¹⁶⁰ but the suffix *-ayn* > *-īn* of place names¹⁶¹. The place name in question must mean "pasture ground", since this is the meaning of the noun *dabr* or *dibr* in Aramaic¹⁶². Its oldest attestation probably occurs as *dabru* in the Babylonian lexical list *malku* = *šarru*¹⁶³.

The annexation of the Puqūdu land by Tiglath-pileser III did not have a durable effect, since the Puqūdu joined the anti-Assyrian coalition of Babylonians, Aramaeans, Chaldaeans, and Elamites created by Marduk-apla-iddina II, a prominent leader of Bīt-Yākīn, who ruled as king of Babylon from 721 to 710 B.C. After the defeat inflicted by the Elamites on Assyrian forces at Dēr in 720¹⁶⁴, Sargon II did not attempt to reconquer the territories lost and to retake Babylonia until 710, when he defeated the Aramaeans in the eastern part of the country and reoccupied "the land of Yadburu at the frontier of Elam"¹⁶⁵.

Contrary to the impression that the Nippur correspondence might give, the Puqūdu tribe was mainly concentrated in the marshy region

¹⁵⁵ Nippur IV, No. 46.

¹⁵⁶ Sargon II, p. 151 and 330, Ann. 298-300.

¹⁵⁷ Tigl. III, p. 160, line 13.

¹⁵⁸ M. STRECK, *op. cit.* (n. 29), vol. II, p. 42, col. IV, 117; R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 46, col. IV, 117: ^{unu}*La-ḥi-ra Di-i-bi-ri-i-na*.

¹⁵⁹ LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 29.18.

¹⁶⁰ Explanation proposed by W. SCHRAMM, *Jad/tburu*, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-80, p. 232.

¹⁶¹ LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 29.54 and § 67.16.

¹⁶² The form *dibr* is used in Mandaic. The same acceptance of *dabr* is attested in Ethiopic.

¹⁶³ M.J. GELLER, *A Vocabulary of Rare Words*, in *Or* 61 (1992), p. 205-207 (see p. 206-207).

¹⁶⁴ A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 73-74, No. 1, I, 33-37.

¹⁶⁵ Sargon II, p. 33 and 290, Cyl. 12; p. 65 and 304, Bull. 29-30; p. 136-137 and 326-330, Ann. 256-258 and 266-300; p. 195 and 343-344, Displ. 19-20; p. 265 and 360, Pavem. IV 70-78. See also G. FRAME, *art. cit.* (n. 52), line 32, where the Aramaeans are called "Sutaeans, people of the steppe of the land Yadburu".

along the Elamite border and, during the reign of Sargon II, they appear along the Uqnū river, which is generally identified either with modern Kerḥa or with the Kārūn river (Iran). However, it is more likely that Uqnū corresponds to the present easterly course of the Tigris, the main stream of which was apparently flowing in antiquity along the Shatt al-Ḥay. This westerly location of the Uqnū river explains the later activity of the Puqūdu also in the area of Uruk. This activity went far beyond seasonal flock migrations and implied an involvement in the rebellion of Shamash-shum-ukīn in 652-648 B.C., and occasional strifes with the Chaldaean Bīt-Amukkāni tribe in the same period¹⁶⁶.

Sargon II continued his Babylonian campaigns from 709 to 707 against Dūr-Yākīn, the tribal capital of Bīt-Yākīn¹⁶⁷. The Puqūdu tribesmen, as well as members of other tribes in the area, took refuge in the swamps near the Uqnū river, but Sargon II forced five Puqūdu sheikhs to surrender by damming the Tubliash river¹⁶⁸, the modern Nahr at-Ṭib which is a tributary received by the present Tigris on the left bank. Four of these sheikhs bear Aramaic names: ^m*Ia-nu-qu* ^{lú}*na-sik-ku* ^{uru}*Za-a-mì-e* is obviously *Yānūq*, “suckling”; the name ^m*Pa-aš-šú-nu* of a sheikh of ^{uru}*Nūḥānu* is comparable with that of the Syriac bishop *Bassonus* of Gabbulā¹⁶⁹, assuming that this is a derivative of Semitic *bass*, “cat”, and that *p* reflects the Neo-Assyrian loss of the phonemic distinction between *b* and *p*; ^m*Ha-ú-ka-nu*, another sheikh of ^{uru}*Nūḥānu*, is possibly a “laugher”¹⁷⁰, ^m*Sa-’-lu*, sheikh of ^{uru}*Ibūlu*, probably bears the name *Ša’il*, “asked”. Also the settlements or clans seem to have Aramaic names: ^{uru}*Za-a-mì-e*, attested in somewhat later Babylonian sources as ^{kur}*Za-mi-e* or ^{lú}*Za-mì-e*¹⁷¹, is apparently a derivative of *zmy*, “to bind”¹⁷². ^{uru}*Nūḥānu*, corresponding to later ^{lú}*Nu-ḥa-a-[nu]* or ^{lú}*Nu-ḥa-nu-ú-a*¹⁷³, is formed on the basis *nūḥ*, “to rest”. ^{uru}*A-bu-ri-e*, whose sheikh bears the Babylonian name Nabū-ušalla, “I implored Nabū”, is the same noun as

¹⁶⁶ *Sargon II*, p. 466-467; see also J.A. BRINKMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 13 and n. 79; G. FRAME, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 44-45.

¹⁶⁷ *Sargon II*, p. 65 and 304, Bull 30-34; p. 159-169 and 333-335, Ann. 329-373; p. 226-229 and 350-351, Displ. 124-134.

¹⁶⁸ *Sargon II*, p. 146-148 and 329, Ann. 281-288.

¹⁶⁹ R. PAYNE SMITH, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxford 1879-1901, vol. I, col. 640. The bishop took part in the council of Nicaea (A.D. 325). His name should be compared with ^m*Ba-su-na-a* in SAA XII, 50, 16.

¹⁷⁰ ZADOK, *WSB*, p. 144-145, referring to Jewish Aramaic *ḥwk*, “to laugh”, in JASTROW, p. 432.

¹⁷¹ References in *RGTC* 8, p. 333.

¹⁷² JASTROW, p. 402b, a variant of *zmm*. Cf. here above, p. 135.

¹⁷³ References in *RGTC* 8, p. 243-244.

Syriac *ʿabūryā*, “passage”, and ^{uru}*Ibūlu* belongs to the same root as ^{lu}*Ubūlu*¹⁷⁴, which does not mean necessarily that ^{uru}*Ibūlu* is named after the *ʿUbūlu* tribe and that the tribe was a subgroup of the Puqūdu¹⁷⁵. Most Puqūdaeans dedicated to the goddesses Ištar of Uruk and Nanaya by Sargon II and Sennacherib bore, instead, good Assyro-Babylonian names as did their fathers, who are also named in the text¹⁷⁶.

Sargon II’s successes did not have any lasting effect, since the Puqūdu appear among Sennacherib’s adversaries in 703 and in 691 B.C.¹⁷⁷. Allegedly subjugated and partly resettled in Assyria, they are not mentioned in the royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon¹⁷⁸, but constituted a serious treat for the pro-Assyrian governors of Uruk and Ur at the time of Ashurbanipal. One of them addresses this distress call to the king: “The Puqūdaeans are against us. We have written to the king our lord: May he send troops to aid us! ... Now the Sealander, the Puqūdaeans, and the Gurasimmu are being mobilized against us. May the king send forces for the defense of his temples ...”¹⁷⁹. Another letter reports to the king that the Puqūdaeans came into the neighbourhood of Uruk and that their bowmen have marched against the city of Bīt-Il-aḥtir, in the Sealand¹⁸⁰. Kudurru, governor of Uruk around 647 B.C., writes to the king concerning a raid by the Puqūdu against the Bīt-Amukkāni, “faithful subjects of the king”, a region where the Puqūdu have even settled¹⁸¹. The rapidly changing situation does not allow us to determine their role in the events precisely, but there is little doubt that they were an important political and military factor in Babylonia at the time of Ashurbanipal.

They were at least partly settled in the 7th century, since there is a reference to a Puqūdu town¹⁸², but they did not possess a centralized leadership, for they had more than one sheikh at a time¹⁸³. Most of our

¹⁷⁴ See here below, p. 460-461.

¹⁷⁵ There are other place names ^{uru}(^{lu})*I-bu-li-e* and ^{uru}*I-bu-lu*, apparently in the Nippur and Uruk regions; cf. PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 172; *RGTC* 8, p. 178. These toponyms are most likely related to places where camel caravans were used to stop.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. here above, p. 431, n. 137;

¹⁷⁷ References here above, p. 432, n. 147.

¹⁷⁸ *ABL* 947 = *SLA* 77, r. 3’-8’, refers to a fighting between the Puqūdu and the Gurasimmu tribes in the time of Esarhaddon, who apparently used the Gurasimmu to impose his authority on the Puqūdu and in the Sealand; cf. G. FRAME, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 45 with n. 78 and p. 47. For the Gurasimmu, see here below, p. 482-483.

¹⁷⁹ *ABL* 1241 = *SLA* 18, 3-6 and r. 7-10.

¹⁸⁰ *ABL* 1028 = *SLA* 23, 1-2 and r. 4-5. See also the references in *RGTC* 8, p. 249-250.

¹⁸¹ *ABL* 275 = *SLA* 78.

¹⁸² *ABL* 268 = *SLA* 253, 9, and here above, p. 429 with n. 125.

¹⁸³ *ABL* 622+1279, r. 4.

information about the tribe dates from the period of the Shamash-shum-ukīn revolt (652-648 B.C.), when some Puqūdu clans actively supported the rebellion¹⁸⁴, while others may have aided Ashurbanipal¹⁸⁵.

A few place names or tribal names occur occasionally in Assyrian royal inscriptions in connection with the Puqūdaeans. Tiglath-pileser III claims to have annexed the town ^{uru}*Pi-il-lu-tu* to Assyria at the same time as the Puqūdu land and the cities of Laḥīru and Ḫilimmu¹⁸⁶. This town is mentioned again in the inscriptions of Sargon II¹⁸⁷, of Sennacherib¹⁸⁸, and in the Babylonian Chronicle¹⁸⁹, where it seems to be considered as belonging to Elam. However, a Bēl-ibni's letter sent in 649 B.C. to king Ashurbanipal mentions a ^{lu}*na-si-ku šá* ^{lu}*Pil-lat* next to the king of Elam¹⁹⁰, as if Pillat was an independent Aramaean tribe dwelling on an island of the Persian Gulf, close to the Elamite border¹⁹¹. *Pillat* must be a "refuge place" or the like, since Aramaic *palaṭ* and Arabic *falata* mean "to escape". There is a phonetic difference *t/t* between Aramaic and Arabic, but Old Arabian has *flṭ* like Aramaic¹⁹². Most cuneiform spellings allow a reading *Pillaṭ* as well, except *Pil-la-tú*. In any case, the geographical condition of the place strongly supports the Semitic interpretation of the name as "refuge". One may doubt, instead, whether people dwelling there originally formed a tribe.

Both Laḥīru and Pillat are connected in Bēl-ibni's letters dating to 649 B.C. with ^{lu}*Nugū'u*¹⁹³. One letter mentions ^{lu}*na-si-ka-a-ti šá* ^{uru}*La-ḫi-ru* *ù* ^{lu}*Nu-gu-ú*¹⁹⁴, "the sheikhs of Laḥīru and of the Nugū'u". Another letter, reporting on the famine prevailing in this area, names

¹⁸⁴ See G. FRAME, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 159-160, 167-169.

¹⁸⁵ SAA IV, 289, r. 1-5.

¹⁸⁶ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, lines 13-14; cf. p. 196, line [17]. The form of the name reflects the Assyrian vowel harmony.

¹⁸⁷ *Sargon II*, p. 151, Ann. 301; p. 195, Displ. 20.

¹⁸⁸ *Sennacherib*, p. 38, line 38; p. 75, lines 83 and 95; p. 78, line 29; p. 86, line 20; A.K. GRAYSON, *The Walters Art Gallery Sennacherib Inscription*, in *AfO* 20 (1963), p. 83-96 (see p. 90, line 17).

¹⁸⁹ *Sennacherib*, p. 189, line 37; A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 78, No. 1, II, 38, where Pillatum, as well as Nagitum and Ḫil(im)mu, are said to have been ravaged and plundered by Sennacherib, in 694 B.C. (*ibid.*, lines 36-38).

¹⁹⁰ ABL 520 = SLA 43, r. 16-17.

¹⁹¹ See also ABL 1000 = SLA 42, 6.13 and r. 8; ABL 1007, r. 21; 1311, 14. Cf. *RGTC* 8, p. 249.

¹⁹² HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 471; *Safaitic Cairns*, p. 601; A. NEGEV, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 55, No. 964.

¹⁹³ *RGTC* 8, p. 243.

¹⁹⁴ ABL 280 = SLA 40, 19-20.

^{lú}*Hi-li-im* ^{lú}*Pil-lat* ^{lú}*Nu-gu-ḥu* ^{lú}*I(a)-ši-ilu* ^ù ^{lú}*La-kab-ru*¹⁹⁵. The two different spellings of the name in question favour the reading ^{lú}*Nugū'u*, which is the exact “broken” plural *nuḡū'* of the Arabic noun *naḡ'*, “hamlet, small village”. The first letter seems to suggest that Bēl-ibni refers to the important city of Laḥīru and to the “small villages” or settlements in its surroundings. This may be either a common noun or the proper name of a determined group of hamlets, not necessarily an actually distinct tribe.

6. 'UTŪ' OR 'ITŪ'

The Aramaean 'Utū' or 'Itū' tribe is attested from the early 9th century through the end of the Assyrian empire. This tribal name, written initially ^{kur}*Ú-tu-* and attested later as ^{kur}*I-tu-*, ^{kur}*I-tú-*, simply ^{uru}*I-tú*, or ^{kur}*I-tu-*-*a*, goes back to an original form **Utūwa* which is the “broken” plural of **'ātiw* > **'ātī*, “(home)comer”¹⁹⁶, based apparently on the “absolute” or citation form **'ātiwa*¹⁹⁷. The later spelling of the tribal name with initial *i-* stands for **Itūwa* which reflects the frequent alternation *i/u*¹⁹⁸, unless it should be explained by the influence of the Babylonian word *itū*, “neighbour”. The singular personal name “(home)comer” occurs in Thamūdīc at Taymā' (*'tw*)¹⁹⁹, in Aramaic (*'ytw*)²⁰⁰, and in Hebrew (*'ty*, *'yty*)²⁰¹, where the forms *'ytw* and *'yty* seem to witness the same phonetic phenomenon as Arabic *'imāla šadīda* which consists in a change *ā* > *ī* next to an apical consonant like *t*.

The first mention of the 'Utū' tribe goes back to 885 B.C., when Tukulti-Ninurta II intervened against the Aramaean tribe which was occupying the west bank of the Tigris at about the latitude of Samarra and the confluence of the Al-'Aḏaim river (Nahr al-'Uḏaym) and of the

¹⁹⁵ *ABL* 1000 = *SLA* 42, 6-7. 13-14.

¹⁹⁶ The verb “to come”, widely employed in Aramaic, in Arabic, in South-Arabian, and in poetical Hebrew, occurs under two variant forms *'tw* and *'ty*, best recognizable in Sabaic: *Sabaic Dictionary*, p. 9. Because of the usual monophthongization *iw* > *iy* > *ī* when *w* closes the syllable, the identification of the variant *'tw* is often impossible in the other tongues. — As for the “broken” plural, it follows the same *qutūl/fu'ūl* pattern as in the tribal names Puqūdu and Rupū'.

¹⁹⁷ For this explanation of the final *-a*, cf. LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 32.6.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, § 21.8.

¹⁹⁹ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 19.

²⁰⁰ *TAD* II, B2.2, 16. Cf. W. KORNFELD, *Onomastica Aramaica in Ägypten*, Wien 1979, p. 41.

²⁰¹ II Sam. 15, 19. 21.22; 18, 2.5.12; 23, 29; I Chron. 11, 31.

Tigris²⁰². After leaving the “mouth” of the Wādī Tārtār and before his three-day march to Dūr-Kurigalzu, in Babylonia, the Assyrian king “captured the encampments (*maš-ka-na-a-te*) of the ‘Utū’ (^{kur}*Ú-tu-*) together with their villages, which were situated on the Tigris, massacring them and carrying off much booty from them”²⁰³. Subsequently the ‘Utū’ are found with the Ruqāḥu under the jurisdiction of the governor of Ashur province²⁰⁴, but the campaigns against the ‘Utū’ tribe (^{kur}*I-tu-’-a*, ^{kur}*I-tu-’*) in 790, 783, 782, 777, and 769 B.C.²⁰⁵ call the efficacy of the Assyrian control in question. Some and possibly all of these expeditions listed in the Eponym Chronicle are likely to have been led from Til-Barsip by the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu, who claims in his inscriptions to have devastated the land of the ‘Utū’ tribe²⁰⁶. However, its final subjection dates only from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, who encountered the ‘Utū’ tribesmen among other Aramaean groups during his march to Babylonia in 745 B.C. and claims to have brought them into subjection²⁰⁷.

Tiglath-pileser has probably transplanted some of the ‘Utū’ tribesmen to his new foundation of Kār-Ashur²⁰⁸, east of the Tigris. In any case, the territory of the displaced tribe is named once in association with Bāb-bitqi, a town on the Tigris²⁰⁹, and the Neo-Assyrian province of ^{kur}*I-tu-’* is mentioned in a lexical list between Dēr and ^{kur}*Lab(a)dudu*²¹⁰, an Aramaean tribe whose territory must be located in eastern Babylonia²¹¹. In queries to the Sun-god, the ^{lu}*I-tu-’-a-a* are always associated with the Elamites²¹², what is an indication of their location as well. Some of the resettled Aramaeans, principally the ‘Utū’, later furnished special contingents for Assyrian military service and the ‘Utū’ are often mentioned in this capacity in various letters from Nineveh and from Nimrud²¹³.

²⁰² J. N. POSTGATE, *Itu’*, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-80, p. 221-222.

²⁰³ *RIMA* II, text A.0.100.5, p. 173, lines 49-50.

²⁰⁴ Cf. MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 79, sub 748; p. 95, sub 804.

²⁰⁵ MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 58.

²⁰⁶ *RIMA* III, text A.0.104.2010, p. 232, line 10; cf. here above, p. 425, n. 90.

²⁰⁷ *Tigl. III*, p. 122, line 5; p. 130, line 4; p. 158, line 5; p. 194, line 5; p. 206, line 3.

²⁰⁸ *Tigl. III*, p. 42, line 3; p. 122, line 7; p. 160, line 11. Cf. BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 276.

²⁰⁹ *ABL* 830, 10. Cf. *RGTC* 8, p. 38.

²¹⁰ *SAA* XI, 1, I, 14. The mention of the province of ^{kur}*I’-[tú-’]* in *SAA* X, 368, r. 4’ and 8’, is very uncertain. It is rather the city of Ḫīt, on the Euphrates; cf. J.N. POSTGATE, *Īdu*, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-80, p. 33.

²¹¹ J.A. BRINKMAN, *Labdudu*, in *RLA* VI, Berlin 1980-83, p. 411. Cf. here below, p. 440-441.

²¹² *SAA* IV, 139, 10; 142, 10; 144, [10].

²¹³ The references are collected in PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 179-181, s.v. *Ītu* and *Itu’u*, but they should be replaced by references to the new edition of the texts in *SAA*.

7. RUPŪ' AND LAB(A)DUDU

The Aramaean tribe of Rupū' is attested throughout the 8th century B.C., first in Syria, near the Middle Euphrates, later in southeastern Babylonia. Its name is spelt in cuneiform ^{lu}*Ru-pu-*', ^{kur}*Ru-pu-*', or ^{lu}*Ru-pu-ú*'. The second sign of the name is usually read *bu*²¹⁴, but *Ru-bu-'/ú* does not provide any etymology that would fit a tribal name, while *Rpw'* is possibly the very name of the Aramaean tribe used as patronymic in Numb. 13, 9²¹⁵, and a clan or a tribe *d-Rf'm* is attested in South-Arabian²¹⁶. *Rupū'* is a "broken" plural like *Puqūd*, formed accordingly to the same nominal pattern and derived from the same adjectival or participial stem *qātil*, viz. *rāpi'*, "healer", "restorer"²¹⁷. This noun is used as anthroponym in various Semitic languages, also in Aramaic as shown e.g. by the name of the Hindāru sheikh *Ra-a-pi-*'²¹⁸.

Shamshi-ilu claims to have swept the territories of the Aramaean tribes of 'Utū', Rupū', Ḥaṭallū, and Lab(a)dudu²¹⁹, obviously from his base at Til-Barsip where these campaigns are mentioned in the inscription engraved on monumental lions. The Eponym Chronicle records five campaigns against the 'Utū' tribe (^{kur}*I-tu-*' or *I-tu-'*-a) in 790, 783, 782, 777, and 769²²⁰. At least some of these expeditions were led by Shamshi-ilu, and they may have been directed also against the Rupū' tribe. In any case, the success which Shamshi-ilu claims for these campaigns was ephemeral for the Rupū' still enjoyed a great prestige in the mid-8th century in the Nippur region. This appears first from an agreement that the Rupū' tribe had concluded with the governor of Nippur and with Mukīn-zēri²²¹, a prominent sheikh of the Chaldaean tribe of Bīt-Amukkāni who would later become king of Babylon (731-729 B.C.). This appears also from the fact that the Rupū' tribe seems to

²¹⁴ PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 295-296; *Nippur IV*, p. 443.

²¹⁵ This verse belongs to a postexilic passage and a real anthroponym *Rpw'* would have a parallel *Ra-pu-ú-um* only in Amorite: G. DOSSIN, *Deux listes nominatives du règne de Sûmu-lamam*, in *RA* 65 (1971), p. 37-66, 184-190 (see p. 41, col. II, 30).

²¹⁶ Hadramic inscription Ingrams I from 'Aqaba Fatura, republished by A.J. DREWES, *Some Hadrami Inscriptions*, in *BiOr* 11 (1954), p. 93-94 and Pl. III, see line 7: *w-s'ṭrn yf[d] d-Rf'm*, "and the scribe was *Yfd* of the *Rf'm*".

²¹⁷ In Ugaritic and in "Canaanite" languages, the word may also designate an ancestor, but we do not know whether this was the case in Aramaic. Cf. H. ROUILLARD, *Rephaim*, in *DDD*, Leiden 1995, col. 1307-1324, with literature.

²¹⁸ *APN*, p. 186a; *ZADOK*, *WSB*, p. 121. See also below, p. 456-457.

²¹⁹ *RIMA* III, text A.0.104.2010, p. 232, lines 10-11; cf. here above, p. 425, n. 90.

²²⁰ MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 58.

²²¹ *Nippur IV*, No. 6, a letter quoting the stipulation which concerns theft and its compensation.

have aggregated a smaller tribe, called *Qá-a-mu* or *Ga-a-mu*²²², apparently during a festival held at Nippur where both tribes were probably used to come together and seem therefore to have been unified by a common cult. The writer of a Neo-Babylonian letter writes thus to his correspondent: “in Nippur, many of the [...] and all the people of Qāmu have gone o[ver?] to the Rupū’ tribe”²²³. The integration of tribes and clans is no exceptional event in the life of nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples, but this particular case deserves a special consideration because of the name Qāmu of the smaller tribe, which is known from only another letter of the same archive²²⁴. In fact, *qām* is the Aramaic name of the betyl or sacred pillar and this word occurs in onomastics as a theophorous element²²⁵.

A few years later, in 745 B.C., Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 B.C.) encounters the Rupū’ tribe in an unspecified area of southern Babylonia²²⁶. In the final decades of the 8th century, Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) finds the tribe along the Uqnū and Surappu rivers near the Elamite border²²⁷. This is its last mention in cuneiform sources, but a more recent reference to the tribe occurs probably in Numb. 13, 9²²⁸.

Also the ^{lú}*Lab-du-du*, vanquished by the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu in the early 8th century²²⁹, reappear a few decades later in Babylonia and are said to have been deported to Assyria by Tiglath-pileser III²³⁰. Nevertheless, they occur again in the so-called “Display inscriptions” of Sargon II, where the ^{lú}*Ha-ṭal-lum* are followed by ^{lú}*Lab-du-du*²³¹, designated also as ^{kur}*La-ba-du-du* or ^{kur}*La-ba-du-da-a*²³². The Lab(a)dudu are thus mentioned among the Aramaean tribes which the king claims to have subjugated in southeastern Babylonia. They are named later in a

²²² There is ample evidence for a Semitic voiced *qāf* and for a shift *q > g*, both in ancient and modern dialects; cf., for instance, J. CANTINEAU, *Les parlers arabes du Hōrān*, Paris 1946, p. 114, 125-127; C. RABIN, *Ancient West-Arabian*, London 1951, p. 55, 125-126.

²²³ *Nippur IV*, No. 83, 5-7.

²²⁴ *Nippur IV*, No. 9, 20.

²²⁵ E. LIPÍŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 113), p. 43-46. See also here above, p. 428, and below, p. 602-604.

²²⁶ *Tigl. III*, p. 122, line 5; p. 130, line 4; p. 158, line 5; p. 194, line 5; p. 206, line 3.

²²⁷ *Sargon II*, p. 195 and 343-344, Displ. 18-19; p. 265 and 360, Pavem. IV 71-75.

²²⁸ Cf. here above, p. 439.

²²⁹ *RIMA III*, text A.0.104.2010, p. 232, line 11; cf. here above, p. 425, n. 90.

²³⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, lines 14-15; cf. p. 150, line 5: ^{kur}*Lab-du-di*.

²³¹ *Sargon II*, p. 195 and 343, Displ. 18; p. 265 and 360, Pavem. IV 72. They occur with the *Haṭallū* also in *Tigl. III*, p. 150, line 5.

²³² PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 221. The name appears, among others, in a list of Neo-Assyrian provinces and districts: *SAA XI*, 1, I, 15.

letter from the time of Ashurbanipal that refers to their territory²³³, the exact location of which is unknown.

The tribal name seems to derive from the root *lbd*, extended by the reduplication of the third radical consonant. The verb *labbada* is used in Arabic with the meaning “to mat wool”, the noun *lubda(tun)* designates “matted wool”, and the personal name *Lbd* occurs in Liḥyānite and Ṣafaitic anthroponomy²³⁴, as well as in later Arabic onomastics with the names *Labīd* and *Libd*²³⁵. A form **Labādidu* would be a good “broken” plural of a fourconsonantal noun²³⁶, but the second *a* seems to be short, since it could be elided, and the third vowel is *u* instead of *i*. However, Semitic preserves traces of an old plural formed by the repetition of the last radical consonant²³⁷, and this might be the case of Lab(a)dudu that probably designates “feltmakers”. Professional tribes or groupings are known in the ancient Semitic world²³⁸ and “feltmakers” may form such an old group, since wool felts of the nonwoven class are considered to be the first textile goods produced. The nomadic tribes of north Central Asia still produce felts for clothing and shelter, utilizing the primitive methods handed down from antiquity. If this interpretation is correct, the Lab(a)dudu were nomadic pastoralists.

8. TIGLATH-PILESER III's LIST

Tiglath-pileser III's main list with names of thirty-five tribes probably goes back to the king's first regnal year, i.e. 745 B.C.²³⁹, since it is practically identical with the one introduced by the formula “at the beginning of my reign, in my first *palū*”, occurring on slab NA 9/76 from the Polish excavations at Nimrud²⁴⁰:

²³³ ABL 537, 5.

²³⁴ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 509.

²³⁵ W. CASSEL, *Ġamharat an-nasab, das genealogische Werk des Hišam ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbi*, Leiden 1966, vol. II, p. 374a and 378a.

²³⁶ W. FISCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 130), p. 55, § 94.

²³⁷ LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 31.17 and § 31.22.

²³⁸ E. LIPIŃSKI, *Corporations*, in DCP, Turnhout 1992, p. 120-121.

²³⁹ *Tigl. III*, p. 272 with n. 10.

²⁴⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 37; see the transliteration by E. FRAHM, rec. in *AfO* 44-45 (1997-98), p. 401. Beside the omission of Nos. 1 and 2 of the following list and the insertion of ^{lū}*Li-'ta-ú* between Nos. 12 and 13, the sequence of the names is identical with that appearing in the well-known list of Tadmor's Summary 7: *Tigl. III*, p. 158-161, lines 5-8. Nos. 20 ff. are missing.

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>I-tu-'</i> | 18. <i>Ú-bu-du</i> |
| 2. <i>Ru-pu-'</i> | 19. <i>Gu-ru-mu</i> |
| 3. <i>Ḥa-mar-a-ni</i> | 20. <i>Ḥu-da-du</i> |
| 4. <i>Lu-ḥu-ú-a-tu</i> | 21. <i>Ḥi-in-di-ru</i> |
| 5. <i>Ḥa-tal-lu</i> | 22. <i>Da-mu-nu</i> |
| 6. <i>Ru-ub-bu-ú</i> | 23. <i>Du-na-nu</i> |
| 7. <i>Ra-pi-qu</i> | 24. <i>Ni-il-qu</i> |
| 8. <i>Ḥi-ra-a-nu</i> | 25. <i>Ra-di-e</i> |
| 9. <i>Ra-bi-ilu</i> | 26. <i>Da-x-[...]-x</i> |
| 10. <i>Na-ši-ru</i> | 27. <i>Ú-bu-lu</i> |
| 11. <i>Gu-lu-su</i> | 28. <i>Kar-ma-'</i> |
| 12. <i>Na-ba-tu</i> | 29. <i>Am-la-tu</i> |
| 13. <i>Ra-ḥi-qu</i> | 30. <i>Ru-'-a</i> |
| 14. <i>Ka-pi-ri</i> | 31. <i>Qa-bi-'</i> |
| 15. <i>Ru-um-mu-lu-tu</i> | 32. <i>Li-'-ta-a-ú</i> |
| 16. <i>A-di-li-e</i> | 33. <i>Ma-ru-su</i> |
| 17. <i>Gīb-ri-e</i> | 34. <i>A-ma-tu</i> |
| | 35. <i>Ḥa-ga-ra-a-nu</i> |

In this list, the 'Itū'/'Utū' and the Rupū' are followed by the ^{lu}*Ḥa-mar-a-ni*, whose name is preserved on slab NA 9/76 from the Polish excavations²⁴¹. This name is followed by ^{lu}*Lu-ḥu-ú-a-tu* and both tribes are mentioned together in a letter from Nineveh²⁴², that suggests the existence of a link between the two tribal entities.

9. ḤAMARĀNU AND LUḤŪ'ĀTU

The name ^{lu}*Ḥa-mar-a-ni* is also spelt ^{lu}*Ḥa-am-ra-a-nu*, ^{lu}*Ḥa-ma-ra-na-a-a*, ^{lu}*Ḥa-mar-a-na-a-a*²⁴³. Since the second vowel *a* of the word is short²⁴⁴, the name of the tribe cannot derive from the Aramaic or Arabic nouns "donkey" or "donkey-driver". Instead, a number of usages of the Arabic roots *ḥmr* or *ḥmr* could be taken into account. In particular, there is a Šafaitic proper name *Ḥmrn*, probably derived from *ḥmr*, "red", and there is a Sabaic name *Ḥmrn*²⁴⁵, possibly related to *ḥmr*, "slave", or to *ḥmrn*, "favour"²⁴⁶. In any case, the etymology would seem to suggest an Arab origin of the tribe. During Sargon II's campaign in Babylonia, some of its members took refuge in the city of Sippar but were caught

²⁴¹ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 4; cf. p. 272, n. 10.

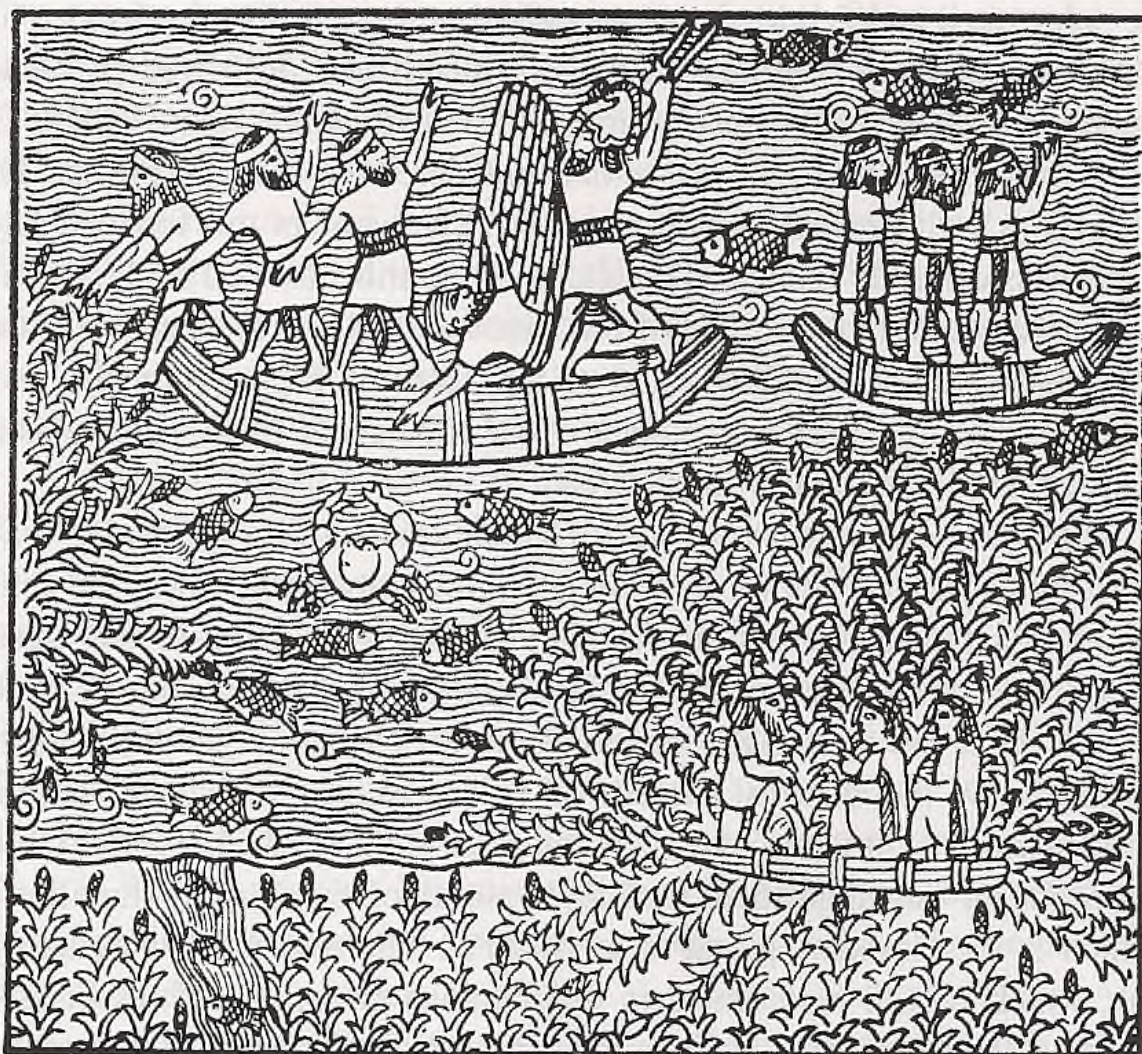
²⁴² *ABL* 468 = *SLA* 247, r. 8-9.

²⁴³ Cf. PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 145-146; *RGTC* 8, p. 149.

²⁴⁴ This results from its elision in ^{lu}*Ḥa-am-ra-(a-)nu*.

²⁴⁵ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 201 and 229.

²⁴⁶ *Sabaic Dictionary*, p. 61.



Drawing of a Neo-Assyrian relief which represents scenes of warfare in the Sealand (R.D. Barnett et al., *Sculptures from the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh II. Plates*, London 1998, Pl. 236-237).

there by the Assyrians and massacred²⁴⁷. The account also points out that the tribe was then used to raid into northern Babylonia and to attack caravans. This is confirmed by a letter addressed to Sargon II and informing the king that a royal messenger sent with a caravan to Birat on the Euphrates was kidnapped by the ^{lú}*Ha-mar-a-na-a*²⁴⁸. However, another letter, sent to an unnamed king, names the ^{lú}*Ha-ma-ra-na-a* with the ^{lú}*Li-ḫu-ú-a-ta-a-a* and seems to indicate that one of their centres was the town of ^{uru}*Ga-na-ta*²⁴⁹, probably identical with Gannanāte on the Diyāla river²⁵⁰. In fact, the ^{lú}*Ha-am-ra-(a)-nu* are not only named by Sennacherib in a stereotyped list of “non submissive Aramaeans” which

²⁴⁷ *Sargon II*, p. 155-156 and 332, Ann. 318-320.

²⁴⁸ SAA I, 90.

²⁴⁹ ABL 468 = SLA 247, r. 8-13.

²⁵⁰ E. UNGER, *Gannanate*, in *RLA III*, Berlin 1957-71, p. 139-140. See also PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 129.

he subjugated and deported to Assyria²⁵¹, but there is also a reference to a “strong city” of ^{uru}*Ha-am-ra-nu*, conquered and destroyed by Sennacherib in the course of his campaign of 693/2 against Elam²⁵². This is the same town as ^{uru}*Ha-am-ra-nu*, plundered by Tiglath-pileser III according to the Babylonian Chronicle²⁵³. The name of this fortified settlement is certainly related to the name of the tribe, as well as the ^{kur}*Ha-am-ra-na-a-a* of tablet K. 7547 from Nineveh²⁵⁴. Since the distance from the confluence of the Diyāla and of the Tigris to Sippar (Abū Ḥabba) amounts to only 35 km, some clans of the tribe could easily operate also west of the Tigris, in the Sippar area.

The ^{lu}*Ha-mar-a-ni* are followed in Tiglath-pileser III’s list by the ^{lu}*Lu-ḥu-ú-a-tu*²⁵⁵, called ^{lu}*Lu-ḥu-ú-a-a* in a Sūḥu inscription²⁵⁶, where the gentilic suffix is used instead of the plural ending. The form of the name **Luhū’ātu*, probably pronounced [*Luhūwātu*] with the well-known glide *w* between *u* and *a*, strongly suggests a North-Arabian origin of the tribe, since this is the nominal pattern of the so-called “individual” plural formed from a “broken” plural of the *fu’ūl* stem, like Classical Arabic *buyūtātu(n)*, “distinguished families”, plural of *buyūtu(n)*, “families”, which is the “broken” plural of *baytu(n)*²⁵⁷. The root itself is certainly *lhy*, which is well represented in Old Arabian onomastics²⁵⁸, especially by the North-Arabian personal name *Lhy*²⁵⁹. Considering that there is also a Ṣafaitic proper name *’lh*²⁶⁰, i.e. *’alḥā*, the elative “long-bearded”, we assume that *lhy* meant “bearded” in Old Arabian and was pronounced *lāhiy* or *lahīy*²⁶¹. The implications of such a name are revealed by the importance attached to the beard among modern Bedouin. For instance, they say *liḥyatahū ṭayyiba*, “his beard is good”, to signify that someone is “whole-hearted”, while a “good-for-nothing” is called *mā lahū liḥya*,

²⁵¹ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 48; p. 49, line 13; p. 54, line 56; p. 57, line 15.

²⁵² *Sennacherib*, p. 40, line 69; A.K. GRAYSON, *art. cit.* (n. 188), p. 90, line 28.

²⁵³ A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 71, No. 1, I, 4.

²⁵⁴ C. BEZOLD, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum II*, London 1891, p. 858 (K. 7547). These suggestions were made already by S. SCHIFFER, *Die Aramäer*, Leipzig 1911, p. 121. A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 255-256, sees a possible relation between the ancient name and the modern Ġebel Ḥamrīn.

²⁵⁵ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 5; cf. p. 130, line 4; p. 194, line 5; p. 196, line 5. They are missing in the sequence of slab NA 9/76; cf. *ibid.*, p. 272, n. 10.

²⁵⁶ *RIMB II*, text S.O.1002.2, p. 295, line 10.

²⁵⁷ W. FISCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 130), p. 60-61, § 106b.

²⁵⁸ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 512-513; E.A. KNAUF, *Ismael*, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1989, p. 47-48.

²⁵⁹ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 512.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

²⁶¹ This name is attested: W. CASHEL, *op. cit.* (n. 235), vol. II, p. 375b.

“he has no beard”²⁶². In consequence, the biblical *Bē'er Laḥay Rō'ī*²⁶³ probably was “the Well of the Bearded Seer” and the **Luḥū'ātu* were “distinguished bearded men”. The substitution of *hamza* for intervocalic *yā'* is normal in Classical Arabic, but the phonetic influence of the original **Luḥūyātu* may still be perceived in the variant spelling ^{lú}*Li-ḥu-ú-a-ta-a-a*²⁶⁴ with vowel *i* in the first syllable, dissimilated from *ū*. The apparent close association of the Luḥū'ātu with the Ḥamarānu suggests that they were ranging in northern Babylonia as well, east of the Tigris. Sennacherib's inscriptions do not mention them any more.

^{lú}*Ha-ṭal-lu*, which is the next tribe named in Tiglath-pileser's list²⁶⁵, has already been examined above²⁶⁶. It is followed by ^{lú}*Ru-ub-bu-ū*²⁶⁷, not attested in other sources. The pattern of the name indicates a “broken” plural *Rubbū*, probably “the great” or “numerous ones”, either in Aramaic or in Arabic. Thereafter comes *Ra-pi-qu*, rightly written in Tiglath-pileser III's great list without the determinative LÚ²⁶⁸, because Rāpīqu is a city: it is the well-known Babylonian border town on the Euphrates, already mentioned in the Old Babylonian period²⁶⁹. Its presence in Tiglath-pileser's list must therefore be understood as a reference to its inhabitants and not to a particular Aramaean tribe. It was named by Tiglath-pileser I in connection with his campaigns against the Aramaeans on the Middle Euphrates²⁷⁰, but the reason of its mention in Tiglath-pileser III's list is not evident, since no direct military activity against Rāpīqu seems to be attested under his reign or the reign of Sargon II²⁷¹. Sennacherib names Rāpīqu among his enemies without further indications²⁷². The tribalization of the town and of some other cities may have been a fabrication of an Assyrian scribe²⁷³.

²⁶² H. LAMMENS, *Le berceau de l'Islam* I, Rome 1914, p. 311. It should be noticed that the pronunciation *laḥya* is attested besides *liḥya*, “beard”; cf. C. RABIN, *op. cit.* (n. 222), p. 101.

²⁶³ Gen. 16, 4; 24, 62; 25, 11. An inconclusive survey of the opinions is given by A. DE PURY, *Lahai-Roi*, in *DDD*, Leiden 1995, col. 934-937.

²⁶⁴ ABL 468 = SLA 247, r. 8.

²⁶⁵ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 5; cf. p. 150, line 5; p. 194, line 5; p. 196, line 5; p. 272, n. 10.

²⁶⁶ See here above, p. 425-428.

²⁶⁷ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 5; cf. p. 194, line 5; p. 196, line 5; p. 272, n. 10.

²⁶⁸ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 5.

²⁶⁹ B. GRONEBERG, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit* (RGTC 3), Wiesbaden 1980, p. 193.

²⁷⁰ RIMA II, text A.0.87.3, p. 38, line 33; text A.0.87.4, p. 43, lines 35-36; text A.0.87.13, p. 60, line 7'.

²⁷¹ BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 270-271.

²⁷² *Sennacherib*, p. 43, line 50.

²⁷³ BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 271.

Rāpiqu is followed by the ^{lu}*Hi-ra-a-nu*²⁷⁴, who bear the same name as the tribe attested in the 13th century in the border region of Assyria²⁷⁵. Its mention after Rāpiqu was probably prompted by the presence of a settlement ^{uru}*Hi-ra-nu* close to Sippar, where clans of that ancient tribe had possibly settled²⁷⁶. The name of this tribe derives from an Aramaic personal name²⁷⁷.

10. RABB-'IL, NĀŠIR, GULŪŠ

Also the three following tribal names are anthroponyms. ^{lu}*Ra-bi-ilu*²⁷⁸ means “God is great” and it is a name that is widespread among ancient Arabs, as shown especially by Nabataean, Šafaitic, and Palmyrene inscriptions²⁷⁹. Instead, the name does not occur either in the Aramaic documents from Egypt, dating mainly from the 5th century B.C., or in Jewish Aramaic texts. Therefore, the name Rabbi-'Il, attested in Babylonia under Persian rule²⁸⁰, is borne most likely by Arabs. It bridges the period between the Neo-Assyrian and the Hellenistic sources. A fragment of a Neo-Assyrian census confirms the Arab origin of the name, since at least a brother and a sister of the boy called *Rab-ba-DINGIR* bear North-Arabian names²⁸¹: *Ga-mi-ú* = *Gm*²⁸², “joined”, and *E-bi-su* = *Hbs*¹, “dedicated”, or ‘bs, “severe”²⁸³.

The toponym ^{uru}*Rab-bi-lu* or ^{uru}*Rab-bi-i-li*²⁸⁴ may be related to the Arab tribe²⁸⁵. This settlement can be located in the area of Sippar²⁸⁶, like

²⁷⁴ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 5.

²⁷⁵ See here above, p. 45.

²⁷⁶ See here above, p. 46 with n. 126.

²⁷⁷ See here above, p. 46.

²⁷⁸ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 5; cf. p. 272, n. 10.

²⁷⁹ A. NEGEV, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 59, No. 1049; HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 263; *Safaitic Cairns*, p. 576; J.K. STARK, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 49, 111. The Greek transcriptions Ῥάββηλος, Ῥάβηλος go back to the 3rd century B.C.: H. WUTHNOW, *Die semitischen Menschnennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des Vorderen Orients*, Leipzig 1930, p. 96, 166; D. FORABOSCHI, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum*, Milano-Varese 1971, p. 274a.

²⁸⁰ V. HILPRECHT, *BE IX*, Philadelphia 1898, Nos. 40, 1.10; 72, 14; 80, 16; 101, 3; A.T. CLAY, *BE X*, Philadelphia 1904, No. 70, lower edge; etc.: ^m*Ra-ab-bi-/Rab-bi-DINGIR.MEŠ*. Cf. also *APN*, p. 185a.

²⁸¹ *CTN II*, 113, 2'-6'. The reading of the names of two other brothers is partly uncertain and the possible interpretation is doubtful, e.g. 'Ilahat-karra(t), “The goddess came back” (?).

²⁸² HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 167, s.v. *JM'*. Unsubstantial explanation in *PNA I/2*, p. 420-421.

²⁸³ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 173, s.v. *HBS*; p. 402, s.v. 'BS.

²⁸⁴ PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 290; *RGTC* 8, p. 257 and 425.

²⁸⁵ Suggestion made already by S. SCHIFFER, *op. cit.* (n. 254), p. 122.

²⁸⁶ *RGTC* 8, p. 425.

^{uru}*Hi-ra-nu*, but the town is mentioned in conjunction with Ḥamrānu in the Babylonian Chronicle, which ascribes a plundering of both places to Tiglath-pileser III²⁸⁷. Now, Ḥamrānu is to be located near the Diyāla river; thus it seems probable that Rabbilu was in the same vicinity.

The next tribe in Tiglath-pileser III's list is called ^{lu}*Na-ši-ru*²⁸⁸. It possibly appears also in a letter²⁸⁹, which cannot be dated more precisely, and it might be related to the place name ^{uru}*Na-šir*, which should belong to the Sippar area as well²⁹⁰. This is uncertain, however, because the aforementioned letter seems to connect the ^{lu}*Na-ši-[ru]* with tribes in southeastern Babylonia, like the Damūnu and the Gambūlu, who were dwelling near the Tigris.

The spelling ^{uru}*Na-šir* with *š* is still attested at the time of Darius I²⁹¹, when Aramaic *nṯr* was already pronounced and spelt *nṯr*²⁹². It is likely therefore that the name of the tribe and of the town derives from Arabic *nāšir*, "helper, protector", the one granting victory. The personal name Nāšir is well represented in North-Arabian anthroponymy²⁹³ and should therefore be considered as the origin of the tribal name.

^{lu}*Gu-lu-su* is the next "Aramaean" tribe allegedly encountered by Tiglath-pileser III in Babylonia²⁹⁴. Its name might be a "broken" plural *Gulūš* or *Guluš* of a singular *gālīš* or *galīš* that in Arabic designates a participant in a social gathering or a table companion (*ḡalīs*). This word is frequently used in North-Arabian as a personal name²⁹⁵ and its Greek transcription Γαλεσος²⁹⁶ rather favours the active participle *gālīš* of *glš*, "to go down", hence "to sit down"²⁹⁷. The problem is that the tribal

²⁸⁷ A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 71, No. 1, I, 4; cf. p. 261.

²⁸⁸ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 6.

²⁸⁹ ABL 846 = SLA 73, r. 2. Cf. RGTC 8, p. 236.

²⁹⁰ RGTC 8, p. 236.

²⁹¹ J.N. STRASSMAIER, *Inscriptionen von Darius, König von Babylon (521-485 v. Chr.)*, Leipzig 1897, No. 110, 2.

²⁹² DNWSI, p. 754-755, sub OffAr.

²⁹³ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 590; *Safaitic Cairns*, p. 616, 621; A. NEGEV, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 44, No. 746; J.K. STARK, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 40, 100. The Greek transcriptions Νασρος and Νασερος (H. WUTHNOW, *op. cit.* [n. 279], p. 82, 152) correspond to *Našr* and *Nāšir*.

²⁹⁴ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 6.

²⁹⁵ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 165, s. v. *JLS*; *Safaitic Cairns*, p. 566; A. NEGEV, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 19, No. 233.

²⁹⁶ H. WUTHNOW, *op. cit.* (n. 279), p. 39, 134.

²⁹⁷ There are two clear semantic developments from "go down", which is attested in Biblical Hebrew (Cant. 4, 1; 6, 5), to "sit down" in Arabic and to "lose flesh/hair" in Aramaic, with a particular astrological use in Assyro-Babylonian, where the moon is said to "wane" (*ga-liš*); cf. E. WEIDNER, in *AfO* 19 (1959-60), p. 156a.

name ^{lú}*Gu-lu-su* is attested only in the long list of the “Aramaean” tribes subjugated by Tiglath-pileser III, while the same name, written ^m*Gu-lu-šú* in Early Neo-Babylonian, was borne precisely by the governor of Dēr²⁹⁸, that the Assyrian king conquered around 738, deporting 5,400 of its inhabitants²⁹⁹. The city was situated in the Aramaean area of eastern Babylonia and it is quite possible that ^{lú}*Gu-lu-su* was no Aramaean tribe, but originally a designation of the people of the governor Gulušu of Dēr, called ^{uru}*Bīt-De-ra-a-a* in a parallel passage of Tiglath-pileser III’s annals³⁰⁰. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that more persons are called ^m*Gu-lu-su* or ^m*Ge-lu-šú*, for instance ^m*Gu-lu-su*, the prefect of the ‘Itū’aeans³⁰¹. The Late Babylonian spelling ^{uru}*Ge-lu-šú* of the homonymic place name³⁰² already reveals a pronunciation *Gālūš* or *Gālōš*, attested later in Jewish Aramaic for *gālōš*, “baldhead”, “hairless”³⁰³. In the Persian period, in fact, *Ge-lu-šú* was a toponym from the Sippar region; its name may derive from a personal name, but more likely it is an independent appellation of a site which was originally characterized as a “bald” hill.

11. NABĀTU/NABAYATU

Among the tribes named by Tiglath-pileser III and explicitly labelled as Aramaean, the ^{lú}*Na-ba-tu* raise particular questions³⁰⁴. They are generally distinguished from the later Nabataeans — wrongly, as it seems. In any case, they should most likely be identified with the Nabayatu who were active under the reign of Ashurbanipal. Tiglath-pileser III’s summaries do not furnish any information about the Nabātu and Sennacherib’s inscriptions mention the tribe in the sequence ^{lú}*Ha-ga-ra-nu* ^{lú}*Na-ba-tu* ^{lú}*Li’-ta-a-ú*³⁰⁵, but do not contain any concrete indication

²⁹⁸ *Nippur* IV, Nos. 33, 1; 57, 10.13.19. Since the sender of No. 33 is Kudurru, most likely the governor of Nippur (*ibid.*, p. 6), while ^m*Gu-lu-šú* of Dēr is said to be “his brother”, the latter must be the governor of Dēr.

²⁹⁹ *Tigl. III*, p. 66, line 3; cf. p. 272.

³⁰⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 86, Ann. 2, line 2, parallel to p. 66, line 3.

³⁰¹ *SAA* VII, 5, II, 11; 9, r. I, 25. Cf. *PNA* I/2, p. 431, and here above, p. 437-438.

³⁰² *RGTC* 8, p. 139.

³⁰³ This connotation clearly occurs in Targum Onqelos on Lev. 13, 41: A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic* I, Leiden 1959, p. 186. The variant spelling *glyš* of the Yemenite manuscripts may imply a different meaning, based on Arabic *ḡālīs*, “participant in a social gathering”: *ḡālīs hū’ dākē hū’*, “he is a table companion, he is pure”.

³⁰⁴ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 6; cf. p. 130, line 5; p. 194, line 6. The spelling is ^{lú}*Na-ba-a-ti’* on slab NA 9/76, line 5; cf. E. FRAHM, rec. in *AfO* 44-45 (1997-98), p. 401.

³⁰⁵ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, lines 48-49; p. 49, line 14; p. 54, line 56; p. 57, line 15.

besides the fact that the ^{lú}*Na-ba-tu* appear between two North-Arabian tribes. This favours the assumption that the Nabātu, instead of being Aramaeans, are North-Arabians as well and should be identified with the tribe which was later called *Nbyt/Nabayatu*³⁰⁶. This name is the “broken” plural *fa‘alatu(n)*³⁰⁷ of *nabī* for *nabī’u*, “distinguished man”³⁰⁸, with the well-known substitution of *yā’* for an original *hamza*, that was elided between the same short vowels in the earlier form of speech (*Naba’atu* > *Nabātu*)³⁰⁹. The original pronunciation is possibly reflected in a Babylonian letter, written before 648 B.C., where the name is spelt ^{lú}*Né-ba-’-a-ti*³¹⁰.

This letter from the mid-7th century shows that the Nabayatu are explicitly labelled at that time as Arabs³¹¹ and that they are found in the Babylonian border region. This location is supported by another letter from the same period where Shamash-shum-ukīn is said to have presented the envoys of Nadnu, chief of the Nabayatu (^m*Na-ad-nu* ^{lú}*Na-ba-a-tu-ú-a*), with captives from the city of Sippar³¹². A strong Babylonian

³⁰⁶ References are collected by I. EPH‘AL, *The Ancient Arabs*, Jerusalem 1982, p. 221. Several authors distinguish the ^{lú}*Na-ba-tu* from the ^{lú}*Na-ba-a-a-te*. This distinction seems to result mainly from an insufficient knowledge of Arabic phonology. The Arab grammarians speak of the alleviation (*tahfīf*) of the glottal stop, in which they distinguish elision (*ḥaḍf*), like in *Nabātu*, and replacement by *y* (*‘ibdāl*), like in *Nabayatu*.

³⁰⁷ This pattern of “broken” plural is used in Classical Arabic with nouns of the stems *fā‘il* and *fa‘īl* that designate human beings. Cf. W. FISCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 130), p. 52, § 89b.

³⁰⁸ The Arabic verb *naba’a* means “to be prominent”, but its Stem II, “to notify”, clearly shows that it is related etymologically to Assyro-Babylonian *nabū*, “to name”. Instead, Assyro-Babylonian *nebū*, *nabū*, “to shine”, belongs to the same root as Arabic *nabaha*. The Arabic noun *nabīy*, “prophet”, and its derivatives are of foreign origin; cf. A. JEFFERY, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur‘ān*, Baroda 1938, p. 276. *Nabīy* presumably reached Arabic in its Aramaic form; cf. C. RABIN, *op. cit.* (n. 222), p. 133. A rather fancy etymology, “vegetation” or the like, is proposed by E.A. KNAUF, *Nabatu*, in *RLA* IX/1-2, Berlin 1998, p. 5.

³⁰⁹ See C. RABIN, *op. cit.* (n. 222), p. 130-145, especially p. 136-137. E.C. BROOME, *Nabaiati, Nebaiioth and the Nabataeans: The Linguistic Problem*, in *JSS* 18 (1973), p. 1-16, is thus basically right, when he considers the spelling *Nbyt* as secondary, but he fails recognizing the original root of the name. Further explanation is required, when he identifies the *Nbyt* with the *Nbt*, as first done by E. SCHRADER, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1883, p. 147; ID., *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* I, London-Edinburgh 1885, p. 133-134. However, E. Schrader (*ibid.*) sharply distinguishes the *Nabātu* from the *Nabayatu*, considering them as “Babylonian Aramaeans”.

³¹⁰ *ABL* 260 = *SLA* 91, r. 1. For the dating of the letter, see I. EPH‘AL, *op. cit.* (n. 306), p. 58.

³¹¹ Obv., line 11: ^{lú}*Ar-a-bi*.

³¹² *ABL* 1117 = *SLA* 63; cf. I. EPH‘AL, *op. cit.* (n. 306), p. 221. The form ^{lú}*Na-ba-a-tu-ú-a* suggests the use of a superimposed Aramaic plural in *-ū*, affixed to the “broken” plural *Naba’atu*.

influence appears even in the name Nadnu of the sheikh himself³¹³. In the light of this evidence, the ^{lú}*Na-bat-a-a* put by Sargon II at the disposal of the governor Ašipā³¹⁴ must stay also in Babylonia, where a governor Ašipā is attested by two Nimrud letters³¹⁵. Therefore, it is possible that the city of Nabātu, mentioned near Babylon in an inscription of Marduk-apla-iddina II (721-710 B.C.) and in later texts³¹⁶, owns its name to the Arab tribe, which is named again in the correspondence of Sennacherib³¹⁷. At the time of Ashurbanipal's campaigns against the Arabs, most Nabayatu clans must have shifted to the Syrian steppe and, in the 6th century, they appear to have migrated to the area south of Wādī Sirhān³¹⁸.

12. RAḤĪQU, KAPĪRI, RUMMŪLUTU

The Nabātu are followed in the list by a tribe called ^{lú}*Ra-ḥi-qu*³¹⁹; a gentilic form ^{lú}*Re-ḥi-qu-a-a* is attested as well³²⁰. A meaning like "far, remote"³²¹ is not fit for a place name, a tribal name, or a personal name. This is a methodological question, sometimes ignored by authors dealing with anthroponyms and toponyms. The name must be originally meaningful as designation of a concrete entity that belongs to a well defined category³²². Therefore, the cuneiform spelling should be considered as standing for phonemic *Raḥīṣ/Raḥīd*³²³, "washed, bathed"³²⁴, referring to a place in a well defined area. The same tribe is called ^{lú}*Re-ḥi-ḥu* in Sennacherib's inscriptions³²⁵, where the etymological ṣ (*d*) is transcribed by

³¹³ The transcription *Natnu* is not correct, for such a name is not Aramaic.

³¹⁴ SAA I, 5.

³¹⁵ H.W. SAGGS, *The Nimrud Letters, 1952 — Part I*, in *Iraq* 17 (1955), p. 21-56 (see No. XI, 2, p. 43); ID., *The Nimrud Letters, 1952 — Part VIII*, in *Iraq* 28 (1966), p. 177-191 (see No. XCI, 2, p. 188).

³¹⁶ RGTC 8, p. 232. The suggestion was made already by S. SCHIFFER, *op. cit.* (n. 254), p. 122.

³¹⁷ S. PARPOLA, CT 53, London 1979, No. 686.

³¹⁸ See I. EPH'AL, *op. cit.* (n. 306), p. 221-223. This phase of their history falls beyond the scope of the present work.

³¹⁹ Tigr. III, p. 158, line 6; cf. p. 272, n. 10.

³²⁰ ABL 349 = SLA 64, r. 5. There is no feminine name ^{lú}*Re-ḥi-qi-i-tú*, as proposed by R. ZADOK, *art. cit.* (n. 37), p. 69, n. 258, since the word should be read *mut-qi-i-tú*, "sweets" (SAA VII, 145, 7).

³²¹ Suggested by ZADOK, WSB, p. 185.

³²² LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 67.1.

³²³ Cf. LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 16.7.

³²⁴ The verb *raḥaḍa* means "to wash" in Arabic.

³²⁵ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 44'; p. 49, line 12'; p. 54, line 55; p. 57, line 14; *Sanherib*, p. 51, line 12.

*h*³²⁶, and there is also a ^{kur}*Ra-ḥi-ḥa*³²⁷, most likely referring to the land of this tribe. Such a name may designate a town located on a river and “washed” by the stream, like probably Old Babylonian *Raḥāšum* or *Raḥīšum*³²⁸, or a region “bathed” in swamps, like large parts of south-eastern Babylonia.

The restoration of the next name as ^{lú}*Ka-[pi-ri]* is now possible thanks to slab NA 9/76³²⁹. This name cannot be derived from the noun *kapru*, “village”, but must have a meaning as a personal or tribal name. It is well attested as a proper name in North-Arabian with *Kpyrw* in Nabataean³³⁰, *Kfr* and *Kfry* in Šafaitic, and *Kfr’l* in Thamūdīc³³¹. The most likely explanation relates these names to the Hebrew noun *kəpīr* which designates a young, strong lion³³². This noun is not exclusively Hebrew, as shown not only by the North-Arabian proper names, but also by the Cushitic word *kabil* (Rendille), *kebēl-* (Sidamo), *kabēr-* (Hadiyya), “leopard”³³³. This Cushitic word originates in a form of speech that was using a voiced variant *kbr/l* of the same root.

The following ^{lú}*Ru-um-mu-lu-tu* tribe is known only from Tiglath-pileser III’s list³³⁴. These tribesmen are literally “desert people”, since the expected *Rummūlatu*³³⁵ is apparently the “broken” plural of a derivative of *raml*, “sand”, “sand desert”³³⁶. That derivative certainly corresponds to the Šafaitic proper name *Rml*³³⁷. If this was *rammāl*, the “geomancer” who practices divination by means of figures or lines in the sand, the *rummūlatu* would have been “geomancers”, but this is just a possibility. In any case, the name indicates that this was an Arab tribe of desert nomads.

³²⁶ LIPINSKI, *Semitic*, § 10.9.

³²⁷ ABL 830, r. 4.

³²⁸ B. GRONEBERG, *op. cit.* (n. 269), p. 194. See also the whole Mari text published by G. DOSSIN, *Une mention de Cananéens dans une lettre de Mari*, in *Syria* 50 (1973), p. 277-282.

³²⁹ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 6; cf. p. 272, n. 10; E. FRAHM, *AfO* 44-45 (1997-98), p. 401.

³³⁰ A. NEGEV, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 36, No. 577.

³³¹ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 501-502; *Safaitic Cairns*, p. 606.

³³² J. CANTINEAU, *Le Nabatéen II*, Paris 1932, p. 108; *PNA* II/1, p. 605.

³³³ H.-J. SASSE, *The Consonant Phonemes of Proto-East Cushitic (PEC): A First Approximation*, in *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 7 (1979-80), p. 1-67 (see p. 13).

³³⁴ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 6; cf. p. 272, n. 10; E. FRAHM, *AfO* 44-45 (1997-98), p. 401.

³³⁵ Here we can reckon with a Neo-Assyrian harmonization of the vowels, affecting a short *a* in open syllable. The gemination of *m* might be non-phonemic.

³³⁶ Cf. W. FISCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 130), p. 52, § 89b, sub *fu’ūlatun*. This tribal name was already related to Arabic *raml*, “sand”, by F. HOMMEL, *Ethnologie und Ethnographie des Alten Orients* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft III/1, 1), München 1926, p. 436. The word *rml* occurs also in Sabaic: *Sabaic Dictionary*, p. 117.

³³⁷ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 287.

13. 'ADILĪYE, GIBRĪYE, 'UBŪDU

The next tribe of Tiglath-pileser III's list, ^{lu}A-di-li-e³³⁸, is again a group without known history. Its name is most likely a derivative of the root 'dl, "to act justly", but it can hardly be related to Syriac 'āddilā, "blamable". Arabic 'ādil, "just, fair, equitable", certainly fits a tribal name better and it is attested as personal name in North-Arabian³³⁹. The ending -iye or -ē is probably a *nisba*-afformative that expresses the appurtenance to the category of "just" people. The *nisba*-suffix -iy(y) is Common Semitic, but most names ending in -iy(y) in the Neo-Babylonian period can be interpreted as Aramaic or Old Arabian. The suffix is written -y in Aramaic and in Arabic, -Ci-i/ia/iá/'e in cuneiform. The -e is merely an orthographic variant, as can be deduced from the fact that the name of the same person can be written *Ab-di-i* or *Ab-di-e*, *Ba-ni-ia* or *Ba-ni-e*, *Zab-di-ia* or *Zab-di-e*. The transcription in -īye of the tribal names 'Adilīye, Gibrīye, Radiye, and Tanīye takes this fact into account, while Assyriologists usually transcribe *Adilē*, *Gibrē*, *Radē*, *Tanē*. As for 'Adilīye in particular, there is no likelihood that this tribal name derives from the name of the town ^{uru}A-di-an or A-di-il in central Assyria³⁴⁰.

Further in Tiglath-pileser III's list one finds ^{lu}Gīb-ri-e³⁴¹, named also in Sennacherib's inscriptions, but in a stereotyped enumeration of king's enemies³⁴². The Neo-Assyrian use of the sign KIB with the value *gīb* does not result from a particular choice, but reflects the weakening of the distinction between voiced and unvoiced consonants, especially of *b* and *p*, but also of *g* and *k*, as shown by the Westsemitic transcription *Srgn* of the name Šarrukēn. Now, ^{lu}Gīb-ri-e almost matches the Arabic word *ġibriyā*, "pride", and this may indeed be the meaning of this tribal name. Again, the allegedly Aramaean tribe would be an Arab one.

The next tribe, ^{lu}Ū-bu-du³⁴³, precedes ^{lu}Gīb-ri-e in Sennacherib's inscriptions³⁴⁴. There is a lack of concrete information about this tribe as well, but its name seems once again to be a "broken" plural *'ubūd, "servants" of a deity. This "broken" plural is not the same as the one of

³³⁸ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 6; cf. p. 42, line 7; p. 272, n. 10.

³³⁹ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 410; J.K. STARK, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 44, 104.

³⁴⁰ SAA XI, 1, r. II, 2'; cf. SAA VII, 115, I, 8.20; SAA XI, 1, r. II, 3': ^{uru}EN-an/īl. See also E. FORRER, *Adian*, in *RLA* I, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, p. 36b; PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 4.

³⁴¹ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 6; cf. p. 272, n. 10.

³⁴² *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 45; p. 49, line 12; p. 54, line 55; p. 57, line 14; *Sanherib*, p. 51, line 12.

³⁴³ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 6; cf. p. 272, n. 10.

³⁴⁴ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 44; p. 49, line 12; p. 54, line 55; p. 57, line 14; *Sanherib*, p. 51, line 12.

Classical Arabic but the abstract term *'ubūda*, “worship”, implies the former existence of a “broken” plural **'ubūd*. The length of the second vowel is confirmed by the variant spellings ^{lú/kuṛ}*Bu-ú-du*³⁴⁵, besides the gentilic variants ^{lú/kuṛ}*Bu-da-a-a*³⁴⁶ indicating the same tribe. The link established in the Assyrian inscriptions between ^{lú}*Gīb-ri-e* and ^{lú}*Ū-bu-du* seems to confirm the Arab origin of the latter tribe as well.

14. GURŪMU

^{lú}*Gu-ru-mu*, that follows ^{lú}*Ū-bu-du* in Tiglath-pileser III's list³⁴⁷, is named after ^{lú}*Gīb-ri-e* in the inscriptions of Sennacherib³⁴⁸. One of Sennacherib's texts introduces a distinction between the ^{lú}*Ū-bu-du* and the ^{lú}*Gīb-ri-e*, who live on the banks of the Tigris, and the ^{lú}*Gu-ru-mu*, who occupy the banks of the Uqnū river³⁴⁹. It is not evident from the geographical point of view that such a repartition of the tribes has any strategical importance, since the Uqnū river is a tributary of the Tigris and all these tribes are finally situated in the same region between the Tigris and the Elamite frontier. Their repartition in two groups may be a purely literary device. In any case, the ^{lú}*Gu-ru-mi* are located in a Tiglath-pileser III's text beyond the Lesser Zab³⁵⁰, thus in a completely different region, and a letter dating probably from the reign of Sennacherib brings the ^{lú}*Gu-ru-ma-a-a* in relation with Babylon³⁵¹. This does not indicate *per se* that the tribe has moved after the campaign of Tiglath-pileser III from the area south of the Lesser Zab to the region of the Diyāla river, east of Babylon. Ptolemy locates the Γαραμαῖοι to the south of Erbil, between the Γοργός (Diyāla?) and the Καπρός (Lesser Zab)³⁵², and Syriac sources still refer to Bēt-Garmē in the same area,

³⁴⁵ *Tigl. III*, p. 42, line 7; p. 84, line 7. E. FRAHM, rec. in *AfO* 44-45 (1997-98), p. 401, questions the identity of the two names.

³⁴⁶ *Tigl. III*, p. 66, lines 5 and 6; p. 86, Ann. 2, lines 4 and 5.

³⁴⁷ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 6; cf. p. 64, line 13; p. 194, line 6. Neo-Assyrian references are collected in PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 137-138.

³⁴⁸ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 45; p. 49, line 13; p. 54, line 55; p. 57, line 14; *Sanherib*, p. 51, line 12.

³⁴⁹ *Sennacherib*, p. 49, lines 12-14.

³⁵⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 64, lines 13-14; cf. BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 276.

³⁵¹ *ABL* 967, 8 and r. 7; cf. lines 6 and 11.

³⁵² PTOLEMY, *Geography* VI, 1, 6; cf. I, 12, 5; VI, 1, 2. Cf. M. STRECK, *Garamaioi*, in *PW* VII/1, Stuttgart 1910, col. 750-751. The ethnical or tribal name *Garmī* still appears in I Chron. 4, 19, possibly alluding to the “tribe of *Grm*” (*'l Grm*), which is attested by a Thamūdīc inscription from the upper Wādī Sirhān; cf. F.V. WINNETT - W.L. REED, *Ancient Records from North Arabia*, Toronto 1970, p. 135, 211, 221, No. 84, line 2.

north of the Ġebel Ḥamrīn, and specify that its chief-town was *Karkā dā-Bēt Səloḵ*, i.e. Kirkuk³⁵³.

It is difficult to relate the tribal name ^{lū}*Gu-ru-mu* to the use of the root *grm* in Arabic: the verb *ġarama* can mean “to bone the meat”, “to shear sheep”, “to pick a bone”, “to cut fruit”. The fundamental idea is that of cutting off, and it explains the Syriac use of *garam* in the sense of “cutting short”, “deciding”. This general meaning was known in Early Aramaic as well, at least if the exceptional Babylonian *garāmu* in astrological context is an Aramaic loanword. According to this text, the Venus planet “cuts across in front of her”, *ana pānīša igarrim*, what a commentary explains by *illak*, “she goes”³⁵⁴. According to some authors, this verb is used in Arab names of the Hellenistic period, like *Šmšgrm* (Σαμσιγεραμος) and *Grm’l* (Γαραμηλος), where Syriac *garam* would indicate that the deity “has decided” the child’s birth or destiny³⁵⁵. However, the Ethiopic verb *garama* means “to be the object of veneration, respect”³⁵⁶, and this verb is certainly related to Classical Arabic *karuma*, Stem I of which means “to be precious” and Stem II, “to venerate”. It is surprising that Old Arabian anthroponomy provides only a couple of names with the element *krm*³⁵⁷, while there are several hundred names with the element *grm*³⁵⁸, which is hard to explain. The obvious conclusion is that this particular root *krm* was pronounced in many ancient dialects with an initial voiced velar³⁵⁹, like in Ethiopic. The absence of the element *grm* in Aramaean onomastics³⁶⁰ proves that the ^{lū}*Gu-ru-mu* are a North-Arabian

³⁵³ R. PAYNE SMITH, *op. cit.* (n. 169), vol. I, col. 483, 784, 785; S. SCHIFFER, *op. cit.* (n. 254), p. 124; E. HONIGMANN - A. MARICQ, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, Bruxelles 1953, p. 45-46; M.G. MORONY, *Continuity and Change in the Administrative Geography of Late Sasanian and Early Islamic al-Irāq*, in *Iran* 20 (1982), p. 1-49 (see p. 10-11).

³⁵⁴ *AHw*, p. 282a.

³⁵⁵ A. CAQUOT, *Sur l’onomastique religieuse de Palmyre*, in *Syria* 39 (1962), p. 231-256 (see p. 246-247). The reference to Syriac *garam* occurs first in J. CANTINEAU, *op. cit.* (n. 332), vol. II, p. 78-79, and J. STARCKY, *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre* X, Damas 1949, p. 26-27.

³⁵⁶ This explanation is considered by J. CANTINEAU, *op. cit.* (n. 332), vol. II, p. 79, and it is followed by W. CASSEL, *Lihyan und Lihyanisch*, Köln 1954, p. 146.

³⁵⁷ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 61, s.v. *’KRM*, and p. 499, s.v. *KRM*.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23, s.v. *’JRM*; p. 159-160 and 368, s.v. *ŠMSJRM*; p. 609; *Safaitic Cairns*, p. 564, 565, 586, 618; K.L. STARK, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 14, 53, 82, 115; A. NEGEV, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 19-20, Nos. 242-256; p. 65, No. 1162; H. WUTHNOW, *op. cit.* (n. 279), p. 39, 105, 134, 172.

³⁵⁹ For similar cases, see LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 10.8.

³⁶⁰ The names *Grmw* and *Grmy* occur in Syriac, but the overwhelming North-Arabian evidence indicates that they should be considered as Arabian names.

tribe and that its name should most likely be interpreted as a “broken” plural *Gurūmu* of *garīmu*³⁶¹, “noble, distinguished”. The later attested form ^{uru}*Ge-ru-mu*³⁶² reflects the weakening of the short vowel *u* and most likely stands for **Gārūm*, but this place name has probably no direct link with the tribe.

Nothing concrete is known about the next named ^{lu}*Hu-da-du* tribe³⁶³. One wonders whether a tribe is actually meant or the population of a town or a lowland (*tāmirtu*) in northern Babylonia, between Sippar and the Tigris³⁶⁴.

15. HINDĀRU

We have more information about the ^{lu}*Hi-in-da-ru*³⁶⁵ or ^{lu}*Hi-in-di-ru*³⁶⁶ tribe. The Aramaean tribe of ^{lu}*Hi-in-da-ri* is first attested in a Neo-Babylonian letter from Nippur³⁶⁷, dating back to the mid-8th century, between 755 and 732 B.C. In Assyrian royal inscriptions, it is mentioned for the first time by Tiglath-pileser III, then by Sargon II and by Sennacherib. The tribe is known only from cuneiform texts, but a clan or a tribe bearing the same name *d-Hndr* appears a few centuries later in a Minaic inscription³⁶⁸. Since the first consonant of the tribal name is the fricative pharyngal *ḥ*, not the velar fricative *h*, the same tribe might be referred to as ^{lu}*In-da-ra/ru-a-a* under the reigns of Esarhaddon and of Ashurbanipal, when it is named with Pillat. However, the ^{lu}*In-da-ru-a-a* play a role in the prospective invasion of Mannaea under Esarhaddon

³⁶¹ *Grymw* is well attested in Nabataean and *Grymy* occurs in Palmyrene. Many of the Safaitic attestations of *Grm* may belong here too, but others may correspond to Γαρμος. *Krym* is mentioned by IBN DURAID, *Kitāb al-ištiqāq* (“Book of Etymology”), ed. by F. WÜSTENFELD, Göttingen 1854, p. 165, where the author (A.D. 837-934) deals with the etymology of Arab tribal names.

³⁶² *RGTC* 8, p. 141.

³⁶³ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 6.

³⁶⁴ BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 271, n. 1745; W. RÖLLIG, *Hudādum*, in *RLA* IV, Berlin 1972-75, p. 479-480; B. GRONEBERG, *op. cit.* (n. 269), p. 100; K. NASHEF, *op. cit.* (n. 69), p. 129-130; *RGTC* 8, p. 164. Contrary to the notice of R. ZADOK, *art. cit.* (n. 37), p. 69 with n. 261, there is no *Ḥudadu* in the Neo-Assyrian documentation from Kouyunjik, since the correct reading appears to be *ḥu-ṭa-ru*: *SAA* VI, 52, r. 16.

³⁶⁵ *Sargon II*, p. 438, index, s.v.; *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 47; p. 43, line 51; p. 49, line 13; p. 54, line 55; p. 57, line 15; *Sanherib*, p. 51, line 13.

³⁶⁶ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, line 6; cf. p. 130, line 5. The spelling ^{lu}*Hi-in-di-ru* of Tiglath-pileser’s scribes shows the assimilation of the vowel *a* to the vowel *i* of the first syllable. For references to Assyrian sources, see also PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 164, s. v. *Ḥindirū*.

³⁶⁷ *Nippur* IV, No. 13, 6.

³⁶⁸ *RÉS* 2774,4.

and this at least requires a distinction between a possible Cimmerian tribe and the one of southern Babylonia³⁶⁹.

The name *Ḥndr/Ḥindār(u)* must derive by dissimilation from *ḥiddār* or *ḥiddār*, related to the Aramaic verb *ḥādar* that means “to wander round”, “to swarm around”. In Classical Arabic, the patterns *fi‘‘al* and *fi‘‘āl* do not form “broken” plurals, but we do not know which was the situation in Early Aramaic, whereas the stem *fi‘‘āl* is actually used in Arabic dialects, especially in the Ḥawrān, to express the plural, as in *riḡḡāl*, “men”, or in *ḥiyyāt*, “tailors”, plural of *ḥāyiṭ* (*ḥā’it*)³⁷⁰. *Ḥindār* < *ḥiddār* might thus be analyzed as the “broken” plural of *ḥādir*, “wanderer”, “nomad”, the substantivized active participle of *ḥādar*. In this hypothesis, the Ḥindāru are just “nomads”.

Sargon II (721-705 B.C.) battled against the Ḥindāru, named together with the Ru‘ā’, the Gambūlu, and the Puqūdu. By means of an artificially prepared flood he forced four of the Ḥindāru sheikhs to surrender and to pay him tribute³⁷¹. All of the four men have Aramaic or North-Arabian names, viz. *Ḥu-ni-nu*³⁷², the same name as Nabataean and Palmyrene *Ḥnynw*³⁷³, transcribed Οὔαινοϝ, Οὔενοϝ in Greek³⁷⁴, thus an Arabic diminutive of the *fu‘ayl* pattern; *Ḥsa-mi-*³⁷⁵, an Aramaic passive participle *Ṣamī*³⁷⁶, “heard”; *Ḥsab-ḥar-ru*³⁷⁷, attested also in Ṣafaitic as *S²bḥr* (*Ṣbḥr*)³⁷⁸, in Arabic *ṣabb ḥārr*, “ardent young man”³⁷⁹; *ḤRa-pi-* or

³⁶⁹ References in PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 164 and 174; *RGTC* 8, p. 180-181. For Pillat, see here above, p. 436-437. For the prospective invasion of Mannaea, cf. *SAA* X, 111, 17, with p. 377a: “Indaru (Cimmerian tribe)”.

³⁷⁰ J. CANTINEAU, *op. cit.* (n. 222), vol. II, p. 320.

³⁷¹ *Sargon II*, p. 147 and 329, Ann. 286-287.

³⁷² *Sargon II*, p. 147, Ann. 286.

³⁷³ A. NEGEV, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 31, No. 474; J.K. STARK, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 23 and 89.

³⁷⁴ H. WUTHNOW, *op. cit.* (n. 279), p. 89 and 142.

³⁷⁵ *Sargon II*, p. 147, Ann. 286.

³⁷⁶ The name should be compared with Hebrew *Ṣmw*‘, “heard”: Numb. 13, 4; Neh. 11, 17; 12, 18; I Chron. 9, 16; W. KORNFELD, *op. cit.* (n. 200), p. 74. Theoretically, the name might be interpreted also as Arabic *samī‘a*, “he heard”, but it is unlikely that the name should be reduced to the sole verbal form without any hypocoristic ending.

³⁷⁷ The name is spelt *ḤSab-ḥar-ru* or *ḤSab-ḥa-ar-ru* (*Sargon II*, p. 147 and 329, Ann. 286), in the genitive *ālu ṣa ḤSab-ḥa-ar-ri* (*Sargon II*, p. 144 and 328, Ann. 279g). The same name *ḤSa-[a]b-ḥar-ru* is borne by a Ruqāḥaeen in *CTN* II, 119, 1. Cf. here above, p. 48.

³⁷⁸ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 338, already noticed by ZADOK, *WSB*, p. 181: “unexplained”. The word *ṣabb* or *ṣābb* (*ṣbb*) does not occur in Aramaic.

³⁷⁹ One might also surmise that *ḥarr* witnesses a change *u > a* in front of *r* in *ḥurr*, “free-born”, “noble”, and that the name means “noble young man”. In any case, this noun *ḥārr* or *ḥarr* < *ḥurr* is unrelated to “Hurrian”, as suggested by B. PODOLSKY, *Notes on Hebrew Etymology*, in *IOS* 18 (1998), p. 199-205 (see p. 201-202). B. MORITZ, *art. cit.* (n. 71), p. 199, explains the name as a metathesis of Arabic *shbr*.

^m*Ra-a-pi-*³⁸⁰, the Aramaic or Arabic active participle *Rāpi*’, “healer”, “restorer”. At least two of the four names are North-Arabian and thus reveal the mixed nature of the tribe, a fact which may explain its very generic name “nomads”, *ḥiddār*. This name is uncompromisingly Aramaic, because the root *ḥdr* does not have such appropriate meanings in Arabic³⁸¹, but the various groups forming the tribe may have spoken two different languages, respectively Aramaic and Arabic. Such a situation is by no means unique. For example, on another continent, the Amba of Uganda are considered one tribe though they speak two mutually unintelligible languages. The appearance of ethnically diversified tribes in Babylonia is quite understandable, for one has to reckon with an Arab penetration in the region at least by the first half of the 8th century B.C.³⁸².

The tribal territory of the Ḥindāru at the time of Sargon II may already have been the area east of the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥay. In Sargon II’s texts, the Ḥindāru are often associated to the Aramaean tribes Gambūlu, Ru‘ā’, and Puqūdu, in southeastern Babylonia³⁸³. The early Neo-Babylonian letter from Nippur³⁸⁴ confirms their location near the territories of these tribes, where the Ḥindāru either had established permanent settlements, or were seasonally drawing their migratory orbits, which were determined by the grazing facilities for their herds. At the time of Sennacherib, they were settled along the Lower Uqnū³⁸⁵, close to the Persian Gulf. Sennacherib mentions them several times among the Aramaean tribes he has subjugated³⁸⁶. The Ḥindāru are also referred to in a few letters of the Sargonid period³⁸⁷.

³⁸⁰ *Sargon II*, p. 147, Ann. 286.

³⁸¹ The root occurs with the meanings “to be thick”, “to bring down”, “to come down”, and *ḥādir* is “thick”.

³⁸² I. EPH‘AL, *art. cit.* (n. 72), p. 108-115. The mid-8th century, proposed by St.W. COLE, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 34-42, is a too low date. More material is found in the archive published in *Nippur IV*. See, for instance, here above, p. 431 with n. 141, concerning the tribe of Ḥamdān.

³⁸³ *Sargon II*, p. 136, Ann. 258; p. 146, Ann. 281-282; p. 147, Ann. 286; p. 195, Displ. 19; p. 227, Displ. 126-127; p. 265, Pavem. IV 74 and 76. See also G. FRAME, *art. cit.* (n. 52), line 32.

³⁸⁴ *Nippur IV*, No. 13.

³⁸⁵ *Sennacherib*, p. 49, lines 13-14.

³⁸⁶ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 47; p. 43, line 51; p. 49, line 13; p. 54, line 55; p. 57, line 15; *Sanherib*, p. 51, line 13.

³⁸⁷ ABL 848, 8 (^h*Hi-in-dar-a-a*) and 11 (*Hi-in-dar*); 850, 8; 865,5; M. DIETRICH, *CT* 54, London 1979, No. 85, 13 and 14. These references should possibly be complemented by the mentions of ^h*In-da-ra-a-a*, if this happens to be a variant spelling for *Ḥindāraya*; cf. here above, p. 455-456 with n. 369.

The ^{lú}*Da-mu-nu* are the next tribe in the great Tiglath-pileser III's list³⁸⁸, but their case is examined more conveniently together with that of *Amlātu*³⁸⁹.

16. DUNĀNU, NILQU, RADĪYE

The people called ^{lú}*Du-na-nu*³⁹⁰ or ^{lú}*Du-na-a-nu*³⁹¹ bear a name that is apparently identical with the personal name ^m*Du-na-nu* of the chief of the Gambūlu tribe who opposed Ashurbanipal³⁹², but the Dunānu, unlike Gulūš, are really one of the tribes of Babylonia labelled specifically by Tiglath-pileser III as Aramaean. They are clearly referred to as a tribe in the early Neo-Babylonian archive from Nippur³⁹³, where the man who seems to act as their sheikh bears the uncompromisingly Aramaean name ^m*Ba-ḫi-a-nu*³⁹⁴, i.e. *Baḡyān*, and is the namesake of the eponymous ancestor of the Aramaean tribe of Bēt-Baḡyān³⁹⁵. The tribal name ^{lú}*Du-na-a-nu* appears to be the “broken” plural of a noun *dunnu*, that is given as a synonym of *dannu*, “strong”, in Assyro-Babylonian lexical lists³⁹⁶. In fact, the pattern *qutāl* was used in early Westsemitic to form the collective plural of nouns belonging also to the *qutl/qull* stem³⁹⁷, as can still be seen in Hebrew where the external plural in *-īm* is superimposed on original *qutāl* forms³⁹⁸, as in *qōdāš-īm*, plural of **qudš*, “holy thing”, or in *šōrāš-īm*, plural of **šurš*, “root”. The Dunānu would thus be “the strong ones” or the like. The name of the tribe is of course older than its earliest attestations in the mid-8th century B.C.

The territory of the Dunānu was probably situated at that time to the north or to the northwest of Nippur, since Baḡyān (^m*Ba-ḫi-ia-nu*), apparently the chief of the tribe, asks the governor of Nippur for news about

³⁸⁸ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, line 7; cf. p. 66, line 3. Neo-Assyrian references are collected in PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 98.

³⁸⁹ See here below, p. 462-463.

³⁹⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 360, line 7; cf. p. 42, line 6; p. 122, line 4; p. 194, line 6.

³⁹¹ *Nippur IV*, Nos. 60, 7; 61, 8.

³⁹² *APN*, p. 71b.

³⁹³ *Nippur IV*, Nos. 60, 7; 61, 8.

³⁹⁴ *Nippur IV*, No. 60, 6b-9a. The same name still occurs in this archive under Nos. 13, 1; 21, 1; 101, 1, and probably designates the same man.

³⁹⁵ See here above, p. 119.

³⁹⁶ *AHW*, p. 177a; *CAD*, D, p. 184-185. The root *dnn* is not restricted to East Semitic. It occurs also in Amorite anthroponomy (*dunnu*) and in Ugaritic (*dn*).

³⁹⁷ Its use in Classical Arabic is almost restricted to singulars of the *fā'il* and *fa'il* stems designating human beings.

³⁹⁸ LIPIN'SKI, *Semitic*, § 31.28, with examples of the parallel *qitāl* pattern.

Chaldaeia and in particular about Mukīn-zēri³⁹⁹, the chief of the Chaldaean tribe of Bīt-Amukkāni which was obviously living closer to Nippur than to the residence of Baġyān. This favours the identification of the town ^{uru}*Pa-ši-tú* of the Dunānu, which was conquered by Tiglath-pileser III⁴⁰⁰, with *Bīt-Bašītu*, a settlement in the neighbourhood of Borsippa⁴⁰¹. Tiglath-pileser III's enumeration of the conquered cities "from Dūr-Kurigalzu, Sippar of Šamaš, ... Pašītu of the Dunānu as far as Nippur"⁴⁰² confirms the northern location of the Dunānu tribe and seems to indicate that Pašītu was a rather important centre in the mid-8th century B.C. After Tiglath-pileser III, the Dunānu are not mentioned any more.

Nothing is known about the tribe called ^{lu}*Ni-il-qu* in Tiglath-pileser III's list⁴⁰³. R. Zadok's suggestion identifying this tribal name with the place name ^{uru}*Niqqu* (> *Nilqu*) in the Sippar region⁴⁰⁴ cannot be proved, but perhaps offers the possibility of finding an acceptable meaning for the tribal name. However, another ^{uru}*Niqqu* should be taken here into account, viz. ^{uru/kur}*Niqqu ša kurTubliš*⁴⁰⁵. In fact, Tubliš is the name of a stream and of a large region southeast of the Diyāla river⁴⁰⁶, near the Elamite border, and the next mentioned tribe should probably be located there as well. As for the meaning of the tribal name, one might think of a "broken" plural of *naqīy*, "pure", attested also in Aramaic, but this collective plural is *niqā'* in Classical Arabic.

The ^{lu}*Ni-il-qu* are followed by the ^{lu}*Ra-di-e*⁴⁰⁷, possibly related to the place name *Rādē* near the Elamite border⁴⁰⁸. One cannot explain this name by Arabic *radu'a*, "to be bad", or *radiya*, "to perish". In Aramaic, however, the root *rādā*, "to go", has various meanings and derivatives that offer an acceptable sense either for a place name or a tribal name, in particular *rādayyā*, "running water", and *rādiy/radyā*, "plougher", with a plural *rādayyā*. The meaning "to plough" is attested already in Imperial

³⁹⁹ *Nippur* IV, No. 21, 8-12.

⁴⁰⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 122, line 4; cf. p. 42, line 6.

⁴⁰¹ *RGTC* 8, p. 84. Cf. R. ZADOK, *art. cit.* (n. 37), p. 84. The Assyrian spelling with initial *p* can be explained by the loss of the phonemic distinction between the labials *b* and *p* in Neo-Assyrian; cf. *SAIO* I, p. 92, 112; LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 11.4.

⁴⁰² *Tigl. III*, p. 122, lines 4-5.

⁴⁰³ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, line 7.

⁴⁰⁴ R. ZADOK, *art. cit.* (n. 37), p. 70; *RGTC* 8, p. 243.

⁴⁰⁵ *Tigl. III*, p. 102, line 3'; p. 124, line 17; p. 132, line [5']; p. 164, line 29; p. 166, line 35; cf. p. 72, line 12.

⁴⁰⁶ J.V. KINNIER WILSON, *The Kurba'il Statue of Shalmaneser III*, in *Iraq* 24 (1962), p. 90-115 (see p. 113-115). For *Niqqu*, see also BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 232 with n. 1468.

⁴⁰⁷ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, line 7.

⁴⁰⁸ *ABL* 281 = *SLA* 44, r. 16; *ABL* 1464, 6; cf. *RGTC* 8, p. 257.

Aramaic, in the 5th century B.C.⁴⁰⁹, and there was even an angel of rain and field labour, called *Ridyā*⁴¹⁰.

The ^{lú}*Ra-di-e* are followed by a badly damaged name ^{lú}*Da*-[x-x-x] and by the ^{lú}*Ú-bu-lu*⁴¹¹.

17. 'UBŪLU

The 'Ubūlu tribe is counted among the Aramaean tribes of Babylonia in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, of Sargon II, and of Sennacherib⁴¹². In Neo-Babylonian sources, the 'Ubūlu appear only in two letters from Nippur, in the mid-8th century⁴¹³, and in one document from Ur⁴¹⁴. Like other Aramaean tribal names⁴¹⁵, 'Ubūl is a "broken" plural corresponding to the singular 'ābil, the camel-driver or rather the man who takes care of the dromedaries, the camelherd. This word is not attested so far in Aramaic texts, but the man in charge of David's camels was called 'wbyl (ωβιλ) according to I Chron. 27, 30. This is an Hebrew form, characterized by the change *ā* > *ō*; it goes back to an original 'ābil and therefore does not correspond to Arabic 'abbāl, "camel-driver". David's 'ōbīl is explicitly identified in I Chron. 27, 30 as Ishmaelite, what the Targum has rightly translated by "Arab"⁴¹⁶. True, a driver seated on a dromedary is already represented on a relief from Tell Ḥalaf dating from the 9th century B.C.⁴¹⁷ and the camel-driver had to be designated in Aramaic by some word, but we cannot simply assume that 'ābil was an Early Aramaic term meaning "camel-driver". An Old Arabian word suits the biblical context better. In any case, the regular "broken" plural of 'ābil can be 'ubūl⁴¹⁸, and the name of the 'Ubūlu tribe can therefore mean "camel-drivers" or "camelherds". This noun was probably a denominative formation based on *ibil(u)*, "camel(s)" or rather "dromedaries" in both Assyro-Babylonian and Arabic. The place names *Ibūlu* and *Ibūlē*⁴¹⁹ may reflect the frequent alternation *i/u*, or be

⁴⁰⁹ TAD I, A5.2, 4.

⁴¹⁰ JASTROW, p. 1452a.

⁴¹¹ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, line 7; cf. p. 194, line 6.

⁴¹² For the attestations, see PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 364.

⁴¹³ *Nippur IV*, Nos. 32, 8 and 98, 17.

⁴¹⁴ H.H. FIGULLA, *UET V*, London 1953, No. 140, 8. See *RGTC* 8, p. 317.

⁴¹⁵ See here above p. 430.

⁴¹⁶ A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic IVA*, Leiden 1968, p. 29.

⁴¹⁷ *ANEP*, No. 188.

⁴¹⁸ The plural 'ubbal is attested in the classical period.

⁴¹⁹ PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 172 (on the territory of the Puqūdu tribe); *RGTC* 8, p. 178. There is also an ^{ur}*Ubula* in another region: *Tigl. III*, p. 126, line 31; p. 184, line [15'].

prompted by the initial *i* of *ibilu*, or both, but they do not need to be connected with the tribe. They may represent another derivative and, for instance, designate the place where camel caravans converge.

Interestingly enough, the author of one of the earliest texts dealing with the 'Ubūlu, namely the writer of a letter from the archive in Nippur, assumes that the 'Ubūlu may have stolen the dromedaries of some people from Uruk⁴²⁰. Another letter to the governor of Nippur is apparently concerned with a dispute over a parcel of land involving the sheikh of the 'Ubūlu and the sender of the letter⁴²¹. The land concerned may have been traditional pasture ground of the tribe, but then had attracted cultivators. The Assyrian royal inscriptions do not provide any particular information concerning the 'Ubūlu tribe, but its territory can safely be located east of the Tigris. The Ubal river of Dan. 8, 2.3.6 may still recall the name of the tribe in the 2nd century B.C., but then it cannot be the stream of the city of Susa, as stated in Dan. 8, namely the modern Ša'ūr which is an arm of the Kerḥa river, the Āb-i Diz (river of Dizful), or the nearby Kārūn river⁴²².

18. KARMĀ'

In Tiglath-pileser III's list of the Aramaean tribes, the 'Ubūlu are followed by ^{lú}*Kar-ma*-'⁴²³. It is unlikely that there is any connection between this tribe and the ^{uru}*Kar-me-e* of some Nineveh texts from the time of the Sargonids⁴²⁴. This town is undoubtedly identical with the Nestorian bishopric of Karmē, located on the left bank of the Tigris, somewhere opposite to Tikrīt; it is still attested in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. by the names of its bishops who had taken part in various councils⁴²⁵. It is also unlikely that ^{lú}*Kar-ma*-' derives from a tribalized place name *Karmā*', "the vineyard" or "barren hill", if the toponym is a derivative of Assyro-Babylonian *karmu*. One should rather assume that

⁴²⁰ *Nippur* IV, No. 32.

⁴²¹ *Nippur* IV, No. 98.

⁴²² In Dan. 8, 2, the transcription 'wly either of the Assyro-Babylonian name *Ūlāya* or of the Greek name *Εὐλαῖος* of the river of Susa is apposed to the name of Ubal, but it was not read by Theodotion.

⁴²³ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, line 7.

⁴²⁴ *ABL* 574, 6; *SAA* XI, 231, 6'.

⁴²⁵ For the bishops mentioned in A.D. 486, 497, 554, see E. SACHAU, *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien* (APAW. PH 1919-I), Berlin 1919, p. 26-38, in particular No. 21.

Karmā’ is related to Arabic *karīm*, “noble”, pronounced with an initial unvoiced velar, contrary to *Gurūmu*. Now, the classical “broken” plural of this North-Arabian noun is *kuramā*’, but unstressed short vowels following upon a syllable with short vowel were normally elided in the Eastern dialects, whereas they changed the quality of the preceding vowel. This combined process of vowel harmony and elision produced *kilma* for *kalima*, “word”, *ṣudqa* for *ṣaduqa*, “dowry”, *fiḥd* for *faḥid*, “thigh”, *’udd* for *’adud*, “elbow”⁴²⁶, and *karmā*’ can thus stand for *kuramā*’, “nobles”. However, it cannot simply be said that the West-Arabian forms are older and the Eastern forms produced by elision. As the example of Arabic *malik* and Phoenician *milk* proves, there was a good deal of wavering between monosyllabic and bisyllabic noun forms in Semitic. For the same reason, *karmā*’, “nobles”, can actually be older than *kuramā*’ in North-Arabian.

If this interpretation is correct, the allegedly Aramaean tribe of *Karmā*’ is in fact a North-Arabian group and its name seems to reveal the existence of aristocratic clans among pre-Islamic North-Arabians, just like the Tuareg are socially divided into classes, with a class of *Imaḡeḡan* or nobles.

19. AMLĀTU AND DAMŪNU

Karmā’ is followed in Tiglath-pileser III’s list by ^{lu}*Am-la-tu*⁴²⁷, which raises a similar problem. In fact, *’amlā*’ is the Arabic “broken” plural of *mala*’, “crowd”, and a plural morpheme *-ātu(n)* can be added in Arabic to the collective “broken” plural in order to form the so-called “individual” plural⁴²⁸, e.g. *baytu(n)*, “family”, *buyūtu(n)*, “families”, *buyūtātu(n)*, “distinguished families”. Similarly, *’amlā*’ most likely meant “crowds” and *’amlātu* < *’amlā’ātu* could designate “popular assemblies” or the like. There is a serious doubt therefore whether ^{lu}*Am-la-tu* is an actual tribe or rather an Arabic name for assemblies of tribesmen. The doubt increases when one sees Tiglath-pileser III’s annals reporting that “600

⁴²⁶ These examples have been collected by C. RABIN, *op. cit.* (n. 222), p. 97.

⁴²⁷ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, line 7; cf. p. 66, line 3. This name should be distinguished from ^m*Am-li-ta Na-pi-šá-a-a* (S. PARPOLA, *CT* 53, London 1979, No. 289, r. 7), that is probably identical with ^m*A-mi-li-’-ti* (APN, p. 21b; PNA I/1, p. 105), “My Ancestor is my strength”. Other interpretations are taken into consideration by R. ZADOK, *Remarks on Ezra and Nehemiah*, in *ZAW* 94 (1982), p. 296-298 (see p. 296-297, n. 11).

⁴²⁸ W. FISCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 130), p. 61-62, § 106b.

captives of ^{uru}*Am-la-te* from the ^{lu}*Da-mu-ni*” tribe were deported in 738 B.C. to ‘Umq/Pattin⁴²⁹. It appears therefore that ‘*amlātu*’ was no tribe at all and probably not even a town in the territory of the Damūnu, but the site of the “popular assemblies” of the tribe whose members have been dragged into captivity by the Assyrians.

Since ‘*amlātu*’ seems to be an Arabic word, there is a strong probability that the Damūnu were a North-Arabian tribe, despite their classification as “Aramaeans” in Tiglath-pileser III’s list⁴³⁰. In fact, the name of the tribe can be explained in Arabic as “kinsmen” or “kinsfolk”. Among modern Bedouin, a foreigner adopted by a tribe becomes its member *damawī* and *samawī*⁴³¹, i.e. “related by blood” and “related by name”. Besides *damawī*, Arabic has also an older adjective *damī*, that has the same meaning “consanguine”. Its plural is formed in pre-Classical Arabic by adding the morpheme *-ūn* in the nominative, thus *damī-ūn* > *damūn* according to normal phonetic rules⁴³². One may wonder whether *damūn* is then the proper name of the tribe or just a general designation “kinsmen”, while the actual name is kept secret.

In any case, Assyrian sources use the name *Damūnu* and leave little doubt about the strength of the tribe. Before Marduk-apla-iddina II fled from Babylon in 710 B.C., he had reinforced the defense of Babylonian cities with the help of tribesmen from Puqūdu, Damūnu, Ru‘ā’, and Hindāru⁴³³, but Sargon II defeated the Aramaeans⁴³⁴ and displayed Marduk-apla-iddina II from the Babylonian throne. The tribal territory of the Damūnu was situated in the eastern part of the country, near the Uqnū river⁴³⁵. They are often mentioned with the Puqūdu and Gambūlu tribes⁴³⁶. However, they were “not submissive”, again joined an alliance of Elamites, Babylonians, and Chaldaeans⁴³⁷, and Sennacherib had to

⁴²⁹ *Tigl. III*, p. 66, line 3.

⁴³⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, line 7; cf. p. 66, line 3.

⁴³¹ A. JAUSSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 25, 115.

⁴³² The classical plural of the nominative would be *damiyyūna*, but the shorter form of the oblique case, viz. *damīna* does occur as well (W. FISCHER, *op. cit.* [n. 130], p. 65, § 116, Anm. 2). The normal contraction of *ī-ū* > *ū* is attested, e.g., by **qādī-ūna* > *qādūna*, “judges”. The final vowel *-a* of the plural morpheme is not heard in the spoken language.

⁴³³ The Damūnu are mentioned in *Sargon II*, p. 227 and 350, Displ. 126; also p. 33 and 290, Cyl. 12; p. 65 and 304, Bull 29.

⁴³⁴ *Sargon II*, p. 227-228 and 350, Displ. 129-131.

⁴³⁵ *Sargon II*, p. 65 and 304, Bull 29-30; *Sennacherib*, p. 49, lines 13-14.

⁴³⁶ *Sargon II*, references above, in n. 433; *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 46-47; p. 43, line 48-51; p. 49, line 13; p. 54, lines 55-56; p. 57, lines 14-15; *ABL* 846 = *SLA* 73, r. 9.

⁴³⁷ *Sennacherib*, p. 43, lines 43-57; p. 48-49, lines 6-15.

battle with them further, like with other tribes of the region, and to proceed to massive deportations⁴³⁸. The Damūnu are still mentioned under the reign of Ashurbanipal⁴³⁹. They seem to be related somehow to the ^{lú}*Ru-ša-pi*⁴⁴⁰ and possibly to the ^{lú}*Na-ši-[ru⁷]*⁴⁴¹. The latter tribe is named in Tiglath-pileser III's list and seems to be North-Arabian as well⁴⁴², while the first one is known only from a single letter. A Qatabanic clan or tribe *d-Rsfm* is named in a South-Arabian inscription⁴⁴³ and this resemblance between the two names favours an Arabian origin for the ^{lú}*Ru-ša-pi* as well. The Arabic plural *ruṣafā*, "associates", suggests considering the name as the collective "broken" plural of *raṣīp/f*, "firmly joined".

20. RU'Ā' AND QABĪ'

The next tribe named in the long Tiglath-pileser III's list is North-Arabian likewise. In fact, the name ^{lú}*Ru-'-a*⁴⁴⁴ or ^{lú}*Ru-ù'-a*⁴⁴⁵ exactly corresponds to the Arabic "broken" plural *ru'ā*, "shepherds", which is formed on the rarely used pattern *fu'āl*⁴⁴⁶. The cuneiform spelling ^{lú}*Ru-ú-a-a*⁴⁴⁷ probably reflects a *w*-glide between *u* and *a*, while ^{lú}*Ru-u'-a-a*⁴⁴⁸, ^{uru}*Ru-'-ú-a*⁴⁴⁹, and ^{lú}*Ru-'-u/ú/ù'-a*⁴⁵⁰, are a kind of *lectiones conflatae*. Instead, it does not appear that KUR *Ru-u/ú-a* mentioned in Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions⁴⁵¹ has some relation to the name of the tribe.

The proposed interpretation of the tribal name seems to be confirmed by a detail preserved in a letter from the time of Ashurbanipal, where the

⁴³⁸ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, lines 43-53; p. 55, line 60; p. 57, line 16.

⁴³⁹ References to the correspondence in *RGTC* 8, p. 116.

⁴⁴⁰ *ABL* 846 = *SLA* 73, r. 3-4.

⁴⁴¹ *ABL* 846 = *SLA* 73, r. 2.

⁴⁴² See here above, p. 447.

⁴⁴³ *RÉS* 4118, 2.

⁴⁴⁴ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, line 7. References to the Neo-Assyrian texts are collected in PAR-POLA, *Toponyms*, p. 294-295.

⁴⁴⁵ *Sargon II*, p. 136, Ann. 258; p. 146, Ann. 281; p. 147, Ann. 286.

⁴⁴⁶ W. FISCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 130), p. 53, § 90.

⁴⁴⁷ *ABL* 287 = *SLA* 84, 6; *ABL* 1468, r. 6; NBC 6142, 13 (unpubl.: *RGTC* 8, p. 427; here below, p. 465, n. 459).

⁴⁴⁸ *ABL* 1222, r. 6.

⁴⁴⁹ *ABL* 268 = *SLA* 253, 10.

⁴⁵⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 122, line 12; p. 130, line 5; *Sargon II*, p. 195, Displ. 19; p. 227, Displ. 127; Pavem. IV 74; *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 47; p. 43, line 49; p. 49, line 13; p. 54, line 56; p. 57, line 15; *Sanherib*, p. 51, line 13.

⁴⁵¹ *Tigl. III*, p. 72, line 6; p. 132, line 9; p. 164, line 32.

flocks of the temple of Uruk are said to graze freely with those of the Puqūdu tribe in ^{uru}*Ru*-'*ū*-*a*⁴⁵². One wonders whether this is a settlement inhabited by members of the Ru'ā' tribe or a "shepherds' land". At any rate, the North-Arabian extraction of the tribe is corroborated by personal names. A sheikh of the Ru'ā' named in the annals of Sargon II is called ^m*Ab-ḥa-ta-a*⁴⁵³, i.e. 'Ab-'*atā*, "The father is fierce". The root '*atā* is well represented in Arabic, but it is not used in Aramaic, and the related biblical name '*Attay*⁴⁵⁴ is rightly considered as Arabic by M. Noth⁴⁵⁵. In fact, it is encountered in Palmyra ('*ty*, Αθθαία)⁴⁵⁶ and at Dura Europos (Αθθαίος)⁴⁵⁷, also in Šafaitic and in Thamūdīc⁴⁵⁸. A witness of a legal document from Nippur, dated to 664 B.C., is called ^m*Na-ṭè-ru* and is identified as a member of the Ru'ā' tribe⁴⁵⁹. This name is clearly Arabic and means "keeper", "guard", like the substantivated active participle *nāṭir*⁴⁶⁰. It is amply attested in Liḥyānite (*Nṭr*), Šafaitic (*Nṣr*), Nabataean (*Nṭrw*, *Nṭyrw*)⁴⁶¹, and in Greek transcription (Ναταρος, Νοτιρος, Νοτερος)⁴⁶². The Aramaic root is spelt *nṭr* already in the Proverbs of Aḥiqar, composed probably in the 7th century B.C., but it does not appear in Aramaean anthroponomy before the 5th century B.C.⁴⁶³. A *Bīt-^mNa-ṭè-ri* appears a few years later in another document from Nippur⁴⁶⁴, followed by ^{uru}*Bīt-^mNa-ṭe-er* in Late Babylonian texts⁴⁶⁵.

Three other names of members of the Ru'ā' tribe are known thanks to a letter from Ashurbanipal's time⁴⁶⁶. One of these men bears the

⁴⁵² ABL 268 = SLA 253, 8-10.

⁴⁵³ Sargon II, p. 147, Ann. 286. The verbal predicate of this name is related to an unknown root **ḥty* by R. ZADOK, *The Jews in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods according to the Babylonian Sources*, Haifa 1979, p. 20, who seems to refer at the same time to the root *ḥt*, "to smite".

⁴⁵⁴ I Chron. 2, 35. 36; 12, 11; II Chron. 11, 20.

⁴⁵⁵ M. NOTH, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, Stuttgart 1928, p. 191.

⁴⁵⁶ J.K. STARK, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 46, 108.

⁴⁵⁷ C.B. WELLES - R.O. FINK - J.F. GILLIAM, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report V/1. Parchments and Papyri*, New Haven 1959, No. 23, 2.7.11.

⁴⁵⁸ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 442.

⁴⁵⁹ NBC 6142, line 13, quoted by J.A. BRINKMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 12-13, n. 46.

⁴⁶⁰ Nippur IV, p. 199, relates this name to Arabic *nṣr*, "to look", but *nṣr* and *nṭr* go back to *nṭr*.

⁴⁶¹ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 591, 592; A. NEGEV, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 43, No. 727.

⁴⁶² H. WUTHNOW, *op. cit.* (n. 279), p. 82, 151; A. NEGEV, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 135, No. 2177; p. 204.

⁴⁶³ R. ZADOK, *op. cit.* (n. 453), p. 77, 103.

⁴⁶⁴ Nippur IV, No. 95, 22.

⁴⁶⁵ RGTC 8, p. 98.

⁴⁶⁶ ABL 287 = SLA 84, 4-6.

abridged Assyro-Babylonian name ^m*Re-mut*⁴⁶⁷, while the second one, ^m*Ha-an-na-na*, has a name that can be either Aramaic or Arabic⁴⁶⁸. The third man, called ^m*A-a-il-a-'i*, bears the North-Arabian name *Ḥayy(a)-'ilāhī*, "as my god liveth!" This name is attested in Nabataean (*Ḥy'lh*) and in Šafaitic (*Ḥy'lh*)⁴⁶⁹. Besides, there are many examples of the name *Hy'l* in Šafaitic inscriptions⁴⁷⁰. As for the frequent comparison of *Ru'ā'* with biblical *R'w* (פָּרָו)⁴⁷¹, it is based on a confusion and does not offer any clue.

Tiglath-pileser III mentions the *Ru'ā'* tribe in connection with his campaigns in southeastern Babylonia⁴⁷². Sargon II, who again battled against this tribe, locates it on the banks of the Tigris⁴⁷³. He claims that he has subjugated them⁴⁷⁴, but it was no decisive victory, since Sennacherib had to fight again against the same tribes, inclusive the *Ru'ā'*⁴⁷⁵. An Ashurbanipal's letter to the people of Nippur indicates that the relations between the *Ru'ā'* tribesmen and the Assyrian authorities were not good at that time either⁴⁷⁶.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. APN, p. 188.

⁴⁶⁸ ZADOK, WSB, p. 118; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 453), p. 30. This is one of the best attested Šafaitic names: HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 206. Its pronunciation was most likely identical with that of the Arabic adjective *ḥannān*, "affectionate, compassionate", and would thus correspond perfectly to the spelling *Ḥa-an-na-na*, with geminated first *n*.

⁴⁶⁹ A. NEGEV, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 28, No. 431; HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 209. Not knowing these parallels, the present writer has interpreted the name of the *Ru'ā'* tribesman in the sense "Where is God?": E. LIPINSKI, *Recherches ugaritiques. I. — Ay, un dieu ugaritique? — Étude onomastique*, in *Syria* 44 (1967), p. 253-282 (see p. 275). Its translation by "Ea is my god" in *PNA* I/1, p. 91, is very likely erroneous as well: Ea can hardly be used as theophorous element by *Ru'ā'* tribesmen. The name should instead be related to the Amorite names of the type *Ḥa-a-ia-a-bu-um* (E. LIPINSKI, *art. cit.*, p. 260) and *Ḥa-a-iā-i-lu-ū* (ARM X, 146, 5), to the Hebrew phrases *ḥay-'Ēl*, "as God liveth!" (Job 27, 2), and *ḥay-Yhwh*, "as Yahweh liveth!" (I Sam. 20,3; 25, 26; II Kings 2, 2.6), and to the later Nabataean name *Hy'bdt* from 'Avdāt (Negev), which means "as (king) Obodas liveth!"; cf. RÉS 527; J.T. MILIK, *Notes d'épigraphie et de topographie jordaniennes*, in *Studii Biblici Franciscani liber annuus* 10 (1959-60), p. 147-184 (see p. 148).

⁴⁷⁰ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 209; *Safaitic Cairns*, p. 571. The name occurs also in Ugaritic (*Ḥa-ia-Ēl*, *Hy'il*, *Hyl*: F. GRÖNDAHL, *Die Personennamen aus Ugarit* [Studia Pohl 1], Rom 1967, p. 16, 43, 66, 97, 137, 330, 385-386) and in the Bible (I Kings 16, 34), where it should not be interpreted as (A)ḥī'el. Besides, the Gambūlaean place name ^{uru}*Ḥa-il-a-a* (Sargon II, p. 145, Ann. 279n) may be based on this personal name.

⁴⁷¹ Gen. 11, 18-21; I Chron 1, 25. The comparison was already made by F. DELITZSCH, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig 1881, p. 238 ff.

⁴⁷² *Tigl. III*, p. 122, line 12; p. 130, line 5; p. 160, line 7.

⁴⁷³ *Sargon II*, p. 195 and 343, Displ. 18-19; p. 265 and 360, Pavem. IV 70-74.

⁴⁷⁴ *Sargon II*, p. 147 and 329, Ann. 286-287.

⁴⁷⁵ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 47; p. 43, line 49; p. 49, line 13; p. 54, line 56; p. 57, line 15; *Sanherib*, p. 51, line 13.

⁴⁷⁶ ABL 287 = SLA 84, 4-9.

The next tribal name ^{lú}*Qa-bi-*⁴⁷⁷ can be interpreted in two different ways. Reading *Qabyā'*, we obtain the Syrian noun *qebyā*, "swamp", with a geographical connotation which could be referred to the swamps in southeastern Babylonia. Instead, if we read *Qabī'*, — which is the more likely reading, — we have the passive participle "settled" of the Aramaic verb *qaba'*, "to fix, to settle", which implies that the tribe in question had settled or represented the settled part of a larger group. The lack of any concrete information prevents us from further examining this case.

21. LI'ITTĀ'U

The ^{lú}*Qa-bi-* are followed by the ^{lú}*Li-'-ta-a-ū*⁴⁷⁸, whose name is spelt also ^{lú}*Li-'-ta-u*, ^{lú}*Li-'-it-ta-a-a*, ^{lú}*Li-'-ta-a-a*, ^{lú}*Li-ta-a-a*⁴⁷⁹; one should probably add the Babylonian settlement of ^{uru}*Li-ta-mu*⁴⁸⁰ and the personal or ethnic name ^m*Li-ta-mi*⁴⁸¹. Since the suffix *-ā'u/-āwu* is a typically Arabian morpheme, the base of the name should not be linked with the Aramaic element **li't*⁴⁸². Besides, one of the variant spellings indicates that the *t* was geminated and this confirms the statement by Arab grammarians that there was a plural pattern *fi'illā'u*, which is not attested in the classical language⁴⁸³, but was obviously not invented by the grammarians themselves. Since North-Arabian *t* is regularly expressed in cuneiform script by signs with *t*⁴⁸⁴, especially *ta* and *at*, the name of the tribe should most likely be considered as a "broken" plural **li'ittā'u/*liyittāwu* of the noun *layt*, "lion", which was used also as personal name⁴⁸⁵. This pattern is of course different from the classical plural *luyūt*, "lions", but the apparent replacement of *-ā'u* by *-āwu*

⁴⁷⁷ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, line 7; cf. p. 84, Ann. 7, line 3 (*Qa-ab-'-e*). Perhaps *Qw'* in Ez. 23,23 with spirantized *b > w*.

⁴⁷⁸ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, line 7; cf. p. 122, line 12; p. 130, line 6; p. 194, line 6; p. 196, line 6.

⁴⁷⁹ The references are collected in PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 226; BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 270-271, n. 1738; W. RÖLLIG, *Li'ta'u*, in *RLA VII*, Berlin 1987-90, p. 33.

⁴⁸⁰ *RGTC* 8, p. 213.

⁴⁸¹ Babylonian tablet BM. 40548, dated to the 9th year of Erība-Marduk (ca. 765 B.C.) and quoted by BRINKMAN, *PKB*, p. 270-271, n. 1738.

⁴⁸² For this element, see ZADOK, *WSB*, p. 98-99.

⁴⁸³ W. FISCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 130), p. 52, § 90, Anm. 1.

⁴⁸⁴ LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 13.9.

⁴⁸⁵ Hebrew in I Sam. 25, 44; II Sam. 3, 15. Arabic in W. CASHEL, *op. cit.* (n. 235), vol. II, p. 376b, s.v. *Lait*. In Šafaitic names, *layt* is monophthongized to *lt*: HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 510, also in Thamūdīc *'blt*, "My father is a lion" (*ibid.*, p. 15).

(Babylonian *-ta-mu/-ta-mi*) reminds us of the *'ibdāl* rules of Arab grammarians and strengthens the assumption that the name of the tribe is North-Arabian.

Before Tiglath-pileser III's reports of his campaigns against the allegedly Aramaean tribes in Babylonia, the mention of a certain ^m*Ka-bi-tu mār ^mLi-ta-mi* in a legal document from Nippur, dated *ca.* 765 B.C.⁴⁸⁶, is the earliest attestation of this tribe in Babylonia as yet. A Nimrud letter seems to present the ^{lu}*Li-'ta-mu-[(ú?)]* as submissive vassals of the Assyrian king⁴⁸⁷, but Sargon II names them again among the tribes he has to fight on the banks of the Tigris, in southeastern Babylonia⁴⁸⁸. According to a Nineveh letter, they were allies of the Chaldaean tribe of Bīt-Yākīn⁴⁸⁹. Sennacherib mentions the ^{lu}*Li-'ta-(a)-ú* again among the Aramaean enemies that he deported to Assyria⁴⁹⁰, but the stereotyped list of his inscriptions cannot be taken at its face value.

The settlement and the lake of *Li-ta-mu* were almost in the suburbs of Babylon, on the Euphrates⁴⁹¹. Their name can be linked with the name of the tribe and with the *mār ^mLi-ta-mi* of the Nippur document from *ca.* 765 B.C., but it is hard to understand how a relation can be established between these North-Babylonian records and the presence of the tribe in the area of the Uqnū river.

22. MARUSU, 'AMMATU, ḤAGGARĀNU

So far, only Tiglath-pileser III mentions the ^{lu}*Ma-ru-su*⁴⁹², without providing any particular information. The first syllable *ma-* of the name may suggest that this is a toponym **Ma'ruś* derived from the root *'rś*, that gives *'arīš*, "hut", in Arabic and *'arš*, "tribe", in Maghrebine Arabic. There are other possibilities.

In Tiglath-pileser III's list, the ^{lu}*Ma-ru-su* are followed by the ^{lu}*A-ma-tu*⁴⁹³. The Aramaean tribe of *'Ammatu* (^{lu}*A-mat-a-a*) is first mentioned

⁴⁸⁶ See here above, p. 423, n. 76, and also p. 467, n. 481.

⁴⁸⁷ H.W.F. SAGGS, *art. cit.* (n. 315), in *Iraq* 17 (1955), No. IX, 12', p. 40 and Pl. IX cf. No. IV, 9', p. 32 and Pl. VI.

⁴⁸⁸ *Sargon II*, p. 195 and 343, Displ. 18-19; p. 265 and 360, Pavem. IV 70-74.

⁴⁸⁹ *ABL* 436, 9.

⁴⁹⁰ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 49; p. 49, line 14; p. 54, line 56; p. 57, line 15; *Sanherib* p. 51, line 13.

⁴⁹¹ *RGTC* 8, p. 213.

⁴⁹² *Tigl. III*, p. 160, line 7; cf. p. 130, line 6; p. 194, line 6; p. 196, line 6.

⁴⁹³ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, line 8. It is unlikely that the eastern toponym Amat, mentioned in Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions, is related to the tribe: *Tigl. III*, p. 72, line 6 (^{kur}*A-ma-te*) p. 106, line 33' (^{kur}*A-[mat]*).

about 770 or 760 B.C. in the inscriptions of Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur⁴⁹⁴, the semi-independent ruler of Sūḥu on the Middle Euphrates. It is associated there with the great Ḥaṭallū tribe, to which it was allied or linked by some kin ties, and it took part with the Ḥaṭallū tribesmen in a great razzia against the land of Laqē, but finished by being utterly defeated by Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur⁴⁹⁵.

The name of the tribe should probably be interpreted as a derivative **'ammāt* of the noun *'amm*, "ancestor", like Arabic *'āmma(tun)* that means "people, community". This word *'mt* occurs once in a Palmyrene inscription where it must mean "community", "clan", or "family"⁴⁹⁶. Considering the participation of the 'Ammatu men in the raid against the land of Laqē, reachable along the Sūḥu territory, their tribal land at that time should be located somewhere between the Wādī Tartār and the Euphrates, east of the Sūḥu dependencies. This is confirmed by the fact that the sheikh of the 'Ammatu could be named with his patronymic in the inscriptions of Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur, who obviously had good informations about this tribe. Its head was then called ^m*Ia-a-a-e* or ^m*Ia-a-'-e*, son of ^m*Ba-li-am-mu* or ^m*Ba-la-am-mu*⁴⁹⁷. As already mentioned above⁴⁹⁸, the name *Y'y* is attested in Minaic and must derive from the same root as Hebrew *y'h* and Arabic *wa'ā*, "to remember". As for the patronymic, paralleled by the name *'Ammī-ba'l* of the Aramaean ruler of the Bēt-Zammāni in the 9th century B.C.⁴⁹⁹, it can be interpreted confidently as *Ba'lī-'ammu*, "the Ancestor is my lord".

In consequence of the defeat inflicted upon the 'Ammatu tribesmen by Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur or for some other reasons, the tribe migrated to the southeast and crossed the Tigris. It is uncertain where Tiglath-pileser III encountered the 'Ammatu, because the land of Amat in Media, "opposite the Rua mountains"⁵⁰⁰, cannot be linked easily with the tribe. Under the reign of Sargon II, the Gambūlaean town of ^{uru}*A-ma-te*, possibly named after the Aramaean tribe, was on the bank of the Uqnū river, and it was attached with other subjugated cities of the region to the province of the governor of the Gambūlu land⁵⁰¹. The same city, called ^{uru}*Am-mat*, may be mentioned also in a document found at Nippur and

⁴⁹⁴ *RIMB II*, text S.O.1002.2, p. 295, line 17; text S.O.1002.3, p. 301, line 8'.

⁴⁹⁵ See here above, p. 106, 278, 427-428.

⁴⁹⁶ E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Unpublished Funerary Relief Busts from Palmyra*, in *OLP* 29 (1998 [2000]), p. 63-73 (see p. 68).

⁴⁹⁷ *RIMB II*, text S.O.1002.2, p. 295, line 17; text S.O.1002.3, p. 301, line 8'.

⁴⁹⁸ See here above, p. 428.

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. here above, p. 153.

⁵⁰⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 72, line 6; p. 106, line 33'.

⁵⁰¹ *Sargon II*, p. 149-150 and 330, Ann. 292-294.

belonging to the archive of Nergal-iddina⁵⁰². Besides, a man named in a Neo-Babylonian text from Ur is designated as ^{lú}A-mat-ú'-a⁵⁰³, but the tablet is not dated and it is hardly datable by conjecture.

The 'Ammatu are followed in Tiglath-pileser III's great list by the ^{lú}Ha-ga-ra-a-nu⁵⁰⁴, whose name obviously derives from the Arabic base *ḥagar*, "stone", by addition of the suffix *-ān* which mainly forms adjectives and personal names. Nothing is known about this tribe, although it is named also in Sennacherib's inscriptions⁵⁰⁵, but S. Schiffer⁵⁰⁶ has related its name to *Agranis*, a city on the Euphrates mentioned by Pliny⁵⁰⁷, and to Hagrōnia, often referred to in Talmudic writings⁵⁰⁸. Despite the Talmudic spelling with *h*, this identification is worth consideration for Arabic *ḥ* corresponds to East Aramaic *h*⁵⁰⁹, and this was the case at least as early as the 2nd-4th centuries A.D., since West-Aramaic *ḥ* in proper names may then appear as *h* in the Babylonian Talmud⁵¹⁰. The Jewish Aramaic spelling *Hgrwny*' obviously reflects the change *ā* > *ō*, which indicates that the name was **Hagrān*, corresponding to Latin *Agranis*, with the loss of the second short vowel *a* of **Haggarān*⁵¹¹. The town was on the Euphrates, southwest of Baghdad, near Nehardea.

23. NAQRI AND TANĪYE

A fragment of Tiglath-pileser III's annals reporting the events of 745 B.C. and describing the territories annexed to Assyria at the end of the Babylonian campaign inserts "[the lands' of] the sheikhs of the Naqri and the Tanīye (tribes)" between Dūr-Kurigalzu and Sippar of Šamaš, on

⁵⁰² RGTC 8, p. 22-23.

⁵⁰³ H.H. FIGULLA, *UET IV*, London 1949, No. 140, 3; cf. RGTC 8, p. 22.

⁵⁰⁴ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, line 8.

⁵⁰⁵ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 48; p. 49, line 14; p. 54, line 56; p. 57, line 15;

⁵⁰⁶ S. SCHIFFER, *op. cit.* (n. 254), p. 126.

⁵⁰⁷ PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History VI*, 120.

⁵⁰⁸ A. NEUBAUER, *La géographie du Talmud*, Paris 1868, p. 347-348; A. BERLINER, *Beitraege zur Geographie und Ethnographie Babyloniens im Talmud und Midrasch*, Berlin 1883, p. 31-32; J. OBERMEYER, *Die Landschaft Babyloniens im Zeitalter des Talmuds und des Gaonats*, Frankfurt a/M 1929, p. 265-270; A. OPPENHEIMER, *Babylonia Judaica in the Talmudic Period*, Wiesbaden 1983, p. 134-140.

⁵⁰⁹ For example, Arabic *ḥakīm* is borrowed as *hakīm*, "wise"; cf. R. MACUCH - E. PANOUSI, *Neusyrische Chrestomathie*, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 47.

⁵¹⁰ E.Y. KUTSCHER, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic*, Ramat-Gan 1976, p. 70.

⁵¹¹ The loss of the long *ā* is not probable and, therefore, the identification of *Haggarānu* with *Ha-gar-nu* (or *Ha-šā-nu*), in Assyria (PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 141), is unlikely. The geminated *gg* underlies the dissimilated form *Hangarānu* of a proper name (*PNA II/1*, p. 453); cf. Arabic *ḥaḡḡār*, "stone mason", "stone cutter".

the one hand, and the cities of Kala'in on the Shumandar canal and of Paṣītu of the Dunānu tribe, on the other: [...^{lú}]na-sik-ki ^{lú}Na-aq-ri ^{lú}Ta-ni-e⁵¹². This seems to point to the area of Babylon and of Sippar⁵¹³, north or northwest of Nippur⁵¹⁴. In fact, these tribes, which are not labelled as Aramaean, appear also together as ^{lú}Na-qa-ri ù ^{lú}Ta-ni-e in a letter sent by Baġyān, apparently the sheikh of the Dunānu tribe⁵¹⁵, to the governor of Nippur⁵¹⁶ in the mid-8th century B.C. Baġyān reports that both tribes have joint forces with his opponent Nūru and the Ḥalapi tribe. Slightly earlier perhaps, the Assyrians based at Calah had captured a sheep-stealing sheikh of the Naqīru and a band of brigands from the Ruqāḥu tribe⁵¹⁷, which was located near the confluence of the Lesser Zab and of the Tigris⁵¹⁸. All these elements point to a northern location of Naqri and Tanīye, which apparently ranged from the Sippar area as far northeast as the Diyāla and the Lesser Zab. Therefore it is unlikely that there is any relation between the Tanīye tribe and ^{uru}Dūr-^mTa-ni-e conquered by Sennacherib on the territory of the Chaldaean tribe of Bīt-Ša'alli⁵¹⁹.

The Naqri and Tanīye tribes are not labelled specifically as Aramaean, but the Naqiraeen sheikh ^mIa-da-'-Ilu ^{lú}nasīku ša ^{lú}Na-qi-ra-a-a⁵²⁰ bears a perfectly Aramaic name, which is not common in North-Arabian⁵²¹. The reading of his patronymic is uncertain⁵²², but the name of the tribe is related to the Aramaic noun *naqr*, *nəqar*, "pure"⁵²³. Its singular seems to appear in Tiglath-pileser III's *na-aq-ri* and Baġyān's *na-qa-ri*, while the oldest attestation from Calah has the "broken" plural formation *naqīru*, "the pure ones", paralleled in Classical Arabic by 'abīdu(n), "servants", the collective plural of 'abdu(n). As for the ^{lú}Ta-ni-e, they are literally

⁵¹² *Tigl. III*, p. 42, line 6; cf. p. 150, lines 8-9.

⁵¹³ *RGTC* 8, p. 382-383; cf. B. GRONEBERG, *op. cit.* (n. 269), p. 310, and K. NASHEF, *op. cit.* (n. 69), p. 316.

⁵¹⁴ See here above, p. 458-459.

⁵¹⁵ See here above, p. 458.

⁵¹⁶ *Nippur* IV, No. 13, 19-20.

⁵¹⁷ *CTN* II, 119.

⁵¹⁸ See here above, p. 48-49, and E. FORRER, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1920, p. 12 and 47.

⁵¹⁹ *Sennacherib*, p. 53, line 40.

⁵²⁰ *CTN* II, 119, 9-10, cf. line 21.

⁵²¹ Instead, the name is frequent in Sabaic and in Hadramic; cf. HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 664.

⁵²² *CTN* II, 119, 22: ^mŪ-ka-tur²-me.

⁵²³ The Arabic verb *naqara* means "to pierce", hence "to offend", and this metaphorical connotation is attested also in Epigraphic South Arabian. These meanings are not fit for a use of the root in anthroponomy.

“sworn men”, as it seems. The Westsemitic verb *tny* appears to be a variant of Assyro-Babylonian *tamū*, “to swear”⁵²⁴. In Hebrew, this verb is used only in the ancient texts of Judg. 5, 11 and 11, 40, where it means something like “recall”, “evoke”, hence also “mourn” (Judg. 11, 40). A legal connotation underlies the Aramaic use of the phrase *tny ’mh* in a fragment of land registry from the Persian period where the entry of one section is partly preserved⁵²⁵: *tny ’mh* there seems to designate the official category of “swearers of an oath”. The formula corresponds to Assyro-Babylonian *māmīta tamū*, “to swear an oath”, with *māmītu* belonging to the same root as Hebrew and Aramaic *’(y)mh*, “awe”, “oath”. A tribe with a name like ^{lu}*Ta-ni-e* must be based on a fraternity sealed by a solemn oath. It is not mentioned any more after Tiglath-pileser III.

24. GAMBŪLU

The Aramaean tribe of ^{lu}*Gam-bu-lu* is first mentioned in Sargon II’s inscription reporting the Assyrian campaign in southern Babylonia, about 710 B.C. It frequently occurs later in texts of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal, and even Nebuchadnezzar II⁵²⁶. Its name derives by dissimilation from the word *gabbūl*, which means “modeller, kneader”, hence “creator” in Syriac. Its concrete ancient meaning may have been “potter”. Gambūlu was the principal Aramaean tribe of southern and southeastern Babylonia, next to the Puqūdu, and its tribal territory, situated north of Bīt-Yākīn, near the Elamite border, was quite large, since Sargon II turned the conquered area into an Assyrian province with six districts: Ḥubaqānu, Tarbugatī, Timassunu or Tibarsunu, Pašur, Ḥirītu, and Ḥilmu⁵²⁷. Dūr-Abi-ḥara⁵²⁸, a stronghold on the

⁵²⁴ For the *m/n* alternative, see LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 11.7.

⁵²⁵ *TAD* III, C3.21, 7, where the phrase is left without translation.

⁵²⁶ *Sargon II*, p. 433-435. References in PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 128-129, and *RGTC* 8, p. 137.

⁵²⁷ *Sargon II*, p. 143 and 328, Ann. 280-281. The name of the first district, characterized by the affirmative *-ān*, seems to be based on the proper name of the eponymous ancestor of a clan, possibly North-Arabian *’bqn* (HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 402). One wonders whether the second name is not a misspelling of ^{uu}*Targibātu* (PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 348; *RGTC* 8, p. 306-307). *Ḥirītu* means “ditch”, “canal”, or “moat” (G. FRAME, *op. cit.* [n. 70], p. 290-291), and *Ḥilmu* may have various Aramaic and Arabic etymologies. *Timassunu* or *Tibarsunu* and *Pašur* do not seem to have a Semitic etymon.

⁵²⁸ The proper name ^{ma}*AD-ḥa-ra* should be read either *Abi-ḥara* (cf. ^{ma}*A-bi-ḥa-ri* in ND. 2357, 7, r. 7, and *’bhr*) or *Ad(da)-ḥara* (cf. ^{mu}*U-ḥa-ri*, ^{ma}*Ḥa-ra-dīm*, etc.), in Aramaic *Hd’r*,

Surappu river, probably the Rūdḥānē-ye Čangūle, east of the Kūt al-‘Amāra area, became the chief-town of the province and was renamed Dūr-Nabū⁵²⁹. The main indigenous fortified centre was Ša-pī-^dBēl, located “between rivers”⁵³⁰ and considered by Esarhaddon as “the gate to Elam”⁵³¹. Sargon II deported 18,400 persons from Dūr-Abi-ḥara and took a large booty there⁵³². The Gambūlaean sheikhs of the neighbouring area at the Uqnū river submitted then to Sargon II who imposed a heavy tribute on them and annexed their land to the newly formed Assyrian province⁵³³.

Five of the six preserved names of the submissive Gambūlaean sheikhs are Aramaic: ^mHa-za-Ilu, “God has seen”, ^mHa-am-da-nu, “the desired one”, ^mZa-bi-du, “given”, ^mAm-ma-i²-[...], “the Ancestor ...”, ^mA-a-sa-Am-mu, “the Ancestor has given”⁵³⁴. A few generations later, however, ^mSa-am-’-Gu-nu⁵³⁵, son of the Gambūlaean sheikh Bēl-iqīša, bears a name with the Arabic theophorous element Ġinn⁵³⁶, thus “the Genius has heard”.

“Haddu protected”; cf. D. HOMÈS-FREDERICQ - P. GARELLI - E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Archives d’un centre provincial de l’Empire assyrien*, Bruxelles, forthcoming, No. 48, 6 with comments. The quite common transcription Dūr-Aṭḥara is thus erroneous, but the correct reading Abi-ḥara was already proposed by M. STRECK, *Keilinschriftliche Beiträge zur Geographie Vorderasiens I*, in *MVAG* 11 (1906), p. 203-246, in particular p. 220-221.

⁵²⁹ *Sargon II*, p. 143 and 328, Ann. 279-280. For the identification of the Surappu river, see *ibid.*, p. 423 and 459.

⁵³⁰ R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 105 and 226-227, col. VI, 23-24 = VII, 18-19.

⁵³¹ R. BORGER, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (AfO, Beih. 9), Graz 1956, p. 53, line 83.

⁵³² *Sargon II*, p. 140 and 327, Ann. 271-272.

⁵³³ *Sargon II*, p. 141-143 and 328, Ann. 272a-e and 275-281.

⁵³⁴ *Sargon II*, p. 141, Ann. 272a-b. However, ^mA-a-sa-Am-mu appears as ^{uru}A-a-sa-mu in *Sargon II*, p. 148 and 329, Ann. 279l, and the name ’ws¹’m, “the Ancestor has given”, occurs so far only in Qatabanic: HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 85. The interpretation “Where is Sammu?” in *PNA I/1*, p. 92, is unlikely, since Sammu is so far unknown.

⁵³⁵ *APN*, p. 191a. There is a variant spelling ^mSa-am-Gu-nu without ’. The verbal predicate can be vocalized šama’ or šami’.

⁵³⁶ The spelling -Gu-nu in the annals of Ashurbanipal does not reflect the Assyrian vowel harmony, that affects a short, unstressed *a* in an open syllable. Instead, it should be explained as a case of dialectal Arabic *u* against *i*, like in *dukr* for *dikr*; cf. C. RABIN, *op. cit.* (n. 222), p. 101 and 102. The variant *ġunn is attested by the patronymic Γουν-αιδρω, “The Genius is a help” (‘edrō), found at Nessana (Negev) in the second half of the 7th century A.D. (A. NEGEV, *op. cit.* [n. 136], p. 137, No. 2561). The best attested Šafaitic personal name with the theophorous element ġinn is Gn’l, “The Genius is a god” (HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 168, s. v. JN’L). The oldest example goes back to 853 B.C. when ^mGi-in-di-pu-’, i.e. *Ġinn-dipū’* (*Ġinn-difā’), “The Genius is a protection” (pace *PNA I/2*, p. 424a), appears in Shalmaneser III’s annals: *RIMA III*, text A.0.102.2, p. 23, line 94. The Arabic word ġinn does not derive from Latin *genius*, as still sustained by J.T. MILIK, *art. cit.* (n. 128), p. 602-603, but it is a Semitic term, as shown already by Th. NÖLDEKE, in *ZDMG* 41 (1887), p. 117; cf. also H. SEYRIG - J. STARCKY, *Genneas*, in *Syria* 26 (1949),

The Assyrian authority in this region was rather limited, since the Gambūlu appear in 703/2 among Sennacherib's adversaries⁵³⁷ and in 691 B.C. as members of the great coalition which opposed Sennacherib at Ḫalulē, on the bank of the Tigris⁵³⁸. Notwithstanding the Assyrian claims of victory, the Gambūlu seem to have preserved their independence. Bēl-iqīša, son of Bunānu, head of the tribe, as well as his sons Dunanu and Šama'-Gunu, commonly followed anti-Assyrian policies, including alliances with Elam⁵³⁹, even if Bēl-iqīša at times paid tribute to Esarhaddon⁵⁴⁰. In particular, the Gambūlu took part in the widespread anti-Assyrian movement triggered by the league of the forces of Bēl-iqīša with those of Urtak, king of Elam, and of Nabū-šum-ēreš, governor of Nippur⁵⁴¹. This revolt, that lasted from 665 (or 667)⁵⁴² to 663 B.C., was possibly supported even by members of the family of Nabū-ušabši, governor of Uruk⁵⁴³, and it constitutes an important event of the Aramaean political history in southern Babylonia⁵⁴⁴. Nabū-ušabši reported the initial hostile acts of Bēl-iqīša to the king in the following words: "Bēl-iqīša revolted against the king with the connivance of Elam, he has destroyed my father's house and has taken steps for the killing of my brother"⁵⁴⁵.

Since Bēl-iqīša had aided the Elamite invasion of Babylonia, an immediate retaliation in 663 B.C. was very likely undertaken by Ashurbanipal against the Gambūlu. This campaign is described in editions A

p. 230-257, especially p. 248-257; D. SCHLUMBERGER, *Le prétendu dieu Gennéas*, in *MUSJ* 46 (1970), p. 207-222; J. STARCKY, *Relief de Palmyrène dédié à des Génies*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Paul Collart*, Lausanne 1976, p. 327-334. For the cult of the *ginn*, which is a collective notion, see J. HENNINGER, *Arabica Sacra* (OBO 40), Freiburg-Göttingen 1981, p. 118-169.

⁵³⁷ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 46; p. 49, line 13; p. 54, line 55; p. 57, line 15; *Sanherib*, p. 51, line 13.

⁵³⁸ *Sennacherib*, p. 43, line 49.

⁵³⁹ A.C. PIEPKORN, *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal I* (AS 5), Chicago 1943, p. 58-59, col. IV, 27-32, and p. 72-73, col. V, 39-45; R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 95, col. IV, 27-32 = V, 39-45, and p. 222.

⁵⁴⁰ R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 531), p. 52-53, lines 71-83; cf. p. 110, Frt. B, lines 9-12.

⁵⁴¹ A.C. PIEPKORN, *op. cit.* (n. 539), p. 58-61, col. IV, 27-86, and p. 70-76, col. VI, 17-VII, 2; R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 95-97, col. IV, 27-86 = V, 37-92; p. 105-108, col. VI, 17-VII, 2 = VII, 10-119; p. 222-223, 226-228.

⁵⁴² See the discussion in G. FRAME, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 119, n. 93.

⁵⁴³ This depends on the interpretation of ABL 269 = SLA 17, 10-15. For a different explanation, see G. FRAME, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 120 with n. 95. Concerning Nabū-ušabši, see G. FRAME, *The Correspondence of Nabū-ušabši, Governor of Uruk*, in K.R. VEENHOF (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, Leiden 1986, p. 260-272.

⁵⁴⁴ G. FRAME, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 118-125. It is surprising therefore that Bēl-iqīša's revolt is mentioned only in passing by M. DIETRICH, *op. cit.* (n. 62), p. 75.

⁵⁴⁵ ABL 269 = SLA 17, 12-15.

and F of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions as being the continuation of the campaign against Teumman⁵⁴⁶, who had usurped the Elamite throne in 664 upon the sudden death of Urtak⁵⁴⁷. The Elamites were defeated by the Assyrian forces and Teumman was killed. The year of the battle depends on the lunar eclipse, which edition B of Ashurbanipal's annals mentions as having taken place in the month of Tammūz, immediately before Teumman levied his troops in the month of Abu to do battle with the Assyrians⁵⁴⁸. This eclipse is often identified with the one that took place on July 13th of 653⁵⁴⁹, but it could equally well be the eclipse which took place on August 3rd of 663⁵⁵⁰. It is hard to believe, in fact, that Ashurbanipal would have delayed the retaliatory campaign against Elam and Gambūlu by ten years⁵⁵¹. Edition B of Ashurbanipal's annals, dating from 649 or 648 B.C., may have confounded the two eclipses or just assumed that the eclipse had taken place in the month preceding the one in which the troops were levied. Besides, it is hard to believe that Babylonia would have risked a rebellion against Assyria in 652 B.C. and that Humban-nikaš II of Elam would have joined the anti-Assyrian alliance, if Ashurbanipal had demonstrated his might against Elam and Gambūlu in 653 and had installed Humban-nikaš as king of Elam after this campaign, ended a few months earlier. Thus, the eclipse of 663 should decisively be preferred as chronological reference.

⁵⁴⁶ Editions B and C describe the campaign against the Gambūlu as a separate event. The dates and even the order of various episodes reported in the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal are often uncertain, because his "annals" are arranged according to campaigns (*girru*) and not regnal years, whereas the order of the campaigns themselves is not identical in the various editions of the "annals". For their numbering and publications, see A.K. GRAYSON, *The Chronology of the Reign of Ashurbanipal*, in ZA 70 (1980), p. 227-245.

⁵⁴⁷ The date is suggested by the reference of the Shamash-shum-ukīn Chronicle to an Elamite prince fleeing to Assyria on 12 Tašritu 664 B.C. (A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* [n. 3], p. 128, No. 15, 2-3). This notice likely refers to the flight of Humban-nikaš, son of Urtak, from Teumman when the latter seized the throne of Elam upon the sudden death of Urtak. Before usurping the throne, Teumman — assuming that he is Tepti-Humban-Inšušinak — may have been the local ruler of Susa, where several royal inscriptions of Tepti-Humban-Inšušinak refer to his building and military activities; cf. E. CARTER - M.W. STOLPER, *Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1984, p. 50.

⁵⁴⁸ A.C. PIEPKORN, *op. cit.* (n. 539), p. 62-63, col. V, 5-7; R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 98 and 224, col. V, 5-7.

⁵⁴⁹ Thus lately M. W. WATERS, *Te'umman in the Neo-Assyrian Correspondence*, in JAOS 119 (1999), p. 473-477, following J. MAYR, in A.C. PIEPKORN, *op. cit.* (n. 539), p. 105-109.

⁵⁵⁰ F.R. STEPHENSON, in J.E. READE - C.B.F. WALKER, *Some Neo-Assyrian Inscriptions*, in AfO 28 (1981-82), p. 113-122 (see p. 119-122), followed by R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 98.

⁵⁵¹ Cf. J.E. READE, *art. cit.* (n. 550), p. 120-121.

Having defeated Teumman at the Ūlāya river, the classical Eulaeus⁵⁵², the Assyrians marched to the territory of the Gambūlu⁵⁵³. Ashurbanipal claims to have covered their area “like a fog” and to have besieged their capital, Ša-pī-Bēl. Bēl-iqīša’s son Dunanu, the current sheikh of the tribe, surrendered out of fear. The region was thoroughly looted by the Assyrians who claimed to have totally destroyed Ša-pī-Bēl, making it as if it had never existed. Since the Shamash-shum-ukīn Chronicle records some activity involving Ša-pī-Bēl in 651⁵⁵⁴, this destruction must date from 663 and it was obviously followed by a reconstruction of the Gambūlaean capital. Therefore, one should tone down Ashurbanipal’s claim that he has deported every single inhabitant of the land with countless cattle, sheep, horses, as well as silver, gold, and valuables. A wall relief from the reign of Ashurbanipal, in the Palace of Sennacherib in Nineveh, shows groups of these captives from Gambūlu⁵⁵⁵. Dunanu was taken captive to Nineveh along with his family, officials, and artisans. The head of Teumman was hung around his neck and the head of Šutruk-nahhunte⁵⁵⁶, the Elamite ruler of Hīdalu, was hung around the

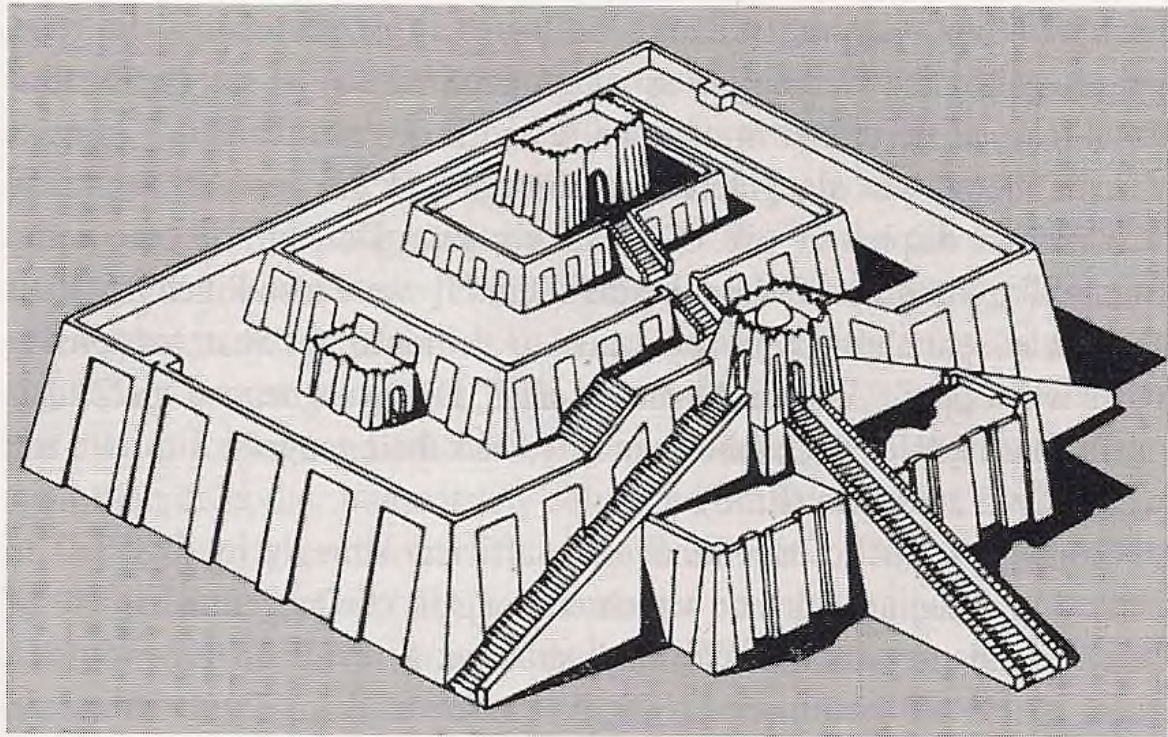
⁵⁵² On this battle, see J.M. CÓRDOBA, *Die Schlacht am Ulaya-Fluss. Ein Beispiel assyrischer Kriegführung während der letzten Jahre des Reiches*, in H. WAETZOLDT - H. HAUPTMANN (eds.), *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten* (Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 6), Heidelberg 1997, p. 7-18. Ūlāya, generally identified with the Kerḫa or Kārūn rivers (*Sargon II*, p. 466-467), is undoubtedly the ancient Eulaeus, which was the river of Susa, called Seleuceia-on-the Eulaeus under the Seleucids and the Parthians. The Ūlāya river should therefore be identified with Āb-i Diz or with the modern Ša’ūr river.

⁵⁵³ M. STRECK, *op. cit.* (n. 29), vol. II, p. 26-29, col. III, 50-69; p. 122-127, col. VI, 10-92; p. 320-323, K. 2637, 2-11; p. 328-333, K. 2647+, 38-r. I; A.C. PIEPKORN, *op. cit.* (n. 539), p. 70-77, col. VI, 17-VII, 2; E.F. WEIDNER, *Assyrische Beschreibungen der Kriegs-Reliefs Aššurbânâplis*, in *AfO* 8 (1932-33), p. 175-203, in particular epigraphs 3, 12, 18-22, 24, 26, 28-29, 34, 36-38, and p. 186-191; T. BAUER, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Assyriologische Bibliothek, N.F. 1-2), Leipzig 1933, p. 16 and Pl. 10-11, col. VII, 10-120; R.C. THOMPSON - M.E.L. MALLOWAN, *The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh, 1931-32*, in *AAA* 20 (1933), p. 71-186 and Pl. 35-106 (see p. 85 and 94, Pl. 93-94 and 105-107); J.-M. AYNARD, *Le Prisme du Louvre AO. 19.939*, Paris 1937, p. 40-43, col. II, 72-III, 5; R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 38-39, col. III, 50-69 = II, 72-III, 5; p. 105-108, col. VI, 17-VII, 2 = VII, 10-119; p. 192-193, col. III’, 6-12; p. 226-228.

⁵⁵⁴ A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 129, No. 15, 12; the context is damaged. Ša-pī-Bēl appears as a “family” name in a document from Uruk dated in year 38 of Nebuchadnezzar II (567 B.C.): M. JURSA, *Neu- und spätbabylonische Texte aus den Sammlungen der Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery*, in *Iraq* 59 (1997), p. 97-174 (see p. 103, No. 7, 9).

⁵⁵⁵ BM. 124801, cf. *SAA* IV, p. 249. For an analysis of the reliefs depicting the campaign against Teumman and the Gambūlaeans, cf. J.E. READE, *Narrative Composition in Assyrian Sculpture*, in *BaM* 10 (1979), p. 52-110 and Pl. 33-40 (see p. 96-101).

⁵⁵⁶ ^m*Iš-tar-na-an-di* in Assyrian transcription.



A reconstruction of the ziggurat at Ur (C.L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations V*, Oxford 1939, Pl. 86) and remains of a staircase leading to its top.

neck of Šama'-Gunu, Dunanu's brother⁵⁵⁷. This shows that the campaign against the Gambūlu was a real continuation of the one against Teumman, as described in editions A and F of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions. Dunanu was slaughtered in Nineveh and the head of Teumman was put on display at one of the city's gate. Dunanu's brothers and Šumaya, a grandson of Marduk-apla-iddina II, were also killed and their flesh was sent throughout the lands to demonstrate what happens to those who oppose Assyria. Mannu-ki-aḥḥē, Dunanu's deputy, and Nabū-uṣalli, the head of a Gambūlaean city, had their tongues torn out and were flayed at Arbela (Erbil).

Gambūlu seems to have recovered sufficient strength by 658 B.C. to enter a pro-Elamite alliance which once again challenged the might of Assyria and prepared the Shamash-shum-ukīn revolt in 652-648 B.C. Nabū-uṣabši, the governor of Uruk, was aware of Elam's attempts to win support in southern Babylonia. He warned Ashurbanipal against one Pir'u and his father Bēl-ēṭir whose comings and goings to Elam "where detrimental to Assyria in Uruk"⁵⁵⁸. The Elamite king, probably Humban-nikaš II, or one of his ministers (*tepper*), sent even a gift of horses to Iṣtar of Uruk, at the latest in 659⁵⁵⁹, probably in order to win Uruk's favour. There were contacts certainly between Elam and the Gambūlaeans as well, since Ashurbanipal contemplated sending troops against the Gambūlu in 658 and 657 B.C., considering the possibility of an Elamite intervention⁵⁶⁰. However, there is no evidence that troops commanded by the chief courtier Marduk-šar-uṣur were then sent against Gambūlu, but the Gambūlaeans, represented mainly by the people of Ḫilmu, one of the six Gambūlaean districts under Sargon II⁵⁶¹, were involved on the side of Shamash-shum-ukīn in 652. Early in the revolt, Parū, the chieftain of Ḫilmu, was among those sent by Humban-nikaš II to aid Shamash-shum-ukīn, but he was defeated and killed by the Assyrian forces⁵⁶². Also

⁵⁵⁷ The legend of the Assyrian palace relief states instead that the head of Šutruk-nahḥunte was hung around the neck of an Elamite dignitary: E.F. WEIDNER, *art. cit.* (n. 553), epigraph 3.

⁵⁵⁸ ABL 266 = SLA 194 and ABL 998, where the names are not preserved, but the circumstances referred to appear to be the same as in ABL 266.

⁵⁵⁹ ABL 268 = SLA 253 and ABL 831 = SLA 255, r. 12'-14'. For this matter and the dating, cf. M. COGAN, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah, and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E.*, Missoula 1974, p. 56; G. FRAME, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 127, n. 138.

⁵⁶⁰ Several Assyrian queries to the Sun-god refer to this matter: SAA IV, 270-273.

⁵⁶¹ Sargon II, p. 143 and 328, Ann. 281; p. 151 and 330, Ann. 301; p. 195 and 344, Displ. 20.

⁵⁶² M. STRECK, *op. cit.* (n. 29), vol. II, p. 126-129, col. VII, 3-35; A.C. PIEPKORN, *op. cit.* (n. 539), p. 76-77, col. VII, 3-35; R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 108-110, col. VII, 3-35; p. 229.

Nabū-bēl-šumāti, leader of Bīt-Yākīn, hired members of the Ḥilmu and other tribes in support of the rebellion, but Bēl-ibni, appointed by Ashurbanipal over the Sealand, sent a military force which inflicted a defeat upon the Ḥilmu and Pillaṭu people, and took many captives⁵⁶³. Beside some activity involving the town of Ša-pī-Bēl⁵⁶⁴, the old Gambūlaean capital, there is no clear evidence that the Gambūlu have played another role in the revolt of 652-648 B.C. When Ashurbanipal conducted his first retaliatory campaign against Elam, probably in 647, the Gambūlaeans, the city of Laḥīru, and other tribal groups and towns along the Babylonian-Elamite border immediately submitted to the Assyrian king⁵⁶⁵.

Under the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562 B.C), two governors of the province of Gambūlu are mentioned in the inscriptions: Marduk-šar-ušur and Zēriya⁵⁶⁶. It is difficult to give a precise location to this region on the Babylonian-Elamite border, sometimes referred to as the land of Gambūlu. The Islamic toponym Ġabbūl, above Kūt al-‘Amāra, may preserve the ancient name⁵⁶⁷.

25. ḤALLATU, YA'ĀŠ-IL, YĀDAQQU, MALAḤU

A letter addressed by Ṭāb-šill-Ešarra, governor of Ashur, to king Sargon II mentions ^{kur}*Hal-lat-a-a* next to ^{kur}*Ru-qa-ḥa-a-a* among the reserves of the royal army⁵⁶⁸. These tribesmen must have belonged to the ^{lu}*Ha-la-tu(m)* tribe named later in Sennacherib's inscriptions between Gambūlu and Ru'ā'⁵⁶⁹, despite the use of the determinative KUR and the spelling with double *ll*, paralleled by the toponym ^{uru}*Hallatu*⁵⁷⁰. This was a "garden city" of Babylon, the name of which derives probably from the Old Arabian or Aramaic root *ḥll*, "to be out-doors", which gives the Arabic

⁵⁶³ ABL 1000 = SLA 42. See also A.R. MILLARD, *Nabû-bēl-šumâte*, in *RLA* IX/1-2, Berlin 1998, p. 30-31.

⁵⁶⁴ A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 129, No. 15, 12, with note.

⁵⁶⁵ M. STRECK, *op. cit.* (n. 29), vol. II, p. 40-43, col. IV, 110-123; J.-M. AYNARD, *op. cit.* (n. 553), p. 44-45, col. III, 33-45; M. COGAN - H. TADMOR, *Ashurbanipal's Conquest of Babylon: The First Official Report — Prism K*, in *Or* 50 (1981), p. 229-240 (see p. 233-234); R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 45-47, col. IV, 110-123a = III, 33-45; p. 237.

⁵⁶⁶ E. UNGER, *Gambulu*, in *RLA* III, Berlin 1957-71, p. 136-137.

⁵⁶⁷ M. STRECK, *Djabbul*, in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. II, Leiden 1965, p. 366-367. Cf. also S. SCHIFFER, *op. cit.* (n. 254), p. 131; E. UNGER, *art. cit.* (n. 566), p. 137, § 5.

⁵⁶⁸ SAA I, 91, r. 2.

⁵⁶⁹ *Sennacherib*, p. 43, line 49.

⁵⁷⁰ *RGTC* 8, p. 147.

noun *hilla(tun)*, “encampment”, the place name Al-Ḥilla (Iraq), as well as the Late Babylonian noun *hallatu*, “garden”, literally “out-doors”, and already the Amorite word *hallatum*, “transhumant flock”⁵⁷¹. The name of the tribe should thus suggest its nomadic or seminomadic way of life.

In the mid-7th century, a certain ^m*Bi-ḥa-a-a-tú mār* ^m*Maḥīr*(KILAM)-*ra-nu* ^{lú}*na-si-ku šá* ^{lú}*Ha-lat*⁵⁷² occurs among Assyrian enemies in a Bēl-ibni’s letter sent in 649 B.C. to Ashurbanipal and reporting on the military activities on the Elamite border of the Sealand. The name of the sheikh **Bḡyt*, “(granted) request”, and his patronymic **Maḡīrān*, “avenger” or “raider”⁵⁷³, are Aramaic and the tribe must thus be Aramaean as well.

Sennacherib’s inscriptions mention a few tribes, — labelled sometimes as Aramaean, — which do not appear in earlier Neo-Assyrian texts. They belonged to the large coalition of Elamites, tribes from the Zagros mountains, Chaldaeans, Babylonians, and Aramaeans that opposed Sennacherib at Ḥalulē on the Tigris, in 691 B.C. This was one of the major battles of the Neo-Assyrian period and there was a heavy loss of life on both sides. Among Sennacherib’s enemies, between Ellipi and Lakabru, two peoples of the Zagros range, the annals name ^{lú}*Ia-as-Ilu*⁵⁷⁴, a tribe which is mentioned later in a Babylonian letter from the time of Ashurbanipal. The letter names the sheikh (*nasīku*) of ^{lú}*Ia-a-ši-Ilu* who bears the uncompromisingly Aramaic name ^m*Am-ma-la-din*⁵⁷⁵, “May the ancestor judge!”, with the precativ preformative *la-*⁵⁷⁶. It reports the death of the man, killed with other members of his family and two hundred elders during a raid by Mušēzib-Marduk, the nephew of Bēl-ibni, governor of the Sealand. The same name ^m*Am-mi-la-din*, “May my ancestor judge!”, was borne in the mid-8th century by the

⁵⁷¹ Sabaic roots *hll* I, “encamp”, and *hll* II, “be unprotected” (*Sabaic Dictionary*, p. 67), should most likely be considered as a single root. The *tthll* form in the Proverbs of Aḥiqar (*TAD*, C1.1, 104) means that the town of wicked men “will become unprotected (by walls)”, contrary to *DNWSI*, p. 375. For Late Babylonian *hallatu*, see *AHW*, p. 312a, and for *hallatum* at Mari, cf. J.-M. DURAND, *Documents pour l’histoire du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie* I, in *MARI* 5 (1987), p. 155-198 (see p. 171), but see also W. HEIMPEL, *Hallatum, hālātum, and ha-la-tum*, in *NABU* 1999, p. 45-46, No. 44.

⁵⁷² *ABL* 520 = *SLA* 43, 13-14; cf. *RGTC* 8, p. 147.

⁵⁷³ In this name, the suffix *-ān* is added to the participle *haf’el* of the denominative verb formed from the noun attested in Syriac as *ʿayārtā*, “vengeance”, corresponding to Arabic *ḡāratu(n)*, “raid”. The verb is still attested in Arabic as *ʿagāra*, “to raid”; cf. *hgr*, *s¹gr* in Epigraphic South-Arabian (*Sabaic Dictionary*, p. 54).

⁵⁷⁴ *Sennacherib*, p. 43, line 44: ^{lú}*Ia-as-DINGIR*.

⁵⁷⁵ *ABL* 280 = *SLA* 40, 13-14.

⁵⁷⁶ *ZADOK*, *WSB*, p. 92-93; *SAIO* II, p. 61 and 79; *LIPINSKI*, *Semitic*, § 39. 13 and § 40.23.

writer of a letter found in the early Neo-Babylonian archive of the governor of Nippur⁵⁷⁷ and it was also the name of the king of the North-Arabian tribe of Qedar at the time of Ashurbanipal⁵⁷⁸. Also the sheikh's brother ^m*Da-la-a-Ilu mār Abu-ia-de-*⁵⁷⁹ bears an Aramaic name and patronymic: "God has lifted up" and "Father has recognized".

The name of the tribe, spelt also ^{lú}*I-ši-Ilu* in Babylonian⁵⁸⁰, is Aramaic as well and means "God has given", *Ya'āš-'Il*⁵⁸¹. It originates from a personal name. The tribe was still dwelling in the second half of the 7th century close to the Elamite frontier and this explains its mention with Lakabru and other tribes of the northeastern Sealand in a letter of its governor Bēl-ibni who reports to Ashurbanipal about the famine that struck that tribal area⁵⁸².

Another tribe first mentioned in Sennacherib's inscriptions is ^{lú}*Ia-da-qu*⁵⁸³, attested also under the gentilitial form ^{lú}*Ia-a-da-qu-a-a*⁵⁸⁴ in a letter sent by Nabū-šar-aḫḫēšu to Nineveh and referring to civic disturbances in Borsippa where tribesmen of the Assyrian army were garrisoned. Besides, there is a town ^{uru}*Ia-a-da-qu* or ^{uru}*Ia-da-qu/qa*, named in Neo-Babylonian texts at the time of Nebuchadnezzar II, and possibly situated not far from Uruk⁵⁸⁵. The form *Yādaqq* seems to be the imperfect haf'el of *daqq*, "to pound, to grind", or the imperfect of a by-form *hādaq/ādaq*⁵⁸⁶. It is apparently a shortened theophorous name, whose full form is not attested so far. The location of the tribe cannot be determined precisely. Sennacherib's stereotyped list names the Yādaqqu among the tribes dwelling on "the bank of the Tigris"⁵⁸⁷. The letter of Nabū-šar-aḫḫēšu connects them with Borsippa, where they are only garrisoned, while the town of Yādaqq seems to be near Uruk.

⁵⁷⁷ *Nippur* IV, No. 102, 1.

⁵⁷⁸ *APN*, p. 22a; *PNA* I/1, p. 104-105; R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 62, A VIII, 15; p. 115, B VIII, 39 = C X, 48 and B VIII, 46 = C X, 58: ^m*Am-mu-la-(ad)-di(-in)*; S. PARPOLA, *CT* 53, London 1979, No. 289, r. 13: ^m*Am-mu-la*[...].

⁵⁷⁹ *ABL* 280 = *SLA* 40, 15-16.

⁵⁸⁰ *RGTC* 8, p. 188.

⁵⁸¹ For names of this type with the verb 'wš, see E. LIPÍŃSKI, 'šyhw and 'šb'l, and *Parallel Personal Names*, in *OLP* 5 (1974), p. 5-13. The imperfective form of the verbal predicate still goes back to the ancient function of the *yaqtul/īprus*.

⁵⁸² *ABL* 1000 = *SLA* 42, 6.13. Cf. also *ABL* 1342, r. 2.

⁵⁸³ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 44; p. 49, line 12; p. 54, line 55; p. 57, line 14; *Sanherib*, p. 51, line 12. References to Neo-Assyrian texts are collected in PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 182-183.

⁵⁸⁴ *ABL* 349 = *SLA* 64, r. 4; cf. *RGTC* 8, p. 185.

⁵⁸⁵ References in *RGTC* 8, p. 185.

⁵⁸⁶ *JASTROW*, p. 17b and 334.

⁵⁸⁷ *Sennacherib*, p. 49, lines 12-13.

The tribe ^{lú}*Ma-la-ḥu* or ^{lú}*Ma-li-ḥu* is known from Sennacherib's inscriptions⁵⁸⁸ and from a letter in which the gentilitial form ^{lú}*Ma-la-ḥa-a* occurs⁵⁸⁹. Like Hebrew *mālēḥā* < **malihā* and Syriac *mālaḥtā*, this name must mean "salt land" or "salt marsh" and designate an area close to the Persian Gulf. The tribal name thus appears to derive from the local Aramaic appellation of the region. According to Sennacherib's annals, the tribe was dwelling on the bank of the Tigris⁵⁹⁰.

26. GURASIMMU, UDDA, GURRU, 'UBAYĀNĀT, DAḤḤĀ, YAKIMANU

A South-Babylonian group classified by M. Dietrich as Aramaean⁵⁹¹, namely the Gurasimmu tribe⁵⁹², is relatively little known and no text has yet been discovered in which the Gurasimmu are explicitly labelled as Aramaeans. The earliest intervention of the tribe must go back to the reign of Esarhaddon⁵⁹³, but there are, at present, no datable references to the Gurasimmu before the time of Ashurbanipal (668-627 B.C.). The textual attestation of Gurasimmu in southern Babylonia, where they resided not far from Ur⁵⁹⁴, coincides with the appearance of the so-called "Chaldaean inscriptions" written in letters similar to those of the "South-Arabian" script⁵⁹⁵, and this concomitancy may be no pure accident, since

⁵⁸⁸ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, line 45; p. 43, line 50; p. 49, line 12; p. 54, line 55; p. 57, line 14; *Sanherib*, p. 51, line 12.

⁵⁸⁹ *ABL* 701, r. 1.

⁵⁹⁰ *Sennacherib*, p. 49, lines 12-13.

⁵⁹¹ M. DIETRICH, *Gurasimmu*, in *RLA* III, Berlin 1957-71, p. 702-703; *Id.*, *op. cit.* (n. 62), p. 6 and 215b (index). This is also the opinion of G. FRAME, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 47.

⁵⁹² References in *RGTC* 8, p. 142-143.

⁵⁹³ The action described in *ABL* 947 = *SLA* 77, r. 3'-8', occurred during the reign of Esarhaddon, but the letter must have been written at the time of Ashurbanipal; cf. G. FRAME, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 45, n. 78. Instead, the dating of *ABL* 839 = *SLA* 16 from the reign of Esarhaddon, as proposed by M. DIETRICH, *op. cit.* (n. 62), p. 37-38, does not seem to be acceptable; cf. J.A. BRINKMAN, *art. cit.* (n. 38), p. 308, n. 27.

⁵⁹⁴ *Sīn-balāssu-iqbi*, son of Ningal-iddin, bore the title of *šakkanakku* (governor) of Ur, Eridu, and the Gurasimmu in E. SOLLBERGER, *Royal Inscriptions* II (UET 8), London 1965, No. 102, 6-9. Dated documents from his governorship go back to 658 and 657 B.C.; cf. G. FRAME, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 278.

⁵⁹⁵ A list of these inscriptions is provided by I. EPH'AL, *art. cit.* (n. 72), p. 109-110. It is difficult to place them typologically in a phase of the development of the "South-Arabian" script and a graffito from Tell Abū Ṣalābīḥ was considered as Liḥyānite by J.B. SEGAL, in *Sumer* 16 (1969), p. 27-28. However, a direct link between the Persian Gulf and southwestern Arabia is established now by the inscription on jar in "South-Arabian" script, found at Muweilah and dated on archaeological grounds between 850 and 600 B.C.: P. MAGEE, *Writing in the Iron Age: The Earliest South Arabian Inscription from the United Arab Emirates*, in *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 10 (1999), p. 43-50.

the Gurasimmu are referred to as a tribe *d-Gr's¹m* in a Sabaic inscription⁵⁹⁶. If their name **Gūr-ʿašim*⁵⁹⁷ is South-Arabian, it might mean “Master of a multitude”⁵⁹⁸ and designate the eponym of the tribe. The study of this tribal group would then go beyond the scope of the present work.

According to a letter sent probably to Ashurbanipal, Sīn-balāssu-iqbi, governor of Ur, seized five hundred fugitives, that had sought refuge among the Gurasimmu, and gave them over to their lord, a certain ^m*Nat-ta-[nu] šarru šá* ^{lú}*Ud-da-a-a*⁵⁹⁹. ^{lú}*Ud-da-a-a* is most likely a federation of North- and East-Arabian tribes, as indicated by the name *Udda*, obviously Arabic *wudd*, “friendship”. The Aramaic name of their “king” is not surprising⁶⁰⁰, since kings of Qedar bore Aramaic names as well⁶⁰¹. The existence of such an Arab tribal federation in a region situated near the Sealand and ruled by a “king” is a very interesting fact, but also this question goes beyond the scope of the present work.

A group regularly classified as “Aramaeans” are the *Gurru* or *Gurraya*⁶⁰². They generally appear as special units of the Assyrian army at the time of the Sargonids and their common tribal background cannot be questioned. However, nothing proves that they are Aramaeans. On the contrary, the Neo-Assyrian itinerary to the land of Zamua, in the Zagros mountains, locates [*Bir*]*tu ša Gurraya* in that area, southeast of Dūr-Ashur⁶⁰³. If this stronghold is situated in the traditional homeland of the Gurru, their name should be related not to a Semitic root like *gūr*,

⁵⁹⁶ *RÉS* 4194, 1.

⁵⁹⁷ The *ʿain* is implied by the cuneiform spelling ^{lú}*Gūr-a-sim-mu* in *ABL* 291 = *SLA* 202, 5. The transcription of *s¹* by cuneiform signs with *s* in Neo-Babylonian raises a problem, but *sim* may sometimes be read *šim* and we do not know which was the articulation of the phoneme *s¹* in the dialect of the Gurasimmu tribe.

⁵⁹⁸ *Sabaic Dictionary*, p. 51 (s. v. *GWR*) and p. 20 (sv. *S¹M*). *Ḡwr* and *Ḡr* appear as personal names in North-Arabian (HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 157 and 171), as well as *s¹m* (*ibid.*, p. 420-421; cf. A. NEGEV, *op. cit.* [n. 136], p. 54, No. 947), but they are never combined to form one name.

⁵⁹⁹ *ABL* 839 = *SLA* 16, 16-21. The ^{lú}*Ud-da-a-a* are also mentioned on the reverse, largely illegible, in line 4. The reading *Tam-da-a-a*, followed in *RGTC* 8, p. 303, and by R. MATTILA, *The Political Status of Elam after 653 B.C. according to ABL 839*, in *SAAB* 1 (1987), p. 27-30, because of its similarity with *Māt-tāmti*, “Sealand”, should be discarded, for it lacks any intelligible meaning and implies an unusual spelling.

⁶⁰⁰ The name *Ntn* is well attested in Thamūdīc and Ṣafaitic inscriptions; cf. HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 581.

⁶⁰¹ For instance, *Ḥazā-Il* (*APN*, p. 87-88).

⁶⁰² References in PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 137. For the personal name “Gurraean”, cf. *PNA* I/2, p. 432; ZADOK, *WSB*, p. 143. The classification “Gurru (Aram. tribe)” occurs, for instance, in *SAA* IV, p. 364b; *SAA* V, p. 246b; *SAA* VII, p. 235b; *SAA* XI, p. 180a.

⁶⁰³ *SAA* XI, 14, r. 10-11.

“young animal”, but to an Iranian basis, possibly to the Parthian name *G'wr* or *Gwr*⁶⁰⁴.

A tribe not labelled as Aramaean and attested only under the reign of Ashurbanipal are the *'Ubayānāt*⁶⁰⁵, who were active near the Babylonian-Elamite border. Their name is formed by the plural of *'byn*, “stout”, attested in Jewish Aramaic⁶⁰⁶ and, as a proper name *'Ubayān*, in Šafaitic and in Nabataean⁶⁰⁷. The Arabic and Neo-Aramaic word *'abāya*, “woollen cloak”, derives from the same root *'by*, known also in Hebrew (“thick”) and in Ethiopic (“big”). The plural in *-āt* is used here like in modern Bedouin tribal names⁶⁰⁸ and denotes the Arab origin of the tribe.

Another tribe, attested likewise in the time of Ashurbanipal near the Babylonian-Elamite frontier, are the *Dahḥā*⁶⁰⁹. Their name is formed by the “broken” plural of the *fa'lā* pattern, which is used with adjectives⁶¹⁰. The adjective *dh*, derived from *dahḥa*, “to hide”, is used in Šafaitic as a proper name⁶¹¹ and **Dahḥā* may thus signify “the sheltered ones” or the like.

The apparently Westsemitic names of ^{kur}*Ia-ki-ma-nu* and of its sheikh ^m*Ia-di-* appear in the context of events occurring in Mannaia under the reign of Esarhaddon⁶¹². The discovery of a monumental Aramaic inscription from the late 8th century B.C. at Tapeh Qalāychi, near Bukān (Iran)⁶¹³, in the former Mannaeian territory, confirms the use of Aramaic in that area, which had also yielded bronze vessels with Aramaic inscrip-

⁶⁰⁴ P. GIGNOUX, *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes*, London 1972, p. 51.

⁶⁰⁵ PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 363.

⁶⁰⁶ The phrase *ḥammār 'ubyān*, “a stout ass-driver”, occurs in the Palestinian Talmud, *Ta'anith* I, 64b bottom, but is often corrected; cf. JASTROW, p. 480a and 1037b.

⁶⁰⁷ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 404; *Safaitic Cairns*, p. 592; A. NEGEV, *op. cit.* (n. 136), p. 48, No. 833.

⁶⁰⁸ See here above p. 417.

⁶⁰⁹ *RGTC* 8, p. 115-116.

⁶¹⁰ W. FISCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 130), p. 67, § 122.

⁶¹¹ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 235. *Dahḥā* might also stand for *Dahḥāy*, as surmised by R. ZADOK, *art. cit.* (n. 37), p. 73, since a tribe of *Bnw Dh̄y* is cited by IBN DURAID, *op. cit.* (n. 361), p. 115.

⁶¹² *SAA* X, 113, r. 7-9. Cf. *PNA* II/1, p. 486.

⁶¹³ The stela was discovered in 1985 during regular excavations and a fragment was retrieved in 1990 from a dealer. The inscription was first published in Persian by R.B. KANZAQ in the *Proceedings of the First Conference on Ancient Languages, Inscriptions and Texts*, Teheran 1996, p. 25-39, and then reedited by A. LEMAIRE, *Une inscription araméenne du VIII^e s. av. J.-C. trouvée à Bukân (Azerbaïdjan iranien)*, in *Studia Iranica* 27 (1998), p. 15-30, with some new interpretations by M. SOKOLOFF, *The Old Aramaic Inscription from Bukân: A Revised Interpretation*, in *IEJ* 49 (1999), p. 105-115 (errata on p. 275), recused by A. LEMAIRE, *La stèle araméenne de Bukân: mise au point épigraphique*, in *NABU* 1999, p. 57-58, No. 57.

tions going back to the same period⁶¹⁴. The monumental inscription possibly dates from the anti-Assyrian period of Ullusunū⁶¹⁵, who was placed on the throne of Mannaea after the murder of his brother Azā, instigated by Rusa I (ca. 734-714 B.C.), king of Urartū⁶¹⁶. The historical context is suggested by the prominent place of the Urartian god Khaldi from Za'tera in the preserved text of the inscription⁶¹⁷, by the absence of any Assyrian deity, and by the mention of Hadad⁶¹⁸, the god of war and storm, obviously identified with his Urartian counterpart Teisheba, who was raised in the 8th century to an importance almost as great as Khaldi's⁶¹⁹. His appearance under the name of Hadad underscores the Aramaean influence in Mannaea and explains how a Mannaeian tribe and its sheikh can bear Aramaic names in the first half of the 7th century B.C. Therefore, it is not by chance that the similar name of ^{uru}Ia-qi-mu-na designated a fortified city of Bīt-Dakkūri⁶²⁰.

27. SYNTHESIS

Because of the paucity of the evidence, it is not possible to write a history of the single Aramaean tribes dwelling in the vicinity of Babylonia, especially along the Lower Tigris and in the area of Sippar, on the Middle Euphrates. Besides, the global history of these Aramaeans in the 8th-7th centuries B.C. can hardly be separated from the history of the North-Arabian tribes living in the same regions and called "Aramaeans" in Assyrian sources that barely and only exceptionally distinguish the

⁶¹⁴ TSSI II, 11-12; A. LEMAIRE, *Coupe astrale inscrite et astronomie araméenne*, in Y. AVISHUR - R. DEUTSCH (eds.), *Michael. Historical, Epigraphical and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. M. Heltzer*, Tel Aviv-Jaffa 1999, p. 195-211.

⁶¹⁵ The name of the king does not appear in the preserved part of the inscription.

⁶¹⁶ These events are conveniently summarized by I.M. DIAKONOFF, *Media*, in I. GERSHEVITCH (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran II. The Median and Achaemenian Periods*, Cambridge 1985, p. 36-148, especially p. 80-86. Cf. also PNA I/1, p. 238.

⁶¹⁷ Line 5': *Ḫl̥dy.zy.b-Z'tr*; line 12': *Ḫl̥dy*. The place name *Z'tr* cannot be identified with *Zirta/Izirtu*. Since Assyrian *š* corresponds to Urartian phonetic *s/z* (G.A. MELIKIŠVILI, *Die urartäische Sprache* [Studia Pohl 7], Rome 1971, p. 22), *Z'tr* may correspond to ^{kur}*Šá-at-te-ra* (SAA VI, 90, 13'), name of an Urartian provincial capital. This toponym is similar to ^{uru}*Se-te-ra*, a fortified city of Zekertu (F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon* [TCL 3], Paris 1912, p. 16, line 88), and to *Šatirū/ō* (I.M. DIAKONOFF - S.M. KASHKAI, *Geographical Names according to Urartian Texts* [RGTC 9], Wiesbaden 1981, p. 80).

⁶¹⁸ Lines 11' and 12': *Hdd*.

⁶¹⁹ R.D. BARNETT, in *CAH* III/1, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1982, p. 351-352.

⁶²⁰ *Sennacherib*, p. 52, line 38.

two groups. Moreover, the migrations, seasonal movements, and pillagers' thrusts hamper a clearly cut distinction between the tribes dwelling on the Euphrates around Sippar, those occupying areas along the Diyāla river or roaming near Wādī Tārtār and the Tigris north of present-day Baghdad, and the tribes living in the southeastern region, along the Uqnū and Surappu rivers as far as the shore of the Persian Gulf.

Before 745, there is practically no mention of most of the more than thirty-five "Aramaean" tribes found around Babylonia by Tiglath-pileser III. The sole notable exception is the 'Utū' or 'Itū' tribe, which lived along the western banks of the Tigris north of Babylonia and which had been confronted with Tukulti-Ninurta II in the early 9th century B.C.⁶²¹. Then, in the early 8th century, Shamshi-ilu claims that he has overcome the 'Utū', Rupū', Ḥaṭallū, and Lab(a)dudu tribes⁶²². A Naqīraean sheikh is named thereafter at Calah as head of a group of Ruqāḥaeans⁶²³, on the Middle Tigris, and the rulers of Sūḥu claim that they have defeated the attacking Tū'mānu, Ḥaṭallū, Luḥū'ātu, and 'Ammatu tribes⁶²⁴. Though they do not state where these tribes were coming from, it is likely that they were living somewhere along the Wādī Tārtār. Peaceful relations are instead suggested by the Babylonian documents that mention a man from the Li'ittā'u tribe⁶²⁵, as well as the Puqūdu, Dunānu, Naq(ī)ru, and Tanīye tribes. While the Puqūdu were living along the Elamite border near Dēr, present-day Badrah⁶²⁶, the later location of the Ḥindāru tribe is known to have been the general region of southeastern Babylonia⁶²⁷. The Dunānu, Naq(ī)ru, and Tanīye tribes seem instead to have dwelled in northwestern Babylonia⁶²⁸, probably around Sippar.

Tiglath-pileser III claims that he has defeated thirty-five "Aramaean" tribes in 745 B.C.⁶²⁹, the list of which is still completed in Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions by the mention of the Puqūdu, Lab(a)dudu, Naq(ī)ru, and Tanīye tribes. Conquered territories were annexed to Assyria, some of the Aramaeans were settled in the newly built city of Kār-Ashur⁶³⁰, while some of the Lab(a)dudu were

⁶²¹ *RIMA II*, text A.0.100.5, p. 175, lines 49-50. Cf. here above p. 437-438.

⁶²² *RIMA III*, text A.0.104.2010, p. 232, lines 10-11.

⁶²³ *CTN II*, 119, 1-11.

⁶²⁴ See here above, p. 106, 278, 425, 427-428, 444, 469.

⁶²⁵ See here above, p. 423-424, 467-468.

⁶²⁶ See here above, p. 429-437.

⁶²⁷ See here above, p. 455-457.

⁶²⁸ See here above, p. 458-459, 470-472.

⁶²⁹ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, 160, lines 5-10; cf. p. 272, line 10. See also here above, p. 441-442.

⁶³⁰ *Tigl. III*, p. 42, lines 1-3; p. 122, lines 6-7; p. 150, lines [7-8]; p. 160, lines 10-11.

deported to Assyria⁶³¹. Other resettlements affected the Puqūdu, Ru‘ā’ and Li’ittā’u tribes⁶³². The Assyrian king concluded triumphantly: “As many Aramaeans as there were I made to bow down to my feet, and I assumed the kingship of their kings”⁶³³. However, in 738 B.C., he had to intervene again in eastern Babylonia and deported 600 Amlātu captives from the Damūnu tribe and 5,400 inhabitants of Dēr to ‘Umq/Pattin⁶³⁴, while other captives from the ‘Ubūdu and Dunānu tribes were resettled on the Mediterranean seacoast and in northern Syria⁶³⁵. The Assyrian control of the tribal territories in Babylonia was largely ineffective, since Tiglath-pileser III had to fight again in 731 against the Aramaeans of this region⁶³⁶ and it is hard to believe that his claim to have subdued all the “Aramaean” groups by the year 729 B.C.⁶³⁷ was really justified. In fact, during the reigns of Sargon II and of Sennacherib, most “Aramaean” tribes in Babylonia, which had allegedly been subdued by Tiglath-pileser III, were again fighting against the Assyrians.

The short and ill-documented reign of Shalmaneser V (726-722 B.C.) was followed by the Assyrian dynastic crisis in 722, which gave the Chaldaean leader Marduk-apla-iddina II the opportunity to establish himself as king of Babylon in 721 and to solidify his power against the new Assyrian ruler Sargon II (721-705 B.C.) by creating an anti-Assyrian coalition of Babylonians, Aramaeans, Chaldaeans, and Elamites. After the victory gained by the Elamites over Assyrian forces at Dēr in 720⁶³⁸, the Assyrians managed only to take vengeance over the Tū’mānu tribe⁶³⁹ and Sargon II did not attempt to retake Babylonia until 710, when he defeated the Aramaean tribes of ‘Itū’, Rupū’, Ḥaṭallū, Lab(a)dudu, Ḥamrānu, ‘Ubūlu, Ru‘ā’, and Li’ittā’u near the banks of the Tigris, and the great Gambūlu, Hindāru, and Puqūdu tribes, surnamed “Sutaeans”, who were living in the Yadburu region, near Dēr⁶⁴⁰, and on the banks of the Uqnū river. Sargon II received the submission of the

⁶³¹ *Tigl. III*, p. 160, lines 14-15.

⁶³² *Tigl. III*, p. 122, lines 12-13.

⁶³³ *Tigl. III*, p. 122, lines 13-14.

⁶³⁴ *Tigl. III*, p. 66, lines 3-5; p. 86, Ann. 2, lines 2-3.

⁶³⁵ *Tigl. III*, p. 66, lines 5-8; p. 86, Ann. 2, lines 4-7.

⁶³⁶ *Tigl. III*, p. 84, Ann. 7, lines 3 and 7; Ann. 8, lines 1-3.

⁶³⁷ *Tigl. III*, p. 158, 160, lines 5 ff.; cf. p. 122, lines 4 ff.; p. 130, lines 3 ff.; p. 194, lines 5 ff.

⁶³⁸ A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 73-74, No. 1, I, 33-37.

⁶³⁹ *Sargon II*, p. 34 and 290, Cyl. 18; p. 89 and 314, Ann. 20-21.

⁶⁴⁰ *Sargon II*, p. 33 and 290, Cyl. 12; p. 65 and 304, Bull. 29-30; p. 136-159 and 326-330, Ann. 256-300; p. 195-196 and 343, Displ. 18-20; p. 265 and 360, Pavem. IV 70-78.

northwestern urban area of Babylonia as well, and displayed Marduk-apla-iddina from the Babylonian throne.

Sargon II stayed in Babylonia until 707, besieging Dūr-Yākīn, Marduk-apla-iddina II's tribal capital, and he seized it despite the resistance of the Puqūdu, Maršānu, and other auxiliary troops of the Chaldaean king⁶⁴¹. But two years later, in 705, the unprecedented death of the Assyrian king on the battlefield in Anatolia led to a new revolt of the peoples of Babylonia. Sennacherib intervened there as early as 703 B.C., defeating Marduk-apla-iddina II and his allies at Kish⁶⁴². This decisive victory was followed by a mass deportation of 208,000 Aramaeans from the Tū'mānu, Reḥīḥu, Yādaqqu, 'Ubūdu, Gibrīye, Malaḥu, Gurūmu, 'Ubūlu, Damūnu, Gambūlu, Ḥindāru, Ru'ā', Puqūdu, Ḥamrānu, Ḥaggarānu, Nabātu, and Li'ittā'u tribes, who were carried off to Assyria with their cattle, great and small⁶⁴³.

However, Sennacherib's control of the region was weak and a new anti-Assyrian coalition of Elamites, Babylonians, Chaldeans, peoples of the Zagros mountains, and "Aramaean" tribes came soon into existence. The Aramaean and North-Arabian tribes of Ya'aš-'Il, Puqūdu, Gambūlu, Hallatu, Ru'ā', 'Ubūlu, Malaḥu, Ḥindāru, Damūnu, and the people of Rāpiqu took part in the great battle of Ḥalulē in 691 as part of the coalition. This battle fought on the banks of the Tigris, possibly not far from Samarra or Baghdad, was indecisive despite the great losses of life on both sides⁶⁴⁴.

Sennacherib, however, soon recovered, put Babylon under siege for more than a year and captured the city in the late autumn of 689 B.C.⁶⁴⁵. The Aramaean tribal territories in southern Babylonia seem to have remained then under a limited Assyrian control for a few decades, but this did not prevent the chieftain of the powerful Gambūlu tribe to follow anti-Assyrian policies and to conclude alliances with Elam. The tribute paid by

⁶⁴¹ *Sargon II*, p. 161-162 and 334, Ann. 343-350; p. 226-229 and 350-351, Displ. 124-134. The Maršānu are probably an East-Arabian tribe, the name of which derives from a root attested also in anthroponomy; cf. HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 541, s.v. MRŠ.

⁶⁴² *Sennacherib*, p. 24-25, lines 20-42; p. 48-54, lines 5-54; p. 56-57, lines 5-13; p. 66-67, lines 3b-7a; p. 76, lines 7-11a; *Sanherib*, p. 51, lines 5-11.

⁶⁴³ *Sennacherib*, p. 25, lines 43-53; p. 54, lines 55-56; p. 57, lines 14-16; p. 67, line 7b; *Sanherib*, p. 51, lines 12-14.

⁶⁴⁴ *Sennacherib*, p. 41-47, col. V, 17-VI, 35; p. 88-89, lines 44-45; p. 89-92, obv. 3-rev. 21; A.K. GRAYSON, *art. cit.* (n. 188), p. 88-95, lines 11-114; *Sanherib*, p. 131, lines 40'-52'; *Sennacherib*, p. 160, lines 16-18 = A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 80, col. III, 16-18.

⁶⁴⁵ *Sennacherib*, p. 161, lines 22-23 = A.K. GRAYSON, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 80-81, No. 1, III, 22-23.



Drawing of a Tiglath-pileser III's relief from Nimrud that shows two scribes recording the spoil of a captured town, as well as cattle, women, and children driven away by the captors (BM. 118882).

Bēl-iqīša, the Gambūlaean, is even considered in Esarhaddon's inscriptions as an exceptional event⁶⁴⁶ and the Gambūlaeans played an important role in the anti-Assyrian revolt of 665-663 B.C.⁶⁴⁷. Aramaean tribes took advantage also from Shamash-shum-ukīn's revolt in 652-648 B.C.⁶⁴⁸, which was effectively led in the south by Nabū-bēl-šumāti, a descendant of Marduk-apla-iddina II.

⁶⁴⁶ R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 531), p. 52-53.

⁶⁴⁷ See here above, p. 474-478.

⁶⁴⁸ See here above, p. 435-436, 478-479.