

Edward Lipinski (orientalist)



Edward (Edouard) Lipiński (born 18 June 1930 in Lodz, Poland)

is a Belgian Biblical scholar and Orientalist.

His first major work, published in 1965, was a monumental monograph entitled *La royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël*. In 1969, he was appointed professor at the Catholic University of Leuven, where he taught i.a. the comparative grammar of Semitic languages and history of ancient Near Eastern religions and institutions. He was head of the Department of Oriental and Slavonic studies at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from 1978 to 1984. He directed the publication of the *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique* (1992) and the *Studia Phoenicia* series (from 1983). He also published *Semitic Languages. Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (1997, 2001) and dealt extensively with Old Aramaic dialects and history, in particular in his *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics* (1975, 1994, 2010) and in *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (2000). Referring to the latter work a reviewer noted that it "embodies the accumulated insights of one of the greatest Semitic scholars of our time". Professor Edward Lipiński was awarded a doctorate honoris causa by the Lund University in 2003. Although he retired from KU Leuven in 1995, he continues teaching and doing research mainly in Aramaic and Phoenician studies.

The WorldCat database lists over a hundred publications by Edward Lipiński in his various fields of expertise.

A complete bibliography was published by The Enigma Press. Here is a short list of his major publications:

- *La Royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël* (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren, Jaarg. XXVII, Nr 55), Paleis der Academiën, Brussel 1965, 560 pp. ; second edition, Brussel 1968.
- *Le Poème royal du Psaume LXXXIX, 1-5.20-38* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 6), J. Gabalda et Cie, Paris 1967, 110 pp.
- *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics I –III* (Orient. Lov. An. 1, 57, 200), Leuven University Press, Peeters & Oriëntalistiek, Leuven 1975, 1994, 2010, 240 pp., 273 pp., XX + 308 pp.
- Author of volumes 1, 5 and 6 of *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata: Orientalia antiqua* published 1982 Peeters Publishers^[7]
- (Ed.), *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*, Brepols, Turnhout 1992, XXII + 502 p., 14 colour pls.
- *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique* (Orient. Lov. An. 64; Studia Phoenicia XIV), Peeters & Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven 1995, 536 p.
- *Semitic languages: outline of a comparative grammar*, 2000. ISBN 978-90-429-0815-4
- *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (Orient. Lov. An. 80), Peeters & Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven 1997, 756 pp.; 2nd ed., Leuven 2001, 780 pp.
- *The Aramaeans: their ancient history, culture, religion*, 2001. ISBN 978-90-429-0859-8
- *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (Orient. Lov. An. 100), Peeters & Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven 2000, 697 pp.
- *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Orient. Lov. An. 127; Studia Phoenicia XVIII), Peeters & Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven 2004, XXVI+ 622 pp.
- *On the Skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age. Historical and Topographical Researches* (Orient. Lov. An. 153), Peeters & Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven 2006, 484 pp.
- *Prawo bliskowschodnie w starożytności. Wprowadzenie historyczne* (The Near Eastern Law in Antiquity. A Historical Introduction; Studia historico-biblica 2), Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2009, 492 pp.
- *Resheph. A Syro-Canaanite Deity* (Orient. Lov. An. 181; Studia Phoenicia XIX), Peeters & Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven 2009, 297 pp.

CHAPTER IV

NISIBIS AND THE TEMANITES

Although the Laqē tribes have created an Aramaean-Arabian federation on the Lower Ḥābūr, just south of Dūr-katlimmu, recent research suggests that the Aramaeans did not manage to seize the whole Middle Ḥābūr valley in the period of their greatest expansion in Upper Mesopotamia, between the death of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1205 B.C.) and the reign of Ashur-dan II (934-912 B.C.) in Assyria. Local dynasties, with probable Assyrian roots, are attested then at Tell Ṭābān (Ṭābēte), Tell Bdēri (Dūr-Aššur-kettī-lēšer), and Tell ‘Ağāğa (Šadikanni), while Tell aš-Šayḥ Ḥamad (Dūr-katlimmu) certainly subsisted as an Assyrian provincial centre, though it appears to have been threatened by the Aramaeans in the 11th century B.C., as well as “Magrisu of the [Ri]ver-land”, situated near Hassake¹. On the contrary, the Aramaeans of Bēt-Bağyān and the Temanites managed to settle and to seize power on the Upper Ḥābūr, with Gōzān, Nisibis, and Gidara as their main centres.

Nisibis, modern Nusaybin, was the centre of an Aramaean state which was conquered by Adad-nirari II in 896 B.C. and annexed to Assyria². The Aramaeans of this region are called “Temanites” in Assyrian sources, a name that certainly derives from Aramaic *tymn*, “south”, “southern”³, and implies a distinction between the clans settled south of

¹ Cf. here above, p. 99 with n. 133, as well as H. KÜHNE, *The Assyrians on the Middle Euphrates and the Ḥābūr*, in M. LIVERANI (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, Roma 1995, p. 69-85 and Pl. I-II, especially p. 72-76; DION, *Araméens*, p. 36-38; M.G. MASETTI-ROUAULT, *Syriens et Assyriens dans la Djéziré, XIVème-IXème siècle av. J.-C.*, in M. LEBEAU (ed.), *Subartu IV/2*, Turnhout 1998, p. 223-242, especially p. 232-236; H. KÜHNE, *Tall Šēḥ Ḥamad — The Assyrian City of Dūr-Katlimmu: A Historic-Geographical Approach*, in T. MIKASA (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.*, Wiesbaden 1998, p. 279-307, in particular p. 282-284. However, the area was largely populated by Aramaeans in the Late Neo-Assyrian period, as shown by more than one hundred Aramaic tablets found at Dūr-katlimmu in 1998 (communications of H. KÜHNE and W. RÖLLIG at the 2nd Conference on Aramaic Argillary Texts, Tübingen, 18-20 March 1999) and by the Aramaic name Magdāl either of Dūr-katlimmu or of a neighbouring town (Marqada?): H. KÜHNE - A. LUTHER, *Tall Šēḥ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu/Magdalu?*, in *NABU* 1998, p. 106-109, No. 117. See also here above, p. 98-99 and n. 132-133.

² *RIMA II*, text A.0.99.2, p. 150-152, lines 62-81.

³ É. DHORME, *Recueil Édouard Dhorme*, Paris 1951, p. 223, n. 3. It is unlikely that these *Te-ma-na-a-a*, *Te-man-na-a-a*, *Te-man-na-a-ia* have something in common with the

the Ṭūr 'Abdīn and another group, called "northern". The Temanites seem to have been a large people that settled in the 10th century B.C. and was the most formidable foe of the Assyrians at the time of Adad-nirari II (911-891 B.C.), who names three of their principal leaders, viz. Nūr-Hadad, Mamli, and Mūquru. The same sources seem to indicate, however, that the Temanites did not manage to create a confederation of clans or a kingdom.

1. TERRITORY

Nisibis lies on the borderland between the Ṭūr 'Abdīn range and the plain at the point where the Čağçağ (Ğağğag) passes through a narrow canyon and enters the plain. It occupies a strategic position and, during centuries, it formed a frontier fortress and played the role of a trading town on the main route from Upper Mesopotamia to the West⁴. It is surprising therefore that the name of the city does not appear before the first millennium B.C. This name, ^{uru}*Našībīna* in Assyrian⁵ and *Našībīn* in Syriac, is Aramaic and most likely designated something that is "set up", either "sacred pillars" in the plural or "sacred pillar" with the ending *-īn* < *-ayn* of place names⁶, **našībīn*. This name suggests that the Iron Age city developed around a Semitic shrine with dressed sacred stones, that had to be a meeting point for the Aramaean tribesmen of the region. The site may have been called differently before the Aramaean occupation of the area, perhaps Nawar or Nawali, with a famous shrine of the Storm-god⁷, possibly marked by dressed sacred stones and still reflected in the name Nūr-Hadad of the Aramaean ruler of Nisibis. But it is also possible that the site gained its importance only with the Aramaeans and that

oasis of Taymā' in northwestern Arabia, as suggested by J. LEWY, *The Late Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and Its Culmination at the Time of Nabonidus*, in *HUCA* 19 (1945-46), p. 405-489 (see p. 422).

⁴ The prosperity of the city in the Middle Ages, down to the 13th century, results clearly from writings of Arab authors; cf. G. LE STRANGE, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1930, p. 94-95.

⁵ PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 258-259. Cf. M.P. STRECK, *Našībīna*, in *RLA* IX/3-4, Berlin 1999, p. 185-186.

⁶ LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 29.54 and 67.16.

⁷ The existence of an original northern Nawar, probably identical with Nawali/u (Hurrian *r/l*), has to be reckoned with in the vicinity of Nisibis in the late third and the second millennia B.C.; cf. D. MATTHEWS - J. EIDEM, *Tell Brak and Nagar*, in *Iraq* 55 (1993), p. 201-207, especially p. 204-205. The identification of Nisibis with Šunā was proposed formerly by W.J. VAN LIERE, *Capitals and Citadels of Bronze-Iron Age Syria in Their Relationship to Land and Water*, in *AAS* 13 (1963), p. 109-122 (see p. 120).



Middle Hābūr.

a nearby town, like Amasaki or Nabula, was the main regional centre in an earlier period⁸.

2. HISTORY

The first explicit mention of the Temanites is encountered in the report of Adad-nirari II's campaign against Nūr-Hadad, ruler of Nisibis, in 901 B.C.⁹ The Assyrian king claims a victory over the Aramaeans "defeated from Pauza (uruPa-'-zi) to Nisibis (uruNa-ši-pi-na)"¹⁰. The name of the first city is spelt uruPa-ú-za in the annals of Ashur-bēl-kala (1073-1056)¹¹ and this name is certainly related to the *Nəhar Bawṣa* of the Syriac sources¹². This river corresponds either to the upper course of the Čağçağ

⁸ K. KESSLER, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens nach keilschriftlichen Quellen des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (BTAVO B/26), Wiesbaden 1980, p. 208-209. For Nabula, identified tentatively with Nawar and Nawali/u, see below, p. 152 and n. 121.

⁹ RIMA II, text A.0.99.2, p. 149, lines 39-41.

¹⁰ RIMA II, text A.0.99.2, p. 149, line 41.

¹¹ RIMA II, text A.0.89.7, p. 102, lines 8-9a.

¹² W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1871, vol. I, p. 274-275, and index s.v. 'brhmy'.

(Ğağğag), where about twelve fortified sites have been recognized on either side of the valley¹³, or to one of the channels formed by the Čağčag when it enters into the plain¹⁴. In any case, the town was situated not far from Nisibis, where Nūr-Hadad took refuge¹⁵. Adad-nirari II's victory was by no means complete and a new campaign was required in 900 B.C. Adad-nirari II claims again to have gotten the victory, but the concrete results appear to be rather meagre. He only managed to seize the small town of Yaridu and to secure a great quantity of grain¹⁶. The name of Yaridu (uruIa-ri-di) means "market"¹⁷, but its precise location is uncertain¹⁸. Then Adad-nirari annexed the town of Saraku, which became an Assyrian supply centre¹⁹. Its exact location is unknown.

After the campaigns of 901 and 900 against Nūr-Hadad of Nisibis, Adad-nirari II made a deep westward thrust in 899 to Һuzirīna, across the Balih²⁰. The annals recount the capture of the city and the repair of its wall, along with the submission of towns at the foot of the Tūr 'Abdīn (Mount Kašiyari), which had been seized previously by Mamli the Temanite. They also record that Adad-nirari has taken over the latter's "palaces" for himself.

A doubt has been cast on the identity of this city of Һuzirīna with Sultantepe²¹, 16 km southeast of Urfa, because it is situated some 200 km to

¹³ H. ERKANAL, *Mardin*, in *RLA* VII, Berlin 1987-90, p. 358-359 (see p. 358a).

¹⁴ W. WRIGHT, *op. cit.* (n. 12), identifies Nəhar Bawša with the Zergān river (Ἀρζάμων), but his only argument is the passage of THEOPHYLACT SIMOCATTES, *Historiae* II, 1, ἐπὶ τὸ Βίβας παραγίνεται ἔνθα ὁ ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ τοῦ Ἀρζάμων. This argument not only implies the identification of Βίβας with Bawša, but also assumes that the clause ἔνθα... belongs to the original text and gives the correct localization of Βίβας. Now, the correctness of these assumptions is highly problematic, as shown by L. DILLEMANN, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents* (BAH 72), Paris 1962, p. 294.

¹⁵ *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.2, p. 149, line 41.

¹⁶ *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.2, p. 149, lines 42-44.

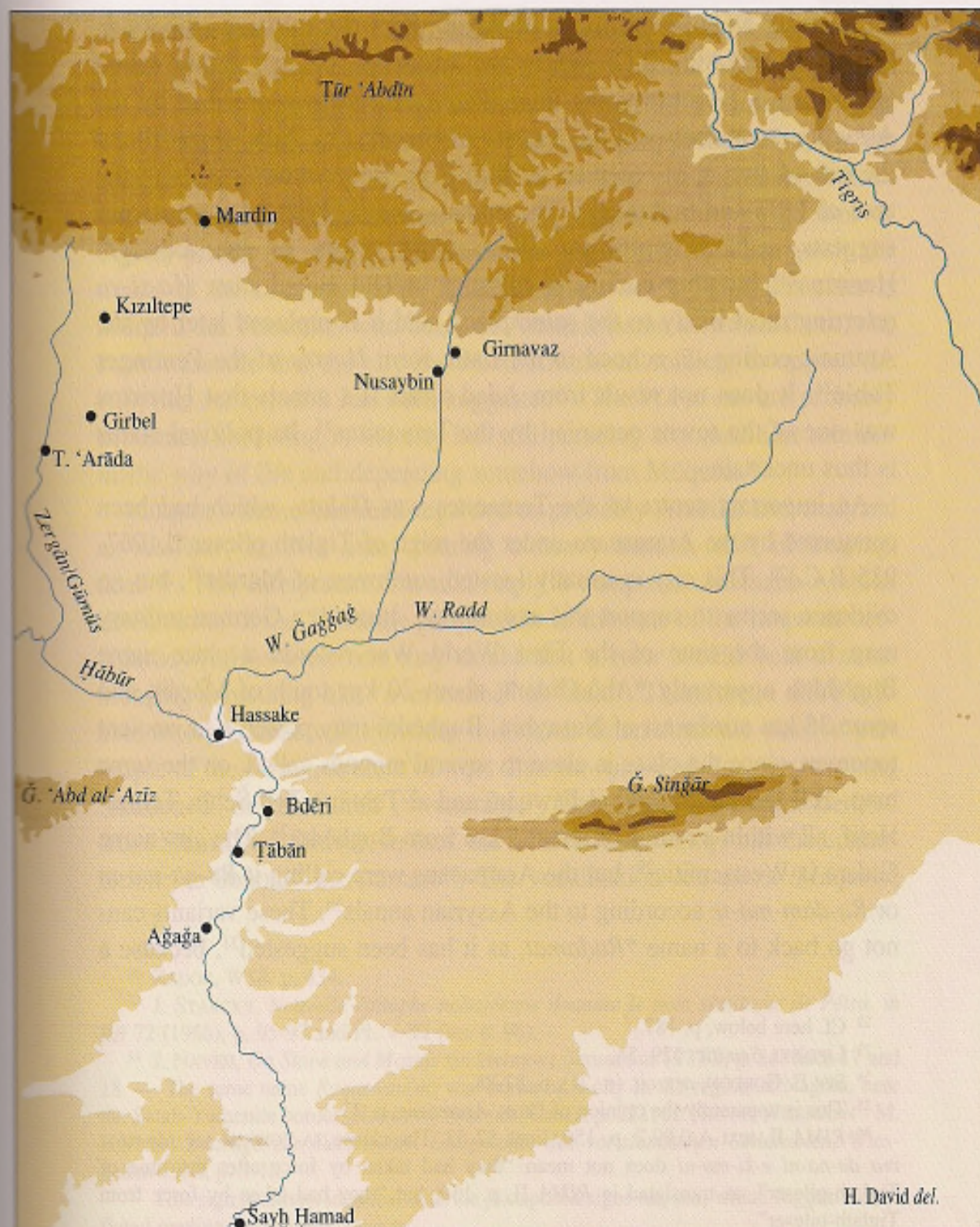
¹⁷ JASTROW, p. 596b.

¹⁸ J. SEIDMANN, *Die Inschriften Adadnirāris II.* (MAOG 6/1), Leipzig 1935, p. 65-66, suggests an identification with Redwān, which I don't manage to find on a map. Instead, K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 215-217, proposes to identify Yaridu with Aridu, later known as a town of the Gōzān province (SAA I, 233, r. 1; SAA XII, 1, 16). In fact, the apheresis of y- is attested, but Aridu is usually located about 65 km west of Nisibis (see here below, p. 126), which seems to be a too big distance in the context of Adad-nirari II's campaigns against Nisibis.

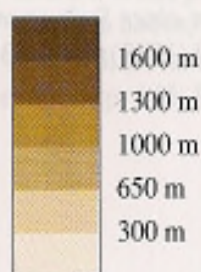
¹⁹ *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.2, p. 149, line 44.

²⁰ *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.2, p. 149-150, lines 45-48.

²¹ The question has been discussed in detail and solved in a positive sense by E.I. GORDON, *The Meaning of the Ideogram KASKAL.KUR = "Underground Water Course" and Its Significance for Bronze Age Historical Geography*, in *JCS* 21 (1967[1969]), p. 70-88 (see p. 85-88). J.N. POSTGATE, *Һuzirīna*, in *RLA* IV, Berlin 1972-75, p. 535-536, still seems to consider this identification as not finally proven.



0 50 100 km



3. Eastern Ġazira.

the west of Nisibis, the focus of Adad-nirari II's military activity in the years 901-896 B.C. While the existence of two cities called Ḥuzirīna is a possibility, the immediate connection established by the Assyrian annals between the capture of Ḥuzirīna by Adad-nirari II and the gift of two apes received by him from Bēt-ʿAdini²² points to the area of Urfa and Sultantepe. The ending *-īna* < *-ayna* of place names suggests a Northsemitic or Westsemitic origin of the toponym Ḥuzirīna²³, but this ending is missing in Old Babylonian *Ḥa-zi-ri*, referring most likely to the same place, and it is replaced later by the Aramaic ending *-ā*, echoed in the Latin form *Hostra* of the Peutinger Table²⁴. It does not result from Adad-nirari II's annals that Ḥuzirīna was one of the towns occupied by the Temanites²⁵. Its political status is thus uncertain.

An important centre of the Temanites was Gidara, which had been conquered by the Aramaeans under the reign of Tiglath-pileser II (967-935 B.C.)²⁶. This city is usually located southwest of Mardin²⁷, but no evidence seems to support this assumption. Instead, a German military map from the time of the First World War records a place name Bughēdrā, apparently *Abū-Gidarā, about 20 km south of Mardin and some 35 km northwest of Nusaybin. Bughēdrā may preserve an ancient toponym, since the place is close to several mounds called, on the same map, Tell Dekūk, Muqbil al-Fawqānī and al-Taḥtānī, Tell Šehīr, Tell al-Helif, all within a radius of about 5 km from Bughēdrā²⁸. The city name Gidara is Westsemitic²⁹, but the Aramaeans were calling it *Ra-qa-ma-tu* or *Ra-dam-ma-te* according to the Assyrian annals³⁰. These variants cannot go back to a name **Raḍamat*, as it has been suggested³¹, because a

²² Cf. here below, p. 187.

²³ LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, §29. 54.

²⁴ See E. GORDON, *art. cit.* (n. 21), p. 87-88.

²⁵ This is apparently the opinion of DION, *Araméens*, p. 33.

²⁶ *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.2, p. 150, lines 52-53. The clause TA ^mGISKIM-A-é-šār-ra... *ina da-na-ni e-ki-mu-ni* does not mean "they had taken by force after the time of Tiglath-pileser", as translated in *RIMA* II, p. 150, but "they had taken by force from Tiglath-pileser".

²⁷ This location was proposed by E. FORRER, in *RLA* I, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, p. 290a.

²⁸ To the best of my knowledge, none of these mounds has been examined by archaeologists.

²⁹ The root *gdr*, "wall", "enclosure", forms many toponyms in Palestine, in Syria, and in the Phoenician world: Gādēr, Gədōr, Gədērā, Ġadar, Ġadra.

³⁰ *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.2, p. 150, lines 52 and 57.

³¹ M. WEIPPERT, *Menahem von Israel und seine Zeitgenossen in einer Steleninschrift des assyrischen Königs Tiglathpileser III. aus dem Iran*, in *ZDPV* 89 (1973), p. 26-53 (see p. 47, n. 83), followed by DION, *Araméens*, p. 32, n. 30.

root *rdm* is so far unknown in Semitic³². *Raqamat*, related to the Semitic name *Rqm* of Petra³³ and of some other sites³⁴, should be considered as the correct form, while the sign DAM must result from a confusion³⁵. The double name of the city, recorded by the Assyrians, probably implies the coexistence of two population groups at Gidara, viz. the ancient urban population and the Aramaeans who have seized the city at the time of Tiglath-pileser II. The Assyrian annals seem also to distinguish the troops of the ruler of Gidara from the ^{kur}*A-ri-me*³⁶. Since this ruler is Mūquru the Temanite, who bears an Aramaic name as we shall see, one cannot assume that the city has hired Aramaean soldiers to oppose the Assyrian forces, as it has been suggested³⁷. The ^{kur}*A-ri-me* are probably tribesmen not living in the city but still pursuing a nomadic or seminomadic way of life and depending somehow from Mūquru.

Mūquru's name has been regarded as probably Arabian and analyzed as *mawqūr*, i.e. "(a man) bearing a heavy burden, dull of hearing, deaf"³⁸. This interpretation would imply a composite Aramaeo-Arabian constitution of the Temanite people, like in the case of the Laqaeen confederacy³⁹. However, one may doubt that a ruler would bear a name meaning something like "overloaded" or "deaf". Therefore, a more suitable interpretation will consider this name as an Aramaic passive participle of the causative stem of *wqr*, thus *mawqar* < *māhawqar*, meaning "hardened" or "honoured", "venerable", like Arabic *muwaqqar* derived from Stem II (intensive). In fact, the h/'afel of *yqr* < *wqr* has the connotation "to honour" in Aramaic⁴⁰. The vocalization *Mu-qu-ru* /*Mūquru*/,

³² ZADOK, *WSB*, p. 434.

³³ J. STARCKY, *Nouvelle épitaphe nabatéenne donnant le nom sémitique de Pétra*, in *RB* 72 (1965), p. 95-97 and Pl. V-VI (see p. 96).

³⁴ J. NAVEH, *On Stone and Mosaic* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1977/8, p. 81, lines 17 and 18. — The same name *Raqamatu(m)* was borne by a city in the region of Nağrān, near the Saudi-Yemenite border: HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 271; cf. H. VON WISSMANN - M. HÖFNER, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien*, Wiesbaden 1953, p. 9-10.

³⁵ This sign is almost identical with the juxtaposed signs *raq-ma*, which suggest a conflated reading *Ra-raq-ma(!)-ma-te*.

³⁶ *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.2, p. 150, line 51.

³⁷ G.M. SCHWARTZ, *The Origins of the Aramaeans in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia: Research Problems and Potential Strategies*, in O.M.C. HAEX - H.H. CURVERS - P.M.M.G. AKKERMANS (eds.), *To the Euphrates and Beyond*, Rotterdam 1989, p. 279-291 (see p. 282).

³⁸ ZADOK, *WSB*, p. 312-313.

³⁹ Cf. here above, p. 99-100.

⁴⁰ *TAD* III, C1.1, 82. 112; D.R. HILLERS - E. CUSSINI, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*, Baltimore 1995, p. 145, PAT 0879 = *CIS* II, 4518, A, 3.

attested again in 744 and 687 B.C.⁴¹, reflects the monophthongization *aw* > *ū* and the Assyrian vowel harmony *a* > *u*⁴². The same name, possibly borne by the same Temanite ruler, is written in Aramaic *Mwqr* on a tripod from Nimrud⁴³, belonging certainly to the booty of an Assyrian campaign in the West.

When Adad-nirari II attacked Gidara in 898 B.C., the Aramaeans led by Mūquru offered a stiff resistance and the Assyrians had to use redoubts for the siege⁴⁴. Mūquru surrendered himself, his palace was plundered, and he was carried captive to Assyria together with his brothers⁴⁵. This campaign was obviously a success, for in 897 Adad-nirari II could march through the area collecting tribute without any sign of resistance⁴⁶. The situation changed already in 896, when Nūr-Hadad decided again to oppose the Assyrians in his stronghold of Nisibis. The city was besieged and Nūr-Hadad apparently gave himself up without further fight and was carried captive to Nineveh⁴⁷. The use of redoubts for the siege, already employed in 898 at Gidara, was claimed by Adad-nirari II to be a new tactic⁴⁸. This campaign of 896 was a significant success, for in 894 Adad-nirari II could march again through the whole area collecting tribute without having to fight⁴⁹.

The gentilic *Tēmanaya* still occurs after Adad-nirari II's campaigns against the Aramaean tribe in a note on "four Temanite (^{kur}*Te-man-a-a*) sheep"⁵⁰, and the name of the area at the foot of Ṭūr 'Abdīn may possibly appear as *KUR Te-me-ni* in the legend of the seal of Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Calah under Adad-nirari III⁵¹, although *māt Temeni* may correspond to the Neo-Assyrian province of Tamnūna as well.

⁴¹ K. DELLER - A. FADHIL, *Neue Nimrud-Urkunden des 8. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, in *BaM* 24 (1993), p. 243-270 and Pl. 55-114 (see p. 262, No. 18, 2.9.15); SAA VI, 151, r. 9', with a wrong transcription "Muqquru".

⁴² GAG, §10e and §11a. Compare Amorite *Mu-qè-ra-nu-um* / *Mūqārānum*.

⁴³ R.D. BARNETT, *Layard's Nimrud Bronzes and Their Inscriptions*, in *E.L. Sukenik Memorial Volume* (Erls 8), Jerusalem 1967, p. *1-*6 (see p. *6). Mūquru is possibly mentioned also on a fragment of an obelisk from Nineveh: *RIMA* II, p. 161.

⁴⁴ *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.2, p. 150, lines 54-55a.

⁴⁵ *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.2, p. 150, lines 59-60a.

⁴⁶ *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.2, p. 150, line 61.

⁴⁷ *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.2, p. 150-152, lines 62-81.

⁴⁸ *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.2, p. 151, line 63; cf. p. 150, lines 54-55a.

⁴⁹ *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.2, p. 152-153, lines 97-104

⁵⁰ SAA XI, 85, 1.

⁵¹ *CTN* II, 65, 170 (dated in 808 B.C.), 171; *RIMA* III, texts A.0.104.2002 and 2003, p. 227-228. One should also mention *DU₆ Te-em-ma-ni-a* in A.K. GRAYSON, *The Empire of Sargon of Akkad*, in *AfO* 25 (1974-77), p. 56-64 (see p. 60, line 48, and p. 64).

It is doubtful, instead, whether the Temanites are alluded to in a Luwian hieroglyphic inscription of the ruler Yariris at Carchemish, in the early 8th century B.C., and whether the Neo-Assyrian province of Tamnūna preserves the name of this Aramaean population. When Yariris mentions “the script of the city, the script of Ashur, the script of Tyre, and the script of Taiman”⁵², he refers to the Luwian hieroglyphs used at Carchemish, to the cuneiform script, to the Phoenician alphabet, and probably to the “South-Arabian” script type designated by the Aramaic word “southern”, *taymān*. This script was known in Syria in the 8th century B.C., as shown by the Ḥamā graffiti⁵³. As for the Assyrian province of Tamnūna, there is an objection against the identification of its name with that of the Temanites, since ^{uru}*Tamnūna* appears in the same period as ^{kur}*Tēmanaia*, that continues to be used in the 7th century B.C.⁵⁴. Besides, Tamnūna was near the Neo-Assyrian province of Ḥalṣu⁵⁵, which lay on the east bank of the Tigris, between Nineveh and Calah⁵⁶. This area, not far from the Assyrian heartland, is quite distant from the region occupied by the Temanites in the 10th-9th centuries B.C.

The site of Gōzān has been firmly identified with Tell Halaf thanks to the findings of the German excavations conducted on the mound in 1899, 1911-13, and 1927-29⁴. This important site, occupied at least from the 3rd millennium B.C., lies on the south bank of the Nahr al-Girgih, close to the main source of the Ḥabūr at Ras al-Ayn. At the southern

This is the vocalization of the place name in the Bible (II Kings 17, 6; 18, 11; 19, 12; Is. 37, 12; I Chron. 5, 26), but the constant Aramaic and Hebrew spelling Gōzān, as well as the form Γοζαντις in PROKOPY'S *Geography* V, 17, 4, indicate that the correct pronunciation was Gōzān.

The name derives from the Semitic root *gzy* “to desire”. An erroneous interpretation of the name, resulting obviously from an oversight, was given by ZATOK, *WSO*, p. 161-162, 200. It is corrected by the author on p. 430-431, cf. also p. 140.

⁵² A.M. JASINK, *Gli stati neo-ittiti. Analisi delle fonti scritte e sintesi storica* (Studia Mediterranea 10), Pavia 1995, p. 36; *CHLI*, Karkamish A15b.

⁵³ See here below, p. 276-278.

⁵⁴ SAA XI, 85, 1. The identification is nevertheless considered as very probable by A.K. GRAYSON, *The Assyrian Province Tamanunna/Temannu*, in *BiOr* 39 (1982), col. 354-356, with references to the sources.

⁵⁵ J.N. POSTGATE, in *CTN* II, p. 150, note to No. 128, 9; K. KESSLER, *Geographische Notizen*, in *ZA* 69 (1979), p. 217-220 (see p. 219-220).

⁵⁶ J.N. POSTGATE, *Halzu*, in *RLA* IV, Berlin 1972-75, p. 64 (see §2).