

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 VI

BĒT-ZAMMĀNI

Bēt-Zammāni is the name the Assyrians give to the Aramaean tribal state¹ whose eponym was a certain *Zammān*. This personal name occurs already in the 18th century B.C. among the Amorites of southern Babylonia: *Za-am-ma-a-nu-um*, *Za-am-ma-nu-um*². It appears later as ^m*Za-am-ma-a-ni* in a Neo-Assyrian text from the 7th century B.C.³ and in North-Arabian inscriptions, when its vocalization is provided by the Greek transcription *Zαμανοῦς*⁴. The original meaning of the personal name *Zammān* is uncertain, but the name must derive from the Semitic verbal root *zamm*, attested with the connotation “to tie up”, and it might thus mean “fastener” or the like.

The first explicit mention of *Bēt-Za-ma-ni* occurs in a Middle Assyrian administrative record from Tell Billa which can be dated sometime in the first third of the 13th century B.C. It goes back to the first governorship of Aššur-kāšid, son of Bēl-qarrād, ^{lu}*ḥassihlu ša ḥalši uruÉ-Za-ma-ni*, “governor of the province of Bēt-Zammāni”, that J.J. Finkelstein rightly connected with the later Aramaean state⁵. The text does not refer to the chief town of the province, but to the territory that is called by the name of the Aramaean tribe, which seems therefore to have constituted the bulk of the local population at that time. Our assumption, that the Aramaean tribe is attested more than a century and a half before

¹ PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 91. Complementary attestations occur, e.g., in L. JAKOB-ROST - F.M. FALES, *Neuassyrische Rechtsurkunden I* (WVDOG 94), Berlin 1996, No. 35, 7 and r. 31, with the variant form KUR *Za-man* in No. 61, r. 16. Cf. S. SCHIFFER, *Die Aramäer*, Leipzig 1911, p. 76-80.

² Th. BAUER, *Die Ostkanaanäer*, Leipzig 1926, p. 48; I.J. GELB, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite* (AS 21), Chicago 1980, p. 202.

³ A.Y. AHMAD, *The Archive of Aššur-mātu-taqin found in the New Town of Aššur and dated mainly by Post-Canonical Eponyms*, in *Al-Rāfidān* 17 (1996), p. 207-288, especially Text 4, line 2: patronymic of a man from the site of modern Tikrīt.

⁴ HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 301; cf. H. WUTHNOW, *Die semitischen Menschnennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des Vorderen Orients*, Leipzig 1930, p. 49, 138.

⁵ J.J. FINKELSTEIN, *Cuneiform Texts from Tell Billa*, in *JCS* 7 (1953), p. 111-176, especially p. 116-117 and 119, with the edition of the text No. 6 on p. 124 and 150; cf. also p. 127, No. 17. Besides, see C. SAPORETTI, *Onomastica Medio-Assira* (Studia Pohl 6), Rome 1970, vol. I, p. 120-121; cf. K. NASHEF, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelasyrischen Zeit* (RGTC 5), Wiesbaden 1982, p. 74 with literature. See also here above, p. 45.

Tiglath-pileser I, does not cause a real difficulty, while the suggestion relating the place name to the Hurro-Urartian toponym S/Zama⁶ cannot be taken seriously into consideration because of *Bēt-* (É-) and mainly because of the Semitic affix *-ānu*. As for the Hurrian toponyms preceded by É- in Middle Assyrian sources from Nuzi, as É-*Ma-ak-ki* and É-*Qu-ul-la*⁷, it is not certain that É should be read *Bēt* there or that *Bēt* is not an Assyrian adaptation of a corresponding Hurrian word, as in Assyrian *bēt ḥamri* that translates Hurrian *ḥamri purni*⁸.

Bēt-Zammāni does not occur thereafter in Assyrian sources until the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884 B.C.)⁹. Its capital city was then Amida, modern Diyarbakır¹⁰. It is situated on a basaltic plateau on the right bank of the Tigris, which there flows in a deep open valley. The town is still surrounded by the masonry walls of black basalt which go back to the 4th-6th centuries A.D. and gave the city the Turkish name of Kara-Amid or Black Amid. A citadel enclosure, erected in the 4th century A.D., stands at the northeast corner of the city and is now partly in ruins. Diyarbakır is at the head of the navigation of the Tigris, at the junction of important roads, and near the exceptionally rich copper and galena mines at Ergani-Maden (Turkey). Its modern name derives from *diyār*, "land", and *Bakr*, the name of the Arab tribe of Bakr and of Abū Bakr (*ca.* 573-634), the first of the Mohammedan caliphs. The city was taken *ca.* 638 by the Arabs and was later named after the tribe¹¹.

South of Diyarbakır, the slopes of the Karaça Dağ and the western part of the Tūr 'Abdīn correspond to the land Azalla or Izalla, referred to also by the adjectival form Zallaya¹². In the early 9th century B.C., this area is the territory of the Aramaean tribal state of Bēt-Yahiri,

⁶ R. ZADOK, *Elements of Aramean Pre-History*, in M. COGAN - I. EPH'AL (eds.), *Ah, Assyria... Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to H. Tadmor* (Scripta Hierosolymitana 33), Jerusalem 1991, p. 104-117 (see p. 113, n. 74).

⁷ I.J. GELB - P. PURVES - A. MACRAE, *Nuzi Personal Names* (OIP 57), Chicago 1943, p. 229 and 233a; K. NASHEF, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 63 and 66-67.

⁸ E. LAROCHE, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite I* (= RHA 34 [1976]), Paris 1978, p. 91.

⁹ RIMA II, text A.0.100.5, p. 171-172, lines 4-8 and 11-29.

¹⁰ A description of the city can be found in G. WILLIAMS, *Eastern Turkey*, London 1972, p. 155-159.

¹¹ Cf. G. LE STRANGE, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1930, p. 86. The same author suggestively summarizes the descriptions of the city by mediaeval Arab writers: *ibid.*, p. 108-110.

¹² M. LIVERANI, *Studies on the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, 2: Topographical Analysis*, Roma 1992, p. 34-35 with earlier literature. M. Liverani locates Izalla too far to the west, "on the plateau between Urfa and the Karaca Dagħ"; cf. J.N. POSTGATE, *Izalla*, in *RLA V*, Berlin 1976-80, p. 225-226.

named in the annals of Ashurnasirpal II in connection with his campaign of 882 B.C.¹³ and on the Balāwāt gates of the same king¹⁴. The question was raised whether this petty kingdom is somehow related to the *Byt Šll* mentioned in the Sefire treaties I, B, 3 and II, B, 10¹⁵. However, *Byt Šll* is to be understood very likely as the dynastic name of the kingdom of Kittik¹⁶, west of the Euphrates¹⁷, while the land Azalla is situated east of the river, in the area of Karaça Dağ and of the western Tūr 'Abdīn. Thus, there can be, at most, an etymological relation between the two names.

Another petty kingdom of this region is Ašša, the ruler of which, Gēri-Dadi, paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal II in 866 B.C. at Huzirīna¹⁸, modern Sultantepe, about 20 km north of Harrān. The country was then crossed by the Assyrian army marching eastwards from Kummuh, on the Upper Euphrates¹⁹. It may correspond therefore to the area between Hilvan and Siverek, possibly to the valley of the Çamdere river that flows westwards from the Karaça Dağ to the Euphrates²⁰. In other words, it was situated west of Bēt-Zammāni. The name of Ašša is not Aramaic. It seems to be a variant of *Al-še/sé*, while the name of the ruler sounds Phoenician²¹.

1. TERRITORY

The dismantling of E. Forrer's hypothesis, that required a geographical shift of Bēt-Zammāni from the area of Diyarbakır to the Tūr 'Abdīn²², leaves an open field for further research on the territory of this

¹³ RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 203, lines 21-22; cf. M. LIVERANI, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 43-44, 106.

¹⁴ RIMA II, text A.0.101.83, p. 346. The city name restored by the editor does not correspond to the area concerned.

¹⁵ A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Les inscriptions araméens de Sfiré (Stèles I et II)* (Extract from MAIBL XV), Paris 1958, p. 68.

¹⁶ A. LEMAIRE - J.-M. DURAND, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré et l'Assyrie de Shamshi-ilu*, Genève-Paris 1984, p. 59-66. However, one cannot follow the opinion of these authors who identify *Byt Šll* with the house of the Assyrian commander-in-chief Shamshi-ilu.

¹⁷ See here below, p. 221-231.

¹⁸ RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 219, line 94.

¹⁹ RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 219, lines 95-97.

²⁰ M. LIVERANI, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 82.

²¹ E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique* (OLA 64), Leuven 1995, p. 44. The Aššaeans attested at Nippur in the 5th century B.C. bear Semitic names. According to R. ZADOK, *On Some Foreign Population Groups in First-Millennium Babylonia*, in *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), p. 164-181 (see p. 169-170), this population is native from the same land of Ašša, east of the Euphrates.

²² E. FORRER, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1920, p. 107. Cf. K. KESSLER, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens nach*

Aramaean tribal state, that later became an Assyrian province with Amida as chief-town. A dangerous pitfall in this research is the Assyrian use of the geographical name Nairi²³ that may designate the mountainous countries in the north, from the Tūr 'Abdīn or Mount Kašiyari in the south²⁴ to the Urmia bassin in the northeast and the Çoruh valley in the northwest. In the first millennium B.C., the toponym is used as a vague geographical appellation of northwestern countries, without any precise political contents. The territory of Bēt-Zammāni represents but a small part of that vast region which extended as far as Urartu. In the later Neo-Assyrian usage, however, Nairi can occur as the name of the province including Tušhan and Amida. Other pitfalls are constituted by names of mountains like ^{kur}Ar-qa-ni-a or ^{kur}A-ma-da-ni, that refer to determined parts of the Tūr 'Abdīn. For instance, Tūrā də-Kuros, Arabic Ġebel 'Afis, was probably called Arqania, while the Mardin plateau must correspond to Amadān or Madān.

The extent of the territory of Bēt-Zammāni is difficult to define and it was certainly variable in the course of time. The northern border was probably formed by the Arganasu (Nahr ad-Dīb or Nahr al-Kilāb), north of Diyarbakır, and by the Tigris. The western boundary would have been the Karaça Dağ, and the southern frontier followed, for most of the time, the southern slopes of the Tūr 'Abdīn. In the early 9th century B.C., the eastern boundary was to the east of the Göksu with an eastward extension in the central part of the Tūr 'Abdīn. Several changes occurred before the middle of the 9th century B.C., as indicated by Assyrian sources.

The annals of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884 B.C.) contain an extract from a letter sent to the Assyrian king by the son of the ruler of Bēt-Zammāni²⁵. It results from this quotation that the troops of Bēt-Zammāni have pursued an enemy from Uda to Šūra or another city: *iš-tu uruŪ-di a-na uruŠá-ú'[-ra] a-na si-li-ḫi šú-a-te ir-te-de-ma*, "he went from Uda to Šū[ra?] within this javelin's throw"²⁶. The phrase *ana siliḫi redû* is an

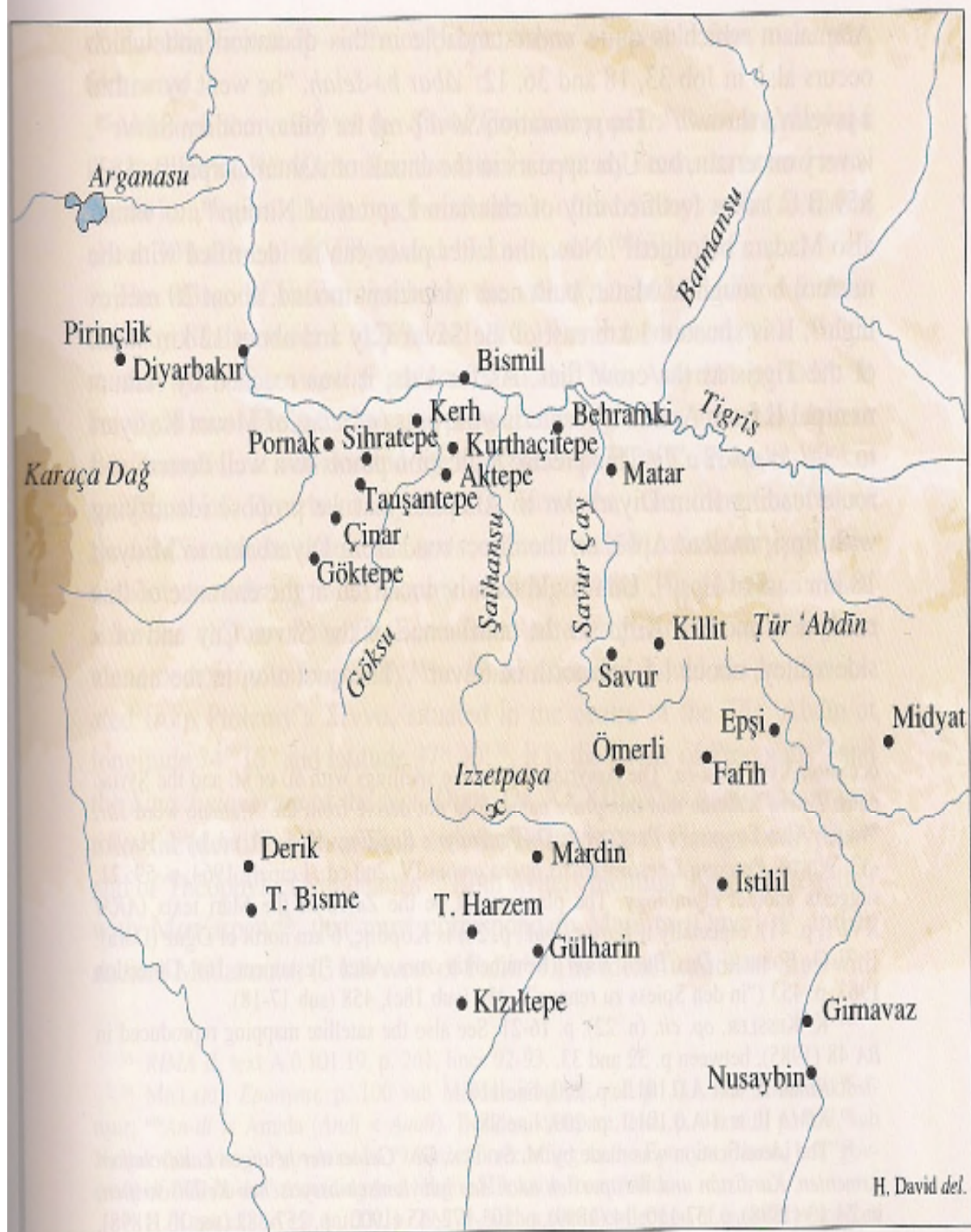
keilschriftlichen Quellen des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. (BTAVO B/26), Wiesbaden 1980, p. 159-162.

²³ See M. SALVINI, *Nairi, Na'iri*, in *RLA* VIII/1-2, Berlin 1998, p. 87-91. Cf. also, for instance, M. LIVERANI, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 107-108, 112-114.

²⁴ J.N. POSTGATE, *Kašiaru*, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-80, p. 460; K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 22-30. A detailed map of the Tūr 'Abdīn can be found in H. AYDIN, *Das Mönchtum im Tur-Abdin*, Glane/Losser 1988.

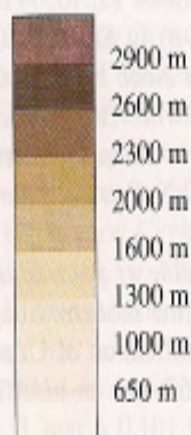
²⁵ *RIMA* II, text A.0.100.5, p. 171, lines 4-6. The quotation is probably limited to lines 5b-6a.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, line 5. The restoration *uruŠá-ú'[-ra]*, proposed by K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 62, is very uncertain since the usual spelling of this place name is *uruŠu-ú-ra*,



H. David del.

0 50 100 km



5. Bēt-Zammāni and environs.

Aramaism which is quite understandable in this quotation and which occurs also in Job 33, 18 and 36, 12: ‘*ābar bə-šelah*, “he went by within a javelin’s throw”²⁷. The restoration Šá-ú’[-*ra*] for Šūra, modern Savur²⁸, is very uncertain, but Uda appears in the annals of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) as a fortified city of chieftain Lapturi of Nirdun²⁹, to whom also Madara belonged³⁰. Now, the latter place can be identified with the modern borough of Matar, built near an ancient mound, about 20 metres high³¹. It is situated 1 km east of the Savur Çay and about 12 km south of the Tigris as the crow flies. As for Uda, it was reached by Ashurnasirpal II from Amida by “entering the pass (*nērebu*) of Mount Kašiyari to ^{uru}*Al-la-ap-si-a*”³². This precise indication points to a well determined route leading from Diyarbakır to Allapsia, that we propose identifying with Epši, ancient Apšē, on the direct road from Diyarbakır to Midyat, 18 km east of Epši³³. Uda could then be localized at the entrance of this road, near modern Killit, at the confluence of the Savur Çay and of a side valley, about 1.5 km north of Savur³⁴. The quotation in the annals

occasionally ^{uru}*Su-ú-ra*. The Assyrian alternative spellings with šU or SU and the Syriac name *Šawrā* indicate that this place name does not derive from the Aramaic word *šūr*, “wall”. Also Σαυράς in PROCOPIUS, *On Justinian’s Buildings* II, 4, 14, ed. by J. HAVRY - G. WIRTH, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia* IV, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1964, p. 59: 21, suggests another etymology. The place might be the *Zurrā* of the Mari texts (*ARM* XVII/1, p. 41), especially if *Kurda* (*ibid.*, p. 20) is Κόρδης, 6 km north of Oğuz (Dara).

²⁷ G. FOHRER, *Das Buch Hiob* (Kommentar zum Alten Testament 16), Gütersloh 1963, p. 453 (“in den Spiess zu rennen”), 454 (sub 18c), 458 (sub 17-18).

²⁸ K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 16-21. See also the satellite mapping reproduced in *BA* 48 (1985), between p. 32 and 33.

²⁹ *RIMA* II, text A.0.101.1, p. 220, line 110.

³⁰ *RIMA* II, text A.0.101.1, p. 209, line 98.

³¹ The identification was made by M. STRECK, *Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaften Armenien, Kurdistan und Westpersien nach den babylonisch-assyrischen Keilinschriften*, in *ZA* 13 (1898), p. 57-110; 14 (1899), p. 103-172; 15 (1900), p. 257-382 (see 13 [1898], p. 79). Cf. also K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 71-78 and 114, No. 14; M. LIVERANI, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 60.

³² *RIMA* II, text A.0.101.1, p. 220, lines 109-110. The phrase *nērebu... ša* ^{uru}*Allapsia* means “pass leading to Allapsia”, just as e.g. *ḥarrānu ša* ^{uru}*Kalḥa* (*SAA* VI, 10, 7) is “the road to Calah”. The name is spelt URU *La-ap-si-a* (= *Āl-la-ap-si-a*) in *SAA* I, 240, 10.

³³ J. LEWY, *Studies in the Historic Geography of the Ancient Near East*, in *Or* 21 (1952), p. 1-12, 265-292, 393-425 (see p. 3, n. 4), identifies Epši with ^{uru}*Ap-si-ia-a-a* in *SAA* XII, 50, 31. This place (= *Āl-ap-si-ia-a-a*) is situated there in Izalla that certainly extended in the 7th century B.C. to the west of the Tūr ‘Abdīn; cf. J.N. POSTGATE, *art. cit.* (n. 12). Its extension further east is attested in the classical period.

³⁴ For this site, see L. DILLEMANN, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents* (*BAH* 72), Paris 1962, p. 49. In the neighbourhood, there is also the modern village of Ahmedī; cf. K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 67, n. 294. The identification of Uda with Χούδδων or Κούδδων, suggested by L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 57, has an insufficient phonetic basis.

of Tukulti-Ninurta II — “from Uda to Savur” — would then make perfect sense.

Although the valley of the Savur Çay thus appears as an area beyond the borders of Bēt-Zammāni, the latter’s territory seems to extend eastwards in a region situated to the southeast of the valley, as far as Fafih, about 30 km west of Midyat and 17 km north of İstilil.

The village of Fafih is probably the site of *Šinamu/Sinabu*, a fortress built by Shalmaneser I (1269-1241 B.C.)³⁵ and mentioned with Amida in the title of provincial governors in the Neo-Assyrian period³⁶. It belonged most likely to the same province and therefore must have lain in Bēt-Zammāni. It was located by K. Kessler at Purank (Pornak), 19 km southeast of Diyarbakır by road³⁷. However, the identification of *Šinamu/Sinabu* in cuneiform texts cannot reach a satisfactory solution without considering later sources referring to the Ṭūr ‘Abdīn. In fact, since the elision of the final consonant of a proper name or of a place name occurs quite frequently, the *Šinamu/Sinabu* should not be dissociated from Ptolemy’s Σίvvα, situated in the centre of the Ṭūr ‘Abdīn at longitude 74° 15’ and latitude 37° 30’³⁸. It is the Σινάς of Procopius³⁹ and the *Sina Judaeorum* of the *Not. Dign. Or.* XXXIII. This qualification justifies the identification of Sina with the Βεῖουδαές of George of Cyprus⁴⁰ and of Theophylact Simocattes⁴¹. Both writers mention this place together with Ματζάρων⁴², that must correspond to Maşerta (Ömerli)⁴³ and to ancient Madaranzu, 13 km west of Fafih⁴⁴. The identification of Sina with

³⁵ RIMA II, text A.0.101.19, p. 261, lines 92-93.

³⁶ MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 100 sub Marduk-išmānni, and p. 111, sub Ninurta-kibsi-ušur; ^{ur}An-di is Amida (*Andi* < *Amdī*). Besides, compare *ibid.*, p. 48 with p. 109, sub Nashur-bēl, who is “governor of ^{ur}A-mi-di” according to the Eponym Canon, but “governor of ^{ur}Si-na-bu” according to a Sargon II’s knob from Ashur.

³⁷ K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 79-121, with a useful collection of cuneiform sources on p. 79-84.

³⁸ PTOLEMY, *Geography* V, 17, 7; cf. L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 145, Fig. XVI, and p. 230.

³⁹ PROCOPIUS, *On Justinian’s Buildings* II, 4, 14, in *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 59: 23.

⁴⁰ GEORGE OF CYPRUS, *Descriptio orbis Romani*, ed. by E. HONIGMANN, *Le Synekdemōs d’Hiéroklos et l’Opusculé géographique de Georges de Chypre*, Bruxelles 1939, No. 930.

⁴¹ THEOPHYLACT SIMOCATTES, *Historiae* II, 18, ed. by C. DE BOOR - P. WIRTH, Stuttgart 1972, p. 106. For the historical background of the name “Jewish House”, see L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 100.

⁴² GEORGE OF CYPRUS, ed. by E. HONIGMANN (n. 40), No. 931; THEOPHYLACT SIMOCATTES, *loc. cit.* (n. 41), II, 18, 7.

⁴³ L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 230. The place name was reinterpreted as the Syriac word *ma‘šartā*, “wine-press”.

⁴⁴ ^{ur}Ma-da-ra-an-zu is located in the centre of the Ṭūr ‘Abdīn by Ashurnasirpal II: RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 209, line 94. The sign DA probably transcribes *da*. No specific

Fafih is confirmed by the description of the fortress built on a rock. Gertrude Bell describes the site of Fafih in 1913 as follows: “Fafi stands upon a headland of rock jutting out between two convergent valleys. The whole of the bluff has been surrounded by a massive wall built of undressed stones laid dry”⁴⁵. Now, Theophylact Simocattes describes Βεϊουδαές in the 7th century A.D. as a citadel built on rock and he adds: “And the fortress was built of stones laid dry”, ἥν γὰρ λίθῳ ξηρῷ διεσκευασμένον τὸ φρούριον⁴⁶. Both cities, Sinabu and Madaranzu, must have belonged to Bēt-Zammānī and later to the province of Amida.

Now, Sinabu happens to be named in cuneiform texts either with Tušha(n) or with Ta’idu, while Ashurnasirpal II mentions together Tušha, Damdammusa, Sinabu, and Tīdu (Ta’idu)⁴⁷. A Mari letter makes it clear that even a speedy one-day journey is not sufficient to cover the distance between Madara (Matar) and Tušhan: the traveller coming from Madara must either spend the night in a village in order to reach Tušhan in the morning of the next day or travel from daybreak to late in the night⁴⁸. The identification of Tušhan with the mound of Tepe, near Tepeköy (Behramki), is therefore excluded since the distance would amount only to 10 km as the crow flies⁴⁹. Instead, the 32 km separating Matar from Kerh perfectly correspond to the time needed for a speedy journey like the one planned in the Mari letter. As for Ashurnasirpal II’s account, one should observe that it does not say that the Assyrian army marched in one day from Madara to Tušhan, just as it does not specify how long Ashurnasirpal had to besiege Madara⁵⁰. The Kurkh Monoliths of Ashurnasirpal II and of Shalmaneser III were thus discovered at Tušhan⁵¹, that lay within the territory of Bēt-Zammānī, but was abandoned and dilapidated

site is proposed by K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 67-69, but a location near Savur and Killit has to be taken into account.

⁴⁵ G. BELL, *Churches and Monasteries of Tūr ‘Abdīn and Neighbouring Districts* (Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Architektur. Ergänzungsheft 9), Wien 1913, p. 61.

⁴⁶ THEOPHYLACT SIMOCATTES, *Historiae* II, 18, 16, in *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 107. Cf. L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 231.

⁴⁷ RIMA II, text A.0.101.19, p. 262, line 97.

⁴⁸ ARM IV, 51, with a good translation by K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 72-74. No locations are proposed by J.-M. DURAND, *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari I* (LAPO 16), Paris 1997, p. 116-118, and no reasons are given why he calls the general area of Diyarbakır in question. As a matter of fact, contrary to Durand, Madara is not mentioned in the Chagar Bazar texts.

⁴⁹ This location is proposed nevertheless by K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 118-121, but it results only from an incorrect location of Šinamu/Sinabu and of Ta’idu. See above, p. 141, and below, p. 143-144.

⁵⁰ RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 209-210, lines 98-101; text A.0.101.19, p. 259, lines 64-67.

in the beginning of the 9th century B.C., before the rebuilding and resettlement activities of Ashurnasirpal II from 882 B.C. on⁵².

Contrary to Tušhan, Ta'idu was not on the Tigris. The Hittite account of the armed expedition led in Mittannian territory by Piyashilish, king of Carchemish, indicates that Ta'idu was situated east of Waššuganni, on the road from Assyria to Carchemish. The Hittite army successively occupied Irrite, between Carchemish and Harrān, then Harrān, which was easily overrun, and it proceeded thereafter to Waššuganni. This further advance brought some interference from the Assyrians, who sent an army to Ta'idu (^{uru}Ta-i-ta) in order to help Shuttarna⁵³. Therefore, the most likely location of Ta'idu is Tell Ermen, in the centre of Kızıltepe, "the Red Hill", 15 km southwest of Mardin⁵⁴. This is one of the largest ancient mounds of northern Mesopotamia, suitable for the town that Adad-nirari I was calling "the large royal city" of Ḫanigalbat⁵⁵. This location is confirmed by the abundant pottery from the second millennium B.C. discovered on the site and it corresponds perfectly to the requirements of the Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian sources. In particular, Ta'idu is the head of the province to which Nawar belonged in the 14th century B.C. and it is mentioned between Amasaki and Šūdu in lists of districts from the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 B. C.)⁵⁶. Now, both Nawar and Amasaki should be placed in the

⁵¹ The two stelae were discovered at Kerh by J.G. Taylor, in 1861, and the place was correctly identified as Tušhan by H. RAWLINSON, in J.G. TAYLOR, *Travels in Kurdistan, with Notices of the Sources of the Eastern and Western Tigris, and Ancient Ruins in Their Neighbourhood*, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 35 (1865), p. 21-58 (see p. 23). The erection of Ashurnasirpal II's stela at Tušhan is recorded in the king's annals: *RIMA II*, text A.0.101.1, p. 202, lines 5-7, that anticipate the event, while the Kurkh Monolith in reality describes the fifth campaign, in 879 B.C., not the second one, in 882 B.C., and was thus erected in 879 B.C.

⁵² *RIMA II*, text A.0.101.1, p. 202, lines 2-9.

⁵³ *KUB XIX*, 13, col. II, 34'-37'. Cf. H.G. GÜTERBOCK, *The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by his Son, Mursili II*, in *JCS* 10 (1956), p. 41-68, 75-98, 107-130 (see p. 111); K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 89.

⁵⁴ The name given to the ancient mound, viz. Tell Ermen, is recent and originated as an appellation of the community of Armenian merchants, established on the mound; it was destroyed towards the end of World War I. The site has been visited in 1880 and thereafter described by E. SACHAU, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 400-403 and 424-428. See also L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 82-83. - No concrete indication supports the identification of Ta'idu with Tell Ḫamīdiya, as suggested by M. WÄFLER, *Ta'idu, stolica państwa Mitanni*, in *Xenia Posnaniensia* 2 (1993), p. 4-18.

⁵⁵ *RIMA I*, text A.0.76.3, p. 136, lines 26-27.

⁵⁶ A tablet from Tell Brak mentions "Nawar in the district of Ta'idu", ^{uru}Na-wa-ar ḫal-ṣí ^{uru}Ta-i-de₄: N.J.J. ILLINGWORTH, *Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1986*, in *Iraq* 50 (1988), p. 87-108 (see p. 105, No. 24). For the lists of districts, cf. E. WEIDNER, *Aus*

area of Nusaybin⁵⁷, while the location of Šūdu has been perfectly circumscribed by M. Falkner, viz. east of Anaz and north of the line Ḥarrān - Rās al-‘Ayn⁵⁸. A. Goetze proposed a site near Derik⁵⁹ and the ancient name Βισμιδεών of Tell Bisme, just south of Derik and west of Mardin, might actually preserve the variant *Šmudā⁶⁰ of the name attested in cuneiform sources⁶¹. Tell Ermen, situated between these two sites, 57 km east of Nusaybin, is thus the ideal location for Ta’idu⁶². This does not mean, however, that Ta’idu was within the borders of Bēt-Zammānī. Although the Mardin plateau probably belonged to Bēt-Zammānī, one may doubt that the tribal territory extended to the plain south of it.

den Tagen eines assyrischen Schattenkönigs, in *AfO* 10 (1935-36), p. 1- 52 (see p. 21, n. 148).

⁵⁷ For Nawar, see here above, p. 110, with n. 7. For Amasaki, cf. E. EBELING, *Amasaki*, in *RLA* I, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, p. 93; K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 208-209.

⁵⁸ M. FALKNER, *Studien zur Geographie des alten Mesopotamien*, in *AfO* 18 (1957-58), p. 1-37 (see p. 27-29).

⁵⁹ A. GOETZE, *An Old Babylonian Itinerary*, in *JCS* 7 (1953), p. 51-72 (see p. 62).

⁶⁰ PROCOPIUS, *On Justinian's Buildings* II, 6, 14, in *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 65:18, mentions Βισμιδεών, where Aramaic Bē-, “house of”, is prefixed to the ancient place name. Later, the word *Till-* was added as well, as it appears in *Not. Dign. Or. XXXIV (Thilbisine)* and in writings of Syriac authors (*Tilbisme*); cf. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 491, n. 5; L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 109. This hypothetical identification of Šūdu with Tell Bisme might be challenged, if a “commandant of Šūd”, *nwhdr' d-Šwd*, is mentioned in an Old Syriac inscription from the mid-2nd century A.D., found at Sumatar; cf. H.J.W. DRIJVERS - J.F. HEALEY, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene*, Leiden 1999, As47, p. 128 and Pl. 34-35, who prefer reading Šwr. However, this supposed Šwr cannot be identified with ^{uru}Šu/Su-ū-ra in the Ṭūr ‘Abdīn, as proposed by K. BEYER, *Altsyrische Inschriften neu gelesen*, in *ZDMG* 146 (1996), p. 39-44 (see p. 40), since this place (Savur) is called Šawrā in Syriac.

⁶¹ The Mari documents attest the spellings Šudā and Sudā: *ARM* XVI/1, p. 33. However, the ū is long, as indicated by the Middle and Neo-Assyrian spellings ^{uru}Su-ū-di, ^{uru}Šu-u-du (K. NASHEF, *op. cit.* [n. 5], p. 234-235; H. FREYDANK, *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte* II [VAS 21], Berlin 1982, No. 21, 3; III [WVDOG 92], Berlin 1994, No. 29, 9; cf. H. FREYDANK, *Das Archiv Assur 18764*, in *Altorientalische Forschungen* 19 [1992], p. 276-321 [see p. 312-313, No. 32, 9]; PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 338), and this ū may correspond to *m* + vowel; cf. LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 11. 8. In VAS 21, No. 21, 3, ^{uru}Su-ū-di is mentioned between Katmuḥu and Ta’idu, thus implying a route around the western slopes of Mount Kašiyari. The district of Šūdu might be mentioned as ^{kur}Šu-[mu-d]a-a in Chronicle 3, line 55: A.K. GRAYSON, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (TCS 5), Locust Valley 1975, p. 95. In fact, its conquest by Nabopolassar in 610 B.C. follows the capture of Nusaybin in 611 B.C. and precedes the capture of Ruggūlitu (Urfa, cf. here below, p. 169) in 610 B.C., a few months later: there is a clear progression east-west in the direction of Ḥarrān.

⁶² Tell Ermen is believed to be the site of the Islamic town Dunaysir, which was a meeting place for caravans, and of the Byzantine Λαυσαρῶν (PROCOPIUS, *On Justinian's Buildings* II, 6); cf. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 493; G. LE STRANGE, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 96; L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 109.

The location of Damdammusa can be established only on the basis of its mentions in the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II. The Assyrian army reached Damdammusa on its way from Barzaništun to Amida, after having come out of the pass of Mount Amadān⁶³. Barzaništun is known to be in the land Azalla/Izalla⁶⁴, which was renowned for its wine, so that it cannot correspond to the proper massif of Karaça Dağ, but must designate its lower slopes and the western extension of the Tūr 'Abdīn. Mount Amadān, called Madān in the 13th century B.C.⁶⁵, is probably the Mardin plateau that dominates the heart of Upper Mesopotamia from its altitude of 1,300 metres. It should be distinguished from ^{kur}A-ma-da-na in the annals of Tiglath-pileser I⁶⁶ and from the reconstructed ^{kur}A-ma-di-i-nu in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III⁶⁷, which are situated much further to the north. Ashurnasirpal II's route from the pass of Mount Amadān to Amida through Barzaništun and Damdammusa is understandable if Mount Amadān is located in the western part of the Tūr 'Abdīn, instead of being identified with Karaça Dağ⁶⁸. Amadān presents some similarity with the name of *Mardīn*, formally an Aramaic plural, and with the name of the city's population, which was called *Mandani* or Μαρδώνιοι in Antiquity⁶⁹. These two forms might be considered, on the other hand, as dissimilated from **Maddāni*⁷⁰, that the frequent elision of initial *a*- allows deriving from ^{kur}A-ma-da-ni⁷¹. The other name

⁶³ RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 220, lines 104-105. For the city name, see below, p. 153.

⁶⁴ SAA XII, 50, 28; cf. line 33.

⁶⁵ The former discussion is summarized by K. NASHEF, *Madani*, in RLA VII, Berlin 1987-90, p. 193-194, and M. LIVERANI, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 84-85. See also K. KESSLER, *Šubria, Urartu and Aššur: Topographical Questions around the Tigris Sources*, in M. LIVERANI (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, Roma 1995, p. 55-67, especially p. 59-62.

⁶⁶ RIMA II, text A.0.87.1, p. 21, line 58.

⁶⁷ Tigl. III, p. 54 (Ann. 20), line 7'; p. 184, line 18'.

⁶⁸ M. LIVERANI, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 83-84. Neither a link is possible with Tell 'Amūda, 30 km southeast of Mardin. This site is known in Syriac as 'Amūdīn and in Greek as Ἀμωδῖς.

⁶⁹ PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* VI, 30, 112: *Mandani* with the variant *Mardani*; XENOPHON, *Anabasis*, IV, 3, 4: Μαρδώνιοι according to the original reading of the best manuscript C. According to JOHN OF EPIPHANEIA, in FHG IV, p. 275, § 5, the name of the city derives from the name of the population; cf. L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 98-99. In an earlier period, however, the name of an originally nomadic population may have been reshaped under the influence of the name of the region this population had occupied.

⁷⁰ LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 23.7 and 9.

⁷¹ LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 27.26. This elision occurs in personal names (e.g. 'Aḥīrām and Hīrām, Aḥīlarīm and Hīlarīm) and in place names (e.g. Azallu and Zallu, Ἀσσυρία and Συρία); it may also happen that *a*- is added to an original form without initial *a*-, as in Agūsi for Gūš. — The Assyriological hypothesis identifying Old Babylonian *Mardaman* with Μάρδῃ in PTOLEMY's *Geography* VI, 1, and with modern Mardin (cf. D.O. EDZARD, *Mardaman*, in RLA VII, Berlin 1987-90, p. 357-358) is based on a misunderstanding, for

of Mardin, viz. Syriac *Mardā*, means “stronghold” (*merdā*) and it occurs already with its Greek translation in the writings of John of Epiphaneia who mentions τὸ Μαρδῆς φρούριον⁷², “the fortress Mardā”. This Syriac word was borrowed from Kurdish⁷³, just like Neo-Aramaic *mardē*, “brave”, “courageous”, that might occur already as a personal name ^m*Mar-da*-[a] in the 7th century B.C., in the area of Bēt-Zammānī⁷⁴. It is etymologically related to the name of the Μάρδοι, nomadic Iranians at the time of the Achaemenian empire⁷⁵.

If Mount Amadān is then located in the western part of the Ṭūr ‘Abdīn, the pass (*nērebu*) of *Amadān* must correspond to the Izzetpaşa (alt. 1,075 metres), northwest of Mardin. The access to the pass lay to the north of the ancient city of Karania⁷⁶ which ought to be identified with Tell Harzem, in the upper valley of the Zergān river. Called Ἀρζάμα by Ptolemy⁷⁷ and *Arcamo* in the Peutinger Table⁷⁸, the place is referred to by Procopius as χωρίον Ἀρζάμων or Ἀρζαμένων⁷⁹, while Theophylact Simocattes mentions the river: ποταμὸς τῶν Ἀρζάμων⁸⁰. This name is probably related to ^{kur}*Ar-qa-ni-a*⁸¹, as the Assyrians were apparently calling that part of the Ṭūr ‘Abdīn, west of Mardin, where is the

Ptolemy situates Μάρδη near Lake Van; cf. L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 96. As for Mardaman, its geographical context does not point to the region of modern Mardin; cf. K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 64.

⁷² JOHN OF EPIPHANEIA, *loc. cit.* (n. 69).

⁷³ Syriac *merdā*, “stronghold”, must be distinguished from *merdā*, “rebellion”, which is a derivative of the Semitic root *mrd*, “to rebel”. The compound *bēt merdā*, “stronghold”, results from a confusion of the two words.

⁷⁴ SAA VI, 275, r. 11; cf. r. 5: “the road to Amida”. Names like *Mardē* and *Mardū* should be taken into account as well; cf. APN, p. 128a.

⁷⁵ HERODOT, *History* I, 125 end.

⁷⁶ RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 220, lines 99-100.

⁷⁷ PTOLEMY, *Geography* V, 17, 7.

⁷⁸ Fol. X; cf. L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), Fig. XII.

⁷⁹ PROCOPIUS, *Persian Wars* I, 8, 10, ed. by J. HAVRY - G. WIRTH, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia* I, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1964, p. 38.

⁸⁰ THEOPHYLACT SIMOCATTES, *Historiae* I, 15,15; II, 1,5.6.7; 5,4, in *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 70, 71, 78. The city was called also *Apadna* or *Afadna*: L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 159, with references. The identity of the places is demonstrated by the compound name *Harzem dā-Afadnā* used by ZACHARIAS RHETOR, *Church History* VII, 5, ed. E.W. BROOKS, *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta* II (CSCO 84 / Syr. 39), Louvain 1921, p. 31:20; the translation is in CSCO 88 / Syr. 42, Louvain 1924, p. 21.

⁸¹ RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 220, line 101. This ^{kur}*Ar-qa-ni-a* must be distinguished from ^{kur}*Ar-ka-a-na-a* on the left bank of the Tigris (RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 220, line 103). The name of Kerh, earlier *Kurh*, goes back to Aramaic *kar(a)k*, “fort”. The place is called *Arcaiapis* in the Peutinger Table X, perhaps from *Kark-yapī*, “Fort lifted up”, with the loss of initial *K*, as proposed by L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 156-157. This can result from a possible influence either of the name of Mount Arkānā or of the Latin noun *arx*, *arcis*, “fortress”.

main source of the Zergān; the Arabs call it Ġebel ‘Afis, “mountain of holms”, and Syriac authors name it Ṭūrā də-Kuros. This area probably includes the region of ^{kur}*Mallānu* that Ashurnasirpal II annexed in 866 B.C.⁸², unless this place corresponds to the area of modern Pirinçlik, west of Diyarbakır.

Ashurnasirpal II’s annals mention two towns in the area of Mount Amadān, viz. ^{uru}*Ū-ma-li-a* and ^{uru}*Hi-ra-a-nu*⁸³. After the pass of Izzetpaşa, no major obstacles occur on the road further north and the traveller comes out of the mountain before Çınar⁸⁴. A large section of the same route was followed in A.D. 359 by Sapor II, according to Ammianus Marcellinus:... *a Bebase loco itinere flexo dextrorsus... per Horren et Meiacarire et Charcha, ut transiturus Amidam...*⁸⁵. In fact, Horren is modern Gülharin, the Hurra of the cuneiform texts of the second millenium B.C.⁸⁶, and the Hīrān of Ashurnasirpal II⁸⁷, 11 km south of Mardin. The route to Amida reaches then *Meiacarire* or *Aquae Frigidæ*⁸⁸, on the Şaihansu, and it continues further to the northwest, in the direction of the valley of Göksu. The first ancient mound at the entrance of the alluvial plain of the Tigris is Göktepe⁸⁹, which might thus correspond to Barzaniştun. However, no information is available so far about this site, although it should be identified with *Sammachi* in the

⁸² RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 220, line 101. M. LIVERANI, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 84-85, locates *Mallānu* too far to the north.

⁸³ RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 219, lines 97-98. See also below, n. 87.

⁸⁴ This road has been described by J. CZERNIK, *Technische Studien-Expedition durch die Gebiete des Euphrates und Tigris II* (Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen. Ergänzungsheft 45), Gotha 1876, p. 19; E. SACHAU, *Über die Lage von Tigranokerta*, Berlin 1880, p. 88-89; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 54), p. 430-437.

⁸⁵ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *History* XVIII, 10, 1.

⁸⁶ ARM XVI/1, Paris 1979, p. 16; RIMA I, text A.0. 76.1, p. 131, line 10; text A.0.76.3, p. 136, line 29; cf. K. NASHEF, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 132. The pottery of the later half of the third millennium and of the second millennium B.C. confirms the importance of the site in those periods. *Hu-ur-ra-nim*^{ki} is not the same city: ARM IV, 38, 10’, corrected by J.-M. DURAND, *Villes fantômes de Syrie et autres lieux*, in *MARI* 5 (1987), p. 199-234 (see p. 223). Cf. here above, p. 93 with n. 102.

⁸⁷ RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 219, line 97: ^{uru}*Hi-ra-a-nu*. Contrary to the opinion of W. RÖLLIG, *Hurrâ, Ura I*, in *RLA* IV, Berlin 1972-75, p. 505-506, ^{uru}*Ū-ra* (*Tigl. III*, p. 76 [Ann. 5], line 7; p. 184, line 20’) or ^{uru}*Ur-ra* (*Tigl. III*, p. 126, line 32), and ^{uru}*Ū-ra* (*SAA* V, 111, r. 3), are different cities.

⁸⁸ Peutinger Table XII: *Aque Frigide*. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *loc. cit.* (n. 85), transcribes the Aramaic name *Mayyā Qarīrē*, “cold waters”. The Arabic name of the site, ‘*Aqrās*, “freezing (waters)”, is a translation of Aramaic. The explanation given by L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 157, is hardly correct, for ‘*aqrās* seems to be the broken plural of the adjective *qāris*.

⁸⁹ P. MERIGGI, *Sesto viaggio anatolico*, in *OA* 6 (1967), p. 269-303 and Pl. LXVIII-LXXXI, especially Map III, p. 289, No. 15.

Peutinger Table, at a distance of XIII miles or 21 km from Kerh (*Arca-
iapis*)⁹⁰. The larger mound of Purank (Pornak)⁹¹, 12 km north of Gök-
tepe, might then correspond to Damdammusa, which is once called
“royal city” in the annals of Ashurnasirpal II⁹². Its location is exactly the
same as that of *Sardebar* in the Peutinger Table which indicates a dis-
tance of XIII miles or 19 km from Sardebar to Diyarbakır (*Ad Tygrem*),
and X miles or 15 km from Sardebar to Kerh (*Arcaiapis*)⁹³. The place is
called Σαρδηνούα by Ptolemy⁹⁴ and *Sardera* in the Ravenna Cosmogra-
phy⁹⁵.

Ashurnasirpal II seems to have followed the same route in 882 B.C., in
his first campaign to the Upper Tigris. In fact, he marched from the source
of the Subnat river (Babil) to the land Izalla, and then “crossed over”
(*nabalkutu*) to Mount Kašiyari⁹⁶, apparently through the pass of Izzetpaşa.
Coming out from the mountains southeast of Çınar, he approached
Kinabu, the fortified city of the rebel Hūlāya⁹⁷. Aktepe, characterized by
Assyrian pottery⁹⁸, may be the site of Kinabu, while the smaller and
nearby Kürthaçitepe may then correspond to Mariru⁹⁹. Hūlāya was cap-
tured and flayed, and his skin draped over the wall of Damdammusa¹⁰⁰,
only 18 km northwest of Aktepe, if Purank (Pornak) is the site of
Damdammusa. Kinabu might also be identified with Tauşantepe¹⁰¹, 5 km

⁹⁰ Peutinger Table XII. The emendation of the drawing, as proposed by L. DIL-
MANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 158, Fig. XXI, must be correct.

⁹¹ P. MERIGGI, *loc. cit.* (n. 89), No. 18; cf. K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 113, No. 7.
Roman and Byzantine coins have been found on the site; cf. J.G. TAYLOR, *art. cit.* (n. 51),
p. 23.

⁹² RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 200, line 103.

⁹³ Peutinger Table XII. The corrections of the distances, proposed by L. DILMANN,
op. cit. (n. 34), p. 159, are superfluous and result only from an incorrect location of Sarde-
bar. The distance by road from Kerh to Diyarbakır amounts to 33 km according to F.
MAUNSELL, *Military Report on Eastern Turkey in Asia*, London 1903, vol IV, p. 414.

⁹⁴ PTOLEMY, *Geography* V, 12, 10.

⁹⁵ *Ravenna Cosmography* 48, ed. J. SCHNETZ, *Itineraria Romana* II, 2nd ed., Stuttgart
1990, p. 17:44.

⁹⁶ RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 200-201, lines 104-106.

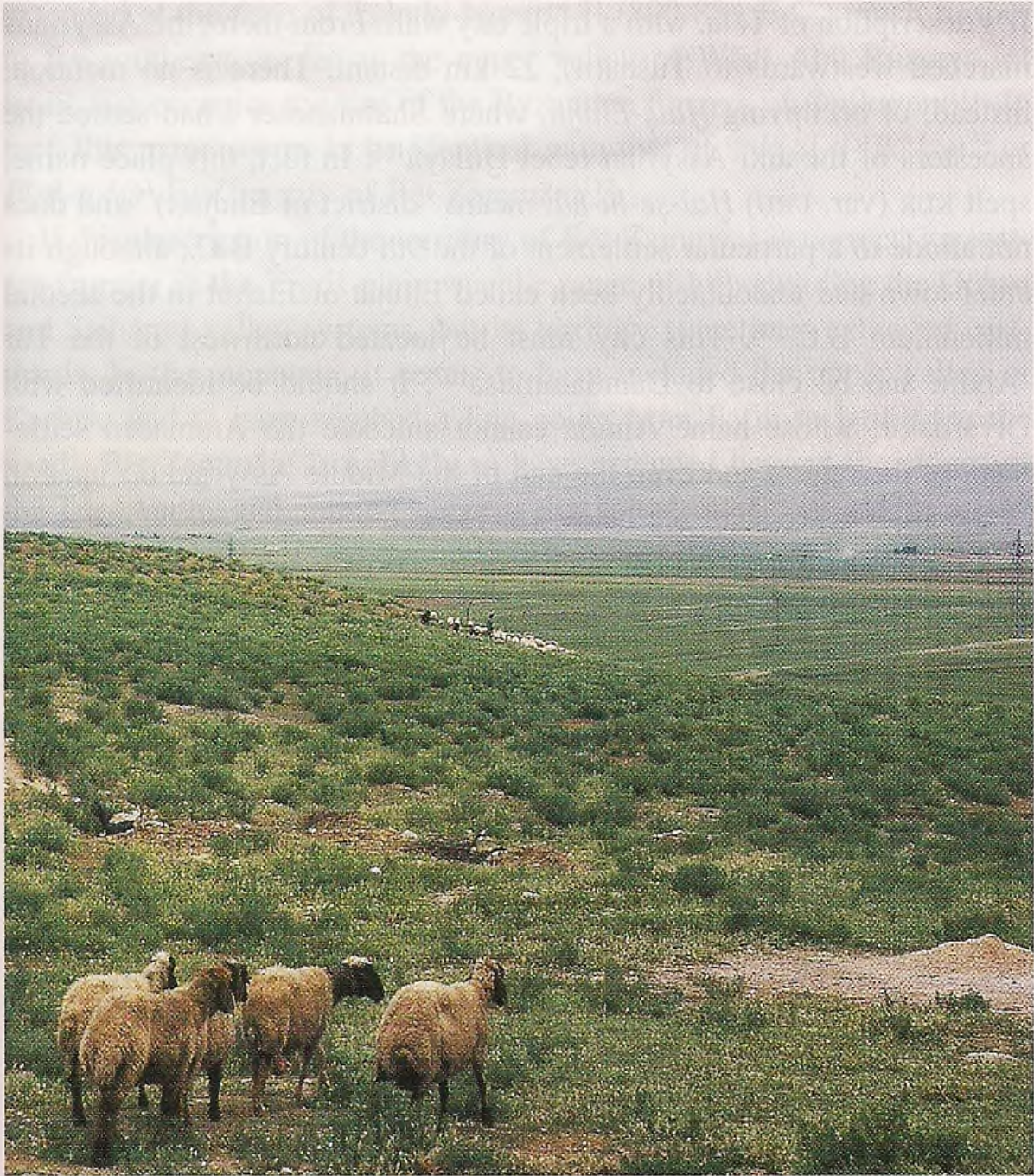
⁹⁷ RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 201, lines 106-107.

⁹⁸ A.T. OLMSTEAD, *The Calculated Frightfulness of Ashur-nasir-apal*, in *JAOS* 38
(1918), p. 209-263 (see p. 227, n. 41).

⁹⁹ K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 113, No. 11; p. 115 and 117. While Ashurnasirpal II
counts 3,800 killed fighting-men and captives at Kinabu, there are only 250 killed war-
riors and captives at Mariru: RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 201, lines 107-111.

¹⁰⁰ RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 201, line 110.

¹⁰¹ P. MERIGGI, *loc. cit.* (n. 89), Map III, p. 289, No. 26; K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22),
p. 113, No. 8, with n. 422. The name of the modern village of Güzelşeyh, situated
between Purank (Pornak) and Tauşantepe, has also been used as an appellation of this
mound.



Northern Ġazira with the Tūr ‘Abdīn in the background (Photo: J. Bretschneider).

southeast of Purank, and the nearby Sihratepe¹⁰² might then correspond to Mariru. However, these identifications are less probable for the Assyrian army marched thereafter from Kinabu to ^{uru}*Te-e-la*¹⁰³, the name of which is translated into Turkish by Tepe, a large rectangular mound near the village of Behramki, now Tepeköy, 20 km northeast of Aktepe, on the Tigris. The dimensions of this mound — 350 m long, 200 m wide, and about 30 m high¹⁰⁴ — seems to correspond to Ashurnasirpal

¹⁰² P. MERIGGI, *loc. cit.* (n. 89), Map III, p. 289, No. 17; K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 113, No. 9.

¹⁰³ *RIMA II*, text A.0.101.1, p. 201, line 113.

¹⁰⁴ K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 117.

II's description of Tēla, with a triple city wall. From there, the Assyrians marched westwards to Tušḥa(n), 22 km distant. There is no mention, instead, of occupying *Halṣ-Eluḥa*, where Shalmaneser I had settled the ancestors of the anti-Assyrian rebel Ḫulāya¹⁰⁵. In fact, this place name, spelt KUR (var. URU) *Hal-še-lu-ḥa*, means "district of Eluḥa(t)" and does not allude to a particular settlement of the 9th century B.C., although its chief town had undoubtedly been called Eluḥat or Elaḥut in the second millennium B.C.¹⁰⁶. This city must be located northwest of the Ṭūr 'Abdīn and be close to Damdammusa¹⁰⁷. It should be identified with Diyarbakır, whose name Amida cannot antedate the Aramaean settlement in the region and even the end of the Middle Assyrian occupation of the area, as we shall see below (p. 153).

As for Taušantepe, this mound must correspond to *Busan* in the account of Ammianus Marcellinus dealing with Sapor II's march towards Amida in A.D. 359:... *ut transiturus Amidam, cum prope castella Romana venisset, quorum unum Reman, alterum Busan appellatur...*¹⁰⁸. While *Reman* is Kerh, called *Καρχα-Ρομάν* in Greek¹⁰⁹, *Busan* can only be Taušan(tepe), 13 km southwest of Kerh, and it very likely corresponds to the city *Bu-[u]š-a-an*, attested in Upper Mesopotamia by a document from Mari¹¹⁰.

None of the cities mentioned in Ashurnasirpal's account of his campaign in 882 B.C. is said to belong to Bēt-Zammāni, whose ruler paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal at Tušḥa, but in 866 B.C. Damdammusa belongs well to Bēt-Zammāni. The territory of Bēt-Zammāni seems to have

¹⁰⁵ RIMA II, text A.0.101.1, p. 200, lines 102-103.

¹⁰⁶ J. N. POSTGATE, *Assyria: The Home Provinces*, in M. LIVERANI (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, Roma 1995, p. 1-17 (see p. 1-2). Nothing justifies the doubts of M. LIVERANI, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 37.

¹⁰⁷ See the analyses by M. FALKNER, *art. cit.* (n. 58), p. 8-10, and P. GARELLI, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, Paris 1963, p. 92-94. For the Mari texts, cf. ARM XVI/1, p. 11, in particular tablet A. 49, partly published by G. DOSSIN, *Le madārum dans les "Archives royales de Mari"*, in *Gesellschaftsklassen im Alten Zweistromland und in den angrenzenden Gebieten — XVIII. Rencontre assyriologique internationale*, München 1972, p. 53-63 (see p. 63). There, "the land of Šinamum and of Tušḥum" is expressly located next to "the land of Elaḥutum".

¹⁰⁸ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *History* XVIII, 10, 1. The attempts of L. DILLEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 157, to eliminate *Busan* are not convincing and superfluous.

¹⁰⁹ THEOPHYLACT SIMOCATTES, *Historiae* I, 13, 4, in *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 64:25.

¹¹⁰ ARM XIII, 144, 34; XVI/1, p. 8. Besides, see ^{uru}Bu-šá-a and ^{uru}Bu-ša-ia-ú in SAA XI, 133, I, 8 and DeZ 3281, line 8, published by W. RÖLLIG, *Aspects of the Historical Geography of Northeastern Syria from Middle Assyrian to Neo-Assyrian Times*, in S. PARPOLA - R.M. WHITING (eds.), *Assyria 1995*, Helsinki 1997, p. 281-293 (see p. 283-284 and 287). Cf. also ^{kur}Bušše in K. NASHEF, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 76.

extended at the time of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884 B.C.) much further to the southeast, as far as the upper valley of Wādī Abū Russayn, at İstilil that occupies the site of the Byzantine fortress of Φαθαχών¹¹¹. In fact, this name seems to be identical with that of ^{uru}P[a]-ti-^{ik}-kun¹¹² or P[a]-ti-^{is}-kun¹¹³, a city of Bēt-Zammāni¹¹².

If this description of the territory of Bēt-Zammāni is correct, its eastern frontier in the Tigris plain was the range of hills dividing the Göksu and Şaihansu valley systems, but its territory sometimes extended eastwards. In the mountain, it seems to have included the upper valley of Karinsu and to have reached a line going from Fafih to İstilil. On the south, Bēt-Zammāni is unlikely to have extended beyond the slopes of the Tūr ‘Abdīn, and nothing suggests that it had some possessions on the left bank of the Tigris, to the north. There is a lack of indications about its western border, but Karaça Dağ does not seem to have belonged to Bēt-Zammāni. The heartland of Bēt-Zammāni appears to be formed by the western part of the plain between the Tigris and the Tūr ‘Abdīn.

2. HISTORY

The history of Bēt-Zammāni between the 13th and the 9th century B.C. is unknown, but a passage of the Kurkh Monolith of Ashurnasirpal II alludes to the pression which this Aramaean tribe had exercised from the western part of the Tūr ‘Abdīn on the Assyrian territories in this region: “I regained possession of Sinabu (and) of Tīdu, fortresses which Shalmaneser (I), king of Assyria, a predecessor of mine, had garrisoned to face Nairi (but) which the Aramaeans had captured by force. Assyrian people, who in Nairi had held the fortresses of Assyria on which the Aramaeans have trampled, I resettled in their abandoned cities (and) houses, (and) I placed them in a peaceful abode”¹¹³. This passage belongs to a longer account of Ashurnasirpal II’s intervention against Bēt-Zammāni in 879 B.C. and thus seems to imply that the Aramaeans who had captured Sinabu and Tīdu belonged to this tribe.

These events cannot be dated precisely. Tīdu and possibly Sinabu/Šīnamu were conquered by Adad-nirari I on Ḫanigalbat¹¹⁴, and Shalmaneser I, after having destroyed Ḫanigalbat and annexed it to Assyria,

¹¹¹ THEOPHYLACT SIMOCATTES, *Historiae* II, 9, 17, in *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 88.

¹¹² *RIMA* II, text A.0.100.5, p. 171, line 14.

¹¹³ *RIMA* II, text A.0.101.19, p. 261, lines 92-95.

¹¹⁴ *RIMA* I, text A.0.76.1, p. 131, line 8; text A.0.76.3, p. 136, line 37; text A.0.76.4, p. 137, line 39; text A.0.76.22, p. 158, line 55 (?); text A.0.76.26, p. 161, line 4.

obviously fortified both cities to protect the Assyrian territory¹¹⁵ against the Aramaeans and the Hurrian princedoms of the mountainous regions in the north, known to the Assyrians from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1240-1205 B.C.) as the Nairi lands¹¹⁶. The Aramaeans have probably captured these cities in the later half of the 11th century B.C., after the reign of Ashur-bēl-kala (1073-1056 B.C.) who had to fight against them in this area.

One of the campaigns he led in and around the Ṭūr 'Abdīn has aimed at defending the cities of the district of Šinamu, which were then administered by Līšur-šala-Aššur. This campaign does not seem to have been successful, since its results are not mentioned¹¹⁷. The same must be said about earlier campaigns when Ashur-bēl-kala defended ^{uru}Pa-ú-za, "at the foot of Mount Kašiyari", and the "access (*ri-iš*) to ^{uru}Na-bu-la"¹¹⁸. The first city is mentioned later in Adad-nirari II's inscriptions, which record the Assyrian victory, in 901 B.C., over the Aramaean tribe of the Temanites "defeated from Pauza (^{uru}Pa-'-zi) to Nisibis (^{uru}Na-ši-pi-na)"¹¹⁹. Thus, the Aramaeans acting in this area formed a distinct tribe. Also the names of the cities involved point to another region, situated to the southeast of the territory of Bēt-Zammānī. Pauza must be not far from Nisibis/Nusaybin¹²⁰ and Nabula can be identified now with Girnavaz, a mound lying in a meander of the river, 4 km from Nusaybin and 5 km north of the Syro-Turkish frontier¹²¹. It does not appear that Adad-nirari II (911-891 B.C.) had to fight against Bēt-Zammānī. Rather peaceful

¹¹⁵ *RIMA* I, text A.0.77.1, p. 185, line 81; *RIMA* II, text A.0.101.19, p. 261, lines 92b-93a.

¹¹⁶ *RIMA* I, text A.0.78.1, p. 237, line 32; text A.0.78.2, p. 240, line [31]; text A.0.78.3, p. 241, line 13; text A.0.78.5, p. 244, line 9; text A.0.78.7, p. 248, line [4]; text A.0.78.8, p. 250, line [9']; text A.0.78.13, p. 258, line 14; A.0.78.16, p. 262, line 18; text A.0.78.20, p. 268, line 6; text A.0.78.23, p. 273, lines 46 and 49; text A.0.78.24, p. 275, line 18; p. 276, line 31; text A.0.78.26, p. 279, lines 11-12; text A.0.78.1001, p. 292, r. 7'.

¹¹⁷ *RIMA* II, text A.0.89.7, p. 102, lines 13-14.

¹¹⁸ *RIMA* II, text A.0.89.7, p. 102, lines 8-10.

¹¹⁹ *RIMA* II, text A.0.99.3, p. 149, lines 39-41.

¹²⁰ See here above, p. 111-112.

¹²¹ H. ERKANAL, *Mardin*, in *RLA* VII, Berlin 1987-90, p. 358-359 (see p. 358b); ID., *Girnavaz*, in *MDOG* 120 (1988), p. 139-152; W. RÖLLIG, *Nabula*, in *RLA* VIII/1-2, Berlin 1998, p. 31. The discovery of a Neo-Assyrian conveyance mentioning a garden at ^[ur]Nābul confirms the identification of the site, proposed previously by K. KESSLER, *Nawala and Nabula*, in *AfO* 26 (1978-79), p. 99-103 (see p. 103). Cf. V. DONBAZ, *Some Neo-Assyrian Contracts from Girnavaz and Vicinity*, in *SAAB* 2 (1988), p. 3-30 (see p. 7, line 10). This reference, as well as H. FREYDANK, *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte* III (WVDOG 92), Berlin 1994, No. 55, 8', must be added to K. NASHEF, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 201.

relations seem to have been established between that tribe and Assyria, as suggested by the annals of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884 B.C.)¹²².

The capital of Bēt-Zammāni has a Westsemitic name, *‘āmid*, “standing”, that may suggest its fastness¹²³. This name is not attested in the texts of the second millennium B.C., anterior to the Aramaean autonomous rule in the region. Still, it is unlikely that such a strategically important site was not occupied before the 10th century B.C. This region already attracted the attention of Old Akkadian kings, at least as early as the reign of Naram-Sīn. A concrete proof is provided by the large fragment of the basalt stela of Naram-Sīn discovered at Pirhüseyin, northeast of Diyarbakır (cf. p. 155). Although the partly preserved inscription does not contain any historical information, there is little doubt that this Tigridic area was regarded as militarily or economically important and that its key site corresponds to the present-day city of Diyarbakır, former Amida. Therefore, we propose identifying it with Eluḥat or Elaḥut, assuming that the city kept this name until the end of the Middle Assyrian period¹²⁴. In any case, we do not know which were the circumstances in which the Aramaean tribesmen had conquered the site of Diyarbakır, although the surrounding area was called Bēt-Zammāni already by the 13th century B.C.¹²⁵.

The first known ruler of Bēt-Zammāni is ^m*Am-mi-ba-’-la/li*, whose name means “My ancestor is lord”, **‘Ammi-ba’l*. The noun *ba’l* is no theophorous element here, but a predicate, while the subject of the sentence forming the name is the suffixed word *‘amm*, “ancestor”¹²⁶. The same name is already borne by a king of ‘Anā (*Hana*) in the Old Baby-

¹²² *RIMA II*, text A.O.100.5, p. 171-172, lines 4-8 and 14-24.

¹²³ The preservation of the initial *‘ain* in the local pronunciation probably explains the occasional spelling *Hāmid* in Arabic sources. As for the Assyrian spelling *A-me-di* instead of *A-mi-da*, it either reflects the weakening of the short *i* > *ə* or simply confirms the frequent Neo-Assyrian use of the sign ME with the value *mī*, as in the name ^m*Am-mi-ba-’-la/li*. As for the spelling ^{ur}*An-di*, which occurs in the title of two Assyrian eponyms (MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 100, sub 799, and p. 111, sub 838), it implies the elision of the short *i* and the frequent change *m* > *n*. — See also p. 599.

¹²⁴ K. NASHEF, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 104.

¹²⁵ See here above, p. 45.

¹²⁶ An alternative explanation was proposed by ZADOK, *WSB*, p. 357: “Ba’l is a paternal uncle”. It is followed in *PNA I/1*, p. 103, although “Baal” is no theophorous element generally used by the Aramaeans. Moreover, the translation of *‘amm* by “paternal uncle” is based on the meaning of this word in classical and modern Arabic, while Nabataean inscriptions, like *CIS II*, 182, 2 and 354, 2, support the translation “great-grandfather” or “ancestor” (cf. *DNWSI*, p. 866). Also *AHW*, p. 317b, translates *ḥammu* / *‘ammul* by “Familienoberhaupt”. Such names are related to the cult of the ancestor of the tribe or clan; cf. here below, p. 605.

Ionian period¹²⁷. The name of the ruler's son is unfortunately incomplete. Their adversary, whose defeat was announced to Tukulti-Ninurta II, is called ^m*Bi*⁷¹-*a-la-se*¹²⁸. If the first sign is BI indeed, this can be an Urartian name or even the Urartian plural *Biainaše* or *Biānaše*, "Urartians", confounded perhaps with the singular *Biainiše* or *Biāniše*¹²⁹. In case ^m*Bi*⁷¹-*a-la-se* is an authentic personal name, the man may have been the predecessor of Lapturi, son of Tupusi, ruler of Nirdun¹³⁰, whose name and patronymic — certainly not Semitic — may be Urartian. At least Lapturi appears to be the Assyrian rendering of Urartian *Lutipri*¹³¹.

These elements reveal the presence of an Urartian principality in the central part of the Tūr 'Abdīn, in the valley of the Savur Çay and in the plain east of the river. In fact, the battle given by the men of Bēt-Zammānī has taken place at Uda¹³².

Bēt-Zammānī appears thus in the annals of Tukulti-Ninurta II as an ally of the Assyrians in their fight against the Hurrian and Urartian principalities around the Upper Tigris, the so-called "Nairi lands". The extract of the letter sent from Bēt-Zammānī to the Assyrian king also indicates that there were regular diplomatic relations between the Aramaean princes and Assyria in the early 9th century B.C. One might even assume that the Aramaic or Phoenician language was used sometimes by

¹²⁷ APN, p. 21b: *Am-mi-ba-il*. It is not evident that the same name is spelt ^d*A-mi-i-ba-al* or *Ha-mi-i-ba-al* at Mari (ARM XVII/1, p. 59 and 99). The second element may be verbal: *yibāl* < *yib'al*, "has made"; cf. LIPINSKI, *Semitic*, § 11.4; 19.7; 40.18; 45.7.

¹²⁸ RIMA II, text A.0.100.5, p. 171, line 5.

¹²⁹ Cf. G.A. MELIKIŠVILI, *Die urartäische Sprache* (Studia Pohl 7), Rome 1971, p. 43. The morpheme *-a-* in the element *-na-* (< *-ni+a-*) indicates the plural, while the termination *-še* is the case ending of the ergative. In fact, Urartian is an ergative language, like Hurrian; cf. M.A. HÄČIKYAN, *Hurritskiy i urartskiy yazyki*, Erevan 1985; I.M. DIAKONOFF - S.A. STAROSTIN, *Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language*, München 1986. The alternance *l/n* occurs in many languages.

¹³⁰ K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 62-63. The name of Nirdun ends in *-un*, as does Arzaškun /*Ardzaškun*/, the royal city of Arrāmu, the first known king of Urartu (cf. PNA I/1, p. 132-133), and Patikkun or Patiškun (cf. here below). The area of Nirdun, as well as the site of Diyarbakır, are included in the territory of Urartu on the map of A.M. DINÇOL, *Cultural and Political Contacts between Assyria and Urartu*, in Tel Aviv 21 (1994), p. 6-21 (see p. 8). However, this map requires some adjustments.

¹³¹ *Lutipri* or *Lutibri* is the patronymic of Sarduri I; cf. M. SALVINI, *Lutipri*, in RLA VII, Berlin 1987-90, p. 180. The form *Lapturi* probably results from an initial metathesis prompted by the Assyrian adjectif *laptu*, "assaulted". The difference *t/t'* is meaningless in this case, because Assyrian scribes were probably unable to distinguish the two Urartian phonemes *t* and *t'*, postulated in the present-day research. The patronymic Tupusi must be compared with *Tu-pi-sé*, which occurs in an Old Assyrian tablet from Kültepe (cf. E. LAROCHE, *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris 1966, p. 190, No. 1380), and with *Tupūse/su*, attested several times in Neo-Assyrian deeds from the 7th century B.C. (APN, p. 237b, s.v. *Tubūsu*). The final signs *sí/sé* and *si/se* may stand for the Hurro-Urartian *-š(e)* of the ergative.

¹³² RIMA II, text A.0.100.5, p. 171, line 6; cf. above, p. 138 and 140.



Naram-Sin's basalt stela from Pirhüseyin, east of Diyarbakır
(İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Inv. No. 1027).

the Aramaeans in their correspondence with the Assyrian court, since a high dignitary of Tukulti-Ninurta II, eponym in 886 B.C., bears the West-semitic name of Elimilk (DINGIR-mil-ku/ki). However, Bēt-Zammānī's political allegiance to Assyria is implied by the transfer of the prisoners, of the booty, and of "Bialase's" gods to Nineveh¹³³. Tukulti-Ninurta II's campaign to Mount Kašiyari in 886 B.C. was not directed against Bēt-Zammānī, whose territory was even extended after the Assyrians gained the victory over an enemy¹³⁴, the city of which seems to be mentioned in a badly worn line: ... *aq-ṭi-rib ina UGU[?] KUR[?] šá[?] Lib-b[a[?]] lu-^rú^r áš-'kun'*, "... I approached so as to pitch camp against the land of Libb[a[?]]"¹³⁵. The name of the ruler should appear in the following line, partly illegible: *KUR-šú šá[?] Pár-tú[?]-k[a[?]...]*¹³⁶, "[I took] the grain (and) straw of the land of Partuk[a...]. The people of his land I carried off. I brought about their defeat...". The city Libb[a[?]] of the Tūr 'Abdīn is unknown, but the nearby town of Patikkun or Patiškun, belonging to Bēt-Zammānī, can be identified with the Byzantine fortress of Φαθαχών, modern İstilil¹³⁷. The territory of Libb[a[?]] should lie therefore in the same southern area of the central Tūr 'Abdīn. As for its ruler, Tukulti-Ninurta II "had mercy on him", a statement which is repeated in the following line concerning either the same ruler or his son: "to save his live he submitted to me (and) I was merciful towards him"¹³⁸.

The victory gained by Tukulti-Ninurta II, who had chosen Patikkun or Patiškun as a basis for his operations in the Tūr 'Abdīn, led to an extension of the territory of Bēt-Zammānī and to a formal pact between this Aramaean state and the Assyrian king, who portrays the treaty as his royal favour toward the Aramaean ruler: "I was merciful towards 'Ammī-ba'l, son of Zammān. I established (them) in abandoned cities (and) settled them in peaceful dwellings. I had him take an oath by Ashur, my lord, before the statue[?] of [...]. 'If you give horses to my enemies (and) foes, may Adad [strike your] land with his terrible lightning'"¹³⁹. The loss of

¹³³ *RIMA* II, text A.0.100.5, p. 171, lines 6-8.

¹³⁴ *RIMA* II, text A.0.100.5, p. 171-172, lines 14-25.

¹³⁵ *RIMA* II, text A.0.100.5, p. 171, line 15. The verb *šakānu* is often used in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta II with the pregnant meaning "to pitch camp"; cf. *RIMA* II, text A.0.100.5, p. 173, line 41, etc. Here, however, the cohortative in *lū* is used.

¹³⁶ *RIMA* II, text A.0.100.5, p. 171, line 16. The name seems to be Hurrian, possibly Urartian; cf. ^m*Pár-ta-ḫu-ul-la-aš/an* (nom./acc.) in E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.* (n. 131), p. 137, No. 947, and *Pár-tù-ḫal-la[...]* in E. LAROCHE, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* II (= *RHA* 35 [1977]), Paris 1979, p. 195.

¹³⁷ *RIMA* II, text A.0.100.5, p. 171, line 14. Cf. above, p. 151.

¹³⁸ *RIMA* II, text A.0.100.5, p. 172, lines 18-19.

¹³⁹ *RIMA* II, text A.0.100.5, p. 172, lines 23-25.

Bēt-Zammāni's full political independence was largely compensated in this case by territorial gains and military backing.

A few years later, in 882 B.C., Ashurnasirpal II decided to renovate and to resettle the abandoned city of Tušḥa(n), where he received tribute from 'Ammī-ba'l, the ruler of Bēt-Zammāni¹⁴⁰. This event is chronologically posterior to the collecting of the tribute from the land Izalla¹⁴¹, especially from Aḥīrām of Bēt-Yaḥiri¹⁴², and it follows the reconquest of the territory ruled by the rebel Ḥulāya south and east of Tušḥa(n)¹⁴³. Also the successive rulers of Bēt-Yaḥiri, viz. Hadad-'immi, between 875 and 867 B.C., and Yiṭṭi'a, in 866 B.C., pay tribute to Ashurnasirpal II when the Assyrian army is passing through their country¹⁴⁴. Unfortunately, no additional information is available so far about this petty state, the founder and eponym of which bears a Westsemitic name, written *Yā'ir* in Hebrew and *Ygr* in Thamūdīc. It derives most likely from the verb *ḡāra*, the basic stem of which means in Arabic "to protect jealously". One can assume that Bēt-Yaḥiri was an Aramaean tribe, like its Semitic neighbours, but it does not seem to have caused any trouble to the Assyrians.

It appears instead that 'Ammī-ba'l's loyalty to Assyria was unpopular with the elders of Bēt-Zammāni, for in 879 he was assassinated in a plot led by a certain Bur-Rammān. Ashurnasirpal II intervened immediately to avenge the murder. He met no resistance. His duty to execute vengeance upon the rebels was satisfied by flying Bur-Rammān, for the king's wrath had been appeased by a lavish tribute and the addition of several elders' daughters to his harem. The fullest account of these events is engraved on the Kurkh Monolith, that was erected at Tušḥa:

¹⁴⁰ *RIMA* II, text A.O.101.1, p. 202, lines 2-12; p. 242-243, lines 6-39.

¹⁴¹ *RIMA* II, text A.O.101.1, p. 201, line 106.

¹⁴² *RIMA* II, text A.O.101.1, p. 203, lines 21-22; cf. M. LIVERANI, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 43-44.

¹⁴³ *RIMA* II, text A.O.101.1, p. 201, lines 106 ff. Cf. here above, p. 148.

¹⁴⁴ *RIMA* II, text A.O.101.1, p. 216, line 59; p. 219, line 94. For the name ^mdIM-'-me one can see ZADOK, *WSB*, p. 425 (58). The final sign *me* usually has the value *mī* in Neo-Assyrian, while the Neo- and Late Babylonian spelling *-me-e* may reflect a phonetic variant of *-mī* (with *ī > ē*); cf. *ibid.*, p. 153. In this interpretation, the name *Hadad/Adda-'immi* means "Hadad is with me", but one cannot categorically exclude the translation "Hadad is with him" (*-'immeḥ*), as proposed in *PNA* I/1, p. 47, all the more so as the cuneiform alphabet WA 25636, col. I-II, in the British Museum uses the sign *e* to indicate Aramaic *hē* (K. VOLK, 2nd Conference on Aramaic Argillary Texts, Tübingen, 18-20 March 1999). The name *It-ṭi'* is a hypocoristicon paralleled by *Ytyhw* on an Aramaic tablet from the Gōzān-Ḥarrān area and by Amorite proper names; cf. D. HOMÈS-FREDERICQ - P. GARELLI - E. LIPŃSKI, *Archives d'un centre provincial de l'Empire assyrien*, Bruxelles, forthcoming, No. 42, 6 with comments and further references.

“As for ‘Ammī-ba’l, son of Zammān, their elders rebelled and killed him. I marched to take revenge for ‘Ammī-ba’l. They were frightened by the splendour of my weapons (and) the immensity of my dominion and I received 40 harnessed chariots, equipment for crews (and) horses, 460 harness-trained horses, 2 talents of silver, 2 talents of gold, 100 talents of tin, 200 talents of bronze, 300 talents of iron, 1,000 bronze casseroles, 2,000 bronze receptacles, bowls, bronze containers, 1,000 linen garments with multi-coloured rim, dishes, chests, couches of ivory decorated with gold, the treasure of his palace, 2,000 oxen, 5,000 sheep, his sister with her rich dowry, the daughters of his elders with their rich dowries. I flayed Bur-Rammān, the guilty man, (and) draped his skin over the wall of Sinabu. I appointed ‘Ilān, his brother, to the position of sheikh. I imposed upon him as annual tribute 2 minas of gold, 13⁷ minas of silver, 1,000 sheep, 2,000 (homers) of barley. I regained possession of Sinabu (and) of Tīdu, fortresses which Shalmaneser (I), king of Assyria, a predecessor of mine, had garrisoned to face Nairi (but) which the Aramaeans had captured by force. Assyrian people, who in Nairi had held the fortresses of Assyria on which the Aramaeans have trampled, I resettled in their abandoned cities (and) houses, (and) I placed them in a peaceful abode. I uprooted 1,500 troops of the Aḥlamū-Aramaeans belonging to ‘Ammī-ba’l, son of Zammān, (and) brought (them) to Assyria”¹⁴⁵.

It is somewhat surprising that Ashurnasirpal II should then appoint ‘Ilān, Bur-Rammān’s brother, as sheikh (*nasīku*), unless both men were sons of ‘Ammī-ba’l. Another explanation of the sentence in question, proposed in *PNA* I/1, regards the suffix of “his brother” as referring not to Bur-Rammān, but to ‘Ammī-ba’l, mentioned earlier. This interpretation undoubtedly has its own merits. The allegedly guilty man, which is obviously treated as a scape-goat, bears the name ^m*Bur-Ra-ma-a-nu*, “Son of Rammān”, the Aramaean Storm-god Hadad designated by his epithet *Rammān*, “the Thunderer”¹⁴⁶. The importance of the cult of the Storm-god in Bēt-Zammānī appears already in the imprecation sealing the oath imposed on ‘Ammī-ba’l by Tukulti-Ninurta II¹⁴⁷. The particular use of the epithet *Rammān* appears in the Aramaic name of Tušḥa(n) attested much later as *Καρχα-Ρωμάν*¹⁴⁸ or *Castellum... Reman*¹⁴⁹,

¹⁴⁵ *RIMA* II, text A.0.101.19, p. 261, lines 85-96. Other inscriptions contain shorter reports on these events: *RIMA* II, p. 211, lines 118-125; p. 251-252, lines 109-118.

¹⁴⁶ ZADOK, *WSB*, p. 49-50; J.C. GREENFIELD, *The Aramean God Rammān / Rimmōn*, in *IEJ* 26 (1976), p. 195-198. This is so far the oldest Aramaean attestation of the epithet, but it seems to have escaped both authors. See also here below, p. 627-630.

¹⁴⁷ *RIMA* II, text A.0.100.5, p. 172, line 25.

¹⁴⁸ THEOPHYLACT SIMOCATTES, *Historiae* I, 13,4, in *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 64:25.

¹⁴⁹ AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *History* XVIII, 10, 1.

“Fortress of the Thunderer”¹⁵⁰. Instead, the name of ^m*I-la-a-nu* is composed of the common Semitic divine name *’Il* with the hypocoristic ending *-ān*.

Damdammusa is mentioned on the Kurkh Monolith among the Assyrian warehouse cities¹⁵¹, as if this town was already annexed by Ashurnasirpal II in 879 B.C. Still, it appears as “a fortified city of *’Ilān*” in 866 B.C.¹⁵², when Ashurnasirpal II penetrates the area of the *Ṭūr ‘Abdīn* again, after a campaign in the land *Qipān* and on the eastern banks of the Middle Euphrates. Moving then southwards and turning thereafter eastwards, he seems to have marched around *Karaça Dağ* and the southwestern part of the *Ṭūr ‘Abdīn* in order to cross the mountain range at *Izzetpaşa*, the pass of Mount *Amadān*, northwest of Mardin. After a small section which seems to be displaced¹⁵³, the annals report the conquest of *Damdammusa*, which had most likely been reoccupied by the Aramaeans, and the siege of *Amida*, the capital of *Bēt-Zammāni*¹⁵⁴. It appears clearly from these events that *’Ilān*, who had been appointed as *nasīku* by Ashurnasirpal II in 879, later refused to recognize the Assyrian suzerainty. The annals report these events as follows:

“I came out of the pass of Mount *Amadān* to *Barzaništun*. I approached *Damdammusa*, the fortified city of *’Ilān*, son of *Zammān*. I besieged the city. My warriors flew like bird(s) against them. I felled 600 of their combat troops with the sword (and) cut off their heads. I captured 400 of their soldiers alive. I brought out 3,000 captives from them. I took that city in hand for myself. I took the live soldiers (and) the heads to *Amida*, his royal city. I built a pile of heads before his gate. I impaled the live soldiers on stakes round about his city. I fought my way inside his gate (and) cut down his orchards. Moving on from *Amida* I entered the pass of Mount *Kašiyari* to *Allapsia* wherein none of the kings my fathers had ever set foot”.

It results from this account that Ashurnasirpal fought his way only through the outer defence wall of *Amida*, but did not manage to seize and sack the city. He then slaked his thirst for vengeance by attacking *Uda*, a fortified city of *Lapturi*, son of *Ṭupusi*¹⁵⁵. This expedition is the

¹⁵⁰ The Greek form *Rōman* probably results from a confusion with “Roman”. The somewhat older Latin spelling can instead be explained by a reduction of the short *a* > *e* in *Rammān*.

¹⁵¹ *RIMA* II, text A.O.101.19, p. 262, line 97. See also lines 101-102, where *Damdammusa* is indicated as the place where Ashurnasirpal II receives the tribute of the land *Šubrū*.

¹⁵² *RIMA* II, text A.O.101.1, p. 220, line 105.

¹⁵³ *RIMA* II, text A.O.101.1, p. 220, lines 102b-104a.

¹⁵⁴ *RIMA* II, text A.O.101.1, p. 220, lines 104-110.

¹⁵⁵ *RIMA* II, text A.O.101.1, p. 220, lines 110-113.

last recorded in the annalistic style, and there is no other mention of a later campaign led by Ashurnasirpal II in this region¹⁵⁶.

In 856 B.C., when Shalmaneser III proceeded to penetrate the heartland of Urartu, he set out from Til-Barsip and passed through Bēt-Zammānī, along the Upper Tigris¹⁵⁷. The continuous Assyrian presence in this area is confirmed by the erection of Shalmaneser III's stela at Kerh (Tušhan), in 852 B.C.¹⁵⁸, but Bēt-Zammānī is not mentioned until the *turtānu* Dayyān-Aššur initiates, in 832 B.C., a sequence of five campaigns in the region of Urartu. The brief narrative preserved for the year 832 indicates that Dayyān-Aššur led the Assyrian army from Bēt-Zammānī to the Arsanias river¹⁵⁹, where a pitched battle was fought with Sarduri I, founder of the new Urartian dynasty. Assyria claimed a victory and it would appear that Bēt-Zammānī was annexed in the same year or, at least, in the same period.

The title of "governor of Nairi, Amida, Sinabu, etc.", borne by Ninurta-kibsi-ušur, eponym in 838¹⁶⁰, does not mean that Bēt-Zammānī was already in 838 reduced to an Assyrian province. In fact, the inscription does not mention his office of eponym¹⁶¹ and it may postdate 838 B.C. On the other hand, ^{uru}A-mi-di is included in the list of the twenty-seven cities which have assisted Aššur-da'in-apla, a son of Shalmaneser III, in the rebellion that the latter had instigated in 827 B.C.¹⁶². This rebellion was not suppressed until several years later, in 820 B.C., by Shamshi-Adad V (823-811 B.C.), another son of Shalmaneser III. During Adad-nirari III's reign (810-783 B.C.), the title of "governor of Nairi, Amida, Sinabu, etc." occurs in the inscription of Marduk-

¹⁵⁶ The mention of a campaign "to Urartu" in some display texts (*RIMA* II, text A.0.101.23, p. 275, line 9; text A.0.101.30, p. 289, line 14) corresponds to an expedition "to the interior of Nērbu" in many parallel passages. This is a too tenuous basis to assume a later Urartian campaign through the Tūr 'Abdīn, as suggested by W. DE FILIPPI, *The Royal Inscriptions of Aššur-našir-apli II (883-859 B.C.): A Study of the Chronology of the Calah Inscriptions together with an Edition of Two of These Texts* (Assur 1/7), Malibu 1977.

¹⁵⁷ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.2, p. 19, lines 40b-41.

¹⁵⁸ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.2, p. 11-24.

¹⁵⁹ *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.14, p. 69, lines 141b-143; text A.0.102.16, p. 81, lines 228'-231'.

¹⁶⁰ MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 111.

¹⁶¹ The inscription is engraved on Ashur Stela 47. The stelae from Ashur do not mention any holding of eponymate and therefore do not seem to have any particular relation to the year in which an Assyrian dignitary held that office; cf. MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 11-12.

¹⁶² BM. 118892; cf. K. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 100-101.

išmānni, eponym in 799 B.C.¹⁶³. Other governors are known in the 8th century B.C.: Aplāya, governor of Zamua, Amida, and Ashur, eponym in 768 B.C.¹⁶⁴; Ṭāb-bēlu, governor of Amida or Bēt-Zammāni, eponym in 762 B.C.¹⁶⁵; Marduk-bēlu-ušur, governor of [uruA-mi]-di, eponym in 726 B.C.¹⁶⁶; Našur-bēl, governor of Amida or Sinabu, eponym in 705 B.C.¹⁶⁷. In the 7th century, Bēl-iqbi is known to have been governor of *Bēt-* or *Māt-Za-man* and of Tušṣan¹⁶⁸, and eponym in the post-canonical period, while Bayadi-Il bears the title of governor of Amida¹⁶⁹. Other Neo-Assyrian documents refer to the governor or to officials in the province of Bēt-Zammāni, without naming them¹⁷⁰.

There seems to be little doubt, therefore, that Bēt-Zammāni was integrated into the Neo-Assyrian Empire in the last third of the 9th century B.C. However, the population of this area remained predominantly Aramaean during centuries. The *Bny Zmn*, “Sons of Zammān”, are mentioned as an ethnic group in an Aramaic inscription from the 7th century B.C., found at Tell Šuyūḥ Fawqānī¹⁷¹, and *Bēt-Zammāni* continued to be used as the name of an Assyrian province¹⁷². The Ṭūr ‘Abdīn remained until our days a bastion of the speakers of Aramaic.

¹⁶³ MILLARD, *Eponyms*, p. 100.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41 and 123; SAA XII, 13, r. 12e.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48 and 109.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹⁶⁹ SAA VII, 136, r. 7'-8'.

¹⁷⁰ SAA VII, 340, r. 5'; SAA XI, 15, III, 12; 136, I, 3'.

¹⁷¹ The Aramaic clay tablet TSF 95 F 204 I/3, line 3, published by F.M. FALES - L. BACHELOT - E. ATTARDO, *An Aramaic Tablet from Tell Shioukh Fawqani (Syria)*, in *Semitica* 46 (1996), p. 81-121 and Pl. 9-10 (see p. 89).

¹⁷² Besides the title of the governors, see e.g. SAA V, 14, 10; 17, 8; 47, 8; 48, r. 5; 79, r. 6; SAA VI, 158, 5; SAA XI, 15, III, 12; 136, I, 3'; SAA XII, 13, r. 12'; 89, 1'.