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## 2. BABYLONIA

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### 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

This section treats some aspects of the history of the Aramaeans in Babylonia during roughly the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. Section 2 presents the evidence for a clear distinction between Chaldaeans and Aramaeans in the Mesopotamian view. Section 3 gives references for the general names for Aramaeans in Babylonia, i.e., *Aramu*, *aḥlamû*, and *Sûtû*. Section 4 provides a gazetteer of Aramaean tribes in Babylonia explicitly designated as “Aramaean” in the cuneiform texts. Section 5 deals with the evidence for the lifestyle of the Aramaeans in Babylonia.

Instead of merely summarizing the previous secondary literature it seemed more useful to focus on the primary cuneiform evidence itself because many texts have been published or re-published during recent decades.<sup>2</sup>

When the Aramaeans spread to Babylonia during the 1st millennium B.C. the Aramaic script and language came into contact with Babylonian and cuneiform writing, the native language and script of Mesopotamia. Cuneiform texts provide much information on this contact between both languages and scripts: loan words and Aramaic names in Babylonian cuneiform texts, alphabetic influence on the cuneiform orthography, references for the use of the Aramaic language and script in cuneiform texts, representations of Aramaic scribes in reliefs, Aramaic epigraphs on cuneiform tablets, and so on. All this is beyond the scope of this article.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This section has been written in the frame of the *Sonderforschungsbereich* “Differenz und Integration. Wechselwirkungen zwischen nomadischen und sesshaften Lebensformen in Zivilisationen der Alten Welt” of the universities of Leipzig and Halle; see [www.nomadised.de](http://www.nomadised.de). I thank Marco Stockhusen, who collected most of the references and secondary literature used in this section, corrected the manuscript, and arranged the bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Excellent earlier studies on the Aramaeans include Brinkman 1968: 260–287; Dietrich 1970; Lipiński 2000a.

<sup>3</sup> See instead the studies of von Soden 1966; id. 1968; id. 1977; Zadok 1978; Garelli 1982; Greenfield 1982; Tadmor 1982; id. 1991; Streck 1998–2001a; id. 2001; id. 2011; Abraham – Sokoloff 2011.

## 2. Chaldaeans, Aramaeans, and Babylonians

The name “Kaldu” is first attested in the inscriptions of the Assyrian king Aššurnasirpal II for the year 878 B.C.: *pulḫāt bēlūtija adi<sup>kur</sup>Karduniaš iksat šurībāt kakkija<sup>kur</sup>Kaldu usaḫḫip* RIMA 2, 214: 23–24 “Fear of my dominion reached as far as Karduniaš. The terror of my weapons overwhelmed Kaldu.” Kaldu and Karduniaš are here synonyms for Babylonia.

Chaldaeans are neatly distinguished from Aramaeans and Babylonians in the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (cf. Frame 1992: 33): UN<sup>meš</sup> *kurURU<sup>kur</sup>Kal-du<sup>kur</sup>A-ra/ru-mu* KUR *tam-tim* Borger 1996: 40: 97f. (translation *ibid.*: 233) “the people of Akkad, Kaldu, Aramu, the Sealand”; see also *kurURU<sup>kur</sup>Kal-du<sup>kur</sup>A-ru-mu* A. Fuchs *apud* Borger 1996: 279: III. Likewise, an extispicy report from the period between 652 and 648 B.C. mentions *lu-ū URI<sup>ki</sup> lu-ú<sup>lu</sup>Kal-da-a-a lu-ú<sup>lu</sup>Aḫ-lam-i* SAA 4, 280 r. II f. “either Akkadians or Chaldaeans or Aḫlamû.”

Other texts, too, distinguish between Chaldaeans and Aramaeans. Šamši-Adad V fought against Marduk-balāssu-iqbi from Babylonia “who had mustered the lands Chaldaeia (<sup>kur</sup>*Kal-du*), Elam, Namri, and Aramu (<sup>kur</sup>*A-ru-mu*)” RIMA 3, 188: 38f. Tiglath-Pileser III receives tribute from “the Aramaean and Chaldaean princes” (*malkī<sup>lu</sup>A-ri-me ù<sup>kur</sup>Kal-di*) Tadmor 1994: 172 Summ. 7: 24'. A broken passage in an inscription of Sargon II refers to the tribute of Aramu, and the two Chaldaean tribes Bīt-Amūkāni and Bīt-Dakūri.<sup>4</sup> See also Fuchs 1994: 171 Ann. 385: “when I defeated the Kaldu and the Aramu” and Fuchs 1994: 233 Prunk 149f: “when I defeated the land of Bīt-Yakīn (another Chaldaean tribe) and all the Aramaeans.” The letter SAA 17, 22: 6–18, written by Bēl-iqīša to Sargon (dated 710 B.C.), mentions Bīt-Dakūri, Bīt-Yakīn, and the Aramaeans, who have turned against the Assyrians. Note especially l. 14f: *lu<sup>ki</sup>zu-ú<sup>meš</sup> šá<sup>uruÉ-m</sup>Da-ku-ri lu<sup>ku</sup>A-ra-mu ù<sup>ERIN<sup>meš</sup></sup> šá<sup>uruÉ-m</sup>Da-ku-ri* “the charioteers of Bīt-Dakūri, the Arameans, and the troops of Bīt-Dakūri.”

A passage in Sennacherib inscriptions distinguishes “Urbi, Aramu, Chaldaeans in Uruk, Nippur, Kiš, Ḥursagkalama, Kutha, Sippar” (Frahm 1997: 51 T 4: 10; cf. Isimu 6, 139: 52).<sup>5</sup> In another inscription Sennacherib lists Babylonian cities and the Chaldaean tribes Bīt-Yakīn, Bīt-Amūkāni,

<sup>4</sup> Fuchs 1994: 155 Ann. 315f.

<sup>5</sup> See Frahm 1997: 104f, for a discussion of the meaning of Urbi: “Arabs” or a kind of troops? He concludes that Urbi possibly are members of a specific Arab tribe who served as soldiers in different armies west and east of the Syro-Arabian desert. See also Retzlaff 2003: 155–157; Frahm 2003: 150; Bagg 2010: 206f.

Bīt-Ašilāni, Bīt-Ša'alli, and Bīt-Dakūri and summarizes them as "all the Chaldaeans" (<sup>lú</sup>*Kal-di* Isimu 6, 135: 10f), followed by 17 Aramaean tribes summarized as "Aramaeans" (<sup>lú</sup>*A-ra-mu* ib. 12–14).

An astrological report from 678 (SAA 8, 316 r. 1) distinguishes GAL<sup>meš</sup> šá <sup>lú</sup>*Ka-al-du lu-ú* <sup>lú</sup>*A-ra-mu* "the nobles of the Chaldaeans or Aramaeans." Sennacherib deports "the people of the land of Kaldu, of the Aramaeans (KUR *Kal-di* <sup>lú</sup>*A-ra-me*)"<sup>6</sup> and of different countries (Frahm 1997: 55 T 4: 69). In a letter dated to the revolt of Šamaš-šum-ukīn (652–648 B.C.), Enlil-bāni and the Nippurians accuse Aramaeans and Chaldaeans (<sup>lú</sup>*A-ra-ṣmu* ṽ <sup>lú</sup>*Kal-du*) of misinforming the king and making peace with the enemy (SAA 18, 199: 11–14).<sup>7</sup>

The letter SAA 17, 132: 11–13 mentions deserters, distinguishing between a Chaldaean and two members of the Aramaean tribe Ḫindaru (see section 4.13, below): "Ilu-bāni, [a Ch]aldaean ([<sup>lú</sup>*K*]al-da-a-a), Amēl-Enlil, [a Ḫi]ndaraean ([<sup>lú</sup>*Ḫi*]-in-dar-a-a), Il-paltī, [a Ḫi]ndaraean ([<sup>lú</sup>*Ḫi*]-in-dar-a-a)."

Chaldaean tribal names are composed of the element *bītu* "house" + a second element: Bīt-Amūkāni, Bīt-Dakūri, Bīt-Yakīn, Bīt-Ša'alli, Bīt-Šilāni. Aramaic tribal names never show the element *bītu*. The chieftain of a Chaldaean tribe is called *ra'su* (plural *ra'sānu*), whereas the sheikh of an Aramaean tribe is called *nasīku*, a word rarely used for Chaldaeans (OIP 2, 47 iv 25, see Edzard 1976–1980: 294). Chaldaean personal names have the form PN *mār* TRIBAL NAME, e.g., *Ea-zēra-qīša mār Amūkānu*, whereas Aramaean personal names have the form PN + TRIBAL NAME + nisba, e.g., <sup>m</sup>*Na-tè-ru* <sup>lú</sup>*Ru-ú-a-a* (Brinkman 1968: 267 n. 1716; id. 1984: 13).

These facts demonstrate that in the Mesopotamian view Chaldaeans and Aramaeans were of different stock.<sup>8</sup> Whether they are also of different ethno-linguistic origin in a modern definition is unclear:<sup>9</sup> There is neither a clear indication for an Aramaean affiliation of the Chaldaeans, nor for a third Semitic group in Mesopotamia other than Babylonians and Aramaeans. The most likely scenario is that Chaldaeans and Aramaeans belonged to the same large Aramaean branch but, within this branch, to different tribal groups that infiltrated Mesopotamia at different periods.

<sup>6</sup> Frahm 1997: 60 translates slightly differently: "Ich deportierte Einwohner des Landes Kaldu, Aramäer . . ." In my view, *tenēšēt māt Kaldi Arame* is a construction with two genitives (*māt Kaldi* and *Arame*), both dependant on *tenēšēt*.

<sup>7</sup> SAA 18, 157, dated to the same period, mentions Arameans in a broken context (l. r. 10).

<sup>8</sup> Brinkman 1968: 266f.

<sup>9</sup> Edzard 1976–1980: 291f and Lipiński 2000a: 416–422.

In the following, we leave out the Chaldeans and restrict ourselves to the Aramaeans in the Mesopotamian definition.

### 3. General Names for Aramaeans in Babylonia

#### 3.1 Aramu

The name *Aramu* first appears in the inscriptions of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.): 28-*šu arki* <sup>kur</sup>*Aḫlamê* <sup>kur</sup>*Ar-ma-a-ia*<sup>meš</sup> <sup>id</sup>*Puratta* MU <sup>1kám</sup>*šinišu lū ētebir ištu* <sup>uru</sup>*Tadmar ša* <sup>kur</sup>*Amurri* <sup>uru</sup>*Anat ša* <sup>kur</sup>*Suḫi u adi* <sup>uru</sup>*Rapiqi ša* <sup>kur</sup>*Karduniaš dabdâšunu lū aškun šallassunu maršissunu ana ālija Aššur ubla* RIMA 2, 43: 34–36 “I really crossed the Euphrates 28 times, twice per year, in pursuit of the Aḫlamû-Aramaeans. I brought about their defeat from the city Tadmar of the land Amurru, Anat of the land Suḫu, as far as the city Rapiqu of Karduniaš. I brought their booty (and) possessions to my city Aššur.” Although the geographical focus of the passage lies in the middle Euphrates area and the Syrian desert, Babylonia under its Kassite name Karduniaš is already mentioned as homeland of the Arameans.

Tiglath-Pileser III conquers 36 Aramaean tribes in Babylonia mentioned by name.<sup>10</sup> He summarizes the list of tribes as “all the Aramaeans (<sup>lú</sup>*A-ru-mu*) by the banks of the Tigris Euphrates and Surappi rivers, up to the Uqnû river by the shore of the Lower Sea. . . . I annexed the Aramaeans (<sup>lú</sup>*A-ru-mu*)” Tadmor 1994: 158–160 Summ. 7: 5–10. Similar but shorter lists of tribes explicitly called “Aramaean” are found in Frahm 1997–1998: 401 = Isimu 6, 135: 12–14 (18 tribes), Tadmor 1994: 194 Summ. 11: 5–8 (14 tribes), 130 Summ. 2: 4–9 (10 tribes), 42 Ann. 9: 6f (6 tribes), 122 Summ. 1: 5f (3 tribes), 12f (3 tribes), 150 Summ. 6: 5f (2 tribes including KUR *Lab-du-di*), 204 Summ. 14: 1' (only 1 tribe partly preserved).

The terms “Aram” or “Aramaean” frequently occur in the letters of the governor’s archive from Nippur.<sup>11</sup> The letter Cole 1996a: no. 4: 23 asks whether certain houses are “in Nippu[r] or in Aram (*A-ram*l).” According to no. 18: 8, the writers “used to write to the Arameans (<sup>lú</sup>*A-ram*),” who informed them about petty dealers selling plunder in Uruk. No. 96: 25 tells of farmers “who have come from Aram (<sup>lú</sup>*A-ram*).” The “flock of the Arameans (<sup>lú</sup>*A-ra-mu*)” occurs in no. 47: 5. See also <sup>lú</sup>*A-ram*<sup>meš</sup> in broken context in no. 15: 8, 62: 8 (?), and 105: 6. The letter no. 104: 5 mentions <sup>lú</sup>É *A-ram*l or LÚ É *A-ram*l, i.e., (*amíl*) *Bit-Aram*, either a general

<sup>10</sup> See the lists in Brinkman 1968: 270 and Frahm 2003: 153.

<sup>11</sup> Cole 1996a.

designation for “Aramaeans” or the name of a specific Aramaean tribe or a toponym in the expression “man/people of Bīt-Aram.”<sup>12</sup>

Assyrian royal inscriptions and letters from Babylonia mention the Aramaeans in the context of Sargon II's campaigns against the rebellious Babylonian king Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodachbaladan) in 710 B.C.:<sup>13</sup> *si-ti-it* <sup>lu</sup>*A-ra-me ek-šu-te a-ši-bu-ut na-gi-šú-nu šá* UGU <sup>md</sup>MES-A-ĀŠ! *ù!* <sup>m!</sup> *Šu-túr-dNa-ḥu-un-di TE-su-nu id-du-ma* <sup>id</sup>*Uq-nu-ú e-ḥu-zu šu-bat ru-uq!-ti da-ḫád!-[me]-šú-nu [a]-bu-bi-iš as-pu-un-ma* GIŠ.NÍG.TUKU<sup>14</sup> *tuk-lat-su-nu* <sup>giš</sup>KI[RI<sub>6</sub>]<sup>meš</sup>-*ti [b]al-ti na-gi-šú-nu ak-kis-ma* *ù* *ḫi-ḫi-ra-te-šu-nu um-ma!-ni* *ú-šá-kil* *a-na* <sup>id</sup>*Uq-né-e a-šar ta-ap-ze-er-ti-šú-nu* <sup>lu</sup>*[qu-r]a-di-ia ú-ma-ḫi-er!-ma* *ḫi-ḫi-ra-te-šu-nu* <sup>u!</sup>*im-ḫaš-šu-ma* UN<sup>meš</sup> *a-di mar-ši-ḫi-ḫi-šú-nu iš-lul-ú-ni* Fuchs 1994: 148f Ann. 288b–291: “The remainder of the rebellious Aramaeans who lived in their district (i.e., in Gambūlu), who had listened to Marduk-apla-iddina and Šutur-Naḫḫundi and had sought refuge at the Uqnû, a distant territory—I destroyed their settlements like a flood and cut down the date palms, their support, (and) the groves, the pride of their district, and f[ed] my troops with (the grain of) their granaries. I sent my [warr]iors to the Uqnû River, where they were concealed. They defeated t[he]m and carried off their people together with their property.” See also “all the Aramaeans (*nagab* <sup>lu</sup>*A-ra/re-me*) living at the shore of the Tigris, the Surappu and the Uqnû,” Fuchs 1994: 252 S2:10f and 256 S3: 13f and cf. the parallel references Fuchs 1994: 250 S1: 12–15, 273 S5: 19–21, and 77 XIV: 23f, which also refer to the Sutians (section 3.3, below).

In another passage in the inscriptions of Sargon II the designations *Aramu* and *Sūtû* (cf. section 3.3, below) are used side by side: *i-na* <sup>kur</sup>*ma-ad-bar šá-a-tú* <sup>lu</sup>*A-ra-me* <sup>lu</sup>*Su-ti-i a-ši-bu-ut kuš-ta-ri* . . . *šu-bat-sun id-du-ma* Iraq 16, 192: 57–60 “In that desert country Aramaeans, Sutians, tent-dwellers . . . had pitched their dwellings”; cf. also <sup>lu</sup>*A-ra-me*, *ibid.*: 70.

A letter written by Bēl-iqīša to the Assyrian king Sargon II, dated 710, reports that the Chaldaean Marduk-apla-iddina (Merodachbaladan) is doing repair work in the Babylonian city of Larak (situated in Bīt-Amūkāni) “and is settling Ḫašīnu, son of Yašumu, with his family and his Arameans there” (<sup>m</sup>*ḫa-si-ḫi-ni* DUMU <sup>m</sup>*Ia-a-šu-mu a-di* <sup>lu</sup>*qin-ni-šú* *ù* <sup>lu</sup>*A-ra-mi-šú i-na* ŠĀ-*bi ú-šeš-šeb* SAA 17, 22 r. 7f). Ḫašīnu and Yašumu have West

<sup>12</sup> See the commentary in Cole 1996a: 214.

<sup>13</sup> See Fuchs – Parpola 2001: XIX for the behavior of different Aramaean tribes toward Marduk-apla-iddina II. The Puqūdu and other tribes supported him, the Gambūlu did not.

<sup>14</sup> Variant of <sup>giš</sup>GIŠIMMAR.

Semitic, probably Aramaic names,<sup>15</sup> and are likely Aramaeans. Ḥasīnu seems to be a tribal leader of the Aramaeans; “his Aramaeans” means Aramaeans under his control or following him.<sup>16</sup> In the letter SAA 17, 140 Nabû-ušallim advises the Assyrian king to deport a group of Aramaeans (ll. 4, 6) who came from the region of Uruk and settled on the shore of the channel of Marduk-apla-iddina II. (probably in Bīt-Yakīn) because “they are not reliable” (*la-a ki-né-e šú-nu*). [1]<sup>17</sup>A-*ra-mi* are mentioned together with the king of Elam, the city of Dēr, and the Aramaic tribe Gambūlu in the fragmentary letter SAA 17, 176: 6’.

Sennacherib designates the following 17 tribes as “unsubmissive Aramaeans” (<sup>16</sup>A-*ra-mu la kan-šu*) subdued by him (Frahm 1997: 51 T 4: 12f; Isimu 6, 135: 12–14; cf. also the summary in Isimu 6, 140: 55–56): on the Tigris, the Tu’*mūna*, Riḥiḥu, Yadaqu, Ubūdu, Kiprē, Malīḥu; on the Surappu, the Gurūmu, Ubūlu, Damūnu, Gambūlu, Ḥindaru, Ru’ūya; on the Euphrates, the Ḥamrānu, Ḥagarānu, Nabātu, Li’ta’u. See Frahm 2003: 153 for a list of all tribes mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib together with their locations on the different rivers.<sup>17</sup> The Aramaeans (<sup>16</sup>A-*ra-me*) are also found among his enemies in Babylonia in the text Frahm 1997: 131 T 62: 41’.

According to Zadok 1985a: 65 n. 238, all people designated by the nisba *Ar(a)māya* in Neo-Assyrian letters were probably Aramaeans from Babylonia.

For other references of the name “Aramu” in relation to Babylonia, see section 2, above.

### 3.2 aḥlamû

The word *aḥlamû* was last treated by Herles 2007.<sup>18</sup> This word is attested since the Old Babylonian period, first as a designation of Amorites<sup>19</sup> and later of Aramaeans. Note that, according to Cole 1996b: 24 n. 2, “members

<sup>15</sup> See for the latter name Frahm 2000. Contra Jas 2000, the second sign in the first name is not [š]i, see the collation in SAA 17, 213, and the name is not Akkadian.

<sup>16</sup> <sup>16</sup>A-*ra-m[u]* are also mentioned in broken context in SAA 17, 25 r. 2’, another letter of Bēl-iqīša.

<sup>17</sup> This list also contains the tribes mentioned by name but not explicitly called Aramaean in the inscriptions of Sargon II.

<sup>18</sup> Herles 2007 does not take into account the references in SAA 3, 4, 8, 10, and 18 and the reference in OIP 114, 109. For the word *aḥlamû*, see also Postgate 1981: 48–50; Zadok 1991: 104–106; Dion 1997: 16f with n. 10f.

<sup>19</sup> Herles 2007: 320–322, 325.

of the tribe called Ḫīrānu are identified as Aḫlamû in the Kassite period (PBS 2/2 114) and as Arameans in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III.<sup>20</sup> In the Assyrian royal inscriptions the word *aḫlamû* and the name *Aramu* are sometimes combined to form a double designation for Aramaeans.<sup>21</sup> Herles concludes that *aḫlamû* is an appellative roughly meaning “nomad, barbarian”.<sup>22</sup>

Tiglath-Pileser III crossed the Zāb river “to subdue the *aḫlamû*-Akkadians (<sup>lú</sup>*aḫ-la-am Ak-ka-<di>*) (Tadmor 1994: 64 Ann. 19\*: 13). This unique double designation probably stands for Aramaeans east of the Tigris.<sup>23</sup> In the next line the Aramaeans (<sup>lú</sup>*A-ru-mu*) are mentioned.

In a letter from the governor’s archive from Nippur, it is said “No <sup>lú</sup>*aḫ-la-mu-ú* exists” (Cole 1996a: no. 109: 17f).

In the inscriptions of Sargon II the *aḫlamû*, who lived in southern Babylonia and supported the Babylonian king Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodachbaladan) in 710 B.C., are mentioned: <sup>lú</sup>*aḫ-la-me-e ṣa-ab EDIN a-li-kut i-de-e-šu* “*aḫlamû*, desert-folk who went at his side” (Iraq 16, 186: 47f).

Sennacherib deports the <sup>lú</sup>*aḫ-la-me-e lúsu-ti-i* “The Sutilian *aḫlamû*” (OIP 2, 77: 13).

A letter from Babylon to Esarhaddon mentions Aḫlamite women (<sup>mi</sup>*Aḫ-la-mi-tú*) together with women from Elam and Tabal (SAA 18, 158: 5).

### 3.3 Sūtû

In the Old Babylonian period, *Sūtû* was the name of an Amorite tribe.<sup>24</sup> Later, in the second half of the 2nd millennium and in the 1st millennium B.C., the name was apparently used as an archaizing designation for different nomads.<sup>25</sup> Brinkman briefly treats the evidence for the early 1st millennium B.C. and concludes that the name “Sutians” usually occurs in contexts where Aramaeans are also mentioned and might designate the more mobile Aramaean population.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> For the Ḫīrānu tribe, see section 4.14, below.

<sup>21</sup> Herles 2007: 330, 333.

<sup>22</sup> Herles 2007: 337–339.

<sup>23</sup> Tadmor 1994: 64 n. 13 and Herles 2007: 334f.

<sup>24</sup> Kärger – Minx 2012.

<sup>25</sup> Fuchs 1994: 459.

<sup>26</sup> Brinkman 1968: 285–287.



Sargon II uses the name in connection with the Aramaeans living at the Tigris, at the Surappu<sup>27</sup> River east of the Tigris, at the Uqnû<sup>28</sup> River, and the nomads in Yadburu:<sup>29</sup> “all the Aramaeans (*nagab* <sup>lú</sup>*A-ra/re-me*) living at the shore of the Tigris, the Surappu and the Uqnû, all the Sutians (*gi-mir* <sup>lú</sup>*Su-ti-i/-te-e*), steppe-folk (*šāb šēri*) of the land of Yadburu,” Fuchs 1994: 250 S1: 12–15, 273 S5: 19–21, and 77 XIV: 23f. However, the reference leaves open whether *Aramu* and *Sūtû* are different names for the same population or designate different populations in different regions (e.g., *Aramu* the settled population and *Sūtû* the nomads?). Cf. the parallel references Fuchs 1994: 252 S2: 10f and 256 S3: 13f, which refer only to “Aramaeans” (see section 3.1, above), and Or NS 68, 37: 32 (Tang-i Var), which only has “Sutians”. See also section 3.1, above, for Iraq 16, 192: 57–60, where *Aramu* and *Sūtû* are used side by side.

Sargon II's annals designate three Aramaean tribes mentioned by name as “Sutians” and “steppe-folk”: <sup>lú</sup>*Ru-u<sub>8</sub>-a* <sup>lú</sup>*Ḫi-in-da-ru* <sup>lú.kur</sup>*Ia-ad-bu-ru* <sup>lú</sup>*Pu-qu-du gi-mir* <sup>lú</sup>*Su-ti-i/-te-e* ÉRIN<sup>mes</sup> EDIN “The Ru’ūya, the Ḫindaru, the people of the land of Yadburu, and the Puqūdu, all the Sutians, steppe-folk,” Fuchs 1994: 136f Ann. 258f. More similar to the above-mentioned passage Fuchs 1994: 250 S1: 12–15, 273 S5: 19–21, and 77 XIV: 23f, is Fuchs 1994: 185 Prunk 18–20 and 265 S4: 70–78, in which the designation “Sutians” seems to refer specifically to the population of Yadburu, whereas the Aramaean tribes at the shores of the Tigris, the Surappu, and the Uqnû are mentioned by name: “at the shore of the Tigris the Itū’u, the Rupū’u, the Ḫaṭallu, the Labdudu, the Ḫamrānu, the Ubūlu, the Ru’ūya, the Li’tayu, at the shore of the Surappu and the Uqnû the Gambūlu, the Ḫindaru, the Puqūdu, the Sutians (<sup>lú</sup>*Su-te-e*), steppe-folk (*šāb šēri*) of the land of Yadburu, as many as there exist.” In another passage, the Aramaean tribe Maršānu and the Sutians are mentioned side by side (Fuchs 1994: 228 Prunk 130).

Elsewhere in his inscriptions Sargon II accuses the Sutians of having taken away the fields of the Babylonian cities Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, and Borsippa (Fuchs 1994: 169 Ann. 375 and 229 Prunk 135f; Iraq 16, 192: 68–71; note [<sup>lú</sup>*Su-t*]i-i *ša-ab* EDIN “Sutians, steppe-folk”, *ibid.*: 71).

<sup>27</sup> For a possible location, see Fuchs 1994: 459: a tributary of the Uqnû River in the region of Gambūlu, perhaps identical with the Rūdāne-ye Čangüle.

<sup>28</sup> According to Fuchs 1994: 466f, the Uqnû was not the Kerḫa but the eastern arm of the Tigris.

<sup>29</sup> For the location at the border of Elam, see Fuchs 1994: 439.

Sennacherib notes among his enemies in Babylonia who supported Marduk-apla-iddina II the Sutilian (<sup>lu</sup>*Su-tu-ú*) Nergal-nāšir (Frahm 1997: 43 T 1: 8).

#### 4. *Aramaean Tribes in Babylonia*

The following list contains only the 41 tribes explicitly called “Aramaean” by either Tiglath-Pileser III (Tadmor 1994: 158–160 Summ. 7: 5–10; Lipiński 2000a: 441f) and/or Sennacherib (Frahm 1997: 51 T 4: 12f) (see section 3.1, above), including the Puqūdu tribe designated as “Aramaean” in a letter (Cole 1996a: no. 27; see section 4.27, below). More than 40 tribes mentioned in different texts but not explicitly designated “Aramaean” are not listed, although many of them are probably Aramaean as well (see Zadok 1985a: 70–74).<sup>30</sup>

Under each tribe the most important literature,<sup>31</sup> with a focus on more recent works, is mentioned, followed by a remark on when the tribe was designated as Aramaean, details on the geographical distribution of the tribe, and a collection of new references or new editions of old references.

##### 4.1 *Adilê*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270, 272. Brinkman 1984: 41. Zadok 1985a: 75 no. 4. Lipiński 2000a: 452.

Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

##### 4.2 *Amātu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270, 272. Zadok 1985b: 22. Lipiński 2000a: 468–470.

Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: The city of Amatu lies on the Uqnû (Brinkman 1968: 272).

“Somewhere between the Wādī Ṭartār and the Euphrates, east of the Sūḥu territory” (period of Ninurtra-kudurrī-ušur, about 770/760 B.C.,

<sup>30</sup> Zadok 1985a: 68f also includes the Labdudu (see for them also Zadok 1985a: 66, Brinkman 1980–1983, and Lipiński 2000a: 440f), the Nūḥānu (see for them also Weippert 1998–2001), and the Zamê among the Aramaean tribes, although they are never explicitly designated as Aramaeans. Lipiński 2000a: 470–472 deals with the Naqri and Tanê tribes; see also *ibid.*: 479–481 for the Ḥallatu and Yašilu tribes, and *ibid.*: 482–485 for the Gurasimmu, Udda, Ubayanātu, Daḥḥā, and Yaqimānu tribes. According to Frame 1992: 47, the Gurasimmu were likely an Aramaean tribe.

<sup>31</sup> See now also Zadok 2013: 271–299.

see Lipiński 2000a: 469). “In consequence of the defeat inflicted upon the ‘Ammatu tribesmen by Ninurta-kudurri-ušur . . . the tribe migrated to the southeast and crossed the Tigris” Lipiński 2000a: 469.

#### 4.3 *Amlātu*<sup>32</sup>

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270, 272. Cole 1996b: 70. Lipiński 2000a: 462f. Lipiński 2003: 345f.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

#### 4.4 *Damūnu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 232, 270f, 276. Brinkman 1984: 20 n. 40. Zadok 1985b: 116. Lipiński 2000a: 463. Stockhusen 2013.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimä 135: 13, on the Surappu).

Geography: Near the Lower Zāb (Tiglat-Pileser III, see Brinkman 1968: 276). On the Uqnû southeast of Puqūdu (Fuchs 1994: 423).

References: SAA 15, 153: 8'. SAA 17, 96: 12; 97: 4'; 99: 16'; 120: 33e: *Da-mu-na-a-a*. SAA 18, 113: 4' and 9': “The Zanakians take wives from among the Damunaeans and Gambulaeans.”

#### 4.5 *Da* [...]

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

#### 4.6 *Dunānu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270, 272. Brinkman 1984: 41. Zadok 1985a: 76 no. 96. Zadok 1985b: 64. Lipiński 2000a: 458f. Cole 1996b: 26 with nn. 23 and 70.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: Central Babylonia (?; see Zadok 1985a: 64). “To the north and the northwest of Nippur” (Lipiński 2000a: 458).

References: See Cole 1996a: index p. 442. See also section 4.7 for the campaigns of Assurbanipal against Dunānu and Gambūlu and add the reference Or NS 74, 367: 11 (restored).

<sup>32</sup> Note that Zadok 1985b: 22 has a cross-reference from Amlat to Ammat that does not belong here because the tribe is spelled <sup>lu</sup>*Am-la-tu*.

#### 4.7 *Gambūlu*

**Bibliography:** Unger 1957–1971. Brinkman 1984: 13 and see index, *ibid.* 153. Zadok 1985a: 66. Zadok 1985b: 137. Frame 1992: 44f, 47f and see the index, *ibid.*: 355. Fuchs 1994: 423. Cole 1996b: index, p. 132. Lipiński 2000a: 472–479. Dietrich 2003: XXVif. Radner 2006–2008a: 65 no. 74. Kleber 2008: 312. Jursa 2010: 91, 95 with n. 508.

**Designated as “Aramaean”:** Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 13, on the Surappu).

**Geography:** Southern Mesopotamia between Ur and Uqnû, capital created by Sargon II Dūr-Abī-ḥarâ<sup>33</sup> = Dūr-Nabû, indigenous capital Ša-pī-Bēl; in the Arabian period the region between Wasit and Kufa on the Tigris had similar names (Unger 1957–1971). “Living in a marshy region (perhaps centered around modern Wasit) near the Elamite border” (Brinkman 1984: 13). In Yadburu along the Elamite border (Zadok 1985a: 66). Southeastern Babylonia (Zadok 1985b: 137). “Located in the Babylonian-Elamite border region” (Frame 1992: 45). On the Uqnû River northwest of Ḥindaru (Fuchs 1994: 423). The province of Gambūlu, established by Sargon II, including the region of the tribe Gambūlu, the land of Yadburu, and other Aramaic tribal regions, extends from the Uqnû to Elam (Radner 2006–2008a: 65 no. 74).

**References:** Or NS 68, 37: 32 (Sargon II, Tang-i Var). See Borger 1996: 38f A § 31 and F § 15; 105f B § 36; 107f B §§ 40f (translation *ibid.*: 226–228) for Assurbanipal campaign against Dunānu of Gambūlu; cf. Or NS 74, 367: 8 (Assurbanipal, restored). Cf. also Dunānu, son of Bēl-iqīša <sup>kur</sup>*Gambula-a-a* “the Gambulaean” A. Fuchs apud Borger 1996: 278: 105. SAA 1, 15: 3. SAA 4, 270 r. 8; 271: 4, 5, 7, r. 5, 9; 272: 5. SAA 10, 350 r. 7. SAA 11, 96: 4; 207 r. iii 4; 219 ii 27. SAA 15, 145: 6'. SAA 16, 136 r. 4. SAA 17, 176: 8'. SAA 18, 69: 2; 71 r. 8, 11; 111 r. 4, 6; 113 r. 9'. For later references see Jursa 2010: 95 n. 508.

#### 4.8 *Gulūsu*

**Bibliography:** Brinkman 1968: 270, 272. Zadok 1985a: 76 no. 126. Lipiński 2000a: 447f. For the town Gilūšu in the 6th century B.C., see Jursa 1995: 220–223 and *id.* 1998: 95.

**Designated as “Aramaean”:** Tiglath-Pileser III.

**Geography:** “Originally a designation of the people of the governor Gulušu of Dēr” (Lipiński 2000a: 448), which is, however, very doubtful.

<sup>33</sup> For the reading of this name, formerly read Dūr-Aḥara, see Parpola 2002: 567, and Stockhusen 2013: 213 with n. 57.

#### 4.9 *Gurūmu*

Bibliography: Dietrich 1957–1971. Brinkman 1968: 270f, 276. Zadok 1985a: 63. Zadok 1985b: 143. Lipiński 2000a: 453–455. Lipiński 2003: 342–344.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 13, on the Surappu).

Geography: Near the Lower Zāb (Tiglath-Pileser III, see Brinkman 1968: 276; Dietrich 1957–1971). At the Babylonian-Elamite border at the bank of the Uqnû (Sennacherib, see Dietrich 1957–1971). On the Lower Zāb (Zadok 1985a: 63). “Beyond the Lesser Zab” (Tiglath-Pileser III) and “in relation with Babylon” (Sennacherib) (Lipiński 2000a: 453).

References: SAA 18, 170: 8', r. 7.

#### 4.10 *Ḥagarānu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f. Zadok 1985a: 76 no. 130. Lipiński 2000a: 470.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 14, on the Euphrates).

#### 4.11 *Ḥam(a)rānu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270. Brinkman 1984: 41. Zadok 1985a: 65. Fuchs 1994: 422f. Tadmor 1994: 159 n. 5. Lipiński 2000a: 442–444.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 14, on the Euphrates).

Geography: On the bank of the Tigris (Fuchs 1994: 422). The tribe was raiding caravans in the region of Sippar (Brinkman 1968: 269 n. 1734; Fuchs 1994: 423; Tadmor 1994: 159 n. 5; Lipiński 2000a: 443f).

References: Or NS 68, 37: 31 (Sargon II, Tang-i Var). SAA 1, 90: 11. SAA 15, 244: 7. SAA 17, 7: 10: “The tribe is starving for (lack of) bread.” SAA 17, 8 r. 9'.

#### 4.12 *Ḥaṭallu, Ḥaṭalla*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270, 283f. Zadok 1985a: 63, 65. Zadok 1985b: 157 s.v. Ḥaṭallu and Ḥaṭallūa. Frame 1992: 221 n. 47. Fuchs 1994: 422f. Tadmor 1994: 159 n. 5. Cole 1996b: 25, 27 n. 30. Lipiński 2000a: 425–428. Fuchs – Parpola 2001: XVIII. Radner 2006–2008a: 64 no. 69.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: Northeastern Babylonia (?) (Brinkman 1968: 283f). The tribe is also found in the Assyrian province of Suḥu (Zadok 1985a: 63; Fuchs 1994: 422f; Cole 1996b: 27 n. 30). “In the steppe southwest of Assyria

proper and west of the Wādī Ṭartār” (Lipiński 2000a: 426). For the Neo-Assyrian province of Ḥaṭallu, see Radner 2006–2008a: 64 no. 69: “Mit Sicherheit im Gebiet des Wādī Ṭartār.”

References: Or NS 68, 37: 31 (Sargon II, Tang-i Var). SAA 15, 157 r. 7: The Tu’mānu tribe “lives in the Ḥaṭalla tribe” (<sup>lu</sup>Ḥa! [ta]l-la). SAA 15, 167: 4’; 231: 9’, 12’. SAA 17, 7: r. 8; 17: 8, r. 4. Donbaz – Stolper 1997: no. 16: 2, 12, 20 (427 BC): mentions in lines 21f seven persons designated as <sup>uru</sup>Ḥa-ta-al-lu-ú-a; cf. Zadok 2002a: 873: “presumably named after an Aramean tribe. . . . Only one of these individuals bore a West Semitic name and such a patronym (Aramaic).” For the town of Ḥaṭallā, see Frame 1992: 221 n. 47 and Donbaz – Stolper 2002: 185.

#### 4.13 *Ḥindaru*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f, 274f. Röllig 1972–1975. Zadok 1985a: 66, 68. Zadok 1985b: 161. Fuchs 1994: 423. Lipiński 2000a: 455–457.

Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 13, on the Surappu).

Geography: On the lower Uqnû (Röllig 1972–1975). In Yadburu along the Elamite border (Zadok 1985a: 66). Mentioned in a letter from Uruk (Zadok 1985a: 66). On the Uqnû between Gambūlu in the northwest and Puqūdu in the southeast (Fuchs 1994: 423). “The area east of the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥay” (Lipiński 2000a: 457).

References: See Cole 1996a index p. 442. Or NS 68, 37: 32 (Sargon II, Tang-i Var). SAA 17, 92: 8, 11; 93: 8, 14; 132: 13f.; 146: 5’.

#### 4.14 *Ḥirānu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f. Zadok 1985a: 67. Zadok 1985b: 162. Cole 1996b: 24 n. 2 (cf. section 2.2, above). Lipiński 2000a: 446. Jursa 1998: 95.

Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: Identical with the city of Ḥirānu near Sippar (Brinkman 1968: 271; Jursa 1998: 95)? See also Zadaok 1985a: 67 and id. 1985b: 162.

#### 4.15 *Ḥudādu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f. Zadok 1985a: 77 n. 150. Zadok 1985b: 162. Frame 1992: 44 n. 74. Lipiński 2000a: 455.

Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: Identical with the city of Ḥudādu (Brinkman 1968: 271 n. 1745). There were, however, two Ḥudādu, one in northern Babylonia between Sippar and the Tigris and one in the Uruk region (Zadok 1985b: 164).

4.16 *Itū'u, Utū'u*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 269f, 283. Postgate 1976–1980. Brinkman 1984: index p. 154. Zadok 1985a: 63, 65. Zadok 1985b: 331 s.v. Utū'. Frame 1992: 242. Fuchs 1994: 422. Tadmor 1994: 159 n. 5. Cole 1996b: 27 nn. 30 and 70. Lipiński 2000a: 437f. Fuchs – Parpola 2001: XVII. Lipiński 2003: 339f.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: “Along the Elamite border near Der” (Brinkman 1968: 283). “The west bank of the Tigris north of Dur-Kurigalzu” (Brinkman 1968: 269 n. 1733). On the bank of the Tigris “at about the latitude of Samarra and the modern confluence of the river ‘Aḏaim” (Postgate 1976–1980). On the Tigris near Tagritayn; in the north the region of the tribe extends to the Lower Zāb (Zadok 1985a: 63). “In northern Babylonia near the border of Assyria proper” (Zadok 1985b: 331). In queries to the sun-god, the tribe is “always associated with the Elamites, which is an indication of their location” (Lipiński 2000a: 438).

References: First attested in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta II (911–891), see RIMA 2, 173: 49. See also RIMA 3, 232: 10 (Šamši-ilu). Or NS 68, 37: 31 (Sargon II, Tang-i Var). SAA 1, 32: 7; 93: 6; 95: 8; 97 r. 3; 176 r. 30. SAA 4, 139: 10; 142: 10; 144: 10. SAA 5, 3 r. 2, 10; 16: 5; 21 r. 10, 15; 32 r. 11; 36 r. 6; 72: 4. Itū'eans return from the Euphrates; 97 r. 5, 10; 178 r. 1; 215: 22; 238 r. 2; 264: 2; 270: 13; 277: 10. SAA 6, 30 r. 5. SAA 7, 5 i 30, ii 11: *šaknu* “prefect” of the Itū'eans, mentioned twice in a list of officials. SAA 8, 512: 4. SAA 10, 368 r. 4(?), 8(?). SAA 11, 1 i 14: a list of regions mentioning <sup>kur</sup>*I-tu-ū* between the city of Dēr and the tribe Labdudu. SAA 13, 33: 10, 12: mentions two *šaknu* “prefects” of the Itū'eans. SAA 14, 421 r. 5. SAA 15, 14: 5; 60 r. 16'; 74: 7'; 136 r. 22; 166: 20, r. 8; 186: 10; SAA 15, 186: 12: the tribe “crossed” the Tigris together with the tribes of Li'tawu and Rupū'u; 190 r. 2; 214 r. 11; 238: 7; 258: 9; 286 r. 5'; 367: 4'. SAA 16, 154: 10'. SAA 17, 75 r. 3: mentioned together with the tribes Rihīqu and Yadaqqu (cf. 4.41, below, and see Frame 1992: 242.).

4.17 *Kapīru*

Bibliography: Tadmor 1994: 159 n. 6. Lipiński 2000a: 451.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

4.18 *Karmā*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f. Zadok 1985a: 64, 77 no. 169. Lipiński 2000a: 461f. Lipiński 2003: 345.

Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: On the Tigris (?; see Zadok 1985a: 64).

#### 4.19 *Kiprê*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f. Zadok 1985b: 162. Lipiński 2000a: 452.

Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 12, on the Tigris).

References: SAA 15, 257: 3'; 258: 10.

#### 4.20 *Li'tawu, Li'ta'u*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f. Zadok 1985a: 64f, 67. Zadok 1985b: 213 s.v. Litamu. Röllig 1987–1990. Frame 1992: 44 n. 74. Fuchs 1994: 422. Lipiński 2000a: 467f. Lipiński 2003: 346f.

Fuchs – Parpola 2001: xvii. For the town of Li'tawu, see also Wunsch 2000, vol. 1, index p. 299, s.v. Litamu.

Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 14, on the Euphrates).

Geography: On the Euphrates (Šamaš-šum-ukīn) and in the province of Babylon (Darius), see Brinkman 1968: 271 n. 1738. In Southeastern Babylonia along the Elamite border (Zadok 1985a: 64), but probably also near Babylon and Dilbat (Zadok 1985a: 67). In southeastern Babylonia (Röllig 1987–1990). On the Tigris (Fuchs 1994: 422). It is “hard to understand how a relation can be established between these North-Babylonian records and the presence of the tribe in the area of the Uqnū river” (Lipiński 2000a: 468).

References: Brinkman 1989: 40: 10: <sup>m</sup>*Ka-bi-tu* DUMU <sup>m</sup>*Li-ta-me* “Kabitu, son of Litamu” (already quoted in Brinkman 1968: 271 n. 1738). Or NS 68, 37: 31 (Sargon II, Tang-i Var). SAA 15, 186: 12: the tribe “crossed” the Tigris together with the tribes of Itū'u and Rupū'u. SAA 17, 106: 9; 195: 7'.

#### 4.21 *Luḫū'ātu, Liḫū'ātu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f. Zadok 1985a: 67. Zadok 1985b: 212 s.v. Cole 1996b: 25 with n. 16. Liḫuatu. Lipiński 2000a: 444f. Lipiński 2003: 341f.

Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: Near Sippar (Zadok 1985a: 67). According to Cole 1996b: 25 n. 16, probably identical with the tribe Luḫū'āya mentioned in inscriptions of the governor of Suḫu in the 8th century B.C. and active



in the Khabur region (BaM 2, 343f i 9–30): “...by a short time afterward these and other Aramean tribes had crossed the northern alluvium and the Tigris and had spread southeastward along both banks of the river as far as the Elamite plain.”<sup>34</sup>

References: SAA 15, 166: 9. SAA 17, 7: 11: “the tribe is starving for (lack of) bread”; 8 r. 8’; 172 e. 9.

#### 4.22 *Malīḫu, Malāḫu*

Bibliography: Zadok 1985a: 66. Lipiński 2000a: 482.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 12, on the Tigris).

Geography: On the Tigris (Zadok 1985a: 66).

References: SAA 15, 57 r. 7’.

#### 4.23 *Marūsu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270, 272. Zadok 1985a: 77 no. 189. Lipiński 2000a: 468.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

#### 4.24 *Nabātu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f. Zadok 1985a: 67. Zadok 1985b: 232. Tadmor 1994: 159 n. 6. Lipiński 2000a: 448–450. Knauf 1998–2001.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 14, on the Euphrates).

Geography: Near Babylon (Zadok 1985a: 67). Part of the tribe lived in the region of Babylon (Knauf 1998–2001).

References: SAA 1, 5: 3. SAA 15, 77: 5’.

#### 4.25 *Našīru*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270, 272. Zadok 1985b: 236. Lipiński 2000a: 447, 464. Jursa 1998: 97. Streck 1998–2001b.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: Identical with the town Našir near Sippar (see Jursa 1998: 97)?

#### 4.26 *Nilqu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270, 271. Zadok 1985a: 77f no. 201. Lipiński 2000a: 459.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

<sup>34</sup> Cole 1996b: 25.

4.27 *Puqūdu, Piqūdu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270. Brinkman 1984: 13 and see index, p. 155. Zadok 1985a: 64, 66f. Zadok 1985b: 251. Frame 1992: 44–48 and see index, p. 339. Fuchs 1994: 423. Cole 1996b: index, p. 134. Lipiński 2000a. Fuchs – Parpola 2001: xvi, xix, xxi. Lipiński 2003: 337–339. Radner 2006–2008b. Kleber 2008: 160, 260f, 312. Jursa 2010: 100–103.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 13, on the Surappu). See also the letter quoted in Cole 1996a: no. 27: 10–18: “... the entire Puqūdu tribe (<sup>lu</sup>*Pu-qu-ú-da*) is coming to Nippur for the festival. Let Mušallim-Marduk [c]ome and segregate all the Arameans (<sup>lu</sup>*A-ram*) in Nippur.” See also no. 105: 5f. mentioning *Pu-qu-d[u]* and <sup>lu</sup>*Aḷ-ram*[<sup>meš?</sup>] in broken context.

Geography: “Active both along the Babylonian-Elamite frontier and in the vicinity of Uruk” (Brinkman 1984: 13). In southeastern Babylonia along the Elamite border (Zadok 1985a: 64). In Yadburu along the Elamite border (Zadok 1985a: 66). On the Uqnû River (Zadok 1985b: 251). “The marshy region in eastern Babylonia along the Elamite border. During the reign of Sargon II they appear along the Uqnû River” (Frame 1992: 44). On the Uqnû between Ḥindaru in the northwest and Damūnu in the southeast (Fuchs 1994: 423). “Roaming from Nippur to Uruk and eastward to the Elamite frontier” (Cole 1996b: 17). “In the Nippur area” (Lipiński 2000a: 431, see also 434). “Along the Babylonian-Elamite frontier” (Lipiński 2000a: 432). On the Uqnû and in the west in the region of Bīt-Amūkāni, Nippur, and Uruk (Radner 2006–2008b: 113). The Puqūdu attack Ur (Radner 2006–2008b: 114). “To the east or northeast of Uruk along the Tigris, not extending further west than the Nār-šarri” (Jursa 2010: 100).

References: see Radner 2006–2008b: 113. Cole 1996a index p. 443. Or NS 68, 37: 32 (Sargon II, Tang-i Var).

4.28 *Qabiṛ*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270, 272. Zadok 1985a: 78 no. 209. Lipiński 2000a: 467.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

4.29 *Rabbilu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f. Brinkman 1984: 41. Zadok 1985a: 67. Zadok 1985b: 257. Tadmor 1994: 159 n. 5. Cole 1996b: 70. Jursa 1998: 98. Lipiński 2000a: 446f. Da Riva 2002: 253. Radner 2006–2008d.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: Identical with the city Rabbilu near Sippar (Zadok 1985a: 67; Jursa 1998: 98; Da Riva 2002: 253). Probably between Tigris and Diyāla (Radner 2006–2008d).

References: SAA 17, 7: 12: “the tribe is starving for (lack of) bread.”

#### 4.30 *Radê*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f. Zadok 1985b: 257. Frame 1992: 44 n. 74. Lipiński 2000a: 459f.

Designated as “Aramaeen”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: According to Zadok 1985b: 257, the town of Radê, which was named after the tribe, was probably situated not far from the town of Talah, probably located on the Babylonian-Elamite border (Zadok 1985b: 303).

#### 4.31 *Rahīqu, Rihīqu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f. Frame 1992: 242. Lipiński 2000a: 450f.

Designated as “Aramaeen”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

References: SAA 17, 75 r. 5: Mentioned together with the tribes Utū’u and Yadaqu (cf. 4.41, below, and see Frame 1992: 242). SAA 18, 196 r. 15.

Remarks: According to Lipiński 2000a: 450f identical with Rihīqu, which is hardly correct.

#### 4.32 *Rapiqu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f. Zadok 1985a: 63, 78 no. 222. Tadmor 1994: 159 n. 5. Lipiński 2000a: 445. Joannès 2006–2008: 245f s.v. Rapiqu(m) § 4.

Designated as “Aramaeen”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: Identical with the city of Rapiqu in Suḫu.

#### 4.33 *Rihīqu, Rahīqu*

Bibliography: Zadok 1985a: 66, 78 no. 221. Lipiński 2000a: 450f. Zadok 2002a: 885–887.

Designated as “Aramaeen”: Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 12, on the Tigris).

Geography: On the Tigris (Zadok 1985a: 66).

References: SAA 15, 186 r. 4: mentioned together with the tribes Itū’u, Rupū’u, and Li’tawu. Zadok 2002a: 885: 11: <sup>uru</sup>É-ra-ḫi-ḫa-e (early 5th century B.C.); cf. Zadok *ibid.*: 886f: “may be named after the Aramean tribe . . . unless it is to be emended to <sup>uru</sup>É-ra-ḫi-<ḫa->>e, in which case it would be identical with Bīt-Rahê”

Remarks: According to Lipiński 2000a: 450f identical with Raḫīqu, which is hardly correct.

#### 4.34 *Rubbû*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270. Zadok 1985a: 65. Lipiński 2000a: 445.

Lipiński 2003: 342. Streck 2006–2008a.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

#### 4.35 *Rummulūtu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270, 272. Zadok 1985a: 78 no. 225. Lipiński

2000a: 451. Lipiński 2003: 342.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

#### 4.36 *Rupū’u*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270, 283f. Zadok 1985a: 78 no. 224. Fuchs

1994: 422. Tadmor 1994: 159 n. 5. Cole 1996b: index, p. 135. Lipiński

2000a: 439f. Fuchs – Parpola 2001: xvii. Lipiński 2003: 340f. Streck

2006–2008b.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: Northeastern Babylonia (?) (Brinkman 1968: 283f). On the

bank of the Tigris (Fuchs 1994: 422). “Ranging from the environs of

Nippur northwest to the middle Euphrates” (Cole 1996b: 17).

References: For the Šamši-ilu reference, see RIMA 3, 232: 10. See Cole 1996a:

index, p. 443. SAA 15, 186: II: the tribe “crossed” the Tigris together with

the tribes of Itū’u and Li’tawu. Or NS 68, 37: 31 (Sargon II, Tang-i Var).

#### 4.37 *Ru’ūja*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270. Brinkman 1984: 13. Zadok 1985a: 64f;

68. Zadok 1985b: 261f s.v. Ru’a. Frame 1992: 44 n. 74, 46f. Fuchs 1994:

422. Cole 1996b: 17, 29, 39 n. 117. Lipiński 2000a: 464–466. Fuchs –

Parpola 2001: xvii–xix. Da Riva 2002: 197 n. 485 and 378 n. 862. Lipiński

2003: 346. Streck 2006–2008c.

Designated as “Aramaeans”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimu 6,

135: 13, on the Surappu).

Geography: “Near Nippur” (Brinkman 1984: 13). Members of the tribe were

caught by Nippurians (Zadok 1985a: 65). In southeastern Babylonia

along the Elamite border (Zadok 1985a: 64). On the bank of the Tigris

(Fuchs 1994: 422). On the Tigris, in the regions of Nippur and Uruk

(Streck 2006–2008c). “Die aramäische Siedlung von Ru’a liegt in der

Nähe von Babylon” (Da Riva 2002: 378 n. 862).

References: Or NS 68, 37: 31 (Sargon II, Tang-i Var). SAA 10, 354 r. 4. SAA 15, 1: 4, 9: the king recalled a Ru'uan eunuch from Damascus. SAA 15, 146: 1'; 172: 2'; 202: 2'. SAA 17, 204: 9'.

#### 4.38 *Tu'mūna, Tu'mānu*

Bibliography: Zadok 1985a: 63, 66. Zadok 1985b: 314 s.v. Tu'mānu. Fuchs 1994: 422f. Cole 1996b: 26 n. 19. Lipiński 2000a: 425. Fuchs – Parpola 2001: xviii.

Designated as “Aramaeen”: Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 12, on the Tigris).

Geography: Before Tiglath-Pileser III in Suḫu, in the period of Sargon II and Sennacherib, on the Tigris (Zadok 1985a: 63.66). On the Tigris, they belong to the northernmost tribes, mentioned in connection with the Turnu (Diyāla), also found in the Assyrian province of Suḫu (Fuchs 1994: 423). Mentioned in the inscriptions of Sargon II in connection with the battle of Dēr, east of the Tigris (Frahm 1997: 44).

References: SAA 15, 157 r. 76. The Tu'mānū tribe “lives in the Ḥaṭalla tribe” (cf. section 4.12, above).

#### 4.39 *Ubūdu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f, 283f. Zadok 1985a: 79 no. 259. Lipiński 2000a: 452f. Lipiński 2003: 342f.

Designated as “Aramaeen”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib.

#### 4.40 *Ubūlu*

Bibliography: Brinkman 1968: 270f. Zadok 1985a: 65. Zadok 1985b: 317. Cole 1996b: 26, 63. Lipiński 2000a: 460f. Lipiński 2003: 344f.

Designated as “Aramaeen”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 13, on the Surappu).

Geography: On the bank of the Tigris (Fuchs 1994: 422).

References: Or NS 68, 37: 31 (Sargon II, Tang-i Var). See Cole 1996a: index p. 444.

#### 4.41 *Yadaqqu*

Bibliography: Röllig 1976–1980. Zadok 1985a: 66. Zadok 1985b: 185 s.v. Jādaqqu. Frame 1992: 242. Lipiński 2000a: 481.

Designated as “Aramaeen”: Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 12, on the Tigris).

Geography: Mentioned in the region of Borsippa, in the inscriptions of Sennacherib, on the Tigris (Röllig 1976–1980). Zadok 1985b: 185: On the Tigris. Note that there is also a town of Yadaqqu near Uruk (Zadok 1985b: 185).

References: SAA 17, 75 r. 4.: members of the tribes Utū'u (cf. 4.16, above), Yadaqqu, and Riḫīqu (cf. 4.31, above) assist Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu in guarding the mule stable of the house of Nabû-lē'i in Borsippa (cf. Frame 1992: 242).

### 5. *The Lifestyle of the Aramaeans*

In his inscriptions Sargon II designates the *aḫlamû* and the *Sūtû* as “steppe-folk” (*šāb šēri*).<sup>35</sup> Aramaeans and Sutians live *ina madbar* “in the desert” (Iraq 16, 192: 57).<sup>36</sup> Movement of Aramaeans is implied by the letter SAA 17, 140 (cf. 2.1, above), mentioning Aramaeans who “came from the region of Uruk” (*u[l-t]u UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ú-šu-ú l. 7*) and settled on the shore of the channel of Marduk-apla-iddina II. in Bīt-Yakīn. The governor is informed that the three tribes of the Itū'u, Rupū'u, and Li'tawu “[cr]ossed” (*[ēt]abrūni*) the Tigris (SAA 15, 186: 10–12); we do not know, however, the reason for this movement (transhumance or a military expedition?). Tukultī-Ninurta II captured the tents (*maškanāte*)<sup>37</sup> of the Utū'u tribe together with their villages (*kaprānīšunu*), which were situated on the Tigris (RIMA 2, 173: 49f). Aramaeans and Sutians are *āšibūt kuštari* “tent-dwellers” (Iraq 16, 192: 57f; Sargon II). According to J. A. Brinkman, “in contemporary documentary evidence camels are more often mentioned in conjunction with their tribes than with Chaldeans,” which might be “another indication of less sedentary patterns for the Arameans.”<sup>38</sup> Therefore, it seems highly likely that some of the Aramaeans had a nomadic lifestyle.

When, on the other hand, Sargon II reports<sup>39</sup> that he destroyed the settlements (*dadmū*) of the Aramaeans in Gambūlu, cut down their date palms and groves and plundered their granaries (see section 3.1, above), we are obviously dealing with an at least partly settled Aramaean population. The same is true of the farmers “who have come from Aram”<sup>40</sup> and of the Sutians accused of having taken away the fields (*eqlētu*) of the Babylonian

<sup>35</sup> See sections 3.2 and 3.3, above, and for the Sutians also Fuchs 1994: 226 Prunk 123.

<sup>36</sup> Note that according to Lipiński 2000a: 451 the name of the tribe Rummulūtu (see section 4.35, above) derives from Arabic *raml* “sand (desert)”, an etymology that seems, however, improbable.

<sup>37</sup> For this interpretation, see Postgate 1976–1980: 221. CAD M/1: 370 and RIMA 2: 173 translate “settlements”. The translation “tents” is likely correct also for RIMA 2: 133: 11 (Assur-dān II, referring to the tribe of *la-ú-sa-a-ia*).

<sup>38</sup> Brinkman 1984: 13f n. 52.

<sup>39</sup> Fuchs 1994: 148f Ann. 288b–291.

<sup>40</sup> Cole 1996a: no. 96: 25.

cities Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, and Borsippa.<sup>41</sup> The Puqūdu tribe farmed the land and had smiths.<sup>42</sup> For “a predominantly barley-growing” region, Puqūdu, in the 6th century B.C., see Jursa 2010: 101.

When Sennacherib subdued the unsubmissive Aramaeans he took as booty from them “208,000 people, young and old, male and female, 7,200 horses and mules 1,173 donkeys, 5,230 camels, 80,100 oxen and 800,600 sheep” (Frahm 1997: 51 T 4: 14). A broken passage in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III lists thousands of people and cattle as booty of the Aramaeans (Tadmor 1994: 84 Ann. 8: 1f.).<sup>43</sup> The Puqūdu tribe had sheep (Radner 2006–2008b: 114). The Aramaeans provided Nippur with wool (Cole 1996b: 60). The “flock (*ṣēnu*) of the Arameans (<sup>lú</sup>*A-ra-mu*)” occurs in Cole 1996a: no. 47: 4f. The Ubūlu tribe is accused of having stolen camels (Cole 1996a: no. 32: 7–9). The Dunānu “supplied Nippur with cattle” (Cole 1996b: 26).

The Aramaeans had tribal structures (see section 4, above). The tribal leaders were called *nasīku*. The history of the word *nasīku* was treated by Brinkman 1968: 274f and later by CAD N/2 (1980) 27; see also Frame 1992: 44. The letter Cole 1996a: no. 27, 19f mentions “shaykhs of the Arameans (*nasikāti ša* <sup>lú</sup>*A-ram*).” For the *nasīkus* in the inscriptions of Sargon II, see Fuchs 1994: 422. A new reference from the early Babylonian period is found in a legal text from the reign of Erība-Marduk (ca. 775 B.C.). The text mentions a person with the Aramaic name <sup>m</sup>*Il-ti-ḥa-ni* <sup>lú</sup>*na-si-ki* (Brinkman 1989: 40: 3).<sup>44</sup>

Aramaean tribes provided soldiers for the Assyrian army. This is especially true for the Itū’u tribe.<sup>45</sup> Note also the letter SAA 17, 75 r. 3–5, mentioning members of the Utū’u, Yadaqu, and Riḥīqu tribes stationed as guards in Borsippa.

<sup>41</sup> See section 3.3., above.

<sup>42</sup> Radner 2006–2008b: 114.

<sup>43</sup> For the economy of the Aramaeans see also Brinkman 1968: 275.

<sup>44</sup> The word *nasīku* is attested even earlier for Sutians in the Middle Babylonian period; see WVDOG 102, 34: 10 (Ekalte) and cf. Streck 2009–2011 § 5; Kärger – Minx 2012 § 4.1.

<sup>45</sup> See Frame 1992: 45 with previous literature.