The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria

Edited by
Herbert Niehr
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Maps and Plates</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Contributors</td>
<td>xxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preface (Herbert Niehr)</td>
<td>xxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Introduction (Herbert Niehr)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. History (Hélène Sader)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Geographical and Chronological Scope</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Sources for a History of the Aramaeans of Ancient Syria</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Aramaeans in the Iron Age I (1200–900 B.C.): From Kin-Based Groups to Polities</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The Iron Age II: Aramaean Polities and the Assyrian Conquest</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Concluding Remarks</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Society, Institutions, Law, and Economy (Dagmar Kühn)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Society</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Institutions</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Law and Jurisdiction</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Economy</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Language and Script (Holger Gzella)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Introduction</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Script and Orthography</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Phonology</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Morphology and Morphosyntax</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Syntax</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Lexicon</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Literature (Paolo Merlo)</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Introduction</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Terminology</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Overview on History and Literary Genres .................................. 110
4. Historical Narrative in Royal Inscriptions ............................... 111
5. Elements of Religious Literature ............................................... 117
6. Wisdom Literature ..................................................................... 123

VI. Religion (Herbert Niehr) .............................................................. 127
1. Introduction ...................................................................................... 127
2. Between the Tigris and Euphrates ............................................. 128
3. From the Euphrates to the Mediterranean ............................. 150
4. Middle Syria ...................................................................................... 193
5. Outlook ............................................................................................... 200

VII. Art (Dominik Bonatz) ................................................................. 205
1. Introduction ...................................................................................... 205
2. Monumental Art in Architecture ............................................... 208
3. Free-Standing Sculptures .............................................................. 225
4. Seals and Minor Arts ...................................................................... 242

VIII. Architecture (Mirko Novák) ........................................................ 255
1. Introduction ...................................................................................... 255
2. City Planning .................................................................................... 256
3. Citadels and Fortifications ........................................................... 261
4. Palaces .............................................................................................. 265
5. Temples .............................................................................................. 267
6. Houses and Workshops ................................................................. 270
7. Conclusion ........................................................................................ 271

IX. Outlook: Aramaeans Outside of Syria ............................................. 273
1. Assyria (Martti Nissinen) .............................................................. 273
2. Babylonia (Michael P. Streck) ..................................................... 297
3. Anatolia (André Lemaire) ............................................................ 319
4. Phoenicia (Herbert Niehr) ............................................................ 329
5. Palestine (Angelika Berlejung) ....................................................... 339
6. Egypt (Alejandro F. Botta) ............................................................. 366
7. Northern Arabia (Herbert Niehr) ............................................... 378

X. Aramaean Heritage (John F. Healey) .............................................. 391
1. Edessa, Hatra, Palmyra ................................................................. 394
2. Mesopotamia, Judaea, Nabataea ................................................ 398
3. Areas under Strong Greco-Roman Influence (Antioch to Dura Europos) ................................................................. 399
CONTENTS

Bibliography ......................................................................................................................... 403
Indices
   Index of Persons ........................................................................................................... 453
   Index of Deities ............................................................................................................ 456
   Index of Lands, Peoples, Tribes, Cities, Sites ......................................................... 458
Plates .................................................................................................................................. 463
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, aḫlamû, and Sūtû. 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.2

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.3

---

1 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.nomad-sed.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.


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 adī kur Karduniaš ıššud šuribāt kakkiya kur Kaldu usahhip* 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.


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

---

5 See Frahm 1997: 104f, for a discussion of the meaning of Urbu: “Arabs” or a kind of troops? He concludes that Urbu 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 Retsö 2003: 155–157; Frahm 2003: 150; Bagg 2010: 206f.

Bit-Ašilāni, Bit-Ša’alli, and Bit-Dakūri and summarizes them as “all the Chaldaeans” (lāuKal-dī Isimu 6, 135: 10f), followed by 17 Aramaean tribes summarized as “Aramaeans” (lāuA-ra-mu ib. 12–14).

An astrological report from 678 (SAA 8, 316 r. 1) distinguishes GALmeš šā lāuKa-al-du lu-ū lāuA-ra-mu “the nobles of the Chaldaeans or Aramaeans.” Sennacherib deports “the people of the land of Kaldu, of the Aramaeans (KUR Kal-dī lāuA-ra-me)”6 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-bānī and the Nippurians accuse Aramaeans and Chaldaeans (lāuA-ra-mu lāuKal-du) of misinforming the king and making peace with the enemy (SAA 18, 199: 11–14).7


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 raʾsu (plural raʾsānu), 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., mNa-tē-ru lāuRu-ū-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.8 Whether they are also of different ethno-linguistic origin in a modern definition is unclear.9 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.

---

6 Frahm 1997: 60 translates slightly differently: “Ich deportierte Einwohner des Landes Kaldu, Arame….” In my view, tenēšēt māt Kaldi Arame is a construction with two genitives (māt Kaldi and Arame), both dependant on tenēšēt.

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

8 Brinkman 1968: 266f.


In the following, we leave out the Chaldaeans 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 kurAḫlamê kurAr-ma-a-laš iḍePuratta MU 1kâm šinišu lú êtebir iṣtu ṣuruTadmar ša kurAmurri ṣuruAnat ša kurSuḫu u adi ṣuruRapiqi ša kurKarduniaš dâbdâšunu lú aškun šallassunu maršîsînunu ana âlija Aššur ubla RIMA 2, 43: 34–36 “I really crossed the Euphrates 28 times, twice per year, in pursuit of the Aḫlamû-Aramaean. 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. He summarizes the list of tribes as “all the Aramaeans (lú 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 (lú 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. The letter Cole 1996a: no. 4: 23 asks whether certain houses are “in Nippur or in Aram (A-ram).” According to no. 18: 8, the writers “used to write to the Arameans (lúA-ram),” who informed them about petty dealers selling plunder in Uruk. No. 96: 25 tells of farmers “who have come from Aram (lúA-ram),” The “flock of the Arameans (lúA-ra-mu)” occurs in no. 47: 5. See also lúA-rammeš in broken context in no. 15: 8, 62: 8 (?), and 105: 6. The letter no. 104: 5 mentions lúÈ A-ram1 or LÚ È A-ram1, i.e., (amīl) Bīt-Aram, either a general
designation for “Aramaean” or the name of a specific Aramaean tribe or a toponym in the expression “man/people of Bit-Aram.”

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.: 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.:13

\[
\text{si-ti-it } lú A-ra-me ek-su-te a-ši-bu-ut na-qi-šá-nu šá UGU } ^{14}\text{MES-A-ÅȘ! } ú! m! Šu-túr- } lú A-ra-me ek-su-te a-ši-bu-ut na-qi-šá-nu šá UGU } ^{14}\text{MES-A-ÅȘ! } ú! m! Šu-túr-
\]

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.:13

\[
\text{si-ti-it } lú A-ra-me ek-su-te a-ši-bu-ut na-qi-šá-nu šá UGU } ^{14}\text{MES-A-ÅȘ! } ú! m! Šu-túr- } lú A-ra-me ek-su-te a-ši-bu-ut na-qi-šá-nu šá UGU } ^{14}\text{MES-A-ÅȘ! } ú! m! Šu-túr-
\]

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.:13

\[
\text{si-ti-it } lú A-ra-me ek-su-te a-ši-bu-ut na-qi-šá-nu šá UGU } ^{14}\text{MES-A-ÅȘ! } ú! m! Šu-túr- } lú A-ra-me ek-su-te a-ši-bu-ut na-qi-šá-nu šá UGU } ^{14}\text{MES-A-ÅȘ! } ú! m! Šu-túr-
\]

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.:13

\[
\text{si-ti-it } lú A-ra-me ek-su-te a-ši-bu-ut na-qi-šá-nu šá UGU } ^{14}\text{MES-A-ÅȘ! } ú! m! Šu-túr- } lú A-ra-me ek-su-te a-ši-bu-ut na-qi-šá-nu šá UGU } ^{14}\text{MES-A-ÅȘ! } ú! m! Šu-túr-
\]
Semitic, probably Aramaic names, and are likely Aramaeans. Ḫasīnu seems to be a tribal leader of the Aramaeans; “his Aramaeans” means Aramaeans under his control or following him. 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 Bit-Yakîn) because “they are not reliable” (la-a ki-né-e šú-nu). [1]\(^6\) *A-ra-mi* are mentioned together with the king of Elam, the city of Dēr, and the Aramaic tribe Gambûlu in the fragmentary letter SAA 17, 176: 6’.

Sennacherib designates the following 17 tribes as “unsubmissive Aramaeans” (\(^l\)\(^u\)\emph{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’mûna, Riḫîḫu, Yadaqqu, Ubûdu, Kiprê, Maliḫu; on the Surappu, the Gurûmu, Ubûlu, Damûnu, Gambûlu, Ḫîndaru, Ruʿûya; on the Euphrates, the Ḫamrânu, Ḫagarûnu, Nabûtu, Liʿtaʿu. 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. The Aramaeans (\(^l\)\(^u\)\emph{A-ra-me}) are also found among his enemies in Babylonia in the text Frahm 1997: 131 T 62: 4’.

According to Zadok 1985a: 65 n. 238, all people designated by the nisba \emph{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 aḫlamû

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

---

15 See for the latter name Frahm 2000. Contra Jas 2000, the second sign in the first name is not \([s]\)j, see the collation in SAA 17, 213, and the name is not Akkadian.

16 \(^l\)\(^u\)\emph{A-ra-m[u]} are also mentioned in broken context in SAA 17, 25 r. 2’, another letter of Bēl-iqîša.

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

18 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 aḫlamû, see also Postgate 1981: 48–50; Zadok 1991: 104–106; Dion 1997: 16f with n. 10f.

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.\textsuperscript{20} In the Assyrian royal inscriptions the word aḫlamû and the name Aramu are sometimes combined to form a double designation for Aramaeans.\textsuperscript{21} Herles concludes that aḫlamû is an appellative roughly meaning “nomad, barbarian”.\textsuperscript{22}

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

In a letter from the governor’s archive from Nippur, it is said “No lú 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: lú 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 lú aḫ-la-me-e lú su-ti-i “The Sutian aḫlamû” (OIP 2, 77: 13).

A letter from Babylon to Esarhaddon mentions Aḫlamite women (mí 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.\textsuperscript{24} Later, in the second half of the 2nd millenium and in the 1st millenium B.C., the name was apparently used as an archaizing designation for different nomads.\textsuperscript{25} Brinkman briefly treats the evidence for the early 1st millenium 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.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{20} For the Ḫīrānu tribe, see section 4.14, below.
\textsuperscript{21} Herles 2007: 330, 333.
\textsuperscript{22} Herles 2007: 337–339.
\textsuperscript{23} Tadmor 1994: 64 n. 13 and Herles 2007: 334f.
\textsuperscript{24} Kärger – Minx 2012.
\textsuperscript{25} Fuchs 1994: 459.
\textsuperscript{26} Brinkman 1968: 285–287.
Sargon II uses the name in connection with the Aramaeans living at the Tigris, at the Surappu River east of the Tigris, at the Uqnû River, and the nomads in Yadburu: “all the Aramaeans (nagab šA-ra/me) living at the shore of the Tigris, the Surappu and the Uqnû, all the Sutians (gimir šSu-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 “Aramaean” (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”: šRuʿu-a šHi-in-da-ru škūkšA-ad-bu-ru šPu- qu-du gi-mir šSu-ti-i-te-e ÉRINmeš EDIN “The Ruʿūya, 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: 195 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 Itūʿu, the Rupūʿu, the Ḫaṭallu, the Labdudu, the Ḫamrānu, the Ubūlu, the Ruʿūya, the Liʿṭayu, at the shore of the Surappu and the Uqnû the Gambūlu, the Ḫindaru, the Puqūdu, the Sutians (šSu-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).


---

27 For a possible location, see Fuchs 1994: 459: a tributary of the Uqnû River in the region of Gambūlu, perhaps identical with the Rūḏāne-ye Čangūle.
28 According to Fuchs 1994: 466f, the Uqnû was not the Kerḫa but the eastern arm of the Tigris.
29 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 Sutian (lûSu-tu-û) Nergal-nāṣir (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 Puqûdu 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).

Under each tribe the most important literature, 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


Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

4.2 Amātu


Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.


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

---

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

31 See now also Zadok 2013: 271–299.
see Lipiński 2000a: 469). “In consequence of the defeat inflicted upon the ‘Ammatu tribesmen by Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur… the tribe migrated to the southeast and crossed the Tigris” Lipiński 2000a: 469.

4.3 Amlātu

Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

4.4 Damūnu

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

4.5 Da […]

Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

4.6 Dunānu

Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.
Geography: Central Babylonia (?, see Zadok 1985a: 64). “To the north or to 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).

Note that Zadok 1985b: 22 has a cross-reference from Amlat to Ammat that does not belong here because the tribe is spelled ḫAm-la-tu.
4.7 Gambūlu


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


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 Assurbanipals campaign against Dunănu of Gambūlu; cf. Or NS 74, 367: 8 (Assurbanipal, restored). Cf. also Dunănu, son of Bēl-iqīša $^{\text{kunu}}$Gam-bū-la-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, II; III r. 4, 6; 113 r. 9’. For later references see Jursa 2010: 95 n. 508.

4.8 Gulūsu


Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

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

$^{33}$ For the reading of this name, formerly read Dūr-Atḥara, see Parpola 2002: 567, and Stockhusen 2013: 213 with n. 57.
4.9 **Gurūnu**


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


References: SAA 18, 170: 8’, r. 7.

4.10 **Ḫagarānu**


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

4.11 **Ḫam(a)rānu**


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


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**


Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: Northeastern Babylonia (?) (Brinkman 1968: 283f). The tribe is also found in the Assyrian province of Suḫu (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 Ḫaṭallu, see Radner 2006–2008a: 64 no. 69: “Mit Sicherheit im Gebiet des Wādī Ṭartār.”


4.13 Ḫīranu


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


4.14 Ḫudādu


Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.


4.15 Ḫudādu


Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: Identical with the city of Ḫudādu (Brinkman 1968: 271 n. 1745).

There were, however, two Ḫudādu, one in northern Babylonia between Sippar and the Tigris and one in the Uruk region (Zadok 1985b: 164).
4.16  \textit{Itūʾu, Utūʾu}


Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.


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: Itūʾeans 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 II: šaknu “prefect” of the Itūʾeans, 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 kur\textit{I-tu-ʾu} between the city of Dēr and the tribe Labdudu. SAA 13, 33: 10, 12: mentions two šaknu “prefects” of the Itūʾeans. 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 Liʾtawu and Rupūʾu; 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 Riḥiqū and Yadaqqu (cf. 4.41, below, and see Frame 1992: 242.).

4.17  Kapīru


Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

4.18  Karmā

Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.
Geography: On the Tigris (?, see Zadok 1985a: 64).

4.19  Kîprê
Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 12, on the Tigris).
References: SAA 15, 257: 3’; 258: 10.

4.20  Liʾtawu, Liʾtawu
Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 14, on the Euphrates).
Geography: On the Euphrates (Šamaš-šum-ukîn) 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 1985b: 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 Uqnû river” (Lipiński 2000a: 468).

4.21  Luḥûʾātu, Liḫûʾātu
Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.
Geography: Near Sippar (Zadok 1985a: 67). According to Cole 1996b: 25 n. 16, probably identical with the tribe Luḫuʾāya 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.”

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*
Designated as “Aramaean”: Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 12, on the Tigris).
References: SAA 15, 57 r. 7'.

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

4.24 *Nabātu*
Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 14, on the Euphrates).
References: SAA 1, 5: 3. SAA 15, 77: 5'.

4.25 *Naṣīru*
Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.
Geography: Identical with the town Naṣir near Sippar (see Jursa 1998: 97)?

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

---

34 Cole 1996b: 25.
4.27  Puqüdu, Piqüdu


Designated as “Aramaean”: 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 Pu-qüdu tribe (lū Pu-qu-ú-da) is coming to Nippur for the festival. Let Mušallim-Marduk [c]ome and segregate all the Arameans (lū A-r-am) in Nippur.” See also no. 105: 5f. mentioning Pu-qu-du[d[u] and ([lū]A-r-am[mes?]) in broken context.


4.28  Qabīʾ


Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

4.29  Rabbilu


Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

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

4.30  Radê


Designated as “Aramaean”: 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 Talaḥ, probably located on the Babylonian-Elamite border (Zadok 1985b: 303).

4.31  Rahîqu, Riḥîqu


Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

References: SAA 17, 75 r. 5: Mentioned together with the tribes Utūʾu and Yadaqqu (cf. 4.41, below, and see Frame 1992: 242). SAA 18, 196 r. 15. Remarks: According to Lipiński 2000a: 450f identical with Riḥîḫu, which is hardly correct.

4.32  Rapiqu


Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

Geography: Identical with the city of Rapiqu in Suḫu.

4.33  Riḥîḫu, Raḥîḫu


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


References: SAA 15, 186 r. 4: mentioned together with the tribes Itūʾu, Rupūʾu, and Liʾtawu. Zadok 2002a: 885: 11: ṕu-E-ra-ḥi-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 ṕu-E-ra-ḥi-<<ḫa>>e, in which case it would be identical with Bīt-Raḥê”

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

4.34 Rubū
Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

4.35 Rummulūtu
Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

4.36 Rupū’u
Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III.

4.37 Ru’ūja
Designated as “Aramaean”: Tiglath-Pileser III and Sennacherib (Isimu 6, 135: 13, on the Surappu).
References: Or NS 68, 37: 31 (Sargon II, Tang-i Var). SAA 10, 354 n. 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


Designated as “Aramaean”: 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 Ḫaṭalla tribe” (cf. section 4.12, above).

4.39  Ubūdu


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

4.40  Ubūlu


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

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


4.41  Yadaqqu


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

References: SAA 17, 75 r. 4.: members of the tribes Utūʾu (cf. 4.16, above), Yadaqqu, and Riḥiqū (cf. 4.31, above) assist Nabû-šar-ahḫēšu in guarding the mule stable of the house of Nabû-lēʾi 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” (ṣāb ṣēri).35 Aramaeans and Sutians live ina madbar “in the desert” (Iraq 16, 192: 57).36 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[1-t]u UNUGki ú-ṣu-ú l. 7) and settled on the shore of the channel of Marduk-apla-iddina II. in Bit-Yakin. The governor is informed that the three tribes of the Itūʾu, Rupūʾu, and Liʾtawu “[cr]ossed” ([ēt]abrûni) 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)37 of the Utūʾu 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.”38 Therefore, it seems highly likely that some of the Aramaeans had a nomadic lifestyle.

When, on the other hand, Sargon II reports39 that he destroyed the settlements (dadmū) of the Aramaeans in Gambûlu, 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”40 and of the Sutians accused of having taken away the fields (eqlētu) of the Babylonian

---

35 See sections 3.2 and 3.3, above, and for the Sutians also Fuchs 1994: 226 Prunk 123.
36 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.
38 Brinkman 1984: 13f n. 52.
cities Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, and Borsippa.\(^{41}\) The Puqūdu tribe farmed the land and had smiths.\(^{42}\) For “a predominantly barley-growing” region, Puqūdu, in the 6th century B.C., see Jursa 2010: 101.


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 \(\text{CAD N}/2\) (1980) 27; see also Frame 1992: 44. The letter Cole 1996a: no. 27, 19f mentions “shaykhs of the Arameans (nasīkāti ša \(^{10}\)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 Eriba-Marduk (ca. 775 B.C.). The text mentions a person with the Aramaic name \(\text{mIl-ti-ḫa-ni} \text{\(\text{\(10\)}\)na-si-ki}\) (Brinkman 1989: 40: 3).\(^{44}\)

Aramaean tribes provided soldiers for the Assyrian army. This is especially true for the Itūʾu tribe.\(^{45}\) Note also the letter SAA 17, 75 r. 3–5, mentioning members of the Utūʾu, Yadaqqu, and Rīḫīqu tribes stationed as guards in Borsippa.

---

\(^{41}\) See section 3.3., above.


\(^{43}\) For the economy of the Aramaeans see also Brinkman 1968: 275.

\(^{44}\) 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.

\(^{45}\) See Frame 1992: 45 with previous literature.