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## THE ARAMAIZATION OF ASSYRIA: ASPECTS OF WESTERN IMPACT

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Modern scholarship has recognized the impact of the Arameans and Aramaic upon the Assyrian empire ever since Layard discovered the bronze lion weights of Shalmaneser V at Nimrud, with denominations of the weights incised in Akkadian and Aramaic (1). Then followed the appearance of the cuneiform tablets with Aramaic endorsements, Aramaic dockets and the representations on the monuments of an Aramean scribe alongside the Assyrian scribe (2). The interest in these significant, though few, finds has been renewed with the recent stress in scholarship on inner social, economic and cultural processes of Assyria, rather than its political history. It is now generally accepted that the conquered Arameans and other West Semitic peoples strongly affected the cultural development of their conquerors, not unlike the Greek imprint upon the Romans.

And indeed, hundreds of thousands of captives from West of the Euphrates, largely soldiers, craftsmen and artisans were assimilated into the conqueror's society, thus making their imprint upon the small but warring Assyrian nation. In the language of the sources they "were regarded as Assyrians" (3), sharing equally, it seems, with their captors in the burden of taxation and conscription (4). In the provinces along the Khabur and the Balikh the West Semitic element had always been predominant; but from the ninth century on, the population of the newly built capitals Kalakh, Dur-Sharrukin and Nineveh also consisted in the main of people from the West; the deportees from the Aramean and the: Neo-Hittite states, Phoenicians, Israelites and Judeans, as well as some semitized Philistines and Arabians.

Four aspects are chosen to illustrate the extent of the Western, mainly Aramaic, impact: The Westerners in Assyrian office, The Use of Aramaic in the Empire; Bilingualism and Lexical Interference and Borrowed institutions.

### I. Westerners in Assyrian Office and Army

The Westerners in Assyria are traced primarily from the personal names appearing in administrative documents and letters (5); rarely are the deportees, now regarded as Assyrians, marked by their origin.

In the initial process of acculturation it may be supposed that many Westerners, especially those of high social status, may have chosen, or, have been given, Akkadian names for prestige value (6). Perhaps the most famous is the case of Naqi'a-Zakkutu, the powerful queen-"mother of

Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, who kept her original West-Semitic name, alongside its Akkadian equivalent (7).

On the lower social level one finds bearers of Akkadian names with West Semitic patronymics, such as; Bel-Ushallim son of Ia-di-il (8). Ilu-Nadin-Apli son of Ra-hi-ma-a, a weaver (9), Mannu-ki-Arba'il son of

Ahi-ia-u (an Israelite) (10), Nusku-aha~iddina son of Ia-ta-na-e-li (a Phoenician) (12), Sin-aha-iddina son of Adad-Idri (13) and Kidin-Sin, the young scribe (*tupsarru sehru*) the son of Su-ti-i, 'the Sutean' – the

royal scribe (14), Another example of acculturation is the case of the four sons of an Itu'uean (KUR I-tu-'a-a): Nabu-asharid, Mushallim-Ashur, Ashur-mata-taqin and Nabu-Na'id, in a document from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (15), shortly before the East-Aramean tribe of the LU Itu'u began to be employed as garrisons in the newly conquered West (16).

The number of people bearing West Semitic proper names may be even greater than the documents reflect, since they refer to a limited cross-section of society. Furthermore, in the Assyrian legal and administrative documents the patronymic of the witnesses and parties concerned is usually not specified.

One finds "Westerners" in various sectors of Assyrian society and though precise statements cannot be made for lack of prosopographic" - statistical studies, it may not be an overstatement to say that they had penetrated even into the high ranking officialdom as provincial governors and *limmu*-holders (17)

Elsewhere, I have pointed to some of the officials, who bore Aramaic or other West Semitic names (18):

e.g. Bur-Sagale - the eponym for the ominous year 763, Sidqi-ilu (eponym for 764), Hananu (eponym for 701), Gihilu/Gi'il-ilu (eponym for 689), Atar-ilu (eponym for 673), Girisapunu, a Phoenician-named governor of Rasappa (eponym for 660), and the literary hero, the wise Ahiqar, "the keeper of the king's signet and counselor of all Assyria," (19) *ummanu* of Esarhaddon. On a somewhat lower level, we find provincial governors and district governors bearing West Semitic names: e.g. Gulu-su the governor (*shaknu*) of the Itu'u, Arbaya a provincial governor, (*bel pihati*) (20) and Adad-suri the governor of the Arameans (*shakin-mati* [GAR.KUR] Ara-ma-a-a) (21)

Recently, cylinder and stamp seals of some high ranking officials inscribed in Aramaic have come to light. Of special interest is the cylinder seal impression on a tablet from the Mamu temple at Balawat, which carries the last part of a name in an alphabetic script (most probably Aramaic); [x]bdkr (22) Its owner was apparently the senior officer in whose presence the transaction was made. The text reads:

"Seal of the governor of Arzuhina, seal of Rimni-ili, seal of Ahu-ili", but the west Semitic name, or whatever remains of it, cannot be reconciled with the two latter names. It must therefore be the seal of the unnamed governor of Arzuhina. Why, then, should an Assyrian governor have a seal inscribed in alphabetic script unless he served in a West Semitic speaking area, or was of West Semitic descent?

The same would perhaps be true of the bearer of the Aramaic stamp seal impression found as Khorsabad

*pn ' sr/mr srsy/srgn*, "Pan-Ashur (short for Pan-Ashur-lamur), the master (?) of the eunuchs of Sargon " (23). It could, perhaps, be claimed that this courtier of Sargon had two seals, a cylinder seal with cuneiform legend for tablets, and this stamp seal for Aramaic scrolls. At the same time, it stands to reason that the existence of this stamp seal, as well as of the other stamp and cylinder seals from Assyria inscribed in Aramaic (24), suggests that their bearers were of Western

descent; if so, then the name Pan-Ashur-Lamur, points to another aspect of acculturation; the use of Akkadian names as a sign of prestige and a manifestation of social status.

A most important sector of Assyrian society in which numerous deportees from the West were expectedly acculturated, was the army augmented from the times of Tiglath-pileser I by the select troops of conquered lands. In the ninth century, Ashurnasirpal II carried off charioteers, cavalymen, and foot-soldiers from Carchemish. This was repeated in the late eighth century by Sargon II after the annexation of Carchemish. Similarly, he carried off 50 (or 200) charioteers from Samaria, as well as charioteers, cavalry, 20,000 bowmen and 1,000 shield bearers from Kummuh (25). From this time onward it became an established practice that the royal guard - *kisir sharruti* - was strengthened by captive soldiers - a practice continued in the reigns of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal,

No wonder therefore, that bearers of west Semitic names are mentioned not infrequently as officers in the Assyrian army: e.g. *hanunu*, "commander of the Eunuch's guard [*rab kisir sha reshi*, *Salamanu*, "commander of Queen Mother's guard *rab-kisir-ummi-sharri* (26), Abdi-ili from Ashkelon, "the 'third on the chariot' of the chief eunuch ", *tashlishu-sha-rab-sha-reshi* (27), or, on the lower level, Ba'al-halusu the "commander of fifty", { *rab-hanshu* ) (28),

Two administrative documents from Nimrud list persons - soldiers, no doubt - "residing in fortresses" (29). They include among others the following Israelites, to judge by their names; Qu'ya[u], Hilqiya(u), who was in charge of 76 persons, Giriya and Yasuri (30).

In another document from the same archive a *qurubutu*-officer - a special courier of some sort - bearing a Phoenician name Sapinu, is sent to, or entrusted with, a group of deportees (written ga-AB i.e. ga-liti), while another *qurubutu*-officer, Ib(?) -ni-ia (an Israelite?) is sent to a group of (exiled) Israelites (KUR) Samerinaya, (i.e. people of Samaria) (31). Probably, it was the task of these and other similar officials (32) no doubt bilingual, to instruct the exiles "to fear God and King" (*palab ili u sharri*) (33) - the primary duty of the coerced, new "citizens" of the Empire.

Occasionally, in contrast to these Western *homines novi*, the descendent from an old, established family is designated as Kalhu labiru, an "old Kalkhean" (34) or *qinnate sha Ninua labiruti* - "old time families of Nineveh" (35) The newcomers to Nineveh are derogatively referred to in that document - a letter to the king" as *nashi'ani*, perhaps "social upstarts" and *shagluti*, deportees (36), (a word play on *sakluti* - ignorant?). In any event, the resentment felt by veteran Ninevites towards these newcomers is clearly expressed in that letter. Though incidental, this is a significant statement, since we do not have private correspondence from that period and according to the official, imperial view, repeated time and time again in royal inscriptions, all the deportees to Assyria were "regarded as Assyrians", with the incumbent rights and obligations.

## II. The Use of Aramaic in the Assyrian Empire

There appears to be some evidence that in the western parts of the Empire, Aramaic served as the language of diplomacy and administration alongside of, or instead of Akkadian.

Three cases - "all from the Assyrian royal correspondence - can be cited. The first, and a rather intriguing case, is that of the *egirtu armitu*, an Aramaic letter (37) referred to in ABL 872. A servant of a certain Ashur-da'in-apli son of Shulman-asharidu, is reported to have delivered such a letter, which, in turn, was sent to the king. The question is whether this person is identical with Ashur-da'in-apli the son of Shalmaneser III, defeated and dethroned by his brother Shamshi-Adad V (38), If so, then ABL 872 would antedate by one century the other references to Aramaic letters in Assyrian sources!

The second case is that of Nimrud Letter 13. Qurdi-Ashur-lamur, (from the time of Tiglathathpileser III, writes to the king that he is sending an Aramaic letter from Tyre together with the Assyrian letter which we have at hand: "I have had Nabu-ushezib bring this sealed Aramaic letter (*kaniku annitu armitu*) from the city of Tyre " (39). Likewise, it stands to reason, that the sealed letter " *kaniku* – mentioned in Nimrud letter 14 (40), sent by Ayanuri the Tabilaeon (whom Albright considered to be the "Son of Tab'el" of Isaiah 7:6 (41) concerning the Moabites was also written in Aramaic, since one can hardly expect Ayanuri - most likely a Moabite (42) - to write in cuneiform.

Yet, the most noted case of the use of Aramaic in the service of Assyrian diplomacy is, no doubt, that of the Rab-shaqe, the Chief Cupbearer (II Kings 18:17 ff.). When this high courtier was about to address the ambassadors of Hezekiah, he surprised them and the people standing on the walls of Jerusalem by speaking "in the language of Judah" rather than in Aramaic. It is, therefore, a truism, yet worth repeating, that Sennacherib's Chief Cupbearer, when in the West, generally had to speak Aramaic ("Please speak to your servants in Aramaic, for we understand it", *ibid.* 26) not Akkadian. The message of Rab-shaqe, delivered in the "language of Judah" and which bears some close affinities to the style of the royal Assyrian inscriptions (43), might have been read from a scroll (44). It was clearly prepared in advance, probably by an Israelite or Judahite secretary (45). Some evidence on the use of Aramaic in the military administration of the Empire may be found in the Assyrian palace reliefs, beginning with those of Tiglathpileser III (46). There, as is well known, two scribes are portrayed in the act of writing while on a campaign: the Assyrian scribe is holding a stylus and what was believed to be a tablet and which is now interpreted as a wax-coated wooden board (47); the other scribe is holding a pen and parchment or papyrus. This scribe must be the *tupsharru Aramaya*, the Aramean Scribe, referred to in the economic documents (see below). Both scribes are usually depicted in a considerable distance from the battlefield, counting captives, dead or alive and recording booty and spoil (48). The question is: Why two different scribes? When interrogating captives, an Assyrian scribe accompanied by an interpreter would seem to be adequate (49). Can we not assume that the Assyrian royal chancellery employed a secretary for the purpose of keeping records also in Aramaic (50)?

However the presence of the Aramean scribes was not restricted to the military sphere; occasionally they are mentioned in administrative and economic documents as serving in the royal court. The earliest attestation to date is found in the Nimrud Wine Lists from the begin-

ning of the eighth century. In several documents the Aramean scribes (LU.A.BA.MESH KUR Ara-ma-a-a) appear among other recipients of wine rations (51).

Of special interest is a document from the year 786 which lists three categories of scribes: Assyrian, Egyptian and Aramean (52). Later, in the seventh century, we find the Aramean scribes serving in the palace and the household of the royal family " e.g. Abagu, the scribe of the palace (53) or Nuriea, the scribe of the prince (54) as well as several other Aramean scribes ~ Sa'ilu, Ahu-[...] and Ammaya - without specific attributes (55). Finally, the Assyrian and the Aramean scribes are listed consecutively in a prophetic query put before Shamash, the lord of the oracles (56) and in a lexical text of the lu=sha category (57).

### III. Bilingualism and Lexical Interference

In the foregoing section we have presented evidence for the coexistence of the Aramean scribe alongside the Assyrian in the royal service. Furthermore, there are several indications that at least

some of these scribes were bilingual. One is the occurrence of Aramaic superscriptions and endorsements on cuneiform documents, mostly economic, known from the early days of Assyriology and which have been widely studied. (The collections of Stevenson and Delaporte (58) can now be supplemented by the tablets published recently by Millard (59) and Bordreuil (60).

The tablets are of two types; rectangular - the *dannatu / dnt* i.e. "a valid tablet a loan word from Neo-Assyrian (61) (occasionally also called *egirtu* and *spr*," deed" (62) a term which becomes frequent in the later Aramaic papyri), and triangular, the corn-loan docket, the purpose of which has been most recently studied by Postgate (63) The Aramaic superscription on the *dannatu / dnt* - tablet is either incised or written in ink. These are no more than abbreviations: a word, two words or occasionally a full line, for the sake of identifying the deed.

It seems almost unfeasible that two different scribes were employed in inscribing the very same tablet.

Is it not more likely that only one scribe wrote both the Akkadian text and the Aramaic superscription?

Certainly this is the case with those tablets on which the superscription is incised. That scribe obviously must have been bilingual.

The second category, the triangular shaped corn-loan docket (64) (from Ashur, Nineveh and Tell Halaf) are, in the order of their development, unilingual (= Akkadian), bilingual and unilingual (= Aramaic) - all incised. Again, it stands to reason that in a bilingual docket, only one scribe was involved.

Another possible case of bilingualism can be observed in the oracular queries to Shamash written mostly in Babylonian script (65) There we find repeatedly the following statement (66) "PN, whose name is written on this *niyaru*" or, sometimes: "on this *nibzu* (67) should he be appointed to an office? And when appointed, will he be loyal to Esarhaddon (or Ashurbanipal), king of Assyria?" It follows, that a

a name of a person or, occasionally, of a city (68), mentioned in the query was put before Shamash who was expected to answer "yes" or "no". It is obvious, that when on *niyaru*, a slip of papyrus, the query was written in Aramaic, whereas, when on *nibzu*, a docket, it was incised either in Akkadian or in Aramaic. In one text the names of the scribes who performed the extispicy were incised in Aramaic, in between the two parts of the query (69). Aramaic, it would seem, had entered the sanctum (70)

Languages in contact, and especially bilingualism, produce mutual influence recognizable in phonetic, grammatical and lexical interference (71). In the latter category the most obvious are the lexical borrowings. Of special value for the present topic is therefore the recent study of S. Kaufman (72), who has analyzed thoroughly the lexical borrowing from Akkadian found in Aramaic dialects. Kaufman's list includes 220 verbs and nouns, considered by him as certain borrowings. These words are in the realm of political and legal terminology, names of professions, architectural or topographic terms, etc. (73).

However, no similar classification has yet been made of the Aramaic and other west Semitic loanwords in Akkadian, though W. von Soden has significantly contributed towards the topic by publishing a provisional list of approximately 250 Aramaic loanwords in Akkadian (both the Assyrian and Babylonian dialects) (74).

To the scribal sphere belong the obvious "ordinary borrowings" in Bloomfield's terminology;

words like *sepuru*, scribe (75) *niyaru* (itself of Egyptian origin), later *urbanu*, papyrus (76) *magallatu*, scroll (77) *kerku*, roll (78) and *egirtu*, letter (79). "Lexical borrowing of this type can be described as a result of the fact that using ready-made designations more economical than describing things afresh. Few users of language are poets." (80).

In the military and administrative sphere one finds nouns like *galutu* : exile (81), *galiti* = deportees (82), *gududu* = gang, platoon (83), *hayalu* = troops (84), *kinishtu* = gathering, congregation (85), *qarabu* = battle (86) and *urbi*, an old Crux interpretum in the Sennacherib Annals, which is, I believe, a W.S. designation of a special type of soldiery (87). One also finds verbs like: *beheru* = to select, enlist (88) (hence *behirtu* (89), census, call for arms, mobilization) *kanashu* to gather (90) *radapu*, to pursue (an enemy (91)) and of course *shaglu*, to deport, actually a calque formation, - "hence *shaglutu*, deportees (92). Naturally, loanwords in the sphere of scribal art are to be expected, but the existence of loanwords in the military sphere side by side with rich Akkadian cognate terminology would exemplify more than anything else the extent of W.S. penetration. This is only natural, as the army was the first to absorb the deportees and foreigners some of whom, eventually, became commanding officers (93).

Most of these borrowed terms from the military and administrative spheres are known from the royal correspondence unearthed in Nineveh and Kalah, usually written in the Assyrian dialect. It is, indeed, in these letters, composed by functionaries in the provinces or addressed to them by the royal chancellery (= *abat sharri* = "King's ordinance") that additional West Semitic words from other sphere: of life

not infrequently occur. The following examples - on a minimal count - will exemplify the case; *gazalu*=to rob (94), *gadu*=male kid (95), *gubbu*=water cistern (96), *harurtu*=throat (97), *kataru*=to wait for(98), *marasu*=to squash(99), *madbaru*, *mudabiru*=steppe(100), *nasiku*=tribal chieftain, "prince"(101), *pahazu*=to be reckless(102), *palu*=to search (103), *qudduru*=round, or blackened(104), *qarahu*=to freeze, and *qarhu*=ice (105), *sapaqu*=to be sufficient(106), *saqalu*=to cleanse, polish(107), *sapitu*=watch tower(108), *siparatu*=morning(109), and words like *mandetu*=information(110), or *nadadu*=to escape(111) occurring in the letters written in the NB (Neo-babylonian) dialect.

The language of these letters and administrative documents, nearest to the spoken vernacular, reflects the actual degree of West Semitic lexical interference in Akkadian of the 8th and 7th centuries (112),

This may remind us of contemporary Franglais, though we have no evidence of any similar cultural campaign against the vulgarization of a national language as nowadays.

#### IV. Borrowed Institutions

I shall adduce here two examples of indigenous Western institutions taken up by the Assyrians: the loyalty oath and court prophecy.

##### A. The loyalty oath.

Modern scholarship closely associates the loyalty oath, vassal treaty and covenant in Assyria with their western and especially Biblical counterparts. The following cursory observations are not intended to discommend the use of the comparative method in the study of the Ancient Near East, nor to minimize the intrinsic value of its achievement. Their purpose is merely to focus the attention of the historian on the ultimate Western origin of *ade*, the loyalty oath, and to outline its role as a political institution in the Assyrian Empire of the late eight and early seventh centuries.

The Aramaic origin of *ade*, the main term for loyalty oath (lit. obligations taken under oath, hence: treaty stipulations) can hardly be doubted any more. The word, borrowed into Akkadian, is *plurale tantum*

(the alleged sing. form \**add*, listed in the current dictionaries of the Akkadian is based on either a wrong reading (113) or on a reconstruction made at the time when its etymology had not yet been recognized (114)). It is also *plurale tantum* in Aramaic and in Biblical Hebrew, where it is cognate; 'dn, 'dy; 'edot, 'edut, - and once 'adim (Isaiah 33:8 in 1QIs aMT 'arim), ordinances, legal obligations, covenant (115) The term, often rendered "vassal treaty", following Wiseman's terminology from 1958 (116) appears in cuneiform documents for the first time in the middle of the eighth century, supplanting the traditional Akkadian terms of the second millennium, *riksu* or *rikiltu* (pl. *riksate*) u *mamitu*, bond, obligation under oath, covenant. Though *riksu* remained the term for bond and agreement also in later documents it was not employed any more to designate the loyalty-oath, while *rikiltu* became a derogatory term, denoting mainly - "bond of conspiracy", hence, conspiracy, in general (117) like *qesher* its semantic equivalent in Biblical Hebrew.

The distribution and the usage of the terms *riksu*, *rikiltu*, *mamitu*, and especially that of *ade* have been treated in extenso in the classical

work of Korosec from 1931 (118) and in recent works - mainly those of McCarthy (119) and Weinfeld (120) Therefore, there is no need to elaborate further. I shall delineate very briefly only the essential stages

in the development of *ade* in Assyria. A more detailed examination is being reserved for a separate study.

(a) We do not possess any Assyrian treaties of the 2nd millennium, and it is questionable whether they ever existed. However, when royal inscriptions of the middle Assyrian period refer to vassalage, the

Babylonian traditional terms are employed; Adad-nirari I imposes a vassal-oath upon Shattuara of Hanigalbat (*utammeshuma*) (121) Tiglathpileser I imposes vassalage on sixty captured kings of Na'iri by setting them free before Shamash and making them swear the "oath of the great gods" (*mamit ilani rabuti utammeshunuti*) to pay homage (*ardute*) forever (122). Likewise, the poet of the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic refers to *rikiltu* and *mamitu*, when describing the violation of the parity-treaty on behalf of Kashtiliash of Babylon (123).

(b) Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, the warring kings of the 9th century seem not to have imposed vassal oaths on king of the ravaged Aramean and Neo-Hittite states of Syria and south-eastern

Anatolia, or at least, no reference to these oaths is made in their inscriptions.

The only extant cuneiform treaty from that period is that of Marduk-zakir-shumi of Babylon and Shamshi-Adad V, Shalmaneser's successor (124). Though only a fragment of this document (written in Babylonian!) has survived there is enough there to show that the Babylonian king is the hegemon, helping the Assyrian prince to secure his throne in the battle for succession.

(c) The traditional terms for treaty and covenant were still in use in Assyria at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the eighth century. The relations between Assyria and Babylonla are defined in the "Synchronistic History" - a chronographic document compiled for political-propagandistic use - as *riksate* and *mamitu*, "bonds of oath" or *tubta u sulumme gamaru*, "covenant and peace", but not as *ade* (125).

Even in the middle of the seventh century the vassal-oath of Samsi, Queen of the Arabs, is

defined in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser III as *mamit Shamash*, "an oath sworn (in the name of) Shamash", but not as *ade* (125) (In a broken passage, describing the rebellion of the king Unqi, *ade* might perhaps be restored: [*ina ade nis ilani*] *ihti, lux tlw* restoration is conjectural) (127).

(d) The term *ade* appears for the first time in the 'vassal treaty' of c. 750 B.C.E, imposed by Ashur-nirari V upon Mati-ilu of Arpad (128), the exact expression being *ade sha Ashur-nirari shar mat Ashur* "

"the loyalty oaths (sworn to) Ashur-nirari, King of Assyria" (129). Apparently from the reign of Ashur-nirari, or from that of his successor, Tiglathpileser III, comes a fragment of another 'vassal treaty' imposed on

an unknown king in Northern Syria. Although the word *ade* is missing in that small fragment, BM.134596, published recently by A.R. Millard.

(130), the phrases like [la] *idaggaluni* "should they [not] respect", [la] *ittalakuni* "should they [not] come", [la] <ta>*sabbatuni* "should they [not] seize", [*la tu*]*shebalan{nini}* "should you "[not] bring to me" - seem to indicate that it is, indeed, part of a vassal-treaty', though not from the hand of the scribe who wrote the tablet of *ade* of Ashur-nirari, as Millard observed. It was about the very same time (c.760-750), that the Aramaic treaty between Mati'ilu and the elusive Bar-ga'aya of KTK, was composed (131). This treaty in which '*dy*' is the key term, was apparently formulated by a scribe who also knew Akkadian legal terminology and had been influenced by it (132)

(e) Probably, it was in the second quarter of the eighth century when the Assyrians borrowed from the Arameans the terminology and form of the *ade*, a well established Western institution, which regulated the political relations between major and minor powers and transformed it into an effective, often brutal, instrument of domination. Breaking the loyalty-oath was tantamount to rebellion, punishable by dethronement, mutilation or death of the "sinner" and ultimate annexation of his kingdom. Numerous passages in the royal inscriptions from Sargon to Ashurbanipal, testify to the significance of the loyalty oath in Assyrian political theory and imperial practice (133).

(f) In the next stage, in Assyria proper, the concept of the vassal-oath was extended to the relationship between the monarch and his subjects, in cases of irregular succession. The first is the case of Sennacherib. According to Esarhaddon's "Apology" some time before 681, Sennecherib assembled his sons, courtiers and the "people of Assyria, rank and file" and made them swear a loyalty oath to Esarhaddon, the heir appointed, though not in the line of succession (134).

A similar extraordinary procedure was repeated in 672, when Esarhaddon appointed Ashurbanipal to succeed him as the king of Assyria, favoring him over his brother Shamash-shum-ukin - apparently the firstborn (135)-the designated king of Babylon. The ceremonies of taking the *ade* are described in the so called "Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon" published by D.J. Wiseman in 1958 and widely discussed ever since (136).

The next occasion of taking the loyalty oath - in Assyria and Babylonia" was on the death of Esarhaddon in 669. The dowager empress Naqi'a-Zakkutu imposed her authority to secure the succession of her grandson Ashurbanipal (137). The latter's son, Sin-shar-ishkun, seems to have repeated similar arrangements, imposing upon his people, the loyalty oath to safeguard his irregular succession (138)

It is mainly in connection with the events of 672 and 668 that *ade* was imposed not only on the courtiers, but also upon the people of the central cities of Assyria and Babylonia. Several letters



from the royal correspondence testify that these ceremonies were closely watched by the king's envoys and reported to him (139). There is no justification to consider these irregular events, stemming from irregular succession, as the customary procedure in Assyria throughout its history. Indeed, certain specific regulations (*riksatu*) were imposed on courtiers in Assyria of the XII-XI centuries, as shown by the "Court and Harem Edicts" published by Weidner in 1956 (140). But these have

nothing to do with the loyalty oath that courtiers and populace would take to safeguard the successor to the throne. I could not find any evidence that this latter practice, though common among the Hittites under the Empire (141) ever existed in Assyria before the seventh century, at the time when Aramaic ade gained prominence in the Empire (142)

## B. Court Prophecy

The second example of the West-Semitic impact upon Assyria - though it be on a speculative note - is the phenomenon of court prophecy. It is attested in Assyria (but not in Babylonia) in the reign of Esarhaddon and in the early years of Ashurbanipal. (A collection of court oracles was first published by George Smith (143), supplemented by Strong and Langdon (144). A new edition of these oracles is in preparation by K. Deller and Simo Parpola.) In high poetic style, in the Assyrian dialect, court prophetesses (*raggimtu*), and occasionally prophets (*raggimu*) (145) address Esarhaddon upon his accession to the throne and encourage him in an almost biblical fashion, uttering short prophecies:

"Oh king of Assyria, fear not ... Fear not, Esarhaddon!

I, the god Bel, am speaking to you. I watch over your inner heart, as did your mother who brought you forth. Sixty great gods are standing together with me and protect you. The god Sin is at your right, the god Shamash at your left. The sixty great gods are standing around you, ranged for battle. Do not trust human beings! Lift your eyes to me, look at me! I am Ishtar of Arbela; I have turned Ashur's favor to you. When you were small, I chose you. Fear not! Praise me! Where is there any enemy who overcame you, while I remained quiet? Those who are (now) behind will (soon) be the leaders. I am the god Nabu, god of the stylus. Praise me! (This oracle is) from the woman Baia of Arbela" (146)

To the best of my knowledge, there are no antecedents of such a phenomenon in Assyria before the age of Esarhaddon - the time when traditionally the Aramean Ahiqar was the royal *ummanu*. It is a novelty and forms a departure from the traditional Mesopotamian way to obtain the divine message through extispicy, dreams and other omens. We may therefore venture to suggest that, indeed, court prophecy of the oral-message type developed in Assyria under the impact of the western models, like that in Hamath (147) and, especially, like those in Israel.

Yet, this phenomenon which produced a new genre - the finest, if not the most original among the literary products in cuneiform of the Arameo-Assyrian fusion - was not destined to survive; it lasted no more than a generation. It is still attested in the early part of Ashurbanipal's reign. One of the two prophetic texts from his reign that survived, K.83 - in part obscure and unfortunately mistranslated (148)\*contains allusions to foreign nations (Elamites, Cimmerians) and political events of great significance (the conquest of Egypt) - again, not unlike its Biblical counterparts in the prophecies of Hosea and Isaiah.

## V. Conclusion

An attempt has been made in this paper to outline the evidence for the impact of the West on the Assyrian Empire, predominantly that of the Arameans and the Aramaic language, initiated by annexing the lands west of the Khabur and the Euphrates and by mass deportations. In time the

Arameans gradually transformed the cultural face of the Empire and were to outlive Assyria by serving as the link with the succeeding Chaldean and Achaemenid Empires (149).

The Assyrians, vastly outnumbered by their captives, forced them to participate in the building and maintaining of their state and inevitably, if therefore, absorbed much linguistically and culturally from the West. That this was not a one-way process, but rather a highly complex symbiotic relationship between the Assyrians and the Arameans, can no longer be doubted (150).

I have adduced here some evidence for this symbiosis in several cultural spheres and especially, in the two realms in which the Assyrian phenomenon was manifested: the military and the imperial. Further evidence for the complex and intricate process of Aramaization - or rather "Westernization" - of the Assyrian Empire will surely be forthcoming (151).

## POSTSCRIPT

- (1) Additional and much fuller material on bearers of West Semitic names in Assyria has been collected in a recent study by B. Oded, *Mass Deportation and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden 1979), esp.75-115. That important study appeared only after the present paper had been submitted for publication,
- (2) Simo Parpola assigns the letter ABL 872 (above Pt.II and note 38) to the seventh century. He identifies Kabti, the scribe mentioned there (rev.8) with Kabti, mentioned in a letter from the days of Esarhaddon, ABL 740 (cf. Simo Parpola, *LAS No. 258:19 and p.306*). Kabti is also the author of ABL 732, which speaks of political turmoil, if not an insurrection.
- (3) I also owe to Prof. Parpola the significant observation - quoted here with his kind permission - that the logogram Lu.A.BA, scribe, should be interpreted as "ABC-man" and that it seems to have a western background, since it already occurs in Ugarit (J.Nougayrol, *Ugaritica 5*, 252, colophon to RS. 20.196 A, 1.2. Note also the following entries in lexical lists from Ugarit, published by Nougayrol:  
[d u b]. s a r = [a] . b a = Umbisag = tup-shar-rum, PRU 3,212:12'-14' (AHw 1395b), and perhaps a b .  
[ b a] (for a . b a), equated, as it seems with [D]UB.SAR, in a "Silbenalphabet A" from Ugarit: *Studies Landsberger* [As 16] ,37, note 78).  
And indeed, in Ugarit, where this "pseudo-logogram" seems to have originated, the cuneiform and alphabetic scripts were employed side by side, sometimes by the very same scribe (e.g. Ilumilki, the noted spr/tupsharru of Ugaritic and Akkadian tablets: *Ugaritica 5*, 13, note 2).

## NOTES

- (1) Austen Henry Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, (London 1853), 600-601, CIS II 1-I4.
- (2) The survey of the evidence by R.A. Bowman, *JNES 9* (1948), 71ff. is still valid.
- (3) This formula is very common in the royal inscriptions from Tiglath-pileser I to Sargon II: CAD M/1 224b,
- (4) See J.N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (Rome 1974), 200-229.
- (5) The study of personal names as indicators of ethnic identity by Deller, Fales, Lipinski, and now by Zadok, enhanced by the publication of the new Nimrud documents, has shown the heavy

presence or bearers of Aramaic and other west Semitic (W.S.) names in Assyria; see K.H. Deller, *Or. NS* 35 (1966), 190 ff.; 362 ff.; E. Lipinski, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics I* (Leuven 1975); F.M. Fales, *Annali di ca' Foscari* 13/3, *Serie Orientale* 9 (1974), 179-188 and his review of E. Lipinski in: *Oriens Antiquus* 16 (1977), 41-68; Id., *Atti del 1. convegno italiano sul vicino oriente antico* (Roma 1978); R. Zadok, *WO* 9 (1977), 44ff.: Id.,

*On West Semites in Babylonia During the Chaldean...* (Jerusalem 1977), revised edition 1978; Id., *BASOR* 230 (1978), 57-65. In this case, the evident Aramaic and other West Semitic theophoric elements, like Ramman, Te'r, Si' etc., are of major help. West Semitic nominal and verbal patterns e.g. yahabi, zabadi, hanunu or aduni, idri,

ba'li, milki etc. are of course indicative. We are aware of the fact that establishing ethnic-linguistic identities on the basis of personal names has always been problematic. Yet, in the case of Imperial Assyria, where coerced acculturation was taking place, given the Mesopotamian cultural preeminence, it would be only natural for a newcomer to give his son or daughter an Akkadian name, but an Assyrian would hardly call his child by a west Semitic name. Still, exceptions to this rule should not be overlooked;

(a) in the documents of the late seventh century we find some bearers of west Semitic names with their Akkadian patronymics; Ab-du-nu son of Kakkulanu, Adad ra-pa-' son of Nabu-etir, Baa1-te-iaa-ha-te daughter of Bel-na'id (ADD 311:7; 325 r. 6; 619:16, respectively, and R. Zadok, *West Semites in Babylonia*,

*Index s.v.*), Is it a revival of a west Semitic tradition, or are they sons of Aramean mothers - a first generation in Assyria?

(b) Some atypical usage of gentilics; e.g. Itu'aya 'the Itu'aeon'- son of Abu lisir, mentioned in a document from Calakh from 78 (J.N. Postgate, *Palace Archive* [London 1973], 17:40) and oddly enough, Ruqahaya.: - 'the Ruqahaeon', the priest of Ninurta, son of the great priest of Ashur - he himself being the son of Arad-Ashur: , son of Ninurta-kuzub-ilani, son of Ashur-bel-ilani (H. Hunger, *Kolophoric*, 86 No. 266. On the tribes of Itu'u and

Ruqahu see John.A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia* (Roma 1968), 176, 217-8, 283).

(6) This was quite common among the vassal princes in the West, e.g. sharru-lu-dari son of Rukibtu of Ashkelon, as well as *Sharru-lu-dari* of Si'nu (Tanis?) and *Nabu-shezibanni*, son of Necho I of Athribis, both in the Egyptian Delta (K. Tallqvist, *Personal Names*, 218-219; 160 ff.; also A.K. Kitchen, *The Second Intermediate Period in Egypt* [Warminster 1973], 393, 3B7). From a later period, Zerubbabel and Shenazzar, the two Davidites reared in the court of the Chaldean kings, are also cases in point.

(7) But her sister, *ahassa sha ummi sarri*, retained her west Semitic name: *Abi-ra-mi*, ADD 70 r.6.

(8) ADD 88 i 13, undated. This and the following references have been kindly supplied by Dr. Ran Zadok. For these West Semitic names, cf. now Ran Zadok, *West Semites in Babylonia*, *Index s.v.*

(9) V. Scheil, *RA* 24 (1927), 117 No. 624, from after 648.

(10) ADD 176:4, from the early eight century.

(11) R. Campbell-Thompson in: C.L. Woolley, *Charchemish II* (London 1921), 141 ;54

(12) ADD 621:2, from after 648, undated; cf. Ran. Zadok, *BASOR* 230 (1978), 58

(13) E. Weidner in: *Tell-Halaf*, 1940 No. 12:3f. (about 700 B.C.E.).

(14) H. Hunger, *Kolophone*, 31 No. 50. This is a sort of a surname, meaning "the nomad". The occurrence of a gentilic as personal name in Mesopotamia is still to be investigated.

(15) ADD 415:3-4 (from 744 B.C.E.)

(16) E.g. Nimrud Letters XII;19 and XX;30 (H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* 17 [1955], 127, 139); and cf. John A. Brinkman, *Post-Kassite Babylonia*, 237.

(17) I was happy to find that Professor Paul Garelli in his paper in this volume had arrived independently at conclusions very similar to those presented here on the penetration of the Arameans into the Assyrian administration and army (See also postscript)..

(18) Assyria and the west, in: *Unity and Diversity*, (Ed. H. Goedicke and J.J.M. Roberts, Baltimore 1975), 41.

(19) See Jonas C. Greenfield, in: *Hommages a Andre Dupont-Sommer* (Paris. 1971), 50-51.

(20) ADD 857 ii 11; ii 50

(21) B. Parker, *Iraq* 19 (1957), 131-132 ND 5457:11-12.

(22) B. Parker, *Iraq* 25 (1963), 97, published only in facsimile.

(23) Martin. Sprengling, *AJSL* 49 (1932), 53-54. The title *mr srsy* instead of the expected *rb srsy* is unattested elsewhere. My colleague Israel Eph'al has suggested to emend it to *pn'sr [l]mr* (i.e. 'Pan-Ashur-lamur, the eunuch of Sargon'), which indeed obviates the reading *mr*, but leaves unexplained the *pl.* from *srsy*. A recent examination of the photograph of the seal impression (courtesy of Dr. D. Nasgowitz, the Oriental Institute, Chicago) has not shown

a clear break where the missing *l* should have been. As it stands the matter needs further consideration. [Meanwhile Prof. Stephen A. Kaufman has examined the seal impression itself at the Oriental Institute and is of the opinion that the seal impression is incomplete and is to be restored as follows:

1. *[l]pn'sr*

2. *[llmr srs z(1)* .

3. *srgn*

i.e. "(belonging to) Pan-Ashur-lamur, the eunuch of Sargon". Thus, the enigmatic *mr* is finally disposed of. The details will be discussed by Prof. Kaufman in his forthcoming paper in the *Proceedings of the International Conference on "Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition"* to be published by Bar Ilan University. I am grateful to him for letting me use this information prior to the final publication].

(24) e.g. CIS II, Nos. 75, 77, 78, 79, BO, B1, 85, 88, 89, 90, and several others listed by F. Vattioni, *Augustianum* 11 (1971), 47ff. and L.G. Herr, *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals* (Harvard Semitic Monographs, 18), 36-41.

(25) D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* I par. 474; *ARAB* II par. 55, 64.

(26) ADD 857 ii 10,31

(27) B.Parker, Iraq 23 (1961), 29 ND 2451:20; J.N. Postgate, Taxation, 377.

(28) B. Parker, Iraq 19 (1957), 136 ND 5550:10.

(29) H. Parker, Iraq 23 (1961), pl. XIV ND 2443 1 3-4: read; [i-na] URU di-me-ti [a-sha]-bu-u-ni and add to AHw 171 s.v. dimtu.

(30) Ibid. ND 2443 ii 2;6; iv 4; ND 2621 (Pl. XX) 1 3'; ii 9', 10'. For Giriya (mGIR-ya-u) compare the Phoenician PN Girisapanu (Tallqvist, APN, B1) = grspn in the Assur Ostracon:4 (H. Donner-w. Rollig, Kanaanaische und Aramaische Inschriften II, 284; cf. also R. Zadok, BASOR 230 (1978), 58). For mYa-su-ri cf, mAdad (UMUN)-su-ri, ND 2621 ii 10'. On the names of the Israelites/Judeans in Assyria cf. also: I. Eph'al in: Excavations and Studies: Essays in Honour of Prof. Sh. Yeivin (Tel Aviv 1973), 201-3 (in Hebrew) and most recently, R. Zadok, The Jews in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenid Periods (The University of Haifa 1979), 35-37, 99-101.

(31) H. Parker, *ibid.*, 56 and pl. XXIX, ND 2803 ii 17' -18'; 26'- 27'. On the qur(ru)butu-officers see J. Lewy, HUCA, 27 (1956), 72 note 308 and J.N. Postgate, Taxation, 194-196. On the reading ga-liti see K.H. Deller's correction of the editio princeps: *Orientalia* NS 35(1966), 194. ABL 387, a letter from the same period also mentions the galite: K.H. Deller, *loc.cit.*

(32) In one case the musharkisu-officials, assigned usually to individual provinces, are in charge of the deportees (shaglute); H Parker, *ibid.*, 23 (pl.XI), ND 2386 2730 iii 14-15. re-edited by Postgate, Taxation, 371-373. On the duties of the musharkishu see: *ibid.* 142-145.

(33) The crucial passage is D.G. Lyon, Sar. Cyl. Inschrift II. 72-74,

which describes in high poetic style the building of the Dur-Sharukin and of settling there the deported people:

*ba'ulat arba'i lishanu ahitu atme Ia mithurti ashibute shade ,  
u mati mal irte'u nur ilani bel gimri sha ina zikir Ashur  
beliua ina metel shbirriya ashlula pa ishten ushashkinma usharma  
qiribshu mare Ashur mudute ini kalama ana shuhuz sibitti palah  
ili u sharri akli. u shapiri uma' irshunuti* "People of the four  
(ends of the world), of alien languages, diverse speech,  
inhabitants of mountainous regions and of the plains, directed  
by the Light of the Gods, the Lord of the universe, (those)  
that I bespoiled with the might of my scepter - at the order  
of Ashur, my lord, I unified (lit. "made them as of one tongue")  
and settled therein. Natives of Assyria, masters of every craft (?),  
I commissioned to them as overseers and commanders to teach (them)  
proper conduct (so that they) revere  
god and king.

The exact meaning of *inu* (CAD I/J 152) has not yet been defined. For *shuhuz sibitti* see CAD A/1 180 e and J.J. Finkelstein *apud* S. Paul, JBL 88 (1968), 73 note 3. The titles *aklu u shapiru* (hendiadion) are vague and archaic, in line with the style of Sargon's royal inscriptions. On this passage in general cf. my paper on "Temple city and royal city" in: Ha'ir ve-haqehilah (Proceedings of the XIIth Conference of the Israel Historical society, 1968) 200-201 (in Hebrew) and M. Cogan, Imperialism and Religion (below note 133 , 51).

- (34) J.N. Postgate, Palace Archive, 17:4 (from 773 B.C.E.).
- (35) Harper, ABL 1103:7-8 and K.H. Deller apud J.N. Postgate, Palace Archive, 50 ("Nineveh" there should be corrected to "Kalhu").
- (36) The entry sha-ga-lu-ti, as a by-form of shaglute, in AHW 1125a could be eliminated. The relevant passage (ABL 541 [a royal letter]; 2-4) reads: [sha tash]puranni ma shepaka nisbat ma palhani issu (TA) pan sha ga-lu-ti sha mat Ashur – "you wrote to me as follows: 'We went to submit to you being afraid of Assyrian deportation.'" And it continues (9-11): qaqquru bid tara'amani (text has ta-ra-im-ma-ni) lushasbitkunu ina libbi shiba "I shall settle you in the land that pleases you. Live there!" And further (rev, 3 ff.); shumma anaku ushaggalukanuni...la tapallaha  
"I swear that I shall not deport you!... Fear not!".
- (37) So AHW 69b, but see CAD E 45a, where it is translated "letter in an envelope" (i.e. from aramu to cover a tablet in a case). However, under aramu and armu in CAD A 230 and 292 our passage is already not quoted.
- (38) See D.D. Luckenbill, ARAB I par. 715, but see postscript.
- (39) H.W.F. Saggs, Iraq 17 (1955), 130.
- (40) Ibid. 132
- (41) W.F. Albright, BASOR 140 (1955), 34-35, and cf. H. Donner, MIO 5 (1957), 155 ff., and B. Mazar, IEJ 7 (1957), 237 ff.
- (42) Though md *A-a-nu-ri* is a common W.S. name, not typically Moabite; Cf. R. Zadok, WO 9 (1977), 47-48.
- (43) See J.A. Montgomery - H.S. Gehman, The Books of Kings (ICC, Edinburgh 1951), 496. A detailed study on that topic by Ch. Cohen will be published in Israel Oriental Studies.
- (44) For a pictorial representation of this practice, see the parallel noted by Yadin in a relief of Sargon II from Khorsabad (P. Flandin - E. Botta, Monuments de Ninive II, Paris 1969, Pl. 145, Y. Yadin, The Art of warfare in Biblical Lands (New York 1963), 425; Tadmor, Rabshaqeh, Encyclopaedia Migra'ith VII, 324); From the top of a siege-machine an Assyrian officer addresses the people of a beleaguered fortress, while holding a scroll. The epigraph on the relief reads: *URU dan-nu(!) URU.HAL.SU sha KUR Man-na-a-a sha pan n[e-ri]-bi sha URU Zi-kir-ta-a-a'a* fortified city a fortress of the Manneans, which faces the passes of Zikirtu\*. The officer is either reading the message from the scroll - written most probably in Aramaic - or translating its content into the language of Mannea.
- (45) If not by the *Rab-shaqe* himself, who might well have been of Israelite descent, not unlike Nehemia, the Jewish cupbearer to Artaxerxes; and see *Rabshaqeh*, Encyclopaedia Migra'ith VII, 323-5.
- (46) R.D. Barnett-M. Falkner, The Sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III, (London 1962), Pls. V-VI.
- (47) D.J. Wiseman, Iraq 17 (1955), 3 ff.
- (48) E.g. ibid. Pl. 3 no. 2; A.H. Layard, The Monuments of Nineveh (Second Series, London 1853),

Pl. 35, upper register; but contrast E. Weidner, AfO 15 (1945-1951), 137 - two Assyrian scribes recording booty.

(49) Interpreters - *turgumannu* - are mentioned in several administrative documents, see K.H. Deller, Or. NS 35 (1966), 194.

(50) Recently a different opinion has been expressed on that point by I. Madhloom, He suggests that the scribe holding papyrus or parchment was, in fact, the artist, who accompanied the king in the military campaign and "collected sketches for his war scenes to be carved later in Assyria", in: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Ed. J. Harmatta and G. Komoroczy, Budapest 1976, 385. On the role of the Aramean scribe in the Assyrian court and administration see in general J. Lewy HUCA 25 (1954), 188 ff.

(51) J.A. Kinnier-Wilson, *Wine Lists* (London 1972) 139 no. 10 r. 7; 141 no.12: 12; 148 no. 21 r. 8.

(52) *Ibid.* 138 no. 9: 18-19.

(53) ADD 179 r. 2-3.

(54) *Ibid.* 385 r. 13.

(55) *Ibid.* 193 r.9; 223:24; 448 left edge: 1-2.

(56) J.A. Knudtzon, *Gebete* 109:9. *LU DUB.SAR,MESH Ashur ki a-a-/LU.DUB. SAR.MESH Ara-ma-a-a*

(57) MSL 12, 329 v 5-6; *LU A.BA KUR Ashur-a-a,*  
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*L6 A.BA KUR Ara-ma-a-a*; see also postscript.

(58) J. Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts with Aramaic Reference Notes* (Chicago 1901). L. Delaporte, *Epigraphes Arameens* (Paris 1912); now also in F. Vattioni: *Epigraphica Aramaica, Augustinianum Io* (1970), 493 ff. For a comprehensive list of these tablets with Aramaic notations, chronologically arranged, see S.J. Lieberman, *BASOR* 192 (1968), 27. For the paleography see S.J. Lieberman, *ibid*, 28 ff. and especially J. Naveh, *The Development of the Aramaic Scripts* (Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities 5 1970), 1 ff.

(59) A.R. Millard, *Iraq* 34 (1972), 131-133.

(60) P. Bordreuil, *Semitica* 23 (1973), 95-112.

(61) See J. Muffs, *studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine*, (Leiden 1969), 187-189.

(62) Millard, *Iraq* 34 (1972), 136.

(63) J.N. Postgate, *Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents* (Warminster 1976), pp. 5-6

(64) I would suggest that the triangular shaped docket is the *nibzu*, occasionally mentioned in the documents of that period. Note especially the reference to an Assyrian and Aramaic *nibzu* in

ABL 633, an affair involving two scribes who "wrote the amount of the silver of the *lshkaru*-tax of the shepherds on Assyrian *nibzu's* and Aramaic *nibzu's*" (11. 13-14). sealing them with the personal seals of some high officials: J.N. Postgate, *Taxation*, 95-96.

Much later, *nibzu* came to mean "receipt" and in that sense it is employed in the Elephantine Papyri; Cowley, No. 11:6 and see the remarks of Muffs, *Studies* (above, note 61), 186 and S. Kaufman, *Akkadian Influence on Aramaic* (below note 72), 77.

(65) See J. Aro, in: *La divination en Mesopotamie ancienne* (=CRRA 14, Strassbourg 1966), 122.

(66) E.g. J.A. Knudtzon, *Gebete* 106, 116, 122, 124 and passim; E. Klauber, *PRT*, Nos. 49, 50, 56. In some cases, *urbanu*, papyrus, is used, see *ibid.* 26:3.

(67) *Ibid.* nos. 124:9, 139 r. 6.

(68) J.A. Knudtzon, *Gebete* 91, 95, 97.

(69) *Ibid.* no. 120. Only two of the names of the scribes, or actually of the extispicy priests, have survived: *Nbwshlm 'aq[r'!...]* (The last name is to be read *A·qar-a*: *ibid.* no.98, left edge).

(70) Perhaps, a late echo of the use of Aramaic in religious texts is the Seleucid Uruk incantation, written in Aramaic, in cuneiform script (the latest treatment is that of A. Dupont-Sommer, *RA* 39 [1942/4], 35-62). was it an exception or does it represent a genre of Aramaic magic literature from Babylonia which has not survived?

(71) U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (The Hague, 41966), 47 ff.

(72) S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago 1974 [= AS 19]. Note especially his cogent observations on the loan-

words and on the problems of Akkadian – West-Semitic contacts, 15-27.

(73) *Ibid.*, 165-168.

(74) *Aramaische Wörter in neu-assyrischen und neu- und spät-babylonischen Texten*, *Or.* 46 NS (1977), 183-197, which incorporates both his previous contributions; see *ibid.* 35 (1966), 1-20; 37 (1968), 261-71.

(75) A.L. Oppenheim's hesitance - upheld by Albright - to accept the connection with *saфра*, *Syr. sfira* (*BASOR* 93 [1944], 15 note 6) was not justified. See the arguments of J. Lewy in *HUCA* 25 (1954), 191-199. W. von Soden renders *sepiru* as "Übersetzer-Schreiber", *AHw* 1036b and *Or.NS* 37 (1968), 266.

(76) See above note 58.

(77) Only in Neo-Babylonian: H. Hunger, *Kolophone*, 7, No. 481 (and cf. *CAD H/1* 31a).

(78) *AHL* 568 r. 19: 2 *kerke ni'are* = '2 papyrus rolls' as correctly explained by F. Perles in *OLZ* 1905, 183.

(79) The problem of the etymology of *egirtu* is still unsolved. For the latest summary see S. Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, 48. He considers it Assyrian in origin, though rightly



admitting that "a convincing Akkadian etymology has yet to be proposed". The word is not attested before the ninth century, and most of its occurrences are from the eighth till seventh centuries, at the time of the spread of Aramaic in Assyria (see above notes 38-40 and postscript).

(80) U. Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, 57.

(81) First pointed out by W. von Soden in *WZKM* 53 (1957), 319 cf. also above note 36.

(82) See above note 31.

(83) AHL 1217 r. 15; LU *gu-du-da-nu*, apparently a pl. form.

(84) Or *hiyalu*, for references see AHW 342b: hi'alu. Cf. also the PN: *Ha-il-ili* in ABL 524:2 and *Ha'il-Nana* in BIN 524:2 (NB).

(85) CAD K 386-7. On the connection with Hebr. *keneshet* see Schroeder, *OLZ* 19, 268-80; H. Tadmor, in: *Ha'ir ve-haqehilah*, (Proceedings of the 12th Conference of the Israel Historical Society, 1968, in Hebrew), 183; M. Weinfeld, *VT* 23 (1973), 74.

(86) AHW 901b, mostly in NA letters.

(87) For the evidence see I. Eph'al, *JAOS* 94 (1974), 110 note 16.

(88) CAD B 186a; w. von Soden, *Or. NS* 35 (1966), 7.

(89) CN) B 2231:, occurring, so far, only in the NB chronicles; Cf. A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 83.

(90) AHW 436b: *kannushu* in NA; ABL 424 1.:20: *adi esadi nukannashuni* 'until they collect the harvest", cf. K.H. Deller, *Or. NS* 33 (1964) 260; S. Parpola, *LAS* 122:12 *ukannishuni* "were collected".

(91) Several examples, mostly in NA letters: AHW 941a (also a noun: *ridpu* 'chase", see *Or. NS* 37 [1968], 265).

(92) AHW 275b, mostly in NA letters; AHW 1127b and above note 36.

(93) Additional West Semitic military terms appear in documents from the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods: e.g. *shaltu* 'shield" (or quiver) and *maginnatu* "helmet(?)" (AHW 1151 and *Orientalia NS* 35 (1966), 16; but contrast CAD M/1 44a), which are mentioned together in II Chron. 23:9 - a late Biblical Hebrew passage - as *magginot* and *shelatim* (Cf. R. Borger, *VT* 22 (1972), 385-388).

(94) J.N. Postgate, *Palace Archive* 119:19.

(95) D.J. Wisman and, *Treaties*, 6361 (see var. *ibid.* 78 and R. Borger. *ZA* 54 [1961], 195),

(96) CAD G 117b, AHW Z95a.

(97) W. von Soden, *Or. NS* (x96B), 10.

(98) *Ibid.* 12 (but cf. CAD K 304a).

- (99) D.J. Wiseman, *Treaties*, 602.
- (100) CAD M/2 11-12, a very early loan-word, attested already in late Middle-Assyrian.
- (101) J.A. Brinkman, *Post-Kassite Babylonia, 273-74*.
- (102) ABL 1016; 1202 r. 5 (*shuphuzu*) and cf. also J.C. Greenfield, In *Studies in Bible and Ancient Near East*, presented to S.E. Loewenstamm (Jerusalem 1975, English Section), 35 ff.
- (103) ADD 826:12.
- (104) *Ibid.* 964 r. 9.
- (105) ABL 531 r. 17; 1305 r. 3. In both cases *qarhu* occurs in conjunction with *qarahu*.
- (106) ABL 868 r.2: *la isappiqu* "will not be sufficient", see H. von Soden, *Or. NS* 24 (1955), 145.
- (107) So far attested only in Nimrud letter XXXIX (Sargon's order to Sennacherib, the crown-prince), The difficult passage obv. 29-38 has been elucidated by W. von Soden, *Or. NS* 37 (1968), 266.
- (108) CAD S. 97. Cf. also P. Marrassini, 'Formazione del lessico dell' etilizia militare nel semitico di Syria (Firenze 1971), 124. Cf. further *madgaltu* (*Ibid.* 110 and CAD M/1 16) from *dagalu* "to look", like *sapitu* from the West-Semitic *sph*, common to Middle and Neo-Assyrian and to the Akkadian of Boghazköy.
- (109) CAD S 202 a.
- (110) W. von Soden, *Or. NS* 35 (1966), 17, CAD M/1 208.
- (111) W. von Soden, *ibid.* 14, CAD M/1 9a.
- (112) In this connection, I would like to call attention to U. Weinreich's discussion of lexical integration of loan-words: *Languages in Contact*, 53ff., cf. further S. Kaufman's modification, pertaining to our specific problem, though in reverse, in: *Akkadian Influence on Aramaic*, 17-18.
- (113) W. von Soden, *AHW* 14a, quotes these two Middle Assyrian forms: a sing. *a-di-a Ishakkan* (KAJ 83:18) and a pl., *a-di-an-ni* (BA 15:9). The first however, is most probably an uncontracted Assyrian form of *adannu* 'appointed time' (read: a-di-a-<na> with CAD A/1 99a, 134a) while the second is, simply, *adi anni* "until now," see CAD A/1, 119b, under 2', and cf. P. Artzi, *Eretz Israel* 9 (1969, Albright volume), 23 note 5. There is, therefore, no evidence for the uncontracted form *adiu* "an oath", nor for the occurrences of *ade* in texts prior to the Neo-Assyrian period.
- (114) CAD A/1 131-134.
- (115) See J.A. Fitmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire* (Rome 1967, *Anal. Bibl. et. or.* No. 19), 23-24, and M. Weinfeld, *JAOS* 93 (1973), 190 ff. For a different opinion on the etymology of *ade* see F.M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge 1973), 267.
- (116) D.J. Wiseman, *Treaties*, p. 27-28, but cf. the comments of L.J. Gelb in *Bi.Or.* 19 (1962),

191.

(117) R. Borger, *Esarh.*, 13:5 *ushabshu rikiltu*, (cf. *ibid.* p. 41 note on 1. 24); D.D. Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, 42:26: *ki rikilti u gillati serushu bashi* \*when the conspiracy and treachery became evident against him" (the translation in CAD G 72a s.v. *gillatu* is to be corrected).

(118) V. Korosec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge* (Leipzig, 1931)

(119) D.]. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant* (Rome 1963, *Anal. Bibl.* 21) 97 ff.

(120) M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (London 1972), 61 ff., *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament I* (Stuttgart, 1972) 781-808; *Covenant Terminology*, *JAOS* 93 (1973), 190-199; *Shnaton* 1 (1975), 51 ff. (in Hebrew)

(121) E. Weidner, *AfO* 5 (1928-1929), 90:14.

(122) AKA 69 f. v 11-16.

(123) Col. 111 32: *rikilti abbeya sha la shumsuki* "the treaty of my fathers, which should not be abrogated" (see *AHw* 752b: *shumsuku*); for *mamitu*, see the references in *AHw* 599b, 2b. The meaning of [...] *a-de-e belini* in a broken passage In vi C:8', translated by W.G. Lambert, (*AfO* 18[1957-1958], 49) as "the oaths of our lord", is still obscure (Cf. now P.B. Machinist, *The Epic of Tukulti-Ninurta I* [Diss. Yale 1978], 300).

(124) E. Weidner, *AfO* 8(1933), 27 f.

(125) A.K Grayson, *Chronicles*, 158 1:2-4, 166:18.

(126) See provisionally, P. Rost, *Tigl. III*, 36:210 and Cf. 38:235.

(127) P. Rost's text *ibid.* 92; "Tutammu (mat) Unqi a-di-ia i-mis" (=Luckenbill *ARAB I*, p. 273, bottom) *ls*, in fact, a reconstruction (into his cuneiform "copy"!), not supported by Layard's copies; actually it is based on George Smith's translation in: *Assyrian Discoveries*, 274:18. More, in my forthcoming edition of the inscriptions of Tighlat-pileser III.

(128) E. Weidner, *AfO* 8(1933), 17-27.

(129) *Ibid.* 18:13, also: *ade tamiti ilani*, *ibid.*, 15.

(130) A.R. Millard, *Iraq* 32 (1970), 174 and pl. xxxvi.

(131) J. A. Fitzmyer, *Sefire* (above note 115), *passim*.

(132) For the supporting evidence see my *Notes on the Introductory Lines of the Sefire Treaty*, in: *S. Yeivin Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem 1970), 397-405 (in Hebrew).

(133) The evidence was collected by M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion: Assyria, Judah and Israel in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.E.* (Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 19, Missoula 1974) 42 ff.

(134) R. Borger, *Esarh.* p. 40 A i 9-19 (= *ANET* p. 289a). A fragment of the actual tablet of the vassal treaty with some of these oaths has survived: E. Ebeling, *Stiftungen*, 9, VAT 11449. Note

the following corrections to Ebeling's edition: Rev. 2 read: *a-bu-tu-di-iq-tu* "a good word"; 1.5: *ri(!)-du-te mare sharri* "the succession of the royal princes"; 1.8: *la ta-na-sar kitti (NIG)* " (if you do not) keep the treaty"; last line: *ina URU d Ashur KI*.

(135) S. Parpola, LAS 129:3-13: "Good health (to the king), my lord!...

What has not been done in heaven, the king my lord has done upon earth and shown us: you have girded a son of yours with a diadem(?) [read: *pi!-tu-tu* with AHw 871a] and entrusted him the kingship of Assyria; your eldest son you have put to the kingship of Babylon; you have placed the first to your right, the second to your left side!" (For the comparativist this is the only Mesopotamian parallel that I know for Jacob's crossing his hands while blessing Ephraim and Menasseh, Gen. 47:13-14).

(136) Above note 116; E. Reiner in IANET3, 534-41.

(137) ABL 1239 and ABL 1105, a NB copy of the NA vassal-treaty, cf. H. Lewy, JNES 11 (1952), 282-284, and Wiseman, Treaties, 9.

(138) Assur 13955z, a fragment in Istanbul: E. Weidner, AfO 13 (1941/44), 215 note 69.

(139) S. Parpola, LAS, 1-3 and ABL 202 and 998.

(140) *Hof- und Harems-Erlasse assyrischer Könige aus dem 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, AfO 17 (1956), 257-93.

(141) E. von Schuler, Hethitische Dienstanweisungen, AfO Beiheft IO, 1957.

(142) The last step in the transformation of *ade* is its use in legal documents in Assyria, and later in Babylonia, in the formula: *ade sha sharri* "King's oath", which supplanted the more usual *nis sharri* - "oath, taken by the life of the king." (see CAD A/1 134 and especially K.H. Deller, WZKM 57 [1961], 32. Cf. also D.B. Weisberg, Guild Structure and Political Allegiance in Early Achaemenid Mesopotamia (New Haven, 1967), 16 and 32 ff. with J. Renger's critical remarks in JAOS 91 [1970], 496-7. "King's oath" thus became hypostatized: the oath invoking king's name and the curses - the concluding and binding portion of the loyalty oath - would strike the violator of the contract. Moreover, that violator of

the "king's oath" could be accused of high treason, punishable by death. This explanation would, as well, eliminate the necessity of a separate entry *adu B*, "majesty", of the CAD; it belongs in fact the *adu A*, "loyalty oath".

(143) Edited by F. Schmidtke, in; Asarhaddon's Statthalterschaft in Babylonien und seine Thronbesteigung in Assyrien (AOTU 1,2, Leiden 1916), 117-123.

(144) S.A. Strong, BA 2 (1894), 627 ff., S. Langdon, Tammuz, 137 ff. (see R. Borger, HKL 1 294).

(145) A Neo-Assyrian term, from *ragamu* "raising one's voice", AHw 94. They prophesy usually in the name of Ishtar of Arbela, whose temple and priesthood seems to have played a significant role in Esarhaddon's struggle for the throne. See also L.A. Oppenheim's remarks in: Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago 1964), 221.

(146) Translation of R.D. Biggs, in: ANET3 605a.

(147) See J.C. Greenfield, in: Proceedings of the Vth world Congress of Jewish Studies (Jerusalem.1969), 69-70; Cf. also J.F. Ross, HTR 63 (1970),1 ff.

(148) Published by Strong (above note 144); the latest translation is that of R.H. Pfeiffer, in: ANET1 451a (Ninlil-kabtat is the name of the *raggimtu*, in the opening line of the prophecy, not "the goddess Ninlil is highly regarded"! ). Note also the West-Semitic loan word in r. 8: *sha mushiya erak anassarka sha kal ume hilpaka addan*  
"all night I am awake, keeping watch over you; all day I give (you) your milk (to suck)" hilpu (=hlb "milk") instead of *shizbu*, the expected Akkadian term.

(149) A.L. Oppenheim's challenging introduction to; Letters from Mesopotamia (Chicago 1967) 15 ff. and especially his salient observations on the shift in language, in technological, social, and economic conditions (42 ff.) and the degree of "Akkadianization" of the Aramaic acculturated intelligentsia in Babylonia. Although Aramaic remained its spoken language, by continuing to create in Akkadian, it perpetuated the image of the native Babylonian civilization (47-48).

(150) For this symbiosis as reflected in legal terminology cf. J.Muffs, Studies (above note 61), 189-190; for the linguistic aspects cf. S. Kaufman's study (above note 72), 15-27.

(151) This is a somewhat expanded version of the paper read at the 25<sup>th</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique, July 1978.

A preliminary study on this topic was presented before the 7th World Congress of the Jewish Studies, August 1977. The present study has benefited greatly from a discussion at the Seminar on Bible and Ancient Near East at the Institute of Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, of which I was privileged to be a fellow during 1978/9.