

Historical Survey

available Assyrian sources, is Sidney Smith's alternative proposal, suggesting that the names in Herodotus (II 141) were switched and that the actual reference was to Esarhaddon's unsuccessful first Egyptian expedition in 674 B.C. (cf. Babylonian Chronicle, iv 16)⁴⁹⁸

Altogether, the historical background for Herodotus' statement remains in question. The term "king of the Arabs and Assyrians", however, can be explained without reference to a particular Assyrian king, on the assumption that the tradition about the failure of the invasion reached the ears of Herodotus when he was in Egypt. Because of the scope of the Arab role in military campaigns across the Sinai, the Egyptians thought of any army making such a crossing as "the army of X and the Arabs". Why Egyptian tradition hit upon Sennacherib as the Assyrian king who attacked Egypt exceeds the confines of this study.

C. THE REIGN OF ASSURBANIPAL (668-627 B.C.)

1. Source-Groups Relating to Arabs in the Inscriptions of Assurbanipal:

Since M. Streck's publication of the inscriptions of Assurbanipal in 1916, discussion of the Arabs during Assurbanipal's reign has derived chiefly from the sequencing and reconstruction of events in Streck's historical survey.⁴⁹⁹ The description of the so-called "ninth campaign"

498 See Smith, *BHT*, 3:11; and, for the reservation, Landsberger-Bauer, *ZA* 37 NF 3 (1927), 78, n. 2.

499 Streck, *Assurbanipal*, CCLXXIX-CCLXXXV; cf. Smith, *CAH*, III, 123-125; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 485-489; Hommel, *EGAO*, 584-589; Rosmarin, *JSOR* 16 (1932), 17-21; Donner, *MIO* 5 (1937), 167 ff., 175; Caskel, in *Fischer Weltgeschichte* 4, 207-209; S.S. Ahmed, *Southern Mesopotamia in the time of Ashurbanipal*, Hague-Paris 1968, 36-39. Olmstead's reconstruction (*History of Assyria*, 426-430) of the chronology of events is more satisfactory than Streck's, even though it errs in various details and in the interpretation of letters.

After the presentation in 1971 of the Hebrew version of my dissertation, on which this book is based, there appeared in *WO* 7 (1973), 39-85, "Die Kämpfe des assyrischen Königs Assurbanipal gegen die Araber", a paper by M. Weippert, expanding a chapter of his unpublished dissertation, *Edom: Studien und Materialien zur Geschichte der Edomiter auf Grund schriftlicher und archäologischer Quellen*. In the course of preparing the paper for publication Weippert had recourse to my work (see, for example, his notes 58, 108 etc.). Weippert differs, as do I, from Streck and his followers in interpreting the history of Arab relations with Assyria in Assurbanipal's time. Since our methodology is similar in principle, we have arrived independently of each other at the same conclusions with regard to the

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in the Rassam Cylinder (vii 82—ix 114; x 1-5, 21-39) supplies the essence of his survey, with other available sources used only to fill in details not included in the Rassam Cylinder. Recognizing that the events reported could not have taken place during a single campaign, and certainly extended over a number of years, Streck grouped the data under two headings, each connected with one of the two kings named Uaiṭe' (^{U-a-a-le-')}):

The first war (ca. 650-647 B.C.)

Sources: Rm. vii 82—viii 47; Cyl. B. (Streck) vii 93—viii 57 (=B [Piepkorn] vii 99—viii 63); Cyl. C ix 33-49; K 2802 iv-v; VAT 5600 ii-iii; K 4687; K 3096.

The war began during the conflict between Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šum-ukin. Uaiṭe' I assisted the Babylonian king on two fronts: a) By invading the territories in the western part of the Assyrian empire along with his Qedarite people, and another Qedarite leader named Ammuladi(n). They were defeated by Assyrian units and those of the kings of the regions attacked. Ammuladi and his warriors were taken captive by ^U*Ka-ma-as-hal-la-a* king of Moab. Adiya, the wife of Uaiṭe', was also captured. Because the Qedarites were starving and recalcitrant,⁵⁰⁰ Uaiṭe' was forced to flee and seek refuge with Natnu king of Nebaioth. Although his territory was outside of Assyrian control, Natnu, impressed by the might that defeated the Qedarites, sent tribute to Assurbanipal. Uaiṭe' (possibly betrayed by Natnu) eventually turned up in Nineveh where he was caged as a punishment;⁵⁰¹ b) By sending a

reconstruction of history and certain basic geographical and chronological matters. We differ considerably, however, in interpreting various episodes, and especially in identifying the Arab kings (see Weippert, 54, n. 58); mainly because Weippert relies wholly on occurrences as they are recorded, without considering, as I have tried to do, the circumstances and temporal developments that conditioned variations in the sources.

500 In some inscriptions this is relegated to the first war (Prism B viii 23-30; VAT 5600 ii 6-20 + K 2802 v 2-3), but in the Rassam Cylinder to the last campaign (ix 53-89). Streck (see preceding note) found impossible to place the episode precisely, and thought in fact that it might relate to both campaigns.

501 Since Streck did not differentiate the punishments of Uaiṭe' I and Uaiṭe' II, he assumed that both Rm. viii 11-14, and ix 103-111 referred to Uaiṭe' II, attributing the description of the punishment of Uaiṭe' I to an error resulting from the similarity of the names (*op. cit.*, CCLXXXIII n. 3). Indeed, although both were

force to Babylon under Abiyate' and Ayamu, sons of Te'ri. They were attacked and badly beaten before they could join Šamaš-šum-ukin; remnants of the force escaped to Babylon. They tried to break out when famine threatened the city, besieged since 650 B.C., and were again defeated by the Assyrians. Abiyate' fled to Nineveh, hoping for mercy from Assurbanipal, who in fact bestowed it and made him king in place of Uaiṭe'.

The second war (641-638 B.C.)

Sources: Rm. viii 48—ix 114; x 1-5, 21-30; K 2802 vi 2-43, iii 1-32.

This was a war waged against Arab tribes rebelling against Assyria, led by Abiyate' and Uaiṭe' II son of Birdāda, who became king of the Qedarites after his uncle Uaiṭe' I fell into Assyrian hands. Reinforced by Natnu king of Nebaioth and Ayamu, brother of Abiyate', they attacked the western border regions of the Assyrian empire, at a time when the Assyrian army was involved in war against Ummanaldaš king of Elam. Their action culminated in an Assyrian campaign, conducted on a grand scale, in the desert areas near Damascus and southward. In the course of the war, Abiyate' and Ayamu, as well as the members of the family of Uaiṭe', were captured and taken to Nineveh. The fate of Abiyate' is unknown; Ayamu was put to death. Uaiṭe' and most of the Qedarite force survived the battle, but the severe shortage of food and water caused such bitterness that Uaiṭe' was forced to flee.⁵⁰² He was captured and carried off to Nineveh, where, after having been displayed at the city gate, he was forced into Assurbanipal's triumphal procession. We do not know what happened to Natnu, who may not have participated in the war, merely sending supporting forces. In any case, the Assyrian army did not reach Nebaioth territory.

This reconstruction, based in the main on what is said of the Arabs in the Rassam Cylinder, and upon the division of sources under two consecutive headings, raises difficulties with the inner logic of the sequence of events as set forth in the sources. Some instances follow:

a. Is it likely that Abiyate', whose men were beaten at Babylon by the Assyrian army, would flee to Nineveh? Or that Assurbanipal would

caged near the same gate of Nineveh, Uaiṭe' I was reportedly locked up with a dog and a bear, and Uaiṭe' II roped through holes in his cheeks.

⁵⁰² See note 500.

appoint as king of the Arabs the same Abiyate' who had just helped the Babylonian rebels and fought against the Assyrian army?

b. The inscriptions of Aššurbanipal never imply that Uaiṭe' was handed over to the king of Assyria by Natnu king of Nebaioth (a possibility offered by Streck). Rm. viii 5-7 in fact suggests that Uaiṭe' went to Nineveh on his own initiative. Although the Rassam Cylinder says that Uaiṭe' came to Nineveh because of madness inflicted by the god Aššur, this hardly accounts for his arrival so soon after his defeat in the western part of the empire.

c. Of the two kings called "Uaiṭe' in the Rassam Cylinder, which one is connected with episodes whose position in the narrative vary from source to source?⁵⁰³

Later publications of additional inscriptions of Assurbanipal enable us to solve these and other problems. In 1933, Th. Bauer published some new Assurbanipal inscriptions and re-edited others. Relating to the Arabs are Prism C x 27-56 and its parallels; K 2664; K 3090; K 3405; K 4587; and an additional fragment from the Letter to Aššur (Th. 1905-4-9, 97).⁵⁰⁴ In the same year, R. Campbell Thompson published the inscription from the temple of Ištar in Nineveh, whose important information, especially about the later relations between Assurbanipal and the Arabs, appears in no other sources.⁵⁰⁵ In that year also, A.C. Piepkorn published the complete text of Edition B of the Annals, based on parallel cylinders, the earliest of which was written in the month of Ab, 649 B.C. (a year earlier than the copy of Cylinder B at Streck's disposal).⁵⁰⁶

With the publication of these sources, details were added that clarified the development of the historical inscriptions of Assurbanipal which antedated the Letter to Aššur and the Rassam Cylinder (see pp. 46-52). The re-examination, thus made possible, of the episodes relating to the Arabs greatly contributes to more precise understanding

⁵⁰³ See notes 500-501, and also pp. 51-52. On further difficulties in interpreting the sequence of data on Arabs in the Rassam Cylinder, see also Weippert, *op. cit.*, 48-49.

⁵⁰⁴ *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*. For references to the sources mentioned here see pp. 47-49.

⁵⁰⁵ *AAA* 20 (1933), 80-98.

⁵⁰⁶ *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Assurbanipal*, 19-94.

of the course and sequence of events. In such a re-examination greater reliance should be placed on the earlier sources, closer in time both to the events and to the early phases of reporting them, than on later ones which sometimes suffered from copying and editing errors, and were affected by varying literary and historiographical approaches. We shall therefore, unlike Streck in 1916, prefer such earlier sources as Cylinders B and C (rather than the Rassam Cylinder and the Letter to Aššur, which are among the later historical inscriptions of Assurbanipal, for those episodes recounted differently in the various sources).

For the purpose of examination, the material concerning the Arabs in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal is classified into 26 episodes, which are listed in the foldout page chart after p. 164. When the textual order of the episodes conforms to the actual chronology of events, they are lettered A to X; the four episodes from later sources only (in our opinion incorrectly inserted) are numbered in Roman I to IV.

On the chart facing the list of episodes in the foldout, the episodes are further arranged according to their occurrence in the sources, in order to demonstrate that the sources themselves divide into two groups:

Group A—the early editions (Cylinders B and C), which include a historical survey up to Episode N only;

Group B—the later editions (K 3405; K 2664+3090; Letter to Aššur; K 4687; the Rassam Cylinder; the Slab Inscription from the temple of Ištar), which include the material covered in Group A, plus the Episodes from Q on, as well as I, II, III and IV.⁵⁰⁷

In Group A, the Arab king's name is always written ^mʾa-u-ta- and refers only to Uaiṭe' b. Ḥazael (the same orthography is used in the treaty between Assurbanipal and the Qedarites during the period of Episode B,⁵⁰⁸ and in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon). In Group B the name ^mʾū-a-a-te- is applied both to Yauṭa' b. Ḥazael and Uaiṭe' b. Birdāda.⁵⁰⁹ The failure to distinguish between the names Yauṭa' and

507 Episode P has been recorded only in the Letter to Aššur, where the textual damage prevents ascertaining the subject and deciding whether the episode belongs to Source-Group B.

508 For the text of this treaty see Deller-Parpola, *Orientalia* 37 (1968), 464.

509 Compare ^mʾuaitē mār ^mḥazailu, Rm. viii 1, 46; ^mʾuaitē mār ^mbirdāda, Rm. viii 2; ix 1-2; K 2802 iii 2-3.

Uaiṭe' can be explained by their similarity and by the composition of the sources of Group B (after the defeat of Uaiṭe' b. Birdāda, no earlier than 646 B.C.), which was late enough for various details about Yauṭa' b. Ḥazael (who was defeated no later than 652 B.C.) to have been forgotten.⁵¹⁰ The confusion seems to have occurred first in the Letter to Aššur, the basis for later inscriptions.⁵¹¹ The spelling of b. Ḥazael's name thus helps to classify references to Arabs in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal into their proper source group.

The chronological classification of episodes illustrates the complexity and irregular sequence of events as they are recorded in the account of the "ninth campaign" in Rm. vii 82-x 39. The accompanying sketch on the following page serves as a visual aid.

Our survey of the history of the Arabs during Assurbanipal's reign is divided into two episode-complexes paralleling the two groups of sources. The first step is a reconstruction of events by internal analysis of the inscriptions; the second an attempt to establish the actual dates through data from other sources.

2. Survey of Events Covered by Source-Group A:

After Assurbanipal's accession, Yauṭa' b. Ḥazael, king of the Qedarites, appealed for the return of the divine images captured by Esarhaddon. When he had sworn allegiance to the king of Assyria, the image of Atarsamāin was returned (Episodes A and B). A treaty fragment (Bu. 91-5-9, 178), published by K. Deller and S. Parpola, mentions Yauṭa' and offers evidence about Qedarite relations with Assurbanipal⁵¹² at that time. Sometime later, under the leadership of Yauṭa', the Arabs revolted,⁵¹³ raiding the border regions of Transjordan

510 For the dates see pp. 153-156.

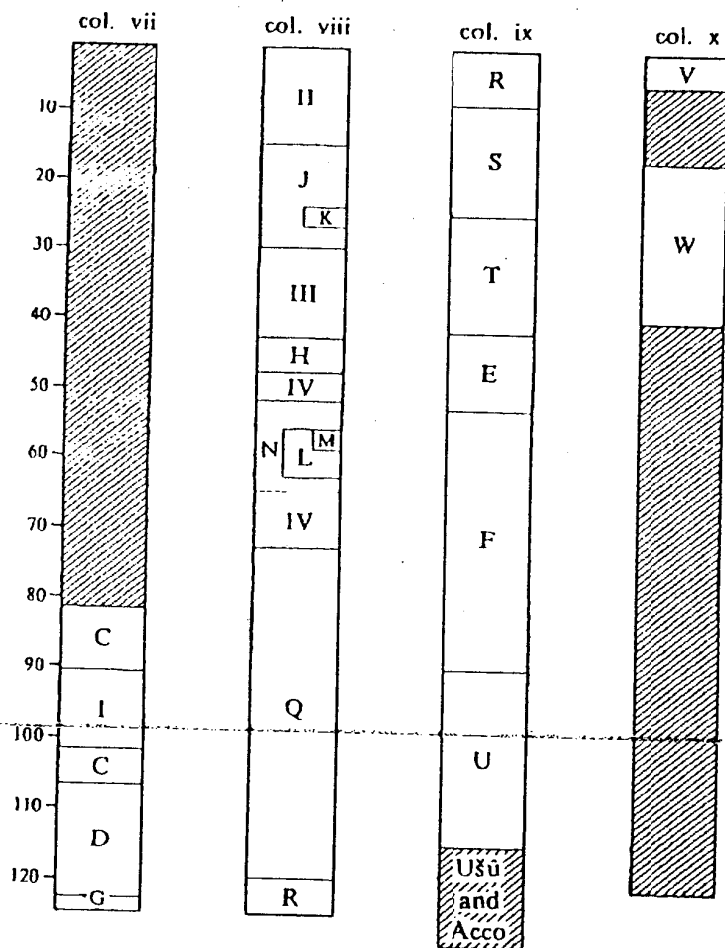
511 See pp. 51-52. The Ištar Temple Slab Inscription, line 119, is exceptional in spelling Uaiṭe' b. Birdāda ^mʾa-u-te- ʾar ^{lu}su-mu-AN. In line 113 the same person is called ^mʾū-a-a-te- ʾar ^{lu}su-mu-AN. The name Yauṭa' appears here probably because the author remembered and wanted to mention an Arab king of that name although knowledge about him was no longer precise. (It should be noted that the inscription under discussion differs from the other late inscriptions of Assurbanipal in the multiplicity of kings' names and changes in style and content; its author must have depended on sources other than the Letter to Aššur).

512 *Orientalia* 37 (1968), 464-466.

513 The common noun ^{lu}aribi is used in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal for various

SEQUENCE OF EPISODES RELATING TO ARABS

ACCORDING TO Rm. vii 82—x 39



Notes

1. Filled in spaces signify passages unrelated to Arabs.
2. Episodes A and B do not occur in the Rassam Cylinder.

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and southern Syria (Episode C). They were repulsed and defeated by Assyrian units stationed at key points along the frontiers from the province of Šupite to Edom (Episode D),⁵¹⁴ and by the armies of the border countries themselves, Moab in particular (Episode J). The details and extent of the Arab defeat are described at length in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal: the Assyrian army attacked the Arab camps and burned their tents (Episode D); so much booty was taken — people, donkeys, camels, sheep and goats — that the price of camels and slaves in Assyria dropped drastically (Episode E); the Arabs who survived the Assyrian operations suffered such extreme hunger that they were

groups of nomads (see more about this in pp. 165-168). Nevertheless, since Source-Group A mentions only Yauṣa' b. Hazael and Ammuladi(n) in connection with raids to the west, the reference here seems exclusive to the Qedarites.

- 514 Rm. vii 108-114 lists the following Assyrian military encampments: ^{ur}A-za-ar-an (or ^{ur}A-za-ar-ili), ^{ur}Ḫi-ra-ta-a-qa-ṣa-a-a, ^{ur}U-du-me, ^{ur}Ja-ab-ru-du, ^{ur}Bṭ-Am-ma-ni, ^{ur}ne-gi-e Ṣa Ḫa-ū-ri-na, ^{ur}Mu'a-ba, ^{ur}Sa'-ar-ri, ^{ur}Ḫa-ar-gi-e, ^{ur}na-gi-e Ṣa ^{ur}Su-pli-i-te. (The words ^{ur}na-gi-e head the list. This is a *hapax legomenon* in Assyrian, whose meaning is unknown. Is it possible that the determinative URU was lost, and that here, too, the reference is to a toponym [^{ur}Ḫi-ra-a]?)

Among the toponyms in the list some are identifiable with key points along important routes, like Yabrūd Pass (^{ur}Ja-ab-ru-du) and apparently also ^{ur}Ḫa-ar-gi-e. (The latter may be derived from ḫrg = to go out, and may refer to a frontier-post from which a road went out from the border; cf. the names of the oases of Ḫargah = exit and Dablah = entrance, on the western approaches to Egypt). Hommel proposed linking ^{ur}Ḫa-ar-gi-e with ^{ur}Ar-gi-te, identified as a road station (*bit mardīn*) in ABL 414, apparently on the Damascus-Homs road (EGAO, 585, n. 5), but we have no certain identifying data. Problems arise with the province of ^{ur}Ḫa-ū-ri-na, which some identify with the putative Ḫaurān province, mentioned in the inscriptions of Sennacherib III and Tiglath-Pileser III as ^{ur}Ḫa-ū-ra-a-a-ṣi; cf. 'Αρραβία, Arab. Ḫaurān (Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 62-65, 69; B. Oded, *The Political Status of Israelite Transjordan during the Period of the Monarchy*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1968, 63-64). This is doubtful, however, since the inscriptions of Assurbanipal use the spelling ^{ur}Ḫa-ū-ri-na, and the shift in ending from -an(i/ū) to -ina is unusual. On the other hand, connecting Ḫaurāna with Ḫawārīn in the environs of Yabrūd makes sense, even though the Assyrian sources do not clearly indicate that it was a provincial center (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 297; S. Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, Leipzig 1911, 139, n. 7; Streck, *Assurbanipal*, 65, n. 8; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 485; Lewy, *HUCA* 18 [1943-1944], 449 n. 107). Ḫawārīn is known later to have been an important point between Damascus and Palmyra, where military units were stationed and, during the Byzantine period, a diocese was centered (Musil, *Palmyrena*, 37-38, 235;

reduced to eating their children (Episode F).⁵¹⁵ The effect of the defeat on the subjects of Yauṭa' and the influence of Assurbanipal in the border regions near the inner cup of the Fertile Crescent prevented Yauṭa' from taking to the desert and resuming authority. He was forced to flee to the land of Nebaioth, farther than that of the Qedarites from Assyrian-controlled territory, to request sanctuary of their king, Natnu; but to no avail (Episodes G, M). Kingship of the Qedarites was assumed by Abiyaṭe' b. Te'ri, apparently not a member of the same family as Yauṭa' b. Ḥazael. Abiyaṭe' went to Nineveh, received Assurbanipal's consent that he replace Yauṭa', swore allegiance and bound himself to pay annual tribute (Episode H). Augmented Assyrian influence in the desert region impelled Natnu king of Nebaioth also to make an arrangement with Assurbanipal, pay annual tribute and swear allegiance (*adē sulummē epēš ardūti*)⁵¹⁶ (Episode N).

Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 263, 265, 280, 317; cf. also I. Press, *A Topographical-Historical Encyclopedia of Palestine*, II, Jerusalem 1948, 253, Hebrew).

The list further indicates that Assyrian military units were also stationed in the Transjordanian kingdoms — Edom, Ammon and Moab — either to strengthen these border lands against the nomads, as part of the general defense system of the Assyrian empire, or to serve as garrisons in vassal states (this disposition of the Assyrian army and its purposes were discussed by Oded, *JNES* 29 [1970], 184-186). The determinative URU before the names of the Transjordanian states in this list may indicate only capital cities, suggesting that the Assyrian armies were stationed there to ensure the local leadership's loyalty to the Assyrian king (for designating a capital city by the name of the country cf. עיר יהודה, "the city of Judah," II Chron. 25:28; *al la-a-ḥu-du*, BM 21946 rev. 12, in Wiseman, *CCK*, 72, as synonym for Jerusalem). On the other hand, such punctilio may be unnecessary, given the impression of the Assyrian scribes of this period regarding determinatives of countries in the western part of the empire (cf. for example Esarhaddon, Nin. A v 55-62: "Me-na-si-i ṣār "La-ū-di, "Qa-ū-gob-ri ṣār "U-du-me, "Mu-ū-ri ṣār "Ma-ū-bu, "Pu-du-ūli ṣār "Bi-Am-ina-na).

515 It should be pointed out that these statements are characteristic of the literature of the ancient Near East, and are not to be taken literally: some are to be found in ancient Near Eastern political treaties and others in biblical prophecies: For the suckling's unassuaged hunger in spite of seven wet-nurses, cf. D.R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets*, Rome 1964, 61-62; for cannibalism of children during famine cf. Hillers, *ibid.*, 62-63; Oppenheim, *Iraq* 17 (1955), 79, n. 34; cf. also note 531 below.

516 Prism C x (62-63); cf. B viii 59.

Source-Group A further reports the attack made by Ammuladi(n) king of Qedar on the western part of the Assyrian empire, and his defeat by "Ka-ma-as-ḥal-ta-a king of Moab (Episode J),⁵¹⁷ an episode probably depicted as well on reliefs in Assurbanipal's palace (the North Palace) in Nineveh.⁵¹⁸ Since the inscriptions of Assurbanipal refer to Yauṭa' b.

517 The defeat of Ammuladi by Kamashalta king of Moab is recorded only in the early group of sources (B viii 39 ff.; C x 35-43), the later sources ascribing the event to Assurbanipal himself (K 2802 v 15-25; K 4687 rev. 1-4; Rm. viii 15-23; *AFO* 8 [1932-1933], 200 No. 79; cf. *Istar Slab*, 114). The ascription in later versions to the king of Assyria of personal victories in fact won by others (as recorded in earlier versions) is typical of the historiography of the Assyrian royal inscriptions.

518 The reliefs from Room L ("the Arab Room") in the Palace of Assurbanipal, depicting scenes of war against the Arabs, were recently and comprehensively republished by Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh, 668-627 B.C.*, London 1975, pp. 15-16, 45; Pls. XXXII-XXXIII and C (for previous discussions of these reliefs see Opitz, *AFO* 7 [1931-1932], 7-13; J.E. Reade, *Iraq* 26 [1964], 8-9). These (some fragmentary, and others, of which we possess only the drawings made when the reliefs were discovered, lost) make up fewer than half of the reliefs that decorated this room. They can be divided into two (or three) groups: Group I — end of slab 3 and slabs 4-7 (slabs 1-2, and the part of slab 3 contiguous with them that forms the corner of the room, may belong to this group, or may be a separate episode); Group II — slabs 9-12 and perhaps slab 13.

In Group I, of which only drawings survive, three registers can be distinguished. On the middle register of slab 1 camels are kneeling in a line beside Arab warriors, each of whom stands holding a sword and a bow, as though in parade before battle. On the lower register, Assyrian soldiers — some in a chariot, some mounted and some on foot — pursue Arabs escaping on camels, reach an oasis and cut down its palm trees. Group II depicts an Assyrian raid — by chariot(s), horse- and foot-soldiers — on an Arab camp, setting fire to its tents, killing its inhabitants (including women) and pursuing those who escape on camels and on foot.

Since the reliefs from Room L, like most of the North Palace war reliefs, have no epigraphs, it is difficult to establish their exact relationship to all the episodes that for years connected Assurbanipal with the Arabs. Nothing links the reliefs with the war against Ammuladi and Adiya. Nevertheless, drafts (or copies) of epigraphs on clay tablets discovered in Assurbanipal's library, do imply the existence of reliefs showing the capture of Ammuladi and Adiya (for a comprehensive publication of these epigraphs see Weidner, *AFO* 8 [1932-1933], 175-203. The Arab-connected episodes are nos. 79-82 [p.200], dealing with the capture of Ammuladi king of Qedar and Adiya queen of the Arabs).

Also to be considered when attempting to date the episodes in the Room L reliefs is the fact that no reliefs relating to the conquest of Susa (in 646 B.C., see note 539) and the period thereafter were found in the North Palace. Furthermore, all the

Hazacl as "king of the Qedarites" from the beginning of Assurbanipal's reign until the defeat of Yauta' in the west, when Abiyate' b. Te'ri replaced him, Ammuladi presumably was another, contemporary, Qedarite king.⁵¹⁹ Ammuladi appears to have invaded the west at or close to the time when Yauta' did, and played a role integral to the complex of events reviewed above, which centered upon Qedarite pressure against the arable lands of the Syro-Arabian desert.

Although Source-Group A contains nothing about the Assyrian army assault on the camp of Adiya, her capture and transfer to Nineveh (Episode K), it obviously belongs in the same complex of events because: 1) In the later source-group (Group B) the Ammuladi and Adiya episodes (J and K) are consecutive, two links in a chain of events. In fact, the Rassam Cylinder records that the two were captured at the same time.⁵²⁰ In the epigraph list (K 3096) the two episodes are also contiguous and the only ones dealing with Arabs.⁵²¹ 2) According to Rm. viii 24-25 Adiya was the consort of Yauta' king of the Arabs. If she had possessed this title (other inscriptions called her, without further definition, "queen of the Arabs"),⁵²² its significance would have obtained only while Yauta' was king of the Qedarites, until Abiyate' b. Te'ri replaced him. It is possible to explain the absence of Episode K from Source-Group A by assuming that only events whose politico-military essence was clear were reported in this source-group and matters of secondary importance unrecorded.

If it is acceptable to include the Adiya episode in the events described, an interesting parallel can be drawn between that episode and the assault by Sennacherib's army on Te'elhunu's camp near the Babylonian border.⁵²³ Neither queen is said to have commanded armies

epigraphs published by Weidner antedate the conquest of Susa. On the implications of all this see notes 551 and 563.

519 For the designation of Yauta' as "king of Qedar" see Cyl. B (Streck) vii 87-88; cf. B (Picpörn) vii 93-94; for the connection between Yauta' and the Qedarites see also Assurbanipal's treaty with them (see note 512). For the designation of Ammuladi as "king of Qedar" see B viii 39; cf. K 2802 v 15; Istar Slab, 114; A/O 8 (1932-1933), 200, No. 79.

520 Cf. K 2802 v 21-30; K 4687 rev. 1-5; Rm. viii 24-26.

521 See note 518.

522 Cf. K 2802 v 26; A/O 8 (1932-1933), 200, Nos. 81-82.

523 Cf. VA 3310 rev. 22 ff.

which were defeated in battle; about both it is written only that their camps were attacked by the Assyrians. Evidently Adiya, like Te'elhunu in her time, arrived with the nomads to invade the settled area and stayed in a camp sufficiently in the rear to be out of danger in case of defeat.

The nomad pattern of reorganizing at a reasonable distance from their pursuers after they had been defeated is paralleled in Judg. 8:10-12: "Now Zebah and Zalmunna were in Karkor with their army, about fifteen thousand men, all who were left of all the army of the People of the East; for there had fallen a hundred and twenty thousand men who drew the sword. And Gideon went up by the caravan route (lit.: The Way of the Tent-dwellers, *דרך השכנו*) east of Nobah and Jogbchah, and attacked the army; for the army was off its guard (*והמחנה היה בטח*). And Zebah and Zalmunna fled; and he pursued them and took the two kings of Midian, Zebah and Zalmunna, and he threw all the army into a panic (*וכל המחנה חרד*). The distance of the rear camp to which the nomads fled on their camels certainly depends on the distance that their camel-less pursuers could cover without resorting to water sources. The fact that Assyrian infantry took part in the attack on the Arab camps along with cavalry and chariots (see the Assurbanipal reliefs) suggests that the camps were no more than 20-25 kilometers from the settled area. It is therefore difficult to countenance Musil's generally accepted identification of Karkor in Judg. 8:10 with Qerāqer in Wadi Sirhān, which is about 170 kilometers from the edge of the settled region, and more than 250 from Israelite territory in Transjordan,⁵²⁴ and exaggerates Israelite ability to pursue the Midianites.⁵²⁵

A more definite chronology for the episodes reviewed above can be established by further data and arguments:

a) The Šamaš-šum-ukin Chronicle states that he attacked Cutha on the 9th of second Elul, 651 B.C., and took it (BM 96273.7-10).⁵²⁶ The event appears to be connected with ABL 1117, obv. 6-12, in which

524 Musil, *Northern Heğdz*, 284-285; idem, *Arabia Deserta*, 494-495.

525 Doubt about Musil's proposed identification of Karkor has been raised by Malamat, in *Military History*, 120-121.

526 A.R. Millard, *Iraq* 26 (1964), 25-26; Grayson, *ABC*, 129.

Nabû-šum-lišir announced to Assurbanipal the delivery by Šamaš-šum-ukin of 105 prisoners, slaves of Assurbanipal who were taken at Cutha, by the envoys of Natnu the Nabayatcan (the king of Nebaioth of the inscriptions of Assurbanipal).⁵²⁷ At about the time Cutha was conquered (a few months after hostilities broke out between the kings of Assyria and Babylonia), therefore, contact between Natnu and Šamaš-šum-ukin seems to have been made, a fact brought to Assurbanipal's attention, as indicated by the discovery at Nineveh of the letter under consideration. In Source-Group A, however, Natnu still appears as Assurbanipal's vassal, with no link at all to enemies of Assyria,⁵²⁸ which confirms Natnu's position vis-à-vis Assurbanipal before second Elul 651 B.C., a date that may serve as a *terminus ad quem* for the Arab episodes in Source-Group A.

b) Assurbanipal's siege of Babylon began, according to the Šamaš-šum-ukin Chronicle (line 19), on the 11th of Tammuz in Šamaš-šum-ukin's 18th regnal year (650 B.C.).⁵²⁹ We know from Rm. viii 30-42 (Episode III) that Abiyaṭe' b. Te'ri and his men went to Babylon to support Šamaš-šum-ukin,⁵³⁰ were within the city during Assurbanipal's siege and that famine past bearing befell them.⁵³¹ When the Arabs at some unknown stage attempted to break out of the city, they were overcome by the Assyrians. It is more logical to suppose that the Arab army entered the city before the onset of the siege, rather than that it forced its way into Babylon at the height of siege and famine. This would mean that Abiyaṭe' changed his policy and turned against

527 Millard, *ibid*.

528 Later Assyrian sources also disclose nothing about Natnu's aid to Šamaš-šum-ukin (cf. for example, Episodes I and III) either. The blandishments of the king of Babylon, including the bestowal of captives, seems not to have moved Natnu to join Assurbanipal's enemies.

529 Millard, *op. cit.*, 28; Grayson, *op. cit.*, 130.

530 On the aid Abiyaṭe' extended to Šamaš-šum-ukin cf. also Episode I.

531 The famine is described in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal referring to the "sixth campaign": Rm. iii 128-135, and, more elaborately, in Prism C from Nimrud, see E.E. Knudsen, *Iraq* 29 (1967), 55-56. The severity of the famine is corroborated by Babylonian "siege documents", five of which were discussed by Oppenheim, *Iraq* 17 (1955), 76-77. The dates of these legal documents and that of the Šamaš-šum-ukin Chronicle show that, although the effects of the siege were sorely manifest within a few months after it started, Babylon held out for about two more years.

Assurbanipal rather early — no later than the beginning of 650 B.C. — in the war between Assurbanipal and his brother. Further supporting this is the reference in Prism B (vii 3-29, 43-51) to the revolt of Šamaš-šum-ukin and the aid brought to him by Ummanigaš and Tammaritu, kings of Elam. The Akītu Chronicle (BM 86379:11) indicates that hostilities between Šamaš-šum-ukin and Assurbanipal broke out in January, 651 B.C.⁵³² Since Episode H in Source-Group A mentions only the beginning of Abiyaṭe' b. Te'ri's reign under Assurbanipal's patronage, and the annual tribute requested, not his collaboration with Šamaš-šum-ukin, Abiyaṭe' must have replaced Yauja' b. Hazael as king shortly before the beginning of the war between Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šum-ukin.

The Qedarite raids on the border regions of Transjordan and southern Syria under the leadership of Yauja' and Ammuladi (Episodes C and J) therefore appear to have taken place prior to the war between Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šum-ukin, no later than 652 B.C. They should thus be viewed as an independent action, not resulting, as has been the common interpretation,⁵³³ from joint initiative on the part of the Arabs and the king of Babylonia to operate simultaneously against the two extremities of the Assyrian empire.

3. Survey of Events Covered by Source-Group B:

The episodes added by this Group to those of Source-Group A fall into two chronological complexes: i) the war between Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šum-ukin (651-648 B.C.) and ii) the period following 646 B.C.

i) 651-648 B.C. (Episodes I, II', III): During the war in Babylonia between the two brothers, Qedarite forces led by Abiyaṭe' and Ayamu b. Te'ri, with warriors sent by Uaiṭa' b. Birdāda,⁵³⁴ proceeded to Babylon to help Šamaš-šum-ukin (Episodes I, II'). According to Rm.

532 Smith, *BHT*, 24; Grayson, *Chron.* 16, *op. cit.*, 131; cf. Millard, *op. cit.*, 24.

533 See note 499.

534 In the inscriptions of Assurbanipal there is no direct connection between the Qedarites and Uaiṭe' b. Birdāda, whose title in the Iṣtar Slab is *Yar^{ku}-Su-mu-AN*. For clarification of his identity see pp. 165-168.

535 Another example of a combined political stance of the Arabs and the inhabitants of Babylonia against Assyrian rule occurs in the days of Sennacherib (see pp. 112-117); it evidently sprang from common economic interests.

viii 30-42, they clashed with the Assyrian army and were defeated, the survivors retreating into the city proper. When they attempted to break out of the city because of the famine, the Arabs were beaten a second time. The Arab force entered Babylon in 651 or the beginning of 650 B.C., close to the start of the battle for the city (above pp. 154-155). Contrary to the general view,⁵³⁶ this exhausts all the available data in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal regarding the military collaboration of the Arabs and Šamaš-šum-ukin.

It is reasonable to suppose that Yauṭa' b. Hazaci⁵³⁷ appeared before Assurbanipal and was punished in Nineveh (Episode II) during the period under discussion. Episode II states that Yauṭa' came but because he was out of his mind,⁵³⁸ implying that he went to Nineveh on his own initiative, probably to arrive at an agreement with Assurbanipal. He would hardly, even though he had not been given sanctuary by Natnu king of Nebaioth, have gone to Nineveh during the period covered by Source-Group A. Not only was such an action not recorded in this Source-Group, but its proximity in time to his own disloyalty and the enthronement of Abiyate' b. Te'ri, who had initially been loyal to the king of Assyria, makes such a possibility unlikely. It would have been more reasonable for Yauṭa' to have gone to Nineveh when Assurbanipal was at war with Šamaš-šum-ukin, who was at that time supported by Abiyate'. According to this logic, Yauṭa' journeyed to Nineveh hoping that Assurbanipal would restore him to his former position as a counter-weight to Abiyate', now in the rival camp. In any case, Rm. viii 8 ff. asserts that Assurbanipal was inimical to Yauṭa' and punished his disloyalty, possibly because he thought Yauṭa' unable to resume his former leadership of the Qedarites.

ii) After 646 B.C. (Episodes IV, Q-X): This complex describes the Assyrian military campaign against Arab tribal federations led by Abiyate' b. Te'ri king of Qedar, Uaiṭe' (b. Birdāda) king of ^{kur}Su-mu-AN and Natnu king of Nebaioth. Certain information and arguments serve to establish the date of this campaign: Uaiṭe' (b. Birdāda), captured in the campaign, was forced into Assurbanipal's victory procession in Nineveh some time after the Arab defeat, as were Tammariṭu, Pa'e and Ummanaldaš, the kings of Elam (Episodes U, W). The victory procession had to take place after the destruction of Susa and the capture of Ummanaldaš (in Elamite, Humban Haltaš III). The conquest and destruction of Susa, the last event on Prism F of Assurbanipal, written in 645 B.C., should be set in 646 B.C.,⁵³⁹ and not in 640 B.C., the date generally accepted before publication of the prism.⁵⁴⁰ No mention is made here of the capture of Ummanaldaš, who fled before Susa was conquered and was later handed over to the king of Assyria by the people of Ellipi.⁵⁴¹ The Rassam Cylinder (x 6-16), written about 643/2 B.C.,⁵⁴² is the first to note his capture, which must have taken place no later than 644 B.C.,⁵⁴³ and might have been a year earlier, thus dating the major campaign against the Arabs to 644/3 B.C.⁵⁴⁴ This campaign might in fact have occurred as early as 645 B.C., in a way a preferable date (see below). It need not be connected with another extensive campaign against Elam after the destruction of Susa since, as indicated above, Ummanaldaš was not captured by the Assyrians but transferred to them by the people of Ellipi.

The campaign under discussion was fomented by raids on the borders of the Assyrian empire by the peoples of Qedar and Nebaioth (Rm. viii 72). It appears from the line of advance of the Assyrian army that the

536 For references regarding the accepted view, see note 499. For the contacts between Šamaš-šum-ukin and Natnu king of Nebaioth, and the question of the latter's political stance, see notes 526-527.

537 In the Rassam Cylinder, the only document containing Episode II, the name is written "U-a-u-ic' mar "Ija-za-ilu (viii 1). For the change from "Yauṭa'" to "Uaiṭe'" in the later inscriptions of Assurbanipal see pp. 146-147 and also pp. 51-52.

538 The insanity of Yauṭa' is also mentioned in the Letter to Aššur (K 2802 v 37-38) but in a context different from that of the Rassam Cylinder. The statement about his condition, because of its position in the Letter to Aššur, interrupts the narrative flow, and the reason for its inclusion is not clear. On this point the literary structure of the Rassam Cylinder seems preferable.

539 Prism F was written in the limmu of Nabû-šar-aḫḫēšu, the governor of Samerina, see J.M. Aynard, *Le Prisme du Louvre AO 19.939*, Paris 1957. For dating this post-canonical eponym in 646/5 B.C. see Ungnad, *RLA*, II, 452; Falkner, *AJO* 17 (1955-1956), 113-114, 118.

540 Streck, *Assurbanipal*, CCCXLV; cf. Malamat, *IEJ* 3 (1953), 26-29.

541 See W. Hinz, *Das Reich Elam*, Stuttgart 1964, 132; cf. Streck, *ibid.*, CCCXLIII ff.

542 See Tadmor, *25th Congress*, 240 (*contra* Streck, Ungnad and Falkner, who date this prism as late as 636 B.C.).

543 See Hinz, *ibid.*, 132.

544 See Tadmor, *op. cit.*, who disagrees with Streck's dating, which ranges between 641-638 B.C. (Streck, *ibid.*, CCLXXXV).

nomads involved dwelt in the Palmyrena region (see below for details of the route) and had been threatening the area from Jebel Bishri to the vicinity of Damascus.

We know from the inscriptions of Assurbanipal that Abiya(e' and Ayamū, the sons of Te'ri, as well as Uaije' (b. Birdāda) helped Šamaš-sum-ukin in his war against his brother, but we have no specific information about Natnu's stance in that war. Although initially it seems strange that the inscriptions fail to report that the offending leaders were punished and displaced by the Assyrian king after his victory in Babylon, examination of the state of the Assyrian empire prior to the Arab campaign offers some explanation: Between the conquests of Babylon and Susa the Assyrian army fought in Elam in two campaigns which took place, according to Prism F, in 647 and 646 B.C.,⁵⁴⁵ and culminated in the capture of Susa. Because the army was actively occupied in the east between 651 and 646 B.C. — first in Babylonia and then in Elam — it could not undertake large-scale action in other parts of the empire, to the pronounced advantage of the west: Egypt could retain the independence it had recently achieved from Assyrian rule,⁵⁴⁶ and the cities of southern Phoenicia could rebel against Assyria.⁵⁴⁷ Another by-product may have been the capture of Manasseh king of Judah by the commanders of the army of the king of Assyria

545 According to Prism F, these are the fifth (iii 33—iv 16) and sixth (iv 17—vi 21) campaigns, paralleling the Rassam Cylinder's seventh (iv 110—v 62) and eighth (v 63—vii 81). On their course see Hinz, *ibid.* 130-132.

546 The available sources do not specifically mention the liberation of Egypt from Assyrian rule, an event conventionally related in Rm. ii 114 ff. to the assistance Gyges king of Lydia ("Gu-ug) gu Aar ^{um} Lu-ul-di) gave to Psammetichus I (in the Rassam Cylinder "Pi-ia-ne-ik-ki) king of Egypt in his revolt against Assurbanipal. In such a case, the *terminus ad quem* for the event is established by the death of Gyges around 652 B.C. Herodotus II, 152, in his account of the assistance given Psammetichus by Ionian and Carian mercenaries, may also be referring to this event. See also Streck, *op. cit.*, CCLXXIX; Smith, *CAH*, III, 115; von Zeissel, *Äthiopien und Assyrien in Ägypten*, 49-50; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 574-576; F.K. Kienitz, *Die Politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende*, Berlin 1953, 11-12; R. Labat, *Fischer Weltgeschichte* 4, 87; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period of Egypt*, 402, 405-406.

547 In Rm. ix 115-128, following the description of the campaign against the Arabs, there is an episode concerning the punishment of the people of Palatyrus (^{um}Ušū) and Acco (^{um}Ak-ku-u), who offended the Assyrian king by ceasing to pay tribute.

and the fortification of his kingdom *after* his return from Babylonia, as reported in II Chron. 33:11 ff.⁵⁴⁸ In other words, Manasseh maintained his anti-Assyrian policy.⁵⁴⁹ (In a similar situation Zedekiah was commanded to appear before the suzerain and nonetheless subsequently continued to undermine Babylonian control). Thus, given the situation in other regions in the western part of the empire, the silence in Assyrian sources about punishing of Arabs who had assisted the king of Babylonia can be explained by Assurbanipal's inability to take real action against them, and in fact by his loss of control over the desert dwellers (usually the first group to break away when political hegemony weakens). Since Assurbanipal had no choice but to let them alone, their pressure on the Middle Euphrates and Palmyrena regions increased. Only after victory over Elam could the Assyrian army correct the situation in the west.

The later inscriptions of Assurbanipal report the last campaign against the Arabs,⁵⁵⁰ most of it conducted in desert terrain. The report

They probably did so when the chance of reprisal seemed slight, rather than when the Assyrian army was waging a campaign to the west.

Weakening of Assyrian control in the west may have started even earlier and is further illustrated by a deed of sale from Gezer, dated Sivan 17th, eponymy "which is after (*limmu ša arki*) Aššur-dūr-ušur, governor of Barhaiza" (C.H.W. Johns, in R.A.S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer, 1902-1905 and 1907-1909*, I, London 1911, 25). It points to the fact that two and a half months after the beginning of the year the name of the eponym for 651 B.C. had not reached Gezer; see Eph'al, *WHJP*, IV/1, 281-282.

548 Manasseh's abolition of Hezekiah's cultic and religious reform and his introduction of foreign cults into the Temple (cf. II Kings 21:3-7; II Chron. 33:1-7) are generally considered to illustrate Judah's total dependence on Assyria (see J. Liver, "Manasseh," *Enc. Miqr.* V, 44-45, including bibliography). Accordingly, the report in II Chron. 33:15 that Manasseh later removed the cults seems to prove his anti-Assyrian political stance. For a different approach, which dissociates these cults from Assyria and thus denies their political significance, see Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion*.

549 There are indications that Assyrian power had already begun to decline in the west during the last years of Manasseh's reign, and not, as is generally thought, in Josiah's (for the generally accepted view see F.M. Cross-D.N. Freedman, *JNES* 12 [1953], 56-58; cf. also Liver, "Josiah", *Enc. Miqr.*, III, 417, 420, 424, including bibliography).

550 K 2802 vi 2-43, iii 1-34; K 2664 + K 3090 v 1-13; Rm. viii 48-51, 65-124, ix 1-41, 90-114, x 1-5, 17-39; cf. K 3405 rev. 7-12; Ištar Slab, 113, 118-121, 124-129.

contains two dates which point to the length of the campaign: On the 25th of Sivan the Assyrian army set out from Ḥadattā for Laribda, which was either in or on the edge of the desert (K 2802 vi 17-21; Rm. viii 96-100; on the 3rd of Ab it left Damascus for Ḥulḥuliti (K 2802 iii 11-13; Rm. ix 9-12) and proceeded to the Mount Ḥukkurina region, where it overcame the nomads by attacking them and seizing all the nearby water sources. The campaign as a whole therefore lasted for about three months. So long a campaign by the Assyrian army against so negligible an enemy is understandable only by reason of Assurbanipal's desire to subdue the nomads once and for all. This could be accomplished only by a combination of frequent assaults on oases and encampments, long-range pursuit of the survivors into the desert, and seizure of the water sources vital to them and their livestock.⁵⁵¹ (Because the campaign took place in the dry season — Sivan-Ab, i.e., July-August — the Arabs had to stay with their livestock near the settled land and could not, as was customary, take refuge in the desert). Assurbanipal's determination to disempower the nomads by burdening his army with so strenuous a campaign reflects the degree of the nomads' threat to the border regions of his kingdom.

Episodes Q to T chart the essential campaign route in a three-part description, each part concerned with a specific section of the route and the attack made on a particular group of nomads. Episode Q outlines the first part of the campaign, starting at Ḥadattā and continuing through desert terrain between Laribda, Ḥurarina and Yarki and ending in Azalla. The second part (Episode R) proceeds from Azalla to Quraṣiti, from which point captives and booty were transported via the "Damascus Road" (*ḥarrān* ^{ur}*ur* *Di-maš-qa*). The third part (Episode S) begins in Damascus, continues with a night march to Ḥulḥuliti and ends with a final blow to the Arabs in the Mount Ḥukkurina region. Since the line of march to Damascus is described as scarce in water sources, the Assyrian army must have moved from the east through the desert to Damascus, and not along the Hama-Homs-Damascus route, where water abounds. Thus Yarki can be identified with Arak, about 27 kms

551 The same combination of elements obtains in the fragmentary reliefs found in Room L ("the Arab Room") of Assurbanipal's palace in Nineveh. The parallelism is typological only, however, since these reliefs appear to deal with episodes earlier than the campaign under discussion; see note 518.

east of Tadmor (Palmyra), but the other points of the march to Damascus and Mount Ḥukkurina are less easily identifiable because our data are not clear enough. The ensuing discussion of the topography of the route draws mainly on Musil, whose survey is the most extensive.⁵⁵² Certain of his proposals are based on phonological similarity between contemporary toponyms and those in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, and others on key points along the desert routes from Damascus to the Euphrates through the Jebel Bishri region (after the probable route is determined from the meager data available).

First Part (Episode Q):

^{ur}*Ha-da-at-la-a*: This is undoubtedly a rendering of the Aramaic toponym ܚܕܬܐ. Musil assumed that the Assyrian army crossed the Euphrates in the Meskeneh region and consequently proposed identifying Ḥadattā with the al-Jadidah (the exact Arabic equivalent of Aramaic ܚܕܬܐ) ruins, on the border between the desert and the settled land. E. Honigsmann's suggested relationship of Ḥadattā with the *Adatha* of *Notitia dignitatum*, or. XXXII, 29,⁵⁵³ is untenable, since *Adatha* was close to and apparently west of Tadmor (Palmyra),⁵⁵⁴ whereas Ḥadattā of the inscriptions of Assurbanipal was near the Euphrates.

^{ur}*La-ri-ib-da*: This is described as a fortress of unhewn stone, from whose water cisterns the Assyrian soldiers drank deeply before penetrating the desert. Musil suggested locating it either in the Jebb al-

552 Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 487-489; cf. idem, *Palmyrena*, 76, 86. For exhaustive discussion of the campaign see also Glaser, *Skizze*, 273-278, 309-314; Hommel, *EGAO*, 590-591; and recently Weippert, *WO* 7 (1973), 63-66. Glaser's and Hommel's proposed identifications are valueless, since they are based on erroneous assumptions. (Glaser assumed that Assyrian imperial rule in the 8th and 7th centuries extended to Oman and Yamāna and Jebel Šammor, and therefore located places referred to in Assurbanipal's campaign against the Arabs in the area south of Tema' and Khairar. Hommel's assumption that the campaign took place along the Kūfa-Jauf-Wadi Sirhān-Damascus axis is unacceptable, since the Assyrians could not have waged so extensive a campaign without wide use of camels). For a discussion of various details of the campaign (the most important of which will be indicated below), see also Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 298-301.

553 Cf. *FW*, Reihe II, VIII, 1601; Lewy, *HUCA* 19 (1945-1946), 423-424.

554 Thus Dussaud, *Topographie historique*, 270-271, locates *Hadatha* about five kilometers north of Hawārīn.

Qdeim well region at the edge of al-Labdeh range, or some 40 kms southeast of the oasis of 'Urd (present-day al-Ṭaiyibah) at the southwestern end of Jebel Bishri. The second proposal seems more likely, since the 'Urd oasis is on the central thoroughfare between Damascus-Tadmor and the Euphrates, while Jebb al-Qdeim is remote from it, on a side road to Aleppo.

⁵⁵⁵*Hu-ra-ri-na*: Which Musil proposed identifying with Qal'at al-Hurri in the Palmyrena range, some 15 kms northwest of Arak.

⁵⁵⁶*la-ar-ki*: This is present-day Arak, spelled in Byzantine and later sources *Harac*, *Yarecca*, and *Aracha*, about 27 kms east of Tadmor, and a key point on the road from 'Urd (al-Ṭaiyibah) to Tadmor-Damascus. Armies were stationed there during various periods.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁷*A-ša/za-al-la*: Which Musil proposed identifying with al-'Elyaniya at the end of the 'Azzāleh valley.

In a kind of summary, K 2802 vi 29-40 and Rm. viii 107-119 say that the Assyrian troops defeated the ⁵⁵⁸*lu-ša-a-lar-sa-ma-a-in* ("the confederation of the god Atarsamāin") and ⁵⁵⁹*Na-ba-a-a-l-a-a* in the region between Yarki and Azalla, taking many captives, donkeys, camels, sheep and goats, and, after having travelled a distance of 8 *bēru* (about 86 kms) in the desert, returned to Azalla for water.

It should be noted that the Tadmor (Palmyra) oasis, known from documents from the 18th century B.C. on as the main stop on the principal desert routes from Mt. Lebanon to the Middle Euphrates,⁵⁶⁰ is omitted from the campaign report. Since it is unlikely that Assurbanipal's scribe omitted Tadmor out of forgetfulness or error, the probability is that the Assyrian army detoured to one of the secondary routes from Yarki to Azalla. Musil's suggested identification of Azalla provides some support for this view, since al-'Elyaniya can be reached from Arak by a side road from Tadmor. This

555 Benzinger, *PW*, II, 366; H. Hartmann, *ZDPV* 23 (1900), 134; Musil, *Palmyrena*, 86 n. 22; cf. Honigsmann, *ZDPV* 46 (1923), 162.

556 Tadmor (*Ṭa-ad-mi-tr*) appears in *ARM* V 23:16 in connection with the attack of the Sufians, and also, as ⁵⁵⁷*Ṭa-ad-mar*, in the descriptions of the wars of Tiglath-Pileser I with the Arameans from Babylonia's western border to the Middle Euphrates and the foothills of the Lebanon (Weidner, *AJO* 18 (1957-1958), 344:31; 350:35). For a list of sources on Palmyra (Tadmor) from the first millennium B.C. on, see Dussaud, *Topographie historique*, 247 ff.; Musil, *Palmyrena*, 233-255; J.G. Février, *Essai sur l'histoire politique et économique de l'Palmyre*, Paris 1931.

view of course presupposes either that the Arab raiders did not reach Tadmor or managed to get away before Assurbanipal's troops arrived.

Second Part (Episode R):

⁵⁵⁸*Qu-ra-ši-ti*: Which Musil identified with Bir al-Baṣiri, the confluence of routes to Tadmor, Qaryatein, Damascus and al-'Elyaniya. K 2802 vi 41-43, iii 1-10, and Rm. viii 120—ix 8 give the distance covered by the Assyrian troops in the desert between Azalla and Quraṣiti as six *bēru* (about 65 kms). In this region the main camp of ⁵⁵⁹*lu-ša-a-lar-sa-ma-a-in* ⁵⁶⁰*Qid-ra-a-a-ša* ⁵⁶¹*U-a-a-te-mār* ⁵⁶²*Bir-da-ad-da* ⁵⁶³*šar* ⁵⁶⁴*A-ri-bi* ("the confederation of the god Atarsamāin and the Qedarites of Uaiṭe' son of Birdāda king of the Arabs")⁵⁵⁷ was attacked and booty, dispatched via the "Damascus road" (*ḥarrān* ⁵⁶⁵*Di-maš-qa*), was taken: divine images, the mother, sister (Letter to Aššur says "sisters") and family of Uaiṭe', and "all the people of the Qedarites" (*nišē* ⁵⁶⁶*Qid-id-ri ka-la-ma*),⁵⁵⁸ as well as donkeys, camels and quantities of sheep and goats.

Third Part (Episode S):

At this point the Assyrian army left Damascus and swiftly marched 6 *bēru* (65 kms) through the night to ⁵⁶⁷*Hul-ḥu-li-ti* (so Rm.; Letter to Aššur has [⁵⁶⁸*Hul-ḥu-lī*]), which Delitzsch acceptably identified with the village of Hulḥuleh in the northeastern part of al-Leja region.⁵⁵⁹ The distance between this village and Damascus corresponds exactly to the data in the Assyrian inscriptions. The strenuous Assyrian advance, under cover of darkness, favors the assumption that the nomads against whom they were marching were camped not far from Hulḥuliti. At or near Mount ⁵⁶⁹*Hu-uk-ku-ri/ru-na* the nomads were beaten, Abiyaṭe' and Ayamu, the sons of Te'ri, captured, and booty taken (K 2802 iii 17 ff. and Rm. ix 15 ff.). The surviving nomads sought refuge on Mount Hukkurina itself, at all of whose surrounding water points the Assyrians stationed sentries, so that eventually the Arabs succumbed to thirst. The water points, unfortunately unidentifiable, are listed in Rm. ix 27-30: ⁵⁷⁰*Ma-an-ḥa-ab-bi*, ⁵⁷¹*Ap-pa-ru*, ⁵⁷²*Te-nu-qu-ri*, ⁵⁷³*Za-a-a-ū-ra-an*, ⁵⁷⁴*Mar-*

557 In the Letter to Aššur the words ⁵⁵⁸*Qid-ra-a-a*, apparently not part of the original text, are added; about this see note 565.

558 Oppenheim, *ANET*, 299 n. 13, considers that here and in other Neo-Assyrian inscriptions *nišē* means women. If this is correct, the characteristics of such a rear camp become even clearer.

559 Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, 299; cf. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 489.

qa-na-a, ^{ur}sa-da-te-in, ^{ur}En-zi-kar-me, ^{ur}Ta-'-na-a and ^{ur}Ir-ra-a-na.⁵⁶⁰ Since *Hulhulini* is Hulhuleh the water points must have been on the eastern fringe of al-Leja region, so that Musil's location of Mount Hukkurina in the Tulul al-'Iya' area east of Damascus becomes untenable, both because it is far removed from Hulhuleh, and is arid and without springs and nearby settlements.⁵⁶¹

The success, in all its stages, of the campaign against the Arabs, and fear of further Assyrian action, gave rise to rebellion against Uaiṭa'. He fled, but was captured, possibly even with the connivance of his own people, and taken to Assyria (Episode U).

No further action against the Arabs is mentioned in the Letter to Aššur and the Rassam Cylinder, but in the Slab Inscription from the temple of Ištar, written later,⁵⁶² Assurbanipal is said to have turned against Natnu king of Nebaioth also (Episode X; see also note 156). Lines 124-129 refer to a punitive campaign against the people of Nebaioth and the complete destruction of their settlements.⁵⁶³ Natnu, his wife and children, and much booty were captured by Assyrian troops. Natnu's son, Nuḥuru, escaped but later surrendered to Assurbanipal, bringing heavy tribute, and was made king in his father's

560 Delitzsch (*op. cit.*, 301) raised the possibility of identifying ^{ur}En-zi-kar-me with the village of 'Anz in the South Hauran and ^{ur}Ir-ra-a-na with 'Ein er-Rān near Busān in East Hauran. One at least has to be rejected, however, because of the distance between them. Oded's (*JNES* 29 (1970), 185 n. 57) identification of ^{ur}Ap-pa-ru, discussed here, with *Afaris* in Wadi Ḥafaris on the southeastern border of the land of Moab must also be rejected, because the places listed in this section of the Rassam Cylinder were in northern Transjordan.

561 See Caster, in *Fischer Weltgeschichte* 4, 352 n. 11. For a suggested identification of Mount Hukkurina in al-Leja region and its link to *ḥkr* in Egyptian inscriptions see Na'aman and Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977), 172-174.

562 Tadmor (25th Congress, 240) sets the time of composition at about 640 B.C., two or three years after the Rassam Cylinder.

563 On slabs 5-7 of the Room L ("the Arab Room") reliefs in Assurbanipal's palace, Assyrian soldiers are cutting down palm trees in a captured oasis. The passage in the Ištar Slab, line 125, is the only one of all the Assurbanipal inscriptions to mention devastation of permanent Arab settlements; all other passages seem to refer to temporary camps. As against the possibility of allying the discussed reliefs with Episode U, however, stands the reservation about the *terminus ad quem* of the reliefs of Room L; see note 518.

place. The absence of Episode X from the Letter to Aššur and the Rassam Cylinder and the statement in the Slab Inscription about an assault on oases where permanent settlement existed suggest that the campaign against Natnu was a separate operation from the one described in Episodes Q to V, and took place under different circumstances, along a different route (in the Wadi Sirḥān area or south of it?), some time after the major campaign.

In sum, in the historical inscriptions of Assurbanipal we can distinguish three phases of the war against the Arabs during his reign: against the Qedarites on the border of southern Syria and Transjordan (in 652 B.C. or earlier), against the troops advancing from the desert to Babylon to assist Šamaš-šum-ukin (in 651 or early 650 B.C.) and against the nomad federations in the Palmyrena region (c. 645 B.C.). It is also possible that the campaign against Natnu king of Nebaioth (Episode X) was a later, fourth, phase. At least two of these phases, those involving vaster operations, were connected with nomad incursions from the Syro-Arabian desert and their pressure on extensive border regions in Transjordan, southern Syria and the Jebel Bishri area. These episodes marked the beginning of a protracted struggle in the western half of the cup of the Fertile Crescent. The nomads, repressed in the second half of the 7th and early 6th centuries B.C. by the countries in the region, supported by Assyrian and later by Babylonian armies, so increasingly exerted pressure during the Chaldaean and Achaemenid periods that they finally penetrated the settled areas, including Palestine.

4. Nomad Leaders According to Groupings During Assurbanipal's Reign:

The inscriptions of Assurbanipal differ from other Assyrian royal inscriptions in that they supply names and personal data for the leaders of the various nomad groups in the Syro-Arabian desert, instead of using the general term ^{kur}Aribi. Certain groups and individuals will now be considered.

a. Yauṭa' king of Qedar and Uaiṭe' king of ^{kur}Su-mu-(')-AN:

Beginning with the Letter to Aššur (and excepting the Ištar Slab Inscription from Nineveh, on which see note 511) in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal, as listed in the chart after p. 166, the appellation ^{ur}U-a-te-' šar ^{kur}Aribi designates both Yauṭa' b. Ḥazael⁵⁶⁴ and Uaiṭe' b.

564 K 2802 v 37; Rm. vii 83, viii 25; cf. viii 46-47.

Birdāda.⁵⁶⁵ In other inscriptions of Assurbanipal, we read "Ja-u-ta-' šar kur Qidri/Qadri for Yauta' b. Hazael⁵⁶⁶ and "U-a-a-te-' šar kur Su-mu-AN for Yauta' b. Birdāda.⁵⁶⁷ The people of kur Su-mu-AN led by Uaiṭa' are undoubtedly identical with those of "Su-mu-'-AN, who appear with the people of "Te-e-me in the inscriptions of Sennacherib.⁵⁶⁸

Fr. Delitzsch, followed by R. C. Thompson, reading Sumu(-)AN as Sumu(-)il, interpreted the name as a development of Ishmael, the biblical designation for nomadic tribes in the Syro-Arabian and North Sinai deserts.⁵⁶⁹ J. Lewy, in agreement, and because of the identical title šar kur Aribi applied to both kings, and especially because of the confusion of their names in the inscriptions of Assurbanipal and the statement in Rm. viii 1-2 that the two were cousins, concluded that the titles šar kur Aribi, šar kur Sumu(-)il and šar kur Qidri all refer to the same person (Yauṭa' b. Hazael), and hence that the first two are synonymous, applied to the leader whose specific title was "king of the Qedarites".⁵⁷⁰ If Lewy were right, the Assyrian sources would demonstrate a clear link, even an identity, between the terms "Ishmaelites" and "Arabs". Given the fact that "Ishmaelite(s)" appears only in biblical sources antedating David's reign, and "Arab(s)" only in sources from mid-9th century B.C. on, and that the Bible makes no connection between the Arabs and Ishmael,⁵⁷¹ such an assumption is of special interest. But it must, nevertheless, be rejected:

565 K 2802 vi 15; Rm. viii 93, ix 1-2, x 21. Although K 2802 iii: (1) "a-lu ṣd A-lar-sa-ma-a-n-in (2) u "Qid-ra-a-a Ya "U-a-a-te-' (3) mār "Bir-do-ad-da šar kur A-ri-bi (4) u "Qid-ra-a-a al-me, "I surrounded the confederation of the god Atarsamāin and the Qedarites, of Uaiṭe' b. Birdāda, king of the Arabs, and the Qedarites," implies that Uaiṭe' b. Birdāda was titled "king of the Arabs and the Qedarites"; the absence of u kur Qid-ra-a-a in the parallel section of Rm. ix 2 suggests that the verbal repetition in the letter to Aššur was due to the scribal error of copying on line 4 what appeared in line 2.

566 Cyl. B (Strack), vii 87-88; cf. B (Piepkorn) vii 93-94. That Yauṭa' was king of the Qedarites is corroborated by Assurbanipal's treaty with them, published by Deller-Parpola, *Orientalia* 37 (1968), 464 f.

567 AAA 20 (1933), 86:113 (cf. line 119: "Ja-u-te-' šar kur Su-mu-AN).

568 BM 103,010 vii 96 (see note 434).

569 Fr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*⁵, Leipzig 1912, 183; Thompson, AAA 20 (1933), 98.

570 Lewy, HUCA 19 (1945-1946), 432, n. 143; cf. also Weippert, WÖ 7 (1973), 669.

571 See pp. 60-63 and also Appendix B.

1. The phonetic development Yišma'el > Sumu'il is insupportable. Moreover, Yišma'el is a proper name with a verbal construction which, in the *Iqṭal*, *Yaṭṭal* forms, is found in documents as early as those from Ibla (where it is spelled "Iš-mā-il),⁵⁷² the Akkad period (where it is spelled "Iš-ma-i-lum, "Iš-ma-AN)⁵⁷³ and the Old Babylonian period (where it is spelled "Ia-ās-ma-aḥ-AN).⁵⁷⁴ The names "Ia-si-me'-AN, "Iš-me-AN, of the same construction also appear in Neo-Assyrian documents from Gozan and Calah.⁵⁷⁵ It is therefore most unlikely that the scribes of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal transcribed Ishmael as Sumu'ilu,⁵⁷⁶ which is a proper name with a nominative construction. The Hebrew transcription of Sumu'ilu would be שמואל or שמואל, but surely not שמואל.⁵⁷⁷

2. Yauṭa' b. Hazael, king of the Qedarites, was succeeded by Abiaṭe' b. Te'ri (episode H), whose leadership ended at the same time as that of Uaiṭe' b. Birdāda (cf. Episodes S and U). They must therefore have been contemporaries.

3. Since we have seen that it is possible to distinguish between Yauṭa' b. Hazael and Uaiṭe' b. Birdāda, whatever their titles in the inscriptions

572 G. Pettinato, BA 39 (1976), 50.

573 Unger, RA 54 (1960), 177-178; J.J. Gelb, *Sargonic Texts from the Diyala Region*, Chicago 1952, 208-209.

574 S.D. Simmons, JCS 14 (1960), 27 No. 55:11; Huffmon, *Amarite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, 64, 249-250. For verbal proper names from the root *šmū* see also J.J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, Leipzig 1939, 147, 166-167, 189, 241, 319; for various examples of this name in West-Semitic sources, see M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, Stuttgart 1928, 28, 198.

575 J. Friedrich et al., *Die Inschriften von Tell Halaf*, Berlin 1940, 62, No. 111; J.N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive*, London 1973, p. 43, No. 14:21, respectively.

576 The reading AN-ilu in the name Su-mu(-)AN seems preferable to AN-Il, since in Assyrian spelling proper names conventionally end with a vowel and not a consonant.

577 Winnett, AR, 93-96, suggests connecting "Sumu(-)AN with Sm'l, which occurs in two inscriptions of about the sixth century B.C. from the region of Tema', and is either the name of a place or of a group of nomads. But this would still not support the theory identifying Sumu(-)AN and Ishmael, since its validity is based on conjecture unsupported by evidence. For further discussion of this matter, see Eph'al, JNES 35 (1976), 229-231.

of Assurbanipal,⁵⁷⁸ it seems apparent that the names Qedar and *Sunu'()*AN stand for two groups of differing sizes. *Šar^{kur} Aribi* is the general title for both leaders and provides no clue to their status or the extent of their dominion.

At the same time, since, during the major campaign against the Arabs, the Qedarites and perhaps also the *a'lu ša^d Atarsamāin* are said to have been led by Uaiṭe' b. Birdāda (Episode R), he may have had Qedarite connections. In other words, the people of *Sunu'()*AN under his leadership may have been members of the larger Qedarite confederation (for the social implications of this possibility and for other examples of Qedarite ramifications, see Appendix A, 11).

Uaiṭe' b. Birdāda and Abiyaṭe' b. Te'ri, who became chief of the Qedarites after Yauṭa' b. Ḥazael was deposed in about 652 B.C., are known collaborators from the time they both dispatched men to help Šamaš-šum-ukin at the start of his war against Assurbanipal (Episode I). They were eventually captured by the Assyrian king, sent to Nineveh, and Uaiṭe' was put on display at the city gate with a rope strung through a hole in his cheek. Later he was forced to take part in Assurbanipal's triumphal procession along with the kings of Elam (Episodes U and W). Nothing, however, is known of the fate of Abiyaṭe'.

b. Abiyaṭe' and Ayamu, sons of Te'ri:

The inscriptions of Assurbanipal record two leaders whose father's name was *Te'-(e)-ri*.⁵⁷⁹ One, Abiyaṭe', who replaced Yauṭa' b. Ḥazael as king of the Qedarites, appears in Prism B, in the Letter to Aššur and in the Rassam Cylinder;⁵⁸⁰ the other, Ayamu, appears only in the later sources.⁵⁸¹ These, although sometimes referring to *A-bi-ia-te'-^m A-a-(am)-mu mā^r Te'-(e)-ri*,⁵⁸² never use the plural DUMU.MEŠ=*mārē* or the conjunction *u* between the two names. Two or even three given names, in fact, are not uncommon among South Arabian rulers in later periods,⁵⁸³ and in some of the passages

considered, therefore, Abiyaṭe' Ayamu might indicate one person (Rm. vii 97, viii 31). However, despite the difficulty of explaining the nomenclature appearing above, Rm. ix 19-20, x 1-2 and K 2802 iii 22 make it clear that we are dealing with two brothers. The Qedarite chieftain Abiyaṭe' b. Te'ri, was entitled *Šar^{kur} Qidri* after he swore allegiance to and concluded a treaty with Assurbanipal (Episode H and Rm. viii 65-68; cf. also K 2802 iii 18-20 and Rm. ix 16-17, giving his name to the confederation of *a'-lu ša^m A-bi-ia-te'-mār^m Te'-ri^{kur} Qid-ra-a-a*). He was joined by his brother Ayamu in leading the Arab forces to Babylon to support Šamaš-šum-ukin (Episodes I, III) and certainly also in raiding the Assyrian border and in the last campaign against the Arabs. Both were captured during that campaign and taken to Nineveh (K 2802 iii 22-29; Rm. ix 19-24, and Episode V). Ayamu was skinned alive (Episode V), but about Abiyaṭe', supreme Qedarite leader and violator of his oath to Assurbanipal, the Assyrian inscriptions are silent.

c. Natnu and Nuḥuru, kings of Nebaioth:

Assuming that the Ištar Slab covers later episodes of Assurbanipal's reign, the affairs reported in lines 123 ff. seem related to an expedition against Natnu king of Nebaioth,⁵⁸⁴ whose throne was given to his son Nuḥuru, who had sworn loyalty to the Assyrian king. Natnu, according to Episode L, had led the people of Nebaioth even before Assurbanipal's accession, thus giving him at least 24 years of leadership at the time of Assurbanipal's major campaign against the Arabs (ca. 645 B.C.).

578 See pp. 51-52, and also pp. 146-147.

579 For the connection of *Te'-(e)-ri* with the name of the moon god *Šar>[r]*, see Lewy, *HUCA* 19 (1945-1946), 425.

580 B viii 31; Rm. viii 65 (77, 94), ix 16; K 2802 iii 18-19, v 6; see also note 582.

581 Rm. x 1-2; see also note 582.

582 Rm. vii 97, viii 31, ix 19-20; K 2802 iii 22, 25 (in line 25 the proper names are superfluous, apparently recorded through scribal error).

583 See, for example, J. Ryckmans, *L'institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale avant l'Islam (Ma'in et Saba)*, Louvain 1951, 17, 358-361; J. Pirenne, *Paléographie des inscriptions Sud-Arabes, I: Des origines jusqu'à l'époque himyarite*, Brussels 1956, 323-327.

584 On this source, see p. 51.