

On Terms for Deportation in the OB Royal Inscriptions with Special Reference to Yaḥdunlim

MOSHE HELD
Columbia University

It is a well-known fact of later ancient near eastern history that monarchs, when conquering foreign territories, would frequently employ the cruel tactic of deportation, that is, uprooting native populations and resettling them within their own dominions. The purpose of this study is to elucidate some of the Akkadian terms for deportation and further to suggest that this practice is, in all probability, also referred to in the Old Babylonian (OB) royal inscriptions.

In his elaborate foundation inscription,¹ Yaḥdunlim, king of Mari, boasts of his subjugation of a coalition of Hanean rebels and their allies. He proudly records the demolition of their city, Haman, making it into heaps of ruins,² defeating its king Kasuri-ḫala.³ This is followed by the enigmatic statement, *māssunu itbal u kišād Purattim igmur*.⁴ That simple but elusive phrase, *māssunu itbal*, has been subject to more than one interpretation.⁵ In the latest English translation of Yaḥdunlim's inscription, the late A. Leo Oppenheim renders our *māssunu itbal* as "(He) annexed their (the Haneans') country."⁶ While this translation cannot be rejected out of hand, it nonetheless appears highly improbable for more than one reason.

1 The text was published by G. Dossin, *Syria* 32 (1955), 1–28; for an English translation see A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*³, 556f.; for a French translation see Sollberger-Kupper, *Inscriptions Royales* (Paris, 1971) 245–48.

2 *Syria* 32 (1955), p. 14, III: 3f.; for the idiom *ana tili u karmi šakanum* in OB Royal, cf. *ibid.*, p. 15, III: 25–27. Observe that this idiom in Yaḥdunlim's inscription corresponds to the more widely attested one *ana tili u karmi turum*: cf. *RA* 39 (1942–44), 8: 46–48=*RA* 61 (1967), 41:47–49 (Samsuiluna B); note also *CH* 27:79–80 (Epilogue).

3 *Syria* 32 (1955), p. 15, III:28f.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 15, IV:3–4; for *gamārum* 'to control, to rule' replacing *belum* of the OB Royal (*PBS* 7, 133, 1:13–15=*JNES* 7 [1948], 268; *LIH* 94:24–27; *ibid.* 95:10–13), cf. Yaḥdunlim's shorter inscription, *RA* 33 (1936), p. 49, i:7–8=*Kramer Anniversary Volume, AOAT* 25 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976), 301–2.

5 Note the rendering of Dossin "He took away (the people of) his (!) country" (*Syria* 32 [1955], 15) which is adopted almost verbatim by Sollberger-Kupper (*Inscriptions Royales*, p. 247⁶). However, one cannot help feeling that this rendering, though literally correct, is nonetheless inexplicit. This feeling must have been shared by Oppenheim who, unlike Sollberger-Kupper, does not follow Dossin's translation.

6 *ANET*³, 556b²¹.

First, the verb *tabālum*, a secondary derivation from *wabālum* and at times in parallelism with it,⁸ denotes 'to carry off, carry away', but hardly ever does it denote 'to annex'.⁹ It is true that *tabālum* frequently refers to removal by force. Hence the lexical equation¹⁰ and parallelism¹¹ of *tabālum* with *ekēmu/eṭēru* 'to take away by force'. It should be noted, however, that the latter verbs do not necessarily indicate geo-political annexation, but rather deprivation. Observe, too, that in the NA Royal inscriptions the verbs *tabālu/ekēmu* serve to denote the taking away of territories (by force), while their actual annexation or appropriation is for the most part expressed by the idiom *ana ramāni turru*.¹²

Secondly, if annexation were intended one would expect in a Yaḥdunlim inscription some such phrase as **māssunu ana ramānišu utēr* 'He annexed their country.' It will be recalled that the latter phrase, albeit in an apparently WS coloring,¹³ is attested in the shorter Yaḥdunlim inscription, where *māssunu ana idīya utēr*¹⁴ should be rendered, with Thureau-Dangin, "I annexed their country."¹⁵ In other words, this phrase seems to be a synonym of or a substitute for the technical terms *ruddū / ana ramāni turru* 'to annex' frequently encountered in NA royal inscriptions.¹⁶

Thirdly, Oppenheim renders *mātum* here as "country,"¹⁷ but, as is well known, the

7 Von Soden, *GAG* § 103d.

8 Langdon, *BW*, 15:15 (= *Bab.* 7 |1913–23|. 143) *idirtī nūnu libal libil nāru* 'May a fish carry off my gloom, may the river carry (it) away'; cf. also the sequence of *wabālu - tabālu* in *KAR* 178 r. VI:39.

9 Note that the antonym of *tabālu(m)* is mostly *nadānu(m)* (*šarākum*): cf. e.g., *CT* 22, 247:27 *šarru iddina šarrumma ittabal* 'The king has given (it) to me, the king himself has taken (it) away' (cf. Job 1:21); Malamut, *EI* 5 (1958), 68:16–18 (antonym: *nadānum*); Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, p. 22: 23–25 (antonym: *šarāku*): see also below n.12.

10 *CT* 18, 10 III:45–47; see *CAD* E. 401b (lex. section) and *AHw.*, 264a.

11 *Maqlu* III: 8–9 (cf. *ibid.* 11–12) *ša eṭli damqi dūssu ikim ša ardatu damiqtu inibša itbal* 'As to the handsome man, she deprived him of his virility; as to the beautiful woman, she took away her sexual attractiveness'; cf. *YOS* 10, 11 i:25–27 (*ekēmum-tabālum*) and note *tabālu-ana ramāni turru* (e.g., Borger, *Esarh.*, 52:64–66)=*ekēmu - ana ramāni turru* (e.g., Winckler, *Sargon*, 124:135–6).

12 Note Borger, *Esarh.*, 52:63–66 *RN . . . ša eṭli māri Bābili u Barsip ina parikte* (cf. *ina danāni in AKA*, 239:44–45) *itbalūma uterru ramānuš* 'RN who had taken away by force the territories belonging to the people of Babylon and Barsippa and annexed them,' compared with Winckler, *Sargon*, 124:135–36 (=Lie, *Sargon*, 64:9–10) *eṭlētīsunu ša. . . Suti ekimūma ramānušsun uterrū* 'Their territories, which the Suteans had taken away and annexed'; note also Borger, *Esarh.*, 32:10 (*tabālu-ana ramāni turru*): *AKA*, 239:43–45; *TCL* 3:163; Streck, *Ašb.*, 100:52–55 (*ekēmu - ana ramāni turru*).

13 Long after this paper was completed fascicle 14 of von Soden's *AHw.* came to hand. From it one learns that von Soden considers the idiom *ana idī turru* as OB (*AHw.*, 1335a.13d). It is, however, significant to note that all of his OB examples originate at Mari. In addition to our Yaḥdunlim passage, he gives two more references, both of which are from Mari letters (*RA* 33 |1936|. 173:30–31; *ARM* 2, 130:38–40). Moreover, one finds it difficult indeed to separate the idiom *ana idī turru*, which is never attested in OB proper, from other similar Mari idioms revealing obvious WS colorations, such as: *ana idī qerēbum* 'to be close to' (*ARM* 4, 27:34–37); *ana idī šalāmum/sullumum* 'to arrive/to send safely to' (*ARM* 1, 40:9–15); *ana idī šubulum* 'to send (a tablet) with' (*ARM* 1, 110:19–21), and the like. On the intricate problem of WS influences at Mari see my forthcoming paper: "On WS Elements in the Mari Correspondence," presented to the 7th World Congress of Jewish Studies held at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, August, 1977.

14 *RA* 33 (1936), 51, 1:19–20=*Kramer Anniversary Volume*, 302.

15 *Ibid.*, 51.

16 *AHw.*, 967a, 5; *ibid.*, 950a, 5.

17 *ANET*³, 556b²¹.

latter may refer not only to country, but to the populace as well. To the references listed in von Soden's dictionary¹⁸ the following example from the OB royal inscription of Ipiq Istar may be added: *inūmišu urdam mātum. . . iškun ḥabarattam¹⁹ rabītam u maruštam²⁰ ipu[š]* "At that time the people came down, made a great clamor, and committed a sacrilege."²¹ While the rendering of *māssunu itbal* as "he annexed their country" is open to serious doubts (see above with note 12), our suggested rendering "he deported their populace" recommends itself in more ways than one. First and foremost is the fact that the verb *tabālum* is actually attested in OB outside the corpus of royal inscriptions in contexts clearly involving deportation. Thus, in the OB Omina we read: *nakrum ana libbi ālīka itebbiamma²² ālānika ikkimma itabbal* "The enemy will attack your cities, will capture your cities and deport (their inhabitants)."²³ This calls to mind similar OB expressions such as *ālam/pātam nasāḥum*,²⁴ and the like²⁵ denoting 'to deport the inhabitants of a city/border area'. Indeed, *tabālum* is in many cases interchangeable with *nasāḥum*, attested in synonymous parallelism and hendiadys with it. In one of the ŠU.ILA prayers we read: *kuṣṣu²⁶ ḥurbāšu. . . ina [zumri]²⁷ annanna apil annanna usuḥ tabal* "Chills, shivers of fear remove, take away [from] so-and-so son of so-and-so."²⁸

Our interpretation gains much in probability when we bear in mind that *nasāḥum* is

18 *AHw.*, 634a. 4.

19 The substantive *ḥabarattum* "clamor, uproar" is attested only here in OB. Elsewhere, it is replaced by the more common *ḥubūrum* "din, clamor"; note particularly *ḥubur mātīm* 'din of the people' (*JCS* 11 [1957], 86, IV:16) = *ḥubur ništ* (Cagni, *Erra*, I:82). For WS *ḥabarā* (not *ḥabarā!*) "din, noise" see Finkelstein, *JBL* 75 (1956), 331 and cf. my remarks in *The Gaster Festschrift*, *JANES* 5 (1973), 181, n. 59.

It must be candidly stated, however, that Finkelstein's attempt at equating, both semantically and etymologically, Biblical הבר הבר (Deut. 18:11), הברייך (Isa. 47:9, 12), הבר הבריי (Ps. 58:6) and even אהבירה (Job 16:4) with Akk. *ḥabaru* 'to be noisy' (*JBL* 75 [1956] 328–31) is less convincing. A detailed study of Heb. הבר will appear in the writer's contribution to the forthcoming *Festschrift* for Professor Harry M. Orlinsky.

20 For the form and etymology see the writer, *JAOS* 79 (1959), 173; for similar writings in the OB Royal inscriptions, cf. *RA* 11 (1914), 95, II:24 (Kudur-Mabuk) *ma-ru-uš-tam*; *CH* 27:31 *ma-ru-uš-tum*; *ibid.* 28:83 *ma-ru-uš-tam*; *VAS* 1, 32, I:12 (= *ZA* 31 [1917–18], 92; Ipiq-Istar) *ma-ru-uš-ta-am*. For the idiom *maruštam epēšum*, not attested elsewhere in OB Royal, cf. Kraus, *AbB* 1, 118:10 *ana minim maruštam anntam tēpušanni* "Why have you caused me this hardship?"

21 *VAS* 1, 32, I:18f. = *ZA* 31 (1917–18), 92.

22 For the idiom *tebūm ana* 'to attack' (= WS קב על קב, e.g., Deut. 28:7; Ps. 3:2; 92:12), see *AHw.*, 1342b; note Akk. *tebūm* 'opponent, adversary' (*ibid.*, 1343b), which is the exact semantic equivalent of Ugaritic *qm* (*IVAB* 2: 24–25 *ib//qm*) and Heb. קב (e.g., 2 Sam 22:40–41, 49) = Ps. 18:40–41, 49; Ps. 59:2 [קב//קב]; Ps. 44:6; 74:23 [צר//קב]; Deut. 33:11 [קב//בישנא]; see U. Cassuto, *Biblical and Oriental Studies II*, (Jerusalem, 1975), 48.

23 *YOS* 10, 11, I:25–27.

24 Cf., e.g., *YOS* 10, 26, II:24, 29; *ARM* 6, 71:4.

25 It is worth quoting here the pertinent lines from an interesting, though not entirely clear, OB letter (Frankena, *AbB* 6, 80:1–3) concerning the deportation (*tabālum*) of a woman together with all the population (*mātum*): *I awiltum marat Idamarāṣ itti mātīm ina bali ništša Elammū itbalū* "The Elamites deported a woman, a native of GN, together with (all) the population, but without her (immediate) family."

26 For *kašū* 'to be/become cold' see *CAD* K, 269f. and *AHw.*, 459. Note that von Soden offers no etymology, but Arabic *ṣaqa'a* (see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1/4, 1707) in all probability belongs here.

27 For this plausible restoration, cf., e.g., Ebeling, *TuL*, 140:30.

28 Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, p. 18:3f.

indeed the technical term in Akkadian for political deportation.²⁹ A particularly telling example is the following one from the annals of Sargon II: *mašak PN₁ akūšma³⁰ nišī GN mal bašū u PN₂ adi qinnišu³¹ assuḥamma ina qereb Amatti ušēšib; nišī GN₁ GN₂ GN₃ GN₄ GN₅ ultu ašrīšunu assuḥšunūtīma ina Dimašqi u Ḫatti ušēšibšunūti* “I flayed³² the skin of PN₁, I deported PN₂ with his family and as many people as there were and settled (them) in GN; as to the people of GN₁ GN₂ GN₃ GN₄ GN₅, I deported them from their country and settled them in GN₁ and GN₂.”³³ To the student of NW Semitic it becomes immediately apparent that the Akkadian sequence of *nasāḫu* // *šūšubu* is identical with and is in no way different in meaning from the Hebrew sequence הגללה//הוישיב³⁴ and the Phoenician ירר//ישב,³⁵ both denoting ‘to deport//to settle’.³⁶

Even more significant for the case of *tabālum* denoting ‘to deport’ is the fact that the other most common parallels of *nasāḫum* in NA contexts dealing with political deportation are the verbs *warū* and *wabālu* ‘to lead, to bring’. Only two examples can be mentioned here:

*Šidqa. . . ša lā iknušu ana nriya ilāni bīt abīšu šāšu adi kimiti|šu*³⁷ *assuḥamma ana Aššur ūraššu* “As to RN who had not submitted to my yoke. I deported his family gods, himself together with his family and brought him to Assyria.”³⁸

29 Note that *galū/suglū* ‘to go into exile/to exile, deport’ at times replaces, mostly in NA letters, the widely attested *nasāḫu*. Whether *galū*, an obvious WS loan word (see von Soden, *Or.* 35 [1966], 8, No. 21; idem, *Or.* 46 [1977], 186, No. 21), is the exact equivalent of *nasāḫu* cannot be determined with any degree of certainty because of the obscure contexts and fragmentary condition of most of the NA letters in which our vocable is attested. It should be noted that *galū/suglū* is for some reason not included in *CAD G*, but see *AHw.*, 275b. *galū* I and II; *ibid.*, 1125b, 1127b.

30 For *kāšu* ‘to flay, to skin’ see *CAD K*, 270f., and von Soden, *AHw.*, 458f. Note that von Soden’s WS etymologies must remain in serious doubt since both Heb. קָץ ‘to break open/through’ (attested only in Isa. 7:6!) and Arab. *qāḏa* ‘to demolish’ are too remote from the notion of ‘flaying’ or ‘skinning’. The interdialectal distribution for ‘to flay, to skin’ is as follows: Akk. *maška kāšu* (*šahātu*); Heb. פִּשַׁט עוֹר (cf. Akk. *šahātu*!); Aram. Syr. מִשַׁכָּה; Arabic *salaha jildan*. To both dictionaries we must now add the new OB (Mari) occurrence of the III form of *kāšum* attested in one of the interesting “lion” texts published by Dossin (*Syria* 48 [1971], 7f.). The pertinent lines concerning an order to skin a dead lion (*maškam šukūšum*) read: *inanna kīma nēšum šū imātu mašakšu uskīšma ana šukulim addi|nšu* “Now then, since that lion died, I had it skinned and had it (i.e. its carcass) given away as food” (*Syria* 48 [1971], 14:24–25=ARM 14, 1:24–25).

31 Cf. Winckler, *Sargon*, 14: 63–64 (*adi qinnišu assuḥa*); note also *AKA*, 81: 31–33 (*qinna nasāḫu*).

32 For the cruel practice of flaying the enemy, which is unknown in OB royal but frequent in NA, cf. e.g., *A/O* 3 (1926), 156: 40–41; *AKA*, 239:42; *ibid.*, 277: 67–68; *ibid.*, 285: 89–90; *ibid.*, 286: 91–92, 93; *ibid.*, 292:110 (all include flaying in addition to draping the skin over the walls or pillars); cf. also *KAH* 2, 88:11; Winckler, *Sargon*, 102:35; *ibid.*, 106:49; Lie, *Sargon*, 14:83 (=Winckler, *Sargon*, 88:52–53); *OIP* 2, 62:86.

33 Winckler, *Sargon*, 108: 56–57; cf. *ibid.*, 20: 96–97; 86: 45–47; 106:49; Lie, *Sargon*, 10: 67–68; *ibid.*, 14: 89–90; *ABL* 896: 14–17.

34 2 Kgs. 17:6, 26; cf. Lam. 1:3.

35 Donner-Röllig, *KAI* 26A, i:20–21.

36 See Ginsberg, *The Gaster Festschrift*, 144 with n. 55, and cf. the remarks in my forthcoming monograph “The Phoenician Text of Azitawadda in the Light of the OB Royal Inscriptions.” Here it will suffice to note that Ginsberg’s interpretation gains much in probability when it is borne in mind that in similar contexts dealing with political deportation Akk. frequently employs the sequences of *nasāḫu-šūšubu* (cf. note 33 above) and *nasāḫu-šūrudu* (cf. *AKA*, 129, II: 2–3; Weidner, *A/O* 18 [1957–58], 360:19) respectively.

37 Cf. Lie, *Sargon*, 18:103 (=Winckler, *Sargon*, 16:77); Winckler, *Sargon*, 106:49 (*adi kimitišu assuḥa*).

38 *OIP* 2, 69: 20–21; cf. *ibid.*, 30: 60–64; Weidner, *Tn.*, 26, II:27–30; *ibid.*, 30: 23–25.

Yanzū. . . adi makkūrišu. . . ilānišu marēšu marātēšu šabēšu assuḥa ana Aššur ubla 𐤀𐤁𐤏
deported RN together with his possessions, his gods, his sons, his daughters, his people and brought
(them) to Assyria.³⁹

These sequences in turn call to mind the Hebrew counterparts of, הגלה/הוליך/הביא⁴⁰ and הגלה/הנחה⁴¹ respectively.

It may be noted in passing that in the latter case the universally accepted reading יינחם 'He placed them' for MT יינחם 'He led them'⁴² is far from certain. Supported by the versions (cf., e.g., Targum on our verse with the one to Gen. 2:15), modern biblical scholarship seems to be making an extremely strong case in favor of the reading יינחם. This position has been championed most forcefully by Ehrlich in his Hebrew "Randglossen."⁴³ His arguments, however, appear today far less compelling than in the past, for more than one reason. First, the analogy from 1 Kgs. 10:26 is not convincing since in that verse, where יינחם lacks a parallel verb, we have the clear and unequivocal plene writing ייניחם of the Book of Chronicles (2 Chr. 1:14; 9:25). Such, however, is not the case with regard to our verse in 2 Kgs. 18:11. Second, the contention that if יינחם 'He led them' had been intended, one would expect יינחם אל and not ב יינחם, is surely not persuasive. For it is an undisputed fact that the norm in Bib. Hebrew is נחה ב, not necessarily נחה אל. This is true not only of cases such as נחה בדרך (Gen. 24:27, 48; Ps. 139:24; Neh. 9:19), נחה במעגל (Ps. 23:3), נחה בארה (Ps. 27:11), but also of other cases such as: נחה בציר (Ps. 61:3) and נחה בארץ (Ps. 67:5; 143:10; *si vera lectio*⁴⁴). As a matter of fact, נחה אל is, interestingly enough, extremely rare; it is attested only two times in Bib. Hebrew (Exod. 32:34; Ps. 107:30). Third, Ehrlich did not or could not realize in his day that 2 Kgs. 17:6 is not clear evidence in favor of the emendation. For our present study makes it abundantly clear that NA royal inscriptions contemporary with the Book of Kings employ for the most part two sequences in dealing with political deportation, namely, *nasāḥu-šūšubu* and *nasāḥu-warū/wabālu*, respectively. Thus, the former sequence is reflected in 2 Kgs. 17:6, while the latter one is in evidence in 2 Kgs. 18:11. To put it differently: When we render the Akk. sequence *nasāḥu-šūšubu* into Hebrew we obtain הגלה // הושיב (= נסח), while a Hebrew rendering of the sequence *nasāḥu-warū/wabālu* yields הגלה // הנחה/הוליך/הביא (= נסח). Moreover, it is a fact that הנחה, not, הניח, is the exact semantic equivalent of Akkadian *warū/wabālu*.⁴⁵

Returning to our central concern, the very consistency with which Akkadian *wabālu* and its semantic equivalents in Phoenician and Hebrew are used to denote deportation cannot help but illuminate Yaḥdunlim's usage of *tabālum*, a derivative of *wabālum*.

39 *WO* 2 (1955), 156: 125–26; cf. *ibid.*, 30, II: 4–6; *AJO* 18 (1957–58), 350: 32–33; *AKA*, 240:47.

40 2 Kgs. 24:15; Jer. 24:1; 1 Chr. 5:26.

41 2 Kgs. 18:11.

42 See the lexica and standard commentaries; cf., e.g., Koehler, *Lexicon*, 606a; Montgomery, *Kings (ICC)*, 501; Gray, *I and II Kings (OTL)* 1970), 610; Ehrlich, *Randglossen* (Leipzig, 1914), 7:315; Tur-Sinai, *מקראות פשוטות* II (Jerusalem, 1964), 251, and many others.

43 *Miqrā ki-Pheschūtō* (Berlin, 1900), 2:373; *ibid.*, 287.

44 See Ginsberg, *EI* 9 (1969), 46–47; Held, *JANES* 6 (1974), 112, n. 51.

45 Note particularly the parallelism of נחה/הושיב = Akk. *šūbulu* (Ps. 60:11 = 108:11) = נחה/הביא = Akk. *ubla* i.e. *wabalu* + ventive (Ps. 43:3) and נחה/הניח = Akk. *warū* (Ps. 27:11); see Held, *JANES* 6 (1974), 111, n. 48.

Equally conclusive is the use of יבל —the etymological equivalent of Akkadian *wabālu*—in Old Aramaic (Samalian),⁴⁶ specifically denoting political deportation. Thus in the Panamu inscription we read:

יבנת מיקא שמש יבל מערב יבנת מערב יבל מן:קא שמש

The peoples⁴⁷ of the east⁴⁸ he deported⁴⁹ to the west,⁵⁰ and the peoples of the west he deported to the east.⁵¹

Perplexing indeed is the fact that *nasāḥum* connoting 'political deportation' does not seem to be in evidence in the OB royal inscriptions. This is even more puzzling in view of the fact that *nasāḥum* in a wide range of usages is well attested in that corpus.⁵² Thus in the OB royal inscriptions themselves we encounter expressions with obvious political overtones such as *nakrī nasāḥum* 'to uproot enemies'⁵³, *išdī ayyabī u lemnim nasāḥum* 'to uproot the enemies and the wicked'⁵⁴ *raggam u šēnam nasāḥum* 'to uproot the wicked and evildoer'⁵⁵, and others.⁵⁶ Moreover, *nasāḥum* as a political term for

46 For an authoritative and concise description of this dialect of Old Aramaic, see Ginsberg, "The Northwest Semitic Languages," in B. Mazar, ed., *The World History of the Jewish People* (Tel Aviv, 1970), 2: 118–20, particularly 120.

47 Note that Donner-Röllig waver between בנת 'daughters' (*KAI* II, 224) and 'peoples' (ibid., 228). However, their biblical references in support of the latter are irrelevant. For Hebrew בנת as a geographical term, cf. e.g., Num. 21:25; 32:42; Josh. 15:47; Jud. 1:27; Jer. 49:2; and many others.

48 Our מיקא שמש 'rising of the sun,' i.e., 'east' = מרנה is obviously to be equated, both semantically and etymologically, with Akk. *šit šamši* (= *mūši šamši* in *EA* 288:6–7) = *šadū*; Ugaritic: *šat šps* = X; Phoenician שמש = X; and Heb. מרנה = מוצא/צאת השמש. Observe that in an interdialectal distribution for 'east', Arabic goes its own way with *ṭulū' aššamsi* = *šarq(un)*.

49 Donner-Röllig render יבל here incorrectly as 'to bring' (*KAI* II, 224). However, they correctly observe in their commentary (ibid., 228–29) that political deportation is intended.

50 Observe that as a sequel to מיקא שמש 'rising of the sun' one would expect here some such expression as מעל שמש 'setting of the sun'. The latter Aramaic expression, the exact semantic equivalent of Phoenician and Hebrew מרנה (ה שמש), is evidently unknown in Old Aramaic, hence the unexpected sequence of מרנה שמש-מערב. The interdialectal distribution for 'west' is as follows: Akk. *erēb šamši* = *Amurru*; Ugaritic: *ʿrb šmš* = *m'rb* (*ḥp ym* in *VAB* B:7); Phoenician מרנה השמש = X; Heb. מערב = מרנה השמש; Aram.-Syr. שמשא (מעל) = *brom*; Arabic: *magrīb aššamsi* = *garb(un)*.

51 *KAI* 215:14.

52 It is of interest to note that the verb *nasāḥum* is attested eleven times in the Corpus of OB royal inscriptions. In addition to the references alluded to in this paper, note the following: *RA* 11 (1914), 94, II:5 *daltam nasāḥum* 'to tear out a door'; ibid., 94, II:21 *libbam nasāḥum* 'to tear out the heart' (both Kudur-Mabuk); *PBS* 7, 133, II:15–16 = *JNES* 7 (1948), 269, III: 6–7 *ummānam in tuṣšikkim nasāḥum* 'to release people from corvée work'; *CH* 27: 28–29 *išdī šarrūtīm nasāḥum* 'to tear out the foundation of kingship'; ibid. 35–36 (*awīlam*) *ina balṭūtīm nasāḥum* 'to uproot a man from among the living'; ibid. 28: 55f. *muṣam-asakkam-simmam nasāḥum* 'to remove ailment-disease-wound' (all Ḥammurabi); *AfO* 12 (1937–39), 366:32 *išdam nasāḥum* 'to tear out root/foundation' (Takil-ilissu).

53 *CH* 24: 30–31; cf. *nakrī šumqutum* 'to strike down enemies' (*RA* 33 [1936], 51i:11–14 = *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, 302; Yaḥdunlim).

54 *RA* 39 (1942–44), 8:49–50 = *RA* 61 (1967), 41: 50–51 (Samsuiluna B); note that the reading *assuh* is corroborated by the Sumerian version: HĒ·IM·MI·BUR₂ (*RA* 39 [1942–44], 8:46).

55 *CH* 25:91–92; cf. *raggam u šēnam ḥulluqum* 'to destroy the wicked and evildoer' (ibid. 1:35–36) and *muḥalliḡ raggim* 'who destroys the wicked' (*YOS* 9, 62:12; Nidnuša).

56 For other cases in which political overtones may be discerned, note *PBS* 7, 133, II:15–16; *CH* 27: 28–29; *AfO* 12 (1937–39), 366:32; see note 52 above.

deportation is well attested in OB outside the royal inscriptions. Only two examples can be mentioned here:

*ahhūšu māduṭumma ša ana Mari nashū u ina libbī mātim eqlam u bitātim šabtu mimma dikūtam ul illakū*⁵⁷

His numerous tribesmen who are deported to Mari and are holding fields and houses in the land do not perform any corvée work.⁵⁸

šarrum wašib al pāṭim inassah

The king will deport the inhabitants of the border area.⁵⁹

At this point a word must be said concerning the perplexing idiom *hibbī nasāḥum* in the shorter Yaḥdunlim inscription.⁶⁰ After proudly relating his defeat of 7 Ḥanean 'kings'⁶¹ and the annexation of their country, Yaḥdunlim has this to say:

57 For the idiom *dikūtam alakum* in OB, cf. *VAS* 8, 45:1–4 (*dikūtam miḥāriš alakum*); *RA* 53 (1959), 31a:12f. (*dikūtam alakum*); Wiseman, *Alalakh* 55:6–10 (*ilkam u dikūtam alakum*).

58 *ARM* 5, 73 r.12–15; cf. *ibid.*, 38:5–7; *ARM* 4, 5:5–6.

59 *YOS* 10, 26, II:29; cf. *TCL* 17, 15:22–24, 25–26; *PBS* 7, 108:13–14.

60 *RA* 33 (1936), 51, I:21–23 = *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, 302.

61 *Ibid.* lines 15–20. The text, though not without problems, should be read and rendered as follows: 7 *šarri abbū Ḥana sa uqtabbilūnim akmišunūti* "As to the 7 'kings', sheiks of Ḥana, who waged battle against me, I defeated them." For the title *abbū Ḥana*, cf. Yaḥdunlim's foundation inscription (*Syria* 32 [1955], 15, III:28f.) *alam Haman. . .ša abbū Ḥana kalūšunu ipušūšu iqquršūma ana tili u karmi iškunšu* "As to the city GN, which all the sheiks of Ḥana had built, he tore it down (for the expected *ibussūma* 'he destroyed it!') and made it into heaps of ruins"; cf. also *Mari abbū Idamarāš* (*Syria* 19 [1938], 109:27–30) to whom Yaḥdunlim used to give gifts (*qīšatim iqēš*) and so his territory is safe (*nawūšu šalmat*); and note the title of Kudur Mabuk as *abu Emubala* (*RA* 11 [1914], 93, I:2).

Problematic indeed is the verb *qabālum/kapālum*, which von Soden (*AHW.*, 442a) takes as a II/2 from *kapālum* 'to roll up, to coil', while the *CAD* seems to waver between *kapālum*, which it renders, surprisingly enough, as 'to gather against' (*CAD* K, 175a) and *qabālum* 'to fight' (*ibid.*, 129a). The problem as a whole will be taken up elsewhere. Here it will suffice to note that we are in all probability confronted with a verb *qabālum*, possibly of WS origin, denoting 'to fight, wage battle'. This assumption is based on the following considerations: (1) It is true that *kapālum* 'to roll up, to coil, to wrap' has a wide range of meanings, but the fact remains that it has nothing to do with the notion of fighting, battling, or the like. (2) The verb *qabālum* 'to wage battle' seems to be attested elsewhere in peripheral Akk. Thus, *Ugaritica V* (1968), 278, II:10 reads: *itti bel le'ūti la taqtabbil* "Do not wage battle with a powerful man." (3) The II/2 form *qutabbulum* calls to mind the *t*-form of *mḥš* in Ugaritic (for references and discussion see *JAOS* 79 [1959], 171–72) and of 𐎢𐎣 in Moabite (*KAI* 181:11, 15, 19, 32) both denoting 'to fight, wage battle'. Our interpretation gains in probability when we note that in other OB royal inscriptions the actual description of the defeat of the enemies by the Babylonian monarch is at times preceded by an indication of their hostilities against him. Note particularly Yaḥdunlim's foundation inscription (*Syria* 32 [1955], 14, III:10f.) where the actual defeat of his enemies is preceded by the statement: *šurrū annūtun* (archaic for *annūtum*) *ikkirūšu* "These kings started hostilities against him"; note similarly *RA* 39 (1942–44), 7:38f. = *RA* 61 (1967), 41:39f. (Samsuiluna B) *naphar māṭ šumerim u akkadim ša izērūninni. . .lu adūk āli zairiya ana tili u karmi lu utēr* "All of Sumer and Akkad which was hostile to me, I defeated: the enemy cities I turned into heaps of ruins"; *CT* 36, 4, I:7–10 (cf. *ibid.*, II:12–14) = *RA* 8 (1911), 66, I:5–7 (Ašduni-Erim vers. B and A) *kibratum erbēm / erbettim(!) ikkirāninni* "The entire world started hostilities against me," and as a result of that *mātam nakirtam lu ukanniš* "I subdued the hostile country" (*CT* 36, 4, II:3–5 = *RA* 8 [1911], 67, II:11–13).

hibbī ša kišād Purattim assuḥma mātī šubtam neḥtam ušēšib

I removed/deported the *hibbū* from the bank of the Euphrates. and thereby made my people dwell in safe habitation.⁶²

The vocable *hibbum* has been a crux ever since the publication of this inscription. Obviously Thureau-Dangin's attempt⁶³ to equate it with OB *ibbūm* (<Sumerian IM.BA) 'loss, deficit' is extremely forced on both contextual as well as phonological grounds.⁶⁴ Equally difficult is Laessøe's interpretation taking *hibbum* as a 'water-conduit'.⁶⁵ For not only is the derivation from SB *ḥabābu* denoting 'murmuring of water' far-fetched,⁶⁶ but the interpretation as a whole seems contextually excluded. It must be emphasized that our passage deals exclusively with political matters, while irrigation is taken up by Yaḥdunlim in the passage which follows.⁶⁷ In his recent translation of our inscription Kupper renders *hibbī nasāḥum* as 'to obliterate injuries'.⁶⁸ One wonders whether he too sensed that the removal of some adverse conditions must be involved. Though he offers no commentary whatsoever, his reading *hippī* would seem to indicate that he sought here some such vocable as *ḥipum* 'break'. It must be emphasized, however, that the interpretation as a whole is forced since the latter vocable can under no circumstances be rendered 'injury' as such.

More plausible, but by no means unproblematic, is von Soden's attempt to view our *hibbum* as a Can. vocable to be equated with WS עב, presumably denoting 'wooded thicket'.⁶⁹ However, militating against such a position are the following considerations: (1) The vocable עב 'wooded thicket' is extremely rare in Hebrew⁷⁰ and even its

62 *RA* 33 (1936), 51, I:21–25 = *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, 302. For the idiom *šubat neḥtim šūšubum* in OB Royal, cf. *PBS* 7, 133, I:17–20 = *JNES* 7 (1948), 268; *LIH* 57:31–35; *ibid.* 95:39–40 (all Ḥammurabi); *RA* 63 (1969), 42, II:26–30 (Samsuiluna D); cf. *YOS* 9, 35:50–52 = *RA* 63 (1969), 34 in *šubat ṭūb libbim šūšubum* (Samsuiluna C). Note also *KAI* 26A, I:17–18 (Azitawadda), for which see my monograph referred to in note 36 above.

63 *RA* 33 (1936), 54.

64 Observe that the vocable *ibbūm* is nowhere in evidence in the corpus of OB Royal, nor is it ever attested with the verb *nasāḥum*. Moreover, unlike *ibissūm* 'loss', *ibbūm* is restricted in OB to losses pertaining to grain only (cf. *CH* § 120:4–9; *PBS* 7, 123:9–10; *VAB* 6, 259:22–23; *YOS* 2, 37:30–31). Note also that if *ibbūm* were intended, one would expect some such spelling as *i-ib-bi-e* (*PBS* 7, 123:9), *ib-bi-e* (*YOS* 2, 37:30), certainly not *ḥi-ib-bi*.

65 *JCS* 7 (1953), 22 with n. 73; cf. *CAD* H, 179a.

66 Note that contrary to Laessøe's assertion (*JCS* 7 [1953], 22, n. 73) neither the verb *ḥabābu* nor its III-form *šuhbubu* can be rendered 'to irrigate' as such. Moreover, a perusal of the NA royal inscriptions, in which our vocable is mostly attested, makes it abundantly clear that *ḥabābu* denotes the murmuring or noise of running water in canals (*pattu*) and irrigation ditches (*atappu*), but has hardly any thing to do with wells or water-conduits.

67 *RA* 33 (1936), 51, I:26–II:4 = *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, 302. This passage, devoted to irrigation, reads: *nārātim upetti dalām ina mātiya uḥalliḥ* 'I (re)dug many canals (and thus) made water-drawing obsolete in my country'; cf. Yaḥdunlim's foundation inscription (*Syria* 32 [1955], 12, I:20) where he is referred to as *pēri nārātim*.

68 *Kramer Anniversary Volume*, 302.

69 *AHw.*, 344a.

70 As far as can be ascertained the vocable עב allegedly meaning 'thicket' is attested only in Jer. 4:29. Note, however, that neither its precise meaning nor its etymology have ever been established with any degree of certainty.

derivation is open to serious doubts.⁷¹ Indeed, this word has been a thorny problem to ancient and modern scholars alike. While the rendering of עֵב as 'thicket' is supported by some of the VSS (cf., e.g., Targum הַזְרִישִׁיא) and cannot be excluded, the fact remains that its history and etymology are obscure and a matter of dispute. Some scholars are inclined to derive our עֵב from the root עֵבָה = Akk. *ebû* 'to be thick' while others connect it with the Arabic *ġāba* 'to be absent', *ġābatun* 'forest.'⁷² The uncertainty concerning our vocable can perhaps best be illustrated by calling attention to the fact that a philological genius of the stature of Ibn Janāḥ remains utterly silent on the matter, offering no comment whatsoever as to the meaning and etymology of the substantive עֵב. This gap in Ibn Janāḥ's *Kitāb al-uṣūl* did not escape the discerning eye of Qimḥi who, characteristically enough, attributes it to an oversight.⁷³ However, his own perplexity is readily apparent in his Commentary on Jer. 4:29: "בְּעֵבִים means on the high places which are as high as the clouds (עֵבִים), by way of exaggeration; or the vocable עֵבִים is to be connected with the notion of thickness (עֵבִי), that is to say, in thick forests interwoven with trees so that one can hide there; and so too is the rendering of the Targum הַזְרִישִׁיא."

(2) If clearing of thickets were intended, one could expect, in a Yaḥdunlim inscription, the verb *nakāsum*, not *nasāḥum*. For it is a fact that in recording his campaign to the west in the foundation inscription, Yaḥdunlim twice employs the idiom *išī nakāsum* 'to cut trees'.⁷⁴

(3) The verb *nasāḥum* would seem to be altogether inappropriate in a context dealing with clearing thickets, since one would expect, besides *nakāsum*, some such verb as *kasāmum*,⁷⁵ *buttuqum*⁷⁶ (= *kašātu* in NA and NB).⁷⁷

(4) As we mentioned above concerning irrigation, clearing of wooded thickets seems likewise contextually improbable in a passage devoted solely to political matters.

A more apt suggestion is to view *hibbī nasāḥum* as referring to the elimination of some threatening or hostile elements from the realm. This assumption would seem warranted when it is borne in mind that in other OB royal inscriptions the act of settling the people in safe habitation is in a good many cases preceded by the removal of various hostile elements. Thus, in the Epilogue to *CH*⁷⁸ settling of the people in safety (*nišī dadmī aburri ušarbiš* "I made the people lie down in safety")⁷⁹ is preceded by the

71 See the standard lexica: cf. e.g. GB¹⁷, 555a, 568a; Koehler, *Lexicon*¹, 670b, 685b; and others.

72 See the lexica: for the Arabic etymology, see already Luzzatto, *Commentary on Jer., Ez., Prov., and Job* (Lemberg, 1876), 18.

73 See his *Lexicon* (Berlin, 1847), 248.

74 *Syria* 32 (1955), 13, I:34f. *ša ištu ūm šāt. . . šarrum mamman. . . šadī rabūtīm lā ikšudu u išišunu lā ikkisu* "As to the fact that since the days of yore no king had (ever) reached the great mountains and felled their trees"; cf. *ibid.* 14, II:18 *išī annūtīn ikkis* "He (Yaḥdunlim) felled these trees."

75 Cf., e.g. *YOS* 5, 175:13–14; *YOS* 2, 130:1–5 (*šurī kasāmum* 'to cut reeds'); *Gilg.* Y, V:6; *ibid.*, IV:23–24 (*erēnt kasāmum* 'to cut cedars').

76 Cf. *JNES* 16 (1957), 256 r. 21 (O.I. OB *Gilg.* Frag.).

77 Cf., e.g. *TCL* 3, 44:276; *ibid.*, 46:296, 303 (*kašātu-nakāsu*); Borger, *Esarh.*, 19, Ep. 18:13–15 (*išē kašātu-šurša nasāḥu*); *YOS* I, 45, I:42–43 (*kašātu-nasāḥu*).

78 *CH* 24:30–39.

79 *Ibid.*, lines 35–37. For this idiom in OB Royal, cf. *VAS* I, 33, I:20 = *LIH* 97:24–25 (Samsuiluna A).

removal of enemies (*nakrī eliš u šapliš assuḥ* “I removed enemies everywhere”).⁸⁰ In a similar case in the Epilogue⁸¹ *šīr nišīšu liḫīb* “Let him make his people prosper”⁸² is preceded by *ina mātišu raggam u šēnam lissuḥ* “Let him uproot the wicked and evildoer from his land.”⁸³ This is true also of Samsuiluna C⁸⁴ and Azitawadda.⁸⁵ Our interpretation seems to be further corroborated by the fact that our text has the form *assuḥ-ma*, not simply *assuḥ*. This makes it abundantly clear that the settling of the people in safety (*mātī šubtam nēḫtam ušēšib*) is the direct result of the prior act of removing the hostile elements from the land (*ḫibbī ša kišād Purattim assuḥ*). For the time being, the etymology of *ḫibbum* must remain an open question, lest we become entangled in the thickets of philological fantasy.

80 *CH* 24: 30–31; see above n. 53.

81 *CH* 25: 91–94.

82 *Ibid.*, lines 93–94. For this idiom in OB Royal, cf. *CH* I:47–48; *ibid.* 5:24; cf. also *LIH* 57:7–10, 27–30; *PBS* 7, 133, II:27–29 = *JNES* 7 (1948), 270, III:18–20 (all Hammurabi); note *CH* 24:33–34 *šīr mātīm ṭubbum*.

83 *CH* 25: 91–92; see above, n. 55.

84 *YOS* 9, 35: 43–52 = *RA* 63 (1969), 34; cf. also *RA* 63 (1969), 42, I:23f. (Samsuiluna D). Of a different nature, though perhaps not unrelated, are the following: *RA* 39 (1942–44), 8:49–53 = *RA* 61 (1967), 41:50–54 (Samsuiluna B); *YOS* 9, 35:113f. = *RA* 63 (1969), 36 (Samsuiluna C); *Syria* 32 (1955), 14, II:19f. (Yaḫdunlim) (*ana qibitīm/ana pīm šūšubum*).

85 *KAI* 26, Ai: 9–18; see the remarks in my monograph on Azitawadda, referred to in n. 36 above.