

A POLITICAL HISTORY
OF THE ARAMEANS

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A POLITICAL HISTORY
OF THE ARAMEANS

From Their Origins to the
End of Their Polities

K. Lawson Younger Jr.

SBL Press



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Atlanta

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To Alan Millard,
a pursuer of a knowledge and understanding of אֱרֵמִי אֶבֶד

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PREFACE

When I began this project, there were two recent full-length monographs devoted to the study of the Arameans: P.-E. Dion, *Les Araméens à l'âge du fer: Histoire politique et structures sociales* (Paris: Gabalda, 1997); and E. Lipiński, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000). Both of these works were devoted more or less to all aspects of the study of this people group (history, culture, religion, etc.).

Archaeological discoveries have brought much new information to light. New discoveries and advances in the understanding of the Middle Assyrian and Luwian text sources, and, to a lesser extent, the archaeology connected to these, have greatly improved our comprehension of the history of the Arameans. Various excavations have brought clarity to some of the crucial questions. Renewed excavations of long-known sites (e.g., Zincirli, Tell Ta'yinat, Tell Ḥalaf, Tell Fakhariya) and the publication of materials found at excavated sites since the two monographs mentioned above have all contributed to a much richer knowledge. Recent anthropological studies in tribal structures and in nomadism, including important archaeological work at Jebel Bišri, have created more nuanced perspectives.

Consequently, this volume is devoted only to the political history of the Aramean entities, in so far as such is possible. The nature of the sources, whether textual or archaeological, make such a project quite challenging yet highly rewarding. There is much that we still do not know, but what we do know generates an exciting new synthesis. The impacts of all the Aramean tribal entities on the history of the ancient Near East cannot be overestimated.

A great boon to the writing of this volume was the wonderful opportunity to hold the Seymour Gitin Distinguished Professorship at the W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research in 2012–13. This led to an initial draft of the manuscript. I must also voice my deepest appreciation to Trinity Evangelical Divinity School's generous sabbatical policy, which led to this volume's production.

It is impossible to write a study of this sort without the support of numerous scholars, some of whom I know only through their important scholarly

publications. While it is impossible to thank everyone here, I have received over the years very particular help and encouragement from the following: B. T. Arnold, P. Bordreuil, P.-E. Dion, F. M. Fales, S. Fassberg, D. E. Fleming, S. Gitin, T. P. Harrison, J. D. Hawkins, R. S. Hess, S. W. Holloway, W. G. Lambert, A. Lemaire, J. Llop-Raduà, D. Pardee, J. D. Schloen, B. B. Schmidt, W. M. Schniedewind, J.-A. Scurlock, A. G. Vaughn, and A. R. Millard, to whom this volume is dedicated.

I must also express my deep thanks and appreciation to B. J. Collins and Bob Buller, who have been both patient and helpful at every turn in the production of this volume. Special thanks go to three of my students: A. D. Riddle (who graciously and adeptly created the maps for this volume), S. W. Booth (who brought many archaeological and bibliographic data to my attention), and N. A. Huddleston (who helped me with indexing and other proofreading issues). Any errors lie solely with me.

Finally, in every way I must give thanks to my wife, Patti. Without her innumerable, great sacrifices and support, this work could never have come to completion.

Vernon Hills, Illinois
2 February 2015

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>
AAAS	<i>Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes</i>
AASOR	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ABL	<i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum</i> . Edited by Robert F Harper. 14 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1892–1914.
<i>AbrN</i>	<i>Abr-Nahrain</i>
AbrNSup	Abr-Nahrain Supplements
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
<i>ActSum</i>	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i>
ActSumSup	Acta Sumerologica Supplementary Series
ADD	<i>Assyrian Deeds and Documents Recording the Transfer of Property, Including the So-Called Private Contracts, Legal Decisions and Proclamations Preserved in the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum, Chiefly of the 7th Century B.C.</i> C. H. W. Johns. 4 vols. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, 1898–1923.
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AfOB	Archiv für Orientforschung: Beiheft
ÄgAbh	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
AHw	<i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wolfram von Soden. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981.
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli</i>
AiS 1	<i>Einleitung und Inschriften</i> . Vol. 1 of <i>Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli</i> . Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen der königlichen Museen zu Berlin 2. Berlin: Spemann, 1893.
AiS 2	<i>Ausgrabungsbericht und Architektur</i> . Vol. 2 of <i>Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli</i> . II. Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlun-

- gen der königlichen Museen zu Berlin 12. Berlin: Spemann, 1898.
- AiS* 3 *Thorskulpturen von Sendschirli*. Vol. 3 of *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. Mitteilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen der königlichen Museen zu Berlin 13. Berlin: Reimer, 1902.
- AiS* 4 *Bericht über die fünfte Grabung, 1902*. Vol. 4 of *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen der königlichen Museen zu Berlin 14. Berlin: Reimer, 1911.
- AiS* 5 *Die Kleinfunde von Sendschirli*. Vol. 5 of *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. Mitteilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen der königlichen Museen zu Berlin 15. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1943.
- AJA* *American Journal of Archaeology*
- AJBI* *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute*
- AJSL* *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
- ALASP* Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens
- AnAnt* *Anatolia Antiqua*
- ANEM* Ancient Near East Monographs/Monografías sobre el Antiguo Cercano Oriente
- ANEP* *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*. 2nd ed. Edited by James B. Pritchard. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- ANES* *Ancient Near Eastern Studies*
- ANESSup* Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series
- ANET* *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. 3rd ed. Edited by James B. Pritchard. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- AnOr* *Analecta Orientalia*
- AnSt* *Anatolian Studies*
- AO* Collection of Antiquités Orientales of the Musée du Louvre, Paris
- AOAT* *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*
- AoF* *Altorientalische Forschungen*
- ARM* *Archives royales de Mari*
- ArOr* *Archív orientální*
- ARU* *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden in Umschrift und Uebersetzung nebst einem Index der Personen-namen und Rechtserläuterungen*. J. Kohler and A. Ungnad. Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1913.
- AS* *Assyriological Studies*

ASORDS	American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series
<i>AuOr</i>	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
AuOrSup	Aula Orientalis Supplementa
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BaF	Baghdader Forschungen
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
BAIAS	<i>Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society</i>
<i>BaM</i>	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BARI	BAR International Series
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BATSH	Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḥ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderer Orient Texte
BCSMS	<i>Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies</i>
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A, Cuneiform Texts
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia
<i>BIN</i>	<i>Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies</i> . New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917–.
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BM	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>BNP</i>	<i>Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World</i> . Edited by Hubert Cancik. 22 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2002–2011.
<i>BO</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BTAVO	Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	Ignace J., et al. Gelb, <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . 21 vols. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010.
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History

- CahRB Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
 CAI *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions*. W. E. Auffrecht. Ancient Near Eastern Studies 4. Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1989.
 CAL Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (www.cal1.cn.huc.edu)
 CANE *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. Edited by Jack M. Sasson. 4 vols. New York, 1995. Repr. in 2 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006.
 CBQ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
 CDA *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. J. Black, A. George, and N. Postgate., 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000.
 CHANE Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
 CHD *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Edited by Hans G. Güterbock, Harry A. Hoffner Jr., and Theo P. J. van den Hout. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980–.
 CIS 2.1 Part 1 of vol. 2 of *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum*. Paris: Reipublicæ Typographeo, 1889.
 CM Cuneiform Monographs
 ConBOT Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
 COS *The Context of Scripture*. Edited by William W. Hallo. 3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–2002.
 CRAI *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
 CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
 CTN Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
 CTU *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places*. Edited by Manfred Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995
 DaF Damaszener Forschungen
 DaM *Damaszener Mitteilungen*
 DCH *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Edited by David J. A. Clines. 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 1993–2014
 DMOA Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
 DNP *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Edited by Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996–.
 DNWSI J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. HdO 1/21. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
 DOT *Documents from Old Testament Times*. Edited by D. Winton Thomas. London: Nelson, 1958.
 EA El-Amarna tablets. According to the edition of Jørgen A.

- Knudtzon. *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908–15. Repr., Aalen: Zeller, 1964. Continued in Anson F. Rainey, *El-Amarna Tablets, 359–379*. 2nd ed. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1978.
- EAK* *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften*. Rykle Borger and Wolfgang Schramm. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1964–1973.
- EBib* *Études bibliques*
- EDB* *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
- EHAT* *Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*
- ErIsr* *Eretz-Israel*
- EVO* *Egitto e Vicinte Oriente*
- FOTL* *Forms of the Old Testament Literature*
- HACL* *History, Archaeology, and Culture of the Levant*
- HALOT* *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999.
- HANEM* *History of the Ancient Near East Monographs*
- HCCT* *Hirayama Collection of Cuneiform Tablets from Emar*
- HdO* *Handbuch der Orientalistik*
- HSAO* *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient*
- HSM* *Harvard Semitic Monographs*
- HTR* *Harvard Theological Review*
- HUCA* *Hebrew Union College Annual*
- ICC* *International Critical Commentary*
- IEJ* *Israel Exploration Journal*
- IOS* *Israel Oriental Studies*
- JA* *Journal asiatique*
- JAIE* *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*
- JANESCU* *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JBL* *Journal of Biblical Literature*
- JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
- JESHO* *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
- JJS* *Journal of Jewish Studies*
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- JNSL* *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
- JPOS* *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*
- JSOT* *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*

- JSOTSup Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*
- K tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum
- KAI* *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. H. Donner and W. Röllig. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962–64.
- KAJ* Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen inhalts. E Ebeling. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1927.
- KAT* Kommentar zum Alten Testament
- KAV* *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*. O. Schroeder. WVD OG 35. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1920.
- KBo* *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1916–23; Berlin: Mann, 1954–.
- Koya tablets in the Museum of the Directorate of Antiquities in Koya
- KTU* *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*. Edited by Manfred Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013.
- KUB* *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*. Berlin: Akademie, 1921–.
- LAPO Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
- LHBOTS Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
- MARI* *Mari: Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires*
- MARV 1* *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte*. H. Freydank. VAS 19. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1976.
- MARV 2* *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte II*. H. Freydank. VAS 21. Berlin: Akademie, 1982.
- MARV 4* *Tafeln aus Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta*. Vol. 4 of *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte*. H. Freydank and C. Fischer. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur. E, Inschriften 7. Keilschrifttexte aus mittelassyrischer Zeit 2. WVD OG 99. Berlin: Saarbrücker, 2001.
- MARV 5* *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte V*. H. Freydank and B. Feller. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur. E, Inschriften 7. Keilschrifttexte aus mittelassyrischer Zeit 3. WVD OG 106. Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker, 2004.
- MARV 6* *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte VI*. H. Freydank and B. Feller. WVD OG 109. Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker, 2005.
- MARV 7* *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte VII*. H. Freydank and B. Feller. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur, E, Inschriften 7. Keilschrifttexte aus

- mittelassyrischer Zeit 5. WVDOG 111. Saarwellingen: Saarländische, 2006.
- MARV 10 *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte X*. D. Prechel, H. Freydank, and B. Feller. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur. E, Inschriften 7. Keilschrifttexte aus mittelassyrischer Zeit 9. WVDOG 134. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011.
- MC Mesopotamian Civilizations
- MDAI *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
- MDOG *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
- MT Masoretic Text
- NABU *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires*
- NBL *Neues Bibel-Lexikon*. Edited by M. Görg and B. Lang. 3 vols. Zürich: Benziger, 1991–2001.
- NCBC New Century Bible Commentary
- ND field numbers of tablets excavated at Nimrud (Kalḫu)
- NEA *Near Eastern Archaeology*
- NEAEHL *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Edited by Ephraim Stern. 5 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta; New York: Simon & Schuster; Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1993–2008.
- NIBC New International Biblical Commentary
- NIV New International Version
- NRSV New Revised Standard Version
- OBO *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*
- OEANE *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*. Edited by Eric M. Meyers. 5 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- OEBA *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Archaeology*. Edited by B. Alpert Nakhai. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- OECT Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
- OG Old Greek
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications
- OIS Oriental Institute Seminars
- OLA *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*
- OLP *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*
- Or *Orientalia* (NS)
- OrAnt *Oriens Antiquus*
- OTG Old Testament Guides
- OTL Old Testament Library
- OTS Old Testament Studies

- OtSt* *Oudtestamentische Studiën*
- PEQ* *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
- PIHANS Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
- PNA* *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. Edited by Simo Parpola. 3 vols. in 6. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998–2011.
- PRU* *Le palais royal d'Ugarit*. Edited by C. Schaeffer, Mission de Ras Shamra, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1956–.
- PW *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. New ed. by Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll. 50 vols. in 84 parts. Stuttgart: Metzler and Druckenmüller, 1894–1980.
- Qad* *Qadmoniot*
- RA* *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
- RAI Rencontre assyriologique internationale
- RB* *Revue biblique*
- REA* *Revue des études anciennes*
- RGTC Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes
- RHA* *Revue hittite et asianique*
- RIMA The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
- RIMA 1 A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (To 1115 BC)*. RIMA 1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- RIMA 2 A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC (1114–859 BC)*. RIMA 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- RIMA 3 A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858–745 BC)*. RIMA 3. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- RIMB 2 G. Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia: from the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- RIME 2 D. Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113 BC)*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 2: Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- RINAP Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
- RINAP 1 H. Tadmor and S. Yamada, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC), and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), Kings of Assyria*. RINAP 1. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011.

- RINAP 3.1 A. K. Grayson and J. Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC), Part 1*. RINAP 3/1. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.
- RINAP 3.2 A. K. Grayson and J. Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC), Part 2*. RINAP 3/2. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014.
- RINAP 4 E. Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669 BC)*. RINAP 4. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011.
- RIA *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*. Edited by Erich Ebeling et al. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928–.
- Rm tablets in the collections of the British Museum
- RS Ras Shamra
- RSO *Rivista degli studi orientali*
- RSOu Ras Shamra-Ougarit
- RSF *Rivista di Studi Fenici*
- SAA State Archives of Assyria
- SAA 1 S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I. Letters from Assyria and the West*. SAA 1. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1987.
- SAA 2 S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*. SAA 2. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988.
- SAA 4 I. Starr, *Queries to the Sungod: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*. SAA 4. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990.
- SAA 5 G. B. Lanfranchi and S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part II. Letters from the Northeastern Provinces*. SAA 5. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990.
- SAA 6 T. Kwasman and S. Parpola, *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part I: Tiglath-Pileser III through Esarhaddon*. SAA 6. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1991.
- SAA 7 E. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records, Part I. Palace and Temple Administration*. SAA 7. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992.
- SAA 8 H. Hunger, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings*. SAA 8. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992.
- SAA 10 S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*. SAA 10. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1993.
- SAA 11 E. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records, Part II. Provincial and Military Administration*. SAA 11. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1995.

- SAA 12 L. Kataja and R. Whiting, *Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period*. SAA 12. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1995.
- SAA 13 S. W. Cole and P. Machinist, *Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*. SAA 13. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1998.
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- SAA 15 A. Fuchs and S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part III: Letters from Babylonia and the Eastern Provinces*. SAA 15. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2001.
- SAA 16 M. Luukko and G. Van Buylaere, *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon*. SAA 16. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2002.
- SAA 17 M. Dietrich, *The Babylonian Correspondence of Sargon and Sennacherib*. SAA 17. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2003.
- SAA 18 F Reynolds, *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon*. SAA 18. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2003.
- SAA 19 M. Luukko, *The Correspondence of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II from Calah/Nimrud*. SAA 19. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2012.
- SAAB *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
- SAAS State Archives of Assyria Studies
- SAOC Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
- SBLDS Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
- SBLRBS Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study
- SBLWAW Society of Biblical Literature
- SCCNH Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians
- ScrHier Scripta Hierosolymitana
- SEL *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico*
- SemeiaSt Semeia Studies
- SHANE Studies in the History (and Culture) of the Ancient Near East
- SJOT *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
- SM tablets in the Suleimaniya Museum
- SMEA *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*
- SMNIA Tel Aviv University Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series
- SQ Tell Satu Qala

<i>SSI</i>	<i>Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions</i> . J. C. L. Gibson. 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973–79.
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
StOr	Studia Orientalia
StPohl	Studia Pohl
StPohlSM	Studia Pohl Series Maior
StSem	Studi Semitici
<i>STT</i>	<i>The Sultantepe Tablets</i> . O. R. Gurney, J. J. Finkelstein, and P. Hulin. 2 vols. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1957–64.
<i>TA</i>	<i>Tel Aviv</i>
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TR	Tell al-Rimah
<i>Transeu</i>	<i>Transeuphratène</i>
TSO	Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik
<i>TUAT</i>	<i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments</i> . Edited by Otto Kaiser. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1984–.
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
VA	Vorderasiatisches Museum
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der staatlichen Museen zu Berlin
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
<i>WO</i>	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>ZAH</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebräistik</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZDMGSup	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft Supplementbände
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
<i>ZK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung</i>

