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Author: Ahmed, Kozad Mohamed

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The Beginnings of Ancient Kurdistan

(c. 2500-1500 BC)
A Historical and Cultural Synthesis

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Abbreviations

<i>AAAS</i>	<i>Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes</i>
<i>AASOR</i>	<i>The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>AbB</i>	<i>Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung</i>
<i>ABC</i>	<i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</i>
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
<i>AMI</i>	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
<i>AnSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>AO</i>	<i>Die Alte Orient</i>
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
<i>ARAB</i>	<i>Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia</i>
<i>ARES</i>	<i>Archivi Reali di Ebla-Studi</i>
<i>ARET</i>	<i>Archivi Reali di Ebla-Testi</i>
<i>ARM</i>	<i>Archives royales de Mari</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>Amar-Sîn</i>
<i>ASJ</i>	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i>
<i>BaM</i>	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
<i>BIN</i>	<i>Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies</i>
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CHI</i>	<i>The Cambridge History of Iran</i>
<i>DN</i>	<i>Divine Name</i>
<i>DV</i>	<i>Drevnie Vostok</i>
<i>EDGN</i>	<i>The Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names</i>
<i>FAOS</i>	<i>Freiburger altorientalische Studien</i>
<i>FM</i>	<i>Florilegium Marianum</i>
<i>GN</i>	<i>Geographical Name</i>
<i>HS</i>	<i>Hurrians and Subarians</i>
<i>HSS</i>	<i>Harvard Semitic Series</i>
<i>IB</i>	<i>Ibbi-Sîn</i>
<i>ICAANE</i>	<i>Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East</i>
<i>ID</i>	<i>Išme-Dagan (of Assyria)</i>
<i>IRSA</i>	<i>Inscriptions Royales sumériennes et akkadiennes</i>
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Civilizations</i>
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>

<i>Klio</i>	<i>Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte</i>
<i>LAPO</i>	<i>Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari</i>
<i>LHL</i>	<i>Literatur zum hurritischen Lexikon</i>
<i>MA</i>	Middle Assyrian
<i>MARI</i>	<i>Mari Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires</i>
<i>MB</i>	Middle Babylonian
<i>MDOG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft</i>
<i>NA</i>	Neo-Assyrian
<i>NABU</i>	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>
<i>NPN</i>	<i>Nuzi Personal Names</i>
<i>OA</i>	Old Assyrian
<i>OA</i>	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
<i>OB</i>	Old Babylonian
<i>OBO</i>	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i>
<i>OBTR</i>	<i>The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al Rimah</i>
<i>OIP</i>	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i>
<i>PN</i>	Personal Name
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale</i>
<i>RAI</i>	Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
<i>RGTC</i>	<i>Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes</i>
<i>RHA</i>	<i>Revue Hittite et Asiatique</i>
<i>RIMA</i>	<i>Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia- Assyrian Periods</i>
<i>RIME</i>	<i>Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia- Early Periods</i>
<i>RISA</i>	<i>Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad</i>
<i>RIA</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
<i>RTC</i>	<i>Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes</i>
<i>SAA</i>	<i>State Archives of Assyria</i>
<i>SAAB</i>	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i>
<i>SB</i>	Standard Babylonian
<i>SCCNH</i>	<i>Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians</i>
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico</i>
<i>SKL</i>	Th. Jacobsen, <i>The Sumerian King List</i> .
<i>SKL</i>	The Sumerian King List
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i>
<i>SMS</i>	<i>The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies Bulletin</i>
<i>Š</i>	Šulgi
<i>ŠS</i>	Šū-Sîn
<i>TLB</i>	<i>Tabulae Cuneiformes a F. M. Th. De Liagre Böhl Collectae, Leidæ Conservatae</i>
<i>TUAT</i>	<i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments</i>
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
<i>URI</i>	<i>Ur Excavations. Texts I: Royal Inscriptions</i>
<i>VDI</i>	<i>Vestnik Drevnej Istorii</i>
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>ZZB</i>	<i>Die »Zweite Zwischenzeit« Babylonien</i>

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K. M. A.
Rotterdam

Introduction

This work aims to study the early history of a region known at present under the unofficial, but historical, name Kurdistan. During this early history important developments took place that influenced its fate for the millennia that followed. Among these was the formation of early states that, more or less, imitated Mesopotamian models but often kept or introduced local or particular traditions. The questions this study tries to answer include when the early states first appeared in this area, what was their identity and which peoples were responsible for establishing them, what was their history and what did they leave for posterity, what influence they had, what were the models they created and were these followed later by their descendants and whether the migration of new peoples into the territories had any effect on their history. Another question is how and why a country which was geographically divided produced large unified states, while one expects political formations to reflect physical geographical conditions.

To answer these and other questions one must go back to the beginnings of written history in Mesopotamia, which begins with the Early Dynastic period. At that time Kurdistan was populated by settlements of Ninevite V culture, a culture that produced complex societies that were ruled by chiefly lineages controlling the local surpluses produced by dry-farming agriculture. However, in the middle of the third millennium BC these chiefdoms developed into states, a phenomenon which coincided with the emergence of the Mesopotamian states in the south. The recorded history of the relations between the Mesopotamian states and the Northern states shows a warlike history with short peaceful intervals. Such conditions were the main stimulus for the formation of early states in this region. The constant threat and pressure exerted by the southern powers was a significant factor to the emergence of such socio-political organizations that could provide survival for the peoples of ancient Kurdistan. Before that, the natural conditions had allowed only smaller organizations such as chiefdoms to exist. But in times of threat and danger they formed federations and states. These federations and states must have been fragile because, once any threat had disappeared, they fragmented into smaller, independent, self-sufficient units. The few exceptions were the states that emerged in the plains of the region such as Gutium and Simurrum and perhaps also Urkeš, thanks to the plain territory that helped nucleation and eased communications.

The coming of the Hurrians was an important change that affected the history of this region for the subsequent millennia, especially the second millennium. The early states they founded, although not the very first ones, covered the majority of the area and coloured it with their culture and language. This was an auxiliary factor that later helped the emergence of the Mittani Empire.

The subject of state formation in such a region has been a forgotten matter in the shadow of the great civilizations of Sumer, Babylon, Assyria, Persia and the others. The region under study has always been seen as peripheral, unimportant and non-essential for investigative research for Mesopotamia or even for Iran and Anatolia. However, the fact that the foundations of these great civilizations were laid down in these peripheral territories should not be underestimated. Moreover, many of the natural resources that contributed to the

existence of these civilizations were found in ancient Kurdistan. Ancient Kurdistan was the arena not only for the foundations, but also for the socio-political developments that led to the formation of chiefdoms and early states on its territory as early as the mid-third millennium BC. The historical circumstances that pertained then and the ethnic changes and the process that led to the formation of chiefdoms and states deserve more detailed and serious study.

In recent years new written material has appeared that has shed new light on the history of the region under study. These were some historical inscriptions and iconographic material of some of these early states, such as Simurru, Urkeš and Gutium. They showed that the socio-political organization of these peoples was similar in some aspects to those of Mesopotamia and, more interestingly, dissimilar in some others. The question was always which factors prompted the emergence of states there and which factors constrained the emergence of large and highly centralized states or empires similar to those known from Mesopotamia.

While preparing this project its title has raised, and will raise in future, some uncertainty about combining the name 'Kurdistan' with 'Ancient.' This is a good reason to begin with a presentation of the reasons why this title and this region have been chosen for this study. As for the territories under study, they share three common characteristics:

- 1) The region under study, which is basically distributed over four contiguous modern Middle Eastern states, is scarcely studied as a unit and archaeologically investigated. Political conditions are the primary reasons for this. The territories have been since the birth of scientific archaeology and Assyriology and even earlier politically unstable. They were the arena for many political struggles and military clashes between the great powers of the region in addition to local rebellions, uprisings and conflicts. Because of this fieldwork was restricted to a large degree. Moreover, the inhabitants of these territories were generally seen as intruders and strangers by the governments in power because of ethnic differences between them and their rulers. Those governments tried over the decades, if not the centuries, to keep the history of those regions and those peoples unknown as a means of forced integration and fighting nationalism. Gaps were created between the modern inhabitants of these regions and their past, and as a consequence between them and their homeland. There were no studies or investigations of these territories while neighbouring territories were being well-studied and well-investigated.
- 2) The second common characteristic of the region under study is the ethno-cultural integrity that can easily be noticed to have existed since ancient times. The region was in prehistoric ages at the centre of the food-gathering culture because of its generally speaking geographical and climatic uniformity. Later, the region became a core of the Neolithic Culture and its subsequent cultures, such as Hassuna, Halaf, and Ninevite V. These cultures have prevailed in almost all the territories under study, although they have not been completely investigated. This fact makes it possible to study the region as one cultural whole, which yields more realistic results than a fragmented study of those cultures in Iraq, Iran, Turkey or Syria.

This cultural uniformity was not restricted to prehistoric times, for the same can be said about historical times too. Cultural uniformity was in some cases coupled with an ethnic uniformity, such as the predominance of the Hurrians in the second millennium BC. A similar situation pertained in the first millennium BC with the

coming of the Indo-Iranians (the Medes) to the region, and similarly afterwards with the Kurds ever since the beginning of this era.

However, the role of the other ethnic, cultural and religious minorities who were always present in the history and culture of this region should not be forgotten. They have always contributed to the cultures (in its fullest sense) of the ethnically predominant peoples, particularly when they were aboriginals of the land or belonged to an earlier migrant group. They have lived either in enclaves or became distributed over other ethnic textures, exactly as they are in present-day Kurdistan.

It is noteworthy that similar geographical and climatic conditions make different cultures adapt to similar ways of life and mould one similar culture, disregarding the diversity of ethnicities inhabiting a certain region. This can be seen in the way of life of the Kurds and the Turkomen in the Kirkuk region, in the nomadic Kurdish and Chuchāny tribes in Sulaimaniya province, and in the sedentary Kurdish and Christian communities in the Diana and Shaqlāwa regions to the northeast of Erbil.

- 3) Since there is a modern name for these regions, though it is not recognized formally in some countries, the use of Kurdistan seemed to be the best solution to avoid a cumbersome periphrasis such as “the regions of the northeast of Iraq, the west and northwest of Iran, the southeast of Turkey and the north and northeast of Syria.” Using Kurdistan as the name of a land first occurred formally under the Seljūq sultan ‘Sanjar’ (11th century AD), while the oldest occurrence of Kurd as an ethnonym goes back to the beginning of our era. It is found in the *Kârnâmê î Artakhshîr î Pâpakân*, composed to commemorate the victories of Ardashîr, founder of the Sassanian dynasty. So it is then older than the country names of Iraq, Syria and Turkey, for which expressions such as “Ancient Iran,” “Ancient Iraq,” “Neolithic in Turkey” are still used.

It is also important to mention that the present study will sometimes touch upon territories beyond Kurdistan, and conversely at other times neglects territories within Kurdistan. This is determined by their significance for our theme, that fundamentally treats the lands inhabited by the Hurrians and their predecessors. There are also territories not studied in detail because of the scarcity of historical and archaeological data, especially for those parts of the region which fall under what some call ‘bureaucratic illiteracy.’

The Arena

In the second common characteristic mentioned above, the geographical conditions of our region have been pointed out as a means of unifying culture and the way of life. Yet, this does not contradict the fact that rugged mountainous terrains form natural barriers between different areas. This produces elements of diversity in cultural details, such as linguistic dialects and some aspects of lifestyle particular to the plains and the mountains, or to nomadic and sedentary communities. For a better understanding of this a short geographical description of the arena on which the historical episodes took place would be of interest, especially seeing that our study focuses on the process of state formation from a historical-anthropological perspective.

The region under study is generally shaped like a great arc, beginning in the northwest in the region west of Malatya, to the region of Lake Urmia through the region of Lake Van,

thence down along the Zagros to the southeast as far as the region round the cities Burujird and Ilam (see the map). It is mountainous for the greater part; mountains constitute more than half of its total area. However, plains, plateaus, undulating areas and lakes are not absent. The majority of the area falls within the range of dry-farming regions. It benefits from sufficient winter and spring rainfall and is watered with plentiful springs, *karēzs*, brooks and rivers with several lakes, natural (such as Van, Urmia and Zirēbār) and artificial (such as Dukān, Darband-i-khān and the GAP lakes in Eastern Anatolia).

The principal mountains of the region are the central and northern Zagros, the eastern two-thirds of the Taurus and Pontus and the northern half of the Amanus Mountains.¹ These ranges have been formed by the Alpine movement that began in the Oligocene period through the Miocene until the beginning of the Pliocene.² The region consists geologically of fragile layers that were subject to great pressure from both the Anatolian-Iranian plateaus in the northeast and the Arabian plateau in the southwest. This produced the shape of the mountain ranges of the region as a great arc in a generally northwest- southeast direction.

The heights of these mountains range from 500 to more than 5000 meters,³ some of the highest peaks still harbour glaciers that increased in size during the last glaciation and advanced to form tongues of ice protruding down into adjacent valleys.⁴ The northern part of the region has numerous old volcanoes that have filled many valleys and made plateaus. For millennia the territory around Lake Van has been a source of obsidian.

The mountain peak of Ararat (5165 m)⁵ is the highest peak in the region under study, followed respectively by Dinar (4432 m), Rashko (4135 m), Jilō (4116 m), Sipan (4058 m), Halgurd (3600 m) and then other peaks.⁶

The Zagros Mountains that branch off from the Caucasus in the northwest of Iran form the greater part of the mountains of our region. They extend for almost 1500 kilometres in length and 300 kilometres in width in a northwest - southeast direction,⁷ including the mountainous regions in the Iraqi side. In most places limestone predominates⁸ and shows a considerable topographic variation. It is remarkable that, apart from a string of granite masses along its northeastern edge, there are no volcanic deposits or ancient volcanoes in the Zagros,⁹ though there are in the Taurus.

The Zagros range can be divided into three main sections, northwestern, main or middle and southern (part of the second and the whole of the latter are beyond the region under study). The former extends from the frontiers with Turkey and Armenia as far as a line that linking Qazvin, Hamadan and Kirmashān.¹⁰ This section dominates the Iranian side of the

¹ Izady, M., *The Kurds: A Concise Handbook*, Washington, 1992, p. 13.

² غهفور، عبدالله، جغرافیای کوردستان، ههولێر، ٢٠٠٥، ل. ٢٥.

[Ghafour, A., *Geography of Kurdistan*, Erbil, 2005, p. 25. (in Kurdish)].

³ All heights given are above sea level, unless otherwise stated.

⁴ Butzer, K. W., "Physical Conditions in Eastern Europe, Western Asia and Egypt before the Period of Agricultural and Urban Settlement," *The Cambridge Ancient History (CAH)*, Vol. I, part 1, 3rd ed., Cambridge, 1970, p. 49.

⁵ *Persia*, (Geographical Handbook Series, edited by the Naval Intelligence Division), 1945, p. 47.

⁶ Ghafuor, *op. cit.*, p. 28. For the height of this mountain and others in the Iranian side, cf. Ehlers, E., *Iran, Grundzüge einer geografischen Landeskunde*, Darmstadt, 1980, p. 31ff.

⁷ Ehlers, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

⁸ *Persia*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Fisher, W. B., *Physical Geography, CHI* vol. 1, Cambridge, 1968, p. 8. Kirmashān is the proper form of this city name as used by local residents. The Arab geographers rendered it as Qi/arma/isīn, sometimes pointing out that Kirmanshāhān is a Persian form of this older name, cf.

region under study. The mountains of this section are amply spaced without crowding,¹¹ but much disturbed, partly by folding and mostly by fracturing followed by differential warping.¹² They belong chiefly to the Upper Cretaceous, Miocene and Plio-Pleistocene geological ages.¹³ The highest mountains of this section are those in the extreme north and west towards the border with Iraq. The average height of this northern section is 2000 m, forming a vast plateau that embraces numerous cities and towns and is cut by rivers such as Mahabād, Simine Rūd (= Tata'u), Zarine Rūd (= Jaghatu), Khur Khure (all pour into Urmia Lake), the two Zābs, Sirwān, Zimkān, Qarasu, Gamasiyāb, Alwand and others. Through this section main routes are running that link Anatolia, the Caucasus and Iran. Through the border between this section and that of the Middle Zagros runs the most important route in the region, the Great Khorasān Road, which Herzfeld called 'The Gate of Asia.' This was the main route that linked Mesopotamia with the eastern lands of Iran, Afghanistan and beyond and was a branch of the silk route in the Middle Ages. It came from Central Asia to Dameghān (ancient Hecatompylos), Rayy (ancient Rages) Hamadan, Kirmashān through Sar-i-Pul-i-Zohāb and terminated in Baghdad. Other minor routes are those linking it with the Iraqi side via a number of mountainous passes in Khaneh-Haji Omarān, Sardasht-Qala Dizeh, Mariwān-Penjawēn, and Prwēz Khān. The largest downthrow basin in this section of the Zagros is the complex pattern of drainage that flows into the central Urmia Basin,¹⁴ followed by Khoy to the north of Urmia. The water of the Lake Urmia is saline, although less than the Dead Sea, and the only flora on its shores are a few halophytic plants and shrubs.¹⁵ The volcanic cones of Mounts Savalan and Sahand, the likelihood of earthquakes and the erosion caused by rivers that have shaped the landscape are all geological characteristics of this section of the Zagros. The high altitude of the ground here makes the rainfall heavier, and this effect "is augmented by the sharply seasonal onset, which concentrates the erosive effects into a short period."¹⁶ Annual rainfall ranges between 600 to above 1000 millimetres, while mean annual temperature ranges from 5 to 25° C according to position and altitude.¹⁷ This considerable swing of temperature, from freezing winters to markedly hot summers, results in a distinct zonation of vegetation.¹⁸ There is also an appreciable extent of woodland, which gives way to an alpine pasture at higher altitudes in addition to patches of alluvium supporting regular cropping.¹⁹ These conditions, i.e. the pastures in the higher altitudes and the crops in the relatively lower altitudes with the swing in temperatures, have stimulated the appearance of seasonal displacement of the (semi)nomadic groups living in the region, side by side with the majority population, the sedentary village dwellers.

لسترنج، كي، بلدان الخلافة الشرقية، ترجمة بشير فرنسيس و كوركيس عواد، بيروت، ١٩٨٥، ص. ٢٢٢.

[Le Strange, G., *Lands of Eastern Caliphate*, Beirut, 1985, p. 222 (Arabic version)].

The name Qi/arma/išīn is said to be derived from King Kirmāžin, who is supposed to have ruled the city in antiquity. In the time of the Islamic republic the name was changed to Bakhtarān.

¹¹ *Persia, op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹² Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 8-9.

¹³ Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁴ Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 10 and 11.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁶ Cf. Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁷ Ghafour, p. 29-30. Cf. also: Gehrke, U. and H. Mehner (eds.), *Iran, Natur- Bevölkerung- Geschichte- Kultur- Staat- Wirtschaft*, Tübingen and Basel, 1975, p. 30; 33. In some parts of the Northern Zagros temperatures can be 0-5° C, cf. Izady, *op. cit.*, p. 17, and the map no. 10.

¹⁸ Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹⁹ Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

The two different ways of life in this section are pastoralism and cultivation. The former is found mostly in the higher parts and the latter, mostly of a settled kind, in the lower-lying areas. Cultivation covers a wide range of cereals such as wheat, barley and some maize, the basic crops and a wide range of fruit and vegetables.²⁰

The main section of the Zagros (= Middle Zagros) lies to the south of the first section. It extends from the line Qazvin-Hamadan-Kirmashān down to the Kavir-i-Marvast and Lake Bakhtagān in the vicinity of Shirāz (beyond our region). A smaller part of the region under study lies in this section that is the highest and most rugged part of the Zagros, especially between Khurramabād and Shirāz.²¹ The average height in this section approaches 2500 m, and its highest peak is Zardakūh (4571 m), slightly to the south of our region. One of the remarkable features of this part is the fold structures which for the most part are aligned from northwest to southeast.²² The folds of this whole section, from Hamadan-Kirmashān to Bushihr on the Gulf, are extremely regular, straight in form and parallel in strike, and relatively tightly packed together.²³ Several rivers cut through this part or spring from its mountains and valleys and play a significant role in the life of its inhabitants, as they have done in the past. Among these are the Karūn, Diz, Karkha (of which the northern part is called Saimara), Zuhre, and Jarrāhi (known also as Marūn). The first three have contributed to the build up of the Mesopotamian alluvium by bringing silt and clay deposits. From the Zagros the Karūn and Diz flow into the Shaṭṭ el-^cArab and the Karkha into the Al-Huwēza marsh.²⁴ It is remarkable that the site of the city of Penjwēn, located to the east of Sulaimaniya, is the meeting point for three river basins, for the rivers that flow into Lake Urmia, into the Caspian Sea, and into the Persian Gulf.²⁵ The Urmia and Zirebār lakes are the two natural lakes in the northern Zagros. The former gets its water from the mountainous slopes of Savalan and Sahand on the eastern side, together with western and southern tributaries that are of considerable value for agriculture.²⁶ The latter is close to the city of Mariwān and is much smaller than Urmia. It gets its water from the mountain streams and springs around the lake. Among the artificial lakes, Dukan and Darband-i-Khān are well-known. These are the result of dams built in the 1950s. The lakes of Faida in Eski Mosul and Hamrīn date from the 1980s.

In the northern and western parts of the Saimara basin nomadic groups are also found. Between the deep valleys of this region some high level plains provide good natural grasslands.²⁷ In the region of the River Diz the overall width of the Zagros is reduced and folding is more intense. Due to the extremely rigid terrain, seen in sheer mountain cliffs, bare rock faces, frequent landslides and poorer soil cover compared with the Northwestern Zagros, human occupation is reduced to small isolated groups of settled farmers, who are mostly pastoralists.²⁸

The northern mountains that are located to the east of the Anatolian plateau cover almost the whole territory of the northern part and extend in ranges in a west-east direction. Towards the east, the ranges veer to the northeast and come close to the northern ranges of the Pontus.

²⁰ Fisher, p. 13.

²¹ Gehrke and Mehner, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

²² Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Persia*, p. 27.

²⁵ See the map in: Ehlers, *op. cit.*, Map no. 2 (opposite p. 38).

²⁶ *Persia*, p. 31.

²⁷ Fisher, p. 20.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 20-21.

They end with Mount Ararat to form the Armenian Knot. These mountains bear the characteristics of Southern Alpine systems²⁹ and form the greater part of the Taurus Mountains. The highest mountain peak of our region, Ararat (5265 m), is located in this area, close to the border with Iran. According to some, these ranges can be divided into arches, internal and external. The external arches begin with the mountains of Hakari and extend in the direction of Siirt, Ergani, the north of Marash and from there southwards to reach the Amanus mountains.³⁰ Some other ranges in these arches are those round Gaziantep in the west and the range to the south of Antioch. In general, the mountains located between Shemdinli and Shirnak are amongst the highest, being 3000-4000 m high. These begin in the east with Qaradagh, Sat, Jilo (Turkish Cilo), Sümbül, Samur, Altin, Serdolu, and Tanintanin and continue to the River Hizil³¹ on the Iraq-Turkey border. Several river valleys run through these arches, such as Shemdinli between Qaradagh and Sat, Injichaiy between Sat and Jilo,³² the greater Zāb and the upper part of the Habur to the west. Another river in this category is the River Nehil that cuts through the Yüksekova plain in the Hakari region, a plain at an altitude of 2000 m to the northeast of the Jilo and Sat mountains.

Because of the rugged terrain and the steep mountains, communications are quite difficult in this region, particularly in the winter months. Yet there are some main routes, such as Yüksekova-Shemdinli, Siirt-Chukorova and Siirt- Shirnak- Jazira (Turkish Cizre)- Silopi. The region is well-watered by plentiful permanent and seasonal springs, and it has sufficient rainfall for the abundant pastures which support large herds of cattle.

To the west of Hakari in the direction of Van Lake the area has lower mountains (1500-2500 m). Among them are the southern Mush, Akchara, Yumrutash, Akdagh, Maden, Gördük, the southern Malatya, Engizek, Ahir and the Amanus. The latter is a long range within the Taurus, 175 kilometres long by 20-30 kilometres wide. It begins in the vicinity of Mush and ends on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Iskenderün.

Communications are somewhat easier in this area as its terrain is less steep. The main routes are Bitlis-Siirt-Diyarbakir, Bingöl-Diyarbakir, Elazig-Diyarbakir, Malatya- Marash-Gaziantep, Adana-Gaziantep, and Iskenderün-Antakya. But one of the most important routes even in the antiquity is the one leading from Ararat to Maku on the Iranian side and from there to Tabriz. This route leads on to Qazvin, Tehran and Khorasān, with a branch to Hamadan, Kirmashān and Mesopotamia.³³

The internal mountain arches, known also as the Middle Taurus System,³⁴ begin generally to the north of Chukurova in the west and extend in ranges between Mount Taseli and Uzunyayla. Their average height is 3000 m. The eastern part of these ranges fall within our region of study, such as Munzur and Sheytan ranges, known also as the Ante-Taurus Ranges.³⁵

The main communication route in this district passes through the deep Gülek pass that connects Adana with Konya. This pass is the same known as the Cilician Gate in antiquity. Another pass, Chakit, is 15 kilometres to the east of Gülek, controlling the route from central Anatolia to the Chukorova region.

²⁹ Izbirak, R., *Geography of Turkey*, Ankara, 1975, p. 19.

³⁰ Izbirak, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Frye, R., *The History of Ancient Iran*, München, 1984, p. 10.

³⁴ Izbirak, p. 19.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

Many of these mountains were formed by volcanic eruptions, such as Tendürek Sübhan near Van, Greater and Smaller Agri, Nemrut Dagħ, and Qaradagħ to the west of Mardin.

The mean annual temperature of the northern mountains varies according to the elevation. It is between 0-5° C in the higher mountains, where there can be snow for seven months of the year.³⁶ In the less high mountains the figure is 5-10° C.³⁷

The plains in the region under study are of great significance, for this kind of terrain is scarce in comparison to the vast areas covered by steep mountains. The plains have always been important centres of economic and political power, particularly for those of Habur, Erbil and Kirkuk. Other plains that are of economic, as well as archaeological significance are Erzinjan, Mush, Erzurum, Kars, Jazira (= Cizre), Ighdir, Harīr, Rāniya, Shahrazūr, Amirabād (in Kamyarān region), Bijār, Tāl (near Baneh), Sindī (near Zakho), Mardin, Mahi Dasht (near Kirmashān) and others.³⁸ The plains are not restricted to the undulating areas where the mountains end, but also between some mountain ranges. There they resemble plateaus more than plains because of their high altitude, in some cases reaching 1800 m (Erzurum and Kars).

The vast plains connected to the southern piedmonts of the Taurus extend to the north of modern Syria and constitute part of our region under study. These plains are known for their fertility and abundant agricultural productivity,³⁹ even in antiquity, and are sometimes called “the bread basket” of the Assyrians.⁴⁰ They are watered by several rivers, such as those of the Habur system (springing from the mountains of Mardin) in the eastern section,⁴¹ and the Balikh and the Euphrates to the west of the Balikh. Underground water too is abundant and easy to reach in this region with wells 5-10 metres deep.⁴² The numerous archaeological tells in this region indicate an earlier prosperity and a density of population. Mean annual temperatures in these plains and the piedmont plains in the Iraqi side are 15-20 °C, and in a few areas it can reach 20-25 °C, as in Kirkuk, Kifri, Tūz-Khurmātu, Khānaqīn and others.⁴³

Communication routes in these plains have always been important, such as the route along the Euphrates to Mesopotamia through al-Qā’im and the route that connects Aleppo and southern Anatolia with Mosul.

The flora of the region consists primarily of oak and dwarf oak. Other trees, though less in number but valuable for their wood and fruits, are chestnut, juniper, pine, wild figs, almonds, mulberry, blackberry, walnuts, pears, cherry, azarol, grapes and many others. Wild fungi and other edible plants are and were always an important source of food to sustain the inhabitants. However, the forests of the Zagros and the Taurus suffer from deforestation and overgrazing. Archaeological evidence and historical allusions suggest that there used to be a greater variety of trees and thicker forests in these mountains and foothills, but they have now unfortunately disappeared.⁴⁴

³⁶ Izady, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

³⁷ Detailed figures of mean annual temperatures in the region under study can be found in tables 1, 2 and 3 in Ghafour, *op. cit.*, p. 48 ff.

³⁸ Cf. Ghafour, *op. cit.*, p. 37 ff.

³⁹ For more information about the agrarian lands of this plain cf. Wirth, E., *Syrien, eine geographische Landeskunde*, Darmstadt, 1971, p. 381 ff.

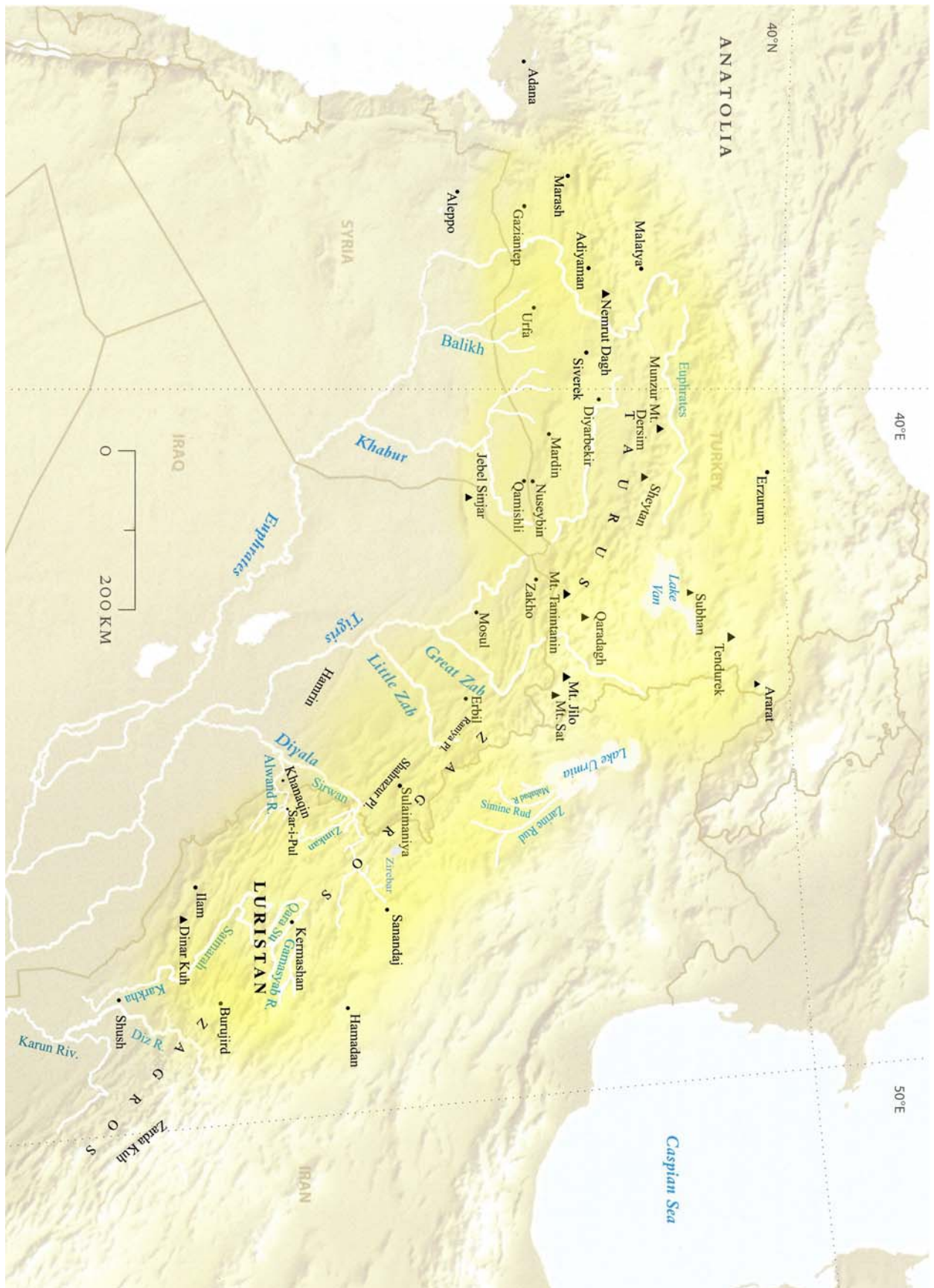
⁴⁰ Cf. Harrak, A., *Assyria and Hanigalbat*, Zürich, 1987, p. 284.

⁴¹ Wirth, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

⁴² Wirth, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

⁴³ Izady, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁴⁴ For some of these allusions cf. Izady, *op. cit.*, p. 18-21.



A modern map of the region under study.

CHAPTER ONE



Before 2500 BC



The region under study counts as one of the earliest areas occupied by prehistoric man. It has been inhabited for almost half a million years. The humans living there in early societies formed the basis from which the early agriculturalists emerged.

The Palaeolithic

Early traces of human existence in the region have been found in several spots, including the upper Tigris valley to the north of Mosul, where pebble tools from the later quarter of the lower Palaeolithic¹ (upper Acheulean *c.* 500,000 – 110,000 BP) have been found. To the east, in the middle Zagros, traces of lower Palaeolithic presence were identified in the 1970s.² Better evidence has come from **Shiwatoo**, a site in the Mahabād region (in the northwest of Iran), where Acheulean pebble tools have been identified during recent investigations.³ The main discovery in this site was a typical cleaver made on a side-struck flake of a dark volcanic rock (Fig. 1). This classical Acheulean tool, well-known in the Levant and in the Indian subcontinent, is now attested for the first time at a site between those two areas.⁴ In **Kagia**, near Kirmashān, artefacts that appear to be semi-Acheulean have been found.⁵ Similar artefacts, although not certainly dated, have been found in the region between Tabriz and Miyaneh in the northwest.⁶

From **Bardabalka**, an open site near Chamchamāl, between Sulaimaniya and Kirkūk, we have stone pebble tools dating to Acheulean-Taycian-Mousterian periods (*c.* 80,000 BP)⁷ (Fig. 2). They are tools, made out of flakes and core bifaces similar to hand-axes,⁸ and

¹ Inizan, M. I., “Des indices acheuléen sur les bords du Tigre, dans le nord de l’Iraq,” *Paléorient*, XI, 1 (1985), p. 101-102.

² Hole, F., Archaeology of the Village Period, in: *The Archaeology of Western Iran, Settlement and Society from Prehistoric to the Islamic Conquest*, ed. F. Hole, Washington, 1987, p. 32.

³ Jaubert, J., F. Biglari, J.-G. Bordes, L. Bruxelles, V. Mourre, S. Shidrang, R. Naderi and S. Alipour, “New Research on Paleolithic Iran: Preliminary Report of 2004 Iranian-French Joint Mission,” *Archaeological Reports* 4 (Iranian Center for Archaeological Research, Tehran), p. 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ شه‌میرزادی، ص. م.، ایران در پیش از تاریخ، باستان شناسی ایران از آغاز تا سپیده دم شهرنشینی، تهران، ۱۳۸۲، ص. ۱۲۰.

[Shahmirzadi, S. M., *Prehistoric Iran, Iranian Archaeology from the Earliest Times to the Dawn of Urbanism*, Tehran, 2003, p. 120 (in Persian)].

⁶ شه‌میرزادی، ص. م.، ۱۲۰.

The uncertain dating of these artefacts, Shahmirzadi explains, is because they were collected from surface surveys in those regions, not from excavations.

⁷ Wright, H. E. and B. Howe, “Preliminary Report on Soundings at Barda Balka,” *Sumer* 7 (1951), p.109.

⁸ Redman, Ch., *The Rise of Civilization. From Early Farmers to Urban Society in the Ancient Near East*, San Francisco, 1978, p. 64.

constitute evidence of tool manufacture at the site.⁹ Other interesting finds included faunal remains, including those of the Indian elephant, rhinoceros, large cattle, perhaps *Bos primigenius* and probably the onager, *Equus hemionus*.¹⁰ During surveys conducted before the Mosul dam was built Cham Bazar, Eski Kelek and some 22 other sites were identified in the Tigris valley to the north of Mosul as being from this period.¹¹ Developed Mousterian tools have been found in the caves of **Behestūn**, **Ghār-i-Khar**, **Maraftāw**, **Mardudar** and the rock shelter of **Warwasi**, all near Kirmashān,¹² and at **Tamtameh** near Urmia,¹³ but skeletal material is quite scarce.¹⁴ In the same region of Kirmashān almost 4000 Mousterian artefacts in the cave of **Do-Ashkaft** have been collected recently (1996-2001), consisting of tools, flakes, trimming flakes, shatters and cores. Most of the tools were single or convergent scrapers, but they also included other types of scrape, retouched pieces, notches, burins and other miscellaneous artefacts.¹⁵ **Hazarmērd** cave, opposite the modern city of Sulaimaniya, was excavated briefly by Dorothy Garrod in 1928. She found deposits of a mixed Levalloiso-Mousterian lithic culture (c. 50,000 BP).¹⁶ The diet of its ancient inhabitants, as shown by the bone remains, consisted of wild goat, red bear, gazelle, fieldmouse, mole-rat, hare, bat, snail and other food from a mixed environment of grassland, woodland and scrub, which would have been similar to the environment there today.¹⁷ **Zarzi**, another cave to the northwest of Sulaimaniya, produced evidence of Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic occupation.

Shanidār is a large cave in Erbil Province. It is located on the southern side of the Bradōst Mountains, close to the Upper Zāb (Fig. 3). It enjoyed maximum sunlight and its large size (c. 1000 m²) made it ideal for prehistoric man, so it is no surprise that it contained almost 14 metres of prehistoric deposits. Its oldest occupation (Level D) yielded a mixture of bones, ash and stone implements dating to the Middle Palaeolithic (Mousterian). Its excavator, R. Solecki, thinks that the oldest human habitation of this cave goes back at least 100,000 years and lasted continuously for about 3,000 generations.¹⁸ Most interestingly, nine human skeletons from various levels of the cave could be identified as Neanderthal. They “form one of the most extensive and informative collections of Middle Palaeolithic hominoid remains from anywhere in the Near East.”¹⁹ There are seven adults and two children, datable according to radiocarbon analysis and stratigraphic comparisons to periods ranging from 70,000- 46,000 BP.²⁰ One of them seems to have been handicapped but was well cared for

⁹ Matthews, R., *The Early Prehistory of Mesopotamia 500,000 to 4,500 BC*, *Subartu V*, Turnhout, 2000, p. 14.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 13-14.

¹² شه‌میرزادی، ص. ۱۲۲، ۱۳۲-۱۳۳.

¹³ Due to the high altitude of this cave (c. 1500 m above sea level), Coon believed it was occupied only in the summer. For this cf. ۱۲۲. شه‌میرزادی، ص. (referring to Coon, C. S., “Cave Explorations in Iran,” *Museum Monographs*, The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1951).

¹⁴ Sunderland, E., “Early Man in Iran,” *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. I, ed. W. B. Fisher, Cambridge, 1968, p. 398-399.

¹⁵ Biglari, F., “Vorläufige Beobachtungen zur Gewinnung mittelpaläolithischen Rohmaterials und seiner Verwendung in der Ebene von Kermanshah,” *Persiens Antike Pracht*, Band I, Bochum, 2004, p. 134.

¹⁶ Garrod, D. A. E., “Primitive Man in Egypt, Western Asia and Europe in Palaeolithic Times,” *CAH I*, part 1, Cambridge, 1970, p. 87. The results of her investigations are published as “The Palaeolithic of Southern Kurdistan: Excavations in the Caves of Zarzi and Hazar Merd” in *Bulletin of American School of Prehistoric Research*, VI (1930).

¹⁷ Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹⁸ Solecki, R., “Shanidar Cave,” *Old World Archaeology: Foundations of Civilization*, San Francisco, 1972, p. 43. Cf. also: Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁹ Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

²⁰ Solecki, R. S., “Two Neanderthal Skeletons from Shanidar Cave,” *Sumer* 13, parts 1 & 2 (1975), p. 59-60; cf. also Solecki, “Shanidar Cave,” p. 47. Additional studies of these skeletons include Stewart, T. D., *Sumer*, vols. 14 (1958); 17 (1961); 19, (1963); Stewart and Trinkaus, vol. 36 (1980); Solecki, vols. 13 (1957); 17 (1961); Trinkaus, vol. 33 (1977).

during a considerable period of his life by his family members with whom he had shared the cave.²¹ Another one of the cave dwellers was probably honoured at his funeral with a garland of flowers placed on his body.²² Such attention to burials as far back as 50,000 years ago is the earliest evidence anywhere for any careful ritual for the dead.²³ The later levels were no less significant, producing evidence of Aurignacian culture (level C), within which developed a typical local Aurignacian industry, called by Solecki 'Bradostian' after the Bradōst Mountains.²⁴ Bradostian culture is divided by Hole and Flannery into Old Bradostian (c. 38,000-30,000 BP) and New Bradostian (30,000-20,000 BP).²⁵

Levalloisean tools have been found in the cave of **Mar Tarik** at the foot of Mount Behistūn.²⁶ Other sites in the Khurramabād valley provided evidence of Mousterian (Kunji and Arjeneh Caves),²⁷ Bradostian (Yafteh and Pa Sangar Caves) and Zarzian occupations (Pa Sangar Cave). From these remains it appears that the Mousterian culture was the first extensive habitation of the area of the Zagros Mountains and its lithic industry was distinct from that of the Levant.²⁸ In **Yafteh** Cave several coarse stones have been found that were used to grind ochre. This is the first evidence of a ground stone industry, a prerequisite for early agriculture.²⁹ A definite trend towards regional technological specialization in the Zagros after the Mousterian occupations has been noted by some scholars. This probably indicates that the hunters of that period were moving about less than their predecessors had.³⁰ In the north, in the Urfa region, tools have been found that range in age between Acheulean (stone hand-axes) and Levalloisean-Mousterian (stone scrapers).³¹ Field surveys showed evidence of occupation in the Ergani region in the middle and late Palaeolithic, while the areas to the south of the Hilar rock outcrops showed Upper Palaeolithic traces.³²

Mesolithic and Neolithic

The drastic climatic changes at the end of the late glacial period (c. 10,000- 9,000 BC) which are known to have occurred in the inhabited parts of the world were less severe in the Near East than in Europe. However, gaps in cave occupation, in our region and in Anatolia and in Lebanon, have been identified by archaeologists, together with a low population density between 25,000-10,000 BC for the whole region.³³ The new conditions forced man to

²¹ جواد، عبد الجليل، "النياندرتاليون و تراثهم الثقافي"، *سومر* 27، الجزء 1 و 2 (1971)، ص. 30-31 =

[Jawad, Abduljalil, "The Neanderthals and their Cultural Heritage," *Sumer* 27, parts 1 & 2 (1971), p. 30-31 (in Arabic)].

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Redman, *op. cit.* p. 61.,

²⁴ Solecki, "Shanidār Cave," *Old World Archaeology*, p. 45; Garrod, *op. cit.*, p.87. Bradostian industry prevailed in the whole area of the Zagros Mountains. Its traces were found in Ghār-i-Khar, Yafteh and Arjeneh. The arrow-heads from the latter cave were unique and replaced the Mousterian arrow-heads, cf. شهميززادي، ص. 127.

²⁵ شهميززادي، ص. 127.

²⁶ Jaubert, J. and others, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²⁷ شهميززادي، ص. 121.

Shahmirzadi lists more sites in the Zagros and its mountain valleys in Luristan, such as Havdeh Ghār, Qumri, Humiyān, Pul Barīk and others, *ibid.*

²⁸ Redman, p. 64.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *op. cit.*, p. 65.

³¹ Hauptmann, H., "The Urfa Region," *Neolithic in Turkey, the Cradle of Civilization*, ed. M. Özdoğan and N. Başgelen, vol. I (Text), Istanbul, 1999, p. 68.

³² Yakar, J., *Prehistoric Anatolia, the Neolithic Transformation and the Early Chalcolithic Period*, Jerusalem, 1991, p. 41.

³³ Mellaart, J., *Earliest Civilizations of the Near East*, London, 1965, p. 11.

adapt his way of life. With the retreat of glaciers to the north the large herds of herbivorous animals disappeared and consequently the food became more scattered and less abundant. Man turned to smaller and more agile animals like deer and wild boar.³⁴ At this stage, a new era in human history began called Mesolithic. The people of this culture were still hunter-gatherers but they also domesticated dogs for the pursuit of game and fowl. Skeletal remains indicate that they were *homo-sapiens* who lived in larger and better organized communities with more technological specialization. In particular grindstones and storage pits were found in their settlements, such as those of Shanidār B 1.³⁵ The storage pits probably indicate extensive gathering of food stored for times of shortage.

A new feature of this culture was the appearance of microliths: small geometrical shaped stone tools that were fixed on bone or wooden handles to make composite weapons. Mellaart thinks the numerous small points indicate the use of the bow and arrow,³⁶ but they could also have been the remains of small, fragile and delicate tools that were easily broken. Another new feature was the establishment of open settlements, close to water resources and at the gathering points of game. Yet man still lacked leisure and freedom from constantly looking for food, for so far no luxury articles have been found.

The presence of obsidian in the cave of Zarzi was for Mellaart enough evidence to suggest that Zarzian culture probably came from the north, perhaps from the Russian steppes behind the Caucasus.³⁷ Similar obsidian tools from this period have also been discovered in the site of **Palegawra**, but with a larger variety of animal bones. Among these are gazelle, red deer, roe deer, wild cattle, wild goat and equid, and probably also wild sheep, pig, fox and wolf, as well a lynx-sized cat and what has been identified as a domestic dog.³⁸

The site of **ʿAin Mrer** in northeastern Syria, two caves at the northern side of Jebel ʿAbdul-Aziz, and the site of **Dederiyeh** near ʿAfrin, produced Late Natufian tools that correspond to the period under discussion (c. 10,500 BC).³⁹ Shanidār Cave again is one of the richest Mesolithic sites in this respect. Radiocarbon dating gives a date for the Mesolithic deposits of the cave of 10,000 - 9,000 BC.⁴⁰ The large number of microliths found here and the several pits suggest that the people at Shanidār were preserving vegetables for food. The lithic industry of this level of Shanidār resembles that of nearby **Zawi Chemi Shanidār**. This is a small site (275 by 215 m)⁴¹ dating to the ninth millennium BC, situated 4 kilometres downstream from Shanidār on a terrace above the Upper Zāb. In the lower levels of this site bones were found, perhaps of domesticated sheep dating to 8,900 or 9,200 BC (according to C14 dating),⁴² and bones of wild animals, such as red deer, wild sheep, wild goats, wild pigs, cattle, fallow deer and wolves; snail remains were also found. It seems that the site was in use for part of the year only; most probably it was the summer to be closer to the river for water and food and its opportunities for hunting any assembled game. A curved wall built of stones and river pebbles was found there,⁴³ presumably to support a hut or tent. It is probably the

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Redman, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

³⁶ Mellaart, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³⁹ Akkermans, P. and G. Schwartz, *The Archaeology of Syria, from Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (c. 16,000- 300 BC)*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 32. The authors, however, state that "there still is much uncertainty on the date of these occupations," *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Mellaart, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁴¹ Solecki, R., *An Early Village Site at Zawi Chemi Shanidar*, Malibu, 1980, p. 1.

⁴² Mellaart, p. 20. According to Perkins (D. Perkins Jr., "Prehistoric Fauna from Shanidar, Iraq," *Science*, 144: 1565-1566) the suggestion of domestication in Zawi Chemi is based on the abundance of sheep bones, not morphological changes; so domestication is not certain; after: Redman, p. 83.

⁴³ According to Matthews, these are remains of circular structures about 2 m. in diameter, cf.: Matthews, p. 33.

oldest known man-made structure in this region.⁴⁴ It is believed that the occupation of Zawi Chami began in about 8,920 ± 300 BC, according to radiocarbon dating, and lasted for almost a millennium.⁴⁵ Some other oval structures have been found in the site, probably roofed with flimsy superstructures of wattle and daub or reeds or matting. Traces of reed-matting or baskets were found in the contemporary level of Shanidār Cave (B1). Querns, mortars and pounders found in the site suggest an increasing dependence on vegetables for food. Obsidian and one piece of bitumen⁴⁶ indicate trade contacts with far regions.⁴⁷ Yet it is noteworthy that there are eight adults, all accompanied by a child, buried in Zawi Chami Shanidār, which suggests some kind of ritual.⁴⁸ The body of a young woman in the Shanidār Cave of this period was buried accompanied by red ochre, a grinding stone and a necklace of small beads.⁴⁹ A complete cemetery of 28 burials at Shanidār has arc-shaped settings of stone which seem to be connected with some mortuary cult.⁵⁰

Two other sites from the same period are **Karim Shāhir** and **Mu^ʿalafāt**. The first is 10 km east of Chamchamāl, and consists of one occupational level in an open area of 6,000 m². It seems it was a camp for a semi-sedentary group of people.⁵¹ Grindstones, sickle blades, clay figurines, marble rings and bracelets in addition to other artefacts found there suggest a date later than Zawi Chami Shanidār, c. 8000-6500 BC.⁵² Mu^ʿalafāt lies near the road between Erbil and Mosul, close to the Khāzir River, and was a settlement with a total of 10 round or oval houses. Some of these houses were built with cigar-shaped bricks, some of *pisé*, and some are pit-houses.⁵³ Such houses were surrounded by walls of stone and the floors were paved with pebbles.⁵⁴ Similar round pit-houses were also found in **Qirmiz Dere** (c. 8,000 BC) (Fig. 4) close to Tell A^ʿfar. In the middle of two of these houses erect stone slabs had been set up as pillars,⁵⁵ probably comparable with those of Nemrik and Navali Çori and others.

The last phases of the Mesolithic, during which the Neolithic Revolution⁵⁶ took place, is called by some ‘Proto-Neolithic.’ In this phase, as has been shown, querns, mortars, grinders, storage pits and sickle blades made their first appearance, indicating a change in economy. There also appear early permanent settlements that have been frequently rebuilt. The burials were furnished with luxury articles, such as beads and pendants “which show that man had

⁴⁴ *Op.cit.*, p. 53.

⁴⁵ Mellaart, J., *The Neolithic of the Near East*, London, 1981, p 70.

⁴⁶ Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations...*, p. 20.

⁴⁷ While this is valid for obsidian, it cannot be certain for bitumen, which is found in considerable quantities leaking out from stone layers in the nearby mountain ranges to the southwest of the cave, across the Zāb, where the Bekhma Dam is planned to be built.

⁴⁸ Mellaart, *The Neolithic of...*, p. 72. Cf. also Ferembach, D., “Étude anthropologique des ossements humains Proto-Néolithiques de Zawi Chami Shanidār (Irak),” *Sumer* 26, parts 1&2 (1970), p. 21-46.

⁴⁹ Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations...*, p. 20.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Braidwood, R. and B. Howe, *Prehistoric Investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*, Chicago, 1960, p. 52; 170; cf. also Braidwood, L. S. R. *et al*, *Prehistoric Archaeology along the Zagros Flanks*, ed. Braidwood, L. S., R. Braidwood, B. Howe, Ch. A. Reed and P. J. Watson, Chicago, 1983, p. 8 and 9. Sedentism can be difficult to identify by strictly archaeological evidence (architecture, lithic industry, bone etc.), which offers only secondary evidence in this respect. An alternative approach some prefer is to use bioarchaeological evidence “such as high frequencies of human commensals - the house mouse, the house sparrow, and the rat; indications of year-round hunting of gazelle based on cementum increment analyses; or the particular age profiles of hunted specimens - a steep rise in the young specimens,” cf. Belfer-Cohen, A. and O. Bar-Yosef, Early Sedentism in the Near East, A Bumpy Ride to Village Life, in *Life in Neolithic Farming Communities, Social Organization, Identity, and Differentiation*, ed. Ian Kuijt, New York, 2002, p. 20.

⁵² Mellaart, *The Neolithic of...*, p. 74.

⁵³ Matthews, p. 35. Matthews considers these bricks as the oldest known bricks from Mesopotamia.

⁵⁴ Mellaart, *The Neolithic of...*, p. 50; Dittmore, M., The Soundings at M^ʿlefaat, *Prehistoric Archaeology along...*, p. 672.

⁵⁵ Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁵⁶ The term ‘Neolithic Revolution’ was first introduced by V. Gordon Childe in his *Man Makes Himself* in 1936.

leisure and time for other things than appeasing his hunger.”⁵⁷ The art portrayed animals, mother goddesses and male figures. Trade was extended to more distant regions. Some think that the trade in obsidian through networks stretching to other parts of the Near East in this remote period could have started in eastern Anatolia.⁵⁸ Luxury articles began to appear, including beads made of stone, bone and even copper, rings and bracelets.

The main reason that the Neolithic cultures of our region are better known than any others there is because of the numerous prehistoric sites adequately excavated, many during salvage campaigns. The large scale salvage campaigns conducted in the regions of Hamrin and Eski Mosul in Iraq and those of Urfa and GAP (Batman Dam) on the Turkish side are good examples. Another reason has been the attention paid to this region by American archaeologists and anthropologists since the 1940s, especially to Iraqi Kurdistan, which led to starting the well-known Jarmo and Shanidār projects.

Climatic changes around 9,000 BC were perhaps responsible for the transition from Mesolithic to Neolithic. However, the availability of the wild ancestors of cereals in our region, especially of *emmer* and *einkorn*, was fundamental to the Neolithic Revolution (Figs. 5 and 6). Abundant new material from this period comes from the village of **Hallan Çemi**, an important site (c. 7 ha) in the Botān region, on the western bank of Sason River, a tributary of the Batman River in Batman province. The site was discovered during salvage excavations in 1990 and is dated to the late 11th millennium BP. The settlement represents the oldest fully settled village site thus far known from eastern Anatolia.⁵⁹ It was inhabited throughout the year by a society of essentially sedentary hunter-gatherers.⁶⁰ The subsistence of its inhabitants was based on hunting and food gathering, though they also practised domestication, especially of the pig.⁶¹ The pre-pottery deposits of the settlement are distributed on four levels. The upper three contained architectural structures set around a central area, perhaps for common activities.⁶² Packed clay, river stones and wood have been used to build the C-shaped houses (level 3). The floors of the second level houses were paved with stone slabs. Obsidian was imported from regions about 100 km away, as well as copper ore from almost 150 km and sea shells probably from the Mediterranean.⁶³

Among the significant discoveries of Hallan Çemi is a complete aurochs skull that appears to have once hung on the wall facing the entrance of one of the first level buildings.⁶⁴ Its ritual function is uncertain. It might be associated with the tradition that continues until now, involving the practice of hanging skulls of hunted animals in the houses. The discoveries at the site show cultural affinities with its neighbours. The lithic industry has strong typological relations with Zarzi and particularly with Zawi Chemi. Noteworthy is the discovery of stone statues with birds' heads, strikingly similar to those found in Nemrik to the north of Mosul, that were probably goddesses.⁶⁵ Decorated stone bowls with incisions and sometimes in relief forming geometrical or naturalistic motifs (Fig. 7) are also significant.

Pre-pottery sites in the Upper Habur region are quite scarce (3-4 only). The excavations of the two sites of **Fakhariya** and Tell **Feyda** showed no traces of settlement. Only recently

⁵⁷ Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations...*, p. 18.

⁵⁸ Redman, p. 152.

⁵⁹ Rosenberg, M. and R. W. Redding, Hallan Çemi and Early Village Organization in Eastern Anatolia, in *Life in Neolithic Farming Communities*, p. 40.

⁶⁰ Rosenberg and Redding, *ibid.*; cf. also Belfer-Cohen and Bar-Yosef, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁶¹ Rosenberg, M., “Hallan Çemi,” *Neolithic in Turkey*, p. 30-31.

⁶² Rosenberg, p. 26. Cf. also: Yakar, J., *Prehistoric Anatolia, The Neolithic Transformation and the Early Chalcolithic Period*, Supplement No. 1, Tel Aviv, 1994, p. 4.

⁶³ Rosenberg, p. 27.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ The Nemrik excavators call these statues ‘goddesses,’ while Rosenberg thinks they were just pestle handles made in the shape of birds’ heads.

some U-shaped ovens and floor pavements with gypsum together with stone vessels have been found in Tell **Seker Al-Aheimer**, near the town of Tell Tamer.⁶⁶ Some other stone tools from **Khazna** from the late eighth or the beginning of the seventh millennium BC indicate pre-pottery occupation.⁶⁷

The large and important village of **Çayönü** is a key site of the pre-pottery culture of the region under discussion with its thick deposits and abundant material. The site is a low oval tell, c. 350 by 160 m and 4.5 -6 m high,⁶⁸ located on a tributary of the Tigris to the north of the city of Diyarbakir. Although the settlement began as early as c. 10,000 BP, it flourished between c. 7,300 and 6,750 BC, according to radiocarbon dating.⁶⁹ That was a period in which the flora of the surrounding area was composed of steppe forest in the beginning of the Holocene.⁷⁰ Pistachio and oak trees were abundant in addition to potentially domesticable plants, such as wild wheat and barley. The fauna was no less rich: bones of wild aurochs, pigs, sheep, goats and other animals have been found in the settlement. The subsistence of the people of Çayönü consisted of wild animals and a mixture of wild and domesticated plants.⁷¹ But towards the end of the village's life, between 6,800 - 6,500 BC, they possessed large numbers of domesticated sheep and goat. The size of the village leads to an estimated population of 100-200 individuals at any given time, who lived in 25-30 houses through all the phases of the village's life except for the first.⁷² The skeletal remains showed that "its inhabitants belonged to the Proto-Mediterranean stock consisting of both gracile and robust types."⁷³

The first and oldest phase yielded no buildings except circular pits for cooking, so it is called the BP (= Basal Pits phase)⁷⁴ Perhaps at that time the site looked more like a camp than a permanent village, with groups of reed huts arranged around central areas,⁷⁵ similar to Hallan Çemi. The following GP (= Grill Plan) Phase produced abundant architectural material. Five separate buildings have been uncovered, whose stone foundations are in the shape of grills (Fig. 8),⁷⁶ on which beams seem to have been placed to lift the floors from the ground to avoid damp and allow air circulation. Buildings with similar plans have been uncovered in **Tell Dja'de al-Mughara** (8100-8000 BC), north of Mureybet in Syria, but these were storage structures.⁷⁷ This phase is important because of "its great diversity of activities and experimentation, using many different raw materials and techniques for working them."⁷⁸ Yet the large buildings and their uniform orientation and spacing might indicate a rather advanced level of organization and cooperation in the community. In one of these buildings, known as 'Flagstone Building,' three monumental standing stones without decoration have

⁶⁶ Akkermans and Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 48-49.

⁶⁸ Özdoğan, A., "Çayönü," *Neolithic in Turkey*, p. 38.

⁶⁹ Yakar, *op. cit.*, p. 42; cf. also: Yakar, *Prehistoric Anatolia, Supplement No. 1*, p. 9.

⁷⁰ Some insist that the climate of that time was not much different from the present, while others think that Savanna forests in the region were not impossible. Cf.: Yakar, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁷¹ Redman, p. 153-4.

⁷² *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁷³ Yakar, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁷⁴ There is some confusion about the names and division of the phases in Çayönü. According to Yakar there are five pre-pottery phases: 1- Round Plan; 2- Grill Plan; 3- Intermediate transitional Grills and Channelled-Foundations Buildings; 4- Cell Plan and 5- Large Room Plan; cf.: Yakar, J., *Prehistoric Anatolia, Supplement No. 1*, p. 7. Özdoğan enumerates six phases: 1- Round Plan; 2- Grill Plan, early and late; 3- Channelled Buildings; 4- Cobble-Paved Buildings Plan; 5- Cell- Plan and 6- Large Room Building; cf.: Özdoğan, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁷⁵ Özdoğan, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁷⁶ Long parallel walls with 15-40 cm space between them, cf.: Huot, J.-L., *Une archéologie des peuples du Proche-Orient*, Tome I, Paris, 2004, p. 27. In Cafer Höyük they used large bricks for this purpose, *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Akkermans and Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 60-61.

⁷⁸ Redman, p. 164.

been found, which were called by the excavators ‘stelae.’ It has been noticed that old buildings were cleared, with some artefacts left behind in them (perhaps as gifts), and then carefully filled with earth before new buildings were built there.⁷⁹

The building floors of the next phase, the BPP (= Broad- Pavement Plan), were paved with white and pink stone slabs giving a brilliantly executed terrazzo floor.⁸⁰ In two other buildings, one of them having an open courtyard, several free-standing monoliths were revealed.

The CP (= Cell-Plan) phase (Fig. 9) lasted a long time⁸¹ and followed the BPP phase, the remains of which are well-preserved thanks to a conflagration. The discovery of large numbers of ground stones and antler tools in the level of this phase indicates manufacturing. “In each of these buildings, different cells contained different types of artefacts, implying that specific parts of a building were used for specific tasks.”⁸² Possibly these parts were used only as work places, not dwellings, as no traces of food preparation activities have been noticed.

Among the interesting finds are two clay models of houses found in the middle cell of the southern part. These models provide a hint of building techniques in Çayönü. One of them has a rounded door jamb, the roof is supported by twigs and there is a parapet running around the roof with holes, probably for drainage (Fig. 10). The burials and small finds uncovered in two of the cells might imply that some rituals were performed in these buildings.

The last Pre-Pottery phase in Çayönü is called LPR (= the Large Room Plan) Phase⁸³ (Fig. 11) for which we have several complete building plans. The best preserved of these is the one-chambered building 5m by 9m, in which large basalt hand-stones, pestles, mortars and querns have been recovered that indicate the preparation of vegetables for food.⁸⁴

Some of the large and elaborate buildings from the previous levels had particular architectural features, and they were sometimes named after those objects, such as Flagstone Building, the monoliths of the so-called plaza, the Bench Building, the Skull Building and the Terrazzo Building. These features mean the buildings are not to be considered domestic but places for cultic purposes or at least communal gatherings. Among the most outstanding discoveries were the lower jaws of four large pigs that were buried together in the middle cell of the Cell Plan building. It could have been part of a primitive ritual, such as an offering under the foundation of a new building. If so, these buildings and those of Nevali Çori can be considered “the oldest sacral architecture in the Near East.”⁸⁵

It is notable that the ratio of flint tools to obsidian⁸⁶ in the BP Phase was 6:10, but in the CP phase it became equal. The most common obsidian tools in the site are borers, drills, scrapers and sickle blades. One finds all kinds and shapes of stone tools throughout the different phases of the village, but their ratios vary. Ground stone industry principally depended on basalt, which was imported from mines almost 32 km away. Nevertheless, tools such as awls and needles were made of bone, and large numbers of ornamental objects were made in the village itself, using raw materials provided by trade. Rectangular, tubular and uniquely shaped beads and pendants were made from hard stones, shells and bones;⁸⁷ stone and lightly baked clay figurines of animals and tiny pregnant or sitting female figures were also found.⁸⁸ Stone bowls, some (but only in the BPP phase) decorated, have been recovered

⁷⁹ Özdoğan, p. 46-47

⁸⁰Yakar, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Redman, p. 157.

⁸¹ Yakar, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁸² Redman, p. 158.

⁸³ Some new studies consider this phase as part of the Cell Plan Phase, cf.: Özdoğan, p. 40.

⁸⁴ Redman, p. 159.

⁸⁵ Hauptmann, p. 75.

⁸⁶ Obsidian was seemingly imported from Bingöl region, some 150 km away, cf.: Özdoğan, p. 38.

⁸⁷ Özdoğan, p. 57.

⁸⁸ Redman, p. 160.

from the site. Pottery was unknown, and instead they used unbaked clay vessels, sometimes modelled in the bottom of a basket.⁸⁹

It is astonishing that the people of Çayönü knew of copper at an early phase of the village's life. They probably brought the ore from Ergani, some 20 km to the north, and made pins, rings, hooks, reamers and flat-rolled tubular beads by cold striking⁹⁰ or even by hot-hammering and heat-smelting the ore.⁹¹ However, they stopped using it after the GP Phase, but why they stopped after making such a technical breakthrough has to be still answered.

Domestication was in progress, especially of goat and sheep, until there were 13 times more bones of domesticated animals than of wild animals (aurochs and red deer).⁹² The pig was present in all phases, perhaps having been domesticated after the LRP phase. As to plants, we know that *einkorn* and *emmer* wheat, peas, lentils, bitter vetch and wild vetch were all domesticated. They collected pistachio and almonds and a little wild barley⁹³ for food, linseed for oil with the flax used for textiles.⁹⁴

The burials of the early phases in Çayönü were in the open areas of the settlement or under the floors of the huts. Bodies were generally laid out north-south on their right sides in tightly flexed positions and without funerary gifts.⁹⁵ Later the dead were buried in individual graves and still later they were left with simple funerary gifts and were sometimes buried in buildings dedicated for this purpose. One of these buildings is known as 'The Skull Building' by its excavator, where 70% of the human skeletal remains uncovered so far were found.⁹⁶

Another important Pre-Pottery site of our region is **Nemrik**, on the way between Mosul and Duhok. The site was discovered in the 1980s and consists of at least seven settlement phases, interrupted by six intervals of abandonment and erosion. Except for the first period, the other six represent a village type occupation "repeating the situation known from Guran and Jarmo."⁹⁷

The oldest finds of Nemrik are dated by the lithic industry to the Zarzian period (c. 10,500 BP) and the most recent to about 8,400 BP.⁹⁸ This means the village had been occupied for approximately 2,700 years and during its early phases was contemporary with Mu'allafāt and Qirmiz Dere in Iraq, with Mureybet, Sheikh Hassan and Jirf Al-Ahmer in Syria, and with Çayönü, Demirköy and Hallan Çemi in the north in Turkey. Its later phases were contemporary with Dja'da in Syria and Navali Çori and Göbekli in southeast Turkey and Tepe Abdul Hussein in Iran. The village was occupied by nuclear families, each comprising 6-10 individuals.⁹⁹

At least 27 architectural structures have been uncovered in the village, mostly houses but also burials and magazines. The houses are usually circular or oval in plan, some with an area of 30-45 m². Only in level V were semi-rectangular buildings built. Some houses still had walls up to 1.8 m high when excavated.¹⁰⁰ The roofs in Nemrik were covered by heavy clay and were supported by pillars or posts without leaning on the walls. The interiors of the houses were divided into smaller units by low clay walls. Circular and rectangular platforms

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Özdoğan, p. 54.

⁹¹ Yakar, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁹² Redman, p. 162; Yakar, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁹³ Yakar, p. 53.

⁹⁴ Özdoğan, p. 48.

⁹⁵ Özdoğan, p. 44.

⁹⁶ Yakar, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁹⁷ Kozłowski, S. K., *Nemrik, An Aceramic Village in Northern Iraq*, Warsaw, 2002, p. 24.

⁹⁸ Kozłowski, p. 25-26.

⁹⁹ Kozłowski, p. 46.

¹⁰⁰ Kozłowski, S., A. Kempisty, K. Szymczak, R. Mazurowsky, A. Reiche and W. Borkowsky, "Fourth Report on the Excavation of the Prepottery Neolithic Site Nemrik 9," *Sumer* 46, Part 1 & 2 (1989-1990), p. 29.

were found inside the houses built of plastered clay and attached to the walls. It is thought that they might have served as banquettes.¹⁰¹ But, comparing them with their modern parallels, they are more likely to have been used as benches where skin containers of oil, water and other liquid food stuff could be kept cool and clean, out of reach of animals and some insects, exactly as is done in modern times. The vast majority of the walls have cigar-shaped mud bricks (51 by 12 by 6 cm),¹⁰² although yellowish clay lumps and *pisé* are also found.¹⁰³ No windows and even no doors have been found in the walls of the houses, so the inhabitants probably used ladders and staircases through the roofs instead. There were storage pits, perhaps also burials as well as stone slabs and querns installed in the floor inside. Traces of dye show the floors were decorated with red paint in phase IV, and red and yellow painted dadoes are also reported.¹⁰⁴

The people of Nemrik seem to have had small stone statuettes associated with their religious beliefs, especially the heads of vultures and eagles, and also lionesses, leopards, snakes and one bull's foot (Fig. 12).¹⁰⁵ These statuettes were put sometimes in niches in the walls, but one was found on the floor of a burnt house (House 2A, phase III b) beside a human skeleton with hands outstretched towards the figure, probably trying to save it from the flames of the burning house before the roof collapsed.¹⁰⁶ A total of 29 such complete or fragmentary statuettes have been found in Nemrik that date between 7,800- 6,500 BC.

The burials were sometimes under the floors of houses but mostly between the houses or outside the settlement.¹⁰⁷ They were provided with little funerary objects, such as stone tools or ornaments made from stone beads, shells and the like. The bodies were laid on their sides, most often contracted if under floors or in an embryonic position if outside. This difference in burial traditions implies most probably ethno-religious differences within the population of the settlement. It is important to mention the burials to the southwest and in the centre of the site that consist of small circular or oval structures dug in the ground.

Apart from some pure local features, the small finds of Nemrik bear both the features of the western Zagros and of southeast Anatolia. The most prominent finds from there were stone tools, querns, mortars, beads, needles, awls, clay tokens and a stone ring.

The site of **Navali Çori** in the Kantara Valley, east of the Euphrates, represents the best pre-pottery site hitherto known in the Urfa region. The excavations revealed five Neolithic levels that contained a total of 29 houses, with longitudinal plans, built of limestone bound together with a thick mud-mortar.¹⁰⁸ The C 14 dating of Levels I and II pointed to 8,400-8,100 BP, so that the older level is contemporary with Çayönü 2 (GP). A series of square buildings have been uncovered in the northwestern end of the terrace that were seemingly devoted to cultic and ceremonial purposes. The inner walls of the unique building of Navali Çori II (Fig. 13) are plastered with white clay with traces of a red and black paint. Two steps lead downwards to its terrazzo floor, where a bench of quarry-stone bonded with clay and covered with slabs runs round the inner side of the hall, which is cut by a dozen monolithic pillars with T-shaped crowns.¹⁰⁹ This cultic building contains the principal architectural elements of later Mesopotamian temple architecture and probably also the scene for its rites.

¹⁰¹ Kozłowski, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹⁰² Matthews, p. 38.

¹⁰³ Kozłowski, S. K., A. Kempisty, K. Szymczak, R. Mazurowski, A. Reiche, W. Borkowski, "A Preliminary Report on the Third Season 1987 of Polish Excavations at Nimrik 9/ Saddam's Dam Salvage Project." *Sumer* 46, Part 1&2 (1989-90), p. 24.

¹⁰⁴ Kozłowski, p. 30.

¹⁰⁵ Kozłowski, p. 77-78; Matthews, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Kozłowski, p. 31.

¹⁰⁷ Kozłowski, S. K., A. Kempisty, K. Szymczak, R. Mazurowski, A. Reiche, W. Borkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁸ For a detailed description of these architectural structures cf.: Hauptmann, p. 70 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Yakar, *Neolithic Anatolia, Supplement No. 1*, p. 13-14; Hauptmann, p. 74.

Its four angles are oriented towards the four cardinal points. The niche for the statue of the god is on a broken axis from the entrance. This was a feature which prevailed later in Assyria and in the mountainous regions to the east, as for instance in the Bazmūsīān temple in the Bitwēn Plain that dates to the second millennium BC. The probable burying of old statues of gods under the floor is reminiscent of the buried group of statues in the Abu Temple in Tell Asmar.¹¹⁰ The discovery of 9 human skulls placed facing one another in pits under the floor of two houses in Navali Çori¹¹¹ can be associated with this practice. The building in the next level contained two decorated pillars in the middle of the hall; although these were missing in the earlier level it can be supposed they existed there also. The decoration is executed in the form of low relief on the wider faces of the pillars. It represents two bent arms with hands joining under a ridge cut into the narrow face. In **Göbekli Tepe** two similar pillars have been uncovered, one of which is larger – c. 6.7m by 3m – decorated with fine reliefs of various kinds of animals, such as lions, foxes and interwoven snakes (Fig. 14). The lion catching a human head in its paws is perhaps a unique piece of round sculpture from this period.¹¹² The stone human head with a snake on top (Fig. 15) found in Nevali Çori was probably part of a complete statue. Together with other pieces of art it shows the richness of the intellectual life of the people living in the region at that time. Astonishingly they knew how to make baked clay figurines and small clay models of stone vessels, but no pottery was found.¹¹³ The richness in this part of the region of Neolithic sites, including Göbekli Tepe, Cefer Höyük, Söğüt Tarlası, Gritille, Levzin Höyük, Hayaz, Biris Mezarlığı, Demirci Tepe, Papazgölü,¹¹⁴ Kikan Harabası, Gölbent Mevkii, Gri Havarisk, indicates a dense population during the Neolithic period in an economy that depended on hunting and gathering as well as some primitive agriculture.

To the southeast, close to Chamchamāl, **Jarmo** (c. 6750 BC)¹¹⁵ represents a well-known Neolithic site of the region under study. The site covers almost 1.5 ha with ca. 7 m of deposits at the edge of a deep valley. 16 levels have been identified by its excavators. The lower 11 yielded no pottery; stone vessels, baskets plastered with bitumen and perhaps skin containers were used. Pottery makes its appearance in the upper five levels and is described as ‘developed,’¹¹⁶ although it was hand-made, thick and coarse.¹¹⁷ It appears that the village was a permanent settlement, lasting for three to five centuries.¹¹⁸ But it was small, consisting only of 20-25 houses made of *tauf* and inhabited by 150-200 individuals.¹¹⁹ It is noteworthy that a modern typical village in this same region has almost the same number of houses and inhabitants, because of the limited water resources and pastures. The walls of the houses of Jarmo were plastered with fine mud, and the floors with mats were also plastered with mud. The later houses had stone foundations and were provided with ovens and chimneys. The plans are rectilinear. Each house comprised several small rooms (1.5 by 2 m) and many had small courtyards. The roofs were made of reed and covered by thick clay. It seems that the dead were buried outside the village, because human skeletal remains inside the settlement are

¹¹⁰ For the fragmentary limestone statues, which were buried into the bench and the back wall of the cult building of level II, and the clay statue, buried into the podium of the cult building of level III in Navali Çori, see further Hauptmann, p. 74.

¹¹¹ Yakar, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

¹¹² Hauptmann, p. 79.

¹¹³ Hauptmann, p. 77.

¹¹⁴ This site is, according to Yakar, the largest pre-pottery site hitherto known in Anatolia, cf.: Yakar, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹¹⁵ For exact radiocarbon datings of the finds from Jarmo, cf. Braidwood, Jarmo Chronology, *Prehistoric Archaeology ...*, 537-8.

¹¹⁶ Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations of ...*, p. 47.

¹¹⁷ Braidwood, R. and Howe, B., *Prehistoric Investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*, p. 64.

¹¹⁸ Braidwood, Jarmo Chronology, *op. cit.*, p. 537.

¹¹⁹ Redman, p. 165-6.

scanty.¹²⁰ Subsistence in Jarmo depended on settled agriculture, although gathering was still considerably significant. The discovery of the oldest carbonised cereals in Jarmo is of special importance, for we now know that the inhabitants there consumed *emmer* wheat, which was morphologically close to its wild type, and also *einkorn* wheat and two-row barley.¹²¹ Secondary cereals found in Jarmo included field peas, lentils, blue vetchling, pistachio and acorn. Faunal remains indicate a gradually increasing percentage of domesticated goat. Probably dogs were domesticated and sheep, pigs, gazelles and wild cats were hunted.¹²² The large amount of snails found in the settlement indicates that they were consumed as food.¹²³

The lithic industry of Jarmo was dominated by flint. The significant additions of imported obsidian were used for the manufacture of blades for composite tools, such as sickles and knives, fixed on wooden handles with bitumen (Fig. 16). Ground stone industry was developed; axes with polished cutting edges, saddle querns and grinders, mortars, panders, door-sockets, stone balls, fine palettes for grinding, spoons, mace-heads, perforated discs, and marble and alabaster rings and bracelets (sometimes with incised or grooved decoration). All these were made in the village.¹²⁴

Some elegant cups and bowls might be the most beautiful products of the ground stone industry at the site, for which veined stones had been carefully selected. Bones were used to make awls, spatulae, rings, beads and pendants. More than 5,000 clay objects were recovered during the excavations¹²⁵ that represent geometrical, faunal and human figures, including mother goddesses (Fig. 17).

On the Iranian side of the region **Tepe Asiāb** in the Kirmashān plain produced similar evidence of a Proto-Neolithic culture from 11,000- 9,000 BP.¹²⁶ Some pits have been found, one of them containing numerous human coprolites, covered by ochre, but no vegetable or cereal diet was identified. The subsistence of its inhabitants depended on lizards, frogs and toads, perhaps the seasonal diet of semi-nomadic herdsmen;¹²⁷ while some think that they may also have had domesticated goat.¹²⁸ Clay figurines, some human, were found.¹²⁹ The only architectural evidence at the site is a semi-subterranean structure, 10 metres in diameter, but it is not known whether it was roofed. The flint tools of the site showed a similarity with those of Karim Shāhir. Pre-pottery levels have been excavated in the village of **Ganj Dareh** near Kirmashān, which seems to have been one of the oldest Neolithic sites of our region. This oval tell of 1 ha has 8 m of Early Neolithic deposits.¹³⁰ Shallow pits and circular hollows containing ashes and burnt stones covered part of the site in the mid-ninth millennium BC.¹³¹ There was an area enclosed by an arc of stone slabs, probably for roasting or heating. Here too the people seem to have been semi-nomads. No pottery was found, but in a later phase they began to make pots and vessels of unbaked clay; these had been hardened later by an accidental fire in the settlement.¹³² The upper levels contained the remains of an early village

¹²⁰ Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations of ...*, p. 49.

¹²¹ Mellaart, *ibid.*

¹²² According to Redman, pigs, cattle, horses and to a lesser extent sheep, were domesticated in Jarmo, cf.: Redman, p. 166-7.

¹²³ Mellaart, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Redman, p. 167; Braidwood, R. and Howe, B., *op. cit.*, p. 44ff; see also: Braidwood, R., "The Agricultural Revolution," *Old World Archaeology: Foundations of Civilization*, San Francisco, 1972, p. 75f.

¹²⁴ Redman, p. 167.

¹²⁵ Redman, p. 167.

¹²⁶ Hole, *Archaeology of Western Iran*, p. 32-33.

¹²⁷ Bernbeck, R., "Iran im Neolithikum," *Persiens Antike Pracht*, Bochum, 2004, p. 141.

¹²⁸ Hole, p. 33.

¹²⁹ شه‌میرزادی، ص. ۲۴۶.

¹³⁰ Redman, p. 169.

¹³¹ Redman, p. 84.

¹³² Bernbeck, p. 142.

built of solid mud-bricks, dated to *c.* 7000 BC, with rectilinear structures and small rooms built of long cigar-shaped bricks (50-95 cm long).¹³³ This kind of brick, found in Nemrik, Choga Mami and also as far away as Jericho,¹³⁴ seems to have been used over a large area of the ancient Near East. It seems very probably to be the prototype of the Mesopotamian ED Plano-Convex brick. Perhaps some houses in Ganj Dareh had a second storey,¹³⁵ supported by tree trunks, with the ground floors used for storage, as in the corridor rooms of Beidha and cell-plan structures of Çayönü.¹³⁶ As in other villages of the period, the roofs were covered by wooden beams and clay. The discovery of a number of very small compartments built inside one of the cubicles is interesting. The compartments were made of thin vertical plates of clay with bevelled edges that had apparently been prefabricated and dried by the sun before being placed in position and plastered.¹³⁷ At this site specimens of what could be, according to Redman, the oldest known pottery in the Near East were found: a lightly fired, chaff-tempered coarse ware in large (80 cm high) and small (5 cm high) sizes.¹³⁸ Clay was also the material from which geometrical and human figurines of mother-goddesses were made¹³⁹ as well as animal figurines from levels E and D. The abundant stone tools of Ganj Dareh include no obsidian.¹⁴⁰ Other tools have “undergone little change from the earliest to the latest levels of the site.”¹⁴¹ Some sickles and grindstones came from level D and were associated with settled agriculture,¹⁴² although these could equally well have been used for harvesting wild grain in our opinion.

It seems that the inhabitants of the village had domesticated goat and some plants but still depended largely on hunting and gathering. On the other hand, in view of the location of the village, the availability of wild cereals nowadays and the domesticated animal bones that have been found suggest that “Ganj Dareh holds evidence of the shift from hunting and gathering to an economy based on domesticates.”¹⁴³

The skulls of two wild sheep with the lower jaws missing, the one placed on the other, found in a cubicle and fixed on the plastered interior of a small niche¹⁴⁴ are considered to be evidence of a shrine and to indicate some ritual practice in this remote period.

A burial of an adolescent from level D contained a necklace made of 71 stone and shell beads. Some of the shells are marine, probably from the Persian Gulf or the Mediterranean,¹⁴⁵ a rare indication of the site having distant contacts. Other burials showed both contracted and stretched positions of the bodies. They were buried in the houses, sometimes rolled in mats, but with no funerary objects found with the adults except for the one with the necklace.¹⁴⁶

Other sites from this period include **Tepe Guran** in Luristan, which yielded three Pre-Pottery levels from the 21 occupational levels dated to 6,500-5,500 BC. The inhabitants of Tepe Guran lived in wooden huts and used mats to cover the floors. It seems to have been a winter camp used by hunters and herders in its early age,¹⁴⁷ but houses became numerous in

¹³³ Smith, P., “Ganj Dareh Tepe” in: Survey of Excavations, *Iran XIII* (1975), p. 179; شهمیرزادی، ص. ۲۶۰.

¹³⁴ For Jericho, cf. Huot, *Une archéologie des ...*, p. 27.

¹³⁵ Hole, p. 49.

¹³⁶ For Çayönü, cf.: Yakar, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹³⁷ Smith, P., “Ganj Dareh Tepe” in: Survey of Excavations, *Iran X* (1972), p. 166.

¹³⁸ Redman, p. 169; cf. also: Bernbeck, “Iran im Neolithikum,” p. 142 and ۲۶۰. شهمیرزادی، ص.

¹³⁹ Smith, p. 179.

¹⁴⁰ Matthews, p. 40.

¹⁴¹ Redman, p. 169.

¹⁴² Hole, p. 49.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Smith, *Iran X* (1972), p. 166.

¹⁴⁵ Smith, *Iran XIII* (1975), p. 180.

¹⁴⁶ شهمیرزادی، ص. ۲۶۲.

¹⁴⁷ Redman, p. 171.

the following phases, when there is evidence of agriculture and domestication, probably around 6,400 BC.¹⁴⁸ The pottery that appeared later was coarse, plain and sometimes painted. In **Tepe Sarab**, east of Kirmashān, a culture typologically later than Jarmo¹⁴⁹ produced a better type of pottery than that of Jarmo; it was red slipped and burnished or red painted.¹⁵⁰ The famous mother-goddess figurine, known as ‘Venus of Tepe Sarab’ (Fig. 18), together with other well-made, more realistic and lively figurines (797 animal and 650 human figurines in total),¹⁵¹ imply a higher level of this kind of art in this community. The village had no substantial architecture. There is some fragmentary evidence of mud structures,¹⁵² and oval pits with reed and mud roofs, probably for seasonal occupation.¹⁵³ But there is evidence of permanent occupation during the year, at least in parts of the settlement.¹⁵⁴ **Tepe Abdulhusein** in Nihavand has architectural remains consisting of shallow pits in the early phases. But in the next level, still pre-pottery, there were houses of mud-brick (12 by 36 cm), rectangular in shape and plastered floors. The ovens were inside the rooms and beside the walls.¹⁵⁵ The pottery, mostly small fragments, is coarse and poorly baked, sometimes with a thick buff slip and the inner sides of the vessels are red.¹⁵⁶ Among the 1,800 sherds, only 70 were decorated, with simple geometric motifs in (dark) brown paint, and only 5 sherds were painted with a red paint. Numerous arrow-heads, scrapers, blades, retouched tools, sickle-blades, grindstones, stone vessels and obsidian tools were also among the finds, in addition to beads, human and animal figurines and objects made of bone, such as awls, and beads.¹⁵⁷ The dead were buried in the houses together with funerary objects. They were buried in both contracted and stretched positions.¹⁵⁸

Later similar sites have been identified in the Mahidasht Plain near Kirmashān, such as Shian, Zibiri and Tepe Geneel, but **Seh Gabi**, close to Godin provided architectural evidence of a settled community around the year which kept pig, sheep and goat.¹⁵⁹

Hassuna and Samarra

Recent investigations during the last few decades have shown that other cultures filled the gap between the Early Neolithic Culture, such as Jarmo, and the Hassuna Culture. These cultures show the first substantial movements of small groups of people, probably 20-30 individuals, over the northern Mesopotamian plains, where they practised the techniques of agriculture and specialised hunting.¹⁶⁰ One such culture was found in **Umm Dabbaghiyya**,

¹⁴⁸ The dating according to Mortensen, cf.: Hole, p. 47.

¹⁴⁹ Its earlier levels date to 6,200- 5,800 BC, cf.: Hole, p. 47. However, according to Braidwood, its earliest levels date back to 9,000-8,000 BP, ص. ۲۴۷، شهمیرزادی.

¹⁵⁰ Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations of...*, p. 51. For a detailed description of the pottery of Tepe Sarab and its distribution, cf.: Levine, L. D. and T. Cuyler Young, Jr., “A Summary of the Ceramic Assemblages of the Central Western Zagros from the Middle Neolithic to the Late Third Millennium BC,” *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie, La Mésopotamie préhistorique et l’exploration récente du Djebel Hamrin*, ed. J.-L. Huot, Paris, 1987, p. 16; ص. ۲۴۸، ۲۴۶، ۲۴۷.

¹⁵¹ شهمیرزادی، ص. ۲۴۷.

¹⁵² Hole, p. 47.

¹⁵³ شهمیرزادی، ص. ۲۴۶.

¹⁵⁴ Redman, p. 172.

¹⁵⁵ شهمیرزادی، ص. ۲۵۳.

¹⁵⁶ شهمیرزادی، ص. ۲۵۴.

¹⁵⁷ شهمیرزادی، ص. ۲۵۵-۶.

¹⁵⁸ شهمیرزادی، ص. ۲۵۶.

¹⁵⁹ Hole, p. 49-50.

¹⁶⁰ Matthews, p. 63.

outside our region. Another was **Sotto**, dating to c. 6,000 BC¹⁶¹ and containing large pits in its oldest level, seemingly semi-subterranean houses like those of **Qirmiz Dere** and Mu'alafāt. Houses of *tauf* appeared only from level 2 onwards. They were one-roomed rectangular houses containing hearths, ovens and pots sunk into the floor.¹⁶² The burials were under the floors or next to the houses; some corpses had been dismembered before burying and others were strongly contracted. Funerary gifts have been found in 2 of the 9 burials, one of which is said to have consisted of beads of lapis lazuli. If this is correct, it would be one of the very first attestations of this stone in the region.¹⁶³ The stone tools were made of available local flint; obsidian is rare. There are also clay figurines, tools made of bone, spindle whorls and clay sling missiles.¹⁶⁴ Similar artefacts from this period have been found in **Tulul Al-Thalathāt** (55 km west of Mosul), Tell Kashkashuk II and Khazna II in the Habur region.¹⁶⁵

The **Hassuna** Culture (c. 5,800-5,500 BC) is known for its multi-roomed, small rectangular houses containing hearths, storage pits and occasional burials in pits. In **Yarim Tepe** (10 km south of Tell A^cfar) some houses had up to 10 rooms and in each complex one room had an oven, usually associated with a mortar. The structures (c. 5,600 BC) were made of *pisé* with reed matting on the floors plastered with clay and straw or gypsum,¹⁶⁶ while the roofs were covered with mats, clay and gypsum. The dead were buried under the floors; some had been dismembered and provided with gifts.

Hassuna pottery has three main groups: plain coarse ware; plain ware with incisions; painted and incised ware (Fig. 19).¹⁶⁷ Its quality had improved and had begun to be painted with a dark brown paint; some pieces were painted and incised.¹⁶⁸ The decorative motifs were parallel lines, hatched triangles and a herringbone pattern, resembling ears of wheat or barley. The extent of Hassuna as well as its origin is not yet adequately known; except that it is distributed along a line from Sinjār, passing through Nineveh to Rawāndiz and then to the Urmia region. There, Hajji Firuz, slightly to the south of Lake Urmia, showed 6 occupational levels contemporary with Hassuna.¹⁶⁹ Its small rectangular houses were built of *pisé*, set around an open courtyard and contained hearths and large storage jars. Some of the houses have an added area with a curved wall, without roofing, the purpose of which is unknown.¹⁷⁰ Remnants of red paint were found on part of a wall of one of the houses and some of the floors were painted with red ochre.¹⁷¹ The dead were buried inside the houses, accompanied by few funerary gifts;¹⁷² sometimes after the flesh had decomposed the bones had been placed in ossuaries under the floors.¹⁷³ The pottery found in the settlement is plain, painted and straw-tempered and poorly fired.¹⁷⁴ Some clay figurines represent a few animals and the rest humans, whose lower parts are impressed by fingernails and pointed tools, a

¹⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 60-61.

¹⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁶⁶ Mellaart, *The Neolithic of....*, p. 146.

¹⁶⁷ Redman, p. 190.

¹⁶⁸ Lloyd, S. and Safar, F., "Tell Hassuna," *JNES* 4, No.2 (1945), p. 279-81. Cf. also: Dabbagh, T., "Hassuna Pottery," *Sumer* 21, part 1 & 2 (1965), p. 93-111.

¹⁶⁹ Hole, p. 45. However, according to Mellaart they are "roughly contemporary with Hassuna and Samarra," cf.: Mellaart, *The Earliest....*, p. 71.

¹⁷⁰ شه‌میرزادی، ص. ۲۸۹.

¹⁷¹ شه‌میرزادی، ص. ۲۹۰.

¹⁷² Hole, p. 45.

¹⁷³ شه‌میرزادی، ص. ۲۹۲.

¹⁷⁴ Mellaart, *The Earliest*, p. 72.

characteristic of this site.¹⁷⁵ The subsistence depended on a mixture of agriculture and herding.¹⁷⁶ A remarkable Hassuna occupation has been found in Shemshāra, on the Lower Zāb (levels 9-16),¹⁷⁷ and in some other sites of Rāniya Plain, such as Gird-i-Dēm¹⁷⁸ and Kamariyān.¹⁷⁹ But generally it appears that this culture was scantier in the regions south of the Lower Zāb, a line probably marking its southern borderline.¹⁸⁰ Even the Habur culture and lithic industry is linked more tightly with Hassuna and Proto-Hassuna of Northern Iraq than with the cultures of (Western) Syria from the same period.¹⁸¹

In many sites like Hassuna, Shemshāra and Matarra, a new kind of pottery appears in the upper layers of the Hassuna occupation which is mixed with that of Hassuna itself. This new kind of pottery was first discovered from excavations at the Abbasid site of Samarra on the Tigris; hence it was called **Samarra** pottery and its culture Samarra Culture (c. 5,600-4,800 BC). The new pottery gradually replaced the old one¹⁸² and it can be subdivided into three, as painted, painted and incised, and fine and plain (Fig. 20).¹⁸³ Generally it is characterised by large bowls, jars and vessels, decorated with geometric, human and faunal motifs, arranged in balanced symmetrical designs and coloured with red, dark green or purple paint.¹⁸⁴ The site of Tell es-Sawwan on the eastern bank of the Tigris to the south of Samarra is a typical site of this culture, where large houses with storage areas surrounded by a wall and a moat were found.¹⁸⁵ The use of sun-dried bricks in the architecture of this period is remarkable.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, the inhabitants of this site used the oldest known irrigation techniques by digging a network of canals, a technique best seen in the other important Samarran site of Choga Mami (4,800 ± 182 BC), near Mandali.¹⁸⁷ Among the significant finds from both sites were the numerous clay (mostly in Choga Mami) and marble (in Es-Sawwan) figurines, mostly of women. The clay was painted and the marble inlaid with shells and bitumen. Samarra ware was also found in Kamariyan (mentioned above) in the Rāniya Plain.¹⁸⁸ In the west it reached northern Syria, the southern edge of the western part of our region. As with Hassuna, the origin of Samarra culture is disputed. Some suggest an Iranian origin and others believe it was developed from Hassuna.¹⁸⁹

¹⁷⁵ شهميزادي، ص. ٢٩١.

¹⁷⁶ A detailed study has been made about the subsistence of this village, cf. Voigt, M. M., "The Subsistence Economy of a Sixth Millennium Village in the Ushnu-Solduz Valley," *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica*, vol. 7: Mountains and Lowlands, Essays on the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia, ed. L. D. Levine and T. Cuyler Young, Jr., Malibu, 1977, pp. 307-346.

¹⁷⁷ Mortensen, P., *Tell Shemshara, The Hassuna Period*, København, 1970, p. 2.

¹⁷⁸ التكريتي، عبد القادر، "حفريات تل الديم (دوكان)"، سومر ١٦، الجزء ١ و ٢ (١٩٦٠)، ص. ٩٥؛ ٩٦.

[al-Tikrīti, A., "Excavations at Tell ed-Dēm (Dukan)," *Sumer* 16, parts 1 and 2 (1960), p. 95; 96 (in Arabic)]; and: Es-Soof, B., "Uruk Pottery from the Dokan and Shahrazur Districts," *Sumer* 20, part 1&2 (1964), p. 39.

¹⁷⁹ Es-Soof, *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ Mellaart, *The Neolithic of ...*, p. 144; cf. also: Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations...*, p. 64.

¹⁸¹ Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 114-15.

¹⁸² Hence it is considered as a southern development from the Hassuna culture, not a new one. Its most important sites lay further to the south, cf. Forest, J.-D., *Mésopotamie, l'apparition de l'état. VI^e-III^e millénaires*, Paris, 1996, p. 36.

¹⁸³ Matsumoto, K., "The Samarra Period at Tell Songor," *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, p. 190.

¹⁸⁴ Lloyd and Safar, p. 281-3; Mellaart, *Earliest...*, p. 66.

¹⁸⁵ Matthews, p. 73-4.

¹⁸⁶ Mellaart, *The Neolithic of ...*, p. 150ff; Oates, D. and J. Oates, *The Rise of Civilization*, Lausanne, 1976, p. 64 (with photo). Cf. also Matthews, p. 73 ff. For the discoveries at Tell es-Sawwan see the series of excavations reports in *Sumer*, vols. 21 (1965); 23 (1967); 24 (1968); 26 (1970); 27 (1971); and in Arabic: 19 (1964); 25 (1969); 28 (1972).

¹⁸⁷ Oates and Oates, *Ibid.* Cf. also Mellaart, *The Neolithic of*, p. 155.

¹⁸⁸ Es-Soof, "Uruk Pottery from Dokan and Shahrazur Districts," p. 39.

¹⁸⁹ Mellaart, *The Earliest...*, p. 66.

One of the main characteristics of the Hassuna and Samarra cultures was the establishment of settlements outside the dry-farming area. This was a very significant step in the history of civilization as it proved the possibility of living outside that area. Botanical evidence recovered from both Tell es-Sawwan and Choga Mami indicates that irrigation was practised from at least the middle of the sixth millennium BC.¹⁹⁰ The Samarra people were highly advanced farmers, their lives were more organized and developed and their settlements were comparatively large. Choga Mami, for instance, covered 6 ha and housed almost 1000 individuals.¹⁹¹ The entrance to the settlement was guarded by an angled gate with towers. Its houses were rectangular with small multiple rooms,¹⁹² as also seen in Shemshāra (level 16). The large buildings had external buttresses in the corners and wall junctions, a feature that later became a main feature of Mesopotamian architecture. Sun-dried bricks were used in the buildings of this period, although *pisé* was still in use in some places. The bricks of Choga Mami were cigar-shaped (60-90 by 12-18 cm).¹⁹³

The data obtained from the Samarran sites give some hints about further development of property rights. Most of the buildings were rebuilt directly on the foundations of the older ones. Moreover, the appearance of seals in this period, as in Hassuna, can be seen to concern ownership, especially when exchanging or communally storing goods.¹⁹⁴ Potter's marks also refer to the increasing significance of craft activities and the sense of craftsmanship that might have accompanied the transformation of manufacturing activities from individual households to specialized manufacturing groups. The burials also indicate the ranking of individuals according to their wealth.

The spread of the Samarra Culture is similar to Hassuna. It extended from the north of modern Baghdad, through the Hamrin region, to northern Mesopotamia (Matarra, Ibrahim Bayis, Arpachiya, Sheshni)¹⁹⁵ and eastern Syria, where its pottery has been found in Baghouz on the Euphrates, Boueid II on the lower Habur, Chagar Bazar on the upper Habur and Sabi Abiyad.¹⁹⁶

Halaf

Numerous cultural developments and innovations were introduced into **Halaf** Culture (*c.* 5500-4500 BC)¹⁹⁷ that succeeded Samarra. The houses were still built of sun-dried bricks (Tepe Gawra) and sometimes *pisé* (Arpachiya, the type-site of this culture) and mortared with gypsum. However, they were smaller, especially at these two sites¹⁹⁸ that are located to the east and northeast of Nineveh. Yet more interesting was the introduction of a new kind of architecture, which could have been borrowed or brought from abroad by the Halafian immigrants, if that is what they were. This new architecture consisted of a circular building

¹⁹⁰ Redman, p. 195.

¹⁹¹ Redman, p. 196.

¹⁹² It is remarkable that the rooms in Choga Mami are arranged in rows; there is a house of 12 rooms arranged in 3 rows of four; in another house 9 rooms are arranged in 3 rows of three.

¹⁹³ Redman, p. 196.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ Matthews, p. 73.

¹⁹⁶ Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 116.

¹⁹⁷ It is worth mentioning that some C14 tests of finds from Tell Sabi Abiadh in Syria have given an earlier date for the beginnings of Halaf as *c.* 6100-6000 B. C., cf. Forest, p. 27.

¹⁹⁸ Matthews, p. 85 and 88; Mellaart, *The Neolithic of.....*, p. 159. Arpachiya is located 6 km to the northeast of Nineveh, with a diameter of *c.* 125 m and 8 Halaf levels. Although it was a small settlement and its inhabitants did not exceed 200 persons, it yielded the best and largest examples of Halaf architecture; cf. Redman, p. 199.

with a rectangular ante-room attached (Fig. 21),¹⁹⁹ thought to have had domed roofs of clay, at least at Arpachiya. Such a building is called a *tholos* for it looked similar to the Mycenaean *tholoi*. Some North Syrian villages around Aleppo still have such domed roofs. Different ideas have been presented about the function of a *tholos*; it may have been a cultic centre or a public building or simply a dwelling house.²⁰⁰ The scarcity of archaeological finds inside such buildings has made it too difficult to determine their true function. Some of them have normal dimensions, others are large and subdivided with inner walls. The *tholoi* of Arpachiya had walls 2-2.5m thick, with a dome 10m in diameter and an anteroom 19m long. The one found in Yarim Tepe III had walls up to 2m high and at opposite sides of the interior right-angled walls had been constructed, making an interior cruciform plan (Fig. 22).²⁰¹ The presence of some paved paths between the buildings on the top of Arpachiya site²⁰² may indicate the first municipal activities in this period. Another significant element of this culture is the pottery, according to which Halaf can be divided into Eastern Halaf (between the lower Zāb and Diyāla Rivers) and Western Halaf (at Jabbul and on the Queiq in Syria).²⁰³ A remarkable development in the use of colours took place. The pottery became polychrome and the designs delicate and beautiful, with the use of a rich collection of geometrical, floral and faunal motifs, the most prominent of which was the *bucranum*²⁰⁴ (Fig. 23). Although the potter's wheel had not yet been invented vessels were well-made: thin-walled, included new distinctive shapes, hand-made, wet-smoothed and lightly burnished; bowls had flared rims, concave or rounded sides, some with small round mouths. Chronologically Halaf pottery can be divided into three phases.²⁰⁵ The first and oldest (Arpachiya phases 1-2, pre TT 10; Chagar Bazar levels 15-13) is characterized by relatively simple shapes, among which is the 'cream bowl.' The preferred decorations were naturalistic: heads of oxen or moufflon or complete animals, leopards, deer, snakes scorpions, birds, onagers, human figures, schematised trees, plants and flowers. The geometric patterns consist of closely packed lines, straight or wavy fields of dots and circles, often placed in panels.²⁰⁶ The colours of this phase are red and black on an apricot ground. In the second phase (Arpachiya: phase 3a- b TT10- TT 7, Chagar Bazar: level 12) elaborate shapes were made with sharp flaring rims. The naturalistic decoration disappeared, except the *bucrania*, that became more stylised. Typical decorations consist of elaborate fields of geometric designs, very similar to textiles and balanced by curved lines, scale patterns, dots, suns, stars, bands, cross-hatching, zig-zags,

¹⁹⁹ Nevertheless, rectilinear architecture was not totally absent in this period. Rectangular buildings have been uncovered in Sabi Abiyad (18 by 10m), see Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 116-7; for Çavi Tarlasi in southeastern Anatolia and Yarim Tepe II-III see Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 89; cf. also the shrine of Tell Aswad on the Balikh; for the potter's shop in Arpachiya see Mellaart, *Earliest....*, p. 122.

²⁰⁰ The *tholoi* uncovered in Tell Turlu to the west of the Euphrates contained ovens and storage pits perhaps indicating it was used as a dwelling, cf. Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 116.

²⁰¹ Matthews, p. 91.

²⁰² Mellaart, *The Neolithic....*, p. 159.

²⁰³ Copeland, L. and F. Hours, "L'expansion halafienne, une interprétation de la répartition des sites," *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, p. 212.

²⁰⁴ Cf.: Lloyd and Safar, *op. cit.*, p. 283; Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations....*, p. 120. The bull was and remained a fundamental element in the art and literature of the ancient Near East for a considerable period. As we see here, it was drawn on prehistoric pottery vessels and later appeared on many vases, stamp-seals and cylinder seals; also on sculptures of the proto-historical and the historical periods, particularly in Sumer. Bulls' heads can be seen also on the wall paintings from Nuzi and on Middle Assyrian wall paintings down to later times. Even the Achaemenids depicted bulls on their bas-reliefs and made the column crowns in their capitals of Persepolis and Susa in the shape of doubled crouching bulls. Urartian, Elamite, Hittite and Babylonian cultures are no exceptions in this respect.

²⁰⁵ Some new excavations, particularly in Arpachiya in the 1970s, showed a mixture of Halaf-Ubaid, called Halaf-Ubaid Transitional, which is counted with Halaf itself; for this, cf. Matthews, p. 87.

²⁰⁶ Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations....*, p. 120.

triangles and chequer-boards.²⁰⁷ In the third phase (Arpachiya: phase 4 TT6; Chagar Bazar: levels 12-6) large polychrome bowls appeared, with elaborate centre-pieces like rosettes, crosses composed of *bucrania*, Maltese Crosses in such a highly artistic style that it became the most outstanding ceramic production of the ancient Near East. Uniquely fine samples of this pottery have been found. For instance, a bowl from Arpachiya is decorated with long-haired women with a fringed rug and a figure hunting, possibly with a bow.²⁰⁸ In Yarim Tepe a spectacular 25 cm high vessel was found (Fig. 24), shaped as a woman with a huge pubic area raising her hands to her breasts.²⁰⁹ Other uniquely decorated pottery comes from Tell Hassan in the Hamrin region and is dated to the late Halaf phase.²¹⁰ Nonetheless, the manufacture of stone vessels had not stopped, using different kinds of stone, including a rare obsidian jar from Arpachiya.²¹¹

It is assumed that trade was well-organized and flourished during the Halaf period. This is indicated by the widespread distribution of pottery of the period over a large area, and the presence of obsidian in almost all sites as well as shells from the Indian Ocean.²¹²

It has been noted that the region of Halaf Culture in general was in the shape of a crescent corresponding to the dry farming areas of the north and northeast. Some scholars speak of the area of Mardin and Diyarbekir as a “suspected homeland of Halaf Culture,”²¹³ while new investigations extend this original home southward to the Hamrin region.²¹⁴ The geographical distribution of this culture in the dry-farming areas was perhaps the reason why no indications of Halafian irrigation agriculture, like its Samarran predecessor, have been found. Archaeological research has shown that Halaf extended from Mersin in the west to the Iranian ‘J’ ware in the east (c. 1200 km) and from the Araxes Valley in the north to the Biqa^c Valley in Lebanon (c. 900 km).²¹⁵ In this respect, a distinctive pottery has been found in **Dalma** (4,036 ±87 BC)²¹⁶ to the south of Lake Urmia. This pottery is not coloured but decorated by using tubes, combs, sticks and fingers to press, pinch and knob, and by what is known as the Barbotine technique (Fig. 25).²¹⁷ This pottery spread south to Kirmashān and Hamadan Plains (Kangavar and Mahidasht), Seh Gabi (mound B) and Godin (level X),²¹⁸ and some scattered

²⁰⁷ Redman, p. 200.

²⁰⁸ Matthews, p. 87.

²⁰⁹ For more details about the shapes of Halafian pottery from Yarim Tepe, cf. Amirov, Sh. N. and D. V. Deopeak, “Morphology of the Halafian Painted Pottery from Yarim Tepe 2, Iraq,” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 28 (1997), pp.69-85.

²¹⁰ Fiorina, P., “Tell Hassan: les couches Halafiennes et Obeidiennes et les relations entre les deux cultures,” *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, p. 251f.

²¹¹ Matthews, p. 88.

²¹² Mellaart, *Earliest...*, p. 124-5. About the organization and effect of Halaf trade on its culture, cf.: Watkins, T., “Kharabeh Shattani: An Halaf Culture Exposure in Northern Iraq,” *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, p. 223-5.

²¹³ Mellaart, *Earliest...*, p. 64.

²¹⁴ Matthews, p. 85. About this topic cf. also: Copeland and Hours, “L’expansion Halafienne.....,” *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, p. 212. Some think that Halaf was the outcome of a long continuous process of local cultural development, not a sudden change brought by immigrants, cf. Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 116.

²¹⁵ Matthews, p. 85. The Iranian ‘J’ ware is the assemblage found in the sites of Mahidasht in western Zagros, especially known from Tepe Siahbid and Chogha Maran. It is a fine pottery analogous to Mesopotamian Halaf pottery, but the decorative motifs are simpler. For more details, cf. Levine, L. and T. Cuyler Young, “A Summary of the Ceramic Assemblages of the...,” *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, p. 19.

²¹⁶ Hole, p. 45. Concerning its being contemporary with Halaf, cf. also Mellaart, *Earliest...*, p. 71.

²¹⁷ Mellaart, *Earliest...*, p. 70; Hamlin, C., “Dalma Tepe,” *Iran* XIII (1975), p. 118. Mellaart compares Dalma pottery with the incised simple ware of Matarra and Hassuna, cf.: Mellaart, *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ Hole, p. 50. About Seh Gabi cf. also Young, T. C. and L. Levine, *Excavations of the Godin Project: Second Progress Report*, Ontario, 1974, p. 2-4.

samples are found in the Khurramābād Valley in Luristan.²¹⁹ It is interesting that this kind of pottery was also found in the Hamrin region together with Halaf and Ubaid.²²⁰

The burials of Arpachiya contained contracted bodies accompanied by gifts, such as clay figurines, ornaments and pots. One of the skeletons was found with its hands placed over the mouth.²²¹ Amazingly, some skulls, male and female,²²² uncovered at the site were intentionally deformed and put inside pots. This practice was probably unique to Arpachiya, perhaps linked with a ritual function of the settlement.²²³ 24 skeletons were found in a well in Tepe Gawra, apparently victims of a raid or a natural disaster.

The Halafians were farmers who depended on dry-farming. Their flint sickles, mortars, pestles and querns have been found in their settlements. They produced *emmer* wheat, hulled two-row barley with the six-row barley that appeared for the first time at the end of this period, and they also cultivated lentils and flax, for producing textiles and to extract linseed.²²⁴ They domesticated cattle, goat, sheep and a dog like a saluki.²²⁵ Mellaart thinks the attention paid to oxen in art and cult does not necessarily imply domestication,²²⁶ but their large horns depicted on pottery indicate wild oxen, a venerated emblem of male fertility.²²⁷

Pottery decorations show that textiles were apparently developed. The discovery of metal objects, awls and pendants made of copper and lead at Arpachiya, is seen as evidence of considerable progress.²²⁸ A unique copper pendant-seal found in Yarim Tepe indicates this development.²²⁹ Simple round or square seals were made with simple incised designs; some seals or seal impressions have been found in Arpachiya and Tepe Gawra, apparently to ensure control.²³⁰

The excavations at Tell es-Sawwan showed that the Halafians reached this area at the end of the Samarra period, where the remains of a supposed *tholos* together with Halaf potsherds were identified.²³¹ Further to the east, Halaf pottery was identified in Tell Hassan in the Hamrin basin,²³² Kudish Saghir to the southwest of Kirkuk, Qalinj Agha in the Erbil Plain, Gird Bagim in Shahrazūr,²³³ Nineveh, Hassuna, Bana Hilik, Songor B, Kharabeh Shattani, Khirbet Derak, Tell Der Hall, Jikan and other sites on the Iraqi side of the region. In the west it was found in Brak, Aylun, Leylān, Kashkashok I, Khazna II, Chagar Bazar, Aqab, Halaf, Umm Qseir, Sabi Abiyad, Damishliyya, Tell Kurdu and elsewhere. In the north Sakçe Gözü, Domuz Tepe, Turlu (where a silo was found), Tilki Tepe (where a 10 kg piece of obsidian was found), Girikihaciyan have all yielded Halaf material.

Halaf is distinguished by its homogenous cultural elements, particularly the architecture and small artefacts. It shows much more homogeneity than its predecessors and at the same time over a much larger area.²³⁴ Although the Halafians were farmers like their predecessors,

²¹⁹ Hamlin, "Dalma Tepe," p. 111.

²²⁰ Hole, p. 46.

²²¹ Matthews, p. 86.

²²² Molleson, T. and S. Campbell, "Deformed Skulls at Tell Arpachiyah: the Social Context, *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, Oxford, 1995, p. 49.

²²³ Matthews, p. 87.

²²⁴ Mellaart, *Earliest...*, p. 122.

²²⁵ Matthews, p. 88.

²²⁶ Mellaart, *Earliest...*, p. 123.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ Mellaart, *Neolithic of*, p. 161; 166.

²²⁹ Matthews, p. 89.

²³⁰ Matthews, p. 89.

²³¹ Al-Soof, B., "Tell es-Sawwan, Fifth Season's Excavations (1967-1968)," *Sumer* 27, part 1&2 (1971), p. 4-5.

²³² Fiorina, P., "Excavations at Tell Hassan," *Sumer* 40, Part 1&2 (1981), p. 49.

²³³ Matthews, p. 105-6.

²³⁴ Some speak of more recent evidence of regional variation within Halaf Culture, despite this general homogeneity, cf. Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 115.

in terms of social interaction and organization it is possible to speak about a widespread cultural horizon for the first time in the Near East. This can be seen in the pottery motifs, architectural styles and small finds in almost all Halaf sites.²³⁵

Ubaid

Until the emergence of **Ubaid Culture** our region had been in the forefront of all the developments in human civilization. This has been changed by this time. Although not everyone agrees with the theory of an Ubaidian conquest from the Mesopotamian lowland²³⁶ it remains most likely that the southerners were subjected to conditions that pushed them towards the north. While the communities of the north continued to subsist as they had done for the past millennia, the southern communities were compelled to reorganize their living pattern. Neither irrigation, nor large scale trade of raw materials were necessary for the northerners. It was possible for them to live from dry-farming and limited economic activity within small communities. Hence there were no motives for settlement growth and reorganization. But in the south irrigation techniques produced surplus supplies leading to population growth.²³⁷ Furthermore, it is not impossible that the southern plains had suffered from salinization at some time in that period. These circumstances had pushed them, according to Mellaart, to look for new lands to the north at the end of Halaf, and in doing so they put an end to Halaf culture. This theory implies that there should be some late Halaf settlements in the south, and perhaps some such traces are found that date to Ubaid 0.²³⁸ It seems that the Ubaid expansion was not always peaceful, for a massacre and traces of destruction by fire of the Halaf settlement in Arpachiya are interpreted as a sign of a violent incursion. Ubaid pottery proliferated over a vast area, even larger than that covered by Halaf, reaching to the north of the Taurus in the plains of Malatiya, Elazig, Palu and to the Solduz Plain, south of Lake Urmia at the site of Pisdeli. Although little is known about Ubaid in the west,²³⁹ its deposits have been found in Aqab (Halaf-Ubaid transitional),²⁴⁰ Brak, Leylān, ‘Abr, Hammam et-Turkman and Tell Kuran. In the north, especially in the east Tigris region, Ubaid Culture had its own characteristics that distinguished it from the Ubaid of Southern Mesopotamia.²⁴¹ These characteristics are noticeable especially in the use of stone in architecture, in funeral customs as seen in Tepe Gawra, and in painted pottery that used a wider variety of colours.

An important development in the north was the manufacture of metal tools by the casting technique. For the first time axes of cast copper were found in addition to gold objects.²⁴² In Tepe Gawra many significant remains of Northern Ubaid were found, such as stamp seals

²³⁵ Redman, p. 199. Watson and Le Blanc suggested that the reason behind this similarity and homogeneity was the transformation of the Halafians from a nomadic way of life to the formation of chiefdoms and that this required more intensive communications between their sites and centres, cf. Redman, p. 199.

²³⁶ Akkermans and Schwartz state that there is no archaeological evidence to support the theory of conquests or invasions, and no drastic climatic changes or disasters that led to the end of Halaf and the coming of Ubaid, cf. Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 154.

²³⁷ Mellaart, *Earliest...*, p. 129; Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 81. Forest thinks that no ethnic change took place in the north with the coming of the Ubaid culture but that the Halafians have simply adopted the new culture, cf. Forest, p. 53.

²³⁸ About the discovery of deposits in Southern Mesopotamia (Tell el ‘Oueili near Larsa) older than Ubaid 1 with pottery relevant to Samarra cf. Huot, J.-L., “Un village de basse-Mésopotamie: Tell el-‘Oueili à l’Obeid 4,” *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, Paris, 1987, p. 293ff.

²³⁹ Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 158.

²⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

²⁴¹ Lloyd, *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia*, p. 65; cf. also Nissen, H. J., “Western Asia before the Age of Empires,” *Civilizations of the Near East*, vol. II ed. by J. M. Sasson, London, 1995, p. 795.

²⁴² Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

made of various kinds of stones including lapis lazuli. The scenes depict extremely lively human figures surrounded by animals. The pottery of Tepe Gawra was decorated by naturalistic scenes that revived Halaf motifs. A distinctive jar from the late Ubaid period found at this site is worth mentioning. The jar (Fig. 26), although fragmentary, is decorated with the scene of a river flowing between two ranges of mountains; near the river bank there is a hunter walking with his dog, while two horned beasts, perhaps ibexes, are on the other side of the river.²⁴³

Ubaid pottery in general (Fig. 27) is fairly uniform except for some minor variations. It is hand-made with a poorer quality of clay and baking than that of Halaf. It is simply decorated with bold geometric designs, monochrome, seldom beautiful and is hardly likely to have “caused aesthetic satisfaction to people who had been used to the glories of Halaf ware.”²⁴⁴ Some have described this change in the pottery as ‘decadence’ or impoverishment, but the reason could have been the necessity for producing pottery on a large-scale and at low-cost.²⁴⁵

Excavations in Pisdeli brought chaff-tempered buff pottery to light with designs and shapes resembling Mesopotamian Ubaid, which is dated by radiocarbon to 4,500- 3,900 BC.²⁴⁶ Ubaid material with local characteristics have been excavated in Godin Tepe (level IX, Local Ubaid; VIII, Terminal Ubaid; VII, local post-Ubaid) and in Seh Gabi close by.²⁴⁷ Among the significant finds here are a well-preserved structure in Seh Gabi (Mound A) and the remains of a house with walls preserved up to the doors and windows. The house had at least 8 rooms and is thought to have consisted of two or even three storeys.²⁴⁸ Seals also have been found at the site that suggest storage and perhaps administrative business.

The architecture of this period is characterized by the tripartite division of the house and the presence of what is thought by some authorities to be a central living hall in the middle of the building (Fig. 28).²⁴⁹ The so-called central hall was more probably the courtyard of the house with the living rooms around it, a characteristic of the ‘Oriental House’ that can still be seen throughout Mesopotamia. The multi-roomed house and the division was a new social development of the period. It was large enough to accommodate an entire family and a wide range of activities under one roof. This internal control of space meant a “desire for privacy and segregation of the sexes, creating a new social and work ethic.”²⁵⁰ Another development was the appearance of religious architecture with a series of buildings that could be identified as temples, such as those in Tepe Gawra.²⁵¹ These buildings surround an open area on three sides, and on a wall of one of these buildings traces of red, black, ochre and vermilion, the colours of an old wall painting, were found.²⁵² In this respect the Tepe Gawra temple sequence echoes the Eridu temples. One more point is similarity of the plans of these temples in Eridu and those in Tepe Gawra (Fig. 29), especially the northern temple. It is noteworthy

²⁴³ Basmachi, F., *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, Baghdad, 1976, p. 109, Photo No. 17 on page 120.

²⁴⁴ Mellaart, *Earliest....*, p. 130.

²⁴⁵ Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 169.

²⁴⁶ Hole, p. 46.

²⁴⁷ Hole, p. 50. Mound B too, where architectural structures have been uncovered, is contemporary with the Late Ubaid, cf. Young, T. C. And L. D. Levine, *Excavations of the Godin Project*, p. 4-6; 11.

²⁴⁸ Hole, p. 50.

²⁴⁹ See for example Forest, p. 56. About the tripartite division of Ubaid architecture cf. Roaf, M., “The Ubaid Architecture of Tell Madhhur,” *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, p. 428.

²⁵⁰ Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 160.

²⁵¹ For more details about Ubaid architecture and its classification into four groups, cf. Margueron, J., “Quelques remarques concernant l’architecture monumentale à l’époque d’Obeid,” *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, p. 352. And about the tripartite division of Ubaid architecture cf. Roaf, M., “The Ubaid Architecture of Tell Madhhur,” *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, p. 428.

²⁵² Mallowan, M. E. L., “The Development of Cities from Al-‘Ubaid to the End of Uruk 5,” *CAH I*, part 1, Cambridge, 1970, p. 382. The walls of an Ubaid house in Hamam al-Turkuman were also plastered white and decorated with red paint, cf. Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 165.

that some round buildings have been uncovered in the Ubaid levels of Tepe Gawra and Yarim Tepe III, probably a continuation from the Halaf period. Also in the Rāniya Plain the remains of a small temple with buttresses and recesses, although in a bad state of preservation, were found in Qura Shīna.²⁵³ Ubaid potsherds have been found also in Gird-i-Dēm,²⁵⁴ Kamariyān,²⁵⁵ Qalay Rāniya and Bōskēn.²⁵⁶ Further to the south, Ubaid pottery was found in the Shahrazūr plain in Duanze Imām,²⁵⁷ Arbat and Girda Rash.²⁵⁸ In the Kirkuk area this pottery was found in Nuzi and Matarra.²⁵⁹ In the Hamrin basin, pottery and good architectural remains were excavated at Abada,²⁶⁰ Tell Hassan,²⁶¹ Abu Qasim,²⁶² Kheit Qasim, Madhur,²⁶³ Songor and elsewhere.²⁶⁴

Little is known about the economy of the Ubaid period. What is known about Northern Ubaid is that they depended on dry-farming and that goats, sheep and cattle were herded. Their settlements ranged from small to moderate in size. Unlike their southern neighbours they made tools of stone and metal. More stamp seals were used than in the south (600 were found in Tepe Gawra).²⁶⁵ That they wove textiles is indicated by the awls, needles, loom weights, spindles and whorls found in their settlements. The interesting discovery of stone “sandal models” at Tell al-‘Abr, Level 3, could be lasts for making leather shoes.²⁶⁶

Uruk

At some sites, such as Hacinebi in the upper Euphrates, just behind the Syrian-Turkish border, post-Ubaid levels showed a transition phase to the new era known as the **Uruk** period (c. 3500-3000 BC).²⁶⁷ In this period a considerable advance in material culture took place throughout Greater Mesopotamia. This progress precipitated another growth in the population, with more and larger settlements.²⁶⁸ The social structure developed also. The

²⁵³ الألوسي، س.، "اخبار و مراسلات"، سومر ١٥، الجزء ١ و ٢ (١٩٥٩)، ص. ١١٤.

[al-Alūsi, S., "News and Correspondence," *Sumer*, 15, parts 1 and 2 (1959), p. 114 (in Arabic)].

²⁵⁴ Al-Takriti, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

²⁵⁵ Es-Soof, "Uruk Pottery.....," p. 39.

²⁵⁶ Mallowan, "The Development of.....," p. 375.

²⁵⁷ الألوسي، س.، "اخبار و مراسلات: لمحات احصائية عن اعمال اقسام و فروع مديرية الآثار العامة"، سومر ١٦، الجزء ٢ و ١ (١٩٦٠)، ص. ١٤٨.

[al-Alūsi, S., "News and Correspondence: Statistical Glimpses about the Works of Departments of the Directorate General of Antiquities," *Sumer* 16, parts 1 and 2 (1960), p. 148 (in Arabic)].

²⁵⁸ حجارة، أ.، "التقيب في سهل شهورزور"، سومر ٣١، الجزء ١ و ٢ (١٩٧٥)، ص. ٢٧٦.

[Hijara, I., "Excavations in the Shahrazūr Plain," *Sumer* 31, parts 1 and 2 (1975), p. 276 (in Arabic)].

²⁵⁹ Mallowan, "The Development of.....," p. 375.

²⁶⁰ Jassim, S. A., "Excavations at Tell Abada," *Sumer* 40, Part 1&2 (1981), p. 46.

²⁶¹ Fiorina, P., "Excavations at Tell Hassan," p. 49.

²⁶² Al-Kassar, A., "Tell Abu-Qasim Excavations," *Sumer* 40, Part 1&2 (1981), p. 589.

²⁶³ Roaf, M., "Excavations at Tell Madhur, the Results of the Third Season," *Sumer* 40, Part 1&2 (1981), p. 147.

Its pottery resembles Gawra XVI-XIII and the deep sounding at Nuzi and late Ubaid, *op. cit.* p. 148.

²⁶⁴ Forest, p. 56ff.

²⁶⁵ Redman, p. 251.

²⁶⁶ Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 171.

²⁶⁷ Cf.: Bauer, J., R. K. Englund and M. Krebernik, Mesopotamien- Späturuk Zeit und frühdynastische Zeit, Annäherungen 1, Herausgegeben von P. Attinger - M. Wäfler, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (OBO)* 160/1, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1998, p. 23.

²⁶⁸ Some idea about this growth comes from the Early Uruk Period (mid fourth millennium BC) of southern Mesopotamia, where there were 17 small settlements and 3 large ones. But in the Late Uruk Period (end of the fourth millennium BC) they had increased to 112 small, 10 large and 1 central city. For these figures cf. Klengel, H. (Editor), *Kulturgeschichte des alten Vorderasien*, Berlin, 1989, p. 26. For Uruk settlements and its urban patterns in general cf. reference works such as Adams, R. McC. and H. Nissen, *The Uruk Countryside, The Natural Setting of the Urban Societies*, Chicago, 1972; Rothman, M. (Ed.), *Uruk Mesopotamia and its Neighbors*, Santa Fe, 2001; Algaze, G., *The Uruk World System*, Chicago, 1993; for the Uruk period in the

society became more clearly hierarchical²⁶⁹ and the social classes appeared more distinctly. Luxury commodities were imported and manufactured for the higher classes by craftsmen of a lower class, and both of them lived from the products of a different class. The Northern Mesopotamian regions continued in the ways they had followed since the Ubaid period, thus broadening the distance between the two sides of North and South Mesopotamia, and making the cultural diversity greater. But Uruk of the south began to expand its cultural and economic hegemony to the region under study, and commenced what is usually called ‘Uruk Imperialism’ by founding colonies in the north with a typically southern Mesopotamian culture. However, the sites of Arslan Tepe (period VII) in the Malatya Plain, Hacinebi (later phase), Brak, Hamoukar and Tepe Gawra provided evidence of metallurgy and pottery mass-production, suggesting that “local highland communities had already begun to develop a fairly complex, specialized economic organization before the Uruk expansion.”²⁷⁰ The most important and best representative site of this period in our region is Tepe Gawra, a large mound situated c. 22.5 km east of the Tigris, to the northeast of Nineveh. The material culture of this period found in this region is so “distinctive in character that for the time being it was referred to as the ‘Gawra Period’ of Northern Iraq.”²⁷¹ Copper was used on a large scale and there was an increase in the manufacture of golden ornaments, especially of golden beads, as found in the rich tombs of that site²⁷² and those of Qālinj Agha (1 km south of Erbil fort).²⁷³

The architectural structures found in Tepe Gawra are of special significance. The unique large circular building of level XI in the middle of the mound (Fig. 30) has a diameter of 18m and an outer wall 1m thick. It contained a granary and in another room a sanctuary, as the buttresses and the presence of a niche in the wall indicate.²⁷⁴ This building was perhaps the governor’s house, taking into account its large size, for it was in the middle of the mound and had a grand long hall in the middle of the building.²⁷⁵ Another building of this period is the temple of Level VIII, which has a tripartite plan with buttresses and recesses (Fig. 31a) recalling the Pre-Greek *megaron*.²⁷⁶ More interesting is its striking likeness to the Karaindash temple in the city of Uruk from the Kassite period (Fig. 31b).²⁷⁷ Yet another feature of this temple is the “deep porch” at its entrance, which Mallowan identified as a new architectural feature, probably introduced from the mountains of the northeast or Iranian Kurdistan.²⁷⁸ A closer examination of this element shows that it was actually the oldest occurrence of the well-known *Iwān* of the Islamic architecture of the Iranian world. This has been in use from very ancient times till now. Two tripartite temples were also found in the third level of Qālinj Agha, and traces of a wall painting in red and black with geometric designs were found on

Hamrin basin and the Diyāla region cf. Adams, R. McC., *Land Behind Baghdad*, Chicago, 1965, p. 36 f. and Adams, R. McC., *Heartland of Cities*, Chicago, 1981, p. 46-7.

²⁶⁹ Forest, p. 103.

²⁷⁰ Stein, G. J., “Indigenous Social Complexity at Hacinebi (Turkey) and the Organization of Uruk Colonial Contact,” *Uruk Mesopotamia & its Neighbors*, p. 267 (referring to Palmieri, 1985: 196).

²⁷¹ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

²⁷² For a detailed preview of the finds in Tepe Gawra see the results of the excavations in Speiser, E., *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, vol. I, Philadelphia, 1935; Tobler, A., *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, vol. II, Philadelphia, 1950; and more recently in Rothman, M. S., *Tepe Gawra: The Evolution of a Small Prehistoric Center in Northern Iraq*, Philadelphia, 2002.

²⁷³ El-Waily, F., “Foreword,” *Sumer* 22, part 1 & 2 (1966), p. e.

²⁷⁴ Mallowan, “The Development of.....,” p. 379.

²⁷⁵ Mallowan, M. E. L., *Early Mesopotamia and Iran*, London, 1965, p. 79. A fine reconstruction of this building can be seen in Rothman, *Tepe Gawra: The Evolution of.....*, p. 97, but Rothman thinks it was a silo for the settlement, cf. Rothman, M. S., “The Tigris Piedmont, Eastern Jazira, and Highland Western Iran in the Fourth Millennium B. C.,” *Uruk Mesopotamia & its Neighbours*, p. 387.

²⁷⁶ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

²⁷⁷ For the comparison between the two plans cf. Parrot, A., *Sumer*, Paris, 1960, p. 316.

²⁷⁸ Mallowan, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

one of the walls there.²⁷⁹ The Uruk layers of Tepe Gawra had richly furnished tombs which yielded a collection of golden ornaments and many beads made of metal, bone, ivory and various kinds of precious, semi-precious and common stones. One single tomb yielded 25,000 beads,²⁸⁰ and another tomb yielded 450 beads of lapis lazuli.²⁸¹ Of all these finds an electrum wolf's head (Fig. 32) was given special attention for the techniques used in its manufacture. Some pieces in its composition were made separately from another metal and were attached at a later stage to the bitumen-filled head.²⁸² The tombs in Tepe Gawra were of a different type. Some of them were well built of stone and sun dried bricks and situated on the top of the mound between other buildings, where they were probably used as shrines.²⁸³

Some of the deceased were buried under the floors of the houses according to the old tradition, while others were buried outside the settlement in the 'city of the dead,' recalling the Indo-Iranian custom brought by them to Iran, as can be seen in Tepe Siyalk near Kashān.²⁸⁴ This remarkable diversity in funeral customs may reflect a diversity of religious beliefs, which may indicate in turn a diversity of ethnic background.

Other important finds in this site are the large collection of stamp seals. A wide variety of subjects is depicted on them, such as mythical, religious, ritual and natural scenes, and on some of them masked men appear.²⁸⁵ Some think that the abundant religious, administrative and productive activities of the site between Levels XII and VIII were more than enough for the needs of the residents and management of the town,²⁸⁶ which implies that it served as a centre or capital for the region around. The finds here proved that civilization could flourish in other areas too, outside Sumerian territory, at least in this period.

Extensive Uruk settlements in the western part of the region under study were excavated in the Tabqa Dam region on the Euphrates. These settlements proved to have been newly founded in the fourth millennium BC and yielded southern Mesopotamian material culture. This led to the conclusion that their settlers were southern Mesopotamian Uruk colonists.²⁸⁷ Habuba Kabira represents the largest and best example among these, but it is located outside our region. Inside the region we have the smaller site of Tell 'Abr, upstream from Habuba Kabira, where a *Riemchen*, a small square brick typical of Uruk buildings, was uncovered. In Jarablus Tahtani typical southern Mesopotamian pottery assemblages have also been found.²⁸⁸ It is important in this respect to note that there were other Uruk Culture settlements in the region, influenced by Uruk culture but out of the reach of its colonists. Sites such as Gawra, Hacinebi, possibly Hamoukar and Hawa and small sites in the Balikh valley proved to have had a purely local material culture. Among these Tell Brak is a good example; its Uruk deposits were laid on older layers, not on the virgin soil, but it was not free from southern influence, as can be seen from its eye-temples with thousands of eye-idols (Fig. 34). The temple has a tripartite plan, elaborate niches, buttresses and some clay-cone mosaic decoration.²⁸⁹ Three other lower eye-temples have been excavated, known as the White, the Red and the Grey eye-temples. The latter yielded more interesting finds, such as animal-

²⁷⁹ Es-Soof, "Tell Qalinj Agha," *Sumer* 25, part 1&2 (1969), p. 6.

²⁸⁰ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 82. For a detailed enumeration of finds and description of these tombs cf. Rothman, "The Tigris Piedmont.....," p. 392-5.

²⁸¹ Mallowan, *Early Mesopotamia and Iran*, p. 80.

²⁸² Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Mallowan, *op. cit.*, p. 79; 81.

²⁸³ For these tombs and some reconstructions cf. Rothman, *Tepe Gawra: The Evolution of.....*, p. 171ff.; 181.

²⁸⁴ Ghirshman, R., *Iran from the Earliest Times to the Islamic Conquest*, London, 1954, p. 77.

²⁸⁵ For a good review of these small finds cf. Rothman, *op. cit.*, p. 61-8; and for a review of the collection of the seals cf. Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, plates CLVIII-CLXX.

²⁸⁶ Rothman, "The Tigris Piedmont . . . , *Uruk Mesopotamia....*, p. 386.

²⁸⁷ Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 190.

²⁸⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

²⁸⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 198.

shaped stone amulets, stamp and cylinder seals, and alabaster sculptured human heads.²⁹⁰ The southern influence on the pottery of Brak was substantial from Level 13 (middle Uruk) until Level 12 (Late Uruk).

A similar phenomenon is seen at Arslan Tepe, a site on the northwesternmost edge of the region under study. The seal impressions of the Uruk expansion phase show both local and Mesopotamian traditions, while there is no evidence of any physical presence of Mesopotamians. Rather the settlement was inhabited and ruled by its local inhabitants.²⁹¹ The evidence of metallurgical industry and ceramic mass production indicates that the settlement had developed a highly centralized administrative system, controlling not only metallurgical and agricultural production but also the local exchange system.

These highland societies were outside the Mesopotamian colonization and show a high degree of variability in material culture. At the same time they had several common characteristics, such as regional centres with internal functional differentiation, monumental architecture, exotic raw materials obtained through long-distance exchange,²⁹² advanced copper and silver metallurgy,²⁹³ mortuary evidence for hereditary elites and complex administrative systems based on seals. These seals have similar motifs, suggesting some kind of shared ideology across the regions among the elite where these sites are located.²⁹⁴ Such monumental architecture was found in Hacinebi, Arslan Tepe and Godin in the central Zagros. In Hacinebi, a series of storerooms (7 m long) in the west end of the site were revealed. In the southern end a stone monumental enclosure wall, preserved up to 3.3 m high with 2 m wide buttresses and recesses, was constructed along its east face. Inside the enclosure two platforms of stone and mud, one measuring 7 by 5 m and 3 m high and the other 8 by 7 m and 2.8 m high, were constructed. They were located at the northeastern end and used for special occasions, perhaps for cult ceremonies (Fig. 35).²⁹⁵

Arslan Tepe revealed a local culture towards the mid-fourth millennium (c. 3400-3300 BC) which was distinctive and well-established.²⁹⁶ The internal hierarchy of its society is seen in the architecture and the manufacture of special products for new social needs. The buildings of level VII had columns of mud brick on the higher part of the mound, apparently a house for an elite person. A huge building in the 'public' area contained a central room, 18 m long with walls 1.6 m thick.²⁹⁷ A good example of wall-paintings, which were "an eastern Anatolian trait,"²⁹⁸ according to Frangipane, was recovered in the palace of Period VIA that depicts a complex narrative of mythical figures.²⁹⁹ The sealings and mass-produced bowls from the site indicate a centralized system based on corvée labour. The public area of this period (VIa) has complex buildings with unique features, such as the bipartite layout of the temples and wall-paintings (Fig. 36).³⁰⁰

Turning to the east, to the central Zagros where Godin Tepe is located, important Uruk material has been recovered. The location of the site is strategically important because it can

²⁹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

²⁹¹ Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 267; Forest, p. 147.

²⁹² Shells from the Mediterranean and chlorite from the Diyarbakir area were found in Hacinebi. A wide variety of obsidian from Nemrut Dağ, Bingöl, Gölüdağ in central Anatolia and even north of Yerevan has been found: Stein, p. 276-7.

²⁹³ Silver earrings found in a burial of Hacinebi are considered the earliest in our region; cf. Stein, p. 273-4. The tools and devices of copper smiths were found in the site.

²⁹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 268.

²⁹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 271-2. According to Stein it is not impossible to have been an elite dwelling.

²⁹⁶ Frangipane, M., "Centralization Processes in Greater Mesopotamia," *Uruk Mesopotamia and its Neighbors*, p. 327.

²⁹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 328.

²⁹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 329.

²⁹⁹ For a more detailed description of the painting cf. Frangipane, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

³⁰⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 332-3.

control the Great Khorasan Road from Mesopotamia to Iran and beyond and lead to the ancient copper mines on the plateau.³⁰¹ The excavations of Level V of the site have yielded Uruk pottery and typical glyptic and accounting devices.³⁰² Among these accounting devices are numerical notation tablets. These materials may indicate the presence of a group of Mesopotamians in the fort of Godin. During this period the settlement grew to include the whole area later covered by the citadel,³⁰³ comprising a building complex surrounded by an oval wall. The complex consists of buildings and rooms set around a large central courtyard (Fig. 37). The wall is *c.* 1.5 m thick, built of mud bricks, and seems to have included originally an area of *c.* 33 by 21 m.³⁰⁴ Standing at the entrance of the complex was a gate-room (no. 4), with a guard-room (no.5) and storage rooms (nos. 2 and 3). In room 3, which one might call the archive, the tablets were found. A monumental building, perhaps a public building, stood on the northern side. It consists of a central room 18 m long with a carefully-built fireplace (not a cooking hearth) and two large niches flanking two small ones opposite each other on the western and eastern walls. The room has two windows looking on to the central courtyard and two doors at the back leading to two chambers. Another room (no. 6) in the southeastern part of the complex looks like the central room (no. 18) in layout and dimensions. Weiss and Young think it was a private structure as it is located in the corner and has a cooking hearth instead of a fireplace.³⁰⁵

The pottery of Godin in this period is divided into two groups. One continued the local traditions and the other was new with parallels from Uruk Mesopotamia.³⁰⁶ However, most interesting was the discovery of 43 tablets and fragments of tablets. They bear numerical notations and one of them bears a pictographic sign.³⁰⁷ The notation system used five different numerical signs known from both Proto-Elamite and Proto-Sumerian tablets. The pictographic sign is similar to a sign known from Uruk IVa and Proto-Elamite.³⁰⁸ The presence of a blank tablet indicates that at least some tablets was made locally and the fact that none of the tablets was baked could mean that they were not intended to be transported.

Uruk pottery and other remains were also attested abundantly in the two plains of Rāniya and Shahrazūr: at Gird-i-Dēm,³⁰⁹ Kamariyān,³¹⁰ Girde Bōr³¹¹ in the Rāniya Plain, and Duanze Imām, Bakrāwā,³¹² Husēn Fatāh, Chirāgh,³¹³ Girdi Rash and Arbat in the Shahrazūr Plain.³¹⁴ In the Hamrin Basin area Uruk pottery was identified in Tell Abu Hassan.³¹⁵ Further to the south traces of Uruk culture have been found in the Diyāla region. More interestingly, here collections of clay tablets, sometimes called 'archives,' written in archaic cuneiform and dated to the late Uruk period, were discovered.³¹⁶

So the Uruk period and the invention of a writing system in Sumer marks the beginning of history in Southern Mesopotamia. The earliest known samples of this writing were found in

³⁰¹ Forest, p. 145.

³⁰² Algaze, G., "The Prehistory of Imperialism," *Uruk Mesopotamia*, p. 40.

³⁰³ Young, T. C. and L. Levine, *Excavations of the Godin Project: Second Progress Report*, p. 17.

³⁰⁴ Weiss, H. and T. C. Young, Jr., "The Merchants of Susa," *Iran XIII* (1975), p. 3.

³⁰⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

³⁰⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

³⁰⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁹ Es-Soof, "Mounds in the Rāniya Plain and Excavations at Tell Bazmusian," *Sumer* 26, part 1&2 (1970), p. 66.

³¹⁰ Es-Soof, "Uruk Pottery.....," p. 39.

³¹¹ Es-Soof, "Mounds in the.....," p. 66.

³¹² Es-Soof, "Uruk Pottery.....," p. 41-2.

³¹³ الألويسي، لحات احصائية ...، ص. ١٤٨.

³¹⁴ حجارة، "التنقيب في سهل شهرزور"، ص. ٢٧٦.

³¹⁵ Al-Kassar, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

³¹⁶ Englund, *OBO*, p. 31.

the city of Uruk (level IV, c. 3400 BC), but it took some time until it developed to a degree that enabled it to record historical events. However, historians do not enjoy such an advantage in the north at this time, for there is no such evidence there. For several more centuries they have to be dependent on archaeological material.

Ninevite V

The colonized sites of the Uruk period in the western parts of our region must have come to end peacefully for no signs of destruction or fire have been detected. Probably it was the same in the eastern part as well. This marks the end of the Uruk Period. The weakness of Southern Mesopotamia apparently coincided with an increasing power in the peripheral communities, who took advantage of this situation to assert their independence.³¹⁷ The archaeological data collected from the settlements around Tell Leylān point to a regional return to dispersed, small, low-density communities in this period, after the collapse of the Late Uruk intensified settlement pattern.³¹⁸ A transitional phase indicated by distinctive painted pottery has been noticed in the sites of Eski Mosul (Karrana 3 for instance) and possibly in Brak.³¹⁹ This signified a new period in the north, culturally distinctive from the south, called **Ninevite V** (3100-2550 BC).³²⁰ This culture was approximately contemporary with southern late Uruk, Jamdat Nasr and Early Dynastic I, but it was clearly different. Unfortunately, our information about this culture is not as abundant as about its southern contemporaries,³²¹ but the salvage excavation campaigns undertaken in the 1980s in the Eski Mosul and Hamrin regions have enriched our knowledge, although much still awaits publication. Archaeologically, it is characterized by its pottery, known as Ninevite V (Fig. 38), named after its first identification in the deep sounding of Mallowan in Nineveh.³²² This pottery is painted or incised or both. Its motifs are different from those of previous cultures and consist generally of modified human figures and repeated zoomorphic figures (mostly with long necks), fishes, birds and geometrical designs such as ladders, crosshatch and hourglass patterns; there was a general *horror vacui*. The colours vary from black to red and purple.³²³ The distinguishing shapes are 'fruit stands' with pedestal bases, small pots with holes, perhaps to be hung as lamps or incense burners,³²⁴ and tall-necked jars with pedestal bases. The shapes, specifically the plain ware, indicate specialized mass production of pottery. The Ninevite V culture was distributed over a relatively wide area, around Nineveh (in Billa, Shenshi, Tepe Gawra, Erbil, Qalinj Agha,³²⁵ Rijim, Tell Muhamed Arab, Fisna, Thuwajj³²⁶

³¹⁷ Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 207-8.

³¹⁸ For this, cf. Weiss, H., "'Civilizing' the Habur Plains: Mid-Third Millennium State Formation at Tell Leilan," *Resurrecting the Past, A Joint Tribute to Adnan Bounni*, eds. P. Matthiae, M. Van Loon and H. Weiss, Istanbul, 1990, p. 389.

³¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 214. They noticed too that such a transitional phase was not noticeable in the Habur region. This perhaps implies the region was abandoned after the end of the Uruk colonies and was repopulated with Ninevite V settlers. For details about Karrana transitional finds cf. Rova, E., "Tell Karrana 3: Ceramic Evidence for the Late Uruk/ Ninevite 5 Transition," *The Origins of North Mesopotamian Civilization: Ninevite 5 Chronology, Economy, Society*, ed. E. Rova and H. Weiss, Subartu, vol. 9, Turnhout, 2003, p. 13 f.

³²⁰ This dating is based on radiocarbon dating, cf. Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 213.

³²¹ This is largely due to the fact that most of the results of excavated Nineveh V sites are still not fully published; cf. Rova, E., "Ninevite V Relative Chronology, Periodization and Distribution: An Introduction," *The Origins of...*, Subartu, 9, p. 2 f.

³²² Mallowan, M. E. L., "Ninevite V," *Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Studien und Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1964, p. 142ff.

³²³ Forest, *op. cit.*, p. 167ff.

³²⁴ Mallowan, "Ninevite V," p. 145.

³²⁵ For more details about the Ninevite V pottery, specifically in Qalinj Agha, cf. Gut, R., "Zur Datierung der «Proto-Nineve 5» - Ware von Qalinj Agha," *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, 27 (1996), p. 1 ff.

and Jikan) and westwards (to the Sinjār, Chagar Bazar, Leylān, Brak and Hassek Höyük).³²⁷ In the east it reached the Rāniya Plain and both Kirkuk and Sulaimaniya.³²⁸ Its eastern extension to the Iranian plateau (at Ushnu, the Urmia region, Dinkha Tepe, Gird Hasan Ali, Hissar, Siyalik³²⁹ and Hasanlu³³⁰) has motivated some to suggest an Iranian origin for this culture.³³¹ This contradicts others who insist on a Northern Mesopotamian origin, or more precisely the Nineveh region.³³² It has also been suggested that both lands as one whole cultural area share its origin.³³³

Pottery is not the only characteristic of this culture, for during the earlier part of Ninevite V some kinds of cylinder seal were common in the region from Tepe Yahya and Susa across the Zagros, Diyāla region (Gubba, Kheit Qasim and Khafaji), the upper Tigris, Sinjār as far as the Habur region. Hence these seals are called ‘Piedmont’ or ‘Glazed Steatite Cylinder Seals.’³³⁴ They are characterised by geometric motifs, such as rosettes, centre-dot circles and hatched bands of arches or lozenges (Fig. 39). The later part of Ninevite V witnessed the replacement of these seals by a new style which bore themes parallel to the southern Early Dynastic seals and to local traditions as well. The architecture of this period did not yield large monumental buildings such as those of Uruk period. Some simple temples in Chagar Bazar, Kashkashuk III and Brak have been uncovered which consist of single rooms with mud brick altars. Some find it possible that one of the eye-temples of Brak was built or was in use during this period.³³⁵ Several private houses have been excavated in Tell Kutān, 45 km to the northwest of Mosul. Although the houses are in a bad state of preservation and not completely excavated, the excavated portions show a very long central room with a hearth in its centre. A rectangular mud brick platform was constructed beside it.³³⁶ This plan is quite different from those of the earlier Gawra houses, and it is interesting that it contained a unique drainage system made of pottery tubes.³³⁷ In Hamrin also five fortified circular buildings were found and designated as ‘forts’ by the excavators. One of them is that of Tell Razuk (Fig. 40), a large building dating to c. 2700-2650 BC. In addition to being a fort it was a dwelling for a noble family.³³⁸ Similar buildings were found in Gubba,³³⁹ Madhur,³⁴⁰ Abu Qasim and Suleimeh, all with fortified walls. In 2001 a new round building was excavated in Tell an-

³²⁶ Cf. Numoto, H., “Ninevite 5 Pottery from Tells Fisna and Thuwajj and its Relative Chronology in Mosul Region,” *The Origins of...*, Subartu 9, p. 84; 88.

³²⁷ This site, located at the northwestern frontier of the Urfa province, also yielded good Uruk material; about this and its Ninevite V pottery cf. Behm-Blancke, M. R., “Northern Frontiers: Early Ninevite 5 Contacts with Southeastern Anatolia,” *The Origins of...*, Subartu 9, p. 481-2.

³²⁸ Es-Soof, B., “Distribution of Uruk, Jamdat Nasr and Ninevite V Pottery,” *Iraq* 30, Part 1 (1968), p. 77-78, giving a list of sites on which surfaces these potteries are found.

³²⁹ Mallowan, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

³³⁰ Mallowan, *Early Mesopotamia and Iran*, p. 82.

³³¹ Like Mallowan, *Early Mesopotamia and Iran*, p. 20; Mallowan, “Ninevite V,” p. 153; McCown, D., *The Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran*, Chicago, 1942, p. 48, note 88.

³³² Forest, p. 173; Rova, E., “Tell Karrana...,” *The Origins of...*, Subartu 9, p. 13.

³³³ Perkins, A. L., *The Comparative Archaeology of Early Mesopotamia*, Chicago, 1949, p. 164-5; Akkermans and Schwartz: “It is now recognized to be of local derivation,” p. 213.

³³⁴ Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 216. Le Breton was the first who called this style ‘Piedmont.’ For this and discussions cf. Marchetti, N., “The Ninevite 5 Glyptic of the Khabur Region and the Chronology of the Piedmont Style Motives,” *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, 27 (1996), p. 81 and note 2.

³³⁵ Roaf, M., “The Architecture of the Ninevite 5 Period,” *The Origins of...*, Subartu 9, p. 312.

³³⁶ Bachelot, L., “Tell Kutān,” *The Origins of...*, Subartu 9, p. 153. According to M. Roaf, buildings with one main room and hearth may be identified as village houses, cf. *ibid.*

³³⁷ Forest, p. 171-2.

³³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 201.

³³⁹ Fujii, H., “Outline of the Japanese Excavations,” *Sumer* 40, Part 1&2 (1981), p. 51-52.

³⁴⁰ Roaf, M., “Tell Madhur, A Summary Report on the Excavations,” *Sumer* 43, part 1 & 2 (1984), p. 116-18.

Naml, a site close to the junction of the Lower Zāb with the Tigris.³⁴¹ This may indicate an insecure atmosphere in the region at that time. Two houses were also incompletely excavated in Leylān. The one consisted of at least 9 rooms constructed during more than one phase. Numerous seal impressions, grindstones and vessels were found in one of its rooms (no. 6). The other consisted of only 3 rooms and yielded c. 60 seal impressions.³⁴² A partly vaulted mud brick structure was found in Tell Atij in the middle Habur, which had served as a grain store that measured 12 by 6 m. In Bderi, slightly to the south of Atij, the foundations of a town wall were identified.³⁴³

The tombs of this period were provided with funerary items consisting in the first place of pottery vessels, sometimes in large quantities, such as the tomb at Tell Rijim (in Eski Mosul). It contained a crouching body lying on his right along a south-north axis on a reed mat (Fig. 41). Scraps of linen cloth were found close to the chest area.³⁴⁴ A total of 28 small vessels of all kinds accompanied the body. This is interpreted as indicating the attendance of 28 persons at the funeral.³⁴⁵ The burial practices in Hamrin of this period were similar to those in Gawra, where they buried the dead outside the settlements, as can be seen in Kheit Qasim (c. 2850-2800 BC, Early Dynastic I in Diyāla) and Ahmed al Hattu³⁴⁶ (tombs built of sun-dried bricks outside the settlement, dating to c. 2750 BC).³⁴⁷ Further to the east, in Pusht-i Kuh (to the west of Kabīr Kuh), tombs were excavated that date to the Early Bronze Age I, which is contemporary with Jamdat Nasr-ED I in Mesopotamia. These are cist tombs that range in length from 0.60 to several meters (Fig. 42).³⁴⁸ The long ones were communal tombs used for several consecutive burials. The four walls and the capstones of the tombs are built with stone slabs. Some of the tombs, such as those of Andjirah, have stone floors.³⁴⁹ For the construction of some other tombs boulders are used instead of stone slabs. The width of the chambers of these tombs narrows towards the top to form a vaulted ceiling (Fig. 42), a technique not used in the EBA IV. Although a little late, the end of the Early Bronze Age II (Late ED I and ED II) produced tombs of 13 m long that “may have been divided into separate rooms by inner walls and sometimes they had well constructed stepped entrances.”³⁵⁰

As can be inferred from the finds in the Hamrin Basin area, the agriculture there depended in certain cases on irrigation. The traces of an old irrigation canal close to Kheit Qasim confirm this.³⁵¹ Yet agriculture was not the sole activity. Trade was another economic activity, as in the Uruk Period. Evidence of this is a ritual vase found in the cemetery of Kheit Qasim bearing strong and clear Iranian influences. The copper axes and instruments found in Gubba, dating to the beginning of the 3rd millennium, show that their ores must have been imported from the Iranian copper mines. Furthermore, the seal impressions on the clay jar sealings, indicate commercial activity and commodity exchange.³⁵²

³⁴¹ Cf. Miglus, P. A., “Rundbau,” *RIA* 11 (2006), p. 456 (referring to Shakir Suleiman, 2001-2002).

³⁴² Calderone, L. and H. Weiss, “The End of the Ninevite 5 Period at Tell Leilan,” *The Origins of...*, Subartu 9, p. 196-7.

³⁴³ Roaf, “The Architecture of the Ninevite 5 Period,” Subartu 9, p. 312.

³⁴⁴ Bielinski, P., “Ninevite 5 Burials at Tell Rijim,” *The Origins of...*, Subartu 9, p. 493.

³⁴⁵ Forest, p. 171.

³⁴⁶ Sørenhagen, D., “Excavations of the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft at Tell Ahmed Al-Hattu,” *Sumer* 40, part 1& 2 (1981), p. 61.

³⁴⁷ Forest, p. 196.

³⁴⁸ Haenrick, E. and B. Overlaet, Early Bronze Age Graveyards to the West of the Kabir Kuh (Pusht-i Kuh, Luristan, *Luristan Excavation Documents*, VIII, Leuven, 2010, p. 5.

³⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

³⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

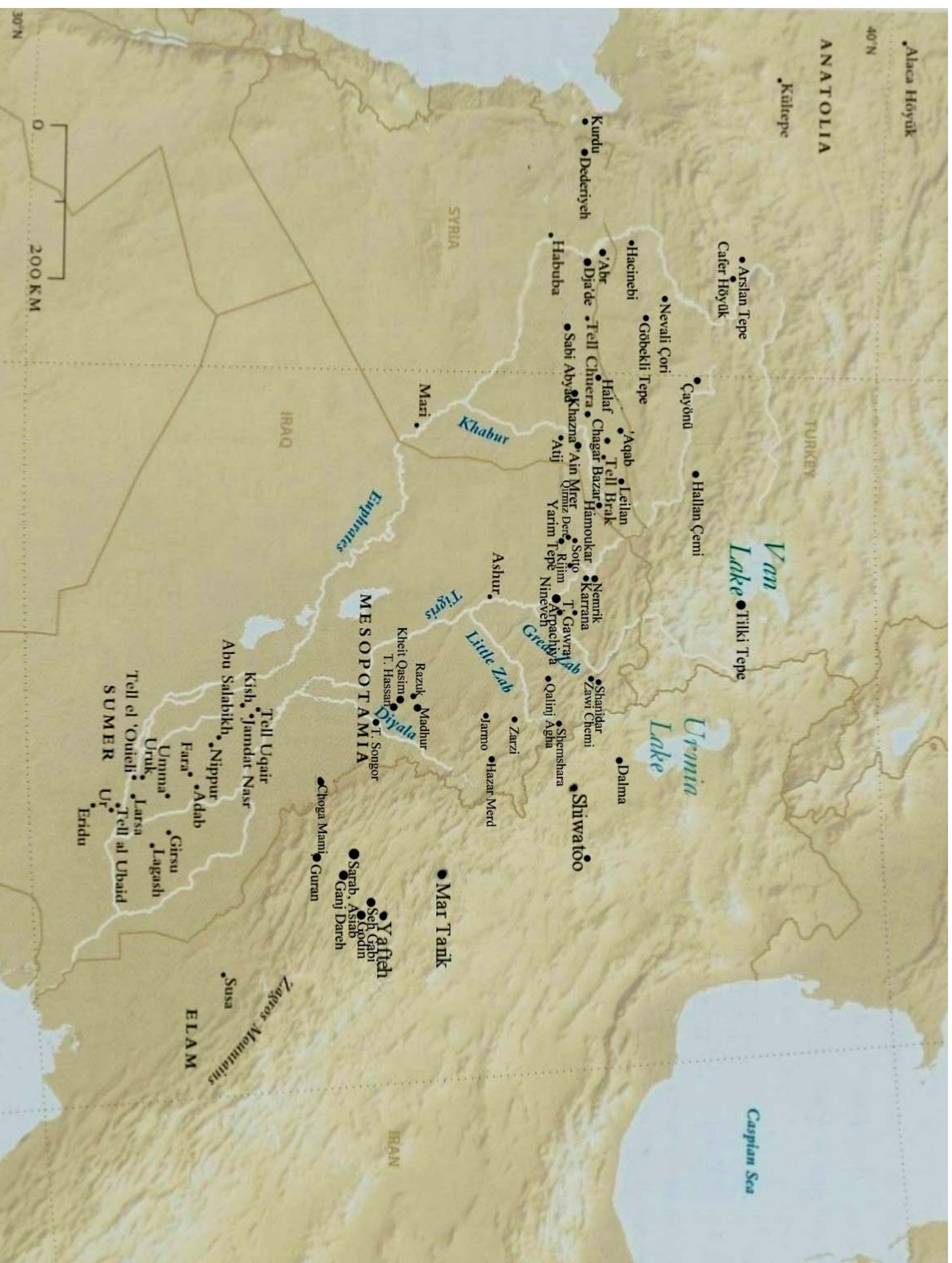
³⁵¹ Forest, p. 202.

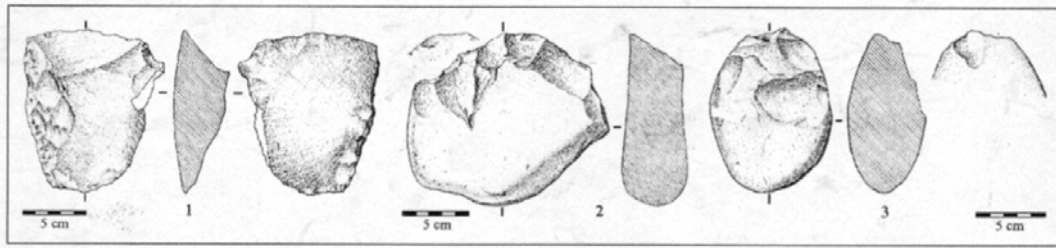
³⁵² Forest, p. 200. For the seal impressions and their designs cf. Lebeau, M., “Notes sur les sceux et empreints des sceux de Kheit Qasim,” *Sumer* 40, Part 1&2 (1981), p. 115-18.

The results of recent excavations undertaken in the Habur area, especially at Leylān, indicate a rapid transformation in this period from small settlements sparsely scattered across the dry-farming region of north Mesopotamia into an urban civilization. This is best indicated by the architectural remains found in Leylān, where a flurry of building activity in levels 17, 16 and 15 has been noticed.³⁵³

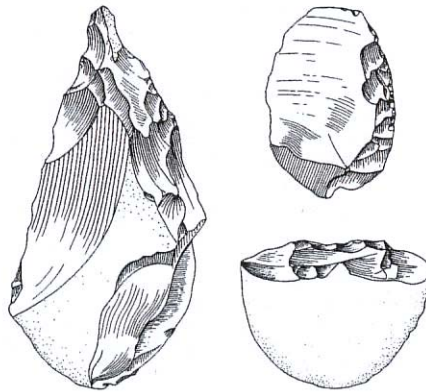
³⁵³ Calderone and Weiss, "The End of the Ninevite 5 Period at Tell Leilan," *Subartu* 9, p. 194.

Figures of Chapter One





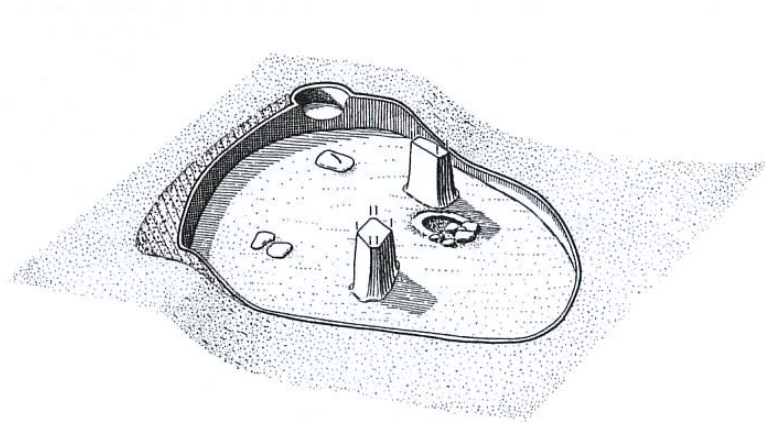
1) Acheulian artefacts from Shiwatoo, Mahabad region. After: Jaubert *et al.*, “New Research on ...,” *Archaeological Reports* 4, Iranian Center for Archaeological Research, Tehran, p. 23.



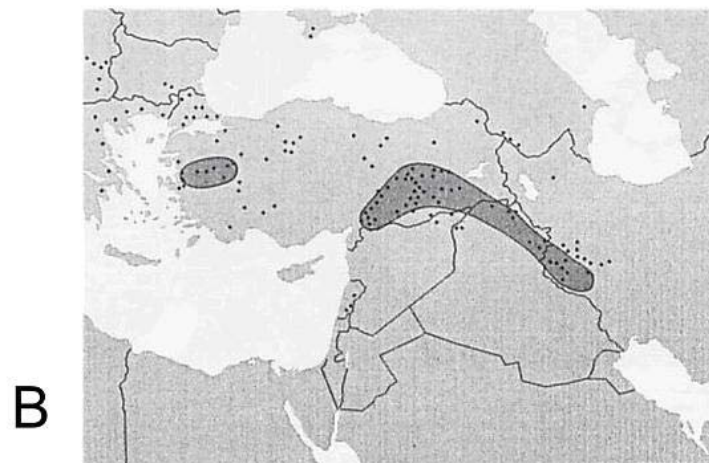
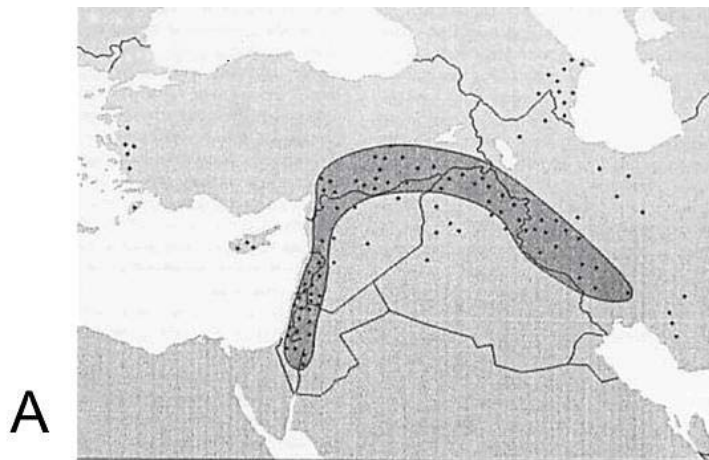
2) Pebble tools from Bardabalka. After: Wright H. E. and B. Howe, “Preliminary Report on Soundings at Barda Balka,” *Sumer* 7 (1951), figs. 2-3.



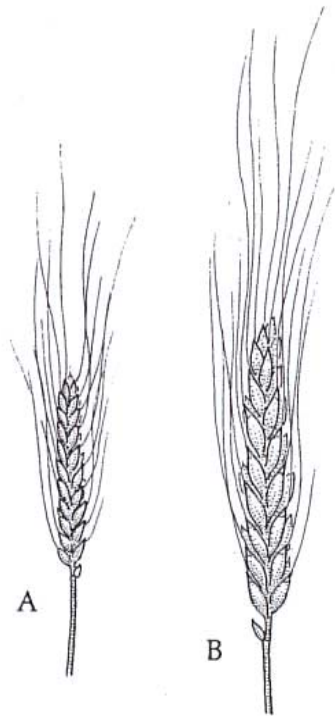
3) Shanidar Cave. Photo by author.



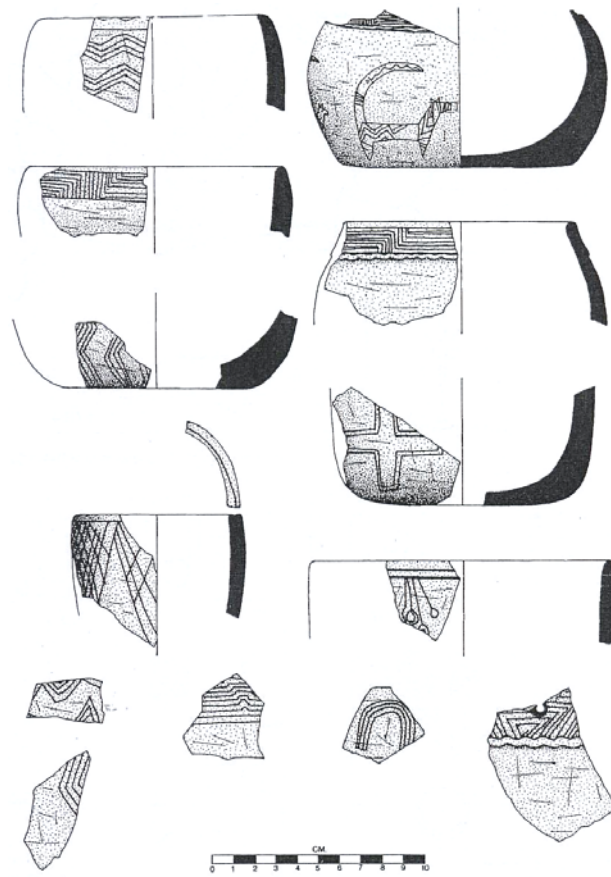
- 4) Pit-houses from Qirmiz Dere. After: Matthews, *The Early Prehistory of Mesopotamia*, p. 37. Courtesy of Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium.



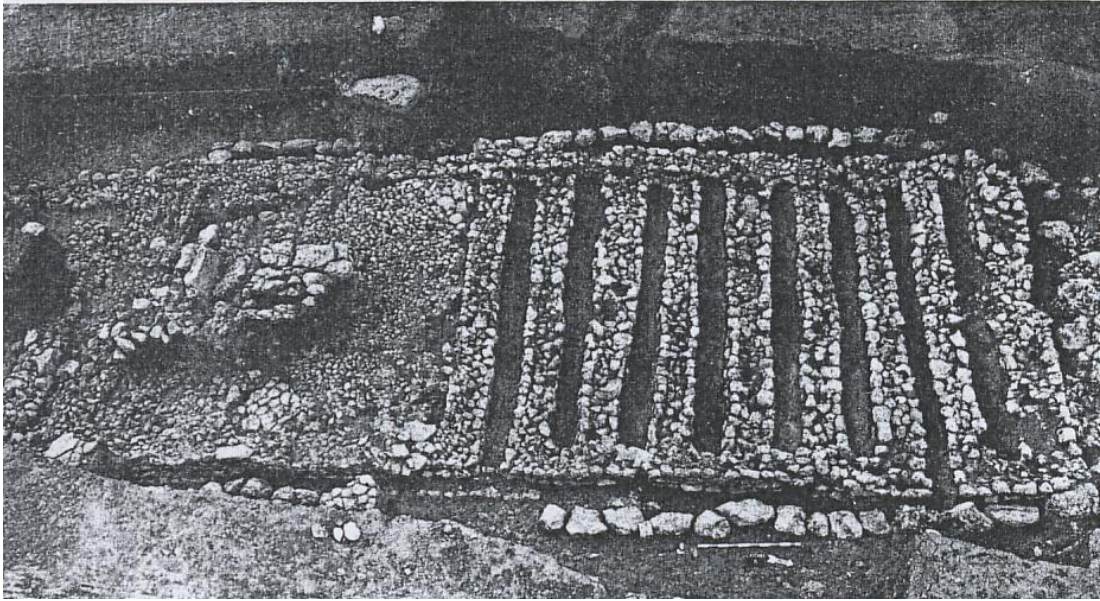
- 5) A- Distribution of a species of wild barley (*Hordeum spontaneum*) in the Near East; dots represent known sites and shaded areas the primary habitats.
 B- Distribution of wild einkorn (*Triticum boeoticum*) in the Near East. Dots represent known sites, and shaded areas the primary habitats. After: Redman, *The Rise of Civilization*, p. 121 and 124.



6) Early domestic wheat, A: Einkorn (*Triticum monococcum*); B: emmer (*Triticum dicoccum*). After: Redman, *op. cit.*, p. 119.



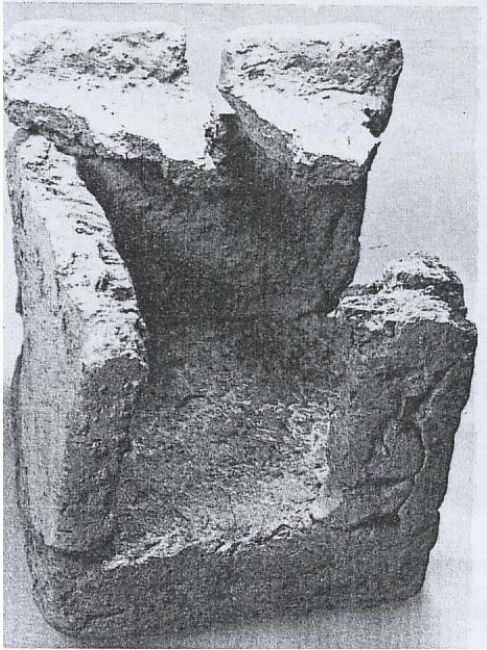
7) Decorated stone bowls from Hallan Çemi. After: Rosenberg, *Neolithic in Turkey* (plates), p. 12. Reprinted by permission of the author.



8) One of the grill-plan buildings of Çayönü. After: Redman, p. 156.



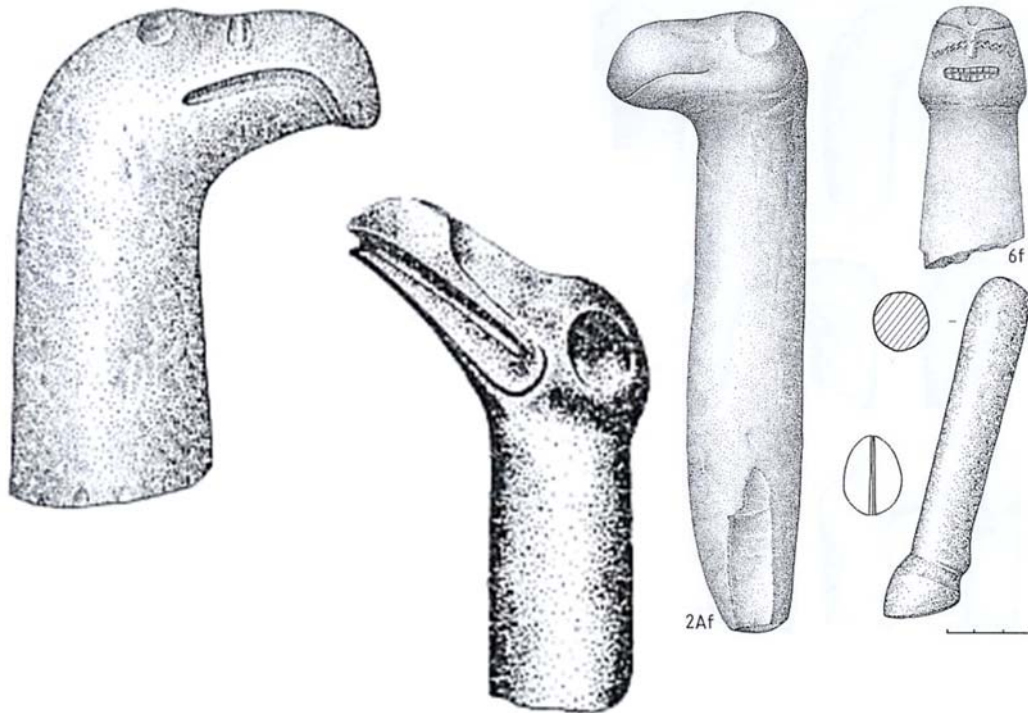
9) Cell-plan building in Çayönü. After: Redman, p. 158.



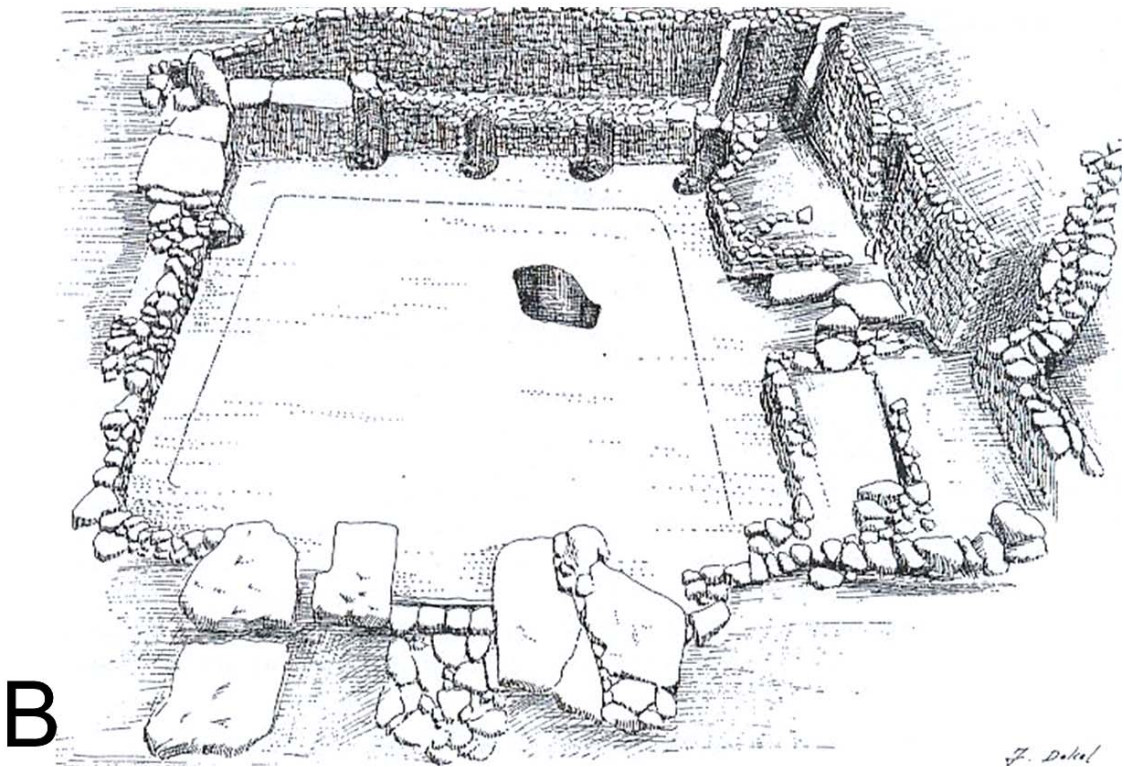
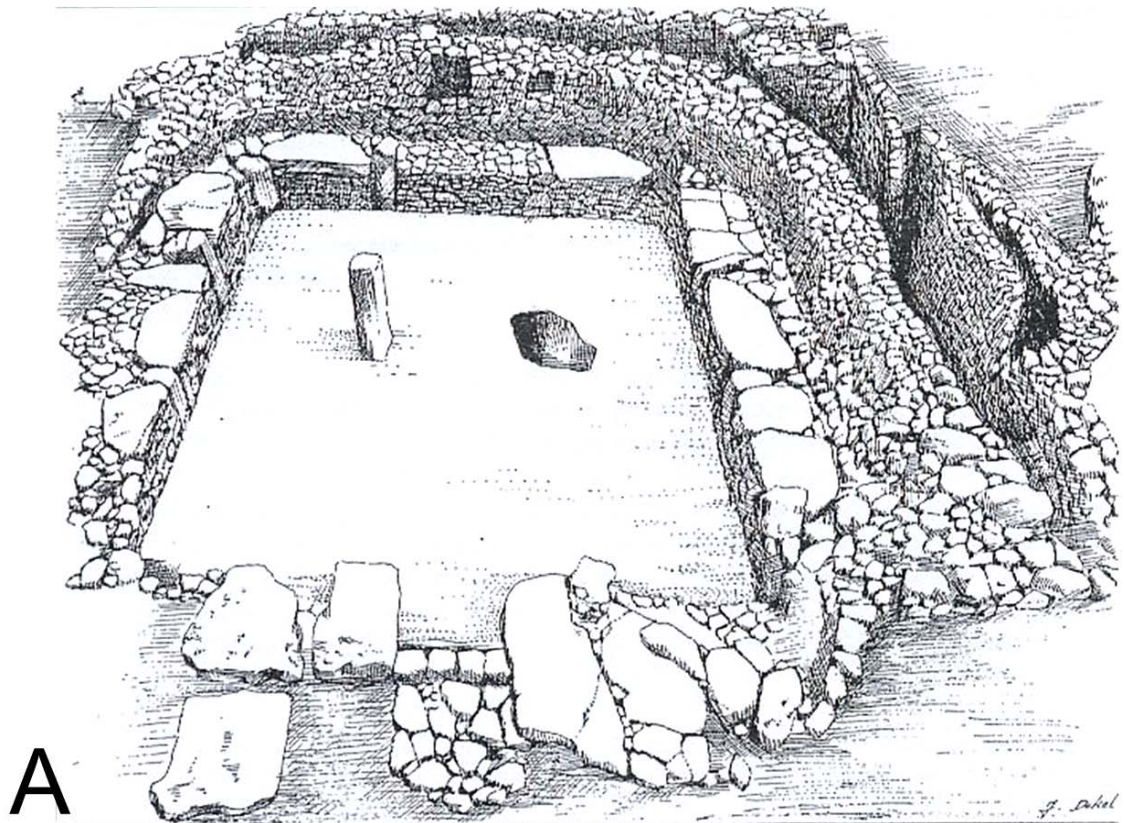
10) A clay house-model from Çayönü.
After: Redman, p. 159.



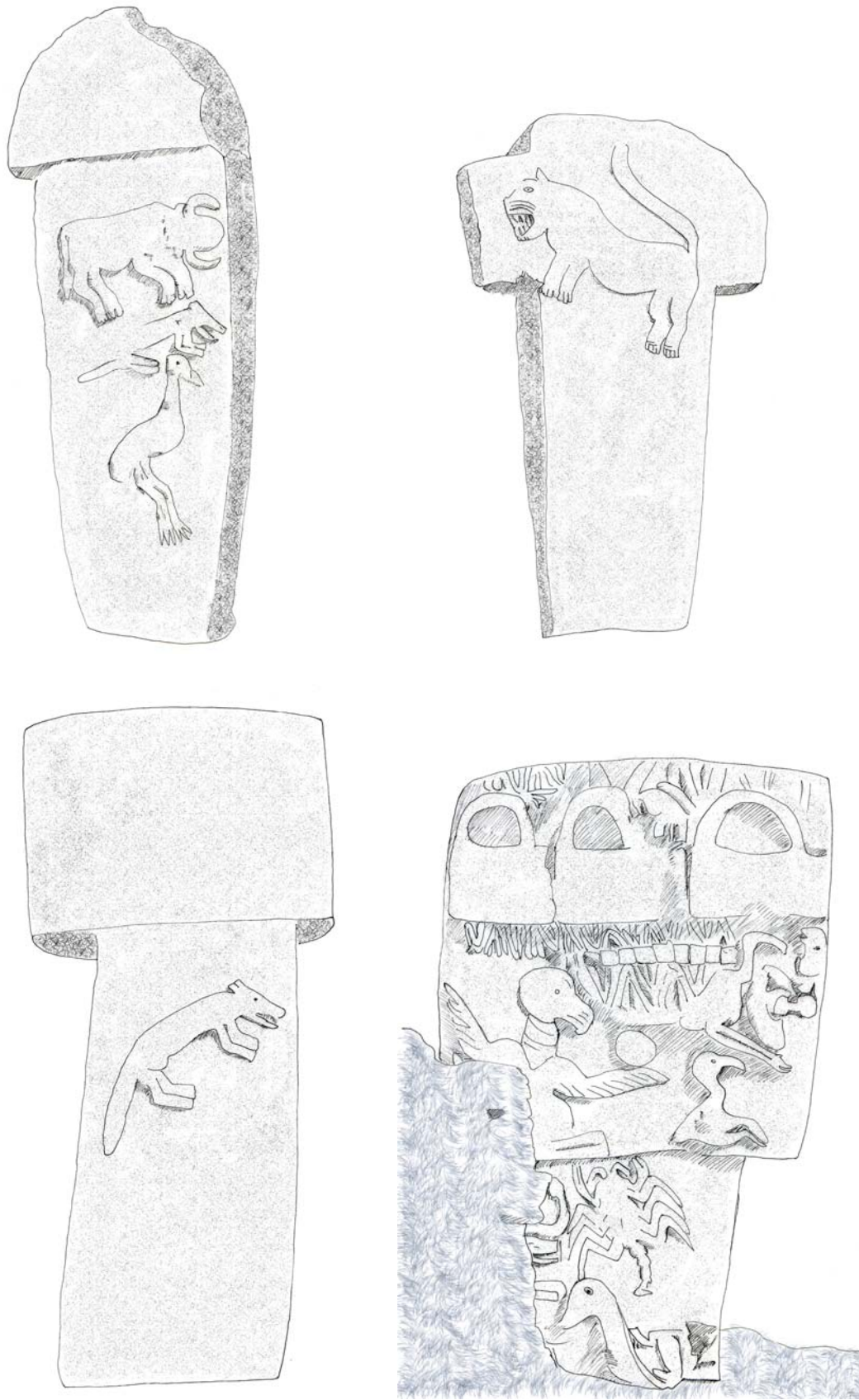
11) Large-Room-Plan building from Çayönü.
After: Redman, p. 160.



12) Gods and goddesses of Nemrik. After: Kozłowsky, *Nemrik, An Aceramic Village in Northern Iraq*, (Composite figure of) plates CXXXVIII, CXXXIX and CXL.



13) The cultic buildings of Navali Çori. A: Building of level 3; B: Building of level 4. After: Yakar, *Prehistoric Anatolia*, Supplement no. 1, p. 14 and 15. Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.



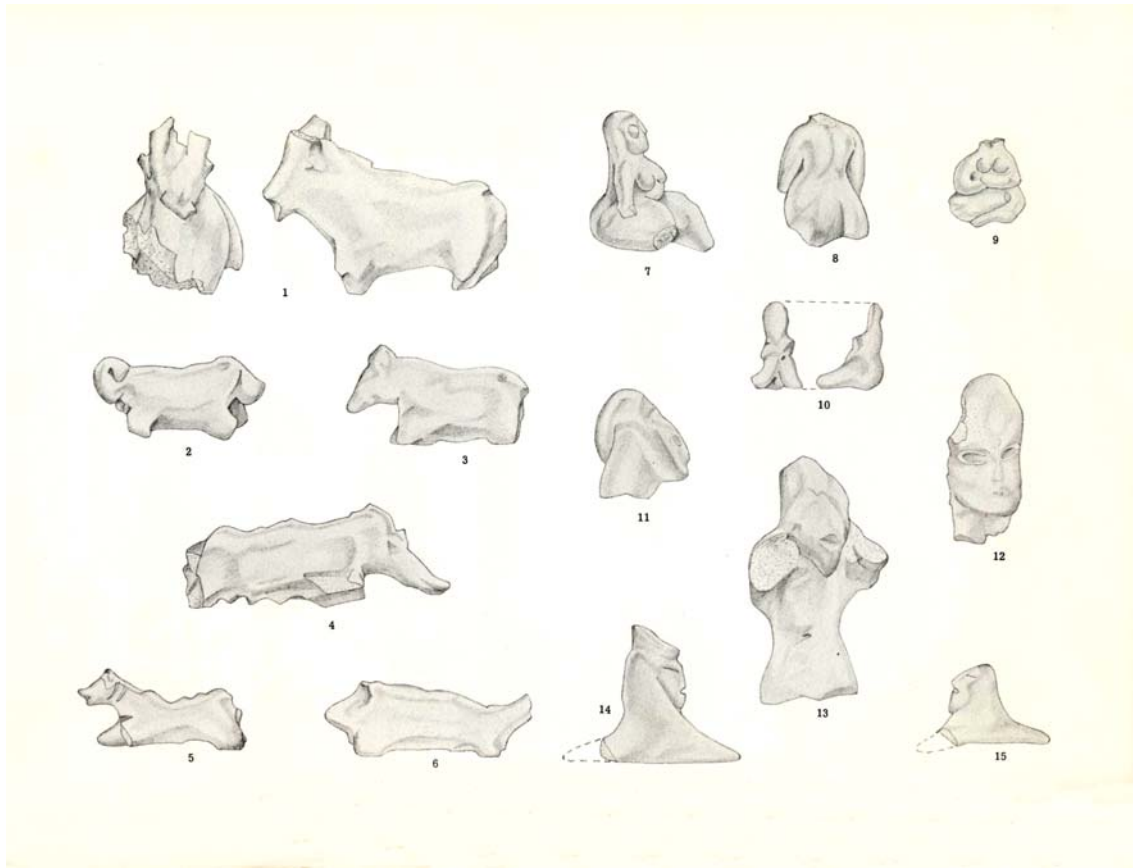
14) Engraved pillars of Göbekli Tepe. Drawings by author from photographs. After: *Die ältesten Monumente der Menschheit*. ed. Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, 2007 (figures on pages 83, 84, 88 and 93).



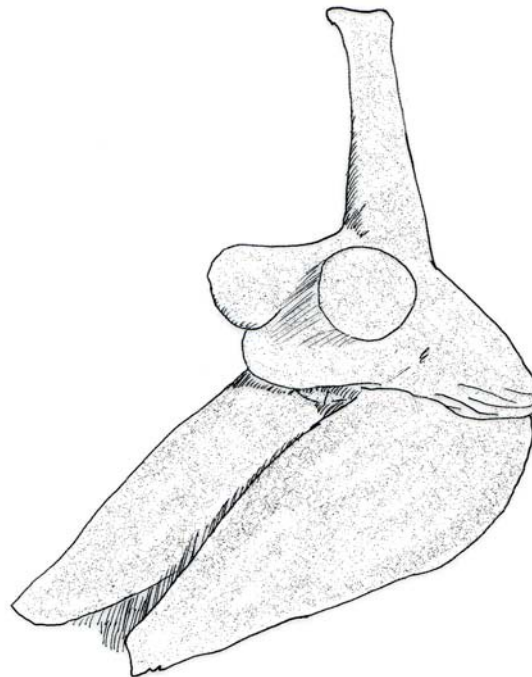
15) The head with snake and other sculptures from Navali Çori. After: Hauptmann, *Neolithic in Turkey* (Plates), figures 10, 12B, 13, 14B, 16 and 18. Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.



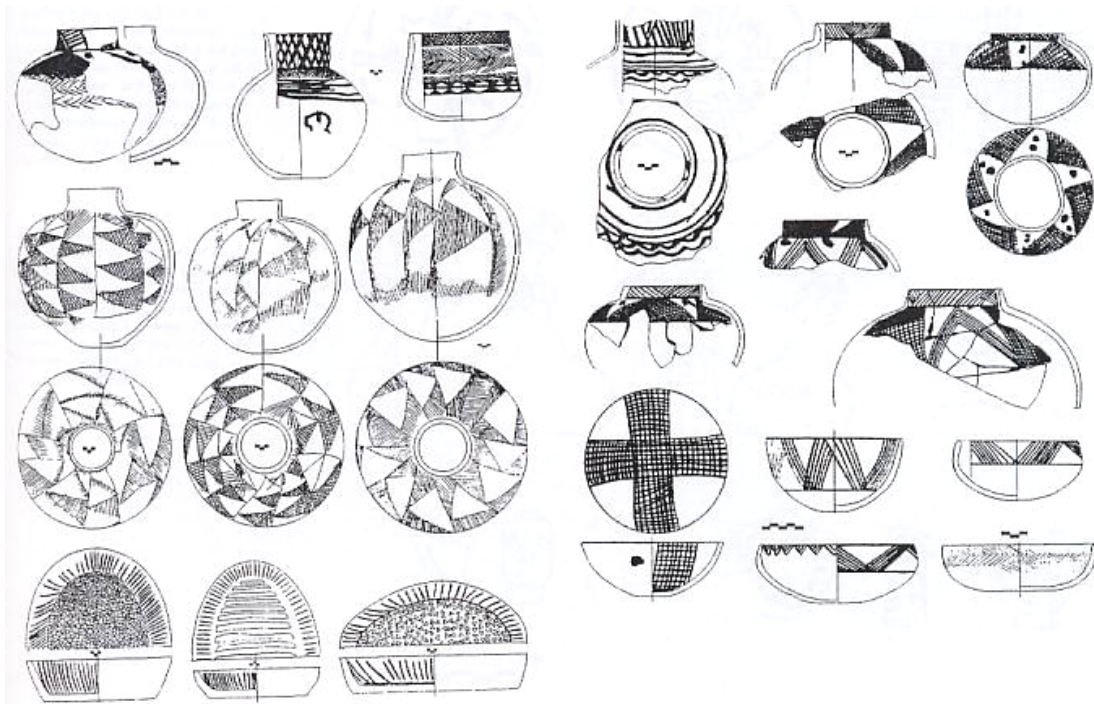
16) Sickle from Jarmo. After: Braidwood *et al.*, *Prehistoric Archaeology along the Zagros Flanks*, fig 89.



17) Clay figurines from Jarmo. After: Braidwood and Howe, *Prehistoric Investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*, pl. 16.



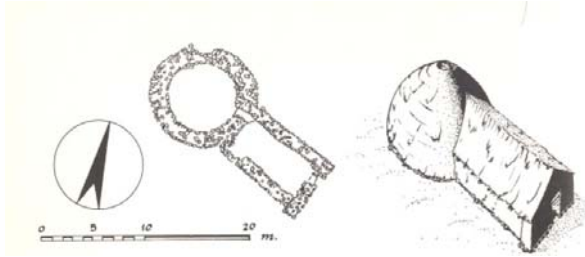
18) Venus of Tepe Sarab. Drawing by author from photographs.



19) Hassuna pottery. After: Lloyd, S. and F. Safar, "Tell Hassuna. Excavations by the Iraq Government Directorate of Antiquities in 1943 and 1945," *JNES* 4 (1945), figs. 2, 3 and 4.



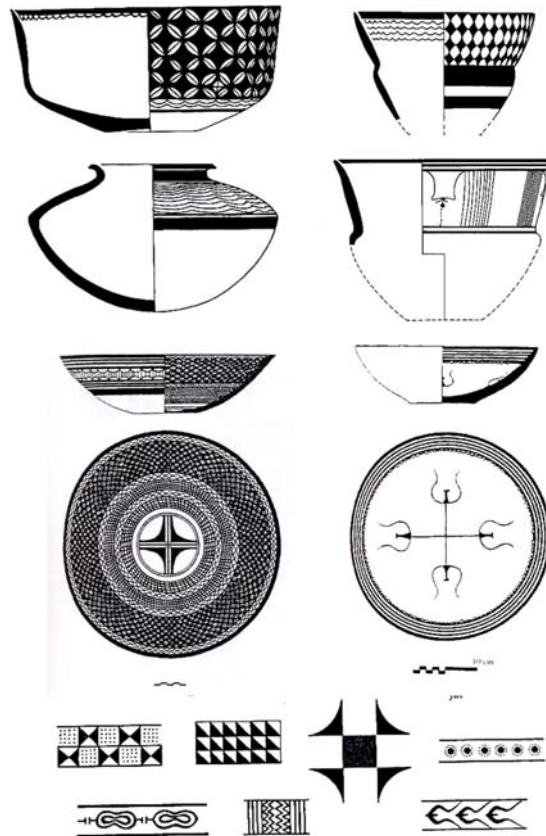
20) Samarra pottery. After: Tulane, E., "A Repertoire of the Samarran Painted Pottery Style," *JNES* 3 (1944), no. 261, 264, 265, 268, 271, 277, 280, 281, 288, 291, 292 and 295.



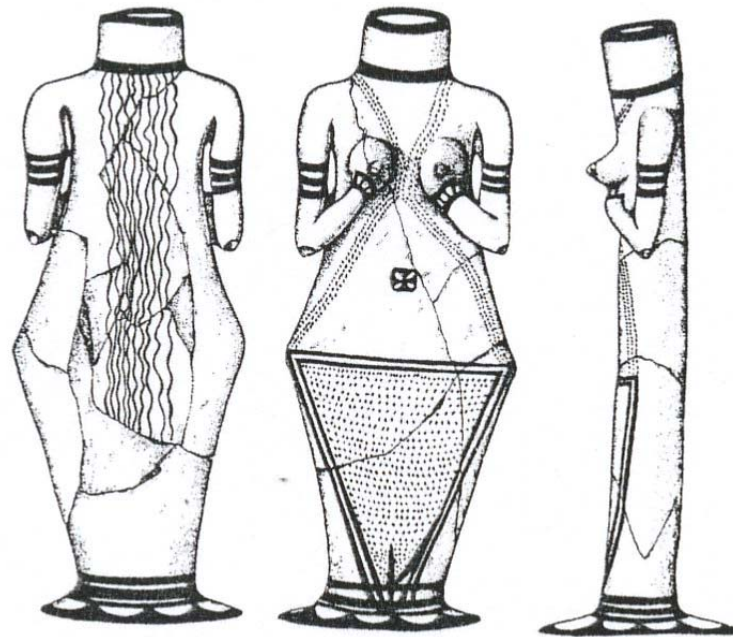
21) The tholoi of Arpachiya and a reconstruction. Drawn by Peter Pratt, after Mallowan. From *The Earliest Civilizations of the Near East* by James Mellaart, Thames and Hudson Ltd, London, fig. 106, p. 122.



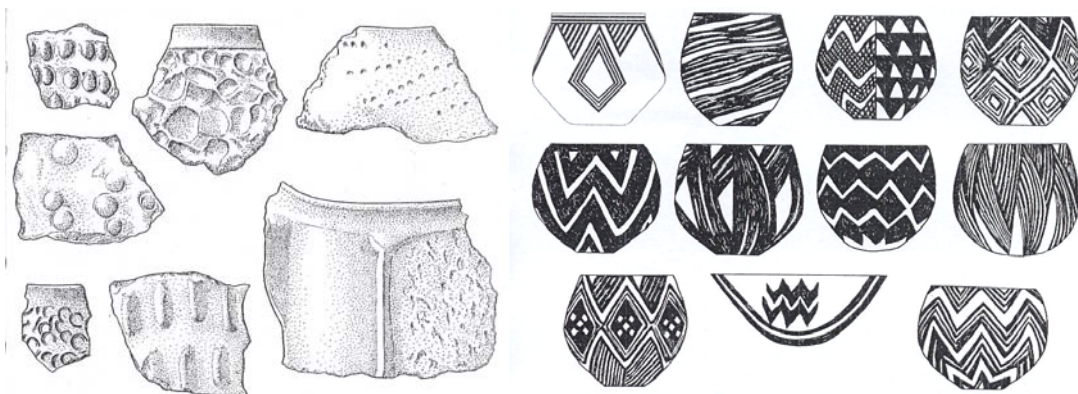
22) The tholoi of Yarim Tepe III. After: Matthews, p. 91. Courtesy of Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium.



23) Halaf pottery and motifs. After: Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, vol. II, Philadelphia, 1950, pl. CXII, no. 21 and CX, no. 10; Mallowan, M. E. L. and J. C. Rose, "Excavations at Tell Arpachiyah, 1935," *Iraq* 2 (1935), fig. 60; Oppenheim, M. F. von and H. Schmidt, *Tell Halaf I. Die Prähistorischen Funde*, Berlin, 1943, fig. 7; and Redman, fig. 6-12, p. 200.



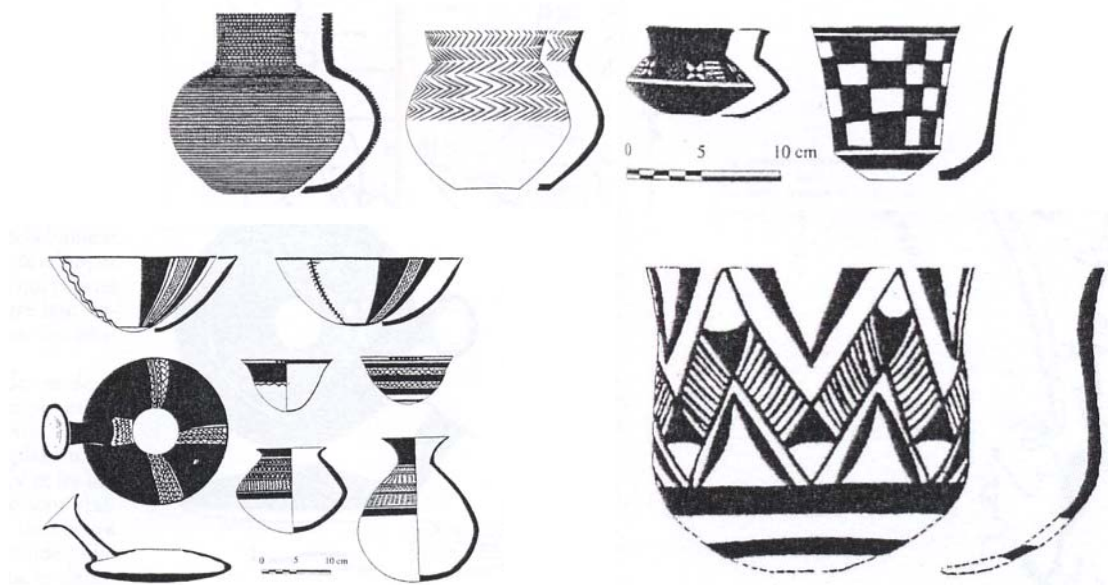
24) Yarim Tepe, vase in the shape of a woman. After: J.-D. Forest, *Mésopotamie, l'apparition...*, fig. 20.



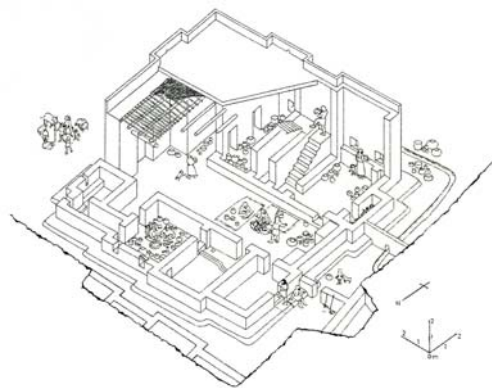
25) Impressed and painted Dalma pottery. Drawn by Gillian Jones after Young. From *Earliest Civilizations of the Near East* by James Mellaart, Thames & Hudson Ltd., London, figures 42 and 43 on pages 71 and 72.



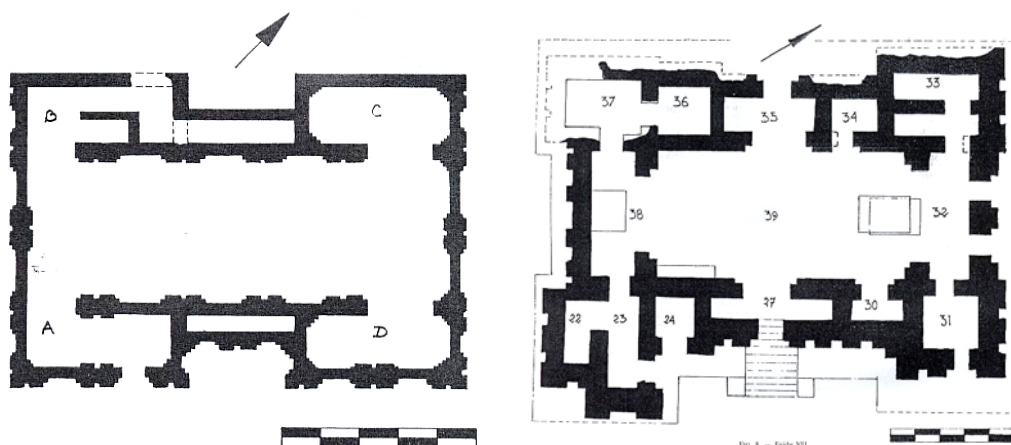
26) Painted jar from Tepe Gawra. After: Basmachi, F., *Treasures of the Iraq Museum*, Baghdad, 1975-6, fig. 17.



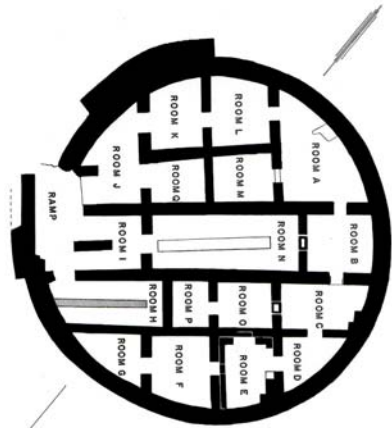
27) Northern Ubaid pottery. After: Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, vol. II, pl. CXXIX, 200 and 202; pl. CXXXI, 214, 217 and 218; pl. CXX, 83-84; CXXI, 89-90; CXII, 106 and 111; CXXIII, 113.



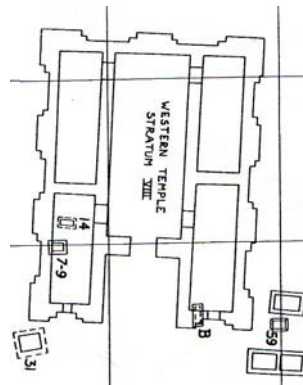
28) A typical Ubaid house from Tell Madhur- Hamrin. After: Forest, fig. 55, p. 58.



29) The Ubaid northern temple of Tepe Gawra (left) compared with the Eridu VII temple (right). After: Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, pl. XII (Gawra temple); and Lloyd, S. and F. Safar, "Eridu. A Preliminary Communication on the First Excavations, January-March 1947," *Sumer* 3 (1947), fig. 3 (Ubaid temple).



30) The round house of Tepe Gawra. After: Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, pl. VII.



31) The tripartite temple of Tepe Gawra. After: Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, pl. XXII.



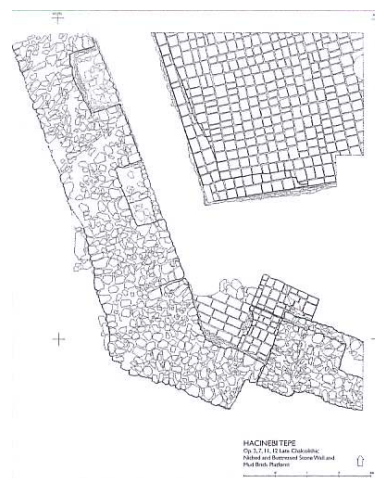
32) A wolf's head of electrum from Tepe Gawra. After: Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, pl. LIX b.



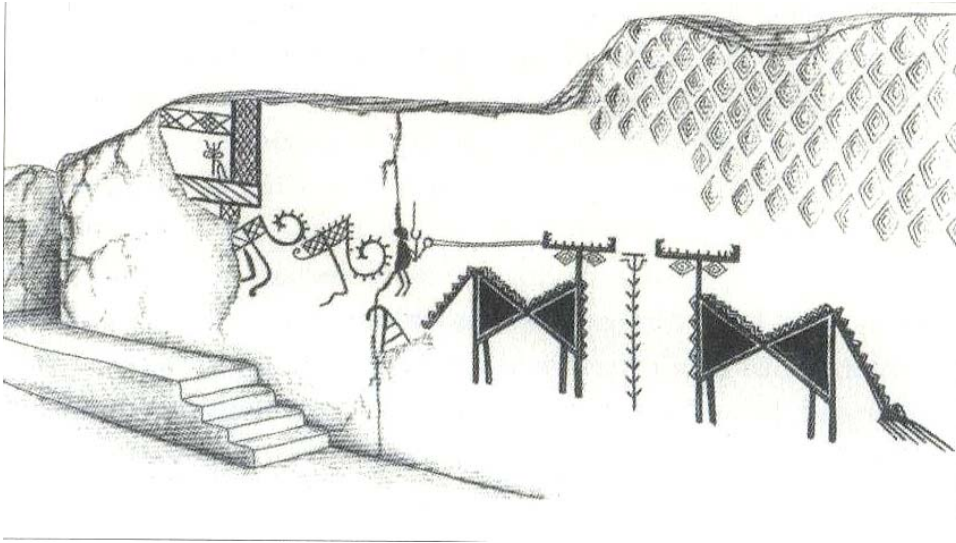
33) Ubaid stamp seals from Tepe Gawra. After Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra* (selection from different plates)



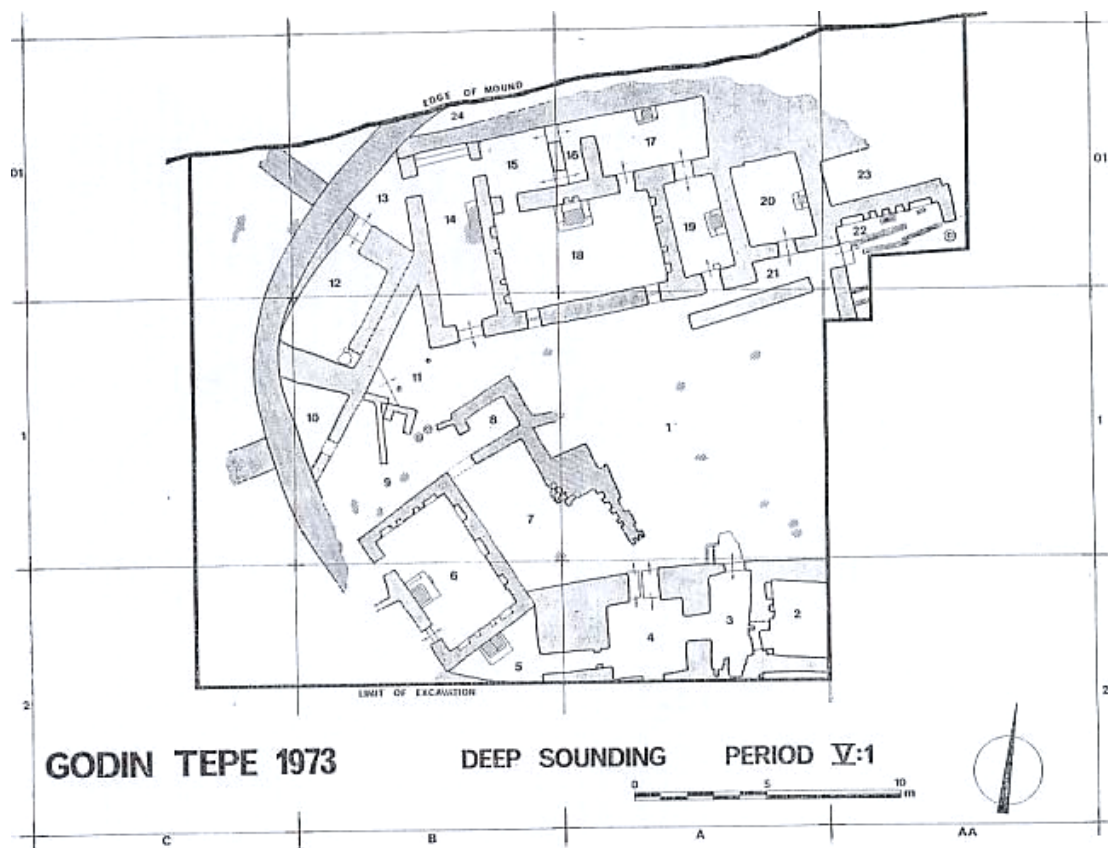
34) Eye-idols from the Eye-Temple of Brak. Drawing by author after: Mallowan, *Early Mesopotamia...*, p. 49.



35) The monumental construction of Hacinebi. Reprinted by permission from *Uruk Mesopotamia & its Neighbors: Cross-Cultural Interactions in the Era of State Formation*, ed. M. S. Rothman. Copyright 2001 by SAR Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico. All Rights reserved, fig. 8.2, p. 272.



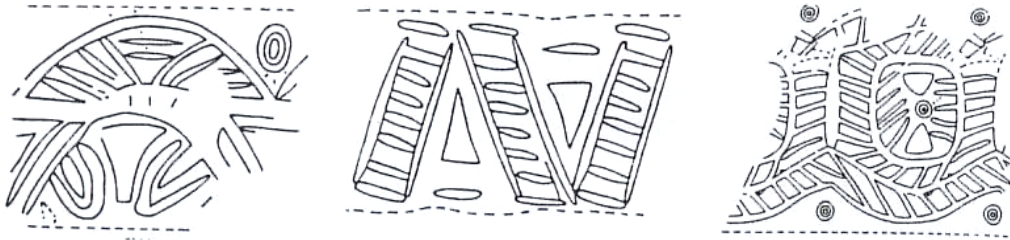
36) Wall-painting of Arslan Tepe. Reprinted by permission from *Uruk Mesopotamia & its Neighbors: Cross-Cultural Interactions in the Era of State Formation*, ed. M. S. Rothman. Copyright 2001 by SAR Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico. All Rights reserved, fig. 9.9, p. 338.



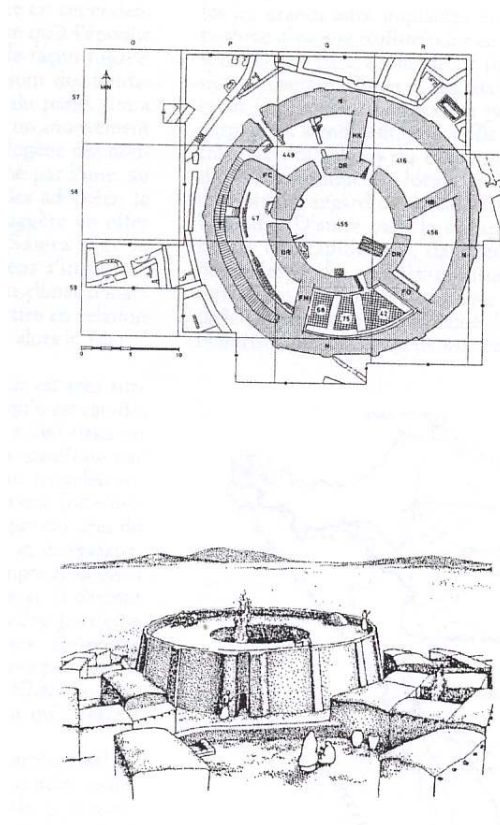
37) The building complex of Godin. After: H. Weiss and T. C. Young, "The Merchants of Susa," *Iran* XIII, fig. 2, p. 4. Courtesy of the British Institute of Persian Studies, London.



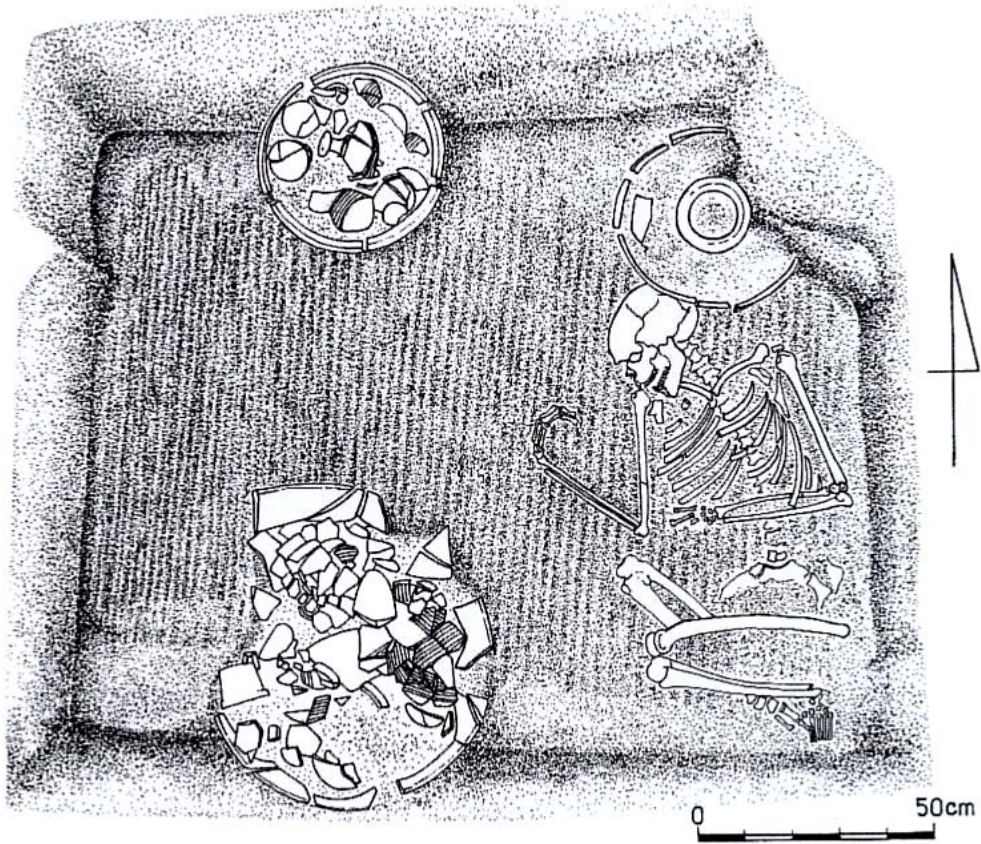
38) Ninevite pottery. Figures to the left after: Bielinski, *Ninevite V Burials at Tell Rijim, Subartu 9*, fig. 6, p. 501. Courtesy of Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium; figures to the right after Forest, fig. 120, p. 167.



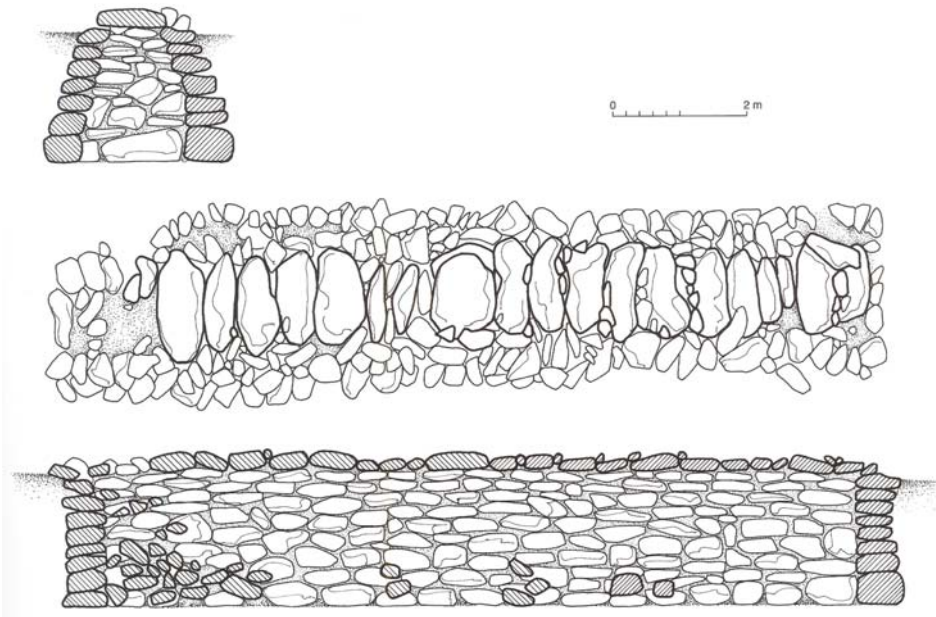
39) Typical piedmont seal impressions. After: Akkermans and Schwartz, fig. 7.4, p. 216. Courtesy of Cambridge University Press.



40) The fort of Tell Razuk. After: Forest, fig. 137, p. 201.



41) The tomb of Tell Rijim. After: Bielinski, fig. 2, p. 499. Courtesy of Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium.



42) Early Bronze Age I-II tombs from Western Kabir Kuh. After: Haenrick and Overlaet, Early Bronze Age Graveyards to the West of the Kabir Kuh, p. 7, fig. 2.

CHAPTER TWO



Kurdistan During the Early Dynastic III and the Akkadian Periods (*c.* 2500- *c.* 2150 BC)



During the Jamdat Nasr, Early Dynastic I and Early Dynastic II Cultures, southern Mesopotamia experienced a noticeable development of its political and social organizations. In these same periods, it was the Ninevite V Culture that prevailed in the region now under study. Although some developments occurred in this period, they were not as marked as those in the south. During the early periods of prehistory any initiative in technical invention and cultural development had traditionally been taken from the mountainous lands of the north and northeast, and had then spread to the southern plains, as seen in the Neo- and Chalcolithic cultures. But this tradition ceased in and after Ninevite V. It seems that the physical aspects of the land, the environment and the natural resources of our region did not allow such economic growth or, as a consequence, any socio-political development which exceeded that of the Uruk and Ninevite V Periods. It could be said that motives for socio-political developments, further than chiefdoms, were missing. Firstly there were no large urban centres in the greater part of the region, and secondly, the low density of population¹ compared with southern Mesopotamia was the result basically of the reliance on dry-farming agriculture and lastly, the absence of significant external perils. All this discouraged the formation of complex political systems with large administrative apparatuses and a political ruling class such as existed in southern Mesopotamia. Perhaps this status continued until the emergence of Mesopotamian dynasties that attempted to expand beyond the alluvium and to control the sources of the raw materials and the routes by which to transport them. This new situation apparently pushed the mountaineers to organize themselves in larger units as tribal federations, and/or in a later phase as united principalities and kingdoms. According to the available information, the first Mesopotamian power which clashed with the peoples of this region was the Lagaš dynasty under Eannatum, and then Umma under Lugalzagesi.

Apart from the relatively large urban centres of the piedmont regions and the Habur area, such as Ḥarran, Mozan, Brak, Leylān, Erbil and Nuzi (see map no. 1), the region under study had smaller and more scattered centres, with locations determined by the distribution of water resources and pastures. In the mountains, the size of the centres was restricted to certain limits and the population remained correspondingly small. The limited resources of agricultural land, water resources and pastures for cattle were insufficient to support larger communities. The constant search for pastures made some large tribes choose a nomadic way of life. Until recent times similar nomadic tribes, such as the *Harki* and *Bradōst*, lived in Erbil Province, and the *Jāf* tribes in Sulaimaniya Province were one of the largest in the last century. In fact sometimes these nomads impeded the appearance of urban centres in certain regions. The famous *Shahrzūr* Plain, for instance, had remained essentially uninhabited until 1925 and

¹ Although the later literary Mesopotamian compositions and royal inscriptions sometimes point to large numbers of peoples in the region, described as “numerous as the stars of heaven,” “hordes of locusts” (Curse of Agade), “grass” and the like, that could well be literary and political propaganda. However, huge armies could still have come from these regions, mobilized from numerous villages and smaller centres scattered over an extensive area of land.

was covered largely by reed and thick grass because, before then, it was the main passage of the seasonal migrations of the *Jāf*, between their summer and winter resorts.²

Yet it was not impossible for city-states to appear in the region of study as a whole. A city-state is a small independent self-sufficient unit ruled by a local ruler, aided occasionally by a council of the free citizens or elders. Mesopotamian sources allude to certain rulers of the mountainous area entitled *énsi*, *en* and slightly later *lugal*.³ We do not know for certain what they called themselves in their own languages, but these allusions indicate that their power and authority equalled that of the Southern Mesopotamian *énsis*. We know that large walled cities had existed in the Habur Region since 2600 BC and had produced their own indigenous culture that was distinct from that of Southern Mesopotamia.⁴ From the Ebla archives it appears that the Northern Syrian zone in the middle third millennium BC was controlled by a series of city-states, such as Nagar, Šeḥna and Urkeš, with triple-levelled political structures, the king, the royal officers, and the elders (probably men who represented important families).⁵ The settlements in the city-states of the upper Habur were more scattered than in the south, and their hinterlands were larger because they depended on dry-farming agriculture.⁶ In these regions the agricultural product per hectare was less than that of a south Mesopotamian irrigated hectare, so less people could live in the same area and less people were required to work there. Consequently, the cities were smaller and the countryside was more densely populated.⁷ Such a pattern of urban development and population distribution can be seen not only in northern Syria but also at sites like Tell Khoshi to the south of Sinjār, Tell Taya and Tell al-Hawa (all in Iraq), and at Titriš Höyük and Kazan Höyük (in the plains of southeast Anatolia).⁸ The written sources imply that Ḫamazi, Assur and probably Gasur were city-states at this time.⁹ A principal distinctive point of the culture of the northern Mesopotamian city-states was its secularity in contrast to southern Mesopotamia. The Sumerian city-state economy and society centred on the temple, while the palace was the institution that played that role in the north.¹⁰ Thanks to the archives of Ebla we know much more about the northern city-states. Amidst the numerous wars there was still space for diplomacy, and the Ebla archives refer to the exchange of gifts and the visits of messengers, ambassadors and members of royal families.¹¹

Southern Mesopotamian city-states expanded their kingdoms by warring with neighbouring city-states. They apparently aimed to control agrarian land and to remove the control of water resources from rival city-states. Our region did not have this motivation for

² سه‌جادی، عادل‌الدین، *رشته‌ی مرواری*، بهرگی ۷، بغداد، ۱۹۸۰، ل. ۴۲۲-۴۲۳ (چاپی نوبت: سلیمان ۲۰۰۵).

[Sajjādi, °Alā'addīn, *Rishtey Mirwāri*, vol. 7, Sulaimaniya, 2005 (new edition), p. 422-3. Originally published in Baghdad, 1980 (in Kurdish)]. This may have been the situation ever since their mass immigration to this region. Earlier the *Jāfs* lived in Iran in *Jwanrō* region under Persian rule, but in the 18th century many left this traditional territory and migrated to what were then Ottoman territories.

³ In the Ebla texts the term *badalum* occurs in places where *en* is expected, particularly when it concerns the city-states between the Euphrates and the Habur, more or less along the present Syrian-Turkish border. Rarely it occurs in contrast to *en*. The word appears to denote the holder of a post lower than kingship but who could act as a king. It was written with the Sumerian logogram UGULA = *maškim* and so could be translated 'overseer,' cf. Archi, A., "Ḫarran in the III Millennium B.C.," *UF* 20 (1988), p. 2.

⁴ Van de Mieroop, M., *A History of the Ancient Near East*, Oxford, 2004, p. 51.

⁵ Akkermans and Schwartz, p. 239.

⁶ Van de Mieroop, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁷ Van de Mieroop, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁸ Akkermans and Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

⁹ See later in this chapter.

¹⁰ Van de Mieroop, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹¹ For accounts of such visits, cf.: Archi, "Ḫarran in the III Millennium B.C.," p. 3-4; Biga, M. G., "Au-delà des frontières: guerre et diplomatie à Ébla," *Or* 27 (2008), p. 289ff.

war since the communities there did not rely on irrigation for agriculture.¹² Moreover, because of the limited resources, these city-states had hardly enough reserves to build armies capable of waging war on more than one city-state. The principal motive in the north for the formation of a state or kingdom was seemingly political and military defence against external threats. Tribal federations and alliances of states or kingdoms are mentioned frequently in the history of this region, which supports this idea.¹³ Not only in Northern Mesopotamia and the northern Transtigris but also in the early history of the Elamites, whose proper land was located in the mountainous regions of southern Luristan, indicates a similar political organization. According to Hinz, the structure of the Elamite state was federal, with governors (*halmenik* in Elamite, Sumerian *énsi*) ruling the numerous provinces under the leadership of a viceroy (*šakkanakkum* in Akkadian) who was subject to the Elamite king (*sunkir* in Elamite).¹⁴

Since early days trade was a major factor in peaceful and warlike relations between our region and the southern powers. It established a mutual economic dependence between two parties based on exchange of raw materials and other commodities. This led to an accumulation of wealth in some parts of this region encouraging the rise of an aristocratic class with enhanced power. The abundance of natural raw materials in the land coupled with this newly accumulated personal wealth was an additional factor stimulating the neighbouring powers to raid, loot and sometimes occupy this region.¹⁵

These northern powers, especially those on the Iranian side, have left us few (if any) written documents. Potts thinks this cannot be explained only by a lack of excavations but also by a bureaucratic illiteracy that prevailed in the third millennium Iran.¹⁶ It means that our knowledge remains full of gaps and subject to conjecture. The same is true for the mountainous city-states of the Taurus.

We have a rather vague political map of our region in the period that preceded the rise of Akkad. The general area of Subartu comprised smaller lands and provinces. At present we cannot be certain whether the toponyms are derived from the ethnonyms of the inhabitants, or whether the inhabitants took over the name of the place where they had chosen to live. Old Akkadian texts cite names such as Lullubum, Gutium and Kakkum, which must have also

¹² This does not mean of course that these kingdoms had no other reasons for rivalry with each other.

¹³ For instance the oldest alliance between Elam, Šubur and Arawa (Uru'a) against Eannatum of Lagaš in c. 2400 BC (cf. Steible, H., *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, FAOS I, Wiesbaden, 1982, p. 150 l. 17-18); the general revolt against Narām-Sîn by numerous powers in the north; the Hurrian alliance under Eḫli-Teššup in the MA period; and later the Median Tribal alliance.

¹⁴ Hinz, W., "Persia c. 2400- 1800 BC," *CAH* I, part 2, p. 648. Van de Mierop pointed out that Elam was probably a loosely joined coalition of polities: Van de Mierop, *op. cit.*, p. 51. Stolper, on the contrary does not think Elam had a federal structure in the modern sense, at least in relation to Baraḫši and Elam: Stolper, M. W. and E. Carter, *Elam, Surveys of Political History and Archaeology*, Berkely, 1984, p. 12.

¹⁵ There are numerous references in later periods, found in the Middle- and Neo-Assyrian royal correspondence and royal inscriptions, to the collection of grain, mining metals, felling trees and even collecting horses from different places in the north and northeastern regions of Mesopotamia; cf. Fuchs, A. and S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II*, part III, *SAA* 15, Helsinki, 2001, p. 57, no. 84 (ND 2655), a letter concerning receiving tribute horses from Kār-Šarrukīn (Ḫarḫar); Lanfranchi, G. B. and S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II*, part II, *SAA* V, Helsinki, 1990, p. 27-8, no. 34 (K 7336 + 7391 + 13008), concerning problems in cutting timber in Šubria, mentioning figures up to 1000 beams cut and laid on the river side to be transported to Assyria; *op. cit.*, p. 56, no. 64 (K 146), reporting the arrival of horses from the east, on the way to the king via Arzuḫina and Sarê; *op. cit.*, p. 104, no. 133 (K 00676), the arrival of the king of Ḫubuškia with horses, oxen, and sheep as tribute; Luckenbill, D. D., *ARAB* II, Chicago, 1927, § 24, p. 11, receiving horses, mules, sheep and cattle as tribute from the Medes in the time of Sargon; Grayson, A. K., *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I* (1114-859 BC), *RIMA* 2, Toronto, 1991, no. 1, p. 197, Aššurnasirpal received horses, mules, oxen and sheep, and also wine, bronze casseroles, silver, gold and tin as tribute from several lands in the Zagros.

¹⁶ Potts, T., *Mesopotamia and the East, an Archaeological and Historical Study of Foreign Relations, ca. 3400-2000 BC*, Oxford, 1994, p. 9.

existed in the earlier periods but have escaped mentioning because they have not played any role worth mentioning, or because they were not targets of the Mesopotamian rulers.

The oldest known name of the region, Subir, appears in textual records of earlier historical episodes. The collective ethno-geographical name Subir referred somewhat vaguely to the regions of the north in general. Slightly later we find other names of lands and territories, mostly within Subir, such as Kakmum, Ḥamazi, Lullubum, Gutium and probably even Awan. Present available data makes it possible to approximately map the ethno-geographical divisions and political powers of our region in the third millennium.

Subartu

The general ethno-geographic appellation *Subir/ Subartu* is the oldest name under which the largest part of the region under study was known and it encompasses almost all lands and territories of the region. The two oldest occurrences of the name go back to the Early Dynastic Period. The first is in a hymn to Nisaba (*ARET* 5 7+), where it is grouped together with Sumer, Tilmun and an unidentified toponym.¹⁷ The second is in the inscription of Eannatum (c. 2454-2425 BC) of Lagaš, who fought the alliance of Šubur, Elam and Arawa (=Uru'a).¹⁸ In Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian sources it is attested in numerous forms and spellings, including *Subar*, *Subir*, *Šubur* (Old Sumerian-Akkadian), *Šupria* (Neo-Assyrian), *Š/Subaru*, *Subartu*.¹⁹

Location and extension

As a toponym the boundaries of Subir are difficult to determine. The Mesopotamians had vague ideas about the lands that were peripheral for them, and Subartu was one of these. Michalowski has shown that descriptions of foreign lands and territories depended on unreliable mental maps, particularly in the literary texts, royal inscriptions, hymns and city-lamentations, but not in administrative and economic texts.²⁰ Some ancient references, such as the 'Geography of Sargon,' defined it as "[ultu šadê er]ēni adi An-za-an «ZA.AN»^{ki21} māt

¹⁷ Steinkeller, P., "The Historical Background of Urkeš and the Hurrian Background in Northern Mesopotamia," *Urkeš and the Hurrians, Studies in Honour of L. Cotsen*, ed. G. Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica*, vol. 26, Malibu, 1998, p. 76. The text reads: 'X'.GIŠ.ŠE^{ki} ŠUBUR^{ki} Sum-ar-rūm^{ki} DILMUN^{ki} GAR in ŠU, 'X'.GIŠ. ŠE, "Subartu, Sumer, and Tilmun were placed in the hand (of Nisaba?! Enlil!)" (xi 7-xii 2); see also Michalowski, P., "Sumer Dreams of Subartu," *Languages and Cultures in Contact at the Crossroads of Civilizations in the Syro-Mesopotamian Realm, RAI 42*, ed. By K. van Lerberghe and G. Voet, Leuven, 1995, p. 306; Bonechi, M., "Remarks on the III Millennium Geographical Names of the Syrian Upper Mesopotamia," *Subartu* IV/1, ed. M. Lebeau, Turnhout, 1998, p. 220.

¹⁸ About this, cf. below in this chapter under 'The Region before the Akkadian Interlude.'

¹⁹ For the different spellings of this name cf. Gelb, I. J., *Hurrians and Subarians (HS)*, Chicago, 1944, p. 23-31. Hallo has referred to SÚ.NAM^{ki} as another probable spelling for Subir: Hallo, W. W., "Zāriqum," *JNES* 15 (1956), No. 4, p. 224, note 21. It is noteworthy that Dhorme could identify this name even in Classical sources as 'Sáspeires, Sáp/beires, Sábironi and Sábēroni. Cf.: Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 30 (referring to P. Dhorme, "Soubartou-Mitani," *RA* 8 (1911), 98 ff). It is also said that the name 'Šubur' was – at least orthographically- connected in Sumerian sources with an animal (the pig): PA. ŠUBUR together with PA. UDU, PA. GUD, PA. ANŠE etc., cf. Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

²⁰ About this cf. Michalowski, P., "Mental Maps and Ideology: Reflections on Subartu," in: *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium*, ed. H. Weiss, Connecticut, 1986, p. 129 ff.

²¹ Note its reading by Weidner as 'Anzanzan,' Weidner, E., "Das Reich Sargons von Akkad," *AfO* 16 (1952-53), p. 4. The 'Geography of Sargon' was a matter for dispute among Assyriologists. Most of them attributed it to Sargon of Agade (for instance Albright and Grayson) and some to Sargon of Assyria (Potts and Van de Mieroop): for these opinions and the study of De Mieroop himself on this topic, cf. Van de Mieroop, M., "Literature and Political Discourse in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Munuscula Mesopotamica: Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, Herausgegeben von B. Böck, E. Cancik-Kirschbaum und T. Richter, Münster, 1999, p. 330-1;

Subartu (SU.BIR₄)^{ki},” “From the Cedar Mountains to Anšan: the land of Subartu.”²² This localization fits its northwestern limit but extends too far to the southeast.²³ The sequence of lands in the inscription of ‘Lugalanemundu’ of Adab suggests (if we agree it is a geographical sequence) that the land Subartu was at that time to the north of Gutium and to the east of Amurru, since Subartu is listed in the text between Gutium and Marḥaši from one side and Martu and Sutium from the other.²⁴ Marḥaši has been identified with Baraḥši and is thought to have been located in modern Fars and Kerman Provinces, or even in Makran.²⁵

331ff. Criteria for these judgments were the toponyms recorded in the text; some of them belong to the first millennium BC., according to their form, language, and some technical terms such as *bēru*. However, it is not impossible to date the text to the Old Akkadian period, subsequently copied, edited and translated into the Akkadian language of the Neo-Assyrian period. In other words, some GNs, which were no longer in use in the NA period, were replaced by the new names of the same toponyms when the text was copied for Neo-Assyrian readers. The same might have been done with the technical terms and also with the form and layout of the text to modernize and adapt it. Such modifications and adaptations were not unusual in the ancient Near East. When the story of the flood passed to the Levant through the Hurrians, the mountain name Nimuš (older Nišir) was changed to Mount Ararat, Utunapištum to Noah, etc. (to be discussed later in this chapter). On the other hand, it is possible that Sargon of Assyria ordered its compilation, perhaps based on older models, as part of his political propaganda and his desire to imitate Sargon of Akkad. In this case, one cannot treat the text as third millennium source material, but as a source from a later date, referring to some older GNs with the use of some ancient terminology. This does not mean that one must discard the text as historical material, for its geographical data still remains valuable; this text is no less credible than the NA royal inscriptions, for example, which were primarily for propaganda. But it must be used cautiously.

²² Grayson, A. K., “The Empire of Sargon of Akkad,” *AfO* 25 (1974-77), p. 59.

²³ The Cedar Mountains are often identified with the Amanus Mountains in Lebanon as cedars exist there. This identification means that Subartu stretches from Anšan (its capital city ‘Anšan’ is modern Tell-i-Maliyan) in southwest Iran, to the Mediterranean Coast in Lebanon. Gadd was surprised that Subartu could really be so vast. Note that Akkad is listed in the text as the largest land, and then followed by Subartu and Amurru together, but the given limits make it surpass Akkad in surface, cf.: Gadd, C. J., “The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion,” *CAH* 1, part 2, Cambridge, 1971, p. 431. However, cedar trees could have grown in northern Mesopotamian mountains and territories of the Transtigris itself at that time, according to Th. Krispijn in a personal communication. Large scale felling through the ages has made them now disappear totally. The few cedar trees that still can be seen in the Duhok Province support this hypothesis. Moreover this might be confirmed by the inscription of the ‘Basitki’ statue discovered halfway between Duhok and Mosul, where Narām-Sîn boasts of a victory in Subartu over LUGAL^{ti} *šu-ut i-RĪN-nim* “the kings of the cedar (?) (tree mountains),” cf.:

رشيد، فوزي، “دراسة أولية لتمثال باسطني،” *سومر* 32 الجزء 1 و 2 (1976)، ص. 53 السطر 18؛ ص. 57.

[Rashid, F., “A Preliminary Study of the Basitki Statue,” *Sumer* 32, part 1 and 2 (1976), p. 53, l. 18, p. 57 (in Arabic)]. Fryane prefers another reading with a more complicated translation for line 18 of the Basitki inscription: *i-šij₁₁-<ù>-nim*, “(the kings) whom they (the rebels[?]) had raised (against him),” cf. Frayne, D., Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334-2113 BC), *RIME* 2, Toronto, 1993, p. 113 (text E2.1.4.10). Further evidence is the letter of Ur-dun to his king Šulgi of Ur III stating that he was sent by his lord, the king, to the mountains to purchase cedar resin but was plundered by Apillaša, governor/high commissioner of Subir, cf. Michalowski, P., *The Royal Correspondence of Ur*, (A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University), Yale, 1976, p. 217-18. Furthermore, every mention of *erin*-trees in Sumerian texts do not necessarily refer to cedar trees, since other species were also labelled *erin*; cf. Hansman, J., “Gilgamesh, Humbaba and the Land of the Erin-Trees,” *Iraq* 38 (1976), p. 27.

²⁴ A year-name of Narām-Sîn states: iii 7’) in M[U] 8’) ^d*Na-ra-[am^dE]N.ZU 9’)* REC 169 SUBIR^{ki} iv 1) in *A-zu-ḥi-nim^{ki} 2) i-ša-ru 3) Tá-ḥi-ša-ti-li 4) ik-mi-ù*, “The ye[ar] Narā[m-S]în was victorious in the campaign against the land of Subir at Azuḥinum and took prisoner T/Daḥiš-atili,” Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 86, q; Foster, B., “An Agricultural Archive from Sargonic Akkad,” *Acta Sumerologica (ASJ)* 4 (1982), p. 23 and 24. This indicates that Subartu comprised Azuḥinum; the latter is localized somewhere to the east of Arrapha, leading to the land of Lullu, cf.: Frayne, D., “The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena,” *SCCNH* 10, Bethesda, 1999, p. 182; Levine, L. D., “K. 4675+ - The Zamua Itinerary,” *SAA Bulletin* 3, issue 2 (1989), p. 84, or generally on the Lower Zāb: Wilhelm, G., *The Hurrians*, Wiltshire, 1989, p. 8. According to Salvini, this latter localization might fit well with the identification suggested by Fincke (cf. Fincke, J., *RGTC* 10, Wiesbaden, 1993, 66f), which was already proposed by Hannon:

حنون، ن.، مدن قديمة و مواقع أثرية، دراسة في الجغرافية التاريخية للعراق الشمالي خلال العصور الآشورية، دمشق، 2009، ص. 307.

Possibly Subartu in earlier times was only a small territory in the northern Transtigris, but extended to comprise what was known later as Assyria, then in a later stage to the upper Habur westwards and central Zagros Mountains southeastwards. A similar suggestion was made by Steinkeller. Analysing inscriptional evidence, he concluded that there existed a smaller Subartu in the third millennium BC (2400 BC) in the northern Transtigris, from the northern Diyāla to the north, including Assyria, and that he calls ‘Subartu Proper.’²⁶ Another Subartu, first documented in 2200 BC, extended from the Zagros to the Amanus ranges in the west, which he calls ‘Greater Subartu.’²⁷ An OB copy of a royal inscription in Sumerian, perhaps of Narām-Sîn or Šū-Sîn, mentions “the land of Subartum on the shores of the [Up]per

[Hannoon, N., *Ancient Cities and Archaeological Sites, A Study in the Historical Geography of Northern Iraq in the Neo-Assyrian Periods*, Damascus, 2009, p. 307 = a revised Arabic translation of Hannoon’s Ph. D. Dissertation, published originally in 1986]; both identify Gök Tepe, to the north of modern Kirkuk, cf. Salvini, M., “The Earliest Evidence of the Hurrians before the Formation of the Reign of Mittanni,” *Urkesh and the Hurrians*, p. 100. Fadhil also considers the north of Kirkuk and does not believe in more than one Aзуh̄inum, including the variants A/Uruzuh̄inum: Fadhil, A., *Studien zur Topographie und Prosopographie der Provinzstädte des Königsreichs Arrapha*, *Baghdader Forschungen*, 6, Mainz, 1983, p. 67-81. But the textual material is not in favour of this. The relatively great distance between the two, as the texts describe, point to two distinct places. However, the textual material of Nuzi shows it was located on the way to the land of Lullubum, and this leads to a location in or near Chamchamāl. This identification agrees with that presented by Saggs in Saggs, H. W. F., “The Nimrud Letters, 952- Part IV,” *Iraq* 20 (1958), p. 209 and by Lewy in Lewy, H., “A Contribution to the Historical Geography of the Nuzi Texts,” *JAOS* 88 (1968), p. 160. The textual data from Nuzi alludes to escorting a man from Nuzi to Nullu (= Lullu). The city governor (*šakin māti*, cf. *CAD* Š I, p. 160), Akip-tašenni of Aзуh̄inum, was personally responsible for the life of the escorts in both Arrapha and Nullu (*HSS* XIII, 36) cf. Fincke, p. 67. In another document, Akip-tašenni was given orders to check the documents of merchants coming from Nullu to Arrapha: Fincke, *ibid*. Aзуh̄inum was in the time of the kingdom of Arrapha an important walled city (*ḫalzu Aзуh̄inni*), and a cult centre of the kingdom, the abode of deities, cf. Fincke, *op. cit.*, p. 68. This Aзуh̄inni is comparable with the Middle Assyrian province of Arzuḫinum/Arzuḫina (Nashef, Kh., *RGTC* 5, Wiesbaden, 1982, p. 40), which is reported to be separated from Zamua by the Babite pass in the Baziyān range, cf. Levine, L. D., “Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros I,” *Iran* 11 (1973), p. 19, or along the Lower Zāb according to Salvini, *ibid*. The Synchronistic History Chronicle (Chronicle 21) supports Salvini’s view, when it explicitly says that Arzuḫina was facing the Lower Zāb: 15’^{URU} *Za-ban* 16’^{URU} *šu-pa-le-e ina tar-ši URU Ar-zu-ḫi-na*, Grayson, A. K., *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (ABC)*, New-York, 1975, p. 164. But this text raises more problems than offering solutions, since what is written is the city of Zaban, not the river Zāb, although Grayson thinks this is a scribal error. The most probable location for Aзуh̄inum according to the present writer is the large and high tell in Chemchemāl or the nearby tell of Gopale. This Aзуh̄inum should not be confused with another GN mentioned in the OB texts from Mari (Durand, J.-M., *Archives épistolaires de Mari*, I/1, *ARM* 26/1, Paris, 1988, letters 431: 8’; 435: 48; 437: 4, 11, 14, 26) and Tell al-Rimāh (Groneberg, B., *RGTC* 3, Wiesbaden, 1980, 27f.; see also: *ARM* II 78 36f.) which was presumably identical with Uзуh̄inum, a stage on the route between Assur and Kaniš (cf. Nashef, Kh., *RGTC* 4, Wiesbaden, 1991, 131f), probably to the north of Jebel Sinjār or, according to others, identical with Tell el-Hawa, between Hamukar and the Tigris: *RGTC* 4, 132, or generally in the Habur Triangle: Kupper, J.-R., “Les Hourrites à Mari,” *RHA* 36 (1978), p. 124. The Old Babylonian itinerary published by Goetze (BM 77810 = “Ramsay I”: PSBA 6 (1883/4), p. 18 f.) mentions this place name in a position flanked by other GNs in the Habur Region: Goetze, A., “An Old Babylonian Itinerary,” *JCS* 7 (1953), p. 67. Both Salvini in “The Earliest Evidence...,” p. 102, and Steinkeller in “The Historical Background...,” p. 92, note 61, think that the western Aзуh̄inum, not the eastern, was the target of Narām-Sîn in his Subarian campaign.

²⁵ Cf. the maps of Steinkeller and Vallat in Potts, *Mesopotamia and the East*, p. 11.

²⁶ This definition of Subartu Proper was offered over half a century ago by Gelb, cf.: Steinkeller, “The Historical Background...,” p. 77. In this respect, I would disagree with Steinkeller, who, in identifying Subartu Proper with third millennium Assyria, says “it is fair to conclude that, in this particular usage, Subartu is simply a third millennium designation of Assyria,” cf. “The Historical Background...,” p. 77. The territories from the northern Diyāla up to the mountainous regions of the northern Transtigris were not parts of historical Assyria.

²⁷ Steinkeller, P., “The Historical Background of Urkesh ...,” p. 77. Weiss prefers only the Habur Area as Subartu: Weiss, H., “The Origins of Tell Leilan,” in: *The Origins of Cities...*, p. 86. However, this is hardly acceptable and finds no support from textual material.

Se[a].”²⁸ If this is historically reliable, not a literary fantasy, it can suggest that ‘Subartu’ was a general appellation of a greater widespread land that included minor territories and lands under other names. Such an example is the name of these regions in medieval historical sources, where it was called إقليم الجبال ‘The Province of the Mountains,’ that included many other minor provinces,²⁹ or even the more general بلاد العجم “Land of of ^c*Ajams*” that referred to all the northern and northeastern lands that did not speak Arabic. The OB copies of some Ur III letters speak of Subartu as territories to the northeast of Sumer, probably in the Jebel Hamrin above the Diyāla, as Michalowski argues.³⁰ This reinforces letting Subir begin in the Zagros Mountains north of Elam in the east. The inscription of Daduša of Ešnunna too gives a hint in this regard; the king claims to have smitten the lands of Subartu, from Burunda and Eluḫti to Mount Diluba and the Mount (of) Lullum.³¹ Eluḫti is in all probability the same as Eluḫa/ut in the Habur area, and thus the territory from that place to the land of Lullubum fits almost what we conclude from the available data. In the Mari letters S/Šubartum occurs in contexts referring generally to the northern mountains, north and northeast of the Jazirah.³² Later, in the middle and Neo-Assyrian periods, Subartu shrank gradually into smaller territories in the northern mountains, while it continued in use in Assyria by the Assyrians themselves as a toponym and ethnonym, but only in literary texts³³ and astrological omina of Babylonian origin. It was also used disparagingly of the Assyrians by the Babylonians, alluding to the close connection between this name and the term for slaves in Babylonia and Assyria.³⁴

People and Language

It is thought that the inhabitants of Assyria before the migration of the Semitic Assyrians were Subarians³⁵ and the majority of them were pushed out to the northern and eastern mountains by the Assyrian newcomers. However, the Subarians seem to have remained the ethnic substratum of the land for a long time afterwards. This explains what Lewy describes as the Subarian cultural influence on Assyrian life, especially in art and religion.³⁶ Even the names of the founders of the city of Assur, the kings Ušpia and Kikia, were, according to Ungnad, Subarian names.³⁷ Moreover, later documents indicate that at the time the city Assur

²⁸ 9') kur Šubur-r[a] gaba-gaba –a-ab[-ba I]GI.NIM-ma: Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 163 (E2.1.4.1004). Frayne published the same inscription once again as E3/2.1.4.2 of Šū-Sîn in *RIME* 3/2, p. 301.

²⁹ For a good study of this province in the Middle Ages (Islamic Periods), maps and bibliography, cf.: Le Strange, G., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930, Chapters XIII and XIV.

³⁰ For these letters and the discussions concerning Subartu cf. Michalowski, cf. “Sumer Dreams of Subartu,” p. 313f.

³¹ Ismail, B. Kh. (in cooperation with A. Cavigneux), “Dādušas Siegesstele IM 95200 aus Ešnunna. Die Inschrift,” *BM* 34 (2003), p. 146-147; cf. also Charpin, D., “Chroniques bibliographiques: 3. Données nouvelles sur la région du Petit Zab au XVIII^e siècle Av. J.-C.,” *RA* 98 (2004), p. 154, 166.

³² See for example Chapter Seven.

³³ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 7.

³⁴ Lewy, H., “Assyria, c. 2600-1816 BC,” *CAH* I, part 2, Cambridge, 1971, p. 732-33. The land of Subartu was a main source of slaves for southern Mesopotamia, and references were often made to Subarian slaves in cuneiform sources. This made a close link between the two names. However, the word *subrum*, referred to by Lewy as meaning slave in the reference cited above, appears to be mistakenly confused with the word *subāru*, denoting an everyday commodity, or with *šubarum*, *šubrum* meaning ‘slave, (domestic) servant’ but with a different etymology. For the word *šubrum*, cf. *CAD*, vol. S, p. 340-1.

³⁵ Speiser called them ‘Hurrians,’ in: Speiser, E. A., *Mesopotamian Origins*, Philadelphia, 1930, p. 124-5, but it seems that the Hurrians were present there later than the Subarians. This opinion of Speiser might be due to the fact that the population of Subartu in the second millennium BC was principally Hurrian.

³⁶ Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 732-3.

³⁷ Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

was called Balti; the land was called Subir.³⁸ Some have suggested that large archaeological sites like Tell ʿAya (north of Assur), Tell Laylān (on the Habur) and Tell Chuera were principal Subarian urban centres, at least equivalent in importance to the city of Assur.³⁹

The ethnic identity of the Subarians and their connection with the Hurrians in particular has been disputed by Assyriologists.⁴⁰ However, Gelb proved that they were a distinct and independent ethnic group.⁴¹ The text CBS 8418 from Nippur, dated to the reign of Narām-Sîn records names of Subarian individuals who received rations; the names are foreign but not Hurrian.⁴² The proper name of the Subarians is thought by some to have been ‘Su.’⁴³ Nevertheless, this assumption was subject to a discussion of whether the SU people were really Subarians or another distinct group. The OB geographical list recording the names Subir^{ki}, Su-ti-um^{ki}, and LÚ. ʾSU^{ki} in one sequence indicates that they were distinct and that LÚ.SU (.A) was a Puzriš-Dagan (= modern Drehem) spelling of the toponym Šimaški.⁴⁴

Through ancient contacts between the Subarians and peoples of the south (Sumerians and Akkadians) that are reflected in the documents, some scraps of information have been gathered. One finds what might be one of the oldest occurrences of Subarians in texts from Fara,⁴⁵ most of their names combined with professions like bakers, smiths, scribes and others.⁴⁶ Some crops and products were seemingly typically Subarian, like barley, figs, pomegranates, plums, as well as Subarian wool, dress, chariots⁴⁷ and sheep.⁴⁸ We know

³⁸ Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 732.

³⁹ Kuhrt, A., *The Ancient Near East, c. 3000-330 BC*, vol. I, London and New York, 1995, p. 41.

⁴⁰ Cf. about this Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 1ff. The use of ‘Subarians’ to denote ‘Hurrians’ in the second millennium BC is largely responsible for this association. For this use cf. Edzard, D. O. and A. Kammenhuber, “Hurriter, Hurritisch,” *RLA* 4 (1972-75), Berlin, p. 508.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 20 f. Gelb’s arguments are as follows: 1) the distinction between the Hurrian PNs and Subarian PNs handed down in Ur III documents, 2) the mention of Hurrians and Subarians as distinct peoples three times in one tablet from Ras Shamra, 3) the difference between the names of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in Subarian and Hurrian, and 4) the attestation of Subarian elements in the Fara texts which precede the Hurrian presence, and in texts from Elam which was free of Hurrian influence in all periods. I would add the OB incantations, odd lines of which are written in the ‘Subarian’ language (YBC 1836= YOS 11 64) published by van Dijk (see below).

⁴² Westenholz, A., *The Old Akkadian Period, History and Culture*, in Sallaberger, W. and A. Westenholz, *Mesopotamian, Akkade-Zeit und UrIII-Zeit*, *OBO* 160/3, Göttingen, 1999, p. 95-96. The text reads: *A-hu-si-lú* (or *A-us-lú*), *Gi-il-KAL*, *Zi-gu-da* and *Zi-da-um* described as “old Subarians” and *Ga-LUL-ma*, *Wa-lú-ut*, *Ummu-du-la*, *Ut-nu-ut*, *Ga-nu-ut*, *ibid.* The name Ziguda is reminiscent of the old forms of the name Zi-gu-la-e (corrected by Gelb as zi-gu-um-e, cf. *HS*, p. 19; 38 and note 116, but later as Zin(n)um by Michalowski, cf. below) mentioned in the letter of Puzur-Šulgi/Numušta to his lord Ibbi-Sîn. The bearer of this name was, according to the letter, the governor of Subartu who was defeated by Išbi-Erra, cf. Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence of Ur*, p. 255. About the identification of Puzur-Šulgi with Puzur-Numušta, cf. Wu Yuhong, *A Political History of Eshnunna, Mari and Assyria during the Early Old Babylonian Period*, Changchun, 1994, p. 6.

⁴³ ‘SU (A)’: *op. cit.*, p. 25; Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 1. Rashid has analyzed the name SUBARTU as consisting of the ethnonym ‘SU’ + BAR (= out) + TU (to denote directions), meaning “The Su people (who live) outside/on the periphery.”

رشيد، فوزي و جمال رشيد احمد، *تاريخ الكرد القديم*، اربيل، ١٩٩٠، ص. ٤٢.

[Rashid, F. and J. R. Ahmed, *The Ancient History of the Kurds*, Erbil, 1990, p. 42 (in Arabic)]. This remains hypothetical, as long as the form can be explained as an Akkadian feminine form of ‘Suba/ir.’

⁴⁴ The OB geographical list is cited in *MSL* 11, p. 60 lines 22-24. It is actually tempting to consider SU a short form of Subir, comparable to GU or GU^{ki} for Gutium in lists of divine names and mantic texts, and LU for Lullubum. However, there are good reasons to read LÚ.SU (.A) as Šimaški, since Šimaški was written in Drehem (= Puzriš-Dagan) as LÚ.SU (.A), and its Akkadian equivalent *šu/ši-maškim* from LÚ.KUŠ (.A), cf. Steinkeller, P., “On the Identity of the Toponym LÚ.SU(.A),” *JAOS* 108 (1988), p. 198 f. About the forms of the name Guti(um) see below under ‘Gutium.’

⁴⁵ The texts are published by Deimel and Jestin; for references cf. Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 31, note 61.

⁴⁶ Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 26 and 29, note 43.

almost nothing about the Subarian language except for some personal names thought to be in Subarian since they were names of Subarian individuals. The names occurring in the above-mentioned list from Nippur bear three frequent and noticeable Subarian characteristics: the suffixes *-ut* and *-e* and the element *zi*. The final *-e* is seen again in many Shemshāra PNs and some GNs. If this was not a local dialectical influence from Hurrian, spoken there in that time, it might indicate an element of the Subarian language.⁴⁹ That Subarian was known as a distinct language is attested by the text *TuM* NF 3 42 VIII 6-9 (4): “His... [...] does not write in Sumerian; he could write in Subarian.”⁵⁰ Of special significance in this respect are some Old Babylonian incantations written in “Subarian” in an Old Babylonian text (YBC 1836= YOS 11 64).⁵¹ One may assume that it were the Subarians who produced the Ninevite V Culture and were later submerged by the other peoples of the region. As a result their language was degraded until it disappeared before the age of writing. But the name of Subartu survived with a wider, more generalised sense, and their gods continued to be worshipped, as apparent from an Old Assyrian treaty mentioning swearing by the gods of Subartu.⁵²

Awan

Awan appeared together with Elam as early as the middle of the 3rd millennium BC in the SKL.⁵³ Although it is located in the western Zagros, in “the modern provinces of Luristan, Kirmashān, Kurdistan, and Hamadan that extended to the east until Siyalik and probably farther to the north,”⁵⁴ it formed a component land within the Elamite state. It appears to have

⁴⁸ Cf. the reference to 10 Subarian sheep 10 UDU.ĤÁ Šu-ba-ri-i taken from the flocks of Kuwari by Talpuš-šarri in the Shemshāra letter 50 (=SH 813), l. 7 in: Eidem, E. and J. Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives 1, The Letters*, Copenhagen, 2001, p. 120.

⁴⁹ This phenomenon is noticed only in the letters written by the natives, not those written by the scribes of Šamšī-Adad or his son Išme-Dagan. This means that the phenomenon was of a local character. For the names see the letters in Chapter Six.

⁵⁰ x-ni eme-gi₇-ra nu-ub-[sa]r-[r]e eme-su-bir₄^{ki}-a an-da-a[b...-sa]r, Van Dijk, J., “Fremdsprachige Beschwörungstexte in der südmesopotamischen literarischen Überlieferung,” *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, XXV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale - Berlin, 1978, Berlin, 1982, p. 98.

⁵¹ Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 102. The text reads: 1) ši-ir-pa-ar-ki-[?] 2) pu-tu-úr-ni 3) ta-ak-ša-ak-tu-ru-um 3) ta-ak-ši-bu-ru-úh 5) pu-tu-un-ni-iš 6) gu-ug-ni 7) [t]u-pa-ar-ki-ra-b[i] 8) pa-ar-ki-pa-ti-in-du 9) ur-ba-'a-ti-ba-an-za-aḫ-z[i] 10) inim-inim-ma-ne-šâ-ga-kam 11) eme-su-bir₄^{ki}-a. The syllables ..an-za-aḫ.. of l. 9 are identical with the larger part of ‘Aranzaḫ,’ the Hurrian name of the Tigris.

⁵² Eidem, J., “An Old Assyrian Treaty from Tell Leilan,” *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs: études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, Paris, 1991, Col. I, l. 20.

⁵³ Potts, D. T., *The Archaeology of Elam, Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 85.

⁵⁴ Vallat, F., *RGTC* 11, Wiesbaden, 1993, p. CXXII f. To Potts Awan was smaller to fit the Pusht-i-Kuh, cf. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, p. 122. However, at the same time, he points out that the ceramic and metal weapon types known in the Pusht-i-Kuh are parallel to those of the Kangavar Valley, the Diyāla region, the Hamrin basin, Northern Khuzistan and Susiana, and the same is true for the cylinder seals of Bani Surmah. Thus “the demonstration of such links is consistent with the inclusion of this region in that of ancient Awan,” Potts, *op. cit.*, p. 93. According to Scheil, it is possible that the capital city Awan was located close to Susa, as perhaps implied by a geographical allusion of the inscription of Rīmuš, locating Sidgau “between Awan and Susa, by the river Qablītum,” cf. Scheil, V., “Dynasties Élamites d’Awan et de Simaš,” *RA* 28 (1931), No. 1, p. 1; Potts, *op. cit.*, p. 89. This suggestion was shared by Poebel, Goetze, and Miroschedji, cf. Stolper, M. W., “Awan,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. III, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater, London, 1989, p. 114. But Hinz and others proposed the vicinity of Dizfūl: Hinz, “Persia ...,” *CAH* I, part 2, p. 647; Edzard D. O. and G. Farber, *RGTC* 2, Wiesbaden, 1974, p. 20; Edzard, D. O., G. Farber and E. Sollberger, *RGTC* 1, Wiesbaden, 1977, p. 21. Schacht thinks the most likely tell to be identified with the ancient city of Awan would be Tepe Charma, a 4 hectare site between the modern towns of Dizfūl and Andimashk: Schacht, R., Early Historic Cultures, in *Archaeology of Western Iran*, p. 175; Dyson and Carter see it in Tepe Musiyan in the Deh Lurān Plain to the west of the Susiana Plain, but this appeared later to have been Uru’a (= Arawa) not Awan, cf. Schacht, *op. cit.*, p. 175-6. Others state that

been the dynastic seat of the western Iranian state in the Early Dynastic and Akkadian Periods.⁵⁵ A list of 12 kings of Awan was found in Susa composed in the OB Period⁵⁶ but without any indication of the lengths of their reigns. Zadok analysed two of these names as Elamite: ‘Lu-uh-ḫi iš-ša-an,’ who ruled around 2300 BC according to Stolper,⁵⁷ and ‘Ḫi-še-ip ra-te-ip’ or ‘Ḫi-še-ip ra-ši-ni.’⁵⁸ Because these names do not agree with the name of the Awanite king partly preserved in the Sumerian King List (see below), the assumption is that the two lists enumerate two different series of rulers, rather than an extension of the tradition recorded in the Sumerian King List.⁵⁹ In the federal kingdom of Elam the kings of Awan played a prominent role and ruled for several generations. The Old Akkadian inscriptions even make king Luḫiššan, son of Ḫišprašini of Awan, the ruler of Elam.⁶⁰ According to the Sumerian King List three kings ruled Awan after the deluge, but only the beginning of the third name is preserved: ‘Ku-ul-[...]’.⁶¹ He is said to have ruled 36 years. In total 356 years are attributed to the rule of the dynasty of Awan⁶² after it conquered Ur and brought the rule of its first dynasty (founded around 2500 BC by Mesanepada) to an end. After the 356 years of rule by those three kings, the King List records that Awan was attacked by Kiš and its kingship was brought to an end.⁶³ The title ‘King of Awan’ borne by Kutik-Inšušinak⁶⁴ and mentioned two times on the stelae of Susa are the only contemporary occurrences of Awan in the royal titulary from southwestern Iran.⁶⁵ No mention of Awan as a political power has been detected from the Ur III period on, except by Ibbi-Sîn who used the name as a geographical

A-wa-al^{ki} was probably another form of the name of Awan: Scheil, *RA* 28 (1931), p. 1; Goetze, A., “Šakkanakku’s of Ur III,” *JCS* 17 (1963), p. 5, note 46; Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 20. However, later tablets excavated in the Hamrin Basin proved that Aw/bal was located in the Hamrin area, still close to Awan, but distinctive. For Aw/bal, cf. Frayne, D., *The Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names (EDGN)*, American Oriental Series, vol. 74, 1992, p. 56. Frayne identifies Aw/bal with the region round Qara Tepe in the Hamrin region; cf. also Whiting, R. M., “Tiš-atal of Nineveh and Babati, uncle of Šū-Sîn,” *JCS*, 28 (1976), p. 180; Steinkeller, P., Early History of the Hamrin Basin in the Light of Textual Evidence, in *Uch Tepe I Tell Razuk, Tell Ahmed al-Mughir, Tell Ajmat*, ed. by McGuire Gibson, Copenhagen-Chicago, 1981, p. 164.

⁵⁵ Solper, “Awan,” *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁵⁶ Scheil, “Dynasties Élamites ...,” *RA* 28, p. 2-3. The kings according to Frayne’s update are: 1) *Pe-el-li* 2) *Ta-at-ta* 3) *Uk-ku-ta-ḫe-eš* 4) *Ḫi-i-šu-ur* 5) *Šu-šu-un-ta-ra-an* 6) *Na-pi-il-ḫu-uš* 7) *Ki-ik-ku-si-we-te-em-ti* (Frayne cites only these seven names): Frayne, D., *Presargonic Period (2700-2350 BC)*, *RIME* 1, Toronto, 2008, p. 39. This list is very much updated in comparison with that of Scheil, who read the names as: 1) *pi-e(?)-li(?)* 2) *Ta-a-ar(?)* 3) *Uk-ku ta-ḫi-eš* 4) *Ḫi-i-qat-taš* 5) *Šu-šu-un ta-ra-na* 6) *Na-pi-il ḫu-uš* 7) *Ki-ik-ku si-me te-im-ti* 8) *Lu-uh-ḫi iš-ša-an* 9) *Ḫi-še-ip ra-te-ip* 10) *Ḫi-e-lu* 11) *Ḫi-ta-a* 12) *Kutik* (Puzur) ^d*Šušinak* 12 *šarrāni ša A-wa-an*. The third name looks Hurrian, containing the elements *taḫe+š*, preceded probably by the element *uk-/ukk-* or *unk-*, occurring in Nuzi. For the latter element cf. Gelb, I. J., P. M. Purves and A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names (NPN)*, Chicago, 1943, p. 270-1 (also under *ukk*).

⁵⁷ Stolper, “Awan,” p. 113.

⁵⁸ Zadok, R., “Elamite Onomastics,” *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico (SEL)*, 8 (1991), 226; see also: Stolper, M., “Luḫiššan,” *RLA* 7 (1987-1990), Berlin, p. 158. Stolper analysed this name as consisting of the Elamite element *-iššan* which was common in Elamite PNs, preceded by a presumably derived form from the Elamite verb *luḫḫa* (meaning uncertain), cf. *ibid.* These royal names occurred as: *Lu-uh-iš-an* DUMU *Ḫi-si-ib-ra-si-ni* LUGAL NIM^{ki}, Gelb, I. J. and B. Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, *FAOS* 7, Stuttgart, 1990, Sargon C7, V12: 14-17, p. 180; and *Lu-uh-iš-an* DUMU *Ḫi-si-ib-[ra-si]-ni* LUGAL NIM^{ki}, *FAOS* 7, Sargon C13, R16: 32-35, p. 188.

⁵⁹ Stolper, “Awan,” p. 113.

⁶⁰ See the inscription of Sargon of Akkad: 10) *Lu-uh-iš-an* 11) DUMU *Ḫi-si-ib-ra-si-ni* 12) LUGAL 13) NIM^{ki}, “Luḫiššan, son of Ḫisibrasini, king of Elam,” Hirsch, H., “Die Inschriften der Könige von Agade,” *Afo* 20 (1963), p. 47; see also Stolper, “Awan,” p. 113.

⁶¹ Hinz reconstructed this name as ‘Kurriššak,’ cf.: Hinz, “Persia ...,” *CAHI*, part 2, p. 647.

⁶² Jacobsen, Th., *The Sumerian King List (SKL)*, Chicago, 1939, p. 94, l. 8-16.

⁶³ Jacobsen, *SKL*, p. 95-97.

⁶⁴ Probably this king was not an Awanite, but rather from Susa as Potts suggests; his name associates him with Susa and his father was not listed among the kings of Awan: Potts, *The Archaeology...*, p. 122-3.

⁶⁵ Stolper, “Awan,” p. 113.

term.⁶⁶ It is quite possible it was absorbed by the dynasty of S/Šimaški that emerged as a grand power approximately in the same territory as Awan. Efforts have been made to correlate the archaeological material found in Luristan and the Kangavar Valley, particularly Godin III: 6 that is contemporary with the ED II and III in Mesopotamia, with historical Awan.⁶⁷ An attempt has been made to link the Hōrēn-Shēkhān rock-relief in Darband-i-Bēlūle (Fig. 4) to the south of Sulaimaniya with an Awanite conquest in this area, but, as Stolper has stated, the reading of the toponym “Land of Awan (or Aban)” and “the historical context of the inscription are wholly uncertain, and its date is later than that of any other text mentioning Awan.”⁶⁸

Ḥamazi

Ḥamazi was the name of a city and a kingdom that was active from the early Dynastic period until the Isin- Larsa period as one of the powers of our region. It appeared in this period as one of the northern powers that played a role in the history of its own region and even southern Mesopotamia. A certain [P]ù-zu-zu calls himself “conqueror of Ḥamazi” on an inscribed fragment of a stone vessel found in Nippur.⁶⁹ As a kingdom, it was mentioned in the Sumerian King List and associated with King Ḥat/daniš, who apparently was the one who attacked Kiš. The list reports that Ḥamazi smote Kiš and took its kingship to Ḥamazi for 360 years,⁷⁰ until it was defeated by En-šakuš-ann(k) of Uruk.⁷¹ It has been stated that En-šakuš-anna(k) lived one generation or about 40 years before Sargon of Akkad.⁷² Southern

⁶⁶ Stolper, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁶⁷ Potts, *op. cit.*, p. 92. Henrickson suggested that the Godin III assemblage of Luristan represents the material correlate of Šimaški: *ibid.* Šimaški is of a later date and seems to have been located in almost the same geographical area. This poses some problems, but it is not impossible that the two have been neighbouring lands, Awan had become known earlier than Šimaški due to its early interference in Mesopotamian affairs. This is conjectural and the geographical identifications might change as well.

⁶⁸ Stolper, “Awan,” p. 113. Note that the GN occurring in the inscription is read ‘Aban’ and its identification with Awan is conjectural. Diakonoff does not rule out ‘Zaban’ even: .۱۷۹. ل. ۱۹۷۸، به‌عنوان، میدیا، می‌تواند، [Diakonoff, I. M., Media, Baghdad, 1978, p. 179 (in Kurdish, originally published as: ‘History of Media’ in Russian)]. For a later edition of the inscription cf. Farber, W., “Zur Datierung der Felsinschrift von Šaiḥ-Ḥān,” *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 8 (1975), p. 48. Although the artistic characteristics of the relief seems to me earlier, the orthography of the inscription dates it to the OB or even to the MB Period; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁶⁹ Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS* 7, vp 11 (Nippur 2), p. 32. This fragmentary inscription was wrongly pieced together with another fragment bearing the name of Uḥub of Kiš and the god Zababa; hence the inscription was attributed to Uḥub, the ruler of Kiš. Cooper showed that the pieces are from two different vases. This means that Uḥub was not the vanquisher of Ḥamazi, at least in this case: Cooper, J. S., “Studies in Mesopotamian Lapidary Inscriptions. III,” *Iraq* 46 (1984), p. 92-3, and plate Va. The vase fragment appears now to have been belonged to the spoils of Ḥamazi and was donated to one of the deities of Nippur, cf.: Steinkeller, “The Historical Background...,” p. 80, note 19. The variously spelled name Puzuzu is common in the PNs from northern Babylonia, Diyāla and Gasur, cf. *ibid.* with bibliography; cf. also Frayne, *RIME* 1, p. 47. As for the name Uḥub, it was read before as Ú.tug/k, cf.: Thureau-Dangin, F., *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 160: 1.

⁷⁰ Jacobsen discussed the possibility of 360 or 6 years in Jacobsen, *SKL*, p. 98-99 and notes 168; 170; 171 and 172. However, Frayne points to the Weld Blundell Prism exemplar that attributes him a reign of 360 (6 šu-ši) years, Frayne, *RIME* 1, p. 47.

⁷¹ This king of Uruk captured Enbi-Ištar of Kiš as well, cf. Gadd, C. J., “The cities of Babylonia,” *CAH* I, part 2, Cambridge, 1971, p. 114.

⁷² Bauer, J., R. K. Englund and M. Krebernik, Mesopotamien- Späturuk Zeit und frühdynastische Zeit, Annäherungen 1, Herausgegeben von P. Attinger- M. Wäfler, *OBO* 160/1, Göttingen, 1998, p. 480; Veenhof gives the more general date of 2500-2350 BC: Veenhof, K. R., Geschichte des Alten Orients bis zur Zeit Alexanders des Großen, *Grundriss zum Alten Testament* 11, Göttingen, 2001, table II. According to Gadd, En-šakuš-anna(k) was king of the second dynasty of Uruk and Enbi-Ištar was king of the second Kiš dynasty, and this chronologically leaves no room for the dynasty of Ḥamazi between them, cf. Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

Mesopotamia may have been subject to the rule of Ḫamazi for a certain time because its dynasty is listed in the Sumerian King List.⁷³

The name of Ḫat/daniš occurs in the An = ^dA-nu-um list preceded by the divinity determinative.⁷⁴ Jacobsen's explanation was that he was introduced to the Sumerian pantheon as an 'UTUK' (=ghost or demon?) because he was worshipped as a sacred ghost in the Ekur of Nippur since he had seemingly put a statue of himself there.⁷⁵ Erecting his statue in the Ekur "would seem to imply that Ḫat/daniš actually possessed Nippur" for a certain time.⁷⁶ It is noteworthy that the PN 'Ur-^dḪa-ma-zi' found in a pre-Sargonic tablet from Lagaš (Sollberger, CT 50, no. 26, col. ii, l. 3) bears the name of this GN.⁷⁷

Ḫamazi appears to have been an important city, thought to have been the capital city of Subartu Proper.⁷⁸ It was sometimes a conquered territory⁷⁹ or a target for military operations and sometimes an independent kingdom. As for its location, different suggestions have been presented based on textual evidence. There is nothing to support the west of the Tigris, but rather we should think of the eastern side, not far from Gasur.⁸⁰ According to Frayne it should be located at Kani Guwēz (written Jowez), ca. 10 km southeast of Halabja.⁸¹ Others think it was deep in the mountains of northwest Iran.⁸² This would make it more difficult for Ebla to have diplomatic relations with it, for the archives of Ebla confirm that the two kingdoms had such relations. It has been proposed that, although Ḫamazi was not mentioned any more in the sources of the second millennium BC, it continued under another name. Steinkeller suggested Ekallātum or Qab(a)rā as the foremost candidates.⁸³ This would mean a westerly location for Ḫamazi, contrary to previous suggestions, and contradicting even Steinkeller's own identification of Ḫamazi as a neighbour of Elam and Karḫar.⁸⁴ Although this cannot be proved at present, Ḫamazi seems to have been a city in the mountains rather than a city in the plains. This is suggested by the fact that it occurs between some GNs known to have been

⁷³ Cf. for instance Pettinato, G., *The Archives of Ebla, An Empire Inscribed in Clay*, New York, 1981, p. 107.

⁷⁴ For this see Litke, R. L., *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists*, New Haven, 1998, tablet I, 189, p. 42.

⁷⁵ Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 98, note 168.

⁷⁶ Steinkeller, P., "The Historical Background . . .," p. 80, note 18.

⁷⁷ Frayne, *RIME* 1, p. 47 (referring to Selz, *Untersuchungen*, p. 139).

⁷⁸ Steinkeller, *op. cit.*, p. 79-80; 84.

⁷⁹ Like: "Arad-Nanna, *ensi* of Ḫamazi and Karḫar," cf. Edzard, D. O., "Ḫamazi," *RIA*, Band 4, Berlin, (1972-75), p. 70.

⁸⁰ Bonechi, M., *RGTC* 12/1, Wiesbaden, 1993, p. 174; Vallat, *RGTC* 11, p. 76; Edzard, "Ḫamazi," *op. cit.*, p. 70. Ḫamazi occurs in some Gasur texts in association with payments (143:15; 153 III 25; 154 II 10; 155 V 8), cf. Meek, Th. J., *Old Akkadian, Sumerian and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi, Excavations at Nuzi*, vol. III, HSS X, Harvard, 1935.

⁸¹ Frayne, D., *RIME* 1, p. 47.

⁸² Pettinato, G., *Ebla, A New Look at History*, (translated from Italian), London, 1991, p. 62 and the maps on pages 4; 63 and others; Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla*, p. 6; 96 and *passim*. It looks very unlikely that Ḫamazi, a city close to the Mesopotamian sphere, involved in its wars, politics and its dynasty, mentioned in the Sumerian King List, would have been so far from Mesopotamia as the very northwest Iran. A similar allusion was made by Astour in Astour, M. C., "Semites and Hurrians in Northern Transtigris," *SCCNH* vol. 2, Bethesda, 1987, p. 8. He stated that the Ḫamazi mentioned in the famous diplomatic letter from Ebla archives is another site in the middle of North Mesopotamia, not that of the Transtigris, but without giving good reasons for his suggestion: Astour, M., "Reconstruction of the History of Ebla (part 2)," *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language*, vol. 4, eds. Gordon C. H. and G. A. Rendsburg, Indiana, 2002, 129-130, note 477.

⁸³ Steinkeller, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Ekallātum might be located in modern Haikal on the east bank of the Tigris, north of Assur, and Qab(a)rā somewhere between the two Zābs, probably closer to the Lower Zāb. For these identifications cf. *ibid.* and Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 165-6, also Chapter Six of this work. However, recent studies put Ekallātum on the western bank of the river, to the north of Assur; cf. Ziegler, N., "Le royaume d'Ekallātum et son horizon géopolitique," *Florilegium Marianum (FM)* IV, Paris, 2002, p. 227, in this case, it would be impossible to equate Ekallātum with Ḫamazi.

⁸⁴ Steinkeller, *op. cit.*, p. 79, note 16c and p. 83.

mountainous in some geographical lists. These may be a corresponding clue to its location. Some examples are “between and Gutium,” “between *Tu-lu-um*^{ki} and *Kar-gú-du₈-a*^{ki},” and “between Marḥaši and Elam.”⁸⁵ Its northerly location is confirmed by some Ur III letters that point to Ḥamazi as the farthest northerly quarter under the control of the kingdom, as Magan was its farthest southerly one.⁸⁶ The observation of Steinkeller that Ḥamazi could be reached by waterways as the text PDT 1 454 states is very important.⁸⁷ The text concerns the delivery of provisions of the journey of Tabur-ḥaṭṭum, the daughter-in-law of Ur-Iškur, governor of Ḥamazi, on her journey to that city. But the text does not make it clear how far the river was navigable or whether part of the journey was on land. It is tempting in this regard to compare the modern village of ‘Ḥamze’ on the northwestern side of Mount Azmar, a few kilometres to the north of Sulaimania, with old Ḥamazi.⁸⁸ The name of this modern village has no clear etymology in the modern languages of the region and makes one to think about old Ḥamazi. One of the variants of Ḥamazi in the textual material is *Ḥa-àm-zī*^{ki} and “*Ḥe*”-*mi-zī*^{ki},⁸⁹ which is still closer to the modern name, especially the first form. However, one difficulty in this identification is that the modern village is located on a steep mountainside, a rather difficult location to have been the right location of a large urban centre in antiquity. Perhaps ancient Ḥamazi was somewhere close to this village of which the name evokes the memory of the old town. The location suggested by Jacobsen for Ḥamazi near Sulaimaniya would support this proposal.⁹⁰

Apart from a few individuals linked to Ḥamazi, we do not know much about its people and their language. The personal names of these individuals are not necessarily those of Ḥamazite citizens but rather of governors installed by the kings of Ur. Some names were Sumerian, such as Ur-Iškur (*JCS* 14, 102: 9; *PDT* 449, 4; 454, 4; St. Langdon Drehem 53, 5),⁹¹ Arad-Nanna (*SAK* 150, 22a II 5);⁹² Lu-Nanna son of Namḥani, *ensis* of Ḥamazi in Ur III.⁹³ Akkadian names occurred as well, such as Šu-Ištar from the Oakk. texts of Gasur (HSS 10, 143, 15; 154 II 9-10; 155 II 7-8)⁹⁴ and the local name ‘Ititi.’⁹⁵ This is not surprising since there was great Sumerian and particularly Akkadian influence in this region and even in Iran since very early times. But other persons associated with Ḥamazi bear names typical of what Gelb calls ‘banana language,’ with two final reduplicated syllables, or only with two reduplicated syllables,⁹⁶ such as the king of Ḥamazi named Zizi, or the man named Ititi.⁹⁷ The

⁸⁵ Edzard, *RIA*, p. 70.

⁸⁶ For some of these texts cf. Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p.254; 264 (line 10); McEwan, G., “Notes Brèves,” *RA* 75 (1981), p. 191; Römer, W. H. Ph., “Brieven van en aan Ibbisuen van Ur,” *Zij Schreven Geschiedenis*, Leuven, 2003, p. 35.

⁸⁷ Steinkeller, “The Historical...,” p. 79, note 16b. The text runs as follows: 10 udu ú 10 máš-gal ú Tá-bur-PA-tum é-gi₄-a Ur-^{dr}Iškur^r ud Ḥa-ma-zé^{ki}-šè i-gin-na-a má-a ba-na-a-gub, “10 grass-fed sheep, 10 grass-fed full-grown he-goats for Tabūr-ḥaṭṭum, the daughter-in-law of Ur-Iškur, when she went to Ḥamazi, he placed (lit. made them stand) on a ship to her;” transliteration from Steinkeller, *ibid*. Note that he reads DA instead of TÁ in the name Tabūr ḥaṭṭum. Thanks go to Th. Krispijn for checking the translation.

⁸⁸ The first one who pointed out this similarity between the two names was Rashid in an article published in a local cultural magazine in Iraq in the middle of the eighties, to which I have no access at the moment.

⁸⁹ Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 72.

⁹⁰ Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, p. 98 note 166; cf. also Potts, *Mesopotamia and the East*: “Perhaps located in the mountains east of Kirkuk,” p. 92.

⁹¹ Langdon, S. H., *Tablets from the Archives of Drehem*, Paris, 1911, No. 53; Hallo, W. W., “A Sumerian Amphictyony,” *JCS* 14 (1960), 109: 9, 5; see also Edzard, “Ḥamazi,” *RIA* 4, p. 70.

⁹² See Edzard, *ibid*.

⁹³ See Edzard, *ibid*.

⁹⁴ Edzard, *RIA*, p. 70; 71. In the case of governors’ names, like Arad-Nanna and Lu-Nanna, they might have been foreigners installed by the kings of Ur III, for example, and not necessarily aborigines.

⁹⁵ Edzard, *ibid*.

⁹⁶ About this language see below.

⁹⁷ Edzard, Farber and Sollberger, *RGTC* 1, p. 69.

‘Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta’ epic makes an allusion to the language spoken in Ḫamazi, but in a somewhat confusing context that has led to different interpretations. The text states: “u₄-ba kur Šubur[^{ki} Ḫa]-ma-zi^{ki} eme-ḫa-mun ki-en-gi....;” this was interpreted as “Šubur, Ḫamazi, (peoples of) contrasting tongues, ...;”⁹⁸ but according to Jacobsen,⁹⁹ Kramer,¹⁰⁰ Vanstiphout¹⁰¹ and Mittermayer¹⁰² eme-ḫa-mun is attached to ki-en-gi, not Šubur and Ḫamazi. Then the translation would be “Bilingual Sumer.”¹⁰³ However, if the text is to be translated, “At that time Subartu and Ḫamazi (spoke) a different language from Sumer,” it could mean that the Subarian language, of which very little is known, was spoken in Ḫamazi. Otherwise, according to the translation of Jacobsen, bilingual Sumer side by side with Šubur and Ḫamazi, distinguishes between the languages spoken in the two latter lands. Of course, further questions arise about the language of Ḫamazi, about whether it was a language/dialect affiliated to those of the Lullubians or the Gutians, or, less probably, quite distinct. These questions can not be answered for the moment and the answers remain speculations.

Of special significance is the allusion made to a Ḫamazian magician in the *Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdana* text.¹⁰⁴ In this text the magician had moved to Aratta after the destruction of Ḫamazi, and was employed by his new lord, the ruler of Aratta against Enmerkar. We cannot determine which episode of destruction is meant here. The text reads:

The magician whose skill was that of a Ḫamazite, ‘Urgirnuna,’ whose skill was that of a Ḫamazite; after Ḫamazi had been destroyed, he moved over to Aratta.¹⁰⁵

An important diplomatic letter from Irkab-Damu (around 2320 BC),¹⁰⁶ king of Ebla, to Zizi, king of Ḫamazi, has been given special attention by many scholars. It was considered by some as the only example of international royal correspondence before the Old Babylonian Period.¹⁰⁷ The letter, preserved as a copy, seems to have been made for the royal archive and was sent to Zizi through his ambassador in Ebla asking him for soldiers¹⁰⁸ and speaking of brotherhood and gifts exchanged:¹⁰⁹

Thus, Ibbu, the superintendent of the palace of the king, to the messenger, <listen>: You (are my) brother and I (am your) brother; (to

⁹⁸ *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (CAD)*, vol. M II, p. 137 under mithur̄ti. For the Sumerian text and translation, cf. Cohen, S., *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (Ph. D. Dissertation: University of Pennsylvania), Pennsylvania, 1973.

⁹⁹ Jacobsen, Th., *The Harps that once....*, New Haven, 1987, p. 289; see also Edzard, D. O., *Die »Zweite Zwischenzeit« Babylonien (ZZB)*, Wiesbaden, 1957, p. 31 and note 130.

¹⁰⁰ Kramer, S. N., *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, A Sumerian Epic Tale of Iraq and Iran*, Philadelphia, 1952, p. 14 and 15. Kramer has “many-tongued.”

¹⁰¹ Vanstiphout, H., *Epics of Sumerian Kings, The Matter of Aratta*, Atlanta, 2003, p. 64 and 65.

¹⁰² Mittermayer, C., *Enmerkara und der Herr von Arata, Ein ungleicher Wettstreit*, Göttingen, 2009, p. 122 and 123.

¹⁰³ Mittermayer translates it as “to each other translatable,” *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Published by A. Berlin. For the reference cf. Steinkeller, p. 82, note 29.

¹⁰⁵ Steinkeller, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

¹⁰⁶ Astour, M., “Reconstruction of the History of Ebla (part 2),” *op. cit.*, p. 77.

¹⁰⁷ Steinkeller, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹⁰⁸ Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla....*, p. 98; 161. But Astour does not agree with the translation ‘soldiers’ and prefers ‘hybrids of onagers and donkeys’: Astour, *op. cit.*, p. 129-130, note 477. Also Walker thinks it is some kind of animal, not soldiers, cf. Walker, M. F., *The Tigris Frontier from Sargon to Hammurabi - A Philologic and Historical Synthesis*, (Dissertation: Yale University), Yale, 1985, p. 18.

¹⁰⁹ A study on the form and significance of the letter is made by Shea: Shea W. H., “The Form and Significance of the Eblaite Letter to Ḫamazi,” *Oriens Antiquus*, vol. XXIII (1984), pp. 143-158.

you) man-brother, whatever desire issuing from your mouth I will grant and you the desire issuing (from my mouth) grant: send me good soldiers, I pray: You (are in fact my) brother. 10 pieces of wooden furniture, 2 knickknacks, I, Ibubu, have given to the messenger. Irkab-Damu, king of Ebla (is) brother of Zizi, king of Ḥamazi; Zizi, king of Ḥamazi, (is) brother of Irkab-Damu, king of Ebla. And thus Tira-il, the scribe has written (and) to the messenger of Zizi has given (the letter).¹¹⁰

The historical significance of this letter has several points. It reveals the position that a mountainous kingdom like Ḥamazi could enjoy at that time, as indicated by Irkab-Damu addressing its king as his ‘brother.’ It probably had a military and political pact with a remote kingdom such as Ebla, perhaps to confront the aggressive policy of Kiš or Mari. Moreover, the discovery of similar or almost identical lists of professions in Gasur and Ebla implies cultural contacts between the two.¹¹¹ The commercial relations that Ebla had with Erbil, Kakmum and Gasur¹¹² make it very possible that they also had such contacts with nearby Ḥamazi. The tight political, economic and cultural relations between the Transtigris and (northern) Syria documented in the later periods, particularly in the Mari period, present a good model of how relations could have been made in the Ebla period.¹¹³ These facts also confirm that this was the Ḥamazi indicated in the letter, not another one as supposed by some scholars.¹¹⁴

Gasur

Gasur was the city under the ruins of Nuzi, a chronological but not a cultural predecessor of Nuzi, since the cultural and ethnic contrast between the two is obvious.¹¹⁵

The older layers beneath the Nuzi occupation level have yielded structures datable to the third millennium BC.¹¹⁶ A significant collection of clay tablets (about 500)¹¹⁷ is scattered

¹¹⁰ Obv. I 1) *en-ma-ma* 2) *I-bù-bu*₆ 3) *agrig* 4) *é* 5) en 6) *li-ma* 7) *sukkal-du*₈ <*ši-má*> 8) *an-tá* 9) *šeš* 10) *ù* II 1) *an-na* 2) *šeš* 3) *lú-šeš* 4) *mi-nu-ma* 5) *al-du*₁₁-*ga* 6) *ši* 7) *ka* 8) *an-na* 9) *in-na-sum* 10) *ù* III 1) *an-tá* 2) *al-du*₁₁-*ga* 3) *ši* 4) *i-na-sum* 5) *bar-an-ša*₆ 6) *ḥi-mu-túm* 7) *an-tá* 8) *šeš* 9) *ù* 10) *an-na* 11) *šeš* IV 1) 10 ^{giš}ÉŠ 2) 2 ^{giš}ašud-^{giš}ÉŠ 3) *I-bù-bu*₆ 4) *in-na-sum* 5) *sukkal-du*₈ 6) *Ír-kab-da-mu* 7) en 8) *Eb-la*^{ki} 9) *šeš* 10) *Zi-zi* V 1) en 2) *Ḥa-ma-zi-im*^{ki} 3) *Zi-zi* 4) en 5) *Ḥa-ma-zi-im*^{ki} 6) *šeš* 7) *Ír-kab-da-mu* 8) en VI 1) *Eb-la*^{ki} 2) *ù* 3) *en-ma* 4) *ti-ra-li* 5) *dub-sar* 6) [*i*]k-*túb* 7) *li-na* 8) *sukkal-du*₈ 9) (*Zi-zi*) Rev. I 1) *i-na-sum*. Transcription and translation from Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla*, p. 97-98.

¹¹¹ Pettinato, *The Archives.....*, p. 240.

¹¹² Pettinato, *Ebla, A new.....*, p. 161. For some examples over Kakmum, cf. Walker, *op. cit.*, and p. 13-14. It is worth mentioning here that a tablet from Gasur, now in the Erbil Archaeological Museum, refers to the transport of donkeys between Gasur and Tuttul (personal communication of W. Van Soldt).

¹¹³ For the relations between the two regions, cf. Chapters Four and Six. I would call attention to the examples of Tukriš with Mari, or the Turukkians with the Habur area.

¹¹⁴ Astour agreed to identify Ḥamazi with the one mentioned in the Ebla letter: Astour, M., “Semites and Hurrians ...”, *SCCNH*. 2, p. 8; but he changed his opinion in a later article without presenting any proof or convincing arguments stating that this Ḥamazi was another one in central northern Syria, not the one in the east Tigris region: cf. above, note 82. Frayne too, referring to Astour, sees it extremely unlikely to identify Ḥamazi with the Transtigridian one, rather with Qal’ at Ḥoms: Frayne, *RIME* 1, p. 47-8.

¹¹⁵ Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi*, *op. cit.*, p. ix.

¹¹⁶ A temple dedicated to Ištar, older than the Akkad Period, i.e. from the Early Dynastic Period, had existed there, cf. Lloyd, S., *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia from the Old Stone Age to the Persian Conquest*, London, 1978, p. 147.

¹¹⁷ The tablets were found in the shaft dug in the palace area, room L 4 of the Nuzi occupation. They come from P. II A (one tablet + four in the next season); P. IV (two tablets); room S 151 (three tablets) and the rest, i.e. tablets 1-222 were found between P. III and P. IV and P. V and one tablet from P. VII, cf. Meek, *op. cit.*, p. vii-viii.

through 1.27m of occupational layers here and forms one single collection.¹¹⁸ Its date according to Foster is the time of Narām-Sîn or later.¹¹⁹ The collection contains personal names of great importance, since they reflect the ethnic background, demographic structure and contacts of the city with the surrounding areas. Most of the PNs are Semitic; a very small number are Sumerian and another number neither Semitic or Sumerian. Foster states that 4% are Sumerian, 72% Akkadian, 16% reduplicated, and 8% unassigned from 1242 in total.¹²⁰ The dominance of Semitic led Meek to suggest that the basic population of the city was Semitic even with a slight west-Semitic influence.¹²¹ He suggested that the Akkadians dominated the Sumerian population of the city in the Akkadian Period.¹²² But it seems unlikely that the Sumerians were ever a dominant ethnic group in Gasur, for this region was not part of the Sumerian homeland. It is more likely that the region had an aboriginal population under Sumerian then later Akkadian cultural and linguistic influence, noticeable mostly in PNs. Such an influence is apparent not only here but in the whole of Mesopotamia and large parts of modern Syria. The large number of Semitic names in Gasur can be explained by the presence of Akkadians in the city, such as the Akkadian garrison stationed there in the Akkadian Period.¹²³ Another possibility is that these foreign individuals were businessmen involved in the economic and agricultural activities of the palace, the city and its surroundings. As a result, their names were attested more often than those of local individuals, even though as foreigners they were a minority.

Turning to the reduplicated personal names, Meek noted that almost one-fifth of all PNs are of this kind, similar to those in documents in Sumer and known as Subarian¹²⁴ and those from Ḥamazi. Some examples from Gasur are ‘Ababa,’ ‘Abubu,’ ‘Aḥaḥa,’ ‘Aḥuḥu,’ ‘Belili,’ and ‘Ititi.’ The oldest governor of Assur was also called ‘Ititi’ son of ‘Iakulaba.’¹²⁵ This Ititi of Assur left an inscription in which he states that he had dedicated something from the booty of Gasur to the goddess Ištar.¹²⁶ Reduplicated names in Gasur are not restricted to PNs but include divine names such as Dada,¹²⁷ Dudu, Mama, Mumu, Kuku, Nana, Zuzu, Bubu and Baba, which become theophoric elements in many reduplicated PNs.¹²⁸ Meek also noted that this kind of name prevailed in the mountainous regions of the north and northeast (i.e. the Transtigris) and even in Elamite and Cappadocian documents, but disappeared after the Ur III Period.¹²⁹ A votive sword found in the vicinity of Diyarbakir bears an inscription with the name of the dedicator, a certain Luluanum, son of Azizum, which are reduplicated names

¹¹⁸ Meek, *op. cit.*, p. viii. For the description of the tablets, their dimensions, shapes, script and language cf. pp. viii-ix.

¹¹⁹ Foster, B., “Ethnicity and Onomastics in Sargonic Mesopotamia,” *Or* 20 (1982), p. 301; Foster, B., “Administration of State Land at Sargonic Gasur,” *OA* 20 (1982), p. 39, this dating is unlike the dating proposed by Meek previously, who dated it to the early Akkadian Period, cf. *ibid.*, note 21.

¹²⁰ Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

¹²¹ Meek, *op. cit.*, p. xiv.

¹²² *Op. cit.*, p. xiii.

¹²³ Since the city appears to have been under the direct rule of the Akkadian kings as proposed by Westenholz: Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 64 (with bibliography and references), one expects then the presence of an Akkadian garrison.

¹²⁴ For examples cf. Gelb, *HS*, p. 20; 40.

¹²⁵ Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 109. See his inscription in Grayson, A. K., *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennium BC (to 1115 BC)*, *RIMA* 1, Toronto, 1987, p. 7 (A.0.1001, No. 1).

¹²⁶ Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 7 (A.0.1001, No. 1). It is noteworthy that the only two attestations of Gasur outside the texts of Gasur itself are this royal inscription of Ititi and another text published in *RA* by Meek: Meek, T. J., “Note on the Early Texts from Nuzi,” *RA* 34 (1937), p. 65.

¹²⁷ But see Foster: Foster, *Or* 20, p. 302, who noted that Baba as PN occurs in Sumer much more than in the north.

¹²⁸ Meek, *op. cit.*, p. xiii.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

having parallels in Nuzi and Cappadocia.¹³⁰ Landsberger also noted that these reduplicated names were widespread in Mesopotamia in the Oakk. period, but disappeared in the south during the Ur III period, while persisting for a longer time in Elam and Assyria.¹³¹ But Landsberger considers them as hypocoristic forms of normal names (such as Aḫaḫa for Aḫam-arši).¹³² Others, such as Edzard, Gelb, and Meek himself, think these names are Semitic.¹³³ Foster notes that reduplicated names “tend to occur in families with other reduplicated names or in families whose language of name-giving is that predominating in the region,”¹³⁴ implying that they belong to a language family independent of Semitic or Sumerian. Lewy considers the bearers of reduplicated names to be the substratum,¹³⁵ which seems to fit the case best. I would add that the substratum was in all probability Subarian, but the question is whether the reduplicated PNs in the Cappadocian documents mean that Subartu ever extended to Central Anatolia.¹³⁶ However it remains possible to suppose that this whole area at that time followed one cultural harmonious, if not ethno-linguistic, pattern.

Gutium

Gutium was mentioned together with Subartu by ‘Lugalanemundu,’ king of Adab as one of his subject lands: “The *sukkal-maḫ* of the Cedar Mountains, Elam, Marḫaši, Gutium, Subir, the Martu and Sutium.”¹³⁷ Although the text is an OB copy this is the oldest occurrence of Gutium in written sources that date to the Early Dynastic Period.¹³⁸ The Gutians were also mentioned in texts from Adab and Umma, cities that were seemingly closer to the Gutian land

¹³⁰ Güterbock, H. G., “A Votive Sword with Old Assyrian Inscription,” *Studies in Honour of B. Landsberger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, eds. H. Güterbock and Th. Jacobsen, Chicago, 1965, p. 197.

¹³¹ Landsberger, B., “Über die Völker Vorderasiens im dritten Jahrtausend,” *ZA* 35 (1 Neue Folge) (1924), p. 220.

¹³² *Ibid.* While this can be true for the Akkadian names occurring in the south Mesopotamian inscriptions, the non-Akkadian names need more consideration, especially those stemming from outside Semitic-populated regions. These were in other languages and accordingly other grammatical rules should be applied for the building of such forms. However, Landsberger did not make such a distinction between the two types of this rubric. The point here is that to him these names are forms derived from other original nouns, not names by themselves. The distinction Landsberger makes is between the PNs from Kaniš. There he distinguishes the ‘Assyrian names’ from the foreigners’ ‘short names,’ Landsberger, *ibid.*

¹³³ Edzard, *ZZB*, p. 7 and 13; Gelb, *Fieldiana* 44/2 (1955), p. 325; Meek, *RA* 34 (1937), p. 55 (all referred to by Foster, *ibid.*).

¹³⁴ Foster, *ibid.*

¹³⁵ Lewy, J., “Lykier-Syrer und Choriter-Syrer,” *ZA* 35 (1924), p. 146f.

¹³⁶ It is noteworthy that such names are found in south Mesopotamia too in small numbers, like the DNs Baba of Lagaš, Zababa (Frayne, *RIME* 1, p. 63 (E1. 7.42, l. 1), Zazari (*RIME* 1, p. 267 (E1.9.9.2, ii l. 11); and PNs like Dada, *ensi* of Nippur and another one *ensi* of Šurupak (Barton, G. A., *RISA*, London, 1929, pp. 10; 368), Elulu, a king of Akkad (*SKL*, p. 114) and another king of Ur (*SKL*, p. 94; *RIME* 1, p. 407 (E1.13.9)), Igigi king of Akkad (*SKL*, p. 112), Dudu, father of Šud/turul of Akkad (*SKL*, p. 114), Bilala (*RIME* 1, p. 92 (E1.9.1.6b, iv l. 2)); Balulu, king of Ur (*SKL*, p. 94; *RIME* 1, p. 407 (E1.13.9)); Elili, father of En-šakuš-ana (*RIME* 1, p. 432 (E1.14.17.3, l. 5)); Zuzu, king of Akšak (*RIME* 1, p. 148 (E1.9.3.5, v l. 4)); Puzuzu, father of Uḫub the prince of Kiš (not Akkadian? See about this name above. Note that Frayne reads [P]ù-sú.sú as ‘Pussussu.’ *RIME* 1, p. 442 (E1.15.1.1, l. 1) referring to Römer, *Or* 57 (1988), p. 224-5, who thinks the name comes from the verb *pasāsu* ‘to break, cancel, annul, smash, obliterate.’ Cf. *CAD*, vol. P, p. 218 ff), and others. But more interesting is the name of the Cedar Forest guardian in the Epic of Gilgameš whose name is Ḫumbaba or Ḫuwawa, a typical reduplicated (Subarian ?) name, keeping in mind that the cedar forests were thought to have existed, at least at this time, in the northeastern mountains of the Transtigris (see above). A suggestion presented by Hansman that the foray of Gilgameš against Ḫumbaba took the direction of the east, against Elam, to the land of Utu, the sun-god to bring timber: Hansman, “Gilgamesh, Humbaba . . .,” *Iraq* 38 (1976), p. 27 and 30.

¹³⁷ *sukkal-maḫ* kur^{ḡis} eren-na Elama^{ki} Mar-[ḫa-ši^{ki} Gu-ti-um^{ki} Su-bir-⁴ki] MAR.TU Su-ti-u[m^{ki}], cf. Edzard, *ZZB*, p. 32.

¹³⁸ Hallo, W. W., “Gutium,” *RIA* 3, Berlin, 1957-1971, p. 709.

or at least to the area dominated by the Gutians during their rule in southern Mesopotamia. They settled in such considerable numbers there that the local administrator installed a professional interpreter of Gutian for them.¹³⁹

The name ‘Guti’ is attested in different forms and with different logograms in the ancient written sources,¹⁴⁰ especially for the first syllable, which can be read as *Gu-*, *Ku-* or *Qu-*. In some inscriptions *-b-* is inserted to make the name *Gu-te-bu-um*. Such a *-b-* is found as well in the ethnic name of the Lulleans/ Lullubians ‘*Lullubi*.’ It might be linked to the Elamite plural suffix *-p*¹⁴¹ and show a link between these languages. The form ‘*Quti*’ (without inserted *b/p*) occurs in the Shemshāra tablets,¹⁴² the Mari letters¹⁴³ and Middle and Neo-Assyrian inscriptions. This leads to the assumption that the Hurrian scribes of Shemshāra and Nuzi were familiar with the Lullean and Gutian languages and knew that the *-b/p* was a suffix, not part of the name, and so did not write it. By contrast, Sumerian and Babylonian scribes simply wrote the whole word as they heard it. The name Gutium was written in some MB texts with the logograms GÚ.DU₈.A^{ki}, which was used also for the name of the city of Kutha.¹⁴⁴ This may count for more than scribal variation and imply a historical link between the Gutian presence in Babylonia and this city.

Location

The location of Gutium is hard to determine. On the one hand, its frontiers were not clear to Mesopotamian scribes, as for other mountainous lands, perhaps because of presumed seasonal migrations. On the other hand, such domains expanded and shrunk according to the power of their rulers. Turning again cautiously to the ‘Geography of Sargon,’ Gutium extended from ‘Abul-Adad’ to ‘Ḫallaba.’¹⁴⁵ While Ḫallaba cannot be located, some attempts to locate Abul-Adad have been made. It is thought it was the same as ‘Abullāt’ used for Mount Kimaš, but it is not to be confused with the Elamite Kimaš mentioned in later texts.¹⁴⁶ Gudea of Lagaš mined copper there, and perhaps the city was also known by the mountain name Kimaš, and was located probably between Āwa Spi River (south of Kirkuk) and modern Dāqūq, in the large mound of ‘Quš Tepe.’¹⁴⁷ The same text of Sargon refers to Abul-Adad also as the boundary of the land of Akkad, so it means that Gutium and Akkad were neighbours, although this boundary line of Akkad proper near Dāqūq seems too far north and probably refers to the empirical territories. The southern border of Gutium was identified by an inscription of Samsuiluna at Elam and its northern border at ‘*Ida-maraz/š*.’¹⁴⁸ This

¹³⁹ Westenholz, *OBO* p. 94, referring to *OIP* XIV 83 (published by Zhi Yang, see Chapter Three).

¹⁴⁰ For these forms see Hallo, W. W., “New Light on the Gutians,” *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia*, *RAI* 48, Papers read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 1-4 July 2002, ed. W. van Soldt, Leiden, 2005, p. 148-149; cf.: Hallo, “Gutium,” *RIA* 3, p. 709.

¹⁴¹ Such a suggestion was presented already by Lewy in the above-mentioned article in *ZA* 35 (1924).

¹⁴² Cf. for instance: Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives I*, 11: 4; 19: 15; 26:11.

¹⁴³ Cf. for instance the letters *ARM* 26, 316: 5', 18'; 328: 59; 330: 4, 5, 1', 8'; 338: 2'; 483: 36; 489: 34, 43, 45; 491: 28, 30, 32; 525: 27, 31 in Charpin, D., F. Joannès, S. Lackenbacher and B. Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, Paris, 1988.

¹⁴⁴ *MSL* II, 43, I, 9 (MB Ugarit) and in a MB copy of an astrological tablet (BM 121034: 26), cf. Edzard, D. O. and M. Gallery, “Kutha,” *RIA* 6 (1980-1983), p. 385.

¹⁴⁵ Grayson, *AfO* 25, p. 59, l. 15. It should be noted that, according to Weidner, Gutium in this text indicates the Zagros Mountains in the middle Diyāla region: Weidner, *AfO* 16, p. 14.

¹⁴⁶ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 159-161.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* and Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 90.

¹⁴⁸ Poebel, A., “Eine sumerische Inschrift Samsuilunas über die Eroberung der Festung Dur-Samsuiluna,” *AfO* 9 (1933-34), p. 243; Frayne, D., *The Old Babylonian Period*, *RIME* 4, Toronto, 1990, p. 389-90 (text no. E4.3.7.8). The inscription of Samsuiluna reads: 3') [LUGAL] ša ma-at 4') [I-d]a-ma-ra-a[s^{ki}] 5') [iš-t]u pa-aṭ [G]u-ti-um^[k] 6') [a-d]i pa-aṭ [NI]M^[k]-tim 7') in ka-ak-ki-šu da-nim 8') [ú]-ka-[a]n-ni-š[u] (Akkadian version), “The king who subjugated the land of *Ida-maraz* from the border of Gutium to the border of Elam with his mighty weapon,”

identification from the south fits with that of Lugalnemundu, king of Adab, in an inscription listing Gutium between Subartu from the north and Marḥaši and Elam from the south,¹⁴⁹ of course assuming that the order is geographical.¹⁵⁰ That Gutium and Elam shared borders is supported by the fact that the Elamite king Šuruhtuḥ aided the Turukkeans against the Gutian E/Indušše, according to the Shemshāra archives (SH 827).¹⁵¹ Elam had seemingly tried to contain a strong impulsive king at its gates, called E/Indušše. A text relating some deeds of Ur-Namma speaks of a joint military action of Gutium and Zimudar.¹⁵² The latter was in the Diyāla region and very probably was a neighbour of Gutium. It is also interesting that the Gutian homeland was linked to mountains called Gubin in the literary text ‘Curse of Agade.’ In the text is said that:

He (=Enlil) looked toward the Gubin mountains. He *scoured* all of the broad mountain ranges- not classed among people, not reckoned as part of the land, Gutium, a people who know no inhibitions, with human instincts, but canine intelligence, and monkeys’ features- Enlil brought them out of the mountains.¹⁵³

Mount Gubin seems to have been a real place, not a fictitious GN created by the composer(s) of the Curse of Agade, because it is listed between Elam and Meluḥḥa in the inscription of Rīmuš (Rīmuš C 10: [G]upin¹⁵⁴) that enumerates the countries he conquered in his Elamite campaign. The only problem is that a location between Elam and Meluḥḥa seems too far from the Gutian lands.

The territory of Gutium probably extended at certain times from the south of the Lower Zāb- or further to the north- to the Elamite territories near the Sirwān (Diyāla) River. According to Hallo it was located approximately between the 35th and 36th parallel on both sides of the Lower Zāb, according to the Old Babylonian sources.¹⁵⁵ According to others,

Frayne, *ibid.* It can be noticed that the text gives the impression that ‘Ida-maraš’ was the lands between the border of Gutium (from the north) and the border of Elam (from the south). Thus, it has applied the name (which was originally an Amorite ethno-geographical name) as a description (meaning “terrible/difficult flank”) to the mountainous regions located between the two lands, not as the traditionally known name of the Ṭūr-^cAbdīn mountains. Here, the other Ida-maraš of the east Tigris should be remembered, which was mentioned in some references (for these cf. Hawkins, J. D., “Idamaraz,” *RIA* 5 (1976-1980), p. 29) that refer to regions in the Diyāla, or is even associated with Ešnunna and Marad.

¹⁴⁹ For the text cf. Edzard, *ZZB*, p. 32. Cameron identifies it in the north of the Lullubian homeland, in Shahrazūr: Cameron, G. G., *History of Early Iran*, Chicago, 1969, p. 41; but this does not look likely, at least in this period.

¹⁵⁰ Additional support for this geographical setting is the text “Narām-Sîn and the Enemy Hordes” (Standard Babylonian version) that runs as follows: 55) *u qereb Subarti kalūšunu it[taggišū(?)]* 56) *ispuḥūma tiamāti ana Gutium issan[qū]* 57) *ispuḥūma Gutium ana māt Elamti issan[qū]*, “55) And in the midst of Subartu, they all [roamed]. 56) They scattered the (army of the upper) seas, and reached Gutium. 57) They scattered (the army of) Gutium and reached Elam.” Westenholz, J. G., *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*, Winona Lake, 1997, p. 314/315.

¹⁵¹ Eidem J. and J. Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives 1*, no. 64.

¹⁵² Col. iv’ 1’) *ma-ṛda’ Gu-tim-um^{ki} 5’) Zi-mu-dar^{ki} 6’) sig-ba uḡnim ki ba-ni-tag*, “The land of Gutium and Zimudar had troops established in the south,” Civil, M., “On Some Texts Mentioning Ur-Namma,” *Or* 54 (1985), p. 28-9. For the location of Zimudar cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 166-7, and its mention in relation to the Amorite Wall in the Diyāla in the royal letters, as well as its governor in the Ur III period in Chapter Four.

¹⁵³ 152) *kur Gú-bi-na-šè igi na-an-il* 153) *ḥur-saḡ dagal téš-bi nam-ta-an-si-ig* 154) *un-gá nu-si-ga kalam-ma nu-šid-da* 155) *Gu-ti-um^{ki} un kēš-da nu-zu* 156) *dím-ma lú-ulu^{3lu} galga ur-ra SIG₇. ALAN^{ugu} ugu₄-bi* 157) ^d*En-lil-le kur-ta nam-ta-an-è*, Cooper, J. S., *The Curse of Agade*, Baltimore and London, 1983, lines 152-7.

¹⁵⁴ 4) *ù Za-ḥa-ar^{ki} 5) ù NIM^{ki} 6) ṛ’ù’ [G]u-pi-in^{ki} 7) i[n qá]b-lí 9) Pá-[ra-aḥ]-šum^{ki} 10) ṛ’á-[na]’ REC 169’ *ip-ḥu-ru-ni-im-ma*, “and Zaḥar, Elam, Gupin and Meluḥḥa assembled in Pa[raḥ]šum for battle,” Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 58 (text E2.1.2.8, l. 6).*

¹⁵⁵ Hallo, “Gutium,” *RIA*, p. 719. The letter A.649 from Mari, for instance, relates a Gutian attack on Qabrā between the two Zābs (see Chapter Seven), probably indicating that their domains were not too far away.

Gutium extended to the region of Luristan, south of Kirmashān, to the left of the route leading from Dēr to Susa.¹⁵⁶ Within this territory the lands mentioned in the Ur III texts, such as Ḥarši, Ḥu(m)urti and Karḥar, were located, and thus they were perhaps within Gutium as Steinkeller suggests.¹⁵⁷ However, this should not lead to the conclusion that these lands were purely Gutian, since they were not the only ethnic group in that given region especially with the infiltration of the Hurrians in the Ur III period. Furthermore, the Gutians themselves seem to have been semi-sedentary tribes. It also appears that Gutium comprised large parts of the northern mountains during the MA period, where Šalmaneser I met them in the mountains of the northeast and described their land as the territory from Uruaṭri (=Urartu) to Katmuḥu.¹⁵⁸ The kingdom of Uqumenu, against which Tukulti-Ninurta I campaigned, was also a Gutian kingdom in a mountainous region.¹⁵⁹ These are indications that the Gutian territories had expanded towards the northern mountainous lands during the OB period. Their war on the Turukkeans as reflected in the Shemshāra and Mari letters shows that they were actively present in the regions bordering, or at least relatively close to, the Turukkean lands in the Urmia Basin (see Chapter Six). As suggested above, the Gutians were most probably nomads or semi-nomads and were on a seasonal move between their summer and winter pastures, which is why they were found in the mountains of the north and the plains to the south of Kirkuk and Sirwān (see also Chapter Eight).

In later times, Gutian territory seems to have been diminished or the Gutians spread into larger areas and mingled with other peoples of the region. This would explain why it was referred to in the sources of the first millennium BC as a minor territory of the Transtigris with obscure frontiers.

People

The Gutians,¹⁶⁰ like other peoples of the Zagros, were present as individuals and groups in Mesopotamian urban centres, not only in the south, but also in the Habur and Middle Euphrates areas. Personal names ending with *-an* and *-kan* in Chagar Bazar texts could belong to Gutians, but this suggestion is rejected by Thureau-Dangin, Landsberger¹⁶¹ and J. Eidem.¹⁶² These PNs include *Ḥa-lu-uk-ka-an/ni*, *Ḥu-ḥa-an*, *ʿAn-na-an*, *ʿAt-te-na-an*, *ʿKa-an-za-an*, *A-ri-ēš(AB)-ka-an*, *A-šū-ub-la-an*, *Tu-uk-ki-iz-za-an*, *ʿUr-ḥa-an*, *(A)-ak-ka-an* and *Te-ri-ka-an*,¹⁶³ the same name as the last Gutian king.¹⁶⁴ The name *Ḥu-lu-uk-ka-di/ti-il* in the

¹⁵⁶ Van Dijk, J., “Le site de Guti’um et d’Ak-s[a[?]-a]k^{ki},” *AfO* 23 (1970), p. 72. A finely manufactured bronze head was found in the region of Hamadan (according to Diakonoff) which, it is suggested, represents one of the Gutian kings: ١٧٨. ل. دياكونوف. However, others say the head was found in Azerbaijan: cf., for example, Hibbard, H., *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1980, p. 55; Porada, E., *Ancient Iran, The Art of Pre-Islamic Times*, London, 1965, p. 62; or simply from an unknown provenance: Hansen, D. P., *The First Great Empire, in Art of the First Cities*, ed. J. Aruz, New Haven, 2003, p. 210.

¹⁵⁷ Potts, *Mesopotamia and the East*, p. 26 (referring to Steinkeller, P., *History of Mesopotamia (Third Millennium BC)* Anchor Bible Dictionary).

¹⁵⁸ 98) *iš-tu mi-šir* KUR *Ú-ru-aṭ-ri* 99) *a-di* KUR *Kut-mu-ḥi ši-id-di na-as-ku-ti* 100) *pe-er-ka be-re-e né-su-ti* 101) *na-pu-ul-ti* ÉRIN.MEŠ-*ti-šu-nu* 102) *ra-ap-šá-ti ki-ma* A.MEŠ *lu at-bu-uk* 103) *šal-mat qu-ra-di-šu-nu še-ra* 104) *ra-pa-šá lu ú-me-el-li*, “I poured out the lives of their (= Qutu) extensive troops like water, from the border of the land Uruaṭri to the land Kutmuḥu, a remote region (and) a crossing of great distance. I filled the extensive countryside with the corpses of their warriors,” Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 184 (text A.0.77.1).

¹⁵⁹ Cf. his inscription no. 1 (A.0.78.1) in *RIMA* 1, p. 234-5.

¹⁶⁰ Gutian relics and the Gutian political organization are discussed in Chapter Three.

¹⁶¹ Gelb, *HS*, p. 64, note 128 (referring to Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 35, p. 106 and Landsberger, *TTKB* 3 (1939), p. 217).

¹⁶² Personal communication.

¹⁶³ Gelb, *HS*, p. 64, note 128 (for the names he refers to Gadd, C. J., “Tablets from Chagar Bazar ...,” *Iraq* 4 (1937), p. 178-85 and the Gutian names in Gadd, *Iraq* 7 (1940), p. 34 ff.); Loretz, O., “Texte aus Chagar Bazar,”

letters of Shemshāra¹⁶⁵ contains the element *Hul-ukka-* which is similar to the first element of the name *Ha-lu-uk-ka-an* cited above. But the name *Hulukkadil* was Hurrian, since it is attested in Nuzi as *Hu-lu-uk-ka*; *Hu-lu-uq-qa* and *Hu-lu-ug-ga*¹⁶⁶ but without the Hurrian element *at/dal* meaning “powerful, mighty.” So the name *Halukkan* can be tentatively considered a compound name, composed of a Hurrian element with the Gutian suffix *-an*. In Mari and the Middle Euphrates Gutians have left traces and there are reports that they have been there since the Akkadian period together with the Amorites.¹⁶⁷ The Gutians formed part of the Elamite garrison in Šubat-Enlil in the time of the Elamite invasion (ZL 8’).¹⁶⁸ There are OB references to Gutian mercenaries and guards in the service of some of the kings of eastern Syria, compared by some to the Swiss Guards.¹⁶⁹ Among these is a reference to Gutian guards of Yasmaḥ-Addu of Mari, and there are similar cases in Razamā (*ARMT* 25, 624, rev. 11), Rimāh (allocations of wine and beer to Gutian generals: *OBTR*, 253, 260, 267, 268 and 271)¹⁷⁰ and Leylān.¹⁷¹ Zimri-Lim asked Yamšum, his representative in Ilan-šura (a city to the southwest of Šubat-Enlil in ZL 10’ and 11’), to send him as many Gutians as he could, most probably for such a purpose. Yamšum sent him in reply 9 Gutians with a note that they can get fierce.¹⁷² In a fragmentary letter from Mari we find Gutians staying in Terqa who would leave for Mari.¹⁷³ In another it is reported that 17 Gutians went out of the city of Eluḥtum (=Eluḥat) and entered Susā (in the Habur) and stayed with its ruler Šup/bram, but afterwards they became angry and departed to Zimri-Lim.¹⁷⁴ If the above-mentioned PNs from Chagar Bazar were really Gutian, they must have belonged to such a group of guards or mercenaries.

lišān mithurti, *Festschrift Wolfram Freiherr von Soden zum 19. VI 1968*, herausgegeben von W. Röllig, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969, pp. 244-250. Some of the names are disputed, for instance Tukizzan can be Hurrian. It is notable that not one of these names or any similar name occurs in the Chagar Bazar tablets found in the recent excavations of 2000-2002, which mainly date to the Mari period: Tunca, Ö. and A. Baghdo (eds.), *Chagar Bazar (Syrie) III, Les trouvailles épigraphiques et sigillographiques du chantier I (2000-2002)*, Louvain, 2008.

¹⁶⁴ Tirikan was also a city name that, according to a *kudurru* inscription, was located on river Ṭabān, cf. Nashef, Kh., “Der Ṭaban-Fluss,” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 13 (1982), p. 122.

¹⁶⁵ For this PN cf. the letters 49; 50; 51; 52 and 59 in Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshāra Archives I*.

¹⁶⁶ Gelb, *et al*, *NPN*, p. 217.

¹⁶⁷ Hallo, *RLA*, p. 716; 719.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. for instance Charpin, D., “Les Elamites a Šubat-Enlil,” in *Fragmenta Historicae Elamicae (Fs. Steve)*, eds. de Meyer, Gasche and Vallat, Paris, 1986, p. 131 and note 18. The letters *ARM* 26, 316; *ARM* 26, 338 (fragmentary) make allusions to the Gutian contingent with the Elamites who invaded the Habur.

¹⁶⁹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 32. They state that “most of the references to people called Gutians in administrative texts from Mari probably come under this category;” *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* The relevant texts are as follows: No. 253, l. 7: [x DU]G GEŠTIN a-na GAL.MAR.TU ‘Qú-ti’; 260, l. 2: 10 DUG GEŠTIN a-na GAL.MAR.TU Qú-ti-’i’; 267, l. 7: 3(BÁN) [-] a-na LÚ Qú-ti-i x x; 268, l. 7: 20 (KAŠ ṭà-bu) 10 (KAŠ SIG₅) a-na Qú-ti-’i’ x x; 271, l. 14: 1 (BÁN a-na LÚ Qú-ti-’i’; Dalley, S., C. B. F. Walker and J. D. Hawkins, *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al Rimah (OBTR)*, London, 1976.

¹⁷¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 32, (referring to Ismail, F., *Altbabylonische Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell Leilān (Syrien)*, (Ph.D. Dissertation), Tübingen, 1991 and Vincente, C., *The Tell Leilan Tablets Dated by the limmu of Habil-kinu*, (Ph.D. dissertation), Yale, 1991). Eidem and Læssøe think that the designation ‘Gutian’ was probably a broad term for ‘highlander,’ not a specific ethno-linguistic referent, cf. *ibid.*; Diakonoff agrees, particularly for occurrences after the second millennium BC, cf. دياكونوف، ل. ١٦٢. Even so, this is not compatible with the fact that other highland peoples are specifically named, such as the Kakmians in the Rimāh tablets: cf. 255, l. 7: 6) 1 DUG GEŠTIN 7) a-na LÚ Ka-ak-mi-’i’; 261, l. 5: 1 ‘DUG GEŠTIN a-na LÚ Ka-ak-mi-’i’; for Lullians see 91, l. 6³ (letter): [LÚ³] Lu-ul-[lam²]; 195: 3: a-na LÚ^{MEŠ} Lu-ul-li-i, cf. Dalley, *et al. op. cit.*

¹⁷² 8’) [a-nu]-um-ma 9 LÚ Qú-ti-’i^{ki} a-[na še-er be-lí-ia] 9’) [at-ru-ud] LÚ.MEŠ šu-nu-ti be-lí [i-mu-ur-ma] 10’) [ki-ma ša]-bu-um ‘šu-nu’ i-ša-am-m[u-ru], “Now I have sent 9 Gutians to my lord. May my lord examine these men, it can be noted that these soldiers can get fierce,” Charpin, D., “Les représentants de Mari à Ilān-šurā,” *ARM* 26/2, Paris, 1988, p. 102.

¹⁷³ 13’) à a-nu-um-ma LÚ QÚ-tu-’i’-um 14’) ša i-na Ter-qa^{ki} wa-aš-bu 15’) a-na še-er be-lí-ia i-ti-qa-am, “And herewith the Quteans who were staying in Terqa move on to my lord,” Durand, J.-M., *Archives épistolaires de Mari I/1*, *ARM* 26/1, Paris, 1988, p. 583; Heimpel, W., *Letters to the King of Mari*, Winona Lake, 2003, p. 283.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. for the letter Durand, J.-M., “Administrateurs de Qaṭṭunân,” *FM* II, Paris, 1994, no. 58, p. 99.

It is not likely that the terms ‘Gutian’ and ‘Lullubian’ were general designations for ‘barbarous’ or ‘highlanders’ as Eidem proposes,¹⁷⁵ but there were individuals and groups of these Zagros peoples in Mesopotamia and Syria serving in the armies and as guards in the struggling kingdoms of the OB period. This phenomenon has later parallels in the Middle Ages, when groups from the same regions of Zagros and from Armenia and Central Asia became warriors in the armies of the Ayyūbids and Mamālīks in Syria and Egypt.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, one term for ‘barbarous’ or ‘highlander’ would be expected instead of ‘Gutian,’ ‘Lullubian’ and ‘Subarian.’ The Mari and northern Syrian scribes would have used the names of south Anatolian highlanders to designate a ‘highlander,’ not the names of far off Gutians and Lullubians of the Zagros.

In Sumer and Babylonia, the Gutians were often mentioned in the royal inscriptions and literary compositions as barbarous enemies, scorpions, snakes, mountaineers beyond the law.¹⁷⁷ They were also described as one of the warring peoples of the region in the Erra and Išum epic.¹⁷⁸ The above mentioned text of Lugalanelundu is one of the oldest attestations of this people. Later, they were referred to as instruments of divine punishment and revenge, summoned by the god Enlil, or in another case by Marduk against Narām-Sîn, as in ‘The Curse of Agade.’

A prominent Gutian personality was Queen ‘Nawarītum,’ “She of Nawar.” In a letter, she is reported, according to rumours, to have been arrested by her general and delivered to the Elamites during a raid in the land of the Gutians but soon released (see Chapter Seven). According to Durand this queen was named after the third millennium Nawar, located in the west of the Tigris and called Nagar in the Mari period.¹⁷⁹ A closer look at the letter shows that the affairs all relate to Babylonia, Malgium and Ešnunna.¹⁸⁰ Another letter (*ARM* 6, 27)¹⁸¹ from Mari reports that she has sent 10,000 troops against Larsa. These facts argue against the identification proposed by Durand. It seems more likely that the letter refers to the city and land of Namar,¹⁸² close and perhaps within the land of Gutium, but not to Nawar of the Habur area.

Ethnically, the Gutians were apparently part of the ‘Zagros peoples,’ known by some authorities as ‘Caucasians,’¹⁸³ which included Elamites, Kassites, Lullubians and others. Discussions about the term ‘*namrū/ namrū(tu)*’ (meaning: bright, shining, or well-fed) used to describe Gutian slaves consider if it indicated an ethnic characteristic (fair-skinned).¹⁸⁴ In an OB letter it seems to mean ‘good looking’ or the like instead of bright or fair-skinned.¹⁸⁵ The

¹⁷⁵ Cf. his suggestions in Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives 1*, p. 32 (concerning the Gutians); Eidem, J., *The Shemshara Archives 2, The Administrative Texts*, Copenhagen, 1992, p. 51 (concerning the Lullubians).

¹⁷⁶ For these, cf. Chapter Eight.

¹⁷⁷ Cf., for example, Cooper, *The Curse of Agade*, lines 155-161.

¹⁷⁸ Cagni, L., *L'epopea di Erra*, Roma, 1969, IV 133, p. 118; cf. also Hecker, K., W. G. Lambert, G. G. W. Müller, W. von Soden, A. Ünal, *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments (TUAT)*, Band III- Weisheitstexte, Mythen und Epen, Gütersloh, 1994, p. 798. However, for the discussion of these opinions see Chapter Three.

¹⁷⁹ Durand, J.-M., *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari (LAPO)*, vol. II, Paris, 1998, p. 231, b.

¹⁸⁰ For the Letter, cf. Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 230-1; Jean, *ARM* 2, 26, p. 62-4. Although fragmentary, the letter attributes more deeds to her, such as sending [x] thousand(s) of soldiers, blocking the canal water, smiting the land, burning the grain of the region and, thus, causing the death of the people. Cf. Durand, *LAPO*, II, p. 231.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Durand, J.-M., *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari (LAPO)*, vol. I, Paris, 1997, p. 618.

¹⁸² This Namar is mentioned in the OAk. texts from Tell Sulaimah as *Na-ma-ri^{ki}*, cf. Visicato, G., “The Sargonic Archive of Tell el-Suleimah,” *JCS* 51 (1999), text A5, p. 30.

¹⁸³ Cf. for example Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, p. 138.

¹⁸⁴ Cf.: Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 102 ff.; Speiser, E. A., “On the Alleged *namru* ‘fair(-skinned)’,” *Orientalia* 23 (1954), p. 235-236; Hallo, *RIA*, p. 717.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. van Soldt, W. H., *Altbabylonische Briefe XII: Letters in the British Museum*, Leiden, 1990, No. 112, p. 94-5. The literary meaning of the word is “shining” or “white.” Recently, E. V. Markina suggested the new meaning “well-fed” for this word on the basis of analysis of the source material, cf. Маркина, Е. В., “УПОТРЕБЛЕНИЕ ПРИЛАГАТЕЛЬНОГО *NAW/MRUM* О РАБАХ В СТАРОВАВИЛОНСКИХ

term ‘*nišē saklāti*,’ “simpletons/ barbarous people”¹⁸⁶ describes Gutians in later copies of inscriptions of the Kassite Agum-kakrime.¹⁸⁷

As with Subartu, the Gutian country was known for some particular products, including figs, carnelian, wool, chariots.¹⁸⁸

Later sources continue to mention the Gutians as hostile. We read about them in the inscriptions of Aššurnasirpal II, Esarhaddon, Sargon II, Aššurbanipal and Nabuna’id. Mount Nimuš was located by Aššurnasirpal in the land of the Lullubians: “Mount Nimuš, which the Lullubians call Kinipa;”¹⁸⁹ it was referred to in later texts as the mountain of the land of Gutu: “...Mount Nimuš..., which is in Gutium;”¹⁹⁰ this may be because the Gutians were better known by the scribes of that time than the Lullubians. Such attitudes towards the Gutians, Mount Nimuš, the Ark and the like were transformed through Hurrian in Hebrew,¹⁹¹ Syraic and Arabic literature into the story of the Ark, even as late as in the Koran, resting on the ‘Judi Mount’.¹⁹²

Language

The Gutian language must remain a mystery until texts - if there are any in that language - are discovered. Glimpses can be gathered from some personal names in the Sumerian King List and other texts, which indicate that it belonged to the larger group of languages of the Zagros area such as Elamite (?) and Lullubian.¹⁹³ It was described as “difficult” in an inscription of Hammurabi.¹⁹⁴ From these personal names Speiser deduced some characteristics including the prefix *w/a/iarla-*, the element *-laga-* and the consonantal suffixes *-b*, *-š* and *-(a)n*.¹⁹⁵ These suffixes occur in the names ‘Sarlagab,’ ‘Elulumeš,’ ‘Inimibakeš,’

ПИСЬМАХ,” ЭДУББА ВЕЧНА И ПОСТОЯННА (*Edubba is Everlasting*), *Proceedings of the Conference Held in Commemoration of the 90th Birthday of Igor Mikhailovich Diakonoff*, St. Petersburg, 2005, p. 194 (according to the English abstract).

¹⁸⁶ Cf. *CAD* vol. S, under *saklu*, p. 80.

¹⁸⁷ Hallo finds its meaning “vague and unexplainable:” Hallo, *ibid*.

¹⁸⁸ Hallo, *ibid*.

¹⁸⁹ Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 204 (A.0.101.1 (No. 1), ii 33b-38). For its identification with Pīra Magrūn cf. Streck, M. P., “NiŠIR,” *RIA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 589 (referring also to Liverani); Speiser, E. A., “Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal and Today,” *AASOR* 8 for 1926-27 (1928), p. 18 and the bibliography given in note 31. Note that reading this ancient mountain name as ‘*Nimuš*’ instead of the conventional reading ‘*Nišir*’ has become more likely in recent years, as a PN *I-di-in-ni-mu-uš* has been recorded: Lambert, W. G., “Notes Brèves,” *RA* 80 (1986), p. 186. Lambert added that deified mountain names were not infrequent in the northern Transtigris, cf. Lambert, *ibid*. Parpola, by contrast, gives only the reading ‘*Nišir*’ in Parpola, S., *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970, p. 269. For a discussion about *Nimuš* or *Nišir*, cf. Streck, *RIA*, p. 590.

¹⁹⁰ Reiner, E., “*Lipšur* Litanies,” *JNES* 15 (1956), No. 3, p. 135.

¹⁹¹ On the transformation of such literary pieces and influences from Mesopotamia through the Hurrians to Hebraic literature, cf.: Speiser, E. A., “The Hurrian Participation in the Civilization of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine,” *Oriental and Biblical Studies, Collected Writings of E. A. Speiser*, Philadelphia, 1967, pp. 266-7.

¹⁹² It is valuable to repeat here the opinion of Speiser about this matter. He suggested that the mountain was originally Mount *Nišir/ Nimuš* in the Mesopotamian literature, but when the Hurrians translated this they are presumed to have replaced *Nimuš* by the highest mountain of their assumed homeland in and around Lake Van (later Urartu), which was Mount Ararat. This Hurrian version was the one, according to Speiser, that was borrowed and translated by the Hebrews and entered the Old Testament, and this is why Mount Ararat, not *Nimuš*, is the mountain on which the Ark rested according to the Biblical narrative, cf. Speiser, *Oriental and Biblical Studies*, p. 267.

¹⁹³ To this, Diakonoff adds Kassite and “perhaps Caspian” groups as well: دياكونوف، ميديا، ل. ۱۶۸.

¹⁹⁴ Gadd, C. J. and L. Legrain, *Ur Excavations. Texts (URI) I: Royal Inscriptions*, London, 1928, No. 146, p. 44-45.

¹⁹⁵ Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 97.

‘Igešauš,’ ‘Iarlagab,’ ‘Iarlaganda,’ ‘Tirigan,’¹⁹⁶ ‘Lā-‘arāb,’ ‘Šarлак’ who was taken captive by Šārkalīšarrī,¹⁹⁷ the Gutian king ‘Endušše’ of the Shemshāra letters¹⁹⁸ and perhaps even ‘Ḥataniš’ of Ḥamazi.¹⁹⁹ The –š suffix that seems to occur frequently in personal names and in toponyms like ‘Simaš,’ ‘kimaš’ and ‘Tukriš,’ is very likely connected to the Lullubian –si,²⁰⁰ while the suffix –an was common in the Zagros region. A very few Gutian words, all fragmentary, are found in lexical texts, including *hara[mbi?]*, an equivalent for Akkadian ‘*barirtu*,’ a plant, *elinu* for Akkadian ‘*kurkanū*,’ “goose plant.” Of the Gutian deities in the ‘God list’ AN = ^d*A-nu-um* only the name of the last one is preserved, with a typical Gutian name ‘Abublāb.’²⁰¹

The Lullu(bi)

Appellation

The land of Lullu(bum) was also in the Transtigris. The names of the land and of its inhabitants, the Lullubians, were written in different forms,²⁰² but with less variation than with the Gutians. The most often attested forms are ‘*Lul(l)ubu(m)*,’ ‘*Lullumē*’ (Neo-Assyrian), and ‘*Lulubuna*.’ In Shemshāra it attested as ‘*Lullu(um)*’²⁰³ and in Nuzi as ‘*L/Nullū*.’²⁰⁴ The GN *Lu-lu-ban*, attested in a text from Ebla (LGN no. 230), was tentatively identified by Steinkeller with the land of Lullubum.²⁰⁵ This identification is not impossible if we remember the comparable form *Lulubuna*. According to Diakonoff and Klengel the name ‘*Lullubi*’ is associated in the second millennium BC texts with “foreigner” and “mountain dweller”²⁰⁶ in addition to its ethnic sense. Klengel’s statement is apparently based on data from Shemshāra which suggested to him that Lullubians meant the highlanders round Shemshāra. The fact is that Lullubian land, or at least the Lullubian political domains, in the Shemshāra period covered the mountainous regions as far as the Lower Zāb;²⁰⁷ after that there was the land of Utūm with its capital city Šušarrā. In other words, Lullubum was a neighbour of Utūm. So

¹⁹⁶ For these royal names cf. Jacobsen, *SKL*, pp. 118-121. A city called ‘Laga(b)laga’ was conquered by Aššurnasirpal during his Zamuan wars with the typical element ‘laga’ that belongs to this group; for the text cf. Grayson, *RIMA 2*, p. 203 (A.0.101.1, ii 19b-23a).

¹⁹⁷ Gadd, “The Dynasty of Agade...,” *CAH*, p. 455.

¹⁹⁸ For example, 8: 13, 14; 11: 8, 36 etc. in Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives I*, p. 79.

¹⁹⁹ Speiser, *op. cit.*, p. 98. But Jacobsen in trying to find an etymology for this name, suggests that it probably was an abbreviated form of Ḥatāniš-qabī “He (a god) promises to protect:” *SKL*, p. 98, note 168.

²⁰⁰ Speiser, *op. cit.*, p. 98. This suffix occurs in the Kassite names too, especially in toponyms. In this respect, Speiser has suggested that the name ‘Lagaš’ consists of two Gutian syllables, laga- and –š, adding that the brilliant age of that city under the Gutians was not coincidence but had something to do with the Gutian sphere and their contacts, cf. *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 99.

²⁰¹ Hallo, *RIA*, p. 719.

²⁰² There are occasions in which this GN is attested as PNs, such as Nullu (*NPN* 108 a, *AAN* 102 b); ^fNullu (*AAN* 102 b); ^fLullu (*AAN* 90 b); ^fNullue (*HSS* 19 49); Nullia (*NPN* 108 a) and Nulluja (*NPN* 108 a, *AAN* 102 b). It is attested in GNs in the Nuzi documents such as *dimtu Nullu* and *dimtu Nulluenašwe*; for these cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 192.

²⁰³ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, 3: 19; 12: 27; 36: 35; 39: 10 etc.

²⁰⁴ Klengel, H., “Lullu(bum),” *RIA*, Band 7 (1987-1990), Berlin, p. 164; Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 190-193; for other forms from different periods cf. *RGTC* 1 (Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic); *RGTC* 2 (Ur III); *RGTC* 3 (OB); *RGTC* 5 (MB/MA); *RGTC* 6 (Hittite); *RGTC* 9 (Urartian).

²⁰⁵ Cf.: Potts, *Mesopotamia and the East*, p. 19, referring to Steinkeller, P., “The Seal of Išma-Ilum, son of the Governor of Matar,” *Vicino Oriente*, 6 (1986), p. 27-40.

²⁰⁶ Klengel, *op. cit.*, p. 165; دياكونوف، ميديا، ل. ١٥٨.

²⁰⁷ As evidence for this, the Assyrian annals explicitly say that Mount Nimuš, modern Pīra Magrūn, was called by the Lullubians Kinipa, which means that the mountain, a few kilometres from the Rāniya Plain, was within the Lullubian country; for this allusion, see above.

when the letters of Shemshāra speak of Lullubians they mean real Lullubians, not unidentified mountain dwellers. In a time of hostility with Šušarrā this proximity would enable them to cut off grain supplies to and from Šušarrā, so peace was crucial (see Chapter Six). Agreeing with Klengel, J. Eidem adds that ‘Lullubians’ attested in the west of the Tigris was a name applied to highlanders from Tūr-^cAbdīn and the Sinjār ranges, for they had a ‘permanent presence’ in that region and are frequently mentioned.²⁰⁸ But when we speak of contingents and military divisions, organized as groups, not individuals, serving as mercenaries in the armies of the kingdoms of northern Syria, we should expect a long term presence, for such men were highly prized and demanded by the kings of the region.²⁰⁹ They were tough warriors and, as foreigners, more reliable in inner conflicts between Amorite political entities. Another argument presented by Eidem is that they are occasionally mentioned in association with events in the west of the Tigris,²¹⁰ but this is only because the relevant texts are from Mari and concerned with the affairs in its own region.

Location

The land of the Lullubians was centred in and around the Shahrazūr Plain in Sulaimaniya Province, with extensions inside modern Iranian territory, at least in the Neo-Assyrian period. From the Arrapha texts we know that Lullu was located to the east of Arrapha, its closest neighbour.²¹¹ This accords with the geography of Sargon, where the land of the Lullubians is mentioned immediately after Arrapha, “between ‘Uruna’ and ‘Sinu’.”²¹² According to Frayne, Uruna was located on or near the Tigris in the vicinity of the Lower Zāb.²¹³ About Sinu we know at present almost nothing. But since the eastern border of Lullubum extended almost certainly to Iranian Kurdistan in the vicinity of modern Mariwān or parts of the territory south of Lake Urmia one may assume that Sinu was somewhere in that area. In other words, Uruna and Sinu formed the westernmost and easternmost boundaries of the land respectively, and with Uruna in the west, as Frayne states, Sinu must have been in the east. This eastern extension has been inferred from the account of Shalmaneser III’s (858-824 BC) campaign against the Lullubians in 855 BC, where he spoke of the “Sea” of inner Zamua,²¹⁴ identified by some with Lake Urmia²¹⁵ and by others with Lake Zirēbār near Mariwān.²¹⁶ A text from Boğazköy refers to a place called ‘Šudul’ in Lullubum by the sea.²¹⁷ The presence of a rock relief of Annubanini, king of the Lullubians, in Sar-i-Pul-i-Zahāb has been considered

²⁰⁸ Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives* 2, p. 51.

²⁰⁹ Cf. that part of the letter cited above in which Zimri-Lim asks one of his subjects to send him as many Gutians as he can find.

²¹⁰ Cf. Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives* 2, p. 51.

²¹¹ Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 88 (in Shahrazūr); Albright, *JAOS* 45 (1925), 212 (east of Arrapha behind the Babitē Pass) (referred to by Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 192); Chiera, E. and E. Speiser, “A New Factor in the History of the Ancient Near East,” *AASOR* 6 (For 1924-1925), New Haven, 1926, p. 85, note 47 (eastern neighbour of Arrapha); Forrer, E., *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig, 1920, p. 43 (from behind the Babitē Pass); Lewy, H., *JAOS* 88 (1968), p. 162 (to the east of the Baziyān Pass, = Babitē).

²¹² Grayson, *Afo* 25 (1974-77), p. 59.

²¹³ Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 89. He identifies it with Uranu (U₉-ra-nu) mentioned in the Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names in the section that describes the route stations through the land of Zamua: Frayne, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

²¹⁴ Grayson, *RIMA* 3, Toronto, 1996, p. 28, (text A.0.102.5); p. 95 (text A.0.102.23); cf. also the older publication in Luckenbill, *ARAB*, vol. I, Chicago, 1926, p. 228, § 617; p. 247, § 686.

²¹⁵ Medvedskaya, I., “Zamua, Inner Zamua and Mazamua,” *Variatio Delectat: Iran und der Westen*, Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer, eds. R. Dittmann, B. Hrouda, U. Löw, P. Mathiae, R. Mayer-Opificius and S. Thürwächter, Münster, 2000, p. 436; 442.

²¹⁶ Speiser, “Southern Kurdistan...,” *AASOR*, p. 19. Note that the name there is incorrectly written ‘Zeribor.’

²¹⁷ Klengel, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

evidence that Lullubian land extended to that tract on the Alwand River in the south²¹⁸ as a result of military expansion or peaceful migration. But this relief is not necessarily evidence of an ethnic extension, for it often happened in antiquity that victorious monarchs erected their steles in foreign territory. However, it is not impossible for the land of Lullu to have extended to Sar-i-Pul if we remember the 90 *bērus* assigned to it by the geography of Sargon.²¹⁹ This expanse probably included all the territories from the sources of the Diyāla and the Lower Zāb to Lake Urmia.²²⁰ It is thought that it was their descendants who formed the state of ‘Manna’ south of the lake at the beginning of the first millennium BC.

Zamua seems to have been an essential part of the land of Lullu and indicated the modern Shahrazūr Plain, at least in the NA Period. The name Sidur[...] mentioned in the inscription of Narām-Sîn victory stele²²¹ is thought to be a mountain name in Lullubian territory,²²² and if so would have been in Zamua, the core of the Lullubian homeland. Zamua comprised most of the many cities and urban centres mentioned in the accounts of Aššurnasirpal in his military operations there, a campaign primarily directed against the Lullubians. The subdivisions of the area named in these accounts, such as ‘Zamua,’ ‘Mazamua’ and ‘Zamua *ša bitāni*,’ were discussed in some detail by Speiser and Medvedskaya to determine exact meanings and locations.²²³ Medvedskaya considers Mazamua as not exactly identical with Zamua, but a name given by Šamšī-Adad V to the province he founded out within Zamua.²²⁴ *Zamua ša bitāni* (Inner Zamua) indicated the land behind the *chaîne magistrale*, including the lake of Inner Zamua, meaning according to her Lake Urmia, not Zirebār.²²⁵

People

The Lullubians seem to have lived in tribal communities that formed princedoms and kingdoms, probably under tribal rulers who united with each other in times of foreign attacks but were otherwise rivals. In the Shemshāra letters we read “kings of the Lullu”²²⁶ and in the annals of Aššurnasirpal we hear about numerous kings and princes in the land of the Lullu.²²⁷ If we rely on a historical-mythological text from Boğazköy, the Lullubians once had a ‘king of kings’ called ‘Immašku(š)’ ranking with the kings of Tukriš and Elam.²²⁸ Probably the same is true for the time of Aššurnasirpal. Then Nūr-Adad, *sheikh* (LÚ *na-si-ku*) of Dgara, appeared as a prominent personality beside the “numerous kings” of Zamua. But he seems to

²¹⁸ Streck believed that Sar-i-Pul-i-Zahāb was their original home and later they spread to the mountainous regions between the Diyāla and the Lower Zāb: Streck, M., “Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaften Armenien, Kurdistan und Westpersien nach den Babylonisch-assyrischen Keilinschriften,” *ZA* 15 (1900), p. 294. But Cameron thinks the opposite; i.e. that they descended from Shahrazūr to the south: Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, p. 40.

²¹⁹ Grayson, *AFO*, p. 60, l. 39.

²²⁰ دياكونوف، ميديا، ل. ١٥٨ [Diakonoff, *Media*, p. 158 and the map on page 208].

²²¹ Col. I 1) ^d[*Na-r*]a-am-^dEN.ZU 2) *da-nūm* (Lacuna) 1') *a*[...] 2') *Si-du*[r-x] 3') ŠA.DÚ-i 4') *Lu-lu-bi-i*[^{ki}*m*] 5') *ip-ḫu-ru-n*[*im-ma*]. The translation given by Frayne is “[Nar]ām-Sîn, the mighty, (Lacuna) ..., Sidu[r-x] (and) the highlanders of Lullubum assembled together ...,” Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 144 (text E2.1.4.31). It is also possible to understand the sentence as “... (and) they assembled together in Sidur[...], the mountain of Lullubum.”

²²² Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 94. Again, if it is correct that Sidur[...] was a mountain, the suggestion of Westenholz to identify it with the mountain depicted on the stele that was dedicated to the victory over the Lullubians is very probable. But, again, it is not certain that the name alludes to a mountain (cf. previous note).

²²³ Speiser, *AASOR*; and Medvedskaya, *op. cit.*

²²⁴ Medvedskaya, *op. cit.*, p. 439; 441 and 443.

²²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 442 and 435f.

²²⁶ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, 63: 24-25; 64: 22.

²²⁷ Cf. the account of his wars in Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 205 (A.0.101.1, ii 46): MAN.MEŠ-*ni ša* KUR *Za-mu-a*; and again on p. 207-8 (A.0.101.1, ii 77-78).

²²⁸ *Ib-ri e-we-er-ne* [^{uru}]Lu-ul-lu-e-ne-we_e, Klengel, *RIA*, p. 166; cf. also Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 29; 35.

have lost his position after the Assyrian campaign of *limmu* Aššur-iddin, since Ameka took over his role in the next campaign of *limmu* Miqti-adur. According to the Mari version of the ‘General Insurrection against Narām-Sîn’ the Lullubians were led by a king (not kings) called Pašaḥnadgalni.²²⁹ The Lullubians were presented in many literary compositions less harshly than were the Gutians, who were presented as hostile, warlike mountain dwellers with supernatural powers, as in the legend of Narām-Sîn²³⁰ and the Erra and Išum Epic.²³¹

Lullubians were present in Susa together with Akkadians, Paraḥašians, Gutians and Amorites, as soldiers of the Akkadian occupation,²³² and together with the Simurrians in Lagaš, also seemingly from the Akkadian Period.²³³ It appears that Lullubian groups, like Gutians, served as mercenaries or allies in the armies of the neighbouring powers. Lullean troops are sometimes reported to be participating, as in Shemshāra with Kuwari (perhaps in an alliance),²³⁴ in Šerwunum with its king Arrapha-adal,²³⁵ in Burundum with its king Adal-šenni, and in Ašlakkā with Šadum-adal (see Chapter Seven), all in the OB period.

Some depictions of individuals are identifiable as Lullubians on the victory stele of Narām-Sîn found at Susa. They wear short tunics with a (sheep)skin on the shoulders (Fig. 5a and b), long braided hair and probably (long-tailed?) leather caps and boots. They are armed with spears and bows. It is not impossible that among prisoners depicted with long braided hair on Akkadian steles there are Lullubians. They were peasants producing grain and livestock for export, which can be concluded from a Shemshāra letter (*SH* 812)²³⁶ and from Gasur (*HSS* X 99 and 176) that mention barley exported in exchange for livestock.²³⁷ In the texts of Nuzi they exported grain (*HSS* 16 37) and horses (*HSS* 15 108) in addition to slaves. These were highly valued in Arrapha,²³⁸ and several Nuzi texts concern slaves and slave-girls (*amtu*) from Lullu (var. Nullu).²³⁹ Lullubum imported from Arrapha silver, copper and tin.²⁴⁰

²²⁹ Charpin, D., “La version Mariote de l’insurrection générale contre Narām-Sîn,” *FM* 3, Paris, 1997, l. 6’ (text M.8696), p. 10, 12 and 14 (M 17-6’).

²³⁰ Cf.: Lewy, “Assyria,” p. 739; cf., also: Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*, p. 250-251.

²³¹ Hecker and others, *TUAT*, p. 798.

²³² Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 91, pointing to *MDP* XIV, nos. 18 and 23. Their name is written in these documents as LUL; some, such as Steinkeller, does not agree to identify this lexeme with the Lullubians.

²³³ Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 94, pointing to *RTC* 249.

²³⁴ They are mentioned several times, for instance in the letters 39 = SH 913, l. 10-11; 42 = SH 859 + 881, l. 28; 64 = SH 812, l. 44-45; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives I*; and Chapter Six below.

²³⁵ As in *ARM* 26, 405, l. 15’.

²³⁶ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 134-5. This is only an assumption, although a very probable one. It is not explicitly stated that grain will be imported from the Lullu land itself, but the author of the letter encourages the addressee to accept the peace offered by the numerous kings of the Lullum, because the granaries are empty. This might be interpreted as making peace in order to open the routes blocked by the hostile Lullubians, so that grain from *other* lands could be transported across Lullubum. However it needs to be pointed out that the Shahrāzūr Plain, the assumed heartland of the Lulleans, is famous for its abundant grain crops. For example, the Middle Ages geographer Yaqūt al-Hamawī (who died in 1228 A. D.) cited a text from an older source stating that Shahrāzūr had abundant farms and most of the food for its people came from its plains, cf.:

الحموي، ياقوت، معجم البلدان، الجزء ٥، القاهرة، ١٩٠٦، ص. ٣١٢-٣١٣.

[Al-Hamawī, Y., *Lexicon of Lands*, vol. 5, Cairo, 1906, p. 312-3 (in Arabic)]

²³⁷ The text *HSS* 99 is a receipt of grain, measured by the Agade *gur*, from Zuzu, by the merchant Atê, to be sold in Lullubum: [*a-n*]a šāmin [*i*]n Lu-lu-bi-im, cf. Meek, *Old Akkadian*....., *Excavations at Nuzi*, vol. III, *HSS* X, p. xlvii, no. 99. The other text (no. 176) records animals from Lullubum: šu-ut Lu-lu-bum^{ki} received by two individuals from Hīrḥaša in the city of Adaḥa, cf. *op. cit.* p. li, text no. 176.

²³⁸ Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 95. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 192.

²³⁹ Such as: 2 *amât*^{pl} Lu-ul-lu-a-i-tu₄ (*AASOR* XVI 42: 32); *amtu* Lu-lu-[a-e] (*TCL* IX 7: 24); [*amtu*] ša māt Lu-lu-ú-e (*JEN* 466: 8); ša māt Nu-ul-lu-a-ú (*SMN* 2492: 10; 3661: 6, 29); *tup-pu* ša ardu-ti ša Nu-ul-lu-i (*Gadd* 61: 6); 10 *sinnišât*^{pl} Nu-ul-lu-a-ú (*AASOR* XVI 32: 15); and garments brought [*ina* māt] Nu-ul-la-a-i-ú (*SMN* 801: 9); straw for the oxen which went *ina* māt Nu-ul-la-a-i-ú (*SMN* 3562: 9): Lachemann, E. R., “Nuzi Geographical Names,” *AASOR* 78 (1940), p. 22-3.

²⁴⁰ Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 192.

The numerous gods of Lullu are mentioned in the annals of Assyrian kings such as Tiglath-Pileser I (1115-1077 BC), who took 25 statues of Lullubian deities as spoil.²⁴¹ Aššurnasirpal took a (sacred?) copper wild-ox.²⁴² Annubanini lists the names of some gods he worshipped in his inscription at Sar-i-Pul-i-Zahāb: Anu, Antum, Enlil, Ninlil, Adad, Ištar, Šîn, Šamaš, Nin-an-sianna and other broken or completely illegible names.²⁴³ Most of these DNs are written as logograms, which raises the question of what names they were given in the Lullubian language.

Language

Philologists are able to say very little about Lullubian. The word *ianzu/i* Diakonoff suggested meant ‘petty king’ in Gutian or Kassite, pointing out that it was used in the Assyrian annals as a personal name.²⁴⁴ But it was used by the Assyrians to denote rulers mostly in Lullubian-Mannean, not Gutian, territories, such as south of Lake Urmia, so we think it was Lullubian or Kassite rather than Gutian. Speiser tried to deduce features of the language from personal and geographical names recorded primarily in the Assyrian inscriptions. The suffix *-ni* occurs in personal names, such as ‘Annubanini,’²⁴⁵ ‘Sabini,’ ruler of the Zamuan city ‘Kisirtu,’²⁴⁶ and perhaps ‘Tar-dunni,’²⁴⁷ the figure depicted on the relief of Darband-i-Bēlūle. The Lullubian ruler defeated by Narām-Šîn used to be known as ‘Satuni’ as on the victory Stele from Susa.²⁴⁸ However, the wife of Annubanini, mentioned in the legend of the king of Kutha, was called amazingly ‘Melili,’²⁴⁹ a ‘banana’ reduplicated name, typical of Gasur. The Lullubian “king of kings” ‘Immaškuš’ mentioned above looks more Kassite or Gutian than Lullubian. In the ‘General Revolt,’ the name of the Lullubian king is fragmentary

²⁴¹ Grayson, *RIMA 2*, p. 34 (A.0.87.2, l. 23-24).

²⁴² Luckenbill, *ARAB I*, p. 152, § 454. In the annals, until Aššurnasirpal, there is no mention of spoils made of iron from the Lullubian country. Primarily bronze and copper are mentioned, with smaller quantities of silver and gold. This is strange, for Iron Age technology had come some centuries earlier to the region, and Aššurnasirpal himself used iron axes to open paths through the narrow passes of Lullu; cf. *RIMA 2*, I, A.0.101.1 (No. 1), ii 49b-60a, p. 205.

²⁴³ Frayne, *RIME 4*, p. 704f. (E4.18.1.1); Edzard, D. O., “Zwei Inschriften am Felsen von Sar-i-Pul-i-Zohāb: Anubanini 1 und 2,” *AfO 24* (1973), pp. 73-77. For a study of the inscription cf. Chapter Five.

²⁴⁴ Diakonoff, “Media,” *CHI 2*, p. 61. To Zadok too, the name is Kassite: Zadok, R., *The Ethno-linguistic Character of Northwestern Iran and Kurdistan in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Jerusalem, 2002, p. 45 (3.7.1.2 and 3.9); 70 (7.1.2); 81 (7.16). Examples of the occurrences of Ianzu as a PN are: a king of Namri who sat in his capital city Adira called “Ianzu” (Luckenbill, *ARAB I*, § 573, p. 205; § 582, p. 206; § 637, p. 235; § 639, p. 236; § 682, p. 246); a king of the lands of Nairi (*ARAB II*, § 13, p. 6; § 21, p. 9; § 56, p. 29; § 168, p. 92); and a king of Ḫubuškia in Media (Lanfranchi, G. B. and S. Parpola (eds.), *The Correspondence of Sargon II, part II, Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces*, *SAA 5*, Helsinki, 1990, p. 104, no. 133 (K 00676). For ‘Ianzu’ in Kassite cf. Balkan, K., *Kassitenstudien I. Die Sprache der Kassiten*, New Haven, 1954, p. 155 and Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, p. 219.

²⁴⁵ If the name is not Akkadian: *Anu-banini*. It is noteworthy that Hüsing linked this name with the Elamite god ‘Humban,’ cf.: Hüsing, G., “Der Zagros und seine Völker,” *Die Alte Orient 9* (1908), p. 16 ff.

²⁴⁶ Grayson, *RIMA 2*, p. 206 (A.0.101.1, ii 49b–60a).

²⁴⁷ Or, according to Diakonoff, ‘Lišir-Pir’ini,’ cf. Diakonoff, “Media,” *CHI*, p. 39; Hüsing read it as Šil-x-dun(?)ni, cf.: Hüsing, *op. cit.*, p. 17. It is notable that the suffix *-ni-* is one of the suffixes often attested in both Hurrian and Urartian.

²⁴⁸ The word, formerly read as the royal name *Sa-tu-ni*, for instance in Barton, *RISA*, p. 142, is now preferred to be read as *sa-dū-i* following the mountain name *si-du[r-x]* of Lullubum; cf.: Frayne, *RIME 2*, p. 144 (E2.1.4.31, 2’-3’).

²⁴⁹ Cf.: Hallo, *RIA*, p. 709. The names of some “brothers” of the *ummān-manda* mentioned in the Cuthean Legend were also reduplicated, cf. Medudu, Tartadada and Baldaḫdaḫ: Studevant-Hickman, B. and Ch. Morgan, *Old Akkadian Period Texts*, in *The Ancient Near East, Historical Sources in Translation*, ed. M. W. Chavalas, Malden and Oxford, 2006, p. 36-37.

‘[...-a]-el’²⁵⁰ or perhaps ‘*Lapana-ilu/ila*.’²⁵¹ A fragmentary paragraph in the inscription of Šū-Sîn about his defeat of Šīmaški alludes to “Wabartum, [é]n*si* of [Lu?]lubum.”²⁵² Potts regards this occurrence, if the restoration is correct, as indicating that Lullubum was under Šīmaškian hegemony at this time. This is not impossible, for Šīmaški later attacked Simurru under Iddi(n)-Sîn; but in this case an alliance should not be excluded.

There is a frequent suffix *-si* in geographical and personal names as well as other suffixes reminiscent of Elamite,²⁵³ such as *-k*, *-r*, *-s*, *-(a)n* and the assumed plural formative *-p* or *-b*.²⁵⁴ Speiser cites these examples:

<i>Sim-aki</i>	(mountain range)
<i>Az-iru</i>	(mountain)
<i>Kull-ar</i>	(mountain range) ²⁵⁵
<i>Bat-ir</i>	(mountain)
<i>Ed-ir</i>	(river)
<i>Zam-ri</i>	(city)
<i>Bā-ri</i>	(city)
<i>Lā-ra</i>	(country)
<i>Lal-ar</i>	(mountain)
<i>Hašm-ar</i>	(pass)
<i>Buna-ši</i>	(fortress)
<i>U-zi</i>	(fortress)
<i>Hud-un</i>	(city)
<i>Sua-ni</i>	(mountain)
<i>Radā-nu</i>	(river) ²⁵⁶
<i>Ḥalm-an</i>	(country)
<i>kini-pa</i>	(mountain)
<i>Niš-pi</i>	(mountain)
<i>Sum-bi</i>	(country, from the time of Sargon II of Assyria) ²⁵⁷

Another dialect of Lullubian is suggested in the annals of Aššurnasirpal II. While he was in the city of ‘Zamri’ in Zamua he received tribute from the land of ‘Sipirmena,’ a part of Zamua where they “speak like women.”²⁵⁸

²⁵⁰ Grayson, A. K., and E. Sollberger, “L’insurrection générale contre Narām-Suen,” *RA* 70 (1976),” Text L i: 4’ (Lullūm).

²⁵¹ A parallel passage in KBo III 13 = 2Bo TU 3 published by Güterbock, in Güterbock, H. G., “Die historische Tradition und ihre Literarische Gestaltung bei Babylonieren und Hethitern,” *ZA* 10 (1938), p. 68: 10’, runs as follows: 10’) ^m*La-pa-na-i-la* LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Lu-ul-li-u-i*. The first sign of the GN *Lu-ul-li-u-i* was read first as Ú, but later collation of the text showed it is LU; cf. Grayson and Sollberger, *RA* 70 (1976), p. 126.

²⁵² Potts, *Mesopotamia and...*, p. 19-20.

²⁵³ This was perhaps behind the linking of the Lullubian language with Elamite by Hüsing, *op. cit.*, p. 19ff.

²⁵⁴ Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 91.

²⁵⁵ If the identification of this mountain with the modern mountain range of Kōlare in the northwest of Sulaimaniya is correct, it would show that the Lullubian land extended to the vicinity of the Rāniya Plain. In view of the Shemshāra letters showing that peace with the Lulubian kings was essential to ensure a grain supply to Kuwari, this extension seems more probable.

²⁵⁶ The occurrence of a river ‘رَدان, Radān’ in the writings of the Muslim geographers to denote one of the Adhēm tributaries make it very probable that Radānu is the old name of Adhēm and its upper tributary the Tawuq River; cf. Adams, R. M., *Land Behind Baghdad*, Chicago, 1965, p. 78 (referred to by .ص. ٢٩٧).

²⁵⁷ Speiser, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-4. Speiser supposed some kings of early Assyria in the 19th and 18th century, such as ‘Lullai’ “The Lullean,” ‘Bazai,’ ‘Lubai’ and ‘Adasi,’ were of Lullubian stock, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 90, note 8.

²⁵⁸ *ARAB* I, p. 153, § 456. But according to the new edition of the inscriptions by Grayson, the translation is “who do their hair like women.” The text reads 75b) *ina u₄-me-šú-ma ZABAR.MEŠ tab-bi-li ZABAR kám-ma-*

The Region before the Akkadian Interlude

The clashes between the city-state of Lagaš under its ruler Eannatum (c. 2454-2425 BC) and the northern powers constitute the most ancient record of hostile action between Southern Mesopotamia and our region. It has been long thought that the war was started by Eannatum to expand his domain. A new interpretation of the text could change this picture. Šubur, Elam and Arawa (Uru'a) could have formed an alliance to capture Lagaš and as such instigated the conflict.²⁵⁹ This idea arises from the fact that the battle took place on Lagašite terrain, at a place called 'Asuḥur'.²⁶⁰ Even so Eannatum claims in another version of his inscriptions to have "[su]bjugated [Elam] and Subartu to him."²⁶¹ According to the royal inscriptions, this king fought Mari, Subir, Elam and Arawa:²⁶²

(He) [defeated] Elam and Šubur, mountainous lands of wood and treasure [...], de[feated GN], defeated Susa, [defeated] the ruler of Arawa, who stood with the (city's) emblem in the vanguard.²⁶³

The impression Mesopotamian sources give about our region in this period is that it was ruled by small political entities, such as city-states. Such textual evidence of a political fragmentation of the region in this period into small powers is contradicted by archaeological material, at least by pottery assemblages. The Godin III: 6 Culture (2600-2300 BC) produced a monochrome ware that spread over a large area in the southern and eastern valleys of Luristan along the routes from Susiana to the Great Khorasān Road and perhaps even as far as Mahidasht. For such a uniform ware to be distributed over such a widespread area of western Iran (Godin III, Susiana: Susa IV, Fars: Late Banesh) would have been difficult with political

te ZABAR šá-a-ri-a-te ma-da-tu šá KUR Si-pir-me-na šá GIM MUNUS.MEŠ 76) šap-ru-ni am-ḥur, Grayson, *RIME* 2, p. 207 (A.0.101.1). However, the word šá-a-ri-a-te seems to belong to the list of tribute the king received, and what the people of Sipirmena did like women is expressed by the word šap-ru-ni. This word seems more likely to be read as šab-ru-ni < šabāru, which may mean 'to prattle.' Cf. *CAD* vol. Š, p. 2f. The translation of Luckenbill seems to be correct.

²⁵⁹ For this, cf. Michalowski, "Mental Maps and Ideology ...," *Origins of Cities*, p. 136. If so, it means that Subartu was at this early period so organized and powerful that it could wage war against the southern Lagašite power in alliance with Elam: Weiss, H., "The Origins of Tell Leilan and the Conquest of Space in Third Millennium Mesopotamia," *Origins of Cities*, p. 86 (assuming that Subartu was the Habur Region); cf. also idem, "Sumer Dreams of Subartu," p. 307.

²⁶⁰ According to Ur III material, Asuḥur was the name of a small rural settlement, a canal and a field belonging to the city-state of Lagaš, cf. Steinkeller, "The Historical Background..." p. 78; for the occurrences of this GN in Lagaš texts cf. *RGTC* 1, p. 208; and as a departure point to Elam, Subur and URUxA, cf. *RGTC* 2, p. 16; 256.

²⁶¹ ii 2) [NIM] ŠUBUR 3) [g]ú mu-na-ḡar, Frayne, *RIME* 1, p. 153 (E1.9.3.7a).

²⁶² Gadd, "The cities of Babylonia," *CAH* I, part 2, p. 117.

²⁶³ Rev. vi 10) NIM^{ki} ŠUBUR^{ki} 11) kur ĜIŠ.ĜI.GA' 12) [GÍN.ŠÈ bi.sè] Lacuna vii 1') [...] 2') G[ĪN.ŠÈ bi.sè] 3') Su-sin^{ki}-na 4') GÍN.ŠÈ bi.sè 5') šu-nir-URUxA^{ki}-ka 6') ensi-bi 7') sag mu-gub-ba col. viii 1) [GÍN.ŠÈ bi.sè], Frayne, *RIME* 1, p. 139 (E1.9.3.1); cf. also the translation of Magid, G., "Sumerian Early Dynastic Royal Inscriptions," in *The Ancient Near East, Historical Sources in Translation*, p. 13 (only translation); for the transcription cf. Steible, H. and H. Behrens, Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften, Teil 2, *Freiburger altorientalische Studien (FAOS)* 5, Wiesbaden, 1982, En. 1 RS 6: 10; En. 2.6: 17; En. 5, 2:2. Uru'a (= Arawa) was located in the west of Elam, on the way to Elam, and is called in some sources sag-kul-NIM^{ki}, 'The bolt of Elam.' Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 71. This same place name is associated in some Ur III texts with bitumen, and, according to Potts a location somewhere near Deh Luran in northern Khuzistan is reasonable: Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, p. 88. Dyson and Carter think it lies beneath Tepe Musiyan in the Deh Luran Plain: Schacht, *op. cit.*, p. 175-6.

fragmentation. Henrickson has noted that “even when interregional political confederation is achieved later (in Godin III: 2), ceramic assemblages remain regionally distinct.”²⁶⁴

As discussed above, Eannatum may not have campaigned against these lands. Rather the allied troops of these lands seem to have attacked Sumer and he defeated them, perhaps on Sumerian territory. Even so, the Sumerian material cultural influence noticed in the archaic Ištar temple in Assur has been attributed to this age of Sumerian expansion towards Assyria that was apparently in this time embodied in Subartu.²⁶⁵ An inscription of Lugalzaggesi of Uruk states that:

(Enlil) put all the lands at his feet, and from east to west made them subject to him, then, from the Lower Sea (along) the Tigris and Euphrates to the Upper Sea, he (Enlil) put their paths in order for him. From east to west Enlil let him have no [ri]val.²⁶⁶

The motive behind these campaigns is not explicitly stated but expansionist ambitions, for booty, the control of trade routes and access to mines for raw materials come to mind. Or it could have arisen as a reaction to aggression from the mountain dynasties, as when Ḫamazi conquered Kiš and Awan conquered Ur.

Kakm(i)um was an important political entity of the region, with the name occurring often in the Ebla archives. But we know from other sources of a ‘Kakmum’ in the Transtigris. Whether the two GNs were identical or not is hotly disputed.²⁶⁷ It has become clear that the Kakmum known from Ebla was in northern Syria, since it was associated with GNs within the sphere of Ebla. The city-states of ‘*Ā-du*^{ki}, *Ga-ra-mu*^{ki}/*Gār-mu*^{ki}, *Gu-da-da-núm*, *Ī-ra-ar*^{ki}, *Kab-lu₃-ul*^{ki} and *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} are “in the hand of the king of Ebla,” according to the treaty between Ebla and Abarsal.²⁶⁸ In the Ebla archives Kakmum is very often involved in commercial exchange with Ebla.²⁶⁹ The other Kakmum in the Transtigris region occurs in records from the end of the third millennium BC on, in Ur III documents²⁷⁰ and later in inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn of Simurrum (see Chapter Five). It is certainly Transtigridian Kakmum that is mentioned by Sargon II of Assyria as one of the tough enemies of Assyria. In fact the texts of Gasur mention Lullubum, Ḫamazi, Agade, Simurrum and other surrounding GNs but never Kakmum. Perhaps Transtigridian Kakmum was not called by that name in the

²⁶⁴ Henrickson, R. C., Godin III and the Chronology of Central Western Iran circa 2600-1400 B.C., in: *The Archaeology of Western Iran*, p. 208.

²⁶⁵ Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

²⁶⁶ I 44) kur-kur gir-na 45) e-ni-sè-ga-a 46) utu-è-ta, ii 1) ^dUtu-šú-šè 2) gú e-na-gar-ra-a 3) u₄-ba 4) a-ab-ba- 5) SIG.TA-ta 6) Idigna- 7) Buranun (U₄.KIB.NUN.KI)-bi 8) a-ab-ba- 9) IGI.NIM-ma-šè 10) gir-bi 11) si e-na-sá 12) utu-è-ta 13) utu-šé-šè 14) [^dE]n-lil-le 15) [gaba-š]u-gar 16) [n]u-mu-ni-tuku, Frayne, *RIME* 1, p. 436 (E1.14.20.1); cf. also Magid, *op. cit.*, p. 15 (only a translation).

²⁶⁷ For the different opinions about this matter, cf. Bonechi, M., I nomi geografici dei testi di Ebla, *RGTC* 12/1, Wiesbaden, 1993, p. 144-5. For Bonechi himself, Kakmum was “certainly in the occidental northern Syria;” the same view is advanced in Archi, A., P. Piacentini and F. Pomponio, *ARES II, I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla*, Roma, 1993, p. 326 (to the north of Ebla, south of Ḫasuwan and Ursaum). Röllig, in Röllig, “Kakmum,” *RIA* 5 (1976-1980), p. 289 speaks only of the Kakmum of the “northwestern Zagros” without any allusion to the Ebla material. Pettinato, Michalowski and Matthiae locate it on the Tigris; Archi proposes east of the Habur and perhaps the Tigris; Astour puts it to the east of Niniveh and Ekallatum; Diakonoff also chooses the east of the Tigris, *ibid.*, agreeing with Walker, *The Tigris Frontier...*, p. 13.

²⁶⁸ in ŠU EN *Ib-la*^{ki}, Archi, A., “Imâr au III^{ème} millénaire d’après les archives d’Ebla,” *MARI* 6, Paris, 1990, p. 22.

²⁶⁹ A special relationship between Ebla and Kakmum is indicated by their frequently being mentioned together in the texts of Ebla without (or much less frequently) being mentioned with other Transtigridian GNs; this makes it clear that Ebla had close relations with the north Syrian Kakmum; for the occurrences of Kakmum in Ebla cf. the series *ARET (Archivi Reali di Ebla- Testi)* and Bonechi, M., *RGTC* 12/1, Wiesbaden, 1993, p. 142-145.

²⁷⁰ The text *TAD* 67 from Ur III mentions Kakmi, cf. Langdon, *Tablets from the Archives of Drehem*, no. 67, obv. l. 7.

time of Gasur texts, or perhaps it was not involved in politics or economic activities with Ebla. It is not impossible that there were always two Kakmums, as is the case with Ebla and Dūr-I/Ebla, Azuḫinum and A(r)zuḫina, and many others.

Other texts, from Ebla, Nuzi and elsewhere, mention important cities supposedly in the region under study, such as Abarsal,²⁷¹ Kataru (*Kà-tá-ru*₁₂ = Katiriwe of Nuzi?),²⁷² Azuḫinum and even Irar.²⁷³ Only scanty information about them is presently available, but the texts refer to a ruler as *en* (king) and to the *ma-lik-tum* (queen) of Irar.²⁷⁴

The Akkadian Interlude

A great change took place with the coming of Sargon of Akkad (2334- 2279 BC) to power. He swept across the Mesopotamian alluvium, first overpowering the dynasty of Lugalzaggesi, his predecessor who had united the land. Then he began a long series of conquests outside Sumer and Akkad, mostly in the northeast and northern Syria, and so built the first Mesopotamian Empire. The frequent mention of the extension of his sway to the Cedar Mountains, the Silver Mountains and the like²⁷⁵ could point clearly to the economic goals of his conquests, and in particular control of sources for raw materials.²⁷⁶ The problem with understanding the reign of Sargon, and to a lesser extent his successors, is that the texts that concern his reign consist of later compilations, in a literary genre with mythical or epical traits. Historians, therefore, usually use such sources with great care and hesitation. He probably did commence his conquests by attacking Elam and Mari, as recorded by “The year Sargon destroyed Elam,”²⁷⁷ “The year Sargon destroyed Arawa”²⁷⁸ and “The year Mari was destroyed.”²⁷⁹ Other texts mention that he received tribute from the lands of Elam, Parāḫši, Awan and others,²⁸⁰ which would relate the same events. The king of Awan defeated by Sargon in this incident was Luḫ-iššan, son of Ḫišiprašini. These two names can be identified with the 8th and 9th names of the Susa list of Awan rulers, although the name of the father is

²⁷¹ Abarsal has been tentatively identified with Tell Chuera, cf. Meyer, J.-W., Versuch einer historischen Einordnung von Tell Chuera in die politisch-historische Entwicklung Nordsyriens im 3. Jt. V. Chr., in: *Vorbericht zu den Grabungskampagnen 1998 bis 2005*, ed. J.-W. Meyer, Wiesbaden, 2010, p. 26 and 27.

²⁷² According to Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 76.

²⁷³ Attested together with Ḫasuwan and Kakmum: *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} *Ḫa-zu-wa-an*^{ki} *Ì-ra-ar*^{ki} *in-i* šeš-šeš 2 u₄ 3 u₄ *me-na-^rma*⁷ [’a₅-na kalam-tim] kas₄-kas₄ (5 v. III 11); *Ḫa-zu-wa-an* ù *Kak-mi-^rum*^{ki} *rù*¹ [Ì-ra-ar^{ki} 2 u₄ ù 3 u₄] e₁₁ *al-ma Da-bi-na-ad*^{ki} *ar-ḫi-iš ar-ḫi-iš* ’bàd^{ki} ’bàd^{ki} [*Ra-’a-ag*^{ki}] (10 v. VI 2): Fronzaroli, P., Testi di Cancelleria: I Rapporti con le Città, (Archivo L. 2769), *ARET XIII*, Roma, 2003. It is also noteworthy that one of the Gutian kings listed in the SKL bore the name ‘Irarum,’ cf. Jacobsen, *SKL*, p. 118, l. 42. Locating Irar has to be linked with Kakmum, since they are mentioned together. For Bonechi, Irar was in northern Syria, perhaps to the west of Quweiq; Pettinato locates it in the Tigris region; Saporetti proposes the Hurrian region round Nagar; according to Archi it is beyond the Ḫabur; for these opinions cf. Bonechi, *RGTC* 12/1, p. 268.

²⁷⁴ Waetzoldt, H., Wirtschaft- und Verwaltungstexte aus Ebla, Archiv L. 2769, *Materiali per il Vocabolario Sumerico 7: Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla 12*, Roma, 2001; en *Ì-ra-ar ma-lik-tum* i-na-sum; cf. also Archi, A., Testi Amministrativi di Tessuti, *ARET I*, Roma, 1985, table 1. Irar has been mentioned together with GNs that probably were also in its vicinity, such as *’A-za-an*^{ki}, *Ba-ru*^{ki}, *Gu-la-a-tum*^{ki}, *A-ba-ad*^{ki}, *Il-wu-um*^{ki} and *’A-ma-ad*^{ki}.

²⁷⁵ Cf. for instance *RIME* 2, text 11, p. 28-29.

²⁷⁶ Gadd, “The Dynasty of Agade ...,” p. 426; Bottéro, J., “Syria Before 2200 B.C.,” *CAH I*, part 2, Cambridge, 1971, p. 322; cf. also Hinz, W., “Persia, c. 2400- 1800 B.C.,” *CAH I*, part 2, p. 645.

²⁷⁷ m[u *Šar-um*]-GI-né ’NIM^{ki} mu-ḫul-a: Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 8.

²⁷⁸ mu *Šar-um*-GI-né URU^{ki} A^{ki} mu-ḫul-a: Frayne, *ibid.*

²⁷⁹ mu Ma-ri^{ki}-a ḫul-a: Frayne, *ibid.*

²⁸⁰ Frayne, *op. cit.*, text no. 8 (E2.1.1.8) p. 22-24; Potts, *Mesopotamia and the East*, p. 98. Parāḫši, according to some, was the same as M/Waraḫše; cf., for instance, Steinkeller, P., “The Question of Marḫaši: A Contribution to the Historical Geography of Iran in the Third Millennium B.C.,” *ZA* 72 (1982), p. 237 ff., while Westenholz thinks they were different, cf. Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 91.

slightly different from Hišipratep of the Susa list, and he occurs there as the son not the father of Luḫ-iššan. This might be, according to Stolper, an orthographic or grammatical variant of the name. The order, however, may reflect an error in one of the sources, or the existence of two distinct but nearly homonymous rulers, or “eccentricity in the royal succession at Awan.”²⁸¹

Sargon marched further to the north, to Subartu, in response to a Subarian attack. According to a later chronicle he “set an ambush and completely defeated them. He overpowered their extensive army and sent their possessions into Agade.”²⁸² A date-formula mentions “The year Sargon went (on a campaign) to Simurrum.”²⁸³ In the famous ‘Geography of Sargon’ he mentions in addition to Subartu and Simurrum other territories in our region, such as Arrapha, Lullubum, Gutium, Assur and Armanum.²⁸⁴ The later literary compositions speak of a great general uprising Sargon faced during the last years of his reign. All the lands submissive to his yoke participated, but the text confirms that he could face and defeat them all.²⁸⁵ If so, then all the Transtigradian territories mentioned in his Geography must be reckoned as participants in the uprising.

Sargon was succeeded on the throne by Rīmuš (2278-2270 BC) and then by Maništūšu (2269-2255 BC). Both carried on military campaigns against the Transtigris and Elam, but about these campaigns very little is known. Rīmuš began with re-conquering the eastern provinces of his empire, and then marched to southern Mesopotamia and Elam. In the east, he confronted an alliance of Elam, Baraḫši, and Zaḫara, under the leadership of the king of Baraḫši, a certain Abalgemeš and his viceroy Sidgau.²⁸⁶ Rīmuš was victorious according to the Akkadian narrative, captured 16,000 prisoners and took off a large amount of gold, copper and stone vessels.²⁸⁷ Rīmuš could then claim that “He holds for Enlil the upper and the Lower Seas and the mountains, all of them.”²⁸⁸ Zaḫara, according to Hinz, was a province to the northwest of Baraḫši, in the vicinity of modern Ilām.²⁸⁹ It appears it was only after this victory that he could extend his control to the extreme north, where inscribed vessel fragments in Brak and the headwaters of the Habur were found.²⁹⁰ Under Maništūšu and his successor Narām-Sîn (2254-2218 BC) temples were built in Nineveh and Assur. Šamšī-Adad I of Assyria has pointed out that one of the temples in Nineveh was built by Maništūšu,²⁹¹ of whom an inscription has been found in the city of Assur and another inscription of Narām-Sîn in Nineveh. A copper bowl inscribed with “Maništūšu, king of Kiš”²⁹² is said to have come

²⁸¹ Stolper, “Awan,” p. 113.

²⁸² 15) *Šarru-kīn šu-šu-ba-a-tú ú-še-šib-ma dabdâ-šú-nu im-ḥaš* 16) *ka-mar-šú-nu iš-kun um-man-šú-nu rapaštim^{im} ú-šam-qí-it* 17) *makkūr-šú-nu a-na A-ga-de^{ki} ú-še-ri-ba*: Grayson, A. K., *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, New York, 1975, Chronicle 20 (Chronicle of Early Kings), p. 153.

²⁸³ mu *Šar-um-GI Ši-mur-um^{ki}-šè ʾi-gin-ʾna-aʾ*: Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 8; Gelb, I. J. and B. Kienast, *FAOS*, p. 49.

²⁸⁴ Cf.: Weidner, “Das Reich Sargons von Akkad,” *AfO* 16 (1952-53), p. 4-5; also later Grayson, “The Empire of Sargon of Akkad,” *AfO* 25 (1974-77), p. 59-61. The authenticity of this text, whether it really belongs to Sargon of Agade or Sargon of Assyria and its date of composition has been discussed already in this chapter.

²⁸⁵ For the text of this narrative see Grayson and Sollberger, *RA* 70 (1976), p. 103ff.

²⁸⁶ Frayne, *RIME* 2, E2.1.2.6, p. 52f.

²⁸⁷ Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 42-3. According to Hinz, Sargon killed 17,000 people and took 4,000 prisoners, among whom were the viceroys Sidgau of Baraḫši and Ungapi of Zaḫara, cf. Hinz, “Persia...,” *CAH*, p. 649.

²⁸⁸ 8) *tī-a-am-tám* 9) *a-lí-tám* 10) *ù* 11) *ʾša³-pīl₅-tám* 12) *ù* 13) *ŠA.DÚ-e* 14) *kà-la-sú-nu-ma* 15) *a-na* 16) *En-líl* 17) *u-kà-al*: Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 59 (E2.1.2.9). The mountainous nature of this region was and has remained strikingly imposing; here, Sargon points to it clearly, and later, in the early Islamic periods, the region formally took the names ‘*Iqlīm al-Jibāl*’/ ‘*Bilād al-Jabal*,’ or in Iranian ‘K/Quhistān,’ “Province of the Mountains.”

²⁸⁹ Hinz, *op. cit.*, p. 649. Schacht identified it with Tepe Senjar near Dizfūl, between ancient Susa and Awan, cf. Schacht, “Early Historic Cultures,” *Archaeology of ...*, p. 176.

²⁹⁰ Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

²⁹¹ Grayson, *RIMA* I, p. 53 (A.0.39.2, l. 9-13).

²⁹² 1) *Ma-an-iš-tu-šu* 2) LUGAL 3) KIŠ, cf. Nagel, W., “Eine Kupferschale mit Inschrift des Königs Manistussu,” *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica*, 1 (1970), p. 195; Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 81 (E2.1.3.7).

from Qamishli in the extreme northeast of Syria, and belongs to this period of Akkadian widespread occupation of these regions.

During the relatively long reign of Narām-Sîn much was accomplished, and that king has left a reasonable amount of both written and artistic material. However, this material still cannot help to form a complete and clear image of his reign. The scene remains vague because, as Gadd has said: “It is not possible to write a consecutive nor even factual account of Narām-Sîn’s reign. There is no chronology of its thirty-seven years and no criterion for the truth of what is related, since nearly all this is in the form of later compilations and legends.”²⁹³ What can be concluded from these source materials is that Narām-Sîn followed the line of his predecessors in sending troops to the north and east and to the south and west. He calls himself in one of his inscriptions “Ruler of Elam up to Baraḥaši and (governor of) Šubartum up to the cedar forest.”²⁹⁴ He claims boastfully to have “smashed the weapons of all of (the land of) Subartum.”²⁹⁵ In a fragmentary section of his royal inscriptions he mentions Talmus together with the merchants of Subartu,²⁹⁶ who came to him, apparently to show their obedience and present their gifts. Year names state that he reached the headwaters of the Tigris and Euphrates, where he conquered Šenaminda (Year t),²⁹⁷ and Maridaban. The latter is probably identifiable with Mardaman of the OB period.²⁹⁸ Other year names mention victories in the eastern mountains: “[The year Narām-Sîn (?)] ...defea[ted] [B]ibi-[...], and [was victorious] in battle in the mountains [at] Ḥašimar.”²⁹⁹ The reading of two names of rulers defeated in the campaign to the north is not certain; the first is ‘Ba-ba’ of Simurru and the other is the name of the leader of ‘Arame.’³⁰⁰ It is interesting that the name of a defeated Subarian ruler in this context is clearly Hurrian; he is mentioned in a year-formula as Daḥiṣ-atal, probably of Azuḥinum.³⁰¹ It is very probable that the bronze statue of Basitki (Fig. 6) belongs to this context. During his march to Subir and the highlands covered with cedar, he states: “(He could) triumph in nine battles within one year, and fettered the kings of the cedar (?) (tree mountains).”³⁰² In the context of this march to the highlands of Subartu, Narām-Sîn states that the rulers of Subartu and the highlands³⁰³ supplied him with provisions when he

²⁹³ Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 441. However, in recent years attempts have been made to formulate a chronology of his deeds, cf. Frayne, *RIME 2*, p. 85 ff. Some, using the deification of Narām-Sîn as a chronological criterion, place the date of the Great Revolt before the conquests of Subartum, Simurru, Lullubum, Armanum and Ebla, cf. Potts, *Mesopotamia and ...*, p. 106.

²⁹⁴ Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS 7*, p. 249.

²⁹⁵ Frayne, *RIME 2*, p. 141 (E2.1.4.30, i 8'-11').

²⁹⁶ *Op. cit.*, E2.1.4.1, vi 1' f., p. 89.

²⁹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 86, t.

²⁹⁸ Potts, *Mesopotamia and ...*, p. 106. About the distinction between Mardaman and Mardin, cf. Chapter Seven.

²⁹⁹ Frayne, *RIME 2*, E2.1.4, Year jj, p. 87.

³⁰⁰ The first sign of his name can be UM, MES or DUB, the second is certainly not UL (collated by Sommerfeld). Cf.: Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 48, note 152. Arame is mentioned in the list of geographical names from the Early Dynastic Period published by Frayne as *A-ra-mi- $\llcorner\llcorner$* , cf. Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 69-70.

³⁰¹ Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 9, note 10 (referring to B. Foster, *ASJ* (1982) 23 and W. G. Lambert, *RA 77* (1982) 95). The assumed related date-formula reads: “In the year Narām-Sîn fought Subartu in Azuḥinum,” Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, p. 51.

³⁰² رشيد، فوزي، “دراسة اولية لتمثال باسطكي”، سومر ٢٢ الجزء ١ و ٢ (١٩٧٦)، ص. ٥٢.

According to Frayne, ‘Cedar Trees’ is not written. For this, see above, under ‘Subartu.’

³⁰³ *bēlū* (EN.EN) <KUR.KUR> *a-lī-a-tim*: Frayne, *RIME 2*, p. 131 (E2.1.4.25, l. 36-37). In both these passages, a distinction has been made between the local independent rulers and those installed by Narām-Sîn, termed ÉNSI.ÉNSI ŠUBUR, cf. Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 47, note 150. According to Westenholz, the title of ‘king’ was not restricted to the Babylonians, and EN should be translated as ‘king’ instead of *bēlum* (Lord) in the Old Akkadian period. The latter appeared only one millennium later as equivalent of EN. In this same period, the kings of Ebla and Tell Baydar called themselves EN exactly as the rulers of Subartu in the Basitki statue and those of the great revolt have been called; cf. Westenholz, *op. cit.*, p. 47, note 151.

campaigns against the land of ‘Talḫatum.’³⁰⁴ This implies that Talḫatum must have been within or at least on the borders of Subartu. This land was mentioned as one of the stations the Old Assyrian merchants passed through on their way to Cappadocia.³⁰⁵ It is now known that it was between the two tributaries of the Habur, Wadi Zerkān and Wadi Jirjib, to the south of Yaḫturum.³⁰⁶ Although too fragmentary, the inscription (*RIME* 2, E2.1.4.30) attributed to Narām-Sîn, judging by its royal titles, concerns campaigns to regions in Subartu with basically Hurrian-like GNs, such as Zumḫinnum, Šewin-[], Šu’awe, Azuḫinnum, [...]-we.³⁰⁷ The fragment of a stele of Narām-Sîn found in Pīr-Hussein (Fig. 7), 25 kms to the northeast of Diyarbakir, can be attributed to this phase of Akkadian expansion to the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates.

On the eastern front Narām-Sîn needed to pacify relations with Awan, probably to concentrate his efforts on the Gutians in the north, who became active from his reign on. This was done in the beginning of his reign by the conclusion of a treaty with the king of Awan, who may have been Ḫitā.³⁰⁸ Later studies of the treaty, written in Elamite, revealed that Narām-Sîn had actually asked for support from Awan that sent in response some troops headed by an Elamite general.³⁰⁹ Niqqum (most probably at or near modern Khanaqīn)³¹⁰ was close to the centre of Akkad’s power and may have been subdued earlier. It was ruled by a certain Karšum, styling himself as “Governor of Niqqum, his (i.e. Narām-Sîn) servant,” in an inscription on a mace-head.³¹¹ A Hittite literary text counts Niqqum among the king’s enemies,³¹² but this might be dated before or after the phase when Niqqum was under the firm control of this vassal of Narām-Sîn. A copper bowl bearing the name of Narām-Sîn is said to have come from Luristan,³¹³ and an axe-head also from Luristan³¹⁴ may relate to this event.

Although there is no evidence of direct enduring rule, it seems very likely that the Akkadians under Narām-Sîn could have expanded their influence, at least for a certain time, to the northern and northeastern territories, including to the east of the Tigris. This could be indicated by the presence of military garrisons scattered over the area, from northern Syria to

³⁰⁴ Gelb translates it as “tribute.” Cf.: *HS*, p. 36. The sign NIDBA used here is confusing, since it means “food/bread offering,” so both translations are linguistically justifiable. A fragmentary Old Babylonian copy of a royal inscription of Narām-Sîn (UM 29-16-103) in the collection of the University Museum of Philadelphia published in 1986 by Michalowski points to a military operation in Subartu, stating “The destroyer of the weapons of Subir,” cf.: Michalowski, P. “The Earliest Hurrian Toponymy: A New Sargonic Inscription,” *ZA* 76 (1986), p. 5, lines 6-8.

³⁰⁵ Gadd, “The Dynasty of Agade...,” p. 442. Talḫat/dum was actually equated with Tilḫad of the OA tablets of Kaniš, an important station on the way to Kaniš. It has been identified with the Classical Δολίχη, probably in modern Tell Dülük, 11 kms to the north of Gazi °Aintab (= Gaziantep), cf. Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 129-130.

³⁰⁶ Cf. Charpin, D., Un itinéraire paléo-babylonienne le long du Habur, *Entre les fleuves-I, Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie Obermesopotamiens im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, ed. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and N. Ziegler, Gladbeck, 2009, map on p. 69; Guichard, M., Šuduḫum, un royaume d’Ida-Maraş et ses rois Yatâr-malik, Hammî-kün et Amud-pā-El,” *Entre les fleuves...*, p. 100. Veenhof puts it further to the north, in the general area of Viranşehir: Veenhof, K. R., Across the Euphrates, *Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period*, ed. J. G. Dercksen, Leiden, 2008, p. 21.

³⁰⁷ For the text cf. *RIME* 2, p. 141f. (text E2.1.4.30).

³⁰⁸ Hinz, “Persia...,” *CAH*, p. 651; Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 92. The suggestion was made by Cameron in his *History of Early Iran*. Hinz also thinks the treaty dates to an early stage of the reign of Narām-Sîn. His argument is that he is not deified in the text of the treaty: Hinz, W., “Elams Vertrag mit Narām-Sîn von Akkade,” *ZA* 58 (1967), p. 96. However, it is very probable that Narām-Sîn had used deification signs only in the inscriptions directed to his subjects, not to his international counterparts, especially because he treated the other party of the treaty, Ḫitā in all probability, as his equal partner, not a vassal.

³⁰⁹ Hinz, *op. cit.*, p. 651, see also *idem*, “Elams Vertrag ...,” *ZA* 58 (1967), p. 95.

³¹⁰ Cf. Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 151.

³¹¹ Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 167 (E2.1.4.2005, l. 17-19); p. 167-8 (E2.1.4.2006, l. 8-10).

³¹² Potts, *Mesopotamia and ...*, p. 107, note 131.

³¹³ Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 168-9 (E2.1.4.2007).

³¹⁴ Potts, *Mesopotamia and ...*, p. 114.

west Iran,³¹⁵ and the discovery of monuments bearing his name, in such areas as Basitki to the south of Duhok, the above-mentioned Pīr-Hussein and his famous victory stele found in Susa commemorating a victory over the Lullubians.³¹⁶ The Lullubians depicted on the stele (described above) are characterized by their long braided hair. Similar braided-hair prisoners have been depicted on other Akkadian steles (Fig. 8), but we cannot be sure if they were Lullubians. Other peoples in the Zagros could have had braided hair in this period. The depiction of a tree in a realistic style seems very likely to be an oak tree (Fig. 5b), a common tree in the region even now.

Some Akkadian cylinder seals that depict victory scenes over gods from the mountains have been attributed to this time, when the mountainous territories were controlled by Akkad. The legend of one of these seals reads “As long as Ištar-anunitum holds sway over the mountain gods, ^dx and Ea provide abundant yields at home.”³¹⁷ Military force was not the only means Narām-Sîn used to exercise his influence. The presence of his daughter Tar’am-Agade in Urkeš, where her sealings are found, means that the king of Agade used diplomacy too. Tar’am-Agade was most probably the wife of the ruler of Urkeš. A princess of Marḥaši was also married to Šarkališarrī or to his son.³¹⁸

Narām-Sîn, like Sargon, had to confront a great revolt,³¹⁹ one announced by the “four quarters of the world,” from Anatolia to Oman. Some later traditions say that Narām-Sîn had to fight the Babylonians and the hordes of barbarians, and that the latter had to be tested to see if they really were human.³²⁰ Among the rebels mentioned in two versions of the story were the kings Puttim-atal of Šimurrum, Ingi, king of the land of Namar, Riš-Adad, king of Apišal, Gula-AN of Gutium and Duḥsusu, king of Mardaman.³²¹ There are also four other kings whose names are broken: [...]-el of Kakmum, [...]-a-i/el of Lullum,³²² [...-a]n-da of Ḫaḥḥum, and [...]-ḥa-AN or [...l]i-i-AN of Turukkum.³²³ Another version from Mari adds

³¹⁵ Kuhrt, *op. cit.*, p. 50. There are indications of what were presumably such garrisons in Brak and Gasur (see above), but, as far as I know, no such indications have been found in Western Iran. All we have is evidence of the temporary presence of Akkadian troops in Susa when on campaign.

³¹⁶ The larger rock-relief of Darband-i-Gaur (Fig. 7a-d of Chapter Three), to the south of Sulaimaniya, is traditionally thought to have been a copy of the Narām-Sîn victory stele found in Susa, but it is very possible it was carved by a local king, a Lullubian or more probably the Gutian Erridu-Pizir, to commemorate his triumph over Amnili of Madga; for this and more details, cf. Chapter Three; for its attribution to Narām-Sîn cf., for example, Strommenger, E., *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien*, München, 1962, p. 26; Huot, J.-L., *Une archéologie des peuples du Proche-Orient*, vol. I, Paris, 2004, p. 142.

³¹⁷ Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 49, note 161.

³¹⁸ Van de Mieroop, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Potts, *Mesopotamia and ...*, p. 27.

³¹⁹ It is not yet certain whether the revolt broke out in the beginning of his reign, as suggested by Gadd, “The Dynasty of Agade...,” p. 441; Jacobsen, Th., “Iphur-kishi and his time,” *AfO* 26 (1979), p. 13; Steinkeller, “The Question of Marḥaši...,” *ZA* 72 (1982), p. 258; or at its end: Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 52.

³²⁰ 65) *ina luṭē luput ina šillē* [suḫul] 66) [šumma dāmū ušūni] *kī nāšīma amēlū šunu* 67) [šumma dāmū la ušū] *ni šēdū namtarū* 68) [utuk] *kū rābišū lemnūte šipir Enlil šunu*, “65) Strike (them) with the stiletto! Prick (them) with the pin! 66) [If blood comes out], they are men like us. 67) [If blood does not come out], they are (evil) spirits, messengers of death, 68) [fi]ends, malevolent demons, creatures of Enlil:” Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*, p. 314, 22: 65-68.

³²¹ Cf.: Studevant-Hickman and Morgan, *Old Akkadian Period Texts, The Ancient Near East...*, p. 32, and Boissier, A., “Inscription de Narām-Sin,” *RA* 16 (1919), p. 164, l. 40; cf. also Hirsch, “Die Inschriften ...,” *AfO* 20 (1963), p. 25 (note that the names of the kings are not cited in Hirsch).

³²² This name was collated as *Lapna-ila*, see above.

³²³ Cf. Westenholz, *Legends of...*, p. 242-5; 248-253; Grayson and Sollberger, “L’insurrection général ...,” *RA* 70 (1976), p. 120-121; cf. also: Wilcke, C., “Amar-girids Revolte gegen Narām-Su’en,” *ZA* 87 (1997), for the text see p. 22ff.; Foster, B., *Before the Muses, An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*, Bethesda, 2005, p. 119-20. A list of rebellious lands from Ḫattušša (KBo III 13 = 2BoTU 3) gives different names; Para[h]šum occurs also in the text of the Great Revolt, but it shares 5-6 with text L published by Grayson and Sollberger, among which is Niqqum. The new names contained are Isqipp[u] of the Cedar Trees Mountains, Ur-[b]anda of Niqqum, and probably Ilšuna-il of Turukku(?): Güterbock, “Die historische Tradition...,” *ZA* 10 (1938), p. 68.

Pašaḥnadgalni, the man of Lullubum,³²⁴ which is different from the [...]-a-i/el of text L, l. 4'.³²⁵ It is noteworthy that these people are called 'kings' while others are called 'the man of...,' such as those of Amurru, Kanišum, Dēr, Meluḥḥa. This distinction may relate to the power, rank, legitimacy (from the Mesopotamian viewpoint), influence, and tribal (or non-tribal) structure of the communities under their rule. It could also be different political systems, unknown to Mesopotamians and so unclassified which prompted the title "man of ... (GN)." Narām-Sîn boasts of his victory, which brought about the defeat of them all, even though some details are missing because of the fragmentary state of the tablet. According to the text that narrates the revolt of Amar-girid of Uruk against Narām-Sîn as part of the great Revolt, Amar-girid had asked the rulers of the highlands and the *ensis* of Subartu to join him, but they were, as the text says, afraid of the god Ilaba. This is why Amar-girid fled from Ašīmanum in the eastern Transtigris to Mount Basar after he crossed Šišil on the Tigris.³²⁶

As we can see, both conflicting sides, namely the states of the south and the mountainous peoples, whether organized in kingdoms, principdoms or tribal federations, were engaged in a bitter constant struggle. Again, the Gutians, who seemingly had had some bases in the Diyāla region since the time of Narām-Sîn,³²⁷ moved against Šārkališarrī (2217-2193 BC) at a time when the Akkadians were enduring hard times in Elam in the east and with the Amorites in Mount Basar in the west. Among the rebels were governors already installed by the Akkadians, such as 'Epirmubi' the *šakkanakkum* of Elam and perhaps 'Ititi,' who was governor of Assur. Ititi had once raided Gasur,³²⁸ probably a sign of the loose control of Narām-Sîn on his vassals. In the upper Diyāla too, Kimaš and Ḫurti revolted. Hence Šārkališarrī seems to have asked his Elamite vassal 'Kutik-Inšušināk' to carry out a campaign to subdue them.³²⁹ The inscription of the statue of this Elamite king enumerates over 70 place names which were "thrown beneath his feet at one blow."³³⁰ One of these names is 'Gutu,' which means he had campaigned in the northwestern mountains, perhaps to support the Akkadians. Kutik-Inšušināk concludes his inscription with the statement that the king of Simaški came to him and presented the tokens of obedience. It is noteworthy that the kings of Simaški followed those of Awan to the throne of Elam, with Kutik-Inšušināk the last.³³¹ From two date formulae it appears that Šārkališarrī had defeated the Gutians and even, according to one of them, taken prisoner "Šārlak, king of Gutium."³³² However, this could neither stop the growing threat of the Gutians, nor save the disintegrating empire of Akkad, which was

³²⁴ Charpin, "La version Mariote...", *FM* 3, l. 6' (text M.8696), p. 10 and 12.

³²⁵ For this text cf. Grayson and Sollberger, *RA* 70, p. 115.

³²⁶ According to Westenholz and Sommerfeld the text says that the rulers and *ensis* were afraid and did not join the rebels: Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 53; Sommerfeld, W., "Narām-Sîn, die «Große Revolte» und MAR.TU^{ki}," *Assyriologica et Semitica, Festschrift für Jochaim Oelsner, anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 18. Februar 1997*, eds. J. Marzahn und H. Neumann, Münster, 2000, p. 422. But the text is at this point fragmentary; Wilcke reads *ki-ma* [l̄]-a-ba₄, [la i-p]á-la-ḫu, cf. Wilcke, "Amar-girids Revolte ...," p. 22, J I 12-23. Frayne reads ...*ki-ma* [d]En-lil (not Ilaba!) [i]-pa-la-ḫu, cf. Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 91, i 17-19. It seems to me that there is no room on the tablet for a sign *la*. The city of Šišil looks very likely to be the OB Šasillānum in the northern Transtigris, close to the Tigris, south of the lower Zāb, cf. Goetze, A., "Sin-iddinam of Larsa, New Tablets from his Reign," *JCS* 4 (1950), p. 95. Another probable Šišil occurs in the Harmal Geographical List as *ši-«il»-ši-il* in association with place names in the Diyāla Region that begins with Ešnunna and ends with Niqqum and Karḫar (?), indicating another Šišil in this region, about the list cf. Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 69. Ašīmanum could be the Ur III Simanum.

³²⁷ Kuhrt, *op. cit.*, p. 52; 56.

³²⁸ Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 56, note 215. This is implied by his dedicatory inscription in which he says that the dedication was made from the booty of Gasur; for the inscription, cf. Grayson, *RIMA* I, p. 7 (A.0.1001).

³²⁹ Hinz, "Persia ...," *CAH*, p. 652.

³³⁰ Hinz, *op. cit.*, p. 652-3.

³³¹ Hinz, *op. cit.*, p. 653; for the location of S/Sīmaški, cf. Chapter Five, under the paragraph discussing l. 92-94 of the Haladiny Inscription.

³³² Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 183, k [i]n 1 MU.... ù mŠar-la-ak LUGAL Gu₄-ti-um^{ki} ik-mi-ù.

suffering an internal dispute for power. This can be deduced from the famous and expressive sentence of the Sumerian King List: “Who was king? Who was not king?”³³³ In an omen we read: “The omen of Šārkalīšarrī... ruin of Akkad; the enemy will fall upon thy peace.”³³⁴ Mesopotamian sources attest to being deceived by a sudden and overwhelming rush of the wild tribes,³³⁵ so that the Gutians occupied some parts of southern Mesopotamia. Even the god Enlil acknowledged the kingship of some of their kings, for they are listed in the SKL. The situation was now reversed, with the Gutians becoming a constant menace for Akkad, in contrast to the past, when Sargon and Narām-Sîn were a threat to them and their neighbours. This new threat was expressed in a letter dated in the reign of Šārkalīšarrī and sent by a certain Iškun-Dagān to Lugalra.³³⁶ He orders him to plough the field without arguing that the Gutians are nearby; in case they raided the region he would have to collect the cattle and bring them into the city.³³⁷ The hoards discovered in Brak (see below), and other sites such as Tell Taya that date to the Akkadian period, might refer to unstable political conditions in which many rich families lost their feeling of security. It appears that the empire of Akkad had lost many, if not all, of its territories at this time and had shrunk to a mere city-state. This can perhaps be implied in the title “Šārkalīšarrī, the mighty, god of the land of Akkad”³³⁸ instead of that of his predecessors, “king of the universe, king of the quarters of the world.”

Although the great revolt under Narām-Sîn was connected in the traditions with the fall of Akkad, “the great revolt was apparently a purely Mesopotamian affair, while the barbarians

³³³ Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, p. 113.

³³⁴ Gadd, “The Dynasty of Agade...,” p. 457, referring to Nougayrol, J., “Notes sur la place des ‘presages historiques’ dans l’extispicine babylonienne,” *École Pratique des Hautes Études, Annuaire* (1944-5), p. 1ff. Gadd has not determined from which period the omen derives, and the original article of Thureau-Dangin which he cited could not be consulted. This omen is also not listed in the article of H. Hirsch about the inscriptions of the kings of Akkad. Instead, he cites the OB version of the omen that mentions the death of Šārkalīšarrī: ... *a-mu-ut Ša-ar-ka-al-šar-ri ša wa-ar-du-ú-šu 'i-na' ku-nu-uk-ka-šu-nu i-du-ku-ú-šu*, “Omen of Šārkalīšarrī, whose slaves killed with their seals,” Hirsch, “Die Inschriften ...,” *AFO* 20 (1963), p. 30.

³³⁵ See next chapter.

³³⁶ Although Hallo sees in the letter “an ambiguous piece of contemporary testimony” that needs to be used with utmost caution, it still testifies that the Gutians were involved in raids to rustle cattle in the Akkadian domains, whether widely or on a limited scale. For Hallo’s opinion cf. Hallo, W. W., *The World’s Oldest Literature, Studies in Sumerian Belles-Lettres*, Leiden, 2010, p. 437.

³³⁷ The letter, probably from Adab, is as follows: 1) *en-ma* 2) *Iš-ku-un-^dDa-gan* 3) *a-na LUGAL.RA* 4) *AŠA₅-lam 'à-ru-uš* 5) *ù MĀŠ.ANŠE ù-šú-ur* 6) *a-pu-na-ma* 7) *Gu-ti-um-ma-mi* 8) *AŠA₅-lam* 9) *ù-la a-ru-uš* 10) *a taq-bi* 11) *a-na ½ 'DA'.NA.TA* 12) *ma-ag-ga-ti* 13) *su-si-ib-ma* 14) *at-ta* 15) *AŠA₅-lam 'à-ru-uš* 16) *ki ĜURUŠ. ĜURUŠ* 17) *u-wa-kà-mu* 18) *ti-bu-tám* 19) *li-se₁₁-ù-ni-kum-ma* 20) *MĀŠ.ANŠE a-na URU^{ki}-lim* 21) *su-tá-ri-ib* 22) *'šum¹-ma MĀŠ.ANŠE-mi* 23) *Gu-^rti-ù it-^rru¹-ù* 24) *ù a-na-ku₈* 25) *mi-ma ù-la a-qá-bi* 26) *'KŪ.BABBAR¹-am a-na-da-kum* 27) *'a¹-ni* 28) *na- 'à-aš Šar-kà-lí-šar-ri* 29) *ù-má* 30) *šum-ma MĀŠ.ANŠE* 31) *Gu-ti-ù it-ru-ù* 32) *in ra-ma-ni-kà* 33) *lu tá-na-da-nu* 34) *a-na-lim-ma ki a-la-kam* 35) *KŪ.BABBAR-am a-na-da-nu-kum* 36) *ù at-tá MĀŠ.ANŠE* 37) *ù-la tá-na-ša-ar* 38) *iš-pi-kí* 39) *gi-nu-tim* 40) *a-ri-iš-kà* 41) *MU.DUG lu ti-da*, “Thus (says) Iškun-Dagan to Lugalra: Work the field and guard the flocks! Just don’t say to me: “It is (the fault of) the Gutians; I could not work the land!” Man *outposts* every mile, and then you will be able to work the land! If the soldiers attack, you can raise help and have the herd brought into the city. In the event that (you tell me) “the Gutians have rustled the flocks,” I will say nothing about it and (just) pay you the money. Look here, I swear by the life of (king) Šārkalīšarrī that if the Gutians rustle the flocks, and you have to pay from your own assets, I will (re)pay you the money when I arrive in town. But even if you don’t succeed in guarding the herds, I will ask you for the correct (amount) of field-rent (that you owe me)! ... you should know (this)!;” for the transliteration and translation cf. Michalowski, P., *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*, Atlanta, 1993, p. 27-8. Note that Michalowski has *ú* instead of *u* in l. 17 (compare the transcription in Smith, S., “Notes on the Gutian Period,” *JRAS* (1932), p. 296; for this letter cf. also Kienast, B. and K. Volk, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Briefe des III. Jahrtausends aus der Zeit vor der III. Dynastie von Ur, FAOS* 19, Stuttgart, 1995, 89-94; Oppenheim, A. L., *Letters from Mesopotamia*, Chicago, 1971, p. 71-2; and compare Foster, *Before the Muses*, p. 70. Note that Foster reads the signs MĪ as MI (l. 22); AŠ as ÁŠ (l. 28); puts the divinity sign before the name of the king (l. 28); and TÁ as TA (l. 36): Foster, B., “The Gutian Letter Again,” *NABU* 1990, no. 46, p. 31.

³³⁸ 1) *dŠar-kà-lí-LUGAL-ri* 2) *da-núm* 3) *DINGIR ma-ti URI (*)^{ki}*. Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 206 (E2.1.5.2012, l. 1-3).

played a significant part in the Empire's destruction."³³⁹ The fall of Akkad perhaps occurred in the time of Šu-d/turul (2168-2154 BC) as the result of a Gutian attack. Gutian soldiers had been serving in the Akkadian army, perhaps since the time of Narām-Sîn,³⁴⁰ and they must have been a good support for their kinsmen in that attack. Although this attack and the fall of Akkad took place more than 60 years after the reign of Narām-Sîn, later scribes of Sumer insist that it was a divine revenge taken for Narām-Sîn's violation of the Ekur of Enlil in Nippur, as the 'Curse of Agade' states.³⁴¹

In a later chronicle it is the god Marduk who acts: "The god Marduk twice raised against him (Narām-Sîn) the horde of the Gutians who harried his people and received his kingdom as the god's gift."³⁴² It is more surprising that the Lullubians were probably the people who began to raid the whole dominion, according to an Old Babylonian copy of a literary composition known as 'The Cuthean Legend of Narām-Sîn.' There is an allusion in the text to a certain Annubanini as the king who led the attacking troops and whose name is identical to Annubanini of the Lullubu. According to the legend, they began to overwhelm the lands from the very north in Purušhanda in Asia Minor, entering northern Mesopotamia in Subartu, taking Šubat-Enlil, Gutium, Elam, Babylonia, reaching the Gulf in southernmost Mesopotamia, and also taking revenge on Narām-Sîn.³⁴³ The formidable power ascribed to the Lullubians in this composition was perhaps an attempt to express the enormity of the sin committed by Narām-Sîn.

Archaeology

Excavated materials dating to the Akkadian period in the region are not abundant, particularly in the east Tigris region. However, at Gasur, the city preceding later Nuzi, has come material from the Akkadian Period. The levels ('pavements' according to the excavator) IX to IIA have been attributed to the period when the city was called Gasur. In level IX remnants of a mud-brick enclosure wall, ovens, bowls of crude workmanship, whorls, stone-beads, some incised and some painted or knobbed sherds were found.³⁴⁴ In the following levels other material, such as different types of wares, human and animal figurines, small copper animal figurines, terra-cotta moulds for casting ornaments and tools, pieces of chariots, stamp-seal impressions, a few cylinder seals³⁴⁵ and the like were found. Compensation for this generally poor Gasur level came from the discovery of clay tablets, referred to previously in this chapter. They were found in the palace area, room L 4 of the Nuzi occupation, pavements P. II A to P. VII,³⁴⁶ and consist of records regarding land, the payment of wages to workmen, purchases, records of instalments due to and received, records of interest due, deliveries of goods, lists of goods and the like, with a few school texts and eight letters.³⁴⁷ The Gasur texts deal with business at Aššur, Simurru, Ḫamazi, Lullubum and Agade. Among the tablets is a small fragment of a house plan with an outer compound wall, neatly incised on a flat clay slab, showing a developed architectural technique.³⁴⁸ The important discovery of the tablet with the 'map' (Fig. 9) is "the oldest ever discovered in

³³⁹ Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 52.

³⁴⁰ Kuhrt, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

³⁴¹ For the relevant passage in the 'Curse of Agade,' see Chapter Three.

³⁴² Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 454.

³⁴³ Westenholz, *op. cit.*, p. 311 ff. About the Lullubian participation in this episode, cf. Veenhof, K. R., "Naramsin van Akkad slaat 'de Grote Opstand' neer," *Zij Schreven Geschiedenis*, p. 17.

³⁴⁴ Starr, R. F. S., *Nuzi*, vol. I, Harvard, 1939, p. 18-19.

³⁴⁵ Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 19-20.

³⁴⁶ cf. Meek, *Excavations at Nuzi*, vol. III, p. vii-viii.

³⁴⁷ Meek, *Old Akkadian*, p. xviii.

³⁴⁸ Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

Mesopotamia, or anywhere else.”³⁴⁹ It describes an estate. Where and on what scale is not precisely known, but it was situated, according to Meek, somewhere in the Transtigris, perhaps in the region round Gasur itself.³⁵⁰ Three geographic directions are preserved on the tablet: the west “IM.MAR.TU,” the east “IM.KUR,” and the north “IM.MIR.”³⁵¹ Two mountain ranges or hill chains are clearly given, but no names are recorded. The water courses could be rivers or canals. All that is why it is difficult to identify the place. But some precise data is given. In the centre is a circle, to the left of which is written *10 bur 10 bur minus 6 gán ma₄-a*, meaning “180 + 180 - 6 (= 354) *gán* or *iku* of cultivated land” (slightly more than 3000 acres).³⁵² To the right of the circle is written *ša-at A-za-la* “belonging to Azala,” or less probably *ša-ad A-za-la*³⁵³ “Mount Azala,” which refers to the estate. Azala may be a personal or a geographic name.³⁵⁴ Other circles indicate city names, but only *Maš-gán BĀD-ib-la* is completely preserved. The suggestion to identify this GN with *Dūr-ubla* of the Nuzi texts³⁵⁵ seems very likely. Another city in the left-hand corner of the east side is probably *Gu-zi-ad*, which also occurs in the texts, but only the last sign is clearly preserved. A third city appears to the right of the centre of the map, but only the first signs are clearly preserved: *Bi-ni-za*-[...]. Beside a watercourse flowing from the northwest is written *Gur(?)gi*, and it joins two other tributaries, also flowing from the north towards the southeast corner of the tablet. Another river or canal flows from the western chain and joins the main stream in the southeastern corner (See Fig. 9). The main river is called *Ra-ḫi-um* “The fructifier,”³⁵⁶ but the name of the other is unfortunately badly damaged and only the last two signs are legible: [...]-*ru-um*; the preceding two signs could be *im-da/ḫu*.³⁵⁷ It is difficult to assume that these watercourses represent large rivers like the Tigris, the Lower Zāb or the Diyāla (Sirwān), as cautiously proposed by Meek.³⁵⁸ The area the map depicts is smaller than would be shown on a large-scale map of the Tigris and its tributaries, the Zāb and Sirwān, and the mountain chains of Hamrin and the Zagros. It rather shows a smaller district within the larger area, perhaps farther to the east or northeast, with which Gasur had economic relations. It was excavated together with business documents, implying that its purpose was economic rather than scientific, identifying parcels of land that had been bought or sold.

Level IIB yielded a mud brick structure consisting of two rooms and a courtyard. The room numbered 1 contained pottery of both Gasur and Nuzi types, indicating a transitional phase between the two cultures. Level IIA contained rooms in a similar plan to those of level IIB.³⁵⁹ The temple G and the northwestern unit of temple F of Nuzi were, according to its excavator, products of Gasur architecture.³⁶⁰

Thanks to the numerous excavations in northern Syria, and to a lesser degree in south-eastern Anatolia, more datable Akkadian Period material comes from the north-west than from other parts. Brak was already a significant centre in the ED III and the preceding periods, as indicated by its large public building. It was also one of the earlier excavated sites

³⁴⁹ Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

³⁵⁰ Meek thinks it is certainly located somewhere between the Zagros Mountains and the chain of hills running north and south through Kirkuk, cf. Meek, *op. cit.*, p. xviii.

³⁵¹ Instead of IM.SI.SA!

³⁵² Meek, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

³⁵³ Meek, Th. J., “Some Gleanings from the Last Excavations at Nuzi,” *AASOR* 13 (1931-32), p. 2.

³⁵⁴ Meek, *Old Akkadian* ..., p. xvii.

³⁵⁵ For this cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 312 (with bibliography); Röllig, W., “Landkarten,” *RIA* 6 (1980-1983), p. 464. According to the data from Nuzi, *Dūr-ubla* was a fortified city bordering the land of Kuššu(ḫ)ḫe and was connected to Tupšarri(we) with a road, cf. Fincke, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

³⁵⁶ Cf. also *CAD* vol. R, p. 76, *rāḫū*, translated as “inseminator, incubus.”

³⁵⁷ Meek, *Old Akkadian* ..., p. xvii.

³⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. xviii.

³⁵⁹ Starr, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

³⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

to provide evidence of Akkadian material. The large fort (1 ha) there, built with bricks bearing Narām-Sîn's name (Fig. 10),³⁶¹ apparently served as an administrative centre of the upper Habur Plains. This was confirmed by the administrative texts found there concerning the delivery of rations, receipts and deliveries of silver and lists of textiles, livestock and the like. All date to the later part of the Akkadian Empire (the reigns of Narām-Sîn and Šārkališarrī). The numerous long narrow chambers and large courtyards were used to store grain, collected as tax from the surrounding territories and to provide provisions of the Akkadian army.³⁶² Later excavations revealed temples with broken axes like those from the Diyāla region.³⁶³ Of the four phases of Akkadian occupation levels discovered during new excavations of Brak, phase 2 (HS 3 area) contained a building of red mud-brick with associated courtyard surfaces. A suite of two rooms, located to the east of the courtyard wall, was constructed with mud-bricks and its floors were paved with baked bricks.³⁶⁴ Under a stone slab on the floor of the room 1 were two complete pots buried in a pit, the large pot, of which the clay sealings were still on the rim, contained valuable small items (Fig. 11) such as silver rings, ingots and sheets, bronze rings, a silver lamb figurine, two large gold leaf-shaped beads, an incised red jasper pendant, a lapis-lazuli date-cluster bead and eleven carnelian beads.³⁶⁵ The Anzu figure of lapis-lazuli and the golden mask must count as the most striking items of this group. Another unique piece is the golden plaque, showing two crossed lions with long necks, a motif that was well-known in the Uruk Period seals and reliefs. Two other pendants were found, one representing two bulls of lapis-lazuli, and the other two rams of stone.³⁶⁶ A similar piece had been found by Mallowan at the same site, also dated to the Akkadian Period. Another extensive brick structure in area HP also seems to date to the Akkadian Period. The building (29 by 8.5 m) consists of a mass of neat red brickwork (36 by 36 by 8 cm bricks) with additional grey brickwork (28 by 28 by 8 cm) at its eastern end.³⁶⁷ From this area came 277 sealings of the Akkadian period among which were 52 different seal impressions.³⁶⁸

Two temples were uncovered in Tell Chuera³⁶⁹ also dating to the reign of Narām-Sîn. In front of the northern temple a large oblong slab was found with cavities alongside, perhaps to catch the blood of slaughtered animal offerings.³⁷⁰ Cult objects of Akkadian style have been found in a stone building to the south of the tell together with a row of monolithic standing pillars. This clearly indicates the building had a religious function and shows "links with Mesopotamia and the essentially northern, non-Sumerian characters of cult."³⁷¹ The sculpture of Chuera, represented by statues of men praying (Fig. 12), are strikingly reminiscent of those from the temple of Abu in Tell Asmar in the Diyāla region.³⁷²

A significant discovery was made in Jebelet el-Beidha, some 80 km to the west of Halaf. Two stelae of black basalt (Fig. 13), one of them almost 12 feet high, depict a figure that

³⁶¹ A fragmentary votive inscription bearing the name of Rīmuš in the fortress makes it possible that the site was occupied since his time, not in the reign of Narām-Sîn; cf. Weiss, H., "Tell Leilan on the Habur Plains of Syria," *Biblical Archaeologist*, vol. 48, no. 1 (March 1985), p. 25.

³⁶² Akkermans and Schwartz, *The Archaeology of Syria*, p. 279.

³⁶³ Akkermans and Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

³⁶⁴ Matthews, R. J., W. Matthews and H. McDonald, "Excavations in Tell Brak," *Iraq* 56 (1994), p. 182.

³⁶⁵ Matthews, *et al. op. cit.*, p. 186, cf also Huot, *Une archéologie des peuples du Proche-Orient*, vol. I, p. 167. The hoard can be older than Akkadian, cf. Akkermans and Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

³⁶⁶ Matthews, *et al. ibid.*

³⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 187.

³⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 188.

³⁶⁹ There were problems with dating level I in the tell. At first it was all attributed to the Akkadian Period. Later study revealed that it dated to the ED Period; cf. Orthmann, W., The Origins of Tell Chuera, in *The Origins of Cities*, p. 62.

³⁷⁰ Bottéro, J., "Syria before 2200 B.C," p. 332.

³⁷¹ Bottéro, *ibid.* The ram's pendant was found separately.

³⁷² Huot, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

wears the fringed garments of Early Dynastic times. Bottéro thinks the stelae were erected by the inhabitants of the city in memory of a Mesopotamian conqueror, perhaps Lugalzaggesi. Or they could commemorate a local ruler, since several alabaster statues of votaries have been found that show the same hairstyle, beard and the Mesopotamian sheep-skin skirt.³⁷³ A closer look at the stelae³⁷⁴ especially at the bird-like faces with the pointed noses and receding chins, evokes comparison with faces on reliefs from Luristan and Elam (for examples see figs. 14-16). The typical hair style also is similar to what is depicted on a bronze plate from Luristan, although later in date (Fig. 17).

The reliefs of Gunduk near Akrē (Fig. 18a) are relevant here. They consist of three panels, the largest of which (6 by 3 m) represents a hunter, most probably a royal figure hunting an ibex. The ibex has been shot with a spear³⁷⁵ and has fallen on its front knee, with one leg stretched forward and the other bent under itself. Its large horns have been depicted clearly. The hunter wears a short garment or tunic fastened with a belt. Traces of his braided hair are still visible at the back of his head.³⁷⁶ Although eroded, the rounded head and face, without a beard but with a moustache, can still be seen. The gesture of the figure captures the moment when the hunter shot his spear. The lower panel represents a ceremonial scene that consists of at least 5 adults and 3 children. There are no visible traces of beards on the faces of the adult figures. They could be all female, but depictions of many royal figures from the Zagros show them often beardless.³⁷⁷ Two seated figures wearing long garments appear to be central to the scene. They are distinguished by their relatively large sizes. The one on the right is male with braided hair and the other is apparently female. Al-Amīn thinks they are carrying cups,³⁷⁸ but no cups are shown; they are holding children instead. The scene may be a ceremonial occasion in which children are involved. The adults may be attending to the ceremonial washing of two of the children in a large vessel placed between them, with the help of two others on the left side of the scene. Could it be a sort of Baptism? Another woman on the right perhaps is bringing water in a vessel positioned on her head. On the extreme right side of the panel two persons wearing short tunics are butchering the game, with one pulling on the spear stuck into the ibex as shown on the main scene.³⁷⁹ This scene was not directly drawn by Bachmann, for he drew from his photographs, but they were drawn by Layard (Fig. 18b). The other adult figures of this panel all wear long garments, and the belt of one of them is visible.

³⁷³ Bottéro, *op. cit.*, p. 333. It is a strange suggestion that a conquered people would have made a statue of the conqueror. Further, it is difficult to accept that Lugalzaggesi ever reached these territories.

³⁷⁴ The stelae were unfortunately lost in the Berlin Museum during the bombardments of WW II.

³⁷⁵ The white curved lines in front of the human figure was thought to be the bow, but better examination showed they are lines caused by erosion. Thus the ibex is shot by a spear, not an arrow; cf.

(ترجمة شنه المفتي) گتوقاری کتوری زانیاری عتراق- دهستهی کوردی، بهرگی ۱۶-۱۷ (۱۹۸۱)، ص. "المنحوتات الصخرية في كهف گندک في کردستان،" وهبي، توفيق، ۵۵۷.

[Wahbi, T., "The Rock-reliefs in Gunduk Cave in Kurdistan," *Journal of the Iraqi Academy- Kurdish Corporation*, vol. 16-17 (1987), p. 557. (in Arabic, originally published in Kurdish in 1948)].

³⁷⁶ الامين، محمود، "استكشافات اثرية جديدة في شمال العراق"، سومر ۴، الجزء ۲ (۱۹۴۸)، ص. ۲۰۵.

[Al-Amīn, M., "New Archaeological Discoveries in Northern Iraq," *Sumer* 4, part 2 (1948), p. 205 (in Arabic)]. About the relief cf. also Börker- Klähn, J., *Alt Vorderasiatische Bildstelen und Vergleichbare felsreliefs*, Mainz, 1982, p. 234 (text); no. 274-6 (plates), which is more succinct.

³⁷⁷ This is reminiscent of the reliefs of Darband-i-Bēlūle and later figures of the Zagros in the second millennium BC; cf. for instance the seals and reliefs of Iddin-Sin of Simurrum and the seal impression of Pišendēn of Itabaluḫum found in Shemshāra. For the seal impression, cf. Eidem, J. and E. Möller, "A Royal Seal from the Ancient Zagros," *MARI* 6, Paris, 1990, p. 636.

³⁷⁸ For detailed description of the reliefs cf.

الامين، ص. ۲۰۴-۲۰۸.

³⁷⁹ الامين، ص. ۲۰۵.

Another panel (Fig. 19), hardly visible, was discovered in 1947 by Al-Amīn. It depicts a horned figure (a god) sitting on a seat. This person wears a headdress with two upward pointing horns. He has no beard or moustache, but has braided hair at the back of his head.³⁸⁰ He has something in his hand to feed the animal in front of him. The other animals around this person are a lioness (?) and ibexes or wild goats, one of which is climbing up a tree. The headdress of this person seems to be a leather on to which horns are fastened. The horns could be integral to the leather, since no lines separate the horns from the headdress. If it is a leather headdress, it has a parallel in that of the sitting person on the Elamite Kurangūn rock-relief in Western Fārs, Iran (Fig. 20), dated to the 17th century BC.³⁸¹ There, the headdress seems to be of leather with long tails at the rear. Another portion of the scene shows a female animal³⁸² feeding its baby and cared for by a woman wearing a long garment. The reliefs are neither Sumerian nor Akkadian in style. They are apparently indigenous art carved by local craftsmen of this region, dating, judging by its style, costumes and headdress, to the middle of the third millennium BC or slightly later. Perhaps it is attributable to a Subarian ruler.³⁸³ To Wahbi too, the reliefs represent a local, non-Assyrian, religious ceremonial sphere, archaeologically related to the nearby tell in the Gunduk Village.³⁸⁴ A similar figure of the hunter of the Gunduk relief is depicted on the rock-relief of Darband-i-Bēlūle (Fig. 4) mentioned previously. The relief is about 24 km to the southeast of Hōrēn-Shēkhān, south of Sulaimaniya. Although the relief is thought to date to the OB or even the MB Period,³⁸⁵ it depicts a large person that wears a short skirt and a cap on his head. He has a short dagger in his right hand. Before the photographs taken by Edmonds this was thought to be a stone hand-axe.³⁸⁶ He holds a bow in his left hand and is also completely clean-shaven.

Tell Leylān (period IIb) was surrounded in the Akkadian period by a defensive wall. A relocation of the rural populations to the newly circumvallated (and better controlled?) urban centre was taking place.³⁸⁷ According to some collected data, a programme of agricultural intensification in this period seems to have been followed and there are indications of a food rationing system for dependent workers.³⁸⁸ Among the important discoveries in Leylān are the school tablets found in the “tablet room” (Room 1, measuring 4.83 X 4.35 m) in square 44 W 16. These are associated with the earliest Akkadian building (Leylān IIb3) indicating that scribal training was being practised alongside Akkadian administration at an early stage of the Akkadian occupation of this site.³⁸⁹ One of the fully preserved tablets (L02-17) shows that the

³⁸⁰ الامين، ص. ٢٠٨.

³⁸¹ Dating according to Amiet, P. *et al*, *Art of the Ancient World, A Handbook of Styles and Forms*, London, 1981, p. 35.

³⁸² According to Al-Amīn, the animal is perhaps a bear, but this does not look likely:

الامين، ص. ٢٠٨.

³⁸³ Al-Amīn attributed it to the Hittites, cf.:

الامين، ص. ٢٠٨-٢١١.

According to Layard, they are Assyrian: Layard, H. A., *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 368 (referred to by Wahbi, *op. cit.*, p. 553), but this is very hard to accept.

³⁸⁴ وهي، ص. ٥٥٩، ٥٦٠-٣.

³⁸⁵ Farber, W., “Zur Datierung der Felsrelief von Šaiḥ-ḥān,” *AMI* 8 (1975), p. 50; Postgate, N. J. and M. Roaf, “The Shaikhan Relief,” *Al-Rāfidān* 18 (1997), p. 154.

³⁸⁶ Calmayer, P., “Hūrīn-Šaiḥān,” *RIA* 4 (1972-75), p. 504. See, for instance, the sketch in the article of Postgate and Roaf, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

³⁸⁷ Akkermans and Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 281. They state that the enclosure wall was built in this period for the first time around Tell Leylān. However, according to Weiss, this had been built around 2500 BC: Weiss, *The Origins of Tell Leilan*, p. 83; cf. also Weiss, “Tell Leilan on the Habur Plains of Syria,” *Biblical Archaeologist*, p. 24; 26.

³⁸⁸ Akkermans and Schwartz, *ibid.*

³⁸⁹ De Lillis Forrest, F., L. Milano and L. Mori, “The Akkadian Occupation in the Northwest Area of the Tell Leilan Acropolis,” *Kaskal* 4 (2007), p. 43 and 44.

language of the tablet was Akkadian, reporting an assignment (i-di-in) of 5 eggs to a certain Ti-ĪAR.³⁹⁰

Tell Mozan, ancient Urkeš, so far the most important Hurrian urban centre, was surrounded in about the mid-third millennium BC by a wall. A temple was uncovered on top of the tell dated to c. 2400 BC. It appears that a lion was the symbol of the deity worshipped in this temple, which was the city god as well. According to some written sources Urkeš was the home of Kumarbi, father of the Hurrian gods.³⁹¹ Lions have been found on cylinder seals from Urkeš. A stone statue of a lion was also found in the temple, in addition to the copper foundation statues of Tišatal (Fig. 21)³⁹² that also have lions represented. The royal palace of Urkeš (see Fig. 4 of Chapter Four) represents one of the largest (almost 3500 m²) and best preserved palaces ever excavated in Syro-Mesopotamia.³⁹³ The seal impressions found in the palace provide valuable information about its rulers, their names, traditions, habits and even the royal ideology in this kingdom.³⁹⁴ The royal marriage in which Tar'am-Agade, the daughter of Narām-Sîn, married the *endan* of Urkeš,³⁹⁵ means that the kingdom of Urkeš was in a powerful position in this period and could play its political role so that it held parity with Akkad.³⁹⁶ That Ebla, Mari and Nagar were under the rule of Narām-Sîn with Urkeš as his ally says much about the position and power of this kingdom. Possibly Narām-Sîn chose to make alliance with Urkeš to act as a buffer kingdom between his empire and the mountainous peoples to the north of Urkeš, instead of imposing a direct rule and putting himself on the front line.³⁹⁷

At Tell Beydar, distinguished by its central acropolis within a circular enclosure,³⁹⁸ 147 economic tablets dated to the second half of the third millennium have been excavated. These texts provide valuable information about the economic activity of the region, the calendar, metrology, cults, deities and the ethnic background of its inhabitants. They show, as the tablet from Leylān also do, that literacy had reached the dry-farming zone of Northern Syria in this period and that the administrative organization of this region was comparable to that in Southern Mesopotamia. The texts deal principally with the administration of livestock and agriculture, and appear to have been written in a variant of Old Akkadian, maintaining an old tradition of Semitic.³⁹⁹ According to Van Lerberghe, the absence of Hurrian words or linguistic influence may give a clue about the date the Hurrians arrived in the region.⁴⁰⁰ But Richter has identified at least two PNs in the texts that are Hurrian (See Chapter Four).

³⁹⁰ De Lillis *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 53 and 55.

³⁹¹ See Chapter Four.

³⁹² It is almost certain that these two foundation deposits were found in Mozan; cf. Buccellati, G., Urkesh as Tell Mozan: Profiles of the Ancient City, in *Urkesh and the Hurrians*, p. 28.

³⁹³ Buccellati, G. and M. Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Palace at Urkesh and the Daughter of Naram-Sin," *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes (AAS)*, 44 (2001), p. 63.

³⁹⁴ Urkeš will be touched upon in detail in Chapter Four.

³⁹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 63. The existence of a seal of the Hurrian-named Ewrim-atal in the same context of the seal of Tar'am-Agade, the queen of Urkeš, is seen as a sign of political alliance with Akkad, the first of this sort with the Syrian kingdoms; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 64 and 69.

³⁹⁶ That Urkeš was a major political power at least in the time of Narām-Sîn is shown by the recent discoveries in Mozan, cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *ibid* and p. 69.

³⁹⁷ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *AAS*, p. 69.

³⁹⁸ Huot, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

³⁹⁹ Lerberghe, K., The Bayder Tablets and the History of the Northern Jazirah, in Administrative Documents from Tell Beydar (Seasons 1993-1995), ed. F. Ismail, W. Sallaberger, Ph. Talon and K. van Lerberghe, *Subartu* II, Turnhout, 1996, p. 119-120.

⁴⁰⁰ Lerberghe, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

The few tablets from Mozan and Chagar Bazar (levels 2-3) from the Akkadian period indicate the presence of Akkadian imperial administration in the Habur area, but without any dominance of Akkadian material culture.⁴⁰¹

Ḫarrān, according to the texts from Ebla, was a city-state in the third millennium BC. Its western border reached the city-state of ‘Ir-i-tum^{ki},’ the ‘Irrita/e’ of Mari Period (the second millennium) and the Hittite documents, slightly to the north of Karkemiš.⁴⁰² Ḫarrān had an *en* (king) and a ‘*badalum*,’ who acted as a vizier, or “overseer” according to the Sumerogram UGULA.⁴⁰³ The Ebla archives identify its *badalum* as ‘*Īr-[az-II]*.⁴⁰⁴ The queen of Ḫarrān ‘*Zu/Zu-ga-lum*’ played a significant role in relations with Ebla. She received large quantities of gifts in precious stones when she visited the palace in Ebla. On one occasion she received objects for the elders of Ḫarrān from the king of Ebla and the elders of the city. On another occasion she visited Ebla when its queen gave birth to a child and she was sent gifts in return when she gave birth.⁴⁰⁵ Workers from Ḫarrān were present in Ebla: “10 people, *na-se₁₁* of Ḫarrān.”⁴⁰⁶ The Ebla archives mention other city-states in the Upper Euphrates and Habur regions that were from west to east: ‘Ursaum’ (=Uršum to the north of Karkemiš and west of the Euphrates), ‘Utigu,’ ‘Dulu,’ ‘Iritum’ (probably modern Ordi),⁴⁰⁷ ‘Sanapzugum’ (=Šapanzum of Mari texts? East of Ras el-^cAin) and Gudadanum’ (Qattuna of Mari texts?).⁴⁰⁸

As the large cities of our region grew they were protected with enclosure walls, not only in Mozan, Leylān and Brak but also in Hamoukar, Khoshi, Gasur and Nineveh from the middle of the third millennium BC. From this Weiss concluded that “each of the extensive north Mesopotamian plains that receive more than 300 mm of rain per annum were dominated by large, walled cities in the mid-third millennium BC.”⁴⁰⁹ This line of walled cities of this period extended to the relatively dryer region of Tell Chuera and its periphery.

While the northern part of our region had numerous large urban centres, indicated by large tells up to 13-25 ha, without textual evidence little can be said about its history in this period. Archaeologically the culture of southeast Anatolia from the Early Bronze Age I (EB I), approximately contemporary with southern Mesopotamian Jamdat Nasr and Early Dynastic I, was unique. It was a parallel in development with the Tigris Valley, but there real cities appeared before they did in the other parts of Anatolia.⁴¹⁰ Around 2300 BC EB III began in southeast Anatolia and this coincided with the rise of Akkad as an empire extending to the north, east, northwest and also here. The culture of this period is best distinguished by its painted pottery that is found from Malatya to Divirği and from there beyond the Euphrates.⁴¹¹ This part of the region, according to Burney, formed the centre of this culture from which it dispersed with its distinctive traits.⁴¹² The pottery (Fig. 22) is hand-made and hard-fired. It is

⁴⁰¹ Akkermans and Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

⁴⁰² Archi, “Harran in the III millennium,” p. 1.

⁴⁰³ Cf. note 3 in this chapter.

⁴⁰⁴ Sollberger, E., Administrative Texts Chiefly Concerning Textiles, *ARET VIII*, Roma, 1986, 524 (l. 1); cf. also Archi, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁴⁰⁵ Archi, *op. cit.*, p. 3-4.

⁴⁰⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁴⁰⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

⁴⁰⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 1-2.

⁴⁰⁹ Weiss, “The Origins of Tell Leilan,” p. 83.

⁴¹⁰ Joukowski, M. S., *Early Turkey, An Introduction to the Archaeology of Anatolia from Prehistory through the Lydian Period*, Iowa, 1996, p. 176. This parallel development is according to Joukowski due to the influences from both Syria (the Amuq Culture whose influence in the region has been noticed) and from Mesopotamia as a result of old and continuous trade relations based on the export of raw materials: Joukowski, p. 173.

⁴¹¹ Burney, C. A., “Eastern Anatolia in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age,” *Anatolian Studies* 8 (1958), p. 170; 202ff.

⁴¹² Cf. Burney, *op. cit.*, 164; 165-6.

buff or pinkish in the core with a plain buff or yellow surface inside and outside.⁴¹³ The shapes are two types: globular jars with thickened rims and shallow bowls with inverted rim⁴¹⁴ and lugs for handles. The paint is brown or blackish on a buff or yellow slip. Designs are simple but distinctive, consisting of horizontal bands with zigzags, triangles, or multiple chevrons, often left 'in reserve.'⁴¹⁵ In the eastern parts of southeast Anatolia the pottery shows more affinity with that of the southern Caucasus and Azerbaijan than with that of central and western Anatolia. Such pottery type has been found around Lake Urmia and the upper reaches of the Kur-Araxes, characterized by a black-burnished ware, mostly plain, but sometimes ornamented with fine incisions, as at Karaz, Tepecik near Erzurum, Triateli above Tiflīs and Zülfübulak northeast of Vān,⁴¹⁶ Samsat in Adiyaman Province⁴¹⁷ and Norşun Tepe. At this last site black-burnished pottery and painted pottery with red on white and black incised vessels are found. From this same period comes the Goey Tepe pottery that is located to the west of Urmia Lake on the Iranian side of the border. It was found in level K3 and had lugs that later developed into solid knobs with depressions on either side, but unpierced.⁴¹⁸

Archaeological investigations in this region have showed numerous EB III settlements which flourished between 2550-2000 BC. They ranged from villages of 0.5-1.5 ha to towns of 5 ha to large urban centres of 13-25 ha.⁴¹⁹ The settlement patterns at these sites resembled those of Mesopotamia from the Uruk Period and were apparently centres of petty states or provincial capitals. Unfortunately the absence of textual material means the archaeological material must speak for itself. These ancient cities were surrounded by defensive walls. Even the villages had similar walls in many cases, evidence of the insecure feelings of their inhabitants. The wall in the southwest of Arslan Tepe had a semi-circular bastion.⁴²⁰ Millennia later there were still villages with defensive walls in the region round Lake Urmia, as mentioned in '*Al-Faraj ba'da al-Shiddah*' written in about the 10th century AD,⁴²¹ indicating continuity of this tradition. The architecture of southeast Anatolia in this period does not seem confined to standardized forms. The predilection of these cities was for irregular buildings bunched together.⁴²² Arslan Tepe provided EB III large terraced buildings constructed on stone bases. One contained an oven with a kitchen counter with mortars, grindstones and pottery. On the lower terrace is a shrine with an altar and cultic pottery.⁴²³ The houses were large and multi-chambered and divided by streets. Inside were terraces for sitting and circular hearths. A pottery workshop for the manufacture of clay figurines and coloured ceramics was also found.⁴²⁴ In the next phase (EB III b), rectangular buildings built on stone bases have been uncovered. Some were provided with underground stone drainage channels. The site of Titriş Höyük, 7 km east of Lidar, was an important urban centre during mid- to late EB, and it became the capital of a small state in around 2500 BC.⁴²⁵ The settlement consists of a city of 35 ha centred on an acropolis with almost 10 ha of suburbs. The outer city is built on a terrace, provided with a rampart and moat at the base of the

⁴¹³ Burney, *op. cit.*, p. 169-70.

⁴¹⁴ Mellaart, J., "Anatolia, c. 2300-1750 BC," *CAH I*, part 2, Cambridge, 1971, p. 688.

⁴¹⁵ Mellaart, *op. cit.*, p. 688-9.

⁴¹⁶ Mellaart, "Anatolia...", *CAH I*, part 2, p. 689.

⁴¹⁷ Joukowsky, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

⁴¹⁸ Burney, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

⁴¹⁹ Joukowsky, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

⁴²⁰ Joukowsky, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

⁴²¹ التنوخي، القاضي ابو علي الحسن بن ابي القاسم، الفرج بعد الشدة، الجزء ١، القاهرة، ١٩٥٥، ص. ٢٩٨.

[al-Tannūlhi, *Dispel after Distress*, vol. I, Cairo, 1955, p. 298 (in Arabic)].

⁴²² Joukowsky, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

⁴²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*

mound. The houses are rectilinear, oriented from northeast to southwest, built on stone bases, with floors paved with pebbles. One was a stone monumental building with basements and corridors.

In Norşun Tepe monumental buildings have also been uncovered at the summit of the tell (Fig. 23). The palatial building (Fig. 24) in the burned level (VI) dated to EB III is one such. The building is oriented north-south, rectangular, a timber-laced two-storied mud brick walled structure.⁴²⁶ Its importance is indicated by the fact that the outer walls are 1.80 m thick and the inner walls 1m thick. A corridor divides it into two main parts, which probably indicates it was the administrative centre of the settlement and the surrounding region. The southern part was domestic with a staircase at its eastern side. One of the four rooms of this part contains a clay altar on the northern wall and a central rectangular hearth with articulated edge and relief decoration.⁴²⁷ The northern part (25 x 15 m) was the place for economic affairs. In every 6 x 5m room there were storage facilities, with five rows of five pithoi embedded in a white-plastered floor (Fig. 25).⁴²⁸ About 100 jars were found there, and in addition there was another storage area to the west of this building, with 7 rows of rooms in an area of 22 x 8 m.⁴²⁹

Metallurgy was well-developed in this period, as indicated by the many metal funerary objects in southeast Anatolia. The region was rich with metal ores, which helped some places to be manufacturing centres for finished metal products.⁴³⁰ Trade with Mesopotamia and the passage of Mesopotamian merchants to the regions of Urfa and Elaziğ brought prosperity and fortune which led to the growth of its settlements and the exchange of cultural ideas. Large urban centres grew up, with monumental architecture similar to that of Mesopotamia and Syria. These developments changed pre-existing social and economic relationships, now enriched by ideas from neighbouring lands. By EB III cultural traditions had commingled so as to give a more indigenous or local culture⁴³¹ and the rise of an aristocracy. By this time Norşun Tepe and Korucutepe had become large, fortified urban centres or city-states with palaces, shrines, and large storage areas.⁴³² The palace of Norşun Tepe VI covered almost 2700 m² and its large storage facilities had the capacity of some 200 tonnes, a complex structure almost as large as what was found by H. Schliemann in Troy IIc.⁴³³

Excavations in Luristan and the Kangavar Valley revealed cultures that are chronologically almost completely compatible with the period under study here. Godin III 6 (2600-2300 BC)⁴³⁴ and Godin III 5 (2300-2100 BC)⁴³⁵ show best the chronological sequence of cultural development in western central Iran, a significant part of our region. But archaeological material is still relatively meagre from this area as a whole. Henrickson states that “excavations and soundings are few in number and of limited size. Surveys of varying intensities have covered much of the region, but the documentation is often limited.”⁴³⁶ Godin III: 6 occupation in Godin lasted longer than any other phase in the site. Its architecture is marked by a gradual modification: separate units were rebuilt or replaced by others. This is

⁴²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 179-180; Huot, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

⁴²⁷ Joukowsky, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁰ Joukowsky, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*

⁴³² *Ibid.*

⁴³³ Huot, *op. cit.*, p. 174-175.

⁴³⁴ This phase is dated by similar pottery found in Lagaš associated with sealings and tablets with the names of Enannatum, Eannatum and Lummatu, son of Enannatum and by material from Susa IV A (Susa Dc) dated to the ED III Period, cf. Henrickson, Godin III, p. 208.

⁴³⁵ Godin III consists of four phases: 6-2 that cover the period from 2600-1600 BC, cf. Henrickson, R. C., “Šimaški and Central Western Iran: The Archaeological Evidence,” *ZA* 74 (1984), p. 10.

⁴³⁶ Henrickson, “Šimaški and...,” p. 101.

why no structure built early in the phase survived until the end.⁴³⁷ Remains of a large complex, presumably a public building, was uncovered in the western portion of the deep sounding, but it was later replaced by modest domestic architecture.⁴³⁸ Godin III: 6 pottery (Fig. 26) is distinguished by carinated pots and jars and related forms with rounded profiles in different sizes. Medium and large bowls with enlarged rims that were usually painted, are characteristic of this phase in Godin. A hand-made burnished gray-black ware was also made in this phase that continued to the next Godin III: 5 phase. The painted pottery (Fig. 27) is decorated with combinations of straight and wavy vertical lines and motifs “like shark’s teeth,” “bulls eyes” and a series of three arcs that form a triangle when seen from above.⁴³⁹ These decorations were executed mainly in a register above the carination or maximum diameter. Many bowls are decorated with a wavy line incised below the rim on both the interior and exterior.⁴⁴⁰ The distribution of Godin III:6 covered the southern and eastern valleys of Luristan along routes from Susiana to the Great Khorasan Road and has probably reached the Mahidasht.⁴⁴¹ Although this pottery has a close relationship with Susa Dc-d (or Susa IV A), regional stylistic variability is noticeable throughout its distribution.⁴⁴² Relations between this part of central Zagros and Mesopotamia were, from the economic point of view, weak and not as strong as between central Zagros and Susiana. The contrast between the Mesopotamian Lowland and the Zagros Highland was marked by a natural borderline represented by the mountain ranges that separate modern Iraq from Iran. This contrast, that isolated to a certain degree the Highlanders from the Lowland population of Mesopotamia, was pointed out by Potts, who noticed that the border was not only a natural division but also a major ethno-linguistic division.⁴⁴³ The division is also emphasized by the evidence of Godin III: 6 pottery. It is related to Susa Dc-d and reflects a sphere of extensive economic interaction between Godin- Central Iran on the one hand, and Godin- Susa on the other, but did not prove any contact with the Lower Diyāla sites,⁴⁴⁴ except for comparable pottery found in Lagaš.⁴⁴⁵

From this period, some graves have been excavated in Bani Surmeh and Kalleh Nisar that were dated by Vandenberg to 2600-2500 BC. The graves yielded monochrome wares, typical Khuzistan assemblage, simple daggers and shafted axes.⁴⁴⁶ The Kalleh Nisar graves were constructed by the same time and re-used until the OB Period. Moreover, individual cist graves of Akkadian –Gutian affinities were also found in Kalleh Nisar; they represent a long tradition of graves, examples of which date back to the Late Chalcolithic.⁴⁴⁷ The so-called *lihaq* graves from this region are remarkable. They are large graves, 1.5 m wide and up to 6 m long, with low stone-built chambers accommodating several bodies. The stone gabled roofs, that continued as a tradition until Giyan III⁴⁴⁸ and perhaps until the Achaemenid Period (as in the tomb of Cyrus), are the most striking characteristic.

⁴³⁷ Henrickson, Godin III ..., p. 207.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴¹ For a detailed description of the distribution of Godin III: 6 cf. Henrickson, *op. cit.*, p. 207-8 and Schacht, *Early Historic Cultures*, p. 175.

⁴⁴² Henrickson, “Šimaški and ...,” p. 105.

⁴⁴³ Potts, *Mesopotamia and ...*, p. 10.

⁴⁴⁴ Henrickson, “Šimaški and ...,” p. 105

⁴⁴⁵ Henrickson, Godin III ..., p. 208 (referring to Hansen, D. P., “Al-Hiba, 1970-1971: A Preliminary Report,” *Artibus Asiae* 35 (1973))

⁴⁴⁶ Goff, C., “Lūristān before the Iron Age,” *Iran* 9 (1971), p. 146.

⁴⁴⁷ Haenrick and Overlaet, *Early Bronze Age Graveyards to the West of the Kabir Kuh (Pusht-i Kuh, Luristan, Luristan Excavation Documents*, VIII, p. 5.

⁴⁴⁸ Goff, *op. cit.*, p. 146; 149.

Godin III: 5 (2300-2100 BC), contemporary with the Akkadian Period⁴⁴⁹ architecture, is characterized in Godin by small two- or three-room units, some separated from others by unroofed passageways or small courtyards.⁴⁵⁰ In this phase too, carinated pots and jars continued as the most common vessel form of painted pottery (Fig. 27). Its decoration consists of two basic types in the main register: 1) a band of solid or crosshatched diamonds; or 2) paired waterfowl, eagles, “stingrays” or rested diamonds alternating with chevrons.⁴⁵¹

The pottery of this phase is slightly more widespread and more common than Godin III: 6. It was distributed primarily in the northern half of the Central Western Iran along the High Road and the northern portions of the north-south routes.⁴⁵² It has been found in the sites of Mahidasht, and in Baba Jān (level 5) as well. Samples were also found in a grave in Tepe Giyan, where no Godin III: 6 was found.⁴⁵³

The stylistic uniformity of this pottery type, without any uniformity with Susa IV B and Fars (Kaftari), presumably indicates some considerable interaction between the territories it covered in the highlands, and that relations with Susa became distant in this phase. Its distribution was concentrated towards the north, probably as a result of the Akkadian military pressure.⁴⁵⁴ As this phase coincided with the rise of Akkad’s military power, Mesopotamian material entered the region of Pusht-i-Kūh and is found in the large collective graves. This was a result of Akkadian military and political infiltration into the outer portions of the Highlands.⁴⁵⁵

The Early Bronze Age IV tombs (Contemporary with Akkadian, Post-Akkadian, Ur III and Isin-Larsa Periods of Mesopotamia) excavated in Pusht-i Kuh, Luristan, showed new traditions of construction, although the old ones of the Early Bronze Age I and II were still being used.⁴⁵⁶ The new tombs are smaller in general (Fig. 28); the inner size of the chamber is limited; its length varies between 1.10 and 2.20 m. and its width between 0.50 and 0.90 m.⁴⁵⁷ The rectangular or horseshoe shaped tombs have three stone walls, two long and one short. The excavators think the fourth short wall contained the entrance and was made of a perishable material with no stones in place. Some were roofed with elongated stone slabs, and others may have been supported by wooden beams, branches or earth and stone.⁴⁵⁸

Conclusion

Since the mid-third millennium BC our region witnessed the appearance of complex societies living in large walled cities, in which rural communities lived on the dry-farming agriculture. These societies were ruled by princes, viziers (*badalum*) or kings who maintained good relations with each other and with the neighbouring powers of Mesopotamia and western Syria. Yet agriculture was not the only economic activity, for animal husbandry and trade were no less important. This trade was based on the mining of raw materials and the exchange of the finished products. Trade, animal husbandry and agriculture allowed an aristocracy to emerge so that society became crystallized into the classes of slaves, peasants, craftsmen, officials and rulers. The society of the region was compound multi-ethnic and multi-lingual, in which Semites and Hurrians played significant roles. The archaeological

⁴⁴⁹ Henrickson, Godin III..., p. 209.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵² Henrickson, “Šimaški and ...,” p. 105.

⁴⁵³ Henrickson, Godin ..., p. 209.

⁴⁵⁴ Henrickson, “Šimaški ...,” p. 106; 107.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. Henrickson, “Šimaški ...,” p. 109.

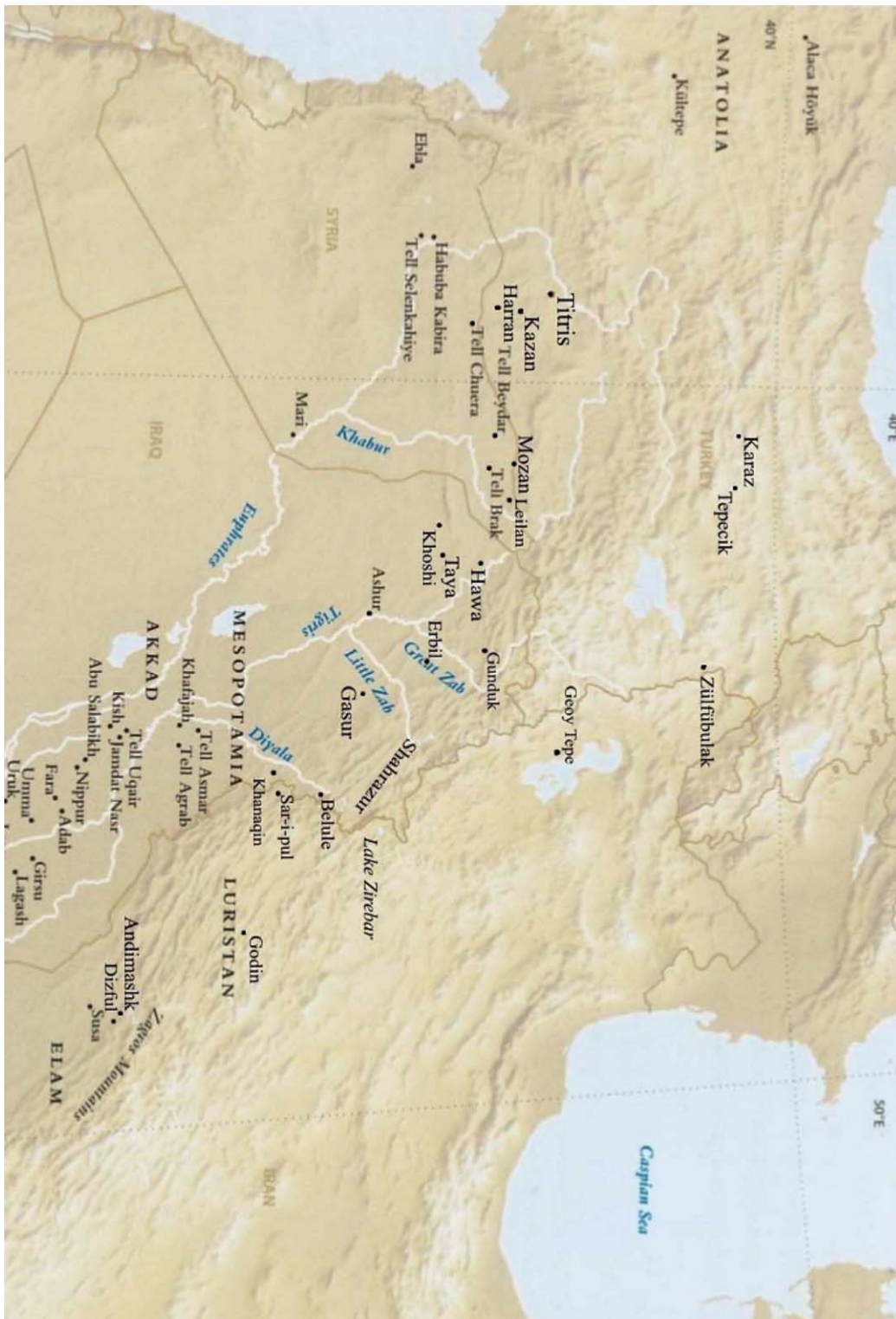
⁴⁵⁶ Haenrick and Overlaet, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

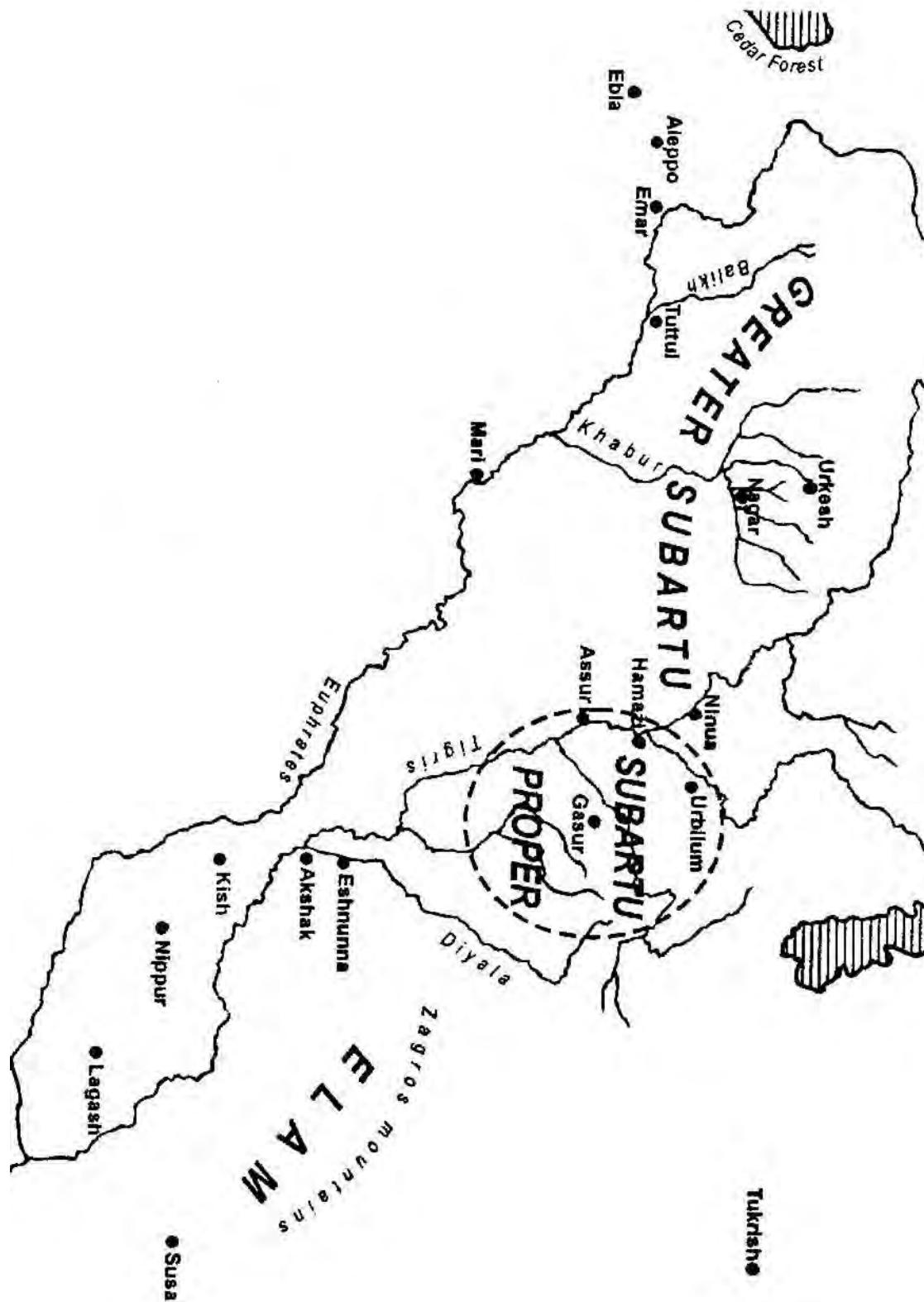
⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

excavations in northern Syria reveal that the region, at least in the excavated areas, was not culturally and politically peripheral. Rather major powers had seized the region that could stand in parity with Akkad and Ebla. Still more fundamental changes were to come. The seizure of power by the Hurrians, to be discussed in subsequent chapters, was accomplished in the following centuries through a difficult process, which coincided with the rise of the Ur III Dynasty.

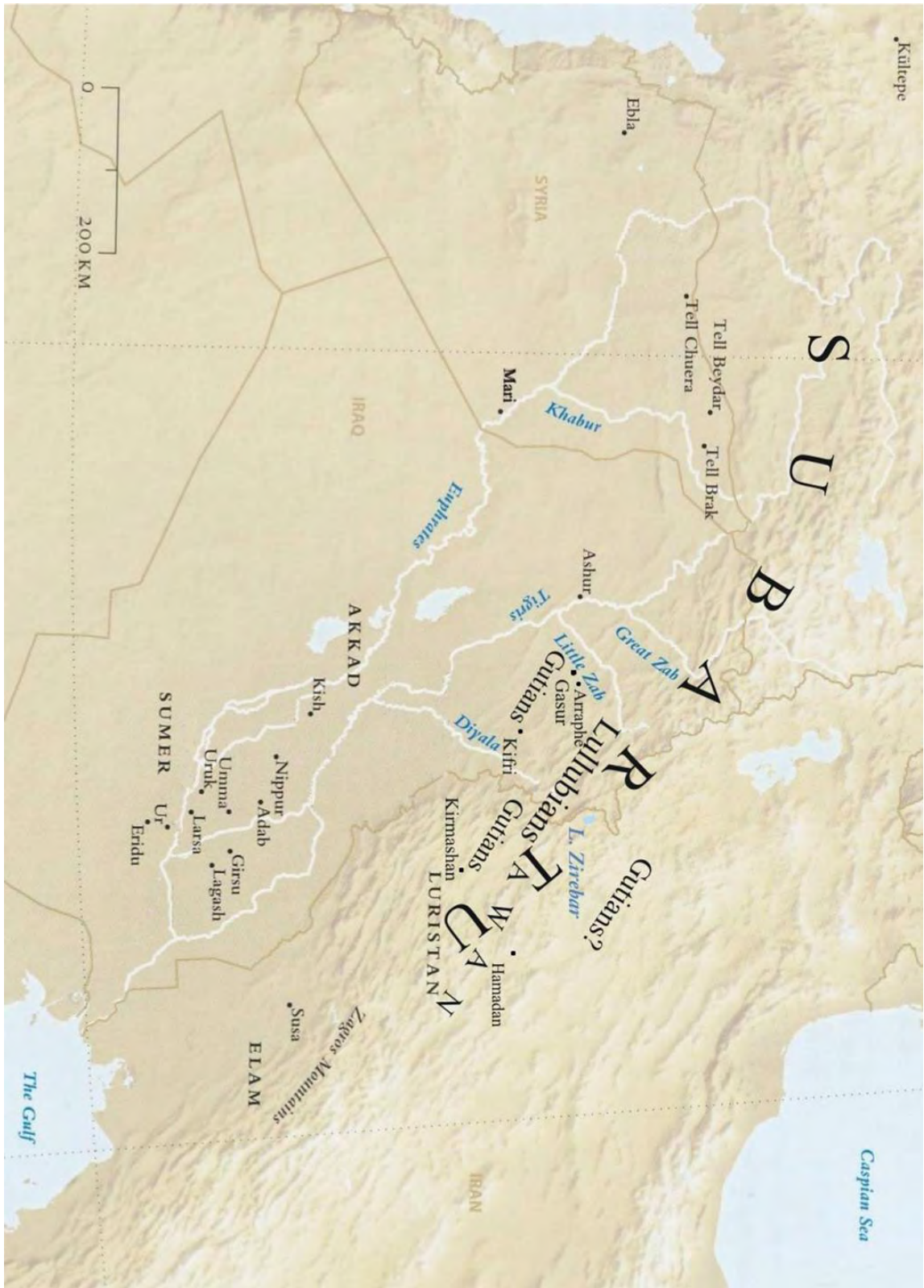
Figures of Chapter Two



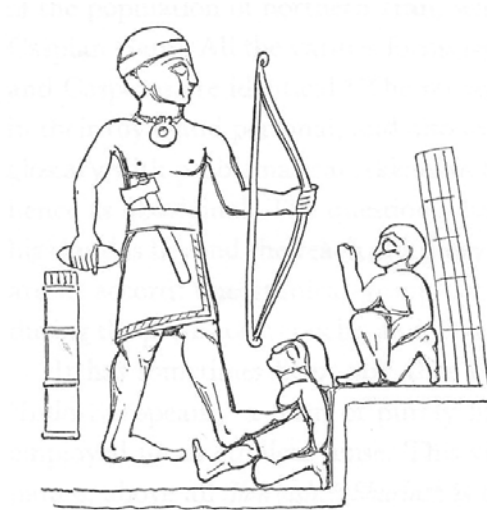
1) Map of the principal sites mentioned.



2) Subartu Proper and Greater Subartu. After: Steinkeller, The Historical Background(with a few modifications).



3) Subartu, the Lullubians and the Gutians.



4) The rock-relief of Darband-i-Belule in Hören Shēkhān, after: Herzfeld, E., *Iran in the Ancient East*, London, 1941, fig. 300, p. 186.



5a) The victory Stele of Narām-Sîn found at Susa. After: D. Hansen, *Art of the Akkadian Dynasty*, in: *Art of the First Cities*, ed. Joan Aruz, New York, 2003, fig. 59, p. 196.



5b) Detail of the Victory Stele showing the Lullubeans.



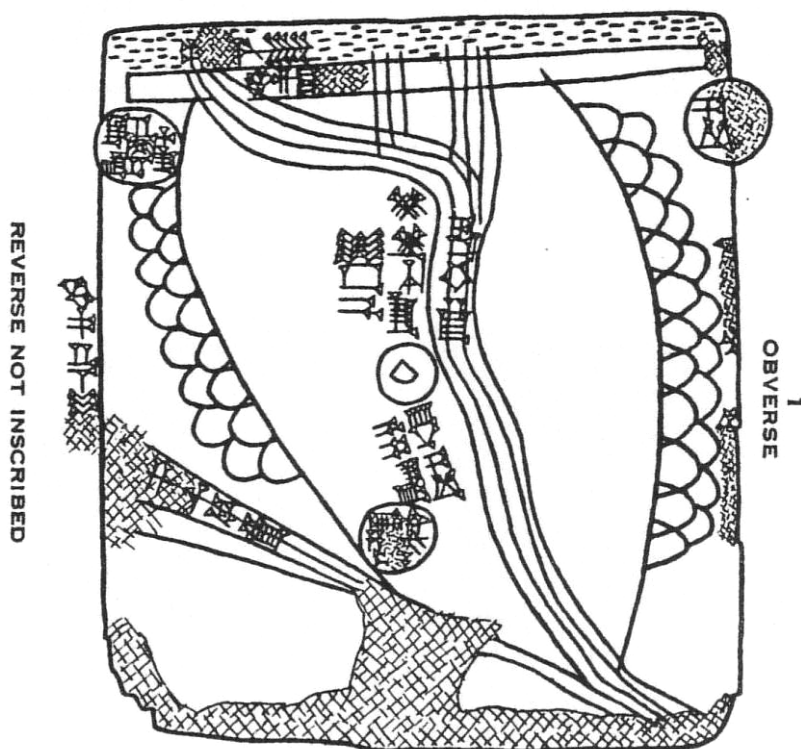
6) Basitki Statue with an inscription of Narām-Sîn, after: D. Hansen, *Art of the Akkadian Dynasty*, in: *Art of the First Cities*, ed. Joan Aruz, 2003, New York, fig. 58, p. 195.



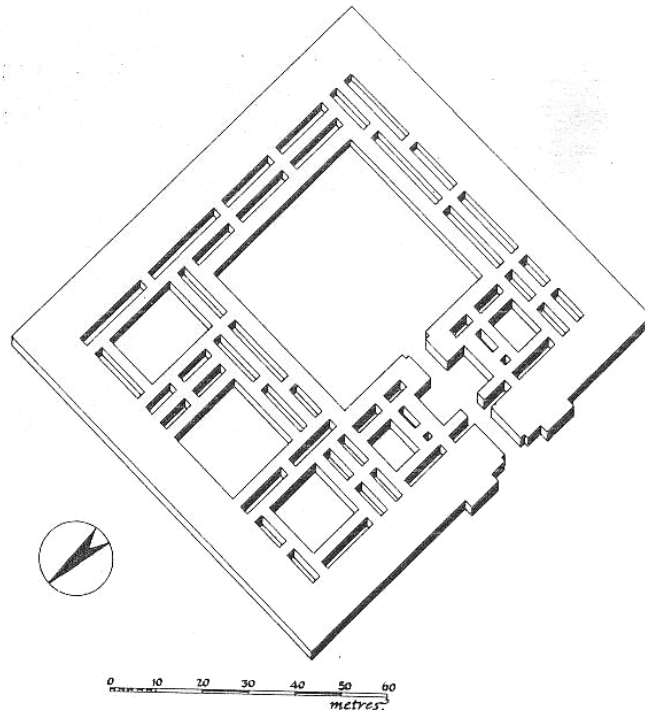
7) Fragment of the Pîr-Husseïn stele, after: D. Hansen, *Art of the Akkadian Dynasty*, in: *Art of the First Cities*, ed. Joan Aruz, 2003, New York, p. 203.



8) An Akkadian stele fragment showing a highlander (?) prisoner with long braided hair. After: Parrot, A., *Sumer*, fig. 229.



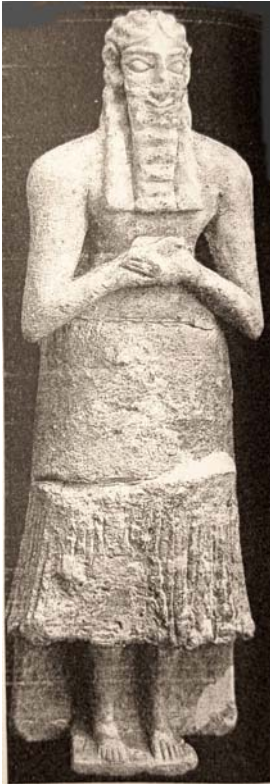
9) The map tablet found in Gasur. After: Meek, T., *Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi*, HSS 10, Harvard, 1935, pl. I, no. 1.



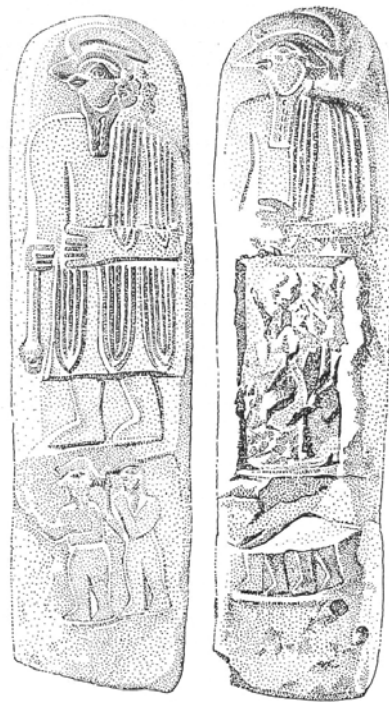
10) Narām-Sin fortress in Brak. After: Akkermans and Schwartz, *Archaeology of Syria*, Cambridge, 2003, fig. 8.26, p. 279. Courtesy of Cambridge University Press.



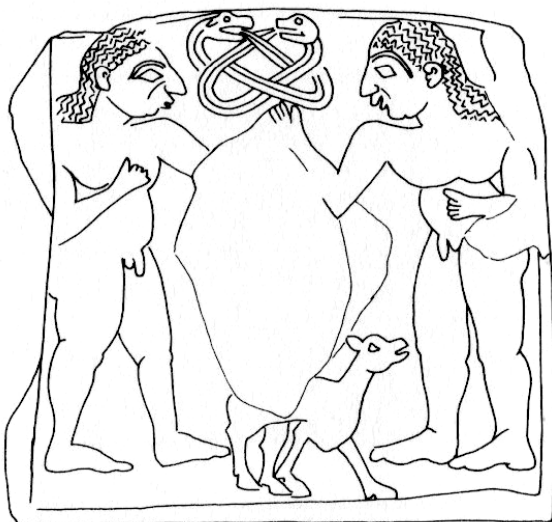
11) The Akkadian Hoard of Brak, after: D. Hansen, *Art of the Akkadian Dynasty*, in: *Art of the First Cities*, ed. Joan Aruz, 2003, New York, p. 232.



12) Tell Chuera, after: Huot, J.-L., *Une archéologie des...*, p. 169.



13) Jebel el-Beidha stele. After: Akkermans and Schwartz, fig. 8.23, p. 273. Courtesy of Cambridge University Press.



14) Carved relief from the mid-3rd millennium from Susa. After: Amiet *et al*, *Art in the Ancient World*, London, 1981, fig. 67, p. 34.



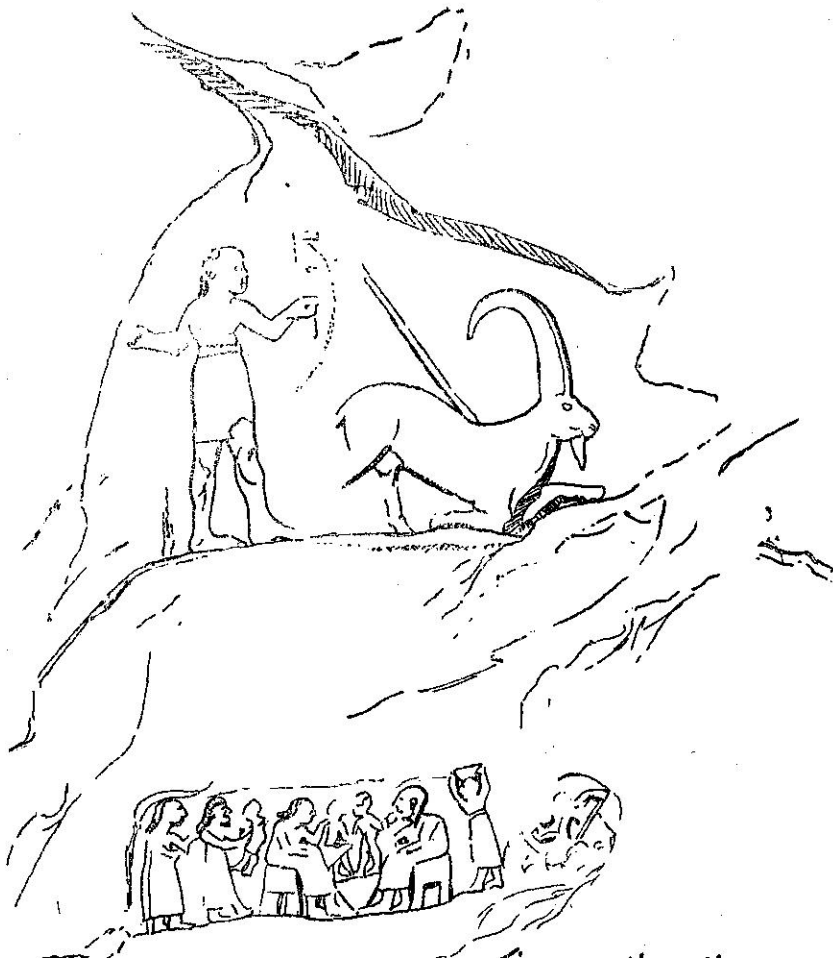
15) Moufflon-genius from the stele of Untaş-Napiriša of Elam, c. 1205 BC from Susa. After: Amiet *et al*, *op. cit.* fig. 75, p. 36.



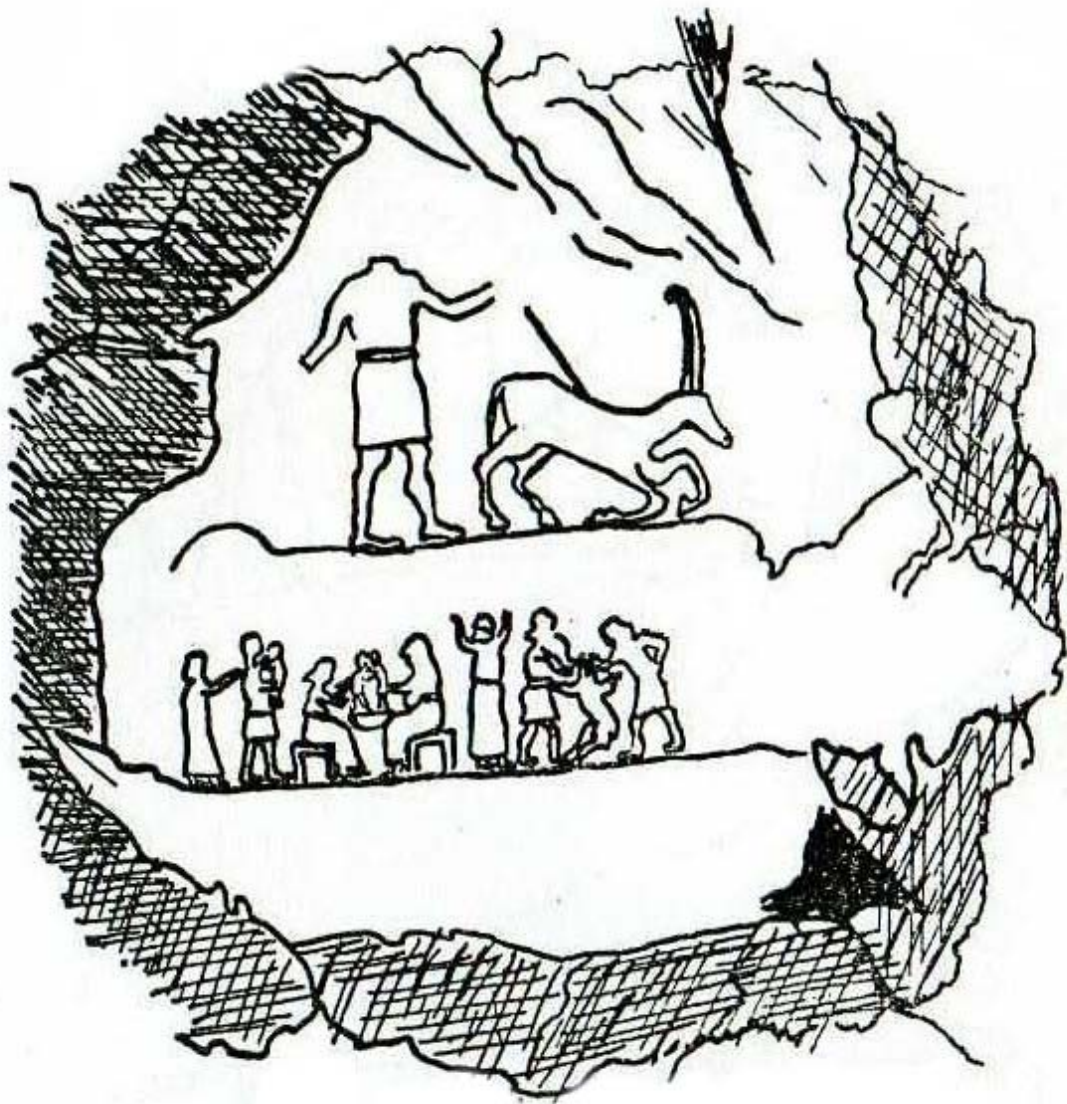
16) A bronze quiver from Luristan (800-700 BC), Teheran Museum. After: Seipel, W. (ed.), *7000 Jahre persische Kunst*, Milano, 2000, Cat. No. 25, p. 103.



17) Bronze decorative plate from Luristan (8 or 7th century BC). After: Seipel, *op. cit.*, Cat. No. 26, p. 104.



18a) Gunduk rock-reliefs. After: Al-Amīn, *Sumer* 4 (1948), fig. 8.



18b) The drawing of Layard of the Gunduk rock-reliefs. After: Al-Amīn, *op. cit.*, fig. 9.



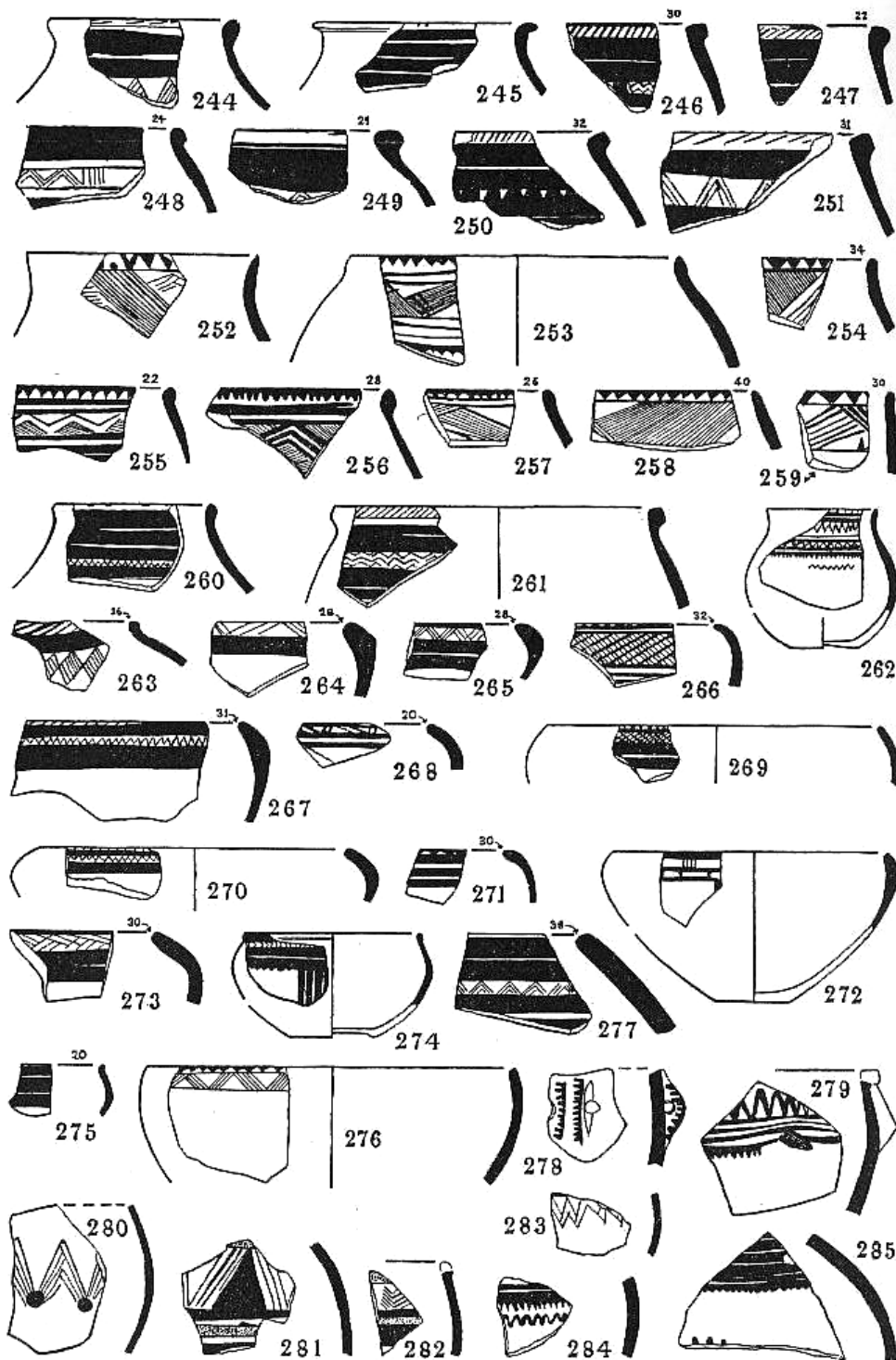
19) The third panel of Gunduk. After: Al-Amīn, *op. cit.*, fig. 13.



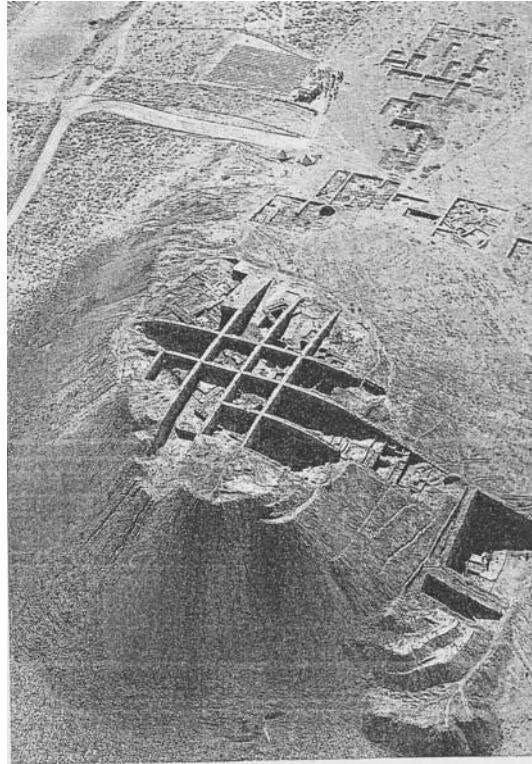
20) Detail of Kurangūn (Kuh-i-Rangān) Elamite rock-relief in Western Fārs (17th century BC). After: Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, London, 1941, fig. 304, p. 189.



21) The foundation lions from Mozan (?), after: D. Hansen, *Art of the Akkadian Dynasty*, in: *Art of the First Cities*, ed. Joan Aruz, 2003, New York, p. 222 and 223.



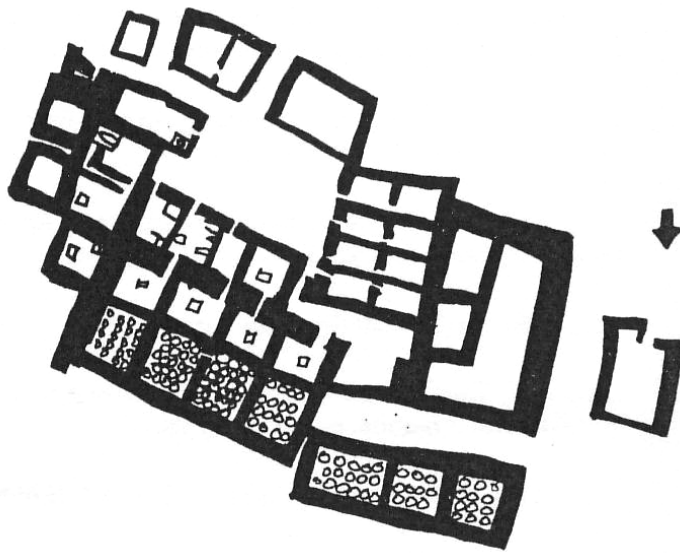
22) Early Bronze Age III pottery from Malatya-Elazig Region, after: Burney, *Anatolian Studies*, 8 (1958), p. 203.



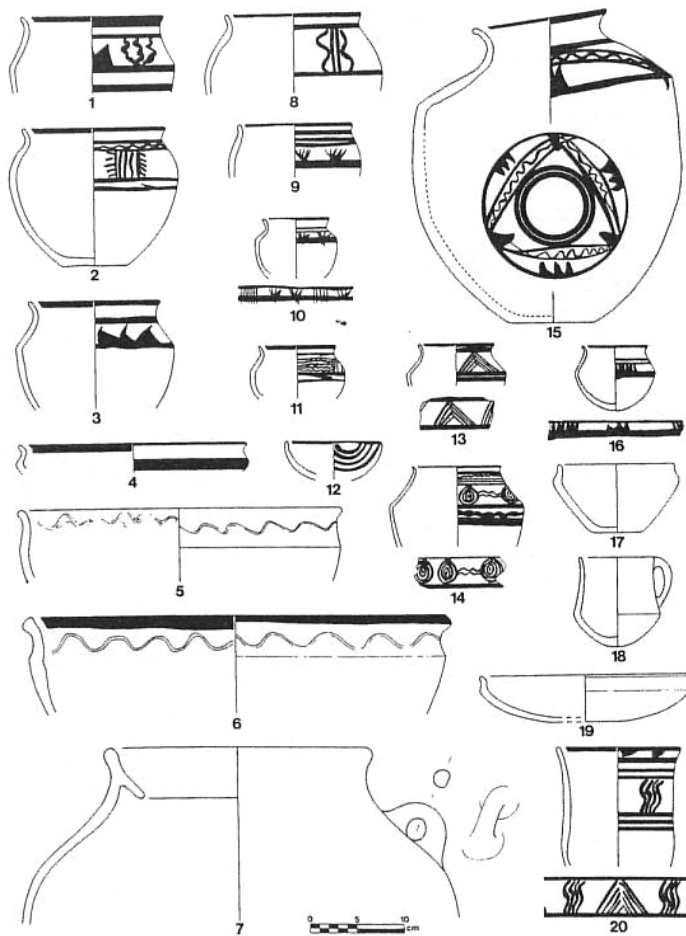
23) Norşun Tepe, after: Huot, *Une archéologie des peuples du Proche-Orient*, p. 175.



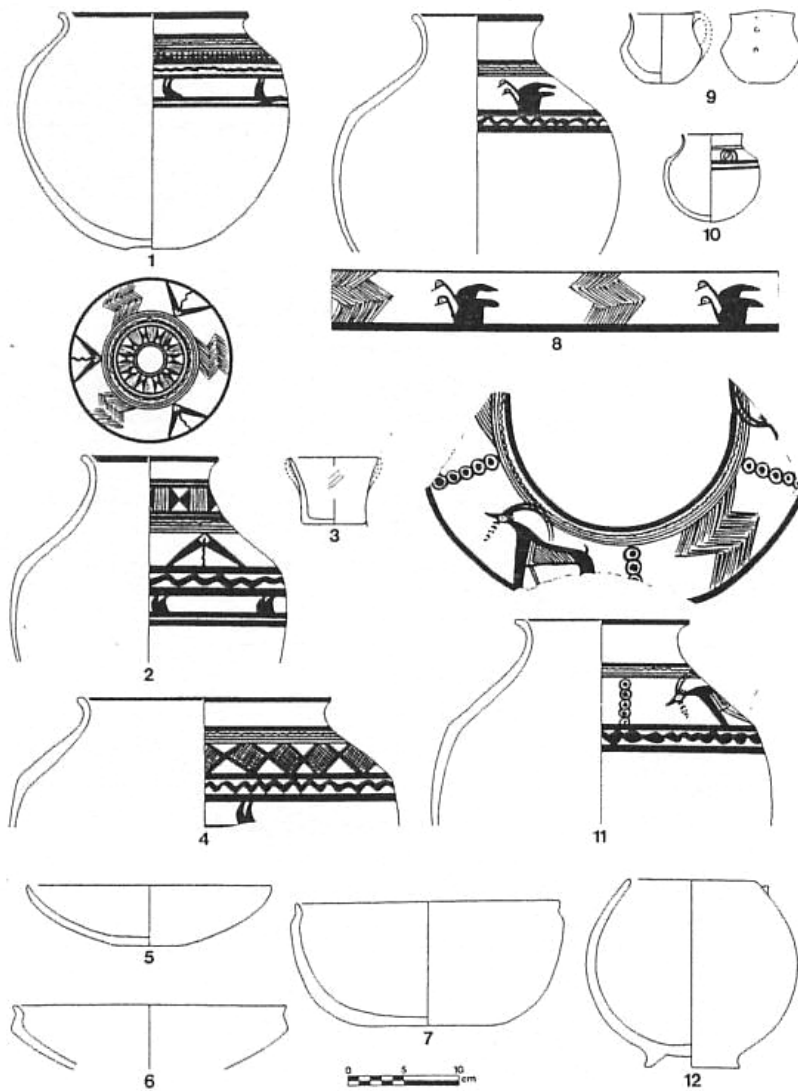
24) The Palatial building of Norşun Tepe, after: Joukowski, M. S., *Early Turkey, An Introduction to the Archaeology of Anatolia from Prehistory through the Lydian Period*, Iowa, 1996, fig. 5.43, p. 180.



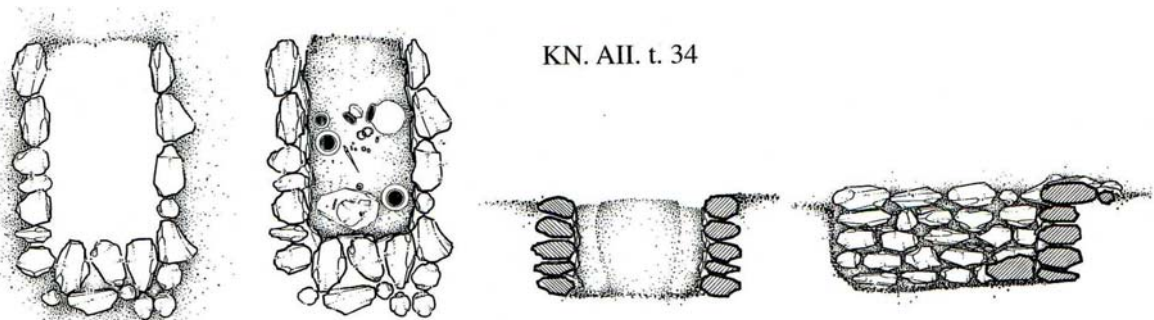
25) The pithos of Norşun Tepe, after: Joukowski, M. S., *Early Turkey, An Introduction to ...*, Iowa, 1996, fig. 5.44, p. 180.



26) Godin III: 6 pottery, after: Henrickson, Godin III, *The Archaeology of Western Iran*, fig. 58, p. 218.



27) Godin III: 5 pottery, after: Henrickson, Godin III ..., *Archaeology of Western Iran*, fig. 59, p. 220.



28) An Early Bronze Age tomb from Kalleh Nesar (Pusht-I Kuh), after: Henrick and Overlaet, *Luristan Excavation Documents VIII*. Courtesy of Peeters Publications, Belgium.

CHAPTER THREE



The Gutian Period



The period following the fall of the Akkadian Empire is traditionally seen as a period of darkness and anarchy by historians. While the perceived darkness is due to the rarity of *Gutian* artefacts and text material, the anarchy is an impression formed by the historians gained from the Sumerian and Babylonian historical and literary compositions describing Gutian rule. In fact these compositions were mostly compiled later than the Gutian period itself. Later in this chapter we shall attempt to answer the question whether the Gutian period was really so dark and fruitless, and to interpret the related evidence.

The Gutian Arrival

Some historical allusions in the texts of the Akkadian period indicate that early on there was Gutian infiltration into Mesopotamian lowlands. One of these allusions is to the probable presence of Gutians as soldiers in the Akkadian army.¹ The archives of Adab from the Akkadian period mention Gutians who received rations,² some of them described as ‘travellers’³ and others as conveyors⁴ or generals.⁵ There were so many of them, perhaps long

¹ According to Kuhrt: “While there is some evidence that Gutians, who had served in the Agade armies, dominated a sector in the eastern region,” cf. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, vol. I, p. 56, but unfortunately no reference is given.

² A 655, 3, 6, 12; A 919, 2; A 809, 12; A 970, 5. Cf.: Zhi Yang, *A Study of the Sargonic Archive from Adab* (A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Division of the Humanities, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations), Chicago, 1986, vol. I, part 2; vol. 2, Appendix. 1.

³ Probably these were royal messengers, since ordinary travellers would not receive rations. Evidence for Gutian messengers comes from Umma, where a text from the time of Šārkalīšarrī mentions “a Gutian messenger” beside “Gutians” on the same tablet, cf.: Zhi Yang, *A Study of the Sargonic ...*, vol. I, part 1, p. 110-111 (referring to Foster, *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, p. 113).

⁴ As in A 919, l. 2 ḡir-ḡen-na gu-ti-um-me, “conveyors to the Gutians,” Zhi Yang, *Sargonic Inscriptions from Adab*, Changchun, 1989, p. 350, cf. also: Steinkeller, P., “The Old Akkadian Term for Easterner,” *RA* 74 (1980), p. 7; ḡir-ḡen-na gu-ti-um A 809, l. 12, Zhi Yang, *op. cit.* In the archives a messenger of one of the *ensis* (perhaps the *ensi* of Adab) is reported to have been killed: Zhi Yang, *op. cit.*, vol. I, part 2, p. 153; Zhi Yang, Y., *Sargonic Inscriptions...*, p. 127, but further details are not given.

term residents, that the local governor had to use a Gutian interpreter to communicate with them.⁶ This early presence surely gave them access to the Mesopotamian institutions and the chance to get acquainted with Mesopotamian practices, particularly with reference to the government, the temple and the culture of the land. They would also have become acquainted with these practices as a consequence of war. The Gutian land was one of the first targeted by the south Mesopotamian rulers, especially the Akkadians, whose campaigns to these regions were noted in the previous chapter. Trade has also certainly played a prominent role. Gutian territory was close to the Mesopotamian lowlands and the Gutians certainly occupied positions close to the land of Akkad, particularly in the region of the Diyāla, where it is believed that they controlled a sector in the eastern region through their service in the Akkadian army.⁷

This acquaintance with Mesopotamian practices as well as other pertinent circumstances helped the Gutians overthrow the Akkadian Dynasty and seize power in the land. One such circumstance was the hard times the Akkadian Empire endured in its last years. Their army was exhausted by continuing revolts on various distant fronts.⁸ Internal bitter conflicts between the Akkadian rulers themselves were sometimes bloody⁹ and at other times chaotic¹⁰ as they vied for the throne. These conflicts would have stimulated the descent into anarchy that weakened the Akkadian Empire. It is believed that the empire had shrunk under Dudu and Šudurul¹¹ to a small state confined to the region between the cities of Akkad to Ešnunna and this shows the extent of the decline. Since it is generally assumed that the end of the Akkadian dynasty “has been determined primarily by inside-grown phenomena,”¹² the disintegration and fall of the empire should no longer be wholly attributed to external factors, as cuneiform sources try to do.

There was no attempt at appeasement in Akkadian foreign policy. On the contrary it was aggressive, expansionist and severe towards its neighbours and subjects. It incited the anger

⁵ ǵir-nita gu-ti-um in A 959, l. 3, Zhi Yang, *Sargonic Inscriptions...*, p. 360, where a general of Gutium is reported to have travelled from Adab to Uruk, accompanied by a certain ‘Ur-nim,’ the cup-bearer: *ù ur-nim saqi unug^{ki}-šè ba-re₇-[é]š*, *ibid*, l. 4-7.

⁶ A 1028, 3, Zhi Yang, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

⁷ Kuhrt, *ibid*. Earlier contact between the Gutians and South Mesopotamians is also pointed out by Di Ludovico: “Furthermore, some observations based on written texts lead to think that Gutians themselves were not wholly strange to urban peoples living between the Two Rivers,” Di Ludovico, A., “Between Akkad and Ur III: Observations on a “Short Century” from the Point of View of Glyptic,” *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (29 March-3 April 2004, Freie Universität Berlin)*, vol. 1: The Reconstruction of Environment, Wiesbaden, 2008, p. 321.

⁸ For instance, the great revolt against Narām-Sîn in which numerous lands (or city-states) took part.

⁹ Sargon suffered a rebellion of his subjects (or perhaps of the elders of the land) from east and west, cf. Grayson, *ABC* 19, l. 52-52b; 20, l. 22-23. Other omen texts refer to the violent death of Rīmuš, Maništušu and Šarkališarrī: “If a weapon to the right is turned around, blunted and and is entangled in filaments, it is an omen. Šarkališarrī whom his servants killed with their seals.” See for these omen texts Hirsch, “Die Inschriften der Könige von Agade,” *AfO* 20 (1963), 1-82, especially pages 13; 16 and 30. Diakonoff considers it possible that Narām-Sîn has been killed in a battle against the Gutians: Diakonoff, *CHI*, p. 36.

¹⁰ The SKL describes the circumstances before the accession of Dudu and Šudurul as “Who was king? Who was not king? Was I(r)gigi king? Was Nanum king? Was Imi king? Was Elulu king? Their tetrad was king?,” [a-ba-àm lu]gal a-ba-àm nu lugal [I/ir-gi₄]-gi₄ lugal [Na-nu-um] lugal [I-mi] lugal [E-lu-lu] lugal [4-bi] lugal, Jacobsen, *SKL*, p. 112-5; cf. also

<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=c.2.1.1&display=Crit&charenc=gcirc#>, l. 284ff.

¹¹ Nissen suggests that these two were rulers of the Akkad region in the time of the Gutian rule, not independent kings of the Akkad dynasty, cf. Nissen, H., *The Early History of the Ancient Near East, 9000-2000 BC*, Chicago, 1988, p. 185. The absence of bombastic titles like “king of the four quarters of the world” and “king of the universe” from their titles (they use only “the mighty king of Agade”) may support this suggestion. In fact, some others consider that “breaks” have to be inserted between the reign of Šarkališarrī and the reigns of Dudu and Šudurul; cf. Di Ludovico, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

¹² Di Ludovico, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

and enmity of those peoples, which resulted in their continual search for the right moment to hit back. It is quite possible that the “national awakening” among the surrounding peoples in this period¹³ was a result of this policy, particularly the discrimination exercised by Sargon in using only Akkadians, not natives, to rule foreign lands and cities.¹⁴

Among the enemies of Akkad the Gutians appear to have been in the best position to step on to the stage and invade Mesopotamia, and the prevailing circumstances paved the way for them to do so. Their relative closeness to Akkadian centres of power, their previous infiltration into Mesopotamian society and their familiarity with the land and its culture were clear advantages, and their probable organizational and military readiness was an essential for a successful attack. The wide-open plain was totally different from the Gutian undulating and mountainous landscape, and more troops and better organization were required. Confronting the experienced Akkadian standing army was a challenge that required a well-planned attack.

The Rule of the South

The Gutians may have infiltrated the land gradually or there may have been a sudden invasion. Archaeologically, there are no data for this phase to suggest any violent subjugation or destruction in the main cities of south Mesopotamia.¹⁵ However, there is evidence that from time to time some Gutians attacked Akkadian domains and pillaged the possessions, as can be seen from the Akkadian letter quoted in the previous chapter. It was sent by a certain Iškun-Dagan to his servant Lugal-ra to encourage him to plough the field and not to pay attention to the nearby Gutians. He was to bring the cattle inside the city should the Gutians attack. This Iškun-Dagan was obviously somehow in charge of Gutian affairs just at this time, for a seal impression was found bearing his name and title as ‘Chief administrator of Gutium (?)’.¹⁶

Whatever the background, the Gutians finally dominated the land of Akkad and “carried off the kingship of Sumer to the mountains/foreign land.”¹⁷ This metaphor clearly implies that the fate of the land and its sovereignty passed into the hands of a foreigner, specifically the great Gutian king.¹⁸ The Gutians were probably supported by other peoples and groups in the

¹³ Elam, for instance, developed a script of its own (Linear Elamite), which was used for a short period of time for official monuments and dedicatory gifts, cf. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, p. 85 and 125-6. The Hurrian princes in the north and northwest also titled themselves *endan*, as in the inscription of Tišatal of Urkeš (for the inscription see chapter four). Finally there was the Sumerian renaissance in the Ur III period; cf. Westenholz, *Mesopotamien, Akkade-Zeit und Ur III Zeit*, *OBO*, p. 59.

¹⁴ According to Westenholz, this awakening was the result of the sudden collapse of the Akkadian Empire. However, in my opinion, it was the result of the Akkadian oppression and harsh policy, especially when Sargon installed “sons of Agade” to rule foreign lands and cities, excluding the sons of their own lands and cities: 79) *iš-tum-ma* 80) *ti-a-am-tim* 81) *ša-pil-tim* 82) DUMU. DUMU 83) *a-kà-dè^{ki}* 84) *ÉNSI-ku₈-a-tim* 85) *[u]-kà-lú*, “So that from the Lower Sea <to the Upper Sea> the citizens (lit. sons) of Agade [h]eld the governorships (of the land),” Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 11-12 (text E2.1.1.1).

¹⁵ For this cf. Di Ludovico, *op. cit.*, p. 321 with detailed bibliography in note 5; and p. 326.

¹⁶ The seal impression, although unfortunately damaged where the name of Gutium was probably written, reads i 1) *Šar-kà-li-šàr-ri* 2) LUGAL 3) *ba₁₁-u-la-ti* 4) *ÉN.LÍL* 5) *tu-tá-šar-li-bi-iš* ii 6) NIN 7) *Iš-ku-un-^dDa-[gan]* 8) DUB.[SAR] 9) ŠABRA [*Gu-ti-[um^{ki}??]*] 10) ÍR.[ZU], “Šarkališarrī, king of the subjects (or dominions) of Enlil (and) Tuta-šar-libbiš the queen- Iškun-Dagan the scribe, ‘steward’ of Gutium(?), your servant,” Buchanan, B., *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, Introduction and Seal Impression by W. W. Hallo, New Haven and London, 1981, p. 445, no. 429.

¹⁷ 4) *lú nam-lugal-* 5) *ki-en-gi-rá* 6) *kur-šè ba-DU-a*. Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 284 (text E2.13.6.4); cf. also Römer, W. H. Ph., “Zur Siegesinschrift des Königs Utuhegal von Unug (± 2116-2110 v. Chr.)” *Orientalia NS*, 54 (1985), p. 276. It is noteworthy that the SKL inserts a dynasty of Uruk between the Akkadian and the Gutian Dynasties.

¹⁸ The exact meaning of the metaphor was unclear to Potts, Potts, *Mesopotamia and the East*, p. 119. This was understandable when one thought that the Gutian kings of Sumer and Akkad were also the kings of all the

region, perhaps even the Sumerians,¹⁹ who looked for liberation from the Akkadian yoke. The neighbouring peoples had together formed an alliance against Narām-Sîn years before, and so it would have been natural to do the same this time. Among the probable allies one may expect the Elamites who were always ready to benefit from any weakness of their western neighbour, the Lullubians, the Hurrians and other mountain peoples and groups who had raided Akkadian territories earlier or who had suffered from campaigns of the kings of Agade.²⁰ It appears that the Gutians did not (or perhaps they were not able to) spread their hegemony over the whole land of Sumer and Akkad. This is suggested by the presence of the influential Second Lagaš Dynasty and the Uruk Dynasty at the end of the period of Gutian rule. The inscriptions of Ur-Namma refer to at least three independent political entities in Sumer at that period: the Uruk city-state with its ruler Utuḫegal, Lagaš, and the region under the Gutians. There is a suggestion that the two royal names Dudu and Šudurul, mentioned in the SKL as kings of Agade, were in fact rulers of the region centred on the city of Agade²¹ during the Gutian rule. The suggestion is based on the fact that the two of them are separated from the earlier rulers of the dynasty by a one-year hiatus, even though they are descended from the same family.²² It is also pointed out that their royal titles did not include “King of the four quarters of the world” and “King of the universe.” According to the available source material, we know that the regions of Umma, Kiš and Adab were certainly under (direct) Gutian rule. Textual evidence indicates that Umma was ruled by *ensis* on behalf of Gutian kings, as in the inscriptions of Namaḥ(a)ni²³ and Lugalannatum²⁴ and the seal of Elulu that mentions Si’um/Siam,²⁵ king of Gutium.²⁶ In this connection, it was in the environs of Adab that the decisive battle that brought the Gutian hegemony to an end took place, according to the text of Utuḫegal.²⁷ If we can rely on the literary text ‘Lament over Sumer and Ur,’ the Gutian control over the Kiš and Adab region appears to have been firm and most probably lasted until the Ur III period. The text says:

Gutians. But if our suggestion about the ‘king of kings’ of the Gutians in the foothills of the Zagros is accepted, the meaning is clearer; see further below “The Gutian Organization, the Greater king.”

¹⁹ Potts, *Mesopotamia and the East*, p. 119.

²⁰ The campaigns of the kings of Akkad to the regions north, northeast and northwest of Mesopotamia, and the revolts of the peoples of these regions against the Akkadian rule, both touched upon in the previous chapter, are good examples. The metal objects found in Western Iran, mainly in the Luristan and Kirmashan regions bearing inscriptions of the Akkadian kings, can be considered the booty of war, pillaged by the peoples of these regions as they attacked Akkad. For these objects and the inscriptions on them, cf. Calmeyer, P., *Datierbare Bronzen aus Luristan und Kirmanshah*, Berlin, 1969, p. 161ff.

²¹ Westenholz adds Kiš and Apiak to this small kingdom, cf. Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 57.

²² Nissen, *A History of the Ancient Near East*, p. 185.

²³ 1) ^dNin-ur₄-ra 2) ama GIŠ.ÙḪ^{ki}-ra 3) Nam-maḥ-ni 4) énsi 5) GIŠ.ÙḪ^{ki} 6) É-ù-la-ni 7) mu-na-dù 8) ki-bé mu-na-gi₄ 9) u₄-ba Ī-ar-la-ga-an 10) lugal-Gu-ti-um-kam, “For Ninurra, the mother of Umma, Nammaḥni, the ensi of Umma, built (and) renovated her E-ul. At that time, Jarlagan was king of Gutium,” Gelb, I. J. and B. Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, FAOS, Band 7, Stuttgart, 1990, Gutium 2, p. 296.

²⁴ 1) Lugal-an-na-túm 2) énsi 3) GIŠ.ÙḪ^{ki} 4) GIŠ.ÙḪ^{ki} 5) ba-ba-a 6) 35 mu 7) zal-la-ba 8) É-PA-GIŠ.ÙḪ^{ki} 9) i-dù (!) 10) temen-bi 11) ki-a i-si-si 12) me-bi šà-ba 13) si ba-ni-sá 14) u₄-ba Si-ù-um 15) lugal-Gu-ti-um-kam, “Lugalannatum the *ensi* of Umma, (after) 35 years had passed since (the territory of) Umma was reduced (or divided up), (he) (re)built the É-PA (=gidru?) of Umma (and) put this deposit document in the foundation-peg, (and) looked after corresponding rituals therein. At that time, Si’um was king of Gutium,” Gelb and Kienast, *op. cit.*, Gutium 3, p. 296-7; cf. also Frayne, *RIME 2*, p. 268 (text E2.11.13).

²⁵ This name is identical to the 20th reconstructed name of the SKL (see FAOS, p. 293). However, Hallo had earlier declared it did not occur on the list; he compared it with forms such as *Si-um-mi* and *Si-a-um*, both attested in texts from the Diyāla Region and Gasur; Hallo, *RIA*, p. 712 and bibliography.

²⁶ Potts, *op. cit.*, p. 120. The legend of the seal reads *I-lu-lu ĪR Si-a-um*, “Ilulu, the servant of Siam,” cf. Moortgat, A., *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst*, Berlin, 1940, no. 186.

²⁷ See further below.

Adab, which stretches out along the river, was deprived of water. The serpent of the mountains made his bed there (i.e. in Adab), the rebellious land it is (now). The Gutians multiplied there and brought forth their seed there.²⁸

Based on collation, Hallo has suggested to read Ḫabil-kîn, the 12th royal name of the Gutian Dynasty in the SKL as Apil-kîn, and consequently suggested a relationship with the dynasties of Mari and Ur.²⁹ In his new article about the Gutians, he cited new information about this Apil-kîn, who was once *šakkannak* of Mari, actually the seventh in the line,³⁰ and who was father of Tarām-Ur(i)am, the é-gi₄-a (daughter-in-law) of Ur-Namma.³¹ Hallo does not entirely exclude that he functioned for a brief time also as king of Gutium.³² If this is true, it means on the one hand that the Gutian sway had extended to Ur, and perhaps also to Mari. On the other hand it supports our suggestion about the assumed Gutian Great king installing Gutian as well as non-Gutian governors³³ to rule Sumer and Akkad.³⁴

The discovery of the mace head of Lā'arāb in Sippar raises questions about whether the Gutians actually ruled the city. Hallo pointed out that the provenance of the piece need not imply that this king had ruled the city.³⁵ At the same time he refers to the late tradition according to which the Gutians removed the statue of Annunitum from Sippar.³⁶ One might suggest that the mace head was brought to the city as a gift to one of the deities there, spoil of some battle against the Gutian dynasty.³⁷ However, Sippar was an important cultural centre of Mesopotamia and many significant artifacts were kept there, such as the pieces taken by Šutruk-Nahunte as booty to Susa, including the Stele of Hammurabi. So it would not have been impossible for this mace head to have been kept there with the other pieces. Nevertheless, one should not exclude the possibility that the city was under Gutian control, for it was an important station for peoples coming from the north, northwest and northeast.

²⁸ 144) Adab^{ki}-bu é id-dè lá-a-ri a-e ba-da-ab-bu_x(PI 145) muš kur-ra-ke₄ ki-nú ba-ni-ib-gar ki-bala-šè ba-ab-dug₄ 146) Gu-ti-um^{ki} šà ba-ni-ib-bal-bal numun ba-ni-ib-i, Michalowski, P., *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, Winona Lake, 1989, p. 44; 45, cf. also for the translation: Kramer, S. N., *Sumerian Lamentation*, in *Ancient Near Eastern Text Relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton, 1978, p. 614.

²⁹ Hallo, "New Light on the Gutians," *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia*, *RAI* 48, Leiden, 2005, p. 150.

³⁰ In Hallo, "New Light...", p. 150, he is dated to 2126-2091 BC by Durand, who suggests he has reigned 35 years and was evidently a contemporary of Ur-Namma; see Durand, J.-M., "La situation historique des Šakkanakku: nouvelle approche," *MARI* 4, Paris, 1985, p. 153; 156.

³¹ vii 7) *Tá-ra-am*-ŠEŠ.AB /^{ki}-am 8) dumu-munus *A-pil-ki-in* 9) lugal Ma-uri^{ki}-ka 10) é-gi₄-a 11) Ur-^dNamma 12) lugal Uri^{ki}-ma, Civil, M., "On Some Texts Mentioning Ur-Namma," *Orientalia* 54 (1985), p. 41. For the meaning of é-gi₄-a, cf. Boses, J. and W. Sallaberger, "Apil-Kîn von Mari und die Könige der III. Dynastie von Ur," *AoF* 23/1 (1996), p. 24-25, note 6 and the figure on page 38 that shows the relationship between Ur-Namma and Apil-Kîn.

³² Hallo, "New Light ...," p. 150.

³³ This is perhaps why some non-Gutian names occur in the list of the Gutian dynasty of the SKL. They were considered by some as a sign of Gutian integration in the Mesopotamian society, concerning this integration see for instance Veenhof, *Geschichte des Alten Orients bis zur Zeit Alexanders des Großen*, Grundriss zum Alten Testament 11, Göttingen, 2001, p. 72.

³⁴ About this suggestion, see below 'The Gutian Organization, The Great King.'

³⁵ Hallo, "New Light...", p. 151.

³⁶ Hallo, *ibid.*

³⁷ Presenting gifts to the deities from the booty of war was a Mesopotamian tradition, practised, for instance, by the kings of Ur III and the kings of Assyria. For Ur III examples cf. Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit*, *OBO*, p. 164 with bibliography, concerning offerings to Nanna and Enlil, and deliveries of cattle, said to have been provided from the booty of the lands Šašru and Šuruthum. The Šulgi hymn D also, speaks of the booty from Gutium, and how Šulgi brought home lapis-lazuli packed in bags, "the property of the land," together with cattle and donkeys, and how he offered them to Enlil and Ninlil; cf. Klein, J., *The Royal Hymns of Shulgi King of Ur: Man's Quest for Immortal Fame*, Philadelphia, 1981, p. 13, see also Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit*, *OBO*, p. 165.

Later it became an important centre of the Kassites, who built their capital Dūr-Kurigalzu not too far away, and it was targeted by the Elamites in some of their campaigns.

That the Gutian rulers are listed in the SKL might imply that their control also reached the sacred city of Nippur. The discovery of copies of inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir in the city further supports this idea, but without direct proof this remains far from certain.

The Utuḫēgal allusion to Tirigan's control of both banks of the Tigris³⁸ has been understood to mean that Gutian control was restricted to the region of the Tigris, rather than as far as the Euphrates. However far Gutian control extended in the western parts of the alluvium this allusion can be explained as propaganda by Uruk against Tirigan rather than a historical statement about the core area of the Gutian power. The idea rests on the fact that the statement occurs in the same narrative of cutting off the ways in the north and depriving the people of the use of the river as a means of transport. So it is in this context that the information should be understood.³⁹

The Gutians were thought to have used power and terror to control the land under their sway through widespread raids.⁴⁰ As long as the Gutian overlords were smaller in number than the native Sumerians and Akkadians such a policy would have been the best way to keep their rule firm in their hands and it could have been expected, but in fact it conflicts with the archaeological data mentioned above. These impressions arise perhaps from the circumstances described in the literary compositions that speak of the bad conditions under the Gutians. By contrast the stability of the city-state of Lagaš could be attributed not only to the fact that rule was in native hands, for other factors seem also to have been in play. Gudea enjoyed remarkably easy access to mines in Gutian territory or territory under Gutian control, such as the copper mines in mount Kimaš,⁴¹ and this may well indicate some mutual cooperation between the two dynasties.

Outside Sumer and Akkad

In relation to those lands of the Transtigris and Northern Mesopotamia (the names of some of which are known, such as Niqqum, Simurrum, Madga, Assur, Urbilum) and the Habur region, there is no evidence yet of a direct Gutian rule in the area as a whole,⁴² except for a few presumed traces in Assur and Nineveh.⁴³ The situation is more complicated in Brak, ancient Nagar. While some speak of a supposed Gutian destruction of the Akkadian

³⁸ Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 284 (text E2.13.6.4). For the Sumerian text, see below.

³⁹ The river Tigris was not used for irrigation in ancient times since its level was lower than the surrounding land. The only useful river for agriculture was the Euphrates with its tributaries and canals. This situation lasted until the Seleucid Period, when hydraulic machines were introduced and first used for irrigation. This is why all important Sumerian cities are located on the Euphrates and its tributaries, not on the Tigris.

⁴⁰ Nissen, *A History of the Ancient Near East*, p. 186. However, Potts suggests that this manner of "swift, mobile marauders preying on a richer sedentary population" happened outside the Kiš-Adab region; Potts, *Mesopotamia and ...*, p. 121.

⁴¹ For the text of Gudea, cf. Chapter Four.

⁴² Potts, *Mesopotamia and ...*, p. 119.

⁴³ The level that followed the Akkadian in Assur, especially in the temple of Ištar, that yielded nothing other than hovels, could be, according to Gadd, remnants of the huts of the Gutians who dwelled there; Gadd, "The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion," *CAH* I, part 2, p. 457-8. However, it is too difficult to link these remnants of houses or other finds with the Gutians or any other ethnicity as discussed by Bär: Bär, J., "Sumerians, Gutians and Hurrians at Ashur? A Re-Examination of Ishtar Temples G and F," *Iraq* 65 (2003), p. 148 and 158. According to R. Adams, the larger towns of the Diyāla plains have presumably suffered badly from the invaders: Adams, R., *Land Behind Baghdad*, p. 45 (after: Hallo, *RIA* p. 710) and the claim of Nabonidus of restoring a temple in Sippar that had been destroyed by the Gutians: Hallo, *RIA* p. 717. Yet the damage inflicted on the bronze head of Sargon (or Narām-Sîn) found in Nineveh was seen as a sign of a Gutian presence and violent revenge. However, it is not impossible that the non-Gutian natives also rejoiced at the fall of Akkad and could have taken such revenge.

occupation in the city⁴⁴ resulting in a 300 year gap in the occupation of North Mesopotamia (but slightly later than the Gutian invasion),⁴⁵ D. Oates and J. Oates stressed that there is no break found between the Akkadian and post-Akkadian occupations there.⁴⁶

Whatever the case may be, the northern lands mentioned above obviously reverted to local rule immediately after the fall of Akkad if not earlier. However, the discovery of the inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir of Gutium has slightly enriched our knowledge of the situation. Thanks to these inscriptions we know now of campaigns carried out by this king to subdue Simurrum, Urbilum, Lullubum, Madga and several other as yet unidentified GNs. This means that these lands were politically independent or at least had tried to gain independence. It is quite possible that some of them enjoyed some time of independence before the Gutian attempts to annexe them. According to Erridu-Pizir himself, he was successful in his campaigns, but for the moment we cannot be sure for how long he was able to maintain his control over these unruly lands and peoples. If in fact these areas were firmly in Gutian hands, then the Gutian state had become a kind of empire that extended to Sumer and Akkad in the south and at least to Erbil in the north.

The Gutian Organization: the Great King

It appears that the socio-political organization of the Gutians was different from that of Mesopotamia. The Gutian organization seems to have been tribal, centred on the head of the tribe, or probably a tribal committee composed of the elders and *sheikhs* of the tribe.⁴⁷ It is usual in modern tribal organizations, about which much information is known, to be founded on absolute loyalty to the head of the tribe, and he in turn acts as a father for his great family. In such organizations loyalty to one's own family counts for less than loyalty to the tribe.⁴⁸ The absence of allusions to Gutian cities or centres, at least in this early period,⁴⁹ could imply they had a non-sedentary lifestyle.⁵⁰

Until a couple of decades ago the head of the *Babān* and *Jāf* tribes, in the regions of Shahrazūr and Garmiyān (partly covered by the Diyāla basin) were called 'kings.'⁵¹ Similarly, the Gutian and also the Lullubian rulers in that same region were referred to as 'kings' by Mesopotamians.⁵² In fact they were most probably more like tribal chieftains leading tribal federations that consisted of petty tribes or clans headed by smaller *sheikhs*.

In tribal organization leadership succession is usually hereditary. But it has been suggested that the Gutian tribal head was elected because of the short terms of the reigns of the Gutian

⁴⁴ Hallo, "New Light . . .", p. 149.

⁴⁵ Weiss, H. *et al.*, "The Genesis and Collapse of Third Millennium North Mesopotamian Civilization," *Science*, 261 (August 20, 1993), p. 995-1004. Weiss speaks of the gap that began in almost 2200 and lasted till 1900 BC, while the gap in south Mesopotamia began in *ca.* 2350 till 2050 BC.

⁴⁶ Oates, D., J. Oates and H. McDonald, *Excavations at Tell Brak*, vol. 2: Nagar in the Third Millennium BC, London, 2001, p. 392-4, *apud* Hallo, p. 150.

⁴⁷ According to Diakonoff, the Gutians were tribesmen with elected chieftains, cf. Diakonoff, "Media," *CHI*, p. 37.

⁴⁸ For this and more details, cf. Van der Steen, E., *Tribal Societies in the Nineteenth Century: A Model*, in: J. Szuchman (ed.), *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East*, Chicago, 2009, p. 105-6.

⁴⁹ There is in fact an allusion to "cities" of Gutians in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I (MA period) during his campaign on the land of Uqumanu, which he describes as a Gutian kingdom, cf. Grayson, *RIMA I*, p. 234 (text A.0.78.1); a fact earlier noted in Saggs, H. W. F., *The Might that was Assyria*, London, 1984, p. 51.

⁵⁰ The word 'horde' to describe the Gutians or their army (as in the SKL, p. 116 and 117, l. 26) is not the precise equivalent of the Sumerian word KI.SU.LU.UB₄<.GAR>=*uĝnim* "army," "troops," see also below.

⁵¹ Called *pa(d)sha* in Kurdish, *padishah* in Persian.

⁵² In the letters of Shemshāra and Mari numerous instances of "king of the Gutians" and "(numerous) kings of the Lullubeans" (using the Sumerian logogram LUGAL) are recorded; for details and examples cf. Chapters Six and Seven.

kings and the repetition of some of their names in the Sumerian King List (SKL).⁵³ Diakonoff concluded that in the Gutian regnal system there were no kings, but instead elected tribal chieftains to rule the land periodically for short terms, and they could be re-elected more than once.⁵⁴ He found support in the sentence “The Guti horde had no king”⁵⁵ in the beginning of version L₁ of the SKL. But Jacobsen says this is a secondary variant in a single text of the B branch of texts that all say “a king without a name.”⁵⁶ Because the suggestion of Diakonoff is based on one occurrence in a secondary version it is difficult to accept.

Our suggestion is that there was a Great king, a king of kings, of the Gutians, who ruled all the Gutian tribes and resided in the land of Gutium, not in lowland Mesopotamia. The names of such Great kings are not documented⁵⁷ because they did not rule Mesopotamia personally. They entrusted rulership to Gutian governors who were sent by the king from his capital. It is the names of these governors that are recorded in the SKL. We should not expect the king of the widespread Gutian tribes to leave his royal seat in the hills to come to lowland Mesopotamia to rule that part of his realm. Instead the land of Sumer and Akkad was ruled by the governors, and it is their names which are recorded in the SKL. These governors, who were not always themselves Gutians, ruled in the name of this putative Great king.

Abdication, substitution and restoration is reflected in the SKL, as in the case of Iarla(an)gab, who was both the ninth and the eleventh king. Such a practice would reflect that of the *ensis* sent by the Mesopotamian kings to rule the conquered foreign lands while they themselves stayed in their capitals.⁵⁸ The Gutians must surely have seen and could easily have imitated the Akkadian example of installing Akkadian citizens to rule foreign lands. Such a system was also in operation in the region under study in the first half of the second millennium. Then Kuwāri, ruler of Šušarrā, ruled the city and its province on behalf of the Great Turukkean King Pišendēn, whose capital was Kunšum in the nearby mountains. King Erridu-Pizir,⁵⁹ whose inscriptions will be discussed later in this chapter, could very probably have been one of those Great kings, for he was not mentioned in the SKL,⁶⁰ while the city of Agade was under his direct (or indirect) rule when he campaigned against KA-Nišba of Simurrum.⁶¹ Another criterion is that the arena of his operations according to his inscriptions was outside Sumer and Akkad, closer to the upper Diyāla and the Transtigris (see his inscription in this chapter). Because few inscriptions attributable to the Gutian kings have been found we must reserve judgement. But the use of the title “king of Gutium, king of the four quarters (of the world)” in the inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir implies that he was Great king

⁵³ Diakonoff, “Media,” *CHI*, vol. 2, p. 37.

⁵⁴ Diakonoff, *ibid.*; and دياكونوف، ل. ١٤٨. The new version of the SKL found in Tell Leylān, adds unfortunately nothing new to our information about the Gutian Dynasty, cf.: Vincente, C.-A., “The Tell Leilan Recension of the Sumerian King List,” *ZA* 85 (1995), p. 243; 265; Hallo, “New Light on the Gutians,” p. 150.

⁵⁵ Diakonoff, *ibid.*; Hallo, “New Light...,” p. 150.

⁵⁶ Jacobsen, *SKL*, p. 117, note 285.

⁵⁷ Except for two, Erridu-Pizir and his father Enrida-Pizir.

⁵⁸ For instance, the *ensis* of the Ur III period.

⁵⁹ Presumably a Gutian name. The second part of the name occurs also in the name of his father, Enrida-Pizir. A similar form was found in an Ur III text from Umma as *Pi-zi-ir*: Zadok, R., “Hurrians, as well as Individuals Bearing Hurrian and Strange Names in Sumerian Sources,” in *kinattūtu ša dārāti*- Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume, ed. A. F. Rainey, Tel Aviv, 1993, p. 235. The first sign can also be read WA or WI.

⁶⁰ The interpretation presented by Michalowski of why this king was not mentioned in the SKL is that the textual tradition of this section of the SKL was the most garbled in the entire composition: Michalowski, P., “History as Charter, Some Observations on the Sumerian King List,” *JAOS* 103 (1983), *apud*, Frayne, *BiOr*, p. 404.

⁶¹ The inscription E2.2.1.2 mentions that the army (?) of Erridu-Pizir offered large male goats to the gods in Agade before its march against KA-Nišba: 14) *in A-kà-dè^{ki}* 15) *u-ra-ši* 16) *ra-bi-ù-tim* 17) *<a-na> ì-lì* 18) *ṛ-ù-qá-ra-ab*, (col. V, l. 14-18), and that the goddess Ištar had stationed troops (probably belonging to him or for him) in Agade: 2) ^dINANNA 3) *in A-kà-dè^{ki}* 4) ERĪN-am 5) *iš-ku-un* (E2.2.1.2, col. V, l. 2-5). This refers to some military contribution/ assistance to Erridu-Pizir from his subordinate, the Gutian governor.

of the Gutians in addition to Sumer and Akkad, greater than the kings of Sumer and Akkad who he himself had installed.

The actual title of such a Great king is as yet unknown, but the text KUB 27, 38 (CTH 775), although a historical-mythological text, may give a hint, when it says that the Lullubians once had a “king of kings.”⁶² Additional evidence comes later from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I of Assyria who, in the course of his first military action conducted against the Gutians in Uquma/enu, mentioned “the hordes of princes of Abulê, king of the land of Uqumenu.”⁶³ Although the Akkadian word *malku* means a ‘king’ or ‘foreign ruler,’⁶⁴ this text still points to rulers or minor kings under the leadership of a major king. It is a clear indication that the Gutians in this period were ruled by princes subordinate to a Great king.

If this is true, two questions arise. One is why the SKL calls the Gutian governor of Sumer and Akkad ‘king’, and the other why the name of the Great king is omitted from the list. The answer to the first question is that these governors might have had the same rank as the ‘kings’ of Gutian tribes under the leadership of the ‘Great king,’ and so were called kings. In addition to this, king is the obvious term to denote the ruler of several cities in Sumer and Akkad. As to the second question, the answer may lie in the fact that the Gutian governor known as a king ruled the holy Sumerian and Akkadian cities under the assumed patronage of the deities of those cities and performed their religious duties, for he was the ruler in charge of the land. Thus, it was this governor who was the significant figure for the SKL, not the foreign Great king outside the land. The example given by Ḫat/daniš of Ḫamazi, supports this suggestion. The name of Ḫat/daniš is the only Ḫamazite royal name mentioned in the SKL, as the conqueror of Kiš and probably Nippur, but it neglects other rulers such as Zizi, the contemporary of Irkab-Damu of Ebla, because they did not rule Sumer and Akkad.

Some attempts have been made to identify the “King without name” of the SKL.⁶⁵ It is thought that a break in the old manuscript had occurred from which the list of Gutian kings was copied and hence a king without a name is recorded. It remains difficult to accept the identification of Erridu-Pizir as the “King without name.” The difficulty stems from the fact that also the father of Erridu-Pizir, Enrida-Pizir, was a king of Gutium and there is also no mention of his name in the list. If Erridu-Pizir is to be identified with the “King without name,” then his father should also be another “King without name,” but there is only one such epithet on the list. It could be that his father reigned before the Gutian invasion, and hence was not listed in the SKL, but this does not seem to be the case. The Assyrian king list mentions 17 kings who had never been in Assur, but lived in tents. Even so they are included in the Assyrian King List.⁶⁶ Of the Kassites, who ruled Babylonia after the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon, former kings like Gandaš are similarly mentioned in the lists.⁶⁷

⁶² *Ib-ri e-we₆-er-ne* [uru] *Lu-ul-lu-e-ne-we₆*, cf. Klengel, “Lullu(bum),” *RIA* 7 (1987-1990), p. 166. Note that ‘king of kings’ later became a prominent royal title under the Achaemenid kings.

⁶³ III 2) *mA-bu-le-e* MAN KUR *Ú-qu-me-ni gu-un-ni ma-li-ki-šu*, Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 235 (text A.0.78.1). Noteworthy is the translation of the word *gu-un-ni* in this text as “hordes,” while *CAD* gives “elite troops”. Even Jacobsen in *SKL* translates *ki-su-lu-ub₄<-gar>* = *uḡnim* as “horde,” though it also means “army,” “troops”. The influence of the old Mesopotamian propaganda regarding the Gutians (see below) on modern scholars is clear.

⁶⁴ Cf. *CAD*, vol. M 1, p. 166 ff.

⁶⁵ Jacobsen, Th., *The Sumerian King List*, p. 117, n. 285; Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 219; Veenhof, *Geschichte des Alten Orients*...., p. 72. He is listed with other Gutian kings in the chronological table in Glassner, J.-J., *La chute d’Akkadé*, Berlin, 1986, on p. 96.

⁶⁶ About this cf. Poebel, A., “The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad,” *JNES* 1 (1942), p. 251-2; Kraus, F. R., *Könige, die in Zelten wohnten*, Amsterdam, 1965.

⁶⁷ Cf. The Babylonian King List A in Grayson, A. K., “Königslisten und Chroniken- B. Akkadisch,” *RIA* 6 (1980-83), p. 91; cf. also Brinkman, J. A., “Kassiten,” *RIA* 5 (1976-1980), p. 467.

The Gutian Dynasty

We know very little of the Gutian Dynasty from Sumerian-Akkadian texts. They are silent on the subject, except for the kings' names listed in the SKL and a few royal inscriptions by Gutian kings or by their officials.⁶⁸ The four versions of the SKL show discrepancies in their lists of Gutian kings,⁶⁹ and these discrepancies pose more problems than solutions. The generally accepted list gives 21 or 23 kings⁷⁰ including the "king without name."

- 1) NN
- 2) Imtâ (3 years). *Im-ta-a* (P₁), Read by Hallo in *RIA* 3, 711: ní-bi-a⁷¹
- 3) Inkišuš (6/7 years). *In-ki-šú/šúš*⁷² (WB), *In-gi-šú* (L₁)
- 4) S/Zarlagab (6 years). *Zà^{ar}-la-ga-ba* (L₁)/ *Jà(NI)-lagab^{la-gab}* (WB VII 31).⁷³
- 5) Šulmê (6 years). *Šul-me-e* (WB VII 32)/ Iarlagas (3 [+n] years). *Ia-ar-la-ga-aš* (L₁)
- 6) Silulumeš (6/7 years). *Si-lu-lu-me-eš*
- 7) Inimabakeš (5 years). *I-ni-ma-ba-ke-eš*
- 8) Igeš'a'uš (6 years). *I-ge-eš-a-uš*
- 9) Iarlagab (15 years). *Ia-ar-la-gab* (WB), [...]gáb (L₁)
- 10) Ibate (3 years). *I-ba-te* (WB), [*I-b*]a-ti (L₁)
- 11) Iarlangab (3 years). *Ja-ar-la* (WB); var. [x-x]-x-an-gab (L₁)
- 12) Ku-ru-um (1 year). *Ku-ru-um* (WB), [...]ib (L₁).⁷⁴
- 13) Ḫa-bil-ki(?)-in/ Apil-kîn (3 years). *A-pil-ki-in*
- 14) La-erabum (2 years). [*La-e*]-ra-bu-um.⁷⁵
- 15) Irarum (2 years). *I-ra-ru-um*
- 16) Ibratum (1 year). *Ib-ra-nu-um*
- 17) Ḫablum (2 years). *Ḫa-ab-lum*
- 18) Puzur-Sîn (7 years). *Puzur^d-Sîn*
- 19) Iarlaganda (7 years). [*A?*]-ar-la-ga-an-da
- 20) Si'u (7 years). [*Si* (?) (-x)]-u₄
- 21) Tirigan (40 days). [*Ti-ri-g*]a (Only WB VII 49)⁷⁶

⁶⁸ Cf.: Hallo, "Gutium," *RIA*, p. 117.

⁶⁹ Michalowski, P., "History as Charter, Some Observations on the Sumerian King List," *JAOS* 103 (1983), p. 240. The Leylān text excavated in 1987 should be added to the sources.

⁷⁰ Cf. Hallo, *RIA*, p. 711. As already pointed out, some regard Erridu-Pizir as the king without a name (see above). Their names of some other Gutians, called kings in other texts, were added to the SKL; see for instance Jacobsen, *SKL*, p. 120, note 308.

⁷¹ Jacobsen's note to this name is that a break in the last part of the sign TA has resulted in the reading BA, which is the second sign of the name; i.e. im-ta-a has become im-ba-a, cf. Jacobsen, *SKL*, p. 118, note 286.

⁷² Von Soden gives only the reading šú: Von Soden, W. and W. Röllig, *Das Akkadische Syllabar*, Roma, 1991, no. 296, p. 58, while Labat gives the value šúš as well: Labat, R., *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*, Paris, 1988, no. 545.

⁷³ The first sign of the name is in fact NA₄ which has the values ia₄ and zà, so the first element of the name is ambiguous. The sign NI of exemplar WB, can also be either ià[?], or zal.

⁷⁴ Possibly Semitic according to Gelb, I. J., *Glossary of Old Akkadian*, Chicago, 1957, p. 149.

⁷⁵ Possibly Old Akkadian according to Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁷⁶ Cf. Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, p. 293; Edzard, D. O., "Königslisten und Chroniken- A. Sumerisch," *RIA* 6 (1980-83), p. 82-84. UM 29-15-199 adds two otherwise unattested Gutian kings to the list, Du₁₀-ga and i-lu-DINGIR (iii' 3-4); cf. Michalowski, "History as Charter," p. 246. The name Irarum (the 15th name on the list, WB exemplar) has been attested in a text from Gasur without mimation as *I-ra-ra*, cf. Meek, *Excavations at Nuzi*, vol. III, Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi, Harvard, 1935, 31: 3; 153 IV 17. As pointed out already, there was a well-known GN in the Transtigris called Irar. Hallo had already called attention to a similar name to Si-u₄ (the 21st on the list), presumably attested in the text of Lugalannatum of Umma, in the form Si-ù-um. This name is also attested several times in the texts of Gasur in the form *Si-a-um*; cf. Meek, *op. cit.*, 107: 8; 155 IV 6; 155 III 8; 146: 13; 153 II 6; 197: 8; 72 I 3. The sixth name was e-lu-lu-me-eš in Jacobsen,

Inscriptions or seals of officials recording the names of some of the kings listed in the SKL have been found, thus confirming the credibility of the SKL. Among these names are the 19th king Jarlagan,⁷⁷ the 14th Lā'arāb and the 20th Si/a'u(m). Edzard had removed the first king from the list but inserted another king between Šulme (his no. 4) and Silulumeš (his no. 6) to become the fifth king on the list, but without giving his name.⁷⁸ According to Hallo, those kings have ruled 40-50 years only⁷⁹ from the end of Šarkališarrī to Ur-Namma.⁸⁰ But according to the SKL itself the 21 kings have ruled 125 (var. 124) years and 40 days, or 99 years under 23 kings.⁸¹ The version published by Jacobsen gives 91 years and 40 days for 21 kings.⁸²

The Gutian names at the beginning of the list tend to become Akkadianized towards the end, like the names Ibranum, Ḫablum and Puzur-Sîn. As already pointed out, this can be the result of the installation of Akkadians or Akkadian-named individuals to govern the land on behalf of the Gutians, among whom was Apil-Kîn mentioned above.

A Dark Age?

This period has been described as a Dark Age, since the Gutians did not leave any discernible impact on Mesopotamian culture. We cannot distinguish any typically Gutian literature or works of art.⁸³ All that we possess are a few inscriptions that bear explicit Gutian royal names and titles. This lack of a Gutian material and spiritual culture and the absence of any Gutian version of events contribute to the idea of a Gutian 'Dark Age.' This image, based on the presence of strong Sumero-Akkadian propaganda opposed to Gutian silence, though may well have to be changed, but can hardly be changed without further evidence coming to light.

It is hard to understand how so few traces remain of the Gutian period, which lasted at least 91 years in southern Mesopotamia. We have found no sculpture, no architecture, no official or unofficial inscription, none of the basic elements for running a state. What appears to have happened is that the Sumerians, and probably the Akkadians too, have later destroyed everything and anything which evoked any memory of the invaders after the Gutians were

but according to the collation of Hallo it must now be read as Si-lu-lu-me-eš, cf. Michalowski, "History as Charter," p. 248, note 66.

⁷⁷ This name is identified with Jarlaganda of the SKL, cf. Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, p. 293, note to line 19, and with Arlagan, as found on the stone bowl published a few years ago by Hallo, see below.

⁷⁸ Edzard, *Königslisten und Chroniken- A. Sumerisch*, *RIA* 6, p. 82-84.

⁷⁹ Or even 36 years according to Huber: Huber, P., "Astronomical Dating of Ur III and Akkad," *AfO* 46-47 (1999-2000), p. 71, after Hallo, "New Light...", p. 153.

⁸⁰ Hallo, "New light...", p. 153; *RIA*, p. 714. This estimation is based on the overlapping between the dynasties of Lagaš II and Ur III. He suggests that Gudea was a late contemporary of Ur-Namma, who was in turn a contemporary of the Elamite Kutik-Inšušinak, cf. Hallo, "New Light...", p. 153. He bases himself on a text of Ur-Namma that records the hostilities of the Elamites under their king, Kutik-Inšušinak, towards the cities "Awal, Kismar, Maškan-šarrim, the region of Ešnunna, the region of Tutub, the region of Zimudar, the region of Akkad..." for this text cf. Wilcke, C., "Die Inshriftenfunde der 7. und 8. Kampagne (1983 und 1984)," in B. Hrouda, ed., *Isin- Išān Bahrīyāt*, 3, Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1983-1984, München, 1987, p. 110.

⁸¹ Hallo, *RIA*, p. 711.

⁸² Jacobsen, *SKL*, p. 116-21. Some find it possible that the Gutian rule in central and southern Mesopotamia could have begun with the death of Narām-Sîn, and also that the last two kings of Akkad ruled the core of the land of Akkad only, centred round the capital Akkad, cf. Veenhof, *Geschichte des Alten Orients*, p. 72; cf. also the suggestion of Nissen above, that these two kings were rulers of the Akkad region during the Gutian Period.

⁸³ According to Potts, there is no influx of Gutian personal names: Potts, *op. cit.*, p. 121. However, the typical Gutian names listed in the SKL and other relative names in the texts of Nuzi and Diyāla, although few, indicate the contrary. For the discussion of some of these names cf. Hallo, "Gutium," *RIA*, p. 712; Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 97.

expelled. They tried to delete the Gutian interlude from their history.⁸⁴ They apparently felt humiliated and scorned when they themselves and their holy cities were ruled by mountainous tribes, tribes that had been a regular source for their slaves in the times before the invasion. This hatred is well reflected in several texts describing the conditions under Gutian rule. The Utuhegal inscription is a good example in this respect:

Gu[tium], the *fanged* serpent of the mountain, who acted with violence against the gods, who carried the kingship of the land of Sumer to the mountain land, who fi[ll]ed the land of Sumer with wickedness, who took away the wife from the one who had a wife, who took away the child from the one who had a child, who put wickedness and evil in the land (of Sumer).⁸⁵

It continues:

Tiri[gan], the king of Gutium, He had seized on both banks of the Tigris River. In the south, in Sumer, he had blocked (water from) the fields. In the north, he had closed off the roads (and) caused tall grass to grow up along the highway(s) of the land.⁸⁶

The Weidner Chronicle shows the disrespectful behaviour of the Gutians towards the gods, the Mesopotamian gods in particular:

Utuhegal, the *fisherman*, caught a fish as tribute at the edge of the sea; until that fish was offered to the great lord, Marduk, it was not offered to any other god. The Guti, took the cooked fish away from him before it was offered [...].⁸⁷

The well-known ‘Curse of Agade’ includes a detailed passage concerning the Gutians, which could well be called the “Scorn Chapter”. It depicts life under their rule as stagnated, backward and intolerable, an attitude permeating the whole section. It begins with the description of the Gutians themselves, who looked like humans but were not. They were ugly creatures, cunning with evil intent, and more importantly, they were not part of the civilized world of Mesopotamia, but aliens:

Not classed among people, not reckoned as part of the land/country, Gutium, a people not to bridle, with human instincts, but canine intelligence, and monkeys’ features.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Similar cases in the history of the Near East are not unprecedented. In more recent history all works of art and everything bearing symbols of royalty in Egypt after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1952 were destroyed. Similarly, some scholars ascribe the rarity of relics from the Parthian Period in Iran to the hatred of the Sassanian kings towards them expressed by destroying anything bearing their memory.

⁸⁵ 1) ^rGu¹-[ti-um^{ki}] 2) muš-GÍR-ḫur-sag-[gá] 3) lú-á-zi-ga-dingir-^rre!-e-ne¹ 4) lú nam-lugal 5) Ki-en-gi-rá 6) kur-šè-ba-de₆-a 7) Ki-en-gi-rá 8) ni-a-ne-ru (=erim) bí-i[n-s]i-a 9) dam-tuku dam-ni 10) ba-an-da-kar-ra 11) dumu-tuk dumu-ni 12) ba-an-da-kar-ra 13) ni-a-ne-ru ni-a-zi 14) kalam-ma mi-ni-in-gar-ra, cf. Frayne, D., *RIME* 2, p. 284 (text E2.13.6.4).

⁸⁶ 35) *Ti-ri-[ga-a-an]* 36) ^rluga!- Gu-ti-um^{<ki>}-ke₄ 39) I₇.idigna gú-min-a-ba 40) bí-in-dib 41) sig-šè Ki-en-gi-rá 42) gána bí-kešda 43) IGI.NIM-šè ġiri-i-kešda 44) kaskal-kalam-ma-ke₄ 45) ú-ġid-da bí-in-mú, cf. Frayne, *op.cit.*

⁸⁷ 58) ^dUtu-ḫé-gál šu-ḫa-da-ku ina paṭ i-rat tam-tim nu-na ta-mar-ti i-bar-ma 59) nu-un šu-a-ti a-di a-na be-lí rabê ^dMarduk ṭe-ḫu-ú ana ili šá-nim-ma ul uṭ-ṭah-ḫu 60) Qu-tu-ú nu-na ba-áš-la la tuḫ-ḫa-a ina qāti-šú e-ki-mu-š[u...], Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle 19, p. 150; cf. also the version of the Sippar library published in Al-Rawi, F. N. H., “Tablets from the Sippar Library, I. ‘The Weidner Chronicle.’ A Supposititious Royal Letter Concerning a Vision,” *Iraq* 52 (1990), p. 10, l. 22-25.

⁸⁸ 154) uḡ-ḡá nu-si-ga kalam-ma nu-šid-da 155) gu-ti-um^{ki} uḡ kéš-da nu-zu 156) dí-ma lú-ulu₃^{lu} galga ur-ra SIG₇.ALAN ^{ugu}ugu₄-bi, Cooper, *The Curse of Agade*, p. 26; 57.

In order to show the greatness of the sin committed by Narām-Sîn, the image depicted of the invasion and its consequences is horrible. The Gutians are described as hordes intent on destroying any sign of life:

Enlil brought them out of the mountains. Like hordes of locusts they lie over the land; their arms are stretched over the plain for him (Enlil) like a snare for animals; nothing leaves their arms; no one escapes their arms.⁸⁹

As a result, all aspects of life stagnated. There was civic collapse as administrative work and economic activity ceased:

Messengers no longer travel the highways; the courier's boat no longer takes to the rivers.⁹⁰

The invaders feared no gods and they dared to plunder temple possessions:

They (the Gutians) drive the trusty goats of Enlil from the fold, and make their herdsmen follow; they drive the cows from the pens, and make their cowherds follow.⁹¹

These uncivilised invaders, as the text wants to show, were the worst administrators the land had ever known. These corrupt criminals left the cities, the homes of the gods and residents, open to ruin by dislodging the gates. The land experienced such devastation that even foreign lands mourned bitterly:

The shackled manned the watch; the brigand occupied the highways; the doors of all the city-gates of the land lay dislodged in the dirt; and all the foreign lands uttered bitter cries from the walls of their cities.⁹²

The crude uncivilized conquerors apparently could not distinguish a city from a village. They abandoned the fields but planted gardens, probably for their own use, in the midst of the cities. Drought, the failure of agriculture and the growth of everything sweet and delicious was due to their policy and their presence:

In the midst of the cities, though not in the widespread exterior plains, they planted gardens (for the first time) since cities were built and founded; the great agricultural tracts produced no grain; the inundated tracts produced no fish; the irrigated orchards produced neither syrup nor juice; the gathered clouds did not rain; the *mašgurum* did not grow.⁹³

On the individual level the consequences of rising prices were catastrophic:

⁸⁹ 157) ^dEn-lil-le kur-ta nam-ta-an-è 158) ŠID.ŠID buru₅ ^{mušen}-gim ki àm-ú-ús 159) á-bi gu máš-anše-gim eden-na mu-un-na-an-lá 160) níg-na-me á-bi la-ba-ra-è 161) lú-na-me á-bi la-ba-an-tag₄-tag₄, *op. cit.*, p. 56-58; 57-9.

⁹⁰ 162) lú-kin-gi₄-a ħar-ra-an-na nu-mu-un-ġín 163) ^{giš}má ra-gaba id-da nu-mu-un-dab₅-bé, *op. cit.* 58; 59.

⁹¹ 164) ùz gi ^dEn-lil-lá amaš-ta ba-ra-ra-aš na-gada-bi bí-in-ús-ú-ús 165) šilam tūr-bi-ta ba-ra-ra-aš unù-bi bí-in-ús-ú-ús, *ibid.*

⁹² 166) ġiš-gú-ka en-nu-ùġ ba-e-dù 167) ħar-ra-an-na lú-sa-gaz ba-e-tuš 168) abul kalam-ma-ka ^{giš}ig im-ma ba-e-gub 169) kur-kur-ra bād uru^{ki}-ne-ne-ka gù gig mi-ni-ib-bé-ne, *ibid.*

⁹³ 170) iri^{ki} ša eden bar dagal nu-me-a mú-sar mu-un-dè-gál 171) u₄ uru^{ki} ba-dím-dím-ma-ba ba-si-si-ga-ba 172) a-gàr gal-gal-e še nu-um-túm 173) a-gàr sù-sù-ge ku₆ nu-um-túm 174) pú-^{giš}kiri₆ lál geštin nu-um-túm 175) IM.UD sír-da la-ba-šèg ^{giš}maš-gurum la-ba-mú, *ibid.*

At that time, one shekel's worth of oil was only one-half quart, one shekel's worth of grain was only one-half quart, one shekel's worth of wool was only one-half mina, one shekel's worth of fish filled only one *ban*-measure- these sold at such (prices) in the markets of all the cities. He who slept on the roof, died on the roof; he who slept in the house, had no burial; people were flailing at themselves from hunger.⁹⁴

This resulted in the decay of the social texture and the destruction of the moral hierarchy created through centuries of social and cultural evolution:

The honest was changed to a liar; young men lay upon young men; the blood of liars ran upon the blood of honest men.⁹⁵

It culminated with the gods making their sanctuaries and stores smaller and simpler:

At that time Enlil remodelled his great sanctuaries into tiny reed sanctuaries, and from east to west he reduced their stores.⁹⁶

Anyone who did not die of hunger or was not killed could only cry out in despair:

The old women who survived those days, the old men who survived those days, the chief lamentation singer who survived those years, for seven days and seven nights put in place seven *balag*-instruments,⁹⁷ as if they stood at heaven's base, and played *ub*, *meze*, and *lilis*-drums for him (Enlil) among them (the *balags*). The old women did not restrain (the cry) "Alas my city!", the old men did not restrain (the cry) "Alas its people!", the lamentation singer did not restrain (the cry) "Alas the Ekur!", its young women did not restrain from tearing their hair, its young men did not restrain their sharp knives.⁹⁸

All these insults, vilifications, and the dark age described here and in other texts reflect the bitter hatred for the Gutians. Such hatred would have given every encouragement for any remnant of any memory of them to be completely destroyed, leaving only these scathing comments.⁹⁹ The hatred lived on long afterwards. The Babylonians sustained bitter memories of the Gutian age, as recorded in their literary and historical compositions, and the demonic image they gave to the Gutians became a standard term in their language for the description of any evildoer or invader from the east. When the Persians under Cyrus the Great conquered

⁹⁴ 176) u₄-ba ì diš gín-e ba₇ sila₃-àm 177) še diš gín-e ba₇ sila₃-àm 178) sig diš gín-e ba₇ ma-na-àm 179) ku₆ diš gín-e g^{is}ba-an-e ìb-si 180) ganba uru^{ki}-ba-ka ur₅-gim ìb-sa₁₀-sa₁₀ 181) ùr-ra nú-a ùr-ra ba-ug₇ 182) é-a nú-a kin u-um-túm 183) un šà-gar-bi-ta ní-bi-a šu im-dúb-dúb-ne, *ibid*.

⁹⁵ 190) saḡ zi sag lul-la šu-bal ba-ni-ib-ak 191) meš meš-e an-ta i-im-nú 192) úš lú lul-e úš lú zi-da-ke₄ an-ta namu-un-DU, *ibid*.

⁹⁶ 193) u₄-ba ^den-líl-le èš gal-gal-la-ni-ta 194) èš gi TUR. TUR im-ma-ra-an-dù 195) utu è-ta utu šú-uš erim₃-bi ba-tur, *ibid*.

⁹⁷ According to T.J.H. Krispijn, *balags* were string instruments, not drums.

⁹⁸ 196) um-ma u₄-ta ba-ra-ab-tag₄-a 197) ab-ba u₄-ta ba-ra-ab-tag₄-a 198) gala-maḥ mu-ta ba-ra-ab-tag₄-a 199) u₄ imin gi₆ imin-šè 200) balag imin-e an-úr gub-ba-gim ki mu-un-ši-ib-ús 201) ùb me-zé li-li-is iškur-gim šà-ba mu-na-an-tuk 202) um-ma a uru₂-mu nu-gá-gá 203) ab-ba a lú-bi nu-gá-gá 204) gala-e a é-kur nu-gá-gá 205) ki-sikil-bé SÍG. ŠAB-bi nu-gá-gá 206) guruš-bé gir-kin nu-gá-gá, *op. cit.*, p. 58-60; 59-61.

⁹⁹ The badly damaged mace head of Lā'arāb is evidence of this assumed campaign of destruction. The tablet on which the Erridu-Pizir inscriptions are written, although a later copy, was restored from almost 20 pieces. However, the tablets were seemingly teaching material for scribes. The question arises of whether they had no problem referring to this king, or whether they let pupils study his inscription to get acquainted with the enemy.

Babylon in 539 BC Babylonian inscriptions called them Gutians, and the army of Alexander was similarly called the “army of the Gutians” in Chronicle 10.¹⁰⁰

Gutian Relics

Although not rich in content, a few surviving inscriptions prove that the Gutians realised the significance of writing and tokens of authority (such as the mace head below). They also made offerings and dedications to the gods whom they worshipped.¹⁰¹

The mace head of Lā’erāb or Lā’arāb¹⁰² (BM 90852) (Fig. 1), is supposed to have been found by H. Rassam in Sippar, since its registration number bears the initials AH (= Abu Habba).¹⁰³ The mace head is artistically and orthographically classified as belonging to the early or middle Akkadian Period and bears a lengthy curse formula like those of the Old Akkadian royal inscriptions.¹⁰⁴ Due to its fragmentary state, the expected historical information is lost; even the name of its owner was restored by Jacobsen with the help of Old Akkadian texts from Diyāla. The extant part of the text reads:

Lā’ar[ā]b, the mig[hty, ki]ng of [Gutium, (lacuna)... fash[ioned] and dedicated (this mace). As for the one who removes this inscription and writes his own name (instead), may the god of Gutium, Aštar and Sîn, tear out his foundations and destroy his progeny. Further, may his campaign not succeed.¹⁰⁵

Another Gutian royal inscription (Fig. 2) was published late in 2002 by Hallo.¹⁰⁶ The inscription, written on a stone bowl, is quite short:

Arlagan, the mighty, king of Gutium.¹⁰⁷

Since the bowl bears two inscriptions, one of Šudurul and the other of Arlagan, based on internal evidence Hallo proposed that the Gutian inscription was added at a later date,

¹⁰⁰ Diakonoff saw that this was due to the fact that the Babylonians in the Neo-Babylonian period were calling new peoples by old names: Diakonoff, I. M., “Last Years of the Urartian Empire,” *VDI* 36/2 (1951), p. 29-39, after Hallo, “New Light...,” p. 155; Chronicle 10 that concerns episodes from the Seleucid Period states: ^{lū}ummāni ^{kur}Gu-ti-i ù ^{lū}ummāni^{mes} [...], “The army of the Guti and the armies of...[...].” Grayson, *ABC*, p. 117. However, in my view this was purely a political usage of the name in that period. An exact parallel of this phenomenon can be found in the Iraqi political propaganda during the first Gulf war, when the Iranians were called during 8 years of war *al-Furs al-Majūs*, “The Magi Persians,” while the Iranians actually abandoned the Magi religion more than 15 centuries ago. The terms were simply pejorative and provocative.

¹⁰¹ The Weidner Chronicle is negative in this respect, when it states 56) *Qu-tu(!)-ù šá ta-zi-im-te ila pa-la-ḫa la kul-lu-mu* 57) *par-ši ušurāti*(giš.ḫur)^{mes} *šu-te-šu-ra la i-du-ú*, “The Guti were oppressive people, without instruction in divine worship, they did not know how to properly perform divine rites (and) ordinances,” Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle 19, p. 149-150.

¹⁰² Gelb pointed to the frequent occurrence of the name Lā’arāb in the Old Akkadian tablets from Tell Asmar and has published an Old Akkadian tablet in the Chicago Natural History Museum listing the names of nine persons. One of them is a certain *la-á-ra-ab* (rev., l. 8), cf. Gelb, I. J., *Old Akkadian Inscriptions in Chicago Natural History Museum, Texts of Legal and Business Interest*, Chicago, 1955, No. 28 and p. 261.

¹⁰³ Hallo, *RLA*, p. 711-2; more recently Hallo, “New Light...,” p. 151.

¹⁰⁴ Hallo, *RLA*, p. 711-12.

¹⁰⁵ 1) *La-’ā-r[ā]b* 2) *’da’-[nūm]* 3) [LU]GAL 4) [*G*]u-ti-im (lacuna of about 7 lines) 1’) [...] 2’) *ib-[ni-m]a* 3’) A.MU.RU 4’) *ša* DUB 5’) *šu-ra* 6’) *u-ša-ās-ku-ni* 7’) *ù(*) šum-šu* 8’) *i-ša-ṭa-ru* 9’) DINGIR *Gu-ti-im* 10’) ^dINANNA 11’) *ù* 12’) ^dEN.ZU 13’) *SUḪUŠ(*)-šu* 14’) *li-sú-ḫa* 15’) *ù* 16’) ŠE.NUMUN-*sú* 17’) *li-il-qù-tá* 18’) *ù* 19’) KASKAL(*)-KI-(x)-*sú* 20’) *a i-si-ir*, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 229 (text E2.2.14.1); cf. also: *FAOS*, p. 294-5.

¹⁰⁶ Hallo, “New Light ...,” p. 147-161.

¹⁰⁷ 1) *Ar-la-ga-an* 2) *da-nūm* 3) LUGAL *Gu-ti-um*^{ki}, Hallo, “New Light...,” p. 147.

implying that the bowl was re-used.¹⁰⁸ It is interesting that the royal name occurring here is most probably to be identified with Iarlagan(da), the 19th Gutian ruler in the SKL.

Two cylinder seals which could be in ‘Gutian style’ from the post-Akkadian period were found in Brak.¹⁰⁹ One shows a row of animals, probably ibexes, together with what seem to be human figures (Fig. 3). According to Diakonoff, the Metropolitan bronze head, that is said to have been found near Hamadan, represents one of the Gutian kings.¹¹⁰ However, neither the provenance nor the attribution seem to be certain.

The long inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir (Fig. 4) are the exception to what has hitherto been known as meagre survivals of the Gutian kings (see below).

The End of the Gutians in the South

The Gutian domination of Sumer and Akkad was brought to an end by the king of Uruk, Utuḫēgal. He ruled the city for seven years¹¹¹ and used the title “king of the four quarters of the world,” one that had been used before only by Narām-Sîn and Erridu-Pizir. Utuḫēgal appears to have been a mighty ruler who extended his control to the Lagaš region and probably received a commission from the god Enlil in Nippur to move against Tirigan, the last Gutian king of Sumer and Akkad.

The Urukian movement against the Gutians was recorded in a relatively long literary-historical text which is preserved in an OB copy.¹¹² It begins with enumerating the evil deeds of the Gutians in the land of Sumer, but without mentioning Akkad. This enumeration is a logical beginning with which to justify the war, for this is what had instigated the people’s wrath. It is followed by the commission given by the god Enlil, king of the lands, to rise against the Gutians and restore the kingship to the land of Sumer, not to Akkad. Surprisingly Utuḫēgal is called, even before the liberation of the land, king of the four quarters of the world. Then Utuḫēgal went to Inanna to request her to be his ally in this war. At this point the text reverts to the atrocities of the Gutians, particularly those of the wicked Tirigan, and how no one had risen against him before this king of Uruk. He then went to the temple of Iškur in his home city Uruk and called out to the people, who followed him as one man.¹¹³ He departed towards the city of Nagsu on the Iturungal Canal, which he reached after a four day march. On the fifth day he captured two Gutian generals, the first with the Sumerian name Ninazu and the second with the Akkadian name Nabi-Enlil, who had been sent by Tirigan as envoys to Sumer. This implies that the Gutians were aware of his advance and were attempting to solve the rebellion peacefully, because these two generals had met Utuḫēgal half way or less on his march.¹¹⁴ From the text it appears that King Tirigan himself was about one or two days away from Nagsu, since the battle took place upstream from Adab after he

¹⁰⁸ For this discussion cf. Hallo, “New Light ...,” p. 147-8.

¹⁰⁹ Oates, D., “Excavations at Tell Brak, 1983-84,” *Iraq* 47 (1985), P. 173.

¹¹⁰ دياكونوف، ل. ١٧٨. cf. also Chapter Two.

¹¹¹ Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 280.

¹¹² Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 284. The text was published for the first time by Thureau-Dangin in *RA* 9 (1912), p. 111-20 and *RA* 10 (1913), p. 98-100. Since the copies are OB, some consider the inscription a late propaganda text composed for the kings of Uruk. Even so, the text remains in our opinion significant, consisting for the major part of historical facts and real GNs, cf. also Glassner, J. J., *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, Atlanta, 2004, p. 99, note 8. Scepticism about the reliability of ancient inscriptions has now even reached Sumerian royal correspondence, as in Huber, F., “La correspondance royale d’Ur, un corpus apocryphe,” *ZA* 91 (2001), p. 169ff.

¹¹³ 68) lú-aš-gin₇, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 286 (text E2.13.6.4).

¹¹⁴ According to the text, Utuḫēgal had marched four days when he met the envoys. After two more days marching he reached Karkar and he fought Tirigan upstream from Adab. Another possibility is that the Sumerian army was not on the move on the fifth day, so it was in total a five day march. The meeting with the envoys would have been closer to the battlefield, probably also close to the centre of the Gutian power in the region of Adab.

arrived at Karkar on the sixth day. Nagsu, Muru and Dabrum, mentioned in the inscription, are also mentioned in the economic texts of Umma from the Ur III period and indicate their locations in the province of Umma.¹¹⁵ Utuḫēgal was triumphant in that battle. He defeated the Gutian generals and “Tirigan, king of Gutium, fled alone on foot”¹¹⁶ to the city of Dabrum. The citizens of that city did not let him go when they knew Utuḫēgal was the king of Uruk approved by Enlil. The envoys of Utuḫēgal captured Tirigan with his wife and children. They brought him back to the victorious king of Uruk, who smote him to the ground in front of the god Utu and put his foot on his neck, clearly symbolising his submission. An OB omen text alludes to the death of Tirigan on the battlefield: “If a is thrown, it is an omen of Tirigan, who died amidst his army.”¹¹⁷ But there is no mention of killing the Gutian king in the Utuḫēgal text, as might have been expected.¹¹⁸ Probably sparing his life, if true, was a reciprocation for the Gutians sparing the lives of the Akkadian royal family, if the interpretation of the list of gifts from the late mu-iti archive is correct. A tablet from the archive lists gifts presented to the Akkadian royal family during a journey they made to Sumer, to the king, the queen and the prince, who almost certainly constituted the Akkadian and not the Gutian royal family.¹¹⁹ This list belongs, according to Foster, to the late mu-iti archive and hence very probably comes from the Gutian period.¹²⁰ However that may be, the Utuḫēgal text ends with the restoration of the kingship to Sumer, again with no reference to Akkad.

It is true that it was the Sumerians who freed the land from the Gutians. The complete omission from the text of the Akkadians, on whose land Gutian control had been concentrated, might be interpreted as the Sumerians subconsciously placing blame for the occupation on the Akkadians. The Akkadians assumed the kingship from the Sumerians under Sargon but could not hold on to it because of their harsh policy towards the peoples and the sins they committed against the gods, according to the Mesopotamian tradition. This had consequently led to the invasion and the loss of kingship to foreign lands, and only then did the Sumerians take action by themselves to restore the Mesopotamian kingship to the land of Sumer, but not to Akkad. The SKL supports this suggestion by stating that Uruk, not Akkad, was smitten with weapons, and that its kingship, not that of Akkad, was carried off by the Gutian horde invading the south.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ Sauren, H., “Der Feldzug Utuḫegals von Uruk gegen Tirigan und das Siedlungsgebiet der Gutäer,” *Brève Communications, RA* 61 (1967), p. 76. According to him, Nagsu was located to the south of Umma on the Iturungal Canal, while Dabrum was on the northern border of Umma Province, two-days journey by ship from the city Umma itself towards Nippur: Sauren, *ibid*; see also the map on p. 77.

¹¹⁶ 103) *Ti-ri-ga-a-an* 104) *lugal-Gu-ti-um*^{ki} 105) *aš-a-ni gir ba-da-an-kar*, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 286-7 (text E2.13.6.4).

¹¹⁷ *šumma x-x-ti i-na-di a-mu-ut Ti-ri-ka ša i-na libbi um-ma-ni-šu i-mu-tu*, (YBT X 9 31f.), cf. Goetze, A., “Historical Allusions in Old Babylonian Omen Texts,” *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 259.

¹¹⁸ Considering that this text was composed for political propaganda in the first place, one must expect some bias in the narration of what happened. It is not impossible that Utuḫēgal wanted to create a perfect image of the powerful and pious hero, who was able to arrest the enemy of the gods and bring him with his own hands to the presence of the god, under whose auspices he fought. This would be more honourable than killing him, probably by the hands of one of his soldiers. This may mean that the true story is the one in the omen.

¹¹⁹ Hallo, “New Light...,” p. 153. Interestingly, an omen text from the Seleucid Period states that Tirigan was killed in battle: *EŠ.BĀR ti-riq-qa-an šarri ša ina qabal umma(n)-ni-šu ḪA.A-iq (=ih(ta)liq)*, “Omen of Tirigan, the king who perished in the midst of his troops,” cf. Poebel, A., *Historical Texts*, PBS, vol. IV, No. 1, Philadelphia, 1914, p. 135.

¹²⁰ Hallo, “New Light...,” p. 153. For this and the discussion of the date of these documents see Foster, B., “Notes on Sargonic Royal Progress,” *JANES* 12 (1980), p. 32.

¹²¹ *Unug*^{ki} *gūš* *tukul ba-an-sig nam-lugal-bi ki-su-lu-ub₄ <-gar> Gu-tu-um<ki-šè> ba-túm*, Jacobsen, *SKL*, p. 116. According to Kraus, the terms Sumerians and Akkadians were linguistic designations, rather than ethnic, and our criterion for their existence is the language: Kraus, F. R., *Sumerer und Akkader, ein Problem der altmesopotamischen Geschichte*, Amsterdam, 1970, p. 15. He further says that the old Mesopotamian historical

But this was not the end of the Gutian presence and their incursions into Sumer and Akkad. Ur-Namma went on purging the land from what may have been Gutian pockets of resistance. The adversary he mentioned in a royal inscription was Gutarla, who was “[like] a ...dog(?), after he lay at his feet,”¹²² who had attempted to gain kingship with the help of troops from Gutium and Zimudar.¹²³ Šulgi too claimed victories over the Gutians in his hymn E.¹²⁴ He seems to have attacked the Gutians because of their collaboration with the Elamites when some of their cities changed their loyalty from Šulgi to the Elamite.¹²⁵ Later Ibbi-Sin confronted Gutian attacks from their mountainous bulwark in the east, according to the lamentation over Sumer and Ur.¹²⁶

The Erridu-Pizir Inscriptions

As previously mentioned, these are the longest Gutian royal inscriptions known to date. They are written on a clay tablet from the OB Period, found in Nippur. Their content and their colophons indicate they were copied from texts inscribed on three statues of Erridu-Pizir. The tablet was found at ‘Tablet Hill’ in Nippur during the excavations of Pennsylvania University-fourth season.¹²⁷ The discovery of the tablet was first announced by Hilprecht,¹²⁸ and had to

traditions hardly mention Sumerians and Akkadians, and there is no distinctive art of each of the two peoples, *ibid.* The Sumerians and Akkadians were no longer a reality or, at least, no longer an interesting reality in the Ur III period: *op. cit.*, p. 90. He did not even succeed to find an indisputable identification of Sumerians and Akkadians, *op. cit.*, p. 99. However, for Sumer as a people cf. Wilcke, C., “Zum Königtum in der Ur III-Zeit,” *Le palais et la royauté*, RAI 19, Paris, 29 June-2 July, ed. P. Garelli, Paris, 1974, p. 225-226. To reply to the extreme opinions of Kraus, which need detailed discussion, we must ask what are the criteria for the existence of a certain ethnicity. The most important are, indisputably, language and culture. While Kraus did not deny these two he grossly underestimated them. Pertinent comparisons can be made with the circumstances of the Aramaic population of Southern Mesopotamia after the Arab Muslim invasion in 637 A. D. This Aramaic speaking population, known as ‘*Anbāt*’, was soon compelled by the new Arab masters to write, and perhaps even speak, in Arabic. No document now attests the existence of the *Anbat* in Southern Mesopotamia after the Arab invasion, except for a few scattered allusions. But they did certainly exist. The only Aramaic survivals from that territory are the religious writings of the *Sabi’a* and *Mandaean* sects, whose books have survived thanks to the power of religion. That one cannot find an explicit hostile or discriminating passage in the Sumerian records towards the Akkadians is comparable with the situation of the *Anbats*, who were certainly not happy with the engulfing of their country with fresh immigrant Arab tribesmen, but not a single hostile passage against the Arabs can be found in the writings of that time. One should not therefore consider only what was written, because written documents were tightly bound to the elite and to the authority of the new masters, and so did not reflect the land’s real ethnic and cultural image.

¹²² 2’) ur ʿšū¹-s[i?] gin₇(?) 3’) gir a-ba-[x]-ná 4’) Gú-tar-lá dumu gu-tim-um-ma-ra, Civil, “On some Texts Mentioning ...,” *Orientalia* 54 (1985), p. 28. Although the name Gutarla is written gú-TAR-lá in the OB lexical text Níg.ga=*makkūru* (cf. Civil, M., *MSL* XIII, Roma, 1071, p. 108), the element *-arla* in the name is remarkable as a typical element of Gutian names. Zadok called attention to the PN *Ī-ar-li-bu* in a text from Lagaš from Ur III period that can be attributed to this type of Gutian names, cf. Zadok, R., “Hurrians as well as Individuals ...,” p. 234.

¹²³ 9’) n[a]m-lugal-šè 10’) [a] im-ma-ʿtu⁵ 11’) [a]gab a-an-ʿx-x¹-né-éš-[a], “For the kingship he (Gutarla?) took a ritual bath. The crown which they had [...],” Civil, “On Some Texts...,” p. 28.

¹²⁴ 234) ma-da Gu-ti-um^{ki}-ma^{giš} mu-bu-um-gin₇ mu-GAM, “I prostrated Gutium like a *mubum* tree,” Frayne, D., *The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns (2400-1900 BC)*, Yale University, 1981, 168. The Hymn B also mentions the Gutians besides the Sumerians and Akkadians whom Enlil assigned to him for their safe-keeping: uri hē-im dumu-ki-en-gi-ra hē-im 267) ki-gu-ti-um^{ki} ki-lú-i^dutu hē-im, “Whether they be Akkadians, Sumerians, (or) the land of Guti, the brigands,” Frayne, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

¹²⁵ In the letter to Šulgi, sent presumably by Aḥušina, he reports the event; cf. Frayne, *The Historical Correlations of...*, p. 171-2.

¹²⁶ Römer, *JCS* 34 (1982), p. 105 f. (after: Hallo, “New Light...,” p. 154).

¹²⁷ Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 220.

¹²⁸ Cf.: Hilprecht, H. V., *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Series D, *Researches and Treatises* vol. 5/1, Philadelphia, 1910, p. 1-3 and 20-24.

be first restored from 20 fragments; later a few smaller fragments were added, as Hilprecht had expected.¹²⁹ Once it had been restored by Hilprecht it measured 20 by 13.6 cm and consisted of 500 lines in 12 columns on both obverse and reverse. The restored portion constituted almost one-tenth of the original text. The script is “exceptionally sharp and beautiful”¹³⁰ and, although it is basically Old Akkadian, some Ur III and OB sign forms occur.¹³¹ Stylistically and linguistically the inscription shows similarities with the inscriptions of the kings of Akkad and lists the same combinations of gods, the same verbal forms and sibilants,¹³² besides some Ur III usages.¹³³

Shortly after the tablet had been deposited in the museum it was lost.¹³⁴ Subsequently it was found and published by Raphael Kutscher.¹³⁵ But it appeared that by then some fragments had been lost. The tablet consists now of three fragments glued together (BT 2) with an additional fragment (BT 3) that physically cannot be joined with the rest of the tablet.¹³⁶ However, a comparison between the dimensions given by Hilprecht with those of the current tablet, which measures 11.8 by 13.5 cm (BT 2) and 7.2 by 8.2 cm (BT 3), shows that almost two lines between the two parts are lost.¹³⁷ Unfortunately, the missing lines appear to have been quite significant, since the context shows they contained the historical sections and important names. The extant parts are “extremely difficult”¹³⁸ and much room has been taken by the name and titles of the king that have been repeated 11 times, as well as three curse formulae and three colophons.

According to their content and context, the inscriptions were perhaps dedicated to the god Enlil and were intended to be read in sequence.¹³⁹

The Text:

The following transliteration and translation of the three texts is based on the standard edition of Frayne,¹⁴⁰ with consideration for the editions of Kutscher¹⁴¹ and Gelb-Kienast.¹⁴² I have also added some extra comments with reference to the transcription (Fig. 4) of the texts.¹⁴³

¹²⁹ Hilprecht, *The Babylonian...*, p. 20.

¹³⁰ Hilprecht, *The Babylonian...*, p. 20.

¹³¹ Kutscher, R., *The Brockmon Tablets at the University of Haifa: Royal Inscriptions*, Wiesbaden, 1989, p. 51.

¹³² Hilprecht, *The Babylonian...*, p. 20.

¹³³ Kutscher, *The Brockmon...*, p. 51. For the Akkadian of the Ur III period and its characteristics and position between the Sargonic and OB Akkadian, cf. Hilgert, M., *Akkadisch in der Ur III-Zeit*, Münster, 2002, p. 168-170. As for Sargonic Akkadian, cf. Hasselbach, R., *Sargonic Akkadian, A Historical and Comparative Study of the Syllabic Texts*, Wiesbaden, 2005. For the style and structure of the Oakk. royal inscriptions, cf. Franke, S., *Königsinschriften und Königsideologie, Die Könige von Akkade Zwischen Tradition und Neuerung*, Hamburg, 1995, p. 244-248.

¹³⁴ Kutscher, *The Brockmon Tablets...*, p. 49. The evidence for this, as Kutscher says, is that when Poebel stayed in Philadelphia between 1912 and 1914, he could not find the tablet, only two years after Hilprecht's publication.

¹³⁵ The tablet is now part of the Brockmon Collection in Haifa.

¹³⁶ Kutscher, *The Brockmon...*, p. 49.

¹³⁷ Kutscher, *The Brockmon...*, p. 49.

¹³⁸ Kutscher, *The Brockmon...*, p. 50.

¹³⁹ Kutscher, *The Brockmon...*, p. 51. He concludes that the dedication is inferred from the fact that only Statue I contains an invocation to the gods.

¹⁴⁰ In *RIME* 2, p. 220-228 (text E2.2.1-3).

¹⁴¹ Kutscher, *The Brockmon...*, p. 49-70.

¹⁴² Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, vol. 7, p. 293-316.

¹⁴³ In certain places the numbering of the lines varies from one editor to another.

Statue 1

Col. i

- 1) [...-i]m¹⁴⁴
- 2) [...] 'x'
- 3) [...] 'x'
- 4) [...] 'x'
- 5) [^dINANN]A
- 6) [an-nu-ni-t]um¹⁴⁵
- 7) [x] x x 'id^l-śu¹⁴⁶
- 8) ù
- 9) Ìl-a-ba₄¹⁴⁷
- 10) KALAG ì-li
- 11) il-la-at-śu
- 12) E-er-ri-du-pi-zi-ir
- 13) da-núm
- 14) LUGAL
- 15) Gu-ti-im¹⁴⁸
- 16) ù
- 17) ki-ib-ra-tim
- 18) ar-ba-'im'
- 19) a-[x]¹⁴⁹
- 20) ^mU¹⁵⁰-[x x]
- 21) GÌR.[NÍTA-ś]u¹⁵¹
- 22) 'Ma(?)^l-[a]d-[ga]^{ki}
- 23) [...] -BI
- 24) [...] -im
- 25) [...] x

Lacuna of 2 lines

- 1') [E-er-ri-du]-Pi-zi-i[r]
- 2') da-núm
- 3') LUGAL
- 4') Gu-ti-im
- 5') ù
- 6') ki-ib-ra-tim
- 7') ar-ba-im
- 8') DA-ís-su
- 9') ig-ru-ús

¹⁴⁴ Jacobsen's restoration for this section is [ilā Gu-ti-i]m, "the two gods of Gutium," to be compared with the inscription of Lā'arāb; cf. Kutscher, p. 62.

¹⁴⁵ Not read by Gelb-Kienast.

¹⁴⁶ T.J.H. Krispijn suggests [re-ši]-'it^l-śu "his helper/ supporter/ally." For the meaning of *rêsu*, cf. *CAD*, vol. R, p. 268f.

¹⁴⁷ Read ^dA-ba₄ by Gelb-Kienast.

¹⁴⁸ Written without any determinative throughout the three inscriptions.

¹⁴⁹ Jacobsen restored a-[wu] "speak!," cf. Kutscher, p. 62; but this seems unlikely, particularly in that Madga was not a Semitic territory.

¹⁵⁰ u in Kutscher.

¹⁵¹ This *śu* is omitted in Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast.

- 10') *ip-la-aḫ-šú-^rma¹*
 11') *e-tá-ra-ab*
 12') *ša-dú-šum¹⁵²*
 13') *e-šú-ud-šú-^rma¹*
 14') *ik-mi-šu*
 15') LUGAL
 16') *^rù¹-ru-a-šu-ma*
 17') *^rtub¹-qin-ni-šu¹⁵³*
 18') *^rE¹-er-ri-du-[Pi]-zi-ir*

Col. ii

- 1) *da-[núm]*
 2) 'LUGAL'
 3) *Gu-ti-im*
 4) *ù*
 5) *ki-ib-ra-tim*
 6) *ar-ba-im*
 7) *in KÁ*
 8) DINGIR *Gu-ti-im*
 9) *im-si₄¹⁵⁴*
 10) *il-pu-ut-su-ma*
 11) SAG.GIŠ.RA-*šu*
 12) [LU]GAL (?)
 13) *en-ma*
 14) *E-er-ri-du-Pi-zi-ir*
 15) *da-núm*
 16) LUGAL
 17) *Gu-ti-^rim¹*
 18) [*ù*]
 19) [*ki*]-*^rib-ra¹-tim*
 20) [*a*]*r-ba-im*
 21) *in u-mi-šu*
 22) DÙL-*mì*
 23) *ab-ni-ma*
 24) *in na-pá-ás-ti-šu*
 25) *sa-ab-šu*
 26) *^riš¹-ku-un*
 27) [...] *^rx x¹ [...]*

¹⁵² This sign is read *šu₁₄* by Gelb-Kienast and *šum₆* by Kutscher, but this should be either *šum* or *sum₆*, cf. Von Soden and Röllig, *Das Akkadische Syllabar*, no. 90, p. 17 and Labat, *Manuel...*, no. 126.

¹⁵³ The word is read by Frayne as *um-ma(?)ni-šu*. T.J.H. Krispijn suggests *um-ba-ni-šu* and proposes a PN –an army general and the like- or “his army,” as Frayne does. This is possible if we understand the verb *ù-ru-a-šu-ma* as a corrupt D-form of the infinitive *rāšu* “to smash, crush,” attested also in a text of Narām-Sîn: *nišī šāt* DN GIBIL-*iš iqīšušum u-ra-iš-ma*, “he crushed the people whom Dagan newly(?) gave him,” *CAD*, vol. R, p. 183 (referring to *AfO* 20, 74 ii 19). If this is correct, the meaning of the sentence would be “he crushed his army.” The weak point in the reading *tub-qin-ni-šu* is that the reading *q/kin* does not occur in this period.

¹⁵⁴ Frayne and Kutscher propose a form of the verb *mašā um* “to drag,” cf. Frayne, D., “Historical Texts in Haifa: Notes on R. Kutscher’s ‘Brockmon Tablets,’ *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, XLVIII (1991), 403. According to Kutscher, Jacobsen has suggested IM.ÙLU “southern [gate of the temple of the gods of Gutium]” or IM.SI₄ or IM.SU₄ *ilputsuma*, “he smeared red clay on him,” cf. Kutscher, p. 64.

Lacuna of 3 lines

- 1') [...]^r
- 2') ^ras¹⁵⁵-[...]
- 3') *lu-ub-ś[a(?)-am(?)]*¹⁵⁶
- 4') ZA.GÌN *ša* [...]
- 5') *la áś-ku-^rnu*¹⁵⁷
- 6') *a-na*
- 7') ^dEn-*lil*
- 8') *in* NIBRU^{ki}
- 9') DÙL-*śu*
- 10') A.MU.RU
- 11') *ša* DUB
- 12') *śu*₄-*a*
- 13') *u-śa-sà-ku-ni*
- 14') ^dUTU
- 15') ^dINANNA

Col. iii

- 1) [*ù*]
- 2) *Ìl-a*-[*ba*₄]
- 3) ^rSUHUS^r-*śu*
- 4) *li-śu-ku*
- 5) *ù*
- 6) Š[E].NUMUN-*śu*
- 7) *li-il-qú-tu*

Colophon 1

- 8) *mu-sar-ra ki-gal-ba*

Caption 1

- 9) *E-er-ri-du-Pi-zi-ir*
- 10) *da-núm*
- 11) LUGAL
- 12) G[u]-*ti-im*
- 13) *ù*
- 14) ^rkí^r-*ib-ra-tim*
- 15) [*a*]^r-^rba^r-*i*[*m*]
- 16) [*a-na*]
- 17) [^dE]*n*-[*lil*]
- 18) *in* N[IBRU^{ki}]

¹⁵⁵ Not read by Frayne, but it is clearly visible on the copy.

¹⁵⁶ The last two signs are not read by Kutscher.

¹⁵⁷ The *nu* is omitted by both Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast, apparently because only a small portion of the sign is preserved, but the traces on the copy reveal its similarity to the sign NU that occurs in col. iv, 1.

19) A.MU.[RU]

Colophon 2

20) mu-sar-ra x [x x]

21) alam-bi x [x x] i[m-x x]

Caption 2

22) ^mÙ-[...]

23) GÌR.[NÍTA]

24) M[a-ad-ga^{ki}]

Lacuna of about 7 lines

Translation

i 1-11) [The god ... is his (personal) god], [the goddess Ištar-[Annunī]tum (is) his ..., (and) the god Ilaba, the mightiest one of the gods, is his clan (god).

i 12-19) Erridu-Pizir, the mighty, king of Gutium and of the four quarters...

i 20-25) U-[...], his gen[eral], *Madga* ... [rebelled?].

lacuna

i 1'-9') [Erridu]-Pizi[r], the mighty, king of Gutium and the four quarters, hastened (to confront) him.

i 10'-17') (Since the ruler of Madga) feared him, he entered (his own) mountain (land), and (Erridu-Pizir) hunted him down, captured him (and) he, the king, led him to his refuse dump (or 'smashed his army,' see the note to i, 17').

i 18'-ii 6) Erridu-[Pi]zir, the migh[ty], king of Gutium and the four quarters

ii 7-12) took (him) away by force through the gate of the god of Gutium, struck him, and killed him, the king (of Madga).

ii 13-20) Thus (says) Erridu-Pizir, the mighty, king of Gutium [and] of the [f]our [qua]rters:

ii 21-27) 'At that time I fashioned a statue of myself and set a red stone (?) on its neck...

lacuna

ii 1'-10') ...a garment... lapis lazuli, which I did not set, and dedicated a statue of himself¹⁵⁸ to the god Enlil in Nippur.

ii 11' - iii 15') As for the one who removes this inscription, may the gods Šamaš, Aštar, iii 1-3) [and] Ila[ba] tear out his foundations and destroy his [p]rogeny.

Colophon 1

iii 8) Inscription on the base.

Caption 1

Iii 9-19) Erridu-Pizir, the mighty, king of Gutium and the four quarters, dedicate[ed] (this statue) [to the god E]n[lil] in N[ippur].

Colophon 2

iii 20-21) Inscription ... its image...

¹⁵⁸ Frayne: "myself:" p. 222.

Caption 2
iii 22-24) U-[...], gen[eral] of M[adga].
Lacuna

Statue 2

Col. iii

- 1') 'E'-[er-ri-du]-Pi-[zi-ir]
- 2') da-[núm]
- 3') 'LUGAL'
- 4') *Gu-ti-im*
- 5') ù
- 6') *ki-ib-ra-tim*
- 7') *ar-ba-im*
- 8') *in u-mi*
- 9') ^mKA-ni-iš-ba
- 10') *ni-ku-ur-tám*

Col. iv

- 1) [iś]-ku-nu
- 2) [a]-bi
- 3) [E]n-ri-da-Pi-zi-ir
- 4) *da-nim*
- 5) LUGAL
- 6) *Gu-ti-im*
- 7) ù
- 8) *ki-ib-ra-tim*
- 9) *ar-ba-im*
- 10) 'ē'-zi-bu
- 11) ŠA.DÚ-e
- 12) ù
- 13) URU.KI.'URU'.KI¹⁵⁹
- 14) *u-ús-ba-al-ki-tu*
- 15) ù
- 16) *a-dì-ma*
- 17) KALAM
- 18) [Lu]-l[u]-bi-im^{ki}
- 19) [x]-NI^{ki}
- 20) 'x'-ku^{ki160}
- 21) [x].^{ki}
- 22) [(x)]^{'ki}

¹⁵⁹ This line is read by Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast as *e-ur^{ul?}ki*, more like the hand copy, but there are traces of another sign after the supposed UL. However, the collations of Westenholz and Steinkeller support the reading of Frayne in both his review in *BiOr* and *RIME 2*. The latter reading may fit better with the context as the text enumerates several GNs following this sentence.

¹⁶⁰ This clear KU sign on the hand copy is neglected by Frayne.

Lacuna of about 17 lines

- 1') x [...]
- 2') DA-[*is-su*]
- 3') *ig*-[*ru-ús*]
- 4') ÍL-[...]
- 5') GÍŠ [...]¹⁶¹
- 6') *ti*-[...]

Col. v

- 1) *ù*
- 2) ^dINANNA
- 3) *in A-kà-dè*^{ki}
- 4) ÉRIN-*am*
- 5) *ís-ku-un*
- 6) *ip-hur-šum*₆
- 7) *um-ma-núm*
- 8) *kà-lu*₅-*ša*
- 9) *a-na*
- 10) *Ši-mu-ur*₄-*rí-im*^{ki}
- 11) *è-ru-ús*
- 12) ŠITA LAM_xKUR¹⁶²
- 13) *è-ru-ub*
- 14) *in A-kà-dè*^{ki}
- 15) *u-ra-ši*
- 16) *ra-bi-ù-tim*
- 17) <*a-na*> *ì-lí*
- 18) ^rú³-*qá-ra-ab*

Lacuna of about 25 lines until the lower end of the obverse

Col. vi

- 1) *u-ša-a*[*m*]-*qi*₄-*it*
- 2) *a-ar-^rbu?*¹⁶³-*šu-nu*¹⁶³
- 3) ^rú¹
- 4) *ba-al-tù*-<*ti*>-*šu-nu*
- 5) NIDBA-*šu-nu*¹⁶⁴
- 6) *il-qá-ù-ni*[*m*]¹⁶⁵
- 7) ANŠE.*ší-s*[*í*]¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Jacobsen restored these two lines as *il*-[*e-ma*] *is*-[*ba-sú*], “he overpowered and seized him,” Kutscher, p. 65.

¹⁶² The line is not read by Kutscher; only the KUR is read by Gelb-Kienast, and Kutscher has pointed to the KUR in his textual commentary, p. 65.

¹⁶³ This restoration of Gelb-Kienast fits the context better than the reading of Frayne, *a-ar*-‘NAM’, based on the collation of Steinkeller.

¹⁶⁴ These last two signs are read by Kutscher as *ka?*-*am?*. He thinks the sentence has something to do with cereal offerings (*nindabû*) and animal offerings which are mentioned in the next lines, Kutscher, p. 65.

¹⁶⁵ *ni-i*[*m*] by Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast.

- 8) GU₄-e¹⁶⁷
- 9) ù
- 10) UDU-*śu-nu*¹⁶⁸
- 11) *sa-bi*¹⁶⁹
- 12) DINGIR *Gu-ti-im*
- 13) ù
- 14) *En-ri-da-Pi-zi-ir*
- 15) *è-hu-zu*
- 16) *be-al NI-me*
- 17) *li-[...]*¹⁷⁰

Lacuna of about 25 lines until the lower end of the obverse

Lacuna of about 25 lines from the beginning of the reverse

Col. vii

- 1') [...]^rù¹⁷¹
- 2') *śar-ru-tám*
- 3') *a-na*
- 4') ^d*En-lil*
- 5') GIDRU
- 6') *a-na*
- 7') ^dINANNA
- 8') *a u-ki-il*
- 9') ^d*Nin-hur-sag*
- 10') ù
- 11') ^d*Nin-tu*
- 12') ŠE.NUMUN-*śu*
- 13') *a-na*
- 14') <*śi*>-*tar-qí-śu*¹⁷²
- 15') *li-il-^rqù-tá*¹
- 16') DINGIR¹⁷³ [...]
- 17') ^rx¹-[...]

Col. viii

¹⁶⁶ The sign ANŠE is treated as a determinative by Frayne, which is quite possible.

¹⁶⁷ Frayne reads *-śu-nu* instead of *-e*. However, there is hardly room for two signs in both this and the following line.

¹⁶⁸ Read as UDU.KA.BAD by Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast, without a translation of the last two signs.

¹⁶⁹ This word is not understandable and it is left without translation by other authors too, cf. also Frayne, p. 225; Gelb-Kienast, p. 309; Kutscher, p. 61. However, its occurrence twice directly before DINGIR *gu-ti-im*, here and in col. ix 1, may refer to its being a title of the god of Gutium. The absence of the divine determinative clearly shows it is not the god's name.

¹⁷⁰ Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast read the last two lines as one sentence: *be-al né-me-li-śu-nu (?)* but without giving a translation. Kutscher points in his comments to Jacobsen's translation "Their rich?", Kutscher, p. 66.

¹⁷¹ This sign is not read by Kutscher or Gelb-Kienast and is not visible on the hand copy.

¹⁷² The word occurs in curse formulae from Ur III Mari meaning 'disappearance(?)': *zēršu lilquṭu adi si-dar-qí-śu*, "may (the gods) gather his seed until his disappearance (?)," cf. *CAD* Š III, p. 129; for bibliographical references cf. Kienast, B. and W. Sommerfeld, *Glossar zu den altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, *FAOS* 8, Stuttgart, 1994, p. 297; Von Soden, W., *AHW*, 1251. For the text cf. Nassouhi, E., "Statue d'un dieu de Mari, vers 2225 av. J.-C.," *Afo* 3 (1926), p. 112, l. 22, read by Nassouhi as *a-ti si-DIR iršit-śú*, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

¹⁷³ This sign is not read either by Kutscher or Gelb-Kienast.

Lacuna of about 22 lines from the beginning of column viii
The following seven lines are restored by Gelb-Kienast:¹⁷⁴

- 17) [*E-er-ri-du-Pi-zi-ir*]
- 18) [*da-núm*]
- 19) [LUGAL]
- 20) [*Gu-ti-im*]
- 21) [*ù*]
- 22) [*ki-ib-ra-tim*]

- 1') *a[r!-ba-im]*¹⁷⁵
- 2') DUL-^r *šú*^r
- 3') *a-na*
- 4') ^d*En-líl*
- 5') A.MU.RU

Colophon

- 6') *mu-sar-ra zà-ga-na*
- 7') *alam-bi ugu-kišib-ba gir-an-ús*¹⁷⁶

Translation

iii 1'-7') E[rridu]-Pi[zir], the migh[ty], king of Gutium and the four quarters.
iii 8' - iv 1) When KA-Nišba (king of Simurrum) [in]itiated hostilities,
iv 2-10) ignored (the orders of) my [fa]ther, Enrida-Pizir, the mighty, king of Gutium and the four quarters,
iv 11-14) caused the mountain lands and cities to revolt,
iv 15-22) as far as the land of [Lu]llubum (and the lands) ...
Lacuna
iv 1'-6') ... he has[tened] (to confront) [him]...
v 1'-6') Further, the goddess Ištar had stationed troops in Agade.
v 6-11) The whole army assembled for him (= Erridu-Pizir) (and) desired (to go) to Simurrum.
v 12-18) He (= Erridu-Pizir) entered ... (= ŠITA LAMxKUR), (while) it (= the army?) was making offerings of large male goats <to> the gods in Agade.
Lacuna
vi 1) He struck down.
vi 2-6) As for fugitives (?) and their *survivors*, their offerings/ gifts they took,
vi 7-10) their hors[es], their oxen, and their sheep...
vi 11-16) ... the god of Gutium and Enrida-Pizir took hold of (them)...

¹⁷⁴ Gelb-Kienast, *FAOS*.

¹⁷⁵ This line has been left unread by Frayne and Kutscher, but it is read by Gelb-Kienast, p. 310.

¹⁷⁶ This line of the colophon is read by Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast as *alan-bi sag.dub.ba giri an.ús*, but its translation is incomplete.

vii 1'-8') ... and may he (who shall remove this inscription) not hold the kingship for the god Enlil or the sceptre for the goddess Ištar.

vii 9'-17') May the goddesses Ninḫursag and Nintu destroy his progeny (lit. 'gather his seed until his disappearance') ...

Lacuna

viii 1'-5') ... He (= Erridu-Pizir) dedicated a statue of himself to the god Enlil.

Colophon

viii 6' - 7') Inscription on its shoulder. Its image: (his) foot treading on the...

Statue 3

Col. viii

The following 8 lines are restored by Gelb-Kienast:¹⁷⁷

- 1) [*E-er-ri-du-Pi-zi-ir*]
- 2) [*da-núm*]
- 3) [LUGAL[
- 4) [*Gu-ti-im*]
- 5) [*ù*]
- 6) [*ki-ib-ra-tim*]
- 7) [*ar-ba-im*]
- 8) [*in u-mi*]

Lacuna of unknown length

- 8') KA-*ni-iš-ba*
- 9') LUGAL
- 10') *Ši-mu-ur₄-ri-im*^{ki}
- 11') ÛĜ
- 12') *Ši-mu-ur₄-ri-im*^{ki}
- 13') ù
- 14') *Lu-lu-bi-im*^{ki}
- 15') <<tu>>-*uś-ba-al-ki-^rit^l-ma*

Col. ix

- 1) ^rsa¹-[*bi*]¹⁷⁸
- 2) DINGIR *Gu*-[*ti-im*]
- 3) *da*-[...]
- 4) ^{mr}x¹-[...]

Lacuna of about 20 lines

- 1') x [...]
- 2') x [...]
- 3') *ì-n*[*u*]¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Gelb-Kienast, *FAOS*.

¹⁷⁸ Gelb-Kienast read nothing here; Kutscher reads *ib*-[...].

- 4') ^{mr}Am¹-[NI]-li
- 5') [GÌR].NÍTA
- 6') Šē¹⁸⁰-^rru(?)¹⁸¹-[x]-im
- 7') ^rx¹-[...] -ZÉ¹⁸²
- 8') [...] ^rx¹. KUR¹⁸³
- 9') u-[na]-ak-[ki]-^rru(?)¹-ma¹⁸⁴
- 10') ù
- 11') šar-^rx¹-[(x)]-ma
- 12') e-^hu(?)¹-(x)-śu¹⁸⁵
- 13') E-er-[r]i-du-[Pi-zi]-ir
- 14') [da-n]úm
- 15') [LUGAL]
- 16') [Gu-ti-im]
- 17') [ù]
- 18') [ki-ib-ra-tim]
- 19') [ar-ba-im]

Col. x

- 1) DA-iś-śu
- 2) ig-ru-úś
- 3) è-ku-uš-ma¹⁸⁶
- 4) ŠA.DÚ-e
- 5) Ni-iš-ba^{kur}
- 6) in 6 UD
- 7) Ha-me-me-x-pi-[ir^{kur}]
- 8) na-[ra-ab-tám(?)]
- 9) [SAG.GIŠ.RA]

Lacuna of about 15 lines

- 1') ^rx¹ [...]
- 2') na-r[a]-a[b]-ti-śu
- 3') è-ru-ub
- 4') ^rE-er-ri¹-du-[Pi-z]i-ir
- 5') d[a]-nīm
- 6') ir-da-śu₄-ma
- 7') Nu-ú^h-pi-ir^{kur}

¹⁷⁹ Kutscher reads this line as N[i-iš-ba^{kur}](?); however, the reading *i-nu* seems more appropriate to begin a narrative.

¹⁸⁰ Kutscher sees the sign ŠU as also possible.

¹⁸¹ Frayne suggests RU; the hand copy shows clearly the beginning of this sign.

¹⁸² Both Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast see a personal name determinative at the beginning of the sentence. This is visible on the hand copy, but it is not sure whether it is a determinative or the beginning of a different sign. The sign ZÉ is read by them as AT/D.

¹⁸³ This line is considered by Kutscher and by Gelb-Kienast as part of the preceding sentence in line 7'.

¹⁸⁴ The numbering of the lines in *RIME* is mistakenly repeated here, with this line also numbered 8'. Kutscher reads the word as *u-ger-ru-ma*, while Gelb-Kienast read it *'ù-ger-[ri]-'ù-ma*. The sign RU is clearly visible on the copy.

¹⁸⁵ H_U is restored by Frayne.

¹⁸⁶ Kutscher tentatively derives it from *akāšum* "to go," Kutscher, p. 67.

- 8') *na-ra-ab-tám*
- 9') SAG.GIŠ.RA-*am*
- 10') *ù*
- 11') ^m*Am-NI-li*
- 12') HUR-*nam*
- 13') *in ra-si-šu*
- 14') *u-[ša-a]m-[qi-it]*
- 15') x [...]

Lacuna of 4 lines

Col. xi

- 1) *in* 1 UD
- 2) *u-šu-ri-id*
- 3) *ù*
- 4) *Mu-ma-am*^{kur}
- 5) *na-ra-ba-at*
- 6) *Ur-bi-lum*^{ki}
- 7) SAG.GIŠ.RA
- 8) *ù*
- 9) ^m*Ni-ri-iš-ḫu-ḫa*
- 10) EN[SÍ]
- 11) *Ur-bi-[lum*^{ki}]

Lacuna of about 13 lines

- 0') [DÙL-*šu*]¹⁸⁷
- 1') [*a-na*]
- 2') [^d*En-lil*]
- 3') [*in* NIB]RU^{ki}
- 4') [A].MU.RU
- 5') *ša* DUB
- 6') *šu-a*
- 7') *u-ša-sà-ku-<ni>*
- 8') ^r*dEn-lil*
- 9') *ù*
- 10') ^dUTU
- 11') SUḪUŠ-*šu*
- 12') *li-sú-ḫa*

Colophon

13') *mu-sar-ra ki-gal-ba*

Caption 1

¹⁸⁷ This line is restored by Gelb-Kienast and does not appear in Frayne; however, the restoration seems quite possible.

- 14') *E-er-ri-du-Pi-zi-ir*
 15') *da-núm*
 16') LUGAL
 17') *Gu-ti-im*
 18') *ù*
 19') *ki-ib-ra-tim*
 20') *ar-ba-im*
 21') *a-na*

Col. xii

- 1) [^dEn]-*lil*
 2) [*in* NI]BRU^{ki}
 3) 'A'.MU.RU

Colophon 2

- 4) *mu-sar-ra*
 5) *zà-ga-na*

Space

Summary colophon (refers to the entire tablet containing the text of E2.2.1.1-3)

- 6) *dub mu-sar-ra*
 7) 3 *alam*
 8) *E-er-ri-du-Pi-zi-ir*

Translation

viii 8'-15') KA-Nišba, king of Simurrum, instigated the people of Simurrum and Lullubum to revolt and

ix 1-4) the ... (of?) the god of Gu[tium]...

Lacuna

ix 1'-11') ...whe[n] *Amnili*, the [gen]eral of ... made the land ... rebel and...

ix 12'-18') Er[r]idu-[Piz]ir, [the migh]ty, [king of Gutium and the four quarters]

x 1-2) hastened (to confront) him.

x 3-5) He proceeded (through) the peaks of Mount Nišba.

x 6-9) In six days [he conquered] the *p[ass]* at [Mount] Ḫameme-x-pi[r].

Lacuna

x 1'-3') ... en[te]red its pass.

x 4'-6') Erridu-[Pizi]r, the m[i]ghty, pursued him and

x 7'-9') conquered the pass at Mount Nuḫpir.

x 10'-15') Further, he t[hr]e[w] down [*A*]*mnili*, the ..., from its summit ...

Lacuna

xi 1-7) In a single day he brought ... down and conquered the pass of Urbilum at Mount Mumum.

xi 8-11) Further, he [*captured*] Nirišḫuḫa, the gover[nor] of Urbi[llum].

Lacuna

xi 1'-4') He [ded]icated (this statue) [to the god Enlil in Nipp]ur.

xi 5'-12') As for the one who removes this inscription, may the gods Enlil and Šamaš tear out his foundations.

Colophon 1

xi 13') Inscription on the base

Caption 1

xi 14' - xii 3) Erridu-Pizir, the mighty, king of Gutium and of the four quarters, dedicated (this statue) to the god [En]lil [in Nip]pur.

Colophon 2

xii 4-5) Inscriptions on its [sh]oulder.

Summary colophon

xii 6-8) Inscribed tablet with three statue (inscriptions) of Erridu-Pizir.

Comments and Analysis

Statue 1:

The first land against which Erridu-Pizir advanced was Madga (i, 22), which name Jacobsen restored.¹⁸⁸ According to the text, the governor of Madga had abandoned his headquarters and fled to *šadu* when the troops of Erridu-Pizir approached (i, 8'-12'). The word *šadu* means mountains, meaning that Madga was located in a plain close to mountains. This fits well with the identification of Madga presented by Frayne, in the region of Kifri, or probably close to the village of Matika near Daqūq.¹⁸⁹ It is also not impossible that the word KUR indicates a hiding place or a refuge. The expression is often used later in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions.¹⁹⁰ Another possibility is the east,¹⁹¹ as the mountains and the best places in which to hide and which to defend lay to the east and north of the supposed location of Madga. The Qaradagh and Sagirma Mountains in particular become more and more sheer when going to the east, close to the Sirwān River.¹⁹²

Frayne's reading *um-ma(?)-ni-šu* (i, 17') is supported by Westenholz and by collation from a photo of the tablet¹⁹³ but its position in the sentence leaves the meaning unclear. It could mean that the governor of Madga was led away together with his "army (generals)." Or

¹⁸⁸ Kutscher, *The Brockmon...*, p. 62-3.

¹⁸⁹ Frayne, "The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena," *SCCNH* 10, 1999, p. 157-8. Note his older identification with modern Kifri; bitumen is found nearby in Mount Kumar, as it was concerning Madga in antiquity: Frayne, *EDGN*, Ancient Oriental Series, vol. 74, New Haven, 1992, p. 54 and 57. Most probably ancient Madga was located in the general area between Daqūq and Kifri. It can be identified with Matk/qa in Nuzi texts and Matqia in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I, cf. Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 57. Matka in Nuzi texts is located in the same general region of Kifri, Tūz Ḥurmātu and Daqūq; for details cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 176. Heimpel's recent identification of Madga at Hīt (proposing that Madga was another name of Hīt) fails to refer to Frayne's work on the subject and totally neglects the information provided by him, such as the availability of bitumen near Kifri and the closeness of the Sirwān-Diyāla river and its tributaries flowing down from these bitumen sources: Heimpel, W., "The Location of Madga," *JCS* 61 (2009), p. 25-61.

¹⁹⁰ One of the uses of the word *šadû* is a place of hiding or refuge, cf. *CAD* Š I, p. 55, under j. This meaning stems from the fact that refugees seeking hiding places have mostly found their ways to the mountains.

¹⁹¹ Cf.: *CAD* Š I, p. 59.

¹⁹² Speiser pointed to the sheer slopes of the eastern part of the range when he made a flight over the region in the early 1920s: Speiser, E. A., "Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Assurnasirpal and Today," *AASOR* 8 (1926-27), p. 31.

¹⁹³ Frayne, D., *BiOr*, 403.

perhaps a word or words in the original inscription was mistakenly omitted when copying the text on to the clay tablet. It is worth mentioning that the sign *ma* is improperly written and looks more like *ba*. However, the readings of both Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast fit the context better. They read the word as *tubqinnišu* “his hole, or his hollow,” indicating an unpleasant place. The meaning given for *tubkinnu* in *CAD* is “refuse heap,” which occurs in MB and SB texts.¹⁹⁴ On the assumption that an older use of the word meant “fate” it would fit the context very well to translate “the king led him to his fate” (cf. the footnote to the pertinent cuneiform text).

Apparently, the king of Gutium has offered the captured governor of Madga to the god of Gutium, for the text states that he took him away by force through the gate of the god of Gutium, struck him, and killed him (ii, 7-11). After this a word similar to LUGAL occurs, but it neither fits the context nor the grammar. This implies that mistakes occurred when the ancient scribe was copying, or perhaps his exemplar was not free from linguistic mistakes. One possible explanation would be to read *en-ma* LUGAL, “When the king ...” but this remains uncertain.


Then the king, according to the text, fashioned a statue of himself (ii, 22-26) and put something on its neck: *in na-pá-ás-ti-šu* (written *šu*)-*ti-šu sa-ab-šu is-ku-un*. The word *sa-ab-šu* is not translated by Frayne, but *sābu* occurs in Standard Babylonian as the name of a red coloured stone,¹⁹⁵ hence it is quite fitting to follow Kutscher’s translation “a red stone” or that of Gelb-Kienast “its precious stone.”¹⁹⁶ The first person verbal form *ab-ni-ma* (ii, 23) switches to a third person form *is-ku-un* (ii, 26).

Kutscher quoted the suggestion proposed by Jacobsen to read and translate the passage from col. ii 24- ii 5’ as follows:¹⁹⁷

- 24) *in na-pá-ás-ti-šu*
- 25) *ša-tap_x (DUB)-šu*
- 26) *‘šu¹-ku-un*
- 27) *[šu-u]m-š[u]*
- 28) *[a-bi]*
- 29) *[šum-ma la]*
- 1’) *‘ki¹-[x-x-x]*
- 2’) *aš-k[u-un]* (or *aš-k[u-nu]*)
- 3’) *lu-ub-[ša-am]*
- 4’) *uqnim (ZA.GĪN) ša [x]*
- 5’) *la aš-ku-^run¹* (or *aš-ku-^rnu¹*)

“I named it (the statue) ‘Put the (Breath of) Life in its Throat.’ (I swear) I indeed put... (and) I indeed put a garment of lapis lazuli of...”

However, the translations of both Frayne and Gelb-Kienast seem more realistic.

The first sign in ii, 2’  is clearly *áš*,¹⁹⁸ perhaps the beginning of a verb with *š* as initial radical, and *šakānu* would be a logical choice. The assumed verb has certainly something to do with the garment mentioned in the line 3’ and is also connected to the statue that is mentioned. The garment was made of lapis-lazuli and, since the text has *ša la-áš-ku-nu* (ii, 4’-5’), it appears that this lapis-lazuli was originally devoted to something or somebody else, but

¹⁹⁴ *CAD*, vol T, p. 446.


¹⁹⁵ *abnu šikinšu kīma dami alpi la bašli NA₄ sa-a-bu*, “The stone that looks like unboiled ox-blood is called *sābu*,” *CAD* S, p. 5.

¹⁹⁶ Hallo proposed “a Sun Disc,” cf. Kutscher, p. 64.

¹⁹⁷ Kutscher, p. 64.



¹⁹⁸ Left as illegible by Frayne.

the king has put it on the statue out of love for Enlil. The colophon confirms the statue was dedicated to Enlil in Nippur and that the inscription was on its base.

In line 13' the sign  is written for *ša* in the word *u-ša-sà-ku-ni*, this implies that the same sign in the problematic line 25 can be read *ša* as well.

Statue 2:

This inscription begins with the narration of the rebellion lead by KA-Nišba of Simurru¹⁹⁹ against Gutium in the time of Erridu-Pizir's father, Enrida-Pizir. KA-Nišba is called 'king' of Simurru in the inscription and he seemingly enjoyed a great political influence, for he was able to persuade numerous people/lands of the region to join him in the rebellion. Unfortunately, among the names of these people/lands only Lullubum is preserved, though badly damaged (iv, 18: [lu]-l[u]-bi-im^{ki}). From the other names four determinatives KI are preserved followed by a large lacuna. The sign NI can be seen preceding the KI of the first name with preserved determinative. One possibility is the GN *U₆-ra-nu* mentioned in the LGN²⁰⁰ and attested as *U-ra-ni-im* and *Wa-ra-ne*, *U-ra-ne*, *Wa-ra-nu* and *U₆-ra-na-a* in the ED and Old Akkadian Periods texts.²⁰¹ It is interesting that the GN *U₆-ra-ne* occurs in a tablet from Ebla together with the GNs Kakmium, Ḫašuwān and Irar.²⁰² This GN was well-known in that period. It was mentioned in a dedicatory text in Mari and had trade relations with Ebla²⁰³ and was perhaps the same Uruna attested in the Geography of Sargon, mentioned as a border of Lullubum.²⁰⁴ Another possibility, though less probable, is *Ib-la-nim*,²⁰⁵ suggested to have been to the east of modern Sulaimaniya.²⁰⁶ The second name probably ends with KU while the third and fourth are seemingly written with a single logogram. Elam is not impossible since it was close to Simurru and its name was usually written with the one logogram NIM. The remaining part of the column commences with *DA-iš-šu* then *ig-ru-úš*. If we assume that this part was preceded by about seven lines of the king's name and titles, there is still room for 3-5 lines. From the transcription it appears that the line preceding *DA-iš-šu* does not begin with the expected sign *ar* of *ar-ba-im*, but with a sign looking like *šu*.

A palaeographic difference, for which the ancient copyist was responsible, appears clearly in the first sign of iv, 4', inscribed as  but this is a later form of the same sign (ÍL) which appeared in vi, 6 as .

The name *KA-ni-iš-ba* is still doubtful, because the sign KA has different readings. Among these readings we can exclude INIM because the name is not Sumerian, and QA because this sound was not familiar in the languages of the region.²⁰⁷ Other readings like *du₁₁* and *pi* are possible, but the more likely reading seems to be *Ka* or *Ga*, assuming that the sign was used with its primary value in the Akkadian text. Since the sign KA was read in the Oakk. period as *ga*,²⁰⁸ the name might have been pronounced Ga-Nišba. Nišba was the name

¹⁹⁹ Simurru is not mentioned by name in this section of the inscription, but we know that *KA-nišba* was mentioned later in col. v 10 as the king of Simurru.

²⁰⁰ The Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names.

²⁰¹ Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 73.

²⁰² Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 74.

²⁰³ Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 74; 76.

²⁰⁴ For the passage in the Geography of Sargon cf. Grayson, "The Empire of Sargon of Akkad," *AfO* 25 (1974-77), p. 59.

²⁰⁵ It occurred also as *l-bil-a-nim*, *l-b-la-nim* and *l-b-da-nim*, cf. Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 73.

²⁰⁶ Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 79.

²⁰⁷ Cf., for instance, the non-Akkadian personal names of Gasur in Meek, *Excavations at Nuzi*, vol. III, Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi, (index of Personal Names).

²⁰⁸ For this cf. Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian*, p. 33; Gelb, I. J., *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar*, Chicago, 1952, p. 68.

of the national deity of Simurrum, known from the inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn (see Chapter Five). There was also a mountain with this name, mentioned by this same Erridu-Pizir in his third inscription (E2.2.1.3 x, 5). The name Nišba is reminiscent of the name of Mount Nišpi, mentioned in the inscriptions of Aššurnasirpal II during his campaigns to Zamua.²⁰⁹ Identifying these names seems very possible since both were mountain names and both were located in approximately the same area.

It is important to note that the Gutian influence was as unwelcome as the Akkadian influence to the peoples of the Zagros. This can clearly be inferred from this text that speaks of a general rebellion against the Gutians, organized by at least six lands, including Simurrum itself. It might also imply that the Gutians tried to rebuild the empire of Sargon and Narām-Sîn as their own, for at the same time that they controlled the Land of Akkad and part of Sumer they subjugated the lands of the Zagros foothills as far as Erbil in the north.

The section that follows the lacuna is about the movement against the rebellion. It is noteworthy that the inscription does not mention any crushing of the rebellion by Erridu-Pizir, and even the lacuna has no room for such a passage. However, the speaker, Erridu-Pizir, was the one who accomplished it. This implies that the rebellion lasted from the reign of his father to his own. Whether this was a short period of almost a year, from the last days of his father to the first days of his own reign, or for a longer period, we cannot answer from the material currently available.

It is significant that troops to crush this ‘northern’ rebellion were mobilized in the ‘south.’ The text (v, 1-11) states that the goddess Ištar had stationed troops in Agade, and according to the next part, the (whole) army was assembled for the king and then went to Simurrum. This means that only part of the army, not all of it, was from the land of Akkad and that the Akkadian troops joined the rest of the army later.

After that, column vi tells of striking down the enemies, using the word *a-ar-NAM*²¹⁰ (vi, 2). If this reading is correct, besides “punishment,” the word also means “sin” and “fault.” Its occurrence with “survivors” and “offerings” is somewhat difficult to understand, unless the survivors of the rebel troops after the battle were punished. However, the restorations and translations of Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast as *a-ar-^rbu¹-[šu-nu]* “fugitives,” seem more logical.²¹¹ Then the list of booty follows, among which are horses (*sí-s[í]-šu-nu*), oxen²¹² and sheep that the Gutian king took off to Gutium, strangely to Erridu-Pizir. Probably this implies he offered this booty to the spirit of his deceased father. As a typical tribal leader, he would have had a great respect for his father after his death. But it is not impossible that Erridu-Pizir was actually alive at this time, for he could have handed over the rule of Gutium to his son Erridu-Pizir before his death. This is interestingly the first Mesopotamian inscription to mention horses.²¹³

Following the large lacuna there is the curse formula, the dedication and the colophon in the column viii.

²⁰⁹ ii 48) TA URU.GIŠ.tukul-ti-aš-šur-DIB-at at-tu-muš GÌR KUR Ni-is-pi a-ša-bat, “Moving on from the city Tukultī-Aššur-ašbat I made my way to the foot of Mount Nispi,” Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 205 (text A.0.101.1); ii 74) KUR Ni-is-pi KUR GIG, “Mount Nispi, a rugged mountain,” *op. cit.*, p. 207 (text A.0.101.1). Mount Nišpi was identified by Speiser with the Hawramān Mountains to the northeast of Halabja, cf. Speiser, E. A., “Southern Kurdistan . . .,” p. 28.

²¹⁰ The sign NAM follows Steinkeller’s collation.


²¹¹ Possibly the word is derived from the infinitive *erēbum*. As parallel in Arabic is the word دخيل lit. “the one who enters,” from دخل with the same meaning, denoting a person who enters the house or tent (mostly of a *sheikh* or of a nobleman) asking for protection.

²¹² The sign *šu* in the inscription looks like *e* more than *šu*.

²¹³ Cf. also Kutscher, p. 65.

Statue 3:

The text of this statue starts with an accusation of KA-Nišba of inciting the people of Simurrum and Lullubum to rebel against Gutium. Reading this makes one feel as if Erridu-Pizir distinguishes the people of Simurrum from their rulers. In other words, he seems to say that without the incitement of KA-Nišba the Simurrians would not have rebelled. This was something new in Mesopotamian inscriptions up to this time and it offered a new political vision.

After another lacuna there is a section recording the name of the governor (or the general) *Am-NI-li* who had persuaded some lands to rebel. The name of the first land (ix, 6') is broken; only the first and last signs are preserved and the GN is not accompanied by the determinative KI. Frayne reads the name as *šè-^rru(?)¹-[x]-im*²¹⁴ (without any determinative KI), but the hand-copy suggests *śu* rather than *śè*. I suggest identifying this GN with *Šu-ir-ḥu-um*^{ki}, a GN attested in an Ur III text.²¹⁵ Nevertheless, it is reasonable to think of the GN *Šuruthum*, known from the Ur III texts, as an alternative, assuming it was written here in an abbreviated form such as **Šu/Šè-ru-hi-im*. *Šuruthum* is located to the north of Simurrum according to the Ur III sources, which supports this suggestion. If correct, it poses the question of a Hurrian presence in the northern Transtigris, since Astour classified the GN *Šuruthum* as Hurrian.²¹⁶ That the *ensi* of Urbilum bore the Hurrian name *Niriš-ḥuḥa*, mentioned in this very text, may be taken as corroborative. The second GN of the text has only *ZÉ* preserved, and the third has the sign  preserved followed by KUR. The determinative KUR is used in these inscriptions to denote mountain names,²¹⁷ so it is assumed that the third name is a mountain name that was a centre or bulwark for one of the peoples participating in the rebellion. Erridu-Pizir says he marched to confront *Am-NI-li* through the peaks of Mount Nišba, the mountain discussed above.

Then the text says that the king could control the pass (?) at Mount *Ḥa-me-me-x-pi-[ir^{kur}]* after six days of fighting.

The scribal errors introduced by the ancient copyist, the numerous lacunae and the bad state of the tablet all make it more difficult to fully understand the story. Even some words or sections cannot be translated, such as col. Ix, 10'-11'.

After another lacuna, the narrative resumes with the entry into the pass (Fig. 5) and the king pursuing *Am-NI-li*, controlling the pass of Mount *Nu-úḥ-pi-ir^{kur}* (Fig. 6) and throwing down the general (*HUR-nam*) from the mountain top.²¹⁸

In the following section, the text speaks of the control of the pass of Urbilum at Mount Mumum and the capture or defeat of the *ensi* of Urbilum, a certain *Niriš-ḥuḥa*.

To consider the data given here we must pause. Erridu-Pizir has confronted a tough enemy in a mountainous terrain close to his own centre of power. The mountainous terrain close to him was either to the north or to the east, in the region of modern Darband-i-Khān. Because the next place he conquered was Urbilum, and because more than one pass is mentioned in the course of this campaign, we are almost sure that the battlefield for these clashes was to the north, i.e. in the Qaradagh region. This region from ancient times even till now has been well known for its numerous passes (Fig. 7) and as a difficult area for military operations.²¹⁹ It is

²¹⁴ Kutscher: *Šu/Šè-^rx¹-[x]-im*.

²¹⁵ Sigrist, R. M., "Nouveaux noms géographiques de l'empire d'Ur III," *JCS* 31 (1979), p. 166, l. 11.

²¹⁶ Astour, M., "Semites and Hurrians in Northern Transtigris," *SCCNH*, vol. 2, Eisenbrauns, 1987, p. 36.

²¹⁷ See for instance x, 5.

²¹⁸ According to Frayne the translation is, "Further, he [st]ru[ck] down [A]mmili, the ..., on its summit...", cf.: *RIME* 2, p. 227 (text E2.2.1.3), l. x, 10'-15', suggesting that *Ammili* was struck down on the mountain peak.

²¹⁹ A clear example would be the *Anfal* campaigns, carried out against the Kurdish countryside in the late 1980s. Afterwards all the villages surrounding Sulaimaniya were devastated and the *Peshmarga* warriors were driven

logical then to expect that an old general would organize his defence in a place most advantageous for himself and most difficult for his enemy, the Gutians, to approach. To have won victory in such a terrain and to have advanced through such a pass after six days of fighting was certainly an occasion for celebration, fitting to be immortalized with a rock relief.

In fact there is a third millennium rock relief in the Qaradagh Mountains that preserves the memory of a military victory. The well known relief of Darband-i-Gawir²²⁰ (Fig. 8a), attributed for a long time to Narām-Sîn,²²¹ could easily be attributed to Erridu-Pizir. Narām-Sîn in his victory stele found at Susa wears a horned helmet, a token of divinity and he puts the deification sign before his name in the inscriptions. On the contrary, Erridu-Pizir did not deify himself in the inscriptions, and this fact is reflected in this relief. The main figure of the Darband-i-Gawir relief, the king, wears a helmet or cap without horns (Fig. 8b). It has no inscription, which is perhaps a typical Gutian trait, and so there is nothing to prove any Akkadian identity. Other details in the costume, beard, ornament and weaponry of the king show differences with those of Narām-Sîn, though it does have many Oakk. characteristics.²²² Furthermore, exactly as in the inscription of Erridu-Pizir, there are some persons depicted at the feet of the victorious king (Figs. 7c and 7d) falling on their heads. *Am-NI-li* must be one of them. That inscription did not mention that Erridu-Pizir put his foot on the defeated king, and we see no defeated figure trampled by the triumphant figure on the relief. One may argue that the style is Akkadian and the striking likeness to the Susa stele favours attributing it to Narām-Sîn. But other non-Akkadian victory stelae that bear much likeness to that of Susa must also be considered, such as the Darband-i-Bēlule relief, the Sar-i-Pul-i-Zahāb (Annubanini) relief and even the much later Darius I relief in Bēstūn (Behestun). These reliefs similarly depict the relatively large proportions of the main person, the king, with the falling enemy at or under his feet. Other defeated enemies are depicted as a row of captives in Sarpul and Bēstūn, with the divine symbols of the national gods or the gods of war,²²³ with a bow in one hand and a sword or dagger in the other. Obviously the Susa stele was the model or prototype for all these reliefs. The relief of Erridu-Pizir was the closest to which in time and hence closely resembles it. The question why the carving of this relief is not mentioned in the inscription can be answered by reference to the numerous lacunae; together these would add at least 193 lines of text, without counting the lacuna of unknown length.

It is interesting that the element *-pir* occurred in two of the mountain names: *Ha-me-me-x-pi-[ir^{kur}]* and *Nu-úh-pi-ir^{kur}* (perhaps a Gutian or Elamite type).²²⁴ A look at the narrative of

out over the Iraq-Iran border. A little later, but only in very few regions like Qaradagh Region and the Pīra Magrūn Mountain, small numbers of *Peshmarga* were able to come back and carry out small-scale operations against the Iraqi troops.

²²⁰ Meaning “the pass of the Gawir.” Gawir is a Kurdish word to denote everyone and everything related to the pre-Islamic or non-Islamic worlds. The name is inspired by the carved image on the rocky mountain side.

²²¹ The date of the relief of Darband-i-Gawir and identifying who made it is disputed. In general it is attributed to the Oakk. period, specifically to Narām-Sîn, by many scholars; cf. Strommenger, E., “Das Felsrelief von Darband-i-Gaur,” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 2 (1963), p. 87-88; Debevoise, N., “The Rock Reliefs of Ancient Iran,” *JNES* 1 (1942), p. 82. Moortgat placed it in the Post-Akkadian, Neo-Sumerian period, probably by Šulgi; cf. Moortgat, A., *Die Kunst des Alten Mesopotamien*, Köln, 1967, p. 58, note 255, and p. 74, note 347. Boese assigns dates ranging from the Akkadian to the OB period from the stylistic point of view, and chooses the Ur III period and specifically Šulgi, by combining artistic and historical data: Boese, J., “Zur Stilistischen und historischen Einordnung des Felsreliefs von Darband-i-Gaur,” *Studia Iranica* 2 (1973), p. 4; 45, for a list of the publications about the relief cf. *op. cit.*, p. 5, note 1 and 2.

²²² For a detailed description and comparison of the relief cf. Boese, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ff.; Strommenger, *BaM*, p. 84 ff.

²²³ The Sarpul relief depicts the goddess Ištar in person and the Bēsitūn relief shows the symbol of Ahuramazda.

²²⁴ However, there is a broken GN from Nuzi that begins with *Nu-uh-[...]*, apparently a city, in *JEN* 724: 5, cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 189.

the campaign suggests that the line of the march was from the south or southeast to the northwest, towards Erbil. If this is true, Mount Nišba was located near Darband-i-Khān, modern Zimnako or Shaho, and the two mountains Ḥameme-x-pir and Nuḥpir were in the Qaradagh-Sagirma chain. The former was on the flanks of, or at, Darband-i-Gawir, and the latter on the way from Darband-i-Gawir to the Shahrazūr Plain in the direction of Mumum, before Erbil. Which mountain is identifiable with Mumum, is difficult to answer.

Another important point in the inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir is the mention of Urbilum in this period, earlier than the previous oldest known occurrence in the Ur III texts. Even if we assume that this reference comes from the end of the Gutian Period, it is still older than the first mention of Urbilum in the date-formulae of Šulgi during his Hurrian wars by at least 63 years.²²⁵ Urbilum had, according to the inscription, an *ensi* and not a GÌR.NITA like other places, and it was located behind a mountain pass that the Gutians should go through to reach it. The text defined the pass as Mount *Mumum*, a Transtigridian reduplicative name. This GN is reminiscent of the GN *Mumum*, mentioned together with Alzu, Amadanu, Niḥanu, Alaia, Tepurzu, Purulumzu, Paḥu, Katmuḥu and Buššu in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208 B.C.) in the course of his campaigns to the north and northwest.²²⁶ However the *Mummu* of the Assyrian inscriptions seems to have been located behind Erbil to the north, or perhaps the northwest. However, Frayne proposed to identify *Mumum* of our inscription with *mu-i-um(?)*-*an*^{ki}, mentioned in an inscription of Kutik-Inšušinak from Susa, that commemorates his campaign on Kimaš and Ḥurtum.²²⁷ The name of the *ensi* of Urbilum, *Niriš-ḥuḥa*, is very significant since it can be analyzed as a Hurrian personal name, a clear indication of the Hurrian presence in this region in this period.²²⁸

The text ends with the dedicatory section and first and second colophon, preceded by a lacuna.

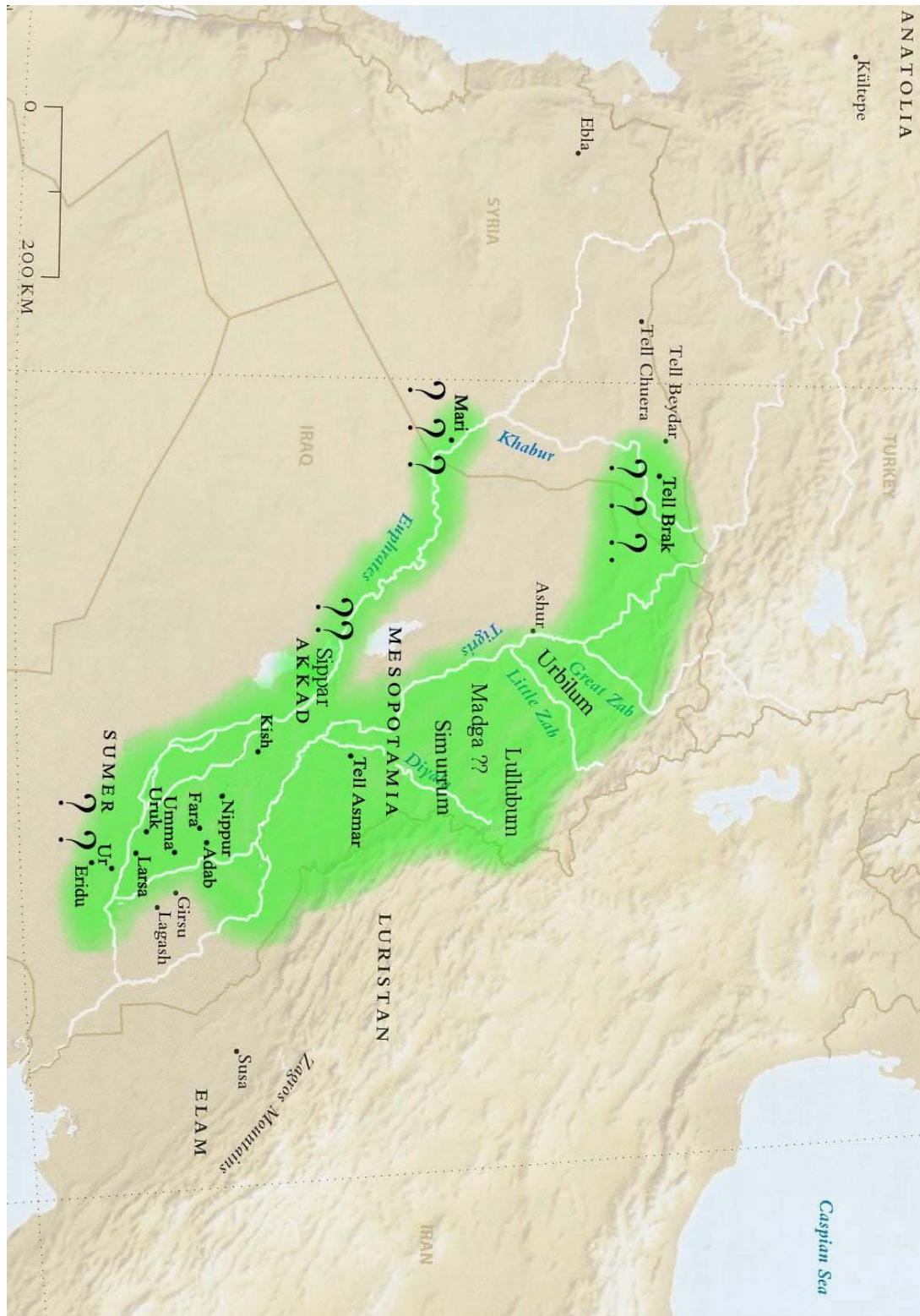
²²⁵ Ur-Namma reigned 18 years and Urbilum occurs for the first time in the 45th year of Šulgi.

²²⁶ For the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I cf. Weidner, E., “Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I und seiner Nachfolger,” *AfO* 12 (1970); Grayson, *RIMA* I, p. 231ff. These lands were united to form an alliance against Assyria to regain Ḥanigalbat under the leadership of Eḥli-Teššup, king of Alzu (Alshe).

²²⁷ Frayne, *BiOr*, p. 404.

²²⁸ For the analysis of this name, cf. Chapter Four.

Figures of Chapter Three



Map 1) The assumed Gutian control area under King Erridu-Pizir.



1) The mace head of Lā'arāb. After: King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1910, opposite p. 206.



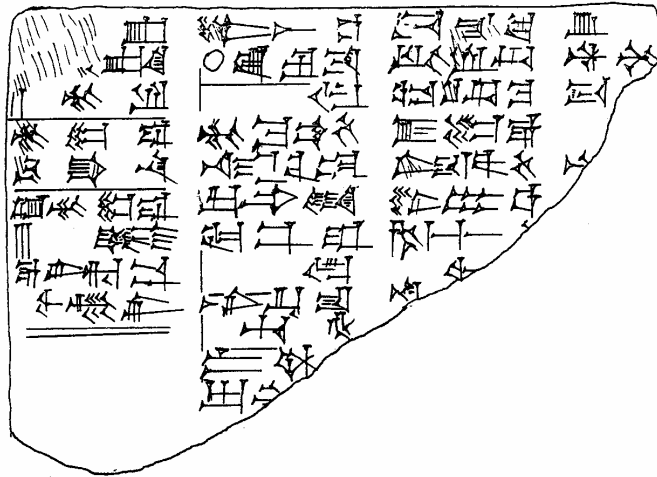
2) The inscription of Iarlagan, king of Gutium, after: Hallo, "New Light on the Gutians," *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia...*, p. 160.



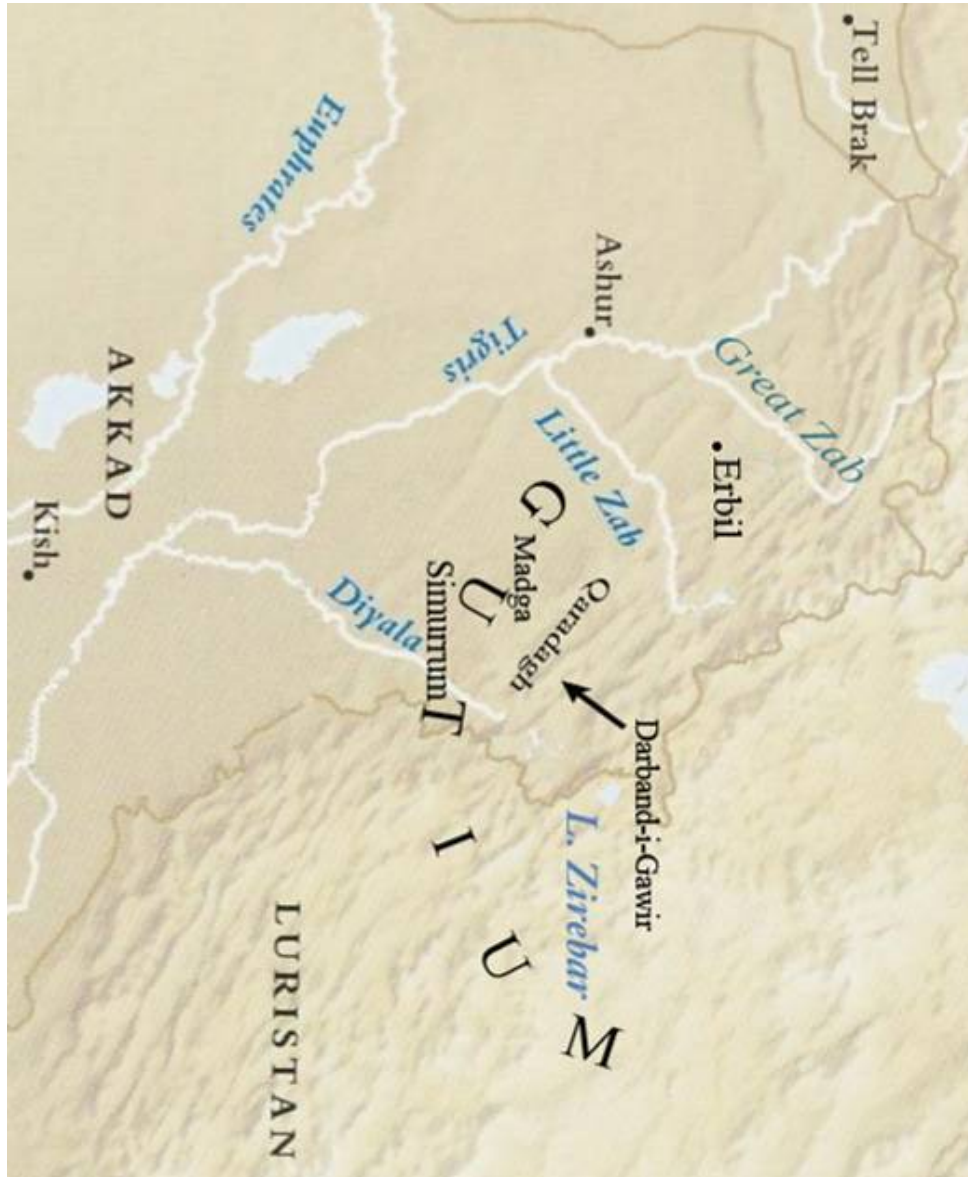
3) A seal from Post-Akkadian period from Brak, after: Oates, *Iraq* 47 (1985), pl. XXVI, e. Courtesy of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq.



4a) A hand copy of the inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir. After: Kutscher, R., *The Brockmon Tablets at the University of Haifa- Royal Inscriptions*, Published by the Haifa University Press and the Zinman Institute of Archaeology, Haifa, 1989, p. 120.



4b) A hand copy of the inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir. After: Kutscher, R., *The Brockmon Tablets at the University of Haifa- Royal Inscriptions*, Published by the Haifa University Press and the Zinman Institute of Archaeology, Haifa, 1989., p. 121.



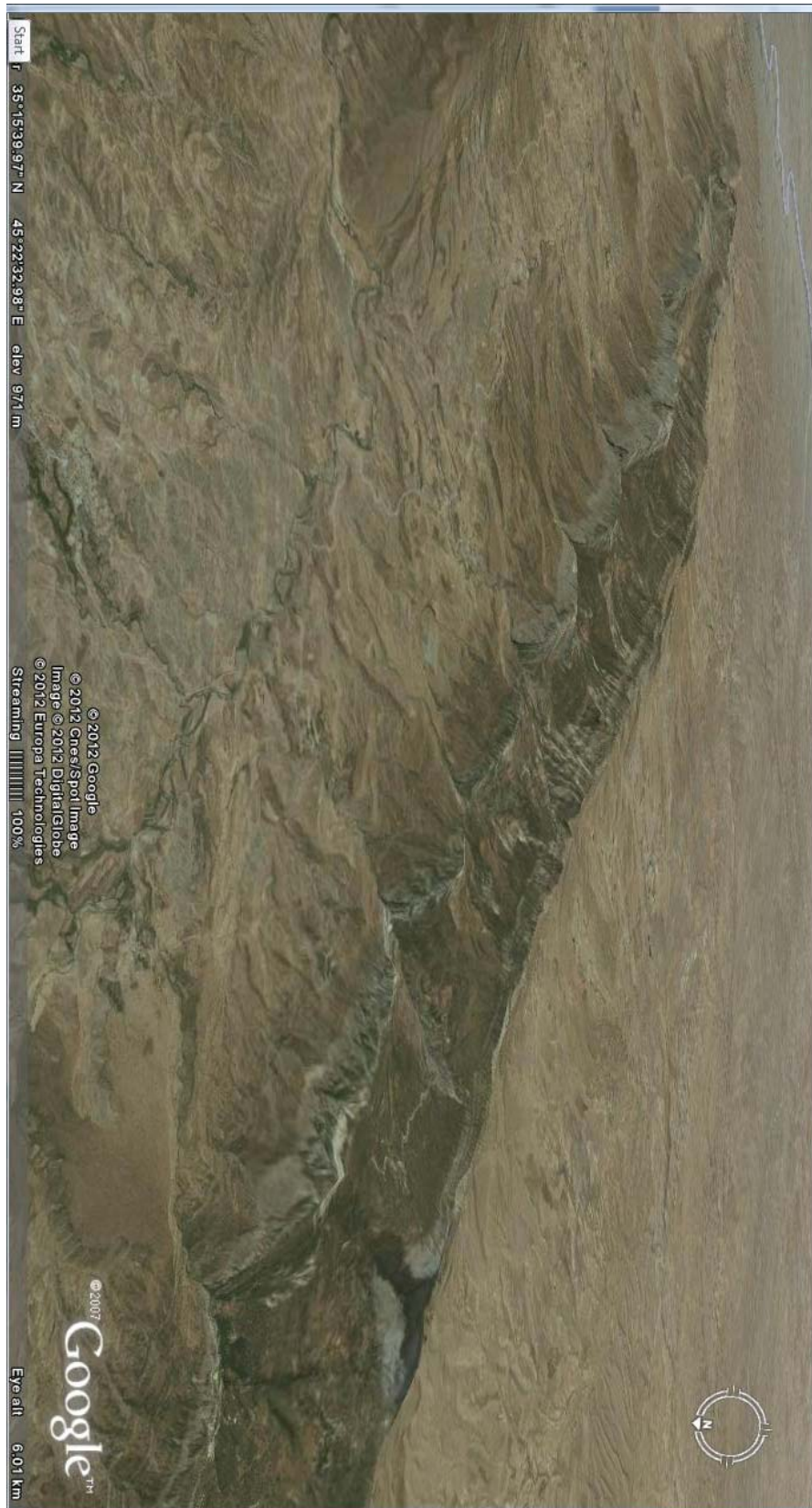
Gutium, Madga and Simurru in the time of Erridu-Pizir.



5) The pass of Darband-i-Gawir where the relief is located. Photo by the author.



6) The location of the relief at the mountain side, probably Mount *Nuhpir*. Photo by the author.



7) The series of passes of the Qaradagh mountain range. Photo after Google Earth.



8a) The Darband-i-Gawir rock-relief. Photo by the author.



8b) Detail of the relief of Darband-i-Gawir. Photo by the author.

CHAPTER FOUR




The Age of the Hurrian Expansion



Assuming that the Hurrians¹ came from the north or northeast (see below), the first place they would reach would be the mountainous regions of the northern Transtigris and eastern Anatolia. However, while the earliest available evidence, namely the year-names of Narām-Sîn of Akkad,² shows a Hurrian presence in the Transtigris, there is no evidence for Eastern Anatolia. But evidence of a Hurrian presence in the Habur Region as early as the OAKK period most probably indicates a Hurrian immigration through Eastern Anatolia. Since powerful centralized states, such as Akkad and Ur III, were controlling the Mesopotamian plains up to the Nineveh Region in the time when the Hurrians are thought to have immigrated, these newcomers would have been able to move only along the borders of these states. It is slightly to the southeast, i.e. towards the Hamrin Region, and westwards, to the Habur Region, that they make one of their earliest attestations in the written records.

The hypothesis that the Hurrians have come from the northeast of Mesopotamia fits well geographically with the year-name of Narām-Sîn recording that the first encounter with the Hurrians was in Azuḫinum. Azuḫinum can be located somewhere in the East Tigris region, on the Lower Zāb or slightly to the south of it.³ This again raises the question about the original home of the Hurrians. Unfortunately, no textual material of any kind is available that can help to solve this problem. They most likely came from the north or northeast, from the Trans-Caucasus⁴ or from across the Caspian Sea⁵ and were present in the mountains north of Urkeš

¹ The modern name ‘Hurrian’ is derived from the Akkadian geographic appellation *Hurri* and its ethnic derivative *Hurri*. However, the name was known to other peoples of the ancient Near East and found its way into their written records; cf. Hittite ^{URU}*Hur-ri* (used for the first time by Ḫattušiliš I); Ugaritic *hry*; even actual Hurrian (^{KUR}*Hur-ru-u-hé* and ^{KUR}*Hur-wu-u-hé*; Egyptian *Hu-ru* (used for the first time by Thutmose III), cf. Astour, M., “Les Hourrites en Syrie du nord, rapport sommaire,” *Revue Hittite et Asiatique (RHA)*, 36 (1978), p. 1. The Egyptian rendering of this name was  = Ḫ₃-rw, cf. Vernus, P., *Les Hurrites dans les sources égyptiennes*, in *Problèmes concernant les Hurrites*, I, Paris, 1977, p. 42. The Biblical Hebrew *hōrīt* was earlier wrongly understood as derived from Hebrew *hōr* with the meaning ‘cave-dwellers,’ cf. Wilhelm, G., “Gedanken zur Frühgeschichte der Hurriter und zum hurritisch-urartäischen Sprachvergleich,” *Hurriter und hurritisch*, ed. Volkert Haas, Xenia 21, Konstanz, 1988, p. 43. The Hurrian form of the name shows that the ethnonym is built on the root *hur-*, cf. Edzard, D. O. and A. Kammenhuber, “Hurriter, Hurritisch,” *RIA* 4 (1972-75), p. 508.

² Discussed below under “The Old Akkadian Period.”

³ For the location of Azuḫinum and the problems raised by its identification, see note 24 in chapter two. Steinkeller and Salvini think that Azuḫinum mentioned in this campaign of Narām-Sîn was situated in the Habur area, not in the east Tigris region; cf. note 24 in chapter two.

⁴ Cf. Steinkeller, “The Historical Background...,” p. 96; Kammenhuber, A., “Die Hurriter und das Problem der Indo-Arier,” *RHA*, 36 (1978), p. 88; Richter, Th., “Die Ausbreitung der Hurriter bis zur altbabylonischen Zeit: eine Kurze Zwischenbilanz,” *2000 v. Chr., politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklung im Zeichen einer Jahrtausendwende*, 3. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 4.-7. April 2000 in Frankfurt/Main und Marburg/Lahn, Saarbrücken, 2004, p. 272 and the bibliographical references in note 30; cf. also Edzard and Kammenhuber, “Hurriter, Hurritisch,” *RIA* 4, p. 507.

⁵ Cf. Kammenhuber, A., “Die Arier im Vorderen Orient und die historischen Wohnsitze der Hurriter,” *Or. NS* 46 (1977), p. 134; Kammenhuber, “Die Hurriter und ...,” *RHA*, 36 (1978), p. 88. In this respect, one must point to the hypothesis of Ungnad, who wrote about the Hurrians as the aboriginals of the region between Palestine in the southwest and the Armenian mountains in the northeast. Later he called them the Subarians and considered them the founders of the prehistoric Halaf Culture, cf. Wilhelm, “Gedanken zur Frühgeschichte...,” *Hurriter und hurritisch*, p. 44. The hypothesis is hardly tenable, for the Hurrians we know now were distinct from the Subarians (see Chapter Two, under the Subarians). Moreover, the point given as the western presence of the Hurrians in Palestine proved to be a biblical allusion to a small group of Hurrians who lived in Edom: Wilhelm,

since the fifth millennium BC, according to Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati.⁶ Since the Hurrian word *turišhe*, “west,” is apparently derived from *turi*, “down,”⁷ Richter thinks it indicates the eastern mountainous homeland of the Hurrians. Hurrian mythology, as found in later copies in Hittite archives, is also in favour of a northern mountainous homeland, since these myths are set in a mountainous environment.⁸ Other Hurrian traditions found in the material culture of Urkeš show a culture cradled in the old rural Hurrian communities of the northern highlands, in northern and eastern Anatolia. Among these were the iconographic styles and elements later found in the iconography of Kültepe level II, such as the bull standing on an altar, the slaying of a reversed bull using the long triangular knife, the fashion, particularly headdresses, and the early Transcaucasian sherds and andirons found in Urkeš.⁹ There is evidence of trade relations between Urkeš and the northern mountains, in which metals, stones, timber and wild animals were exchanged.¹⁰ This fact leads to the conclusion that the inhabitants of the northern highlands were in fact rural Hurrians rather than urban Hurrians of the Habur region.¹¹ In any case, recent discoveries in northeastern Syria show that the regions of southeastern Anatolia must have played a significant role in the prehistory of the Hurrians.¹²

Earliest Evidence

The Old Akkadian Period

The Transtigris

In the northern Transtigris, the first attestations of Hurrian PNs and GNs date to the Akkadian period. A year-name of Narām-Sîn mentioned for the first time a ruler called T/Daḫiṣ-atili¹³ during one of his campaigns to the northeast. The year-name can be translated: “The ye[ar] Narā[m-S]în was victorious over the land of Subir at **Azuḫinum** and took prisoner T/Daḫiṣ-atili.”¹⁴ The place-name connected to this Hurrian named ruler also has

op. cit., p. 43. The same is true for the scattered Hurrian names attested in Layašum (= Tell al-Qāḥī) in Palestine from the period of the Mari Archive: Richter, “Die Ausbreitung der Hurrer ...,” p. 290. The purport of Chiera and Gelb’s theory is that the Hurrians were present from the end of the 3rd millennium BC in the mountainous regions to the east and northeast of Assyria and in the plains northeast of Assyria, and that they moved to the west and southwest in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC., cf. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁶ Buccellati G. and M. Kelly-Buccellati, “Urkesh and the Question of the Hurrian Homeland,” *Bulletin of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences* 175, no. 2 (2007), p. 150.

⁷ Richter, “Die Ausbreitung der Hurrer ...,” p. 273.

⁸ Marilyn Kelley-Buccellati, “Urkesh and the North: Recent Discoveries,” *SCCNH* 15 (2005), p. 40. Note that the Hurrian myth of silver states that silver was a boy living with his mother in the mountains and has rough encounters with the other children. He then sets out to look for his father Kumarbi, who administers justice for all the lands from his main seat in Urkeš as told by his mother. When silver arrives at Urkeš, Kumarbi had already departed to walk in the mountains, symbolizing the city control over the villages “by being recognized as the ancestral dimension of public life,” Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “Urkesh and the Question of ...,” p. 150. (the summary of the myth after Buccellati and Kelly Buccellati, *ibid.*).

⁹ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 144-6.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 145-6.

¹¹ Kelly-Buccellati, “Urkesh and the North,” p. 30 and 40, where she says that even iconography in Urkeš has its closest parallels in the later Kültepe level 2 iconography.

¹² Richter, “Die Ausbreitung...,” p. 266.

¹³ This PN is analysed as: *taḫe* ‘man’ enlarged with the suffix *-iš* and *atal* ‘strong,’ cf. Salvini, “The Earliest Evidence of the Hurrians ...,” *Urkešh and the Hurrians*, 1998, p. 100, note 1.

¹⁴ Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 86, q.

distinctive Hurrian characteristics in the suffixes *-hīni* and *-hīna*.¹⁵ More significant, as Steinkeller noted, is that this is the first time in recorded history that the Hurrians are associated with Subartu.¹⁶ The story of the Great Uprising against Narām-Sîn, although a later compilation, mentions a certain Puttim-atal,¹⁷ king of **Simurru**, who joined that uprising.¹⁸ In another year-name of Narām-Sîn the name of Simurru occurs in combination with a clear Hurrian place-name, **Kirašeniwe**:¹⁹ “The year Narām-Sîn was victorious over (the yoke?) of Simurru in Kirašeniwe and took Baba, the *ensi* of Simurru (and) DUB.UL, *ensi* of Arame prisoner.”²⁰ Another inscription that is believed to be by Narām-Sîn, judging by the royal titles, mentions Hurrian-like GNs located in Subartu, such as Zumḥinnu, Šewin-[...], Šu’awe, [...]we in addition to Azuḥinnu.²¹ In the **Hamrin region** and **lower Diyāla** some PNs from the OAKk. period show a Hurrian presence. Some good examples are *Dup-ki-a-šum* (= Tupki-ašum), probably *A-ru-um*, *al-la*, *Šè-eb-ru-ug*, and probably *Zu-zu* from Ḥafāji,²² *Tùl-pi-ip-še* and *Wi-(ir-)ri* from Tell Suleima.²³ These few PNs, although some of them such as Wir(r)i and probably his boss (?) Tulpipše held priestly functions, do not necessarily imply a dense Hurrian population, but they could have been individuals moving there in this period.

Talmuš has been referred to as a probable Hurrian GN in the Transtigris region by Michalowski. He proposes that it is composed of the Hurrian word *talmi* “great.”²⁴ He further suggested replacing the name formerly read as Rīmuš with Talmuš, since the royal name Rīmuš was always written with RÍ not RI and royal names are used only as parts of compound names.²⁵

¹⁵ Cf. Gelb, I. J., “Hurrians at Nippur in the Sargonic Period,” *Fs. Johannes Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag am 27. August 1958 gewidmet*, Hrsg. von R. von Kienle, A. Moortgat, H. Otten, E. Von Schuler und W. Zaumseil, Heidelberg, 1959, p. 186; 187 and especially 189.

¹⁶ Steinkeller, “The Historical Background...,” p. 91.

¹⁷ Based on Gelb and Girbal, Salvini analysed the name as *Puttum-atal, the first part of which is presumably connected to *puttukki* ‘achievement,’ and the second part ‘strong, mighty,’ Salvini, “The Earliest...,” p. 103.

¹⁸ ^m*Pu-ut-ti-ma-tá-al* LUGAL *Ši-mu-ur-ri-im*^{ki}, Grayson, A. K. and E. Sollberger, “L’insurrection générale contre Narām-Suen,” *RA* 70 (1976), text G, l. 29, p. 112.

¹⁹ *Kiraše=ni=we*: *kiraši* can be the adj. ‘lengthened,’ or the PN Keraše (cf. *NPN* 223) + the identifying suffix *-ni* + the genitive suffix *-we*: Salvini, “The Earliest...,” p. 103. The GN is also compared with later Tašeniwe and Ur III Da-ši-ne-we by Steinkeller, “The Historical Background...,” p. 93. Salvini considers Kirašeniwe one of the cities of the land of Simurru, cf. Salvini, “The Earliest Evidence...,” p. 102.

²⁰ in MU ^d*Na-ra-am*-^dE[N.Z]U ŠUDUN *Ši-mu-ur-ri-im*^{ki} in *Ki-ra-šè-ni-we*^k[^l] *iš₁₁-a-ru* ù *Ba-ba* ÉNSI *Ši-mu-ur-ri-im*^{ki} DUB[?].UL[?] ÉNSI *A-ra-me*^{ki} *ik-mi-ù*, Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, D-12. Narām-Sîn 5b, p. 51.

²¹ For the inscription cf. Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 141f (E2.1.4.30).

²² Richter, p. 304, referring to Sommerfeld, W., *Die Texte der Akkade-Zeit. I. Das Dijala Gebiet: Tutub*, Münster, 1999. Richter analysed the name as *tupki-až=o=m*, of which the last part consists of the transitive/ergative construction annexed to the rarely used and still unexplained verb *aš-*: *ibid.* The first part of which is almost identical with Tupkiš, *endan* of Urkeš.

²³ Al-Rawi, F. N. H., “Two Old Akkadian Letters Concerning the Offices of *kala’um* and *nārum*,” *ZA* 82 (1992), p. 181. The two PNs occur in IM 85455, l. 1 (*Tùl-pi-ip-še*); 9 (*Wi-ri*) and IM 85456, l. 5 (*Wi-ir-ri*). *Wiri* has been compared to PNs from Nuzi (*NPN* 173 and 275). It is probably related to *weri* “sword” (*GLH*), or *feri* according to Wilhelm, who would like to keep it apart from *fir-*. As for *Tùl-pi-ip-še*, it may terminate in an abbreviated form of *-šenni*, with *tulpi* as a verbal base or a structure showing nominal endings: Al-Rawi, *op. cit.*, p. 81, note 13.

²⁴ Michalowski, P., “Mental Maps and Ideology: Reflections on Subartu,” *Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium*, ed. H. Weiss, Connecticut, 1986, p. 139, note 17.

²⁵ *Ibid.*; see also Goetze, A., “An Old Babylonian Itinerary,” *JCS* 7 (1953), p. 62, note 78. Extra support comes from the occurrence of Assyrian Talmusi, whose governor held the *līmu*-office in the years 786, 754 and 696 BC, cf. Kessler, K., *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens*, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 17, n. 87. Talmuš was most probably located in Khirbet Jarrahiya, 24 km to the west of Ain Sifni, north of Khorsabad; cf. for this:

[Hannoon, N., *Ancient Cities and Archaeological Sites...*, p. 176]. حنون، ن.، مدن قديمة و مواقع أثرية، ص. ١٧٦.

Also from the Old Akkadian period the stone tablet from **Nippur**²⁶ bears Hurrian names and Hurrian linguistic features. The white marble tablet (BE I nr. 11) lists 92 garments handed over by a lady called Tupin to a certain Šehrin-ewri, whose name is doubtless Hurrian. In the description of the garments Hurrian terms also occur: *hišelu=ḫina*, *zimze=ḫina* and *'aku=ḫina*.²⁷

The **Gasur** tablets yielded some Hurrian PNs, such as *A-li-a-sar* (185 II 6; 188 III 3), *A-ri/tal-ḫu-ḫa* (153 VIII 4), *E-wa-ri-ki-ra* (185 II 3), *Ki-ip-tu-ru* (129: 11; 153 IV 31; 199: 5), *Ši-ni-ša-am* (51 I 2; 52 I 3),²⁸ I would add *Bu-da-úk-ki* (23: 6), perhaps < *puttukki*. Such names have been also detected in Babylonia, presumably prisoners of war taken from northern Mesopotamia or the Transtigris to Babylonia.²⁹

Even in the far east there was a king of **Tukriš** with a good Hurrian name, according to a Hittite-Hurrian ritual from Hattuša (KUB XXVII 38 iv 14).³⁰ He seems to have ruled sometime in the Akkadian Period, since the text refers to events that took place in that period. His name was Kiklip-atal³¹ of Tukriš. An inscription of Hammurabi from Ur linked Tukriš with Elam, Subir and Gutium when describing their landscape as distant mountains and their language as difficult.³² Tukriš deserves more detailed comments. The oldest official attestation of this land after its occurrence in the ritual text is in the Ur III period. It is recorded in a school tablet from Nippur (Ni. 2126+4178=ISET 1 211)³³ as a source of gold and lapi-lazuli. An association of gold with Tukriš is also found in another version of the Sumerian mythological text 'Enki and Ninhursag' from Ur.³⁴ The land was also known for metal working,³⁵ for the texts from OB Mari mention bull-headed cups of Tukriš-type

²⁶ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 8. Concerning the tablet cf. Gelb, "Hurrians at Nippur in the Sargonic Period," p. 183-195. It was not usual to write an everyday document on a marble tablet, which is why it was designated a "pageantry inscription accompanying a gift" by Edzard and Kammenhuber: Edzard and Kammenhuber, *RIA* 4, p. 509. It is also possible that the garments, the subject of the text, were being forwarded from one of the Hurrian states of Upper Mesopotamia or the Zagros: Salvini, "The Earliest...", p. 103.

²⁷ Salvini, *ibid.* The suffix *-ḫina* is the Hurrian possessive pronoun + plural article, cf. Edzard and Kammenhuber, *RIA* 4, (1972-5), p. 509.

²⁸ Cf. *HSS* 10, p. xxviii-xxxvi. Gelb was the first to point out 'Hurrian' names in the Gasur tablets, in *Hurrians and Subarians*, p. 52-53, when he cited parallel Hurrian names from later Nuzi texts. For the discussion and analysis of these names see Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 297. The PN Atal-ḫuḫa (*adal-ḫuḫ(u)=a*) includes the well-known *adal* with the nominal element *ḫuḫu* in the essive case. *Ewari-kira* (*ewari-kir(i)=a*) includes *ewri* "lord, king," with an unknown adj. **kiri* in the essive case. *Kip-turu* is understood as *ki-ip-*, a transitive/non-ergative structure of the verb *ke* "to put, to place" followed by the nominal form *-tu-ru* from *turi* "man," functioning here as subject: *ke=i=b=tur(i)=u* "the man has put/settled;" *Tiru-šaki* includes the rare verb *tir-* appearing in OB PNs, such as *Tir-šarri*, and *ša-ki*, found in female PNs, such as *Aššum-šaki*, *Atal-šaki* and *Elan-šaki*.

²⁹ Steinkeller, "The Historical Background...", p. 90, n. 53. The names are *Ú-na-ap-šè-na*, *A-ri-nin* (OSP 1 47 v 3-4); *Dup-ki-a-šum* (MAD 1 233 iv 11); 'Ú. *-na-ap-[šè-na(?)]* (MAD 4 167:17), and *A-ḫu-šè-na* (Donbaz-Foster STT 142:2). He lists also the two Hurrian names *Tu-pi-in*, *Šè-eh-ri-in-ip/ew-ri* (BE 1 11: 13-14) of the marble tablet.

³⁰ See for this: Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ...," *ZA* 10 (1938), p. 83. The text runs as follows: *ṁKi-ik-li-pa-ta-al-li-in uru.Tuk-riš-ḫe ewer-ni am-ma-ti*, "Kiklip-atal, the king of Tukriš, the grandfather/ancestor," Michalowski, P., "Magan and Meluḫḫa Once Again," *JCS* 40 (1988), p. 162, (referring to Kammenhuber, "Historisch-geographische Nachrichten...", p. 167).

³¹ His name was compared to the Ur III *Kip-atal* of Urbilum by Hallo in Hallo, W. W., "Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier," *RHA* 36 (1978), p. 72, note 16. The name has been analysed as *kigl=i=b=adali*: Wilhelm, G., "L'état actuel et les perspectives des études hourrites," *Amurru I: Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites, dix ans de travaux*, Actes du Colloque International (Paris, Mai 1993), ed. J.-M. Durand, Paris, 1996, p. 175.

³² Gadd, I. J. and L. Legrain, *Ur Excavations. Texts I: Royal Inscriptions*, London, 1928, p. 45.

³³ Michalowski, P., "Magan and Meluḫḫa ...," p. 162, for its occurrence cf. p. 158, l. 7''.

³⁴ Cf. Komoróczy, G., "Das mythische Goldland Ḫarali im Alten Vorderasien," *Acta Orientalia* 26 (1972), p. 114. Komoróczy thinks that the gold came originally from Ḫarali and was redistributed by Tukriš, 114-5.

³⁵ There is for instance mention of three *kamkammatum*-jewels of gold in *ARM* 21, 223: 31: 3 *kam-kam-ma-at* KÙ.GI *Tu-uk-ri-še-tum*, cf. Guichard, M., La vaisselle de luxe dans le palais de Mari, *ARM* 31 (MDBP 2), Paris, 2005, p. 322, note 602.

(*Tukrišītum*) in 6 entries. Ivory products, such as *kannu*-stands, are also mentioned.³⁶ Textiles in the Tukriš-style occur also in the inventories of gifts sent to Egypt by Tušratta with his daughter.³⁷ Textiles labelled Tukrišian are recorded in some MB textile lists from Nippur, although their distinguishing characteristics are not clear.³⁸ From Qatna too, in a list of jewellery, “product of Tukriš,” occurs several times. Guichard thinks this denotes high quality rather than the place of origin.³⁹ Men from Tukriš are found in the Middle Euphrates area, such as a highly prized Tukrišian cook sent by a retainer to his lord.⁴⁰ Tukriš is not yet precisely located, but from the Mesopotamian sources,⁴¹ particularly OB, it appears to have been to the east of Mesopotamia,⁴² in modern Iran.⁴³ Nevertheless, Guichard proposed a location to the west, in the mountains of Amanus, basing himself on several criteria. One of these is the inscription of Šamšī-Adad I, who claims that:

³⁶ Dunham, S., “Metal Animal Headed Cups at Mari,” *To the Euphrates and Beyond, Archaeological Studies in Honour of Maurits N. van Loon*, Rotterdam, 1989, p. 214.

³⁷ These are “1 city-shirt, Tukriš-style” (EA 22 ii 37) and “1 garment, Tukriš-style, of many-coloured cloth” (EA 25 iv 45), Moorey, *op. cit.*, p. 443, referring to Moran, W. L., *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore and London, 1992, p. 53 and 80.

³⁸ Moorey, *ibid.* and the bibliography there.

³⁹ Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

⁴⁰ Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

⁴¹ Michalowski has compiled a list of its occurrences in his article on Magan and Meluḥḥa, p. 162-3, which is especially pertinent here:

- a) The Sumerian text Enki and Ninḥursag mentioned above: a source of gold and lapis-lazuli.
- b) The inscription of Hammurabi from Ur (UET 1 146): mentioning Tukriš with Elam, Gutium, and Subartu.
- c) An inscription of Šamšī-Adad I: stating that he received the tribute of Tukriš and the Upper Land (*mātum elītum*); cf. Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 50 (A.0.39.1).
- d) An adjective in a Mari list: for vessels made of precious metals, cf. *ARM* 7 239:12' (1 GAL SAG GUD GAL *Tu-uk-ri-šu-ú* KÙ.BABBAR) and 18' (GAL SAG GUD *Tu-u[k-ri]-š[u-ú]*).
- e) A unique OB seal inscription: as a source of terebinth seeds.
- f) A Hurrian ritual text from Boğazköy: concerning the early rulers (mentioned above), preceded by Elam, Awan, and Lullubum.
- g) A description in the Qatna documents: designating the style of gold objects (*ARM* 7 312) as *Tukrišû*, *Tukrišḥu* and *ša qa-ti*^{KUR}*Tu-uk-ri-iš*^{ki}.
- h) MB documents from Nippur: describing coloured wool, see PBS 2/2 135 44:1 and Aro, *Kleidertexte* 33.
- i) A description of garments in the Amarna letters (EA 22 ii 37; 25 iv 45).
- j) Lexical texts: *Tuk-riš*, Ḥar-gud B V to Ḥḥ XX-XXII 13 (MSL 11 36); *ša-ad Tuk-riš*, Ḥḥ XXI 3:14 (MSL 11 13), written *ša-ad Tu-uk-ri-iš*^{ki} in OB Forerunner 1 (MSL 11 133:19).
- k) The NA text “Geography of Sargon of Akkad” (I. 34): here it is mentioned between Marḥaši and Elam.

⁴² Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 10; Michalowski, “Magan and Meluḥḥa ...,” p. 163.

⁴³ Steinkeller, “The Question of Marḥaši...,” *ZA* 72 (1982), p. 248; the map attached to the article (p. 265) – though not certain – puts it on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, traditional Tabaristān. However, according to Kammenhuber, it was in the region of Kirmashān, bordering Elam: Kammenhuber, “Die Arier im Vorderen Orient ...,” *Or* 46 (1977), p. 134, and the overview presented by Reiter, K., *Die Metalle im Alten Orient unter besonderer Berücksichtigung altbabylonischer Quellen*, Münster, 1997, p. 12-14 and 159, note 24. Komoróczy agrees in placing it on the way from Kirmashān to Hamadan: Komoróczy, “Das mythische Goldland...,” p. 115. For Moorey it was further north, in the headwaters of the Upper and Lesser Zāb, in the modern provinces of Kurdistan and Azerbaijan, i.e. later Media, also famous for its gold and lapis-lazuli supplies: Moorey, P. R. S., “The Eastern Land of Tukriš,” *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens, Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer*, eds. U. Finkbeiner, R. Dittman and H. Hauptmann, Mainz, 1995, p. 439 and 441. Its identification with NA ^{ur}*Ti-ig/k-ri-iš* (ABL 342 r. 1) in Mannea is not sure, since the latter might be a variant of *Sig/kris*, Ur III *Sig(i)riš*: Zadok, R., “Peoples from the Iranian Plateau in Babylonia during the Second Millennium B. C.,” *Iran* XXV (1987), p. 26, note 66; Zadok thinks Tukriš was located in Luristan, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 21, as does Bottéro: Bottéro, J., *Textes économiques et administratifs*, *ARM* 7, Paris, 1957, p. 312, note 1.

At that time I received the tribute of the kings of Tukriš and of the king of the Upper Land within my city Assur. I set up my great name and my monumental inscription in the land Lebanon on the shore of the great Sea.⁴⁴

This, as can be noted, is the only historical section in the inscription. The rest of the text is about building activities. The concise summary of the situation under his rule alludes to the eastern and western extremities of the area he controlled. Therefore, it cannot be understood as an indication to locate Tukriš in the west. A similar description is recorded in a literary text discovered in Kaniš, which enumerates the lands and peoples Sargon of Akkad conquered. It begins with Amanus and Tukriš, then runs through Ḫutura (near Puruṣhanda), Amurru, Kilaru (mentioned in the texts of Kaneš, but not identified), Kaneš, Ḫatu (Central Anatolia), Luḫme, Gutium, Lullum and Ḫaḫḫum.⁴⁵ To Guichard, this indicates the proximity of Tukriš to Amanus, contrary to Van de Mieroop, who sees simply an enumeration of lands that were located between Amanus and Tukriš.⁴⁶ Guichard further emphasizes a western location for Tukriš based on the sources of gifts labelled ‘Tukrišian’.⁴⁷ There is some risk in drawing such conclusions. Often products are sold far from their original home and bear the name of that home like a trademark; a distinctive local style may also be replicated elsewhere.⁴⁸ Small luxury items, such as metal or stone vessels, could easily be transported for trade, and the place of purchase does not determine the location of manufacture.

An important criterion for locating this land is the fact that it was a source of lapis-lazuli, or its firm association with that source. This leads to an eastern, not a western, location. The only known source of this stone to have been exploited in antiquity was in Badakhshan, Afghanistan.⁴⁹ Importing it to Mesopotamia would have followed one of the main routes that

⁴⁴ 73) *i-nu-mi-šu* 74) *bi-la-at* LUGAL.MEŠ 75) *ša Tu-uk-ri-iš^{ki}* 76) *ù* LUGAL *ma-a-tim* 77) *e-li-tim* 78) *i-na qé-re-eb a-li-ia* 79) *A-šur^{ki}* 80) *lu am-ta-ḫa-ar* 81) *šu-mi ra-bé-e-em* 82) *ù na-re-ia* 83) *i-na ma-a-at* 84) *La-ab-a-an^{ki}* 85) *i-na a-aḫ* A.AB.BA 86) *ra-bi-i-tim* 87) *lu-ú aš-ku-un*, Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 50 (A.O.39.1).

⁴⁵ Cf. Van de Mieroop, M., “Sargon of Agade and his Successors in Anatolia,” *SMEA* 42/1 (2000), p. 147-8, l. 47-62. According to Guichard, Ḫaḫḫum and Lullubum were geographically close, *ibid*. However, new textual and archaeological evidence shows that Ḫaḫḫum was on the Euphrates in the southern part of the Taurus Ranges, probably at Samsat or Lidar Höyük: cf. Van de Mieroop, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*, p. 250, note to l. i’ 5’ and Salvini, M., “Un royaume hourrite en Mésopotamie du Nord à l’époque de Ḫattušili I,” *Subartu* IV/1, Turmhout, 1998, p. 305, but cf. also Chapter Seven. Van de Mieroop tried to interpret the occurrence of the two GNs together, here and in a Mari letter (published as: Kupper, J.-R., *Lettres royales du temps de Zimri-Lim*, *ARM* 28, Paris, 1998, no. 60, l. 26-30) and in the list of the enemies of Narām-Sîn (cf. Westenholz, *Legends of ...*, p. 250-251, l. 4’-5’), by shedding doubt on whether this Lullum was identical with the traditional Lullubum, because for him, the attestations indicate a common border between the two, cf. *op. cit.* p. 153. In fact, the mention of Gutium in this text dispels any doubt that the text speaks about the same known Lullubum. The sequence of the GNs in this literary text may not have any geographical connotation. Concerning the Mari letter, the second piece of evidence for Van de Mieroop, it refers to “men of Lullum” (LÚ *Lu-ul-li-i* in contrast to the preceding *E-lu-ḫu-ur^{ki}*, cf. Kupper, *ARM* 28, no. 60: 27, p. 86), thus referring to individual Lullubians in northern Syria rather than to their land.

⁴⁶ Guichard considers that it would be more logical to point to Amurru rather than Lebanon if the suggestion of Van de Mieroop is correct, cf. Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 321, note 597.

⁴⁷ For details, cf. Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 321-3, especially 323.

⁴⁸ Three modern examples come to mind. The mosaic known as *Qašani*, used to decorate façades of buildings all over the Middle East, derives its name from the city of Kashān in Iran. But it is not necessarily produced there now; it has become simply a mark of style. Similarly the name *angora* denoting a textile is derived from the city of Ankara (= Phrygian Ancyra). Particularly interesting is the name of a special kind of dried lime known in Iraq and in Iran. It was imported into Iraq by sea, and first landed in Basra, so Iraqis called it ‘Basra lime.’ But the Iranians call it ‘Oman lime’ since it was imported into Iran via Oman. In fact the product comes neither from Basra nor from Oman but from much further afield.

⁴⁹ For this cf. Moorey, “The Eastern Land of Tukriš,” p. 442. Although other sources of lapis lazuli are known, such as the southern shores of Lake Baikal and in the Pamirs, the almost exclusive source in antiquity was the mines of Badakhshan, cf. Herrmann, G., “Lapis Lazuli: The Early Phases of its Trade,” *Iraq* 30 (1968), p. 21 and 28; Herrmann, G. and P. R. S. Moorey, “Lapislazuli,” *RIA* 6 (1980-83), p. 489-90. Tosi and Piperno state that the

bound Mesopotamia with the east, either the northern route running along the southern foothills of the Elburz Range, or the southern route through Kerman and Elam, or by the sea. Komoróczy notes remains of gold and lapis-lazuli in Tepe Hissar in Dameghan, suggesting that that was a station for storage and re-distribution of these two materials.⁵⁰ Other interpretations of this data that infer somewhere not on the way to Mesopotamia through Tepe Hissar would be too difficult to accept. Komoróczy concluded that Tukriš must have been on the way from Kirmashān to Hamadan, and Ḫarali was located beyond.⁵¹

That Hurrian PNs appear **among Marḫašians**⁵² from the OAk. to the Ur III periods is interesting. A list of such names has been compiled by Steinkeller⁵³ and Zadok:⁵⁴ Ḫupšum-kibi,⁵⁵ Ḫawurna-nigi,⁵⁶ Mišhi-nišhi,⁵⁷ Kuš-elli,⁵⁸ Purašhe⁵⁹, Ḫašip-atal,⁶⁰ Ḫul(l)ib/par,⁶¹ Šimšelaḫ⁶² and kuk-ulme.⁶³

It must be said that these early attestations do not necessarily indicate the very beginning of Hurrian immigration to the north and northeast of Mesopotamia. The seizure of power by a Hurrian ruler in Azuḫinum and Simurru, the organization of a military force, and more significantly giving Hurrian names to regions such as Azuḫinum and Kirašeniwe must have had a previous history, before Narām-Sîn. This would be a history of immigration, self establishment, replacement of sedentary populations by the new arrivals and finally the formation of a sufficiently serious threat to require a military response by Narām-Sîn.⁶⁴ The

“metamorphic structure of the lapis lazuli found in Sumerian sites in Mesopotamia seems to indicate that it came from Afghanistan,” Tosi, M. and M. Piperno, “Lithic Technology Behind the Ancient Lapis Lazuli Trade,” *Expedition* 16, no. 1 (1973), p. 15.

⁵⁰ Komoróczy, “Das mythische Goldland ...,” p. 115, referring to Mallowan, M. E. L., “The Development of Cities from Al-‘Ubad to the End of Uruk 5,” *CAH* I, part 1, Cambridge, 1970, p. 54ff.

⁵¹ Komoróczy, *ibid.*

⁵² It is even stranger that no Hurrian PNs are found among the Šimaški (cf. Zadok, “Elamite Onomastics,” p. 228-229), where Hurrians would be expected more than in Marḫaši, since Simaški is further north and apparently larger.

⁵³ Steinkeller, “The Question of Marḫaši ...,” p. 256 ff.

⁵⁴ Zadok, R., “Elamite Onomastics,” *SEL* 8, (1991), p. 230.

⁵⁵ Consisting of the transitive/ergative form of the unexplained *ḫupš-* and the unexplained *kibi*. cf. Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 307. According to Richter, *kibi* is in the essive case, but, if so, one expects a word ending with *-a*, not *-i*. For the essive suffix in Hurrian, cf. for instance Wilhelm, G., Hurrian, in: *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World’s Ancient Languages*, ed. Roger D. Woodward, Cambridge, 2004, p. 108; Wegner, I., *Einführung in die hurritische Sprache*, Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 57.

⁵⁶ *ḫawur(ni)* “heaven” and *ni-gi* which is found in other PNs, cf. Richter, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ The meaning of the second element, according to Richter, is probably a cultic object, the first element remains unknown, cf. Richter, *ibid.*

⁵⁸ The element *kuš-* is unidentifiable, while *é-li* can be understood as *elli*, a form of the Hurrian word *ela* “sister.” Cf. Richter, *ibid.*

⁵⁹ The word ending *-(a=)šhe* can be Hurrian. As for *w/puri* there are several possibilities according to the Hurrian lexicon. One of these is *wuri* “view.” The form and structure of the name looks very much like the word *puramše* “slavery” or *purme* “servant,” Richter, *op. cit.* p. 308.

⁶⁰ A frequently attested name consisting of the verbal base *ḫaš/z-* “to hear” and the word *adal*, “strong, powerful,” giving “the powerful (one) heard.” However, Richter has translated it mistakenly as “the brother heard,” cf. *ibid.*

⁶¹ Zadok, “Elamite Onomastics,” p. 230, nr. 89. This is reminiscent of his namesake Ḫulibar of Duddul, also from the Ur III period, cf. Goetze, A., “Ḫulibar of Duddul,” *JNES* 12 (1953), p. 114 ff. Goetze listed other occurrences of this name in the ‘Messenger texts’ from Lagaš, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 116-117.

⁶² Zadok, “Elamite ...,” p. 230, nr. 109. He says the name is linguistically Hurrian but resembles the Elamite name *Šim-še-il-ḫa*.

⁶³ Zadok, *op. cit.*, nr. 140, An Elamite-Hurrian hybrid name according to Zadok.

⁶⁴ A similar conclusion has been drawn by Steinkeller, who thinks the Hurrians must have begun their self-establishment at least one generation before Narām-Sîn: Steinkeller, “The Historical Background...,” p. 94. To Kammenhuber, loan-words in Hurrian are evidence of an older Hurrian presence in North Mesopotamia: Kammenhuber, A., “Historisch-Geographische Nachrichten aus der althurrischen Überlieferung, dem

available evidence is scanty concerning this point, due to the fact that the Mesopotamian historical records that precede the Akkadian dynasty deal principally with the internal conflicts between the Sumerian city-states. The few indications about the lands outside the alluvium do not help to draw relevant conclusions. Some think an older Hurrian presence is shown by the assumed Hurrian loan-word *ta/ibira* in Sumerian, used for a smith or copper-worker.⁶⁵ This etymology presumes a derivation from the Hurrian verbal root *tab/v*, ‘to pour’ or ‘to cast.’ The word *ta/ibira* in Sumerian is so old that it formed part of the name of one of the predeluvian cities, Bad-tibira. Although not certain, the borrowing by the Sumerians of such a technical word from the mountainous regions of the Zagros or even the Taurus is quite possible. Mountaineers in the Zagros and Taurus became skilful metallurgists in earlier times, because their land was, in contrast to the Mesopotamian alluvium, rich with metal ores. They used the plentiful supply of wood as fuel for extracting the metal. Moreover, since the Uruk Period, trade networks that connected the Mesopotamian ‘core’ with the northern, northeastern and northwestern ‘peripheries’ were principally based on the exchange of raw material from the peripheries and worked products from the core.⁶⁶ One of these vital raw materials was metal in the form of ingots, cast by the sellers in the mountains. It is from this that the word *ta/ibira* has probably come. The medieval GN *Tabaristān* also deserves attention. This name was given to the coastal strip and the inner steep mountainous region of the Alburz Chain to the south of the Caspian Sea from ancient times until the Seljūqs, and is known today as *Mazandarān*.⁶⁷ Folk etymologies of this GN mean ‘The land of axes’, associated with the abundance of woods widely exploited by cutting,⁶⁸ taking *Tab(a)r* as “axe” (in New Persian) and the Iranian word *i/astān* as “land” or “country.” However, the Hurrian word *tab/v* could be connected with the *Tab(a)r* of the geographical name *Tabaristān* and even the New Persian word *Tabr* and Kurdish *Tawr* “axe” could be related to the Hurrian verbal root *tab/v*, for axes as metal tools have been cast in these regions for millennia.

When returning to the question of the earliest date of a Hurrian presence, two possibilities can be assumed. The first favours an older presence in the region, but assumes that they were not in touch with the Mesopotamian rulers before Narām-Sîn, who was the first to record a Hurrian name. In this case they appear not yet to have reached such great numbers to overshadow the older inhabitants, such as the Gutians and Lullubians, as can be seen from the role these two peoples played in the Akkadian Period. The second possibility is that the Hurrians were still moving towards the Transtigris and North Mesopotamia during the Old Sumerian Period, but had not penetrated it. The supposed Sumerian contacts with them took place in north(west) Iran, the land with which the Sumerians had always cultural, political and trade contacts. The word *ta/ibira* is one example of such an exchanged cultural element. At

altelamischen und den inschriften der Könige von Akkad für die Zeit vor dem Einfall der Gutäer (ca. 2200/2136),” *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in alten Vorderasien*, ed. J. Harmatta and G. Komoróczy, 1976,” p. 161.

⁶⁵ Cf. Wilhelm, “L’état actuel et les perspectives des études Hourrites,” *Amurru*, I, p. 176, and more recently Wegner, *Einführung in ...*, p. 15. This Hurrian verb is attested in some texts from Boğazköy: KBo XXXII 14 obv. I 42 ff.: *kazi tabal=le=ž .. tav=ašt=o=m* “a smith cast a goblet;” *tabiri=ma ove=n=ž šid=ar=a kabal=le=ž* “the foolish curses the one who cast (it);” and *tabrenni*, “(copper)smith,” cf. Wilhelm, *Amurru*, p. 176, note 8.

⁶⁶ See for this the theory of G. Algaz presented by Rothman, M. in “The Origin of State in Greater Mesopotamia,” *The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies Bulletin (SMS)*, 38, September 2003, p. 25. One important note here is that there is evidence for the presence of merchants in South Mesopotamia with probable Elamite or Hurrian origins since the Oakk and Ur III periods; see Neumann, H., “Bemerkungen zum Problem der Fremdarbeit in Mesopotamien (3. Jahrtausend v.u. Z.),” *AoF* 19 (1992), p. 269.

⁶⁷ The name is associated as well with the people of the *Táπροποι*, cf. Bearman, P. J., Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W. P. Heindrichs (Ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 10 (T-U), Leiden, 2000, p. 18 (Tabaristān).

⁶⁸ Bearman, *et al.*, *ibid.*

any rate, the Hurrians were a minority in the Transtigris during the Old Akkadian Period, under the overwhelming power of the Gutians and Lullubians.

Northern Syria

Northern Syria at this time was inhabited by Semitic and non-Semitic-speaking peoples,⁶⁹ and it can be shown that the Hurrians also arrived there about then. Whether the Hurrian presence there predates the Oakk period is a difficult question to answer with certainty at the moment. G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati wonder whether the archaeological data, such as the continuity of the temple of Urkeš from the fourth millennium (Ninevite V) and the eight meters (and perhaps more) depth of the *ābi* (see below under ‘Urkeš’) and others, indicate a fourth millennium Hurrian presence.⁷⁰ Wilhelm is convinced that this is evidence that there had been a continuous Hurrian presence there for such a long period, pointing also to an early linguistic bond between Hurrian and ancient Semitic languages.⁷¹ This is seen in a certain type of sentence-names common to Hurrian on the one hand and Akkadian, Amorite and Canaanite on the other.⁷² As to written data no GNs attested in the Pre-Sargonic texts from **Ebla**,⁷³ **Mari** and **Nabada** (modern Beydar) offer any certain hint of a Hurrian etymology.⁷⁴ The Pre-Sargonic PN *bù-gú-e* from **Nagar**, attested in an Ebla tablet, is thought to have Hurrian characteristics: the final *-ue* and a comparable Hurrian element *puk(k)* are both found in later Hurrian names.⁷⁵ However, it is difficult to draw a firm conclusion from such a short name.

In the Akkadian Period, the situation changed. Texts from the **Habur region** and from Subartu Proper⁷⁶ show Hurrian PNs, such as *ʾA-wa-tu-ri* (Urkeš), *Šè-ni-za-sa-am* (Urkeš), *Šu-pa-è* (Urkeš), *Ú-na-ap-šè-ni* (Urkeš),⁷⁷ *Dal-pu-za-ti-li* (Nagar), *Tup-ki-iš* (Urkeš), *sa’/ša-tar-*

⁶⁹ Gelb concluded that northern Syria was originally populated by a people of an unknown ethnic affiliation, later by the West Semites, and subsequently by the Hurrians, cf. Gelb, I. J., “The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples,” *JCS* 15 (1961), p. 41. These non-Semites were in all probability Subarians. According to Archi, in the Ebla period the northern Syrian region, from the coast of the Mediterranean to the Habur and beyond, formed one linguistic and cultural unity, as seen in the DN and PN from 17 cities; cf. Archi, A., “The Personal Names in the Individual Cities,” *QS* 13 (1984), p. 241, after Astour, M. C., “Toponymy of Ebla and Ethnohistory of Northern Syria: A Preliminary Survey,” *JAOS* 108, Nr. 4 (1988), p. 547. Astour thinks Northern Syria was Semitic, with no traces of other ethnic groups: Astour, *op. cit.*, p. 546.

⁷⁰ Buccellati and Kelly Buccellati, “Urkes and the Question of the Hurrian Homeland,” p. 148f.

⁷¹ Wilhelm, G., Hurrians in Kültepe Texts, in: *Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period*, ed. J. G. Dercksen, Leiden, 2008, p. 181.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Bonechi doubts whether a dozen of the possible non-Semitic Pre-Sargonic Ebla GNs, which belong to the region north of Karkamiš, were in fact Hurrian, cf. Bonechi, “Remarks on the III Millennium Geography of the Syrian Upper Mesopotamia,” *Subartu* IV/1, Turnhout, 1998, p. 237.

⁷⁴ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 274. Even in the 24th century no Hurrian element is detected. As Archi says: “It should be stressed, once and for all, that the Hurrian element is *entirely* absent from the whole area of the Habur Plains during the 24th century (BC),” Archi, A., “The Regional State of Nagar,” *Subartu* IV/2, p. 4. However, Richter says later that the first Hurrian attestation in cuneiform sources dates back to the Pre-Sargonic period, as indicated by the texts of Tell Beydar and Ebla; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 310.

⁷⁵ Cf. Catagnoti, A., “The III Millennium Personal Names from the Habur Triangle in the Ebla, Brak and Mozan Texts,” *Subartu*, IV/2, p. 46 and 62. In fact, Catagnoti is not sure whether the name is a Personal Name, but she stresses that the value *e* is rare at Ebla, although possible. It is noteworthy that Archi and Astour think the Hurrians began to appear in the Habur area only after the Ur III Period, after which their PNs started to appear: Archi, A., *Subartu* IV/2, p. 4; Astour, “Toponymy of Ebla and Ethnohistory...,” *JAOS* 108 (1988), p. 547. According to Astour, the first Hurrian PN in the Habur region is attested only in a text from the second year of Šū-Sîn, a certain *Tá-šal-ib-ri*, a messenger of Uršu (BIN III, 221: 35-36).

⁷⁶ For this terminology cf. Steinkeller, “The Historical Background ...,” p. 76 ff.; see also Chapter Two above.

⁷⁷ Cf. Steinkeller (referring to L. Milano, *Mozan 2: The Epigraphic Finds of the Sixth Season*, SMS 5/1 [1991], p. 23-25) “The Historical Background...,” p. 90, note 52; Wilhelm, G., “L’état actuel et ...,” *Amurru*, I, p. 176

gu-ni and *šu-gu-zi* (Beydar)⁷⁸ and *Ul-tum-ḫu-ḫu*, son of the king of Nagar.⁷⁹ They also include Hurrian GNs.⁸⁰ A handful of non-Semitic GNs in the Habur region that appeared in the texts from Nagar and Urkeš were “quite certainly Hurrian.”⁸¹ Even the name Nagar itself could be Hurrian in origin.⁸² From Urkeš, modern Tell Mozan,⁸³ we also have the important discoveries of the inscriptions of Tupkiš, *endan* of Urkeš, and his wife, Queen Uqnītum. In the two Akkadian texts found in the 1990 campaign in Mozan, the Hurrian PN Unap-šeni⁸⁴ occurs. The king of Urkeš bears on his sealings the title *endan*, which is somewhat controversial, at least etymologically. Suggestions have been presented to analyse it as consisting of the Hurrian suffix for professions –*dan*,⁸⁵ preceded by the *en*, which is either the Sumerian logogram EN “ruler”⁸⁶ or a classical form of the Hurrian *eni* “god.”⁸⁷ Others associate it with the Akkadian word *entu* “high priestess.”⁸⁸ However, the recent discoveries in Mozan, especially the collocations “Tupkiš, *endan* of Urkeš”⁸⁹ and “Uqnītum, the wife of

and note 6. However, Richter appears to be reticent about calling them Hurrian. He says they can be understood with a high degree of probability as Hurrian: Richter, “Die Ausbreitung...,” p. 275. Later he presented a philological analysis of some of these names: the first element of the name ²*A-wa-tu-ri*, i.e. ²*A-WA*-, though not certain, probably comes from the verbal root *aw/b* attested in Nuzi and OB names. Its second element is *turi* “man” (but note that *turi* in *GLH*, p. 273 is given as “inferior”). *Unapšeni* is clearly *un-a-b-šen(a)=ni* meaning “the brother came,” cf. Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 279-280.

⁷⁸ Richter, p. 276 and 279 (referring to *Subartu* II; Milano, *Mozan 2*, and *Subartu* IV/2). He analysed the name Talpuš-atili as *talav=o=ž(i)=adili* (by Wilhelm, G., “L’état actuel ...,” *Amurru*, p. 175, note 5), containing the lexeme *talāwuši* “great, big” and *atal* “strong.” The name *Tupkiš* (*tupki=ž*) consists of the very common but unexplainable *tupki*. Salvini thinks it is possibly an abbreviated form of *Tupki=šenni*, as *Unapše* relates to *Unap=šenni*, cf. Salvini, M., “Excursus: The Name Tupkiš” in Buccellati, G. and M. Kelly-Buccellati, “The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK,” in Ambros, A. A. and M. Köhbach (eds.), *Festschrift für Hans Hirsch zum 65. Geburtstag, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (WZKM)*, Band 86, Wien, 1996, p. 84. There are some other similar names like *Dub-ki-še-en/ni* *lú Gu-ma-ra-ši*^{ki} (*RGTC* 2, 174) and the above mentioned *Dup-ki-a-šum* from Tutub. For other occurrences of names with the element *Tupki(i)*, cf. Salvini, “Excursus...,” *op. cit.* p. 85-86. The name *Š/Satarguni* includes *šad* (“give back”) = *ar* (iterative/factitive) + *gu-ni*, a common element in Hurrian PNs, as in the OB Mušum-kune/u, a person from Mardaman, and Teššup-kuni (AIT *33:10) (Richter, p. 276). As for the name *šu-gu-zi*, the number “one” forms its first element *šug(i)*, with *uzzi* attached to it and means “To befit one, fitting for one,” cf. Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 276. However, Talon in a study of the PNs of Beydar tablets did not recognize any Hurrian names: Talon, Ph., “Personal Names,” in *Administrative Documents from Tell Beydar (Seasons 1993-1995), Subartu* II, Turnhout, 1996, p. 75; 80. Van Lerberghe as well sees no Hurrian linguistic elements in the Beydar tablets: Van Lerberghe, K., “The Beydar Tablets and the History of the Northern Jazirah,” in *Subartu* II, p. 120.

⁷⁹ Biga, M. G., “The Marriage of Eblaite Princess Tagriš-Damu with a Son of Nagar’s King,” *Subartu* IV/2, Turnhout, 1998, p. 19.

⁸⁰ According to Bonechi, the compact archaic Semitic toponym “started in the northeastern part of ancient Syria, and was partially substituted by a non-Semitic, Hurrian toponymy during the Sargonic Period,” Bonechi, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁸¹ Bonechi, M., “Remarks on ...,” *Subartu* IV/1, p. 222. Nevertheless, Richter remains cautious: Richter, “Die Ausbreitung...,” p. 275.

⁸² For the analysis of the name Nagar and its identification with Nawar, see below, under ‘Nawar.’

⁸³ For the identification of Tell Mozan with ancient Urkeš cf. Buccellati, G. and M. Kelly-Buccellati, “The Identification of Urkeš with Tell Mozan,” *Orient Express* 1995/3, 67-70; *AfO* 42-43 (1995-1996), 1-36; *WZKM* 86, 1996 (Fs. H. Hirsch), 65-99.

⁸⁴ *Un=a=p=šeni* “The brother has come,” cf. Salvini, “The Earliest...,” p. 104.

⁸⁵ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 11.

⁸⁶ For a possible derivation from Sumerian EN after the Early Dynastic Period cf. Wilhelm, “Die Inschrift...,” p. 122, where he states that the title EN was known in Northern Mesopotamia and Syria from that time to mean “city ruler.”

⁸⁷ The second millennium *eni* could have been just *en* in this (classical) period of Hurrian.

⁸⁸ About this see Wilhelm, “Die Inschrift ...,” p. 121, and note 22; Collon, D., “The Life and Times of Teheš-atal,” *RA* 84 (1990), p. 134.

⁸⁹ Buccellati, G. and M. Kelly-Buccellati, “The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh: The Glyptic Evidence from the Southwestern Wing,” *AfO* 42 (1995), p. 9; 12.

Tupkiš⁹⁰ with “Uqnītum the queen”,⁹¹ lead to the conclusion that *endan* means ‘king’⁹² and has nothing to do with Akkadian *entu*.

For the third quarter of the 3rd millennium BC no Hurrian names have been found in those texts of Ebla concerned with the middle Euphrates and the region between the Balih and the Mediterranean coast up to the Taurus slopes in the (north)west (Tuttul, Emar, Harrān and Mari).⁹³

Expansion

Gutian and Ur III Periods:

The inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir of Gutium mention Nirišḫuḫa, the *ensi* of Urbilum. By analysing this PN as Hurrian,⁹⁴ we have another Hurrian governor in the city of Erbil from the Gutian Period. This implies that the Hurrians were, at least in the Gutian period if not earlier, already masters of Erbil and very probably of its vicinities.⁹⁵ The Hurrians also had the upper hand in some large urban centres in the Habur region, as seen above. A seal impression from the early post-Akkadian period from Brak, ancient Nagar,⁹⁶ bears the name and title of the city ruler Talpuš-atili: “Talpuš-atili, the sun of the country of Nagar, son of ...”⁹⁷ From his name, which means in Hurrian “The strong one is great,”⁹⁸ it appears that he was of Hurrian stock, and this is another indication of the range of Hurrian expansion in this

⁹⁰ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁹¹ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, p. 14.

⁹² Salvini, “The earliest...,” p. 104-105. But Salvini, although not sure about the connection, points to the comparable forms ^{Mi}*entanni* ‘(high)priestess,’ and to the epithet *entašši* of the goddess Ḫep/bat in Hittite-Hurrian texts in the regions of Kizzuwatna, Cilicia and Cappadocia from the 14th-13th centuries: Salvini, “The earliest...,” p. 104. Wilhelm seems to discard this etymology and gives only the meaning ‘king’, particularly when we know with certainty that Tupkiš of Urkeš was male and not female: Wilhelm, “Die Inschrift des Tiš-atal von Urkeš,” p. 121-122.

⁹³ Richter, “Die Ausbreitung...,” p. 285. For Mari see the discussion on p. 286.

⁹⁴ Steinkeller has listed in his “The Historical Background ...” the Hurrian PNs that contain some elements of this name: Ni-iš-ḫu-ḫa from Nuzi (Gelb et al. *OIP* 57, p. 107); Sargonic A-ri-ḫu-ḫa (Meek, Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi, *HSS* X, 153 viii 4); the Ur III Šu-bi-iš-ḫu-ḫa (of Kakmi) and the OB Ip-ḫu-ḫa and Ka-di-iš-ḫu-ḫu (Zadok, in Kutscher *Memorial Volume*, p. 225). Hallo as well, although in a different context, mentioned the name Neriš-atal of Mardaman, which contains the same first element: cf. Hallo, “Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier,” *RHA* 36, p. 72, note 16. I would add Ultum-ḫuḫu, son of the king of Nagar, about whom see Biga, “The Marriage of Eblaite Princess Tagriš-Damu ...,” *Subartu*, IV/2, p. 19; also see Richter, “Die Ausbreitung der Hurriter,” p. 299, who has analyzed the name as consisting of the modal structure =i(=)ž of the unidentified verb *ni/er-* or *nī/ēr-*, followed by the word *ḫuḫu* in the essive: *nir=i(=)ž-ḫuḫ(u)=a*. Richter also refers to Haas, V., *ZA* 79, p. 267 with note 25, and Neu, E., *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I, Untersuchungen zu einem hurritisch-hethitischen Textensemble aus Ḫatušša*, Wiesbaden, 1996, p. 500 for such a verb. As for the verb *ni/er* or *nī/ēr*, it might be the same *nīri* which Wilhelm translates as “good,” cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 382.

⁹⁵ Archival texts from the Ur III mention Hurrian PNs associated with the city of Talmuš, e.g. A-ri-ip-ḫu-up-pí lú Tal-muš^{ki} (AB 25, 92, 21), cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 157 (under Rīmuš).

⁹⁶ For the identification of Brak with ancient Nagar cf. Eidem, J., “Nagar,” *RLA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 75; Salvini, “The Earliest...,” p. 110; Eidem, J., I. Finkel and M. Bonechi, “The Third Millennium Inscriptions,” in Oates, D., J. Oates and H. McDonald, *Excavations at Tell Brak*, vol. 2: Nagar in the Third Millennium BC: Oxford, 2001, p. 99. As for the date of the seal impression see Matthews, D. and J. Eidem, “Tell Brak and Nagar,” *Iraq* 55 (1993), p. 203.

⁹⁷ i 1) *Tal-pu-za-ti-li* 2) ^dUTU *ma-ti* ii 1) *Na-gār*^{rki} 2) DUMU ^rx-x¹-[...], Eidem, J., I. Finkel and M. Bonechi, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Matthews, D. and J. Eidem, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

⁹⁸ Matthews, D. and J. Eidem, *ibid.*, in consultation with G. Wilhelm.

period and of their ability to seize power in almost all large urban centres of the Zagros and Taurus foothills, in addition to the mountainous territories to the north and northeast. Hurrian PNs that occur in texts relating to cities like Ebla, Mardaman, Nawar, Urkeš and Uršu prove this expansion.⁹⁹

As for the Iranian territories, Tukriš has been known from the Akkadian Period, to which can now be added another Hurrian name, *Šu-ni-ki-ip* ruler of Pil, to be placed tentatively in Iran.¹⁰⁰

From about the end of the Gutian Period or the first decades of the Ur III Period,¹⁰¹ the first royal inscription by a Hurrian king in Akkadian appears. This is the inscription of Atal-šen or Ari-šen,¹⁰² son of a certain Satar-mat, otherwise unknown but also bearing a Hurrian name.¹⁰³ The date given to the inscription would mean he was one of the successors of Tupkiš, king of Urkeš. However, his name was known before Tupkiš because his inscription was found early in the twentieth century.¹⁰⁴

Obviously the Hurrians pushed further westwards across the Euphrates from the middle of the third millennium BC¹⁰⁵ according to onomastic evidence.¹⁰⁶ The evidence from the middle of the third millennium sheds new light on the history of Hurrian population movements. So it

⁹⁹ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 280; for their identification see notes 73-77.

¹⁰⁰ Locating Pil in northwestern Iran is suggested by Zadok: Zadok, R., "On the Geography, Toponymy and Anthroponymy of Media," *NABU* 2000, no. 30, p. 34, and note 4. He further identifies Pil with NA *Wilu (written ^{kur}*U-i-la-A+A*).

¹⁰¹ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 9. Thureau-Dangin, who published the inscription for the first time, has dated it to the Akkadian Period. However, after a re-examination the inscription is to be dated somewhat later; cf. also Wilhelm, "Gedanken zur Frühgeschichte der Hurriter und ...," *Hurriter und hurritisch*, p. 50; *idem*, "L'état actuel ...," *Amurru*, I, p. 178; Frayne, D., *RIME 3/2: Ur III Period (2112-2004 BC)*, Toronto, 1997, p. 461; *idem*, "The Old Akkadian Royal Inscriptions: Notes on a New Edition," *JAOS* 112 (1992), p. 635.

¹⁰² For the name and inscription cf. Finet, A., "Adalšenni, roi de Burundum," *RA* 60 (1966), p. 17f.; Kammenhuber, "Historisch-Geographische Nachrichten...", p. 165, note 21; Kammenhuber, "Die Arier im Vorderen Orient," *Or* 46 (1977), p. 139; Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, p. 207. Both readings are theoretically possible. The reading Atal-šen means "The strong brother" or "The brother is strong," and the reading Ari-šen means "There is a brother" from the verbal root *ar(i)-* (See Kammenhuber, "Die Arier...", *ibid.*). For this reading compare the PN Arip-šenniš from Tigunāni (OB). However, Wilhelm confirms that the verbal form *ar(i)-* is not attested in early Hurrian PNs: Wilhelm, "Die Inschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš," *Urkesh and the Hurrians*, p. 120. Therefore the most likely and most accepted reading is Tiš-atal.

¹⁰³ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁴ The inscription was first published by F. Thureau-Dangin in *RA* 9 (1912), p. 1-4. The foundation statue with the inscription was reported to have come from Tell Shermola, close to Mozan, but Shermola has no archaeological levels dating to the time of the inscription. Therefore it must have come from Mozan; for this cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh ...," *Afo* 42 (1995), p. 1. For the text itself, see below, under 'Nawar.'

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Astour, "Les Hourrites en Syrie du nord...", p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Astour, "Les Hourrites...", p. 3. The names of two Ebla months are derived from the deities *Adamma* and *Aštabi*, who were once considered Hurrian deities. However, recent studies show that these, and even *Ḫepat* and *Išhara*, were Syrian deities adopted by the Hurrians, cf. Wilhelm, "L'état actuel et ...," *Amurru*, I, p. 177. For the Semitic origins of the divine names *Adamma* and *Aštabil* (instead of *Aštabi*) cf. Pomponio, F. and P. Xella, *Les dieux d'Ebla, études analytique des divinités Éblaïtes à l'époque des archives royales de IIIe millénaire*, Münster, 1997, p. 15; 76. But because the form *A-da-ma-ku-ni* occurs in Kaneš in the 19th or 18th century BC and the later form *A-dam-Ma-li-e* from Alalaḫ from 15th-14th century, attaching the Hattian element *Maliya* also attested in Kaniš, *Adamma* could belong to an old substratum of Asia Minor but later Semitized according to Lipiński: Lipiński, E., *Resheph, A Syro-Canaanite Deity*, Leuven, 2009, p. 52. The suffix *-kuni* belongs according to Laroche to a "submerged Anatolian language of unknown origin," Lipiński, *ibid.* (referring to Laroche, E., *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris, 1966, p. 48, no. 197). But this suffix is common among the Hurrian PNs, as explained above in discussing the PN *Š/Satarguni* (see above). For Archi both *Adamma* and *Aštabi*(l), together with *Išhara*, are among the substrate deities: Archi, A., "Divinités sémitiques et divinités de substrat, le cas d'Išhara et d'Ištar à Ebla," *MARI* 7, Paris, 1993, p. 72; Archi, A., "Substrate: Some Remarks on the Formation of the West Hurrian Pantheon," *Hittite and other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, eds. H. Otten, E. Akurgal, H. Ertem and A. Süel, Ankara, 1992, p. 10-11.

is wrong to speak of their emergence as beginning in the east and ending in the west, and to say that because they are first mentioned in the Narām-Sîn year-name in the Transtigris necessarily implies that the Hurrian presence there predates their presence in the Ebla region.

In this period (Ur III), the kingdom of Mukiš¹⁰⁷ first appears in the written sources. This GN was associated in some Ur III sources with a certain Ga-ba-ba, the man of Mukiš (A 2852 in the Oriental Institute- Chicago).¹⁰⁸ The kingdom,¹⁰⁹ located in the Plain of Antioch, (the Amuq Plain), is thought to have had a concentrated Hurrian population.¹¹⁰ Although Hurrians were there, they do not appear to have formed a majority in general, at least at this stage. That there was a Hurrian element in the local population is shown by the names of messengers mentioned in the texts. Of the 13 messengers sent by Ebla (7 messengers), Uršu (5 messengers) and Mukiš (1 messenger) to Ur, two bore Hurrian names: Memesura of Ebla and Tašal-ibri of Uršu.¹¹¹

During the same period archival texts indicate a Hurrian presence in the regions from the Sirwān in the Transtigris¹¹² to the Habur and Euphrates valleys in the west. The personal names from these regions are mainly Hurrian, and the names have mainly entered Ur III archival texts as a consequence of the Ur III warfare there. Ur III was deeply involved in the Transtigris region and beyond in this period, waging severe wars that lasted for generations. The numerous military campaigns, especially those under Šulgi, resulted not only in the control of large parts of the region mentioned above but also in a forced movement of Hurrians into Sumer, mainly as prisoners of war and deportees.

Richter, basing himself on the available source material, concludes that only parts of north Mesopotamia, between the Habur Triangle and the headwaters of the Tigris (Aranzaḥ in Hurrian) and the northern Transtigris, eventually linking to the Hamrin basin, can be counted as Hurrian populated areas.¹¹³

A look at the data discussed above shows that the Hurrians entered the Mesopotamian sphere of influence as early as the Akkadian Period (in the reign of Narām-Sîn). We think their penetration was somewhat earlier, assuming that their first recorded encounter with Akkadians is not necessarily contemporaneous with their first presence in that region, but that they were actually present some time before their presence was recorded. During that period the Hurrian groups had immigrated, established themselves and organized themselves into political entities, and had even given Hurrian names to the territories where they lived (Azuḥinum). While it is not easy to set a precise date for this, it might have been in the last part of the ED Period, parallel to the Nineveh V period in the north of Mesopotamia and the Transtigris. Interestingly, this date is almost the same as that given to Khirbet-Karak

¹⁰⁷ Mukiš was identified with *Mu-kiš-ḫi/e* of the Hittite texts by Gelb: Gelb, I. J., "Studies in the topography of Western Asia," *AJSL* 55 (1938), p. 81-82. The fragmentary *Mu-x-gi-iš^{ki}* attested in an Ur III text from the reign of Šū-Sîn is listed as one of the peripheral states of the Ur III Empire: Astour, "Les Hourrites...", p. 4, note 29. Nevertheless, the identification of this GN with Mukiš seems unlikely, taking into account the great distance between Sumer and the area round Aleppo and the Plain of Antioch where Mukiš was located.

¹⁰⁸ Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁰⁹ Mukiš was the name of the region as well as the name of a city that appears to have functioned as a regional capital, cf. Von Dassow, E., *State and Society in the Late Bronze Age: Alalaḥ under the Mittani Empire*, *SCCNH* 17, Bethesda, 2008, p. 12. The city of Mukiš, the location of which is still open, had served as a capital for the kingdom of Alalaḥ after the destruction of the city of Alalaḥ by the Hittites in the 15th century under Ilimilima of Alalaḥ, cf. Von Dassow, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹¹⁰ Astour, "Les Hourrites...", p. 4. While he does not exclude that the name Mukiš is a Semitic name with a third radical š, he thinks it is Hurrian with the Hurrian suffix -š, *ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Hurrian PNs are associated in the archival texts with the lands Gigibni, Ḫipilat, Kakmi, Arraphum, K/Gumaraši, Šašru(m), Šetirša, Urbilum and others, all located in the Transtigris, cf. Richter, "Die Ausbreitung...", p. 295 and 300.

¹¹³ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

pottery,¹¹⁴ which has been associated for years with the advent of the Hurrians. However, later studies have shown that this association cannot be proved, and in some cases it does not correspond to the area of Hurrian expansion.¹¹⁵ The place where the Hurrians originated, although not established, according to the available evidence would be to the east or northeast of Mesopotamia, perhaps across the Caspian Sea or in the Trans-Caucasus. In this connection the early appearance of Hurrian groups in the Habur region, almost at the same time as their appearance in the Transtigris, should be noted. This indicates that wide ranging Hurrian immigrations occurred over a large area simultaneously. Hurrians in the Habur region could have arrived from the mountains in the north and northeast, where they had kinsmen and with whom they maintained relations later, as in Urkeš and its contacts with the north (see above). Or they came through the mountain valleys and hilly lands of the Transtigris. The latter route would have passed through the territory east of the Tigris and have crossed the river in the plain south of Cizre (Jazira). This easy access to the Habur region was used later in the OB Period, when the Turukkians who were active in the Rāniya Plain entered the plains of Qabrā and Arraphā and then emerged in the Habur (see Chapter Six). The Hurrian expansion appears to have been steady and continuous, for there were areas that became populated with Hurrians later than the Akkadian period, such as the Diyāla-Hamrin region (Simurru) and the regions of Alalah and Ugarit.

The Inflamed Hurrian Lands

Once the kings of the Ur III Empire had established their rule at home and purged the land of the remnants of the Gutians, they began to look forward to expanding their territory in the same direction from which the Gutians had come. This process of self-establishment and organization appears to have occupied the whole reign of Ur-Namma, who has not left any evidence of foreign military actions except a campaign against Elam and some operations in the Diyāla and Hamrin regions.¹¹⁶ It is possible that Ur-Namma perished during one of these campaigns in the Diyāla, as indicated in the Sumerian literary tradition ‘Death of Ur-Namma:’ “In the place of slaughter they abandoned Ur-Namma like a broken pitcher.”¹¹⁷

The aim of the campaigns of the Ur III Empire is often seen as merely to *destroy* the foreign lands, following the mood of the date-formulae. Others see them more as a means of securing trade routes¹¹⁸ or pursuing a greed for booty: “They campaigned in those lands to

¹¹⁴ This is a type of hand-made, red-black burnished pottery, imitating metal or stone vases, with relief decorative motifs. Some specimens show they were wheel-made and without relief decorations. It spread from the region between the Kura and Araxes to Eastern Anatolia, Northern Anatolia as far as Khirbet-Karak on the southwestern shore of the Tabaria Lake; cf. Börker-Klähn, J., *Die archäologische Problematik der Hurriter-Frage und eine mögliche Lösung*, in *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, ed. V. Haas, Konstanz, 1988, p. 213; Hrouda, B., “Zur Problem der Hurriter,” *MARI* 5, p. 597.

¹¹⁵ For more arguments against this correspondence cf. Börker-Klähn, *op. cit.*, p. 213-4.

¹¹⁶ Sallaberger, W., *Ur III Zeit, in Mesopotamien, Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*, Hrsg. von P. Attinger und M. Wäfler, *OBO* 160/3, Göttingen, 1999, p. 134. His operation, as he says in his inscriptions, was to *liberate* some territories (Awal, Kismar, Maškan-šarrum, the lands of Ešnunna, Tutub, Zimudar and Akkad) from Elamite occupation, cf. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 65 (E3/2.1.1.29). However, he also clashed with the Gutians in the territory of “Guti and Zimudar.” In another inscription he speaks aggressively towards a Gutian named Gutarla (*Gú-tar-lá*), who had been chosen as king, but Ur-Namma declared his kingship false, cf. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 67 (E3/2.1.130) and Civil, M., “On Some Texts Mentioning Ur-Namma,” *Or* 54 (1985), p. 27ff.

¹¹⁷ “[ki]-lul-la ur-^dNamma dug-gaz-gin₇ ba-ni-in-tag₄-aš,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 20 (referring to Kramer, *JCS* 21 (1967), pp. 113 and 118).

¹¹⁸ Cf. for instance Michalowski, P., *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*, Atlanta, 1993, p. 52.

carry off people, animals, metals and stones.”¹¹⁹ It is true that the texts speak clearly of booty,¹²⁰ but there are other serious strategic issues to be discussed which also played a role.

1. *Šulgi*

Šulgi (2094-2047 BC), the deified king of Ur and successor of Ur-Namma, was the first monarch since the fall of Akkad to wage war against the northern lands. The destruction of Dēr, in his 21st-22nd regnal year,¹²¹ was perhaps a preparation for war against the Hurrian lands to the north.¹²² Two years later, a military campaign approached the Transtigris. By this campaign Šulgi aimed at subduing the strategic city of Karḥar (see below, ‘Historical Geography’). Karḥar was targeted first since it was an important city, probably a stronghold, controlling the main routes to the north and northeast, due to its location in Halwān.¹²³ This region during ancient times was a very important route from Mesopotamia to the east via Iran. It was known as the Great Khorasān Road and later formed part of the Silk Road. The marriage of Šulgi with Šulgi-simtī, a princess who appears to have come down from the Diyāla-Hamrin region,¹²⁴ must be counted as an appendage to the Hurrian war. By doing this, he tried to bind the rulers of that region in a pact with Ur. This is perhaps why Ešnunna enjoyed a special status in the *bala* system of Ur, into which only the cities of the core-land (plus Susa) were incorporated.¹²⁵ Such a pact could have been directed only against the Hurrians.

Probably under Šulgi another dynastic marriage was concluded, this time with Simanum, to the north or northwest of Nineveh, perhaps close to the confluence of the Batman tributary with the Tigris.¹²⁶ Kunšī-mātum,¹²⁷ a daughter of Šū-Sîn, was given as a daughter-in-law to

¹¹⁹ Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit, OBO*, p. 165.

¹²⁰ Texts such as Šulgi Hymn D speaks of the booty from Gutium, saying that Šulgi brought home lapis-lazuli packed in bags, “the property of the land,” together with cows and donkeys, and offered them to Enlil and Ninlil; cf. Klein, J., *The Royal Hymns of Šulgi King of Ur: Man’s Quest for Immortal Fame*, Philadelphia, 1981, p. 13; see also Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit, OBO*, p. 165.

¹²¹ For the year names, cf. Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit, OBO*, p. 142.

¹²² Dēr was usually the Mesopotamian port leading to Elam, but it seems to have played a similar role in relation to the lower Diyāla region too.

¹²³ For the location of Karḥar near modern Halwān and Sar-i-Pul-i-Zahāb cf. Frayne, D., *RIME 3/2*, p. 451; *idem*, “The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena,” *SCCNH 10* (1999), p. 148; *idem*, “On the location of Simurram,” *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour*, Bethesda-Maryland, 1997, p. 257-258; and for the identification of ancient Halman, modern Halwān, with Sar-i-Pul-i-Zahāb, cf. Borger, R., “Vier Grenzsteinurkunden Merodachbaladans I. von Babylonien,” *AfO 23* (1970), p. 1.

¹²⁴ This is inferred from the names of her personal goddesses Bēlat-Šuḥnir and Bēlat-Teraban, cf. Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit, OBO*, p. 160.

¹²⁵ Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit, OBO*, p. 160.

¹²⁶ This is the suggestion of Frayne, who identifies it with the OAkk. (A)simānum, later Sinān(u), MA URU Si!-na!-nu! and Sinas of Procopius of Caesarea (said to have been in the region of Amida, modern Diyarbakir) and medieval al-Sinan and the modern GN Sinan, cf. Frayne, *RIME 3/2* (Ur III), p. 288. It appears that Simanum was located in the region from the west of the Tigris to the Habur region, cf. Whiting, R. M., “Tiš-atal of Nineveh and Babati, Uncle of Šu-Sin,” *JCS 28* (1976), p. 177, or generally to the north of Nineveh: Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit, OBO*, p. 161. However, some put it farther away, north of Mardin: Edzard and Farber, *RGTS 2*, p. 166. Astour, on the contrary, proposed a closer location, south of the Mount Baḥir and Tang-i-Daria ranges, to the south of Duhök: Astour, “Semites and Hurrians...,” *SCCNH 2*, p. 47.

¹²⁷ Her name means “Submit. O land!” cf. Michalowski, P., “The Bride of Simanum,” *JAOS 95* (1975), p. 717, note 10. This name does not seem to have been chosen arbitrarily, for it has a political overtone. It can be compared to the name of the wife of Šulgi from Mari, Tarām-Uriam “One who loves Ur.” The name of the bride sent to Simanum aimed not only at establishing good relations but also at pacifying that front and bringing the ruling class of Simanum on her side. This policy was completely contrary to that implemented in the Diyāla-Hamrin region.

the ruling family of Simanum,¹²⁸ where the ruler was called Pušam.¹²⁹ He had two sons, Arib-atal and Iphūḫa¹³⁰ and a son-in-law called Pūḫī-līšī.¹³¹ Since the Sumerian princess has been referred to as the é-gi₄-a (Akkadian *kallatu(m)* = daughter-in-law) of Pušam's son Arib-atal, she could have been married to the younger brother Iphūḫa according to Michalowski.¹³² However, the text *PDT* 572, rev. l. 7ff calls her the é-gi₄-a of Arib-atal (dated to ŠS 1, II, 22), and the text Ch. Jean, *ŠA* LVIII, 35 the é-gi₄-a of Pušam (dated to AS 5, VI, 12). Although the term é-gi₄-a is not quite clear as Michalowski states,¹³³ one may conjecture that she was first married to a son of Arib-atal and later to the younger son of Pušam, Iphūḫa. Perhaps her first husband perished during the rebellion that later broke out in Simanum (see below).

Now that the road had been opened for him, Šulgi marched further in the next two years (Š 25 and 26). He campaigned against Simurru, a barricade to the northern lands of the Transtigris. The next year (Š 27) evoked the memory of the war against Ḫarši, and it seems that the campaign of the year before had guaranteed clear access to that place. The campaign against Ḫarši ends the first Sumerian war against the northeastern territories, according to the chronological presentations by Frayne¹³⁴ and Hallo.¹³⁵

After four years of silence the second war began with another campaign against Karḫar (Š 31), against Simurru for the third time (Š 32) and against Karḫar also for the third time (Š 33). Apparently the first campaigns had not been enough to destroy the infrastructure of power of the two lands and they had recovered sufficiently for new campaigns to be made. But now the power of what we may call 'the southern Hurrian principedoms or kingdoms' in the Diyāla and Hamrin regions was so exhausted that nothing about them is heard for seven years. Even after then they were not able to show any resistance. At this time the third war began with a campaign against Šašrum (Š 42), deep in the north. After the first war Šulgi had built a defensive wall in Š 36 (date formula Š 37) called Bād ma-da,¹³⁶ "Wall of the unincorporated lands." This clearly indicates the threat Ur felt from the young Hurrian principedoms in the middle of their expansion. A few important royal letters were exchanged between the king and the military commander (*šagina*) Puzur-Šulgi. He was in charge of the defence lines, referred to in the letters as Bād-igi-ḫur-sag-gá, "The fortifications facing the highlands."¹³⁷ According to Michalowski, these highlands were the Zagros or the northern

¹²⁸ 26) dumu-munus-a-ni 27) Si-ma-núm^{ki}-e ʿnam-é¹-gi₄-a-bi-šè 29) [...]sum, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 297 (E3/2.1.4.1, col. iii, l. 26-29).

¹²⁹ This PN is considered Hurrian by Gelb, consisting of the element *puš* with the ending *-am*: Gelb, *HS*, p. 114. Wilhelm analysed it as Pušš(i[?])=a=m "He is like..." Wilhelm, Hurrians in Kültepe Texts, in *Anatolia and the Jazira ...*, p. 185.

¹³⁰ Sallaberger, Ur III Zeit, *OBO*, p. 161. The names of these two persons are good Hurrian names. The first can be analysed as *ari=p=atal* "The strong (one) has given." The second is perhaps *i=p=ḫuḫu*, of which the second part is known to be attested in other Hurrian PNs, such as Ultum-ḫuḫu and Nirišḫuḫa. There are numerous names from Nuzi that begin with Arip-, cf. *NPN*, p. 28f.; cf. also Richter for the element *ar-*, Richter, Ein Hurriter wird geboren ... und benannt, in *Kulturlandschaft Syrien, Zentrum und Peripherie, Fs. für Jan-Waalke Meyer*, ed. J. Becker, R. Hempelmann and E. Rehm, Münster, 2010, p. 510 f.

¹³¹ Michalowski, "The Bride of Simanum," p. 717.

¹³² For details, cf. Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 717-18; especially 719.

¹³³ Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 718.

¹³⁴ Frayne, "The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena," *SCCNH* 10 (1999), p. 146.

¹³⁵ Hallo, W. W., "Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier," p. 74 and the table on page 82.

¹³⁶ Michalowski, P., "Königsbriefe," *RIA* 6 (1980-1983), p. 53. Michalowski translated the name as "Wall of the land," but taking into consideration the Sumerian word *kalam*, "country/homeland," the translation of *ma-da* by Hallo (see for instance Hallo, *RHA*, 36) as "unincorporated land" seems preferable.

¹³⁷ Michalowski, "Königsbriefe," *RIA* 6, p. 53.

part of the Hamrin range.¹³⁸ This fortification wall in these letters, according to Michalowski, was undoubtedly the same Bād ma-da constructed by Šulgi.¹³⁹

Two years after the campaigns against Šašrum, Simurrum and Lullubum for the ninth time (Š 44), and Urbilum, Simurrum, Lullubum and Karḫar, “within one day” (Š 45), there were campaigns in the next two years against Kimaš, Ḫuw/murtum and their lands (Š 46-47),¹⁴⁰ and finally Kimaš, Ḫarši, Ḫuw/murtum and their lands (Š 48). One can assume that the later campaigns against Simurrum (Š 44 and 45), followed by other lands such as Karḫar (Š 45), Kimaš (Š 46, 47 and 48), Ḫarši (Š 48) and Ḫuw/murtum (Š 46, 47 and 48), all located in the lower part of the Transtigris, were probably undertaken because of their attempts to reject their dependence on Ur when it was occupied in the far north, in lands such as Šašrum and Urbilum. That Simurrum was targeted in Š 44 together with Lullubum is reminiscent of the role Simurrum played in instigating hostility of Lullubum against Gutian rule under Enrida-pizir, father of Erridu-pizir. A similar scenario in this period is not impossible. The same is true for the campaigns of Š 45. There are texts that speak about a two-day banquet at the temples of Enlil and Ninlil, “when the *ensi* of Kimaš was captured,” and also about “booty from Kimaš, Ḫarši [and] ‘x’-[...]’x’^{ki}.”¹⁴¹ A royal inscription alludes to the destruction of Kimaš and Ḫurtum, referring to piled up corpses and digging a moat (perhaps to drain away the blood).¹⁴² Ḫurtum was probably another spelling of Ḫum/wurtum. It is noteworthy that Urbilum was attacked and probably conquered by Šulgi after Š 45, and then again by Amar-Sîn, but no Sumerian governor in that city is attested until Šū-Sîn, when Arad-Nanna was governor.¹⁴³

Among all these military campaigns only one was undertaken outside the Hurrian lands. Although there were attempts to make good relations with Anšan by a dynastic marriage (Š 30), when a daughter of Šulgi was married to its *ensi*,¹⁴⁴ Šulgi attacked it four years later (Š 34-35).¹⁴⁵ Ur’s efforts were then essentially directed against the Hurrians of the Transtigris.

Of special importance are the royal letters exchanged between Šulgi and two of his high officials, Urdu-ḡu¹⁴⁶ and Ur-dun. The letters show some of the conditions in the northern or

¹³⁸ Michalowski, *ibid.* He says that this part of Hamrin, known as Ebiḫ, was also called in Ur III administrative texts as kur mar-dú “The highland of the Amorites,” cf. *ibid.* (referring to his own *Royal Correspondence of Ur*).

¹³⁹ Michalowski, “Königsbriefe,” *RIA* 6, p. 53.

¹⁴⁰ The reference to “booty of Šimaški” in an archival text from Puzriš-Dagān might indicate a conflict with Šimaški. Šimaški was ruled at this time by a certain Badudu; cf. nam-ra-ak *Ba-du-du* LÚ.SU^{ki}, “From the booty of Badudu, the Šimaškian...,” see further Steinkeller, P., “New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers,” *ZA* 97 (2007), p. 217, note 12.

¹⁴¹ u₄ *énsi* *Ki-ma-aš^{ki}* im-ma-dab₅-‘ba’-a,” and “nam-ra-ak *Ki-ma-aš^{rkin}* ‘*Ha’-ar-ši^{ki}* [ù ...] ‘x’-[...]’x’^{ki},” cf. (also for bibliography) Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški ...,” *ZA* 97, p. 217, note 12; Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 109.

¹⁴² 1) ⁶Šul-gi 2) DINGIR *ma-ti-šu* 3) *da-núm* 4) LUGAL URI₅^{ki} 5) LUGAL *ki-ib-ra-tim* 6) *ar-ba-im* 7) *i-nu* 8) *m-at Ki-maš^{ki}* 9) *ù Ḫu-ur-tim^{ki}* 10) *ù-ḫa-li-qú-na* 11) *ḫi-ri-tam* 12) *iš-ku-un* 13) *ù bí-ru-tám* 14) *ib-ni*, “Šulgi, god of his land, the mighty, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, when he destroyed the land of Kimaš and Ḫurtum, set out a moat and heaped up a pile of corpses,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 140-41 (E3/2.1.2.33). Neither in the text nor in the translation has a logical link been drawn between the digging of the moat and the pile of the corpses. I believe the mention of a moat here together with the pile of corpses refers to its use as a means of ducting the streams of blood.

¹⁴³ An inscription from the reign of Šū-Sîn calls Arad-Nanna “governor of Urbilum” in addition to his earlier posts as *ensi* of Ḫamazī and Karḫar, cf. Edzard, “Ḫamazī,” *RIA* 4, p. 70 (referring to *SAK* 150, 22a II 5); Sollberger, E. and J.-R. Kupper, *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes (IRSA)*, Paris, 1971, III B5a, p. 163; Walker, *The Tigris Frontier...*, p. 88.

¹⁴⁴ For this year name cf. Sallaberger, p. 143; 160.

¹⁴⁵ Steinkeller thinks there were two campaigns undertaken against Anšan, cf. Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški ...,” p. 226, note 45.

¹⁴⁶ There is controversy whether to read this name Arad-mu, Ir-mu or even Ir-Nanna. The former two names are generally considered hypocoristic forms of the latter and thus equivalent, as noted by Huber: Huber, F., “Au sujet du nom du Chancelier d’Ur III, Ir-Nanna ou Ir-mu,” *NABU* 2000, no. 6, p. 10 and Steinkeller, P., “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State: The Core and the Periphery,” in Gibson, McG.

northeastern territories and the way they were ruled. According to this correspondence, this part of the land Subir was ruled by Apillaša, the high commissioner, in the name of Šulgi. He sat in a glorious palace with expensive furniture, guarded by select troops. As a person, he was prodigal, tyrannical and arrogant, installing and removing officials and city governors from their positions at will; and he would blind or even kill people.

Urdu-ġu was sent to the land of Subir/Subartu in order to:

Establish the provincial taxes, to inform (me) of the state of the provinces, to counsel concerning Apillaša, the royal commissioner (of Subir) and to come to an agreement.¹⁴⁷

But he seems to have been on bad terms with Apillaša, for he disparaged the royal commissioner in his letter to the king, describing Apillaša as an arrogant, disrespectful and corrupt character. Even before entering the palace disrespect was shown towards the king's representative:

When I went to the gate of his palace no one inquired about the well-being of my lord. The one who was sitting did not rise for me, did not bow down, (and) I became nervous about him.¹⁴⁸

According to Urdu-ġu, Apillaša was corruptly misusing the state's wealth to satisfy his own desires:

When I came nearer, (I discerned that) your expedition house was made of combs and built up with pins inlaid with gold, silver, carnelian, and lapis-lazuli; they covered an area of 30 sar. (Apillaša himself) was decked out in gold and lapis-lazuli. He sat on a throne which was placed in a high-quality canopy (and) had his feet set on a golden footstool.¹⁴⁹

The rude high commissioner not only dared to disdain the king's representative but showed power and wealth as if he was impressing an enemy:

He would not remove his feet in my presence. His personal guards, (groups of) five thousand each, stood to his right and left. (He ordered) six grass-fed oxen and 60 grass-fed sheep (to be) placed (on the tables) for a lunch.¹⁵⁰

and R. D. Biggs (eds.), *The Organization of Power - Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, Chicago, 1987, p. 35, note 48. Waetzoldt, however, disagrees, supposing three individuals with three different titles. Huber herself, however, thinks they were one and the same person. As for Arad-mu and Ir-mu, she based herself first on a text from Susa (RCU 15 -Suse XII/1, col. ii, li. 32-33-), published by Edzard (referring to Edzard, D. O. (1974), *Textes littéraires de Suse, MDP 57*: 15) that provides a syllabic writing of the name as ur-du-um-gu. For the identification of Urdu-ġu with Ir-Nanna, she refers to two texts; the one refers to Ir-mu as ugula, responsible for the tribute of the land NI.ĤI in Š 48, and in the other text that of Urbilum in ŠŠ 7. These two texts are, according to her, in perfect agreement with the monumental inscription of Ir-Nanna, dated to the reign of Šū-Sîn, which mentions him as *šagina* of NI.ĤI and Urbilum, *ibid.* For these reasons, I use here the reading Urdu-ġu, which is confirmed by the text from Susa.

¹⁴⁷ 4) ġun ma-da-zu ge-en-ge-né-dè 5) a-rá ma-da zu-zu-dè 6) ugu A-pi-il-la-ša gal-zu-unken-na-šè 7) ad-ġi₄-ġi₄-dè ġù-téš-a si-ge-dè, Michalowski, *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*, p. 63 and 64.

¹⁴⁸ 9) ká é-gal-la-šè ġen-a-ġu₁₀-dè 10) silim-ma lugal-ġá-ke₄ èn li-bí-in-tar 11) tuš na-ma-ta-an-zi ki-a nu-ub-za 12) ba-an-da-mud-dè-en, Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 63 and 64.

¹⁴⁹ 13) te-ġe₂₆-e-da-ġu₁₀-ne 14) é kaskal-la-zu ga-rig₇ aka dálla kù-sig₁₇ kù-babbar 15) ^{na4}gug ^{na4}za-ġin-ġar-ra-ta a-ab-dù-dù-a 30 sar-àm i-íb-tuš 16) kù-sig₁₇ ^{na4}za-ġin-na mí zi-dè-eš im-me 17) ^{ġis}gu-za bára šutur-e ri-a i-íb-tuš 18) ^{ġis}ġiri-gub kù-sig₁₇-ga-ka ġiri-ni i-íb-gar, Michalowski, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ 19) ġiri-ni na-ma-ta-an-kúr 20) àġa-ús saġ-ġá-na 5 li-mu-um-ta-àm zi-da ġùb-bu-na íb-ta-an-gub-bu-uš 21) 6 ġud niga 60 udu niga ninda-zú-gub-šè in-ġar, Michalowski, *ibid.*

For his part, honest Urdu-ḡu was respectful towards his lord. He knew how to behave properly towards his king, even in such a far country, and insisted on showing him esteem and honour:

At the gate at which I had not been greeted a man bade me to enter. After I came in a man brought me a chair with a knob encrusted with red gold and told me, “Sit down!” I answered him, “When I am under the order(s) of my king I stand, I never sit.”¹⁵¹

On the other hand, it seems that Apillaša knew how he should treat Urdu-ḡu, the intruder, since he was there concerning taxes:

Someone brought me two grain-fed oxen and twenty grain-fed sheep for my table. Although I had not (even) seen/noticed (?), my king’s troops overturned my table. I was terrified. I was in fear (about it).¹⁵²

The attempts of Urdu-ḡu must have been disappointing and fruitless. Apparently Apillaša was favoured by the king more than Urdu-ḡu. The answer the king gave in response to accusations against Apillaša of tyranny is especially interesting, for it shows that the king considered him a necessary tool for running the kingdom:

If my high commissioner had not elevated himself as if he were me, if he had not sat down on a throne placed in a quality canopy, if he had not set his feet on a golden footstool, had not appointed every one by his own authority and removed governors from the office of city governors, royal officers from the position of royal officer, had not killed or blinded anyone, had not elevated by his own authority those of his own choice (to positions of power) - how else could he have maintained order in the territory?¹⁵³

The king urges them both to be reconciled for the benefit of the state, but does not forget to reprimand his servant Urdu-ḡu:

If you (truly) love me you will not set your heart on anger. You have made yourself too important. You do not know your (own) soldiers. Be aware of (the power) of your own men and of my *might!* If you are (indeed) both my loyal servants, you will both read carefully my written message. That both of you come to an understanding and make fast the foundation of the land is urgent.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ 23) ká-na èn nu-tar-ra-bi lú na-ba-ši-in-ku₄-re-en 24) ku₄-ku₄-da-ḡu₁₀-ne 25) ḡis^{is}gu-za gâr-ba kù-sig₁₇ huš-a ḡar-ra lú ma-an-de₆ tuš-a ma-an-dug₄ 26) á-áḡ-ḡá lugal-ḡá-ke₄i-gub-bé-en nu-tuš-u-dè-en bí-dug₄, Michalowski, *ibid.*

¹⁵² 27) 2 gud niga 20 udu niga ḡis^{is}banšur-ḡu₁₀ lú ma-an-di 28) nu-kár-kár-da àga-ús lugal-ḡá-ke₄ ḡis^{is}banšur-ḡu₁₀ in-bal-a-šè 29) ní ba-da-te su a-da-zi, Michalowski, *ibid.*

¹⁵³ 18) tukum-bi gal-zu-unken-na-ḡu₁₀ ḡá-a-ḡin₇-nam nu-ub-gur₄ 19) ḡis^{is}gu-za bára šatur-e ri-a nu-ub-tuš 20) ḡis^{is}ḡiri-gub kù-sig₁₇-ka ḡiri-ni nu-ub-ḡar 21) énsi nam-énsi-ta 22) lú-billuda nam-billuda-ta 23) ní-te-ni-te-a li-bi-ib-ḡar ù nu-ub-ta-gub-bu 24) lú nu-un-gaz igi nu-un-ḡul 25) lú igi-bar-ra-ka-ni lú-a li-bi-in-diri 26) a-na-ḡin₇-nam ma-da ib-ge-ne, Michalowski, p. 65-66.

¹⁵⁴ 27) tukum-bi ki um-mu-e-a-áḡ 28) ša-zu ša-zú-kešda ba-ra-na-ḡá-ḡá 29) i-gur₄-re-en àga-ús-zu nu-e-zu 30) nam-lú-u₁₇-lu-bi ù nam-ur-saḡ-ḡá-ḡu₁₀ igi-zu bí-in-zu 31) tukum-bi emedu-ḡu₁₀ za-e-me-en-zé-en 32) igi min-na-zu-ne-ne-a im-sar-ra gù h́e-em-ta-dé-dé-ne 33) gù-téš-a si-ke-dè-en-zé-en 34) suḡuš ma-da ge-né-dè-en-zé-en 35) e₄-ma-ru-kam, Michalowski, p. 65 and 66.

Another official¹⁵⁵ of Šulgi was Ur-dun, who was sent to the mountainous regions of the north to purchase juniper resin. He too complained about Apillaša, but we do not know how the king responded to him:

My king has given us (?) capital and dispatched us (?) to a distant foreign land to purchase juniper resin. But once I had entered the foreign land and purchased the resin, Apillaša, the royal commissioner, was very firm with me, and they appropriated my purchases. When I stood at the gate of his (local) palace, no one wanted to investigate my complaint.¹⁵⁶

Since in the letters no specific part of Subir is stated, we cannot be sure where this incident happened, but available historical data gives a hint. As long as Ur had good relations with the independent Hurrian states of the Habur region who maintained their own Hurrian rulers, one would not expect a (high) royal commissioner to have been installed there by Ur. The northern Transtigris was far from stable during the long reign of Šulgi, and three wars, some consisting of several annual campaigns, were undertaken. Such circumstances makes the Transtigris region less probable. However, an allusion to the departure of Urdu-ġu and a certain Babati from Zimudar to Simurru in the letter of Ur-dun might be a hint about the region where the episodes of the three letters took place:

And as for Urdu-ġu, your servant, and Babati, the archivist, they had gone from Zimudar to Simurru, *and to inform them....*, [they have sent] their messengers of my lord. My king... This confiscation cannot be undone without unusing force.¹⁵⁷

Thus, it is the region of the Sirwān basin, i.e. the southern part of the Transtigris, that is explicitly mentioned. Because this region was subdued during the second Hurrian war under Šulgi, for a few years. Before that it would not have been possible to send officials of Ur to that area. These letters date in all probability to the phase that began in Š 40, when maš-da-ri-a offerings from Simurru are recorded in Puzriš-Dagān,¹⁵⁸ a sign that it had been annexed to the Empire of Ur.

Hurrians were present in the land of Sumer, as we know from archival texts. Some of these Hurrians were prisoners of the numerous wars the Sumerians waged in their lands, and they were recorded in the texts as recipients of rations. Other Hurrians were in Sumer as diplomats, state visitors or envoys, particularly from kingdoms like Urkeš and Simanum, and so some Hurrians belonged to the highest classes of society.¹⁵⁹ A certain Taḥiš-atal was a prominent scribe in Puzriš-Dagān,¹⁶⁰ and we know of Hurrian *Šaginas* “military governors”¹⁶¹, but we cannot be sure from which category of society they emerged.

¹⁵⁵ Or merchant (?); cf. Hallo, “Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier,” *RHA* 36 (1978), p. 78; Michalowski, “Königsbriefe,” *RLA* 6 (1980-1983), p. 53.

¹⁵⁶ 3) kù lugal-ġu₁₀ mu-e-dè-šúm-ma 4) kur sù-rá-šè šim^{ġis}erin-na 5) sa₁₀-sa₁₀-dè mu-e-ši-ge-na 6) u₄ kur-šè <BI> ku₄-re-na-ġu₁₀ 7) šim^{ġis}erin-na bí-sa₁₀-sa₁₀-ġu₁₀ 8) ^mA-pi-la-ša gal-zu-unken-na ma-an-ge-ma 9) šám-ġu₁₀ mu-da-an-kar-re-eš 10) ká é-gal-la-né ù-um-gub 11) lú-na-me ka-ġu₁₀ èn nu-bi-tar, Michalowski, P., *The Royal Correspondence of Ur*, (A dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University), 1976, p. 217, 218; I would like to thank Dr. P. Michalowski for sending me the draft of his new edition of this letter and the next letter of Šarrum-bāni (below), which is now in press, and for allowing me to quote his new translation and transliteration.

¹⁵⁷ 12) ^mUrdu-ġu urdu-zu ù Ba₄-ba₄-ti ša₁₄-dub-^rba⁷ 13) Zi-mu-dar^{ki}-ra-ta Si-mu-ur₄-^rru¹-um^{ki}-šè 14) ì-re-eš-ma 15) [(x) i]n-ne-zu-m^ra¹ 16) [lú kí]ġ-ġi₄-a-ne-ne in-^rši[?]-g[i₄?...] 17) [(x) x] lugal-ġá ba-e-ni-x[...] 18) ^rusu₉ nu-tuku á-dar-re-bi nu-mu-^rda-ġar[?], Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence ...*, p. 217, 218.

¹⁵⁸ For this, cf. next chapter.

¹⁵⁹ Neumann, “Bemerkungen zum Problem der Fremdarbeit ...,” *AoF* 19 (1992), p. 270.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Collon, D., “The Life and Times of Teḥiš-atal,” *RA* 84 (1990), p. 130.

2. Amar-Sîn

The successor of Šulgi, Amar-Sîn (2046-2038 BC), rapidly continued the Hurrian war. In AS 2 he destroyed Urbilum, modern Erbil. In the year AS 6 Šašrum was destroyed “for the second time.” The first time was in AS 4. Although that campaign was not given a date-formula, the date is known from offerings to Nanna and Enlil and deliveries of cattle said to have been provided from the booty of the lands Šašru and Šuruthum.¹⁶² An allusion to taking slaves as war booty from the city of Šarithum by the *ensi* of Umma in the same month, viii AS 4, is probably related to this same campaign.¹⁶³ The year AS 7 witnessed the destruction of other places, Huḫnuri, Yabru and its lands.¹⁶⁴ In a newly found inscription, Amar-Sîn boasts of his victory after his “heroic troops had fought 30 (or 3) battles (?)”¹⁶⁵ There are texts recording shipments from lands not mentioned in the date-formulae, such as Madga (AS 1) and Ḫamazi (AS 2).¹⁶⁶

That the Hurrian lands of the Transtigris were firmly occupied by Ur can be inferred from the establishment of numerous garrisons in territories along the Zagros foothills. Archival texts provide evidence of the existence of such garrisons in Arraphum, Dūr-maš, Agaz, Lullubum, Ḫamazi, Šuriḫum, Šuaḫ, Gablaš, Zaqtum and Dūr-Ebla,¹⁶⁷ and also of shipments sent to officials or governors in Lullubum, “destroyed Šaššuru,” Arraphum, Kimaš, Awal, Tašil and a royal gift consisting of sheep to the bride of Nanib-atal in Urbilum (AS 7).¹⁶⁸

Probably under Amar-Sîn a marriage was concluded with Ḫamazi, the Transtigridian principality known since the Early Dynastic period. According to this marriage, Tabur-ḫaṭṭum¹⁶⁹ became daughter-in-law of Ur-Iškur, the *ensi* of Ḫamazi.¹⁷⁰ We do not know whether Tabur-ḫaṭṭum was a royal princess or not.¹⁷¹ If she was, the act could be interpreted

¹⁶¹ Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of,” *The Organization of Power - Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, p. 25.

¹⁶² Sallaberger, Ur III Zeit, *OBO*, p. 164 with bibliography.

¹⁶³ Sallaberger, *op. cit.*, note 143 with bibliography. Sallaberger, following Sheil and others reads the name of this GN as Šariphum, but this seems to be a misread Šarithum. Cf. about this note 209 in Chapter Five.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Sallaberger, Ur III Zeit, *OBO*, p. 163. Huḫnuri appears to have been slightly to the southwest of Ramhormoz in Iran, cf. Steinkeller, “New Light on,” p. 223.

¹⁶⁵ 11) *qar-di-šu* 12) in 30 (or :3) KAK-*tim*, Nasrabadī, B. M., “Eine Steininschrift des Amar-Suena aus Tappah Bormi (Iran),” *ZA* 95 (2005), p. 163.

¹⁶⁶ Walker, *The Tigris Frontier from Sargon to Hammurabi- A Philologic and Historical Synthesis*, Yale, 1985, p. 107.

¹⁶⁷ Walker, *ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Walker, *ibid.* referring to the texts *PDT* 166 (Arraphum); Boson *TCS* 140 (Kimaš); Owen 1981 *NMW* 303276 (Awal and Tašil).

¹⁶⁹ Meaning “The sceptre (f.) appeared,” from *buārum*, thus not Dabur-ḫaṭṭum. I owe this translation to T.J.H. Krispijn.

¹⁷⁰ This was known from references in texts mentioning her when she was on regular visits to Sumer under Amar-Sîn and Šū-Sîn as follows:

AS 9 (*BIN* 3 382) é-gi₄-a ur-^dIškur énsi Ḫa-ma-zi^{ki}

ŠŠ 2 (*TrD*, 87) Tá-bur-ḫa-tum é-gi₄-a Ur-^dIškur énsi

ŠŠ 5 Newell 1600 é-gi₄-a Ur-^dIškur énsi Ḫa-ma-zi^{ki}

ŠŠ 7 *PDT*, 454 Tá-bur-ḫa-tum é-gi₄-a Ur-^dIškur⁷

u₄ Ḫa-ma-zi^{ki}-šè i-ḡen-na-a

Cf.: Michalowski, “The Bride of Simanum,” p. 718.

¹⁷¹ Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 719.

as a sign that this principality in this period was independent of Ur.¹⁷² In any case it seems that her visit in the year ŠS 7 was the last visit, in the absence of any new evidence.

It is notable that Ur had established good relations with Ḫamazi, presumably not yet Hurrianized, while the war on the Hurrian enclaves continued. Apparently the strategy of Ur was to beleaguer the Hurrians of the Transtigris by seeking allies in the land of the enemy, behind the lines of confrontation (see below).

3. Šū-Sîn

Šū-Sîn (2037-2029 BC) has only two military campaigns recorded in date-formulae: ŠS 3 against Simanum and ŠS 7 against Zabšali.¹⁷³ After the daughter of Šū-Sîn had been a daughter-in-law for Simanum for at least 12 years, in ŠS 2 a rebellion broke out in Simanum, Ḫabūra and the surrounding lands.¹⁷⁴ The rebels overthrew their ruler Pušam/Arib-atal and chased away his daughter-in-law, who was Kunšī-mātum the daughter of Šū-Sîn.¹⁷⁵ The reaction of Šū-Sîn was swift. He moved against the rebels (ŠS 3), conquered the city and its surroundings, reinstated Kunšī-mātum in her residence and put back the dethroned ruler on the throne.¹⁷⁶ He also deported part of the city residents to Sumer, where he settled them in a camp, specially built for them.¹⁷⁷ This camp-city was the very first of its kind built for deportees,¹⁷⁸ and it is also the first attested case of mass deportation in history. It looks likely that the new town was called Simanum since the inscription twice states “(He) established Simanum,”¹⁷⁹ including the determinative KI in both cases.

Giving a princess to marriage in Simanum and a military intervention to restore its kingship was not for nothing. Steinkeller considers that the location of this kingdom was vital for Ur as an ally because it “policed the middle course of the Tigris (where principalities such as Nineveh and Ḫabūra were situated), at the same time providing Babylonia with a safety

¹⁷² Listing Ḫamazi together with lands which paid *gún mada*, “territorial tax,” implies that it was subject to Ur. But the question is whether this was the case for the whole of the Ur III period. For Ḫamazi’s contribution to this kind of tax cf. Steinkeller, “The Administration and Organization ...,” p. 36, note 56.

¹⁷³ Cf. his date-formulae in Sallaberger, *OBO*, p. 168. Zabšali was, according to Steinkeller, the largest part of the land of Šimaški and it served to describe the whole Šimaškian federation: Steinkeller, P., “More on LÚ.SU.(A) = Šimaški,” *NABU* 1990, no. 13. For previous identifications and other attestations, also in Elamite sources, cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 243.

¹⁷⁴ 30) [Si-ma-nú]m^{ki} 31) [Ḫa-bu-r]a^{ki} 32) [ù ma-da-m]a-da-bi 33) [lugal-da gú-ér]im 34) [ba-an-da-ab]-gál, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 297 (E3/2.1.4.1, col. iii, l. 30-34); p. 298 (same text, col. iv, l. 4’-7’).

¹⁷⁵ 35) [dumu-munus-a]-ni 36) é [ki-tuš-a-ni]-ta 37) ság [im-ta]-eš, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 297 (E3/2.1.4.1, col. iii, l. 35-37); p. 298 (same text, col. iv, l. 8’-10’).

¹⁷⁶ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 288. The inscription adds also that he 29) Si-ma-núm^{ki} 30) Ḫa-bu-ra^{ki} 31) ù ma-da-ma-da-bi 32) nam-urdu(?)-da-ni-šè 33) ság-šè mu-ni-rig₇, “assigned to her service Simanum, Ḫabūra and the surrounding districts,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 298 (E3/2.1.4.1, col. iv, l. 29-33). It is not clear why Frayne says that Šū-Sîn has put back Pušam on the throne of Simanum, while he himself cites a text dated ŠS 1 (AUAM 73.1044 = Sigrist, AUCT 3 no. 294) that explicitly refers to Ku-un-ši-ma-tum é-g[i₄-a] Ar-ba-tal lugal Ši-ma-núm^{ki}, “Kunšī-mātum, daughter-in-law of Arib-atal, king of Šimānum,” cf. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 288. According to the text Arib-atal, not Pušam, was king of Simanum in the year prior to the rebellion. Thus, it is logical that he, not his father, was put back on the throne. In the inscription ‘Collection B’ that narrates this episode there is no mention of Pušam.

¹⁷⁷ 34) ság-érim-gál 35) nam-ra-aš-aka-ni 36) ^dEn-líl ^dNin-líl-r[a] 37) ki-sur-r[a] 38) Nibru^{ki}-ka [(x)] 39) Si-ma-nú[m^{ki}] 40) ki-m[u-ne]-gār 41) [... mu-n]e-dù, “He settled the hostile persons, his booty, (namely) from Simanum, for the god Enlil and goddess Ninlil, on the frontier of Nippur, (and) built for them [a town],” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 298 (E3/2.1.4.1, col. iv, l. 34-41).

¹⁷⁸ It is also interesting that the king himself confesses that it was the very first time, since the days the fate had been decreed, that a town was established for the sake of Enlil and Ninlil with the people he had captured: 47) u₄-nam-tar-ra-ta 48) lugal-na-me 1) ság-nam-ra-aš-aka-ni-ta 2) ^dEn-líl ^dNin-líl-ra 3) ki-sur-ra 4) Nibru^{ki}-ka 5) iri^{ki} 6) ki nu-ne-gār, *op. cit.* col. iv 47- v. 6.

¹⁷⁹ Si-ma-núm^{ki} ki mu-ne-gār, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 299 (E3/2.1.4.1, col. v, l. 11; 22-23).

cordon against any potential threats coming from further north.”¹⁸⁰ So it was important for Ur to protect such a buffer-state on its northern flank from falling into hostile hands.

This victorious campaign against Simanum was followed by a “state visit” of Tiš-atal, the ruler of Nineveh, to Ur,¹⁸¹ apparently to swear the oath of allegiance to the king.¹⁸² According to Steinkeller, Nineveh was a dependency of Simanum before the campaign and its ruler Tiš-atal remained loyal to Ur. Since his city was not mentioned as a target of the campaign, he may even have helped Ur in the campaign. After the success of the campaign, Tiš-atal seems to have been rewarded by promotion from being a vassal of Simanum to become a first-rank and direct vassal of Ur.¹⁸³ Tiš-atal was escorted by more than 100 men on his way to Ur, and was received by Babati, the maternal uncle of the king, who held two other posts, *šakkana(kkum)* (military governor) of Maškān-šarri and *ensi* of Awal.¹⁸⁴ Tiš-atal received a large amount of flour for his escort, as much as 150 quarts (silā).¹⁸⁵ Both the fact that the mother of Šū-Sîn might have come from the Diyāla region,¹⁸⁶ as well as the fact that Babati, a close family member of the king, held such important posts in this area, indicate how far the stability and firm control of this region was a priority to Ur.

Archival texts dated to the years following this campaign mention “soldiers from Simanum” and from other cities that were, according to some, conquered during the campaign.¹⁸⁷ The other cities were Ḥabūra, Talmuš (associated with the man Tabliš),¹⁸⁸ Ninua, Uruae and ʾma¹-ri-ma-nu-um mar-dū. Ninua’s location is known but not that of the others. Ḥabūra could be sited close to the Pēsh Habūr, an eastern tributary of the Tigris. Frayne tentatively suggested a location at or near the confluence of this tributary with the Tigris, probably identifiable with Tell Basorin.¹⁸⁹ Its identification with the Ḥaburātum of the Mari archives is unavoidable and the rebellion of both Simanum and Ḥabūra provides a hint that they were close to each other. As for Talmuš, it has been sited somewhere north or northwest of Nineveh.¹⁹⁰ The location of Uruae escapes any attempt at identification.

¹⁸⁰ Steinkeller, P., “Tiš-atal’s Visit to Nippur,” *NABU* 2007, no. 15.

¹⁸¹ For the discussion about the possible identification of this Tiš-atal and two other namesakes, see below.

¹⁸² This is confirmed by the publication of a tablet found in Nippur that mentions in line 5: ʾnam¹-a-érim íb-ku₅, “(they) swore an oath.” According to Steinkeller, such allegiance oaths were usually sworn by foreigners in the temple of Ninurta in Nippur and it appears that these hundred (eighty in the Nippur text) Ninevites were high-ranking individuals, perhaps Tiš-atal’s kinsmen, who swore the oath, as the collective form íb-kud indicates. For this cf. Steinkeller, “Tiš-atal’s Visit to Nippur,” with reference to a new edition of the text by Zettler, R. L., “Tišatal and Nineveh at the End of the 3rd Millennium BCE,” in: *If a Man Builds a Joyful House*, Fs Erle Verdun Leichty, Leiden, 2006, p. 503-14. It is interesting that the tablet is dated to the 29th day of the ninth month of ŠS 3, which is the same month and year given to their visit to Ešnunna.

¹⁸³ Steinkeller, “Tiš-atal’s Visit to Nippur,” *NABU* 2007, no. 15.

¹⁸⁴ This has become known from his seal legend found on a tablet from Tell Asmar, cf. Whiting, “Tiš-atal of Nineveh...,” p. 178 f.; Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 340-41 (E3/2.1.4.32).

¹⁸⁵ Whiting, “Tiš-atal of ...,” p. 176.

¹⁸⁶ It was thought that Amar-Sîn was a brother of Šū-Sîn, which means that the wife of Šulgi, who came from the Diyāla region, was also the mother of Šū-Sîn. But the seal of Babati shows that Amar-Sîn was his father not his brother. Additional evidence is that the wife of Šulgi was Šulgi-simtī, and the mother of Šū-Sîn, mentioned in the seal of Babati, is Abī-simtī; see further Sallaberger, *OBO*, p. 168 and the table on p. 183.

¹⁸⁷ Maeda, T., “The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty,” *ASJ* 14 (1992), p. 137. The text lists deliveries from soldiers of Ḥabura, Talmuš, Ninua and Uruae in addition to ʾma¹-ri-ma-nu-um mar-dū. The frequent mention of Mardaman with Ḥabura in Ur III texts makes it possible to identify the Marimanum mentioned in this text with Mardaman if we assume the omission of a DA sign and KI determinative (= Ma-ri-<da>-ma-nu-um^{<ki>}), cf. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 288.

¹⁸⁸ Maeda, T., “The Defense Zone during the ...,” p. 137.

¹⁸⁹ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 (Ur III), p. 288.

¹⁹⁰ Jacobsen has located it at Jarahīyah, some 40 km northwest of Nineveh, but Kessler located it at modern Gir-e Pan, slightly to the northwest of Jarahīyah; see Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 288; cf. also Edzard et al., *RGTC* 1, p. 139; Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 158; Groneberg, B., *RGTC* 3, p. 233; Nashef, Kh., *RGTC* 5, p. 258 (north of

In ŠS 3 another important project was undertaken, the restoration of “Wall of the Unincorporated Lands,” built earlier by Šulgi. This wall was renewed and given a new name, Mūriq-Tidnim, “The (wall) that keeps Tidnum at a distance” (*UET* 6/2, Nr. 183= *ISCT* II 115: Ni. 3083 obv. I= YBC 4672 = YBC 7149). The change of name followed the change of enemy. Now the Amorites were obviously the major threat coming from this direction, aided by an old, implacable enemy, Simurru. Some details of this matter emerge in a few letters exchanged between Šū-Sîn and Šarrum-bāni, the special commissioner (gal-zu-unken-na) appointed to oversee the work on the fortification wall.¹⁹¹ In the letter, after a reminder of what his mission was, Šarrum-bāni gives news about the situation:

You commissioned me to carry out construction on the great fortifications (wall) of Mūriq-Tidnim and presented your views to me as follows: “The Mardu have repeatedly raided the frontier territory.” You commanded me to rebuild the fortifications, to cut off their access and thus to prevent them from repeatedly overwhelming the fields through a breach (in the defences) between the Tigris and the Euphrates.¹⁹²

While he informs his lord how far his work has progressed, he warns him indirectly about imminent danger. The enemy is near, and even worse, Simurru is collaborating with them. This is why he should engage in battle during his building duties:

When I had been working on the fortifications, that then measured 26 *danna* (269 km.), after having reached (the area) between the two mountain ranges, the Mardu camped in the mountains and turned his attention to my building activities. (The leader of) Simurru came hither with him as his companion, and he went out against me between the mountain ranges of Ebiḥ to do battle.¹⁹³

There was need for more men and reinforcements (probably resources) for the building work. That the country had changed its allegiance is the reason why he should fight while occupied with his building tasks. The change of allegiance was very probably inspired by the Amorites, whose presence was a good motive for those who sought liberation from the yoke of Ur. To collect information, he sent an envoy to the interior of the country:

If my king belongs to the heavenly beings, he will send extra labour forces and reinforce them to do (their) task. Although I have not been able to reach the most elevated part of the frontier territory, [as soon as I received] information, I sent an envoy *to the interior*. But the territory has changed its mind (= allegiance), and so I have not neglected to build the fortifications- (to the contrary), I have been building and fighting (at the same time).¹⁹⁴

Ninua). Kessler had already thought MA and NA Talmuš/si was not identical with old Talmuš, but it had to be read Rimusa/i, cf. Kessler, K., “Geographische Notizen,” *ZA* 69 (1979), p. 220.

¹⁹¹ Michalowski, “Königsbriefe,” p. 54.

¹⁹² 3) bād gal *Mu-ri-iq-Tidnim*-e dīm-me-dè kíġ-gi₄-a-aš mu-e-gi₄ 4) igi-zu ma-an-ġar-ma Mar-dú (*Ammurum*) ma-da-aš mu-un-šub-šub-bu-uš 5) bād dù-ù-dè ġiri-bi ku₅-ru-dè 6) ^{id}Idigna ^{id}Buranun-na-bi-da 7) gú-ġiri-bi a-šà e nam-ba-e-šú-šú á-šè mu-e-da-áġ, Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence...*, p. 225; 229, and drafts of the new edition of the letters.

¹⁹³ 11) bād-bi 26 dana-kam dīm-e-da-ġu₁₀-ne 12) dal-ba-na ħur-saġ min-a-bi-ka sá di-di-da-ġu₁₀-ne 13) dīm-me-ġu₁₀-šè Mar-dú (*Ammurum*) šà? ħur-saġ-ġá-ka íb-tuš-a ġéštu mu-ši-in-ak 14) Si-mu-ur₄^{ki} nam-tab-ba-ni-šè im-ma-da-ġen 15) dal-ba-na ħur-saġ Ebiḥ^{ki}-ke₄ ^{ġis}tukul sig-ge-dè im-ma-ši-ġen, Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence...*, p. 225; 229, and drafts of the new edition of the letters.

¹⁹⁴ 18) tukum-bi lugal-ġá an-na-kam 19) éren kíġ-aka-dè ħa-ma-ab-daḥ-e á ħa-ma-ġá-ġá 20) u₁₈-ru ma-da sá nu-ub-da-du₁₁-ga inim-bi x x 21) ma-da murub₄^{ki}-šè lú-kíġ-gi₄-a mu-ni-gi₄ 22) ma-da dīm-ma-bi ba-da-kúr 23) bād dù-ù-dè nu-šub-bé-en ì-dù-en ù ^{ġis}tukul ì-sig-ge-en, Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence...*, p. 225; 229-230, and drafts of the new edition of the letters.

Zimudar appears to have been at the final point of the fortifications,¹⁹⁵ and was obviously incorporated into the Empire of Ur. According to the letter it promised to send troops / workmen to assist the man of Ur:¹⁹⁶

After I dispatched my envoy to you, right behind him I dispatched (another) envoy to Lu-Nanna, the governor of Zimudar, and he sent me a very large contingent (viz. 7200) of troops / workers.¹⁹⁷

The troubles were seemingly serious. There were not enough men to watch the cities and not enough men to fight. The emphasis on the profound lack of troops made him forget he had already said he needed workers. This passage makes it clear how far the Amorite infiltration troubled the country and how the lack of enough troops was one of the serious problems that was perhaps one of the reasons that led to the fall of Ur:

There are enough corvée labourers but one did not supply enough fighting men. Once my king gives the orders to release the corvée labourers (for military duty), then when (the enemy) raids I will fight with them. He (Lu-Nanna ?) dispatched the (same) man to the nobles of your frontier territory and they presented their case to me as follows: “We cannot even guard all the cities by ourselves. How can (we) give you (more) troops?”¹⁹⁸

The long letter of Šarrum-bāni closes with stating his determination to continue fighting, showing full obedience to the orders of his king:

Ever since my king commanded me, day and night I have been diligently doing the assigned work as well as fighting (the enemy). Because I am obedient to my king’s command (to build the fortifications) and I continue to *battle again and again*, even though the (requisite) force has not been assigned to me, I will not cease fighting. Now my king is informed (about all of this)!¹⁹⁹

In some of his historical inscriptions, originally on statues but known from OB copies, a little more is stated about the wars of this king against Zabšali and Simaški. The ‘Historical Collection A’ consists of three inscriptions from three statues on two OB tablets. Two of the three commemorate the king’s victory over Simaški. Geographically significant is the section that identifies the lands of Zabšali as part of the greater territory of Simaški:

¹⁹⁵ This is the conclusion of Michalowski from the letter, cf. Michalowski, “Königsbriefe,” p. 54.

¹⁹⁶ Michalowski pointed to a damaged tablet from the OB period found in Nippur (ISET II 117: Ni. 4164, obv. 4’ff.) that bears the opening lines of a letter from Šarrum-bāni to Lu-Nanna: Michalowski, “Königsbriefe,” *RIA* 6, p. 54..

¹⁹⁷ 26) u₄ lú-kíḡ-gi₄-a-ḡu₁₀ igi-zu-šè mu-e-ši-gi₄-a-ḡu₁₀ 27) eḡer-ra-ni-ta Lú-^dNanna énsi ma-da Zi-mu-dar-ra^{ki}-šè 28) lú-kíḡ-gi₄-a mu-ni-gi₄ 30) 7200 éren mu-e-ši-in-gi₄, Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 226, and drafts of the new edition of the letters.

¹⁹⁸ 30) lú -^{gi}dubsik íb-si lú ^{gis}tukul sig-ge bí-ib-tur 31) tukum-bi lugal-ḡu₁₀ éren kíḡ-aka-ne duḡ-ù-bé ab-bé 32) ù-šub ^{gis}tukul ga-àm-da-sig 33) lú gal-gal ma-da-za <šè> lú in-ne-ši-in-gi₄ 34) igi-ne-ne ma-an-ḡar-re-eš-ma 35) me-en-dè iri-iri en-nu-ùḡ nu-mu-da-ak-en-dè-en 36) a-na-gin₇-nam ugnim a-ra-ab-šum-mu, Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 226; 230, and drafts of the new edition of the letters.

¹⁹⁹ 38) u₄ lugal-ḡu₁₀ á mu-e-da-áḡ-ta 39) u₄-te ḡi₆-ba kíḡ im-mi-íb-gi₄.gi₄-in ù ^{gis}tukul ì-sig-ge-en 40) mu inim lugal-ḡá-ke₄ ì-gub-bé-en ù ^{gis}tukul íb-laḡ₅-laḡ₅-e 41) usu nu-um-ḡar ^{gis}tukul-ta nu-silig-ge-en 42) lugal-ḡu₁₀ hé-en-zu, Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 226; 231, and drafts of the new edition of the letters.

At that time, Simaški (which comprises) the lands of Zabšali, whose surge is like (a swarm) of locusts, from the border of Anšan to the Upper Sea.²⁰⁰

Within Simaškian territory were lands whose lords came forth to do battle, and the remnants of the long list of lands enumerates Ni-bu-ul-m[a-at^{ki}], ᵑx¹-[x-x-a]m^{ki}, Si-ig-rí-iš, A-lu-mi-da-tim^{ki}, Ga-ar-tá^{ki}, A-za-ḫa-ar^{ki}, Bu-ul-ma^{ki}, Nu-šu-uš-ma-ar^{ki}, Nu-uš-ga-ne-lum^{ki}, Zi-zi-ir-tum^{ki}, A-ra-ḫi-ir^{ki}, Ša-ti-lu^{ki} and Ti-ir-mi-um^{ki}.²⁰¹ As a consequence of his victory, the king killed many of them and took many others captive:

Their lords and enthroned ones, the governors of the lands of Zabšali and the governors of the cities whom he had brought back from battle, he took as bound captives.²⁰²

It is interesting to note the names of the *ensis* of these lands together with the names of two kings of Zabšali, Zi-rí-in-gu²⁰³ and In-da-su/sú,²⁰⁴ as preserved in the captions of the OB texts copied from the original inscriptions on the statues. The names are:

Ti-ti *ensi* of Nu-šu-uš-ma-ar^{ki}
 S[a-a]m-ri *ensi* of [X]-ᵑX¹-li-[x]^{rkin}
 Nu-[x]-li *ensi* of A-lu-ᵑmi-id-da¹-tim
 Bu-ni-ᵑir¹-ni *ensi* of [S]j-ig-rí-iš^{ki}
 Ba-ri-ḫi-za *ensi* of A-ra(?)-ḫi-ir^{ki}
 Wa-bur-tum *ensi* of [Lu(?)]-lu-bi-im^{ki}²⁰⁵
 Ne-ni-ib-zu *ensi* of Zi-zi-ir-tum^{ki}
 Ti-ru-ᵑbī¹-ú *ensi* of Nu-uš-ga-ne-[l]u-um^{ki}
 ᵑx¹-am-ti *ensi* of Ga-ar-ta^{ki}

²⁰⁰ 14) u₄-ba 15) Simaški (LÚ.SU)^{ki} 16) ma-da-ma-da 17) Za-ab-ša-li^{ki} 18) za An-ša-an^{ki}-ta 19) a-ab-ba IGI.NIM-ma-šè 20) buru₅-gin₇ zi-ga-bi, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 303 (E3/2.1.4.3, col. ii, l. 14-20). It is important to point here briefly to the Simaškian King List found in Susa. Steinkeller could identify some of those kings recorded in the Sumerian and other inscriptions and equate them with the Simaškian King List. The King List runs as follows:

- 1) ᵑGi-ir-na-am-me
- 2) Ta-zi-it-ta
- 3) E-ba-ar-ti
- 4) Ta-zi-it-ta
- 5) Lu-ᵑx-x-ak¹-lu-uh-ḫa-an
- 6) Ki-in-da-at-t[u]
- 7) I-da-at-tú
- 8) Tan-ru-ḫu-at-te-er
- 9) E-[ba]-ar-ti
- 10) I-da-at-tu
- 11) I-da-at-tu-na-pi-ir
- 12) I-da-at-tu-te-em-ti
- 12 LUGAL.MEŠ Si-maš-ki!-ú

The names he equated were Yabrat with Ebarat/Ebarti I of the list; Kirname with Girnamme of the list; Ta'azite either with Tazitta I or Tazitta II of the list; Kindattu and Idattu I with both Kindattu and Idattu of the list (nos. 6 and 7 respectively). For this and further details see his study in Steinkeller, "New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers," *ZA* 97 (2007), p. 220-221.

²⁰¹ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 303 (E3/2.1.4.3, col. ii, l. 21-33). Note slight epigraphic variants in E3/2.1.4.5 on p. 310.

²⁰² 22) en-en bára-bára-bi 23) šaga-a mi-ni-in-dab₅-dab₅ 24) énsi-gal-gal 25) ma-da-ma-da 26) Za-ab-ša-li^{ki} 27) ù 28) énsi-énsi 29) iri^{ki}-iri^{ki} 30) mē-a mu-da-an-gur-re-ša, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 304 (E3/2.1.4.3, col. iii, l. 22-30).

²⁰³ In text E3/2.1.4.3: *RIME* 3/2, p. 306.

²⁰⁴ In text E3/2.1.4.5: *RIME* 3/2, p. 310, variant on p. 311.

²⁰⁵ Note that Lullubum appears for the first time in the narrative of this war. The question is whether this land, or at least its eastern part inside the Iranian territory, was actually considered part of Simaški.

Dun-gá-at *ensi* of Ni!-[bu-ul]-m[a-at]^{ki}.²⁰⁶

The names do not appear to be Hurrian, an important sign that the Hurrians were not a dominating element in Western Iran, at least not in this period.²⁰⁷ However, some of the GNs deserve comment. Nušušmar is very similar to the PN Na-aš-šu-ma-ar of the Shemshāra tablets.²⁰⁸ Sigriš could be identical to later NA Sikris, a province in Media, mentioned together with Urikatu, Saparda, Uriakku and other localities in the course of the campaigns on Ḥarḥar.²⁰⁹ The PN Wa-bur-tum might be understood as Semitic, similar to the OA word *wabartum*, “trading colony.”

After the cities and villages had been devastated, Šū-Sîn took the male captives, gouged out their eyes and forced them to work in the gardens and orchards of Enlil and Ninlil and other gods. The women he offered as a present to the weaving mills of the same gods. In the same way he took away animals and metals, specifically gold, silver, copper, tin and bronze, as booty and put them in the temples as gifts for the gods.²¹⁰ Šū-Sîn was one of the first rulers to use deportees from one region to work in another. He forced deportees from Ḥabūra and Mardaman to work in the mines of Bulma, a territory of Zabšali.²¹¹

Sumerian foreign policy involved the direct rule of conquered lands through governors (*ensi*) or military generals (*šakkanakku*). They could inherit their posts within the family, especially in the latter part of the period.²¹² Ir-Nanna is perhaps the best example of this, who enumerated in one of his inscriptions the posts he held during his long career. In another inscription he referred to his father, who was likewise the grand-vizier.²¹³ The posts Ir-Nanna held were grand-vizier, governor of Lagaš, *sanga* priest of the god Enki, military governor of Ušar-Garšana, general of Bašime, governor of Sabum and the land of Gutebum, general of Dimat-Enlila, governor of Ḥam(a)zi and Karḥar, general of NI.ḪI,²¹⁴ general of Simaški and the land of Karda.²¹⁵ Similarly Šilluš-Dagān was named on a seal impression and was governor of Simurrum under Šū-Sîn.²¹⁶

4. Ibbi-Sîn

Ibbi-Sîn (2028-2004 BC), the last king of the dynasty, campaigned in Simurrum in the early years of his reign (IS 3) and later in Ḥuḥnuri (IS 9).²¹⁷ Between the two campaigns, he

²⁰⁶ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 311-12 (E3/2.1.4.5). Steinkeller assumes that the last name, Dungat of Nibulmat, is identical with Dungat of *Zi-da-aḫ-ri*^{ki} of the archival texts. He also noted that the men of Zidaḥri appeared together with some Simaškians at Nippur, cf. Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški . . .,” p. 223, note 32.

²⁰⁷ The first part of the last name Tungat has a parallel in the Nuzi PN Tun-Teššup, cf. Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, p. 158.

²⁰⁸ Naššumar was king of Kusanarḥum, cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives I, The Letters*, p. 134, SH 63, 12.

²⁰⁹ Sikris is attested in the inscriptions of Sargon II of Assyria, cf. Luckenbill, D., *ARAB* II, § 11; § 14; 192; § 214. It is written variously as *māt Si-ik-ri-is*, *māt Sik-ri-is*, *māt Sik-ri-si*, *māt Si-ik-ri-iš* etc., cf. Parpola, S., *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970, p. 309; Fuchs, A., *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, Göttingen, 1994, p. 104: 99; cf. URU! [S]*i-ik-ri-si* in Fuchs, A. and S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, part III*, *SAA* 15, no.90 (K 5458), p. 61, l. 23.

²¹⁰ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 304-5 (E3/2.1.4.3, col. iv 11-v 17); cf. also Sallaberger, *OBO*, p. 169.

²¹¹ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 305 (E3/2.1.4.3, col. vi 8-v 18).

²¹² Steinkeller, P., “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State,” *The Organization of Power*, p. 24.

²¹³ 5) Ir₁₁-^dNanna 6) sukkal-maḫ 7) dumu Ur-^dŠul-pa-è 8) sukkal-maḫ 9) ir₁₁-zu, “Ir-Nanna, grand-vizier, son of Ur-Šulpae, grand-vizier, (is) your servant,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 347 (E3/2.1.4.2002)

²¹⁴ This can be a variant spelling of Niqum, see below.

²¹⁵ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 324 (E3/2.1.4.13, l. 11-26).

²¹⁶ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 353-4 (E3/2.1.4.2011). For more about Šilluš-Dagan, cf. Chapter Five.

²¹⁷ Cf. the table in Sallaberger, *OBO*, p. 173.

concluded a dynastic marriage (IS 5), marrying his daughter Tukīn-ḥaṭṭi-migrīša to the *ensi* of Zabšali.²¹⁸

	(A) Dealing with the Hurrian Frontier	(B) Others
Šulgi	24: Karḥar 1 25: Simurrum 1 26: Simurrum 2 27: Ḥarši	«First Hurrian War»
		28-29: High priestess of Eridu 30: King's daughter married to Anšan
	31: Karḥar 2 32: Simurrum 3 33: Karḥar 3	«Second Hurrian War»
	(37-38: Wall of the land built)	34-35: Anšan 36: Nanna of Karzida to his temple 39-41: Puzriš-Dagān «built»
	42: Šašrum 1 44: Simurrum (and Lullubum) «9» 45: Urbilum 1 (Lullubum, Simurrum and Karḥar) 46-47: Kimaš and Ḥumurti 48: Ḥarši (Kimaš and Ḥumurti)	«Third Hurrian War»
Amar-Sîn	2: Urbilum 2 6: Šašrum 2	1: Amar-Sîn became king 3-5: various cultic acts 7: <i>bītum-rābium, labrum</i> ..etc. 8-9: various cultic acts
Šū-Sîn	3: Simanum (4-5: Amorite wall built)	1: Šū-Sîn became king 2: ship of Enki 6: stele of Enlil and Ninlil 7: Zabšali 8-9: various cultic acts
Ibbi-Sîn	3: Simurrum	1: Ibbi-Sîn became king 2: high priest of Inanna of Uruk

Table of the Ur III campaigns on the Hurrian territories (after Hallo, *RHA*, p. 82).

Now it is necessary to look at the sequence of dates of the campaigns of the Ur III kings. From the beginning of the reign of Šulgi, Simurrum and Karḥar were the first lines of confrontation between Ur and the Hurrians. Subsequent campaigns pushed the line farther from Ur, deeper into Hurrian territory, and under Šulgi it had reached Šašrum (Š 42) and Urbilum (Š 45). Later, under Ibbi-Sîn, the line reverted to Simurrum, implying that Hurrian

²¹⁸ mu *Tu-ki-in-PA-mi-ig-ri-ša* dumu-munus-lugal énsi *Za-ab-ša-li*^{ki} ba-an-tuk, “Year Tukin-ḥaṭṭi-migrīša, the king's daughter, was married by the *ensi* of Zabšali,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 363.

power was recovering.²¹⁹ This recovery explains the decision of Ur to establish good relations with its old enemy Zabšali and conclude a dynastic marriage.²²⁰ Confronting the Hurrians in the Transtigris and keeping them at bay was a primary aim of Ur, but the role the Amorite infiltration played in changing the balance of power at this time should not be forgotten.

The Historical Geography of the Ur III Campaigns to the Hurrian Lands

To describe the historical geography of the Hurrian lands that were the object of Sumerian warfare under Ur III kings is difficult. This difficulty stems from the fact that the kings of Ur, with the exception of Šū-Sîn, did not leave any royal inscriptions with historical narratives or any annals like those left by the Assyrian kings. All we know has to be deduced from the date-formulae (year names) and from some passages in the literary compositions, although they are not considered as so reliable for writing history. Inscriptions of the other periods, especially the later ones, have to be studied for this purpose and the data compared with modern GNs in an attempt to identify the older GNs in the Ur III records. In this short survey the GNs that have already been dealt with in previous chapters, especially Chapter Two, will not be further discussed.

The GNs confronted by the kings of Ur in the Hurrian lands of the Transtigris can be listed in the chronological order of campaigns.

Šulgi:

Karḫar: Š 24-25

Simurrum: Š 25-26

Simurrum (for the 2nd time): Š 26

Ḫarši: Š 27

Karḫar (for the 2nd time): Š 31

Simurrum (for the 3rd time): Š 32

Karḫar (for the 3rd time): Š 33

Šašrum: Š 42

Simurrum and Lullubum (for the 9th time): Š 44

Urbilum, Simurrum, Lullubum and Karḫar (in one day): Š 45

Kimaš, Ḫu(m/wu)rtil and their lands (in one day): Š 46-47

Ḫarši, Kimaš, Ḫu(m/w)rtil and their lands (in one day): Š 48

Amar-Sîn:

Urbilum: Š 2

Šašrum (For the 2nd time): Š 6

Ḫuḫnuri: Š 7

²¹⁹ It is interesting to see this phenomenon also in the archival texts. Steinkeller drew attention to the large number of gún ma-da texts under Šulgi (35 texts) and Amar-Sîn (35 texts), when Ur's control over the peripheral lands was still firm, but these texts decreased dramatically under Šū-Sîn (19 texts) and virtually ceased in the first years of Ibši-Sîn (3 texts), indicating a loss of control: Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State..." p. 36.

²²⁰ Steinkeller associates this dynastic marriage with the political situation in Sīmaški, where the long lasting alliance of Ebarat/Ebarti of Sīmaški with Ur (since Šulgi 44) turned into hostility when he felt the end of Ur was approaching. He occupied Susa and established himself there as an independent ruler (sometime after IS 3 and before IS 9): Steinkeller, "New Light on Sīmaški ...," p. 228. This could be an explanation, but we cannot neglect the role the Hurrian threat played.

Šū-Sîn:

Simanum: Š 3

Zabšali: Š 7

Ibbi-Sîn:

Simurru: Š 3

Huḥnuri: Š 9

The first attack in the region under study was on **Karḥar**, a strategic city on the Great Khorasān Road, on the Alvand River. Most probably Karḥar was in or close to modern Qasri-Shīrīn.²²¹ The name is first attested as *Kak-kā-ra* in the LGN (Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names) and then as *Kà-kà-ra-an* in the Oakk texts from Tell Sulaimeh.²²² During the Ur III period the governor of Karḥar was a certain Ea-rābi, known from a text dated to AS 5, from an undated text and from a tablet from ŠS 9.²²³ On a cylinder seal²²⁴ we find the name of one of its Hurrian kings, the deified Tiš-atal king of Karḥar.²²⁵ Another king of Karḥar was Zardamu, likewise deified. From his seal legend it appears he ruled later than Tiš-atal, sometime in the Early Old Babylonian period.²²⁶ The text also indicates that he was a mighty king, described as king of the four quarters of the world. Two points in the text of this seal legend are especially important: the prominent position of the god Nergal in the text and the description of the king as ‘Sun of his land.’²²⁷ These two points show Zardamu sharing two important features with the Hurrian kings of the Habur. The special position of the god Nergal is also seen in the two foundation inscriptions of Tiš-atal and Atal-šen. The title ‘Sun of his land’ was also borne by Talpuš-atili of Nagar (see below).

The road that now leads to Sar-i-Pul-i-Zahāb passes through Khanaqīn, another city on the Alvand River.²²⁸ Khanaqīn is generally identified with ancient **Niqqum**,²²⁹ which was ruled in the Oakk period by a certain Karšum. He styled himself “The one (in charge of the)

²²¹ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 148. Note that Walker puts it in the north, close to Nineveh, basing himself on his identification of Tiš-atal of Karḥar with Tiš-atal of Nineveh: Walker, *The Tigris Frontier...*, p. 161, which does not seem to be correct.

²²² Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 65.

²²³ Frayne, “The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena,” *SCCNH* 10, p. 149.

²²⁴ The seal is of unknown provenance and dates to the Ur III or the Proto Isin-Larsa Period. It belongs to the De Clerq Collection in the Louvre, cf. Salvini, “The Earliest ...,” p. 107.

²²⁵ 1) ^dTi-!-ša-a-tal 2) LUGAL *Kár-ḥar*^{ki} 3) *Ma-ši-am-eš-tár* 4) IR₁₁.ZU, “Tiš-atal, king of Karḥar, Maši’am-Eštar (is) your servant,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 452 (E3/2.5.1).

²²⁶ Walker, *The Tigris Frontier...*, p. 161, who dates the seal to the “Post Ur III to OB period.”

²²⁷ The seal legend is as follows: 1) ^dZa-ar-da-mu 2) ^dUTU *ma-ti-šu* 3) *na-ra-am* 4) ^dKIŠ.UNU.GAL 5) *ì-lì-šu* 6) *An-nu-ni-tum* 7) *um-ma-šu* 8) ^d[Šul]-‘pa’-è 9) ‘x’-ti-[x]-‘AN-šū’ 10) ‘x’-[...] 11) ‘x’-[...]’-šū’ 12) ^dEN.SIG.NUN 13) *a-lì-ik i-mi-ti-šu* 14) ‘x’ ^dUTU 15) ^dDUMU.ZI-‘šū’ (?) 16) LUGAL *da-núm* 17) LUGAL *Kára-ḥar*^{ki} 18) ^ù LUGAL 19) *ki-ib-ra-tim* 20) *ar-ba-im* 21) DAM ^dInanna, “Zardamu, sun-god of his land, beloved of the god Nergal, his (personal) deity; Annunītum (is) his mother, Šulpa’e (is) his the god EN.SIG.NUN (is the one) who walks at his right side; the ... of Šamaš, (is) his (?) Dumuzi, mighty king, king of Karḥar, and king of the four quarters, spouse of the goddess Eštar,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 453 (E3/2.5.2).

²²⁸ This city was one of the major cities of the Halwān (ancient Ḥalman) province in the Middle Ages, cf.

المقدس، احسن التقاسيم في معرفة الاقاليم، ليدن، ١٨٧٧، ص. ٥٣، ١١٥.

[al-Maqdisi, *Aḥsan it-Taqāsīm fī Ma’rifat il-Aqālīm*, Leiden, 1877, p. 53; 115 (in Arabic)]. al-Maqdisi lived in the 10th century A. D.

²²⁹ Cf. Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 151; Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 70; cf. also: Röllig, W., “Niqu(m),” *RIA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 569-70.

messengers, governor of Niqqum, his servant (i.e. servant of Narām-Sîn)²³⁰ in inscriptions on two mace-heads. At one period Niqqum was considered an enemy, according to a Hittite literary text.²³¹ An OB letter refers to Niqqum in association with Ḫalman.²³² It is very possible that this Niqqum is identical with NI.ḪI of Ur III documents. One of those documents is the inscription of Ir-Nanna, who once functioned as “Governor of Ḫamazi and Karḫar and general of NI.ḪI.”²³³ Frayne noticed that the alternation between the velar stop *k* and the spirant *ḫ* occurs elsewhere, such as *Karḫar* = *kakkara(n)* and *Tikitihum* = probably modern Taqtaq.²³⁴ The suggestion is strengthened by renderings of the name of the goddess Belat-Šuḫnir as Belat-Šuknir, as noticed by Sallaberger.²³⁵

Simurru will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Little is known about **Ḫarši**. Šulgi campaigned against it in his 27th and 48th regnal years, almost at the beginning and at the end of his Hurrian war. The name occurs several times in the archival texts, most of which are dated to Š 48.²³⁶ Frayne tentatively associated it with Ḫuršitum,²³⁷ mentioned on a brick inscription from the OB period. The inscription states that a certain Puḫīya was king of the land of Ḫuršitum.²³⁸ The brick was reported to have come from a mound on the Awa-Spī²³⁹ tributary close to Tūz-Ḫurmātu, a locality to the south of Kirkuk.²⁴⁰ This provenance, although uncertain, fits well with the advance of the campaigns of Šulgi. After he destroyed Karḫar, the mighty stronghold, and broke the resistance shown by Simurru, he would have marched further north, to Ḫarši/Ḫuršitum, south of modern Kirkuk. An orthographic link between the forms Ḫarši and Ḫuršitum can be found in *silā₄-ḫa-ar-ši-tum* (CT 32, 50: 103409 Rs.9) and *udu-niga_x (ŠE)-ḫa-ar-ši-tum* (YOS 4, 217, 3).²⁴¹

From the archival texts it appears that this land was ruled in the Ur III period by an *ensi* named Addagina, who was later succeeded by his son Išiwir.²⁴² The names of other governors of Ḫarši are known, such as Marḫuni and Ti-[i]b(?)²⁴³ both described as “the man of Ḫarši,” and also Abba-uru-me-eš, “*ensi* of Ḫarši.”²⁴⁴

Kimaš was previously confused with the Elamite GN with the same name. However, the mention of this land together with Ḫumurtum and Ḫarši in the date-formulae of Šulgi

²³⁰ 15) *Kār-šum* 16) *šu SUKKAL-li* 17) *ÉNSI* 18) *Ni-qum^{ki}* 19) *IR₁₁-sú*, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 167 (E2.1.4.2005); p. 168 (E2.1.4.2006), l. 6-10.

²³¹ 14) ^m*Ur-[b]a (?) -an-da LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ni-iq-qi[(-)...]*, “14) Ur[b]anda, king of Niqqu[...], Güterbock, “Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische ...”, *ZA* 10 (1938), p. 68; cf. also Potts, *Mesopotamia and ...*, p. 107, note 131.

²³² 1) [*Ma*](?)^{-an-da} 2) ^a*na Ni-qi₄-[im^{ki}]* 3) *i-te-ri-i[b]* 4) *ù Da-ad-l[a-]* 5) *a-na Ḫa-al-^rma-ni^{ki}* 6) [*i-t*]e-ri-ib, Whiting, R. M., *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar*, Chicago, 1987, p. 37 (letter No. 2, 1930-T713).

²³³ 22) *énsi-Ḫa-àm-zi^{ki}* 23) *ù Kára* (Text GÁNA)-*ḫar^{ki}* 24) ^r*GİR.NÍTA* NI.ḪI^{ki}, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 324 (E3/2.1.4.13).

²³⁴ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 149; 169.

²³⁵ In Sallaberger, W., *Die kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, vol. 1, Berlin and New York, 1993, p. 19, note 64; cf. also the inscription of Babati in *RIME* 3/2, p. 341-2.

²³⁶ For an overview cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 74-5; Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 154-156.

²³⁷ Not to be confused with another Ḫuršitum, located in the region of Akšak, cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 80.

²³⁸ *LUGAL ma-at Ḫu-ur-ši-ti-im*.

²³⁹ Known also under its Turkish-Turkomenian name Aq-su.

²⁴⁰ For this cf. Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 156. He adds another attestation of Ḫuršitum in an OB letter sent by a ruler of Ešnunna (referring to Van Dijk, 1973, p. 65).

²⁴¹ Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 74-5.

²⁴² This name also occurs with the variants In-ši-wi-ir and I-ša-wi-ir, cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 74. The element *iwir* could be associated with Hurrian *ewri*, “lord.”

²⁴³ Although fragmentary, the name resembles the name Tabiti, son of Pišendēn, king of the Turukkeans, who were also Hurrians; cf. Chapter Six.

²⁴⁴ For these archival texts cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 74; Owen, D., “Critical Review: Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2,” *JCS* 33 (1981), p. 252.

suggests that all these places were in the same general area.²⁴⁵ According to some OB texts Kimaš was located somewhere to the north of the Hamrin Range.²⁴⁶ The occurrence of NIM-ki-maš^{ki} in several texts²⁴⁷ confirms its association with a highland region, and this is supported by the cylinders of Gudea that mention he had mined copper in the mountain of Kimaš.²⁴⁸ But it is associated with Ekallātum in OB date-formulae from Išchali as targets of a king of Ešnunna, which pushes Kimaš further to the north, to the middle Tigris, for Ekallātum was to the north of Assur.²⁴⁹ Locating it here does not seem correct, unless Kimaš was mentioned as a southerly target on the way to Ekallātum in the north. This is because Kimaš of the Ur III and Gudea sources was a highland city or district, not so far to the north as Assur or even close to Assur. In all probability Kimaš was located somewhere in the foothills of the Zagros, to the east of the Sirwān River, to the north of Hamrin, but not as far north as Arrapha or Zamua (= Shahrazūr).

The archival texts of Ur III provide the name of an *ensi* of Kimaš, a certain 𒀭u-un-NI.NI or 𒀭u-un-ḫi-li,²⁵⁰ who was also the military governor (*šagin*) of Madga.²⁵¹ This association strengthens the idea of locating Kimaš in the region proposed above. Noteworthy is the mention of Ra-ši-ši together with this 𒀭un-ḫi-li (TCS 140, 5),²⁵² an important figure that will be discussed in the next chapter.

𒀭u(m/w)urti²⁵³ was also associated with 𒀭arši and Kimaš in the date-formulae of Šulgi, which again means that it was located in the same general area. If we place the date-formulae that mention these lands in chronological order as reflecting the passage of events, the first impression is that Karḫar was controlling the gorge leading to the Upper Diyāla or Sirwān. The Sirwān region can be viewed as an inverted triangle, with the southern point marking the narrowest spot between the Zagros Mountains to the east and the Diyāla River and the Hamrin Range on the west (Map 1). This point was controlled by Karḫar. Behind that point Simurrum controlled a wider area of the triangle and, as with Karḫar, several successive campaigns were needed to clear it. Further back was the wider region in the middle of the triangle. There the Sumerian troops had to spread further eastwards and westwards, to Kimaš in the east, at the foot of the Zagros range, and to 𒀭arši and 𒀭u(m/w)urti in the west. This helps us to

²⁴⁵ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 159.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Goetze, A., "Sin-Iddinam of Larsa, New Tablets from his Reign," *JCS* 4 (1950), p. 95 (referring to Poebel, *ZA* 5 136 ff.); Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 101.

²⁴⁷ Cf. *RGTC* 2, p. 101.

²⁴⁸ 21) KÁ.GAL-*at*^{ki} 22) ḫur-saḡ Ki-maš-ka 23) uruda mu-ni-ba-al, "In Abullāt, on the mountain range of Kimaš, he mined copper," Edzard, D. O., Gudea and his Dynasty, *RIME* 3/1, Toronto, 1997, p. 34 (E3/1.1.7.StB); 15) ḫur-saḡ uruda-ke₄ Ki-maš-ta 16) ní-bi mu-na-ab-pā 17) uruda-bi gi-si-a-ba mu-ni-ba-al, "From Kimaš, the copper mountain range made itself known to him, and he dug its copper into baskets," Edzard, *RIME* 3/1, p. 79 (E3.1.1.7. Cyl A).

²⁴⁹ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 160.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 100, note also the rendering of the name on the seal as 𒀭u-un-i-lí; according to them it has to be read as 𒀭u-un-ḫi-li.

²⁵¹ For the location of Madga in the region between Daqūq, Tūz Ḫurmātu and Kifri, cf. Chapter Three.

²⁵² Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 100.

²⁵³ The writing of this GN in cuneiform gives the impression that the name must have been pronounced as something like /ḫvurti/. The sound /v/, as we know from NA and NB inscriptions, was written either as *m* or as *w*, as in the name of the Median king *Uvaxšt(a)ra* in OP (cf. Schmitt, R., "Die Sprache der Meder - eine grosse Unbekannte," *Continuity of Empire (?) Assyria, Media, Persia*, eds. G.B. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf and R. Rollinger, Padova, 2003, p. 26); the name is *Umakištar* in Akkadian (cf. Gadd, C. J., *The Fall of Nineveh, The Babylonian Chronicle no. 21,901 in the British Museum*, London, 1923, Rev. 1. 47, p. 34) in the Babylonian sources; similarly the name of the Persian king *Daryavauš* is *Dariamuš*. (cf. Von Voigtlander, E. N., *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great, Babylonian Version, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part I: Inscriptions of Ancient Iran*, London, 1978, I. 1, p. 11). A parallel element to this virtual /ḫvur/ may be found in the Hurrian word *ḫawur(ni)*, "sky," found in the PN *Ḫa(w)urna-nigi*; for this PN and the meaning of *ḫawur(ni)* cf. Richter, "Die Ausbreitung ...," p. 307.

understand why these latter three regions were attacked in one day, according to date-formulae: Kimaš and 𒄨u(m/w)ur_{ti} in Š 46-47; 𒄨arši, Kimaš and 𒄨u(m/w)ur_{ti} together in Š 48. Since 𒄨arši was the first of the three to be attacked as early as Š 27, directly after the campaigns against Karḫar in Š 25 and Simurru in Š 26, it is very probable that 𒄨arši was located to the south, midway between Kimaš and 𒄨u(m/w)ur_{ti}.

As for the location of 𒄨u(m/w)ur_{ti}, it seems very probable that it was on the western side of the triangle, behind Simurru and in front of Arrapha. It could very well be at modern Tūz-Ḫurmātu, a town and locality to the south of Kirkuk on the Awa-Spī tributary. The modern name of this town may also be a reflection of the old name,²⁵⁴ as with many other GNs.

𒄨u(m/w)ur_{ti} is mentioned in archival texts, one of which refers to the booty of this land.²⁵⁵ Others mention its *ensis* Ba-za-mu and 𒄨u-ba-mir-si-ni.²⁵⁶ The latter name, especially the element *-sini*, appears to be affiliated linguistically to the famous 𒄨išib-rasini, father of Luḫišan, king of Awan.²⁵⁷ The reference to NIM-ḫu-ur₍₅₎-ti^{ki} in several texts²⁵⁸ indicates the high elevation of this land or its location in a hilly terrain. The way leading from Baghdad to Kirkuk crosses the Hamrin Range slightly to the south of Tūz-Ḫurmātu, and travellers easily appreciate the height of the land directly behind the range, with Tūz-Ḫurmātu just a few kilometers away.

It is very surprising that there is comparative silence about the two important centres Arrapha and Nuzi. The few occurrences of Arrapha may be understandable, but the total omission of Nuzi, the heir of ancient Gasur, is unexplainable.²⁵⁹ Arrapha made its first appearance in the written records in this period. It is attested in some archival texts, some of which mention troops of that city,²⁶⁰ and one, dated to v AS 5, mentions the general with a Hurrian name, 𒄨ašip-atal, in connection with soldiers from Arrapha.²⁶¹

²⁵⁴ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 162.

²⁵⁵ 17) šà nam-ra-ak 𒄨u-ur₄-ti^{ki}, Owen, D., *Neo-Sumerian Texts from American Collections*, MVN, vol. 15, Rome, 1991, p. 80, text no. 201. Frayne prefers to keep the reading ur₄ instead of MUR: Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 162.

²⁵⁶ Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 81.

²⁵⁷ For the kings of Awan, see Chapter Two.

²⁵⁸ Cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 81.

²⁵⁹ The only occurrence of Nuzi as kaskal-na-me nu-zu-e-ŠĒ appeared to be a misunderstanding of a Sumerian verbal chain, cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 151. One possible interpretation of the silence about Nuzi/Gasur is connected with the relative silence concerning the Gutians. The Gutians, except for few times, do not appear in the Ur III texts, not even in date formulae, despite the extensive military actions in or close to their territory. Only in the early phase of the Ur III state under Ur-Namma are they referred to in inscriptions such as the literary composition that mentions the death of Ur-Namma in a battle against the Gutians. Perhaps there was a pact between Sumer and Gutium, according to which no party would clash with the other. The city of Gasur/Nuzi might then have been under Gutian influence and hence not an object of Sumerian military operations. Since there is no hiatus in the archaeological strata for this period in Gasur, the silence about the city cannot be attributed to abandonment. For the continuity of occupation between Gasur and Nuzi cf. Starr, R. F. S., *Nuzi*, vol. I, Harvard, 1939, p. 18; for the discovery of an Ur III tablet (no. 228), cf. Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi, Excavations at Nuzi*, vol. III in: *HSS X*, Harvard, 1935, p. vii.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 16; Owen, D., "Critical Review," *JCS* 33 (1981), p. 247.

²⁶¹ Salonen, A., M. Çiğ and H. Kizilyay, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Puzriş-Dagan Metinleri*, vol. I, Helsinki, 1954, p. 53, text no. 166, l. 11.

The Tranquil Hurrian Lands

It is notable that only part of the Hurrian lands, the lands in the Transtigris and Zagros, probably with the exception of Simanum,²⁶² became the targets of Sumerian warfare. The other parts, for instance those in the Habur area, were not mentioned in the list of lands attacked by the Ur III kings. On the contrary, Ur had diplomatic relations with Urkeš.²⁶³ Some think that northern Syria was not targeted in the military plans of Ur because of lack of interest, since the region was thinly populated.²⁶⁴ This does not seem likely, as we know that northern Syria, particularly the Habur Region, was a rich country, where such kingdoms as Urkeš and Nagar flourished with rich agricultural and trade economies.²⁶⁵ Nagar was famous for its expensive equids in the time of Ebla archives,²⁶⁶ and the same would have been true in the Ur III period. Urkeš was even more productive in agriculture since it was located in a zone of abundant rain and well placed for trade with the northern mountains in Anatolia. Proof of the richness of the Habur area comes from the Akkadian occupation of Nagar, where they built a centre (perhaps more than one) for the collection of local products. By contrast, the Transtigris consisted principally of rugged mountainous terrains, with poor agriculture and water resources unable to support large numbers of people. Why the Hurrians of the Transtigris were attacked so ferociously while their kinsmen in the Habur area enjoyed the peace and friendship of Ur is a question. The answer to this question must lie in the geopolitical conditions of the Transtigris, more specifically the lower parts in the Diyāla region. In the history of Mesopotamia this region was always (and it still is) a focal point, being midway between Mesopotamia and the Transtigris. As such it was on the one hand the base for attacks against the Mesopotamian lowlands, because of its closeness to the Zagros Mountains, the Hamrin Range, the Tigris and the Diyāla Rivers and on the other against the mountainous regions by powers of lowland Mesopotamia. Its position gives any attacking army coming from the north the advantage of hiding before launching an attack and easily retreating. This is why Sargon of Akkad carried out campaigns on Niqqum (Modern Khanaqīn) and Simurru (on the upper Diyāla), most probably to make a base for his attack against Subartu.²⁶⁷ Besides being an ideal starting point for attacks, the region also provided easy passage for immigrants from the north on their way to the heart of Mesopotamia. The flow of Gutians from this region into Mesopotamia and their military role in the invasion, albeit in the service of the Akkadians, remained fresh in Sumerian memory. The Hurrians in this period were still on the move, and one of their destinations was certainly the south, along the Sirwān and Diyāla Rivers. There they succeeded after the time of Sargon of Akkad in establishing themselves in Simurru, as is seen in the Hurrian name of its king, Daḫiṣ-atili. The rulers of Ur had no choice but to confront the Hurrians in the Diyāla region to safeguard

²⁶² The aim of the Sumerian military involvement in Simanum, unlike in the Transtigris, was to restore its kingship, not to destroy it.

²⁶³ Edzard/Farber, *RGTC* (UR III) 1974: 224, after Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 10.

²⁶⁴ Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit*, *OBO*, p. 159.

²⁶⁵ The excavators of Brak, ancient Nagar, concluded that Nagar had a prosperous society based on agricultural economy, cf.: Oates, D. and J. Oates, "The Excavations," *Excavations at Tell Brak*, vol. 2: Nagar in the third Millennium BC, Oxford, 2001, p. 71.

²⁶⁶ Eidem *et al.*, p. 101.

²⁶⁷ From this same region the last Sassanian king, Yazdagird III (632-651 AD), fled to Iran, to Nihavand and to Hamadan, after his defeat by the Arabs. The invading Arab troops also used the same passage to penetrate Iran. In modern times the strategic importance of this region was recognized in the strong process of Arabization by successive Iraqi regimes, to keep the region in the firm hands of Arab nationalist governments.

their realm. To do this they made successive campaigns to loot and destroy their settlements and take as many prisoners and materials as possible to keep them weak.²⁶⁸

The Hurrians in the Ur III period were in no way disorganized objects to Sumerian campaigns, but rather they were organized into small states that dominated the whole area, from the Zagros Mountains to the Habur region and beyond. Among these states were Urkeš (see below), Nagar (see below, under Nawar), Simanum, Simurrum and probably Kakmum. The ruler of Urkeš was Tiš-atal. We know of a mighty ruler of Nineveh, probably a vassal of Ur in this period, also called Tiš-atal. He is named in two tablets from Ešnunna and described as “the man of Ninua,”²⁶⁹ and he “would therefore have ruled the northern part of Assyria, including the temple town of the Hurrian goddess Šawuška.”²⁷⁰ The text mentioning Tiš-atal and his unprecedented large number of escorts indicates his importance and status.²⁷¹ Another Tiš-atal was king of Karḫar, mentioned already, known from a seal legend of unknown provenance from the Ur III or Proto Isin-Larsa Period.²⁷² Collon and Whiting think these names represent the same Hurrian king of Urkeš,²⁷³ while others think the name Tiš-atal was a common PN among the Hurrians in this period.²⁷⁴ It is tempting to imagine a king of Urkeš exercising his authority on Nineveh, which is geographically connected with the Habur area, and from there exercising authority on the Diyāla region, which is geographically connected to the Nineveh region by main routes. This is theoretically possible, but it remains difficult to think about a large Hurrian kingdom from the Habur to the Diyāla under the shadow of the empire of Ur. The inscriptions do not mention the two places together as the domains of one single king at one time. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine that a king of Urkeš can be simply entitled “the ‘man’ of Nineveh” in the texts mentioned above. The title king of Urkeš would have been more important or at least as important as “the man of Nineveh” and would have been the expected epithet, not restricted to the lordship of Nineveh.²⁷⁵ Furthermore, we would have expected Tiš-atal of Urkeš to mention Nineveh as his domain in his inscription, but he does not (see below). So it seems very likely that we are dealing with more than one Tiš-atal, and that Tiš-atal of Nineveh is to be distinguished from Tiš-atal of Urkeš. Accordingly, it becomes more difficult to identify Tiš-atal of Karḫar with Tiš-atal of Urkeš, since the Diyāla region would have been separated from the Habur region by the realm of Tiš-atal of Nineveh. We conclude, therefore, that in this period there are three different rulers named Tiš-atal.

²⁶⁸ Hallo points to the blockade of the northern Iranian trade routes against the Sumerians by the Hurrian kingdoms as a reason for the Ur III warfare: Hallo, “Simurrum and the Hurrian Frontier,” *RHA* 36 (1978), p. 71. While this could be a reason, it cannot be the only or the principal one.

²⁶⁹ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 11.

²⁷⁰ Wilhelm, *ibid.* According to Wilcke the occurrences of the goddess Ša-u₁₈ (=ÛLU)-ša, Ša-ù-ša and Ša-u-ša are an Ur III rendering of the goddess Ša(w)uš(k)a, which also appeared in Mari as Ša-ù-ša-ù-ša-an. The offerings listed to this goddess are related to Šū-Sîn’s *lukur* Ti’āmat-bāšī, and that could mean, in Wilcke’s view, that she was descended from a Hurrian country where this goddess was worshipped, perhaps from Nineveh; cf. Wilcke, C., “A Note on Ti’āmat-bāšī and the Goddess Ša(w)uš(k)a of Nineveh,” *DV (Drevnie Vostok)* 5 (1988), p. 225-227 (English Summary); see also the supplement, with an additional text mentioning her, in Wilcke, C., “Ti’āmat-bāšī,” *NABU* 1990, no. 1. Mars, p. 28 (no. 36).

²⁷¹ Whiting, “Tiš-atal of Nineveh and Babati, Uncle of Šu-Sin,” *JCS* 28 (1976), p. 176.

²⁷² The seal belongs to the De Clercq Collection in the Louvre, cf. Salvini, “The Earliest ...,” p. 107 and above under Karḫar.

²⁷³ Salvini, p. 107 and n. 44. Collon thinks that even the scribe Taḫiš-atal of Puzriš-Dagān was the same man of Nineveh, later king of Karḫar and probably the *endan* of Urkeš, cf. Collon, *RA* 84 (1990), p. 129f. Matthews and Eidem, and also Frayne, do not exclude the possibility that Tiš-atal of Urkeš was the same Tiš-atal of Nineveh; cf. Matthews and Eidem, “Tell Brak and Nagar,” *Iraq* 55 (1993), p. 203; Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 (Ur III), p. 462.

²⁷⁴ Salvini, “The Earliest...,” p. 107.

²⁷⁵ Whiting considers it possible to think of one Tiš-atal with three different occurrences: Whiting, “Tiš-atal of Nineveh and ...,” *JCS* 28 (1976), p. 175; 177. This hypothesis seems too difficult to prove, especially in the light of new discoveries in Mozan (for these see below, under Urkeš).

The Hurrians at this time seem to have been present in the region of Maraš in Anatolia but no farther. Their presence is reflected in the Old Assyrian archives from Anatolia, particularly Kaniš. In these archives there are few Hurrian Personal names²⁷⁶ and few Hurrian linguistic suffixes have been detected.²⁷⁷ Even those Hurrian names attested cannot be taken as evidence of a Hurrian presence there, since, for as Wilhelm explains, Assyria itself bordered Hurrian-speaking areas and Assyrians operating in Anatolia may have had Hurrian names.²⁷⁸ An important letter of the prince of the city of Mama, probably in the region of modern Maraš²⁷⁹ to the east of Kaniš, was sent by someone with a supposedly Hurrian name, Anum-ḫirbi.²⁸⁰ This might indicate that a Hurrian population was already there, perhaps even a Hurrian ruling family.²⁸¹ This sparse Hurrian presence in the Maraš region, compared with the fact that the same region was certainly within the Hurrian-speaking population area in the 14th century,²⁸² means that the Hurrians were still on the move towards the west and northwest during the centuries that followed. Other evidence of Hurrians in Kaniš is found in other letters. One, sent from Northern Syria by a certain Eḫli-Addu,²⁸³ is addressed to someone with a Hurrian name, Unap-še,²⁸⁴ in Kaniš.²⁸⁵ Among the witnesses is another supposedly Hurrian name, Tuḫuš-madi, who was from Ḫaššu in Northern Syrian. Another witness came from Zibuḫulwe.²⁸⁶ Another letter to Unap-še mentions “a scribe who can understand and read Hurrian.”²⁸⁷

²⁷⁶ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 12 referring to Garelli, P. *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique de l'Institut Française d'Istanbul 19, Paris, 1963, p. 155; Edzard and Kammenhuber, “Hurriter, Hurritisch,” *RIA* 4, p. 510; Kammenhuber, “Die Arier im Vorderen Orient....,” *Or* 64, p. 142, where Kammenhuber cites four Hurrian PNs that contain the word *ewri-*, “lord, king.”

²⁷⁷ Cf. Dercksen, J. G., “On Anatolian Loanwords in Akkadian. Texts from Kültepe,” *ZA* 97 (2007), p. 40-41

²⁷⁸ Wilhelm, Hurrians in the Kültepe Texts, *Anatolia and the Jazira...*, p. 181-2.

²⁷⁹ Balkan, K., *Letter of King Anum-ḫirbi of Mama to king Warshama of Kanish*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından VII, Seri 31 a, Ankara, 1957, p. 6ff, after Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 12. According to Garelli, Mama is probably identifiable with Göksun in the mountains that separate Syria from Cata'onia, cf. Astour, “Les Hourrites...,” p. 4-5. The OA sources indicate that Mama was closely associated with Uršu, and both were located on a southern alternative route leading to Kaneš, cf. Barjamovic, G., *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, Copenhagen, 2011, p. 195.

²⁸⁰ Balkan (who published the letter) and Garelli consider the name Hurrian, while Laroche sees it only as a probability, cf. Astour, “Les Hourrites...,” p. 4. A similar name, in the form ^mA-nu-um-Ḫé-ir-wa, is attested in a Hittite historical tradition. He was king of ^{URU}Za-al-[wa'-ar'], a city probably located in the northern Antioch Plain, cf. Astour, “Les Hourrites...,” p. 4-5. The first element of the name that was once understood as the name of the Mesopotamian deity Anum, appears to be the predicate: a verbal form of the 3rd person ergative *an=o=m* meaning “He pleases him,” from the verbal root *an-*. If this proves to be correct, the second element must be the theophoric part of the name: Wilhelm, “L'état actuel et ...,” *Amurru*, I, p. 176, note 15; cf. also Wegner, *Einführung ...*, p. 23. It is noteworthy that Ḫarbe was known among the Kassites as a deity, whose name formed the theophoric element of two Kassite royal names, the 15th and 30th names, Kadašman-Ḫarbe I and II. That Ḫarbe was a divine name can be seen by comparing the name Kadašman-Ḫarbe with the other Kassite royal name Kadašman-Enlil. According to Balkan, the name Kadašman-Ḫarbe means “Trusted in Ḫarbe,” cf. Balkan, K., *Kassitenstudien, I. Die Sprache der Kassiten*, New Haven, 1954, p. 59, the name Meli-Ḫarbe is also attested and means “Slave of Ḫarbe,” *op. cit.*, p. 69.

²⁸¹ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 12.

²⁸² Wilhelm, *ibid.*

²⁸³ A compound Hurro-Semitic name meaning “The god Addu saved.” For the element *ehli* cf. Richter, Th., Ein Hurriter wird geboren ... und benannt, p. 509.

²⁸⁴ The *še* element of the name, Wilhelm states, is an abbreviated form of *šen*, “brother.” To prove this he recalls the Hurrian PN from the OAKk Tell Sulaima tablet Tulpipše, cf. Wilhelm, “Zu den hurritischen Namen der Kültepe-Tafel kt k/k 4,” *SCCNH* 8 (1996), p. 337.

²⁸⁵ Wegner, *Einführung in die hurritische Sprache*, p. 23. Wilhelm finds the PN Duḫušmati also a possible Hurrian name: Wilhelm, “L'état actuel et ...,” *Amurru*, I, p. 167.

²⁸⁶ Wilhelm's analysis of this GN is a genitive form, seen in the clear Hurrian genitive ending *-we*, based on a professional name, to which the suffix *-uhuli* (*-o=ḡ(e)=o/u=li*) is attached: Wilhelm, *Amurru*, I, p. 176-7.

²⁸⁷ Wegner, *Einführung ...*, *ibid.*

Urkeš:

Thanks to the archaeological efforts undertaken in recent years, Urkeš,²⁸⁸ modern Tell Mozan, has become one of the landmarks of Hurrian civilization and archaeology. It is perhaps the best example of a Hurrian city with a Hurrian material culture, Hurrian population and a Hurrian ruling family with its own regal priorities and its own artistic genre. It was also an autonomous urban efflorescence of the mountainous north, not an outpost of Mesopotamian civilization, in contrast to Nagar.²⁸⁹ The city of Urkeš was the centre of the kingdom of Urkeš and so it is appropriate to concentrate on the city with a side-glance at its neighbour Nagar. The name of the city was known from the inscription of Atal-šen, “king of Urkeš and Nawar,” and Hittite religious texts refer to it as the city of Kumarbi,²⁹⁰ father of the Hurrian gods, associated with Sumerian Enlil.²⁹¹ In other mythological texts such as the myth of *silver* (CTH 364), Urkeš is also associated with Kumarbi.²⁹² Hurrian was the language used there for display inscriptions, Hurrian anthroponyms denote the political elite and the royal titulary was Hurrian.²⁹³ In Urkeš Hurrians took over elements of Mesopotamian civilization, including cuneiform, as early as the Late Akkadian – Gutian period.

Based on the above mentioned text material, especially from the Ur III Period, the city of Urkeš appears to have been the most important Hurrian centre before the Mittanni Period.²⁹⁴ But it is surprising that the city is not attested in the Ebla texts or in Oakk. texts of Mesopotamia.²⁹⁵

As pointed out earlier, the rulers of the city had Hurrian names from the third millennium BC, and they can be arranged in order according to middle-chronology:²⁹⁶

Tupkiš and his wife Uqnītum.²⁹⁷ (+/- 2280 BC)²⁹⁸
[xxx], husband of Tar’am Agade (+/- 2240 BC)²⁹⁹
Atal-šen son of Šatar-mat.
Tiš-atal.
Ann-atal.

²⁸⁸ For the transcription Urkeš, rather than Urkiš as in older literature, cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh...,” p. 1, note 1. The different renderings of the city name in cuneiform literature are dealt with in Buccellati, G. and M. Kelly-Buccellati, “The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK,” in: *WZKM*, p. 68-71. On arguments why Urkeš is considered a Hurrian city cf. Buccellati, G., “The Monumental Urban Complex at Urkesh,” *SCCNH* 15 (2005), p. 5-6.

²⁸⁹ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “Urkesh and the Question of the Hurrian Homeland,” p. 150.

²⁹⁰ Güterbock, H., “Kumarbi,” *RIA* 6 (1980-1983), p. 329.

²⁹¹ Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

²⁹² Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

²⁹³ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh...,” p. 3.

²⁹⁴ Salvini, the earliest...,” p. 107.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Royal Storehouse ...,” p. 3, except for an uncertain reconstruction of a fragmentary name attested in an Oakk text as *Ur-k[i-iš^{ki}]* by Steinkeller, cf. *ibid.* note 7.

²⁹⁶ According to M. Kelly-Buccellati eight rulers/kings of Urkeš are known from sealings and other textual sources, cf. M. Kelly-Buccellati, “Urkesh and the North: Recent Discoveries,” p. 29.

²⁹⁷ The reading *Uqnītum*: KUR.ZA.NI-*tum* or ZA.KUR.NI-*tum*, “The lapis-lazuli girl,” is suggested by Steinkeller. The doubtful reading *Zakuryatum* as an Amorite PN is not favoured for historical and orthographic reasons. However, although the PN *Uqnītum* occurs in OB, the reading *Uqnītum* is not absolutely sure, for, as the Buccellatis say, we still ignore the local peculiarities of the scribal traditions in Urkeš in dealing with logograms and syllables. There are further questions about the reading of the logogram and about the sign NI; for this cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Royal Storehouse ...,” p. 16 and note 21.

²⁹⁸ For this date see Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Royal Palace at Urkesh and the Daughter of Naram-Sin,” *Les annales archéologiques arabes syriennes (AAAS)*, 44 (2001), p. 65.

²⁹⁹ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *ibid.*

The domain of these rulers was not restricted to the city of Urkeš, but the city together with the surrounding territories constituted the kingdom of Urkeš. It is thought that the kingdom included Nawar, since the titulary of Atal-šen refers to Nawar as a territory rather than a city.³⁰⁰

The palace of Urkeš (Fig. 1)³⁰¹ consists of two main wings but is only partially excavated. The excavated objects now known come principally from the so-called Service Wing that covers almost 1000 m². The Formal Wing seems to have suffered considerable damage, although parts of its walls reach a height of 3 m above the roof line of the Service Wing.³⁰² The areas excavated so far point to an extensive palace according to the excavators: “The palace plan is looming larger and larger with each new season of excavation.”³⁰³ The palace conforms to a rectilinear layout and includes rooms and courtyards, hearths, ovens (later phase), basins (later phase), drains,³⁰⁴ staircases, platforms, a toilet and flagstone pavements (courtyard H3) (Fig. 2). A particularly interesting map, presumably of the rooms I1-I3 (Fig. 3) was also found.³⁰⁵ The main entrance of the palace appears to have faced west. Also there is an underground structure associated with necromancy, to the southwest of the palace (Fig. 4a-b), called in Hurrian *ābi* and related to a Hurrian cult.³⁰⁶ Some Hittite religious texts that describe rituals strongly influenced by Hurrian religion “make it possible to communicate with the underworld through pits.”³⁰⁷ Such pits are called ‘offering pits’³⁰⁸ and were used as passages through which the underworld gods were summoned. In Hurrian-Hittite texts the underworld gods, but never the spirits of the dead, are summoned. So these rituals had nothing to do with death, but the gods were summoned for purification purposes and offerings.³⁰⁹

An old temple (c. 2400 BC),³¹⁰ built on a monumental terrace of sun-dried bricks and surrounded by an oval line of stones (3 m. high), was the first architectural structure discovered in the city in 1984. The geomagnetic survey of the site in 2001 showed that this

³⁰⁰ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Seals of the King of Urkeš: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK,” *WZKM*, p. 81 and note 82. Nag/war was not listed in the inscription of Tiš-atal as his domain, obviously because it was out of his control.

³⁰¹ For a stratigraphical and chronological overview of the phases of the excavated parts of this palace cf. the charts in Buccellati, G and M. Kelly-Buccellati, “Die Große Schnittstelle. Bericht über die 14. Kampagne in Tall Mozan/Urkeš: Ausgrabungen im Gebiet AA, Juni-Oktober 2001,” *MDOG* 134 (2002), on pages 107 and 109.

³⁰² Buccellati, “The Monumental Urban Complex ...,” p. 8 and 9.

³⁰³ Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

³⁰⁴ For this in detail cf. Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 19-21.

³⁰⁵ Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 17-19.

³⁰⁶ Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 6. According to Hoffner this same Hurrian word *ābi* was borrowed by the Hebrew as *ōb*; for this cf. Kelly-Buccellati, M., “Ein hurritischer Gang in die Unterwelt,” *MDOG* 134 (2002), p. 136, note 8 (referring to: Hoffner Jr., A. H., “Second Millennium Antecedents to the Hebrew *ōb*,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86 (1967), p. 385-401).

³⁰⁷ Kelly-Buccellati, “Ein hurritischer Gang ...,” *MDOG*, p. 136. She points to the technical term *ābi* used to denote such cultic pits; it means pit in Hurrian, yet some texts refer to ^d*ābi* as belonging to the god of the underworld, *op. cit.*, p. 136-137 (referring to Archi, A., “The Names of the Primeval Gods,” *Or* 59 (1990), p. 114-129.)

³⁰⁸ Kelly-Buccellati, *MDOG*, p. 137 (referring to Archi, *Or* 59, p. 117); cf. now De Martino, S. and M. Giorgieri, *Literatur zum hurritischen Lexikon (LHL)*, Band 1, Firenze, 2008, p. 1 and 8 under *abi* = “(Opfer)grube.”

³⁰⁹ Kelly-Buccellati, *ibid.* For the description of these rituals, the offerings and the pits in the Hittite texts, cf. Kelly-Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 137-139. Recently, numerous bones of piglets were found at the bottom of the pit, indicating offerings (courtesy Diederik Meijer, October 2010).

³¹⁰ Hansen, D., *The First Great Empire*, in *Art of the First Cities*, ed. Joan Aruz, New York, 2003, p. 224. An older phase of the temple is dated to c. 2700 BC, but it is not known to which deity it was dedicated: *ibid.* The excavators of the temple date the whole phase to 2800-2650 BC, cf. Dohmann-Pfälzner, H. and P. Pfälzner, “Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in der zentralen Oberstadt von Tall Mozan/Urkeš, Bericht über die in Kooperation mit dem IIMAS durchgeführte Kampagne 2001,” *MDOG* 134 (2002), p. 179.

line of stones was a surrounding wall with a diameter of 125 m from east to west and 75 m from north to south.³¹¹ The city wall was built during one of the older phases of the temple. It was fortified with a moat, which was filled in around 2450 BC when the city defences were probably extended.³¹² Buccellati thinks the temple was built by Tiš-atal and dedicated to Kumarbi.³¹³ This rectangular, single-roomed building with a broken axis³¹⁴ has a foundation of large stones and later excavations showed it was built on a high terrace.³¹⁵ But it was not the only structure on the terrace. The foundation of a wall was discovered on the northern part of the terrace that runs from east to west.³¹⁶

It appears that the entire western and central part of Mozan was occupied by the monumental complex that combined the palace and the temple, with a surface diameter of 250 m.³¹⁷ The Formal Wing of the palace stands at a higher level than the Service Wing. The plaza that separates the terrace, on which the temple was built, occupies a level higher than the Formal Wing. This impressive complex could have been seen from several kilometres away. As Buccellati states: “As such, this would be one of the most impressive third-millennium architectural complexes in Syro-Mesopotamia, covering a vast area and spanning a difference in elevation of almost 15 meters”³¹⁸ (Fig. 5). Such a high temple complex reminds one of the south Mesopotamian temple-platforms of the Early Dynastic period, such as those at Nippur, Uruk and Ur. It can be listed among the tradition of early phases of Mesopotamian ziggurats.³¹⁹ Not only is its high altitude impressive, but also its oval shape makes it the first oval temple known in northern Mesopotamia from the third millennium BC.³²⁰ The use of stone in the ramp (15.5-18 m wide)³²¹ (Fig. 6) leading to the temple and in the surrounding wall is impressive. Very possibly the Hurrians of Urkeš have maintained the tradition of stone masonry they learned in their original mountainous homeland, as well as the tradition of building temples in elevated locations.

The palace of Tell Mozan shows at least two phases through the sealings found there. The older one was in the time of Tupkiš and his wife, Queen Uqnītum. The sealings show scenes from the court in the royal palace in Urkeš. The sealing k2 (Fig. 7) shows the king sitting on his throne raising a mace or sceptre,³²² with a lion (most probably alive) at his feet.³²³ The person standing in front of him holds something in his hand. The headdress of the attendant is

³¹¹ Dohmann-Pfälzner and Pfälzner, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

³¹² Hansen, *The First Great Empire*, *ibid.*

³¹³ Buccellati, “The Monumental Urban Complex...,” p. 10. According to him, the term Nergal is to be interpreted as a logogram for Kumarbi, *ibid.*, note 5.

³¹⁴ Such temple plans consisting of a rectangular room with the entrance on one of the long sides and the cella at the short side were used in the Assyrian temples as well (see for example the Archaic Ishtar Temple in Assur). A similar temple was found in Tell Bazmūsīān in Dukān; for these cf. Damerji, M. S. B., *The Development of the Architecture of Doors and Gates in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Tokyo, 1987, figs. 21 and 45.

³¹⁵ Cf. Pfälzner, P., “Das Tempeloval von Urkeš. Betrachtungen zur Typologie und Entwicklungsgeschichte der mesopotamischen Ziqqurat im 3. Jt. V. Chr.,” *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 1 (2008), p. 399; 400-402.

³¹⁶ Dohmann-Pfälzner and Pfälzner, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

³¹⁷ Buccellati, “The Monumental ...,” p. 7 and 9.

³¹⁸ Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

³¹⁹ Dohmann-Pfälzner and Pfälzner, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

³²⁰ Pfälzner, “Das Tempeloval...,” p. 400.

³²¹ Dohmann-Pfälzner and Pfälzner, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

³²² Holding the mace is considered to be a divine gesture made by Tupkiš, since the mace and dagger were the usual weapons of the gods. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati cautiously propose that the kings might have adopted divine status, a suggestion strengthened by the possible etymology of the title *endan* as being from the Hurrian word *eni*, “god;” cf.: Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK,” *WZKM*, p. 75.

³²³ This is shown by representing the lion with his body and tail intertwined with the throne, and the feet of the crown-prince sunk into the lion’s mane while standing on the head of the lion in the presence of his father; cf. M. Kelly-Buccellati, “Urkesh and the North,” p. 30.

distinctive, made of leather or cloth, placed on the head without ribbons or any visible fastenings. The long flaps on the side (most probably on both sides) were lengthenings of part of the headdress. On the side of the headdress is an embossed rounded-shape. The top of the head is also shown as small and rounded. A cultic clay figurine from Urkeš³²⁴ has a similar headdress, but here it is worn by a woman (Fig. 8). Another kind of headdress is to be seen on the sealing k3 (Fig. 9), which was initially described as a helmet.³²⁵ It is very likely that it was also made of leather or cloth. Long flaps drawn from the side and behind are clearly visible. The one on the side has caused two soft folds in the headdress, a clear indication of the softness of the material. The side flap remarkably runs through the person's beard, clearly emphasising the thickness of that beard.

The queen, on the other hand, is shown on the seals³²⁶ in familiar, everyday scenes in the palace. One of the sealings (q2) (Fig. 10) shows her sitting on a chair, facing the king, symbolically indicating her equal in position to the king. On other sealings she is shown bearing a drinking cup (Fig. 11), listening to music and songs (Figs. 12 and 13),³²⁷ or sitting and having her hair braided by a servant (Fig. 14). Such intimacy has been seen as unprecedented in iconography.³²⁸ The queen had her own retinue, a nurse with the Hurrian name Zamena.³²⁹ Her close relationship with her mistress is indicated by her own sealing, showing an attendant combing and braiding the hair of Queen Uqnītum.³³⁰ Zamena not only had economic power, as can be seen from the numerous sealings, but also appears to have been an influential personality in the palace.³³¹ The royal cook, Tuli, also had her own seal and was depicted performing her duties. The inscription on the seal of one of the servants of the queen is extraordinarily engraved horizontally, a feature otherwise unattested in the third millennium, and very seldom later. The queen and her daughter are distinguished by their distinctive hair-style. The hair is braided with an ornament attached close to the tip, apparently a symbol of the queen's power and position.³³² On some sealings, as seen above (Fig. 13), a high table has been placed in front of the queen and two musicians are playing harps. Children may also be depicted on the seals, mostly touching the lap of their mother (Fig. 10, 12 and 13) or father (Fig. 7) in a gesture of homage and filiation.³³³ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati speak of a "dynastic program", meaning "for the first time in the Ancient Near East a conscious effort was made to create images of power and continuity for the Urkeš rulers and their children."³³⁴ The headdress of the son of the king is striking. He is wearing a distinctive crown which resembles one particular crown on the Annubanini rock-relief in Sar-i-Pul-i-Zahāb, worn by the first prisoner. Such a crown is found also on a sealing depicting

³²⁴ Cf. Pecorella, P. E., "Note sulla Produzione Artistica Hurrita e Mittanica," in *La Civiltà dei Hurriti*, ed. G. P. Carratelli, Napoli, 2000, p. 362.

³²⁵ Buccellati, G. and M. Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh..." *AfO* 42 (1995), p. 11; 13.

³²⁶ Out of 72 rollings, 8 seals are identified as belonging to the queen; the king had 5 seals reconstructed from 11 rollings and 4 seals belonged to the royal household, reconstructed from 81 rollings; cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Seals of the King of Urkesh ...," *WZKM*, p. 67.

³²⁷ On sealings q4, q6-7 and q8 the singer has put his/her hand beside the ear, a gesture still made by the (*maqām*) singers in the Near East.

³²⁸ Kelly-Buccellati, "Urkesh and the North," p. 31.

³²⁹ According to Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, the interpretation of the name Zamena as Hurrian was presented by both Wilhelm and Salvini: Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse ...," p. 21.

³³⁰ Cf. for this M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Urkesh and the north: Recent Discoveries," p. 31.

³³¹ Kelly-Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

³³² Kelly-Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

³³³ Hansen, *The First Great Empire*, p. 226; Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse ...," p. 18. Children are depicted on some Akkadian seals from south Mesopotamia, but they are more often depicted on seals of the north, as in Chuera, Halawa and Urkeš; cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse ...," p. 17, note 24; cf. also Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse ...," p. 14.

³³⁴ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Seals of the King of Urkesh ..." *WZKM*, p. 77.

Tupkiš himself³³⁵ (Fig. 15). This suggests that the prisoners on the Annubanini stele were Hurrians, captured with their king, the first prisoner on the stele.³³⁶

Almost all the figures depicted on the seals of Urkeš wear long garments. The exceptions are two priests (?) on a cylinder seal with a cultic scene who wear short knee-length skirts³³⁷ (Fig. 16a-b). Sometimes the right arm and shoulder are naked. The dress of the king and the queen is usually tiered, as seen on sealings k2, q2, q3 and q4. The queen wears a fringed robe on the seals of the nurse Zamena. Thus it can be concluded that the tiered garment was considered more important in the iconography of Urkeš.

The sealings found in the royal storehouse belong to a narrow circle of users, and this implies that the royal household was involved in the economic activity. Perhaps they had a trade monopoly. It is likely that goods containers were sealed in the locations where the goods were prepared or manufactured for the seal owners in whose names they were to be stored until needed.³³⁸

A clay tablet (A10.377), found in the palace of Urkeš near the main floor of room C4 (Fig. 17), has nine lines of cuneiform writing in Akkadian. The excavators stated that the tablet belongs stratigraphically to phase 2, the time of Tupkiš.³³⁹ The text refers to a class of individuals who are assigned to someone or to some task, and there is mention of a city governor in l. 5 and harvesting in l. 7.³⁴⁰ Another tablet, the school tablet A1j1 found in room B2, yields a six line text (five on the obverse and one on the reverse) that is an excerpt from the Early Dynastic LU E professions list.³⁴¹ Since the tablet is found in the service quarter, it means that apprentice scribes were present within the storehouse.³⁴² Further, a complete inscribed docket and more than forty tablet fragments were found in the building and just outside it. The significance of these finds lies in that they represent the “northernmost stratified cuneiform material in the third millennium.”³⁴³

The use of the Hurrian word *endan* in the titulary of Urkeš is significant. It is thought that a Hurrian word spelled syllabically, in contrast to the tradition of Sumerian logograms, can be counted as a deliberate implication of ethnicity.³⁴⁴ Furthermore, Urkeš had its own strong and independent glyptic tradition that “helps to identify Urkeš as an autonomous centre of cultural innovation.”³⁴⁵ The continuity of some of the artistic traits of Urkeš in later traditions of Northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia, as noted by Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, shows that Urkeš was “an original centre of influence and point of diffusion.”³⁴⁶

In the second phase of the palace an unnamed king or *endan* was the lord of the palace. His wife was Queen Tar’am-Agade, known to have been a daughter of Narām-Sîn of Akkad from sealings found in room H2 (Fig. 1). It is she who fixes the date for this phase.³⁴⁷ These discoveries brought about a radical change of view, showing that Urkeš was a major power in the 3rd millennium BC, not a small peripheral one, and that the kingdom flourished during the

³³⁵ Hansen, *The First Great Empire*, p. 226.

³³⁶ This point will be touched upon in more detail in Chapter Five.

³³⁷ This seal belongs to the later phase, when Tar’am-Agade was queen of the city.

³³⁸ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Seals of the King of Urkesh . . .,” *WZKM*, p. 80-81.

³³⁹ Buccellati, “The Monumental Urban Complex . . .,” p. 21. A criterion for judging the Akkadian language of the tablet is the repeated use of the preposition *a-na*.

³⁴⁰ Buccellati, *ibid.*

³⁴¹ Buccellati, G., “A LU E School Tablet from the Service Quarter of the Royal Palace AP at Urkesh,” *JCS* 55 (2003), p. 45.

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 45-6.

³⁴⁴ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *WZKM*, p. 81.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

³⁴⁷ Hansen, *The First Great Empire*, p. 225.

reign of the Akkadian dynasty, not after its fall.³⁴⁸ A reconstruction of the scene of the 22 sealing fragments shows a typical Oakk. theme found on other seals of the members of the Akkadian royal family who hold political or administrative posts (Fig. 18).³⁴⁹ It does not seem, then, that she was in Urkeš as a priestess, but rather as a royal spouse of its *endan*. But his name is not mentioned on the legend of her seal.³⁵⁰ Since Ebla and Nagar at this time had good relations, it seems likely that Narām-Sîn sought an alliance with Urkeš by such an inter-dynastic marriage to counter-balance the Ebla-Nagar axis.³⁵¹ Perhaps related to this political marriage is the name Tar'am-Agade, meaning "She loves Agade," is politically loaded, so it may not necessarily have been a name given at birth.³⁵²

Other sealings of a certain Ukin-Ulmaš and Ewri-atal were also found together with the sealings of Tar'am-Agade. It is not known who the former was. He bears an Akkadian name, and could have been a brother or half-brother of the queen.³⁵³ The latter, i.e. Ewri-atal, has a Hurrian name meaning 'The lord is strong' or 'The strong one is lord' according to Wilhelm.³⁵⁴ The similarity between the composition on the seal of this person and the seals of other high-ranking and royal figures shows the importance of Ewri-atal.³⁵⁵ Other sealings have been found that belong to important officials, such as Išar-bēli, with an Akkadian name, and a certain Unap- [...]. The former appears to have been the same person who appeared in Umma and probably Akkad, where he served as steward of the estate of the wife of Šārkalīšarri, and now found himself in Urkeš.³⁵⁶ As to the latter, very little is known.

Unfortunately, little is known about Urkeš in the next periods. It was mentioned in a royal inscription, probably of Šū-Sîn, together with Mukiš and Abarnum, but in an obscure context.³⁵⁷ Two other royal inscriptions of the kings of Urkeš shed some light on the matter.

Atal-šen:

Atal-šen is known as a king of Urkeš and Nawar from the discovery of his inscription in Samarra, far from his home in the Habur region. The inscription was first published by F. Thureau-Dangin in 1912, and has often been re-edited and discussed.³⁵⁸ The script and language (in Akkadian) dates it to about the end of the Gutian Period or the first decades of the Ur III Period.³⁵⁹ The name can be either Atal-šen or Ari-šen.³⁶⁰ He was a son of a certain Satar-mat, who is otherwise unknown, but he also bears a Hurrian name and seems to have been a king.

³⁴⁸ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Palace at Urkesh and the Daughter of Naram-Sin," *AAS*, 44 (2001), p. 63; Buccellati, G. and M.-K. Buccellati, "Tar'am-Agade, Daughter of Naram-Sin at Urkeš," *Of Pots and Plans, Papers on the Archaeology and History of Mesopotamia and Syria Presented to David Oates in Honour of his 75th Birthday*, ed. L. Al-Gailani Werr, J. Curtis, H. Martin, A. McMahon, J. Oates and J. Reade, London, 2002, p. 11.

³⁴⁹ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *AAS*, *ibid.*

³⁵⁰ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *AAS*, *ibid.*; See also Buccellati and Buccellati, "Tar'am-Agade ...," *Of Pots and Plans*, p. 13. For arguments to identify her as a queen, not a priestess cf. *op. cit.*, p. 15; 18.

³⁵¹ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "Tar'am-Agade ...," *Of Pots and Plans*, p. 15.

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁴ Cf. his study of the name in: Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "Tar'am-Agade ...," *Of Pots and Plans*, p. 20.

³⁵⁵ For this cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 20-22.

³⁵⁶ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

³⁵⁷ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 301 (E3/2.1.4.2, l. 6'-7'). Frayne thinks it recounts a campaign: *op. cit.*, p. 300.

³⁵⁸ For a list of publications and studies cf. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 461.

³⁵⁹ Cf. above on p. 179.

³⁶⁰ Cf. above on p. 179.

As king of Urkeš and Nawar he ruled two important cities in the Habur triangle. Formerly Nawar was identified with Namri or Namar in the Diyāla region,³⁶¹ which led to the conclusion that there was a widespread Hurrian state or semi-empire at this early stage of Hurrian history.³⁶² However, recent discoveries in the Habur region have shown that there were two places there named Nawar, and one is to be identified with Tell Brak (see below, Nawar). Urkeš, as stated earlier, can be identified with the large tell of Mozan, near Amuda, on the Syrian-Turkish border. As for Ḫawi/alum, it appears to have been another place-name which is not yet located. Goetze wondered if it could be identified with *Ka-wi-la-a*^{ki}, mentioned twice in the Mari texts (*ARM* II, 107 and *ARM* IV, 35), both together with Naḫur.³⁶³

The inscription, written in Akkadian on a bronze tablet (Fig. 19)³⁶⁴ by a Hurrian-named scribe³⁶⁵ reads:

“To Nerigal, king of Ḫawi/alum, Atal-šen, the capable shepherd, the king of Urkeš and of Nawar, the son of King Šatar-mat, builder of the temple of Nerigal, he who destroys his rivals. As for the one who destroys this tablet, may Šamaš and Ištar eliminate their offspring. Šaum-šen did this.”³⁶⁶

Tiš-atal:

Later in the Ur III period Tiš-atal occupied the throne of Urkeš. Tiš-atal has the distinction of having left the earliest original Hurrian text known to posterity.³⁶⁷ The inscription (Fig. 20a-b) is dated to the Ur III Period³⁶⁸ and, like the inscription of his predecessor Atal-šen, his inscription concerns the building of the temple of Nerigal:

³⁶¹ Cf. for instance Thureau-Dangin, F., “Tablette de Samarra,” *RA* 9 (1912), p. 2-3; ١٥٦. ل. مبدیا، . دیاکونوف،

³⁶² Cf. for instance Hallo, “Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier,” *RHA* 36 (1978), p. 71.

³⁶³ Goetze, A., “An Old Babylonian Itinerary,” *JCS* 7 (1953), p. 63. Von Soden compared it with *Ḫu-ub-ša-lim*^{ki} (in genitive) of *ARM* I 78, 7, cf. Edzard, D. O., “Ḫawalum,” *RIA* 4 (1972-75), p. 238.

³⁶⁴ About the tablet cf. Thureau-Dangin, “Tablette de Samarra,” *RA* 9, p. 1-4; Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 461. It is worth mentioning that the inscription was found in Samarra, far from the Habur. How it came there is uncertain; perhaps it was taken as booty in a later battle.

³⁶⁵ The name is analysed as *ša=u=m=šen*. The root *ša-* is, according to Salvini, common to both the noun ‘weapon’ (*šauri*) and the name of the goddess Šawuška. The rest is the word for ‘brother,’ cf. Salvini, “The Earliest...,” p. 106. Salvini compares an analysis of the Hurrian PN from the Ur III Period: *Puš=u=m=šen* after Gelb in *HS*, p. 111. Wilhelm has discussed the verbal suffix *=u=m (=o=m)* in PNs, cf. Wilhelm, G., in *Texte, Sätze, Wörter und Moneme, Festschrift für Klaus Heger zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. S. R. Anschütz, Heidelberg, 1992, p. 667f. As for the element *ša-* in the divine name Šawuška, he points to the analysis given by Wegner in *Xenia* 21, p. 150 as *Ša=wuš=k=a*.

³⁶⁶ 1) ^dKIŠ.UNU.GAL 2) LUGAL 3) *Ḫa-WA-li-im*^{ki} 4) *A-tal-SI-en* 5) ^rre-um¹ ep-šum 6) ‘LUGAL’ 7) *Ur-^rkiš^{ki}* 8) ^u*Na-wa-ar*^{ki} 9) DUMU *Ša-^rdar-ma-at^r* 10) LUGAL 11) ^rDÍM É 12) ^r^dKIŠ.UNU.GAL 13) *nir_x* (GAZxNIR)^r *ša-nin-ú-tim* 14) ŠU₄ DUB 15) *šu-^ra^r-ti* 16) *ú-ša-sà-ku* 17) ^dUTU 18) ^u^dINANNA 19) ‘NUMUN-šur’ 20) ^rli-il^r-qù-ta, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 461-2 (E3/2.7.3). The colophon in line 21 is not included in the publication of Frayne, but it reads as follows: 21) *Ša-um-še-^ren DÍM x^r*; cf. Wilhelm, *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, *Xenia*, p. 47; for the translation see also Salvini, “The earliest...,” p. 106; Sollberger, E. and J.-R. Kupper, *IRSA*, Paris, 1971, p. 128; Gelb, I. J. and B. Kienast, *FAOS* 9, Königsinschriften, p. 383, varia 16; Wilhelm, *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, *Xenia*, p. 45 ff.

³⁶⁷ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 11 with bibliography. The inscription was found together with the foundation bronze lion (cf. fig. 21 (left) of Chapter Two).

³⁶⁸ According to Wilhelm, the text is dated to the Gutian or Ur III period: Wilhelm, G., “Die Inschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš,” *Urkesch and the Hurrians*, p. 118; Salvini prefers Ur III: “The Earliest Evidence...,” p. 107; Von Soden had earlier dated it to the end of the Akkadian Period: Von Soden, W., “Unregelmässige Verben im Akkadischen,” *ZA* 50 (1952), p. 180, note 2.

Tiš-atal, *endan* of Urkeš, has built a temple of Nerigal. May Lubadaga protect this temple! He who destroys it, may Lubadaga destroy (him)! May [hi]s god not hear his prayer! He who destroys (it), may the mistress of Nagar, Šimiga (= the Sun-god) and the Weather god ... curse him!³⁶⁹

If the etymology presented by Wilhelm for the word *endan* is correct (see above), it means that Tiš-atal was deified like other kings of Mesopotamia at that time. This is not surprising, seeing that we have deified kings of Ur and some kings of the Zagros in this period and slightly later. Among the latter were Hurrians, such as Tiš-atal of Karḫar, Zardamu of Karḫar, Iddi(n)-Šîn and his son Zabazuna of Simurru.

Another king of Urkeš from the Ur III Period was Ann-atal, attested in an archival text as An-na-tal lú Ur-kiš^{ki},³⁷⁰ but unfortunately we know little about him, except an allusion to his departure from Urkeš.³⁷¹

Nawar:

The city of Nawar occurs several times in the inscriptions of the Hurrian rulers of the Habur Region. As earlier pointed out, this city was first identified with the famous Namri or Namar in the Transtigris region.³⁷² However, later discoveries and textual evidence revealed that other places with same ancient name existed in the Habur region. Among this textual evidence is its association with Kašijari Mountains (Tūr^c-Abdīn) and the locating of Kaḫat “between Nawar and Nawar.”³⁷³ A discussion of both these texts will follow. Some consider that the name Nawar is derived from the Hurrian verbal root *naw-* “to graze,” with iterative – *ar*, and that it is connected with the adverbial substantive *nauni-* “pasture.”³⁷⁴ Others prefer an Indo-Aryan³⁷⁵ and others a Semitic etymology for Nawar and Nagar, suggesting a derivation

³⁶⁹ 1) Ti-iš-a-tal 2) en-da-an 3) Ur-kēš^{ki} 4) pu-ur-li 5) ^dNergal (KIŠ. GAL) 6) ba-’à-āš-tum 7) pu-ru-li 8) a-ti ’à-al-li 9) ^dLu-ba-da-ga-āš 10) ša-ak-ru-in 11) e-me-ni 12) da-āš-bi ’à-al-li 13) ^dLu-ba-da-ga-āš 14) da-āš-pu-in 15) DINGIR-[S]Ū^{??} 16) ḫa-’wa-’ā-a 17) ḫa-šu-’e’-in 18) ^dNIN ’Na-gār^{ki} 19) ^dUTU-ga-an 20) ^drIŠKUR’, Wilhelm, “Die Inschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš,” p. 119-120. It must be this “Mistress of Nagar” who forms the theophoric part of the PN Ur-^dNagar found in a Sargonic text, cf. Gelb, I. J., *Sargonic Texts in the Louvre Museum*, Chicago, 1970, p. 15 (Text 11259. l. 4).

³⁷⁰ Gelb, *HS* p. 114; *RGTC* 2, 224 (referring to Langdon *Bab.* 7, 240/tXXI: 14 Rev. 1 and *TCL* 2:5565, 2f.)

³⁷¹ An-na-tal lú-Ur-kiš^{ki} u₄ Ur-kiš^{ki}-ta i-im-gen-na-a, Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 224.

³⁷² Namri is often mentioned in the NA inscriptions, especially in the time of Shalmaneser III and Sargon II, as in the eighth campaign of Sargon II: 39) ^{lū}EN. URU.MEŠ-ni ša ^{kur}Nam-ri ^{kur}Sa-an-gi-bu-ti ^{kur}Bet-Ab-da-da-ni ù KUR Ma-da-a-ija dan-nu-ti..., “The city rulers of Namri, Sangibuti, Bêt-Abdadani and the land of the powerful Medes...,” Mayer, W., “Sargons Feldzug gegen Urartu- 714 v. Chr. Eine militärhistorische Würdigung,” *MDOG* 112 (1980), l. 39, p. 70. For the incorrect identification with Nawar of the Habur cf. Kessler, K., “Namar/Namri,” *RLA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 92; and Kessler, K., “Nawar,” *RLA* 9, p. 189-90.

³⁷³ Eidem, J., “The Tell Leilan Tablets 1987...,” *AAAS* 38-39 (1987-1988), 116.

³⁷⁴ Wilhelm, “L’état actuel et les perspectives ...,” p. 178; Wilhelm, G., “Hurritische Lexikographie und Grammatik: Die hurritisch-hethitisch Bilingue aus Boğazköy,” *Or* 61 (1992), p. 132; Wilhelm, G., “Kumme und *Kumar: Zur hurritischen Ortsnamenbildung,” *Beiträge zur altorientalischen Archäologie und Altertumskunde, Festschrift für Barthel Hrouda zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Calmeyer, K. Hecker, L. Jakob-Rost and C. B. F. Walker, Wiesbaden, 1994, p. 319, note 41 (compared with the DN Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 319). It is interesting to observe that this Hurrian verb and some of its derivatives have been known only since 1993, when it appeared in the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual text from Hattuša. There the verb *nāv-a* “it grazed” (KBo 32.14 i 26) and the noun in the forms *naṽ=ni* (KBo 32.14 i 5) and *na=i=ḡe* (KBo 32.14 i 27) “pasture(land),” occur, cf. Wilhelm, G., “Hurritisch naṽti ‘Weidung,’ ‘Weide’ oder eine bestimmte Art von Weide,” in *Kulturgeschichten altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Th. Richter, D. Prechel und J. Klinger, Saarbrücken, 2001, p. 449. For the same topic see more recently “Surrounding (pasture-) lands,” in Richter, “Die Ausbreitung...,” p. 277.

³⁷⁵ J. Harmatta considers the name Nawar to be from ancient Indic *namra-*. He treats the other names of the Atal-šen inscription similarly: *A-ri-si-en* (Atal-šen) as **Arisena-*, *Sá-dar-ma-at* as **Sadharmata-*, *Šá-um-še-en* as

from *nagwar,³⁷⁶ or even a South Semitic semantic connection with this toponym, comparing Sab. *nḡr* “cultivated land” with the Yemenite place names Naḡr, Naḡra, Naḡrān and Nuḡayr.³⁷⁷

From the Hurrian *itkalzi*, “purification of the mouth,” a magical text found in Boğazköy,³⁷⁸ it appears that Nawar was a Hurrian religious centre. There its name occurs in the form ^{URU}Nawari together with the sacred cities of Talmuše, Nineveh and Urkeš (in the form ^{URU}Urkini(n)).³⁷⁹ In a treaty (L 87- 1362)³⁸⁰ between the king of Apum (Tell Leylan) and the king of Kaḡat (Tell Barri); the domain of Kaḡat is identified as being “between Nawar and Nawar.” This raises a new problem. Apparently more than one place was called Nawar, even in Northern Mesopotamia. The southern one was located in the southern central portion of the Habur basin, very probably at Nagar (Tell Brak).³⁸¹ Eidem also believes that one of the places called Nawar was located to the south of Kaḡat and the other to the north of it.³⁸² If the southern one is Tell Brak or very close to it,³⁸³ the northern one must be identified with the GN named in Tell Leylan texts as Nawali and in Mari texts as Nawala/u.³⁸⁴ According to Salvini, this Nawali can be identified with NA Nabula, located at Gir Navaz, and with the Nawar of the inscription of Atal-šen.³⁸⁵ The Hurrian magical text mentioned above associates the cities of Urkeš and Nawar with mountain names. Nawar is associated with Kašijari (^{HUR.SAG}Gašijarri-), Tūr-’Abdīn, and Urkeš (in the form Urkini) with the unidentified mountain Napri.³⁸⁶ This is extra proof to locate Nawar in the north rather than in the south. We also know that Nagar was a Hurrian religious centre from the epithet “The lady of Nagar (*belēt Nagar*)”, as evident in more than one source: the inscription of Tiš-atal; from a letter (L 87- 1317) from prince Ea-Malik of Kaḡat to Till-Abnû of Šeḡnā³⁸⁷ mentioning “The lady of

Somasena-, as referred to by Mayrhofer in Mayrhofer, M., *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient- Ein Mythos?*, Wien, 1974, p. 42 (referring to Harmatta, J., Arisen, Namar királyának felirata, in *Ókori keleti történeti chrestomathia*, ed. J. Harmatta, Budapest, 1965). But one wonders whether there was any Indo-Aryan influence in third millennium BC Mesopotamia.

³⁷⁶ Durand, J.-M., “L’emploi des toponymes dans l’onomastique d’époque Amorite: les noms en mut-,” *SEL* 8 (1991), p. 93, note 45; cf. also Eidem, J., “Nagar,” *RIA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 75.

³⁷⁷ So Fronzaroli, who adds that the West Semitic root *nḡr in Biblical Hebrew means “to gush forth,” from which a term for stream is derived, following Bonechi, “Remarks on the III Millennium ...,” *Subartu* IV/1, p. 221. Unfortunately, the Arab lexicographers have not given any etymology for Naḡrān, if naḡrān, meaning ‘door socket’ or ‘severe thirst’ is excluded; cf.:

[Ibn Mandhūr, *Language of the Arabs*, vol. Jīm: najr (in Arabic)] .ج. ن: نجر.

Whether the GN Nagar can be associated with the so-called Proto-Euphratean professional name NAGAR “carpenter” deserves consideration.

³⁷⁸ ChS I/1, nr. 5 col. I-II, with duplicate nr. 6 col. I; cf. Salvini, *op. cit.*, 110, n. 64.

³⁷⁹ This form is, as Salvini states, the same form in the Hurrian OB tablet from Mari no. 2. (referring to F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 36 (1939), p. 5, no. 2.

³⁸⁰ Eidem, J., “Tell Leylan Tablets 1987- A Preliminary Report,” *AAAS* 38-39 (1987-1988), 116.

³⁸¹ Cf. for instance Steinkeller, “The Historical Background ...,” p. 95, n. 74 and his references to Matthews and Eidem in *Iraq* 55 (1993), pp. 204-205; also Wilhelm, “L’état actuel ...,” *Amurru* 1 (1996), pp. 177-178.

³⁸² Cf. Salvini, “The Earliest ...,” p. 109-110.

³⁸³ Illingworth, N. J. J., “Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1986,” *Iraq* 50 (1988), p. 105; cf. also Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 458.

³⁸⁴ Salvini, “The Earliest ...,” p. 110; cf. *ARM* 4, 42: 16 *Na-wa-la*^{ki} known by Išme-Dagan as a source of tasty pears: Dossin, *ARM* 4, p. 66.

³⁸⁵ Salvini, *ibid.* The identification of NA Nabula with Gir Navaz north of Qamishli in Turkish territory is based on Donbaz, V., “Some Neo-Assyrian Contracts from Girnavaz and Vicinity,” *SAAB* 2-1, issue 1 (1988), p. 5; cf. also Durand, J.-M., *Les documents épistolaires du Palais de Mari (LAPO)*, II, Paris, 1998, p. 91.

³⁸⁶ Salvini, *ibid.*

³⁸⁷ For this text cf. Eidem, J., “The Tell Leilan Archives 1987,” *RA* 85 (1991), p. 125.

Nagar,³⁸⁸ and from Ur III texts from southern Mesopotamia that mention sacrifices to her.³⁸⁹ Having identified Nagar with Tell Brak,³⁹⁰ it is not clear why Nagar was called (southern) Nawar in the text, as Salvini himself suggested.³⁹¹ Perhaps the middle consonant of the name Nagar was the changeable Semitic consonant (or one influenced by Semitic) that could be variably pronounced, and consequently written either as *-h-*, *-ʿa-*, *-ʾa-* or even *-h-* or *-ḥ-*.³⁹² If such a change in the middle consonant of the name Nagar had taken place, the name could have become Nawar and be linguistically related to the form Naḥur.³⁹³ It is also appropriate to refer to the name Nuhadra to refer to Northern Mesopotamia in the Parthian-Roman Periods,³⁹⁴ which is reminiscent of Naḥur and Nawar.

Nagar was an extremely important centre from the third millennium BC due to its position between the major powers of the time, Ebla, Urkeš and the Mesopotamian kingdoms of the south. Its location on the main routes that connected Northern Syria to Mesopotamia was of additional importance. That is why Nagar figures more in the Syro-Mesopotamian textual material than Urkeš. The textual evidence concerning Nagar in the 3rd millennium comes essentially from the 24th century BC, from the reigns of the last three rulers of Ebla, *Igriš-halab*, *Irkab-damu* and *Išʿar-damu*. They were roughly contemporary with the three Mari kings *Iplul-II*, *NI-zi* and *Enna-Dagan*.³⁹⁵

The oldest known reference to Nagar we have comes from Mari, on the statue inscription from the Inanna-za-za temple, dedicated to Iplul-II, king of Mari, and his wife Paba. There the name Nagar^{ki} occurs in an obscure context.³⁹⁶ The sentence AMAR.AN dumu ur-^dUTU.ŠA [...] nagar^{ki} lú A.PA-MAḤ³⁹⁷ of the text is not clear enough to state that the PN mentioned was the name of the king of Nagar, even though it is so similar to the name *Ma-ra-AN* (*Ma-ra-II?*/*Ma-ra-an?*), king of Nagar, in a text that can be dated to the reign of *NI-zi* of Mari.³⁹⁸ Nagar occurred also in the texts from Beydar, where references indicate a probable

³⁸⁸ ^dNIN *Na-gàr*^{ki} is attested in a Mari text from the Pre-Sargonic Period: Cavigneaux, A. and M. Krebernik, “NIN-Nagar,” *RIA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 475 (referring to Charpin, D., *MARI* 5 (1987), 79, 20 II 4). There is also mention of NIN-naḡar in the god-list from Fāra and ^dNIN-naḡar from Abu-Salabiḥ

³⁸⁹ Eidem, “Nagar,” *RIA* 9, p. 76.

³⁹⁰ Cf. for instance Salvini, “The Earliest...,” p. 110; Eidem, *RIA* 9, p. 75; and Eidem *et al.*, “The Third Millennium Inscriptions,” *Excavations at Tell Brak*, vol. 2, p. 99. However, Charpin places Nagar in the region between Kaḡat and Mari: Charpin, D., “A Contribution to the Geography and History of the Kingdom of Kaḡat,” in *Tall al-Hamūdya 2 Symposium: Recent Excavations in the Upper Khabur Region, Berne, December 9-11, 1986*, ed. S. Eichler, M. Wāfler and D. Warburton, Göttingen, 1990, p. 68.

³⁹¹ Salvini, “The Earliest...,” p. 110. As for the association of Nawar with Nagar see Wilhelm, “Hurritische naipti...,” p. 449 and Guichard, M., “Zimri-Lîm à Nagar,” *MARI* 8 (1997), p. 334.

³⁹² Examples of the interchange between these consonants in the Semitic languages, particularly Akkadian, are numerous; for instance Akk. *ḡadāru* → Akk. *adāru*; Akk. ^{māi}*ḡana* → Arab. عانة; Akk. ^{āi}*ḡarran* → Arab. حران; Akk. *Adad* → Ug. *Hd(d)*; Akk. *šemū(m)* → Ass. *šmāʿu(m)* → Amorite **samāḡu(m)* as in the name of Yasmaḡ-Addu → Arab. سمع → Heb. שמע; Akk. *alāku* → Heb. אלה;

³⁹³ It is thought that Naḡur was located close to the sources of the Habur. The city was conquered in the time of Zimri-Lim and later annexed to Assyria under Adad-Nirari I; cf. Kupper, J.-R., “Naḡur,” *RIA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 86-7.

³⁹⁴ Cf. Frye, R. N., *The History of Ancient Iran*, München, 1984, p. 223, 280. According to him, the regions to the northwest as far as Nisibis, were called Beth Nuhadra (in Aramaic), centred on Nineveh. However, this name can be seen as derived from *nohodar*, a Middle Persian military title borne by the governors of this province in the Parthian period, see *ibid.*

³⁹⁵ Eidem, *et al.*, “The Third Millennium Inscriptions,” p. 99. For other occurrences in the ED texts, cf. Edzard, D. O., G. Farber and E. Sollberger, *RGTC* 1, p. 125.

³⁹⁶ Cf. Eidem, *et al.*, “The Third Millennium Inscriptions,” p. 99 (referring to Bonechi 1998, 221, n. 20; Sallaberger 1998a, 35, n. 59). For other occurrences in the ED texts, cf. Edzard, Farber and Sollberger, *RGTC* 1, p. 125.

³⁹⁷ Eidem *et al.*, “Third Millennium Inscriptions,” *Excavations at Tell Brak*, p. 99.

³⁹⁸ 9) *Ma-ra-AN* 10) *EN* 11) *Na-gàr*^{ki}, cf. Archi, A., *Testi Amministrativi: RegISTRAZIONI di Metalli e Tessuti, ARET VII*, Roma, 1988, no. 16, box 19, p. 43.

dependence of Beyder on Nagar in the time of *Ma-ra-AN*.³⁹⁹ This king was in Beydar on several occasions, to participate in an assembly and in cultic events, including the annual festival of the god Šamagan, the lord of wild animals.⁴⁰⁰ Numerous references come from Ebla. In the time of the Ebla archives mention is made of a kingdom ruled by a “king” whose son, Ultum-ḫuḫu (*Ul-tum-ḫu-ḫu* dumu-nita en *Na-gàr*^{ki}: TM.75.G.1250 r. I), had a Hurrian name and was married to the Eblaite princess Tagriš-Damu (*Tag-ri-iš-da-mu* dumu-mí en: TM.75.G.10157, r. V 2 ff), daughter of Iš’ar-Damu.⁴⁰¹ Some details of the formalities of this marriage are recorded. In the 3rd month of the year representatives of Ebla, Kiš and Nagar, including the king of Nagar and his son, met at Armi in Western Syria. After this meeting the king of Nagar and his son went to Ebla, presumably to settle the details of the royal wedding, and there they and their courtiers received costly garments as gifts. However, the Kiš envoy left after the meeting at Armi for the town of NI-*abi*^{ki}, seat of the cult of the god Kamiš.⁴⁰² A few months later, the actual marriage ceremony took place, when the groom “anointed the head ... of Tagriš-damu, daughter [of the king].”⁴⁰³ The rich dowry that was given to the princess consisted of expensive garments, jewellery, other personal equipment and a group of personal attendants.⁴⁰⁴ Another text points to a shipment of 42 jars of wine to Nagar “on the occasion of the marriage of the king of Nagar.”⁴⁰⁵ That is considered by some to be an allusion to another marriage ceremony at Nagar.⁴⁰⁶

Other events concerning the two kingdoms have been documented in the Ebla archives. There were shipments of silver from Ebla to the king of Nagar, who in all likelihood was the same *Ma-ra-AN*,⁴⁰⁷ and to his vassal cities; large groups of men from Nagar were present at the court of Ebla; Ebla is victorious over Nagar, presumably meaning Irkab-Damu of Ebla conquered *Mara-An* of Nagar, and a treaty was made between the two kings.⁴⁰⁸ It is thought that all these events, the war, the treaty and the dynastic marriage, took place within a short span of time, not too long before the period covered by the Ebla archives. Therefore, *Ma-ra-AN*, the king of Nagar, must have ruled very shortly before the Akkadian occupation of Brak, little more than a generation before.⁴⁰⁹ Other texts from the Ebla archive that date to the very last years before the destruction of palace G mention rations for groups from Nagar and shipments of large amounts of Eblaite items to Nagar.⁴¹⁰ The mention of large groups of specialists (20 and 19) from Nagar in the Ebla court, such as ḫúb/ḫúb-ki (Akk. *huppum*) ‘acrobats’⁴¹¹ or ‘horsemen,’ and ‘qualified teachers’ “for groups of some 20 ḫúb of local

³⁹⁹ Eidem *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 99-100; Eidem, “Nagar,” *RIA* 9, p. 75.

⁴⁰⁰ Ismail, F., *et al.* 1996, nos. 80, 85 & 96 (assembly and cultic events); text 101 (festival).

⁴⁰¹ Cf. Biga, M. G., “The Marriage of the Eblaite Princess Tagriš-Damu with a Son of Nagar’s King,” *Subartu* IV/2, p. 17. For the analysis of the name of the prince of Nagar, cf. Richter, “Die Ausbreitung der ...,” p. 278. This event was used as a date-formula in Ebla: “Year of the departure of the (princess Tagriš-damu) as queen of Nagar,” cf. Eidem *et al.* “The Third Millennium ...,” p. 100.

⁴⁰² Eidem *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁴⁰³ Eidem *et al.*, p. 100.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵ I 1) ‘42’ dug geštin 2) ní.g.šè.nu.šè 3) *Na-gàr*^{ki}, Archi, A., *Five Tablets from the Southern Wing of Palace G-Ebla*, in *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies*, Malibu, 1993, p. 23-6.

⁴⁰⁶ Eidem *et al.*, *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ Eidem *et al.*, *op. cit.* p. 101.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹¹ Or ‘cult dancers’ according to Eidem: Eidem, “Nagar,” *RIA* 9, p. 75.

origin,”⁴¹² is a clear indication of the cultural importance of Nagar.⁴¹³ Ebla officials were frequently sent to Nagar to buy ‘kúnga’ equids, male asses, sheep, and ‘wool of Nagar.’⁴¹⁴

So textual evidence shows that Nagar was a kingdom in the time of the Ebla archives. From such texts it appears that places in the region of Nagar, such as *A-ša^{ki}*, *A-bù-i-um^{ki}*, *Lu-LUM^{ki}* and *Ša-bar-tim^{ki}*, had rulers entitled *en*.⁴¹⁵ The text from Ebla about a shipment of silver from Ebla to the king of Nagar and eight of his vassal cities shows that the following cities were under Nagar’s hegemony: *Ga-ga-ba-an^{ki}*, *Da-ti-um^{ki}*, *Ba-na-i-lum^{ki}* (var. *Ba-na-i-um^{ki}*), *Ter₅-ha-um^{ki}*, *A-ša^{ki}*, *Ša-bar-ti-um^{ki}*, *Na-ba-ti-um^{ki}*, and *Zu’(SU)-mu-na-ni-um^{ki}*.⁴¹⁶ There are also other place names mentioned as vassals: *Ba-sa-ḫi-um^{ki}*, *Du-nu^{ki}*, *EN-šar^{ki}* (var. *EN-šar_x(NE)^{ki}*), *Gu-zú-wa-ti-um^{ki}*, *Ḫi-la-zi-um^{ki}*, *La-dab₆-bi-um^{ki}*, *Sag-gar^{ki}*, *Su-du-ma-an^{ki}*, and *Zâr-‘à-ni-um^{ki}*.⁴¹⁷ Although uncertainly, some of these GNs can be identified: Nabatium = Nabada = Tell Beydar; Datium = Tâdum = Tell Hamidi; Kakkabān (*Ga-ga-ba-an^{ki}*) could be located near modern Hassake; Abilum was probably Abi-ili to the north of Brak; Šarḫanum was probably located to the east of Brak.⁴¹⁸ Locating Saggār at the junction of the Euphrates and the Lower Habur, as suggested by some,⁴¹⁹ is not the only possibility. From other sources we know about the mountain name KUR *Sag-gar* (Ebla), with the variants *ša-de-em Sa-ga-ar* (Mari), and the divine name ^d*Sag-gar* (Ebla),⁴²⁰ occurring also in the forms ^d*Sa-nu-ga-ru₁₂* / ^d*Sa-nu-ga-ar* (Ebla), ^d*Ša-ga-ar* (Mari) (= ^dḪAR), ^d*Ša-ag-ga-ar* (Emar), ^d*Šag-ga-ra* (Hatti) and interestingly ^d*Ša-an-ga-ra* (Hatti).⁴²¹ This deity was in all likelihood the deified Jebel Sinjār.⁴²² Yet, the god Zara, mentioned together with the god Saggār in the oath formula of the treaty from Tell Leylan, appears to have been part of Jebel Sinjār, according to Eidem.⁴²³ Thus it is probable that Saggār mentioned among the localities subject to the kingdom of Nagar was in fact Mount Saggār.⁴²⁴

The size of the cities and territories under the control of Nagar is not known exactly, but references to Nabada (Tell Beydar) and Saggār suggest a kingdom that extended over most of the lower part of the Habur basin. Nagar would have been one of the larger kingdoms of the Pre-Sargonic period there.

This period of independence was followed by the Akkadian occupation of Nagar. Akkadian control was short-lived or witnessed interruptions, according to some opinions. But recent archaeological discoveries favour a more sustained period of occupation, according to

⁴¹² Eidem *et al.*, p. 101.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁸ According to Eidem *et al.*, p. 101.

⁴¹⁹ For this identification cf. Eidem *et al.*, p. 101.

⁴²⁰ ^d*Saggār* and ^d*Šaggār* was the moon-god in Ebla; cf. Novák, M., “Zur Verbindung von Mondgott und Wettergott bei den Aramäern im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.,” *UF* 33 (2001), p. 441.

⁴²¹ For these forms and more details cf. Prechel, D., “S/Šag(g)-Gott oder Gebirge?,” *Munuscula Mesopotamica, Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, ed. Böck, B., E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and T. Richter, Münster, 1999, p. 375-377 and the table on p. 378.

⁴²² That the GN *Sag-gar^{ki}* and the second millennium *Saggārātum* probably refer to modern Jebel Sinjār is also suggested by Catagnoti and Bonechi: Catagnoti, A. and M. Bonechi, “Le volcan Kawkab, Nagar et problèmes connexes,” *NABU* 1992, no. 65, p. 53.

⁴²³ Cf. Prechel, *op. cit.* p. 378-9. The occurrence of *ši-in-ni-ia-ri* directly following *‘Za’-ra* in the list of mountain names of the (Ḫ)išuwa festival gives support to this suggestion, cf. *op. cit.* p. 379. For an overview of the list of mountain names cf. Otten, H., “Die Berg- und Flußlisten im Ḫišuwa-Festritual,” *ZA* 59 (1969), p. 250; 259-60.

⁴²⁴ That the place name Saggārātum is to be located on the junction of the Habur with the Euphrates does not appear to be certain. It has been sited between Qattunān and Terqa, two days away from the former and one day away from the latter, when travelling via Bīt-Kapān and Dūr-Yahdun-Lim: Groneberg, B., *RGTC* 3, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 200.

the excavators.⁴²⁵ The texts of the Akkadian period from Brak mention Urkeš and Šeḫnā,⁴²⁶ but we cannot say for sure that these were under the control of Nagar. The late 3rd millennium corpus of inscriptions from Brak is comparatively small.⁴²⁷ Other texts found in recent excavations are usually short, fragmentary, poorly stratified or from fill, and therefore contribute little historical data.⁴²⁸ But we do have the brick inscriptions of Narām-Sîn, dedicatory inscriptions of Rīmuš and probably seal inscriptions of servants of Narām-Sîn.⁴²⁹ From the latest phase of the Akkadian period in Brak an interesting bulla was found. It bears the seal impression of the *ensi* of Gasur, a certain Itbe-laba (Fig. 21), whose date, according to the glyptic style, appears to be between Narām-Sîn and Šū-Turul.⁴³⁰ The text is quite short, “Itbe-laba, *ensi* of Gasur,”⁴³¹ but the shape of the bulla is significant, in that the flat lens-shape was used from this phase on for official state purposes.⁴³² The element *-laba* occurs also in the PN Innin-laba, father of Kikkia (?), the governor of Assur in the Ur III period.⁴³³

Archaeologically speaking, in the period contemporary or subsequent to the period of the Akkadian occupation, most of the urban centres of the Habur region, such as Leylan, Chuera, Beydar, Abu Hgaira and other minor sites, were deserted. But Brak and Mozan survived,⁴³⁴ and after the end of Akkadian control Nagar recovered its independence. This is confirmed by the inscription of King Talpuš-atili, who had a Hurrian-name and who bore the title ‘Sun of the land of Nagar, son of ...’⁴³⁵ The inscription on the seal is too damaged to show whether his father also had a Hurrian name. A further disappointment is that the majority of the occupational levels of this period in Brak have been severely eroded or badly disturbed in former excavations by Mallowan.⁴³⁶ Nevertheless, some interesting finds are worth mentioning, such as two copper/bronze bowls and other small finds in area CH.⁴³⁷ The change in character of the buildings in area FS is also remarkable. Large residential units replaced formal or administrative structures.⁴³⁸ It has been noted that the roofing technique used in Nagar in this period was reed matting on wooden rafters, sealed by a thick layer of clay, exactly as in modern village houses in the region.⁴³⁹ The excavators concluded that there the society was prosperous in this period, with an economy based largely on agriculture.⁴⁴⁰

⁴²⁵ Eidem *et al.*, p. 102.

⁴²⁶ Eidem *et al.*, p. 101.

⁴²⁷ Partly published by Gadd in 1940, then with additional fragments by Loretz in 1969, Finkel in 1985 and recently by Catagnoti.

⁴²⁸ Eidem *et al.*, p. 102.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁰ The date is suggested by Boehmer in: Glyptik, p. 34-46 (referred to by Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 240).

⁴³¹ 1) *It-be-la-'ba'* 2) ÉNS[*I*] 3) *Ga-sūr*^{ki}, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 241 (E2.5.1.1).

⁴³² Oates, J., “The Evidence of the Sealings,” *Excavations at Tell Brak*, vol. 2: Nagar in the Third Millennium BC, by: D. Oates, J. Oates and H. McDonald, Oxford, 2001, p. 130. The seal legend reads *It-be-la-'ba'* ÉNS[*I*] *Ga-sūr*^{ki}, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 241 (E2.5.1.1).

⁴³³ This governor has left a dedicatory inscription that runs as follows: 1) *I-ti-ti* 2) PA 3) DUMU *I-nin-la-ba* 4) *in ša₁₀-la-ti* 5) *Ga-sur*_x (SAG)^{ki} 6) *a-na* 7) ^dINANNA 8) A.MU.RU, “Ititi, supreme judge, son of Inninlaba, dedicated (this object) from the booty of Gasur to the goddess Innin/Ištar,” Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 7 (A.0.1001). For the transcription cf. Schroeder, O., *Keilschrifttexte Historischen Inhalts*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1922, No. 1.

⁴³⁴ Schwartz and Akkermans, *The Archaeology of Syria*, p. 282-3; for the discussion of this phenomenon and its scope cf. p. 283 f.

⁴³⁵ Matthews, D. and J. Eidem, “Tell Brak and Nagar,” *Iraq* 55 (1993), p. 203; Eidem *et al.*, “The Third Millennium Inscriptions,” *op. cit.*, p. 105. The transcription of the text was cited earlier in this chapter.

⁴³⁶ For a new excavation report on Brak cf. Oates, D. and J. Oates, “The Excavations,” *Excavations at Tell Brak*, vol. 2: Nagar in the Third Millennium BC, pp. 17; 63 and 71.

⁴³⁷ Oates and Oates, “The Excavations,” p. 17.

⁴³⁸ Oates and Oates, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁴³⁹ Oates and Oates, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁴⁴⁰ Oates and Oates, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

Comparing Nagar with Urkeš shows significant differences. The location of Nagar was less favourable for agriculture than that of Urkeš. It was located on the fringes of the dry-farming area and its hinterland offered no rich natural resources. However, it controlled essential trade routes to and from Mesopotamia. By contrast Urkeš was connected to the rich Anatolian hinterland through Tūr-'Abdīn and had good average rainfall.⁴⁴¹ Furthermore, Nagar was subject to invasions and hostile destruction in the Old Akkadian period. Both the Akkadian inscriptions and the texts from Ebla mention the involvement of Nagar in war and trade. So far we have no mention of Urkeš in the records as evidence that either power had occupied or destroyed it, a fact confirmed by the archaeological evidence.⁴⁴² A distinction can also be made in the glyptic tradition and in the “dynastic programme” of Urkeš mentioned above, and in the independent line of its local *endans*, which are additional points of contrast with Nagar. We also know that Nagar was ruled at times by kings with Hurrian names, a fact that points to a noticeably strong Hurrian element in the city and its environs. Nevertheless, some scholars still do not consider the city to be a Hurrian centre.⁴⁴³ The evidence adduced here shows that Urkeš was apparently a ‘pure’ Hurrian kingdom, while Nagar had a mixed population. But in the time when the Hurrian expansion reached its culmination Nagar had Hurrian rulers, such as Ultum-ḥuḥu. Urkeš was close to the core of the Hurrian lands and Nagar on its edge.

The Hurrian states or kingdoms mentioned in this chapter were given a golden chance to grow and enhance their power by the collapse of the Ur III Dynasty. The whole region appears to have been populated by independent minor states consisting of a central city and its hinterland.⁴⁴⁴ Texts show that of these Simurru and Kakmu in the Transtigris were the most powerful.

It has been noticed that the Hurrians were (and apparently preferred to remain) dependent on dry-farming rather than on irrigated agriculture. Wilhelm points out that the cultivated areas of the Middle Euphrates, the Lower Baliḥ and Habur, which were entirely dependent on irrigation, remained free from Hurrian colonisation.⁴⁴⁵ Instead, they spread out in the self-contained dry-farming areas that run from Kirkuk (Nuzi and Arraphe) to Assyria, to the northeastern Syrian arable plain (Mittani/Hanigalbat), the Euphrates Valley to the north of Meskene (Emar), the area round Hama and Homs on the Upper Orontes (Qatna, Qadesh), Aleppo, the Amoq Plain on the Lower Orontes (Alalakh), and to Çukorova (the southern part of Kizzuwatna).⁴⁴⁶ He notes further, “these are regions, sometimes cut off from each other by strips of infertile land, which correspond with political sections of the kingdom of Mitanni.”⁴⁴⁷

It is supposed that the Hurrians began to spread over Northern Mesopotamia sometime in the Early Dynastic Period when the first Hurrian tribes arrived there. These tribes established themselves and succeeded, within a couple of generations, in taking power in places such as Azuḥinum and Kirašeniwe in Subartu, where they encountered Narām-Sîn. The Hurrians in the time of Narām-Sîn had not yet become the main population of Northern Mesopotamia, but this situation had changed by the end of the Ur III Period. Almost the whole of the region from Anatolia to the Zagros was then firmly in Hurrian hands. It was organized as petty states ruled almost exclusively by Hurrian rulers, or at least by rulers with Hurrian names.

⁴⁴¹ For this cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK,” *WZKM*, p. 82.

⁴⁴² For more details cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *WZKM*, p. 83.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Buccellati, G., “The Monumental Urban ...,” *SCCNH* 15 (2005), p. 6.

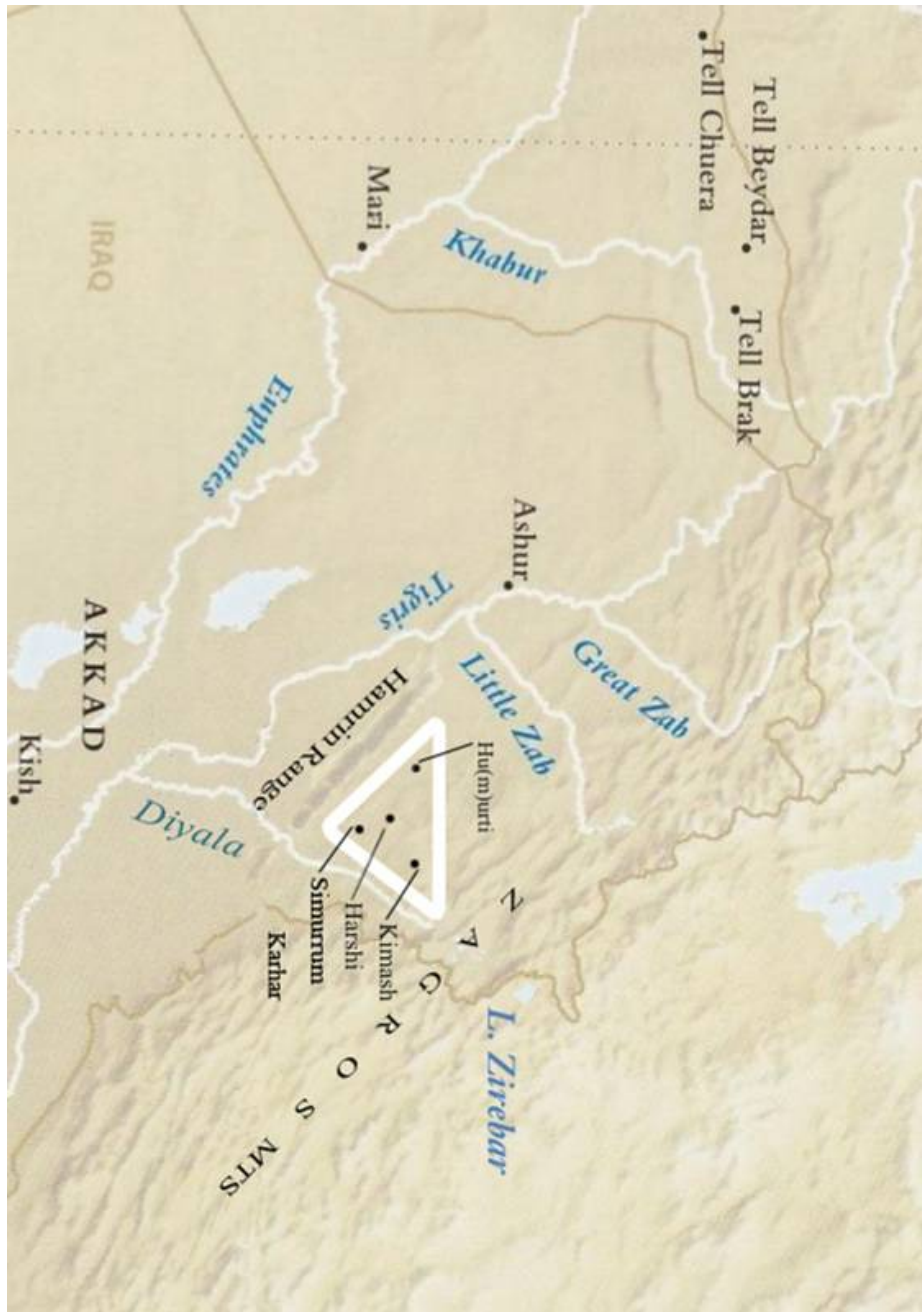
⁴⁴⁴ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 12.

⁴⁴⁵ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 42.

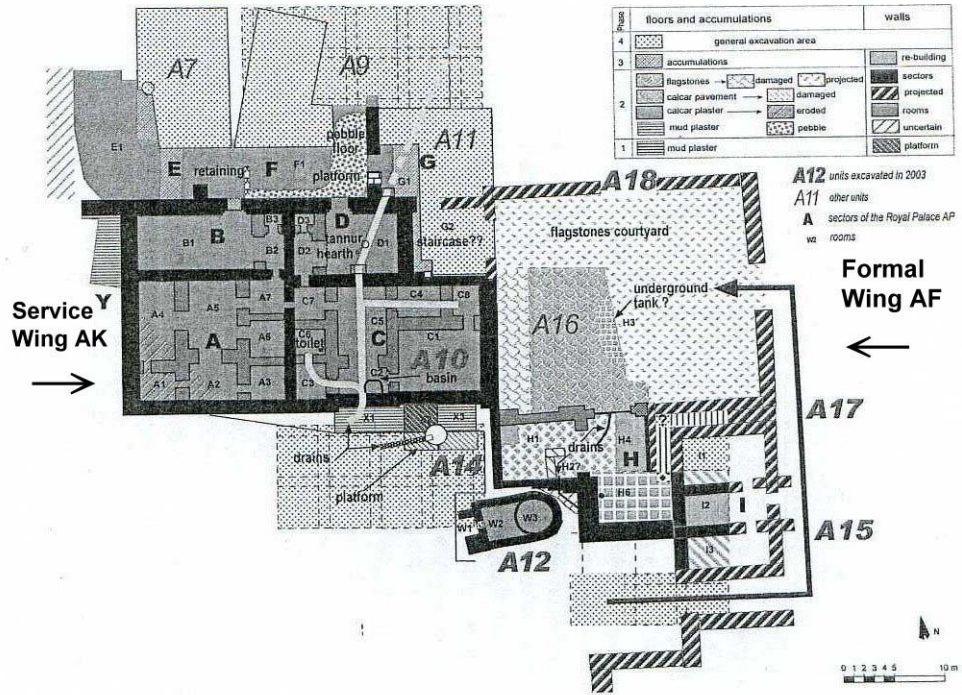
⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

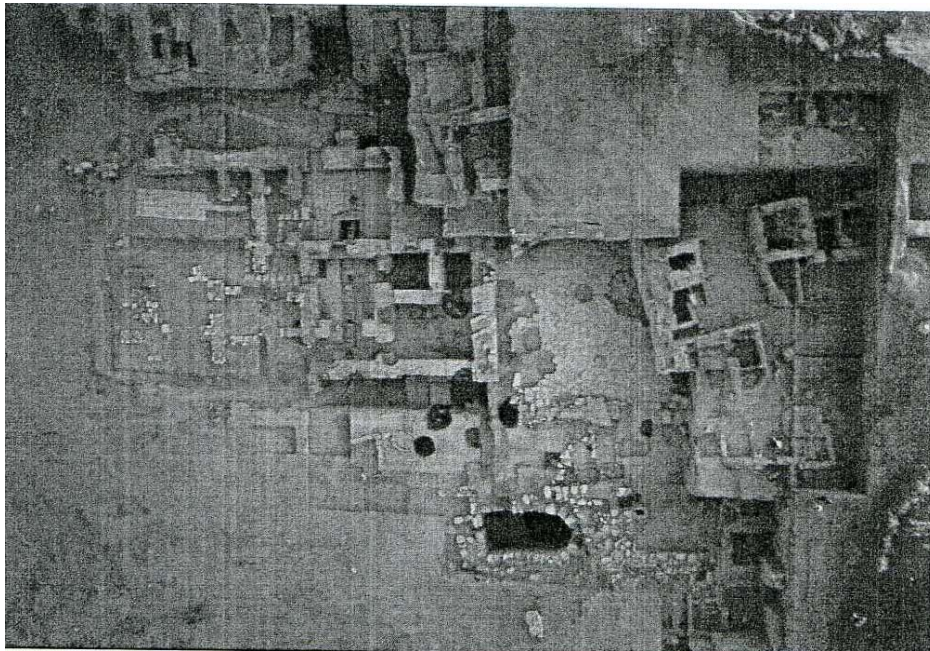
Figures of Chapter Four



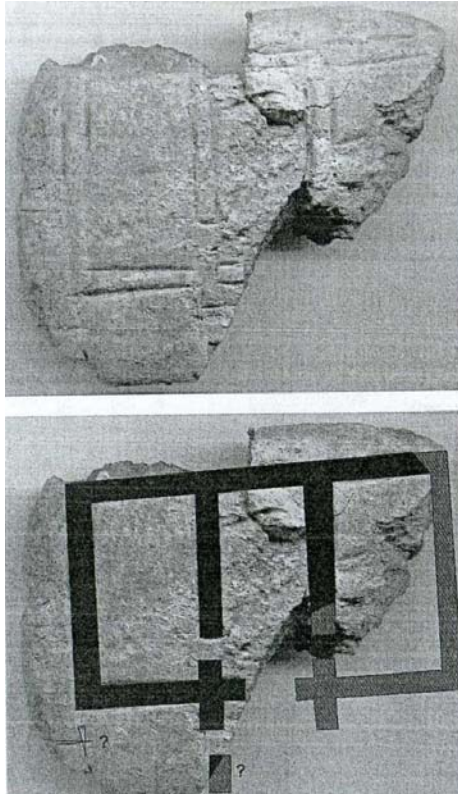
Map no. 1 the virtual inverted triangle of the Sirwān-Diyāla basin.



1) Palace of Urkeš. After: Buccellati, G., "The Monumental Urban Complex at Urkesh," *SCCNH* 15, 2005, fig. , p. 12.



2) Aerial view of the palace. The drain in the service wing, the stone-paved courtyard of H3 area and the *ābi* in the bottom of the photo are visible. After: Buccellati, "The Monumental Urban Complex..." fig. 4, p. 13.



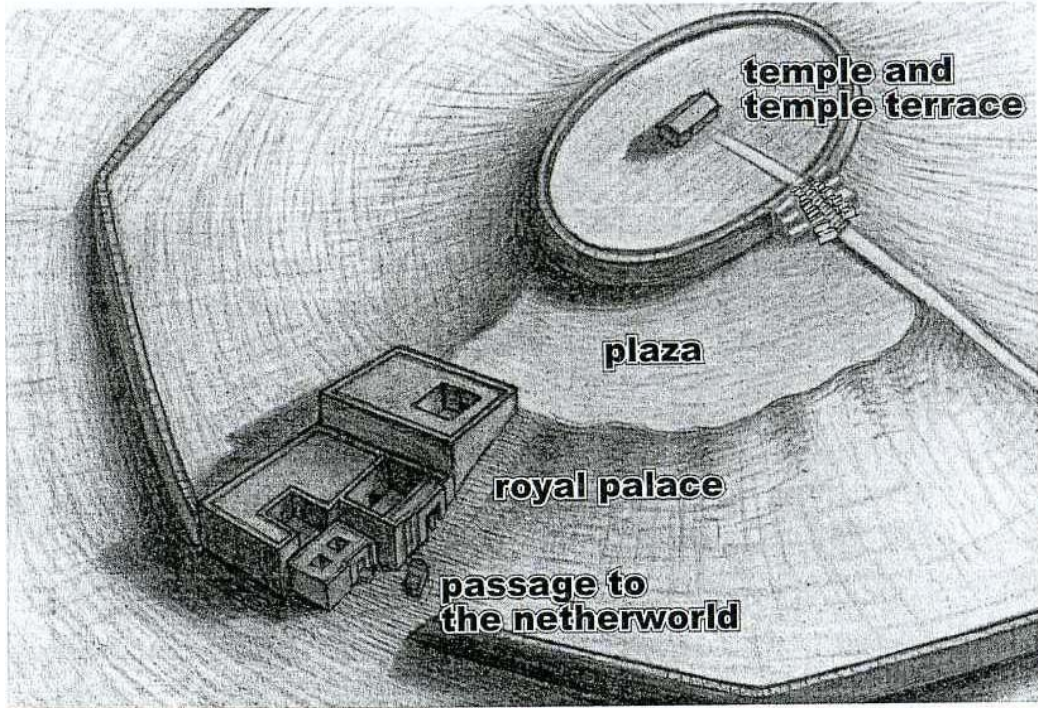
3) Map of rooms I1-I3 ?. After: Buccellati, "The Monumental Urban Complex...", fig. 8, p. 18.



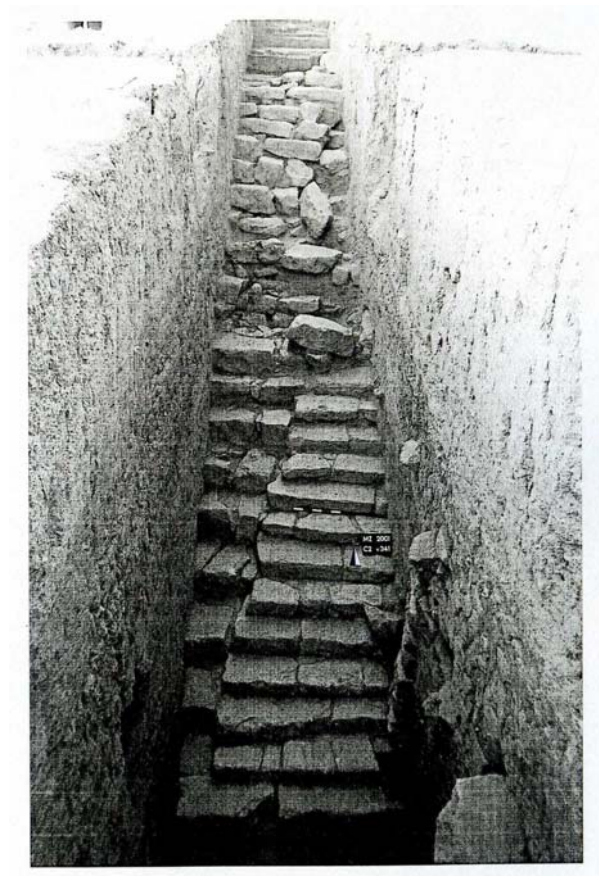
4a) The *ābi* cultic structure from the west.
After: M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Ein hurritischer
Gang in die Unterwelt," *MDOG* 134.



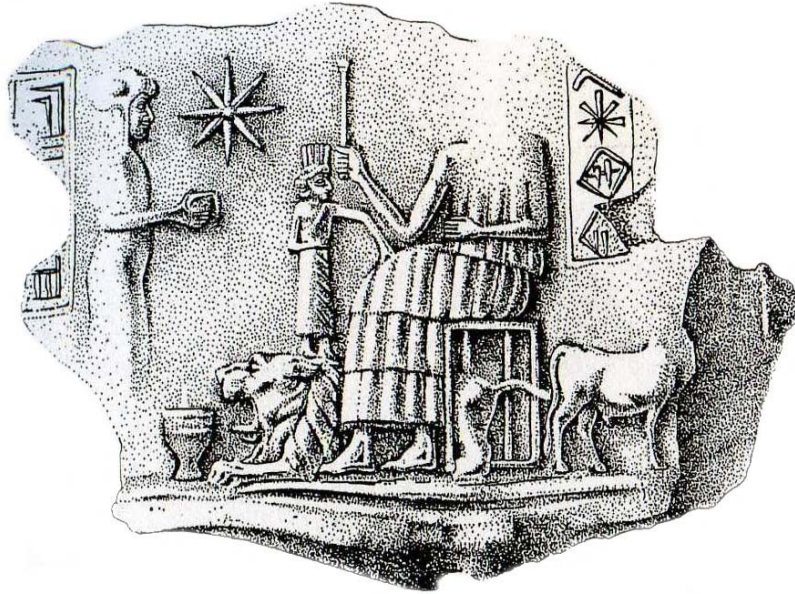
4b) The *ābi* cultic structure after digging.
After: Buccellati, "The Monumental
Urban Complex...", fig. 6, p. 16.



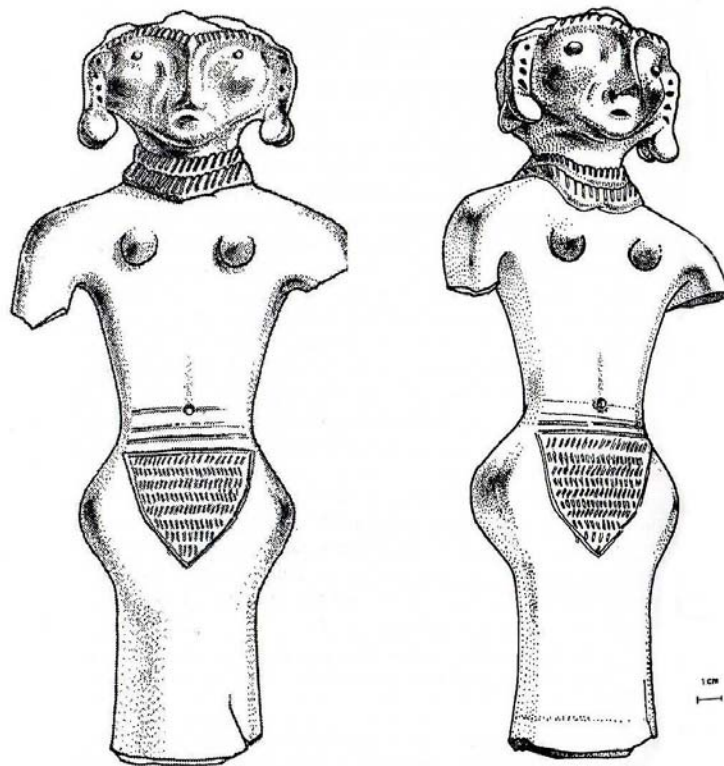
5) Drawing of the monumental temple and terrace. After: Buccellati, "The Monumental Urban Complex...", fig. 1, p. 7.



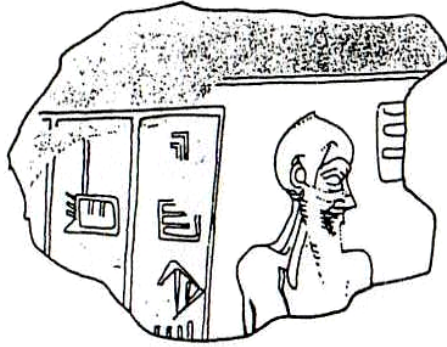
6) Stone ramp leading to the temple. After: Dohman-Pfälzner, H. and P. Pfälzner, "Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft...", *MDOG* 134, fig. 15, p. 173.



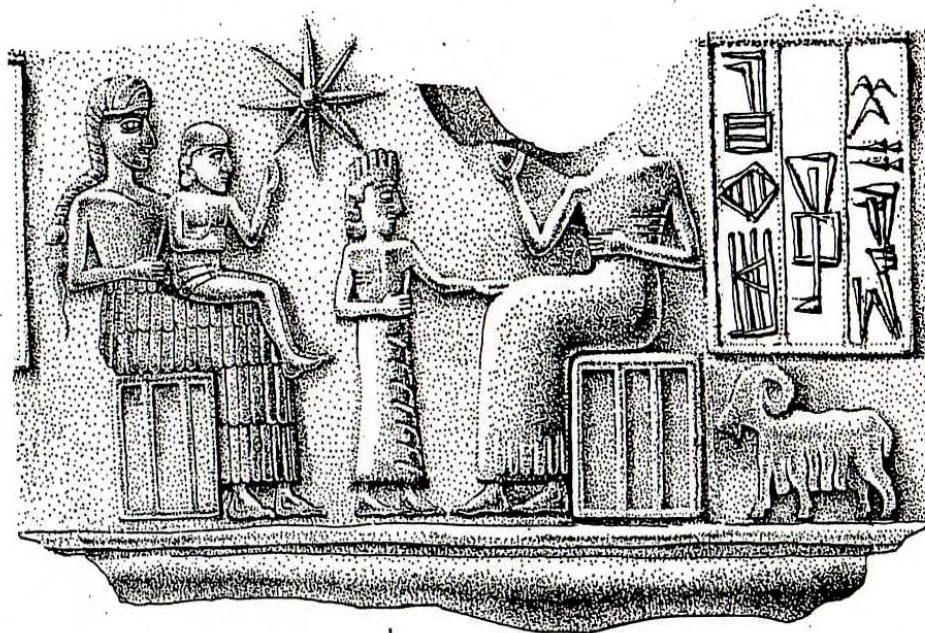
7) Seal impression of king Tupkiš (k2). After: G. Buccellati and M. Kelly- Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh," *AfO* 42 (1995), fig. a, p. 10.



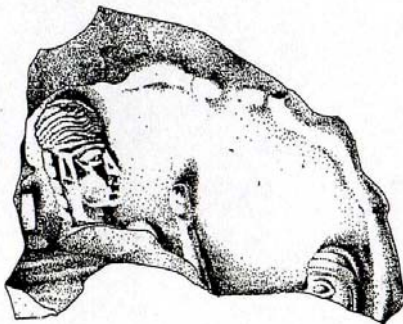
8) Clay figurines from Urkeš. After: Pecorella, "Note sulla Produzione Artistica Hurrita e Mittanica," in: *La Civiltà dei Hurriti*, Napoli, 2000, fig. 5, p. 362.



9) Sealing k3, showing a different headdress made of leather or cloth. After: Buccellati and Kelly- Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh," fig. 5, p. 11.



10) Seal impression of Queen Uqnitum (q2). After: Buccellati and Kelly- Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh," fig. b, p. 10.



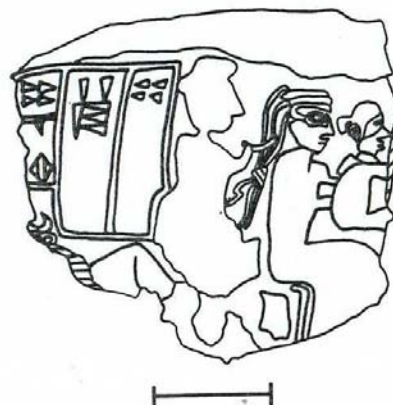
11) Queen Uqnitum bearing a cup. After: Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh," fig. c, p. 10.



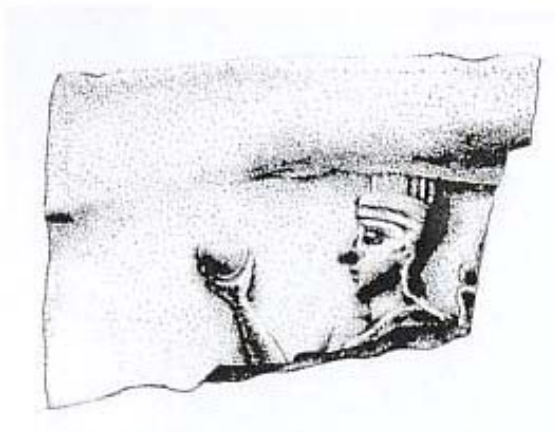
12) The queen listening to music. After: Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse ..." fig. 6, p. 15.



13) The queen listening to music. After: Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse," fig. 7, p. 20.



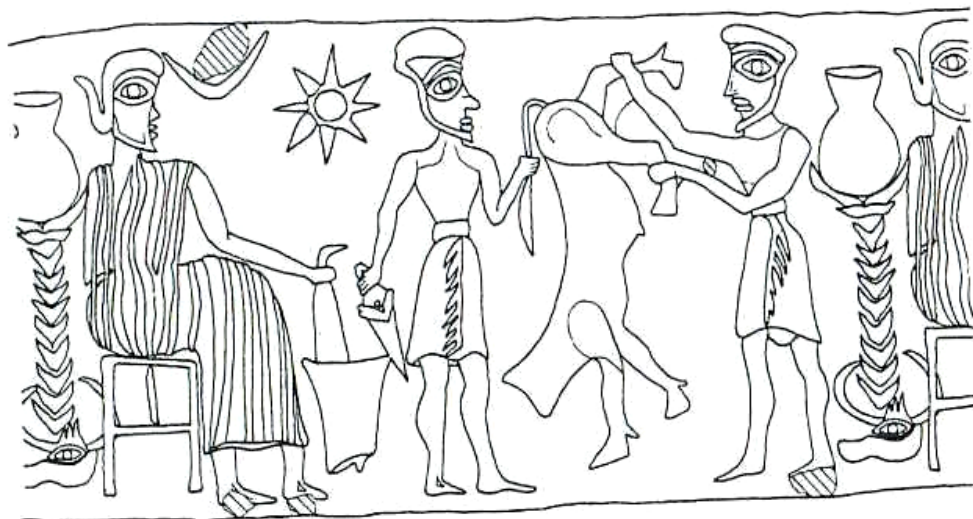
14) An attendant braiding hair. After: M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Urkes and the North," fig. 2, p. 32.



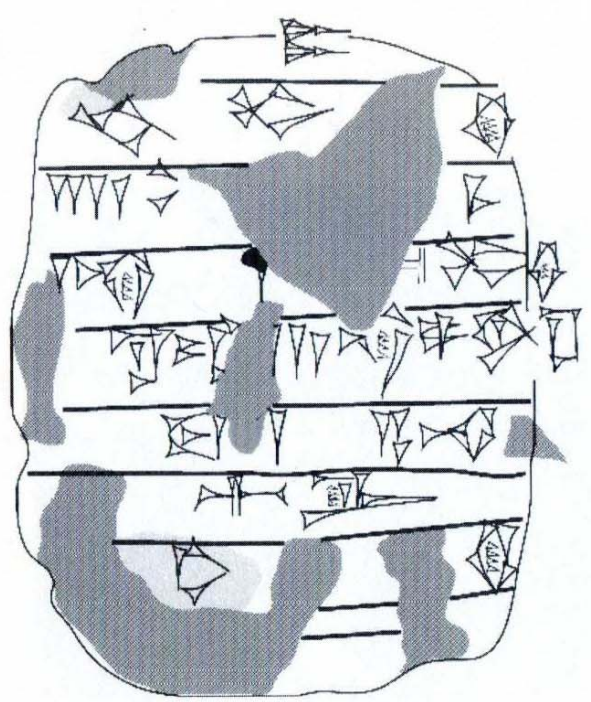
15) A sealing fragment, probably of King Tupkiš, wearing a feathered headdress/crown. After: Hansen, *Art of the Akkadian Dynasty*, fig. 67, p. 226.



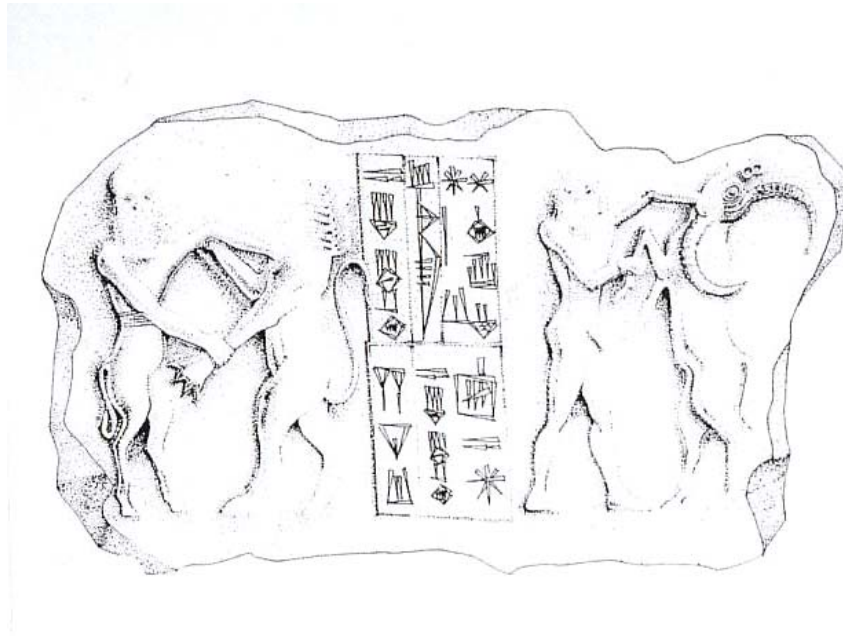
16-a) The unique cylinder seal depicting a ritual scene. After: Kelly-Buccellati, "Urkesh and the North," fig. 6, p. 37.



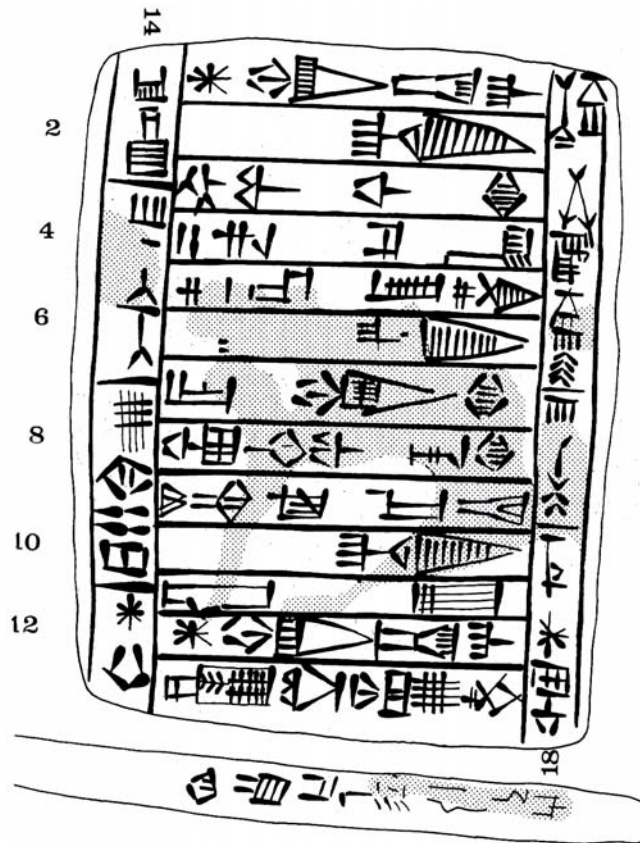
16-b) Drawing of the cylinder seal depicting a ritual scene. After: Kelly-Buccellati, "Urkesh and the North," fig. 7, p. 38.



17) Clay tablet A10.377 found in the palace of Urkeš. After: Buccellati, “The Monumental Urban Complex...,” fig. 10, p. 22.



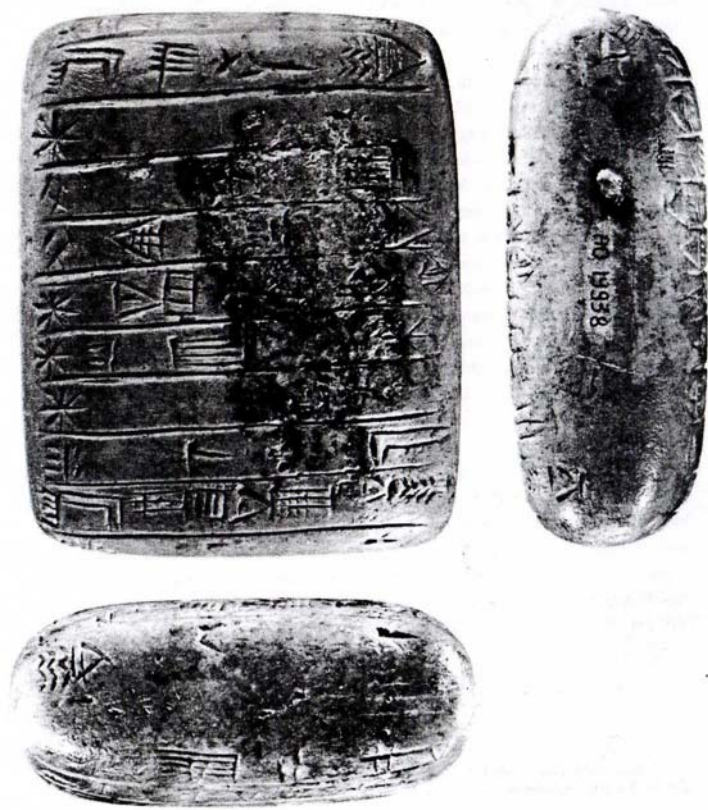
18) Seal of Tar’am-Agade, daughter of Narām-Sîn. After: Hansen, *Art of the Akkadian Dynasty*, fig. 68, p. 227.



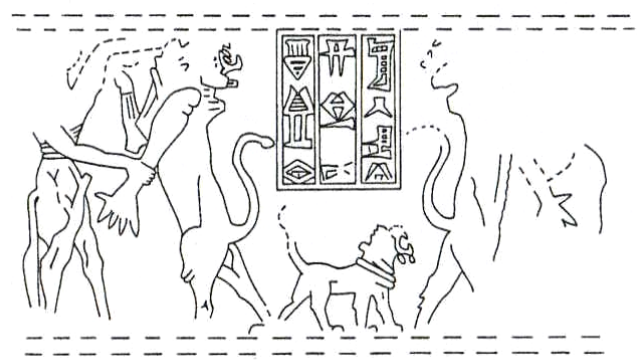
19) Inscription of Atal-šen. After: Wilhelm, Die Inschrift des Tišatal..., *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, p. 48.



20a) Foundation inscription of Tiš-atal. After: Wilhelm, Die Inschrift des Tišatal..., in: *Urkesch and the Hurrians, Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen: Bibliotheca Mesopotamica*, vol. 26, Malibu, Undena Publications, 1998, pl. XIV.



20b) Foundation inscription of Tiš-atal. After: Wilhelm, Die Inschrift des Tišatal..., in: *Urkesh and the Hurrians, Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen: Bibliotheca Mesopotamica*, vol. 26, Malibu, Undena Publications, 1998, pl. XV.



21) Sealing on a bulla from Brak bearing the seal of the *ensi* of Gasur. After: J. Oates, Evidence of the Sealings, in: *Excavations at Tell Brak*, vol. 2., fig. 160, p. 131.

CHAPTER FIVE



Simurrum



The Hurrian kingdoms of the Habur area were lucky, not only because they were not the targets of Ur III aggressive warfare, but also because scientific excavations have recovered some of their material legacy, as for example at Mozan (ancient Urkeš).

The situation is quite different in the eastern part of Hurrian territory, in the Transtigris, which was devastated by the Ur III campaigns and where there has been a lack of proper official excavations. So the history of these kingdoms has been left largely in obscurity, dependent on what is written about them in the records of the neighbouring nations and on chance discoveries.

One of the kingdoms of this region was Simurru.¹ The name of the land is known from older times, probably as early as the Early Dynastic II Period (c. 2700 BC). The names of some of its kings indicate that the land was later Hurrianized, but it preserved its old name Simurru and seemingly also its patron god Nišba. Simurru continued to play a significant political role in the history of the region as late as the age of Hammurabi.²

Its name was rendered in different ways in its long history. Akkadian inscriptions write the name with a double 'r,' and in later times the initial 's' becomes 'š.' A complete view of the different available writings of this GN is found below:

Early Dynastic Period: ³	<i>Si-mu-ri</i> ^{ki} ; <i>Si-mu-r[u]</i> ^{ki} .
Akkadian Period: ⁴	<i>SI-mur-um</i> ^{ki} ; <i>SI-mu-ur₄-ri-im</i> ^{ki} ; <i>SI-mu-ru-um</i> ^{ki} ; <i>SI-m[u]-ur₄</i> .
Gutian Period: ⁵	<i>Si-mu-ur₄-ri-im</i> .
Ur III Period: ⁶	<i>Si-mu-ru-um</i> ^(ki) ; <i>Si-mu-ru₄</i> ; <i>Si-mu-ru-um</i> ^{ki} ; <i>Si-mu-ru₄-um</i> .
Old Babylonian Period: ⁷	^{URU} <i>Ši-mu-ru-um</i> ^{ki} ; <i>Ši-mu-ur-ru-um</i> ^{ki} ; <i>Ši-mu-ru-um</i> ^{ki} ; <i>Ši-mu-ru-um</i> ^{ki} ; <i>Si-mu-ur-ru-um</i> ; <i>Si-mur-ra</i> ; ⁸ <i>Si-mu-ri-im</i> ⁹

¹ Because the identification of its location depends on the data studied in this chapter, the discussion of its location is dealt with at the end rather than the beginning of this chapter.

² For its history in the Mari period, cf. Chapter Six.

³ Gurney, O. R. and S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1976, p. 38.

⁴ Edzard, Farber and Sollberger, *RGTC* 1, p. 143-4.

⁵ Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 224 (Text E2.2.1.2, col. v 10); p. 226 (Text E2.2.1.3, col. viii 10' and 12').

⁶ Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 167-8.

⁷ Gronenberg, B., *RGTC* 3, p. 221.

⁸ As in the OB text of HAR-ra= *hubullu*: XIV l. 171: šaḥ Si-mur-ra, 'Simurrû-Pig.' Landsberger, B., *MSL* VIII/2: The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia, Second Part, Rome, 1962, p. 20.

⁹ In the Bêtwater inscriptions. One of the latest occurrences of Simurru in the OB Period is BIN 2, 80 from the reign of Samsuiluna that concerns a slave girl from Simurru (wr. URU *Ši-mu-ru-um*^{ki}), cf. Nies, J. B. and C. E.

Old Assyrian Period:¹⁰
Hittite:¹¹
Neo-Assyrian:¹²

Ši-mu-ri-im.
URUŠi-im-mu-ur-ra; URUŠi-im-mu-ra.
Ši-mu-ur-ri.

The Early Dynastic Period

If the identification of King Nanne, mentioned in some Sumerian proverbs, with the Early Dynastic II king A-anne-pada of Ur is correct, then the oldest hitherto known mention of Simurru can be dated to the Early Dynastic II Period.¹³ The proverbs, which are copies from the OB period, are about the failures of a king called Nanne (=Na-an-né). In one of the proverbs we read:

He (i. e. Nanne) took Simurru, but did not carry off its tribute.¹⁴

Another fragmentary proverb, which appears to be related to the same episode, speaks of the wall or fortress¹⁵ of Simurru:

He captured Simurru, but did not [destroy its wall/ fortress].¹⁶

These two excerpts from proverbs belong to the context of a longer series, all concentrating on the numerous and successive failures of King Nanne, who Gurney and Kramer call “the chronic loser.”¹⁷ The complete proverb series runs as follows:

Nanne held his old age in high esteem. He built Enlil’s temple, but did not complete it. He built a wall around Nippur, but ... He built Eanna, but after it had fallen into neglect he carried it away. He captured Simurru, but did not [destroy] its wall/carry off its tribute/subdue it. He never saw mighty kingship. Thus Nanne was carried away to the netherworld with a depressed heart.¹⁸

Keiser, Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities, *BIN*, vol. II, New Haven, 1920, pl. 36, no. 80, l. 1 (reference provided by M. Stol).

¹⁰ Dercksen, J. G., *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade in Anatolia*, Leiden, 1996, p. 77.

¹¹ Del Monte, G. F., *RGTC* 6/2, Wiesbaden, 1992, p. 145. It is attested in the Kumarbi myth and considered to be the same Simurru.

¹² Wiseman, D. J. and J. Black, *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû*, London, 1996, pl. 42, no. 65: 6’.

¹³ Hallo believes that this Nanne is the same A-anne-pada of Ur, cf. Hallo, W. W., “Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier,” *RHA* 36 (1978), 73, but according to Alster, Nanne is “presumably a fictitious ruler who never succeeded in completing any undertaking” according to this “sarcastic statement about the rulers of the Ur III dynasty,” Alster, B., *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer*, vol. II, Bethesda, 1997, p. 380. Regarding this, I would call attention to the Tummal chronicle that mentions Nanne as the king who designed the ornamental garden of Enlil’s temple and whose son, Mes-ki’ag-Nanna, made the Tummal splendid after it became dilapidated. In the chronicle he stands chronologically between Gilgamesh and Ur-Namma, i.e. predating the Ur III kings. For the chronicle, cf. Glassner, J.-J., *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, ed. B. R. Foster, Atlanta, 2004, p. 156-157.

¹⁴ Si-mu-ru^{ki} i-dib gu-bi nu-mu-un-da-gid(-?), Gurney and Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts in the Ashmolean Museum*, p. 38; cf. also Alster, B., *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer*, vol. I, Bethesda, 1997, p. 86, SP 11.18, 5; SP 25.4, 5.

¹⁵ For the meanings of bad=duru as wall and fortress cf. *CAD* vol. D, p. 192.

¹⁶ Si-mu-ru i-dab₅ bad-e nu-[u]n(?)-[gul], or according to a variant, “but did not subdue it,” Alster, *ibid.*, G iv 1-13, 5; Ni 4469, 5.

¹⁷ Gurney and Kramer, *ibid.*

¹⁸ 1) Na-an-né libir-ra mu-un-kal 2) é^dEn-lil-lá i-dù nu-un-til 3) bad Nibru^{ki} i-dù TUG NU MI im-mi-in-DU 4) É-an-na mu-dù ù-mu-un-šub im-ma-an-túm 5) Si-mu-ru i-dab₅ bad-e nu-[u]n(?)-[gul] 6) nam-lugal-kala-ga igi nu-mu-du₈ 7) ur₅ na-an-na (ša-sig-ga) kur-ra ba-ra-an(!)-[túm], Alster, *ibid.* See also the other version with variants in Gurney and Kramer, *ibid.*

This shows that Simurru was a well-known country to everyone in Mesopotamia and that they understood which country was meant by the “capture of Simurru.”

The importance of Simurru made it the subject of another Sumerian proverb, which is somewhat obscure:

Between the basket and the boat (are) the fields of Simurru.¹⁹

According to *PSD* A²⁰ the proverb can be translated “from the basket to the boat (there is) the region of Simurru,” with the comment: “denoting a vast area?”²¹ This questionable interpretation does not explain why small mobile objects like a basket and a boat are used as boundary markers for Simurru. If the translation given by *PSD* proves to be correct, it means that Simurru was so small a territory that it fitted a tiny space between those two small objects. However, it appears from written sources that Simurru was a country and a kingdom in the Diyāla/Sirwān region that barricaded the way to the northern Transtigris territories, so it cannot have been so small. It seems to me that the proverb alludes to the fertility of Simurru: it shows that the two means of transporting agricultural products, the basket and the boat, are flanking the fertile and fruitful fields of Simurru. Boats need no explanation, but baskets were and still are the ideal means for the transport of fruits in the gardens and groves of the Transtigris and other mountainous regions.²² The form of the name Simurru in this proverb with mimation is in contrast to that in the other proverbs mentioned above, where it is written without mimation. Since this was a feature of rendering GNs in the Ur III period,²³ one may assume that this latter proverb can be dated to the Ur III period. If this is correct, it makes our interpretation for the meaning of the proverb more likely, associating it with the political sphere in the Ur III period when campaigns, pillaging and looting were conducted against Simurru many times by the kings of Ur (see Chapter Four).

The Akkadian Period

The first clear reference to Simurru comes from the time of the Old Akkadian dynasty. One of the latest date-formulae for Sargon found in an archival text from Nippur states that the king²⁴ went there:

The year Sargon went to Simurru.²⁵

Although it is not explicitly stated what is meant by “went” (Sum. verb *gin*), the date-formulae of his grandson and later successor give a clear hint to its military connotation when mentioning this land:

In the year Narām-Sîn went on a campaign to Simurru.²⁶

¹⁹ *gi-gur-ta* ^{gis} *má-šè(?) a-šà Si-mu-ur₄-ru-um^{ki}*, Alster, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 104.

²⁰ *PSD* (Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary), vol. A, p. 169, after Alster, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 390.

²¹ *PSD*, vol. A, part 1, p. 169.

²² It could be, D. Meijer adds in an oral communication, an indication of the contrast between south and north; in the south boats were the main means of transport but in the north it was baskets.

²³ For this cf. Kraus, F. R., *Sumerer und Akkader, Ein Problem der altmesopotamischen Geschichte*, Amsterdam, 1970, p. 92.

²⁴ According to Hallo, “Gutium,” *RIA*, p. 56 and note 54.

²⁵ MU *Šar-um-GI Ši-mur-um^{ki}-šè 'i'-gin-'na-a'*, Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, Band 7, p. 49 (Sargon 1); see also Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 8 (iv, d).

²⁶ [*i*]n 1 MU [^d] *Na-ra-am^{dr}EN.ZU¹ a-na KASKAL.^rKI¹ Ši-mu-ur₄-ri-im^{ki} i-li-ku*, Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, p. 51 (Narām-Sîn 5a); Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 87 (vii, hh).

Another date-formula of the same king yields significant information, more than expected from a date formula:

In the year Narām-Sîn was victorious over (the yoke?) of Simurru at Kirašeniwe and captured Baba, *ensi* of Simurru, (and) Dubul, *ensi* of Arame.²⁷

The statement that Narām-Sîn won the war against Simurru at Kirašeniwe clearly indicates that Kirašeniwe was a city or locality incorporated into the land of Simurru, as proposed also by Salvini.²⁸ However, there remains a slight possibility that it was a place close to Simurru, assuming that the Simurrians could have fought the Akkadians on a territory outside their own land. It is important to note the name of the governor of Simurru, Baba. His name is not Hurrian. It belongs rather to the kind of name typical of the Transtigris region before the arrival of the Hurrians, such as the names found in the texts from Gasur and elsewhere. This same date-formula informs us about a certain Dubul, who was the *ensi* of Arame. This land was also attacked in the same year and very likely during the same campaign as that against Simurru.²⁹ In both cases, Arame appears to have been located close to Simurru and might have been its ally against Narām-Sîn. This location is supported by an Ur III text that mentions troops from Arami (éren-a-ra-mi^{ki}) located between Ašnun and KAŠ-da-dun.³⁰ The Harmal Geographical List puts Arame on the Sirwān River, south of its outflow through the Hamrin range.³¹ Variant B of the date-formula adds that Nabi-Ulmaš, the son of king Narām-Sîn, was ruling in a place called Tutu.³²

The mention of Simurru as the main target of the campaign in this date-formula implies its importance even in this early period of the history of the Transtigris. This importance was not only due to its strategic location at the gate to the northern lands, on the major routes that lead to Iran and northern Transtigris and later Assyria, but also to its richness, which is indicated by the quick recovery it showed later in the Ur III period after every campaign. Only a country rich in human and natural resources could resist for such a long time and recover after not less than eleven successive campaigns waged on it by the kings of Ur. If our interpretation of the proverb mentioned above is correct, it adds an extra proof to the richness of this land.

According to Frayne, it is possible that these two date-formulae commemorate two consecutive campaigns undertaken by Narām-Sîn within two years.³³ The name of Baba is mentioned also on a piece of alabaster³⁴ from the Akkadian period, found in Sippar and

²⁷ in MU ^dNa-ra-am-^dE[N.ZU] Ši-mu-ur-ri-[im^{ki}] in Ki-ra-še-ni-we iš₁₁-a-ru ù Ba-ba ÉNSI Ši-mu-ur-ri-im^{ki} Dub-ul ÉNSI A-ra-me^{ki} ik-mi-ù, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 87 (vii, ii), cf. also: Walker, *The Tigris Frontier from Sargon to Hammurabi*, p. 19-20. This date-formula was found in two variants, A and B, the first is written on an archival grain account text, the second variant (B) has three extra lines at the end: 11) Na-bi-ùl-maš 12) in Tutu^{ki} 13) ib-ri, "... and inspected (his son) Nabi-Ulmaš in the city of Tutu," Walker, *ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁸ Salvini, "The Earliest Evidence of ...," p. 102.

²⁹ Westenholz considers that the mentioned campaigns may also have been "little more than successful raids," but without further explanation, cf. Westenholz, *Mesopotamien, Akkade- und Ur III-Zeit*, *OBO*, p. 38.

³⁰ Cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 15.

³¹ Frayne, "On the Location of Simurru," p. 263. The Harmal list lists A-ra-mi-«il» between Me-tu-ra-an from the north and Éš-nun-na from the south, with other intervening GNs, cf.: Levy, S., "Harmal Geographical List," *Sumer* 3, no. 1 (1947), p. 53, col. III, entries 78-86; cf. also Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 69 and 70. For the occurrence of Simurru in the list, see below, under "The Location of Simurru."

³² Frayne equates Tutu with Tutub in: Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 87.

³³ Frayne, *The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns (2400-1900 BC)*, p. 42.

³⁴ Hallo considers this stone fragment part of a stone vessel: Hallo, "Simurru and ...," *RHA*, p. 73, however, Frayne thinks it is a stone mace-head: Frayne, "On the Location ...," p. 246 and Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 145.

published as early as 1897 by Winckler.³⁵ The name comes in a fragmentary context, but one can deduce that it is associated with Simurru:

[Wh]en [Ba]ba, [en]si of [Sim]ur[r]um (lacuna).³⁶

Whether or not this inscribed piece of alabaster was dedicated from the booty of Simurru we do not know for sure. Nevertheless, it is probably this same Baba, who appears on another date-formula from the reign of Narām-Sîn in a different form:³⁷

[The year ... defe[ated] [B]ibi [...], and was [vic]torious in battle in the mountain lands [in] Ḥašimar.³⁸

Mount Ḥašimar is almost certainly the same Ḥašimur of the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions. Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC) crossed the lower Zāb, advanced through the land of Ḥašimur to the land of Namri. From Namri he descended to the lands Messi, the lands of the Medes and Ḥarḥar³⁹ in a northwest-southeast direction. Ḥašimur was identified with the mount and pass of Darband-i-Khan on the upper Sirwān River, at the southern end of the Shahrazūr Plain, where a dam is located nowadays.⁴⁰ Although some think that this GN was located further to the south⁴¹ this appears unlikely, for two reasons. First, Aššurnasirpal II during his campaign against the Lullubians in Zamua mentioned it as the southernmost frontier of the territory under the rulers of Zamua (= Shahrazūr), which was by no means as far as the Hamrin at Diyāla.⁴² Second, the same Assyrian king, describing the extent of this part of his realm, indicated already the southern extremity as Tīl-Bāri as opposed to the (Lower) Zāb, but Ḥašmar is mentioned as the eastern (not southern) extremity, as opposed to Babite (Baziyān) in the west. In other words, he used in his description the north-south axis from the bank of the Zāb to Tīl-Bāri, and the west-east axis from Babite to Ḥašmar, explaining that the territory

³⁵ Cf. Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 145; Hallo, *RHA*, p. 73, note 25.

³⁶ 1') [i]-nu 2') [Ba]-ba 3') [PA.T]E.SI 4') [Ši-m]u-ur-ri-ri-i m^{ki} Lacuna, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 145 (text no. E2.1.4.32).

³⁷ This identification is the suggestion of Frayne in: Frayne, "On the Location of Simurru," p. 247.

³⁸ [in 1 MU ...] ti-[...] [B]i-bi-[...] en-a-[ru] ù REC448bis/REC 169 ša-dú-a-tim [in] Ḥa-ši-ma-ar^{ki} [iš₁₁]-a-ru, Frayne, "On the Location of ...," p. 247, cf. also: Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 87 (jj).

³⁹ Cf. Luckenbill, D. D., *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. I, Chicago, 1926, p. 206, § 581.

⁴⁰ Cf. for instance Parpola, S. and M. Porter (eds.), *The Atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Helsinki, 2001, p. 11; Speiser, "Southern Kurdistan in the ...," *AASOR* 8 (1926-1927), p. 26 and note 49, also he refers to similar identifications by Billerbeck, A., *Das Sandschak Suleimania und dessen persische Nachbarschaften zur babylonischen und assyrischen Zeit*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 30, 60 (Both banks of the Diyāla at the southeastern end of the Sagirma Chain, the region of Dasht-i-Shamērān); and Streck, M., "Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaften Armenien, Kurdistan und Westpersien nach den babylonisch-assyrischen Keilinschriften," *ZA* 15 (1900), p. 287 (between Sulaimaniya and Sar-i-pul-i-Zohāb); but for Olmstead it was located farther to the north between Baneh and Saqqiz in Iranian Kurdistan: Olmstead, A. T., "Shalmaneser and the Establishment of the Assyrian Power," *JAOS* 41 (1921), p. 376, note 66. The hydronym Ḥišmarḥuše found in the Nuzi texts: Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 377, might be somehow connected with this Ḥašimur.

⁴¹ For instance Levine located Ḥašimur at the point where the Sirwān cuts through the Hamrin in: Levine, L., "Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros I," *Iran* 11 (1973), p. 23. Weidner as well, thinks it was the southeastern part of the Hamrin and the pass of Ḥašimur was at the point where the Diyāla cuts through the Hamrin chain: Weidner, E., "Die Feldzüge Šamši-Adads V. gegen Babylonien," *Afo* 9 (1933-34), p. 97, and later by Hannon in the east southeast of Khanaqīn:

[Hannon, *Old Cities and Archaeological Sites*..., p. 303] حنون، مدن قديمة و مواقع أثرية، ص. ۳۰۳.

⁴² The text reads ii 58) URU.DIDLI šá URU Ba-ra-a-a šá m^{ki}Ki-ir-ti-a-ra šá URU Du-ra-a-a šá URU Bu-ni-sa-a-a a-di né-reb šá KUR Ḥaš-mar a-pul ..., "The cities of Bāra, of the man Kirteara, a man of the city Dūra, (and) of the Bunisu, as far as the pass of Mount Ḥašmar, I destroyed, I..." Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 206 (Text A.0.101.1), for the translation cf. also Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, p. 152, § 453.

between the latter two points (Babite to Ғašmar) comprised the whole land of Zamua.⁴³ So, there would be no need to mention another point in the south beside Tīl-Bāri if Ғašmar was indeed in the south. The location presented by Hannon and accepted by Frayne, as far to the south as the Darewushke Mountain⁴⁴ between Mandali and Khanaqīn, does not fit its description as a high mountain with a pass. Furthermore, it would be unexpected for Shalmaneser to go south of Khanaqīn then to the north and northwest to reach Namri. Whatever the case may be, Narām-Sīn has campaigned against Ғašmar, somewhere in the Diyāla/Sirwān basin, near the Darband-i-Khān pass, or most probably slightly further north at the foot of Mount Surēn (see later in this chapter, under ‘The Location of Simurru’). Because this territory was close to, if not within, the realm of Simurru there would be a good chance to identify this Bibi with Baba of Simurru if our location for Ғašmar proves to be correct.

An interesting letter from Gasur (*HSS* 10, 5) refers to Simurrians. It implies that there were some Simurrians who received amounts of grain. But one cannot conclude from the letter whether these Simurrians were living in Gasur or not. The letter reads:

Thus (says) Dada, say to NI.NI: He should assign the grain that I had left over for rations as seed grain and give it out. But in case the Simurrians do not receive enough grain (to eat), he should give out some of it as grain rations; I will replace it myself.⁴⁵

The sender Dada bears a reduplicative name,⁴⁶ common in Gasur and the Transtigris. The addressee appears from the letter to have been an intermediary between the sender Dada and somebody else who worked in the field and was in charge of the grain silos and agricultural equipment. One may conclude that this was a group of poor Simurrian peasants working for their master Dada, who probably owned the fields, the seed and even the plough and transport animals.

The Simurrians are also mentioned (LÚ *Si-mu-ru-um-me*) together with Lullubians at Lagaš in texts from the Oakk. period, “though what they were doing there is not clear.”⁴⁷

Of importance is the account of the great revolt against Narām-Sīn.⁴⁸ The text of this account mentions a king of Simurru who joined the rebels and who bore the good Hurrian

⁴³ 7') TA *né-re-be šá* KUR *Ba-^rbī-[ti]* 8') [*a*]-^r*dī* KUR *Ғa-áš-mar* KUR *Za-mu-a ana si-ḫīr-^rtī¹-[šá]*, “[I brought] within the boundaries [of my land] (the territory stretching) from the passes of Mount Babi[tu] to Mount Ғašmar, the entire land of Zamua,” Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 324 (Text A.0.101.52); and 9) TA *e-ber-tan* ÍD *Za-ba* KI.TA 10) *a-di* URU.DU₆-*ba-a-ri šá el-la-an* KUR *Za-ba-an*, “From the opposite bank of Lower Zāb to the city of Tīl-Bāri, which is upstream from Zaban,” Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 275 (Text A.0.101.23).

⁴⁴ Darewushke is a low mountain near Mandali, to the south of Khanaqīn. Its name was correctly written in both the *Iraq and the Persian Gulf* of the British Naval Intelligence Division and the dissertation of N. Hannon. However, Frayne has attempted to find an Arabic meaning and thus an Arabic transliteration for the mountain as Darāwish-kūh, assuming that the first word is the plural of Darwīsh, a class of religious *sheikhs* followers, and the second word as the Persian Kūh “Mount,” cf.: Frayne, “On the Location of Simurru,” p. 247, note 14. I have to explain here, that the mountain name is actually Dāre-wushke and has nothing to do with those two words; it is a Kurdish name that means “The dead (lit. dry) tree.”

⁴⁵ 1) *en-ma* Da-da 2) *a-na Ni-ni* 3) *qí-bí-ma* 4) ŠE *šu a-na* ŠE.BA 5) *a-si-tu* 6) *a-na* ŠE.NUMUN 7) *li-sa-mi-id-ma* 8) *li-dī-in* 9) *ù šum-ma* 10) *Si-mu-ur₄-rí-ù^{ki}* 11) *a-dī da-ni-iš* 12) ŠE *la i-ma-ḫa-ru* 13) *in qir-bí-su* 14) *a-na* ŠE.BA *li-dī-in* 15) *a-na-ku₈ a-kà-sa-ar*, Michalowski, *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*, p. 34-5, cf. also Frayne, “On the Location...,” p. 248.

⁴⁶ Nevertheless, note that Michalowski reads this name as i-li, cf. Michalowski, *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*, p. 34-5.

⁴⁷ Westenholz, *OBO*, p. 94. For the texts, cf. Thureau-Dangin, F., *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes (RTC)*, Paris, 1903, no. 249, I 8.

⁴⁸ The text has three versions on three tablets, all copies from the OB period, cf. Grayson and Sollberger, “L’insurrection générale contre Narām-Suen,” *RA* 70 (1976), p. 104. For more details, cf. Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*, p. 221f.

name Puttim-atal. This Simurrian king, according to the account of the revolt, was not successful. He was defeated and taken prisoner together with the other rebels to Akkad.⁴⁹

Unfortunately, there is no historical document that can support the reliability of this account. Rather, it remains a literary narrative without any chronological context. Nevertheless, one cannot deny its value as a source of information. The events of the account could be a fantasy of the scribes but the names of the lands are real. The names of the rulers as well can very probably be real, though not chronologically correct. By this, I mean that the scribes might have collected the most powerful and famous rulers of those rebel lands from antiquity up to their own time and listed them in the text as the most implacable enemies of the king of Akkad in order to enhance the image of Narām-Sîn as a super-hero. Thus, one can believe in the historicity of Puttim-atal without putting him into an exact chronological setting. As Hallo pointed out, “given the allusions to some of the rebels (Iḫur-kiš, Lugal-anna of Uruk) in other, in part, much earlier literary texts, the Narām-Sîn legend may preserve genuine historical data.”⁵⁰ Furthermore, the Epic of Gilgameš and the occurrence of the name of King Gilgameš in the SKL are an indication of how much fact such historical-literary compositions contain. Therefore, if the episode of the great revolt proves to be true, one may assume it has happened after the two or three campaigns of Narām-Sîn against Simurru. This can be concluded from the Hurrian name of its king, which indicates a later phase after the Hurrians had succeeded in penetrating the land and establishing themselves. They had succeeded in taking power from a local dynasty whose king bore the traditional reduplicated Transtigridian name Baba or Bibi.

Gutian, Late Lagaš II / Early Ur III Periods

Frayne listed two other texts from Girsu that point to Simurrians. The texts probably date to the late Lagaš II or the early Ur III period⁵¹ and concern rations for an important group of foreigners in Lagaš,⁵² among whom were Ḫuḫnureans, Lullubians and Simurrians.⁵³ Interestingly, one of these Simurrians is described by his profession as a smith.⁵⁴ Frayne calls these foreigners ‘visitors,’ but there is no indication that such a status was assigned to them. Rather, they were perhaps prisoners from the Elamite war waged by Ur-Namma, possibly with the participation and help of Gudea from the Sumerian side and the Simurrians from the Elamite side.⁵⁵

The inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir of Gutium (studied in Chapter Three) speak of a general revolt against the Gutian king Enrida-Pizir, father of Erridu-Pizir. Simurru was not just a part of the rebel coalition but also an influential member, perhaps even the organizer. The inscription says that KA-Nišba, king of Simurru, had instigated the people of Simurru and Lullubum to revolt.⁵⁶ This proves the power and influence Simurru enjoyed in this period. Furthermore, Simurru was apparently the most ardent among the other rebels, due to its territorial overlap with the Gutian territories in the regions to the south and southeast of

⁴⁹ For bibliography, cf. Chapter Two, p. 87.

⁵⁰ Hallo, *RHA*, p. 73, adds the evidence provided by the Basitki statue, found to the south of Duhok, as further credibility to the account of the great revolt.

⁵¹ Frayne, “On the Location of ...,” p. 248; for the tablets he refers to Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* (1903), p. 97, no. 249 and Grégoire (1981) pl. 31 no. 92.

⁵² Frayne, “On the location of ...,” p. 248.

⁵³ Cf. *RTC* 249, I, 8': lú Si-mu-ru-um-me.

⁵⁴ *RTC* I, 11'-12': simug Si-mu-ru-um.

⁵⁵ For the discussion of the synchronism of Gudea and Ur-Namma, the Elamite war and the Elamite prisoners, cf. Steinkeller, P., “The Date of Gudea and his Dynasty,” *JCS* 40 (1988), p. 51 and 53, note 21.

⁵⁶ For the text of the inscription, cf. Chapter Three.

Kirkuk. This must have resulted in an uncomfortable position for Simurrum, especially in the shadow of the growing power of Gutium.

The Ur III Period

The historical data collected from the Ur III date-formulae, touched on in the previous chapter, show that Simurrum was a main target of the army of Ur. This was due to the location of Simurrum on the main road leading to the northern territories, close to the head of the virtual triangle we drew in the Hamrin region (cf. Chapter Four, under the Historical Geography). Thanks to these date-formulae, our information about Simurrum has been increased and set in a better chronological order.

The first time Simurrum was attacked in the Ur III period was in Š 25-26; this was followed by those of the years Š 26, Š 32, Š 44, Š 45, and finally in IS 3 (see the table in Chapter Four). A convincing analysis of the order and dates of these campaigns was presented by Hallo years ago. He concluded that Simurrum was acting as a barricade closing the main routes to the north, and the kings of Ur first had to clear away Simurrum in order to reach territories like Lullubum, Šašrum and Urbilum.⁵⁷ He further grouped the campaigns into what he called the three “Hurrian wars.”⁵⁸ What is recorded in the date-formulae is clearly not the whole story, for there are only five years named after campaigns against Simurrum, but the date-formula of year Š 44 is “The year Simurrum and Lullubum were destroyed for the 9th time.”⁵⁹ It can be calculated from these date-formulae that the number of campaigns undertaken against this land rises to 10 under Šulgi alone, and to at least 11 until Ibbi-Sîn.

The first and second Hurrian wars aimed to crush the resistance of Karḫar and Simurrum, for 6 of the 7 campaigns were directed against these two lands, and 1 against Ḫarši. It appears that the job was accomplished during the second war (to be precise in Š 32) with the capture of Tappan-Daraḫ, king of Simurrum.⁶⁰ This was a victory worth celebration, a victory commemorated not only during the age of the Ur III dynasty itself but also in later times. Tappan-Daraḫ, together with his family, was taken prisoner to Sumer. The archival texts from Drehem bear witness of their presence there, listing them as receiving rations. It

⁵⁷ Cf. Hallo, “Simurrum and ...,” *RHA*, p. 72. Hallo thinks that Šulgi bore the title “King of the four quarters” after the destruction of the lands Karḫar (Š 24), Simurrum (Š 25 and Š 26), and Ḫarši (Š 27), disagreeing with Goetze, who believes he bore the title only after the final destruction of Simurrum in Š 44, cf. *op. cit.* p. 74 and note 35.

⁵⁸ Cf. Hallo, *RHA*, appendix II, p. 82.

⁵⁹ Owen states that the number reflects hyperbole and is not to be taken as fact, Owen, D., “The Royal Gift Seal of Šilluš-Dagan, Governor of Simurrum,” *Studi sul Vicino Oriente Antico, dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, ed. S. Graziani, Napoli, 2000, p. 820, note 29.

⁶⁰ Whether the name Tappan-Daraḫ is Hurrian or Semitic is not yet settled. According to Gelb and Zadok the name is not Hurrian: Gelb, *HS*, p. 114. Zadok thinks its first part is the name of the river Ṭab(b)an, used here as a theophoric component, cf.: Zadok, “Hurrians, as well as Individuals...,” *kinattūtu ša dārāti: Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume*, p. 224. However, in the Ur III PNs with the name of the river Ṭab(b)an other signs are used, cf. for instance: Lugal-Ṭa-ba-an; Lugal-Ṭa₃-ba-an (three occurrences); ^dŠul-gi-Ṭa-ba-an, cf. for this: Nashef, Kh., “Der Ṭaban-Fluss,” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 13 (1982), p. 119. In the OB period, the river name appears mostly with the divinity determinative when occurring as a theophoric component in the PNs, cf. Nashef, *op. cit.*, p. 121. He cites from the OB documents the names [Šu]-^dṬa-ba-an AS 30: T 402 on a seal legend from Tell Asmar; Šu-^dṬa-b[a-an] AS 33: 372 (Seal) 4, from Tell Asmar; Šu-^dḪI-ba-an: W. G. Lambert, *RA* 74 (1980), 73, 55 from an unknown provenance, but also ḪI-ba-an-a-bu-um YOS 14, 12, 16 from Tell Harmal. Astour thinks the name consists of the two elements Tappa and Daraḫ, the first comes from Akkadian *tappū* “companion,” and the second is a divine name; so the name means “Companion of god Daraḫ,” cf.: Astour, M. “Semites and Hurrians in Northern Transtigris,” *SCCNH* 2, Winona Lake, 1987, p. 41. In this reading, Astour obviously follows Goetze in reading the sign AN in TAB.BA.AN.DA.RA.AḪ as a divine determinative for *Da-rah*; for Goetze’s transcription cf. Goetze, A., “Historical Allusions in Old Babylonian Omen Texts,” *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 259-60 and below.

seems that the family received rations in Drehem after the year Š 32, though the archival texts do not mention the names of the wife and the son/daughter⁶¹ of Tappan-Daraḥ. Even Tappan-Daraḥ himself was simply designated in the texts as “the man of Simurrum” and not “king” or “*ensi*.” For Frayne this was enough reason to suggest that this Tappan-Daraḥ was a man from Simurrum who was someone other than the king.⁶² According to Walker, the king was re-installed on the throne of his own country as a titular head, though Ur appointed one of its own men, Šilluš-Dagān, to actually administer the territory.⁶³ It is necessary to point out here that the titles used in the archival texts need not necessarily comply with the regular protocols. A captive king was not always called “the king” in texts written purely for archival purposes, on small tablets with sentences kept as short as possible. It is also not to be expected that the victorious Sumerians would give their prisoners their former titles.⁶⁴

The archival texts that refer to the royal family of Simurrum can be summed up as follows:

Tappan-Daraḥ: *Tab-ba-da-ra-aḥ*,⁶⁵ MAN-*ba-an-da-ra-aḥ*,⁶⁶ in texts dated Š 33; Š 34; Š 36; Š 38; ŠS 1; ŠS 2; 7 and ŠS 8.⁶⁷
 Daughter of Tappan-Daraḥ: DUMU.MÍ *Tab-ba-da-ra-aḥ*.⁶⁸
 Wife of Tappan-Daraḥ: DAM *Tab-ba-da-ra-aḥ*.⁶⁹

That the victory in Simurrum and taking captive its king with his family was a resounding success is proved by textual material from later times. OB omen texts and literary compositions sometimes commemorate it. An OB omen text reads:

If tissue cross the ‘palace gate,’ it is an omen of Šulgi, who took Tappa(n)-Daraḥ prisoner.⁷⁰

⁶¹ For Frayne, Walker, Goetze and Biggs he was a *son* of Tappan-Daraḥ: Frayne, “On the Location of ...,” p. 250; Walker, *The Tigris Frontier ...*, p. 105; Goetze, A., “Historical Allusions...,” p. 260; Biggs, R., “Šulgi in Simurrum,” *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons*, p. 171. Nevertheless, Hallo and Walker -in another place- consider this person a *daughter* of the captive king: Hallo, *RHA*, p. 75; Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 115, but see below.

⁶² For this cf. Frayne, “On the Location...,” p. 250 and 251, where he points to a governor of Simurrum with the same name installed by Ur.

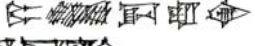
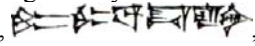
⁶³ Walker, *The Tigris Frontier...*, p. 116.

⁶⁴ Note that Biggs describes this formula as “the usual way of designating a ruler,” Biggs, “Šulgi in Simurrum,” p. 175.

⁶⁵ Hallo, W. W., *Tabulae Cuneiformes a F. M. Th. De Liagre Böhl Collectae, Leidae Conservatae*, III (TLB III), Leiden, 1973, pl. V, no. 14, l. 3.

⁶⁶ Cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 167. Biggs thinks that the sign MAN must be a graphic variant of TAB: Biggs, “Šulgi in Simurrum,” p. 171.

⁶⁷ Cf. Biggs, “Šulgi in Simurrum,” p. 173; Goetze, “Historical Allusions...,” *JCS* 1, p. 260 referring to *Or* 47ff. 36 10 (?) and *AnOr* 7 44 5.

⁶⁸ Schneider, N., *Die Drehem- und Djohatexte im Kloster Montserrat (Barcelona)*, Roma, 1932, pl. 16, no. 53, l. 21. However, the fragmentary  copied by Schneider, was collated by Molina and showed a clear DUMU.MÍ, , which means a daughter, not a son of Tappan-Daraḥ, cf.: Molina, M., *Materiali per il Vocabulario Neosumerico*, vol. 18: Tabillas Administrativas Neo-Sumerias de la Abadía de Montserrat (Barcelona), Roma, 1993, pl. XX, no. 53, l. 22. Biggs has tentatively proposed that the Hurrian name Šuni-Teššup found in the fragmentary context on the tablet fragment of the Nabû temple (see below), may be identified with a son(?) of Tabban-Daraḥ, cf.: Biggs, R., “Exploits of Šulgi?,” *NABU* 1996, no. 108, p. 95, note 7.

⁶⁹ Molina, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV, no. 40, l. 4. Schneider has copied only DAM *Tab-ba-da-ra*, cf. Schneider, *op. cit.*, pl. 12, no. 40, l. 4.

⁷⁰ *šumma bāb ēkallim ši-rum i-bi-ir a-mu-ut* ^dŠul-gi ša Tappa^{pa}-^dDa-ra-aḥ ik-mi-ú, (YBT X 22 17), cf. Goetze, A., “Historical Allusions ...,” *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 259. There are two other omens relating to the same episode: *šumma bāb ēkallim ši-ra-am ú-du-uh a-mu-ut* ^dŠul-gi ša Tappa-^dDa-ra-aḥ ik-mi-ú, “If the ‘palace gate’ is

Another omen can be related to the same triumph, because it attributes the submission of the four quarters of the world to Šulgi:

If the foetus is like a horse, it is an omen of Šulgi, who subdued the four regions.⁷¹

Yet another omen text known from a MA copy, dated to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (1115-1077 BC),⁷² although fragmentary, includes the statement:

[...Tab]-ba-gar and Rabsisi, kings of ... [...], he [...] and brother killed brother.⁷³

Frayne has cited in his valuable article another text relating to this episode, a chronicle from the Seleucid period found in Uruk:

Šulgi, king of Ur, son of Ur-Namma, exercised [ki]ngship over all the lands, [Tab]banger and Rabsisi, kings of the land of Subartu, he overpowered.⁷⁴

Unfortunately, it is not known which brothers are meant by this omen, though the royal families of Tabba(n)gar and Rabsisi are the best candidates. The chronicle says nothing about this, only about the victory over the two kings. It is important that the chronicle states that the two men were kings of Subartu, most probably meaning Simurrum.⁷⁵ Rabsisi's realm is not actually mentioned, but the resemblance of his name with a certain Rašiši, attested together with Hun-ḫi-li or Hu-un-NI.NI, the *ensi* of Kimaš and 'šagin' (military governor) of Madga, in an Ur III archival text (TCSD 140, 5) is noteworthy.⁷⁶ In this archival text, Rašiši is mentioned as "Hu-un-ḫi-li, Ra-ši-ši lú-Ki-maš^{ki}-me," suggesting that he was in some way related to the administration of Kimaš, if not a member of its ruling family. It seems quite possible to identify Rabsisi of the chronicle with Rašiši of the archival text.

covered over with tissue, it is an omen of Šulgi, who took Tappa-Daraḫ prisoner," (YBT X 24 35), Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 260; the other one has a variant for the name of the victim and another verb: [*šumma bāb ēkallim*] *ši-ra-am ú-du-uh a-mu-ut* ¹*Šul-gi ša A-pa-da-ra-ah i-ni-ru*, "If the 'palace gate' is covered over with a tissue, it is an omen of Šulgi who smote Apadaraḫ," *ibid.*; and *šumma i-na libbi* (var. *pa-ni*) *bāb ēkallim ši-rum ku-bu-ut-ma ša-ki-in a-mu-ut* ^d*Šul-gi ša Tappa-dDa-ra-ah ik-mi-ú*, "If in the middle (var. in front) of the 'palace gate' a heavy mass of tissue is located, it is an omen of Šulgi, who took Tappa-Daraḫ prisoner," (YBT X 24 40; YBT X 26 31f.), *ibid.*

⁷¹ *šumma iz-bu-um ki-ma sīsīm a-mu-ut* ^d*Šul-gi ša pa-at erbi^{bi} i-bi-lu-ú*, (YBT X 56 III 10f), cf. Goetze, *ibid.* An interesting observation is presented by Biggs, who suggests that there was seemingly some special connection between Šulgi, whose name (according to M. Civil) means 'horse' or 'horseman,' and the horse. In the Šulgi hymn A, he is also described at the end of the section with –me-en as being a horse: Biggs, "Šulgi in Simurrum," p. 175, note 39.

⁷² The date was determined by Nougayrol, cf. Frayne, "On the Location..." p. 250.

⁷³ [...Tab]-ba-gar *ù(?) Rab-si-si* MAN.MEŠ *šá* x [...]/ [...] *x su-nu-ti-ma* ŠEŠ.ŠEŠ-šú GAZ, Frayne, "On the Location..." p. 250.

⁷⁴ 3) [x ^dŠ]ul-gi LUGAL ŠEŠ.UNUG^{ki} A ^mUr-^dNamma 4) [*šar*]-ru-tu KUR.KUR *ka-la-ši-na i-pu-uš* 5) [Tab]-ban-ga-ár u ^mRab-si-si LUGAL.MEŠ *šá* KU SU.BIR^{ki} *i-be-el*, cf. Hunger, H., *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk*, Teil 1, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 9, Berlin, 1976, p. 19-20. For the possible reading of the last sign of the name [...-ban-ga-ár as ...b]an-garaš, cf. Hallo, *RHA*, p. 76, note 52; Frayne, "On the Location..." p. 250.

⁷⁵ For the name Subartu, the lands it comprised and the changes taken place along the ages, cf. Chapter Two, under 'Subartu.' It appears that by Subartu in this text the author means the non-Sumero-Akkadian lands of the north in general.

⁷⁶ For the text, cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 100.

In the text known as ‘The Šulgi Prophecy,’ known from some NA fragments, the passage “[I], became lord of the four quarters, from east to west”⁷⁷ is found. This is reminiscent of the OB omen texts about the victory of Šulgi over Simurru and its king Tappan-Daraḥ, in which they gave him the title “king of the four quarters” (cf. the omen above). The badly damaged fragments still preserve the name of Tappan-Daraḥ as *Tab-ba-an-....* and the name of Simurru as *Ši-mu-ur-ri* No. 65: 6’.⁷⁸

The Drehem archival texts provide us with another Simurrian king’s name, with the good Hurrian name *Kirib-ulme*.⁷⁹ He seems to have succeeded Tappan-Daraḥ on the throne of Simurru after the latter was taken captive.⁸⁰ This conclusion is based on the occurrence of his name in texts dated to the reigns of Amar-Sîn and Šū-Sîn,⁸¹ while they are absent in the texts of the time of Šulgi.

After the second Hurrian war, Šulgi initiated work on building the “Wall of the unincorporated lands” in Š 37-38. According to Hallo, this wall was probably built to seal off the frontier from the Tigris to the Hamrin range against Simurru.⁸² In the light of the available data, Simurru itself does not seem to have been in a state to enable it to threaten Ur. For after the last campaign against it in Š 32, when it was destroyed for the third time, until Simurru was destroyed for the ninth time in Š 44, it had been attacked six more times within eleven years. It is questionable if a wall was needed to isolate such an easy target as Simurru in that phase. The name given to the wall that Šulgi built is significant, “The Wall of Unincorporated Lands,” for it means that the territories beyond it, including Simurru, were not yet under the direct rule of Ur. It was after building this wall that Šašrum was attacked in Š 42, and after the ninth destruction of Simurru and Lullubum, the northern Hurrian lands in the regions of modern Erbil, Sulaimaniya and the Bitwên Plain, namely Lullubum, Urbilum, and Šašrum, were also destroyed. As mentioned earlier, this could have been achieved only after clearing the way by destroying Simurru and Karḥar, the two formidable barricades facing the armies of Ur. Such great news for the kings of Ur was worth recording on a brick inscription of Šulgi found in Susa,⁸³ where notably the title “king of the four quarters” occurs.

The evidence for the annexation of Simurru to the Ur Empire comes both from the *maš-dari-a* offerings from Simurru in Puzriš-Dagān, which are recorded after Š 40,⁸⁴ and from the appointment of a governor to this land in about Š 42 by Ur. Šilluš-Dagān was perhaps the first to hold this post. Walker thinks it happened after Š 42,⁸⁵ while Owen dates it to shortly after the building of Puzriš-Dagan in Š 39.⁸⁶ Apart from several texts⁸⁷ he is known from

⁷⁷ II 2’) *e-bé-el* UB.DA.LÍMMU.BA 3’) *iš-tu* ^dUTU.È 4’) *a-di* ^dUTU.ŠÚ.A, Borger, R., “Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten, Zwei prophetische Texte,” *BiOr* Jaargang XXVIII, no. 1 en 2, Januari-Maart (1971), p. 14.

⁷⁸ Cf. Biggs, “Šulgi in Simurru,” p. 170 and 174. For the fragments, cf. Wiseman, D. J. and J. Black, *Literary Texts from the temple of Nabû*, London, 1996, pl. 42, nos. 64, 65 and 69.

⁷⁹ Gelb considered both elements of the name as Hurrian: Gelb, *HS*, p. 114, the second is the known word for “weapon,” but the first element is somewhat problematic. According to Gelb, its root is *kir* and can be a variant of *kil* or even *kel*. The last one means “to make good,” “to do well” or “to heal/make sound,” cf. Gelb, Purves and MacRae, *NPN*, p. 224; 227 and 228.

⁸⁰ Biggs, “Šulgi in Simurru,” p. 173.

⁸¹ He appears on archival texts dated to AS 8; AS 9; ŠS 1; ŠS 2, for this cf. Biggs, “Šulgi in Simurru,” p. 173.

⁸² Hallo, *RHA* p. 77.

⁸³ For the inscription, cf. Chapter Four.

⁸⁴ Hallo, *RHA*, p. 77, referring to *TCL* 2: 5502 f.

⁸⁵ Walker, *The Tigris Frontier...*, p. 223.

⁸⁶ Owen, “The Royal Gift Seal ...,” p. 815.

⁸⁷ From the reign of Šulgi: Owen, *MVN* 3, no. 2001. 2 (t) (30 i) (from Š 44); from the reign of Amar-Sîn: Keiser, *BIN* 3, no. 627 (-ii) (s) (from AS 6); from the reign of Šū-Sîn: Yildiz and Gomi, *PDT* 2, nos. 1355 and 1365 (-vi) (s) (from ŠS 3); Schneider, *Or* 47-49 (1930), no. 38, l. 11-12 (t) (from ŠS 4); Yildiz and Gomi, *PDT* 2, nos. 1327

impressions of seal legends. The oldest is on a tablet case from Drehem, reconstructed and re-edited by Owen and R. Mayr⁸⁸ (Fig. 1a). According to Owen it is the oldest known inaba seal from the Ur III period, to be dated “certainly no later than his (=Šulgi) 42nd year.”⁸⁹ It reads:

Šulgi, the mighty man, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, present[ed] (this seal)
[to] Ši[lluš-Dagan, *ensi* of] Simu[r]rum, [h]is servant.⁹⁰

Another seal legend (Fig. 1b) is on a tablet case dated to Š 42,⁹¹ which reads:

Šilluš-Dagān, *ensi* of Simurru, Ibbi-Adad, the scribe, (is) your servant.⁹²

Another, from the reign of Šū-Sîn, is a seal impression of a servant of Šilluš-Dagān, dated to ŠS 3 and ŠS 5 and found in Nippur:

Šilluš-Dagān, governor of Simurru, Ilak-šūqir, son of Alu, the chief
administrator, (is) your servant.⁹³

The theophoric element of the name of this governor is the Amorite deity Dagān. It is not impossible that this person was an Amorite in the service of the kings of Ur. If so, the choice of an Amorite to rule Hurrian Simurru is significant. That the Amorites and the Simurrians worked together against Ur in the reign of Šū-Sîn (see the letter of Šarrum-bāni in Chapter Four) means that it is possible that they could have done the same even during the reign of Šulgi. In appointing an Amorite collaborator to rule Simurru Šulgi may have been attempting to split this alliance.

The silence of the sources about this governor after Š 43 is understood as meaning the end of his service in Simurru. Walker thinks it was probably because of a rebellion in that land against the authority of Ur.⁹⁴ The period of dependence on Ur has seemingly lasted until sometime before IS 3, the year when Ibbi-Sîn campaigned against Simurru.⁹⁵

The letters of Urdu-ġu to his king Šulgi, discussed in the previous chapter, are considered a sign that there was calm on the Simurrian front.⁹⁶ One passage, in which he says that the king has sent to him to establish the provincial taxes and to get informed about the state of the provinces, clearly alludes to the territories of the Transtigris, particularly to the Sirwān Basin. The reason for this opinion is the combination of the passage above with the allusion to

and 1375 (-vi) (s) (from ŠS 5). Hallo referred also to a text that records disbursements for the wedding-feast of Šilluš-Dagān in AS 3, and another one mentioning his sister in TRU 76, cf. Hallo, *RHA*, p. 77, note 72.

⁸⁸ Owen, *op. cit.*

⁸⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 817.

⁹⁰ I 1) ^dŠul.gi 2) nita.kala.ga 3) lugal.uri^{ki}.ma 4) lugal.an.ub.da.limmu.ba.ke₄ 5) Ši-[lu-uš-^dDa-gan] 6) [énsi] 7) Si.mu.[ru.um]^{ki}. [ma] 8) árad.da.ni[ir] in.na.[ba], Owen, *op. cit.*, p. 818-9; cf. also Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 425-6 (text E3/2.1.6.1046).

⁹¹ Buchanan suggested AS 6. Hallo considers giving the date AS 6 to the tablet as possible though less likely, cf. Hallo, *RHA*, p. 78, note 74. A copy of the tablet, with a drawing of the seal impression, is published in: Keiser, Neo-Sumerian Account Texts from Drehem, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies* 3, pl. LXXXIX, no. 627. More recently the complete seal impression is reconstructed in Owen, *op. cit.*, p. 840, fig. 4. Owen now discards the date AS 6, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 816.

⁹² 1) Ši-lu-uš-^dDa-gan 2) PA.TE.SI 3) Si-mu-ru-um^{ki}-ma 4) I-bi-^dIŠKUR 5) dub-sar 6) ir₁₁-zu, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 281 (text E3/2.1.3.2005).

⁹³ 1) Ši-lu-uš-^dDa-gan 2) énsi Si-mu-ru-um^{ki} 3) I-la-ak-šū-qir 4) dumu A-lu šabra 5) ir₁₁-zu, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 354 (text E3/2.1.4.2011).

⁹⁴ Walker, *ibid.*

⁹⁵ Sallaberger, Ur III-Zeit, *OBO*, p. 158.

⁹⁶ cf. Hallo, *RHA*, p. 78. Hallo even considers Subartu of this letter to mean Simurru. *Ibid.*

Subartu in the same letter, and the allusion to Urdu-ġu going to Simurru in the letter of Ur-dun to Šulgi (See Chapter Four for this and the letters). Missions to Subartu to discuss the taxes and sending officials/merchants to the mountains of Subartu to purchase cedar resin would not have been possible if Simurru had not yet been subdued but was still hostile.

Under Amar-Sîn, Simurru was, as was the case with the other territories of the Sirwān Basin, under the control of Ur. The military garrisons of Ur, stationed in numerous places along the Zagros foothills (see Chapter Four), proves this fact. This stable situation, which was comfortable for Ur but undesirable for the Hurrians whose lands were conquered, continued until the reign of Šū-Sîn. Sometime between ŠS 2-9 Simurru became active again.⁹⁷ A significant letter (*UET* 6/2, Nr. 183= *ISCT* II 115: Ni. 3083 obv. I= *YBC* 4672 = *YBC* 7149⁹⁸ mentioned in Chapter Four), from the high commissioner ‘Šarrum-bāni’ to his king Šū-Sîn, reveals that the balance of power has been changed by that time. The Amorites began to penetrate the land and Ur decided to strengthen its defences. The ancient wall, built previously by Šulgi, was rebuilt and given a new name, Mūriq-Tidnim (see Chapter Four). In the letter, Šarrum-bāni clearly says that the Mardu (= Amorites) have camped between the two mountains (Ebiḥ) and the Simurrians have come to their aid. A conclusion that can be drawn from this piece of information is that the western border of Simurru was in all probability at Hamrin, ancient Ebiḥ. It is hard to imagine Simurru offering assistance to the Amorites in Ebiḥ across the territory of another principality/kingdom without any mention of collaboration (or forced collaboration).

This activity in Simurru, coupled with the threat the Amorites posed, was a real danger for Ur. The political and military activities of Simurru must have continued and even escalated throughout the reign of Šū-Sîn and the beginning of the reign of Ibbi-Sîn to a degree that troops again had to be sent to it in IS 3.⁹⁹ This campaign to Simurru was the first launched in the reign of this king and the last in the period of the Ur III Empire. Who was the king behind this revival of activity in Simurru? We have a good reason to think that it was Iddi(n)-Sîn who, as Walker proposed, may have declared independence when Ibbi-Sîn was still in power.¹⁰⁰

The Mesopotamian historical sources point to the direct reasons for the fall of Ur and the end of its dynasty as joint attacks by the Elamites, the Gutians and the Su people. However, the empire had been weakened by internal crises, such as shortages of goods, high prices and the intrigues of Išbi-Erra that made these incursions easy. Although Hallo suggested that the Su mainly denotes Hurrians, it is now shown that this was a variant rendering of the name Šimaški by the scribes of Puzriš-Dagān.¹⁰¹ The final sack of Ur cannot be imagined without some Hurrian help, particularly from Simurru which had been the most eager party to hope for the fall of Ur for many years. Its repeated confrontations, its aid to the Amorites against Ur and its interest in its fall must have been very good reasons to have a share in the attack. Furthermore, the long history of military confrontation and warfare with the southern Mesopotamian powers and the dangerous sphere in which it constantly found itself must have made it a well-organized and experienced military power, ripe for action in field.

The Šimaškians, as an eastern power, must have used the Great Khorasan Road through the Halwan Pass. They would thus pass through the domains of the land of Karḥar. Thanks to the royal letters, we knew already that the Amorites for their part were active in the region close to Hamrin, somewhere between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. Both Karḥar

⁹⁷ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁹⁸ Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence...*, p. 225; 229.

⁹⁹ For this date formula cf. Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit, OBO*, p. 173.

¹⁰⁰ Walker, *The Tigris Frontier...*, p. 225.

¹⁰¹ For this cf. Steinkeller, “On the Identity of the Toponym LÚ.SU(A),” *JAOS* 108, no. 2 (1988), pp. 197-202; Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers,” *ZA* 97 (2007), p. 215.

and the regions of Amorite activity were neighbours of Simurru, and Simurru would never let slip a chance to participate in the attack. It is notable that the attack on Ur was mainly from the north or northeast, from the same area where the kings of the Ur III dynasty had so bitterly fought and expected such threats to arise.

Isin-Larsa Period

Obviously, the peoples of the Transtigris and the Zagros foothills did not wait until the final fall of Ur to announce their independence. Ešnunna stopped dating texts after IS 3 (= 2028 BC),¹⁰² implying independence under Šu-iliya, the son of Ituriya, and Simurru must have done the same no later and perhaps even earlier than Ešnunna had done. When the empire of Ur was striving for its existence new kingdoms and principedoms emerged on and within its frontiers. The political map of Mesopotamia was changed forever with the Amorite infiltration and the dismemberment of the Ur Empire. Besides the peoples of the region also the Amorites established a series of ruling dynasties in the whole of Mesopotamia and gained the upper hand in many parts. Even Ušur-awassu of Ešnunna (*ca.* 1950 BC) was subject to Ušašum, an Amorite chief in the Diyāla Region.¹⁰³

During this phase there were two main fronts in the arena. The one was led by Išbi-Erra of Isin, allied to Nūr-aḥum of Ešnunna, Šu-Enlil of Kiš and Puzur-Tutu of Borsippa. The other involved Zin(n)um of Subartu, Nidugani the *sanga*-priest of Nippur, Gurbubu of Girkal (close to Kazallu) and Puzur-Numuša (written Puzur-Šulgi in his letter to Ibbi-Sîn) of Kazallu.¹⁰⁴ Zinnum and Kindattu of Elam attacked Ešnunna and took the city, which seems to have resulted in the murder of Šu-iliya and the flight of Nūr-aḥum.¹⁰⁵ Then they marched further to the cities of Kiš and Borsippa in the direction of Isin. Ibbi-Sîn appears to have supported Zinnum, as long as he was attacking the rebel states, enemies of Ur. However, Išbi-Erra was able to drive back the Elamites (IE 12) and he seems to have sent troops to help Nūr-aḥum take back his throne from Zin(n)um.¹⁰⁶ What was the attitude of Simurru in these events and on whose side did it stand? We do not know. What we do know is that it must have been by this time (after IS 3) an independent kingdom ruled by its energetic king Iddi(n)-Sîn. Evidence for its independence is the archival text BIN 9, no. 421 from Isin, dated to the year 19+x of Išbi-Erra, that mentions a “king of Simurru.”¹⁰⁷ Yet it is strange that in narrating the movements and operations of Subartu against Ešnunna, which must have more or less touched the domains of Simurru since it is located between the two places, there is no mention of Simurru. It is even stranger that Puzur-Numuša mentions in his letter that Ḥamazi was subdued by Išbi-Erra and formed the northern border of his newly established kingdom.¹⁰⁸ In the light of the available geographical data, this would have been difficult to achieve across the lands of Simurru, Gutium and probably Lullubum and Karḥar. This

¹⁰² Wu Yuhong, *A Political History of Eshnunna, Mari and Assyria during the Early Old Babylonian Period*, p. 2; cf. also Edzard, *Die »Zweite ...*, p. 66.

¹⁰³ Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 4. This same Ušašum was the ally and son-in-law of Nūr-aḥum (2010-? BC), Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 10. For the dates of Ušur-awassu and Nūr-aḥum, cf. Whiting, *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar*, p. 22.

¹⁰⁴ For this, cf. Wu Yuhong, p. 5-6.

¹⁰⁵ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 65; Wu Yuhong, p. 7.

¹⁰⁶ Wu Yuhong, p. 6-7.

¹⁰⁷ The text concerns bound goods to be sent to the king of Simurru, without mentioning his name: 9-10) ni-šu-peš-a-lugala *Si-mu-ur-ru-um-še*, and rations for the messenger of Simurru: 16) lú-kin-gi₄-a *Si-mu-ur-ru-um*, cf. Edzard, *Die »Zweite Zwischenzeit« ...*, p. 63.

¹⁰⁸ A29) bi-in-dug₄-ga-gin₇-nam ... B33) Ḥa-ma-zi^{ki} nam-ra-aš im-ma-an-a[k], “The thing was just as he (Išbi-Erra) said He has plundered Ḥamazi,” Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 8; cf. also Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence of Ur*, p. 255, l. 30, 36 and p. 265, l. 30, 36.

claim might have been one element in a psychological warfare against the governor of Kazallu (to whom this was told by the messenger of Išbi-Erra) and his allies.

The exact date of Iddi(n)-Sîn and his son Zabazuna is not yet established. There is inscriptional evidence that they were contemporaries of Išbi-Erra (2017-1985 BC) of Isin. According to Walker, when Iddi(n)-Sîn sat on the throne of Simurrum, Ibbi-Sîn was still king of Ur (See table 1). He further suggests that the campaign of this king to Simurrum in IS 3 was perhaps to check the ambitions of Iddi(n)-Sîn.¹⁰⁹ The fact that Ešnunna declared independence after this campaign (after IS 3) might mean that the campaign against Simurrum was unsuccessful and led to counter effects. The discovery of the seal impression of Zabazuna under the level of Bilalama in Ešnunna seems to indicate that the reign of the former began before that of the latter, during the reigns of Kirikiri or even Nūr-aḥum. His father Iddi(n)-Sîn must have ruled the kingdom from the time of Ibbi-Sîn and have been contemporary of Išbi-Erra of Isin, Ituriya, Šu-iliya and perhaps Nūr-aḥum of Ešnunna. Unfortunately we have no inscriptional data or archaeological evidence that enable us to determine when his reign ends and his son's begins. The only possibility is to conjecture. If the campaign of IS 3 was in fact against Iddi(n)-Sîn, in that year (\pm 2026 BC) he would have been at least in his middle twenties. By the time of the fall of Ur in 2004 he would have been around 45 years old. So he must have died before Išbi-Erra, who ruled until 1985 BC, but it is quite possible that he witnessed the rule of Nūr-aḥum, who sat on the throne of Ešnunna in c. 2010 BC.¹¹⁰ His death must have been sometime during the last part of Nūr-aḥum, during the reign of Kirikiri or even Bilalama.¹¹¹

The table below shows the relative synchronisms between the rulers of Ur, Isin, Ešnunna, Simurrum and Dēr:¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Walker, *The Tigris Frontier...*, p. 177 and 224 and especially 225.

¹¹⁰ For this date, cf. Whiting, *Old Babylonian Letters...*, p. 22.

¹¹¹ Frayne determined the date of Iddi(n)-Sîn and his son Zabazuna as contemporaries of Bilalama of Ešnunna and Išbi-Erra of Isin, cf. Frayne, D., *Old Babylonian Period (2003- 1595 BC)*, *RIME* 4, Toronto, 1990, p. 707.

¹¹² The table is taken from Walker but includes a few additions.

	Ur	Isin	Ešnunna	Simurru	Dēr
2028	Ibbi-Sîn (2028-2004)		↑ Ituriya Šu-iliya (son)	↑	
2010	Ibbi-Sîn 13-x	Išbi-Erra 1 (2017-1985)	↑ ?	↑	
	Ibbi-Sîn	Išbi-Erra	Nūr-aḥum (2010-?) ↓		
	Ibbi-Sîn 24 (End of his rule) ¹¹³	Išbi-Erra 11+x		Iddi(n)-Sîn	
			Kirikiri ↓	↓	
		Išbi-Erra 19+x		Zabazuna (son)	
				↑ ↓	
1980		Išbi-Erra 33	Bilalama (son)		Anum-mutabbil
1950		Šu-ilišu (son) (1984-1975)	Išar-ramassu Ušur-awassu (c. 1950)		Anum-mutabbil

Table 1: Synchronisms of the rulers of Ur, Isin, Ešnunna, Simurru and Dēr (after Walker).

Karḫar was among the powers that emerged as active in the arena in this period. Its king Zardamu ruled sometime not long after the Ur III period. He appears to have been a powerful king since he claims to be “the mighty king, king of the four quarters of the world.”¹¹⁴ Regrettably we do not have any further material that may enlighten the darkness surrounding the history and role of Karḫar in this period. By contrast, for the king of another rising power, Lullubum, we have an important rock-relief (Fig. 2) with an inscription (Fig 3)¹¹⁵ in Sarpul that has helped us learn about some aspects of that people. The inscription is of

¹¹³ According to Wu Yuhong, the capture of Ur and taking Ibbi-Sîn into captivity was in IE 14 on the hands of Idaddu I of Elam: Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹¹⁴ For his seal legend, cf. Chapter Four.

¹¹⁵ Published as inscription and relief no. I in Hrouda, B., *Iranische Denkmäler*, Lieferung 7, Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs C: Sarpul-i Zohāb, Die Reliefs I-IV, Berlin, 1976, p. 10.

historical value also for Simurrum and the chronology of its kings and inscriptions, so a transliteration and translation is presented below.¹¹⁶

The Annubanini Inscription

Transliteration

Col. i

- 1) [An]-nu-ba-ni-ni¹¹⁷
- 2) [LU]GAL *da-núm*
- 3) [L]UGAL *Lu-lu-bi^{ki}-im*
- 4) *ša-l[a-a]m-šú*
- 5) *ù ša-lam* ^dINANNA
- 6) *i-na ša-du-im*
- 7) *Ba-ti-ir*
- 8) [u]š-zi(*)-iz
- 9) *ša ša-al-mi-in*
- 10) *an-ni-in*
- 11) *ù tup-pá-am*
- 12) *ù-ša-sà-ku*
- 13) [A]N-nu-um
- 14) *ù An-tum*
- 15) ^dEN.LÍL
- 16) *ù* ^dNIN.LÍL
- 17) ^dIŠKUR
- 18) *ù* ^dINANNA
- 19) ^dEN.ZU
- 20) *ù* ^dUTU
- 21) ^d[x (?)k]a(?)-lum
- 22) ^dù^d...-at(?)
- 23) [.....]

Col. ii

- 1) ^dNÈ.IR[I₁₁.GAL]¹¹⁸
- 2) *ù* ^dEr[eš-ki-ga]l
- 3) ^dEN-[x]
- 4) *be-el* [x x x] x [x (x)]
- 5) *i-lu* [r]a-b[i-ú-tum]
- 6) *ù* *ša-x-*[x (x)]
- 7) *er-ra-tá*[m]

¹¹⁶ A new examination of the relief performed by Nasrabadi has shown some new signs and corrections to the readings of Edzard and Frayne; for this cf. Nasrabadi, B. M., "Beobachtungen zum Felsrelief Anubaninis," *ZA* 94 (2004), p. 291ff.

¹¹⁷ Seidl points out that the name can also be read as ^dNubanini, cf. Seidl, U., in Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 50, note 157.

¹¹⁸ Nasrabadi does not exclude the reading ^dNin-[an]-s[i-an-na]. However, he points out that there is not enough room for the two signs -an-na after the sign which possibly could be read as s[i], Nasrabadi, *op. cit.*, p. 295, note 11.

- 8) *le-mu-tám*
- 9) *li-ru-ru-uš*
- 10) *zé-ra-šu*
- 11) *li-il-qú-tú*
- 12) *ti-am-t[um]*
- 13) *e-li-t[um]*
- 14) *ù ša-p[il-tum]*
- 15) *ša x x*
- 16) *a x [...]*
- 17) *ù šu-^ra-tí^r*
- 18) *li-li(?)*-...
- 19) *a-lu*-...
- 20) *ù a-lu*-...
- 21) *šu-úr*-...
- 22) *ù šu-úr(?)* ...

Col. iii

- 1) *li-bi-la*¹¹⁹
- 2) *a-x-nu šum(?)*-*šu*
- 3) [...] x
- 4) [...] š[*u*]
- 5) ...-*ra-am*
- 6) *a...lu*
- 7) *lu(?) ri-x-šu*
- 8) ...*mu*...
- 9) *ša* [...]
- 10) *in*-...
- 11) *a-i iš*-...

Lacuna of 5 lines

- 17) x [...]

Lacuna of almost 6 lines.

- 24) [*e-l*]i *um*-[*ma*]-*ni*-^rš^r*u*^r
- 25) ^rlu *ma*^r-*ru*-*u*[š]

Translation

i 1-3) [An]nubanini, mighty [k]ing, [k]ing of Lullubum, 4-8) had an im[ag]e of himself and an image of the goddess Ištar set up on mount Batir. 9-12) He who removes these two images and inscription, 13-21) may the gods [A]num and Antum, Enlil and Ninlil, Adad and Ištar, Šin and Šamaš, [x-k]a(?)*-lum* and [...]at(?) 22-23) [.....] ii 1-6) May the gods Ner[gal] and Er[eškiga], en[...] and the lord of [...] x [...], the [g]re[at] gods and ... 7-11) inflict on him an evil curse. May they destroy his seed. 12-22) The Upp[er] and Lo[wer] Se[a] that ... and that may ... and ... and ... iii 1-2) May ...its name(?) 3-6) 7) may(?) ...8-10) ... 11) May it not [...] 24-25) may he become detested in front of his people.

¹¹⁹ This could be a wrong spelling of IBILA or perhaps a form of the verb *bêlum*.

Annubanini emerged as a powerful ruler in this period.¹²⁰ He seems to have been involved in armed conflicts with Simurru for the control of the important pass of Sarpul and the main route which passes through there. We do not know yet about the details of this conflict and its exact background. All we do know is that Annubanini in his inscription claims a victory over an enemy whose leader is depicted as a captive walking before the other captives, all bound in fetters. Another important figure has fallen before Annubanini, who tramples on him. The enemy represented and spoken about in the inscription could very probably be Simurru, although another power like Karḥar should not be ruled out. The reason for this suggestion is that Simurru has responded to this relief – or that the other relief is a response to this one –¹²¹ with a relief in which he claims victory (the Sarpul relief). It is significant that the Sarpul inscription, which was traditionally known as Annubanini II but is now attributed to Iddi(n)-Sîn or his son, mentions Lullubum and its king Annubanini (see below under the Sarpul inscription, l. 41-42). The severe damage inflicted on the historical sections – but not on the curse formulae - of both inscriptions must have been the work of the struggling parties themselves, Simurru and Lullubum. The presence of two other OB reliefs in Sarpul (see map 1), both in a similar style with similar dress and weaponry and gestures, alludes to the long lasting bitter conflict between the powers of the region in this period, among whom Simurru must have been an essential player.

Surprisingly, more than a century after the first publication of the Annubanini relief, two additional inscribed words have quite recently been noticed: 'x(?)¹-ba-šim-¹ti(?)¹' and *i-mi-šú(?)*.¹²² The first is inscribed on the lower arm of the defeated person under the king's foot. The other is on the arm of the first captive in the lower row. Nasrabadi states that it is an Ancient Near Eastern habit to write the name of the person represented in a relief or statue,¹²³ and so these two words can be considered the names of the two captives. The names are otherwise unknown, though a somewhat similar name, Imi-Šamaš, son of Imtalik, is found on a bronze axe from Luristan referred to by Nasrabadi.¹²⁴ These two newly discovered names are the names of the two leading persons of the enemy rulers in conflict with the power of Lullubum. If our suggestion is correct that the enemy was Simurru, at least one of them must be the ruler / king of this land. He must have been, in this case, a predecessor of Iddi(n)-Sîn, someone whom we otherwise do not know. Is he the author of the Sarpul inscription (see below)? Or does the Sarpul inscription postdate the Annubanini inscription? This cannot be answered with our present state of knowledge.

The mention of Annubanini as the “father” of the kings who formed the coalition against Narām-Sîn according to the Cuthaeen Legend is chronologically impossible,¹²⁵ because here we have Annubanini named in the inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn as an enemy not as early as the age of Narām-Sîn. There is a slight possibility that there was another Annubanini or, as some

¹²⁰ Frayne considers the date of the inscription as uncertain. However, he notes the use of *be-el* instead of the older form *be-al* of the Išbi-Era inscriptions. The form *be-el* appears in the inscriptions of Išme-Dagān, which suggests to him and Edzard an early Isin-Larsa date: Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 704.

¹²¹ It is also possible that the the Annubanini relief was a response to that of Simurru.

¹²² Nasrabadi, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

¹²³ Nasrabadi, *ibid.*

¹²⁴ Nasrabadi, *ibid.*, note 9. This similarity is valid when, with Nasrabadi, we read the last sign as UTU and assume that the DINGIR sign has been omitted. The inscription reads: *I-mi-^dUTU DUMU Im-tá-lik*, Gelb, I. J. and B. Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des Dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, *FAOS* 7, Stuttgart, 1990, p. 378, Varia, no. 10. Of the name of the father only DU-x-x was read, cf. Calmeyer, P., *Datierbare Bronzen aus Luristan und Kirmanshah*, Berlin, 1969, p. 161. This name from the latter inscription was compared with a PN published in Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* (1903) 95, no. 246, rev. l. 7, dated to the Post-Akkadian period, *ibid.*

¹²⁵ 38) 360,000 *ummānātūšunu* 39) *Anubanini abūšunu šarru ummašunu šarratu Melili*, “360,000 were their troops, An(n)ubanini was their father, the king; their mother was the queen, Melili,” Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*, p. 310 and 311.

have suggested, that the Narām-Sîn mentioned here was the king of Ešnunna.¹²⁶ But on balance the mention of such names here is best seen as a literary fantasy of the author of the composition (see above).

It is of great historical significance that Lullubum extended itself so far outside its traditional homeland as to reach the Sarpul region. We do know from other historical data (see Chapter Two) that their home was Zamua (the Shahrazūr Plain), extending to modern Iranian territories, to the regions of Mariwān, Baneh and probably the region of Lake Urmia. The question is whether there was also a Lullubian ethnic extension in this southerly direction. In any case, their military advance to the south via the normal route along the Sirwān River must have been stopped, or at least made difficult, by the Simurrians and Gutians. So they would have probably used other routes that pass through the neighbouring valleys to the east of the river, behind the Bamō range.

The subject of the letter AS 22, 2 (1930-T713) from Tell Asmar, published by Whiting, is military conflicts in the eastern mountains, i.e. in the regions of Sarpul (Ḫalman) and Qasr-i-Shīrīn (=Karḫar). Very probably it reflects the events at this stage, when the local powers in the Zagros and the Transtigris foothills were involved in a bitter conflict for mastery over the region.¹²⁷ We learn from the letter that Niqqum was taken by Manda and Ḫalman by Dadl[a...], whose titles or functions are not given, but they appear to have been very well-known figures that needed no explanation. Further, we read that 1500 troops of Iddi(n)-Sîn, who seems to be the very Simurrian king we know, were defeated at the hands of a certain DUMU Ḫu(pi)d/tam. This same Manda, the letter states, had explicitly threatened Iddi(n)-Sîn, saying: “I come to you.”¹²⁸ Who were Manda, Dadla... and DUMU Ḫu(pi)d/tam? And which of them was king of one of the struggling kingdoms? We do not know. In the light of these data one can imagine how many powers Iddi(n)-Sîn fought, how many troops he defeated and into how many pacts and alliances he entered to build his kingdom.

The Inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn

There are four royal inscriptions attributed to this king: the Bētuate Inscriptions 1, 2, and 3; the Sarpul Inscription, also known as Annubanini II; the Jerusalem Inscription; and the Haladiny Inscription.¹²⁹ These inscriptions will now be presented in chronological order of composition. The criteria on which this order depends will be explained following the presentation of the inscriptions themselves.

¹²⁶ cf. Walker, *The Tigris Frontier...*, p. 166 and 167. This despite the fact that Narām-Sîn is addressed in the legend as “son/descendant” of Sargon.

¹²⁷ The letter is dated to a few decades after the fall of Ur; cf. Whiting, p. 22-3; Charpin, D., *Histoire politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002-1595)*, in Charpin, D., D. O. Edzard and M. Stol, *Mesopotamien, Die altbabylonische Zeit, OBO*, ed. P. Attinger, W. Sallaberger and M. Wäfler, Göttingen, 2004, p. 66.

¹²⁸ The letter reads as follows: 1) [Ma](?)-'an-da' 2) 'a'-na Ni-qi-[im^{ki}] 3) i-te-ri-i[b] 4) ù Da-ad-l[a-] 5) a-na Ḫa-al-'ma-an^{kh} 6) [i-t]e-ri-ib 7) um-ma Ma-an-da-ma 8) a-na I-dì-^dEN.ZU 9) 'x-x-NI-NI' (?) (Rest of obv. is destroyed, beginning of rev. is destroyed) 1') 'x'-[] 2') a-la-kà-k[um] 3') iš-pu-úr-šum 4') ù DUMU-ḫu-dam 5') ša-ba-am ša I-dì-^dEN.ZU 6') li-im ù 5 me-at 7') im-ḫa-aš 8') [x] qú-bu-úr ma-'x'-[] 9') (traces of top signs, rest of rev. is destroyed), left edge: [] 'a'-al-kà ú-sú-úr, “... 1-6) Manda has entered Niqqum and Dadl[a-] has entered Ḫalman. 7-8) This is what Manda said to Iddin-Sîn: 9-1') [...] 2'-3') ‘I will come to you’ he wrote to him. 4'-7') Furthermore, DUMU-Ḫu-dam defeated 1500 troops of Iddin-Sîn. 8'-9'), left edge) Protect your city.” Whiting, *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar*, p. 37-38. About the name DUMU-ḫu-dam, see comment on l. 4' on p. 38.

¹²⁹ For a comprehensive list of publications of these inscriptions cf. Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 708; 712-713.

1. *The Sarpul Inscription*¹³⁰

This is a rock-relief (Fig. 4) located on the western side of the northern part of the mountain range that is bisected by the river Alwand (Map 1). The relief is carved almost 25 m above the ground.¹³¹ It depicts a standing person 1.27 m tall, trampling a defeated enemy under one foot. The standing figure faces a divine symbol on the right, depicted as a combination of the sun and the moon, with bunches of shimmering rays. The scene is carved within a niche, 1.5 m wide and 1.44 m high.¹³² At the base of the relief is the inscription panel, 1.36 m wide and 35 cm high, but the inscription itself occupies a width of only 1.06 m.¹³³ Herzfeld was the first to discover the inscription, even though the relief had been known earlier. He attributed the relief to the same period as the Annubanini relief but to another king.¹³⁴ The figure is like that of Annubanini, wearing a short tunic consisting of two pieces of cloth stretching to the knees. From the belt down to the lower fringe of the tunic the brocaded fringe of cloth is still clearly visible. His headdress is not clear because of erosion but it appears to be a headband, according to Hrouda.¹³⁵ Behind, the hair (knotted or loose) can be seen.¹³⁶ The footwear, Hrouda thinks, are shoes, not sandals, since they are closed from the sides and have upward pointed toes.¹³⁷ Similar pointed footwear was known in Iran from other archaeological data (Fig. 5a-c).¹³⁸ The person is depicted as beardless, as in the Jerusalem relief, with eyes and eyebrows carved with deep grooves. Whatever weapons he bore have been eroded away, except for traces of a long sword behind the right leg. The sword appears to be of the same type as the one carried by Annubanini and the goddess Ištar on the Annubanini relief, one with an inverted-B shaped blade. He would have carried a bow¹³⁹ as in all the other reliefs of this type. Although no traces of the bow can be seen Hrouda noted a threefold band on the back of the left hand which can be understood as the remnants of a bracer.¹⁴⁰ The handle of a dagger under his left hand indicates that a dagger was fitted in his belt. The traces of four lines close to the raised right hand of the fallen figure suggest a beard. The right hand is raised in a gesture pleading for mercy, and the left hand supports his body.¹⁴¹ Other traces on the body of the fallen figure could suggest a belt and long hanging hair.¹⁴² It is relevant to recall that the Lullubians depicted on the Narām-Sîn victory stele also have long hair.

This badly preserved inscription (Fig. 6) consists of a three-column text written in Akkadian. The first column appears to have been inscribed with the name of the king and his titles; the second bears the legible remnants of a long text that certainly contained the

¹³⁰ There are different spellings of the name Sarpul in archaeological literature. The full official name is Sar-i-Pul-i-Zohāb, meaning “(At) the head (= the beginning) of the bridge of Zuhāb/w.” In the local dialect its pronunciation is Sar-Pül-i-Zahāw. For convenience we use the shorter form Sarpul.

¹³¹ Hrouda, *Iranische Denkmäler*, p. 3.

¹³² Hrouda, *ibid.*

¹³³ Hrouda, *ibid.*

¹³⁴ For the history of the discovery and bibliography, cf. Hrouda, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹³⁵ Hrouda, *op. cit.*, p. 5. Herzfeld thought it was a helmet; Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 1910, p. 193 as referred to by Hrouda, p. 4.

¹³⁶ Hrouda, p. 5.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Some examples can be seen on objects from Iran, such as a clay figure from Amlash and on a beaker from Deilem; cf. Godard, A., *Die Kunst des Iran*, Berlin, 1964, p. 68, fig. 111 and p. 69, fig. 116a-b. However, the clearest instance is seen in the exaggerated pointed shoes of the copper figure found in western Iran and dates to the proto-Elamite period, cf. Hansen, D. P., Art of the Early City-States, in *Art of the First Cities*, ed. Joan Aruz, New York, 2003, p. 46-8, figs. 15a-b.

¹³⁹ Hrouda, p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

important historical section, continued from the first column; the third column is almost totally broken away, but preserves three lines of the curse formula. It reads:¹⁴³

Transliteration

Col. i

Lacuna of about 21 lines.

- 22) x x x [x] x
- 23) x x x x
- 24) x ZI/GI-TE (?)¹⁴⁴
- 25) x x x x
- 26) x x [x]-AM

Lacuna of about 14 lines

- 40) x x x 'ZI/GI (?)'
- 41) [An (?)]-'nu'-ba-'ni' (?)-[ni (?)]¹⁴⁵
- 42) [LUG]AL [Lu]-'lu'-[bi]-'im'^[ki]¹⁴⁶
- 43) [x]-te-za-x x x
- 44) x x x [x-x]
- 45) x x [x]-a-núm
- 46) x x x
- 47) x x x
- 48) [x]-'KI/DI (?)'-[x] x
- 49) x x x
- 50) x x [x] x
- 51) x x x [x] x
- 52) [x-x]-kà (?)-ni (?)

Lacuna of about 3 lines

- 56) [x]-KEŠDA(?)/ BÀD(?)-[x]-DUN (?)
- 57) [x] ŠÀ (?)¹⁴⁷ IB (?) 'ŠU'-(x)- 'GUR' (?) / 'NIGIN' (?) / 'ERIN' (?)¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ Cf. Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 712-14 (text E4.19.1.1001); also Edzard, D. O., "Zwei Inschriften am Felsen von Sar-i-Pul-i-Zohāb: Anubanini 1 und 2," *AfO* 24 (1973); *id.* in Hrouda, B., *Iranische Denkmäler*, p. 6. It must be pointed out that Edzard (both editions) did not publish the first column at all. Frayne gives only the following reading for col. i:

- 1) [...]
- 2) [...]
- 3) [...]
- 4) 'x' Za-ba-[zu-na]
- 5) [DU]MU-[NI]

However, I could not identify these signs from the transcription. Moreover, other signs in col. i shown on the transcription are strangely not read by either of these editors.

¹⁴⁴ Edzard: I[M]

¹⁴⁵ Edzard also has reconstructed this line as the name of Annubanini: Edzard, "Zwei Inschriften...", p. 77.

¹⁴⁶ The restoration is based on parallels, although there is little room for the word Lullubim.

¹⁴⁷ Less probably KAM.

¹⁴⁸ If the last two signs are ŠU-NIGIN, it would be equivalent to the word *iš-ti-ni-š* attested in the inscriptions of Narām-Sîn; cf. for instance line 11: *iš-ti-ni-š ib-ba-al-ki-tu-ni-in-ni* in Grayson and Sollberger, "L'insurrection générale", *RA* 70 (1976), p. 111.

- 1) [...]
- 2) ʾúʾ[...]¹⁴⁹
- 3) *di* (?) - *me* (?) [...]¹⁵⁰
- 4) ʾúʾ (?) - [...]¹⁵¹
- 5) DIŠ GI/ZI NA/BE [x (x)]¹⁵²
- 6) x-a (?) - PI-x-[*tim*] *ra-bí-a-tim*
- 7) A.MU.[R]U
- 8) x x MAŠ (?) [x^{ki}]¹⁵³
- 9) *i-ne*-[*er*]¹⁵⁴
- 10) *qar* (?) [x (x)]¹⁵⁵
- 11) *ú-ši/e-x*-[x]¹⁵⁶
- 12) x x x [...]
- 13) *kà-la*-[*š*u(-*nu*)-*ši*(-*na*)]¹⁵⁷
- 14) *ú*-[...]
- 15) AN [x] x [...]
- 16) *qar*-[*dum* (?)]¹⁵⁸
- 17) x T[I x (x)] x [...]
- 18) [x] KI ŠE ʾNEʾ [x]¹⁵⁹
- 19) *ú-kà-ni-i*-[*š*]-*sú*-[*n*]u-*ti*
- 20) AL[A]M
- 21) *i-na š*[*a* (?) - *du-im*]
- 22) [B]a-[*ti-i*]r^{ki}
- 23) [u]š-[*zi*]-*i*[*z*]
- 24) *ša* [ALAM]-*am*¹⁶⁰
- 25) *an-n*[*i-am*]
- 26) *ú*-[*ša-sà-ku*]
- 27) [*a-na šu-mi*]¹⁶¹
- 28) [*er-re-ti-š*u]
- 29) [*ša-ni-am*]
- 30) [*ú-ša-ḥa-zu*]

¹⁴⁹ The sign looks also like a badly written ŠU or the beginning of BUR on the transcription, though Frayne and Edzard write Ú without half-brackets.

¹⁵⁰ Only *di*- in Frayne and Edzard.

¹⁵¹ Left unread by Edzard and Frayne.

¹⁵² There are more possibilities for the reading of the signs presented by Edzard and Frayne; the GI can also be a ZI and the NA looks also like a BE.

¹⁵³ According to our reconstruction of the next line as *i-ne-er*, this line must have contained the name of a land or a people.

¹⁵⁴ Typical of the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions is the frequent use of the verb *i-ne-er*. Edzard and Frayne read only *i* NE [x (x)].

¹⁵⁵ Left unread by Edzard and Frayne.

¹⁵⁶ The second sign as seen in the transcription cannot be PI but rather some other sign like *ši*.

¹⁵⁷ Reconstruction of the two signs by Edzard, p. 77.

¹⁵⁸ Edzard and Frayne have only *qar*-[...]. It is plausible to fill the break with *-dum*. However, the only difficulty is the previous line which begins with AN, which must be here the divinity determinative before a royal name. But there is too little room for either ^dIddi(n)-Sîn or ^dZabazuna.

¹⁵⁹ Edzard: [*i-n*]a.

¹⁶⁰ Edzard: *ša* [*tup-pá*]-*am*.

¹⁶¹ Frayne writes *šum-mi*, but both the Bêtwater and Jerusalem inscriptions have *šu-mi*.

- 31) [a-wi-lam]
- 32) [š-u-a-ti]
- 33) AN
- 34) ^d[En-lil]
- 35) [^dNin-hur-sag]
- 36) [^dEN.KI]
- 37) [^dEN].ZU
- 38) [^dIŠKUR]
- 39) [b]e-e[l GIŠ.TUKUL]
- 40) [^dUTU]
- 41) ^rbe^r-e[l DI.KU₅].^rDA^r¹⁶²
- 42) ^d[I]NANNA
- 43) [b[e]-la-at [ta]-^rha-zi-im^r ¹⁶³
- 44) ^dNin-AN-si₄-an-na
- 45) i-li
- 46) ^dN[i-i]š-ba
- 47) [be-li]
- 48) er-[ra-tám]
- 49) le-mu-tám
- 50) li-ru-ru-uš
- 51) NU[MUN-š]u
- 52) li-[il-qú-tú-ma]
- 53) S[UḪUŠ-sú]
- 54) [l]i-[sú-hu]
- 55) IBI[L]A
- 56) ù [MU]

Col. iii

- 1) a i-d[i-n]u-šum
- 2) [b]a-l[a]-tum¹⁶⁴
- 3) [l]u i[k-k]i-i[b-šu]

Translation

i 1-21 (lacuna), 22-26) (too broken for translation), 27-40) (lacuna) 40-52) [An]^rnu^rba^rni^r[ni kin]g of [Lu]^rlu^r[bi]^rim^r (?) (rest too broken for translation). ii 1-7) ... he has...he has... to the great (gods?)... he dedicated/erected. 8-18) ...he slew/ defeated...the he[ro](?)... he has-ed all of [them](?)...the hero... 19) ... he subjugated them. 20-23) He [s]et up an im[a]ge on M[ount B]a[t]i[r]. 24-26) He who [removes] th[is image] 27-30) [or on account of this curse

¹⁶² According to the context and in comparison with the Bētwater inscriptions, it must be ^rbe^r-e[l DI.KU₅].^rDA^r. However the remaining traces of the signs as seen on the transcription do not match the expected text. What we have on the transcription is NA [.....] ŠÁ (?). The first sign can be understood as faint traces of the sign BE. which the copyist took as NA, but the last sign does not look in any way like the DA sign. This can be a copyist's mistake.

¹⁶³ This line, as line 41, is problematic. While [b[e]-la-at [ta]-^rha-zi-im^r is expected, the space after *be-la-at* is enough for two signs at the most. These must be TA-ḪA, but the transcription shows the signs IM-^rBA^r(?)-NA(?) or IM-^rBA^r-[x]-KI/DI. The question arises if these were badly seen and therefore mistakenly transcribed; IM, for instance, could have been mistakenly understood for ZI.

¹⁶⁴ Frayne has *tum*.

incites another to do so] 31-50) [that man] – may the gods A[num, Enlil, Ninḫursag, Ea, S]în, [Adad l]or[d of the weapon, Šamaš] lor[d of judgements, E]štar lady of [b]attle, Nin-AN-Sianna, my gods, (and) N[i]šba [my lord] inflict on him an evil cu[rse]. 51-54) May [they destroy h]is s[eed] and r[ip out his] fo[undation]. ii 55- iii 3) May they not gr[an]t him heir or [offspring. M]ay life be [his] taboo.

Commentary

Unfortunately, the significant historical section of the inscription is broken. We understand only that the king has defeated a group of enemies and has made them bow down. Among them the city of Niqqum must have been listed, since it was difficult for Simurru to reach Sarpul without passing through the region of Niqqum. Ḫalman was another major centre in the region, and unless it had been subjugated no victory could have been claimed. The whole inscription might even have been carved to celebrate its capture by Simurru, an episode mentioned again later in the Haladiny inscription.

The curse formula, the switch from the 3rd to the 1st person, the language and the list of gods, their titles, especially the titles of Nišba and Nin-AN-Sianna, have great similarity with the inscriptions of Bētuate,¹⁶⁵ as will be seen below. Edzard pointed out this similarity in his publication of both the Sarpul inscriptions, although he attributed both to Annubanini. At the time the Jerusalem inscription had not been published, but he became aware of it and something of its content and linguistic aspect through personal communications with Shaffer.¹⁶⁶ The phrases *balātum lū ikkibšu* and “Nin-AN-Sianna is my (personal) god, Nišba is my lord” in both the Sarpul and Jerusalem inscriptions are particularly striking. Where Frayne found the remnants of “Zabazuna DUMU.NI” in col. i is not clear to me. But even if the name is not there it does not greatly weaken the other criteria for attributing the inscription to a Simurrian ruler. The mention of the god “Nišba my lord” is another clear allusion to Simurru, since Nišba was obviously the patron of that kingdom. There are four completely broken divine names in the inscription of Annubanini in Sarpul (Annubanini I), but no formula seems to have contained “Nin-AN-Sianna is my god, Nišba is my lord,” as in the inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn. To these Shaffer and Wasserman add the phrase *balātum lū ikkibšu*, which, as they state, is found only in the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions.¹⁶⁷

According to Walker this inscription, carved either by Iddi(n)-Sîn or his son Zabazuna, predates the inscription of Annubanini in Sarpul by at least a century.¹⁶⁸ He further proposes that when Annubanini came to power he deleted this inscription of the king of Simurru and probably tried to insert his own name instead, in order to claim the other king’s deeds for himself. However, the mention of Annubanini in the Haladiny inscription (see below) proves that Annubanini was either a contemporary or, less probably, older than Iddi(n)-Sîn.

¹⁶⁵ Compare l. 29ff of this inscription with the Bētuate inscription l. 34-61. Cf. also Walker, p. 179; 182-3.

¹⁶⁶ For this, cf. Edzard, “Zwei Inschriften...,” p. 77.

¹⁶⁷ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 22. However they point to a Sumerian parallel in an inscription of Ur-Namma, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁶⁸ Walker, p. 186; 189-90.

2. The Haladiny Inscription (SM 16)

This is an extraordinarily important inscription of King Iddi(n)-Sîn, not just because of the rich historical information it provides but also for the long list of GNs, even though they are largely fragmentary. It is a new inscription, not previously published.

The inscription (Fig. 7a-b; 8a-d) is written in two columns on a light grey coloured limestone slab. The slab measures 76 x 37 x 27 cm. As no curse formula is found on the inscription, I would suggest that the inscription originally consisted of two or more slabs bearing a longer text, with the curse formula inscribed on the second slab. No archaeological excavation has yet been undertaken at the spot where the inscription was found to search for other relevant remains. This inscription could have been designed to be displayed horizontally rather than vertically. This suggestion arises from a comparison with the inscriptions of Sarpul and Jerusalem, which are inscribed in long horizontal columns in which the written lines are vertically positioned.

A geological analysis, conducted by Mr. Muhammed Ahmed Raheem from the Geological Survey Service of Sulaimaniya Governorate, showed that the stone is an organic limestone, transformed to dolomite, with a hardness of 3.5 according to Mohs scale. What is extremely important for our purpose is that the stone is one known as a Qamchugha Formation, typical of the Surdāsh range of which Pīra Magrūn is a part. So it was shaped and inscribed at the place where it was found and as such concerns events that had taken place in that area. At least one of the GNs mentioned in the inscription, perhaps more, should be in the Qarachātān area.

The inscription was found by a ploughman, close to a large berry tree in a field of Mr. Raouf that is located slightly to the south of the village Qarachātān, at the foot of Pīra Magrūn, northwest of Sulaimaniya (Map 2).¹⁶⁹

Transliteration (Transcription: Fig. 9)

Col. i

- 1) [É(?)] ^dNi-[iš-ba]¹⁷⁰
- 2) [x(?)] LUGAL 9 k[u]-[li-šī]
- 3) *kí-nu-[um]*
- 4) ^rdI-dì-^dEN. 'ZU'
- 5) [LUG]AL *da-núm*
- 6) [LUG]AL *Si-mu-ri-im*^{ki}
- 7) NUN ^dINANNA [x(?)]
- 8) *i-dì-šum-ma*

¹⁶⁹ The slab was discovered in the early 1980s. At that time the region where the slab was discovered was out of government control, so the discovery remained a secret until a former *Pēshmarga* warrior, Mr. Ghareeb Haladiny, became aware of it. Mr. Haladiny negotiated with the discoverer of the slab to reach an agreement about keeping it safe. Before they finished their preparations, the village, together with another 4500 villages, was demolished in furtherance of the *Anfāl* operations, started in 1987 by the Iraqi regime of the time against the whole Kurdish countryside. The house where it was being kept was ruined and its owner and his family disappeared. A couple of years later Mr. Haladiny was back in the region with a handful of comrades to prepare for small-scale attacks and raids against the troops of the regime. Secretly he excavated the slab from the rubble of the ruined house and transported it to a safe place until the uprising of 1991 broke out in Kurdistan. Only in 1993, when conditions had calmed, did Mr. Haladiny announce the discovery of the slab and presented it to the Museum of Sulaimaniya.

¹⁷⁰ A further examination of the inscription in 2006 revealed the remnants of a sign with a vertical final wedge; for suggested explanations see below under 'comments.'

- 9) ^dNi-iš-ba
- 10) [be]-el-šū
- 11) [kak(?)]-kà-am
- 12) [da]n(?)-na-am
- 13) [t]e-e-n^re¹-eš₁₅
- 14) [ma]-tá-tim
- 15) [ma]-at Ša-^rgi^{ki}
- 16) [ú-ḥa]-li-iq
- 17) [...]-[x]-GA-TI
- 18) [.....]-šū-nu
- 19) [.....]-IZ-[x]-GA
- 20) [ma-at] Te-ni/li-mu(?)^{ki}
- 21) [ú-ḥa-l]i-iq
- 22) [.....]-ta/ša-am
- 23) [.....]-[š]u(?)^{ki}-nu
- 24) [i-ne]-er
- 25) [.....]-ar^{ki}
- 26) [ú-ḥa]-[l]i-iq
- 27) [.....]-du-nu
- 28) [.....]-šū-nu
- 29) [i-ne]-er
- 30) [.....]-na^{ki}
- 31) [ú-ḥa]-li-iq
- 32) [...]-núm-a-tal
- 33) [.....] ^{[GI]^rŠ^r}GU.ZA
- 34) [ma-at] Si-mu-ri-im^{ki}
- 35) [i]-ne-er
- 36) [ma-a]^rt^r x(?)^r-NE-šum^{ki}
- 37) [ma]-^ra^t Š^ra-ri-it-ḥu-um^{ki}
- 38) [iṣ]-ba-at
- 39) [...] ^rHul(?)^rgi/zī^r-za-tal
- 40) [...]GA/AM(?)^rri-^rnī(?)^r-we
- 41) [be(?)]-li-šū-nu
- 42) [...] ^rmúš/suh(?)^r-iš^r-ti
- 43) [ma(?)^r-at(?)] [...] ^rti-na-ab-ba-ša-we^{ki}
- 44) [ú-ḥa]-li-iq
- 45) [.....]-li-li
- 46) [.....]-šū-nu
- 47) [i]-ne-er
- 48) [m]a-at Ḥal-ma-an^{ki}
- 49) ma-at Be-el^{ki}
- 50) [iṣ]-ba-at
- 51) [An(?)]-nu-ba-ni-ni
- 52) [LUGAL Lu-lu-bi]-^rim^{kin}

Col. ii

Lacuna of about 5 lines

- 58) Ti-id-luh-ḥa-am^{ki}

- 59) *ú-ḥa-li-iq*
60) *ma-at Ší-ik-ša-am-bi^{ki}*
61) *ú-ḥa-li-iq*
62) *ma-at I-te-ra-áš-^rwe^{ki}*
63) *I-tu^{ki}*
64) *Ša-um-mi^{ki}*
65) *ù ^rHu^r-^rbⁱ/^rn^e-za-gu^{ki}*
66) *a-na še-e[p]*
67) *^dNi-iš-ba*
68) *ú-kà-ni-ís-sú-nu-ti*
69) *ma-at Ut-tu-we^{ki}*
70) *i-na qá-ti*
71) *Kak-mi-im^{ki}*
72) *^rut(?)^r-ti-ir*
73) *ma-at Kak-mi-im^{rki}*
74) *ú-ḥa-li-[iq]*
75) *¹Ma-di/ki-a-[x]*
76) *¹Ša-wa/wi/pi-a-[x]*
77) *¹Ma-gi-ba-^rni(?)^r*
78) *¹A-ḥa-^rtum^r*
79) *¹A-wi-la-núm*
80) *ra-bí-a-nu*
81) *A-mu-ri-im*
82) *i-ne-er-šu-nu-ti*
83) *ù A-mu-ra-am*
84) *i-na kúl-le-^re(?)^r-šu*
85) *iṭ-ru-<<UD>>-us-sú*
86) *^dNi-iš-ba*
87) *be-el-šu*
88) *a-wa-as-sú*
89) *^riš^r-me-ma*
90) *ma-tá-tim*
91) *ú-^rḥa^r-li-iq*
92) *A-mu-ra-am*
93) *^rù^r Si-maš-kà-am^{ki}*
94) *i-ne-er*
95) *^dI-dì-^dEN.ZU*
96) *qar-dum*
97) *i-lu-šu-nu-ti*
98) *a-na še-ep*
99) *^dNi-iš-ba*
100) *be-li-^ršu^r*
101) *ú-kà-ni-ís-sú-nu-t[i]*
102) *ma-tá-tum*
103) *ša i-te-bu ^rš^r-na-ti*
104) *^rÉ^r ^dNi-iš-ba*
105) [LUGAL] *^r9^r ^rku^r-[li-š^ri]*

Lacuna

Translation

1) [Temple(?)] of the god Ni[šba], 2) [temple(?) of] the king of the nine provinces 3) the firm one. 4) Iddi(n)-Sî'n', 5) the mighty [kin]g, 6) [kin]g of Simurru, 7) the prince of Šauška/Ištar. 9) Nišba 10) his [lo]rd 8) gave him 12) a [mi]ghty 11) weapon. 13) The [pe]ople(s) of 14) the [la]nds: 15) the [la]nd of Šagi 16) [he destr]oyed, 17) [.....], 18) their [.....], 19) [.....]; 20) [the land of] Ten/limu 21) [he destroy]ed, 22) [.....], 23) [th]eir [....], 24) [he sle]w; 25) [the land/city of [.....]-ar 26) [he destroy]ed, 27) [.....] 28) their [....] 29) [he sle]w; 30) [The land/city of [.....]-na 31) [he destr]oyed, 32) [.....]-num-atal, 33) (the) [enemy?/usurper?] of/on (?) the throne 34) of (?) [the land (of)] Simurru 35) [he s]lew; 36) [the lan]d of ...¹-NE-šum 37) [the la]nd of Š¹aridḥum 38) [he se]ized, 39) [...] 'Ḥul(?) -gi/zi¹zatal 40) [...] GA/AM-ri-ni(?) -we, 41) [their l]ords/gods (?) 42) [...] 'muš/suḥ(?) -iš¹-ti; 43) [The land (?) of ...]-tinabbašawe 44) [he destr]oyed, 45) [.....]-lili, 46) their [.....] 47) [he s]lew; 48) [The l]and of Ḥalman, 49) the land of Bel 50) [he se]ized. 51) [An]nubanini, 52) [king of the Lullub]u¹

Lacuna ?

Col. ii:

About 5 lines broken away

58) Tidluḥḥum 59) he destroyed; 60) the land of Šikšambi 61) he destroyed; 62) the land of Iteraš¹we¹, 63) (the city ? of) Itu, 64) (the city ? of) Šaummi, 65) and (the city ? of) 'Ḥu¹-b/nizagu, 68) he subdued (all of) them 66) to the fe[et] of 67) the god Nišba. 69) The land of Utuwe 72) he took back 70) from the hand(s) of 71) Kakmum 73-74) (and afterwards) he destroyed the land of Kakmum. 75) Mad/k/qia-[x], 76) Šawa/i/piya-[x], 77) Magiba-ni(?), 78) Aḥatum, 79) (and) Awilanum 80-81) the Amorite governors/sheikhs, 82) he slew them 83-85) and he turned back the Amorites from his province (i. e. the province of Iddi(n)-Sîn). 86) The god Nišba 87) his lord, 88-89) heard his word(s) 90-91) (and) destroyed the lands 92-94) (and) slew the Amorites and the Simaškians (for him). 95) (In return), Iddi(n)-Sîn, 96) the hero 97-101) overpowered them (and) subdued them¹⁷¹ at the feet of the god Nišba, 'his' lord. 102) The lands 103) that rebelled [he made them build] 104) 'the temple' of Nišba, 105) [king of] the 9 pro[vinces]

Lacuna of unknown length.

Commentary

1) [É(?)] ^dNi-[iš-ba]: The inscription begins with the name of the god Nišba, patron of the kingdom of Simurru. This could imply that the monument was dedicated to this deity. The beginning of the sentence is essential for understanding the text, but it is unfortunately broken, so the exact context of this divine name is not known. Traces of a vertical wedge were observed in a later re-examination of the inscription, directly before the DINGIR sign. These traces rule out the possibility of *a-na* ^dNi-iš-ba. Rather I would suggest the remnants of the sign É here as well as in l. 104. There is no trace of a line of writing in the space above

¹⁷¹ Another possible translation is "subdued their gods to the .." For this, see the comments below.

line 1 so in all probability what can be read is the first sentence of the text. The name Nišba could also be read as Nišpa, as Shaffer and Wasserman do, a reading associating this divine name with the name of Mount Niš/spi of the NA inscriptions,¹⁷² which is possible as long as Mount Nišpi was one of the steep mountains in the region close to the territory of Simurru. The god Nišba is known also from other inscriptions of this king (the Bētuate inscriptions and those of Jerusalem and Sarpul), but it is not listed in the famous AN = ^dA-nu-um list.¹⁷³ As can be seen from *be-el-šu* in lines 10 and 87 and *be-li-šu* in line 100, Nišba was a male deity, so should not be identified with the grain goddess Nisaba. Furthermore, for the Hurrians, who seem to have been the basic population of Simurru since the Akkadian period, the grain god was Kumurwe, a variant of Kumarbi. The Hittite word for “grain” in the Hurro-Hittite god-lists was often substituted for this name.¹⁷⁴ Hitherto the oldest known occurrence of the name Nišba is in the PN KA-Nišba, king of Simurru, who is recorded as a rebel against Enrida-pizir of Gutium in the inscription of Erridu-pizir.¹⁷⁵ The name Nišba occurs in the same inscription also as a mountain name.¹⁷⁶ Mountain names played a significant role in the (late) Hurrian mythology as Richter states.¹⁷⁷ The Amorite PN *Ha-ab-du-Ni-iš-pa* was the name of a Babylonian man recorded in a Mari letter (*ARM* 7, 221: 9).¹⁷⁸ However, the name Nišba occurs in these last texts without the divine determinative, perhaps because it indicated a mountain, not a divine name. One last important note about Nišba is that the Hurrian rulers of Simurru did not replace the non-Hurrian deity¹⁷⁹ - or at least his non-Hurrian name - with a deity from their own pantheon as the country’s patron deity. One may conjecture that the non-Hurrian population of Simurru may still have had an important influence, or that changing a country’s divine patron was alien to the ideology of this part of the region. If the DN and the mountain name Nišpi/a are to be associated this would add support to the second possibility.

2) [É(?)] LUGAL 9 k[u]-[li-šī]: The re-examination of the text showed the number 9 instead of what had been previously misread as 8. The meaning of the word *kuliši*, which appears to be of non-Semitic origin,¹⁸⁰ has become clear after the publication of the Jerusalem inscription. It occurred there twice: *ù LUGAL 9 ku-li-šī* in col. I, line 14’ and *ku-li-šu-um* in col. v, line 1. Shaffer and Wasserman suggest that it denotes “some kind of a political unit such as a district or province (similar perhaps to *halšum* in the Mari texts), a geographical designation such as a valley, or even a combined geopolitical entity.”¹⁸¹ This translation fits well with the context. In the Jerusalem inscription the GN Kulun(n)um alternates with the term *kulišum*,¹⁸² a fact that supports the above suggestion. This form of giving the number of the provinces ruled by the king or the patron of the kingdom anticipates the later Achaemenid royal inscriptions, especially that of Darius I (521-486 BC) in Behistun. That inscription has *Xšāyaθiya dahyūnam*, “king of the lands/provinces,” followed by the number of the provinces

¹⁷² For this cf. Chapter Three, note 209.

¹⁷³ Krebernik, M., “Die Götterlisten aus Fara,” *ZA* 76 (1986), p. 161-204 (the list on pages 168-191); cf. also Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 12.

¹⁷⁴ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 52.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Chapter Three. The name KA-Nišba occurs in col. iii 9’ and col. viii 8’.

¹⁷⁶ Col. ix 3’ (according to the reading of Kutscher); col. x 5.

¹⁷⁷ Richter, “Die Ausbreitung...,” p. 301, note 226.

¹⁷⁸ Cavigneaux, A. and M. Krebernik, “Nišba,” *RIA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 585.

¹⁷⁹ According to Richter, the name KA-Nišba is “undoubtedly Hurrian,” Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 301. But the name Nišba is nowhere else attested as a Hurrian deity. If it was Hurrian, it must have been a local deity known only in Simurru.

¹⁸⁰ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 13. The final *š* of this word can be seen as the Hurrian *ž* marking a plural.

¹⁸¹ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 13-14.

¹⁸² Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 14.

and their enumeration in sequence.¹⁸³ A problem with this line in general is the broken space at the beginning of the sentence. In a preliminary reading of the inscription I suggested PA, meaning “the firm/steady sceptre of the rule of...”¹⁸⁴ However, this should be changed in view of the change made in the preceding line, because it is not the god Nišba but rather his assumed temple that is now the subject. Therefore, the best solution might be É LUGAL 9 *ku-li-ší*, “(the temple of the god Nišba,) temple of the king of the 9 provinces.” It is noteworthy that “king of the 9 provinces” appears here as a title of the god Nišba, while in the Jerusalem inscription it is the title of the king. Applying the Mesopotamian political thought standards to this passage can interpret this apparent difference. The real kings are the gods, and the kings on earth are earthly representatives of those gods. So whatever the kings own is in fact owned by the gods. It seems difficult to accept the idea of calling a god the actual king of the land, since no clear parallels are recorded. Nevertheless, the existing cuneiform signs and the occurrence of the royal name after, not before, this title do not permit any other interpretation. Further, we have at least some parallels in the seals of Šu-Iliya and Kirikiri of Ešnunna.¹⁸⁵ The idea of the god as the actual king of the land was perhaps related to some aspect of the ideology of the Hurrians or the Transtigris region (including Ešnunna) about which we are still ignorant.¹⁸⁶

4) Iddi(n)-Sîn: No other spelling is given in the inscriptions of this king that could establish an indisputable reading of his name. It could be transcribed Iddin-Sîn, “Sîn has given,” or Itti-Sîn, “With / besides Sîn.” Because the former name is prevalent one assumes that is the correct reading.¹⁸⁷ The rendering of the double consonant (for stress) was not compulsory, as for instance in *i-ti-šum-ma* in l. 8.

5) LUGAL da-núm: This epithet is known also from the inscriptions of Bētweite and Jerusalem. Before Iddi(n)-Sîn, this title was borne by Amar-Sîn of Ur III;¹⁸⁸ earlier Narām-Sîn of Akkad used only the phrase “the mighty,” without LUGAL.¹⁸⁹

6) LUGAL Si-mu-ri-im^{ki}: The name Simurru is rendered in this inscription and in the Bētweite inscriptions without geminated *r*, as in the Ur III inscriptions. Among the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions, only in the Jerusalem inscription is it written with geminated *r*: *Si-mu-ur-ri-im^{ki}* i 13'; iv 2?; iv 20.¹⁹⁰

7) NUN INANNA: The remnants of the first sign seem to point to the Sumerian logogram NUN, Akkadian *rubā'u*. Historically, the use of this word in the royal titulary is attested

¹⁸³ Schmitt, R., *The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great/Old Persian Text, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, London, 1991, p. 49. On the provincial division, see also below under ‘The Historical Setting as Reflected by the Inscription.’

¹⁸⁴ Ahmed, Kozad M., *The Northern Transtigris in the First Half of the Second Millennium BC*, (Unpublished MA thesis), Leiden, 2003.

¹⁸⁵ The seal of Šu-Iliya clearly states: 1) ^d*Tišpak* 2) LUGAL *da-núm* 3) LUGAL *ma-at Wa-ri-im* 4) LUGAL 5) [*kī*]-*ib-ra-at* 6) *ar-ba-im*, “Tišpak, mighty king, king of the land Warûm, king of the [f]our quarters;” also the seal of Kirikiri: 1) ^d*Tišpak*, 2) LUGAL *da-núm* 3) LUGAL *ma-at Wa-ri-im*, “Tišpak, the mighty king, king of the land Warûm;” and that of Ušurawassu: 1) ^d*Tišpak* 2) LUGAL *da-núm* 3) LUGAL *ma-at Wa-ri-im*, “Tišpak, the mighty king, king of the land of Warûm;” two seals of Azuzum; one of Ur-Ninmar; and a fragmentary seal legend (no. 27). This is true for the god Sataran as well: 1) ^d*Sataran* 2) *da-núm*) [LU]GAL *Dērim^{ki}*, “Sataran, the mighty, king of Dēr,” Frankfort, H., S. Lloyd and Th. Jacobsen, *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers of Tell Asmar (OIP 43)*, Chicago, 1940, p. 143; 145; 147; 148 and 155.

¹⁸⁶ Note that Kirikiri and Bilalama are thought to have been Elamites, not Semites as their names probably suggest. For this and a possible etymology of their names, cf. Wu Yuhong, *A Political History ...*, p. 11-12.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. also Hilgert, *Akkadisch in der Ur III- Zeit*, p. 294f (PNs of the form *Ī-din/di-DN*).

¹⁸⁸ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 38.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. for instance Frayne, *RIME 2*, p. 88 (Text E2.1.4.1, l. 2').

¹⁹⁰ For an overview of the different spellings of the name Simurru, cf. the beginning of this chapter.

under the kings of Ešnunna,¹⁹¹ by Samsuiluna (YOS 9 35: 147) and Hammurabi in the south, and by Šamšī-Adad I (*MARI* 3 75, no. 4: 9) in Assyria.¹⁹² Prior to that, the word was used in the archives of the Old Assyrian merchants of Kaneš to denote the governors of the city of Assur¹⁹³ and the local kings of Anatolian city-states.¹⁹⁴ If our reading of this sign is correct, it would be the oldest attested use of this epithet. There is room for another sign after INANNA, faint traces of which survive, but no clear signs at all could be seen during the second collation of the inscription. To read INANNA as Hurrian Šauška is not impossible since the kingdom of Simurrum, its king and a large portion of its population were apparently Hurrian.

11-12) [kak(?)]-kà-am [da]n(?) -na-am: The sentence is problematic. Almost the only fitting sign for the remnants of the first (?) sign of line 11 and in the context is the sign KAK. The question is why this word was written syllabically, not, as was the custom in this period, logographically. The reading remains questionable.

The use of “The mighty weapon” in royal inscriptions is not new but is infrequent. It is attested in a Sumerian inscription of Rīm-Sîn of Larsa: “By means of [m]ighty [weapons] of the god Ninurta.”¹⁹⁵

13) te-e-ne-eš: This significant word occurs also in the Jerusalem inscription but, as Shaffer and Wasserman noted, it occurs before that as *tenīšu* only in a Boğazköy text as a variant of the more common *tenēštu*, “people.”¹⁹⁶ But it occurred as well in Atra-ḫasīs as *te-ni-še*, also meaning “people, mankind.”¹⁹⁷ In the Jerusalem inscription it is not inscribed at the beginning of the line, which led to hesitation by both editors of the text whether or not there were other signs preceding it.¹⁹⁸ Its occurrence in our inscription as a complete word confirms the correct reading of Shaffer and Wasserman. Note that the sign TE is incomplete, but there is no room for another sign before it. It is noteworthy that the word has been written with the first vowel *e* lengthened in both the Haladiny and the Jerusalem inscriptions, but it is recorded in the dictionaries with a long second vowel.¹⁹⁹

15) [ma]-at Ša-gi^{ki}: This GN appears as the first GN targeted by Simurrum. It is otherwise unknown. A similar GN, *Tu-ša-gi*, is attested in a Shemshāra text (SH 825) but it does not seem to be identical since here the sign AT preceding the sign ŠA clearly belongs to the word *māt*. Since this place seems to have been close to Simurrum itself, indicated by its mention in the beginning of the text (see below under ‘The Historical setting’), Šagi can be compared with ^{URU}*Si-gi-ya* attested in texts from Chogha Gavaneh.²⁰⁰

¹⁹¹ Cf. *CAD R*, p. 397. To Charpin *rubā’u* is a special title for rulers in Ešnunna: Charpin, D., “Donées nouvelles sur la chronologie des souveraines d’Ešnunna,” *Miscellanea Babylonica, mélanges offertes a Maurice Birot*, Paris, 1985, p. 64. Interestingly, Charpin states that rulers of Ešnunna legitimized their rule by a theoretical fiction, in which the god Tišpak was the king of the kingdom and the ruler was the “prince” (*rubūm/rubā’u*) under that king; Charpin in Mesopotamien, *Die altbabylonische Zeit, OBO*, Göttingen, 2004, p. 65.

¹⁹² For the use of *rubā’u* in the royal titles cf. Seux, M.-J., *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes*, Paris, 1967, pp. 251-6. However, this source attributes the first use of such a title in Assyria to Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208 BC); for Šamšī-Adad cf. *CAD R*, p. 397.

¹⁹³ Larsen, M. T., *The Old Assyrian City-State and its Colonies*, Copenhagen, 1976, p. 369.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Veenhof, K. R., “Kanesh: An Assyrian Colony in Anatolia,” *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jack Sasson, vol. II, New York, 1995, p. 866.

¹⁹⁵ 28) [giš Tukul- ka]la-ga^dnin-urta, Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 283 (text E4.2.14.9, l. 28). For more examples, cf. Tallqvist, K., *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, Helsinki, 1938, p.110, where it occurs in divine titles; cf. also *CAD K* p. 54, for an attestation in an inscription of Shalmaneser III.

¹⁹⁶ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 14, referring also to *AHW*, p. 1347a.

¹⁹⁷ *CAD T*, p. 244.

¹⁹⁸ Shaffer and Wasserman, p.14.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. *CAD T*, p. 340 and 344.

²⁰⁰ Texts 19: 16 and 25: 6’ (?). The texts are economic and belong to the archive found in this site in Shahabad-e Gharb, c. 60 km to the west of Kirmashān, dated to the early second millennium BC; cf. Abdi, K. and G.

20) [*ma-at*] *Te-ni/lí-mu(?)*^{ki}: Another otherwise unattested GN. If we consider it a Hurrian name it can be Telim(u), a name that contains the Hurrian element *talmi-* “great,” as in the name of Talmuš. But this is conjectural.

22) [... ..]-*ta/ša-am*: The sign preceding AM can be either TA or ŠA.

24) *i-ne-er*: < *nê/âru* or *ne'ārum* “to kill,” “to strike (enemies)” in addition to its proper meaning “to slay.” It occurs with the meaning to strike enemies in texts from the Oakk. period, as in the OB copy of the ‘Great Revolt against Narām-Sîn:’ *i-ni-ir-ma* (G 17)²⁰¹ or *i-ne-er-ma*.²⁰²

25) [.....]-*ar*^{ki}: It is difficult to suggest the full name of this GN. It could be any of the GNs which were located in the Transtigris region close to the operations area ending with *-ar*, such as Zimudar,²⁰³ Namar, Ғaš(i)mar,²⁰⁴ or Karḫar which was close to Ғalman,²⁰⁵ also mentioned several lines after this GN.

30) [.....]-*na*^{ki}: If we assume that the word *māt* was written before this GN, the room remaining for the name itself is only enough for two or at the most three signs. Little else can be said about this GN. The GN Ғu-ra-x-na that is attested in some fragmentary contexts in the Nuzi texts²⁰⁶ can be suggested as relevant. According to Frayne, the name Ғu-ra-x-na is the same as ¹*Hur¹-a-núm* that is attested in a Narām-Sîn inscription and the same as *Hur-nam* of the Erridu-Pizir inscription.²⁰⁷ The faint traces of what can be understood as the remains of two vertical wedges on each other that were noticed in the second examination of the inscription might be the last part of the sign A, probably preceded by ҒUR-RA.

32) [.....]-*núm-a-tal*: This appears to be a PN in relation to the following line. Since a great part of the inhabitants of the Transtigris in this period was Hurrian we could read the signs A-RI as the Hurrian *-a-tal* “mighty;” *-a-ri* could also be Hurrian, though it is less frequent.

33-34) [...] ^{GI}Š¹ GU.ZA [*ma-at*] *Si-mu-ri-im*^{ki}: In the broken space there is room only for two signs. One is GIŠ used here as a determinative, but the other is guesswork. There is also little doubt that another sign existed after the sign ZA because of the space left and the small break in it. This would not affect the meaning so much, because if there was indeed another sign it would be in all probability a phonetic complement of the word *kussûm* (GU.ZA). Unfortunately we do not know what happened to the throne of Simurru with this individual. Nevertheless, since the verb of the sentence in line 35 is *i-ne-er*, the PN [...] *núm-a-tal* must

Beckman, “An Early Second-Millennium Cuneiform Archive from Chogha Gavaneh, Western Iran,” *JCS* 59 (2007), p. 39ff. There is mention of other GNs in the same general area, like Niqqum, Dēr and Mē-Turān.

²⁰¹ Grayson and Sollberger, *RA* 70, p. 111.

²⁰² Charpin, “La version Mariote de l’«insurrection générale contre Narām-Sîn»,” *FM* 3, p. 10; and in an OB extispicy text with news from the Ur III period: *a-mu-ut* ⁴*Šul-gi ša A-pa-Da-ra-aḫ i-ni-ru* “Omen of Šulgi who slew Appa-Daraḫ,” (YOS 10 26 IV 10); cf. Biggs, “Šulgi in Simurru,” p. 169-170; and in YBT X 26 IV 10; cf. Goetze, “Historical Allusions in Old Babylonian Omen Texts,” *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 260. Biggs adds that the Sumerian logogram SAG. GIŠ. RA was used for this verb: Biggs, *op. cit.*, p. 176, note 40. Recently, the omens were re-edited by Glassner, who added that instead of the determinative DINGIR before the name of Šulgi the sign BAR is written: Glassner, J.-J., “Écrire des livres à l’époque Paléo-Babylonienne: le traité d’extispicine,” *ZA* 99 (2009), p. 71.

²⁰³ Note that Z/Simudar was written in the Ur III sources with *-dar* not *da-ar*, cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 166-7.

²⁰⁴ Although this form of the name is different from the older form Ғašimur(u), I think it is not possible to guess the exact form and pronunciation of the name in the local speech of the inhabitants, who were perhaps in this period Simurrians. It is not impossible that Ғašimur(u) was pronounced by its inhabitants as Ғašimar in this period. The last vowel *a* might have been changed to *u* by vowel harmony, influenced by the Akkadian mimation *-um* at its end. Support for this suggestion comes from the NA sources that write the name as Ғašimar, with mimation discarded.

²⁰⁵ Cf. for this location Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 149 and *id.*, *RIME* 3/2, p. 451; cf. also Chapter Four, note 123.

²⁰⁶ The name occurs as URU Ғu-¹ra-x¹-na! (*HSS* XV 74: 7) and URU Ғu-ra-¹x-na¹ (*HSS* XV 74: 17): Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 104.

²⁰⁷ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 184.

be the object of the sentence. He in turn was the person who did something to the royal house of Simurrum. I would suggest that the key to fully understand the sentence lies in the first sign of line 33; here something like ÉRIM “foe/enemy” or IM.GI “usurper” must have been written, although the space is hardly big enough. The whole sentence then becomes: “(Iddin-Sîn) slew [...]num-atal, the enemy/ usurper of the throne of Simurrum.”

36) [ma-a]’t’ ‘x(?)’-NE-šum^{ki}: Since the sign NE has more than one value, the GN can be anything that ends with *-ne-šum^{ki}*, *-bi-šum^{ki}* or *-b/pil-šum^{ki}*.


37) ma-at Ša-ri-it-ḫu-um^{ki}: From Ur III sources the name of this land is already known. It occurs as *Šu-ru-ut-ḫu-um^{ki}*, *Ša-ri-it-ḫi^{ki}* and *Ša-ri-it-ḫu-um^{ki}* (exactly as in this inscription).²⁰⁸ The GNs *Ša-ri-īp-ḫu-um-ma^{ki209}* and *Ša-ri-it-DU^{ki210}* can be variants of this name.²¹¹ The ruler here in the time of the Shemshāra archives was a certain Kakmum, who turned to be an ally of Šamšī-Adad, as appears from a letter of the Assyrian general Etellum to Kuwari.²¹² Some located this GN in or near the Dukān Gorge, where the Lower Zāb flows between the two mountains Haibat Sultān and Sarsird.²¹³ It is based on the mention of *niripuni Šurutuḫa*, “The pass of Šurutuḫa,”²¹⁴ together with Ašuḫaš, Matka, Arrapḫa, Nuza, Ḥašmar, Zaba[n] and other places in the inscription of the Elamite Šilḫak-Inšušinak.²¹⁵ All these GNs are located between the Lower Zāb and the Diyāla rivers. In fact, its occurrence with Šašrum earlier in the Ur III documents²¹⁶ indicates its location in the same general area of the Rāniya Plain. Furthermore, its association with a gorge increases the possibility of its identification with the location pointed out by Astour. There are some hints that may help explaining the meaning of this GN. Frayne thinks the name is Elamite.²¹⁷ But Astour and Mayer gave a Hurrian etymology, linking it with a Hurrian word that occurs as a loan-word in Akkadian: ^{GIŠ}*Šu-rat-ḫu*. For the meaning Mayer hesitates between the gall-oak and walnut, while Astour favours walnut.²¹⁸

39) [.....] ‘Hul(?)’-gi-za-tal: As far as I know, such a PN is not attested in any published text. There is a possibility to read the sign GI as ZI. The last part of the name reminds one of the PN Ku-uz-za-ri/tal of Nuzi.²¹⁹

40) [...]-GA/AM(?)’-ri-’ni’(?)-we: If the restoration of the break in the next line (*[be(?)]-li-šunu*) is correct, this name and the name following it would be understood as the names of rulers or even gods. But traces of a vertical line at the end of the sign make it impossible to read the first sign as BE, unless the vertical line is a scratch. The element *-we* is the Hurrian genitive suffix, and the *-ne* before it can be the Hurrian suffix *-ni* for the formation of adjectives²²⁰ or the article *-ne*.

²⁰⁸ Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 177-8; 187.

²⁰⁹ Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 177, referring to: *YOS* 4, 67, 8 // Scheil, *RA* 24 (1927), p. 45, rev. l. 2.

However, the sign IB in Scheil, *RA* 24, seems to be a misread sign ID: 

²¹⁰ Edzard and Farber, *op. cit.* p. 177-8, referring to: Buccellati, *Amorites* txI: 22 I 5; Goetze *JCS* 7, 106 I 5.

²¹¹ Astour, “Semites and Hurrians in Northern Transtigris,” *SCCNH* 1, p. 35, note 249; Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 177-8.

²¹² 4’) IGI *Ka-ak-mi-im ša Šu-ru-ut-ḫi-im* 5’) *a-na be-li-’ia is¹-sà-’ḫu¹-’ur¹ lu-ú ḫa-de-e[’i]*, “The face of Kakmum of Šurutḫum has turned to my lord. Rejoice!” Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives, the Letters*, p. 104-5 (no. 41).

²¹³ Astour, “Semites and Hurrians ...,” p. 36.

²¹⁴ Astour, *ibid.* and note 252.

²¹⁵ Astour, “Semites and Hurrians...,” p. 36.

²¹⁶ It was mentioned in a date-formula from AS 4, cf. Walker, *The Tigris Frontier...*, p. 107.

²¹⁷ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 174.

²¹⁸ Astour, *op. cit.*, p. 36-37.

²¹⁹ For this name cf. Gelb, *HS* p. 19; Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, p. 231 (under Kuzzari).

²²⁰ For *-ni*, cf. Wegner, *Einleitung in die ...*, p. 47; Bush, F. W., “The Relationship Between the Hurrian Suffixes *-ne/-na* and *-ni/e /-nna*,” *Orient and Occident: Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of his*

43) [ma(?) -at(?)] [...(?)] -ti-na-ab-ba-ša-we^{ki}: Another otherwise unknown Hurrian GN that ends with the Hurrian genitive suffix *-we*, probably preceded by *-š*. If the word *māt* is written before this name, which is very probable, there is very little chance that any other sign preceded TI. In this case, the name Tinabbašawe is complete.

48) [m]a-at Hal-ma-an^{ki}: The important land of Ḫalman is already known from numerous written sources.²²¹ As a GN it is attested in different forms, like Arman,²²² Ialman²²³ and Ḫalman, until it developed to Ḫalwān in the Middle Ages²²⁴ and Halwān in modern times. The same name has been given to the river Alwand that has obviously developed from the name Ḫalman > Halman > Alman > Alwan (as pronounced now in the local dialect) > Alwan(d). The strategic position of this place in the gorge, through which the Great Khorasān Road passes, was always extremely significant. The Arabic term ‘Aqabat Ḫalwān’ of medieval Arab geographers means “The barricade of Halwān” and is reminiscent of the Sumerian “Ḫuḫnuri, the bolt of the land of Elam,” recorded in the IS 9 date-formula,²²⁵ a clear indication of its strategic function.

This Ḫalman cannot be identical with URU *Ḫa-al-ma-ni-(we)* of the Nuzi texts,²²⁶ for which another location is suggested.²²⁷

The mention of Ḫalman in the inscription of Haladiny is very important, for it is incontestable evidence for the extension of Simurru to the region of Sarpul under his reign. The control of such a strategic pass and main route would have been a crucial factor for the fate of his kingdom. Furthermore, it indicates the surpassing power Simurru enjoyed when it controlled Ḫalman in the shadow of the other surrounding powers of that time. Taking into account this southerly point of his realm and calculating the northerly point at Bētuate, where his other inscriptions are found, the kingdom of Simurru extended at least 240 aerial kilometres from south to north.²²⁸

49) ma-at Be-el^{ki}: Another otherwise unattested GN. It seems it was located in the area of Ḫalman since it is mentioned directly after it. The Semitic meaning of the word Bēl (= lord) does not necessarily imply that the name is Semitic. It is quite possible that the name belongs to another language with a different meaning.

51-52) [An(?)]-nu-ba-ni-ni [LUGAL Lu-lu-bi]-’im^{ki}: This is one of the very important passages of this inscription because it mentions Annubanini of Lullubum. First, it is important for the establishment of a chronology of both kings, and secondly it alludes to the clash of interests between the two powers. Thanks to this inscription we know that Annubanini did

Sixty-fifth Birthday, ed. Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973, p. 43f.; for *-we* cf. among others Giorgieri, M., “Die hurritische Kasusendungen,” *SCCNH* 10, p. 225.

²²¹ For instance Borger, “Vier Grenzsteinurkunden....,” *AFO* 23 (1970), p. 1.

²²² As in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I (1115-1077 BC) of Assyria, cf. Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, p. 95, § 293, and Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC): Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, p. 230, § 623.

²²³ As in the inscriptions of Adad-Nirari II (911-891 BC), see Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, p. 111, § 360; and also of Šamši-Adad V (823-811 BC), see Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, p. 258, § 724 (here mentioned as a mountain name).

²²⁴ Cf. الحموي، ياقوت، معجم البلدان، بيروت، ١٩٨٤، ص. ٢٩٠-٢٩٣.

[al-Ḥamawi, Yaqūt, *Lexicon of Lands*, Beirut, 1984 (New edition), p. 290-3]. al-Ḥamawi lived in the 13th Century A. D.

المقدسي، احسن التقاسيم في معرفة الاقاليم، ليدن، ١٨٧٧، ص. ٥٣، ١١٥.

[al-Maqdisi, *Aḥsan it-Taqāsīm fī Ma’rifat il-Aqālīm*, Leiden, 1877, p. 53; 115]. al-Maqdisi lived between c. 945/6-1000 A.D.

²²⁵ Ḫu-úḫ-nu-ri SAG.KUL ma-da An-ša-an^{ki}, which Walker translated as the “bolt of the land of Anšan: Walker, *The Tigris....*, p. 42; but note that Frayne reads KA.BAD, “The open mouth of Anšan,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 363.

²²⁶ Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 84.

²²⁷ For the proposed locations of different authors, cf. Fincke, *op. cit.*, p. 84-5.

²²⁸ The 350 km. estimation by Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 28 seems too much.

not postdate Iddi(n)-Sîn, as Walker suggested.²²⁹ Iddi(n)-Sîn was at least a contemporary of Annubanini, or even postdated him. The lack of any other inscription left by Annubanini leaves the other side of the story in darkness. What we are sure of is that the suggestion of Walker, that the inscription of Annubanini in Sarpul is at least a century younger than that of Iddi(n)-Sîn in Sarpul,²³⁰ can no longer be regarded as correct. The exact episode that both the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions of Sarpul and Haladiny mentioned about Annubanini is not clear. It is regrettable that the Haladiny inscription cannot help to solve the problem, because the following lines on the inscription that must have contained the verb are broken. Nevertheless, the whole inscription is about victories of Simurru, so we would expect that Iddi(n)-Sîn must have claimed a victory over the land, either *uħalliḳ* (= destroyed) or *iṣbat* (= took/controlled). A second option is that the inscription narrates in this passage an older episode, like some hostile act undertaken in the past by Annubanini against Simurru, and the revenge taken by Iddi(n)-Sîn is now being told in this inscription, though that passage is now missing. In this case, Annubanini predates Iddi(n)-Sîn.

In any case, this item of information is clear evidence of a struggle between both kingdoms of Simurru and Lullubum, perhaps to control Ḫalman and the strategic Great Khorasān Road that ended, at least in this phase, in the hands of the former. On the relief of Annubanini in Sarpul a row of prisoners is depicted, led by the goddess Ištar to the presence of the triumphant king Annubanini. The prisoners are naked, as in the Old Akkadian victory stela, but what is noteworthy is that the foremost prisoner in the lower row (which appears to represent the procession of the prisoners before they reach the king) wears a feathered crown (Fig. 10). Such a crown is not so common in the region under study.²³¹ The only parallels come from clay sealings from Urkeš some 5-6 centuries earlier (Figs. 10, 13 and 18 of Chapter Four), where a seemingly royal figure is depicted with a similar crown. If we assume that such crowns were a characteristic headdress of the Hurrians, as seen in Urkeš, we can say that the defeated enemy of the relief of Annubanini, on which the typical crown is intentionally depicted, was also a Hurrian, very probably from Simurru.

58) *Ti-id-luḫ-ħa-am*^{ki}: A GN in the accusative, which means that it was the object of some (military) act. As far as I know, this GN is otherwise unknown. Since the word *māt* that precedes all the land and country names in this inscription is absent here, Tidluḫḫum was probably a city name, as the city of Itu. The location is unknown but its occurrence before Šikšabbum (l. 60) may indicate both places are close to each other. The switch from Ḫalman in the far south to Tidluḫḫum and Šikšabbum in the far north is notable. The inscription would narrate the events either in chronological or in geographical order. In the second case there must have been more geographical names listed in the inscription that were located in the region between Ḫalman and Šikšabbum (but see below under ‘The Historical setting’). These can be looked for in the lacuna just before the name Tidluḫḫum, which consists of about five lines.

60) *ma-at Ši-ik-ša-am-bi*^{ki}: Šikšambi is recorded in the Ur III texts in the form *Šigšabi*^{ki}.²³² The OB sources from Shemshāra render the name in different spellings, such as *Ši-ik-ša-ab-bu-um*^{ki} (sometimes without mimation) as well as *Ši-ik-ša-am-bi-im*^{ki} and *Ši-ik-ša-bi-im* (without doubled *b*).²³³ In the Shemshāra texts, Šikšabbum is mentioned as the capital of the land of Aḫazum,²³⁴ whereas it is recorded here as a land. It is possible that the land was also

²²⁹ Walker, *The Tigris* ..., p. 186 and 189.

²³⁰ Walker, *ibid.*

²³¹ Such a crown became very common under the Achaemenids, and was worn by the noblemen depicted in the reliefs of Persepolis.

²³² Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 181; cf. also: Læssøe, J., “Šikšabbum: an Elusive City,” *Or* 54 (1985), p. 182.

²³³ For these, cf. Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 221.

²³⁴ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

called Šikšabbum because of the fame of its capital city, or that the name of the land of Šikšabbum was changed in a later period to Aḫazum due to ethnic changes in its territories, such as an Amorite infiltration. This suggestion gets support from the name Yašub-Addu, the ruler of Aḫazum, mentioned in the Shemshāra Letters.²³⁵ It is also possible to identify the otherwise unidentified toponym Agaz, recorded in the Ur III archival texts, with this same Aḫazum of the OB sources. Šikšabbum was, as indicated by the OB sources, an important city that played a prominent role in the power game of that period. From this inscription too it appears that it was a target of the military ambitions of Simurru, as it was of the Ur III kings.

According to the etymology presented by Astour, the name Šikšabbum is Hurrian, consisting of the two elements *S/Šikš-ambi*, “pole of *ambi*-wood.”²³⁶ What we can add here is that the written form found in this inscription was certainly the correct pronunciation of the name: *-am-bi*; the form *-ab-bi/um* with doubled *b* was the Akkadianized form that assimilated /m/ with /b/.

The location of this GN is not yet firmly established. Some identified it with the Qala Dizah mound in the plain of Qala Dizah.²³⁷ According to Frayne, the name Šikšabbum has something to do with the name of the modern city of Šaqlāwa, to the northeast of Erbil. As a result he identifies Šikšabbum with Šaqlāwa. His analysis is that the OB *Šikšabbum* has hypothetically developed to MA **Šiklabbum* and to modern *Šaqlāwa*.²³⁸ However, the data obtained from the Shemshāra archives and the correspondence of Šamšī-Adad I and his sons make it almost certain that it was located on the Lower Zāb, downstream from Shemshāra, i.e. to the southwest of Rāniya, near or at Taqtaq.²³⁹

It is true that the location of Šaqlāwa today, exactly as ancient Šikšabbum, is important, being located on the strategic Hamilton Road and well-defended by steep mountains. But the suggestion of Frayne remains mere conjecture. Furthermore, by the criteria of historical geography it does not seem appropriate to identify Šaqlāwa with ancient Šikšabbum for two reasons. First, Šikšabbum was the capital of Aḫazum, and Aḫazum was the name of the country between the Rāniya Plain and Erbil.²⁴⁰ Šaqlāwa is then too far from the country of Aḫazum. Secondly, the region of operations of Iddi(n)-Sîn, as seen in the Haladiny inscription, was the Rāniya Plain and surroundings, with Bētwater as the northernmost point. Šaqlāwa is too far north of this range. It is quite reasonable to think of a location for Šikšabbum on the Lower Zāb region, downstream from the Rāniya Plain, closer to Taqtaq or Pirdē. This location is justified by the activity of Iddi(n)-Sîn in the northern area in this section of the inscription, indicated by his allusion to the land of Utūm below (l. 69), where

²³⁵ Cf. Letter 1 (SH 809) 4) *Ia-šu-ub-^dIM 5) LÚ Aḫ-za-a-ji^{ki}*; only his name is recorded without reference to his land in 2 (SH 894), 4; 3 (SH 828), 10; 4 (SH 886), 5; 47 (SH 941), 18; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.* Shaffer and Wasserman think that the omission of Aḫazum in the inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn is because the land was less important during his reign: Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 26. However, in the light of our suggestion, the name Aḫazum was given later than his reign to the land by assumed Amorite newcomers.

²³⁶ Astour, “Semites and Hurrians...,” p. 34-35. Astour argues for this etymology with the note that the element *amp*, “to judge from its derivations at Nuzi, the Hittite country, and Assyria, had to do with a kind of wood and the tree that produced it.” He cites the derivations that embrace this element like *ambassu*, *ampannu* and *ampanuḫlu* (referring to CAD A II 44 and 77-78; AHw 42 and 44, to Læssøe (1959), p. 35; NPN, p. 200 and Laroche, GLH, p. 46). The word *s/š/zikšu* denotes, Astour continues, a “lateral pole of the wagon-box,” *ibid.* However, this remains far from certain.

²³⁷ Læssøe, “Šikšabbum: an Elusive City,” p. 182; and later Læssøe, J. and Th. Jacobsen, “Šikšabbum Again,” JCS 42/2 (1990), p. 132.

²³⁸ Frayne, SCCNH 10, p. 180.

²³⁹ See for details Chapter Six and Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 22-23. With this suggestion, Shaffer and Wasserman agree, p. 18.

²⁴⁰ As proposed by Eidem and Læssøe, basing themselves on the data collected from the Shemshāra archives: Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

his march is shown to be from the southeast to the northwest (Ḫalaman → Lullubum), then to the northeast along the Zāb (Šikšabbum → Itu → Utûm). More precisely, Iddi(n)-Sîn has marched in this region along the northern bank of the Lower Zāb, from downstream to upstream, as indicated by the mention of Itu (= Satu Qala, see below) → Utuwe. This points to a location of Šikšabbum in or close to Taqtaq.²⁴¹ Further, the Amorite influence in Aḫazum pointed out above indicates that Aḫazum = Šikšabbum was not in the heart of the Transtigris, but rather on its periphery, closer to the Plains.

62) *ma-at I-te-ra-āš-'we*^{ki}: An otherwise unattested GN that also ends with the Hurrian genitive suffix *-we*, probably preceded by the plural marker *-š-*. It must have been located in the same area, upstream from Šikšabbum and Tidluḫḫum. A place name in the Mari archives called Šillurašwe is said to have been a Turukkean settlement in the Habur Region, a name that echoed a place name in Utûm²⁴² containing the same element *-ra+š(<š)+we* that can be seen in Iterašwe.

63) *I-tu*^{ki}: Because of the absence of the word *māt* before this GN, we assume it was a city name. The only GN in this region that could be compared with Itu was a city in the land of Utûm that occurs as *U-ta-[im*^{ki}*]* (SH 861).²⁴³ The letter in which the name occurs concerns troops from this city that deserted and left the city of Šušarrā, where they seem to have been garrisoned as support troops.²⁴⁴ But new light has come from new discoveries that helped in identifying Itu. Since we are now in the region of Šikšabbum and Utum, i.e. between the Rāniya Plain and Pirdē, Itu cannot be anything other than the MA provincial capital Idu, identified most recently at Satu Qala slightly upstream from Taqtaq, where some brick inscriptions are found that bear the name of this city.²⁴⁵

64-65) *Ša-um-mi*^{ki} ù *'Ḫu-'bŷ/'n'e-za-gu*^{ki}: Two city names about which we do not know anything except that they might be located in or slightly south of the Rāniya Plain, somewhere between Šikšabbum and Utûm (l. 69). This is derived from the implication in the inscription that the march of Iddi(n)-Sîn was from Šikšabbum (= Taqtaq) to Itu (= Satu Qala) to these two GNs, and from there to Utûm. The letter *ARM I*, 121 from Mari mentions the cities A'innum and Zamiyatum as cities of Qabrā on the Lower Zāb (see Chapter Six). It is tempting to compare Zamiyatum with Šaummi. The name Zami (after removing the Akkadian suffix *-ātum*) could be another spelling of Šaummi, perhaps from **Žā/ōmi*.²⁴⁶ If the reading of the second sign of the second GN is *-bi-* then we may have Ḫubizagu, the first part of which can tentatively be associated with the first element of the Hurrian PN *Ḫu-'i'-ip-er-w[e-we]* (*HSS XV* 128:15) and also the GN URU *Ḫu!* (EN)-*i-be-er-wi-ip-ḫe-na*.MEŠ (*HSS IX*

²⁴¹ Here one must reconsider the proposed identification of Tikitiḫum with Taqtaq suggested by Frayne. Either Tikitiḫum was not identical with Taqtaq, or the short-lived name Tikitiḫum was changed to Šikšabbum during the Ur III period.

²⁴² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Charpin, D., Review of J. Eidem, *Shemshāra Archives 2, The Administrative Texts*, in *Syria* 71 (1994), p. 459.

²⁴³ The GN *U-ta* in the letter *ARM IV* 20, which looks like the city name *U-ta-[im]* of the SH 861, appears to be a misreading; for this cf. Durand, *LPO I*, p. 632. I owe this observation to J. Eidem.

²⁴⁴ About the city of *U-ta-im*^{ki}, cf. Walker, p. 207-8.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Van Soldt, W. H., "The Location of Idu," *NABU* 2008, no. 55, p. 72-74. Although the name Itu seems similar to the Nuzi GN Ittuḫḫe (written URU *Id-du-uh-ḫe!* in *EN 9 227*: 24 and URU *'Id'-[du-u]ḫ-[ḫ]e* in *EN 9 220*: 3, cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 125), it is unlikely that Id/tu and Idduḫḫe had anything to do with each other, because the Nuzian GN, unlike Id/tu, was always written with a reduplicated *d* (oral communication with J. Fincke), which is analysed as coming from **itt=i* "dress," or "textile" (?) with the Hurrian adj. *-ḫe*; cf. Fincke, *op. cit.*, 125. Further, Nuzian Ittuḫḫe was located to the south of Arrapha, in the neighbourhood of Kurruḫani, modern Tell al-Faḫḫār, as it is associated with the GNs Aršalipe and Ululia; the former was seemingly close to Kurruḫani; cf. Fincke, *op. cit.*, p. 48; 324.

²⁴⁶ J. Eidem wonders whether the form *ge-er-ri ša Ku-um-mi*^{ki} of SH 894, l. 45 and 46 is an error and contains the GN Šaummi (via a personal communication). But this does not seem likely. See about this Chapter Six under 'Šikšabbum, a Thorn in the Side.'

135:3) that contains the PN *Ḫuip-erwe*.²⁴⁷ The element *Ḫui-*, which is attested also as *Ḫu-*, is found in PNs from Nuzi²⁴⁸ and means “to summon.”²⁴⁹

68) *ú-kà-ni-ís-sú-nu-ti*: This verbal form is found also in both the Sarpul (= Annubanini II, col. II, l. 19) and the Jerusalem (col. iv, l. 26) inscriptions of this king. The orthography of this form (IŠ-ZU for *ís-sú*) is characteristic of the Ur III Akkadian and northern OB texts, but not Diyāla texts.²⁵⁰ The occurrence of this verb after four GNs, the first of which is a land name and the rest city names, gives the impression that the three cities were within the land Iterašwe. The verb then indicates that the land Iterašwe, including its cities Itu, Šaummi and Ḫubi/nezagu, were all destroyed. If this is correct, the city of Tidluḫḫum as well must have been part of a land of which the name is now broken. The northern bank of the Lower Zāb seems to have consisted of at least three provinces (lands) in this time: X (to which is attached Tidluḫḫum), Šikšabbum and Iterašwe (consisting of Itu, Ḫub/nizagu and Šaummi).

69) *ma-at Ut-tu-we*^{ki}: The land of Utûm was one of the important lands of the Transtigris. It is attested in the OB sources as *Utûm*. This land comprised several cities, including Šušarrā²⁵¹ (For more about this GN see Chapter Six). The form *Uttuwe* in this inscription is obviously the original Hurrian form of the Akkadianized form *Utûm*. The modern name of Bētweite can very probably be a compound name, consisting of the Semitic (Aramaic) *bēth*, “region / house,” and ‘Wate/a’ which has developed from Utu(we): *Utû(m) → Ute → Wute → Wate*. Numerous toponyms in the Transtigris begin with the Aramaic element *bēth* in the forms *be-* and *ba-*: for example Bitwēn; Bagarmē < Bēth Garmai, “The Warm Province,” denoting regions to the south of Kirkuk; Bazabda; Ba‘adrē; and Ba‘šīqa.

70-72) *i-na qā-ti Kak-mi-im*^{ki} ‘ut(?)’-ti-ir: This sentence must be translated as “He brought (the land of Utuwe) back from the hands of Kakmum.”²⁵²

The land of Kakmum was a very important country in the Transtigris. If the *Kakmi/e(um)* of the Ebla archives is identical with this Kakmum,²⁵³ its oldest attestations go back to the ED period, having trade relations with Ebla (see Chapter Two, under Kakmum). In these texts, there is mention of a king of Kakmum, but without mentioning his name. However, there is mention of a certain Ennaya of the city of Šubugu in the region of Kakmum.²⁵⁴ This fact shows that Kakmum had satellite cities, indicating its power and position. The same is seen in this later period under present discussion, for both the Haladiny and the Jerusalem inscriptions explicitly mention the hegemony of Kakmum, in the former over the land of Utuwe, and in the latter on Kulunnum (iii 4'-iv 3). Kakmum is reported to have participated also in the Great Revolt against Narām-Sîn.²⁵⁵ Although no campaigns against this land were recorded in the Ur III date-formulae, there is an archival text from Drehem that mentions sheep delivery to four (but Walker says three) Kakmians.²⁵⁶ According to Walker, the distant

²⁴⁷ For these names cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 101-2.

²⁴⁸ Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, p. 217.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Wegner, *Einführung ...*, p. 227 under *ḫu(i)-*

²⁵⁰ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 18 and 36. For more about Ur III Akkadian, cf. Hilgert, M., *Akkadisch in der Ur III-Zeit*, p. 168-70.

²⁵¹ Læssøe, J., “The Quest for the Country of *Utûm,” *JAOS* 88 (1968), p. 122.

²⁵² For the meanings of *ina qāti...*, cf. *CAD* Q, p. 192, clause 2': a'.

²⁵³ The identification of the Kakmum of the Ebla texts with its Transtigridian namesake is still disputed, cf. for instance Bonechi, *RGTC* 12/1, p. 144-5. For occurrences in the Ebla archives, cf. *op. cit.*, 142-44.

²⁵⁴ Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla ...*, p. 216.

²⁵⁵ Grayson and Sollberger, “L'insurrection...,” *RA* 70, p. 115, l. 3'.

²⁵⁶ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 193, referring to Langdon, *TAD* 67 Obv. 1-7. The text reads as follows: 1) 2 udu Dup-ki-še-ni(?) 2) lú Gu-ma-ra-ši^{ki} 3) 2 udu Ḫi-ša-tal 4) Na-lu-'uk' 5) ù Šu-pu-uš-mut 6) 2 udu Du-'ug'-ra 7) lú Kak-mi^{ki}-me, “Two sheep (for) Dupkišeni of Gumaraši, two sheep for Ḫišatal, Naluk and Šupušmut (and) two sheep for Dugra, men of Kakmu.” The text does not make it clear whether the three preceding men were also from Kakmu, which is perhaps why Röllig pointed only to Dug/kra as the man from that place: Röllig, “Kakmum,” *RLA* 5 (1976-1980), p. 289.

location of Kakmum was the reason why this land escapes mention in the Ur III texts.²⁵⁷ However, the mention of far regions like Šašrum, Urbilum, Nineveh, Simanum and even Anšan (Š 34-35) shows that distance is not enough reason for omission. It seems in fact, that Kakmum was so powerful and seemingly in such a well-defendable location that it could resist any campaign or hostile act. The mention of the four persons from this land in the archival text of Drehem does not necessarily mean they were captives in receipt of rations. They could have been messengers or emissaries from that land. The mention of the land Gumaraši in the same archival text, which was also not attacked according to the available data, might support this suggestion. Kakmum was in fact a powerful kingdom, for Sargon of Assyria, some 1400 years later, spoke of “the wicked enemies of the land Kakmî.”²⁵⁸ The Jerusalem inscription states that Kakmum, from its earliest days did not carry tribute to anybody (iv 9-16). After the fall of Ur III, or in the few years before its fall, this land apparently appeared as a major power in the Transtigris region, and extended its hegemony over the neighbouring territories. That it confronted Simurru, which built its own glory at the cost of Kakmum, can be concluded from the inscriptions. Iddi(n)-Sîn took first the land of Utuwe from it, then Kulunnum, and probably other places about which we are still ignorant. Even later Kakmum was effective and remained a prominent figure in the affairs of its own region and those of Babylonia. In the Shemshāra letter SH 809 Kakmum is mentioned among the powers Yašub-Addu of Aḫazum once followed in the course of his constant changing loyalties.²⁵⁹ The letter SH 875 mentions looting cattle from the city of Kigibši by Muškawe,²⁶⁰ governor of Kakmum.²⁶¹ Preparations for an attack on Kakmum itself is recorded in SH 802, 808+815.²⁶² There are other events recorded for this land: the 37th year of Hammurabi of Babylon was named after the victory over “the armies of the Gutī, the Turukkians, Kakmum and the land of Šubartum;”²⁶³ a letter from Mari (*ARM* 26/2, 489) from the time of Zimri-Lim records that Gurgurru of Kakmum attacked Qabrā with 500 men and defeated the 2,000 men who were sent against him by Ardigandi of Qabrā,²⁶⁴ the capture of two Babylonians to the north of Ekallātum and their detention in the ‘palace of Kakmum’ is reported in an OB letter, in which they ask the GAL.MAR.TU Sîn-Idinnam to buy their release;²⁶⁵ a letter from Mari (*ARM* 6, 79, 17) also refers to a messenger from Kakmum; and texts from Tell al-Rimāh (*OBTR* 255, 7; 261, 5) mention wine delivered to Kakmians.²⁶⁶

²⁵⁷ Walker, *ibid.*

²⁵⁸ ^{KUR}*Ka-ak-mi-i* ^{LÚ}*KÚR lem-ni*, Mayer, W., “Sargons Feldzug gegen Urartu- 714 v. Chr., Text und Übersetzung” *MDOG* 115 (1983), p. 72, l. 56.

²⁵⁹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 70 (no. 1).

²⁶⁰ This is a clear Hurrian name, cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 24, note 33. In addition, the name of the Kakmian *Ḫiš-atal* in the above-mentioned Ur III text from Drehem is clearly Hurrian.

²⁶¹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 114-5 (no. 44).

²⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. 142-3 (no. 69).

²⁶³ Charpin, *Histoire politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002-1595)*, *OBO*, p. 332.

²⁶⁴ Charpin, D., F. Joannès, S. Lackenbacher and B. Lafont, *Archives épistolaires de Mari I/2*, *ARM* 26, Paris, 1988, no. 489 [A. 639], p. 424-6.

²⁶⁵ 6) *e-le-nu-um* 7) *É.GAL-la-tim na-ak-rum* 8) *il-qi-né-ti i-na* *É.GAL* 9) *Ka-ak-mi-im*^{ki} 10) *ni-ib-bé-el*, “to the north of Ekallatum, the enemy took us, we are detained,” Frankena, R., *Briefe aus dem British Museum*, *AbB* 2, Leiden, 1966, no. 46, p. 28-29; cf. also Kupper, J.-R., *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari*, Paris, 1957, p. 191 and notes 1-3; Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “Aššur avant l’Assyrie,” *MARI* 8, Paris, 1997, p. 369, note 15. Note that *elēnum* can also be translated “upstream,” so perhaps upstream of the Lower Zāb, in the direction of the Rāniya and Qala Dize Plains.

²⁶⁶ Rölli, “Kakmum,” *ibid.* No. 255, l. 7: 6) 1 *DUG GEŠTIN* 7) *a-na LÚ Ka-ak-mi-i*; 261, l. 5: 1 *DUG GEŠTIN a-na LÚ Ka-ak-mi-i*, cf. Dalley *et al.*, *OBTR*, pp. 185 and 188.

The allusion to the capture of the two individuals to the north of Ekallātum and their detention in Kakmum was considered significant for the location of Kakmum by Walker.²⁶⁷ Since it is generally accepted that Ekallātum was located somewhere on the Tigris, south or north of Assur or Nineveh,²⁶⁸ it means that Kakmum too, according to this detail, was located somewhere on or close to the Tigris. Frayne, on the other hand, proposed modern Koy Sanjaq for its location, basing himself on the morphological similarity of the two names.²⁶⁹ Others put Kakmum between Ekallātum and Erbil,²⁷⁰ or in the valleys between Sulaimaniya and Chamchamāl.²⁷¹ All these identifications do not take into consideration two further questions. First, if Kakmum was on or close to the Tigris, how can we explain the involvement of Kakmum in the invasion of the Mannean territories in the days of Sargon II?²⁷² A kingdom that can seize territories of Manna must have been its neighbour. Furthermore it would have been impossible for such a powerful enemy of Assyria to exist in its heartland, south or north of Assur, under Sargon. Second, how could Kakmum have escaped the Ur III warfare if it was located in the valleys between Sulaimaniya and Chamchamāl or in Koy Sanjaq, on the way to Urbilum, Šašrum and Šuruthum? Moreover, why was it never mentioned if it was located on the Tigris, on the way that leads to Nineveh and thence to Simanum? The information of the Urartian campaign of Sargon clearly points to a location of Kakmum further north-east. It must have been located in a territory that possessed enough plain terrain to allow the growth of a powerful city and state, away from the main routes and out of reach of military campaigns, but at the same time well-defended by high mountains and narrow passes. The first candidate for this that comes into mind could be the Pishder Plain (= Qala-Dizeh), that is separated from the Rāniya Plain by the pass of Darband-i-Ramkān,

²⁶⁷ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

²⁶⁸ Cf. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung* ..., p. 11-12 at Tell al-Ḍahab to the south of Assur, south of the junction of the Lower Zāb with the Tigris; according to Kupper, Hallo, Oates, Frayne and Steinkeller it was at Tell Haikal, north of Assur; for this and related bibliography cf. Nashef, Kh., *RGTC* 5, p. 101; *id.*, *RGTC* 4, p. 38; Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 165-6; Steinkeller, "The Historical Background ...," p. 85. Edzard put it between the Lower Zāb and the Diyāla, while Birot located it on the left bank of the Euphrates; for this and related bibliography, cf. Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 68. Eidem and Læssøe also locate it at Tulul al-Haikal on the east bank of the Tigris, some 20 km north of Assur: Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshāra Archives I*, p. 22 and note 31. The other suggestions referred to by Eidem and Læssøe, although less probable, put Ekallātum at Tell Akra, some 20 km east of Assur (Dittmann, R., "Ruinenbeschreibungen der Machmur-Ebene aus dem Nachlass von Walter Bachmann," in U. Finkbeiner, R. Dittmann, and H. Hauptmann (eds.), *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens, Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer*, Mainz, 1995, p. 101), or on the western bank of the Tigris (Heimpel, W., "Two notes on Ekallātum," *NABU* 1996, no. 101; Charpin and Durand, "Aššur avant l'Assyrie," *MARI* 8, 1997, p. 368ff). Ziegler agrees with the last identifications on the west side of the Tigris, still slightly to the north of Assur: Ziegler, N., "Le royaume d'Ekallātum et son horizon géopolitique," *Florilegium Marianum (FM)* IV, Paris, 2002, p. 227.

²⁶⁹ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 171.

²⁷⁰ Astour, "Semites and Hurrians ...," p. 8-11. Eidem and Læssøe showed that this location does not fit the information provided by the Shemshāra tablets, since Kakmum appeared as an enemy of Šamšī-Adad after the capture of Erbil and its incorporation in the Assyrian Empire: Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²⁷¹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 24. Eidem in an earlier article proposed north of the Rāniya Plain: Eidem, J., "News from the Eastern Front: The Evidence from Tell Shemshāra," *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 97, note 68.

²⁷² This is mentioned in the text of the eighth campaign of Sargon II: 51) TA^{KUR} Par-su-āš at-tu-muš a-na KUR^{KUR} Mi-is-si na-gi-i ša KUR Ma-an-na-aije aq-te-reb 52) mUl-lu-su-nu a-di UN.MEŠ KUR-šu i-na tag-mer-ti lib-bi ša e-piš ar-du-ti i-na URU^{URU} Si-ir-da-ak-ka bir-ti-šú ú-qa-'i ger-ri 55) āš-šú tur-re gi-mil-li-šu il-bi-na ap-pu 56) GİR^{II} KUR^{KUR} Ka-ak-mi-i LU^{LU} KUR lem-ni TA qé-reb KUR-šu pa-ra-si-im-ma, "From Parsuaš I departed, to Missi, a district of the Mannean country, I drew near. Ullusunu, together with the people of his land, their hearts bent on rendering service, awaited my expedition in Sirdakku, his fortress;" after the passage of presenting gifts and tokens of submission, it goes on: "That I might avenge him (on his foes) he prostrated himself before me, to bar the feet of the people of the land of Kakmī, wicked enemies, from his land," Mayer, *op. cit.*, p. 72/73; Luckenbill, *ARAB* II, p. 76-7. Another text of Sargon mentions a governor of this land: mAš-pa-an-ra ša KUR Ka-ak-KAM(sic?): Röllig, "Kakmum," p. 289.

defended by the Kēwe Rash Range from the southwest and the huge Qandīl Range from the north and northeast, but at the same time close to Bētuate (Kulunnum) and Utuwe (Rāniya). The large tell of Qala Dizēh might hide the ruins of Kakmum.²⁷³ The weak point in this identification is the proximity of Qala Dizēh to Shemshāra as J. Eidem argues (personal communication), although separated by a mountain range. A more possible candidate is Rawāndiz, which is a very well defended city, built on the flat top of a mountain and was the capital of the powerful principedom of Sōrān almost one and a half centuries ago. This location also fits the data we possess regarding its closeness to the Rāniya Plain, Bētuate, Qala Dizēh and the Mannean country (accessible via the Kēleshīn and Topzāwa passes). The only point that is not in favour of this suggestion is the lack of a plain territory suitable for abundant agricultural production, which was the basic economic activity together with animal husbandry of these old kingdoms. However, one may think of trade and military conquests as economic alternatives (see Chapter Eight). In the Shemshāra letter SH 868 (No. 69) the great Turrukean king Pišendēn asks a certain T[u...] to persuade the kings of Namar, Niqqum and Elam to attack Kakmum.²⁷⁴ This is taken as evidence that Kakmum must have bordered the lands named.²⁷⁵ However, undertaking such an attack does not necessarily require shared borders in our view, but it would involve passing through the Lullubian country, which is mentioned a few lines later in a broken context of the same letter. In the Jerusalem and the Bētuate inscriptions, the overtaking of Kulunnum is celebrated. Because Kulunnum is identified in Bētuate or close to it (see below), its removal from the hands of Kakmum must have been very easy for Iddi(n)-Sīn, because the way from Qala Dizēh to Bātuate passes through the Rāniya Plain (Utuwe) that he has already captured.²⁷⁶ The steep and difficult mountain paths that avoid Rāniya seem to have been useless for sending defence troops to Kulunnum.

75-81) ¹Ma-di/ki-a-[x] ¹Ša-wa/wi/pi-a-[x] ¹Ma-gi-ba-'ni(?)' ¹A-ḥa-'tum' ¹A-wi-la-núm ra-bi-a-nu A-mu-ri-im: Although the second column of the inscription is better preserved than the first, the reading of some of these names remains problematic, especially the final parts of the first two names. As to the first name, there are attestations of the PNs *Ma-di-ia*, *Ma-di-ia-ma* and *Ma-di-ia-tum* that are good parallels.²⁷⁷ *Ma-ki-ia*, *Ma-ki-ia-tum* and *Ma-ki-a-nu-um* are also recorded as Amorite names,²⁷⁸ in case we read the name in our inscription as *Ma-ki-ia*. Amorite names like *Ša-wi-lum* and *Ša-wu-ú-um* attested in Mari can also be parallel with the second name, or even the names *Ša-bi-DINGIR* and *Ša-a-bi-é*.²⁷⁹ It is tempting to read the second name as the typical Semitic name *Ša Pi-ya*, “That of the mouth.” However, this reading is not quite safe since such a name is characteristic of the South Mesopotamian area.²⁸⁰ The reading of the last sign of the name Magiba-ni(?) which was first seen as the beginning of the signs BI, AM or TA, has been now confirmed by the re-examination of the

²⁷³ The report from the time of Zimri-Lim that some men were attacked between Arrapha and Kakmum (*ARM* 26/2, 512) can be a global identification, because the direct neighbours of Arrapha on the north, northeast and east were Qabrā, It/du, Aḥāzum and the land of the Lullubum.

²⁷⁴ 26) *ú te₄-mu-um šu-^rú¹ um-ma* 27 l. e.) *i-na-an-na a-na a-bi-im* UGULA *ra-bi-i-im* 28) *ú Na-ma-ri-im ú Da-a-si* 29) LUGAL *Ni-ki-im^{ki} šu-pu-ur-ma* 30 r.) KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI *ú aš-la-le-em* 31) *da-am-qa-am qí-bí-ma* 32) *a-na ma-at Ka-ak-mi-im li-iš-ta-ḥi-tí*, “And the plan was as follows: now send words to the “father,” the grand-regent, and to Namarum, and to Dāsi, the king of Niq/kum, and promise silver, gold and costly things if they will make attacks on the land of Kakmum,” Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 143-44 (no. 69).

²⁷⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

²⁷⁶ This applies, of course, if Qala Dizēh is the correct location.

²⁷⁷ Cf. Gelb, I. J., *Computer-aided Analysis of Amorite*, Chicago, 1980, p. 150 and the related bibliography.

²⁷⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 151-2.

²⁷⁹ For the occurrence of these names, cf. Gelb, *Computer-aided ...*, p. 193.

²⁸⁰ For the phonetic values of the sign PI, cf. Borger, R., *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981, p. 156 (no. 383).

inscription in 2006. A parallel Amorite name is not found; *Ma-tu-ba-ni*,²⁸¹ does not match this name. The last two names are good Semitic names, derived from the words *aḥum* and *awīlum*. These persons are labeled “Amorite sheikhs/chieftains”²⁸² in the inscription. For the first time we hear of clashes between the Amorites and the Simurrians who cooperated for a long time against Ur. It is obvious that the Amorites certainly tried to penetrate the territories of Simurru after the fall of the Ur III Empire, as they did in many other regions of Mesopotamia that were under the authority of Ur. They succeeded in many regions in the south and the north, even in the Transtigris; they seem to have penetrated the land of Šikšabbum, whose ruler in the time of the Shemshāra archives bore the Semitic –most probably Amorite– name Yašub-^dAddu (*Ia-šu-ub-^dIŠKUR*). Nevertheless, their attempt in Simurru was not successful. Iddi(n)-Sîn triumphantly boasts in this inscription the defeat he accomplished on these five Amorite sheikhs and pushed them back out of his territory. However, the clause *i-na kúl-le-'e(?)'-šu it-ru-<<UD>>-us-sú*, “he turned back (the Amorites) from his province” (see below) may indicate that the Amorites actually penetrated Simurru for a certain time until they were driven back by Iddi(n)-Sîn. What made it more difficult for Simurru was the joint attack. The Amorites were not alone but rather they collaborated with the Simaškians from the east. In doing this the Amorites seem to have repeated the same scenario they played out against Ur when they joined the Simurrians in that attack.²⁸³ In the days of the supremacy of Ur both parties had one enemy and one joint objective. The prospect of the downfall of Ur unified them in one coalition. However, the fall of Ur changed the political interests and the balance of power. Consequently the Amorites became enemies of their former ally and tried to invade its land, leading to the war mentioned here.

83-85) *ù A-mu-ra-am i-na kúl-le-'e(?)'-šu it-ru-<<UD>>-us-sú*: The problem in this sentence is the sign UD in what appears to be a form of the verb *tarādu*. Reading *-ut-* gives problems with *us-sú* (from **ud/t-šu*), and reading *u₄* gives other problems, because a long vowel does not fit this verb. We may think of a scribal error, which was not uncommon in ancient inscriptions. Perhaps the scribe first wrote *itrud*, a preterite form without a suffix, and *-us-sú* as an afterthought.

The word *kullēšu* is likely to be the same as *kuliši* in lines 2 and 105, but two problems appear. The expected form with genitive stem is *kulē/īši*, and the *l* is inexplicably geminated. Whatever the explanation the sentence clearly means that Iddi(n)-Sîn turned the Amorites out of his territory.

92-94) *A-mu-ra-am 'ù' Si-maš-kà-am^{ki} i-ne-er*: This is the first time the GN Simaški is mentioned in the inscriptions of this king. The structure of the inscription as a whole gives here emphasis to the two most important and prominent achievements of the king that were crucial to his career, at least up to the time of the writing of the inscription. They were achieved thanks to the god Nišba, who heard his words. One was the defeat of the Simaškians and the other the neutralization of the Amorite danger to his country. Possibly the Simaškians had tried to invade his land earlier and an inscription commemorating the Simurrian victory is waiting to be found. Thanks to this important victory over Simaški Iddi(n)-Sîn received the full blessing of the god of his land, which is stressed here. Another possibility is that the victory over Simaški was mentioned in this inscription, perhaps at the beginning of the second column, in a passage now broken.

²⁸¹ Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

²⁸² Different meanings for the word *rabiānum* are proposed. The most appropriate is sheikh (of a tribe). For more details, cf.: Stol, M., *Studies in Old Babylonian History*, Leiden, 1976, p. 73-89.

²⁸³ For the details of this Simurrian-Amorite coalition against Ur, cf. Chapter Four and this chapter under ‘The Ur III Period.’

As for the location of Simaški, it is thought it was a very large territory in western Iran that comprised several lands including Zabšali.²⁸⁴ Hinz located it to the north of Susiana, in and around Khurramābād in modern Luristan.²⁸⁵ Stolper shares Hinz's view, putting it in the north of Khuzistan and/or in the province of Fars.²⁸⁶ Vallat located it further to the southeast, to the north of Kerman Province.²⁸⁷ The information in the Haladiny inscription however, is compatible with the suggestion of Zadok for a widespread territory in Western Iran, extending from Fars Province to the Caspian Sea.²⁸⁸

95-101) ^dI-^dĒN.ZU qar-dum i-lu-šu-nu-ti a-na še-ep ^dNi-iš-ba be-li-'šu' ú-kà-ni-ís-sú-nu-t[i]: Iddi(n)-Sîn entitles himself here “the hero,” but later, in the Jerusalem inscription, he becomes “the hero among the king(s), the mighty king” (see below, col. i 10'-12'). As for the word *i-lu-šu-nu-ti*, we have two possibilities. The first is to understand it as “he overpowered them,” from the verb *le'ûm*, as J. G. Dercksen suggests.²⁸⁹ Then the sentence becomes “Iddi(n)-Sîn, the hero, overpowered them (and) subdued them at the feet of Nišba, his lord.” A less probable option is to understand the word as a grammatically mistaken writing of *lišūnu* “their gods,” giving “Iddi(n)-Sîn, the hero, subdued their gods to the feet of Nišba, his lord.” Theoretically this reading is not impossible. A military victory cannot be accomplished without an ideological one, and the gods of defeated peoples must submit to the god of the victors. Grammatical mistakes of this kind were not infrequent in the Hurrian-speaking sphere, for the scribes were influenced by their mother language, and similar cases in the Akkadian texts from Nuzi were noticed by Speiser.²⁹⁰ If the second option is correct, we assume that the scribe has written *i-lu-* for *i-li-*, and added *-ti* which is appropriate for a verb but not a noun. One case quoted by Speiser, *ipallaḫ-šunuti*, is strikingly similar to this case.

102) ma-tá-tum ša i-te-bu-'šu'-na-ti 'É' ^dNi-iš-ba [LUGAL] '9' 'ku'-[li-šī]: What has been done to the temple of the god Nišba by the lands (the word *ma-tá-tum* is nominative) is unknown because the verb is broken away. It could be something like *banû* “to build,” *edēšu* “to renovate,” *šuklulu* “to complete/perfect,” *madādu* “to pay (tribute),” or even *ḫalāqu* “to destroy.”

3. The Jerusalem Inscription

This inscription, on a stele with reliefs (Fig. 11a-b), was reportedly found together with the three Bētweite inscriptions in the same spot in Bard-i-Sanjiān in Bētweite. This town is situated slightly to the northwest of the Rāniya Plain, in a narrow valley but with easy access to the Rāniya Plain. This inscription mysteriously reached the black market in Geneva, where it was sold to a private European collector, and finally arrived in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem in 1971. There it is on display, with the accession number 71.73.248.²⁹¹

The relief (Fig. 12) shows the king standing on the left with a sword in his right hand and a bow in his left. He tramples on a defeated enemy, who appears to be Aurnaḫuš the ruler of Kulunnum, depicted only half as big as the king. On the right the goddess Ištar stands facing the king. It is assumed that a star was originally depicted in the space between the heads of

²⁸⁴ For the names of the lands within Simaški, cf. Chapter Four, under ‘Šū-Sîn;’ for the inscription that cites their names and states that “Simaški (which comprises) the lands of Zabšali, whose surge is like (a swarm) of locusts, from the border of Anšan to the Upper Sea” see Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 303 (text E3/2.1.4.3, col. ii, l. 14-33).

²⁸⁵ Hinz, “Persia . . .,” *CAH*, p. 653.

²⁸⁶ Stolper, M. W., “On the Dynasty of Šimaški and the Early Sukkalmahš,” *ZA* 72 (1982), p. 45-46.

²⁸⁷ Vallat, F., *RGTC* 11, Wiesbaden, 1993, p. 242-3.

²⁸⁸ Zadok, “Elamite Onomastics,” *SEL* 8 (1991), p. 227.

²⁸⁹ Here I would like to thank J. G. Dercksen for reading the draft of this chapter and offering valuable suggestions.

²⁹⁰ Speiser, E. A., *Introduction to Hurrian*, New Haven, 1941, p. 208, under 8.

²⁹¹ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 1.

both standing figures.²⁹² The headdress of the king is ornamented with a row of five crescent moons, possibly connected to his name composed with the theophoric element Sîn.²⁹³ The sword the king holds is similar to the swords depicted on both reliefs of Sarpul discussed above. The king is beardless and without a moustache. The upper part of his body is naked and the muscles on his breast and his arm are shown. He wears a relatively heavy necklace, with a large bean-form pearl in the centre and smaller ones on both sides. He has ring bands round his wrists.²⁹⁴ The dress is generally similar to that of the relief of Sarpul, but it is here clearer and preserves more detail. It is fastened with a wide belt, having two edges, and the space between the two edges is decorated with a grid. The decorated hem marks the high quality material the dress is made of, in a style found in art since the Akkadian Period.²⁹⁵ In contrast to the Sarpul relief the king is here barefoot. The defeated enemy has a moustache and a short beard. His hair is combed and a braid on his neck is clearly shown.²⁹⁶ The hair and short beard of this figure is compared by Seidl to the beard of the captives depicted on the relief of Annubanini in Sarpul.²⁹⁷

The goddess wears the crown with four pairs of horns. Her hair is bound in a large knot that rests on her shoulders, while a long wisp is left loose hanging down to her chest. Her neck is covered with an ornament of five rings. The dress is long and reaches her bare feet. Her right arm is not covered by the long dress but it is not bare, for she also wears a short-sleeved dress shown as round dots. With her right hand she holds what appears to be a sceptre,²⁹⁸ but only the lower part is still preserved. In her left hand she holds a small object which has a double coiled shape at the end.²⁹⁹ Seidl accepts the opinion of Frankfort that it is the uterus of a cow, a symbol used together with mother goddesses. This goddess could similarly be a mother goddess. There is no mention of her name, in contrast to the Annubanini relief in Sarpul. The three female goddesses mentioned in the curse formula are Ninḫursag, Ištar and Nin-AN-Sianna. Seidl rules out identifying her with Ištar because her iconographic characteristics are not applicable. Nin-AN-Sianna, the personal goddess of this king that would have protected him and stood beside him in battles, is possible. But, as Seidl further states, we do not have any other image of this deity and the texts are not significantly different from those for Ištar.³⁰⁰ This leaves Ninḫursag, one of the great mother-goddesses.³⁰¹

Transliteration

a' [AN]
 b' [^dEN.LÍL]
 c' [^dNIN.ḪUR.SAG]
 d' [^dEN.KI]
 e' [^dEN.ZU]
 f' [^dIŠKUR]
 g' [^dUTU]

²⁹² Seidl, U., *Das Relief*, in Shaffer and Wasserman, *ZA* 93, p. 40.

²⁹³ Seidl, p. 42.

²⁹⁴ Seidl, *ibid.*

²⁹⁵ Seidl, *ibid.*

²⁹⁶ Seidl, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

²⁹⁷ Seidl, *op. cit.*, p. 45-6.

²⁹⁸ According to Seidl, she might have held the ring and staff or the divine weapon of Ištar, the double-lion club, Seidl, p. 48.

²⁹⁹ Seidl, p. 48. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 48-9.

³⁰⁰ Seidl, p. 49.

³⁰¹ Seidl, *ibid.*

Col. i

- 1') [ù^dINANNA?]
- 2') ^rdⁿ[Nin-AN-si₄-an-na]
- 3') [ilšu]
- 4') ^rù^d ^rNi^r-^riš^r-^rba^r ³⁰²
- 5') ^rbe^r-^rel^r?^r-^ršu
- 6') BALA ^rki^r-^rnam^r
- 7') lu-bu-^ruš^r-t[ám]
- 8') ù nam-ri-ra-^ram^r
- 9') ^ra^r-na
- 10') ^di-dì-^dEN.ZU
- 11') [q]ar-dim i-na LUGAL
- 12') LUGAL da-núm
- 13') LUGAL Si-mu-ur-ri-im^{ki}
- 14') ù LUGAL 9 ku-li-ší

Col. ii

- 1) i-^rdì^r-nu-šum-m[a]
- 2) [x] te-e-ne-eš₁₅
- 3) [x] na-ak-ri-šu
- 4) [i?-na? ma]-at Kak-mi-^rim^{ki}

Lacuna of about 10 lines

- 1'-5') (Effaced)
- 6') ^rx^r-^rub^r?^r-na-^rx^r [x] ^rx^r ³⁰³
- 7') ^drI^r?-^rdì^r?-[^dEN.ZU] ³⁰⁴
- 8') [...]
- 9') 1 Ĥa-a[p/b]-^rri^r-^rza/a?^r-ni^{ki} ³⁰⁵
- 10') 1 Šu-lu-te^{ki}
- 11') 1 A/Za-i-la-ki/gi^{ki}
- 12') 1 Ku-ba-an-ni-we^{ki}
- 13') 1 Ti-ri-uk-ki-na-áš-we^{ki}
- 14') i-na mu-ší-im

Col. iii

- 1) iš-ti-in
- 2) ú-ha-li-^riq^r-š^ru-nu-ti
- 3) ¹Ni/Kak-li-ip^{ki} ³⁰⁶

³⁰² Shaffer and Wasserman: *pá*.

³⁰³ Shaffer and Wasserman propose two broken signs in the beginning of the sentence (before the assumed UB sign). However, judging by the photos and the transcription, there is room for only one small sign (such as A).

³⁰⁴ Except for DINGIR, nothing legible is shown on the transcription made by Shaffer and Wasserman. This reconstruction seems to have been made based on faint traces that are not shown on the transcription, or are based on older photos of the inscription.

³⁰⁵ The sign ZA, in the reconstructed form of the name given by Shaffer and Wasserman, who suggest the name Ĥa-a[p]-^rri^r-^rza/a?^r-ni, is not clear on the transcription. It can also be A.

- 4) [...]-^rtim?
- 5) [...ú?]-^rha?-li?-iq?³⁰⁷
(Lacuna of about 20 lines)

- a') [sú-úh-ra-am]³⁰⁸
- 1') ù ra-bí-a-am
- 2') kà-ma-ri-šu
- 3') iš-ku-un
- 4') 1 Ku-lu-na-am^{ki}

Col. iv

- 1) Kak-mu-^rum^{ki}
- 2) i-na qá-ti ^rSi?^rmu^r-ur-<ri>-^rim^[ki]
- 3) i-dì-šu[m]-^rma^r
- 4) [...]
- 5) ^dI-dì-^dEN.ZU
- 6) da-núm
- 7) a-na LÚ ma-ki-im
- 8) ^rú^r-ti-ir-šu
- 9) ma-at Kak-mi-i[m^{ki}]
- 10) ša iš-tu ^rUD^r pá-ni-^ršu?
- 11) bí-il-tám
- 12) [a?-na?] ma-am-ma-na
- 13) [la] ub-lu-ú-na
- 14) [x x x AN?-SI?/KU?-BE?
- 15) [...]
- 16) [...]-ri
- 17) [KÚ?].GI-am
- 18) [UDU?] MÁŠ.GAL
- 19) [bí-i]l-tám
- 20) [ša? Si]-mu-ur-ri-im^{ki}
- 21) ^dI-dì-^dEN^r.ZU
- 22) LU[GAL]?
- 23) ^rda?^r-[núm?] a-[na] še-ep
- 24) ^dNi-iš-ba
- 25) be-lí-šu
- 26) ú-kà-ni-ís-sú-nu-ti
- 27) Ší-ik-ša-am-bu-um^{ki}

Col. v

(Lacuna of about 5 lines)

³⁰⁶ Shaffer and Wasserman leave the reading open as NI.

³⁰⁷ These two lines (4 and 5) are not shown in the transcription of Shaffer and Wasserman. They have reconstructed them from older photos and the reproduction by al-Fouadi: Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 15.

³⁰⁸ Restoration based on its occurrence in col. vii, l. 8.

- 1') *ku-li-šu-um*
- 2') *ik-kí-ir-ma*
- 3') ^l*a-úr-na-ḫu-uš*
- 4') *a-na be-lu-ti-šu*
- 5') *il-qè-ma*
- 6') *a-la-am ú-ḫa-l[i-iq]*
- 7') *kà-ma-ar-šu-n[u]*
- 8') *iš-ku-^run^r*
- 9') *ù a-^rúr-na-ḫu-uš^r*

Lacuna of about 2-3 lines

- 1'') ^r*x^r*
- 2'') *x x x [...]*
- 3'') *e-ne-er*
- 4'') *ALAM-i*
- 5'') *i-na Ku-lu-ni-im^{ki}*
- 6'') *uš-zi-iz*
- 7'') *ša ALAM-mi*
- 8'') *ù ^rš^ri^r-tì-ir-ti*
- 9'') *ú-š[a-s]à-ku-na*

Col. vi

- 1) [^ù]
- 2) *a-na šu-mi*
- 3) [*x ? x ?*] *er-re-ti-šu*
- 4) [*x ? x ?*] *ša-ni-a-am*
- 5) [*x x*] *ú-ša-ḫa-z[u]*
- 6) *a-wi-lam šu-^ra-ti^r*
- 7) ^r*AN^r*
- 8) [^d]*EN.LÍL*
- 9) [^d] *NIN.ḪUR.SAG*
- 10) ^d*EN.KI*
- 11) ^d*EN.ZU*
- 12) ^d*IŠKUR*
- 13) *ù ^dINANNA*
- 14) ^r*Nin-AN-si₄-an-na*
- 15) *i-lí*
- 16) ^r*ù^r ^dNi-iš-ba*
- 17) *be-lí*
- 18) ^d*UTU be-él DI.KU₅*
- 19) *ù DU Ú*
- 20) *DINGIR ra-bi-ú-tum*
- 21) *er-re-tám*
- 22) *le-mu-tám*
- 23) *li-ru-ru-uš*
- 24) *NUMUN-šu*
- 25) *li-il-qú-tù*
- 26) *DU-sú*

27) *li-sú-hu*

Col. vii

- 1) DUMU.NITA
- 2) *ù* MU
- 3) *a i-dì-nu-šum*
- 4) *ba-la-tum*
- 5) *lu ik-^rki^r-ib-šu*
- 6) *ki-ma ša-ma?!?*
- 7) *e-bu-ri-im*
- 8) *i-na še-er sú-úh-ri-im*
- 9) *ù ra-bí-i-im*
- 10) *lu ma-ru-uš*

Col. viii

- 1) [x x] ^ra-na^r DU
- 2) [x] *li* GA *mi* GÚ.UN
- 3) 1 *me-at* ^{GIŠ}PÈŠ *še-er-ku*₈ 6 KÙŠ
- 4) MÁŠ.DA.RÍ
- 5) 1 ^{GIŠ}PÈŠ U₈ GIŠ.DÙ.A
- 6) 1 ^{GIŠ}PÈŠ MÁŠ GIŠ.DÙ.A
- 7) *a-na bi-la-at*
- 8) *Ku-lu-nu-um*^{ki}
- 9) *iš-ku-un*

Translation

(Lacuna of about 20 lines. Lines a'-f' restored after vi 7-13).

- i a'-g')** [...An (?), Enlil (?), Ninḫursag (?), Enki (?), Sîn (?), Adad (?), Šamaš (?)]
- 1'-5')** [and Ištar (?)], [Nin-AN-Sianna his god] and Nišba his lord,
- 6'-8')** a firm sceptre, a robe and splendo[ur],
- 9'-14')** to Iddi(n)-Sîn, the heroic among the king(s), mighty king, king of Simurru and king of the nine *kulišum*,
- ii 1-4)** they gave him s[^o that he may subdue (?)... the po]pulation of his enemies [in the la]nd of Kakmum...
- (lacuna of about 10 lines)
- 1'-5')** (effaced)
- 6')** ^rx^r-^rx^r-^rub^r?-na-^rx^r [x] ^rx^r
- 7'-8')** Id[di(n)-Sîn], [the mighty],
- 9'-13')** ... (the cities of) Ḫapri(z?)ani, Šulute, A/Zailak/gi, Kubanniwe, Tiriukkinašwe,
- 14')** in a single night
- iii 1-2)** he destroyed them.
- 3-5)** He has destroyed Kak/Ni-lip...
- (lacuna of about 20 lines.)
- a'-3')** [Young] and old, he brought its (i.e. the land's, or the city's) defeat.
- 4')** As for Kulunnum,
- iv 1-8)** Kakmum delivered (it) to the hand of [Sim]urru, and ... Iddi(n)-Sîn, turned

- him to a destitute man.
- 9-16)** The land of Kakmum, which from its earliest day(s) did [not] carry tribute [to] anybody, ...
- 17-26)** Iddi(n)-Sîn, the mighty king, forced them to prostrate at the feet of Nišba his Lord, ..., [go]ld, [grass-fed sheep ?], grass-fed full grown he-goats,³⁰⁹ [the tri]bute [of] Simurru.
- 27)** Šikšamb[um^{ki}] (...)
(lacuna of about 5 lines ?)
- v 1'-5')** The *kulišum* (i.e. the district ?) rebelled and took Aurnaḥuš for its ruler.
- 6'-8')** Hence, he destroyed the city, brought their defeat.
- 9'-3'')** And as for Aurnaḥuš, [the] en[emy ?] ...
(lacuna of about 2-3 lines)
... I/(He?) slew (him).
- 4''-6'')** (On account of all this), I caused to set up my image in Kulun(n)um.
- 7''-9'')** Whoever erases my image [and] my [in]scription,
vi 1-5) [or], because of its [...] curse, incites another [...] (to do so),
6-23) as for this man, may An, Enlil, Ninḥursag, Enki, Sîn, Adad, Ištar, Nin-AN-Sianna my god, Nišba my lord, Šamaš, the lord of judgement and permanence(?)/ stability(?)/ order(?) (all) the great gods, curse with an evil curse.
- 24-25)** May they not give him an heir and an offspring;
26-27) May they tear out his root;
- vii 1-3)** May they not give him an heir and an offspring;
4-5) May life be abominable for him;
6-10) Like rain (in the time) of harvest may it be harsh for (his) young and old.
- viii 1-2)** Tribute (?)
3-9) 100 strings of figs, (each) 6 cubits long, offerings- 1 fig (represents? 1) breeding ewe; 1 fig (represents? 1) breeding he-goat- he established as the tribute of Kulun(n)um.

Commentary³¹⁰

a'-f') These lines are restored by Shaffer and Wasserman after col. vi, l. 7-13.³¹¹

i 2') ^d[Nin-AN-si₄-an-na]: The deity ^dNin-AN-si₄-an-na is attested also in the inscriptions of Sarpul and Bēwate.

ii 9') *Ḥa-a[p]-'ri'-'za(?)'-ni^{ki}*: As the publishers of the inscription noted, the identification of the new GNs attested in this inscription would be premature, but that they were close to each other is deduced from their being destroyed in a single night (ii 14'-iii 2).³¹² The first element of this GN could be identical with the first element of the PN Ḥaip-šarri (*ḥa-ip-LUGAL*)

³⁰⁹ To Shaffer and Wasserman who translate it as “great goat,” it is not quite clear whether it should be taken literally. A text of Šū-Sîn mentions fashioning a statue of a great goat as a symbol of the tribute of Anšan, cf. Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 17. It is also interesting that Erridu-Pizir referred to great goat offerings in his inscription (v 15-18), Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 18. T.J.H. Krispijn prefers to translate UDU as “grass-fed sheep” and MÁŠ-GAL as “grass-fed full grown he-goat.”

³¹⁰ Comments will be made only at points that add to or differ from the viewpoint of the editors of the inscription. Their own valuable comments will not be repeated here.

³¹¹ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 7.

³¹² Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 26, propose “probably in the district of Bētuate”.

(*JEN* 173:6; *HSS* XV 128:27).³¹³ Support for this comes from the occurrence of Ḫap-zilakku beside Ḫaip-zilakku in *WZKM* XLIV 183.³¹⁴ The element Ḫap- is found also in the GN Ḫapate³¹⁵ and probably Ḫap/bup/ba³¹⁶ in the Nuzi texts. The vertical wedges put before the GNs of lines 9'-13', in addition to the KI behind them, probably denote tribal names, names marked both as ethnonyms and toponyms. Writing the name of the Turukkian tribe preceded by LÚ(.MEŠ) and followed by KI in some texts is a good parallel.³¹⁷

ii 13') 1 *Ti-ri-uk-kí-na-áš-we*^{ki}: This GN is attested for the first time in this inscription. It bears clear Hurrian characteristics, seen in the *na=až=we* suffixes for the pl. marker + gen. suffix. The name that remains is Tiriukki, the name of the famous Tu/irukkû tribe of the Shemshāra letters.³¹⁸ It is noteworthy that the form *Ti...* occurs one other time in the Shemsāra letter 1 = SH 809, l. 8 and 9. It could perhaps be possible that the first vowel was *u* *umlaut*, Türukku.

iii 3) *Ni/Kak-li-ip*^{ki}: It is also possible to read this GN as Kaklip, possibly a variant of Hurrian Kiklip.

vi 18-19) ^dUTU *be-él* DI.KU₅ ù DU Ú: The DU Ú is left without any translation by Shaffer and Wasserman. They considered it a divine name, which perhaps formed a divine counterpart to the god Šamaš.³¹⁹ However, the absence of the divine determinative before the DU favours considering it as another word that is coupled with DI.KU₅. The sign DU can be understood thus as a Sumerian logogram, which is followed by the phonetic complement –ú. Then a problem appears about the case of this noun, which should be marked as genitive (with *-i*), not as nominative (with *-u*). One may conjecture that the scribe, having written out a series of gods who are all subjects of the sentence and thus in the nominative, has mistakenly written this word too in the nominative. The Akkadian equivalent of the DU can be *kūnu* < *kānu* to mean “stability,”³²⁰ “firmness,” or another meaning derived from the verb that fits the context of our text like “(law) establishment,” “putting in order,” “assigning persons to positions/offices,” or “maintaining and preserving the rule, the life of a person or the permanence of a city.”³²¹

Shaffer and Wasserman consider the regions mentioned in the inscription, namely Ḫaprizani, Šulute, Z/Ailaki, Kubanniwe, Tiriukkinašwe and Kulunnum, original parts of the land of Kakmum, not lands conquered and annexed to it.³²² This inscription, as the authors noticed, celebrates two main achievements: the defeat of Kakmum (ii 1-iv 27) and the conquest of Kulunnum after it rebelled (v 1'-v 6').³²³ The text shows that the defeat of Kakmum was a great achievement when it stresses that the land “from its earliest day(s) did [not] carry tribute [to] anybody” (iv 10-13). Kulunnum rebelled after its annexation to Simurrum, the fact that necessitated a campaign that resulted in the crushing of the rebellion and destruction of the city. An important piece of information is the name of the ruler that the

³¹³ Cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 81. Note that the geographical nomenclature could be based on ethnonyms, for instance the GN 1 *Ti-ri-uk-kí-na-áš-we*^{ki} (ii 13') discussed below. This phenomenon was not uncommon in the ancient Near East. Even today many GNs are deduced from PNs or ethnonyms.

³¹⁴ Gelb *et. al.*, *NPN*, p. 213. *NPN* cites also the Hurrian PN *Ḫa-ap-še-en* as an example of the use of this element. According to *NPN*, the element is formed from the verbal root *ḫai-* or *ḫa-* that was tentatively translated by Bork as “to mention/ to nominate” or “to give,” cf. *NPN*, p. 212. But for Wegner the root *ḫa-* means “to take,” Wegner, *Einführung...*, p. 224.

³¹⁵ Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 92

³¹⁶ Cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 93.

³¹⁷ For such occurrences, cf. Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 240.

³¹⁸ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 26, referring to a communication with G. Wilhelm.

³¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

³²⁰ For the meanings of *kūnu* cf. *CAD* K, p. 543.

³²¹ For the different meanings of the verb *kānu* in this regard, cf. *CAD* K, p. 166-167.

³²² Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 26.

³²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 28-29.

people of Kulunnum chose for lordship, a certain Aurnaḥuš.³²⁴ He was surely put to death, although the inscription is damaged at this point.³²⁵

Shaffer and Wasserman think that all the inscriptions of Bētuate (1, 2, 3 and the Jerusalem inscription also found in Bētuate) refer to the same event, the rebellion of Kulunnum.³²⁶ According to them, Zabazuna, son of the king was ruler of the city on behalf of his father Iddi(n)-Sîn and it was he who actually crushed the rebellion, destroyed the city and celebrated the victory in the inscriptions Bētuate 1, 2 and 3. Yet he ordered the making of the Jerusalem inscription and the relief on which only the name of his father as the actual king of the kingdom is mentioned, without any reference to his own name.³²⁷ The available data in the inscriptions allow a further explanation. It is true that Iddi(n)-Sîn was the king of the kingdom and any achievement should be attributed to him. But, on the other hand, there is no reason to totally neglect the mention of his son, the man in the field who accomplished the victory. Furthermore, the style of the inscriptions (the three of Bētuate as one group compared to the Jerusalem inscription), the layout and the orthography are different, and they can hardly have been written by the same scribe or in the same short span of time.³²⁸ I think the inscriptions refer to two different episodes, two rebellions in Kulunnum, most probably incited by Kakmum. Which one is older is difficult to establish, but I tend to date the Jerusalem inscription before the Bētuate. The former can belong to the first phase of the conquests in the Rāniya Plain and its surroundings, when Iddi(n)-Sîn claimed that he subdued Kakmum to his authority and, after a short time, Kulunnum rebelled. We may imagine that after the crushing of the rebellion and the celebration of his victory by this inscription, he appointed his son to rule the northern districts of his kingdom. A second rebellion in Kulunnum must have broken out. This time it was handled by Zabazuna himself and its success was commemorated by the inscriptions of Bētuate 1, 2 and 3.³²⁹ That Zabazuna was the ruler of Kulunnum, or at least the military commander responsible for the affairs of these regions, is evidenced by the Bētuate inscription, when it states: “Kulunnum rebelled and waged war against Zabazuna” (Bētuate, 4-11), not Iddi(n)-Sîn.

A second option, though less probable, is that the Jerusalem inscription postdates the others, commemorating the victory the king won after he came to aid his son. Nevertheless, in this case, one expects that there would be at least one mention of Zabazuna, for instance stating that the province rebelled against the governor Zabazuna. Hence, it is more probable that the Jerusalem inscription was inscribed in a time when Zabazuna had not yet any official post, at least in relation to the affairs of Kulunnum and Kakmum. Shaffer and Wasserman are correct when they attribute the writing of the Bētuate inscriptions to the son Zabazuna,³³⁰ a fact which reinforces our suggestion that these inscriptions belong to a later phase than his father’s personal involvement in the north. The authors noticed too that the mention of the son of the king in these inscriptions is unique, never having occurred in the inscriptions of lowland Mesopotamia.³³¹ This phenomenon appears to have been a characteristic of the

³²⁴ The first part of the name could be from the Hurrian *ewri* “lord.”

³²⁵ The allusion of Shaffer and Wasserman to the verb *e-ne-er* in v 3'' as reference to putting Aurnaḥuš to death is difficult to accept, because there are 4 lines missing between the name and the verb. The verb *inêr* can refer to the annihilation or killing any other individual or people or even destruction of any land as in the Haladiny inscription.

³²⁶ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 29-30.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

³²⁸ For a detailed list of differences cf. Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 30, note 103. Sallaberger has pointed out that the Bētuate inscriptions exhibit later scribal features compared with the older scribal habits found in the Jerusalem inscription.

³²⁹ Gelb and Kienast believe in a second rebellion in Kulunnum, but without any more precise chronology: Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, p. 379; 381.

³³⁰ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 31-32.

³³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

Hurrian royal houses, for we observed the intimate relationship between the royal parents and posterity shown on the seals of Urkeš, as discussed in Chapter Four.

4. *The Bētuate Inscriptions* (ID 1, 2 and 3)³³²

These three almost identical inscriptions (Fig. 13a-c) are each dedicated to a different deity. They have been inscribed to commemorate the victory over the ‘rebel’ city of Kulunnum. The inscriptions begin with the name and title of Iddi(n)-Sîn, king of Simurru, followed by the name of his son, Zabazuna, who appears to have accomplished the task in the field as a military commander by implementing the orders of his father, the king. The inscriptions were found in Bard-i-Sanjiān in Bētuate. They are now housed in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad, registered under accession numbers IM 81364 (Text A, or 1); IM 81365 (Text B, or 2) and IM 81366+ IM 81367 (Text C, or 3).

Transliteration³³³

Text ID 1	Text ID 2	Text ID 3
1) ^d I- ^d i- ^d EN.ZU	1) ^d I- ^d i- ^d EN.ZU	1) ^d I- ^d i- ^d EN.ZU
2) LUGAL <i>da-núm</i>	2) LUGAL <i>da-núm</i>	2) LUGAL <i>da-núm</i>
3) LUGAL <i>Si-mu-ri-im</i> ^{ki}	3) LUGAL <i>Si-mu-ri-im</i> ^{ki}	3) LUGAL <i>Si-mu-ri-im</i> ^{ki}
4) ^d Za-ba-zu-na	4) ^d Za-ba-zu-na	4) ^d Za-ba-zu-na
5) DUMU-NI	5) DUMU-NI	5) DUMU-NI
6) <i>Ku-lu-un-nu-um</i> ^{ki}	6) <i>Ku-lu-un-nu-um</i> ^{ki}	6) <i>Ku-lu-un-nu-um</i> ^{ki}
7) <i>ik-ki-ir-ma</i>	7) <i>ik-ki-ir-ma</i>	7) [i]k-ki-ir-ma
8) <i>a-na</i>	8) <i>a-na</i>	8) [a]-na
9) ^d Za-ba-zu-na	9) ^d Za-ba-zu-na	9) [^d Za-ba]-zu- ^r na ^r
10) <i>gi-ra-am</i>	10) <i>gi-ra-am</i>	10) [gi] ^r -ra ^r -[am]
11) <i>i-ta-ba-al</i>	11) <i>i-ta-ba-al</i>	11) [i-t]a-ba-al
12) <i>ša</i> ^d Za-ba-zu-na	12) <i>ša</i> ^d Za-ba-zu-na	12) [š]a ^d Za-ba-zu-na
13) <i>a-wa-sú</i>	13) <i>a-wa-sú</i>	13) <i>a-wa-sú</i>
14) ^d IŠKUR	14) ^d IŠKUR	14) ^d IŠKUR
15) ^d INANNA	15) ^d INANNA	15) ^d INANNA
16) <i>ù</i> ^d Ni-iš-ba	16) <i>ù</i> ^d Ni-iš-ba	16) <i>ù</i> ^d Ni-iš-ba
17) <i>iš-me-ú-ma</i>	17) <i>iš-me-ú-ma</i>	17) <i>iš-me-ú-ma</i>
18) <i>a-lam ú-ḫa-li-iq-ma</i>	18) <i>a-lam ú-ḫa-li-iq-ma</i>	18) <i>a-lam ú-ḫa-li-iq-ma</i>
19) <i>a-na i-li</i>	19) <i>a-na i-li</i>	19) <i>a-na i-li</i>
20) <i>šu-nu-ti</i>	20) <i>šu-nu-ti</i>	20) <i>šu-nu-tu</i>
21) <i>ú-qá-dì-ís-sú</i>	21) <i>ú-qá-dì-ís-sú</i>	21) <i>ú-qá-dì-ís-sú</i>
22) GIŠ.BANŠUR- <i>am</i>	22) GIŠ.BANŠUR- <i>am</i>	22) GIŠ.GU.ZA- <i>am</i>
23) <i>ša</i> ^d INANNA	23) <i>ša</i> ^d IŠKUR	23) <i>ša</i> ^d Ni-iš-ba
24) <i>be-el-ti-šu</i>	24) <i>be-lí-šu</i>	24) <i>be-lí-šu</i>
25) <i>iš-ku-un</i>	25) <i>iš-ku-un</i>	25) <i>iš-ku-un</i>
26) <i>ša i-pi₅-iš-ti</i>	26) <i>ša i-pi₅-iš-ti</i>	26) <i>ša i-pi₅-iš-ti</i>
27) <i>ù-ša-sà-ku</i>	27) <i>ù-[ša-sà]-ku</i>	27) <i>ù-ša-sà-ku</i>
28) <i>ù ší-tì-ir-ti</i> ³³⁴	28) <i>ù [ší-tì-ir]-ti</i>	28) <i>ù ší-tì-ir-ti</i>

³³² Published as E4.19.1.1-3 in *RIME* 4.

³³³ Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 708-711.

29) *ú-pá-sà-sú*
 30) *a-na šu-mi*
 31) *er-re-ti-šu*
 32) *ša-ni-am*
 33) *ú-ša-ḫa-zu*
 34) *a-wi-lam*
 35) *šu-a-ti*
 36) AN
 37) ^dEN-LÍL
 38) ^dNIN.ḪUR.SAG
 39) ^dEN.KI
 40) ^dEN.ZU
 41) ^dIŠKUR
 42) *be-el* GIŠ.TUKUL
 43) ^dUTU
 44) *be-el* DI.KU₅.DA
 45) ^dINANNA
 46) *be-la-at ta-ḫa-zi-im*
 47) ^dNin-AN-si₄-an-na
 48) *ì-lí*
 49) ^dNi-iš-ba
 50) *be-li*
 51) *er-re-tám*
 52) *le-mu-tám*
 53) *li-ru-ru-uš*
 54) NUMUN-šu
 55) *li-il-qú-<tú>-ma*³³⁵
 56) SUḪUŠ-su
 57) *li-su-ḫu*
 58) IBILA ù MU³³⁶
 59) *a i-dì-nu-šum*
 60) *ba-la-tum*
 61) *lu ik-ki-ib-šu*
 62) *ki-ma ša ma*³³⁷
 63) *e-bu-ri-im*
 64) *i-na še-er*
 65) *um-ma-ni-su*
 66) *lu ma-ru-uš*

29) *ú-[pá-sà]-sú*³³⁸
 30) ^ra¹-[na šu]-mi
 31) [er-re-ti]-su
 Lacuna

29) *ú-pá-sà-sú*
 30) ^ra¹-na šu-mi
 31) [er-r]e-ti-šu
 Lacuna

³³⁴ Frayne: *ši*.

³³⁵ By Walker: *li-il-qú-tù*

³³⁶ Walker: DUMU.NITA ù MU.

³³⁷ According to Frayne, although what in the text is written MA should be LA. For our reading and interpretation see the commentary below.

³³⁸ Frayne has restored *pa*, but both ID 1 and ID 3 have *pá*.

Translation

1-3) Iddi(n)-Sîn, mighty king, king of Simurrum, 4-5) Zabazuna (is) his son. 6-11) Kulunnum rebelled and waged war against Zabazuna. 12-21) The gods Adad, Eštar, and Nišba heard the word of Zabazuna; he destroyed the city (of Kulunnum) and consecrated it to those gods. 22-25) He set up a table of the goddess Eštar, his lady (Text ID 2: He set up a table of the god Adad, his lord; text ID 3: He set up a throne of the god Nišba, his lord). 26-33) He who removes my work, or erases my inscription or because of its curse (from here on, only ID 1) incites another (to do so), 34-53) that man- may the gods Anum, Enlil, Ninḫursag, Ea, Sîn, and Adad, lord of the weapon, Šamaš, lord of judgements, Eštar, lady of battle, Ninsianna, my god, (and) the god Nišba, my lord, inflict on him an evil curse. 54-57) May they destroy his seed and rip out his foundation. 58-66) May they not grant him heir or offspring. May life be his taboo. Like the rain of harvest (time), may he become detested in front of his people.

The Orthographic and Textual Variants

- l. 21: ID 1 *-ís-*
ID 2 *-ís-*
ID 3 *-iš-*
- l. 22: ID 1 GIŠ.BANŠUR-*am*
ID 2 GIŠ.BANŠUR-*am*
ID 3 GIŠ.GU.ZA-*am*
- l. 23: ID 1 *ša* ^dINANNA
ID 2 *ša* ^dIŠKUR
ID 3 *ša* ^dNi-iš-*ba*
- l. 24: ID 1 *be-el-ti-šu*
ID 2 *be-lí-šu*
ID 3 *be-lí-šu*
- l. 27: ID 1 *ù-*
ID 2 *ú-*
ID 3 *ú-*
- l. 31: ID 1 *-šu*
ID 2 *-su* (typical Ur III)
ID 3 *šu*

Commentary

1-5: According to Walker lines 1-5 do not make clear who the author of the text is, especially since the speaker switches in l. 26 from third to first person. The translation given for the passage is correct. The DUMU-NI is part of the introductory section, and then the text begins with the military deeds of Zabazuna against the rebel city of Kulunnum. The most fitting explanation seems to be that the author was the father Iddi(n)-Sîn, who was king of the whole of Simurrum. His son Zabazuna was the field-commander of the troops and was the one in charge of crushing the rebellion declared by Kulunnum. Walker, on the other hand, thinks this inscription was dedicated to Zabazuna, to be “the first attested instance in which a father dedicates an inscription to an accomplishment of his son.”³³⁹ This would be so if we look

³³⁹ Walker, *The Tigris...*, p. 174. He also does not exclude the possibility that the first sentence with the name of Iddi(n)-Sîn is vocative.

from the formal point of view, but in reality the inscription was written by the son, who mentions his father purely as a duty.

The inscription was made and set up there to commemorate this victory. However, perhaps more importantly, it was set up there to function as a symbol of the Simurrian authority in the city of Kulunnum, as an element of psychological warfare. This is valid also for the Jerusalem inscription and relief.

6-11: It clearly appears from the text that Zabazuna was not only the military commander of the troops but also the ruler of the district in which Kulunnum was located (and perhaps of the northern districts of the kingdom) on behalf of his father. This is indicated by the explicit statement that Kulunnum rebelled against Zabazuna (l. 6-11). Farber suggested reading lines 10-11 as *zi-ra-am/tim i-ta-pá-al* “turned spiteful (towards Zabazuna).” Kulunnum is the name of the rebel city, whose subjugation is the subject of the three inscriptions (Bētweite 1-3 and Jerusalem). The identity of this name is difficult to establish. There is a GN from the Nuzi texts that begins with the element *Kulu/a-*,³⁴⁰ but it does not help further. What is important for us is the location of the city. Frayne identifies it with the village of Gulān, 4.4 km to the west of Bētweite itself.³⁴¹ Further, he identifies Kulunnum and modern Gulān with ancient *Gula-an*, attested in the Oakk tablets from Tell Sulaimah. Frayne has collected valuable data about this latter GN. He assumes that the GN *be-al-GUL-ni* and its variant [*be*]-*al-GUL-la-ni* that are attested in the Oakk tablets from Tell Sulaimah were used as a GN as well as its literal meaning as a DN (= Lord of Gul(a)ni).³⁴² The convincing evidence, Frayne states, is the occurrence of the GN *Ú-ta^{ki}* before *Be-al-GUL-ni*.³⁴³ *Ú-ta^{ki}*, attested also as *Uš-tá^{ki}*, which is a land in all probability the same as *Utūm* of the Shemshāra tablets. In addition, he points out to the occurrence of the city *Kul-la-an* and a certain Sîn-abum from Kullān in the archive of Tulūl Haddād (also in Hamrin Region) from the Late OB Period.³⁴⁴ Two late Neo-Assyrian archival texts (nos. 74 and 76) from Tell Billa mention the city of Kulunnum that could very probably be identical with our city here.³⁴⁵ If this proves to be correct, the city of Kulunnum was a significant city throughout a long period of history, from the Oakk to the late NA periods. But unfortunately we know nothing else of its history. The important passage in the Jerusalem inscription that says, “(On account of all this) I caused my image to be set up in Kulun(n)um” (Col. v l. 4''-6''), followed directly by the curse formula, is clear evidence that he set up the stele and the monumental inscriptions in Kulunnum, where they have been found. In other words, Bard-i-Sanjiān is ancient Kulunnum (Map 3). However, there are two probable alternatives. The stelae might have been moved in antiquity from Kulunnum to their find-spot in Bard-i-Sanjiān. There is also a rumour that the slabs were cut from a building by individuals and transported to Bard-i-Sanjiān to be discovered.³⁴⁶

22) GIŠ.BANŠUR-am / GIŠ.GU.ZA-am: It is notable that tables were set up for the gods Adad and Ištar, while Zabazuna set up a throne of the god Nišba. It is clear that these inscriptions were intended to be built in a monumental building or a shrine. This is indicated by the remnants of calcium carbonate (CaCO₃) (a building material) noticed by Al-Fouadi on the unworked side of inscription ID 1.³⁴⁷ Support for this comes from the inscription itself,

³⁴⁰ URU *Ku-lu-ud-du* JEN 135: 9; URU *Ku-lu-ud-du-ú* HSS XIII 81: 3; URU *Ku-la-ad-du-ú-I* HSS XIV 210: 6, cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 152.

³⁴¹ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 177.

³⁴² Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 176-7, referring to Rashid, *The Ancient Inscriptions in Himrin Area*, Baghdad, 1981, p. 179, no. 1, col. iv l. 3 and p. 203, no. 38, l. 5' respectively.

³⁴³ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 177, referring to Rashid, p. 179, no. 1, col. iii, l. 12.

³⁴⁴ Frayne, *ibid.*

³⁴⁵ For the occurrences cf. Finkelstein, J. J., “Cuneiform Texts from Tell Billa,” *JCS* 7 (1953), p. 138 (no. 74, l. 8) and 139 (no. 76, l. 14).

³⁴⁶ For this rumour, cf. Al-Fouadi, A., “Inscriptions and Reliefs from Bitwāta,” *Sumer* 34 (1978), p. 122.

³⁴⁷ Al-Fouadi, p. 122.

which indirectly alludes to “my (hand)work” (l. 26-27) and thereafter “my inscription” (l. 28-29). Possibly this “work” refers to the throne he set up for Nišba mentioned in ID 3. It is of interest to point here to a large rock in the Bētuate Citadel, known as *Taht-i-Ḥuršīdi-Ḥawar*,³⁴⁸ “Throne of the East Sun.” The “East Sun” is the royal title of a legendary king in the local saga. The rock overlooks the whole region from the citadel to the Rāniya Plain. It is shaped like a throne or altar (Fig. 14) and until the end of the 1980s was twice as high as it is now. It is probable that the rock was carved in antiquity for some special purposes, perhaps as a cultic altar/throne for Nišba. Another large flat stone on the citadel might have served as a ceremonial place on which the monument was probably erected (Fig. 15d). The Bētuate Citadel (Fig. 15a-b) itself is a high natural mound in the middle of a narrow valley in the northwestern corner of the Rāniya Plain and overlooks the surrounding area with portions of ancient fortification walls, built of large cyclopean stones in some places (Fig. 16a-b). It is quite possible, then, that the modern citadel represents the high city of Kulunnum, or one of its main positions, where a monumental building of Zabazuna was built with the inscriptions.

26) *ša i-pi₅-iš-ti*: Exactly as in the Sarpul (ii, l. 45) and the Jerusalem (col. v, 4''-6'') inscriptions, the 3rd person pronoun switches to the 1st person pronoun. The Erridu-pizir inscription, on the contrary, switches from the 3rd person to the 1st person (ii, l. 26).

62-66: Frayne reads in *RIME* 4 MA as LA in l. 62, giving *ki-ma ša-la e-bu-ri-im i-na še-er um-ma-ni-su lu ma-ru-uš*, “As (when) there is *no* harvest, may it be difficult for his people.” Since the same curse formula is repeated in the Jerusalem Inscription with MA, not LA, the reading and translation should be *ki-ma ša-ma e-bu-ri-im i-na še-er um-ma-ni-su lu ma-ru-uš*, “Like the rain of the harvest time, may he become bitter/detested in front of his people.” In an agricultural society such a curse is very well understandable, since rain at harvest time would be a terrible disaster, spoiling the work of the whole year, resulting in the decay of both grain and straw, food and fodder.³⁴⁹ Walker read it as *ša-ma*, but his translation, “Instead of (fair) summer skies may it (i.e. the weather) be ill for his troops,”³⁵⁰ does not seem fitting.

The Historical Setting as Reflected by the Inscriptions

The extraordinary significance of the inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn and his son Zabazuna lies not only in the fact that they present a view, although incomplete, of the events in the northern Transtigris that eventually ended in the building of a large kingdom. Of extra significance is the fact that they are one of the rarest groups of inscriptional material from inside this region that provide first-hand information and provide it from the domestic point of view. This is in contrast to the traditional way of collecting information from the Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian sources that sometimes give wrong, incomplete or vague images, or even misleading and hostile views, all according with the intentions of the authors. The inscription of Sarpul is regrettably of little significance in this respect, except for its assumed mention of Annubanini of Lullubum that alludes to synchronism between the two kings. This inscription was probably written in the early phase of the history of the kingdom, because the location of the relief is relatively close to the centre of Simurrum itself (see below under the location of Simurrum). Further, the control of the Great Khorasān Road that passes through this region was seemingly a major factor in the building of the kingdom. In this phase, that most probably began with the disintegration of the empire of Ur under Ibbi-Sîn, the Transtigridian powers emerged and began to expand. This has certainly led to clashes between them. In our case Simurrum clashed with Lullubum, the two powers that tried to control the strategic gorge of Sarpul and its important urban centres.

³⁴⁸ Oral statements by the inhabitants of Bētuate and by Mr. Abdul-Raqeab Yousif.

³⁴⁹ This suggestion agrees with that presented by Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 23.

³⁵⁰ Walker, *The Tigris Frontier...*, p. 174.

The Haladiny inscription provides us with several new toponyms in addition to a group of already known ones. These toponyms come from a region least known to historians and Assyriologists, the inner parts of the Transtigris, beyond the line from Nuzi/Arrapha to Erbil. The names of conquered and subdued towns are spread along the whole area from the Sarpul (Ḫalman) up to the Rāniya Plain. We have only clearly identified Ḫalman, and the rest are either generally identified or totally unknown. The inscription lists the lands of Šagi, Ten/lum, [...]ar and [...]na before mentioning Šarīthum. These three GNs give no hints that can help their identification. The GN Šarīthum, probably in the Dukan Pass, might point to a northwesterly direction of the march of Iddi(n)-Sīn. However, the mention of Ḫalman some lines after contradicts this assumption. Some of the GNs that follow Ḫalman bear Hurrian characteristics, especially the genitive suffix *-we*. They appear to be generally located in the northeastern parts of the Transtigris, namely in the Rāniya Plain and its environs. Their location in and around the Rāniya is indicated by the mention of Šikšabbum, Utuwe and Kakmum. After this there is the Amorite episode, followed by the joint Amorite-Simaškian attack.

In general, the inscription seems to have arranged the episodes neither in a perfect chronological or geographical order, but rather in clusters combining the two (see the figure below). The badly damaged column I makes it extremely difficult to find out the exact divisions of the clusters. However, they can be divided as follows: lines 15-31; 32-35; 36-42; 43-52 (southeast and east); 58 (with the preceding lacuna)-68 (north/northwest); 69-74 (northeast); 75-85 (west or southwest ?) (Map. 3). Then what follows seems to be a conclusion, stating that he achieved all what had been mentioned thanks to the god Nišba. He repeats the two major feats, the destruction of the lands (90-91) and the defeat of the joint campaign of the Amorites and the Simaškians. The question about the order in which the clusters are arranged reappears. It is not according to the importance of the events, since the two most important deeds (Amorites and Simaški, according to our view and assuming it was the same in the author's view too) come at the end. A chronological order remains possible, inasmuch as the clusters mentioned first were fought first and were consequently closer to the centre of Simurru. In the first stage the lands beginning with Šagi and ending with [...]na were subjugated, then the episode related to the throne of Simurru occurred. This was probably a reaction to those campaigns or related to a usurper who tried to benefit from the absence of the king, busy for long periods with wars. After this, some territories in the north (Šarīthum) were subjugated. The southern and (north)eastern territories (Ḫalman and Lullubum) were next on his list.³⁵¹ As we suggested above, the control of the strategically important region of Sarpul appears to have provided Simurru with resources and the power that enabled it to expand and build such a large kingdom. Following the capture of this region the kingdom extended farther in the north or northwest (Šikšabbum). The last stage of expansion in this inscription is another step farther to the northeast (Utuwe and Kakmum). At this point, the numerous wars waged by Simurru and the frequent absence of its king appear to have stimulated the greed of the Amorites and the Simaškians to invade his land. This is why the defensive war in the south, in his homeland, was fought (Amorites and Simaški). The conclusion that can be drawn is that his efforts were mostly directed to the north, the direction in which he won most of his territorial gains. The find-spot of this inscription gives a sure and important hint for the direction the expansion of Simurru took. At least one of the GNs mentioned must be looked for here, at the foot of Mount Pīra Magrūn,³⁵² where in the NA

³⁵¹ Cf. the OB letter from Tell Asmar discussed above under 'Isin-Larsa Period- Annubanini Inscription.'

³⁵² There are allusions to urban centres in the plain in front of Mount Pīra Magrūn in the inscriptions of Aššurnasirpal II during his campaign in this region, e.g.: Col. ii 39) TA *uš-ma-ni an-ni-te-ma at-tu-muš a-na URU.DIDLI šá EDIN KUR Ni-muš*, "Moving on from this camp I marched to the cities in the plain of Mount Nimuš," Grayson, *RIMA 2*, p. 204 (text A.0.101.1); cf. also the next two notes.

period Aššurnasirpal II recorded a score of GNs and mentioned some by name like Bunasi,³⁵³ Larbusa, Dūr-Lullumu, Bunisu and Bāra.³⁵⁴ The repeated allusion to the temple of the god Nišba at the beginning and the end of the inscription, and the probable allusion to the building of that temple by “all the lands,” might indicate the presence of this temple there. However, the absence of Kulunnum can mean that the Haladiny inscription was written before the capture of Kulunnum, in the time when only Utuwe was cut off from Kakmum. Nonetheless, the destruction of Kakmum is also claimed here as it is in the Jerusalem inscription. This destruction can be counted as either political propaganda or a figurative destruction, since Kakmum appeared again as a powerful opponent in the Jerusalem inscription. Later on, in the Jerusalem inscription, Iddi(n)-Sîn reached the peak of his power, at least according to our present state of knowledge. A new set of toponyms are mentioned in this inscription (ii9'-13'), which were, as Shaffer and Wasserman concluded, territories within the land of Kakmum. In all likelihood these GNs were located in a relatively small area if they could be captured in one night, as the inscription claims (ii 14'-iii 1-2) they were. The real submission of Kakmum –though not necessarily occupied- is told by the Jerusalem inscription: “The land of Kakmum, which from its earliest day(s) did [not] carry tribute [to] anybody, ... Iddi(n)-Sîn, the mighty king, forced them to prostrate at the feet of Nišba his lord” (iv 9-26). It is clear, as already mentioned, that Simurru built its own glory at Kakmum’s expense. Kakmum was apparently the other major power of the Transtigris of that time, and the expansion of Simurru could not be achieved without confrontation with that place. Hence, we see that at first it was the land of Utuwe that was detached (Haladiny inscription), and then Kulunnum (Bētweite and Jerusalem inscriptions), which were territories under Kakmum’s hegemony. In the Haladiny inscription (70-74) we find that he took back the land of Utuwe from the hands of Kakmum. In the Jerusalem inscription (iii 4'-iv 3) an almost similar clause states that Kakmum delivered Kulunnum to Simurru. The former might be understood as implying an earlier capture of the land Utuwe by Simurru, which was taken again by Kakmum and re-captured by Simurru. The main target the two powers of Simurru and Kakmum struggled about was Utuwe and this may interpret why the Haladiny inscription does not mention its destruction as it did the others.

The two rebellions of Kulunnum, if our suggestion is correct, may reflect Kulunnian hatred towards the new Simurrian masters of their district. They may have seen the events in a south versus north perspective, even on the internal level within the Hurrian lands. Such a division could have arisen by the geographically different terrains. Kakmum, including Kulunnum, was a mountainous kingdom and was seemingly more engaged with the mountainous regions to the east, inside the Zagros, as indicated by its intervention in Manna in the time of Sargon II. By contrast Simurru was a piedmont kingdom on the southernmost fringe of the Hurrian lands and, due to its location, had tighter relations with southern Mesopotamia. This is reflected, for instance, in the name occurring in early Sumerian proverbs and the name of its

³⁵³ Col. ii 34) *a-na KUR Ni-muš šá KUR Lu-ul-lu KUR Ki-ni-ba i-qa-bu-šú-ni aq-ti-rib URU Bu-na-a-si URU dan-nu-ti-šú-nu* 35) *šá* ^m*Mu-ša-ši-na* 30 URU.DIDLI *šá li-me-tu-šú ak-šud* ÉRIN.MEŠ *ig-du-ru KUR-ú mar-šu i-šab-tu*, “I approached Mount Nimuš (= Pīra Magrūn), which the Lullu call Mount Kiniba. I conquered the city Bunāsi, their fortified city, which (was ruled by) Mušasina, (and) 30 cities in its environs. The troops were frightened (and) took to the rugged mountain,” Grayson, *ibid*.

³⁵⁴ Col. iii 2) *TA uš-ma-ni an-ni-te-ma at-tu-muš ana* URU.DIDLI 3) *šá* EDIN KUR *Ni-muš šá a-šar-šú-nu ma-am-ma la-a* 4) *e-mu-ru a-lik* URU *La-ar-bu-sa* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú* 5) *šá* ^m*Ki-ir-te-a-ra* 8 URU.DIDLI *šá li-me-tú-šú* 6) *KUR-ud*, “Moving from this camp I marched to the cities in the plain of Mount Nimuš which no one had ever seen. I conquered the city Larbusa, the fortified city which (was ruled by) Kirteara, (and) eight cities in its environs;” and 15) 1 ME 50 URU.DIDLI 16) *šá* URU *La-ar-bu-sa-a-a* URU.BÀD-*Lu-lu-ma-a-a* URU *Bu-na-i-sa-a-a* 17) URU *Ba-ra-a-a* 18) 50 ÉRIN.MEŠ *šá* URU *Ba-ra-a-a* 19) *ina mit-ḫu-ši ina* EDIN *a-duk*, “150 cities belonging to the cities of the Larbusu, Dūr-Lullumu, Bunisu, (and) Bāra... I defeated 50 troops of the Bāra in a skirmish in the plain,” Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 245 (text A.0.101.17).

king, Iddi(n)-Sîn, which was formed according to a southern Ur III model (compare Ibbi-Sîn and Šū-Sîn). Such political divisions, stimulated by geographical conditions, are not uncommon in the history and culture of this region. The division of the territories of the region under study into districts and provinces determined by natural barriers, such as mountain chains or rivers, is one of its characteristics. The Avromān parchments from the Parthian Period (141 BC-226 AD) mention the *hyparchy* Baiseira in which the village Kōpanis was located and where the parchments were written and sealed.³⁵⁵ The term denotes a territorial division within the greater province. From the Sassanian era onwards, for instance, the terms *Garamaea* “The warm province” and *Syārzūr*³⁵⁶ were used to denote divisions based on geographical features. Even today the divisions *Garmiyān* (Sassanian *Garamaea*), *Qaradāgh*, *Shahrazūr* (Sassanian *Syārzūr*), *Pishder*, *Bitwēn*, *Bālak*, *Qarāj*, *Barzān* and many others appear to follow the same old tradition of divisions first attested in the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions under the term *kuliši*.

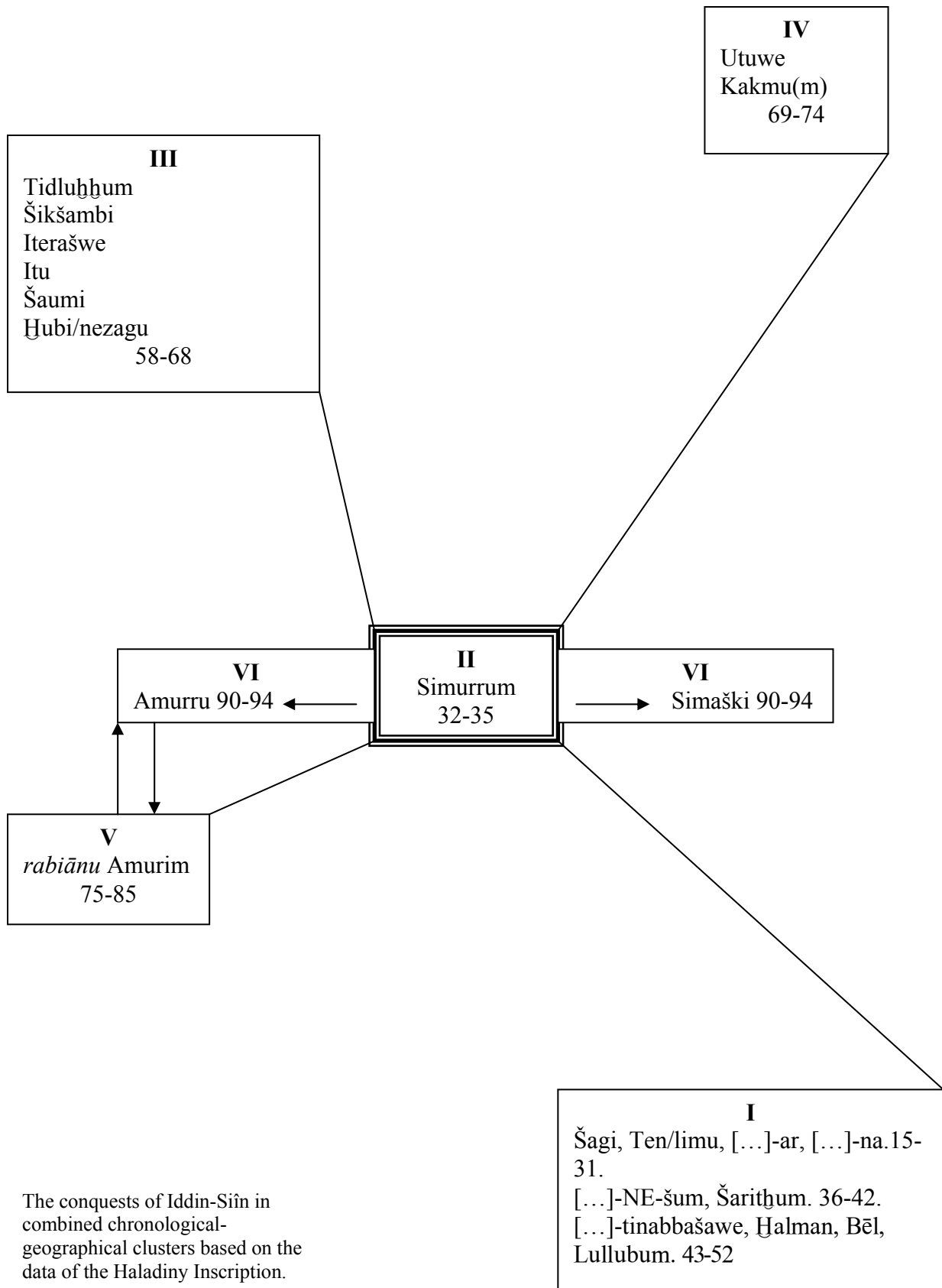
Reverting to the Haladiny inscription, it bears two characteristics not found in this king’s other inscriptions: First, the preserved part does not contain any curse formula, in contrast to the ones that occupy the greater part of the Sarpul and Bētwater inscriptions. Such a formula must have existed, especially since the inscription appears to have been dedicated to the temple of Nišba, and the other inscriptions of this period had long curse formulae. The part on which the curse formula was inscribed was either written on a lost part of this slab, or, more probably, was inscribed on another slab that formed one whole inscription together with the Haladiny inscription. One expects an inscription consisting of two elongated slabs, placed horizontally next to each other underneath a relief (fig. 17), such as those of Sarpul (see fig. 4a and 6). The curse formula must have been very similar, if not identical, to those of the Sarpul and Bētwater inscriptions. A second slab would complete the important gap in the narrative of Iddi(n)-Sîn’s march between Simurru and the Lower Zāb; in the Haladiny inscription the king departed from Tidluḥḥum to Šikšabbum, to Iterašwe and its three cities, all on the Zāb, to finally reach Utuwe. But there is no hint how he travelled, his route and which lands crossed to reach the Zāb River axis to attack Utuwe (Map 4). The supposed gap will have contained GNs in the Kirkuk and Aghjalar³⁵⁷ regions. Secondly, but more importantly, this inscription covers a wider geographical scope than the others. The Jerusalem and Bētwater inscriptions deal with a limited area in which Simurru was active, namely Kakmum and Kulunnum, while the Haladiny inscription mentions GNs ranging from Sarpul to the Rāniya Plain. It is a more general and comprehensive text that resembles the later NA royal inscriptions in which the kings told the whole story of their deeds.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁵ For these documents, cf. Nyberg, H. S., “The Pahlavi Documents from Avromān,” *Le Mond Orientale* 16 (1922), pp. 182-230; Edmonds, C. J., “The Place Names of the Avroman Parchments,” *BSOAS* 14 (1952), p. 479. For the term *hyparchy* and related terminology, cf. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran*, p. 155.

³⁵⁶ “... who were in Asōrestān [and Xūzestā?]n and Garamaea and Syārzūr,” Skjærvø, P. O., *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli*, Part 3.1, Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 42-43. The GNs Asōrestān and Xūzestān are also names of the provinces Assyria and Elam.

³⁵⁷ Aghjalar is the region to the south of the Lower Zāb, to the northeast of Kirkuk.

³⁵⁸ About the form and style of the NA royal inscriptions cf. Baumgartner, W., “Zur Form der assyrischen Königsinschriften,” *OLZ* 27 (1924), p. 313ff; Borger, R., *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften*, I: Das Zweite Jahrtausend v. Chr., Leiden, 1961.



Sarpul (ID 5)	Haladiny (ID 6)	Jerusalem (ID 4)	Bētwwata (ID 1, 2, 3)
<i>Ba-ti-ir</i> ^{ki} ii 22	<i>A-mu-ra/i-a/im</i> ii 81, 83, 92	<i>A/Za-i-la-kí/gí</i> ^{ki} ii 11'	
	<i>Be-el</i> ^{ki} i 49 <i>Ḫal-ma-an</i> ^{ki} i 48		
	<i>Ḫu-bi/ne-za-gu</i> ^{ki} ii 65 <i>I-te-ra-áš-we</i> ^{ki} ii 62 <i>I-tu</i> ^{ki} ii 63	<i>Ḫa-ap/b-ri-(z)a-ni</i> ^{ki} ii 9'	
	<i>Kak-mi-im</i> ^{ki} ii 73	<i>Kak-mi/u-i/um</i> ii 4; iv 1; iv 9 <i>Ku-ba-an-ni-we</i> ^{ki} ii 12' <i>Ku-lu-na/i/u-a/i/um</i> ^{ki} iii 4'; v 5"; viii 8	<i>Ku-lu-un-nu-um</i> ^{ki} A 6
<i>Lu-lu-bi-im</i> ^{ki} i 41	<i>Lu-lu-bi-im</i> ^{ki} i 52 <i>Si-maš-kà-am</i> ^{ki} ii 93 <i>Si-mu-ri-im</i> ^{ki} i 6; i 34	<i>Ni/Kak-li-ip</i> ^{ki} iii 3 <i>Si-mu-ur-ri-im</i> ^{ki} i 13'; iv 2, 20	<i>Si-mu-ri-im</i> ^{ki} A 3
	<i>Ša-gí</i> ^{ki} i 15 <i>Ša-ri-it-ḫu-um</i> ^{ki} i 37 <i>Ša-um-mi</i> ^{ki} ii 64 <i>Ši-ik-ša-am-bi</i> ^{ki} ii 60	<i>Ši-ik-ša-am-bu-um</i> ^{ki} iv 27 <i>Šu-lu-te</i> ^{ki} ii 10'	
	<i>Te-ni/li-mu(?)</i> ^{ki} i 20 <i>Ti-id-luḫ-ḫa-am</i> ^{ki} ii 58		
	<i>Ut-tu-we</i> ^{ki} ii 69 [x(?)] ¹ -NE-šum ^{ki} i 36 [...(?)]-ti-na-ab-ba-ša-we ^{ki} i 43	<i>Ti-ri-uk-kí-na-áš-we</i> ^{ki} ii 13'	
x x MAŠ (?) [x ^{ki}] ii 8	[.....]-ar ^{ki} i 25 [.....]-na ^{ki} i 30		

The geographical names attested in the Iddi(n)-Šîn inscriptions in alphabetical order.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁹ Only version A of the Betwāta inscriptions is taken into consideration as the main version.

Sarpul (ID 5)	Haladiny (ID 6)	Jerusalem (ID 4)	Bētwwata (ID 1, 2, 3)
x x MAŠ (?) [x ^{ki}] ii 8	<i>Si-mu-ri-im</i> ^{ki} i 6	<i>Si-mu-ur-ri-im</i> ^{ki} i 13'	<i>Si-mu-ri-im</i> ^{ki} A 3
<i>Ba-ti-ir</i> ^{ki} ii 22	<i>Ša-gi</i> ^{ki} i 15	<i>Kak-mi-im</i> ii 4	<i>Ku-lu-un-nu-um</i> ^{ki} A 6
<i>Lu-lu-bi-im</i> ^{ki} i 41	<i>Te-ni/lí-mu(?)</i> ^{ki} i 20	<i>Ḫa-ap/b-ri-(z)a-ni</i> ^{ki} ii 9'	
	[.....]- <i>ar</i> ^{ki} i 25	<i>Šu-lu-te</i> ^{ki} ii 10'	
	[.....]- <i>na</i> ^{ki} i 30	<i>A/Za-i-la-ki/gi</i> ^{ki} ii 11'	
	<i>Si-mu-ri-im</i> ^{ki} i 34	<i>Ku-ba-an-ni-we</i> ^{ki} ii 12'	
	^r x(?) ¹ -NE-šum ^k i 36	<i>Ti-ri-uk-ki-na-áš-we</i> ^{ki} ii 13'	
	<i>Ša-ri-it-ḫu-um</i> ^{ki} i 37	<i>NI/Kak-li-ip</i> ^{ki} iii 3	
	[...(?)]- <i>ti-na-ab-ba-ša-we</i> ^{ki} i 43	<i>Ku-lu-na-am</i> ^{ki} iii 4'	
	<i>Ḫal-ma-an</i> ^{ki} i 48	<i>Kak-mu-um</i> iv 1	
	<i>Be-el</i> ^{ki} i 49	<i>Si-mu-ur-<ri>-im</i> ^{ki} iv 2	
	<i>Lu-lu-bi-im</i> ^{ki} i 52	<i>Kak-mi-im</i> iv 9	
	<i>Ti-id-luḫ-ḫa-am</i> ^{ki} ii 58	<i>Si-mu-ur-ri-im</i> ^{ki} iv 20	
	<i>Ši-ik-ša-am-bi</i> ^{ki} ii 60	<i>Ši-ik-ša-am-bu-um</i> ^{ki} iv 27	
	<i>I-te-ra-áš-we</i> ^{ki} ii 62	<i>Ku-lu-ni-im</i> ^{ki} v 5'	
	<i>I-tu</i> ^{ki} ii 63		
	<i>Ša-um-mi</i> ^{ki} ii 64		
	<i>Ḫu-bi/ne-za-gu</i> ^{ki} ii 65		
	<i>Ut-tu-we</i> ^{ki} ii 69		
	<i>Kak-mi-im</i> ^{ki} ii 71; 73		
	<i>A-mu-ri-im</i> ii 81		
	<i>A-mu-ra-am</i> ii 83		
	<i>A-mu-ra-am</i> ii 92		
	<i>Si-maš-kā-am</i> ^{ki} ii 93		

The geographical names attested in the Iddi(n)-sîn inscriptions in the order attested in the inscriptions.

Sarpul (ID 5)	Haladiny (ID 6)	Jerusalem (ID 4)	Bētwwata (ID 1, 2, 3)
AN ii 33		AN a'; vi 7	AN A 36
^d EN.KI ii 36		DU.Ú (?) vi 19	
^d EN.LÍL ii 34		^d EN.KI d'; vi 10	^d EN. KI A 39
^d EN.ZU ii 37		^d EN.LÍL b'; vi 8	^d EN.LÍL A 37
^d INANNA ii 42	^d INANNA i 7	^d EN.ZU e'; vi 11	^d EN. ZU A 40
^d IŠKUR ii 38		^d INANNA i 1'; vi 13	^d INNIN A 15; 23; 45
^d Nin-AN-si ₄ -an-na ii 44		^d IŠKUR f'; vi 12	^d IŠKUR A 14; 41
^d NIN.ḪUR.SAG ii 35		^d Nin-AN-si ₄ -an-na i 2'; vi 14	^d Nin-AN-si ₄ -an-na A 47
^d Ni-iš-ba ii 46	^d Ni-iš-ba i 1; 9; ii 67; ii 86; ii 99; ii 104	^d NIN.ḪUR.SAG c'; vi 9	^d NIN.ḪUR.SAG A 38
		^d Ni-iš-ba i 4'; iv 24; vi 16	^d Ni-iš-ba A 16; 49
^d UTU ii 40		^d UTU g'; vi 18	^d UTU A 43

The divine names attested in the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions in alphabetical order.³⁶⁰

Sarpul (ID 5)	Haladiny (ID 6)	Jerusalem (ID 4)	Bētwwata (ID 1, 2, 3)
AN ii 33	^d Ni-iš-ba i 1	AN a'	^d IŠKUR A 14
^d EN.LÍL ii 34	^d INANNA i 7	^d EN.LÍL b'	^d INNIN A 15
^d NIN.ḪUR.SAG ii 35	^d Ni-iš-ba i 9	^d NIN.ḪUR.SAG c'	^d Ni-iš-ba A 16
^d EN.KI ii 36	^d Ni-iš-ba ii 67	^d EN.KI d'	^d INNIN A 23
^d EN.ZU ii 37	^d Ni-iš-ba ii 86	^d EN.ZU e'	AN A 36
^d IŠKUR ii 38	^d Ni-iš-ba ii 99	^d IŠKUR f'	^d EN.LÍL A 37
^d UTU ii 40	^d Ni-iš-ba ii 104	^d UTU g'	^d NIN. ḪUR.SAG A 38
^d INANNA ii 42		^d INANNA i 1'	^d EN. KI A 39

³⁶⁰ Only version A of the Betwāta inscriptions is taken into consideration as the main version.

^d Nin-AN-si ₄ -an-na	ii 44		^d Nin-AN-si ₄ -an-na	i 2'	^d EN. ZU	A 40
^d Ni-iš-ba	ii 46		^d Ni-iš-ba	i 4'	^d IŠKUR	A 41
			^d Ni-iš-ba	iv 24	^d UTU	A 43
			AN	vi 7	^d INNIN	A 45
			^d EN.LÍL	vi 8	^d Nin-AN-si ₄ -an-na	A 47
			^d NIN.ĤUR.SAG	vi 9	^d Ni-iš-ba	A 49
			^d EN.KI	vi 10		
			^d EN.ZU	vi 11		
			^d IŠKUR	vi 12		
			^d INANNA	vi 13		
			^d Nin-AN-si ₄ -an-na	vi 14		
			^d Ni-iš-ba	vi 16		
			^d UTU	vi 18		
			DU.Ú (?)	vi 19		

The divine names attested in the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions in the original order.

Rabana

The Haladiny inscription was found, as mentioned above, in a field in the village of Qara Chatān at the foot of Mount Pīra Magrūn. This mountain is traditionally known as the old Mesopotamian Nimuš (Formerly Nišir), of the land of the Lullubum,³⁶¹ which the Lullubians called Kinipa in their own language.³⁶² We have also referred to the likely occurrence of the “temple of Nišba” in this inscription, based on traces of the sign É before the divine name Nišba (see above). The text begins and concludes with the mention of the temple, a fact that shows that the temple was the central topic of the text. This, coupled with the wide range of lands and peoples the text names, forces one to believe that the inscription was part of a monument erected to celebrate the building of the temple. This is why it embraces the names of all those lands and peoples who were subjugated up to that date, and consequently participated in the building of the temple of the god of their lord. If this suggestion proves to be correct, it would be strikingly significant that the temple of the patron of Simurru was built in a territory outside its national home, like Mušašir was to the Urartians, for instance. In this case, Iddi(n)-Sîn must have thought of founding a multi-national empire with one god in a central sanctuary for all its peoples in the highest mountain of his realm. Nevertheless, the question that remains is whether there was in fact a temple there.

Behind the village of Qara Chatān, there is a very steep valley in the side of the Mount Pīra Magrūn (Fig. 18a). In this valley, the remains of ancient architectural structures are found that are known as Rabana among the local villagers.³⁶³ From the beginning of this valley to half way up the mountainside the remains of large walls (Fig. 18b) can be seen. They seem to have served as fortifications and, at the same time, as terraces to reduce the steep slope of its terrain. Behind this, there is a terrace (Terrace no.1) (Fig. 19a-c) that overlooks the plain in front of the mountain to the west. The terrace is rectangular in shape and a huge stone forms

³⁶¹ For the identification of this mountain with Nimuš, cf. Streck, M. P., “NišIR,” *RIA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 589 (referring also to Liverani); Speiser, “Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Assurnasirpal and today,” *AASOR* VIII for 1926-27 (1928), p. 18 and the bibliography given in note 31. I would call attention to some confusion in the contribution of Streck in *RIA*. There Pīr Omar Gudrun and Pīr-i Mukurūn are treated as two separate mountains, but in fact they are different spellings of the same name. The former is the original full name, and the latter an abbreviated form transcribed from Arabic, using Mukurūn instead of Magrūn.

³⁶² Cf. the inscription of Aššurnasirpal cited above and below, who recorded this Lullubian name of Nimuš.

³⁶³ The site of Rabana is recorded in the register of the Iraqi Directorate General of Antiquities as an archaeological site, but it has been never fully surveyed, studied or excavated. Once in the 1940s its lower part was visited by an official of the Directorate General of Antiquities, who could not reach the temple. There are pottery sherds at the site that belong to different periods and local residents report sporadically finding copper and bronze arrow heads and lance blades.

part of its northeastern angle. Leaving the terrace to the valley, three sides of the wall of another terrace can be seen (Terrace no. 2) (Fig. 20a-b). That terrace seems to have supported a building in antiquity.

Advancing into the steep and narrower part of the valley, spectacular remains of staircases, corridors and the cella of a temple speak for themselves. As a whole these structures form one interrelated complex, of which this part was certainly the most important since it contains the cella. The middle, which I interpret as a temple, has been regrettably damaged by water torrents that stream from the top of the mountain at this point. The remaining parts consist of a narrow corridor (corridor no. 1) 2 m wide that extends in an east-west direction for 16 m. Its floor and northern wall (± 3 m high) are carved in the mountain rock, while its southern side (± 2 m high) is built of large stones (Figs. 21a-b). The southern side ends in the west, the corner leading to another part of the corridor that extends for 6 m to the south ($\pm 2,5$ m high). Above the wall on the northern side there are two staircases (Fig. 22a-b), one leading to the west (staircase no. 1) and the other to the north (staircase no. 2), both carved into the rock. The first consists of 7 steps, each ± 60 cm wide. Only 9 steps remain of the second, each ± 150 cm wide. The corridor's eastern end is damaged and its northern wall is bisected into two parts, probably by an old exit to the two staircases mentioned. The western part of the northern wall is 10 m long, while the eastern part is 6 m long and is slightly farther from the southern wall, making the corridor a little wider. To the east of the corridor there is a series of staircases and paths (Fig. 23, 29a-c), all except one carved in a south-north direction in the mountain. These staircases stand on a higher level than that of the corridor. The only east-west path (pathway no.1) is carved in the rock like the others and is ± 4 m long, but its full width is not preserved. It leads to a niche in the front wall that contains the headless body of a seated deity on a throne. The niche (Fig. 24a-b) is ± 180 cm high from the ground and measures 67 cm wide, 90 cm high and 37 cm deep. The throne is 32 cm wide, 7 cm high, while the remaining part of the seated deity measures 24 cm width by 30 cm height. The style is simple and shows no details or folds on the dress. According to information provided by the villagers, the head was still there until the 1970s but was then lost. Unfortunately even the hands and shoulders are missing, for the upper torso is also now missing.

Above the niche, there is another path leading in a north-south direction with a slight slope towards the south side (pathway no. 2). Above it is another path (pathway no. 3) leading in the same direction and with the same slope. At the summit of the rock it meets a staircase (staircase no. 3) of 6 steps, the last step of which is partially preserved (Fig. 25). At the upper end of the staircase a vertical shaft has been carved on the left that seems to have been used for the fastening for a door (Fig. 26). The lower end of the staircase begins with the remains of a square space (140 x 140 x 60 cm) (Fig. 27), suggesting it was connected to another path or staircase which is now lost. What remains is a small, smoothed, vertical area to the south (shown on fig. 28 in the square) that indicates the presence of such a path. The two corners of the walls are interesting. In addition to the one just mentioned, another one is to the left, that is also the north, of the niche (Fig. 28 in the rectangle). These corners imply the existence of some extensions of the walls that met the original walls at 90° . The break between these two corners proves the existence of such a wall in antiquity. The remaining north-south path (pathway no. 4) that leads to the niche and measures ± 10 m long and 70-80 cm wide can be the remnants of the floor of a hall or a cella that contained the niche.

Behind the upper staircase a wide path stretches ± 15 m from north to south (pathway no. 5). On its eastern side is a wall carved in the rock (Fig. 23 and 29a-b). This might have been the end of the temple complex, because no traces or remains of other paths or staircases are found.

If there was any symbolic connotation of locating this temple in the heart of the mountain it probably closely related to the assumed association of the god Nišba with the mountain name Nišpi mentioned above (see commentary to line 1 of the Haladiny inscription).

In the light of the available data mentioned above, I propose to identify the remains found in Rabana with the temple of Nišba, mentioned in the Haladiny inscription, the temple about which the inscription says that all the lands participated (?) in building (?) it. About eleven centuries later Aššurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) recorded an account of his campaign against the land of the Lullubians in Zamua. Directly after crossing through the Baziyān Pass (ancient Babite) he went to the capital city of Bunasi in Mount Nimuš “which the Lullunbians call Kinipa.” He attacked the city, defeated its troops, captured its governor Musasina and destroyed the city by fire.³⁶⁴ In another campaign, he captured the city Larbusa in the plain of Mount Nimuš (see above) and mentioned the towns Dūr-Lullumu, Bunisu and Bāra in the same context. These toponyms, if they existed before the NA period, can very probably be counted among the numerous GNs Iddi(n)-Sîn captured and in or close to one of them he built the Rabana temple. That these GNs are not mentioned in the Haladiny inscription can be explained either because the places had different names in the time of Iddi(n)-Sîn, or because the names we know have now been broken away from our inscription.

Cylinders Seals of Simurru

Material evidence from the kings of Simurru and their reigns includes also two cylinder seals and a seal impression. One of the cylinder seals (Fig. 30) was published for the first time by Shaffer and Wasserman. It belongs to the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan Rosen in New York.³⁶⁵ The seal is made of a hard, shining stone and bears a legend:

Iddi(n)-Sîn, mighty king; ^dZabazuna (is) his son. Ilī-dannu (is) your servant.³⁶⁶

The seal depicts a traditional presentation scene in which a goddess presents a person to a seated figure who appears to be the king. The king wears a wide brimmed headdress and a fringed robe seated on a padded stool.³⁶⁷ The presented person wears a rolled brimmed headdress, a fringed robe and a crescent-like necklace and holds his hands at his waist.³⁶⁸ The goddess, distinguished by her horned headdress, wears a long striped dress and holds her hands upright. As in the royal seals from Urkeš, the king holds a cup or some small vessel in

³⁶⁴ ii 34) TA URU *Ba-bi-te at-tu-muš a-na KUR Ni-muš šá KUR Lu-ul-lu KUR Ki-ni-ba i-qa-bu-šú-ni aq-ti-rib URU Bu-na-a-si URU dan-nu-ti-šú-nu* 35) *šá* ^m*Mu-ša-ši-na* 30 URU.DIDLI *šá li-me-tu-šú ak-šud....*37) 7 URU.DIDLI *šá ŠÀ KUR Ni-muš šá a-na dan-nu-ti-šú-nu iš-ku-nu ak-šud* GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu 38) *a-duk šal-la-su-nu NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ-šú-nu GU₄.MEŠ-šú-nu UDU še-ni-šú-nu aš-lul* URU.DIDLI *ina IZI.MEŠ áš-ru-up*, “Moving on from the city Babitu I approached Mount Nimuš which the Lullu call Mount Kiniba. I conquered the city Bunāsi, their fortified city which (was ruled by) Mušasina, (and) 30 cities in its environs..... I conquered seven cities within Mount Nimuš which they established as their strongholds. I massacred them, carried off captives, possessions, oxen, (and) sheep from them, (and) burnt the cities,” Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 204 (Text A.0.101.1). Note that Luckenbill read Kiniba as Kinipa, and Mušasina as Musasina, the second of which at any rate seems correct.

³⁶⁵ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 32-34.

³⁶⁶ ^d*I-dī*-^dEn.ZU, LUGAL *da-núm*, ^d*Za-ba-zu-na*, DUMU.NI, *ì-lí-dan-nu*, 'TR₁₁'¹.ZU, Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 34. Unlike Shaffer and Wasserman, I would read IR₁₁-ZU as Sumerian “your servant,” instead of Akkadian IR₁₁-*sú*.

³⁶⁷ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 33.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

his hand, a posture found in Ur III seals. The moon crescent is shown above the cup.³⁶⁹ In Urkeš the crescent is also depicted on some seals, for instance the seal that shows the ritual scene. (Fig. 19a-b, Chapter Four).

The mention of sons/ crown princes in the official inscriptions of the kingdoms of the Zagros foothills, presumably sharing titles and responsibilities with their fathers, was seemingly a tradition in that area.³⁷⁰ The reason for this belief is not only the legend of this seal, but also the Bētawata inscriptions and another royal seal impression. That is one of a certain Pišendēn, king of Itabalḥum, found on a fragment from Shemshāra (SH 890), that mentions the son of the king.³⁷¹ All support this idea. The seals of Urkeš, on which the royal heir enjoys a prominent position, and the facts just mentioned, imply that the Hurrian traditions and political ideology were different from that of Mesopotamians in relation to the sons/ crown princes.

Another seal, in the British Museum (BM 102055), published by Collon³⁷² (Fig. 31), is very similar to the one just described. However, its legend does not mention Iddi(n)-Sîn, but only his son Zabazuna. This may imply a later date, probably after the death of Iddi(n)-Sîn and the succession of his son:

^dZabazuna, the strong king. Teḥeš-atal, the scribe, (is) your servant.³⁷³

In this seal too, a person is depicted who stands in front of the king. The king is seated on a padded stool and holds a cup or small vessel. As in the former seal, the moon crescent is depicted in the space above the cup. The dress of both persons is similar to those of the former seal. One important difference is the depiction of animals or symbols of animals. On this seal a goose and a scorpion are seen behind the stool of the king, with other symbols above the goose and behind its head. This feature was also present in the seals of Urkeš and later in the Nuzi and Kassite seals. In front of the standing figure is a half-sized person with raised hands as before. It very probably represents a presenting deity, depicted in this way to indicate perspective.

The seal impression, found at Ešnunna, was first published by Jacobsen³⁷⁴ and later re-examined by Sollberger.³⁷⁵ The impression, although fragmentary, provided valuable information for it calls Zabazuna “the strong king,”³⁷⁶ which proves that he succeeded his father on the throne of Simurru. Equally important is that it was found *in situ* in the Ituria temple, under the layer dated to the reign of Bilalama of Ešnunna. Thus it can be dated roughly between the end of Ur III period and the reign of Bilalama of Ešnunna, who was a contemporary of Šu-ilišu (1984-1975 BC) of Isin.³⁷⁷

³⁶⁹ Other seals with the scene of a seated king holding a cup, the crescent and the presentation theme are found in Tell Asmar; for instance seals *e, f, g, i* and *j* in fig. 102; *a, b, c, h, i, j* and probably *p* in fig. 103 in Frankfort *et al.*, *The Gimilsin Temple ...*, 216-7.

³⁷⁰ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 34.

³⁷¹ For the legend of this seal see Chapter Six under ‘The king and the *nuldān(um)*.’

³⁷² Collon, D., *First Impressions, Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*, London, 1993, p. 37, no. 121.

³⁷³ ^dZa-ba-zu-na LUGAL da-nūm Te-ḥe-eš-a-tal DUB. SAR ÌR. ZU: Collon, D., *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum, Cylinder Seals II: Akkadian-Post Akkadian, Ur III Periods*, London, 1982, no. 451, p. 164; cf. also: Sollberger, E., “Two New Seal-Impressions,” *Anatolian Studies* 30 (1980), p. 63-65.

³⁷⁴ Frankfort, *et al.*, *The Gimilsin Temple...*, p. 146, no. 13.

³⁷⁵ Sollberger, *op. cit.* Sollberger states that the impression is now lost, *op. cit.*, p. 63, note 9.

³⁷⁶ The legend reads as follows: 1) [...]ba-zu-na 2) [...] da-nūm 3) [...]li ri(?)ri or [...]li-[a]r-ri, Sollberger, “Two New Seal-Inscriptions,” p. 63.

³⁷⁷ Walker, p. 176; cf. also the table on page 177.

That both Iddi(n)-Sîn and his son Zabazuna are depicted on the seal of the Rosen Collection, in all likelihood both without beard or moustache,³⁷⁸ deserves special attention. However, this feature is found not only on this seal, for the king is similarly represented on both the Jerusalem relief and the Sarpul relief (see figs. 4a-b and 12). There was some doubt about the identity of the person depicted on the Jerusalem relief, whether it was the king himself or his son Zabazuna, because he is shown beardless and without a moustache.³⁷⁹ The evidence these two seals present favour the king himself. It is important that both the king and his son appear on one seal (Rosen Collection) without beard or moustache, a fact supporting this conclusion.³⁸⁰ This was apparently a dynastic tradition of the Simurrian royal house, reminiscent of the Gudea dynasty of Lagaš and Ur III, as noted by Shaffer and Wasserman.³⁸¹

The Location of Simurrum

From this study of Simurrian inscriptions and other pertinent material an attempt can be made to locate Simurrum. The site of this important and politically active country in Mesopotamian history remains a riddle. Of the many different opinions presented one of the earliest was proposed by Meissner as early as 1919.³⁸² According to him one must look for Simurrum in the region of Kirkuk, near the Lullubian country, since the two were mentioned together in a Šulgi date-formula.³⁸³ Equating Simurrum with Zab(b)an (*Si-mur-ra*^{ki} = *Zab-ban*) in some later texts,³⁸⁴ especially the lexical and geographical lists, led Meissner to locate it at modern Pirdē (= Altün Kopri), because Zaban at that time was thought to have been located slightly south of the Lower Zāb.³⁸⁵ Goetze, Billerbeck,³⁸⁶ Edzard,³⁸⁷ Diakonoff³⁸⁸ and Gelb³⁸⁹ followed Meissner,³⁹⁰ but Forrer³⁹¹ and Weidner did not.³⁹² They showed that identifying Zab(b)an with Simurrum contradicts inscriptional data. Based on the mention of Simurrum and Zab(b)an in one context in an OB tablet from Sippar,³⁹³ Weidner concluded that the two

³⁷⁸ There is no long beard and no curls, but a slight prominence on the sides of the faces of both persons could indicate a thin beard.

³⁷⁹ Al-Fouadi, p. 128; cf. also Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 34.

³⁸⁰ The identity of the two figures as Iddi(n)-Sîn and Zabazuna is suggested by Shaffer and Wasserman, and the above conclusion is based on this suggestion. Nevertheless, there remains the possibility of identifying one of them as a third person, an option which is less likely. Even so, it would be a member of the Simurrian royal house without beard or moustache.

³⁸¹ Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 34. The connections between the Gudea dynasty and the mountainous peoples go back in history, particularly in relation to some linguistic aspects; cf. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, p. 99.

³⁸² Meissner, B., "Simurrum," *OLZ* 22 (1919) No. 3/4, p. 69-70. For further bibliography on the subject cf. the survey made in Frayne, "On the location of Simurrum," pp. 243-269. However, Billerbeck as early as 1898 suggested that Zaban appears to be identical with Simurrum, at Pirdē on the Lower Zāb; cf. Billerbeck, *Das Sandschak Suleimania* ..., p. 4.

³⁸³ Meissner, p. 69. Even more recently, Salvini and Wilhelm have located it on the upper reaches of the Lower Zāb: Salvini, "The Earliest Evidence.....," *Urkesch and the Hurrians*, p. 111; Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 7. Wilhelm was apparently inspired by the discovery of the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions in Bēt-wata.

³⁸⁴ With another variant from Assur citing the name as *Si-úr-ru*^{ki}, Meissner, *op. cit.*, p. 69, and note 3. The NA text V R 12, no. 6, 44 records: *Si-mur-ra*^{ki} = ŠU = *Zab-ban* and the text KAV 183, 18: *Si-<mu?>-úr-ru*^{ki} = ŠU = URU *Za-ban*, cf. Weidner, *ibid.*

³⁸⁵ Meissner, p. 70.

³⁸⁶ Billerbeck, *ibid.*

³⁸⁷ Edzard, *Die »Zweite Zwischenzeit« Babylonien*, p. 63.

³⁸⁸ دياكونوف، ميديا، ل. ١٥٨.

³⁸⁹ Gelb, *HS*, p. 57.

³⁹⁰ Goetze, A., "Hulibar of Duddul," *JNES* 12 (1953), p. 120.

³⁹¹ Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, p. 40-41

³⁹² Weidner, E., "Simurrum und Zaban," *Afo* 15 (1945-1951), p. 79.

³⁹³ The text is (88-5-12, 712), dated to the fourth year of Apil-Sîn (1813-1830 BC) of Babylon, cf. Weidner, *op. cit.*, 78.

GNs referred to distinct toponyms, although linked to each other. He then suggested siting them in the south rather than in the north near the Lower Zāb.³⁹⁴ The inscriptions of Aššurnasirpal II support this. Those inscriptions, when describing the extent of the Assyrian Empire, determine the borders of one of its provinces as starting from the bank of the Lower Zāb as far as the city of “Tīl-Bāri, which is above Zaban” as the furthest point.³⁹⁵ This implies that Zab(b)an was located in the south, far from the Lower Zāb. Concerning equating Simurrum with Zab(b)an, Frayne thinks that Simurrum was the ancient name that prevailed in the Akkadian, Ur III and Early Old Babylonian periods until it was replaced by Zab(b)an, maybe under Šillī-Sîn and Ilūnā of Ešnunna.³⁹⁶ This suggestion was based on the information provided by economic texts of the Mē-Turrān (Tell el-Sīb and Haddād) archives, in which only Zab(b)an is mentioned.³⁹⁷ In looking for Simurrum further to the south, Weidner depended on some Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions. Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC) stated that he stopped in Zab(b)an on his way to Mē-Turnat from Assur.³⁹⁸ Šamšī-Adad V (823-811 BC) took almost the same route, passing by Zaban and crossing Mount Ebiḥ (Hamrin) to the city of Mē-Turnat.³⁹⁹ Weidner collected more references to the city of Zaban in cuneiform sources.⁴⁰⁰ The Synchronistic History (Chronicle 21) mentions that Assur-dān I (1179-1134 BC) “[captured] Zaban, Irriya, Ugarsa[llu (and) ...]”⁴⁰¹ during his campaign against Babylonia. These data led Weidner to give a location near Hamrin, somewhere on the way between the city of Assur and the Diyāla River, most probably at the point where the River Adhēm breaks out from Hamrin.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁴Weidner, *AFO* 15, p. 77-79. He assumes also that Simurrum might have been the name of the land and Zab(b)an its chief city: *op. cit.*, p. 79. According to Astour the equating of Simurrum and Zab(b)an in the lexical texts is due to a scribal error: Astour, “Semites and Hurrians,” p. 41, note 284.

³⁹⁵ 9) TA *e-ber-tan* ÍD *Za-ba* KI.TA 10) *a-di* URU.DU₆-*ba-a-ri* šá *el-la-an* KUR *Za-ba-an*, “From the opposite bank of Lower Zāb to the city of Tīl-Bāri, which is upstream from Zaban,” Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 275 (Text A.0.101.23); cf. also Luckenbill, *ARAB*, vol. I, p. 198, § 551. This is how the text deals with the land of the Lullubians, Zamua: 7) TA *né-re-be* šá KUR *Ba-‘bi’-[ti]* 8) *[a]-‘di’* KUR *Ḥa-áš-mar* KUR *Za-mu-a ana si-ḥír-‘ti’-[šá]*, “[I brought] within the boundaries [of my land] (the territory stretching) from the passes of Mount Babi[tu] to Mount Ḥašmar, the entire land of Zamua,” Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 324 (Text A.0.101.52).

³⁹⁶Frayne, “On the location...,” p. 260.

³⁹⁷Frayne, *ibid.*; cf. also: Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 159. Frayne refers to the allusions to Zab(b)an in the texts published by Mustafa in his dissertation, i.e. texts: 3:13; 8:15; 13:7; 24:8; 44:4; 53:8; 87:13; 91:13; 92:9; 93:29; 96:2; 98:4; 111:11, cf. Mustafa, A. A., *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Me-Turan (Tell al-Sīb and Tell Haddad)*, Glasgow, 1983. Another group of texts from Al-Sīb, studied as late as 2002 as a Ph. D. dissertation by Ahmed M. Hameed at the University of Baghdad, also mention only Zab(b)an, without any single reference to Simurrum. References to Zab(b)an occur in: 13:2; 14:3; 18:5; 27:11; 32:5; 33:4; 36: 3; 40:20 (date-formula); 59: col. I 2; 60: col. I 2, cf.:

حميد، احمد مجيد، نصوص مسمارية من العصر البابلي القديم في المتحف العراقي (تل السيب/ حوض سد حميرين)، بغداد، ٢٠٠٢.

[Hameed, Ahmed Majeed, *Old Babylonian Cuneiform Texts in the Iraq Museum (Tell al-Sīb/ Hamrin Basin)*, Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation submitted to the University of Baghdad, Baghdad, 2002].

³⁹⁸ 3) TA URU *Za-ban at-tu-muš ana* URU *Me-tu-ur-na-at aq-ti-rib*, “From Zaban I departed. To the city of Mē-Turnat I drew near,” Grayson, A. K., *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC, II (858-745 BC)*, *RIMA* 3, Toronto, 1996, p. 30 (text A.0.102.5); cf. also Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, p. 230, § 622.

³⁹⁹ iv 1b) *a-na* KUR *Kar-du-ni-áš a-la-ku* 2) ÍD *Za-ban e-bir ina bi-rit* URU *Za-ad-di* URU *Za-ban* 3) BAL *na-at-bak* KUR-*e* 3 UR.MAḤ.MEŠ *ṭár-‘ár-du-te a-duk* 4) KUR *E-bi-iḥ a-bal-kit* URU *Me-e-túr-na-at al-me*, “I crossed the river Zab en route to Karduniaš. While traversing the gorge between the cities Zaddi and Zaban I killed three startled lions. I crossed Mount Ebiḥ (and) besieged the city of Mē-Turnat,” Grayson, *RIMA* 3, p. 187, (text A.0.103.1); cf. also Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, p. 258, § 723.

⁴⁰⁰ For these in detail, cf. Weidner, “Simurrum und Zaban,” p. 76-77.

⁴⁰¹ II 11) [^{UR}] *Za-ban* ^{URI} *Ir-ri-ia* ^{URU} *Ugar-sa-a[l-lu...]* 12) [*ik-šud*], Grayson, *ABC*, Chronicle 21, p. 162; cf. also its mention in the border demarcation between Assyria and Babylonia in the time of Adad-Nirari II and Nabû-šuma-iškun/ukîn in the same chronicle, col. III, l. 20.

⁴⁰²Weidner, p. 76; cf. also, for a summary of these opinions, Frayne, “On the Location...,” p. 261.

According to Nashef, Zab(b)an was located somewhere in the hilly country between modern Kifri and Qara Tepe, based on information from the inscription of Šamšī-Adad V.⁴⁰³ He concluded that Zab(b)an was not on the Lower Zāb, so removing Simurru away from Pirdē. It is supported by the Middle Assyrian archival text (VAT 18000) from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta and published by Freydanck that mentioned “the land (Mount?) of Zab(b)an, on the bank of the Turrān (= the Diyāla).”⁴⁰⁴

Frayne, in his detailed study in search of Simurru, and depending on that same inscription, suggested a location on the River Diyāla,⁴⁰⁵ not the River Adhēm, as had been suggested by Weidner.⁴⁰⁶ This location is possible only if this Zab(b)an was identical with Simurru, which is very probable. The fact that Šilluš-Dagān, the Ur III governor of Simurru, was responsible for collecting booty from the conquered surrounding lands during the last campaigns of Šulgi was sufficient reason to suggest a location of Simurru somewhere on the five routes that connected Madga with the Diyāla.⁴⁰⁷ This seems likely as long as these routes were connecting the surrounding lands with each other. But the question that unavoidably arises is about the location of Madga. According to Frayne, Madga must be located around modern Kifri or Tāuq (= Daqūq).⁴⁰⁸ Nevertheless, another explanation for the duty undertaken by Šilluš-Dagān is not because of the location of Simurru there but because it was the only large urban centre in that region governed by a man installed by Ur.

In short, according to Frayne, locating Simurru on the Diyāla, at a point where one of the routes from Kifri crosses the river, was more likely. The best spot for him is the modern site of Qalāy Shirwāna, an old fort built on the top of a high ancient tell at the pass formed by the junction of the Pūngla tributary with the Sirwān River,⁴⁰⁹ “not far from Karḥar.”⁴¹⁰ He thinks also that the name of the nearby mountain Kushki Zang is derived and developed from the

⁴⁰³ Cf. Nashef, Kh., *RGTC* 5, Wiesbaden, 1982, p. 280; also for the bibliography over Zab(b)an on pages 279-280.

⁴⁰⁴ KUR *Za-am-ba-an a-aḥ Tu-ra-an* l.36, cf. Frayne, “On the Location...,” p. 262-3. Concerning the land of Zāb in the Assyrian royal inscriptions see also Schramm, W., “Das Land ZAB der assyrischen Königsinschriften,” *Or* 38 (1969), p. 126-7.

⁴⁰⁵ Frayne, *op. cit.*, 263. In fact, the location he suggests is on the Sirwān River, which is the upper part of the Diyāla, not the Diyāla itself.

⁴⁰⁶ Frayne has presented some additional arguments for his suggestion:

- 1) A year-name of Narām-Sîn of Akkad that commemorates his victory over the two cities of Arame and Simurru together, suggests that Narām-Sîn has followed the Diyāla route upstream, first to Arame and then to Simurru.
- 2) Arame, which is mentioned in the Harmal Geographical list, was located on the Diyāla river, to the south of the point where the river breaks out from Hamrin. Note that this location for Arame on the Diyāla was made by Frayne himself.
- 3) The troops of Arame were mentioned together with the troops of Ešnunna in an archival text from Ur III, dated to Šulgi 48.
- 4) Šilluš-Dagān, governor of Simurru in the Ur III period, was called the leader of the Simurrian troops and the troops of Išim-Šulgi. The latter too, was located in the Diyāla region; cf. Frayne, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

Although the location of Simurru in this direction is very possible, some points deserve comment. First, defeating two cities within one year does not necessarily imply their being on the same axis or in the same region. They could have been located on two different axes, or even in different directions. Secondly, Šilluš-Dagān could lead the troops of two cities or districts close to each other but on two different axes. Finally, there are other examples of persons holding important posts in cities and regions located in different directions, even far from each other, e.g. Arad-Nanna and Zāriqum in the Ur III period. It seems quite possible to me that such titles were actually an enumeration of the posts and offices held by a person during his career, a kind of *curriculum vitae*.

⁴⁰⁷ Frayne, *op. cit.*, p. 263-4.

⁴⁰⁸ For the location of Madga see Chapter Three, note 189.

⁴⁰⁹ Sirwān is the upper part of the Diyāla River.

⁴¹⁰ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 148. He identified a location for Karḥar near modern Qasr-i-Shīrīn, on the River Alwand and along the Great Khorasān Road.

name of Zam/b(b)an and the names of (Qalāy) Shirwāna and the River Sirwān are reflections of the old name Simurru: **Siwurr*+ān > *Sirwān*.⁴¹¹ The fact that even today the main route that leads to the Diyāla Region from Shahrazūr passes by Qalāy Shirwāna is a good reason to believe that this site was important in antiquity, being located on the strategic route that linked the south to the north.⁴¹² We saw also in the previous chapter that Simurru was the second target of the Ur III kings after Karḥar. From this we arrived at a location behind the area of influence of Karḥar, which fits Qalāy Shirwāna. Furthermore, that Simurru was located on or close to a river is shown by the proverb “Between the basket and the boat (are) the fields of Simurru” cited above. We know now also that Mē-Turnat was in Tell-el-Sīb and Tell Haddād, so Zab(b)an was to the north of these two sites. The Harmal Geographical List lists Simurru between Arrapḥa in the north and Niqqum (= Khanaqīn?)⁴¹³ and Meturān in the south,⁴¹⁴ facts which are compatible with Frayne’s location at Qalāy Shirwāna.

Of special importance is the etymology of the name Simurru presented by Astour. According to him, the name has an Akkadian origin, namely *s/šimuru(m)*, “cumin,” which is attested with the same alternation *s/š* as in the OB variants of the toponym.⁴¹⁵ More interesting is the other equivalent of “cumin,” *ḥašmūru* or *ḥaši’ūru*, which is used in the Middle Bronze Age and Neo-Assyrian Period to designate a mountainous region as one approaches the Diyāla from the northeast.⁴¹⁶ In this way, Astour combines linguistically Simurru with Ḥaš(i)mu/ar in an indirect way. The latter was known in the ancient written sources as an important mountain and pass. The most important and closest pass in this region might be Darband-i-Khān, which controls the route to the southern part of the Shahrazūr Plain and serves as its southern gateway.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹¹ Frayne, p. 266-7. Although the name Shirwān(a) is a Kurdish name that means ‘The Lion Trainer’ or ‘The man of sword(s)’ (‘šēr’ means ‘lion’ and ‘šīr’ means ‘sword’), the development of the modern name from that ancient name is not impossible through *Volksetymologie*. The name Sirwān, however, has no clear etymology in the local language.

⁴¹² The routes that linked the south with the north in antiquity, even as late as the Ottoman Period, passed through the Diyāla and Hamrin regions, not along the Tigris; cf. Postgate, N. J., “The Historical Geography of the Hamrin Basin,” *Sumer* 35, no. 1 and 2 (1979), p. 593.

⁴¹³ Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 70.

⁴¹⁴ Col. III: 74) *A-ra-ap-ḥu* 75) *Ši-mu-ru* 76) *Gán-DAŠ* 77) *Ni-qum* 78) *Me-tu-ra-an*, Lewy, S., “Harmal Geographical List,” *Sumer* 3, no. 1 (1947), p. 53. In the Nippur List Simurru is set generally in the following sequence: 99) *I(?)-šim(?)*-*Šul-gi* 100) *Šul-gi-na-an-na* 101) *Gú-a-ba* 102) *Si-mu-ru-um* 103) *An-ša-an* 104) *DU*... 105) *Ib-ra-ī[um(?)]* 106) *Ib-l[a]* 107) *Di-ni-ik-[tum]* until it reaches Niq(q)u and Kazallu, cf. Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 65. Išim-Šulgi was in the Diyāla region (*RGTC* 2, p. 87); Šulgi-nanna is located on the Nahrawān Canal, between Samarra, Tell Asmar and Kūt (*RGTC* 3, p. 227); Guab(b)a was a cultic place to the southeast of the Lagaš region (*RGTC* 2, p. 65), but there is a question whether they were identical; Anšan is Tell-i-Maliyān in Fārs Province in southwest Iran; Ibrat in Kūt al-Amāra (*RGTC* 3, p. 104; *RGTC* 2, p. 82) to the south east of Baghdad; Ibla could be the same as Dūr-E/Ubla on the southern shore of lake Zirēbār (Frayne, *EDGN* p. 60 and the map on p. 62) near Mariwān City; and Diniktu in Tell Muhammed (or: Tell Hurma?) near Baghdad (*RGTC* 3, p. 54); Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 682.

⁴¹⁵ Astour, “Semites and Hurrians ...,” p. 41. The Akkadian dictionaries give “caraway” as a second possible meaning, cf. Black, J., A. George and N. Postgate, *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 111. It is notable that this is not the only foreign toponym with an Akkadian meaning; e.g. Kunšum, the capital city of the kingdom of Itaballūm in the Zagros, means “ball of wool” in Akkadian; the Elamite city of Madaktu means in Akkadian “(military) camp, expeditionary force.” Such names were not uncommon even within Mesopotamian territory; the birth-place of Sargon of Agade was the city of Azupirānu, meaning “saffron.”

⁴¹⁶ Astour, “Semites and ...,” p. 41; Nashef, *RGTC* 5, p. 122.

⁴¹⁷ Levine put Ḥaš(i)mu/ar at the point where the Diyāla leaves Hamrin: Levine, L., “Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros I,” *Iran* 11 (1973), p. 23; Weidner, “Die Feldzüge Šamši-Adads V. gegen Babylonien,” *Afo* 9 (1933-34), p. 97; but Speiser, Billerbeck and Streck put it in Darband-i-Khān, cf. Speiser, “Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of ...,” *AASOR* 8 (1926-1927), p. 26 and note 49.

Linking the name of Simurru to a plant name is reminiscent of what the ancient Arab geographer and traveller Mis'ar bin al-Muhalhal (10th century A.D.)⁴¹⁸ wrote about his visit to Shahrazūr. His narrative is cited in the book of Yaqūt al-Ḥamawī, entitled *Mu'jam al Buldān* (= Lexicon of the Lands).⁴¹⁹ Al-Muhalhal said, "Shahrazūr is famous for the mountains Sha'cārān and Zalm, on the sides of which some kind of plant grows that is good for manhood and sexuality."⁴²⁰ He has identified two criteria relevant to our purpose, the mountain name is similar to (Ḥa)šī'ūru, and it is known for a particular plant, though we are not in a position to say anything more. Because the name Sha'cārān is not current today an identification is difficult. Nevertheless, its alleged proximity to the ancient capital city Shahrazūr,⁴²¹ which is by no means so far to the south as Hamrin and Qalāy Shirwāna, makes us search in the Shahrazūr Plain. The association al-Muhalhal made between Ša'cārān and Zalm is crucial. Zalm is the mountain on the eastern edge of the plain, with the same name and close to Mount Surēn. Surēn is in all probability a development from Ša'cārān from the older form Šīran,⁴²² a form recorded in a Syriac manuscript concerned with the history of Kirkuk (Kark/hā de-Bēt Selōk). When that manuscript defines the frontiers of the kingdom of Beth Garmai (modern Garmiyān), of which Kirkuk was the capital, it works in a counter-clockwise direction from the Lower Zāb, then to Deklat (the Tigris), then to the river "Atrakon, which they also call Tormara or Tamarra," then to Ladi/ab and Mount Šīran back to the Lower Zāb.⁴²³ A further significant allusion made by al-Muhalhal is that the main river of Shahrazūr was called Tama/i/urrā, which flows to Khanaqīn. Although he has not given the exact pronunciation of the second vowel⁴²⁴ the principal elements of *t-m-r* are recognizable and we have the Syriac form Tormara/ Tamarra. If we treat this hydronym by the rules of Akkadian phonology, it becomes possible to take the initial /t/ as having been derived from or developed from Akkadian /s/ or /š/, (compare Akk. *šitru*, "(piece of) writing" > Arab. *saṭru(n)* and Akk. *šiqu* > Arab. *tiqlu(n)*, and many other examples). The sound /t/ is convertible in Kurdish, which is spoken in the region, to either /s/ or /t/, as can be heard in the name *Tama/i/urrā*.⁴²⁵ So this name may correspond to the ancient name of *S/Šamurra* < *Šimurra/u*. This would lend support to the suggestion of Frayne about the name of Simurru reflected in modern Sirwān, especially when we know that the main river of Shahrazūr that flows southwards to Khanaqīn is Sirwān and the name Tama/i/urrā is not known at present. But it is important to know that the Middle Ages geographer al-Mustawfi (14th century AD) mentioned that the River Diyāla

⁴¹⁸ Le Strange, *The Lands of Eastern Caliphate*, p. 190.

⁴¹⁹ الحموي، ياقوت، معجم البلدان، الجزء الخامس، القاهرة، ١٩٠٦، ص. ٣١٢-٣، مادة: شهرزور.

[al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al Buldān* (in Arabic), vol. 5, Cairo, 1906, p. 312-3, under: Shahrazūr]. al-Ḥamawī has died in 1228 A. D.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴²¹ The city of Shahrazūr has not yet been exactly identified, but it seems very probable that it is identical with modern Yasān Tepe, a high and large tell that revealed rich Islamic levels at the upper levels during a short excavation in the 1970s.

⁴²² Another mountain on the eastern side of the Darband-i-Khān, the artificial lake at the southern end of Shahrazūr Plain, is Shamērān, which sounds similar to Ša'cārān, but the association of the latter with Zalm in the passage of al-Muhalhal makes the identification of Ša'cārān with Shamērān unlikely.

⁴²³ پیگولوسکایا، ن.، شهرهای ایران در رزوگار پارتیان و ساسانیان، تهران، ۱۳۷۲ (چاپ دوم)، ص. ۶۸.

[Pigulevskaia, N., *The Cities of Iran under the Parthians and Sassanians* (in Persian, originally published in Russian), Teheran, 1993, p. 68]. Although the manuscript tells the events of the last years of the NA period, it uses terminology and GNs of the time of its composition (the Sassanian Period), such as Beth Garmai. The other GNs mentioned in the text must also be the forms known in Sassanian times.

⁴²⁴ In the light of the Syriac version it could be more probably an *a*.

⁴²⁵ Kurdish, an Indo-European language, has been present in the region since the beginning of the first millennium BC, when with the Medes came to the region. The grammar and phonology of Kurdish is closely comparable to other neighbouring Indo-European languages, especially in converting the above-mentioned sounds.

was called Nahrawān, coming from the mountains of Kurdistan, consisting of the confluence of the two rivers Širwān (an old form of Sirwān), the lower part of which is called Tāmarrâ, and the River Halwān.⁴²⁶

Looking for later or even modern toponyms identifiable with ancient Simurru leads to a name with a flourishing past, the city of Saimara, which gave its name to the river passing through the district once called Mihrajān Kuḏak⁴²⁷ (now in Luristan Minor). This suggestion is more complicated because the city is farther to the southeast, in Iranian territory, to the southeast of Halwān and Sarpul, but it is still worth examining. Also interesting is the presence of another city between Halwān and Saimarra called Sirwān, the same name as the river discussed above (cf. Map 5).⁴²⁸ Both cities flourished in the Middle Ages and were important centres in the region. While no clear etymology can be presented for these names, they may perhaps be linked phonologically with Simurru. Both places are not so far away from the area of Simurrian activity, so there may be some connection between the names. The relief and inscription of a king of Simurru (Anubanini II= ID) is nearby, and it is the place where Iddi(n)-Sîn fought and subdued Ḫalman. The city name Saimara can be a reflection of the old name Simurru. But geographically it is difficult to suggest a location of Simurru of the Ur III and Early OB texts in such a relatively remote place. A reasonable solution would be to suggest the name here reflects the time of a Simurrian extended hegemony, perhaps under Iddi(n)-Sîn.⁴²⁹ Another possibility is that Simurru could indeed have been in this region of Saimara in its earliest days, but its centre of gravity had moved later to the northwest, to the strategic area around Ḫalwān and the Great Khorasan Road. How the name Simurru was changed to Zab(b)an is not known, though Zab(b)an could perhaps be somehow associated with Zabazuna.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁶ Le Strange, p. 60-61.

It could be that Tāmarrâ has its roots in the element Tur(r)ān of the GN Mē-Turān.

⁴²⁷ الحموي، نفس المصادر السابق، الجزء ٥، ص. ٤٠٧.

[al-Ḥamawī, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, p. 407, under: Šaimarah]; cf. also: Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 202 f.

⁴²⁸ The even more similar GN *Samirum* is further to the southeast than Saimara, a distance which makes any identification futile.

⁴²⁹ Such cases are not uncommon; many city names of the new world are reflections of city names of Europe, from where the new settlers originated. On the other hand the names of Sirwān and Saimara are not the only instances of a supposed reflection of an older name. Many examples are known to Assyriologists, particularly in the northern Transtigris and northern Mesopotamia: *Šušarrā* > Shemshāra; *Muṣašir* > Mujesir; *Aziru* > Azmar; *A/Urbilum* > Arbil and many others. Further, one may add some other ancient toponyms comparable linguistically and geographically with the medieval toponyms mentioned by geographers and travelers of the time, such as Kimaš, comparable with Qūmiš (var. Kumiš), a large district in western Iran, almost identical with ancient Kimaš. Qūmiš or Qumaš is also the name of a village in Maidasht, a locality of Kirmašān; for this cf. the note of Rōzḥbayāni to the Arabic version of *Sharafnameh* in:

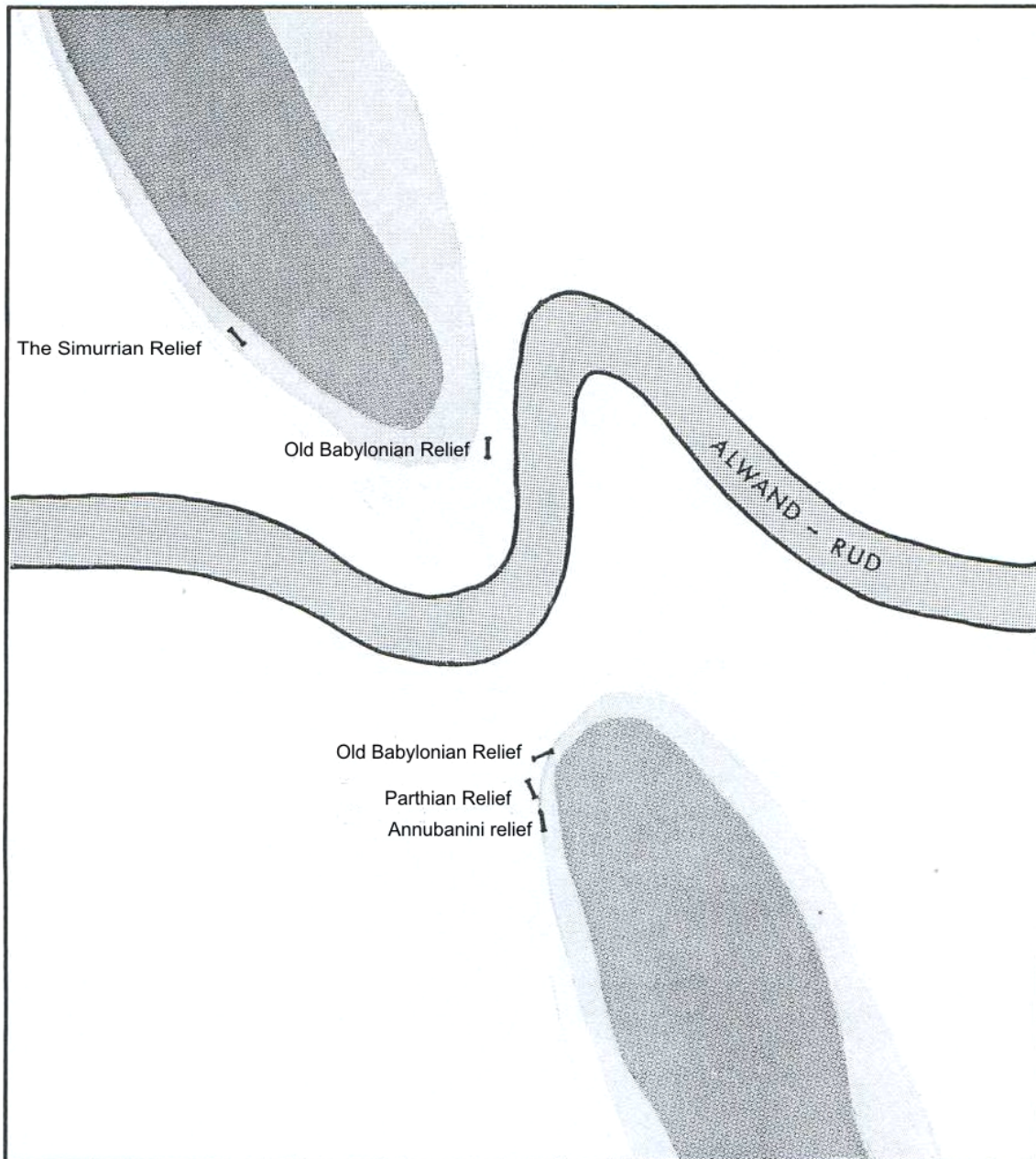
البديسي، شرفخان، *شرفنامه*، ترجمة محمد جميل الملا احمد الروزياني، ط. ٣، بغداد، ٢٠٠٧، ص. ١١٣، الهامش ٢٥.

[al-Badlīsi, Shrafkhān, *Sharafnameh*, tr. M. J. Rōzḥbayāni, 3rd edition, Baghdad, 2007, p. 113, note 25 (in Arabic)];

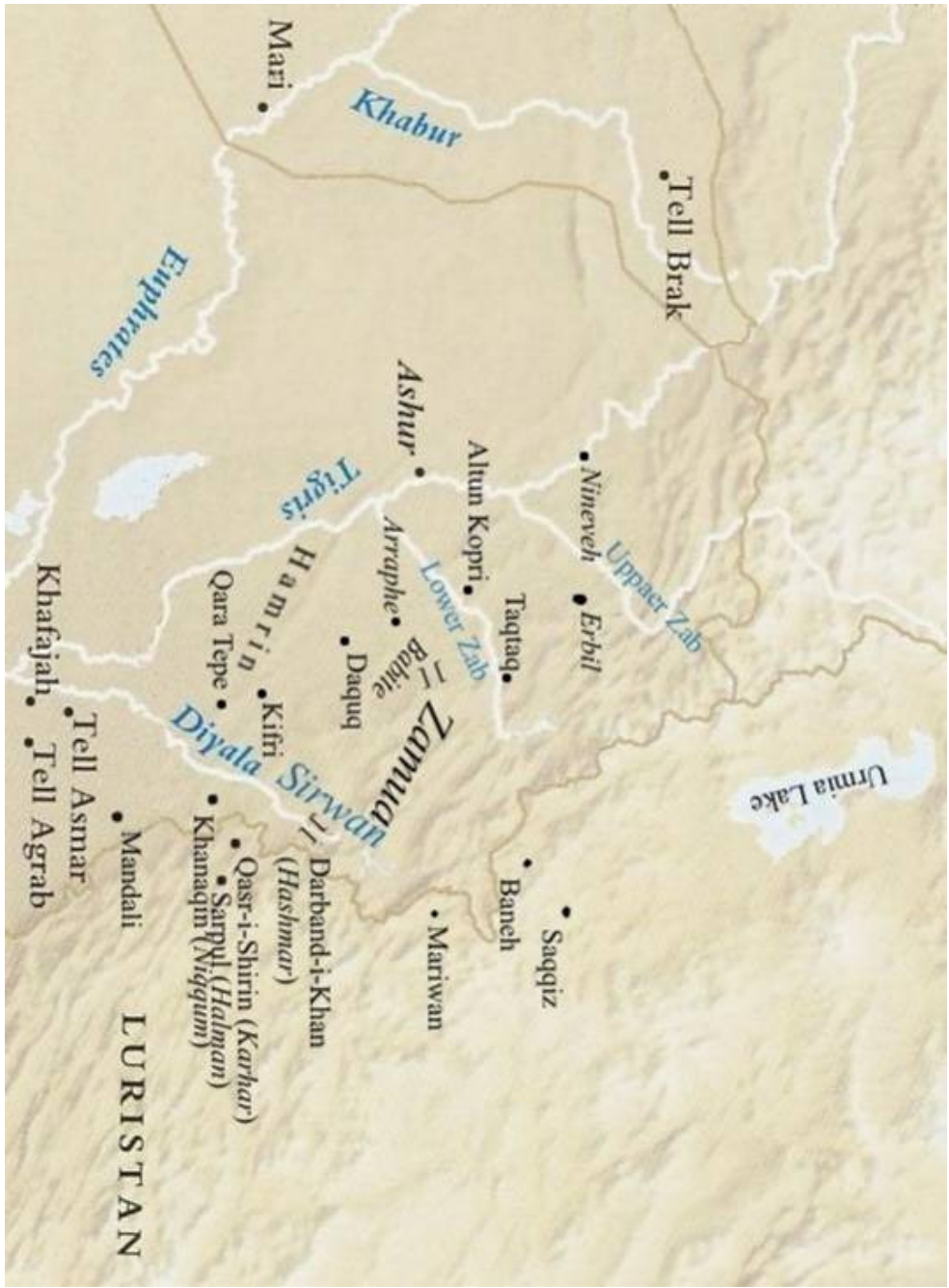
Ḫarši and Harsīn (?) (there is more than one GN Harsīn in the region); Gidānu and (Karḥ) Jadān (?), where Karḥ means “fort, ‘castle;” Padān and Māsapādan (?), where Mas can be analysed as the Iranised form of māh, which was used in GNs like Māh of Basra and Māh of Kūfa in the Arabic sources; perhaps it comes from Akkadian *māt*; it is not from the GN Media, OP Māda, as suggested by Edward Brown in *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. I, London, 1951, p. 19. This is not the only case of borrowing. Additional examples are كورة/kūre/ < Sum. KUR and إقليم/iqlīm/ < Sum. KALAM in Classical Arabic writings to denote “land” and “province.”

⁴³⁰ In this regard it is tempting to think of Zabazuna as the founder of a new capital in the Diyāla region, named after himself as Zaba(n)zuna, developed or abbreviated to Zab(b)an, assuming Zaban is not identical with Simurru. Or he might have changed the name of ancient Simurru to Zaba(n)zuna after he rose to power. This hypothesis fits chronologically with the replacement of the name Simurru by Zab(b)an in texts dated to Šilli-Sîn and Iluna of Ešnunna and later of Apil-Sîn of Babylon.

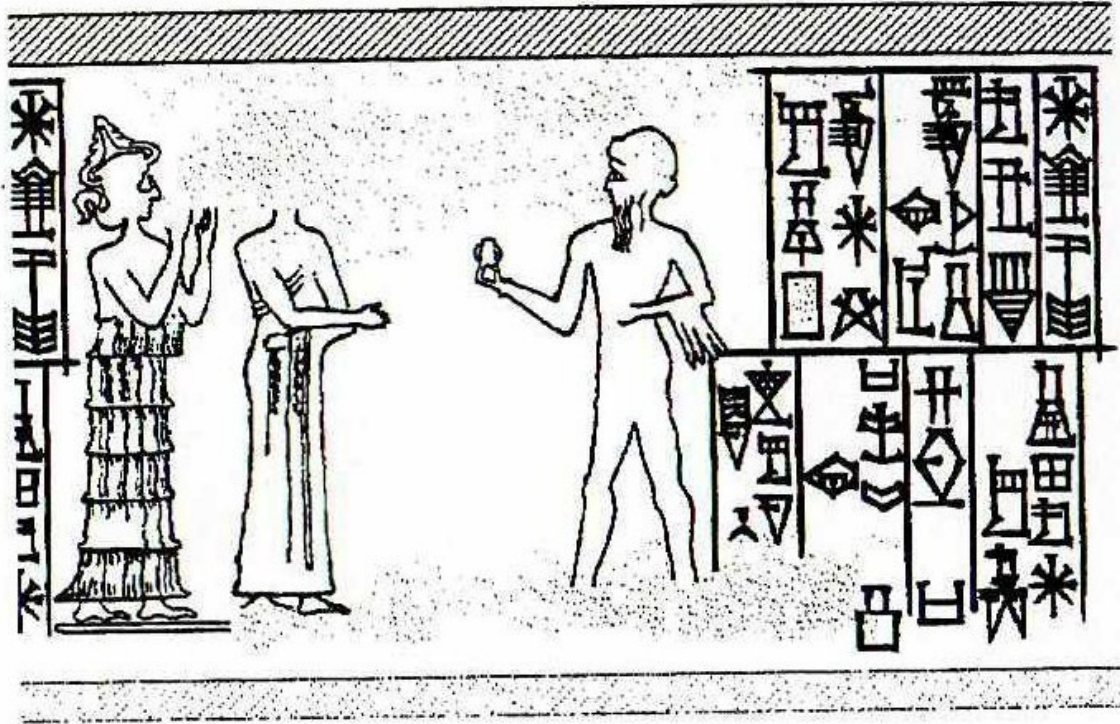
Figures of Chapter Five



Map 1) The Sarpul pass and the locations of the reliefs. After Hrouda, *Iranische Denkmäler*, Lieferung 7, Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs C: Sarpol-i Zohāb, Die Reliefs I-IV, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin, 1976, pl. 9.b. (The names are modified).



Map 2) The Transtigris. Names in *italic* indicate ancient geographical names.



1a) Seal impression of a servant of Silluš-Dagan. After: Owen, "The Royal Gift Seal...", FS L. Cagni, fig. 5, p. 841.



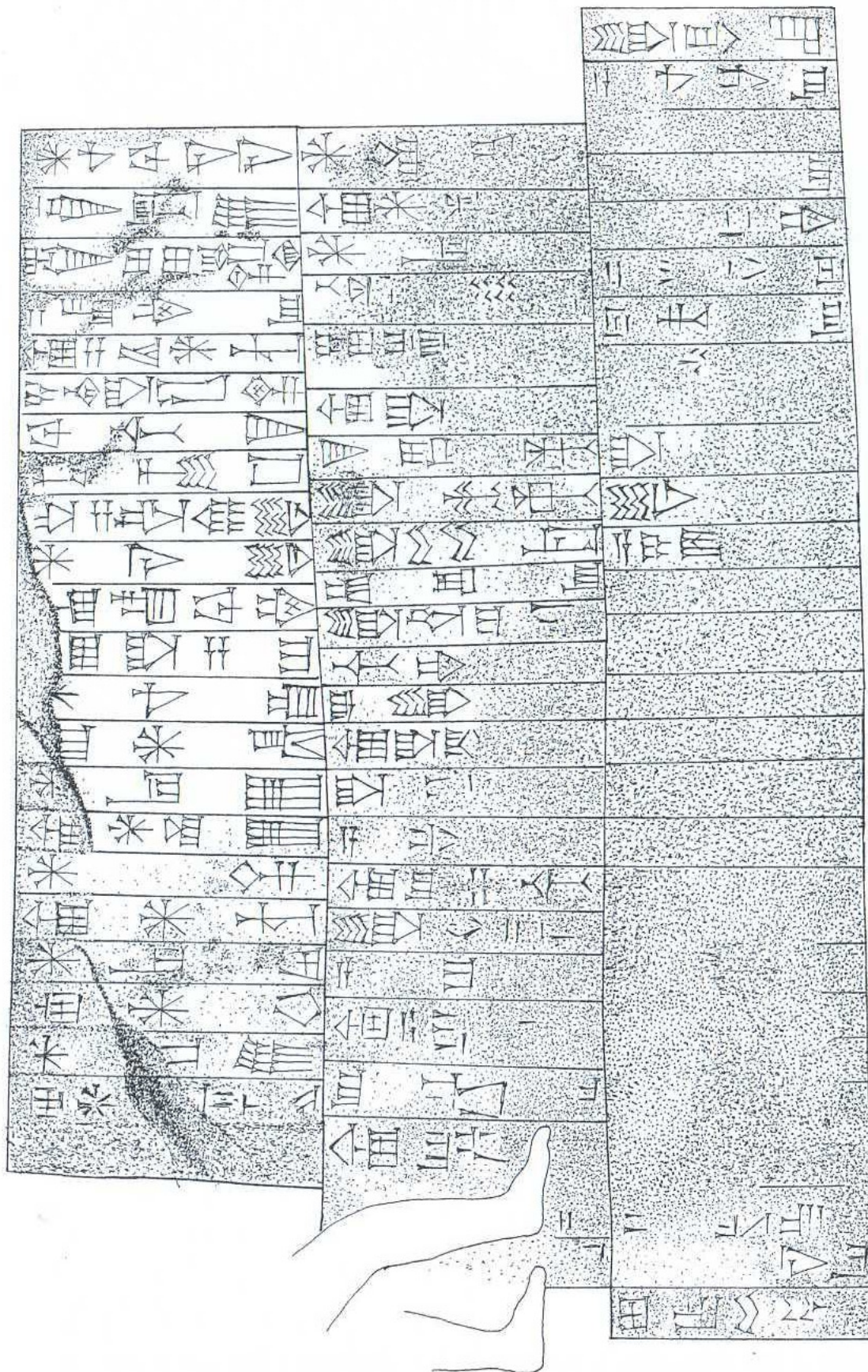
1b) Seal impression of another servant of Silluš-Dagan. After: Owen, *op. cit.*, fig. 4, p. 840.



2a) Drawing of the relief of Annubanini in Sarpul. After: Hrouda, B., *Iranische Denkmäler*, *op. cit.*, pl. 5a .



2b) Photo of the relief of Annubanini in Sarpul. After: Nasrabadi, "Beobachtungen zum Felsreliefs Anubanini, ZA 94 (2004), Berlin, Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, fig. 2, p. 293.



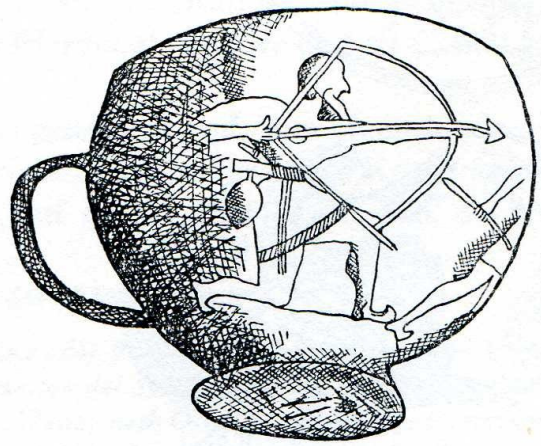
3) Hand copy of the Annubanini inscription. After: Nasrabadi, *op. cit.*, fig. 5, p. 296.



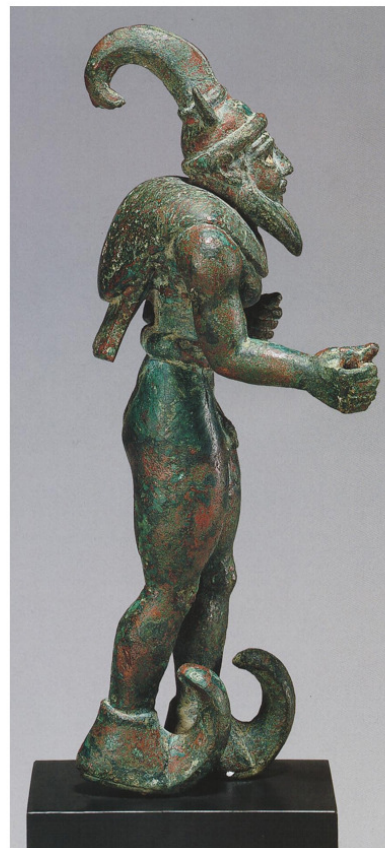
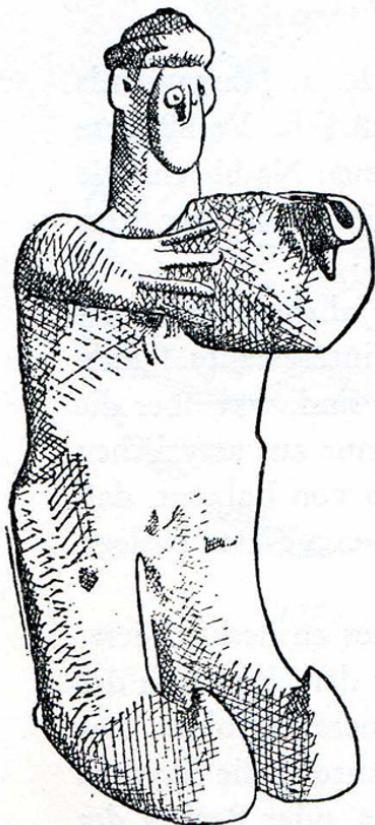
4a) The Simurrian relief in Sarpul. After: Hrouda, *Iranische Denkmäler*, pl. 2.



4b) Detail of the Simurrian relief in Sarpul. After: Hrouda, *Iranische Denkmäler*, pl. 2.

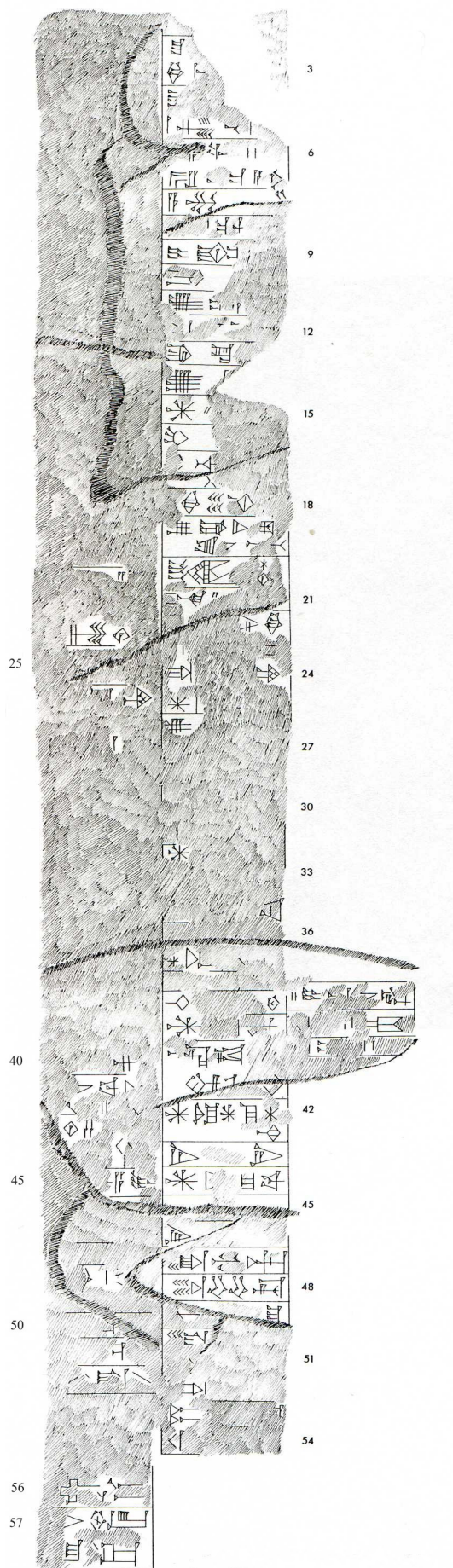


5a) A silver cup from Deilem in Iran showing shoes with upward pointed tips. After: Godard, *Die Kunst des Iran*, Berlin, 1964. Fig. 116a-b, p. 69.



5b) A pottery figurine from Amlash showing footwear with pointed tips. After: Godard, *op. cit.*, fig. 111, p. 68.

5c) A Proto-Elamite copper figure wearing footwear with pointed tips. After: Hansen, in: *Art of the first Cities*, fig. 15a, p. 46.



6) The inscription of the Simurrian relief in Sarpul. After: Hrouda, *Iranische Denkmäler*, pl. 6. (Numbering of col. I by author).



7a) The Haladiny inscription in the Sulaimaniya Museum. Photo by the author.



7b) The Haladiny inscription, oblique view. Photo by the author.



8a) Detail of the upper part of the Haladiny inscription. Photo by the author.



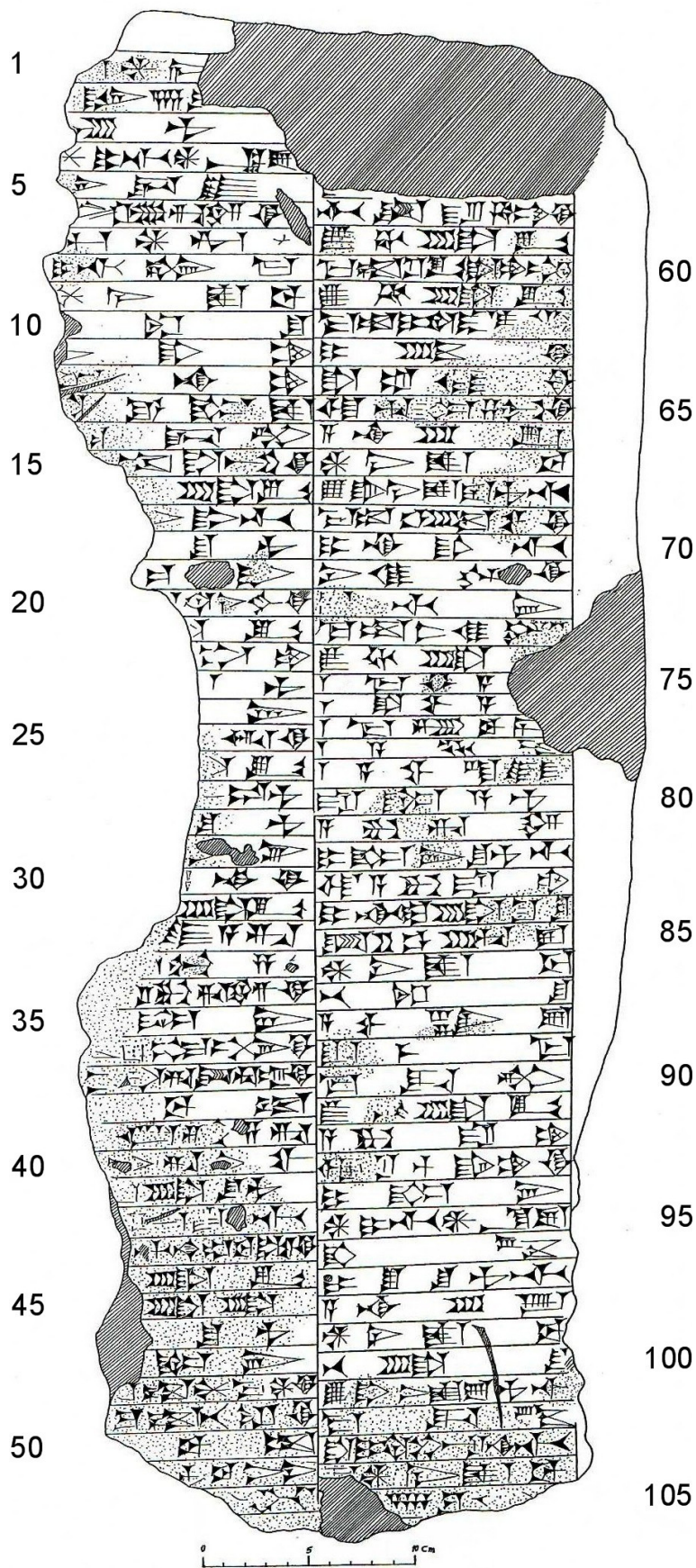
8b) Detail of the upper middle part of the Haladiny inscription. Photo by the author.



8c) Detail of the lower middle part of the Haladiny inscription. Photo by the author.



8d) Detail of the lower part of the Haladiny inscription. Photo by the author.



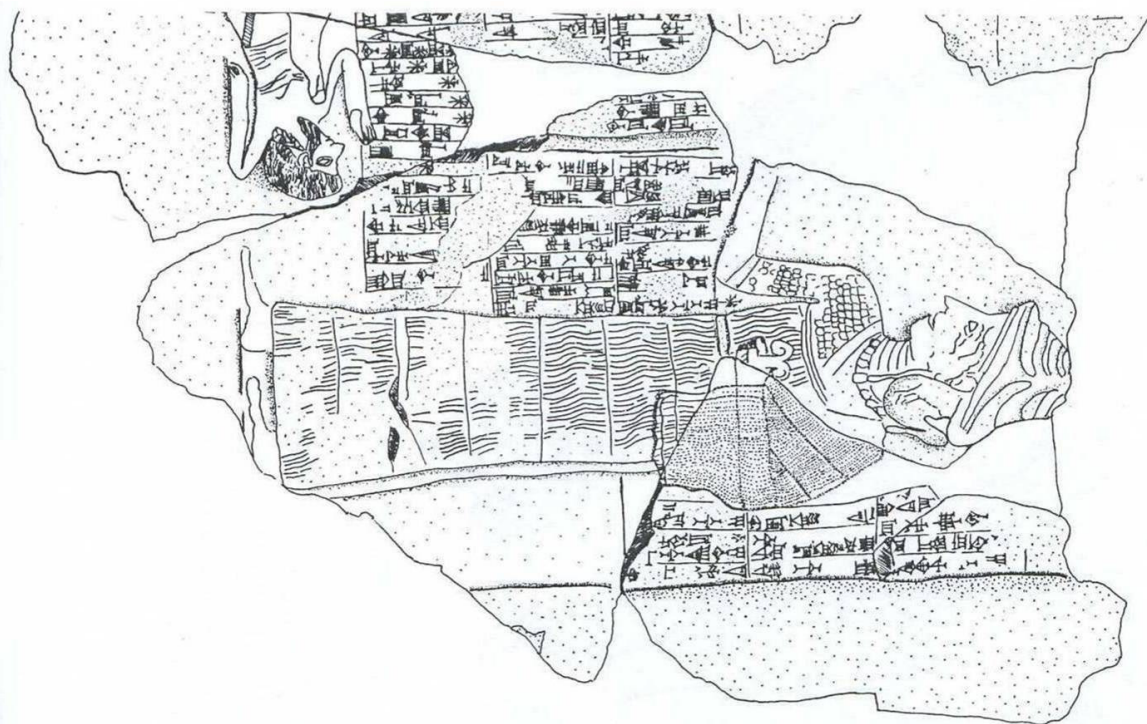
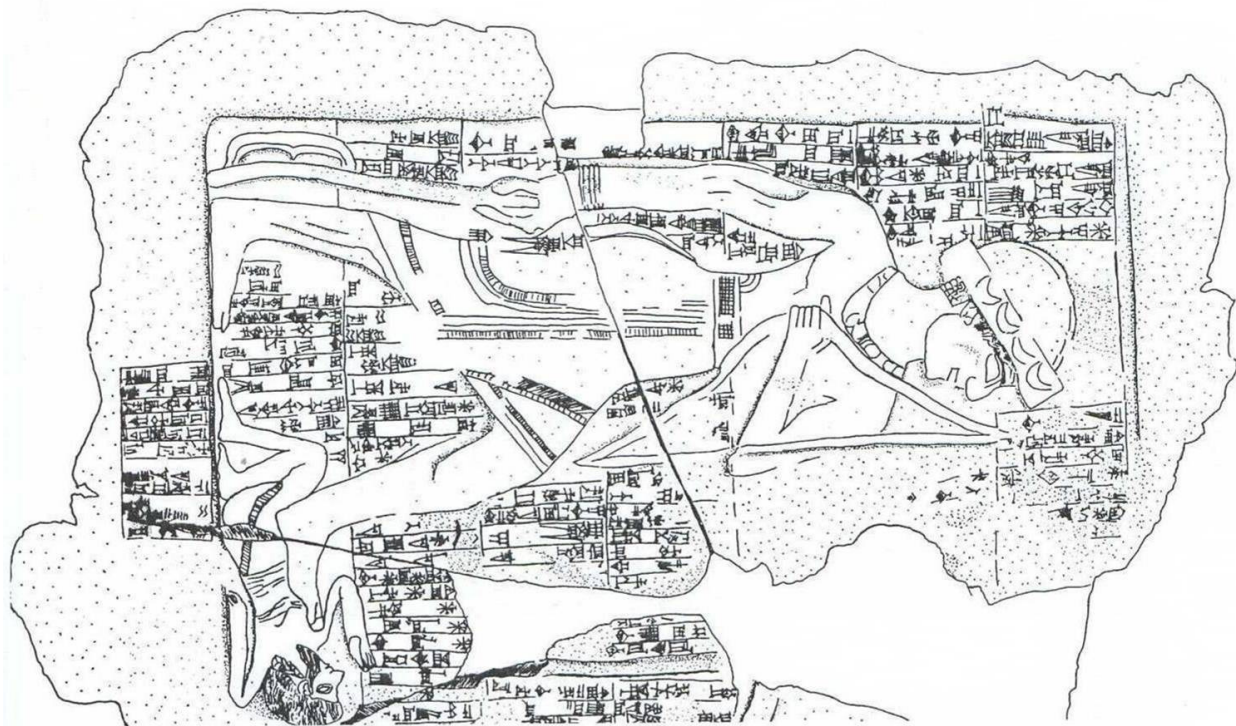
9) The Haladiny inscription; hand copy by the author.



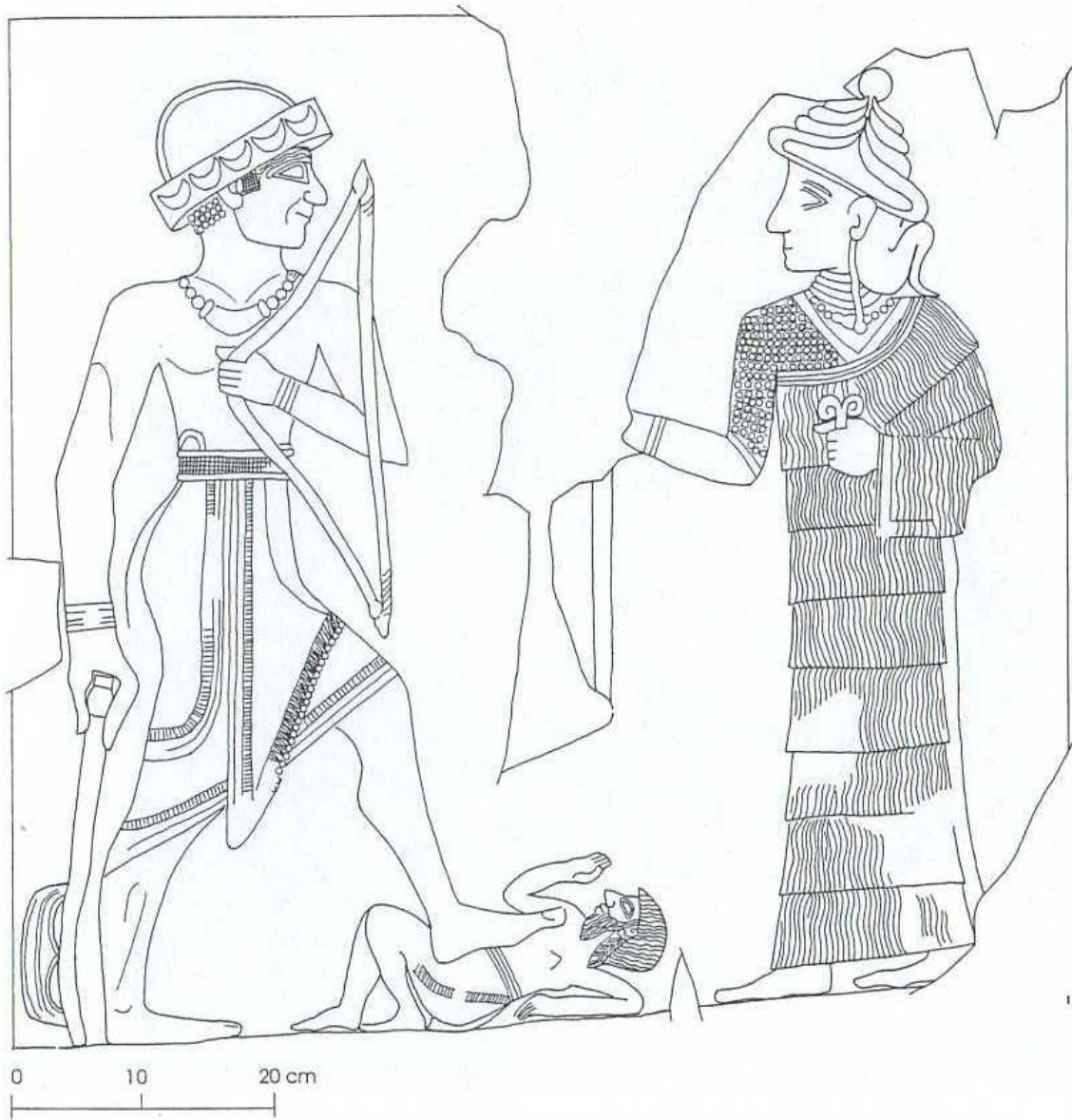
10) Feathered crown of the foremost captive on the Annubanini relief-detail. After: Nasrabadi, *op. cit.* fig. 11, p. 301.



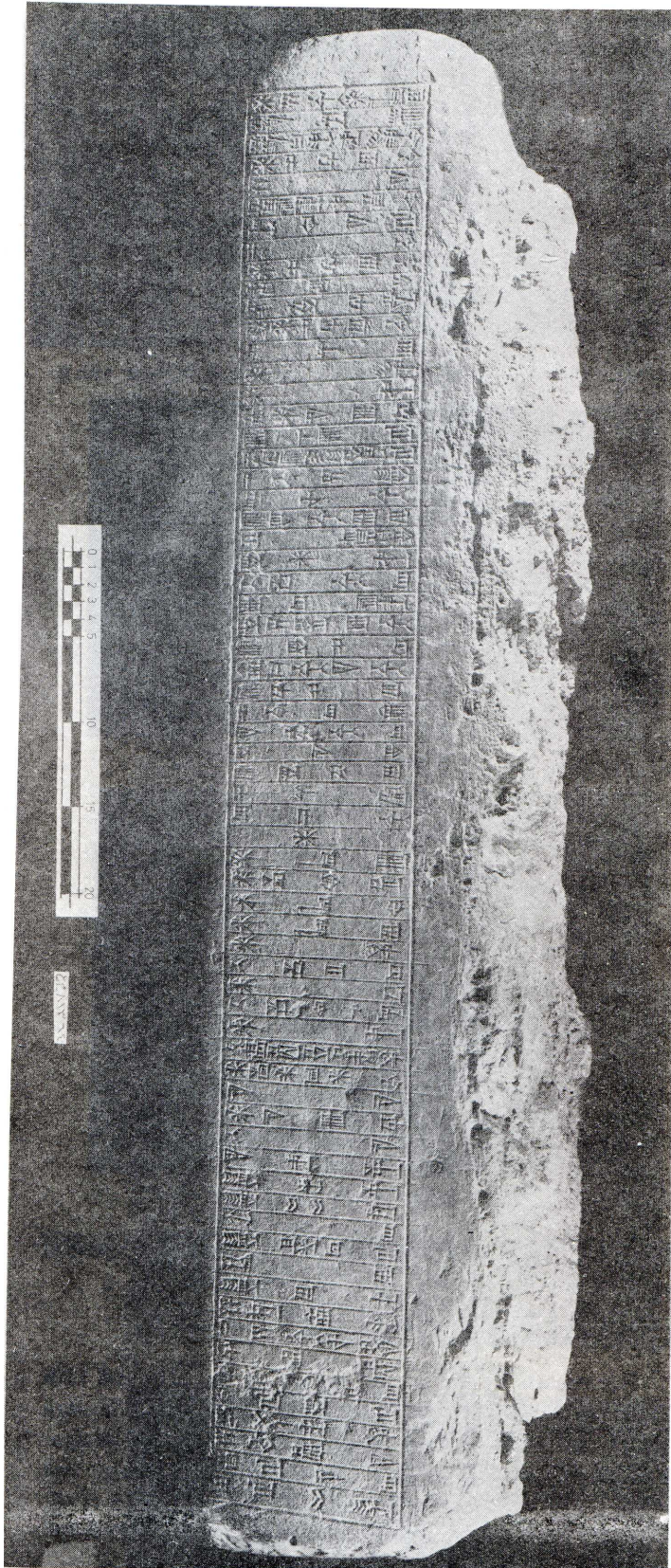
11a) The Jerusalem relief. After: Shaffer and Wasserman, "Iddi(n)-Sîn, King of Simurum: A New Rock Relief Inscription and a Reverential Seal. Mit einem Beitrag von Ursula Seidl," *ZA* 93 (2003), Berlin, Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, fig. 2, p. 6.



11b) Transcription of the Jerusalem inscription. After: Shaffer and Wasserman, *op. cit.*, fig. 1, p. 4-5.



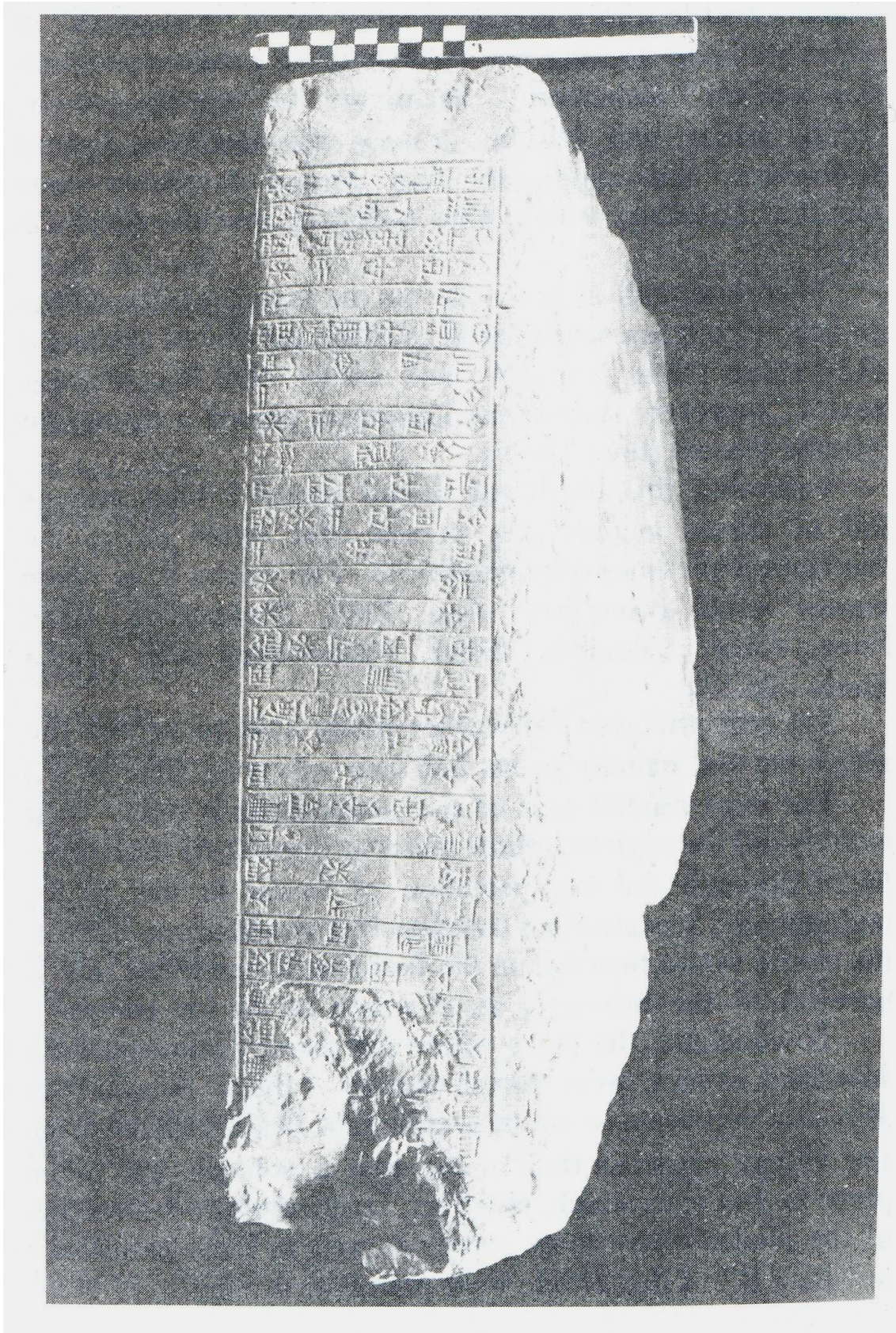
12) Drawing of the Jerusalem Relief. After: Seidl, in Shaffer and Wasserman, *op. cit.*, fig. 6, p. 40.



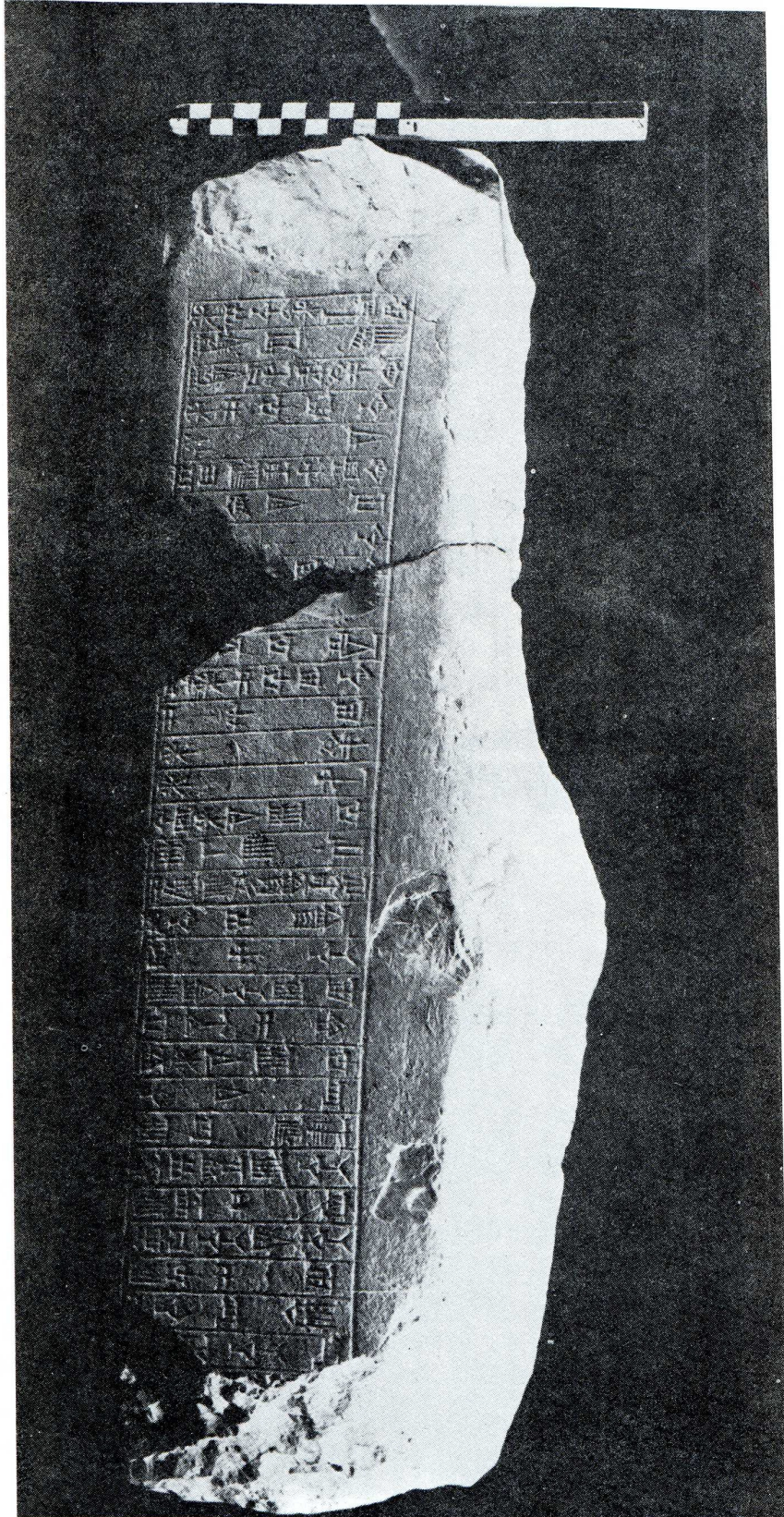
1

A

13a) The Bētwater inscription ID 1 (or A). After: Al-Fouadi, A., "Inscriptions and Reliefs from Bitwāta," *Sumer* 34 (1978). Fig. 1, p. 122.



13b) The Bētwater inscription ID 2 (or B). After: Al-Fouadi, *op. cit.*, fig. 2, p. 123.



5

13c) The Bêtuate inscription ID 3 (or C) that consists of two pieces. After: Al-Fouadi, *op. cit.*, fig. 5, p. 124.



14) View from the top of the Bētwaite Citadel. Photo by the author.



15b) The Bētwaite Citadel from the opposite mountain side. Photo by the author.



15a) The Bētwaite Citadel from the entrance to Bētwaite from the Rāniya Plain. Photo by the author.



15c) The Rāniya Plain seen from the Bētwaite Citadel. Photo by the



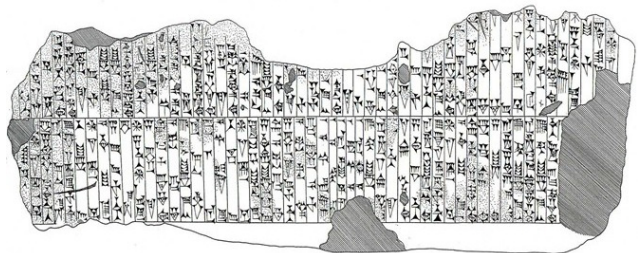
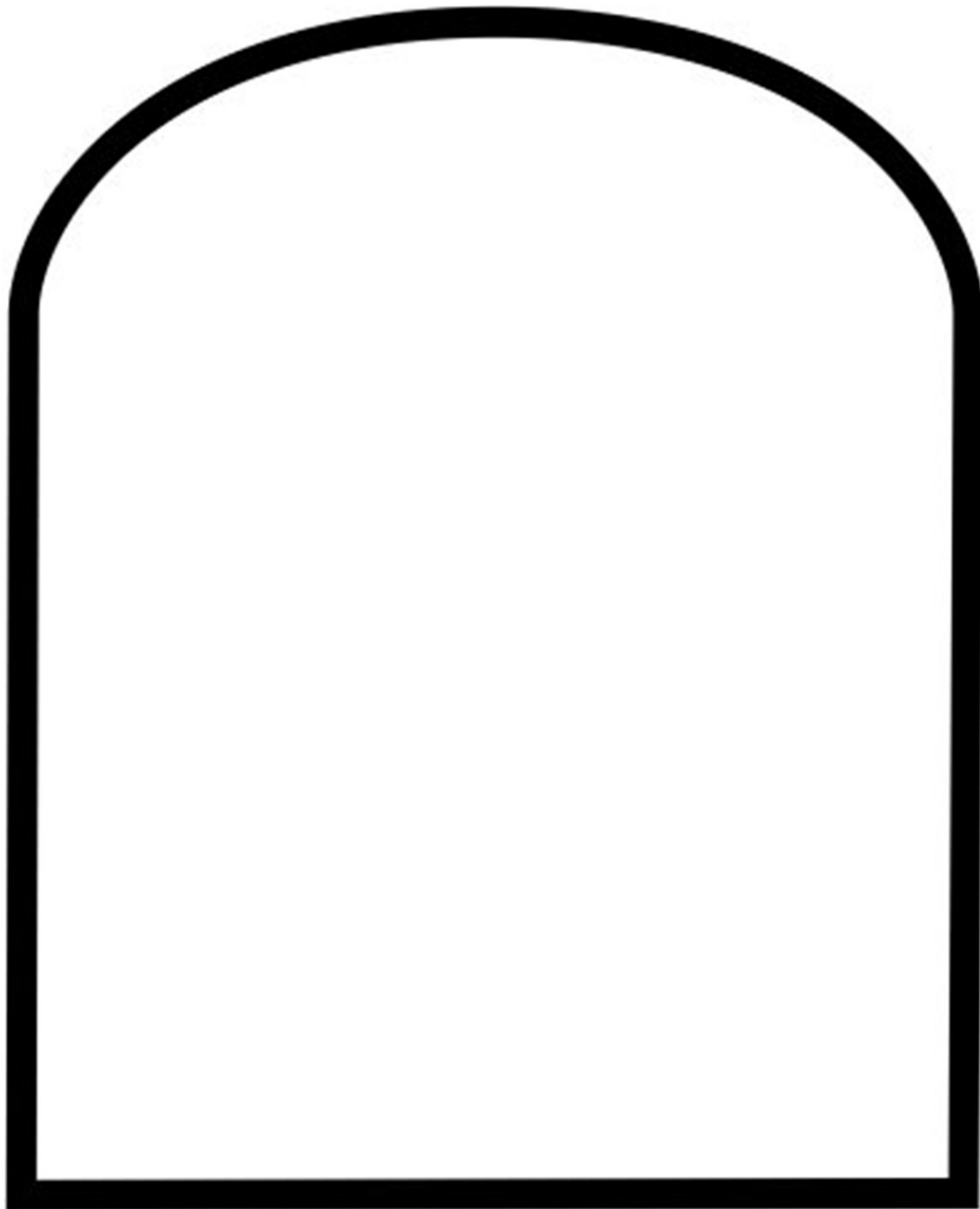
15d) The large flat stone on the Bētwater Citadel between two natural portions that form the citadel. View from the So-called ‘Throne of the East Sun’ rock. Photo by the author.



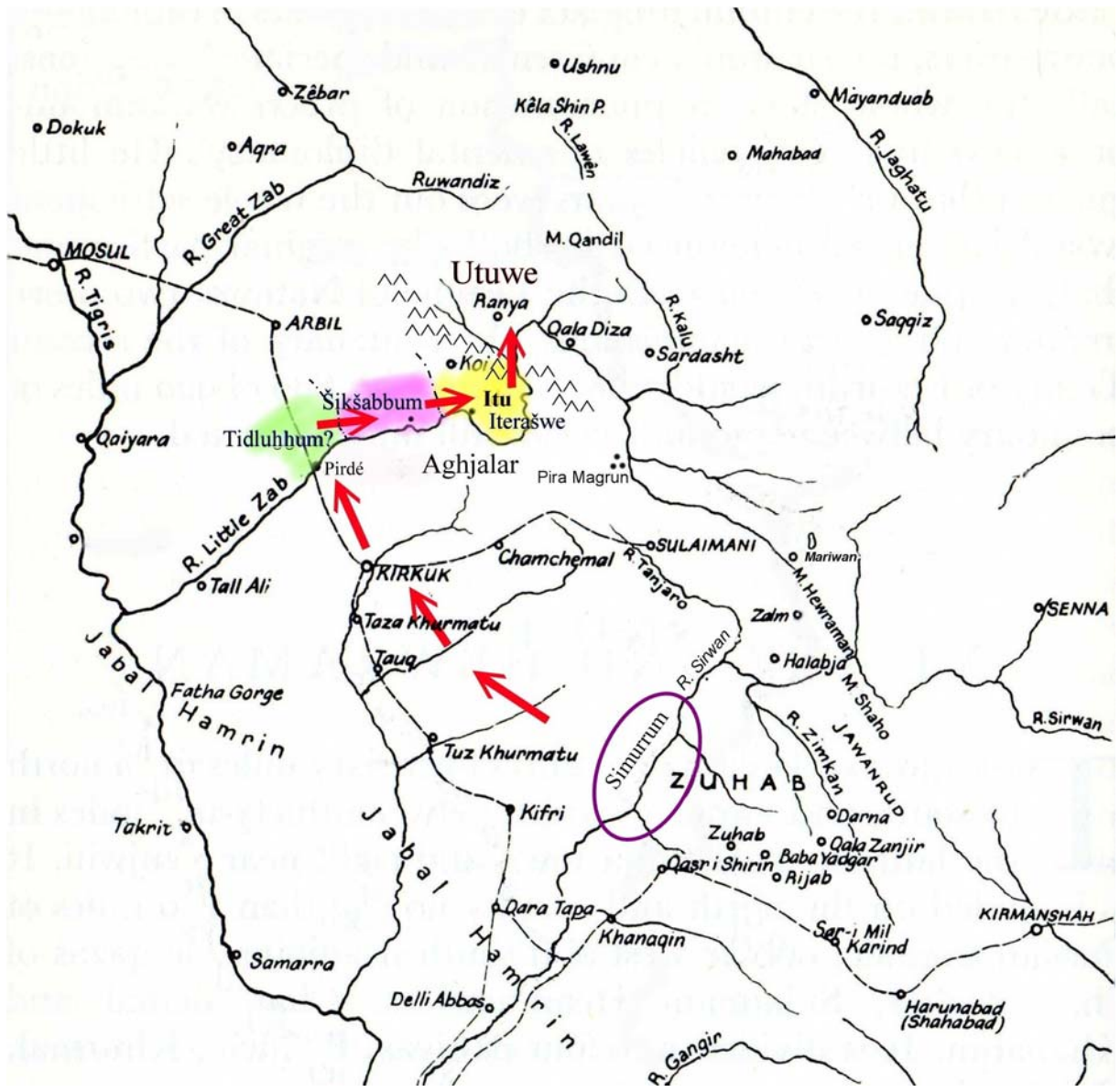
16a) An old cyclopean stone wall built on a still older portion. The wall is at the foot of the citadel and at present forms one of the walls of a dwelling house in Bētwater. Photo by the author.



16b) An old stone wall at the hill side of the citadel. Photo by the author.



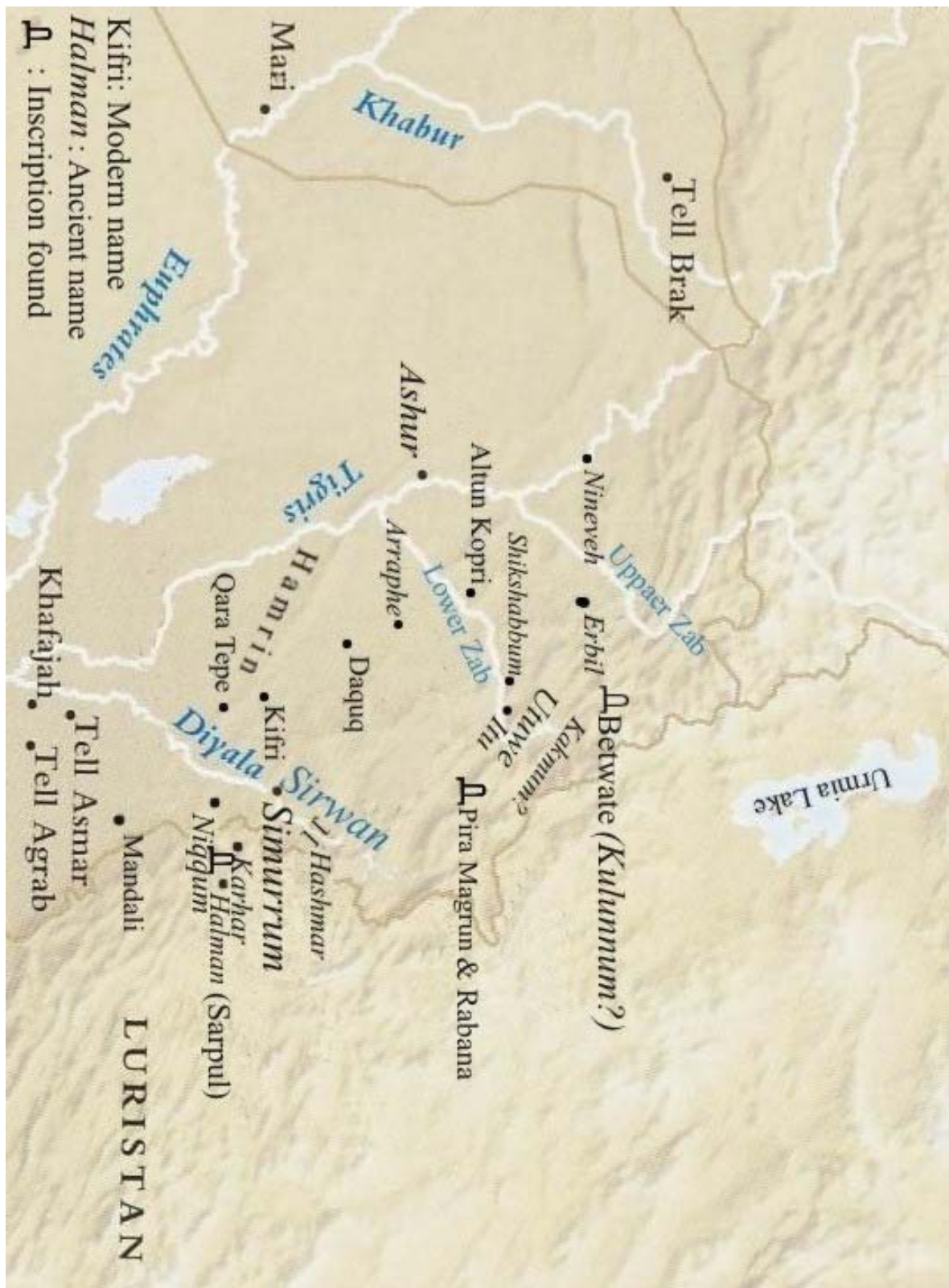
17) The presumably complete layout of the Haladiny inscription.



Map 3: The Lower Zāb axis through which Iddi(n)-Sîn invaded the Rāniya Plain, showing the presumed territorial divisions on the northern bank of the river.



18a) The steep valley in Pīra Magrūn Mountain where Rabana is located. Photo by the author.



Map 3) The conquests of Iddi(n)-Sîn and his son Zabazuna.



18b) The first defense wall in the beginning of Rabana. Photo by the author.



19b) The western part of terrace no. 1, viewed from above. Photo by the author.



19a) The eastern part of terrace no. 1, viewed from above. The white line runs along the wall. Photo by the author.



19c) One of the walls of terrace no. 1 from below. Photo by the



20a) Corner of terrace no. 2, viewed from the south. Photo by the



20b) Above terrace no. 2, viewed from the north. Photo by the author.



21a) Part of the western carved wall of the lower corridor (Cor. No. 1). Photo by the author.



21b) The eastern stone wall of the lower corridor (Cor. No. 1). Photo by the author.



22a) The first staircase to the west of the lower passage (Stc. no. 1). Photo by the author.



22b) The second staircase to the west of the lower passage (Stc. no. 2). Photo by the author.



23) The series of staircases and paths in the centre of the complex. Photo by the author.



24a) The niche, which is carved in the mountain rock, with the remains of the statue of a deity. Photo by the author.



24b) The niche with the deity's statue (scale: 10 cm). Photo by the author.



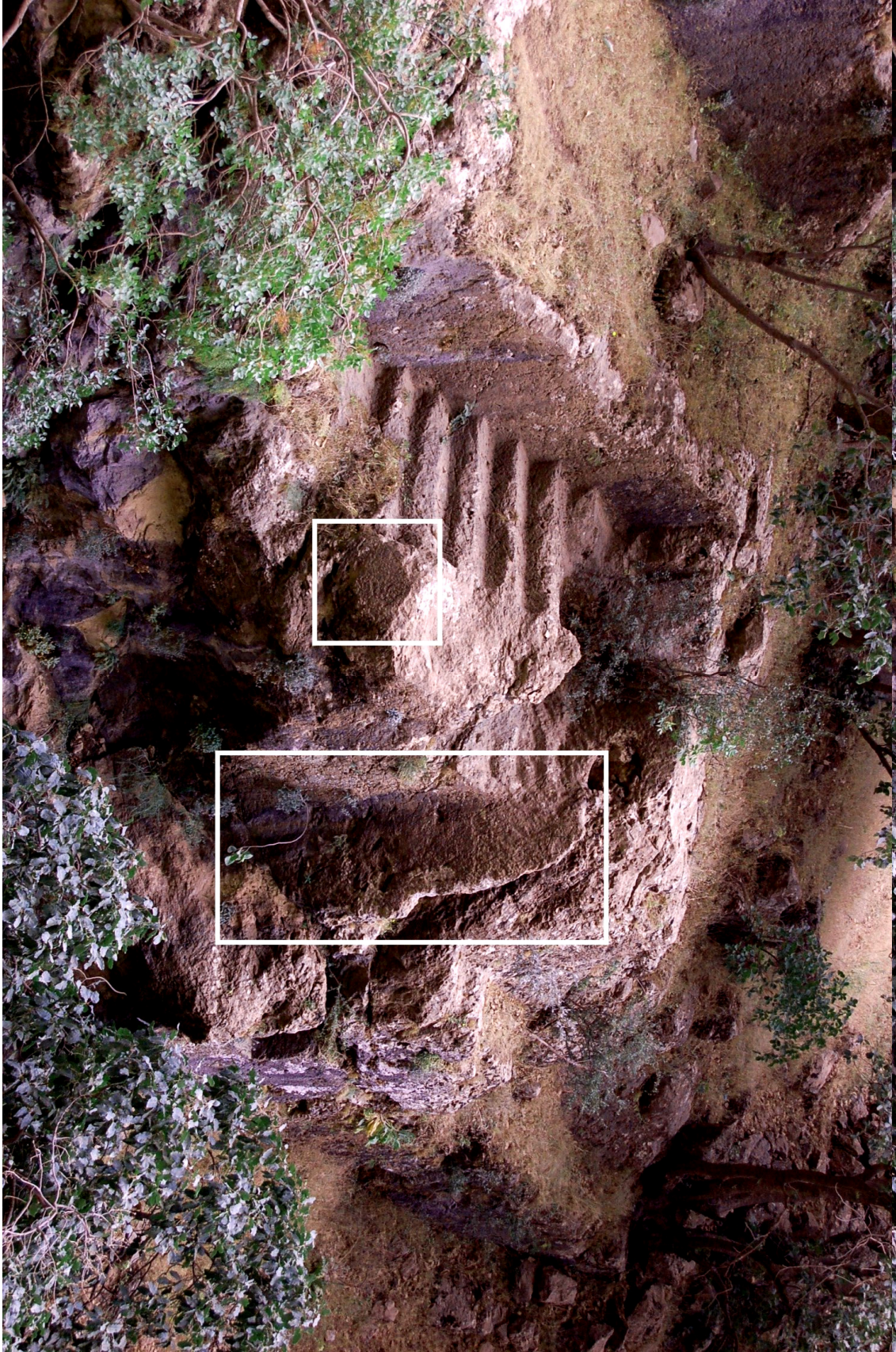
25) The upper staircases (Sic. no. 3) that are above the niche. Photo by the author.



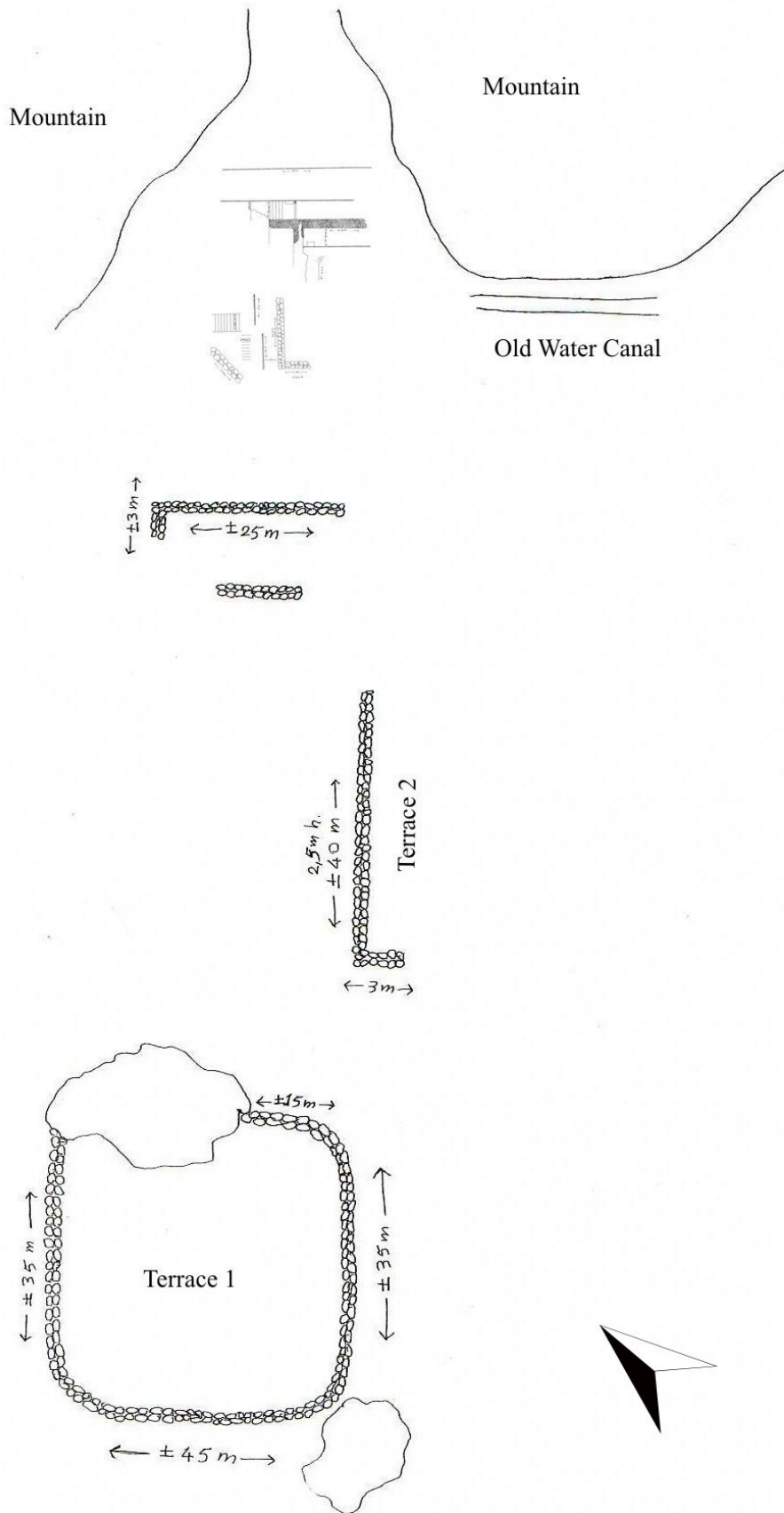
26) The upper end of the upper staircases and the vertical shaft pointed to by the arrow. Photo by the author.



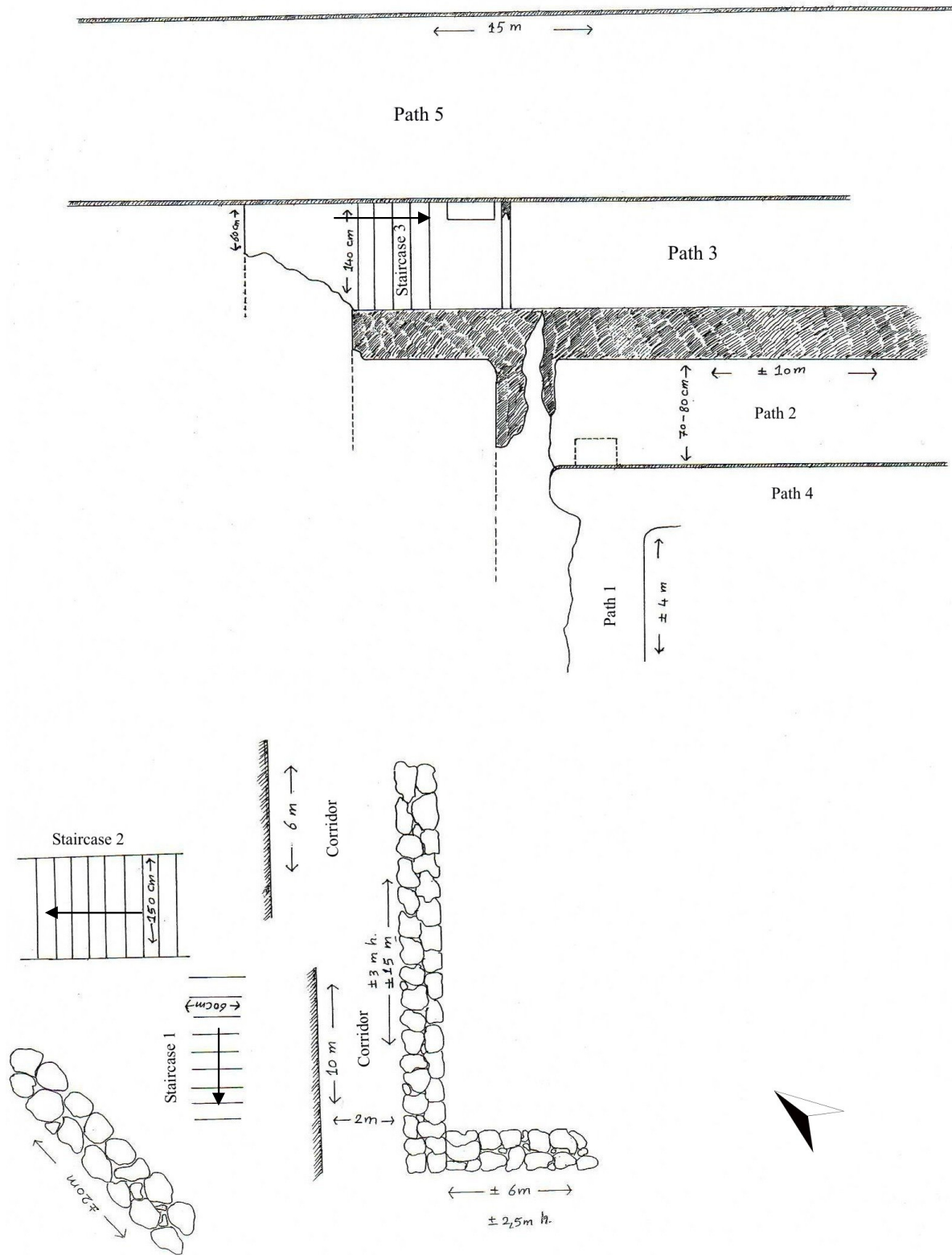
27) The square space at the beginning of the upper staircases. Photo by the author.



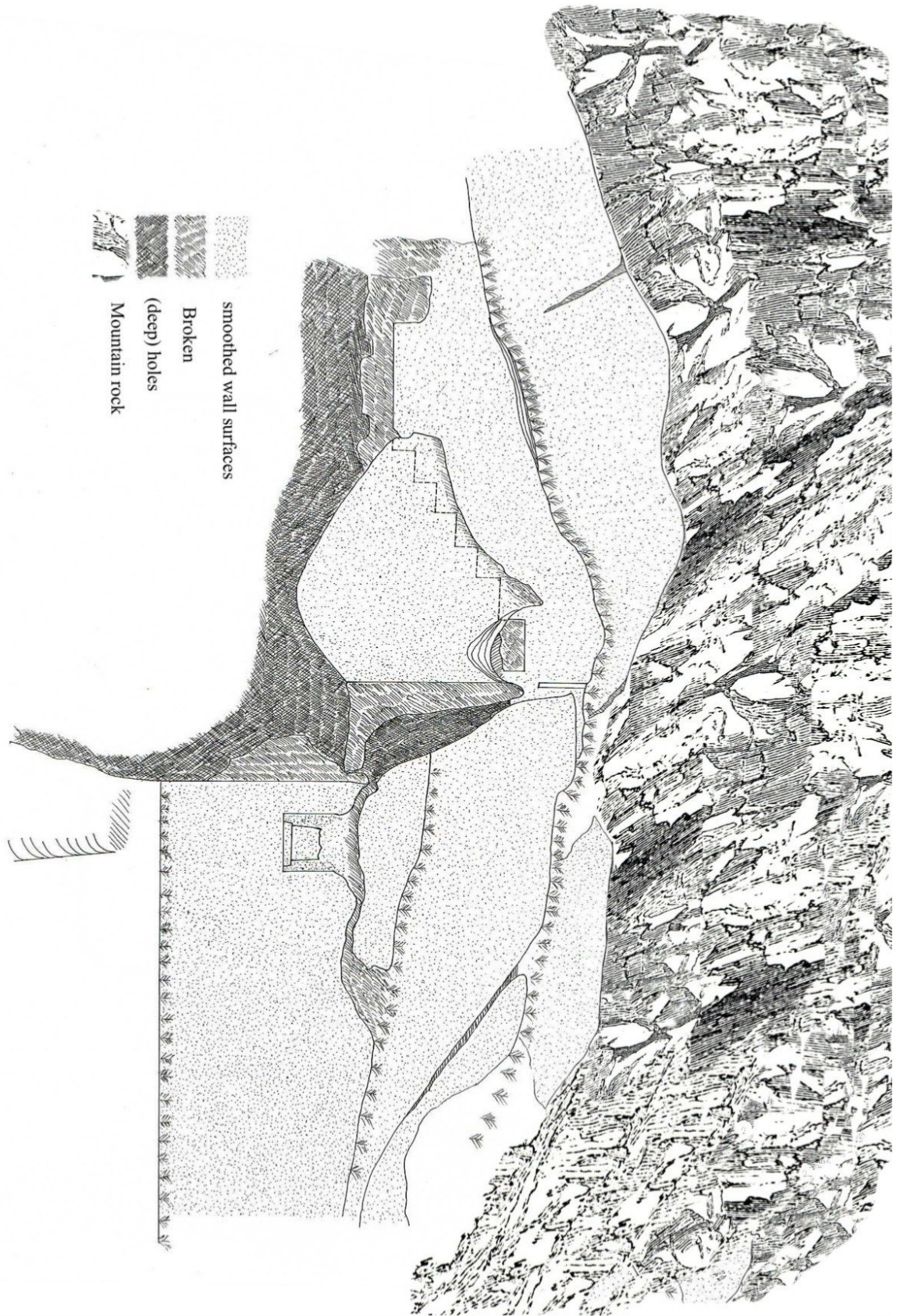
28) The remains of the carved wall connected with the other wall at 90° degree angle (western part). Photo by the author.



29a) The general plan of the Rabana structures. Drawing by the author.



29b) Plan of the temple and surrounding paths and staircases (detail of the upper part of fig. 29a). Drawing by the author.



29c) Front view of the temple. Drawing by the author.



30) The Iddi(n)-Sîn Cylinder Seal in the Rosen Collection. After: Shaffer and Wasserman, *op. cit.*, fig. 5, p. 33.



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31) The Seal of Zabazuna in the British Museum. After: Collon, *Catalogue of ...*, no. 451.



Map 5) Map of medieval western Iran showing the Jibāl Province (Mountains Province) on which both cities of Saimara and Sirwān are shown. Map after: G. Le Strange, opposite page 185.

CHAPTER SIX



Conflict for Survival in the Zagros



The events of the years that followed the period of the military and political successes of Simurru are shrouded in mystery. No royal inscriptions from inside the region, such as those of Iddi(n)-Sîn or Annubanini, are known which could throw light on the events. Here we are obliged to rely on sources from its neighbours, Ešnunna, Assyria, Mari and later Babylon. Some very important light is shed by the Shemshāra archives; they fill a large gap in the history of this period in the 18th century BC from inside the region. Second in importance are the Mari archives; they provide valuable information about the history of the northern Mesopotamian states and sometimes even those of the Zagros, particularly in the period after the Shemshāra archives.

We have only sparse information about Simurru at this time. In the letter no. 69 = SH 868 that was sent by the great Turukkean king Pišendēn to a certain Tu[...], he addresses him as “brother.” Since no other Turukkean king in the realm of Pišendēn was equal to him, even the influential Talpuš-šarri (see below), this Tu[...] must have been a powerful king outside the Turukkean orbit. In the letter, Pišendēn encourages the addressee to persuade the kings of Elam, Niqqum and Namar to attack Kakmum. This might mean that the addressee had good relations with the rulers of these lands and was most probably their neighbour. So the letter could well have been sent to Simurru. Eidem and Læssøe base this suggestion, despite the lack of documentation for Simurru, on evidence that Simurru had diplomatic relations with Turukkum.¹ Nevertheless, we do not know from other sources who this king was who succeeded Zabazuna directly or indirectly.

The most prominent figure in this period was Šamšī-Adad I (1813-1781 BC) of Assyria.² Thanks to him and his conquests the history of the whole region has become better known. Valuable information has been recorded in the letters and reports he, his sons, his officials and his spies exchanged, as we will see in the next pages. These documents come from the archives of Mari and Shemshāra, but other documents from the time of his successors and the time of Zimri-Lim come, in addition to Mari, from the sites of Tell al-Rimāh (ancient

¹ Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives 1: The Letters*, p. 144, comment on l. 1.

² Although the French Mari team prefers “North Mesopotamian Kingdom” instead of “Assyria” for the rule of the dynasty of Šamšī-Adad, which is more realistic, for convenience I maintain the traditional terminology and shall use “Assyria” in this work.

Qaṭṭara),³ Bi^ca (Ancient Tuttul), and Leylān⁴ (Ancient Šeḥna, later Šubat-Enlil), which were discovered after Mari and Shemshāra. These documents, particularly those of Shemshāra, are extremely important. They provide historical data and also significant information about the culture, language, historical geography and ethnic pattern of the region in this period. In the time of Šamšī-Adad Mari was under the control of Assyria and was ruled by his son Yasmaḥ-Addu. The reports his father and sometimes his brother Išme-Dagan sent to him informing him about the developments on the eastern front are, fortunately for us, preserved in Mari. Even in the Post-Assyrian period, when the Shemshāra archives had ceased to exist, Mari remained actively involved in the affairs of northern Mesopotamia. As a result of the involvement of numerous agents and officials of the king of Mari there, reports were sent to the king, documenting the phase that followed the end of the Assyrian domination in Northern Mesopotamia and the emergence of the Turukkeans as a major power.

The Geo-political Scene

A panoramic view of the polities in the region under study shows a series of small kingdoms, princedoms and tribal federations that ruled the whole region, from southern Anatolia to Luristan in the middle Zagros. Every one of these polities had a capital city, and the names of some polities and some capitals are known, such as Kunšum of Itabalḥum that led the Turukkean federation; Qabrā of the land of Qabrā; Šušarrā of Utūm; Simurru, Kumme, Aḥazum, Kakmum and others. Not all were under Hurrian supremacy; there was still room for the non-Hurrians: the Amorites of Qabrā, the Gutians and the Lullubians. These peoples dominated extended areas and were powerful enough to threaten the very existence of some of the Hurrians, as seen in the case of Endušše the Gutian (see below). S/Šubartum is also mentioned several times in the documents of this period, but not apparently to indicate a specific ethnic designation. Rather it served as a collective term for the peoples of ancient Subartu and sometimes for the northern mountainous regions (see also Chapter Two). One important note about Šubartu is that every time the documents refer to its rulers they use a plural formula “the kings of Šubartum.” This suggests that the term covered various independent peoples and polities of the region, and it does not rule out the probability that there were small political entities spread over the areas about which we are ignorant, outside the orbits of the polities we know. To the west there was the growing empire of Assyria under Šamšī-Adad that was centred on the cities of Aššur, Ekallātum and Šubat-Enlil. Ešnunna was a powerful state in the Diyāla region that was politically involved in Northern Mesopotamia and the Transtigris. As will be shown, Ešnunna allied with Assyria to conquer Arrapha and Qabrā. It was more than an ally of Šamšī-Adad’s dynasty, for it acted as its patron. Elam had its own interests in the region and was involved in the power game. It supported the Turukkeans against the Gutians, and later, in the time of Zimri-Lim, it invaded and occupied Northern Mesopotamia for a while. Eidem and Læssøe have grouped the kingdoms and princedoms of the Transtigris of this period as follows:⁵

- I. On the Tigris River: Nurrugum - Ekallātum - Aššur - Ešnunna
- II. In the East-Tigris Plain: Urbel/Qabrā - Arrapha - Ešnunna.

³ Dalley, S., C. Walker and J. D. Hawkins, *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al-Rimah (OBTR)*, London, 1976. For the identification of Tell al-Rimāh with ancient Qaṭṭara, cf. Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “Le nom antique de Tell Rimāh,” *RA* 81 (1987), p. 142

⁴ Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, vol. I, p. 85; Vincente, C. A., *The 1987 Tell Leilan Tablets Dated by the Limmu of Habil-kinu*, (unpublished dissertation presented to the Graduate School of Yale University), 1991.

⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

III. In the Zagros foothills: Kumme - Ya'ilānum - Aḥazum - Šimurru - Namar - Nikk/qqu.⁶

IV. In the inner Zagros: Turukkum - Lullubum - Kakmum - Gutium - Elam.

Some but not all of them have been discussed in previous chapters; Nurrugum, Qabrā, Arrapha, Kumme, Ya'ilānum, Namar and Turukkum still have to be discussed.

Nurrugum appears to have been the region in which Nineveh was located⁷ “perhaps with this city as capital, and perhaps with a king named Kipram.”⁸ Eidem and Læssøe believe it was a short-lived, heavily fortified site in the region of Nineveh, which may now be hard to locate on the ground.⁹ He noticed also that “Nurrugum is only attested in this period and its name almost disappears after Šamši-Adad’s conquest.”¹⁰ The letter *ARM* 26, 297 sent to Yasmaḥ-Addu refers to the high quality of Nurrugum alum. Yasmaḥ-Addu asked for it after he had experienced its quality when his father had sent him some.¹¹ “A certain Kipram is the first, and probably the most important, of 9 kings listed in the MEC as defeated by Šamši-Adad or his sons during the *limmu* year Aššur-malik, when Nurrugum was conquered. His name is followed by Yašub-Addu (of Aḥazum). Consequently Kipram was quite likely king of Nurrugum.”¹² Listing the name of Kipram as the first of nine kings could imply added significance and power for Nurrugum. This is supported by the number of troops Šamši-Adad sent with Išme-Dagan to conquer Nurrugum; 60,000 troops¹³ is a huge number for that time when compared with the numbers mentioned elsewhere.¹⁴

The city of **Assur** was the centre of a city-state on the Tigris. The Assyrian king lists identify a continuous sequence of Assyrian rulers for the city over the centuries, but in fact Assur was at times under the yoke of southern dynasties, such as Akkad and perhaps Ur III.¹⁵ Like other cities in the Zagros foothills, it seems that Assur gained its independence as a result of the end of the Ur III dynasty. With the growth of Šamši-Adad’s empire Assur was conquered and incorporated in c. 1812 BC.¹⁶ However, the city maintained its prestige and prominence as a religious centre, in contrast to Ekallātum, a political centre. Ziegler confirms

⁶ They list Kakmum under this rubric, but according to our identification we situate it in the inner Zagros, not in the foothills. Hence I put it in the following rubric. For this identification, cf. Chapter Five.

⁷ Wu Yuhong, “The Localisation of Nurrugum and Ninet = Ninuwa,” *NABU* 1994, no. 38.

⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 21-22. The royal name is written Kipram (*Ki-ip-ra-am*, E 10, 19'), which can be the accusative of *Kiprum, but it could also be a name having the same ending *-am* as the names Nipram, an envoy of Kuwari (see below, letter no. 64 = SH 827), Pušam, king of Simanum (in the same general area of Nurrugum), attested in a Sumerian text from the Ur III period (see Chapter Four), Šennam, king of Uršu, Šup/bram, king of Susā (in the Habur), and Tišnam, a king in the Habur region. These names seem to be original forms, not all in the accusative. It is also noticeable that these PNs ending with *-am* (all except for Nipram), just like Simanum, come from the Upper and Western Habur.

⁹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 22, note 30.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Cf. the letter *ARM* 26/2, 297 = 9756 in Charpin, D., “Lettres d’Ušur-awassu,” *ARM* 26/2, p. 25; Heimpel, W., *Letters to the King of Mari*, Winona Lake, 2003, p. 287.

¹² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 22, note 30.

¹³ Cf. the letter of Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 64 = SH 827) below in this chapter.

¹⁴ Compare for instance the 10,000 Ešnunian troops Daduša sent to conquer Qabrā (Daduša Stele); the 12,000 Elamite troops Siruk-tuḥ promised to send to support the Turukkenas (no. 64 = SH 827); the contribution of Kusanar(h)um to the Turukkean alliance was 3,000 troops (no. 63 = SH 812); Kuwari was asked to send 1,000 troops to join Etellum for the conquest of Šikšabbum (no. 14 = SH 917); and the same number to contribute to an action in Kaštappum (no. 9 = SH 882); Kuwari was supported by 600 troops which Šamši-Adad sent to Šušarrā (no. 19 = SH 861); for more examples, cf. Chapter Seven.

¹⁵ According to a recent study of Michalowski, Zarriqum of Aššur recognized Amar-Sîn of Ur as overlord, but Aššur was independent from the direct rule of Ur, cf. Michalowski, P., “Aššur during the Ur III Period,” *Here and There, Across the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honour of Krystyna Lyczkowska*, ed. O. Drewnowska, Warszawa, 2009, p. 154-5.

¹⁶ For this date, cf. Veenhof, K. R., “Eponyms of the ‘Later Old Assyrian Period’ and Mari Chronology,” *MARI* 4, Paris, 1985, p. 214.

that Assur enjoyed precedence over Ekallātum by referring to the letter of Sumiya to Yasmaḥ-Addu, who puts Assur before Ekallātum and writes it with the divinity determinative.¹⁷ Ešnunna was the power that controlled the Diyāla Basin and parts of the Hamrin Basin. OB tablets from the Hamrin sites are dated with Ešnunna date-formulae.¹⁸

Erbil, which is written as Urbel in the texts of this period, reappears this time as the name of the land in which Qabrā was located. It was mentioned for the last time in the date-formulae of the Ur III kings. Now it is again mentioned in unhappy circumstances, when the land of Erbil is said to be occupied by Daduša and Šamšī-Adad when they conquered the land of Qabrā (see below, the stele of Daduša) in c. 1782 BC.

Arrapha was apparently an independent city-state. It appears in the written records of this period more often than the few allusions in the Ur III texts.¹⁹ Toward the end of the OB period, the city was Hurrianized ethnically and culturally, as indicated by the Nuzi texts. That process certainly began from the OB period or even earlier, but was consolidated as a consequence of the weakness of Assyria and Ešnunna and the rise of the Turukkeans. Its position as a communication junction between Southern and Central Mesopotamia on the one hand and the mountainous regions of the Transtigris and Erbil, Qabrā and Nineveh on the other, gave it a special strategic significance. Arrapha was conquered by Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna in the eponymy of Dadaya, 4 years after the accession of Šamšī-Adad (c. 1830 BC).²⁰ Afterwards, the city was lost to Ešnunna until it was conquered by Šamšī-Adad I. From the written documents it appears that the city had twin settlements; Āl-ilāni (modern ^cArafah)²¹ and Tašenniwe (modern Tis^cīn),²² both within the modern city of Kirkuk.²³

Qabrā, written *Qa-ab-ra-a*^{ki} or *Qa-ba-ra-a*^{ki},²⁴ was an important centre, even overshadowing Urbel and Arrapha, judging by the number of times it is mentioned in the texts of this period. Its fame, according to Astour, may have reached Egypt, for Ka-bu-rō of the Medinet Habu texts can be identified with Qab(a)rā.²⁵ It was apparently a large city that gave its name to a whole province.²⁶ Eidem thinks that the land of Qabrā included a large part of the land between the two Zābs, including Urbel.²⁷ We know from the textual material that Qabrā was an extensive territory with numerous cities and towns. In the inscription of Daduša the cities of Ḥatkum, Ḥurarā and Kerḥum are named. The Mari letter *ARM* 1, 121 implies that

¹⁷ 5) ^dA-šur^{ki} 6) ù É-kál-la-tum^{ki} 7) ša-al-mu, “Holy Assur and Ekallātum are well,” A.2393 (unpublished), cf.: Ziegler, “Le royaume d’Ekallātum et son horizon géopolitique,” *FM* VI, p. 217.

¹⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁹ Cf. for instance Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 16; Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 21-22.

²⁰ Charpin, D., “Chroniques bibliographiques: 3. Données nouvelles sur la région du petit Zab au XVIII^e siècle Av. J.-C.,” *RA* 98 (2004), p. 165, note 50.

²¹ حنون، ص. ٣٠٩.

²² Gelb *et al*, *NPN*, p. 263.

²³ This is suggested by Hanoon in his dissertation about the historical geography of Northern Iraq in the middle and Neo-Assyrian periods: حنون، ص. ٣٠٩-٣١٠. However, this is in contrast to the older suggestions that identified Arrapha with the citadel of Kirkuk; cf. for instance Boulanger, R., 1966, 699-700 (referred to by Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 38).

²⁴ These are the two most common renderings of the name. However, there is at least one case of the use of the sign QÁ instead of QA (*ARM* 10, 50:15(?)), cf. Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 187, and the Shemshāra rendering *Qa-ba-ra-e* (64 = SH 827: 9), Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 137; cf. also Streck, M. P., “Qab(a)rā,” *RIA* 11 (2006-2008), p. 139.

²⁵ Cf. Astour, M., “Mesopotamian and Transtigris Place Names in the Medinet Habu Lists,” *JAOS* 88 (1968), p. 744.

²⁶ Compare for instance *ālim ša Qa-ab-ra-a*^{ki} (*ARM* 4, 49: 6) and *māt Qa-ab-ra-a*^{ki} (*ARM* 1, 135: 16; *ARM* 4, 25: 21; *ShT* 57, 15) in Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 187.

²⁷ Eidem, “News from the Eastern Front: the Evidence from Tell Shemshara,” *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 84.

the cities of A'innum²⁸ and Zamiyaturn were located on the Zāb and would have formed part of the territory of this land (see below).²⁹ The letter *ARM* 4, 49 mentions another town, Sarrima.³⁰ It reports that the inhabitants of Sarrima fled to Qabrā when Šamšī-Adad drew near and took the city.³¹ Qabrā is rendered in the Nuzi texts as Kapra and it appears that two sites were named Qabrā: *Kapra rabū* and *Kapra šeḫru*,³² Qabrā Major and Qabrā Minor. It was located on or slightly to the north of the Lower Zāb, near Pirdē (Altūn Köpri), on the way that leads from Kirkuk to Erbil, or at Pirdē itself (the island in the Zāb) as Frayne proposed.³³ According to Lewy, Qabrā was located on the northern bank of the Lower Zāb at Pirdē, facing Turša on its southern bank, since the river is easily crossed only at this point.³⁴ However, Deller has located it almost 15-20 km to the northwest of Pirdē, between the routes to Erbil and Dibege-Guwēr.³⁵ Wu Yuhong is of the opinion that it was the name of the citadel of Erbil.³⁶ At the time of the joint attack on Qabrā by Daduša of Ešnunna and Šamšī-Adad of Assyria, the king of Qabrā (or the land of Erbil in another account, see below) bore the Semitic name Bunu-Ištar. But later, in the time of Zimri-Lim, the reports mentioned a certain Ardigandi as its ruler (*ARMT* 26/2 498). This name is very like Berdigendae, the general of Zutlum, mentioned in SH 812, l. 15, who was allied with the other Turukkean kings and planned to attack Arrunum. Berdigendae has the ending *-e*, typical of many names in the Shemshāra texts and apparently a characteristic feature of the PNs of this area. Ardigandi might have been a kinsman of Berdigendae and from the same region, not a Semite, which would reflect the change in the political situation in Qabrā after it was liberated from Assyrian rule in the time of Zimri-Lim (see Chapter Seven).

Kumme was the centre for the worship of the Hurrian weather god Teššup.³⁷ It is first mentioned in a Hurrian ritual text from Mari: *Te-šu-ba-am Ku-um-me-ni-en*.³⁸ It is also known in the Hittite texts as Kummiya: "The weather god, the mighty king of Kummiya" (*KUB* 33, 103 II 6),³⁹ and "Teššup, the mighty lord of Kumme."⁴⁰ In other Hittite texts it is labelled the abode of the weather god, as Nineveh was to Ištar (*KUB* 24, 8 IV 15).⁴¹ One of

²⁸ According to Durand, the name A'innum is a dialectical form of *inum*, "The city of the source," cf. Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 122.

²⁹ The letter *ARM* 1, 121 is discussed below under 'The Assyrian Domination Phase.'

³⁰ Charpin and Ziegler write this name as Sarri, cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 92 and 96. A city called Sarē is attested in some Neo-Assyrian letters that was located in the same general area as Sarrima. One of these letters describes clearing up the royal road that was going, according to the authors of the letter, to Mazamua, in the Shahrazūr Plain. The letter reads: r 1) TA ŠĀ-bi URU *Sa-re-'e'* 2) *a-di* URU BĀD-*A-ta-na-t[e]* 3) *ana-ku ú-pa-sa-ak* 4) TA URU BĀD-*A-ta-na-t[e]* 5) *a-di* URU BĀD-*Ta-li-ti* 6) URU *Arrap'-ḫa-a-a ú-pa-su-ku* 7) TA URU BĀD-*Ta-li-ti* 8) *a-di* ŠĀ-bi URU *A-za-ri* 9) [*ana-ku-m*]a' *ú-pa-sa-ak*, "I remove [...] from Sarē to Dur-Atanate, the Arraphaeans remove [...] from Dur-Atanate to Dur-Taliti, [I] remove [the ...] again from Dur-Taliti to Azari," Lanfranchi and Parpola (eds.), *The Correspondence of Sargon II, part II, Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces, SAA* 5, no. 229, p. 166.

³¹ For this letter too, see under 'The Assyrian Domination Phase.'

³² Cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 130-31.

³³ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 166.

³⁴ Lewy, H., "A Contribution to the Historical Geography of the Nuzi Texts," *JAOS* 88 (1968), p. 151.

³⁵ Deller, K., "Eine Erwägung zur Lokalisierung des aB ON Qabrā/Qabarā," *NABU* 1990, no. 84, 62-3.

³⁶ Wu Yuhong, *A Political History...*, p. 182. Charpin, on the other hand, thinks that Qabrā was the capital of Urbel: Charpin, "Chroniques Bibliographiques", *RA* 98 (2004), p. 164.

³⁷ Röllig, W., "Kumme," *RIA* 6 (1980-1983), p. 336; Salvini, "Un royaume Hourrite en Mésopotamie du nord ...," *Subartu*, IV/1, p. 307.

³⁸ Thureau-Dangin, F., "Tablettes Hurrites provenant de Mâri," *RA* 36 (1939) 1: 34. For other occurrences, cf. Röllig, *ibid*.

³⁹ Otten, H., "Kummija," *RIA* 6 (1980-1983), p. 337.

⁴⁰ ^dIŠKUR-up ^{URU}*Kum-mi-ni-wi, t[a-la-a-wu,-ši] e-ep-ri*, *KBo* 32 11 Obv. I 1 f., cf. Wilhelm, G., "Kumme und *Kumar: zur hurritischen Ortsnamenbildung," *Beiträge zur altorientalischen Archäologie und Altertumskunde, Festschrift für Barthel Hrouda* ..., p. 318 and note 25.

⁴¹ Otten, "Kummija," *ibid*.

the few Hurrian texts of Mari from the time of Zimri-Lim mentions “The gods of Kumme.”⁴² Kumme was the name of a city and a land. Salvini locates it on the bank of the eastern Habur, which flows into the Tigris.⁴³ The letters SH 809 and SH 894 from Shemshāra give some clue about its location. The first letter enumerates the stations on the way from Šušarrā to Ḫaburātum, where Šamšī-Adad waited for a certain Kušiya from Šušarrā.⁴⁴ The second letter, like the first letter, is addressed to Kuwari, the governor of Šušarrā, and asks him to send the same Kušiya to meet Šamšī-Adad, this time through Kumme.⁴⁵ That Kumme was close to Assyria proper is indicated by the strong Assyrian influence there. It was annexed to Assyria shortly after it had twice accepted help from Adad-Nirari II (911-891) to drive back enemies from Ḫabḫi.⁴⁶ Its association with the lands Mušašir and Gilzānu in the inscription of Aššurnasirpal II⁴⁷ may also attest to its closeness to these lands, which were likewise to the northeast of Assyria. Postgate located Kumme in the region of modern Zaḥo, in the valley of Iraqī Ḫabur,⁴⁸ close to the Iraqī-Turkish border. These facts do not favour locating it in the Habur area close to Urkeš, as Dalley proposed.⁴⁹

Since ^{KUR}*Qu-me[-n]i* in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III refers to this same Kumme,⁵⁰ we could assume that the GN *Qumē/ānu* or *Uqumānu* in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I has the same element *kum-* in Kumme. But these two places were in different locations. The former is mentioned as part of the land of the Gutians, which means a southerly location, not so far north as the northeast of Assyria, as proposed by Radner.⁵¹ So more than one GN had *kum-* as a component in this region, particularly if we take into consideration the other GNs with this element in other regions, from Southern Anatolia to Nuzi, enumerated by Wilhelm.⁵² The suffixes *nu* and *ni* in *Uqumānu* and *Qumēnu* must be the Hurrian particle *-ne/i*⁵³ that was

⁴² *e*^r=en=na *Ku=um=me=ni=en*, Salvini, M., “Un texte Hourrite nommant Zimrilim,” *RA* 82 (1988), p. 60 and 61. This is a re-edited text, which consists of two fragments and was already published by F. Thureau-Dangin in *RA* 36, p. 20 (see above), and E. Laroche in “Fragment Hourrite provenant de Mari,” *RA* 51 (1957), p. 104-106.

⁴³ Salvini, “Un royaume Hurrite...,” p. 307.

⁴⁴ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, No. 1, p. 70-71.

⁴⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, No. 2, p. 72-73.

⁴⁶ Röllig, “Kumme,” p. 336.

⁴⁷ Röllig, “Kumme,” p. 336. 146) KUR *Gil-za-na-a-a* 147) KUR *Ku-ma-a-a* KUR *Mu-ša-ši-ra-a-a*, Grayson, *RIMA* 2, Toronto, 1991, p. 293 (A.0.101.30)

⁴⁸ Röllig, “Kumme,” p. 337. Joannès and Ziegler share Röllig’s opinion: Joannès, F. and N. Ziegler, “Une attestation de Kumme à l’époque de Samsī-Addu et un Turukkéen de renom à Shemshāra,” *NABU* 1995, no. 19, p. 16. However, they put Ḫaburātum, not Kumme, close to modern Zaḥo; Joannès and Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁴⁹ Cf. Dalley *et al.*, *OBTR*, p. 188. They refer also to Hallo, W. W., “The Road to Emar,” *JCS* 18 (1964), p. 70-1, but Hallo did not discuss Kumme on the given pages.

⁵⁰ Röllig, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

⁵¹ For this identification cf. Radner, K., “Qumānu, Qumēnu, Uqumānu,” *RIA* 11 (2007), p. 206. Radner’s definition of the land of Qumānu is “mountainous land to the north and east of the plain of Alqoš, part of the Assyrian province *Masennu*.” However, the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta mention the land of the (U)Qumānu as part of the land of Qutu: [*ina šurrū(?)*] L]UGAL-*’tī-ia* 15) *’ana’* KUR *Ú-q[u-me-ni lu] a-lik* 16) *si-ḫīr-ti* KUR *Qu-ti* 17) *ki-ma* DU₆ *a-bu-’bī’* [*lu ušēmi(?)*], “[*At the beginning of*] my sovereignty, I marched to the land of Uq[umenu]. The entire land of the Qutu [I made (look) like] ruin hills (created by) the deluge,” Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 234 (text A.0.78.1). In this case, (U)Qumānu must have been more to the southeast, not the northeast. On the other hand, the Qumā/ēnu mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I indicates a northeasterly position of this land, since it aided the land of Mušri with troops; for instance: 73) *um-ma-na-at* KUR *Qu-ma-nē-e* 74) *a-na re-šu-ut* KUR *Mu-uš-ri* 75) *lu il-li-ku-ni*, “The troops of the Qumānu came to the aid of the land Mušri,” Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 23 (text A.0.87.1). For the land Mušri and its location in the east Tigris region in Assyria proper, cf. Kessler, K., “Mušri I, Mušri II,” *RIA* 8 (1993-1997), p. 497; Parpola, S. and M. Porter (eds.), *The Helsinki Atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Helsinki, 2001, p. 4.

⁵² Wilhelm cited for instance the city Kumri in the Nuzi texts; Kum(m)anni the capital of Kizzuwatna (“if not of Anatolian origin”); MA Kummuḫi = NA Kommagene: Wilhelm, “Kumme, *Kumar...,” p. 319.

⁵³ Otten, H., “Kummija,” *RIA* 6, p. 237.

attached to the name in the Hurrian texts and appears in Urartian inscriptions as *-nu-*.⁵⁴ The name Kumme itself is formed, according to Wilhelm, from the verbal root *kum*= meaning (perhaps) some architectonic activity, with the suffix *-me* that converts verbal roots into nouns.⁵⁵ Some PNs are found compounded with Kumme, such as *kummen-atal* (from Mari: RA 36, 78), *kummen-ewri* (Tikunani Prism I, 17; III, 23),⁵⁶ *Paiš-kumme* (from Nuzi) and MA *Ari(k)-Kumme*.⁵⁷

Ya'ilānum was another power in the Erbil Plain between the two Zābs, perhaps close to Qabrā.⁵⁸ Its name is apparently derived from an Amorite PN or ethnonym. This is why its name is often preceded by the personal determinative. The names *Ia-a-il^{ki}*, *Ia-i-il^{ki}* and LÚ *Ia-a/i-il^{ki}* of the Mari texts⁵⁹ show that this name was known in the region of Terqa⁶⁰ as a GN and an ethnonym, in a region that was exclusively populated by Benjaminites (DUMU.MEŠ-*ia-mi-na*).⁶¹ It is thus likely that a branch of this Amorite tribe had crossed the Tigris after the fall of the Ur III dynasty and established itself there (see Chapter 5). The ruler of Ya'ilānum in the time of the Shemshāra archives bore the Amorite name Bina-Addu, which can also be read in the Akkadian form Mār-Adad.⁶² The cities of Ḫimara, Dūr-Ya'ilānum⁶³ and Tutarrum (Tutarwe)⁶⁴ are associated with its territories.⁶⁵ Tutarru seems to have been close to Qabrā since it was conquered during the campaign of Daduša on Qabrā.⁶⁶ This information contradicts the conclusion of Wu Yuhong, based on the letter ARM 1, 41, that Ya'ilānum was located in the region between Mari and Jebel Sinjār, on the western side of the Tigris. The letter is about an office (*bītum*) under the authority of Ya'ilānum and Bulmana-Addu, that was claimed by Ḫašidanum, the governor of Karanā. Šamšī-Adad advised his son Yasmaḥ-Addu to hand over the office to Ḫašidanum to avoid his anger.⁶⁷ A solution for this can be that Ya'ilānum, as a polity formed by the immigrant Amorites, might have had extensions in the regions of the West Tigris region, along the path through which they penetrated northern Mesopotamia and the Northern Transtigris. If so, they would still have had interests in the west side of the Tigris.

⁵⁴ Cf. for instance the Hurrian *Ku-um-me-ni-en* mentioned above and *Ku-mi-ni-en* in the incantation VS 17, 5, 3: Röllig, *RIA* 6, p. 336; Urartian ^{URU}*Qu-me-nu-na-ú-e* (UKN 27, 14.55=HChI 10:14.55) and ^{URU}*Qu-me-nu-ú-né* (UKN 28 upper side 12 = HChI 16 upper side 16): Röllig, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

⁵⁵ Wilhelm, "Kumme, ...," p. 318.

⁵⁶ Salvini, "Un royaume ...," p. 307; Salvini, M., *The Ḫabiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani*, Roma, 1996.

⁵⁷ For the last two names, cf. Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, p. 229; 242.

⁵⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁵⁹ Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 120-1.

⁶⁰ For this identification cf. *ibid.*

⁶¹ Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 123-4.

⁶² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 23. However, Durand points to a phonetic rendering of the name *Bi-na^dIM* in ARM 7, 140 f. 19'; even though it is the name of a different person it is still a good parallel; cf. Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 124.

⁶³ Dūr-Ya'ilānum/Wilanum was the place from which 200 warriors came out to rob properties of the wife of Išme-Dagan and, in retaliation, the city of Ḫimarā was conquered by Šamšī-Adad. Hence, it is possible that the two were identical. For the letters concerning these events, cf. Wu Yuhong, *A Political History ...*, p. 191; and see further below.

⁶⁴ This city name is recorded in the stele of Daduša among the cities captured during the campaign on Qabrā; see further below under 'The Assyrian Domination Phase.'

⁶⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁶⁶ Eidem and Læssøe, *ibid.*; this is according to ARM 1, 131 and the stele of Daduša. The stele reads: 5) *a-la-ni-šu ra-ap-šu-tim* 6) *Tu-ta-ar-ra^{ki} Ḫa-at-kum^{ki}* 7) *Ḫu-ra-ra-a^{ki} Ki-ir-ḫu-um^{ki}*, "His extensive cities Tutarra, Ḫatkum, Ḫurarā, Kirḫum..." Ismail, B. (with collaboration of A. Cavigneaux), "Dādušas Siegesstele IM 95200 aus Ešnunna. Die Inschrift," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 34 (2003), p. 142.

⁶⁷ For the letter, cf. Wu Yuhong, *A Political History ...*, p. 194; Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 536-7.

Namar(um) was quite probably located on the Great Khorasān Road, possibly close to modern Khanaqīn or somewhat further to the east, within modern Iran.⁶⁸ It has been attested in Mesopotamian sources since the ED period, in the geographical lists (*Na-mar*)⁶⁹ and later in an Oakk. text from Tell Sulaima in Hamrin (*Na-ma-ri^{ki}*).⁷⁰ Its occurrence in the later inscriptions of the NA period (KUR *Nam-ri*) together with the Middle Zagros lands, such as Ellipi, Sangibutu and Ḥamban, makes it certainly distinct from Nawar of the Habur area. In letter no. 69 = SH 868, Pišendēn (see below) asked a certain Tu[...] to persuade the kings of Elam, Namar(um) and Niqqum to prepare an attack on Kakmum, and this is extra evidence for the location of Namar in this area.

The **Habur Region**, a region of vital importance in the history of Mesopotamia, must also be mentioned here. References to the struggle to control this area probably began with the movement of Yaḥdun-Lim (*ca.* 1810- *ca.* 1794 BC)⁷¹ of Mari, who went to the region of the Baliḥ in the years b-d, where he fought the Yamin tribes and troops of Yamḥad.⁷² After leaving the Baliḥ region he went to the Habur, where Šamšī-Adad was ruling the country from Šubat-Enlil. The years g, h and i witness clashes between the two powers: Yaḥdun-Lim took Paḥudar near Tarnip, and probably Talḥayum (in the western part of the Habur Triangle),⁷³ burned the harvest of the land of Šamšī-Adad and defeated Šamšī-Adad at the gate of Nagar.⁷⁴ The king of Mari seems to have been successful in his war in the Habur, because he was able to journey the year after to Musu/ilān, Kallaḥu/abra (slightly north of Kaḥat),⁷⁵ Kaḥat, Nagar, Šubat-Ištar,⁷⁶ Tarnip and Šuna (between Šubat-Enlil and Ašnakkum).⁷⁷ A letter from the time of Zimri-Lim refers to the submission of Tigunānum to Yaḥdun-Lim.⁷⁸ However, Mari did not control the Habur for long. Šamšī-Adad, after he had conquered Mari,⁷⁹ installed his son Yasmaḥ-Addu as governor. The last year name of

⁶⁸ This is suggested in Kessler, K., “Namar/Namri,” *RIA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 92. However, Frayne puts it along the Diyāla, somewhere between the Hamrin and Qara Dagħ Ranges: Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 64.

⁶⁹ Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 64.

⁷⁰ Kessler, *RIA* 9, p. 91.

⁷¹ Cf. Charpin, D. and N. Ziegler, *Mari et le proche-Orient à l’époque Amorrite: essai d’histoire politique, Florilegium Marianum (FM) V*, Paris, 2003, p. 35.

⁷² For the details, cf. Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.* p. 102.

⁷³ The control of this GN was reported in a later letter sent by Yawi-ila to Zimri-Lim: *[i]-nu-ma [I]a-aḥ-du-un-Li-im a-bi-ka ù LÚ Ra-ka-ab-tim an-na-nu-um [Ṁ]Ia-ku-un-Me-er LÚ.ŠU.SILA.DU₈.A [ĪR] Ia-aḥ-du-un-Li-im ḥa-zi-ia-nu-tam [an-na]-nu-um i-pu-uš*, “At that time of Yaḥdun-Lim, your father, and the ruler Rakabtum here, Yakun-Mer, the cupbearer, [the servant] of Yaḥdun-Lim, performed the office of mayor here.” Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

⁷⁴ MU *Ia-aḥ-du-[i-im] da-aw-da-a[m] ša ša-ab Sa-a[m-si]*-^dIM *i-na KÁ N[a-ga-ar^{ki}] i-du-ku*, *ARM* 22, 138; MU *Ia-aḥ-du-li-im Na-ga-ar^{ki} iš-ba-tu*; MU *Ia-aḥ-du-li-im da-aw-da-a[m] [š]a Sa-am-si*-^dIM *i-[du-]k[u] ù Na-ga-ar iš-b[a-tu]*; cf. Charpin, “A Contribution to the Geography and ...,” *Tall al-Ḥamīdīya* 2, p. 69, notes 8, 9 and 10.

⁷⁵ Cf. Charpin, “A Contribution...,” p. 76.

⁷⁶ The occurrence of this GN together with the cities of Razama, Azuḥinum and Ḥurašān (*ARM* 14, 106, 7), and on another occasion with Razama of Yussān, Alilānum and Ašīḥum (*ARMT* 27, 72-bis, 36’), lets Charpin locate it in the region of Ḥaburātum, Burullum and Mardaman, to the northeast of Jebel Sinjār, somewhere in the region where the Tigris crosses the modern Iraq-Turkey border; cf. Charpin, D., “Une campagne de Yaḥdun-Lim en haute-Mésopotmie,” *Florilegium Marianum (FM)*, II, Paris, 1994, p. 180.

⁷⁷ Charpin, *FM* II, p. 181. For the itinerary of Yaḥdun-Lim in the Habur cf. Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 103-4; Charpin, *FM* II, p. 180-1; Charpin, “A Contribution ...,” p. 69; and for the identification of Ašnakkum with Chagar Bazar, cf. Lacambre, D. and A. Millet Albà, *Le nom ancien de Chagar Bazar, in Chagar Bazar (Syrie) III, les trouvailles épigraphiques et sigillographiques du chantier I (2000-2002)*, ed. Tunca, Ö. and A. Baghdo, Louvain, 2008, p. 143ff.

⁷⁸ A.1182 (Unpublished): 6’) É *Ti-gu-na-nim pa-na-nu-um wa-[a]r-ki 7’)* ^m*Ia-aḥ-<du>-un-li-im a-bi-ka il-[I]i-ik*, “In the past, the house of Tigunānum walked behind Yaḥdun-Lim, you father,” Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 50 and note 188.

⁷⁹ Probably the conquest of Mari was a plot the generals of Mari hatched with Šamšī-Adad to overthrow Sumu-Yamām, the son and successor of Yaḥdun-Lim, who ruled only three years. This explains, perhaps, the

Yaḥdun-Lim commemorates a campaign he carried out in Ekallātum, which means that he exercised huge pressure on Šamšī-Adad, first in the Habur Region and later in the Transtigris.⁸⁰

The Turukkû

People and Organization

A significant power that appears as active in this period is the Turukkû. These sedentary Hurrian tribes were organized in a series of kingdoms and princedoms in the time of the Shemshāra archives. These kingdoms and princedoms were, at least in the time of Shemshāra, united in a federation under the leadership of a ‘great king.’ The name Turukkû is mostly written with the determinative LÚ.MEŠ put before *Tu-ru-(uk)-ki/u-i/um*, followed sometimes by the determinative KI in the Mari and Shemshāra texts. Exceptions to this are *Ti-ru-ki-i*^{ki} (no. 1 = SH 809, l. 8 and 9) and *Ti-ri-uk-kí-na-áš-we*^{ki} (Jerusalem Inscription of Iddin-Sîn, ii 13’), both with a first vowel *i* instead of normal *u*. This does not seem to be a scribal error or *Hörfehler* since it occurs three times. Instead, it may uniquely represent an *umlaut*, to be pronounced something like *Türukkû, but this remains hypothetical.

The oldest evidence for Turukkeans comes from the Early Old Babylonian period in the Jerusalem inscription of Iddi(n)-Sîn (ii 13’), as a toponym *Ti-ri-uk-kí-na-áš-we*^{ki}. Then it occurs in the time of Yaḥdun-Lim, some 15 years before the Shemshāra archives, at the time when Yaḥdun-Lim defeated Šamšī-Adad in the Habur and sent a costly garment to Tazigi, king of Turukkum.⁸¹

Durand considers the Turukkeans as being an ethnic mixture and their ruling class as containing an “undeniable” Semitic component.⁸² In fact, it is difficult to agree with the idea of a people coming from the inner Zagros having Semitic components. His notion is based on the analysis of Turukkean onomastics, which he mostly understands as Semitic. Of course, if we agree with these analyses such a conclusion would be logical. But the big question is how correct, accurate and convincing is it to understand Zaziya as reflecting Semitic *Sasiya* (= a hypocoristic for moth),⁸³ Gutian Zazum as *Sasum* (= moth),⁸⁴ Itabalḥum as *Ida-palḥum* (= “flank of the terrible,” parallel with *Ida-maraš* “flank of the difficult”),⁸⁵ Lidāya as *Lidum* (= a hypocoristic of *lidum*, “offspring”),⁸⁶ Utûm as “land of the gatekeeper,”⁸⁷ and many other such interpretations. Akkadian, like Arabic, is a rich and pliant language in which one can find an etymology for almost every word, but this does not mean it is always a fact. Further, the evidence from the seal legend of Pišendēn proves that the name Itabalḥum is not the Semitic *Ida-palḥum*, because the GN there is written *ma-[a]t I-ta-pa-al*^{ki}, without *-ḥi/u(m)*,

occurrence of Išar-Lim among the generals of Šamšī-Adad, who was in the service of Sumu-Yamām before; cf. Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁸⁰ For the year names of Yaḥdun-Lim, cf. Wu Yuhong, p. 100-1.

⁸¹ M.6017: 1) 1 TÚG GI.ZU BAR.KAR.RA 2) *Ta-zi-gi* 3) LUGAL *Tu-ru-ku-ú*^{ki} 4) *ša* KI *Da-da i-le-ḡi*, Charpin, “Une campagne de Yaḥdun-Lîm en Haute-Mésopotamie,” *FM* II, no. 112 (M.6017), p. 198.

⁸² Durand, *LPO* II, p. 81. According to him, these Semites were among the Amorites who engulfed the far north of the Near East: *op. cit.*, p. 82. But there is no evidence of such an Amorite infiltration as far-flung as the highlands of the Zagros.

⁸³ Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, p. 29.

⁸⁴ Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁸⁵ After Charpin in Charpin, D., Review of The Shemshāra Archives 2, The Administrative Texts, by J. Eidem, *Syria* 71 (1994), p. 459 (referring to Durand, J.-M., “Problèmes d’eau et d’irrigation dans la région de Mari,” *Techniques et pratiques hydro-agricoles ...*, (ed. B. Geyer), BAH 136, Paris, 1990, p. 112, note 37); cf. also Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 159, note 3.

⁸⁶ Durand, *LPO* II, p. 81.

⁸⁷ Eidem, J., “nuldānum/nuldānūtum- A Note on Kingship in the Zagros,” *NABU* 1990, no. 63, p. 48.

which was clearly the Hurrian adj. suffix *-(h)he*, and not part of the suggested Akkadian *palhum*, “fear.” If the name was from Akkadian *palhum* the *-hi* would necessarily have been written in the seal legend. A similar case of omitting the Hurrian suffix *-hi* by a Hurrian speaker is the rendering of the name Kusanarḫum as Kusanar(um), without *-hi*, in letters sent by the native Hurrians Šepratu (no. 63 = SH 812: 7; 12; 19, and once with *-hi* in l. 5) and Pišendēn (no. 68 = SH 868: 5). The name of the land of Utûm also proves to be of local origin, for before the Amorite infiltration to the east Tigris area it was called Utuwe, in the Haladiny inscription (see Chapter Five).⁸⁸ The authors mentioned above give no explanation why Hurrian lands such as Utûm or Itabalḫum could have had a Semitic name. We cannot assume that the name was used by the Amorites only, since the name Itabalḫum is found on the seal of its native king.

While Eidem and Læssøe consider the Turukkeans “a group of kingdoms in the valleys of the northwestern Zagros, predominantly of Hurrian affiliation,”⁸⁹ to Durand, they were just an ethnic mixture (see above). I would add another question about this. From the written sources we possess we have learned about the names of the Hurrians, Subarians, Gutians, Lullubians, Kakmeans and Simurrians who inhabited the Transtigris region. All these ethnic or ethno-geographic groups are mentioned as separate and independent groups in the sources of this period. What, then, are the ethnic components of the Turukkeans? Do we have an ethnic group apart from these to assign to the Turukkean conglomeration? On the contrary! In the light of developments and consequences of the Turukkean revolts at the end of the reign of Šamši-Adad and the beginning of that of Išme-Dagan’s, it seems to me that the name Turukkû became a name for all the Hurrians from the Zagros up to the Habur region.⁹⁰

It is possible that the name Turukkû is derived from the name of their king Turuktu, who was the father of Pišend/tēn, the great king of the Turukkeans in the time of the Shemshāra archives (see below). Eidem and Læssøe have presented the various views that consider the Turukkeans “very mobile groups waging guerrilla warfare against the cities and kingdoms in the north Mesopotamian plains.”⁹¹ They state that this is principally the image created by the published Mari material, and it is seen in the survey of the material presented by Klengel,⁹² which has been followed generally.⁹³ However, the situation reconstructed from the Shemshāra archives and other related sources alludes to organized political entities with capital cities, that were headed by rulers who styled themselves as kings and *nuldān(um)s*.⁹⁴ Eidem and Læssøe go a step further, suggesting that “there is evidence to indicate fairly complex political organization in these polities, with systems of noble lineages sharing territorial power.”⁹⁵ These entities were, at least in the time of the Shemshāra archives, united under one leadership to fulfil one strategic goal, to stop the Gutian aggression. These facts do not indicate the nomadic lifestyle of mobile groups, moving easily and leaving their habitations, like the seasonal movements of pastoralists between summer and winter resorts

⁸⁸ Note that in the time when the Amorites made their attempt to invade Simurru, the Rāniya Plain was already known as Utuwe, as in the Haladiny inscription.

⁸⁹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁹⁰ Cf. Chapter Seven.

⁹¹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 25. Similar definitions are presented in Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 80 and 82; Kupper, J.-R., *ARM* 16/1, p. 36; Klengel, H., “Das Gebirgsvolk der Turukkû in den Keilschrifttexten altbabylonischer Zeit,” *Klio* 40 (1962), p. 5.

⁹² Klengel, *op. cit.*, p. 5-22. In his update to this article, Klengel states that according to the published letters, they were not just an element living among the sedentary peoples of the Transtigris dry-farming region, but they possessed their own territory: Klengel, H., “Nochmals zu den Turukkäern und ihrem Auftreten,” *AoF* 12 (1985), p. 254.

⁹³ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁹⁴ Cf. for instance the letter 63 = SH 812 where both these words occur together.

⁹⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 27; cf. also Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 169.

(the *sardsīr* and *garmsīr* in modern terminology). The facts indicate rather a sedentary population of agriculturalists. In a letter from Mari (A.649), a passage from another letter is quoted that was sent by the Turukkeans. There they speak of their houses and bitterness about abandoning them and going to the mountains to live.⁹⁶ This is a clear indication, as Durand agrees, of their sedentary and not nomadic lifestyle.⁹⁷

To the ancient Mesopotamians the Turukkeans were also a peripheral people.⁹⁸ They were of little interest to them until they could organize themselves into that federation mentioned above and come into contact with Assyria, Mari and Babylon. The federation seems to have consisted of the petty-kingdoms or princedoms headed by Hurrian-named rulers. Each one resided in his own capital but they were allied with each other. A good reference to such an alliance is the one mentioned in no. 63 = SH 812, where allusion is made to a number of Turukkean(?) kings who took an oath of alliance.⁹⁹ These rulers or kings were united under the leadership of a ‘great king’ who was no doubt the greatest and most powerful among them. At this time the great king was Pišend/tēn, whose capital was the city of Kunšum. Pišendēn styles himself on his seal legend “king of Itabal(h)um” (see below), showing that Kunšum was the capital of Itabal(h)um. That he was the king of the Turukkean kings is deduced from the letters in which he is called the “father” of the addressees.¹⁰⁰

In another letter (no. 59 = SH 811), Talpuš-šarri¹⁰¹ is clearly styled the commander of all the lands,¹⁰² which means that he too was a prominent figure in the politics of the federation, “since he is seen to participate in a royal summit and could conclude a treaty (no. 63 = SH 812) and lead countries (no. 59 = SH 811) and armies (no. 54 = SH 819).”¹⁰³ Nevertheless, Talpuš-šarri was a man in second rank to the great king Pišendēn and he was his subject. Eidem and Læssøe deduce this from the letters in which he styles himself ‘brother’ or

⁹⁶ For the letter cf. Durand, and Charpin, “Le nom antique ...,” *RA* 81 (1987), p. 132-4 (translation) and 143-5 (transliteration); cf. also Chapter Seven.

⁹⁷ Durand, *LAPPO* II, p. 82. Eidem agrees with the idea of sedentary tribes, cf. Eidem, “News from the Eastern Front...,” *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 106.

⁹⁸ Klengel, “Das Gebirgsvolk der Turukkū ...,” p. 5. Klengel describes the Turukku as “Randvölker;” cf. also Lafont, B., “La correspondance d’Iddiyatum- Introduction,” *Archives Épistolaires de Mari* I/2, *ARM* 26/2, p. 469.

⁹⁹ 4) ^mZu-zu-um ḥa-ni-za-ru-um 5) ša I-la-la-e^{ki} ša a-na Ku-sa-na-ar-ḥi-im 6) iš-pu-ru-úš il-li-kam-ma 7) ù it-ti LUGAL ša Ku-sa-na-ri-im 8) it-ra-am a-na A-li-a-e^{ki} 9) ù it-ti-šu Ki-gi-ir-za ù Ta-al-pu-šar-ri 10) in-na-me-er ù ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ ga-am-ra-am 11) i-na bi-ri-ti-šu-nu iš-ku-un, “Zuzum, the ḥanizarum of Ilalae, who had been sent to Kusanarḥum came, and with him he brought the king of Kusanarḥum to Aliae, and he had a meeting with Kigirza and Talpuš-šarri, and they swore a comprehensive oath to each other,” Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 134, no. 63 (SH 812).

¹⁰⁰ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁰¹ His name has been explained as “The God-king is great,” cf. Matthews, R. and J. Eidem, “Tell Brak and Nagar,” *Iraq* 55 (1993), p. 202. This explanation seems convincing since the Hurrian element -šarri occurs often in PNs. According to Gelb, the element is probably a divine epithet. The Hurrian origin of the element is claimed by Weidner and Gustafs (from šar “to order/command,” “to demand”), while Thureau-Dangin, Ungnad and Von Brandenstein support the Akkadian origin from šarrum. To Güterbock, the meaning “king” in a divine sense is the fitting translation. Finally, Ginsberg and Maisler translate it “king” with a Hurrian etymology. For these opinions and bibliography, cf. Gelb *et al*, *NPN*, p. 251. The element appears also in Ugarit as ṣr and θr, cf. *ibid*. The PN *Tul₅-b/pi-šarri* (reading suggested by Gelb instead of Akk. *Ku-bi-šarri*) has the same name as our Talpuš-šarri.

¹⁰² 30) ù šum-ma ma-ta-tum 31) ma-li ^mTa-al-pu-šar-ri 32) i-ra-di-a-am i-la-ku-nim 33) ù at-ta i-li-a-am 34) la ta-ka-la, “And if all the countries which Talpuš-šarri commands come, then you too must come up.” Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 130 (no. 59 = SH 811).

¹⁰³ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

neutrally when addressing Kuwari,¹⁰⁴ as he does also in the letter his lord Pišendēn sent to Yašub-Addu of Aḫazum; but on his seal (Fig. 1) he styles himself “[...] of Pišendēn”:¹⁰⁵

Talpuš-šarri, [son of], [..... of] Pišen[t/de].¹⁰⁶

Talpuš-šarri was not the only high-ranking figure in the federation. Eidem and Læssøe concluded from the formulation of the letters of Shemshāra that he, Kuwari, Šepratu, Ḫulukkādil,¹⁰⁷ and Sîn-išme’anni were all rulers or officials of equal power and influence under the leadership of Pišendēn.¹⁰⁸ All of them enjoyed a great degree of freedom and autonomy. Eidem and Læssøe noted that they were not receiving orders in the way that the subjects of Šamšī-Adad, Yasmaḥ-Addu and Zimri-Lim did. Rather Kuwari, for example, received requests, urges and advices.¹⁰⁹ Eidem and Læssøe think these men of the second rank “belonged to a side-branch of the royal line, or perhaps to a closely allied princely dynasty.”¹¹⁰ Talpuš-šarri, when he wrote together with his lord Pišendēn to Yašub-Addu, asked the latter to be true to “this house and the land of Itabalḫum.”¹¹¹ In our view this is not concrete evidence that Talpuš-šarri and his colleagues were members of the royal family or even of a side-branch. Any loyal subject or official of the king would have used the same words and expressed those same feelings when urging a hesitant ally to remain loyal to the house that was spiritually the house of all the subjects of the kingdom. Their relationship to the royal house might have been completely different. One interpretation of the word *nuldānum*,¹¹² if correct, refers more to a spiritual father-son relationship that was not necessarily biological.¹¹³

Among these kings and high-ranking officials Sîn-išme’anni¹¹⁴ maintained a special relationship with Kuwari. It seems to have been a deep friendship, not a mere relationship between two colleagues in the service of one lord. The letters of Shemshāra exhibit the warmth of this friendship that tied the two together. In almost all the letters he sent to Kuwari he styles himself “I who love you” and he sometimes styles Kuwari as the one “who loves

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ For the transliterations and translations of the Shemshāra letters and seal impressions I have quoted from *The Shemshara Archives 1 The Letters*, by Eidem and Læssøe. On the few occasions when small sections were skipped I have offered here my own translations with appropriate annotation, and some translations have been slightly adapted.

¹⁰⁶ 1) ^mTa-al-^rpu¹-š[ar](+ in field:)-r[i] 2) [DUMU] ^rx x¹ [x] 3) [x ^m] ^rPi¹-še-en-[te], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 160. Unfortunately, the traces in the last line, where the word is expected that determines the relationship to the king are illegible. However, as Eidem and Læssøe state, in a Mesopotamian context one expects IR = *wardum*, “servant.” In the king’s name there does seem to be space at the end of the line for an additional sign EN, but the name is also written thus in the address of no. 68, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

¹⁰⁷ The first element of this PN can be identified with the first element of the PN Ḫulukkan from Chagar Bazar, labelled as Gutian (cf. also Chapter Two). For the PNs from Chagar Bazar, cf. Loretz, “Texte aus Chagar Bazar,” *lišān mithurti*, p. 244-250; cf. also Gelb, *HS*, p. 64, note 128.

¹⁰⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² It is suggested that the word is derived from the word *walādum*, “to beget a child,” which is also used in the last line of Pišendēn’s seal legend; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives 2*, p. 40, note 36, referring as well to Durand, “Review of ShA 2,” *Société de Linguistique*, 1996, p. 381f. However, see below under ‘The King and the nuldān(um).’

¹¹³ For this, cf. Chapter Eight.

¹¹⁴ Charpin is of the opinion that this individual was a diviner, according to his association with oracles or omens on several occasions in the letters of Shemshāra, sometimes using the verbal form *epêšum*: Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 177.

me.”¹¹⁵ Their friendship was so deep that family affairs became involved. Sîn-išme’anni took care of Kuwari’s family in Zukula, was concerned for their well-being, sent him their news and even took an omen when Šip-šarri, the wife¹¹⁶ of Kuwari, became ill:

Sîn-išme’anni to Kuwari (no. 34 = SH 826)

Secondly, your brother who loves you and I who love you are well, and [your] house [is well]. But Šip-šarri, your maid, was ill, and I took an omen, and lifted the hand of Ištar. Now she has recovered and is well, and the boys, your sons, are well.¹¹⁷

This man was also the last in the phase of Pre-Assyrian domination to send a letter to Kuwari to give him the news and offer his sincere advice about what to do (for his letter, see below). Kuwari even shared with him and a few others an important secret of which we do not know the details. But it has been tentatively suggested that it might have involved a conspiracy to change their allegiance.¹¹⁸

Kuwari to Sîn-išme’anni (no. 70 = SH 899)

For this reason I keep sending Šunšiya, saying: "If Sîn-išme’anni is staying there under those conditions, then [confide to him] my secret." I explained the message of the god. You, [...]-nû, Šilippu, and I [share information]. You will confide (your) secret to me, [and I] will confide my secret.¹¹⁹

This raises the question of whether Sîn-išme’anni was a family member of Kuwari, which would explain this intimate relationship. The answer, I think, lies in the letter 65, where he shows his happiness with the greetings sent by a certain Namram-šarur. In the letter he asks the addressee to bring some news of ‘the city of Awal and our family,’ which indicates that Sîn-išme’anni’s family resided far to the south, in the Hamrin Region, not in the country of Kuwari. So he was not related to Kuwari:

Sîn-išme’anni to Namram-šarur (no. 65 = SH 918)

Ask for news of Awal and our people and let your retainer who comes bring (it) to me!¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ Cf. for instance the letter 35: 1) *a-na ra-i-mi-ia* 2) *qí-bí-ma* 3) *um-ma* ^{md}EN.ZU-*iš-me-an-ni* 4) *ra-im-ka-a-ma*, “Say to the one who loves me: Thus (says) Sîn-išme’anni who loves you,” Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 105-6 (no. 35 = SH 822). The same introduction is found in letter no. 36 = SH 818.

¹¹⁶ *amat-ka*, “your slave-girl” is written in the text; but there is no mention of a ‘wife’ although sons are mentioned. So it seems likely that Kuwari was married to this slave-girl; Eidem and Læssøe as well take her as his wife; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 104, 136 and 168.

¹¹⁷ 10) [*ša-ni-ta[m]*] 11) *a-ḫu-ka r[a]-i-im-k[a]* 12) *ù a-na-ku r[a]-i-im-[ka]* 13) *ša-al<<x>>-m[a-ku]* *ù É-[ka ša-lim]* 14) *ù Ši-ip-š[ar-r]i a-ma-at-ka* 15) *im-ra-aš-ma te-[e]r-tam* 16) *e-pu-^fuš^r-ma* 17) *qa-at EŠ₄-TÁR ú-še-li* 18) *i-na-an-na i-tu-uh* 19) *ša-al-ma-at ù šú-ḫa-ru* 20) *ma-ru-ka ša-al-mu*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 104 (no. 34 = SH 826). The same event was touched upon also in the letter of Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 64 = SH 827); the news of his family, the illness of his wife and, before them, the well-being of “Sîn-išme’anni, who loves you” are all reported at the end of his long and informative letter.

¹¹⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

¹¹⁹ 42) [*a]š-šum ki-a-am-ma* ^mŠ[*u-un-ši-ia*] 43) [*aš-ta-n*] *a-ap-pá-ar-š[u um-ma a-na-ku-ma]* 44) [^{md}EN.ZU-*iš-me-a-ni šum-m[a aš-ra-n]u-um-mi ki-a-^fam^r-ma* 45) [*w]a-ši-ib a-wa-at li-ib-bi-[ia i-di-iš-šum]* 46) [*f]e_r-ma-am <ša>* DINGIR [*ad^r-bu^r-ub at-[f]a* 47) [*x (x)]^rx^r-nu-ú* ^mŠi^r-li^r-ip-pu^r *ù a-na-ku* 48) [*x x x]*^rx [*a^r-tu-nu a-wa-^r* 49) [*li-ib-bi-i]m a-ia-ši ta-dá-ab-bu-ba* 50) [*ù a-wa]-at li-ib-bi-ia* 51) [*a-na-k]u ^ra-dá^r-ab-bu-ub*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 146 (no. 70 = SH 899).

¹²⁰ 25) [*te_r-em*] *A-wa-al^rki^r* 26) [*ù*] *ni-ši-in ša-al-ma* 27) [*š]ú-ḫa-ar-ka ša i-la-kam* 28) *li-ib-la-am*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 139 (no. 65 = SH 918).

The King and the nuldān(um)

The king of Itabalḥum in the time of the Shemshāra archives was Pišendēn. A seal impression of him (Fig. 2) was found in Shemshāra that reads as follows:

Piše[ndēn], son of Tukukti, king of the land of Itabal(ḥum), begetter of Tabitu.¹²¹

The name of the father of Pišendēn is Tukukti. Another seal impression naming Turukti, most probably refers to the same Tukukti, father of Pišendēn¹²² (Fig. 3):

Turukti, son of Uštap-šarri, king of Itabal, *conqueror* of his enemies, father of AD-...¹²³

The name Turukti “poses the question of a possible connection with the ethnicon Turukk(m), both perhaps based on a presumably Hurrian word *turuk*.”¹²⁴ To Eidem and Læssøe it is possible that the political and military exploits of Turukti have led to the emergence of Itabalḥum as a dominant kingdom in northwestern Zagros, and “his name for this reason was used in reference to the population there.”¹²⁵ For comparison they point to Ya’ilānum, which was also an eponymous designation. This seems very possible, especially if we consider the fact that the Turukkeans are not mentioned in texts before the OB period, except for the story of the “Great Revolt” against Narām-Sîn, which is an OB compilation.¹²⁶ But the reference to “Tazigi, king of the Turukkû” in a text from the time of Yaḥdun-Lim, some 15 years before the Shemshāra archives (see above) should not be forgotten. Because Tazigi was king before Turuktu we should hesitate to assume that King Turukti was responsible for the ethnicon.¹²⁷ It has been suggested that Tazigi was most probably a Turukkean king of another polity than Itabalḥum.¹²⁸ This seems quite possible, because the royal line in Itabalḥum, as reconstructed from the seal legends, shows two other names before Pišendēn, Tur/kukti and his father Uštap-šarri. This leaves only 15 years for three kings on the throne of Itabalḥum before Pišendēn. While the problem of the derivation of the name Turukkû remains unsolved, in our view the ethnicon could be derived from an older predecessor of Turukti, Uštap-šarri and Tazigi, perhaps the founder of the kingdom of Itabalḥum or the spiritual father of the federation. The occurrence of *Ti-ri-uk-ki-na-áš-we*^{ki} as early as the time of Iddi(n)-Sîn of Simurru (Jerusalem inscription) proves this. An alternative would be to derive the name of King Turuktu from the ethnonym or the supposed GN *Turukkû*, since Hurrian PNs were often derived from or contained GNs.¹²⁹

¹²¹ *m* Pi-še-e[n-te(-en)] DUMU *m* Tu-ku-[u]k-ti LUGAL ma-[a]t I-ta-ba(+in field):-al^{ki} wa-li-[i]d Ta-bi-ti, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26 (translation) and 159 (transliteration).

¹²² According to Eidem and Læssøe, the second sign of the name Tukukti in the previous seal impression cannot be RU, even though it is not too clear. They say, “The alternation may be explained as a result of a non-Akkadian phoneme,” as in *Še-gi/ri-bu*^{ki} in letter No. 55, 22: Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 159, note 2. Although the badly preserved impression of the seal of Turuktu makes the reading of the sign RU not quite certain, the parallel PN Turukti in seal impression no. 4 (see below) favours RU.

¹²³ [^m]T[u-r]u²-r¹uk³-t[i²] [DU]MU U[š²-ta]p²-šar-[ri²] [LUG]AL [I²]-ta-p[a-al^{ki}(?)] [x]-tu a-a-b[i-šu] r¹a¹-bi AD-[.....], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26 (translation) and 160 (transliteration).

¹²⁴ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

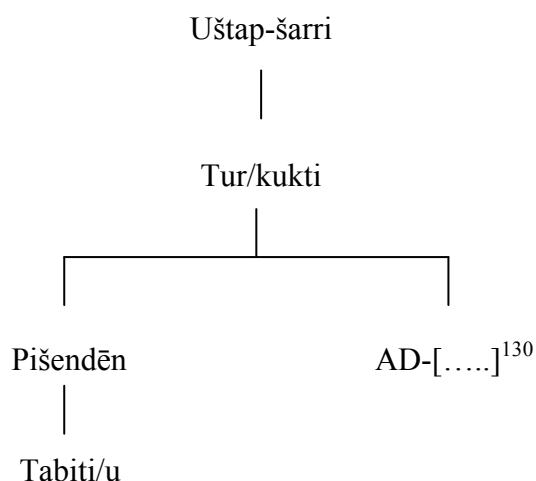
¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹²⁷ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ There are, in fact, numerous examples of GNs as components of PNs in the Transjordan region, particularly among the Hurrians. They include Kakmum, governor of Šuruthum (letter 41 = SH 925+935+939+942: 4’); Arrapha-atal; Hut-Arrapha; Kipi-Arrapha (*NPN*, p. 205); Šanḥara-ḥupi (Šanḥar(a) is a city name, probably in Northern Syria), *NPN*, p. 250; Šarnida (in Shemshāra: no. 8 = SH 887: 32 and no. 16 = SH 883 :9. Šarnida is



Tabiti was a son of Pišendēn and he had very probably previously been the crown prince. He is mentioned in the letter 64 = SH 827 as having been in contact with the king of Elam in relation to the military cooperation with Itabalḫum. Here, with the mention of the king's (first-born) son or crown prince in the king's official inscription, we are dealing with the same phenomenon seen in the inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn, both the Bētivate inscription and his cylinder seal (see Chapter Five). To Eidem and Møller this was to avoid an endless struggle for power after the death of the king. They compare it to measurements taken by Esarhaddon to ensure a peaceful succession, and also with Šamši-Adad I entrusting two large portions of his kingdom to his two sons.¹³¹ It seems closer to reality to associate it with the royal ideology of the Hurrians, whom we encountered in Urkeš as well (see Chapter Four). The editors of the seal legend are correct in comparing this phenomenon with the Elamite *sukkalmaḫ* system (as far as we understand it), in which the *sukkalmaḫ* shared his power with two junior members of the royal line.¹³² This system is more comparable with the one we know among the Hurrians, than with the traditional Mesopotamian models.

A seal impression of a servant of Turukti was found in Shemshāra. It is unfortunately very damaged, but the remaining signs read:

[.....] [so]n of [.....], [serva]nt(?) of Turukti.¹³³

identical with the GN Šarnida of the Tukulti-Ninurta I inscriptions); Ḫabur-atal (no. 55 = SH 884:5); Kularum (no. 62 = SH 914: 8, Kullār was a mountain name in the Transtigris); KA-Nišba of Simurru (Erridu-pizir inscription, cf. Chapter Three); Nawar-taḫe in the Hittite version of *šār tamḫāri* (KBo XXII 6), cf. Archi, A., "Nawar-taḫe, King of Puruḫanda," *NABU* 2000, no. 61; and even the Hydronym Aranza/iḫ (= the Tigris), as in Ḫazip-Aranziḫ, the governor of a Hurrian kingdom in Ida-maraš (see Chapter Seven). This phenomenon was not restricted to the Hurrians. Durand pointed to such cases in the Amorite world too, saying that GNs, like oronyms, toponyms, and hydronyms, were used in the formation of Amorite PNs. He further adds that the Mari material is very interesting in this respect since it gives valuable geographical information about regions whose names have been forgotten in addition to information about their inhabitants; cf. Durand, J.-M., "L'emploi des toponymes dans l'onomastique d'époque Amorrite (I): les noms en *Mut*," *SEL* 8 (1991), p. 77ff.

¹³⁰ This name cannot be linked to any of the other relevant PNs. By contrast, Tabitu, the son of Pišendēn, played a prominent role in the events according to the records (see below, letter no. 64), Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹³¹ Eidem, J. and E. Møller, "A Royal Seal from the Ancient Zagros," *MARI* 6, p. 636.

¹³² *Op. cit.*, p. 637.

¹³³ 1) [.....] 2) [DUM]U AN 'x x' 3) [Ī]R² *Tu-ru-uk-/ti*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

The presence of this seal impression among the Shemshāra material posed a problem for the editors of the letters in making a chronological sequence for Turukti and Pišendēn. In search for a solution Eidem and Læssøe asked whether Turukti was still alive when the seal of his servant was used, or did the seal continue to be used by Pišendēn after his death, or was there a complex system of hierarchy of contemporary kings in Itabalḥum, similar to that in Elam.¹³⁴

Later on Lidāya became leader of the Turukkeans. He led the revolt against the Assyrians, but unfortunately no detailed information about him or any seal impression of him is known. We are not even sure whether he was ‘king’ of the Turukkeans or just a leader. Zaziya, on the contrary, is known to have been king of the Turukkeans, as attested several times in the letters of Mari. He is frequently mentioned in the Mari texts which indicates the important role he played in the politics of his time, especially since he was, as Lafont noted, a close contemporary of Zimri-Lim of Mari.¹³⁵ A seal impression from Mari (Fig. 4) bears an inscription that styles *Zaziya nuldānum* of Itabalḥum:

Zazi[ya], son of Tern[anum], *nuldānum* [o]f Itteba[lḥum], [x] of the god [...].¹³⁶

The iconography of the seal is in the Ur III style and the editors of the seal impression suggest that the seal was probably imported from Mesopotamia and recut locally.¹³⁷ I would suggest discarding the restored sign 𐎶𐎵 in the name of Itabalḥim, because the two parallel seal impressions from the kings of the land itself write the name without this suffix (see above). Instead, the determinative KI may be restored.

A problem about the identity of Zaziya of this seal impression occurred when letter M.13039 from Mari was published, a letter which names “Zaziya, son of Akkiya.” For this second Zaziya we have no information about his identity and he is mentioned without titles. But we note that he addresses a certain *Ú-qá-ki-El*, not Zimri-Lim, as ‘brother,’ reminding him that he himself is the son of Akkiya, and that Uqa-kī-El is the son of Taḥuna, who were likewise brothers (see below).¹³⁸ Kupper is correct in considering Zaziya on the seal as the king, since he bears the local title *nuldān* of Itabalḥum and in distinguishing him from this Zaziya son of Akkiya.¹³⁹ Charpin is of the opinion that Zaziya appears to have had a double status after the changes took place in the Turukkean lands with the Gutian invasion and the disappearance of Pišendēn and his son (see below). According to him he was probably king of Turukkū and *nuldānum* of Itabalḥum,¹⁴⁰ which is quite likely to be the case.

However, the problem with Zaziya of the letter remains. It is possible that the one Zaziya was the local *nuldānum* in Itabalḥum and king of the Turukkeans, and that the second one was a Turukkean ruler or prince somewhere in the Hurrian lands, the sender of the letter. Another possibility is that the name refers to one and the same person, but one of his father’s names indicates a remote ancestor, not his direct biological father, possibly the founder of the dynasty or the legendary head of the tribe. Be it as it may, this letter does provide us with a Turukkean female PN, who was very probably the mother of Zaziya, son of Akkiya, as the context suggests:

¹³⁴ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹³⁵ Kupper, J.-R., *Lettres royales du temps de Zimri-Lim*, ARM 28, Paris, 1987, p. 257.

¹³⁶ 1) *Za-zi-[ia]* 2) DUMU *Te-er-n[a-nu-um]* 3) *[n]u-ul-da-nu-[um]* 4) *[š]a It-te-ba-a[l-ḥi-im]* 5) *[x] ša* ^d[.....], Beyer, D. and D. Charpin, “Le sceau de Zaziya, roi des Turukkéens,” MARI 6, Paris, 1990, p. 625.

¹³⁷ Beyer and Charpin, *op. cit.*, p. 627-8.

¹³⁸ Kupper, ARM 28, p. 258 and 261; cf. also Kupper, J.-R., “Zaziya, «prince» d’Ita-Palhum,” NABU 1990, no. 131, p. 108, where the name of the addressee was read as *Ú-bi-[x x x]*.

¹³⁹ Kupper, ARM 28, p. 258. In his previous note in NABU, Kupper thought it more likely that Zaziya of the seal was not the king, cf. Kupper, NABU, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ For this cf. Eidem, NABU, 1990, no. 63, p. 48.

Zaziya to Uqa-kī-El (ARM 28, 180)

Say to Uqa-kī-El, thus (says) Zaziya, your brother: I am the son of Akkiya, and you, you are the son of Taḥuna. My father and your father had the bond of brotherhood (between them). Elakka, your mother, ‘servant’ of Taḥina, was the sister of Kadamzi.¹⁴¹

Related to the problem of Zaziya is a text from Mari that mentions a grain ration to a certain Zaziya, dated to month xii* of *limmu* Aššur-malik.¹⁴² Another text probably mentions Zaziya in a broken context in relation to troop assignments associated with the city of Naḥur.¹⁴³ While it is not certain one may conjecture that Zaziya the king had been formerly collaborating with Šamšī-Adad, receiving allocations and troops, perhaps to contribute to his military actions. However, this cannot be proved at present and it remains possible that more than one Hurrian was named Zaziya.¹⁴⁴

A few more words need to be said about the controversial title *nuldānum*. As discussed above, it is thought to be a *nupras* form, derived from *walādum* “to beget a child,” a verb that occurs in the last line of Pišendēn’s seal legend.¹⁴⁵ The best translation Eidem proposed for the word is “prince” or “duke,” since the position Kuwari had in the land of Utūm was neither inherited nor obtained by career promotion, but awarded through his family connection with the ruling king.¹⁴⁶ This translation fits the contexts in which this word is used. The word ‘king’ is used in apposition to *nuldānum* in some texts (for instance in the letter 63 = SH 812), which clearly implies something different from ‘king.’ The word does not seem to me to have a Semitic etymology, even though Durand was convinced it did.¹⁴⁷ Rather it was a Hurrian word that had no exact equivalent in Akkadian, and so was left untranslated in the letters and seal legends. The absence of an Akkadian equivalent must have stemmed from the fact that *nuldānūtum* belonged to a different system of rulership or was based on a different ideology than those in Sumero-Akkadian culture. It can be compared to Hurrian *endan*, “ruler” or “king,” in the inscriptions of the kings of Urkeš (see Chapter Four), for it shares the same element –*dan*, making it in all probability a related word or at least a word of the same type. As a Hurrian term it could be analysed **nul(i)*=*dan*, with Hurrian *nuli*, a military term for a weapon or a category of soldiers.¹⁴⁸ This would be compatible with Kuwari’s reputation as a warrior, whose military activities are recorded in the Shemshāra letters (see further below). The occurrence of the element *nul(i)* in the PNs *Nu-ul-te-šup* and *Nu-ul-za-ḥi* (var. *Nu-la-za-*

¹⁴¹ 1) *a-na Ū-qá-ki-AN* 2) *qí-bí-ma* 3) *um-ma Za-zi-ia a-ḥu-ka-a-ma* 4) *a-na-ku DUMU Ak-ki-ia ù at-ta* 5) *DUMU Ta-ḥu-na a-bi ù a-bu-ka* 6) *at-ḥu-ú^f E-la-ka um-ma-ka* 7) *GÊME Ta-ḥi-na a-ḥa-at Ka-dam-zi*, Kupper, *ARM* 28, p. 261 and 262. Taḥina is a vocalic variant of Taḥuna. By servant the writer of the letter means “spouse,” cf. Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

¹⁴² Charpin and Ziegler, *Mari et le Proche-Orient*, *FM* V, p. 109, note 277.

¹⁴³ 13) *i-na 8 me-at ša-[bi-im]* 14) *1 me ša Na-ḥu-ur^{ki} a-na Za-z[i-ia]*, “Out of this 100 troops, 100 of Naḥur are for Zaz[iya].” *ARM* 23, 594, *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ There is, for instance, a certain Zaziya, “man of Kakkulatūm” mentioned in M.11787, l. 3-4; cf. Durand, J.-M., *Le nomenclature des habites et des textiles dans les textes de Mari*, vol. 1, *ARM* 30, Paris, 2009, p. 211. Another Zaziya appears in the texts of Chagar Bazar. He was one of those responsible for giving out beer and is mentioned in 42 texts: Lacambre, D. and A. Millet Albà, *Ménologie et chronologie*, in *Chagar Bazar (Syrie) III, les trouvailles . . .*, p. 201. This is important because it proves that Zaziya was not a throne name but the king’s birth name.

¹⁴⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives* 2, p. 40 and note 36 (with reference to Durand, “Review of ShA 2,” *Société de Linguistique*, 1996, p. 381f.).

¹⁴⁶ Eidem, “*nuldānum/nuldānūtum*” *NABU* 1990, no. 63, p. 48.

¹⁴⁷ Durand says: “*nuldānum*, no doubt a non-Akkadian derivation based on a Semitic root, apparently WLD,” Durand, *LAP* II, p. 81. Eidem too tentatively proposes a similar interpretation: Eidem and Læssøe, p. 27.

¹⁴⁸ For the word *nuli* cf. Laroche, *GLH*, p. 188 under *nuli*.

hi) in the Nuzi texts¹⁴⁹ may support this suggestion. The second element *-dan*, found also in *endan*, Wilhelm takes as the Hurrian suffix for professions.¹⁵⁰ Contrary to Durand, who thinks the word is a Hurrian derivation of a Semitic root, we take *nuldānum* and *nuldānūtum* as Akkadianized Hurrian, with the suffixes *-um* and *-ūtum*.

The Land of the Turukkeans

The Turukkeans appear to have inhabited the mountainous regions to the north and northeast of the Rāniya Plain, according to information provided by the Shemshāra tablets. However, the numerous kingdoms and cities referred to in the Shemshāra tablets as Turukkean cannot all have been located in a small mountainous area to the east and northeast of the Rāniya Plain. Room has to be found for the kingdoms of Itabalḥum, Zutlum, Kusanar(h)um, Šudamelum, and the cities of Kunšum (capital of Itabalḥum), Aliae, Ardamekum, Ilalae, Sašharšum and Zukula further in the east and northeast. The most suitable place would be the plains and mountain valleys of Iranian Kurdistan, behind the Qandil Range, e.g. the plain that stretches from Sardasht up to Khāneh in the north (Map. 1). Similarly, Eidem and Læssøe think the plains of the Urmia Basin must have formed the core of Turukkean territory.¹⁵¹ It is important to examine the arguments they have presented to support this suggestion, which can be summarized thus:

- 1) The use of the verbs *elūm* “going up” (in 49: 10; 53: 39; 58: 13; 59: 12, 33; 63: 44, 52; 64: 36, 40, 64; 73: 6, 11, 14) and *warādum* “going down” (56: 39) in the letters, the former when moving from Shemshāra to Kunšum and the latter when returning from Kunšum. This indicates that the city of Kunšum and the Turukkean country around it were in higher territory to the east and northeast.¹⁵²
- 2) Kuwari’s associates in Kunšum tracked information about Šamšī-Adad’s movements in Arrapha and Qabrā through Shemshāra. This means that Shemshāra was located between Kunšum on the one hand and Arrapha and Qabrā on the other.
- 3) GNs associated with the Turukkean land are absent from the Mesopotamian sources outside the Shemshāra material. This indicates that the core region of the Turukkū was far from Mesopotamia. Only two of these GNs seem to form an exception: Arrunum is probably the same city referred to in Kassite period texts as Arnāyu,¹⁵³ Kunšum seems to be identical with Kunzuḥḥe/Kuššuhḥe attested in Nuzi texts, and is usually equated with the land of the Kassites.¹⁵⁴ However, the city names associated with Kunzuḥḥe, namely Maškanawe, Utulwe and Ukenna,¹⁵⁵ cannot also be equated with any of the Turukkean GNs recorded in the Shemshāra texts. The Shemshāra texts, moreover, show that Kuwari was not close to base.¹⁵⁶
- 4) The route leading from the Rāniya Plain through Qala Dizeh to Sardasht is a main route even now. From Sardasht the other main route that leads to Mahabād is easy to

¹⁴⁹ Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, p. 240; for the bibliography of the names cf. p. 108.

¹⁵⁰ For the suffix *-dan* in *endan*, cf. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 11, and also Chapter Four for more details on *endan*.

¹⁵¹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 28 and 29.

¹⁵² *Op. cit.*, p. 28 and note 38. The authors point out to the frequent use of the two verbs in the OA texts that refer to “going up” to Kaniš and “going down” to Assur.

¹⁵³ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 28, referring to Læssøe, *The Shemshāra Tablets*, Copenhagen, 1959, p. 85 and Nashef, Kh., *RGTC* 5, Wiesbaden, 1982, p. 39.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, referring to Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 160ff. It is interesting that Kunzuḥḥe imported grain and exported a special type of horse, according to the data from Nuzi: Fincke, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. for this Fincke, *RGTC*, p. 161.

¹⁵⁶ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

follow, with just one ford across the River Zāb. “Once having reached Mahabād, the entire Urmia Basin is open to the traveller, with its rich fields and good roads to all parts of Azerbaijan.”¹⁵⁷

- 5) The region of the Urmia Basin, forming part of Azerbaijān, is a main population centre in the Zagros, and thus can be seen as the best candidate for the core of the Turukkean lands. Furthermore, “it also seems difficult to suggest a convincing alternative,”¹⁵⁸ because the other areas in Iranian Kurdistan are narrow valleys which are sparsely populated. The regions to the northwest and southeast of the Rāniya Plain were occupied by the kingdoms mentioned and were known in Mesopotamian sources.
- 6) There is archaeological material from the Urmia Basin that might support the idea of direct contacts with Northern Mesopotamia in a “fairly limited period in the early second millennium BC.”¹⁵⁹ This material consists of a distinctive early second millennium Habur Ware¹⁶⁰ side by side with contemporary local Iranian types of ceramics. The Habur Ware, identified in seven sites, including Hasanlu (level VI) and Dinkha Tepe (level IV),¹⁶¹ is known to have emanated primarily from Northern Iraq and Syria and circulated from there. Recent studies distinguish four phases of this ceramic. The earliest is pre-Šamšī-Adad,¹⁶² those found in Dinkha Tepe include types which in Mesopotamia belong to the early period for this assemblage, thus fitting the date proposed for those in the Urmia Basin.¹⁶³ It is further noticed that Habur Ware of the Urmia Basin is isolated from all directions except to the south and southeast, where no data is available.¹⁶⁴ In the Rāniya Plain, a crucial link, a few specimens were found in Bazmusiān.¹⁶⁵

I would supplement point four by observing that the territory round Sardasht is level (see map no. 1) and the route upwards to Urmia passes through a narrow strip of plains until it reaches the city of Khānē (= Pirān Shār). There the plains become wider and onwards to Urmia the route is easily accessible. The pass that leads to Sardasht from the Qala Dizeh plain is one of the main crossing points between Iraq and Iran, although not as important as the Haji Omarān-Kēleshin Pass. The only problem when applying these facts to the historical geography is that the route should pass through the Qala Dizeh Plain, which weakens the suggestion of locating Kakmum in Qala Dizeh in favour of the alternative, Rawāndiz (see Chapter Five). In case Kakmum was located in Qala Dizeh communications from Kuwari should have passed through the territories of Kakmum. Was Kakmum in this period on good

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, quoting Levine, 1974, p. 102.

¹⁵⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 28-9.

¹⁶⁰ “Habur Ware is a variety of painted, wheelmade, buff pottery found throughout northern Mesopotamia and dated to the early second Millennium BC,” Kramer, C., “Pots and People,” *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*, (eds.) L. D. Levine and T. Cuyler-Young Jr., Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, vol. 7, Malibu, 1977, p. 91.

¹⁶¹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 28. But note the date given to the tomb of Dinkha Tepe by K. S. Rubinson is the 17th to 16th century BC, cf. Rubinson, K. S., “A Mid-Second Millennium Tomb at Dinkha Tepe,” *AJA* 95 (1991), p. 373 (abstract).

¹⁶² This according to Oguchi, cf. Oguchi, H., “A Reassessment of the Distribution of Khabur Ware: An Approach from an Aspect of its Main Phase,” *Al-Rāfidān* 18 (1997), p. 205. He has also suggested that Habur Ware was “possibly” introduced at Dinkha in the latter part of this phase: Oguchi, H., “Notes on Khabur Ware from Sites Outside its Main Distribution Zone,” *Al-Rāfidān* 19 (1998), p. 120 n. 3.

¹⁶³ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 30, referring to as-Soof, B., “Mounds in the Raniya Plain, and Excavations at Tell Bazmusion,” *Sumer*, 26 (1970), p. 94. Specimens of Habur ware were found in other sites in the Rāniya Plain and nearby during a short survey carried out by W. van Soldt, D. Meijer, and the present writer in the spring of 2008 on behalf of Leiden University.

terms with the Turukkeans? Or was it so weak that it could not prevent others from using its territory? We can find an answer in the letter no. 69 = SH 868, where the great king of the Turukkeans asked another king (most probably the king of Simurrum) to organize a joint campaign with Elam, Niqqum and Namar to attack Kakmum. Apparently this hostile plan against Kakmum stemmed from its location between Turukkû and its dependency Šušarrā, which fits also with the location of Kakmum in Rawāndiz. Furthermore, a kingdom like Kakmum could occupy parts of the Turukkean lands if it felt itself powerful, as it did in the time of Sargon II (see Chapter Five, about occupying part of the Mannean country).¹⁶⁶

As to point five, the region of the Urmia Basin and Azerbaijān in general was a densely populated region, not only in the OB period but also through the ages. A good parallel to the Turukkean expansion from that region into northeastern Iraq and north Syria, as pointed out by the authors, is the expansion of the Dizayee tribe about a century ago. This tribe originally stems from the region of Mahabād in the Urmia Basin. They penetrated the Iraqi territories and began raiding the Erbil Plain, occupying the majority of the villages and agricultural lands until they came close to the Tigris, where their advance was checked by the local Arab tribes (see also Chapter Eight). The Turukkean expansion into northern Iraq and Syria must have been a similar episode, but apparently wider in extent and more successful, for they reached Nineveh and Assur and later the Habur region.

The problem that arises with the identification of the Turukkean land with the Urmia Basin is the range of the Gutian warfare. We know from other data that the core of the Gutian country was the regions to the south of the Lower Zāb, with assumed extensions to the region between the two Zābs and the modern Iranian territories (see Chapter Two). So somehow it was a neighbour of the Lullubian country, which was centred on the Shahrazūr Plain. If the suggestion to locate the core of the Turukkean country in the Urmia Basin is correct, it would have been too far away to be attacked by the Gutians. Three possible solutions can be offered:

- 1) We could imagine a larger Gutian kingdom, that had spread its hegemony over a wider area, from Naw/mar¹⁶⁷ in the southeast to the Urmia Basin in northwestern Iran. Such a large state, or federation led by Gutians, could explain the excessive irresistible power of the Gutians under Endušše, surpassing all opponents (see further below).
- 2) A second solution could be found in the description of Eidem and Læssøe of the Gutian polity, a description which, incidentally, is also applicable to other polities of the region: “Like Turukkum and the Elamite kingdom, Gutium must have been both a rather fluid geo-political term, and certainly composed of several distinct polities.”¹⁶⁸ Such terms imply a loose, multi-headed political and military structure, one that is difficult to apply to the image we have of the Gutians in this period.
- 3) A third but less probable solution is to assume that the events described in the Shemshāra letters are more local, in that they happened within a much smaller area in the immediate neighbouring mountains and intermontane valleys of the Rāniya Plain. But more room is needed in which to fit all those kingdoms, cities, kings and generals named as active in the letters. To assign them such a small area with limited resources is not enough.

With these facts before us, the first solution is the only one viable. It presents a somewhat new view of the range of the Gutian kingdom. Accepting the Urmia Basin as the core of the

¹⁶⁶ Only, of course, if we accept the identification of the Turukkean lands with the Urmia Basin.

¹⁶⁷ For the Gutian presence in Nawar, cf. the letter of Ibāl-pī-El to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 2, 26) concerning the Nawarite Gutian woman (*nawārītum*), see Chapter Seven under ‘The Elamite Invasion,’ and Chapter Two, under ‘The Gutians.’

¹⁶⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Turukkean country results in further conclusions that deserve some comment. The connecting routes between the Urmia region and the regions to the west, i.e. the modern Iraqi side, do not pass only through the Qala Dizeh region. The most popular route between the two regions runs through the Hāji Omarān Pass. It was an ancient well-known route, where the Kēleshīn and Topzāwa stelae were erected. Dinkha Tepe, for instance, is closer to this pass than to Qala Dizeh. This means that the communication must have been via Rawāndiz, a very important, naturally fortified town. One and a half centuries ago it was the capital of a powerful principedom that stretched its authority from Mahabād south of Lake Urmia to Sinjār and the outskirts of Mardin in the west, including Erbil, Pirdē, Akrē, Zaḥo, Amēdi and Duhok.¹⁶⁹ Having this parallel and in view of the facts mentioned above, it could be that some of the Turukkean polities that formed the federation were located in the region between the Rāniya Plain and Hāji Omarān. If so, one of them must be located at Rawāndiz, if Rawāndiz itself was not Kakmum.¹⁷⁰

Chronology

Despite the abundance of written documents of this period, particularly from Mari, establishing a precise chronology of the events of the region under study is not easy. This arises from the lack of enough comparable data and the complexity of the various calendars used. Šamšī-Adad, for instance, besides the Ešnunna calendar used the calendars of Tell al-Rimāh and Chagar Bazar, in which either the year began in the winter solstice or the autumn equinox, as Larsen has shown.¹⁷¹ The first month of this calendar, confirmed by M. Gallery, corresponded to the sixth month of the Mari Calendar.¹⁷² We distinguish the month numbers of years beginning in the autumn equinox with an asterisk directly following the number.

One of the key sources that helped to establish a chronology of the events of the reign of Šamšī-Adad in particular is the Mari Eponymic Chronicle (MEC). It records important historical events that occurred during the periods of the eponyms. Later another important eponymic text from Kaniš was published by K. R. Veenhof.¹⁷³ It covers a period of 97 years, from c. 1872-1776 BC, i.e. from the reign of Narām-Sīn of Assur to the death of Šamšī-Adad.¹⁷⁴ The last part of this text (KEL A) is parallel with the first part of the Mari Eponymic Chronicle (MEC A),¹⁷⁵ and thus offers a significantly long list of eponyms.

The series of important events pertinent to our subject we learn from the MEC are:¹⁷⁶

Pre-Šamšī-Adad period:

Version A:

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|
| 9) Samānum | Aminum took Šaduppum. |
| 12) Ennam-Aššur | Ipiq-Adad II sat on the throne. |
| 13) Hanna-Nārim | Ipiq-Adad was defeated by Aminum. |
| 15) Kapatiya | Ipiq-Adad was victorious over Aminum. |

¹⁶⁹ Nebes, J., *Der Kurdische Fürst Mir Muhammad-i-Rawandizi*, (Ph.D. Dissertation), Hamburg, 1970, p. 128, 133, 136 and 138. (Arabic version).

¹⁷⁰ For the location of Kakmum at Rawāndiz as a second, more possible, candidate, cf. Chapter Five.

¹⁷¹ Wu Yuhong, *A Political History...*, p. 153 (referring to Larsen, M. T., *The Old Assyrian City-State*, p. 193 and 211).

¹⁷² Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

¹⁷³ Veenhof, K. R., *The Old Assyrian List of Year Eponyms from Karum Kanish and its Chronological Implications*, Ankara, 2003.

¹⁷⁴ Veenhof, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁷⁵ Veenhof, *The Old Assyrian List...*, p. 5.

¹⁷⁶ These after Birot, M., "Les Chroniques "Assyriennes" de Mari," *MARI* 4, Paris, 1985, p. 227ff.

16) Išme-Aššur Ipiq-Adad took the Ziqqurat.

Version B:

7) Šu-bēli capture of the city of Šuprum(?) by Ila-kabkabi, father of Šamšī-Adad.

The Reign of Šamšī-Adad before the Conquest of Mari:

- 8) Šarrum-Adad victory of the “man” of Elam over Ipiq-Adad; Šamšī-Adad sat on the throne.
10) Aššur-imitti (II) victory of the Lullû over “the king” (= Šamšī-Adad) at Lazapatum.
11) Dadāya events concerning Mut-Abbiḥ.
12) Dadāya II capture of Arrapha by Ipiq-Adad.
13) Aḥi-šalim conquest of Ga...¹⁷⁷

Version C:

1) several lands taken by “the king”, including the lands of Šerwunum¹⁷⁸ and Ḥaburātum; mention of the cities of Dûr-... and Dûr-Šamšī-Adad.

After the Conquest of Mari:¹⁷⁹

Version E:

- 3) Rīš-Šamaš victory of Išme-Dagan over ...
5) Aššur-imitti (III) victory of Šamšī-Adad over ... which he restores; Mē-Turan and Daduša are mentioned.
8) Ikûn-pīya a victory of Šamšī-Adad; Mē-Turan and Daduša are mentioned.
9) Asqudum a victory(?) of Šamšī-Adad.¹⁸⁰
10) Aššur-malik victory of Išme-Dagan over ... and taking(?) of Nurrugum by Šamšī-Adad; several (=9?)¹⁸¹ kings, including Kipram, Yašub-Addu and Yašub-Lim, were captured(?)¹⁸² and handed over(?) to Daduša (= ŠA 29).
11) [Awiliy]a(?)¹⁸³ the Turukkû are mentioned; text F (=A.1614), mentioning a victory over the Turukkeans as well as a victory of Yasmaḥ-Addu over the Benjaminites and the submission of the banks of the Euphrates, probably corresponds to this eponymy (= ŠA 30).

Veenhof summed up the results of his study of both the Kaniš and the Mari eponymic texts and showed that the period between the accession of Erišum and the death of Šamšī-Adad is

¹⁷⁷ The sign GA can be read as qá or kà for the city of Q/Kab/prā, which was taken in the joint expedition of Assyria and Ešnunna. Wu Yuhong reconstructed the name as Gasurum: Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 71, which is also possible, except that we are not sure whether Gasur maintained its old name until this time.

¹⁷⁸ This land is mentioned together with Ḥaburātum, which was to the north or northwest of Nineveh, on the eastern Habur. It is logical to think that Šerwunum too was close to it. A good location for Šerwunum would be the region of Šerwan Mazin, “Greater Šerwan,” in the region east of the eastern Habur, north of Duhok.

¹⁷⁹ Unfortunately, several lands are said to have been conquered by Šamšī-Adad and Išme-Dagan, but their names are effaced on the tablet.

¹⁸⁰ Charpin and Durand seem to be correct in the restoration of this line as *Samsī-Addu [Qabrā išbat]* according to the reconstruction of the events, cf. Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim,” *MARI* 4, Paris, 1985, p. 315.

¹⁸¹ There is room for six more names in lines 18'-21', cf. Birot, *op. cit.*, p. 232, note 8.

¹⁸² The signs *ik-x[...]* can hardly refer to anything else than the verb *ik-mi/mu(-...)* < *kamû* “to capture.”

¹⁸³ Or *limmu* Adad-bani, cf. Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives* 2, p. 18.

199 years, from 1974-1776. Level II of Kārum Kaniš ended in *c.* 1836 BC. The birth of Šamšī-Adad must have been in *c.* 1850 BC. He occupied the throne in *c.* 1833 at the age of 18 and died in 1776 at the age of 75.¹⁸⁴ These dates are lowered (= made older) by four years in comparison to the former datings he suggested.¹⁸⁵ Although new data have been proposed in the light of new publications and studies, the data Veenhof suggested in his older study in *MARI* 4 are cited below for convenience and comparison:

<i>ca.</i> 1815	Yaḥdun-Lim rules Mari; Šamšī-Adad conquers Ekallātum.
<i>ca.</i> 1812	Šamšī-Adad conquered Assur and became king of Assur.
<i>ca.</i> 1801	Šamšī-Adad defeated Yaḥdun-Lim; Sumu-yamam began his rule in Mari; Išme-Dagan was appointed ruler of Ekallātum.
<i>ca.</i> 1798	Šamšī-Adad conquered Mari.
<i>ca.</i>	Yasmaḥ-Addu was appointed ruler of Mari.
1792	Hammurabi became king of Babylon; Daduša ruled Ešnunna.
1784	Ibāl-pî-El II succeeded Daduša as ruler of Ešnunna.
<i>ca.</i> 1780	death of Šamšī-Adad; he was succeeded by his son Išme-Dagan.
<i>ca.</i> 1775	Yasmaḥ-Addu lost Mari, and Zimri-Lim became king there.
1770	death of Ibāl-pî-El II of Ešnunna.
1761	Hammurabi conquered Mari and Zimri-Lim disappeared.
1762-1755	Hammurabi subdued Assyria and Išme-Dagan disappeared(?).
1750	Hammurabi succeeded by his son Samsu-iluna.

The eponyms used to date the events of the kingdom of Šamšī-Adad are charted below. They were sorted by Charpin and Ziegler from data in letters, royal inscriptions and administrative texts.¹⁸⁶ It is clear that the data in this chart do not always correspond to that of the MEC, which makes it impossible to combine all in one chart. The months of the Šamšī-Adad Calendar are asterisked and only events relevant to the subject of this and the next chapter are mentioned:

EPONYM	YEAR	DATED EVENTS+ MEC	DATABLE EVENTS
Ḫaya-malik	1792?		- Conquest of Mari by Šamšī-Adad
Šalim-Aššur son of Šalim-Anum	1791?		
Šalim-Aššur son of Ušranum	1790?	(place is not certain)	
Ennam-Aššur	1789	(place is not certain)	
Šin-muballiṭ	1788		
Riš-Šamaš	1787		- Yasmaḥ-Addu arrived in Mari
Ibni-Addu	1786	Conquest of Mardaman, Šerwunum and Haburātum	- Conquest of Šinamum
Aššur-imitti	1785	Events concerning Me-Turan and Daduša (MEC)	- Conquest of Mankisum
Ili-tillati =Aḫiyaya?	1784		
Rigmanum	1783	9/i*: Messengers of Ḫaššum and Karkemiš in Tuttul (<i>KTT</i> 80), where Yasmaḥ-Addu is sitting (<i>KTT</i> 79)	
Ikuppiya	1782		

¹⁸⁴ Veenhof, *The Old Assyrian...*, p. 57-8.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Veenhof, "Eponyms of the 'Later Old Assyrian Period' and Mari Chronology," *MARI* 4, p. 214.

¹⁸⁶ This list and the dates of the eponyms are made by Charpin and Ziegler, who add the related texts and events in detail in Charpin and Ziegler, *Mari et le Proche-Orient* ..., *FM* V, p. 145ff.

Asqudum	1781		<p>-Šamšī-Adad went to Akkad and concluded peace with Ešnunna; he remained there until 20 (/ii*?), then went back to Aššur</p> <p>- viii*: Conquest of Arrapha (Stele of Louvre)</p> <p>-20/viii*: Šamšī-Adad crossed the Lower Zāb and invaded the land of Qabrā</p> <p>- ix*: Conquest of the fortified cities of the land of Erbil by Šamšī-Adad (Stele of the Louvre)</p> <p>- ix: Išme-Dagan lays siege to Nineveh</p> <p>- Yasmaḥ-Addu in Razama</p> <p>- x* Conquest of Ninēt and Šibanum (M.8898: On 2/x* Išme-Dagan left Ninēt)</p> <p>- 15/xii*: War on Ya'ilānum</p> <p>-Yasmaḥ-Addu killed the Ya'ilānite hostages (<i>ARM</i> 1, 8)</p>
Aššur-malik	1780	-?/xii/[Aššur-mal]ik: Barley for Zaziya (M.12155)	<p>- i*-iii*: 1000 boats are made during these three months; Mašum received 1216 lances “for the expedition of Qabrā”</p> <p>-3/i*: Conquest of Kirḫum by Išme-Dagan (A.4413); only Qabrā itself remains (<i>ARM</i> 1, 135)</p> <p>-5/i*: Yasmaḥ-Addu passed by Ekallātum before joining Išme-Dagan for the siege of Qabrā</p> <p>-Yasmaḥ-Addu participated in the siege of Qabrā for more that 20 days (A.2745+)</p> <p>-ii*: conquest of Qabrā in collaboration with Ešnunna and division of its booty (Stele of Daduša)</p> <p>-vi*: Victory of Išme-Dagan in Ikkalnum.</p> <p>-vii*?: Conquest of Nurrugum by Išar-Lim (<i>ARM</i> 10, 107)</p> <p>- Before 10/viii*: Victory over Aḫazum</p> <p>- 10/viii*: Šamšī-Adad in Šaikšabbum, capital of Aḫazum (A.2302)</p> <p>- x*-xi*: Išme-Dagan and Išar-Lim confront the Turukkean revolt lead by Lidaya</p> <p>- 8/xi*: End of Lidaya's revolt</p> <p>- 30/xi*: The troops of Išme-Dagan demobilized for taking provisions (<i>ARM</i> 2, 8)</p>
Awiliya	1779		<p>- i*: Išme-Dagan to Amursakkum to confront the Turukkean revolt</p> <p>- 3/ii*: Šamšī-Adad decided to attack Turukkeans before treating the situation in Zalmaqum (<i>ARM</i> 1, 53+)</p> <p>- ii*-iii*: Turukkeans leave Amursakkum to Tigonānum and revolt in the region of Šubat-Enlil</p> <p>- ii*-vii*: Daduša of Ešnunna died</p> <p>-iv*-v*: Yasmaḥ-Addu resides in Šubat-</p>

			<p>Enlil</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - v*: reinforcement of the garrisons of the cities round Kaḫat - End of vi*-vii*: Šamšī-Adad leaves Šubat-Enlil for Ekallātum via Tuḫam and Burullum (A.562) - Between vii* and viii*: Sumu-Epuḫ died. - 21/viii*: The Turukkeans are still in Tiguṇānum
Nīmer-Sīn	1778		
<i>warki</i> Nīmer-Sīn			
Addu-bani	1777	-30/vi*: Grain for the families of the Lullubians (<i>KTT</i> 138,, cf. also <i>KTT</i> 321)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The official census in the kingdom of Šamšī-Adad started - 12/viii*: Negotiations of Šamšī-Adad with Ešnunna continued in Aššur and proved to be difficult
<i>Warki</i> Addu-bani			
Ṭab-šilli-Aššur	1776		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 2/x*: Šamšī-Adad heads the negotiations with the Ešnunnean messengers in Ekallātum, bearing a proposal for peace - xii*: Šamšī-Adad dies - xii*: Išme-Dagan buys peace with Ešnunna. The problems made by the Turukkeans ended
<i>Warki</i> Ṭab-šilli-Aššur	1775		- vi*: Zimri-Lim's reign began

Eidem for his part has successfully divided this period in Shemshāra into three phases: the Pre-Assyrian phase, the Assyrian domination phase and the Post-Assyrian phase.¹⁸⁷ These are the divisions we will follow in this chapter. According to their contents the letters of Shemshāra can be categorized into two main phases. The early phase involves internal correspondence between the Zagros chieftains and Kuwari, and appears to have been a short period of a few spring months, although a few older letters are included.¹⁸⁸ The later phase is the time when Šušarrā was subordinate to Šamšī-Adad. It seems to have begun in the *limmu* of Asqudum or Aššur-malik (around 1780 BC)¹⁸⁹ and lasted longer. The events occur in the 28th and 29th and perhaps part of the 30th years of Šamšī-Adad.¹⁹⁰

In the Light of the Shemshāra Archives

The Shemshāra archives shed a very important spot of light, though small and brief, on the history of the inner Zagros. Their importance is not restricted to historical events but they also provide valuable data about the ethnic and linguistic texture of the region in that period as well as valuable hints for the historical geography of the area.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Eidem, J., "News from the Eastern Front....," *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 88ff.

¹⁸⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁸⁹ Eidem and Læssøe have 1781 BC, *op. cit.*, p. 16 and 34. However, note the older dating of 1785 BC in Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives* 2, p. 16.

¹⁹⁰ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives* 2, p. 16.

The Pre-Assyrian Domination Phase

The scene

As pointed out above, the first phase perhaps involves just a few spring months of correspondence between the chieftains of the Zagros. Then the political scene consisted of Turukkean princedoms or kingdoms, united under the leadership of Pišendēn, the king of one of these kingdoms, Itabalḫum. This Turukkean alliance controlled Šušarrā in the Rāniya Plain and had installed Kuwari as its ruler. At the same time the Gutians threatened the Turukkeans, and probably this threat was the motive for their alliance. The Gutians, under Endušše (var. Indaššu and Indušše) were exercising a huge pressure by a merciless siege that resulted in a severe shortage of supplies, fundamentally grain. The troops of Endušše were bent on destroying the harvest of Kunšum, the capital of Itabalḫum every year. We know from the letters that this was done at least for three or four successive years.¹⁹¹ Turukkum was forced to ask its vassal Kuwari and other vassals for grain supplies for themselves and the troops of the alliance, and also for wool and tin for the manufacture of weapons. Politically the Turukkeans succeeded in the broadening of their alliance by the introduction of new allies. But these allies never offered any help when needed and the Gutians won the war easily. On the western front Šamši-Adad was harvesting the victories of his campaigns and getting closer and closer to the Turukkean domains. The Turukkeans were also worried about this threat, and these matters formed the main issues of the correspondence in this phase. The motive for the Gutian aggression towards the Turukkeans is not clear. Perhaps it is too simple to say it was expansionism. What we do know is that Gutium in this period was a formidable power that was able to smash all its opponents independently.

Turukkum and Šušarrā

The Turukkeans held the land of Utûm¹⁹² under their hegemony. It is not known when this began, but it was an essential asset, particularly in this hard time, because Utûm seems to have been the only part of the kingdom that could supply grain after Endušše had deprived them of this.

The eastern border of Utûm must have been the mountain ranges of Kēwa Rash, Pashkēw and Kurkur, that separate the Rāniya Plain from Qala Dizeh (Map 2). From the north and northwest its borders faded into the mountainous territory of the supposed Kakmean and

¹⁹¹ This is explicitly stated in the letters SH 818 (no. 36) and SH 812 (no. 63), see below.

¹⁹² The name Utûm is understood as Semitic by Eidem, which according to him means “(the land of) the gate-keeper,” referring to its location close to the gorge between the Rāniya and Qala Dizeh Plains: Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives* 2, p. 17 and 41. However, its occurrence in the Haladiny inscription as Utuwe (see Chapter Five) more than a century earlier, thus earlier than the Amorite infiltration to the East-Tigris region, is in favour of a local language etymology, perhaps Hurrian. Even if we assume that the Amorites had begun their infiltration so early, their presence is not attested in a territory as deep in the Zagros as the Rāniya Plain. Utûm is an Akkadianized form (Utu+um), and Utuwe a Hurrianized form (Utu+we), if Utu is not itself a Hurrian name. One does not expect in fact a Semitic name for such a region in the Zagros, predominantly populated by Hurrians and other non-Semitic peoples like Gutians, Lullubians and Subarians as the texts reflect. The trend to interpret every name or term as Semitic, which was the case with Itabalḫum and *nuldānum* too, regardless of its geographical location and ethnic and linguistic textures, is risky; see further above, under ‘The Turukkû: People and Organization.’

thereafter Turukkean territories. The southern and southeastern borders cannot have extended much further than the eastern bank of the Lower Zāb, towards the Qara Sird and Sara chains, the border of the Lullubian country. To the west Utûm was limited by the Haibat Sultān Chain, behind which the lands of Qabrā and Aḥazum were located. That Qabrā was next to or close to Utûm can be seen in a letter of Šepratu to Kuwari, who was eager to know what would be the next step of Šamšī-Adad after the capture of Qabrā:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 63 = SH 812)

And you must investigate the intentions of Samsī-Addu. If he has directed his attention elsewhere, and there is no anxiety for the country of Utûm, then take your best troops under your own command, and come up here.¹⁹³

Šušarrā¹⁹⁴ was the capital of the land of Utûm. This is deduced from the letter SH 827:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 64 = SH 827)

Do this so that they will be friendly towards the country of Utûm, the town of Šušarrā, and the campaign.¹⁹⁵

Utûm comprised, or exercised control over, several other cities; the letters of Shemshāra provide evidence that the cities of Ḥišhinašwe and probably Šegibbum were satellites of Šušarrā. Letter 31 from the Assyrian domination phase bears a request of Kurašānum¹⁹⁶ to Kuwari to release the family of a man who had all been sent three years previously to the city of Ḥišhinašwe. That Kuwari had the authority to release people restrained in that city is clear evidence that it was under his control:

Kurašānum to Kuwari (no. 31 = SH 916)

Say to Kuwari: Thus (says) Kurašānum: Listen to the case of the bearer of this letter. He sent his brother and his people three years ago to the town of Ḥišhinašwe,

¹⁹³ 39) *ù at-ta wa-ar-ka-at* ^m*Sa-am-si-*^dIM 40) *pu-ru-ús-sú šum-ma ul-li-iš pa-ni-šu* 41) *iš-ta-ka-an-ma ni-sa-tum a-na ma-at* 42) *Ú-te-em*^{ki} *la i-ba-aš-ši* 43) *ša-ba-ka da-am-qa-am ša-ab-tam-ma* 44) *i-na qa-ti-ka ù i-li-am*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 135 (no. 63).

¹⁹⁴ One may conjecture an analysis of the GN Šušarrā as the hypothetical *Šu=ž(erg.)=ar(r)=a=e/i (see the form *Šušarrae* in 58 = SH 801: 10'; 63 = SH 812: 46, 50, 65; 64 = SH 827: 26, which I think is the original form, since it was written by a native speaker). Thus, the verbal root *ar-* “to give” is possibly a component of the name. It can also be *Šu=šar=a=e/i, consisting of the root *šar-* “to wish, to demand” (cf. Laroche, *GLH*, p. 215; Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, p. 251), which occurs as a final element in the PNs *Wu-ur-ša-ri/tal* and *Šarim/p-šari* (*NPN, ibid.*), and the PN *Talpuš-šarri* (see above).

¹⁹⁵ 25) *ki-ma a-na ma-at Ú-te-em* 26) *ù URU*^{ki} *š[u-š]ar-ra-e*^{ki} *ù a-na KASKAL* 27) *i-tà-bu an-ni-tam e-pu-úš*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 137 (no. 64 = SH 827), published earlier in Læssøe, J., “IM 62100: A Letter from Tell Shemshara,” *Studies in Honour of B. Landsberger on his 75th Birthday*, Chicago, 1965, p. 193. Another allusion to this is made in the letter SH 825, where a collection of troops from Šušarrā and other places is reported and the total is given in the end of the letter as “500 soldiers from the land of Utûm,” which clearly shows that Šušarrā was in the land of Utûm. Læssøe called attention that Finet considered Burullum as the capital of Utûm: Læssøe, J., “The Quest for the Country of *Utûm,” *JAOS* 88 (1968), p. 122. If so, we believe this could have been the case only after the destruction of Šušarrā. Burullum can be identified with Burali occurred in an inscription of Adad-Nirari III (810-783 BC), mentioned together with Erbil; cf. Falkner, M., “Studien zur Geographie des alten Mesopotamien,” *AfO* 18 (1957-58), p. 7. It should be distinguished from another Burullum, located to the north of Jebel Sinjār, which the texts group with Ḥaburātum, Razama, Karanā and Mardaman; cf. the discussion above. The element *burul-* can be tentatively linked with the Hurrian word *purli-*, ‘temple.’

¹⁹⁶ Although an official of Šamšī-Adad, the name Kurašānum can be related to the in Nuzi attested name Kuršini; cf. for Kuršini *NPN*, p. 230.

but now his brother has died, and his people have been detained. Now release his people and his maids.¹⁹⁷

From the Pre-Assyrian domination phase, Talpuš-šarri advised Kuwari to let a certain Ḫabur-atal go to the city Šegibbum, where he was popular:

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari (no. 55 = SH 884)

Say to Kuwari: Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri, your brother: As for Ḫabur-atal, about whom you wrote to me as follows: "They want him in Šegibbum. Send him there, and let him stay!" Hereby I have sent him to you. Do as you see fit. *The Lulleans* will perhaps¹⁹⁸ the country of Šegibbum, and his brothers need him. Send him (there), and for us there will later be a good reputation. The people of Šegibbum love him.¹⁹⁹

This city, called also 'the country,' appears to have been located to the south or southeast of Šušarrā since the Lulleans are somehow involved in its affairs.²⁰⁰

The land of Ištānum was close to Šušarrā, but whether or not it was subordinate to the latter is uncertain. That the name Ištānum is a generic term meaning 'the northern country' has been tentatively suggested.²⁰¹ If so, Ištānum was located to the north of Šušarrā. That it was close to Šušarrā is obvious from a letter of Išme-Dagan to Kuwari, in which he talks about a previous report of Kuwari that contained some news of Ištānum:

Išme-Dagan to Kuwari (no. 26 = SH 856)

With regard to the report about the country of Ištānum, about which you wrote to me, I have written. They will investigate the matter.²⁰²

The same topic occurs in another letter sent by Kurašānum to Kuwari. From the letter it appears that Išme-Dagan had asked Kurašānum to make an investigation about the cities of this land, but Kurašānum had no idea about its background:

Kurašānum to Kuwari (no. 29 = SH 921)

You have sent a letter about investigating the towns of the country of Ištānum to my lord Išme-Dagan, and my Lord wrote thus to me: "Send words to the towns of Ištānum, and have them investigate the situation for you, and write back to me quickly!" This is what my Lord wrote to me. How can I write to these towns [...] you did not write to me, and I do not know the matter. Now, as soon as you hear this letter of mine, send me quickly a complete briefing on the towns of Ištānum so that I

¹⁹⁷ 1) *a-na Ku-wa-ri* 2) *qí-bí-ma* 3) *um-ma Ku-ra-ša-nu-um-ma* 4) *a-wa-at LÚ wa-bi-il tup-pí-ia* 5) *an-ni-im ši-me* 6) *a-ḫu-šu ni-ši-šu* 7) *iš-tu u₄-mi-im MU-3-KAM* 8) *a-na a-lim Ḫi-iš-ḫi-na-aš-we-ma* 9) *iṭ-ru-ud-ma* 10) *i-na-an-na a-ḫu-šu im-tu-ut* 11) *ù ni-šu-šu im-šu-ḫu-uš* 12) *i-na-an-na ni-ši-šu* 13) *ù GEMÉ.ḪÁ-šu wa-aš-še-er*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 102 (no. 31 = SH 916).

¹⁹⁸ Eidem and Læssøe think it is possible to restore this unclear and fragmentary section as *a-na Za-zi<-ia i-na-di-nu>*, "The Lullians perhaps give the country to Zaziya," cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 125, comment on l. 14f.

¹⁹⁹ 1) *a-na Ku-w[a-ri]* 2) *qí-bí-^rma* 3) *um-ma ^mTa-al-pu-šar-r[i]* 4) *a-ḫu-ka-a-ma* 5) *aš-šum ^mḪa-bu-ur-a-tal* 6) *ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am* 7) *um-ma at-ta-a-ma* 8) *a-na Še-gi-bu-um i-ri-šu-úš* 9) *tú-ur-da-aš-šu-ma* 10) *li-ši-ib a-nu-um-ma* 11) *aṭ-tà-ar-da-ak-ku-úš* 12) *ki-ma e-li-ka tà-bu* 13) *e-pu-úš* 14) *Lu-ul-^rlu²-ú² mi-ni^r-di* 15) *ma-at Še-gi-bu^{ki} a 'na' za zi* 16) *ù LÚ.MEŠ a-ḫu-šu* 17) *ša-ti-ma ḫa-aš-ḫu-šu* 18) *tú-ru-sú-[m]a* 19) *ù a-ni-a-šum* 20) *wa-ar-ka-nu-um* 21) *lu-ú šu-mu-um* 22) *LÚ.MEŠ ma-ru še-RI-bu^{ki}* 23) *i-ra-mu-úš*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 125 (no. 55 = SH 884).

²⁰⁰ For the meaning and interpretation of the unclear clause after the city/country name, cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 125, comment on lines 14f.

²⁰¹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and 98, comment on l. 4.

²⁰² 4) *aš-šum ṭe-em [m]a-a-tim ša Iš-ta-ni-[i]m^{ki}* 5) *ša ta-aš-p[u-r]a-am* 6) *áš-ta-pa-ar wa-^rar^r-ka-tam ^ri-pa^r-ra-sú-[n]im*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 98 (no. 26 = SH 856).

can write and have them investigate the situation of these towns, and report to my Lord!²⁰³

Kuwari

The ruler appointed for Utûm was Kuwari,²⁰⁴ and he enjoyed a considerable degree of independence and power. The texts designate his position as *nuldānum*. Kuwari was a descendant of a noble family, for according to the letter SH 812 he himself and his father and his grandfather all held the position of *nuldānum* inasmuch as they exercised *nuldānūtum*. But it does not say they were all in Utûm:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 63 = SH 812)

He (= Kuwari) whose father and grandfather exercised *nuldānūtum*.²⁰⁵

As noted by the editors of the Shemshāra tablets, Kuwari was not a citizen of the city Šušarrā, and probably not even of the land Utûm. The letter SH 822 clearly indicates this:

Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari (no. 35 = SH 822)

The king is well. The city of Kunšum, your brother, your estate, your wife and your sons and I who love you are well. You cannot say to us: "You are living there, and yet you do not look after my estate." I entered your estate and questioned the daughter-in-law²⁰⁶ and Tidduri: "Has the harvest work started? You must do the harvest! Have you started the grazing (season) or not?"²⁰⁷

The fact that his house/estate, wife, son and cattle were not in Šušarrā, but rather in a place called Zigulā (SH 811, 16) or Zukula (SH 822, 31), clearly means that he was in Šušarrā for the sake of his function.²⁰⁸ In a letter from his son Tenduri we read:

²⁰³ 4) aš-šum wa-ar-ka-at a-la-ni-e^{ki} 5) ša Iš-ta-ni-im pa-ra-si-im 6) tup-pa-am a-na še-er 7) be-lí-ia Iš-me-^dDa-gan 8) tu-ša-bi-il-ma be-lí a-na [š]e-ri-ia 9) ki-a-am iš-pu-ra-am 10) um-ma-a-mi a-na a-la-ni-e^{ki} 11) ša Iš-ta-ni-im šu-pu-ur-ma 12) wa-ar-ka-tam li-ip-ru-sú-ni-ik-kum-ma-mi 13) ar-ḫi-iš a-na še-ri-ia-mi 14) šu-up-ra-am an-ni-tam 15) [b]e-lí iš-pu-ra-am 16) [k]i-I a-na a-la-ni-e 17) [š]u-n[u]-ti lu-úš-pu-ur(break of ca. 3 lines)... 21) [.....]x x x²⁰ 22) ú-ul ta-aš-pu-ra-am-ma 23) li-ib-bi a-wa-tim ú-ul i-di i-na-an-na tup-pí an-né-em i-na še-me-e 25) te-ma-am ga-am-ra-am 26) ša a-la-ni-e ša Iš-ta-ni-im 27) ar-ḫi-iš a-na še-ri-ia 28) šu-bi-lam-ma ki-ma a-na-ku 29) a-ša-ap-pa-ru ú wa-ar-ka-at 30) [a-l]a-[n]i-e šu-nu-ti i-pa-ar-ra-sú-ma 31) [a-na š]e-er be-lí-ia a-ša-ap-pa-ru, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 100-101 (no. 29 = SH 921).

²⁰⁴ The name Kuwari is Hurrian; it appears in the texts of Nuzi in the forms *Ku-a-ri*, *Ku-ú-a-ri* and in some cases a female name as ¹*Ku-ú-a-ri*, ¹*Ku-a-ri*; in Chagar Bazar as ¹*Ku-wi-ri* (Gelb *et al*, *NPN*, p. 228); and in Tell Haddad (OB) as *Ku-wa-rum* (Muhammed, A. K., *Old Babylonian Cuneiform Texts from the Hamrin Basin, Tell Haddad*, London, 1992, 24:13; , p. 53); and in Tell Mizyad (Ur III) texts as *Ku-wa-ri* (18 iv: 6; v: 33; vii: 40-26 I: 10-30 I: 18); cf.

محمود، ن. أ.، دراسات في نصوص مسمارية غير منشورة من عصر سلالة اور الثالثة-تل مزيد، بغداد، ١٩٨٦.

[Mahmood, N. H., *Studies in Unpublished Cuneiform Texts from the Time of the Ur III Dynasty - Tell Mizyad*, Baghdad, 1986 (in Arabic)]

For an earlier study, cf. Læssøe, J., *The Shemshāra Tablets, a Preliminary Report*, Copenhagen, 1959, p. 29, notes 30 and 31.

²⁰⁵ 56) ša a-bu-šu ú a-bi a-bi-šu nu-ul-da-nu-tam 57) i-pu-šu, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 135 (no. 63 = SH 812).

²⁰⁶ According to Charpin, the word *kallatum* should be translated as "wife" or "spouse," cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 174, but compare Ar. كات، "daughter-in-law."

²⁰⁷ 5) LUGAL ša-li-im a-lum Ku-un-šu-um^{ki} 6) a-ḫu-ka É-ka aš-[š]a-at-ka 7) ú ma-ru-ka ú a-na-ku 8) ra-im-ka ša-al-ma-ku 9) as-sú-ri la ta-qa-bi-a-ni-mi ki-a-am 10) wa-aš-ba-ta-a-ma wa-ar-ka-at 11) É-tim ú-ul ta-pa-ra-ás 12) a-na É-ti-ka e-ru-um-ma 13) ka-la-tam ú ^mTi-du-ri 14) a-ša-al-ma um-ma a-na-ku-ú-ma 15) ú BUR₁₄.KIN i-ta-ší 16) BUR₁₄ te-pé-ša-me-ku-nu 17) te-ep-tá ú-ul te-ep-tá, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 105 (no. 35 = SH 822).

²⁰⁸ Cf. also letter 59 = SH 811 below.

Tenduri to Kuwari (no. 59 = SH 811)

You know that the grazing (season) is approaching (here) in Zigulā; and the cutter(s) which you turned over to Hizzutta – have a lot of them delivered - they are requested for the lambs (and) goats; let them be delivered; and send the servants you promised.... and the cutter(s) which are not available in the house; send the cutter(s).²⁰⁹

A letter from Hulukkadil points out clearly that his cattle were in a place called Sašharšum:

Hulukkadil to Kuwari (no. 50 = SH 813)

Talpuš-šarri went to Sašharšum and inspected your flocks and took away 10 Šubarian sheep. Note that they are with the shepherd Hizutta. Do not worry!²¹⁰

After the beginning of the Assyrian domination, which followed the Gutian victory over the Turukkean alliance, his wife Šip-šarri (SH 826, 14; SH 827, 66), and probably also his son Tenduri and daughter-in-law, were moved to Šušarrā. This too means that Zigulā was located in the area targeted by the Gutian warfare, and thus in Turukkean territory, if not close to the city of Kunšum.

By contrast, the prominent Turukkean figures had economic investments in the rich land of Utūm. This was the case with Talpuš-šarri, who had an estate there and had special people who were in charge of running it, as we understand from an interesting letter to Kuwari:

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari (no. 53 = SH 810)

Say to Kuwari: Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri, your brother: Imdiya came to me and (said): "Your estate in Šušarrā is not being looked after." I explained these things to you. Did I not say this to you concerning this estate of mine: "Kuwari do not be negligent with regard to this estate! Do not depend on the steward! When you arrive you must inspect my estate, and if the steward living (there) manages the estate well, then let him stay. If not so, then you yourself appoint a steward of your choice!" Now why is this estate being ruined, and you do nothing? Now have the grain of my estate checked and guarded!²¹¹

Charpin is against associating the ownership of estates in a feudal pattern with the Hurrian mountain kingdoms similar to the pattern found later in Nuzi and Alalah as noticed by Eidem. Charpin finds this to be a common practice of the polities of the period, referring to the estates of Yasmaḥ-Addu in the region of Ekallātum and Šubat-Enlil and that of Zimri-Lim in Alalātum in the kingdom of Yamḥad.²¹²

²⁰⁹ 15) *ša-am-mu wu-di it-tà-ḥu-nim* 16) *i-na Zi-gu-la-a^{ki}* 17) *ù URUDU KU₅.KIN ša a-na qa-ti* 18) *^mHi-iz-zu-ut-ta ta-ad-[di-nu]* 1. e 19) *li-mu a-na SILA₄ li-i[n-di-nu-nim]* 20) *a-na SILA₄ ÛZ i-ri-š[u-nim]* rev. 21) *li-in-di-nu-[nim]* 22) *ù LÚ.MEŠ ÌR š[a ta]-aq-b[u(-ú)]* 23) *šu-bi-lam* 27) *ù URUDU KU₅.KIN ša É* 28) *ú-ul i-ba-šu-ú* 29) *URUDU KU₅.KIN šu-bi-lam*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 129-130 (no. 59 = SH 811).

²¹⁰ 3) *^mTa-al-pu-šar-ri* 4) *a-na Sa-aš-ḥa-ar-ši-im^{ki}* 5) *il-li-ik ú UDU.ḤÁ-ni-ka* 6) *i-mu-ur-ma* 7) 10 *UDU.ḤÁ Šu-ba-ri-i* 8) *it-ru it-ti ^mHi-zu-ta SIPA* 9) *lu ti-de li-ba-ka* 10) *la ima-ra-aš*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 119-20 (no. 50 = SH 813).

²¹¹ 1) *a-na Ku-wa-ri* 2) *qí-bi-ma* 3) *um-ma Ta-al-pu-šar-ri* 4) *^mIm-di-ia il-li-kam* 5) *ù um-ma šu-ú-ma* 6) *bi-it-ka-a-mi ša i-na* 7) *Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki} ú-ul in-né-ep-pé-eš* 8) *an-ni-a-ti-im ad-bu-ba-ak-kum* 9) *aš-šum bi-ti-ia a-nu-um-mi-im* 10) *ú-ul ki-a-am ad-bu-ba-kum* 11) *um-ma a-na-ku-ma* 12) *^mKu-wa-ri a-na bi-tim a-nu-um-mi-im* 13) *la te-gi a-na a-bu-bi-tim* 14) *la ta-na-at-tà-al* 15) *i-nu-ma ta-ka-aš-ša-dú* 16) *bi-ti a-mu-ur-ma* 17) *šum-<ma> a-bu-bi-tum ša wa-aš-bu* 18) *bi-tam da-am-qí-iš* 19) *i-ip-pé-eš* 20) *ù li-ši-ib* 21) *šum-ma la ki-a-am* 22) *at-ta-a-ma a-bu-bi-tam* 23) *ša li-ib-bi-ka* 24) *šu-ku-un* 25) *i-na-an-na am-mi-nim* 26) *bi-tum* (sic.) *ša-ti ú-ḥa-al-la-qú* 27) *ù at-ta ši-ip-pá-at* 28) *i-na-an-na še-a-am ša bi-ti-ia* 29) *pí-qí-id-ma li-iš-šú-ru*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 123 (no. 53 = SH 810).

²¹² Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 169.

The Gutian Siege

Letters 63 = SH 812 and 36 = SH 818 state explicitly that the Gutians were blockading the core of the Turukkean country at the capital Kunšum for three or four years and destroying the harvest. Under these circumstances, one of the main tasks of Kuwari was to supply his lords with grain and to entertain good relations with the Lullubians to ensure the flow of grain to them. This indicates that the Lullubians were either the suppliers of grain or that the routes to Kunšum were (partly) passing through their territory. Šepratu, the writer of the first letter, reminds Kuwari that he will be reproached in case he remains negligent over their requests:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 63 = SH 812)

Now his (= Kuwari's) lord has been under siege for three years, but he did not come.²¹³

In the second letter Sîn-išme'anni writes to Kuwari:

Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari (no. 36 = SH 818)

Indušše has come looting²¹⁴ and [...] he has destroyed the harvest of the town of Kunšum together with the harvest of Ir(...)taḫum, [You indeed] know that for three years it has not been possible to bring in the harvest. And now he has destroyed the harvest of the country and...²¹⁵

Letter 36 seems to be later than Letter 63, since there the harvest had already been destroyed for three years; “now he has destroyed the harvest” (no 36) means in all probability a fourth time.

Grain Supply

Thus, one of the main tasks Kuwari was asked to perform by his lords was to provide and to deliver grain to his lords. This is reflected in several letters sent by more than one person. In one of them Sîn-išme'anni writes:

Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari (no. 34 = SH 826)

Say to Kuwari: thus (says) Sîn-išme'anni, who loves you: Have barley for the palace transported quickly, so that your lord and the country will be pleased with you, [and your good name] will be established forever, and I too will be pleased..... thirdly: You know yourself that they have no barley. (Some of) my retainers are staying with you. Load their donkeys with barley, and send them quickly to me by a safe route! They have no [barley].²¹⁶

²¹³ 58) *i-na-an-na be-el-šu iš-tu* 3 MU 59) *la-wi-ma ù šu-ú ù-ul il-li-kam-ma*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 135 (no. 63 = SH 812).

²¹⁴ Charpin prefers “invading” instead of “looting:” Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 174. This is possible since the verb *ḥabātu* also means “to move across, to make an incursion or a razzia into enemy territory;” cf. *CAD* H, p. 12, *ḥabātu* D; for the verb *ḥabātu* in general and its meanings cf. also Kraus, F. R., “Akkadische Wörter und Ausdrücke, IX,” *RA* 69 (1975), p. 31-40.

²¹⁵ 4) ^m*In-[d]u-úš-še ih-ḥa-ab-ta-am-ma* 5) ^r*e-bu-[ur]* URU^{ki} *Ku-un-ši-im*^{ki} 6) ^r*x x* [^x (^x)] ^r*e-b[u-u]r Ir-(x)-ta-ḥi-im* 7) [^x ^x ^x] *im-ḥa-aš* 8) [*at-ta lu-ú*] ^r*tí-de* 9) *k[i-ma e-b]u-ra-am iš-ti* 3 MU+KAM 10) ^r*ú-[ul]* ^r*ú-še-ri-bu* 11) ^r*ú i-na-an-na e-bu-ra-am* 12) ^r*ša ma-tim im-ta-[ḥa-a]š-ma*....., Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 106 (no. 36 = SH 818).

²¹⁶ 1) *a-na Ku-wa-ri* 2) *qí-bi-ma* 3) [^u] *m-ma* ^dEN.ZU *iš-me-an-ni* 4) [^r] *a-im-ka-a-ma* 5) *še-am ar-ḥi-iš a-na* É.GAL 6) [^š *u-ú*] ^r*š-ši-am-ma ù be-eḥ-ka* 7) [^ú *m*] *a-tum li-ih-da-ni-kum* 8) [^ú *šu-um-k*] *a a-na ka-li-iš* 9) *lu ša-k[i-i]n ù a-na-ku* 10) *lu-uh-du*..... 21) *ša-ni-tam at-ta-a-ma* 22) *ti-de ki-ma* 23) *še-am la i-šu-ú* 24) *šu-ḥa-ru-ia ma-aḥ-ri-ka*

In another letter, he reports the effect of the circumstances on the household of Kuwari himself, and urges him to save his own household at least:

Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari (no. 35= SH 822)

They (Kuwari's son Tenduri, and daughter-in-law) answered as follows: "There [is no] grain available." If you arrange transport of the grain of the palace, then send 20 (measures) of flour with the grain of the palace, the harvest may not be delayed.²¹⁷ If you do not arrange transport of the grain of the palace, then at least send 20 (measures) of flour to Zukula, so that your estate will prosper.²¹⁸

Nevertheless, Kuwari's compliance to these requests was not swift. In letter 54 = SH 819, Talpuš-šarri reminds him for the third time that he should send the barley. More importantly, the letter makes a clear allusion to the alliance arranged by the Turukkeans, so that the armies of several countries were heading to defend Kunšum. But because they still had the problem of provisions there was urgent demand for barley:

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari (no. 54= SH 819)

Say to Kuwari: Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri: (Both) once and twice I have written to you to have the grain delivered, but you have not delivered the grain. Now the countries which march to our assistance have drawn near, and I command the army in Zutlum. Now, before the troops come, have grain brought quickly! You know indeed that (even) the *inner palace* is empty, and that there is not (even) [a litre of] chick peas available. Do not be idle with regard to the grain! Have it brought quickly!²¹⁹

We learn from this letter that the situation at home was catastrophic. There was no grain to feed themselves let alone the troops that were coming to give military help. The promised grain from Utûm was seemingly their only hope, but it was not sent. That even the *inner palace* was empty, which probably alludes to carefully stored strategic reserves, shows how effective and damaging the Gutian siege was. Zutlum was thus a city in the orbit of Kunšum, perhaps close to it. The fact that Talpuš-šarri, who appears from the letters to have been second in command to the great king, was in charge of the defence there shows its strategic significance. Nevertheless, even the importance of Zutlum could not ensure the promised shipment of grain:

25) *wa-aš-bu še-am ANŠE-šu-nu* 26) *mu-li-a-ma ar-ḫi-iš* 27) *i-na ḫa-ra-an šu-ul-mi-im* 28) *ṯi-ur-da³-šu-nu-ti* 29) [*še-am*] *ṯi-ur-ṯu*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 104 (no. 34 = SH 826).

²¹⁷ "The harvest may not be delayed" is accidentally omitted in Eidem and Læssøe.

²¹⁸ 18) *um-ma šu-nu-ú-m[a]* 19) *ŠE i-na qa-ti-ma [ú-ul i-ba-ši]* 26) *šum-ma ŠE ša É.GAL tu-ša-ši-am* 27) 20 *ZÌ.ŠE it-ti ŠE ša É.GAL* 28) *š[u-ú]š-š[i]-a-ma BUR₁₄ la i-ni-zi-ib* 29) *šum-ma ŠE ša É.GAL la tu-ša-ši-am* 30) *ṯa-bi-iš-ma* 20 *ZÌ.ŠE a-na Zu-ku-la* 31) *šu-úš-ši-am É-ka* 32) *li-n[é]-pé-eš*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 105 (no. 35 = SH 822).

²¹⁹ 1) *a-na Ku-wa-ri* 2) *qí-bí-ma* 3) *um-ma Ta-al-pu-šar³-ri* 4) *ṯi-š-ti-iš-ṯu³* 5) *ú šu-ni-ṯu³* 6) *aš-šum še-a-ṯam³* 7) *šu-úš-ši-i[m]* 8) *aš-pu-ra-kum-ma* 9) *ú še-a-am ú-ul tu-še-eš-ši-em³* 10) *i-na-an-na ma-ta-tum* 11) *ša a-na ti-il-lu-ti-ni* 12) *i-il-la-ku* 13) *iq-te-er-ba-nim* 14) *ú a-na-ku i-na Zu-ut-li-im* 15) *a-na pa³-ni ša-bi-im* 16) *a-ṯal-lá³-ak* 17) *i-na-an-na³* 18) *la-ma ša-ṯu-um³* 19) *i-il-la-kam* 20) *ar-ḫi-iš³* 21) *š[e]-a-am šu-uš-še-a-am* 22) *[a]ṯ-ta-a-ṯma³* 23) *ṯi-di ki-ma³* 24) *É.GAL² e-ka-aṯ-lim* 25) *ri-ṯiq³ [ú² 1³]³SILÁ³ṯi³ ap³-pá-nu* 26) *ṯi-ur-ṯu³ i-b[a]-aš-ši* 27) *aš-šum [še-a-i]m a-ḫ-ka* 28) *la ṯa-na-ad-di³ ar-ḫi-iš* 29) *šu-uš-še-a-am*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 124 (no. 54= SH 819).

Tenduri to Kuwari (no. 59 = SH 811)

The grain that Talpuš-šarri promised, Ḫulukkadil did not deliver. Do not count on this grain! Now they have detained a caravan to Zutlum. Those who will not (even) give straw will not give to Zutlum like before.²²⁰

Talpuš-šarri, it appears from the letter, had already promised to provide this city, which he was in charge of its defence, with grain (see also letter no. 54). But he was unable to fulfil his commitment.

The impression the letters give is that Kuwari was negligent about the frequent requests from his lords because, it can be supposed, he was unable to fulfil all of them. Nevertheless, a letter of Sîn-išme'anni states that the safety of communications may have stopped the grain being sent in time. He writes with pleasure that the grain can finally be sent with the troops:

Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari (no. 37 = SH 829)

Send the barley that I have written to you about both once and twice with these troops! And I shall keep praying for you before Šamaš.²²¹

The troops were apparently those sent by Talpuš-šarri, which are mentioned in his letter to Kuwari. The situation in the Turukkean heartland was so miserable that soldiers and servants could desert the service of their lords:

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari (no. 56 = SH 829)

Hereby I have sent men to you to transport the grain. Hopefully these men do not scatter in the land. Post guards so that these men return to the country. And you yourself must provide the soldiers who are coming to you with food and beer and oil and send them (back) to me quickly! And this measure should be 4 (*times*) larger than the previous measure- and send as much wine as you can with the barley. It is *ready* here, and it is *ready* elsewhere. So collect tin, (and) send (it) to me!²²²

It is noteworthy that not only the capital Kunšum needed grain supplies, but other places, such as Zutlum, were waiting for barley urgently. A letter to Kuwari from Hulukkadil is probably about one such case, if the final destination of the barley mentioned was not Kunšum:

Ḫulukkadil to Kuwari (no. 52 = SH 820)

Also I hope you will gain renown concerning the tribute. The country looks to you. Have the barley transported here, and in future we shall have renown!²²³

²²⁰ 3) *še-a-am ša mTa-al-pu-šar-ri* 4) *iq-bu-ú mḪu-lu-uk-ka-di-il* 5) *ú-ul i-di-in* 6) *a-na še-a<<-am>>-im a-nu-um-mi-im* 7) *la ta-ak-la-ta* 8) *i-na-an-na a-na Zu-ut-li-im* 9) *ḫa-ar-ra-na-am ik-ta-lu-ú* 10) *ša pí-a-am ú-ul i-na-di-nu* 11) *a-na Zu-ut-li-im ki-i pa-na ú-ul i-na-di-nu*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 129-30 (no. 59 = SH 811).

²²¹ 3) *še-am ša iš-ti-išu 2-ni-šu* 4) *aš-pu-ra-ak-k[u]m it-ti ša-bi-im* 5) *an-ni-im šu-bi-lam-[ma()]* 6) *ù ma-ḫa-ar dUTU lu-uk-ta-ra-ba-kum*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 108 (no. 37 = SH 829).

²²² 5) *a-nu-um-ma ša-ba-am at-tà-ar-[da]-ak-k[um]* 6) *a-na še-im šu-uš-ši-im* 7) *as-sú-ri-e-ma ša-bu-um* 8) *šu-ú i-na li-bi ma-tim* 9) *la i-sa-pa-aḫ ma-ša-ri* 10) *šu-ku-un-ma ša-bu-um šu-ú* 11) *a-na ma-tim li-tu-ra-ma* 12) *ù at-ta ša-ba-am ša i-la-ka-k[u]m* 13) *a-ka-lam ú ši-ka-ra-am* 14) *ú Ì pí-qí-id ù ar-ḫi-iš* 15) *tú-ur-da-aš-šu.....* 24) *ù i-na še-er na-ma-dim* 25) *ša pa-na an-nu-um na-ma-du-um* 26) *4 ra-bi' ù GEŠTIN ki-ma te-le-ú* 27) *it-ti ŠE-ma šu-uš-ši-a-ma* 28) *an-na-nu-um ku-um-ma ú-la-nu-um-[m]a* 29) *ku-um-ma ù a-na-ka-am pu-ḫi-ir* 30) *šu-bi-lam*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 126-7 (no. 56 = SH 829).

²²³ 27) *ša-ni-tam aš-šum GÚ mi-de* 28) *šum-k[a] ta-ša-ak-ka-an* 29) *ma-tum i-na-tà-la-ak-kum* 30) *še-am šu-uš-ši-a-am-ma* 31) *ur' a-na wa-ar-ka-at* 32) *u-mi-ni lu šu-mu-um*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 121-2 (no. 52 = SH 820). The same issue of grain is once more touched upon in the badly preserved letter no. 51 = SH 805, sent by Ḫulukkadil to Kuwari.

The Rāniya Plain was always one of the main agricultural areas of the region that produced large amounts of grain. So it is strange why making peace with the Lullubians was essential for grain. If it was not just because the transport routes passed through the Lullubian land, we may assume that grain from their land was also needed. This could be due to the extra demand for grain, for more than could be produced in Rāniya. The region as a whole may have been smitten by a periodic drought, as often happened and still happens from time to time. Or the Lullubians may have been controlling part of the Rāniya Plain at this time and only a peaceful agreement could keep open the routes. The letter of Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari rules out the possibility of drought. From this letter we learn that the problem, at least in and around the city of Kunšum, was the Gutian siege that had every year destroyed the harvest. Making peace with the “numerous kings of the Lulleans” is emphasized in the letter of Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 63 = SH 812, see below). From the tone of the text and the context it appears that the Turukkeans badly needed this peace; it was essential to fetch grain for the success of the whole campaign.²²⁴ It shows that the Lulleans were the obstacle for bringing grain to Šušarrā. The command “seize their best terms and accept their peace, you know indeed that the stores are empty” followed by “Now make a firm peace with the Lulleans, and do what is needed for the transport of grain and flour” make this clear.²²⁵ The Lulleans, we conclude, collaborated with the Gutians in the blockade probably willingly, not out of fear, because they were able to offer peace with Kuwari independently, as the letter shows. It appears that they played a game with both sides to get as much advantage as possible. The grain was, then (partly) imported to Šušarrā and from there to the Turukkean lands, since the land of Utûm was seemingly unable to provide the large quantities asked for. The Lullubeans for their part found this a good opportunity to put pressure on Kuwari and his lords to get benefit for themselves. It is worth noting that there were some Lulleans who were already allied to, or perhaps hired by, Kuwari, since he could keep “some reliable Lulleans” in Šušarrā until he could leave to join the campaign.²²⁶

Not only grain but other items were requested from Kuwari, such as wool:

Ḫulukkadil to Kuwari (no. 50 = SH 813)

And you must send much wool from your stock for the king's wool supply.²²⁷

Ḫulukkadil to Kuwari (no. 52 = SH 820)

You know indeed, that there is no wool in the palace..... when you come bring [wool] for the king's wool supply.²²⁸

²²⁴ Cf. also letter 64 = SH 827 also from Šepratu: 22) 'ù' a-na Lu-ul-li-im LUGAL.MEŠ 23) ša it-ti-[k]a na-ak-ru šu-pu-ur-ma 24) it-ti-ka li-iš-li-mu la ta-na-ki-ir 25) sa-li-im-šu-nu le-qé ki-ma a-na ma-at Ú-te-em 26) ù URU^{ki} Š[u-š]ar-ree^{ki} ù a-na KASKAL 27) i-tà-bu an-ni-tam e-pu-úš, “Send words to the Lullean kings who are hostile to you, that they should make peace with you! Do not continue hostilities! Accept their peace! Do this so that they will be friendly towards the country of Utûm, the town of Šušarrā, and the campaign!” Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 137-8 (no. 64 = SH 827).

²²⁵ Similar information and instructions were cited also in letter 64 = SH 827: 44) it-ti Lu-ul-li-im si-li-im-ma 45) še-am ar-ḫi-iš šu-úš-ši-a-am, “Make peace with the Lulleans and have the barley transported quickly!” Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 137-8.

²²⁶ The mention of gifts to LUGAL ša Lulli, “the king of Lulli” (SH 116, 3; 128, 4; 133, 12; 145, 2; 146, 4) in the administrative archives of Shemshāra may refer to the king of this allied group of Lullubians or to one of the kings who made peace with Kuwari; for these texts, cf. Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives 2*.

²²⁷ 11) ù iš-tu ma-aḫ-ri-ka 12) SÍG-tim ma-da-tim 13) a-na lu-bu-úš-ti LUGAL 14) šu-bi-lam, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 120 (no. 50 = SH 813).

²²⁸ 10) at-ta-a-ma ti-di ki-i-ma 11) i-na li-bi 'É.KÁL SÍG ú-ul i'-ba-aš-ši-a..... 14) ki-ma ta-li-k[am' SÍG?] a-na lu-bu-úš-ti 'LUGAL'....., Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 121 (no. 52 = SH 820); SIG has been accidentally written in l. 11.

Tin, copper and other items were requested from the vassals and others. Pišendēn asked personally his “son” Šu-Enlil for a shipment of tin for the manufacture of lance blades. He reports that he has already received 5,000 shafts from Kusanarḫum for the lances and what he needs is the tin. The smooth language with which the king addresses Šu-Enlil and the high appreciation of the service he expects is noteworthy:

Pišendēn to Šu-Enlil (no. 68= SH 868)

Say to Šu-Enlil: Thus (says) Pišente, your father: I requested lance(s) from the king (of) Kusnar(h)um, and he accordingly sent me 5,000 lances. I am having the blades of the lance(s) made, but I have no tin available. My son must not deny (me) the tin which I request, and the tin which my son gives (/sells?) me, will give me success like 20,000 soldiers! Be forever generous to your father, and all the tin I request, will my son please send it to me quickly so that I can have the lance(s) made.²²⁹

In another letter to Yašub-Addu of Aḫazum, apparently in the time when he was allied to the Turukkeans, Pišendēn asks him for copper, tin and other items:

Pišendēn to Yašub-Addu (no. 67= SH 816)

All [I] want [...] in Kunšum [deliver] 200 [...], red stone, [...] cloaks, 20, 14 minas of pure metal, 10 minas of *kurbianum*, and ... sweet oil [...] If you are in truth my son, these goods must not be lost. I need the copper and the tin for (the manufacture of) weapons. Have them delivered with all dispatch. These goods must not be lost!²³⁰

It appears that the need for metals, particularly tin, was so urgent that it surpassed the need for grain, because they were ready to pay barley in exchange for tin:

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari (no. 57 = SH 824)

Say to Kuwari: Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri, your brother: Enter my estate, and check all the grain available. If 500 (measures) are ready, then seal [300 (measures)], and [turn] 200 (measures) over to Imdiya, and let him [make purchases of] tin.²³¹

This letter, however, could be from the earlier phase of the correspondence, before the conditions had become as bad as they became in the later phase, shortly before the campaign. This is suggested because Talpuš-šarri was still in a mood to take care of his estate in Šušarrā, asking Kuwari in the same letter to recruit a new guard. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the correspondence of this whole phase (= the Pre-Assyrian phase) took a couple of

²²⁹ 1) *a-na* ^rŠu-^dEN^r.LÍL 2) *qí-bi-ma* 3) *um-ma* ^{mr}Pí-še-en-te 4) *a-bu-ka-a-ma* 5) *it-ti* Ku-s[a-n]a-ri-im LUGAL 6) ^{GIS}ŠUKUR *e-ri-iš-ma* 7) *ù 5 li-mi* ^{GIS}ŠUKUR 8) *ú-ša-bi-lam* 9) *ù li-š[a-n]a<<am>>-tim* 10) *ša* ^{GIS}ŠUKUR *ú-še-ep-pé-eš* 11) *ù an-na-ku-um a-na qa-^rtí-ia* 12) *ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši* 13) *an-na-ka-am ša e-ri-šu* 14) *ma-ri la i-ka-al-la-a* 15) *ù an-na-ka-am ša ma-ri* 16) *i-na-ad-di-nu ki-ma* 17) 20 *li-mi ša-bi-im* 18) ^ra¹-n[a] *a-ia-ši-im ku₈-ši-ru* 19) [a-n]a ^rda¹-ri-iš *u₄-mi-im* 20) [a]-na *a-bi-ka gi-mi-il-ma* 21) *a-na-ka-am ma-li* 22) *e-ri-šu* 23) [a]r-^{hi}-iš *ma-ri li-ša-bi-lam-ma* 24) [ù] ^{GIS}ŠUK[U]R *lu-še-pi-iš*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 142 (no. 68 = SH 868). In discussing the name of the recipient the editors state that a king with this name is not attested elsewhere, so it is possible he was an Assyrian commercial agent; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *ibid.*

²³⁰ 18) [.....mi]-im-ma ^{hi}še-eh¹-[ti-.....] 19) [.....] ^rna Ku-u[n]-š-i-i[m^{ki}] 20) [.....] ^rx x-dí-ma 21) [.....] ^rx x x' na [.....] 22) [.....] ^rx¹-KU-tum 2 *me-at* ^rx' [.....] 23) ^rx x' *sa-am-tu[m x]* GÚ.È.A 24) 20 ^r(x) x' BU 14 MA.[N]A *ma-sú-um* 25) 10 MA.NA *ku-ur-bi-a-nu-um* 26) ^rx' Í.DU₈ ^rx' [.....] 30) *šu[m-m]a i-na ki-na-t[im] ma-ri* 31) [a]t-ta *i-nu-tum š[i]-i* 32) [I]a *i-ḫa-li-iq a-na-k[an]* 33) *ù we-ri-am ḫa-aš-^rḫa¹-ku¹* 34) *a-na ka-ak-ki [a]r-^{hi}-iš¹* 35) *li-ša-aḫ-mi-t[ú]-nim-[ma]* 36) [ù i]-nu-tum *ši-^rt' [I]a i-ḫa-li-iq*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 140-1 (no. 67 = SH 816).

²³¹ 1) *a-na [K]u-wa-ri* 2) *qí-bi-ma* 3) *um<-ma> Ta-al-pu-šar-ri* 4) *a-ḫu-ka-a-ma* 5) *i-na bi-ti-ia* 6) ^re¹-ru-[u]b-ma *ù še-a-am* 7) [ma-li] ^ri-ba-aš¹-šu-ú 8) [pí-qí-id]-ma *šum-ma* 5 *me-tim* 9) [a-ša-ri-i]š *ša-ak-nu* 10) [3 *me-tim k*]u-nu-uk-ma *ù 2 [me]-tim* 11) [a-na qa-a]t ^mIm-di-ia 12) [i-di-in-ma] *ù a-na-ka-am* 13) [li-iš-ta-a]m, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 127-8 (no. 57 = SH 824).

months, they must have felt the crisis beginning. The shortage would certainly have been predictable.

Diplomacy

In order to keep their kingdom strong and united, the Turukkeans had to practise diplomacy. There were seemingly some vassals and friends who were hesitating, and to keep them loyal, the king himself or his retainers sent persuasive letters and perhaps also envoys. In the same letter of Pišendēn to Yašub-Addu quoted above he reminds him of the long-established brotherhood between their fathers and grandfathers. This also implies an old Amorite presence in Aḥazum represented by the ruling family of Yašub-Addu:

Pišendēn to Yašub-Addu (no. 67= SH 816)

Have you yourself not heard that my father and my grandfather made an alliance of brotherhood with your father and your grandfather. Now you [...] must not leave, and *Kunšum* must not divide [...].²³²

Talpuš-šarri too sent a letter to Yašub-Addu bearing the same message, perhaps simultaneously with the letter of his lord Pišendēn.²³³ Yašub-Addu had apparently made his calculations and had realized that he would lose if he decided to stay on the Turukkean side, which is why he did not send his envoys to his lord:

Talpuš-šarri to Yašub-Addu (no. 66= SH 896)

Why do you not send your envoy to your father Pišendēn? Like previously your father and your grandfather conferred with this House and the country of Itabalḥum. You should now confer (with it) in the same manner!²³⁴

Another small kingdom or city-state that was closer to Šušarrā than to the Turukkean lands²³⁵ was urged to stay loyal, exactly as Kuwari had done, and to be ready when asked to “go up” and join the campaign. The message had to be delivered by Kuwari himself:

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari (no. 58 = SH 801)

Say [to] Kuwari: [Thus] (says) Talpu-šarri, your [brother]: [The en]voy [.....] and let him indeed hear (this) and let him say thus: "You, like Kuwari loves his lord, and he sent him grain, flour, and what his lord needs, you likewise must not neglect the country and the town of Šušarrā. Until your lord sends for you and you go up you should stay there! When the armies from elsewhere are coming I will write to you to come."²³⁶

²³² 4) ʾa¹-bu-k[a-a]-ma 5) at-ta ʾu-ul¹ ta-aš-me-e <<x>>-ma 6) a-bi <ù> a-bi a-bi-ia [i]t-ti ʾa¹-bi-k[a] 7) ù a-bi a-bi-ka ʾat¹-ḥu-tam i-pu-šu 8) i-na-an-na at-ta [.....] 9) la ta-a[l]-la-ak-ma ʾku-unšu-um¹ 10) la i-pa-ra-á[s.....], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 140-1 (no. 67 = SH 816).

²³³ Since both letters were found in Šušarrā, one concludes that the letters did not reach their destination in Šaikšabbum. This also proves that both letters were sent to Yašub-Addu together, or at least within a very short time span.

²³⁴ 4) ʾa¹-na mî-ni-im a¹-na še-er¹ 5) [a-b]i-ka ^mPi-še-en-de-en 6) [DUMU] ši-ip-ri-ka la t[a-š]a-ap-pa-[ar] 7) [ki-m]a u¹-um-šu-um [(...)] 8) [a-b]u-ka ù a-bi a-bi-ka 9) [i]t-ti É-tim an-ni-im 10) ʾù¹ ma-tim ša I-ta-ba-al-ḥi-im^{ki} 11) [i]d-bu-bu ù i-na-an-na 12) [a]t-ta [k]i-a-am-ma 13) [d]u-bu-ub, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 140 (no. 66 = SH 896).

²³⁵ Since the kingdom is urged to be loyal to Šušarrā, it means that it was closer to the latter city. It was probably a city-state in Utûm or within its orbit.

²³⁶ 1) [a-na] Ku-wa-ri qî-b[i-ma] 2) [um-ma] Ta-al-pu-šar-ri 3) [a-ḥu-k]a-a-[ma] 4) [DUMU] ši-i[p-ri] [.....]3') ù ʾše-mu-um¹ li-ʾiš-me¹-ma 4') ki-a-am li-iq-bi 5') at-ta ki-ma ^mKu-wa-ri 6') be-el-šu i-ra-am-mu-ma 7') še-am qé-ma-am ù ḥi-ši-ih-t[i] 8') be-lí-šu ù-ša-bi-lam 9') ù at-ta a-na ma-tim 10') ù URU^{ki} Šu-šar-ra-e^{ki} 11') la te-gi a-di be-el-ka 12') i-ša-ap-pa-ra-ak-ku-um-ma 13') te-el-li-am 14') [a]š-ra-nu-um-ma lu wa-aš-ba-ta 15') ʾi¹-nu-ma

Shortly before the campaign, Kuwari received envoys from Šamšī-Adad, Ya'ilānum and Šimurru. This is reported in the same letter of Šepratu to Kuwari in which he asks him to investigate whether it is true that Šamšī-Adad has become hostile to Ya'ilānum. We assume that the Turukkeans did their utmost to build a broad coalition against the Gutians or, at least, to neutralize those who were not ready to enter the alliance. On the other hand, it appears that those powers, like Šimurru, Ya'ilānum and Assyria, had their reasons to prevent any single power, let alone the Gutians, from controlling the whole Transtigris region. We understand from the letter that the Turukkean kings, represented by Šepratu, wanted to go further into details with the envoys of these three powers together with the agents/envoys of Kuwari who brought him the news, Nipram, Kubiya and Ullam-Tašni.²³⁷ In addition, we conclude that the envoys were anxious about the Lulleans who were in Šušarrā. The reason for this anxiety is not clear, but one can assume that they were suspected of having ties with the Gutians and did not want the news of their communications with the Turukkeans to reach Enduše:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 64 = SH 827)

Let Nipram, Kubiya and Ullam-tašni come up here together with the envoys of Samsī-Addu, Ya'ilānum and Šimurru, and seize all the important Lulleans and keep them under your control. Do this so that the envoys of these kings can come with a light heart and we will not get trouble.²³⁸

At about the same time as this letter was sent, perhaps shortly afterwards, Talpuš-šarri sent a letter to Kuwari telling him that it was not necessary to meet the envoy of Šamšī-Adad, but to meet the envoy of Ya'ilānum who had brought tin. He describes the message of that envoy as “dated,” a reference to old arguments that he would not believe any more. Does this behaviour have something to do with an unfulfilled promise of the Assyrians to provide the Turukkeans with tin? If so, the Assyrians might not have faithfully kept faith with the Turukkeans, but rather followed a policy of maintaining the power balance. The fragile trust between the parties is reflected in the same letter, when Talpuš-šarri asks Kuwari not to send the retainers of the envoys together with them when they come to the meeting, but rather to send them alone:

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari (no. 73 = SH 804)

The envoy of Samsī-Addu, who is staying before you, his message is dated. Why should he come up here? You can give him instructions and send him off, but the envoy of Ya'ilānum, who brought tin, let him come with one of your retainers, and have them indeed bring up the tin with him. When the envoys of Samsī-Addu and Ya'ilānum [who (are)] there who ... want to come up, do not detain them, [but] their

um-ma-na-tum 16') [*ša u*]l-la-nu-um i-na-ša-nim ù a-na-ku 17') [*a-n*]a še-ri-ka a-ša-ap-pa-ra-am, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 128-9 (no. 58 = SH 801); reading in l. 3' *ši-mu*....

²³⁷ Since Nipram was the envoy of Kuwari to Šamšī-Adad, it is possible that the other two were his envoys to Ya'ilānum and Šimurru. The name Nipram can linguistically be closely related to the names of Pušam, king of Simanum in the Ur III period, and of Kipram, the king defeated by Šamšī-Adad in the *limmu* of Aššur-malik, according to the MEC. It could be that he was king of Nurrugum; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 21-22 and note 30. The name Kubiya is not certain, since the suffix *-ija* or *-ia* was frequently used as a hypocoristic element both in Hurrian and Akkadian names; cf. *NPN*, p. 219. The name Ullam-tašni is Hurrian, with its second element identical to the Hurrian GN *Tašenni* (modern Tis'īn) in Kirkuk; it can be analysed as *taše*, “votive offering” + *nni*, according to Bork; cf. *NPN*, p. 263. The element *ullam* may include the element *ul(l)*, found in some Nuzi names; cf. *NPN*, p. 271 under *ul* and *ull*.

²³⁸ 33) ^mNi-ip-ra-am ^mKu-bi-ia ^mUl-la-am-taš-ni 34) *it-ti* DUMU.MEŠ *ši-ip-ri ša Sa-am-si-d*^{IM} 35) ^mIaš-i-la-ni ù Ši-mu-ur-ri-im 36) *li-lu-ni-im ù Lu-ul-li-im* 37) *ma-[l]i da-am-qú-tim ša-ba-at-ma* 38) *i-na qa-ti-ka ki-il₅ ki-ma* 39) DUMU.MEŠ *ši-ip-ri ša* [LUGA]L.MEŠ *šu-nu-ti* 40) *i-na tu-ub li-ib-bi-im i-lu-ni-im* 41) ù *li-ba-ni la i-ma-ra-šu* 42) *an-ni-tam e-puš*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 137-8 (no. 64 = SH 827).

retainers who are with them [and the] all of them who are with them must not come. Let them [come without] their retainers.²³⁹

The fragmentary state of the section in which the Lulleans are mentioned means what was said about them is not known. But we can guess that it was one of the points stressed in other letters, to make peace with them or to hide the news of these communications from them.

Formation of the Alliance and Assembling Troops

It is true that the Turukkeans were preparing for a campaign against the Gutians, but this was only a desperate attempt to break the siege. It would not have been reasonable to wage war while the people and the army were starving, when the stores and silos were empty, the soldiers or servants were seeking a chance to desert (see above, letter no. 56), and the king was asking his vassals for barley, tin and even wooden shafts for lances (see above). The preparations, apart from diplomacy and ensuring supplies, comprised the formation of an alliance of Turukkean and probably some non-Turukkean kingdoms and city-states. This occurs in several letters from Shemshāra. The most important was sent by Šepratu to Kuwari:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 63 = SH 812)

Zuzum, the *hanizarum* of Ilalae, who had been sent to Kusanarḫum, came and with him he brought the king of Kusanar(h)um to Aliae; and he had a meeting with Kigirza and Talpuš-šarri, and they swore a comprehensive oath to each other. The king of Kusanar(h)um, Naššumar,²⁴⁰ and (his) sons, Tarugur (and) Šurti, will come with 3,000 troops; and Berdigendae, the general of Zutlum, will come to Kunšum with his army; and Kigirza with his own troops from Kusanar(h)um and Šudamelum have marched off to besiege Arrunum. Inside the town, there is someone who says, "Come! I will give the town to you!"

Now if the numerous kings of the Lulleans who were hostile to you are ready for peace and (accept) the comprehensive treaty you have offered them, then seize their best terms and accept their peace. You know indeed that the stores are empty and that there is no grain for these troops who are coming. Now make a firm peace with the Lulleans and do what is needed for the transport of grain and flour, so that your lord and the land will rejoice and you will gain eternal renown.

Also get me 500 slings!

And you must investigate the intentions of Samsī-Addu. If he has directed his attention elsewhere and there is no anxiety for the country of Utûm, then take your best troops under your own command and come up here and have some reliable Lulleans kept inside Šušarrā until you come up. If you have investigated the matter and there is (reason to) fear for the country of Utûm, then leave the troops to protect the country of Utûm and the town of Šušarrā; but you yourself come up with your retainers and the country will not reproach you.²⁴¹

²³⁹ 3) 'DUMU' šī-īp-ru-um ša ^mS[a-am-si-^dIM] 4) ša ma-aḥ-ri-ka wa-[aš-bu] 5) 'a¹-wa-tu-šu il-ta-bi-ra 6) 'a¹-na mi-nim' an-ni-iš i-il-le-em 7) 'at-ta-a-ma' ú-e-er-šu-ma <<x>> 8) ù tū-ru-us-sú ù DUMU šī-īp-ru-u[m] 9) ša ^mIa-i-la-n[im] ša an-n]a-ka-am ub-[la-am] 10) 'it¹-ti šú-ḥa-r[i-ka i]š-te-en li-li-¹kam-ma' 11) ù an-na-ka-am 'it-ti¹-šu-ma li-še-lu-nim 12) [i-n]u-ma ma-ru šī-īp-ru ša Sa-am-si-^dIM 13) [ù] ^mIa-i-la-n[im ša] an-ni-iš ša [.....] 14) [x x] 'x' il-¹lu-ni[m l]a 'ta¹-ka-al-[l]a-šu-nu-[t]i 15) [ù šú]-ḥa-ru-ú šu-nu [ša i]t-ti-šu-nu 16) [.....] 'x' ka-¹lu¹-š[u š]a it-ti-šu-nu la i-[la-ku-nim] 17) [ba-lu-um šú-ḥ]a-ri-šu-[nu l]i-¹x' li-l[i-ku-nim], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 150-51 (no. 73 = SH 804).

²⁴⁰ Since many Hurrian PNs were composed partly of GNs (see above), this name may be compared with the land Nususmar, which formed part of the lands of Šimaški; for Šimaški and its different parts, cf. Potts, D. T., *The Archaeology of Elam*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 141.

²⁴¹ 4) ^mZu-zu-um ḥa-ni-za-ru-um 5) ša I-la-la-e^{ki} ša a-na Ku-sa-na-ar-ḥi-im 6) iš-pu-ru-úš il-li-kam-ma 7) ù it-ti LUGAL ša Ku-sa-na-ri-im 8) it-ra-am a-na A-li-a-e^{ki} 9) ù it-ti-šu Ki-gi-ir-za ù Ta-al-pu-šar-ri 10) in-na-me-er ù ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ ga-am-ra-am 11) i-na bi-ri-ti-šu-nu iš-ku-nu 12) ù LUGAL ša Ku-sa-na-ri-im ^mNa-aš-šu-ma-ar 13) ù ma-ru-¹šū Ta-ru-gu-ur ^mŠu-úr-ti 14) it-ti ša-bi-im 3 li-mi i-la-ku-nim 15) ù ^mBe-er-di-ge-en-da-e GAL.^d<MAR.>TU 16) ša Zu-ut-li-im it-ti um-ma-na-ti-šu 17) a-na URU^{ki} Ku-un-ši-im^{ki} i-la-kam 18) ù Ki-gi-ir-za

After urging Kuwari to join the campaign, a matter touched upon also by his own son Tenduri.²⁴² Again he is asked for grain because the arrival of the army is imminent:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 63 = SH 812)

But have the grain brought in advance! Please (make) haste! Do not tarry! (The arrival of) the army is imminent!²⁴³

This letter, the major part of which is cited above, is extremely important. It outlines the political map of the Turukkean alliance and the conditions under which the alliance was formed. The alliance, according to this and other letters, involved the following powers:

Kingdom/City-State	Capital city	Ruler	Description
Itabalḫum	Kunšum	Pišendēn	king
Utûm	Šušarrā	Kuwari	nuldān(um)
Ilalae		Zuzum	ḫanizar(um)
Kusanarḫum		Naššumar Tarugur Šurti	king son of the king son of the king
Šudamelum		?	subordinate to Kusanarḫum?
Zutlum		Kigirza Berdigendae	king? general (GAL.^d<MAR.>TU
Aḫazum	Šikšabbum	Yašub-Addu	Commander-in-chief of the troops
(A small kingdom in the orbit of Utûm, cf. letter 58 = SH 801)	?	?	
?	Aliae	?	a city in which the meeting for the treaty was held
?	?	Talpuš-šarri	
Elam	Susa ?	Šuruḫtuḫ	
Šimurru	Šimurru	Tu[...]?	

The etymology of the title *ḫanizarum* has been disputed, whether it is Semitic or Hurrian. Læssøe discussed it in detail years ago and suggested a possible Akkadianized form of the

it-ti ṣa-bi-šu 19) *ù ṣa-bi-im ṣa Ku-sa-na-ri-im ù Šu-da-me-li-im* 20) *a-na Ar-ru-ni-im^{ki} la-wi-im* 21) *it-ta-al-ku i-na li-bi URU^{ki}* 22) *i-ba-aš-ši ṣa i-da-bu-bu* 23) *um-ma al-kam URU^{ki} lu-di-na-ak-kum* 24) *i-na-an-na šum-ma LUGAL.MEŠ ma-du-tum* 25) *ša Lu-ul-li-im ṣa it-ti-ka* 26) *i-ki-ru is-sa-al-mu ù ni-iš* DINGIR.MEŠ 27) *ga-am-ram ṣa ta-ad-di-nu-šu-nu-šum* 28) *ṭa-ba-ti-šu-nu ṣa-ba-at-ma* 29) *sa-li-im-šu-nu le-qé at-ta-am* 30) *ti-di ki-ma na-ka-ma-tu[m]* 31) *ri-qa <<x>> ù ŠE a-na ṣa-bi-i[m]* 32) *an-ni-im ṣa i-la-ka-am la i-ba-aš-šu-ú* 33) *i-na-an-na it-ti Lu-ul-li-im sa-li-ma-am* 34) *da-am-qi-iš e-pu-úš-ma* 35) *ša šu-úš-ši-im ŠE ù qé-mi-im* 36) *e-pu-úš ki-ma be-el-ka ù ma-tum* 37) *i-ḫa-du-ú ù šu-um-ka a-na da-ar iša-ka-nu* 38) *ù wa-as-pí 5 me-tim šu-ul-qi-am* 39) *ù at-ta wa-arka-at^m Sa-am-si-^dIM* 40) *pu-ru-ús-sú šum-ma ul-li-iš pa-ni-šu* 41) *iš-ta-ka-an-ma ni-sa-tum a-na ma-at* 42) *Ú-te-em^{ki} la i-ba-aš-ši* 43) *ša-ba-ka da-am-qa-am ṣa-ab-tam-ma* 44) *i-na qa-ti-ka ù i-li-am* 45) *ù Lu-ul-li-i ta-ak-lu-tim i-na li-bi* 46) *Šu-šar-rae^{ki} a-di at-ta te-li-am* 47) *li-ki^l-lu-šu-nu-ti šum-ma wa-arka-tam* 48) *ta-ap-ru-ús-ma pu-lu-uh-tum a-na ma-at* 49) *Ú-te-em ṣa-ba-am iz-ba-am-ma* 50) *ma-at Ú-te-em ù URU^{ki} Šu-šar-ra-e^{ki} li-šur* 51) *ù at-ta it-ti šu-ḫa-ri-ka* 52) *e-li-am ù ma-tum mi-im-ma la i-qa-bi-kum*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 134-7 (no. 63 = SH 812).

²⁴² In his letter Tenduri speaks to his father as follows: 30) *ù šum-ma ma-ta-tum* 31) *ma-li^m Ta-al-pu-šar-ri* 32) *i-ra-di-a-am i-la-ku-nim* 33) *ù at-ta i-li-a-am* 34) *la ta-ka-la*, “And if all the countries which Talpuš-šarri commands come, then you too must come up;” Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 130 (no. 59 = SH 811). Šepratu, in another letter asks Kuwari to “...take your best troops under your own command and come up here!” (for the transliteration see above under *Turukkum and Šušarrā*).

²⁴³ 67) *ù at-ta ti-be-ma at-la-kam* 68) *ù še-am i-pa-ni-ka šu-úš-ši-a-am* 69) *ap-pu-tum ar-ḫi-iš la tu-ḫa-ra-am* 70) *ša-bu-um wu-di qu-ru-ub*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 135-6 (no. 63 = SH 812).

Hurrian word *ḥa-ni-za-ra-a-e*, attested in *KUB* 12, 44, ii 20.²⁴⁴ He did not rule out a Semitic origin of the word, comparing Semitic *ḥn̄zr* group attested in Ugaritic,²⁴⁵ related to the Semitic word for ‘pig, boar.’ Goetze suggested a Hurrian etymology, from **ḥinzuri*, ‘girl, lassie.’²⁴⁶ *ḥanizarum* is known to be a title, most probably military or administrative,²⁴⁷ or a profession, parallel to *ḡlm* ‘(male) servant.’²⁴⁸ In a text from Ugarit *ḥn̄zr*, ‘officer(s)’ occurs in the same context as ‘servants.’²⁴⁹ If the word is originally Semitic it would be directly comparable to the title of some generals centuries later in Sassanian Iran, such as Hurmuzd-warāz, “Boar of Hurmuzd (the king),” Warāz-Pirūz, Šapur-warāz (governor of Azerbaijan in the time of Narseh), or Warāz-Šapur.²⁵⁰ The seal of king Khusraw II includes the title *Šahrwarāz*, “Boar of the empire.”²⁵¹ Perhaps a Semitic term has survived in the tradition there for millennia. It is also possible that *ḥanizarum* may have been used only among the few close friends Kuwari, Šepratu and Sîn-išme’anni, as a disparaging nickname for Zuzum, who appears to have been a powerful but troublesome figure. This is concluded from letter 35 that alludes to a certain Zuzum²⁵² who was troubling Utûm:

Sîn-išme’anni to Kuwari (no. 35 = SH 822)

Another matter: I keep hearing that Zuzum is up to no good. He troubles the land of Utûm and takes away the sheep (of) its (people). Perhaps no one will tell you (about it); since your retainers are afraid of him, no one will tell you (about it).²⁵³

Yašub-Addu was an untrustworthy vassal of Itabalḥum, so one hesitates to list his name with the allies, for we do not know whether he had changed his mind by this time. Šamšī-Adad said that he had followed Ya’ilānum after the abandonment of the Turukkeans.

The name of the small kingdom alluded to in letter 58 is unfortunately not preserved, but it may have been the land of Ištānum, that was also in the realm of Šušarrā, about which Kuwari wrote a report to Išme-Dagan later in the Assyrian domination phase.²⁵⁴ Yet, another city under the control of Kuwari was Ḥiṣḥinašwe, mentioned in letter no. 31 = SH 916. It

²⁴⁴ Læssøe, *The Shemshāra Tablets*, p.83.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

²⁴⁸ Caquot, A., M. Szyner and A. Herdner, *Textes Ougaritiques*, tome I: Mythes et légendes, introduction, traduction, commentaire, Paris, 1974, p. 248, note g, which states that the word is Hurrian in origin. To Watson, the meaning of the word is uncertain, but he considers it is the same word for ‘officer’ occurring in the Ugritic literary text cited below, although he does not rule it out as the Hurrian word *ḥinzur* “apple;” cf. Watson, W. G. E., *Lexical Studies in Ugaritic*, Barcelona, 2007, p. 167; cf. also del Olmo Lette, G. and J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, part 1, Leiden, 2003, p. 399.

²⁴⁹ The text reads *šb't. ḡlmk. ṯmn. ḥn̄zrk*, “(With) your seven lads, your eight officers.” For the transliteration cf. Dietrich, M., O. Loretz and J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and other Places (KTU: second, enlarged edition)*, Münster, 1995, p. 24, V 8-9; for the translation, cf. Hallo, W. W. *et al.* (eds.), *Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World, The Context of Scripture*, vol. 1, Leiden, 1997, p. 267; Caquot *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 247. However, Wyatt translates the word as ‘boar,’ cf. Wyatt, N., *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, Sheffield, 1998, p. 124.

²⁵⁰ Christensen, A., *L’Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen, 1944, p. 410 and note 12.

²⁵¹ For the seals, cf. Gyselen, R., *The Four Generals of the Sassanian Empire: Some Sigillographic Evidence*, Rome, 2001, p. 22f.

²⁵² Another individual also named Zuzum is recorded in a letter from Mari. According to the letter, this Zuzum was a peasant and his wife, Qabišatum, was sent back from Qabrā after she was found hiding in a straw silo, cf. Joannès, F., “La femmes sous la paille,” *FM I*, Paris, 1991, p. 82-83.

²⁵³ 33) *ù ša-ni-tam eš₁₅-te-né-me-ma* 34) *ṹZu-zu-um le-em-ni-iš* 35) *i-te-né-pe-eš ma-at Ú-te-em* 36) *ù-da-ba-ab ù UDU.ḤÁ-šu-nu* 37) *i-la-qa-at mi-de ma-am-ma-an* 38) *ù-ul i-qa-bi-a-kum* 39) *ù šú-ḥa-ru-ka i-na pa-ni-šu ù-da-pa-ru* 40) *ma-am-ma-an ù-ul i-qa-bi-a-ku[m]*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 105-6 (no. 35 = SH 822).

²⁵⁴ Cf. letters 26 = SH 856 and 29 = SH 921.

could also be identified with the polity mentioned in letter 58, but if not, we still have two satellite polities assisting the military enterprises of Kuwari, and through that Turukkum.

The same could be said for Talpuš-šarri and Kigirza. It is possible that they, particularly Talpuš-šarri, were rulers of polities beside their functions in the Turukkean alliance. Otherwise, they may have been high officials and not rulers of polities. A letter from Shemshāra (no. 59 = SH 811) said that Talpuš-šarri was leading all the lands which means that he functioned as commander-in-chief of the alliance troops. Eidem and Læssøe consider it possible that Kigirza was the ruler of Zutlum.²⁵⁵ This would be true if Berdigendae was only a military general of that polity under its ruler, not a ruling general on behalf of Pišendēn.

Eidem and Læssøe compare the meeting and the diplomatic procedure reported in this letter with the meeting of leaders of two Northern Mesopotamian kingdoms in the time of Zimri-Lim. According to *ARMT* 26, 404,²⁵⁶ Atamrum of Andarig sent an official to Aškur-Addu of Karanā and invited him to a meeting to conclude a treaty in a small town on the border of the two kingdoms. It is also reported that Aškur-Addu sent an official to Andarig to fetch Atamrum with his troops and vassals, followed by the meeting of the two kings.²⁵⁷ At the same time, there is no clue in our letter whether the city of Aliae was one of the city-states that entered the treaty or was a city within one of the mentioned kingdoms. However, taking into account that the summit of Andarig and Karanā is a parallel to this meeting, we can say that Aliae was also a city on the border of Kusanarḫum and Zutlum.

Since both Kusanarḫum and Šudamelum are attested only in this letter in the same context, the latter might have been a subordinate territory to the former, but this remains conjectural in our present state of knowledge.

As discussed above, making peace with the “numerous kings of the Lulleans” was vital to the Turukkeans and their alliance, seeing that they could obstruct or allow, wholly or partly, the passage of goods. However, some letters show that some Lulleans were allied to Kuwari and were residing in the city of Šušarrā (no. 63 = SH 812).

In those same hard times Šamšī-Adad was moving on their western front, which made the situation extra-critical for the Turukkeans. They were afraid of the loss of Utûm, their ‘bread basket,’ should the Assyrians decide to turn to Šušarrā after the capture of Qabrā and Arrapha. This worry is reflected in a passage in which Kuwari is asked to investigate the intentions of Šamšī-Adad so that he could decide whether to take his troops or leave them in the city to protect it.

An important ally was Elam. Letter 64 = SH 827 refers to a message which Širuk-tuḫ (written Šuruḫtuḫ)²⁵⁸ of Elam sent to Tabitu, whom we know as the son of Pišendēn, thanks to the seal legend of the latter. In his message, Širuk-tuḫ asks why no envoys of Itabalḫum have been sent to him. The information that a large army of 12,000 troops is assembled to march against the Gutians must have reached Šepratu from Tabitu, who obtained the information from Širuk-tuḫ:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 64 = SH 827)

Another matter, Šuruḫtuḫ, the king of Elam, sent the following message to Tabitu:
"Why does the land of Itabalḫum not send envoys to me?" The armies are

²⁵⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

²⁵⁶ For this letter, cf. Chapter Seven.

²⁵⁷ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

²⁵⁸ Širuk-tuḫ was a *sukkalmah* of Elam in the period called ‘The *sukkalmahs* period,’ cf. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, p. 160ff., 164 and 168.

assembled; they will march against Indaššu. Now he gave Nabi-ilī the command of 12,000 soldiers who are ready, saying, "Now take command of these!"²⁵⁹

The question raised here is why the king of Elam addressed Tabitu, not king Pišendēn, father of Tabitu. There is no related information in the texts that can give any hint, but we may conjecture that this son was, as the crown-prince, the ruler of a vassal kingdom of Itabalḫum that was nearer to Elam than Itabalḫum itself or was located between them. The seal legend of Pišendēn states that this son had a special status: "Pišendēn the begetter of Tabiti" (see above). Eidem and Møller do not rule out that by this time he may have succeeded his father on the throne of Itabalḫum. But, they add, the very close date of this letter with that of his father does not make this likely.²⁶⁰

Letter no. 64 is a reply to a letter that Kuwari sent in answer to the questions Šepratu asked in the previous letter, so it can be dated directly after letter no. 63. Among the significant information Kuwari sent in his reply was that Šamšī-Adad had moved towards Qabrā after Arrapha and had sent his son to conquer Nurrugum, so there was no fear for Utūm in that short phase. However, Šepratu, as an experienced politician, still had doubts. He would not rely on the reports and asks Kuwari to pay attention to the news and to investigate whether it is true that Šamšī-Adad is in hostilities with Ya'ilānum. He also asks Kuwari to hide his doubts from the envoy of Šamšī-Adad and to act as if they feel comfortable:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 64 = SH 827)

I have heard the letter you sent me (where you wrote) as follows: "Nipram came back from Samsī-Addu and said: 'All that Samsī-Addu gave me in reply is very good news; and having conquered the city of Arraphum, it is towards Qabrā Samsī-Addu has proceeded, and he has sent his son Išme-Dagan with 60,000 troops to besiege Nurrugum.' This is what you wrote in the letter you sent to me. Pay close attention to this news. Hopefully the man will not conquer the whole country, and we shall not have to worry. Keep this news from the envoy of Samsī-Addu, and let your words be pleasing to him."²⁶¹

"Another matter, the news about Samsī-Addu that runs as follows: "He has become hostile to Ya'ilānum." Investigate whether the substance of the news is correct or not and send me a letter quickly."²⁶²

The clue to dating this letter is the mention of the capture of Arrapha and the plans to capture Qabrā and Nurrugum. Šamšī-Adad captured Arrapha in VIII* of *limmu* Asqudum (1781 BC),²⁶³ crossed the Zāb to the land of Qabrā in 20th of VIII*, and captured the fortified

²⁵⁹ 49) š[a-nī]-tam 50) ^mŠu-ru-uḫ-tu-uḫ LUGAL ša NIM.MA-tim 51) a-na ^mTa-bi-tu iš-pu-ra-am 52) um-ma šu-ú-ma a-na mi-nim ma-at I-a-ba-al-ḫi-im 53) ma-ru ši-ip-ri-im a-na še-ri-ia 54) la i-ša-pa-ra-am um-ma-na-tum pa-aḫ-ra 55) a-na še-er ^mIn-da-aš-šu pa-nu-šu ša-ak-nu 56) i-na-an-na 12 li-mi ša-ba-am ša qa-tim 57) a-na ^mNa-bi-li i-di-in₄ um-ma šu-ú-ma 58) an-ni-am i-na-an-na rede, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 137-8 (no. 64 = SH 827).

²⁶⁰ Eidem and Møller, "A Royal Seal from the Ancient Zagros," *MARI* 6, p. 636.

²⁶¹ 3) tu-pa-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam 4) Eš₁₅-me-ma um-ma at-ta-a-ma 5) ^mNi-ip-ra-am iš-tu ^rma¹-ḫa-ar 6) ^mSa-am-si-^dIM il-li-kam-ma 7) um-ma šu-ú-ma ṭe₄-mu-um ma-li ^mSa-am-si ^dIM i-pu-la-an-ni 8) ma-di-iš' ša ḫa-di-im ù URU^{ki} Ar-ra-ap-ḫa-am^{ki} 9) iš-ša-ba-a[t] ù a-na Qa-ba-ra-e^{ki} 10) ^mSa-am-s[i] ^dIM i-ta-ši 11) ù ma-ra-šu ^mIš-me-^dDa-gan 12) [i]t-ti ša-bi-im 1 šu-ši li-mi 13) a-na Nu-úr-ru-gi-im^{ki} la-wi-[i]m 14) iš-ta-pa-ar an-ni-a-tim 15) i-na tu-pi-im ta-aš-tú-ra-am-ma 16) tu-ša-bi-lam a-na ṭe₄-mi-im 17) an-ni-im ma-di-iš qú-ú-ul 18) as-sú-ri-i-ma a-wi-lu ma-tam ka-la-ša 19) la i-ša-ba-at-ma an-ni-a-ši-im 20) la i-ma-ra-aš a-na LÚ ^mSa-am-si-^dIM 21) ṭe₄-ma-am ki-il₅ ù a-wa-tu-ka 22) lu-ú ṭa-ba-šum, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 136-8 (no. 64 = SH 827).

²⁶² 28) ù ša-ni-tam ṭe₄-ma-am ša ^mSa-am-si-^dIM 29) ša um-ma-mi it<-ti> ^mIa₈-i-la-ni it-ta-ki-ir 30) ki-na ú-ul ki-na a-wa-tam ṭe₄-ma-ma-am 31) wa-ar-ka-sa pu-ur-sa-am-ma 32) tu-pa-am ar-ḫi-iš šu-bi-lam, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 137-8 (no. 64 = SH 827).

²⁶³ Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 146; but in Charpin, *OBO*, p. 166, he has 1780.

cities of the plain of Erbil in IX* of the same year.²⁶⁴ This letter, then, was sent sometime between months VIII* and IX of *limmu* Asqudum (1781 or 1780).

Letter 69 = SH 802, 808+815 has already been discussed. We suggested, following Eidem and Læssøe, that it was sent to the king of Šimurru, although only a part of the first sign of his name is preserved. In his letter, Pišendēn reminds the addressee of the traditional good relations between the two dynasties. But his main message was to get this king to persuade the kings of Elam, Niqqum and Namar to undertake a joint campaign against the kingdom of Kakmum. Pišendēn reminds Tu-[...] that those kings received gold and silver from him (?) to attack his enemy, but they are silent. We have unfortunately no details about why Kakmum was on the list of adversaries. Furthermore, we have no precise date for the letter. All we can conjecture is that Kakmum, as a major power in the area, has found the Turukkean expansion to Utûm unacceptable and therefore has made trouble for them. It is conceivable that Kakmum saw this expansion to Utûm as an incursion into its traditional domain, remembering that Utûm was under its control in the time of Iddi(n)-Sîn. Pišendēn has certainly tried to breathe life into the old feud between the two kingdoms of Šimurru and Kakmum that went back to the time of Iddi(n)-Sîn and probably even earlier. The question that we cannot answer is why Pišendēn asked those kingdoms to attack Kakmum. Had Kakmum's power surpassed that of Turukkum, or was Turukkum unable to fight Kakmum because of its preoccupation on other fronts of conflict? One more problem is the distance between Kakmum and those kingdoms that could campaign against it. The way to Kakmum would pass through the terrains of Gutium or Lullubum to reach its suggested location in Rawāndiz. The fragmentary state of the letter is frustrating in this regard. Nevertheless, the land of Lullubum is probably mentioned a few lines later, a place which might have afforded a passage for the troops to Kakmum:

Pišendēn to Tu[....] (no. 69 = SH 802, 808+815)

Say to Tu-[.....]: Thus (says) Pišen[dēn], your brother: Your envoy [..... brought me] your greetings. I questioned him and [he told me your news]. I was as pleased as if I and [you had (actually) met]. As for [..... why] are you silent? My slave²⁶⁵ [....] like/as if²⁶⁶ [.....] [.....] established brotherhood and friendship, and the previous kings established brotherhood and friendship. Like/as [... ..]²⁶⁷, no[w why....] [you] are silent?²⁶⁸ Like²⁶⁹ [...(break)...]. [.....] I/he honoured your [.....]. Was it not his [...] who honoured him? And the plan was as follows: "Now send words to the "father," the grand-regent,²⁷⁰ and to Namarum, and to Dāsi, the king of Nikum, and promise silver, gold, and costly things if they will make attacks on the land of Kakmum" Why did our fathers get silver (and) gold, either 2 or 3 talents, for this promise? Keep the kings on our side (for the rest of) this year. Now look sharp and your troops [will defeat] the enemy and the hostile [....] to the Lu[llean(?)...(break)...].²⁷¹

²⁶⁴ These dates are according to the Stele of Mardin; cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 146-7 and the table above under 'Chronology.'

²⁶⁵ This *ĪR-di* was left untranslated by the editors.

²⁶⁶ *ki-ma* was also left untranslated.

²⁶⁷ Also left untranslated.

²⁶⁸ Also left untranslated.

²⁶⁹ Also left untranslated.

²⁷⁰ Eidem and Læssøe are of the opinion that the *waklum rabûm* "must be a local variant of the title used for the king of Elam, *sukkal-maḥ* - or possibly its Akkadian version;" Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 145, comment on lines 27ff.

²⁷¹ 1) *a-na T[u.....]* 2) *qí-bí-[ma]* 3) *um-ma Pi-še-e[n-de-en]* 4) *a-ḫu-ka-a-[ma]* 5) *ma-ru ši-ip-ri-k[a* 6) *šu-du-um <<x x>>-ka [ub-la-am]* 7) *a-ša-al-šu-^ru-ma [e-em-ka iq-bé-em]* 8) *ki-ma ša a-na-ku [ù at-ta ni-na-am-ru]* 9) *ma-di-iš aḫ-du a-na m[i-ni-ma (.....)]* 10) *ši-ip-p[a-t]a [š]a al 'x' [.....]* 11) *ĪR-di [.....]* 12) *ki-ma [.....]* 13) *'ù' 'ka' at 'x' [.....]* 14) *at-ḫu-[tam ù ra-i-mu]-tam* 15) *i-pu-^ršu ù LUGAL.ME[Š]-tam* 16) *pa-nu-tu[m a]t-ḫ[ut-a]m ù ra-i-mu-tam* 17) *i-p[ur-šu*]'x' ka 'x'

War

Finally, the Turukkeans launched their attack on the Gutians. However, their attempt to break through the siege was not only futile, but it also had adverse results: Endušše was victorious, the allies did not fight faithfully and the country suffered more than 20 days of Gutian devastation and pillage. This is reported in a sad letter of Kuwari's sincere friend, Sîn-išme'anni. He tells Kuwari about the coming of Endušše and the destruction of the harvest of Kunšum and other surrounding cities (see above, under 'The Gutian Siege'), and continues:

Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari (no. 36 = SH 818)

.... And Kusana(r)ḫum and Zutlum, *the allies who keep hearing (about it)*, nobody came to (help) us. Now Indušše has roamed the countryside for 20 + x days, and we have not confronted him in open battle, and the soldier of our secret depot and the guards have absented themselves.²⁷² A brother does not trust his (own) brother!²⁷³

That the news of the front reached Kuwari through a friend may very possibly mean that he had not "gone up" with his troops to join the campaign. In justification he certainly argued that the city of Šušarrā would not be safe so he would not leave it but stay where he was. This was a very good excuse that was supported by the similar advice he had received in the letters (see above). At present we cannot know whether he was being honest or was looking for an excuse to stay at home. Further, we assume that the war broke out before the arrival of the Elamite troops to the battlefield. Otherwise, the results of the war is likely to have been quite different if they had contributed to the campaign with their promised 12,000 troops. Endušše, as a skilful general, must have hastened his attack, perhaps even before the Turrukeans attacked him, once he heard the news that the Elamites were coming in support but before their arrival.

A number of Turukkean kings, with or without their allies, fled to Šušarrā after the defeat. Sîn-išme'anni asks Kuwari to be friendly towards them. The names of some of the refugees appear in later correspondence and in the administrative texts,²⁷⁴ but there is no mention of Pišendēn and Sîn-išme'anni. Perhaps they had fled deeper into Turukkean territory, or were killed in the battle, or just faded away from being active and so were not mentioned in the correspondence between Kuwari and his new lord Šamšī-Adad. The omen that the sender would take for the fate of Kunšum perhaps means that the city had not yet fallen into the hands of Endušše. If so, we could expect Pišendēn still to be residing there. But the omen

ša 'u'-ul a[n-.....] 18) ki-ma [.....] 19) i-na-a[n-na a-na mi-ni-im-ma] 20) ši-pa-t[a] 21) ki-ma 'x' [.....] (break) 23') [.....-n]u-um-ma 24') [x]x'[.....]-i-ti-ka ú-ša-qi-ir 25') ú-ul 'x' [x x x]x'-šu ú-ša-qi-ir-šu 26') ú te₄-mu-um šu-'u' um-ma 27') i-na-an-na a-na a-bi-im UGULA ra-bi-i-im 28') ú Na-ma-ri-im ú Da-a-si 29') LUGAL Ni-ki-im^{ki} šu-pu-ur-ma 30') KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI ú aš-la-le-em 31') da-am-qa-am qí-bí-ma 32') a-na ma-at Ka-ak-mi-im li-iš-ta-ḫi-tú 33') [a-na] mi-ni-ma a-b[u-n]i KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI [(...)] 34') [ù-l]u-ú '2' ú 3 'GÚ' a-na p[í-i]m 35') [an-ni]-im ir-šu 36') [ù š]a-at-tu-um an-ni-tum 37') [LUGAL.MEŠ] i-ta-ap-la-sa-an-ni-a-ši-im 38') [i-na-an-na š]i-ri-im-ma 39') [ù ša-bu-ka LÚ.KÚ]R ú a-ia-[ba-am] 40') [x x x x x] a-na Lu-[.....] (break), Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 142-4 (no. 69 = SH 802, 808+815).

²⁷² Eidem and Læssøe explain that their translation of this passage is tentative; they point to the suggestion of Durand in *ARM* 26/1, p. 345, note 37: "The small peasants too who smuggle and the (customs) guards stay inactive ...," cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 107, comment on lines 22f.

²⁷³ 14) ú 'Ku-sa-na-ḫu'-um ú Zu-ut-lu-um 15) 'ti-la-tum' Ša ší²-te-mu-ú 16) ma-am-ma-an ú-lu 'il'-li-kam 17) 'i-na-an-na iš³-tu 20 [(+x)] u₄-mì-im 18) ^m[n-d]u-úš-še i-na li-ib-bi ma-tim 19) 'it-ta-na'-al-la-ak-ma 20) ^{GIS}TUKUL.MEŠ ú ta-ḫa-za-am 21) it-'tí'-šu ú-ul ni-pu-úš 22) 'ú² ḫu-up-šu-um ša pa-zu-ur-ta-ni 23) ú 'ma'-ša-ra-tum ir-ti-qa 24) a-'ḫu'-um a-na a-ḫi-im ú-ul ip-pa-la-às, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 106-7 (no. 36 = SH 818). Eidem and Læssøe translate l. 24 as: "Nobody trusts each other!."

²⁷⁴ Cf. Eidem, *SHA* 2.

may also have been taken to foretell the fate of the city under the Gutians. Both suggestions are speculative.

The letter of Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari states that Endušše destroyed the harvest, which can hardly mean anything else than setting fire to the ripe grain, a custom occasionally recorded in the royal inscriptions. The letters often specify that the grain was barley, which ripens earlier than wheat, in May. So we conclude that the war broke out around this month or slightly later, taking into account that the Turukkean lands on a higher elevation were cooler. Endušše would have been in a hurry to destroy it as early as possible in order not to give any chance to his enemies to harvest it. The timing of the destruction of the harvest by Endušše could not have been worse, for it was in the same year when Šamšī-Adad destroyed the harvest of the land of Qabrā, according to his own statement in the Mardin stele.²⁷⁵

Sîn-išme'anni did not forget to give Kuwari his last advice coupled with requests. He expected that Endušše would head on to Šušarrā. So he asked Kuwari to reinforce his stores and to be friendly to the Lulleans, probably to let them be neutral in the war:

Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari (no. 36 = SH 818)

You must not let (us) down there! (Act) like a (noble)man! Reinforce the defence of your stores! Come a propitious day and I will take omens for the fate of Kunšum and [write down] and convey the results to you. [...] Be friendly to the kings you control, and be friendly to the Lulleans! And [in order that] they will not destroy the harvest (there) and it will be well for Kunšum and with do not be negligent, but alert the countryside!²⁷⁶

Sîn-išme'anni had seemingly the time to write another letter to a certain Namram-šarur during this same war. Apparently, the letter did not reach its destination but instead found its way to the palace of Šušarrā. The reason is easy to guess, for the routes were blocked or were too dangerous to follow because of the Gutians or (or together with) their Lullean allies. This becomes understandable if we read that the letter was sent to the city of Awal in the Hamrin Basin, and would have to pass through the enemy territories. In that letter, the sender refers clearly to the current war:

Sîn-išme'anni to Namram-šarur (no. 65 = SH 918)

[....Here] there is war and I cannot send you any of my retainers.²⁷⁷

The Aftermath

Thus, the bitter defeat reported in the letter of Sîn-išme'anni resulted in a great change in the political situation. No mention of Pišendēn is made from now on and years later other Turukkean kings, such as Lidāya and Zaziya, are named instead. This points to profound changes, not only on the political level, but also on the social and ideological levels in the Zagros. Ideological changes include the transition that took place in Turukkean life, from being an isolated inner-Zagros kingdom to one in direct contact with the Mesopotamian

²⁷⁵ For the inscription of the stele see below. The chronology of these episodes is discussed below under 'The Assyrian Domination Phase.'

²⁷⁶ 25) 'at-ta' aš-ra-nu-um la ti-gi 26) 'lu-ū' a-wi-lum at-ta 27) n[a-k]a-ma-ti-ka du-un-ni-in 28) u_r-mu¹-um ṭà-bu-um li-ti-iq-mq 29) te-er-'tam' a-na šu-lu-um Ku-un-ši-im^{ki} 30) 'lu-pu-úš'-ma an-ni-tam la an-ni-tam 31) lu-[úš-tú-r]a-ak-kum-ma 32) l[u-úš-pu-r]a-ak-kum 33) 'x[x x]'ú' i¹-ti LUGAL.MEŠ 34) ša 'qá-ti-ka³ lu ṭà-ba-ta 35) ú 'it<-ti> Lu-ul-li-[im] 36) lu ṭà-ba-'ta' 37) ú [ki-ma] e-bu-ra-a[m š]a-'a-tu la 'im-ta-ḥa-šú' 38) ú ša Ku-un<-ši>-im^{ki}-ma ṭà-ba³-ma a-'na x x x' 39) la te-gi-ma ma-'tam nu¹-ḥi-'da-am', Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 107 (no. 36 = SH 818).

²⁷⁷ 17) [an-na-nu-u]m nu-ku-'ur¹-tum-ma 18) ma-am-ma-[a]n i-na šú-ḥa-ri-ia 19) a-'na' še-'ri¹-ka 20) [ú-ul a-š]a-'pa¹-ar, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 139 (no. 65 = SH 918).

powers and developing an expansionist ideology towards the territories to the west of the Tigris and the Habur region.

As a direct result of the Gutian triumph the lords of Kuwari became powerless. Many of those lords, governors, high officials, and perhaps a large number of other officials and ordinary people, all became refugees in Šušarrā.²⁷⁸ Šušarrā itself was threatened by the Gutians, as shown in the letter of Šin-išme'anni (no. 36, see above). The scale of devastation and looting the Gutians brought about was huge, and Kuwari remained without any protective cover after the collapse of the Turukkean front. The pressure was now considerable: large numbers of refugees caused problems from within, and there was an impending military invasion from without. Under such circumstances, Kuwari had few if any choices. He had to offer himself as vassal to the ambitious king of Assyria, who clung to every chance to expand his realm. Their two aims coincided perfectly. With this, a new phase in the history of Šušarrā and of the northern Transtigris begins, to be called the phase of Assyrian Domination.

The Assyrian Domination Phase

In Šušarrā this phase begins with Kuwari's offer of allegiance to Šamšī-Adad. But more importantly there are a set of significant episodes which had taken place before this. In the *limmu* of Asqudum both Šamšī-Adad and Daduša of Ešnunna²⁷⁹ were victorious in a joint expedition against Arrapha in VIII* Asqudum (1780 BC),²⁸⁰ against Nineveh in X*,²⁸¹ and against Qabrā.²⁸² As a result, a large part of the plains of the east side of the Tigris were

²⁷⁸ A list of individuals, mostly bearing Hurrian names, are mentioned in letter no. 8 = SH 887, sent by Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari asking him for their release. Seven of these individuals are named "PN, with his men" or "PN, with his people," which means that they had been influential persons with a retinue, such as former governors or city-rulers. The only exception to this might be Uštap-tupki, who is designated as "the cook." This could have been just a title, or he really was a cook with (political ?) influence with a large family or followers; for the letter, cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 78-81 (no. 8 = SH 887).

²⁷⁹ The alliance of Ešnunna and Assyria lasted until late in the reign of Išme-Dagan. That it was more than a mere political alliance between two royal houses is clear from the roots of Šamšī-Adad's family in the south. His father Ila-kabkābu was ruler in the Diyāla region, and his grandfather Yas/dkur-El was governor of Zaratulu (modern Tell Dhibā'i). Even Šamšī-Adad describes himself as "King of Agade" in one of his royal inscriptions and both Šamšī-Adad and Išme-Dagan chose Babylonia as a refuge during hard times; cf. Birot, "Les chroniques ...," *MARI* 4, p. 222-3, for the relations between the ancestors of Šamšī-Adad with the Diyāla region; Wu Yuhong, *A Political ...*, p. 62-3, for Yadkur-El and his identification with Yaskur-El, the grandfather of Šamšī-Adad; Durand, *LAPU* II, p. 108-9 who suggests Agade as the cradle of the dynasty of Šamšī-Adad and that the latter was once a vassal of Ešnunna (p. 108); Charpin, *OBO*, p. 149; Charpin, D., "Mari und die Assyrer," *2000 v. Chr., Politische, Wirtschaftliche und Kulturelle Entwicklung im Zeichen einer Jahrtausend*, Internationale Colloquium der Orient-Gesellschaft 4.-7. April 2000, Saarbrücken, 2004, p. 372f.

²⁸⁰ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 166.

²⁸¹ The letter M.8898 relates that Išme-Dagan left Ninēt (=Nineveh) on the second day of X* after its capture; cf. Charpin, *OBO*, p. 167 and note 785.

²⁸² Since the conquest of Aḫazum and Nurrugum (*limmu* Aššur-malik, cf. MEC) must have chronologically followed the conquest of Qabrā, the conquest of the latter should have taken place in the *limmu* Asqudum that records a victory(?) of Šamšī-Adad; cf. also Charpin and Durand, "La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim," *MARI* 4, Paris, 1985, p. 315; and Eidem, who considers month VIII* of Asqudum and perhaps month I* of Aššur-malik: Eidem, *ShA* 2, p. 17. However, Charpin, in his later article in *RA* dates this joint campaign to the beginning of month II* of *limmu* Aššur-malik, i.e. in the autumn of that year (1779): Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 170 (referring also to Charpin, D. and N. Ziegler, *Mari et le Proche-Orient...*, *FM* V, p. 95) and *OBO*, p. 168. I note that in the *limmu* Aššur-malik there is mention of victory over Yašub-Addu of Aḫazum. We know from the correspondence of Šamšī-Adad with Kuwari that the former planned to conquer Šikšabbum, the capital of Yašub-Addu, but winter was the obstacle (see below), so he waited until spring. This spring must have been within the *limmu* Aššur-malik. Since the capture of Šikšabbum and Nurrugum postdates the capture of Qabrā, the joint campaign of Šamšī-Adad and Daduša on Qabrā can hardly have taken place in the autumn (of Aššur-malik) as Charpin suggests. This is based on the fact that, in autumn there is no harvest to burn or to destroy, as told by the stele of

subjugated and the Assyrian power came into direct contact with the inner Zagros region and its political affairs. These operations shook the political structure of the region, and this accordingly resulted in demographic changes that will be shown later in this study.

The Conquest of Qabrā

Qabrā must have been a large, powerful and well-fortified city in the region. This is supported first by the elaborate preparations for its capture, when the surrounding towns and villages were captured to cut off supplies and support. Second, both Ešnunna and Assyria joined forces to attack it. Šamšī-Adad himself with both his sons personally led the troops. The details of this campaign are recorded in two important royal inscriptions as well as several letters from Mari. The first royal inscription is the stele of Daduša, found accidentally in 1983 in the Diyāla region (now in the Iraq Museum) while digging a well.²⁸³ The second is the stele of Šamšī-Adad, purchased in Mosul and said to have come from Sinjār or Mardin. It is now in the Louvre and known as the Mardin Stele.²⁸⁴ The historical section of the Daduša stele runs as follows:

Qabrā - none of the previous princes²⁸⁵ who ruled in Ešnunna and none of the kings of the whole land who are (today?) had ever dared to proceed to its siege - this land, that disdained me and did not bow down in respect on hearing my great name - I sent against it 10,000 of my elite troops. With the powerful weapon of Tišpak, the hero, and Adad, my god, I marched through its territory like a furious scythe. Nobody among its allies (and) its warriors could stop me. Its main cities, Tutarra, Ḫatsum, Ḫurarā, Kirḫum and its large settlements I conquered with my mighty weapons within a twinkle. I transported its gods (statues), its booty²⁸⁶ (that I spoiled) and its best kept possessions to Ešnunna, my royal city. After that I plundered the surrounding territory and extensively devastated the whole country. I approached

Mardin. To be compatible with the statement of the stele we must date it in May-June of *limmu* Asqudum and suggest that the capture of Nineveh was after, not before Qabrā. It needs no explanation that the correspondence of Šamšī-Adad with Kuwari was of course after the submission of the latter to the former, which took place after the capture of Qabrā. The suggestion of Charpin cannot be based on the fact that the Assyrian calendar, also in the time of Šamšī-Adad, began in the late autumn (cf. Hunger, H., "Kalender," *RIA* 5, Berlin, 1976-1980, p. 299 and 301), because Šamšī-Adad, judging by the mention of the month *magrānum* in his stele, used the Ešnunna calendar, which was different from the OA calendar, (for the OA calendar, cf. Hunger, *op. cit.*, p. 301). In the Ešnunna calendar, *magrānum* (attested as such in Harmal = Šaduppum, and as *magrattum* in Ešnunna) was the second month, approximately May.

²⁸³ Ismail, B. Kh., "Eine Siegesstele des Königs Daduša von Ešnunna," *Im Bannkreis des Alten Orients, Studien zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients und seines Ausstrahlungsraumes: Karl Oberhuber zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, eds. W. Meid and H. Trenkwalder, Innsbruck, 1986, p. 105.

²⁸⁴ Grayson, *RIMA* I, p. 63. The name of Šamšī-Adad is not preserved on the stele, but there is a strong probability for attributing it to him and this is supported by Von Soden, Læssøe, Charpin and Durand; cf. Grayson, *RIMA* I, p. 63; Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 162 and bibliography. A criterion used by Charpin and Durand is the occurrence of the month names Addarum and Magrānum, which they say were not included in the calendar of Ešnunna: Charpin and Durand, "La prise du pouvoir ...," *MARI* 4, p. 315, n. 98. They are correct insofar as *addarum* and *magrānum* were the months used by Šamšī-Adad. But they are not correct to assume that *magrānum* was not used in Ešnunna, when it is attested there also as the second month; cf. Hunger, *RIA* 5, p. 301; see also above; for *adarum* and *magrānum* in the calendar of Šamšī-Adad, cf. Wu Yuhong, *A Political History...*, p. 155.

²⁸⁵ Ismail translates the word *rubē* as "kings," cf. *BM*, p. 143.

²⁸⁶ Or, according to Charpin "captives," cf. Charpin, D., "Chroniques bibliographiques.....," *RA* 98 (2004), p. 154 and his note on p. 156. He argues that the word *šallatu(m)* means anything taken as booty of war; people and property alike, and since property is mentioned separately, the word here should be restricted to people taken captive.

vigorously Qabrā, its capital city.²⁸⁷ By laying siege to the encircling wall,²⁸⁸ heaping up earth (against the wall), breaching, sweeping attack(s) and my great power, I captured that city in ten days. Its king, Bunu-Ištar, I overwhelmed in a twinkle with the strike of my mighty weapon²⁸⁹ and sent his (decapitated) head²⁹⁰ immediately to Ešnunna. (Thus) I smashed the bond of the kings who fought for him and (the bond) of his auxiliary troops, and I spread silence upon them. I brought triumphantly their rich booty, the great wealth of the city, gold, silver,²⁹¹ precious stones, expensive items, everything this land had, to my royal city Ešnunna, and I showed (all) the people of the upper and lower lands, big and small. Everything else in that land, that city, its widespread land/territory and its settlements, I presented as a gift to Samse-Addu (=Šamši-Adad), the king of Ekallātum. In the north (lit. height), in the land of Šubartum, from the land of Burunda and the land of Eluḫti²⁹² to Mount Diluba and Mount (of) Lullum, those land(s) I subjugated with my mighty arms without mercy. (Thus) I made the king(s) of the whole land(s) praise me forever. In that same year, I built Dūr-Daduša, (to become) my border city on the bank of the Tigris, (by which) I made a good name for the days to come.²⁹³

The inscription, as a traditional royal inscription, is the narrative of a military action. It begins by showing the might of the enemy, mentioning that it had never been conquered by an Ešnunnean nor another king of the land. To justify the campaign, Daduša says that Qabrā

²⁸⁷ Ismail has “Marktstad,” however, the words *rebītišu* was already been explained by Charpin as “centre” in a note in *NABU* (*NABU* 1991, no. 112), cf. Charpin, “Chroniques bibliographiques...,” *RA* 98, p. 156.

²⁸⁸ Charpin says the translation of Edzard, “I surrounded it with a wall,” cannot be correct; cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 156; compare Edzard, D. O., *Altbabylonische Literatur und Religion, in Mesopotamien: Die altbabylonische Zeit*, *OBO* 160/4, p. 552.

²⁸⁹ Edzard has “with my hot blades.” Edzard, *OBO*, p. 552 and note 242. This because he reads *šimtu* as *šibbatu* “to burn;” Charpin prefers *ši-ib-ba-at*; for this, and the correction of *šibbatu* to *šimtu*, cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 156.

²⁹⁰ Ismail adds tentatively “(ihn persönlich?)” after “head” in her translation. This seems unlikely because, as Charpin also says, it was a common practice in that period to decapitate enemies; cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 152; for instances of beheading enemies as a political tool cf. Charpin, D., “Une décollation mystérieuse,” *NABU* 1994, no. 59, p. 51-2.

²⁹¹ Charpin finds it exceptional to mention gold before silver in such a context; cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 152.

²⁹² According to Edzard it is “in the land of Šubartum, I struck the territory between the lands of Burunda and Eluḫt and the lands D. and Lullūm with my mighty arms;” cf. Edzard, *OBO*, p. 552.

²⁹³ V 12) *i-nu-mi-šu Qá-ba-ra-a^{ki}* 13) *ša i-na ru-bé-e šu-ú-ut pa-na-nu-um* VI 1) *ša i-na Èš-nun-na^{ki} iš-pí-tú* 2) *ù šar-ri ša i-na ma-tim ka-li-ša¹* 3) *i-ba-aš-šu-ú a-na la-we-šu* 4) *šar-ru-um ma-am-ma-an la i-wi-ru* 5) *ma-tum ši-i ša i-ši-ra-an-ni-ma* 6) *a-na zi-ki-ir šu-mi-ia kab-tim* 7) *pa-al-ḫi-iš la ik-nu-ša-am* 8) *10 li-mi ša-bi dam-qá-am* 9) *aṭ-ru-us-sú-um-ma* 10) *i-na ka-ak-ki-im da-an-nim* 11) *ša qar-ra-di-im^d Tišpak* 12) *ù^dIM i-li-ia* 13) *ki-ma ka-šu-ši-im na-ad-ri-im* VII 1) *i-na er-še-ti-šu a-ba-ma* 2) *ša-bi ti-il-la-ti-šu* 3) *ù na-ap-ḫar qar-ra-di-šu* 4) *ma-am-ma-an a-na pa-ni-ia la ip-ri-ku* 5) *a-la-ni-šu ra-ap-šu-tim* 6) *Tu-ta-ar-ra^{ki} Ḫa-at-kum^{ki}* 7) *Ḫu-ra-ra-a^{ki} Ki-ir-ḫu-um^{ki}* 8) *ù na-ma-aš-ši-šu ra-ap-šu-tim* 9) *i-na ka-ak-ki-ia da-an-nim* 10) *ur-ru-ḫi-iš aš-ba-at-ma* 11) *i-li-šu-nu ša-al-la-as-sú-nu* 12) *ù bu-še-šu-nu na-aš-ru-tim* 13) *a-na Èš-nun-na^{ki} a-al šar-ru-ti-ia* 14) *lu ú-ša-ri-a-am* VIII 1) *iš-tu i-ta-ti-šu ú-na-wu-ma* 2) *ma-as-sú ra-pa-áš-tam áš-ki-šu* 3) *a-na Qá-ba-ra-a^{ki} a-al ri-bi-ti-šu* 4) *ra-bi-i-š ás-ni-iq-ma* 5) *i-na li-wi-it du-ur ni-tim* 6) *ši-pí-ik e-pé-ri pí-il-ši* 7) *si-iḫ-pí-im* *ù e-mu-qí-ia* 8) *ra-bi-i-im a-lam šu-a-ti* 9) *i-na U₄ 10.KAM aš-ba-at-ma* 10) *šar-ra-šu Bu-nu-Eš₄-tár* 11) *i-na ši-ib-ba-at ka-ak-ki-ia* 12) *da-an-nim ur-ru-ḫi-iš ak-mi-šu-ma* 13) *ḫa-am-ṭi-iš qá-qá-as-sú* 14) *a-na Èš-nun-na^{ki} lu ú-ša-ri-a-am* IX 1) *te₄-em šar-ri mu-qar-ri-di-šu* 2) *ù ti-la-ti-šu iš-ti-ni-iš* 3) *ú-pa-ar-ri-ir-ma* 4) *qú-la-tim e-li-šu-nu lu ad-di* 5) *ša-al-la-as-sú ra-pa-áš-tam* 6) *ma-ak-ku-ur a-li-im šu-a-ti kab-tam* 7) *KÜ.GI KÜ.BABBAR NA₄ wa-qar-tam* 8) *a-ši-la-le-e-em dam-qá-am* 9) *ù mi-im-ma šum-šu* 10) *ša ma-tum ši-i ir-šu-ú* 11) *a-na Èš-nun-na^{ki}* 12) *a-al šar-ru-ti-ia* 13) *e-te-el-li-iš ub-lam-ma* X 1) *ni-iš ma-tim e-li-tim* 2) *ù ša-ap-li-tim še-eḫ-ra-am* 3) *ù ra-bi-a-am lu ú-ka-al-li-im* 4) *ši-ta-at mi-im-ma* 5) *i-na li-ib-bu ma-tim šu-a-ti* 6) *in-ne-ez-bu a-lam šu-a-ti* 7) *er-še-sú ra-pa-áš-tam* 8) *ù na-ma-aš-ši-šu* 9) *a-na Sa-am-se-e^dIM* 10) *LUGAL É-kál-la-tim^{ki}* 11) *a-na qí-iš-tim lu a-qí-iš* 12) *e-li-iš i-na ma-a-at Šu-bar-tim* 13) *iš-tu ma-a-at Bu-ru-un-da^{ki}* XI 1) *ù ma-a-at E-lu-úḫ-ti^{ki}* 2) *a-di KUR Di-i-lu-ba* 3) *ù KUR Lu-ul-lu-ú-um^{ki}* 4) *ma-tam ša-ti i-na ka-ak-ki-ia* 5) *da-an-nim ez-zi-iš lu aš-ki-iš* 6) *ki-ma šar-ru ša i-na ma-tim ka-li-ša* 7) *i-ba-aš-šu-ú a-na da-ri-a-tim* 8) *uš-ta-na-du-ni-in-ni lu e-pu-uš* 9) *i-na li-ib-bu ša-at-tim i-na-ša-ti-ma* 10) *i-na ki-ša-ad^{id}IDIGNA* 11) *BÀD-Da-du-ša^{ki} a-al pa-ṭi-ia* 12) *e-pu-uš-ma šu-mi dam-qá-am* 13) *a-na wa-ar-ki-a-at u₄-mi* 14) *lu ú-ša-ab-ši*, Ismail, B. Kh. (in cooperation with A. Cavigneux), “Dādušas Siegesstele IM 95200 aus Ešnunna. Die Inschrift,” *BM* 34 (2003), p. 142-147; Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 154f.

disdained him and did not show any respect. Charpin noted that Daduša, while saying nothing about his own allies, alludes to the regular soldiers (*na-ap-ḥar qar-ra-di-šu*, vii 3) as well as to the auxiliaries (*ša-bi ti-il-la-ti-šu*, vii 2), who supported his opponent Bunu-Ištar.²⁹⁴ The king, realizing the conquest of the city will need a siege, began his campaign with the control and destruction of the towns, villages and settlements of the land to deprive Qabra of supplies and support. None of the towns mentioned in the inscription, namely Tutarrā,²⁹⁵ Ḥatkuḃ, Ḥururā and Kirḥum, has been precisely located, except that their general location was in the fertile plain to the north of the Zāb.²⁹⁶ The second step, laying siege to the fortified capital itself (Fig. 5), took 10 days, during which every available siege technique was utilised. Charpin is correct when he says that Daduša would not have been able to reach Qabrā without the conquest of Arrapha by Šamšī-Adad and supposes that Daduša has followed the route of the Adhēm Valley, although no itinerary is given.²⁹⁷ However, we think that the fragmentary section of the MEC, that mentions the city of Mē-Turan and Daduša in the *limmu* Ikūn-pīya, directly before *limmu* Asqudum (see above under Chronology), has certainly something to do with the preparations and opening up the ways leading to Arrapha and Qabrā.²⁹⁸ The inscription implies a pact between Daduša and Šamšī-Adad to divide the spoils of Qabrā; Ešnunna takes the moveable possessions and Assyria takes the land. This suggests that Šamšī-Adad received Qabrā emptied of its inhabitants.²⁹⁹

Another side to the story comes from the stele of Šamšī-Adad (the Mardin Stele):

...[I th]ought.³⁰⁰ [By] the command of [the god] Enlil and [... *thanks to the vigour of* my attack [I broke into³⁰¹ the fortress³⁰² of Arra]pḥa [within] seven days and I sacrificed [to DN....(lacuna of about 4 lines)....]. I entered his fortress. I kissed the feet of the god Adad, my lord, and reorganized the land. I installed my governors everywhere and in Arrapha itself I sacrificed at the Festival of Heat³⁰³ to the gods Šamaš (=Šimegi) and Adad (=Teššup).³⁰⁴ On the twentieth day of the month *niggallum* (VIII*)³⁰⁵ I crossed the River Zab (written Zaib)³⁰⁶ and made a razzia in the land of Qabrā. I destroyed (lit. struck down) the harvest of that land and in the month of Magrānum (IX*)³⁰⁷ (lit. Threshing-Floor) I captured all the fortified cities of the land of Urbēl (= Urbilum/Arbela). I established my garrisons everywhere. On[ly] Qabrā

²⁹⁴ Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 164.

²⁹⁵ The name Tutarra has been translated as “The Bridge;” cf. Durand, J.-M., “Le dieu Abnu à Mari?,” *NABU* 1987, no. 78, p. 42.

²⁹⁶ Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 164. To Charpin, they were in the plain between the two Zābs, but we are not sure if Qabrā controlled the whole region up to the Upper Zāb, since we know of other polities in the region, such as Aḥazum, Ya’ilānum and perhaps even Nurrugum.

²⁹⁷ Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 165.

²⁹⁸ Mē-Turan was a key centre on the way from Ešnunna to Arrapha. It was associated with Daduša three years before as well, in the *limmu* Aššur-imitti (III); cf. MEC.

²⁹⁹ Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 166, note 58, referring to Ziegler, N., “Aspects économiques des guerres de Samsī-Addu,” in *Economie antique. la guerre dans les économies antiques*, eds. J. Andreau, P. Briant and R. Descat, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, 2000, p. 14-33.

³⁰⁰ Grayson, *RIMA* 1: [x x-d]a(?)*-al-ma*.

³⁰¹ For *ḥepū* cf. *CAD* H, p. 170f.

³⁰² Grayson, *RIMA* 1: *ina*.

³⁰³ Grayson, *RIMA* 1. Charpin leaves it as “*ḥumṭum* festival.”

³⁰⁴ Charpin and Durand are correct in their suggestion to read these two DNs in Hurrian: Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “La prise du pouvoir ...,” *MARI* 4, p. 315, note 99 (referred to by Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 64, note to ii’ 9), because we expect Hurrian deities in the temple of the by-that-time Hurrianized city as also the city name indicates.

³⁰⁵ This is month I of the ŠA calendar; cf. the concordance in Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.* p. 155.

³⁰⁶ This river name is written in the same way in his letters he sent to Kuwari, for instance no. 1 = SH 809: 21 and no. 9 = SH 882: 11; for transliteration see below.

³⁰⁷ Month II of the ŠA calendar.

re[mained] This city which, during [?] month(s) could not [*be taken*], th[is] city, in the month *kinūnum* (II*) wit[h my] mi[ghty weapons]... [*I took over*].³⁰⁸

Šamši-Adad here says nothing about booty or prisoners, as Daduša had done. Instead, he speaks about reorganization and consolidation of his authority by installing garrisons and governors everywhere. The pact between the two kings seems to have been a long-term one, since in the following year, in the *limmu* Aššur-malik, several lands were conquered and 9 kings were captured, all of them handed over(?) to Daduša, according to the MEC (see above). This pact is reminiscent of the alliance between the Neo-Babylonians and the Medes who jointly attacked Assyria. Then it seems that the Babylonians took the spoils and the Medes inherited the Assyrian territories.³⁰⁹ Daduša is not honest when he ignores every allusion in his stele to the cooperation of the troops of Šamši-Adad. Eidem collected a group of letters from Mari that concern this campaign.³¹⁰ From the letters we learn that the troops were led by Išme-Dagan, who actively took part in the conquest of all the cities of Qabrā. The letter *ARM 1*, 138 reports:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM 1*, 138)

I have reached Ḫatka. Within one single day I conquered it and took it. Rejoice!³¹¹

In another letter, Išme-Dagan reports more successes and repeats the old one:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM 1*, 131)

As soon as I conquered Tutarrum, Ḫatka and Šunḫūm, I went to attack Ḫurarā. I laid siege to this town, I set up siege tower(s) and battering ram(s) (towards its walls). I took it within seven days. Rejoice!³¹²

After taking these towns, Išme-Dagan, of course together with Ešnunnean troops, went on to take Kerḫum:

³⁰⁸ i' 1) [áš-t]-al-ma 2) [i-na] qí-bi-it 3) [dE]N.LÍL-ma 4) [x x] x i-ti-'lam' 5) [x x x t]i-bi-ia 6) [i-na Ar-ra-a]p-ḫi-im^{ki} 7) [i-na] 'U₄' 7.KAM 8) [lu-ú aḫ]-pí-ma 9) [a-na DN lu a]q-qí 10) [x x x x x]-'ma' [...(lacuna of 4 lines)...] ii' 1) a-na 'ke'-er-ḫi-šu e-ru-ub 2) še-pa^dIM be-lí-ia 3) aš-ši-iq-ma 4) ma-'a-tam' ša-a-ti 5) ú-ḫuk}-ki-in 6) ša-ak-'ni'-ia 7) aš-'ta(?)'-ka-ma 8) i-si-in ḫu-um-tim 9) a-na^dUTU ú^dIM 10) i-na Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im^{ki}-ma 11) lu-ú aq-qí 12) ITI ŠE.KIN.KU₅ 13) i-na U₄ 20.KAM-šu 14) ^{r17(?)}Za-i-ba-am 15) [lu] e-bi-ir-ma iii' 1) a-na ma-a-at 2) Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} 3) aḫ-ḫa-bi-it-ma 4) ma-a-tam ša-a-ti 5) e-bu-úr-ša 6) am-ḫa-aš-ma 7) a-la-ni da-an-na-ti 8) ša ma-a-at Ur-bi-e-el 9) ka-la-šu-nu 10) i-na ITI ma-ag-ra-nim 11) ú-ša-bi-it-ma 12) bi-ra-ti-ia 13) lu-ú áš-ta-ak-ka-an 14) Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} iv' 1) e-di-[iš-ši-šu] 2) lu-ú [e-zi-ib] 3) i-na [x x x] 4) e-BU-[...] 5) ID x [...] 6) a-lum 'šu'-[ú ša] 7) i-na ITI [?.KAM] 8) la iš-'šu'-[...] 9) a-lam ša-[a-ti] 10) i-na I[TI ki-nu-nim] 11) i-n[a ka-ak-ki-ia] 12) da-[an-nu-tim], Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 162-3, with references to restorations; cf. also Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 64-65.

³⁰⁹ About this alliance, recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle known as "Fall of Nineveh," cf. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, p. 90-96. As for the problems concerning the control of territories in Northern Mesopotamia, cf. Rollinger, R., "The Western Expansion of the Median "Empire:" a Re-Examination," in *Continuity of Empire (?) Assyria, Media, Persia*, ed. G. B. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf and R. Rollinger, Padova, 2003, p. 289ff.

³¹⁰ Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives* 2, p. 16f.

³¹¹ 5) a-na Ḫa-at-ka^{ki} 6) áš-ni-iq-ma 7) i-na li-ib-bi 8) u₄-ma-ka-al 9) a-lam ša-a-t[i] 10) áš-ḫu-up-m[a] 11) aš-šà-ba-[a]! 12) lu-ú ḫa-[d]e-et, Dossin, *ARM 1*, 138; for the translation and restoration of l. 12, cf. Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 122.

³¹² 5) [iš]-tu Tu-ta-ar-ra-am^{ki} 6) Ḫ[a-a]t-ka^{ki} 7) ú Šu-un-ḫa-am^{ki} 8) aš-ba-tu a-na Ḫu-ra-ra-a^{ki} 9) áš-ni-iq-ma 10) a-lam ša-a-ti al-wi-ma 11) ^{GIŠ}di-im-tam 12) ú ^{GIŠ}ia-ši-ba-am 13) uš-zi-is-sú-um-ma 14) i-na U₄ 7.KAM 15) a-lam^{ki} ša-a-ti 16) aš-ša-ba-at 17) [u]-ú ḫa-de-et, Dossin, *ARM 1*, 131, p. 212; for the translation and correction of l. 5, cf. Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 124.

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 1, 135)

When I arrived at the city of Kerḥum, I set up a (siege) tower and demolished its wall by means of a breach. Within 8 days, I took the city of Kerḥum. Rejoice! All the fortified towns of the land of Qabrā have been taken, only Qabrā itself has remained.³¹³

The same event was reported by Šamšī-Adad to his son Yasmaḥ-Addu:

Šamšī-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (A.4413)

Your brother has conquered Kerḥum. Rejoice!³¹⁴

According to the texts A.4413 and A.2745+, Yasmaḥ-Addu was residing in Razama but moved with his troops to Qabrā, passing by Ekallātum, to join his brother for the siege of Qabrā.³¹⁵ There he remained at least 20 days:

Yasmaḥ-Addu to Šamšī-Adad (A.2745+)

... Now [on]ly Qabrā has remained... We, Išme-Dagan and 'T, have been laying siege to Razama for 20 days.³¹⁶

The information provided by the letter *ARM 4*, 49 proves that the king himself was commanding other troops, also in the same region of Qabrā, since he is reported to have approached the town of Sarri(ma). As a result of this approach the inhabitants of the city fled to Qabrā. This perhaps indicates that Qabrā was better fortified, or was the only place remaining:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 4, 49)

When the king with massive troops marched to Sarrima, a city of Qabrā, the city of Sarrima was abandoned before the king and they entered Qabrā. Now the king has stayed in Sarrima.³¹⁷

The last phase of the campaign had now been reached. After this Šamšī-Adad took A'innum and Zamiyātum on the bank of the Lower Zāb and began to march towards Qabrā:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 1, 121)

The king took A'innum and Zamiyātum which stand on the bank of the Zāb and which are the cities of Qabrā. Rejoice! After the king had taken these cities, he directly marched to Qabrā.³¹⁸

³¹³ 4) *ki-ma a-na a-lim Ki-i[r-ḥi-im^{ki}]* 5) *ás-ni-[qú]* 6) ^{GIŠ}*di-im-tam* 7) *uš'* (IZ)-*zi-iz-ma* 8) *ù BÀD-šu* 9) *i-na pi-il-ši* 10) *ú-ša-am-qí-i[t-ma]* 11) *i-na U₄8.[KAM]* 12) *a-lam Ki-ir-ḥa-[am^{ki}]* 13) *aš-ša-ba-[at]* 14) *lu-ú ḥa-de-[e]t* 15) *a-al dan-na-tim* 16) *ša ma-a-at Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 17) *ka-la-šu-nu iš-ša-a[b-tu-ma(?)]* 18) *[Qa]-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 19) *a-na ra-ma-[ni-šu-ma(?)]* 20) *ir-te-<ḥe>^re¹*, Dossin, *ARM 1*, 135, with corrections to lines 4, 7, 12 and 20 following Durand, *LPO II*, p. 125; cf. also Wu Yuhong, *A Political History ...*, p. 183; for a discussion of the reading of l. 20, cf. Eidem, *ShA 2*, p. 17, note 17.

³¹⁴ *[a]-ḥu-ka [Ki]-ir-ḥa-am^{ki} iš-ša-ba-at [l]u-ú ḥa-de-e-et*, after: Eidem, *ShA 2*, p. 17.

³¹⁵ Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 94.

³¹⁶ 13) *..... i-na-an-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 14) *[e-d]i-iš-ši-šu e-zi-ib* 18) *.... I-na-an-na iš-tu U₄ 20.KAM* 19) ^m*Iš-me-dDa-gan ù a-[na-k]u Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} la-we-nu*, Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 94, note 159.

³¹⁷ 5) LUGAL *a-n[a S]a-ar-ri-ma^{ki}* 6) *a-lim ša Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 7) *qa-du-um ka-bi-it-ti ša-bi-[i]m* 8) *[it]-ḥe-ma a-lum Sa-ar-ri-ma^{ki}* 9) *[a-n]a pa-an LUGAL* 10) *[in-na]-di-ma a-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 11) *[i-te-r]u-ub ù LUGAL* 12) *[i-na] Sa-ar-ri-ma^{ki}* 13) *[w]a-ši-ib*, Dossin, *ARM 4*, 49; the breaks in lines 10 and 11 are partly restored by Durand, *LPO II*, p. 122; cf. also Wu Yuhong, *A Political History ...*, p. 184.

³¹⁸ 5) LUGAL *A-i-in-na-am^{ki}* 6) *ù Za-mi-ia-tam^{ki}* 7) *ša i-na a-aḥ^{ID}Za-i-bi-im ša-ak-nu a-la-nu šu-nu* 8) *ša Qa-ab-[r]a-a^{ki} LUGAL iš-ba-as-sú-nu-[t]i* 9) *lu-ú ḥa-de-[e]t iš-tu a-la-né-e šu-nu-ti* 10) LUGAL *iš-ba-tu a-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 11) *[u]š-te-še-er*, Dossin, *ARM 1*, 121, Wu Yuhong, *A Political History ...*, p. 184.

It was at this moment that Yašub-Addu of Aḥazum seems to have gone to meet Šamšī-Adad to swear an oath of allegiance for the second time (no. 1 = SH 809, see below), most likely after the capture of A'innum. Why did he go for a second time and why to A'innum? Probably it was a town in the eastern part of the land of Qabrā, close to Aḥazum, between Šikšabbum, the capital of Aḥazum, and Qabrā. We can imagine Yašub-Addu went to the king out of fear and tried to avoid suffering the same fate of A'innum.

Like Daduša, Šamšī-Adad attacked Qabrā from the south, for he points to crossing the Zāb, implying he had made his preparations in Arrapha. Charpin and Durand find it very probable that he had attacked Arrapha also from the south.³¹⁹ This must have been the time when Yašub-Addu for the first time swore an oath of allegiance to Šamšī-Adad in the temple of Adad in Arrapha, as mentioned in the letter 1 = SH 809 (see below). Such an allegiance procedure could be counted as part of the reorganization Šamšī-Adad undertook (see above, the Mardin Stele). It is important to note that Bunu-Ištar, king of Qabrā, mentioned in the inscription of Daduša, is styled later in the same inscription (col. xii, l. 12) as king of the land of Urbēl.³²⁰ The royal family of Qabrā seems to have been deported to Ešnunna as part of the spoils. The cylinder seal of a certain Eki-Teššup was found in Ešnunna, and from the legend it appears that he was in the service of Bunu-Ištar.³²¹ Shortly after their deportation, Šamšī-Adad demanded the delivery of the members of the royal family as stated in one of his letters to his son Yasmaḥ-Addu. From it we learn that Šamšī-Adad had earlier wanted to have the members of that family, but he waited until Daduša had taken over Malgium. On that happy moment he would ask for them.³²² The letter states:

Šamšī-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 1, 27)

.... Now since my brother's heart became happy (with the take over of Malgium), honour (him) and ask for your desire, the sons of the king who were taken from Qabrā, and say, "What are these sons of the king? They are dogs. Give me these men and gladden the heart of your brother!" Write [this] to Ešnunna!³²³

Qabrā was a territory with southern limits beginning on the northern shore of the Lower Zāb, to the north of which Erbil was also located. So it is no surprise that these two names have been switched when referring to approximately the same territory (as in the stele of Daduša). The name of Qabrā as the dominant power of this period prevailed, but the ancient name of Erbil, despite its dwindled political role, re-emerged from time to time thanks to its glorious past. It is not known why Erbil is attested so infrequently in the records of the OB period, the period with the richest written sources up to that time. Erbil was close to where Šamšī-Adad and his son were operating but it is never mentioned in their correspondence. The Ur III campaigns were much fewer than those against a land like Simurru, so they cannot be

³¹⁹ Charpin and Durand, "La prise du . . .," p. 315.

³²⁰ Charpin explains this as a possible mistake committed by the scribe when copying from an exemplar written by another scribe: Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 164. This does not seem to be likely. Other cases of mistakes in transmission involve one sign, component(s) of a sign, or haplography or dittography of a sign; they do not involve a whole name, as here *Úr-bé-el*^{ki}.

³²¹ The seal legend reads 1) *E-ki-^dIM* 2) *DUMU A-ta-ta-wi-ra* 3) *İR Bu-nu-^dIš-₈-tár*, "Eki-Teššup, son of Atatawira, servant of Bunu-Ištar," Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 270 (text no. E4.21.1); Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 180. Both names, Eki-Teššup and Atatawira, are Hurrian; cf. Frayne, *ibid.*

³²² Durand describes this as a 'manoeuvre;' by making his request on such a happy moment it cannot be refused; cf. Durand, *LAPPO* I, p. 500.

³²³ 24) *i-na-an-na at-ta iš-tu li-ib-bi a-ḫi-ia* 25) *it-ṭi-bu ku-ta-an-ni-ma e-ri-iš-ta-ka* 26) *DUMU.MEŠ ša 'i-na' Qa-a[b-r]a-a^{ki} il-le-^qú-ú* 27) *e-ri-iš ú ki-a-am qí-bí um-m[a-a-mi]* 28) *[ú š]u-nu lu-ú DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL mi-nu-um šu-[nu-ma] ka-al-bu* 29) *[LÚ.ME]Š šu-nu-ti-i i-di-in-ma* 30) *[li-ib]-bi a-ḫi-ka ṭi-ib* 31) *[an-ni-tam a]-na Èš-nun-na^{ki} šu-pu-ur*, Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 180; Durand, *LAPPO* I, p. 499.

held responsible for any presumed destruction. What is more, Simurruum reappeared as a major power while Erbil faded out. The fact that Qabrā overshadowed Erbil can hardly be enough reason for such silence.³²⁴ The answer suggested by Eidem is that the ‘traditional’ large cities of Assur, Nineveh and Erbil were abandoned by the Amorite sheikhs, who preferred to live in newly built fortified cities, or military bases some distance away from those ancient cities. According to him, this was to avoid problems from the urban elites of those ancient centres, who would have resisted these Amorite usurpers. That is why Ekallātum, Nurrugum and Qabrā were founded as capitals.³²⁵ Later parallels reinforce this suggestion: the Arab conquerors of the 7th century AD did not reside in the major cities and urban centres of Mesopotamia, such as Ctesophon, Hīra, Nu-Ardashīr (= Mosul) or many others. Instead they first built military bases at Kūfa and Baṣra, which soon became cities when the warriors brought their families to live there. Later, in the Umayyad Period, they founded Wāsīt as a new city, and in the Abbasid period, they moved from a small camp city, not to an urban centre, but to the newly founded Baghdad.³²⁶ The old Sassanian capital, consisted of a conglomeration of seven towns, and Hīra diminished gradually. A similar fate must have happened to Erbil.

Ya’ilānum Faces the Fate of Qabrā

Only five days after the capture of Qabrā, Šamšī-Adad campaigned against Ya’ilānum. The direct reason for this was a raid by 200 men from Ya’ilānum on Ekallātum to rob the emmer of Lamassi-Aššur, the wife of Išme-Dagan, as reported in a letter of Tarim-šakim to Yasmaḥ-Addu.³²⁷ The letters *ARM* 1, 8 (dated to 15 of Tīrum), *ARM* 1, 92 and *ARM* 4, 33 deal with the war on Ya’ilānum.³²⁸ The first letter bears a terrible message to Yasmaḥ-Addu. He is ordered to kill the relatives (perhaps of the king of Ya’ilānum) who were resident with him. They would be kept as hostages if the peace plan with Ya’ilānum was successful, but since this was not the case, they should die, their possessions be confiscated and their concubines be sent to Šamšī-Adad himself. From this letter we understand that there had already been serious problems between Šamšī-Adad and Ya’ilānum, and this raid was only the final straw. The stele of Daduša mentions Tutarrā among the cities of Qabrā that he had captured with Šamšī-Adad. Nevertheless, Tutarrā (written Tutarwa/ya or probably Tutarwe³²⁹) is again mentioned in the letter *ARM* 4, 33 as the capital of Ya’ilānum that was decisively conquered. This makes Tutarra a city of Ya’ilānum, not Qabrā. The joint campaign of Daduša and Šamšī-Adad had traversed Qabrā to the territories of Ya’ilānum, which had started hatred and enmity. The reaction of the king appears in the following message:

Šamšī-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 1, 8)

As to the sons of Wilanum who are at your side, when it seemed there would be peace later, I ordered to hold them as hostages. Now, there is no peace with Wilanum at all. I am talking about seizing it.³³⁰ Give orders that all the Wilaneans who are

³²⁴ Charpin concluded that Qabrā was the capital of the land Erbil: Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 164; but both land of Urbēl and land of Qabrā are mentioned simultaneously.

³²⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 22. The question is whether we can count Nurrugum as a city founded by the Amorites, since the name of its king, Kipram, occurring in the correspondence is not Amorite. Note that Wu Yuhong suggests that Qabrā may have been the name of the citadel of Erbil city: Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 182; this is impossible.

³²⁶ In Egypt too, a new city was founded which later became Cairo.

³²⁷ For the letter and other details, cf. Wu Yuhong, *A Political ...*, p. 190-2.

³²⁸ Eidem, *ShA* 2, p. 17, note 20.

³²⁹ This seems to be the Hurrian form of the name *Tutar+we* (genitive suffix).

³³⁰ Wu Yuhong has “him,” p. 192. However, I think the king means seizing the land of Wilanum = Ya’ilānum.

before you must die in the night. There must be no rite, wake and grief. Let tombs be made for them and let them die and be buried in the tombs! [Let men bury (?)] Sammetar, his blood (relative). You must not hold his concubines. [Send them] to me [with] two asses of tribute and p[ut] an attendant wi[th them]! In the hands of the concubines of Sammetar there is one mina of gold and two minas of silver. Mananna the subordinate should not say improper things. Do not trust him! Escort [them to me]! Mananna, the subordinate must not approach [the concubines]. Let men pull off what are on their veils and their garments, and (you), take their gold and silver but send these women to me! There are left two girl singers of Nawirašarur³³¹ and all their other women. Keep these women at your side! However, send the concubines of Sammetar to me! On the 15th of the month of Tīrum, I am sending this tablet of mine to you.³³²

The campaign was successful and the king conquered the city of Ḫimarā, which is possibly identical with Dūr-Wilanum mentioned in the letter of Tarim-šakim.³³³ The letter *ARM 1, 92* mentions the capture of the city of Ḫimarā, which was ruled by the son of the king/sheikh of Ya'ilānum:

Šamši-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM 1, 92*)

After I defeated the ruler of Qabrā, just five days later I defeated Wilanum. I have taken the city Ḫimarā.³³⁴ I conquered his 300 troops, the garrison and his son³³⁵ in that city. Rejoice!³³⁶

However, putting an end to the power of Ya'ilānum necessitated a battle against its gathered troops. This time too the victory was decisive:

³³¹ Wu Yuhong noted that this name is attested also in Shemshāra letter no. 65 = SH 918, a letter from Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari: Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

³³² 5) aš-šum DUMU.MEŠ Wi-i-la-nim ša ma-aḥ-ri-ka 6) tu-ša wa-ar-ka-nu-um sa-li-mu-um 7) ib-ba-aš-ši-ma i-na qa-tim ku-ul-la-šu-nu aq-bi 8) i-na-an-na mi-im-ma sa-li-mu-um 9) it-ti Wi-i-la-nim ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši 10) ša ša-ba-ti-šu-ma a-da-ab-bu-ub 11) DUMU.MEŠ Wi-i-la-nim ma-la ma-aḥ-ri-ka 12) a-ḥu-né-e i-ba-aš-šu-ú 13) wu-e-er-ma i-na mu-ši-im-ma li-mu-tu 14) ma-aš-ša-ar-tum na-ḥa-du-um ú-ku-ul-lu-um 15) la ib-ba-aš-ši 16) qú-bu-ri li-pu-š[u-šu-nu-ši-im-m[a] 17) li-mu-tu ú i-na qú-bu-ri li-iq-[qé-eb-ru] 18) [m]S]a-am-me-tar da-mi-šu ú-[qa-ba-ru-ma] 19) GÉME.MEŠ-šu [l]a ta-k[a-la] 20) 2 ANŠE GÚ ú 1 TUR [...] 21) iz-za-az-[zu-ši-na-ši-ma] 22) a-na še-ri-i[a šu-re-ši-na-ti] 23) ú i-na qa-at GÉME.MEŠ Sa-[am-me-a-tar] 24) 1 ma-na KÜ.GI 2 ma-n[a KÜ.BABBAR] 25) i-ba-aš-ši 26) LÚ.TUR Ma-na-an-na [l]a dam-qa-tim 27) la <<x x x>> i-qa-ab-[bi-kum-ma] 28) ú <<x x x>> [l]a t[a-ka-al-šum] šu-r[e-em-ma] 29) LÚ.TUR Ma-na-an-na a-n[a GÉME.MEŠ-šu] 30) la i-ṭe-ḥ-[ḥe] 31) ša qâ-qa-di-ši-na ú TÚG.ḪÁ-ši-n[a] e²-di-i[š-ši-na] 32) li-sú-<uḥ>-ḥu-ma 33) KÜ.BABBAR-ši-na ú KÜ.GI-<si>-na li-qé ú MUNUS.MEŠ ši-na-ti 34) a-na še-ri-ia šu-ri-ia šu-re-e-em 35) 2 MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ Na-wi-ra-ša-ru-ur 36) ú MUNUS.MEŠ-šu-nu a-ḥu-né-e i-ba-aš-še-e 37) MUNUS.MEŠ ši-na-<ti> ma-aḥ-ri-ka ki-la 38) ú GÉME.MEŠ Sa-am-me-tar 39) a-na še-ri-ia šu-re-e-em 40) ITI Ti-ri-im U₄ 15.KAM BA.ZAL-m[a] 41) tup-pí an-né-e-em 42) ú-ša-bi-la-kum, Wu Yuhong, *A Political ...*, p. 192; corrections and restorations of lines 17; 19; 20-21; 25; 26-28; 29; 31 and 33 following Durand, *LPO II*, p. 414.

³³³ Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

³³⁴ According to Durand, the city could have been related to the city of E/Imâr, as long as ḪI could be converted to ° in the Mari texts: Durand, *LPO II*, p. 125. He further suggests that according to the phenomenon of *toponyms in the mirror* of the Amorite period, the name of Ḫimarā in this way would mean “Country with asses” as long as the city of Imâr (OB)/Emâr (MB) means “City of the ass” or “Market with asses,” *op. cit.*, p. 126.

³³⁵ Durand in *LPO II*, p. 125 and Dossin in *ARM 1* read 1 DUMU instead of 2 DUMU, as in Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

³³⁶ 5) wa-ar-ki da-aw-de-e-em 6) ša LÚ Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} 7) ša ad-du-ku 8) UD.5.KAM i-ma-aš-ši 9) da-aw-da-<am> ša Wi-i-la-nim 10) a-du-uk 11) ú a-lam Ḫi-ma-ra-a^{ki} 12) aš-ša-ba-at 13) 3 ME ša-ba-šu bi-ir-tam 14) ú 1 DUMU-šu i-<<a>>-na a-lim^{ki} ša-a-tim 15) ak-šu-ud 16) [l]u-ú ḥa-de-e-et, Dossin, *ARM 1, 92*; Wu Yuhong, *A Political History ...*, p. 193.

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 4, 33)

The troops of Wilanum completely gathered around Mār-Adad/Bina-Addu in order to do battle and we did battle in Tutarwi. I have achieved the victory. Mār-Adad/Bina-Addu and all the sons of Wilanum were killed. All of his servants and his troops were killed. There is no enemy who escaped. Rejoice!³³⁷

One of the results of this triumph was the capture and beheading of Bina-Addu. An unpublished letter from Māšum to Yasmaḥ-Addu includes “when I took to my lord the head of Bina-Addu.”³³⁸ One of his daughters entered the harem of Išme-Dagan, and later that of Adal-šenni of Burundum, as shown by the letter M.8161.³³⁹

The Allegiance of Utûm to Šamšī-Adad

A letter in the archives of Shemshāra mentioning a meeting in which the elders of the land of Utûm together with Kuwari assembled must have been related to the procedure of taking an oath and concluding a treaty between them and the Assyrians. However, the ceremony seems to have taken place later, because the sender of the letter in which this is mentioned is addressed himself as “your lord,” not as “Šamšī-Adad,” as in the early letter no. 1.³⁴⁰ The letter reads as follows:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 18 = SH 878)

I have heard the letter you sent me. If before this letter reaches you, you have already made haste to leave Šušarrā to come to me, then don't bring the elders of the land and many troops with you. Just come to me yourself with your retainers. 15 days after I have sent this letter to you, towards the end of next month, you will meet me in Šubat-Enlil. If this is not so, and this letter has reached you there, and you have not yet left to come to me, do not come until I write to you. Stay there. I shall arrive in Qabrā and write to you, and you shall lead the elders of the land with you, and come with all your forces.³⁴¹

This annexation of Utûm to Assyria, or at least the declaration of its allegiance, took place in the *limmu* Asqudum (c. 1781 BC), after the capture of Qabrā and before the year in which Šamšī-Adad conquered Nurrugum. We know this from the letters from Šamšī-Adad and Etellum to Kuwari that make allusions to the coming conquest of Nurrugum (see below). The

³³⁷ 5) *ša-ab Wi-i-la-nim* 6) *qa-du-um ga-ma-ar-ti-šu* 7) *it-ti* [DJUMU.^dIM 8) *a-na ka-ak-ki e-pé-ši-im* 9) *ip-ḥu-ra-am-ma* 10) *i-na Tu-tar-<<x>>-wi-<<x>>*^{ki} 11) *ka-ak-ki* 12) *ni-pu-uš-ma* 13) *da-aw-da-am da-du-uk* 14) ^mDUMU.^dIM 15) *ù DUMU.MEŠ Wi-i-la-nim* 16) *[k]a-lu-šu-nu di-i-ku* 17) *ÌR-du-šu ka-lu-šu-nu* 18) *ù ša-bu-šu di-ik* 19) ^u^{LÚ}*na-ak-rum ša ú-šú-ú* 20) *[ú-u]l i-ba-aš-ši* 21) *[lu]-ú ḥa-de-et*, Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 193; Dossin, *ARM* 4, p. 56-7; restorations and corrections of l. 10 and 19-20 following Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 122-3.

³³⁸ *i-nu-ma* SAG DUMU.^dIM *a-na be-li-ia ú-ša-ba-lam*, A.3349: Charpin, D., “Une décollation mystérieuse,” *NABU* 1994, no. 59, p. 51-2; cf. also Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 123.

³³⁹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 23; about the letter A.8161, cf. Marengo, P., “Liqtum, reine du Burundum,” *MARI* 8, Paris, 1997, p. 455-6.

³⁴⁰ For this chronological criterion, cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 43-4.

³⁴¹ 3) *ṭup-pa-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam eš-me* 4) *šum-[m]a la-ma ṭup-pi an-nu-um* 5) *i-[k]a-aš-ša-da-kum* 6) *ta-aḥ-mu-ṭam-ma iš-tu Šu-šar-ra-a*^{ki} 7) *a-na še-ri-ia ta-ta-še-em* 8) *ši-bu-ut <<x>> ma-tim* 9) *ù ša-ba-am ma-dam it-ti-ka* 10) *la te-re-ed-de-em* 11) *at-ta-ma qa-du-um* LÚ.TUR.MEŠ-ka 12) *a-na še-ri-ia al-kam* 13) U₄15.KAM *ki ṭup-pi an-né-em* 14) *ú-ša-bi-la-[k]um* 15) *i-na re-eš ITI an-ni-im* 16) *i-na Šu-ba-at*^dE[N.LÍ]L^{ki} 17) *ta-^fma¹-aḥ-ḥa-ra-an-ni* 18) *šum-ma la ki-a-am-ma* 19) *ṭup-pi an-nu-um aš-ra-nu-um-ma* 20) *ik-ta-ša-ad-ka-ma* 21) *a-di-ni a-na še-ri-ia la tu-še-em* 22) *a-di a-ša-ap-pa-ra-kum* 23) *la ta-al-la-kam aš-ra-nu-um-ma ši-ib* 24) *a-na Qa-ab-ra-a*^{ki} *a-ka-aš-ša-dam-ma* 25) *a-š-ap-pa-ra-kum-ma ši-bu-ut ma-tim* 26) *it-ti-ka te-re-^fde¹-em* 27) *ù i-na ka-bi-it-ti-ka ta-al-kam* 28) *ù aš-šum ṭup-pu-um i-na a-la-^fki¹-im* 29) *ú-uḥ-ḥi-ru a-na-ku ṭup-pa-am* 30) *i-na šu-bu-lim ú-ul ú-ḥi-ir* 31) *qa-tam a-na qa-tim-ma ṭup-pa-am* 31) *ú-^fša¹-bi-il* 33) LÚ.TUR-ka-ma *i-na a-la-ki-im ú-uḥ-ḥi-ir* 34) *i-na* U₄25.KAM *a-na še-ri-ia ik-šu-dam* 35) *an-ni-tam lu-^fú¹ ti-di*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 91-2 (no. 18 = SH 878).

capture of Nurrugum is recorded in the *limmu* Aššur-malik, which was the 29th year of Šamšī-Adad, c. 1780 BC.³⁴² (see above under Chronology).

Šikšabbum, a Thorn in the Side

The dominant theme of the correspondence of this phase was the city of Šikšabbum, the capital of Aḫazum. Šamšī-Adad was terribly upset about the city and its ruler Yašub-Addu. He expressed himself to Kuwari more than once and attributed this feeling to the changing loyalties of Yašub-Addu and his unstable character:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 1 = SH 809)

Surely you have heard about the enmity of Yašub-Addu, the Aḫazean. Previously he followed the ruler of Šimurru. He left the ruler of Šimurru, and followed the ruler of the Tirukkeans. He left the ruler of the Tirukkeans, and followed Ya'ilānum. He left Ya'ilānum, and followed me. He left me and now follows the ruler of Kakmum. And to all these kings he has sworn an oath. Within just three years he made alliances with these kings and broke them. When he made an alliance with me he swore an oath to me in the temple of Teššup in Arraphum; (and) again he swore an oath to me on the bank of the Zāb River in A'innum; and I swore an oath to him. Twice he swore an oath to me, and from the day he seized the hem of my garment I never collected any silver, oxen or grain in his land. I did not seize a single town in his land. Now he has broken relations with me and follows the ruler of Kakmum. He makes an alliance with one king and swears an oath. He makes an alliance with (another) king and swears an oath, but breaks off relations with the first king with whom he made an alliance, and with the (new) king with whom he made an alliance; his alliance and his enmity [*change*] within (just) 2[+x]³⁴³ months. [He had an alliance] with me for 1[+x] months, and then he turned hostile again.³⁴⁴

³⁴² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 34. It is interesting that the capture of Nurrugum was fixed by Šamšī-Adad as a landmark in the history of his dynasty and the Emenue shrine in the Ištar temple complex of Nineveh. He says in his inscription: 14) *bi-tam ša iš-tu* 15) *šu-lum A-ka-dē^{ki}* 16) *a-di šar-ru-ti-ia* 17) *a-di ša-ba-at Nu-ur-ru-gi^{ki}* 18) *7 da-a-ru i-ti-qū-ma* 19) *i-na LUGAL.MEŠ* 20) *a-li-ku-ut pa-ni-^{ia}* 21) *LUGAL ma-an-na-ma* 22) *la i-pu-šu-^{ma}*, "The temple which none of the kings who preceded me, from the *fall* of Akkad until my sovereignty, until the capture of Nurrugu- seven generations have passed- had rebuilt and ... (lacuna)...", Grayson, A. K., *RIMA 1*, p. 53 (text A.0.39.2).

³⁴³ Here two numerals are defectively written; the editors propose 2-3 months; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 72, comment on l. 43f.

³⁴⁴ 4) *wu-d[i] ni-ku-úr-ti Ia-šu-ub-^dIM* 5) *LÚ Aḫ-za-a-ji^{ki} te-eš-me* 6) *pa-na-nu-um wa-ar-ki LÚ Ši-mu-ur-ri-^{ki}* 7) *il-li-ik LÚ Ši-mu-ur-ri-^{ki}* 8) *i-zi-ib-ma wa-ar-ki LÚ Ti-ru-ki-^{ki}* 9) *il-li-ik LÚ Ti-ru-ki-^{ki}* 10) *i-zi-ib-ma wa-ar-ki Ia₈-i-la-nim* 11) *il-li-ik Ia₈-i-la-nim i-zi-ib-ma* 12) *wa-ar-ki-ia il-li-ik i-ia-ti* 13) *i-zi-ba-an-ni-ma wa-ar-ki LÚ Ka-a[k-m]^{ki}* 14) *it-ta-la-ak ù a-na ka-al LUGAL.MEŠ* 15) *an-nu-tim ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ iz-za-ka-ar* 16) *iš-tu it-ti LUGAL.MEŠ an-nu-tim is-^{li}-mu* 17) *ù ik-ki-ru MU.3.KAM-ma i-ma-ší* 18) *i-nu-ma it-ti-ia is-li-mu* 19) *i-na É^dIM Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im^{ki}* 20) *ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ iz-ku-ra-am* 21) *i-tu-úr-ma i-na a-aḫ Za-i-bi-im* 22) *i-na A-i-ni-im^{ki} ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ iz-ku-ra-[a]m* 23) *ù a-na-ku ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ áz-ku-ur-šum* 24) *2-šu ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ iz-ku-ra-am* 25) *iš-tu u₄-mi-im ša qa-ra-an šu-ba-ti-ia* 26) *iš-ba-tu ma-ti-ma i-na ma-ti-šu* 27) *KÚ.BABBAR GU₄.ḪÁ ù še-em* 28) *mi-im-ma ú-ul al-qú-ut* 29) *a-lam^{ki} iš-te-en i-na ma-ti-šu* 30) *ú-ul aš-[b]a-[at]* 31) *i-na-an-na it-ti-ia ik-[i-ir-ma]* 32) *ù wa-ar-^{ki} LÚ Ka-ak-m[i^{ki}* 33) *it-ta-la-[ak]* 34) *it-ti LUGAL i-sa-li-im-[ma]* 35) *ù ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ i-za-ka-ar* 36) *it-ti LUGAL i-sa-lim-ma* 37) *ù ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ i-za-ka-ar* 38) *ù it-ti LUGAL ma-a[ḫ-r]i-im-ma* 39) *ša ⁱ-sa-^{li}-mu [i-n]a-ki-ir* 40) *ù i[ḫ]-ti LUGAL [ša] ⁱ-sa-[i]i-mu* 41) *sa-la-am-šu ù na-ka-[ar-š]u* 42) *i-na bi-ri-it ITI.2[+x].KAM* 43) *[i]t-ti-ia ITI.1[+x].KAM is-li-im-ma* 44) *i-tu-úr-ma [it-ḫ]a-ki-[ir]*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 70-1 (no. 1 = SH 809). As noted by Eidem and Læssøe and later confirmed by Charpin, the form *Ti-ru-ki-^{ki}* for *Tu-ru-ku* is unique and is considered a *Hörfehler* caused by the dictation of the letter taken by the scribe; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 72; Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 174; but see our suggestion regarding this under People and Organization.

The same complaint is recorded in another letter to Kuwari that appears to have been sent later than letter no. 1. However, there is a slight difference. Yašub-Addu has gone first to Šamšī-Adad, who has counted him with the ruler of Ya'ilānum, who appears to have been allied to Šamšī-Adad at that time. But later, Yašub-Addu allied himself to Šamšī-Adad directly. This might be understood as one change, not two. Another point of interest is the clear allusion that Kuwari was a Turukkean, when “you” in this letter replaces “the Turukkeans” of the previous letter:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 2 = SH 894)

[I have heard] the letter you sent to me. As for the news of Ya[šub-Addu] which you wrote to me, this cheater!; having followed the ruler of Šimurru for two years, he left the ruler of Šimurru and [followed you]. He left you and came to me. I counted him with Ya'ilānum, and for this reason he left Ya'ilānum and came to me. [Now] he has left me and follows the ruler of [Kakmum].³⁴⁵

Apparently, Kuwari agreed with the feelings of Šamšī-Adad towards Yašub-Addu and added more to what his lord knew about him. This other letter to Kuwari shows an extreme resentment:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 4 = SH 886)

I have heard the letter you sent me. All the things you wrote me are correct. The word of Yašub-Addu is mad. The hand of the god is on him, and his statement is false. He does not know his own words, and he does not know the oath he swears. As if he swears an oath in his dream, he *disregards* (it). He is a madman, and his statement is false. A king whonever existed!³⁴⁶

But this change of loyalty may not have been sufficient reason or even the only reason to arouse such anger. However annoying it was to have such an untrustworthy ally, it seems to me that the geopolitical position of the kingdom of Aḫazum, particularly its capital Šikšabbum, would have played a role in understanding the situation. In the previous chapter, an attempt was made to identify the location of this city. The available data and criteria pointed to (or somewhere close to) Taqtaq on the Lower Zāb, downstream from Šušarrā (see Chapter Five). This means that Šikšabbum, now allied to the enemy of Šamšī-Adad, was barricading his way to reach his newly gained land of Utūm, a road already known as dangerous for Assyrian messengers and envoys. A clear allusion to this is made in letter no. 2:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 2 = SH 894)

And [with your work] I am much pleased, but your reward for this service you have rendered me I cannot send. The roads are dangerous, and envoys must travel in

³⁴⁵ 3) *tup-pa-ka ša tu-š[a-bi-lam eš-me]* 4) *aš-šum te-em Ia-[šu-ub-^dIM]* 5) *ša ta-aš-pu-[ra-am]* 6) *sà-ar-ru-um a-nu-u[m-mu-um]* 7) *iš-ti MU.2.[K]AM wa-a[r-ki LÚ Ši-mu-ur]-^rri^{ki}* 8) *il-li-ik-[m]a LÚ Ši-[mu-ur-ri-^{ki}]* 9) *i-zi-ib-ma wa-a[r-ki-ku-nu il-li-ik]* 10) *ku-nu-^rti i-zi-i[b-ma]* 11) *a-na še-ri-ia it-ta-a[l-ka-am]* 12) *[a-n]a-ku a-na qa-at Ia₈-i-[a-ni]m ap-q[ⁱ-is-sú]* 13) *[i]-na a-wa-tim an-ni-e-[tim]* 14) ^m*Ia₈-i-la-nam i-zi-ib-[ma]* 15) *a-na [š]e-ri-ia it-ta-al-ka-[am]* 16) *[i-na-an-n]a ^ri-ia-^rti i-zi-^rba-an-ni-[ma]* 17) *[a-na š]e-er LÚ [Ka-ak-mi^{ki} it-ta-la-ak]*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 72-3 (no. 2 = SH 894).

³⁴⁶ 3) *tup-pa-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam eš-me* 4) *a-wa-[t]u-ka ma-al ta-aš-pu-ra-am sà-an-qa* 5) *a-wa-at Ia-šu-ub-^dIM li-il* 6) *qa-at 'DINGIR'²¹ e-li-šu te-em-šu ma-qí-^rit^r* 7) *a-wa-ti-šu ú-ul i-di* 8) *ù ni-iš DINGIR ša i-za-ka-ru* 9) *ú-ul i-di* 10) *ki-ma ša i-na šu-ut-ti-šu* 11) *ni-iš DINGIR i-za-ka-ru* 12) *i-na-ša li-il-lu ù te-em-šu ma-^raq^r-[t]u* 13) *LUHAL ša x-x-am* 14) *ir-x-x ú-ul ib-ši*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 75-6 (no. 5 = SH 880).

secrecy. When you come and meet me, I will give you the reward for your services.³⁴⁷

The Assyrian troops and messengers would have to take the difficult tracks that went through the mountains that became blocked by winter snowfall, as pointed out in letter no. 1. This is exactly why Šamšī-Adad asks Kuwari to send the messenger back to him before the winter. The normal route along the Zāb would rarely be blocked by snow, unlike the mountain tracks. Šamšī-Adad obviously had good knowledge about the local topography so that he was able to find safe routes avoiding Šikšabbum. A sidetrack like this is suggested in letter no.1:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 1 = SH 809)

(As for) Kušiya, why is he staying there? Give him the instructions, and send him to me before the ...-th of this month. Send him to me before the mountains and roads become snowbound: from Zaslum to Šegibbu; from Šegibbu to Zikum; from Zikum to Ura'u; from Ura'u to Lutpiš; from Lutpiš to the land of Ḥaburātum. If too late (lit. if not so), and the mountains and roads have become snowbound (and) he cannot go, let him stay with you. It will be your responsibility, and you must provide him and his retainers with bread and beer.³⁴⁸

A route along the inner mountain territory but parallel to the route along the plain that passed through the GNs mentioned is conceivable. Among these GNs only Zaslum and Ḥaburātum can be approximately identified. The former was on the Lower Zāb, downstream from Šušarrā, according to other data from Shemshāra.³⁴⁹ It cannot have been too far from Šušarrā because it was located before Šikšabbum, which we locate at Taqtaq.³⁵⁰ Ḥaburātum was to the north of Nineveh, probably close to the eastern Habur (=Pēšḥabur) close to the Iraq-Turkey border.³⁵¹ While we know that Šegibbu was within the local sphere of the

³⁴⁷ 35) *ù [aš-šum e-p]é-ši-ka an-ni-[im]* 36) *ma-di-iš 'ha-de-ku ù' qí-iš-ta-ka* 37) *[š]a du-um¹-mi-uq-ti-ka an-ni-im* 38) *[š]a tú-^rda^r-mi-^{qú} šu-bu-la-am ú-ul i-li-e* 39) *[g]e-er-ru ma-ar-šú ù DUMU.MEŠ ší-ip-ri* 40) *na-ap-za-ra-am-ma it-ta-na-la-ku* 41) *i-nu-ma it-ti-ia ta-an-na-ma-ru qí-iš-[tam]* 42) *ša du-um-mu-uq-ti-ka a-qé-eš-ša-^rkum^r*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 73 (no. 2 = SH 894).

³⁴⁸ 49) *^mKu-ši-ia aš-ra-nu-um am-mi-n[im wa]-ši-^rib¹* 50) *wu-e-ra-aš-šu-um-ma a-d[i] 'U4' [x.]KAM* 51) *ITI an-ni-im a-na [š]e-ri-ia tú-ur-da-šum* 52) *la-ma K[UR].ḪÁ ù KASKAL.ḪÁ 'šu-ri-pa-am* 53) *'i-ša-ba-tu a-na še-ri-ia* 54) *tú-ur-da-šum iš-tu Za-as-l^{ki}* 55) *a-na Še-gi-ib-bu^{ki} iš-tu Še-gi-ib-bu^{ki}* 56) *a-na Zi-kum^{ki} iš-tu Zi-kum^{ki}* 57) *a-na Ú-^rra-ú^{ki} iš-ti Ú-^rra-ú^{ki}* 58) *a-na Lu-ut-pí-iš^{ki} iš-tu Lu-ut-pí-iš^{ki}* 59) *a-na ma-a-^rat^r Ḫa-bu-ra-tim^{ki}* 60) *šum-ma la ki-am-ma KUR.ḪÁ KASKAL.ḪÁ šu-ri-pa-am* 61) *ša-ab-tu a-la-kam ú-ul i-le-i* 62) *ma-aḥ-ri-ka-^rma^r li-ši-ib* 63) *lu-ú ri-tu-ka-ma i-na NINDA ù KAŠ* 64) *pa-ni-[š]u 'ú' pa-an 'LÚ'-TUR.MEŠ-šu* 65) *'lu-ú' t[a-š]a^r-ab-ba-[a]t*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 70-1 (no. 1 = SH 809).

³⁴⁹ Eidem and Læssøe locate it below Dukān: Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 72, comment on lines 54ff.

³⁵⁰ The identification given by Klengel, on the Tigris close to the junction with the Lower Zāb, is unlikely; cf. Klengel, "Das Gebirgsvolk der Turukkū ...," *Klio* 40 (1962), p. 9.

³⁵¹ Joannès and Ziegler, "Une attestation de Kumme...", *NABU* 1995, no. 19, p. 17. Ḥaburātum seems to have been a region populated with Hurrians. In the time of Zimri-Lim its king had the Hurrian name Nanip-šauri, and a messenger of this king also had a good Hurrian name, Eḫlip-atal; for the attestation of these names cf. Durand, J.-M., *ARM* 26/1, p. 294; Lacambre, D., "Ehlip-adal, messenger de Haburātum," *NABU* 2004, no. 91. Durand points to its occurrence in the texts of Rimāh and other Mari texts, which group male and female weavers of Ḥaburātum together with those from Karanā, Razama and Burullum. For him this implies that they were close to each other and formed one homogenous group (basing himself on information in letter *ARM* 5, 67). Similar evidence is deduced from reports about a pact between Andarig and Razama to smite Mardaman, which was to the west of Ḥaburātum and north of Razama and Andarig: Durand, *ibid.* According to Charpin, the name Ḥaburātum no doubt elicits the name of the Habur River, which is the Eastern Habur in this case: Charpin, "Une campagne de Yahdun-Lîm en Haute-Mésopotamie," *FM* II, p. 180-1, note 30. For the name Nanip-šauri, compare Nanip-šarri from Nuzi, where the first element is *nani-*, and the second is common in the Hurrian names; cf. Gelb *et. al.*, *NPN*, p. 237-8.

Shemshāra letters its precise location is unknown. It is reasonable to think of a location to the west or northwest of Zaslum, where the sidetrack could turn to the northwest. Ura'ū was, according to Astour, close to MA Šibaniba (modern Tell Billa), basing himself on data from Ur III, MA and NA periods.³⁵² Eidem and Læssøe agree with Astour in that the route “traversed the plain of Kōy Sanjaq, followed the Bastōre River all the way to Gird Mamik, crossed the Great Zāb, and continued, via the otherwise unknown Lutpiš, to a terminal in the land of Ḫaburātum.”³⁵³ However, the plain of Kōy Sanjaq seems to me unlikely for two reasons. First, from the Kōy Sanjaq plain to the region of Bastōre in the Erbil plain there is no mountainous terrain which could be snowbound in the winter. Secondly, the Kōy Sanjaq plain forms one geographically integrated territory with Taqtaq, where we assumed Šikšabbum was located. Thus it is quite difficult to imagine this plain to be out of the reach of Yašub-Addu. The best alternative route would have followed partly the river Basalam, a tributary of the Lower Zāb, and then passed through the valley between Makōk-Harīr and Safin Ranges up to Shaqlāwa (Map 2). From Shaqlāwa, a tributary of the Upper Zāb leads to the plains east of the region of Nineveh, south of °Aqra and west of Jebel Maqlūb, in the territory of Mušri, as identified by Astour. Both Šegibbum and Zikum must have been located between a point downstream from Shemshāra (= Zaslum) and south of °Aqra on the Upper Zāb (= Ura'um). Shaqlāwa could well be Zikum.

Šamšī-Adad did not leave Yašub-Addu in peace. He planned to crush him and thought of every possible way to do it. But Yašub-Addu proved to be no easy target. First of all, his timing was perfect. He declared his revolt at a time when military action against him was no longer possible. Šamšī-Adad expressed this explicitly in his letter:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 1 = SH 809)

Now for the next [x+]1 months it is winter, and I cannot lay hands on him; but as soon as the weather becomes milder you will hear all I shall do in his land!³⁵⁴

The is repeated in the letter no. 3:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 3 = SH 828)

It is winter, and for the next two months it will stay cold. I cannot lay hands on him. [...] .., [and on the very] first day the weather becomes milder I shall come up with a complete army and bring him to account.³⁵⁵

Another letter, apparently later than letter no. 1, was sent to Kuwari with the same message, to bring Yašub-Addu to account. This time Šamšī-Adad asked Kuwari to move against his enemy. Obviously the king was loosing patience:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 2 = SH 894)

... and bringing him to account is not [...]. Either you go out, and bring him to account, and do me a (great) service. If you do not go out, and do not bring him to

³⁵² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 72; Astour, “Semites and Hurrian in the Northern Transtigris,” *SCCNH* 2, p. 45. Astour further explains that Ura of the NA period belonged to the land of Mušri according to the annals of Tiglath-Pileser III. Mušri, in turn, was located in the area between the ranges of Jebel Maqlūb and Jebel Zirga Bardarash in the southwest and Jebel °Aqrah (Ākrē) in the northeast, the greater Zāb in the east, and a line east of Bavian in the west. The letter *ABL* 490 of Sargon II also refers to a location of Ura downstream from Kumme and Ukku on the same river, *ibid.*

³⁵³ Astour, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

³⁵⁴ 45) *i-na-an-na* I[*TI.x+*]1.KAM *an-nu-tim ka-a[s-šú-ú]* 46) *ù qa-ti ú-ul ub-ba-a[l-šum]* 47) *iš-tu u₄-mi i-ti₄-bu ma-li¹ r¹-[na] ma-a-ti-šú¹* 48) *e-pé-šu te-še-[em-me]*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 71 (no. 1 = SH 809).

³⁵⁵ 22) *ku-uš-šú-ma* ITI.2.KAM *an-nu-tim ka-šú-tim²* 23) *[q]a-tam ú-ul ub-ba-al-šum* 24) *[x (x)]-x¹-pa-ak-ka-šú²-[ma²]* 25) *[ki]-r¹ U₄* 1.KAM-[*ma*] 26) *[iš-tu u₄-m]u it-ti-b[u]* 27) *[it-ti] ka-bi-it-ti ša-bi-im* 28) *[e-l]e-em-ma a-ša-al-šú¹*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 74-5 (no. 3 = SH 828).

account [.....(ca. 3 lines are broken)....] I will come up there with the complete armies and bring him to account.³⁵⁶

It is noteworthy that Šamšī-Adad repeats in this letter his request to send Kušiya to him, but this time via Kumme, which “is now safe.” This alludes undoubtedly to a change in the situation in Kumme; most probably it had been subdued by Šamšī-Adad or his sons:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 2 = SH 894)

Secondly, why do you detain my servant Kušiya? Send him to me! The road via Kumme is now safe. Send him to me by the way of Kumme!³⁵⁷

Kuwari had seemingly suggested other methods than war to punish Yašub-Addu. His reticence to obey on this occasion, and the case of his not participating in the campaign against the Gutians with the Turukkeans, and (as we shall see) his repeated staying behind when Etellum went to attack Šikšabbum, despite requests and encouragements, all lead us to conclude that Kuwari was a man who avoided wars as much as he could. The reply of Šamšī-Adad outlines his plans:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 3 = SH 828)

As for catching Yašub-Addu, which you wrote to me about, may the god guide you! Catch him! Do me this favour, and for this single favour which you do me, I shall do you 10 favours (in return). As for bringing his land in a state of unrest, which you wrote to me about, ally yourself with the Lullean, and bring his land in turmoil!³⁵⁸

Finally, Kušiya reached Šamšī-Adad, probably after the winter cold months had passed. The oral message he brought from Kuwari was not compatible with the written letter and did not give him the information he should give; probably he had forgotten many details. The king is upset and asks Kuwari to meet him in person when he comes to the war against Aḥazum. The rendezvous would be “the upper (part) of Aḥazum.” This letter must be later than letters 1 and 2:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 5 = SH 880)

I have read the letter you sent me. Kušiya conveyed nothing of this message of yours. He is a liar! He pretended to take it, but he did not put your message before me. Now I shall send for you to come to the upper (part) of the land of Aḥ(a)zum, and you will come to me and meet with me and I shall give you a complete briefing.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁶ 26) *ù ša-al-š[u] ʿú-ul te¹-[.....]* 27) *ú-lu at-ta bu-ma [š]a-al-š[u]* 28) *ʿú du-um-mi-qa-am šum-ma at-t[a]* 29) *[l]a ta-bu-ma la ta-ša-al-š[u]* (ca. 3 lines broken) 33) *[a-na-ku it-ti k]a-bi-i-[t-t]i um-m[a-na]-ʿtim¹* 34) *a¹-[ša-ri-i]š e-l[e]-em-m[a] a-ša-al-ʿšú¹*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 73 (no. 2 = SH 894).

³⁵⁷ 43) *ša-ni-tam Ku-ši-<x>-ia ÌR-di am-m[i-n]im ʿka-le¹-e[t]* 44) *tú-ur-da-aš-šu ge-er-ʿri¹* 45) *ša Ku-um-mi^{ki} i-te-eš-ru* 46) *ge-er-ri ša Ku-um-mi^{ki}-ma* 47) *tú-ur-da-aš-šu*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 73 (no. 2 = SH 894). J. Eidem (in a personal communication) wonders if Kumme of this letter corresponds to the GN Šaummi of the Haladiny inscription, or if there is a scribal error in one of the texts. Since this form is written twice in this letter (l. 45 and 46) a scribal error is ruled out and the occurrence of *girri ša* GN in other texts may support this. For such occurrences, cf. *CAD* vol. G, p. 90. Further, it would be too difficult in this case to think of Šaummi, which was on the Lower Zāb and closer to Šikšabbum, as an alternative route, because it could be more dangerous for the messenger Kušiya. See Chapter Five for the location of Šaummi.

³⁵⁸ 10) *aš-šum ša-ba-a[t] Ia-šu-ub-ʿIM¹* 11) *ša ta-[a]š-pu-ra-am* 12) *DINGIR-lum li-[i]r-di-ka ša-ba-as-sú* 13) *du-um-mi-qa-am-ma* 14) *a-na iš-ʿte-et du-um-mu-uq-tim* 15) *ša tu-d[a]m-ma-qa-am* 16) *ú-dam-ma-qa-kum* 17) *ù aš-šum ma-ti-šu sé-ḥe-e* 18) *ša ta-[aš]-pu-ra-am* 19) *at-ta ù LÚ Lu-ul-li-im* 20) *ne-en-mi-da-ma* 21) *ma-as-sú sé-ḥe-e*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 74-5 (no. 3 = SH 828).

³⁵⁹ 4) *tup-pa-ka ša tu-ša-b[i-la]m eš-me* 5) *mi-im-ma ʿe-em-ka an-ni-ʿe¹-e[m]* 6) *^mKu-ši-ʿia¹* 7) *ú-ul id<<x>>-bu-ba-am* 8) *sà-a-ar ša le-qé-šu-ma* 9) *i-pu-uš* 10) *ù ʿe-em-ka ma-aḥ-ri-ia* 11) *ú-ul iš-ku-un* 12) *i-na-an-na a-na ma-a-at Aḥ-[z]i-[i]m^{ki}* 13) *e-li-ti-im* 14) *a-[š]a-ap-pa-ra-kum-ma* 15) *a-na še-ri-ia* 16) *ta-la-kam-ma* 17) *[i]t-ti-ia ta-na-am-*

Slightly before or after this letter, letter no. 4 discussed the provisions Kuwari should provide for the army of Šamšī-Adad when he comes to beat Aḫazum:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 4 = SH 886)

Now if you can manage what you wrote to me, then place your barley which they are stocking at the disposal of the king, and return the land to its fortress(es). If (the land?) does not starve, will be available there in one month as field supplies. Together with the armies I will come up to that land. You will come and join me, and you will bring the retainer with you.³⁶⁰

Before taking action against Šikšabbum Šamšī-Adad wanted first to conquer Nurrugum, which seems to have been important for securing his expansion in the north. In the meantime, the Turukkean chieftain Lidāya was staying with Šamšī-Adad, whom the king wanted to keep with himself until the conquest of Nurrugum. This is evidence that the Gutian victory over the Turukkeans was before *limmu* Aššur-malik, i.e. before 1780 BC.³⁶¹ This evidence is reported in the short letter no. 7, in which the king asks Kuwari to bring the siege engines downstream to Zaslum to be ready for the campaign. This, as well, is a clear allusion to the fact that Zaslum was to the south of Šušarrā and was located between Šušarrā and Šikšabbum:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 7 = SH 915)

I have heard the letters you sent me. Lidāya came here and had a meeting with me. Until the conquest of Nurrugum he stays before me. When Nurrugum has been conquered, he will come with the army to the country of Aḫazum. And siege towers must be brought downstream to Zaslum, so that they are ready for the army. At that time when [Nurrugum has been conquered(break).....].³⁶²

At this same time, Šamšī-Adad sent an army to mount attacks on Aḫazum. He probably wanted to weaken it or prevent it from getting stronger by receiving assistance, because Šamšī-Adad emphasized in his letters *his* coming to conquer Šikšabbum. This army was under the command of a general called Etellum. Letter no. 14 reports this and bears a request from Šamšī-Adad to join Etellum with 1,000 troops to conquer Šikšabbum, the capital of Aḫazum. From the tone of the letter it appears it was the first letter in the series of repeated requests that followed:

ma-ar 18) ù *te₄-ma-am ga-am-ra-am* 19) *ma-aḫ-ri-ka a-ša-ak-ka-an*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 76-7 (no. 5 = SH 880). Note that the numbering of the last line in Eidem and Læssøe should be 19 not 20.

³⁶⁰ 15) *i-na-an-na šum-~~<<x x>>~~ma* 16) *ki-ma ša ta-aš-pu-ra-a[m]* 17) *te¹-le-I* 18) [*še-e*]^{m²}-[*k*]*a ša i-ma-al-lu-^rú* 19) *a¹-na LUGAL šu-ku-un-ma* 20) *ma-a-tam a-na b[i-i]r-ti-ša te-er* 21) *šum-ma la b[é-r]i-i* 22) [*x*]-*ni-tam a-na ŠE² á-di* ITI.1.KAM 23) *a-šá-ri-^riš^r a-na i-me-ru-tim* 24) *ib-ba-aš-šu-ú qa-du-um um-ma-n[a]-tim* 25) *a¹-na ma-tim ša-a-ti* 26) *e¹-el-l[e-e]m a[f]-ta* 27) *a-na pa-ni-ia ta¹-la-kam-ma* 28) *it-ti-ka* LÚ.TUR 29) *ta-ra-de-em*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 75-6 (no. 4 = SH 886). The comment on the word *imerūtum* of l. 23 on p. 76 refers to Durand, who has translated it as provisions of grain held by a donkey for the army. This word has survived and entered modern Arabic as *ميرة*, “provisions for the army.”

³⁶¹ As we have explained already in this chapter the conquest of Aḫazum and Nurrugum was in the *limmu* Aššur-malik according to the MEC. Now we learn from letter 7 that Lidāya, who was one of the fleeing Turukkean chieftains after their defeat on the hands of the Gutians, was staying with Šamšī-Adad until the conquest of Nurrugum, which means a time before Aššur-malik.

³⁶² 4) *tup-pa-ti-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam eš-me* 5) ^m*Li-da-e* 6) *il-li-kam-ma it-ti-ia* 7) *in-na-me-er* 8) *a-di ša-ba-at Nu-úr-ru-gi-im^{ki}* 9) *ma-aḫ-ri-ia-ma wa-ši-ib* 10) *iš-tu Nu-úr-ru-gu-um^{ki}* 11) *it-ta-aš-ba-tu* 12) *it-ti¹ ša-bi-im-ma* 13) *a-na ma-a-at A-ḫa-zi-im^{ki}* 14) *i-la-kam* 15) ù ^{GI}*di-ma-a-ti* 16) *a-na Za-as-li-im^{ki}* 17) *lu-ú šu-ru-du* 18) *ak-ki-ma re-eš ša-bi-im* 19) *ú-ka-al-lu* 20) *i-na u₄-mi-šu-[m]a* 21) *i-nu-ma [Nu-úr-ru-gu-u]^{m^{ki}}* 22) [*ittašbatu*(?)....] (1-2 lines lost), Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 78 (no. 7 = SH 915).

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 14 = SH 917)

Hereby I have sent an army with Etellum for the siege. Muster 1,000 of your troops and send (them) to him (at) Šikšabbum!³⁶³

It seems that Šamši-Adad was too optimistic about the military contribution of Kuwari. As we will see, this became later the subject of many letters sent to Kuwari by both Etellum and Šamši-Adad.

Etellum's Hopeless Calls for Help

Apparently the request for support from Kuwari was not only a matter for a moral contribution. Victory would have been impossible without it. Etellum, as well as his king, frequently asked Kuwari for help. The fact is that he was unable to conquer the city alone, and the reasons for that are stated in letter no. 42. It is important to note that some towns of the land of Aḫazum had already been conquered and Assyrian garrisons were stationed inside them:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 42 = SH 859+881)

I have no troops available. The troops have been left in four (sections) in walled towns in the land of Aḫazum and cannot leave the town(s), (since) they hold the towns and the rest of my troops are with the king. I have no troops available. You must gather troops and muster the Lulleans with you and come to Zaslum and take up position against him. Then send words that the whole land becomes hostile to him. When he leaves you attack him and cut him off.³⁶⁴

From his numerous letters to Kuwari we learn that Kuwari never took any serious step to comply in this case. The date of letter no. 39 is approximately close to that of letter no. 7. It reports that Nurrugum will be conquered within 3 or 4 days, unless this is an exaggeration by Etellum. But letter no. 7 mentions an impending attack on that same land. Letter 39 also instigates anger against Šikšabbum:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 39 = SH 913)

Šikšabbum is your enemy! It is a menace to both you and me. Let us prepare to besiege Šikšabbum. As soon as you hear this letter muster all your troops and (take) the Lullean with you and march off! Let us quickly besiege Šikšabbum and gain renown before our lord! I am now staying on the border of Tarum. I wait (for you). Come quickly and let us put Šikšabbum to account before the king arrives. In three or four days the king will conquer Nurrugum and the king will (then) come with the armies to Šikšabbum. Before the king arrives let us together do our lord a great service. Do not hesitate! Come!³⁶⁵

³⁶³ 4) *a-nu-um-ma ša-ba-am* <<x>> 5) *it-ti E-te-el-lim* 6) *a-na la-we-e* <<KI>> 7) *aṭ-tà-ra-ad* <<KI>> 8) (erased) 9) *l li-im ša-bi-it-ma* 11) *a-na 'še-ri-šu'* 12) *Ši-ik-ša-am-bi*^{ki} 13) *tú-ru-ud*<<Ú>>, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 87 (no. 14 = SH 917).

³⁶⁴ 18) *ša-bu-um i-na qa-ti-ia ú-ul* [*i-ba-aš-ši*] 19) *ša-bu-um ša* 4-*šu i-na BĀD.ḪÁ š[a] m[a-at]* 20) *A-ḫa-zi-im i-ta-ad-du* 21) *ù iš-tu a-li-im ú-ul uš-ši* 22) *BĀD-šu-ma ú-ka-al* 23) *'ù' [š]a-pi-il-ti ša-bi-i[a]* 24) [*i-n*]a *ma-ḫa-ar* LUGAL 25) [*s*]a-*bu-um i-na qa-ti-ia* 26) *ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši* 27) *at-ta ša-ba-ka pu-uḫ-ḫi-ir-ma* 28) *ù LÚ Lu-ul-li-im it-ti-ka lu-pu-ut* 29) *a-na Za-as-li-im al-ka-am-ma* 30) *šu-ub-ta-am ši-ib-šu-um-ma* 31) *ù šu-pu-ur-ma ka-al ma-tim* 32) *li-ig-ru-šu i-nu-ma uš-še-ma* 33) *at-ta ti-bi-šum-ma ù ḫu-ru-'us-sū'*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 111-3 (no. 42 = SH 859+881).

³⁶⁵ 4) *Ši-ik-ša-ab-bu-um*^{ki} 5) *a-ka-šu-um ù a-ia-ši-im ma-ru-uš* 6) *ša Ši-ik-ša-ab-bi-im*^{ki} 7) <<x>> *la-we-e-em i ni-pu*<<x>>*uš*<<x>> 8) *tup-pi an-né-em i-na še-me-e-em* 9) *'ga'-ma-ar-ti* 10) *ša-bi-ka ù LÚ Lu-ul-li-im* 11) *it-ti-ka* <<Ú DA? E>> 12) *lu-pu-ut-[m]a* 13) *ù at-la-ka-am* 14) *ar-ḫi-iš* 15) *Ši-ik-ša-ab-ba-am*^{ki} 16) *i ni-il-we ù šu-ma-am* IGI *be-lí-ni*₅ 17) *ni-ir-ši* 18) *an-na a-na-ku i-na pa-aṭ Ta-ri-im*^{ki} 19) *w[a-aš-ba-k]u ú-qa*<<QA>> *ar-ḫi-iš* 20) [*al-ka*]-*am* <<x>> 21) [*ù Ši-i*]k-*ša-ab-bá-am* 22) [*i ni-š*]a-*al la-ma* LUGAL *i-ka-aš-ša-dám* 23) [*a*]-*dí* U₄ 3.KAM U₄ 4.KAM *Nu-ru-ga-am* LUGAL 24) [*i*]-*ša-ab-bá-at* 25) [*ù*] LUGAL *it-ti um-ma-na-tim* 26) [*a-n*]a [*š*]i-*ik-ša-ab-bi-im*^{ki} 27) *i-*

After this letter was sent Etellum waited seven days for Kuwari, but Kuwari did not come. Then Etellum sent him the following letter to inform him about his plan to leave Tarum to the city Ikkalnum, which seems to have been the capital or central city of Tarum:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 41 = SH 925+942)

I waited for you 7 days but you did not come, and the whole country [togeth]er has turned [*against me*]. You should not [*come....(rest of obv. is lost).....*].

.... you gave your promise to the king. Now do what is needed to destroy this ferry! The face of Kakmum of Šuruthum has turned to my lord. Rejoice! Let him come to your lord's side.

Another matter: I will go to Ikkalnum. This town [...] I will leave a garrison and [go] to Arraphum; and you must hold your own land and be available in Zaslum to support Ikkalnum. Perhaps something will happen, and you must come as relief from there and I will come as relief from here, and then the interior of the land will become quiet.

Another matter: in seven days the king will come to Arraphum. Be aware of this and send your greetings to Arraphum to the king.³⁶⁶

The ferry that Kuwari was asked to destroy was perhaps used for bringing the siege towers from Šušarrā to Zaslum. As we learn from other letters (see below no. 47 = SH 941 for instance), its destruction was necessary to avoid its being used by enemy troops bringing provisions to support Šikšabbum. However, Kuwari did not destroy the ferry. We are not sure whether Kuwari was just negligent or playing the game of balancing the rival powers for his own interests. Etellum would not have insisted on his requests for support if there were real threats against Šušarrā. The next letter, in addition to reminding Kuwari of the danger and enmity of Šikšabbum, refers to the ferry again:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 42 = SH 859+881)

About the ferry, you spoke thus to the king: "I will destroy this ferry for the king!" but you did not destroy (it).³⁶⁷

We may suppose that Etellum, seeing Kuwari was doing nothing for the destruction of the ferry, asked Yadinum³⁶⁸ to write a letter to Kuwari with the same message. In addition, he gave Kuwari a sign of danger, that there were Gutian troops ready to cross the river to enter Šikšabbum:

Yadinum to Kuwari (no. 47 = SH 941)

[/a]-ka-am 28) la-ma LUGAL i-la-ka-am ni-mu 29) iš-te-et i nu-dá-am-mi-iq 30) 'a-na be-li-ni₅ 31) [/a tu-<la> ap-pa-at al-ka-am, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 108-9 (no. 39 = SH 913).

³⁶⁶ 3) U₄ 7.KAM ú-qi-ka-a-ma 4) ú-ul ta-al-li-ka-a-am 5) ù ma-a-tum ka-[lu-ša iš-te-n]i-iš 6) is-sà-ḫu-u[r] 7) la ta-[.....] 8) 'x'[.....] (break) 1') [...]'x'[.....] 2') [q]a-ba-ka a-na LUGAL ta-ad-di-in 3') i-na-an-na ša ḫu-ul-'lu^r-uq ^{GIŠ}MÁ ša-a-[ti] 4') e-pu-uš IGI Ka-ak-mi-im ša Šu-ru-ut-ḫi-im 5') a-na be-lí-'ia is^r-sà-'ḫu^r-ur³ lu-ú ḫa-de₄-e[^r] 6') (erased) 7') a-na i-di be-lí<-ka> li-li-kam <<x>> 8') (erased) 9') (erased) 10') ša-ni-tam a-na-ku a-na Ik-k[a-al-nim^{ki}] 11') a-la-ak a-lam ša-a-ti 'x'[.....] 12') bi-ir-tam a-na-ad-di-m[a] 13') a-na Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im^{ki} lu-u[l-li-ik] 14') ù at-ta ma-a-at-ka ki-il 15') ù i-na Za-as-li-im lu-ú qú-ur-[ru-ba-at] 16') a-na ni-ih-ra-ar Ik-ka-al-nim^{ki} 17') pi-[q]a-at mi-im-ma ib-bá-ši-[ma] 18') at-ta iš-tu a-ša-ra-nu-um ta-[na-(aḫ-ḫa-ar] 19') ù a-na-ku iš-tu an-na-nu-um a'-na-ḫa-[ar-ma] 20') i-nu-mi-šu li-ib-bi ma-a-tim tà-'ab' 21) ša-ni-tam a-na U₄ 7.KAM LUGAL 22') a-na Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im i-la-ka-am 23') an-ni-tam lu-ú ti₄-de₄ 24') ù šu-lu-u[m-k]a a-na Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-i]m 25') šu-bi-la-a-am 26') a-na 'LUGAL', Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 110-11 (no. 41 = SH 925+942).

³⁶⁷ 11) aš-šum ^{GIŠ}MÁ a-na LUGAL ta-aq-bi um-ma at-ta-ma 12) a-na LUGAL ^{GIŠ}MÁ ú-ḫa-al-la-aq 'ù' ú-ul 'tu-ḫa-a'-'li-iq, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 112-3 (no. 42 = SH 859+881).

³⁶⁸ Eidem and Læssøe pointed out that Yadinum was perhaps the same official of Šamšī-Adad who is mentioned in ARM I, 99; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

Say to Kuwari: Thus (says) Yadinum, your son: News reached from [...] as follows: "Troops - 300 Gutian troops - are deployed to cross (the river), so they can find (a way) to enter Šikšabbum. Send words to the ferry that this ferry must be removed so that Yašub-Addu does not [become] stronger and he cannot [trouble] the land and does not in future give [us trouble]!"³⁶⁹

The allusion to the Gutians who are ready to cross the river to enter Šikšabbum is evidence of the location of this city on the northern bank of the Zāb, not on the southern bank where the Gutians would be coming from, from the centre of their country. One may infer that Yašub-Addu had by now allied himself to the Gutians, so another power can be added to the list of Šamši-Adad (letters no. 1 and 2).

After Etellum gave up hope of assistance from Kuwari he left Tarum to enter the city of Ikkalnum. There he met its elders and the rulers of two other places. His request for help from Kuwari this time was linked to the condition that there was no threat against Šušarrā:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 40 = SH 877)

I departed from the border of Tarum. I have entered Ikkalnum. There the ruler of Ḫanbat and the ruler of Zappan and the country is gathered. Make a forced march all night and come here! If you have not arrived tomorrow I shall break camp and march off and withdraw. If you have not arrived tomorrow, do not come. Hold your own country and stay close to Zaslum. Be ready to assist the troops I left behind in the garrisons.³⁷⁰

Three important observations arise from these two letters. First, Tarum with its city Ikkalnum was close to both Zaslum and Šikšabbum. Secondly, Ikkalnum was one night's march away from Zaslum, where Kuwari seems to have camped. Thirdly, the letter indicates that the reason Kuwari stayed behind was that his land was also under threat, possibly from Kakmum or the Gutians. In letter no. 44, there is news from Etellum that Muškawe, king of Kakmum, has attacked and looted the city of Kigibiši. Kuwari is asked to launch a counter-attack to divert Muškawe and force him to retreat:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 44 = SH 875)

The ruler of Kakmum, Muškawe, made an attack into Kigibiši and took 100 sheep, 10 cows, [and x] men, [and] its inhabitants reacted; [and sin]ce the town of Kigibiši [..... to] besiege the town [.....(break)...] 'those' [me]n.. and you... the man staying 'bef'ore me...and one man in ...not... attack his land, [and] with its [deed] your Lord [you will please] and [you will gain] renown [for yourself... (break)...] Now do what you will according to your own wish. But if not, send me words whether this or that. When you attack his country then you will make him retreat from this town. Do not be negligent with regard to this!³⁷¹

³⁶⁹ 1) 'a'-[na] K[u-wa-ri] 2) qí-b[í-ma] 3) um-ma Ia-d[i-nu-um] 4) ma-ru-ka-a-[ma] 5) te_r-mu-um iš-tu ma-ḫ[a-ar] 6) im-qú-ta-a-am 7) um-ma-mi ša-bu-um 8) 3 me-tim Qú-tu-um ša-bu-u[m] 9) a-na e-bé-ri-im 10) ku-un-ma 11) ú a-na URU Ši-ik-ša-bi^{ki} 12) 'e'-re-ba-am 13) ú-ta-'a'-[a]m 14) a-na e-le-pí-im 15) šu-pu-[u]r-m[a] 16) e-le-pa-am ša-a-t[u] 17) li-dá-ap-pí-ru 18) ki-ma Ia-šu-ub-^dI[M] 19) e-mu-qa-am la i-[ra-aš-šu-ma] 20) ma-ta-am la ú-[da-ba-bu-ma] 21) ú²-ra-'am' š[e-ra-am] 22) la 'i'-m[a-ar-ra-šú-ni-a-ši-im], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 118 (no. 47 = SH 941).

³⁷⁰ 4) iš-tu pa-aṭ Ta-ri^{ki} 5) et-bé-e-em 6) a-na Ik-ka-al-nim^{ki} e-te-ru-ub aš-ra-nu-um 7) LÚ 'Ḫa'-an-ba-at ú LÚ Za-ap-pa-an^{ki} ú ma-a-tum pa-ḫi-ir 8) [k]a-al mu-ši-im ra-aḫ-ša-am 9) al-ka-am šum-ma ur-ra-a-am 10) ú-ul ta-ak-šu-ud e-te-eb-bi 11) [a]t-ta-al-la-ak ú a-na-ad-dá 12) [š]um-ma ur-ra-a-am 13) la ta-ak-šu-ud 14) la 'ta'-la-ka-a-am 15) [m]a-at-[k]a-ma ki-i[l] 16) 'ú' a-na Za-as-'lī'-im^{kh} 17) lu-ú qú-ur-r[u]-ba-at 18) a-na ni-iḫ-ra-ar ša-bi-im 19) ša a-na bi-ra-tim 20) at-t[a-a]d-d[u]-ú 21) re-[š]a-[a]m 'ki'-il, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 110 (no. 40 = SH 877).

³⁷¹ 5) [L]Ú Ka-ak-mu-um Mu-uš-ka-we 6) [q]a-ab-sa-am ša Ki-gi-bi-ši^{ki} 7) [iš-ḫ]i-i-ṭ 1 me-at UDU.ḪÁ 10 GU₄.ḪÁ 8) [x]LÚ.MEŠ il-te-qé 9) [ú]LÚ.MEŠ a-lu-ju-šu it-'bu'-[ú] 10) [ú]k]i-ma a-lam Ki-gi-bi-š^r^{ki} 11) [x]^rx^r[.....] 12) [x]^rx^r-i a-lam la-we-[.....] (break) 1') 'x'^r[x] LÚ.M]EŠ 'šu-nu-ti a'-[.....] 2') ú at-ta ap-pí-iš[.....] 3') LÚ 'ma-aḫ'-ri-ia wa-aš-bu [.....] 4') ú iš-t-en LÚ i-na [.....] 5') ú-ul i-zi-[.....]

It is true that Kakmum was an old warlike enemy of Utûm, but there was another enemy on the scene. Endušše was still the greatest enemy about whom they would have had much apprehension. It was because Kakmum formed a tripartite axis with Gutium and Aḫazum against Kuwari and the Assyrians that it attacked Kigibiši. From the letter it appears that the city was within, or at least close to, the domain of Kuwari. By such an action Kakmum could reduce the pressure on Šikšabbum. During the correspondence between Kuwari and Etellum on the one hand, and between Kuwari and Šamšī-Adad on the other, Šamšī-Adad sent an envoy to the Gutians. The envoy came back with terrible news:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 8 = SH 887)

Warad-šarrim arrived here from before Indušše, and reported to me. Indušše is dead set against you; he will not leave you in peace. In case he marches against you, you must be prepared; and do not spread your garrisons! If the garrisons are small and the townspeople many, will (the latter) not be in control and hand (them) over to the enemy? Do not spread your garrisons! Let all your troops be gathered in Šušarrā itself and be ready! You must be prepared. As on the very same day the enemy approaches you, thus you shall be prepared.³⁷²

In another letter, Šamšī-Adad tells Kuwari how Endušše is angry about Šamšī-Adad because of the protection the latter offers Kuwari. The message was brought back by the same envoy of the king, Warad-šarrim, who had been sent to Endušše three months earlier. It is strange that when Šamšī-Adad expresses his anger about the Gutian in this letter, he says he looks forward to the time when his land will starve. This could mean that Šamšī-Adad was helping him with food supplies, and the protest of the people to Endušše that the barley was finished would reproach him for his hostile reaction to Šamšī-Adad that led to that aid being stopped:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 20 = SH 905)

Three months ago I sent Warad-šarrim to Endaššu, but he did not receive an (official) brief or an escort, and his words are hostile to us. He gave him the following message: "I am his son, who does his [...] and his bidding. Kuwari my enemy took silver and gold from Šušarrā, and went to him, and I became [angry]. When [...] they defeated [...] to Kunšum.." (rest of obv. too broken for translation). I shall not send envoys to [Endaššu] again, [and when] his country starves, and the barley in his [country] is finished, they will protest to him. When you [...] your barley then harvest it quickly. Do not be negligent with [your own] harvest! Also if this letter has reached you while [...] is (still) staying with you, then do not [send him] to Endaššu. [If] they turn around like this, then let him be treated likewise!³⁷³

6') *ma-as-sú ši-[ta-ḫi-it]* 7') *i-na an-ni-ti[m]* 8') *be-el-ka* 'x' [.....] 9') *ù šum-[.....]* 10') 'x x x' [.....] (break ca. 3 lines) 1') [.....] 'x x' 2') [.....] 'x' [.....] 'x' 3') *[i-n]a-an-na ki-ma* 'x' [x (x)] *li-ib-bi-ka* 4') *[š]i-bu-ut-ka e-pu-uš* 5') 'u'-*la-šu-ma an-ni-it-t[a] la an-ni-it-tim'* 6') *šu-up-ra-am* 7') *i-nu-ma ma-as-sú ta-aš-ta-ḫi-tū* 8') *ù ša-a-tu i-na zu-mu-ur a-lim* 9') *tu-ša-ap-tà-ar-šu* 10') *a-na an-ni-tim 'a'-aḫ-ka* 11') *la ta-na-ad-di*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 114-5 (no. 44 = SH 875).

³⁷² 12) *ù IR.LUGAL* 13) *iš-tu ma-ḫa-ar In-du-úš-še il-li-kam-ma* 14) *te-em-am ub-lam In-du-úš-še* 15) *ša-ri-im-kum ú-ul pa-ti-ir-kum* 16) *as-sú-ur-ri i-la-ka-kum te-em-ka* 17) *lu-ú ša-ab-ta-at ù bi-ra-ti-kan* 18) *la tu-uš-ma-ad šum-ma bi-ra-tum i-šú-ú* 19) *ù a-lu-ju ma-du ú-ul ú-ka-lu-ma* 20) *a-na qa-tim 'ša' na-ak-rim-im ú-[u]l 'i-na-di-nu* 21) *mi-im-ma bi-ra-tim la tu-uš-[ma-ad] ša-bu-ka* 22) *ka-la-šu i-na Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki}-ma* 23) *lu-ú pa-ḫi-ir-ma re-eš-ka li-ki-il* 24) *te-em-ka lu-ú ša-bi-it* 25) *ki-ma ša u⁴-ma-am na-ak-rum* 26) *i-te-eh-ḫi-kum ki-a-am te-em-ka* 27) *lu-ú ša-bi-it*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 79-80 (no. 8 = SH 887).

³⁷³ 4) *mⁱIR.LUGAL iš-tu-3-'KAM a-na' s[e-e]r* 5) *[E]n-da-aš-šu aš-pu-ur-[ma]* 6) *[ù] te-em-šú¹ a-li-ik i-di-š[u]* 7) *[ù]-ul 'il²-qé²-ma² a'-wa-^rtu'-šu* 8) *[na-a]k-ru-'ni³ ki-a-am ú-wa-e-ra- [aš-šu]* 9) *[um-m]a šu-^rma¹ [a-n]a-ku¹ ma¹-ru-š[u (...)]* 10) *[x (x)]-šu ù 'qa¹-bé-šu e-ep-p[é-eš]* 11) *[K]u-^rwa-ri a-ia-bi³ KÜ.BABBAR ù K[Ü.GI]* 12) *[ša] Šu-šar-*

To approach their target the Gutians supported the enemy of Kuwari and his lord. So they began to send messengers and troops to Šikšabbum. Now we understand why the king and his general Etellum insisted on the destruction of the ferry, for directly after the question why Kuwari did not destroy the ferry, Etellum states:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 42 = SH 859+881)

Messengers and troops from Indušše keep crossing (the river),- now 200 Gutian troops. And they keep attacking the land, and you remain silent. How shall we answer the king?³⁷⁴

Etellum utilized all his literary abilities in his letters to persuade Kuwari to attack Šikšabbum with him and he kept on writing. Once he said that he had only one enemy, which was Šikšabbum. On one occasion he encouraged him to do a favour to their lord, and on another he invited him to gain renown by conquering the city (see above, no. 39):

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 42 = SH 859+881)

Why do you not act to slaughter Šikšabbum? Previously when this land was hostile, you attacked it daily, and your whip was swung over this land, and you gave no respite to this land. Now why do you do nothing?
Do this service to your Lord! So if Šikšabbum becomes stronger, will it not be bad for you as well as for me? Why do you do nothing? Apart from Šikšabbum who is your enemy? Apart from it you have no enemy! Stop doing nothing about it!³⁷⁵

It is worth noting that Kuwari, as said in the letter, was formerly a major enemy of Šikšabbum, but now he does nothing against it. We suspect he withheld his contribution the capture the city in order not to give Šamšī-Adad an absolute upper hand in the region. However, it is also likely that he did not move against it because of the constant threat of the Gutians and Kakmeans on Šušarrā. Another significant point is that the previous enmity between Utūm and Aḥazum did not change, though they had both been vassals of Pišendēn shortly before the Assyrian domination, a vassaldom indicated in letters no. 66 and 67 (see above).

*ra-^ra^{ki} il-qg^e-e-[ma] 13) [a-n]a še-ri-^ršū^r it-ta-la-a[k-ma] 14) [.....]^rx^r ar-ta-^ršī^r i-nu-ma ^rx^r[.....] 15) [.....]^rū² da-aw-^rde-^ešū^r i-d[u-ku] 16) [.....]^ra-na^r Ku-^run-šī^r-i[m^{ki} x^r x^r](...) 17) [.....]^rx^r ki²-a-am id-b[u²-x^r]^rx^r[.....] 18) [.....]^rx^r-šū^r ka-^rlu²-šū^r [.....] 19) [.....]^rx^r-ri hu-^rul šu-šī-ir^r[(...)] 20) [.....]^rx^r tu^r[.....] (break) 1') ^rū-u[l.....] 2') ^ri-na q[a-.....] 3') ^ri-na-an-na ^rx^r [x x] ^ršu-UK^r-[.....] 4') la ū-ka-aš-ša-^rdu^r [x]^rx^r x^r [.....] 5') ū-ul a-ta-ar-ma a-na š[e-er En-da-aš-šū] 6') ū-ul a-ša-ap-[pa]-ar ^rū^r [i-nu-ma] 7') ma-as-sū bi-ru-ū š[e-u]m i-^rna^r m[a-ti-šū] 8') ga-am-ru i-da-a[b-b]u-bu-n[i-šū] 9') i-nu-ma ^rše²-em²-ka^r ta-an-[.....] 10') ar-^rhi-iš e-šī-^riš-^rsū ma-a[h-ri-ka] 11') a-na e-bu-ri-k[a] a-aḥ-k[a la ta-na-ad-dī] 12') ša-ni-tam šum-ma tu-pi an-né-[em] 13') ik-ta-aš-^rda^r-ak-kum ^rx^r x^r[.....] 14') i-n[a] ma-aḥ-ri-ka wa-šī-i[b] 15') ^ra^r-n[a š[e-er En-da-aš-šū la t[a-ša-ap-pa-ar-šū] 16') [šum-ma] ki-a-am ^ri^r-ta-^rru^r-[nim] 17') [ū ki-a-a]m²-ma li-t[e]-er-ru-[ni-iš-šū], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 94-5 (no. 20 = SH 905). Eidem and Læssøe (Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 54) are correct in dating the letter to the months of Addarum or Maqrānum in the *limmu* of Aššur-malik (at the earliest) shortly before the rebellion of Lidāya, because in the letter Šamšī-Adad urges Kuwari not to be negligent concerning bringing in the harvest, but rather to do it quickly.*

³⁷⁴ 13) DUMU.MEŠ ^ršī-^rip-ri ^rū ^rša^r-bu-um ^rša^r In-du-uš-še i-te-né-eb-bé-er 14) i-na-an-na 2 me ša-b[u]-um LÚ Qú-tù-ú 15) ^rū^r ma-tam iš-ta-na-aḥ-^rhi-it 16) ^rū^r at-ta ^ršī-^rip-pa-[a]t 17) mi-na-am ni-^rip-pa-al LUGAL, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 112-3 (no. 42 = SH 859+881).

³⁷⁵ 3) am-mi-nim a-na Šī-ik-<ša>-bi-im^{ki} q[a-ta-li-im] 4) ^ra^r-aḥ-ka na-dī 5) pa-na-nu-um i-nu-ma ma-a-tum ša-i 6) na-ak-ru ša u^r-mi-šū ta-aš-ta-na-aḥ-^rhi-it 7) qí-in-na-az-ka ta-ri-ik e-li 8) ma-a-tim ša-a-ti ū na-pa-ša-am 9) ū-ul ta-na-ad-dī-in <<x>> ma-tam ša-a-ti 10) i-na-an-na mi-nu-um i-du-um ša a-aḥ-ka ta-ad-du-ú 34) ū a-na be-lí-ka ^rištēt dummuqum^r 35) dú-um-mi-[iq] 53) ša-ni-tam šum-ma Šī-ik-ša-ab-bu^{ki} 54) e-mu-qa-am i-ra-aš-šī 55) ū-ul a-ka-šum-ma-a 56) ū a-ia-šī-im 57) i-ma-ar-ra-aš 58) an-mi-ni-im a-aḥ-<ka> [n]a-dī 59) <<x>> ul-la-nu-um Šī-ik-ša-bi-im^{ki} ma-an-nu-um 60) na-k[a]-^rar^r-ka ul-la-nu-uš-šū 61) na-ka-ar-ka ū-ul i-ba-aš-šī a-aḥ-ka 62) la na-de^r-es-sú, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 111-3 (no. 42 = SH 859+881); restoration of l. 34 by Charpin, *RA* 98.

Another letter, that seems to have been written after no. 42, reproaches Kuwari for doing nothing. This letter shows that Šamšī-Adad too was waiting for some action by Kuwari and entertaining the hope that he together with his general would conquer the city:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 43 = SH 857)

Now what are you doing? Why do you not come here? The king keeps writing from there: "Has Kuwari still not turned up?" As soon as you hear this letter of mine, make haste and march all night to join me!³⁷⁶

Internal Troubles in Utûm: Refugees, Citizens and the Case of Hazip-Teššup

In the same letter of Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari no. 8 the king says that he has given a full briefing about Nurrugum. But we do not know whether the land was taken or not because the text gives no details of the briefing. What we do learn are facts about the conditions inside Šušarrā. The Turukkean refugee chieftains were making troubles for Kuwari, and Kuwari for his part may have been afraid of his position or annoyed about them. He put some of them in jail, killed others (Hazip-Teššup), and asked Šamšī-Adad himself to settle others. In several letters Kuwari was asked to release people or send them to Šamšī-Adad. Letter no. 8 bears a clear message with a list of names of people Kuwari should release:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 8 = SH 887)

Why have you detained countrymen under Hazip-Teššup and incite public opinion against yourself? Release these men!³⁷⁷

Eidem and Læssøe noticed that Hazip-Teššup was not a refugee from the Turukkean land, but rather a local nobleman who enjoyed a significant influence. This they understood from letter 16, which states that he attempted to instigate a rebellion in "his town."³⁷⁸ It appears that he tried to assume power from Kuwari and to sit on his throne. Kuwari saw killing him as the best solution and asked his lord for such permission. But his lord, though afraid of public opinion, finally gave him permission, on condition that he do it secretly:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 16 = SH 883)

An idea occurred to me concerning Hazip-Teššup, about whose execution you wrote to me. Since you want to kill him, let him die! Why should he live? Let him die in the workshop!³⁷⁹ He keeps writing to his town and tries to turn your [country] against you. [And if] his brothers who are (staying) with me [ask] me, [I shall pretend] that he is alive and [say]: "He is alive, he is alive! [And ...] we are indeed his brothers!" So they will assume that he is (still) alive and staying in the workshop.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁶ 4) [mì]-n-um e-pí-iš-ta-ka 5) [a]n-ni-tum 'am-mi'-nim 6) la ta-la-ka-[a]m 7) LUGAL iš-tu ul-la-nu-um 8) iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ar 9) a-di-ni-mi-i 10) mKu-wa-ri ú-ul ik-šú-dám 11) tup-pí an-ni-e-em 'i-na' še-me-e 12) ar-ḫi-iš ra-[a]ḫ-ša-am 13) ka-al mu-ši-im 14) a-na še-ri-ia ku-uš-dám, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 113-4 (no. 43 = SH 857).

³⁷⁷ 9) DUMU.MEŠ ma-tim šu-ut Ḫa-zi-ip-te-šu-up 10) am-mi-nim ta-ak-la ù pí-I ma-a-tim 11) e-li-ka tu-uš-ba-la-ka-at 12) LÚ.MEŠ šu-nu-ti wa-aš-še-ra-am, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 79-80 (no. 8 = SH 887).

³⁷⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

³⁷⁹ Charpin does not agree with the translation "workshop" for *nēparum*; rather he finds that it denotes the exterior part of the palaces: Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 174 (referring to Durand, *LAPO* III, p. 106).

³⁸⁰ 15) a-wa-tum im-qú-ta-an-ni 16) aš-šum Ḫa-zi-ip-Te-šu-up 17) ša šu-mu-us-sú ta-aš-pu-ra-am 18) iš-tu šu-mu-us-sú ta-aq-bú-ú 19) li-mu-ut am-mi-nim i-ba-lu-ut 20) i-na nē-pa-ri-im li-mu-ut 21) a-na a-li-šu iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ar-ma 22) p[í(-i) ma-ti-k]a uš-ba-la-ka-at 23) [ù šum-ma LÚ.MEŠ a]-ḫu-šu ša ma-aḫ-ri-ia 24) [i-ša-lu-ni]-in-ni 25) [a-na-ku k]i-ma ša ba-al-tú-ma 26) [um-ma-a-mi ba]-li-iṭ ba-li-iṭ 27) [ù a]ḫ-ḫi-šu 28) lu-ú ni-nu 29) ù ki-ma ša ba-al-tú-ma 30) i-na nē-pa-ri-im wa-aš-bu 31) iš-ta-na-ka-nu-šu, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 89-90 (no. 16 = SH 883).

Charpin thinks that this Ḫazip-Teššup is to be identified with Ḫazip-Teššup, ruler of Ḫaburātum under Yaḥdun-Lim, who fled and sought refuge in Šušarrā.³⁸¹ This is not impossible but should not be taken as certain. Statements of Šamšī-Adad that his brothers were before him and that he kept writing to his town to instigate a rebellion should not necessarily be understood as support for this opinion. The brothers of Ḫazip-Teššup were before the king certainly to put pressure on Kuwari to release their brother. But it does not necessarily mean that they were natives of Ḫaburātum, and “his town” can be any town in the realm of Kuwari or the Turukkean country. Any troubles in a town in Kuwari’s domain would concern Šamšī-Adad as troubles in the domain of the king himself, evoking the same reaction as for instigating a rebellion. Furthermore, if a former governor of Ḫaburātum now tries to instigate them to rebel that means a rebellion against Šamšī-Adad, since Ḫaburātum had been conquered and ruled by Šamšī-Adad himself. Šamšī-Adad would not have tolerated such an act and received him in the honorific way recorded in no. 17 (see below). The name Ḫazip-Teššup, on the other hand, seems to have been a common name among the Hurrians, as, for instance, Tiš-atal, which was the name of three contemporary rulers in the Ur III period (see Chapter Four).

Kuwari was not popular in Šušarrā, perhaps because of the oppression he exerted and the numerous people he detained, as documented in the letters of his lord (see above, letter no. 8). That was why it was easy for an influential nobleman like Ḫazip-Teššup to call the people to rebel. Before his detention Ḫazip-Teššup once visited Šamšī-Adad. During that visit the king showed him high esteem and respect by offering him a garment and a golden ring, even though Kuwari had asked the king to rid him of the man:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 17 = SH 906 + 909A + 923A + 927 + 928 + 929 + 932 + 933)

Concerning Ḫazip-Teššup you wrote thus to me: "My lord must not send him to me. And why did my lord put a gold ring on him, and dress him in a garment? He must not return and come to me." This you wrote to me with Šumaḫum. You did not (however) send Ḫazip-Teššup to me to be executed. You sent him to me to be calmed and returned to you. [And] I asked your retainer, who escorted Ḫazip-Teššup [(to me)] saying as follows: "Shall I keep Ḫazip-Teššup here forever, or return him to Kuwari?" [Thus] I spoke to your retainer, and your retainer answered me thus: "He must not be detained. Let him calm down and return him. This is what I was instructed (by) Kuwari: 'Let him return and let him stay with me'." This your retainer said to me, and for this reason I put a gold ring on him and dressed him in a garment, and calmed him, and said as follows to him: "Does a father not stand by a son? And your father stands by you. He has brought you to account according to your case. Do not worry!" These things I told him, and I calmed him saying: "Let him rest 2 or 3 days. Then I will send him to Kuwari."³⁸²

³⁸¹ Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 174. Similarly, Joannès and Ziegler find it possible to identify the two Ḫazip-Teššups, but strangely assume that he was smitten by the Gutians and consequently fled to Šušarrā; cf. Joannès and Ziegler, “Une attestation de Kumme...,” *NABU* 1995, no. 19, p. 17. If he was indeed the same king of Ḫaburātum, it would be impossible to blame the Gutians for his flight. This is because of the distance between Ḫaburātum and the Gutian land, and the absence of Gutian activity in that region, at least at this time. And finally, if he was indeed the king of Ḫaburātum, Šamšī-Adad would have restored him to his throne as a vassal, at least because it was the Gutians, the enemy of the Šamšī-Adad in this phase, who had overthrown him. Needless to say, Ḫaburātum was at this time under the control of Šamšī-Adad.

³⁸² 3) *aš-šum Ḫa-zi-ip-Te-šu-up ki-[a]-am ta-aš-pu-ra-am 4) be-lí la 'i-tà-ra-da-šu ù [a]m-mi-nim be-lí 5) ḪUR KÙ.ZI' [i]š-ku-un'-šu ù šu-ba-tam ú-la-'bi-is-sú' 6) la i-ta-ra-am-ma a-na še-ri-ia la i-l[a]-kam] 7) an-ni-tam šu-ma-ḫa-am ta-aš-pu-r[a]-am] 8) Ḫa-zi-ip-Te-šu-up a-na šu-mu-ti-[šu ú-ul ta-aṭ-ru-dam] 9) a-na [nu]-uḫ-ḫi-im ù a-[n]a še-ri-ka 'tu'-u[r-ri-im] 10) ta-aṭ-ru-da-aš-šu [ù LÚ.T]UR-ka [š]a Ḫa-z[i-ip-Te-šu-up] 11) ir-de-'e'-em a-ša-[al-šu um-m]a a-n[a-k]u-[ma] 12) Ḫa-zi-ip-[Te-šu-up u]r-ra-a[m še-ra-am] 13) a-ka-al-la-[šu ú-lu a-na K]u-wa-ri-[ma] 14) ú-ta-[a]-ar [ki-a-am a-na] šu-ḫa-r[i-ka] 15) aq-bi-'ma' šu-ḫa-[ar-ka ki-a-a]m i-pu-[la-an-ni] 16) um-ma-mi mi-im-[ma la ka-li l]i-[nu-ḫ-ma] 17) ù tu-ur-ri [ki-a-am w]u-ú-ra-[ku-ma] 18) Ḫu-wa-ri l[i-tu-ra-am-m]a it-ti-ma li-*

From this, we learn that Hazip-Teššup and Kuwari were on bad terms and that there were problems between them, not only about the inciting of rebellion, that led the latter to get furious. It is true that Kuwari had sent him to Šamšī-Adad in the hope that he would not see him again, but his lord treated him with respect, perhaps to keep him for the day he would need him to oppose Kuwari.

Hazip-Teššup was not the only figure that posed danger for the position of Kuwari. On another occasion Kuwari asked Šamšī-Adad where to settle Lidāya, seemingly to keep him away, but the king preferred Lidāya to remain until the conquest of Šikšabbum:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 10 = SH 943)

I have heard the letters you sent me. You wrote as follows about Lidāya: "My lord should write to me where to settle (him)." This you wrote to me. [...] who [enter(s)] Šikšabbum [(5 lines broken)]. Until the plan for Šikšabbum has been carried out, [let him stay] in that land.³⁸³

This letter must be later than no. 7 that informed Kuwari that Lidāya should stay before Šamšī-Adad until the conquest of Nurrugum (see above). We understand from the two letters that Lidāya had visited and met Šamšī-Adad at least twice. Letter 24 also mentions sending Lidāya to Šamšī-Adad, but it is unfortunately too broken to say more:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 24 = SH 852)

For my god's sake, if [...] Lidāya [...] perhaps [...(rest of obv. broken)....] [...] send him to me, and before me [...], and I seized Nabi-Ištar, his retainer. The matter stands thus. Send him to me.³⁸⁴

We learn from letter no. 19 that the people of the country of Utûm also disliked Kuwari and his authority. This was exemplified by Šušarrā, and part of the hatred stemmed from the burdens imposed upon them by the numerous Turukkean refugees. The letter shows that Šamšī-Adad was angry with the citizens of Utûm who had annoyed him with these troubles, while their elders had already expressed their allegiance to him in Sarrima in the land of Qabrā. According to Eidem and Læssøe, this approach of the elders of Utûm took place during the campaign against Qabrā.³⁸⁵ This section of the letter reads as follows:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 19 = SH 861)

The citizens of Utûm hate the town of Šušarrā, and you, you citizens of Kunšum who left Kunšum, they hate you. They are villainous and rebellious. Previously, when I

š[i-ib] 19) an-ni-tam šu-[h]a-^rar^a-ka iq-bi-e-em-ma 20) aš-šum [ki]-^ra¹-[a]m HUR KÙ.ZI¹ aš-ku-un-šu 21) 'ù' 'šú-ba-tam' ú-^rla¹-ab-bi-ⁱs-^sú-^rma¹ ú-ni-iḫ-šum[a] 22) ú ki-a-am aq-bi-šum um-ma a-na-ku-ma 23) a-bu-um a-na ma-ri-im ú-ul i-zi-iz 24) [ù] 'a¹-bu-ka i-te-ez-za-kum 25) a-na 'di¹-ni-ka iš-ta-al-ka 26) mi-im-ma li-ib-ba-ka la i-ma-ra-aš 27) an-né-tim ad-bu-ub-šu ú-ni-iḫ-šum um-ma a-na-ku-ma 28) U₄ 2.KAM U₄ 3.KAM li-nu-uḫ-ma a-na še-er Ku-^rwa-ri¹ 29) lu-ut-ru-us-š[ù], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 90-1 (no. 17 = SH 906 + 909A + 923A + 927 + 928 + 929 + 932 + 933).

³⁸³ 4) tu-pa-ti-ka ša tu-ša-bi-[la]m eš-m[e] 5) a[š-š]um ^mLi-da-e ta-aš-p[u-ra-am] 6) u[m]-ma at-ta-a-ma 7) a-^ršar¹ šu-šu-b[i-i]m be-lí [i-iš-pu-ra-am] 8) an-ni-tam ta-aš-pu-ra-[am] 9) [x x x] ša a-na Ši-i[k-ša]-bi-[im^{ki}] 15) 'a¹-di te-em Ši-^rik¹-ša-[bi-im^{ki}] 16) in-ne-ep-pé-š[ú] 17) 'i-na¹ ma-tim ša-a-[ti li-ši-ib], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 82 (no. 10 = SH 943).

³⁸⁴ 4) aš-šum DINGIR-ia šum-m[a]x x x[... 5) ^mLi-da-e 'x[.....] 6) [p]i²-qa-at 'x[.....] (break) 1') [x x]x x x[.....] 2') [tú-u]r-da-aš-šum-ma 'ah¹-r[i-ia (...)] 3') 'x (x) x x' I-x LÚ [.....] 4') 'ù Na-bi-eš-tár LÚ.TUR¹-šu aš-b[a-a]t 5') te-mu-um 'ke²-e[m] 'i¹-b[a]-aš-ši 6') tú-ur-da-aš-šum-nu-ti', Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 97 (no. 24 = SH 852).

³⁸⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

stayed in Sarre(ma) in the country of Qabrā, their elders came to me and said: "We are indeed your servants [.....(broken)....]"³⁸⁶

In this same letter military support from Šamšī-Adad for Kuwari is mentioned, so it seems very probable that it aimed to protect Kuwari from internal perils, such as Ḫazip-Teššup. This support was one of the fruits Kuwari gained from the treaty he had concluded with the Assyrian king, and according to the letter he received 600 Assyrian troops:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 19 = SH 861)

Hereby I have sent you 600 troops to protect Šušarrā. Let these troops enter Šušarrā itself, and you yourself come to me.³⁸⁷

Letter 12 seems to follow letter 19 chronologically because it is about details of a meeting between Šamšī-Adad and Kuwari. This meeting could be the one his lord asked for in letter 19. In the letter, that predates the conquest of Šikšabbum, Kuwari was asked again to send troops to contribute to the conquest of that city:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 12 = SH 888)

Before you left I gave you a decision. I instructed you thus: "If Šikšabbum is conquered, then come to me in Arraphum. If Šikšabbum has not been conquered, let the garrison troops enter the environs of Šikšabbum and you, according to your own judgement, go to Šušarrā and instruct a commander of Šušarrā, and take the troops of the district of Šušarrā with you and come to me!" This I instructed you. The instruction was thus. (Now) act in accordance with the instruction I gave you! If Šikšabbum is conquered, and you go to the country of Šušarrā, then until you return to me you must keep writing to me any information you learn. [If not] and you stay there, let [the commander] of Šušarrā send the troops of the upper land to me; [and you] must keep writing to me so that I am informed.³⁸⁸

Plot or Tactic?

With regard to the Gutians, who had decided to help the enemy of Kuwari and Šamšī-Adad by supporting Šikšabbum, we note an interesting letter sent to Kuwari to inform him about a deal with them. Endušše promised Šamšī-Adad not to attack the land of Utûm as long as it was under the control of his "father," the title he uses for Šamšī-Adad. Such a father-son style is also found in letter no. 20, where Endušše states "I am his son." Was this deal reached after the punitive act of Šamšī-Adad (see above) or was the punishment a result of the collapse of the deal? This question at present cannot be answered. What is noteworthy is

³⁸⁶ 9) LÚ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ Ú-ta-im^{ki} a-lam Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki} 10) i-zi-ir-ru ù ku-nu-ti DUMU.MEŠ Ku-un-ši-im^{ki} 11) ša iš-tu Ku-un-ši-im^{ki} tu-ší-e [(.....)] 12) i-zi-ir-ru-ku-nu-ti 13) sà-ar-ru mu-ut-ta-ab-la-ka-tu 14) i-na pa-ni-tim i-nu-ma i-na Sa-a[r-ri-ma^{ki}] 15) i-na ma-a-at Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} uš-[ba-ku] 16) ši-bu-tu-šu-nu a-na še-ri-i[a] 17) [i]l-li-ku-nim 18) [um-ma]-a-mi lu-ú IR-[d]u-ka n[i-nu], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 93 (no. 19 = SH 861).

³⁸⁷ 4) a-nu-um-ma 6 ME ša-ba-[a]m ^ra¹-n[a] ma-ša-ar-^rtí 5) Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki} at-tà-ra-ad 6) ša-bu-um šu-[ú] ^ra¹-na li-ib-bi 7) Šu-šar-ra-^ra^{ki} li-ru-ub-ma 8) ù at-ta a-na še-ri-ia al-ka-am, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 93 (no. 19 = SH 861).

³⁸⁸ 4) i-na pa-an wa-sé-e-ka pu-ru-us-sà-am 5) ad-di-na-kum ki-a-am ú-wa-e-er-ka 6) um-ma a-na-ku-ma šum-ma Ši-ik-ša-ab-bu-um^{ki} 7) it-ta-^raš¹-ba-at a-na Ar-ra-ap-^{hi}-im^{ki} 8) a-na pa-ni-ia al-kam 9) šum-[m]a Ši-ik-ša-ab-bu-um^{ki} la iš-ša-bi-it 10) ša-ba-am bi-ir-tam a-na i-ta-at Ši-ik-ša-ab-bi-im^{ki} 11) li-ru-ub-ma at-ta ki-ma pa-ni-ka-ma a-na 12) Šu-šar-ra-^ra^{ki} a-lik-ma LÚ mu-ki-il [Š]u-šar-[r]a-a^{ki} 13) wu-e-[e]r-ma ša-ab ^{ha}<<al>>-la-aš Šu-šar-ra-^ra^{ki} 14) it-ti-ka tu-ra-am-ma a-na še-r[i-ia] l-kam 15) a[n-n]i-tam ú-wa-e-er-ka wu-ú-ur-tum ši-m[a] 16) ša pí-i wu-ú-ur-tim ša ú-wa-e-ru-ka e-p[u-u]š 17) ^ršum-ma¹ [Ši-i]k-[š]a-am-bu-um^{ki} it-ta-a[s]-ba-a[t]-ma 18) ^ra¹-na [m]a-^ra¹-[a]t Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki} ta-at-ta-la-ak 19) [a]-di a-na še-ri-ia ta-tu-ra-am 20) [te-^rma-a]m ma-la ta-la-am-ma-du 21) [a-na še]-ri-ia ši-ta-ap-pa-ra-a[m] 22) [šum-ma la-a] ki-a-am-ma a[n-n]i-ki-a-am wa-aš-ba-at 23) [LÚ mu-ki-i]l Šu-šar-r[a-a^{ki}] ša-ba-am ša ma-tim e-li-tim <<x x>> 24) [a-na še]-ri-ia i-š[a-ap-p]a-ra-am-ma¹ 25) [ù at-ta] ^ra¹-n[a] s[e-r]i-i]a ^rší¹-tap-pa-ra-am-ma 26) [lu-ú] i-di, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 84-5 (no. 12 = SH 888).

that the same Warad-šarrim was the envoy involved in the negotiations and discussions with Endušše in all three letters. He was perhaps the envoy specializing in Gutian affairs and most probably able to speak Gutian.³⁸⁹ A second confirmation of the agreement reached Šamšī-Adad through a Gutian envoy:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 11 = SH 920)

An envoy of the Gutians who are staying in Šikšabbum came to me and said this to me: "The ruler of Gutium, Indušše, said this to me: 'If the army of Šamšī-Adad, my father, should approach Šikšabbum, do not do battle! I shall never sin against my father. If he orders you to march off, (then) march off! If he orders you to stay, (then) stay!'. " This is what he said. Who knows whether their words are true or not? Perhaps they have seen the prospects of the town and concocted this themselves. Or they have been instructed from outside. Who knows? So I questioned him, and he gave me indications about the retinue of Warad-šarrim. A *hullum* ring which I gave to Mutušu, the envoy, he told me as an indication, and the colleague of Mutušu, Etellini, was ill in Arraphum, and he told me about the illness of this man. And he gave me all these indications, so that I trusted his message. And I questioned him about the news of Warad-šarrim, and he (said), "His message Indušše received (and replied)³⁹⁰ as follows: 'To the border of Šušarrā in the land which my father controls, I will not draw near!' " This he told me. Warad-šarrim brings good news. Be aware of this!³⁹¹

Why did Šamšī-Adad send this letter to Kuwari and show him the double confirmation of the agreement he had concluded with the Gutians? Apart from the exchange of information between allies, it must have aimed at giving him the message that there will be no Gutian threat to Šušarrā, so Kuwari could no longer use that argument to withhold his military support for the campaign against Šikšabbum.

We have already questioned whether Kuwari was negligent towards his lord or whether he was deliberately playing a game of power balancing when we discussed the letters of Etellum and Šamšī-Adad to him. The following letter that relates a plot that was hatched between his lord Šamšī-Adad and his enemy Endušše, of which Kuwari would be the victim, sheds more light on this question. Whether the plot was actually made or was a subterfuge to break off the alliance between Šamšī-Adad and Kuwari we are not sure, but the report was a reply to a letter Kuwari had sent earlier. Whatever the case may be, the report must have had a damaging effect on Kuwari and his confidence towards his lord. The sender's name is

³⁸⁹ His name in the Shemshāra letters was always written in Sumerian logograms, so it is not completely certain whether we can read his name as the Akkadian Warad-šarrim. He could have been a local citizen in the service of the Assyrians with an indigenous name written logographically.

³⁹⁰ The translation of Eidem and Læssøe needs to be supplemented with "(and replied)," because what follows must be the answer of Endušše. Without this it would seem as if it was Warad-šarrim's answer. The Akkadian text lacks any indication to Endušše (see the transliteration below).

³⁹¹ 4) DUMU šī-ip-ri ša Qū-ti-I 5) ša i-na Šī-ik-ša-am-bi-im^{ki} wa-aš-bu 6) a-na še-ri-ia il-li-kam-ma 7) ki-a-am iq-bé-em um-ma-mi 8) LÚ Qū-tu-ú-ma En-du-uš-še 9) ki-a-am iq-bé-em um-ma-mi 10) šum-ma ša-bu-um ša ^dUTU-šī-^dIM a-bi-ia 11) a-na Šī-ik-ša-am-bi-im^{ki} is-sà-an-qa-am 12) ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.ĤÁ la te-ep-pé-ša ma-ti-ma a-na a-bi-ia ú-ul ú-ga-la-al 13) šum-ma wa-ša-am iq-ta-bu-ni-ik-ku-nu-ši-im 14) ši-e šum-ma iq-ta-bu-ni-ku-nu-ši-im šī-ba 15) an-ni-tam iq-bé-em 16) a-wa-tu-šu-nu ki-na ù sà-ar-ra 17) ma-an-nu-um lu-ú i-di 18) pí-qa-at te-em a-lim^{ki} i-mu-ru-ma 19) it-ti ra-ma-ni-šu-nu-ma 20) a-wa-tim an-né-tim uš-ta-aš-bi-tu 21) ú-lu-ma ul-la-nu-um-ma 22) wu-ú-ru ma-an-nu-um lu-ú i-di 23) ù áš-ta-al-šu-ma 24) it-ta-tim ša šu-ut ĪR.LUGAL 25) id-bu-ba-am še-we-ra-am 26) hu-ul-lam ša a-na mu-tu-šu 27) DUMU šī-ip-ri ad-di-nu a-na it-ti iq-bé-em 28) ù ta-ap-pé-e mu-tu-šu 29) E-te-el-li-ni i-na Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im^{ki} 30) im-ra-aš ù mu-ru-us-'sú' 31) ša a-wi-lim ša-a-ti iq-bé-em-ma 32) it-ta-tim ka-la-ši-na id-bu-ba-am 33) ik-ke-em a-wa-sú-nu a-qí-ip 34) ù aš-šum te-em ĪR.LUGAL 35) áš-ta-al-šu-ma 36) um-ma-a-mi te-em-šu En-du-uš-še im-ḫu-ur 37) um-ma-mi a-na pa-at Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki} 38) i-na ma-tim ša qa-at a-bi-ia ša-ak-na-at 39) ú-ul e-te-em-ḫe 40) an-ni-tam iq-bé-em ^mĪR.LUGAL 41) te-ma-am ša ḫa-di-im ub-ba-lam 42) an-ni-tam lu-ú ti-di, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 82-3 (no. 11 = SH 920).

unfortunately broken, but the script and format of the tablet is unique within the archive³⁹² which indicates somebody outside the circle of envoys already known:

..... to Kuwari? (no. 71 = SH 891)

[...(break)...] You wrote to me about Imdī-Adad, the servant of Samsī-Addu, who brought presents of silver, gold and silver bars to Induše. This matter is correct, and I have heard all he brought him. The silver, the gold, the silver bars which he sent – in reference to what did he send them? He sent them in reference to you. He wrote as follows to Induše: "I and you, our agreement is long overdue. I will have a statue of you and a statue of me made in gold, and brother shall embrace brother. I will give you my daughter, and as dowry for my daughter I will give you the country of Šušarrā and the country [...(break)...]."³⁹³

It is possible to date this letter to the short phase after the collapse of the Turukkean front and before the vassaldom of Kuwari to Šamšī-Adad. In this case the Turukkean kings, who were not happy with the loss of their former province to the Assyrians, might have sent a report such as this to Kuwari to prevent him from going to Šamšī-Adad. Note, particularly, that the letter uses the form Samsī-Addu, just as Šepratu did (no. 63 and 64). However, this form of the name cannot be taken as conclusive. Instead another aspect in the letter calls for attention. Šamšī-Adad styled Enduše "brother" in contrast to the father-son terminology found in the two letters discussed above (twice in no. 11 and once in 20). In both instances it is Enduše who styles himself son of the king, while nothing like that is recorded by Šamšī-Adad himself. Is it possible, then, that Šamšī-Adad considered him a peer because he needed his alliance, and Enduše, on his part, felt flattered because he needed his aid? At any rate, the more likely date of the letter is the time after the vassaldom of Kuwari, because there were many more reasons in this phase to send such a report, particularly by the numerous enemies of both parties. These enemies would have been eager to see the alliance of Kuwari with Šamšī-Adad broken, and keen to poison that relationship by inserting such a report into the correspondence. At this time the alliance of Gutium with Aḫazum and Kakmum formed a powerful axis, as noted by Eidem and Læssøe,³⁹⁴ so, it is also quite possible that Šamšī-Adad had thus tried to break off this alliance. Whether Šamšī-Adad was serious in this offer or made it just as a manoeuvre is a matter for speculation.

Other Turukkeans Help Šikšabbum

It was not only the Gutians who helped the Aḫazians. Many Turukkeans who were fleeing from Šušarrā or who had been sent by Kuwari to Šamšī-Adad entered Šikšabbum. This worried Šamšī-Adad seriously:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 13 = SH 919+924)

Concerning the Turukkeans who you sent to me together with their people: [as] many Turukkeans with their people as you sent me –they do not correspond to [..... I asked them for an explanation] and they told me this: "At [night and in] secrecy [our feet] are sore, and the men who stole away and entered Šikšabbum are as many as we are." This

³⁹² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

³⁹³ ... (break)... 1') [...(break)... aš-š]um ^mIm-di-^dIM ÌR ^d[a-am-si-^dUTU] 2') [š]a ta-ma-ar-tam KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI ù ru-[uq-qa-at] 3') KÙ.BABBAR a-na ^mIn-du-úš-še ub-lu ta-aš-p[u-ra-am] 4') a-wa-tum ši-i ki-na-at ù ma-li ub-[u-šum] 5') še-me-ku KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI ù ru-uq-qa-at KÙ.[BABBAR] 6') ša ú-ša-bi-lu aš-šum ma-an-nim ú-ša-bi-i[l] 7') aš-šu-mi-ka ú-ša-bi-il a-na En-du-úš-[še] 8') ki-a-am iš-pu-ur um-ma šu-ma-a 9') a-na-ku ù at-ta pu-ḫu-ur-ni ú-za-bi-[il] 10') ša-la-am-ka ù ša-al-mi ša KÙ.GI 11') lu-še-pi-iš-ma a-ḫu-um ki-ša-ad a-ḫi-im 12') li-ki-il DUMU.MÍ ma-ar-ti 13') lu-ud-di-na-ak-kum-ma a-na ša-ar-ra-k[u-ut] 14') DUMU.MÍ-ti-ia ma-a-at Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki} 15') ^rlu-ud^r-di-na-ak-kum ù ma-a-at (break), Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 147-8 (no. 71 = SH 891).

³⁹⁴ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

they told me, and you said thus to me: "They slander me to my Lord." How do they slander you? Previously I wrote thus to you: "Those Turukkeans whose maintenance you cannot manage, send them to me, and I shall take charge of them here." This I wrote to you. Now all [the Turukkean]s you send to me come at night and in secrecy, and the land in front of them they *claim*, and they keep entering Šikšabbum. Is it right that we should make the enemy stronger, and his army greater. I am worried about this. Now assemble the country, and tell them thus: "He who wants to can stay here; he who does not want to stay here can go to my lord!" Tell them this, and all the Turukkeans you send to me, must not come at night and in secrecy. Let one of your retainers take charge of them, and [lead] them [safely] to [.....]. Since [.....] let them lead] them. [.....] Take precautions so that [the land in front of them] they do not *claim*, and they do not enter [Šikšabbum], and we do not make our enemy stronger and do not make his army greater!³⁹⁵ And all the Turukkeans you send to me, should first be listed on a tablet.³⁹⁶

The letter makes it clear why many Turukkeans were sent to Šamšī-Adad. Kuwari wished to get dozens of Turukkeans out of his domain because he claimed he was unable to maintain them due to his limited resources. By doing so, he was imposing a kind of exile on troublesome Turukkeans who threatened his authority by participating in or organizing rebellions. But why did those Turukkeans choose for Yašub-Addu and not for Šamšī-Adad? Was it to take revenge on Kuwari? Or did they find the authority of Šamšī-Adad no better than that of Kuwari? Or did they find the regions in the Habur area where they were destined to settle too far away and too much like exile? Or did the Gutian-Kakmean-Aḫazian alliance offer them better conditions? A letter to Kuwari that was sent before letter 13 hints that some of them were kidnapped *en route* and forced to enter Šikšabbum. How the others ended there is not yet known. In that letter Šamšī-Adad says he had already given Kuwari the instruction to send retainers with them, but Kuwari, perhaps on purpose, apparently neglected the order:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 15 = SH 911+922)

When you stayed before me I instructed you as follows: "The Turukkeans who are coming in from outside, those you can manage to provide for, you shall keep with you; those you cannot manage to provide for should proceed to me." This I instructed you. Was I not happy with their staying there? Is it not a border town? Indeed many troops should stay there, and *do service out there*, and in force they will protect this land. These things I decided. Now keep the troops you can manage to provide for with you, and send those you cannot manage to provide for to me. But why do they come without

³⁹⁵ Lit.: "make his lance stronger." Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 87; Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 174.

³⁹⁶ 4) *aš-šum* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ki-i^{ki}* 5) *ša qa-du-um ni-šī¹-šu-nu a-na še-ri-ia* 6) *ta-aṭ-ru-dam* [ma-l]a LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ki-i^{ki}* 7) *qa-du-um ni-šī-šu-nu* *ta-aṭ-ru-dam-ma* 8) ^ra¹[..... ú-ul] *i-ma-aš-šú-ú* 9) *te_r[em-šu-nu aš-ta-al-m]a ki-a-am iq-bu-nim um-ma-a-mi* 10) *i-n[a mu-ši-im ú] na-ap-za-ri-im* 11) *še-p[é-ni] ma-ar-ša* 12) *ú ša-bu-um ša a-na Ši-ik-ša-bi-i^{ki}* 13) *ip-zi-ru-ma i-ru-bu ma-li-ni-m[a] ^ri¹-ma-aš-ši* 14) *an-ni-tam iq-bu-nim* 15) *ú ki-a-am ta-aq-bi um-ma at-t[a] ^ra¹-ma* 16) *ka-ar-šú-ia a-na be-lí-ia ak-[lu-nim]* 17) *mi-nu-um ka-ar-šú-ka* 18) *ša ak-lu-nim* 19) *i-na pa-ni-tim-ma ki-a-am aš-pu-ra-kum* 20) *um-ma-a-mi* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ki-i^{ki}* 21) [š]a *šu-ku-ul-šu-nu la te-le-ú* 22) *a-na še-ri-ia tú-ur-dam-ma* 23) *an-[n]a-nu-um a[n-ni-ki] ^ra¹-am lu-ša-aš-bi-i[s]-šú-nu-ti* 24) *a[n-ni-t]am aš-pu-r[a]-kum* 25) *i-na-an-na* [LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ki-i^{ki}* 26) *ma-la ta-tà-ra-[dam i-na m]u-š[i-im]* 27) *na-ap-za-ra-am ^ri¹-[la-ku-nim]* 28) A.ŠÀ *i-na pa-ni-šu-^rnu¹ i-ri-šú²-[ma]* 29) *a-na Ši-ik-ša-bi-im^{r^{kih}} i-te-né-ru-b[u-nim]* 30) *i-ša-ri-iš ma-a a-aḫ na-ak-ri-n[i]* 31) *nu-ka-ab-ba-ar ú* ^{GIS}ŠUKUR-*šu nu-da-a[n-na-an]* 32) *aš-šum ki-a-am li-ib-bi im-ra-aš* 33) *i-na-an-na ma-a-tam pu-uh_h-h_i-ir-ma* 34) *ki-a-am qí-bé-[š]u-nu-ši-im um-ma-a-mi* 35) *ša li-ib-ba-šu an-na-nu-um wa-ša-ba-am li-ši-ib* 36) *ša la li-ib-ba-šu an-na-nu-um la wa-ša-ba-am* 37) *a-na še-er be-lí-ia li-il-li-ik* 38) *an-ni-tam qí-bé-šu-nu-ši-im-ma* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ki-i^{ki}* 39) *ma-la a-na še-ri-ia ta-tà-ra-dam* 40) *i-na mu-ši-im na-ap-za-ra-am* 41) *la i-il-la-ku-nim* 1 LÚ.TUR-*ka* 42) *pa-ni-šu-nu li-i[s-ba-tam]-ma* 43) *a-na ni-e[l²-.... li-š]a-li-ma-šu-nu-ti* 44) *iš-t[u]* 45) ^rx¹[..... li-ša-l]i-mu-šu-nu-ti 46) ^rx¹[..... -t]i² 47) *aš-šum* [A.ŠÀ *i-na pa-ni-šu-nu*] 48) *la i-ri-šú²-ma ^ra¹-[na Ši-ik-ša-bi-im^{ki}]* 49) *la i-ru-bu-ma a-aḫ na-ak-ri-ni* 50) *la i-ka-ab-bi-ru-u ú* ^{GIS}ŠUKUR-*šu* 51) *la i-da-an-ni-nu ki-^ra¹-am i-pu-uš* 52) *ú* LÚ *Tu-ru-ki-i^{ki}* *ma-la a-na še-ri-ia* 53) *ta-tà-ra-dam ma-aḫ-ru-ú-ma* 54) *i-na tu-pí-im lu-ú šu-ut-tú-ru*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 85-6 (no. 13 = SH 919+924); the expression, lit. "make his lance stronger," in l. 31 occurs also in l. 50.

a retainer of yours. They sneak away themselves en route, or midway [*they*] kidnap them. [Those] who cannot stay there, and are not conducted safely here in one group by your retainer, will disappear [en route, or] they will force them [into Ši]kšabbum. [.....] joyful, [and there] they will hold the country. You shall send them in a single group. Let one of your retainers lead them, and conduct them safely to me, and they will not disappear en route. If not so, we will frighten them. And then will they not turn their faces elsewhere?³⁹⁷

Whatever the reasons, this transfer marked the beginning of the Turukkean presence in the Habur area and the surrounding regions. Later from there they were to play a crucial role in the Turukkean expansion into Assyria and west of the Tigris.

The End of Šikšabbum

In the end Šamšī-Adad sent a huge army under his son Išme-Dagan and managed to conquer Šikšabbum. This could be done only after the conquest of Nurrugum, which was such an important episode that it was mentioned as a dating event in a royal inscription of Šamšī-Adad.³⁹⁸ Fugitives from Nurrugum reached Mari and are mentioned there in texts of the time of Zimri-Lim.³⁹⁹ They were in all probability victims of this campaign. In a letter to Yasmaḥ-Addu, Išme-Dagan allows his brother to keep those he wants and send him those he do not want:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 26, 269)

About the fugitives who fled from Nurrugum, concerning whom you wrote to me, dispatch to me a secretary (from among them)! 'Keep' the physician with 'you'! And from the fugitives keep whom you want to keep and have the 'remainder' of them conducted to me! And from now on keep those of the fugitive that come to you that you want to keep, and have conducted to me any that you do not keep, and I shall assign them where they can be assigned.⁴⁰⁰

Since the king of Šikšabbum was captured and delivered to Daduša, as the MEC states, Ešnunna must have contributed to the campaign. Šaššaranum, who played a prominent role

³⁹⁷ 3) *i-nu-ma ma-aḥ-ri-ia tu-uš-bu ki-a-am aq-bé-kum* 4) *um-^rma¹ a-na-ku-ma LÚ Tu-ru-ku-ú^{ki}* 5) *ša^r kī^r-ma iš-tu ul-la-nu-um i-la-ku-nim* 6) *ša e-mu-uq šu-ku-li-šu-nu te-le-ú* 7) *ma-aḥ-ri-ka ki-la ša ki-ma e-mu-uq šu-ku-li-šu-nu* 8) *la te-le-ú a-na še-ri-ia li-ti-qú-nim* 9) *an-ni-tam aq-bé-kum* 10) *a-na-ku a-na wa-ša-bi-šu-nu aš-ra-nu-um* 11) *ú-ul ḥa-de-ku-ú ú-ul a-al pa-ti-i* 12) *ma-a ša-bu-um ma-du-um li-ši-ib-ma* 13) *ul-la-n[u]-^rum-ma li^r-ta-pa-al* 14) *'ú^r i-na 'e'-mu-'qī^r-im' ma-[t]am š[a-a-t]i lu-ú ḥe-sú-ú* 15) *an-né-tim ša-ab-ta-ku* 16) *i-na-an-na ša-ba-am ša šu-ku-lam te-le-ú* 17) *ma-aḥ-ri-ka ki-la ú ša šu-ku-lam la te-le-ú¹* 18) *a-na še-ri-ia tū-ur-dam* 19) *ú am-mi-nim ba-lum LÚ.TUR-ka 'i'-[l]a-[k]u-nim* 20) *'i'-na a-la-ki-šu-nu pa-ga-a[r-šu-nu]* 21) *[š]a-r[a]-qum i-ša-ar-ri-qú-nim-m[a]* 22) *[ú-lu] 'i'-na qa-ab-li-it ge-er-ri* 23) *[..... i-ma-š]a-ḥu-šu-nu-ti* 24) *[ša aš-ra-n]u-um ú-ul uš-ša-bu* 25) *[ú iš-te-n]i-iš LÚ.TUR-ka* 26) *[ú-ul ú-š]a-al-la-ma-šu-nu-ti* 27) *[i-na bi-ri-t]im-ma i-ḥa-al-li-qú* 28) *[ú-lu a-na Ši-i]k-ša-ab-bi i-la-qú-s[ú-n]u-ti-ma* 29) *[.....]pu-ḥa-tim x ḥa-di-i-im* 30) *[ú aš-ra-nu-u]m ma-tam li-ki-lu* 31) *'iš-te-ni^r-iš ta-tà-ar-ra-dam* 32) *1 LÚ.TUR-ka pa-ni-šu-nu li-iš-ba-tam-ma* 33) *a-na še-ri-ia li-ša-al-li<ma>-šu-nu-ti-ma* 34) *i-na bi-ri-tim-ma la i-ḥa-al-li-qú* 35) *šum-ma la ki-a-am-ma nu-ga-la-at-šu-nu-t[i-m]* 36) *'pa^r-ni-šu-nu a-šar ša-ni-im ú-ul i-ša-ka-nu-ú*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 87-8 (no. 15 = SH 911+922).

³⁹⁸ 14) *bi-tam ša iš-tu* 15) *šu-lum A-kà-dé^{ki}* 16) *a-di šar-ru-ti-ia* 17) *a-di ša-ba-at Nu-ur-ru-gi^{ki}* ... "The temple (which none of the kings who preceded me) from the fall of Akkad until my sovereignty, until the capture of Nurrugu...", Grayson, *RIMA I*, p. 53 (text A.0.39.2); cf. also above, under Geopolitical Scene -Nurrugum.

³⁹⁹ For the texts mentioning them, cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 99, note 198.

⁴⁰⁰ 5) *[aš]-šum mu-un-na-ab-[tu-ti]* 6) *[ša] iš-tu Nu-ur-ru-gi-im^{ki}* 7) *in-na-bi-tu-nim* 8) *ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am* 9) *1 LÚ.DUB.SAR a-na še-ri-ia* 10) *tū-ur-dam* 11) *LÚ a-se-e-em ma-aḥ-ri-[k]a ki-[l]a* 12) *ú i-na mu-un-na-a[b-tu-ti]* 13) *[ša] ka-li-ka ki-la-m[a]* 14) *[ša-p]i-[i]l-ta-šu-nu* 15) *[a-na š]e-ri-ia* 16) *šu-re-e-[e]m* 17) *ú iš-[t]u i-na-an-[na]* 18) *i-na LÚ.MEŠ mu-un-na-[ab-t]u-ti* 19) *[š]a i-la-ku-ni-kum* 20) *ša ka-li-ka ak-ka-ši-im* 21) *ki-la-ma ša ki-ma la ta-ka-a[l-lu]* 22) *a-na še-ri-ia šu-ri-a-[a]m-ma* 23) *a-na-ku a-šar e-se-ki-i[m]* 24) *lu-si-ik-[š]u-nu-ti*, Durand, *ARM 26/1*, p. 569; Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

in the capture of both Qabrā and Nurrugum, was rewarded with the governorship of Nurrugum.⁴⁰¹ The main battle in Aḥazum took place in Ikkalnum, where Etellum had stationed a garrison.⁴⁰² According to a letter from Mari, this must have taken place prior to the 10th of Addarum (late March).⁴⁰³ The city of Šikšabbum itself was conquered after a short siege on 10th of VIII* of Aššur-malik⁴⁰⁴ and a new king for Aḥazum was installed whose name was Ḫalun-pî-ūmu.⁴⁰⁵ The letter *ARM* 1, 69+M.7538 gives some valuable details concerning this campaign. One of the points worth mentioning is the strategic significance of Qabrā as a communications hub for assembling troops. The Aḥazians seem to have taken the initiative by coming to Ikkalnum, apparently downstream (= west) from Šikšabbum, to do battle where Etellum was stationed with his garrison in the hope of saving their capital:

Šamši-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 1, 69+M.7538)

When the troops gathered in Qabrā, I dispatched Išme-Dagan with the troops to the land of Aḥazum and I have come to the city (= Ekallātum).⁴⁰⁶ While the troops were gathering in Qabrā, the land of Aḥazum heard of the gathering of the troops in Qabrā and took action. The troops of all that land and the Turukkeans with them were gathered and were stationed in the city of Ikkallum (= Ikkalnum) of the land of Aḥazum against Išme-Dagan. Išme-Dagan made up his mind to go against that city and, at a distance of 300 (cubits?) away from it, the troops of all that land and the Turukkeans gathering with them to do battle, they [raised] weapons in the face of Išme-Dagan to do battle; [...] the people of that land and the Turukkeans with them he captured them (all). No one escaped and on that day, he took all the land of Aḥazum. That victory is great for the land. Rejoice!⁴⁰⁷

The Turukkeans who fought side by side with the Aḥazians and were defeated by Išme-Dagan, as the letter relates, must have been those who were entering Šikšabbum in secrecy or that had been kidnapped during their transfer to Šamši-Adad from Kuwari.

The conquest of Aḥazum was very important and vital for the king; he saw it as a great and perfect triumph, giving him a great reputation to follow, and addresses his son accordingly:

⁴⁰¹ Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 99.

⁴⁰² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴⁰³ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 51. Charpin has 21 VI* of Aššur-malik; cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 171.

⁴⁰⁴ Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 171. This date is fixed thanks to an unpublished text that mentions the presence of Šamši-Adad in Šikšabbum, dated on the 10th of VIII*; cf. Charpin, *OBO*, p. 171, note 802.

⁴⁰⁵ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 171; Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 100.

⁴⁰⁶ The expression “the city” in the texts of the time of Šamši-Adad and his sons always indicates Ekallātum; cf. Ziegler, “Le royaume d’Ekallātum et ...,” *FM* VI, p. 213-4.

⁴⁰⁷ 5) *ki-ma um-ma-na-tu i-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 6) *ip-ḫu-ra Iš-me-^dDa-gan it-ti um-ma-na-tim* 7) *a-na ma-a-at A-ḫa-zi-im aṭ-ru-ud* 8) *ù a-na-ku a-na a-lim^{ki} at-ta-al-kam* 9) *ù i-nu-ma [u]m-[m]a-[na-tu]m-ma* 10) *i-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} i-pa-aḫ-ḫu-ra* 11) *pa-ḫa-ar um-ma-na-tim i-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 12) *ma-a-at A-ḫa-zi-im^{ki} iš-me-e-ma ṭe-em-ša iṣ-ša-ba-at* 13) *ša-ab ma-a-tim ša-a-ti ka-li-ša* 14) *ù LÚ.MEŠ [T]u-ru-uk-ku-ú ša it-ti-šu-nu* 15) *up-ta-ḫa-aḫ-ḫi-ru-ma* 16) *[i-n]a a-lim Ik-ka-[a]l-lim^{ki}* 17) *[š]a ma-a-at A-[ḫ]a-zi-im^{ki}* 18) *a-na pa-an Iš-[me-^dD]a-gan* 19) *[š]a-[ak]-nu* 20) *^mIš-me-^dDa-gan pa-né-šu* 21) *a-na a-lim^{ki} [š]a-a-ti* 22) *[i]š-ku-un-ma* 23) *a-na A.ŠA 5 šu-ši la ṭe-ḫe-e-em* 24) *ša-ab ma-a-tim ša-a-ti ka-li-ša* 25) *ù LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú* 26) *a-na pa-an [Iš-me-^dD]a-gan a-na G^hŠTUKUL.MEŠ* 27) *[e-pé-ši-im G^hŠTUKUL.MEŠ [i]š-su-ú* 28) *[i-pu]-šu-ú-ma* 29) *[um-m]a-a-at [m]a-a-tim ša-a-ti* 30) *š[ā] it-ti-šu-nu ip-ḫu-ru il-ku-ud* 31) *1 LÚ ú-ul ú-ší* 32) *ù i-na u-^hmi-šu-ma* 33) *ma-a-tam A-[ḫ]a-zi-im^{ki} ka-la-ša* 34) *iṣ-ša-ba-at da-aw-du-ú-um šu-ú* 35) *a-na ma-a-tim ra-bi* 36) *lu-ú ḫa-de-et*, Dossin, *ARM* 1, p. 130-1; Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 207-8; restrations and combination with M.7538 by Charpin and Durand, “La prise ...,” *MARI* 4, p. 313 and 314, note 96; also Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 24-6.

Šamši-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 1, 69+M.7538)

Your brother has here achieved a victory but you, there, are sleeping among women. Now, when you go with troops to Qaṭanum, be a man! As your brother established a great reputation for himself, you establish a great reputation for yourself!⁴⁰⁸

Kaštappum, Iṣtanum, Abšeniwe and others

After this there was another mission waiting for the Assyrian troops as well as for those of Kuwari. He received a letter from Šamši-Adad asking him to send 1,000 troops to Kaštappum, where his lord had arrived. The plan seemed to be that they would meet there with the troops of Iṣme-Dagan and the king of Ešnunna, who had just crossed the Zāb. Before the conquest of Šikšabbum, it would have been too difficult to send troops to Kaštappum along the Zāb, so this must have been after the conquest of Šikšabbum. That makes a statement of Charpin, that the request came first to Kuwari to send troops to Kaštappum but a little later the request was changed to send them to Šikšabbum, seem unlikely.⁴⁰⁹ The letter reads as follows:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 9 = SH 882)

The army which is with Iṣme-Dagan has arrived. The day I sent you this letter the whole army which is with Iṣme-Dagan and the army from Ešnunna have crossed the Zāb and I have arrived in Kaštappum. The day you hear this letter, on the third day, let 1,000 of your troops descend to me to Kaštappum, and let one of your generals come with the troops.⁴¹⁰

Most probably related to this mission is letter no. 30, sent by Kurašānum, a high official of Šamši-Adad. The letter gives Kuwari the sign that he can send his garrison troops that were stationed in a town called Ḫalluliwe to receive their rations. This town is attested within the orbit of Nuzi,⁴¹¹ and from information in this letter it seems to have been a local centre for Šamši-Adad's administration of the Transtigridian provinces.⁴¹² The presence of troops and issue of rations in a centre close to Nuzi indicates that the troops of Kuwari were still far from home. They were most probably occupied with the duty referred to in letter no. 9. Kurašānum wrote to Kuwari:

Kurašānum to Kuwari and Šamaš-našir (no. 30 = SH 879)

I went to Ekallātum to meet with the king, but before I went to the king you wrote to me about issuing the grain rations for the garrison troops stationed there in Ḫalluliwe. When you hear this letter of mine, send the garrison troops to receive their grain rations in Ḫalluliwe, and let them receive their grain rations. I have now

⁴⁰⁸ 35) *a-ḫu-ka an-ni-ki-a-am* 36) *da-aw-da-am i-du-uk ù at-ta* 37) *aš-ra-nu-um i-na bi-ri-it* SAL.MEŠ 38) *ša-al-la-at i-na-an-na-ma* 39) *i-nu-ma it-ti um-ma-na-tim a-na Qa-tà-nim^{ki}* 40) *ta-al-la-ku lu-ù a-wi-la-at* 41) *ki-ma a-ḫu-ka šu-ma-am ra-bé-e-em* 42) *iš-ta-ak-nu ù at-ta i-[n]a* KASKAL *Qa-tà-nim^{ki}* 43) *šu-ma-am ra-bé-e-em ši-i-[r]i-ka-an*, Dossin, *ARM* 1, p. 130-1; Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 207-8; restorations and corrections by Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 24-6.

⁴⁰⁹ For his statement, cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 171.

⁴¹⁰ 4) *ša-bu-um ša it-ti I[š-me-^dD]a-g[an]* 5) *ik-ta-aš-[d]am* 6) *u₄-um tuṭ-pí an-ni-e-em* 7) *ù-ša-bi-la-kum* 8) *ša-bu-um ša it-ti Iš-me-^dD[a]-g[an]* 9) *'ka^l-lu-šu* 10) *ù ša-bu-um LÚ Éš-nun-na^{rkn}* 11) *ÍD Za-^ri-ba-am i-te-bi-r[u]* 12) *ù a-na-ku a-na Ka-aš-tap-pí-i[m]^{rkn}* 13) *ak-ta-áš-dam* 14) *u₄-um tuṭ-pí an-ni-e-em te-še-mu-ù* 15) *i-na ša-al-ši-im u₄-mi-im* 16) *a-na Ka-aš-tap-pí-i[m]^{ki}* 17) *a-na še-ri-ia* 18) *1 li-im ša-bu-ka* 19) *'li-ri-dam^l-ma* 20) *1 GAL.MAR.TU-ka* 21) *it-ti ša-bi-im* 22) *[l]i-li-kam*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 91 (no. 9 = SH 882)

⁴¹¹ Cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 85-6. Grain supplies were sent from this GN to Nuzi (HSS XIII 367), *ibid.*

⁴¹² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

sent off a man from E[kallātum] who [will issue] this [grain] in Ḫalluliwe. Let these troops rush to Ḫalluliwe!⁴¹³

Eidem and Læssøe suggest that the victory reported in this same letter of Kurašānum was a victory of Išme-Dagan over the cities of Ištānum (= “The Northern Country”), a subject mentioned in letters 26 and 29.⁴¹⁴ However, we consider that it does not refer to Ištānum but to a country in or around Kaštappum itself. This is based on three reasons. First, the information gathered from letters 26 and especially from 29 implies that the country of Ištānum was closer to Šušarrā, not to Ekallātum, where Kurašānum was placed. Note that in letter 29 it is Kuwari who was asked to send his report about the cities of the land of Ištānum to Kurašānum. Secondly, since Kurašānum was placed in Ekallātum, we would not expect him to send news of a country to Kuwari that was nearer to the addressee than to the sender. Finally, if our suggestion proves to be correct that the content of the first part of this letter is related to the joint mission of Ešnunna, Assyria and the province of Kuwari, then the victory reported in its second part must be the one they fought for together. Thus, the letter can be seen as one interrelated report.

It is quite possible that letters 26 and 29, that concern the affairs of the country of Ištānum and discussed already, belong to this time, after the conquest of Šikšabbum,⁴¹⁵ particularly since the ‘lord’ mentioned in these letters was Išme-Dagan, who seems to have resided in a city close to the region, in Qabrā or Arrapha.

Kuwari, beside his duties towards his lord Šamšī-Adad, was deeply involved in internal affairs of his realm and its citizens. We know this from letters about some military activities, such as the conquest of a city called Zu(l?)zulā (*Zu*[?]<<*ul*[?]>>-*zu-la-a*^{ki}), about which Šamšī-Adad expressed his pleasure in letter no. 16. Several letters deal with requests for the release of detained people (nos. 8; 32; 38 and 46) or other legal disputes (no. 33) or other affairs (no. 45). In letter no. 62, a certain Wannī/a was asked by Kuwari to release three individuals and send them back to him, but Wannī refused, although he was somehow a vassal of Kuwari.⁴¹⁶ Instead his reply was that the three together with a fourth person will be executed. It is worth noting that Kuwari and this Wannī were on good terms. Kuwari had once advised Wannī to go to his lord (meaning most probably Šamšī-Adad) to become his vassal, as he himself did:

Wannī to Kuwari (no. 60 = SH 874)

I paid much attention to the words my father wrote to me, and these words are good. Like you went to my lord and kissed my lord’s feet, I shall now go to my lord and kiss the feet of my lord. The noblemen of the country will come with me, (and kiss) the feet of my lord, and hear the word(s) of my lord’s lip.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹³ 5) *a-na É-kál-la-tim*^{ki} 6) *it-ti LUGAL a-na na-an-mu-ri-im* 7) *al-li-ik ù la-ma a-na še-er LUGAL* 8) *al-li-ku aš-šum ŠE.BA ša-bi-im bi-ir-tim* 9) *ša aš-ra-nu-um wa-aš-bu* 10) *i-na Ḫa-lu-ul-li-we*^{ki} 11) *na-da-na-am ta-aš-pu-ra-nim* 12) *ṭup-pí an-né-em i-na še-me-e* 13) *ša-ba-am bi-ir-tam* 14) *a-na ŠE.BA-šu-nu ma-ḫa-ri-im* 15) *‘a-na’ Ḫa-lu-ul-li-we*^{ki} *ṭú-ur-da-nim-ma* 16) *ŠE.[B]A-šu-nu li-im-ḫu-ru* 17) *‘a’-n[u-u]m-ma DUMU É-k[ál-la-tim*^{ki}(?) 18) *ša ‘(x) x x’ [x x š]a-a-t[i]* 19) *‘i’-na Ḫ[a-lu-u]l-li-^rwe*^{ki} 20) *‘i-na’-ad-di-nu at-ru-ud* 21) *ša-bu-um šu-ú a-na Ḫa-lu-ul-li-we*^{ki} 22) *ar-ḫi-iš li-iḫ-mu-tam*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 101-2 (no. 30 = SH 879).

⁴¹⁴ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁴¹⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 51. However, Charpin and Ziegler do not rule out that the campaign on Ištānum took place before the fall of Šikšabbum, suggesting that Išme-Dagan left Aḫazum after the capture of Ikkalnum to deal with the troubles of Ištānum: Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 99, note 201.

⁴¹⁶ In the letters 60 and 62 Wannī styles himself as “your son.”

⁴¹⁷ 5) *a-na a-wa-tim ša a-bi* 6) *iš-pu-ra-am* 7) *ma-di-iš a-qú-ul* 8) *ù a-wa-tum ši-na da-am-qa* 9) *ki-ma at-ta a-na še-er* 10) *be-lí-ia ta-al-li-ku-ma* 11) *še-ep be-lí-ia ta-aš-ši-qú* 12) *i-na-an-na a-na-<<x>>ku* 13) *a-na še-er be-lí-[ia]* 14) *a-la-ak ù še-ep be-[lí-ia]* 15) *a-na-aš-ši-iq ra-ab-bu-^rut ma-tim* 16) *it-ti-ia i-la-ku* 17) *še-ep be-lí-ia <i-na-aš-ši-qú>* 18) *ù a-wa-at pí-[i-i]m ša be-lí-ia* 19) *i-še-em-mu-ú*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 130-1 (no. 60 = SH 874).

Wanni in turn warned Kuwari about troubles in a town called Abšeniwe in two letters. The town, the letters imply, was under the control of Kuwari and was under threat from an enemy whose name is unfortunately not written:

Wanni to Kuwari (no. 60 = SH 874)

Do not be idle about the town Abšeniwe and the campaign. My lord's attention is extensive. I hope my father will not neglect to gather for the country. Install yourself in Abšeniwe and the campaign will be dissolved.⁴¹⁸

Wanni to Kuwari (no. 61 = SH 900)

.... The guard is staying with Yaqqim-Addu and you should stay in the town of the Abšum. Send words so that reinforcements do not reach him and his envoys cannot pass through, and [...] and we shall bring him to account! [...] write to me whether this or that is the case!⁴¹⁹

Letter no. 60 makes a distinction between “my father” and “my lord.” By the former he means Kuwari, by the latter the lord of Kuwari, to whom he would go. It should be noted that Wanni, the sender, warns Kuwari, his father, about the intentions⁴²⁰ of the lord. The context distinguishes ‘father’ from ‘lord.’ The campaign mentioned was led by the lord, the target was the town Abšeniwe, and Kuwari was asked “to gather” the country to confront the campaign that would be dissolved. It is most natural to assume that this ‘lord’ was the same ‘lord’ in the first paragraph of the same letter. The most fitting interpretation is that Wanni, as a subordinate of Kuwari, or even as an independent but less powerful friend of Kuwari, was the ruler of a small country. If Wanni was a subordinate his country would have been part of the realm of Kuwari. The town Abšeniwe was within the domain of Wanni, but Wanni had not yet sworn an oath of allegiance to Šamšī-Adad. Therefore, his domain was under the threat of the Assyrian troops, which appear to have been led by Yaqqim-Addu (see letter no. 61). Although Wanni and Kuwari (perhaps his lord) tried to save the town from plunder and destruction, from the letter it seemed to them hopeless to hold on to it any longer. So Kuwari suggested to Wanni to become a vassal of Šamšī-Adad. Wanni, having accepted the suggestion, would become an ally of or would tighten the alliance with Kuwari, secured by accepting a daughter in marriage mentioned in letter 60:

Wanni to Kuwari (no. 60 = SH 874)

And as for your daughter whom you talked to me about saying: "Either give me your daughter or let me give you my daughter!" Now give me your daughter for my son and may the family ties between us not be dissolved.⁴²¹

The name *Wa-an-ni* in letter no. 61 is written *Pa-an-ni*; the sign PA may indicate that the initial W/P was in fact pronounced /f/ or /v/.

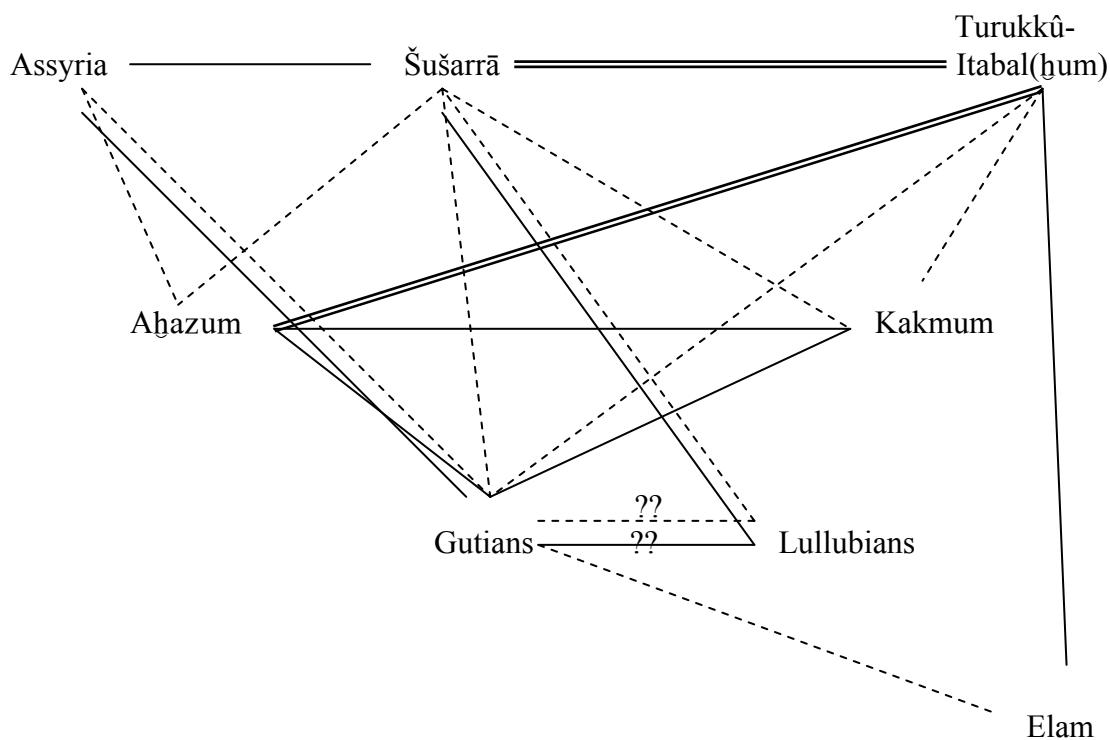
⁴¹⁸ 20) *a-na a-li-im ša Ab-še-^rni-we^{ki}* 21) *ù ge-er-ri-im* 22) *la-a te-eg-gi* 23) *pa-ni be-lí-ia ra-ap-šu* 24) *as-sú-ur-ri pa-ḥa-ra-am* 25) *a-na ma-^ra¹-tim a-bi la i-gi* 26) *i-na Ab-še-ni-we^{ki}* 27) *ta-^rša¹-ab-ma* 28) *ù ge-er-ru-um li-ip-pa-ri-ís*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 131 (no. 60 = SH 874).

⁴¹⁹ 1') *[qa-d]u-um Ia-a[q-q]i-[i]m^d* IM 2') *bé-eh-rum wa-ši-ib* 3') *ù at-ta i-na URU ša Ab-ši-im* 4') *lu wa-aš-ba-at* 5') *aš-šum ša-bu-um te-er-di-[t]im* 6') *la-a i-ru-bu-šu-um* 7') *ù ma-ru ši-ip-ru-šu* 8') *[I]a-a i-ti-qú* 9') *[at-ta šu]-up-ra-am-ma* 10') [.....] *'x¹-ma ni-ša-lu-šu* 11') [.....] *-qa an-ni-tam la an-ni-tam* 12') [.....] *šu-up-ra-am*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 132 (no. 61 = SH 900).

⁴²⁰ I prefer to translate the word *panu* here as ‘intention, plan or wish’ rather than ‘attention,’ as Eidem and Læssøe do, to fit the context better.

⁴²¹ 29) *ù aš-šum ma-ar-ti-ka* 30) *ša ta-aq-bi-a-im* 31) *um-ma at-ta-a-ma ú-lu-ú* 32) *ma-ra-at-ka id-na-am* 33) *ú-lu-ú ma-ar-ti* 34) *lu-ud-di-na-ak-kum* 35) *i-na-an-na ma-ra-at-ka* 36) *a-na ma-ri-ia id-na-am* 37) *ù sa-lu-tum i-na bi-ri-n[i]* 38) *la-a ip-pa-ra-ás*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 131 (no. 60 = SH 874).

If the interpretation we have presented is correct, we can conclude further that the country of Wannī was located either to the west of the Rāniya Plain or somewhere downstream from Šušarrā and thus subject to the threat from Assyria. It also shows that Kuwari was not acting sincerely towards his lord Šamši-Adad; his allegiance was just bitter fruit under Gutian pressure. The date of these three letters and their sequence within the letters of the Assyrian domination phase remains unknown.



———— Peaceful relation
 - - - - - Hostile relation

===== Peaceful relation in the Pre-Assyrian Phase

———— - - - - - Peaceful at times and hostile at others

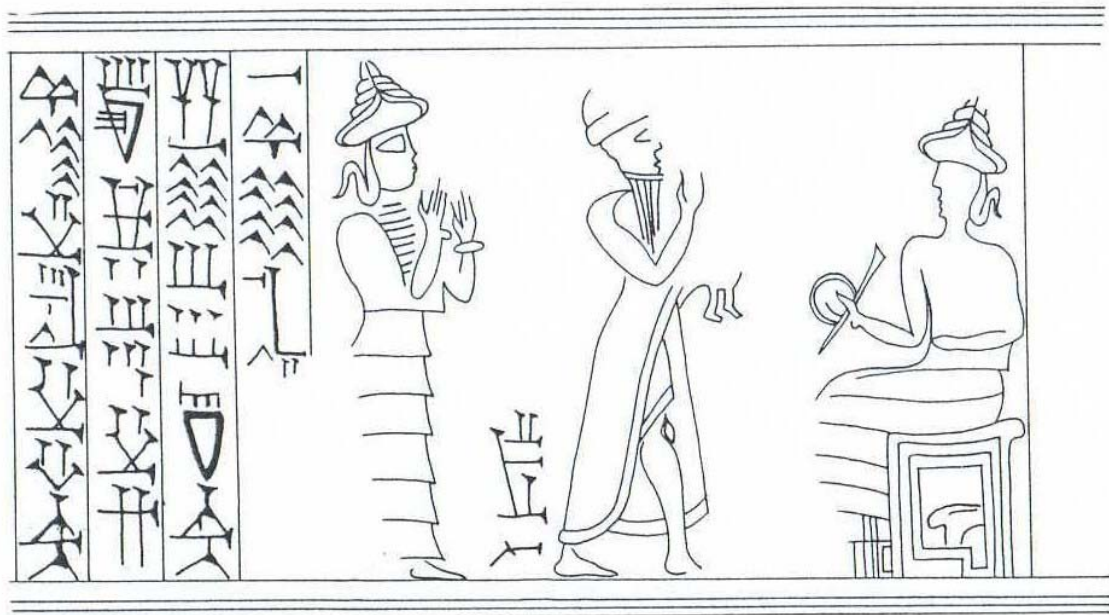
Note: A peaceful relation includes alliances and master-vassal relationships.

Chart showing the pattern of relations between the powers of the Transtigris as documented by the Šemshāra letters in the Pre-Assyrian and Assyrian Domination Phases.

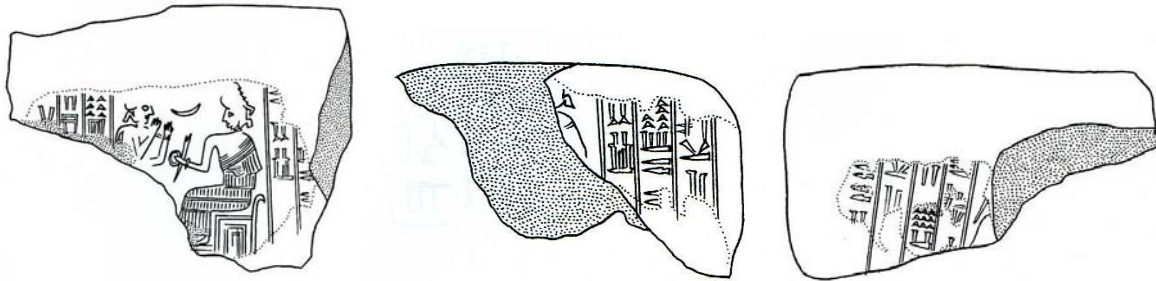
Figures of Chapter Six



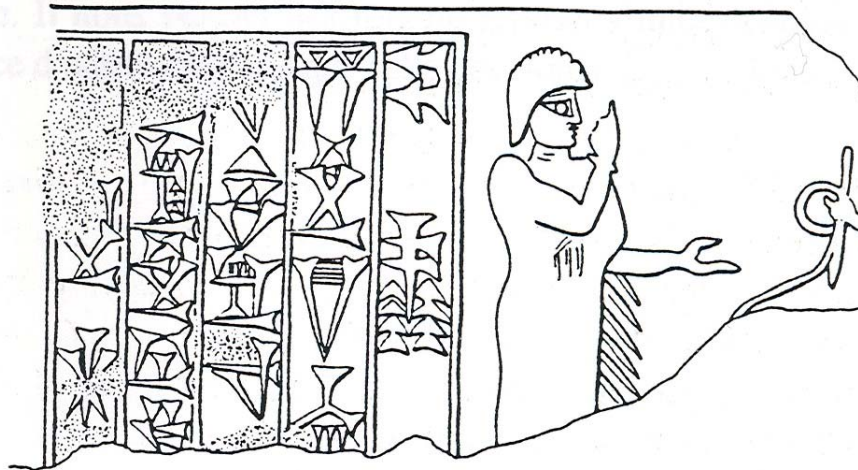
1) Seal impression of Talpuš-šarri. After: Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives 1, The Letters*, Copenhagen, 2001, published by Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, pl. 87, seal 2.



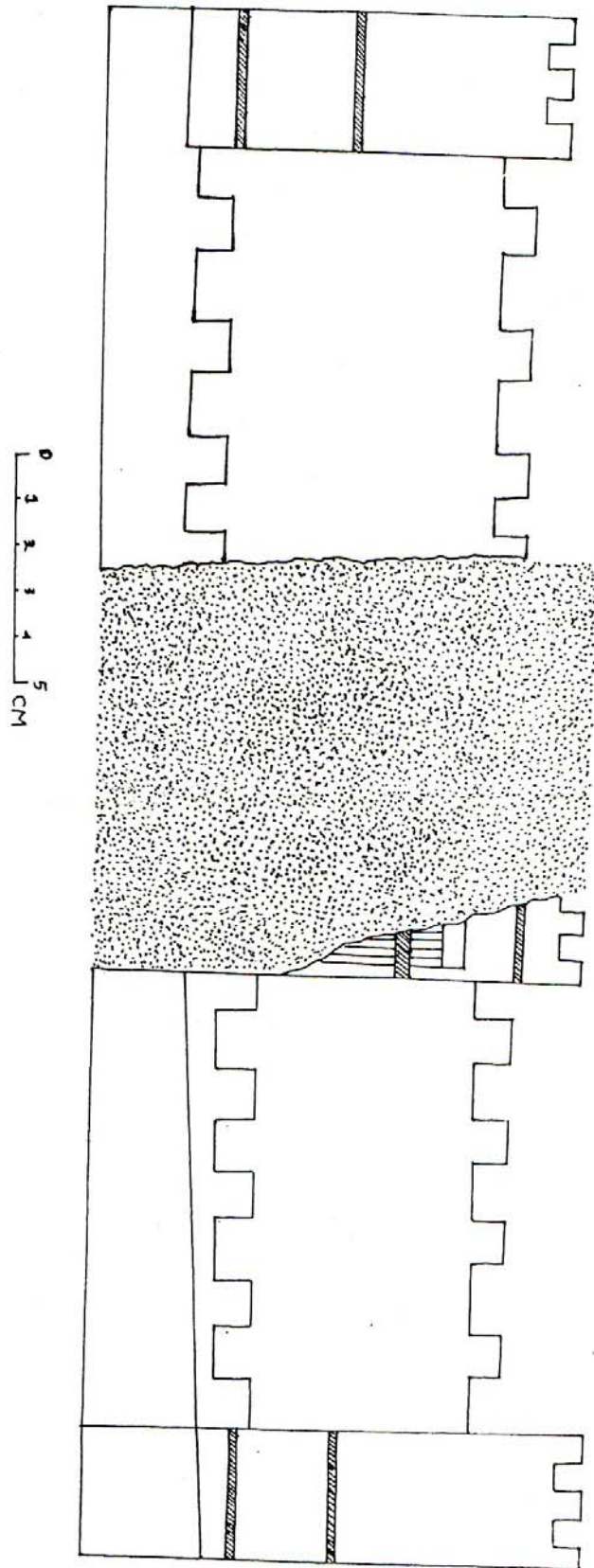
2) Seal impression of Pišendēn. After: Eidem and Møller, *MARI 6*, Paris, 1990, published by Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, p. 638.



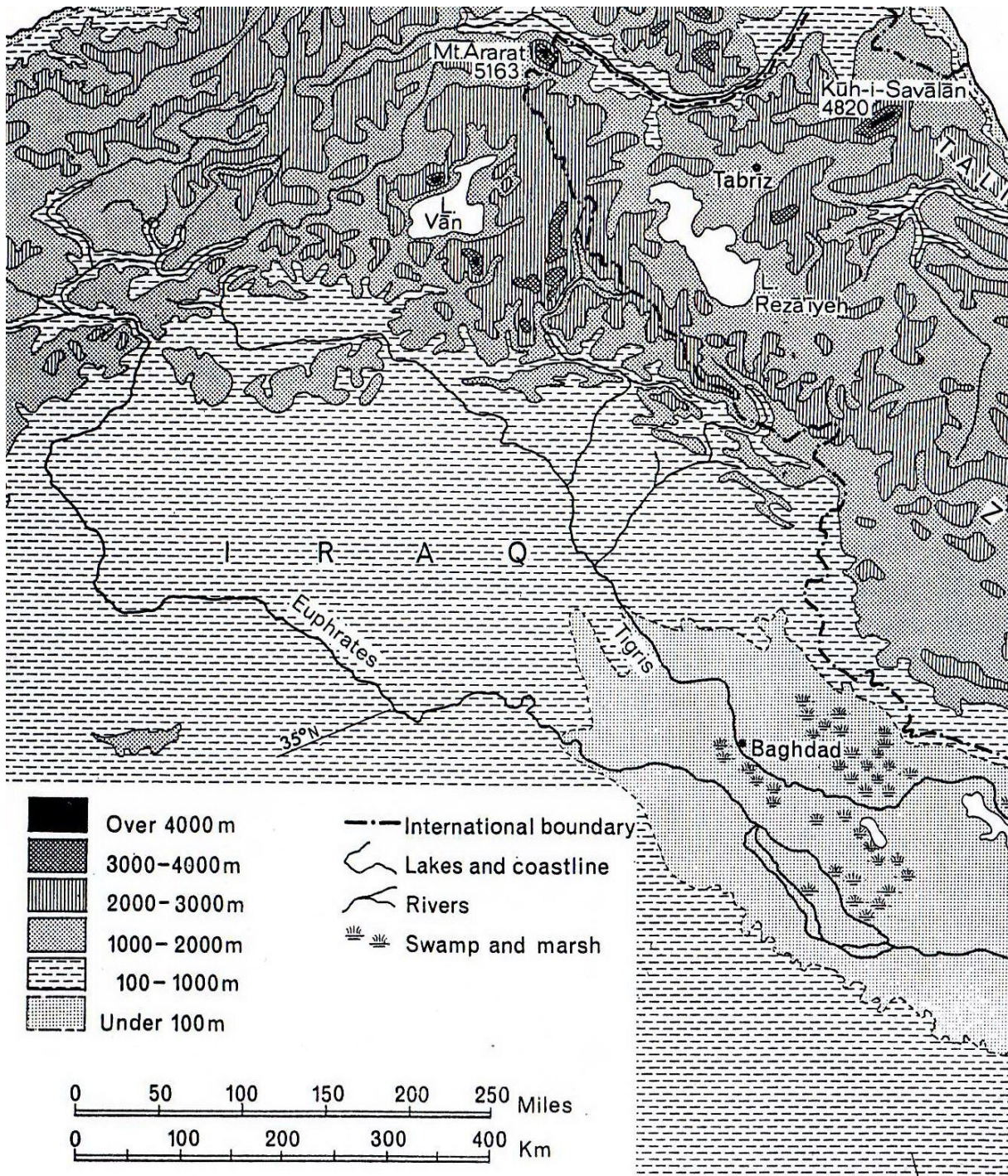
3) Seal impression of Turukti. After: Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshāra Archives 1*, pl. 87, seal 3.



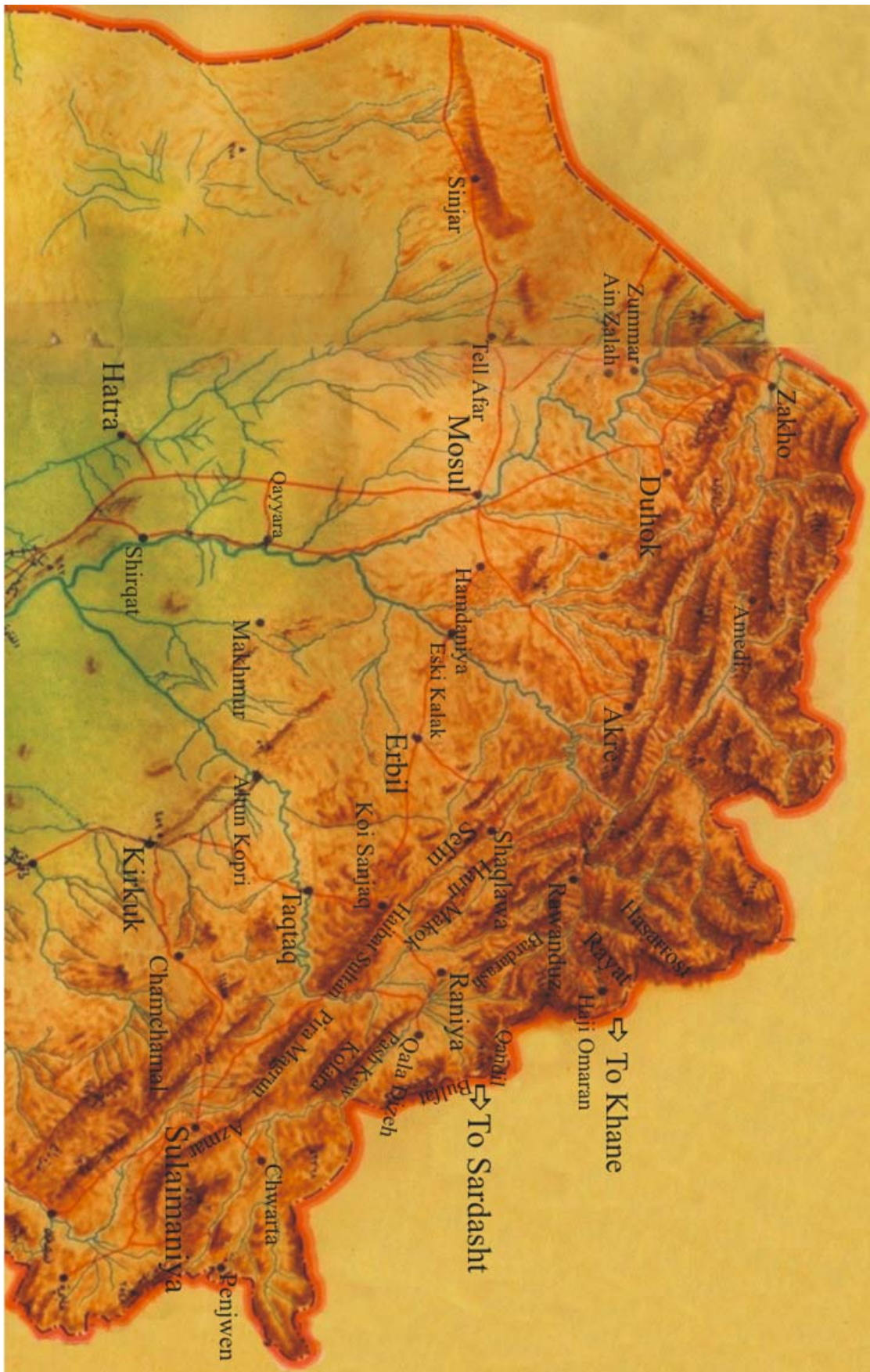
4) Seal impression of Zaziya, found in Mari. After: Beyer and Charpin, *MARI 6*, Paris, 1990, published by Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, figs. 1 and 2, p. 627.



5) The fortifications of Qabrā with the destroyed city gate in the middle. Drawing by the author from the original stele in the Iraq Museum.



Map 1) The plains of Iranian Kurdistan up to Urmia compared to those of Rāniya and Qala Dizēh. Detail of map no.1 in: *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 1, ed. W. B. Fisher.



Map 2) The Rāniya Plain and surroundings.

CHAPTER SEVEN



Towards the Empire



In the previous chapter, we saw the Hurrians fighting for their survival in the Zagros. They, represented by the Turukkeans and the kingdom of Kuwari, did their best to survive the bitter conflict with the Gutians, the Kakmeans and even the Assyrians. Their conflict did not involve only fighting but they also used diplomacy and a complex pattern of alliances.

The period from the end of Ur III until the vassaldom of Utûm to Assyria can be counted as the period of Amorite expansion into Mesopotamia and the Transtigris. We have seen already how they penetrated the territories to the east of the Tigris as early as the time of Iddi(n)-Sîn of Simurru. They settled and consolidated their authority in the Diyāla Region (the Kingdom of Ešnunna), and in the north we find the polities of Ya'ilānum, Aḥazum and Qabrā, all in the Transtigris. The Amorite names of the rulers of these polities, such as Bunu-Eštar of Qabrā, Yašub-Addu of Aḥazum and Bina-Addu of Ya'ilānum, in addition to the name Ya'ilānum itself, all point to an Amorite domination in the region. They were more successful here than in Simurru, where Iddi(n)-Sîn succeeded in holding them at bay, at least for a certain time. As Eidem and Læssøe have suggested, these Amorite rulers, who usurped control of this region in the early second millennium BC, did not reside in ancient prestigious cities like Nineveh and Erbil. Instead, they built new military capitals for their polities, such as Ekallātum and Qabrā. The reason for this was to avoid any dangerous resistance from strong urban-based elites.

By comparing later models, especially those of the 7th century A. D. (see Chapter Eight), we can assume that the Amorites formed the ruling class of the population in this above mentioned region, while the substratum largely remained non-Amorite. Šamšī-Adad began to conquer the region in the last five years of his reign in co-operation with Ešnunna. He put an end to the rule of these different Amorite polities and incorporated them in his empire. Towards the end of his empire, during the reign of his sons Yasmaḥ-Addu and Išme-Dagan and the rise of Turukkean power under Zaziya, the situation was reversed. Then it was the Turukkeans/Hurrians who began a new phase of expansion into the plains east of the Tigris and west of the Tigris up to the Habur. They settled in these lands, controlled its cities and consolidated their presence, establishing kingdoms such as Tig/kunāni. This favourable position of the Hurrians seems to have continued for a couple of centuries until the formation of the Mittanni Empire, which, in fact, had resulted from these developments. The events from the Hurrian revolt until the end of the OB period will be the subject of this chapter.

The Post-Assyrian Phase

The Turukkean Revolt

Not only the land of Utûm but also the whole Transtigris was in turmoil, according to the Shemshāra correspondence. Turukkean chieftains such as Lidāya and Zaziya were busy organizing a revolt against Kuwari and his Assyrian overlords. Some information concerning these movements can be gleaned from the texts. Lidāya was under the authority of Kuwari, but it is not sure whether he was detained as the other Turukkean chieftains were; Zaziya, Ziliya, Ḥazip-Teššup, Tirwen-šēnni and others (see letter no. 8=SH 887). What we do know is that he was summoned to a meeting by Šamšī-Adad and that was successful (no. 7=SH 915).

Kuwari seems to have asked his lord to send Lidāya back to him,¹ perhaps to put him to death, as he had done with Ḥazip-Teššup. But Šamšī-Adad kept him back until the conquest of Nurrugum, according to the same letter. Šamšī-Adad went on to say that, after the conquest of Nurrugum, Lidāya would come with the army to Aḥazum (l. 10-14), indicating that Lidāya personally participated in the siege of Šikšabbum. We also know that he was installed in the city of Burullum, and seemingly endowed with some position there to keep him away from Kuwari.² This city of Burullum seems to be identical with Burulliwe of the administrative texts of Shemshāra, according to Eidem and Læssøe,³ and is less probably the Burullum in the northwest, to the north of Jebel Sinjār.⁴ We suggest this because it was from this city that Lidāya declared his revolt against both Kuwari and his lord Šamšī-Adad, and it was impossible to revolt against Kuwari and Šamšī-Adad from a city so close to the heart of Šamšī-Adad's empire and far from his Turukkean subordinates. It seems that the revolt broke out shortly after letter 20 = SH 905 was sent to Kuwari, in which Šamšī-Adad informed Kuwari about his decision to cut off relations with (and presumably his aid for) the Gutians.⁵ Letter *ARM* 4, 25, from Išme-Dagan to his brother Yasmaḥ-Addu, found in Mari reports the revolt. This letter can be counted among the earliest letters of this phase, since Išme-Dagan still mentions "the king," pointing to his father, meaning that Šamšī-Adad was still alive when the revolt broke out. The letter relates that Lidāya and the Turukkeans who are with him have turned hostile. The designation "The who are with him" is the same designation used to denote that part of the Lullubians who were allied to Kuwari. In the same way, this letter alludes to the 'part' of the Turukkeans who have joined the revolt. Specifically it is to those who were the ones living in Utûm as refugees; the rest of them with part of the citizens of Utûm probably remained loyal, or at least neutral, to Assyria. This is why Išme-Dagan decided to resettle them somewhere close to Arrapha and Qabrā. Evidence for this comes from letter A.562: "The people of Utûm who have been deported to Qabrā and Arrapha, have revolted."⁶ A tablet from Mari, dated to some years after these events, also mentions an Utûm near the Tigris.⁷ In the Habur region there were settlements called Nakabbiniwe and

¹ The verb in line 7 of the letter is broken; only *li-* is preserved. So, the line was restored as *a-n[a] šu-šu-bi-im be-li il-[it-ru-da-šu]* by Læssøe and Jacobsen in Læssøe, J. and Th. Jacobsen, "Šikšabbum Again," *JCS* 42/2 (1990), p. 172; but as *a-šar šu-šu-b[i-i]m be-li [i-iš-pu-ra-am]* by Eidem and Læssøe in Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

² Eidem, "News from the Eastern Front...", *Iraq*, p. 99.

³ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 52. According to Lewy, this is the same Burullum where Šamšī-Adad wanted to install Sîn-idinnam as ruler: Lewy, H., "Studien zur Geographie des alten Mesopotamien," *AfO* 19 (1957), p. 7.

⁴ For this identification, cf. Chapter Six.

⁵ For a discussion of the date of the rebellion, see below.

⁶ 13) LÚ.MEŠ *Ú-ta-i-im*^{ki} 14) *ša a-na Qa-ba-ra-a*^{ki} *ù Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im*^{ki} 15) *na-ás-ḫu ib-ba-al-ki-tu*, Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 121, note 376.

⁷ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

Šillurašwe, which were also names of places in the land of Utûm. The names possibly provide “echoes of the dispersal of Turukkeans across northern Mesopotamia.”⁸ The same letter *ARM* 4, 25 relates that Lidāya had destroyed two cities; no names are given, but one must have been Šušarrā. The letter says:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 4, 25)

Concerning the land of Šušarrā, which you wrote to me about, Išar-Lim will explain to you that this land is troubled, and that we cannot hold it. Lidāya, the Turukkean, and the Turukkeans who are with him (and) who live in that land turned hostile and destroyed two towns. I went to help, but they retreated to the mountains. We deliberated and, since this land cannot be kept under control, I transferred this land, and until, I have settled this land in Arraphum and in the land of Qabrā. The troops have marched home. I am well. You should not worry in the least.⁹

Išme-Dagan reasoned from the situation that the land could no longer be kept under control. This was a correct conclusion, as can be seen from an important fact mentioned in the letter, that the Turukkeans retreated to the mountains when Išme-Dagan marched on. This is a clear example of what became (and had most likely been before) the most effective military tactic to fight larger and mightier armies in the mountainous lands, with quick raids and retreats.

At the sack on Šušarrā and the destruction of its palace the archive unfortunately stops. We must now rely for information on those letters from Mari that give news of the Transtigris. We have letters sent by Šamšī-Adad and Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu, and later letters that the ambassadors, the officials and spies sent to Zimri-Lim, the king of Mari, who regained the throne of his father from the Assyrians.

The reaction to the revolt that was touched upon in letter *ARM* 1, 5 (from Šamšī-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu) seems likely to be the same action of Išme-Dagan that he reported to his brother in *ARM* 4, 25. However, in this letter more details are given. It is also stated in the letter that the king plans to take the command of the army by himself. Other letters show that Yasmaḥ-Addu needed troops to fight the Bina-Yamina tribe at this same time and his father could not send him the troops because of their business in Utûm. Eidem and Læssøe established the sequence of three letters related to this matter; Šamšī-Adad sent the letter *ARM* 1, 67 on the 6th of Ābum to Yasmaḥ-Addu telling him that Ušur-pî-šarrim will explain why the troops he repeatedly asked for had not yet been sent. Two days later Šamšī-Adad received the latest news about the situation in Utûm, and so he sent an update on the 8th of Ābum. He seemed to think that the troubles of the land were ended. Therefore, he determined the date for his departure with his troops to be the middle of the next month. However, when bad news came, such as that in letter *ARM* 4, 25, Šamšī-Adad delayed; the letter *ARM* 2, 8, sent on the 30th of Ābum, promised that the troops would arrive on the 15th of Tīru.¹⁰ These

⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 54; for the names of those Habur settlements and their relation to Turukkean deportees/refugees from Utûm, cf. also Charpin, Review of The Shemshāra Archives 2, *Syria* 71 (1994), p. 459. Charpin calls attention to the association of the people of Nakabbiniwe with grapes and wine in the texts from Mari, which might be an indication of the skills they brought with them from their land where “the culture of wine growing was highly developed,” *ibid.*

⁹ 4) aš-šum ma-a-at Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki} 5) ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am 6) ki-ma ma-tum šī-i id-da-al-la-ḥu 7) ù ku-ul-la-ša la ni-le-ú 8) ^mI-šar-Li-im li-id-bu-ba-kum 9) ^mLi-da-a-ia LÚ Tu-ru-ku-ú 10) ù LÚ Tu-ru-ku-ú ša it-ti-šu 11) ša i-na ma-a-tim ša-a-ti wa-aš-bu 12) ik-ki-ru-ma 2 a-la-ni^{ki} i[g]-mu-ru 13) a[n]-ḥa-ri-ir-ma 14) [a-na] li-ib-bi KUR-i i-[r]u-[b]u 15) ni-iš-7-ta-al-ma 16) ki-ma ma-tum šī-i 17) a-na k[u]-ul-lim la ir-re-du-ú 18) ma-a-tam ša-a-ti 19) as-[su-u]ḥ-ma 20) m[a-tam ša-ti i-na A]r-ra-ap-ḥi-im^{ki} 21) ù [i-na ma-a-a]t Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} 22) a-d[i]² x x i]š [ú]-še-ši-ib-[m]a 23) [ša-bu-um š]a li-ib-bi ma-tim 24) [ip-ta-....-a]t-tā-ar 25) [ša-al-ma]-ku mi-im-ma li-ib-bi-ka 26) [la] i-na-ḥi-id, Dossin, *ARM* 4, Paris, 1951, p. 44; lines 19-22 as collated, cf. Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim,” *MARI* 4, Paris, 1985, p. 312, note 91.

¹⁰ Cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 52-53.

events could be dated to the *limmu* Awīliya of the MEC, which mentions a defeat of the Turukkû and a victory of Yasmaḥ-Addu over the Bina-Yamina, as tentatively proposed by Eidem and Læssøe¹¹ (see also the eponymic chronicle, under Chronology). The last part of letter *ARM 1, 5*, dated on the 8th of Ābum and sent from Šubat-Enlil, reports:

Šamši-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM 1, 5*)

Concerning the report that Ušur-pî-šarrim will give you, the enemy positioned with Lidāya before Išme-Dagan heard the din of the armies gathering around Išme-Dagan, and gave up their town, pulled out and left. Išme-Dagan seized their town Burullum. He has calmed and subjugated the whole land of Utûm. He has placed it under a single command. The troops have marched home. They will rest two or three days in their houses and reassemble to me. I shall take command of the troops, and by the middle of next month, I will reach my destination there. Be aware of this! Until I come up, just keep the troops ready!¹²

This letter too confirms the use of guerrilla tactics by the Turukkeans. The rebels retreated to the mountains and left their city to the approaching army of the Assyrians. Išme-Dagan, thinking he was victorious and putting an end to the revolt, has withdrawn from the land, after reorganizing its administration and putting it under one command. Unfortunately, the identity of this commander is not given.

The Revolt Expands

Eidem and Læssøe are correct in assuming that, with the return of the troops of Išme-Dagan from the campaign on Lidāya, the news of the revolt would have spread across the whole of northern Mesopotamia with obvious consequences.¹³ The many Turukkeans who had been resettled in different parts of Northern Mesopotamia, as noted already, must have heard about the revolt. Such news as the failure of Išme-Dagan to crush the revolt and capture Lidāya must have been a great encouragement for all the Turukkeans to start a great revolt, including those who had been resettled in the plains of Qabrā, Arrapha (see above, letter A.562) and the Habur.¹⁴ Of course, the Turukkeans too knew that the country of Utûm could no longer be held by the Assyrians, a fact admitted by Išme-Dagan in his letter to his brother. A very important point is that also those Turukkeans participated in the revolt who had been transferred by Išme-Dagan. Those Turukkeans were transferred, as we understand from the texts, in order to protect them from the consequences of the revolt because of their assumed loyalty to Assyria. So, what pushed these loyal groups then to join a rebellion against their lords? It seems reasonable to doubt that they were transferred of their own free

¹¹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹² 24) *aš-šum te₄-mi-im ša Ú-šur-KA-LUGAL* 25) *ú-we-e-ra-ak-kum* 26) *na-ak-rum ša it-ti Li-da-a-ia* 27) *a-na pa-an Iš-me^d-Da-gan úš-bu* 28) *tu-uk-ki um-ma-na-a-tim* 29) *ša a-na še-er Iš-me^d-Da-gan ip-ḥu-ra* 30) *iš-me-ma a-al-šu id-di-i-ma* 31) *it-bé-e-ma it-ta-la-ak* 32) ^m*I[š-m]e^d-Da-gan a-al-šu* 33) *Bu-ru-ul-la-[x]^{ki} iš-ša-ba-at* 34) *ma-a-at Ú-te-em [k]a-la-ša ut-te-eḫ ú-ta-aq^(ÁŠ)-qí-in* 35) *a-na pí-i-im iš-te-en uš-te-[ši]-ib-ši* 36) *ša-bu-um a-na li-ib-bi ma-a-tim ip-ta-at-ra-am* 37) U₄ 2.KAM 3.[KAM] *i-na É.ĤA-Šu-nu* 38) *i-nu-uḫ-ḥu-ma i-pa-aḫ-ḥu-ru-nim* 39) *pa-an ša-bi-im ka-li-šu a-ša-ab-ba-at-ma* 40) *i-na li-ib-bi [I]TI an-ni-i-im* 41) *qa-du-um um-[m]a-[n]a-a-tim* 42) *a-na re-eš A.ŠĀ-ia a-ša-ri-iš* 43) *a-ka-aš-ša-dam an-ni-tam lu-ú ti-de-e* 44) *a-di e-li-ia ša na-ša-ar ša-bi-im-ma* 45) *e-pu-úš*, Dossin, *ARM 1, 5*, p. 30; Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 275; Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 52-3; Durand, *LPO II*, p. 115-6. According to Durand, the restoration of l. 34 is: *ma-a-at Ú-te-em [k]a-la-ša ut-te-eḫ ú <it>-ta-ás-ki-in*, *op. cit.*, p. 116, note 250; by replacing the verb *šakānu* with *sakānu* “to reside,” the meaning becomes “and the population remained there (in Utûm).” However, the use of Ú for Ū is questionable.

¹³ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 54. This assumes the date of the revolt in the Habur was after the revolt in Utûm; Villard, followed by Wu Yuhong (see below) suggest it was after that revolt.

¹⁴ Charpin thinks that the revolt was coupled with the revolt of the army that Išme-Dagan sent to Šunâ and Aparḫa, cf. Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177.

will. But there are two texts that indicate they were not forced. The first is the letter of Išme-Dagan (*ARM* 1, 25) that gives the impression that they were displaced because they were counted as loyal citizens. The second is the important Shemshāra letter no. 13, in which Šamšī-Adad orders Kuwari concerning the Turukkeans as follows: “Now assemble the country, and tell them thus: “He who wants to can stay here; he who does not want to stay here can go to my Lord!” Tell them this” (l. 33-38) (see above). The unpublished letter of Išar-Lim (M.5659) reports the same incident, but still does not help to explain whether this transfer was voluntary or compulsory. The related section of the letter reports:

Išar-Lim to ??? (M.5659)

I deported them [togeth]er with their oxen and th[eir] sheep, and settled half of them in the land of Arrapha and half of them in the land of Qabrā.¹⁵

Be that as it may, the participation of the Turukkeans of the homeland and of what we may call their diaspora can be considered as a reflection of a common consciousness, based on blood ties within the tribe and strict compliance to the tribal chiefs. It is also worth discussing whether the revolt was staged only by the transferred Turukkeans. For Eidem it was the transferred Turukkeans who launched the revolt, not an “invasion” of nomadic tribesmen of the Habur region in the time of Šamšī-Adad.¹⁶ Charpin, contrary to Eidem, is of the opinion that the situation had more to do with an invasion.¹⁷ This seems likely because the range and strength of the military operations that threatened the Assyrian Empire in its core area, close to the capital Šubat-Enlil, cannot have been the work of hundreds or even thousands of transferred Turukkeans. These transferred groups consisted of families where only the adult males were warriors, so the number of fighters would be less than the total of the transferred Turukkeans. We know that there were 10,000 troops which Išme-Dagan commanded to rescue the Tillā region that was under Turukkean threat (letter A.863, see below), which means that only there the Turukkeans were at least half of that number.¹⁸ The revolt of Lidāya certainly opened the door to thousands more Turukkeans to invade the plains to the east of the Tigris, from Arrapha up to Nineveh, and later further to the west of the Tigris. Another problem arises here, in that there is no allusion to such a mass migration of Turukkeans to the Habur region in the texts. In this regard we should not forget the Hurrian population of the Habur area who were organized in kingdoms, such as Nawar and Urkeš, in the periods before the emergence of the Šamšī-Adad dynasty, in addition to the Hurrians of the southern Anatolian mountain lands, who were geographically and ethnically connected with the Hurrians of the Habur area. This huge Hurrian population must have joined the Turukkeans to put an end to the Assyrian rule.¹⁹ The more likely possibility is that the name Turukkean may have been applied by the Assyrians to all the Hurrians involved in the revolt, perhaps due to the Turukkean leadership of the revolt or just because of their common ethnic

¹⁵ 15) [it-t]i GU₄.HÁ-šū-nu 16) ù UDU.HÁ-š[u-nu] 17) na-sa-ḫu-um-ma 18) mu-ut-ta-tam i-na ma-at Ar-ra-^rap-ḫi⁷-im^{ki} 19) ù mu-ut-ta-tam i-na ma-at 20) Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} ú-še-eš-še-eb, Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 166, note 59. Note that the verb *nasāḫumma* is in the infinitive.

¹⁶ Eidem, J., “From the Zagros to Aleppo- and Back, Chronological Notes on the Empire of Šamšī-Adad,” *Akkadica* 81 (1993), p. 23.

¹⁷ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177. Villard also thinks of Turukkean “immigration” in the light of the serious problems they suffered in the Zagros: Villard, P., “La mort de Sūmu-Epuḫ et la révolte des Turukkéens,” *NABU* 1993, no. 119, p. 102.

¹⁸ A rule in the military science is that an attacking force must be two to three times larger than a defending force, and we assume that this was the same in antiquity.

¹⁹ Support for this view comes from the statement of Charpin and Ziegler, who find that the Turukkean revolt was not the only problem the kingdom faced in its core area. In addition it faced resistance from the local population of the Habur area against the dynasty: Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 16-7. The letter A.315 (see below) is a good example for this.

background. Another look at the revolt, from an ethnic point of view, reveals that the revolt can also be seen as a revolt of the Hurrian substratum against the Amorite immigrants, who formed the superstratum in this phase. Hatred of the Amorite dynasty of Šamši-Adad is not to be assumed only in the Hurrian lands. In the inscription of Puzur-Sîn of Assyria, who ruled after the overthrow of the Šamši-Adad dynasty, he explicitly expresses his hatred:

Puzur-Sîn

When Puzur-Sîn, vice-regent of the god Aššur, son of Aššur-bēl-šamê, destroyed the evil of Asînum, offspring of Šamši-[Adad],²⁰ who was ... of the city Aššur, (at that time) [I (= Puzur-Sîn) removed] A foreign plague, not of the flesh of [the city] Aššur. The god Aššur justly ... [with] his pure hands and I, by the command of Aššur himself my lord, destroyed that improper thing which he had worked on, (namely) the wall and palace of Šamši-Adad, his grandfather, (who was) a foreign plague, not of the flesh of the city Aššur, and who had destroyed the shrines of the city Aššur.²¹

Further Expansion; into the Habur Region

According to the reconstruction of the events presented by Eidem and Læssøe, the great revolt began a few months after its start in Utûm.²² Some Mari letters provide valuable information about these developments and the spread of the revolt to areas as far as the Habur area. One of the hot-spots of the conflict was in and around Amursakkum. Išme-Dagan was residing in Šuna at the beginning of the month, and on hearing of the revolt he hastened to Amursakkum.²³ Letter ARM 1, 90 gives important information concerning Amursakkum:

Šamši-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 1, 90)

In Amursakkum, where (the) Turukkeans are staying, Dādanum with 2,000 Nurrageans is stationed alone on one flank in the siege lines. In order to break through the blockade(?)²⁴ the enemy (chose) to approach Dādanum to fight with an auxiliary force,²⁵ and they killed him, and they also killed 5 soldiers with him. Later they drove a herd²⁶ back and 50 enemies were killed. Išar-Lim stayed with him, (but) Išar-Lim is safe; the troops are safe. Both flanks²⁷ are secured; the armies are reinforcing the siege lines, digging a moat, and encircling the (whole) town with siege lines. I fear that if you unofficially hear an important person has been killed, you will worry, (but) you should not worry at all; the armies are safe.²⁸

²⁰ He may have been one of the members of Šamši-Adad's royal house.

²¹ 1) [i]-nu-me 2) [P]û-zur^s EN.ZU 3) [É]NSI A.šur 4) [DUM]U(?) A-šur-be-el-AN-e 5) 'le-mu-tu' A-si-nim 6) [pa-r]a-a' UTU-ši-rd[IM] 7) 'ša x pu' [x š]a UR[U Aš]-šur^r 8) 'ú-na'-ap-[pi]-lu x 9) [x x] x [x] re-di-'am' 10) [a]-na URU Aš-šur [(lu) ú-up(?)]-pi-šu 11) x x ú a-ḫi MU-šu 12) [š]i-bi-i[t(?) 'a-ḫi-tim(?)] la ší-ir 13) [URU] A-šurrd 14) [...] x 15) A-š[ur x x (x)] x qa-te-š'u 16) KÛ.[MEŠ]-ti 17) i-na 'ki-na'-te-šu 18) ú-'ZA(?)'-i-da-šu-ma 19) la dam-qa-'am' šu-a-ti 20) 'i'-na 'qi'-bi-it A-šur-ma 21) [b]e-li-a qa-at u[p-p]i-šu 22) [BÀ]D.KI(?) ù É.GAL 23) UTU-ši-^d[M] 24) a-bu a-bi-š[u] ší-bi-i[t(?) 25) a-ḫi-tim la UZU URU Aš-š[ur] 26) ša iš-ra-at URU Aš-š[ur] 27) ú-na-ak-ki-ru^r-[m]a, Grayson, RIMA 1, p. 77-8.

²² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

²³ This, according to the letter M.8145+, dated on the 24th of I; cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 115, and note 333.

²⁴ Durand has "ford." Durand, *LAPO II*, p. 88.

²⁵ The word *mu'arrirum* is for Durand a PN, not "auxiliary force;" cf. Durand, J.-M., "Documents pour l'histoire du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie, I," *MARI 5*, Paris, 1987, p. 171.

²⁶ For the discussion of the term *ḫallatum* and its meaning, which was already read by Dossin as the Sumerian logogram ḪA.LA, "portion, share," cf. Durand, *LAPO II*, p. 89-90 g; Durand, "Documents pour l'histoire ...," *MARI 5*, p. 171 c.

²⁷ Durand: "the situation" instead of "both flanks;" Durand, *LAPO II*, p. 89.

²⁸ 4) i-na A-mur-sà-ak-k[i-i]m^{ki} 5) a-šar [L]Ú.MEŠ Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú wa-aš-bu 6) i-na ka-ra-ši-im Da-da-nu-um 7) it-ti 2 li-im Nu-ru-ga-i^k[[†]] 8) a-na ra-ma-ni-im-ma i-na i-di iš-te-en 9) wa-ši-ib na-ak-rum a-na ḫa-ra-di-im 10) pa-r[a-

It is clear from the letter that the Turukkeans had been entrenched in the city in the face of the Assyrians laying siege to them. This seems to have taken place in the autumn of 1779 BC (end of month I* of the *limmu* Awīlīya).²⁹ Auxiliaries from Nurrugum under the command of Dādanum,³⁰ who was a high-ranking general, helped the Assyrians, but the Turukkeans, realizing that auxiliaries are a weak part of an army,³¹ attacked the Nurrugeans and killed Dādanum. At this point letter M.8145+ that was sent by Išme-Dagan to his brother, mentions Dādanum, and after a lacuna he tries to calm the fear of Yasmaḥ-Addu, who appears to have been seriously worried on hearing of the death of Dādanum.³² Another attack on the Turukkeans was unsuccessful; although 50 of them were killed they were able to break through the Assyrian siege and secure provisions for four days. Because of this Išme-Dagan resolved to destroy anything edible or any food-supplies locally available to deprive the Turukkeans of provisions. This information comes from two letters, *ARM* 4, 52 and *ARM* 4, 42. In the first, Išme-Dagan relates to his brother:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 4, 52)

A refugee has arrived from Amursa[kkum] and sa[id] the following: “The Tu[rukkeans] have [crossed?] the moat of Amu[rsakkum] and [took?/looted?] provisions (enough for) 4 days. He said (also): “I have deserted the army.”³³

In the other letter Išme-Dagan writes to his brother how he has prevented the Turukkeans getting provisions, a method Durand describes as the first recorded instance of following a scorched earth policy:³⁴

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 4, 42)

... and I set fire to the environs of Amursakkum as far as half a mile. I destroyed the provisions of the enemy.³⁵

s]i-im a-[na pa-n]i Da-[d]a-n[u]-um 11) a-na ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.MEŠ ša-k[a-nim 12) it-ti Mu-ḥa-ri-ri-im iṭ-ḥe-ma id-[d]u-ku-šu 13) ù 5 AGA.UŠ.MEŠ it-ti-šu id-du-ku wa-ar-ka-nu-um 14) ḥa-la-tam ú-te-er-ru-ma 50 na-ak-ra-am id-du-ku 15) ^mI-šar-Li-im it-ti-šu ú-ši-ib 16) ^mI-šar-Li-im ša-lim 17) [š]a-bu-um ša-lim 18) [iṣ-d]a-an ki-na um-ma-na-tum 19) ka-ra-ša-am i-pi-ša 20) ḥi-ri-tam i-ḥi-re-e 21) a-lam^{ki} ka-ra-ša-am i-ka-pa-pa 22) as-sú-ur-ri aš-šum a-wi-il šu-mi-im 23) di-ku i-na a-ḥi-ti-ku-nu te-še-me-ma 24) [l]i-i[b]ba-k]u-nu i-na-ḥi-id 25) [mi-im]-ma li-[i]b-ba-ku-nu la i-na-ḥi-id 26) [u]m-[ma]-na-tum [š]a-al-[ma], Dossin, *ARM* 1, 90, p. 160-2; Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives 2 (ShA 2)*, p. 19; Durand, “Documents ...,” *MARI* 5, p. 70-1; restorations and corrections by Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 88-90.

²⁹ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177. Note that Charpin and Ziegler point out the absence of any text dated to month I* of Awīlīya; they attribute this to a delay in the nomination of the new *limmu* after the end of Aššur-malik due to the restriction imposed on the movement of messengers when the revolt broke out. They cite the letter of Išḫi-Addu in which he reminds Yasmaḥ-Addu of holding his and their envoys from going to Išḫi-Addu as evidence for this: Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 115.

³⁰ Durand derives the name from *dādum*, “paternal uncle;” Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 89. It is worth noting, as Charpin and Ziegler do, that 15 months after its capture Nurrugum provided troops for its conqueror; cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 109, note 277.

³¹ Eidem, *ShA* 2, p. 19. Eidem has corrected the translation Durand offered for this letter, cf. *ibid*, note 22.

³² Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 115, note 334.

³³ 5) 1 L[Ú] ma-aq-tum iṣ-tu A-mu-ur-sa-[ki-im^{ki}] 6) im-qú-ut-ma ki-a-am i[q-bi]-e-e[m] 7) um-ma-mi ‘LÚ’ Tu-[ru-uk-ku-ú (?) 8) ḥi-ri-tam ša A-mu-u[r-sà-ki-im^{ki} i-bi-ru] 9) ù šì-dì-it U₄.K[AM il-qú-u] 10) um-ma-mi ša-ba-a[m...] 11) [a]-^lna^l-ku-ma e-zi-[ib...], Dossin, *ARM* 4, 52, p. 78-9; restoration of l. 9 by Durand, *LAPO* II, Paris, 1998, no. 498, p. 90.

³⁴ Durand, *LAPO*, II, p. 91.

³⁵ 9) ù i-ta-a[t] 10) A-mu-ur-sà-ki-i[m^{ki}] 11) bé-ra-a A.ŠÀG [zu-za-am] 12) aq-ta-mi-[ma] 13) ú-ku-ul-la-a-a[m] 14) ša na-ak-ri-im uḥ-ta-al-li-iq, Dossin, *ARM* 4, 42, p. 66-7; correction of l. 11-12 by: Durand, *LAPO*, II, p. 91.

Letter *ARM* 4, 53 shows that the Assyrians have communicated with the Turukkeans by sending a message through a prisoner, but we do not know whether this was to negotiate or to send warnings to them:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 4, 53)

The king has sent me the following message: "Write to Yasmaḥ-Addu to send you one of the two prisoners that Tāb-eli-ummanāti-šu brought to you and send him to Amursakki." Now, send me a prisoner who is capable of handling the affairs so that he enters Amursakku.³⁶

The siege of Amursakkum ended when it was abandoned by the Turukkeans, despite the approach of the winter. They had to endure the rain and suffered from casualties inflicted by the pursuing troops of Išme-Dagan. As the Turukkeans fled, in order to save their injured comrades from being taken prisoner, they killed 100 of them with their own hands and left behind many chariots.³⁷ They then stationed in an empty town near Niṭḫum to the north of Amaz,³⁸ on the route from Kaḫat, in order to raid the land of Tillā. This is recorded in letter A.863, and gives an approximate idea of where Amursakkum was located. The GN is found in some OB tablets from the lower town at Leylān (ancient Šubat-Enlil) indicating it was near there, somewhere in the Habur Basin.³⁹ According to Charpin, Amursakkum was located in the region of Nuṣaybin, to the northwest of Šubat-Enlil.⁴⁰

Šamši-Adad's response to the new move of the rebels was a reorganization of the defence by sending Išme-Dagan at the head of 10,000 troops to Marētum. He sent other troops to Sabbanum and Eluḫut⁴¹ to cut off the Turukkeans if they decided to flee in front of Išme-Dagan.⁴² The letter A.863 reports as follows:

? to ? (A.863)

Another matter: a tablet from Išme-Dagan has reached me (edited) in the following terms: "The enemy has left Amursakkum in force and established himself in Tillā⁴³ on the route from Kaḫat with the intention of raiding the land of Tillā, taking the

³⁶ 5) LUGAL *ki-a-am iš-pu-ra-am* 6) *um-ma-mi i-na 2 a-si-ri* 7) *ša Tā-ab-el-um-ma-ni-šu* 8) *ú-ša-ri-em* 9) [*a-n*]a *še-er* 10) [^m*Ia*]-*ás-ma-aḫ*-^d[*M*] 11) *1 a-si-ra-am* 12) *li-it-ru-ni-kum-ma* 13) *a-[n]a A-mu-ur-a-sa-ki*^{ki} 15) *šu-p[u]-ur-šu* 16) *i-na-an-na 1 a-si-ra-am* 17) *ša a-wa-tim ku-ul-la-am* 18) *i-le-ú šu-ri-im-ma* 19) *a-na A-mu-ur-a-sa-ki*^{ki} 20) *li-ru-ub*, Dossin, *ARM* 4, p. 78-9; Durand, *LAPO* I, p. 185-6. It seems that Durand agrees with Sasson in the assumption that the prisoner was destined to fill a position in the city (Durand, *ibid.* and Sasson, J., *The Military Establishments at Mari*, 1969, p. 48), while to Eidem it was to make him bear a message (Eidem, *ShA* 2, p. 19), which seems the more likely suggestion.

³⁷ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177; Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 116.

³⁸ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177.

³⁹ Eidem, *ShA* 2, p. 20.

⁴⁰ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177. This is the location proposed by Kessler: Kessler, K., *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens nach keilschriftlichen Quellen des I. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 209. Durand identifies it with the MA Amasakku (a dependency of Ḫanigalbat) and NA Masakku, which neighboured Šudduḫum, Ta'idum, Ḫurrā and Kaḫat, and formed a large part of the region of Nuṣaybin, probably in Tell Muhammed; cf. for this Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 115, note 331; Durand, *LAPO* I, p. 185. A probable etymology of this name is tentatively proposed by Durand as *āmur-asakkī* "I have noticed/seen my taboo" in Durand, *LAPO* I, p. 185 a, and, in contrast to this, he adds that the name is without doubt non-Semitic. It is noted that it has the same suffixes as the names Ašlakkā and Ašnakk(um). For the proposed etymology *Volksetymologie* needs to be considered. There are examples of giving Amorite/Semitic names to some GNs that were phonetically similar to the older original non-Semitic names, such as Erbil: *A/I/Urbil* → *Arba-il(um)*.

⁴¹ Possibly Eluḫut had already suffered from Turukkean devastation according to Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 116.

⁴² Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 116.

⁴³ Charpin translated *Til-la-a*^{ki} as "in a tell," while the GN Tillā is most likely; cf. Wu Yuhong, "The Extent of Turukkean Raids during the Reign of Šamši-Adad I," *JAC* 8 (1993), p. 121, note to l. 5'.

grain." Išme-Dagan, having heard this, went to the rescue with 10,000 men, and installed himself at Marêtum.⁴⁴

During the winter, while Šamšī-Adad was staying in Andarig,⁴⁵ the two brothers, Išme-Dagan and Yasmaḥ-Addu, stayed in the Habur area and secured a number of regions, such as Kaḥat, Tilla, Ḥassikkanum Ḥurašum, and exchanged several letters.⁴⁶ From one of them we learn that the local population of the region, or at least those of the land of Kaḥat, supported and encouraged the Turukkean revolt:

Šamšī-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (A.315+M.8103)

.... he said to me [this]: "[The men of the l]and of Kaḥat wrote to [the Turu]kkeans as follows: '[It is out of fear that y]ou haste to make peace. [Do not ma]ke peace!'.⁴⁷" This is what he said to me.⁴⁷

For this, the garrisons round Kaḥat, in the three towns of Nilibšunnu, Kallaḥubra and Kabittum, were each reinforced with 100 troops.⁴⁸ Yasmaḥ-Addu seemingly left for Mari afterwards, for he was there on 21 V* Awīliya; his troops may have gone back gradually. The troops which were under Aššur-tillassu reached Mari on 4 VI* Awīliya, while a contingent from Mari seems to have been kept by Išme-Dagan.⁴⁹ This is indicated in a letter of Mašiya to Yasmaḥ-Addu (A.562, dated around VII* Awīliya) in which he explains why his personal guard is not back: they had gone with Išme-Dagan to pursue the Turukkeans in the mountains.⁵⁰ Probably these operations pushed the Turukkeans to the north and northeast, towards Tigunānum. The hot-spot has now moved there.

From other letters we learn that the revolt did not restrict itself to the regions round Šubat-Enlil. Rather there are reports that they threatened the regions of Karanā, Qaṭṭara and Appaya to the southeast. Letter *ARM* 5, 43 reports:

Ḥasidānum to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 5, 43)

I listened to the tablet my lord sent to me. My lord wrote to me that Sumiya came from Talmuš, saying: "The enemy has gathered in Ašal." My lord wrote that to me. Now all in the district of Šašaranum have been ordered to enter Apqum⁵¹ and Zanipa, and those in the district of Yanuḥ-Samar have been ordered to enter Sanduwatum.⁵²

⁴⁴ Charpin, D., "A Contribution to the Geography and History of the Kingdom of Kaḥat," *Tall al-Ḥamīdīya 2, Symposion: Recent Excavations in the Upper Khabur Region, Berne, December 9-11, 1986*, eds. S. Eichler, M. Wäfler and D. Warburton, Göttingen, 1990, p. 75-6, note 29. The unpublished fragmentary letter was quoted first by G. Bardet in *ARM* 23, p. 68-9. The GN Marêtum, according to Charpin, is the contracted form of Mriyātum, located in the region between Kaḥat and Tillā; cf. Charpin, *ibid*.

⁴⁵ Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 117 and note 351. There is evidence of his existence there on 15 VI* Awīliya as attested in a tablet from Chagar Bazar (*OBTCB* 3).

⁴⁶ Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 116.

⁴⁷ 8) [... ki-a-am] iḡ-bé-e-em 9) [um-ma šu-ma LÚ.MEŠ ma]-a-at Ka-ḥa-at^{ki} 10) [a-na LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru]-uk-ki-t^{ki} iš-pu-ru-nim um-ma-mi 11) [as-sú-re ta-a]ḥ-mu-tà-ma ta-ás-[l]i-ma 12) [la ta-sa-a]l-li-ma, Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 117, note 347. Note the great difference from the previous transliteration in Charpin, "A Contribution to the ...," *Tall al-Ḥamīdīya* ..., p. 73.

⁴⁸ Cf. the rest of the letter in Charpin, "A Contribution to ...," p. 74-5.

⁴⁹ Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 117.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 117, note 350.

⁵¹ Wu Yuhong mistakenly writes Aqum: Wu Yuhong, *JAC*, p. 119.

⁵² 5) [tu]p-pa-am ša be-lí ú-ša-bi-lam eš-me 6) ki-ma Su-mu-ia iš-tu Ta-al-mu-ús^{ki} 7) il-li-kam um-ma-ami 8) na-ak-rum i-na A-ša-al^{ki} 9) pa-ḥi-ir an-ni-tam 10) [be]-lī iš-pu-ra-am 11) [i-na]-an-na ḥa-la-aš 12) ^mŠa-ša-ra-nim 13) i-na Ap-qí-im^{ki} 14) ù i-na Za-ni-pa-a^{ki}-ma [šu-ru]-bu 15) ù ḥa-la-aš Ia-nu-uh-sa-mar 16) i-na Sa-an-du-wa-tim^{ki} šu-ru-bu, Wu Yuhong, *JAC* 8, p. 119; Durand, *LAPPO* II, p. 119-20.

That somebody from Talmuš brought the news of the enemy's advance (that of the Turukkeans) means that Ašal⁵³ was closer to Talmuš than to Karanā and Qaṭṭara (= Rimāh), where Ḥasidanum was governor. Both Durand and Wu Yuhong identify Apqum as modern Abu Mariya⁵⁴ and Zanipa to the southeast of it, while Sanduwatum was northwest of Assur.⁵⁵ Another letter from the same governor to Yasmaḥ-Addu shows that the approaching Turukkeans threatened the regions of Karanā and Qaṭṭara:

Ḥasidanum to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 5, 37)

There are no oxen and sheep in the land at all. They have moved away from the steppe. The donkeys of my lord [.....]. Let those near Karanā enter Karanā! Let those near Qaṭṭara enter Qaṭṭara! And let those near Appaya enter Appaya! All the land has been collected into the fortresses. May my lord not be worried!⁵⁶

Wu Yuhong is correct in concluding that the whole region from Jebel Sinjār to the Tigris was under Turukkean threat: the cities Saduwatum and Assur to Zanipa and Apqum, including Karanā and Qaṭṭara.⁵⁷ This is confirmed by a letter from Sumiya to his lord Yasmaḥ-Addu, in which he writes:

Sumiya to Yasmaḥ-Addu (A.4197)

When Suḥum on the Euphrates rebelled my lord wrote repeatedly for troops; but the land (here) also rebelled, and all the troops at our disposal were deployed here, and for this reason we could not send troops to our lord.⁵⁸

The letter points to the calmness that prevailed in the regions of Nurrugum (round Nineveh), Razama, Azuḥinum (both in the Sinjār region), Šudā, and Šubat-Enlil (in the Habur) after the revolt ended. It shows also that Adal-šenni could go back to Burundum in the north. These regions practically cover the majority of Northern Mesopotamia.⁵⁹

The need for grain reported in the letters in relation to Amursakkum has become a priority in Tignānum.⁶⁰ Some letters that touch upon the circumstances there speak of a more urgent

⁵³ According to Wu Yuhong, Ašal was a city of the Turukkeans: Wu Yuhong, *JAC* 8, p. 114. However, a city close to Talmuš is hardly Turukkean. Rather it was a city in the region of Nineveh, like Talmuš itself, which was not a Turukkean region but most likely Hurrian. This description would be correct only if our suggestion to identify the Turukkeans of the correspondence of Išme-Dagan and Šamšī-Adad with the Hurrians is true (see above). To Durand, Ašal was located to the northeast of Rimāh: Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 120 a. For the Hurrian name and identity of Talmuš, cf. Chapter Four.

⁵⁴ Durand refers to Hallo, *JCS* 18 (1964), p. 73.

⁵⁵ Wu Yuhong, *JAC* 8, p. 115; Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 120 d and f; Durand makes an allusion to the location of Sanduwatum on the route from Assur to Kaniš, as referred to by Garelli in Garelli, P., *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, p. 85-85, XXVI 527. Therefore, it was in the eastern part of Upper Mesopotamia. He prefers a location in the east southeast of Sinjār: Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 120 f.

⁵⁶ 6) *mi-im-ma* GU₄.ḪA ù UDU.ḪA 7) *i-na li-bi ma-a-tim ú-ul i-ba-aš-šu-ú* 8) *i-na qa-ši-im-ma* 9) *du-up-pu-ru-ú* 10) [ù] ANŠE.ḪA *ša be-l[i-ia]* 11) [..... (Lacuna)] 1') *qé-er-be-et Ka-ra-na-a*^{ki} 2') *a-na Ka-ra-na-a*^{ki} *li-ru-bu* 3') *qé-er-be-et Qa-tà-ra-a*^{ki} 4') *a-na Qa-tà-ra-a*^{ki} *li-ru-bu* 5') ù *qé-er-be-et Ap-pa-ia*^{ki} 6') *a-na Ap-pa-ia*^{ki} 7') *li-ru-bu* 8') *ma-a-tum a-na a-al dan-na-tim* 9') *ka-am-sa-at* 10') *li-ib-bi be-lí-ia* 11') *la i-na-aḥ-ḫi-id*, Wu Yuhong, *JAC* 8, p. 120 (line numbering misses one line between 5 and 10); restoration of l. 10 by Durand, *LAPO* II, p 106-7.

⁵⁷ Wu Yuhong, *JAC* 8, p. 115.

⁵⁸ 3) *i-nu-ma Su-ḫi-a*^{ki} *ša a-aḥ Pu-ra-a[t-tim]* 4) *ib-ba-al-ki-tu be-lí a-na ṣa-bi-[im]* 5) *iš-ta-ap-pa-ra-am ù ma-a-tum* [?] 6) *ib-ba-al-ki-it-ma ṣa-bu-um* 7) *ša qa-ti-ne ka-lu-šu it-ta-'al-kam*⁷ 8) [*i*] *k-ke-em ṣa-ba-am a-na ṣe-er* 9) [*b*] *e-lí-ne ú-ul ni-it-ru-dam*, Van Koppen, F., "L'expédition à Tilmun et la révolte des bédouins," *MARI* 8, Paris, 1997, p. 426 and note 38.

⁵⁹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Van Koppen, *ibid.*

⁶⁰ Durand located Tignānum on the left bank of the Tigris, to the east of modern Diyarbakir, on the route that joins Amuda-Mardin at the course of the Tigris: Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 81; Durand, *LAPO* I, p. 130. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 50-51 and 117, note 353, almost agree with Durand, putting it on the left bank of the Upper Tigris, but some 50 km downstream from Diyarbakir, perhaps close to modern Bismil. This identification is

situation under the Turukkeans. The letters say that they were starving and therefore raiding neighbouring territory, such as Ĥirbazānum. The report that the need for food had pushed them to think of going back to their “own” country is important in this respect.⁶¹ Letters *ARM* 4, 23; 24 and 76 (dated month VIII*)⁶² deal with the circumstances in this place. In the first letter Išme-Dagan relates that he pursued the Turukkeans who crossed the river and entered the land of Tiginānum. The Turukkeans benefited from the river in flood which hindered the pursuit of the troops of Išme-Dagan:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 4, 23)

You have written to me about the Turukkeans. Since the Turukkeans went out, I have been in trouble so that I did not write to you the news about the Turukkeans. I kept driving them without a truce. I killed many troops. When the (enemy) arrived on the bank of the river they stayed there. Since the river was in flood they could not cross. However, I made a squad cross and dispatched it to the land of Tiginānum. After the squad (crossed), when the river was lower, the Turukkeans crossed over in the night. After they (crossed) the river flooded again so that I could not cross. Now the Turukkeans have entered the land of Tiginānum. I was told that they will depart for their land.⁶³

This letter was very likely the reply to the letter *ARM* 4, 87 by Yasmaḥ-Addu to Išme-Dagan, in which he expressed his worry about the news of the “going out” of the Turukkeans, but no more news was sent to him.⁶⁴ Another letter from Išme-Dagan (*ARM* 4, 76) again says that the Turukkeans still intend to go back to their land. However, a very important clue the letter provides is the date of the events in Tiginānum. The first part of the letter preserves a quotation from a previous letter of Yasmaḥ-Addu to Išme-Dagan, in which he tells his brother about the journey he made to Tuttul.⁶⁵ The journey of Yasmaḥ-Addu to Tuttul was preceded by raids of Sumu-Epuḥ of Yamḥad on that city some months before (month VII*) (*ARM* 4, 10). There is also a report about this Sumu-Epuḥ, that he had spread the news that he had twice supported the Turukkeans to rebel and had helped them to raid the territory of Šamšī-Adad (*ARM* 5, 17+ A.1882; for this letter see below). The death of Sumu-Epuḥ was announced in the letter *ARM* 1, 91+, sent by Šamšī-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu when

based also on information from letter A.1182, (cf. for this *op. cit.*, p. 50-1 and notes 188 and 189). However, Salvini pinpoints Tiginānum in the east, at the ford located immediately to the south of Cizre. He bases his proposal on: A) there is mention of crossing a river by the Turukkeans, and the ford here is the most fitting place to cross, being shallow and the current slow; B) seasonal flooding makes crossing impossible there, as mentioned in *ARM* 4, 23; C) it is the last passage before the mountains, cf. Salvini, “Un royaume hourrite en Mésopotamie du nord ...” *Subartu*, IV/1, p. 306.

⁶¹ Eidem, *ShA* 2, p. 20.

⁶² Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 117, note 353.

⁶³ 5) *aš-šum* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-uk-ki-i* 6) *ta-aš-pu-ra-am* 7) *u-um* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú* 8) *ú-šú-ú s[é]-ḥe-ku-ma* 9) *te-em* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-uk-ki-i* 10) *ú-ul aš-pu-ra-kum* 11) KASKAL *er-te-ed-di-šu-ma* 12) *ša-ba-am ma-da-am ma a-du-uk* 13) *ù i-na a-aḥ* ÍD *ik-šu-ud-ma* 14) *it-ta-ša-ab* ÍD *ma-li-ma* 15) *e-bé-ra-am ú-ul i-le* 16) *ù ša-ba-am ú-še-bi-ir-ma* 17) *a-na ma-a-at Ti-gu-na-nim*^{ki} 18) *at-tà-ra-ad* 19) *wa-ar-ki ša-bi-im* ÍD 20) *im-ti-ma* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú* 21) *mu-ši-tam-ma i-bi-ru* 22) *wa-ar-ki-šu* ÍD *im-la-ma* 23) *e-bé-ra-am ú-ul e-le* 24) *i-na-an-na* 25) LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú* 26) *a-na ma-a-at Ti-gu-na-nim* 27) *i-te-ru-ub* 28) *ù ki-[a]m iq-bu-nim um-ma-mi* 29) *a-na ma-ti-šu it-ta-al-la-ak*, *ARM* 4, p. 40-1; Wu Yuhong, *A Political ...*, p. 223; Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 98-9. According to Ziegler, this letter was sent after the letter A.562 in which Mašiya at the end of the month *Mana* (VI*) sends a report to Yasmaḥ-Addu to inform him about the pursuit of the Turukkeans by Išme-Dagan (after Durand, *ibid*).

⁶⁴ For the letter, cf. Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 222-3; Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 87-88.

⁶⁵ This journey of Yasmaḥ-Addu is dated by Wu Yuhong 21st VIII* *limmu* Aššur-malik: Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 134 and 222. This means that it must have taken place before the departure of Išme-Dagan to Qabrā to gather troops for the campaign on Šikšabbum. If this dating proves to be correct, then the Turukkean revolt in the Habur region must have broken out before the revolt of Lidāya, and the revolt of Lidāya was instigated by that of the Habur, not *vice versa*. Nevertheless, this seems not to be the case (see further the discussion below).

the latter was in Tuttul. In this same letter, Šamši-Adad asks his son to recruit a certain Zimrānum to raid Yamḥad, the territory of Sumu-Epuḥ. This may indicate that Yasmaḥ-Addu's presence in Tuttul was the same occasion when he went there to protect Tuttul from Sumu-Epuḥ's raids. Villard, followed by Wu Yuhong, has put these events in the *limmu* Aššur-malik in the following sequence: in VII* Yasmaḥ-Addu reported the raids by Sumu-Epuḥ and Išhi-Addu wrote to him about the news of Sumu-Epuḥ dispensing help to the Turukkeans; 15 VII* Šamši-Adad ordered Yasmaḥ-Addu to go to Tuttul; 21 VIII* Išme-Dagan mentioned the journey of Yasmaḥ-Addu to Tuttul and the raid of the Turukkeans in Tiginānum.⁶⁶ However, according to the reconstruction of the events round Amursakkum and Tiginānum presented later by Charpin⁶⁷ and Charpin and Ziegler,⁶⁸ the *limmu* Awīlīya should be the correct date; Eidem proposed a later date, after the *limmu* Adad-bāni.⁶⁹

Without going too deep into this complicated issue, which has been touched upon several times,⁷⁰ I would call attention to an important point to support the date given by Charpin. The Turukkean revolt broke out in the core of the kingdom, close to the capital Šubat-Enlil and posed a serious threat to the very existence of the kingdom. If this was in the *limmu* Aššur-malik – especially the events in Tiginānum, dated by Wu Yuhong to month VIII* of that *limmu* -, how could it be that Išme-Dagan, under such urgent circumstances demanding the fullest priority attention, gathered troops in Qabrā on the other side of the kingdom to attack Šikšabbum, also in the spring months of Aššur-malik? When Šikšabbum was conquered Kuwari was still in power and Lidāya had not yet risen up and destroyed the two cities in Utūm. This means that it is impossible to date the revolt in the Habur before that of Utūm. Thus, it cannot be dated to early or middle Aššur-malik. Late autumn or early winter is indicated for the events round Amursakkum because of the rain mentioned in the letter (see Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177), later than the events in Qabrā and Šikšabbum. So the revolt began at the end of Aššur-malik, certainly after the conquest of Šikšabbum, and lasted until Awīlīya.

The letter (*ARM* 4, 76) mentioned above reads:

⁶⁶ For the complete list of events and the associated texts, cf. Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 134. For the assignment of the related letters to the eponymy of Aššur-malik, cf. Wu Yuhong, p. 133, 142; Wu Yuhong, *JAC* 8 (1993), p. 114; Villard, P., "Documents pour l'histoire du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie III," *MARI* 6, Paris, 1990, p. 580-1. Note that Villard puts the war round Šikšabbum at the same time as the Turukkean revolt: *op. cit.*, p. 581.

⁶⁷ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177; but note that Charpin dates it to the end of month I* of this *limmu*, thus the beginning of the revolt might have begun at the end of Aššur-malik.

⁶⁸ Charpin, D. and N. Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 112 and 114f.

⁶⁹ Eidem, "From the Zagros to Aleppo," *Akkadiaca* 81 (1993), p. 26.

⁷⁰ Cf. for instance Eidem, *Akkadiaca* 81, p. 23ff; Villard, *MARI* 6, *op. cit.*; Villard, "La mort de Sūmu-Epuḥ et . . .," *NABU* 1993, no. 119; Eidem, J., "Sūmu-Epuḥ- A Stretcher-case?," *NABU* 1994, no. 10; and for the reign of Yasmaḥ-Addu, the death of Sumu-Epuḥ, and the end of reign of Šamši-Adad in general, cf. R. Whiting, M. Anbar, D. Charpin & J.-M. Durand, and M. de Jong Ellis (for these bibliographical references cf. Eidem, *Akkadica*, p. 27). One of the problems with the chronology discussed in the above literature is letter A.1314, in which Yarim-Lim claimed to have saved Dēr and Babylon 15 years earlier and Diniktum some 12 years earlier. This has been taken as a chronological marker for the events before and after. It has caused confusion about the date of his accession, the death of his father, the length of the reign of Yasmaḥ-Addu and the related issues. To resolve the problems raised by this, some (such as Sasson in Sasson, J., "Yarim-Lim's War Declaration," *Miscellanea Babylonica, mélanges offerts a Maurice Birot*, Paris, 1985, p. 237-55) have argued that the letter is fictitious. However, a simpler solution can be found: Yarim-Lim could have done what he claims in the letter when he was still crown-prince not necessarily king. We know that crown-princes were in charge of important missions, campaigns and duties, and that they were installed as provincial governors, firstly to consolidate their position, and secondly to train them to become capable kings. In this case we would have two different dates: we are no longer compelled to combine the dates he claims for his accomplishments and the date of his accession.

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 4, 76)

[I listened to] your tablet you sent to me. You wrote to me: "In the beginning⁷¹ of [m]a[grānum (=IX*)]⁷² I ca[me from] Mari [to] fortify Tu[ttul]." You wrote [this] to me.⁷³

Then, after 24 lines, the letter resumes:

Days ago, Asdi-Takim intended to go to Ḥamša to you so I dispatched the army with Amur-Aššur and Išar-Lim to him. Three⁷⁴ days before the army could cross over the Tigris, Asdi-Takim heard of it and retreated to his land. The (surviving) Turukkeans are staying in the land of Tigunānum. The refugees who fled to me tell me: "They are starving and intend to depart for their land. When they collect their travel provision, they will depart for their land." The refugees tell [me] that. I am well. The army is well. On the 21st of Addarum (VIII*) on the day I have Mašiya bring this tablet of mine to you.⁷⁵

Letter *ARM 4, 76* seems to be earlier than *ARM 4, 24*; the former reports the looting of a village by the Turukkeans in the region of Tigunānum, while in the latter they waited to prepare provisions for the journey back home. Since they themselves did not have the necessary provisions they decided to loot the village:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 4, 24)

As for the news of the Turukkeans about which you wrote to me, the Turukkeans stay in the land of Tigunānum. Formerly they starved and went to the land of Ḥirbazānum.⁷⁶ The village of Talzur⁷⁷ made peace with them but they killed a noble of that village.⁷⁸ They took his people and property. That was a mountainous village without resources.⁷⁹ The Turukkeans hardly took the food of five⁸⁰ days from that village. After that village had made peace with them, they took it. That land which

⁷¹ Durand does not rule out reading this line as *a-na re-eš* IT[I-m]a a[n!-ni-im], "in the end of this month;" he notes that *rēš warḥim* means the beginning or the end of a month: Durand, *LAPPO* I, p. 130.

⁷² Wu Yuhong has VII*, cf. Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁷³ 5) *tup-pa-ka ša tu-š[a-bi-lam eš-me]* 6) *ki-a-am ta-aš-pu-r[a-a]m a[t-t[a-m]a]* 7) *a-na re-eš* I[TI m]a-a[g-ra-nim] 8) *[a-na] e-pé-éš* [URU] *Tu-[ut-ut-ul]*^{ki} 9) *[iš-tu] Ma-ri^{ki} at^l-ta-al-l[a!-ak an-ni-tam] ta-aš-pu-ra-am*, *ARM 4, 76*, p. 108-9; Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 224; restoration of l. 7-9 by: Durand, *LAPPO* I, p. 128-31.

⁷⁴ Or 2 according to Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁷⁵ 33) *š[a-ni-tam i-n]a pa-ni-ka¹ Ās-di-ta-ki-[im]* 34) *a-na Ḥa-am-ša-a^{ki} pa-ni-šu [i]š-ku-nam-ma* 35) *š[a-ba]-am it-ti A-mur^dA-šur* 36) *ù I-šar-li-im a-na pa-ni-[i]a a[t]-ru-ud* 37) U₄ 3.KAM *la-ma ša-bu-um* ¹⁰ID[IG]NA *i-ib-[b]i-ru* 38) ^m*Ās-di-ta-k[i-i]m iš-me-ma* 39) *a-na ma-ti-šu [i]p-ta-t[ā]-a[r]* 40) *ù LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-ku-ù i-na ma-a-at Ti-gu-na-anim^{ki}ma* 41) *wa-aš-bu mu-un-na-ab-[t]u ša in-na-bi-tu-[n]im-ma* 42) *ki-a-am i-da-bu-bu-nim um-ma-mi bé-ru-ù-[ma]* 43) *ù a-na at-lu-ki-im-ma a-na ma-ti-šu-[nu]* 44) *pa-nu-šu-nu ša-ak-nu ší-di-is-sú-nu ú-p[a-ḥa-ru-ma]* 45) *a-na ma-ti-šu-nu it-ta-la-ku* 46) *an-né-e-tim mu-un-na-a[b]-tu i-da-bu-b[u-nim]* 47) *ša-al-ma-ku ša-bu-um ša-lim* 48) ITI VIII U₄ 21.KAM BA.ZAL 49) *u₄-mu-um Ma-ši-ia tup-pí an-né^re¹[em]* 50) *ú-ša-bi-la-kum*, *ARM 4, 76*, 106-9; Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 224-5; restorations and corrections of l. 33-34; 36-37 and 44 by Durand, *LAPPO* I, p. 128-31.

⁷⁶ Ḥirbazānum is also mentioned in a text from Leylān that lists booty. It is identified with Ḥuršanum, close to Eluḥut and Tigunānum, somewhere north-northwest of the Habur Basin, by Eidem in *SHA* 2, p. 20. According to Durand, its attestation in the correspondence of Ibāl-Addu (XXVIII, 57) as Ḥirmensānum implies that its original name was Ḥirm/ban/zzānum: Durand, *LAPPO* II, p. 100 a. He further conjectures that the name can be in some way related to Ḥurmiš (land or city) and Ḥirmaš (river?) and that Ḥi/urm- or Ḥi/urb was the basic root in the formation of the name of the western part of Tūr^cAbdīn; cf. *ibid.*

⁷⁷ This village's name was left as [x x]-zu-ri-yu^{ki} by Dossin in *ARM 4*; Wu Yuhong restored it as [U]z²-zu-ri-yu^{ki}: Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 225. But Durand reads *Ta²-al²-zu-ri-yu^{ki}*: *LAPPO* II, p. 99 and 100 b; he thinks it was the name of a village or a province (valley?) of Ḥirbazānum.

⁷⁸ Durand translates, "they killed (no less) than every male of this village," cf. Durand, *LAPPO* II, p. 99.

⁷⁹ This is Durand's restoration and translation; Wu Yuhong has: "That village was robbed [...]," *ibid.* Durand's translation of *šaddūwa* as "mountainous," is based on the equation of the word with Sumerian LÚ.ḤUR.SAĜ in the OB series LÚ (in *MSL* 12, p. 186: 32); cf. Durand, *LAPPO* II, p. 100 d.

⁸⁰ Dossin has 4 days in *ARM 4, 24*, p. 42.

had turned its attention to them has become tough. It has come into conflict with them. The Turukkeans are still starving. They have no food.⁸¹ They are staying in the land of Tigonānum.⁸²

The Turukkean Revolt Calms

With the end of the winter Sumu-Epuḫ succeeded in conquering two border fortresses of Šamšī-Adad, Dūr-Addu and Dūr-Samsi-Addu, separating the two kingdoms on the Euphrates some 20 km to the north of Emar.⁸³ However, his unexpected death gave the advantage to Šamšī-Adad, because it seems that the Turukkeans lost the support they had had from Yamḫad, of which Sumu-Epuḫ had boasted. That support for the Turukkeans is mentioned in a letter sent by Išḫi-Adad, the king of Qatna, to Yasmaḫ-Addu:

Išḫi-Addu to Yasmaḫ-Addu (ARM 5, 17+A.1882)

Sumu-Epuḫ keeps sending the Nuzu⁸⁴ men and messengers to all the land, saying: "I gathered the Turukkeans and sent the troops into Turukkum. I defeated Šamšī-Adad and plundered his land." He keeps sending this message.

Previously, when the Turukkean rebelled in the land, you (pl.) would hold your (pl.) envoys and my envoys there. You (pl.) would not allow merchants to come up to here.

What is the matter? Why can I not know about your success or failure?⁸⁵

It is important to call attention to several points; Sumu-Epuḫ was one of the main instigators of the Turukkean revolt and he had supported them with troops. The addition of these troops to the Turukkeans themselves and the assumed local groups that joined the revolt would greatly have enhanced the power and danger of the revolt. But no mention of Yamḫadite troops is found in the letters sent to Yasmaḫ-Addu from the front. If the claim of Sumu-Epuḫ were true, he must have sent a small contingent that was not worth mentioning. The Turukkeans for their part benefited from the conflict between the two powerful kingdoms, but the death of Sumu-Epuḫ (VIII* Awīlīya)⁸⁶ must have been a catastrophe for them. Further, the benefit Sumu-Epuḫ gained from his support was more than mere revenge

⁸¹ Durand translates *mākalum* "place where one finds food" instead of just "food," cf. Durand, *LPO* II, p. 100 and 101 f.

⁸² 5) a[š-šu]m te-em LÚ Tu-ru-ki-i 6) [ša] ta-aš-pu-ra-am 7) [LÚ.MEŠ] Tu-ru-k[u]-ú i-na ma-a-at Ti-g[u-n]a-[n]im^k[m]a 8) wa-aš-bu [i-na] pa-ni-tim ib-r[u-m]a 9) a-na ma-a-at Ḫi-ir-ba-za-nim^{ki} il-li-ku-ma 10) [ka-ap-r]u-u[m] [U]z⁷-zu-ri-yu^{ki} 11) [i-t-t]i-š-u-nu [i]s-li-im-ma 12) zi-ka-ra-am šum-šu [š]a k[ap]-ri-i[m] ša-ti i-du-ku 13) ni-ši.MEŠ [ù b]a-ši-is-šú il-qú-ú 14) kap-r[u-um] šu-ú ša-ad-du w[a-be-r]i 15) i-na-[d]a-an-na LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-k[u]-ú 16) [a]-ka-al U₄.KAM i-na kap-ri-im ša-ti 17) [i]l-qú-ú iš-tu kap-ri-im šu-ú 18) [i]t-ti-š-u-nu is-li-mu-ma 19) il-qú-šú 20) ma-a-tum an-ni-tum 21) [š]a a-na še-ri-šú-nu 22) ú-zu-un-ša tu-ur-ra-at 23) id-da-ni-in it-ti-šú-nu it-ta-ki-ir 24) ù LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-ku-ú 25) bi-te-ru-ú ma-ka-lam ú-ul i-šú-ú 26) ù i-na ma-a-at Ti-gu-na-nim^{ki}-ma 27) wa-aš-bu, Dossin, *ARM* 4, 24, p. 42; Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 225 (restorations/corrections in l. 10 and 17 follow Wu Yuhong); restorations of l. 14 and 16 follow Durand in Durand, *LPO* II, no. 506, p. 99-100.

⁸³ Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 118.

⁸⁴ To Durand these *Nuz/šú* were individuals hired out their service to the king, like many such groups, who wandering throughout the Near East with their families and were hired as needed by other kings and rulers. He thinks that this group, with certain skills in warfare or artisanship, later gave its name to the city of Gasur in the east and changed it to Nuzu/i, cf. Durand, *LPO* II, p. 375-6. Whether it is correct to attribute the name of a large Hurrian city in the east to a small group of wandering mercenaries of unknown origin must be doubtful.

⁸⁵ 3) ^mSu-mu-e-pu-uh Nu-zé-e 4) ù LÚ mu-ba-si-ri a-na ma-tim ka-li-ša 5) [i]š-ta-na-ap-pa-ar u[m]m[a-a-mi] 6) Tu-ru-ka-am ú-pa-ah-ḫi-ir-ma 7) ša-ba-a[m a-n]a li-ib-bi Tu-ru-ki-im ú-še-ri-ib-ma 8) [d]a-aw-da-am ša ^aUTU-ši-⁹IM a-du-uk 9) ù ma-at-sú aš-ḫi-it an-ni-tam iš-ta-na-pa-ar 16) i-na pa-ni-tim i-nu-ma Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú-um 17) i-na li-ib-bi ma-tim ik-ki-ru 18) DUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri-ku-nu ù DUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri-ia 19) aš-ra-nu-um-ma ta-ka-la-a DUMU.MEŠ DAM.GÀR 20) ša an-ni-iš i-il-li-a-am ú-ul ta-na-ad-di-na 27) ma-mi-nu-um a-wa-tum am-mi-nim 28) i-na du-um-qi-ku-nu ù i-na lu-um-[ni-ku]-nu 30) a-na-ku la i-di, Durand, *MARI* 5, p. 167-9.

⁸⁶ Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 112.

or acquiring advantage points; he harvested the two border fortresses of Šamši-Adad's kingdom on the Euphrates, most likely the same two where building was reported in fragment C of MEC in *limmu* Ibni-Adad (II).⁸⁷ The last point to be noted is the mention of the previous revolt of the Turukkeans *ina libbi mātim*. This implies that even the first revolt broke out in the Habur area, and has nothing to do with the defeat of those Turukkeans who joined Yašub-Addu of Aḫazum.

Another “going out” of the Turukkeans is reported in letter *ARM* 4, 21, when they went to get salt but also took cattle and captives by sending raiders into the land:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 4, 21)

The enemy, the Turukkeans, went out and arrived at the country here. They took salt⁸⁸ and then sent the raiding squads into the land and they took cattle and captives. During this invasion nothing was too big and they took away (everything) indeed. They began to leave. I will investigate and write news to you.⁸⁹

The phrase “they began to leave” hardly means leaving for their country. Rather Išme-Dagan seems to mean leaving the territory they had just invaded. Another letter makes an important allusion to negotiations between the two parties for peace. The Turukkeans asked for hostages but Išme-Dagan refused:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 4, 22)

As to the news of the Turukkean for which you wrote to me, their news keeps changing so that until now I cannot write true information to [you]. Their terms that were taken for peace have become troublesome. They want Yantakim, Lu-Ninsianna, Watir-Nannum and (other) high ranking men. Then they wrote to me: “Since you will not give us these hostages, tomorrow or the day after tomorrow we will depart for wherever we want.” Whether they will stay there or go where they want, who can know? [...]. In the district where you are staying, be alert!⁹⁰

This letter also shows that it was the Turukkeans who took the initiative in this phase. They could depart and penetrate the territory whenever they wanted and were not too eager to make peace. This can be of course in part a psychological warfare, but the events reflected in the later letters show that Išme-Dagan was undergoing a really difficult time (see below). It seems that the Turukkeans could mislead the intelligence of Išme-Dagan very well, so he could not determine which report is true to send to his brother. The letter does not show any sign of weakness among the Turukkeans; on the contrary, even the usual “rejoice!” of the former letters is replaced now by “be alert!” and “do not worry!” In the light of such a report,

⁸⁷ According to the restoration of Durand, in this year Šamši-Adad built the two border fortresses Dūr-Adad and Dūr-Šamši-Adad in the territory of Yamḫad and defeated [Sumu-Epiḫ?]: 5') BĀD.^d[IM^{ki}] 6') ù BĀD.^dUTU-šī-^dI[M^{ki}] 7') *i-na da-ad-mi ib-[ta-ni]* 8') *da-aw-da-am š[a Su-mu-e-pu-uh]* 9') *i-na ta-ri-š[u i-du-uk]*, Durand, J.-M., “Documents pour l’histoire du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie II*,” *MARI* 6, p. 274.

⁸⁸ According to Durand, this salt was taken from the south of Sinjār: Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 84.

⁸⁹ 5) *na-ak-rum Tu-ru-[uk-ku-ú]* 6) *ú-šú-ma a-na m[a-a-tim]* 7) *[i]k-šu-[d]u-n[im]* 8) MUN_x (U+TIM) *il-qú-[ú-ma] il-qu-[ú-ma]* 9) ù *sa-ad-[da-am]* 10) *a-na li-ib-b[i ma-a-tim]* 11) *ú-wa-aš-še-ru-[nim]* 12) GU₄.ḪÁ ù *ša-a[l-la-tam]* 13) *il-qú-[ú]* 14) *i[š-t]u a-la-ki-im an-[ni-im]* 15) *mi-nu-um ú-ul ra-bi-b[u]* 16) *wu-di i-ṭi-ru* 17) *ir-tú-bu a-ta-lu-[ka-am]* 18) *áš-ta-al-ma te₄-ma-am* 19) *a-ša-ap-pa-ra-kum*, Wu Yuhong, p. 232; restorations by Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 84. For the writing of MUN_x as U+TIM, cf. *CAD* vol. T, p. 11.

⁹⁰ 5) *aš-šum te₄-em LÚ Tu-ru-ki-i* 6) *ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am* 7) *te₄-em-šu-nu it-ta-na-ki-ir* 8) *i-na ki-a-am a-di i-na-an-na* 9) *ta-ki-it-t[am]* 10) *ú-ul a-ša-ap-pa-[ra-kum]* 11) *a-wa-ti-šu-[nu]* 12) *ša a-na sa-li-mi-[im]* 13) *ša-ab-t[u]* 14) *it-ta-at-la-[ka]* 15) ^m*Ia-an-ta-ki-i[m]* 16) ^mLÚ.^dNIN.SI₄.AN.NA 17) ^m*Wa-ti-ir-Na-nam* 18) ù LÚ.MEŠ *ra-ab-bu-tim-ma* 19) *i-ḫa-ku-ú ù ki-a-am iš-pu-ru-nim* 20) *um-ma-mi iš-tu li-ṭi an-nu-tim* 21) *la ta-na-di-nam* 22) *ur-ra-am ú-lú ul-liti-iš* 23) *a-šar at-lu-ki-im ni-it-ta-la-ak* 24) *aš-ra-nu-um li-iš-bu-[nim-ma]* 25) ù *a-šar at-lu-ki-im* 26) *[I]i-it-ta-al-[ku]* 27) *[ma-an]-^rnu¹ lu i-[de]* 28) *[i-na ḫ]a-al-ši-[ka]* 29) *ša wa-aš-ba-at te₄-em-ka lu ša-bi-it*, Wu Yuhong, p. 232; restorations and corrections of l. 5; 14; 16; 24 and 27 by Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 93.

the conclusion drawn by Eidem, that the revolt was put to an end depending on *ARM 1, 53+M.7346* which relates that *tēm Turukkī* is performed and the campaign against Zalmaqum could begin,⁹¹ must be revised. The letter does not explicitly state that the affair of the Turukkeans has been brought to an end; rather, according to the translation Durand gives, Šamšī-Adad says that his foremost aim is to bring the affair to an end, and then he will move towards Zalmaqum.⁹² This clearly means that he expected a quick end to the troubles. Though he seems to have failed in that, the danger was at least reduced, as Charpin and Durand suggest.⁹³

Šamšī-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM 1, 53+M.7346*)

About the army which is with you,⁹⁴ I have once written to you to dispatch it to me. Dispatch that army to me immediately! You, stay in Mammagira⁹⁵ with the rest of that army which you keep with you! Neither your stay in <Ša> Pānāzum, nor in Talḥayum please (me). Mammagira is best for your stay. Another thing, I have written to withdraw⁹⁶ my army staying in Babylon and that army has been withdrawn. With that army there is a 3,000-man Ešnunnean army with Ištar (goddesses). This army and those that have reached me and those troops will join with the army here. The force(s), these and those, are gathering and the affair of the Turukkeans will soon be settled. After the affair of the Turukkeans has been settled I will lead troops and come up to Zalmaqum. However, we are going to settle the affair of the Turukkeans and then the expedition to the upper land will be executed. May you know this! On the 3rd of Kinunum (II*) I am sending this tablet of mine to you.⁹⁷

Thus, the revolt was brought to an end, or in fact calmed, not by the arms of Išme-Dagan but by those of an old enemy, the Gutians. The Gutians offered a priceless gift to Išme-Dagan and Šamšī-Adad when they troubled the Turukkeans again in the Zagros and forced them to retreat from the Habur and the surroundings, as we learn from letter A.4197.⁹⁸ Did the Gutians move without any intention of serving Šamšī-Adad, or were they perhaps prompted

⁹¹ Eidem, *ShA 2*, p. 21.

⁹² The translation of Durand is “As soon as that is done, I will take the lead of the armies and go up to Zalmaqum. For now, we will arrange the affair of the Turukkeans, then the expedition to the Upper Land,” cf. Durand, *LPO II*, p. 58.

⁹³ Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim,” *MARI 4*, Paris, 1985, p. 318.

⁹⁴ Wu Yuhong has “the army under you,” *op. cit.*, p. 255; however, Durand has “the army which is released from your command,” according to his own restoration of the last word of l. 4 as *w[a-aš-šu-r]u*; cf. *LPO II*, p. 58 and note 128.

⁹⁵ For the location of this GN in the northwest, close to Nusybin (Finet, *ARMT 15*, 135), or in the springs at the source of the Habur, opposite Ra’s al-^cAin (Hallo, *JCS 18*, 75b), cf. Groneberg, *RGTC 3*, p. 157.

⁹⁶ The Akkadian verb *šupturu* (l. 14) is translated by Durand as “release” and by Wu Yuhong as “withdraw.” Both translations are admissible, but the most fitting meaning in this context is “to relieve from work assignment (here, “duty”),” cf. *CAD*, vol. P, p. 301. The troops with Yasmaḥ-Addu were of course on duty as were those in Babylon, and Šamšī-Adad asked to be relieved from the duty and get a new one.

⁹⁷ 4) *aš-šum ša-bi-im ša i-na ma-aḥ-ri-ka w[a-aš-šu-r]u* 5) *wu-di a-na še-ri-ia ta-ra-as-sú* 6) *aš-pu-ra-ak-kum ar-ḥi-iš ša-ba-am ša-a-ti* 7) *a-na še-ri-ia tu-ur-dam* 8) *ù at-ta qa-du-um ši-ta-at ša-bi-im ša-a-ti* 9) *ša i-na ma-aḥ-ri-ka ta-ka-al-lu-ú* 10) *i-na Ma-am-ma-gi-ra^{ki} ši-ib i-na Pa-a-na-ši-i[m^{ki}]* 11) *ù Ta-al-ḥa-yi^{ki} [w]a-ša-ab-ka i-na-am* 12) *ú-ul ma-ḥi-ir Ma-[a]m-ma-gi-ra-ma^{ki}* 13) *[a-n]a wa-ša-bi-ka d[a-m]i-iq* 14) *ša-ni-tam aš-šum šu-up-tu-ur ša-bi-ia ša i-na KÁ.DINGIR.[RA^{ki}]* 15) *wa-aš-bu aš-pu-ur-ma ša-ba-am ša-a-ti* 16) *ip-ta-at-ru-nim it-ti ša-bi-im ša-ti* 17) *3 li-mi ša-bu-um LÚ Eš-nun-na^{ki}* 18) *it-ti iš-ta-ra-tim ša-bu-um an-nu-ú-um* 19) *ù an-nu-ú-um ik-ta-áš-da-am-ma* 20) *ša-bu-um šu-ú it-ti ša-bi-im* 21) *ša an-na-nu-um in-ne-mi-id-ma* 22) *e-mu-ḡu-um an-nu-tum* 23) *i-pa-aḥ-ḥu-ru-ma* 24) *ar-ḥi-iš te_r-em LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-ki-i* 25) *in-ne-ep-pé-eš* 26) *iš-tu te_r-em LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-uk-ki-i* 27) *it-te-en-pé-šu* 28) *pa-an um-ma-na-tim a-ša-ab-ba-at-ma* 29) *a-na ma-a-at Za-al-ma-ḡi-im^{ki}* 30) *e-el-le-em i-na-an-na-ma* 31) *te_r-em LÚ.MEŠ Tu-<ru>uk-ki-i* 32) *in-ne-ep-pé-eš* 33) *ù te_r-em KASKAL ma-a-tim e-li-tim* 34) *in-ne-ep-pé-e[š]* 35) *an-ni-tam lu-ú te-de* 36) *ITU Ki-nu-nim UD.3.KAM BA.ZA[L-ma]* 37) *tup-pi an-ni-a-am* 38) *ú-ša-bi-la-ak-kum*, Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 255-6; restoration of l. 4 by Durand, *LPO II*, p. 58-9.

⁹⁸ Van Koppen, *op. cit.*, p. 426 and 427; Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

by him, as Eidem and Læssøe tentatively suggest?⁹⁹ Whatever the case may have been, letter A.4197 points to the calm that settled in the regions of Šubat-Enlil, Razama, Ažuḫinum, Šudā and Nurrugum, and the return of Adal-šenni to Burundu in the north.¹⁰⁰ This can be dated to the end of *limmu* Adad-bāni or the beginning of Nīmer-Sīn, when the campaign against Zalmaqum could begin.¹⁰¹ The phrase “returned back to Burundu,” after the departure of the Turukkeans mentioned above, must be understood to mean that Adal-šenni was cooperating with the Turukkeans in their revolt. When the revolt had calmed his work was finished, or rather was postponed and he returned to his capital. This king fought Išme-Dagan and his father Šamšī-Adad side by side with the Turukkeans, and this made him an ideal ally of Zimri-Lim and even of the kingdom of Yamḥad, all adversaries of the kingdom of Šamšī-Adad.

More can now be said about Adal-šenni and his kingdom. He was one of the Hurrian kings, who ruled the Hurrian kingdom of Burundum in western Šubartum. The location of Burundu(m) is not precisely known, but the available data point to a location to the north of Talḫayum,¹⁰² on the route that leads to Kaniš,¹⁰³ before and close to Ḫaḫḫum.¹⁰⁴ Since the governor of Ašnakkum (Chagar Bazar) was his vassal, it is thought that Burundum was to the northwest of Ida-maraš, on its periphery and bordering Eluḫut (indicated by the war between them), not far from Zalmaqum.¹⁰⁵

In a letter of Adal-šenni to the king of the Lullu (*ARM* 28, 43), who was in Burundum with his troops in the first year of Zimri-Lim, he spoke about the new king of Mari (Zimri-Lim) as equal to him. However, later in the two letters of Zakura-abum, the terms father and son replace the terms indicating parity.¹⁰⁶ The presence of the Lullu troops in Burundum was very likely after the departure of the Turukkeans and lasted until the first year(s) of Zimri-Lim’s reign, as the letter indicates. The kingdom of Burundum was seemingly powerful and important in Ida-maraš, on one occasion being able to mobilize 8,000 troops.¹⁰⁷ Adal-šenni’s influence is seen in his imposition of vassaldom on the governor of Ašnakkum, which he conquered in ZL 1. The vassaldom of the city to Burundum is clearly indicated in the letter of Zakura-abum to Zimri-Lim: “Yaḫmuš-El, the governor of Ašnakkum, [*servant*] of Adal-šenni wrote me as follows....”¹⁰⁸ Although it was Adal-šenni who laid siege to the city and conquered it, most probably aided by the Turukkeans,¹⁰⁹ Zimri-Lim, as lord of Burundum, claimed the victory for himself in a later text.¹¹⁰ There is also a report about war between Burundum and Eluḫut in the second half of the reign of Zimri-Lim. The circumstance that led to this war was a power vacuum in both Šinamum and Tušḫum, which came under the influence of Eluḫut. However, the two cities were instigated to revolt by Itūr-Asdu, a Mari

⁹⁹ Eidem and Læssøe, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Van Koppen, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

¹⁰¹ Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “La prise du pouvoir...,” *MARI* 4, p. 316.

¹⁰² Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 273; Guichard, M., “Le Šubartum occidental à l’avènement de Zimri-Lim,” *FM* VI, p. 149. According to Mareello, basing himself on a report about Burundum’s involvement in the affairs of Razama and its region as stated in a study of Finet, it was close to Razama; cf. Mareello, “Liqtum, reine du Burundum,” *MARI* 8, p. 457.

¹⁰³ Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

¹⁰⁴ Barjamovic, *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, p. 97; 103.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 150-1. This is also the case in a late letter by Ibāl-Addu (*ARM* 28, 60), who describes the king of Burundum as the “son” of Zimri-Lim, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 151 and note 125.

¹⁰⁷ This according to the unpublished text A.851, cf. Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 150 and note 120.

¹⁰⁸ A.2436-unpublished: 19) [Ia-a]ḫ-mu-uš-AN LÚ ša-pi-tum ša Aš-na-ak-ki-i[m^{ki}] 20) [ĪR A]dal-še-en₆-ni ke-em iš-pu-ra-an-ni, Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

¹⁰⁹ Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

¹¹⁰ Not only Ašnakkum, but also the conquests of Qirdaḫat, and Kaḫat were all claimed by the army of Zimri-Lim, cf. Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

high official, and as a consequence of the destabilization of the region, under circumstances of which the details are still unknown, the two kingdoms of Burundum and Eluḫut engaged in a military clash that turned out favourably for Eluḫut.¹¹¹ Letter A.2436 records the request of Adal-šenni for troops:

Zakura-abum to Zimri-Lim (FM VI, 7=A.2436)

Adal-šenni wrote to me as follows: "the E[luḫutean], the Numḫean and the Yamutbalean have made preparations to do battle with me. Entrust to me 1,000 Ḫaneans (= pastoralists) to sit before me." Like the complaint that Adal-šenni made to me, Ḫaduna-Addu of Ḫanzat has written the same to me. And Tarim-natku from Šubat-Enlil has written to me similarly.¹¹²

It is noted that Šubat-Enlil was in the hands of a governor with a Hurrian name at this time, shortly after the time when Išme-Dagan was expelled from the city. As a result of the defeat of Adal-šenni he withdrew from Ida-maraš, and the country was shared between Qarni-Lim and Zimri-Lim. Guichard notes that after ZL 2 few allusions to Burundum and its king are found in the Mari texts, as a consequence of its withdrawal from Ida-maraš. However, a plan to capture Aḫuna with an army of Zalmaqum before the fall of Mari is reported by an informant of Mari.¹¹³

Liqtum, the queen of Burundum, was the sister of Zimri-Lim, known from letter M.8161, which she had sent to her brother Zimri-Lim. In the letter, she expresses her absolute satisfaction about Adal-šenni:

Liqtum to Zimri-Lim (M.8161)

Say to Zimri-Lim, thus (says) Liqtum, your sister. I am well. Adal-šenni, my lord is well. He has entrusted me his large palace. He has given me much satisfaction. 200 women, singers, weavers (and) stewards, they come and go in my service. They execute my orders and [my directives]. This is [the gift that] Adal-šenni, my lord, [has to]ld [me]....(lacuna) Further, the daughter of Išme-Dagan and the daughter of Bina-Addu of Ya'ilānum are in my service.¹¹⁴

It is of historical importance to notice the presence of the daughter of Išme-Dagan and the daughter of Bina-Addu of Ya'ilānum in the palace of Burundum, in the *harem* serving the sister of Zimri-Lim. This is a sign that Burundum contributed to putting an end to the reign of the kingdom of Išme-Dagan in Northern Mesopotamia, by helping Zimri-Lim to restore his rule over Mari. As a reward for this, and to ensure a perpetual alliance with Burundum, Zimri-Lim gave Adal-šenni his sister in marriage.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ For this, cf. Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

¹¹² 5') *A-dal-še-e*[n₆-ni] 6') [ke-e]m iq-bé-em um-ma-mi LÚ 'E'^v-[lu-ḫu-ut (?) 7') [LÚ Nu]-um-ḫa ù LÚ Ia-mu-ut-ba-a[l] 8') [a-na] ^{GIS}TUKUL e-pé-ši-im it-ti-ia p[a-nu-š]u-nu 9') [š]a-ak-nu 1 li-im Ḫa-na.MEŠ id-na-am-ma 10') [i]t-ti-ia li-iš-bu a-ḫa-am-ma 11') 'a¹-dal-še-ni i-ri-ša-an-ni a-ḫa-am-ma 12') ^{mm}Ḫa-du-na-^dIM ša Ḫa-an-za-at^{ki} i-ša-'pa¹-ra-am 13') ù a-ḫa-am-ma ^mTa-ri-im-na-at-ku 14') [ša] Šu-ba-at-^dEN.LÍL^{ki} i-ša-pa-ra-am, Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 131 and 132.

¹¹³ Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

¹¹⁴ 1) [a-n]a Zi-im-ri-Li-i[m] 2) [q]i-bi-ma 3) um-ma ^fLi-iq-tum a-ḫa-at-[ka] 4) ša-al-ma-a-ku 5) ^mA-dal-še-ni be-lí ša-lim 6) é-kál-šu ra-bé-ém a-na qa-ti-[ia] 7) ip-qí-da-am i-ša-ri-iš 8) i-pu-la-an-ni 2 ME MUNUS.MEŠ 9) lu MUNUS NAR.MEŠ lu MUNUS UŠ.BAR.[MEŠ] 10) lu MUNUS.AGRIG.MEŠ a-na qa-ti-i[a] 11) i-la-ka ša pi-ia ù 'e²-[pé-eš pi-ia] 12) i-ip-pí-ša a-na zi-ik-[ri²-ia²] 13) ^{mmr}A¹-d[al]-[š[e]-n[i] be-lí-ma 14) [lu-ú iz-ku-r]a-an-[ni..] 4') ša-ni-tam DUMU.MUNUS Iš-me-^dDa-[gan] 5') ù DUMU.MUNUS DUMU.^dIM DUMU Ia-i-la-[nim] 6') ma-aḫ-ri-ia wa-aš-b[a], Marello, "Liqtum, reine du Burundum," p. 455-6. According to Guichard's restoration of the broken lines 19'-24', the two daughters were in Kaḫat before Yarim-Addu, and after the "liberation" in the words of Liqtum, Yarim-Addu has given them to serve as priestesses. However, Adal-šenni gave them permanently to her: Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

¹¹⁵ Marello, *op. cit.*, 457-8.

After Adal-šenni was killed or captured by Šarraya, king of Eluḫut,¹¹⁶ Edip-ḫuḫ succeeded him to rule Burundum. The name Edip-ḫuḫ may consist of the two elements et/d and ḫuḫ(u). The first is attested in Nuzi PNs,¹¹⁷ and the second at the end of several Hurrian names discussed in Chapter Four. Edip-ḫuḫ is known from a letter that mentions his ambassador and explicitly styles him king of Burundum: “Tuḫna-adal, the messenger/ambassador of Edip-ḫuḫ, king of Burundi.”¹¹⁸ The Lulleans who were in Burundum seem to have left the kingdom after Adal-šenni and joined Šadum-adal of Ašlakkā; they are attested there in ZL 3.

Išme-Dagan Loses, Zimri-Lim Wins!

The simultaneous revolts of the Turukkeans and the pastoralists¹¹⁹ in Suḫum and elsewhere must have weakened the empire of Šamšī-Adad. The power and influence of the empire cannot have been the same as before the revolts. After the death of Šamšī-Adad in XII* *limmu* Ṭab-šilli-Aššur,¹²⁰ his son Išme-Dagan assumed the throne. The conditions were far from favourable: his brother Yasmaḫ-Addu was expelled from Mari; the capital Šubat-Enlil was sacked and plundered. Zimri-Lim, the new king of Mari, who replaced Yasmaḫ-Addu, tried to gain control of the city-states of Ida-maraš, whose kings had already been chased off before by Šamšī-Adad. Zimri-Lim sent a circular to its kings and asked them to open the doors of their cities before him. We learn this from a letter (one still sealed and so not actually sent) to the Hurrian-named king of Mardaman, Tiš-ulme. In it he asks for a quick response, after telling him that “everyone entered upon the throne of the house of his father” and all the land had “returned” to his side.¹²¹ Tigunānum was one of the lands which replied positively to Zimri-Lim, as related in a letter stating that its king, Nagatmiš, sent him a letter for which he was reproached by the Eluḫutanes.¹²² Negative responses led to a military campaign in the region: Zimri-Lim laid siege to some of the cities and so needed more troops. He requested them from Ibāl-pī-El II (1778-1765 BC) of Ešnunna in a letter styling him as “father (of Zimri-Lim).”¹²³ One of the cities Zimri-Lim succeeded to conquer was Kaḫat, a victory celebrated by the year-name “The year Zimri-Lim seized Kaḫat.”¹²⁴

¹¹⁶ Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Gelb *et. al.*, *NPN*, p. 211.

¹¹⁸ A.518: 27') *Tu-uh-na-da-al* DUMU *ši-ip-[r]i-im* 28') *ša E-di-ip-ḫu-uh* LUGAL *Bu-ru-u[n-di^{ki}]*, Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

¹¹⁹ Some find the term Bedouin unfitting to designate these groups, since they were not really Bedouin moving with their camels in the desert but pastoral groups breeding cattle in the Euphrates region (personal communication with D. Meijer).

¹²⁰ Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 136; 154. His death was announced in the 5th year-name of Ibāl-pī-El of Ešnunna, cf. for this Charpin, *OBO*, p. 390.

¹²¹ Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 42-3.

¹²² The unpublished letter A.1182 refers also to the time of Yaḫdun-Lim, when Tigunānum was a vassal of Mari: 3') *i-na-an-[na] a-nu-[um-m]a da-aš-ma ša Na-ga-at-mi-iš* 4') *[a-n]a še-er be-lí-ia it-ta-al-[k]am* 5') *b[e]-lí i-ša-ri-iš li-pu-ul-[š]u* 6') *É Ti-gu-na-nim pa-na-nu-um wa-[a]r-ki* 7') *ᵐIa-aḫ-<du>-un-li-im a-bi-ka il-[l]i-ik* 8') *ù ki-ma be-lí a-na ma-a-tim i-lu-ú* 9') *ù Na-ga-at-mi-iš a-na še-er be-lí-ia* 10') *iš-pu-ur-ma* DUMU *ši-ip-ri-šu* 11') LÚ.MEŠ *E-lu-ḫu-ut-ta-yu^{ki}* 12') *i-mu-ru-šu-ma* *ù* LÚ.MEŠ *E-lu-ḫu-ut-ta-yu^{ki}* 13') *ki-a-am iq-bu-šu um-ma-a-[mi a]m-m[i-nim]* 14') *a-na še-er Zi-i[m-r]i-[L]i-[im]* 15') *ta-[aš]pu-ur* *ù* *qí-^riš^r-ta-š[u]* 16') *uš-te-lu-ú*, “Now, is it a deception that Nagatmiš has come to my lord? Let my lord give him satisfaction! The house of Tigunānum, formerly walked behind Yaḫdun-Lim, your father. And now, when my lord came up to the country, Nagatmiš sent him his messenger. The Eluḫuteans saw his message and said to him: Why have you sent a message to Zimri-Lim and he has been offered a gift?”, Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 50 and note 188.

¹²³ Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

¹²⁴ Heimpel, *ibid.*

During the period of recession which the kingdom of Šamšī-Adad and his sons were experiencing, the Turukkeans organized themselves to establish a kingdom with Zaziya at its head. Some 15 years after their revolt in the Habur region and in Utûm, they appeared again as one of the main powers of Northern Mesopotamia and played an undeniably important role. According to the complicated patterns of alliances and declarations of hostilities that mark this period of North Mesopotamian history, they had good relations with some powers and were hostile towards others. An important letter from Ašqudum to his lord Zimri-Lim refers to an occasion in the past when Zimri-Lim carried silver and gold to Zaziya to conciliate him, but Zaziya was still not satisfied. Now, when the letter was written in the end of ZL 2',¹²⁵ the relations were good. Unfortunately, we do not know how much earlier that event had occurred,¹²⁶ but it shows that the Turukkeans with Zaziya at their head were a considerable power. Even Zimri-Lim, when he had regained control of Mari compared his throne to that of Itabalḫum. He was said to have a throne loftier than that of Itabalḫum, where Zaziya most probably was king.¹²⁷ The related section of the letter of Ašqudum is as follows:

Ašqudum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 27)

And about the issue of Zaziya [...], my lord understands that Dagan had taken the lead of [the troops]. And he handed the land, all of it, over to my lord. 'Zaziya', to 'whom' my lord carried silver and gold in the past, and who was 'not' agreeable; now 'Dagan' has placed 'good' words between my lord and Zaziya.¹²⁸

When the relations between Mari and Ešnunna became hostile in ZL 2', Zaziya sent a letter to Sammetar, the governor of Terqa, to warn him about the march of 3,000 Ešnunnean troops towards Rapiqum. The information he gave was a reply to a question of Sammetar:¹²⁹

Zaziya to Sammetar (ARM 28, 178)

You have written to me about information concerning the troops of Ešnunna. 3,000 men of the troops of Ešnunna with Aḫi-Takim (lacuna) "... on way back, the Ešnunnean took (the route) until [...] and continued towards Rapiqum." This is the information I am told. Now, write to your lord, so that he takes his decision. Let him not be negligent about this and that.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ For the date of this letter, cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 196, note 214.

¹²⁶ Lafont alludes to economic and administrative texts from Mari that concern the exchange of gifts and indicate mutual friendly relations between Mari and Turukkum under Zaziya, but none of these texts is dated. He assumes they were on good terms from ZL 2' onwards: Lafont, B., "La correspondance d'Iddiyatum," *ARM 26/2*, p. 470, note 47.

¹²⁷ This is referred to in the unpublished fragment M.13034: ĜIŠ.GU.ZA-šu e-li ĜIŠ.GU.ZA ša I-ta-pa-al-ḫi-im e-le-e-et, "his throne is loftier than the throne of Itapalḫum," cf. Charpin, p. 63, note 94 (referring to a communication by Durand).

¹²⁸ 29) ù aš-šum ṭe-em Za-zi-i[a LÚ Tu-ru-ki-im] 30) [b]e-lí li-mu-ur ki-ma ^dDa-gan pa-né [ša-bi-im] 31) ša-ab-tu-ma ù ma-a-tam ka-la-ša 32) a-na q[a-a]t be-lí-ia ú-ma-al-lu-ú 33) ^mZa-zi-[ia] ša pa-na-nu-um KÛ.BABBAR ù KÛ.GI 34) be-lí iš-šu-š[um]-ma [l]a-a im-gu-ru 35) i-na-an-na ^dDa-[gan] a-wa-tim dam-[q]a-tim 36) bi-ri-it be-lí-ia ù Za-zi-ia iš-ku-un, Durand, *ARM 26/1*, p. 158; Heimpel, p. 192.

¹²⁹ According to Kupper, the reason why Zaziya contacted Sammetar, not the king, is that Sammetar was in charge of the administration in the palace of Mari, having replaced his lord Zimri-Lim at this time. Zimri-Lim himself was absent from his capital for most of the year 3'; cf. Kupper, *ARM 28*, p. 257.

¹³⁰ 4) aš-šum ṭe-em ša-bi-im LÚ Èš-nun-na^{ki} ta-aš-p[u]-ra-am 5) 3 li-mi-im ša-bu-u[m] LÚ Èš-nun-n[a^{ki}] 6) [it-t]i A-ḫi-ta-ki-mi [... ..] ... (Lacuna) ... 1') LÚ È[š]-n[un-na^{ki}] i-n]a ta-ri-šu a-d[i.....] 2') i-ša-ab-ba-at-ma a-na Ra-pí-qt-im 3') i-it-ti-iq an-ni-tam ša li-ša-nim iq-bu-[nim] 4') i-na-an-an-na a-na be-lí-ka šu-pu-ur 5') ṭe-em-šu li-iš-ba-at 6') a-na a-wa-tim ši-i la š[i]-i^r 7') a-aḫ-šu la i-na-ad-di-ma, Kupper, *ARM 28*, p. 259.

Zaziya intervened in the political game with the struggling powers in an attempt to gain a foothold in the region west of the Tigris and replace Zimri-Lim. He did this by messages to the kings Bunu-Eštar of Kurdā, Ḫadnu-rabi of Qaṭṭara, Šarrum-kîma-kalî-ma of Razama of Yamutbal, Zimriya of Šurra and others. We learn this from an extraordinarily long and well-preserved letter sent to Zimri-Lim by his general Yassi-Dagan.¹³¹ The letter gives an overview of the situation. The kings mentioned above were allied to Zimri-Lim, but Zimri-Lim himself was busy with the pastoralists far from his allies. Thus, he was unable to help these allies against the aggression of Ešnunna. The allies were desperate and doubtful towards their lord. What made the situation worse was the disclosure of a secret message their lord had sent with a shepherd to Qarni-Lim of Andarig, an ally of Ešnunna, asking him to perform for him quickly the secret service they know about. A secret mission with the ally of their enemy gave the allies of Zimri-Lim the impression that their lord was making peace with Ešnunna behind their backs. The whole country became afraid according to the letter, and the kings began to resent Zimri-Lim. At that moment, Zaziya, who appears to have had an effective intelligence service and knew every detail of the intrigue, found a great opportunity to split the alliance of Zimri-Lim. In the letter, Yassi-Dagan says:

Yassi-Dagan to Zimri-Lim (A.1025)

Zaziya prowls around Ḫadnu-rabi and his land to destroy it.¹³²

The general quotes what Zaziya told the kings:

Yassi-Dagan to Zimri-Lim (A.1025)

"So, where is Zimri-Lim whom you(pl.) looked for to be your(pl.) father? And you were walking behind him when he let himself be conveyed in a litter. Why, now, has he not come to save you?" These are the words of Zaziya to Bunu-Eštar, Ḫadnu-rabi, Šarrum-kîma-kalî-ma, Zimriya and (other) kings.¹³³

All the kings Zaziya approached (at least those whose names are recorded) controlled regions to the west of Nineveh, across the Tigris. If this is significant it suggests an attempt to spread his influence there, and thus safeguard a wide corridor to reach the Habur area, to contact his fellowmen, the Hurrians/Turukkeans of the Habur. That would have been possible only if the territories and cities on the eastern side of the Tigris were secured. The relative absence of cities like Nineveh, Nurrugum, and Kawalḫum in the letters of this phase as military targets may indicate that they were already in Turukkean hands, removed from any struggle for controlling them. Letter *ARM* 26, 517 gives a hint that supports this suggestion, mentioning that Zaziya stayed in Ninêṭ (= Nineveh), although for how long is not known.¹³⁴ This intervention of Zaziya can be counted as the prelude to his long series of military and political involvements in the lands across the Tigris (see below).

In the letter of Yassi-Dagan he also tells that the kings believed Zaziya and had begun to slander their lord Zimri-Lim, while Zaziya himself had a non-aggression pact with Ešnunna:

¹³¹ Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

¹³² 13) LÚ *Za-zi-ia i-ta-at Ḫa-ad-nu-ra-bi* 14) *ù ma-ti-šu <a-na> ḫu-ul-lu-qí-im i-sà-aḫ-ḫu-ur-ma*, Kupper, "Une lettre du Général Yassi-Dagan," *MARI* 6, Paris, 1990, p. 337; Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 146.

¹³³ 15) *a-li-ma Zi-im-ri-Li-im* 16) *ša a-na a-bu-ti-ku-nu te'-ši-a-šu-ma i-nu-ma šu-ú i-na ḡiṣ nu-ba-lim ra-ak-bu* 17) *at-tu-nu wa-ar-ki-šu ta-al-la-ka am-mi-nim i-na-an-na la il-li-kam-ma* 18) *la ú-še-zi-ib-ku-nu-ti an-né-e-tim Za-zi-ia a-na Bu-nu-eš-tár Ḫa-ad-nu-ra-bi* 19) *[LU]GAL-ki-ma-ka-li-ma Zi-im-ri-ia ù LUGAL.MEŠ i-ta-wu-ú*, Kupper, *ibid.*; Durand, *ibid.*

¹³⁴ The letter is cited below. For the identification of Ninêṭ with Nineveh, cf. Ziegler, N., "The Conquest of the Holy City of Nineveh and the Kingdom of Nurrugûm by Samsî-Addu," *Proceedings of the 49th RAI*, London, 7-11 July 2003, Part One, *Iraq* 66 (2004), p. 19f.; Wu Yuhong, "The Localisation of Nurrugum and Ninet=Ninuwa," *NABU* 1994, no. 38.

Yassi-Dagan to Zimri-Lim (A.1025)

But those do not realize the intentions of this man (= Zaziya). One would say he speaks to them with sincerity, while these are only (evil) plots. They began to slander my lord to Zaziya without realizing that he is telling them lies and he (= Zaziya) has a pact of non-aggression with the prince of Ešnunna.¹³⁵

He also informs Zimri-Lim about the situation among the kings, his allies, after his secret letter to Qarni-Lim became known. When Zaziya received them, together with all the chiefs of divisions/captains¹³⁶ and Yassi-Dagan himself, he aroused their doubts more and widened the gulf between them and Zimri-Lim by saying:

Yassi-Dagan to Zimri-Lim (A.1025)

"What are these things that Zimri-Lim has in mind? Last year he 'came up' to the interior of the land. The kings adopted him as their father and leader and he gave troops to Ḫadnu-rabi. He (=Ḫadnu-rabi) took my cities, attacked my sheep, and committed massacres in the heart of my land.¹³⁷ Afterwards the Ešnunnean came up, and Zimri-Lim rose and departed for his land. He did not save you. Now he came up a second time, took the oath with Qarni-Lim and the Ešnunnean, and departed for his land." This is, among other things, what Zaziya told (them) and they bear resentment against my lord. They asked him to go with them to Karanā, but he refused, saying: "He has allied himself to Ḫadnu-rabi, a typical aggressor, so I will fight but I am not going to Karanā. Here I will take an omen. If it will be good, I will fight Ešnunna; otherwise, if the omen I will get is too bad, I will not fight. Instead, I will send a letter to Hammurabi. Reinforcement troops will come up from Babylon; then Zimri-Lim will come and we will fight." These are the plans of the man, but all that he says is deception. He has a pact of non-aggression with Ešnunna.¹³⁸

It is unclear why Zimri-Lim supported Ḫadnu-rabi of Qaṭṭara against Zaziya, for we would have expected good relations as long as both parties had Išme-Dagan as a common enemy. Can we assume that the increasing influence of Zaziya in the Hilly Arc made Zimri-Lim feel concerned about his own influence there? It is possible that Išme-Dagan was

¹³⁵ 20) ù [š_u-nu] a-na te-em LÚ ša-a-tu ú-ul i-qú-ul-lu-ma-tu-ša i-na g[i-mi]-ir-ti li-ib-bi-šu 21) i[d-bu-ub-šu-n]u-ši-im-ma i-ka-aš-ša-ar-ši-na-ti ù ir-tú-pu kar-[š_i] be-lí-ia a-na Za-zi-ia a-ka-lam 22) ú-[ul i-du-ú] ki-ma i-na bi-ib-la-tim-ma it-ti-šu-nu i-da-ab-b[u-bu] ù it-ti LÚ Èš-nun-na^{ki} 23) sa-[al-mu], Kupper, *MARI* 6, p. 337-8; Durand, *LPO* II, p. 146-7; restoration of l. 21 by Durand.

¹³⁶ 41) 60 A.AN.GAL.KUD.MEŠ ša ma-tim; Durand has "et des chefs de sections du Pays," cf. Durand, *LPO* II, p. 147; Kupper, the first author of the text, has "et 60 capitaines de tout le pays..," cf. Kupper, *MARI*, 6, p. 340.

¹³⁷ Heimpel has "and he kept setting snares for me," cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

¹³⁸ 46) mi-nu-um an-né-e-ta-an ša Zi-im-ri-Li-im 47) iš-ba-tu ša-ad-da-ag-de-em a-na li-i[b]-bi ma-a-tim i-l[e]-i-[m]a 48) LUGAL.MEŠ a-na a-bu-ti-šu-nu ù a-lik pa-na il-qú-wu-šu-ma 49) ša-ba-am a-na Ḫa-ad-nu-ra-bi id-di-in a-la-né-e-ia il-qé 50) UD[U].ḪÁ iš-ḫi-it ù ka-ma-ri i-na li-ib-bi ma-ti-ia iš_x(=UŠ)-ta-ak-ka-an 51) wa-ar-ka-nu-um LÚ Èš-nun-na^{ki} i-le-e-em-ma it-bé-e-ma 52) mZi-im-ri-Li-im a-na ma-ti-šu it-ta-la-ak ú-ul ú-še-zi-ib-ku-nu-ti 53) i-na-an-na i-tu-ur i-l[e-e]m-ma it-ti Qar-ni-Li-im 54) ù LÚ Èš-nun-na^{ki} ni-iš AN-lim ú-za-<<KA->>ak-ki-ir-ma a-na ma-ti-šu 55) [i]t-ta-la-ak an-né-e-tim ù m[a]-da-tim-ma 56) 'ša' mZa-zi-ia id-bu-bu-ma e-li be-lí-ia ne-m[é]-et-tam ir-šu-ú 57) ù aš-šum a-na Ka-ra-na-a^{ki} a-la-ki-šu iq-bu-šum-ma ú-ul im-gu-ur 58) um-ma šu-ma it-ti Ḫa-ad-nu-ra-bi ú-ba-nim na-ḫi-ip-tim in-ne-em-mi-id-ma 59) ĜIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ e-ep-pé-eš a-na Ka-ra-na-a^{ki} ú-ul a-la-la-ak 60) an-ni-ki-a-am te-re-e-tim ú-še-ep-pé-eš-ma šum-ma te-re-e-tu-ia ša-al-ma 61) ĜIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ it-ti LÚ Èš-nun-na^{ki} e-ep-pé-eš ú-la-šu-ma te-re-e-tu-ia 62) lu-up-pu-ta ĜIŠ.[TUKUL].MEŠ ú-ul e-ep-pé-eš a-na šer Ḫa-am-mu-ra-[b]i 63) a-ša-ap-pa-ar-ma ša-bu-um te-er-di-tum iš-tu LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} i-il-le-e-em 64) ù Zi-im-ri-Li-im i-ka-aš-ša-d[a]m-ma ĜIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ni-ip-pé-[eš] 65) a[n]-né-e-tim LÚ šu-ú ša-bi-it ù a-wa-tu-šu an-né-e-ta-an 66) ša [i]-ta-wu-ú bi-ib-la-tum-ma it-ti LÚ Èš-nun-na^{ki} sa-li-im, Kupper, *MARI* 6, p. 338; Durand, *LPO* II, p. 147-8; restorations and corrections of l. 47; 56 and 63 by Durand; note that the KA in the verb of l. 54 seems to be erroneous.

contained at this time and he could not pose a serious danger. Danger threatened from the new rising power that had set its face towards the west, the kingdom of Turukkum. Whatever the case may be, the words of Zaziya worked, for Yassi-Dagan admits:

Yassi-Dagan to Zimri-Lim (A.1025)

Now, the kings and the whole country are inflamed (with rage) against my lord. Also Bunu-Eštar rose to tell Zaziya: "Zimri-Lim kept his elite troops and sent to us limp people. With them, we shall die!"¹³⁹

Zaziya cleverly used these kings against Zimri-Lim and showed them that he too was hostile towards their enemy Ešnunna while he had a pact with it. When he promised them to fight Ešnunna, the pact was already in force. That is why he did not make any move, using the pretext of taking a favourable omen.

From Zaziya we learn that Ešnunna advanced a second time, after Zimri-Lim had left the region, but it is not said what exactly happened. Probably Ešnunna conquered or peacefully incorporated Aššur and Ekallātum in ZL 2', an event reported in the letter of Meptum to his lord A.2459:

Meptum to Zimri-Lim (A.2459)

After Aššur, Ekallātum and Ešnunna have now become one house.¹⁴⁰

Whatever the political and tactical intentions of Zaziya's speech to the allies of Zimri-Lim, he was not too far from truth. The next year Ešnunnean troops marched to the northwest, defeated Šarraya¹⁴¹ of Razama of Yussan and two other neighbouring kingdoms. Kurdā and Qaṭṭara leaned towards Ešnunna (*ARM* 14, 106), although Kurdā refused in the end the peace offer of Ešnunna. After a siege (*ARM* 27, 19) Kurdā could resist the Ešnunneans and chase them all the way to Andarig (*ARM* 27, 16), the ally of Ešnunna.¹⁴² Mari reacted by sending only 200 Ḫanean troops for the support of Kurdā (A.2821), and these arrived only after the victory of Kurdā over the Ešnunneans. The Ešnunneans felt sufficiently free in the region to advance towards Šubat-Enlil as well as Qarni-Lim, where Ešnunna took its share of the household of Šamšī-Adad. After this, the Ešnunneans returned home and celebrated their campaigns by calling the 10th year of Ibāl-pî-El the year of the defeat of Šubartum (referring to Šarraya) and Ḫana.¹⁴³ In ZL 4', Ešnunna moved again towards the northwest in order to conquer "the land of Šubartum, all of it," according to letter A.2119.¹⁴⁴ However, this time Ešnunna lacked an important ally, Qarni-Lim of Andarig, who had switched loyalty to Mari. Mari successfully formed a wide coalition against Ešnunna, including the kingdoms of the Hilly Arc (Andarig, Qaṭṭara, Allaḥad, Kurdā and others). It included as well the kings of Idamarāš and even Zaziya.¹⁴⁵ Apparently it was because of this coalition that Zimri-Lim could come and save Andarig. The difficult mission of building such a coalition was entrusted to

¹³⁹ 67) *i-na-an-na* LUGAL.MEŠ ù *ma-a-tum ka-lu-ša e-li be-lí-ia-ma na-an-ḫu-<<ZU>>-zu* 68) ù *Bu-nu-eš₄-tár it-bé-e-ma a-na Za-zi-ia ki-a-am i-da-ab-bu-ub* 69) *um-ma-a-mi Zi-im-ri-Li-im ša-ba-šu dam-qa-am ik-la-ma* 70) *ša-ba-am da-al-la-i a-na še-ri-ni it-ru-dam-ma it-ti-šu-nu ni-ma-at*, Kupper, *MARI* 6, p. 338; Durand, *LPO* II, p. 148-9.

¹⁴⁰ 5) *aš-šu-ur^{ki} É-kál-la-tum^{ki}* 6) ù *Èš-nun-na^{ki} iš-tu-ú i-na-an-na* 7) *a-na bi-tim iš₁₅-te-en i-tu-ú-ru*, Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, "Aššur avant l'Assyrie," *MARI* 8, Paris, 1997, p. 387; Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹⁴¹ Written also Šarriya; cf. for example letter *ARM* 26, 128 in Durand, *ARM* 26/1, p. 293; see also Heimpel, p. 558.

¹⁴² Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 51-2.

¹⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Sammetar, who reconciled the kings Zaziya, Bunu-Eštar, Ḫadnu-rabi and Šarraya with Qarni-Lim in ZL 3'.¹⁴⁶

The Elamite Invasion

After a few years of calm Zimri-Lim decided to support Elam against Ešnunna in ZL 7'.¹⁴⁷ Once Ešnunna was conquered the way was open for Elam. In ZL 8', while Zimri-Lim was visiting his father-in-law, Yarim-Lim of Yamḫad, he went with Yarim-Lim, their families and retinue on a journey to the shores of the Mediterranean. At this time Elam mustered its troops and penetrated Babylonia and the northwestern territories up to the Habur region.¹⁴⁸

Around this time, Išme-Dagan became gravely ill and resided for a while in Babylon. He left his son Mut-Aškur¹⁴⁹ behind in Ekallātum. Atamrum of Allahaḫad¹⁵⁰ (since ZL 10' also of Andarig)¹⁵¹ plotted against Išme-Dagan, "tied up" Mut-Aškur and put a certain Ḫammurabi in his place. Išme-Dagan went to Hammurabi and then to the Vizier, the king of Elam, who was still in Ešnunna, to get help. Afterwards he seems to have presented him valuable gifts. His going to the king of Elam was perhaps because Atamrum was a vassal of Elam, and he hoped with this that the latter would order Atamrum to reverse the coup.¹⁵² In ZL 9' the Elamite and Ešnunnean troops, led by the Elamite general Kunnam, entered Šubat-Enlil¹⁵³ and most of the kings of Ida-maraš showed their allegiance to the Elamite. The kings of Šubartum, the mountainous regions to the north and northwest of Assyria, also apparently showed their allegiance to the Elamite, perhaps from hatred of Išme-Dagan. The first thing they did was to denounce Išme-Dagan to the king of Elam. This we learn from letter *ARM* 26, 384, sent to Zimri-Lim, which relates that Hammurabi made Išme-Dagan address the kings of Šubartum "his brothers" and Zimri-Lim "his father," something humiliating for him:

??? to Zimri-Lim? (*ARM* 26, 384)

.... This he said to them; and, given that, we entered the palace together, and they (= the Babylonians) greeted them (= the Ekallāteans), and they (= the Ekallāteans) delivered their message as follows: "Your servant Išme-Dagan (says): 'I made myself sick for the hardship of my lord. When the Elamite was the enemy of my lord, the kings of the land of Šubartum denounced me to the Vizier (= the king) of Elam and conducted me to Ešnunna, and the Vizier of Elam scolded me, and I had to be helped out. And when the Elamite besieged the city of Ḫiritum, my lord knows the good things I did for him. I was worried sick about the hardship of my lord. Now I dread the glory of my lord. Zaziya, the Turukkean, 'made incursions' into my land and captured 3, 4 of my cities. He was encroaching on my land. And I wrote to you for troops, but you did not give me troops. And you gave troops to another place'."

Hammurabi spoke to the messengers 'of' [Išme-Dagan] as follows, he (said): "The kings of Šubartum have pointed the finger at your lord, and I wrote to him (= Išme-Dagan) as follows: 'To those kings that write to me as sons you [write] as brother.

¹⁴⁶ Charpin and Ziegler, *FMV*, p. 199 and notes 251 and 252.

¹⁴⁷ This has happened in ZL 7' but appears as a date-formula of ZL 8', cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁴⁹ According to Durand, this PN should be read Mut-asqur. He derives the name Asqur from *zaqārum*, "to be high," and it was also a divine name: Durand, J.-M., "L'emploi des toponymes dans l'onomastique d'époque Amorrite (I) les noms en *Mut-*," *SEL* 8 (1991), p. 88.

¹⁵⁰ Allahaḫad was a city somewhere between Andarig and Karaṇā, cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 114-5.

¹⁵² For details, cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

¹⁵³ Charpin, D., "Les Elamites a Šubat-Enlil," *Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae, mélanges offerts à M. J. Steve*, eds. L. De Meyer, H. Gasche and F. Vallat, Paris, 1986, p. 129.

To Zimri-Lim who writes to me as brother you write as son.' Is what I wrote to him wrong?" This Hammurabi 'answered them.'¹⁵⁴

Perhaps from ZL 2' on Zaziya was enjoying a good relationship with Hammurabi of Babylon. This we learn from the letter of Yassi-Dagan cited above, in which it is said that Zaziya told the kings he would ask for troops from Hammurabi to hold back the Ešnunneans if necessary. This good relationship was maintained. Now the letter *ARM* 27, 162 provides evidence that a messenger of Zaziya was in the palace of Hammurabi and that the relationship was not one of parity, because Zaziya styles himself as son of Hammurabi:

Zimri-Addu to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 27, 162)

A Turukkean messenger came, and he had the following instructions for Hammurabi (of Babylon): "Since I have written to you as son, now then I shall see who 'among the kings' of the land of Šubartum does not write to 'you' as son." This Zaziya [wrote] Hammurabi.¹⁵⁵

Does this passage indicate that Zaziya was acting as chief of the kings of Šubartum when checking who is not calling Hammurabi "father"? Or was he pretending to have authority over them in front of Hammurabi to guarantee his support? We do not know.

It is worth mention that there was a Gutian contingent within the Elamite troops invading Šubat-Enlil. They appear in the administrative tablets of Leylān¹⁵⁶ and are also mentioned in several letters of Mari.¹⁵⁷ In the same year ZL 9' an Elamite military encounter with the Gutians is recorded.¹⁵⁸ According to a letter of Ibāl-pî-El (*ARM* 2, 26), when the Elamite troops returned from the land of the Gutians two different rumours circulated about the outcome:

¹⁵⁴ 17') *an-ni-tam iq-bi-šu-nu-ši-im-ma i-di-i[n p]-hu-ur a-na É-kál-lim ni-ir-ru-ub-m[a]* 18') *šu-ul-ma-am i-ša-lu-šu-nu-ti-ma te-em-šu-nu ki-a-am id-di-nu* 19') *um-ma Iš-me-^dDa-gan ĪR-ka-a-ma a-na ma-ru-uš-ti be-lí-ia uš-ta-am-ri-iš* 20') *i-nu-ma LÚ.ELAM.MA it-ti be-lí-ia na-ak-ru LUGAL.MEŠ ša ma-a-at Šu-bar-tim* 21') *kar-ši-ia a-na LÚ.SUKKAL ELAM.MA-tim i-ku-lu-ma a-na Éš-nun-na^{ki} it-ru-ni-in-ni-š-ma* 22') *LÚ SUKKAL ELAM.MA-tim ú-sà-an-ni-qa-an-ni-qa-an-ni-ma i-na ša ra-ši ú-se-e-em* 23') *ù i-nu-ma LÚ.ELAM.MA Ĥi-[r]i-tam^{ki} la-wu-ú ša be-lí-ia ú-[d]a-mi-qú* 24') *be-lí-ma i-de-e 'a'-na ma-ru-uš-ti be-lí-ia uš-ta-am-ri-'iš* 25') *i-na-an-na na-wa-ar be-lí-ia a-na-ku a-'a_r-di-ir Za-zi-ia* LÚ *Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú* 26') *a-na ma-a-ti-ia iḫ-ḫa-[ba-t]am-ma* 3 4 *a-la-né-ia il-qé-e* 27') *ma-a-ti ú-ba-za-a'ú* *ù a-na ša-bi-im aš-pu-ra-kum-ma ša-ba-am* 28') *ú-ul ta-ad-di-nam ù ša-ba-am a-šar ša-ni-ma ta-ad-di-in.*

60') *a-na DUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri š[a Iš-me-^dDa-gan]* 61') *^mHa-am-mu-ra-bi ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma šu<-ma>* LUGAL.MEŠ *ša m[a]-a-at Šu-bar-t[i]m* 62') *ú-ba-nam e-li be-lí-ku-nu ta-ar-šu-ma ki-a-am aš-pu-ur-šum um-ma a-na-ku-ma* 63') *a-na LUGAL.MEŠ ša a-ia-ši-im ma-ru-tam i-ša-ap-pa-ru-nim at-ta a-ḫu-tam [š-pu-ur]* 64') *a-na Zi-im-ri-Li-im ša a-ia-ši-im a-ḫu-tam i-ša-ap-pa-ra-am* 65') *at-ta ma-ru-tam šu-pu-ur an-ni-tum ša aš-pu-ru-šum ḫa-ṭi-e-et* 66') *an-ni-tam Ĥa-am-mu-ra-bi i[pu-ul-šu]-nu-ti*, Charpin, "Les représentants de Mari a Babylone (I)," *ARM* 26/2, p. 199; Heimpel, p. 332.

¹⁵⁵ 36) DUMU *ši-ip-ri* LÚ *Tu-ru-uk-ku il-li-kam-ma* 37) *a-na Ĥa-am-mu-ra-bi ki-a-am wu-ú-ur um-ma-a-mi* 38) *iš-tu a-na-ku ma-ru-tam aš-pu-ra-kum a-ga-na i-n[a LUGAL.MEŠ]* 39) *ša ma-a-at Šu-bar-tim ša ma-ru-tam la i-ša-pa-ra-k[um]* 40) *lu-mu-ur an-ni-tam Za-zi-ia a-na Ĥa-am-mu-ra-bi [iš-pu-ur]*, Birot, *ARM* 27, p. 274; Heimpel, p. 467.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. the texts 52: 3; 92: 6, rev. 2, 3, 6; 100: rev. 16; 102, lower edge 2 (LÚ.TUR *Qú-ti-i*); see Vincente, *The 1987 Tell Leilan Tablets*.... Not only the Gutians, but Kakmean soldiers as well are mentioned in these tablets, who were probably in the service of its kings and the kings of Kurdā and Karanā(?); cf. Vincente, *op. cit.*, no. 83.

¹⁵⁷ There are allusions in some of these letters to Gutian troops accompanying the Elamites and Ešnunneans; see, for instance, *ARM* 26, 316; *ARM* 26, 338 (fragmentary); and Zimri-Lim asked his representative in Ilan-šura (in ZL 9'-10') to send him as many Gutians as he could, probably to recruit them as guards, cf. *ARM* 26, 330.

¹⁵⁸ According to Heimpel, this encounter seems to have taken place between the 5th and the 8th month of that year, cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

Ibāl-pî-El to Zimri-Lim (ARM 2, 26)

The Elamite troops who went to the land of Qutum have returned to Ešnunna. And I heard the following from those around me: "(Qutean) troops' drew up in battle formation against them (= the Elamites), and they 'accepted' their (offer of) peace." And half (of those around me) are saying the following: "The Nawarite (woman) (= *Nawarītum*) - her general bound her and gave her up."¹⁵⁹ This I heard from those around me.¹⁶⁰

It is interesting to hear of an influential Gutian woman who appears to have been a princess or governor of the city of Nawar in the east Tigris region. She cannot have been queen of the Gutians since, as Heimpel points out, Zazum is mentioned as king of the Gutians before (A.649) and after (ARM 26, 491) this incident.¹⁶¹ Durand's identification of Nawar with Nawar of the Habur region¹⁶² is impossible because western Nawar was never a Gutian populated city and is nowhere said to be ruled by the Gutians. Further, letter ARM 6, 27 from Mari reports that she sent 10,000 troops against Larsa¹⁶³ the year after Elam withdrew from Babylonia. This indicates that she was involved more in southern Mesopotamian affairs than those of the north. Thus it is the eastern Nawar, later Namri, that should be identified with the GN after which she was named. The letter was sent by Baḥdi-Lim to Zimri-Lim; he says:

Baḥdi-Lim to Zimri-Lim (ARM 6, 27)

And thus (they told me): "Troops of 10,000 Gutians of the queen of Nawar have departed just before the feast of 7 (days) of the year and headed to Larsa. And the Babylonians have left Malgium; they rustled the sheep of the Elamites and Hammurabi is in Sippar." This is the news they brought to me.¹⁶⁴

The information in this letter indicates that *Nawarītum* was either soon released, or that her arrest and deliverance to the Elamites was a false rumour, as she was able to lead an army to Larsa in the following year. It is possible that *Nawarītum* was arrested by the Gutian general who was allied to the Elamites, because she attacked at a time when the Elamites and that part of the Gutians undertook their joint invasion of the Habur.

Kunnam, the Elamite general who led the troops to the Habur, wished at first to establish good relations with Zimri-Lim. He styled himself as "your son,"¹⁶⁵ even though he was actually occupying his territory,¹⁶⁶ and Zimri-Lim did his best to form an alliance against the

¹⁵⁹ Durand has restored the verb *ik-[l]u-ši-ma* as *ik-si-ši-ma*, Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 230, note 461.

¹⁶⁰ 5) *ša-bu-um* NIM.MA^{ki} *ša a-na ma-a-at*^{ki} *Qū-ti-im* 6) *il-li-ku a-n[a] Ēš-nun-na*^{ki} *ma i-tu-ur* 7) *ù i-na a-ḫi-ti-ia ki-a-am eš-me um-ma ṣa-b[u-u]m a-na ka-ak-ki-im* 8) *a-na pa-ni-šu ip-ri-ik-ma sa-li-im-šu i[l-q]é* 9) *ù mu-ut-tatum [k]i-a-am i-qa-ab-bi um-ma-a-[m]i* SAL *Na-wa-ri-tam* 10) LÚ GAL.MAR.TU-*ša ik-si-ši-ma id-di-in-ši an-ni-tam i-na a-ḫi-ti-ia eš-me*, Jean, *ARM* 2, p. 62-4; restorations and corrections of l. 8 and 10 by Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 230-1; Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

¹⁶¹ Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

¹⁶² Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 231, b.

¹⁶³ Durand, *LAPO* I, Paris, 1997, p. 618. Baḥdi-Lim, the writer of this letter, unfortunately did not give further details about whether these troops were destined to support Larsa or to attack it.

¹⁶⁴ 8') *ù um-ma-a-mi* 10) *li-[mi] ṣa-bu-um* LÚ *Qū-tu-ú* 9') *ša MUNUS Na-wa-ri-ti[m] a-na p[a-a]n²¹ si-bu-ut ṣa-at-tim-[m]a* 10') *i-li-em a-na L[a]-ar-sa*^{ki} *pa-nu-šu-nu ṣa-ak-[nu]* 11') *ù LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA*^{ki} *iš-tu Ma-al-gi-im*^[ki] 12') *ù-ši-em-ma* UDU.ḪÁ *ša* NIM.MA.MEŠ *i-na* [.....] 13') *iš-ḫi-it* *ù Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi i-na* UD.KI[B.NUN^{ki} *wa-ši-ib*], Kupper, *ARM* 6, Paris, 1954, p. 44; Durand, *LAPO* I, p. 618.

¹⁶⁵ Charpin, "Les Elamites...", p. 131.

¹⁶⁶ The letter of Baḥdi-Lim to his lord Zimri-Lim makes a clear allusion to the fact that *Ida-maraš* was in this time under Zimri-Lim's authority: 1) *[a-na] be-lí-ia qí-bí-m[a]* 2) *[um-ma] Ba-aḫ-di-Li-im ĪR-ka-a-ma* 3) *[^mH]a-ia-su-ú-mu ki-a-am iš-pu-ra-am* 4) *[um-ma]-a-mi ṣa-bu-um* NIM.MA *ù LÚ Ēš-nun-na*^{ki} 5) *[i-na k]a-bi-it-ti-šu a-na ma-a-at* 6) *[^mZi-i]m-ri-Li-im a-na li-i[b-b]i I-da-ma-ra-aš* 7) *[i-li]-em-ma ma-am-ma-an ṣa ma-a-at I-da-ma-ra-aš* 8) *ú-še-ez-ze-bu ú-ul i-ba-aš-š[i]*, "Say to my Lord, thus says your servant Baḥdi-Lim. Ḫaya-sûmû wrote to me as follows: 'The Elamite and Ešnunnean troops have come up in masses towards the land of Zimri-Lim, into the interior of *Ida-maraš*, and there is nobody to save the land of *Ida-maraš*,'" Dossin, *ARM* 6, 66, p. 94-6; Charpin,

Elamite presence. After he had brought on to his side Qarni-Lim of Andarig, Atamrum of Allaḥad, the Upper Land, the land of Šubartum and Išme-Dagan,¹⁶⁷ he tried the same with Zaziya and the Qabrāeans. Letter *ARM* 26, 489 mentions the dispatch of two messengers, one to Qabrā and the other to Kawilḥum:

Ibāl-pî-El and Buqaqum to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 26, 489)

We dispatched Napsi-Eraḥ to Qabrā and Šamaš-Lamassašu to Kawilḥum.¹⁶⁸

Qabrā was at this time ruled by a certain Ardigandi. The name Ardigandi, as we have noted already, is of the same type as the Shemshāra name Berdigendae, the general of Zutlum (see Chapter Six). This, and the words of Išme-Dagan in this letter that the ruler of Qabrā will turn to Zimri-Lim after his defeat (see below), mean that the city was no longer ruled by Išme-Dagan. Rather the authority had seemingly passed to other groups related to those living in the eastern mountains, specifically the Turukkeans, as the name Ardigandi indicates. The attack of Išme-Dagan on Qabrā in ZL 9' confirms this as fact. The unpublished letter A.2137+, sent by Ḥaḡba-aḥum to his lord, contains a quotation from a letter of Zaziya to Hammurabi. Išme-Dagan had won some victories:

Ḥaḡba-aḥum to Zimri-Lim (A.2137+)

Secondly, Zaziya wrote as follows to Hammurabi: "Išme-Dagan, since he came up, has begun acting like his father constantly. He contests the lord of Qabrā in his land. He disputed with Qabrā and made war. [Išme]-Dagan has defeated Qabrā."¹⁶⁹

Išme-Dagan sent his son and his army to dig the canal of Nurda and the lord of Qabrā rushed with the whole of his army. He blocked the way saying: "You will not come up!" They seized then each other and fought. The son of Išme-[Dagan was] victorious over Qabrā. The army of Išme-Dagan took back the city of Nurda, Abnā and the plain of Zamurū from the lord of Qabrā.¹⁷⁰

Kawilḥum also seems very likely to have been under Zaziya's control, since when Išme-Dagan negotiated for peace with Zaziya he could place (or keep) his barges in Kawa/ilḥum to receive grain (see below, letter *ARM* 26/2, 491) as a result of the negotiations. The rest of the letter of Ibāl-pî-El and Buqaqum concerning the Kakmean attack on Qabrā and related matters continues:

"Les Elamites...", p. 130; Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 165. Durand translates LÚ Èš-nun-na^{ki} as "(and) the prince of Ešnunna" instead of "the Ešnunnean troops."

¹⁶⁷ This is deduced from a letter in which its anonymous author states that his lord Zimri-Lim caused those polities to change sides from the Elamites; cf. Heimpel, p. 511 (letter A.3669+). In this same letter the Gutians too are mentioned in a broken context. The question is asked who would know whether they have crossed the river at Mankisum or not. The passage comes in the context of the terrified Elamite troops who were retreating and crossing at Kakkulātum. It is likely that the Gutians have helped with the fight against the Elamites (but not those Gutians who were allied to Elam); the Elamites were not on good terms with the Gutians from the time of the Shemshāra letters (Šuruḥtuḥ against Endušše) until the last Elamite confrontation with Nawarītum in ZL 9'.

¹⁶⁸ 46) ^mNa-ap-si-E-ra-aḥ a-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} ù ^dUTU-la-ma-sà-šu 47) a-na Ka-wi-il-ḥi-im^{ki} ni-iṭ-ru-sú-nu-ti, Lackenbacher, S., "Les lettres de Buqaqum," *ARM* 26/2, 489; p. 425; Heimpel, p. 387.

¹⁶⁹ 16') ša-ni-tam 'Za-zi-ia' a-na ^mḤa-mu-ra-bi 'ke'em iš-pu-ra-am um-^fma-a-mi' 17') ^mIš-me-^dDa-gan iš-tu ša i-'le'-em 18') qa-tam ša a-bi-šu-ma ir-tú-^fub i-te-pu-ša-am 19') LÚ Qa-ba-ra-a^{ki} i-na ma-^fti-šu' ú-ba-qa-ar 20') it-^ftī' Qa-ba-ra-a^{ki} is-sà-bi-^fit'-ma ^{GIS}TUKUL.ḤÁ i-pu-úš 21') [^mIš-me]-^dDa-gan da-aw-da-am ša Qa-ba-ra-a^{ki} i-du-uk, Ziegler, *FM* VI, p. 272 and note 286.

¹⁷⁰ 31') ù Iš-me-^dDa-gan DUMU-šu ù ša-ba-šu a-na na-ri-im 32') ša Nu-ur-da^{ki} ḥa-tà-ti-im iṭ-ru-ud-ma 33') LÚ Qa-ba-ra-a^{ki} qa-du-um qa-ma-ar-ti ša-bi-šu 34') [in]-ḥa-ri-ir-ma ip-ta-ri-ik-šu um-ma-a-mi ú-^ful te-el'-li' 35') 'bī-ri-šu-nu is-sà-ab-tu-^fma' ^{GIS}TUKUL.ḤÁ i-pu-^fšū-[ma] 36') da-aw-da-am ša Qa-ba-ra-a^{ki} DUMU Iš-me-^dD'a¹-[gan di-ik] 37') a-lam Nu-úr-da^{ki} Ab-na-a^{ki} ù 'ḥa-²-am-qa-am ša Za-mu-ri 38') 'ša' LÚ Qa-ba-^fra¹-a^{ki} ša-ab <<IŠ>> ^mIš-me-^dDa-gan 39') [a²-na² qa-ti-šu ut-te-[er], Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 272 and note 287.

Ibāl-pî-El and Buqaqum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 489)

We [arrived] 'in' [the city of] Aššur at bedtime and [heard] the following word from those around us: "Kakmum defeated 'Ardigandi', the [king of] 'Qabrā'." This we heard from those around us. We arrived [in Ekallātum] and Išme-Dagan [spoke to us] as follows, he (said): "500 troops of Gurgurum attacked [the land] of Ardigandi and looted [its villages]. 2,000 troops of Ardigandi 'went out' to the rescue and fought, and Kakmum went ahead and defeated Ardigandi. And his (= Ardigandi's) high-ranking servants were 'running about' aimlessly. Now that man, because of having been defeated, [will ...]. And he will pay attention to your lord (Zimri-Lim). And he will His cities." This [news] Išme-Dagan told me. 'Išme-Dagan' is very sick. And according to the instructions of our lord, [we ...] and then [...] him to go to our lord. Now in 1 or 2 days [...], and Mut-Aškur and Lu-Nanna 'will come up' to take his (= Išme-Dagan's) lead and to go to our lord. Based on everything we saw, Išme-Dagan 'is not able to go'. He is very sick. Concerning a message (from Išme-Dagan) about the Qutean, for which our lord sent Ḫabdu-malik to Lu-Nanna, he (= Ḫabdu-malik) did not reach Lu-Nanna and gave us (the message with our lord's) instructions (instead). We told Lu-Nanna that message. And once we had arrived (in Ekallātum), we placed that 'message' before Išme-Dagan, and Išme-Dagan 'spoke' [to us] as follows: "[Lu-Nanna] told me that message before your arrival. The Qutean did 'not' come up at all. And I did not write to your lord that message." This he answered us, and we addressed Lu-Nanna 'before' him [and] (said): "Did not Ḫabdi-Eraḥ tell our lord that message?" With these (words) we addressed Lu-Nanna, and he confirmed their truth (saying): "They (= the words) are true. Ḫabdi-Eraḥ told (Zimri-Lim) that message." 'Perhaps' because our lord <did not> address him with the right words he (= Išme-Dagan) contradicts us, (saying): "The Qutean did not come up at all." And perhaps he is telling 'the truth'. Who would know? Besides, we have not heard anything on the Quteans from those around us.¹⁷¹

This is not the whole story of letter ARM 26, 489. In addition to the mention of the Kakmean sack of Qabrā¹⁷² it relates that the gravely sick Išme-Dagan denied sending a message to Zimri-Lim about the "coming up" of the Gutian. Whether by "the Gutian" one individual, (i.e. Zazum) is meant, or whether it is a collective term for the Gutians and their

¹⁷¹ 6) a-[na URU²/ a-lim²]^{ki}?^d A-šur nu-ba-tam ni-[ik-šu-ud]-ma 7) a-wa-tam i-na a-ḫi-ti-ni ki-a-am ni-[iš-me um-ma-a-mi] 8) Ka-ak-mu-um da-aw-da-am ša Ar-[di-ga-an-di LUGAL Q]a-ab-ra-a^{ki} 9) i-du-uk an-ni-tam i-na a-ḫi-ti-ni ni-iš-m[e a-na É.GAL.ḪÁ^{ki}] 10) ni-ik-šu-ud-ma Iš-me-^dDa-gan ki-a-am [iq-bi-né-ši-im] 11) um-ma šu-ma 5 ME ša-ab Gu-ur-gu-ri-i[m ... ma²-tam²] 12) ša Ar-di-ga-an-di iš-ḫi-tú-ma im-šu-[^u₅ ...?....] 13) 2 li-im ša-ab Ar-di-ga-an-di a-na ni-iḫ-r[a-r]i-[im it-ta-s]i-ma 14) k[a-a]k-ki 'r-pu-šu-ma Ka-ak-mu il-qí-šu-ma 15) [da-aw-d]a-am ša Ar-di-ga-an-di i-du-uk ù IR.MEŠ-šu ra-bu-tum 16) [na-a]p-r[u]-ur-ru i-na-an-na LÚ šu-ú iq-qa-at da-aw-da-šu di-ku 17) [x x (x)] x 'ù' [a-na] be-lí-ku-nu i-qa-al a-la-ni^{HA}-šu i-na-a-~~<<as>>~~-aš 18) [a-wa-tam] an-ni-[tam²] Iš-me-^dDa-gan id-bu-ba-am 19) [Iš-me]-^dDa-gan sú-ul-lu-'ú ù ki-ma wu-úr-ti be-lí-ne 20) [x x x (x)] x x-ma ù a-na še-er be-lí-ne a-la-ki-im 21) [x x x] x-nu-^fšú' i-na-an-na U₄ 1.KAM ú-lu-ma U₄ 2.KAM 22) [x x x (x)]-ma Mu-tu-aš-kur ù LÚ-NANNA a-na ša-ba-at 23) pa-[ni]-šu ù a-na še-er be-lí-ne 'a¹-[la-]ki-im 24) il-l[e-e-e]m i-na ma-al ša ni-mu-r[u] I]š-me-^dDa-gan 25) a-la-[kam ú]-u[l i]-li-i sú-ul-lu-'ú 26) aš-[šum] te₄-em LÚ [Qú-t]e-em ša be-el-ni Ḫa-ab-du-ma-lik 27) [a]-na še-er LÚ^dNANNA iš-pu-ru-ma LÚ^dNANNA iš-pu-ru-ma LÚ^dNANNA 28) [ú]-ul ik-šu-ud-ma né-ti ú-wa-e-ra-an-né-ti 29) [te₄]-ma-am še-a-tu a-na LÚ^dNANNA ni-id-bu-ub 30) ù ni-ik-šu-ud-ma ma-ḫa-ar Iš-^d[Da-gan te₄-ma]-am še-a-tu 31) ni-iš-ku-un-ma Iš-me-^dDa-gan ki-am iq[-bé-em] 32) um-ma šu-ma la-ma ka-ša-di(TI)-ku-[nu] x x x x 33) te₄-ma-am še-a-tu id-bu-[ba]-am 34) [m]i-im-ma LÚ Qú-tu-um [ú-u]l i-le-em 35) ù a-na be-lí-ku-nu te₄-ma-am še-a-tu mi-im-ma [ú]-ul aš-pu-ur 36) an-ni-tam i-pu-la-an-né-ti-ma LÚ^dNANNA [ma]-aḫ-ri-šu ni-iš-ba-[at-ma] 37) um-ma ni-nu-ma Ḫa-ab-di-e-ra-aḫ te₄-ma-am še-a-tu 38) a-na be-lí-ne ú-ul id-bu-ú-ub i-na an-ni-ti[m LÚ]-^dNANNA 39) ni-iš-ba-at-ma uk-ti-in um-ma-a-mi ki-na Ḫa-ab-di-e-ra-aḫ 40) 'te₄-ma-[am] še-a-tu id-bu-ba-am 41) pí-q[a-a]t aš-šum be-el-ni i-na a-wa-at ri-it-ti-im iš-ba-tu-šu 42) [i]k-ki-~~<<ra>>~~-ra-an-né-ti um-ma-a-mi mi-im-ma 43) [LÚ] Qú-tu-um ú-ul i-le-em ù pí-qa-at i-na ki-[na]-ti-ma 44) i-da-ab-bu-ub ma-an-nu-um lu-ú i-de₄ 45) ul-li-iš i-na a-ḫi-ti-ni mi-im-ma LÚ Qú-te-em ú-ul ni-iš-me, Lackenbacher, "Les lettres de Buqaqum," ARM 26/2, p. 424-6; Heimpel, p. 387; l. 16 restored according to Heimpel.

¹⁷² There is a letter from Mari (ARM 6, 79) that reports the journey of a Kakmean envoy to Zimri-Lim, but unfortunately a precise date for this letter cannot be established; For the letter, cf. Durand, *LAPU* I, p. 584 (no. 391).

troops, is not clear. Nevertheless, we understand from the letter that the Gutians were somehow involved in the affairs, but it is not stated whether they were for or against Išme-Dagan in this matter. The letter gives the impression that the coming up of the Gutian was a warlike action against the kingdom of Išme-Dagan, who had warned Zimri-Lim about it but then denied sending such a message. The key to solving the riddles of this letter is found in letter A.649 that refers to a Gutian offensive on Qabrā and on Turukkean territory, that forced the Turukkeans to retreat from Qaṭṭara, where they had gone to the rescue. Worse than these was the involvement of Išme-Dagan himself, whose men guided the Gutians to Qabrā. Perhaps this is why he denied sending the message to Zimri-Lim about their “coming up:”

Ḥaḡba-aḡum to Zimri-Lim (A.649)

The Turukkeans came to Qaṭṭara to the aid of Ḥadnu-rabi, because the land of Qaṭṭara began to ask with insistence for the restoration of Ḥadnu-rabi to his throne. But on the fifth day, the Turukkeans began to leave the land of Qaṭṭara because the news concerning the Guti arrived, and Hammurabi (of Kurdā), very worried, told me the following: "When I rose to set off, news arrived from the region downstream (of the Tigris) that Zazum king of the Gutians approached with his troops (and) the retainers of Išme-Dagan guided them; (and that) they have reached the land of Qabrā and occupied the city (of Qabrā); and (on the other hand) Išme-Dagan has arrived from Babylon to Makilan, which was his objective; and from Makilan the messengers of Išme-Dagan continued their route to Atamrum (bearing the following message): 'I am well. I have arrived.'"

On the other hand, the Turukkeans sent me this message: "The Gutians threaten us; yes; we are ourselves certainly in a position of weakness now. Facing the Gutians, are we going to abandon our homes? The Gutians arrive now indeed. Shall we be driven out of everywhere we currently hold? Shall we reach the mountains? Shall we look for ground to live there? And you indeed, Will you abandon your homes and your towns and leave in front of the Gutians? Pay close attention to what has happened. Join your troops with ours to drive out the Gutians." This is what the Turukkeans sent me. Therefore, the Turukkeans on hearing the threat of war of the Gutians, rose and left the land of Qaṭṭara to their (own) land.¹⁷³

Perhaps this was the same time that the king of Elam ordered his general in Šubat-Enlil, Kunnam, to negotiate with Zaziya, to get support against the coalition Zimri-Lim was building against them. Zaziya refused to cooperate and left Kunnam helpless to confront the coalition on the one hand, and a conflict broke out between his Elamite and Ešnunnean garrison troops in Šubat-Enlil on the other.¹⁷⁴ Letter A.910 records this Elamite approach:

¹⁷³ 4) [LÚ.MEŠ] *Tu-ru-ku-ú a-na ni-iḡ-ra-ar* ^m[H]a-ad-nu-r[a-bi] 5) *a-na ma-at Qa-tá-ra-a^{ki} iḡ-ḡa-bi-[tu-ma]* 6) *ma-at Qa-tá-ta-a ir-tú-up du-bu-ba-am* 7) *aš-šum* ^mHa-ad-nu-ra-bi a-na ^{ḡiS}GU.ZA-šu t[u-ur-ri-im] 8) UD.5.KAM LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ku-ú i-na ma-a-at Qa-[ta-ra]-a^{ki}* 9) [it-t]a-la-ak-ma *te-em* LÚ.MEŠ *Qú-ti-i im-qú-[ut]* 10) [^mḤa-m]u-ra-bi i-si-ir-ma *te-ma-[am iš-pu-ra-am]* 11) *um-ma-a-mi a-di-ma a-na a-la-[ki-ia e-te-eb-bu]* 12) *te-mu-um iš-tu ša-ap-la-n[u-um im-qú-ut ki-ma]* 13) ^mZa-zu-um LUGAL *Qú-ti-im qa-du-u[m ša-bi-šu it-ḡu-ma]* 14) IR.MEŠ *ša Iš-me-^dDa-gan pa-n[i]-šu iš-b[a-tu-ma]* 15) *a-na ma-a-at Qa-ba-ra-a^{ki} ik-ta-áš-dam i-na [a-lim^{ki} wa-ši-ib]* 16) *ù Iš-me-^dDa-gan a-na ḡa-da-ni-šu iš-tu* KÀ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} 17) *a-na Ma-ki-la-an^{ki} ik-ta-áš-dam iš-tu Ma-ki-la-an^{ki}* 18) DUMU.MEŠ *ši-ip-ri ša Iš-me-^dDa-gan a-na še-er A-tam-ri-im i-te-e[t-qú]* 19) *um-ma-a-mi ša-al-ma-ku ak-ta-áš-dam* 20) *ù [LÚ].MEŠ Tu-ru-ku-ú a-na še-ri-ia iš-pu-ru-nim um-ma-a-m[i]* 21) LÚ.MEŠ *Qú-tu-ú a-na še-ri-ni pa-nu-šu ša-ak-nu* 22) *an-na ni-nu wu-di ni-ⁱiqⁱ-ta-li-il*; 23) *ù i-na pa-ni* LÚ.MEŠ *Qú-t[i]-i ⁱbiⁱ-ta-ti-ni ni-[zi-i-ib]* 24) *ù i-na-an-na* LÚ.MEŠ *Qú-t[u]-ú i-[a]-k[u] ⁱnaⁱ ⁱma-laⁱ [šum-šu]* 25) *ša i-na-an-na nu-ka-lu nu-ud-da-pa-ar* KUR [ni-ka-š]a-ad-ma 26) *qa-qa-ar na-pi-iš-ti-ni ni-še-ⁱr* 27) [a]t-tu-nu ki-i te-zi-ba-a bi-[t]a-ti-ku-nu *ù a-la-n[i]-ku-nu* 28) ⁱr-na pa-ni LÚ.MEŠ *Qú-ti-i ta-at-ta-la-ka* 29) [a-n]a an-ni-tim *qú-la-ma qa-qa-da-ti-ku-nu šu-te-mi-da-ma* 30) *ša sà-ka-ap* LÚ.MEŠ *Qú-ti-i ⁱr ni-pu-úš* 31) *an-ni-tam* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ku-ú a-na [e]-er-ia iš-pu-[ra-a]m* 32) *ù LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-ku-ú tu-ka-am ša* LÚ.MEŠ *Qú-ti-i i[š]-me-ma* 33) *it-bi-ma i-na zu-mu-ur ma-a-at Qa-ta-ra-[a^{ki}]* 34) *a-na m[a]-ti-šu it-ta-la-[ak]*, Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “Le nom antique de Tell Rimāh,” *RA* 81 (1987), p. 132-3 and 143-4 with corrections and restorations of the transliteration of the original of Dossin; more corrections are in Durand, *LAPPO* II, p. 244-5.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Charpin, “Les Elamites . . .,” p. 133-4.

Yamsum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 310=A.910)

Kunnam drunk beer and said to Ibni-Addu: “My lord wrote to me: ‘Right now Zimri-Lim will go against you and he will trouble the land. Write to the Turukkean so that the Turukkean comes to your side. Do (pl.) battle against Zimri-Lim!’ He (= Kunnam) wrote to the Turukkean but they did not come to him.”¹⁷⁵

It is not known why Zaziya refused to cooperate with the Elamites. It is true that an old alliance between Elam and the Turukkean kingdom of Itabalḫum in the time of Pišendēn says nothing in a period full of changing loyalties and shifting alliances like this, but Zaziya was an adversary of Zimri-Lim. He had tried to replace him in the Hilly Arc and the Habur region. Zaziya was also the enemy of Išme-Dagan, whose kingdom was between Elam and the Habur region, so an alliance with Elam could be fruitful for him. Zaziya, on the other hand, as Yassi-Dagan stated, had a non-aggression pact with Ešnunna, now a vassal of Elam. Thus, this offer suited Zaziya best and it could be a chance for him to destroy his enemies and take over their domains. The only explanation that can be given for his refusal is that the Turukkeans were at this time dominating large areas and cities in the east Tigris plains, such as Nineveh and Kawalḫum, and were present in the Habur region following the revolt there. Thus, Zaziya seems to have been concerned about the fate of the domain he controlled at that time and the larger domain he was planning to control. He would have reckoned that overthrowing the petty polities of the region fighting with each other, including the exhausted kingdom of Išme-Dagan, was a much easier aim than regaining those territories from a great power like Elam.

This and other developments forced the Elamites to leave Northern Mesopotamia. Kunnam left Šubat-Enlil with his troops in late ZL 9' and handed over the city to the Elamite-named lieutenant Simat-Ḫuluriš.¹⁷⁶ After the Elamite withdrawal from Babylonia in early ZL 10', the city of Šubat-Enlil too was abandoned and Atamrum entered it as its new master. Letter ARM 2, 49 suggests that Išme-Dagan tried to control the city, but Ibāl-pî-El was recommended by one of his retainers to let Atamrum seize the city before Išme-Dagan did.¹⁷⁷

Turukkû Resumes War

An independent Qabrā collaborated with Zaziya against Išme-dagan, as shown by a letter from Iddiyātum to his lord:

Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 510)

I and Belum-kima-Iliya entered the palace for instructions and Aškur-Addu¹⁷⁸ told us: "2,000 Turukkeans, 2,000 Qabreans and 1,000 Yaḫurum attacked a work detail that was working on a river of Išme-Dagan. Išme-Dagan came to the rescue, and they defeated him."¹⁷⁹

This posed a real danger that Išme-Dagan was not able to confront alone. Therefore, he asked for help from Babylon. We do not have a letter that documents his request for help from Babylon but the letter of Yarim-Addu to his lord says enough:

¹⁷⁵ Charpin, “Les Elamites...,” p. 134, note 34. (l. 22-35). Charpin has given no transliteration for this letter.

¹⁷⁶ Charpin, “Les Elamites...,” p. 136.

¹⁷⁷ Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 84, and the letter ARM 2, 49 on p. 480.

¹⁷⁸ Or read Asqur-Addu, cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

¹⁷⁹ 5) *a-na-ku ù Be-lum-ki-ma-Ī-lī-ia* 6) *a-na é-kál-lim a-na wu-ú-ur-tim ni-ru-ub-ma* 7) ^{m<<x>>} *Aš-kur-^dIM id' (=IK)-bu-ba-an-né-šī-im* 8) *um-ma-a-mi 2 li-im Tu-ru-ku-ú^{ki} 9) 2 li-im Qa-ba-ra-i-yu^{ki} 10) ù 1 li-im Ia-ḫu-ur-ru-um^{ki} 11) e-pi-iš-tam ša na-ra-am ša Iš-me-^d-Da-gan* 12) *i-<<x>>ip-pé-šu iš-ḫi-tú* 13) ^m*Iš-me-^dDa-gan* 14) *in-'a₄-ri-ir-ma da-aw-da-šu* 15) *i-du-ku*, Lafont, ARM 26/2, p. 478; Heimpel, p. 394-5.

Yarim-Addu to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 373)

And I heard from those around me the following: "6,000 Babylonian troops are going up to Išme-Dagan." And rumours keep circulating that they (are headed for) another place. I found out these matters: the troops 'set out' because of Zaziya and the king of Qabrā. They are strong. They will go up to Išme-Dagan. I have confirmed the truth of this matter. They will go up to Išme-Dagan in the coming month.¹⁸⁰

However, we have a letter that preserves a complaint of Išme-Dagan's retainers before Hammurabi of Babylon. They complained about Hammurabi withholding troops from Išme-Dagan when the Turukkeans attacked Išme-Dagan's land and took three or four cities (see above, letter ARM 26, 384). This letter can be chronologically placed here and these Turukkean attacks must have taken place during or shortly after the Elamite invasion.

It was perhaps at this time that Zimri-Lim counted Qabrā among his friends, as long as it was hostile to Išme-Dagan. It is very possible that Zimri-Lim came to Qabrā, since litter-carriers are reported to have been killed between Arrapha and Kakmum, while the litter itself was either robbed or annihilated. That Zimri-Lim had the habit of having himself carried in a litter was already touched upon by Zaziya with disgust (see above, the letter of Yassi-Dagan, A.1025). The letter of Iddiyātum reads:

Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 512)

A messenger of my lord arrived from 'Qabrā' and spoke to me as follows: "'I have' [no] companion." Further, (he said): "[They 'attacked' Yaduranum and the men who were with him carrying the litter between Arraphum [and] Kakmum [and] killed them. And they [...] 'the litter'.¹⁸¹

There is an unclear passage at the end of this letter, where Išme-Dagan and the lord of Ešnunna, Aššur, and setting sight for Arrapha are all mentioned.¹⁸² No fuller interpretation of this passage can be given. It is important that Arrapha, like Qabrā, seems to have liberated itself a long time before from the rule of Išme-Dagan. Its liberation cannot have been later than that of Qabrā because Qabrā is almost halfway between Arrapha and Ekallātum. Letter ARM 26, 523 makes it clear that Arrapha was out of reach of Išme-Dagan, because messengers were advised to go via Arrapha to Ešnunna to avoid arrest by the lord of Ekallātum:

Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 523)

They released the two Ešnunnean messengers who had been detained 'here'. But they have not yet departed. (Aškur-Addu said): "[I] 'cannot give' you companions. [Take] the route to Arrapha [and reach] Ešnunna (that way)! I am afraid [Išme-Dagan] will detain my messengers because I am detaining [his] messengers."¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ 34) *ù i-na a-ḫi-ti-ia ki-a-am eš-me um-ma-a-ma* 35) *6 li-mi ša-bu-um LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} a-na še-er Iš-me-^dDa-gan* 36) *i-il-le ù tu-uk-ka-šu a-šar ša-ni-im-ma* 37) *it-ta-na-ad-du-ú a-wa-a-tim ši-na-ti ú-pa-al-li-iš-ma* 38) *aš-šum Za-zi-ia ù LUGAL ša Qa-ba-ra-a^{ki}* 39) *ša-bu-um it-[b]i dan-nu* 40) *a-na še-er Iš-me-^dDa-gan i-il-le* 41) *a-wa-tam an-ni-tam uk-ti-in* 42) *ITI e-ri-ba-am ša-bu-um a-na še-er Iš-me-^dDa-gan i-il-le*, Charpin, "Les représentants de Mari à Babylone (I)," ARM 26/2, p. 183; Heimpel, p. 327.

¹⁸¹ 5) *DUMU ši-ip-ri-im ša be-li-ia iš-t[u] Qa-b[a-ra]-a^{ki}* 6) *ik-šu-dam-ma ki-a-am iq-bé-[e-e]m* 7) *um-ma-a-[m]i a-li-ik i-di-im [ú-ul i-]šu* 8) *ša-ni-tam um-ma-a-mi Ia-du-^rra^{-nam}* 9) *ù LÚ.MEŠ ša it-ti-šu nu-ba-la-am na-šu-[ú]* 10) *bi-ri-it Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im^{ki}* 11) *[ù Ka]-ak-mi-im^{ki} iš-ḫi-[tú-šu-nu-ti-ma]* 12) *[i-du]-ku-šu-nu-ti ù nu-ba-[la-am ša na-šu]-ú*, Lafont, ARM 26/2, p. 482; Heimpel, p. 396.

¹⁸² 9') *ša-ni-t[am^m]š-me-^dDa-gan ù LÚ Ēš-nun-na^{ki}* 10') *[i-na x x x] wa-aš-bu Aš-šu-ur^{ki}* 11') *a²-na² [x x] x-ku-tim a-na Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im^{ki}* 12') *pa-[nam i]š-ku-un-ma a-wa-tam* 13') *[a-na^m]š-me-^dDa-gan ú-še-šú-ma*, "Further, Išme-Dagan and the Ešnunnean are staying in [...] Aššur [...] set 'sight' on [...] for Arraphum, and they let the word go out [to] Išme-Dagan, and [...]," Lafont, ARM 26/2, p. 490; Heimpel, p. 399.

¹⁸³ 35) 2 [D]JUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri LÚ Ēš-nun-na^{ki} 36) *ša [an-n]a-nu-um ka-lu-ú ú-ta-aš-še₂₀-ru <<x>>* 37) *ù a-di-ni ú-ul it-ta-al-ku* 38) *um-ma-a-mi a-li-ik i-di-i[m] 'ú-[ul a-n]a-[d]i-na-ku-nu-ši-im* 39) *gi-ir-ri Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im^{ki} le-qé-*

The Influence of Zaziya across the Tigris and the Hurrian Presence

The range of Zaziya's influence reached the territories to the west of the Tigris. Apart from his political influence there - as reflected in the long letter of Yassi-Dagan (see above) -, he exercised some kind of authority over Hammurabi of Kurdā, as the letter of Yassīm-El (*ARM* 26, 405) indicates. When Atamrum laid siege to the city of Ašihum, Yassīm-El, as a general of Zimri-Lim, who was an ally of Atamrum, found himself compelled to contribute to the siege. The city was defended well by the 1,000 troops under Saggār-abum, the general of Hammurabi of Kurdā. The two parties negotiated a peaceful exit, with a suggestion of exchanging one or more cities. It is important that Hammurabi of Kurdā attaches the condition of Zaziya's approval to the agreement. Although Heimpel thinks that Hammurabi of Kurdā was overstating the rank of Zaziya as a manoeuvre to oppose Atamrum, who had Hammurabi of Babylon and Zimri-Lim as suzerains, the letter shows that Zaziya's name was something to be reckoned with. Further, it is undeniable that the Turukkeans were powerfully present in the region:

Yassi-El to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 26, 405)

.... [These things and] 'more' I wrote him. [...] that man came out and [...] and answered me as follows: "[I will cede (to you)] the city of 'Harbe' [on] 'command' of the Turukkean [and release to you that which] I took [from] that city." 'Atamrum answered him as follows': "[If] you (= Hammurabi) cede [that city on] command of the Turukkean, [I will....] on command of the Babylonian or else on 'command' [of Zimri-Lim]. After you [increased (the number of)] cities (to be ceded) on command of the Turukkean, I will increase by as much (the number) of cities (to be ceded) to you. While [we wait for] 'Zimri-Lim', the elder brother and strong ally, who is it that 'splits' reed in my reed hut?" These things and many more his (= Hammurabi's) messenger answered; and Arrapha-adal, king of Širwunum, together with [his troops], and with him 2,000 Lullu troops, his allies, 'will come down', [and] he will lay siege to [the city of] 'Adallaya' on command of Atamrum. May my lord know.¹⁸⁴

Še/irwunum,¹⁸⁵ which was already conquered by Šamšī-Adad, appears now again with a king with a good Hurrian name, Arrapha-adal. He too was an ally or vassal of Atamrum, or at least, what he did was good for Atamrum. To be a vassal or ally of an ally of Zimri-Lim, i.e. Atamrum, means that Šerwunum was no more under Išme-Dagan's authority; it had joined

e-ma ?] 40) a-na Èš-nun-na^{ki} [ku-uš-da-nim ?] 41) aš-šum DUMU.MEŠ šī-ip-r[i É-kál-la-ta-yi^{ki}] 42) ka-le-ku as-sú-ur-[ri ša-bu-šu] 43) DUMU.MEŠ šī-ip-ri-ia i-ka-al-lu-ú, Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, p. 498; Heimpel, p. 402.

¹⁸⁴ 32) [an-né-tim ù ma]-da-tim-ma aš-ta-pa-ar-šu [.....] 33) [.....]-šu-um LÚ šu-ú ú-še-em-[ma] 34) [a-na ka-ra-ši-ia it]-he-em-ma ki-a-am i-pu-la-an-ni um-[ma-a-mi] 35) [.....] LÚ.MEŠ ut-te-er-ru i-na-an-[na] 36) [.....] It-t[i] Ia-aḫ-mu-uš_x(IS)-AN ù [Mu-ta-zī] 37) [.....]-bi²-[.....] (lacuna) 1') [.....] ú-še^r-e^r-[em-ma ..] 2') [x x x] a-na še-er A-t[am-ri-im il-li-kam-ma te_r-ma-am] 3') [it-ta]-di-in um-ma-a-mi [.....] 4') [i-na qí-b]i-it Tu-ru-ki-im a-lam Ḫa-[ar-bi ú-wa-aš-ša-ar-ma] 5') [ša i-na] li-ib-bi a-lim še-tu il-qú-ú [ú-ra-ad-da-kum] 6') [A-ta]m-ru-um ki-a-a[m i-p]u-ul-šu um-ma-[a-mi šum-ma a-lam še-tu] 7') [i-na] qí-bi-it Tu-ru-ki-im tu-wa-aš-ša-ar [ù a-na-ku a-lam] 8') i-na qí-bi-it LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} ú-lu-ma i-na q[í-bi-it a-bi-ia ú-wa-aš-ša-ar] 9') iš-tu-ma i-na qí-bi-it Tu-ru-ki-im a-la-né-e [tu-ra-ad-da-am] 10') a-la-né-e ma-li a-la-ni-ma lu-ra-di-kum i-nu-ma Zi-[im-ri-Li-im] 11') a-ḫa-am ra-bé-em ù til-la-tam dan-na-ta-am [x x x x] 12') ma-an-nu-um ša i-na^{GI} ki-ki-ši-ia GI i-ša-la-[tú] 13') an-[né-ti]m ù [ma]-da-tim-ma DUMU šī-ip-ri-šu i-pu-ul-ma 14') mAr-ra-ap-ḫa-[a]-dal LUGAL ša ma-at Ši-ir-wu-nim^{ki} qa-du-[um ša-bi-šu] 15') ù 2 li-<im> ša-bi-im Lu-ul-li-im til-la-sú it-ti-šu ur-ra-[da-am] 16') i-na qí-bi-it A-tam-ri-[im a-lam A]-da-al-la-ya^{ki} i-la-wi 17') be-lí lu i-di, Joannès, Lettres de Yassīm-El, *ARM* 26/2, p. 269; Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 346-7. Lullubians were also present much further in the northwest, in Burundum, the kingdom of Adal-šenni, where Lullubians together with their king were present; cf. Guichard, M., "Le Šubartum occidental à l'avènement de Zimri-Lim," *FM* VI, p. 150.

¹⁸⁵ For its location, cf. Chapter Six.

Qabrā and Arrapha in their independence from Assyria. The location of Adallaya is not precisely known. However, since it was contested between Kurdā (as here in *ARM* 26, 405) and Andarig (*ARM* 26, 421), one may speculate that it was somewhere close to a limit of their range of influence.¹⁸⁶ As for Ašihum, it is identified in the region north of Jebel Sinjār.¹⁸⁷ Its former Hurrian-named king Ḫazip-ulme¹⁸⁸ may indicate a Hurrian (= Turukkean?) population in this period. This and its closeness to the territories controlled by Zaziya can explain why the latter should approve its hand-over.

Two other letters from Mari provide significant information concerning the Turukkean presence in the northern Habur region. The first is *ARM* 26, 128, sent to the king by Išhi-Addu, probably a high-official of Zimri-Lim. The subject of the letter is about Mardaman, and how Qarni-Lim king of Andarig and Šarraya king of Razama entered that place and took numerous prisoners, but later the Turukkeans laid an ambush for them. This clearly indicates a Turukkean presence there and perhaps means that the inhabitants of Mardaman were Turukkeans as well. This is not surprising as Mardaman was known since the 3rd millennium to have been a Hurrian populated centre.¹⁸⁹ It is important to note also the date of the letter, since Qarni-Lim was beheaded in the first quarter of ZL 9'.¹⁹⁰ Durand thinks the destruction of Mardaman, reported in this letter, was in ZL 7' or ZL 8'.¹⁹¹ The presence of these Turukkeans then, predates Zaziya's campaign to dominate the West-Tigris:

Išhi-Addu to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 26, 128)

Qarni-Lim and 'Šarraya' entered Mardaman. Before Qarni-Lim entered, 'Šarraya entered' prior to him, 'and' Šarraya [captured?] 300 men and [...] women, [and took them t]o Ḫadnum. 'Later, when Qarni-Lim' had arrived (in Mardaman), they took (another) 1,000 'prisoners' and shared the 1,000 prisoners between them. Qarni-Lim took 500, and Šarraya took 500. And [...] (2 lines) and 'the city' [of Mardaman (?)] (he/they) is/are not 'staying'. And 2,000 'Turukkeans' laid an ambush for them. This my lord may know.¹⁹²

Mardaman, the oldest mention of which is in the Oakk. Period,¹⁹³ was formerly identified with modern Mardin.¹⁹⁴ However, it appears now that it was not so far to the west and north, and was rather located somewhere to the west of Ḫaburātum, north of Andarig and Razama,¹⁹⁵ i.e. to the north of the Hilly Arc. Apparently, the reason for this belief is a report

¹⁸⁶ According to Heimpel, it was a city of Kurdā: Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

¹⁸⁷ Heimpel, *op. cit.*, map on p. xxii.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Birot, M., *Correspondance des gouverneurs de Qaṭṭunān*, *ARM* 27, Paris, 1993, p. 144, no. 72-bis, l. 35'-36'. He is mentioned together with another Hurrian-named king of Alilanum (*A-li-la-nim*^{ki}), namely Masum-atal (*Ma-su-um-a-tal*), *op. cit.*, l. 34'-35'.

¹⁸⁹ Durand, *ARM* 26/1, p. 294 a. The attested Hurrian PNs associated with Mardaman are Nakdam-atal and Neriš-atal from the Ur III period, cf. Edzard, D. O., "Mardaman," *RIA* 7 (1987-1990), p. 357.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Heimpel, p. 642.

¹⁹¹ Durand, *ARM* 26/1, p. 294.

¹⁹² 5) ^mQar-ni-Li-im ù [Ša]r-r[i-ia] 6) a-na Mar-da-ma-an^{ki} i-ru-bu 7) la-ma Qar-ni-Li-im 8) i-ru-bu Šar-r[i-ia] 9) i-na pa-ni-šu i-r[u-ub-m]a 10) 3 ME LÚ.MEŠ ù x [ME/li-im (?) M]JUNUS.MEŠ 11) ^mŠar-ri-ia i[l²-qí-ma] 12) [a-n]a Ḫa-ad-na^{ki} 13) [ú]-še-[ri-ib-šu-nu-ti] 14) w[a-ar-k]a-nu-u[m] 15) [ki-m]a Qar-ni-Li-[im] 16) ik-ta-áš-dam 1 li-im ša-a[l-la-tam] 17) il-qú-ú-ma 18) i-na bi-ri-ti-šu-nu 19) 1 li-im ša-al-la-tam ša-a-ti i-zu-zu 20) 5 ME Qar-ni-Li-im il-qé 21) ù 5 ME Šar-ri-ia il-qé 22) ù [x x x x x²] x 23) ú-[.....] 24) ù a-lu[m Mar-da-ma-an^{ki}(?)] 25) ú-ul [w]a-ši-[ib] 26) ù 2 li-im Tu-r[u]-k[u-ú] 27) ša-ub-tam a-na pa-ni-šu-nu na-di 28) an-ni-tam be-lí lu-ú i-de, Durand, *ARM* 26/1, p. 293; Heimpel, p. 225.

¹⁹³ If we accept the identification of Maridaban with Mardaman, its oldest occurrence as *Maridaban*^{ki} is recorded in a year-name of Narām-Sîn that celebrates its destruction: MU *Na-ra-am*-^dEN.ZU Ma-ri-da-ba-an^{ki} MU.ḪUL.A, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 85.

¹⁹⁴ Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 118 with bibliography; Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 160; but note that both Finet and Birot have put it in the Transtigris region, cf. *RGTC* 3, *ibid.* with bibliography.

¹⁹⁵ Heimpel, p. 617; Durand, *ARM* 26/1, p. 294.

concerning an attack on this GN by the kings of Razama and Andarig, which indicates its closeness to them.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, people travelling from Mardaman to Mari passed through Karanā.¹⁹⁷ Some texts associate Mardaman with Ḫaburātum, which was close to the eastern Habur: A.474 clearly indicates that the two lands could become involved in the war directly.¹⁹⁸ A.2986 speaks of a peace proposal between Mardaman and the king of Ḫaburātum, Nanib-šauri.¹⁹⁹

If the restoration of the break is correct, letter *ARM 26, 129*, gives more significant information by mentioning Turukkean cities in the same region, implying a Turukkean population in the area:

Išhi-Addu to Zimri-Lim (*ARM 26, 129*)

My lord 'instructed' [me] to thoroughly learn the news of the land. I kept 'writing' (to my lord) the news of the land. 'According to' what my lord himself perceived of them, [the kings (of Ida-maraš)] did not act like enemies [and] 'agreement' has been established 'between' them. [And] Ḫaya-sumu keeps writing to them all the time as follows: "Since you did not dispatch your troops to Zaziya, enlist your troops now (and) come to me, and we shall go either against the army or else against the cities of [the Turukkean], and 'together' we shall ring the border area (with defences)." This 'Ḫaya-sumu' keeps writing to them. And they are not in agreement (with him). This my lord may know.²⁰⁰

I have doubts about the restoration of "the Turukkean" (l. 20) because of the fact that Ḫaya-sumu offered here alternative options: 1. "if you do not send troops to A;" 2. "let us then attack the army or cities of B instead." So fighting the army of Zaziya (A) as the first option would be the same army in the second option (B); there would have been no need to offer this as a second option. The two options should be different targets, not the same. Further, it is not quite certain that "dispatching" troops to Zaziya (as the first option) necessarily means fighting him, for it could be to support him. But even then, Ḫaya-sumu would not attack the cities or the army of the one he intended to support.

There were other rulers (or kings) of cities in the region to the west of the Tigris at this time who bore Hurrian names. In many cases we can assume that their subject citizens were also Hurrians, particularly those to the north, northeast and northwest of Jebel Sinjār, since there was a Hurrian presence there in the periods before the Amorite immigrations. Kupper has compiled a list of Hurrians mentioned in the texts of Mari, most of them in the Hilly Arc and the Habur region. He pointed to the importance of the list as it indicates that "in the time of Zimri-Lim, a relatively large number of the small states of Northern Mesopotamia were governed by Hurrian princes."²⁰¹ Such kingdoms, were scattered across the region from Jebel Sinjār (Ḫaburātum and Arriyuk's kingdom)²⁰² to the cities of Ḫaššum and Ursu in the west,

¹⁹⁶ Durand, *ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ Durand, *ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ Durand, *ibid.*; cf. also Charpin, "Une campagne de Yahdun-Lîm en Haute-Mésopotamie," *FM II*, p. 180.

¹⁹⁹ Durand, *ibid.*

²⁰⁰ 5) *ša-ni-tam aš-šum te-em ma-a-ti[m]* 6) *lu-um-mu-di-im be-lí ú-w[a-e-ra-an-ni]* 7) *te-em ma-a-tim áš-ta-pa-r[-am]* 8) *[ki-m]a ša be-lí-ma it-tú-lu-šu-n[u-ti]* 9) [LUGAL.MEŠ]-*ma ú-ul ik-ki-ru* 10) *[ù m]i-it-gu-ur-tum* 11) *[i-na b]i-ri-šu-nu ša-a[k]-na-at* 12) *[ù] Ḫa-ià-s[u]-ú-mu* 13) *ka-a-ia-an-tam ki-a-am* 14) *iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ra-aš-šu-nu-ši-[im]* 15) *um-ma šu-ma iš-tu-ma ša-ba-ku-nu* 16) *a-na še-er Za-zi-ia la TÁ:AT-ru-da* 17) *i-na-an-na-ma ša-ba-ku-nu lu-up-ta-nim* 18) *a-na še-ri-ia al-ka-nim-ma* 19) *ú-lu a-na še-er um-ma-na-tim* 20) *ú-lu-ma-a a-na a-la-né-e ša LÚ [Tu-ru-uk-ki]* 21) *i li-il-li-ik-ma i-ta-am iš-[te-ni-iš]* 22) *i nu-še-we-er an-ni-tam Ḫa-ià-s[u]-ú-mu* 23) *iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ra-aš-šu-nu-ši-i[m]* 24) *ù šu-nu la-a ma-ga-ra-am-ma* 25) *an-ni-tam be-lí lu-ú i-de*, Durand, *ARM 26, 129*, p. 295; Heimpel, p. 225. Heimpel notes that l. 16 should be *ta-at-ru-da*, the verb in l. 21 as well, should be *i ni-il-li-ik*.

²⁰¹ Kupper, J.-R., "Les Hourrites à Mari," *RHA 36* (1978), p. 124.

²⁰² For Arriyuk and his kingdom, see below.

i.e. from the Tigris to the Euphrates, with a special density to the north.²⁰³ Charpin and Ziegler also compiled a list of all the rulers of the Near East in the time of the Mari archives.²⁰⁴ I have combined both lists, and added information from later literature to include the Hurrian rulers (or those with Hurrian names) attested in Mari texts:²⁰⁵

In the Upper and Western Habur

Aniš-ḥurpi ²⁰⁶	king of Ḫaššum (Gaziantep) ²⁰⁷ and Zarwar (north of Samsat and northeast of Adiyaman) ²⁰⁸	
Iniš-ulme	(capital unknown)	
Kirip-adal	(capital unknown)	time of ZL
Nuzukka	king of Šinamum ²⁰⁹	ZL
Šadum-adal	Ašlakka in western Ida-maraš	ZL 0-2'
Šakru-Teššup	Eluḫut (Mardin) ²¹⁰	ZL 11'-12'
Šennam	Uršu	
Šepraru (?)	(Capital unknown)	ZL
Šupram	king of Susā. ²¹¹	
Tišnam (?)	(capital unknown)	ZL
Turum-natki	Šubat-Enlil (Apum)	ZL ?-3'
Tamarzi ²¹²	Tarmanni in Ida-maraš	ZL
Takka (?) ²¹³	Tilla	ca. ZL 4'
Terru (?)	Urkeš	ZL

In the Northeast of Sinjār

Arriyuk ²¹⁴	Probably <i>Kala-a</i> (see below)	ZL
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²⁰³ Kupper, *ibid.*

²⁰⁴ Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 263-8; cf. also Charpin, *OBO*, p. 392-402.

²⁰⁵ Names of those who were not certainly kings or rulers and are listed by Kupper are omitted here; cf. Kupper, "Les Hourrites ...," *RHA* 36, p. 123.

²⁰⁶ The name Aniš-ḥurpi is equivalent to Anum-ḥirbi, the king of Mama, whose famous letter was found in Kaniš. The two names refer to the same person; cf. Miller, J. L., "Annum-Ḫirbi and his kingdom," *AoF* 28 (2001), p. 93-4 (with bibliographical references).

²⁰⁷ Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 81. However, Sasson suggested identifying it at Araban, c. 25 km west of the confluence of Karasu with the Euphrates, cf. Sasson, J. M., "Ḫurrians and Ḫurrian Names in the Mari Texts," *UF* 6 (1974), p. 392.

²⁰⁸ Veenhof, K. R., *Across the Euphrates, Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period*, ed. J. G. Dercksen, Leiden, 2008, p. 16. Veenhof as well as Forlanini prefer the region of Samsat, in contrast to Miller's earlier identification at Tilmen Höyük: Miller, *AoF* 28, p. 77. Tilmen Höyük is now tentatively identified with the city of Apišal: Chambon, G., *Apišal, un royaume du Nord-Ouest*, in *Entre les fleuves-I, Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie Obermesopotamiens im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, ed. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and N. Ziegler, Gladbeck, 2009, p. 237-8, but neither identification is certain. For the identification and separation of the three or four similar GNs, *Zal/rwar*, *Zalpa/Zlpuwa* and *Zalpaḫ*, cf. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 70-7; Barjamovic, *op. cit.*, p. 108f.

²⁰⁹ According to Sasson, it was within the sphere of influence of Eluḫut: Sasson, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

²¹⁰ Durand, *LPO* III, p. 454.

²¹¹ Susā was a city in Ida-maraš, cf. Kupper, *RHA* 36, p. 124; Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 53. The city was mentioned as Šuša together with Šeḫna, Zarḫanum and Putra when Samsu-iluna invaded the Habur region in 1728 BC (Samsu-iluna 22), cf. Charpin, *OBO*, p. 348.

²¹² Compare the element *tamar-* in Nuzi PNs in Gelb *et. al.*, *NPN*, p. 262. For the location of Tarmani in Ida-maraš, cf. Kupper, *RHA*, p. 123, note 43; 124.

²¹³ Compare the name *Takku* in Nuzi, cf. *NPN, ibid.*

²¹⁴ His name seems to be a derivative of the Hurrian verb *ar(r)i-* "to give," meaning "given (by the god)" or "Theodorus" according to Durand: Durand, J.-M., *De l'époque amorrite à la Bible: le cas d'Arriyuk*, in

Masum-adal	Alilanum	ZL
Ḫazip-ulme	Ašihum (discussed above)	ZL
Šadum-šarri	Azuḫinum	ZL
Awa-kiriš ²¹⁵	Ḫurašan	ZL

Tigris Region

Ḫazip-Aranziḫ	(capital unknown), but his city was in Ida-maraš. ²¹⁶	ZL
Adal-šenni	Burundum (already discussed)	YA and ZL
Edip-ḫuḫ	Burundum (already discussed)	ZL
Nanib-šawuri	Ḫaburātum	ZL
[Nani]b-šawuri	Ḫuršanum ²¹⁷	ZL
Puḫiya ²¹⁸	Ḫuršitum	ZL 5'
Tiš-ulme	Mardaman (discussed above)	ZL
Imi'uk (?) ²¹⁹	Širwun(um)	ZL
Arrapḫa-adal	Širwun(um)	ZL

It can be concluded that the Hurrians settled over almost the whole region to the east of the Tigris, to the north of the Hilly Arc (north of Jebel Sinjār), to the Habur, and further to the west to the Euphrates and beyond. One of the westernmost points they reached was Apišal, a kingdom with a capital perhaps at Tilmen Höyük in the Islahiye region, where one of its kings bore the Hurrian name Nawar-atal.²²⁰ It is also noted that the Hurrians were not the only ethnic group in the Habur; Semites were there also. This mixed character of the Habur region seems to have continued through the ages, a characteristic of the area still today.²²¹ In this respect it is interesting that Kupper discovered that the line that separated Hurrians from Amorites in the early second millennium BC is “fairly close to the limit which today separates Kurdish from Arabic speakers.”²²²

Memoriae Igor M. Diakonoff, Babel und Bibel 2, eds. Kogan, L., N. Koslova, S. Loesov, and S. Tishchenko, Winona Lake, 2005, p. 59. However, Charpin and Ziegler label him “an Elamite lieutenant,” cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 226. According to them, he accompanied the Elamites during their invasion of Ešnunna and Northern Mesopotamia and could seize that part of the territory for himself. However, when the Elamites invaded the region he was already king of his realm. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine an Elamite officer reigning over a territory that his overlords (the Elamite king and his troops) could not hold.

²¹⁵ Compare the elements *aw* and *kir* and the related forms in Nuzi PNs: *NPN*, p. 208 and 228. Kupper reads Awi-kiriš, *ibid.*

²¹⁶ Kupper, *ibid.* with bibliography in note 39.

²¹⁷ Another king of Ḫuršanum was a certain Zinnugan (ZL ?-5'), whose name is similar to Zinnum, the king of Subartum, who carried out an attack on Ešnunna at the end of the Ur III period (see Chapter Five, Isin-Larsa). It is probable that the two names were philologically related and were both Subarian. Note that the name of the GN where Zinnugan was ruling means “Highland” (< Sum. ḫur.sag), a name that could be the Akkadian/Amorite designation for (part of) Subartu.

²¹⁸ Cf. the name Puḫiya (*Pu-ḫi-ia/Pu-ḫi-a*) in Nuzi: *NPN*, p. 246.

²¹⁹ The end of the name is of the same type of Arriyuk; furthermore, Širwunum was a Hurrian populated area.

²²⁰ Although of a slightly later date, a letter from Alalaḫ (level VII = 17th century BC) relates the dynastic marriage of Ammiqatum of Alalaḫ with the son of king Nawar-atal of Apišal, cf. Chambon, *op. cit.*, p. 235-6. For his identification of Apišal with Tilmen Höyük, cf. p. 237-8. For the date of Alalaḫ VII, cf. Von Dassow, E., *State and Society in the Late Bronze Age: Alalaḫ under the Mittani Empire*, *SCCNH 17*, Bethesda, 2008, p. XVI. It is important to note that archaeological excavations showed that by the middle of the Middle Bronze Age Tilmen became an important city, perhaps even a capital city, with its grand palace, temple and other principal buildings; cf. Duru, R., *A Forgotten Capital City, Tilmen*, Istanbul, 2003, p. 74.

²²¹ Today there are Kurds, Arabs, Nestorians and smaller ethnic minorities in the region.

²²² Kupper, J.-R., “Northern Mesopotamia and Syria,” *CAH*, vol. II, part 1, Cambridge, 1973, p. 23.

The War of Zaziya across the Tigris and the Decline of Išme-Dagan's Kingdom

From now on a new phase of Turukkean expansion begins. After Zaziya had taken control on the east of the Tigris, he started incursions to control the west of the Tigris and add it to the Turukkean kingdom. The numerous attacks, sieges and raids were one of his methods of exhausting the economy and consequently weakening the political and military structures of the kingdoms there. Once the Turukkeans had captured and dominated some parts of these territories, they could become new bases for further actions. The attack on the city of Asna, only “two and a half double hours” (i.e. 2.4 km or 1.5 miles)²²³ from Ninêš, might be the earliest raid across the Tigris, for it was so close to Ninêš:

Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 518 = ARM 2, 42)

On the 25th day of the month Abum (IV), the ‘Turukkean’ crossed the Tigris to ‘the land’ [of...]. And he laid siege to the city of Asna. And ‘the city of’ [Asna lies at a distance of] 2 and ‘a half’ double-hours (= *bērum*) toward (lit. to) ‘Ninêš. After’ he laid siege to ‘the city’ he offered it ‘peace’ but kept [his troops] in place. And he requested (the surrender²²⁴ of) its king. They did not give to him what he asked for. He (=Zaziya) returned.²²⁵

Sometime in late ZL 10’²²⁶ Turukkean troops penetrated as deep as Karanā. Fear of such an attack on the city is expressed by Aškur-Addu:

Zimri-Addu to Zimri-Lim (ARM 27, 154)

Now Aškur-Addu spoke as follows: “We both go? As long as I meet with my father (=ZL), ‘Ḥaḡba-Ḥammu’ must hold the land. I [am] afraid the Turukkean ‘will make an incursion’ and encroach on the land.”²²⁷

Also in late ZL 10’ Ešnunnean troops entered Razama and from there they marched on, but it was not known to the sender of letter ARM 26, 390 whether they intended to head to Karanā or to Andarig.²²⁸ Letter ARM 27, 18 reports that 30,000 troops are heading for Andarig, which can very probably relate to the same episode of ARM 26, 390. In ARM 27, 18 there is evidence of contact between Zaziya and Zimri-Lim, which seemingly concerned the developments around Andarig:

²²³ Compare both Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 259 and 260, and Heimpel, p. 399.

²²⁴ Durand: “asked for the king (as hostage),” *op. cit.*, p. 259.

²²⁵ 4) ITI *a-bi-im* U₄25.KAM L[Ú *Tu-r*]u-u[*k-kum*'] 5) I₇ I-d[*i*]-ig-la-at i-bi-ir a-na ma-[a-at ... il-li-ik] 6) ù a-lam [?]-As-na-a^{ki} il-wi ù a-l[um_x] (=LAM) As-na-a^{ki} A.ŠÁ 7) a-na Ni₅-[nē]-et^{ki} bé-ra-am ù zu-z[a-am ru-uq'] 8) iš-[*t*]u a-[lam] ša-a-tu il-wu-ú sa-li-[ma-a]m iš-ši-šum-ma 9) [ša-ba-am] ú-še-ši-ib ù LUGAL-šu i-ri-iš 10) [ki-ma ša i-r]i-šu la id-di-nu-šum i-tu-ur-ma, Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, p. 489; Heimpel, p. 399; Durand has [ki-ma ša i-r]i-šu in l. 10 instead of [ki-ma ša i-ri-i]š-šu, cf. Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 259. After a lacuna of about 17 lines, with references to an enemy and troops at the disposal of the author of the letter, there is a passage about the capture of a city. But it is not certain whether it is the same city Zaziya besieged or not. Durand has “he proposed again a peace treaty” instead of “he (= Zaziya) returned,” cf. Durand, *ibid.*

²²⁶ For the date of the letter ARM 27, 154, cf. Heimpel, p. 649.

²²⁷ 24) i-na-[a]n-na Aš-kur-^dIM [k]i-a-am 25) iq-bi um-ma-a-mi ki-[*t*]a-lu-ni-i 26) ni-il-la-ak a-di it-ti a-bi-ia 27) an-na-am-ma-ru Ḥa-[a]q-b[a-ḥ]a-am-mu 28) ma-tam li-ki-il a[s-s]ú-ur-re' 29) Tu-ru-ku-um iḥ-[ḥ]a-ba-a[*t*]-ma-ma 30) ma-tam ú-ba-az-za-aḥ, Birot, M., Correspondance des gouverneurs de Qaṭṭunân, *ARM* 27, Paris, 1993, p. 260; Heimpel, p. 465, who makes a correction to l. 30.

²²⁸ Cf. the letter in Heimpel, p. 336.

Ilšu-našir to Zimri-Lim (ARM 27, 18)

And herewith [I] a tablet of Zaziya, a tablet of Šarraya and Zimriya, to my lord.²²⁹

In the month II of ZL 11' a treaty between Atamrum of Andarig and Aškur-Addu of Karanā was concluded. This was an important event aimed against Kurdā and its allies. On the one side were Andarig and Karanā, supported by Mari, and on the other, Kurdā and Ekallātum, supported by Ešnunna.²³⁰ In the negotiations that preceded the conclusion of this treaty many important personalities and kings were involved, in addition to the representatives of the major powers of Mari, Babylon, and Ešnunna. They were invited to observe and probably to witness its ratification. Heimpel considers that the presence of Ešnunnean and Turukkean representatives was tolerated because the two were enemies of neither Andarig, nor Karanā at that time. He does not agree with Lafont, who thinks that Andarig and Karanā were part of the Mari-Babylon-Andarig-Karanā alliance, because the treaty between Babylon and Ešnunna was not yet concluded.²³¹ A long and detailed report concerning this event was written and sent to Zimri-Lim by Yasîm-El. What is remarkable in the report is that Turukkû was present, but no mention of Ekallātum is made. If we take into account the growing power and influence Zaziya had in the West-Tigris region, Turukkû's presence will not surprise us. The section in relation to the treaty is as follows:

Yasîm-El to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 404)

..... in Šidqum they all congregated and started talking of the matters between them and [...]. Before killing the stallion, while they were talking, [Atamrum] proceeded and, facing the Babylonian (messenger), the Ešnunnean (messenger), the 'Turukkean' (messenger), the seven kings who were present before him and the troops of the alliance, all of them, spoke the following words.....²³²

Zaziya's presence in the meeting did not hinder his plans for the region. At the end of the same long letter comes the news of the Turukkeans, who had crossed the Tigris to lay siege to Razama:

Yasîm-El to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 404)

Zuzuni, a servant of Aškur-Addu, '.....' with Yantin-[eraḥ. And] he spoke 'a word' to Yantin-eraḥ as follows: "The Turukkean crossed. Iniš-kibal is heading [to] lay siege to the city of Razama."²³³

This news is also reported in another short letter, which seems to have been written at precisely the same time as this letter of Yasîm-El:

Ḫabdu-malik to Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu (ARM 26, 395)

'Further': After I sealed the tablet for the king, news broke. Turukkean troops have crossed. Inform the king!²³⁴

²²⁹ 17') ù a-nu-um-ma tup-pí 18') mZa-zi-ia tup-pí 19') mŠar-ra-ia 20') ù Zi-im-ri-ia 21') [a]-na še-er be-lí-ia, Birot, ARM 27, p. 66; Heimpel, p. 418.

²³⁰ Heimpel, p. 135.

²³¹ Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 135, note 202.

²³² 11) ... Ši-id-qí-im^{ki} [k]a-lu-šu-nu in-ne-em-du-ma 12) a-wa-at bi-ri-šu-nu ir-tú-pu da-ba-ba-am ù A[NŠE ḫa]-a-[ra-am iq-tú-lu] 13) la-ma da-ak ANŠE ḫa-a-ri-im i-na di-bi-šu-nu [A-tam-rum] 14) mé-eh-re-et LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} LÚ Ēš-nun-na^{ki} LÚ Tu-r[u-ki-im ù] 15) 7 LUGAL.MEŠ ša ma-aḫ-ri-šu i-za-az-zu ù ma-ḫar ša-ab til-la-t[im] 16) ka-li-<>-ši-na ú-še-ši-ir-ma a-wa-tam ki-a-am iq-bi, Joannès, Lettres de Yasîm-El, ARM 26/2, p. 259; Heimpel, p. 344.

²³³ 86) [m]Zu-zu-ni ĪR Aš-kur-^dIM it-ti Ia-an-ti-[in- x x ik-šu]da-a[m] 87) [ù] a-na Ia-an-ti-in-e-ra-aḫ 88) [a-wa]-tam ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma-a-mi 89) [LÚ T]u-ru-ku-um i-bi-ra-am 90) [a-na] la-wi a-lim^{ki} Ra-za-ma^{ki} 91) I-ni-iš-ki-ba-al pa-na-am ša-ki-in₄ (erasure)-<<šu>>, Joannès, ARM 26/2, p. 261; Heimpel, p. 345.

Razama was not the only target of Zaziya across the Tigris. There are other reports about cities being attacked, besieged and captured, and even about the rustling of sheep by the Turukkeans. We saw in letter *ARM* 26, 518 how Asna was besieged and later other cities and territories, such as Karanā, Adē, Razama and Ekallātum, followed (see below). From letter *ARM* 28, 155 we learn that Azuḥinnum too was among the cities Zaziya attacked. The letter was sent by Arriyuk to his lord Zimri-Lim, in which he defends himself against the “slander” of Šadu-šarri, king of Azuḥinnum, who accused Arriyuk of cooperation with the Turukkeans when they attacked his city:

Arriyuk to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 28, 155)

Say to my father Zimri-Lim: Thus (says) Arriyuk, your son. I heard the tablet my father sent me. Concerning the news of the Turukkeans and the people of Ḫiwilat, about which my father wrote to me as follows: “You have let these people cross (the river) and they pillaged my sheep.” This is what my father wrote to me. Certainly, on five occasions they put insulting (reports) about me in front of my father, and my father listens, while there is no confirmation. As to what Šadu-šarri said: “The troops of Arriyuk went with the Turukkeans,” now, may my father ask (about that)! I learned about the build up of the Turukkean (troops) one month before. I wrote to Azuḥinnum, to the land of Burullum, and to Aqba-ḫammu about the necessity of moving the sheep (and) I gave strict orders to Kibšunatar and Yadaḫatānum, the shepherds (whom) I sent.²³⁵

He was not only accused of collaboration with the Turukkeans, but also with the Elamites when they invaded the region. According to the restorations of letter *ARM* 28, 153 made by Durand, he defends himself for not sending his messengers to the Elamite:

Arriyuk to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 28, 153):

I have not se[nt my messengers to] the Elamite as be[fore. Before, the Elamite] took [out] my [mess]engers to kill them.²³⁶

Arriyuk was a vassal of Zimri-Lim and owed his position as ruler of a city to him. This is apparent from the repetition of the formula “(you are) my father... (I am) your son” in his letters to Zimri-Lim (see letters *ARM* 28, 153-157). Unfortunately, no mention of his kingdom or capital city is made in these letters, but according to Sasson, it must have been located in the region of Karanā and Razama.²³⁷ Kupper too located it in the region of Jebel Sinjār,²³⁸ to its northeast, in the neighbourhood of Azuḥinnum and Burullum; both Charpin and Ziegler agree.²³⁹ Durand thinks that Arriyuk resided in Kalḫu, arguing that the GN *Ka-la-a*[^{ki}],

²³⁴ 16) *ša-[ni]-tam iš-tu tu₄-pí LUGAL* 17) *ak-nu-ku te₄-mu-um* 18) *im-[q]ú-ut ša-bu-um* 19) LÚ *Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú* 20) *i-te-eb-ra-am* 21) *a-na LUGAL bu-ur-ri*, Charpin, “Lettres de Habdu-malik,” *ARM* 26/2, p. 229; Heimpel, p. 340.

²³⁵ 1) *a-na a-bi-ia Zi-im-ri-Li-im* 2) *qí-bí-ma* 3) *um-ma Ar-ri-yu-uk!* 4) *DUMU-ka-a-ma* 5) *tu₄-pa-am ša a-bi ú-ša-bi-lam eš-me* 6) *aš-šum te₄-em Tu-ru-uk-ki-im ù Ḫi-wi-la-ta-yi^{ki}* 7) *ša a-bi iš-pu-ra-am um-ma-a-mi* 8) *ša-ba-am ša-a-ti tu-še-bi-ir-ma UDU.ḪÁ-ia iš-ḫi-tú* 9) *an-ni-tam a-bi iš-pu-ra-am* 10) *wu-di 5-šu tá-ap-la-ti-ia ma-ḫa-ar a-bi-ia* 11) *iš-ku-nu-ma a-bi i-še-em-me ù šu-ta-ku-nu-um* 12) *ú-ul i-ba-aš-ša i-na-an-na Ša-du-šar-ri* 13) *iq-bu-ú u[m]-m[a]-a-mi ša-ab Ar-ri-yu-uk* 14) *it-ti LÚ [T]u-ru-[u]k-ki-im il-li-ik* 15) *a-nu-um-ma a-[bi] [i]-ša-al ...*

22) *pa-ḫa-ar LÚ Tu-ru-uk-ki-im iš-tu ITI 1.KAM eš-me-ma* 23) *a-na A-zu-ḫi-in-nim^{ki} a-na ma-a-at Bu-ru-ul-li-im^{ki}* 24) *ù a-na še-[e]r Aq-ba-ḫa-am-mu aš-pu-[ur-ma]* 25) *ù aš-šum UDU.ḪÁ du-[u]p-pu-ri-im a-na Ki-i[b-šu-n]a-tar* 26) *ù Ia-da-ḫa-ta-nim ‘ú-tu-ul-li ša aš-p[u-ru]* 27) *dan-na-tim aš-ku-un*, Kupper, *ARM* 28, p. 225-6.

²³⁶ 6’) *ki-ma pa-na-[nu-um DUMU.MEŠ]* 7’) *[ši-ip-ri-ia a-na] LÚ.ELAM ú-ul aṭ-ru-u[d pa-na-nu-um]* 8’) *[LÚ.ELAM DUMU.MEŠ] ši-ip-ri-ia a-na da-ki-im ú-š[e-ši]*, Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 65-6.

²³⁷ Sasson, “Ḫurrians and ...,” *UF* 6 (1974), p. 358.

²³⁸ Kupper, *RHA*, p. 123.

²³⁹ Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 226, note 520.

mentioned in letter *ARM* 28, 155,²⁴⁰ as a departure point of a group of people, is one of the different spellings (such as Kawalḥum) the Assyrians used to render the name of Kalḥu.²⁴¹ In this letter Arriyuk complained to his lord Zimri-Lim that a group of people were taken to Mari when they were on their way from *Ka-la-a*[^{ki}] and he is now afraid that they may be sold later.²⁴² To Durand, the passage “There are people of mine in large numbers (that I[?]) made depart from Kal’a to Mari” makes sense only if Kal’a is the place where these people departed from.²⁴³ This is possible, although we are not sure whether Arriyuk resided in Kal’a itself or in a second city with authority over Kal’a which enabled him to send people from there. It is more important that we have the modern place Kalak on the Upper Zāb, exactly halfway between Erbil and Mosul, that forms the main crossing point on the river that leads from the region of Erbil to the western territories, which is still in the region of Kalḥu. I would prefer to identify Kalak with Kal’a instead of Kalḥu, provided the reading *Ka-la-a*[^{ki}] of Durand is correct. Kalak presumably was also a crossing point in ancient times and perhaps its name today maintains the essence of its old name Kal’a(k).²⁴⁴ In the letter there is a clear reference to its importance as a crossing point, when Arriyuk is accused of helping Turukkean troops to cross “the river” without identifying which river. In the spring of 2010 an inscribed brick of Shalmaneser I was found in the tell of Kalak that identified it with the city of Kilizi.²⁴⁵

It seems that the rulers of the petty kingdoms of the region found themselves stuck between Mari on the one hand and the rising power of Zaziya on the other. They, or many of them, were somehow politically bound to Zimri-Lim, but were not able to resist the demands of Zaziya, and this explains why Arriyuk was accused of collaboration with the Turukkeans, an accusation that seemingly had every reason to be believed.

The texts *ARM* 28, 153 and 154 date events from ZL 3’-4’, and *ARM* 28, 155 and 156 indicate events from ZL 10’-11’, according to Kupper.²⁴⁶ However, Kupper based himself on the mention of the affairs of Ešnunna and the Elamite intervention in Northern Mesopotamia when dating the events to ZL 3’-4’, but the date of the Elamite invasion was later, in ZL 8’ (see above).²⁴⁷ Among other events the letters of Arriyuk mention that Zaziya was three times victorious in the region of Mardaman, and now needs military assistance to secure the land:

Arriyuk to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 28, 156)

Previously, [Zaziya], the Turukkean, went [to the land] of Mardaman and was victorious [for the second time]; then he crossed [the mountain], he fought for the third time in Šiḥum and he triumphed. Now may my father send me Aškur-Addu so that we can safeguard the land.²⁴⁸

It is possible that one of these victories was the one in ZL 7’ or 8’, discussed above.

²⁴⁰ Note that the reading of this word as a GN is Durand’s suggestion against the reading *ka-al* <*u₄-mi-im*> of Kupper.

²⁴¹ Durand, “De l’époque amorrite à la Bible: le cas d’Arriyuk,” *Memoriae Igor M. Diakonoff*, p. 62-3.

²⁴² Durand, *ibid.*; cf. also Kupper, *ARM* 28, 155, p. 226.

²⁴³ Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

²⁴⁴ The finite k is a common Iranian suffix attached to substantives.

²⁴⁵ This according to an oral communication from Mr. Dilshad Zamua and Mr. Qusay Mansoor, both lecturers in the Archaeology Department of the University of Salahaddin-Erbil. One wonders whether there is any link between the names Kal’a and Kilizi.

²⁴⁶ Kupper, *ARM* 28, p. 221.

²⁴⁷ According to Durand, letter *ARM* 28, 153 dates to ZL 9’: Durand, “De l’époque amorrite à la Bible...,” p. 65.

²⁴⁸ 17) [i-n]a p[a-n]a-nu-um 18) [ʷZa-zi-ia] LÚ [T]u-[ru-uk-ku] 19) [a-na ma-a-a]t Mar-da-ma-an^{ki} il-[/i-kam-ma 20) [ši-ni-šu da]-wi-da-am i-du-u[k] 21) [ù KUR ib-ba-a]l-ki-it-[m]a a-na li-ib-[b]i Ši-iš₇-hi-im 22) [ĜIŠ.TUKUL ša-la]-ši-šu i-[p]u-úš 23) [ù da-wi]-dam-ma i-du-uk 24) [i-na-an-n]a a-bi Aš-qúr-^d[IM l]i-it-ru-dam-ma 25) ša šu-ul-lum ma-a-tim i ni-pu-úš, Kupper, *ARM* 28, 156, p. 227.

Shortly after the conclusion of the treaty mentioned above, presumably in the same month II of ZL 11', Išme-Dagan carried out an attack on Nusar, a dependency of Karanā.²⁴⁹ Later he linked with Hammurabi of Kurdā and attacked Šurra. Around the same time Hammurabi of Kurdā and Išme-Dagan attacked Purattum and Ašan. These events called for Zimri-Lim to react. He moved to Šurra and was there on the 29th of III of 11'; before his arrival Išme-Dagan and Hammurabi seem to have withdrawn. On the 5th of VI of ZL 11' Ekallātean and Ešnunnean troops entered Razama and it became known that they intended to march further to Ḥašarum.²⁵⁰ This we learn from a letter that Iddiyātum sent to Zimri-Lim. Iddiyātum was right when he reported that the lack of grain was the motive behind the Ekallātean aggression.²⁵¹

Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 513)

I wrote my lord once, twice. I (said) "Išme-Dagan will look for an ally. Now that man 'needs(?)' grain and he will look for an ally for (that) reason alone. He will not quit."²⁵²

This is an important turning point in the history of Išme-Dagan's kingdom. From now on, his star began to fade; most of his next movements aim at obtaining grain or rustling cattle. Ironically the kingdom of Išme-Dagan suffered from the same hardship that the Turukkean lands had suffered from in the past, which resulted in their collapse and all the consequent grain shortages. In the month VI of the same year, he conquered the city of Kiyatan and transported its grain to Razama. However, the caravan was attacked by Ḥaqba-Ḥammu and the accompanying troops of Išme-Dagan were forced to flee into Razama without weapons, food or grain.²⁵³ The Turukkeans, forgetting their previous attempt to stir up the allies of Zimri-Lim against their lord, seem now to have helped the Mari-Andarig-Karanā alliance, as long as it was against Išme-Dagan. There are reports of the march of the Turukkeans against Išme-Dagan; the first relates that 4,000 Turukkean troops had crossed the Tigris towards Ekallātum:

Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 522)

And I heard from those around me: "4000 Turukkeans crossed (the Tigris), and 'their sight is set' on Ekallātum." Possibly because of these things, 'Išme-Dagan' [returned].²⁵⁴

It is very possible, as Heimpel suggests, that the 300 Turukkeans who were reported to have "arrived inside" the camp of Rakna were part of those 4,000 troops.²⁵⁵ Rakna was the

²⁴⁹ According to Lafont, Nusar was located between Razama and Karanā, but closer to the latter. An unpublished letter (A.1180) too states that it was three steps distance from Qaṭṭara (Tell al-Rimāh), on the way that leads from Qaṭṭara to Ekallātum; cf. Lafont, *ARM 26/2*, p. 476; cf. also Ziegler, according to whom it was to the south or southeast of Qaṭṭara: Ziegler, "Le royaume d'Ekallātum . . .", *FM VI*, p. 268.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Heimpel, p. 139.

²⁵¹ Heimpel, p. 139.

²⁵² 19) 1-šu 3-šu a-na be-lí-ia aš-pu-r[a]-am 20) um-ma -an-ku-ma Iš-me-^dDa-g[an] ú-ta-la-al 21) ina-an-na LÚ šu-ú še-em 'i-²šu-²ma 22) i-dam iš-ti-in ú-ta-al-la-al 23) ú-ul i-pa-at-tà-ar, Lafont, La correspondance d'Iddiyatum, *ARM 26/2*, p. 483; Heimpel, p. 397. The restoration of 'i-²šu-²ma of l. 21 is understood as 'i-ku-ul-²ma by Durand; however, the alternative of Heimpel to restore the verb *haših*, "to need/lack" fits the context better; cf. Heimpel, p. 397, note 380.

²⁵³ Cf. the letter *ARM 2*, 50. Ḥaqba-Ḥammu attacked the troops, but it is not sure whether it was also he who deprived Išme-Dagan of grain, because the donkeys bearing the grain were not lost; cf. Heimpel, p. 143.

²⁵⁴ 10') ù i-na a-ḫi-ti-ia ki-a-am eš-me um-ma-mi 11') 4 li-mi Tu-ru-uk-kum i-bi-ra-am-m[a] 12') ù a-na É-kál-la-ti[m]^{ki} [p]a-nu-[š]u-<nu> ša-a[k-nu] 13') mi-id-de aš-šum an-né-tim [I]š-me-^dD[a-gan]..., Lafont, *ARM 26/2*, p. 496; Heimpel, p. 401. The restoration "[returned]" is by Heimpel.

²⁵⁵ Heimpel, p. 143.

camp Aškur-Addu set up near Razama after he left the camp near Kiyatan.²⁵⁶ The arrival of those troops was announced in the letter *ARM* 28, 171. This informative letter gives more valuable hints about the situation; it shows that Šubat-Enlil, like Andarig and Allaḥad, was counted among the domains of Zimri-Lim. Further, it reports that Išme-Dagan left his camp in front of Kiyatan and entered Razama, because of a lack of troops, especially after he realized that Ešnunna had refused his request for more troops. The reason for the refusal was worse than the refusal itself: Ešnunna had made peace with Babylon:

Ḫimdiya to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 28, 171)

The cities of Andarig, Allaḥad, 'Šubat-Enlil', the land and the troops are well. Four days ago the enemy (= Išme-Dagan) rose from his camp 'in front of' the city of Kiyatan, and he is staying (now) inside the city of Razama. The Babylonian troops, the troops of my lord and the troops of Aškur-Addu-, we are staying in front of the enemy in Rakna, a border city of Aškur-Addu. The day I sent this tablet of mine to my lord, 'the next day', 300 troops of Zaziya arrived inside our camp. From the bivouac of the troops of my lord we will block (the trespass on) the fringe of the land of Karanā 'until' the intention of the enemy is understood. We sent men of the field campaign to capture an informer, and they captured two 'men by' the gate of Assur. We asked 'them', and they spoke to us as follows: "Mut-Aškur, son of 'Išme-Dagan', brought a visitation gift to Ešnunna. He went to bring up additional troops. They did not accept his visitation gift. And they did not give him one man. They pushed him aside and they dispatched him. Four days ago he arrived in Ekallātum. The Ešnunnean and Babylonian made peace between them." This news they told, and I wrote my lord the news I heard.²⁵⁷

The information in this letter is confirmed by *ARM* 26, 523, sent by Iddiyātum, in particular the journey of Mut-Aškur to Ešnunna, the refusal of his request and gifts. It adds also that a high-ranking Ešnunnean envoy accompanied Mut-Aškur to Ekallātum to organize the return of their military contingent.²⁵⁸ The same letter relates that Šubatum on the bank of the Tigris was attacked, and that 40 men and women and 100 heads of cattle were captured; but the writer is not sure whether it was the Ḫadneans who did it or the Turukkeans.²⁵⁹ Letter *ARM* 26, 341 explains why Išme-Dagan needed extra troops from Ešnunna; he heard about the return of Atamrum from Babylon to Andarig. According to Heimpel, he was afraid of the possibility (or knew indeed of the certainty) that he may bring Babylonian troops against him.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ Lafont puts Rakna on the border of the Aškur-Addu's kingdom: Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, p. 476.

²⁵⁷ 4) URU *An-da-ri-ig*^{ki} *Al-la-ḫa-da*^{ki} *Šu-ba-at*^{[d]EN.LÍL^{ki}} 5) *ma-tum* *ù* *ša-bu-um* *ša-lim* 6) LÚ.KÚR *iš-tu* U₄ 4.KAM *iš-tu* *ka-ra-ši-šu* 'r-n[a] <<[A A]N>> 7) URU *Ki-ia-ta-nim*^{ki} *it-bé-em-ma* *i-na* ŠĀ.BA URU *Ra-za-ma-a*^{ki} 8) *wa-ši-ib* *ša-bu-um* LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} *ša-bu-um* *ša* *be-lí-ia* 9) *ù* *ša-ba* *Aš-kur*^d[I]M *i-na* *pa-an* LÚ.KÚR *i-na* *Ra-ak-na-a*^{ki} 10) URU <<x>>^{ki} *pa-ṭi-im* *ša* *Aš-kur*^dIM *wa-aš-ba-nu* 11) 'u₄⁷-um *ṭup-pí* *an-neé-em* *a-na* *be-lí-ia* *ú* *ša-bi-lam* 12) [*ša*]-*né-em* *u₄-um*-[*šu*] 3 *me* *ša-bu-um* *ša* *Za-zi-ia* 13) *a-na* ŠĀ.BA *ka-[r]a-ši-ni* *ik-šu-dam* 14) [*i*]-*na* *ru-bu-uš* *ša-bi-im* *ša* *be-lí-ia* 15) 'a¹[*d*]i *te₄-em* LÚ.KÚR *ni-na-ma-ru* 16) *a-na* *pí-a-at* *ma-a-at* *Ka-ra-na-a*^k[¹] 17) *nu-pa-ar-ra-ak* 18) LÚ.MEŠ *ša* *ki-ir-ri-i*[*m* *š*]a A.ŠĀ 19) *a-na* LÚ *ša* *li-ša*-[*nim*] *ṭe-qé-em* 20) *ni-iš-pu-ur-ma* 2 L[Ú].MEŠ *i-n*]a KÁ *Aš-šu-ur*^{ki} 21) *il-qú-nim* *ni-iš₇-ta-a*[*l-šu-n*]u-ti-m[a] 22) *ki-a-am* *iq-bu-nim* *um-ma-a-m*[*i*] *Mu-tu-Aš-kur* DUMU *Iš-me*^d[*Da*]-g[*an*] 23) *ta-ma-ar-tam* *a-na* *Ēš-nun-na*^{ki} *ú-bi-il* *a-na* *ša-bi-im* *te-er-di-im* 24) *šu-li-im* *il-li-ik* *ta-ma-ar-ta-šu* *ú-ul* *im-ḫu-ru-šu* 25) *ù* 1 LÚ *ú-ul* *id-di-nu-šu* *ú-sà-ki-pu-ni-šu-ma* 26) *it-ru-du-ni-iš-šu* *iš-tu* U₄ 4.KAM *a-na* *Ē-kál-la-tim*^{ki} 27) *ik-šu-dam* LÚ *Ēš-nun-na*^{ki} *ù* LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} 28) *i-na* *bi-ri-šu-nu* *is-sa-al-mu* 29) *te₄-ma-am* *an-neé-em* *id-bu-bu-nim-ma* 30) *te₄-em* *eš-mu-ú* *a-na* *be-lí-ia* *aš-pu-ra-am*, Kupper, *ARM* 28, p. 248-9; Heimpel, p. 503. For the problem of l. 12, that tells a story after the tablet was sent, cf. Heimpel, *ibid.*, note 148. Another interesting observation is the significant information civilians knew about the political relations and details of what had happened between the king of Ešnunna and Mut-Aškur; more interestingly, these two men were not from the capital Ekallātum but from Aššur.

²⁵⁸ Cf. the letter in Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, p. 497-9; Heimpel, p. 401.

²⁵⁹ Lafont, *ibid.*; Heimpel, *ibid.*

²⁶⁰ Heimpel, p. 143.

Yamšum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 341)

Three fugitives from Ekallātum fled here and told the full story to me, (saying): "They (= the Ekallāteans) heard about the coming of Atamrum and dispatched Mut-Aškur to bring up Ešnunnean troops."²⁶¹

The new king of Ešnunna, Šilli-Sîn, who was put on the throne in the beginning of ZL 10',²⁶² decided to break off the alliance with Išme-Dagan in ZL 11'.²⁶³ The rupture of the alliance was because of a new alliance Ešnunna had concluded with Hammurabi of Babylon after the latter's victory over Larsa.²⁶⁴ The timing could not be worse; all other lands were hostile to Išme-Dagan, and his territory had shrunk to only Ekallātum, Razama, and Aššur with all the people hating him. Furthermore, the Turukkeans had already resumed their activity against his land by raiding its territories, and above all there was a serious grain shortage in the kingdom. Letter ARM 26, 494 states that Išme-Dagan suggested that his subjects should sell their children for grain in the market of Mankisum, but they refused; he sold 400 of his troops instead.²⁶⁵ A report of a refugee from Ekallātum to Zimri-Lim presents the best view of these circumstances:

Buqaqum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 491)

I sent Yasim-Ḫammu to Ḫaqba-Ḫammu in Karanā, and a courtier who fled from Ekallātum to Aškur-Addu '.....' Yasim-Ḫammu between Karanā and [...], and he (= Yasim-Ḫammu) 'asked' him for news of 'Išme-Dagan'. And he (the courtier) told (him) the following: "The Ešnunneans quit, and Išme-Dagan wailed to them. He (said), 'The land, all of it, hates me. How is it that you (= Lipit-Sîn)²⁶⁶ took the lead of a blind snake of Ešnunneans²⁶⁷ and then brought it up (here)?' And he spoke as follows to the Ešnunneans: He (said) 'I will depart with you (pl.) for Ešnunna.' Lipit-Sîn and the 500 Ešnunneans (then) stayed²⁶⁸ in Ekallātum, and Išme-Dagan keeps writing to Zaziya for peace, and 8 talents of silver Išme-Dagan prepared to Zaziya as a gift, and he placed barges at Kawalḫum to receive barley."²⁶⁹

²⁶¹ 6) 3 LÚ mu-un-na-ab-tu 7) iš-tu É-kál-la-tim^{ki} in-na-bi-tù(DU)-nim-ma 8) te_r-ma-am ga-am-ra-am id-bu-bu-nim 9) um-ma-a-mi e-le-e^m A-tam-ri-im iš-mu-ma 10) ^mMu-ut-aš-kur a-na ša-bi-im LÚ Èš-nun-na^{ki} 11) ša-li-im iṭ-tà-ar-du, Charpin, "Les représentants de Mari à Ilân-surâ," ARM 26/2, p. 112; Heimpel, p. 309.

²⁶² Šilli-Sîn was a division commander, enthroned by the Ešnunnean army to fill up the power vacuum after the Elamites retreated from Ešnunna; cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 108 and 647.

²⁶³ For this date, cf. Charpin, RA 98, p. 172; also Charpin, *op. cit.*, p. 172, note 98, referring also to Charpin and Ziegler, FM V, p. 232 and 236.

²⁶⁴ Charpin, *op. cit.*, p. 172, note 98, referring also to Charpin and Ziegler, FM V, p. 232 and 236; Charpin, OBO, p. 325.

²⁶⁵ Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 142, for the letter cf. p. 390.

²⁶⁶ Lipit-Sîn, also called Lipissa, was leader of the Ešnunnean contingent in the kingdom of Ekallātum, cf. Heimpel, p. 549.

²⁶⁷ By the expression "blind snake" Išme-Dagan means incompetent and cowardly Ešnunnean troops: Heimpel, p. 389.

²⁶⁸ The verb used in the letter is *ikkalū*; Eidem and Læssøe translate it as "they stayed," *op. cit.*, p. 55; Heimpel prefers "detained:" Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 389. However, in the light of the content of letters ARM 26, 491, 524 and 525, it seems more likely that Lipit-Sîn agreed to let the 500 troops stay until Išme-Dagan could find a solution for the dangers menacing him personally. Išme-Dagan perhaps asked him to wait until peace with Zaziya was concluded. In this case "stayed" fits the context better. Išme-Dagan, on the other hand, cannot have been in a state to be able to detain 500 Ešnunneans. Moreover, what would be the military value for him of 500 soldiers kept by force, perhaps even in prison or in fetters as the word 'detained' suggests?

²⁶⁹ 5) Ia-si-im-ḫa-am-mu-ú 6) a-na Ka-ra-na-a^{ki} a-na še-er Ḫa-aq-ba-ḫa-am-mu-ú 7) aš-pu-ur-ma 1 LÚ.GÌR.SIG₅ ša iš-tu É-kál-la-tim^{ki} 8) a-na še-er Aš-kur-^dIM in-na-bi-tam I[a-si-i]m-ḫa-am-mu-ú 9) [i-n]a bi-ri-it Ka-ra-na-a^{ki} ù [.....] im 10) [ip²-pa²-I]i²-iš-su-ma te_r-ma-^ram ša^r [Iš-me-^dDa-ga]n² 11) [i-ša-a]l-šu ù ki-a-am id-bu-ub 12) [u]m-ma-ami LÚ Èš-nun-na^{ki} ip-tù-^rur¹ 13) ù Iš-me-^dDa-gan ib-ki-šu-nu-ši-im um-ma šu-ma 14) ma-tum ka-lu-^rša^r it-ti-ia ze-né-et 15) ki-i pa-an še-ri-im ḫu-up-pu-DI-im LÚ Èš-nun-na^{ki} 16) ta-aš-ba-tam-ma ù tu-^rše¹-le-em ù a-na LÚ Èš-nun-[na^{ki}] 17) ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma šu-ma a-na Èš-nun-na^{ki} it-ti-ku-nu-ma 18) at-ta-al-la-^rak^r 5 ME LÚ Èš-nun-

Another letter from Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 26/2, 525) tells exactly the same story, using the same words, which shows how accurate and strict the messengers and spies were in writing reports and choosing words when they transported news. They were passing on exactly what they had heard.

The Ešnunnean troops had been stationed in Razama before the alliance was terminated and it was thanks to these troops that Išme-Dagan was able to keep control over the city. Letter *ARM* 26, 524 gives valuable details:

Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 26, 524)

Ḫaḡba-Ḫammu came from the troops and spoke to me as follows: "Three fugitives 'fled' from Razama in the middle of the night and spoke to Aškur-Addu as follows: 'When we departed (to get) here, Išme-Dagan, together with his troops, started out in the middle of the night for Ekallātum. And the grain that Išme-Dagan transported on his donkeys from the *namaššum*²⁷⁰ of Aškur-Addu did not arrive in Razama. And his donkeys returned without their load to Ekallātum.' They (say): 'Išme-Dagan is hungry. There is no grain whatsoever in his land'. Further: those fugitives spoke to Aškur-Addu as follows: 'When the Ešnunnean 'messenger', a rider of donkeys, who came up with the son of 'Išme-Dagan' to dismiss the Ešnunnean, arrived in Razama, they (the people) saw him in Razama, and the prison rose up in that city. And Išme-Dagan addressed that messenger as follows: "The 500 Ešnunnean troops must stay behind to guard me! If not, my land will kill me after you (depart). They will not let me live." ' Herewith I have written my lord what I heard.²⁷¹

The letters show a desperate Išme-Dagan, terrified by the idea of being abandoned by the supporting troops of Ešnunna. He even prefers to leave his capital city and go with them to Ešnunna (*ARM* 26, 491) to exile. He told the Ešnunneans that he was not on good terms with his land and, therefore, he is afraid for his life (*ARM* 26, 524). The only choice he had was to approach his arch-enemy Zaziya, who had besieged a city of Išme-Dagan three months before and captured it, had cut off the head of its ruler and had sent it to Išme-Dagan.²⁷² This is reported in a letter of Iddiyātum:

na^{ki} 19) *u* Li-pi-it-^dEN.ZU i-na É-kál-la-tim^{ki} 20) ik-ka-lu-ú ù Iš-me-^dDa-gan 21) a-na Za-zi-ia a-na sa-li-mi-im 22) iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ar 23) ù 8 GÚ KÙ.BABBAR Iš-me-^dDa-gan 24) a-na Za-zi-ia a-na šu-bu-lim ú-ki-in 25) ù GIŠ.MÁ.ḪÁ a-na še-em 'le-qé-em' 26) a-na Ka-wa-al-ḫi-im^{ki} ú-ki-[in], Lackenbacher, "Les lettres de Buqâqum," *ARM* 26/2, Paris, 1988, p. 427-9; Heimpel, *Letters...*, p. 388-9; cf. also Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

²⁷⁰ According to Lafont, and supported by Heimpel, this word means "territory" in this context: Heimpel, p. 401, note 395.

²⁷¹ 3) ^mḪa-aq-ba-ḫa-am-mu-ú 4) iš-tu ṣa-bi-im il-li-kam-ma ki-a-am iq-bé-e-em 5) um-ma-a-mi 3 LÚ mu-un-na-ab-tu iš-tu Ra-za-ma-a^{ki} 6) mu-ša-am qa-ab-li-tam it-ta-b[i-t]ù-nim-ma 7) a-na Aš-kur-^dIM ki-a-am iq-bu-^rú um-^rma-a-mi 8) i-nu-ma ni-nu an-ni-iš ni-it-ta-al-kam 9) ^m[I]š-me-^dDa-gan qa-du-um ṣa-bi-šu 10) mu-[ša-a]m qa-ab-li-tam a-na É-kál-la-tim^{ki} iš-ši 11) ù še-^rum^r ša Iš-me-^dDa-gan i-na na-ma-aš-ši 12) ^mAš-kur-^dIM ANŠE.ḪÁ-šu iz-bi-lu 13) a-na Ra-za-ma-a^{ki} ú-ul ik-šu-ud 14) ^ru ANŠE.ḪÁ-šu re-qú-us-sú-nu a-na É-kál-la-tim^{ki} i-tu-ru 15) [u]m-ma šu-nu-ma Iš-me-^dDa-gan bé-ri 16) [š]e-um mi-im-ma i-na ma-ti-šu 17) ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši 18) ša-ni-tam LÚ mu-un-na-ab-tu šu-nu 19) a-na Aš-kur-^dIM 20) ki-a-^ram iq-bu-^rú um-ma-a-mi 21) i-nu-ma DUMU š[i-ip-r]i-im LÚ Èš-nun-na^{ki} ra-ki-ib ANŠE.ḪÁ 22) ša it-ti DUMU [Iš-me-^d]Da-gan a-na pa-tà-ar 23) LÚ Èš-nun-na^{ki} i-le-em a-na Ra-za-ma-a^{ki} 24) ik-šu-dam-ma i-na Ra-za-ma-a^{ki}i-mu-ru-šu-ma 25) ší-bi-it-tum i-na a-lim ša-a-ti it-bi 26) ù Iš-me-^dDa-gan DUMU ší-ip-ri-im ša-a-ti 27) i-na a-wa-tim ki-a-am iš-ba-as-sú um-ma-a-mi 28) 5 ME ṣa-ba-am LÚ Èš-nun-na^{ki} a-na na-ša-ri-ia 29) i-de-em ú-la-šu-ma wa-ar-ki-ka-ma 30) ma-ti i-du-uk-ka-an-ni ú-ul ú-ba-la-tù-ni-in-ni, 31) i-na-an-na DUMU ší-ip-ri-im ša it-ti DUMU Iš-me-^dDa-gan i-le-em 32) ṣa-ba-šu a-na Èš-nun-na^{ki} ip-ta-tà-ar 33) te-^rma-am ša eš-mu-ú a-na be-li-ia 34) áš-tap-ra-am <<x>>, Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, p. 500; Heimpel, p. 402-3.

²⁷² Heimpel, p. 145.

Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 511)

And the Turukkean seized the city that he had besieged. And its king, he cut off his head and sent it to Išme-Dagan, (saying): "Herewith the head of one who relied on you."²⁷³

Zaziya for his part replied positively to Išme-Dagan's call for peace and concluded a treaty with him, but it proved it was without a single benefit for Išme-Dagan (see below). The Turukkean found an alliance with the Gutians more advantageous. The same letter states that Zaziya went to Zazum, the new king of the Gutians who had succeeded his father Endušše,²⁷⁴ taking with him his sons as hostages. As a sign of good intentions Zaziya also took with him a valuable gift, the king of Šimurum, who had been detained by the Gutians but had fled and sought refuge with the Turukkeans. Zaziya in this way was delivering the refugee to his enemy:

Buqaqum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 491)

Zaziya took his sons and had (them) conducted as hostages to Zazum the Gutian. And he carried tribute (to him). The king of Šimurum, who stayed with Zazum the Gutian in the past and (then) fled to Zaziya, Zaziya gave him up to Zazum the Gutian.²⁷⁵

Zaziya's reply to Išme-Dagan's call for peace is preserved in another letter, sent to Zimri-Lim:

Yašim-El to Zimri-Lim (ARM 2, 40)

Išme-Dagan has concluded an alliance with the Turukkeans. He will receive a daughter of Zaziya for his son Mut-Aškur. Silver and gold for the bride price Išme-Dagan sent to Zaziya.²⁷⁶

Nonetheless, the Turukkean does not appear to have been serious in his alliance with Išme-Dagan, who was as good as a dead horse for him; the treaty lasted for a very short time, if at all. It is surprising that the following letter reports an alliance of Zaziya with Kurdā and with Išme-Dagan, but at the same time relates the heavy raid Zaziya launched on the territory of Išme-Dagan:

Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 526)

The Ekallātean messenger Išharum, who was detained in Karanā, and Assyrian merchants came and told me the following: "Zaziya made peace with 'Išme-Dagan' in (the form of) a binding agreement. And the gods of Išme-Dagan are staying with Zaziya for (the purpose of) declaring a sacred oath. And his (= ID's) boats remain in Kawalḥum. Later, after Zaziya had made a binding agreement with Išme-Dagan, Zaziya dispatched 3,000 troops up to the gate of Ekallātum, and they beat 100 troops (and) <took> [...] 100 men and women prisoners of war. They (= the troops) attacked their (= the Ekallāteans') cities (all the way) up to Kurdiššatum. They

²⁷³ 56) *ù Tu-ru-u[k]-kum^{ki} a-lam ša il-wu-ú iš-ba-at* *ù LUGAL-šu* 57) *ʿqa^l-qa-as-sú i[k]-ki-is-ma a-na Iš-me-^dDa-gan ú-ša-bi-il*, 58) *[u]m-ma-mi a-nu-um-ma qa-qa-ad mu-ta-ki-li-ka*, Lafont, *ARM 26/2*, p. 480; Heimpel, p. 396.

²⁷⁴ An unpublished text from Mari mentions Zazum as the son of Endušše; cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 268.

²⁷⁵ 27) *^mZa-zi-ia DUMU.MEŠ-šu il-qú-ma a-na Za-zi-[i]m* 28) *Qú-ti-im^{ki} a-na ia-lu-te ú-ša-ri* 29) *ù bi-la-as-sú iš-ši LUGAL ša Ši-mu-ur-ri-im^{ki}* 30) *ša pa-na-nu-um ma-ḥa-ar Za-zi-im Qú-ti-im^{ki}* 31) *úš-^fba-ma' a-na še-er Za-zi-ia in-na-bi-tam* 32) *^mZa-zi-ia a-na Za-zi-im Qú-ti-im^{ki}* 33) *it-ta-di-in-šu*, *ARM 26/2*, p. 427-9; Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

²⁷⁶ 5) *Iš-me-^dDa-gan it-ti* 6) *LÚ Tu-ru-uk-ki is-lim* (LAM) 7) *DUMU.MÍ Za-zi-ia a-na ma-ri-šu* 8) *^mMu-ut-aš-kur i-le-eq-qé* 9) *KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI te_g-er-ḥa-tim_x* (TAM) 10) *a-na Za-zi-ia Iš-me-^dDa-gan* 11) *ú-ša-bi-il*, Jean, Ch.-F., *ARMT 2*, Paris, 1950, p. 90-1; corrections of l. 6 and 9 by Durand: *LAPO II*, p. 264; cf. also Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

captured sheep, cattle, and whatever there was (around), up to the gate of Ekallātum. Besides Ekallātum, which he spared, he did not leave anything behind in the land. And (they say): ‘The Ešnunnean general, Lipissa, was there on the day when Zaziya attacked’.” The Ekallātean messengers who came to Aškur-Addu told me this news. And Aškur-Addu departed for Qaṭṭara on the day when the messengers arrived. And so far they have not delivered their instructions. They departed from Qaṭṭara. On the next day, I heard from those around me: "Lipissa retired to Ešnunna together with his troops, and Zaziya committed himself to peace with the Kurdite Hammurabi."²⁷⁷

News of this event was sent to Zimri-Lim by another retainer of his, who had heard it from Iddiyātum, the author of *ARM* 26, 526, where more details are given:

Yasīm-El to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 26, 425)

Iddiyātum wrote to me as follows: "The Turukkeans raided the land of Ekallātum on the other side of the river and went (all the way) to Kurdiššatum. They took the sheep of Išme-Dagan, all of them. There was nothing (left) for miles. They carried off (the inhabitants of) four of his cities and beat 500 troops of his." I have written to my lord the news that Iddiyātum wrote me."²⁷⁸

Heimpel takes this attack as the same as the one reported in letters *ARM* 26, 522 and *ARM* 28, 171; these letters mention the march of 4,000 Turukkeans to Ekallātum,²⁷⁹ and 300 of them entering the camp of Rakna (see above). However, this does not seem to be the case. First, the figures differ (3,000 in *ARM* 26, 526 instead of 4,000 troops), and in the light of the accurate reports of the messengers of Zimri-Lim this difference cannot be a simple miscalculation. Secondly, at the time of the attack by 4,000 Turukkeans, Išme-Dagan was still in Razama waging war on Kiyatan for grain and asking for more troops from Ešnunna; the attack of the 3,000 Turukkeans coincided with the time when Ešnunna had already repatriated its troops and Išme-Dagan was in his worst position, approaching Zaziya for peace. Thirdly, the attack of the 4,000 troops was at the time of Išme-Dagan's conquest of

²⁷⁷ 3) ^mIš-ḥa-rum DUMU ši-ip-ri-im ša i-na Ka-[r]a-na-a^{ki} ik-ka-lu-ú 4) LÚ É-kál-la-ta<-yu>^{ki} ù LÚ DAM.GÁ[R].MEŠ Aš-šu-ru-ú^{ki} 5) il-li-ku-nim-ma ki-a-am id-bu-^rbu-nim^r 6) um-ma-a-mi Za-zi-[i]a 7) i-na ru-te-e it-ti [Iš-me-^d]Da-gan is-sa-li-im 8) ù DINGIR.M[ÉŠ š]a Iš-me-^dDa-gan it-ti Za-zi-ia <<X X>> 9) a-na ni-iš DINGIR-lim za-ka-ri-im wa-aš-bu 10) ù ĞIŠ.MÁ.ĤÁ-šu i-na Ka-wa-al-ḥi-im^{ki} 11) iz-za-az-za wa-ar-ka-nu-um 12) iš-tu Za-zi-ia Iš-me-^dDa-gan 13) ú-ra-at-tu-ú <<x>> 3 li-mi ša-ba-am 14) ^mZa-zi-ia a-di KÁ É-kál-la-tim^{ki} 15) [i]t-ru-ud-ma 1^r ME ša-ba-am i-du-uk 16) [x² +] 1 ME LÚ.MEŠ MÍ.MEŠ ša-al-la-tam 17) ^r4^r (+ erasure) URU^{ki}-šu-nu 18) ^ra-di Ku-ur-di-ša-tim^{ki} 19) [i]š-ḥi-iṭ UDU.ĤÁ GU₄.ĤÁ ù mi-im-ma 20) ma-li i-ba-aš-šu-ú a-di KÁ^r É-kál-la-tim^{ki} il-qí 21) ul-la-nu-um É-kál-la-tum^{ki} ša pa-ga-ar-ši-na 22) ú-še-šé-e mi-im-ma i-na ma-ti-šu 23) ú-ul i-zi-ib ù um-ma-a-mi i-na u₄-mi-im 24) ša Za-zi-ia iš-ḥi-tú li-pí-is-sà <GAL.>MAR.TU 25) LÚ Èš-nun-na^{ki} wa-ši-ib 26) te₄-ma-am an-né-e-em DUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri <<x>> 27) LÚ É-kál-la-ta-i-yu ša a-na še-er Aš-kur-^dIM 28) il-li-ku-nim id-bu-bu-nim ù i-na <u₄>-^rmi-im^r 29) ša DUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri a[n-nu-tum ?] ik-šu-du-nim 30) ^mAš-kur-^dIM a-na Qa-tá-ra-a^{ki} ^rit^r-ta-la-ak 31) ù a-di-ni wu-ú-ur-ta-šu-nu ú-ul [i/d]-di-nu 32) a-na Qa-tá-ra-a^{ki} it-ta-al-ku i-na ša-ni-im u₄-mi-im 33) i-na aḥi-ti-ia ki-a-am eš-me um-ma-a-mi 34) ^mLi-pí-is-sà qa-du ša-bi-šu 35) a-na Èš-nun-na^{ki} ip-ta-tà-ar 36) ù Za-zi-ia 37) a-na Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi Kur-da-i^{ki} 38) a-na sa-li-mi-im na-pí-iš-ta-šu 39) il-pu-ut, Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, p. 503-4; Heimpel, p. 403. The literal translation of the Akkadian text for “committed himself for peace” is “touched the throat for peace.” This is a gesture made still today in the Near East. When swearing or confirming an oath a person will touch the side of his throat, mostly the right side, while speaking. In some countries the oath is formulated as “by the throat,” but the throat is not actually touched. The association of the throat with an oath is to make the oath firm and reliable, implying that the throat or neck or head could be cut off if someone is lying.

²⁷⁸ 4) I-dí-ia-tum 5) a-na še-ri-ia ki-a-am 6) iš-pu-ra-am 7) um-ma-a-mi LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú 8) ma-a-at É-kál-la-tim 9) e-bi-ir-ti I-₇-DA 10) is-du-ud-ma 11) a-di Kur-di-iš-ša-tim^{ki} 12) il-li-ik UDU.ĤÁ ša Iš-me-^dDa-gan 13) ka-la-ši-na il-qí 14) mi-im-ma ú-ul be-ri-iš 15) 4 a-la-ni-šu it-ba-al ù 5 me-tim ša-ba-šu 16) i-du-uk te₄-em I-dí-ia-tum 17) iš-pu-ra-am a-na še-er be-lí-ia 18) aš-ta-ap-ra-am, Joannès, *ARM* 26/2, p. 321; Heimpel, p. 362.

²⁷⁹ Heimpel, p. 145.

Kiyatan, which is dated to VI of ZL 11', while the 4,000 attackers moved in at the end of ZL 11'.²⁸⁰

Was the offer of hostages by Zaziya to Zazum and the delivery of the unnamed king of Šimurru intended to ensure a firm alliance with the Gutians? Or was it a sign of weakness among the Turukkeans, as Charpin states?²⁸¹ We cannot answer this question with certainty, but the image of Zaziya as attacker and raider in the heart of Išme-Dagan's kingdom (cf. for instance *ARM* 26, 526 and *ARM* 26, 522) is not compatible with the image of a king in a time of weakness. By the alliance with Zazum, Zaziya seems instead to have planned to encircle Išme-Dagan with a broad alliance, his Turukkeans, the Gutians, and the kingdom of Kurdā his ally. We notice that Zaziya concentrated his efforts on the kingdom of Išme-Dagan: first at Razama (Zaziya's siege *ARM* 26, 404); later he deprived Ekallātum of its old ally, Kurdā, by his new alliance with Hammurabi of Kurdā. Furthermore, letter A.649 of Ḥaḡba-aḡum to Zimri-Lim (see above) sheds light on the sombreness of this situation; we learn from that letter that Zazum attacked the Turukkean land and marched to Qabrā and in that march, Išme-Dagan's men guided his troops. This cooperation between the Gutians and Išme-Dagan was quite alarming. With their backs unprotected, the Turukkeans could not continue on their mission in Qaṭṭara and felt weak (which is explicitly said in the letter). The first thing they did was to retreat to their own land; then they broke the alliance between Išme-Dagan and Zazum by the alliance Zaziya offered to Zazum, accompanied by offering precious gifts that could not be resisted. The peace with the Gutians was very important in the history of the Turukkeans and the region. Only after this treaty could the Turukkeans proceed. Without it, the usual pattern of exhausting warlike conflicts would have been continuing and would have impeded any state-formation process.

From the sequence of the events, we can conclude that the Gutians, trusting in their power, built a widespread state in the OB period. First, they conquered Simurru, as the presence of its dethroned king before Zaziya indicates. Then they turned their faces towards the north and northeast, where the Turukkean kingdoms of the Urmia Basin were ruling.²⁸² They were powerfully present in the region of Namar and Diyāla, and even intervened in Babylonian affairs when the Nawarite Gutian queen led an army of 10,000 soldiers against Larsa (*ARM* 6, 27). Even in the time of Zaziya they attacked the Turukkean domains and Qabrā, most probably to enlarge their own domain at the expense of the Turukkeans. It is noteworthy that the Gutians were able to change the power balance of the region so many times with such irresistible power, but never played a commensurate political role. This is, at least, a feeling that emerges when surveying the Mari material and comparing the Gutian role with that of the Turukkeans. An explanation could be that their activity may have been concentrated on those parts of the Zagros that form modern Iranian Kurdistan.

Now, with his rear front secured, Zaziya could attack Ekallātean territory. Lafont is probably correct in assuming that Zaziya took the opportunity of Išme-Dagan's absence; he was occupied with bringing grain from Kawalḡum in accordance with his new alliance.²⁸³ Even so, Zaziya inflicted heavy damage in the regions round Ekallātum, but not in the city itself, which gives the impression that he may have exploited a legal gap in the text of the

²⁸⁰ For these dates, cf. the schedule of the prominent events and related texts given in Heimpel, p. 651-2.

²⁸¹ Charpin finds that Zaziya was so weak at this time that the powerful Zazum forced Zaziya to deliver his sons as hostages, and to carry a tribute to him etc., cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 172; similarly, Durand labelled these gifts as "tribute," cf. Durand, *LPO* II, p. 81.

²⁸² See Chapter Six, The Turukkean Land.

²⁸³ Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, p. 471. He also considers this attack the last fatal blow to the ambitions of Išme-Dagan to control the region, *ibid.*

alliance and interpreted as protection only for the city of Ekallātum.²⁸⁴ Another explanation would be that Ekallātum was well defended by battlements and troops, and so to be avoided.

The context in which Išme-Dagan sought peace with Zaziya and placed barges in Kawalḥum to receive grain in letter *ARM 26/2*, 491 directly links peace with the Turukkeans and obtaining grain. Kawalḥum, identified with Kalḥu of the NA period,²⁸⁵ seems to have been controlled by the Turukkeans, or was at least in the range of their influence, and so peace with them was a prerequisite for obtaining grain.²⁸⁶ That the Turukkeans controlled these areas can be deduced from other letters that point to the stay of Zaziya in Ninêt (= Nineveh) (*ARM 26*, 517) and their raids across the Tigris in the regions west of the river (see below). Raids in the territories west of the Tigris would not be possible until the eastern side was secured and firmly controlled. The image one can deduce from the available data is that the Turukkeans had the upper hand in the regions to the east of the Tigris, with pockets controlled by Qabrā and perhaps Arrapha. The rest of the mountainous regions was under the Gutian, Kakmean and Lullubian hegemony, the last mentioned being the least powerful according to the image deduced from texts. The Turukkeans were present not only in their traditional lands in the Zagros and in the Rāniya Plain but also in the plains between the Tigris and the Zagros Mountains, i.e. the plains of Erbil and Nineveh. The grain shortage in the kingdom of Išme-Dagan must have largely been due to the loss of control over these fertile plains, even today among the best dry-farming grain producing lands in Northern Mesopotamia. The Turukkeans were present, or at least had influence, in the regions to the north and northwest of Nineveh as well, for we learn from letter *ARM 26*, 405 that Zaziya could permit Hammurabi of Kurdā to cede the city of Ḥarbe to Atamrum. The city of Ḥarbe became a matter of exchange during the struggle for Ašihum, which was located to the north of Jebel Sinjār.²⁸⁷

In the light of these facts, the more likely conclusion would be that the Turukkeans were not driven back to their own land after their revolt in the Habur region. Their revolt was seemingly not completely crushed, but rather they may have remained, controlling a territory and continually enlarging it at the expense of Išme-Dagan. This territory they made the domain of their kingdom that played a significant role in the politics of the time of Zimri-Lim.

The place from which the Turukkean troops crossed close to Nineveh is mentioned as Adē, in the same letter that points to the staying of Zaziya in Ninêt:

Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (*ARM 26*, 517)

.... To Zaziya [.....] of the Turukkean I [asked them?]. The Turukkean army crossed at Adē, [and] Zaziya [is staying] in Ninêt. (They say), "The troops crossed. We did not witness the crossing of Zaziya." I wrote my lord 'the news' that I heard.²⁸⁸

The range of raids reached the territories of Karanā:

²⁸⁴ Since the text of the treaty is not preserved one must speculate that Ekallātum was written without *māt*, "the land of..." and could be interpreted as the city, not the land of Ekallātum, but this remains conjectural.

²⁸⁵ Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 615; Lafont, *ARM 26/2*, p. 475; Marti, L., "Notes sur l'histoire d'Išme-Dagan," *FM VI*, Paris, 2002, p. 543; Ziegler, "Le royaume d'Ékallātum ...," *FM VI*, p. 270 and note 271.

²⁸⁶ The assumption of Lafont (cf. Lafont, B., *ARM 26/2*, p. 471) that the grain from Kawalḥum was brought to Ekallātum to be given to Zaziya because his land needed it does not seem likely, because the kingdom of Išme-Dagan, not Zaziya suffered around this same time from a severe grain shortage, as can be seen in letter *ARM 26/2* 494.

²⁸⁷ Cf. map no. 3 on p. xxii in Heimpel, *op. cit.*

²⁸⁸ 1') *a-n*]a 'še-er' *Za-zi-ia* [x x x x] 2') 'ša *Tu-ru-uk-k[i-i]*m aš-t[a-al-šu-nu-ti?] 3') *um-ma-nu-um* LÚ *Tu-ru-uk-kum*^k[i] 4') *i-na A-[d]e-e^{ki} i-bi-ra-a[m]* 5') [ù] *Za-zi-ia i-na Ni₅-né-et^{ki} w[a-ša-i-ib?]* 6') [um]-*ma-mi* *ša-bu-um i-bi-ra-am* 7') *e-bé-er Za-zi-ia* 8') *ú-ul ni-ḥa-tam* 9') [te₄-m]a-am *ša eš-mu-ú* 10') [a-na] *be-lí-ia aš-tap-ra-am*, Lafont, *ARM 26/2*, 517, p. 489; Heimpel, p. 398.

Yamsum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 339)

Further, about the sheep and their shepherds, those of Šuratan, whom the Turukkeans carried off, a messenger of Aškur-Addu 'went with Šuratan to the Turukkean king Zaziya, and he [...] them as follows:²⁸⁹ "Just as I have [carried off sheep] from the district [of Karanā] (rest broken)."²⁹⁰

Another letter by the same writer, to a certain Šu-nuħra-ħalu (ARM 26, 340), repeats almost exactly the report of the negotiation with Zaziya, and preserves part of Zaziya's reply: he warned that he may repeat what he did the first time.²⁹¹ This reply underlines how superior the Turukkeans were west of the Tigris in this phase.

It is perhaps noteworthy that the first letter clearly mentions the "king" Zaziya, while the second refers to the "army" of the Turukkeans, two designations not frequently used in relation to the Turukkeans.

Even in the last days of Išme-Dagan Zaziya did not stop raiding his cities:

Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 519)

Further, 500 Turukkeans made a raid below Ekallātum and Aššur and reached Razama. They captured 100 persons and 50 cattle. And nobody stood up to them.²⁹²

Išme-Dagan was ill and his weakened kingdom had lost its prestige. He himself was consequently treated with disdain, according to the same letter:

Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 519)

Išme-Dagan spoke to the Sapheans as follows: "How is it that of all (people) the little Aškur-Addu commands you?!" And they answered him: "Should you, a cripple, command us?!" The two men who answered him with these words – he set their dwellings on fire. And he carried off 15 men who approached him.²⁹³

We learn from other sources that he had sought refuge in Babylon. He is known to have been in Sippar in month I of the ZL 12' (the 13th year of ZL's reign) and was probably installed in Tutub.²⁹⁴

Shortly after, Išme-Dagan died and the rumours of his death reached his former capital; letter ARM 26, 493 reports the outbreak of the rumour, but the letter of Buqaqum gives the details:

²⁸⁹ Thus far following Heimpel's translation.

²⁹⁰ 8) *ša-ni-tam aš-šum* UDU.ĤÁ ù LÚ.SIPA-š*i-na* 9) *ša Šu-ra-ta-an ša* LÚ *Tu-ru-ku-ú*^{ki} 10) *it-ba-lu* 1 DUMU *ši-
ip-ri-im* 11) *ša Aš-kur-^dIM i]t-ti Šu-ra-ta-an* 12) [*a-na*] *še-er Za-zi-[i]a* 'LUGAL' [*Tu-t]u-ki-im*^{ki} 13) [*il-li*]-*ku-ma*
ki-a-^ram^r [*i-pu-ul*²-š] *u-nu-ti* 14) [*um-ma-a-mi ki-ma*] *i-[na ħa-la-a]š* 15) *Ka-ra-na-a*^{ki} UDU.ĤÁ *at-ba-lu*-ú 16)
[.....] 17) [... UDU.ĤÁ ù LÚ.SIPA-š] *i-na* ..., Charpin, "Les représentants de Mari à Ilân-šurâ," ARM
26/2, p. 110; Heimpel, p. 308.

²⁹¹ Letter ARM 26, 340 is a good parallel that helps in the restoration of letter 339. It ends: 10) *ki-a-am* 11) [*i-pu-
ul*²]-*šu-nu-ti um-ma-^ra*^r-[*mi*] 12) [*ki-ma i-n*] *ħa-la-aš K[a-ra-na-a*^{ki}] 13) [x x x UDU].ĤÁ-*ka at-ba-[lu-ú]* 14) [*ù i-
na*]-*an-na a-ša-an-ni-[ma]* 15) '*a-ta^r-ab-ba-al-lu*, "[he (=Zaziya) told] them the following: '[.....] district [.....] I
'carried off' your 'sheep', [and (that)] '... I will carry off (sheep) a second time.' " Charpin, "Les représentants
de Mari à Ilân-šurâ," ARM 26/2, p. 111; Heimpel, *ibid*.

²⁹² 24) *ša-ni-tam* 25) 5 ME LÚ *Tu-ru-uk-kum ša-ap-la-nu-um* 26) '*É^r-kál-la-tim*^{ki} ù ^d*A-šur*^{ki} 27) [*i]s-du-dam-ma a-
di ra-za-ma-a*^{ki} 28) *ik-šu-dam* 1 ME LÚ *ša-al-la-tam* 29) ù 59 GU₄.ĤÁ *il-qí* 30) ù *a-na pa-ni-šu ma-am-ma-an* 31)
ú-ul iz-zi-iz, Lafont, ARM 26/2, p. 492; Heimpel, p. 399.

²⁹³ 8) ^m<<x>> *Iš-me-^dDa-gan a-na Sa-ap-ħa-i*^{ki} 9) *ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma-a-[mi]* 10) *ki-i Aš-kur-^dIM šé-[e]ħ-rum* 11)
a-nu-um-mu-um i-ša-pa-ar-ku-nu-ti 12) ù *šu-nu ki-a-am i-pu-lu-šu* 13) *um-ma šu-nu-ma* 14) *at-ta-a* LÚ *ħu-um-mu-
rum* 15) *ta-ša-ap-pa-ar-né-t[i]* 16) 2 LÚ.MEŠ *ša a-wa-tam an-ni-tam i-pu-lu-šu* 17) *ma-às-ka-an-šu-nu i-ša-tam id-
di* 18) ù 15 LÚ.MEŠ *ša a-na še-ri-šu* 19) *it-ħu-ú it-ba-al*, Lafont, ARM 26/2, p. 491-2; Heimpel, p. 399.

²⁹⁴ Charpin, OBO, p. 325; 327 and note 1703. For his flight to Babylonia cf. also Marti, L., "Une ambassade Mariote à Sippar," FM VI, Paris, 2002, p. 208-9.

Buqaqum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 495)

The day I sent my lord this tablet of mine a fugitive fled here from Ekallātum, and those (manning) my outposts seized him and took him along to me. Incidentally, Išme-Dagan had captured that man from Numḥa in the defeat of Šatu-Yamḥad-Dadi. He told me the following about the report: "Išme-Dagan has died." He (said): "I kept hearing it in the house of my lord Yamsi-Ḥadnu. And beginning with the day on which I heard that report, Yamsi-Ḥadnu kept staying overnight in the palace." And I ask Ekallāteans that come, but their mouth is closed. Now, I have not yet confirmed the truth of that matter. Now, I will check on this report and write my lord to confirm it.²⁹⁵

The death of Išme-Dagan must have marked the actual end of the kingdom of Ekallātum, and a main beneficiary from this was certainly Zaziya. The kingdom of Ekallātum was an old enemy of Zaziya and a barrier preventing him from extending further to the west. There remained the minor kingdoms of the Hilly Arc, who were vassals of the major powers of Mari, Ešnunna and Babylon. When Išme-Dagan was in Sippar, the news of the death of Atamrum (late ZL 11') reached him.²⁹⁶ Hammurabi of Babylon took care of the succession; he divided his kingdom, putting Ḥulālum on the throne of Allāḥad and let Ḥimdiya keep control of Šubat-Enlil, which Išme-Dagan had lost long ago. By dividing the kingdom into two and consequently weakening it Hammurabi seems to have unintentionally served the future plans of Zaziya to further spread and consolidate his authority in the Habur Region.

The Years after Išme-Dagan

It seems that the alliance of Zaziya with Hammurabi of Kurdā continued after the death of Išme-Dagan, but now they became part of a larger alliance that incorporated Zimriya of Zurrā (= Šurrā) and Hammurabi of Babylon. Babylon was among the powers Zaziya established relations with, to whom he sent and most probably from whom he received messengers. We learn this from a letter stating that the Turukkean messengers who were going to Babylon were held up by Meptum, the pasture-chief of Suḥum.²⁹⁷ Letter ARM 28, 179 from Zaziya reports:

Zaziya to Meptum (ARM 28, 179)

Your lord and you, you constantly commit malicious acts towards me. You (pl.) have held up my messengers whom I sent to Babylon. Now, the road to Babylon is open towards Arrapḥa since I have the steppe under my control (lit. my eyes).²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ 3) *u₄-um tu₃-pí an-né-e-em a-na be-lí-ia ú-ša-bi-lam* 4) 1 LÚ *mu-un-na-ab-tum iš-tu É-kál-la-tim*^{ki} 5) *in-na-bi-tam-ma ša ba-za-ḥa-ti-ia* 6) *iš-ba-tu-ni-iš-<šu>-ma a-na še-ri-ia ir-du-ni-iš-šu* 7) *ù LÚ šu-ú i-na [LÚ].MEŠ Nu-un-ḥa-a*^{ki} 8) *i-na da-aw-di-im ṣa' Ša-tu-Ia-am-ḥa-d[a]-di* 9) *^mIš-me-^dDa-gan il-qí-šu* 10) *te₄-ma-am ki-a-am id-bu-ba-am um-ma-a-mi* 11) *^mIš-me-^dDa-gan* 12) *im-tu-ut um-ma šu-ma* 13) *i-na É be-li(sic)-ia Ia-am-ši-Ḥa-a[d-nu]* 14) *eš₁₅-te-né-em-mi* 15) *ù iš-tu u₄-mi-im ša te₄-ma-am ša-a-ti* 16) *eš-mu-ú Ia-am-ši-Ḥa-ad-nu i-na é-kál-lim-ma* 17) *ib-ta-na-ia-at ù DUMU.MEŠ É-kál-la-tim* 18) *ša i-la-ku-nim a-ša-al-ma* 19) *pí-šu-nu ma-ti₄ i-na-an-na a-wa-tam ša-a-ti* 20) *a-di-ni ú-ul ú-ki-in* 21) *i-na-an-na wa-ar-ka-at te₄-mi-im* 22) *an-ni-im a-pa-ra-sa-am-ma* 23) *ta-ki-tam a-na be-lí-ia* 24) *a-ša-ap-pa-ra-am*, Lackenbacher, "Les lettres de Buqaqum," ARM 26/2, p. 433; Heimpel, p. 390-1. The second sign of the word *bēli-ya* in l. 13 is transliterated as LI, not LÍ.

²⁹⁶ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 325. The letter to which Charpin alludes reports that it is the son of Atamrum who is nowhere to be found, not Atamrum himself. Nevertheless, the arrangements Hammurabi undertook for the succession in Allāḥad seem to refer to the death of Atamrum. For the letter, cf. Lackenbacher, "Les lettres de Yaššib-Addu," ARM 26/2, no. 451, p. 369; Heimpel, p. 374-5; Marti, "Une ambassade . . .," FM VI, p. 201-2.

²⁹⁷ Kupper considers him commander of the southern frontier of the kingdom (of Mari): Kupper, ARM 28, p. 257.

²⁹⁸ 7) *be-el-ka ù at-ta le-em-ni-iš* 8) *t[a]-ar-tú-ba e-te-ep-pu-ša-am* 9) DU[MU].MEŠ *ši-ip-ri-i*]a [š]a ṣa² [n]a [K]Á.DINGIR.RA^k ['] 10) *a-ša-a[p-p]a-ru ta-ak-ta-la* 11) *i-na-an-na KASKAL ša a-na KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} i-la-ku* 12) *a-na Ar-ra-ap-ḥi-im*^{ki} *it-te-ep-te* 13) *iš-tu-ma ka-ša-am i-na i-ni-ia* 14) *a-ma-ru*, Kupper, ARM 28, p. 260-1; Durand, Peuplement et . . ., *Amurru III*, p. 145.

Meptum is reported to have seized messengers of Kurdā, Ekallātum and also Ešnunna and to have sent them to Mari; such an act against Zaziya was no exception.²⁹⁹ In spite of this Zaziya succeeded in sending his envoys to Hammurabi in Babylon, as letter *ARM* 6, 33 indicates; it reports requests of Hammurabi for all three allies. His statement in letter *ARM* 28, 179 that the road to Babylon is open towards Arrapha since he controls the steppe means that Arrapha had come under his control. Letter *ARM* 6, 33 reports:

Baḥdi-Lim to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 6, 33)

I have asked Abumēkīm about the messages of Hammurabi of Babylon to Hammurabi of Kurdā, for Zaziya and Zimriya of Zurrā.

..... And he has sent the following message to Zaziya: "Secure your positions and send your troops (according to the) alliance. Several days ago I asked you about (them) and this is what you answered me: 'I will depart.' But I have neither seen you moving nor crossing yet. Now, let your troops together with that of quickly reach me"³⁰⁰

This letter is of historical significance in that it proves the existence of political relations between the Turukkeans and Hammurabi of Babylon in this phase; the date of the letter is 16th XII ZL 12'.³⁰¹ The alliance Hammurabi speaks about is the one Babylon concluded with Kurdā, Zurrā and the Turukkeans during the final confrontation between Babylon and Ešnunna (Hammurabi 31 = 1762 BC).³⁰² Thus, the river that had to be crossed according to the letter would be the Lower Zāb.³⁰³ Letter *ARM* 28, 179 provides further interesting information and gives a clue about the range of Turukkean domains in this time. Zaziya struggled for the control of the steppe that stretched as far as Šitullum, which was on the Tigris, upstream from Mankisum;³⁰⁴ more precisely it is identified with Tikrit by Ziegler.³⁰⁵ One may assume that after the death of Išme-Dagan and the capture of Ešnunna in H 31, Zaziya had a free hand in this region and he could expand his territory further. But instead of the kingdoms of Išme-Dagan and Ešnunna, Zaziya was now confronted by the nomads, who had succeeded in crossing the middle Tigris and formed a threat for both Zaziya and Hammurabi of Babylon, according to Durand.³⁰⁶ The term *kašūm* used to designate the steppe in this letter is understood by Kupper as the Jazireh, taking the letters of Buqaqum as parallel.³⁰⁷ In the letter Zaziya offers two alternatives. Either one of them would control the steppe, and in case the other side takes it he demands 1,000 *gukallu*³⁰⁸ sheep in

²⁹⁹ Cf. letter *ARM* 6, 27 in Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 484-5.

³⁰⁰ 3) *te-em na-aš-pa-ra-at Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA*^{ki} 4) *ša a-na še-er Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi LÚ Kur-da*^{ki} 5) *mZa-z[i]-i[a] u Zi-im-ri-ia LÚ Zu-ur-ra*^{ki} 6) *[iš-pu-ru] A-bu-me-ki-im áš-[a-al]-ma* 19) *u a-na Za-zi-ia ki-a-am iš-pu-[u]r um-ma-a-m[i]* 20) *[iš-d]e-ku-nu ru-uk-sà-nim-[ma]* 21) *[til-la-ti]-ku-<nu> tū-ur-da-nim <aš>-šum til-[la-ti-ku-nu]* 22) *[iš-tu] u-mi ma-du-tim áš-[ta-al-ka]* 23) *[um-m]a at-ta-a-ma at-ta-al-[a-ak]* 24) *u a-la-ak-ka u e-bé-[er-ka ú-ul a-mu-ur]* 25) *i-na-an-na it-ti ša-bi-im š[a* 26) *ša-bu-ka ar-ḥi-iš [I]i-ik-[š]u-d[am]*, Kupper, *ARM* 6, Paris, 1954, p. 52-4; Durand, *LPO* I, p. 531-2.

³⁰¹ While Kupper dates the letter to ZL 9' in: *ARM* 27, p. 257 and note 291, basing himself on the date given by Lackenbacher in *ARM* 26/2, p. 376-7, Durand dates it to the end of ZL 12'. This seems to me to fit the context of the events it treats better. For the dating of Durand, cf. Durand, *LPO* I, p. 532.

³⁰² For this alliance, cf. Durand, *LPO* I, p. 532; for the date, cf. Charpin, *OBO*, p. 326 and 390.

³⁰³ Durand, *ibid.*

³⁰⁴ Kupper, *ARM* 28, p. 258.

³⁰⁵ Ziegler, "Le royaume d'Ekallātum et ...," *FM* VI, p. 240-1; Ziegler, N., "À propos de l'itinéraire paléobabylonien UIOM 2134 iv: 2'-4'," *NABU* 2002, no. 48, p. 48.

³⁰⁶ Durand, J.-M., *Peuplement et sociétés à l'époque amorrite. (I) les clans bensim'alites, Amurru III, Nomades et sédentaires dans le Proche-Orient ancien*, ed. Ch. Nicolle, Paris, 2004, p. 145 and 146.

³⁰⁷ Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 258 and note 294. Durand reads the term as *kāšum*, cf. Durand, *Peuplement et sociétés ...*, *Amurru III*, p. 145.

³⁰⁸ Kupper translates it as "big/fat-tailed sheep," cf. *ARM* 28, p. 261.

compensation. Or he is ready to use his military force in case the other party decides to fight, showing his power and determination. This letter indicates that Zaziya's range of power reached large areas of the steppe:

Zaziya to Meptum (ARM 28, 179)

If you desire to take the whole steppe and the pastures of the steppe, speak with your lord and your commoners. Take 1,000 big-tailed sheep - 500 male big-tailed sheep and 500 tailed ewes - and bring them to me! If you do not bring me 1,000 big-tailed sheep I shall not leave the whole steppe down to Šitullum for you and I shall not let your sheep go to pasture. Otherwise, our forces are in position; you would say: "The Hanneans, another one and (even) a third will join (us) and we will fight (him = Zaziya)." Either you (pl.) take the steppe or I will take the steppe. Perhaps you say: "He attempted a shot then calmed down, the army (of Zaziya) does not have the provisions for a day with it." It is true that (the provisions of the army) are not abundant, (but) for sure, I would be able to go about in the middle of the steppe for one (whole) month. I am afraid you say as follows: "Zaziya has not gone (there)." I swear (it) by Adad. I went in person. Send me a reply to my tablet, (either) this or that.³⁰⁹

It is true that the defeat (H 32) and destruction (H 34) of Mari by Hammurabi of Babylon put both lands, together with their vassal states, under one authority, but this unification was not without cost. Moving the centre of power to Babylon in the south, far from Mari and Ekallātum, offered another good chance for Zaziya.

Hammurabi of Babylon became a major power for, after the capture of Larsa in ZL 11' = H 30 (= 1763 BC),³¹⁰ he pushed further to the northeast and northwest. In his 31st regnal year he conquered Ešnunna and in the 32nd and 34th he fought and captured Mari. The 33rd year of Hammurabi was known as the year in which "He overthrew in battle the army of Mari and Malgium; subjugated Mari and its villages. And the many cities (of the mountain land) of Šubartum, (Ekallātum, (all of) Burundum and the land of Zalmaqum, on the bank of the Tigris to the Euphrates); and he caused <them> them to dwell at his command in friendship."³¹¹ This formula does not refer to the Transtigridian territories that were under Zaziya's control; Hammurabi's newly gained domain was between the two rivers. Charpin's suggestion is that Hammurabi's northernmost point in this campaign was the outflow of the Baliḫ into the Euphrates.³¹² Even if he was further in the north he was not yet in the Habur, where we think Zaziya now had the upper hand.

³⁰⁹ 14) *šum-ma ku-ul-li ka-še-em* 15) *ù ri-tam ša ka-ši-im ḥa-aš-ḥa-at* 16) *it-ti be-li-ka* 17) *'ù mu-úš-<ke>-ni-ka du-bu-ub-ma* 18) *1 li-im* GUKKAL.ḪÁ 19) *5 me* UDU.GUKKAL.NÍTA *ù 5 me* 'MUNUS'.GUKKAL.'U₈³¹.MUNUS 20) *it-ti mu-úš-ke-ni-ka lu-gú-ut-ma* 21) *a-ia-ši-im šu-re-em šum-ma 1 li-im* GUKKAL 22) *ú-ul tu-ša-ar-ša-am ka-ša-am* 23) *ka-la-šu 'a'-di Ši-tu-ul-lim* 24) *ú-ul ú-wa-aš-šar-ka* *ù* UDU.ḪÁ-[k]a 25) *a-n[a r]i-tim ú-u[l] 'ú'-wa-aš-ša-ar* 26) *ú-la-šu-ma e-mu-uq-ni'lu' na-di* 27) *ša ta-d[a]-ab-bu-ba* LÚ ḪA.NA *'ù' [ša-n]u-um* 28) *ù ša-al-šu[m] pu-uh-ra-ma* ĞIŠ.TUKUL 29) *i ni-pu-úš ú-lu-'ú' a[t]-t[u]-nu ka-ša-am* 30) *ki-il-la ú-[u]-ma 'a'-na-k[u] k[a]-ša-am* 31) *lu-ki-il p[l]-q[a-a]t* 32) *ki-a-am ta-qa-ab-[b]i um-ma-mi* 33) *il-tu-kam-ma it-tu-u[h'] um-ma-na-tum* 34) NINDA U₄ 1.KAM [u] *na-š[e]-e* 35) *šum-ma ši-d[i]-tam ma-dam ne-še-e* 36) *wu-di-ma-an* ITI 1.KAM 37) *'i'-na ŠÁ.BA ka-ši-im* 38) *at-t[a-a]-l-[l]a-ak* 39) *as-s[ú]-u[r-r]i ke-em la ta-qa-[a]b-bi* 40) *mZa-zi-ia-mi ú-ul i[l-li]-ik* 41) *dIM at-ma šum-ma a-na-ku-ma [l]a al-li-ik* 42) *an-ni-tam la an-ni-tam* 43) *me-ḥe-er tup-pi-ia* 44) *šu-bi-lam*, Kupper, *ARM* 28, p. 260-1. Durand reads l. 34 as NINDA U₄ 2.KAM-[ma], Durand, Peuplement et..., *Amurru III*, p. 145, note 185.

³¹⁰ For this date, cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 248-9; Charpin, *OBO*, p. 387.

³¹¹ *bí.in.gi₄.a ugnim Ma.ri^{ki} ù Ma.al.gi^{ki} mè.ta bí.īb.šub.bé Ma.ri^{ki} ù uru.didli^{ki} (ma.da kur) Su.bir₄^{ki} (É-kál-la-tum^{ki} (kilib) Bu.ru.un.da^{ki} ù ma.da Za-al-ma-qum^{ki} gú¹⁷ Idigna en.na¹⁷ Buranun gú ki.šè mi.ni.gar) du₁₁.ga.né ku.li-bi bí.in.tuš xx .. x. x...*, Horsnell, M. J. A., *The Year-Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon*, vol. II, The Year-Names Reconstructed and Critically Annotated in Light of their Exemplars, Hamilton, 1999, p. 146-7; cf. also Charpin, *OBO*, p. 327. Stol translates: submitted peacefully (?) to his rule: *Studies in OB.*, p. 38.

³¹² Charpin, *OBO*, p. 328.

The year H 37 is significant; he claimed to have defeated “the army of the Gutians, Kakmum, and the land of Šubartum.”³¹³ Although there is evidence of such a campaign to these regions, seen in Hurrian-named individuals in Dilbat some years later,³¹⁴ it is hard to believe that his victories resulted in a sustained occupation. Parallels from the past reveal the difficulty of keeping control over these mountain lands. Two years later, i.e. in H 39, he had to campaign against Šubartum again,³¹⁵ this time without any mention of Kakmum,³¹⁶ Gutium or Turukkum. Their omission cannot be attributed to their being under the firm control of Hammurabi, but rather more likely to their liberation. Support for this suggestion may be the enumeration of the 26 cities Hammurabi listed in the prologue of his Code toward the end of his reign. In the list, from which Charpin says to be able to draw a map of the empire, only Nineveh among the northern centres is listed.³¹⁷ There is no mention of, for instance, Qabrā, Erbil, Arraphā, or the centres of the Habur region. The conquest of Nineveh, if true, might be considered a brief relapse in the Turukkean expansion. It is easy to conclude that the East-Tigris region and at least some large parts of the Habur were under Turukkean hegemony by this time. We should not forget to say that the campaign of H 37 might mark the end of the peaceful relations between Babylon and Turukkum, since the latter was included in the list of Hammurabi’s targets. With the disappearance of minor, and even major, polities from the scene as a result of Hammurabi’s conquests, the buffer between the kingdoms of Babylon and Turukkum disappeared. The conflict, struggle for power and expansion between the two became inevitable.

The years after the death of Hammurabi of Babylon are not so well documented as those in his lifetime. A significant episode during the reign of Samsu-iluna was the movement of the Kassites. When the king was busy with the revolt of south Babylonia, the Kassites made their first appearance in Mesopotamian history as a power: they launched an attack on the kingdom of Babylon. The alleged victory of Samsu-iluna over them is celebrated with the name of the 9th year of his reign:

Samsu-iluna, the king, tore out the foundations of the army of the Kassites at Kikalla.³¹⁸

This may mark the beginning of the rise of the other mountainous peoples, following the period during which the tide of Amorite immigrations ebbed and the wave of their progress dissipated. The Hurrians, the Kassites and the Hittites built large empires that overshadowed the Amorite kingdoms.

³¹³ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 332. For the versions of this year-name and related problems, cf. Stol, *Studies in OB...*, p. 38. According to Stol, the submission of the cities of Assur and Šitullum to Hammurabi must have taken place between the regnal years 29-32, while Nineveh was mentioned in the final edition of his Code, sometime after H 38, *op. cit.*, p. 39. For the presumable identification of Šitullum with modern Tikrit, see above.

³¹⁴ Charpin presented three letters and three administrative documents from the reigns of Hammurabi and his son Samsu-iluna that mention Turukkeans, Kakmeans and Arrapheans in the region of Dilbat as field owners, receivers of silver and dates; cf. Charpin, D., “Immigrés, réfugiés et déportés en Babylonie sous Hammurabi et ses successeurs,” in *La circulation de biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien, RAI 38 (Paris, 8-10 Juillet 1991)*, ed. D. Charpin and F. Joannès, Paris, 1992, p. 215f, for the dating of these documents cf. especially p. 214 and 216; cf. also Charpin, *OBO*, p. 367 and 374, and more recently *RA* 98, p. 172, and earlier in Klengel, H., “Nochmals zu den Turukkäern und ihrem Auftreten,” *AoF* 12 (1985), p. 257.

³¹⁵ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 332.

³¹⁶ A prominent Kakmean was mentioned in two texts from Rimāh (*OBTR* 255 and 261), who received wine. The date of the texts is after the conquest of Mari by Hammurabi and probably indicate a Kakmean role in this region at that time, of which we have no further details. For the texts cf. Dalley, *OBTR*, p. 185 and 188.

³¹⁷ For these city names and the order in which they are arranged, cf. Charpin, *OBO*, p. 333-4.

³¹⁸ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 339. Kikalla was probably in the region of Kiš, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

Samsu-iluna invaded the Habur region in 1728 (Samsu-iluna 22, the year 23 bears the formula) and destroyed the land of Apum, according to the year name:

The year: Samsu-iluna, the king, by force of power which Enlil gave him, destroyed Šaḥna (sic.), the capital city of (the land of) Apum, Zarḥanum, Putra Šuša,-lazia(?) <and> YakunašarYakun-X.³¹⁹

His victory is also reflected in his royal inscriptions:

The king who subjugated the land of Ida-maraš from the border of Gutium to the border of Elam with his mighty weapon.³²⁰

Sometime after 1750 BC a certain Mutiya ruled Šeḥna³²¹ (formerly Šubat-Enlil). He concluded a treaty with Ḫazip-Teššup, the king of Razama of Yussan, which was to the north of Jebel Sinjār.³²² Razama of Yussan was in the time of Zimri-Lim a vassal of Zimri-Lim³²³ and was perhaps ruled by Amorites like Šarraya.³²⁴ By this time, the situation seems to have reversed; the Hurrian Ḫazip-Teššup was its ruler and this may indicate that the Hurrian expansion to the west and slightly to the south was still in progress.

Hurrian presence in the Habur region towards the end of the OB period is confirmed by textual evidence. At this time, almost one and a half centuries after the Mari period, Tigunānum appears in the form Tikunani. Its Hurrian-named king Tunip-Teššup³²⁵ became known to us from a few documents, including the well-known prism, familiarly called the Ḫabiru Prism, and the important letter Ḫattušili I of Ḫatti sent to him. In that letter, Ḫattušili (= Labarna LUGAL.GAL) addressed the king as his servant and uses the hypocoristic form of his name, Tuniya.³²⁶ The letter is about plans for an attack on the city of Ḫaḥḫum³²⁷ by

³¹⁹ mu *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal.e usu gir.ra ^dEn.lil.le mu.un.na.an.sum.ma.ta Ša.aḥ.na.a^{ki} uru^{ki} sag ma.da <A>.pu.um.ma Za.ar.ḫa.nu.um^{ki}Pu.ut.ra^{ki}Šu.ša.a^{ki}(ma) .. x la?.ši-a? MI bi.ib.gul.gul.la ^mIa-ku-un-a-šar ... ^mIa-ku-un-x, Horsnell, *op. cit.*, p. 211-12; cf. also Charpin, *OBO*, p. 348.

³²⁰ 3') [LUGAL] *ša ma-at* 4') [I-d]a-ma-ra-a[s^{ki}] 5') [iš-t]u pa-at [G]u-ti-um[^{ki}] 6') [a-d]i pa-at [NI]M[^{ki}]i-tim 7') in *ka-ak-ki-šu da-nim* 8') [ú]ka-[a]n-ni-š[u] (Akkadian version), Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 389-90 (text no. E4.3.7.8). With the identification of the region "from the border of Gutium to the border of Elam" he appears to mean the Diyāla region, which he subdued before his attack on the Habur. Nevertheless, the formulation of the sentence here is strange; it gives the impression that by Ida-maraš he means the lands between the border of Gutium and the border of Elam. If so, this is Ida-maraš in the east Tigris region; cf. Chapter Two, under Gutium: Location.

³²¹ For this date, cf. Charpin, *OBO*, p. 349.

³²² Charpin, *OBO*, p. 350.

³²³ Cf. for instance letters *ARM* 27 and 71, where the alliance of Zimri-Lim with its king Šarraya is reported: Heimpel, p. 434. *ARM* 14, 104+ was sent to Zimri-Lim by Yaqqim-Addu and relates that the people of the city said that the city of Razama is Zimri-Lim's: 20) *ki-a-am i-pu-lu-šu um-ma-a-mi a-lum^{ki} ša Zi-im-ri-Li-im*, "They answered as follows, thus (they said): 'The city (= Razama) is Zimri-Lim's,'" Charpin, D., "Données nouvelles sur la poliorcétique à l'époque Paléo-Babylonienne," *MARI* 7, Paris, 1993; Heimpel, p. 496; in letters *ARM* 6, 51 and 52 it is expected that Zimri-Lim will march towards the city to save it from the siege mounted by Atamrum, the ally of Elam in this time; for the letters, cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

³²⁴ This name was probably a hypocoristic form of Šarrum-kîn, cf. Heimpel, p. 558.

³²⁵ According to Wilhelm the name is *to/un=i=b-Teššob*, presumably "Teššup has enabled(?)," Wilhelm, Hurrians in Kültepe, *Anatolia and the Jazira...*, p. 187, note 34. To Richter the name means "Teššup provided (a child):" Richter, Th., Ein Hurriter wird geboren ... und benannt, p. 522.

³²⁶ Salvini, "Un royaume hourrite en Mésopotamie du nord", *Subartu* IV/1, p. 305.

³²⁷ Not to be confused with Ḫaḥḫa(š) of the Hittite texts, which was further north; cf. Liverani, M., "The Fire of Ḫaḥḫum," *OA* 27 (1988), p. 165-6. Our Ḫaḥḫum was located in all probability on the Upper Euphrates, identifiable with modern Samsat (M. Falkner) or Lidar Hüyük; cf. Liverani, *op. cit.*, p. 168; Van de Mieroop, "Sargon of Agade and ...," *SMEA* 42/1 (2000), p. 135; Westenholz, *Legends of ...*, p. 250, note to l. i' 5' and Salvini, M., "Un royaume hourrite ...," *Subartu* IV/1, Turmhout, 1998, p. 305. A recent study has shown it to be located on a high altitude, perhaps on a mountainside, and close to an important river crossing point that must be the Euphrates, but its location whether on the eastern or western bank of the river is not settled; cf. Barjamovic,

both Ḫattušili and Tunip-Teššup, the attack that is recorded in the 6th regnal year of Ḫattušili.³²⁸ From the content and the wording of the letter, one understands that Tikunani was a vassal city of the Hittites. The letter is important also because of the chronology it establishes for Tunip-Teššup; it proves that he was a contemporary of Ḫattušili I, who was, in turn, a contemporary of Ammi-šaduqa (1646-1625 BC) of Babylon.³²⁹

The prism records a large number of male individuals (438 persons) labelled ÉRIN.MEŠ Ḫabiri (Col. I, 1), “Ḫabiru soldiers/ workers”. The editor of the text noted that the names are predominantly Hurrian, the rest are Semitic and names of unknown origin with one Kassite name,³³⁰ providing a valuable hint to the ethnic texture of the region of Tikunani in this time. Salvini thinks it is possible to count Tikunani among the political entities of northern Mesopotamia, which later was incorporated with the kingdom of Mittanni.³³¹

A large proportion of names of slaves from Babylonia in the 17th century were Hurrian.³³² Charpin feels these came from different regions of Upper Mesopotamia, where the Hurrian population seems to have immigrated from the mountains of Ṭūr-^cAbdīn and exercised pressure on the southern piedmonts.³³³

op. cit., p. 99, 100, and 103-104. Barjamovic himself is in favour of the western side of the river, *op. cit.*, p. 101. Ḫaḫḫum, a border city between Syria and Anatolia, was an important city also in the OA trade network, which served as a hub for communications between Assur and Kaneš, “where caravans met, people crossed paths, and messages were exchanged on the trip to and from Anatolia,” cf. Barjamovic, *op. cit.*, p. 87. He further adds that “a large number of Assyrian families seem to have owned a house, had access to a depot there, or had permanent agents stationed in the city,” *op. cit.*, p. 91.

³²⁸ Salvini, *Subartu*, p. 305.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*

³³⁰ Salvini, *Subartu*, p. 307; cf. also Salvini, M., *The Ḫabiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani*, Roma, 1996, p. 9.

³³¹ Salvini, *The Ḫabiru Prism...*, p. 13.

³³² Charpin, *OBO*, p. 375 (referring to bibliographical references in De Graef, K., “Les étrangers dans les textes paléobabyloniens tardifs de Sippar,” *Akkadica* 111 (1999), p. 1-48; and De Graef, *Akkadica* 112 (1999), p. 1-17.

³³³ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 375.

CHAPTER EIGHT



A Comparative and Anthropological Overview



The previous chapters showed that the region under study had long been an area of human occupation and where communities became organized into socio-political units. These units were small at first, but developed into one of the earliest complex social systems. The neolithic village communities are among the earliest known complex social systems and socio-political groupings.¹ From then on social classes began to crystallise; specialization had now appeared and consequently the first kinds of hierarchy followed. The forms of organization in these village communities were based on family and kin relationships and must have been similar to the small-scale communities found in Polynesia. There the leaders of communities consisting of a few hundred individuals exercised modest forms of leadership with only a few tasks.² Significantly, family and kin relationships and their involvement in the various functions of production, distribution and legal arrangements were a characteristic of the organization of local communities and remained in one way or another in later states.³

Economic growth and the accumulation of surplus production, a result of technological developments and population growth, led to an expansion of these units in size and complexity.⁴ Indicators of a complex socio-political organization, as listed by Schwartz, are the appearance of urban-sized settlements, monumental architecture, and

¹ Rosenberg, M. and R. W. Redding, Hallan Çemi and Early Village Organization in Eastern Anatolia, in *Life in Neolithic Farming Communities*, ed. Jan Kuijt, New York, 2002, p. 41 and 49. For the related archaeological evidence cf. p. 47ff.

² Claessen, H. J. M., Was the State Inevitable?, in *The Early State, its Alternatives and Analogues*, eds. L. E. Grinin, R. L. Carneiro, D. M. Bondarenko and A. V. Korotayev, Volgograd, 2004, p. 76-7. Needless to say, the socio-political organization of Polynesia is diverse; there are small-scale local societies, large, well-organized chiefdoms and early states; cf. Claessen, *op. cit.*, p. 76. The comparison here is made with the small-scale communities.

³ Yoffee, N., *Myths of the Archaic State, Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States, and Civilizations*, Cambridge, 2005, p. 16-17.

⁴ According to anthropologists, the 'evolution' of communities to statehood developed from 'bands,' to 'tribes,' to 'chiefdoms' and ultimately to the 'state,' cf. Yoffee, *op. cit.*, p. 18f. But Yoffee himself and other anthropologists and archaeologists disagree with this model, considering it to have fallen out of use and "an illusion of history," cf. Yoffee, *op. cit.*, p. 231. They propose instead that social evolution did not inevitably pass through a sequence of stages from simple to complex, pre-state to state, but rather that they were more diverse; cf. Bolger, D. and L. C. Maguire, "Introduction: The Development of Pre-State Communities in the Ancient Near East," in *Development of Pre-State Communities in the Ancient Near East*, ed. D. Bolger and L. C. Maguire, Oxford, 2010, p. 1 and 2.

new administrative tools such as cylinder seals and writing.⁵ Expanding socio-political units led to the emergence of a new type of political organization, the chiefdom, in which the indicators just mentioned feature. According to some, not only these developments but also competing strategies of different social groups created an opportunity for chiefly lines to be promoted.⁶ In this new type of organization local communities are integrated within a single polity, presided over by a paramount chief and an accompanying ruling aristocracy.⁷ A chiefdom is known to have a more transparent hierarchy, with simple and acceptable principles of heredity or election for recruitment to offices.⁸ It also maintains its characteristics of centralization, hereditary ranking, and differential control of productive resources.⁹

By applying the criteria presented for chiefdoms we consider the socio-political organization of the chalcolithic communities of Ninevite V make them chiefdoms.¹⁰ In his study of these communities in Northern Mesopotamia Schwartz showed how these polities organized themselves into a complex series of rival chiefdoms. Their elites derived their authority and power through the control of local surpluses produced by dry-farming agriculture.¹¹ The archaeological data Schwartz examined date to the Ninevite V culture from Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia. He found that most of the data indicates “social systems of decidedly limited socio-political complexity,”¹² and that the urban centres of this culture were relatively small and usually unfortified. Food surpluses came only from the lands in the immediate vicinities of the large centres and not from the smaller centres.¹³ Graves and their contents show a social differentiation, but one that is distinct from that of Southern Mesopotamia. A similar simplicity can be seen in the architecture: no monumental buildings such as palaces or temples are found.¹⁴ Only towards the end of Ninevite V does the situation change into a state organization. Then food surpluses were extracted also from the smaller centres, contrasts in social stratification increased, and monumental buildings appeared.¹⁵

⁵ Schwartz, G. M., Before Ebla: Models of Pre-State Political Organization in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia, in *Chiefdoms and Early States in the Near East, The Organizational Dynamics of Complexity*, eds. G. Stein and M. S. Rothman, Madison, 1994, p. 153.

⁶ Wright, H. T., Prestate Political Formations, in *Chiefdoms and Early States in the Near East*, p. 81; cf. also the editor's introduction on p. 67. Note also Schwartz's statement that our knowledge about the Southern Mesopotamian activities of the Uruk period and the local socio-political development is still too fragmentary to allow a persuasive evaluation of the transition from Late Uruk complex societies to third millennium chiefdoms: Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁷ Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 155 (referring to Carneiro, R. L., The Chiefdom: Precursor of the State, in *The Transition to Statehood in the New World*, Cambridge, 1981, p. 45; Johnson, A., and T. K. Earle, *The Evolution of Human Society: from Forager Group to Agrarian State*, Stanford, 1987, p. 207).

⁸ Chabal, P., G. Feinman and P. Skalnik, Beyond States and Empires: Chiefdoms and Informal Polities, in *The Early State, its Alternatives and Analogues*, p. 58.

⁹ Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

¹⁰ Although some of the elements mentioned as criteria are also found in the preceding Ubaid and even Halaf communities, as seen in Tepe Gawra and Arpachiya for instance (see Chapter One), the lack of one or more elements, especially the urban-sized communities, prevents these communities from being counted among the complex societies.

¹¹ Schwartz, Before Ebla, *op. cit.*, p. 162; cf. also editor's note on p. 153.

¹² Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 156-7.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 156-7 and 159.

It is interesting here, however, to call attention to the significant finds of Tepe Gawra, where monumental buildings, represented by a series of temples, were uncovered. A clear social stratification is indicated by different types of tombs, some of which were even monumental, and different types of private houses, some of which look like palaces. One should also add the municipal services that point to a central authority.¹⁶ These are almost exactly the features of spatial organization by which Wright identifies not only a chiefdom but also a complex chiefdom society.¹⁷ He groups these features into three categories, A) Settlement hierarchy; B) Residential segregation and C) Mortuary segregation. While only further archaeological investigations and excavations can prove the fact that Tepe Gawra was the largest and architecturally more elaborate of the surrounding chiefly seats, the residential houses show a clear segregation, in which high-ranking domestic units of noble elites (for instance the large round house of level XI) are easily distinguishable from other low-ranking domestic houses. The mortuary segregations in Tepe Gawra constitute the clearest examples, with three types of burial (see Chapter One). Furthermore, there are architectural sectors specifically for administration or military purposes, for grain storage, for crafts, for religious usage and for residence.¹⁸

An even more important point is that these cultural remains are older than those discussed by Schwartz, coming from the Uruk period, not Ninevite V. This may imply that the region of Tepe Gawra was organized in a complex socio-political polity centuries before the Habur region. Such differences in the developmental level and social complexity in different places and in different periods is observable also in other regions. Archaeologists and anthropologists widely acknowledge now that “social change among early societies such as those of the ancient Near East is likely to have been recursive and disruptive rather than unilinear.”¹⁹ There are others, however, who chose ‘multilinear’ models of social change to interpret the variable paths to complexity shown by the archaeological record.²⁰

The greatest part of the region under study was covered by the Halaf, Ubaid and Uruk cultures (see Chapter One). Ninevite V was no less widespread, since its pottery is found in regions from Urmia in the east to the Habur sites in the west, through Eski Mosul and Sinjār, and in the Hamrin Basin in the south through the Rāniya and Shahrazūr Plains (see Chapter One). This implies that the whole region under study was organized along those periods in simple or complex chiefdoms. In view of the archaeological data mentioned above, and by applying the theoretical criteria discussed, we can safely say that the societies which produced these cultures were stratified and were ruled by chiefly lines that collected and redistributed the local agricultural surpluses.

The conclusion reached by Schwartz, that the societies of Syria and Northern Mesopotamia were not organized into states until at least the very end of the Ninevite V period, is based on the absence of several pertinent elements and institutions. Among these were the absence of evidence of monumental architecture (palaces and temples),

¹⁶ For details, cf. Chapter One.

¹⁷ Wright, *Prestate Political Formations*, in *Chiefdoms and Early States in the Near East*, p. 68.

¹⁸ Cf. Rothman, M., “The Origin of the State in Greater Mesopotamia,” *The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies Bulletin*, 38 (September 2003), p. 30-1.

¹⁹ Bolger and Maguire, *ibid.* with bibliographical references.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

writing, urbanization before the middle of the third millennium BC, and the relatively small scale of social stratification and settlement pattern hierarchies.²¹

The situation changed sometime later. From after the middle of the third millennium these chiefdoms were transformed into urban states. The agricultural intensification, controlled by the elites, probably played a prominent role in this transformation, as Schwartz suggests. As proof for this intensification he points out specialized grain storage emplacements found in many sites of this period.²² Thanks to the abundant archaeological data from the latter part of Ninevite V, the transformation from chiefdoms to city-states in Northern Mesopotamia is better documented, in contrast to the poor documentation for the transformation to chiefdoms. By the middle of the third millennium, or slightly earlier,²³ the dry-farming areas of Northern Mesopotamia were covered by large, walled, occupied cities,²⁴ and the existing urban centres witnessed great expansion. A city like Leylān, for example, expanded from 15 hectares to 90 hectares, and it was surrounded by a city-wall in around 2500 BC.²⁵ Similar walled cities appeared in this period in the plains of Sinjār and the Habur, and at Mozan, Hamoukar, Khoshi, Hadhail, Taya, and probably Nineveh.²⁶

Harvey Weiss advances the hypothesis that the development of organizational technology to overcome transport difficulties allowed for the mobilization of agricultural surpluses to support endogenous urban and state systems.²⁷ The urban expansion in the region took place almost two centuries before the Akkadian dynasty, even before that in the Ebla region.²⁸ Therefore, Weiss uses this data from Tell Leylān to “disprove one of Childe’s hypotheses concerning the military imposition of urbanism in Northern Mesopotamia, as well as Wheatley’s explanation of northern urbanism as ‘primary diffusion associated with the extension of empire’.”²⁹

Although many different definitions for ‘state’ have been presented,³⁰ most of them represent the background from which, or for which, the definition is made. Economists have an economic definition, which is different from that of sociologists, and so on. However, for our topic, we can simply define a state as “a certain form of organization that exercises power within a determined region, the territory. It is the manner according to which the society has organized its administration.”³¹ To further explain this simple abbreviated definition one should add that this form of organization is an independent

²¹ Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 159-62. He excludes Mari from this conclusion.

²² Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 157-8.

²³ The date he later proposes is *c.* 2600 BC, cf. Weiss, H., “Tell Leilan 1989: New Data for Mid-Third Millennium Urbanization and State Formation,” *MDOG* 122 (1990), p. 218.

²⁴ Weiss, H., The Origins of Tell Leilan and the Conquest of Space in Third Millennium Mesopotamia, in *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.*, p. 85.

²⁵ Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Schwartz, p. 165 (referring to Weiss, H., Excavations at Tell Leilan and the Origins of Northern Mesopotamian Cities in the Third Millennium B.C.,” *Paléorient* 9 (1983); *idem*, The Origins of Tell Leilan..., in *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.*).

²⁸ Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

²⁹ Weiss, “Tell Leilan 1989,” *MDOG* 122, p. 218.

³⁰ For a comprehensive overview of the definitions of the ‘state’ and the different views that see the state as a positive achievement or as wrong and despicable, cf. Claessen, H. J. M., *Verdwenen Koninkrijken en Verloren Beschavingen*, Assen/Maastricht, 1991, p. 9-18.

³¹ Claessen, *Verdwenen ...*, p. 19; cf. also Claessen, Was the State Inevitable?, p. 73.

socio-political one that exercises authority over a bounded territory from a centre of government. The exercise of authority needs legitimacy to be imposed by power.³² Legitimacy is a concept Max Weber introduced into the social sciences.³³ Such a state must have an economy, be it agricultural or, in some cases, pastoral or mixed. Trade and a market system with taxes form a supplementary source of income beside the main source (agriculture or pastoralism). The society is stratified into at least two classes, with the ruler at its head, followed on the hierarchical ladder by his retinue, officials, administrators, generals, possibly governors, priests and craftsmen down to the lowest strata, the peasants, servants, and tenants. Sometimes a clear distinction between the rulers and the ruled can be made, but more often the transitions and boundaries between the various strata are flexible, dynamic and determined by context.³⁴ Thus, several requirements have to be fulfilled to establish a(n early) state, what Claessen calls the 'necessary conditions:'

- There must be a sufficient number of people to form a complex stratified society.
- The society must control a specified territory.
- There must be a system of production yielding a surplus to maintain the specialists and the privileged categories.
- There must exist an ideology, which explains and justifies a hierarchical administrative organization and socio-political inequality.³⁵

Only with a sufficient number of people can one have a complex stratified society of at least two classes: rulers and ruled. A specified territory in which a state comes into existence may not necessarily be sufficient for the maintenance of the population, so states with small territories may live from trade or conquest.³⁶ A system of production that yields a surplus is necessary to feed the rulers and the other specialists, such as officials, soldiers (for a standing army), merchants, priests, scribes and craftsmen and the like. In fact, in this system a rich and powerful minority rules a poor and powerless majority.

The importance of ideology in (early) states, lies in the fact that there must exist an ideology "that makes it possible for the less fortunate to understand and to accept their modest position."³⁷ But this matter is more complicated; "a readily adaptable ideological background, be it religious, juridical or related to kinship, is a necessary condition for the emergence of the state."³⁸ Its role lies in the fact that ideology induces the moods and motivations which induce people to construct states and to give precedence to the central values of their ideological systems over their own interests. Their own interests are subjected to the interests of the state, "and people tend to accept that situation and even to approve of it. People do make sacrifices for the sake of ideological values and they may

³² Cf. Claessen, *Verdwenen...*, p. 17.

³³ Claessen, "Was the State Inevitable?," p. 79 (referring to Weber, M., *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Köln, 1964, p. 24ff.).

³⁴ Claessen, H. and J. G. Oosten, Introduction, in *Ideology and the Formation of Early States*, eds. H. Claessen and J. G. Oosten, Leiden, 1996, p. 3.

³⁵ Claessen, Was the State Inevitable?, p 77-9; Claessen and Oosten, *Ideology and ...*, p. 5.

³⁶ Claessen and Oosten, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

³⁷ Claessen, Was the State Inevitable?, p 79.

³⁸ Claessen, H. and P. Skalnik, *The Study of the State*, The Hague, 1981, p. 479.

even sacrifice their own life in war if necessary.”³⁹ Ideology was of crucial importance not only in the formation but also in the fall of early states.⁴⁰ Since ancient times people have believed that some individuals had better relationships with the gods, spirits or deceased ancestors than others had. Thanks to this, these individuals were placed in higher positions to function as intermediaries between the people and the gods or whatever supernatural forces were responsible for fertility, prosperity and protection. A reciprocal relation emerged between these individuals, who became the rulers, and the people. The people offered goods and paid tax and the rulers guaranteed prosperity, fertility and protection through their contacts. This ideologically based position that legitimized the rulers makes them the pivot of the early state.⁴¹ The religious functionaries, for their part, usually supported the state ideology.

It is important to note that the existence of these elements alone would not necessarily lead to a complex socio-political organization and consequently state formation. These elements should reinforce each other. “When the strength of the factors varied greatly there is every reason to believe that some other type of socio-political organization would emerge—a big-man structure, a heterarchy. If, as often happened, the factors contradicted or hampered each other, stagnation (negative feedback) ensued, and an early state would not emerge.”⁴²

Although the ‘necessary conditions’ mentioned above are the elements without which the formation of a state would be impossible, there remains yet another factor to complete the process. Claessen describes this as “the cause that triggers the developments,”⁴³ that may be considered as the fifth of the four necessary conditions mentioned above. Such a cause varies from case to case; it could be an impending danger, a need to develop irrigation or to protect trade routes that demand a strong leadership, a shortage of food and goods, or the introduction of new ideas and beliefs.⁴⁴ Since the factors vary, the duration of the process varies as well. There are cases, such as the Betsileo State, where the formation of an early state was accomplished within 50 years. In other cases, such as the African Mbundu, where all the necessary conditions were fulfilled but a state never emerged.⁴⁵ Complex stateless societies are not exceptional; there are societies that culturally and socially are not inferior to early state societies with respect to their territory, population, socio-cultural and/or political complexity.⁴⁶ Such complex stateless societies, which are larger than simple chiefdoms and are in some cases at the same level of socio-political development as the early state societies, are called by some Early State Analogues.⁴⁷

³⁹ Claessen and Oosten, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁴⁰ Claessen and Oosten, *op. cit.*, p. 2 (with bibliography).

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁴² Claessen, “Was the State Inevitable?,” p. 81.

⁴³ Claessen, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁴⁴ For examples, cf. Claessen, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁴⁵ Claessen, *op. cit.*, p. 82, also for more details about Betsileo and Mbundu.

⁴⁶ Grinin, L. E., The Early State and its Analogues: A Comparative Analysis, in *The Early State, its Alternatives and Analogues*, p. 88.

⁴⁷ Grinin, *ibid.* A complex society is a society that has “institutionalised subsystems that perform diverse functions for their individual members and are organized as relatively specific and semiautonomous entities,” Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State*, p. 16 (referring to Shils, E., *Center and Periphery*, Chicago, 1975; Eisenstadt, S., “Social Change, Differentiation, and Evolution,” *American Sociological Review*, 29 (1964)). The complexity of a society is measured by its size, the number and distinctiveness of its parts, the

According to the discussion above, the socio-political organizations that emerged in the Habur region towards the end of the Ninevite V period were early states: a large stratified population, territory, a productive economy and an ideology that must have been strictly bound with religion. A similar, though not identical, situation seems to have prevailed in the other parts of the region, the Transtigris and Zagros Mountains. The differences may be in the subsistence resulting from contrasting landscape and climate, but the economy of both regions was a combination of agriculture, animal husbandry and pastoralism (the latter by the non-sedentary groups). The early states of the Zagros region were distributed, as in the Habur, on the dry-farming zone of the Zagros piedmonts or on the plains between the mountain ranges. Examples are the kingdoms of Simurrum, Gutium, Lullubum, Turukkum (in the plains of the Urmia Basin) and probably Kakmum (if it was located in the Qala Dizeh Plain). There was a magician in Ḫamazi, who was so prized that he entered the service of the king of Aratta after his home city was devastated.⁴⁸ This may indicate a stratified society in Ḫamazi as early as the Early Dynastic Period, in which assumed specialists such as this magician came to the fore. There are numerous allusions to kings, princes and sometimes to generals in the Mesopotamian texts in relation to the region under study, whose names are mentioned in the previous chapters. These different titles stem from the categorized nature of the political organization. Perhaps the Mesopotamian terminology used to describe the rulers of this region mean they were fulfilling the minimum Mesopotamian criteria for a king or a prince. It could be that it was those rulers who could not fulfil these criteria that were generally called “The man of ... GN” (Sumerian LÚ ... GN).⁴⁹ A clear example of such a distinction in a Mesopotamian text is in “The Great Revolt against Narām-Sîn,” where a list of rebels includes the appellatives “King of ...” as well as “Man of ...”⁵⁰

The allusions to “kings of Šubartum,”⁵¹ and “the (numerous) kings of Lullu” (Shemshāra letters) or “princes of Lullu” (inscriptions of Aššurnasirpal), the “kings of Šimaški” (inscription of Kutik-Inšušināk),⁵² indicate multi-leader socio-political organizations. These were political entities known to outsiders as one entity and under one comprehensive name, but ruled by multiple rulers, which can be understood as federal political organizations, perhaps based on tribal kinships. Similar federal organizations appeared in Elam as well. The case of Elam is discussed by Stolper, who thinks that after, and as a result of, the Ur III imperialistic policies political changes took

diversity of the specialized social roles that it incorporates, the number of distinct social personalities present, and the variety of mechanisms for organizing these into a coherent, functioning whole; cf. Tainter, J. A., *The Collapse of Complex Societies*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 23; cf. also Kushner, G., “The Anthropology of Complex Societies,” *Biennial Review of Anthropology* 6 (1969), p. 87ff.; Hannerz, U., “Complex Societies,” *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, eds. A. Barnard and J. Spencer, London, 2010, p. 149-52. Yoffee interestingly ascribes the term Complex Societies, as used by archaeologists, to the difficulty of separating states from non-states in the archaeological record; cf. Yoffee, *ibid.*

⁴⁸ As recorded in the text of *Enmerkar and Ensuĸkešdana*, cf. Chapter Two.

⁴⁹ Michalowski is of the opinion that the term lú GN was primarily applied to governors of foreign lands in the Ur III period (Puzriš-Dagan archives): Michalowski, “Aššur During the Ur III Period,” *Here and There Across the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honour of Krystyna Lyczkowska*, p. 152. But this is not compatible with the text of the Great Rebellion against Narām-Sîn (see below).

⁵⁰ For this text cf. Westenholz, *Legends of Kings of Akkade*, p. 248-52, cf. also Chapter Two, p. 88.

⁵¹ Cf. Chapter Six.

⁵² For bibliographical references see the previous chapters, especially Chapter Two.

place in Elam. Such policies led to the coalescence of alliances among highland states into larger political units, increasing and consolidating the existing regional and dynastic ties among the constituent widespread lands of later Elam. This resulted eventually in a confederate multicentric state with ranked members of a ruling family controlling individual regional centres.⁵³ J. Eidem is of the opinion that the Turukkean federation is a similar case, involving the same southern forces, but probably in more rudimentary forms.⁵⁴

This kind of organization does not seem to be that kind of socio-political organization known by early-state anthropologists as heterarchy. That word applies when the strength of the state formation factors discussed above varies greatly, instead of reinforcing each other, and as a result they produce complex stateless societies in which power and leadership is divided over several groups of persons.⁵⁵ Federations in the region under study were usually formed to confront threats, mostly external threats. The best example to be drawn here might be the Median federation formed in the NA period to confront the subsequent Assyrian campaigns. In their case, the Medes had only two choices: either “existence under the banner of unity” or “possible disappearance under a foreign yoke.”⁵⁶ They chose the second option, formed a federation of widespread tribes and small political entities, which later became the Median kingdom, and still later an empire. In a similar way we see that the Turukkean political entities were united in a federation, probably since the Ur III campaigns, as Eidem proposes, but that federation was still needed in the time of the Shemshāra archives, to confront the Gutian aggression. The Lullubian federation too is attested in the period that follows the Ur III period. We assume that the Lullubians were organized in a federation because when Kuwari was instructed to make peace with them and accept their terms for peace, the texts treat them as one political body. Aššurnasirpal II says nothing about federation during his third campaign on Zamua (eponymy of Miqti-adur), when he fought the Lullubian kings Ameka and Araštua. Perhaps his scribes were not interested in mentioning it, or probably the Assyrian campaign was a surprise that left no time for such an organization to come into existence. But it was surely expected after they had withheld the tribute and the corvée due to Assyria. The inscription says:

On the first day of the month Sivan I mustered (my army) for a third time against the land Zamua. Without waiting for the advance of (my) numerous chariotry and troops I moved on from the city Kalzi, crossed the Lower Zab, (and) entered the passes of Mount Babitu.⁵⁷

By contrast the Lullubians were organized in an alliance in the previous campaign (eponymy of Aššur-iddin), as mentioned explicitly in the annals:

⁵³ Carter, E. and M. Stolper, *Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology*, Berkeley, 1984, p. 24.

⁵⁴ Eidem, J and E. Møller, “A Royal Seal from the Ancient Zagros,” *MARI* 6, p. 637; Eidem, “News from the Eastern Front,” p. 106.

⁵⁵ Cf. Claessen, “Was the State Inevitable?,” p. 72 and 81.

⁵⁶ Cf. for this: Ghirshman, R., *Iran from the Earliest Times to the Islamic Conquest*, London, 1954, p. 115.

⁵⁷ col. iii 30) *ina* ITL.SIG₄ UD 1.KÁM 3-te-šú a-na 31) KUR Za-mu-a-a áš-ku-na di-ku-tú pa-an ĜIŠ.ĜIĜIR.MEŠ ma-a'-te 32) ù ÉRIN.ĪI.A.MEŠ-a la-a ad-gul TA URU Kál-zi at-tu-muš 33) ÍD Za-ba KI.TA e-te-bir *ina* né-reb šá KUR ba-bi-te 34) e-tar-ba, Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 246 (text A.0.101.17).

Nūr-Adad, the *sheikh* of the land Dagara, had rebelled; (the inhabitants of) the entire land Zamua had banded together; they had built a wall in the pass of the city Babitu.⁵⁸

As to the Oakk. period, we have unfortunately not enough data to judge whether there was a Lullubian federation in the Akkadian period to confront the Akkadian aggression, especially in the time of Narām-Sîn. But one expects such an organization to have existed, similar to the one this king faced in Subartu. The latter incident is recorded in the Basitki inscription, where the defeat of nine kings of the cedar-tree region in Subartu is reported.⁵⁹

The situation in Šubartum was, in the same way, similar to the rest of the region. It was ruled by numerous kings and rulers with one probable exception. Since the term Š/Subartu was at certain times used to designate a widespread geographical region, regardless of the ethnic and cultural differences, it may have comprised more than one ethnic group. For instance, the “kings of Šubartum” mentioned in some Mari letters designate a group of rulers from the region of the Upper Jazirah and the mountainous territory to the north and northeast of the Habur (Ṭūr-^cAbdīn).⁶⁰ That territory does not seem to have been wholly Hurrianized by this time. Rather one expects other ethnic groups still to be living there, such as Subarians. In the MA and NA periods, the Assyrian royal inscriptions mention the “lands of Nairi,” and their numerous kings.⁶¹ Tukulti-Ninurta I mentions in some of his inscriptions the defeat of forty kings of Nairi lands:

Forty kings of the lands of Nairi fiercely took up a position for armed conflict.⁶²

He brought them in fetters into the presence of the god Assur:

I did battle with forty kings of the lands Nairi (and) brought about the defeat of their army. (Thus) I became lord of all their lands. I fastened bronze clasps to the necks of those kings of the lands Nairi (and) brought them to Ekur, the great mountain, the temple of my support, into the presence of the god Aššur, my lord.⁶³

There were also occasions when these federations installed a king or a king of kings, probably to perform special tasks that necessitated a strong centralized and firm

⁵⁸ col. ii 78) ^mZÁLAG-^rdⁱŠKUR LÚ *na-si-ku* 79) *ša* KUR 'Da¹-g[a]-ra i-ta-bal-kát 80) KUR *Za-mu-a* [*ana s*]i-*hír-ti-šu a-[h]*a-iš 81) *iš-^rbu²-tú ^rne¹-[r]u-bu ša* URU *Ba-[bi]-te* 82) 'BÀD *ir¹-š[i-p]u*, Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 244 (text A.0.101.17).

⁵⁹ However, note that Frayne reads 18) *šu-ut i-RÍN¹-nim*” as *šu-ut i-š₁₁-<ù>-nim*, “(the kings) whom they (the rebels[?]) had raised (against him),” cf. Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 113 (text E2.1.4.10).

⁶⁰ Cf. for instance Guichard, “Le Šubartum occidental à l’avènement de Zimrî-Lim,” *FM* VI, p. 120.

⁶¹ For instance the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I, cf. Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 231ff. Nairi was the mountainous region to the north of Ṭūr-^cAbdīn and further to the east in the mountains of Armenia, cf. Salvini, M., “Nairi, Na’iri,” *RIA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 87-8.

⁶² 38) 40-*a* MAN.MEŠ 39) KUR.KUR *Na-i-ri a-na* MURUB₄ *ù MÈ* 40) *dáp-ni-iš iz-zi-zu-ú-ni*, Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 244 (text A.0.78.5); the same is said in other texts, such as no. 6, 18 and 20, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 247 (text A.0.78.6); 266 (text A.0.78.18); 268 (text A.0.78.20) and others.

⁶³ 46) *it-ti* 40-*a* MAN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *Na-i-ri* 47) *i-na qé-reb ta-ḥa-zi lu am-da-ḥa-aš* 48) *a-bi-ik-tu um-ma-na-te-šu-nu áš-ku-un* 49) *kúl-la-at* KUR.KUR-*šu-nu a-bél* MAN.MEŠ KUR.KUR *Na-i-ri* 50) *ša-tu-nu i-na be-re-et* ZABAR GÚ.MEŠ-*šu-nu* 51) *ar-pi-iq a-na É-kur* KUR-*i* GAL-*i* 52) *É tu-kúl-ti-ia a-na ma-ḥar* ^d*Aš-šur* 53) EN-*ia lu-bi-la-šu-nu-ti*, Grayson, *op. cit.*, p. 272 (text A.0.78.23).

leadership. The leadership of Pišendēn of Itabalḫum is a clear example (see Chapter Six). There is also the Subarian Zinnum, who attacked Ešnunna in the last years of Ibbi-Sîn's reign (Chapter Five). He appears to have been the king who led a cluster of Subarian kingdoms or principedoms, since the text mentions only Zinnum as king, without other Subarian rulers. The allusion to Immaškuš, the Lullubian king of kings mentioned in the Hittite text, is also a good example, assuming the narrative is historically reliable. In the MA period too the Hurrian kingdoms of Northern Mesopotamia in Nairi and Šubartu allied together under the command of Ehli-Teššup, the king of Alzi to confront Tukulti-Ninurta I:

All the land of the Šubaru, the entirety of Mount Kašiyari as far as the land Alzu, which previously, during the reign of Šalmaneser (I), king of the universe, my father, had rebelled and withheld tribute, had united itself under one command. I prayed to the god Aššur and the great gods, my lords, (and) marched up to Mount Kašiyari. (As) with a bridle I controlled the land of the Šubartu, the land Alzu, and their allied kings. I conquered the great cult centre of the land Purulimzu. I burnt them (the inhabitants) alive (and) the remnants of [their] army I took as captives. I conquered four strong capitals of Ehli-Teššup, king of the land Alzu, (and) six rebellious cities of the land Amadanu.⁶⁴

These instances are reminiscent of the Roman office of *dictator*, when leaders were temporarily endowed with an extraordinary magistracy to deal with military (and later domestic) crises.⁶⁵

Why did the prevailing socio-political pattern in the mountainous regions consist of numerous small entities, even within the same territory and the same ethnicity, while the model presented by kingdoms like Simurrum or Gutium does not suggest such a pattern? The numerous small entities pattern covered the whole region from Subartum and Nairi down to Šimaški, but was restricted to the mountainous territories of the Taurus and Zagros,⁶⁶ except for Lullubum. The core area of the latter was the Plain of Shahrazūr, but we should not forget that their land had extensions into the mountainous territories to the east (to the regions of modern Mariwān⁶⁷ in Iran and perhaps further) and to the north and northwest, where Aššurnasirpal fought Lullubian kingdoms in mountainous lands.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Col. iii 30) KUR Šu-ba-ri-i 31) ka-la-ša si-^rhír^r-ti KUR Ka-ši-ia-ri 32) a-di KUR Al-zi šá i-na pa-na ana tar-ši 33) BAL.MEŠ^{md} Šul-ma-nu-SAG MAN KIŠ 34) a-bi-ia ib-bal-ki-tu-ma 35) ta-mar-ta-šú-nu ik-lu-ú 36) pa-a 1-en mi-it-ḫa-ri-iš 37) iš-ša-ak-nu ana^d A-šur ù DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ 38) EN.MEŠ-ia qa-ti aš-ši 39) ana KUR Ka-ši-ia-ri e-li 40) KUR Šu-ba-ri-i KUR Al-zi ù 'LUGAL.MEŠ' 41) ra-i-ši-šú-nu i-na rap-pi 42) lu ú-la-iṭ ma-ḫa-za GAL-a 43) šá KUR Pu-ru-lim-zi ak-šud 44) bal-tu-su-nu i-na IZI aq-lu 45) ši-ta-at um-ma-na-ti-[šú-na] Col. iv 1) ana šal-[la-t]i lu am-nu 4 URU be-lu-ti-šu 2) dan-nu-ti [ša^mE]ḫ-li-Te-šub MAN KUR Al-z[i] 3) 6 URU.DIDLI šap-šu-ti šá KUR A-ma-da-ni 4) lu ak-šud, Grayson, *op. cit.*, p. 236 (text A.0.78.1).

⁶⁵ Cf. Hammond, N. G. L. and H. H. Scullard (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford, 1970, p. 339.

⁶⁶ Later, in the same region of Tūr-^cAbdīn, Tiglath-Pileser I fought five Mušku kings in the Kašiyari Mountains, cf. Grayson, *RIMA 2*, p. 14 (text A.0.87.1).

⁶⁷ Shalmaneser III mentions "the sea" of inner Zamua in his annals, a sea identified with Lake Zirēbār near Mariwān, or Lake Urmia; cf. Chapter Two.

⁶⁸ For details, cf. the annals of Aššurnasirpal II in Grayson, *RIMA 2*.

The water sources in this region are basically springs, which can support limited communities and limited irrigated cultivation, as happens nowadays.⁶⁹ The springs themselves are quite numerous but small in size and the quantity of water they supply is limited. The agricultural lands as well are restricted to the foothills and narrow strips of plain lands between the mountain ranges. Elsewhere there are either bushes (that need much labour to make the land suitable for cultivation) or it is rocky terrain that cannot be cultivated. These two factors, especially water resources, have imposed a pattern of settlements that is marked by small sized, scattered and isolated units with self-sufficient communities. Furthermore, the rugged landscape, intersected by endless mountain chains and water courses, has increased the isolation and independence of these communities. The positive side of this pattern is that it guarantees the survival of the population thanks to four factors: a) self-sufficiency: agriculture and animal husbandry of a small settlement and the natural wild products of its surroundings can produce and provide almost everything it needs to feed its population, a characteristic of the Kurdish villages even now; b) the natural defence the mountainous territory offers: for comparison, the demolition of the city walls of Southern Mesopotamia by Sargon of Agade, to prevent them from revolt again by depriving them of their defences, was impossible in these regions; c) casualties caused by natural disasters remain limited in number and range because the population lives in small groups and is scattered over a wide area, in contrast to a similar disaster in a large urban centre; d) in the same way, an attacking enemy can kill or capture only a limited number of the population; in addition scattered groups can warn other neighbouring settlements to flee before the arrival of enemy troops. The modern village communities of the region are tied with each other in a web of social relations⁷⁰ and family relations, which seems a good parallel to the situation in antiquity. If this is correct, the ancient villagers would have been more eager and serious about warning each other in times of impending danger.

Nonetheless, this has also negative sides. Such a pattern cannot build a powerful united kingdom based on centralized administration. The self-sufficiency and independent life-style weakens centralization trends and undermines any attempt at unification. The difficulty of communications and interruptions because of the ruggedness of landscape and severity of climate, be it winter snow or spring-time fast-flowing currents,⁷¹ hinder the emergence of any effective central administration on the one hand, and ease the dismemberment of a state on the other, should one or more elements decide to separate. Another negative side is that small scattered communities do not have the same chances as large communities have to grow into more complex institutionalised societies comparable to those known in the large urban centres. Here, less complex societies with less specialization appear. The result of these negative sides is a politically passive socio-political pattern that is not taking part in the power games

⁶⁹ In the mountainous regions small fields of vegetables are irrigated by spring waters gathered in cisterns specially built for that purpose. These fields, which have to be below the level of the spring and the cistern, are called *barāw*, “below-water.” They are much more expensive than dry-farming fields because they are limited.

⁷⁰ Barth, F., *Principles of Social Organization in Southern Kurdistan*, Oslo, 1953, p. 16.

⁷¹ Both cases are attested in, for instance, the Shemshāra letters. The first by the retainer Kušiya of Šamšī-Adad, who could not reach his lord when the routes from Šušarrā to Šubat-Enlil were snowbound. The second by Išme-Dagan, who could not pursue the Turukkeans further because the river flooded. For the texts and translations, cf. Chapters Six (1 = SH 809) and Seven (*ARM* 4, 23).

the communities of the plains play, unless there is a catastrophe that pushes them towards the plains, such as famine, drought, earthquake or an outbreak of an epidemic. In some cases, these regions were a strategic extension of plain polities. The relationship of Urkeš with the north is one of these.⁷² The material culture of Urkeš shows a culture whose cradle was in the old rural Hurrian communities of the northern highlands, in northern and eastern Anatolia. This is likely evidence that the Hurrians of Urkeš came from these highlands and have kept their ties with their kinsmen there. It seems that the Turukkeans had similar ties later in the OB period with the eastern and northeastern mountains. When the Gutians attacked them from the rear, while the Turukkean troops were on duty in Qaṭṭara, they were compelled to withdraw. In a letter to Ḥaḡba-aḡum, they wondered whether they should leave the lands they currently held and go to the mountains. The idea of going to the mountains to live when their current holdings were lost can very probably be a reflection of the association the Turukkeans felt with their ‘original homeland’ in the Zagros Mountains. In the letter they said:

The Gutians threaten us, yes; we are ourselves for sure in a position of weakness now. Facing the Gutians, are we going to abandon our homes? The Gutians arrive now indeed. Shall we be driven out of everywhere we currently hold? Shall we reach the mountains? Shall we look for a soil to live on? And you, that is it?⁷³

The absence of allusions to the pattern of small scattered polities in relation to Simurrum and Gutium can be taken as a sign of their being what can be called one-unit states. This is quite possible in fact inasmuch as their lands were not mountainous; rather they were located in the plains of modern Garmiyān. Although still largely a dry-farming zone, Simurrum was a state centred on a central city located at the junction of a river with its tributary (see Chapter Five). The plain landscape and the rivers were ideal for effective communications needed for the administration of a state⁷⁴ and, as H. Weiss stated, important for the nucleation of population and settlements.⁷⁵ The same must be valid for other states we know little about, such as Karḡar and probably Ḥumurtum, assuming the latter was an independent polity. As to Gutium, the case is somewhat complicated. The Gutians lived in a region to the north of Simurrum up to the Lower Zāb, probably including Arrapḡa and Gasur, but they seem also to have had extensions in relatively large parts of modern Iran, as far as Luristan to the south of Kirmashān (see Chapter Two). This extension to Iran is assumed from OB period evidence, from incursions made into the Turukkean core land, presumably into the Urmia Basin (Chapter Six), and also from the Gutian Queen Nawarītum, who fought the Elamites and once led an army of 10,000 troops towards Larsa (see Chapters Two and Seven). Unfortunately no Gutian cities are known to us except for an allusion in the MA royal inscriptions to “cities” in the land of Uquma/enu, a Gutian kingdom in that period (see Chapter Three).

⁷² Touched upon by M. Kelly-Buccellati in Kelly-Buccellati, M., “Urkes and the North...,” *SCCNH* 15 (2005), p. 30 and 40.

⁷³ For the transliteration and bibliographical reference, cf. Chapter Seven.

⁷⁴ The use of the river in Simurrum for communication is pointed to in the Sumerian proverb “Between the basket and the boat (are) the fields of Simurrum,” cf. the discussion on this in Chapter Five.

⁷⁵ Weiss, H., ““Civilizing” the Habur Plains: Mid-Third Millennium State Formation at Tell Leilan,” *Resurrecting the Past, A Joint Tribute to Adnan Bounni*, eds. P. Matthiae, M. Van Loon and H. Weiss, Istanbul, 1990, p. 387 (with bibliography).

This absence is more probably a reference to the non-sedentary life-style of the Gutians,⁷⁶ as the modern *Jāf* tribes were until a century ago.⁷⁷ Although there is no explicit textual reference to plurality of kings among the Gutians, we have already suggested in Chapter Three that there was a great Gutian king who was king of a number of minor kings or tribal chiefs. This kind of hierarchy was, we think, not due to a direct geographical factor in this case, but more probably was due to the semi-nomadic lifestyle of the Gutians. Yet the absence of any mention of plurality may indicate that the geographical conditions in their land had helped this great king to strengthen his administration and consolidate his authority to a degree that he overshadowed the junior kings under him; hence they were not mentioned. That a nomadic people formed a powerful state that was able to conquer other countries should not surprise us, for there are numerous other examples in history, as Kradin states: “nomads have many times united into political formations and created great empires which have after time disintegrated.”⁷⁸

The situation is reversed in the Gutian kingdom of Uqumanu. Tukulti-Ninurta I campaigned against this kingdom in his first regnal year. Since the territory of this kingdom was mountainous, as the text clearly states, it has left its effect on the socio-political organization. The text speaks here of a federation of numerous princes led by the king Abulê. The geographical conditions seem to have changed even the lifestyle of the Gutians of this kingdom, from a non-sedentary people to a sedentary one with fortified cities. For convenience and exactness, the text is cited below:

[At the beginning of] my sovereignty I marched to the land of the Uq[umenu]. The entire land of the Qutu [I made (look) like] ruin hills (created by) the deluge (and) I surrounded their army with a circle of sandstorms. At that time they *banded together* against my army in rugged (and) very mountainous terrain. They fiercely took up position for armed conflict. Trusting in Aššur and the great gods, my lords, I struck (and) brought about their defeat. I filled the caves and ravines of the mountains with their corpses. I made heaps of their corpses [like grain piles] beside their gates. Their cities I destroyed, ravaged, (and) turned into hills. [...] (Thus) I became lord of the extensive land of the Qutu. With joy and excellence I stood over them. The hordes of princes of Abulê, king of the land of Uqumenu, I captured (and) brought them bound to my city, Aššur. I made them swear by the great gods of heaven (and) underworld...
The land of the distant Qutu, the paths to which are extremely difficult and the terrain of which [is unsuitable] for the movement of my army ...⁷⁹

⁷⁶ There is also the possibility, although faint, that this absence was due only to the negligence of the ancient scribes.

⁷⁷ Also for a comparison with these tribes in terms of the title of the tribal heads, cf. Chapter Three.

⁷⁸ Kradin, N. N., Nomadic Empires in Evolutionary Perspective, in *The Early State, its Alternatives and Analogues*, p. 502.

⁷⁹ ii 14) [ina šurrū(?) L]gal-^ti-ia 15) ^ana³ KUR Ú-q[u-me-ni lu] a-lik 16) si-^hir-ti KUR Qu-ti 17) ki-ma DU₆ a-bu-^bi⁷ [lu ušēmi(?) 18) um-ma-na-[te]-šū-nu 19) si-^hir a-šām-šá-ti 20) lu ú-šal-me 21) ⁱna u⁴-me-š[u-ma i-n]a aš-ri 22) nam-ra-ši hur-šá-ni dan-nu-ti 23) a-na pa-ni um-ma-n[a]-te-ia 24) in-ni-ni-ma 25) ana MURUB₄ ú ta-^ha-zi 26) dáp-niš iz-zi-zu-ni 27) ana ^dA-šur ú DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ 28) EN.MEŠ-ia [a]t-kal-ma 29) it-ti-šū-nu am-da-^ha-aš 30) a-bi-ik-ta-šū-nu aš-ku-un 31) šal-ma-te-šū-nu 32) hur-ri ú mu[š-pa-li] 33) šá KUR-i lu-mel-li 34) i-ta-at KÁ.GAL-šū-nu 35) šal-ma-su-nu[kīma karé(?) 36) lu ú-še-pi-ik 37) URU.URU-šū-nu a-púl 38) a-qur a-na DU₆ ú kar-me 39) ú-tir [...] 40) [māt] Qu-ti-i DAGAL-ta iii 1) a-bél i-na hu-ud lib-bi ú me-tel-lu-te UGU-šū-nu lu at-^rta-zi⁷-iz 2) ^mA-bu-le-e MAN KUR Ú-qu-me-ni gu-un-ni ma-li-ki-šū qa-ti ik-šud 3) šal-l[a-su-nu ka-m]u-su-nu a-na URU-ia ^dA-šur lu ú-bi-la 4) [niš(?) ilāni].MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šá AN KI ú-tam-<mi>-šū-nu-[t]i ...

That the Gutian territory at this time extended to mountainous regions in the north is indicated by the inscription of Šalmaneser I, who claims to have destroyed their land from the border of Uruaṭri (= later Urartu) to Kutmuḫu (see Chapter Two).

Eidem and Læssøe noted that Kuwari did not receive orders from his overlord, King Pišendēn, as was the case with the subjects of Šamšī-Adad and Zimri-Lim for instance. Instead he received requests, imprecations and words of advice.⁸⁰ Now that we have discussed the socio-political situation in the Zagros Mountains, we can understand this contrast. In a region where political unity and social integrity were fragile, a flexible and soft policy was the ideal means to maintain alliances and cordial relations between groups. This certainly contributed to the formation of the socio-political mentality in this region, as is reflected in the diplomatic language used in the Shemshāra letters of the Pre-Assyrian domination phase. There one notes, for instance, the parity relationship not only in the traditional addressing of each other as “brother,” but also in the sequence of persons. The sender always mentions the addressee before himself. Moreover, the word brother, symbolizing parity and equality, had a special position in these letters and in the Hurrian society in general, for so many Hurrian PNs have the component *šen*, ‘brother.’ Examples can be found in the introductions of the Shemshāra letters. The letter no. 34=SH 826 from Sîn-išme’anni begins first of all with news of the brother of Kuwari, then with his own news, followed by referring to the house and wife: “Secondly: your brother who loves you, and I who love you are well, and [your] house [is well], but Šip-šarri, your maid ...” Note here that “I” follows “he,” in contrast to the letters sent by Assyrians. Letter 35 = SH 822 similarly states, “The king is well. The city of Kunšum, your brother, your estate, your wife, and your sons, and I who love you, are well.”⁸¹ The sequence shows brother directly after the king and the capital, before the estate and even before the sons, and “I” comes in the very end.

The patterns discussed above lead to the conclusion that there were three types of socio-political organization in the region: the small scattered polities, the one-unit polity, and a nomadic type of polity. According to parallels from later times, the nomadic type must have consisted of groups and sub-sections bound by kinship that moved between winter and summer resorts on fixed tracks. These resorts can be as much as 250 km apart,⁸² for example the winter resorts of a section of the *Jāf* are located in Qizil-Ribāt near Khanaqīn and the summer resorts round Halabja.⁸³ Another *Jāf* section, the Mika’ili, had the habit of moving between Sangāw and Bāneh in modern Iranian Kurdistan.⁸⁴ Such movements must have caused confusion for ancient Mesopotamians in determining the homelands of these nomads. Such nomadic and semi-nomadic movements were, and still are today, the cause of considerable overlap and interference of tribal domains, and consequently the names of lands were mostly derived from ethnonyms.

8) KUR *Qu-ti-i né-su-ti šá ar-ḫu-šu-nu šu-up-šu-qa-ma a-na me-te-eq um-ma-ni-ia* 9) [*lā natū*], Grayson, *RIMA 2*, p. 234-5 (text A.0.78.1).

⁸⁰ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁸¹ For the transliterations of both letters, cf. Chapter Six.

⁸² Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁸³ Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 14. For more examples, cf. Kramer, C., “Pots and People,” *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*, p. 101.

⁸⁴ Edmonds, C. J., *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, Oxford, 1957, p. 147.

One concludes, then, that the conditions in the region under study, particularly the mountainous regions, would have remained as small scattered polities or petty-states⁸⁵ if there was no influence or threat from the southern powers. The conditions there would not necessitate a larger and more complex system than those small units, but the threat from the major powers compelled them to organize themselves in confederations and state conglomerations that developed into larger far-flung states. Some of these large unified kingdoms, like the Gutian, Simurrian and Turukkean kingdoms, covered large areas, almost the whole region under study, as with Turukkum. Under other circumstances, the organization of the northern communities would have remained as small-scale socio-political polities, best suited to dispersed populations in mountainous regions. As discussed above, the dependence of the population of the region on rain for cultivation and springs for personal use and small-scale irrigated agriculture meant the population had to live in small scattered communities. This is true with the exception of some relatively large communities in the urban centres of the Habur and Erbil-Kirkuk Plains. Harvey Weiss is correct when he notices that the absence of enough navigable rivers in the region as a whole has made them dependent on inefficient land transport, which constrained the nucleation of populations and settlements.⁸⁶

There existed, of course, peaceful relations between the highlands and the plains of the region. There is textual evidence of, for example, Lullubeans doing business in Gasur, Arrapha and Nuzi (see Chapter Two), and of commoners from Qaṭṭunān going to Šubartum in search of work and food in some Mari letters (*ARM* 27, 26 and *ARM* 27, 80).⁸⁷ This was not always by individuals but happened in large groups as well. The Turukkean migration from their assumed land in the Urmia Basin and the Azerbaijān region to the plains of Erbil and Kirkuk and later to the Habur is a good example (see Chapter Seven). A good parallel to this episode may be the expansion of the Kurdish Dizayee tribe around one and a half centuries ago. According to oral traditions, they originate from the same region. They began to penetrate the Iraqi side of Kurdistan to the Erbil Plain,⁸⁸ taking the villages and lands as far as those close to the Tigris banks, where they were checked back by the Arab tribes. The Turukkean expansion into Northern Transtigris and Northern Mesopotamia (including Northern Syria) must have been a similar episode, but it was apparently wider ranging and more successful; they reached Nineveh and then the Habur cities. The Gutian insistence on crushing the Turukkean power as recorded in the Shemshāra and the Mari letters must have been a reaction to the Hurrian (= Turukkean) penetration into the Gutian territories in the plains of modern Kirkuk. The later Hurrianized cities of Nuzi, Arrapha, Kurruḥani and others indicate that the Hurrians won the struggle in the end.

The Urmia Basin and the Azerbaijān region had always been densely populated places (including in the OB period), for they were agriculturally rich and productive. The factor that pushed the Turukkeans out of their land into the regions of Rāniya and further west

⁸⁵ Or 'micro-states' as Yoffee calls the early, territorially small states, cf. *op. cit.* p. 17.

⁸⁶ For this, cf. Weiss, " 'Civilizing' the Habur Plains....," p. 387 (with bibliography). Weiss's statement is about the Habur, but it is also true for the whole region under study in general.

⁸⁷ For these letters, cf. Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, p. 420 and 438.

⁸⁸ Cf. also:

(www.al-mostafa.com (نسخة اونلاين من: ص. ٢٣٢٦، ج. ٢، عشاير العراق، عباس، عشاير العراق، ج. ٢، ص. ٣٣٦).)

[al-^cAzzāwi, A., *Tribes of Iraq*, vol. 2: Kurdish Tribes, p. 336 (in Arabic; online PDF version: www.al-mostafa.com), who points only to their Iranian origin.

seems to have been the Gutian warfare against their kingdoms and its consequences, as documented in the Shemshāra letters.⁸⁹ In these events, the Rāniya Plain played a crucial role: it was the source of foodstuff for the lords of the Turukkean kingdom,⁹⁰ the destination of the refugees and, most importantly, the place where the spark of the Turukkean uprising was lit.⁹¹

Although we think that the name Turukkeans was applied in the documents of this period to the Hurrians in general, not exclusively to the refugees and deportees from Utūm (see Chapter Seven), those who were refugees and deportees must have played an important role in the cultural exchange. One expects, as Eidem and Læssøe do,⁹² that they have maintained contacts with the other Turukkeans who remained in the Zagros or the Urmia Region, and through this mutual relationship many cultural elements must have been exchanged between the two regions, the *homeland* and the *new land* they settled, in other words, between Northwestern Iran and Northern Mesopotamia. It is important to note in this regard that with the considerable expansion of the Turukkeans to the west under Zaziya, Itabalḥum still was a prestigious name; Zaziya bore the title ‘*nuldān* of Itabalḥum’ on his seal, the impression of which is found in Mari (see Chapter Six). This further proves the close relations they maintained with their homeland.

The widespread kingdom the Turukkeans built in the Mari period under the leadership of Zaziya must have played a significant cultural role in addition to its political role. The kingdom that stretched from the Habur region across the Hilly Arc and the mountains to the north of it, to the east Tigris Plains probably as far as the Turukkean homeland in Urmia Region (with certain enclaves for other non-Turukkeans), was a unifying factor. Such a kingdom, that provided a political framework for the whole region mentioned must have facilitated the transport and exchange of cultural elements as well as goods and products. However, it is difficult to imagine that the unification of the different Turukkean tribes and clans which resulted in such an extensive state was achieved by war alone. Domestically the Turukkeans could have reached some kind of agreement, with reconciliation where necessary, to achieve a unity. Here it is appropriate to cite the example of the Hasanwahi state, centuries later in the Eastern Zagros region, and to offer an overview of its comparable features.

The Hasanwahi state was founded by two generals, Wandād and Ghānim, sons of Ahmed, in the 10th century AD; it lasted until the beginning of the 11th century.⁹³ These were generals of troops mobilized from Barzikāni Kurds who succeeded in the conquest of large parts of western Iran, including the regions of Dīnawar, Hamadān, Nihāwand, Ṣamghān, districts in Azerbaijan as far as Shahrazūr for a period of some 50 years.⁹⁴ After the death of the two brothers (Wandād in 349 AH / AD 960 and Ghānim in 350 AH / AD 961), their nephew, Hasanwaih bin al-Hussain al-Kurdi, replaced them and ruled the

⁸⁹ Eidem and Laessoe, *The Shemshāra Archives 1*, p. 28.

⁹⁰ This does not contradict the fact that the Urmia Basin was rich and fertile if we remember that the region was under Gutian threat and their grain, the Shemshāra letters state, was set on fire on three or four successive years.

⁹¹ The spark for the general Kurdish uprising against the former Iraqi regime in 1991 was also lit in Rāniya, which is a striking similarity.

⁹² Eidem and Læssøe, *ibid.*

⁹³ Cahen, Cl., “Ḥasanwayh,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. III, Leiden, 1971, p. 258.

⁹⁴ ابن الاثير، *الكامل في التاريخ*، ج. ٧، بيروت، ١٩٨٧، ص. ٣٨٨.

[Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fit-Tarīḥ*, vol. 7, Beirut, 1987, p. 388 (in Arabic)].

kingdom until 369 AH / AD 979. When Hasanwaih extended his sway westwards to Shahrazūr, the Buwaihids under Mu^ciz ad-Dawla felt worried about his ambitions and sent troops to Shahrazūr under the command of Yanal Kush to push him back to the east. Hasanwaih, however, defeated this army by cutting off its way to the west of Erbil.⁹⁵ Although the Buwaihid sultan sent another army against him and succeeded in plundering and burning the city of Dīnawar, he was finally compelled to make peace with Hasanwaih. In 356 AH / AD 967, the war broke out again between Hasanwaih and the Buwaihid sultan Bakhtyār, son of Mu^ciz ad-Dawla, but the victory of Hasanwaih was soon followed by peace in the year after. As a result of this peace, and at the demand of Hasanwaih, both parties undertook a successful attack on the Ḥmadānids of Northern Syria to take over their territories up to the Upper Zāb by Hasanwaih.⁹⁶ In 359 AH / AD 970, Rukn-ad-Dawla, the Buwaihid sultan, ordered his vizier Ibn al-^cAmīd, to march against Hasanwaih, but Ibn al-^cAmīd died in Hamadān, so his son made peace with Hasanwaih.⁹⁷ After the death of Hasanwaih in 369 AH / AD 979 in Sarmāj, the fortress he built south of Bēsūtūn,⁹⁸ his numerous sons disputed for the throne. ^cAdhad ad-Dawla, the Buwaihid sultan, took his opportunity and campaigned against their territories, captured some of them and installed one of the sons of Hasanwaih, Badr bin Hasanwaih, and supported him to become a powerful king.⁹⁹ In 377 AH / AD 987, the Buwaihid sultan Sharaf ad-Dawla sent his troops against Badr, but the latter inflicted a bitter defeat upon the army of the sultan. As a result of this victory he expanded his kingdom by controlling the *jibāl* (= mountains) province and became stronger.¹⁰⁰ Later, in 388 AH / AD 998, he was endowed the title *nāṣir al-dīn wad-dawla* (protector/aid of religion and state) by the Abbasid Caliph Al-Qādir, which was a highly esteemed and prestigious title.¹⁰¹ Badr remained a powerful influential king until he was killed by some of his soldiers in 405 AH / AD 1014 during the siege of Kuṣhad.¹⁰² Towards the end of his reign, the kingdom comprised Sābūr Kh^wāst, Dīnawar, Burūjird, Nihāwand, Asadābād, Ḥalwān Qarmīsīn (= Kirmashān), several districts of Ahwāz, in addition occasionally to Shahrazūr.¹⁰³

⁹⁵ الهاشمي، ج. ن.، "الإمارة الحسنوية في الدينور و الشهبوزور،" *مكتوباتي كوربي زانباري كورد،* بهرگي ۳-بهشي ۱ (۱۹۷۵)، ص. ۷۳۴

[al-Hashimi, J. N., "The Hasanwaihid Principedom in Dinawar and Shahrazūr," *Journal of the Kurdish Academy*, vol. 3, part 1 (1975), p. 734 (in Arabic)].

⁹⁶ الهاشمي، نفس المصدر السابق، ص. ۷۳۵. [al-Hashimi, *op. cit.*, p. 735].

⁹⁷ ابن الاثير، نفس المصدر السابق، ص. ۳۱۹. [Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.* p. 319].

البديسي، شرفخان، شرفنامه، ترجمة محمد جميل الروزياني، بغداد، الطبعة الثالثة، ۲۰۰۷، ص. ۱۰۵.

[al-Badlīsī, Sharafkhān, *Sharafnameh*, translated to Arabic by M. J. Rōzhhayāni, Baghdad, 3rd edition 2007, p. 105 (in Arabic)].

⁹⁸ الهاشمي، نفس المصدر السابق، ص. ۷۳۶. [al-Hashimi, *op. cit.*, p. 734].

⁹⁸ ابن كثير، البداية و النهاية، ج. ۱۵، القاهرة، ۱۹۹۸، ص. ۳۹۸.

[Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wan-Nihāya*, vol. 15, Cairo, 1998, p. 398 (in Arabic)]; cf. also Cahen, *ibid.*

⁹⁹ ابن الاثير، نفس المصدر السابق، ص. ۳۸۸. [Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, p. 388].

¹⁰⁰ ابن الاثير، ص. ۴۳۰. [Ibn al-Athīr, p. 430].

¹⁰¹ ابن كثير، ج. ۱۵، ص. ۴۷۸ و ۵۵۷. [Ibn Kathīr, *op. cit.*, vol. 15, p. 478 and 557].

¹⁰² ابن الاثير، ج. ۸، ص. ۸۳. [Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, vol. 8, p. 83].

Or Kusjad, according to Sharfkhān: *ibid.*

¹⁰³ ابن الاثير، ج. ۸، ص. ۴۰ و ۸۳. [Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, p. 40 and 83]; Cahen, *ibid.*

The history of this kingdom is interesting. Its founders were military generals. If our interpretation of the word *nuldān(um)* as a military title held by the Turukkeans is correct (see Chapter Six; the use of *ḥanizārum* is probably another military title), it would offer a good parallel to the military positions the Turukkean chiefs occupied. The Hasanwahi state is also a good example of a state that could cover such a vast territory, from Susiana (= Ahwāz) to Azerbaijān and Shahrazūr up to the Upper Zāb, including rugged mountainous regions. However, one important note is that the centre of power of this kingdom was not in a mountainous region, rather in the plains of Hamadān and Kirmashān. Similarly, the capital of the Turukkeans must have been located somewhere in the plains of Urmia region. More important is that the lands round the Hasanwahi kingdom were also populated by the Barzikāni Kurds, the same tribe of the ruling family, as indicated for instance by the mention of the revolt of the Barzikāni chieftain, whose domain was near Qumm.¹⁰⁴ This fact points to the ethnic extension of these tribes to regions as far north as modern Tehran, providing a strategic ethnic depth for the state. From the west, towards Qarmīsīn and Ḥulwān, another Kurdish tribe, the Shadhinjān, particularly the °Annāzid¹⁰⁵ family, had been rivals of the Hasanwaihids for as long as anyone could remember.¹⁰⁶ One may assume that the rivalry with the Shadhinjāns to their west was one of the reasons why the Hasanwaihids remained inside the Eastern Zagros, except for Shahrazūr and the Upper Zāb in the north. Had they been able to bring the Shadhinjāns to their side they would probably have extended their rule to most of the western Zagros. The Turukkeans on their part seem to have crossed this obstacle, either by warfare or by peaceful means or simply thanks to more ethnic homogeneity of their region of influence.

A good example of a powerful extensive state in the same region under study is the Sorān principedom. This principedom was founded sometime in the 16th century AD, but reached its zenith under Prince Muhammed Rawāndizi, who ruled from AD 1808 or 1813 until 1836.¹⁰⁷ Thanks to his political, organizational and military abilities, he became within a few years “the most prominent prince in Kurdistan”¹⁰⁸ and his principedom was the most powerful one at that time.¹⁰⁹ He commenced by conquering the small principalities to the north of Rawāndiz: Bradōst (1816), Litan and Shirwān.¹¹⁰ Then he conquered Margawar, Mahabād, Lahijān and probably Shinō (= Ushnawiyeh)¹¹¹ on the Iranian side. Afterwards he conquered Erbil and Pirdē (= Altun Kopri), probably in 1824,¹¹² and took the districts of Harīr, Rāniya and Kōy Sanjaq, which were under the rule of the Babān principedom. By now he had reached the Lower Zāb. In 1833 he began his campaign on Behdinān principedom and its capital Amēdi. First he took Akrē (°Aqrah) by force, a decisive victory that made Amēdi surrender without a fight.¹¹³ This victory ended the rule of the Behdinān principedom, and Prince Muhammed marched towards

¹⁰⁴ Cahen, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Or °Ayyārid, according to others.

¹⁰⁶ Cahen, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Nebes, *Die Kurdische Fürst*, p. 46 and 73 (Arabic version).

¹⁰⁸ Millingen, F., *The Wild Life among the Kurds*, London, 1870 (referred to by Nebes, *op. cit.*, p. 57).

¹⁰⁹ Nebes, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹¹⁰ Nebes, p. 126.

¹¹¹ Only one report lists Shinō among the conquered cities, Nebes, p. 127-8.

¹¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹¹³ *Op. cit.*, 136.

Duhōk, Zakhō and Sinjār and took them. These victories encouraged the prince to attack the principedom of Botān, with its central city Jazīra (modern Cizre), and approached both Mardin and Nusaibin.¹¹⁴

Prince Muhammed's capital, the city of Rawāndiz, located in a naturally well-defended position and at the intersection of the communications of the region, was an important advantage that helped the principedom to reach such a position. The city is located on the routes that link Mosul and Erbil with Mahabād in the Urmia Basin.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, Prince Muhammed was aware of the key elements needed to build a powerful principedom, among which were good administration, a well-organized army and the capability of manufacturing weapons, all of which he did successfully.¹¹⁶

This principedom was located in a rugged mountainous terrain but could become a major power of the region, even though only for a short time. Its economy was the traditional self-efficient dry-farming agriculture and animal husbandry,¹¹⁷ but what appears to have helped him in financing his campaigns were war spoils and the conquest of the fertile plains of Erbil, and further west he had the control of the important trade routes mentioned above. Similarly, the conquest of the Erbil Plains by Zaziya was a great support for the Turukkean kingdom, and a fatal blow for the kingdom of Išme-Dagan. After this his kingdom suffered from grain shortages and his army began to starve. This shortage was not caused by drought, since grain was available in Kawalḥum, as stated in the letter *ARM* 26, 491 (cf. Chapter Seven).

Sorān provides a clear example of a mountainous state that can expand and unify a vast area without having rich irrigated arable plains or major navigable rivers that help the nucleation of population. The circumstances and historical events of this principedom bear the characteristics of ancient Kakmum. The range of influence of Sorān in the south, in Rāniya and Kōy Sanjaq, being out of reach of the centre of Kakmum itself, and its attack on Pirdē, close to ancient Qabrā, are all parallels to ancient Kakmum. If Kakmum was in Rawāndiz (the second, most probable, option discussed in Chapter Six), Sorān can be considered a late reflection of Kakmum.

Both the polities of Hasanwaihi and Sorān show how it is possible for a state to expand over a vast rugged area within a few years. In this regard, it should not be surprising that the Gutians may have reached the Urmia Basin to the core land of the Turukkeans as assumed in Chapter Six.

In discussing the history of the region under study, the Amorites are unavoidably important. Their immigrations to Mesopotamia as a whole changed its shape and history. They infiltrated the Habur region to form an additional Semitic element to the ancient Semites who are attested there from the third millennium BC and probably earlier. They also penetrated the west and east Tigris plains. The presence of Hurrian elements to the north of the Hilly Arc together with Amorites, as the PNs indicate, means that this part was not wholly dominated by the newcomers, but rather the Hurrians; other probable indigenous elements could maintain their positions. The same is valid for the east Tigris

¹¹⁴ Nebes, *op. cit.*, p. 138, for these conquests and the range of his principedom cf. also Nikitin, B., "Rawāndiz," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VIII, Leiden, 1995, p. 463.

¹¹⁵ Nikitine, *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Cf. for details Nebes, *op. cit.*, p. 75-7; 117.

¹¹⁷ Nebes, *op. cit.*, p. 119-22. He refers also to the reports of Dr. Roos, who had personally visited the principedom and the city of Rawāndiz.

plains, where few Hurrian PNs appear in the texts which show an Amorite majority (for example see Chapters Six and Seven). However, the small number of non-Amorites here, as the records show, should not be taken as an indicator to their scarcity. The written documents concern the ruling elites and their affairs, the Amorites, and do not necessarily reflect the overall ethnic pattern. A similar case was discussed in Chapter Two, the case of Gasur. In Gasur, a large proportion of the PNs recorded in the documents were Akkadian, which was taken by some as a sign of a dominant Semitic population in Gasur at that time. Nevertheless, we tried to show that the archive must have concerned a group of people, most probably Akkadians, who lived in the city and did business with the local population, causing the frequent attestation of Akkadian names. The PN proportions from Gasur, then, should not be taken as an indicator of the ethnic background of the city population as a whole, for everyone was not necessarily involved in the business activities. The same must be true for the indigenous population of the East Tigris plains, who have by this time formed the substratum of the Amorite kingdoms of the region and were not directly and actively involved in the political affairs of the new masters.

It is important to note that some of these Amorites have infiltrated deep into regions close to the foothills, but not into the mountains and mountain valleys themselves. One example is the kingdom of Aḥazum, of which the centre was at modern Taqtaq. It appears to have controlled a large surrounding area up to the Kōy Sanjaq Plain. The eastern border of Aḥazum reached the Dukān gorge, which was the beginning of the land Utûm, the modern Rāniya Plain. Although these Amorites were newcomers, who would have been seen as invaders by the locals, we saw that the Hurrians (Turukkeans) had good relations with some of them. In some cases, such relations lasted for more than one generation, as indicated by the letter of Pišendēn to Yašub-Addu (see Chapter Six, letter 67 = SH 816), in which he points to the old alliance between their kingdoms since the times of their fathers and grandfathers. At the same time we saw the deep hatred Puzur-Sîn, the ‘Assyrian,’ expressed towards Šamšī-Adad I in his inscription from Assur, describing him as a foreign plague, not of the flesh of (the city of) Aššur (see Chapter Seven). The Nurrageans, shortly after the conquest of their land by Šamšī-Adad, contributed to the siege of Turukkeans in Amursakkum (*ARM* I, 90), who were supposedly their blood relatives. The numerous changing alliances discussed in the two previous chapters (Chapters Six and Seven) were concluded or broken off regardless of the ethnic backgrounds of the parties. This was not only on the political, but also on the individual level. The Turukkean chieftain Lidāya, for instance, had a retainer that bore the Semitic name Nabi-Ištar (see letter 24 = SH 852 A in Chapter Six), probably implying he was a Semite. Bunu-Ištar, king of Qabrā, had a Hurrian in his service called Eki-Teššup, as his seal legend indicates (see Chapter Six). A better example is the famous Sîn-išme’anni of the Shemshāra letters, a prominent figure in the politics of the Pre-Assyrian domination phase. Although his Semitic name alone does not prove he was a Semite, the content of letter 65 = SH 918 gives valuable hints to support the idea. Letter 65, discussed in Chapter Six, was meant to reach the family of Sîn-išme’anni in Awal in the Hamrin Region, and we concluded that he most probably had his roots there. But the question here is how he could reach such a high position in the Turukkean kingdom if he was a foreigner, a Semite from the Hamrin Region.

For this one may look for parallels in later history which can provide interesting hints. In the middle Ages the Abbasid caliphs began to use foreign slaves in the army, and later

in the special guards of the caliph himself.¹¹⁸ These slaves, who were mostly Turks, gained more and more power and influence; their chiefs ascended to the highest military ranks so that in later days they were able to kill the caliph and install the one they wanted. The history of the Muslim states often refers to slaves occupying high-ranking positions, used to performing important tasks for their masters. Still later the Ottomans were organizing campaigns to hunt slaves or buy them, particularly male boys to be educated under strict discipline and subject to harsh military training; they were called *mamālīk* (pl. of *mamlūk*, ‘slave’), and from them they mobilised the *inkishāri* troops. These *inkishāris* then became a powerful class in the Ottoman army and later reached political posts, such as governors of provinces. The Baghdad province, for instance, was ruled for centuries by *mamālīk*, mostly Georgian in origin. In Egypt, they even founded a ruling dynasty known as al-Mamālīk.¹¹⁹ In the light of such parallels one may conjecture that Sîn-išme’anni was perhaps such a slave, one who had reached the high status he occupied thanks to his qualifications. The suggestion of foreign slaves from Middle or Southern Mesopotamia in the highland societies of the Zagros should not be taken as odd, strange or unexpected. The only side of the image coming from South Mesopotamia referring to slaves from the highlands is not the complete image; one should think of southerners as slaves in the northern societies too, although perhaps in smaller numbers.

In returning to the Amorite immigrations, in Chapter Seven we pointed to the times when they were advancing to occupy new territories and seize power; this began in the Ur III period and lasted until the rise of Zaziya. During this period, the Amorite tribes are attested in most of ancient Mesopotamia, they infiltrated into its territories, settled themselves and established ruling dynasties, as seen in Sumer, Babylonia, Diyāla Region, Erbil Plains, the Habur Region and Mari. The Haladiny inscription of Iddi(n)-Sîn provides good evidence of their attempt to infiltrate his territories in the modern Garmiyān region (southeast of Kirkūk), but he was able to turn them back and kill their five chieftains (see Chapter Five). Other Amorites, such as the Ya’lānians and the Aḥazians, were more successful in the north, where they could enter the land and establish kingdoms such as Qabrā, Aḥazum, Ya’ilānum and perhaps others. In doing so, they formed a superstratum of a population of which the substratum was still a majority of Hurrians and other aboriginal ethnic groups. This was the case in the Upper Habur too. The success of the Amorites in the Transtigris was certainly thanks to the absence of powerful kingdoms there similar to Simurru. Nevertheless, as soon as these kingdoms were established and the tribes settled, they began with endless disputes and bitter struggles for power and influence. The age of Mari, as reflected in the letters of its archives, is a story of perpetual fighting, peacemaking, alliances made and broken, and changing allegiances. Small kingdoms had to seek powerful patrons, ally themselves to others, and fight each other on behalf of major powers.

¹¹⁸ The process was begun in 220 AH / AD 835 by Caliph *Al-Mu’tašim*. He brought large numbers (about 18,000) Turkish slaves to Baghdad from Transoxiana and modern Turkestan; cf.

أمين، احمد، *ظهر الاسلام*، ج. ١، بيروت، ١٩٦٩، ص. ٣.

[Amīn, Ahmed, *Dhuhr el-Islām (Midday of Islam)*, vol. 1, Beirut, 1969, p. 3 (in Arabic)].

¹¹⁹ On the term *mamlūk*, its history, usages, the slaves themselves, countries of their origin, their roles and the Sultanate of *mamālīk* in Egypt and Syria, cf. Holt, P. M., “Mamlūk” and “Mamlūks,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VI, Leiden, 1991, pp. 314-331.

On the other side, the mountain peoples could benefit from these struggles; they organized themselves and united the different tribes to form powerful kingdoms, such as those of Turukkum and Gutium. With the weakness of the Amorite kingdoms, especially the kingdom of Šamšī-Adad and his sons, with large parts of territory in the Transtigris and the Habur Region, these mountainous powers regained control. But it took somewhat longer in the Habur because of the influence there of Mari. With the appearance of the Kassites in the arena, a time begins when the Amorites recede and the mountainous peoples rise. It ended with the emergence of the Mittani, Kassite and Hittite Empires who came to hold the upper hand in the region.

This situation looks very much like the age of the Arab conquests, when the Arabs fought and defeated the ancient empires and established their own kingdom. But as soon as this kingdom was established and the numerous bedouin Arabs settled in the new founded cities, endless disputes and merciless fighting with each other started. Each group was striving for sovereignty over the whole population and the whole kingdom, claiming an exclusive right, that of pure and correct Islam. As a result the kingdom was fragmented into petty-kingdoms and the defeated peoples of Persia, part of Anatolia, and Kurdistan recovered from the defeats and built again their states, which sometimes developed into empires.

As mentioned above, ideology is the fourth ‘necessary condition’ for the formation of states. As for the Arabs, they brought a new religion, which became the ideology of their new kingdom through which they legitimised their conquests and occupation of land. Their old local paganism was not able to promote and control the extensive empire they built. The new religion provided the new believers with all the ideological means necessary for conquest. They gave the name *fath* (lit. “opening”) instead of “occupation” or “invasion,” to these conquests, claiming the performance of a divine mission by bringing God’s religion to other *infidel* peoples. This new religion united the different Arab tribes that were raiding and plundering each other before Muhammed, and directed their efforts against the outsiders; instead of raiding each other, they were permitted to pillage and take booty and told they would be rewarded in paradise. Almost the same phenomenon was repeated in Arabia in the 18th century AD, although on a smaller scale. A new radical trend of Islam (Wahābism) was introduced to the Arab tribes by Muhammed bin Abdulwahāb al-Najdī, who convinced the tribesmen that only they bear the correct Islam, and other Muslims who disagreed with his teachings were outside the pale of Islam altogether.¹²⁰ Therefore they could fight and plunder those in other, non Wahābi, streams of Islam to make them comply.¹²¹ This resulted in the opening of an era of Wahābi raids on Mesopotamian cities (from AD 1790)¹²² during which numerous urban centres on the Euphrates from south of Baghdad were pillaged, burned and

¹²⁰ Commins, D., *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia*, London, 2006, p. vi.

¹²¹ See for example:

لونكرريك، س. هـ، اربعة قرون من تاريخ العراق الحديث، بغداد، ١٩٦٨، ص. ٢٥٥.

[Longrigg, S. H., *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Baghdad, 1968 (in Arabic; published in English in 1925), p. 255].

الوردي، علي، لمحات اجتماعية من تاريخ العراق الحديث، الجزء ١، بغداد، ١٩٦٩، ص. ١٨٢.

[al-Wardi, Ali, *Social Aspects of Modern Iraqi History*, vol. I, Baghdad, 1969, p. 182 (in Arabic)].

For Wahabi movement in general cf. Commins, *op. cit.*

¹²² لونكرريك، نفس المصدر السابق، ص. ٢٥٦. [Longrigg, *op. cit.*, p. 256]

devastated, while the centres under Wahābi control were engulfed with fortune. These two instances clearly show how ideology can stimulate, organize and legitimise incursions, conquests and migrations.

We do not know whether the Amorites brought their own ideology to the newly conquered lands, but they most probably had an ideology. As for their religion, we know some names of Amorite gods, but there is no evidence of them imposing their beliefs on the conquered people, as the Arab Muslims did. Perhaps it was because their ideology was based on other principles or perhaps their religion had much in common with the existing Mesopotamian religion, more than Islam had with Christian, Zoroastrian and other minor religions of their conquered lands. In contrast to the Arab Muslims, it seems that some of the Amorites adapted themselves to the existing Mesopotamian culture and religion, as was the case with Šamšī-Adad I, who adapted his Amorite name Samsī-Addu, including the theophoric element, to a Mesopotamian form Šamšī-Adad, which is found in some of his royal inscriptions. One ideological contrast with the Mesopotamian traditions of that time is that the OB kings, who were mostly Amorites, did not adopt a notion of divinity, except in certain contexts.¹²³ Whatever Amorite ideology was, it was neither able to unify the Amorite tribes nor to establish political stability; on the contrary, they spent centuries in wars against each other. For comparison, the ancient Iranians believed that among the numerous Iranian tribes, there were seven noble tribes, but only one of them had royal blood. The kings came from this tribe, and the high ranking officials and generals from the other six.¹²⁴ Such an ideology guarantees stability from the viewpoint that others do not think of taking kingship by force unless they possess royal blood. The famous myth “Kāwa and Zohāk” confirms and consolidates this belief. When the blacksmith Kāwa revolted and killed the usurper, the tyrant Zohāk;¹²⁵ after a reign of a thousand years he freed the people; he did not rule for himself, which he could have done, but instead brought back the legitimate king Fereidūn, who was “of the seed of Kayān,” and restored him to the throne.¹²⁶ Such an ideology plays a unifying role by the idea that all the tribes need each other for prosperity and stability of society and to keep alive their socio-political organization.

One may tentatively assume that a similar ideology existed among the Hurrians, particularly those of the Zagros. Letter 63 = SH 812 from Shemshāra clearly states that not only Kuwari but also his ancestors were *nuldānums*. This can be understood as a hereditary post held by certain noble families among the Turukkeans, not a post taken by force or granted by the king.

The times after Išme-Dagan and Zimri-Lim are not so well-documented. However, we learn from little reports that the Hurrians kept the lands they controlled after the overthrow of the dynasties of Šamšī-Adad and Zimri-Lim (see Chapter Seven). Tigonānum became the centre of a Hurrian kingdom, rendered in this period as Tikunani. According to Salvini, Tikunani was probably “one of the Hurro-Akkadian political entities of North Mesopotamia, which later were incorporated with the Kingdom of

¹²³ About this cf. Michalowski, “The Ideological Foundations of the Ur III State,” *2000 v. Chr., Politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklung im Zeichen einer Jahrtausendwende*, p. 224.

¹²⁴ Christensen, *L’Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 15-6.

¹²⁵ Or Dahāk, from *Azhi Dahāka*, which later has become *Azhdahāk*.

¹²⁶ For this myth, cf. Brown, E., *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. I, London, 1951, p. 114-5; Tafazzolī, A., “Damāvand,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. VI, California, 1993, p. 630. *Kayān* is a title of the ancient kings of Iran, pl. of *kay*, and has parallels to the Roman Caesar and Ethiopian Najjāši.

Mittani.”¹²⁷ Of course there were more Hurrian polities that were unified and likewise incorporated with Mittani. There were still small and medium-sized Hurrian polities such as Uršu, Ḫaḫḫum and Ḫaššum in Northern Syria and the Taurus, ruled by “kings,”¹²⁸ and it was these polities that were probably designated as the “Hurrian foe,” (seemingly a collective term) in the annals of Ḫattušili I.¹²⁹ This “Hurrian foe,” the annals relate, invaded the realm of Ḫattušili, into Anatolia, in the year after the expansionist conquests of this king in northern Syria. “Hurrian troops” were also among the allies of Uršu during the Hittite siege of this city, according to a Hittite literary text (KBo I 11).¹³⁰ This alludes to the existence of a powerful Hurrian state to the east of the Euphrates at this time that supported the North Syrian states against the Hittites.¹³¹ Another literary text mentions the names of four “kings of the Hurrian troops,”¹³² who rescued a member of an anti-Hittite coalition. These allusions clearly show the political situation of the Hurrians in this phase, which was still consisting of small kingdoms, that could sometimes form coalitions and threaten the Hittite kingdom or any other power. Here again we have an alliance formed by small polities to resist a foreign enemy, in this case the Hittite State.

Yet the formation of the Mittani empire needed more effort and internal developments. This was done after the contacts had taken place between the Hurrians and the Indo-Aryans. The Mittani PNs and technical terms of Indo-Aryan origin found in the texts point to a clear Indo-Aryan contribution in the formation of the Mittani Empire, and to the Indo-Aryan background of its ruling dynasty.¹³³ Such contacts, although still unclear, must have led to profound developments among the Hurrians. W. von Soden is of the opinion that the Indo-Aryans first came from Eastern Iran to Mesopotamia in about 1500 BC, but there were contacts with the Hurrians, according to Klinger, before that time.¹³⁴ These Indo-Aryans unified the numerous Hurrian (as well as some Amorite) polities of the region between the bend of the Euphrates and the Upper Tigris, forming the state of Mittani.¹³⁵ This unification was seemingly prompted by the threat the Hittite expansion to North Syria posed to the Hurrian polities and Hurrian populated regions there. It bound them first, Kühne thinks, by “treaties of loyalty that stipulated Mittani’s position of superior strength, which automatically led to suzerainty.”¹³⁶

¹²⁷ Salvini, *The Habiru Prism ...*, p. 13. Salvini emphasizes the ethnic diversity of the kingdoms of Northern Mesopotamia that formed the Mittani Empire: Salvini, “Un royaume hurrite en Mésopotamie du Nord....,” *Subartu* IV/1, p. 310. This fact, however, needs more precision. It is true that other ethnicities inhabited the core region of Mittani, but one has to take into consideration the predominance of the Hurrian element that gave Mittani its Hurrian identity. Saying “...et assez variée d’un point de vue ethnique..” and “...ait eu une composition multi-ethnique” (*ibid.*) gives the impression that the founders of Mittani and its citizens were from different ethnic backgrounds in equal proportions, which was not the case.

¹²⁸ Klengel, H., “Mitanni: Probleme seiner Expansion und politischen Struktur,” *RHA* 36 (1978), p. 106.

¹²⁹ Kühne, C., “Imperial Mittani: An Attempt at Historical Reconstruction,” *SCCNH* 10 (1999), p. 207.

¹³⁰ For the text cf. Güterbock, “Die historische Tradition ...,” *ZA* 44 (1938), p. 114ff.

¹³¹ Wilhelm, G., “Mittan(n)i, Mitanni, Maitani,” (A. Historisch), *RLA* 8 (1993-1997), p. 292.

¹³² *a-na LUGAL.MEŠ ÉRIN.MEŠ Ḫur-ri[...]* ^mÚ-wa-an-ti ^mÚ-ru-ti-it-ti ^mAr-ka’-x[] ^mÚ-wa-ga-az-za-ni-ia, KBo. 3, 60 iii 14ff., after Wilhelm, *RLA*, *ibid.*

¹³³ Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 292-3.

¹³⁴ Klinger, J., “Übelegungen zu den Anfängen des Mittani-Staates,” in *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, *Xenia* 21, Konstanz, 1988, p. 27 and 28.

¹³⁵ Freu, J., “Notes sur les sceaux des rois de Mitanni/Mittani,” *NABU* 2008, no. 4, p. 6.

¹³⁶ Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

Because the capital of Mittani¹³⁷ remains unexcavated and its state archives unrecovered, the history of the Mittani empire, particularly its early phase, is still poorly known. Its history depends on external sources, mainly what is recorded by its enemies.¹³⁸ There remain questions to be answered about the process of Mittani state formation that took place in Northern Mesopotamia in the period between the Mari period and the reign of king Parrattarna. Questions Wilhelm asked include the numbers of immigrants or warlike invasions from the neighbouring mountains; the role these groups played; the source of the Indo-Aryan linguistic remains in the Mittani Empire; whether the battles of Ḫatušiliš I and Muṣili I against the Hurrians were battles against Mittani but without mentioning that; perhaps Parrattarna, attested as “King of the people of Ḫurri,” was a king of Mittani, or perhaps the state of Mittani coexisted with that of Ḫurri; and connections between the emergence of the Mittani empire and the Hyksos rule in Egypt.¹³⁹ Kühne suggested answers to some of these questions in his ‘Imperial Mittani’ cited above, in which he showed that the designations “Hurrians,” “Hurrian enemy,” and “Hurrian country,” as used by the Hittites, seem to have meant Mittani. Thus it was not a separate polity, since “Hurrian country,” was also used by Mittanians themselves, and the title “King of the Hurrian troops/people” is attested at different times and places to denote later kings of Mittani.¹⁴⁰ It is also noted that the language of the Mittani chancellery in the 14th century was different from the Hurrian of the Pre-Mittani period. Thus “it seems possible that the “Hurrian troops” meant in our annalistic texts were drawn from a recent wave of Hurrian invaders who had descended from the mountainous flanks of northwestern Iran and superseded the older Hurrian ethnic layers.”¹⁴¹ The new wave of the Hurrians seems to have established itself by force; their military elites became powerful landowners by exploiting the lands and subjecting the surviving settlements to a framework of a quasi-feudal system.¹⁴² Regarding these ‘Hurrian invaders,’ Kühne suggests that the Indo-Aryans, after they had settled for a while among the Hurrians, may have played a leading role in the military and political successes the Hurrians achieved. They may even have been behind their emigration (or invasion) in search of better homesteads.¹⁴³ There remains the question whether these Indo-Aryans emigrated along with the Hurrians to Southern Anatolia and Northern Syria; or whether the borrowed linguistic features were derived from earlier encounters between the two groups in the Trans-Caucasus during their migrations to Iran and India.¹⁴⁴ Wilhelm discussed this point saying that the latter possibility can be confirmed if Hurrian or (proto-) Urartian borrowings were found in India, but this has not so far been demonstrated.¹⁴⁵ He further adds that the flow of influence would have been one-way only, from Indo-Aryan into

¹³⁷ The capital city of Waššukanni has according to Anthony an Indo-Aryan name, composed of *vasu-khani*, meaning “wealth-mine,” Anthony, D. W., *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, Princeton, 2007, p. 49.

¹³⁸ Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 204; Klengel, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

¹³⁹ Wilhelm, *RIA* 8, p. 291.

¹⁴⁰ Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 206 and 208.

¹⁴¹ Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 209, (referring to Salvini, “The Earliest Evidence...,” *Urkes and the Hurrians*); cf. also Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 16.

¹⁴² Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 16.

¹⁴³ Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

¹⁴⁴ For this question and the controversy about it, cf. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 17.

¹⁴⁵ Wilhelm, *ibid.*

Hurrian.¹⁴⁶ In fact, if no Hurrian or (proto-) Urartian linguistic borrowings existed in India, it would mean that the contacts took place with that group of Indo-Aryans that did not migrate to India, which also means that the contacts were after the split of the Indo-Aryans. Those who did not migrate to India must have remained in the areas populated at the same time by the Hurrians, and groups of them might have accompanied the Hurrian new wave of migrations to northern Syria. However, the most likely possibility seems to have been the one Wilhelm considers the “easy” one: “Indo-Aryan splinter groups from the main stream of migration through Iran to India, who along with Hurrians ended up in the amalgam of the Fertile Crescent.”¹⁴⁷ The few Indo-Aryan elements found in the Kassite DNS¹⁴⁸ in this period must have been related to a similar process of contacts with Indo-Aryan groups in Iran.

The suggestion of an Indo-Aryan leading role seems to be quite possible for several reasons: 1) the Mittani kings bore Indo-Aryan names or throne-names;¹⁴⁹ 2) swearing by the Indo-Aryan deities in a state treaty¹⁵⁰ means that they were deities of the ruling elite,¹⁵¹ and the ruling elite was thus of Indo-Aryan stock;¹⁵² 3) the technical terms in relation to horse training (found in Boğazköy¹⁵³ and Nuzi¹⁵⁴) and for combat wagons

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ These are the Sun-god *Šu-ri-ia-áš* from Vedic *Sūrya*- cf. Mayrhofer, M., *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient - Ein Mythos?*, Wien, 1974, p. 13; the divine name *Marut(t)áš* compared with Vedic *Marút*- and ^d*Bur-ia-áš* with Greek *Boéas*, cf. Brinkman, J. A., “Kassiten,” *RIA* 5 (1976-1980), p. 472. Brinkman sees it as possible that the Kassite pantheon may have been influenced by Indo-European cults at an early date.

¹⁴⁹ For example, *Artatama* > *rtá-dhāman*- (nominative: *rtá-dhāmā*), “whose domain/dwelling place is Rta,” Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 23. *Rta* (written also *rtāḥ*) means “true, right; divine law; truth,” cf. Hess, *op. cit.*, p. 224; cf. also Kammenhuber, A., *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient*, Heidelberg, 1968, p. 80: a central concept in the Indo-Aryan and Iranian religions; for the names *Tušratta* and *Šattiwaza* see below. Although the names *Sauš(sa)tat(t)ar*, his father *Pár/Bar/Maş-sa-ta-tar* and *Pa-ra-tar-na* (var. *Bar/Pár-ra-at-tar-na*) are Indo-Aryan, no plausible etymologies for them are found: Kammenhuber, *Die Arier...*, p. 79; Mayrhofer, *Die Arier...*, p. 25. Wilhelm assumes that the tradition of giving Indo-Aryan royal names to the kings of Mittani “was established under the influence of Indo-Aryan settlers in Transcaucasia and that this accompanied the ruling class more than 500 kilometres southwest to northern Mesopotamia.” Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 17. It is interesting that this tradition was practised even by city-rulers in regions of Syro-Palestine that were not under Mittanian rule and it continued after the collapse of the Mittani Empire in *Ḫanigalbat*, as seen with some of their kings, cf. Mayrhofer, *Die Arier...*, p. 17 and note 32; p. 18 and 27-8.

¹⁵⁰ The treaty was between the Hittites (under *Šuppiluliuma*) and Mittani (under *Šattiwaza*). The deities are:

DINĜIR.MEŠ *Mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il* DINĜIR.MEŠ *Ú-ru-wa-na-aš-ši-el*

DINĜIR.MEŠ *Mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il* DINĜIR.MEŠ *A-ru-na-aš-ši-il*

^d*In-d/tar* or *In-da-ra* DINĜIR.MEŠ *Na-ša-a[t-ti-ia-a]n-na*

^d*In-da-ra* DINĜIR.MEŠ *NA-ša-at-ti-ia-an-na*

After removing the elements *-ššil* and *-nna* we get the paired gods *Mitrá*-, *Várūna*-, the Vedic *Índra*- and the twins *Násatya*-, Mayrhofer, M., *Die Indo-Arier im Alten Vorderasien*, Wiesbaden, 1966, p. 15; Mayrhofer, *Die Arier...*, p. 83.

¹⁵¹ Also to Wilhelm, the worship of these deities may have been restricted to dynastic circles, *op. cit.*, p. 18-19.

¹⁵² This is strengthened by the notion that when a Hurrian entered the circle of the Mittanian kings he had to choose an Indo-Aryan throne name. We have at least one such occurrence: *Šattiwaza*’s birth name was *Kili-Teššup*, cf. Mayrhofer, *Die Arier...*, p. 17, note 30; Kammenhuber, *Die Arier...*, p. 82.

¹⁵³ This is the well-known *Kikkuli* tablet, who was “a horse trainer, stable master, from the land of Mittani,” Mayrhofer, *ibid.* The text provides the following Indo-Aryan words: *aika-wartanna* (< *éka*- < **aika*- “one” + Vedic *vartani* “way, path, track”) “one-fold race-track,” *tēra-wartanna* (< *tri*- “three”) “three-fold race-track,” *panza-wartanna* (< *pāñca*- “five”) “five-fold race-track,” *šatta-wartanna* “< *saptá*-

were Indo-Aryan. So, one may speculate that the profession of horsemanship and its techniques were Indo-Aryan inspired. The Indo-Aryan contribution to the rise of Mittani by horsemanship and horse breeding was coupled with (though not necessarily Indo-Aryan) the use of the composite bow, the “Hurrian (type) battering ram”¹⁵⁵ and the combination of horses with the two-wheeled chariot in warfare, which were altogether essential for the expansion of the empire.¹⁵⁶ The chariot-drivers were the military elite of the Mittani Empire and were called in Mittani and Syria-Palestine *marianni-na*.¹⁵⁷ The Indo-Aryan names of some of the kings of Mittani carry connotations in relation to warfare, which may refer to the military role this royal family played: Tušratta < *tveṣá-ratha-*, “who pushes forward the impetuosity of the (two-wheeled) war-chariot;”¹⁵⁸ Šattiwaza < **sāti-vāja-*, “obtaining fighting gear;”¹⁵⁹ and Šuttarna < *satvar*, “warrior.”¹⁶⁰ The same could be said about the name of the city ruler *Bi-ri-ia-aš-šu-wa* (from Alalah) < Oir. *Friyāspa-*, Indo-Aryan *Priyāśva-*, “having dear/beloved horses.”¹⁶¹

For such a leading role to be played by a foreign minority ethnic group is not unique. Some later examples are good parallels with Indo-Aryans among the Hurrians. In the late Abbasid Period, the Kurdish family of Saladin formed the ruling dynasty of a widespread state that ruled Egypt, Muslim Syro-Palestine (including Lebanon), most of Upper Mesopotamia and Yemen.¹⁶² The population of this state was mainly Arab (or Arabised peoples) beside other minor ethnic groups like the Turkomens. The Indo-European Kurds formed only a thin layer over a huge body of Semites. The substantial political and military role the Kurds played in the Ayyubid State (AD 1171-1250) is comparable to the role the Indo-Aryans played in the Mittani state. In the Ayyubid State, in addition to the king, there were governors and other important officials, numerous army cavalrymen and

“seven”) “seven-fold race-track,” *na-wartanna* (< *náva-* “nine”) “nine-fold race-track.” Kikkuli’s profession name is rendered as *aššuššanni*, which first part is the Old Indic *áśva-* “horse;” the verb *vart-* “to turn;” *wašanna-* “running-way, stadion,” cf. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier...*, p. 15-6 and 19.

¹⁵⁴ Such as *babrunnu* or *paprunnu*, *p/binkarannu* and *p/barittannu* consisting of the Hurrian article *-ni* (Akkadianized into *-nnu*) and the oldest Indic colour adjectives *babhrú-* “brown;” *piṅgalá-* “reddish brown;” and *palitá-* “grey;” Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier...*, p. 17; Mayrhofer, *Die Arier...*, p. 15-16 (referring to W. Von Soden, *ZA* 52 (1957), p. 336f), to which Kammenhuber added *barittannu* from Old Indic *bharita-* “well-groomed, green,” Kammenhuber, *Die Arier...*, p. 211.

¹⁵⁵ The allusion to this kind of battering-ram is made in the Hittite literary text concerning the siege of Uršu, indicating that it was a peculiar type. For this allusion cf. Güterbock, “Die historische Tradition ...,” *ZA* 44 (1938), p. 116 and 117; cf. also Hoffner, H. A., The Hittites and Hurrians, in *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, ed. D. J. Wiseman, Oxford, 1973, p. 223.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁷ In Nuzi they were known under the Akkadian name *rākib narkabti*. The word *marianni* is usually linked with the Old Indic *márya-* “young man;” cf. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 19. For the origin and Hurrianized form of the word cf. Wilhelm, G., “Marijannu,” *RIA* 7 (1987-1990), p. 419ff.; Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 210. But note that Mayrhofer doubts this Aryan origin; instead he emphasizes the Aryan origin of the word *mani-nnu* “necklace” of the Amarna letters, which comes from the Vedic *mañi-*, Avestian *-mañi-* “(neck) ornament” found as well in the Elamite-Old Persian texts as **bara-mani-* “neck-band bearer;” Mayrhofer, *Die Arier...*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁸ Mayrhofer, *Die Arier...*, p. 23, cf. also Hess, R. S., *Amarna Personal Names*, Winona Lake, 1993, p. 225 and 226.

¹⁵⁹ Mayrhofer, *Die Arier...*, p. 25.

¹⁶⁰ Anthony, *The Horse, the Wheel and Language*, p. 49.

¹⁶¹ Mayrhofer, *Die Arier...*, p. 19.

¹⁶² For the domains of the Ayyubids, cf. Cahen, Cl., “Ayyūbids,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. I, Leiden, 1979, p. 796.

generals, and several leaders who were Kurds.¹⁶³ In Mittani the kings, even if they were Hurrian, took Indo-Aryan throne names, and in the army, the Indo-Aryan *mariyanni* warrior class formed an important component. As in Mittani, where there were Indo-Aryan words in the Hurrian of Mittani, so also there were and still are numerous Kurdish words, especially technical terms, in the Arabic of the lands of former Ayyubid state; which is another point of comparison.

Ideology played a significant role in the ascent of the Ayyubid family to power. Under the slogan of liberating Muslim territories from the Crusaders, supported by Islamic ideology, the Ayyubids succeeded in a persistent ascent to power through their service as generals and fortress holders under the Turkomen Zangīs, a branch of the Seljūqs, since 1138 A.D. After the seizure of the highest post in the state, they unified by different means the peoples and incorporated the polities of the whole region mentioned above into one state. But what ideology enabled these Indo-Aryan groups to reach that status is still unknown. Their deities were worshipped side by side with those of the Hurrians, so there is no evidence for imposing a new religious ideology. But because the throne names and the deities by whom the kings swore were Indo-Aryan, their religion must have had the virtue of being the religion of the ‘Upper Class.’ The case of the Ayyubids was quite different; the religion of their subjects was prevailing and so their throne names and titles were of an Arabic-Islamic background. One may conjecture that the Indo-Aryans may have reached high military positions thanks to their horsemen and their swift war chariots mounted by the *maryanni* warriors, and through their high military posts they gained political influence. This is no wonder if we again note that the Ayyubids followed almost the same path.¹⁶⁴ The fact that *mārya-*, “young man,” refers to the heavenly war-band assembled around the god Indra in the Rig Veda¹⁶⁵ and was employed by the Mittanian warriors (if the derivation is true) may shed light on the ideological side of the Indo-Aryan contribution. Perhaps they have presented themselves as warriors of the god Indra, fulfilling earthly tasks based on heavenly orders. Whatever the reasons, the ascent of Indo-Aryans to power seemingly coincided with the Hurrian will to expand their kingdoms, to confront the Hittites and to fill the vacuum that followed the decline and later the fall of the first dynasty of Babylon and the murder of Muršili I.

The oldest as yet known mention of Mittani¹⁶⁶ is on the tomb of the Egyptian official Amenemhet (Imn-m-ḥ3.t) from Thebes. He was in the service of the pharaohs from Ahmose, founder of the 18th dynasty until Thutmose I (1494-1482).¹⁶⁷ On his tomb is written “... a land, one calls it Mittani. The enemy....,” which proves that Mittani already

¹⁶³ For this, cf.:

حسین، محسن محمد، "دهوری کورددهکان له سوپای سه‌لاحه‌ددین دا،" *گۆڤاری کۆری زانیاری عێراق - دهستهی کوردی*، ۱۳ (۱۹۸۵)، ل. ۲۹۵ به‌دواوه.

[Hussein, M. M., “The Role of the Kurds in Salahaddin’s Army,” *Journal of the Iraqi Academy - Kurdish Corporation*, 13 (1985), p. 295ff. (in Kurdish)].

¹⁶⁴ The Albanian family of Muhammed Ali Pasha of Egypt is another example. Muhammed Ali Pasha was installed by the Ottomans as governor of Egypt. Thanks to his reforms and the modernization of the country, Egypt became powerful and, trusting in his power, he declared independence. His Albanian, Turkish speaking family continued to rule Egypt until 1952, when monarchy was overthrown by a coup.

¹⁶⁵ Anthony, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

¹⁶⁶ For other names designating Mittani, cf. Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 204-6.

¹⁶⁷ Klinger, *op. cit.*, p. 28-9.

existed before 1500 BC,¹⁶⁸ perhaps since 1550 BC.¹⁶⁹ According to Wilhelm, Mittani had perhaps existed since the first half of the 16th century BC (or the middle of the 17th century BC according to the middle chronology).¹⁷⁰ Another early record, probably contemporary to Amenemhet's tomb, of Mittani is the seal impression found in later dynastic use that reads "Suttarna, son of Kirta, king of Mittani," and seemingly belongs to Suttarna I.¹⁷¹ Other data, such as the Idrimi inscription, which speaks of a treaty between his forerunners and Parattarna,¹⁷² and another treaty between Ḫalab and Mittani, in addition to the Indo-Aryan traditions seen in the throne-names of the king of the latter, all clearly date the emergence of Mittani before 1530 BC,¹⁷³ or almost 100 years earlier than what was previously known.¹⁷⁴ So, it seems that Mittani goes back to the period following the death of Hammurabi of Babylon, and then started to fill the power vacuum in Northern Mesopotamia created by his death.¹⁷⁵ Supported by the Hurrian population already inhabiting Northern Syria, it expanded its supremacy there, where it came into armed conflict with the Hittites,¹⁷⁶ who tried to control Northern Syria and the Upper Habur regions, but were resisted by the Hurrians, as shown above. These battles recorded in the Hittite historical and literary texts represent the early, if not the formative, stages of Mittani's statehood, as Kühne describes.¹⁷⁷ If the identification of Parattarna of the Terqa texts with Parattarna of Mittani mentioned on the statue of Idrimi, according to its excavator O. Rouault¹⁷⁸ proves to be correct, it proves that Mittani under Parattarna extended further south than had been thought.¹⁷⁹

However, the best times for Mittani to build its power and become an unchallenged polity in Northern Mesopotamia was after the assassination of Muršili I. This brought a period of weakness in the Hittite state, during which it could neither pose a danger for Mittani nor compete with it.¹⁸⁰ Just before the murder of Muršili I, he overthrew the first dynasty of Babylon; in doing so, he opened the way for the Kassites to invade Babylonia. Yet, before the overthrow of Babylon, Muršili campaigned against Northern Syria and conquered Ḫalab,¹⁸¹ thus weakening another power which was in the range of Mittanian activity. The Mittanians were not standing silent, waiting to see what the Hittites would

¹⁶⁸ Klinger, *op. cit.*, p. 28-9, also with arguments for this dating. Wilhelm makes the oldest mention 1500 BC, cf. Wilhelm, *RIA* 8, p. 292.

¹⁶⁹ Klinger, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹⁷⁰ Wilhelm, *RIA* 8, p. 192; cf. also Wilhelm, "l'état actuel..." *Amurru* I, p. 179.

¹⁷¹ Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 213. The legend is *Šu-ut-tar-n[a] DUMU Ki-ir-ta LUGAL Ma-i-ta-ni*, Stein, D., "Mittan(n)i," (B. Bildkunst und Architektur), *RIA* 8 (1993-1997) p. 296.

¹⁷² It seems to be this same Parattarna who is mentioned in texts from Terqa (see below), Wilhelm, "l'état actuel..." p. 179 and note 56.

¹⁷³ Freu dates it to the middle of the 16th century BC, cf. Freu, "Note sur ..." p. 6.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Klinger, p. 37. But note that there are chronological problems concerning the Mittani Empire. These are because the reconstructed chronology is based on the Assyrian eponym lists and king lists which do not cover the 15th century BC and so cannot be connected with the OB chronology. The history of Mittani Empire before the Amarna Period does not show any synchronism with Hittite or Babylonian history; for further details on these, cf. Wilhelm, *RIA* 8, p. 291; Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 203 and note 1.

¹⁷⁵ Klinger, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

¹⁷⁸ Wilhelm, "l'état actuel..." p. 179 and note 56.

¹⁷⁹ Wilhelm, *ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ Klinger, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹⁸¹ Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

do. They appear to have fought Muršili I after his retreat from Babylon. The texts of Terqa mentioned above, refer to a victory over the troops of the Hittites, those who were very possibly under Muršili I.¹⁸² The reduction of pressure from both the south and the northwest was ideal for Mittani to expand and fill the vacuum.¹⁸³ Mittani then easily advanced through Western Syria and southwards along the Orontes River into Southern Canaan.¹⁸⁴ The emergence of Mittani owes much to Muršili, both alive, by the sacking of Babylon and Ḫalab, and murdered, by the ensuing weakness. The Hurrians appeared as a powerful opponent of the Hittites in Northern Syria and Upper Mesopotamia in the 16th century,¹⁸⁵ and the high position the Indo-Aryans enjoyed in the state of Mittani must be a result of the great role they played in the Hurrian successes.

It is significant to note that the core region of Mittani was not the Transtigris or the Zagros Mountains. Rather it was the plains of the Habur, where its principal cities of Waššukkanni, Taidi and Kaḫat were located.¹⁸⁶ Although Mittani soon extended its sway to Nuzi and the Arrapha region in the east and to Alalaḫ in the west, as early as the reign of Parattarna,¹⁸⁷ the question remains why Mittani did not emerge in the East Tigris plains. One may suggest that the new wave of Hurrian immigrants, together with the Indo-Aryan groups, was perhaps directed to the Upper Habur, not the Transtigris, a wave that came from the eastern mountains via the Taurus, the same track of the Urkeš-north communications. The Hittite expansionist policy, in the Upper Habur and Northern Syria, was seemingly another factor that unified the Hurrian polities there and made them ready to become a powerful unified state as soon as the Hittites weakened. Similar factors and conditions were perhaps absent in the Transtigris at this time. A quick look at the scene gives the impression that there was a gap between Zaziya's state and the emergence of Mittani, but the birth of Mittani, in fact, was somehow achieved by the grace of a leader like Zaziya. Without the great efforts of Zaziya, who unified the Hurrians, crossed the Tigris with his troops, established a widespread state in the Transtigris and large parts of the Habur, and overthrew the rival Kingdom of Išme-Dagan, the coming into being of Mittani would have been very difficult, if not impossible.

¹⁸² Wilhelm, "l'état actuel..." p. 179.

¹⁸³ To these, Klengel adds the control of North Mesopotamian trade routes by Mittani and the weak rule of Assyrian kings, cf. Klengel, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

¹⁸⁴ Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 211-2. He states also that the appearance of the Hyksos in Egypt was probably because the Hurrian penetration into southern Canaan "even before there is evidence for Mittani's existence," Kühne, p. 212 and note 58 for different views.

¹⁸⁵ Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

¹⁸⁶ Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

¹⁸⁷ See for this Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

Stellingen

Behorende bij het proefschrift van Kozad Mohamed Ahmed
The Beginnings of Ancient Kurdistan (c. 2500-1500 BC)
A Historical and Cultural Synthesis

A- Pertinent to the subject of the dissertation:

- 1) The geographical conditions imposed a pattern of settlements that is marked by small size, scattered and isolated units with self-sufficient communities. It also increased the isolation and independency of the socio-political organizations which appeared in ancient Kurdistan. These were chiefdoms in the Ninevite V period, but developed into early states after the middle of the third millennium BC.
- 2) There were in the historical periods three types of socio-political organization in the region: the small scattered polities, the one-unit polity, and a nomadic polity. According to parallels from later times, the latter type must have consisted of groups and sub-sections bound by kinship that moved between winter and summer resorts on fixed tracks.
- 3) The Gutians, also during their rule of lowland Mesopotamia, were ruled by a Great King of kings/tribal chiefs exercising a central authority in the land of Gutium, not in lowland Mesopotamia. They entrusted the rulership of the south to governors subordinate to the great king. It is the names of these governors that are recorded in the SKL. King Erridu-Pizir could very probably have been one of those Great Kings.
- 4) The peace the Turukkeans concluded with the Gutians was very important in the history of the Turukkeans and the region. Only after this treaty did they proceed further to the west of the Tigris. Without it, the usual pattern of exhausting warlike conflicts would have continued and would have impeded any state-formation process.
- 5) The control of the fertile East Tigris plains by the Turukkeans was a key factor in the fall of the kingdom of Išme-Dagan and, by contrast, essentially contributed to the power and extension of the Turukkean kingdom.
- 6) The Gutian victory over the Turukkeans that brought them out to the Transtigris and the Habur Plains, the great efforts of Zaziya and the deeds of the Hittite king Muršili I were crucial factors that paved the way for the formation of Mittani.
- 7) The title *nuldān(um)*, more or less meaning 'king,' does not seem to have any Semitic etymology. Rather it was a Hurrian word, sharing the suffix *-dan* with the other Hurrian title *endan*.
- 8) 'The Turukkeans' in the Mari correspondence was a name applied to all the Hurrians of the Habur region and Southern Anatolia.
- 9) The Hurrians of the Transtigris, unlike those of the Northern Mesopotamia, were targeted by Ur III warfare because their region, especially in the Sirwān-Diyāla basin, geo-politically and militarily posed a danger to Ur.
- 10) Itu (MA Idu, modern Satu Qala) of the Haladiny inscription formed together with Šaummi and Ḫubi/nezagu parts of the land Iterašwe that was located on the northern bank of the Lower Zāb, directly upstream from Šikšabbum, at, or close to, modern Taqtaq.
- 11) Iddi(n)-Sîn seems to have been around 45 years old in 2004 BC. He probably died before Išbi-Erra and was a contemporary of Annubanini of Lullubum. He extended Simurrum from Sarpul to Bētuate, at least 240 aerial kilometres from south to north.
- 12) The Amorites, in collaboration with the Simaškians, penetrated the territories of Simurrum as invaders, but were driven back by Iddi(n)-Sîn. But because of the

absence of such a powerful kingdom in the north the Amorite kingdoms of Aḫazum and Ya'ilānum could be established between the two Zābs.

- 13) The central topic of the Haladiny inscription is the temple of Nišba, which seems to have been in Mount Pīra Magrūn. All the conquered lands participated in its construction to be the central temple of the national god of the kingdom, located outside Simurrian territory.

B- Pertinent to the field of the subject of the dissertation:

- 14) The chronological problems raised by letter A.1314, in which Yarim-Lim claimed to have saved Dēr and Babylon 15 years earlier and Diniktum 12 years earlier, can be solved by assuming that he acted when he was still the crown-prince, not necessarily the king. So we are no longer compelled to identify the date of his action with the date of his accession.
- 15) The stability of the city-state of Lagaš could be attributed not only to the fact that rule was in native hands but also to the the apparent existence of some mutual cooperation between this dynaty and the Gutian dynasty.
- 16) The Sumerians seem to have placed the blame of the conquest of Sumer by the Gutians on the Akkadians. Hence there is no mention of them in the text of Utuḫēgal. After the victory over the Gutians they restored the kingship to Sumer not to Akkad. The SKL too states that the kingship of Uruk, not Akkad, was taken to the mountains by the Gutians.
- 17) The events of the account of the great rebellion against Narām-Sîn could be a fantasy of the scribes but the names of the lands are real. The names of the rulers as well can very probably be real, though not chronologically correct.

C. A Personal Proposition:

- 18) Numerous new projects for building dams in Iraqi Kurdistan will endanger the cultural heritage of large areas. This calls for special attention from archaeologists and research institutes to undertake surveys and salvage excavations in those areas.

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Summary

In this work the early history of Kurdistan is studied, the territories of which are nowadays located in north and northeastern Iraq, southeastern Turkey, north and northeastern Syria and northwestern Iran. The study of this region was chosen because of the absence of a comprehensive study of its history and culture in those early periods, and because it often formed a uniform political and cultural area in the past. It was more realistic to study the region as a whole than study it as separate parts belonging to the other larger cultural areas of Iraq, Iran, Syria and Turkey. The modern name Kurdistan was chosen as it best fits the studied regions, although it is not an official name applied to the entire region.

The study focuses on the early states which emerged in ancient Kurdistan, the peoples who founded it, the ethnic changes that took place and the later appearance of socio-political units larger than early states. A large number of written materials have been consulted and cited in addition to archaeological data, either as supplementary evidence or as primary source material when inscriptions are absent. One of these documents is an important royal inscription of the king of one of these early states, which for the first time is published and edited in this thesis.

After an introduction that comprises a short geographical description of the region, the study begins with a study of the history of the region in the periods before 2500 BC, i.e. before the age of written history. It has been shown that ancient Kurdistan was an important cultural area in prehistory, where the first cultures developed from the Neolithic village communities and many basic cultural inventions originated there. Most importantly, the region formed one cultural area during the Halaf, Ubaid, Uruk and Ninevite V cultures. These were prototypes of the later cultures and socio-political formations which appeared in the region in the historic periods and which covered at some times the majority of the region. They are studied in some detail.

Chapter Two touches upon the ancient peoples of the region, their ethnic affinities, languages, attestations in the written sources and the roles they played. Afterwards the history of the region up to the end of the Old Akkadian period is studied. Since some parts of the region under study had not yet come in contact with the Mesopotamians and were outside the orbit covered by written material, the last part of the chapter tries to fill this gap from the archaeological material available.

The third chapter is devoted to the Gutian rule in Mesopotamia. The problematic list of Gutian rulers in the south, the political organization of the Gutians and whether the Gutian period was really so dark as the Mesopotamian sources claim. It has been suggested that the Gutians had a great king of kings, who ruled over the whole Gutian lands in addition to their colonies that once included the land of Akkad and (part of) Sumer. So the list of the Gutian rulers recorded in the Sumerian King List was actually a list of the Gutian governors who ruled the south on behalf of the great Gutian king. King Erridu-pizir, wrongly identified by some with the "king without name" of the Sumerian King List, was one of these great kings, not a governor of the south. The last part of the chapter is an update edition of the inscriptions of this king followed by a historical study of his deeds in the light of these inscriptions.

In Chapter Four the coming of the Hurrians to the region is studied. The first appearance of Hurrian groups based on Hurrian personal names is traced from the written sources. After this, the history of the region in this period is studied, the age of the Hurrian expansion, which mainly coincides with the Ur III period. It has been noticed that the Hurrian lands can be divided into two parts. The one, in the east Tigris region, was subject to severe warlike actions by the kings of Ur. The other, to the west of the Tigris and northern Syria, had peaceful relations with Ur, sometimes supported by marriages of political convenience. The reason for

this difference was the fact that the Hurrians of the Transtigris, especially those of the Sirwan-Diyāla basin, were close to the domains of the Ur III Empire, and any move southwards was a real threat to the existence of that empire.

Simurru, the important Transtigridian early state, dominates Chapter Five. Its oldest attestations up to the times dealt with by the study, its history, population, role in the history, and the inscriptions of its king Iddi(n)-Sîn are all studied in detail. It is here that the new royal inscription known as Haladiny is presented, its context, comments and a general historical study based on the inscriptions of this king. The site of Rabana is also studied, together with photographs and drawings made by the author and tentatively attributed to the temple of Nišba, the patron of Simurru. The temple of Nišba was built by this king and is mentioned in the Haladiny inscription. Finally two cylinder seals of Simurru and the location of Simurru are studied.

Chapter Six is the history of the region in the light of the Shemshāra archives and some Mari letters. The complex pattern of political relations and the ethnic texture of the region have been explained from evidence in the letters and an attempt to synchronize the chronology of the letters and related episodes is made. Some ideas about the Turukkeans have been discussed and alternatives for some controversial ones are suggested.

Another significant subject, the Turukkean revolt and its consequences on the fate of the kingdom of Šamšī-Adad I, is discussed in Chapter Seven. The related topics included here are: the rise of Zaziya, king of the Turukkeans, and his efforts to bring to an end the kingdom of Šamšī-Adad and of his son Išme-Dagan; expanding the kingdom of the Turukkeans to the west of the Tigris and the Habur region to join the other Hurrians there; and the formation of a widespread Hurrian kingdom in the whole Upper Mesopotamia. It has been shown how the control of the east Tigris plains was essential in the weakening and downfall of the Assyrian kingdom and, at the same time, essential in the strengthening of the Turukkean kingdom. With the appearance of Babylon as the most powerful kingdom in Mesopotamia under its king Hammurabi, the Hurrian kingdom of the Turukkû was at its peak and controlled the regions from the Urmia Lake in the east until the Habur and beyond in the west and to the regions of Kirkuk as far as Tikrit in the south. It has also been shown that the Hurrian expansion continued even in the period that followed the fall of the Assyrian kingdom, where the texts record Hurrian personal names associated with places that were formerly Amorite.

The last chapter, the eighth, is dedicated to an anthropological approach of the material discussed in the earlier chapters. The terms chiefdom and early state and the criteria of calling a given socio-political formation a state are evaluated. Then these criteria have been applied to the formations which appeared in ancient Kurdistan, especially those of Uruk and Ninevite V Cultures. It seems that the formation of the Ninevite V Culture can be described as chiefdoms, but developed into early states after the middle of the third millennium BC. Yet the geographical conditions imposed some differences in the socio-political structures that appeared there. Three types are identified: the small scattered polities, the one-unit polity, and a nomadic polity. Two state models from Kurdistan in the Middle Ages are summarily outlined for comparison with the older models. This shows that it was not impossible for widespread kingdoms to emerge despite the rugged terrain that can restrict communications and nucleation of population in large urban centres. At the same time, it is suggested that these geographical conditions influenced not only the political situation but also the mentality of its populations, as reflected in Hurrian personal names and the style, wording and formulation of the letters they exchanged. Finally, the rise to power of the Indo-Aryan groups in the Mittani kingdom is mentioned. How a small group could climb to the highest positions within another larger ethnic group is shown from a later similar model, the dynasty of the Ayyubids among the Arab majority.

The dissertation is closed with conclusions and bibliography.