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The beginnings of ancient Kurdistan (c. 2500-1500 BC) : a historical and cultural synthesis

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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 'Anzan' 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]in 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 Uzuḫinum, 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-ḫu-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/Numuša 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-Numuša, 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-šà-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-uḫ-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-uḫ-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-uḫ-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-uḫ-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-uḫ-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، می‌دیا، [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)), Igiḫi 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]i-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 kés-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) ṛi’ [G]u-pi-in^{ki} 7) i[n qá]b-lí 9) Pá-[ra-ah]-šum^{ki} 10) ṛa’-[na]’ REC 169’ *ip-ḥu-ru-ni-im-ma*, “and Zaḥar, Elam, Gupin and Meluḥḥa assembled in Pa[ra]ḥšum 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[aʿ-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 Tukkižzan 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. ١٦٢. ل. دياكونوف. 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 šá 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. ٣١٢-٣.

[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. xlvi, 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-akī</i>	(mountain range)
<i>Az-irū</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, Raḍān’ 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.NÍG.GA' 12) [GÍN.ŠÈ bi.sè] Lacuna vii 1') [...] 2') G[ÍN.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 *al₆-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 Transtigridian 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) *ʾšaʾ-pil-š-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 Zerkan 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 Ḫitâ.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-kûn et Amud-pâ-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, Ḫitâ 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*-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 Niqqu(m), 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 [l]l-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 MÁŠ.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) *MÁŠ.ANŠE a-na URU^{ki}-lim* 21) *su-tá-ri-ib* 22) *'šum¹-ma MÁŠ.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 MÁŠ.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 MÁŠ.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-nim* 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،

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[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 Itabāhūm 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.

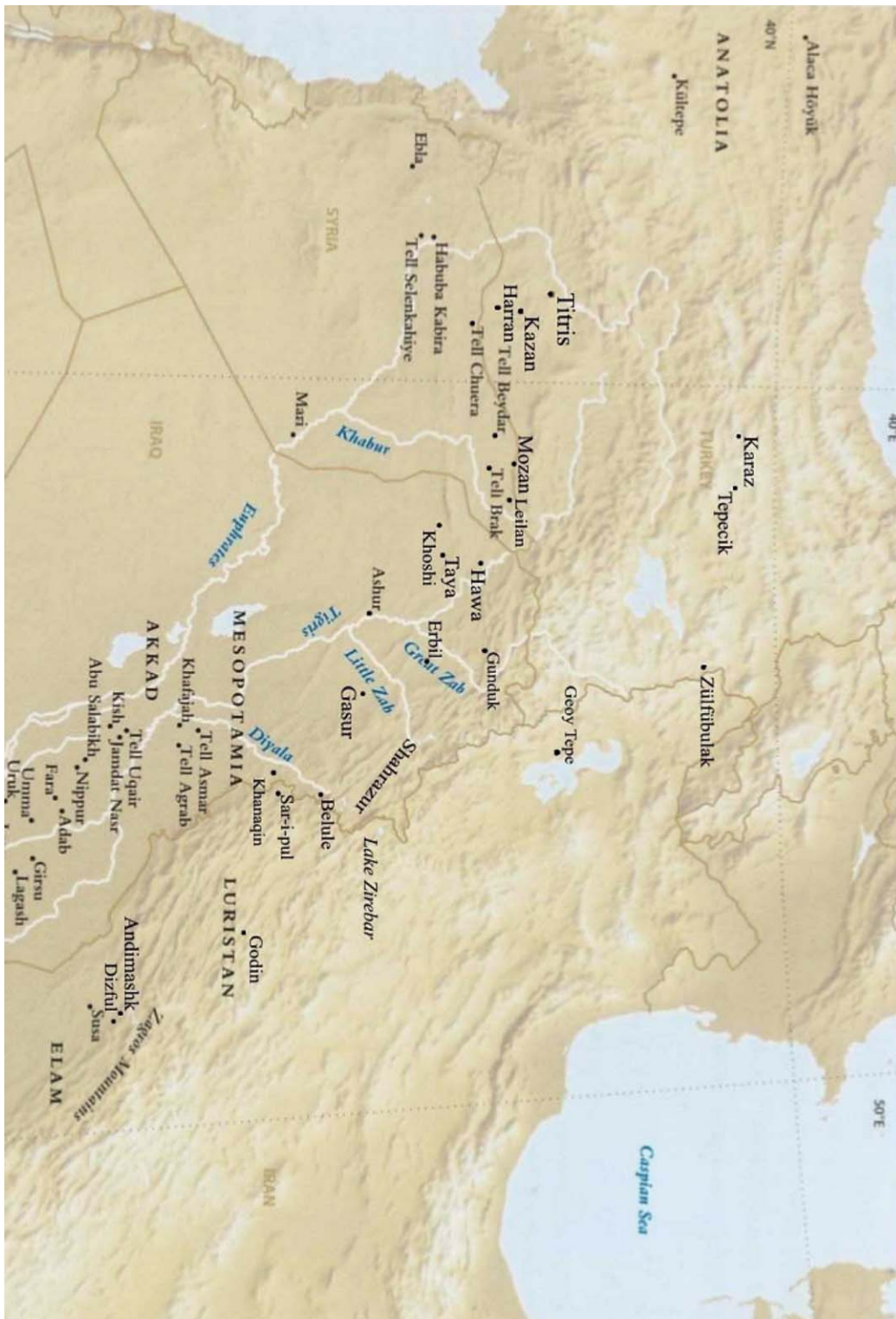
⁴⁵⁶ Haenrick and Overlaet, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

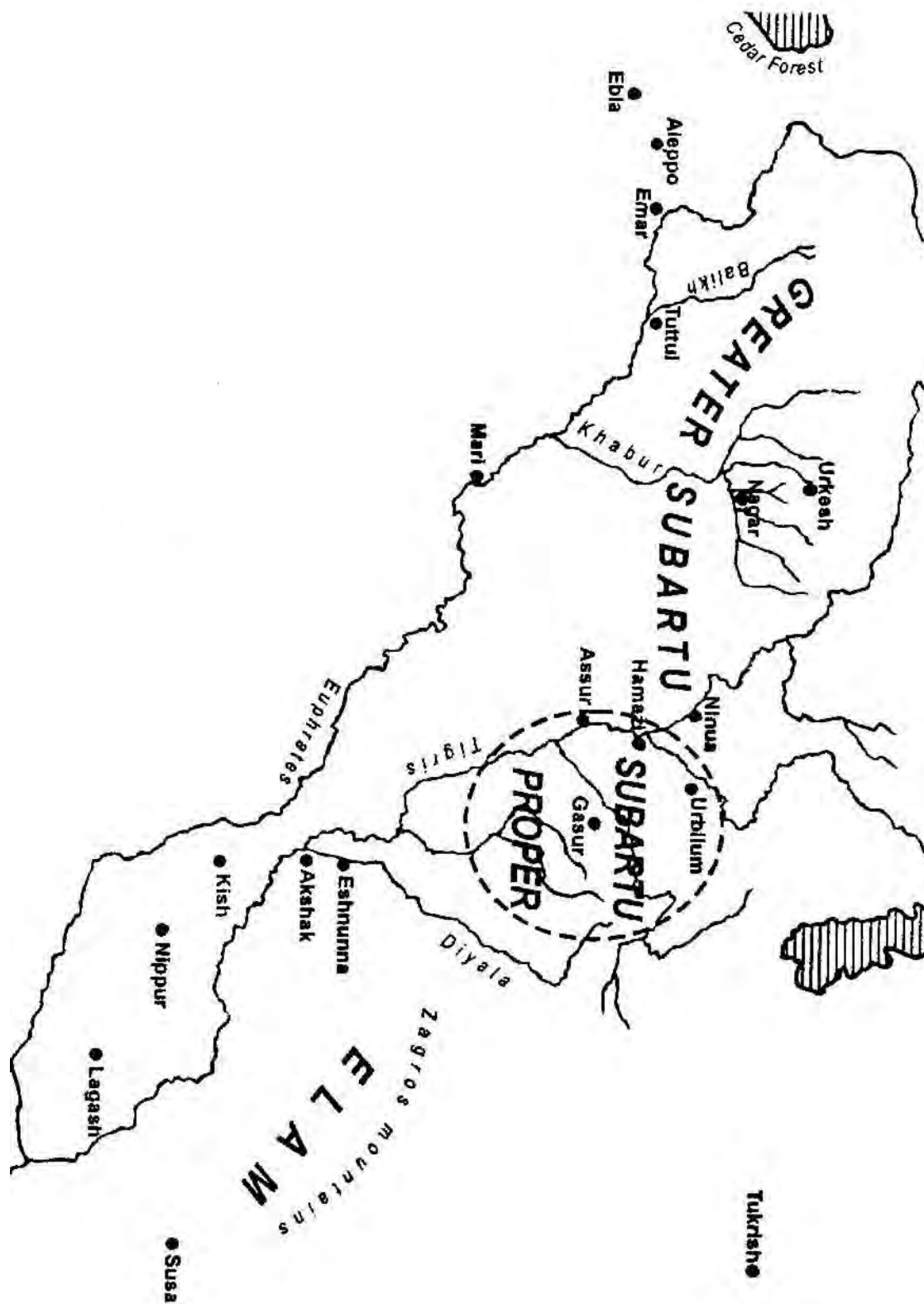
⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

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.

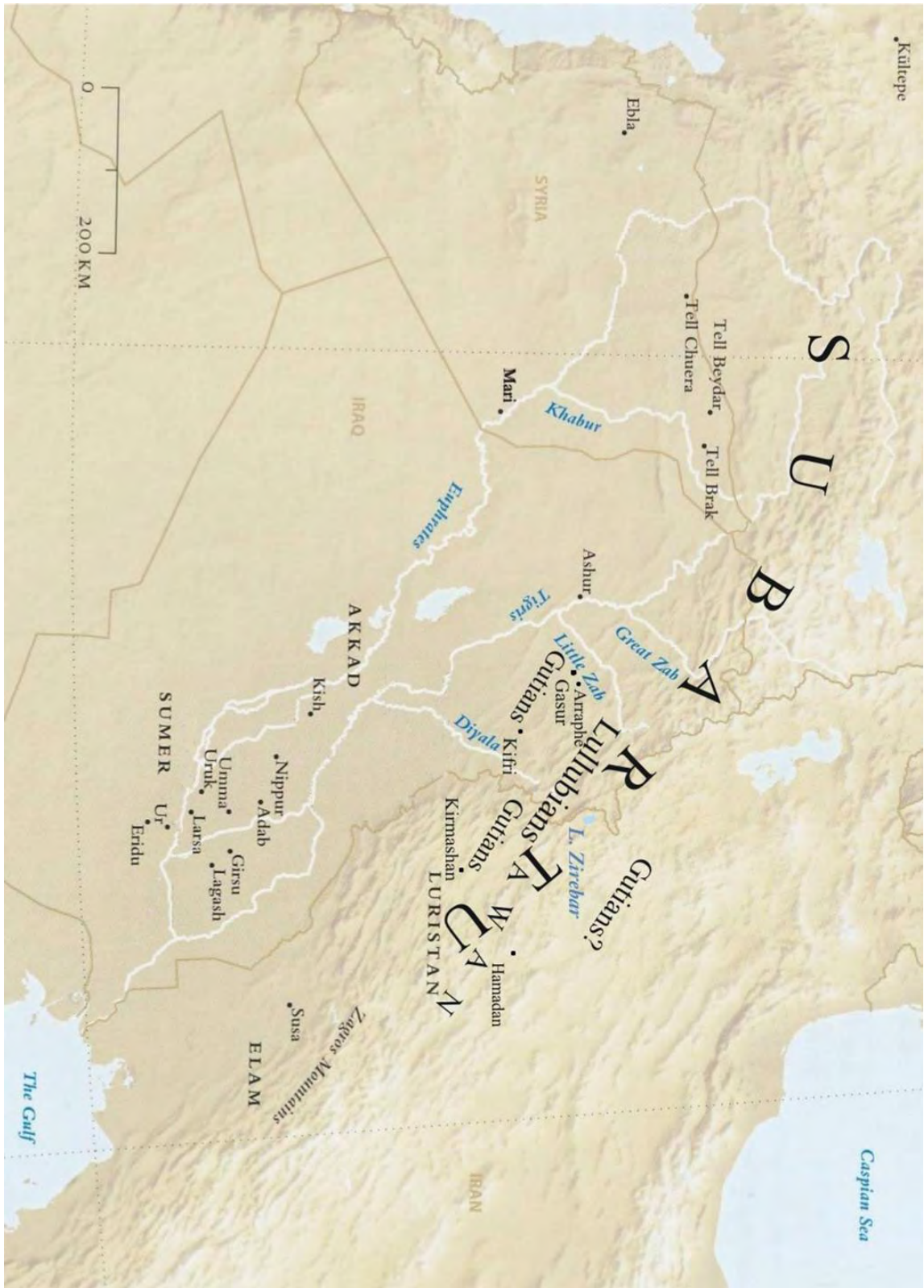
Figures of Chapter Two



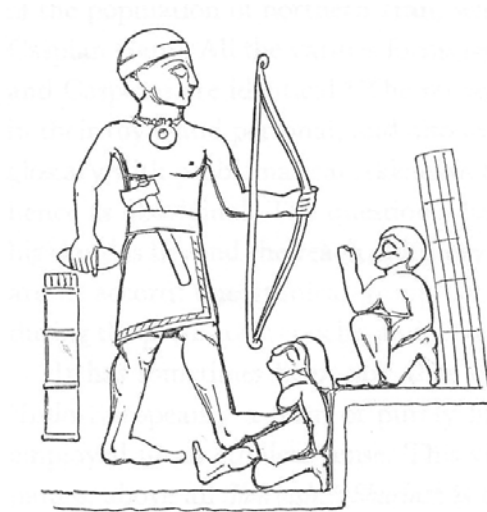
1) Map of the principal sites mentioned.



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.



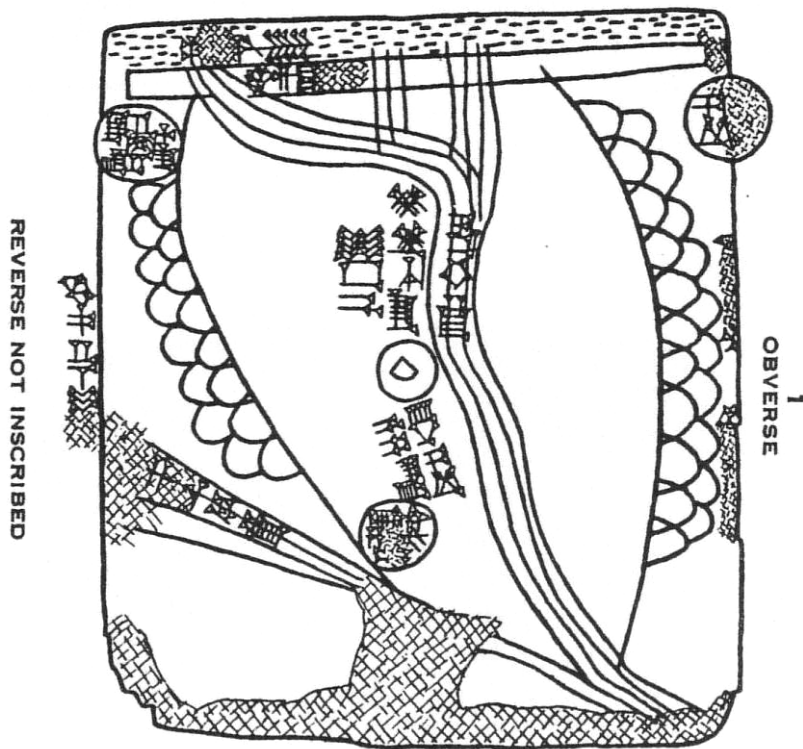
6) Basitki Statue with an inscription of Narām-Sîn, after: D. Hansen, *Art of the Akkadian Dynasty*, in: *Art of the First Cities*, ed. Joan Aruz, 2003, New York, fig. 58, p. 195.



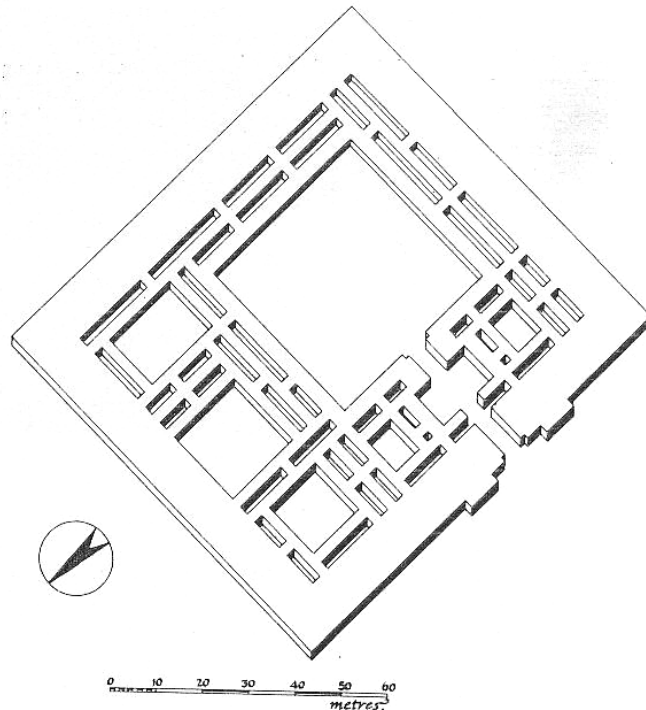
7) Fragment of the Pîr-Husseïn stele, after: D. Hansen, *Art of the Akkadian Dynasty*, in: *Art of the First Cities*, ed. Joan Aruz, 2003, New York, p. 203.



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.



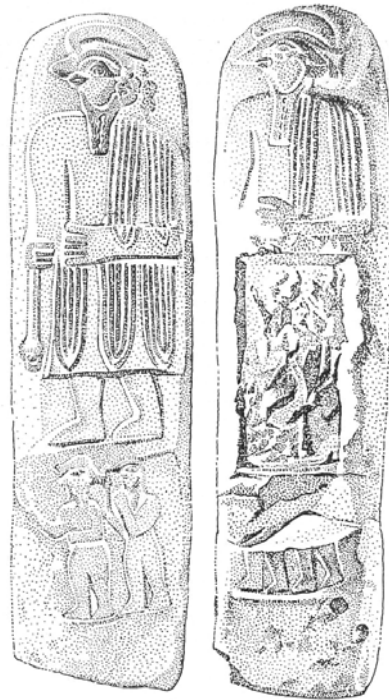
10) Narām-Sin fortress in Brak. After: Akkermans and Schwartz, *Archaeology of Syria*, Cambridge, 2003, fig. 8.26, p. 279. Courtesy of Cambridge University Press.



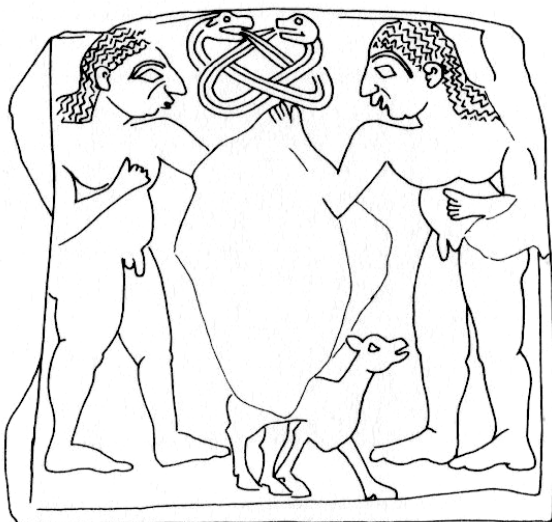
11) The Akkadian Hoard of Brak, after: D. Hansen, *Art of the Akkadian Dynasty*, in: *Art of the First Cities*, ed. Joan Aruz, 2003, New York, p. 232.



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.



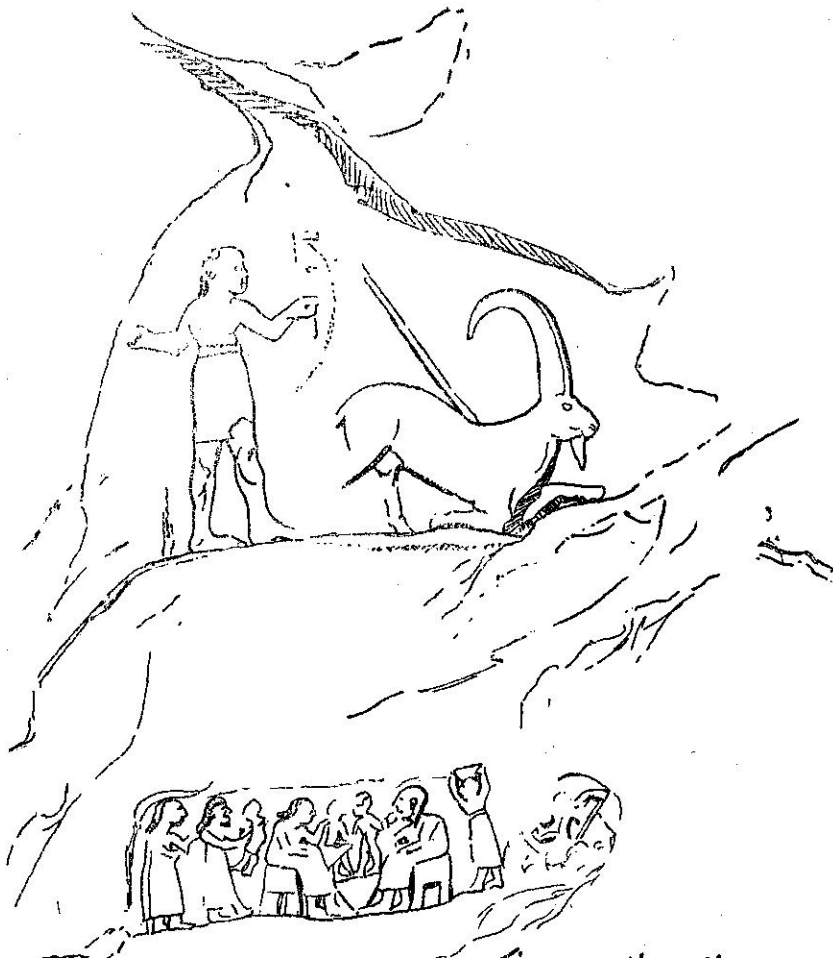
15) Moufflon-genius from the stele of Untaş-Napiriša of Elam, c. 1205 BC from Susa. After: Amiet *et al*, *op. cit.* fig. 75, p. 36.



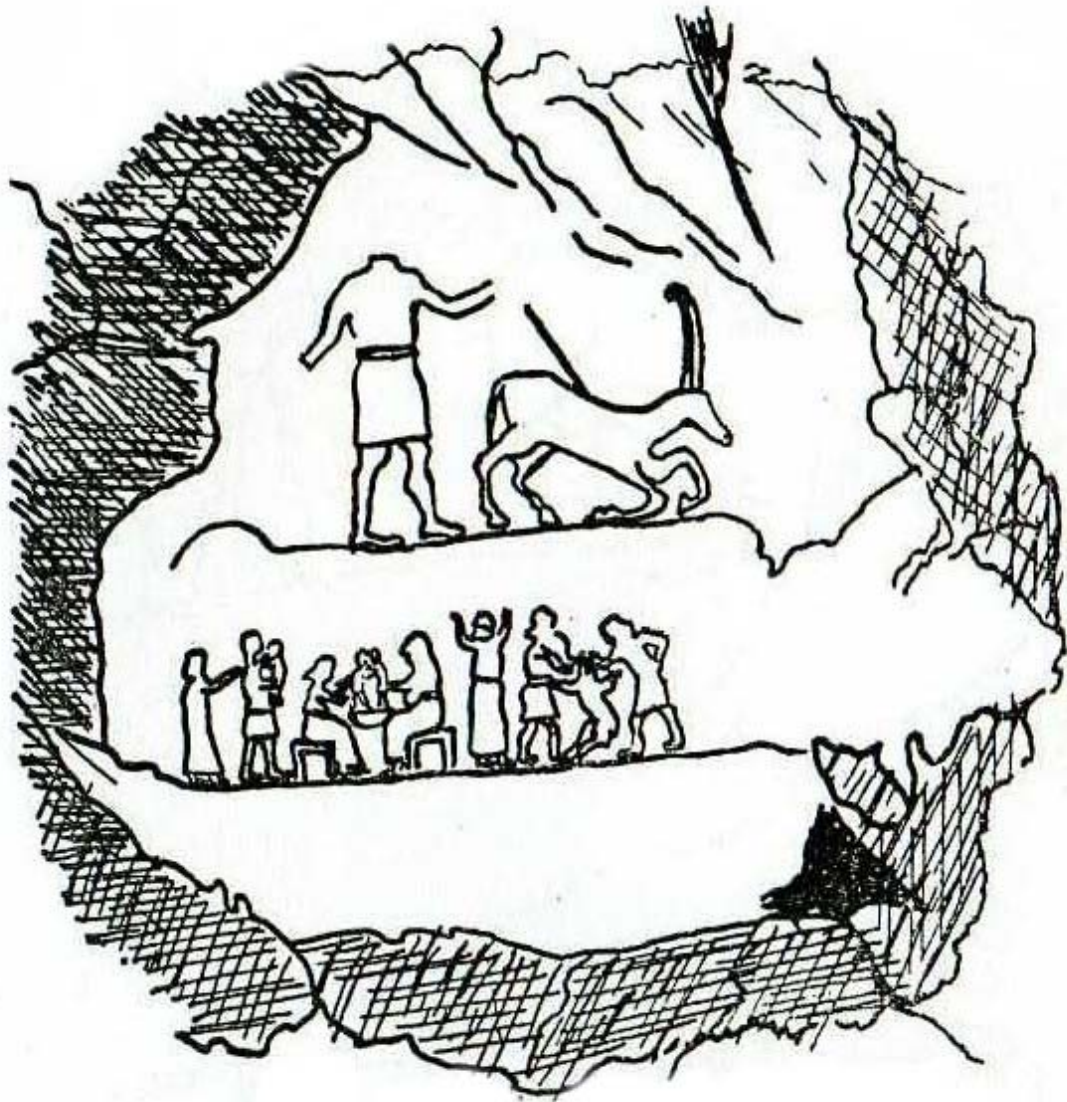
16) A bronze quiver from Luristan (800-700 BC), Teheran Museum. After: Seipel, W. (ed.), *7000 Jahre persische Kunst*, Milano, 2000, Cat. No. 25, p. 103.



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.



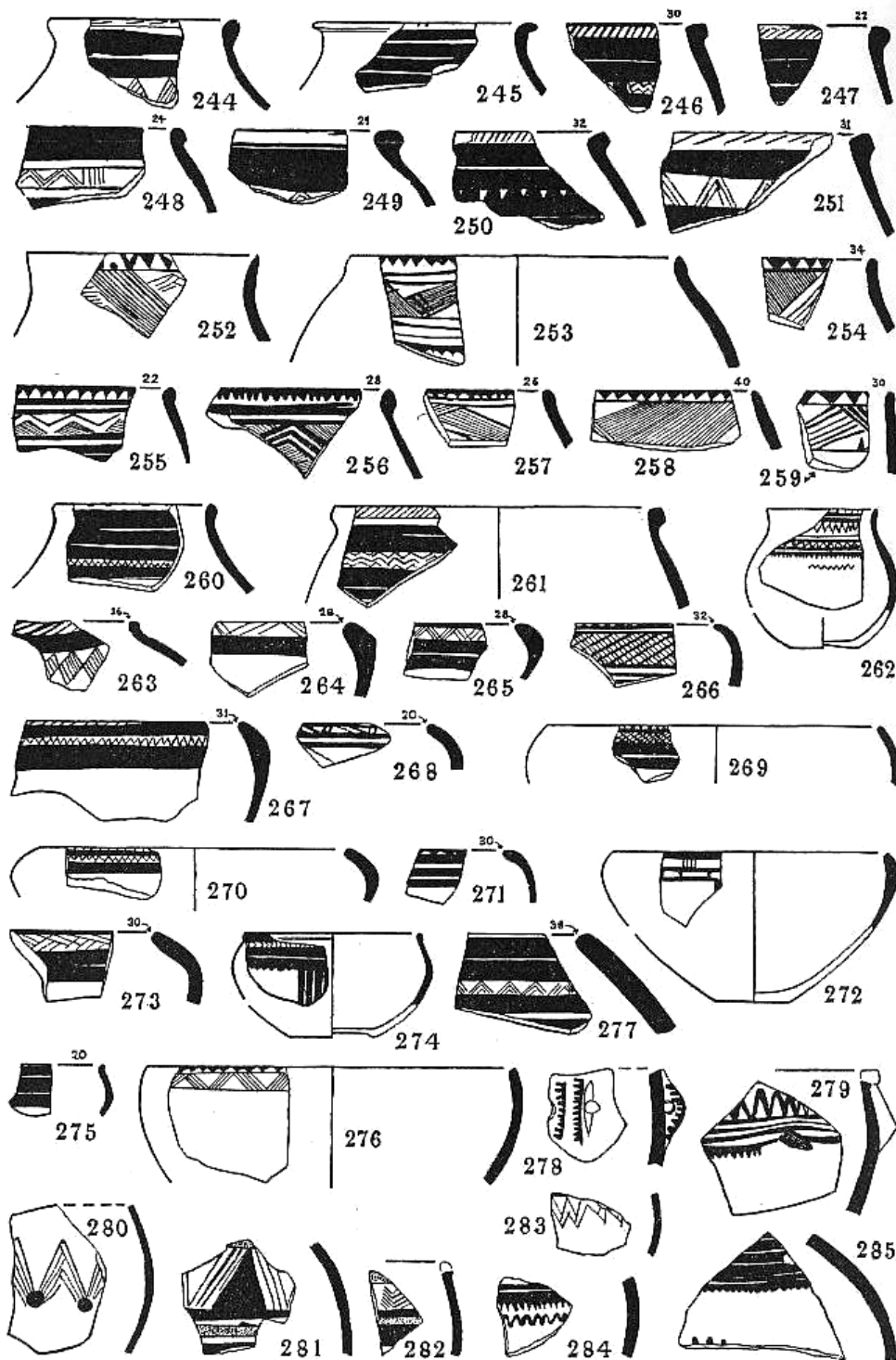
19) The third panel of Gunduk. After: Al-Amīn, *op. cit.*, fig. 13.



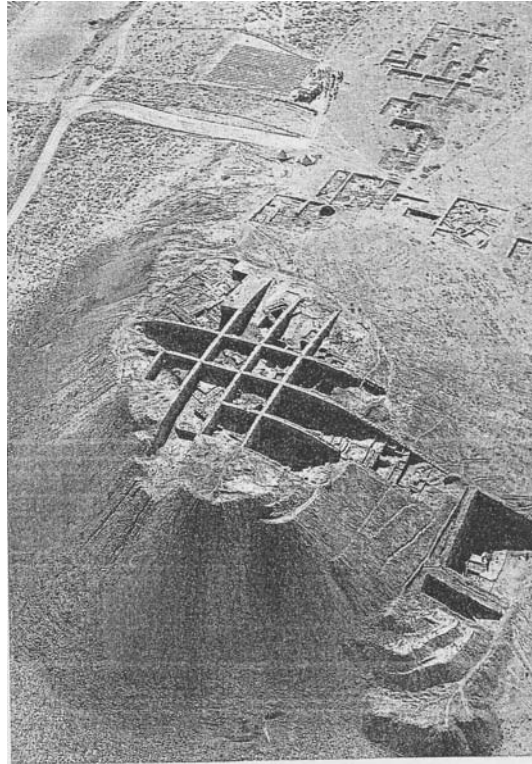
20) Detail of Kurangūn (Kuh-i-Rangān) Elamite rock-relief in Western Fārs (17th century BC). After: Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, London, 1941, fig. 304, p. 189.



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.



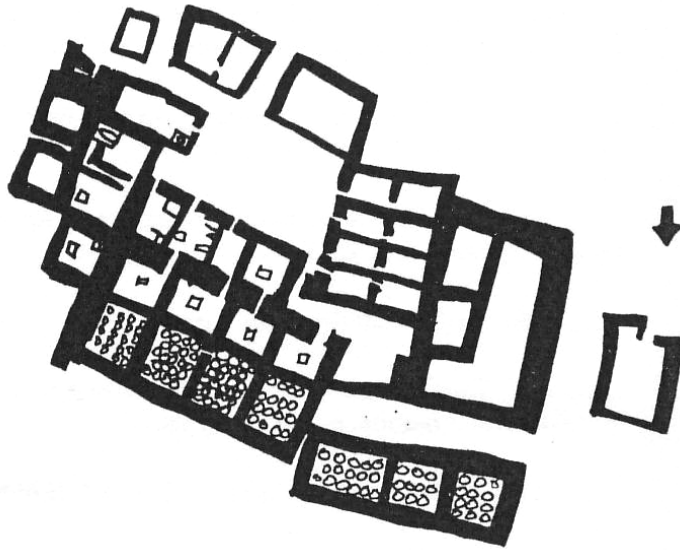
22) Early Bronze Age III pottery from Malatya-Elazig Region, after: Burney, *Anatolian Studies*, 8 (1958), p. 203.



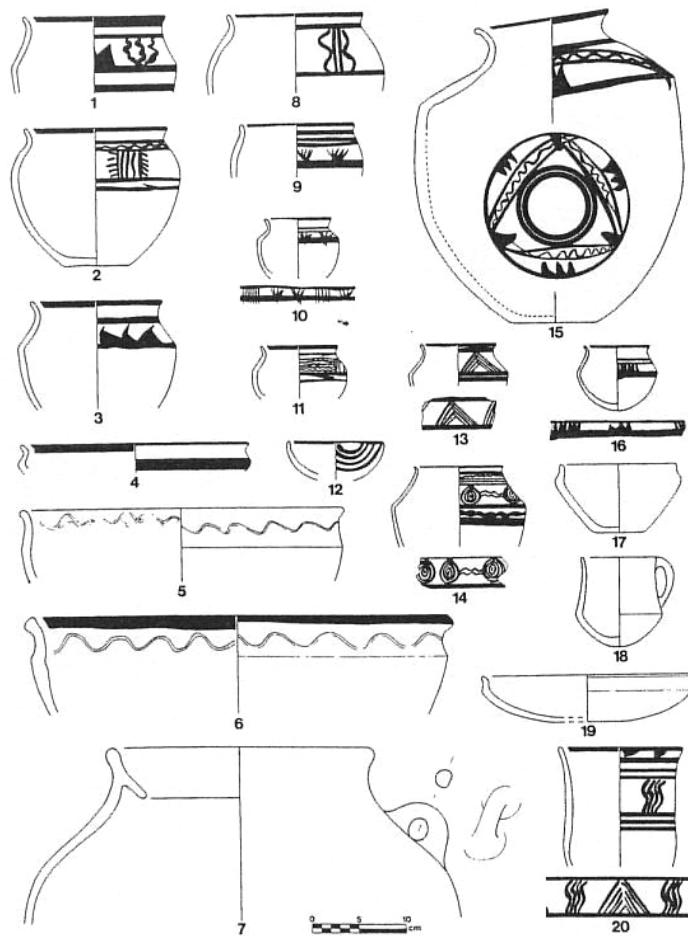
23) Norşun Tepe, after: Huot, *Une archéologie des peuples du Proche-Orient*, p. 175.



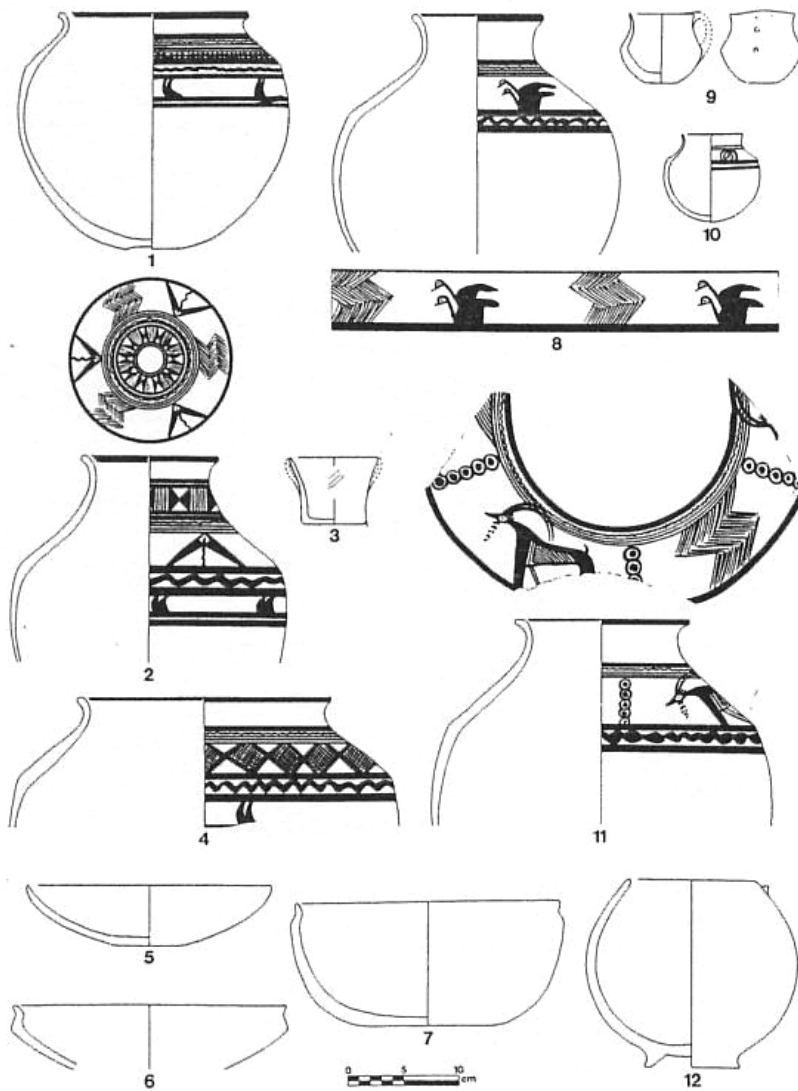
24) The Palatial building of Norşun Tepe, after: Joukowski, M. S., *Early Turkey, An Introduction to the Archaeology of Anatolia from Prehistory through the Lydian Period*, Iowa, 1996, fig. 5.43, p. 180.



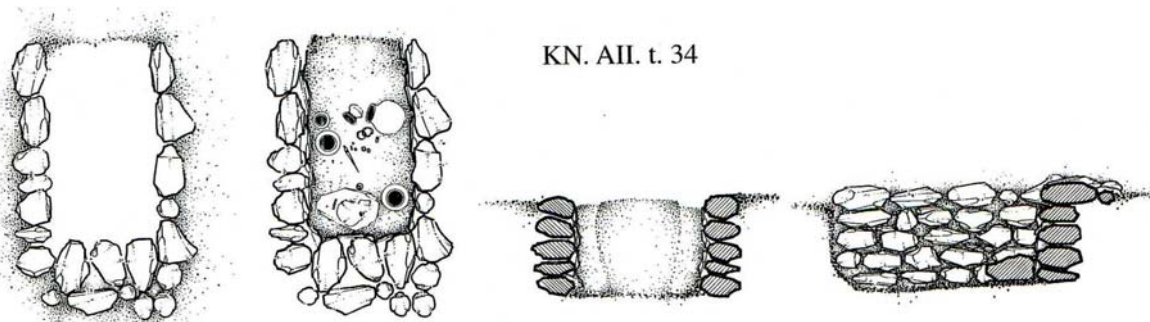
25) The pithos of Norşun Tepe, after: Joukowski, M. S., *Early Turkey, An Introduction to ...*, Iowa, 1996, fig. 5.44, p. 180.



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.