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

Date: 2012-06-19

CHAPTER FOUR




The Age of the Hurrian Expansion



Assuming that the Hurrians¹ came from the north or northeast (see below), the first place they would reach would be the mountainous regions of the northern Transtigris and eastern Anatolia. However, while the earliest available evidence, namely the year-names of Narām-Sîn of Akkad,² shows a Hurrian presence in the Transtigris, there is no evidence for Eastern Anatolia. But evidence of a Hurrian presence in the Habur Region as early as the OAKK period most probably indicates a Hurrian immigration through Eastern Anatolia. Since powerful centralized states, such as Akkad and Ur III, were controlling the Mesopotamian plains up to the Nineveh Region in the time when the Hurrians are thought to have immigrated, these newcomers would have been able to move only along the borders of these states. It is slightly to the southeast, i.e. towards the Hamrin Region, and westwards, to the Habur Region, that they make one of their earliest attestations in the written records.

The hypothesis that the Hurrians have come from the northeast of Mesopotamia fits well geographically with the year-name of Narām-Sîn recording that the first encounter with the Hurrians was in Azuḫinum. Azuḫinum can be located somewhere in the East Tigris region, on the Lower Zāb or slightly to the south of it.³ This again raises the question about the original home of the Hurrians. Unfortunately, no textual material of any kind is available that can help to solve this problem. They most likely came from the north or northeast, from the Trans-Caucasus⁴ or from across the Caspian Sea⁵ and were present in the mountains north of Urkeš

¹ The modern name ‘Hurrian’ is derived from the Akkadian geographic appellation *Hurri* and its ethnic derivative *Hurri*. However, the name was known to other peoples of the ancient Near East and found its way into their written records; cf. Hittite ^{URU}*Hur-ri* (used for the first time by Ḫattušiliš I); Ugaritic *hry*; even actual Hurrian (^{KUR}*Hur-ru-u-hé* and ^{KUR}*Hur-wu-u-hé*; Egyptian *Hu-ru* (used for the first time by Thutmose III), cf. Astour, M., “Les Hourrites en Syrie du nord, rapport sommaire,” *Revue Hittite et Asiatique (RHA)*, 36 (1978), p. 1. The Egyptian rendering of this name was  = Ḫ₃-rw, cf. Vernus, P., *Les Hurrites dans les sources égyptiennes*, in *Problèmes concernant les Hurrites*, I, Paris, 1977, p. 42. The Biblical Hebrew *hōrīt* was earlier wrongly understood as derived from Hebrew *hōr* with the meaning ‘cave-dwellers,’ cf. Wilhelm, G., “Gedanken zur Frühgeschichte der Hurriter und zum hurritisch-urartäischen Sprachvergleich,” *Hurriter und hurritisch*, ed. Volkert Haas, Xenia 21, Konstanz, 1988, p. 43. The Hurrian form of the name shows that the ethnonym is built on the root *hur-*, cf. Edzard, D. O. and A. Kammenhuber, “Hurriter, Hurritisch,” *RIA* 4 (1972-75), p. 508.

² Discussed below under “The Old Akkadian Period.”

³ For the location of Azuḫinum and the problems raised by its identification, see note 24 in chapter two. Steinkeller and Salvini think that Azuḫinum mentioned in this campaign of Narām-Sîn was situated in the Habur area, not in the east Tigris region; cf. note 24 in chapter two.

⁴ Cf. Steinkeller, “The Historical Background...,” p. 96; Kammenhuber, A., “Die Hurriter und das Problem der Indo-Arier,” *RHA*, 36 (1978), p. 88; Richter, Th., “Die Ausbreitung der Hurriter bis zur altbabylonischen Zeit: eine Kurze Zwischenbilanz,” *2000 v. Chr., politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklung im Zeichen einer Jahrtausendwende*, 3. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 4.-7. April 2000 in Frankfurt/Main und Marburg/Lahn, Saarbrücken, 2004, p. 272 and the bibliographical references in note 30; cf. also Edzard and Kammenhuber, “Hurriter, Hurritisch,” *RIA* 4, p. 507.

⁵ Cf. Kammenhuber, A., “Die Arier im Vorderen Orient und die historischen Wohnsitze der Hurriter,” *Or. NS* 46 (1977), p. 134; Kammenhuber, “Die Hurriter und ...,” *RHA*, 36 (1978), p. 88. In this respect, one must point to the hypothesis of Ungnad, who wrote about the Hurrians as the aboriginals of the region between Palestine in the southwest and the Armenian mountains in the northeast. Later he called them the Subarians and considered them the founders of the prehistoric Halaf Culture, cf. Wilhelm, “Gedanken zur Frühgeschichte...,” *Hurriter und hurritisch*, p. 44. The hypothesis is hardly tenable, for the Hurrians we know now were distinct from the Subarians (see Chapter Two, under the Subarians). Moreover, the point given as the western presence of the Hurrians in Palestine proved to be a biblical allusion to a small group of Hurrians who lived in Edom: Wilhelm,

since the fifth millennium BC, according to Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati.⁶ Since the Hurrian word *turišhe*, “west,” is apparently derived from *turi*, “down,”⁷ Richter thinks it indicates the eastern mountainous homeland of the Hurrians. Hurrian mythology, as found in later copies in Hittite archives, is also in favour of a northern mountainous homeland, since these myths are set in a mountainous environment.⁸ Other Hurrian traditions found in the material culture of Urkeš show a culture cradled in the old rural Hurrian communities of the northern highlands, in northern and eastern Anatolia. Among these were the iconographic styles and elements later found in the iconography of Kültepe level II, such as the bull standing on an altar, the slaying of a reversed bull using the long triangular knife, the fashion, particularly headdresses, and the early Transcaucasian sherds and andirons found in Urkeš.⁹ There is evidence of trade relations between Urkeš and the northern mountains, in which metals, stones, timber and wild animals were exchanged.¹⁰ This fact leads to the conclusion that the inhabitants of the northern highlands were in fact rural Hurrians rather than urban Hurrians of the Habur region.¹¹ In any case, recent discoveries in northeastern Syria show that the regions of southeastern Anatolia must have played a significant role in the prehistory of the Hurrians.¹²

Earliest Evidence

The Old Akkadian Period

The Transtigris

In the northern Transtigris, the first attestations of Hurrian PNs and GNs date to the Akkadian period. A year-name of Narām-Sîn mentioned for the first time a ruler called T/Daḫiṣ-atili¹³ during one of his campaigns to the northeast. The year-name can be translated: “The ye[ar] Narā[m-S]în was victorious over the land of Subir at **Azuḫinum** and took prisoner T/Daḫiṣ-atili.”¹⁴ The place-name connected to this Hurrian named ruler also has

op. cit., p. 43. The same is true for the scattered Hurrian names attested in Layašum (= Tell al-Qāḥī) in Palestine from the period of the Mari Archive: Richter, “Die Ausbreitung der Hurrer ...,” p. 290. The purport of Chiera and Gelb’s theory is that the Hurrians were present from the end of the 3rd millennium BC in the mountainous regions to the east and northeast of Assyria and in the plains northeast of Assyria, and that they moved to the west and southwest in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC., cf. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁶ Buccellati G. and M. Kelly-Buccellati, “Urkesh and the Question of the Hurrian Homeland,” *Bulletin of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences* 175, no. 2 (2007), p. 150.

⁷ Richter, “Die Ausbreitung der Hurrer ...,” p. 273.

⁸ Marilyn Kelley-Buccellati, “Urkesh and the North: Recent Discoveries,” *SCCNH* 15 (2005), p. 40. Note that the Hurrian myth of silver states that silver was a boy living with his mother in the mountains and has rough encounters with the other children. He then sets out to look for his father Kumarbi, who administers justice for all the lands from his main seat in Urkeš as told by his mother. When silver arrives at Urkeš, Kumarbi had already departed to walk in the mountains, symbolizing the city control over the villages “by being recognized as the ancestral dimension of public life,” Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “Urkesh and the Question of ...,” p. 150. (the summary of the myth after Buccellati and Kelly Buccellati, *ibid.*).

⁹ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 144-6.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 145-6.

¹¹ Kelly-Buccellati, “Urkesh and the North,” p. 30 and 40, where she says that even iconography in Urkeš has its closest parallels in the later Kültepe level 2 iconography.

¹² Richter, “Die Ausbreitung...,” p. 266.

¹³ This PN is analysed as: *taḫe* ‘man’ enlarged with the suffix *-iš* and *atal* ‘strong,’ cf. Salvini, “The Earliest Evidence of the Hurrians ...,” *Urkešh and the Hurrians*, 1998, p. 100, note 1.

¹⁴ Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 86, q.

distinctive Hurrian characteristics in the suffixes *-hīni* and *-hīna*.¹⁵ More significant, as Steinkeller noted, is that this is the first time in recorded history that the Hurrians are associated with Subartu.¹⁶ The story of the Great Uprising against Narām-Sîn, although a later compilation, mentions a certain Puttim-atal,¹⁷ king of **Simurru**, who joined that uprising.¹⁸ In another year-name of Narām-Sîn the name of Simurru occurs in combination with a clear Hurrian place-name, **Kirašeniwe**:¹⁹ “The year Narām-Sîn was victorious over (the yoke?) of Simurru in Kirašeniwe and took Baba, the *ensi* of Simurru (and) DUB.UL, *ensi* of Arame prisoner.”²⁰ Another inscription that is believed to be by Narām-Sîn, judging by the royal titles, mentions Hurrian-like GNs located in Subartu, such as Zumḥinnu, Šewin-[...], Šu’awe, [...]we in addition to Azuḥinnu.²¹ In the **Hamrin region** and **lower Diyāla** some PNs from the OAKk. period show a Hurrian presence. Some good examples are *Dup-ki-a-šum* (= Tupki-ašum), probably *A-ru-um*, *al-la*, *Šè-eb-ru-ug*, and probably *Zu-zu* from Ḥafāji,²² *Tùl-pi-ip-še* and *Wi-(ir-)ri* from Tell Suleima.²³ These few PNs, although some of them such as Wir(r)i and probably his boss (?) Tulpipše held priestly functions, do not necessarily imply a dense Hurrian population, but they could have been individuals moving there in this period.

Talmuš has been referred to as a probable Hurrian GN in the Transtigris region by Michalowski. He proposes that it is composed of the Hurrian word *talmi* “great.”²⁴ He further suggested replacing the name formerly read as Rīmuš with Talmuš, since the royal name Rīmuš was always written with RÍ not RI and royal names are used only as parts of compound names.²⁵

¹⁵ Cf. Gelb, I. J., “Hurrians at Nippur in the Sargonic Period,” *Fs. Johannes Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag am 27. August 1958 gewidmet*, Hrsg. von R. von Kienle, A. Moortgat, H. Otten, E. Von Schuler und W. Zaumseil, Heidelberg, 1959, p. 186; 187 and especially 189.

¹⁶ Steinkeller, “The Historical Background...,” p. 91.

¹⁷ Based on Gelb and Girbal, Salvini analysed the name as *Puttum-atal, the first part of which is presumably connected to *puttukki* ‘achievement,’ and the second part ‘strong, mighty,’ Salvini, “The Earliest...,” p. 103.

¹⁸ ^m*Pu-ut-ti-ma-tá-al* LUGAL *Ši-mu-ur-ri-im*^{ki}, Grayson, A. K. and E. Sollberger, “L’insurrection générale contre Narām-Suen,” *RA* 70 (1976), text G, l. 29, p. 112.

¹⁹ *Kiraše=ni=we*: *kiraši* can be the adj. ‘lengthened,’ or the PN Keraše (cf. *NPN* 223) + the identifying suffix *-ni* + the genitive suffix *-we*: Salvini, “The Earliest...,” p. 103. The GN is also compared with later Tašeniwe and Ur III Da-ši-ne-we by Steinkeller, “The Historical Background...,” p. 93. Salvini considers Kirašeniwe one of the cities of the land of Simurru, cf. Salvini, “The Earliest Evidence...,” p. 102.

²⁰ in MU ^d*Na-ra-am*-^dE[N.Z]U ŠUDUN *Ši-mu-ur-ri-im*^{ki} in *Ki-ra-šè-ni-we*^k[^l] *iš₁₁-a-ru* ù *Ba-ba* ÉNSI *Ši-mu-ur-ri-im*^{ki} DUB[?].UL[?] ÉNSI *A-ra-me*^{ki} *ik-mi-ù*, Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, D-12. Narām-Sîn 5b, p. 51.

²¹ For the inscription cf. Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 141f (E2.1.4.30).

²² Richter, p. 304, referring to Sommerfeld, W., *Die Texte der Akkade-Zeit. I. Das Dijala Gebiet: Tutub*, Münster, 1999. Richter analysed the name as *tupki-až=o=m*, of which the last part consists of the transitive/ergative construction annexed to the rarely used and still unexplained verb *aš-*: *ibid.* The first part of which is almost identical with Tupkiš, *endan* of Urkeš.

²³ Al-Rawi, F. N. H., “Two Old Akkadian Letters Concerning the Offices of *kala’um* and *nārum*,” *ZA* 82 (1992), p. 181. The two PNs occur in IM 85455, l. 1 (*Tùl-pi-ip-še*); 9 (*Wi-ri*) and IM 85456, l. 5 (*Wi-ir-ri*). *Wiri* has been compared to PNs from Nuzi (*NPN* 173 and 275). It is probably related to *weri* “sword” (*GLH*), or *feri* according to Wilhelm, who would like to keep it apart from *fir-*. As for *Tùl-pi-ip-še*, it may terminate in an abbreviated form of *-šenni*, with *tulpi* as a verbal base or a structure showing nominal endings: Al-Rawi, *op. cit.*, p. 81, note 13.

²⁴ Michalowski, P., “Mental Maps and Ideology: Reflections on Subartu,” *Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium*, ed. H. Weiss, Connecticut, 1986, p. 139, note 17.

²⁵ *Ibid.*; see also Goetze, A., “An Old Babylonian Itinerary,” *JCS* 7 (1953), p. 62, note 78. Extra support comes from the occurrence of Assyrian Talmusi, whose governor held the *līmu*-office in the years 786, 754 and 696 BC, cf. Kessler, K., *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens*, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 17, n. 87. Talmuš was most probably located in Khirbet Jarrahiya, 24 km to the west of Ain Sifni, north of Khorsabad; cf. for this:

[Hannoon, N., *Ancient Cities and Archaeological Sites...*, p. 176]. حنون، ن.، مدن قديمة و مواقع أثرية، ص. ١٧٦.

Also from the Old Akkadian period the stone tablet from **Nippur**²⁶ bears Hurrian names and Hurrian linguistic features. The white marble tablet (BE I nr. 11) lists 92 garments handed over by a lady called Tupin to a certain Šehrin-ewri, whose name is doubtless Hurrian. In the description of the garments Hurrian terms also occur: *hišelu=ḫina*, *zimze=ḫina* and *'aku=ḫina*.²⁷

The **Gasur** tablets yielded some Hurrian PNs, such as *A-li-a-sar* (185 II 6; 188 III 3), *A-ri/tal-ḫu-ḫa* (153 VIII 4), *E-wa-ri-ki-ra* (185 II 3), *Ki-ip-tu-ru* (129: 11; 153 IV 31; 199: 5), *Ši-ni-ša-am* (51 I 2; 52 I 3),²⁸ I would add *Bu-da-úk-ki* (23: 6), perhaps < *puttukki*. Such names have been also detected in Babylonia, presumably prisoners of war taken from northern Mesopotamia or the Transtigris to Babylonia.²⁹

Even in the far east there was a king of **Tukriš** with a good Hurrian name, according to a Hittite-Hurrian ritual from Hattuša (KUB XXVII 38 iv 14).³⁰ He seems to have ruled sometime in the Akkadian Period, since the text refers to events that took place in that period. His name was Kiklip-atal³¹ of Tukriš. An inscription of Hammurabi from Ur linked Tukriš with Elam, Subir and Gutium when describing their landscape as distant mountains and their language as difficult.³² Tukriš deserves more detailed comments. The oldest official attestation of this land after its occurrence in the ritual text is in the Ur III period. It is recorded in a school tablet from Nippur (Ni. 2126+4178=ISET 1 211)³³ as a source of gold and lapi-lazuli. An association of gold with Tukriš is also found in another version of the Sumerian mythological text 'Enki and Ninhursag' from Ur.³⁴ The land was also known for metal working,³⁵ for the texts from OB Mari mention bull-headed cups of Tukriš-type

²⁶ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 8. Concerning the tablet cf. Gelb, "Hurrians at Nippur in the Sargonic Period," p. 183-195. It was not usual to write an everyday document on a marble tablet, which is why it was designated a "pageantry inscription accompanying a gift" by Edzard and Kammenhuber: Edzard and Kammenhuber, *RIA* 4, p. 509. It is also possible that the garments, the subject of the text, were being forwarded from one of the Hurrian states of Upper Mesopotamia or the Zagros: Salvini, "The Earliest...", p. 103.

²⁷ Salvini, *ibid.* The suffix *-ḫina* is the Hurrian possessive pronoun + plural article, cf. Edzard and Kammenhuber, *RIA* 4, (1972-5), p. 509.

²⁸ Cf. *HSS* 10, p. xxviii-xxxvi. Gelb was the first to point out 'Hurrian' names in the Gasur tablets, in *Hurrians and Subarians*, p. 52-53, when he cited parallel Hurrian names from later Nuzi texts. For the discussion and analysis of these names see Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 297. The PN Atal-ḫuḫa (*adal-ḫuḫ(u)=a*) includes the well-known *adal* with the nominal element *ḫuḫu* in the essive case. *Ewari-kira* (*ewari-kir(i)=a*) includes *ewri* "lord, king," with an unknown adj. **kiri* in the essive case. *Kip-turu* is understood as *ki-ip-*, a transitive/non-ergative structure of the verb *ke* "to put, to place" followed by the nominal form *-tu-ru* from *turi* "man," functioning here as subject: *ke=i=b=tur(i)=u* "the man has put/settled;" *Tiru-šaki* includes the rare verb *tir-* appearing in OB PNs, such as *Tir-šarri*, and *ša-ki*, found in female PNs, such as *Aššum-šaki*, *Atal-šaki* and *Elan-šaki*.

²⁹ Steinkeller, "The Historical Background...", p. 90, n. 53. The names are *Ú-na-ap-šè-na*, *A-ri-nin* (OSP 1 47 v 3-4); *Dup-ki-a-šum* (MAD 1 233 iv 11); 'Ú. *-na-ap-[šè-na(?)]* (MAD 4 167:17), and *A-ḫu-šè-na* (Donbaz-Foster STT 142:2). He lists also the two Hurrian names *Tu-pi-in*, *Šè-eh-ri-in-ip/ew-ri* (BE 1 11: 13-14) of the marble tablet.

³⁰ See for this: Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ...," *ZA* 10 (1938), p. 83. The text runs as follows: *ḫi-ik-li-pa-ta-al-li-in uru.Tuk-riš-ḫe ewer-ni am-ma-ti*, "Kiklip-atal, the king of Tukriš, the grandfather/ancestor," Michalowski, P., "Magan and Meluḫḫa Once Again," *JCS* 40 (1988), p. 162, (referring to Kammenhuber, "Historisch-geographische Nachrichten...", p. 167).

³¹ His name was compared to the Ur III *Kip-atal* of Urbilum by Hallo in Hallo, W. W., "Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier," *RHA* 36 (1978), p. 72, note 16. The name has been analysed as *kigl=i=b=adali*: Wilhelm, G., "L'état actuel et les perspectives des études hurrites," *Amurru I: Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites, dix ans de travaux*, Actes du Colloque International (Paris, Mai 1993), ed. J.-M. Durand, Paris, 1996, p. 175.

³² Gadd, I. J. and L. Legrain, *Ur Excavations. Texts I: Royal Inscriptions*, London, 1928, p. 45.

³³ Michalowski, P., "Magan and Meluḫḫa ...," p. 162, for its occurrence cf. p. 158, l. 7''.

³⁴ Cf. Komoróczy, G., "Das mythische Goldland Ḫarali im Alten Vorderasien," *Acta Orientalia* 26 (1972), p. 114. Komoróczy thinks that the gold came originally from Ḫarali and was redistributed by Tukriš, 114-5.

³⁵ There is for instance mention of three *kamkammatum*-jewels of gold in *ARM* 21, 223: 31: 3 *kam-kam-ma-at* KÙ.GI *Tu-uk-ri-še-tum*, cf. Guichard, M., *La vaisselle de luxe dans le palais de Mari*, *ARM* 31 (MDBP 2), Paris, 2005, p. 322, note 602.

(*Tukrišitum*) in 6 entries. Ivory products, such as *kannu*-stands, are also mentioned.³⁶ Textiles in the Tukriš-style occur also in the inventories of gifts sent to Egypt by Tušratta with his daughter.³⁷ Textiles labelled Tukrišian are recorded in some MB textile lists from Nippur, although their distinguishing characteristics are not clear.³⁸ From Qatna too, in a list of jewellery, “product of Tukriš,” occurs several times. Guichard thinks this denotes high quality rather than the place of origin.³⁹ Men from Tukriš are found in the Middle Euphrates area, such as a highly prized Tukrišian cook sent by a retainer to his lord.⁴⁰ Tukriš is not yet precisely located, but from the Mesopotamian sources,⁴¹ particularly OB, it appears to have been to the east of Mesopotamia,⁴² in modern Iran.⁴³ Nevertheless, Guichard proposed a location to the west, in the mountains of Amanus, basing himself on several criteria. One of these is the inscription of Šamšī-Adad I, who claims that:

³⁶ Dunham, S., “Metal Animal Headed Cups at Mari,” *To the Euphrates and Beyond, Archaeological Studies in Honour of Maurits N. van Loon*, Rotterdam, 1989, p. 214.

³⁷ These are “1 city-shirt, Tukriš-style” (EA 22 ii 37) and “1 garment, Tukriš-style, of many-coloured cloth” (EA 25 iv 45), Moorey, *op. cit.*, p. 443, referring to Moran, W. L., *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore and London, 1992, p. 53 and 80.

³⁸ Moorey, *ibid.* and the bibliography there.

³⁹ Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

⁴⁰ Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

⁴¹ Michalowski has compiled a list of its occurrences in his article on Magan and Meluḫḫa, p. 162-3, which is especially pertinent here:

- a) The Sumerian text Enki and Ninḫursag mentioned above: a source of gold and lapis-lazuli.
- b) The inscription of Hammurabi from Ur (UET 1 146): mentioning Tukriš with Elam, Gutium, and Subartu.
- c) An inscription of Šamšī-Adad I: stating that he received the tribute of Tukriš and the Upper Land (*mātum elītum*); cf. Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 50 (A.0.39.1).
- d) An adjective in a Mari list: for vessels made of precious metals, cf. *ARM* 7 239:12' (1 GAL SAG GUD GAL *Tu-uk-ri-šu-ú* KÙ.BABBAR) and 18' (GAL SAG GUD *Tu-u[k-ri]-š[u-ú]*).
- e) A unique OB seal inscription: as a source of terebinth seeds.
- f) A Hurrian ritual text from Boğazköy: concerning the early rulers (mentioned above), preceded by Elam, Awan, and Lullubum.
- g) A description in the Qatna documents: designating the style of gold objects (*ARM* 7 312) as *Tukrišû*, *Tukrišḫu* and *ša qa-ti* ^{KUR}*Tu-uk-ri-iš*^{ki}.
- h) MB documents from Nippur: describing coloured wool, see PBS 2/2 135 44:1 and Aro, *Kleidertexte* 33.
- i) A description of garments in the Amarna letters (EA 22 ii 37; 25 iv 45).
- j) Lexical texts: *Tuk-riš*, Ḫar-gud B V to Ḫḫ XX-XXII 13 (MSL 11 36); *ša-ad Tuk-riš*, Ḫḫ XXI 3:14 (MSL 11 13), written *ša-ad Tu-uk-ri-iš*^{ki} in OB Forerunner 1 (MSL 11 133:19).
- k) The NA text “Geography of Sargon of Akkad” (I. 34): here it is mentioned between Marḫaši and Elam.

⁴² Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 10; Michalowski, “Magan and Meluḫḫa ...,” p. 163.

⁴³ Steinkeller, “The Question of Marḫaši...,” *ZA* 72 (1982), p. 248; the map attached to the article (p. 265) – though not certain – puts it on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, traditional Tabaristān. However, according to Kammenhuber, it was in the region of Kirmashān, bordering Elam: Kammenhuber, “Die Arier im Vorderen Orient ...,” *Or* 46 (1977), p. 134, and the overview presented by Reiter, K., *Die Metalle im Alten Orient unter besonderer Berücksichtigung altbabylonischer Quellen*, Münster, 1997, p. 12-14 and 159, note 24. Komoróczy agrees in placing it on the way from Kirmashān to Hamadan: Komoróczy, “Das mythische Goldland...,” p. 115. For Moorey it was further north, in the headwaters of the Upper and Lesser Zāb, in the modern provinces of Kurdistan and Azerbaijan, i.e. later Media, also famous for its gold and lapis-lazuli supplies: Moorey, P. R. S., “The Eastern Land of Tukriš,” *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens, Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer*, eds. U. Finkbeiner, R. Dittman and H. Hauptmann, Mainz, 1995, p. 439 and 441. Its identification with NA ^{UR}*Ti-ig/k-ri-iš* (ABL 342 r. 1) in Mannea is not sure, since the latter might be a variant of *Sig/kris*, Ur III *Sig(i)riš*: Zadok, R., “Peoples from the Iranian Plateau in Babylonia during the Second Millennium B. C.,” *Iran* XXV (1987), p. 26, note 66; Zadok thinks Tukriš was located in Luristan, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 21, as does Bottéro: Bottéro, J., *Textes économiques et administratifs*, *ARM* 7, Paris, 1957, p. 312, note 1.

At that time I received the tribute of the kings of Tukriš and of the king of the Upper Land within my city Assur. I set up my great name and my monumental inscription in the land Lebanon on the shore of the great Sea.⁴⁴

This, as can be noted, is the only historical section in the inscription. The rest of the text is about building activities. The concise summary of the situation under his rule alludes to the eastern and western extremities of the area he controlled. Therefore, it cannot be understood as an indication to locate Tukriš in the west. A similar description is recorded in a literary text discovered in Kaniš, which enumerates the lands and peoples Sargon of Akkad conquered. It begins with Amanus and Tukriš, then runs through Ḫutura (near Puruṣhanda), Amurru, Kilaru (mentioned in the texts of Kaneš, but not identified), Kaneš, Ḫatu (Central Anatolia), Luḫme, Gutium, Lullum and Ḫaḫḫum.⁴⁵ To Guichard, this indicates the proximity of Tukriš to Amanus, contrary to Van de Mieroop, who sees simply an enumeration of lands that were located between Amanus and Tukriš.⁴⁶ Guichard further emphasizes a western location for Tukriš based on the sources of gifts labelled ‘Tukrišian’.⁴⁷ There is some risk in drawing such conclusions. Often products are sold far from their original home and bear the name of that home like a trademark; a distinctive local style may also be replicated elsewhere.⁴⁸ Small luxury items, such as metal or stone vessels, could easily be transported for trade, and the place of purchase does not determine the location of manufacture.

An important criterion for locating this land is the fact that it was a source of lapis-lazuli, or its firm association with that source. This leads to an eastern, not a western, location. The only known source of this stone to have been exploited in antiquity was in Badakhshan, Afghanistan.⁴⁹ Importing it to Mesopotamia would have followed one of the main routes that

⁴⁴ 73) *i-nu-mi-šu* 74) *bi-la-at* LUGAL.MEŠ 75) *ša Tu-uk-ri-iš^{ki}* 76) *ù* LUGAL *ma-a-tim* 77) *e-li-tim* 78) *i-na qé-re-eb a-li-ia* 79) *A-šur^{ki}* 80) *lu am-ta-ḫa-ar* 81) *šu-mi ra-bé-e-em* 82) *ù na-re-ia* 83) *i-na ma-a-at* 84) *La-ab-a-an^{ki}* 85) *i-na a-aḫ* A.AB.BA 86) *ra-bi-i-tim* 87) *lu-ú aš-ku-un*, Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 50 (A.O.39.1).

⁴⁵ Cf. Van de Mieroop, M., “Sargon of Agade and his Successors in Anatolia,” *SMEA* 42/1 (2000), p. 147-8, l. 47-62. According to Guichard, Ḫaḫḫum and Lullubum were geographically close, *ibid*. However, new textual and archaeological evidence shows that Ḫaḫḫum was on the Euphrates in the southern part of the Taurus Ranges, probably at Samsat or Lidar Höyük: cf. Van de Mieroop, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*, p. 250, note to l. i’ 5’ and Salvini, M., “Un royaume hourrite en Mésopotamie du Nord à l’époque de Ḫattušili I,” *Subartu* IV/1, Turmhout, 1998, p. 305, but cf. also Chapter Seven. Van de Mieroop tried to interpret the occurrence of the two GNs together, here and in a Mari letter (published as: Kupper, J.-R., *Lettres royales du temps de Zimri-Lim*, *ARM* 28, Paris, 1998, no. 60, l. 26-30) and in the list of the enemies of Narām-Sîn (cf. Westenholz, *Legends of ...*, p. 250-251, l. 4’-5’), by shedding doubt on whether this Lullum was identical with the traditional Lullubum, because for him, the attestations indicate a common border between the two, cf. *op. cit.* p. 153. In fact, the mention of Gutium in this text dispels any doubt that the text speaks about the same known Lullubum. The sequence of the GNs in this literary text may not have any geographical connotation. Concerning the Mari letter, the second piece of evidence for Van de Mieroop, it refers to “men of Lullum” (LÚ *Lu-ul-li-i* in contrast to the preceding *E-lu-ḫu-ur^{ki}*, cf. Kupper, *ARM* 28, no. 60: 27, p. 86), thus referring to individual Lullubians in northern Syria rather than to their land.

⁴⁶ Guichard considers that it would be more logical to point to Amurru rather than Lebanon if the suggestion of Van de Mieroop is correct, cf. Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 321, note 597.

⁴⁷ For details, cf. Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 321-3, especially 323.

⁴⁸ Three modern examples come to mind. The mosaic known as *Qašani*, used to decorate façades of buildings all over the Middle East, derives its name from the city of Kashān in Iran. But it is not necessarily produced there now; it has become simply a mark of style. Similarly the name *angora* denoting a textile is derived from the city of Ankara (= Phrygian Ancyra). Particularly interesting is the name of a special kind of dried lime known in Iraq and in Iran. It was imported into Iraq by sea, and first landed in Basra, so Iraqis called it ‘Basra lime.’ But the Iranians call it ‘Oman lime’ since it was imported into Iran via Oman. In fact the product comes neither from Basra nor from Oman but from much further afield.

⁴⁹ For this cf. Moorey, “The Eastern Land of Tukriš,” p. 442. Although other sources of lapis lazuli are known, such as the southern shores of Lake Baikal and in the Pamirs, the almost exclusive source in antiquity was the mines of Badakhshan, cf. Herrmann, G., “Lapis Lazuli: The Early Phases of its Trade,” *Iraq* 30 (1968), p. 21 and 28; Herrmann, G. and P. R. S. Moorey, “Lapislazuli,” *RIA* 6 (1980-83), p. 489-90. Tosi and Piperno state that the

bound Mesopotamia with the east, either the northern route running along the southern foothills of the Elburz Range, or the southern route through Kerman and Elam, or by the sea. Komoróczy notes remains of gold and lapis-lazuli in Tepe Hissar in Dameghan, suggesting that that was a station for storage and re-distribution of these two materials.⁵⁰ Other interpretations of this data that infer somewhere not on the way to Mesopotamia through Tepe Hissar would be too difficult to accept. Komoróczy concluded that Tukriš must have been on the way from Kirmashān to Hamadan, and Ḫarali was located beyond.⁵¹

That Hurrian PNs appear **among Marḫašians**⁵² from the OAkk. to the Ur III periods is interesting. A list of such names has been compiled by Steinkeller⁵³ and Zadok:⁵⁴ Ḫupšum-kibi,⁵⁵ Ḫawurna-nigi,⁵⁶ Mišḫi-nišḫi,⁵⁷ Kuš-elli,⁵⁸ Purašḫe⁵⁹, Ḫašip-atal,⁶⁰ Ḫul(l)ib/par,⁶¹ Šimšelaḫ⁶² and kuk-ulme.⁶³

It must be said that these early attestations do not necessarily indicate the very beginning of Hurrian immigration to the north and northeast of Mesopotamia. The seizure of power by a Hurrian ruler in Azuḫinum and Simurru, the organization of a military force, and more significantly giving Hurrian names to regions such as Azuḫinum and Kirašeniwe must have had a previous history, before Narām-Sîn. This would be a history of immigration, self establishment, replacement of sedentary populations by the new arrivals and finally the formation of a sufficiently serious threat to require a military response by Narām-Sîn.⁶⁴ The

“metamorphic structure of the lapis lazuli found in Sumerian sites in Mesopotamia seems to indicate that it came from Afghanistan,” Tosi, M. and M. Piperno, “Lithic Technology Behind the Ancient Lapis Lazuli Trade,” *Expedition* 16, no. 1 (1973), p. 15.

⁵⁰ Komoróczy, “Das mythische Goldland ...,” p. 115, referring to Mallowan, M. E. L., “The Development of Cities from Al-‘Ubad to the End of Uruk 5,” *CAH* I, part 1, Cambridge, 1970, p. 54ff.

⁵¹ Komoróczy, *ibid.*

⁵² It is even stranger that no Hurrian PNs are found among the Šimaški (cf. Zadok, “Elamite Onomastics,” p. 228-229), where Hurrians would be expected more than in Marḫaši, since Simaški is further north and apparently larger.

⁵³ Steinkeller, “The Question of Marḫaši ...,” p. 256 ff.

⁵⁴ Zadok, R., “Elamite Onomastics,” *SEL* 8, (1991), p. 230.

⁵⁵ Consisting of the transitive/ergative form of the unexplained *ḫupš-* and the unexplained *kibi*. cf. Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 307. According to Richter, *kibi* is in the essive case, but, if so, one expects a word ending with *-a*, not *-i*. For the essive suffix in Hurrian, cf. for instance Wilhelm, G., Hurrian, in: *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World’s Ancient Languages*, ed. Roger D. Woodward, Cambridge, 2004, p. 108; Wegner, I., *Einführung in die hurritische Sprache*, Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 57.

⁵⁶ *ḫawur(ni)* “heaven” and *ni-gi* which is found in other PNs, cf. Richter, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ The meaning of the second element, according to Richter, is probably a cultic object, the first element remains unknown, cf. Richter, *ibid.*

⁵⁸ The element *kuš-* is unidentifiable, while *é-li* can be understood as *elli*, a form of the Hurrian word *ela* “sister.” Cf. Richter, *ibid.*

⁵⁹ The word ending *-(a=)šḫe* can be Hurrian. As for *w/puri* there are several possibilities according to the Hurrian lexicon. One of these is *wuri* “view.” The form and structure of the name looks very much like the word *puramše* “slavery” or *purme* “servant,” Richter, *op. cit.* p. 308.

⁶⁰ A frequently attested name consisting of the verbal base *ḫaš/ž-* “to hear” and the word *adal*, “strong, powerful,” giving “the powerful (one) heard.” However, Richter has translated it mistakenly as “the brother heard,” cf. *ibid.*

⁶¹ Zadok, “Elamite Onomastics,” p. 230, nr. 89. This is reminiscent of his namesake Ḫulibar of Duddul, also from the Ur III period, cf. Goetze, A., “Ḫulibar of Duddul,” *JNES* 12 (1953), p. 114 ff. Goetze listed other occurrences of this name in the ‘Messenger texts’ from Lagaš, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 116-117.

⁶² Zadok, “Elamite ...,” p. 230, nr. 109. He says the name is linguistically Hurrian but resembles the Elamite name *Šim-še-il-ḫa*.

⁶³ Zadok, *op. cit.*, nr. 140, An Elamite-Hurrian hybrid name according to Zadok.

⁶⁴ A similar conclusion has been drawn by Steinkeller, who thinks the Hurrians must have begun their self-establishment at least one generation before Narām-Sîn: Steinkeller, “The Historical Background...,” p. 94. To Kammenhuber, loan-words in Hurrian are evidence of an older Hurrian presence in North Mesopotamia: Kammenhuber, A., “Historisch-Geographische Nachrichten aus der althurrischen Überlieferung, dem

available evidence is scanty concerning this point, due to the fact that the Mesopotamian historical records that precede the Akkadian dynasty deal principally with the internal conflicts between the Sumerian city-states. The few indications about the lands outside the alluvium do not help to draw relevant conclusions. Some think an older Hurrian presence is shown by the assumed Hurrian loan-word *ta/ibira* in Sumerian, used for a smith or copper-worker.⁶⁵ This etymology presumes a derivation from the Hurrian verbal root *tab/v*, ‘to pour’ or ‘to cast.’ The word *ta/ibira* in Sumerian is so old that it formed part of the name of one of the predeluvian cities, Bad-tibira. Although not certain, the borrowing by the Sumerians of such a technical word from the mountainous regions of the Zagros or even the Taurus is quite possible. Mountaineers in the Zagros and Taurus became skilful metallurgists in earlier times, because their land was, in contrast to the Mesopotamian alluvium, rich with metal ores. They used the plentiful supply of wood as fuel for extracting the metal. Moreover, since the Uruk Period, trade networks that connected the Mesopotamian ‘core’ with the northern, northeastern and northwestern ‘peripheries’ were principally based on the exchange of raw material from the peripheries and worked products from the core.⁶⁶ One of these vital raw materials was metal in the form of ingots, cast by the sellers in the mountains. It is from this that the word *ta/ibira* has probably come. The medieval GN *Tabaristān* also deserves attention. This name was given to the coastal strip and the inner steep mountainous region of the Alburz Chain to the south of the Caspian Sea from ancient times until the Seljūqs, and is known today as *Mazandarān*.⁶⁷ Folk etymologies of this GN mean ‘The land of axes’, associated with the abundance of woods widely exploited by cutting,⁶⁸ taking *Tab(a)r* as “axe” (in New Persian) and the Iranian word *i/astān* as “land” or “country.” However, the Hurrian word *tab/v* could be connected with the *Tab(a)r* of the geographical name *Tabaristān* and even the New Persian word *Tabr* and Kurdish *Tawr* “axe” could be related to the Hurrian verbal root *tab/v*, for axes as metal tools have been cast in these regions for millennia.

When returning to the question of the earliest date of a Hurrian presence, two possibilities can be assumed. The first favours an older presence in the region, but assumes that they were not in touch with the Mesopotamian rulers before Narām-Sîn, who was the first to record a Hurrian name. In this case they appear not yet to have reached such great numbers to overshadow the older inhabitants, such as the Gutians and Lullubians, as can be seen from the role these two peoples played in the Akkadian Period. The second possibility is that the Hurrians were still moving towards the Transtigris and North Mesopotamia during the Old Sumerian Period, but had not penetrated it. The supposed Sumerian contacts with them took place in north(west) Iran, the land with which the Sumerians had always cultural, political and trade contacts. The word *ta/ibira* is one example of such an exchanged cultural element. At

altelamischen und den inschriften der Könige von Akkad für die Zeit vor dem Einfall der Gutäer (ca. 2200/2136),” *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in alten Vorderasien*, ed. J. Harmatta and G. Komoróczy, 1976,” p. 161.

⁶⁵ Cf. Wilhelm, “L’état actuel et les perspectives des études Hourrites,” *Amurru*, I, p. 176, and more recently Wegner, *Einführung in ...*, p. 15. This Hurrian verb is attested in some texts from Boğazköy: KBo XXXII 14 obv. I 42 ff.: *kazi tabal=le=ž .. tav=ašt=o=m* “a smith cast a goblet;” *tabiri=ma ove=n=ž šid=ar=a kabal=le=ž* “the foolish curses the one who cast (it);” and *tabrenni*, “(copper)smith,” cf. Wilhelm, *Amurru*, p. 176, note 8.

⁶⁶ See for this the theory of G. Algaz presented by Rothman, M. in “The Origin of State in Greater Mesopotamia,” *The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies Bulletin (SMS)*, 38, September 2003, p. 25. One important note here is that there is evidence for the presence of merchants in South Mesopotamia with probable Elamite or Hurrian origins since the Oakk and Ur III periods; see Neumann, H., “Bemerkungen zum Problem der Fremdarbeit in Mesopotamien (3. Jahrtausend v.u. Z.),” *AoF* 19 (1992), p. 269.

⁶⁷ The name is associated as well with the people of the *Táπροποι*, cf. Bearman, P. J., Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W. P. Heindrichs (Ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 10 (T-U), Leiden, 2000, p. 18 (Tabaristān).

⁶⁸ Bearman, *et al.*, *ibid.*

any rate, the Hurrians were a minority in the Transtigris during the Old Akkadian Period, under the overwhelming power of the Gutians and Lullubians.

Northern Syria

Northern Syria at this time was inhabited by Semitic and non-Semitic-speaking peoples,⁶⁹ and it can be shown that the Hurrians also arrived there about then. Whether the Hurrian presence there predates the Oakk period is a difficult question to answer with certainty at the moment. G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati wonder whether the archaeological data, such as the continuity of the temple of Urkeš from the fourth millennium (Ninevite V) and the eight meters (and perhaps more) depth of the *ābi* (see below under ‘Urkeš’) and others, indicate a fourth millennium Hurrian presence.⁷⁰ Wilhelm is convinced that this is evidence that there had been a continuous Hurrian presence there for such a long period, pointing also to an early linguistic bond between Hurrian and ancient Semitic languages.⁷¹ This is seen in a certain type of sentence-names common to Hurrian on the one hand and Akkadian, Amorite and Canaanite on the other.⁷² As to written data no GNs attested in the Pre-Sargonic texts from **Ebla**,⁷³ **Mari** and **Nabada** (modern Beydar) offer any certain hint of a Hurrian etymology.⁷⁴ The Pre-Sargonic PN *bù-gú-e* from **Nagar**, attested in an Ebla tablet, is thought to have Hurrian characteristics: the final *-ue* and a comparable Hurrian element *puk(k)* are both found in later Hurrian names.⁷⁵ However, it is difficult to draw a firm conclusion from such a short name.

In the Akkadian Period, the situation changed. Texts from the **Habur region** and from Subartu Proper⁷⁶ show Hurrian PNs, such as ²*A-wa-tu-ri* (Urkeš), *Šè-ni-za-sa-am* (Urkeš), *Šu-pa-è* (Urkeš), *Ú-na-ap-šè-ni* (Urkeš),⁷⁷ *Dal-pu-za-ti-li* (Nagar), *Tup-ki-iš* (Urkeš), *sa’/ša-tar-*

⁶⁹ Gelb concluded that northern Syria was originally populated by a people of an unknown ethnic affiliation, later by the West Semites, and subsequently by the Hurrians, cf. Gelb, I. J., “The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples,” *JCS* 15 (1961), p. 41. These non-Semites were in all probability Subarians. According to Archi, in the Ebla period the northern Syrian region, from the coast of the Mediterranean to the Habur and beyond, formed one linguistic and cultural unity, as seen in the DN and PN from 17 cities; cf. Archi, A., “The Personal Names in the Individual Cities,” *QS* 13 (1984), p. 241, after Astour, M. C., “Toponymy of Ebla and Ethnohistory of Northern Syria: A Preliminary Survey,” *JAOS* 108, Nr. 4 (1988), p. 547. Astour thinks Northern Syria was Semitic, with no traces of other ethnic groups: Astour, *op. cit.*, p. 546.

⁷⁰ Buccellati and Kelly Buccellati, “Urkes and the Question of the Hurrian Homeland,” p. 148f.

⁷¹ Wilhelm, G., Hurrians in Kültepe Texts, in: *Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period*, ed. J. G. Dercksen, Leiden, 2008, p. 181.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Bonechi doubts whether a dozen of the possible non-Semitic Pre-Sargonic Ebla GNs, which belong to the region north of Karkamiš, were in fact Hurrian, cf. Bonechi, “Remarks on the III Millennium Geography of the Syrian Upper Mesopotamia,” *Subartu* IV/1, Turnhout, 1998, p. 237.

⁷⁴ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 274. Even in the 24th century no Hurrian element is detected. As Archi says: “It should be stressed, once and for all, that the Hurrian element is *entirely* absent from the whole area of the Habur Plains during the 24th century (BC),” Archi, A., “The Regional State of Nagar,” *Subartu* IV/2, p. 4. However, Richter says later that the first Hurrian attestation in cuneiform sources dates back to the Pre-Sargonic period, as indicated by the texts of Tell Beydar and Ebla; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 310.

⁷⁵ Cf. Catagnoti, A., “The III Millennium Personal Names from the Habur Triangle in the Ebla, Brak and Mozan Texts,” *Subartu*, IV/2, p. 46 and 62. In fact, Catagnoti is not sure whether the name is a Personal Name, but she stresses that the value *e* is rare at Ebla, although possible. It is noteworthy that Archi and Astour think the Hurrians began to appear in the Habur area only after the Ur III Period, after which their PNs started to appear: Archi, A., *Subartu* IV/2, p. 4; Astour, “Toponymy of Ebla and Ethnohistory...,” *JAOS* 108 (1988), p. 547. According to Astour, the first Hurrian PN in the Habur region is attested only in a text from the second year of Šū-Sîn, a certain *Tá-šal-ib-ri*, a messenger of Uršu (BIN III, 221: 35-36).

⁷⁶ For this terminology cf. Steinkeller, “The Historical Background ...,” p. 76 ff.; see also Chapter Two above.

⁷⁷ Cf. Steinkeller (referring to L. Milano, *Mozan 2: The Epigraphic Finds of the Sixth Season*, SMS 5/1 [1991], p. 23-25) “The Historical Background...,” p. 90, note 52; Wilhelm, G., “L’état actuel et ...,” *Amurru*, I, p. 176

gu-ni and *šu-gu-zi* (Beydar)⁷⁸ and *Ul-tum-ḫu-ḫu*, son of the king of Nagar.⁷⁹ They also include Hurrian GNs.⁸⁰ A handful of non-Semitic GNs in the Habur region that appeared in the texts from Nagar and Urkeš were “quite certainly Hurrian.”⁸¹ Even the name Nagar itself could be Hurrian in origin.⁸² From Urkeš, modern Tell Mozan,⁸³ we also have the important discoveries of the inscriptions of Tupkiš, *endan* of Urkeš, and his wife, Queen Uqnītum. In the two Akkadian texts found in the 1990 campaign in Mozan, the Hurrian PN Unap-šeni⁸⁴ occurs. The king of Urkeš bears on his sealings the title *endan*, which is somewhat controversial, at least etymologically. Suggestions have been presented to analyse it as consisting of the Hurrian suffix for professions –*dan*,⁸⁵ preceded by the *en*, which is either the Sumerian logogram EN “ruler”⁸⁶ or a classical form of the Hurrian *eni* “god.”⁸⁷ Others associate it with the Akkadian word *entu* “high priestess.”⁸⁸ However, the recent discoveries in Mozan, especially the collocations “Tupkiš, *endan* of Urkeš”⁸⁹ and “Uqnītum, the wife of

and note 6. However, Richter appears to be reticent about calling them Hurrian. He says they can be understood with a high degree of probability as Hurrian: Richter, “Die Ausbreitung...,” p. 275. Later he presented a philological analysis of some of these names: the first element of the name ²*A-wa-tu-ri*, i.e. ²*A-WA*-, though not certain, probably comes from the verbal root *aw/b* attested in Nuzi and OB names. Its second element is *turi* “man” (but note that *turi* in *GLH*, p. 273 is given as “inferior”). *Unapšeni* is clearly *un-a-b-šen(a)=ni* meaning “the brother came,” cf. Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 279-280.

⁷⁸ Richter, p. 276 and 279 (referring to *Subartu* II; Milano, *Mozan 2*, and *Subartu* IV/2). He analysed the name Talpuš-atili as *talav=o=ž(i)=adili* (by Wilhelm, G., “L’état actuel ...,” *Amurru*, p. 175, note 5), containing the lexeme *talāwuši* “great, big” and *atal* “strong.” The name *Tupkiš* (*tupki=ž*) consists of the very common but unexplainable *tupki*. Salvini thinks it is possibly an abbreviated form of *Tupki=šenni*, as *Unapše* relates to *Unap=šenni*, cf. Salvini, M., “Excursus: The Name Tupkiš” in Buccellati, G. and M. Kelly-Buccellati, “The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK,” in Ambros, A. A. and M. Köhbach (eds.), *Festschrift für Hans Hirsch zum 65. Geburtstag, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (WZKM)*, Band 86, Wien, 1996, p. 84. There are some other similar names like *Dub-ki-še-en/ni’ lú Gu-ma-ra-ši’ki* (*RGTC* 2, 174) and the above mentioned *Dup-ki-a-šum* from Tutub. For other occurrences of names with the element *Tupki(i)*, cf. Salvini, “Excursus...,” *op. cit.* p. 85-86. The name *Š/Satarguni* includes *šad* (“give back”) = *ar* (iterative/factitive) + *gu-ni*, a common element in Hurrian PNs, as in the OB Mušum-kune/u, a person from Mardaman, and Teššup-kuni (AIT *33:10) (Richter, p. 276). As for the name *šu-gu-zi*, the number “one” forms its first element *šug(i)*, with *uzzi* attached to it and means “To befit one, fitting for one,” cf. Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 276. However, Talon in a study of the PNs of Beydar tablets did not recognize any Hurrian names: Talon, Ph., “Personal Names,” in *Administrative Documents from Tell Beydar (Seasons 1993-1995), Subartu* II, Turnhout, 1996, p. 75; 80. Van Lerberghe as well sees no Hurrian linguistic elements in the Beydar tablets: Van Lerberghe, K., “The Beydar Tablets and the History of the Northern Jazirah,” in *Subartu* II, p. 120.

⁷⁹ Biga, M. G., “The Marriage of Eblaite Princess Tagriš-Damu with a Son of Nagar’s King,” *Subartu* IV/2, Turnhout, 1998, p. 19.

⁸⁰ According to Bonechi, the compact archaic Semitic toponym “started in the northeastern part of ancient Syria, and was partially substituted by a non-Semitic, Hurrian toponymy during the Sargonic Period,” Bonechi, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

⁸¹ Bonechi, M., “Remarks on ...,” *Subartu* IV/1, p. 222. Nevertheless, Richter remains cautious: Richter, “Die Ausbreitung...,” p. 275.

⁸² For the analysis of the name Nagar and its identification with Nawar, see below, under ‘Nawar.’

⁸³ For the identification of Tell Mozan with ancient Urkeš cf. Buccellati, G. and M. Kelly-Buccellati, “The Identification of Urkeš with Tell Mozan,” *Orient Express* 1995/3, 67-70; *AfO* 42-43 (1995-1996), 1-36; *WZKM* 86, 1996 (Fs. H. Hirsch), 65-99.

⁸⁴ *Un=a=p=šeni* “The brother has come,” cf. Salvini, “The Earliest...,” p. 104.

⁸⁵ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 11.

⁸⁶ For a possible derivation from Sumerian EN after the Early Dynastic Period cf. Wilhelm, “Die Inschrift...,” p. 122, where he states that the title EN was known in Northern Mesopotamia and Syria from that time to mean “city ruler.”

⁸⁷ The second millennium *eni* could have been just *en* in this (classical) period of Hurrian.

⁸⁸ About this see Wilhelm, “Die Inschrift ...,” p. 121, and note 22; Collon, D., “The Life and Times of Teheš-atal,” *RA* 84 (1990), p. 134.

⁸⁹ Buccellati, G. and M. Kelly-Buccellati, “The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh: The Glyptic Evidence from the Southwestern Wing,” *AfO* 42 (1995), p. 9; 12.

Tupkiš⁹⁰ with “Uqnītum the queen”,⁹¹ lead to the conclusion that *endan* means ‘king’⁹² and has nothing to do with Akkadian *entu*.

For the third quarter of the 3rd millennium BC no Hurrian names have been found in those texts of Ebla concerned with the middle Euphrates and the region between the Balih and the Mediterranean coast up to the Taurus slopes in the (north)west (Tuttul, Emar, Harrān and Mari).⁹³

Expansion

Gutian and Ur III Periods:

The inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir of Gutium mention Nirišḫuḫa, the *ensi* of Urbilum. By analysing this PN as Hurrian,⁹⁴ we have another Hurrian governor in the city of Erbil from the Gutian Period. This implies that the Hurrians were, at least in the Gutian period if not earlier, already masters of Erbil and very probably of its vicinities.⁹⁵ The Hurrians also had the upper hand in some large urban centres in the Habur region, as seen above. A seal impression from the early post-Akkadian period from Brak, ancient Nagar,⁹⁶ bears the name and title of the city ruler Talpuš-atili: “Talpuš-atili, the sun of the country of Nagar, son of ...”⁹⁷ From his name, which means in Hurrian “The strong one is great,”⁹⁸ it appears that he was of Hurrian stock, and this is another indication of the range of Hurrian expansion in this

⁹⁰ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁹¹ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, p. 14.

⁹² Salvini, “The earliest...,” p. 104-105. But Salvini, although not sure about the connection, points to the comparable forms ^{Mi}*entanni* ‘(high)priestess,’ and to the epithet *entašši* of the goddess Ḫep/bat in Hittite-Hurrian texts in the regions of Kizzuwatna, Cilicia and Cappadocia from the 14th-13th centuries: Salvini, “The earliest...,” p. 104. Wilhelm seems to discard this etymology and gives only the meaning ‘king’, particularly when we know with certainty that Tupkiš of Urkeš was male and not female: Wilhelm, “Die Inschrift des Tiš-atal von Urkeš,” p. 121-122.

⁹³ Richter, “Die Ausbreitung...,” p. 285. For Mari see the discussion on p. 286.

⁹⁴ Steinkeller has listed in his “The Historical Background ...” the Hurrian PNs that contain some elements of this name: Ni-iš-ḫu-ḫa from Nuzi (Gelb et al. *OIP* 57, p. 107); Sargonic A-ri-ḫu-ḫa (Meek, Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi, *HSS* X, 153 viii 4); the Ur III Šu-bi-iš-ḫu-ḫa (of Kakmi) and the OB Ip-ḫu-ḫa and Ka-di-iš-ḫu-ḫu (Zadok, in Kutscher *Memorial Volume*, p. 225). Hallo as well, although in a different context, mentioned the name Neriš-atal of Mardaman, which contains the same first element: cf. Hallo, “Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier,” *RHA* 36, p. 72, note 16. I would add Ultum-ḫuḫu, son of the king of Nagar, about whom see Biga, “The Marriage of Eblaite Princess Tagriš-Damu ...,” *Subartu*, IV/2, p. 19; also see Richter, “Die Ausbreitung der Hurriter,” p. 299, who has analyzed the name as consisting of the modal structure =i(=)ž of the unidentified verb *ni/er-* or *nī/ēr-*, followed by the word *ḫuḫu* in the essive: *nir=i(=)ž-ḫuḫ(u)=a*. Richter also refers to Haas, V., *ZA* 79, p. 267 with note 25, and Neu, E., *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I, Untersuchungen zu einem hurritisch-hethitischen Textensemble aus Ḫatušša*, Wiesbaden, 1996, p. 500 for such a verb. As for the verb *ni/er* or *nī/ēr*, it might be the same *nīri* which Wilhelm translates as “good,” cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 382.

⁹⁵ Archival texts from the Ur III mention Hurrian PNs associated with the city of Talmuš, e.g. A-ri-ip-ḫu-up-pí lú Tal-muš^{ki} (AB 25, 92, 21), cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 157 (under Rīmuš).

⁹⁶ For the identification of Brak with ancient Nagar cf. Eidem, J., “Nagar,” *RLA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 75; Salvini, “The Earliest...,” p. 110; Eidem, J., I. Finkel and M. Bonechi, “The Third Millennium Inscriptions,” in Oates, D., J. Oates and H. McDonald, *Excavations at Tell Brak*, vol. 2: Nagar in the Third Millennium BC: Oxford, 2001, p. 99. As for the date of the seal impression see Matthews, D. and J. Eidem, “Tell Brak and Nagar,” *Iraq* 55 (1993), p. 203.

⁹⁷ i 1) *Tal-pu-za-ti-li* 2) ^dUTU *ma-ti* ii 1) *Na-gār*^{rki} 2) DUMU ^rx-x¹-[...], Eidem, J., I. Finkel and M. Bonechi, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Matthews, D. and J. Eidem, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

⁹⁸ Matthews, D. and J. Eidem, *ibid.*, in consultation with G. Wilhelm.

period and of their ability to seize power in almost all large urban centres of the Zagros and Taurus foothills, in addition to the mountainous territories to the north and northeast. Hurrian PNs that occur in texts relating to cities like Ebla, Mardaman, Nawar, Urkeš and Uršu prove this expansion.⁹⁹

As for the Iranian territories, Tukriš has been known from the Akkadian Period, to which can now be added another Hurrian name, *Šu-ni-ki-ip* ruler of Pil, to be placed tentatively in Iran.¹⁰⁰

From about the end of the Gutian Period or the first decades of the Ur III Period,¹⁰¹ the first royal inscription by a Hurrian king in Akkadian appears. This is the inscription of Atal-šen or Ari-šen,¹⁰² son of a certain Satar-mat, otherwise unknown but also bearing a Hurrian name.¹⁰³ The date given to the inscription would mean he was one of the successors of Tupkiš, king of Urkeš. However, his name was known before Tupkiš because his inscription was found early in the twentieth century.¹⁰⁴

Obviously the Hurrians pushed further westwards across the Euphrates from the middle of the third millennium BC¹⁰⁵ according to onomastic evidence.¹⁰⁶ The evidence from the middle of the third millennium sheds new light on the history of Hurrian population movements. So it

⁹⁹ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 280; for their identification see notes 73-77.

¹⁰⁰ Locating Pil in northwestern Iran is suggested by Zadok: Zadok, R., "On the Geography, Toponymy and Anthroponymy of Media," *NABU* 2000, no. 30, p. 34, and note 4. He further identifies Pil with NA *Wilu (written ^{kur}*Ū-i-la-A+A*).

¹⁰¹ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 9. Thureau-Dangin, who published the inscription for the first time, has dated it to the Akkadian Period. However, after a re-examination the inscription is to be dated somewhat later; cf. also Wilhelm, "Gedanken zur Frühgeschichte der Hurriter und ...," *Hurriter und hurritisch*, p. 50; *idem*, "L'état actuel ...," *Amurru*, I, p. 178; Frayne, D., *RIME 3/2: Ur III Period (2112-2004 BC)*, Toronto, 1997, p. 461; *idem*, "The Old Akkadian Royal Inscriptions: Notes on a New Edition," *JAOS* 112 (1992), p. 635.

¹⁰² For the name and inscription cf. Finet, A., "Adalšenni, roi de Burundum," *RA* 60 (1966), p. 17f.; Kammenhuber, "Historisch-Geographische Nachrichten...", p. 165, note 21; Kammenhuber, "Die Arier im Vorderen Orient," *Or* 46 (1977), p. 139; Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, p. 207. Both readings are theoretically possible. The reading Atal-šen means "The strong brother" or "The brother is strong," and the reading Ari-šen means "There is a brother" from the verbal root *ar(i)-* (See Kammenhuber, "Die Arier...", *ibid.*). For this reading compare the PN Arip-šenniš from Tigunāni (OB). However, Wilhelm confirms that the verbal form *ar(i)-* is not attested in early Hurrian PNs: Wilhelm, "Die Inschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš," *Urkesh and the Hurrians*, p. 120. Therefore the most likely and most accepted reading is Tiš-atal.

¹⁰³ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁴ The inscription was first published by F. Thureau-Dangin in *RA* 9 (1912), p. 1-4. The foundation statue with the inscription was reported to have come from Tell Shermola, close to Mozan, but Shermola has no archaeological levels dating to the time of the inscription. Therefore it must have come from Mozan; for this cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh ...," *Afo* 42 (1995), p. 1. For the text itself, see below, under 'Nawar.'

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Astour, "Les Hourrites en Syrie du nord...", p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Astour, "Les Hourrites...", p. 3. The names of two Ebla months are derived from the deities *Adamma* and *Aštabi*, who were once considered Hurrian deities. However, recent studies show that these, and even *Ḫepat* and *Išhara*, were Syrian deities adopted by the Hurrians, cf. Wilhelm, "L'état actuel et ...," *Amurru*, I, p. 177. For the Semitic origins of the divine names *Adamma* and *Aštabil* (instead of *Aštabi*) cf. Pomponio, F. and P. Xella, *Les dieux d'Ebla, études analytique des divinités Éblaïtes à l'époque des archives royales de IIIe millénaire*, Münster, 1997, p. 15; 76. But because the form *A-da-ma-ku-ni* occurs in Kaneš in the 19th or 18th century BC and the later form *A-dam-Ma-li-e* from Alalaḫ from 15th-14th century, attaching the Hattian element *Maliya* also attested in Kaniš, *Adamma* could belong to an old substratum of Asia Minor but later Semitized according to Lipiński: Lipiński, E., *Resheph, A Syro-Canaanite Deity*, Leuven, 2009, p. 52. The suffix *-kuni* belongs according to Laroche to a "submerged Anatolian language of unknown origin," Lipiński, *ibid.* (referring to Laroche, E., *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris, 1966, p. 48, no. 197). But this suffix is common among the Hurrian PNs, as explained above in discussing the PN *Š/Satarguni* (see above). For Archi both *Adamma* and *Aštabi*(l), together with *Išhara*, are among the substrate deities: Archi, A., "Divinités sémitiques et divinités de substrat, le cas d'Išhara et d'Ištar à Ebla," *MARI* 7, Paris, 1993, p. 72; Archi, A., "Substrate: Some Remarks on the Formation of the West Hurrian Pantheon," *Hittite and other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, eds. H. Otten, E. Akurgal, H. Ertem and A. Süel, Ankara, 1992, p. 10-11.

is wrong to speak of their emergence as beginning in the east and ending in the west, and to say that because they are first mentioned in the Narām-Sîn year-name in the Transtigris necessarily implies that the Hurrian presence there predates their presence in the Ebla region.

In this period (Ur III), the kingdom of Mukiš¹⁰⁷ first appears in the written sources. This GN was associated in some Ur III sources with a certain Ga-ba-ba, the man of Mukiš (A 2852 in the Oriental Institute- Chicago).¹⁰⁸ The kingdom,¹⁰⁹ located in the Plain of Antioch, (the Amuq Plain), is thought to have had a concentrated Hurrian population.¹¹⁰ Although Hurrians were there, they do not appear to have formed a majority in general, at least at this stage. That there was a Hurrian element in the local population is shown by the names of messengers mentioned in the texts. Of the 13 messengers sent by Ebla (7 messengers), Uršu (5 messengers) and Mukiš (1 messenger) to Ur, two bore Hurrian names: Memesura of Ebla and Tašal-ibri of Uršu.¹¹¹

During the same period archival texts indicate a Hurrian presence in the regions from the Sirwān in the Transtigris¹¹² to the Habur and Euphrates valleys in the west. The personal names from these regions are mainly Hurrian, and the names have mainly entered Ur III archival texts as a consequence of the Ur III warfare there. Ur III was deeply involved in the Transtigris region and beyond in this period, waging severe wars that lasted for generations. The numerous military campaigns, especially those under Šulgi, resulted not only in the control of large parts of the region mentioned above but also in a forced movement of Hurrians into Sumer, mainly as prisoners of war and deportees.

Richter, basing himself on the available source material, concludes that only parts of north Mesopotamia, between the Habur Triangle and the headwaters of the Tigris (Aranzaḥ in Hurrian) and the northern Transtigris, eventually linking to the Hamrin basin, can be counted as Hurrian populated areas.¹¹³

A look at the data discussed above shows that the Hurrians entered the Mesopotamian sphere of influence as early as the Akkadian Period (in the reign of Narām-Sîn). We think their penetration was somewhat earlier, assuming that their first recorded encounter with Akkadians is not necessarily contemporaneous with their first presence in that region, but that they were actually present some time before their presence was recorded. During that period the Hurrian groups had immigrated, established themselves and organized themselves into political entities, and had even given Hurrian names to the territories where they lived (Azuḥinum). While it is not easy to set a precise date for this, it might have been in the last part of the ED Period, parallel to the Nineveh V period in the north of Mesopotamia and the Transtigris. Interestingly, this date is almost the same as that given to Khirbet-Karak

¹⁰⁷ Mukiš was identified with *Mu-kiš-ḫi/e* of the Hittite texts by Gelb: Gelb, I. J., "Studies in the topography of Western Asia," *AJSL* 55 (1938), p. 81-82. The fragmentary *Mu-x-gi-iš^{ki}* attested in an Ur III text from the reign of Šū-Sîn is listed as one of the peripheral states of the Ur III Empire: Astour, "Les Hourrites...", p. 4, note 29. Nevertheless, the identification of this GN with Mukiš seems unlikely, taking into account the great distance between Sumer and the area round Aleppo and the Plain of Antioch where Mukiš was located.

¹⁰⁸ Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁰⁹ Mukiš was the name of the region as well as the name of a city that appears to have functioned as a regional capital, cf. Von Dassow, E., *State and Society in the Late Bronze Age: Alalaḥ under the Mittani Empire*, *SCCNH* 17, Bethesda, 2008, p. 12. The city of Mukiš, the location of which is still open, had served as a capital for the kingdom of Alalaḥ after the destruction of the city of Alalaḥ by the Hittites in the 15th century under Ilimilima of Alalaḥ, cf. Von Dassow, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹¹⁰ Astour, "Les Hourrites...", p. 4. While he does not exclude that the name Mukiš is a Semitic name with a third radical š, he thinks it is Hurrian with the Hurrian suffix -š, *ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Hurrian PNs are associated in the archival texts with the lands Gigibni, Ḫipilat, Kakmi, Arraphum, K/Gumaraši, Šašru(m), Šetirša, Urbilum and others, all located in the Transtigris, cf. Richter, "Die Ausbreitung...", p. 295 and 300.

¹¹³ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

pottery,¹¹⁴ which has been associated for years with the advent of the Hurrians. However, later studies have shown that this association cannot be proved, and in some cases it does not correspond to the area of Hurrian expansion.¹¹⁵ The place where the Hurrians originated, although not established, according to the available evidence would be to the east or northeast of Mesopotamia, perhaps across the Caspian Sea or in the Trans-Caucasus. In this connection the early appearance of Hurrian groups in the Habur region, almost at the same time as their appearance in the Transtigris, should be noted. This indicates that wide ranging Hurrian immigrations occurred over a large area simultaneously. Hurrians in the Habur region could have arrived from the mountains in the north and northeast, where they had kinsmen and with whom they maintained relations later, as in Urkeš and its contacts with the north (see above). Or they came through the mountain valleys and hilly lands of the Transtigris. The latter route would have passed through the territory east of the Tigris and have crossed the river in the plain south of Cizre (Jazira). This easy access to the Habur region was used later in the OB Period, when the Turukkians who were active in the Rāniya Plain entered the plains of Qabrā and Arraphā and then emerged in the Habur (see Chapter Six). The Hurrian expansion appears to have been steady and continuous, for there were areas that became populated with Hurrians later than the Akkadian period, such as the Diyāla-Hamrin region (Simurru) and the regions of Alalah and Ugarit.

The Inflamed Hurrian Lands

Once the kings of the Ur III Empire had established their rule at home and purged the land of the remnants of the Gutians, they began to look forward to expanding their territory in the same direction from which the Gutians had come. This process of self-establishment and organization appears to have occupied the whole reign of Ur-Namma, who has not left any evidence of foreign military actions except a campaign against Elam and some operations in the Diyāla and Hamrin regions.¹¹⁶ It is possible that Ur-Namma perished during one of these campaigns in the Diyāla, as indicated in the Sumerian literary tradition ‘Death of Ur-Namma:’ “In the place of slaughter they abandoned Ur-Namma like a broken pitcher.”¹¹⁷

The aim of the campaigns of the Ur III Empire is often seen as merely to *destroy* the foreign lands, following the mood of the date-formulae. Others see them more as a means of securing trade routes¹¹⁸ or pursuing a greed for booty: “They campaigned in those lands to

¹¹⁴ This is a type of hand-made, red-black burnished pottery, imitating metal or stone vases, with relief decorative motifs. Some specimens show they were wheel-made and without relief decorations. It spread from the region between the Kura and Araxes to Eastern Anatolia, Northern Anatolia as far as Khirbet-Karak on the southwestern shore of the Tabaria Lake; cf. Börker-Klähn, J., *Die archäologische Problematik der Hurriter-Frage und eine mögliche Lösung*, in *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, ed. V. Haas, Konstanz, 1988, p. 213; Hrouda, B., “Zur Problem der Hurriter,” *MARI* 5, p. 597.

¹¹⁵ For more arguments against this correspondence cf. Börker-Klähn, *op. cit.*, p. 213-4.

¹¹⁶ Sallaberger, W., *Ur III Zeit, in Mesopotamien, Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*, Hrsg. von P. Attinger und M. Wäfler, *OBO* 160/3, Göttingen, 1999, p. 134. His operation, as he says in his inscriptions, was to *liberate* some territories (Awal, Kismar, Maškan-šarrum, the lands of Ešnunna, Tutub, Zimudar and Akkad) from Elamite occupation, cf. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 65 (E3/2.1.1.29). However, he also clashed with the Gutians in the territory of “Guti and Zimudar.” In another inscription he speaks aggressively towards a Gutian named Gutarla (*Gú-tar-lá*), who had been chosen as king, but Ur-Namma declared his kingship false, cf. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 67 (E3/2.1.130) and Civil, M., “On Some Texts Mentioning Ur-Namma,” *Or* 54 (1985), p. 27ff.

¹¹⁷ “[ki]-lul-la ur-^dNamma dug-gaz-gin₇ ba-ni-in-tag₄-aš,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 20 (referring to Kramer, *JCS* 21 (1967), pp. 113 and 118).

¹¹⁸ Cf. for instance Michalowski, P., *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*, Atlanta, 1993, p. 52.

carry off people, animals, metals and stones.”¹¹⁹ It is true that the texts speak clearly of booty,¹²⁰ but there are other serious strategic issues to be discussed which also played a role.

1. *Šulgi*

Šulgi (2094-2047 BC), the deified king of Ur and successor of Ur-Namma, was the first monarch since the fall of Akkad to wage war against the northern lands. The destruction of Dēr, in his 21st-22nd regnal year,¹²¹ was perhaps a preparation for war against the Hurrian lands to the north.¹²² Two years later, a military campaign approached the Transtigris. By this campaign Šulgi aimed at subduing the strategic city of Karḥar (see below, ‘Historical Geography’). Karḥar was targeted first since it was an important city, probably a stronghold, controlling the main routes to the north and northeast, due to its location in Halwān.¹²³ This region during ancient times was a very important route from Mesopotamia to the east via Iran. It was known as the Great Khorasān Road and later formed part of the Silk Road. The marriage of Šulgi with Šulgi-simtī, a princess who appears to have come down from the Diyāla-Hamrin region,¹²⁴ must be counted as an appendage to the Hurrian war. By doing this, he tried to bind the rulers of that region in a pact with Ur. This is perhaps why Ešnunna enjoyed a special status in the *bala* system of Ur, into which only the cities of the core-land (plus Susa) were incorporated.¹²⁵ Such a pact could have been directed only against the Hurrians.

Probably under Šulgi another dynastic marriage was concluded, this time with Simanum, to the north or northwest of Nineveh, perhaps close to the confluence of the Batman tributary with the Tigris.¹²⁶ Kunšī-mātum,¹²⁷ a daughter of Šū-Sîn, was given as a daughter-in-law to

¹¹⁹ Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit, OBO*, p. 165.

¹²⁰ Texts such as Šulgi Hymn D speaks of the booty from Gutium, saying that Šulgi brought home lapis-lazuli packed in bags, “the property of the land,” together with cows and donkeys, and offered them to Enlil and Ninlil; cf. Klein, J., *The Royal Hymns of Šulgi King of Ur: Man’s Quest for Immortal Fame*, Philadelphia, 1981, p. 13; see also Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit, OBO*, p. 165.

¹²¹ For the year names, cf. Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit, OBO*, p. 142.

¹²² Dēr was usually the Mesopotamian port leading to Elam, but it seems to have played a similar role in relation to the lower Diyāla region too.

¹²³ For the location of Karḥar near modern Halwān and Sar-i-Pul-i-Zahāb cf. Frayne, D., *RIME 3/2*, p. 451; *idem*, “The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena,” *SCCNH 10* (1999), p. 148; *idem*, “On the location of Simurram,” *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour*, Bethesda-Maryland, 1997, p. 257-258; and for the identification of ancient Halman, modern Halwān, with Sar-i-Pul-i-Zahāb, cf. Borger, R., “Vier Grenzsteinurkunden Merodachbaladans I. von Babylonien,” *AfO 23* (1970), p. 1.

¹²⁴ This is inferred from the names of her personal goddesses Bēlat-Šuḥnir and Bēlat-Teraban, cf. Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit, OBO*, p. 160.

¹²⁵ Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit, OBO*, p. 160.

¹²⁶ This is the suggestion of Frayne, who identifies it with the OAkk. (A)simānum, later Sinān(u), MA URU Si!-na!-nu! and Sinas of Procopius of Caesarea (said to have been in the region of Amida, modern Diyarbakir) and medieval al-Sinan and the modern GN Sinan, cf. Frayne, *RIME 3/2* (Ur III), p. 288. It appears that Simanum was located in the region from the west of the Tigris to the Habur region, cf. Whiting, R. M., “Tiš-atal of Nineveh and Babati, Uncle of Šu-Sin,” *JCS 28* (1976), p. 177, or generally to the north of Nineveh: Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit, OBO*, p. 161. However, some put it farther away, north of Mardin: Edzard and Farber, *RGTS 2*, p. 166. Astour, on the contrary, proposed a closer location, south of the Mount Baḥir and Tang-i-Daria ranges, to the south of Duhök: Astour, “Semites and Hurrians...,” *SCCNH 2*, p. 47.

¹²⁷ Her name means “Submit. O land!” cf. Michalowski, P., “The Bride of Simanum,” *JAOS 95* (1975), p. 717, note 10. This name does not seem to have been chosen arbitrarily, for it has a political overtone. It can be compared to the name of the wife of Šulgi from Mari, Tarām-Uriam “One who loves Ur.” The name of the bride sent to Simanum aimed not only at establishing good relations but also at pacifying that front and bringing the ruling class of Simanum on her side. This policy was completely contrary to that implemented in the Diyāla-Hamrin region.

the ruling family of Simanum,¹²⁸ where the ruler was called Pušam.¹²⁹ He had two sons, Arib-atal and Iphūḫa¹³⁰ and a son-in-law called Pūḫī-līšī.¹³¹ Since the Sumerian princess has been referred to as the é-gi₄-a (Akkadian *kallatu(m)* = daughter-in-law) of Pušam's son Arib-atal, she could have been married to the younger brother Iphūḫa according to Michalowski.¹³² However, the text *PDT* 572, rev. l. 7ff calls her the é-gi₄-a of Arib-atal (dated to ŠS 1, II, 22), and the text Ch. Jean, *ŠA* LVIII, 35 the é-gi₄-a of Pušam (dated to AS 5, VI, 12). Although the term é-gi₄-a is not quite clear as Michalowski states,¹³³ one may conjecture that she was first married to a son of Arib-atal and later to the younger son of Pušam, Iphūḫa. Perhaps her first husband perished during the rebellion that later broke out in Simanum (see below).

Now that the road had been opened for him, Šulgi marched further in the next two years (Š 25 and 26). He campaigned against Simurru, a barricade to the northern lands of the Transtigris. The next year (Š 27) evoked the memory of the war against Ḫarši, and it seems that the campaign of the year before had guaranteed clear access to that place. The campaign against Ḫarši ends the first Sumerian war against the northeastern territories, according to the chronological presentations by Frayne¹³⁴ and Hallo.¹³⁵

After four years of silence the second war began with another campaign against Karḫar (Š 31), against Simurru for the third time (Š 32) and against Karḫar also for the third time (Š 33). Apparently the first campaigns had not been enough to destroy the infrastructure of power of the two lands and they had recovered sufficiently for new campaigns to be made. But now the power of what we may call 'the southern Hurrian principedoms or kingdoms' in the Diyāla and Hamrin regions was so exhausted that nothing about them is heard for seven years. Even after then they were not able to show any resistance. At this time the third war began with a campaign against Šašrum (Š 42), deep in the north. After the first war Šulgi had built a defensive wall in Š 36 (date formula Š 37) called Bād ma-da,¹³⁶ "Wall of the unincorporated lands." This clearly indicates the threat Ur felt from the young Hurrian principedoms in the middle of their expansion. A few important royal letters were exchanged between the king and the military commander (*šagina*) Puzur-Šulgi. He was in charge of the defence lines, referred to in the letters as Bād-igi-ḫur-sag-gá, "The fortifications facing the highlands."¹³⁷ According to Michalowski, these highlands were the Zagros or the northern

¹²⁸ 26) dumu-munus-a-ni 27) Si-ma-núm^{ki}-e ʿnam-é¹-gi₄-a-bi-šè 29) [...]sum, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 297 (E3/2.1.4.1, col. iii, l. 26-29).

¹²⁹ This PN is considered Hurrian by Gelb, consisting of the element *puš* with the ending *-am*: Gelb, *HS*, p. 114. Wilhelm analysed it as Pušš(i[?])=a=m "He is like..." Wilhelm, Hurrians in Kültepe Texts, in *Anatolia and the Jazira ...*, p. 185.

¹³⁰ Sallaberger, Ur III Zeit, *OBO*, p. 161. The names of these two persons are good Hurrian names. The first can be analysed as *ari=p=atal* "The strong (one) has given." The second is perhaps *i=p=ḫuḫu*, of which the second part is known to be attested in other Hurrian PNs, such as Ultum-ḫuḫu and Nirišḫuḫa. There are numerous names from Nuzi that begin with Arip-, cf. *NPN*, p. 28f.; cf. also Richter for the element *ar-*, Richter, Ein Hurriter wird geboren ... und benannt, in *Kulturlandschaft Syrien, Zentrum und Peripherie, Fs. für Jan-Waalke Meyer*, ed. J. Becker, R. Hempelmann and E. Rehm, Münster, 2010, p. 510 f.

¹³¹ Michalowski, "The Bride of Simanum," p. 717.

¹³² For details, cf. Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 717-18; especially 719.

¹³³ Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 718.

¹³⁴ Frayne, "The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena," *SCCNH* 10 (1999), p. 146.

¹³⁵ Hallo, W. W., "Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier," p. 74 and the table on page 82.

¹³⁶ Michalowski, P., "Königsbriefe," *RIA* 6 (1980-1983), p. 53. Michalowski translated the name as "Wall of the land," but taking into consideration the Sumerian word *kalam*, "country/homeland," the translation of *ma-da* by Hallo (see for instance Hallo, *RHA*, 36) as "unincorporated land" seems preferable.

¹³⁷ Michalowski, "Königsbriefe," *RIA* 6, p. 53.

part of the Hamrin range.¹³⁸ This fortification wall in these letters, according to Michalowski, was undoubtedly the same Bād ma-da constructed by Šulgi.¹³⁹

Two years after the campaigns against Šašrum, Simurrum and Lullubum for the ninth time (Š 44), and Urbilum, Simurrum, Lullubum and Karḫar, “within one day” (Š 45), there were campaigns in the next two years against Kimaš, Ḫuw/murtum and their lands (Š 46-47),¹⁴⁰ and finally Kimaš, Ḫarši, Ḫuw/murtum and their lands (Š 48). One can assume that the later campaigns against Simurrum (Š 44 and 45), followed by other lands such as Karḫar (Š 45), Kimaš (Š 46, 47 and 48), Ḫarši (Š 48) and Ḫuw/murtum (Š 46, 47 and 48), all located in the lower part of the Transtigris, were probably undertaken because of their attempts to reject their dependence on Ur when it was occupied in the far north, in lands such as Šašrum and Urbilum. That Simurrum was targeted in Š 44 together with Lullubum is reminiscent of the role Simurrum played in instigating hostility of Lullubum against Gutian rule under Enrida-pizir, father of Erridu-pizir. A similar scenario in this period is not impossible. The same is true for the campaigns of Š 45. There are texts that speak about a two-day banquet at the temples of Enlil and Ninlil, “when the *ensi* of Kimaš was captured,” and also about “booty from Kimaš, Ḫarši [and] ‘x’-[...]’x’^{ki}.”¹⁴¹ A royal inscription alludes to the destruction of Kimaš and Ḫurtum, referring to piled up corpses and digging a moat (perhaps to drain away the blood).¹⁴² Ḫurtum was probably another spelling of Ḫum/wurtum. It is noteworthy that Urbilum was attacked and probably conquered by Šulgi after Š 45, and then again by Amar-Sîn, but no Sumerian governor in that city is attested until Šū-Sîn, when Arad-Nanna was governor.¹⁴³

Among all these military campaigns only one was undertaken outside the Hurrian lands. Although there were attempts to make good relations with Anšan by a dynastic marriage (Š 30), when a daughter of Šulgi was married to its *ensi*,¹⁴⁴ Šulgi attacked it four years later (Š 34-35).¹⁴⁵ Ur’s efforts were then essentially directed against the Hurrians of the Transtigris.

Of special importance are the royal letters exchanged between Šulgi and two of his high officials, Urdu-ḡu¹⁴⁶ and Ur-dun. The letters show some of the conditions in the northern or

¹³⁸ Michalowski, *ibid.* He says that this part of Hamrin, known as Ebiḫ, was also called in Ur III administrative texts as kur mar-dú “The highland of the Amorites,” cf. *ibid.* (referring to his own *Royal Correspondence of Ur*).

¹³⁹ Michalowski, “Königsbriefe,” *RIA* 6, p. 53.

¹⁴⁰ The reference to “booty of Šimaški” in an archival text from Puzriš-Dagān might indicate a conflict with Šimaški. Šimaški was ruled at this time by a certain Badudu; cf. nam-ra-ak *Ba-du-du* LÚ.SU^{ki}, “From the booty of Badudu, the Šimaškian...,” see further Steinkeller, P., “New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers,” *ZA* 97 (2007), p. 217, note 12.

¹⁴¹ u₄ *énsi* *Ki-ma-aš^{ki}* im-ma-dab₅-‘ba’-a,” and “nam-ra-ak *Ki-ma-aš^{rkin}* ‘*Ha’-ar-ši^{ki}* [ù ...] ‘x’-[...]’x’^{ki},” cf. (also for bibliography) Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški ...,” *ZA* 97, p. 217, note 12; Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 109.

¹⁴² 1) ⁶Šul-gi 2) DINGIR *ma-ti-šu* 3) *da-núm* 4) LUGAL URI₅^{ki} 5) LUGAL *ki-ib-ra-tim* 6) *ar-ba-im* 7) *i-nu* 8) *m-at Ki-maš^{ki}* 9) *ù Ḫu-ur-tim^{ki}* 10) *ù-ḫa-li-qú-na* 11) *ḫi-ri-tam* 12) *iš-ku-un* 13) *ù bí-ru-tám* 14) *ib-ni*, “Šulgi, god of his land, the mighty, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, when he destroyed the land of Kimaš and Ḫurtum, set out a moat and heaped up a pile of corpses,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 140-41 (E3/2.1.2.33). Neither in the text nor in the translation has a logical link been drawn between the digging of the moat and the pile of the corpses. I believe the mention of a moat here together with the pile of corpses refers to its use as a means of ducting the streams of blood.

¹⁴³ An inscription from the reign of Šū-Sîn calls Arad-Nanna “governor of Urbilum” in addition to his earlier posts as *ensi* of Ḫamazī and Karḫar, cf. Edzard, “Ḫamazī,” *RIA* 4, p. 70 (referring to *SAK* 150, 22a II 5); Sollberger, E. and J.-R. Kupper, *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes (IRSA)*, Paris, 1971, III B5a, p. 163; Walker, *The Tigris Frontier...*, p. 88.

¹⁴⁴ For this year name cf. Sallaberger, p. 143; 160.

¹⁴⁵ Steinkeller thinks there were two campaigns undertaken against Anšan, cf. Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški ...,” p. 226, note 45.

¹⁴⁶ There is controversy whether to read this name Arad-mu, Ir-mu or even Ir-Nanna. The former two names are generally considered hypocoristic forms of the latter and thus equivalent, as noted by Huber: Huber, F., “Au sujet du nom du Chancelier d’Ur III, Ir-Nanna ou Ir-mu,” *NABU* 2000, no. 6, p. 10 and Steinkeller, P., “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State: The Core and the Periphery,” in Gibson, McG.

northeastern territories and the way they were ruled. According to this correspondence, this part of the land Subir was ruled by Apillaša, the high commissioner, in the name of Šulgi. He sat in a glorious palace with expensive furniture, guarded by select troops. As a person, he was prodigal, tyrannical and arrogant, installing and removing officials and city governors from their positions at will; and he would blind or even kill people.

Urdu-ḡu was sent to the land of Subir/Subartu in order to:

Establish the provincial taxes, to inform (me) of the state of the provinces, to counsel concerning Apillaša, the royal commissioner (of Subir) and to come to an agreement.¹⁴⁷

But he seems to have been on bad terms with Apillaša, for he disparaged the royal commissioner in his letter to the king, describing Apillaša as an arrogant, disrespectful and corrupt character. Even before entering the palace disrespect was shown towards the king's representative:

When I went to the gate of his palace no one inquired about the well-being of my lord. The one who was sitting did not rise for me, did not bow down, (and) I became nervous about him.¹⁴⁸

According to Urdu-ḡu, Apillaša was corruptly misusing the state's wealth to satisfy his own desires:

When I came nearer, (I discerned that) your expedition house was made of combs and built up with pins inlaid with gold, silver, carnelian, and lapis-lazuli; they covered an area of 30 sar. (Apillaša himself) was decked out in gold and lapis-lazuli. He sat on a throne which was placed in a high-quality canopy (and) had his feet set on a golden footstool.¹⁴⁹

The rude high commissioner not only dared to disdain the king's representative but showed power and wealth as if he was impressing an enemy:

He would not remove his feet in my presence. His personal guards, (groups of) five thousand each, stood to his right and left. (He ordered) six grass-fed oxen and 60 grass-fed sheep (to be) placed (on the tables) for a lunch.¹⁵⁰

and R. D. Biggs (eds.), *The Organization of Power - Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, Chicago, 1987, p. 35, note 48. Waetzoldt, however, disagrees, supposing three individuals with three different titles. Huber herself, however, thinks they were one and the same person. As for Arad-mu and Ir-mu, she based herself first on a text from Susa (RCU 15 -Suse XII/1, col. ii, li. 32-33-), published by Edzard (referring to Edzard, D. O. (1974), *Textes littéraires de Suse, MDP 57: 15*) that provides a syllabic writing of the name as ur-du-um-gu. For the identification of Urdu-ḡu with Ir-Nanna, she refers to two texts; the one refers to Ir-mu as ugula, responsible for the tribute of the land NI.ĪI in Š 48, and in the other text that of Urbilum in ŠS 7. These two texts are, according to her, in perfect agreement with the monumental inscription of Ir-Nanna, dated to the reign of Šū-Sîn, which mentions him as *šagina* of NI.ĪI and Urbilum, *ibid.* For these reasons, I use here the reading Urdu-ḡu, which is confirmed by the text from Susa.

¹⁴⁷ 4) ḡun ma-da-zu ge-en-ge-né-dè 5) a-rá ma-da zu-zu-dè 6) ugu A-pi-il-la-ša gal-zu-unken-na-šè 7) ad-gi₄-gi₄-dè ḡu-téš-a si-ge-dè, Michalowski, *Letters from Early Mesopotamia*, p. 63 and 64.

¹⁴⁸ 9) ká é-gal-la-šè ḡen-a-ḡu₁₀-dè 10) silim-ma lugal-ḡá-ke₄ èn li-bí-in-tar 11) tuš na-ma-ta-an-zi ki-a nu-ub-za 12) ba-an-da-mud-dè-en, Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 63 and 64.

¹⁴⁹ 13) te-ḡe₂₆-e-da-ḡu₁₀-ne 14) é kaskal-la-zu ga-rig₇ aka dálla kù-sig₁₇ kù-babbar 15) ^{na4}gug ^{na4}za-ḡin-ḡar-ra-ta a-ab-dù-dù-a 30 sar-àm i-íb-tuš 16) kù-sig₁₇ ^{na4}za-ḡin-na mí zi-dè-eš im-me 17) ^{ḡis}ḡu-za bára šutur-e ri-a i-íb-tuš 18) ^{ḡis}ḡiri-gub kù-sig₁₇-ga-ka ḡiri-ni i-íb-gar, Michalowski, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ 19) ḡiri-ni na-ma-ta-an-kúr 20) ḡa-ús saḡ-ḡá-na 5 li-mu-um-ta-àm zi-da ḡub-bu-na íb-ta-an-gub-bu-uš 21) 6 ḡud niga 60 udu niga ninda-zú-gub-šè in-ḡar, Michalowski, *ibid.*

For his part, honest Urdu-ḡu was respectful towards his lord. He knew how to behave properly towards his king, even in such a far country, and insisted on showing him esteem and honour:

At the gate at which I had not been greeted a man bade me to enter. After I came in a man brought me a chair with a knob encrusted with red gold and told me, “Sit down!” I answered him, “When I am under the order(s) of my king I stand, I never sit.”¹⁵¹

On the other hand, it seems that Apillaša knew how he should treat Urdu-ḡu, the intruder, since he was there concerning taxes:

Someone brought me two grain-fed oxen and twenty grain-fed sheep for my table. Although I had not (even) seen/noticed (?), my king’s troops overturned my table. I was terrified. I was in fear (about it).¹⁵²

The attempts of Urdu-ḡu must have been disappointing and fruitless. Apparently Apillaša was favoured by the king more than Urdu-ḡu. The answer the king gave in response to accusations against Apillaša of tyranny is especially interesting, for it shows that the king considered him a necessary tool for running the kingdom:

If my high commissioner had not elevated himself as if he were me, if he had not sat down on a throne placed in a quality canopy, if he had not set his feet on a golden footstool, had not appointed every one by his own authority and removed governors from the office of city governors, royal officers from the position of royal officer, had not killed or blinded anyone, had not elevated by his own authority those of his own choice (to positions of power) - how else could he have maintained order in the territory?¹⁵³

The king urges them both to be reconciled for the benefit of the state, but does not forget to reprimand his servant Urdu-ḡu:

If you (truly) love me you will not set your heart on anger. You have made yourself too important. You do not know your (own) soldiers. Be aware of (the power) of your own men and of my *might!* If you are (indeed) both my loyal servants, you will both read carefully my written message. That both of you come to an understanding and make fast the foundation of the land is urgent.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ 23) ká-na èn nu-tar-ra-bi lú na-ba-ši-in-ku₄-re-en 24) ku₄-ku₄-da-ḡu₁₀-ne 25) ḡis^{ḡis}gu-za gâr-ba kù-sig₁₇ huš-a ḡar-ra lú ma-an-de₆ tuš-a ma-an-dug₄ 26) á-áḡ-ḡá lugal-ḡá-ke₄i-gub-bé-en nu-tuš-u-dè-en bí-dug₄, Michalowski, *ibid.*

¹⁵² 27) 2 gud niga 20 udu niga ḡis^{ḡis}banšur-ḡu₁₀ lú ma-an-di 28) nu-kár-kár-da àga-ús lugal-ḡá-ke₄ ḡis^{ḡis}banšur-ḡu₁₀ in-bal-a-šè 29) ní ba-da-te su a-da-zi, Michalowski, *ibid.*

¹⁵³ 18) tukum-bi gal-zu-unken-na-ḡu₁₀ ḡá-a-ḡin₇-nam nu-ub-gur₄ 19) ḡis^{ḡis}gu-za bára šatur-e ri-a nu-ub-tuš 20) ḡis^{ḡis}ḡiri-gub kù-sig₁₇-ka ḡiri-ni nu-ub-ḡar 21) énsi nam-énsi-ta 22) lú-billuda nam-billuda-ta 23) ní-te-ni-te-a li-bi-ib-ḡar ù nu-ub-ta-gub-bu 24) lú nu-un-gaz igi nu-un-ḡul 25) lú igi-bar-ra-ka-ni lú-a li-bi-in-diri 26) a-na-ḡin₇-nam ma-da ib-ge-ne, Michalowski, p. 65-66.

¹⁵⁴ 27) tukum-bi ki um-mu-e-a-áḡ 28) ša-zu ša-zú-kešda ba-ra-na-ḡá-ḡá 29) i-gur₄-re-en àga-ús-zu nu-e-zu 30) nam-lú-u₁₇-lu-bi ù nam-ur-saḡ-ḡá-ḡu₁₀ igi-zu bí-in-zu 31) tukum-bi emedu-ḡu₁₀ za-e-me-en-zé-en 32) igi min-na-zu-ne-ne-a im-sar-ra gù h́e-em-ta-dé-dé-ne 33) gù-téš-a si-ke-dè-en-zé-en 34) suḡuš ma-da ge-né-dè-en-zé-en 35) e₄-ma-ru-kam, Michalowski, p. 65 and 66.

Another official¹⁵⁵ of Šulgi was Ur-dun, who was sent to the mountainous regions of the north to purchase juniper resin. He too complained about Apillaša, but we do not know how the king responded to him:

My king has given us (?) capital and dispatched us (?) to a distant foreign land to purchase juniper resin. But once I had entered the foreign land and purchased the resin, Apillaša, the royal commissioner, was very firm with me, and they appropriated my purchases. When I stood at the gate of his (local) palace, no one wanted to investigate my complaint.¹⁵⁶

Since in the letters no specific part of Subir is stated, we cannot be sure where this incident happened, but available historical data gives a hint. As long as Ur had good relations with the independent Hurrian states of the Habur region who maintained their own Hurrian rulers, one would not expect a (high) royal commissioner to have been installed there by Ur. The northern Transtigris was far from stable during the long reign of Šulgi, and three wars, some consisting of several annual campaigns, were undertaken. Such circumstances makes the Transtigris region less probable. However, an allusion to the departure of Urdu-ġu and a certain Babati from Zimudar to Simurru in the letter of Ur-dun might be a hint about the region where the episodes of the three letters took place:

And as for Urdu-ġu, your servant, and Babati, the archivist, they had gone from Zimudar to Simurru, *and to inform them....*, [they have sent] their messengers of my lord. My king... This confiscation cannot be undone without unusing force.¹⁵⁷

Thus, it is the region of the Sirwān basin, i.e. the southern part of the Transtigris, that is explicitly mentioned. Because this region was subdued during the second Hurrian war under Šulgi, for a few years. Before that it would not have been possible to send officials of Ur to that area. These letters date in all probability to the phase that began in Š 40, when maš-da-ri-a offerings from Simurru are recorded in Puzriš-Dagān,¹⁵⁸ a sign that it had been annexed to the Empire of Ur.

Hurrians were present in the land of Sumer, as we know from archival texts. Some of these Hurrians were prisoners of the numerous wars the Sumerians waged in their lands, and they were recorded in the texts as recipients of rations. Other Hurrians were in Sumer as diplomats, state visitors or envoys, particularly from kingdoms like Urkeš and Simanum, and so some Hurrians belonged to the highest classes of society.¹⁵⁹ A certain Taḥiš-atal was a prominent scribe in Puzriš-Dagān,¹⁶⁰ and we know of Hurrian *Šaginas* “military governors”¹⁶¹, but we cannot be sure from which category of society they emerged.

¹⁵⁵ Or merchant (?); cf. Hallo, “Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier,” *RHA* 36 (1978), p. 78; Michalowski, “Königsbriefe,” *RLA* 6 (1980-1983), p. 53.

¹⁵⁶ 3) kù lugal-ġu₁₀ mu-e-dè-šúm-ma 4) kur sù-rá-šè šim^{ġis}erin-na 5) sa₁₀-sa₁₀-dè mu-e-ši-ge-na 6) u₄ kur-šè <BI> ku₄-re-na-ġu₁₀ 7) šim^{ġis}erin-na bí-sa₁₀-sa₁₀-ġu₁₀ 8) ^mA-pi-la-ša gal-zu-unken-na ma-an-ge-ma 9) šám-ġu₁₀ mu-da-an-kar-re-eš 10) ká é-gal-la-né ù-um-gub 11) lú-na-me ka-ġu₁₀ èn nu-bi-tar, Michalowski, P., *The Royal Correspondence of Ur*, (A dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University), 1976, p. 217, 218; I would like to thank Dr. P. Michalowski for sending me the draft of his new edition of this letter and the next letter of Šarrum-bāni (below), which is now in press, and for allowing me to quote his new translation and transliteration.

¹⁵⁷ 12) ^mUrdu-ġu urdu-zu ù Ba₄-ba₄-ti ša₁₄-dub-ʾbaʾ 13) Zi-mu-dar^{ki}-ra-ta Si-mu-ur₄-ʾruʾ-um^{ki}-šè 14) ì-re-eš-ma 15) [(x) i]n-ne-zu-mʾa 16) [lú kí]ġ-ġi₄-a-ne-ne in-ʾšiʾ-ġ[i₍₄₎?...] 17) [(x) x] lugal-ġá ba-e-ni-x[...] 18) ʾusu₉ nu-tuku á-dar-re-bi nu-mu-ʾda-ġarʾ?, Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence ...*, p. 217, 218.

¹⁵⁸ For this, cf. next chapter.

¹⁵⁹ Neumann, “Bemerkungen zum Problem der Fremdarbeit ...,” *AoF* 19 (1992), p. 270.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Collon, D., “The Life and Times of Teḥiš-atal,” *RA* 84 (1990), p. 130.

2. Amar-Sîn

The successor of Šulgi, Amar-Sîn (2046-2038 BC), rapidly continued the Hurrian war. In AS 2 he destroyed Urbilum, modern Erbil. In the year AS 6 Šašrum was destroyed “for the second time.” The first time was in AS 4. Although that campaign was not given a date-formula, the date is known from offerings to Nanna and Enlil and deliveries of cattle said to have been provided from the booty of the lands Šašru and Šuruthum.¹⁶² An allusion to taking slaves as war booty from the city of Šarithum by the *ensi* of Umma in the same month, viii AS 4, is probably related to this same campaign.¹⁶³ The year AS 7 witnessed the destruction of other places, Huḫnuri, Yabru and its lands.¹⁶⁴ In a newly found inscription, Amar-Sîn boasts of his victory after his “heroic troops had fought 30 (or 3) battles (?)”¹⁶⁵ There are texts recording shipments from lands not mentioned in the date-formulae, such as Madga (AS 1) and Ḫamazi (AS 2).¹⁶⁶

That the Hurrian lands of the Transtigris were firmly occupied by Ur can be inferred from the establishment of numerous garrisons in territories along the Zagros foothills. Archival texts provide evidence of the existence of such garrisons in Arraphum, Dūr-maš, Agaz, Lullubum, Ḫamazi, Šuriḫum, Šuaḫ, Gablaš, Zaqtum and Dūr-Ebla,¹⁶⁷ and also of shipments sent to officials or governors in Lullubum, “destroyed Šaššuru,” Arraphum, Kimaš, Awal, Tašil and a royal gift consisting of sheep to the bride of Nanib-atal in Urbilum (AS 7).¹⁶⁸

Probably under Amar-Sîn a marriage was concluded with Ḫamazi, the Transtigridian principality known since the Early Dynastic period. According to this marriage, Tabur-ḫaṭṭum¹⁶⁹ became daughter-in-law of Ur-Iškur, the *ensi* of Ḫamazi.¹⁷⁰ We do not know whether Tabur-ḫaṭṭum was a royal princess or not.¹⁷¹ If she was, the act could be interpreted

¹⁶¹ Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of,” *The Organization of Power - Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, p. 25.

¹⁶² Sallaberger, Ur III Zeit, *OBO*, p. 164 with bibliography.

¹⁶³ Sallaberger, *op. cit.*, note 143 with bibliography. Sallaberger, following Sheil and others reads the name of this GN as Šariphum, but this seems to be a misread Šarithum. Cf. about this note 209 in Chapter Five.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Sallaberger, Ur III Zeit, *OBO*, p. 163. Huḫnuri appears to have been slightly to the southwest of Ramhormoz in Iran, cf. Steinkeller, “New Light on,” p. 223.

¹⁶⁵ 11) *qar-di-šu* 12) in 30 (or :3) KAK-*tim*, Nasrabadī, B. M., “Eine Steininschrift des Amar-Suena aus Tappah Bormi (Iran),” *ZA* 95 (2005), p. 163.

¹⁶⁶ Walker, *The Tigris Frontier from Sargon to Hammurabi- A Philologic and Historical Synthesis*, Yale, 1985, p. 107.

¹⁶⁷ Walker, *ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Walker, *ibid.* referring to the texts *PDT* 166 (Arraphum); Boson *TCS* 140 (Kimaš); Owen 1981 *NMW* 303276 (Awal and Tašil).

¹⁶⁹ Meaning “The sceptre (f.) appeared,” from *buārum*, thus not Dabur-ḫaṭṭum. I owe this translation to T.J.H. Krispijn.

¹⁷⁰ This was known from references in texts mentioning her when she was on regular visits to Sumer under Amar-Sîn and Šū-Sîn as follows:

AS 9 (*BIN* 3 382) é-gi₄-a ur-^dIškur énsi Ḫa-ma-zi^{ki}

ŠS 2 (*TrD*, 87) Tá-bur-ḫa-tum é-gi₄-a Ur-^dIškur énsi

ŠS 5 Newell 1600 é-gi₄-a Ur-^dIškur énsi Ḫa-ma-zi^{ki}

ŠS 7 *PDT*, 454 Tá-bur-ḫa-tum é-gi₄-a Ur-^dIškur⁷

u₄ Ḫa-ma-zi^{ki}-šè i-ḡen-na-a

Cf.: Michalowski, “The Bride of Simanum,” p. 718.

¹⁷¹ Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 719.

as a sign that this principality in this period was independent of Ur.¹⁷² In any case it seems that her visit in the year ŠS 7 was the last visit, in the absence of any new evidence.

It is notable that Ur had established good relations with Ḫamazi, presumably not yet Hurrianized, while the war on the Hurrian enclaves continued. Apparently the strategy of Ur was to beleaguer the Hurrians of the Transtigris by seeking allies in the land of the enemy, behind the lines of confrontation (see below).

3. Šū-Sîn

Šū-Sîn (2037-2029 BC) has only two military campaigns recorded in date-formulae: ŠS 3 against Simanum and ŠS 7 against Zabšali.¹⁷³ After the daughter of Šū-Sîn had been a daughter-in-law for Simanum for at least 12 years, in ŠS 2 a rebellion broke out in Simanum, Ḫabūra and the surrounding lands.¹⁷⁴ The rebels overthrew their ruler Pušam/Arib-atal and chased away his daughter-in-law, who was Kunšī-mātum the daughter of Šū-Sîn.¹⁷⁵ The reaction of Šū-Sîn was swift. He moved against the rebels (ŠS 3), conquered the city and its surroundings, reinstated Kunšī-mātum in her residence and put back the dethroned ruler on the throne.¹⁷⁶ He also deported part of the city residents to Sumer, where he settled them in a camp, specially built for them.¹⁷⁷ This camp-city was the very first of its kind built for deportees,¹⁷⁸ and it is also the first attested case of mass deportation in history. It looks likely that the new town was called Simanum since the inscription twice states “(He) established Simanum,”¹⁷⁹ including the determinative KI in both cases.

Giving a princess to marriage in Simanum and a military intervention to restore its kingship was not for nothing. Steinkeller considers that the location of this kingdom was vital for Ur as an ally because it “policed the middle course of the Tigris (where principalities such as Nineveh and Ḫabūra were situated), at the same time providing Babylonia with a safety

¹⁷² Listing Ḫamazi together with lands which paid *gún mada*, “territorial tax,” implies that it was subject to Ur. But the question is whether this was the case for the whole of the Ur III period. For Ḫamazi’s contribution to this kind of tax cf. Steinkeller, “The Administration and Organization ...,” p. 36, note 56.

¹⁷³ Cf. his date-formulae in Sallaberger, *OBO*, p. 168. Zabšali was, according to Steinkeller, the largest part of the land of Šimaški and it served to describe the whole Šimaškian federation: Steinkeller, P., “More on LÚ.SU.(A) = Šimaški,” *NABU* 1990, no. 13. For previous identifications and other attestations, also in Elamite sources, cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 243.

¹⁷⁴ 30) [Si-ma-nú]m^{ki} 31) [Ḫa-bu-r]a^{ki} 32) [ù ma-da-m]a-da-bi 33) [lugal-da gú-ér]im 34) [ba-an-da-ab]-gál, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 297 (E3/2.1.4.1, col. iii, l. 30-34); p. 298 (same text, col. iv, l. 4’-7’).

¹⁷⁵ 35) [dumu-munus-a]-ni 36) é [ki-tuš-a-ni]-ta 37) ság [im-ta]-eš, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 297 (E3/2.1.4.1, col. iii, l. 35-37); p. 298 (same text, col. iv, l. 8’-10’).

¹⁷⁶ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 288. The inscription adds also that he 29) Si-ma-núm^{ki} 30) Ḫa-bu-ra^{ki} 31) ù ma-da-ma-da-bi 32) nam-urdu(?)da-ni-šè 33) ság-šè mu-ni-rig₇, “assigned to her service Simanum, Ḫabūra and the surrounding districts,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 298 (E3/2.1.4.1, col. iv, l. 29-33). It is not clear why Frayne says that Šū-Sîn has put back Pušam on the throne of Simanum, while he himself cites a text dated ŠS 1 (AUAM 73.1044 = Sigrist, AUCT 3 no. 294) that explicitly refers to Ku-un-ši-ma-tum é-g[i₄-a] Ar-ba-tal lugal Ši-ma-núm^{ki}, “Kunšī-mātum, daughter-in-law of Arib-atal, king of Šimānum,” cf. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 288. According to the text Arib-atal, not Pušam, was king of Simanum in the year prior to the rebellion. Thus, it is logical that he, not his father, was put back on the throne. In the inscription ‘Collection B’ that narrates this episode there is no mention of Pušam.

¹⁷⁷ 34) ság-érim-gál 35) nam-ra-aš-aka-ni 36) ^dEn-líl ^dNin-líl-r[a] 37) ki-sur-r[a] 38) Nibru^{ki}-ka [(x)] 39) Si-ma-nú[m^{ki}] 40) ki-m[u-ne]-gār 41) [... mu-n]e-dù, “He settled the hostile persons, his booty, (namely) from Simanum, for the god Enlil and goddess Ninlil, on the frontier of Nippur, (and) built for them [a town],” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 298 (E3/2.1.4.1, col. iv, l. 34-41).

¹⁷⁸ It is also interesting that the king himself confesses that it was the very first time, since the days the fate had been decreed, that a town was established for the sake of Enlil and Ninlil with the people he had captured: 47) u₄-nam-tar-ra-ta 48) lugal-na-me 1) ság-nam-ra-aš-aka-ni-ta 2) ^dEn-líl ^dNin-líl-ra 3) ki-sur-ra 4) Nibru^{ki}-ka 5) iri^{ki} 6) ki nu-ne-gār, *op. cit.* col. iv 47- v. 6.

¹⁷⁹ Si-ma-núm^{ki} ki mu-ne-gār, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 299 (E3/2.1.4.1, col. v, l. 11; 22-23).

cordon against any potential threats coming from further north.”¹⁸⁰ So it was important for Ur to protect such a buffer-state on its northern flank from falling into hostile hands.

This victorious campaign against Simanum was followed by a “state visit” of Tiš-atal, the ruler of Nineveh, to Ur,¹⁸¹ apparently to swear the oath of allegiance to the king.¹⁸² According to Steinkeller, Nineveh was a dependency of Simanum before the campaign and its ruler Tiš-atal remained loyal to Ur. Since his city was not mentioned as a target of the campaign, he may even have helped Ur in the campaign. After the success of the campaign, Tiš-atal seems to have been rewarded by promotion from being a vassal of Simanum to become a first-rank and direct vassal of Ur.¹⁸³ Tiš-atal was escorted by more than 100 men on his way to Ur, and was received by Babati, the maternal uncle of the king, who held two other posts, *šakkana(kkum)* (military governor) of Maškān-šarri and *ensi* of Awal.¹⁸⁴ Tiš-atal received a large amount of flour for his escort, as much as 150 quarts (silā).¹⁸⁵ Both the fact that the mother of Šū-Sîn might have come from the Diyāla region,¹⁸⁶ as well as the fact that Babati, a close family member of the king, held such important posts in this area, indicate how far the stability and firm control of this region was a priority to Ur.

Archival texts dated to the years following this campaign mention “soldiers from Simanum” and from other cities that were, according to some, conquered during the campaign.¹⁸⁷ The other cities were Ḥabūra, Talmuš (associated with the man Tabliš),¹⁸⁸ Ninua, Uruae and ʾma¹-ri-ma-nu-um mar-dū. Ninua’s location is known but not that of the others. Ḥabūra could be sited close to the Pēsh Habūr, an eastern tributary of the Tigris. Frayne tentatively suggested a location at or near the confluence of this tributary with the Tigris, probably identifiable with Tell Basorin.¹⁸⁹ Its identification with the Ḥaburātum of the Mari archives is unavoidable and the rebellion of both Simanum and Ḥabūra provides a hint that they were close to each other. As for Talmuš, it has been sited somewhere north or northwest of Nineveh.¹⁹⁰ The location of Uruae escapes any attempt at identification.

¹⁸⁰ Steinkeller, P., “Tiš-atal’s Visit to Nippur,” *NABU* 2007, no. 15.

¹⁸¹ For the discussion about the possible identification of this Tiš-atal and two other namesakes, see below.

¹⁸² This is confirmed by the publication of a tablet found in Nippur that mentions in line 5: ʾnam¹-a-érim íb-ku₅, “(they) swore an oath.” According to Steinkeller, such allegiance oaths were usually sworn by foreigners in the temple of Ninurta in Nippur and it appears that these hundred (eighty in the Nippur text) Ninevites were high-ranking individuals, perhaps Tiš-atal’s kinsmen, who swore the oath, as the collective form íb-kud indicates. For this cf. Steinkeller, “Tiš-atal’s Visit to Nippur,” with reference to a new edition of the text by Zettler, R. L., “Tišatal and Nineveh at the End of the 3rd Millennium BCE,” in: *If a Man Builds a Joyful House*, Fs Erle Verdun Leichty, Leiden, 2006, p. 503-14. It is interesting that the tablet is dated to the 29th day of the ninth month of ŠS 3, which is the same month and year given to their visit to Ešnunna.

¹⁸³ Steinkeller, “Tiš-atal’s Visit to Nippur,” *NABU* 2007, no. 15.

¹⁸⁴ This has become known from his seal legend found on a tablet from Tell Asmar, cf. Whiting, “Tiš-atal of Nineveh...,” p. 178 f.; Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 340-41 (E3/2.1.4.32).

¹⁸⁵ Whiting, “Tiš-atal of ...,” p. 176.

¹⁸⁶ It was thought that Amar-Sîn was a brother of Šū-Sîn, which means that the wife of Šulgi, who came from the Diyāla region, was also the mother of Šū-Sîn. But the seal of Babati shows that Amar-Sîn was his father not his brother. Additional evidence is that the wife of Šulgi was Šulgi-simtī, and the mother of Šū-Sîn, mentioned in the seal of Babati, is Abī-simtī; see further Sallaberger, *OBO*, p. 168 and the table on p. 183.

¹⁸⁷ Maeda, T., “The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty,” *ASJ* 14 (1992), p. 137. The text lists deliveries from soldiers of Ḥabura, Talmuš, Ninua and Uruae in addition to ʾma¹-ri-ma-nu-um mar-dū. The frequent mention of Mardaman with Ḥabura in Ur III texts makes it possible to identify the Marimanum mentioned in this text with Mardaman if we assume the omission of a DA sign and KI determinative (= Ma-ri-<da>-ma-nu-um^{<ki>}), cf. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 288.

¹⁸⁸ Maeda, T., “The Defense Zone during the ...,” p. 137.

¹⁸⁹ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 (Ur III), p. 288.

¹⁹⁰ Jacobsen has located it at Jarahīyah, some 40 km northwest of Nineveh, but Kessler located it at modern Gir-e Pan, slightly to the northwest of Jarahīyah; see Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 288; cf. also Edzard et al., *RGTC* 1, p. 139; Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 158; Groneberg, B., *RGTC* 3, p. 233; Nashef, Kh., *RGTC* 5, p. 258 (north of

In ŠS 3 another important project was undertaken, the restoration of “Wall of the Unincorporated Lands,” built earlier by Šulgi. This wall was renewed and given a new name, Mūriq-Tidnim, “The (wall) that keeps Tidnum at a distance” (*UET* 6/2, Nr. 183= *ISCT* II 115: Ni. 3083 obv. I= YBC 4672 = YBC 7149). The change of name followed the change of enemy. Now the Amorites were obviously the major threat coming from this direction, aided by an old, implacable enemy, Simurru. Some details of this matter emerge in a few letters exchanged between Šū-Sîn and Šarrum-bāni, the special commissioner (gal-zu-unken-na) appointed to oversee the work on the fortification wall.¹⁹¹ In the letter, after a reminder of what his mission was, Šarrum-bāni gives news about the situation:

You commissioned me to carry out construction on the great fortifications (wall) of Mūriq-Tidnim and presented your views to me as follows: “The Mardu have repeatedly raided the frontier territory.” You commanded me to rebuild the fortifications, to cut off their access and thus to prevent them from repeatedly overwhelming the fields through a breach (in the defences) between the Tigris and the Euphrates.¹⁹²

While he informs his lord how far his work has progressed, he warns him indirectly about imminent danger. The enemy is near, and even worse, Simurru is collaborating with them. This is why he should engage in battle during his building duties:

When I had been working on the fortifications, that then measured 26 *danna* (269 km.), after having reached (the area) between the two mountain ranges, the Mardu camped in the mountains and turned his attention to my building activities. (The leader of) Simurru came hither with him as his companion, and he went out against me between the mountain ranges of Ebiḥ to do battle.¹⁹³

There was need for more men and reinforcements (probably resources) for the building work. That the country had changed its allegiance is the reason why he should fight while occupied with his building tasks. The change of allegiance was very probably inspired by the Amorites, whose presence was a good motive for those who sought liberation from the yoke of Ur. To collect information, he sent an envoy to the interior of the country:

If my king belongs to the heavenly beings, he will send extra labour forces and reinforce them to do (their) task. Although I have not been able to reach the most elevated part of the frontier territory, [as soon as I received] information, I sent an envoy *to the interior*. But the territory has changed its mind (= allegiance), and so I have not neglected to build the fortifications- (to the contrary), I have been building and fighting (at the same time).¹⁹⁴

Ninua). Kessler had already thought MA and NA Talmuš/si was not identical with old Talmuš, but it had to be read Rimusa/i, cf. Kessler, K., “Geographische Notizen,” *ZA* 69 (1979), p. 220.

¹⁹¹ Michalowski, “Königsbriefe,” p. 54.

¹⁹² 3) bād gal *Mu-ri-iq-Tidnim*-e dīm-me-dè kíġ-gi₄-a-aš mu-e-gi₄ 4) igi-zu ma-an-ġar-ma Mar-dú (*Ammurum*) ma-da-aš mu-un-šub-šub-bu-uš 5) bād dù-ù-dè ġiri-bi ku₅-ru-dè 6) ^{id}Idigna ^{id}Buranun-na-bi-da 7) gú-ġiri-bi a-šà e nam-ba-e-šú-šú á-šè mu-e-da-áġ, Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence...*, p. 225; 229, and drafts of the new edition of the letters.

¹⁹³ 11) bād-bi 26 dana-kam dīm-e-da-ġu₁₀-ne 12) dal-ba-na ħur-saġ min-a-bi-ka sá di-di-da-ġu₁₀-ne 13) dīm-me-ġu₁₀-šè Mar-dú (*Ammurum*) šà? ħur-saġ-ġá-ka íb-tuš-a ġéštu mu-ši-in-ak 14) Si-mu-ur₄^{ki} nam-tab-ba-ni-šè im-ma-da-ġen 15) dal-ba-na ħur-saġ Ebiḥ^{ki}-ke₄ ^{ġis}tukul sig-ge-dè im-ma-ši-ġen, Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence...*, p. 225; 229, and drafts of the new edition of the letters.

¹⁹⁴ 18) tukum-bi lugal-ġá an-na-kam 19) éren kíġ-aka-dè ħa-ma-ab-daḥ-e á ħa-ma-ġá-ġá 20) u₁₈-ru ma-da sá nu-ub-da-du₁₁-ga inim-bi x x 21) ma-da murub₄^{ki}-šè lú-kíġ-gi₄-a mu-ni-gi₄ 22) ma-da dīm-ma-bi ba-da-kúr 23) bād dù-ù-dè nu-šub-bé-en ì-dù-en ù ^{ġis}tukul ì-sig-ge-en, Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence...*, p. 225; 229-230, and drafts of the new edition of the letters.

Zimudar appears to have been at the final point of the fortifications,¹⁹⁵ and was obviously incorporated into the Empire of Ur. According to the letter it promised to send troops / workmen to assist the man of Ur:¹⁹⁶

After I dispatched my envoy to you, right behind him I dispatched (another) envoy to Lu-Nanna, the governor of Zimudar, and he sent me a very large contingent (viz. 7200) of troops / workers.¹⁹⁷

The troubles were seemingly serious. There were not enough men to watch the cities and not enough men to fight. The emphasis on the profound lack of troops made him forget he had already said he needed workers. This passage makes it clear how far the Amorite infiltration troubled the country and how the lack of enough troops was one of the serious problems that was perhaps one of the reasons that led to the fall of Ur:

There are enough corvée labourers but one did not supply enough fighting men. Once my king gives the orders to release the corvée labourers (for military duty), then when (the enemy) raids I will fight with them. He (Lu-Nanna ?) dispatched the (same) man to the nobles of your frontier territory and they presented their case to me as follows: “We cannot even guard all the cities by ourselves. How can (we) give you (more) troops?”¹⁹⁸

The long letter of Šarrum-bāni closes with stating his determination to continue fighting, showing full obedience to the orders of his king:

Ever since my king commanded me, day and night I have been diligently doing the assigned work as well as fighting (the enemy). Because I am obedient to my king’s command (to build the fortifications) and I continue to *battle again and again*, even though the (requisite) force has not been assigned to me, I will not cease fighting. Now my king is informed (about all of this)!¹⁹⁹

In some of his historical inscriptions, originally on statues but known from OB copies, a little more is stated about the wars of this king against Zabšali and Simaški. The ‘Historical Collection A’ consists of three inscriptions from three statues on two OB tablets. Two of the three commemorate the king’s victory over Simaški. Geographically significant is the section that identifies the lands of Zabšali as part of the greater territory of Simaški:

¹⁹⁵ This is the conclusion of Michalowski from the letter, cf. Michalowski, “Königsbriefe,” p. 54.

¹⁹⁶ Michalowski pointed to a damaged tablet from the OB period found in Nippur (ISET II 117: Ni. 4164, obv. 4’ff.) that bears the opening lines of a letter from Šarrum-bāni to Lu-Nanna: Michalowski, “Königsbriefe,” *RIA* 6, p. 54..

¹⁹⁷ 26) u₄ lú-kíḡ-gi₄-a-ḡu₁₀ igi-zu-šè mu-e-ši-gi₄-a-ḡu₁₀ 27) eḡer-ra-ni-ta Lú-^dNanna énsi ma-da Zi-mu-dar-ra^{ki}-šè 28) lú-kíḡ-gi₄-a mu-ni-gi₄ 30) 7200 éren mu-e-ši-in-gi₄, Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 226, and drafts of the new edition of the letters.

¹⁹⁸ 30) lú -^{gi}dubsik íb-si lú ^{gis}tukul sig-ge bí-ib-tur 31) tukum-bi lugal-ḡu₁₀ éren kíḡ-aka-ne duḡ-ù-bé ab-bé 32) ù-šub ^{gis}tukul ga-àm-da-sig 33) lú gal-gal ma-da-za <šè> lú in-ne-ši-in-gi₄ 34) igi-ne-ne ma-an-ḡar-re-eš-ma 35) me-en-dè iri-iri en-nu-ùḡ nu-mu-da-ak-en-dè-en 36) a-na-gin₇-nam ugnim a-ra-ab-šum-mu, Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 226; 230, and drafts of the new edition of the letters.

¹⁹⁹ 38) u₄ lugal-ḡu₁₀ á mu-e-da-áḡ-ta 39) u₄-te ḡi₆-ba kíḡ im-mi-íb-gi₄.gi₄-in ù ^{gis}tukul ì-sig-ge-en 40) mu inim lugal-ḡá-ke₄ ì-gub-bé-en ù ^{gis}tukul íb-laḡ₅-laḡ₅-e 41) usu nu-um-ḡar ^{gis}tukul-ta nu-silig-ge-en 42) lugal-ḡu₁₀ hé-en-zu, Michalowski, *op. cit.*, p. 226; 231, and drafts of the new edition of the letters.

At that time, Simaški (which comprises) the lands of Zabšali, whose surge is like (a swarm) of locusts, from the border of Anšan to the Upper Sea.²⁰⁰

Within Simaškian territory were lands whose lords came forth to do battle, and the remnants of the long list of lands enumerates Ni-bu-ul-m[a-at^{ki}], ᵑx¹-[x-x-a]m^{ki}, Si-ig-rí-iš, A-lu-mi-da-tim^{ki}, Ga-ar-tá^{ki}, A-za-ḥa-ar^{ki}, Bu-ul-ma^{ki}, Nu-šu-uš-ma-ar^{ki}, Nu-uš-ga-ne-lum^{ki}, Zi-zi-ir-tum^{ki}, A-ra-ḥi-ir^{ki}, Ša-ti-lu^{ki} and Ti-ir-mi-um^{ki}.²⁰¹ As a consequence of his victory, the king killed many of them and took many others captive:

Their lords and enthroned ones, the governors of the lands of Zabšali and the governors of the cities whom he had brought back from battle, he took as bound captives.²⁰²

It is interesting to note the names of the *ensis* of these lands together with the names of two kings of Zabšali, Zi-rí-in-gu²⁰³ and In-da-su/sú,²⁰⁴ as preserved in the captions of the OB texts copied from the original inscriptions on the statues. The names are:

Ti-ti *ensi* of Nu-šu-uš-ma-ar^{ki}
 S[a-a]m-ri *ensi* of [X]-ᵑX¹-li-[x]^{rkin}
 Nu-[x]-li *ensi* of A-lu-ᵑmi-id-da¹-tim
 Bu-ni-ᵑir¹-ni *ensi* of [S]j-ig-rí-iš^{ki}
 Ba-ri-ḥi-za *ensi* of A-ra(?)-ḥi-ir^{ki}
 Wa-bur-tum *ensi* of [Lu(?)]-lu-bi-im^{ki}²⁰⁵
 Ne-ni-ib-zu *ensi* of Zi-zi-ir-tum^{ki}
 Ti-ru-ᵑbī¹-ú *ensi* of Nu-uš-ga-ne-[l]u-um^{ki}
 ᵑx¹-am-ti *ensi* of Ga-ar-ta^{ki}

²⁰⁰ 14) u₄-ba 15) Simaški (LÚ.SU)^{ki} 16) ma-da-ma-da 17) Za-ab-ša-li^{ki} 18) za An-ša-an^{ki}-ta 19) a-ab-ba IGI.NIM-ma-šè 20) buru₅-gin₇ zi-ga-bi, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 303 (E3/2.1.4.3, col. ii, l. 14-20). It is important to point here briefly to the Simaškian King List found in Susa. Steinkeller could identify some of those kings recorded in the Sumerian and other inscriptions and equate them with the Simaškian King List. The King List runs as follows:

- 1) ᵑGi-ir-na-am-me
- 2) Ta-zi-it-ta
- 3) E-ba-ar-ti
- 4) Ta-zi-it-ta
- 5) Lu-ᵑx-x-ak¹-lu-uh-ḥa-an
- 6) Ki-in-da-at-t[u]
- 7) I-da-at-tú
- 8) Tan-ru-ḥu-at-te-er
- 9) E-[ba]-ar-ti
- 10) I-da-at-tu
- 11) I-da-at-tu-na-pi-ir
- 12) I-da-at-tu-te-em-ti
- 12 LUGAL.MEŠ Si-maš-ki!-ú

The names he equated were Yabrat with Ebarat/Ebarti I of the list; Kirname with Girnamme of the list; Ta'azite either with Tazitta I or Tazitta II of the list; Kindattu and Idattu I with both Kindattu and Idattu of the list (nos. 6 and 7 respectively). For this and further details see his study in Steinkeller, "New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers," *ZA* 97 (2007), p. 220-221.

²⁰¹ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 303 (E3/2.1.4.3, col. ii, l. 21-33). Note slight epigraphic variants in E3/2.1.4.5 on p. 310.

²⁰² 22) en-en bára-bára-bi 23) šaga-a mi-ni-in-dab₅-dab₅ 24) énsi-gal-gal 25) ma-da-ma-da 26) Za-ab-ša-li^{ki} 27) ù 28) énsi-énsi 29) iri^{ki}-iri^{ki} 30) mē-a mu-da-an-gur-re-ša, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 304 (E3/2.1.4.3, col. iii, l. 22-30).

²⁰³ In text E3/2.1.4.3: *RIME* 3/2, p. 306.

²⁰⁴ In text E3/2.1.4.5: *RIME* 3/2, p. 310, variant on p. 311.

²⁰⁵ Note that Lullubum appears for the first time in the narrative of this war. The question is whether this land, or at least its eastern part inside the Iranian territory, was actually considered part of Simaški.

Dun-gá-at *ensi* of Ni!-[bu-ul]-m[a-at]^{ki}.²⁰⁶

The names do not appear to be Hurrian, an important sign that the Hurrians were not a dominating element in Western Iran, at least not in this period.²⁰⁷ However, some of the GNs deserve comment. Nušušmar is very similar to the PN Na-aš-šu-ma-ar of the Shemshāra tablets.²⁰⁸ Sigriš could be identical to later NA Sikris, a province in Media, mentioned together with Urikatu, Saparda, Uriakku and other localities in the course of the campaigns on Ḥarḥar.²⁰⁹ The PN Wa-bur-tum might be understood as Semitic, similar to the OA word *wabartum*, “trading colony.”

After the cities and villages had been devastated, Šū-Sîn took the male captives, gouged out their eyes and forced them to work in the gardens and orchards of Enlil and Ninlil and other gods. The women he offered as a present to the weaving mills of the same gods. In the same way he took away animals and metals, specifically gold, silver, copper, tin and bronze, as booty and put them in the temples as gifts for the gods.²¹⁰ Šū-Sîn was one of the first rulers to use deportees from one region to work in another. He forced deportees from Ḥabūra and Mardaman to work in the mines of Bulma, a territory of Zabšali.²¹¹

Sumerian foreign policy involved the direct rule of conquered lands through governors (*ensi*) or military generals (*šakkanakku*). They could inherit their posts within the family, especially in the latter part of the period.²¹² Ir-Nanna is perhaps the best example of this, who enumerated in one of his inscriptions the posts he held during his long career. In another inscription he referred to his father, who was likewise the grand-vizier.²¹³ The posts Ir-Nanna held were grand-vizier, governor of Lagaš, *sanga* priest of the god Enki, military governor of Ušar-Garšana, general of Bašime, governor of Sabum and the land of Gutebum, general of Dimat-Enlila, governor of Ḥam(a)zi and Karḥar, general of NI.ḪI,²¹⁴ general of Simaški and the land of Karda.²¹⁵ Similarly Šilluš-Dagān was named on a seal impression and was governor of Simurrum under Šū-Sîn.²¹⁶

4. Ibbi-Sîn

Ibbi-Sîn (2028-2004 BC), the last king of the dynasty, campaigned in Simurrum in the early years of his reign (IS 3) and later in Ḥuḥnuri (IS 9).²¹⁷ Between the two campaigns, he

²⁰⁶ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 311-12 (E3/2.1.4.5). Steinkeller assumes that the last name, Dungat of Nibulmat, is identical with Dungat of *Zi-da-aḫ-ri*^{ki} of the archival texts. He also noted that the men of Zidaḥri appeared together with some Simaškians at Nippur, cf. Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški . . .,” p. 223, note 32.

²⁰⁷ The first part of the last name Tungat has a parallel in the Nuzi PN Tun-Teššup, cf. Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, p. 158.

²⁰⁸ Naššumar was king of Kusanarḥum, cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives I, The Letters*, p. 134, SH 63, 12.

²⁰⁹ Sikris is attested in the inscriptions of Sargon II of Assyria, cf. Luckenbill, D., *ARAB* II, § 11; § 14; 192; § 214. It is written variously as *māt Si-ik-ri-is*, *māt Sik-ri-is*, *māt Sik-ri-si*, *māt Si-ik-ri-iš* etc., cf. Parpola, S., *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970, p. 309; Fuchs, A., *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, Göttingen, 1994, p. 104: 99; cf. URU! [S]*i-ik-ri-si* in Fuchs, A. and S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, part III*, *SAA* 15, no.90 (K 5458), p. 61, l. 23.

²¹⁰ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 304-5 (E3/2.1.4.3, col. iv 11-v 17); cf. also Sallaberger, *OBO*, p. 169.

²¹¹ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 305 (E3/2.1.4.3, col. vi 8-v 18).

²¹² Steinkeller, P., “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State,” *The Organization of Power*, p. 24.

²¹³ 5) Ir₁₁-^dNanna 6) sukkal-maḫ 7) dumu Ur-^dŠul-pa-è 8) sukkal-maḫ 9) ir₁₁-zu, “Ir-Nanna, grand-vizier, son of Ur-Šulpae, grand-vizier, (is) your servant,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 347 (E3/2.1.4.2002)

²¹⁴ This can be a variant spelling of Niqum, see below.

²¹⁵ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 324 (E3/2.1.4.13, l. 11-26).

²¹⁶ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 353-4 (E3/2.1.4.2011). For more about Šilluš-Dagan, cf. Chapter Five.

²¹⁷ Cf. the table in Sallaberger, *OBO*, p. 173.

concluded a dynastic marriage (IS 5), marrying his daughter Tukīn-ḥaṭṭi-migrīša to the *ensi* of Zabšali.²¹⁸

	(A) Dealing with the Hurrian Frontier		(B) Others
Šulgi	24: Karḥar 1 25: Simurrum 1 26: Simurrum 2 27: Ḥarši	«First Hurrian War»	
			28-29: High priestess of Eridu 30: King's daughter married to Anšan
	31: Karḥar 2 32: Simurrum 3 33: Karḥar 3	«Second Hurrian War»	
	(37-38: Wall of the land built)		34-35: Anšan 36: Nanna of Karzida to his temple 39-41: Puzriš-Dagān «built»
	42: Šašrum 1 44: Simurrum (and Lullubum) «9» 45: Urbilum 1 (Lullubum, Simurrum and Karḥar) 46-47: Kimaš and Ḥumurti 48: Ḥarši (Kimaš and Ḥumurti)	«Third Hurrian War»	43: High priestess of Nanna
Amar-Sîn	2: Urbilum 2 6: Šašrum 2		1: Amar-Sîn became king 3-5: various cultic acts 7: <i>bītum-rābium, labrum</i> ..etc. 8-9: various cultic acts
Šū-Sîn	3: Simanum (4-5: Amorite wall built)		1: Šū-Sîn became king 2: ship of Enki 6: stele of Enlil and Ninlil 7: Zabšali 8-9: various cultic acts
Ibbi-Sîn	3: Simurrum		1: Ibbi-Sîn became king 2: high priest of Inanna of Uruk

Table of the Ur III campaigns on the Hurrian territories (after Hallo, *RHA*, p. 82).

Now it is necessary to look at the sequence of dates of the campaigns of the Ur III kings. From the beginning of the reign of Šulgi, Simurrum and Karḥar were the first lines of confrontation between Ur and the Hurrians. Subsequent campaigns pushed the line farther from Ur, deeper into Hurrian territory, and under Šulgi it had reached Šašrum (Š 42) and Urbilum (Š 45). Later, under Ibbi-Sîn, the line reverted to Simurrum, implying that Hurrian

²¹⁸ mu *Tu-ki-in-PA-mi-ig-ri-ša* dumu-munus-lugal énsi *Za-ab-ša-li*^{ki} ba-an-tuk, “Year Tukin-ḥaṭṭi-migrīša, the king's daughter, was married by the *ensi* of Zabšali,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 363.

power was recovering.²¹⁹ This recovery explains the decision of Ur to establish good relations with its old enemy Zabšali and conclude a dynastic marriage.²²⁰ Confronting the Hurrians in the Transtigris and keeping them at bay was a primary aim of Ur, but the role the Amorite infiltration played in changing the balance of power at this time should not be forgotten.

The Historical Geography of the Ur III Campaigns to the Hurrian Lands

To describe the historical geography of the Hurrian lands that were the object of Sumerian warfare under Ur III kings is difficult. This difficulty stems from the fact that the kings of Ur, with the exception of Šū-Sîn, did not leave any royal inscriptions with historical narratives or any annals like those left by the Assyrian kings. All we know has to be deduced from the date-formulae (year names) and from some passages in the literary compositions, although they are not considered as so reliable for writing history. Inscriptions of the other periods, especially the later ones, have to be studied for this purpose and the data compared with modern GNs in an attempt to identify the older GNs in the Ur III records. In this short survey the GNs that have already been dealt with in previous chapters, especially Chapter Two, will not be further discussed.

The GNs confronted by the kings of Ur in the Hurrian lands of the Transtigris can be listed in the chronological order of campaigns.

Šulgi:

Karḫar: Š 24-25

Simurrum: Š 25-26

Simurrum (for the 2nd time): Š 26

Ḫarši: Š 27

Karḫar (for the 2nd time): Š 31

Simurrum (for the 3rd time): Š 32

Karḫar (for the 3rd time): Š 33

Šašrum: Š 42

Simurrum and Lullubum (for the 9th time): Š 44

Urbilum, Simurrum, Lullubum and Karḫar (in one day): Š 45

Kimaš, Ḫu(m/wu)rtil and their lands (in one day): Š 46-47

Ḫarši, Kimaš, Ḫu(m/w)rtil and their lands (in one day): Š 48

Amar-Sîn:

Urbilum: Š 2

Šašrum (For the 2nd time): Š 6

Ḫuḫnuri: Š 7

²¹⁹ It is interesting to see this phenomenon also in the archival texts. Steinkeller drew attention to the large number of gún ma-da texts under Šulgi (35 texts) and Amar-Sîn (35 texts), when Ur's control over the peripheral lands was still firm, but these texts decreased dramatically under Šū-Sîn (19 texts) and virtually ceased in the first years of Ibši-Sîn (3 texts), indicating a loss of control: Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State..." p. 36.

²²⁰ Steinkeller associates this dynastic marriage with the political situation in Sīmaški, where the long lasting alliance of Ebarat/Ebarti of Sīmaški with Ur (since Šulgi 44) turned into hostility when he felt the end of Ur was approaching. He occupied Susa and established himself there as an independent ruler (sometime after IS 3 and before IS 9): Steinkeller, "New Light on Sīmaški ...," p. 228. This could be an explanation, but we cannot neglect the role the Hurrian threat played.

Šū-Sîn:

Simanum: Š 3

Zabšali: Š 7

Ibbi-Sîn:

Simurru: Š 3

Huḥnuri: Š 9

The first attack in the region under study was on **Karḥar**, a strategic city on the Great Khorasān Road, on the Alvand River. Most probably Karḥar was in or close to modern Qasri-Shīrīn.²²¹ The name is first attested as *Kak-kā-ra* in the LGN (Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names) and then as *Kà-kà-ra-an* in the Oakk texts from Tell Sulaimeh.²²² During the Ur III period the governor of Karḥar was a certain Ea-rābi, known from a text dated to AS 5, from an undated text and from a tablet from ŠS 9.²²³ On a cylinder seal²²⁴ we find the name of one of its Hurrian kings, the deified Tiš-atal king of Karḥar.²²⁵ Another king of Karḥar was Zardamu, likewise deified. From his seal legend it appears he ruled later than Tiš-atal, sometime in the Early Old Babylonian period.²²⁶ The text also indicates that he was a mighty king, described as king of the four quarters of the world. Two points in the text of this seal legend are especially important: the prominent position of the god Nergal in the text and the description of the king as ‘Sun of his land.’²²⁷ These two points show Zardamu sharing two important features with the Hurrian kings of the Habur. The special position of the god Nergal is also seen in the two foundation inscriptions of Tiš-atal and Atal-šen. The title ‘Sun of his land’ was also borne by Talpuš-atili of Nagar (see below).

The road that now leads to Sar-i-Pul-i-Zahāb passes through Khanaqīn, another city on the Alvand River.²²⁸ Khanaqīn is generally identified with ancient **Niqqum**,²²⁹ which was ruled in the Oakk period by a certain Karšum. He styled himself “The one (in charge of the)

²²¹ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 148. Note that Walker puts it in the north, close to Nineveh, basing himself on his identification of Tiš-atal of Karḥar with Tiš-atal of Nineveh: Walker, *The Tigris Frontier...*, p. 161, which does not seem to be correct.

²²² Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 65.

²²³ Frayne, “The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena,” *SCCNH* 10, p. 149.

²²⁴ The seal is of unknown provenance and dates to the Ur III or the Proto Isin-Larsa Period. It belongs to the De Clerq Collection in the Louvre, cf. Salvini, “The Earliest ...,” p. 107.

²²⁵ 1) ^dTi-!-ša-a-tal 2) LUGAL *Kár-ḥar*^{ki} 3) *Ma-ši-am-eš-tár* 4) IR₁₁.ZU, “Tiš-atal, king of Karḥar, Maši’am-Eštar (is) your servant,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 452 (E3/2.5.1).

²²⁶ Walker, *The Tigris Frontier...*, p. 161, who dates the seal to the “Post Ur III to OB period.”

²²⁷ The seal legend is as follows: 1) ^dZa-ar-da-mu 2) ^dUTU *ma-ti-šu* 3) *na-ra-am* 4) ^dKIŠ.UNU.GAL 5) *ì-lì-šu* 6) *An-nu-ni-tum* 7) *um-ma-šu* 8) ^d[Šul]-‘pa’-è 9) ‘x’-ti-[x]-‘AN-šū’ 10) ‘x’-[...] 11) ‘x’-[...]’-šū’ 12) ^dEN.SIG.NUN 13) *a-lì-ik i-mi-ti-šu* 14) ‘x’ ^dUTU 15) ^dDUMU.ZI-‘šū’ (?) 16) LUGAL *da-núm* 17) LUGAL *Kára-ḥar*^{ki} 18) ^ù LUGAL 19) *ki-ib-ra-tim* 20) *ar-ba-im* 21) DAM ^dInanna, “Zardamu, sun-god of his land, beloved of the god Nergal, his (personal) deity; Annunītum (is) his mother, Šulpa’e (is) his the god EN.SIG.NUN (is the one) who walks at his right side; the ... of Šamaš, (is) his (?) Dumuzi, mighty king, king of Karḥar, and king of the four quarters, spouse of the goddess Eštar,” Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 453 (E3/2.5.2).

²²⁸ This city was one of the major cities of the Halwān (ancient Ḥalman) province in the Middle Ages, cf.

المقدس، احسن التقاسيم في معرفة الاقاليم، ليدن، ١٨٧٧، ص. ٥٣، ١١٥.

[al-Maqdisi, *Aḥsan it-Taqāsīm fī Ma’rifat il-Aqālīm*, Leiden, 1877, p. 53; 115 (in Arabic)]. al-Maqdisi lived in the 10th century A. D.

²²⁹ Cf. Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 151; Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 70; cf. also: Röllig, W., “Niqu(m),” *RIA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 569-70.

messengers, governor of Niqqum, his servant (i.e. servant of Narām-Sîn)²³⁰ in inscriptions on two mace-heads. At one period Niqqum was considered an enemy, according to a Hittite literary text.²³¹ An OB letter refers to Niqqum in association with Ḫalman.²³² It is very possible that this Niqqum is identical with NI.ḪI of Ur III documents. One of those documents is the inscription of Ir-Nanna, who once functioned as “Governor of Ḫamazi and Karḫar and general of NI.ḪI.”²³³ Frayne noticed that the alternation between the velar stop *k* and the spirant *ḫ* occurs elsewhere, such as *Karḫar* = *kakkara(n)* and *Tikitihum* = probably modern Taqtaq.²³⁴ The suggestion is strengthened by renderings of the name of the goddess Belat-Šuḫnir as Belat-Šuknir, as noticed by Sallaberger.²³⁵

Simurru will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Little is known about **Ḫarši**. Šulgi campaigned against it in his 27th and 48th regnal years, almost at the beginning and at the end of his Hurrian war. The name occurs several times in the archival texts, most of which are dated to Š 48.²³⁶ Frayne tentatively associated it with Ḫuršitum,²³⁷ mentioned on a brick inscription from the OB period. The inscription states that a certain Puḫīya was king of the land of Ḫuršitum.²³⁸ The brick was reported to have come from a mound on the Awa-Spī²³⁹ tributary close to Tūz-Ḫurmātu, a locality to the south of Kirkuk.²⁴⁰ This provenance, although uncertain, fits well with the advance of the campaigns of Šulgi. After he destroyed Karḫar, the mighty stronghold, and broke the resistance shown by Simurru, he would have marched further north, to Ḫarši/Ḫuršitum, south of modern Kirkuk. An orthographic link between the forms Ḫarši and Ḫuršitum can be found in *silā₄-ḫa-ar-ši-tum* (CT 32, 50: 103409 Rs.9) and *udu-niga_x (ŠE)-ḫa-ar-ši-tum* (YOS 4, 217, 3).²⁴¹

From the archival texts it appears that this land was ruled in the Ur III period by an *ensi* named Addagina, who was later succeeded by his son Išiwir.²⁴² The names of other governors of Ḫarši are known, such as Marḫuni and Ti-[i]b(?)²⁴³ both described as “the man of Ḫarši,” and also Abba-uru-me-eš, “*ensi* of Ḫarši.”²⁴⁴

Kimaš was previously confused with the Elamite GN with the same name. However, the mention of this land together with Ḫumurtum and Ḫarši in the date-formulae of Šulgi

²³⁰ 15) *Kār-šum* 16) *šu SUKKAL-li* 17) *ÉNSI* 18) *Ni-qum^{ki}* 19) *IR₁₁-sú*, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 167 (E2.1.4.2005); p. 168 (E2.1.4.2006), l. 6-10.

²³¹ 14) ^m*Ur-[b]a (?) -an-da LUGAL KUR^{URU} Ni-iq-qi[(-)...]*, “14) Ur[b]anda, king of Niqqu[...], Güterbock, “Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische ...”, *ZA* 10 (1938), p. 68; cf. also Potts, *Mesopotamia and ...*, p. 107, note 131.

²³² 1) [*Ma*](?)^{-an-da} 2) ^a*’-na Ni-qi₄-[im^{ki}]* 3) *i-te-ri-i[b]* 4) *ù Da-ad-l[_a]* 5) *a-na Ḫa-al-^rma-ni^{ki}* 6) [*i-t*]e-ri-ib, Whiting, R. M., *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar*, Chicago, 1987, p. 37 (letter No. 2, 1930-T713).

²³³ 22) *énsi-Ḫa-àm-zí^{ki}* 23) *ù Kára* (Text GÁNA)-*ḫar^{ki}* 24) ^r*GĪR.NÍTA* NI.ḪI^{ki}, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 324 (E3/2.1.4.13).

²³⁴ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 149; 169.

²³⁵ In Sallaberger, W., *Die kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, vol. 1, Berlin and New York, 1993, p. 19, note 64; cf. also the inscription of Babati in *RIME* 3/2, p. 341-2.

²³⁶ For an overview cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 74-5; Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 154-156.

²³⁷ Not to be confused with another Ḫuršitum, located in the region of Akšak, cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 80.

²³⁸ *LUGAL ma-at Ḫu-ur-ši-ti-im*.

²³⁹ Known also under its Turkish-Turkomenian name Aq-su.

²⁴⁰ For this cf. Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 156. He adds another attestation of Ḫuršitum in an OB letter sent by a ruler of Ešnunna (referring to Van Dijk, 1973, p. 65).

²⁴¹ Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 74-5.

²⁴² This name also occurs with the variants In-ši-wi-ir and I-ša-wi-ir, cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 74. The element *iwir* could be associated with Hurrian *ewri*, “lord.”

²⁴³ Although fragmentary, the name resembles the name Tabiti, son of Pišendēn, king of the Turukkeans, who were also Hurrians; cf. Chapter Six.

²⁴⁴ For these archival texts cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 74; Owen, D., “Critical Review: Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2,” *JCS* 33 (1981), p. 252.

suggests that all these places were in the same general area.²⁴⁵ According to some OB texts Kimaš was located somewhere to the north of the Hamrin Range.²⁴⁶ The occurrence of NIM-ki-maš^{ki} in several texts²⁴⁷ confirms its association with a highland region, and this is supported by the cylinders of Gudea that mention he had mined copper in the mountain of Kimaš.²⁴⁸ But it is associated with Ekallātum in OB date-formulae from Išchali as targets of a king of Ešnunna, which pushes Kimaš further to the north, to the middle Tigris, for Ekallātum was to the north of Assur.²⁴⁹ Locating it here does not seem correct, unless Kimaš was mentioned as a southerly target on the way to Ekallātum in the north. This is because Kimaš of the Ur III and Gudea sources was a highland city or district, not so far to the north as Assur or even close to Assur. In all probability Kimaš was located somewhere in the foothills of the Zagros, to the east of the Sirwān River, to the north of Hamrin, but not as far north as Arrapha or Zamua (= Shahrazūr).

The archival texts of Ur III provide the name of an *ensi* of Kimaš, a certain 𒀭u-un-NI.NI or 𒀭u-un-ḫi-li,²⁵⁰ who was also the military governor (*šagin*) of Madga.²⁵¹ This association strengthens the idea of locating Kimaš in the region proposed above. Noteworthy is the mention of Ra-ši-ši together with this 𒀭u-un-ḫi-li (TCS 140, 5),²⁵² an important figure that will be discussed in the next chapter.

𒀭u(m/w)urti²⁵³ was also associated with 𒀭arši and Kimaš in the date-formulae of Šulgi, which again means that it was located in the same general area. If we place the date-formulae that mention these lands in chronological order as reflecting the passage of events, the first impression is that Karḫar was controlling the gorge leading to the Upper Diyāla or Sirwān. The Sirwān region can be viewed as an inverted triangle, with the southern point marking the narrowest spot between the Zagros Mountains to the east and the Diyāla River and the Hamrin Range on the west (Map 1). This point was controlled by Karḫar. Behind that point Simurrum controlled a wider area of the triangle and, as with Karḫar, several successive campaigns were needed to clear it. Further back was the wider region in the middle of the triangle. There the Sumerian troops had to spread further eastwards and westwards, to Kimaš in the east, at the foot of the Zagros range, and to 𒀭arši and 𒀭u(m/w)urti in the west. This helps us to

²⁴⁵ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 159.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Goetze, A., "Sin-Iddinam of Larsa, New Tablets from his Reign," *JCS* 4 (1950), p. 95 (referring to Poebel, *ZA* 5 136 ff.); Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 101.

²⁴⁷ Cf. *RGTC* 2, p. 101.

²⁴⁸ 21) KÁ.GAL-*at*^{ki} 22) ḫur-saḡ Ki-maš-ka 23) uruda mu-ni-ba-al, "In Abullāt, on the mountain range of Kimaš, he mined copper," Edzard, D. O., Gudea and his Dynasty, *RIME* 3/1, Toronto, 1997, p. 34 (E3/1.1.7.StB); 15) ḫur-saḡ uruda-ke₄ Ki-maš-ta 16) ní-bi mu-na-ab-pā 17) uruda-bi gi-si-a-ba mu-ni-ba-al, "From Kimaš, the copper mountain range made itself known to him, and he dug its copper into baskets," Edzard, *RIME* 3/1, p. 79 (E3.1.1.7. Cyl A).

²⁴⁹ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 160.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 100, note also the rendering of the name on the seal as 𒀭u-un-i-lí; according to them it has to be read as 𒀭u-un-ḫi-li.

²⁵¹ For the location of Madga in the region between Daqūq, Tūz Ḫurmātu and Kifri, cf. Chapter Three.

²⁵² Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 100.

²⁵³ The writing of this GN in cuneiform gives the impression that the name must have been pronounced as something like /ḫvurti/. The sound /v/, as we know from NA and NB inscriptions, was written either as *m* or as *w*, as in the name of the Median king *Uvaxšt(a)ra* in OP (cf. Schmitt, R., "Die Sprache der Meder - eine grosse Unbekannte," *Continuity of Empire (?) Assyria, Media, Persia*, eds. G.B. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf and R. Rollinger, Padova, 2003, p. 26); the name is *Umakištar* in Akkadian (cf. Gadd, C. J., *The Fall of Nineveh, The Babylonian Chronicle no. 21,901 in the British Museum*, London, 1923, Rev. 1. 47, p. 34) in the Babylonian sources; similarly the name of the Persian king *Daryavauš* is *Dariamuš*. (cf. Von Voigtlander, E. N., *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great, Babylonian Version, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part I: Inscriptions of Ancient Iran*, London, 1978, I. 1, p. 11). A parallel element to this virtual /ḫvur/ may be found in the Hurrian word *ḫawur(ni)*, "sky," found in the PN *Ḫa(w)urna-nigi*; for this PN and the meaning of *ḫawur(ni)* cf. Richter, "Die Ausbreitung ...," p. 307.

understand why these latter three regions were attacked in one day, according to date-formulae: Kimaš and 𒍪u(m/w)ur_{ti} in Š 46-47; 𒍪arši, Kimaš and 𒍪u(m/w)ur_{ti} together in Š 48. Since 𒍪arši was the first of the three to be attacked as early as Š 27, directly after the campaigns against Karḫar in Š 25 and Simurru in Š 26, it is very probable that 𒍪arši was located to the south, midway between Kimaš and 𒍪u(m/w)ur_{ti}.

As for the location of 𒍪u(m/w)ur_{ti}, it seems very probable that it was on the western side of the triangle, behind Simurru and in front of Arrapha. It could very well be at modern Tūz-Ḫurmātu, a town and locality to the south of Kirkuk on the Awa-Spī tributary. The modern name of this town may also be a reflection of the old name,²⁵⁴ as with many other GNs.

𒍪u(m/w)ur_{ti} is mentioned in archival texts, one of which refers to the booty of this land.²⁵⁵ Others mention its *ensis* Ba-za-mu and 𒍪u-ba-mir-si-ni.²⁵⁶ The latter name, especially the element *-sini*, appears to be affiliated linguistically to the famous 𒍪išib-rasini, father of Luḫišan, king of Awan.²⁵⁷ The reference to NIM-ḫu-ur₍₅₎-ti^{ki} in several texts²⁵⁸ indicates the high elevation of this land or its location in a hilly terrain. The way leading from Baghdad to Kirkuk crosses the Hamrin Range slightly to the south of Tūz-Ḫurmātu, and travellers easily appreciate the height of the land directly behind the range, with Tūz-Ḫurmātu just a few kilometers away.

It is very surprising that there is comparative silence about the two important centres Arrapha and Nuzi. The few occurrences of Arrapha may be understandable, but the total omission of Nuzi, the heir of ancient Gasur, is unexplainable.²⁵⁹ Arrapha made its first appearance in the written records in this period. It is attested in some archival texts, some of which mention troops of that city,²⁶⁰ and one, dated to v AS 5, mentions the general with a Hurrian name, 𒍪ašip-atal, in connection with soldiers from Arrapha.²⁶¹

²⁵⁴ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 162.

²⁵⁵ 17) šà nam-ra-ak 𒍪u-ur₄-ti^{ki}, Owen, D., *Neo-Sumerian Texts from American Collections*, MVN, vol. 15, Rome, 1991, p. 80, text no. 201. Frayne prefers to keep the reading ur₄ instead of MUR: Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 162.

²⁵⁶ Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 81.

²⁵⁷ For the kings of Awan, see Chapter Two.

²⁵⁸ Cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 81.

²⁵⁹ The only occurrence of Nuzi as kaskal-na-me nu-zu-e-ŠĒ appeared to be a misunderstanding of a Sumerian verbal chain, cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 151. One possible interpretation of the silence about Nuzi/Gasur is connected with the relative silence concerning the Gutians. The Gutians, except for few times, do not appear in the Ur III texts, not even in date formulae, despite the extensive military actions in or close to their territory. Only in the early phase of the Ur III state under Ur-Namma are they referred to in inscriptions such as the literary composition that mentions the death of Ur-Namma in a battle against the Gutians. Perhaps there was a pact between Sumer and Gutium, according to which no party would clash with the other. The city of Gasur/Nuzi might then have been under Gutian influence and hence not an object of Sumerian military operations. Since there is no hiatus in the archaeological strata for this period in Gasur, the silence about the city cannot be attributed to abandonment. For the continuity of occupation between Gasur and Nuzi cf. Starr, R. F. S., *Nuzi*, vol. I, Harvard, 1939, p. 18; for the discovery of an Ur III tablet (no. 228), cf. Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi, Excavations at Nuzi*, vol. III in: *HSS X*, Harvard, 1935, p. vii.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 16; Owen, D., "Critical Review," *JCS* 33 (1981), p. 247.

²⁶¹ Salonen, A., M. Çiğ and H. Kizilyay, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Puzriš-Dagan Metinleri*, vol. I, Helsinki, 1954, p. 53, text no. 166, l. 11.

The Tranquil Hurrian Lands

It is notable that only part of the Hurrian lands, the lands in the Transtigris and Zagros, probably with the exception of Simanum,²⁶² became the targets of Sumerian warfare. The other parts, for instance those in the Habur area, were not mentioned in the list of lands attacked by the Ur III kings. On the contrary, Ur had diplomatic relations with Urkeš.²⁶³ Some think that northern Syria was not targeted in the military plans of Ur because of lack of interest, since the region was thinly populated.²⁶⁴ This does not seem likely, as we know that northern Syria, particularly the Habur Region, was a rich country, where such kingdoms as Urkeš and Nagar flourished with rich agricultural and trade economies.²⁶⁵ Nagar was famous for its expensive equids in the time of Ebla archives,²⁶⁶ and the same would have been true in the Ur III period. Urkeš was even more productive in agriculture since it was located in a zone of abundant rain and well placed for trade with the northern mountains in Anatolia. Proof of the richness of the Habur area comes from the Akkadian occupation of Nagar, where they built a centre (perhaps more than one) for the collection of local products. By contrast, the Transtigris consisted principally of rugged mountainous terrains, with poor agriculture and water resources unable to support large numbers of people. Why the Hurrians of the Transtigris were attacked so ferociously while their kinsmen in the Habur area enjoyed the peace and friendship of Ur is a question. The answer to this question must lie in the geopolitical conditions of the Transtigris, more specifically the lower parts in the Diyāla region. In the history of Mesopotamia this region was always (and it still is) a focal point, being midway between Mesopotamia and the Transtigris. As such it was on the one hand the base for attacks against the Mesopotamian lowlands, because of its closeness to the Zagros Mountains, the Hamrin Range, the Tigris and the Diyāla Rivers and on the other against the mountainous regions by powers of lowland Mesopotamia. Its position gives any attacking army coming from the north the advantage of hiding before launching an attack and easily retreating. This is why Sargon of Akkad carried out campaigns on Niqqum (Modern Khanaqīn) and Simurru (on the upper Diyāla), most probably to make a base for his attack against Subartu.²⁶⁷ Besides being an ideal starting point for attacks, the region also provided easy passage for immigrants from the north on their way to the heart of Mesopotamia. The flow of Gutians from this region into Mesopotamia and their military role in the invasion, albeit in the service of the Akkadians, remained fresh in Sumerian memory. The Hurrians in this period were still on the move, and one of their destinations was certainly the south, along the Sirwān and Diyāla Rivers. There they succeeded after the time of Sargon of Akkad in establishing themselves in Simurru, as is seen in the Hurrian name of its king, Daḫiṣ-atili. The rulers of Ur had no choice but to confront the Hurrians in the Diyāla region to safeguard

²⁶² The aim of the Sumerian military involvement in Simanum, unlike in the Transtigris, was to restore its kingship, not to destroy it.

²⁶³ Edzard/Farber, *RGTC* (UR III) 1974: 224, after Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 10.

²⁶⁴ Sallaberger, *Ur III Zeit*, *OBO*, p. 159.

²⁶⁵ The excavators of Brak, ancient Nagar, concluded that Nagar had a prosperous society based on agricultural economy, cf.: Oates, D. and J. Oates, "The Excavations," *Excavations at Tell Brak*, vol. 2: Nagar in the third Millennium BC, Oxford, 2001, p. 71.

²⁶⁶ Eidem *et al.*, p. 101.

²⁶⁷ From this same region the last Sassanian king, Yazdagird III (632-651 AD), fled to Iran, to Nihavand and to Hamadan, after his defeat by the Arabs. The invading Arab troops also used the same passage to penetrate Iran. In modern times the strategic importance of this region was recognized in the strong process of Arabization by successive Iraqi regimes, to keep the region in the firm hands of Arab nationalist governments.

their realm. To do this they made successive campaigns to loot and destroy their settlements and take as many prisoners and materials as possible to keep them weak.²⁶⁸

The Hurrians in the Ur III period were in no way disorganized objects to Sumerian campaigns, but rather they were organized into small states that dominated the whole area, from the Zagros Mountains to the Habur region and beyond. Among these states were Urkeš (see below), Nagar (see below, under Nawar), Simanum, Simurrum and probably Kakmum. The ruler of Urkeš was Tiš-atal. We know of a mighty ruler of Nineveh, probably a vassal of Ur in this period, also called Tiš-atal. He is named in two tablets from Ešnunna and described as “the man of Ninua,”²⁶⁹ and he “would therefore have ruled the northern part of Assyria, including the temple town of the Hurrian goddess Šawuška.”²⁷⁰ The text mentioning Tiš-atal and his unprecedented large number of escorts indicates his importance and status.²⁷¹ Another Tiš-atal was king of Karḫar, mentioned already, known from a seal legend of unknown provenance from the Ur III or Proto Isin-Larsa Period.²⁷² Collon and Whiting think these names represent the same Hurrian king of Urkeš,²⁷³ while others think the name Tiš-atal was a common PN among the Hurrians in this period.²⁷⁴ It is tempting to imagine a king of Urkeš exercising his authority on Nineveh, which is geographically connected with the Habur area, and from there exercising authority on the Diyāla region, which is geographically connected to the Nineveh region by main routes. This is theoretically possible, but it remains difficult to think about a large Hurrian kingdom from the Habur to the Diyāla under the shadow of the empire of Ur. The inscriptions do not mention the two places together as the domains of one single king at one time. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine that a king of Urkeš can be simply entitled “the ‘man’ of Nineveh” in the texts mentioned above. The title king of Urkeš would have been more important or at least as important as “the man of Nineveh” and would have been the expected epithet, not restricted to the lordship of Nineveh.²⁷⁵ Furthermore, we would have expected Tiš-atal of Urkeš to mention Nineveh as his domain in his inscription, but he does not (see below). So it seems very likely that we are dealing with more than one Tiš-atal, and that Tiš-atal of Nineveh is to be distinguished from Tiš-atal of Urkeš. Accordingly, it becomes more difficult to identify Tiš-atal of Karḫar with Tiš-atal of Urkeš, since the Diyāla region would have been separated from the Habur region by the realm of Tiš-atal of Nineveh. We conclude, therefore, that in this period there are three different rulers named Tiš-atal.

²⁶⁸ Hallo points to the blockade of the northern Iranian trade routes against the Sumerians by the Hurrian kingdoms as a reason for the Ur III warfare: Hallo, “Simurrum and the Hurrian Frontier,” *RHA* 36 (1978), p. 71. While this could be a reason, it cannot be the only or the principal one.

²⁶⁹ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 11.

²⁷⁰ Wilhelm, *ibid.* According to Wilcke the occurrences of the goddess Ša-u₁₈ (=ÛLU)-ša, Ša-ù-ša and Ša-u-ša are an Ur III rendering of the goddess Ša(w)uš(k)a, which also appeared in Mari as Ša-ù-ša-ù-ša-an. The offerings listed to this goddess are related to Šū-Sîn’s *lukur* Ti’āmat-bāšī, and that could mean, in Wilcke’s view, that she was descended from a Hurrian country where this goddess was worshipped, perhaps from Nineveh; cf. Wilcke, C., “A Note on Ti’āmat-bāšī and the Goddess Ša(w)uš(k)a of Nineveh,” *DV (Drevnie Vostok)* 5 (1988), p. 225-227 (English Summary); see also the supplement, with an additional text mentioning her, in Wilcke, C., “Ti’āmat-bāšī,” *NABU* 1990, no. 1. Mars, p. 28 (no. 36).

²⁷¹ Whiting, “Tiš-atal of Nineveh and Babati, Uncle of Šu-Sin,” *JCS* 28 (1976), p. 176.

²⁷² The seal belongs to the De Clercq Collection in the Louvre, cf. Salvini, “The Earliest ...,” p. 107 and above under Karḫar.

²⁷³ Salvini, p. 107 and n. 44. Collon thinks that even the scribe Taḫiš-atal of Puzriš-Dagān was the same man of Nineveh, later king of Karḫar and probably the *endan* of Urkeš, cf. Collon, *RA* 84 (1990), p. 129f. Matthews and Eidem, and also Frayne, do not exclude the possibility that Tiš-atal of Urkeš was the same Tiš-atal of Nineveh; cf. Matthews and Eidem, “Tell Brak and Nagar,” *Iraq* 55 (1993), p. 203; Frayne, *RIME* 3/2 (Ur III), p. 462.

²⁷⁴ Salvini, “The Earliest...,” p. 107.

²⁷⁵ Whiting considers it possible to think of one Tiš-atal with three different occurrences: Whiting, “Tiš-atal of Nineveh and ...,” *JCS* 28 (1976), p. 175; 177. This hypothesis seems too difficult to prove, especially in the light of new discoveries in Mozan (for these see below, under Urkeš).

The Hurrians at this time seem to have been present in the region of Maraš in Anatolia but no farther. Their presence is reflected in the Old Assyrian archives from Anatolia, particularly Kaniš. In these archives there are few Hurrian Personal names²⁷⁶ and few Hurrian linguistic suffixes have been detected.²⁷⁷ Even those Hurrian names attested cannot be taken as evidence of a Hurrian presence there, since, for as Wilhelm explains, Assyria itself bordered Hurrian-speaking areas and Assyrians operating in Anatolia may have had Hurrian names.²⁷⁸ An important letter of the prince of the city of Mama, probably in the region of modern Maraš²⁷⁹ to the east of Kaniš, was sent by someone with a supposedly Hurrian name, Anum-ḫirbi.²⁸⁰ This might indicate that a Hurrian population was already there, perhaps even a Hurrian ruling family.²⁸¹ This sparse Hurrian presence in the Maraš region, compared with the fact that the same region was certainly within the Hurrian-speaking population area in the 14th century,²⁸² means that the Hurrians were still on the move towards the west and northwest during the centuries that followed. Other evidence of Hurrians in Kaniš is found in other letters. One, sent from Northern Syria by a certain Eḫli-Addu,²⁸³ is addressed to someone with a Hurrian name, Unap-še,²⁸⁴ in Kaniš.²⁸⁵ Among the witnesses is another supposedly Hurrian name, Tuḫuš-madi, who was from Ḫaššu in Northern Syrian. Another witness came from Zibuḫulwe.²⁸⁶ Another letter to Unap-še mentions “a scribe who can understand and read Hurrian.”²⁸⁷

²⁷⁶ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 12 referring to Garelli, P. *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique de l'Institut Française d'Istanbul 19, Paris, 1963, p. 155; Edzard and Kammenhuber, “Hurriter, Hurritisch,” *RIA* 4, p. 510; Kammenhuber, “Die Arier im Vorderen Orient....,” *Or* 64, p. 142, where Kammenhuber cites four Hurrian PNs that contain the word *ewri-*, “lord, king.”

²⁷⁷ Cf. Dercksen, J. G., “On Anatolian Loanwords in Akkadian. Texts from Kültepe,” *ZA* 97 (2007), p. 40-41

²⁷⁸ Wilhelm, Hurrians in the Kültepe Texts, *Anatolia and the Jazira...*, p. 181-2.

²⁷⁹ Balkan, K., *Letter of King Anum-ḫirbi of Mama to king Warshama of Kanish*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından VII, Seri 31 a, Ankara, 1957, p. 6ff, after Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 12. According to Garelli, Mama is probably identifiable with Göksun in the mountains that separate Syria from Cata'onia, cf. Astour, “Les Hourrites...,” p. 4-5. The OA sources indicate that Mama was closely associated with Uršu, and both were located on a southern alternative route leading to Kaneš, cf. Barjamovic, G., *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, Copenhagen, 2011, p. 195.

²⁸⁰ Balkan (who published the letter) and Garelli consider the name Hurrian, while Laroche sees it only as a probability, cf. Astour, “Les Hourrites...,” p. 4. A similar name, in the form ^mA-nu-um-Ḫé-ir-wa, is attested in a Hittite historical tradition. He was king of ^{URU}Za-al-[wa'-ar'], a city probably located in the northern Antioch Plain, cf. Astour, “Les Hourrites...,” p. 4-5. The first element of the name that was once understood as the name of the Mesopotamian deity Anum, appears to be the predicate: a verbal form of the 3rd person ergative *an=o=m* meaning “He pleases him,” from the verbal root *an-*. If this proves to be correct, the second element must be the theophoric part of the name: Wilhelm, “L'état actuel et ...,” *Amurru*, I, p. 176, note 15; cf. also Wegner, *Einführung ...*, p. 23. It is noteworthy that Ḫarbe was known among the Kassites as a deity, whose name formed the theophoric element of two Kassite royal names, the 15th and 30th names, Kadašman-Ḫarbe I and II. That Ḫarbe was a divine name can be seen by comparing the name Kadašman-Ḫarbe with the other Kassite royal name Kadašman-Enlil. According to Balkan, the name Kadašman-Ḫarbe means “Trusted in Ḫarbe,” cf. Balkan, K., *Kassitenstudien, I. Die Sprache der Kassiten*, New Haven, 1954, p. 59, the name Meli-Ḫarbe is also attested and means “Slave of Ḫarbe,” *op. cit.*, p. 69.

²⁸¹ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 12.

²⁸² Wilhelm, *ibid.*

²⁸³ A compound Hurro-Semitic name meaning “The god Addu saved.” For the element *ehli* cf. Richter, Th., Ein Hurriter wird geboren ... und benannt, p. 509.

²⁸⁴ The *še* element of the name, Wilhelm states, is an abbreviated form of *šen*, “brother.” To prove this he recalls the Hurrian PN from the OAKk Tell Sulaima tablet Tulpipše, cf. Wilhelm, “Zu den hurritischen Namen der Kültepe-Tafel kt k/k 4,” *SCCNH* 8 (1996), p. 337.

²⁸⁵ Wegner, *Einführung in die hurritische Sprache*, p. 23. Wilhelm finds the PN Duḫušmati also a possible Hurrian name: Wilhelm, “L'état actuel et ...,” *Amurru*, I, p. 167.

²⁸⁶ Wilhelm's analysis of this GN is a genitive form, seen in the clear Hurrian genitive ending *-we*, based on a professional name, to which the suffix *-uhuli* (*-o=ḡ(e)=o/u=li*) is attached: Wilhelm, *Amurru*, I, p. 176-7.

²⁸⁷ Wegner, *Einführung ...*, *ibid.*

Urkeš:

Thanks to the archaeological efforts undertaken in recent years, Urkeš,²⁸⁸ modern Tell Mozan, has become one of the landmarks of Hurrian civilization and archaeology. It is perhaps the best example of a Hurrian city with a Hurrian material culture, Hurrian population and a Hurrian ruling family with its own regal priorities and its own artistic genre. It was also an autonomous urban efflorescence of the mountainous north, not an outpost of Mesopotamian civilization, in contrast to Nagar.²⁸⁹ The city of Urkeš was the centre of the kingdom of Urkeš and so it is appropriate to concentrate on the city with a side-glance at its neighbour Nagar. The name of the city was known from the inscription of Atal-šen, “king of Urkeš and Nawar,” and Hittite religious texts refer to it as the city of Kumarbi,²⁹⁰ father of the Hurrian gods, associated with Sumerian Enlil.²⁹¹ In other mythological texts such as the myth of *silver* (CTH 364), Urkeš is also associated with Kumarbi.²⁹² Hurrian was the language used there for display inscriptions, Hurrian anthroponyms denote the political elite and the royal titulary was Hurrian.²⁹³ In Urkeš Hurrians took over elements of Mesopotamian civilization, including cuneiform, as early as the Late Akkadian – Gutian period.

Based on the above mentioned text material, especially from the Ur III Period, the city of Urkeš appears to have been the most important Hurrian centre before the Mittanni Period.²⁹⁴ But it is surprising that the city is not attested in the Ebla texts or in Oakk. texts of Mesopotamia.²⁹⁵

As pointed out earlier, the rulers of the city had Hurrian names from the third millennium BC, and they can be arranged in order according to middle-chronology:²⁹⁶

Tupkiš and his wife Uqnītum.²⁹⁷ (+/- 2280 BC)²⁹⁸
[xxx], husband of Tar’am Agade (+/- 2240 BC)²⁹⁹
Atal-šen son of Šatar-mat.
Tiš-atal.
Ann-atal.

²⁸⁸ For the transcription Urkeš, rather than Urkiš as in older literature, cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh...,” p. 1, note 1. The different renderings of the city name in cuneiform literature are dealt with in Buccellati, G. and M. Kelly-Buccellati, “The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK,” in: *WZKM*, p. 68-71. On arguments why Urkeš is considered a Hurrian city cf. Buccellati, G., “The Monumental Urban Complex at Urkesh,” *SCCNH* 15 (2005), p. 5-6.

²⁸⁹ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “Urkesh and the Question of the Hurrian Homeland,” p. 150.

²⁹⁰ Güterbock, H., “Kumarbi,” *RIA* 6 (1980-1983), p. 329.

²⁹¹ Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

²⁹² Güterbock, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

²⁹³ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh...,” p. 3.

²⁹⁴ Salvini, the earliest...,” p. 107.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Royal Storehouse ...,” p. 3, except for an uncertain reconstruction of a fragmentary name attested in an Oakk text as *Ur-k[i-iš^{ki}]* by Steinkeller, cf. *ibid.* note 7.

²⁹⁶ According to M. Kelly-Buccellati eight rulers/kings of Urkeš are known from sealings and other textual sources, cf. M. Kelly-Buccellati, “Urkesh and the North: Recent Discoveries,” p. 29.

²⁹⁷ The reading *Uqnītum*: KUR.ZA.NI-tum or ZA.KUR.NI-tum, “The lapis-lazuli girl,” is suggested by Steinkeller. The doubtful reading *Zakuryatum* as an Amorite PN is not favoured for historical and orthographic reasons. However, although the PN *Uqnītum* occurs in OB, the reading *Uqnītum* is not absolutely sure, for, as the Buccellatis say, we still ignore the local peculiarities of the scribal traditions in Urkeš in dealing with logograms and syllables. There are further questions about the reading of the logogram and about the sign NI; for this cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Royal Storehouse ...,” p. 16 and note 21.

²⁹⁸ For this date see Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Royal Palace at Urkesh and the Daughter of Naram-Sin,” *Les annales archéologiques arabes syriennes (AAAS)*, 44 (2001), p. 65.

²⁹⁹ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *ibid.*

The domain of these rulers was not restricted to the city of Urkeš, but the city together with the surrounding territories constituted the kingdom of Urkeš. It is thought that the kingdom included Nawar, since the titulary of Atal-šen refers to Nawar as a territory rather than a city.³⁰⁰

The palace of Urkeš (Fig. 1)³⁰¹ consists of two main wings but is only partially excavated. The excavated objects now known come principally from the so-called Service Wing that covers almost 1000 m². The Formal Wing seems to have suffered considerable damage, although parts of its walls reach a height of 3 m above the roof line of the Service Wing.³⁰² The areas excavated so far point to an extensive palace according to the excavators: “The palace plan is looming larger and larger with each new season of excavation.”³⁰³ The palace conforms to a rectilinear layout and includes rooms and courtyards, hearths, ovens (later phase), basins (later phase), drains,³⁰⁴ staircases, platforms, a toilet and flagstone pavements (courtyard H3) (Fig. 2). A particularly interesting map, presumably of the rooms I1-I3 (Fig. 3) was also found.³⁰⁵ The main entrance of the palace appears to have faced west. Also there is an underground structure associated with necromancy, to the southwest of the palace (Fig. 4a-b), called in Hurrian *ābi* and related to a Hurrian cult.³⁰⁶ Some Hittite religious texts that describe rituals strongly influenced by Hurrian religion “make it possible to communicate with the underworld through pits.”³⁰⁷ Such pits are called ‘offering pits’³⁰⁸ and were used as passages through which the underworld gods were summoned. In Hurrian-Hittite texts the underworld gods, but never the spirits of the dead, are summoned. So these rituals had nothing to do with death, but the gods were summoned for purification purposes and offerings.³⁰⁹

An old temple (c. 2400 BC),³¹⁰ built on a monumental terrace of sun-dried bricks and surrounded by an oval line of stones (3 m. high), was the first architectural structure discovered in the city in 1984. The geomagnetic survey of the site in 2001 showed that this

³⁰⁰ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Seals of the King of Urkeš: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK,” *WZKM*, p. 81 and note 82. Nag/war was not listed in the inscription of Tiš-atal as his domain, obviously because it was out of his control.

³⁰¹ For a stratigraphical and chronological overview of the phases of the excavated parts of this palace cf. the charts in Buccellati, G and M. Kelly-Buccellati, “Die Große Schnittstelle. Bericht über die 14. Kampagne in Tall Mozan/Urkeš: Ausgrabungen im Gebiet AA, Juni-Oktober 2001,” *MDOG* 134 (2002), on pages 107 and 109.

³⁰² Buccellati, “The Monumental Urban Complex ...,” p. 8 and 9.

³⁰³ Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

³⁰⁴ For this in detail cf. Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 19-21.

³⁰⁵ Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 17-19.

³⁰⁶ Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 6. According to Hoffner this same Hurrian word *ābi* was borrowed by the Hebrew as *ōb*; for this cf. Kelly-Buccellati, M., “Ein hurritischer Gang in die Unterwelt,” *MDOG* 134 (2002), p. 136, note 8 (referring to: Hoffner Jr., A. H., “Second Millennium Antecedents to the Hebrew *ōb*,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86 (1967), p. 385-401).

³⁰⁷ Kelly-Buccellati, “Ein hurritischer Gang ...,” *MDOG*, p. 136. She points to the technical term *ābi* used to denote such cultic pits; it means pit in Hurrian, yet some texts refer to ^d*ābi* as belonging to the god of the underworld, *op. cit.*, p. 136-137 (referring to Archi, A., “The Names of the Primeval Gods,” *Or* 59 (1990), p. 114-129.)

³⁰⁸ Kelly-Buccellati, *MDOG*, p. 137 (referring to Archi, *Or* 59, p. 117); cf. now De Martino, S. and M. Giorgieri, *Literatur zum hurritischen Lexikon (LHL)*, Band 1, Firenze, 2008, p. 1 and 8 under *abi* = “(Opfer)grube.”

³⁰⁹ Kelly-Buccellati, *ibid.* For the description of these rituals, the offerings and the pits in the Hittite texts, cf. Kelly-Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 137-139. Recently, numerous bones of piglets were found at the bottom of the pit, indicating offerings (courtesy Diederik Meijer, October 2010).

³¹⁰ Hansen, D., *The First Great Empire*, in *Art of the First Cities*, ed. Joan Aruz, New York, 2003, p. 224. An older phase of the temple is dated to c. 2700 BC, but it is not known to which deity it was dedicated: *ibid.* The excavators of the temple date the whole phase to 2800-2650 BC, cf. Dohmann-Pfälzner, H. and P. Pfälzner, “Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in der zentralen Oberstadt von Tall Mozan/Urkeš, Bericht über die in Kooperation mit dem IIMAS durchgeführte Kampagne 2001,” *MDOG* 134 (2002), p. 179.

line of stones was a surrounding wall with a diameter of 125 m from east to west and 75 m from north to south.³¹¹ The city wall was built during one of the older phases of the temple. It was fortified with a moat, which was filled in around 2450 BC when the city defences were probably extended.³¹² Buccellati thinks the temple was built by Tiš-atal and dedicated to Kumarbi.³¹³ This rectangular, single-roomed building with a broken axis³¹⁴ has a foundation of large stones and later excavations showed it was built on a high terrace.³¹⁵ But it was not the only structure on the terrace. The foundation of a wall was discovered on the northern part of the terrace that runs from east to west.³¹⁶

It appears that the entire western and central part of Mozan was occupied by the monumental complex that combined the palace and the temple, with a surface diameter of 250 m.³¹⁷ The Formal Wing of the palace stands at a higher level than the Service Wing. The plaza that separates the terrace, on which the temple was built, occupies a level higher than the Formal Wing. This impressive complex could have been seen from several kilometres away. As Buccellati states: “As such, this would be one of the most impressive third-millennium architectural complexes in Syro-Mesopotamia, covering a vast area and spanning a difference in elevation of almost 15 meters”³¹⁸ (Fig. 5). Such a high temple complex reminds one of the south Mesopotamian temple-platforms of the Early Dynastic period, such as those at Nippur, Uruk and Ur. It can be listed among the tradition of early phases of Mesopotamian ziggurats.³¹⁹ Not only is its high altitude impressive, but also its oval shape makes it the first oval temple known in northern Mesopotamia from the third millennium BC.³²⁰ The use of stone in the ramp (15.5-18 m wide)³²¹ (Fig. 6) leading to the temple and in the surrounding wall is impressive. Very possibly the Hurrians of Urkeš have maintained the tradition of stone masonry they learned in their original mountainous homeland, as well as the tradition of building temples in elevated locations.

The palace of Tell Mozan shows at least two phases through the sealings found there. The older one was in the time of Tupkiš and his wife, Queen Uqnītum. The sealings show scenes from the court in the royal palace in Urkeš. The sealing k2 (Fig. 7) shows the king sitting on his throne raising a mace or sceptre,³²² with a lion (most probably alive) at his feet.³²³ The person standing in front of him holds something in his hand. The headdress of the attendant is

³¹¹ Dohmann-Pfälzner and Pfälzner, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

³¹² Hansen, *The First Great Empire*, *ibid.*

³¹³ Buccellati, “The Monumental Urban Complex...,” p. 10. According to him, the term Nergal is to be interpreted as a logogram for Kumarbi, *ibid.*, note 5.

³¹⁴ Such temple plans consisting of a rectangular room with the entrance on one of the long sides and the cella at the short side were used in the Assyrian temples as well (see for example the Archaic Ishtar Temple in Assur). A similar temple was found in Tell Bazmūsīān in Dukān; for these cf. Damerji, M. S. B., *The Development of the Architecture of Doors and Gates in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Tokyo, 1987, figs. 21 and 45.

³¹⁵ Cf. Pfälzner, P., “Das Tempeloval von Urkeš. Betrachtungen zur Typologie und Entwicklungsgeschichte der mesopotamischen Ziqqurat im 3. Jt. V. Chr.,” *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 1 (2008), p. 399; 400-402.

³¹⁶ Dohmann-Pfälzner and Pfälzner, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

³¹⁷ Buccellati, “The Monumental ...,” p. 7 and 9.

³¹⁸ Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

³¹⁹ Dohmann-Pfälzner and Pfälzner, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

³²⁰ Pfälzner, “Das Tempeloval...,” p. 400.

³²¹ Dohmann-Pfälzner and Pfälzner, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

³²² Holding the mace is considered to be a divine gesture made by Tupkiš, since the mace and dagger were the usual weapons of the gods. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati cautiously propose that the kings might have adopted divine status, a suggestion strengthened by the possible etymology of the title *endan* as being from the Hurrian word *eni*, “god;” cf.: Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK,” *WZKM*, p. 75.

³²³ This is shown by representing the lion with his body and tail intertwined with the throne, and the feet of the crown-prince sunk into the lion’s mane while standing on the head of the lion in the presence of his father; cf. M. Kelly-Buccellati, “Urkesh and the North,” p. 30.

distinctive, made of leather or cloth, placed on the head without ribbons or any visible fastenings. The long flaps on the side (most probably on both sides) were lengthenings of part of the headdress. On the side of the headdress is an embossed rounded-shape. The top of the head is also shown as small and rounded. A cultic clay figurine from Urkeš³²⁴ has a similar headdress, but here it is worn by a woman (Fig. 8). Another kind of headdress is to be seen on the sealing k3 (Fig. 9), which was initially described as a helmet.³²⁵ It is very likely that it was also made of leather or cloth. Long flaps drawn from the side and behind are clearly visible. The one on the side has caused two soft folds in the headdress, a clear indication of the softness of the material. The side flap remarkably runs through the person's beard, clearly emphasising the thickness of that beard.

The queen, on the other hand, is shown on the seals³²⁶ in familiar, everyday scenes in the palace. One of the sealings (q2) (Fig. 10) shows her sitting on a chair, facing the king, symbolically indicating her equal in position to the king. On other sealings she is shown bearing a drinking cup (Fig. 11), listening to music and songs (Figs. 12 and 13),³²⁷ or sitting and having her hair braided by a servant (Fig. 14). Such intimacy has been seen as unprecedented in iconography.³²⁸ The queen had her own retinue, a nurse with the Hurrian name Zamena.³²⁹ Her close relationship with her mistress is indicated by her own sealing, showing an attendant combing and braiding the hair of Queen Uqnītum.³³⁰ Zamena not only had economic power, as can be seen from the numerous sealings, but also appears to have been an influential personality in the palace.³³¹ The royal cook, Tuli, also had her own seal and was depicted performing her duties. The inscription on the seal of one of the servants of the queen is extraordinarily engraved horizontally, a feature otherwise unattested in the third millennium, and very seldom later. The queen and her daughter are distinguished by their distinctive hair-style. The hair is braided with an ornament attached close to the tip, apparently a symbol of the queen's power and position.³³² On some sealings, as seen above (Fig. 13), a high table has been placed in front of the queen and two musicians are playing harps. Children may also be depicted on the seals, mostly touching the lap of their mother (Fig. 10, 12 and 13) or father (Fig. 7) in a gesture of homage and filiation.³³³ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati speak of a "dynastic program", meaning "for the first time in the Ancient Near East a conscious effort was made to create images of power and continuity for the Urkeš rulers and their children."³³⁴ The headdress of the son of the king is striking. He is wearing a distinctive crown which resembles one particular crown on the Annubanini rock-relief in Sar-i-Pul-i-Zahāb, worn by the first prisoner. Such a crown is found also on a sealing depicting

³²⁴ Cf. Pecorella, P. E., "Note sulla Produzione Artistica Hurrita e Mittanica," in *La Civiltà dei Hurriti*, ed. G. P. Carratelli, Napoli, 2000, p. 362.

³²⁵ Buccellati, G. and M. Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh..." *AfO* 42 (1995), p. 11; 13.

³²⁶ Out of 72 rollings, 8 seals are identified as belonging to the queen; the king had 5 seals reconstructed from 11 rollings and 4 seals belonged to the royal household, reconstructed from 81 rollings; cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Seals of the King of Urkesh ...," *WZKM*, p. 67.

³²⁷ On sealings q4, q6-7 and q8 the singer has put his/her hand beside the ear, a gesture still made by the (*maqām*) singers in the Near East.

³²⁸ Kelly-Buccellati, "Urkesh and the North," p. 31.

³²⁹ According to Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, the interpretation of the name Zamena as Hurrian was presented by both Wilhelm and Salvini: Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse ...," p. 21.

³³⁰ Cf. for this M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Urkesh and the north: Recent Discoveries," p. 31.

³³¹ Kelly-Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

³³² Kelly-Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

³³³ Hansen, *The First Great Empire*, p. 226; Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse ...," p. 18. Children are depicted on some Akkadian seals from south Mesopotamia, but they are more often depicted on seals of the north, as in Chuera, Halawa and Urkeš; cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse ...," p. 17, note 24; cf. also Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse ...," p. 14.

³³⁴ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Seals of the King of Urkesh ..." *WZKM*, p. 77.

Tupkiš himself³³⁵ (Fig. 15). This suggests that the prisoners on the Annubanini stele were Hurrians, captured with their king, the first prisoner on the stele.³³⁶

Almost all the figures depicted on the seals of Urkeš wear long garments. The exceptions are two priests (?) on a cylinder seal with a cultic scene who wear short knee-length skirts³³⁷ (Fig. 16a-b). Sometimes the right arm and shoulder are naked. The dress of the king and the queen is usually tiered, as seen on sealings k2, q2, q3 and q4. The queen wears a fringed robe on the seals of the nurse Zamena. Thus it can be concluded that the tiered garment was considered more important in the iconography of Urkeš.

The sealings found in the royal storehouse belong to a narrow circle of users, and this implies that the royal household was involved in the economic activity. Perhaps they had a trade monopoly. It is likely that goods containers were sealed in the locations where the goods were prepared or manufactured for the seal owners in whose names they were to be stored until needed.³³⁸

A clay tablet (A10.377), found in the palace of Urkeš near the main floor of room C4 (Fig. 17), has nine lines of cuneiform writing in Akkadian. The excavators stated that the tablet belongs stratigraphically to phase 2, the time of Tupkiš.³³⁹ The text refers to a class of individuals who are assigned to someone or to some task, and there is mention of a city governor in l. 5 and harvesting in l. 7.³⁴⁰ Another tablet, the school tablet A1j1 found in room B2, yields a six line text (five on the obverse and one on the reverse) that is an excerpt from the Early Dynastic LU E professions list.³⁴¹ Since the tablet is found in the service quarter, it means that apprentice scribes were present within the storehouse.³⁴² Further, a complete inscribed docket and more than forty tablet fragments were found in the building and just outside it. The significance of these finds lies in that they represent the “northernmost stratified cuneiform material in the third millennium.”³⁴³

The use of the Hurrian word *endan* in the titulary of Urkeš is significant. It is thought that a Hurrian word spelled syllabically, in contrast to the tradition of Sumerian logograms, can be counted as a deliberate implication of ethnicity.³⁴⁴ Furthermore, Urkeš had its own strong and independent glyptic tradition that “helps to identify Urkeš as an autonomous centre of cultural innovation.”³⁴⁵ The continuity of some of the artistic traits of Urkeš in later traditions of Northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia, as noted by Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, shows that Urkeš was “an original centre of influence and point of diffusion.”³⁴⁶

In the second phase of the palace an unnamed king or *endan* was the lord of the palace. His wife was Queen Tar'am-Agade, known to have been a daughter of Narām-Sîn of Akkad from sealings found in room H2 (Fig. 1). It is she who fixes the date for this phase.³⁴⁷ These discoveries brought about a radical change of view, showing that Urkeš was a major power in the 3rd millennium BC, not a small peripheral one, and that the kingdom flourished during the

³³⁵ Hansen, *The First Great Empire*, p. 226.

³³⁶ This point will be touched upon in more detail in Chapter Five.

³³⁷ This seal belongs to the later phase, when Tar'am-Agade was queen of the city.

³³⁸ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Seals of the King of Urkesh . . .,” *WZKM*, p. 80-81.

³³⁹ Buccellati, “The Monumental Urban Complex . . .,” p. 21. A criterion for judging the Akkadian language of the tablet is the repeated use of the preposition *a-na*.

³⁴⁰ Buccellati, *ibid.*

³⁴¹ Buccellati, G., “A LU E School Tablet from the Service Quarter of the Royal Palace AP at Urkesh,” *JCS* 55 (2003), p. 45.

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 45-6.

³⁴⁴ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *WZKM*, p. 81.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

³⁴⁷ Hansen, *The First Great Empire*, p. 225.

reign of the Akkadian dynasty, not after its fall.³⁴⁸ A reconstruction of the scene of the 22 sealing fragments shows a typical Oakk. theme found on other seals of the members of the Akkadian royal family who hold political or administrative posts (Fig. 18).³⁴⁹ It does not seem, then, that she was in Urkeš as a priestess, but rather as a royal spouse of its *endan*. But his name is not mentioned on the legend of her seal.³⁵⁰ Since Ebla and Nagar at this time had good relations, it seems likely that Narām-Sîn sought an alliance with Urkeš by such an inter-dynastic marriage to counter-balance the Ebla-Nagar axis.³⁵¹ Perhaps related to this political marriage is the name Tar'am-Agade, meaning "She loves Agade," is politically loaded, so it may not necessarily have been a name given at birth.³⁵²

Other sealings of a certain Ukin-Ulmaš and Ewri-atal were also found together with the sealings of Tar'am-Agade. It is not known who the former was. He bears an Akkadian name, and could have been a brother or half-brother of the queen.³⁵³ The latter, i.e. Ewri-atal, has a Hurrian name meaning 'The lord is strong' or 'The strong one is lord' according to Wilhelm.³⁵⁴ The similarity between the composition on the seal of this person and the seals of other high-ranking and royal figures shows the importance of Ewri-atal.³⁵⁵ Other sealings have been found that belong to important officials, such as Išar-bēli, with an Akkadian name, and a certain Unap- [...]. The former appears to have been the same person who appeared in Umma and probably Akkad, where he served as steward of the estate of the wife of Šārkalīšarri, and now found himself in Urkeš.³⁵⁶ As to the latter, very little is known.

Unfortunately, little is known about Urkeš in the next periods. It was mentioned in a royal inscription, probably of Šū-Sîn, together with Mukiš and Abarnum, but in an obscure context.³⁵⁷ Two other royal inscriptions of the kings of Urkeš shed some light on the matter.

Atal-šen:

Atal-šen is known as a king of Urkeš and Nawar from the discovery of his inscription in Samarra, far from his home in the Habur region. The inscription was first published by F. Thureau-Dangin in 1912, and has often been re-edited and discussed.³⁵⁸ The script and language (in Akkadian) dates it to about the end of the Gutian Period or the first decades of the Ur III Period.³⁵⁹ The name can be either Atal-šen or Ari-šen.³⁶⁰ He was a son of a certain Satar-mat, who is otherwise unknown, but he also bears a Hurrian name and seems to have been a king.

³⁴⁸ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Palace at Urkesh and the Daughter of Naram-Sin," *AAS*, 44 (2001), p. 63; Buccellati, G. and M.-K. Buccellati, "Tar'am-Agade, Daughter of Naram-Sin at Urkeš," *Of Pots and Plans, Papers on the Archaeology and History of Mesopotamia and Syria Presented to David Oates in Honour of his 75th Birthday*, ed. L. Al-Gailani Werr, J. Curtis, H. Martin, A. McMahon, J. Oates and J. Reade, London, 2002, p. 11.

³⁴⁹ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *AAS*, *ibid.*

³⁵⁰ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *AAS*, *ibid.*; See also Buccellati and Buccellati, "Tar'am-Agade ...," *Of Pots and Plans*, p. 13. For arguments to identify her as a queen, not a priestess cf. *op. cit.*, p. 15; 18.

³⁵¹ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "Tar'am-Agade ...," *Of Pots and Plans*, p. 15.

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁴ Cf. his study of the name in: Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "Tar'am-Agade ...," *Of Pots and Plans*, p. 20.

³⁵⁵ For this cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 20-22.

³⁵⁶ Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

³⁵⁷ Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 301 (E3/2.1.4.2, l. 6'-7'). Frayne thinks it recounts a campaign: *op. cit.*, p. 300.

³⁵⁸ For a list of publications and studies cf. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 461.

³⁵⁹ Cf. above on p. 179.

³⁶⁰ Cf. above on p. 179.

As king of Urkeš and Nawar he ruled two important cities in the Habur triangle. Formerly Nawar was identified with Namri or Namar in the Diyāla region,³⁶¹ which led to the conclusion that there was a widespread Hurrian state or semi-empire at this early stage of Hurrian history.³⁶² However, recent discoveries in the Habur region have shown that there were two places there named Nawar, and one is to be identified with Tell Brak (see below, Nawar). Urkeš, as stated earlier, can be identified with the large tell of Mozan, near Amuda, on the Syrian-Turkish border. As for Ḫawi/alum, it appears to have been another place-name which is not yet located. Goetze wondered if it could be identified with *Ka-wi-la-a*^{ki}, mentioned twice in the Mari texts (*ARM* II, 107 and *ARM* IV, 35), both together with Naḫur.³⁶³

The inscription, written in Akkadian on a bronze tablet (Fig. 19)³⁶⁴ by a Hurrian-named scribe³⁶⁵ reads:

“To Nerigal, king of Ḫawi/alum, Atal-šen, the capable shepherd, the king of Urkeš and of Nawar, the son of King Šatar-mat, builder of the temple of Nerigal, he who destroys his rivals. As for the one who destroys this tablet, may Šamaš and Ištar eliminate their offspring. Šaum-šen did this.”³⁶⁶

Tiš-atal:

Later in the Ur III period Tiš-atal occupied the throne of Urkeš. Tiš-atal has the distinction of having left the earliest original Hurrian text known to posterity.³⁶⁷ The inscription (Fig. 20a-b) is dated to the Ur III Period³⁶⁸ and, like the inscription of his predecessor Atal-šen, his inscription concerns the building of the temple of Nerigal:

³⁶¹ Cf. for instance Thureau-Dangin, F., “Tablette de Samarra,” *RA* 9 (1912), p. 2-3; ١٥٦. ل. مبدیا، . دیاکونوف،

³⁶² Cf. for instance Hallo, “Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier,” *RHA* 36 (1978), p. 71.

³⁶³ Goetze, A., “An Old Babylonian Itinerary,” *JCS* 7 (1953), p. 63. Von Soden compared it with *Ḫu-ub-ša-lim*^{ki} (in genitive) of *ARM* I 78, 7, cf. Edzard, D. O., “Ḫawalum,” *RIA* 4 (1972-75), p. 238.

³⁶⁴ About the tablet cf. Thureau-Dangin, “Tablette de Samarra,” *RA* 9, p. 1-4; Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 461. It is worth mentioning that the inscription was found in Samarra, far from the Habur. How it came there is uncertain; perhaps it was taken as booty in a later battle.

³⁶⁵ The name is analysed as *ša=u=m=šen*. The root *ša-* is, according to Salvini, common to both the noun ‘weapon’ (*šauri*) and the name of the goddess Šawuška. The rest is the word for ‘brother,’ cf. Salvini, “The Earliest...,” p. 106. Salvini compares an analysis of the Hurrian PN from the Ur III Period: *Puš=u=m=šen* after Gelb in *HS*, p. 111. Wilhelm has discussed the verbal suffix *=u=m (=o=m)* in PNs, cf. Wilhelm, G., in *Texte, Sätze, Wörter und Moneme, Festschrift für Klaus Heger zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. S. R. Anschütz, Heidelberg, 1992, p. 667f. As for the element *ša-* in the divine name Šawuška, he points to the analysis given by Wegner in *Xenia* 21, p. 150 as *Ša=wuš=k=a*.

³⁶⁶ 1) ^dKIŠ.UNU.GAL 2) LUGAL 3) *Ḫa-WA-li-im*^{ki} 4) *A-tal-SI-en* 5) ^rre-um^r ep-šum 6) ‘LUGAL’ 7) *Ur-^rkiš^{ki}* 8) ^u*Na-wa-ar*^{ki} 9) DUMU *Ša-^rdar-ma-at* 10) LUGAL 11) ^rDÍM É 12) ^dKIŠ.UNU.GAL 13) *nir_x* (GAZxNIR)^r *ša-nin-ú-tim* 14) ŠU₄ DUB 15) *šu-^ra^r-ti* 16) *ú-ša-sà-ku* 17) ^dUTU 18) ^u*INANNA* 19) ‘NUMUN-šur’ 20) ^rli-il^r-qù-ta, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 461-2 (E3/2.7.3). The colophon in line 21 is not included in the publication of Frayne, but it reads as follows: 21) *Ša-um-še-^ren DÍM x^r*; cf. Wilhelm, *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, *Xenia*, p. 47; for the translation see also Salvini, “The earliest...,” p. 106; Sollberger, E. and J.-R. Kupper, *IRSA*, Paris, 1971, p. 128; Gelb, I. J. and B. Kienast, *FAOS* 9, Königsinschriften, p. 383, varia 16; Wilhelm, *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, *Xenia*, p. 45 ff.

³⁶⁷ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 11 with bibliography. The inscription was found together with the foundation bronze lion (cf. fig. 21 (left) of Chapter Two).

³⁶⁸ According to Wilhelm, the text is dated to the Gutian or Ur III period: Wilhelm, G., “Die Inschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš,” *Urkesch and the Hurrians*, p. 118; Salvini prefers Ur III: “The Earliest Evidence...,” p. 107; Von Soden had earlier dated it to the end of the Akkadian Period: Von Soden, W., “Unregelmässige Verben im Akkadischen,” *ZA* 50 (1952), p. 180, note 2.

Tiš-atal, *endan* of Urkeš, has built a temple of Nerigal. May Lubadaga protect this temple! He who destroys it, may Lubadaga destroy (him)! May [hi]s god not hear his prayer! He who destroys (it), may the mistress of Nagar, Šimiga (= the Sun-god) and the Weather god ... curse him!³⁶⁹

If the etymology presented by Wilhelm for the word *endan* is correct (see above), it means that Tiš-atal was deified like other kings of Mesopotamia at that time. This is not surprising, seeing that we have deified kings of Ur and some kings of the Zagros in this period and slightly later. Among the latter were Hurrians, such as Tiš-atal of Karḫar, Zardamu of Karḫar, Iddi(n)-Šîn and his son Zabazuna of Simurru.

Another king of Urkeš from the Ur III Period was Ann-atal, attested in an archival text as An-na-tal lú Ur-kiš^{ki},³⁷⁰ but unfortunately we know little about him, except an allusion to his departure from Urkeš.³⁷¹

Nawar:

The city of Nawar occurs several times in the inscriptions of the Hurrian rulers of the Habur Region. As earlier pointed out, this city was first identified with the famous Namri or Namar in the Transtigris region.³⁷² However, later discoveries and textual evidence revealed that other places with same ancient name existed in the Habur region. Among this textual evidence is its association with Kašijari Mountains (Tūr^c-Abdīn) and the locating of Kaḫat “between Nawar and Nawar.”³⁷³ A discussion of both these texts will follow. Some consider that the name Nawar is derived from the Hurrian verbal root *naw-* “to graze,” with iterative – *ar*, and that it is connected with the adverbial substantive *nauni-* “pasture.”³⁷⁴ Others prefer an Indo-Aryan³⁷⁵ and others a Semitic etymology for Nawar and Nagar, suggesting a derivation

³⁶⁹ 1) Ti-iš-a-tal 2) en-da-an 3) Ur-kēš^{ki} 4) pu-ur-li 5) ^dNergal (KIŠ. GAL) 6) ba-’à-āš-tum 7) pu-ru-li 8) a-ti ’à-al-li 9) ^dLu-ba-da-ga-āš 10) ša-ak-ru-in 11) e-me-ni 12) da-āš-bi ’à-al-li 13) ^dLu-ba-da-ga-āš 14) da-āš-pu-in 15) DINGIR-[S]Ū^{??} 16) ḫa-’wa-’ā-a 17) ḫa-šu-’e’-in 18) ^dNIN ’Na-gār^{ki} 19) ^dUTU-ga-an 20) ^drIŠKUR’, Wilhelm, “Die Inschrift des Tišatal von Urkeš,” p. 119-120. It must be this “Mistress of Nagar” who forms the theophoric part of the PN Ur-^dNagar found in a Sargonic text, cf. Gelb, I. J., *Sargonic Texts in the Louvre Museum*, Chicago, 1970, p. 15 (Text 11259. l. 4).

³⁷⁰ Gelb, *HS* p. 114; *RGTC* 2, 224 (referring to Langdon *Bab.* 7, 240/tXXI: 14 Rev. 1 and *TCL* 2:5565, 2f.)

³⁷¹ An-na-tal lú-Ur-kiš^{ki} u₄ Ur-kiš^{ki}-ta i-im-gen-na-a, Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 224.

³⁷² Namri is often mentioned in the NA inscriptions, especially in the time of Shalmaneser III and Sargon II, as in the eighth campaign of Sargon II: 39) ^{lū}EN. URU.MEŠ-ni ša ^{kur}Nam-ri ^{kur}Sa-an-gi-bu-ti ^{kur}Bet-Ab-da-da-ni ù KUR Ma-da-a-ija dan-nu-ti..., “The city rulers of Namri, Sangibuti, Bêt-Abdadani and the land of the powerful Medes...,” Mayer, W., “Sargons Feldzug gegen Urartu- 714 v. Chr. Eine militärhistorische Würdigung,” *MDOG* 112 (1980), l. 39, p. 70. For the incorrect identification with Nawar of the Habur cf. Kessler, K., “Namar/Namri,” *RLA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 92; and Kessler, K., “Nawar,” *RLA* 9, p. 189-90.

³⁷³ Eidem, J., “The Tell Leilan Tablets 1987...,” *AAAS* 38-39 (1987-1988), 116.

³⁷⁴ Wilhelm, “L’état actuel et les perspectives ...,” p. 178; Wilhelm, G., “Hurritische Lexikographie und Grammatik: Die hurritisch-hethitisch Bilingue aus Boğazköy,” *Or* 61 (1992), p. 132; Wilhelm, G., “Kumme und *Kumar: Zur hurritischen Ortsnamenbildung,” *Beiträge zur altorientalischen Archäologie und Altertumskunde, Festschrift für Barthel Hrouda zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Calmeyer, K. Hecker, L. Jakob-Rost and C. B. F. Walker, Wiesbaden, 1994, p. 319, note 41 (compared with the DN Kumar, *op. cit.*, p. 319). It is interesting to observe that this Hurrian verb and some of its derivatives have been known only since 1993, when it appeared in the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual text from Hattuša. There the verb *nāv-a* “it grazed” (KBo 32.14 i 26) and the noun in the forms *naṽ=ni* (KBo 32.14 i 5) and *na=i=ḡe* (KBo 32.14 i 27) “pasture(land),” occur, cf. Wilhelm, G., “Hurritisch naṽti ‘Weidung,’ ‘Weide’ oder eine bestimmte Art von Weide,” in *Kulturgeschichten altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Th. Richter, D. Prechel und J. Klinger, Saarbrücken, 2001, p. 449. For the same topic see more recently “Surrounding (pasture-) lands,” in Richter, “Die Ausbreitung...,” p. 277.

³⁷⁵ J. Harmatta considers the name Nawar to be from ancient Indic *namra-*. He treats the other names of the Atal-šen inscription similarly: *A-ri-si-en* (Atal-šen) as **Arisena-*, *Sá-dar-ma-at* as **Sadharmata-*, *Šá-um-še-en* as

from *nagwar,³⁷⁶ or even a South Semitic semantic connection with this toponym, comparing Sab. *nḡr* “cultivated land” with the Yemenite place names Naḡr, Naḡra, Naḡrān and Nuḡayr.³⁷⁷

From the Hurrian *itkalzi*, “purification of the mouth,” a magical text found in Boğazköy,³⁷⁸ it appears that Nawar was a Hurrian religious centre. There its name occurs in the form ^{URU}Nawari together with the sacred cities of Talmuše, Nineveh and Urkeš (in the form ^{URU}Urkini(n)).³⁷⁹ In a treaty (L 87- 1362)³⁸⁰ between the king of Apum (Tell Leylan) and the king of Kaḡat (Tell Barri); the domain of Kaḡat is identified as being “between Nawar and Nawar.” This raises a new problem. Apparently more than one place was called Nawar, even in Northern Mesopotamia. The southern one was located in the southern central portion of the Habur basin, very probably at Nagar (Tell Brak).³⁸¹ Eidem also believes that one of the places called Nawar was located to the south of Kaḡat and the other to the north of it.³⁸² If the southern one is Tell Brak or very close to it,³⁸³ the northern one must be identified with the GN named in Tell Leylan texts as Nawali and in Mari texts as Nawala/u.³⁸⁴ According to Salvini, this Nawali can be identified with NA Nabula, located at Gir Navaz, and with the Nawar of the inscription of Atal-šen.³⁸⁵ The Hurrian magical text mentioned above associates the cities of Urkeš and Nawar with mountain names. Nawar is associated with Kašijari (^{HUR.SAG}Gašijarri-), Tūr-’Abdīn, and Urkeš (in the form Urkini) with the unidentified mountain Napri.³⁸⁶ This is extra proof to locate Nawar in the north rather than in the south. We also know that Nagar was a Hurrian religious centre from the epithet “The lady of Nagar (*belēt Nagar*)”, as evident in more than one source: the inscription of Tiš-atal; from a letter (L 87- 1317) from prince Ea-Malik of Kaḡat to Till-Abnû of Šehnā³⁸⁷ mentioning “The lady of

Somasena-, as referred to by Mayrhofer in Mayrhofer, M., *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient- Ein Mythos?*, Wien, 1974, p. 42 (referring to Harmatta, J., Arisen, Namar királyának felirata, in *Ókori keleti történeti chrestomathia*, ed. J. Harmatta, Budapest, 1965). But one wonders whether there was any Indo-Aryan influence in third millennium BC Mesopotamia.

³⁷⁶ Durand, J.-M., “L’emploi des toponymes dans l’onomastique d’époque Amorite: les noms en mut-,” *SEL* 8 (1991), p. 93, note 45; cf. also Eidem, J., “Nagar,” *RIA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 75.

³⁷⁷ So Fronzaroli, who adds that the West Semitic root *nḡr in Biblical Hebrew means “to gush forth,” from which a term for stream is derived, following Bonechi, “Remarks on the III Millennium ...,” *Subartu* IV/1, p. 221. Unfortunately, the Arab lexicographers have not given any etymology for Naḡrān, if naḡrān, meaning ‘door socket’ or ‘severe thirst’ is excluded; cf.:

[Ibn Mandhūr, *Language of the Arabs*, vol. Jīm: najr (in Arabic)] .ج. ن: نجر.

Whether the GN Nagar can be associated with the so-called Proto-Euphratean professional name NAGAR “carpenter” deserves consideration.

³⁷⁸ ChS I/1, nr. 5 col. I-II, with duplicate nr. 6 col. I; cf. Salvini, *op. cit.*, 110, n. 64.

³⁷⁹ This form is, as Salvini states, the same form in the Hurrian OB tablet from Mari no. 2. (referring to F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 36 (1939), p. 5, no. 2.

³⁸⁰ Eidem, J., “Tell Leylan Tablets 1987- A Preliminary Report,” *AAAS* 38-39 (1987-1988), 116.

³⁸¹ Cf. for instance Steinkeller, “The Historical Background ...,” p. 95, n. 74 and his references to Matthews and Eidem in *Iraq* 55 (1993), pp. 204-205; also Wilhelm, “L’état actuel ...,” *Amurru* 1 (1996), pp. 177-178.

³⁸² Cf. Salvini, “The Earliest ...,” p. 109-110.

³⁸³ Illingworth, N. J. J., “Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1986,” *Iraq* 50 (1988), p. 105; cf. also Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 458.

³⁸⁴ Salvini, “The Earliest ...,” p. 110; cf. *ARM* 4, 42: 16 *Na-wa-la*^{ki} known by Išme-Dagan as a source of tasty pears: Dossin, *ARM* 4, p. 66.

³⁸⁵ Salvini, *ibid.* The identification of NA Nabula with Gir Navaz north of Qamishli in Turkish territory is based on Donbaz, V., “Some Neo-Assyrian Contracts from Girnavaz and Vicinity,” *SAAB* 2-1, issue 1 (1988), p. 5; cf. also Durand, J.-M., *Les documents épistolaires du Palais de Mari (LAPO)*, II, Paris, 1998, p. 91.

³⁸⁶ Salvini, *ibid.*

³⁸⁷ For this text cf. Eidem, J., “The Tell Leilan Archives 1987,” *RA* 85 (1991), p. 125.

Nagar;³⁸⁸ and from Ur III texts from southern Mesopotamia that mention sacrifices to her.³⁸⁹ Having identified Nagar with Tell Brak,³⁹⁰ it is not clear why Nagar was called (southern) Nawar in the text, as Salvini himself suggested.³⁹¹ Perhaps the middle consonant of the name Nagar was the changeable Semitic consonant (or one influenced by Semitic) that could be variably pronounced, and consequently written either as *-h-*, *-ʿa-*, *-ʾa-* or even *-h-* or *-ḥ-*.³⁹² If such a change in the middle consonant of the name Nagar had taken place, the name could have become Nawar and be linguistically related to the form Naḥur.³⁹³ It is also appropriate to refer to the name Nuhadra to refer to Northern Mesopotamia in the Parthian-Roman Periods,³⁹⁴ which is reminiscent of Naḥur and Nawar.

Nagar was an extremely important centre from the third millennium BC due to its position between the major powers of the time, Ebla, Urkeš and the Mesopotamian kingdoms of the south. Its location on the main routes that connected Northern Syria to Mesopotamia was of additional importance. That is why Nagar figures more in the Syro-Mesopotamian textual material than Urkeš. The textual evidence concerning Nagar in the 3rd millennium comes essentially from the 24th century BC, from the reigns of the last three rulers of Ebla, *Igriš-halab*, *Irkab-damu* and *Išʿar-damu*. They were roughly contemporary with the three Mari kings *Iplul-II*, *NI-zi* and *Enna-Dagan*.³⁹⁵

The oldest known reference to Nagar we have comes from Mari, on the statue inscription from the Inanna-za-za temple, dedicated to Iplul-II, king of Mari, and his wife Paba. There the name Nagar^{ki} occurs in an obscure context.³⁹⁶ The sentence AMAR.AN dumu ur-^dUTU.ŠA [...] nagar^{ki} lú A.PA-MAḤ³⁹⁷ of the text is not clear enough to state that the PN mentioned was the name of the king of Nagar, even though it is so similar to the name *Ma-ra-AN* (*Ma-ra-II?* / *Ma-ra-an?*), king of Nagar, in a text that can be dated to the reign of *NI-zi* of Mari.³⁹⁸ Nagar occurred also in the texts from Beydar, where references indicate a probable

³⁸⁸ ^dNIN *Na-gâr*^{ki} is attested in a Mari text from the Pre-Sargonic Period: Cavigneaux, A. and M. Krebernik, "NIN-Nagar," *RIA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 475 (referring to Charpin, D., *MARI* 5 (1987), 79, 20 II 4). There is also mention of NIN-naḡar in the god-list from Fāra and ^dNIN-naḡar from Abu-Salabiḥ

³⁸⁹ Eidem, "Nagar," *RIA* 9, p. 76.

³⁹⁰ Cf. for instance Salvini, "The Earliest...", p. 110; Eidem, *RIA* 9, p. 75; and Eidem *et al.*, "The Third Millennium Inscriptions," *Excavations at Tell Brak*, vol. 2, p. 99. However, Charpin places Nagar in the region between Kaḡat and Mari: Charpin, D., "A Contribution to the Geography and History of the Kingdom of Kaḡat," in *Tall al-Hamūdyā 2 Symposium: Recent Excavations in the Upper Khabur Region, Berne, December 9-11, 1986*, ed. S. Eichler, M. Wāfler and D. Warburton, Göttingen, 1990, p. 68.

³⁹¹ Salvini, "The Earliest...", p. 110. As for the association of Nawar with Nagar see Wilhelm, "Hurritische naipti...", p. 449 and Guichard, M., "Zimri-Lîm à Nagar," *MARI* 8 (1997), p. 334.

³⁹² Examples of the interchange between these consonants in the Semitic languages, particularly Akkadian, are numerous; for instance Akk. *ḡadāru* → Akk. *adāru*; Akk. ^{māi}*ḡana* → Arab. عانة; Akk. ^{āi}*ḡarran* → Arab. حران; Akk. *Adad* → Ug. *Hd(d)*; Akk. *šēmū(m)* → Ass. *šmāʿu(m)* → Amorite **samāḡu(m)* as in the name of Yasmaḡ-Addu → Arab. سمع → Heb. שמע; Akk. *alāku* → Heb. אלה;

³⁹³ It is thought that Naḡur was located close to the sources of the Habur. The city was conquered in the time of Zimri-Lim and later annexed to Assyria under Adad-Nirari I; cf. Kupper, J.-R., "Naḡur," *RIA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 86-7.

³⁹⁴ Cf. Frye, R. N., *The History of Ancient Iran*, München, 1984, p. 223, 280. According to him, the regions to the northwest as far as Nisibis, were called Beth Nuhadra (in Aramaic), centred on Nineveh. However, this name can be seen as derived from *nohodar*, a Middle Persian military title borne by the governors of this province in the Parthian period, see *ibid.*

³⁹⁵ Eidem, *et al.*, "The Third Millennium Inscriptions," p. 99. For other occurrences in the ED texts, cf. Edzard, D. O., G. Farber and E. Sollberger, *RGTC* 1, p. 125.

³⁹⁶ Cf. Eidem, *et al.*, "The Third Millennium Inscriptions," p. 99 (referring to Bonechi 1998, 221, n. 20; Sallaberger 1998a, 35, n. 59). For other occurrences in the ED texts, cf. Edzard, Farber and Sollberger, *RGTC* 1, p. 125.

³⁹⁷ Eidem *et al.*, "Third Millennium Inscriptions," *Excavations at Tell Brak*, p. 99.

³⁹⁸ 9) *Ma-ra-AN* 10) *EN* 11) *Na-gâr*^{ki}, cf. Archi, A., *Testi Amministrativi: Registrazioni di Metalli e Tessuti, ARET VII*, Roma, 1988, no. 16, box 19, p. 43.

dependence of Beyder on Nagar in the time of *Ma-ra-AN*.³⁹⁹ This king was in Beydar on several occasions, to participate in an assembly and in cultic events, including the annual festival of the god Šamagan, the lord of wild animals.⁴⁰⁰ Numerous references come from Ebla. In the time of the Ebla archives mention is made of a kingdom ruled by a “king” whose son, Ultum-ḫuḫu (*Ul-tum-ḫu-ḫu* dumu-nita en *Na-gàr*^{ki}: TM.75.G.1250 r. I), had a Hurrian name and was married to the Eblaite princess Tagriš-Damu (*Tag-ri-iš-da-mu* dumu-mí en: TM.75.G.10157, r. V 2 ff), daughter of Iš’ar-Damu.⁴⁰¹ Some details of the formalities of this marriage are recorded. In the 3rd month of the year representatives of Ebla, Kiš and Nagar, including the king of Nagar and his son, met at Armi in Western Syria. After this meeting the king of Nagar and his son went to Ebla, presumably to settle the details of the royal wedding, and there they and their courtiers received costly garments as gifts. However, the Kiš envoy left after the meeting at Armi for the town of NI-*abi*^{ki}, seat of the cult of the god Kamiš.⁴⁰² A few months later, the actual marriage ceremony took place, when the groom “anointed the head ... of Tagriš-damu, daughter [of the king].”⁴⁰³ The rich dowry that was given to the princess consisted of expensive garments, jewellery, other personal equipment and a group of personal attendants.⁴⁰⁴ Another text points to a shipment of 42 jars of wine to Nagar “on the occasion of the marriage of the king of Nagar.”⁴⁰⁵ That is considered by some to be an allusion to another marriage ceremony at Nagar.⁴⁰⁶

Other events concerning the two kingdoms have been documented in the Ebla archives. There were shipments of silver from Ebla to the king of Nagar, who in all likelihood was the same *Ma-ra-AN*,⁴⁰⁷ and to his vassal cities; large groups of men from Nagar were present at the court of Ebla; Ebla is victorious over Nagar, presumably meaning Irkab-Damu of Ebla conquered *Mara-An* of Nagar, and a treaty was made between the two kings.⁴⁰⁸ It is thought that all these events, the war, the treaty and the dynastic marriage, took place within a short span of time, not too long before the period covered by the Ebla archives. Therefore, *Ma-ra-AN*, the king of Nagar, must have ruled very shortly before the Akkadian occupation of Brak, little more than a generation before.⁴⁰⁹ Other texts from the Ebla archive that date to the very last years before the destruction of palace G mention rations for groups from Nagar and shipments of large amounts of Eblaite items to Nagar.⁴¹⁰ The mention of large groups of specialists (20 and 19) from Nagar in the Ebla court, such as ḫúb/ḫúb-ki (Akk. *huppum*) ‘acrobats’⁴¹¹ or ‘horsemen,’ and ‘qualified teachers’ “for groups of some 20 ḫúb of local

³⁹⁹ Eidem *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 99-100; Eidem, “Nagar,” *RIA* 9, p. 75.

⁴⁰⁰ Ismail, F., *et al.* 1996, nos. 80, 85 & 96 (assembly and cultic events); text 101 (festival).

⁴⁰¹ Cf. Biga, M. G., “The Marriage of the Eblaite Princess Tagriš-Damu with a Son of Nagar’s King,” *Subartu* IV/2, p. 17. For the analysis of the name of the prince of Nagar, cf. Richter, “Die Ausbreitung der ...,” p. 278. This event was used as a date-formula in Ebla: “Year of the departure of the (princess Tagriš-damu) as queen of Nagar,” cf. Eidem *et al.* “The Third Millennium ...,” p. 100.

⁴⁰² Eidem *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁴⁰³ Eidem *et al.*, p. 100.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵ I 1) ‘42’ dug geštin 2) ní.g.šè.nu.šè 3) *Na-gàr*^{ki}, Archi, A., *Five Tablets from the Southern Wing of Palace G-Ebla*, in *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies*, Malibu, 1993, p. 23-6.

⁴⁰⁶ Eidem *et al.*, *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ Eidem *et al.*, *op. cit.* p. 101.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹¹ Or ‘cult dancers’ according to Eidem: Eidem, “Nagar,” *RIA* 9, p. 75.

origin,”⁴¹² is a clear indication of the cultural importance of Nagar.⁴¹³ Ebla officials were frequently sent to Nagar to buy ‘kúnga’ equids, male asses, sheep, and ‘wool of Nagar.’⁴¹⁴

So textual evidence shows that Nagar was a kingdom in the time of the Ebla archives. From such texts it appears that places in the region of Nagar, such as *A-ša*^{ki}, *A-bù-i-um*^{ki}, *Lu-LUM*^{ki} and *Ša-bar-tim*^{ki}, had rulers entitled *en*.⁴¹⁵ The text from Ebla about a shipment of silver from Ebla to the king of Nagar and eight of his vassal cities shows that the following cities were under Nagar’s hegemony: *Ga-ga-ba-an*^{ki}, *Da-ti-um*^{ki}, *Ba-na-i-lum*^{ki} (var. *Ba-na-i-um*^{ki}), *Ter₅-ha-um*^{ki}, *A-ša*^{ki}, *Ša-bar-ti-um*^{ki}, *Na-ba-ti-um*^{ki}, and *Zu’(SU)-mu-na-ni-um*^{ki}.⁴¹⁶ There are also other place names mentioned as vassals: *Ba-sa-ḥi-um*^{ki}, *Du-nu*^{ki}, *EN-šar*^{ki} (var. *EN-šar_x(NE)*^{ki}), *Gu-zú-wa-ti-um*^{ki}, *Ḥi-la-zi-um*^{ki}, *La-dab₆-bi-um*^{ki}, *Sag-gar*^{ki}, *Su-du-ma-an*^{ki}, and *Zâr-‘à-ni-um*^{ki}.⁴¹⁷ Although uncertainly, some of these GNs can be identified: Nabatium = Nabada = Tell Beydar; Datium = Tâdum = Tell Hamidi; Kakkabān (*Ga-ga-ba-an*^{ki}) could be located near modern Hassake; Abilum was probably Abi-ili to the north of Brak; Šarḥanum was probably located to the east of Brak.⁴¹⁸ Locating Saggār at the junction of the Euphrates and the Lower Habur, as suggested by some,⁴¹⁹ is not the only possibility. From other sources we know about the mountain name KUR *Sag-gar* (Ebla), with the variants *ša-de-em Sa-ga-ar* (Mari), and the divine name ^d*Sag-gar* (Ebla),⁴²⁰ occurring also in the forms ^d*Sa-nu-ga-ru*₁₂ / ^d*Sa-nu-ga-ar* (Ebla), ^d*Ša-ga-ar* (Mari) (= ^dḤAR), ^d*Ša-ag-ga-ar* (Emar), ^d*Šag-ga-ra* (Hatti) and interestingly ^d*Ša-an-ga-ra* (Hatti).⁴²¹ This deity was in all likelihood the deified Jebel Sinjār.⁴²² Yet, the god Zara, mentioned together with the god Saggār in the oath formula of the treaty from Tell Leylan, appears to have been part of Jebel Sinjār, according to Eidem.⁴²³ Thus it is probable that Saggār mentioned among the localities subject to the kingdom of Nagar was in fact Mount Saggār.⁴²⁴

The size of the cities and territories under the control of Nagar is not known exactly, but references to Nabada (Tell Beydar) and Saggār suggest a kingdom that extended over most of the lower part of the Habur basin. Nagar would have been one of the larger kingdoms of the Pre-Sargonic period there.

This period of independence was followed by the Akkadian occupation of Nagar. Akkadian control was short-lived or witnessed interruptions, according to some opinions. But recent archaeological discoveries favour a more sustained period of occupation, according to

⁴¹² Eidem *et al.*, p. 101.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁸ According to Eidem *et al.*, p. 101.

⁴¹⁹ For this identification cf. Eidem *et al.*, p. 101.

⁴²⁰ ^d*Saggār* and ^d*Šaggār* was the moon-god in Ebla; cf. Novák, M., “Zur Verbidung von Mondgott und Wettergott bei den Aramäern im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.,” *UF* 33 (2001), p. 441.

⁴²¹ For these forms and more details cf. Prechel, D., “S/Šag(g)-Gott oder Gebirge?,” *Munuscula Mesopotamica, Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, ed. Böck, B., E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and T. Richter, Münster, 1999, p. 375-377 and the table on p. 378.

⁴²² That the GN *Sag-gar*^{ki} and the second millennium *Saggārātum* probably refer to modern Jebel Sinjār is also suggested by Catagnoti and Bonechi: Catagnoti, A. and M. Bonechi, “Le volcan Kawkab, Nagar et problèmes connexes,” *NABU* 1992, no. 65, p. 53.

⁴²³ Cf. Prechel, *op. cit.* p. 378-9. The occurrence of *ši-in-ni-ia-ri* directly following *‘Za’-ra* in the list of mountain names of the (H)išuwa festival gives support to this suggestion, cf. *op. cit.* p. 379. For an overview of the list of mountain names cf. Otten, H., “Die Berg- und Flußlisten im Ḥišuwa-Festritual,” *ZA* 59 (1969), p. 250; 259-60.

⁴²⁴ That the place name Saggārātum is to be located on the junction of the Habur with the Euphrates does not appear to be certain. It has been sited between Qattunān and Terqa, two days away from the former and one day away from the latter, when travelling via Bīt-Kapān and Dūr-Yahdun-Lim: Groneberg, B., *RGTC* 3, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 200.

the excavators.⁴²⁵ The texts of the Akkadian period from Brak mention Urkeš and Šeḫnā,⁴²⁶ but we cannot say for sure that these were under the control of Nagar. The late 3rd millennium corpus of inscriptions from Brak is comparatively small.⁴²⁷ Other texts found in recent excavations are usually short, fragmentary, poorly stratified or from fill, and therefore contribute little historical data.⁴²⁸ But we do have the brick inscriptions of Narām-Sîn, dedicatory inscriptions of Rīmuš and probably seal inscriptions of servants of Narām-Sîn.⁴²⁹ From the latest phase of the Akkadian period in Brak an interesting bulla was found. It bears the seal impression of the *ensi* of Gasur, a certain Itbe-laba (Fig. 21), whose date, according to the glyptic style, appears to be between Narām-Sîn and Šū-Turul.⁴³⁰ The text is quite short, “Itbe-laba, *ensi* of Gasur,”⁴³¹ but the shape of the bulla is significant, in that the flat lens-shape was used from this phase on for official state purposes.⁴³² The element *-laba* occurs also in the PN Innin-laba, father of Kikkia (?), the governor of Assur in the Ur III period.⁴³³

Archaeologically speaking, in the period contemporary or subsequent to the period of the Akkadian occupation, most of the urban centres of the Habur region, such as Leylan, Chuera, Beydar, Abu Hgaira and other minor sites, were deserted. But Brak and Mozan survived,⁴³⁴ and after the end of Akkadian control Nagar recovered its independence. This is confirmed by the inscription of King Talpuš-atili, who had a Hurrian-name and who bore the title ‘Sun of the land of Nagar, son of ...’⁴³⁵ The inscription on the seal is too damaged to show whether his father also had a Hurrian name. A further disappointment is that the majority of the occupational levels of this period in Brak have been severely eroded or badly disturbed in former excavations by Mallowan.⁴³⁶ Nevertheless, some interesting finds are worth mentioning, such as two copper/bronze bowls and other small finds in area CH.⁴³⁷ The change in character of the buildings in area FS is also remarkable. Large residential units replaced formal or administrative structures.⁴³⁸ It has been noted that the roofing technique used in Nagar in this period was reed matting on wooden rafters, sealed by a thick layer of clay, exactly as in modern village houses in the region.⁴³⁹ The excavators concluded that there the society was prosperous in this period, with an economy based largely on agriculture.⁴⁴⁰

⁴²⁵ Eidem *et al.*, p. 102.

⁴²⁶ Eidem *et al.*, p. 101.

⁴²⁷ Partly published by Gadd in 1940, then with additional fragments by Loretz in 1969, Finkel in 1985 and recently by Catagnoti.

⁴²⁸ Eidem *et al.*, p. 102.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁰ The date is suggested by Boehmer in: Glyptik, p. 34-46 (referred to by Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 240).

⁴³¹ 1) *It-be-la-'ba'* 2) ÉNS[*I*] 3) *Ga-sūr*^{ki}, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 241 (E2.5.1.1).

⁴³² Oates, J., “The Evidence of the Sealings,” *Excavations at Tell Brak*, vol. 2: Nagar in the Third Millennium BC, by: D. Oates, J. Oates and H. McDonald, Oxford, 2001, p. 130. The seal legend reads *It-be-la-'ba'* ÉNS[*I*] *Ga-sūr*^{ki}, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 241 (E2.5.1.1).

⁴³³ This governor has left a dedicatory inscription that runs as follows: 1) *I-ti-ti* 2) PA 3) DUMU *I-nin-la-ba* 4) *in ša₁₀-la-ti* 5) *Ga-sūr*_x (SAG)^{ki} 6) *a-na* 7) ^dINANNA 8) A.MU.RU, “Ititi, supreme judge, son of Inninlaba, dedicated (this object) from the booty of Gasur to the goddess Innin/Ištar,” Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 7 (A.0.1001). For the transcription cf. Schroeder, O., *Keilschrifttexte Historischen Inhalts*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1922, No. 1.

⁴³⁴ Schwartz and Akkermans, *The Archaeology of Syria*, p. 282-3; for the discussion of this phenomenon and its scope cf. p. 283 f.

⁴³⁵ Matthews, D. and J. Eidem, “Tell Brak and Nagar,” *Iraq* 55 (1993), p. 203; Eidem *et al.*, “The Third Millennium Inscriptions,” *op. cit.*, p. 105. The transcription of the text was cited earlier in this chapter.

⁴³⁶ For a new excavation report on Brak cf. Oates, D. and J. Oates, “The Excavations,” *Excavations at Tell Brak*, vol. 2: Nagar in the Third Millennium BC, pp. 17; 63 and 71.

⁴³⁷ Oates and Oates, “The Excavations,” p. 17.

⁴³⁸ Oates and Oates, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁴³⁹ Oates and Oates, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁴⁴⁰ Oates and Oates, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

Comparing Nagar with Urkeš shows significant differences. The location of Nagar was less favourable for agriculture than that of Urkeš. It was located on the fringes of the dry-farming area and its hinterland offered no rich natural resources. However, it controlled essential trade routes to and from Mesopotamia. By contrast Urkeš was connected to the rich Anatolian hinterland through Tūr-'Abdīn and had good average rainfall.⁴⁴¹ Furthermore, Nagar was subject to invasions and hostile destruction in the Old Akkadian period. Both the Akkadian inscriptions and the texts from Ebla mention the involvement of Nagar in war and trade. So far we have no mention of Urkeš in the records as evidence that either power had occupied or destroyed it, a fact confirmed by the archaeological evidence.⁴⁴² A distinction can also be made in the glyptic tradition and in the “dynastic programme” of Urkeš mentioned above, and in the independent line of its local *endans*, which are additional points of contrast with Nagar. We also know that Nagar was ruled at times by kings with Hurrian names, a fact that points to a noticeably strong Hurrian element in the city and its environs. Nevertheless, some scholars still do not consider the city to be a Hurrian centre.⁴⁴³ The evidence adduced here shows that Urkeš was apparently a ‘pure’ Hurrian kingdom, while Nagar had a mixed population. But in the time when the Hurrian expansion reached its culmination Nagar had Hurrian rulers, such as Ultum-ḥuḥu. Urkeš was close to the core of the Hurrian lands and Nagar on its edge.

The Hurrian states or kingdoms mentioned in this chapter were given a golden chance to grow and enhance their power by the collapse of the Ur III Dynasty. The whole region appears to have been populated by independent minor states consisting of a central city and its hinterland.⁴⁴⁴ Texts show that of these Simurru and Kakmu in the Transtigris were the most powerful.

It has been noticed that the Hurrians were (and apparently preferred to remain) dependent on dry-farming rather than on irrigated agriculture. Wilhelm points out that the cultivated areas of the Middle Euphrates, the Lower Baliḥ and Habur, which were entirely dependent on irrigation, remained free from Hurrian colonisation.⁴⁴⁵ Instead, they spread out in the self-contained dry-farming areas that run from Kirkuk (Nuzi and Arraphe) to Assyria, to the northeastern Syrian arable plain (Mittani/Hanigalbat), the Euphrates Valley to the north of Meskene (Emar), the area round Hama and Homs on the Upper Orontes (Qatna, Qadesh), Aleppo, the Amoq Plain on the Lower Orontes (Alalakh), and to Çukorova (the southern part of Kizzuwatna).⁴⁴⁶ He notes further, “these are regions, sometimes cut off from each other by strips of infertile land, which correspond with political sections of the kingdom of Mitanni.”⁴⁴⁷

It is supposed that the Hurrians began to spread over Northern Mesopotamia sometime in the Early Dynastic Period when the first Hurrian tribes arrived there. These tribes established themselves and succeeded, within a couple of generations, in taking power in places such as Azuḥinum and Kirašeniwe in Subartu, where they encountered Narām-Sîn. The Hurrians in the time of Narām-Sîn had not yet become the main population of Northern Mesopotamia, but this situation had changed by the end of the Ur III Period. Almost the whole of the region from Anatolia to the Zagros was then firmly in Hurrian hands. It was organized as petty states ruled almost exclusively by Hurrian rulers, or at least by rulers with Hurrian names.

⁴⁴¹ For this cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, “The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK,” *WZKM*, p. 82.

⁴⁴² For more details cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *WZKM*, p. 83.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Buccellati, G., “The Monumental Urban ...,” *SCCNH* 15 (2005), p. 6.

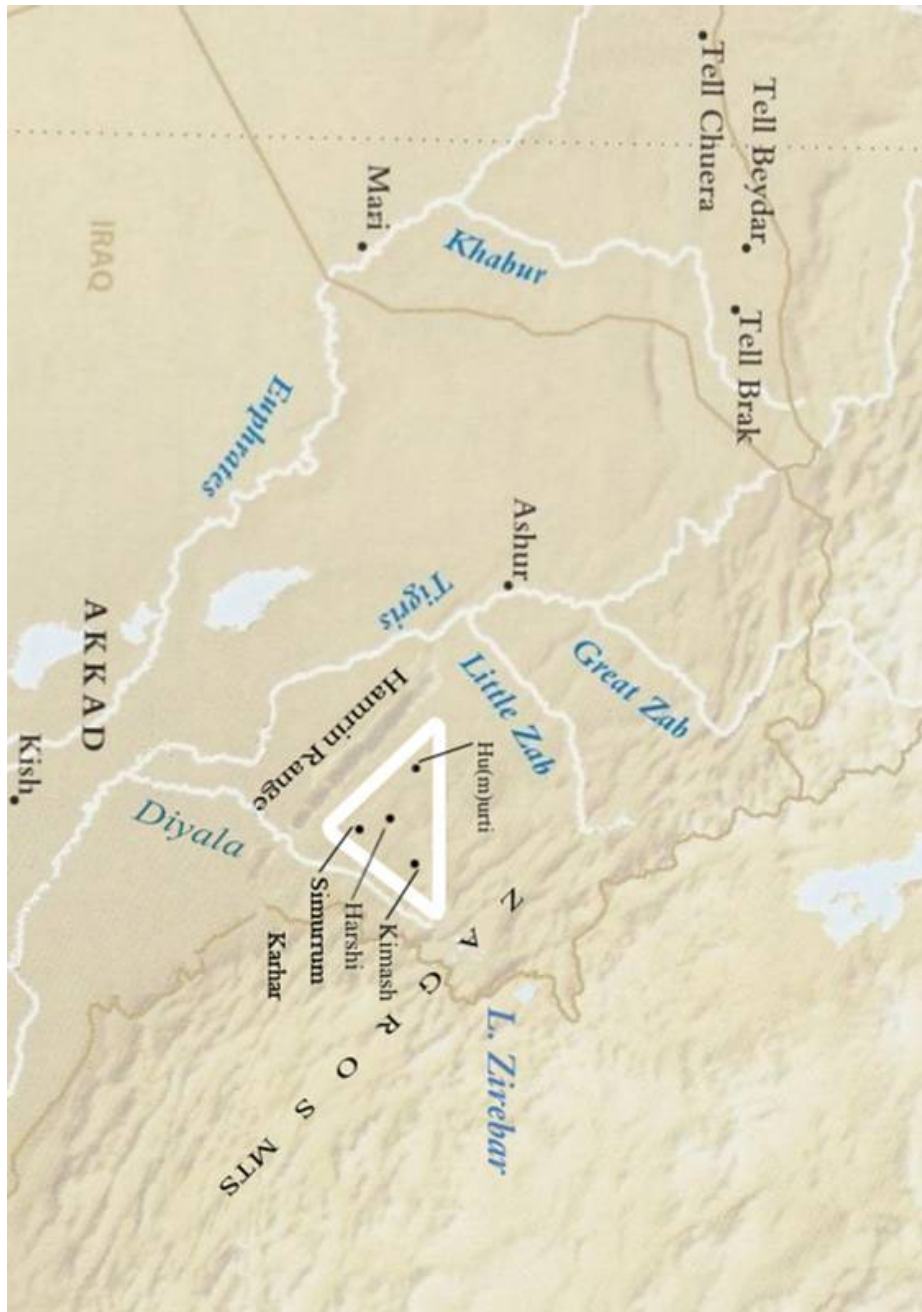
⁴⁴⁴ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 12.

⁴⁴⁵ Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 42.

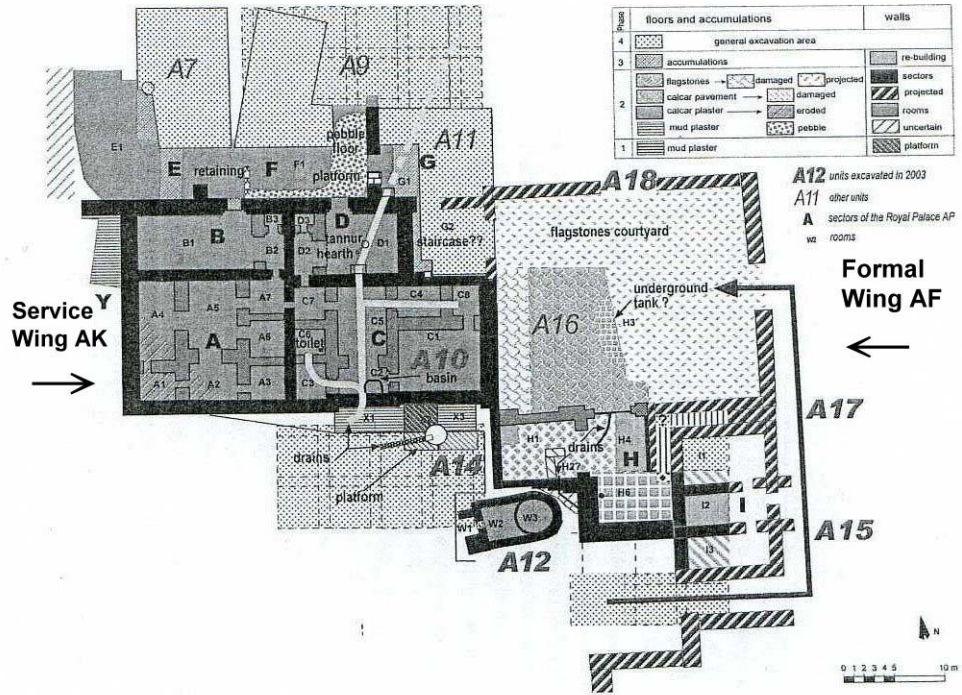
⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

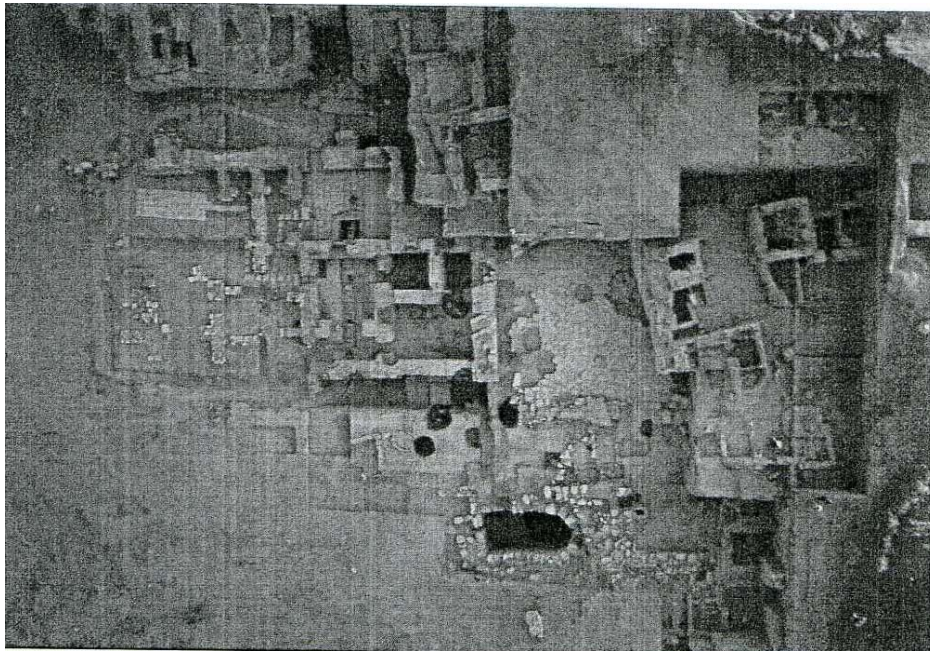
Figures of Chapter Four



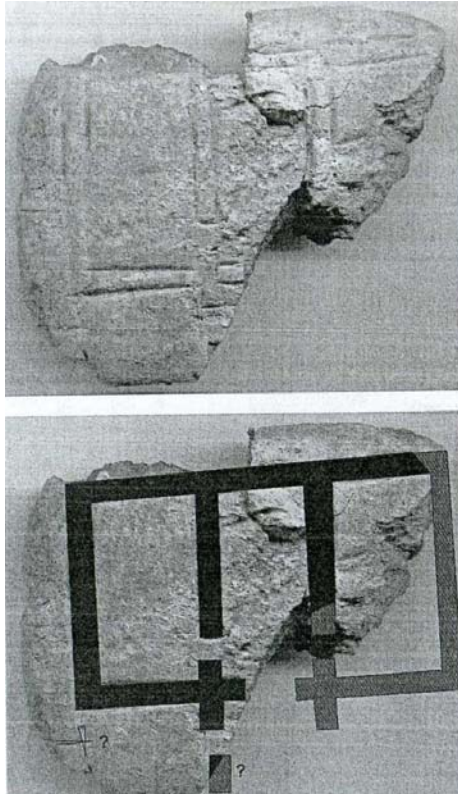
Map no. 1 the virtual inverted triangle of the Sirwān-Diyāla basin.



1) Palace of Urkeš. After: Buccellati, G., "The Monumental Urban Complex at Urkesh," *SCCNH* 15, 2005, fig. , p. 12.



2) Aerial view of the palace. The drain in the service wing, the stone-paved courtyard of H3 area and the *ābi* in the bottom of the photo are visible. After: Buccellati, "The Monumental Urban Complex..." fig. 4, p. 13.



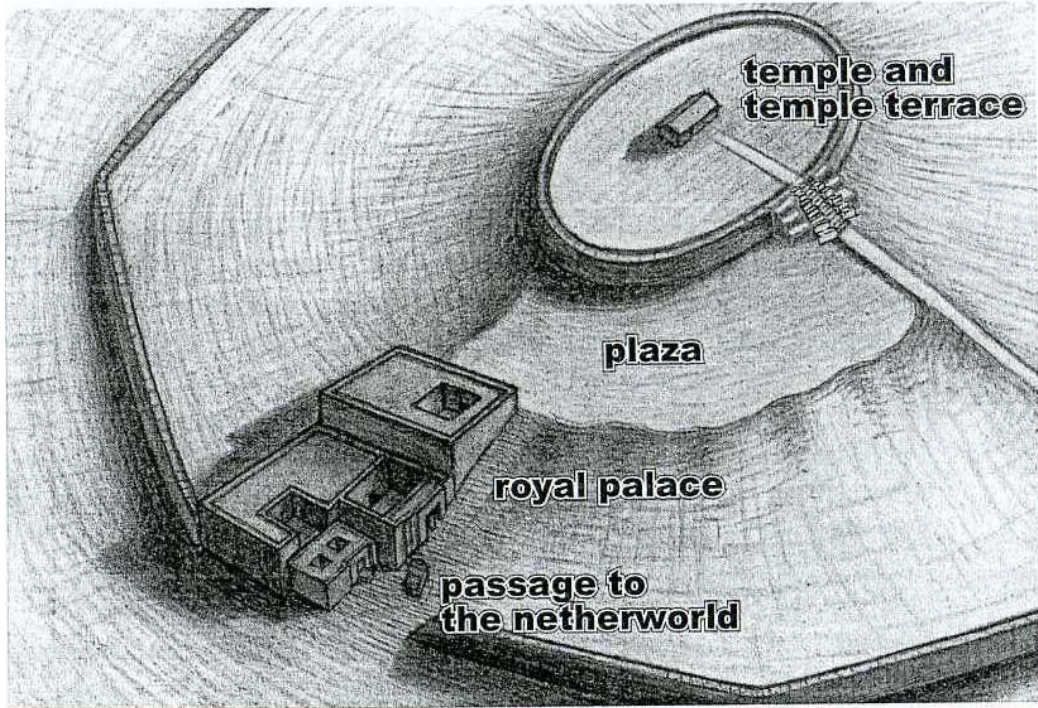
3) Map of rooms I1-I3 ?. After: Buccellati, "The Monumental Urban Complex...", fig. 8, p. 18.



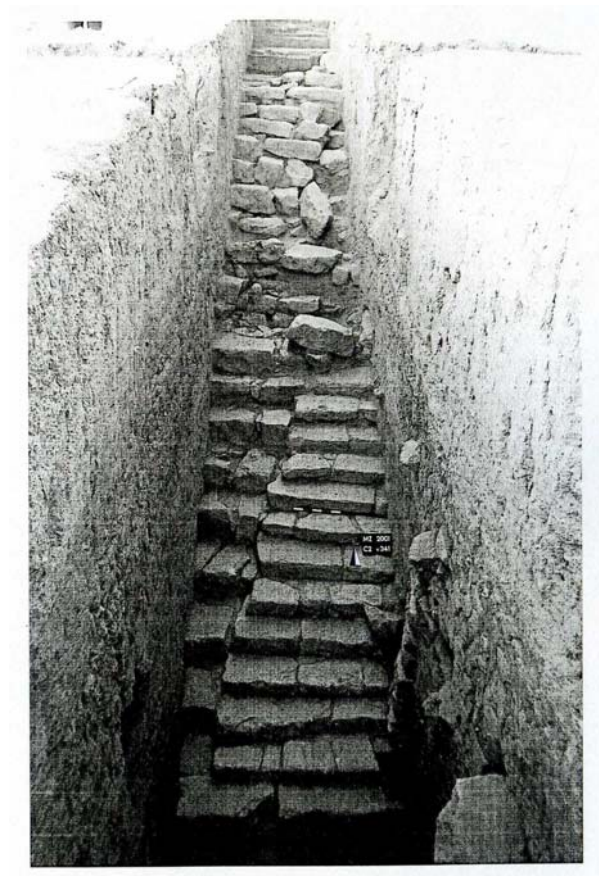
4a) The *ābi* cultic structure from the west.
After: M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Ein hurritischer
Gang in die Unterwelt," *MDOG* 134.



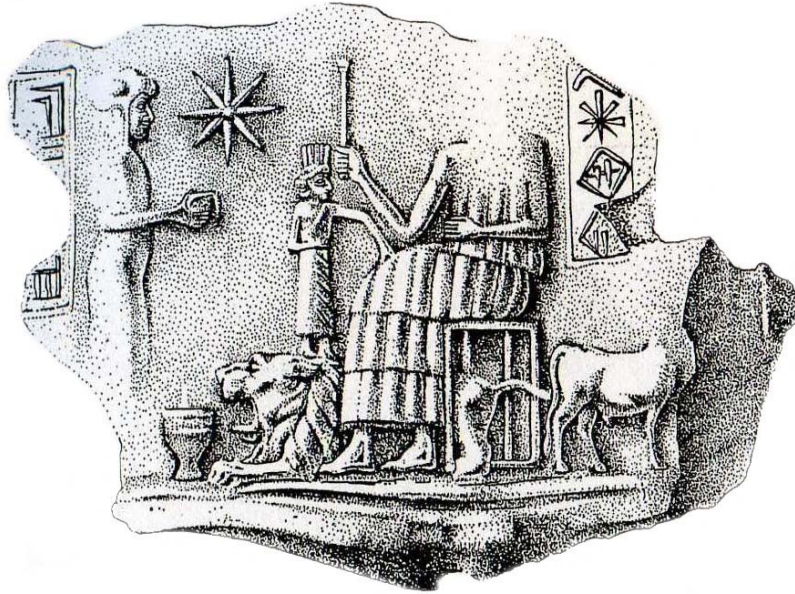
4b) The *ābi* cultic structure after digging.
After: Buccellati, "The Monumental
Urban Complex...", fig. 6, p. 16.



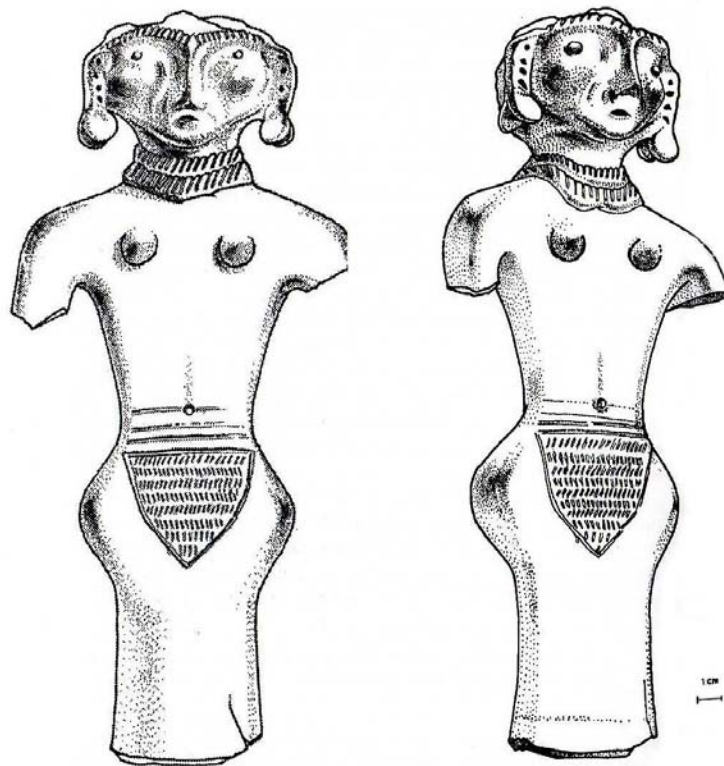
5) Drawing of the monumental temple and terrace. After: Buccellati, "The Monumental Urban Complex...", fig. 1, p. 7.



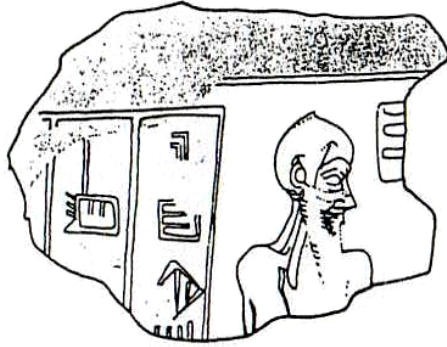
6) Stone ramp leading to the temple. After: Dohman-Pfälzner, H. and P. Pfälzner, "Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft...", *MDOG* 134, fig. 15, p. 173.



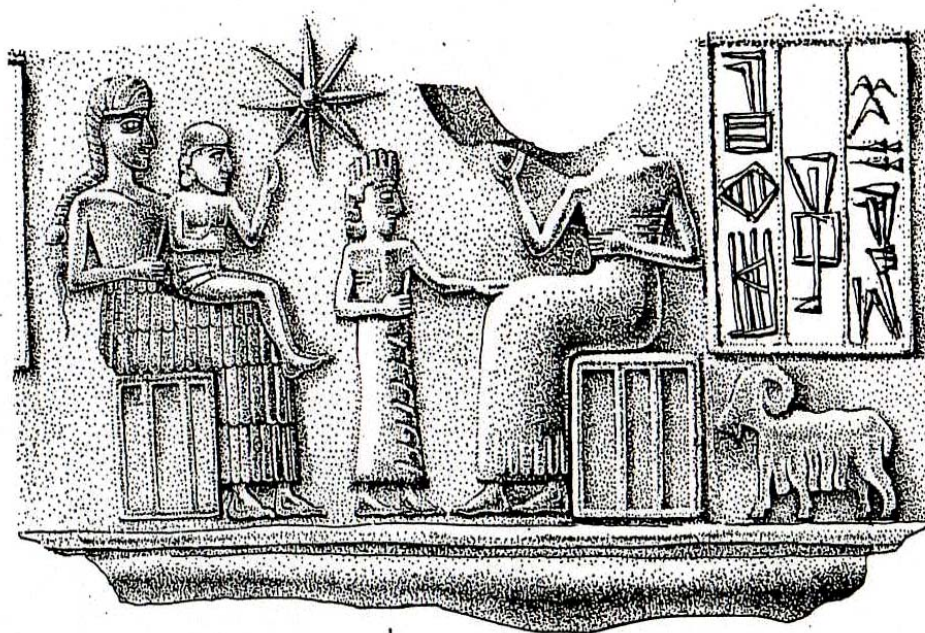
7) Seal impression of king Tupkiš (k2). After: G. Buccellati and M. Kelly- Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh," *AfO* 42 (1995), fig. a, p. 10.



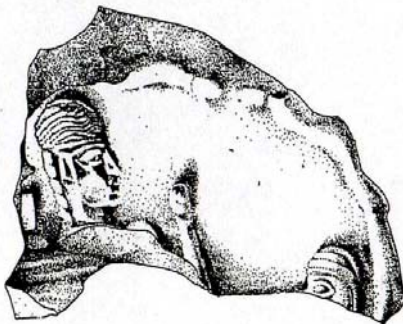
8) Clay figurines from Urkeš. After: Pecorella, "Note sulla Produzione Artistica Hurrita e Mittanica," in: *La Civiltà dei Hurriti*, Napoli, 2000, fig. 5, p. 362.



9) Sealing k3, showing a different headdress made of leather or cloth. After: Buccellati and Kelly- Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh," fig. 5, p. 11.



10) Seal impression of Queen Uqnitum (q2). After: Buccellati and Kelly- Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh," fig. b, p. 10.



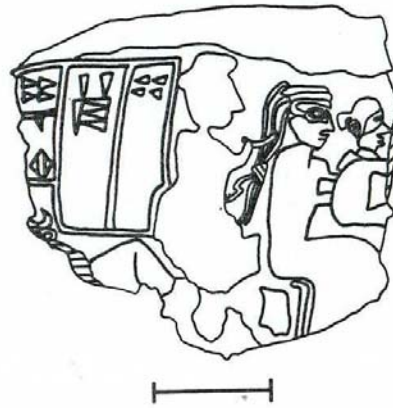
11) Queen Uqnitum bearing a cup. After: Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh," fig. c, p. 10.



12) The queen listening to music. After: Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse ..." fig. 6, p. 15.



13) The queen listening to music. After: Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse," fig. 7, p. 20.



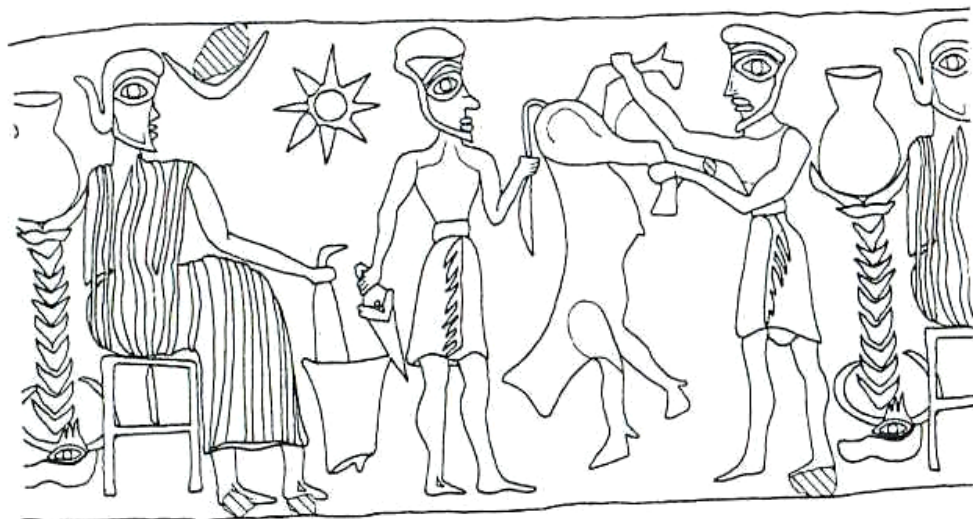
14) An attendant braiding hair. After: M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Urkes and the North," fig. 2, p. 32.



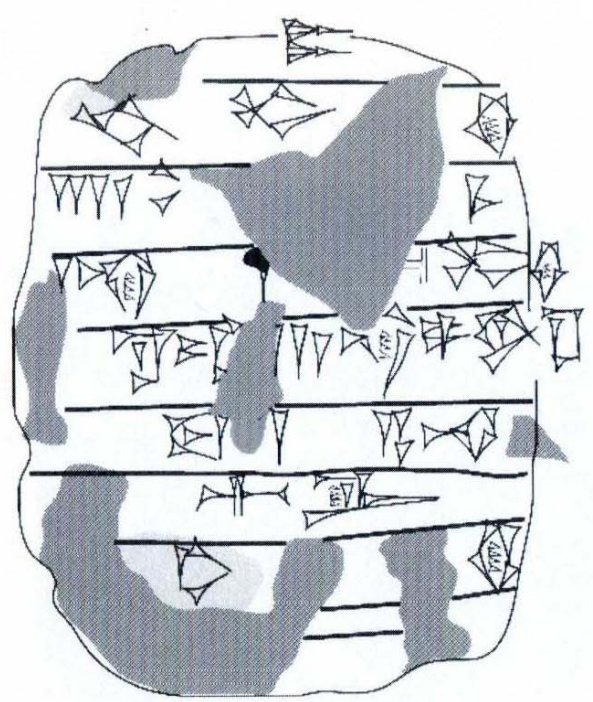
15) A sealing fragment, probably of King Tupkiš, wearing a feathered headdress/crown. After: Hansen, *Art of the Akkadian Dynasty*, fig. 67, p. 226.



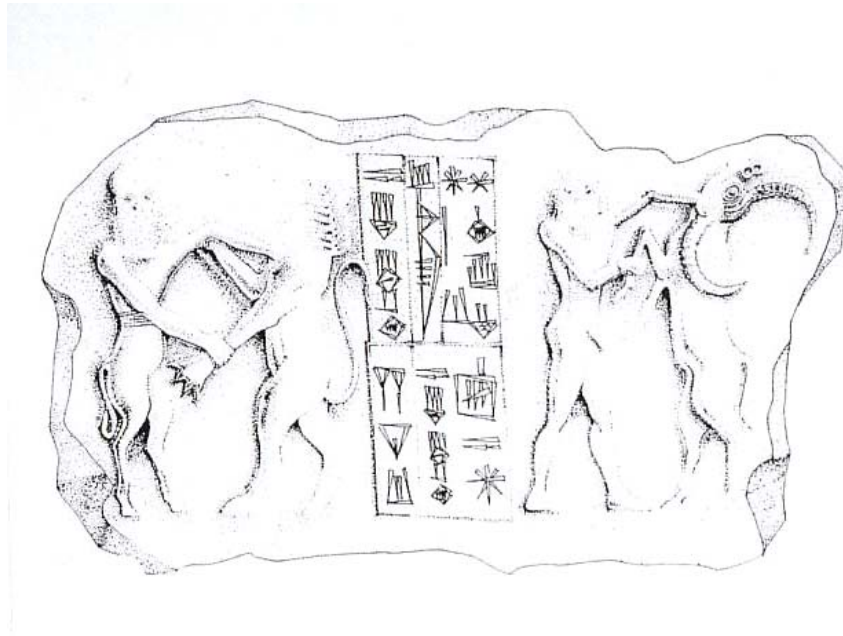
16-a) The unique cylinder seal depicting a ritual scene. After: Kelly-Buccellati, "Urkesh and the North," fig. 6, p. 37.



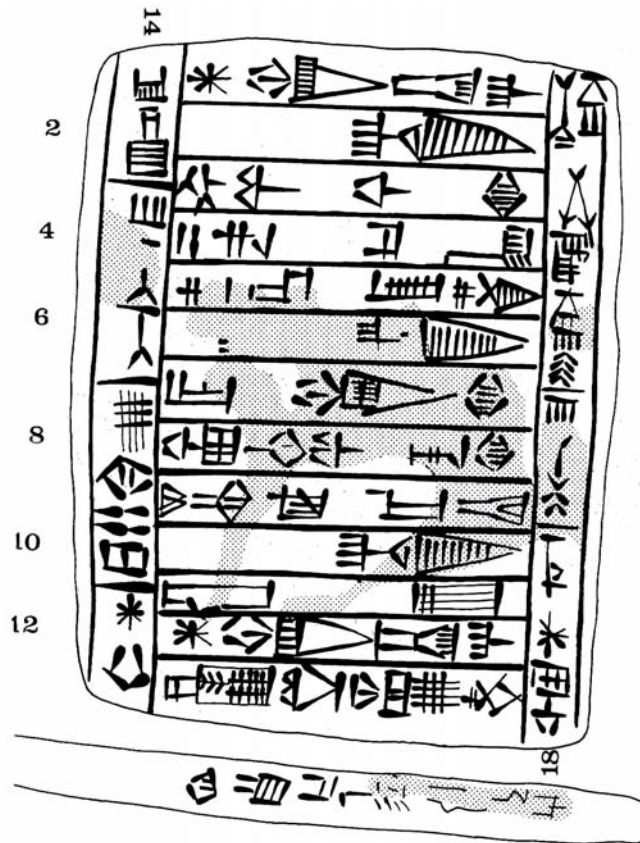
16-b) Drawing of the cylinder seal depicting a ritual scene. After: Kelly-Buccellati, "Urkesh and the North," fig. 7, p. 38.



17) Clay tablet A10.377 found in the palace of Urkeš. After: Buccellati, "The Monumental Urban Complex..." fig. 10, p. 22.



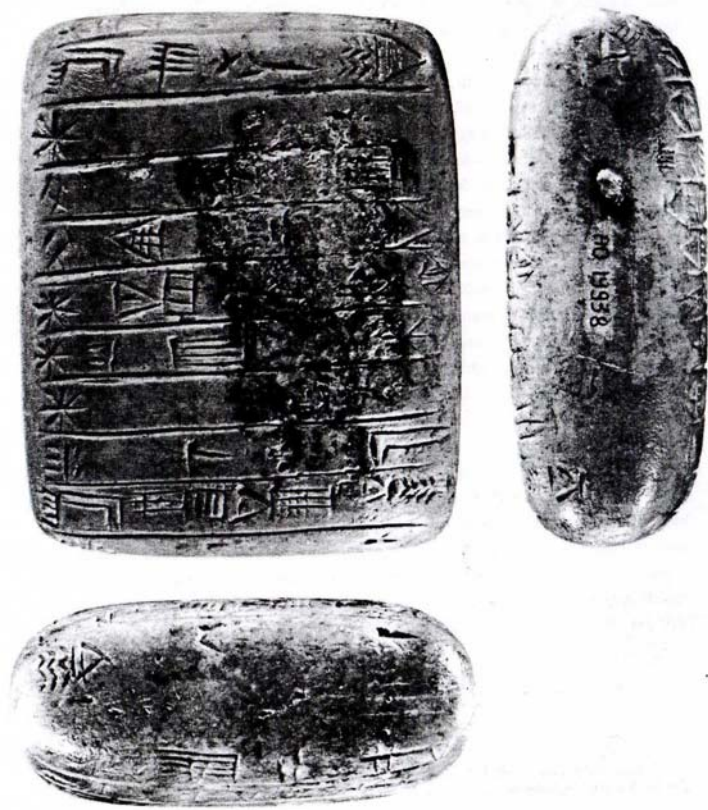
18) Seal of Tar'am-Agade, daughter of Narām-Sîn. After: Hansen, *Art of the Akkadian Dynasty*, fig. 68, p. 227.



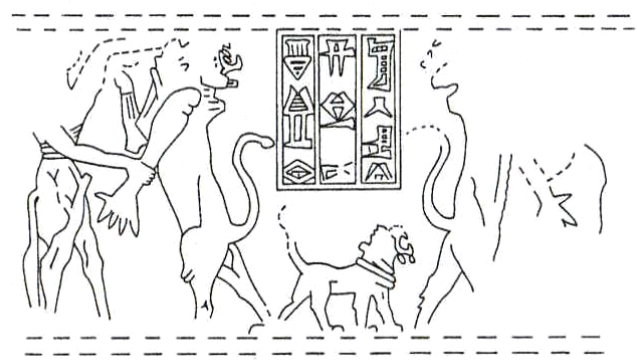
19) Inscription of Atal-šen. After: Wilhelm, Die Inschrift des Tišatal..., *Hurriter und Hurritisch*, p. 48.



20a) Foundation inscription of Tiš-atal. After: Wilhelm, Die Inschrift des Tišatal..., in: *Urkesch and the Hurrians, Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen: Bibliotheca Mesopotamica*, vol. 26, Malibu, Undena Publications, 1998, pl. XIV.



20b) Foundation inscription of Tiš-atal. After: Wilhelm, Die Inschrift des Tišatal..., in: *Urkesh and the Hurrians, Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen: Bibliotheca Mesopotamica*, vol. 26, Malibu, Undena Publications, 1998, pl. XV.



21) Sealing on a bulla from Brak bearing the seal of the *ensi* of Gasur. After: J. Oates, Evidence of the Sealings, in: *Excavations at Tell Brak*, vol. 2., fig. 160, p. 131.