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CHAPTER FIVE

Simurrum

The Hurrian kingdoms of the Habur area were lucky, not only because they were not the targets of Ur III aggressive warfare, but also because scientific excavations have recovered some of their material legacy, as for example at Mozan (ancient Urkeš).

The situation is quite different in the eastern part of Hurrian territory, in the Transtigris, which was devastated by the Ur III campaigns and where there has been a lack of proper official excavations. So the history of these kingdoms has been left largely in obscurity, dependent on what is written about them in the records of the neighbouring nations and on chance discoveries.

One of the kingdoms of this region was Simurrum.[1] The name of the land is known from older times, probably as early as the Early Dynastic II Period (*c.* 2700 BC). The names of some of its kings indicate that the land was later Hurrianized, but it preserved its old name Simurrum and seemingly also its patron god Nišba. Simurrum continued to play a significant political role in the history of the region as late as the age of Hammurabi.[2]

Its name was rendered in different ways in its long history. Akkadian inscriptions write the name with a double 'r,' and in later times the initial 's' becomes 'š.' A complete view of the different available writings of this GN is found below:

Early Dynastic Period:[3]	*Si-mu-ri*^{ki}; *Si-mu-r*[*u*]^{ki}.
Akkadian Period:[4]	SI-*mur-um*^{ki}; SI-*mu-ur$_4$-ri-im*^{ki}; SI-*mu-ru-um*^{ki}; SI-*m*[*u*]-*ur$_4$*.
Gutian Period: [5]	*Si-mu-ur$_4$-rí-im*.
Ur III Period:[6]	*Si-mu-ru-um*$^{(ki)}$; *Si-mu-ru$_4$*; *Si-mu-ru-um*^{ki}; *Si-mu-ru$_4$-um*.
Old Babylonian Period:[7]	^{URU}*Ši-mu-ru-um*^{ki}; *Ši-mu-ur-ru-um*^{ki}; *Ši-mu-ru-um*^{ki}; *Ši-mu-rum*^{ki}; *Si-mu-ur-ru-um*; *Si-mur-ra*;[8] *Si-mu-ri-im*[9]

[1] Because the identification of its location depends on the data studied in this chapter, the discussion of its location is dealt with at the end rather than the beginning of this chapter.

[2] For its history in the Mari period, cf. Chapter Six.

[3] Gurney, O. R. and S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts in the Ashmolean Museum,* Oxford, 1976, p. 38.

[4] Edzard, Farber and Sollberger, *RGTC* 1, p. 143-4.

[5] Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 224 (Text E2.2.1.2, col. v 10); p. 226 (Text E2.2.1.3, col. viii 10′ and 12′).

[6] Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 167-8.

[7] Groneberg, B., *RGTC* 3, p. 221.

[8] As in the OB text of ḪAR-ra= *ḫubullu*: XIV l. 171: šaḫ Si-mur-ra, '*Simurrû*-Pig.' Landsberger, B., *MSL* VIII/2: The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia, Second Part, Rome, 1962, p. 20.

[9] In the Bētwate inscriptions. One of the latest occurrences of Simurrum in the OB Period is BIN 2, 80 from the reign of Samsuiluna that concerns a slave girl from Simurrum (wr. URU *Ši-mu-ru-um*^{ki}), cf. Nies, J. B. and C. E.

Old Assyrian Period:[10]	*Ší-mu-ri-im*.
Hittite:[11]	^{URU}*Ši-im-mu-ur-ra*; ^{URU}*Ši-im-mu-ra*.
Neo-Assyrian:[12]	*Ši-mu-ur-ri*.

The Early Dynastic Period

If the identification of King Nanne, mentioned in some Sumerian proverbs, with the Early Dynastic II king A-anne-pada of Ur is correct, then the oldest hitherto known mention of Simurrum can be dated to the Early Dynastic II Period.[13] The proverbs, which are copies from the OB period, are about the failures of a king called Nanne (=*Na-an-né*). In one of the proverbs we read:

> He (i. e. Nanne) took Simurrum, but did not carry off its tribute.[14]

Another fragmentary proverb, which appears to be related to the same episode, speaks of the wall or fortress[15] of Simurrum:

> He captured Simurrum, but did not [destroy its wall/ fortress].[16]

These two excerpts from proverbs belong to the context of a longer series, all concentrating on the numerous and successive failures of King Nanne, who Gurney and Kramer call "the chronic loser."[17] The complete proverb series runs as follows:

> Nanne held his old age in high esteem. He built Enlil's temple, but did not complete it. He built a wall around Nippur, but … He built Eanna, but after it had fallen into neglect he carried it away. He captured Simurrum, but did not [destroy] its wall/carry off its tribute/subdue it. He never saw mighty kingship. Thus Nanne was carried away to the netherworld with a depressed heart.[18]

Keiser, Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities, *BIN,* vol. II, New Haven, 1920, pl. 36, no. 80, l. 1 (reference provided by M. Stol).

[10] Dercksen, J. G., *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade in Anatolia,* Leiden, 1996, p. 77.

[11] Del Monte, G. F., *RGTC* 6/2, Wiesbaden, 1992, p. 145. It is attested in the Kumarbi myth and considered to be the same Simurrum.

[12] Wiseman, D. J. and J. Black, *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû,* London, 1996, pl. 42, no. 65: 6′.

[13] Hallo believes that this Nanne is the same A-anne-pada of Ur, cf. Hallo, W. W., "Simurrum and the Hurrian Frontier," *RHA* 36 (1978), 73, but according to Alster, Nanne is "presumably a fictitious ruler who never succeeded in completing any undertaking" according to this "sarcastic statement about the rulers of the Ur III dynasty," Alster, B., *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer,* vol. II, Bethesda, 1997, p. 380. Regarding this, I would call attention to the Tummal chronicle that mentions Nanne as the king who designed the ornamental garden of Enlil's temple and whose son, Mes-ki'ag-Nanna, made the Tummal splendid after it became dilapidated. In the chronicle he stands chronologically between Gilgameš and Ur-Namma, i.e. predating the Ur III kings. For the chronicle, cf. Glassner, J.-J., *Mesopotamian Chronicles,* ed. B. R. Foster, Atlanta, 2004, p. 156-157.

[14] Si-mu-ru^{ki} ì-dib gú-bi nu-mu-un-da-gíd(-?), Gurney and Kramer, *Sumerian Literary Texts in the Ashmolean Museum,* p. 38; cf. also Alster, B., *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer,* vol. I, Bethesda, 1997, p. 86, SP 11.18, 5; SP 25.4, 5.

[15] For the meanings of bàd=*dūru* as wall and fortress cf. *CAD* vol. D, p. 192.

[16] Si-mu-ru ì-dab$_5$ bàd-e nu-[u]n(?)-[gul], or according to a variant, "but did not subdue it," Alster, *ibid.,* G iv 1-13, 5; Ni 4469, 5.

[17] Gurney and Kramer, *ibid.*

[18] 1) Na-an-né libir-ra mu-un-kal 2) é ^{d}En-líl-lá ì-dù nu-un-til 3) bàd Nibru^{ki} ì-dù TÚG NU MI im-mi-in-DU 4) É-an-na mu-dù ù-mu-un-šub im-ma-an-túm 5) Si-mu-ru ì-dab$_5$ bàd-e nu-[u]n(?)-[gul] 6) nam-lugal-kala-ga igi nu-mu-du$_8$ 7) ur$_5$ na-an-na (šà-sig-ga) kur-ra ba-ra-an(!)-[túm], Alster, *ibid.* See also the other version with variants in Gurney and Kramer, *ibid.*

This shows that Simurrum was a well-known country to everyone in Mesopotamia and that they understood which country was meant by the "capture of Simurrum."

The importance of Simurrum made it the subject of another Sumerian proverb, which is somewhat obscure:

> Between the basket and the boat (are) the fields of Simurrum.[19]

According to *PSD* A[20] the proverb can be translated "from the basket to the boat (there is) the region of Simurrum," with the comment: "denoting a vast area?."[21] This questionable interpretation does not explain why small mobile objects like a basket and a boat are used as boundary markers for Simurrum. If the translation given by *PSD* proves to be correct, it means that Simurrum was so small a territory that it fitted a tiny space between those two small objects. However, it appears from written sources that Simurrum was a country and a kingdom in the Diyāla/Sirwān region that barricaded the way to the northern Transtigridian territories, so it cannot have been so small. It seems to me that the proverb alludes to the fertility of Simurrum: it shows that the two means of transporting agricultural products, the basket and the boat, are flanking the fertile and fruitful fields of Simurrum. Boats need no explanation, but baskets were and still are the ideal means for the transport of fruits in the gardens and groves of the Transtigris and other mountainous regions.[22] The form of the name Simurrum in this proverb with mimation is in contrast to that in the other proverbs mentioned above, where it is written without mimation. Since this was a feature of rendering GNs in the Ur III period,[23] one may assume that this latter proverb can be dated to the Ur III period. If this is correct, it makes our interpretation for the meaning of the proverb more likely, associating it with the political sphere in the Ur III period when campaigns, pillaging and looting were conducted against Simurrum many times by the kings of Ur (see Chapter Four).

The Akkadian Period

The first clear reference to Simurrum comes from the time of the Old Akkadian dynasty. One of the latest date-formulae for Sargon found in an archival text from Nippur states that the king[24] went there:

> The year Sargon went to Simurrum.[25]

Although it is not explicitly stated what is meant by "went" (Sum. verb gin), the date-formulae of his grandson and later successor give a clear hint to its military connotation when mentioning this land:

> In the year Narām-Sîn went on a campaign to Simurrum.[26]

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[19] gi-gur-ta $^{\tilde{g}i\check{s}}$má-šè(?) a-šà Si-mu-ur$_4$-ru-um^{ki}, Alster, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 104.
[20] *PSD* (Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary), vol. A, p. 169, after Alster, *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 390.
[21] *PSD,* vol. A, part 1, p. 169.
[22] It could be, D. Meijer adds in an oral communication, an indication of the contrast between south and north; in the south boats were the main means of transport but in the north it was baskets.
[23] For this cf. Kraus, F. R., *Sumerer und Akkader, Ein Problem der altmesopotamischen Geschichte,* Amsterdam, 1970, p. 92.
[24] According to Hallo, "Gutium," *RlA,* p. 56 and note 54.
[25] MU *Śar-um*-GI Śi-mur-um^{ki}-šè ˹ì˺-gin-˹na-a˺, Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, Band 7, p. 49 (Sargon 1); see also Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 8 (iv, d).
[26] [*i*]*n* 1 MU [^{d}]*Na-ra-am-*^{dr}EN.ZU˺ *a-na* KASKAL.˹KI˺ *Śi-mu-ur$_4$-rí-im*^{ki} *i-li-ku,* Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, p. 51 (Narām-Sîn 5a); Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 87 (vii, hh).

Another date-formula of the same king yields significant information, more than expected from a date formula:

> In the year Narām-Sîn was victorious over (the yoke?) of Simurrum at Kirašeniwe and captured Baba, *ensi* of Simurrum, (and) Dubul, *ensi* of Arame.[27]

The statement that Narām-Sîn won the war against Simurrum at Kirašeniwe clearly indicates that Kirašeniwe was a city or locality incorporated into the land of Simurrum, as proposed also by Salvini.[28] However, there remains a slight possibility that it was a place close to Simurrum, assuming that the Simurrians could have fought the Akkadians on a territory outside their own land. It is important to note the name of the governor of Simurrum, Baba. His name is not Hurrian. It belongs rather to the kind of name typical of the Transtigris region before the arrival of the Hurrians, such as the names found in the texts from Gasur and elsewhere. This same date-formula informs us about a certain Dubul, who was the *ensi* of Arame. This land was also attacked in the same year and very likely during the same campaign as that against Simurrum.[29] In both cases, Arame appears to have been located close to Simurrum and might have been its ally against Narām-Sîn. This location is supported by an Ur III text that mentions troops from Arami (éren-a-ra-mi^{ki}) located between Ašnun and KAŠ-*da-dun.*[30] The Harmal Geographical List puts Arame on the Sirwān River, south of its outflow through the Hamrin range.[31] Variant B of the date-formula adds that Nabi-Ulmaš, the son of king Narām-Sîn, was ruling in a place called Tutu.[32]

The mention of Simurrum as the main target of the campaign in this date-formula implies its importance even in this early period of the history of the Transtigris. This importance was not only due to its strategic location at the gate to the northern lands, on the major routes that lead to Iran and northern Transtigris and later Assyria, but also to its richness, which is indicated by the quick recovery it showed later in the Ur III period after every campaign. Only a country rich in human and natural resources could resist for such a long time and recover after not less than eleven successive campaigns waged on it by the kings of Ur. If our interpretation of the proverb mentioned above is correct, it adds an extra proof to the richness of this land.

According to Frayne, it is possible that these two date-formulae commemorate two consecutive campaigns undertaken by Narām-Sîn within two years.[33] The name of Baba is mentioned also on a piece of alabaster[34] from the Akkadian period, found in Sippar and

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[27] *in* MU ^{d}*Na-ra-am-*^{d}E[N.ZU] *Śi-mu-ur$_4$-ri-*[*im*^{ki}] *in Ki-ra-še-ni-we iš$_{11}$-a-ru ù Ba-ba* ÉNSI *Śi-mu-ur$_4$-ri-im*^{ki} *Dub-ul* ÉNSI *A-ra-me*^{ki} *ik-mi-ù,* Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 87 (vii, ii), cf. also: Walker, *The Tigris Frontier from Sargon to Hammurabi,* p. 19-20. This date-formula was found in two variants, A and B, the first is written on an archival grain account text, the second variant (B) has three extra lines at the end: 11) *Na-bí-ùl-maš* 12) *in* Tu-tu^{ki} 13) *ib-rí*, "… and inspected (his son) Nabi-Ulmaš in the city of Tutu," Walker, *ibid.*, p. 20.

[28] Salvini, "The Earliest Evidence of …," p. 102.

[29] Westenholz considers that the mentioned campaigns may also have been "little more than successful raids," but without further explanation, cf. Westenholz, Mesopotamien, Akkade- und Ur III-Zeit, *OBO,* p. 38.

[30] Cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 15.

[31] Frayne, "On the Location of Simurrum," p. 263. The Harmal list lists *A-ra-mi-«il»* between *Me-tu-ra-an* from the north and *Èš-nun-na* from the south, with other intervening GNs, cf.: Levy, S., "Harmal Geographical List," *Sumer* 3, no. 1 (1947), p. 53, col. III, entries 78-86; cf. also Frayne, *EDGN,* p. 69 and 70. For the occurrence of Simurrum in the list, see below, under "The Location of Simurrum."

[32] Frayne equates Tutu with Tutub in: Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 87.

[33] Frayne, *The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns (2400-1900 BC),* p. 42.

[34] Hallo considers this stone fragment part of a stone vessel: Hallo, "Simurrum and …," *RHA*, p. 73, however, Frayne thinks it is a stone mace-head: Frayne, "On the Location …," p. 246 and Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 145.

published as early as 1897 by Winckler.[35] The name comes in a fragmentary context, but one can deduce that it is associated with Simurrum:

> [Wh]en [Ba]ba, [*en*]*si* of [Sim]ur[r]um (lacuna).[36]

Whether or not this inscribed piece of alabaster was dedicated from the booty of Simurrum we do not know for sure. Nevertheless, it is probably this same Baba, who appears on another date-formula from the reign of Narām-Sîn in a different form:[37]

> [The year … defe[ated] [B]ibi […], and was [vic]torious in battle in the mountain lands [in] Ḫaśimar.[38]

Mount Ḫašimar is almost certainly the same Ḫašimur of the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions. Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC) crossed the lower Zāb, advanced through the land of Ḫašimur to the land of Namri. From Namri he descended to the lands Messi, the lands of the Medes and Ḫarḫar[39] in a northwest-southeast direction. Ḫašimur was identified with the mount and pass of Darband-i-Khan on the upper Sirwān River, at the southern end of the Shahrazūr Plain, where a dam is located nowadays.[40] Although some think that this GN was located further to the south[41] this appears unlikely, for two reasons. First, Aššurnasirpal II during his campaign against the Lullubians in Zamua mentioned it as the southernmost frontier of the territory under the rulers of Zamua (= Shahrazūr), which was by no means as far as the Hamrin at Diyāla.[42] Second, the same Assyrian king, describing the extent of this part of his realm, indicated already the southern extremity as Tīl-Bāri as opposed to the (Lower) Zāb, but Ḫašmar is mentioned as the eastern (not southern) extremity, as opposed to Babite (Baziyān) in the west. In other words, he used in his description the north-south axis from the bank of the Zāb to Tīl-Bāri, and the west-east axis from Babite to Ḫašmar, explaining that the territory

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[35] Cf. Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 145; Hallo, *RHA*, p. 73, note 25.

[36] 1′) [*i*]-*nu* 2′) [*Ba*]-*ba* 3′)[PA.T]E.SI 4′) [*Śi-m*]*u-ur*$_4$-[*ri-i*]*m*^{ki} Lacuna, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 145 (text no. E2.1.4.32).

[37] This identification is the suggestion of Frayne in: Frayne, "On the Location of Simurrum," p. 247.

[38] [*in* 1 MU …] *ti*-[…] [*B*]*í-bí*-[…] *en-a*-[*ru*] *ù* REC448bis/REC 169 *śa-dú-a-tim* [*in*] *Ḫa-śi-ma-ar*^{ki} [*iš*$_{11}$]-*a-ru,* Frayne, "On the Location of …," p. 247, cf. also: Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 87 (jj).

[39] Cf. Luckenbill, D. D., *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia,* vol. I, Chicago, 1926, p. 206, § 581.

[40] Cf. for instance Parpola, S. and M. Porter (eds.), *The Atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian Period,* Helsinki, 2001, p. 11; Speiser, "Southern Kurdistan in the ….," *AASOR* 8 (1926-1927), p. 26 and note 49, also he refers to similar identifications by Billerbeck, A., *Das Sandschak Suleimania und dessen persische Nachbarschaften zur babylonischen und assyrischen Zeit*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 30, 60 (Both banks of the Diyāla at the southeastern end of the Sagirma Chain, the region of Dasht-i-Shamērān); and Streck, M., "Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaften Armenien, Kurdistân und Westpersien nach den babylonisch-assyrischen Keilinschriften," *ZA* 15 (1900), p. 287 (between Sulaimaniya and Sar-i-pul-i-Zohāb); but for Olmstead it was located farther to the north between Baneh and Saqqiz in Iraninan Kurdistan: Olmsted, A. T., "Shalmaneser and the Establishment of the Assyrian Power," *JAOS* 41 (1921), p. 376, note 66. The hydronym Ḫišmarḫušše found in the Nuzi texts: Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 377, might be somehow connected with this Ḫašimur.

[41] For instance Levine located Ḫašimur at the point where the Sirwān cuts through the Hamrin in: Levine, L., "Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros I," *Iran* 11 (1973), p. 23. Weidner as well, thinks it was the southeastern part of the Hamrin and the pass of Hašimur was at the point where the Diyāla cuts through the Hamrin chain: Weidner, E., "Die Feldzüge Šamši-Adads V. gegen Babylonien," *AfO* 9 (1933-34), p. 97, and later by Hannoon in the east southeast of Khanaqīn:

[Hannoon, *Old Cities and Archaeological Sites…,* p. 303] حنون، مدن قديمة و مواقع اثرية، ص. ٣٠٣.

[42] The text reads ii 58) URU.DIDLI *šá* URU *Ba-ra-a-a šá* ^{m}*Ki-ir-ti-a-ra šá* URU *Du-ra-a-a šá* URU *Bu-ni-sa-a-a a-di né-reb šá* KUR *Ḫaš-mar a-púl …,* "The cities of Bāra, of the man Kirteara, a man of the city Dūra, (and) of the Bunisu, as far as the pass of Mount Ḫašmar, I destroyed, I…," Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 206 (Text A.0.101.1), for the translation cf. also Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, p. 152, § 453.

between the latter two points (Babite to Ḫašmar) comprised the whole land of Zamua.[43] So, there would be no need to mention another point in the south beside Tīl-Bāri if Ḫašmar was indeed in the south. The location presented by Hannoon and accepted by Frayne, as far to the south as the Darewushke Mountain[44] between Mandali and Khanaqīn, does not fit its description as a high mountain with a pass. Furthermore, it would be unexpected for Shalmaneser to go south of Khanaqīn then to the north and northwest to reach Namri. Whatever the case may be, Narām-Sîn has campaigned against Ḫašimar, somewhere in the Diyāla/Sirwān basin, near the Darband-i-Khān pass, or most probably slightly further north at the foot of Mount Surēn (see later in this chapter, under 'The Location of Simurrum'). Because this territory was close to, if not within, the realm of Simurrum there would be a good chance to identify this Bibi with Baba of Simurrum if our location for Ḫašmar proves to be correct.

An interesting letter from Gasur (*HSS* 10, 5) refers to Simurrians. It implies that there were some Simurrians who received amounts of grain. But one cannot conclude from the letter whether these Simurrians were living in Gasur or not. The letter reads:

> Thus (says) Dada, say to NI.NI: He should assign the grain that I had left over for rations as seed grain and give it out. But in case the Simurrians do not receive enough grain (to eat), he should give out some of it as grain rations; I will replace it myself.[45]

The sender Dada bears a reduplicative name,[46] common in Gasur and the Transtigris. The addressee appears from the letter to have been an intermediary between the sender Dada and somebody else who worked in the field and was in charge of the grain silos and agricultural equipment. One may conclude that this was a group of poor Simurrian peasants working for their master Dada, who probably owned the fields, the seed and even the plough and transport animals.

The Simurrians are also mentioned (LÚ *Si-mu-ru-um-me*) together with Lullubians at Lagaš in texts from the OAkk. period, "though what they were doing there is not clear."[47]

Of importance is the account of the great revolt against Narām-Sîn.[48] The text of this account mentions a king of Simurrum who joined the rebels and who bore the good Hurrian

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[43] 7′) TA *né-re-be šá* KUR *Ba-*ˈ*bí*ˈ-[*ti*] 8′) [*a*]-ˈ*di*ˈ KUR *Ḫa-áš-mar* KUR *Za-mu-a ana si-ḫír-*ˈ*ti*ˈ-[*šá*], "[I brought] within the boundaries [of my land] (the territory stretching) from the passes of Mount Babi[tu] to Mount Ḫašmar, the entire land of Zamua," Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 324 (Text A.0.101.52); and 9) TA *e-ber-tan* ÍD *Za-ba* KI.TA 10) *a-di* URU.DU$_6$-*ba-a-ri šá el-la-an* KUR *Za-ba-an,* "From the opposite bank of Lower Zāb to the city of Tīl-Bāri, which is upstream from Zaban," Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 275 (Text A.0.101.23).

[44] Darewushke is a low mountain near Mandali, to the south of Khanaqīn. Its name was correctly written in both the *Iraq and the Persian Gulf* of the British Naval Intelligence Division and the dissertation of N. Hannoon. However, Frayne has attempted to find an Arabic meaning and thus an Arabic transliteration for the mountain as Darāwish-kūh, assuming that the first word is the plural of Darwīsh, a class of religious *sheikh*s followers, and the second word as the Persian Kūh "Mount," cf.: Frayne, "On the Location of Simurrum," p. 247, note 14. I have to explain here, that the mountain name is actually Dāre-wushke and has nothing to do with those two words; it is a Kurdish name that means "The dead (lit. dry) tree."

[45] 1) *en-ma* Da-da 2) *a-na Ni-ni* 3) *qí-bí-ma* 4) ŠE *šu a-na* ŠE.BA 5) *a-si-tu* 6) *a-na* ŠE.NUMUN 7) *li-sa-mì-id-ma* 8) *li-dì-in* 9) *ù šum-ma* 10) *Si-mu-ur$_4$-rí-ù*^{ki} 11) *a-dì da-ni-iš* 12) ŠE *la i-ma-ḫa-ru* 13) *in qir-bí-su* 14) *a-na* ŠE.BA *li-dì-in* 15) *a-na-ku$_8$ a-kà-sa-ar,* Michalowski, *Letters from Early Mesopotamia,* p. 34-5, cf. also Frayne, "On theLocation…," p. 248.

[46] Nevertheless, note that Michalowski reads this name as ì-lí, cf. Michalowski, *Letters from Early Mesopotamia,* p. 34-5.

[47] Westenholz, *OBO,* p. 94. For the texts, cf. Thureau-Dangin, F., *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes (RTC),* Paris, 1903, no. 249, I 8.

[48] The text has three versions on three tablets, all copies from the OB period, cf. Grayson and Sollberger, "L'insurrection générale contre Narām-Suen," *RA* 70 (1976), p. 104. For more details, cf. Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade,* p. 221f.

name Puttim-atal. This Simurrian king, according to the account of the revolt, was not successful. He was defeated and taken prisoner together with the other rebels to Akkad.[49]

Unfortunately, there is no historical document that can support the reliability of this account. Rather, it remains a literary narrative without any chronological context. Nevertheless, one cannot deny its value as a source of information. The events of the account could be a fantasy of the scribes but the names of the lands are real. The names of the rulers as well can very probably be real, though not chronologically correct. By this, I mean that the scribes might have collected the most powerful and famous rulers of those rebel lands from antiquity up to their own time and listed them in the text as the most implacable enemies of the king of Akkad in order to enhance the image of Narām-Sîn as a super-hero. Thus, one can believe in the historicity of Puttim-atal without putting him into an exact chronological setting. As Hallo pointed out, "given the allusions to some of the rebels (Ipḫur-kiš, Lugal-anna of Uruk) in other, in part, much earlier literary texts, the Narām-Sîn legend may preserve genuine historical data."[50] Furthermore, the Epic of Gilgameš and the occurrence of the name of King Gilgameš in the SKL are an indication of how much fact such historical-literary compositions contain. Therefore, if the episode of the great revolt proves to be true, one may assume it has happened after the two or three campaigns of Narām-Sîn against Simurrum. This can be concluded from the Hurrian name of its king, which indicates a later phase after the Hurrians had succeeded in penetrating the land and establishing themselves. They had succeeded in taking power from a local dynasty whose king bore the traditional reduplicated Transtigridian name Baba or Bibi.

Gutian, Late Lagaš II / Early Ur III Periods

Frayne listed two other texts from Girsu that point to Simurrians. The texts probably date to the late Lagaš II or the early Ur III period[51] and concern rations for an important group of foreigners in Lagaš,[52] among whom were Ḫuḫnureans, Lullubians and Simurrians.[53] Interestingly, one of these Simurrians is described by his profession as a smith.[54] Frayne calls these foreigners 'visitors,' but there is no indication that such a status was assigned to them. Rather, they were perhaps prisoners from the Elamite war waged by Ur-Namma, possibly with the participation and help of Gudea from the Sumerian side and the Simurrians from the Elamite side.[55]

The inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir of Gutium (studied in Chapter Three) speak of a general revolt against the Gutian king Enrida-Pizir, father of Erridu-Pizir. Simurrum was not just a part of the rebel coalition but also an influential member, perhaps even the organizer. The inscription says that KA-Nišba, king of Simurrum, had instigated the people of Simurrum and Lullubum to revolt.[56] This proves the power and influence Simurrum enjoyed in this period. Furthermore, Simurrum was apparently the most ardent among the other rebels, due to its territorial overlap with the Gutian territories in the regions to the south and southeast of

[49] For bibliography, cf. Chapter Two, p. 87.
[50] Hallo, *RHA*, p. 73, adds the evidence provided by the Basitki statue, found to the south of Duhok, as further credibility to the account of the great revolt.
[51] Frayne, "On the Location of …," p. 248; for the tablets he refers to Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* (1903), p. 97, no. 249 and Grégoire (1981) pl. 31 no. 92.
[52] Frayne, "On the location of …," p. 248.
[53] Cf. *RTC* 249, I, 8′: lú Si-mu-ru-um-me.
[54] *RTC* I, 11′-12′: simug Si-mu-ru-um.
[55] For the discussion of the synchronism of Gudea and Ur-Namma, the Elamite war and the Elamite prisoners, cf. Steinkeller, P., "The Date of Gudea and his Dynasty," *JCS* 40 (1988), p. 51 and 53, note 21.
[56] For the text of the inscription, cf. Chapter Three.

Kirkuk. This must have resulted in an uncomfortable position for Simurrum, especially in the shadow of the growing power of Gutium.

The Ur III Period

The historical data collected from the Ur III date-formulae, touched on in the previous chapter, show that Simurrum was a main target of the army of Ur. This was due to the location of Simurrum on the main road leading to the northern territories, close to the head of the virtual triangle we drew in the Hamrin region (cf. Chapter Four, under the Historical Geography). Thanks to these date-formulae, our information about Simurrum has been increased and set in a better chronological order.

The first time Simurrum was attacked in the Ur III period was in Š 25-26; this was followed by those of the years Š 26, Š 32, Š 44, Š 45, and finally in IS 3 (see the table in Chapter Four). A convincing analysis of the order and dates of these campaigns was presented by Hallo years ago. He concluded that Simurrum was acting as a barricade closing the main routes to the north, and the kings of Ur first had to clear away Simurrum in order to reach territories like Lullubum, Šašrum and Urbilum.[57] He further grouped the campaigns into what he called the three "Hurrian wars."[58] What is recorded in the date-formulae is clearly not the whole story, for there are only five years named after campaigns against Simurrum, but the date-formula of year Š 44 is "The year Simurrum and Lullubum were destroyed for the 9th time."[59] It can be calculated from these date-formulae that the number of campaigns undertaken against this land rises to 10 under Šulgi alone, and to at least 11 until Ibbi-Sîn.

The first and second Hurrian wars aimed to crush the resistance of Karḫar and Simurrum, for 6 of the 7 campaigns were directed against these two lands, and 1 against Ḫarši. It appears that the job was accomplished during the second war (to be precise in Š 32) with the capture of Tappan-Daraḫ, king of Simurrum.[60] This was a victory worth celebration, a victory commemorated not only during the age of the Ur III dynasty itself but also in later times. Tappan-Daraḫ, together with his family, was taken prisoner to Sumer. The archival texts from Drehem bear witness of their presence there, listing them as receiving rations. It

[57] Cf. Hallo, "Simurrum and …," *RHA*, p. 72. Hallo thinks that Šulgi bore the title "King of the four quarters" after the destruction of the lands Karḫar (Š 24), Simurrum (Š 25 and Š 26), and Ḫarši (Š 27), disagreeing with Goetze, who believes he bore the title only after the final destruction of Simurrum in Š 44, cf. *op. cit.* p. 74 and note 35.

[58] Cf. Hallo, *RHA,* appendix II, p. 82.

[59] Owen states that the number reflects hyperbole and is not to be taken as fact, Owen, D., "The Royal Gift Seal of Ṣilluš-Dagan, Governor of Simurrum," *Studi sul Vicino Oriente Antico, dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni,* ed. S. Graziani, Napoli, 2000, p. 820, note 29.

[60] Whether the name Tappan-Daraḫ is Hurrian or Semitic is not yet settled. According to Gelb and Zadok the name is not Hurrian: Gelb, *HS*, p. 114. Zadok thinks its first part is the name of the river Ṭab(b)an, used here as a theophoric component, cf.: Zadok, "Hurrians, as well as Individuals…," *kinattūtu ša dārâti: Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume,* p. 224. However, in the Ur III PNs with the name of the river Ṭab(b)an other signs are used, cf. for instance: Lugal-*Ṭa-ba-an;* Lugal-*Ṭa$_5$-ba-an* (three occurrences)*;* ^{d}Šul-gi-*Ṭa-ba-an,* cf. for this: Nashef, Kh., "Der Ṭaban-Fluss," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 13 (1982), p. 119. In the OB period, the river name appears mostly with the divinity determinative when occurring as a theophoric component in the PNs, cf. Nashef, *op. cit.,* p. 121. He cites from the OB documents the names [*Šu*]-^{d}*Ṭa-ba-an* AS 30: T 402 on a seal legend from Tell Asmar; *Šu*-^{d}*Ṭa-b*[*a-an*] AS 33: 372 (Seal) 4, from Tell Asmar; *Šu*-^{d}ḪI-*ba-an*: W. G. Lambert, *RA* 74 (1980), 73, 55 from an unknown provenance, but also ḪI-*ba-an-a-bu-um YOS* 14, 12, 16 from Tell Harmal. Astour thinks the name consists of the two elements Tappa and Daraḫ; the first comes from Akkadian *tappû* "companion," and the second is a divine name; so the name means "Companion of god Daraḫ," cf.: Astour, M. "Semites and Hurrians in Northern Transtigris," *SCCNH* 2, Winona Lake, 1987, p. 41. In this reading, Astour obviously follows Goetze in reading the sign AN in TAB.BA.AN.DA.RA.AḪ as a divine determinative for *Da-raḫ*; for Goetze's transcription cf. Goetze, A., "Historical Allusions in Old Babylonian Omen Texts," *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 259-60 and below.

seems that the family received rations in Drehem after the year Š 32, though the archival texts do not mention the names of the wife and the son/daughter[61] of Tappan-Daraḫ. Even Tappan-Daraḫ himself was simply designated in the texts as "the man of Simurrum" and not "king" or "*ensi*." For Frayne this was enough reason to suggest that this Tappan-Daraḫ was a man from Simurrum who was someone other than the king.[62] According to Walker, the king was re-installed on the throne of his own country as a titulary head, though Ur appointed one of its own men, Ṣilluš-Dagān, to actually administer the territory.[63] It is necessary to point out here that the titles used in the archival texts need not necessarily comply with the regular protocols. A captive king was not always called "the king" in texts written purely for archival purposes, on small tablets with sentences kept as short as possible. It is also not to be expected that the victorious Sumerians would give their prisoners their former titles.[64]

The archival texts that refer to the royal family of Simurrum can be summed up as follows:

Tappan-Daraḫ: *Tab-ba-da-ra-aḫ,*[65] MAN-*ba-an-da-ra-aḫ,*[66] in texts dated Š 33; Š 34; Š 36; Š 38; ŠS 1; ŠS 2; 7 and ŠS 8.[67]
Daughter of Tappan-Daraḫ: DUMU.MÍ *Tab-ba-da-ra-aḫ.*[68]
Wife of Tappan-Daraḫ: DAM *Tab-ba-da-ra-aḫ.*[69]

That the victory in Simurrum and taking captive its king with his family was a resounding success is proved by textual material from later times. OB omen texts and literary compositions sometimes commemorate it. An OB omen text reads:

> If tissue cross the 'palace gate,' it is an omen of Šulgi, who took Tappa(n)-Daraḫ prisoner.[70]

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[61] For Frayne, Walker, Goetze and Biggs he was a *son* of Tappan-Daraḫ: Frayne, "On the Location of …," p. 250; Walker, *The Tigris Frontier …,* p. 105; Goetze, A., "Historical Allusions…," p. 260; Biggs, R., "Šulgi in Simurrum," *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons,* p. 171. Nevertheless, Hallo and Walker -in another place- consider this person a *daughter* of the captive king: Hallo, *RHA,* p. 75; Walker, *op. cit.,* p. 115, but see below.

[62] For this cf. Frayne, "On the Location…," p. 250 and 251, where he points to a governor of Simurrum with the same name installed by Ur.

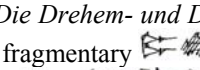
[63] Walker, *The Tigris Frontier…,* p. 116.

[64] Note that Biggs describes this formula as "the usual way of designating a ruler," Biggs, "Šulgi in Simurrum," p. 175.

[65] Hallo, W. W., *Tabulæ Cuneiformes a F. M. Th. De Liagre Böhl Collectæ, Leidæ Conservatæ,* III (TLB III), Leiden, 1973, pl. V, no. 14, l. 3.

[66] Cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 167. Biggs thinks that the sign MAN must be a graphic variant of TAB: Biggs, "Šulgi in Simurrum," p. 171.

[67] Cf. Biggs, "Šulgi in Simurrum," p. 173; Goetze, "Historical Allusions…," *JCS* 1, p. 260 referring to *Or* 47ff. 36 10 (?) and *AnOr* 7 44 5.

[68] Schneider, N., *Die Drehem- und Djohatexte im Kloster Montserrat (Barcelona),* Roma, 1932, pl. 16, no. 53, l. 21. However, the fragmentary  copied by Schneider, was collated by Molina and showed a clear DUMU.MÍ, , which means a daughter, not a son of Tappan-Daraḫ, cf.: Molina, M., *Materiali per il Vocabulario Neosumerico,* vol. 18: Tabillias Admnistrativas Neo-Sumerias de la Aba día de Montserrat (Barcelona), Roma, 1993, pl. XX, no. 53, l. 22. Biggs has tentatively proposed that the Hurrian name Šuni-Teššup found in the fragmentary context on the tablet fragment of the Nabû temple (see below), may be identified with a son(?) of Tabban-Daraḫ, cf.: Biggs, R., "Exploits of Šulgi?," *NABU* 1996, no. 108, p. 95, note 7.

[69] Molina, *op. cit.,* pl. XIV, no. 40, l. 4. Schneider has copied only DAM *Tab-ba-da-ra,* cf. Schneider, *op. cit.,* pl. 12, no. 40, l. 4.

[70] *šumma bāb ēkallim ši-rum i-bi-ir a-mu-ut* ^{d}*Šul-gi ša Tappa*^{pa}-^{d}*Da-ra-aḫ ik-mi-ú,* (YBT X 22 17), cf. Goetze, A., "Historical Allusions …," *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 259. There are two other omens relating to the same episode: *šumma bāb ēkallim ši-ra-am ú-du-uḫ a-mu-ut* ^{d}*Šul-gi ša Tappa-*^{d}*Da-ra-aḫ ik-mi-ú,* "If the 'palace gate' is

Another omen can be related to the same triumph, because it attributes the submission of the four quarters of the world to Šulgi:

> If the foetus is like a horse, it is an omen of Šulgi, who subdued the four regions.[71]

Yet another omen text known from a MA copy, dated to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (1115-1077 BC),[72] although fragmentary, includes the statement:

> […Tab]-ba-gar and Rabsisi, kings of … […], he […] and brother killed brother.[73]

Frayne has cited in his valuable article another text relating to this episode, a chronicle from the Seleucid period found in Uruk:

> Šulgi, king of Ur, son of Ur-Namma, exercised [ki]ngship over all the lands, [Tab]bangar and Rabsisi, kings of the land of Subartu, he overpowered.[74]

Unfortunately, it is not known which brothers are meant by this omen, though the royal families of Tabba(n)gar and Rabsisi are the best candidates. The chronicle says nothing about this, only about the victory over the two kings. It is important that the chronicle states that the two men were kings of Subartu, most probably meaning Simurrum.[75] Rabsisi's realm is not actually mentioned, but the resemblance of his name with a certain Rašiši, attested together with Ḫun-ḫi-li or Ḫu-un-NI.NI, the *ensi* of Kimaš and 'šagin' (military governor) of Madga, in an Ur III archival text (TCSD 140, 5) is noteworthy.[76] In this archival text, Rašiši is mentioned as "Ḫu-un-ḫi-li, Ra-ši-ši lú-Ki-maš^{ki}-me," suggesting that he was in some way related to the administration of Kimaš, if not a member of its ruling family. It seems quite possible to identify Rabsisi of the chronicle with Rašiši of the archival text.

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covered over with tissue, it is an omen of Šulgi, who took Tappa-Daraḫ prisoner," (YBT X 24 35), Goetze, *op. cit.,* p. 260; the other one has a variant for the name of the victim and another verb: [*šumma bāb ēkallim*] *ši-ra-am ú-du-uḫ a-mu-ut* ^{I}*Šul-gi ša A-pa-da-ra-aḫ i-ni-ru,* "If the 'palace gate' is covered over with a tissue, it is an omen of Šulgi who smote Apadaraḫ," *ibid.*; and *šumma i-na libbi* (var. *pa-ni*) *bāb ēkallim ši-rum ku-bu-ut-ma ša-ki-in a-mu-ut* ^{d}*Šul-gi ša Tappa-*^{d}*Da-ra-aḫ ik-mi-ú,* "If in the middle (var. in front) of the 'palace gate' a heavy mass of tissue is located, it is an omen of Šulgi, who took Tappa-Daraḫ prisoner," (YBT X 24 40; YBT X 26 31f.), *ibid.*

[71] *šumma iz-bu-um ki-ma sīsīm a-mu-ut* ^{d}*Šul-gi ša pa-at erbi*^{bi} *i-bi-lu-ú,* (YBT X 56 III 10f), cf. Goetze, *ibid.* An interesting observation is presented by Biggs, who suggests that there was seemingly some special connection between Šulgi, whose name (according to M. Civil) means 'horse' or 'horseman,' and the horse. In the Šulgi hymn A, he is also described at the end of the section with –me-en as being a horse: Biggs, "Šulgi in Simurrum," p. 175, note 39.

[72] The date was determined by Nougayrol, cf. Frayne, "On the Location…," p. 250.

[73] [...*Tab*]*-ba-gar ù(?) Rab-si-si* MAN.MEŠ *šá* x [...]*/* [...] *x su-nu-ti-ma* ŠEŠ.ŠEŠ-*šú* GAZ, Frayne, "On the Location…," p. 250.

[74] 3) [x ^{d}Š]ul-gi LUGAL ŠEŠ.UNUG^{ki} A ^{m}Ur-^{d}Namma 4) [*šar*]*-ru-tu* KUR.KUR *ka-la-ši-na i-pu-uš* 5) [*Tab*]*-ban-ga-ár u* ^{m}*Rab-si-si* LUGAL.MEŠ *šá* KU SU.BIR$_4^{ki}$ *i-be-el,* cf. Hunger, H., *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk,* Teil 1, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 9, Berlin, 1976, p. 19-20. For the possible reading of the last sign of the name […*-ban-ga-ár* as *...b*]*an-garaš*, cf. Hallo, *RHA*, p. 76, note 52; Frayne, "On the Location…," p. 250.

[75] For the name Subartu, the lands it comprised and the changes taken place along the ages, cf. Chapter Two, under 'Subartu.' It appears that by Subartu in this text the author means the non-Sumero-Akkadian lands of the north in general.

[76] For the text, cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 100.

In the text known as 'The Šulgi Prophecy,' known from some NA fragments, the passage "[I], became lord of the four quarters, from east to west"[77] is found. This is reminiscent of the OB omen texts about the victory of Šulgi over Simurrum and its king Tappan-Daraḫ, in which they gave him the title "king of the four quarters" (cf. the omen above). The badly damaged fragments still preserve the name of Tappan-Daraḫ as *Tab-ba-an-*.... and the name of Simurrum as *Ši-mu-ur-ri* No. 65: 6′.[78]

The Drehem archival texts provide us with another Simurrian king's name, with the good Hurrian name *Kirib-ulme*.[79] He seems to have succeeded Tappan-Daraḫ on the throne of Simurrum after the latter was taken captive.[80] This conclusion is based on the occurrence of his name in texts dated to the reigns of Amar-Sîn and Šū-Sîn,[81] while they are absent in the texts of the time of Šulgi.

After the second Hurrian war, Šulgi initiated work on building the "Wall of the unincorporated lands" in Š 37-38. According to Hallo, this wall was probably built to seal off the frontier from the Tigris to the Hamrin range against Simurrum.[82] In the light of the available data, Simurrum itself does not seem to have been in a state to enable it to threaten Ur. For after the last campaign against it in Š 32, when it was destroyed for the third time, until Simurrum was destroyed for the ninth time in Š 44, it had been attacked six more times within eleven years. It is questionable if a wall was needed to isolate such an easy target as Simurrum in that phase. The name given to the wall that Šulgi built is significant, "The Wall of Unincorporated Lands," for it means that the territories beyond it, including Simurrum, were not yet under the direct rule of Ur. It was after building this wall that Šašrum was attacked in Š 42, and after the ninth destruction of Simurrum and Lullubum, the northern Hurrian lands in the regions of modern Erbil, Sulaimaniya and the Bitwēn Plain, namely Lullubum, Urbilum, and Šašrum, were also destroyed. As mentioned earlier, this could have been achieved only after clearing the way by destroying Simurrum and Karḫar, the two formidable barricades facing the armies of Ur. Such great news for the kings of Ur was worth recording on a brick inscription of Šulgi found in Susa,[83] where notably the the title "king of the four quarters" occurs.

The evidence for the annexation of Simurrum to the Ur Empire comes both from the maš-dari-a offerings from Simurrum in Puzriš-Dagān, which are recorded after Š 40,[84] and from the appointment of a governor to this land in about Š 42 by Ur. Ṣilluš-Dagān was perhaps the first to hold this post. Walker thinks it happened after Š 42,[85] while Owen dates it to shortly after the building of Puzriš-Dagan in Š 39.[86] Apart from several texts[87] he is known from

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[77] II 2′) *e-bé-el* UB.DA.LÍMMU.BA 3′) *iš-tu* ^{d}UTU.È 4′) *a-di* ^{d}UTU.ŠÚ.A, Borger, R., "Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten, Zwei prophetische Texte," *BiOr* Jaargang XXVIII, no. 1 en 2, Januari-Maart (1971), p. 14.

[78] Cf. Biggs, "Šulgi in Simurrum," p. 170 and 174. For the fragments, cf. Wiseman, D. J. and J. Black, *Literary Texts from the temple of Nabû,* London, 1996, pl. 42, nos. 64, 65 and 69.

[79] Gelb considered both elements of the name as Hurrian: Gelb, *HS*, p. 114, the second is the known word for "weapon," but the first element is somewhat problematic. According to Gelb, its root is *kir* and can be a variant of *kil* or even *kel*. The last one means "to make good," "to do well" or "to heal/make sound," cf. Gelb, Purves and MacRae, *NPN,* p. 224; 227 and 228.

[80] Biggs, "Šulgi in Simurrum," p. 173.

[81] He appears on archival texts dated to AS 8; AS 9; ŠS 1; ŠS 2, for this cf. Biggs, "Šulgi in Simurrum," p. 173.

[82] Hallo, *RHA* p. 77.

[83] For the inscription, cf. Chapter Four.

[84] Hallo, *RHA*, p. 77, referring to *TCL* 2: 5502 f.

[85] Walker, *The Tigris Frontier…,* p. 223.

[86] Owen, "The Royal Gift Seal …," p. 815.

[87] From the reign of Šulgi: Owen, *MVN* 3, no. 200l. 2 (t) (30 i) (from Š 44); from the reign of Amar-Sîn: Keiser, *BIN* 3, no. 627 (-ii) (s) (from AS 6); from the reign of Šū-Sîn: Yildiz and Gomi, *PDT* 2, nos. 1355 and 1365 (-vi) (s) (from ŠS 3); Schneider, *Or* 47-49 (1930), no. 38, l. 11-12 (t) (from ŠS 4); Yildiz and Gomi, *PDT* 2, nos. 1327

impressions of seal legends. The oldest is on a tablet case from Drehem, reconstructed and re-edited by Owen and R. Mayr[88] (Fig. 1a). According to Owen it is the oldest known inaba seal from the Ur III period, to be dated "certainly no later than his (=Šulgi) 42nd year."[89] It reads:

> Šulgi, the mighty man, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, present[ed] (this seal) [to] Ṣi[lluš-Dagan, *ensi* of] Simu[rrum], [h]is servant.[90]

Another seal legend (Fig. 1b) is on a tablet case dated to Š 42,[91] which reads:

> Ṣilluš-Dagān, *ensi* of Simurrum, Ibbi-Adad, the scribe, (is) your servant.[92]

Another, from the reign of Šū-Sîn, is a seal impression of a servant of Ṣilluš-Dagān, dated to ŠS 3 and ŠS 5 and found in Nippur:

> Ṣilluš-Dagān, governor of Simurrum, Ilak-šūqir, son of Alu, the chief administrator, (is) your servant.[93]

The theophoric element of the name of this governor is the Amorite deity Dagān. It is not impossible that this person was an Amorite in the service of the kings of Ur. If so, the choice of an Amorite to rule Hurrian Simurrum is significant. That the Amorites and the Simurrians worked together against Ur in the reign of Šū-Sîn (see the letter of Šarrum-bāni in Chapter Four) means that it is possible that they could have done the same even during the reign of Šulgi. In appointing an Amorite collaborator to rule Simurrum Šulgi may have been attempting to split this alliance.

The silence of the sources about this governor after Š 43 is understood as meaning the end of his service in Simurrum. Walker thinks it was probably because of a rebellion in that land against the authority of Ur.[94] The period of dependence on Ur has seemingly lasted until sometime before IS 3, the year when Ibbi-Sîn campaigned against Simurrum.[95]

The letters of Urdu-g̃u to his king Šulgi, discussed in the previous chapter, are considered a sign that there was calm on the Simurrian front.[96] One passage, in which he says that the king has sent to him to establish the provincial taxes and to get informed about the state of the provinces, clearly alludes to the territories of the Transtigris, particularly to the Sirwān Basin. The reason for this opinion is the combination of the passage above with the allusion to

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and 1375 (-vi) (s) (from ŠS 5). Hallo referred also to a text that records disbursements for the wedding-feast of Ṣilluš-Dagān in AS 3, and another one mentioning his sister in TRU 76, cf. Hallo, *RHA*, p. 77, note 72.

[88] Owen, *op. cit.*

[89] *Op. cit.* p. 817.

[90] I 1) ^{d}Šul.gi 2) nita.kala.ga 3) lugal.uri$_5^{ki}$.ma 4) lugal.an.ub.da.límmu.ba.ke$_4$ 5) *Ṣi-*[*lu-uš-*^{d}*Da-gan*] 6) [énsi] 7) Si.mu.[ru.um]^{ki}.[ma] 8) árad.da.ni[.ir] in.na.[ba], Owen, *op. cit.,* p. 818-9; cf. also Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 425-6 (text E3/2.1.6.1046).

[91] Buchanan suggested AS 6. Hallo considers giving the date AS 6 to the tablet as possible though less likely, cf. Hallo, *RHA*, p. 78, note 74. A copy of the tablet, with a drawing of the seal impression, is published in: Keiser, Neo-Sumerian Account Texts from Drehem, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies 3,* pl. LXXXIX, no. 627. More recently the complete seal impression is reconstructed in Owen, *op. cit.,* p. 840, fig. 4. Owen now discards the date AS 6, cf. *op. cit.,* p. 816.

[92] 1) *Ṣi-lu-uš-*^{d}*Da-gan* 2) PA.TE.SI 3) *Si-mu-ru-um*^{ki}*-ma* 4) *I-bí-*^{d}IŠKUR 5) dub-sar 6) ir$_{11}$-zu, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 281 (text E3/2.1.3.2005).

[93] 1) *Ṣi-lu-uš-*^{d}*Da-gan* 2) énsi Si-mu-ru-um^{ki} 3) *I-la-ak-šu-qir* 4) dumu A-lu šabra 5) ir$_{11}$-zu, Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 354 (text E3/2.1.4.2011).

[94] Walker, *ibid.*

[95] Sallaberger, Ur III-Zeit, *OBO,* p. 158.

[96] cf. Hallo, *RHA*, p. 78. Hallo even considers Subartu of this letter to mean Simurrum. *Ibid.*

Subartu in the same letter, and the allusion to Urdu-g̃u going to Simurrum in the letter of Ur-dun to Šulgi (See Chapter Four for this and the letters). Missions to Subartu to discuss the taxes and sending officials/merchants to the mountains of Subartu to purchase cedar resin would not have been possible if Simurrum had not yet been subdued but was still hostile.

Under Amar-Sîn, Simurrum was, as was the case with the other territories of the Sirwān Basin, under the control of Ur. The military garrisons of Ur, stationed in numerous places along the Zagros foothills (see Chapter Four), proves this fact. This stable situation, which was comfortable for Ur but undesirable for the Hurrians whose lands were conquered, continued until the reign of Šū-Sîn. Sometime between ŠS 2-9 Simurrum became active again.[97] A significant letter (*UET* 6/2, Nr. 183= *ISET* II 115: Ni. 3083 obv. I= *YBC* 4672 = *YBC* 7149[98] mentioned in Chapter Four), from the high commissioner 'Šarrum-bāni' to his king Šū-Sîn, reveals that the balance of power has been changed by that time. The Amorites began to penetrate the land and Ur decided to strengthen its defences. The ancient wall, built previously by Šulgi, was rebuilt and given a new name, Mūriq-Tidnim (see Chapter Four). In the letter, Šarrum-bāni clearly says that the Mardu (= Amorites) have camped between the two mountains (Ebiḫ) and the Simurrians have come to their aid. A conclusion that can be drawn from this piece of information is that the western border of Simurrum was in all probability at Hamrin, ancient Ebiḫ. It is hard to imagine Simurrum offering assistance to the Amorites in Ebiḫ across the territory of another princedom/kingdom without any mention of collaboration (or forced collaboration).

This activity in Simurrum, coupled with the threat the Amorites posed, was a real danger for Ur. The political and military activities of Simurrum must have continued and even escalated throughout the reign of Šū-Sîn and the beginning of the reign of Ibbi-Sîn to a degree that troops again had to be sent to it in IS 3.[99] This campaign to Simurrum was the first launched in the reign of this king and the last in the period of the Ur III Empire. Who was the king behind this revival of activity in Simurrum? We have a good reason to think that it was Iddi(n)-Sîn who, as Walker proposed, may have declared independence when Ibbi-Sîn was still in power.[100]

The Mesopotamian historical sources point to the direct reasons for the fall of Ur and the end of its dynasty as joint attacks by the Elamites, the Gutians and the Su people. However, the empire had been weakened by internal crises, such as shortages of goods, high prices and the intrigues of Išbi-Erra that made these incursions easy. Although Hallo suggested that the Su mainly denotes Hurrians, it is now shown that this was a variant rendering of the name Šimaški by the scribes of Puzriš-Dagān.[101] The final sack of Ur cannot be imagined without some Hurrian help, particularly from Simurrum which had been the most eager party to hope for the fall of Ur for many years. Its repeated confrontations, its aid to the Amorites against Ur and its interest in its fall must have been very good reasons to have a share in the attack. Furthermore, the long history of military confrontation and warfare with the southern Mesopotamian powers and the dangerous sphere in which it constantly found itself must have made it a well-organized and experienced military power, ripe for action in field.

The Šimaškians, as an eastern power, must have used the Great Khorasan Road through the Halwan Pass. They would thus pass through the domains of the land of Karḫar. Thanks to the royal letters, we knew already that the Amorites for their part were active in the region close to Hamrin, somewhere between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. Both Karḫar

[97] Walker, *op. cit.,* p. 110.
[98] Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence…,* p. 225; 229.
[99] For this date formula cf. Sallaberger, Ur III Zeit, *OBO,* p. 173.
[100] Walker, *The Tigris Frontier…,* p. 225.
[101] For this cf. Steinkeller, "On the Identity of the Toponym LÚ.SU(.A)," *JAOS* 108, no. 2 (1988), pp. 197-202; Steinkeller, "New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers," *ZA* 97 (2007), p. 215.

and the regions of Amorite activity were neigbours of Simurrum, and Simurrum would never let slip a chance to participate in the attack. It is notable that the attack on Ur was mainly from the north or northeast, from the same area where the kings of the Ur III dynasty had so bitterly fought and expected such threats to arise.

Isin-Larsa Period

Obviously, the peoples of the Transtigris and the Zagros foothills did not wait until the final fall of Ur to announce their independence. Ešnunna stopped dating texts after IS 3 (= 2028 BC),[102] implying independence under Šu-iliya, the son of Ituriya, and Simurrum must have done the same no later and perhaps even earlier than Ešnunna had done. When the empire of Ur was striving for its existence new kingdoms and princedoms emerged on and within its frontiers. The political map of Mesopotamia was changed forever with the Amorite infiltration and the dismemberment of the Ur Empire. Besides the peoples of the region also the Amorites established a series of ruling dynasties in the whole of Mesopotamia and gained the upper hand in many parts. Even Uṣur-awassu of Ešnunna (*ca.* 1950 BC) was subject to Ušašum, an Amorite chief in the Diyāla Region.[103]

During this phase there were two main fronts in the arena. The one was led by Išbi-Erra of Isin, allied to Nūr-aḫum of Ešnunna, Šu-Enlil of Kiš and Puzur-Tutu of Borsippa. The other involved Zin(n)um of Subartu, Nidugani the *sanga*-priest of Nippur, Girbubu of Girkal (close to Kazallu) and Puzur-Numušda (written Puzur-Šulgi in his letter to Ibbi-Sîn) of Kazallu.[104] Zinnum and Kindattu of Elam attacked Ešnunna and took the city, which seems to have resulted in the murder of Šu-iliya and the flight of Nūr-aḫum.[105] Then they marched further to the cities of Kiš and Borsippa in the direction of Isin. Ibbi-Sîn appears to have supported Zinnum, as long as he was attacking the rebel states, enemies of Ur. However, Išbi-Erra was able to drive back the Elamites (IE 12) and he seems to have sent troops to help Nūr-aḫum take back his throne from Zin(n)um.[106] What was the attitude of Simurrum in these events and on whose side did it stand? We do not know. What we do know is that it must have been by this time (after IS 3) an independent kingdom ruled by its energetic king Iddi(n)-Sîn. Evidence for its independence is the archival text BIN 9, no. 421 from Isin, dated to the year 19+x of Išbi-Erra, that mentions a "king of Simurrum."[107] Yet it is strange that in narrating the movements and operations of Subartu against Ešnunna,which must have more or less touched the domains of Simurrum since it is located between the two places, there is no mention of Simurrum. It is even stranger that Puzur-Numušda mentions in his letter that Ḫamazi was subdued by Išbi-Erra and formed the northern border of his newly established kingdom.[108] In the light of the available geographical data, this would have been difficult to achieve across the lands of Simurrum, Gutium and probably Lullubum and Karḫar. This

[102] Wu Yuhong, *A Political History of Eshnunna, Mari and Assyria during the Early Old Babylonian Period,* p. 2; cf. also Edzard, *Die »Zweite ...,* p. 66.
[103] Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.,* p. 4. This same Ušašum was the ally and son-in-law of Nūr-aḫum (2010-? BC), Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.,* p. 10. For the dates of Uṣur-awassu and Nūr-aḫum, cf. Whiting, *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar,* p. 22.
[104] For this, cf. Wu Yuhong, p. 5-6.
[105] Charpin, *OBO,* p. 65; Wu Yuhong, p. 7.
[106] Wu Yuhong, p. 6-7.
[107] The text concerns bound goods to be sent to the king of Simurrum, without mentioning his name: 9-10) nì-šu-peš-a-lugala *Si-mu-ur-ru-um*-šè, and rations for the messenger of Simurrum: 16) lú-kin-gi$_4$-a *Si-mu-ur-ru-um,* cf. Edzard, *Die »Zweite Zwischenzeit« ...,* p. 63.
[108] A29) bí-in-dug$_4$-ga-gin$_7$-nam … B33) Ḫa-ma-zi^{ki} nam-ra-aš im-ma-an-a[k], "The thing was just as he (Išbi-Erra) said ….. He has plundered Ḫamazi," Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.,* p. 8; cf. also Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence of Ur,* p. 255, l. 30, 36 and p. 265, l. 30, 36.

claim might have been one element in a psychological warfare against the governor of Kazallu (to whom this was told by the messenger of Išbi-Erra) and his allies.

The exact date of Iddi(n)-Sîn and his son Zabazuna is not yet established. There is inscriptional evidence that they were contemporaries of Išbi-Erra (2017-1985 BC) of Isin. According to Walker, when Iddi(n)-Sîn sat on the throne of Simurrum, Ibbi-Sîn was still king of Ur (See table 1). He further suggests that the campaign of this king to Simurrum in IS 3 was perhaps to check the ambitions of Iddi(n)-Sîn.[109] The fact that Ešnunna declared independence after this campaign (after IS 3) might mean that the campaign against Simurrum was unsuccessful and led to counter effects. The discovery of the seal impression of Zabazuna under the level of Bilalama in Ešnunna seems to indicate that the reign of the former began before that of the latter, during the reigns of Kirikiri or even Nūr-aḫum. His father Iddi(n)-Sîn must have ruled the kingdom from the time of Ibbi-Sîn and have been contemporary of Išbi-Erra of Isin, Ituriya, Šu-iliya and perhaps Nūr-aḫum of Ešnunna. Unfortunately we have no inscriptional data or archaeological evidence that enable us to determine when his reign ends and his son's begins. The only possibility is to conjecture. If the campaign of IS 3 was in fact against Iddi(n)-Sîn, in that year (± 2026 BC) he would have been at least in his middle twenties. By the time of the fall of Ur in 2004 he would have been around 45 years old. So he must have died before Išbi-Erra, who ruled until 1985 BC, but it is quite possible that he witnessed the rule of Nūr-aḫum, who sat on the throne of Ešnunna in *c.* 2010 BC.[110] His death must have been sometime during the last part of Nūr-aḫum, during the reign of Kirikiri or even Bilalama.[111]

The table below shows the relative synchronisms between the rulers of Ur, Isin, Ešnunna, Simurrum and Dēr:[112]

[109] Walker, *The Tigris Frontier..,* p. 177 and 224 and especially 225.
[110] For this date, cf. Whiting, *Old Babylonian Letters…,* p. 22.
[111] Frayne determined the date of Iddi(n)-Sîn and his son Zabazuna as contemporaries of Bilalama of Ešnunna and Išbi-Erra of Isin, cf. Frayne, D., Old Babylonian Period (2003- 1595 BC), *RIME* 4, Toronto, 1990, p. 707.
[112] The table is taken from Walker but includes a few additions.

	Ur	Isin	Ešnunna	Simurrum	Dēr
2028	Ibbi-Sîn (2028-2004)		↑		
			Ituriya		
			Šu-iliya (son)	↑	
	Ibbi-Sîn 13-x	Išbi-Erra 1 (2017-1985)	↑ ?		
2010	Ibbi-Sîn	Išbi-Erra	Nūr-aḫum (2010-?)		
			↓		
	Ibbi-Sîn 24 (End of his rule)[113]	Išbi-Erra 11+x		Iddi(n)-Sîn	
				↓	
			Kirikiri		
			↓		
		Išbi-Erra 19+x		Zabazuna (son)	
				↑ ↓	
1980		Išbi-Erra 33	Bilalama (son)		
		Šu-ilišu (son) (1984-1975)			Anum-mutabbil
1950			Išar-ramassu		
			Uṣur-awassu (*c.* 1950)		Anum-mutabbil

Table 1: Synchronisms of the rulers of Ur, Isin, Ešnunna, Simurrum and Dēr (after Walker).

Karḫar was among the powers that emerged as active in the arena in this period. Its king Zardamu ruled sometime not long after the Ur III period. He appears to have been a powerful king since he claims to be "the mighty king, king of the four quarters of the world."[114] Regrettably we do not have any further material that may enlighten the darkness surrounding the history and role of Karḫar in this period. By contrast, for the king of another rising power, Lullubum, we have an important rock-relief (Fig. 2) with an inscription (Fig 3)[115] in Sarpul that has helped us learn about some aspects of that people. The inscription is of

[113] According to Wu Yuhong, the capture of Ur and taking Ibbi-Sîn into captivity was in IE 14 on the hands of Idaddu I of Elam: Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.,* p. 13.
[114] For his seal legend, cf. Chapter Four.
[115] Published as inscription and relief no. I in Hrouda, B., *Iranische Denkmäler,* Lieferung 7, Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs C: Sarpol-i Zohāb, Die Reliefs I-IV, Berlin, 1976, p. 10.

historical value also for Simurrum and the chronology of its kings and inscriptions, so a transliteration and translation is presented below.[116]

The Annubanini Inscription

Transliteration

Col. i

1) [*An*]-*nu-ba-ni-ni*[117]
2) [LU]GAL *da-núm*
3) [L]UGAL *Lu-lu-bi*^{ki}-*im*
4) *ṣa-l*[*a-a*]*m-šu*
5) *ù ṣa-lam* ^{d}INANNA
6) *i-na ša-du-im*
7) *Ba-ti-ir*
8) [*u*]*š-zi*(*)-*iz*
9) *ša ṣa-al-mi-in*
10) *an-ni-in*
11) *ù ṭup-pá-am*
12) *ù-ša-sà-ku*
13) [A]N-*nu-um*
14) *ù An-tum*
15) ^{d}EN.LÍL
16) *ù* ^{d}NIN.LÍL
17) ^{d}IŠKUR
18) *ù* ^{d}INANNA
19) ^{d}EN.ZU
20) *ù* ^{d}UTU
21) ^{d}[x (?)*k*]*a*(?)-*lum*
22) ⌜*ù*⌝ ^{d}…-*at*(?)
23) [……]

Col. ii

1) ^{d}NÈ.IR[I_{11}.GAL][118]
2) *ù* ^{d}*Er*[*eš-ki-ga*]*l*
3) ^{d}EN-[x]
4) *be-el* [x x x] x [x (x)]
5) *i-lu* [*r*]*a-b*[*í-ú-tum*]
6) *ù ša*-x-[x (x)]
7) *er-ra-tá*[*m*]

[116] A new examination of the relief performed by Nasrabadi has shown some new signs and corrections to the readings of Edzard and Frayne; for this cf. Nasrabadi, B. M., "Beobachtungen zum Felsrelief Anubaninis," *ZA* 94 (2004), p. 291ff.
[117] Seidl points out that the name can also be read as ^{d}Nubanini, cf. Seidl, U., in Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 50, note 157.
[118] Nasrabadi does not exclude the reading ^{d}*Nin*-[*an*]-*s*[*i-an-na*]. However, he points out that there is not enough room for the two signs *–an-na* after the sign which possibly could be read as *s*[*i*], Nasrabadi, *op. cit.,* p. 295, note 11.

8) *le-mu-tám*
9) *li-ru-ru-uš*
10) *zé-ra-šu*
11) *li-il-qú-tú*
12) *ti-am-t*[*um*]
13) *e-li-t*[*um*]
14) *ù ša-p*[*il-tum*]
15) *ša* x x
16) *a* x […]
17) *ù šu-*⌜*a-ti*⌝
18) *li-li*(?)-...
19) *a-lu-...*
20) *ù a-lu-...*
21) *šu-úr-...*
22) *ù šu-úr*(?) ...

Col. iii

1) *li-bi-la*[119]
2) *a*-x-*nu šum*(?)-*šu*
3) […] x
4) […] *š*[*u*]
5) *...-ra-am*
6) *a....lu*
7) *lu*(?) *ri*-x-*šu*
8) *...mu...*
9) *ša* […]
10) *in-...*
11) *a-i iš-...*
Lacuna of 5 lines
17) x […]
Lacuna of almost 6 lines.
24) [*e-l*]*i um-*[*ma*]*-ni-*⌜*šu*⌝
25) ⌜*lu ma*⌝*-ru-u*[*ṣ*]

Translation

i 1-3) [An]nubanini, mighty [k]ing, [k]ing of Lullubum, 4-8) had an im[ag]e of himself and an image of the goddess Ištar set up on mount Batir. 9-12) He who removes these two images and inscription, 13-21) may the gods [A]num and Antum, Enlil and Ninlil, Adad and Ištar, Sîn and Šamaš, [x-k]a(?)-lum and […]-at(?) 22-23) [……] ii 1-6) May the gods Ner[gal] and Er[eškiga]l, en[…] and the lord of […] x […], the [g]re[at] gods and … 7-11) inflict on him an evil curse. May they destroy his seed. 12-22) The Upp[er] and Lo[wer] Se[a] that … and that may … and … and … iii 1-2) May …its name(?) 3-6) …. 7) may(?) …8-10) … 11) May it not […] 24-25) may he become detested in front of his people.

[119] This could be a wrong spelling of IBILA or perhaps a form of the verb *bêlum*.

Annubanini emerged as a powerful ruler in this period.[120] He seems to have been involved in armed conflicts with Simurrum for the control of the important pass of Sarpul and the main route which passes through there. We do not know yet about the details of this conflict and its exact background. All we do know is that Annubanini in his inscription claims a victory over an enemy whose leader is depicted as a captive walking before the other captives, all bound in fetters. Another important figure has fallen before Annubanini, who tramples on him. The enemy represented and spoken about in the inscription could very probably be Simurrum, although another power like Karḫar should not be ruled out. The reason for this suggestion is that Simurrum has responded to this relief – or that the other relief is a response to this one- [121] with a relief in which he claims victory (the Sarpul relief). It is significant that the Sarpul inscription, which was traditionally known as Annubanini II but is now attributed to Iddi(n)-Sîn or his son, mentions Lullubum and its king Annubanini (see below under the Sarpul inscription, l. 41-42). The severe damage inflicted on the historical sections – but not on the curse formulae - of both inscriptions must have been the work of the struggling parties themselves, Simurrum and Lullubum. The presence of two other OB reliefs in Sarpul (see map 1), both in a similar style with similar dress and weaponry and gestures, alludes to the long lasting bitter conflict between the powers of the region in this period, among whom Simurrum must have been an essential player.

Surprisingly, more than a century after the first publication of the Annubanini relief, two additional inscribed words have quite recently been noticed: ⌜x(?)⌝-*ba-šim-*⌜*ti*(?)⌝ and *i-mi-*⌜*šú*(?)⌝.[122] The first is inscribed on the lower arm of the defeated person under the king's foot. The other is on the arm of the first captive in the lower row. Nasrabadi states that it is an Ancient Near Eastern habit to write the name of the person represented in a relief or statue,[123] and so these two words can be considered the names of the two captives. The names are otherwise unknown, though a somewhat similar name, Imi-Šamaš, son of Imtalik, is found on a bronze axe from Luristan referred to by Nasrabadi.[124] These two newly discovered names are the names of the two leading persons of the enemy rulers in conflict with the power of Lullubum. If our suggestion is correct that the enemy was Simurrum, at least one of them must be the ruler / king of this land. He must have been, in this case, a predecessor of Iddi(n)-Sîn, someone whom we otherwise do not know. Is he the author of the Sarpul inscription (see below)? Or does the Sarpul inscription postdate the Annubanini inscription? This cannot be answered with our present state of knowledge.

The mention of Annubanini as the "father" of the kings who formed the coalition against Narām-Sîn according to the Cuthaean Legend is chronologically impossible,[125] because here we have Annubanini named in the inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn as an enemy not as early as the age of Narām-Sîn. There is a slight possibility that there was another Annubanini or, as some

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[120] Frayne considers the date of the inscription as uncertain. However, he notes the use of *be-el* instead of the older form *be-al* of the Išbi-Erra inscriptions. The form *be-el* appears in the inscriptions of Išme-Dagān, which suggests to him and Edzard an early Isin-Larsa date: Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 704.

[121] It is also possible that the the Annubanini relief was a response to that of Simurrum.

[122] Nasrabadi, *op. cit.,* p. 294.

[123] Nasrabadi, *ibid.*

[124] Nasrabadi, *ibid.,* note 9. This similarity is valid when, with Nasrabadi, we read the last sign as UTU and assume that the DINGIR sign has been omitted. The inscription reads: *I-mi-*^{d}UTU DUMU *Im$_4$-tá-lik,* Gelb, I. J. and B. Kienast, Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des Dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr., *FAOS* 7, Stuttgart, 1990, p. 378, Varia, no. 10. Of the name of the father only DU-x-x was read, cf. Calmeyer, P., *Datierbare Bronzen aus Luristan und Kirmanshah,* Berlin, 1969, p. 161. This name from the latter inscription was compared with a PN published in Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* (1903) 95, no. 246, rev. l. 7, dated to the Post-Akkadian period, *ibid*.

[125] 38) 360,000 *ummānātūšunu* 39) *Anubanini abūšunu šarru ummašunu šarratu Melili,* "360,000 were their troops, An(n)ubanini was their father, the king; their mother was the queen, Melili," Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade,* p. 310 and 311.

have suggested, that the Narām-Sîn mentioned here was the king of Ešnunna.[126] But on balance the mention of such names here is best seen as a literary fantasy of the author of the composition (see above).

It is of great historical significance that Lullubum extended itself so far outside its traditional homeland as to reach the Sarpul region. We do know from other historical data (see Chapter Two) that their home was Zamua (the Shahrazūr Plain), extending to modern Iranian territories, to the regions of Mariwān, Baneh and probably the region of Lake Urmia. The question is whether there was also a Lullubian ethnic extension in this southerly direction. In any case, their military advance to the south via the normal route along the Sirwān River must have been stopped, or at least made difficult, by the Simurrians and Gutians. So they would have probably used other routes that pass through the neighbouring valleys to the east of the river, behind the Bamō range.

The subject of the letter AS 22, 2 (1930-T713) from Tell Asmar, published by Whiting, is military conflicts in the eastern mountains, i.e. in the regions of Sarpul (Ḫalman) and Qasr-i-Shīrīn (=Karḫar). Very probably it reflects the events at this stage, when the local powers in the Zagros and the Transtigris foothills were involved in a bitter conflict for mastery over the region.[127] We learn from the letter that Niqqum was taken by Manda and Ḫalman by Dadl[a…], whose titles or functions are not given, but they appear to have been very well-known figures that needed no explanation. Further, we read that 1500 troops of Iddi(n)-Sîn, who seems to be the very Simurrian king we know, were defeated at the hands of a certain DUMU Ḫu(pi)d/tam. This same Manda, the letter states, had explicitly threatened Iddi(n)-Sîn, saying: "I come to you."[128] Who were Manda, Dadla… and DUMU Ḫu(pi)d/tam? And which of them was king of one of the struggling kingdoms? We do not know. In the light of these data one can imagine how many powers Iddi(n)-Sîn fought, how many troops he defeated and into how many pacts and alliances he entered to build his kingdom.

The Inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn

There are four royal inscriptions attributed to this king: the Bētwate Inscriptions 1, 2, and 3; the Sarpul Inscription, also known as Annubanini II; the Jerusalem Inscription; and the Haladiny Inscription.[129] These inscriptions will now be presented in chronological order of composition. The criteria on which this order depends will be explained following the presentation of the inscriptions themselves.

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[126] cf. Walker, *The Tigris Frontier..,* p. 166 and 167. This despite the fact that Narām-Sîn is addressed in the legend as "son/descendant" of Sargon.

[127] The letter is dated to a few decades after the fall of Ur; cf. Whiting, p. 22-3; Charpin, D., Histoire politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002-1595), in Charpin, D., D. O. Edzard and M. Stol, Mesopotamien, Die altbabylonische Zeit, *OBO,* ed. P. Attinger, W. Sallaberger and M. Wäfler, Göttingen, 2004, p. 66.

[128] The letter reads as follows: 1) [*Ma*](?)-ʳ*an-da*ˀ 2) ʳ*aˀ-na Ni-qi*$_4$-[*im*^{ki}] 3) *i-te-ri-i*[*b*] 4) *ù Da-ad-l*[*a-*] 5) *a-na Ḫa-al-*ʳ*ma-an*^{kiˀ} 6) [*i-t*]*e-ri-ib* 7) *um-ma Ma-an-da-ma* 8) *a-na I-dì-*^{d}EN.ZU 9) ʳx-x-NI-NIˀ (?) (Rest of obv. is destroyed, beginning of rev. is destroyed) 1′) ʳxˀ-[ ] 2′) *a-la-kà-k*[*um*] 3′) *iš-pu-úr-šum* 4′) *ù* DUMU-*ḫu-dam* 5′) *ṣa-ba-am ša I-dì-*^{d}EN.ZU 6′) *li-im ù* 5 *me-at* 7′) *im-ḫa-aṣ* 8′) [x] *qú-bu-úr ma-*ʳxˀ-[ ] 9′) (traces of top signs, rest of rev. is destroyed), left edge: [ ] ʳ*aˀ-al-kà ú-ṣú-úr,* "… 1-6) Manda has entered Niqqum and Dadl[a-] has entered Ḫalman. 7-8) This is what Manda said to Iddin-Sîn: 9-1′) [….] 2′-3′) 'I will come to you' he wrote to him. 4′-7′) Furthermore, DUMU-*Ḫu-dam* defeated 1500 troops of Iddin-Sîn. 8′-9′) ….., left edge) Protect your city." Whiting, *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar,* p. 37-38. About the name DUMU-*ḫu-dam,* see comment on l. 4′ on p. 38.

[129] For a comprehensive list of publications of these inscriptions cf. Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 708; 712-713.

1. *The Sarpul Inscription*[130]

This is a rock-relief (Fig. 4) located on the western side of the northern part of the mountain range that is bisected by the river Alwand (Map 1). The relief is carved almost 25 m above the ground.[131] It depicts a standing person 1.27 m tall, trampling a defeated enemy under one foot. The standing figure faces a divine symbol on the right, depicted as a combination of the sun and the moon, with bunches of shimmering rays. The scene is carved within a niche, 1.5 m wide and 1.44 m high.[132] At the base of the relief is the inscription panel, 1.36 cm wide and 35 cm high, but the inscription itself occupies a width of only 1.06 cm.[133] Herzfeld was the first to discover the inscription, even though the relief had been known earlier. He attributed the relief to the same period as the Annubanini relief but to another king.[134] The figure is like that of Annubanini, wearing a short tunic consisting of two pieces of cloth stretching to the knees. From the belt down to the lower fringe of the tunic the brocaded fringe of cloth is still clearly visible. His headdress is not clear because of erosion but it appears to be a headband, according to Hrouda.[135] Behind, the hair (knotted or loose) can be seen.[136] The footwear, Hrouda thinks, are shoes, not sandals, since they are closed from the sides and have upward pointed toes.[137] Similar pointed footwear was known in Iran from other arachaeological data (Fig. 5a-c).[138] The person is depicted as beardless, as in the Jerusalem relief, with eyes and eyebrows carved with deep grooves. Whatever weapons he bore have been eroded away, except for traces of a long sword behind the right leg. The sword appears to be of the same type as the one carried by Annubanini and the goddess Ištar on the Annubanini relief, one with an inverted-B shaped blade. He would have carried a bow[139] as in all the other reliefs of this type. Although no traces of the bow can be seen Hrouda noted a threefold band on the back of the left hand which can be understood as the remnants of a bracer.[140] The handle of a dagger under his left hand indicates that a dagger was fitted in his belt. The traces of four lines close to the raised right hand of the fallen figure suggest a beard. The right hand is raised in a gesture pleading for mercy, and the left hand supports his body.[141] Other traces on the body of the fallen figure could suggest a belt and long hanging hair.[142] It is relevant to recall that the Lullubians depicted on the Narām-Sîn victory stele also have long hair.

This badly preserved inscription (Fig. 6) consists of a three-column text written in Akkadian. The first column appears to have been inscribed with the name of the king and his titles; the second bears the legible remnants of a long text that certainly contained the

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[130] There are different spellings of the name Sarpul in archaeological literature. The full official name is Sar-i-Pul-i-Zohāb, meaning "(At) the head (= the beginning) of the bridge of Zuhāb/w." In the local dialect its pronunciation is Sar-Pül-i-Zahāw. For convenience we use the shorter form Sarpul.

[131] Hrouda, *Iranische Denkmäler,* p. 3.

[132] Hrouda, *ibid.*

[133] Hrouda, *ibid.*

[134] For the history of the discovery and bibliography, cf. Hrouda, *op. cit.,* p. 4.

[135] Hrouda, *op. cit.,* p. 5. Herzfeld thought it was a helmet; Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs,* 1910, p. 193 as referred to by Hrouda, p. 4.

[136] Hrouda, p. 5.

[137] *Ibid.*

[138] Some examples can be seen on objects from Iran, such as a clay figure from Amlash and on a beaker from Deilem; cf. Godard, A., *Die Kunst des Iran,* Berlin, 1964, p. 68, fig. 111 and p. 69, fig. 116a-b. However, the clearest instance is seen in the exaggerated pointed shoes of the copper figure found in western Iran and dates to the proto-Elamite period, cf. Hansen, D. P., Art of the Early City-States, in *Art of the First Cities,* ed. Joan Aruz, New York, 2003, p. 46-8, figs. 15a-b.

[139] Hrouda, p. 5.

[140] *Ibid.*

[141] *Ibid.*

[142] *Ibid.*

important historical section, continued from the first column; the third column is almost totally broken away, but preserves three lines of the curse formula. It reads:[143]

Transliteration

Col. i
Lacuna of about 21 lines.

22) x x x [x] x
23) x x x x
24) x ZI/GI-TE (?)[144]
25) x x x x
26) x x [x]-AM

Lacuna of about 14 lines

40) x x x ˹ZI/GI (?)˺
41) [*An* (?)]-˹*nu*˺-*ba*-˹*ni*˺ (?)-[*ni* (?)][145]
42) [LUG]AL [*Lu*]-˹*lu*˺-[*bi*]-˹*im*˺[ki][146]
43) [x]-*te-za*-x x x
44) x x x [x-x]
45) x x [x]-*a-núm*
46) x x x
47) x x x
48) [x]-˹KI/DI (?)˺-[x] x
49) x x x
50) x x [x] x
51) x x x [x] x
52) [x-x]-*kà* (?)-*ni* (?)

Lacuna of about 3 lines

56) [x]-KEŠDA(?)/ BÀD(?)-[x]-DUN (?)
57) [x] ŠÀ (?)[147] IB (?) ˹ŠU˺-(x)- ˹GUR˺ (?) / ˹NIGIN˺ (?) /˹ERIN˺ (?)[148]

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[143] Cf. Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 712-14 (text E4.19.1.1001); also Edzard, D. O., "Zwei Inschriften am Felsen von Sar-i-Pul-i-Zohāb: Anubanini 1 und 2," *AfO* 24 (1973); *id.* in Hrouda, B., *Iranische Denkmäler,* p. 6. It must be pointed out that Edzard (both editions) did not publish the first column at all. Frayne gives only the following reading for col. i:

1) […]
2) […]
3) […]
4) ˹x˺ *Za-ba*-[*zu-na*]
5) [DU]MU-[NI]

However, I could not identify these signs from the transcription. Moreover, other signs in col. i shown on the transcription are strangely not read by either of these editors.

[144] Edzard: I[M]

[145] Edzard also has reconstructed this line as the name of Annubanini: Edzard, "Zwei Inschriften…," p. 77.

[146] The restoration is based on parallels, although there is little room for the word Lullubim.

[147] Less probably KAM.

[148] If the last two signs are ŠU-NIGIN, it would be equivalent to the word *ištīniš* attested in the inscriptions of Narām-Sîn; cf. for instance line 11: *iš-ti-ni-iš ib-ba-al-ki-tu-ni-in-ni* in Grayson and Sollberger, "L'insurrection générale …..," *RA* 70 (1976), p. 111.

Col. ii

1) […]
2) ⌜*ú*⌝-[...][149]
3) *di* (?)-*me* (?) […][150]
4) ⌜*ú*⌝ (?)- […][151]
5) DIŠ GI/ZI NA/BE [x (x)][152]
6) x-*a* (?)-PI-x-[*tim*] *ra-bí-a-tim*
7) A.MU.[R]U
8) x x MAŠ (?) [x^{ki}][153]
9) *i-ne*-[*-er*][154]
10) *qar* (?) [x (x)][155]
11) *ú-ṣi/e*-x-[x][156]
12) x x x […]
13) *kà-la*-[*šu*(*-nu*)-*ši*(*-na*)][157]
14) *ú*-[…]
15) AN [x] x […]
16) *qar*-[*dum* (?)][158]
17) x T[I x (x)] x […]
18) [x] KI ŠE ⌜NE⌝ [x][159]
19) *ú-kà-ni-i*[*š*]-*sú*-[*n*]*u-ti*
20) AL[A]M
21) *i-na š*[*a* (?)-*du-im*]
22) [*B*]*a*-[*ti-i*]*r*^{ki}
23) [*u*]*š*-[*zi*]-*i*[*z*]
24) *ša* [ALAM]-*am*[160]
25) *an-n*[*i-am*]
26) *ú*-[*ša-sà-ku*]
27) [*a-na šu-mi*][161]
28) [*er-re-ti-šu*]
29) [*ša-ni-am*]
30) [*ú-ša-ḫa-zu*]

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[149] The sign looks also like a badly written ŠU or the beginning of BUR on the transcription, though Frayne and Edzard write Ú without half-brackets.
[150] Only *di*- in Frayne and Edzard.
[151] Left unread by Edzard and Frayne.
[152] There are more possibilities for the reading of the signs presented by Edzard and Frayne; the GI can also be a ZI and the NA looks also like a BE.
[153] According to our reconstruction of the next line as *i-ne-er,* this line must have contained the name of a land or a people.
[154] Typical of the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions is the frequent use of the verb *i–ne-er.* Edzard and Frayne read only *i* NE [x (x)].
[155] Left unread by Edzard and Frayne.
[156] The second sign as seen in the transcription cannot be PI but rather some other sign like *ṣi*.
[157] Reconstruction of the two signs by Edzard, p. 77.
[158] Edzard and Frayne have only *qar*-[…]. It is plausible to fill the break with *–dum*. However, the only difficulty is the previous line which begins with AN, which must be here the divinity determinative before a royal name. But there is too little room for either ^{d}Iddi(n)-Sîn or ^{d}Zabazuna.
[159] Edzard: [*i-n*]*a.*
[160] Edzard: *ša* [*ṭup-pá*]-*am.*
[161] Frayne writes *šum-mi,* but both the Bētwate and Jerusalem inscriptions have *šu-mi.*

31) [*a-wi-lam*]
32) [*šu-a-ti*]
33) AN
34) ^{d}[*En-líl*]
35) [^{d}*Nin-ḫur-sag*]
36) [^{d}EN.KI]
37) [^{d}EN].ZU
38) [^{d}IŠKUR]
39) [*b*]*e-e*[*l* GIŠ.TUKUL]
40) [^{d}UTU]
41) ˹*be*˺-*e*[*l* DI.KU$_5$].˹DA˺[162]
42) ^{d}[I]NANNA
43) *b*[*e*]-*la-at* [*ta*]-˹*ḫa-zi-im*˺ [163]
44) ^{d}*Nin*-AN-*si$_4$-an-na*
45) *ì-lí*
46) ^{d}*N*[*i-i*]*š-ba*
47) [*be-lí*]
48) *er*-[*ra-tám*]
49) *le-mu-tám*
50) *li-ru-ru-uš*
51) NU[MUN-*š*]*u*
52) *li*-[*il-qú-tú-ma*]
53) S[UḪUŠ-*sú*]
54) [*l*]*i*-[*sú--ḫu*]
55) IBI[L]A
56) *ù* [MU]

Col. iii

1) *a i-d*[*ì-n*]*u-šum*
2) [*b*]*a-l*[*a*]-*ṭum*[164]
3) [*l*]*u i*[*k-k*]*i-i*[*b-šu*]

Translation

i 1-21 (lacuna), 22-26) (too broken for translation), 27-40) (lacuna) 40-52) …. [An]˹nu˺ba˹ni˺[ni kin]g of [Lu]˹lu˺[bi]˹im˺ (?) (rest too broken for translation). ii 1-7) … he has…he has… to the great (gods?)… he dedicated/erected. 8-18) …he slew/ defeated…the he[ro](?)… he has …..-ed all of [them](?)…the hero… 19) … he subjugated them. 20-23) He [s]et up an im[a]ge on M[ount B]a[ti]r. 24-26) He who [removes] th[is image] 27-30) [or on account of this curse

[162] According to the context and in comparison with the Bētwate inscriptions, it must be ˹*be*˺-*e*[*l* DI.KU$_5$].˹DA˺. However the remaining traces of the signs as seen on the transcription do not match the expected text. What we have on the transcription is NA [……] ŠÀ (?). The first sign can be understood as faint traces of the sign BE. which the copyist took as NA, but the last sign does not look in any way like the DA sign. This can be a copyist's mistake.

[163] This line, as line 41, is problematic. While *b*[*e*]-*la-at* [*ta*]-˹*ḫa-zi-im*˺ is expected, the space after *be-la-at* is enough for two signs at the most. These must be TA-ḪA, but the transcription shows the signs IM-˹BA˺(?)-NA(?) or IM-˹BA˺-[x]-KI/DI. The question arises if these were badly seen and therefore mistakenly transcribed; IM, for instance, could have been mistakenly understood for ZI.

[164] Frayne has *tum.*

incites another to do so] 31-50) [that man] – may the gods A[num, Enlil, Ninḫursag, Ea, S]în, [Adad l]or[d of the weapon, Šamaš] lor[d of judgements, E]štar lady of [b]attle, Nin-AN-Sianna, my gods, (and) N[i]šba [my lord] inflict on him an evil cu[rse]. 51-54) May [they destroy ḫ]is s[eed] and r[ip out his] fo[undation]. ii 55- iii 3) May they not gr[an]t him heir or [offspring. M]ay life be [his] taboo.

Commentary

Unfortunately, the significant historical section of the inscription is broken. We understand only that the king has defeated a group of enemies and has made them bow down. Among them the city of Niqqum must have been listed, since it was difficult for Simurrum to reach Sarpul without passing through the region of Niqqum. Ḫalman was another major centre in the region, and unless it had been subjugated no victory could have been claimed. The whole inscription might even have been carved to celebrate its capture by Simurrum, an episode mentioned again later in the Haladiny inscription.

The curse formula, the switch from the 3rd to the 1st person, the language and the list of gods, their titles, especially the titles of Nišba and Nin-AN-Sianna, have great similarity with the inscriptions of Bētwate,[165] as will be seen below. Edzard pointed out this similarity in his publication of both the Sarpul inscriptions, although he attributed both to Annubanini. At the time the Jerusalem inscription had not been published, but he became aware of it and something of its content and linguistic aspect through personal communications with Shaffer.[166] The phrases *balāṭum lū ikkibšu* and "Nin-AN-Sianna is my (personal) god, Nišba is my lord" in both the Sarpul and Jerusalem inscriptions are particularly striking. Where Frayne found the remnants of "Zabazuna DUMU.NI" in col. i is not clear to me. But even if the name is not there it does not greatly weaken the other criteria for attributing the inscription to a Simurrian ruler. The mention of the god "Nišba my lord" is another clear allusion to Simurrum, since Nišba was obviously the patron of that kingdom. There are four completely broken divine names in the inscription of Annubanini in Sarpul (Annubanini I), but no formula seems to have contained "Nin-AN-Sianna is my god, Nišba is my lord," as in the inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn. To these Shaffer and Wasserman add the phrase *balāṭum lū ikkibšu,* which, as they state, is found only in the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions.[167]

According to Walker this inscription, carved either by Iddi(n)-Sîn or his son Zabazuna, predates the inscription of Annubanini in Sarpul by at least a century.[168] He further proposes that when Annubanini came to power he deleted this inscription of the king of Simurrum and probably tried to insert his own name instead, in order to claim the other king's deeds for himself. However, the mention of Annubanini in the Haladiny inscription (see below) proves that Annubanini was either a contemporary or, less probably, older than Iddi(n)-Sîn.

[165] Compare l. 29ff of this inscription with the Bētwate inscription l. 34-61. Cf. also Walker, p. 179; 182-3.
[166] For this, cf. Edzard, "Zwei Inschriften…," p. 77.
[167] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 22. However they point to a Sumerian parallel in an inscription of Ur-Namma, *op. cit.,* p. 23.
[168] Walker, p. 186; 189-90.

2. *The Haladiny Inscription* (SM 16)

This is an extraordinarily important inscription of King Iddi(n)-Sîn, not just because of the rich historical information it provides but also for the long list of GNs, even though they are largely fragmentary. It is a new inscription, not previously published.

The inscription (Fig. 7a-b; 8a-d) is written in two columns on a light grey coloured limestone slab. The slab measures 76 x 37 x 27 cm. As no curse formula is found on the inscription, I would suggest that the inscription originally consisted of two or more slabs bearing a longer text, with the curse formula inscribed on the second slab. No archaeological excavation has yet been undertaken at the spot where the inscription was found to search for other relevant remains. This inscription could have been designed to be displayed horizontally rather than vertically. This suggestion arises from a comparison with the inscriptions of Sarpul and Jerusalem, which are inscribed in long horizontal columns in which the written lines are vertically positioned.

A geological analysis, conducted by Mr. Muhammed Ahmed Raheem from the Geological Survey Service of Sulaimaniya Governorate, showed that the stone is an organic limestone, transformed to dolomite, with a hardness of 3.5 according to Mohs scale. What is extremely important for our purpose is that the stone is one known as a Qamchugha Formation, typical of the Surdāsh range of which Pīra Magrūn is a part. So it was shaped and inscribed at the place where it was found and as such concerns events that had taken place in that area. At least one of the GNs mentioned in the inscription, perhaps more, ahould be in the Qarachatān area.

The inscription was found by a ploughman, close to a large berry tree in a field of Mr. Raouf that is located slightly to the south of the village Qarachatān, at the foot of Pīra Magrūn, northwest of Sulaimaniya (Map 2).[169]

Transliteration (Transcription: Fig. 9)

Col. i

1) [É(?)] ^{d}*Ni*-[*iš-ba*][170]
2) [x(?)] LUGAL 9 *k*[*u*]-[*li-ší*]
3) *kí-nu*-[*um*]
4) rd*I-dì*-^{d}EN.ZU
5) [LUG]AL *da-núm*
6) [LUG]AL *Si-mu-ri-im*^{ki}
7) NUN ^{d}INANNA [x(?)]
8) *i-dì-šum-ma*

[169] The slab was discovered in the early 1980s. At that time the region where the slab was discovered was out of government control, so the discovery remained a secret until a former *Pēshmarga* warrior, Mr. Ghareeb Haladiny, became aware of it. Mr. Haladiny negotiated with the discoverer of the slab to reach an agreement about keeping it safe. Before they finished their preparations, the village, together with another 4500 villages, was demolished in furtherance of the *Anfāl* operations, started in 1987 by the Iraqi regime of the time against the whole Kurdish countryside. The house where it was being kept was ruined and its owner and his family disappeared. A couple of years later Mr. Haladiny was back in the region with a handful of comrades to prepare for small-scale attacks and raids against the troops of the regime. Secretly he excavated the slab from the rubble of the ruined house and transported it to a safe place until the uprising of 1991 broke out in Kurdistan. Only in 1993, when conditions had calmed, did Mr. Haladiny announce the discovery of the slab and presented it to the Museum of Sulaimaniya.

[170] A further examination of the inscription in 2006 revealed the remnants of a sign with a vertical final wedge; for suggested explanations see below under 'comments.'

9) ^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*
10) [*be*]-*el-šu*
11) [*kak*(?)]-*kà-am*
12) [*da*]*n*(?)-*na-am*
13) [*t*]*e-e-n*ʳ*e*ˀ-*eš*$_{15}$
14) [*ma*]-*tá-tim*
15) [*ma*]-*at Ša-*ʳ*gi*ˀ^{ki}
16) [*ú-ḫa*]-*li-iq*
17) [...]-[x]-GA-TI
18) [.....]-*šu-nu*
19) [.....]-IZ-[x]-GA
20) [*ma-at*] *Te-ni/lí-mu*(?)^{ki}
21) [*ú-ḫa-l*]*i-iq*
22) [.....]-*ta/ša-am*
23) [.....]-[*š*]*u*(?)-*nu*
24) [*i-ne*]-*er*
25) [.....]-*ar*^{ki}
26) [*ú-ḫa*]-[*l*]*i-iq*
27) [.....]-*du-nu*
28) [.....]-*šu-nu*
29) [*i-ne*]-*er*
30) [.....]-*na*^{ki}
31) [*ú-ḫa*]-*li-iq*
32) [....]-*núm-a-tal*
33) [.....] $^{[GI]ʳŠˀ}$GU.ZA
34) [*ma-at*] *Si-mu-ri-im*^{ki}
35) [*i*]-*ne-er*
36) [*ma-a*]ʳ*t*ˀ ʳx(?)ˀ-NE-*šum*^{ki}
37) [*ma*]-ʳ*a*ˀ*t* ʳ*Š*ˀ*a-ri-it-ḫu-um*^{ki}
38) [*iṣ*]-*ba-at*
39) [...] ʳ*Ḫul*(?)-ʳ*gi/zi*ˀ-*za-tal*
40) [...]-GA/AM(?)-*ri-*ʳ*ni*ˀ(?)-*we*
41) [*be*(?)]-*li-šu-nu*
42) [...]-ʳ*múš/suḫ*(?)-*i*š^{ˀ}-*ti*
43) [*ma*(?)-*at*(?)] [...(?)]-*ti-na-ab-ba-ša-we*^{ki}
44) [*ú-ḫa*]-*li-iq*
45) [.....]-*li-li*
46) [.....]-*šu-nu*
47) [*i*]-*ne-er*
48) [*m*]*a-at Ḫal-ma-an*^{ki}
49) *ma-at Be-el*^{ki}
50) [*iṣ*]-*ba-at*
51) [*An*(?)]-*nu-ba-ni-ni*
52) [LUGAL *Lu-lu-bi*]-ʳ*im*^{kiˀ}

Col. ii

Lacuna of about 5 lines

58) *Ti-id-luḫ-ḫa-am*^{ki}

59) *ú-ḫa-li-iq*
60) *ma-at Ší-ik-ša-am-bi*^{ki}
61) *ú-ḫa-li-iq*
62) *ma-at I-te-ra-áš-*^{r}*we*^{ki}^{n}
63) *I-tu*^{ki}
64) *Ša-um-mi*^{ki}
65) *ù* ^{r}*Ḫu*^{n}*-*^{r}*bí/*^{r}*n*^{n}*e-za-gu*^{ki}
66) *a-na še-e*[*p*]
67) ^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*
68) *ú-kà-ni-ís-sú-nu-ti*
69) *ma-at Ut-tu-we*^{ki}
70) *i-na qá-ti*
71) *Kak-mi-im*^{ki}
72) ^{r}*ut*(?)^{n}*-ti-ir*
73) *ma-at Kak-mi-im*^{rki}^{n}
74) *ú-ḫa-li-*[*iq*]
75) ^{l}*Ma-di/ki-a-*[x]
76) ^{l}*Ša-wa/wi/pi-a-*[x]
77) ^{l}*Ma-gi-ba-*^{r}*ni*(?)^{n}
78) ^{l}*A-ḫa-*^{r}*tum*^{n}
79) ^{l}*A-wi-la-núm*
80) *ra-bí-a-nu*
81) *A-mu-ri-im*
82) *i-ne-er-šu-nu-ti*
83) *ù A-mu-ra-am*
84) *i-na kúl-le-*^{r}*e*(?)^{n}*-šu*
85) *iṭ-ru-*<<UD>>*-us-sú*
86) ^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*
87) *be-el-šu*
88) *a-wa-as-sú*
89) ^{r}*iš*^{n}*-me-ma*
90) *ma-tá-tim*
91) *ú-*^{r}*ḫa*^{n}*-li-iq*
92) *A-mu-ra-am*
93) ^{r}*ù*^{n} *Si-maš-kà-am*^{ki}
94) *i-ne-er*
95) ^{d}*I-dì-*^{d}EN.ZU
96) *qar-dum*
97) *i-lu-šu-nu-ti*
98) *a-na še-ep*
99) ^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*
100) *be-li-*^{r}*šu*^{n}
101) *ú-kà-ni-ís-sú-nu-t*[*i*]
102) *ma-tá-tum*
103) *ša i-te-bu* ^{r}*ší*^{n}*-na-ti*
104) ^{r}É^{n} ^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*
105) [LUGAL] ^{r}9^{n} ^{r}*ku*^{n}*-*[*li-ší*]

Lacuna

Translation

1) [Temple(?)] of the god Ni[šba], **2)** [temple(?) of] the king of the nine provinces **3)** the firm one. **4)** Iddi(n)-Sîʳnʾ, **5)** the mighty [kin]g, **6)** [kin]g of Simurrum, **7)** the prince of Šauška/Ištar. **9)** Nišba **10)** his [lo]rd **8)** gave him **12)** a [mi]ghty **11)** weapon. **13)** The [pe]ople(s) of **14)** the [la]nds: **15)** the [la]nd of Šagi **16)** [he dest]royed, **17)** [……], **18)** their [……], **19)** […….]; **20)** [the land of] Ten/limu **21)** [he destroy]ed, **22)** […….], **23)** [th]eir [….], **24)** [he sle]w; **25)** [the land/city of […..]-ar **26)** [he destroy]ed, **27)** […….] **28)** their [….] **29)** [he sle]w; **30)** [The land/city of …..]-na **31)** [he destr]oyed, **32)** […..]-num-atal, **33)** (the) [enemy?/usurper?] of/on (?) the throne **34)** of (?) [the land (of)] Simurrum **35)** [he s]lew; **36)** [the lan]ʳdʾ of …ʾ-NE-šum **37)** [the la]ʳndʾ of Šʾaridḫum **38)** [he se]ized, **39)** […] ʳḪul(?)-gi/ziʾzatal **40)** […] GA/AM-ri-ni(?)-we, **41)** [their l]ords/gods (?) **42)** […] ʳmuš/suḫ(?)-išʾ-ti; **43)** [The land (?) of …]-tinabbašawe **44)** [he destr]oyed, **45)** [……]-lili, **46)** their […..] **47)** [he s]lew; **48)** [The l]and of Ḫalman, **49)** the land of Bel **50)** [he se]ized. **51)** [An]nubanini, **52)** [king of the Lullub]ʳumʾ

Lacuna ?

Col. ii:

About 5 lines broken away

58) Tidluḫḫum **59)** he destroyed; **60)** the land of Šikšambi **61)** he destroyed; **62)** the land of Iteraš ʳweʾ, **63)** (the city ? of) Itu, **64)** (the city ? of) Šaummi, **65)** and (the city ? of) ʳḪuʾ-b/nizagu, **68)** he subdued (all of) them **66)** to the fe[et] of **67)** the god Nišba. **69)** The land of Utuwe **72)** he took back **70)** from the hand(s) of **71)** Kakmum **73-74)** (and afterwards) he destroyed the land of Kakmum. **75)** Mad/k/qia-[x], **76)** Šawa/i/piya-[x], **77)** Magiba-ni(?), **78)** Aḫatum, **79)** (and) Awilanum **80-81)** the Amorite governors/sheikhs, **82)** he slew them **83-85)** and he turned back the Amorites from his province (i. e. the province of Iddi(n)-Sîn). **86)** The god Nišba **87)** his lord, **88-89)** heard his word(s) **90-91)** (and) destroyed the lands **92-94)** (and) slew the Amorites and the Simaškians (for him). **95)** (In return), Iddi(n)-Sîn, **96)** the hero **97-101)** overpowered them (and) subdued them[171] at the feet of the god Nišba, ʳhisʾ lord. **102)** The lands **103)** that rebelled [he made them build] **104)** ʳthe templeʾ of Nišba, **105)** [king of] the 9 pro[vinces]

Lacuna of unknown length.

Commentary

1) [É(?)] ^{d}***Ni-[iš-ba]*:** The inscription begins with the name of the god Nišba, patron of the kingdom of Simurrum. This could imply that the monument was dedicated to this deity. The beginning of the sentence is essential for understanding the text, but it is unfortunately broken, so the exact context of this divine name is not known. Traces of a vertical wedge were observed in a later re-examination of the inscription, directly before the DINGIR sign. These traces rule out the possibility of *a-na* ^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*. Rather I would suggest the remnants of the sign É here as well as in l. 104. There is no trace of a line of writing in the space above

[171] Another possibile translation is "subdued their gods to the .." For this, see the comments below.

line 1 so in all probability what can be read is the first sentence of the text. The name Nišba could also be read as Nišpa, as Shaffer and Wasserman do, a reading associating this divine name with the name of Mount Niš/spi of the NA inscriptions,[172] which is possible as long as Mount Nišpi was one of the steep mountains in the region close to the territory of Simurrum. The god Nišba is known also from other inscriptions of this king (the Bētwate inscriptions and those of Jerusalem and Sarpul), but it is not listed in the famous AN = ^{d}*A-nu-um* list.[173] As can be seen from *be-el-šu* in lines 10 and 87 and *be-li-šu* in line 100, Nišba was a male deity, so should not be identified with the grain goddess Nisaba. Furthermore, for the Hurrians, who seem to have been the basic population of Simurrum since the Akkadian period, the grain god was Kumurwe, a variant of Kumarbi. The Hittite word for "grain" in the Hurro-Hittite god-lists was often substituted for this name.[174] Hitherto the oldest known occurrence of the name Nišba is in the PN KA-Nišba, king of Simurrum, who is recorded as a rebel against Enrida-pizir of Gutium in the inscription of Erridu-pizir.[175] The name Nišba occurs in the same inscription also as a mountain name.[176] Mountain names played a significant role in the (late) Hurrian mythology as Richter states.[177] The Amorite PN *Ḫa-ab-du-Ni-iš-pa* was the name of a Babylonian man recorded in a Mari letter (*ARM* 7, 221: 9).[178] However, the name Nišba occurs in these last texts without the divine determinative, perhaps because it indicated a mountain, not a divine name. One last important note about Nišba is that the Hurrian rulers of Simurrum did not replace the non-Hurrian deity[179] - or at least his non-Hurrian name - with a deity from their own pantheon as the country's patron deity. One may conjecture that the non-Hurrian population of Simurrum may still have had an important influence, or that changing a country's divine patron was alien to the ideology of this part of the region. If the DN and the mountain name Nišpi/a are to be associated this would add support to the second possibility.

2) [É(?)] LUGAL 9 *k*[*u*]-[*li-ší*]: The re-examination of the text showed the number 9 instead of what had been previously misread as 8. The meaning of the word *kuliši*, which appears to be of non-Semitic origin,[180] has become clear after the publication of the Jerusalem inscription. It occurred there twice: *ù* LUGAL *9 ku-li-ší* in col. I, line 14′ and *ku-li-šu-um* in col. v, line 1. Shaffer and Wasserman suggest that it denotes "some kind of a political unit such as a district or province (similar perhaps to *ḫalṣum* in the Mari texts), a geographical designation such as a valley, or even a combined geopolitical entity."[181] This translation fits well with the context. In the Jerusalem inscription the GN Kulun(n)um alternates with the term *kulišum*,[182] a fact that supports the above suggestion. This form of giving the number of the provinces ruled by the king or the patron of the kingdom anticipates the later Achaemenid royal inscriptions, especially that of Darius I (521-486 BC) in Behistun. That inscription has *Xšāyaθiya dahyūnam*, "king of the lands/provinces," followed by the number of the provinces

[172] For this cf. Chapter Three, note 209.
[173] Krebernik, M., "Die Götterlisten aus Fara," *ZA* 76 (1986), p. 161-204 (the list on pages 168-191); cf. also Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 12.
[174] Wilhelm, *The Hurrians,* p. 52.
[175] Cf. Chapter Three. The name KA-Nišba occurs in col. iii 9′and col. viii 8′.
[176] Col. ix 3′ (according to the reading of Kutscher); col. x 5.
[177] Richter, "Die Ausbreitung…," p. 301, note 226.
[178] Cavigneaux, A. and M. Krebernik, "Nišba," *RlA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 585.
[179] According to Richter, the name KA-Nišba is "undoubtedly Hurrian," Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 301. But the name Nišba is nowhere else attested as a Hurrian deity. If it was Hurrian, it must have been a local deity known only in Simurrum.
[180] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 13. The final *š* of this word can be seen as the Hurrian *ž* marking a plural.
[181] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 13-14.
[182] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 14.

and their enumeration in sequence.[183] A problem with this line in general is the broken space at the beginning of the sentence. In a preliminary reading of the inscription I suggested PA, meaning "the firm/steady sceptre of the rule of…."[184] However, this should be changed in view of the change made in the preceding line, because it is not the god Nišba but rather his assumed temple that is now the subject. Therefore, the best solution might be É LUGAL 9 *ku-li-ší*, "(the temple of the god Nišba,) temple of the king of the 9 provinces." It is noteworthy that "king of the 9 provinces" appears here as a title of the god Nišba, while in the Jerusalem inscription it is the title of the king. Applying the Mesopotamian political thought standards to this passage can interpret this apparent difference. The real kings are the gods, and the kings on earth are earthly representatives of those gods. So whatever the kings own is in fact owned by the gods. It seems difficult to accept the idea of calling a god the actual king of the land, since no clear parallels are recorded. Nevertheless, the existing cuneiform signs and the occurrence of the royal name after, not before, this title do not permit any other interpretation. Further, we have at least some parallels in the seals of Šu-Iliya and Kirikiri of Ešnunna.[185] The idea of the god as the actual king of the land was perhaps related to some aspect of the ideology of the Hurrians or the Transtigris region (including Ešnunna) about which we are still ignorant.[186]

4) *Iddi(n)-Sîn*: No other spelling is given in the inscriptions of this king that could establish an indisputable reading of his name. It could be transcribed Iddin-Sîn, "Sîn has given," or Itti-Sîn, "With / besides Sîn." Because the former name is prevalent one assumes that is the correct reading.[187] The rendering of the double consonant (for stress) was not compulsory, as for instance in *i-ti-šum-ma* in l. 8.

5) LUGAL *da-núm*: This epithet is known also from the inscriptions of Bētwate and Jerusalem. Before Iddi(n)-Sîn, this title was borne by Amar-Sîn of Ur III;[188] earlier Narām-Sîn of Akkad used only the phrase "the mighty," without LUGAL.[189]

6) LUGAL *Si-mu-ri-im*^{ki}: The name Simurrum is rendered in this inscription and in the Bētwate inscriptions without geminated *r*, as in the Ur III inscriptions. Among the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions, only in the Jerusalem inscription is it written with geminated *r*: *Si-mu-ur-ri-im*^{ki} i 13′; iv 2?; iv 20.[190]

7) NUN INANNA: The remnants of the first sign seem to point to the Sumerian logogram NUN, Akkadian *rubā'u*. Historically, the use of this word in the royal titulary is attested

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[183] Schmitt, R., The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great/Old Persian Text, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum,* London, 1991, p. 49. On the provincial division, see also below under 'The Historical Setting as Reflected by the Inscription.'

[184] Ahmed, Kozad M., *The Northern Transtigris in the First Half of the Second Millennium BC,* (Unpublished MA thesis), Leiden, 2003.

[185] The seal of Šu-Iliya clearly states: 1) [d]*Tišpak* 2) LUGAL *da-núm* 3) LUGAL *ma-at Wa-ri-im* 4) LUGAL 5) [*ki*]-*ib-ra-at* 6) *ar-ba-im,* "Tišpak, mighty king, king of the land Warûm, king of the [f]our quarters;" also the seal of Kirikiri: 1) ^{d}Tišpak, 2) LUGAL *da-núm* 3) LUGAL *ma-at Wa-ri-im,* "Tišpak, the mighty king, king of the land Warûm;" and that of Uṣurawassu: 1) ^{d}*Tišpak* 2) LUGAL *da-núm* 3) LUGAL *ma-at Wa-ri-im,* "Tišpak, the mighty king, king of the land of Warûm;" two seals of Azuzum; one of Ur-Ninmar; and a fragmentary seal legend (no. 27). This is true for the god Sataran as well: 1) ^{d}*Sataran* 2) *da-núm*) [LU]GAL *Dērim*^{ki}, "Sataran, the mighty, king of Dēr," Frankfort, H., S. Lloyd and Th. Jacobsen, *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers of Tell Asmar* (*OIP* 43), Chicago, 1940, p. 143; 145; 147; 148 and155.

[186] Note that Kirikiri and Bilalama are thought to have been Elamites, not Semites as their names probably suggest. For this and a possible etymology of their names, cf. Wu Yuhong, *A Political History …,* p. 11-12.

[187] Cf. also Hilgert, *Akkadisch in der Ur III- Zeit*, p. 294f (PNs of the form *Ì-din/dì*-DN).

[188] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 38.

[189] Cf. for instance Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 88 (Text E2.1.4.1, l. 2′).

[190] For an overview of the different spellings of the name Simurrum, cf. the beginning of this chapter.

under the kings of Ešnunna,[191] by Samsuiluna (YOS 9 35: 147) and Hammurabi in the south, and by Šamšī-Adad I (*MARI* 3 75, no. 4: 9) in Assyria.[192] Prior to that, the word was used in the archives of the Old Assyrian merchants of Kaneš to denote the governors of the city of Assur[193] and the local kings of Anatolian city-states.[194] If our reading of this sign is correct, it would be the oldest attested use of this epithet. There is room for another sign after INANNA, faint traces of which survive, but no clear signs at all could be seen during the second collation of the inscription. To read INANNA as Hurrian Šauška is not impossible since the kingdom of Simurrum, its king and a large portion of its population were apparently Hurrian.

11-12) [*kak*(?)]-*kà-am* [*da*]*n*(?)-*na-am*: The sentence is problematic. Almost the only fitting sign for the remnants of the first (?) sign of line 11 and in the context is the sign KAK. The question is why this word was written syllabically, not, as was the custom in this period, logographically, The reading remains questionable.

The use of "The mighty weapon" in royal inscriptions is not new but is infrequent. It is attested in a Sumerian inscription of Rīm-Sîn of Larsa: "By means of [m]ighty [weapons] of the god Ninurta."[195]

13) *te-e-ne-eš*: This significant word occurs also in the Jerusalem inscription but, as Shaffer and Wasserman noted, it occurs before that as *tenīšu* only in a Boğazköy text as a variant of the more common *tenēštu*, "people."[196] But it occurred as well in Atra-ḫasīs as *te-ni-še,* also meaning "people, mankind."[197] In the Jerusalem inscription it is not inscribed at the beginning of the line, which led to hesitation by both editors of the text whether or not there were other signs preceding it.[198] Its occurrence in our inscription as a complete word confirms the correct reading of Shaffer and Wasserman. Note that the sign TE is incomplete, but there is no room for another sign before it. It is noteworthy that the word has been written with the first vowel *e* lengthened in both the Haladiny and the Jerusalem inscriptions, but it is recorded in the dictionaries with a long second vowel.[199]

15) [*ma*]-*at Ša-gi*^{ki}: This GN appears as the first GN targeted by Simurrum. It is otherwise unknown. A similar GN, *Tu-ša-gi*, is attested in a Shemshāra text (SH 825) but it does not seem to be identical since here the sign AT preceding the sign ŠA clearly belongs to the word *māt.* Since this place seems to have been close to Simurrum itself, indicated by its mention in the beginning of the text (see below under 'The Historical setting'), Šagi can be compared with ^{URU}*Si-gi-ya* attested in texts from Chogha Gavaneh.[200]

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[191] Cf. *CAD* R, p. 397. To Charpin *rubā'u* is a special title for rulers in Ešnunna: Charpin, D., "Donées nouvelles sur la chronologie des souveraines d'Ešnunna," *Miscellanea Babylonica, mélanges offertes a Maurice Birot,* Paris, 1985, p. 64. Interestingly, Charpin states that rulers of Ešnunna legitimized their rule by a theoretical fiction, in which the god Tišpak was the king of the kingdom and the ruler was the "prince" (*rubûm/rubā'u*) under that king; Charpin in Mesopotamien, Die altbabylonische Zeit, *OBO,* Göttingen, 2004, p. 65.

[192] For the use of *rubā'u* in the royal titles cf. Seux, M.-J., *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes,* Paris, 1967, pp. 251-6. However, this source attributes the first use of such a title in Assyria to Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208 BC); for Šamšī-Adad cf. *CAD* R, p. 397.

[193] Larsen, M. T., *The Old Assyrian City-State and its Colonies,* Copenhagen, 1976, p. 369.

[194] Cf. Veenhof, K. R., "Kanesh: An Assyrian Colony in Anatolia," *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East,* ed. Jack Sasson, vol. II, New York, 1995, p. 866.

[195] 28) [giš Tukul- ka]la-ga-^{d}nin-urta, Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 283 (text E4.2.14.9, l. 28). For more examples, cf. Tallqvist, K., *Akkadische Götterepitheta,* Helsinki, 1938, p.110, where it occurs in divine titles; cf. also *CAD* K p. 54, for an attestation in an inscription of Shalmaneser III.

[196] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 14, referring also to *AHw,* p. 1347a.

[197] *CAD* T, p. 244.

[198] Shaffer and Wasserman, p.14.

[199] Cf. *CAD* T, p. 340 and 344.

[200] Texts 19: 16 and 25: 6′ (?). The texts are economic and belong to the archive found in this site in Shahabad-e Gharb, *c.* 60 km to the west of Kirmashān, dated to the early second millennium BC; cf. Abdi, K. and G.

20) [*ma-at*] *Te-ni/lí-mu*(?)^{ki}: Another otherwise unattested GN. If we consider it a Hurrian name it can be Telim(u), a name that contains the Hurrian element *talmi-* "great," as in the name of Talmuš. But this is conjectural.
22) [… …]-*ta/ša-am*: The sign preceding AM can be either TA or ŠA.
24) *i-ne-er*: < *nê/âru* or *ne'ārum* "to kill," "to strike (enemies)" in addition to its proper meaning "to slay." It occurs with the meaning to strike enemies in texts from the OAkk. period, as in the OB copy of the 'Great Revolt against Narām-Sîn:' *i-ni-ir-ma* (G 17)[201] or *i-ne-er-ma*.[202]
25) [……]-*ar*^{ki}: It is difficult to suggest the full name of this GN. It could be any of the GNs which were located in the Transtigris region close to the operations area ending with *–ar,* such as Zimudar,[203] Namar, Ḫaš(i)mar,[204] or Karḫar which was close to Ḫalman,[205] also mentioned several lines after this GN.
30) [……..]-*na*^{ki}: If we assume that the word *māt* was written before this GN, the room remaining for the name itself is only enough for two or at the most three signs. Little else can be said about this GN. The GN Ḫu-ra-x-na that is attested in some fragmentary contexts in the Nuzi texts[206] can be suggested as relevant. According to Frayne, the name Ḫu-ra-x-na is the same as ˹*Ḫur*˺*-a-núm* that is attested in a Narām-Sîn inscription and the same as *Ḫur-nam* of the Erridu-Pizir inscription.[207] The faint traces of what can be understood as the remains of two vertical wedges on each other that were noticed in the second examination of the inscription might be the last part of the sign A, probably preceded by ḪUR-RA.
32) […..]-*núm-a-tal*: This appears to be a PN in relation to the following line. Since a great part of the inhabitants of the Transtigris in this period was Hurrian we could read the signs A-RI as the Hurrian *–a-tal* "mighty;" *–a-ri* could also be Hurrian, though it is less frequent.
33-34) [….] $^{[GI]˹Š˺}$GU.ZA [*ma-at*] *Si-mu-ri-im*^{ki}: In the broken space there is room only for two signs. One is GIŠ used here as a determinative, but the other is guesswork. There is also little doubt that another sign existed after the sign ZA because of the space left and the small break in it. This would not affect the meaning so much, because if there was indeed another sign it would be in all probability a phonetic complement of the word *kussûm* (GU.ZA). Unfortunately we do not know what happened to the throne of Simurrum with this individual. Nevertheless, since the verb of the sentence in line 35 is *i-ne-er*, the PN […]-*núm-a-tal* must

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Beckman, "An Early Second-Millennium Cuneiform Archive from Chogha Gavaneh, Western Iran," *JCS* 59 (2007), p. 39ff. There is mention of other GNs in the same general area, like Niqqum, Dēr and Mē-Turān.
[201] Grayson and Sollberger, *RA* 70, p. 111.
[202] Charpin, "La version Mariote de l'«insurrection générale contre Narâm-Sîn»," *FM* 3, p. 10; and in an OB extispicy text with news from the Ur III period: *a-mu-ut* ^{d}*Šul-gi ša A-pa-Da-ra-aḫ i-ni-ru* "Omen of Šulgi who slew Appa-Daraḫ," (YOS 10 26 IV 10); cf. Biggs, "Šulgi in Simurrum," p. 169-170; and in YBT X 26 IV 10; cf. Goetze, "Historical Allusions in Old Babylonian Omen Texts," *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 260. Biggs adds that the Sumerian logogram SAG. GIŠ. RA was used for this verb: Biggs, *op. cit.,* p. 176, note 40. Recently, the omens were re-edited by Glassner, who added that instead of the determinative DINGIR before the name of Šulgi the sign BAR is written: Glassner, J.-J., "Écrire des livres à l'époque Paléo-Babylonienne: le traité d'extispicine," *ZA* 99 (2009), p. 71.
[203] Note that Z/Simudar was written in the Ur III sources with *–dar* not *da-ar*, cf. Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 166-7.
[204] Although this form of the name is different from the older form Ḫašimur(u), I think it is not possible to guess the exact form and pronunciation of the name in the local speech of the inhabitants, who were perhaps in this period Simurrians. It is not impossible that Ḫašimur(u) was pronounced by its inhabitants as Ḫašimar in this period. The last vowel *a* might have been changed to *u* by vowel harmony, influenced by the Akkadian mimation *–um* at its end. Support for this suggestion comes from the NA sources that write the name as Ḫašimar, with mimation discarded.
[205] Cf. for this location Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 149 and *id, RIME* 3/2, p. 451; cf. also Chapter Four, note 123.
[206] The name occurs as URU *Ḫu-*˹*ra-*x˺*-na!* (*HSS* XV 74: 7) and URU *Ḫu-ra-*˹x*-na*˺ (*HSS* XV 74: 17): Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 104.
[207] Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 184.

be the object of the sentence. He in turn was the person who did something to the royal house of Simurrum. I would suggest that the key to fully understand the sentence lies in the first sign of line 33; here something like ÉRIM "foe/enemy" or IM.GI "usurper" must have been written, although the space is hardly big enough. The whole sentence then becomes: "(Iddin-Sîn) slew [….]num-atal, the enemy/ usurper of the throne of Simurrum."

36) [*ma-a*]'*t*' 'x(?)'-NE-*šum*^{ki}: Since the sign NE has more than one value, the GN can be anything that ends with *–ne-šum*^{ki}, *-bí-šum*^{ki} or *-b/pil-šum*^{ki}.

37) *ma-at Ša-ri-it-ḫu-um*^{ki}: From Ur III sources the name of this land is already known. It occurs as *Šu-ru-ut-ḫu-um*^{ki}*, Ša-ri-it-ḫi*^{ki} and *Ša-ri-it-ḫu-um*^{ki} (exactly as in this inscription).[208] The GNs *Ša-ri-íp-ḫu-um-ma*^{ki}[209] and *Ša-ri-it*-DÙ^{ki}[210] can be variants of this name.[211] The ruler here in the time of the Shemshāra archives was a certain Kakmum, who turned to be an ally of Šamšī-Adad, as appears from a letter of the Assyrian general Etellum to Kuwari.[212] Some located this GN in or near the Dukān Gorge, where the Lower Zāb flows between the two mountains Haibat Sultān and Sarsird.[213] It is based on the mention of *niripuni Šurutuḫa*, "The pass of Šurutuḫa,"[214] together with Ašuḫaš, Matka, Arrapḫa, Nuza, Ḫašmar, Zaba[n] and other places in the inscription of the Elamite Šilḫak-Inšušinak.[215] All these GNs are located between the Lower Zāb and the Diyāla rivers. In fact, its occurrence with Šašrum earlier in the Ur III documents[216] indicates its location in the same general area of the Rāniya Plain. Furthermore, its association with a gorge increases the possibility of its identification with the location pointed out by Astour. There are some hints that may help explaining the meaning of this GN. Frayne thinks the name is Elamite.[217] But Astour and Mayer gave a Hurrian etymology, linking it with a Hurrian word that occurs as a loan-word in Akkadian: ^{GIŠ}*Šu-rat-ḫu*. For the meaning Mayer hesitates between the gall-oak and walnut, while Astour favours walnut.[218]

39) […..] '*Ḫul*(?)'-*gi-za-tal*: As far as I know, such a PN is not attested in any published text. There is a possibility to read the sign GI as ZI. The last part of the name reminds one of the PN Ku-uz-za-ri/tal of Nuzi.[219]

40) […]-GA/AM(?)-*ri*-'*ni*'(?)-*we*: If the restoration of the break in the next line ([*be*(?)]-*li-šu-nu*) is correct, this name and the name following it would be understood as the names of rulers or even gods. But traces of a vertical line at the end of the sign make it impossible to read the first sign as BE, unless the vertical line is a scratch. The element *–we* is the Hurrian genitive suffix, and the *–ne* before it can be the Hurrian suffix *–ni* for the formation of adjectives[220] or the article *–ne*.

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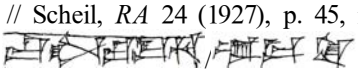
[208] Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 177-8; 187.

[209] Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 177, referring to: *YOS* 4, 67, 8 // Scheil, *RA* 24 (1927), p. 45, rev. l. 2. However, the sign IB in Scheil, *RA* 24, seems to be a misread sign ID: 

[210] Edzard and Farber, *op. cit.* p. 177-8, referring to: Buccellati, *Amorites* txI: 22 I 5; Goetze *JCS* 7, 106 I 5.

[211] Astour, "Semites and Hurrians in Northern Transtigris," *SCCNH* 1, p. 35, note 249; Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 177-8.

[212] 4′) IGI *Ka-ak-mi-im ša Šu-ru-ut-ḫi-im* 5′) *a-na be-lí-*'*ia is*'-*sà-*'*ḫu*'-'*ur*' *lu-ú ḫa-de*$_4$*-e*[*t*], "The face of Kakmum of Šuruṯḫum has turned to my lord. Rejoice!," Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives, the Letters,* p. 104-5 (no. 41).

[213] Astour, "Semites and Hurrians …," p. 36.

[214] Astour, *ibid.* and note 252.

[215] Astour, "Semites and Hurrians…," p. 36.

[216] It was mentioned in a date-formula from AS 4, cf. Walker, *The Tigris Frontier…,* p. 107.

[217] Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 174.

[218] Astour, *op. cit.,* p. 36-37.

[219] For this name cf. Gelb, *HS* p. 19; Gelb *et al., NPN,* p. 231 (under Kuzzari).

[220] For *-ni*, cf. Wegner, *Einleitung in die …,* p. 47; Bush, F. W., "The Relationship Between the Hurrian Suffixes *–ne/-na* and *–nni/e /-nna,*" *Orient and Occident: Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of his*

43) [*ma*(?)-*at*(?)] […(?)]-*ti-na-ab-ba-ša-we*^{ki}: Another otherwise unknown Hurrian GN that ends with the Hurrian genitive suffix *–we*, probably preceded by *-ž*. If the word *māt* is written before this name, which is very probable, there is very little chance that any other sign preceded TI. In this case, the name Tinabbašawe is complete.

48) [*m*]*a-at Ḫal-ma-an*^{ki}: The important land of Ḫalman is already known from numerous written sources.[221] As a GN it is attested in different forms, like Arman,[222] Ialman[223] and Ḫalman, until it developed to Ḥalwān in the Middle Ages[224] and Halwān in modern times. The same name has been given to the river Alwand that has obviously developed from the name Ḫalman > Halman > Alman > Alwan (as pronounced now in the local dialect) > Alwan(d). The strategic position of this place in the gorge, through which the Great Khorasān Road passes, was always extremely significant. The Arabic term ''Aqabat Ḥalwān' of medieval Arab geographers means "The barricade of Halwān" and is reminiscent of the Sumerian "Ḫuḫnuri, the bolt of the land of Elam," recorded in the IS 9 date-formula,[225] a clear indication of its strategic function.

This Ḫalman cannot be identical with URU *Ḫa-al-ma-ni-(we)* of the Nuzi texts,[226] for which another location is suggested.[227]

The mention of Ḫalman in the inscription of Haladiny is very important, for it is incontestable evidence for the extension of Simurrum to the region of Sarpul under his reign. The control of such a strategic pass and main route would have been a crucial factor for the fate of his kingdom. Furthermore, it indicates the surpassing power Simurrum enjoyed when it controlled Ḫalman in the shadow of the other surrounding powers of that time. Taking into account this southerly point of his realm and calculating the northerly point at Bētwate, where his other inscriptions are found, the kingdom of Simurrum extended at least 240 aerial kilometres from south to north.[228]

49) *ma-at Be-el*^{ki}: Another otherwise unattested GN. It seems it was located in the area of Ḫalman since it is mentioned directly after it. The Semitic meaning of the word Bēl (= lord) does not necessarily imply that the name is Semitic. It is quite possible that the name belongs to another language with a different meaning.

51-52) [*An*(?)]-*nu-ba-ni-ni* [LUGAL *Lu-lu-bi*]-'*im*^{ki}': This is one of the very important passages of this inscription because it mentions Annubanini of Lullubum. First, it is important for the establishment of a chronology of both kings, and secondly it alludes to the clash of interests between the two powers. Thanks to this inscription we know that Annubanini did

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Sixty-fifth Birthday, ed. Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973, p. 43f.; for *–we* cf. among others Giorgieri, M., "Die hurritische Kasusendungen," *SCCNH* 10, p. 225.

[221] For instance Borger, "Vier Grenzsteinurkunden…," *AfO* 23 (1970), p. 1.

[222] As in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I (1115-1077 BC) of Assyria, cf. Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, p. 95, § 293, and Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC): Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, p. 230, § 623.

[223] As in the inscriptions of Adad-Nirari II (911-891 BC), see Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, p. 111, § 360; and also of Šamši-Adad V (823-811 BC), see Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, p. 258, § 724 (here mentioned as a mountain name).

[224] Cf. الحموي، ياقوت، *معجم البلدان*، بيروت، ١٩٨٤، ص. ٢٩٠–٢٩٣.

[al-Ḥamawi, Yaqūt, *Lexicon of Lands,* Beirut, 1984 (New edition), p. 290-3]. al-Ḥamawi lived in the 13th Century A. D.

المقدسي، *احسن التقاسيم في معرفة الاقاليم*، ليدن، ١٨٧٧، ص. ٥٣؛ ١١٥.

[al-Maqdisi, *Aḥsan it-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifat il-Aqālīm,* Leiden, 1877, p. 53; 115]. al-Maqdisi lived between *c.* 945/6-1000 A.D.

[225] Ḫu-úḫ-nu-ri SAG.KUL ma-da An-ša-an^{ki}, which Walker translated as the "bolt of the land of Anšan: Walker, *The Tigris…..,* p. 42; but note that Frayne reads KA.BAD, "The open mouth of Anšan," Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 363.

[226] Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 84.

[227] For the proposed locations of different authors, cf. Fincke, *op. cit.,* p. 84-5.

[228] The 350 km. estimation by Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 28 seems too much.

not postdate Iddi(n)-Sîn, as Walker suggested.[229] Iddi(n)-Sîn was at least a contemporary of Annubanini, or even postdated him. The lack of any other inscription left by Annubanini leaves the other side of the story in darkness. What we are sure of is that the suggestion of Walker, that the inscription of Annubanini in Sarpul is at least a century younger than that of Iddi(n)-Sîn in Sarpul,[230] can no longer be regarded as correct. The exact episode that both the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions of Sarpul and Haladiny mentioned about Annubanini is not clear. It is regrettable that the Haladiny inscription cannot help to solve the problem, because the following lines on the inscription that must have contained the verb are broken. Nevertheless, the whole inscription is about victories of Simurrum, so we would expect that Iddi(n)-Sîn must have claimed a victory over the land, either *uḫalliq* (= destroyed) or *iṣbat* (= took/ controlled). A second option is that the inscription narrates in this passage an older episode, like some hostile act undertaken in the past by Annubanini against Simurrum, and the revenge taken by Iddi(n)-Sîn is now being told in this inscription, though that passage is now missing. In this case, Annubanini predates Iddi(n)-Sîn.

In any case, this item of information is clear evidence of a struggle between both kingdoms of Simurrum and Lullubum, perhaps to control Ḫalman and the strategic Great Khorasān Road that ended, at least in this phase, in the hands of the former. On the relief of Annubanini in Sarpul a row of prisoners is depicted, led by the goddess Ištar to the presence of the triumphant king Annubanini. The prisoners are naked, as in the Old Akkadian victory stelae, but what is noteworthy is that the foremost prisoner in the lower row (which appears to represent the procession of the prisoners before they reach the king) wears a feathered crown (Fig. 10). Such a crown is not so common in the region under study.[231] The only parallels come from clay sealings from Urkeš some 5-6 centuries earlier (Figs. 10, 13 and 18 of Chapter Four), where a seemingly royal figure is depicted with a similar crown. If we assume that such crowns were a characteristic headdress of the Hurrians, as seen in Urkeš, we can say that the defeated enemy of the relief of Annubanini, on which the typical crown is intentionally depicted, was also a Hurrian, very probably from Simurrum.

58) *Ti-id-luḫ-ḫa-am*^{ki}: A GN in the accusative, which means that it was the object of some (military) act. As far as I know, this GN is otherwise unknown. Since the word *māt* that precedes all the land and country names in this inscription is absent here, Tidluḫḫum was probably a city name, as the city of Itu. The location is unknown but its occurrence before Šikšabbum (l. 60) may indicate both places are close to each other. The switch from Ḫalman in the far south to Tidluḫḫum and Šikšabbum in the far north is notable. The inscription would narrate the events either in chronological or in geographical order. In the second case there must have been more geographical names listed in the inscription that were located in the region between Ḫalman and Šikšabbum (but see below under 'The Historical setting'). These can be looked for in the lacuna just before the name Tidluḫḫum, which consists of about five lines.

60) *ma-at Ší-ik-ša-am-bi*^{ki}: Šikšambi is recorded in the Ur III texts in the form *Šigšabi*^{ki}.[232] The OB sources from Shemshāra render the name in different spellings, such as *Ši-ik-ša-ab-bu-um*^{ki} (sometimes without mimation) as well as *Ši-ik-ša-am-bi-im*^{ki} and *Ši-ik-ša-bi-im* (without doubled *b*).[233] In the Shemshāra texts, Šikšabbum is mentioned as the capital of the land of Aḫazum,[234] whereas it is recorded here as a land. It is possible that the land was also

[229] Walker, *The Tigris ...,* p. 186 and 189.
[230] Walker, *ibid.*
[231] Such a crown became very common under the Achaemenids, and was worn by the noblemen depicted in the reliefs of Persepolis.
[232] Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 181; cf. also: Læssøe, J., "Šikšabbum: an Elusive City," *Or* 54 (1985), p. 182.
[233] For these, cf. Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 221.
[234] Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.,* p. 22.

called Šikšabbum because of the fame of its capital city, or that the name of the land of Šikšabbum was changed in a later period to Aḫazum due to ethnic changes in its territories, such as an Amorite infiltration. This suggestion gets support from the name Yašub-Addu, the ruler of Aḫazum, mentioned in the Shemshāra Letters.[235] It is also possible to identify the otherwise unidentified toponym Agaz, recorded in the Ur III archival texts, with this same Aḫazum of the OB sources. Šikšabbum was, as indicated by the OB sources, an important city that played a prominent role in the power game of that period. From this inscription too it appears that it was a target of the military ambitions of Simurrum, as it was of the Ur III kings.

According to the etymology presented by Astour, the name Šikšabbum is Hurrian, consisting of the two elements *S/Šikš-ambi*, "pole of *ambi*-wood."[236] What we can add here is that the written form found in this inscription was certainly the correct pronunciation of the name: *–am-bi*; the form *–ab-bi/um* with doubled *b* was the Akkadianized form that assimilated /m/ with /b/.

The location of this GN is not yet firmly established. Some identified it with the Qala Dizeh mound in the plain of Qala Dizeh.[237] According to Frayne, the name Šikšabbum has something to do with the name of the modern city of Šaqlāwa, to the northeast of Erbil. As a result he identifies Šikšabbum with Šaqlāwa. His analysis is that the OB *Šikšabbum* has hypothetically developed to MA **Šiklabbum* and to modern *Šaqlāwa*.[238] However, the data obtained from the Shemshāra archives and the correspondence of Šamšī-Adad I and his sons make it almost certain that it was located on the Lower Zāb, downstream from Shemshāra, i.e. to the southwest of Rāniya, near or at Taqtaq.[239]

It is true that the location of Šaqlāwa today, exactly as ancient Šikšabbum, is important, being located on the strategic Hamilton Road and well-defended by steep mountains. But the suggestion of Frayne remains mere conjecture. Furthermore, by the criteria of historical geography it does not seem appropriate to identify Šaqlāwa with ancient Šikšabbum for two reasons. First, Šikšabum was the capital of Aḫazum, and Aḫazum was the name of the country between the Rāniya Plain and Erbil.[240] Šaqlāwa is then too far from the country of Aḫazum. Secondly, the region of operations of Iddi(n)-Sîn, as seen in the Haladiny inscription, was the Rāniya Plain and surroundings, with Bētwate as the northernmost point. Šaqlāwa is too far north of this range. It is quite reasonable to think of a location for Šikšabbum on the Lower Zāb region, downstream from the Rāniya Plain, closer to Taqtaq or Pirdē. This location is justified by the activity of Iddi(n)-Sîn in the northern area in this section of the inscription, indicated by his allusion to the land of Utûm below (l. 69), where

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[235] Cf. Letter 1 (SH 809) 4) *Ia-šu-ub-*^{d}IM 5) LÚ *Aḫ-za-a-ji*^{ki}; only his name is recorded without reference to his land in 2 (SH 894), 4; 3 (SH 828), 10; 4 (SH 886), 5; 47 (SH 941), 18; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.* Shaffer and Wasserman think that the omission of Aḫazum in the inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn is because the land was less important during his reign: Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 26. However, in the light of our suggestion, the name Aḫazum was given later than his reign to the land by assumed Amorite newcomers.

[236] Astour, "Semites and Hurrians…," p. 34-35. Astour argues for this etymology with the note that the element *amp*, "to judge from its derivations at Nuzi, the Hittite country, and Assyria, had to do with a kind of wood and the tree that produced it." He cites the derivations that embrace this element like *ambassu, ampannu* and *ampanuḫlu* (referring to *CAD* A II 44 and 77-78; *AHw* 42 and 44, to Læssøe (1959), p. 35; *NPN*, p. 200 and Laroche, *GLH,* p. 46). The word *s/š/zikšu* denotes, Astour continues, a "lateral pole of the wagon-box," *ibid.* However, this remains far from certain.

[237] Læssøe, "Šikšabbum: an Elusive City," p. 182; and later Læssøe, J. and Th. Jacobsen, "Šikšabbum Again," *JCS* 42/2 (1990), p. 132.

[238] Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 180.

[239] See for details Chapter Six and Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.,* p. 22-23. With this suggestion, Shaffer and Wasserman agree, p. 18.

[240] As proposed by Eidem and Læssøe, basing themselves on the data collected from the Shemshāra archives: Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.,* p. 22.

his march is shown to be from the southeast to the northwest (Ḫalaman → Lullubum), then to the northeast along the Zāb (Šikšabbum → Itu → Utûm). More precisely, Iddi(n)-Sîn has marched in this region along the northern bank of the Lower Zāb, from downstream to upstream, as indicated by the mention of Itu (= Satu Qala, see below) → Utuwe. This points to a location of Šikšabbum in or close to Taqtaq.[241] Further, the Amorite influence in Aḫazum pointed out above indicates that Aḫazum = Šikšabbum was not in the heart of the Transtigris, but rather on its periphery, closer to the Plains.

62) *ma-at I-te-ra-áš-ʾwe*^{ki}ʾ: An otherwise unattested GN that also ends with the Hurrian genitive suffix *–we*, probably preceded by the plural marker *–ž-*. It must have been located in the same area, upstream from Šikšabbum and Tidluḫḫum. A place name in the Mari archives called Šillurašwe is said to have been a Turukkean settlement in the Habur Region, a name that echoed a place name in Utûm[242] containing the same element *–ra+š(<ž)+we* that can be seen in Iterašwe.

63) *I-tu*^{ki}: Because of the absence of the word *māt* before this GN, we assume it was a city name. The only GN in this region that could be compared with Itu was a city in the land of Utûm that occurs as *U-ta-*[*im*^{ki}] (SH 861).[243] The letter in which the name occurs concerns troops from this city that deserted and left the city of Šušarrā, where they seem to have been garrisoned as support troops.[244] But new light has come from new discoveries that helped in identifying Itu. Since we are now in the region of Šikšabbum and Utum, i.e. between the Rāniya Plain and Pirdē, Itu cannot be anything other than the MA provincial capital Idu, identified most recently at Satu Qala slightly upstream from Taqtaq, where some brick inscriptions are found that bear the name of this city.[245]

64-65) *Ša-um-mi*^{ki} *ù ʾḪuʾ-ʾbʾí/ʾnʾe-za-gu*^{ki}: Two city names about which we do not know anything except that they might be located in or slightly south of the Rāniya Plain, somewhere between Šikšabbum and Utûm (l. 69). This is derived from the implication in the inscription that the march of Iddi(n)-Sîn was from Šikšabbum (= Taqtaq) to Itu (= Satu Qala) to these two GNs, and from there to Utûm. The letter *ARM* I, 121 from Mari mentions the cities A'innum and Zamiyatum as cities of Qabrā on the Lower Zāb (see Chapter Six). It is tempting to compare Zamiyatum with Šaummi. The name Zami (after removing the Akkadian suffix *–ātum*) could be another spelling of Šaummi, perhaps from **Žā/ōmi*.[246] If the reading of the second sign of the second GN is *–bí-* then we may have Ḫubizagu, the first part of which can tentatively be associated with the first element of the Hurrian PN *Ḫu-*ʾ*i*ʾ*-ip-er-w*[*e-we*] (*HSS* XV 128:15) and also the GN URU *Ḫu*! (EN)*-i-be-er-wi-ip-ḫe-na*.MEŠ (*HSS* IX

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[241] Here one must reconsider the proposed identification of Tikitiḫum with Taqtaq suggested by Frayne. Either Tikitiḫum was not identical with Taqtaq, or the short-lived name Tikitiḫum was changed to Šikšabbum during the Ur III period.

[242] Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.,* p. 54; Charpin, D., Review of J. Eidem, Shemshāra Archives 2, The Administrative Texts, in *Syria* 71 (1994), p. 459.

[243] The GN *Ú-ta* in the letter *ARM* IV 20, which looks like the city name *U-ta-*[*im*] of the SH 861, appears to be a misreading; for this cf. Durand, *LAPO* I, p. 632. I owe this observation to J. Eidem.

[244] About the city of U-ta-im^{ki}, cf. Walker, p. 207-8.

[245] Cf. Van Soldt, W. H., "The Location of Idu," *NABU* 2008, no. 55, p. 72-74. Although the name Itu seems similar to the Nuzi GN Ittuḫḫe (written URU *Id-du-uḫ-ḫe!* in *EN* 9 227: 24 and URU ʾ*Id*ʾ-[*du-u*]*ḫ*-[*ḫ*]*e* in *EN* 9 220: 3, cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 125), it is unlikely that Id/tu and Idduḫḫe had anything to do with each other, because the Nuzian GN, unlike Id/tu, was always written with a reduplicated *d* (oral communication with J. Fincke), which is analysed as coming from **itt=i* "dress," or "textile" (?) with the Hurrian adj. *-ḫḫe*; cf. Fincke, *op. cit.,* 125. Further, Nuzian Ittuḫḫe was located to the south of Arrapḫa, in the neighbourhood of Kurruḫani, modern Tell al-Faḫḫār, as it is associated with the GNs Aršalipe and Ululia; the former was seemingly close to Kurruḫani; cf. Fincke, *op. cit.,* p. 48; 324.

[246] J. Eidem wonders whether the form *ge-er-ri ša Ku-um-mi*^{ki} of SH 894, l. 45 and 46 is an error and contains the GN Šaummi (via a personal communication). But this does not seem likely. See about this Chapter Six under 'Šikšabbum, a Thorn in the Side.'

135:3) that contains the PN Ḫuip-erwe.[247] The element *Ḫui-*, which is attested also as *Ḫu-,* is found in PNs from Nuzi[248] and means "to summon."[249]

68) *ú-kà-ni-ís-sú-nu-ti*: This verbal form is found also in both the Sarpul (= Annubanini II, col. II, l. 19) and the Jerusalem (col. iv, l. 26) inscriptions of this king. The orthography of this form (IŠ-ZU for *ís-sú*) is characteristic of the Ur III Akkadian and northern OB texts, but not Diyāla texts.[250] The occurrence of this verb after four GNs, the first of which is a land name and the rest city names, gives the impression that the three cities were within the land Iterašwe. The verb then indicates that the land Iterašwe, including its cities Itu, Šaummi and Ḫubi/nezagu, were all destroyed. If this is correct, the city of Tidluḫḫum as well must have been part of a land of which the name is now broken. The northern bank of the Lower Zāb seems to have consisted of at least three provinces (lands) in this time: X (to which is attached Tidluḫḫm), Šikšabbum and Iterašwe (consisting of Itu, Ḫub/nizagu and Šaummi).

69) *ma-at Ut-tu-we*^{ki}: The land of Utûm was one of the important lands of the Transtigris. It is attested in the OB sources as *Utûm*. This land comprised several cities, including Šušarrā[251] (For more about this GN see Chapter Six). The form *Uttuwe* in this inscription is obviously the original Hurrian form of the Akkadianized form *Utûm.* The modern name of Bētwate can very probably be a compound name, consisting of the Semitic (Aramaic) *bēth*, "region / house," and 'Wate/a' which has developed from Utu(we): *Utû(m)* → *Ute* → *Wute* → *Wate*. Numerous toponyms in the Transtigris begin with the Aramaic element *bēth* in the forms *be-* and *ba-*: for example Bitwēn; Bagarmē < Bēth Garmai, "The Warm Province," denoting regions to the south of Kirkuk; Bazabda; Baʿaḍrē; and Baʿšīqa.

70-72) *i-na qá-ti Kak-mi-im*^{ki} *'ut(?)'-ti-ir*: This sentence must be translated as "He brought (the land of Utuwe) back from the hands of Kakmum." [252]

The land of Kakmum was a very important country in the Transtigris. If the *Kakmi/e(um)* of the Ebla archives is identical with this Kakmum,[253] its oldest attestations go back to the ED period, having trade relations with Ebla (see Chapter Two, under Kakmum). In these texts, there is mention of a king of Kakmum, but without mentioning his name. However, there is mention of a certain Ennaya of the city of Šubugu in the region of Kakmium.[254] This fact shows that Kakmum had satellite cities, indicating its power and position. The same is seen in this later period under present discussion, for both the Haladiny and the Jerusalem inscriptions explicitly mention the hegemony of Kakmum, in the former over the land of Utuwe, and in the latter on Kulunnum (iii 4′-iv 3). Kakmum is reported to have participated also in the Great Revolt against Narām-Sîn.[255] Although no campaigns against this land were recorded in the Ur III date-formulae, there is an archival text from Drehem that mentions sheep delivery to four (but Walker says three) Kakmians.[256] According to Walker, the distant

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[247] For these names cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 101-2.
[248] Gelb *et al., NPN,* p. 217.
[249] Cf. Wegner, *Einführung ...,* p. 227 under *ḫu(i)-*
[250] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 18 and 36. For more about Ur III Akkadian, cf. Hilgert, M., *Akkadisch in der Ur III- Zeit,* p. 168-70.
[251] Læssøe, J., "The Quest for the Country of *Utûm," *JAOS* 88 (1968), p. 122.
[252] For the meanings of *ina qāti…*, cf. *CAD* Q, p. 192, clause 2′: a′.
[253] The identification of the Kakmum of the Ebla texts with its Transtigridian namesake is still disputed, cf. for instance Bonechi, *RGTC* 12/1, p. 144-5. For occurrences in the Ebla archives, cf. *op. cit.,* 142-44.
[254] Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla ....,* p. 216.
[255] Grayson and Sollberger, "L'insurrection…," *RA* 70, p. 115, l. 3′.
[256] Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 193, referring to Langdon, *TAD* 67 Obv. 1-7. The text reads as follows: 1) 2 udu Dup-ki-še-ni(?) 2) lú Gu-ma-ra-ši^{ki} 3) 2 udu Ḫi-ša-tal 4) Na-lu-ʳukʾ 5) ù Šu-pu-uš-mut 6) 2 udu Du-ʳugʾ-ra 7) lú Kak-mi^{ki}-me, "Two sheep (for) Dupkišeni of Gumaraši, two sheep for Ḫišatal, Naluk and Šupušmut (and) two sheep for Dugra, men of Kakmu." The text does not make it clear whether the three preceding men were also from Kakmu, which is perhaps why Röllig pointed only to Dug/kra as the man from that place: Röllig, "Kakmum," *RlA* 5 (1976-1980), p. 289.

location of Kakmum was the reason why this land escapes mention in the Ur III texts.[257] However, the mention of far regions like Šašrum, Urbilum, Nineveh, Simanum and even Anšan (Š 34-35) shows that distance is not enough reason for omission. It seems in fact, that Kakmum was so powerful and seemingly in such a well-defendable location that it could resist any campaign or hostile act. The mention of the four persons from this land in the archival text of Drehem does not necessarily mean they were captives in receipt of rations. They could have been messengers or emissaries from that land. The mention of the land Gumaraši in the same archival text, which was also not attacked according to the available data, might support this suggestion. Kakmum was in fact a powerful kingdom, for Sargon of Assyria, some 1400 years later, spoke of "the wicked enemies of the land Kakmî."[258] The Jerusalem inscription states that Kakmum, from its earliest days did not carry tribute to anybody (iv 9-16). After the fall of Ur III, or in the few years before its fall, this land apparently appeared as a major power in the Transtigris region, and extended its hegemony over the neighbouring territories. That it confronted Simurrum, which built its own glory at the cost of Kakmum, can be concluded from the inscriptions. Iddi(n)-Sîn took first the land of Utuwe from it, then Kulunnum, and probably other places about which we are still ignorant. Even later Kakmum was effective and remained a prominent figure in the affairs of its own region and those of Babylonia. In the Shemshāra letter SH 809 Kakmum is mentioned among the powers Yašub-Addu of Aḫazum once followed in the course of his constant changing loyalties.[259] The letter SH 875 mentions looting cattle from the city of Kigibši by Muškawe,[260] governor of Kakmum.[261] Preparations for an attack on Kakmum itself is recorded in SH 802, 808+815.[262] There are other events recorded for this land: the 37th year of Hammurabi of Babylon was named after the victory over "the armies of the Guti, the Turukkians, Kakmum and the land of Šubartum;"[263] a letter from Mari (*ARM* 26/2, 489) from the time of Zimri-Lim records that Gurgurrum of Kakmum attacked Qabrā with 500 men and defeated the 2,000 men who were sent against him by Ardigandi of Qabrā;[264] the capture of two Babylonians to the north of Ekallātum and their detention in the 'palace of Kakmum' is reported in an OB letter, in which they ask the GAL.MAR.TU Sîn-Idinnam to buy their release;[265] a letter from Mari (*ARM* 6, 79, 17) also refers to a messenger from Kakmum; and texts from Tell al-Rimāh (*OBTR* 255, 7; 261, 5) mention wine delivered to Kakmians.[266]

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[257] Walker, *ibid.*

[258] ^{KUR}*Ka-ak-mi-i* ^{LÚ}KÚR *lem-ni*, Mayer, W., "Sargons Feldzug gegen Urartu- 714 v. Chr., Text und Übersetzung" *MDOG* 115 (1983), p. 72, l. 56.

[259] Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.,* p. 70 (no. 1).

[260] This is a clear Hurrian name, cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.,* p. 24, note 33. In addition, the name of the Kakmian Ḫiš-atal in the above-mentioned Ur III text from Drehem is clearly Hurrian.

[261] Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.,* p. 114-5 (no. 44).

[262] *Op. cit.,* p 142-3 (no. 69).

[263] Charpin, Histoire politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002-1595), *OBO,* p. 332.

[264] Charpin, D., F. Joannès, S. Lackenbacher and B. Lafont, Archives épistolaires de Mari I/2, *ARM* 26, Paris, 1988, no. 489 [A. 639], p. 424-6.

[265] 6) *e-le-nu-um* 7) É.GAL-*la-tim na-ak-rum* 8) *il-qí-né-ti i-na* É.GAL 9) *Ka-ak-mi-im*^{ki} 10) *ni-ib-bé-el,* "to the north of Ekallatum, the enemy took us, we are detained," Frankena, R., Briefe aus dem British Museum, *AbB* 2, Leiden, 1966, no. 46, p. 28-29; cf. also Kupper, J.-R., *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari,* Paris, 1957, p. 191 and notes 1-3; Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, "Aššur avant l'Assyrie," *MARI* 8, Paris, 1997, p. 369, note 15. Note that *elēnum* can also be translated "upstream," so perhaps upstream of the Lower Zāb, in the direction of the Rāniya and Qala Dize Plains.

[266] Röllig, "Kakmum," *ibid*. No. 255, l. 7: 6) 1 DUG GEŠTIN 7) *a-na* LÚ *Ka-ak-mi-*⌜*i*⌝; 261, l. 5: 1 ⌜DUG GEŠTIN *a*⌝*-na* LÚ *Ka-ak-mi-*⌜*i*⌝, cf. Dalley *et al., OBTR,* pp. 185 and 188.

The allusion to the capture of the two individuals to the north of Ekallātum and their detention in Kakmum was considered significant for the location of Kakmum by Walker.[267] Since it is generally accepted that Ekallātum was located somewhere on the Tigris, south or north of Assur or Nineveh,[268] it means that Kakmum too, according to this detail, was located somewhere on or close to the Tigris. Frayne, on the other hand, proposed modern Koy Sanjaq for its location, basing himself on the morphological similarity of the two names.[269] Others put Kakmum between Ekallātum and Erbil,[270] or in the valleys between Sulaimaniya and Chamchamāl.[271] All these identifications do not take into consideration two further questions. First, if Kakmum was on or close to the Tigris, how can we explain the involvement of Kakmum in the invasion of the Mannean territories in the days of Sargon II?[272] A kingdom that can seize territories of Manna must have been its neighbour. Furthermore it would have been impossible for such a powerful enemy of Assyria to exist in its heartland, south or north of Assur, under Sargon. Second, how could Kakmum have escaped the Ur III warfare if it was located in the valleys between Sulaimaniya and Chamchamāl or in Koi Sanjaq, on the way to Urbilum, Šašrum and Šuruṯḫum? Moreover, why was it never mentioned if it was located on the Tigris, on the way that leads to Nineveh and thence to Simanum? The information of the Urartian campaign of Sargon clearly points to a location of Kakmum further north-east. It must have been located in a territory that possessed enough plain terrain to allow the growth of a powerful city and state, away from the main routes and out of reach of military campaigns, but at the same time well-defended by high mountains and narrow passes. The first candidate for this that comes into mind could be the Pishder Plain (= Qala-Dizeh), that is separated from the Rāniya Plain by the pass of Darband-i-Ramkān,

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[267] Walker, *op. cit.,* p. 194.

[268] Cf. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung* ...., p. 11-12 at Tell al-Ḍahab to the south of Assur, south of the junction of the Lower Zāb with the Tigris; according to Kupper, Hallo, Oates, Frayne and Steinkeller it was at Tell Haikal, north of Assur; for this and related bibliography cf. Nashef, Kh., *RGTC* 5, p. 101; *id, RGTC* 4, p. 38; Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 165-6; Steinkeller, "The Historical Background …," p. 85. Edzard put it between the Lower Zāb and the Diyāla, while Birot located it on the left bank of the Euphrates; for this and related bibliography, cf. Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 68. Eidem and Læssøe also locate it at Tulul al-Haikal on the east bank of the Tigris, some 20 km north of Assur: Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshāra Archives I,* p. 22 and note 31. The other suggestions referred to by Eidem and Læssøe, although less probable, put Ekallātum at Tell Akra, some 20 km east of Assur (Dittmann, R., "Ruinenbeschreibungen der Machmur-Ebene aus dem Nachlass von Walter Bachmann," in U. Finkbeiner, R. Dittmann, and H. Hauptmann (eds.), *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens, Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer,* Mainz, 1995, p. 101), or on the western bank of the Tigris (Heimpel, W., "Two notes on Ekallātum," *NABU* 1996, no. 101; Charpin and Durand, "Aššur avant l'Assyrie," *MARI* 8, 1997, p. 368ff). Ziegler agrees with the last identifications on the west side of the Tigris, still slightly to the north of Assur: Ziegler, N., "Le royaume d'Ekallâtum et son horizon géopolitique," *Florilegium Marianum (FM)* IV, Paris, 2002, p. 227.

[269] Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 171.

[270] Astour, "Semites and Hurrians …," p. 8-11. Eidem and Læssøe showed that this location does not fit the information provided by the Shemshāra tablets, since Kakmum appeared as an enemy of Šamšī-Adad after the capture of Erbil and its incorporation in the Assyrian Empire: Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.,* p. 23.

[271] Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.,* p. 24. Eidem in an earlier article proposed north of the Rāniya Plain: Eidem, J., "News from the Eastern Front: The Evidence from Tell Shemshāra," *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 97, note 68.

[272] This is mentioned in the text of the eighth campaign of Sargon II: 51) TA ^{KUR}*Par-su-áš at-tu-muš a-na* ^{KUR}*Mi-is-si na-gi-i ša* KUR *Ma-an-na-aije aq-ṭe-reb* 52) ^{m}*Ul-lu-su-nu a-di* UN.MEŠ KUR-*šu i-na tag-mer-ti lìb-bi ša e-piš ar-du-ti i-na* ^{URU}*Si-ir-da-ak-ka bir-ti-šú ú-qa-'i ger-ri* ……55) …… *áš-šú tur-re gi-mil-li-šu il-bi-na ap-pu* 56) GÌR^{II} ^{KUR}*Ka-ak-mi-i* ^{LÚ}KÚR *lem-ni* TA *qé-reb* KUR-*šu pa-ra-si-im-ma,* "From Parsuaš I departed, to Missi, a district of the Mannean country, I drew near. Ullusunu, together with the people of his land, their hearts bent on rendering service, awaited my expedition in Sirdakku, his fortress;" after the passage of presenting gifts and tokens of submission, it goes on: "That I might avenge him (on his foes) he prostrated himself before me, to bar the feet of the people of the land of Kakmî, wicked enemies, from his land," Mayer, *op cit.,* p. 72/73; Luckenbill, *ARAB* II, p. 76-7. Another text of Sargon mentions a governor of this land: ^{m}*Aš-pa-an-ra ša* KUR *Ka-ak*-KAM(sic!?): Röllig, "Kakmum," p. 289.

defended by the Kēwe Rash Range from the southwest and the huge Qandīl Range from the north and northeast, but at the same time close to Bētwate (Kulunnum) and Utuwe (Rāniya). The large tell of Qala Dizeh might hide the ruins of Kakmum.[273] The weak point in this identification is the proximity of Qala Dizeh to Shemshāra as J. Eidem argues (personal communication), although separated by a mountain range. A more possible candidate is Rawāndiz, which is a very well defended city, built on the flat top of a mountain and was the capital of the powerful princedom of Sōrān almost one and a half centuries ago. This location also fits the data we possess regarding its closeness to the Rāniya Plain, Bētwate, Qala Dizeh and the Mannean country (accessible via the Kēleshīn and Topzāwa passes). The only point that is not in favour of this suggestion is the lack of a plain territory suitable for abundant agricultural production, which was the basic economic activity together with animal husbandry of these old kingdoms. However, one may think of trade and military conquests as economic alternatives (see Chapter Eight). In the Shemshāra letter SH 868 (No. 69) the great Turrukean king Pišendēn asks a certain T[u…] to persuade the kings of Namar, Niqqum and Elam to attack Kakmum.[274] This is taken as evidence that Kakmum must have bordered the lands named.[275] However, undertaking such an attack does not necessarily require shared borders in our view, but it would involve passing through the Lullubian country, which is mentioned a few lines later in a broken context of the same letter. In the Jerusalem and the Bētwate inscriptions, the overtaking of Kulunnum is celebrated. Because Kulunnum is identified in Bētwate or close to it (see below), its removal from the hands of Kakmum must have been very easy for Iddi(n)-Sîn, because the way from Qala Dizeh to Bātwate passes through the Rāniya Plain (Utuwe) that he has already captured.[276] The steep and difficult mountain paths that avoid Rāniya seem to have been useless for sending defence troops to Kulunnum.

75-81) ***^{1}Ma-di/ki-a-*[x] ^{1}Ša-wa/wi/pi-a-*[x] ^{1}Ma-gi-ba-ˈni(?)ˈ ^{1}A-ḫa-ˈtumˈ ^{1}A-wi-la-núm ra-bí-a-nu A-mu-ri-im*:** Although the second column of the inscription is better preserved than the first, the reading of some of these names remains problematic, especially the final parts of the first two names. As to the first name, there are attestations of the PNs *Ma-di-ia*, *Ma-di-ia-ma* and *Ma-di-ia-tum* that are good parallels.[277] *Ma-ki-ia, Ma-ki-ia-tum* and *Ma-ki-a-nu-um* are also recorded as Amorite names,[278] in case we read the name in our inscription as *Ma-ki-ia*. Amorite names like *Ša-wi-lum* and *Ša-wu-ú-um* attested in Mari can also be parallel with the second name, or even the names *Ša-bi*-DINGIR and *Ša-a-bi-é*.[279] It is tempting to read the second name as the typical Semitic name *Ša Pî-ya*, "That of the mouth." However, this reading is not quite safe since such a name is characteristic of the South Mesopotamian area.[280] The reading of the last sign of the name Magiba-ni(?) which was first seen as the beginning of the signs BI, AM or TA, has been now confirmed by the re-examination of the

[273] The report from the time of Zimri-Lim that some men were attacked between Arrapḫa and Kakmum (*ARM* 26/2, 512) can be a global identification, because the direct neighbours of Arrapḫa on the north, northeast and east were Qabrā, It/du, Aḫāzum and the land of the Lullubum.

[274] 26) *ú ṭe$_4$-mu-um šu-ˈúˈ um-ma* 27 l. e.) *i-na-an-na a-na a-bi-im* UGULA *ra-bi-i-im* 28) *ù Na-ma-ri-im ù Da-a-si* 29) LUGAL *Ni-ki-im*^{ki} *šu-pu-ur-ma* 30 r.) KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI *ù aš-la-le-em* 31) *da-am-qa-am qí-bí-ma* 32) *a-na ma-at Ka-ak-mi-im li-iš-ta-ḫi-tú,* "And the plan was as follows: now send words to the "father," the grand-regent, and to Namarum, and to Dâsi, the king of Niq/kum, and promise silver, gold and costly things if they will make attacks on the land of Kakmum," Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.,* p. 143-44 (no. 69).

[275] Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.,* p. 24.

[276] This applies, of course, if Qala Dizeh is the correct location.

[277] Cf. Gelb, I. J., *Computer-aided Analysis of Amorite,* Chicago, 1980, p. 150 and the related bibliography.

[278] *Op. cit.,* p. 151-2.

[279] For the occurrence of these names, cf. Gelb, *Computer-aided …,* p. 193.

[280] For the phonetic values of the sign PI, cf. Borger, R., *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste,* Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981, p. 156 (no. 383).

inscription in 2006. A parallel Amorite name is not found; *Ma-tu-ba-ni*,[281] does not match this name. The last two names are good Semitic names, derived from the words *aḫum* and *awīlum*. These persons are labeled "Amorite sheikhs/chieftains"[282] in the inscription. For the first time we hear of clashes between the Amorites and the Simurrians who cooperated for a long time against Ur. It is obvious that the Amorites certainly tried to penetrate the territories of Simurrum after the fall of the Ur III Empire, as they did in many other regions of Mesopotamia that were under the authority of Ur. They succeeded in many regions in the south and the north, even in the Transtigris; they seem to have penetrated the land of Šikšabbum, whose ruler in the time of the Shemshāra archives bore the Semitic –most probably Amorite- name Yašub-^{d}Addu (*Ia-šu-ub-*^{d}IŠKUR). Nevertheless, their attempt in Simurrum was not successful. Iddi(n)-Sîn triumphantly boasts in this inscription the defeat he accomplished on these five Amorite sheikhs and pushed them back out of his territory. However, the clause *i-na kúl-le-ʾe*(?)ʾ*-šu iṭ-ru-*<<UD>>*-us-sú*, "he turned back (the Amorites) from his province" (see below) may indicate that the Amorites actually penetrated Simurrum for a certain time until they were driven back by Iddi(n)-Sîn. What made it more difficult for Simurrum was the joint attack. The Amorites were not alone but rather they collaborated with the Simaškians from the east. In doing this the Amorites seem to have repeated the same scenario they played out against Ur when they joined the Simurrians in that attack.[283] In the days of the supremacy of Ur both parties had one enemy and one joint objective. The prospect of the downfall of Ur unified them in one coalition. However, the fall of Ur changed the political interests and the balance of power. Consequently the Amorites became enemies of their former ally and tried to invade its land, leading to the war mentioned here.

83-85) *ù A-mu-ra-am i-na kúl-le-ʾe*(?)ʾ*-šu iṭ-ru-*<<UD>>*-us-sú*: The problem in this sentence is the sign UD in what appears to be a form of the verb *ṭarādu*. Reading *–ut-* gives problems with *us-sú* (from **ud/t-šu*), and reading u_4 gives other problems, because a long vowel does not fit this verb. We may think of a scribal error, which was not uncommon in ancient inscriptions. Perhaps the scribe first wrote *iṭrud*, a preterite form without a suffix, and*–us-sú* as an afterthought.

The word *kullêšu* is likely to be the same as *kuliši* in lines 2 and 105, but two problems appear. The expected form with genitive stem is *kulē/īši*, and the *l* is inexplicably geminated. Whatever the explanation the sentence clearly means that Iddi(n)-Sîn turned the Amorites out of his territory.

92-94) *A-mu-ra-am ʾùʾ Si-maš-kà-am*^{ki} *i-ne-er*: This is the first time the GN Simaški is mentioned in the inscriptions of this king. The structure of the inscription as a whole gives here emphasis to the two most important and prominent achievements of the king that were crucial to his career, at least up to the time of the writing of the inscription. They were achieved thanks to the god Nišba, who heard his words. One was the defeat of the Simaškians and the other the neutralization of the Amorite danger to his country. Possibly the Simaškians had tried to invade his land earlier and an inscription commemorating the Simurrian victory is waiting to be found. Thanks to this important victory over Simaški Iddi(n)-Sîn received the full blessing of the god of his land, which is stressed here. Another possibility is that the victory over Simaški was mentioned in this inscription, perhaps at the beginning of the second column, in a passage now broken.

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[281] Gelb, *op. cit.,* p. 151.

[282] Different meanings for the word *rabiānum* are proposed. The most appropriate is sheikh (of a tribe). For more details, cf.: Stol, M., *Studies in Old Babylonian History,* Leiden, 1976, p. 73-89.

[283] For the details of this Simurrian-Amorite coalition against Ur, cf. Chapter Four and this chapter under 'The Ur III Period.'

As for the location of Simaški, it is thought it was a very large territory in western Iran that comprised several lands including Zabšali.[284] Hinz located it to the north of Susiana, in and around Khurramābād in modern Luristan.[285] Stolper shares Hinz's view, putting it in the north of Khuzistan and/or in the province of Fars.[286] Vallat located it further to the southeast, to the north of Kerman Province.[287] The information in the Haladiny inscription however, is compatible with the suggestion of Zadok for a widespread territory in Western Iran, extending from Fars Province to the Caspian Sea.[288]

95-101) ^{d}***I-dì-***^{d}**EN.ZU** ***qar-dum i-lu-šu-nu-ti a-na še-ep*** ^{d}***Ni-iš-ba be-li-ʾšuʾ ú-kà-ni-ís-sú-nu-t[i]*:** Iddi(n)-Sîn entitles himself here "the hero," but later, in the Jerusalem inscription, he becomes "the hero among the king(s), the mighty king" (see below, col. i 10′-12′). As for the word *i-lu-šu-nu-ti*, we have two possibilities. The first is to understand it as "he overpowered them," from the verb *le'ûm*, as J. G. Dercksen suggests.[289] Then the sentence becomes "Iddi(n)-Sîn, the hero, overpowered them (and) subdued them at the feet of Nišba, his lord." A less probable option is to understand the word as a grammatically mistaken writing of *īlišūnu* "their gods," giving "Iddi(n)-Sîn, the hero, subdued their gods to the feet of Nišba, his lord." Theoretically this reading is not impossible. A military victory cannot be accomplished without an ideological one, and the gods of defeated peoples must submit to the god of the victors. Grammatical mistakes of this kind were not infrequent in the Hurrian-speaking sphere, for the scribes were influenced by their mother language, and similar cases in the Akkadian texts from Nuzi were noticed by Speiser.[290] If the second option is correct, we assume that the scribe has written *i-lu-* for *i-li-*, and added–*ti* which is appropriate for a verb but not a noun. One case quoted by Speiser, *ipallaḫ-šunuti,* is strikingly similar to this case.

102) ***ma-tá-tum ša i-te-bu-ʾšuʾ-na-ti*** **ʾÉʾ** ^{d}***Ni-iš-ba*** **[LUGAL] ʾ9ʾ** ***ʾkuʾ-[li-ší]*:** What has been done to the temple of the god Nišba by the lands (the word *ma-tá-tum* is nominative) is unknown because the verb is broken away. It could be something like *banû* "to build," *edēšu* "to renovate," *šuklulu* "to complete/perfect," *madādu* "to pay (tribute)," or even *ḫalāqu* "to destroy."

3. *The Jerusalem Inscription*

This inscription, on a stele with reliefs (Fig. 11a-b), was reportedly found together with the three Bētwate inscriptions in the same spot in Bard-i-Sanjiān in Bētwate. This town is situated slightly to the northwest of the Rāniya Plain, in a narrow valley but with easy access to the Rāniya Plain. This inscription mysteriously reached the black market in Geneva, where it was sold to a private European collector, and finally arrived in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem in 1971. There it is on display, with the accession number 71.73.248.[291]

The relief (Fig. 12) shows the king standing on the left with a sword in his right hand and a bow in his left. He tramples on a defeated enemy, who appears to be Aurnaḫuš the ruler of Kulunnum, depicted only half as big as the king. On the right the goddess Ištar stands facing the king. It is assumed that a star was originally depicted in the space between the heads of

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[284] For the names of the lands within Simaški, cf. Chapter Four, under 'Šū-Sîn;' for the inscription that cites their names and states that "Simaški (which comprises) the lands of Zabšali, whose surge is like (a swarm) of locusts, from the border of Anšan to the Upper Sea" see Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, p. 303 (text E3/2.1.4.3, col. ii, l. 14-33).
[285] Hinz, "Persia …," *CAH*, p. 653.
[286] Stolper, M. W., "On the Dynasty of Šimaški and the Early Sukkalmaḫs," *ZA* 72 (1982), p. 45-46.
[287] Vallat, F., *RGTC* 11, Wiesbaden, 1993, p. 242-3.
[288] Zadok, "Elamite Onomastics," *SEL* 8 (1991), p. 227.
[289] Here I would like to thank J. G. Dercksen for reading the draft of this chapter and offering valuable suggestions.
[290] Speiser, E. A., *Introduction to Hurrian,* New Haven, 1941, p. 208, under 8.
[291] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 1.

both standing figures.[292] The headdress of the king is ornamented with a row of five crescent moons, possibly connected to his name composed with the theophoric element Sîn.[293] The sword the king holds is similar to the swords depicted on both reliefs of Sarpul discussed above. The king is beardless and without a moustache. The upper part of his body is naked and the muscles on his breast and his arm are shown. He wears a relatively heavy necklace, with a large bean-form pearl in the centre and smaller ones on both sides. He has ring bands round his wrists.[294] The dress is generally similar to that of the relief of Sarpul, but it is here clearer and preserves more detail. It is fastened with a wide belt, having two edges, and the space between the two edges is decorated with a grid. The decorated hem marks the high quality material the dress is made of, in a style found in art since the Akkadian Period.[295] In contrast to the Sarpul relief the king is here barefoot. The defeated enemy has a moustache and a short beard. His hair is combed and a braid on his neck is clearly shown.[296] The hair and short beard of this figure is compared by Seidl to the beard of the captives depicted on the relief of Annubanini in Sarpul.[297]

The goddess wears the crown with four pairs of horns. Her hair is bound in a large knot that rests on her shoulders, while a long wisp is left loose hanging down to her chest. Her neck is covered with an ornament of five rings. The dress is long and reaches her bare feet. Her right arm is not covered by the long dress but it is not bare, for she also wears a short-sleeved dress shown as round dots. With her right hand she holds what appears to be a sceptre,[298] but only the lower part is still preserved. In her left hand she holds a small object which has a double coiled shape at the end.[299] Seidl accepts the opinion of Frankfort that it is the uterus of a cow, a symbol used together with mother goddesses. This goddess could similarly be a mother goddess. There is no mention of her name, in contrast to the Annubanini relief in Sarpul. The three female goddesses mentioned in the curse formula are Ninḫursag, Ištar and Nin-AN-Sianna. Seidl rules out identifying her with Ištar because her iconographic characteristics are not applicable. Nin-AN-Sianna, the personal goddess of this king that would have protected him and stood beside him in battles, is possible. But, as Seidl further states, we do not have any other image of this deity and the texts are not significantly different from those for Ištar.[300] This leaves Ninḫursag, one of the great mother-goddesses.[301]

Transliteration

a′ [AN]
b′ [^{d}EN.LÍL]
c′ [^{d}NIN.ḪUR.SAG]
d′ [^{d}EN.KI]
e′ [^{d}EN.ZU]
f′ [^{d}IŠKUR]
g′ [^{d}UTU]

[292] Seidl, U., Das Relief, in Shaffer and Wasserman, *ZA* 93, p. 40.
[293] Seidl, p. 42.
[294] Seidl, *ibid.*
[295] Seidl, *ibid.*
[296] Seidl, *op. cit.,* p. 43.
[297] Seidl, *op. cit.,* p. 45-6.
[298] According to Seidl, she might have held the ring and staff or the divine weapon of Ištar, the double-lion club, Seidl, p. 48.
[299] Seidl, p. 48. Cf. *op. cit.,* p. 48-9.
[300] Seidl, p. 49.
[301] Seidl, *ibid.*

Col. i

1′) [*ù* ^{d}INANNA?]
2′) $^{r d ⌝}$[*Nin*-AN-*si*$_4$-*an-na*]
3′) [*ilšu*]
4′) ^{r}*ù*$^{⌝}$ $^{d r}$*Ni*$^{⌝}$-^{r}*iš*$^{⌝}$-^{r}*ba*$^{⌝}$ [302]
5′) ^{r}*be*$^{⌝}$-^{r}*el*?$^{⌝}$-^{r}*šu*]
6′) BALA ^{r}*ki*$^{⌝}$-^{r}*nam*$^{⌝}$
7′) *lu-bu-*^{r}*uš*$^{⌝}$*-t*[*ám*]
8′) *ù nam-ri-ra-*^{r}*am*$^{⌝}$
9′) ^{r}*a*$^{⌝}$*-na*
10′) ^{d}*i-dì-*^{d}EN.ZU
11′) [*q*]*ar-dim i-na* LUGAL
12′) LUGAL *da-núm*
13′) LUGAL *Si-mu-ur-ri-im*^{ki}
14′) *ù* LUGAL 9 *ku-li-ší*

Col. ii

1) *i-*^{r}*di*$^{⌝}$*-nu-šum-m*[*a*]
2) [x] *te-e-ne-eš*$_{15}$
3) [x] *na-ak-ri-šu*
4) [*i*?*-na*? *ma*]*-at Kak-mi-*^{r}*im*$^{ki⌝}$

Lacuna of about 10 lines

1′-5′) (Effaced)
6′) ^{r}x$^{⌝}$-^{r}*ub*?$^{⌝}$*-na-*^{r}x$^{⌝}$ [x] ^{r}x$^{⌝}$[303]
7′) $^{d r}$*I*?$^{⌝}$-^{r}*di*?$^{⌝}$-[^{d}EN.ZU][304]
8′) […]
9′) 1 *Ḫa-a*[*p/b*]-^{r}*ri*$^{⌝}$-^{r}*za/a*?$^{⌝}$*-ni*^{ki}[305]
10′) 1 *Šu-lu-te*^{ki}
11′) 1 *A/Za-i-la-kí/gi*^{ki}
12′) 1 *Ku-ba-an-ni-we*^{ki}
13′) 1 *Ti-ri-uk-kí-na-áš-we*^{ki}
14′) *i-na mu-ší-im*

Col. iii

1) *iš-ti-in*
2) *ú-ḫa-li-*^{r}*iq*$^{⌝}$*-šu-nu-ti*
3) ^{I}*Ni/Kak-li-ip*^{ki}[306]

[302] Shaffer and Wasserman: *pá*.
[303] Shaffer and Wasserman propose two broken signs in the beginning of the sentence (before the assumed UB sign). However, judging by the photos and the transcription, there is room for only one small sign (such as A).
[304] Except for DINGIR, nothing legible is shown on the transcription made by Shaffer and Wasserman. This reconstruction seems to have been made based on faint traces that are not shown on the transcription, or are based on older photos of the inscription.
[305] The sign ZA, in the reconstructed form of the name given by Shaffer and Wasserman, who suggest the name *Ḫa-a*[*p*]*-*^{r}*ri*$^{⌝}$*-*^{r}*za*?$^{⌝}$*-ni*, is not clear on the transcription. It can also be A.

4) […]-ʳ*tim*?ˀ
5) […*ú*?]-ʳ*ḫa*?-*li*?-*iq*?ˀ [307]
(Lacuna of about 20 lines)

a′) [*ṣú-úḫ-ra-am*][308]
1′) *ù ra-bí-a-am*
2′) *kà-ma-ri-šu*
3′) *iš-ku-un*
4′) 1 *Ku-lu-na-am*^{ki}

Col. iv

1) *Kak-mu-*ʳ*um*ˀ^{ki}
2) *i-na qá-ti* ʳ*Si*?ˀ-ʳ*mu*ˀ-*ur-*<*ri*>-ʳ*im*ˀ[^{ki}]
3) *i-dì-šu*[*m*]-ʳ*ma*ˀ
4) [...]
5) ^{d}*I-dì-*^{d}EN.ZU
6) *da-núm*
7) *a-na* LÚ *ma-ki-im*
8) ʳ*ú*ˀ-*ti-ir-šu*
9) *ma-at Kak-mi-i*[*m*^{ki}]
10) *ša iš-tu* ʳUDˀ *pá-ni-*ʳ*šu*?ˀ
11) *bí-il-tám*
12) [*a*?-*na*?] *ma-am-ma-na*
13) [*la*] *ub-lu-ú-na*
14) [x x x AN?-SI?/KU?-BE?
15) […]
16) […]-*ri*
17) [KÙ?].GI-*am*
18) [UDU?] MÁŠ.GAL
19) [*bí-i*]*l-tám*
20) [*ša*? *Si*]-*mu-ur-ri-im*^{ki}
21) ʳ^{d}*I*ˀ-*dì-*ʳ^{d}ENˀ.ZU
22) LU[GAL]?
23) ʳ*da*?ˀ-[*núm*?] *a-*[*na*] *še-ep*
24) ^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*
25) *be-lí-šu*
26) *ú-kà-ni-ís-sú-nu-ti*
27) *Ší-ik-ša-am-bu-um*^{ki}

Col. v

(Lacuna of about 5 lines)

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[306] Shaffer and Wasserman leave the reading open as NI.
[307] These two lines (4 and 5) are not shown in the transcription of Shaffer and Wasserman. They have reconstructed them from older photos and the reproduction by al-Fouadi: Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 15.
[308] Restoration based on its occurrence in col. vii, l. 8.

1′) *ku-li-šu-um*
2′) *ik-kí-ir-ma*
3′) [1]*a-úr-na-ḫu-uš*
4′) *a-na be-lu-ti-šu*
5′) *il-qè-ma*
6′) *a-la-am ú-ḫa-l*[*i-iq*]
7′) *kà-ma-ar-šu-n*[*u*]
8′) *iš-ku-*⌜*un*⌝
9′) *ù a-*⌜*úr-na-ḫu-uš*⌝

Lacuna of about 2-3 lines

1″) ⌜x⌝
2″) x x x […]
3″) *e-ne-er*
4″) ALAM-*i*
5″) *i-na Ku-lu-ni-im*[ki]
6″) *uš-zi-iz*
7″) *ša* ALAM-*mi*
8″) *ù* ⌜*ší*⌝*-ṭì-ir-ti*
9″) *ú-š*[*a-s*]*à-ku-na*

Col. vi

1) [*ù*]
2) *a-na šu-mi*
3) [x ? x ?] *er-re-ti-šu*
4) [x ? x ?] *ša-ni-a-am*
5) [x x] *ú-ša-ḫa-z*[*u*]
6) *a-wi-lam šu-*⌜*a-ti*⌝
7) ⌜AN⌝
8) [d]EN.LÍL
9) [d] NIN.ḪUR.SAG
10) dEN.KI
11) dEN.ZU
12) dIŠKUR
13) *ù* dINANNA
14) ⌜d⌝*Nin*-AN-*si*$_4$*-an-na*
15) *ì-lí*
16) ⌜*ù*⌝ d*Ni-iš-ba*
17) *be-lí*
18) dUTU *be-él* DI.KU$_5$
19) *ù* DU Ú
20) DINGIR *ra-bí-ú-tum*
21) *er-re-tám*
22) *le-mu-tám*
23) *li-ru-ru-uš*
24) NUMUN-*šu*
25) *li-il-qú-tù*
26) DU-*sú*

27) *li-sú-ḫu*

Col. vii

1) DUMU.NITA
2) *ù* MU
3) *a i-dì-nu-šum*
4) *ba-la-ṭum*
5) *lu ik-ʳkiʾ-ib-šu*
6) *ki-ma ša-ma*?!
7) *e-bu-ri-im*
8) *i-na ṣe-er ṣú-úḫ-ri-im*
9) *ù ra-bí-i-im*
10) *lu ma-ru-uṣ*

Col. viii

1) [x x] ʳ*a-na*ʾ DU
2) [x] *li* GA *mi* GÚ.UN
3) 1 *me-at* ^{GIŠ}PÈŠ *še-er-ku$_8$* 6 KÙŠ
4) MÁŠ.DA.RÍ
5) 1 ^{GIŠ}PÈŠ U$_8$ GIŠ.DÙ.A
6) 1 ^{GIŠ}PÈŠ MÁŠ GIŠ.DÙ.A
7) *a-na bi-la-at*
8) *Ku-lu-nu-um*^{ki}
9) *iš-ku-un*

Translation

(Lacuna of about 20 lines. Lines a′-f′ restored after vi 7-13).

i **a′-g′)** […An (?), Enlil (?),Ninḫursag (?), Enki (?), Sîn (?), Adad (?), Šamaš (?)

1′-5′) [and Ištar (?)], [Nin-AN-Sianna his god] and Nišba his lord,

6′-8′) a firm sceptre, a robe and splendo[ur],

9′-14′) to Iddi(n)-Sîn, the heroic among the king(s), mighty king, king of Simurrum and king of the nine *kulišum*,

ii **1-4)** they gave him s[o that he may subdue (?)… the po]pulation of his enemies [in the la]nd of Kakmum…

(lacuna of about 10 lines)

1′-5′) (effaced)

6′) ʳxʾ-ʳxʾ-ʳ*ub*?ʾ-*na*-ʳxʾ [x] ʳxʾ

7′-8′) Id[di(n)-Sîn], [the mighty],

9′-13′) …(the cities of) Ḫapri(z?)ani, Šulute, A/Zailak/gi, Kubanniwe, Tiriukkinašwe,

14′) in a single night

iii **1-2)** he destroyed them.

3-5) He has destroyed Kak/Ni-lip…

(lacuna of about 20 lines.)

a′-3′) [Young] and old, he brought its (i.e. the land's, or the city's) defeat.

4′) As for Kulunnum,

iv **1-8)** Kakmum delivered (it) to the hand of [Sim]urrum, and … Iddi(n)-Sîn, turned

him to a destitute man.

9-16) The land of Kakmum, which from its earliest day(s) did [not] carry tribute [to] anybody, …

17-26) Iddi(n)-Sîn, the mighty king, forced them to prostrate at the feet of Nišba his Lord, …, [go]ld, [grass-fed sheep ?], grass-fed full grown he-goats,[309] [the tri]bute [of] Simurrum.

27) Šikšamb[um^{ki}] (…)
(lacuna of about 5 lines ?)

v **1′-5′)** The *kulišum* (i.e. the district ?) rebelled and took Aurnaḫuš for its ruler.

6′-8′) Hence, he destroyed the city, brought their defeat.

9′-3″) And as for Aurnaḫuš, [the] en[emy ?] …
(lacuna of about 2-3 lines)
… I(/He?) slew (him).

4″-6″) (On account of all this), I caused to set up my image in Kulun(n)um.

7″-9″) Whoever erases my image [and] my [in]scription,

vi **1-5)** [or], because of its […] curse, incites another […] (to do so),

6-23) as for this man, may An, Enlil, Ninḫursag, Enki, Sîn, Adad, Ištar, Nin-AN-Sianna my god, Nišba my lord, Šamaš, the lord of judgement and permanence(?)/ stability(?)/ order(?) (all) the great gods, curse with an evil curse.

24-25) May they not give him an heir and an offspring;

26-27) May they tear out his root;

vii **1-3)** May they not give him an heir and an offspring;

4-5) May life be abominable for him;

6-10) Like rain (in the time) of harvest may it be harsh for (his) young and old.

viii **1-2)** …. Tribute (?)

3-9) 100 strings of figs, (each) 6 cubits long, offerings- 1 fig (represents? 1) breeding ewe; 1 fig (represents? 1) breeding he-goat- he established as the tribute of Kulun(n)um.

Commentary[310]

a′-f′) These lines are restored by Shaffer and Wasserman after col. vi, l. 7-13.[311]

i 2′) ˹d˺[*Nin*-AN-*si$_4$-an-na*]: The deity ^{d}*Nin*-AN-*si$_4$-an-na* is attested also in the inscriptions of Sarpul and Bēwate.

ii 9′) *Ḫa-a*[*p*]-˹*ri*˺-˹*za*(?)˺-*ni*^{ki}: As the publishers of the inscription noted, the identification of the new GNs attested in this inscription would be premature, but that they were close to each other is deduced from their being destroyed in a single night (ii 14′-iii 2).[312] The first element of this GN could be identical with the first element of the PN Ḫaip-šarri (*ḫa-ip*-LUGAL)

[309] To Shaffer and Wasserman who translate it as "great goat," it is not quite clear whether it should be taken literally. A text of Šū-Sîn mentions fashioning a statue of a great goat as a symbol of the tribute of Anšan, cf. Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 17. It is also interesting that Erridu-Pizir referred to great goat offerings in his inscription (v 15-18), Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 18. T.J.H. Krispijn prefers to translate UDU as "grass-fed sheep" and MÁŠ-GAL as "grass-fed full grown he-goat."

[310] Comments will be made only at points that add to or differ from the viewpoint of the editors of the inscription. Their own valuable comments will not be repeated here.

[311] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 7.

[312] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 26, propose "probably in the district of Bētwate".

(*JEN* 173:6; *HSS* XV 128:27).[313] Support for this comes from the occurrence of Ḫap-zilakku beside Ḫaip-zilakku in *WZKM* XLIV 183.[314] The element Ḫap- is found also in the GN Ḫapate[315] and probably Ḫap/bup/ba[316] in the Nuzi texts. The vertical wedges put before the GNs of lines 9′-13′, in addition to the KI behind them, probably denote tribal names, names marked both as ethnonyms and toponyms. Writing the name of the Turukkian tribe preceded by LÚ(.MEŠ) and followed by KI in some texts is a good parallel.[317]

ii 13′) 1 *Ti-ri-uk-kí-na-áš-we*^{ki}: This GN is attested for the first time in this inscription. It bears clear Hurrian characteristics, seen in the *na=až=we* suffixes for the pl. marker + gen. suffix. The name that remains is Tiriukki, the name of the famous Tu/irukkû tribe of the Shemshāra letters.[318] It is noteworthy that the form *Ti…* occurs one other time in the Shemsāra letter 1 = SH 809, l. 8 and 9. It could perhaps be possible that the first vowel was *u umlaut*, Türukkû.

iii 3) *Ni/Kak-li-ip*^{ki}: It is also possible to read this GN as Kaklip, possibly a variant of Hurrian Kiklip.

vi 18-19) ^{d}UTU *be-él* DI.KU$_5$ *ù* DU Ú: The DU Ú is left without any translation by Shaffer and Wasserman. They considered it a divine name, which perhaps formed a divine counterpart to the god Šamaš.[319] However, the absence of the divine determinative before the DU favours considering it as another word that is coupled with DI.KU$_5$. The sign DU can be understood thus as a Sumerian logogram, which is followed by the phonetic complement *–ú.* Then a problem appears about the case of this noun, which should be marked as genitive (with *-i*), not as nominative (with *-u*). One may conjecture that the scribe, having written out a series of gods who are all subjects of the sentence and thus in the nominative, has mistakenly written this word too in the nominative. The Akkadian equivalent of the DU can be *kūnu* < *kânu* to mean "stability,"[320] "firmness," or another meaning derived from the verb that fits the context of our text like "(law) establishment," "putting in order," "assigning persons to positions/offices," or "maintaining and preserving the rule, the life of a person or the permanence of a city."[321]

Shaffer and Wasserman consider the regions mentioned in the inscription, namely Ḫaprizani, Šulute, Z/Ailaki, Kubanniwe, Tiriukkinašwe and Kulunnum, original parts of the land of Kakmum, not lands conquered and annexed to it.[322] This inscription, as the authors noticed, celebrates two main achievements: the defeat of Kakmum (ii 1-iv 27) and the conquest of Kulunnum after it rebelled (v 1′-v 6″).[323] The text shows that the defeat of Kakmum was a great achievement when it stresses that the land "from its earliest day(s) did [not] carry tribute [to] anybody" (iv 10-13). Kulunnum rebelled after its annexation to Simurrum, the fact that necessitated a campaign that resulted in the crushing of the rebellion and destruction of the city. An important piece of information is the name of the ruler that the

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[313] Cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 81. Note that the geographical nomenclature could be based on ethnonyms, for instance the GN 1 *Ti-ri-uk-kí-na-áš-we*^{ki} (ii 13′) discussed below. This phenomenon was not uncommon in the ancient Near East. Even today many GNs are deduced from PNs or ethnonyms.

[314] Gelb *et. al., NPN,* p. 213. *NPN* cites also the Hurrian PN *Ḫa-ap-še-en* as an example of the use of this element. According to *NPN,* the element is formed from the verbal root *ḫai-* or *ḫa-* that was tentatively translated by Bork as "to mention/ to nominate" or "to give," cf. *NPN,* p. 212. But for Wegner the root *ḫa-* means "to take," Wegner, *Einführung…,* p. 224.

[315] Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 92

[316] Cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 93.

[317] For such occurrences, cf. Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 240.

[318] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 26, referring to a communication with G. Wilhelm.

[319] *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

[320] For the meanings of *kūnu* cf. *CAD* K, p. 543.

[321] For the different meanings of the verb *kânu* in this regard, cf. *CAD* K, p. 166-167.

[322] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 26.

[323] *Op. cit.*, p. 28-29.

people of Kulunnum chose for lordship, a certain Aurnaḫuš.[324] He was surely put to death, although the inscription is damaged at this point.[325]

Shaffer and Wasserman think that all the inscriptions of Bētwate (1, 2, 3 and the Jerusalem inscription also found in Bētwate) refer to the same event, the rebellion of Kulunnum.[326] According to them, Zabazuna, son of the king was ruler of the city on behalf of his father Iddi(n)-Sîn and it was he who actually crushed the rebellion, destroyed the city and celebrated the victory in the inscriptions Bētwate 1, 2 and 3. Yet he ordered the making of the Jerusalem inscription and the relief on which only the name of his father as the actual king of the kingdom is mentioned, without any reference to his own name.[327] The available data in the inscriptions allow a further explanation. It is true that Iddi(n)-Sîn was the king of the kingdom and any achievement should be attributed to him. But, on the other hand, there is no reason to totally neglect the mention of his son, the man in the field who accomplished the victory. Furthermore, the style of the inscriptions (the three of Bētwate as one group compared to the Jerusalem inscription), the layout and the orthography are different, and they can hardly have been written by the same scribe or in the same short span of time.[328] I think the inscriptions refer to two different episodes, two rebellions in Kulunnum, most probably incited by Kakmum. Which one is older is difficult to establish, but I tend to date the Jerusalem inscription before the Bētwate. The former can belong to the first phase of the conquests in the Rāniya Plain and its surroundings, when Iddi(n)-Sîn claimed that he subdued Kakmum to his authority and, after a short time, Kulunnum rebelled. We may imagine that after the crushing of the rebellion and the celebration of his victory by this inscription, he appointed his son to rule the northern districts of his kingdom. A second rebellion in Kulunnum must have broken out. This time it was handled by Zabazuna himself and its success was commemorated by the inscriptions of Bētwate 1, 2 and 3.[329] That Zabazuna was the ruler of Kulunnum, or at least the military commander responsible for the affairs of these regions, is evidenced by the Bētwate inscription, when it states: "Kulunnum rebelled and waged war against Zabazuna" (Bētwate, 4-11), not Iddi(n)-Sîn.

A second option, though less probable, is that the Jerusalem inscription postdates the others, commemorating the victory the king won after he came to aid his son. Nevertheless, in this case, one expects that there would be at least one mention of Zabazuna, for instance stating that the province rebelled against the governor Zabazuna. Hence, it is more probable that the Jerusalem inscription was inscribed in a time when Zabazuna had not yet any official post, at least in relation to the affairs of Kulunnum and Kakmum. Shaffer and Wasserman are correct when they attribute the writing of the Bētwate inscriptions to the son Zabazuna,[330] a fact which reinforces our suggestion that these inscriptions belong to a later phase than his father's personal involvement in the north. The authors noticed too that the mention of the son of the king in these inscriptions is unique, never having occurred in the inscriptions of lowland Mesopotamia.[331] This phenomenon appears to have been a characteristic of the

[324] The first part of the name could be from the Hurrian *ewri* "lord."
[325] The allusion of Shaffer and Wasserman to the verb *e-ne-er* in v 3′′ as reference to putting Aurnaḫuš to death is difficult to accept, because there are 4 lines missing between the name and the verb. The verb *inêr* can refer to the annihilation or killing any other individual or people or even destruction of any land as in the Haladiny inscription.
[326] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 29-30.
[327] *Ibid.*
[328] For a detailed list of differences cf. Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 30, note 103. Sallaberger has pointed out that the Bētwate inscriptions exhibit later scribal features compared with the older scribal habits found in the Jerusalem inscription.
[329] Gelb and Kienast believe in a second rebellion in Kulunnum, but without any more precise chronology: Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, p. 379; 381.
[330] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 31-32.
[331] *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

Hurrian royal houses, for we observed the intimate relationship between the royal parents and posterity shown on the seals of Urkeš, as discussed in Chapter Four.

4. *The Bētwate Inscriptions* (ID 1, 2 and 3)[332]

These three almost identical inscriptions (Fig. 13a-c) are each dedicated to a different deity. They have been inscribed to commemorate the victory over the 'rebel' city of Kulunnum. The inscriptions begin with the name and title of Iddi(n)-Sîn, king of Simurrum, followed by the name of his son, Zabazuna, who appears to have accomplished the task in the field as a military commander by implementing the orders of his father, the king. The inscriptions were found in Bard-i-Sanjiān in Bētwate. They are now housed in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad, registered under accession numbers IM 81364 (Text A, or 1); IM 81365 (Text B, or 2) and IM 81366+ IM 81367 (Text C, or 3).

Transliteration[333]

Text ID 1	Text ID 2	Text ID 3
1) ^{d}*I-dì-*^{d}EN.ZU	1) ^{d}*I-dì-*^{d}EN.ZU	1) ^{d}*I-dì-*^{d}EN.ZU
2) LUGAL *da-núm*	2) LUGAL *da-núm*	2) LUGAL *da-núm*
3) LUGAL *Si-mu-ri-im*^{ki}	3) LUGAL *Si-mu-ri-im*^{ki}	3) LUGAL *Si-mu-ri-im*^{ki}
4) ^{d}*Za-ba-zu-na*	4) ^{d}*Za-ba-zu-na*	4) ^{d}*Za-ba-zu-na*
5) DUMU-NI	5) DUMU-NI	5) DUMU-NI
6) *Ku-lu-un-nu-um*^{ki}	6) *Ku-lu-un-nu-um*^{ki}	6) *Ku-lu-un-nu-um*^{ki}
7) *ik-ki-ir-ma*	7) *ik-ki-ir-ma*	7) [*i*]*k-ki-ir-ma*
8) *a-na*	8) *a-na*	8) [*a*]*-na*
9) ^{d}*Za-ba-zu-na*	9) ^{d}*Za-ba-zu-na*	9) [^{d}*Za-ba*]*-zu-*⌜*na*⌝
10) *gi-ra-am*	10) *gi-ra-am*	10) [*gi*]-⌜*ra*⌝-[*am*]
11) *i-ta-ba-al*	11) *i-ta-ba-al*	11) [*i-t*]*a-ba-al*
12) *ša* ^{d}*Za-ba-zu-na*	12) *ša* ^{d}*Za-ba-zu-na*	12) [*š*]*a* ^{d}*Za-ba-zu-na*
13) *a-wa-sú*	13) *a-wa-sú*	13) *a-wa-sú*
14) ^{d}IŠKUR	14) ^{d}IŠKUR	14) ^{d}IŠKUR
15) ^{d}INANNA	15) ^{d}INANNA	15) ^{d}INANNA
16) *ù* ^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*	16) *ù* ^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*	16) *ù* ^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*
17) *iš-me-ú-ma*	17) *iš-me-ú-ma*	17) *iš-me-ú-ma*
18) *a-lam ú-ḫa-li-iq-ma*	18) *a-lam ú-ḫa-li-iq-ma*	18) *a-lam ú-ḫa-li-iq-ma*
19) *a-na i-li*	19) *a-na i-li*	19) *a-na i-li*
20) *šu-nu-ti*	20) *šu-nu-ti*	20) *šu-nu-tu*
21) *ú-qá-dì-ís-sú*	21) *ú-qá-dì-ís-sú*	21) *ú-qá-dì-íš-sú*
22) GIŠ.BANŠUR-*am*	22) GIŠ.BANŠUR-*am*	22) GIŠ.GU.ZA-*am*
23) *ša* ^{d}INANNA	23) *ša* ^{d}IŠKUR	23) *ša* ^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*
24) *be-el-ti-šu*	24) *be-lí-šu*	24) *be-lí-šu*
25) *iš-ku-un*	25) *iš-ku-un*	25) *iš-ku-un*
26) *ša i-pi*$_5$*-iš-ti*	26) *ša i-pi*$_5$*-iš-ti*	26) *ša i-pi*$_5$*-iš-ti*
27) *ù-ša-sà-ku*	27) *ú-*[*ša-sà*]*-ku*	27) *ú-ša-sà-ku*
28) *ù ší-ṭì-ir-ti*[334]	28) *ù* [*ší-ṭì-ir*]*-ti*	28) *ù ší-ṭì-ir-ti*

[332] Published as E4.19.1.1-3 in *RIME* 4.
[333] Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 708-711.

29) *ú-pá-sà-sú*	29) *ú-*[*pá-sà*]*-sú*[338]	29) *ú-pá-sà-sú*
30) *a-na šu-mi*	30) ˹*a*˺-[*na šu*]*-mi*	30) ˹*a*˺*-na šu-mi*
31) *er-re-ti-šu*	31) [*er-re-ti*]*-su*	31) [*er-r*]*e-ti-šu*
32) *ša-ni-am*	Lacuna	Lacuna
33) *ú-ša-ḫa-zu*		
34) *a-wi-lam*		
35) *šu-a-ti*		
36) AN		
37) ^{d}EN-LÍL		
38) ^{d}NIN.ḪUR.SAG		
39) ^{d}EN.KI		
40) ^{d}EN.ZU		
41) ^{d}IŠKUR		
42) *be-el* GIŠ.TUKUL		
43) ^{d}UTU		
44) *be-el* DI.KU$_5$.DA		
45) ^{d}INANNA		
46) *be-la-at ta-ḫa-zi-im*		
47) ^{d}*Nin*-AN-*si*$_4$*-an-na*		
48) *ì-lí*		
49) ^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*		
50) be-li		
51) *er-re-tám*		
52) *le-mu-tám*		
53) *li-ru-ru-uš*		
54) NUMUN-*šu*		
55) *li-il-qú-*<*tú*>*-ma*[335]		
56) SUḪUŠ-*su*		
57) *li-su-ḫu*		
58) IBILA *ù* MU[336]		
59) *a i-dì-nu-šum*		
60) *ba-la-ṭum*		
61) *lu ik-ki-ib-šu*		
62) *ki-ma ša ma*[337]		
63) *e-bu-ri-im*		
64) *i-na ṣe-er*		
65) *um-ma-ni-su*		
66) *lu ma-ru-uṣ*		

[334] Frayne: *ši*.
[335] By Walker: *li-il-qú-tù*
[336] Walker: DUMU.NITA *ù* MU.
[337] According to Frayne, although what in the text is written MA should be LA. For our reading and interpretation see the commentary below.
[338] Frayne has restored *pa*, but both ID 1 and ID 3 have *pá*.

Translation

1-3) Iddi(n)-Sîn, mighty king, king of Simurrum, 4-5) Zabazuna (is) his son. 6-11) Kulunnum rebelled and waged war against Zabazuna. 12-21) The gods Adad, Eštar, and Nišba heard the word of Zabazuna; he destroyed the city (of Kulunnum) and consecrated it to those gods. 22-25) He set up a table of the goddess Eštar, his lady (Text ID 2: He set up a table of the god Adad, his lord; text ID 3: He set up a throne of the god Nišba, his lord). 26-33) He who removes my work, or erases my inscription or because of its curse (from here on, only ID 1) incites another (to do so), 34-53) that man- may the gods Anum, Enlil, Ninḫursag, Ea, Sîn, and Adad, lord of the weapon, Šamaš, lord of judgements, Eštar, lady of battle, Ninsianna, my god, (and) the god Nišba, my lord, inflict on him an evil curse. 54-57) May they destroy his seed and rip out his foundation. 58-66) May they not grant him heir or offspring. May life be his taboo. Like the rain of harvest (time), may he become detested in front of his people.

The Orthographic and Textual Variants

l. 21: ID 1 *–ís-*
ID 2 *–ís-*
ID 3 *–íš-*
l. 22: ID 1 GIŠ.BANŠUR-*am*
ID 2 GIŠ.BANŠUR-*am*
ID 3 GIŠ.GU.ZA-*am*
l. 23: ID 1 *ša* ^{d}INANNA
ID 2 *ša* ^{d}IŠKUR
ID 3 *ša* ^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*
l. 24: ID 1 *be-el-ti-šu*
ID 2 *be-lí-šu*
ID 3 *be-lí-šu*
l. 27: ID 1 *ù-*
ID 2 *ú-*
ID 3 *ú-*
l. 31: ID 1 *-šu*
ID 2 *-su* (typical Ur III)
ID 3 *šu*

Commentary

1-5: According to Walker lines 1-5 do not make clear who the author of the text is, especially since the speaker switches in l. 26 from third to first person. The translation given for the passage is correct. The DUMU-NI is part of the introductory section, and then the text begins with the military deeds of Zabazuna against the rebel city of Kulunnum. The most fitting explanation seems to be that the author was the father Iddi(n)-Sîn, who was king of the whole of Simurrum. His son Zabazuna was the field-commander of the troops and was the one in charge of crushing the rebellion declared by Kulunnum. Walker, on the other hand, thinks this inscription was dedicated to Zabazuna, to be "the first attested instance in which a father dedicates an inscription to an accomplishment of his son."[339] This would be so if we look

[339] Walker, *The Tigris..,* p. 174. He also does not exclude the possibility that the first sentence with the name of Iddi(n)-Sîn is vocative.

from the formal point of view, but in reality the inscription was written by the son, who mentions his father purely as a duty.

The inscription was made and set up there to commemorate this victory. However, perhaps more importantly, it was set up there to function as a symbol of the Simurrian authority in the city of Kulunnum, as an element of psychological warfare. This is valid also for the Jerusalem inscription and relief.

6-11: It clearly appears from the text that Zabazuna was not only the military commander of the troops but also the ruler of the district in which Kulunnum was located (and perhaps of the northern districts of the kingdom) on behalf of his father. This is indicated by the explicit statement that Kulunnum rebelled against Zabazuna (l. 6-11). Farber suggested reading lines 10-11 as *zi-ra-am/tim i-ta-pá-al* "turned spiteful (towards Zabazuna)." Kulunnum is the name of the rebel city, whose subjugation is the subject of the three inscriptions (Bētwate 1-3 and Jerusalem). The identity of this name is difficult to establish. There is a GN from the Nuzi texts that begins with the element *Kulu/a-*,[340] but it does not help further. What is important for us is the location of the city. Frayne identifies it with the village of Gulān, 4.4 km to the west of Bētwate itself.[341] Further, he identifies Kulunnum and modern Gulān with ancient *Gu-la-an*, attested in the OAkk tablets from Tell Sulaimah. Frayne has collected valuable data about this latter GN. He assumes that the GN *be-al*-GUL-*ni* and its variant [*be*]-*al*-GUL-*la-ni* that are attested in the OAkk tablets from Tell Sulaimah were used as a GN as well as its literal meaning as a DN (= Lord of Gul(a)ni).[342] The convincing evidence, Frayne states, is the occurrence of the GN *Ú-ta*^{ki} before *Be-al*-GUL-*ni*.[343] *Ú-ta*^{ki}, attested also as *Úś-tá*^{ki}, which is a land in all probability the same as *Utûm* of the Shemshāra tablets. In addition, he points out to the occurrence of the city *Kul-la-an* and a certain Sîn-abum from Kullān in the archive of Tulūl Haddād (also in Hamrin Region) from the Late OB Period.[344] Two late Neo-Assyrian archival texts (nos. 74 and 76) from Tell Billa mention the city of Kulunnum that could very probably be identical with our city here.[345] If this proves to be correct, the city of Kulunnum was a significant city throughout a long period of history, from the OAkk to the late NA periods. But unfortunately we know nothing else of its history. The important passage in the Jerusalem inscription that says, "(On account of all this) I caused my image to be set up in Kulun(n)um" (Col. v l. 4′′-6′′), followed directly by the curse formula, is clear evidence that he set up the stele and the monumental inscriptions in Kulunnum, where they have been found. In other words, Bard-i-Sanjiān is ancient Kulunnum (Map 3). However, there are two probable alternatives. The stelae might have been moved in antiquity from Kulunnum to their find-spot in Bard-i-Sanjiān. There is also a rumour that the slabs were cut from a building by individuals and transported to Bard-i-Sanjiān to be discovered.[346]

22) GIŠ.BANŠUR-*am* / GIŠ.GU.ZA-*am*: It is notable that tables were set up for the gods Adad and Ištar, while Zabazuna set up a throne of the god Nišba. It is clear that these inscriptions were intended to be built in a monumental building or a shrine. This is indicated by the remnants of calcium carbonate ($CaCo_3$) (a building material) noticed by Al-Fouadi on the unworked side of inscription ID 1.[347] Support for this comes from the inscription itself,

[340] URU *Ku-lu-ud-du JEN* 135: 9; URU *Ku-lu-ud-du-ú HSS* XIII 81: 3; URU *Ku-la-ad-du-ú-I HSS* XIV 210: 6, cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 152.
[341] Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 177.
[342] Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 176-7, referring to Rashid, *The Ancient Inscriptions in Himrin Area,* Baghdad, 1981, p. 179, no. 1, col. iv l. 3 and p. 203, no. 38, l. 5′ respectively.
[343] Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 177, referring to Rashid, p. 179, no. 1, col. iii, l. 12.
[344] Frayne, *ibid.*
[345] For the occurrences cf. Finkelstein, J. J., "Cuneiform Texts from Tell Billa," *JCS* 7 (1953), p. 138 (no. 74, l. 8) and 139 (no. 76, l. 14).
[346] For this rumour, cf. Al-Fouadi, A., "Inscriptions and Reliefs from Bitwāta," *Sumer* 34 (1978), p. 122.
[347] Al-Fouadi, p. 122.

which indirectly alludes to "my (hand)work" (l. 26-27) and thereafter "my inscription" (l. 28-29). Possibly this "work" refers to the throne he set up for Nišba mentioned in ID 3. It is of interest to point here to a large rock in the Bētwate Citadel, known as *Taḫt-i-Ḫuršīdi-Ḫawar*,[348] "Throne of the East Sun." The "East Sun" is the royal title of a legendary king in the local saga. The rock overlooks the whole region from the citadel to the Rāniya Plain. It is shaped like a throne or altar (Fig. 14) and until the end of the 1980s was twice as high as it is now. It is probable that the rock was carved in antiquity for some special purposes, perhaps as a cultic altar/throne for Nišba. Another large flat stone on the citadel might have served as a ceremonial place on which the monument was probably erected (Fig. 15d). The Bētwate Citadel (Fig. 15a-b) itself is a high natural mound in the middle of a narrow valley in the northwestern corner of the Rāniya Plain and overlooks the surrounding area with portions of ancient fortification walls, built of large cyclopean stones in some places (Fig. 16a-b). It is quite possible, then, that the modern citadel represents the high city of Kulunnum, or one of its main positions, where a monumental building of Zabazuna was built with the inscriptions.

26) *ša i-pi$_5$-iš-ti*: Exactly as in the Sarpul (ii, l. 45) and the Jerusalem (col. v, 4′′-6′′) inscriptions, the 3rd person pronoun switches to the 1st person pronoun. The Erridu-pizir inscription, on the contrary, switches from the 3rd person to the 1st person (ii, l. 26).

62-66: Frayne reads in *RIME* 4 MA as LA in l. 62, giving *ki-ma ša-la e-bu-ri-im i-na ṣe-er um-ma-ni-su lu ma-ru-uṣ*, "As (when) there is *no* harvest, may it be difficult for his people." Since the same curse formula is repeated in the Jerusalem Inscription with MA, not LA, the reading and translation should be *ki-ma ša-ma e-bu-ri-im i-na ṣe-er um-ma-ni-su lu ma-ru-uṣ,* "Like the rain of the harvest time, may he become bitter/detested in front of his people." In an agricultural society such a curse is very well understandable, since rain at harvest time would be a terrible disaster, spoiling the work of the whole year, resulting in the decay of both grain and straw, food and fodder.[349] Walker read it as *ša-ma*, but his translation, "Instead of (fair) summer skies may it (i.e. the weather) be ill for his troops,"[350] does not seem fitting.

The Historical Setting as Reflected by the Inscriptions

The extraordinary significance of the inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn and his son Zabazuna lies not only in the fact that they present a view, although incomplete, of the events in the northern Transtigris that eventually ended in the building of a large kingdom. Of extra significance is the fact that they are one of the rarest groups of inscriptional material from inside this region that provide first-hand information and provide it from the domestic point of view. This is in contrast to the traditional way of collecting information from the Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian sources that sometimes give wrong, incomplete or vague images, or even misleading and hostile views, all according with the intentions of the authors. The inscription of Sarpul is regrettably of little significance in this respect, except for its assumed mention of Annubanini of Lullubum that alludes to synchronism between the two kings. This inscription was probably written in the early phase of the history of the kingdom, because the location of the relief is relatively close to the centre of Simurrum itself (see below under the location of Simurrum). Further, the control of the Great Khorasān Road that passes through this region was seemingly a major factor in the building of the kingdom. In this phase, that most probably began with the disintegration of the empire of Ur under Ibbi-Sîn, the Transtigridian powers emerged and began to expand. This has certainly led to clashes between them. In our case Simurrum clashed with Lullubum, the two powers that tried to control the strategic gorge of Sarpul and its important urban centres.

[348] Oral statements by the inhabitants of Bētwate and by Mr. Abdul-Raqeeb Yousif.
[349] This suggestion agrees with that presented by Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 23.
[350] Walker, *The Tigris Frontier…,* p. 174.

The Haladiny inscription provides us with several new toponyms in addition to a group of already known ones. These toponyms come from a region least known to historians and Assyriologists, the inner parts of the Transtigris, beyond the line from Nuzi/Arrapḫa to Erbil. The names of conquered and subdued towns are spread along the whole area from the Sarpul (Ḫalman) up to the Rāniya Plain. We have only clearly identified Ḫalman, and the rest are either generally identified or totally unknown. The inscription lists the lands of Šagi, Ten/lum, […]ar and [….]na before mentioning Šariṯum. These three GNs give no hints that can help their identification. The GN Šariṯum, probably in the Dukan Pass, might point to a northwesterly direction of the march of Iddi(n)-Sîn. However, the mention of Ḫalman some lines after contradicts this assumption. Some of the GNs that follow Ḫalman bear Ḫurrian characteristics, especially the genitive suffix *–we*. They appear to be generally located in the northeastern parts of the Transtigris, namely in the Rāniya Plain and its environs. Their location in and around the Rāniya is indicated by the mention of Šikšabbum, Utuwe and Kakmum. After this there is the Amorite episode, followed by the joint Amorite-Simaškian attack.

In general, the inscription seems to have arranged the episodes neither in a perfect chronological or geographical order, but rather in clusters combining the two (see the figure below). The badly damaged column I makes it extremely difficult to find out the exact divisions of the clusters. However, they can be divided as follows: lines 15-31; 32-35; 36-42; 43-52 (southeast and east); 58 (with the preceding lacuna)-68 (north/northwest); 69-74 (northeast); 75-85 (west or southwest ?) (Map. 3). Then what follows seems to be a conclusion, stating that he achieved all what had been mentioned thanks to the god Nišba. He repeats the two major feats, the destruction of the lands (90-91) and the defeat of the joint campaign of the Amorites and the Simaškians. The question about the order in which the clusters are arranged reappears. It is not according to the importance of the events, since the two most important deeds (Amorites and Simaški, according to our view and assuming it was the same in the author's view too) come at the end. A chronological order remains possible, inasmuch as the clusters mentioned first were fought first and were consequently closer to the centre of Simurrum. In the first stage the lands beginning with Šagi and ending with […]-na were subjugated, then the episode related to the throne of Simurrum occurred. This was probably a reaction to those campaigns or related to a usurper who tried to benefit from the absence of the king, busy for long periods with wars. After this, some territories in the north (Šariṯum) were subjugated. The southern and (north)eastern territories (Ḫalman and Lullubum) were next on his list.[351] As we suggested above, the control of the strategically important region of Sarpul appears to have provided Simurrum with resources and the power that enabled it to expand and build such a large kingdom. Following the capture of this region the kingdom extended farther in the north or northwest (Šikšabbum). The last stage of expansion in this inscription is another step farther to the northeast (Utuwe and Kakmum). At this point, the numerous wars waged by Simurrum and the frequent absence of its king appear to have stimulated the greed of the Amorites and the Simaškians to invade his land. This is why the defensive war in the south, in his homeland, was fought (Amorites and Simaški). The conclusion that can be drawn is that his efforts were mostly directed to the north, the direction in which he won most of his territorial gains. The find-spot of this inscription gives a sure and important hint for the direction the expansion of Simurrum took. At least one of the GNs mentioned must be looked for here, at the foot of Mount Pīra Magrūn,[352] where in the NA

[351] Cf. the OB letter from Tell Asmar discussed above under 'Isin-Larsa Period- Annubanini Inscription.'

[352] There are allusions to urban centres in the plain in front of Mount Pīra Magrūn in the inscriptions of Aššurnasirpal II during his campaign in this region, e.g.: Col. ii 39) TA *uš-ma-ni an-ni-te-ma at-tu-muš a-na* URU.DIDLI *šá* EDIN KUR *Ni-muš,* "Moving on from this camp I marched to the cities in the plain of Mount Nimuš," Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 204 (text A.0.101.1); cf. also the next two notes.

period Aššurnasirpal II recorded a score of GNs and mentioned some by name like Bunasi,[353] Larbusa, Dūr-Lullumu, Bunisu and Bāra.[354] The repeated allusion to the temple of the god Nišba at the beginning and the end of the inscription, and the probable allusion to the building of that temple by "all the lands," might indicate the presence of this temple there. However, the absence of Kulunnum can mean that the Haladiny inscription was written before the capture of Kulunnum, in the time when only Utuwe was cut off from Kakmum. Nonetheless, the destruction of Kakmum is also claimed here as it is in the Jerusalem inscription. This destruction can be counted as either political propaganda or a figurative destruction, since Kakmum appeared again as a powerful opponent in the Jerusalem inscription. Later on, in the Jerusalem inscription, Iddi(n)-Sîn reached the peak of his power, at least according to our present state of knowledge. A new set of toponyms are mentioned in this inscription (ii9′-13′), which were, as Shaffer and Wasserman concluded, territories within the land of Kakmum. In all likelihood these GNs were located in a relatively small area if they could be captured in one night, as the inscription claims (ii 14′-iii 1-2) they were. The real submission of Kakmum –though not necessarily occupied- is told by the Jerusalem inscription: "The land of Kakmum, which from its earliest day(s) did [not] carry tribute [to] anybody, … Iddi(n)-Sîn, the mighty king, forced them to prostrate at the feet of Nišba his lord" (iv 9-26). It is clear, as already mentioned, that Simurrum built its own glory at Kakmum's expense. Kakmum was apparently the other major power of the Transtigris of that time, and the expansion of Simurrum could not be achieved without confrontation with that place. Hence, we see that at first it was the land of Utuwe that was detached (Haladiny inscription), and then Kulunnum (Bētwate and Jerusalem inscriptions), which were territories under Kakmum's hegemony. In the Haladiny inscription (70-74) we find that he took back the land of Utuwe from the hands of Kakmum. In the Jerusalem inscription (iii 4′-iv 3) an almost similar clause states that Kakmum delivered Kulunnum to Simurrum. The former might be understood as implying an earlier capture of the land Utuwe by Simurrum, which was taken again by Kakmum and re-captured by Simurrum. The main target the two powers of Simurrum and Kakmum struggled about was Utuwe and this may interpret why the Haladiny inscription does not mention its destruction as it did the others.

The two rebellions of Kulunnum, if our suggestion is correct, may reflect Kulunnian hatred towards the new Simurrian masters of their district. They may have seen the events in a south versus north perspective, even on the internal level within the Hurrian lands. Such a division could have arisen by the geographically different terrains. Kakmum, including Kulunnum, was a mountainous kingdom and was seemingly more engaged with the mountainous regions to the east, inside the Zagros, as indicated by its intervention in Manna in the time of Sargon II. By contrast Simurrum was a piedmont kingdom on the southernmost fringe of the Hurrian lands and, due to its location, had tighter relations with southern Mesopotamia. This is reflected, for instance, in the name occurring in early Sumerian proverbs and the name of its

[353] Col. ii 34) *a-na* KUR *Ni-muš šá* KUR *Lu-ul-lu* KUR *Ki-ni-ba i-qa-bu-šú-ni aq-ṭí-rib* URU *Bu-na-a-si* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú-nu* 35) *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ṣa-ṣi-na* 30 URU.DIDLI *šá li-me-tu-šú ak-šud* ÉRIN.MEŠ *ig-du-ru* KUR-*ú mar-ṣu iṣ-ṣab-tu,* "I approached Mount Nimuš (= Pīra Magrūn), which the Lullu call Mount Kiniba. I conquered the city Bunāsi, their fortified city, which (was ruled by) Muṣaṣina, (and) 30 cities in its environs. The troops were frightened (and) took to the rugged mountain," Grayson, *ibid.*

[354] Col. iii 2) TA *uš-ma-ni an-ni-te-ma at-tu-muš ana* URU.DIDLI 3) *šá* EDIN KUR *Ni-muš šá a-šar-šú-nu ma-am-ma la-a* 4) *e-mu-ru a-lik* URU *La-ar-bu-sa* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú* 5) *šá* ^{m}*Ki-ir-te-a-ra* 8 URU.DIDLI *šá li-me-tú-šú* 6) KUR-*ud,* "Moving from this camp I marched to the cities in the plain of Mount Nimuš which no one had ever seen. I conquered the city Larbusa, the fortified city which (was ruled by) Kirteara, (and) eight cities in its environs;" and 15) 1 ME 50 URU.DIDLI 16) *šá* URU *La-ar-bu-sa-a-a* URU.BÀD-*Lu-lu-ma-a-a* URU *Bu-na-i-sa-a-a* 17) URU *Ba-ra-a-a* …. 18) 50 ÉRIN.MEŠ *šá* URU *Ba-ra-a-a* 19) *ina mit-ḫu-ṣi ina* EDIN *a-duk*, "150 cities belonging to the cities of the Larbusu, Dūr-Lullumu, Bunisu, (and) Bāra… I defeated 50 troops of the Bāra in a skirmish in the plain," Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 245 (text A.0.101.17).

king, Iddi(n)-Sîn, which was formed according to a southern Ur III model (compare Ibbi-Sîn and Šū-Sîn). Such political divisions, stimulated by geographical conditions, are not uncommon in the history and culture of this region. The division of the territories of the region under study into districts and provinces determined by natural barriers, such as mountain chains or rivers, is one of its characteristics. The Avromān parchments from the Parthian Period (141 BC-226 AD) mention the *hyparchy* Baiseira in which the village Kōpanis was located and where the parchments were written and sealed.[355] The term denotes a territorial division within the greater province. From the Sassanian era onwards, for instance, the terms *Garamaea* "The warm province" and *Syārzūr*[356] were used to denote divisions based on geographical features. Even today the divisions *Garmiyān* (Sassanian *Garamaea*)*, Qaradāgh, Shahrazūr* (Sassanian *Syārzūr*), *Pishder, Bitwēn, Bālak, Qarāj, Barzān* and many others appear to follow the same old tradition of divisions first attested in the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions under the term *kuliši.*

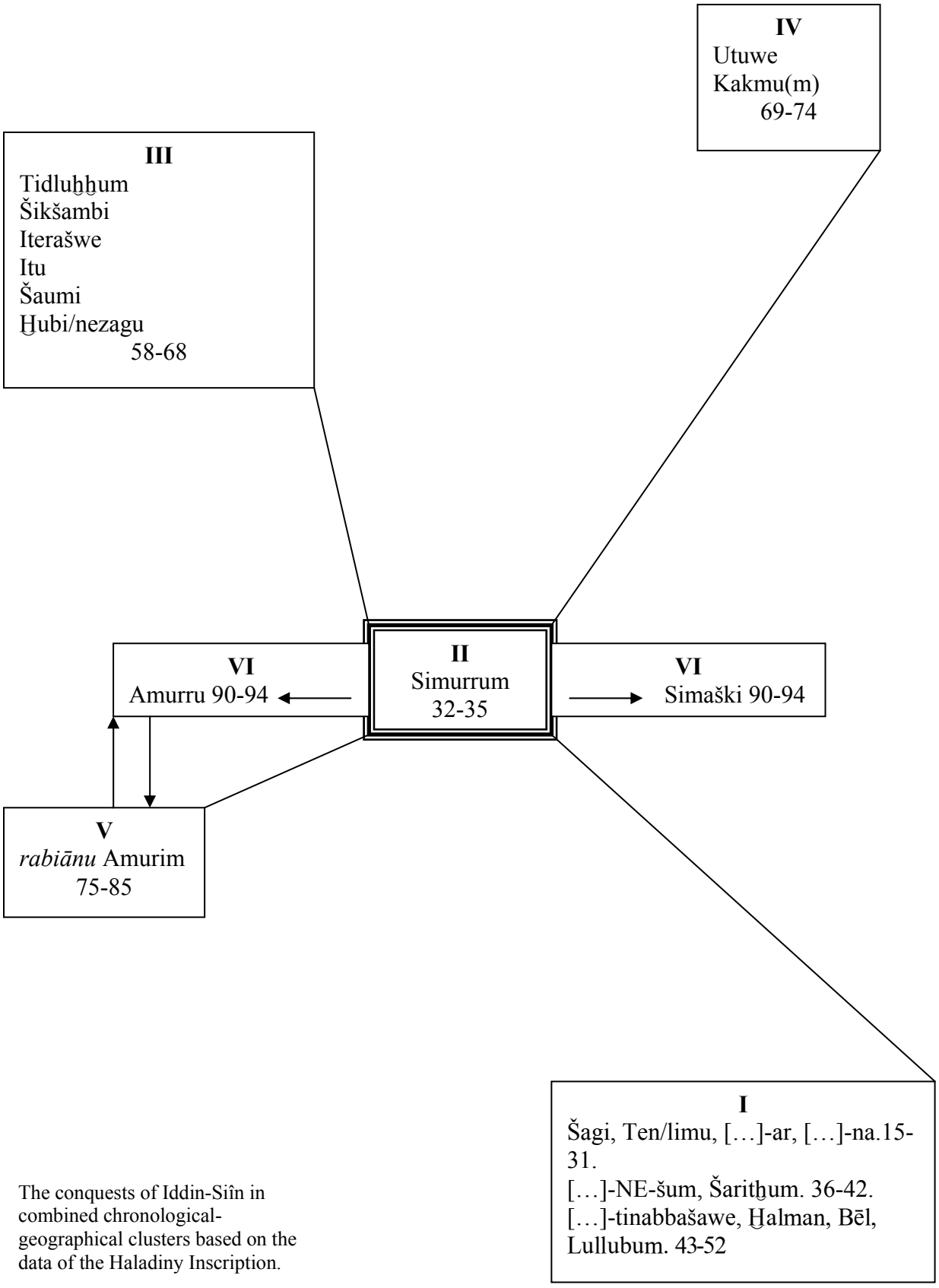
Reverting to the Haladiny inscription, it bears two characteristics not found in this king's other inscriptions: First, the preserved part does not contain any curse formula, in contrast to the ones that occupy the greater part of the Sarpul and Bētwate inscriptions. Such a formula must have existed, especially since the inscription appears to have been dedicated to the temple of Nišba, and the other inscriptions of this period had long curse formulae. The part on which the curse formula was inscribed was either written on a lost part of this slab, or, more probably, was inscribed on another slab that formed one whole inscription together with the Haladiny inscription. One expects an inscription consisting of two elongated slabs, placed horizontally next to each other underneath a relief (fig. 17), such as those of Sarpul (see fig. 4a and 6). The curse formula must have been very similar, if not identical, to those of the Sarpul and Bētwate inscriptions. A second slab would complete the important gap in the narrative of Iddi(n)-Sîn's march between Simurrum and the Lower Zāb; in the Haladiny inscription the king departed from Tidluḫḫum to Šikšabbum, to Iterašwe and its three cities, all on the Zāb, to finally reach Utuwe. But there is no hint how he travelled, his route and which lands crossed to reach the Zāb River axis to attack Utuwe (Map 4). The supposed gap will have contained GNs in the Kirkuk and Aghjalar[357] regions. Secondly, but more importantly, this inscription covers a wider geographical scope than the others. The Jerusalem and Bētwate inscriptions deal with a limited area in which Simurrum was active, namely Kakmum and Kulunnum, while the Haladiny inscription mentions GNs ranging from Sarpul to the Rāniya Plain. It is a more general and comprehensive text that resembles the later NA royal inscriptions in which the kings told the whole story of their deeds.[358]

[355] For these documents, cf. Nyberg, H. S., "The Pahlavi Documents from Avromān," *Le Mond Orientale* 16 (1922), pp. 182-230; Edmonds, C. J., "The Place Names of the Avroman Parchments," *BSOAS* 14 (1952), p. 479. For the term *hyparchy* and related terminology, cf. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran,* p. 155.

[356] "… who were in Asōrestān [and Xūzestā?]n and Garamaea and Syārzūr," Skjærvø, P. O., *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli,* Part 3.1, Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 42-43. The GNs Asōrestān and Xūzestān are also names of the provinces Assyria and Elam.

[357] Aghjalar is the region to the south of the Lower Zāb, to the northeast of Kirkuk.

[358] About the form and style of the NA royal inscriptions cf. Baumgartner, W., "Zur Form der assyrischen Königsinschriften," *OLZ* 27 (1924), p. 313ff; Borger, R., *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften,* I: Das Zweite Jahrtausend v. Chr., Leiden, 1961.



The conquests of Iddin-Siîn in combined chronological-geographical clusters based on the data of the Haladiny Inscription.

Sarpul (ID 5)	Haladiny (ID 6)	Jerusalem (ID 4)	Bētwata (ID 1, 2, 3)
	A-mu-ra/i-a/im ii 81, 83, 92		
Ba-ti-ir^{ki} ii 22		*A/Za-i-la-ki/gi*^{ki} ii 11′	
	Be-el^{ki} i 49		
	Ḫal-ma-an^{ki} i 48		
	Ḫu-bí/ne-za-gu^{ki} ii 65	*Ḫa-ap/b-ri-(z)a-ni*^{ki} ii 9′	
	I-te-ra-áš-we^{ki} ii 62		
	I-tu^{ki} ii 63		
	Kak-mi-im^{ki} ii 73		
		Kak-mi/u-i/um ii 4; iv 1; iv 9	
		Ku-ba-an-ni-we^{ki} ii 12′	*Ku-lu-un-nu-um*^{ki} A 6
		Ku-lu-na/i/u-a/i/um^{ki} iii 4′; v 5″; viii 8	
	Lu-lu-bi-im^{ki} i 52		
Lu-lu-bi-im^{ki} i 41			
	Si-maš-kà-am^{ki} ii 93	*Ni/Kak-li-ip*^{ki} iii 3	
	Si-mu-ri-im^{ki} i 6; i 34		
		Si-mu-ur-ri-im^{ki} i 13′; iv 2, 20	*Si-mu-ri-im*^{ki} A 3
	Ša-gi^{ki} i 15		
	Ša-ri-it-ḫu-um^{ki} i 37		
	Ša-um-mi^{ki} ii 64		
	Ší-ik-ša-am-bi^{ki} ii 60		
		Ší-ik-ša-am-bu-um^{ki} iv 27	
	Te-ni/lí-mu(?)^{ki} i 20	*Šu-lu-te*^{ki} ii 10′	
	Ti-id-luḫ-ḫa-am^{ki} ii 58		
		Ti-ri-uk-kí-na-áš-we^{ki} ii 13′	
	Ut-tu-we^{ki} ii 69		
	⌜x(?)⌝-NE-*šum*^{ki} i 36		
x x MAŠ (?) [x^{ki}] ii 8	[...(?)]-*ti-na-ab-ba-ša-we*^{ki} i 43		
	[……]-*ar*^{ki} i 25		
	[……]-*na*^{ki} i 30		

The geographical names attested in the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions in alphabetical order.[359]

[359] Only version A of the Betwāta inscriptions is taken into consideration as the main version.

Sarpul (ID 5)	Haladiny (ID 6)	Jerusalem (ID 4)	Bētwata (ID 1, 2, 3)
x x MAŠ (?) [x^{ki}] ii 8	*Si-mu-ri-im*^{ki} i 6	*Si-mu-ur-ri-im*^{ki} i 13′	*Si-mu-ri-im*^{ki} A 3
Ba-ti-ir^{ki} ii 22	*Ša-gi*^{ki} i 15	*Kak-mi-im* ii 4	*Ku-lu-un-nu-um*^{ki} A 6
Lu-lu-bi-im^{ki} i 41	*Te-ni/lí-mu*(?)^{ki} i 20	*Ḫa-ap/b-ri-(z)a-ni*^{ki} ii 9′	
	[……]-*ar*^{ki} i 25	*Šu-lu-te*^{ki} ii 10′	
	[……]-*na*^{ki} i 30	*A/Za-i-la-kí/gi*^{ki} ii 11′	
	Si-mu-ri-im^{ki} i 34	*Ku-ba-an-ni-we*^{ki} ii 12′	
	˹x(?)˺-NE-*šum*^{k} i 36	*Ti-ri-uk-kí-na-áš-we*^{ki} ii 13′	
	Ša-ri-it-ḫu-um^{ki} i 37	*NI/Kak-li-ip*^{ki} iii 3	
	[...(?)]-*ti-na-ab-ba-ša-we*^{ki} i 43	*Ku-lu-na-am*^{ki} iii 4′	
	Ḫal-ma-an^{ki} i 48	*Kak-mu-um* iv 1	
	Be-el^{ki} i 49	*Si-mu-ur-<ri>-im*^{ki} iv 2	
	Lu-lu-bi-im^{ki} i 52	*Kak-mi-im* iv 9	
	Ti-id-luḫ-ḫa-am^{ki} ii 58	*Si-mu-ur-ri-im*^{ki} iv 20	
	Ší-ik-ša-am-bi^{ki} ii 60	*Ší-ik-ša-am-bu-um*^{ki} iv 27	
	I-te-ra-áš-we^{ki} ii 62	*Ku-lu-ni-im*^{ki} v 5″	
	I-tu^{ki} ii 63		
	Ša-um-mi^{ki} ii 64		
	Ḫu-bí/ne-za-gu^{ki} ii 65		
	Ut-tu-we^{ki} ii 69		
	Kak-mi-im^{ki} ii 71; 73		
	A-mu-ri-im ii 81		
	A-mu-ra-am ii 83		
	A-mu-ra-am ii 92		
	Si-maš-kà-am^{ki} ii 93		

The geographical names attested in the Iddi(n)-sîn inscriptions in the order attested in the inscriptions.

Sarpul (ID 5)	Haladiny (ID 6)	Jerusalem (ID 4)	Bētwata (ID 1, 2, 3)
AN ii 33		AN a′; vi 7	AN A 36
		DU.Ú (?) vi 19	
^{d}EN.KI ii 36		^{d}EN.KI d′; vi 10	^{d}EN. KI A 39
^{d}EN.LÍL ii 34		^{d}EN.LÍL b′; vi 8	^{d}EN.LÍL A 37
^{d}EN.ZU ii 37		^{d}EN.ZU e′; vi 11	^{d}EN. ZU A 40
^{d}INANNA ii 42	^{d}INANNA i 7	^{d}INANNA i 1′; vi 13	^{d}INNIN A 15; 23; 45
^{d}IŠKUR ii 38		^{d}IŠKUR f′; vi 12	^{d}IŠKUR A 14; 41
^{d}*Nin*-AN-*si*$_4$-*an-na* ii 44		^{d}*Nin*-AN-*si*$_4$-*an-na* i 2′; vi 14	^{d}*Nin*-AN-*si*$_4$-*an-na* A 47
^{d}NIN.ḪUR.SAG ii 35		^{d}NIN.ḪUR.SAG c′; vi 9	^{d}NIN.ḪUR.SAG A38
^{d}*Ni-iš-ba* ii 46	^{d}*Ni-iš-ba* i 1; 9; ii 67; ii 86; ii 99; ii 104	^{d}*Ni-iš-ba* i 4′; iv 24; vi 16	^{d}*Ni-iš-ba* A 16; 49
^{d}UTU ii 40		^{d}UTU g′; vi 18	^{d}UTU A 43

The divine names attested in the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions in alphabetical order.[360]

Sarpul (ID 5)	Haladiny (ID 6)	Jerusalem (ID 4)	Bētwata (ID 1, 2, 3)
AN ii 33	^{d}*Ni-iš-ba* i 1	AN a′	^{d}IŠKUR A 14
^{d}EN.LÍL ii 34	^{d}INANNA i 7	^{d}EN.LÍL b′	^{d}INNIN A 15
^{d}NIN.ḪUR.SAG ii 35	^{d}*Ni-iš-ba* i 9	^{d}NIN.ḪUR.SAG c′	^{d}*Ni-iš-ba* A 16
^{d}EN.KI ii 36	^{d}*Ni-iš-ba* ii 67	^{d}EN.KI d′	^{d}INNIN A 23
^{d}EN.ZU ii 37	^{d}*Ni-iš-ba* ii 86	^{d}EN.ZU e′	AN A 36
^{d}IŠKUR ii 38	^{d}*Ni-iš-ba* ii 99	^{d}IŠKUR f′	^{d}EN.LÍL A 37
^{d}UTU ii 40	^{d}*Ni-iš-ba* ii 104	^{d}UTU g′	^{d}NIN. ḪUR.SAG A38
^{d}INANNA ii 42		^{d}INANNA i 1′	^{d}EN. KI A 39

[360] Only version A of the Betwāta inscriptions is taken into consideration as the main version.

^{d}*Nin*-AN-*si$_4$-an-na*	ii 44		^{d}*Nin*-AN-*si$_4$-an-na*	i 2′	^{d}EN. ZU	A 40
^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*	ii 46		^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*	i 4′	^{d}IŠKUR	A 41
			^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*	iv 24	^{d}UTU	A 43
			AN	vi 7	^{d}INNIN	A 45
			^{d}EN.LÍL	vi 8	^{d}*Nin*-AN-*si$_4$-an-na*	A 47
			^{d}NIN.ḪUR.SAG	vi 9	^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*	A 49
			^{d}EN.KI	vi 10		
			^{d}EN.ZU	vi 11		
			^{d}IŠKUR	vi 12		
			^{d}INANNA	vi 13		
			^{d}*Nin*-AN-*si$_4$-an-na*	vi 14		
			^{d}*Ni-iš-ba*	vi 16		
			^{d}UTU	vi 18		
			DU.Ú (?)	vi 19		

The divine names attested in the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions in the original order.

Rabana

The Haladiny inscription was found, as mentioned above, in a field in the village of Qara Chatān at the foot of Mount Pīra Magrūn. This mountain is traditionally known as the old Mesopotamian Nimuš (Formerly Niṣir), of the land of the Lullubum,[361] which the Lullubians called Kinipa in their own language.[362] We have also referred to the likely occurrence of the "temple of Nišba" in this inscription, based on traces of the sign É before the divine name Nišba (see above). The text begins and concludes with the mention of the temple, a fact that shows that the temple was the central topic of the text. This, coupled with the wide range of lands and peoples the text names, forces one to believe that the inscription was part of a monument erected to celebrate the building of the temple. This is why it embraces the names of all those lands and peoples who were subjugated up to that date, and consequently participated in the building of the temple of the god of their lord. If this suggestion proves to be correct, it would be strikingly significant that the temple of the patron of Simurrum was built in a territory outside its national home, like Muṣaṣir was to the Urartians, for instance. In this case, Iddi(n)-Sîn must have thought of founding a multi-national empire with one god in a central sanctuary for all its peoples in the highest mountain of his realm. Nevertheless, the question that remains is whether there was in fact a temple there.

Behind the village of Qara Chatān, there is a very steep valley in the side of the Mount Pīra Magrūn (Fig. 18a). In this valley, the remains of ancient architectural structures are found that are known as Rabana among the local villagers.[363] From the beginning of this valley to half way up the mountainside the remains of large walls (Fig. 18b) can be seen. They seem to have served as fortifications and, at the same time, as terraces to reduce the steep slope of its terrain. Behind this, there is a terrace (Terrace no.1) (Fig. 19a-c) that overlooks the plain in front of the mountain to the west. The terrace is rectangular in shape and a huge stone forms

[361] For the identification of this mountain with Nimuš, cf. Streck, M. P., "NiṢIR," *RlA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 589 (referring also to Liverani); Speiser, "Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Assurnasirpal and today," *AASOR* VIII for 1926-27 (1928), p. 18 and the bibliography given in note 31. I would call attention to some confusion in the contribution of Streck in *RlA*. There Pīr Omar Gudrun and Pīr-i Mukurūn are treated as two separate mountains, but in fact they are different spellings of the same name. The former is the original full name, and the latter an abbreviated form transcribed from Arabic, using Mukurūn instead of Magrūn.

[362] Cf. the inscription of Aššurnasirpal cited above and below, who recorded this Lullubian name of Nimuš.

[363] The site of Rabana is recorded in the register of the Iraqi Directorate General of Antiquities as an archaeological site, but it has been never fully surveyed, studied or excavated. Once in the 1940s its lower part was visited by an official of the Directorate General of Antiquities, who could not reach the temple. There are pottery sherds at the site that belong to different periods and local residents report sporadically finding copper and bronze arrow heads and lance blades.

part of its northeastern angle. Leaving the terrace to the valley, three sides of the wall of another terrace can be seen (Terrace no. 2) (Fig. 20a-b). That terrace seems to have supported a building in antiquity.

Advancing into the steep and narrower part of the valley, spectacular remains of staircases, corridors and the cella of a temple speak for themselves. As a whole these structures form one interrelated complex, of which this part was certainly the most important since it contains the cella. The middle, which I interpret as a temple, has been regrettably damaged by water torrents that stream from the top of the mountain at this point. The remaining parts consist of a narrow corridor (corridor no. 1) 2 m wide that extends in an east-west direction for 16 m. Its floor and northern wall (± 3 m high) are carved in the mountain rock, while its southern side (± 2 m high) is built of large stones (Figs. 21a-b). The southern side ends in the west, the corner leading to another part of the corridor that extends for 6 m to the south (± 2,5 m high). Above the wall on the northern side there are two staircases (Fig. 22a-b), one leading to the west (staircase no. 1) and the other to the north (staircase no. 2), both carved into the rock. The first consists of 7 steps, each ± 60 cm wide. Only 9 steps remain of the second, each ± 150 cm wide. The corridor's eastern end is damaged and its northern wall is bisected into two parts, probably by an old exit to the two staircases mentioned. The western part of the northern wall is 10 m long, while the eastern part is 6 m long and is slightly farther from the southern wall, making the corridor a little wider. To the east of the corridor there is a series of staircases and paths (Fig. 23, 29a-c), all except one carved in a south-north direction in the mountain. These staircases stand on a higher level than that of the corridor. The only east-west path (pathway no.1) is carved in the rock like the others and is ± 4 m long, but its full width is not preserved. It leads to a niche in the front wall that contains the headless body of a seated deity on a throne. The niche (Fig. 24a-b) is ± 180 cm high from the ground and measures 67 cm wide, 90 cm high and 37 cm deep. The throne is 32 cm wide, 7 cm high, while the remaining part of the seated deity measures 24 cm width by 30 cm height. The style is simple and shows no details or folds on the dress. According to information provided by the villagers, the head was still there until the 1970s but was then lost. Unfortunately even the hands and shoulders are missing, for the upper torso is also now missing.

Above the niche, there is another path leading in a north-south direction with a slight slope towards the south side (pathway no. 2). Above it is another path (pathway no. 3) leading in the same direction and with the same slope. At the summit of the rock it meets a staircase (staircase no, 3) of 6 steps, the last step of which is partially preserved (Fig. 25). At the upper end of the staircase a vertical shaft has been carved on the left that seems to have been used for the fastening for a door (Fig. 26). The lower end of the staircase begins with the remains of a square space (140 x 140 x 60 cm) (Fig. 27), suggesting it was connected to another path or staircase which is now lost. What remains is a small, smoothed, vertical area to the south (shown on fig. 28 in the square) that indicates the presence of such a path. The two corners of the walls are interesting. In addition to the one just mentioned, another one is to the left, that is also the north, of the niche (Fig. 28 in the rectangle). These corners imply the existence of some extensions of the walls that met the original walls at 90°. The break between these two corners proves the existence of such a wall in antiquity. The remaining north-south path (pathway no. 4) that leads to the niche and measures ± 10 m long and 70-80 cm wide can be the remnants of the floor of a hall or a cella that contained the niche.

Behind the upper staircase a wide path stretches ± 15 m from north to south (pathway no. 5). On its eastern side is a wall carved in the rock (Fig. 23 and 29a-b). This might have been the end of the temple complex, because no traces or remains of other paths or staircases are found.

If there was any symbolic connotation of locating this temple in the heart of the mountain it probably closely related to the assumed association of the god Nišba with the mountain name Nišpi mentioned above (see commentary to line 1 of the Haladiny inscription).

In the light of the available data mentioned above, I propose to identify the remains found in Rabana with the temple of Nišba, mentioned in the Haladiny inscription, the temple about which the inscription says that all the lands participated (?) in building (?) it. About eleven centuries later Aššurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) recorded an account of his campaign against the land of the Lullubians in Zamua. Directly after crossing through the Baziyān Pass (ancient Babite) he went to the capital city of Bunasi in Mount Nimuš "which the Lullunbians call Kinipa." He attacked the city, defeated its troops, captured its governor Musasina and destroyed the city by fire.[364] In another campaign, he captured the city Larbusa in the plain of Mount Nimuš (see above) and mentioned the towns Dūr-Lullumu, Bunisu and Bāra in the same context. These toponyms, if they existed before the NA period, can very probably be counted among the numerous GNs Iddi(n)-Sîn captured and in or close to one of them he built the Rabana temple. That these GNs are not mentioned in the Haladiny inscription can be explained either because the places had different names in the time of Iddi(n)-Sîn, or because the names we know have now been broken away from our inscription.

Cylinders Seals of Simurrum

Material evidence from the kings of Simurrum and their reigns includes also two cylinder seals and a seal impression. One of the cylinder seals (Fig. 30) was published for the first time by Shaffer and Wasserman. It belongs to the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan Rosen in New York.[365] The seal is made of a hard, shining stone and bears a legend:

> Iddi(n)-Sîn, mighty king; ^{d}Zabazuna (is) his son. Ilī-dannu (is) your servant.[366]

The seal depicts a traditional presentation scene in which a goddess presents a person to a seated figure who appears to be the king. The king wears a wide brimmed headdress and a fringed robe seated on a padded stool.[367] The presented person wears a rolled brimmed headdress, a fringed robe and a crescent-like necklace and holds his hands at his waist.[368] The goddess, distinguished by her horned headdress, wears a long striped dress and holds her hands upright. As in the royal seals from Urkeš, the king holds a cup or some small vessel in

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[364] ii 34) TA URU *Ba-bi-te at-tu-muš a-na* KUR *Ni-muš šá* KUR *Lu-ul-lu* KUR *Ki-ni-ba i-qa-bu-šú-ni aq-ṭí-rib* URU *Bu-na-a-si* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú-nu* 35) *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ṣa-ṣi-na* 30 URU.DIDLI *šá li-me-tu-šú ak-šud*....37) 7 URU.DIDLI *šá* ŠÀ KUR *Ni-muš šá a-na dan-nu-ti-šú-nu iš-ku-nu ak-šud* GAZ.MEŠ-*šú-nu* 38) *a-duk šal-la-su-nu* NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* GU_4.MEŠ-*šú-nu* UDU *ṣe-ni-šú-nu aš-lul* URU.DIDLI *ina* IZI.MEŠ *áš-ru-up,* "Moving on from the city Babitu I approached Mount Nimuš which the Lullu call Mount Kiniba. I conquered the city Bunāsi, their fortified city which (was ruled by) Muṣaṣina, (and) 30 cities in its environs….. I conquered seven cities within Mount Nimuš which they established as their strongholds. I massacred them, carried off captives, possessions, oxen, (and) sheep from them, (and) burnt the cities," Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 204 (Text A.0.101.1). Note that Luckenbill read Kiniba as Kinipa, and Muṣaṣina as Musasina, the second of which at any rate seems correct.

[365] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 32-34.

[366] ^{d}*I-dì-*^{d}En.ZU, LUGAL *da-núm,* ^{d}*Za-ba-zu-na,* DUMU.NI, *ì-lí-dan-nu,* ⌜IR_{11}⌝.ZU, Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 34. Unlike Shaffer and Wasserman, I would read IR_{11}-ZU as Sumerian "your servant," instead of Akkadian IR_{11}-*sú.*

[367] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 33.

[368] *Ibid.*

his hand, a posture found in Ur III seals. The moon crescent is shown above the cup.[369] In Urkeš the crescent is also depicted on some seals, for instance the seal that shows the ritual scene. (Fig. 19a-b, Chapter Four).

The mention of sons/ crown princes in the official inscriptions of the kingdoms of the Zagros foothills, presumably sharing titles and responsibilities with their fathers, was seemingly a tradition in that area.[370] The reason for this belief is not only the legend of this seal, but also the Bētwata inscriptions and another royal seal impression. That is one of a certain Pišendēn, king of Itabalḫum, found on a fragment from Shemshāra (SH 890), that mentions the son of the king.[371] All support this idea. The seals of Urkeš, on which the royal heir enjoys a prominent position, and the facts just mentioned, imply that the Hurrian traditions and political ideology were different from that of Mesopotamians in relation to the sons/ crown princes.

Another seal, in the British Museum (BM 102055), published by Collon[372] (Fig. 31), is very similar to the one just described. However, its legend does not mention Iddi(n)-Sîn, but only his son Zabazuna. This may imply a later date, probably after the death of Iddi(n)-Sîn and the succession of his son:

> [d]Zabazuna, the strong king. Teḫeš-atal, the scribe, (is) your servant.[373]

In this seal too, a person is depicted who stands in front of the king. The king is seated on a padded stool and holds a cup or small vessel. As in the former seal, the moon crescent is depicted in the space above the cup. The dress of both persons is similar to those of the former seal. One important difference is the depiction of animals or symbols of animals. On this seal a goose and a scorpion are seen behind the stool of the king, with other symbols above the goose and behind its head. This feature was also present in the seals of Urkeš and later in the Nuzi and Kassite seals. In front of the standing figure is a half-sized person with raised hands as before. It very probably represents a presenting deity, depicted in this way to indicate perspective.

The seal impression, found at Ešnunna, was first published by Jacobsen[374] and later re-examined by Sollberger.[375] The impression, although fragmentary, provided valuable information for it calls Zabazuna "the strong king,"[376] which proves that he succeeded his father on the throne of Simurrum. Equally important is that it was found *in situ* in the Ituria temple, under the layer dated to the reign of Bilalama of Ešnunna. Thus it can be dated roughly between the end of Ur III period and the reign of Bilalama of Ešnunna, who was a contemporary of Šu-ilišu (1984-1975 BC) of Isin.[377]

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[369] Other seals with the scene of a seated king holding a cup, the crescent and the presentation theme are found in Tell Asmar; for instance seals *e, f, g, i* and *j* in fig. 102; *a, b, c, h, i, j* and probably *p* in fig. 103 in Frankfort *et al., The Gimilsin Temple …,* 216-7.

[370] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 34.

[371] For the legend of this seal see Chapter Six under 'The king and the *nuldān(um)*.'

[372] Collon, D., *First Impressions, Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East,* London, 1993, p. 37, no. 121.

[373] [d]*Za-ba-zu-na* LUGAL *da-núm Te-ḫe-eš-a-tal* DUB. SAR ÌR. ZU: Collon, D., *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum,* Cylinder Seals II: Akkadian-Post Akkadian, Ur III Periods, London, 1982, no. 451, p. 164; cf. also: Sollberger, E., "Two New Seal-Impressions," *Anatolian Studies* 30 (1980), p. 63-65.

[374] Frankfort, *et al.*, *The Gimilsin Temple…*, p. 146, no. 13.

[375] Sollberger, *op. cit.* Sollberger states that the impression is now lost, *op. cit.,* p. 63, note 9.

[376] The legend reads as follows: 1) […]-*ba-zu-na* 2) […] *da-núm* 3) […]-*li ri(?)-ri* or […]-*li*-[*a*]*r-ri,* Sollberger, "Two New Seal-Inscriptions," p. 63.

[377] Walker, p. 176; cf. also the table on page 177.

That both Iddi(n)-Sîn and his son Zabazuna are depicted on the seal of the Rosen Collection, in all likelihood both without beard or moustache,[378] deserves special attention. However, this feature is found not only on this seal, for the king is similarly represented on both the Jerusalem relief and the Sarpul relief (see figs. 4a-b and 12). There was some doubt about the identity of the person depicted on the Jerusalem relief, whether it was the king himself or his son Zabazuna, because he is shown beardless and without a moustache.[379] The evidence these two seals present favour the king himself. It is important that both the king and his son appear on one seal (Rosen Collection) without beard or moustache, a fact supporting this conclusion.[380] This was apparently a dynastic tradition of the Simurrian royal house, reminiscent of the Gudea dynasty of Lagaš and Ur III, as noted by Shaffer and Wasserman.[381]

The Location of Simurrum

From this study of Simurrian inscriptions and other pertinent material an attempt can be made to locate Simurrum. The site of this important and politically active country in Mesopotamian history remains a riddle. Of the many different opinions presented one of the earliest was proposed by Meissner as early as 1919.[382] According to him one must look for Simurrum in the region of Kirkuk, near the Lullubian country, since the two were mentioned together in a Šulgi date-formula.[383] Equating Simurrum with Zab(b)an (*Si-mur-ra*^{ki} = *Zab-ban*) in some later texts,[384] especially the lexical and geographical lists, led Meissner to locate it at modern Pirdē (= Altün Kopri), because Zaban at that time was thought to have been located slightly south of the Lower Zāb.[385] Goetze, Billerbeck,[386] Edzard,[387] Diakonoff[388] and Gelb[389] followed Meissner,[390] but Forrer[391] and Weidner did not.[392] They showed that identifying Zab(b)an with Simurrum contradicts inscriptional data. Based on the mention of Simurrum and Zab(b)an in one context in an OB tablet from Sippar,[393] Weidner concluded that the two

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[378] There is no long beard and no curls, but a slight prominence on the sides of the faces of both persons could indicate a thin beard.

[379] Al-Fouadi, p. 128; cf. also Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 34.

[380] The identity of the two figures as Iddi(n)-Sîn and Zabazuna is suggested by Shaffer and Wasserman, and the above conclusion is based on this suggestion. Nevertheless, there remains the possibility of identifying one of them as a third person, an option which is less likely. Even so, it would be a member of the Simurrian royal house without beard or moustache.

[381] Shaffer and Wasserman, p. 34. The connections between the Gudea dynasty and the mountainous peoples go back in history, particularly in relation to some linguistic aspects; cf. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins,* p. 99.

[382] Meissner, B., "Simurrum," *OLZ* 22 (1919) No. 3/4, p. 69-70. For further bibliography on the subject cf. the survey made in Frayne, "On the location of Simurrum," pp. 243-269. However, Billerbeck as early as 1898 suggested that Zaban appears to be identical with Simurrum, at Pirdē on the Lower Zāb; cf. Billerbeck, *Das Sandschak Suleimania ...,* p. 4.

[383] Meissner, p. 69. Even more recently, Salvini and Wilhelm have located it on the upper reaches of the Lower Zāb: Salvini, "The Earliest Evidence…...," *Urkesh and the Hurrians,* p. 111; Wilhelm, *The Hurrians,* p. 7. Wilhelm was apparently inspired by the discovery of the Iddi(n)-Sîn inscriptions in Bētwata.

[384] With another variant from Assur citing the name as *Si-úr-ru*^{ki}, Meissner, o*p. cit.,* p. 69, and note 3. The NA text V R 12, no. 6, 44 records: *Si-mur-ra*^{ki} = ŠU = *Zab-ban* and the text KAV 183, 18: *Si-<mu?->úr-ru*^{ki} = ŠU = ^{URU}*Za-ban,* cf. Weidner, *ibid.*

[385] Meissner, p. 70.

[386] Billerbeck, *ibid.*

[387] Edzard, *Die »Zweite Zwischenzeit« Babyloniens*, p. 63.

[388] دیاکونوف، میدیا، ل. ۱۵۸.

[389] Gelb, *HS,* p. 57.

[390] Goetze, A., "Ḫulibar of Duddul," *JNES* 12 (1953), p. 120.

[391] Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, p. 40-41

[392] Weidner, E., "Simurrum und Zaban," *AfO* 15 (1945-1951), p. 79.

[393] The text is (88-5-12, 712), dated to the fourth year of Apil-Sîn (1813-1830 BC) of Babylon, cf. Weidner, *op. cit.,* 78.

GNs referred to distinct toponyms, although linked to each other. He then suggested siting them in the south rather than in the north near the Lower Zāb.[394] The inscriptions of Aššurnasirpal II support this. Those inscriptions, when describing the extent of the Assyrian Empire, determine the borders of one of its provinces as starting from the bank of the Lower Zāb as far as the city of "Tīl-Bāri, which is above Zaban" as the furthest point.[395] This implies that Zab(b)an was located in the south, far from the Lower Zāb. Concerning equating Simurrum with Zab(b)an, Frayne thinks that Simurrum was the ancient name that prevailed in the Akkadian, Ur III and Early Old Babylonian periods until it was replaced by Zab(b)an, maybe under Ṣillī-Sîn and Ilūnā of Ešnunna.[396] This suggestion was based on the information provided by economic texts of the Mê-Turrān (Tell el-Sīb and Haddād) archives, in which only Zab(b)an is mentioned.[397] In looking for Simurrum further to the south, Weidner depended on some Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions. Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC) stated that he stopped in Zab(b)an on his way to Mê-Turnat from Assur.[398] Šamšī-Adad V (823-811 BC) took almost the same route, passing by Zaban and crossing Mount Ebiḫ (Hamrin) to the city of Mê-Turnat.[399] Weidner collected more references to the city of Zaban in cuneiform sources.[400] The Synchronistic History (Chronicle 21) mentions that Assur-dān I (1179-1134 BC) "[captured] Zaban, Irriya, Ugarsa[llu (and) …]"[401] during his campaign against Babylonia. These data led Weidner to give a location near Hamrin, somewhere on the way between the city of Assur and the Diyāla River, most probably at the point where the River Adhēm breaks out from Hamrin.[402]

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[394] Weidner, *AfO* 15, p. 77-79. He assumes also that Simurrum might have been the name of the land and Zab(b)an its chief city: *op. cit.,* p. 79. According to Astour the equating of Simurrum and Zab(b)an in the lexical texts is due to a scribal error: Astour, "Semites and Hurrians," p. 41, note 284.

[395] 9) TA *e-ber-tan* ÍD *Za-ba* KI.TA 10) *a-di* URU.DU$_6$-*ba-a-ri šá el-la-an* KUR *Za-ba-an,* "From the opposite bank of Lower Zāb to the city of Tīl-Bāri, which is upstream from Zaban," Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 275 (Text A.0.101.23); cf. also Luckenbill, *ARAB*, vol. I, p. 198, § 551. This is how the text deals with the land of the Lullubians, Zamua: 7′) TA *né-re-be šá* KUR *Ba-*ʳ*bí*ˀ-[*ti*] 8′) [*a*]-ʳ*dí*ˀ KUR *Ḫa-áš-mar* KUR *Za-mu-a ana si-ḫír-*ʳ*ti*ˀ-[*šá*], "[I brought] within the boundaries [of my land] (the territory stretching) from the passes of Mount Babi[tu] to Mount Ḫašmar, the entire land of Zamua," Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 324 (Text A.0.101.52).

[396] Frayne, "On the location…," p. 260.

[397] Frayne, *ibid.*; cf. also: Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 159. Frayne refers to the allusions to Zab(b)an in the texts published by Mustafa in his dissertation, i.e. texts: 3:13; 8:15; 13:7; 24:8; 44:4; 53:8; 87:13; 91:13; 92:9; 93:29; 96:2; 98:4; 111:11, cf. Mustafa, A. A., *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Me-Turan (Tell al-Sīb and Tell Haddad),* Glasgow, 1983. Another group of texts from Al-Sīb, studied as late as 2002 as a Ph. D. dissertation by Ahmed M. Hameed at the University of Baghdad, also mention only Zab(b)an, without any single reference to Simurrum. References to Zab(b)an occur in: 13:2; 14:3; 18:5; 27:11; 32:5; 33:4; 36: 3; 40:20 (date-formula); 59: col. I 2; 60: col. I 2, cf.:

حميد، احمد مجيد، *نصوص مسمارية من العصر البابلي القديم في المتحف العراقي (تل السيب/ حوض سد حمرين)*، بغداد، ٢٠٠٢.

[Ḥameed, Ahmed Majeed, *Old Babylonian Cuneiform Texts in the Iraq Museum (Tell al-Sīb/ Hamrin Basin),* Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation submitted to the University of Baghdad, Baghdad, 2002].

[398] 3) TA URU *Za-ban at-tu-muš ana* URU *Me-tu-ur-na-at aq-ṭí-rib,* "From Zaban I departed. To the city of Mê-Turnat I drew near," Grayson, A. K., Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC, II (858-745 BC), *RIMA* 3, Toronto, 1996, p. 30 (text A.0.102.5); cf. also Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, p. 230, § 622.

[399] iv 1b) *a-na* KUR *Kar-du-ni-áš a-la-ku* 2) ÍD *Za-ban e-bir ina bi-rit* URU *Za-ad-di* URU *Za-ban* 3) BAL *na-at-bak* KUR-*e* 3 UR.MAḪ.MEŠ *ṭár*^{ár}*-du-te a-duk* 4) KUR *E-bi-iḫ a-bal-kit* URU *Me-e-túr-na-at al-me,* "I crossed the river Zab en route to Karduniaš. While traversing the gorge between the cities Zaddi and Zaban I killed three startled lions. I crossed Mount Ebiḫ (and) besieged the city of Mê-Turnat," Grayson, *RIMA* 3, p. 187, (text A.0.103.1); cf. also Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, p. 258, § 723.

[400] For these in detail, cf. Weidner, "Simurrum und Zaban," p. 76-77.

[401] II 11) [^{UR}]^{U}*Za-ban* ^{URI}*Ir-ri-ia* ^{URU}*Ugar-sa-a*[*l-lu…*] 12) [*ik-šud*], Grayson, *ABC,* Chronicle 21, p. 162; cf. also its mention in the border demarcation between Assyria and Babylonia in the time of Adad-Nirari II and Nabû-šuma-iškun/ukîn in the same chronicle, col. III, l. 20.

[402] Weidner, p. 76; cf. also, for a summary of these opinions, Frayne, "On the Location….," p. 261.

According to Nashef, Zab(b)an was located somewhere in the hilly country between modern Kifri and Qara Tepe, based on information from the inscription of Šamšī-Adad V.[403] He concluded that Zab(b)an was not on the Lower Zāb, so removing Simurrum away from Pirdē. It is supported by the Middle Assyrian archival text (VAT 18000) from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta and published by Freydank that mentioned "the land (Mount?) of Zab(b)an, on the bank of the Turrān (= the Diyāla)."[404]

Frayne, in his detailed study in search of Simurrum, and depending on that same inscription, suggested a location on the River Diyāla,[405] not the River Adhēm, as had been suggested by Weidner.[406] This location is possible only if this Zab(b)an was identical with Simurrum, which is very probable. The fact that Ṣilluš-Dagān, the Ur III governor of Simurrum, was responsible for collecting booty from the conquered surrounding lands during the last campaigns of Šulgi was sufficient reason to suggest a location of Simurrum somewhere on the five routes that connected Madga with the Diyāla.[407] This seems likely as long as these routes were connecting the surrounding lands with each other. But the question that unavoidably arises is about the location of Madga. According to Frayne, Madga must be located around modern Kifri or Tāuq (= Daqūq).[408] Nevertheless, another explanation for the duty undertaken by Ṣilluš-Dagān is not because of the location of Simurrum there but because it was the only large urban centre in that region governed by a man installed by Ur.

In short, according to Frayne, locating Simurrum on the Diyāla, at a point where one of the routes from Kifri crosses the river, was more likely. The best spot for him is the modern site of Qalāy Shirwāna, an old fort built on the top of a high ancient tell at the pass formed by the junction of the Pūngla tributary with the Sirwān River,[409] "not far from Karḫar."[410] He thinks also that the name of the nearby mountain Kushki Zang is derived and developed from the

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[403] Cf. Nashef, Kh., *RGTC* 5, Wiesbaden, 1982, p. 280; also for the bibliography over Zab(b)an on pages 279-280.

[404] KUR *Za-am-ba-an a-aḫ Tu-ra-an* l.36, cf. Frayne, "On the Location…," p. 262-3. Concerning the land of Zāb in the Assyrian royal inscriptions see also Schramm, W., "Das Land ZAB der assyrischen Königsinschriften," *Or* 38 (1969), p. 126-7.

[405] Frayne, *op. cit.,* 263. In fact, the location he suggests is on the Sirwān River, which is the upper part of the Diyāla, not the Diyāla itself.

[406] Frayne has presented some additional arguments for his suggestion:

1) A year-name of Narām-Sîn of Akkad that commemorates his victory over the two cities of Arame and Simurrum together, suggests that Narām-Sîn has followed the Diyāla route upstream, first to Arame and then to Simurrum.
2) Arame, which is mentioned in the Harmal Geographical list, was located on the Diyāla river, to the south of the point where the river breaks out from Hamrin. Note that this location for Arame on the Diyāla was made by Frayne himself.
3) The troops of Arame were mentioned together with the troops of Ešnunna in an archival text from Ur III, dated to Šulgi 48.
4) Ṣilluš-Dagān, governor of Simurrum in the Ur III period, was called the leader of the Simurrian troops and the troops of Išīm-Šulgi. The latter too, was located in the Diyāla region; cf. Frayne, *op. cit.,* p. 263.

Although the location of Simurrum in this direction is very possible, some points deserve comment. First, defeating two cities within one year does not necessarily imply their being on the same axis or in the same region. They could have been located on two different axes, or even in different directions. Secondly, Ṣilluš-Dagān could lead the troops of two cities or districts close to each other but on two different axes. Finally, there are other examples of persons holding important posts in cities and regions located in different directions, even far from each other, e.g. Arad-Nanna and Zāriqum in the Ur III period. It seems quite possible to me that such titles were actually an enumeration of the posts and offices held by a person during his career, a kind of *curriculum vitae.*

[407] Frayne, *op. cit.,* p. 263-4.

[408] For the location of Madga see Chapter Three, note 189.

[409] Sirwān is the upper part of the Diyāla River.

[410] Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 148. He identified a location for Karḫar near modern Qasr-i-Shīrīn, on the River Alwand and along the Great Khorasān Road.

name of Zam/b(b)an and the names of (Qalāy) Shirwāna and the River Sirwān are reflections of the old name Simurrum: **Siwurr+ān > Sirwān*.[411] The fact that even today the main route that leads to the Diyāla Region from Shahrazūr passes by Qalāy Shirwāna is a good reason to believe that this site was important in antiquity, being located on the strategic route that linked the south to the north.[412] We saw also in the previous chapter that Simurrum was the second target of the Ur III kings after Karḫar. From this we arrived at a location behind the area of influence of Karḫar, which fits Qalāy Shirwāna. Furthermore, that Simurrum was located on or close to a river is shown by the proverb "Between the basket and the boat (are) the fields of Simurrum" cited above. We know now also that Mê-Turnat was in Tell-el-Sīb and Tell Haddād, so Zab(b)an was to the north of these two sites. The Harmal Geographical List lists Simurrum between Arrapḫa in the north and Niqqum (= Khanaqīn?)[413] and Meturān in the south,[414] facts which are compatible with Frayne's location at Qalāy Shirwāna.

Of special importance is the etymology of the name Simurrum presented by Astour. According to him, the name has an Akkadian origin, namely *s/šimuru(m),* "cumin," which is attested with the same alternation *s/š* as in the OB variants of the toponym.[415] More interesting is the other equivalent of "cumin," *ḫašmūru* or *ḫaši'ūru*, which is used in the Middle Bronze Age and Neo-Assyrian Period to designate a mountainous region as one approaches the Diyāla from the northeast.[416] In this way, Astour combines linguistically Simurrum with Ḫaš(i)mu/ar in an indirect way. The latter was known in the ancient written sources as an important mountain and pass. The most important and closest pass in this region might be Darband-i-Khān, which controls the route to the southern part of the Shahrazūr Plain and serves as its southern gateway.[417]

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[411] Frayne, p. 266-7. Although the name Shirwān(a) is a Kurdish name that means 'The Lion Trainer' or 'The man of sword(s)' ('šēr' means 'lion' and 'šīr' means 'sword'), the development of the modern name from that ancient name is not impossible through *Volksetymologie.* The name Sirwān, however, has no clear etymology in the local language.

[412] The routes that linked the south with the north in antiquity, even as late as the Ottoman Period, passed through the Diyāla and Hamrin regions, not along the Tigris; cf. Postgate, N. J., "The Historical Geography of the Hamrin Basin," *Sumer* 35, no. 1 and 2 (1979), p. 593.

[413] Frayne, *EDGN,* p. 70.

[414] Col. III: 74) *A-ra-ap-ḫu* 75) *Ši-mu-rum* 76) *Gán*-DAŠ 77) *Ni-qum* 78) *Me-tu-ra-an,* Lewy, S., "Harmal Geographical List," *Sumer* 3, no. 1 (1947), p. 53. In the Nippur List Simurrum is set generally in the following sequence: 99) *I*(?)-*šim*(?)-*Šul-gi* 100) *Šul-gi-na-an-na* 101) *Gú-a-ba* 102) *Si-mu-ru-um* 103) *An-ša$_4$-an* 104) DU-… 105) *Ib-ra-t*[*um*(?)] 106) *Ib-l*[*a*] 107) *Di-ni-ik*-[*tum*] until it reaches Niq(q)u and Kazallu, cf. Lewy, *op. cit.,* p. 65. Išim-Šulgi was in the Diyāla region (*RGTC* 2, p. 87); Šulgi-nanna is located on the Nahrawān Canal, between Samarra, Tell Asmar and Kūt (*RGTC* 3, p. 227); Guab(b)a was a cultic place to the southeast of the Lagaš region (*RGTC* 2, p. 65), but there is a question whether they were identical; Anšan is Tell-i-Maliyān in Fārs Province in southwest Iran; Ibrat in Kūt al-Amāra (*RGTC* 3, p. 104; *RGTC* 2, p. 82) to the south east of Baghdad; Ibla could be the same as Dūr-E/Ubla on the southern shore of lake Zirēbār (Frayne, *EDGN* p. 60 and the map on p. 62) near Mariwān City; and Diniktum in Tell Muhammed (or: Tell Hurma?) near Baghdad (*RGTC* 3, p. 54); Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 682.

[415] Astour, "Semites and Hurrians …," p. 41. The Akkadian dictionaries give "caraway" as a second possible meaning, cf. Black, J., A. George and N. Postgate, *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian,* 2nd ed., Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 111. It is notable that this is not the only foreign toponym with an Akkadian meaning; e.g. Kunšum, the capital city of the kingdom of Itabalḫum in the Zagros, means "ball of wool" in Akkadian; the Elamite city of Madaktu means in Akkadian "(military) camp, expeditionary force." Such names were not uncommon even within Mesopotamian territory; the birth-place of Sargon of Agade was the city of Azupirānu, meaning "saffron."

[416] Astour, "Semites and ….," p. 41; Nashef, *RGTC* 5, p. 122.

[417] Levine put Ḫaš(i)mu/ar at the point where the Diyāla leaves Hamrin: Levine, L., "Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros I," *Iran* 11 (1973), p. 23; Weidner, "Die Feldzüge Šamši-Adads V. gegen Babylonien," *AfO* 9 (1933-34), p. 97; but Speiser, Billerbeck and Streck put it in Darband-i-Khān, cf. Speiser, "Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of ….," *AASOR* 8 (1926-1927), p. 26 and note 49.

Linking the name of Simurrum to a plant name is reminiscent of what the ancient Arab geographer and traveller Misᶜar bin al-Muhalhal (10th century A.D.)[418] wrote about his visit to Shahrazūr. His narrative is cited in the book of Yaqūt al-Ḥamawī, entitled Muᶜjam al Buldān (= Lexicon of the Lands).[419] Al-Muhalhal said, "Shahrazūr is famous for the mountains Shaᶜrān and Zalm, on the sides of which some kind of plant grows that is good for manhood and sexuality."[420] He has identified two criteria relevant to our purpose, the mountain name is similar to (Ḫa)šiᶜūru, and it is known for a particular plant, though we are not in a position to say anything more. Because the name Shaᶜrān is not current today an identification is difficult. Nevertheless, its alleged proximity to the ancient capital city Shahrazūr,[421] which is by no means so far to the south as Hamrin and Qalāy Shirwāna, makes us search in the Shahrazūr Plain. The association al-Muhalhal made between Šaᶜrān and Zalm is crucial. Zalm is the mountain on the eastern edge of the plain, with the same name and close to Mount Surēn. Surēn is in all probability a development from Šaᶜrān from the older form Širan,[422] a form recorded in a Syriac manuscript concerned with the history of Kirkuk (Kark/ḫā de-Bēt Selōk). When that manuscript defines the frontiers of the kingdom of Beth Garmai (modern Garmiyān), of which Kirkuk was the capital, it works in a counter-clockwise direction from the Lower Zāb, then to Deklat (the Tigris), then to the river "Atrakon, which they also call Tormara or Tamarra," then to Ladi/ab and Mount Širan back to the Lower Zāb.[423] A further significant allusion made by al-Muhalhal is that the main river of Shahrazūr was called Tama/i/urrā, which flows to Khanaqīn. Although he has not given the exact pronunciation of the second vowel[424] the principal elements of *t-m-r* are recognizable and we have the Syriac form Tormara/ Tamarra. If we treat this hydronym by the rules of Akkadian phonology, it becomes possible to take the initial */t/* as having been derived from or developed from Akkadian */s/* or */š/*, (compare Akk. *šiṭru,* "(piece of) writing" > Arab. *saṭru(n)* and Akk. *šiqlu* > Arab. *ṯiqlu(n),* and many other examples). The sound */ṯ/* is convertible in Kurdish, which is spoken in the region, to either */s/* or */t/,* as can be heard in the name *Tama/i/urrā*.[425] So this name may correspond to the ancient name of *S/Šamurra*< *Šimurra/u*. This would lend support to the suggestion of Frayne about the name of Simurrum reflected in modern Sirwān, especially when we know that the main river of Shahrazūr that flows southwards to Khanaqīn is Sirwān and the name Tama/i/urrā is not known at present. But it is important to know that the Middle Ages geographer al-Mustawfi (14th century AD) mentioned that the River Diyāla

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[418] Le Strange, *The Lands of Eastern Caliphate,* p. 190.

[419] الحموي، ياقوت، *معجم البلدان*، الجزء الخامس، القاهرة، ١٩٠٦، ص. ٣١٢–٣، مادة: شهرزور.

[al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al Buldān* (in Arabic), vol. 5, Cairo, 1906, p. 312-3, under: Shahrazūr]. al-Ḥamawī has died in 1228 A. D.

[420] *Ibid.*

[421] The city of Shahrazūr has not yet been exactly identified, but it seems very probable that it is identical with modern Yasān Tepe, a high and large tell that revealed rich Islamic levels at the upper levels during a short excavation in the 1970s.

[422] Another mountain on the eastern side of the Darband-i-Khān, the artificial lake at the southern end of Shahrazūr Plain, is Shamērān, which sounds similar to Šaᶜrān, but the association of the latter with Zalm in the passage of al-Muhalhal makes the identification of Šaᶜrān with Shamērān unlikely.

[423] پیگولوسکایا، ن.، *شهرهای ایران در رزوگار پارتیان و ساسانیان*، تهران، ١٣٧٢ (چاپ دوم)، ص. ٦٨.

[Pigulevskaia, N., *The Cities of Iran under the Parthians and Sassanians* (in Persian, originally published in Russian), Teheran, 1993, p. 68]. Although the manuscript tells the events of the last years of the NA period, it uses terminology and GNs of the time of its composition (the Sassanian Period), such as Beth Garmai. The other GNs mentioned in the text must also be the forms known in Sassanian times.

[424] In the light of the Syriac version it could be more probably an *a*.

[425] Kurdish, an Indo-European language, has been present in the region since the beginning of the first millennium BC, when with the Medes came to the region. The grammar and phonology of Kurdish is closely comparable to other neighbouring Indo-European languages, especially in converting the above-mentioned sounds.

was called Nahrawān, coming from the mountains of Kurdistan, consisting of the confluence of the two rivers Širwān (an old form of Sirwān), the lower part of which is called Tâmarrâ, and the River Halwān.[426]

Looking for later or even modern toponyms identifiable with ancient Simurrum leads to a name with a flourishing past, the city of Saimara, which gave its name to the river passing through the district once called Mihrajān Kuḍak[427] (now in Luristan Minor). This suggestion is more complicated because the city is farther to the southeast, in Iranian territory, to the southeast of Halwān and Sarpul, but it is still worth examining. Also interesting is the presence of another city between Halwān and Saimarra called Sirwān, the same name as the river discussed above (cf. Map 5).[428] Both cities flourished in the Middle Ages and were important centres in the region. While no clear etymology can be presented for these names, they may perhaps be linked phonologically with Simurrum. Both places are not so far away from the area of Simurrian activity, so there may be some connection between the names. The relief and inscription of a king of Simurrum (Anubanini II= ID) is nearby, and it is the place where Iddi(n)-Sîn fought and subdued Ḫalman. The city name Saimara can be a reflection of the old name Simurrum. But geographically it is difficult to suggest a location of Simurrum of the Ur III and Early OB texts in such a relatively remote place. A reasonable solution would be to suggest the name here reflects the time of a Simurrian extended hegemony, perhaps under Iddi(n)-Sîn.[429] Another possibility is that Simurrum could indeed have been in this region of Saimara in its earliest days, but its centre of gravity had moved later to the northwest, to the strategic area around Ḫalwān and the Great Khorasan Road. How the name Simurrum was changed to Zab(b)an is not known, though Zab(b)an could perhaps be somehow associated with Zabazuna.[430]

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[426] Le Strange, p. 60-61.
It could be that Tâmarrâ has its roots in the element Tur(r)ān of the GN Mē-Turān.

[427] الحموي، *نفس المصدر السابق*، الجزء ٥، ص. ٤٠٧.

[al-Ḥamawi, *op. cit.,* vol. 5, p. 407, under: Ṣaimarah]; cf. also: Le Strange, *op. cit.,* p. 202 f.

[428] The even more similar GN *Samirum* is further to the southeast than Saimara, a distance which makes any identification futile.

[429] Such cases are not uncommon; many city names of the new world are reflections of city names of Europe, from where the new settlers originated. On the other hand the names of Sirwān and Saimara are not the only instances of a supposed reflection of an older name. Many examples are known to Assyriologists, particularly in the northern Transtigris and northern Mesopotamia: *Šušarrā* > Shemshāra; *Muṣaṣir* > Mujesir; *Aziru* > Azmar; *A/Urbilum* > Arbil and many others. Further, one may add some other ancient toponyms comparable linguistically and geographically with the medieval toponyms mentioned by geographers and travelers of the time, such as Kimaš, comparable with Qūmis (var. Kumiš), a large district in western Iran, almost identical with ancient Kimaš. Qūmiš or Qumaš is also the name of a village in Maidasht, a locality of Kirmašān; for this cf. the note of Rōzhbayāni to the Arabic version of Sharafnameh in:

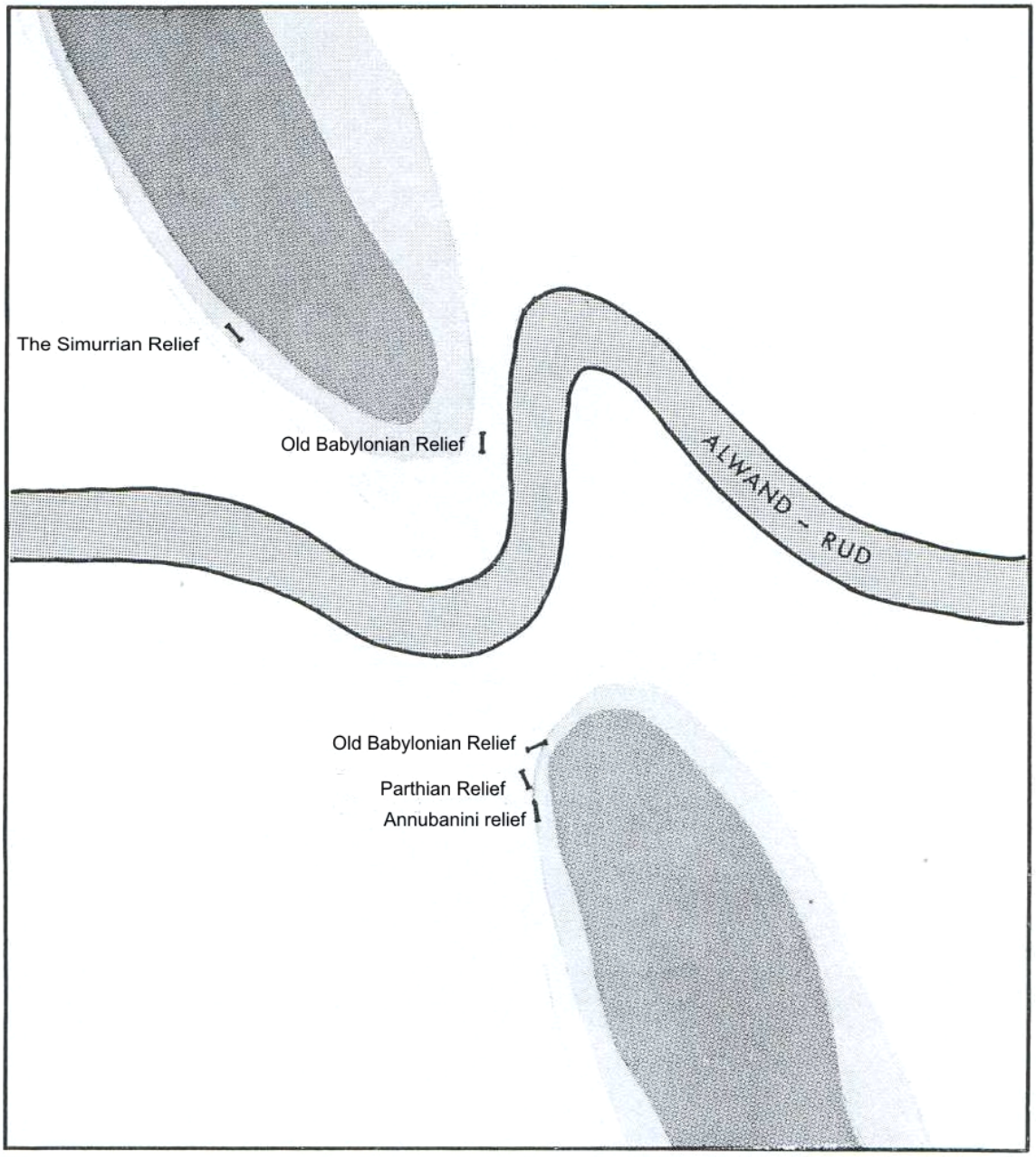
البدليسي، شرفخان، *شرفنامه*، ترجمة محمد جميل الملا احمد الروژبياني، ط. ٣، بغداد، ٢٠٠٧، ص. ١١٣، الهامش ٢٥.

[al-Badlīsi, Shrafkhān, *Sharafnameh,* tr. M. J. Rōzhbayāni, 3rd edition, Baghdad, 2007, p. 113, note 25 (in Arabic)];

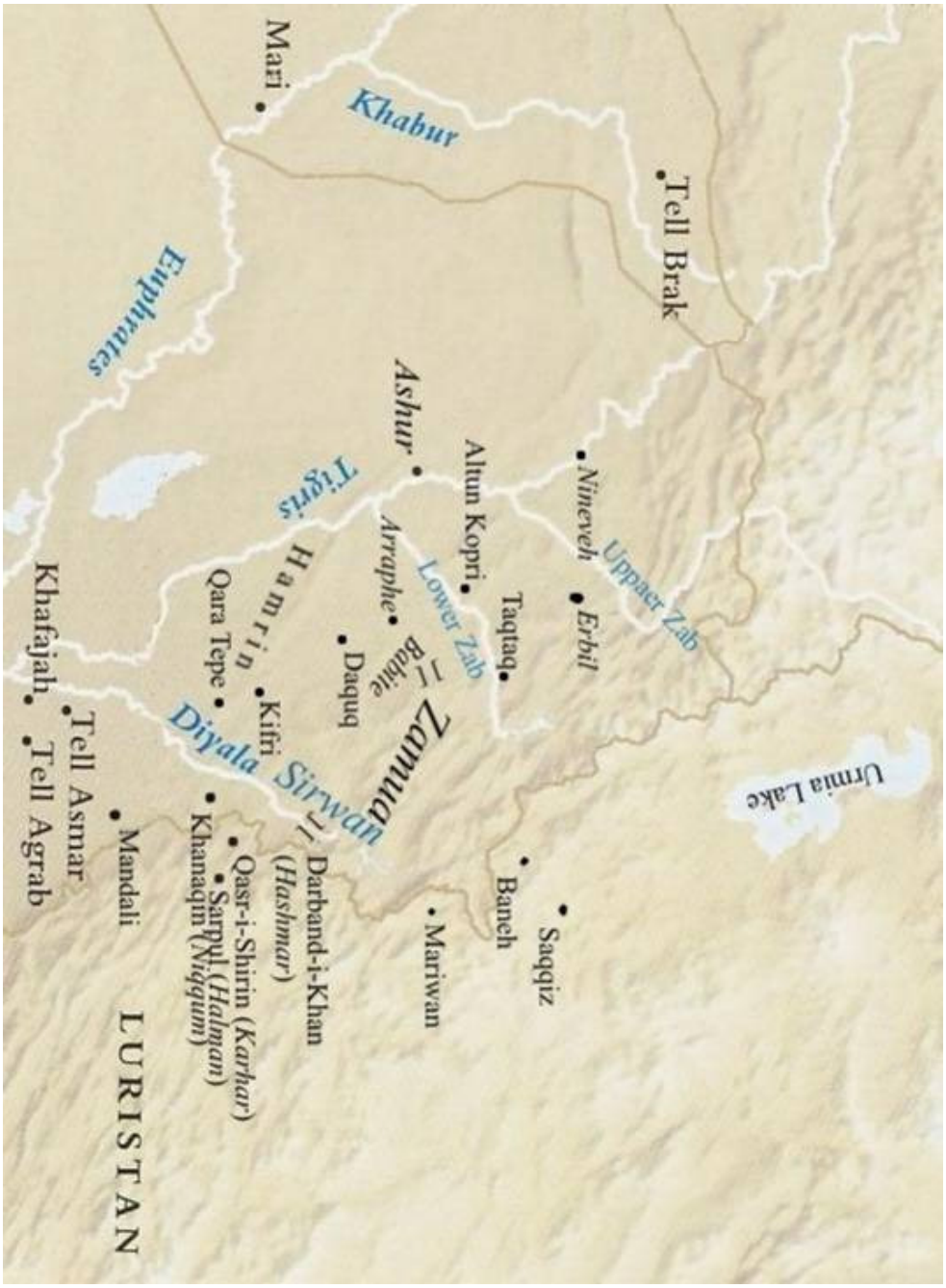
Ḫarši and Harsīn (?) (there is more than one GN Harsīn in the region); Gidānu and (Karḫ) Jadān (?), where Karḫ means "fort, 'castle;" Padān and Māsapaḍan (?), where Mas can be analysed as the Iranised form of māh, which was used in GNs like Māh of Basra and Māh of Kūfa in the Arabic sources; perhaps it comes from Akkadian *māt*; it is not from the GN Media, OP Māda, as suggested by Edward Brown in *A Literary History of Persia,* vol. I, London, 1951, p. 19. This is not the only case of borrowing. Additional examples are كورة/kūre/ < Sum. KUR and اقليم /iqlīm/ < Sum. KALAM in Classical Arabic writings to denote "land" and "province."

[430] In this regard it is tempting to think of Zabazuna as the founder of a new capital in the Diyāla region, named after himself as Zaba(n)zuna, developed or abbreviated to Zab(b)an, assuming Zaban is not identical with Simurrum. Or he might have changed the name of ancient Simurrum to Zaba(n)zuna after he rose to power. This hypothesis fits chronologically with the replacement of the name Simurrum by Zab(b)an in texts dated to Ṣillī-Sîn and Iluna of Ešnunna and later of Apil-Sîn of Babylon.

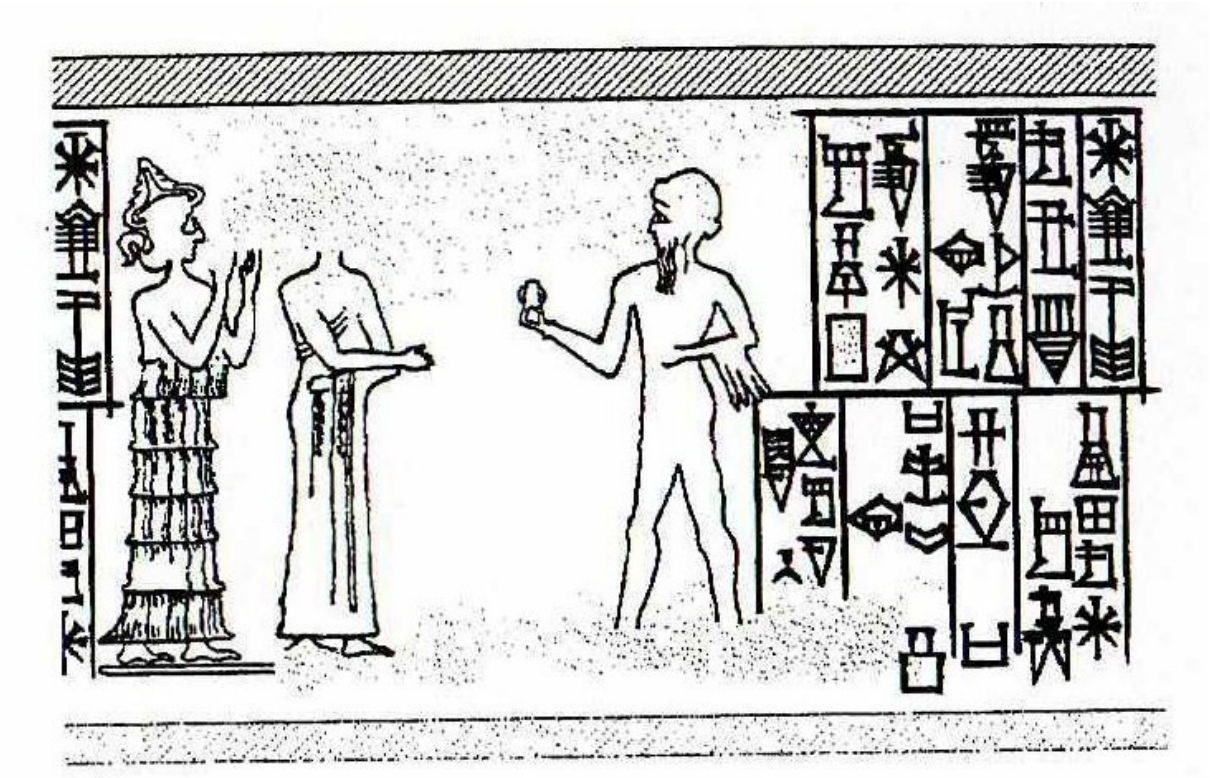
Figures of Chapter Five



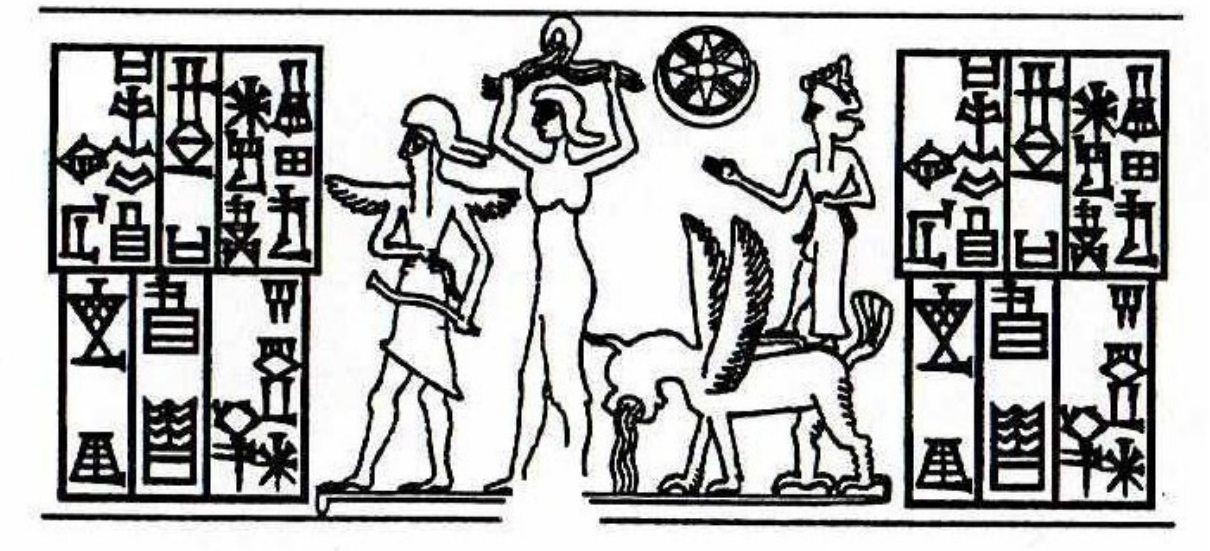
Map 1) The Sarpul pass and the locations of the reliefs. After Hrouda, *Iranische Denkmäler,* Lieferung 7, Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs C: Sarpol-i Zohāb, Die Reliefs I-IV, Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin, 1976, pl. 9.b. (The names are modified).



Map 2) The Transtigris. Names in *italic* indicate ancient geographical names.



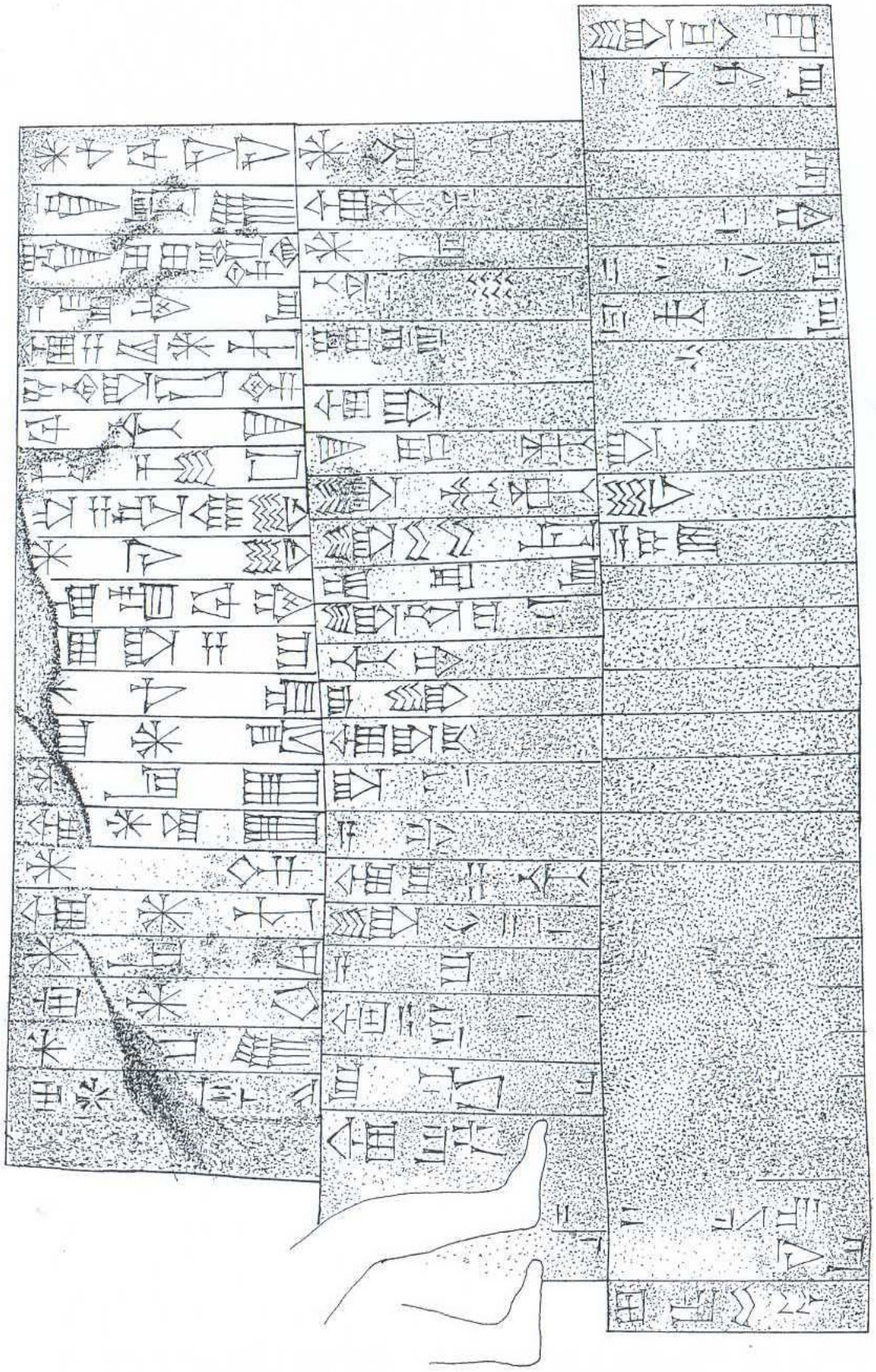
1a) Seal impression of a servant of Silluš-Dagan. After: Owen, "The Royal Gift Seal…," FS L. Cagni, fig. 5, p. 841.



1b) Seal impression of another servant of Silluš-Dagan. After: Owen, *op. cit.,* fig. 4, p. 840.

2a) Drawing of the relief of Annubanini in Sarpul. After: Hrouda, B., *Iranische Denkmäler, op. cit.,* pl. 5a .

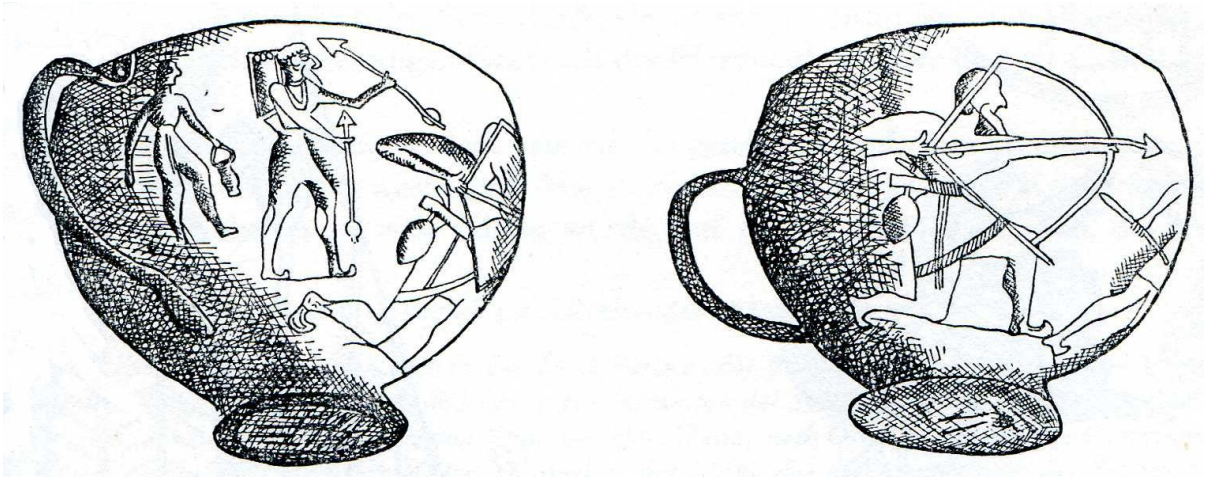
2b) Photo of the relief of Annubanini in Sarpul. After: Nasrabadi, "Beobachtungen zum Felsreliefs Anubanini, *ZA* 94 (2004), Berlin, Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, fig. 2, p. 293.



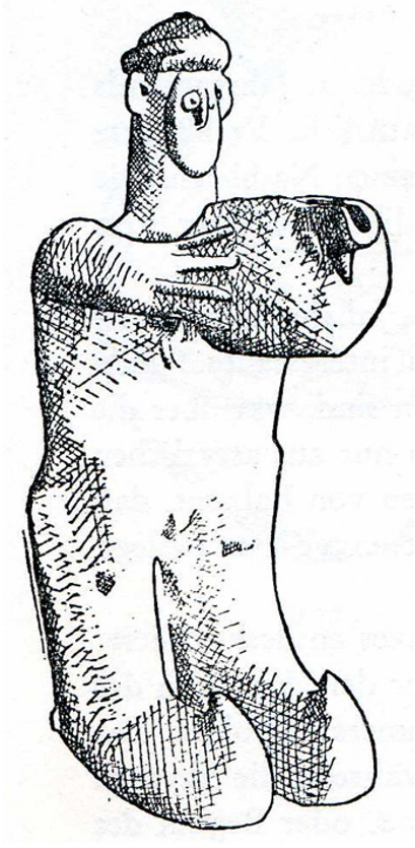
3) Hand copy of the Annubanini inscription. After: Nasrabadi, *op. cit.,* fig. 5, p. 296.

4a) The Simurrian relief in Sarpul. After: Hrouda, *Iranische Denkmäler,* pl. 2.

4b) Detail of the Simurrian relief in Sarpul. After: Hrouda, *Iranische Denkmäler,* pl. 2.

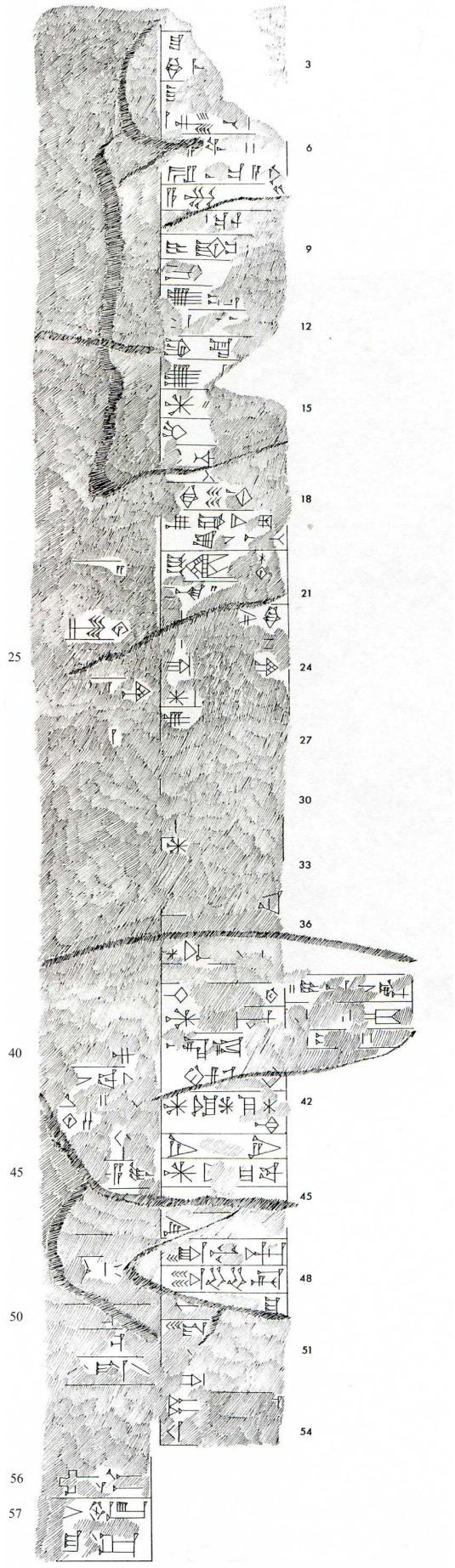


5a) A silver cup from Deilem in Iran showing shoes with upward pointed tips. After: Godard, *Die Kunst des Iran,* Berlin, 1964. Fig. 116a-b, p. 69.



5b) A pottery figurine from Amlash showing footwear with pointed tips. After: Godard, *op. cit.,* fig. 111, p. 68.

5c) A Proto-Elamite copper figure wearing footwear with pointed tips. After: Hansen, in: *Art of the first Cities,* fig. 15a, p. 46.



6) The inscription of the Simurrian relief in Sarpul. After: Hrouda, *Iranische Denkmäler,* pl. 6. (Numbering of col. I by author).

7a) The Haladiny inscription in the Sulaimaniya Museum. Photo by the author.

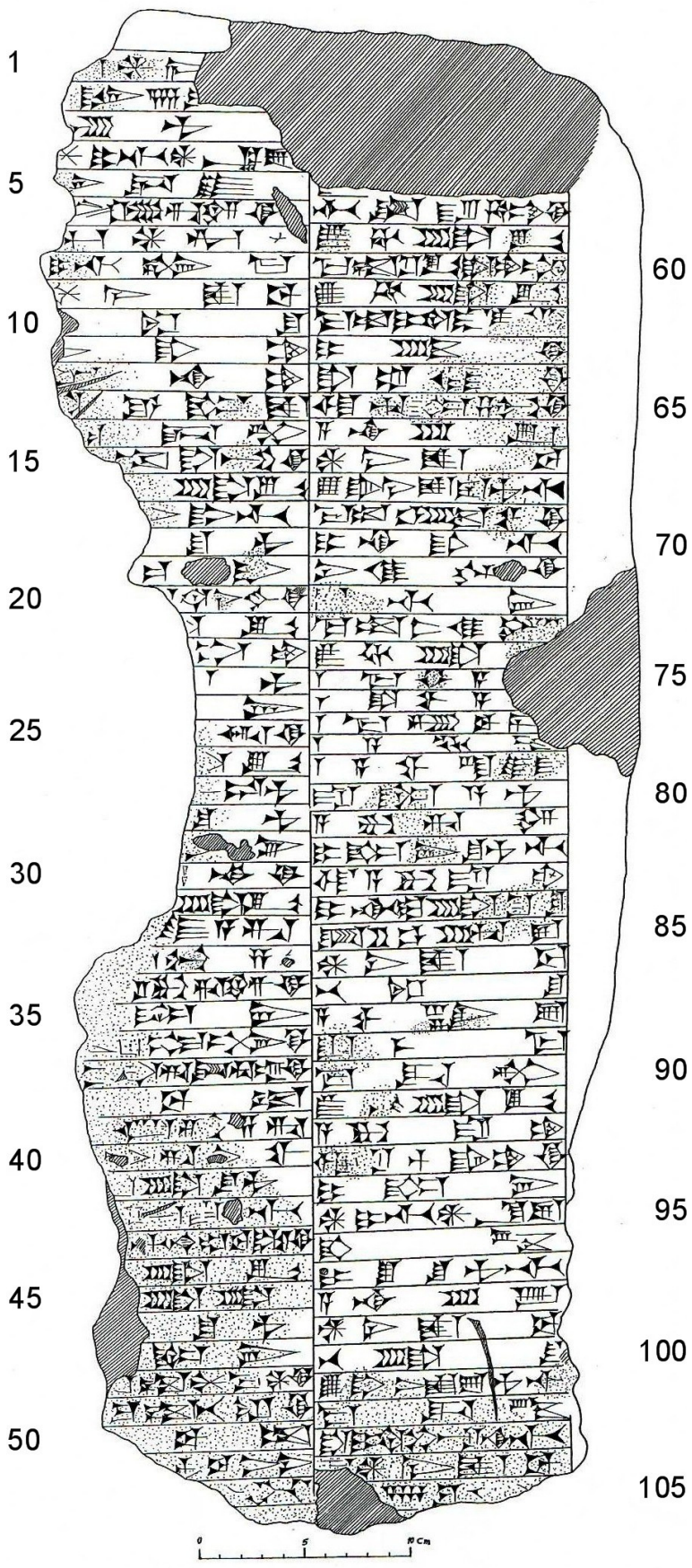
7b) The Haladiny inscription, oblique view. Photo by the author.

8a) Detail of the upper part of the Haladiny inscription. Photo by the author.

8b) Detail of the upper middle part of the Haladiny inscription. Photo by the author.

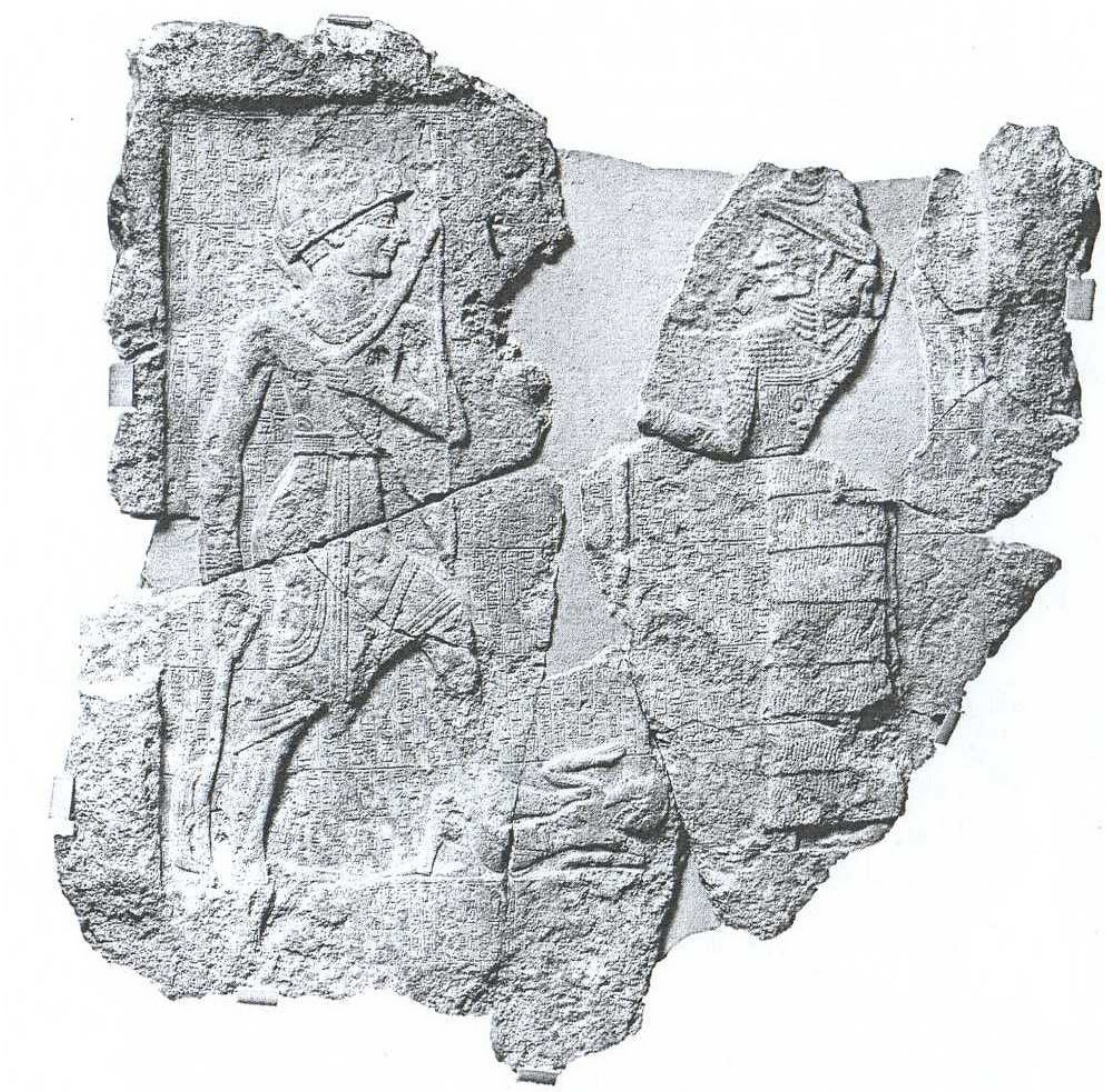
8c) Detail of the lower middle part of the Haladiny inscription. Photo by the author.

8d) Detail of the lower part of the Haladiny inscription. Photo by the author.

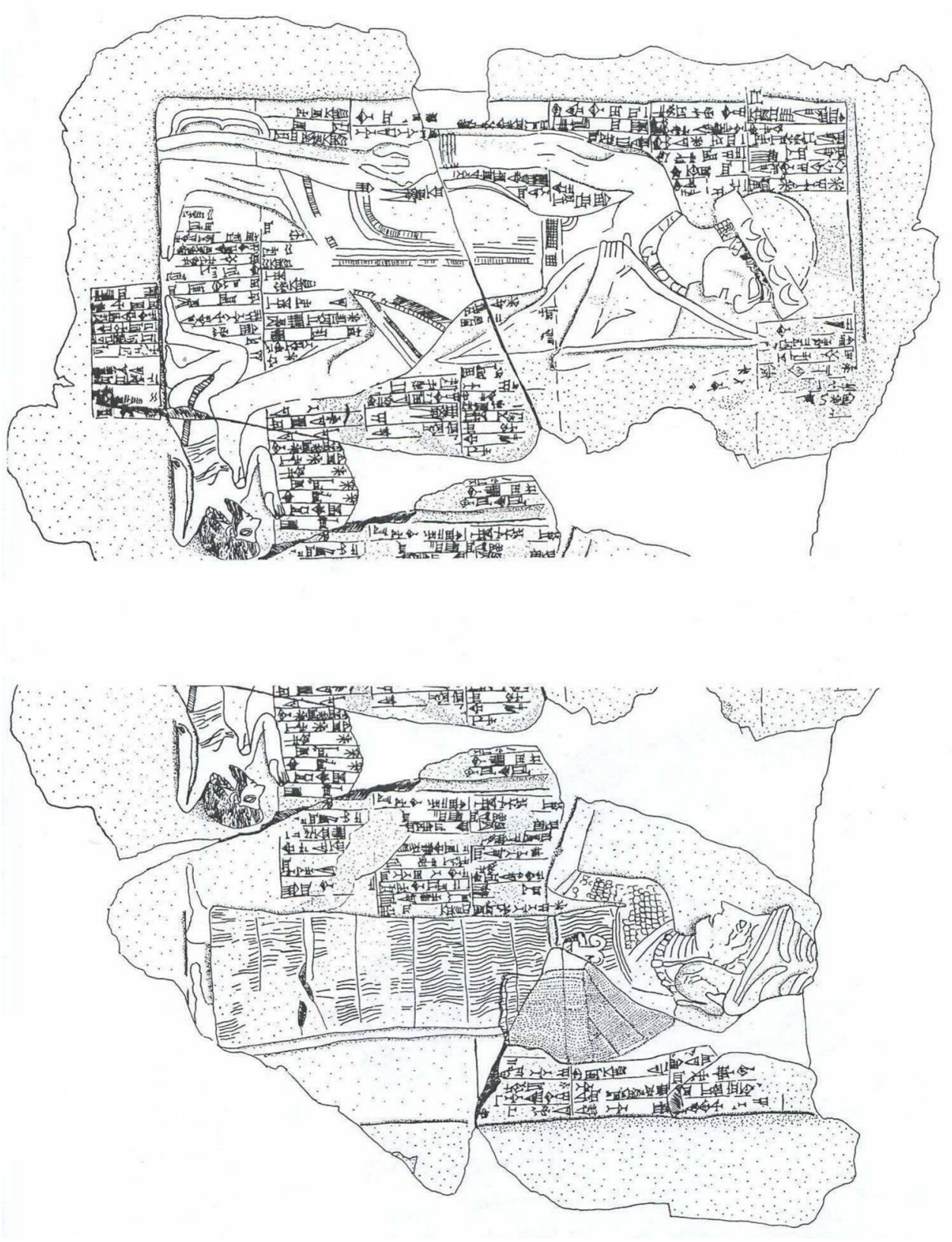


9) The Haladiny inscription; hand copy by the author.

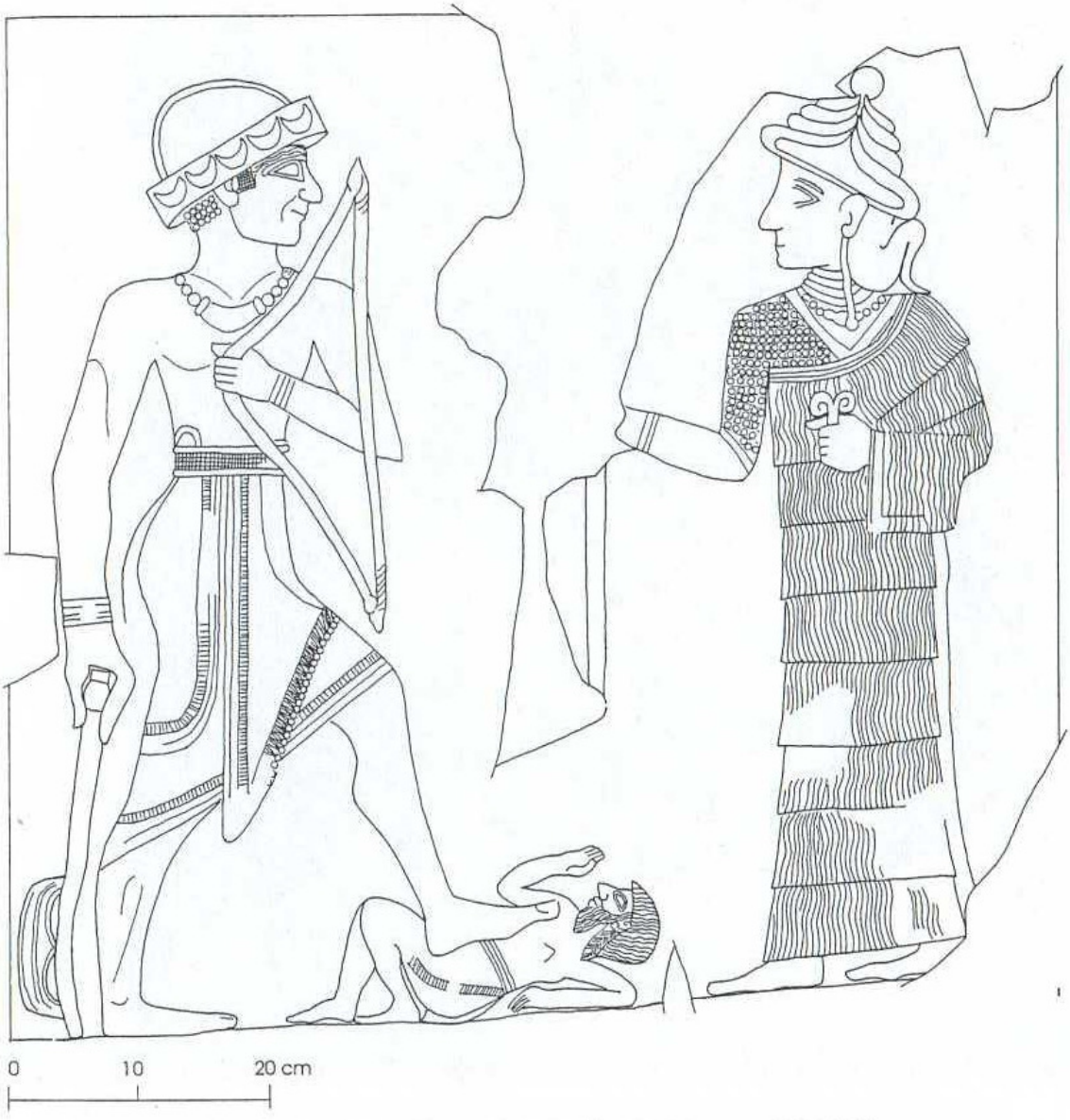
10) Feathered crown of the foremost captive on the Annubanini relief-detail. After: Nasrabadi, *op. cit.* fig. 11, p. 301.



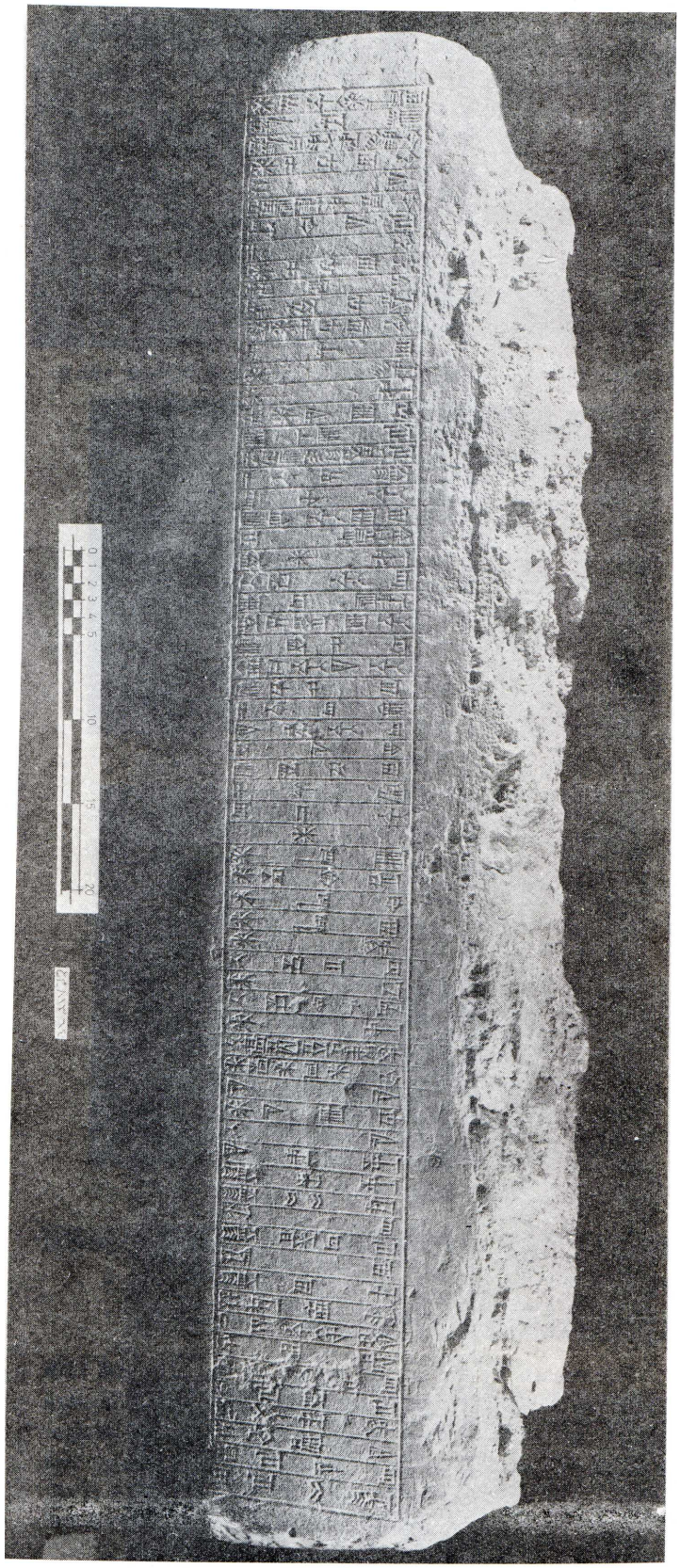
11a) The Jerusalem relief. After: Shaffer and Wasserman, "Iddi(n)-Sîn, King of Simurrum: A New Rock Relief Inscription and a Reverential Seal. Mit einem Beitrag von Ursula Seidl," *ZA* 93 (2003), Berlin, Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, fig. 2, p. 6.



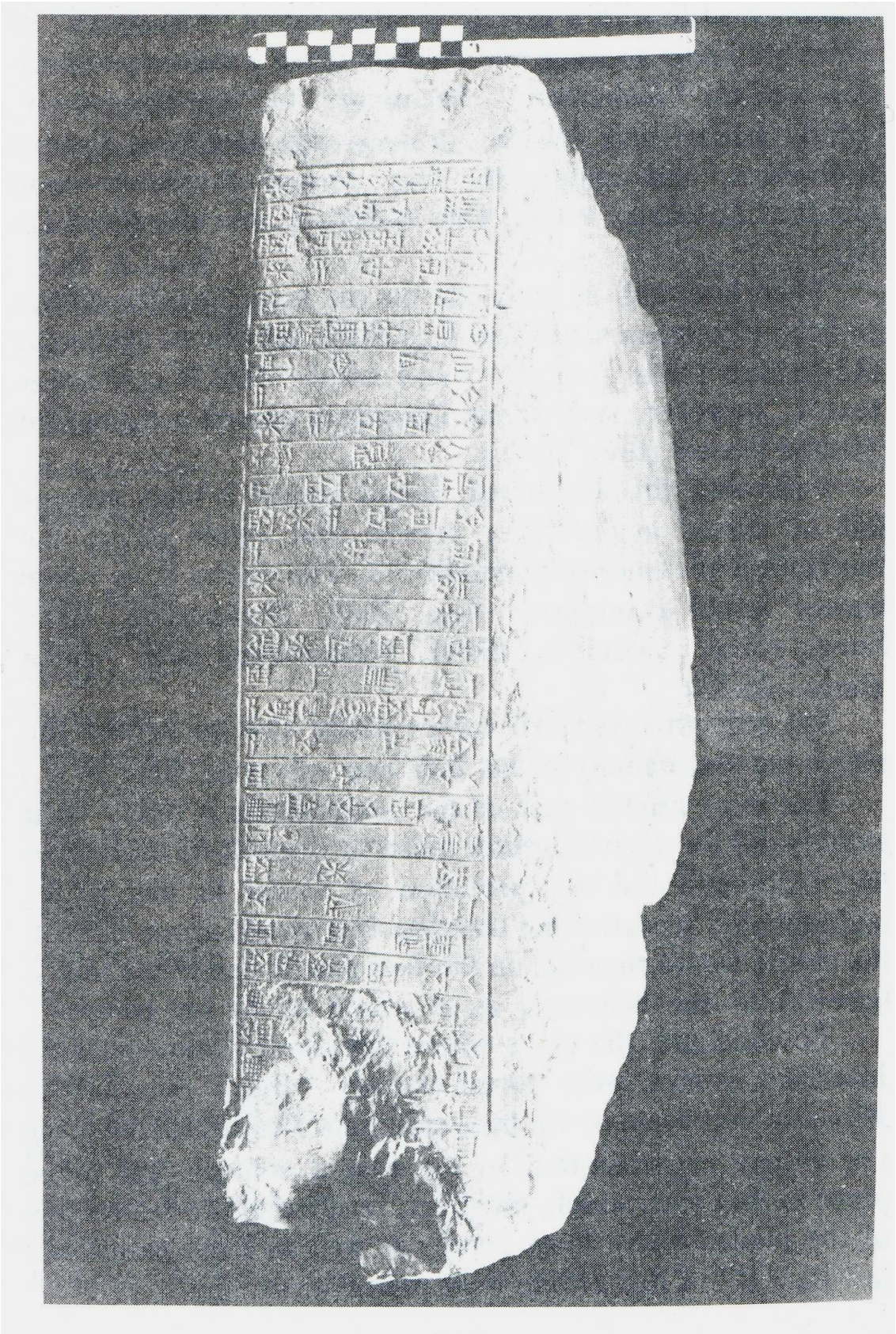
11b) Transcription of the Jerusalem inscription. After: Shaffer and Wasserman, *op. cit.,* fig. 1, p. 4-5.



12) Drawing of the Jerusalem Relief. After: Seidl, in Shaffer and Wasserman, *op. cit.,* fig. 6,p. 40.



13a) The Bētwate inscription ID 1 (or A). After: Al-Fouadi, A., "Inscriptions and Reliefs from Bitwāta," *Sumer* 34 (1978). Fig. 1, p. 122.



13b) The Bētwate inscription ID 2 (or B). After: Al-Fouadi, *op. cit.,* fig. 2, p. 123.

13c) The Bētwate inscription ID 3 (or C) that consists of two pieces. After: Al-Fouadi, *op. cit.,* fig. 5, p. 124.

14) View from the top of the Bētwate Citadel. Photo by the author.

15a) The Bētwate Citadel from the entrance to Bētwate from the Rāniya Plain. Photo by the author.

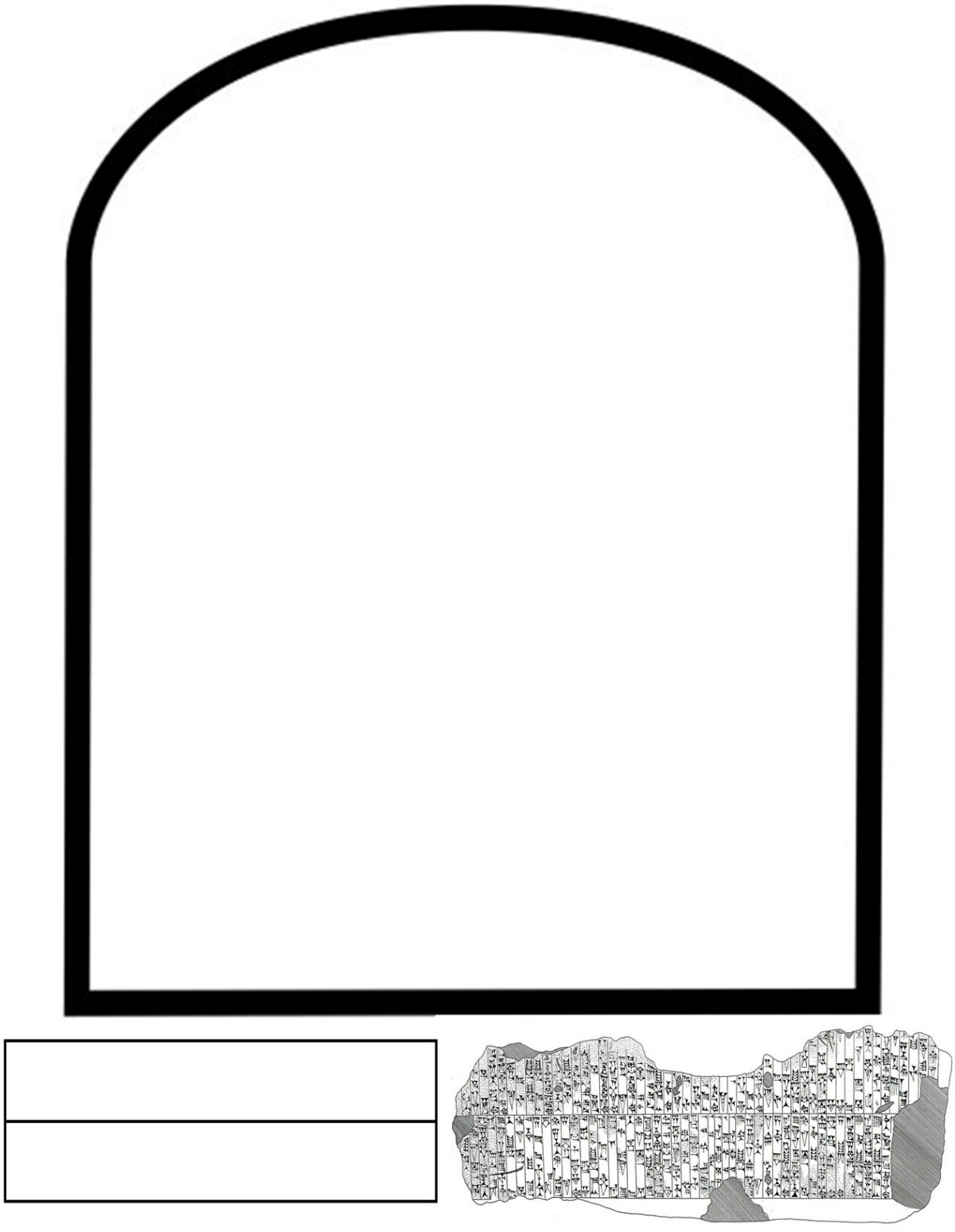
15b) The Bētwate Citadel from the opposite mountain side. Photo by the author.

15c) The Rāniya Plain seen from the Bētwate Citadel. Photo by the

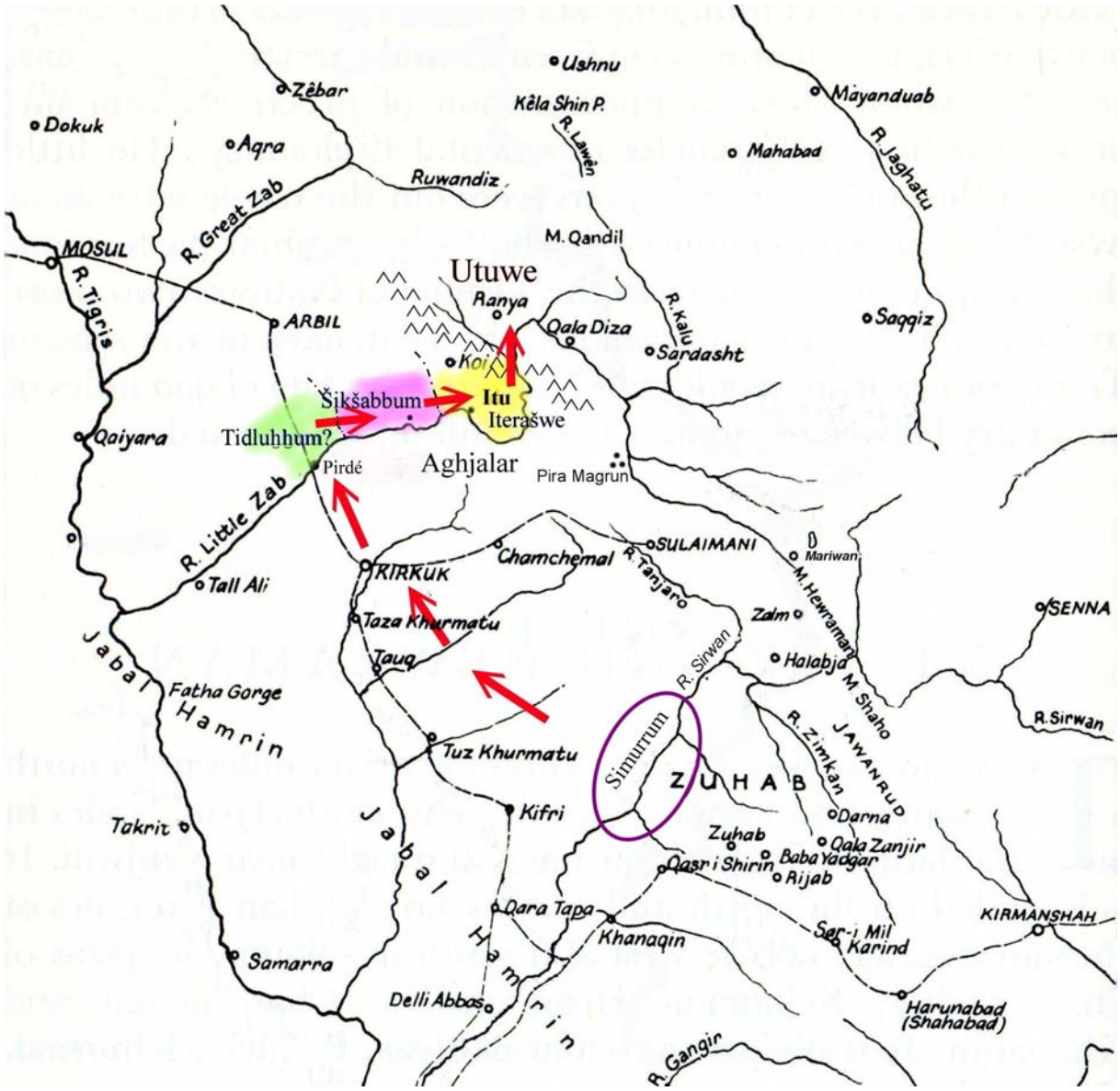
15d) The large flat stone on the Bētwate Citadel between two natural portions that form the citadel. View from the So-called 'Throne of the East Sun' rock. Photo by the author.

16a) An old cyclopean stone wall built on a still older portion. The wall is at the foot of the citadel and at present forms one of the walls of a dwelling house in Bētwate. Photo by the author.

16b) An old stone wall at the hill side of the citadel. Photo by the author.

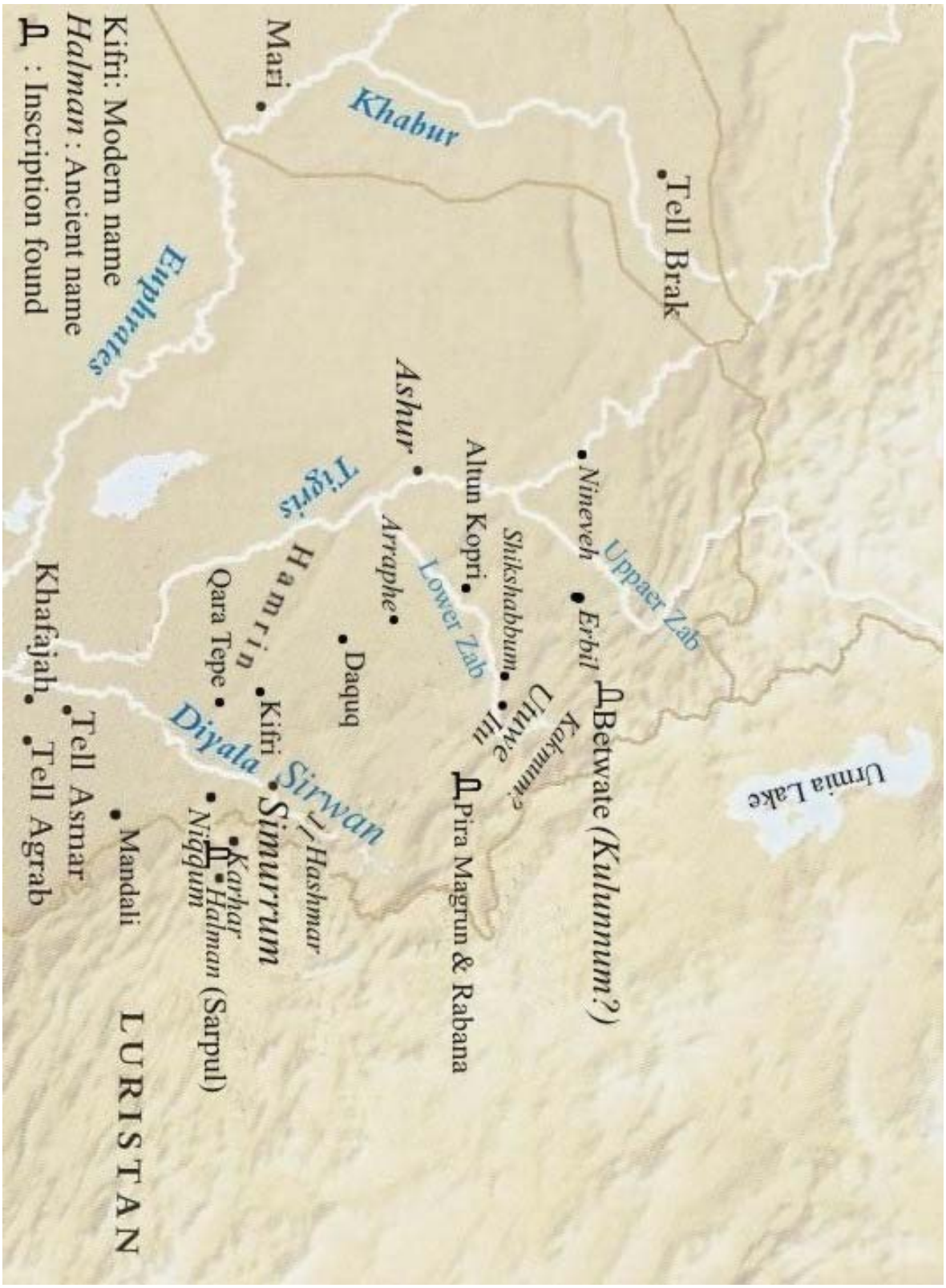


17) The presumably complete layout of the Haladiny inscription.



Map 3: The Lower Zāb axis through which Iddi(n)-Sîn invaded the Rāniya Plain, showing the presumed territorial divisions on the northern bank of the river.

18a) The steep valley in Pīra Magrūn Mountain where Rabana is located. Photo by the author.



Map 3) The conquests of Iddi(n)-Sîn and his son Zabazuna.

18b) The first defense wall in the beginning of Rabana. Photo by the author.

19a) The eastern part of terrace no.1, viewed from above. The white line runs along the wall. Photo by the author.

19b) The western part of terrace no. 1, viewed from above. Photo by the author.

19c) One of the walls of terrace no. 1 from below. Photo by the

20a) Corner of terrace no. 2, viewed from the south. Photo by the

20b) Above terrace no. 2, viewed from the north. Photo by the author.

21a) Part of the western carved wall of the lower corridor (Cor. No. 1). Photo by the author.

21b) The eastern stone wall of the lower corridor (Cor. No. 1). Photo by the author.

22a) The first staircase to the west of the lower passage (Stc. no. 1). Photo by the author.

22b) The second staircase to the west of the lower passage (Stc. no. 2). Photo by the author.

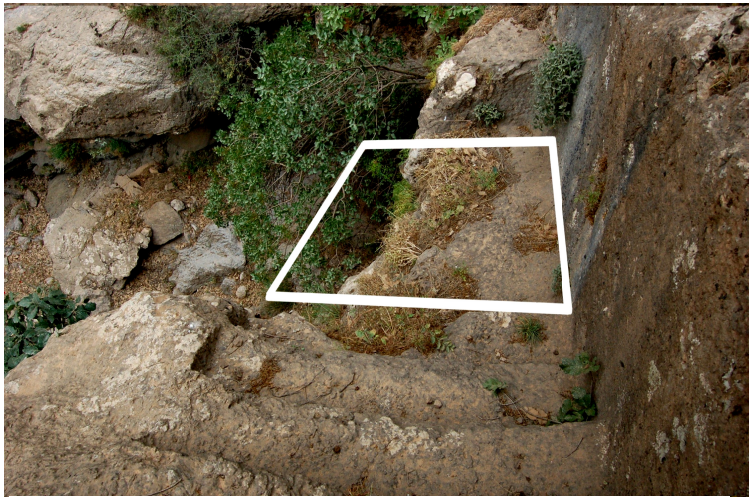
23) The series of staircases and paths in the centre of the complex. Photo by the author.

24a) The niche, which is carved in the mountain rock, with the remains of the statue of a deity. Photo by the author.

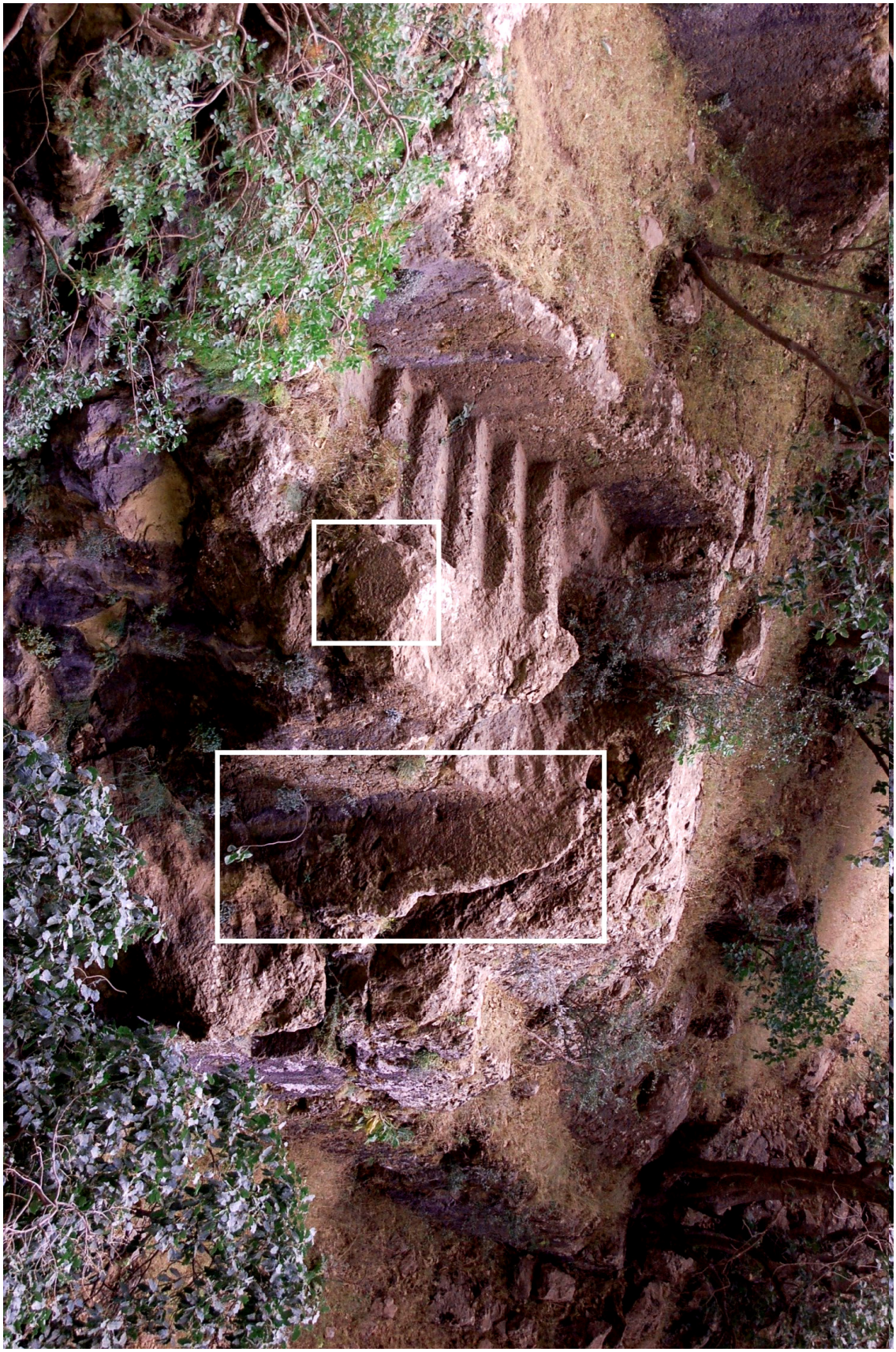
24b) The niche with the deity's statue (scale: 10 cm). Photo by the author.

25) The upper staircases (Stc. no. 3) that are above the niche. Photo by the author.

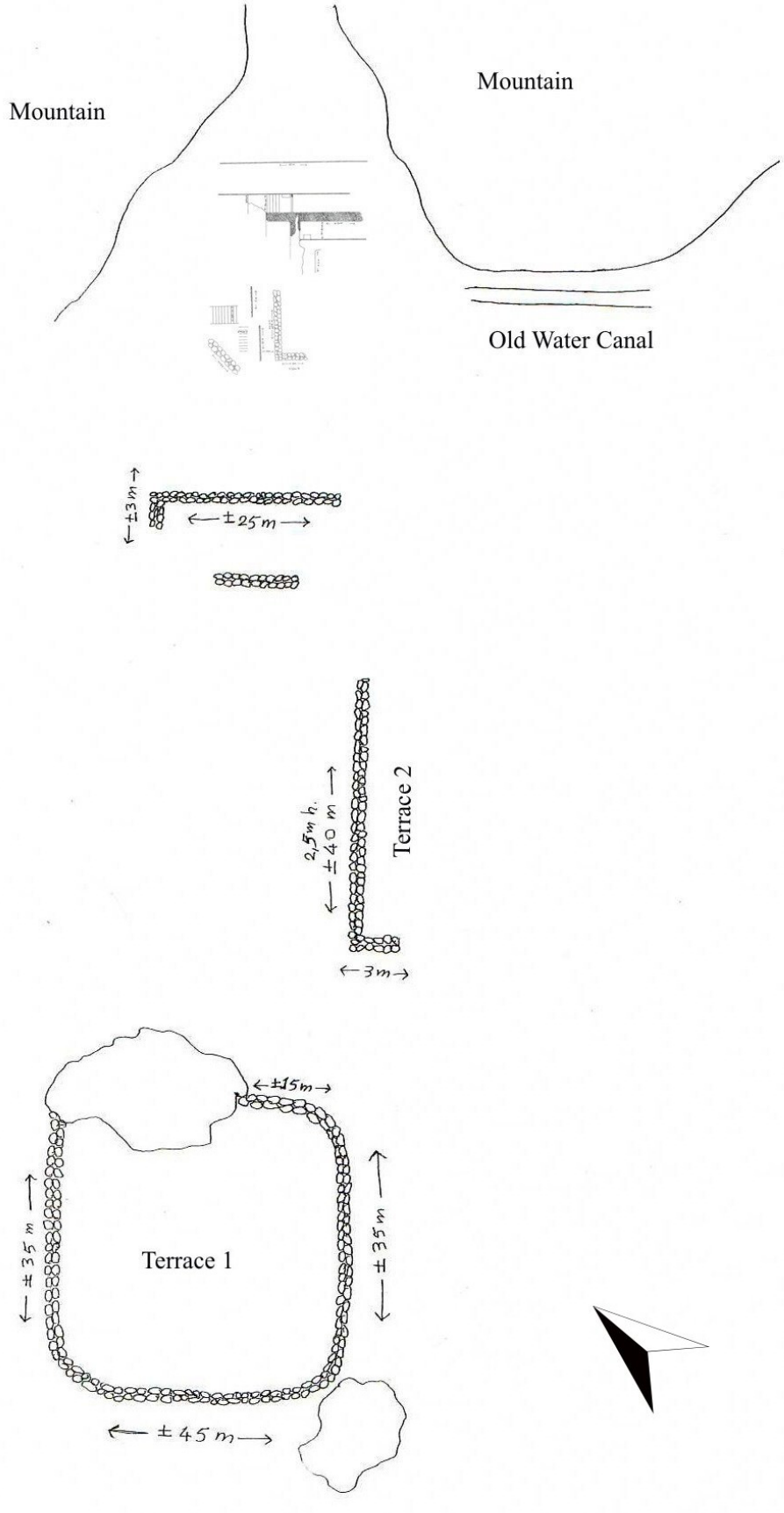
26) The upper end of the upper staircases and the vertical shaft pointed to by the arrow. Photo by the author.



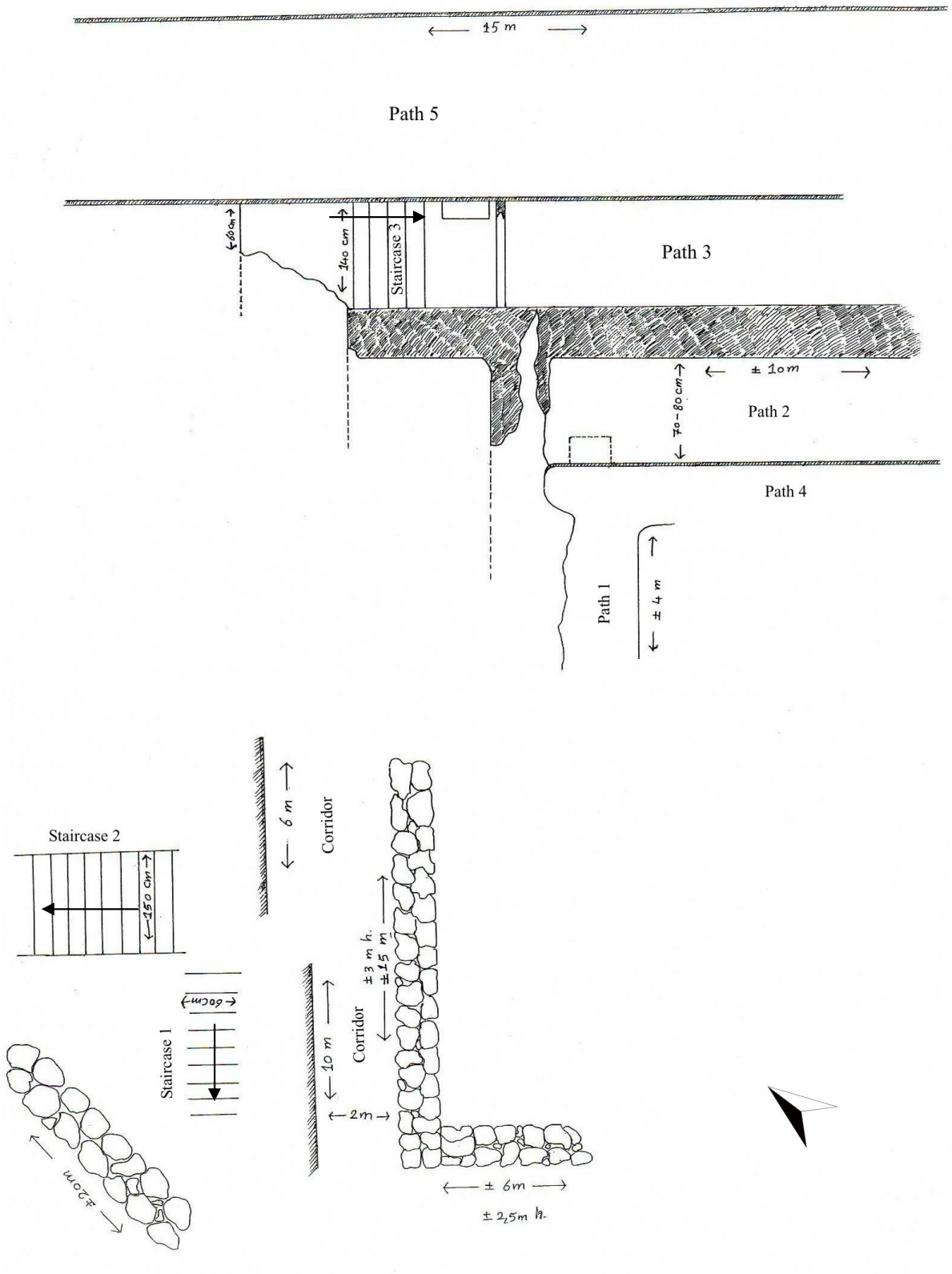
27) The square space at the beginning of the upper staircases. Photo by the author.



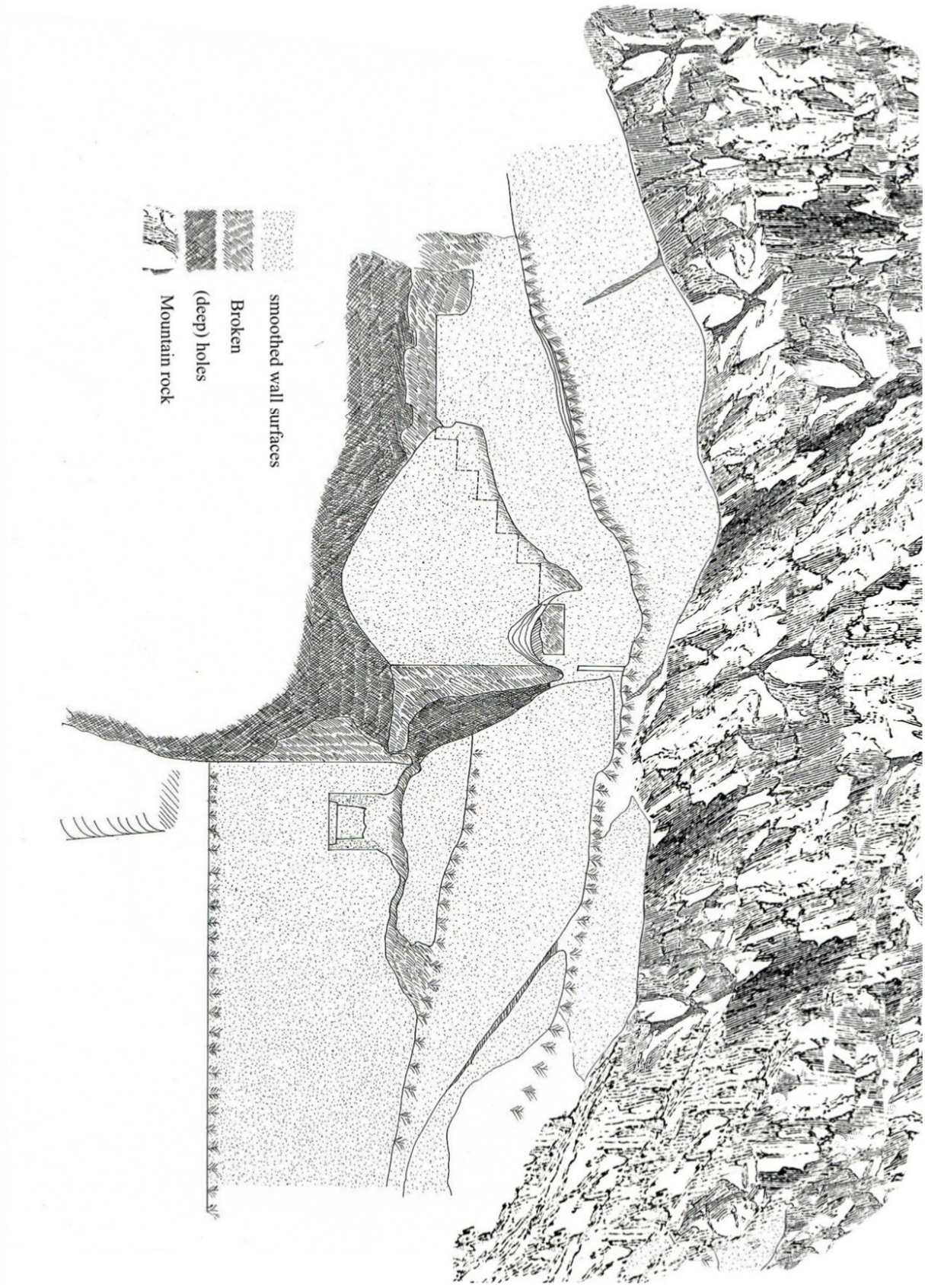
28) The remains of the carved wall connected with the other wall at 90° degree angle (western part). Photo by the author.



29a) The general plan of the Rabana structures. Drawing by the author.



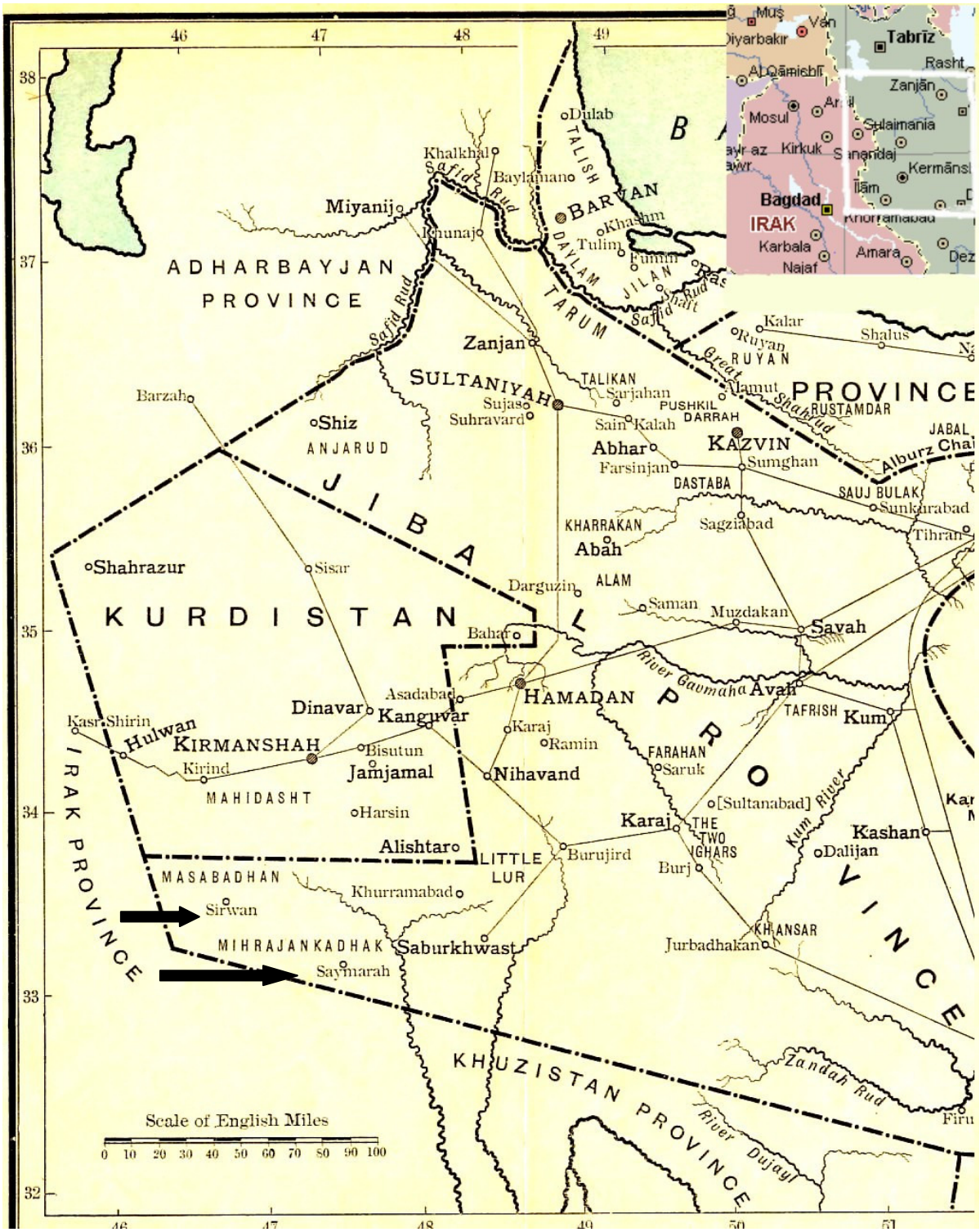
29b) Plan of the temple and surrounding paths and staircases (detail of the upper part of fig. 29a). Drawing by the author.



29c) Front view of the temple. Drawing by the author.

30) The Iddi(n)-Sîn Cylinder Seal in the Rosen Collection. After: Shaffer and Wasserman, *op. cit.,* fig. 5, p. 33.

31) The Seal of Zabazuna in the British Museum. After: Collon, *Catalogue of …,* no. 451.



Map 5) Map of medieval western Iran showing the Jibāl Province (Mountains Province) on which both cities of Saimara and Sirwān are shown. Map after: G. Le Strange, opposite page 185.