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

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CHAPTER SIX



Conflict for Survival in the Zagros



The events of the years that followed the period of the military and political successes of Simurrum are shrouded in mystery. No royal inscriptions from inside the region, such as those of Iddi(n)-Sîn or Annubanini, are known which could throw light on the events. Here we are obliged to rely on sources from its neighbours, Ešnunna, Assyria, Mari and later Babylon. Some very important light is shed by the Shemshāra archives; they fill a large gap in the history of this period in the 18th century BC from inside the region. Second in importance are the Mari archives; they provide valuable information about the history of the northern Mesopotamian states and sometimes even those of the Zagros, particularly in the period after the Shemshāra archives.

We have only sparse information about Simurrum at this time. In the letter no. 69 = SH 868 that was sent by the great Turukkean king Pišendēn to a certain Tu[...], he addresses him as “brother.” Since no other Turukkean king in the realm of Pišendēn was equal to him, even the influential Talpuš-šarri (see below), this Tu[...] must have been a powerful king outside the Turukkean orbit. In the letter, Pišendēn encourages the addressee to persuade the kings of Elam, Niqqum and Namar to attack Kakmum. This might mean that the addressee had good relations with the rulers of these lands and was most probably their neighbour. So the letter could well have been sent to Simurrum. Eidem and Læssøe base this suggestion, despite the lack of documentation for Simurrum, on evidence that Simurrum had diplomatic relations with Turukkum.¹ Nevertheless, we do not know from other sources who this king was who succeeded Zabazuna directly or indirectly.

The most prominent figure in this period was Šamšī-Adad I (1813-1781 BC) of Assyria.² Thanks to him and his conquests the history of the whole region has become better known. Valuable information has been recorded in the letters and reports he, his sons, his officials and his spies exchanged, as we will see in the next pages. These documents come from the archives of Mari and Shemshāra, but other documents from the time of his successors and the time of Zimri-Lim come, in addition to Mari, from the sites of Tell al-Rimāh (ancient

¹ Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives I: The Letters*, p. 144, comment on l. 1.

² Although the French Mari team prefers “North Mesopotamian Kingdom” instead of “Assyria” for the rule of the dynasty of Šamšī-Adad, which is more realistic, for convenience I maintain the traditional terminology and shall use “Assyria” in this work.

Qaṭṭara),³ Bi^ca (Ancient Tuttul), and Leylān⁴ (Ancient Šeḥna, later Šubat-Enlil), which were discovered after Mari and Shemshāra. These documents, particularly those of Shemshāra, are extremely important. They provide historical data and also significant information about the culture, language, historical geography and ethnic pattern of the region in this period. In the time of Šamšī-Adad Mari was under the control of Assyria and was ruled by his son Yasmaḥ-Addu. The reports his father and sometimes his brother Išme-Dagan sent to him informing him about the developments on the eastern front are, fortunately for us, preserved in Mari. Even in the Post-Assyrian period, when the Shemshāra archives had ceased to exist, Mari remained actively involved in the affairs of northern Mesopotamia. As a result of the involvement of numerous agents and officials of the king of Mari there, reports were sent to the king, documenting the phase that followed the end of the Assyrian domination in Northern Mesopotamia and the emergence of the Turukkeans as a major power.

The Geo-political Scene

A panoramic view of the polities in the region under study shows a series of small kingdoms, princedoms and tribal federations that ruled the whole region, from southern Anatolia to Luristan in the middle Zagros. Every one of these polities had a capital city, and the names of some polities and some capitals are known, such as Kunšum of Itabalḥum that led the Turukkean federation; Qabrā of the land of Qabrā; Šušarrā of Utūm; Simurru, Kumme, Aḥazum, Kakmum and others. Not all were under Hurrian supremacy; there was still room for the non-Hurrians: the Amorites of Qabrā, the Gutians and the Lullubians. These peoples dominated extended areas and were powerful enough to threaten the very existence of some of the Hurrians, as seen in the case of Endušše the Gutian (see below). S/Šubartum is also mentioned several times in the documents of this period, but not apparently to indicate a specific ethnic designation. Rather it served as a collective term for the peoples of ancient Subartu and sometimes for the northern mountainous regions (see also Chapter Two). One important note about Šubartu is that every time the documents refer to its rulers they use a plural formula “the kings of Šubartum.” This suggests that the term covered various independent peoples and polities of the region, and it does not rule out the probability that there were small political entities spread over the areas about which we are ignorant, outside the orbits of the polities we know. To the west there was the growing empire of Assyria under Šamšī-Adad that was centred on the cities of Aššur, Ekallātum and Šubat-Enlil. Ešnunna was a powerful state in the Diyāla region that was politically involved in Northern Mesopotamia and the Transtigris. As will be shown, Ešnunna allied with Assyria to conquer Arrapha and Qabrā. It was more than an ally of Šamšī-Adad’s dynasty, for it acted as its patron. Elam had its own interests in the region and was involved in the power game. It supported the Turukkeans against the Gutians, and later, in the time of Zimri-Lim, it invaded and occupied Northern Mesopotamia for a while. Eidem and Læssøe have grouped the kingdoms and princedoms of the Transtigris of this period as follows:⁵

- I. On the Tigris River: Nurrugum - Ekallātum - Aššur - Ešnunna
- II. In the East-Tigris Plain: Urbel/Qabrā - Arrapha - Ešnunna.

³ Dalley, S., C. Walker and J. D. Hawkins, *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al-Rimah (OBTR)*, London, 1976. For the identification of Tell al-Rimah with ancient Qaṭṭara, cf. Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “Le nom antique de Tell Rimāh,” *RA* 81 (1987), p. 142

⁴ Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East*, vol. I, p. 85; Vincente, C. A., *The 1987 Tell Leilan Tablets Dated by the Limmu of Habil-kinu*, (unpublished dissertation presented to the Graduate School of Yale University), 1991.

⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

III. In the Zagros foothills: Kumme - Ya'ilānum - Aḫazum - Šimurru - Namar - Nikk/qqu.⁶

IV. In the inner Zagros: Turukkum - Lullubum - Kakmum - Gutium - Elam.

Some but not all of them have been discussed in previous chapters; Nurrugum, Qabrā, Arrapha, Kumme, Ya'ilānum, Namar and Turukkum still have to be discussed.

Nurrugum appears to have been the region in which Nineveh was located⁷ "perhaps with this city as capital, and perhaps with a king named Kipram."⁸ Eidem and Læssøe believe it was a short-lived, heavily fortified site in the region of Nineveh, which may now be hard to locate on the ground.⁹ He noticed also that "Nurrugum is only attested in this period and its name almost disappears after Šamši-Adad's conquest."¹⁰ The letter *ARM* 26, 297 sent to Yasmaḥ-Addu refers to the high quality of Nurrugum alum. Yasmaḥ-Addu asked for it after he had experienced its quality when his father had sent him some.¹¹ "A certain Kipram is the first, and probably the most important, of 9 kings listed in the MEC as defeated by Šamši-Adad or his sons during the *limmu* year Aššur-malik, when Nurrugum was conquered. His name is followed by Yašub-Addu (of Aḫazum). Consequently Kipram was quite likely king of Nurrugum."¹² Listing the name of Kipram as the first of nine kings could imply added significance and power for Nurrugum. This is supported by the number of troops Šamši-Adad sent with Išme-Dagan to conquer Nurrugum; 60,000 troops¹³ is a huge number for that time when compared with the numbers mentioned elsewhere.¹⁴

The city of **Assur** was the centre of a city-state on the Tigris. The Assyrian king lists identify a continuous sequence of Assyrian rulers for the city over the centuries, but in fact Assur was at times under the yoke of southern dynasties, such as Akkad and perhaps Ur III.¹⁵ Like other cities in the Zagros foothills, it seems that Assur gained its independence as a result of the end of the Ur III dynasty. With the growth of Šamši-Adad's empire Assur was conquered and incorporated in c. 1812 BC.¹⁶ However, the city maintained its prestige and prominence as a religious centre, in contrast to Ekallātum, a political centre. Ziegler confirms

⁶ They list Kakmum under this rubric, but according to our identification we situate it in the inner Zagros, not in the foothills. Hence I put it in the following rubric. For this identification, cf. Chapter Five.

⁷ Wu Yuhong, "The Localisation of Nurrugum and Ninet = Ninuwa," *NABU* 1994, no. 38.

⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 21-22. The royal name is written Kipram (*Ki-ip-ra-am*, E 10, 19'), which can be the accusative of *Kiprum, but it could also be a name having the same ending *-am* as the names Nipram, an envoy of Kuwari (see below, letter no. 64 = SH 827), Pušam, king of Simanum (in the same general area of Nurrugum), attested in a Sumerian text from the Ur III period (see Chapter Four), Šennam, king of Uršu, Šup/bram, king of Susā (in the Habur), and Tišnam, a king in the Habur region. These names seem to be original forms, not all in the accusative. It is also noticeable that these PNs ending with *-am* (all except for Nipram), just like Simanum, come from the Upper and Western Habur.

⁹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 22, note 30.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Cf. the letter *ARM* 26/2, 297 = 9756 in Charpin, D., "Lettres d'Ušur-awassu," *ARM* 26/2, p. 25; Heimpel, W., *Letters to the King of Mari*, Winona Lake, 2003, p. 287.

¹² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 22, note 30.

¹³ Cf. the letter of Šepatu to Kuwari (no. 64 = SH 827) below in this chapter.

¹⁴ Compare for instance the 10,000 Ešnunian troops Daduša sent to conquer Qabrā (Daduša Stele); the 12,000 Elamite troops Siruk-tuḥ promised to send to support the Turukkenas (no. 64 = SH 827); the contribution of Kusanar(h)um to the Turukkean alliance was 3,000 troops (no. 63 = SH 812); Kuwari was asked to send 1,000 troops to join Etellum for the conquest of Šikšabbum (no. 14 = SH 917); and the same number to contribute to an action in Kaštappum (no. 9 = SH 882); Kuwari was supported by 600 troops which Šamši-Adad sent to Šušarrā (no. 19 = SH 861); for more examples, cf. Chapter Seven.

¹⁵ According to a recent study of Michalowski, Zarriqum of Aššur recognized Amar-Sîn of Ur as overlord, but Aššur was independent from the direct rule of Ur, cf. Michalowski, P., "Aššur during the Ur III Period," *Here and There, Across the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honour of Krystyna Łyczkowska*, ed. O. Drewnowska, Warszawa, 2009, p. 154-5.

¹⁶ For this date, cf. Veenhof, K. R., "Eponyms of the 'Later Old Assyrian Period' and Mari Chronology," *MARI* 4, Paris, 1985, p. 214.

that Assur enjoyed precedence over Ekallātum by referring to the letter of Sumiya to Yasmah-Addu, who puts Assur before Ekallātum and writes it with the divinity determinative.¹⁷ Ešnunna was the power that controlled the Diyāla Basin and parts of the Hamrin Basin. OB tablets from the Hamrin sites are dated with Ešnunna date-formulae.¹⁸

Erbil, which is written as Urbel in the texts of this period, reappears this time as the name of the land in which Qabrā was located. It was mentioned for the last time in the date-formulae of the Ur III kings. Now it is again mentioned in unhappy circumstances, when the land of Erbil is said to be occupied by Daduša and Šamši-Adad when they conquered the land of Qabrā (see below, the stele of Daduša) in c. 1782 BC.

Arrapha was apparently an independent city-state. It appears in the written records of this period more often than the few allusions in the Ur III texts.¹⁹ Toward the end of the OB period, the city was Hurrianized ethnically and culturally, as indicated by the Nuzi texts. That process certainly began from the OB period or even earlier, but was consolidated as a consequence of the weakness of Assyria and Ešnunna and the rise of the Turukkeans. Its position as a communication junction between Southern and Central Mesopotamia on the one hand and the mountainous regions of the Transtigris and Erbil, Qabrā and Nineveh on the other, gave it a special strategic significance. Arrapha was conquered by Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna in the eponymy of Dadaya, 4 years after the accession of Šamši-Adad (c. 1830 BC).²⁰ Afterwards, the city was lost to Ešnunna until it was conquered by Šamši-Adad I. From the written documents it appears that the city had twin settlements; Āl-ilāni (modern ʿArafah)²¹ and Tašenniwe (modern Tisʿīn),²² both within the modern city of Kirkuk.²³

Qabrā, written *Qa-ab-ra-a*^{ki} or *Qa-ba-ra-a*^{ki},²⁴ was an important centre, even overshadowing Urbel and Arrapha, judging by the number of times it is mentioned in the texts of this period. Its fame, according to Astour, may have reached Egypt, for Ka-bu-rō of the Medinet Habu texts can be identified with Qab(a)rā.²⁵ It was apparently a large city that gave its name to a whole province.²⁶ Eidem thinks that the land of Qabrā included a large part of the land between the two Zābs, including Urbel.²⁷ We know from the textual material that Qabrā was an extensive territory with numerous cities and towns. In the inscription of Daduša the cities of Ḥatkum, Ḥurarā and Kerḥum are named. The Mari letter *ARM* 1, 121 implies that

¹⁷ 5) *ḏA-šur*^{ki} 6) *ù É-kál-la-tum*^{ki} 7) *ša-al-mu*, “Holy Assur and Ekallātum are well,” A.2393 (unpublished), cf.: Ziegler, “Le royaume d’Ekallātum et son horizon géopolitique,” *FM* VI, p. 217.

¹⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁹ Cf. for instance Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 16; Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 21-22.

²⁰ Charpin, D., “Chroniques bibliographiques: 3. Données nouvelles sur la région du petit Zab au XVIII^e siècle Av. J.-C.,” *RA* 98 (2004), p. 165, note 50.

²¹ حنون، ص. ٣٠٩.

²² Gelb *et al*, *NPN*, p. 263.

²³ This is suggested by Hanoon in his dissertation about the historical geography of Northern Iraq in the middle and Neo-Assyrian periods: حنون، ص. ٣١٠-٣٠٩. However, this is in contrast to the older suggestions that identified Arrapha with the citadel of Kirkuk; cf. for instance Boulanger, R., 1966, 699-700 (referred to by Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 38).

²⁴ These are the two most common renderings of the name. However, there is at least one case of the use of the sign QĀ instead of QA (*ARM* 10, 50:15(?)), cf. Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 187, and the Shemshāra rendering *Qa-ba-ra-e* (64 = SH 827: 9), Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 137; cf. also Streck, M. P., “Qab(a)rā,” *RIA* 11 (2006-2008), p. 139.

²⁵ Cf. Astour, M., “Mesopotamian and Transtigridian Place Names in the Medinet Habu Lists,” *JAOS* 88 (1968), p. 744.

²⁶ Compare for instance *ālim ša Qa-ab-ra-a*^{ki} (*ARM* 4, 49: 6) and *māt Qa-ab-ra-a*^{ki} (*ARM* 1, 135: 16; *ARM* 4, 25: 21; ShT 57, 15) in Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 187.

²⁷ Eidem, “News from the Eastern Front: the Evidence from Tell Shemshara,” *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 84.

the cities of A'innum²⁸ and Zamiyatum were located on the Zāb and would have formed part of the territory of this land (see below).²⁹ The letter *ARM* 4, 49 mentions another town, Sarrima.³⁰ It reports that the inhabitants of Sarrima fled to Qabrā when Šamšī-Adad drew near and took the city.³¹ Qabrā is rendered in the Nuzi texts as Kapra and it appears that two sites were named Qabrā: *Kapra rabû* and *Kapra şehru*,³² Qabrā Major and Qabrā Minor. It was located on or slightly to the north of the Lower Zāb, near Pirdē (Altün Köpri), on the way that leads from Kirkuk to Erbil, or at Pirdē itself (the island in the Zāb) as Frayne proposed.³³ According to Lewy, Qabrā was located on the northern bank of the Lower Zāb at Pirdē, facing Turša on its southern bank, since the river is easily crossed only at this point.³⁴ However, Deller has located it almost 15-20 km to the northwest of Pirdē, between the routes to Erbil and Dibege-Guwēr.³⁵ Wu Yuhong is of the opinion that it was the name of the citadel of Erbil.³⁶ At the time of the joint attack on Qabrā by Daduša of Ešnunna and Šamšī-Adad of Assyria, the king of Qabrā (or the land of Erbil in another account, see below) bore the Semitic name Bunu-Ištar. But later, in the time of Zimri-Lim, the reports mentioned a certain Ardigandi as its ruler (*ARMT* 26/2 498). This name is very like Berdigendae, the general of Zutlum, mentioned in SH 812, l. 15, who was allied with the other Turukkean kings and planned to attack Arrunum. Berdigendae has the ending *-e*, typical of many names in the Shemshāra texts and apparently a characteristic feature of the PNs of this area. Ardigandi might have been a kinsman of Berdigendae and from the same region, not a Semite, which would reflect the change in the political situation in Qabrā after it was liberated from Assyrian rule in the time of Zimri-Lim (see Chapter Seven).

Kumme was the centre for the worship of the Hurrian weather god Teššup.³⁷ It is first mentioned in a Hurrian ritual text from Mari: *Te-šu-ba-am Ku-um-me-ni-en*.³⁸ It is also known in the Hittite texts as Kummiya: "The weather god, the mighty king of Kummiya" (*KUB* 33, 103 II 6),³⁹ and "Teššup, the mighty lord of Kumme."⁴⁰ In other Hittite texts it is labelled the abode of the weather god, as Nineveh was to Ištar (*KUB* 24, 8 IV 15).⁴¹ One of

²⁸ According to Durand, the name A'innum is a dialectical form of *inum*, "The city of the source," cf. Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 122.

²⁹ The letter *ARM* 1, 121 is discussed below under 'The Assyrian Domination Phase.'

³⁰ Charpin and Ziegler write this name as Sarri, cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 92 and 96. A city called Sarê is attested in some Neo-Assyrian letters that was located in the same general area as Sarrima. One of these letters describes clearing up the royal road that was going, according to the authors of the letter, to Mazamua, in the Shahrazûr Plain. The letter reads: r 1) TA ŠĀ-bi URU Sa-re-'e' 2) a-di URU BĀD-A-ta-na-t[e] 3) ana-ku ú-pa-sa-ak 4) TA URU BĀD-A-ta-na-t[e] 5) a-di URU BĀD-Ta-li-ti 6) URU Arrap'-ha-a-a ú-pa-su-ku 7) TA URU BĀD-Ta-li-ti 8) a-di ŠĀ-bi URU A-za-ri 9) [ana-ku-m]a' ú-pa-sa-ak, "I remove [...] from Sarê to Dur-Atanate, the Arraphaeans remove [...] from Dur-Atanate to Dur-Taliti, [I] remove [the ...] again from Dur-Taliti to Azari," Lanfranchi and Parpola (eds.), *The Correspondence of Sargon II, part II, Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces*, *SAA* 5, no. 229, p. 166.

³¹ For this letter too, see under 'The Assyrian Domination Phase.'

³² Cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 130-31.

³³ Frayne, *SCCNH* 10, p. 166.

³⁴ Lewy, H., "A Contribution to the Historical Geography of the Nuzi Texts," *JAOS* 88 (1968), p. 151.

³⁵ Deller, K., "Eine Erwägung zur Lokalisierung des aB ON Qabrā/Qabarā," *NABU* 1990, no. 84, 62-3.

³⁶ Wu Yuhong, *A Political History...*, p. 182. Charpin, on the other hand, thinks that Qabrā was the capital of Urbel: Charpin, "Chroniques Bibliographiques", *RA* 98 (2004), p. 164.

³⁷ Röllig, W., "Kumme," *RLA* 6 (1980-1983), p. 336; Salvini, "Un royaume Hourrite en Mésopotamie du nord ...," *Subartu*, IV/1, p. 307.

³⁸ Thureau-Dangin, F., "Tablettes Hurrites provenant de Mâri," *RA* 36 (1939) 1: 34. For other occurrences, cf. Röllig, *ibid*.

³⁹ Otten, H., "Kummija," *RLA* 6 (1980-1983), p. 337.

⁴⁰ ^dIŠKUR-up ^{URU}Kum-mi-ni-wi_i t[a-la-a-wu_i-ši] e-ep-ri, *KBo* 32 11 Obv. I 1 f., cf. Wilhelm, G., "Kumme und *Kumar: zur hurritischen Ortsnamenbildung," *Beiträge zur altorientalischen Archäologie und Altertumskunde, Festschrift für Barthel Hrouda* ..., p. 318 and note 25.

⁴¹ Otten, "Kummija," *ibid*.

the few Hurrian texts of Mari from the time of Zimri-Lim mentions “The gods of Kumme.”⁴² Kumme was the name of a city and a land. Salvini locates it on the bank of the eastern Habur, which flows into the Tigris.⁴³ The letters SH 809 and SH 894 from Shemshāra give some clue about its location. The first letter enumerates the stations on the way from Šušarrā to Ḫaburātum, where Šamši-Adad waited for a certain Kušiya from Šušarrā.⁴⁴ The second letter, like the first letter, is addressed to Kuwari, the governor of Šušarrā, and asks him to send the same Kušiya to meet Šamši-Adad, this time through Kumme.⁴⁵ That Kumme was close to Assyria proper is indicated by the strong Assyrian influence there. It was annexed to Assyria shortly after it had twice accepted help from Adad-Nirari II (911-891) to drive back enemies from Ḫabhi.⁴⁶ Its association with the lands Mušašir and Gilzānu in the inscription of Aššurnasirpal II⁴⁷ may also attest to its closeness to these lands, which were likewise to the northeast of Assyria. Postgate located Kumme in the region of modern Zaḥo, in the valley of Iraqi Ḫabur,⁴⁸ close to the Iraqi-Turkish border. These facts do not favour locating it in the Habur area close to Urkeš, as Dalley proposed.⁴⁹

Since ^{KUR}*Qu-me[-n]i* in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III refers to this same Kumme,⁵⁰ we could assume that the GN *Qumē/ānu* or *Uqumānu* in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I has the same element *kum-* in Kumme. But these two places were in different locations. The former is mentioned as part of the land of the Gutians, which means a southerly location, not so far north as the northeast of Assyria, as proposed by Radner.⁵¹ So more than one GN had *kum-* as a component in this region, particularly if we take into consideration the other GNs with this element in other regions, from Southern Anatolia to Nuzi, enumerated by Wilhelm.⁵² The suffixes *nu* and *ni* in *Uqumānu* and *Qumēnu* must be the Hurrian particle *-ne/ti*⁵³ that was

⁴² *ʿeʿ=en=na Ku=um=me=ni=en*, Salvini, M., “Un texte Hourrite nommant Zimrilim,” *RA* 82 (1988), p. 60 and 61. This is a re-edited text, which consists of two fragments and was already published by F. Thureau-Dangin in *RA* 36, p. 20 (see above), and E. Laroche in “Fragment Hourrite provenant de Mari,” *RA* 51 (1957), p. 104-106.

⁴³ Salvini, “Un royaume Hurrite...,” p. 307.

⁴⁴ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, No. 1, p. 70-71.

⁴⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, No. 2, p. 72-73.

⁴⁶ Rölli, “Kumme,” p. 336.

⁴⁷ Rölli, “Kumme,” p. 336. 146) KUR *Gil-za-na-a-a* 147) KUR *Ku-ma-a-a* KUR *Mu-ša-ši-ra-a-a*, Grayson, *RIMA* 2, Toronto, 1991, p. 293 (A.0.101.30)

⁴⁸ Rölli, “Kumme,” p. 337. Joannès and Ziegler share Rölli’s opinion: Joannès, F. and N. Ziegler, “Une attestation de Kumme à l’époque de Samsi-Addu et un Turukkéen de renom à Shemshāra,” *NABU* 1995, no. 19, p. 16. However, they put Ḫaburātum, not Kumme, close to modern Zaḥo; Joannès and Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁴⁹ Cf. Dalley *et al.*, *OBTR*, p. 188. They refer also to Hallo, W. W., “The Road to Emar,” *JCS* 18 (1964), p. 70-1, but Hallo did not discuss Kumme on the given pages.

⁵⁰ Rölli, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

⁵¹ For this identification cf. Radner, K., “Qumānu, Qumēnu, Uqumānu,” *RIA* 11 (2007), p. 206. Radner’s definition of the land of Qumānu is “mountainous land to the north and east of the plain of Alqoš, part of the Assyrian province *Masennu*.” However, the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta mention the land of the (U)Qumānu as part of the land of Qutu: [*ina šurrū(?) L]UGAL-ʿtiʿ-ia* 15) *ʿanaʿ* KUR *Ú-q[u-me-ni lu] a-lik* 16) *si-ḫir-ti* KUR *Qu-ti* 17) *ki-ma* DU₆ *a-bu-ʿbiʿ [lu ušēmi(?)]*, “[*At the beginning of*] my sovereignty, I marched to the land of Uq[umenu]. The entire land of the Qutu [I made (look) like] ruin hills (created by) the deluge,” Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 234 (text A.0.78.1). In this case, (U)Qumānu must have been more to the southeast, not the northeast. On the other hand, the Qumā/ēnu mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I indicates a northeasterly position of this land, since it aided the land of Mušri with troops; for instance: 73) *um-ma-na-at* KUR *Qu-ma-nē-e* 74) *a-na re-šu-ut* KUR *Mu-uš-ri* 75) *lu il-li-ku-ni*, “The troops of the Qumānu came to the aid of the land Mušri,” Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 23 (text A.0.87.1). For the land Mušri and its location in the east Tigris region in Assyria proper, cf. Kessler, K., “Mušri I, Mušri II,” *RIA* 8 (1993-1997), p. 497; Parpola, S. and M. Porter (eds.), *The Helsinki Atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, Helsinki, 2001, p. 4.

⁵² Wilhelm cited for instance the city Kumri in the Nuzi texts; Kum(m)anni the capital of Kizzuwatna (“if not of Anatolian origin”); MA Kummūji = NA Kommagene: Wilhelm, “Kumme, *Kumar...,” p. 319.

⁵³ Otten, H., “Kummija,” *RIA* 6, p. 237.

attached to the name in the Hurrian texts and appears in Urartian inscriptions as *-nu-*.⁵⁴ The name Kumme itself is formed, according to Wilhelm, from the verbal root *kum*= meaning (perhaps) some architectonic activity, with the suffix *-me* that converts verbal roots into nouns.⁵⁵ Some PNs are found compounded with Kumme, such as *kummen-atal* (from Mari: RA 36, 78), *kummen-ewri* (Tikunani Prism I, 17; III, 23),⁵⁶ *Paiš-kumme* (from Nuzi) and MA *Ari(k)-Kumme*.⁵⁷

Ya'ilānum was another power in the Erbil Plain between the two Zābs, perhaps close to Qabrā.⁵⁸ Its name is apparently derived from an Amorite PN or ethnonym. This is why its name is often preceded by the personal determinative. The names *Ia-a-il^{ki}*, *Ia-i-il^{ki}* and LÚ *Ia-a/i-il^{ki}* of the Mari texts⁵⁹ show that this name was known in the region of Terqa⁶⁰ as a GN and an ethnonym, in a region that was exclusively populated by Benjaminites (DUMU.MEŠ-*ia-mi-na*).⁶¹ It is thus likely that a branch of this Amorite tribe had crossed the Tigris after the fall of the Ur III dynasty and established itself there (see Chapter 5). The ruler of Ya'ilānum in the time of the Shemshāra archives bore the Amorite name Bina-Addu, which can also be read in the Akkadian form Mār-Adad.⁶² The cities of Ḫimara, Dūr-Ya'ilānum⁶³ and Tutarum (Tutarwe)⁶⁴ are associated with its territories.⁶⁵ Tutaru seems to have been close to Qabrā since it was conquered during the campaign of Daduša on Qabrā.⁶⁶ This information contradicts the conclusion of Wu Yuhong, based on the letter ARM 1, 41, that Ya'ilānum was located in the region between Mari and Jebel Sinjār, on the western side of the Tigris. The letter is about an office (*bītum*) under the authority of Ya'ilānum and Bulmana-Addu, that was claimed by Ḥašidanum, the governor of Karanā. Šamšī-Adad advised his son Yasmaḥ-Addu to hand over the office to Ḥašidanum to avoid his anger.⁶⁷ A solution for this can be that Ya'ilānum, as a polity formed by the immigrant Amorites, might have had extensions in the regions of the West Tigris region, along the path through which they penetrated northern Mesopotamia and the Northern Transtigris. If so, they would still have had interests in the west side of the Tigris.

⁵⁴ Cf. for instance the Hurrian *Ku-um-me-ni-en* mentioned above and *Ku-mi-ni-en* in the incantation VS 17, 5, 3: Rölliġ, *RIA* 6, p. 336; Urartian ^{URU}*Qu-me-nu-na-ú-e* (UKN 27, 14.55=HChI 10:14.55) and ^{URU}*Qu-me-nu-ú-né* (UKN 28 upper side 12 = HChI 16 upper side 16): Rölliġ, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

⁵⁵ Wilhelm, "Kumme, ...," p. 318.

⁵⁶ Salvini, "Un royaume ...," p. 307; Salvini, M., *The Ḫabiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani*, Roma, 1996.

⁵⁷ For the last two names, cf. Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, p. 229; 242.

⁵⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁵⁹ Grøneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 120-1.

⁶⁰ For this identification cf. *ibid.*

⁶¹ Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 123-4.

⁶² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 23. However, Durand points to a phonetic rendering of the name *Bi-na-^dIM* in ARM 7, 140 f. 19'; even though it is the name of a different person it is still a good parallel; cf. Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 124.

⁶³ Dūr-Ya'ilānum/Wilanum was the place from which 200 warriors came out to rob properties of the wife of Išme-Dagan and, in retaliation, the city of Ḫimarā was conquered by Šamšī-Adad. Hence, it is possible that the two were identical. For the letters concerning these events, cf. Wu Yuhong, *A Political History ...*, p. 191; and see further below.

⁶⁴ This city name is recorded in the stele of Daduša among the cities captured during the campaign on Qabrā; see further below under 'The Assyrian Domination Phase.'

⁶⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁶⁶ Eidem and Læssøe, *ibid.*; this is according to ARM 1, 131 and the stele of Daduša. The stele reads: 5) *a-la-ni-šu ra-ap-šu-tim* 6) *Tu-ta-ar-ra^{ki} Ḫa-at-kum^{ki}* 7) *Ḫu-ra-ra-a^{ki} Ki-ir-ḫu-um^{ki}*, "His extensive cities Tutarra, Ḫatkum, Ḫurarā, Kirḫum...", Ismail, B. (with collaboration of A. Cavigneaux), "Dādušas Siegesstele IM 95200 aus Ešnunna. Die Inschrift," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 34 (2003), p. 142.

⁶⁷ For the letter, cf. Wu Yuhong, *A Political History ...*, p. 194; Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 536-7.

Namar(um) was quite probably located on the Great Khorasān Road, possibly close to modern Khanaqīn or somewhat further to the east, within modern Iran.⁶⁸ It has been attested in Mesopotamian sources since the ED period, in the geographical lists (*Na-mar*)⁶⁹ and later in an OAKk. text from Tell Sulaima in Hamrin (*Na-ma-ri^{ki}*).⁷⁰ Its occurrence in the later inscriptions of the NA period (KUR *Nam-ri*) together with the Middle Zagros lands, such as Ellipi, Sangibutu and Ḥamban, makes it certainly distinct from Nawar of the Habur area. In letter no. 69 = SH 868, Pišendēn (see below) asked a certain Tu[...] to persuade the kings of Elam, Namar(um) and Niqqum to prepare an attack on Kakmum, and this is extra evidence for the location of Namar in this area.

The **Habur Region**, a region of vital importance in the history of Mesopotamia, must also be mentioned here. References to the struggle to control this area probably began with the movement of Yaḥdun-Lim (ca. 1810- ca. 1794 BC)⁷¹ of Mari, who went to the region of the Baliḥ in the years b-d, where he fought the Yamin tribes and troops of Yamḥad.⁷² After leaving the Baliḥ region he went to the Habur, where Šamšī-Adad was ruling the country from Šubat-Enlil. The years g, h and i witness clashes between the two powers: Yaḥdun-Lim took Paḥudar near Tarnip, and probably Talḥayum (in the western part of the Habur Triangle),⁷³ burned the harvest of the land of Šamšī-Adad and defeated Šamšī-Adad at the gate of Nagar.⁷⁴ The king of Mari seems to have been successful in his war in the Habur, because he was able to journey the year after to Musu/ilān, Kallaḥu/abra (slightly north of Kaḥat),⁷⁵ Kaḥat, Nagar, Šubat-Ištar,⁷⁶ Tarnip and Šuna (between Šubat-Enlil and Ašnakkum).⁷⁷ A letter from the time of Zimri-Lim refers to the submission of Tigunānum to Yaḥdun-Lim.⁷⁸ However, Mari did not control the Habur for long. Šamšī-Adad, after he had conquered Mari,⁷⁹ installed his son Yasmaḥ-Addu as governor. The last year name of

⁶⁸ This is suggested in Kessler, K., “Namar/Namri,” *RLA* 9 (1998-2001), p. 92. However, Frayne puts it along the Diyāla, somewhere between the Hamrin and Qara Dagħ Ranges: Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 64.

⁶⁹ Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 64.

⁷⁰ Kessler, *RLA* 9, p. 91.

⁷¹ Cf. Charpin, D. and N. Ziegler, *Mari et le proche-Orient à l’époque Amorrite: essai d’histoire politique, Florilegium Marianum (FM) V*, Paris, 2003, p. 35.

⁷² For the details, cf. Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.* p. 102.

⁷³ The control of this GN was reported in a later letter sent by Yawi-ila to Zimri-Lim: [i]-nu-ma [I]a-aḥ-du-un-Li-im a-bi-ka ù LÚ Ra-ka-ab-tim an-na-nu-um [I]a-ku-un-Me-er LÚ.ŠU.ŠILA.DUG.A [IR] Ia-aḥ-du-un-Li-im ḥa-zi-ia-nu-tam [an-na]-nu-um i-pu-uš, “At that time of Yaḥdun-Lim, your father, and the ruler Rakabtum here, Yakun-Mer, the cupbearer, [the servant] of Yaḥdun-Lim, performed the office of mayor here.” Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

⁷⁴ MU Ia-aḥ-du-[i-im] da-aw-da-a[m] ša ša-ab Sa-a[m-si]-^dIM i-na KÁ N[a-ga-ar^{ki}] i-du-ku, *ARM* 22, 138; MU Ia-aḥ-du-li-im Na-ga-ar^{ki} iṣ-ba-tu; MU Ia-aḥ-du-li-im da-aw-da-a[m] [š]a Sa-am-si-^dIM i-[du]-k[u] ù Na-ga-ar iṣ-b[a-tu]; cf. Charpin, “A Contribution to the Geography and ...,” *Tall al-Ḥamīdīya* 2, p. 69, notes 8, 9 and 10.

⁷⁵ Cf. Charpin, “A Contribution...,” p. 76.

⁷⁶ The occurrence of this GN together with the cities of Razama, Azuḥinum and Ḥurašān (*ARM* 14, 106, 7), and on another occasion with Razama of Yussān, Alilānum and Ašīḥum (*ARMT* 27, 72-bis, 36’), lets Charpin locate it in the region of Ḥaburātum, Burullum and Mardaman, to the northeast of Jebel Sinjār, somewhere in the region where the Tigris crosses the modern Iraq-Turkey border; cf. Charpin, D., “Une campagne de Yaḥdun-Lim en haute-Mésopotamie,” *Florilegium Marianum (FM)*, II, Paris, 1994, p. 180.

⁷⁷ Charpin, *FM* II, p. 181. For the itinerary of Yaḥdun-Lim in the Habur cf. Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 103-4; Charpin, *FM* II, p. 180-1; Charpin, “A Contribution ...,” p. 69; and for the identification of Ašnakkum with Chagar Bazar, cf. Lacambre, D. and A. Millet Albà, *Le nom ancien de Chagar Bazar, in Chagar Bazar (Syrie) III, les trouvailles épigraphiques et sigillographiques du chantier I (2000-2002)*, ed. Tunca, Ö. and A. Baghdo, Louvain, 2008, p. 143ff.

⁷⁸ A.1182 (Unpublished): 6’ É Ti-gu-na-nim pa-na-nu-um wa-[a]r-ki 7’ ^mIa-aḥ-<du>-un-li-im a-bi-ka il-[i]i-ik, “In the past, the house of Tigunānum walked behind Yaḥdun-Lim, you father,” Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 50 and note 188.

⁷⁹ Probably the conquest of Mari was a plot the generals of Mari hatched with Šamšī-Adad to overthrow Sumu-Yamām, the son and successor of Yaḥdun-Lim, who ruled only three years. This explains, perhaps, the

Yaḥdun-Lim commemorates a campaign he carried out in Ekallātum, which means that he exercised huge pressure on Šamšī-Adad, first in the Habur Region and later in the Transtigris.⁸⁰

The Turukkû

People and Organization

A significant power that appears as active in this period is the Turukkû. These sedentary Hurrian tribes were organized in a series of kingdoms and princedoms in the time of the Shemshāra archives. These kingdoms and princedoms were, at least in the time of Shemshāra, united in a federation under the leadership of a ‘great king.’ The name Turukkû is mostly written with the determinative LÚ.MEŠ put before *Tu-ru-(uk)-ki/u-i/um*, followed sometimes by the determinative KI in the Mari and Shemshāra texts. Exceptions to this are *Ti-ru-ki-i*^{ki} (no. 1 = SH 809, l. 8 and 9) and *Ti-ri-uk-kí-na-áš-we*^{ki} (Jerusalem Inscription of Iddin-Sîn, ii 13’), both with a first vowel *i* instead of normal *u*. This does not seem to be a scribal error or *Hörfehler* since it occurs three times. Instead, it may uniquely represent an *umlaut*, to be pronounced something like *Türukkû, but this remains hypothetical.

The oldest evidence for Turukkeans comes from the Early Old Babylonian period in the Jerusalem inscription of Iddi(n)-Sîn (ii 13’), as a toponym *Ti-ri-uk-kí-na-áš-we*^{ki}. Then it occurs in the time of Yaḥdun-Lim, some 15 years before the Shemshāra archives, at the time when Yaḥdun-Lim defeated Šamšī-Adad in the Habur and sent a costly garment to Tazigi, king of Turukkum.⁸¹

Durand considers the Turukkeans as being an ethnic mixture and their ruling class as containing an “undeniable” Semitic component.⁸² In fact, it is difficult to agree with the idea of a people coming from the inner Zagros having Semitic components. His notion is based on the analysis of Turukkean onomastics, which he mostly understands as Semitic. Of course, if we agree with these analyses such a conclusion would be logical. But the big question is how correct, accurate and convincing is it to understand Zaziya as reflecting Semitic *Sasiya* (= a hypocoristic for moth),⁸³ Gutian Zazum as *Sasum* (= moth),⁸⁴ Itabalḫum as *Ida-palḫum* (= “flank of the terrible,” parallel with *Ida-maraš* “flank of the difficult”),⁸⁵ Lidāya as *Lidum* (= a hypocoristic of *lidum*, “offspring”),⁸⁶ Utûm as “land of the gatekeeper,”⁸⁷ and many other such interpretations. Akkadian, like Arabic, is a rich and pliant language in which one can find an etymology for almost every word, but this does not mean it is always a fact. Further, the evidence from the seal legend of Pišendēn proves that the name Itabalḫum is not the Semitic *Ida-palḫum*, because the GN there is written *ma-[a]t I-ta-pa-al*^{ki}, without *-ḫi/u(m)*,

occurrence of Išar-Lim among the generals of Šamšī-Adad, who was in the service of Sumu-Yamām before; cf. Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁸⁰ For the year names of Yaḥdun-Lim, cf. Wu Yuhong, p. 100-1.

⁸¹ M.6017: 1) 1 TÚG GI.ZU BAR.KAR.RA 2) *Ta-zi-gi* 3) LUGAL *Tu-ru-ku-ú*^{ki} 4) *ša KI Da-da i-le-ḡú*, Charpin, “Une campagne de Yaḥdun-Lîm en Haute-Mésopotamie,” *FM* II, no. 112 (M.6017), p. 198.

⁸² Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 81. According to him, these Semites were among the Amorites who engulfed the far north of the Near East: *op. cit.*, p. 82. But there is no evidence of such an Amorite infiltration as far-flung as the highlands of the Zagros.

⁸³ Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, p. 29.

⁸⁴ Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁸⁵ After Charpin in Charpin, D., Review of The Shemshāra Archives 2, The Administrative Texts, by J. Eidem, *Syria* 71 (1994), p. 459 (referring to Durand, J.-M., “Problèmes d’eau et d’irrigation dans la région de Mari,” *Techniques et pratiques hydro-agricoles ...*, (ed. B. Geyer), BAH 136, Paris, 1990, p. 112, note 37); cf. also Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 159, note 3.

⁸⁶ Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 81.

⁸⁷ Eidem, J., “nuldānum/nuldānūtum- A Note on Kingship in the Zagros,” *NABU* 1990, no. 63, p. 48.

which was clearly the Hurrian adj. suffix *-(h)he*, and not part of the suggested Akkadian *palhum*, “fear.” If the name was from Akkadian *palhum* the *-hi* would necessarily have been written in the seal legend. A similar case of omitting the Hurrian suffix *-hi* by a Hurrian speaker is the rendering of the name Kusanarhum as Kusanar(um), without *-hi*, in letters sent by the native Hurrians Šepratu (no. 63 = SH 812: 7; 12; 19, and once with *-hi* in l. 5) and Pišendēn (no. 68 = SH 868: 5). The name of the land of Utûm also proves to be of local origin, for before the Amorite infiltration to the east Tigris area it was called Utuwe, in the Haladiny inscription (see Chapter Five).⁸⁸ The authors mentioned above give no explanation why Hurrian lands such as Utûm or Itaballum could have had a Semitic name. We cannot assume that the name was used by the Amorites only, since the name Itaballum is found on the seal of its native king.

While Eidem and Læssøe consider the Turukkeans “a group of kingdoms in the valleys of the northwestern Zagros, predominantly of Hurrian affiliation,”⁸⁹ to Durand, they were just an ethnic mixture (see above). I would add another question about this. From the written sources we possess we have learned about the names of the Hurrians, Subarians, Gutians, Lullubians, Kakmeans and Simurrians who inhabited the Transtigris region. All these ethnic or ethno-geographic groups are mentioned as separate and independent groups in the sources of this period. What, then, are the ethnic components of the Turukkeans? Do we have an ethnic group apart from these to assign to the Turukkean conglomeration? On the contrary! In the light of developments and consequences of the Turukkean revolts at the end of the reign of Šamši-Adad and the beginning of that of Išme-Dagan’s, it seems to me that the name Turukkû became a name for all the Hurrians from the Zagros up to the Habur region.⁹⁰

It is possible that the name Turukkû is derived from the name of their king Turuktu, who was the father of Pišend/tēn, the great king of the Turukkeans in the time of the Shemshāra archives (see below). Eidem and Læssøe have presented the various views that consider the Turukkeans “very mobile groups waging guerrilla warfare against the cities and kingdoms in the north Mesopotamian plains.”⁹¹ They state that this is principally the image created by the published Mari material, and it is seen in the survey of the material presented by Klengel,⁹² which has been followed generally.⁹³ However, the situation reconstructed from the Shemshāra archives and other related sources alludes to organized political entities with capital cities, that were headed by rulers who styled themselves as kings and *nuldān(um)s*.⁹⁴ Eidem and Læssøe go a step further, suggesting that “there is evidence to indicate fairly complex political organization in these polities, with systems of noble lineages sharing territorial power.”⁹⁵ These entities were, at least in the time of the Shemshāra archives, united under one leadership to fulfil one strategic goal, to stop the Gutian aggression. These facts do not indicate the nomadic lifestyle of mobile groups, moving easily and leaving their habitations, like the seasonal movements of pastoralists between summer and winter resorts

⁸⁸ Note that in the time when the Amorites made their attempt to invade Simurru, the Rāniya Plain was already known as Utuwe, as in the Haladiny inscription.

⁸⁹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁹⁰ Cf. Chapter Seven.

⁹¹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 25. Similar definitions are presented in Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 80 and 82; Kupper, J.-R., *ARM* 16/1, p. 36; Klengel, H., “Das Gebirgsvolk der Turukkû in den Keilschrifttexten altbabylonischer Zeit,” *Klio* 40 (1962), p. 5.

⁹² Klengel, *op. cit.*, p. 5-22. In his update to this article, Klengel states that according to the published letters, they were not just an element living among the sedentary peoples of the Transtigris dry-farming region, but they possessed their own territory: Klengel, H., “Nochmals zu den Turukkäern und ihrem Auftreten,” *AoF* 12 (1985), p. 254.

⁹³ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁹⁴ Cf. for instance the letter 63 = SH 812 where both these words occur together.

⁹⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 27; cf. also Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 169.

(the *sardsīr* and *garmsīr* in modern terminology). The facts indicate rather a sedentary population of agriculturalists. In a letter from Mari (A.649), a passage from another letter is quoted that was sent by the Turukkeans. There they speak of their houses and bitterness about abandoning them and going to the mountains to live.⁹⁶ This is a clear indication, as Durand agrees, of their sedentary and not nomadic lifestyle.⁹⁷

To the ancient Mesopotamians the Turukkeans were also a peripheral people.⁹⁸ They were of little interest to them until they could organize themselves into that federation mentioned above and come into contact with Assyria, Mari and Babylon. The federation seems to have consisted of the petty-kingdoms or princedoms headed by Hurrian-named rulers. Each one resided in his own capital but they were allied with each other. A good reference to such an alliance is the one mentioned in no. 63 = SH 812, where allusion is made to a number of Turukkean(?) kings who took an oath of alliance.⁹⁹ These rulers or kings were united under the leadership of a ‘great king’ who was no doubt the greatest and most powerful among them. At this time the great king was Pišend/tēn, whose capital was the city of Kunšum. Pišendēn styles himself on his seal legend “king of Itabal(h)um” (see below), showing that Kunšum was the capital of Itabalhum. That he was the king of the Turukkean kings is deduced from the letters in which he is called the “father” of the addressees.¹⁰⁰

In another letter (no. 59 = SH 811), Talpuš-šarri¹⁰¹ is clearly styled the commander of all the lands,¹⁰² which means that he too was a prominent figure in the politics of the federation, “since he is seen to participate in a royal summit and could conclude a treaty (no. 63 = SH 812) and lead countries (no. 59 = SH 811) and armies (no. 54 = SH 819).”¹⁰³ Nevertheless, Talpuš-šarri was a man in second rank to the great king Pišendēn and he was his subject. Eidem and Læssøe deduce this from the letters in which he styles himself ‘brother’ or

⁹⁶ For the letter cf. Durand, and Charpin, “Le nom antique ...,” *RA* 81 (1987), p. 132-4 (translation) and 143-5 (transliteration); cf. also Chapter Seven.

⁹⁷ Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 82. Eidem agrees with the idea of sedentary tribes, cf. Eidem, “News from the Eastern Front...,” *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 106.

⁹⁸ Klengel, “Das Gebirgsvolk der Turukkū ...,” p. 5. Klengel describes the Turukku as “Randvölker,” cf. also Lafont, B., “La correspondance d’Iddiyatum- Introduction,” *Archives Épistolaires de Mari* I/2, *ARM* 26/2, p. 469.

⁹⁹ 4) *ṡu-zu-um ḥa-ni-za-ru-um* 5) *ša I-la-la-e^{ki} ša a-na Ku-sa-na-ar-ḥi-im* 6) *iš-pu-ru-úš il-li-kam-ma* 7) *ù it-ti LUGAL ša Ku-sa-na-ri-im* 8) *it-ra-am a-na A-li-a-e^{ki}* 9) *ù it-ti-šu Ki-gi-ir-za* *ù Ta-al-pu-šar-ri* 10) *in-na-me-er* *ù ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ ga-am-ra-am* 11) *i-na bi-ri-ti-šu-nu iš-ku-un*, “Zuzum, the *ḥanizarum* of Ilalae, who had been sent to Kusanarhum came, and with him he brought the king of Kusanarhum to Aliae, and he had a meeting with Kigirza and Talpuš-šarri, and they swore a comprehensive oath to each other,” Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 134, no. 63 (SH 812).

¹⁰⁰ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁰¹ His name has been explained as “The God-king is great,” cf. Matthews, R. and J. Eidem, “Tell Brak and Nagar,” *Iraq* 55 (1993), p. 202. This explanation seems convincing since the Hurrian element *-šarri* occurs often in PNs. According to Gelb, the element is probably a divine epithet. The Hurrian origin of the element is claimed by Weidner and Gustafs (from *šar* “to order/command,” “to demand”), while Thureau-Dangin, Ungnad and Von Brandenstein support the Akkadian origin from *šarrum*. To Güterbock, the meaning “king” in a divine sense is the fitting translation. Finally, Ginsberg and Maisler translate it “king” with a Hurrian etymology. For these opinions and bibliography, cf. Gelb *et al*, *NPN*, p. 251. The element appears also in Ugarit as *šr* and *θr*, cf. *ibid*. The PN *Tul₅-b/pi-šarri* (reading suggested by Gelb instead of Akk. *Ku-bi-šarri*) has the same name as our Talpuš-šarri.

¹⁰² 30) *ù šum-ma ma-ta-tum* 31) *ma-li ṡa-al-pu-šar-ri* 32) *i-ra-di-a-am i-la-ku-nim* 33) *ù at-ta i-li-a-am* 34) *la ta-ka-la*, “And if all the countries which Talpuš-šarri commands come, then you too must come up.” Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 130 (no. 59 = SH 811).

¹⁰³ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

neutrally when addressing Kuwari,¹⁰⁴ as he does also in the letter his lord Pišendēn sent to Yašub-Addu of Aḫazum; but on his seal (Fig. 1) he styles himself “[...] of Pišendēn”:¹⁰⁵

Talpuš-šarri, [son of], [..... of] Pišen[t/de].¹⁰⁶

Talpuš-šarri was not the only high-ranking figure in the federation. Eidem and Læssøe concluded from the formulation of the letters of Shemshāra that he, Kuwari, Šepratu, Ḫulukkadiḷ,¹⁰⁷ and Sîn-išme’anni were all rulers or officials of equal power and influence under the leadership of Pišendēn.¹⁰⁸ All of them enjoyed a great degree of freedom and autonomy. Eidem and Læssøe noted that they were not receiving orders in the way that the subjects of Šamši-Adad, Yasmaḫ-Addu and Zimri-Lim did. Rather Kuwari, for example, received requests, urges and advices.¹⁰⁹ Eidem and Læssøe think these men of the second rank “belonged to a side-branch of the royal line, or perhaps to a closely allied princely dynasty.”¹¹⁰ Talpuš-šarri, when he wrote together with his lord Pišendēn to Yašub-Addu, asked the latter to be true to “this house and the land of Itabalḫum.”¹¹¹ In our view this is not concrete evidence that Talpuš-šarri and his colleagues were members of the royal family or even of a side-branch. Any loyal subject or official of the king would have used the same words and expressed those same feelings when urging a hesitant ally to remain loyal to the house that was spiritually the house of all the subjects of the kingdom. Their relationship to the royal house might have been completely different. One interpretation of the word *nuldānum*,¹¹² if correct, refers more to a spiritual father-son relationship that was not necessarily biological.¹¹³

Among these kings and high-ranking officials Sîn-išme’anni¹¹⁴ maintained a special relationship with Kuwari. It seems to have been a deep friendship, not a mere relationship between two colleagues in the service of one lord. The letters of Shemshāra exhibit the warmth of this friendship that tied the two together. In almost all the letters he sent to Kuwari he styles himself “I who love you” and he sometimes styles Kuwari as the one “who loves

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ For the transliterations and translations of the Shemshāra letters and seal impressions I have quoted from *The Shemshara Archives 1 The Letters*, by Eidem and Læssøe. On the few occasions when small sections were skipped I have offered here my own translations with appropriate annotation, and some translations have been slightly adapted.

¹⁰⁶ 1) ^mTa-al-^rpu¹-š[ar](+ in field:)-r[i] 2) [DUMU] ‘x x’ [x] 3) [x ^m]rPi¹-še-en-[te], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 160. Unfortunately, the traces in the last line, where the word is expected that determines the relationship to the king are illegible. However, as Eidem and Læssøe state, in a Mesopotamian context one expects ĪR = *wardum*, “servant.” In the king’s name there does seem to be space at the end of the line for an additional sign EN, but the name is also written thus in the address of no. 68, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

¹⁰⁷ The first element of this PN can be identified with the first element of the PN Ḫulukkan from Chagar Bazar, labelled as Gutian (cf. also Chapter Two). For the PNs from Chagar Bazar, cf. Loretz, “Texte aus Chagar Bazar,” *lišān mithurti*, p. 244-250; cf. also Gelb, *HS*, p. 64, note 128.

¹⁰⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² It is suggested that the word is derived from the word *walādum*, “to beget a child,” which is also used in the last line of Pišendēn’s seal legend; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives 2*, p. 40, note 36, referring as well to Durand, “Review of ShA 2,” *Société de Linguistique*, 1996, p. 381f. However, see below under ‘The King and the nuldān(um).’

¹¹³ For this, cf. Chapter Eight.

¹¹⁴ Charpin is of the opinion that this individual was a diviner, according to his association with oracles or omens on several occasions in the letters of Shemshāra, sometimes using the verbal form *epêšum*: Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 177.

me.”¹¹⁵ Their friendship was so deep that family affairs became involved. Sîn-išme’anni took care of Kuwari’s family in Zukula, was concerned for their well-being, sent him their news and even took an omen when Šip-šarri, the wife¹¹⁶ of Kuwari, became ill:

Sîn-išme’anni to Kuwari (no. 34 = SH 826)

Secondly, your brother who loves you and I who love you are well, and [your] house [is well]. But Šip-šarri, your maid, was ill, and I took an omen, and lifted the hand of Ištar. Now she has recovered and is well, and the boys, your sons, are well.¹¹⁷

This man was also the last in the phase of Pre-Assyrian domination to send a letter to Kuwari to give him the news and offer his sincere advice about what to do (for his letter, see below). Kuwari even shared with him and a few others an important secret of which we do not know the details. But it has been tentatively suggested that it might have involved a conspiracy to change their allegiance.¹¹⁸

Kuwari to Sîn-išme’anni (no. 70 = SH 899)

For this reason I keep sending Šunšiya, saying: "If Sîn-išme’anni is staying there under those conditions, then [confide to him] my secret." I explained the message of the god. You, [...]-nû, Šilippu, and I [share information]. You will confide (your) secret to me, [and I] will confide my secret.¹¹⁹

This raises the question of whether Sîn-išme’anni was a family member of Kuwari, which would explain this intimate relationship. The answer, I think, lies in the letter 65, where he shows his happiness with the greetings sent by a certain Namram-šarur. In the letter he asks the addressee to bring some news of ‘the city of Awal and our family,’ which indicates that Sîn-išme’anni’s family resided far to the south, in the Hamrin Region, not in the country of Kuwari. So he was not related to Kuwari:

Sîn-išme’anni to Namram-šarur (no. 65 = SH 918)

Ask for news of Awal and our people and let your retainer who comes bring (it) to me!¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ Cf. for instance the letter 35: 1) *a-na ra-i-mi-ia* 2) *qí-bí-ma* 3) *um-ma* ^{md}EN.ZU-*iš-me-an-ni* 4) *ra-im-ka-a-ma*, “Say to the one who loves me: Thus (says) Sîn-išme’anni who loves you,” Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 105-6 (no. 35 = SH 822). The same introduction is found in letter no. 36 = SH 818.

¹¹⁶ *amat-ka*, “your slave-girl” is written in the text; but there is no mention of a ‘wife’ although sons are mentioned. So it seems likely that Kuwari was married to this slave-girl; Eidem and Læssøe as well take her as his wife; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 104, 136 and 168.

¹¹⁷ 10) [*ša*]-*ni-ta[m]* 11) *a-ḫu-ka r[a]-i-im-k[a]* 12) *ù a-na-ku r[a]-i-im-[ka]* 13) *ša-al<x>-m[a-ku]* *ù É-[ka ša-lim]* 14) *ù Ši-ip-š[ar-r]i a-ma-at-ka* 15) *im-ra-aš-ma te-[e]r-tam* 16) *e-pu-š-ma* 17) *qa-at EŠ₄-TÁR ú-še-li* 18) *i-na-an-na i-tu-uh* 19) *ša-al-ma-at ù šú-ḫa-ru* 20) *ma-ru-ka ša-al-mu*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 104 (no. 34 = SH 826). The same event was touched upon also in the letter of Šepatu to Kuwari (no. 64 = SH 827); the news of his family, the illness of his wife and, before them, the well-being of “Sîn-išme’anni, who loves you” are all reported at the end of his long and informative letter.

¹¹⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

¹¹⁹ 42) [*aš-šum ki-a-am-ma* ^mŠ[*u-un-ši-ia*] 43) [*aš-ta-n*]-*a-ap-pá-ar-š[u um-ma a-na-ku-ma]* 44) [^{md}EN.ZU-*iš-me-a-ni šum-m[a aš-ra-n]u-um-mi ki-a-šam-ma* 45) [*w*]-*a-ši-ib a-wa-at li-ib-bi-[ia i-di-iš-šum]* 46) [*t*]-*e₄-ma-am <ša>* DINGIR *ad'-bu¹-ub at-[t]a* 47) [*x* (x)]-*x'-nu-ú* ^mŠi'-*li-ip-pu' ù a-na-ku* 48) [*x x*]-*x at'-tu-nu a-wa-at'* 49) [*li-ib-bi-i*]-*m a-ia-ši ta-dá-ab-bu-ba* 50) [*ù a-wa*]-*at li-ib-bi-ia* 51) [*a-na-k*]-*u 'a-dá-ab-bu-ub*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 146 (no. 70 = SH 899).

¹²⁰ 25) [*t*]-*e₄-em* *A-wa-at'* ^kni' 26) *'ù* *ni-ši-in ša-al-ma* 27) [*š*]-*ú-ḫa-ar-ka ša i-la-kam* 28) *li-ib-la-am*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 139 (no. 65 = SH 918).

The King and the nuldān(um)

The king of Itabalhum in the time of the Shemshāra archives was Pišendēn. A seal impression of him (Fig. 2) was found in Shemshāra that reads as follows:

Piše[ndēn], son of Tukukti, king of the land of Itabal(hum), begetter of Tabitu.¹²¹

The name of the father of Pišendēn is Tukukti. Another seal impression naming Turukti, most probably refers to the same Tukukti, father of Pišendēn¹²² (Fig. 3):

Turukti, son of Uštap-šarri, king of Itabal, *conqueror* of his enemies, father of AD-...¹²³

The name Turukti “poses the question of a possible connection with the ethnicon Turukk(m), both perhaps based on a presumably Hurrian word *turuk*.”¹²⁴ To Eidem and Læssøe it is possible that the political and military exploits of Turukti have led to the emergence of Itabalhum as a dominant kingdom in northwestern Zagros, and “his name for this reason was used in reference to the population there.”¹²⁵ For comparison they point to Ya’ilānum, which was also an eponymous designation. This seems very possible, especially if we consider the fact that the Turukkeans are not mentioned in texts before the OB period, except for the story of the “Great Revolt” against Narām-Sîn, which is an OB compilation.¹²⁶ But the reference to “Tazigi, king of the Turukkû” in a text from the time of Yaḥdun-Lim, some 15 years before the Shemshāra archives (see above) should not be forgotten. Because Tazigi was king before Turuktu we should hesitate to assume that King Turukti was responsible for the ethnicon.¹²⁷ It has been suggested that Tazigi was most probably a Turukkean king of another polity than Itabalhum.¹²⁸ This seems quite possible, because the royal line in Itabalhum, as reconstructed from the seal legends, shows two other names before Pišendēn, Tur/kukti and his father Uštap-šarri. This leaves only 15 years for three kings on the throne of Itabalhum before Pišendēn. While the problem of the derivation of the name Turukkû remains unsolved, in our view the ethnicon could be derived from an older predecessor of Turukti, Uštap-šarri and Tazigi, perhaps the founder of the kingdom of Itabalhum or the spiritual father of the federation. The occurrence of *Ti-ri-uk-ki-na-āš-we*^{ki} as early as the time of Iddi(n)-Sîn of Simurru (Jerusalem inscription) proves this. An alternative would be to derive the name of King Turuktu from the ethnonym or the supposed GN *Turukkû*, since Hurrian PNs were often derived from or contained GNs.¹²⁹

¹²¹ *m* Pi-še-e[n-te(-en)] DUMU *m* Tu-ku-[u]k-ti LUGAL ma-[a]t I-ta-ba(+in field:)-al^{ki} wa-li-[i]d Ta-bi-ti, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26 (translation) and 159 (transliteration).

¹²² According to Eidem and Læssøe, the second sign of the name Tukukti in the previous seal impression cannot be RU, even though it is not too clear. They say, “The alternation may be explained as a result of a non-Akkadian phoneme,” as in *Še-gi/ri-bu*^{ki} in letter No. 55, 22: Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 159, note 2. Although the badly preserved impression of the seal of Turuktu makes the reading of the sign RU not quite certain, the parallel PN Turukti in seal impression no. 4 (see below) favours RU.

¹²³ [*m*]T[u-r]u²-uk³-[i]² [DU]MU U[š²-ta]p²-šar-[ri]³ [LUG]AL [I³]-ta-p[a-al^{ki}(?)] [x]-tu a-a-b[i-šu] ^ra¹-bi AD-[.....], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26 (translation) and 160 (transliteration).

¹²⁴ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

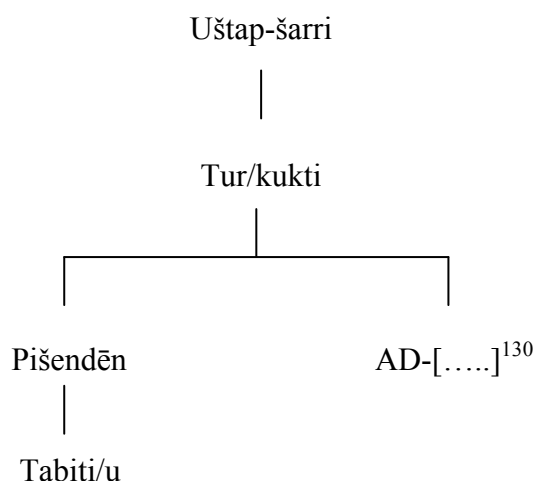
¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹²⁷ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ There are, in fact, numerous examples of GNs as components of PNs in the Transjordan region, particularly among the Hurrians. They include Kakmum, governor of Šuruthum (letter 41 = SH 925+935+939+942: 4’); Arrapha-atal; Hut-Arraphe; Kipi-Arraphe (*NPN*, p. 205); Šanḫara-ḫupi (Šanḫar(a) is a city name, probably in Northern Syria), *NPN*, p. 250; Šarnida (in Shemshāra: no. 8 = SH 887: 32 and no. 16 = SH 883 :9. Šarnida is



Tabiti was a son of Pišendēn and he had very probably previously been the crown prince. He is mentioned in the letter 64 = SH 827 as having been in contact with the king of Elam in relation to the military cooperation with Itabalḫum. Here, with the mention of the king's (first-born) son or crown prince in the king's official inscription, we are dealing with the same phenomenon seen in the inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn, both the Bētwate inscription and his cylinder seal (see Chapter Five). To Eidem and Møller this was to avoid an endless struggle for power after the death of the king. They compare it to measurements taken by Esarhaddon to ensure a peaceful succession, and also with Šamši-Adad I entrusting two large portions of his kingdom to his two sons.¹³¹ It seems closer to reality to associate it with the royal ideology of the Hurrians, whom we encountered in Urkeš as well (see Chapter Four). The editors of the seal legend are correct in comparing this phenomenon with the Elamite *sukkalmaḫ* system (as far as we understand it), in which the *sukkalmaḫ* shared his power with two junior members of the royal line.¹³² This system is more comparable with the one we know among the Hurrians, than with the traditional Mesopotamian models.

A seal impression of a servant of Turukti was found in Shemshāra. It is unfortunately very damaged, but the remaining signs read:

[.....] [so]n of [.....], [serva]nt(?) of Turukti.¹³³

identical with the GN Šarnida of the Tukulti-Ninurta I inscriptions); Ḫabur-atal (no. 55 = SH 884:5); Kularum (no. 62 = SH 914: 8, Kullār was a mountain name in the Transtigris); KA-Nišba of Simurru (Erridu-pizir inscription, cf. Chapter Three); Nawar-taḫe in the Hittite version of *šār tamḫāri* (KBo XXII 6), cf. Archi, A., "Nawar-taḫe, King of Puruṣḫanda," *NABU* 2000, no. 61; and even the Hydronym Aranza/iḫ (= the Tigris), as in Ḫazip-Aranziḫ, the governor of a Hurrian kingdom in Ida-maraš (see Chapter Seven). This phenomenon was not restricted to the Hurrians. Durand pointed to such cases in the Amorite world too, saying that GNs, like oronyms, toponyms, and hydronyms, were used in the formation of Amorite PNs. He further adds that the Mari material is very interesting in this respect since it gives valuable geographical information about regions whose names have been forgotten in addition to information about their inhabitants; cf. Durand, J.-M., "L'emploi des toponymes dans l'onomastique d'époque Amorrite (I): les noms en *Mut*," *SEL* 8 (1991), p. 77ff.

¹³⁰ This name cannot be linked to any of the other relevant PNs. By contrast, Tabitu, the son of Pišendēn, played a prominent role in the events according to the records (see below, letter no. 64), Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹³¹ Eidem, J. and E. Møller, "A Royal Seal from the Ancient Zagros," *MARI* 6, p. 636.

¹³² *Op. cit.*, p. 637.

¹³³ 1) [.....] 2) [DUM]U AN 'x x' 3) [Ī]R? *Tu-ru-uk-/ti*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

The presence of this seal impression among the Shemshāra material posed a problem for the editors of the letters in making a chronological sequence for Turukti and Pišendēn. In search for a solution Eidem and Læssøe asked whether Turukti was still alive when the seal of his servant was used, or did the seal continue to be used by Pišendēn after his death, or was there a complex system of hierarchy of contemporary kings in Itabalḥum, similar to that in Elam.¹³⁴

Later on Lidāya became leader of the Turukkeans. He led the revolt against the Assyrians, but unfortunately no detailed information about him or any seal impression of him is known. We are not even sure whether he was ‘king’ of the Turukkeans or just a leader. Zaziya, on the contrary, is known to have been king of the Turukkeans, as attested several times in the letters of Mari. He is frequently mentioned in the Mari texts which indicates the important role he played in the politics of his time, especially since he was, as Lafont noted, a close contemporary of Zimri-Lim of Mari.¹³⁵ A seal impression from Mari (Fig. 4) bears an inscription that styles *Zaziya nuldānum* of Itabalḥum:

Zazi[ya], son of Tern[anum], *nuldānum* [o]f Itteba[lḥum], [x] of the god [....].¹³⁶

The iconography of the seal is in the Ur III style and the editors of the seal impression suggest that the seal was probably imported from Mesopotamia and recut locally.¹³⁷ I would suggest discarding the restored sign 𒄩 in the name of Itabalḥim, because the two parallel seal impressions from the kings of the land itself write the name without this suffix (see above). Instead, the determinative KI may be restored.

A problem about the identity of Zaziya of this seal impression occurred when letter M.13039 from Mari was published, a letter which names “Zaziya, son of Akkiya.” For this second Zaziya we have no information about his identity and he is mentioned without titles. But we note that he addresses a certain *Ú-qá-ki-El*, not Zimri-Lim, as ‘brother,’ reminding him that he himself is the son of Akkiya, and that Uqa-kī-El is the son of Taḥuna, who were likewise brothers (see below).¹³⁸ Kupper is correct in considering Zaziya on the seal as the king, since he bears the local title *nuldān* of Itabalḥum and in distinguishing him from this Zaziya son of Akkiya.¹³⁹ Charpin is of the opinion that Zaziya appears to have had a double status after the changes took place in the Turukkean lands with the Gutian invasion and the disappearance of Pišendēn and his son (see below). According to him he was probably king of Turukkû and *nuldānum* of Itabalḥum,¹⁴⁰ which is quite likely to be the case.

However, the problem with Zaziya of the letter remains. It is possible that the one Zaziya was the local *nuldānum* in Itabalḥum and king of the Turukkeans, and that the second one was a Turukkean ruler or prince somewhere in the Hurrian lands, the sender of the letter. Another possibility is that the name refers to one and the same person, but one of his father’s names indicates a remote ancestor, not his direct biological father, possibly the founder of the dynasty or the legendary head of the tribe. Be it as it may, this letter does provide us with a Turukkean female PN, who was very probably the mother of Zaziya, son of Akkiya, as the context suggests:

¹³⁴ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹³⁵ Kupper, J.-R., *Lettres royales du temps de Zimri-Lim*, ARM 28, Paris, 1987, p. 257.

¹³⁶ 1) *Za-zi-[ia]* 2) *DUMU Te-er-n[a-nu-um]* 3) *[n]u-ul-da-nu-[um]* 4) *[š]a It-te-ba-a[l-ḥi-im]* 5) *[x] ša ḏ[....]*, Beyer, D. and D. Charpin, “Le sceau de Zaziya, roi des Turukkéens,” *MARI* 6, Paris, 1990, p. 625.

¹³⁷ Beyer and Charpin, *op. cit.*, p. 627-8.

¹³⁸ Kupper, ARM 28, p. 258 and 261; cf. also Kupper, J.-R., “Zaziya, «prince» d’Ita-Palhum,” *NABU* 1990, no. 131, p. 108, where the name of the addressee was read as *Ú-bi-[x x x]*.

¹³⁹ Kupper, ARM 28, p. 258. In his previous note in *NABU*, Kupper thought it more likely that Zaziya of the seal was not the king, cf. Kupper, *NABU*, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ For this cf. Eidem, *NABU*, 1990, no. 63, p. 48.

Zaziya to Uqa-kī-El (ARM 28, 180)

Say to Uqa-kī-El, thus (says) Zaziya, your brother: I am the son of Akkiya, and you, you are the son of Taḥuna. My father and your father had the bond of brotherhood (between them). Elakka, your mother, ‘servant’ of Taḥina, was the sister of Kadamzi.¹⁴¹

Related to the problem of Zaziya is a text from Mari that mentions a grain ration to a certain Zaziya, dated to month xii* of *limmu* Aššur-malik.¹⁴² Another text probably mentions Zaziya in a broken context in relation to troop assignments associated with the city of Naḥur.¹⁴³ While it is not certain one may conjecture that Zaziya the king had been formerly collaborating with Šamšī-Adad, receiving allocations and troops, perhaps to contribute to his military actions. However, this cannot be proved at present and it remains possible that more than one Hurrian was named Zaziya.¹⁴⁴

A few more words need to be said about the controversial title *nuldānum*. As discussed above, it is thought to be a *nupras* form, derived from *walādum* “to beget a child,” a verb that occurs in the last line of Pišendēn’s seal legend.¹⁴⁵ The best translation Eidem proposed for the word is “prince” or “duke,” since the position Kuwari had in the land of Utūm was neither inherited nor obtained by career promotion, but awarded through his family connection with the ruling king.¹⁴⁶ This translation fits the contexts in which this word is used. The word ‘king’ is used in apposition to *nuldānum* in some texts (for instance in the letter 63 = SH 812), which clearly implies something different from ‘king.’ The word does not seem to me to have a Semitic etymology, even though Durand was convinced it did.¹⁴⁷ Rather it was a Hurrian word that had no exact equivalent in Akkadian, and so was left untranslated in the letters and seal legends. The absence of an Akkadian equivalent must have stemmed from the fact that *nuldānūtum* belonged to a different system of rulership or was based on a different ideology than those in Sumero-Akkadian culture. It can be compared to Hurrian *endan*, “ruler” or “king,” in the inscriptions of the kings of Urkeš (see Chapter Four), for it shares the same element –*dan*, making it in all probability a related word or at least a word of the same type. As a Hurrian term it could be analysed **nul(i)=dan*, with Hurrian *nuli*, a military term for a weapon or a category of soldiers.¹⁴⁸ This would be compatible with Kuwari’s reputation as a warrior, whose military activities are recorded in the Shemshāra letters (see further below). The occurrence of the element *nul(i)* in the PNs *Nu-ul-te-šup* and *Nu-ul-za-ḫi* (var. *Nu-la-za-*

¹⁴¹ 1) *a-na Ū-qá-ki-AN* 2) *qí-bí-ma* 3) *um-ma Za-zi-ia a-ḫu-ka-a-ma* 4) *a-na-ku DUMU Ak-ki-ia ù at-ta* 5) *DUMU Ta-ḫu-na a-bi ù a-bu-ka* 6) *at-ḫu-ú^f E-la-ka um-ma-ka* 7) *GÊME Ta-ḫi-na a-ḫa-at Ka-dam-zi*, Kupper, ARM 28, p. 261 and 262. Taḥina is a vocalic variant of Taḥuna. By servant the writer of the letter means “spouse,” cf. Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

¹⁴² Charpin and Ziegler, *Mari et le Proche-Orient*, FM V, p. 109, note 277.

¹⁴³ 13) *i-na 8 me-at ša-[bi-im]* 14) *1 me ša Na-ḫu-ur^{ki} a-na Za-z[i-ia]*, “Out of this 100 troops, 100 of Naḥur are for Zaz[iya].” ARM 23, 594, *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ There is, for instance, a certain Zaziya, “man of Kakkulatūm” mentioned in M.11787, l. 3-4; cf. Durand, J.-M., *Le nomenclature des habites et des textiles dans les textes de Mari*, vol. 1, ARM 30, Paris, 2009, p. 211. Another Zaziya appears in the texts of Chagar Bazar. He was one of those responsible for giving out beer and is mentioned in 42 texts: Lacambre, D. and A. Millet Albà, *Ménologie et chronologie*, in *Chagar Bazar (Syrie) III, les trouvailles . . .*, p. 201. This is important because it proves that Zaziya was not a throne name but the king’s birth name.

¹⁴⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives* 2, p. 40 and note 36 (with reference to Durand, “Review of ShA 2,” *Société de Linguistique*, 1996, p. 381f.).

¹⁴⁶ Eidem, “*nuldānum/nuldānūtum* . . .,” *NABU* 1990, no. 63, p. 48.

¹⁴⁷ Durand says: “*nuldānum*, no doubt a non-Akkadian derivation based on a Semitic root, apparently WLD,” Durand, *LPO* II, p. 81. Eidem too tentatively proposes a similar interpretation: Eidem and Læssøe, p. 27.

¹⁴⁸ For the word *nuli* cf. Laroche, *GLH*, p. 188 under *nuli*.

hi) in the Nuzi texts¹⁴⁹ may support this suggestion. The second element *-dan*, found also in *endan*, Wilhelm takes as the Hurrian suffix for professions.¹⁵⁰ Contrary to Durand, who thinks the word is a Hurrian derivation of a Semitic root, we take *nuldānum* and *nuldānūtum* as Akkadianized Hurrian, with the suffixes *-um* and *-ūtum*.

The Land of the Turukkeans

The Turukkeans appear to have inhabited the mountainous regions to the north and northeast of the Rāniya Plain, according to information provided by the Shemshāra tablets. However, the numerous kingdoms and cities referred to in the Shemshāra tablets as Turukkean cannot all have been located in a small mountainous area to the east and northeast of the Rāniya Plain. Room has to be found for the kingdoms of Itabalḥum, Zutlum, Kusanar(h)um, Šudamelum, and the cities of Kunšum (capital of Itabalḥum), Aliae, Ardamekum, Ilalae, Sašharšum and Zukula further in the east and northeast. The most suitable place would be the plains and mountain valleys of Iranian Kurdistan, behind the Qandil Range, e.g. the plain that stretches from Sardasht up to Khāneh in the north (Map. 1). Similarly, Eidem and Læssøe think the plains of the Urmia Basin must have formed the core of Turukkean territory.¹⁵¹ It is important to examine the arguments they have presented to support this suggestion, which can be summarized thus:

- 1) The use of the verbs *elūm* “going up” (in 49: 10; 53: 39; 58: 13; 59: 12, 33; 63: 44, 52; 64: 36, 40, 64; 73: 6, 11, 14) and *warādum* “going down” (56: 39) in the letters, the former when moving from Shemshāra to Kunšum and the latter when returning from Kunšum. This indicates that the city of Kunšum and the Turukkean country around it were in higher territory to the east and northeast.¹⁵²
- 2) Kuwari’s associates in Kunšum tracked information about Šamši-Adad’s movements in Arrapha and Qabrā through Shemshāra. This means that Shemshāra was located between Kunšum on the one hand and Arrapha and Qabrā on the other.
- 3) GNs associated with the Turukkean land are absent from the Mesopotamian sources outside the Shemshāra material. This indicates that the core region of the Turukkū was far from Mesopotamia. Only two of these GNs seem to form an exception: Arrunum is probably the same city referred to in Kassite period texts as Arnāyu,¹⁵³ Kunšum seems to be identical with Kunzuḥḥe/Kušṣuḥḥe attested in Nuzi texts, and is usually equated with the land of the Kassites.¹⁵⁴ However, the city names associated with Kunzuḥḥe, namely Maškanawe, Utulwe and Ukenna,¹⁵⁵ cannot also be equated with any of the Turukkean GNs recorded in the Shemshāra texts. The Shemshāra texts, moreover, show that Kuwari was not close to base.¹⁵⁶
- 4) The route leading from the Rāniya Plain through Qala Dizeh to Sardasht is a main route even now. From Sardasht the other main route that leads to Mahabād is easy to

¹⁴⁹ Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, p. 240; for the bibliography of the names cf. p. 108.

¹⁵⁰ For the suffix *-dan* in *endan*, cf. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, p. 11, and also Chapter Four for more details on *endan*.

¹⁵¹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 28 and 29.

¹⁵² *Op. cit.*, p. 28 and note 38. The authors point out to the frequent use of the two verbs in the OA texts that refer to “going up” to Kaniš and “going down” to Assur.

¹⁵³ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 28, referring to Læssøe, *The Shemshāra Tablets*, Copenhagen, 1959, p. 85 and Nashef, Kh., *RGTC* 5, Wiesbaden, 1982, p. 39.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, referring to Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 160ff. It is interesting that Kunzuḥḥe imported grain and exported a special type of horse, according to the data from Nuzi: Fincke, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. for this Fincke, *RGTC*, p. 161.

¹⁵⁶ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

follow, with just one ford across the River Zāb. “Once having reached Mahabād, the entire Urmia Basin is open to the traveller, with its rich fields and good roads to all parts of Azerbaijan.”¹⁵⁷

- 5) The region of the Urmia Basin, forming part of Azerbaijān, is a main population centre in the Zagros, and thus can be seen as the best candidate for the core of the Turukkean lands. Furthermore, “it also seems difficult to suggest a convincing alternative,”¹⁵⁸ because the other areas in Iranian Kurdistan are narrow valleys which are sparsely populated. The regions to the northwest and southeast of the Rāniya Plain were occupied by the kingdoms mentioned and were known in Mesopotamian sources.
- 6) There is archaeological material from the Urmia Basin that might support the idea of direct contacts with Northern Mesopotamia in a “fairly limited period in the early second millennium BC.”¹⁵⁹ This material consists of a distinctive early second millennium Habur Ware¹⁶⁰ side by side with contemporary local Iranian types of ceramics. The Habur Ware, identified in seven sites, including Hasanlu (level VI) and Dinkha Tepe (level IV),¹⁶¹ is known to have emanated primarily from Northern Iraq and Syria and circulated from there. Recent studies distinguish four phases of this ceramic. The earliest is pre-Šamšī-Adad;¹⁶² those found in Dinkha Tepe include types which in Mesopotamia belong to the early period for this assemblage, thus fitting the date proposed for those in the Urmia Basin.¹⁶³ It is further noticed that Habur Ware of the Urmia Basin is isolated from all directions except to the south and southeast, where no data is available.¹⁶⁴ In the Rāniya Plain, a crucial link, a few specimens were found in Bazmusiān.¹⁶⁵

I would supplement point four by observing that the territory round Sardasht is level (see map no. 1) and the route upwards to Urmia passes through a narrow strip of plains until it reaches the city of Khānē (= Pirān Shār). There the plains become wider and onwards to Urmia the route is easily accessible. The pass that leads to Sardasht from the Qala Dizeh plain is one of the main crossing points between Iraq and Iran, although not as important as the Haji Omarān-Kēleshin Pass. The only problem when applying these facts to the historical geography is that the route should pass through the Qala Dizeh Plain, which weakens the suggestion of locating Kakmum in Qala Dizeh in favour of the alternative, Rawāndiz (see Chapter Five). In case Kakmum was located in Qala Dizeh communications from Kuwari should have passed through the territories of Kakmum. Was Kakmum in this period on good

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, quoting Levine, 1974, p. 102.

¹⁵⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 28-9.

¹⁶⁰ “Habur Ware is a variety of painted, wheelmade, buff pottery found throughout northern Mesopotamia and dated to the early second Millennium BC,” Kramer, C., “Pots and People,” *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*, (eds.) L. D. Levine and T. Cuyler-Young Jr., Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, vol. 7, Malibu, 1977, p. 91.

¹⁶¹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 28. But note the date given to the tomb of Dinkha Tepe by K. S. Robinson is the 17th to 16th century BC, cf. Robinson, K. S., “A Mid-Second Millennium Tomb at Dinkha Tepe,” *AJA* 95 (1991), p. 373 (abstract).

¹⁶² This according to Oguchi, cf. Oguchi, H., “A Reassessment of the Distribution of Khabur Ware: An Approach from an Aspect of its Main Phase,” *Al-Rāfidān* 18 (1997), p. 205. He has also suggested that Habur Ware was “possibly” introduced at Dinkha in the latter part of this phase: Oguchi, H., “Notes on Khabur Ware from Sites Outside its Main Distribution Zone,” *Al-Rāfidān* 19 (1998), p. 120 n. 3.

¹⁶³ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

¹⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 30, referring to as-Soof, B., “Mounds in the Raniya Plain, and Excavations at Tell Bazmusian,” *Sumer*, 26 (1970), p. 94. Specimens of Habur ware were found in other sites in the Rāniya Plain and nearby during a short survey carried out by W. van Soldt, D. Meijer, and the present writer in the spring of 2008 on behalf of Leiden University.

terms with the Turukkeans? Or was it so weak that it could not prevent others from using its territory? We can find an answer in the letter no. 69 = SH 868, where the great king of the Turukkeans asked another king (most probably the king of Simurru) to organize a joint campaign with Elam, Niqqum and Namar to attack Kakmum. Apparently this hostile plan against Kakmum stemmed from its location between Turukkû and its dependency Šušarrā, which fits also with the location of Kakmum in Rawāndiz. Furthermore, a kingdom like Kakmum could occupy parts of the Turukkean lands if it felt itself powerful, as it did in the time of Sargon II (see Chapter Five, about occupying part of the Mannean country).¹⁶⁶

As to point five, the region of the Urmia Basin and Azerbaijān in general was a densely populated region, not only in the OB period but also through the ages. A good parallel to the Turukkean expansion from that region into northeastern Iraq and north Syria, as pointed out by the authors, is the expansion of the Dizayee tribe about a century ago. This tribe originally stems from the region of Mahabād in the Urmia Basin. They penetrated the Iraqi territories and began raiding the Erbil Plain, occupying the majority of the villages and agricultural lands until they came close to the Tigris, where their advance was checked by the local Arab tribes (see also Chapter Eight). The Turukkean expansion into northern Iraq and Syria must have been a similar episode, but apparently wider in extent and more successful, for they reached Nineveh and Assur and later the Habur region.

The problem that arises with the identification of the Turukkean land with the Urmia Basin is the range of the Gutian warfare. We know from other data that the core of the Gutian country was the regions to the south of the Lower Zāb, with assumed extensions to the region between the two Zābs and the modern Iranian territories (see Chapter Two). So somehow it was a neighbour of the Lullubian country, which was centred on the Shahrzūr Plain. If the suggestion to locate the core of the Turukkean country in the Urmia Basin is correct, it would have been too far away to be attacked by the Gutians. Three possible solutions can be offered:

- 1) We could imagine a larger Gutian kingdom, that had spread its hegemony over a wider area, from Nawar¹⁶⁷ in the southeast to the Urmia Basin in northwestern Iran. Such a large state, or federation led by Gutians, could explain the excessive irresistible power of the Gutians under Endušše, surpassing all opponents (see further below).
- 2) A second solution could be found in the description of Eidem and Læssøe of the Gutian polity, a description which, incidentally, is also applicable to other polities of the region: "Like Turukkum and the Elamite kingdom, Gutium must have been both a rather fluid geo-political term, and certainly composed of several distinct polities."¹⁶⁸ Such terms imply a loose, multi-headed political and military structure, one that is difficult to apply to the image we have of the Gutians in this period.
- 3) A third but less probable solution is to assume that the events described in the Shemshāra letters are more local, in that they happened within a much smaller area in the immediate neighbouring mountains and intermontane valleys of the Rāniya Plain. But more room is needed in which to fit all those kingdoms, cities, kings and generals named as active in the letters. To assign them such a small area with limited resources is not enough.

With these facts before us, the first solution is the only one viable. It presents a somewhat new view of the range of the Gutian kingdom. Accepting the Urmia Basin as the core of the

¹⁶⁶ Only, of course, if we accept the identification of the Turukkean lands with the Urmia Basin.

¹⁶⁷ For the Gutian presence in Nawar, cf. the letter of Ibāl-pī-El to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 2, 26) concerning the Nawarite Gutian woman (*nawārītum*), see Chapter Seven under 'The Elamite Invasion,' and Chapter Two, under 'The Gutians.'

¹⁶⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

Turukkean country results in further conclusions that deserve some comment. The connecting routes between the Urmia region and the regions to the west, i.e. the modern Iraqi side, do not pass only through the Qala Dizēh region. The most popular route between the two regions runs through the Hāji Omarān Pass. It was an ancient well-known route, where the Kēleshīn and Topzāwa stelae were erected. Dinkha Tepe, for instance, is closer to this pass than to Qala Dizēh. This means that the communication must have been via Rawāndiz, a very important, naturally fortified town. One and a half centuries ago it was the capital of a powerful principedom that stretched its authority from Mahabād south of Lake Urmia to Sinjār and the outskirts of Mardin in the west, including Erbil, Pirdē, Akrē, Zaḥo, Amēdi and Duhok.¹⁶⁹ Having this parallel and in view of the facts mentioned above, it could be that some of the Turukkean polities that formed the federation were located in the region between the Rāniya Plain and Hāji Omarān. If so, one of them must be located at Rawāndiz, if Rawāndiz itself was not Kakmum.¹⁷⁰

Chronology

Despite the abundance of written documents of this period, particularly from Mari, establishing a precise chronology of the events of the region under study is not easy. This arises from the lack of enough comparable data and the complexity of the various calendars used. Šamšī-Adad, for instance, besides the Ešnunna calendar used the calendars of Tell al-Rimāh and Chagar Bazar, in which either the year began in the winter solstice or the autumn equinox, as Larsen has shown.¹⁷¹ The first month of this calendar, confirmed by M. Gallery, corresponded to the sixth month of the Mari Calendar.¹⁷² We distinguish the month numbers of years beginning in the autumn equinox with an asterisk directly following the number.

One of the key sources that helped to establish a chronology of the events of the reign of Šamšī-Adad in particular is the Mari Eponymic Chronicle (MEC). It records important historical events that occurred during the periods of the eponyms. Later another important eponymic text from Kaniš was published by K. R. Veenhof.¹⁷³ It covers a period of 97 years, from c. 1872-1776 BC, i.e. from the reign of Narām-Sîn of Assur to the death of Šamšī-Adad.¹⁷⁴ The last part of this text (KEL A) is parallel with the first part of the Mari Eponymic Chronicle (MEC A),¹⁷⁵ and thus offers a significantly long list of eponyms.

The series of important events pertinent to our subject we learn from the MEC are:¹⁷⁶

Pre-Šamšī-Adad period:

Version A:

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|
| 9) Samānum | Aminum took Šaduppum. |
| 12) Ennam-Aššur | Ipiq-Adad II sat on the throne. |
| 13) Hanna-Nārim | Ipiq-Adad was defeated by Aminum. |
| 15) Kapatiya | Ipiq-Adad was victorious over Aminum. |

¹⁶⁹ Nebes, J., *Der Kurdische Fürst Mir Muhammad-i-Rawandizi*, (Ph.D. Dissertation), Hamburg, 1970, p. 128, 133, 136 and 138. (Arabic version).

¹⁷⁰ For the location of Kakmum at Rawāndiz as a second, more possible, candidate, cf. Chapter Five.

¹⁷¹ Wu Yuhong, *A Political History...*, p. 153 (referring to Larsen, M. T., *The Old Assyrian City-State*, p. 193 and 211).

¹⁷² Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

¹⁷³ Veenhof, K. R., *The Old Assyrian List of Year Eponyms from Karum Kanish and its Chronological Implications*, Ankara, 2003.

¹⁷⁴ Veenhof, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁷⁵ Veenhof, *The Old Assyrian List...*, p. 5.

¹⁷⁶ These after Birot, M., "Les Chroniques "Assyriennes" de Mari," *MARI* 4, Paris, 1985, p. 227ff.

16) Išme-Aššur Ipiq-Adad took the Ziqqurat.

Version B:

7) Šu-bēli capture of the city of Šuprum(?) by Ila-kabkabi, father of Šamšī-Adad.

The Reign of Šamšī-Adad before the Conquest of Mari:

- 8) Šarrum-Adad victory of the “man” of Elam over Ipiq-Adad; Šamšī-Adad sat on the throne.
10) Aššur-imitti (II) victory of the Lullû over “the king” (= Šamšī-Adad) at Lazapatum.
11) Dadāya events concerning Mut-Abbiḥ.
12) Dadāya II capture of Arrapha by Ipiq-Adad.
13) Aḥi-šalim conquest of Ga...¹⁷⁷

Version C:

- 1) several lands taken by “the king”, including the lands of Šerwunum¹⁷⁸ and Ḥaburātum; mention of the cities of Dûr-... and Dûr-Šamšī-Adad.

After the Conquest of Mari:¹⁷⁹

Version E:

- 3) Rīš-Šamaš victory of Išme-Dagan over ...
5) Aššur-imitti (III) victory of Šamšī-Adad over ... which he restores; Mē-Turan and Daduša are mentioned.
8) Ikûn-pīya a victory of Šamšī-Adad; Mē-Turan and Daduša are mentioned.
9) Asqudum a victory(?) of Šamšī-Adad.¹⁸⁰
10) Aššur-malik victory of Išme-Dagan over ... and taking(?) of Nurrugum by Šamšī-Adad; several (=9?)¹⁸¹ kings, including Kipram, Yašub-Addu and Yašub-Lim, were captured(?)¹⁸² and handed over(?) to Daduša (= ŠA 29).
11) [Awiliy]a(?)¹⁸³ the Turukkû are mentioned; text F (=A.1614), mentioning a victory over the Turukkeans as well as a victory of Yasmaḥ-Addu over the Benjaminites and the submission of the banks of the Euphrates, probably corresponds to this eponymy (= ŠA 30).

Veenhof summed up the results of his study of both the Kaniš and the Mari eponymic texts and showed that the period between the accession of Erišum and the death of Šamšī-Adad is

¹⁷⁷ The sign GA can be read as qá or kà for the city of Q/Kab/prā, which was taken in the joint expedition of Assyria and Ešnunna. Wu Yuhong reconstructed the name as Gasurum: Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 71, which is also possible, except that we are not sure whether Gasur maintained its old name until this time.

¹⁷⁸ This land is mentioned together with Ḥaburātum, which was to the north or northwest of Nineveh, on the eastern Habur. It is logical to think that Šerwunum too was close to it. A good location for Šerwunum would be the region of Šerwan Mazin, “Greater Šerwan,” in the region east of the eastern Habur, north of Duhok.

¹⁷⁹ Unfortunately, several lands are said to have been conquered by Šamšī-Adad and Išme-Dagan, but their names are effaced on the tablet.

¹⁸⁰ Charpin and Durand seem to be correct in the restoration of this line as *Samsī-Addu [Qabrā išbat]* according to the reconstruction of the events, cf. Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim,” *MARI* 4, Paris, 1985, p. 315.

¹⁸¹ There is room for six more names in lines 18'-21', cf. Birot, *op. cit.*, p. 232, note 8.

¹⁸² The signs *ik-x*[...] can hardly refer to anything else than the verb *ik-mi/mu*(-...) < *kamû* “to capture.”

¹⁸³ Or *limmu* Adad-bani, cf. Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives* 2, p. 18.

199 years, from 1974-1776. Level II of Kārum Kaniš ended in *c.* 1836 BC. The birth of Šamši-Adad must have been in *c.* 1850 BC. He occupied the throne in *c.* 1833 at the age of 18 and died in 1776 at the age of 75.¹⁸⁴ These dates are lowered (= made older) by four years in comparison to the former datings he suggested.¹⁸⁵ Although new data have been proposed in the light of new publications and studies, the data Veenhof suggested in his older study in *MARI* 4 are cited below for convenience and comparison:

<i>ca.</i> 1815	Yaḥdun-Lim rules Mari; Šamši-Adad conquers Ekallātum.
<i>ca.</i> 1812	Šamši-Adad conquered Assur and became king of Assur.
<i>ca.</i> 1801	Šamši-Adad defeated Yaḥdun-Lim; Sumu-yamam began his rule in Mari; Išme-Dagan was appointed ruler of Ekallātum.
<i>ca.</i> 1798	Šamši-Adad conquered Mari.
<i>ca.</i>	Yasmaḥ-Addu was appointed ruler of Mari.
1792	Hammurabi became king of Babylon; Daduša ruled Ešnunna.
1784	Ibāl-pî-El II succeeded Daduša as ruler of Ešnunna.
<i>ca.</i> 1780	death of Šamši-Adad; he was succeeded by his son Išme-Dagan.
<i>ca.</i> 1775	Yasmaḥ-Addu lost Mari, and Zimri-Lim became king there.
1770	death of Ibāl-pî-El II of Ešnunna.
1761	Hammurabi conquered Mari and Zimri-Lim disappeared.
1762-1755	Hammurabi subdued Assyria and Išme-Dagan disappeared(?).
1750	Hammurabi succeeded by his son Samsu-iluna.

The eponyms used to date the events of the kingdom of Šamši-Adad are charted below. They were sorted by Charpin and Ziegler from data in letters, royal inscriptions and administrative texts.¹⁸⁶ It is clear that the data in this chart do not always correspond to that of the MEC, which makes it impossible to combine all in one chart. The months of the Šamši-Adad Calendar are asterisked and only events relevant to the subject of this and the next chapter are mentioned:

EPONYM	YEAR	DATED EVENTS+ MEC	DATABLE EVENTS
Ḫaya-malik	1792?		- Conquest of Mari by Šamši-Adad
Šalim-Aššur son of Šalim-Anum	1791?		
Šalim-Aššur son of Ušranum	1790?	(place is not certain)	
Ennam-Aššur	1789	(place is not certain)	
Šin-muballiṭ	1788		
Riṣ-Šamaš	1787		- Yasmaḥ-Addu arrived in Mari
Ibni-Addu	1786	Conquest of Mardaman, Šerwunum and Haburātum	- Conquest of Šinamum
Aššur-imitti	1785	Events concerning Me-Turan and Daduša (MEC)	- Conquest of Mankisum
Ili-tillati =Aḫiyaya?	1784		
Rigmanum	1783	9/i*: Messengers of Ḫaššum and Karkemiš in Tuttul (<i>KTT</i> 80), where Yasmaḥ-Addu is sitting (<i>KTT</i> 79)	
Ikuppiya	1782		

¹⁸⁴ Veenhof, *The Old Assyrian...*, p. 57-8.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Veenhof, "Eponyms of the 'Later Old Assyrian Period' and Mari Chronology," *MARI* 4, p. 214.

¹⁸⁶ This list and the dates of the eponyms are made by Charpin and Ziegler, who add the related texts and events in detail in Charpin and Ziegler, *Mari et le Proche-Orient* ..., *FM* V, p. 145ff.

Asqudum	1781		<p>-Šamšī-Adad went to Akkad and concluded peace with Ešnunna; he remained there until 20 (/ii*?), then went back to Aššur</p> <p>- viii*: Conquest of Arrapha (Stele of Louvre)</p> <p>-20/viii*: Šamšī-Adad crossed the Lower Zāb and invaded the land of Qabrā</p> <p>- ix*: Conquest of the fortified cities of the land of Erbil by Šamšī-Adad (Stele of the Louvre)</p> <p>- ix: Išme-Dagan lays siege to Nineveh</p> <p>- Yasmaḥ-Addu in Razama</p> <p>- x* Conquest of Ninēt and Šibanum (M.8898: On 2/x* Išme-Dagan left Ninēt)</p> <p>- 15/xii*: War on Ya'ilānum</p> <p>-Yasmaḥ-Addu killed the Ya'ilānite hostages (<i>ARM</i> 1, 8)</p>
Aššur-malik	1780	-?/xii/[Aššur-mal]ik: Barley for Zaziya (M.12155)	<p>- i*-iii*: 1000 boats are made during these three months; Mašum received 1216 lances “for the expedition of Qabrā”</p> <p>-3/i*: Conquest of Kirḫum by Išme-Dagan (A.4413); only Qabrā itself remains (<i>ARM</i> 1, 135)</p> <p>-5/i*: Yasmaḥ-Addu passed by Ekallātum before joining Išme-Dagan for the siege of Qabrā</p> <p>-Yasmaḥ-Addu participated in the siege of Qabrā for more that 20 days (A.2745+)</p> <p>-ii*: conquest of Qabrā in collaboration with Ešnunna and division of its booty (Stele of Daduša)</p> <p>-vi*: Victory of Išme-Dagan in Ikkalnum.</p> <p>-vii*?: Conquest of Nurrugum by Išar-Lim (<i>ARM</i> 10, 107)</p> <p>- Before 10/viii*: Victory over Aḫazum</p> <p>- 10/viii*: Šamšī-Adad in Šaikšabbum, capital of Aḫazum (A.2302)</p> <p>- x*-xi*: Išme-Dagan and Išar-Lim confront the Turukkean revolt lead by Lidaya</p> <p>- 8/xi*: End of Lidaya's revolt</p> <p>- 30/xi*: The troops of Išme-Dagan demobilized for taking provisions (<i>ARM</i> 2, 8)</p>
Awiliya	1779		<p>- i*: Išme-Dagan to Amursakkum to confront the Turukkean revolt</p> <p>- 3/ii*: Šamšī-Adad decided to attack Turukkeans before treating the situation in Zalmaqum (<i>ARM</i> 1, 53+)</p> <p>- ii*-iii*: Turukkeans leave Amursakkum to Tigunānum and revolt in the region of Šubat-Enlil</p> <p>- ii*-vii*: Daduša of Ešnunna died</p> <p>-iv*-v*: Yasmaḥ-Addu resides in Šubat-</p>

			Enlil - v*: reinforcement of the garrisons of the cities round Kaḫat - End of vi*-vii*: Šamšī-Adad leaves Šubat-Enlil for Ekallātum via Tupḫam and Burullum (A.562) - Between vii* and viii*: Sumu-Epuḫ died. - 21/viii*: The Turukkeans are still in Tigunānum
Nīmer-Sîn	1778		
<i>warki</i> Nīmer-Sîn			
Addu-bani	1777	-30/vi*: Grain for the families of the Lullubians (<i>KT</i> 138,, cf. also <i>KT</i> 321)	- The official census in the kingdom of Šamšī-Adad started - 12/viii*: Negotiations of Šamšī-Adad with Ešnunna continued in Aššur and proved to be difficult
<i>Warki</i> Addu-bani			
Ṭab-šilli-Aššur	1776		- 2/x*: Šamšī-Adad heads the negotiations with the Ešnunnean messengers in Ekallātum, bearing a proposal for peace - xii*: Šamšī-Adad dies - xii*: Išme-Dagan buys peace with Ešnunna. The problems made by the Turukkeans ended
<i>Warki</i> Ṭab-šilli-Aššur	1775		- vi*: Zimri-Lim's reign began

Eidem for his part has successfully divided this period in Shemshāra into three phases: the Pre-Assyrian phase, the Assyrian domination phase and the Post-Assyrian phase.¹⁸⁷ These are the divisions we will follow in this chapter. According to their contents the letters of Shemshāra can be categorized into two main phases. The early phase involves internal correspondence between the Zagros chieftains and Kuwari, and appears to have been a short period of a few spring months, although a few older letters are included.¹⁸⁸ The later phase is the time when Šušarrā was subordinate to Šamšī-Adad. It seems to have begun in the *limmu* of Asqudum or Aššur-malik (around 1780 BC)¹⁸⁹ and lasted longer. The events occur in the 28th and 29th and perhaps part of the 30th years of Šamšī-Adad.¹⁹⁰

In the Light of the Shemshāra Archives

The Shemshāra archives shed a very important spot of light, though small and brief, on the history of the inner Zagros. Their importance is not restricted to historical events but they also provide valuable data about the ethnic and linguistic texture of the region in that period as well as valuable hints for the historical geography of the area.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Eidem, J., "News from the Eastern Front....," *Iraq* 47 (1985), p. 88ff.

¹⁸⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁸⁹ Eidem and Læssøe have 1781 BC, *op. cit.*, p. 16 and 34. However, note the older dating of 1785 BC in Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives* 2, p. 16.

¹⁹⁰ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives* 2, p. 16.

The Pre-Assyrian Domination Phase

The scene

As pointed out above, the first phase perhaps involves just a few spring months of correspondence between the chieftains of the Zagros. Then the political scene consisted of Turukkean princedoms or kingdoms, united under the leadership of Pišendēn, the king of one of these kingdoms, Itabalḫum. This Turukkean alliance controlled Šušarrā in the Rāniya Plain and had installed Kuwari as its ruler. At the same time the Gutians threatened the Turukkeans, and probably this threat was the motive for their alliance. The Gutians, under Endušše (var. Indaššu and Indušše) were exercising a huge pressure by a merciless siege that resulted in a severe shortage of supplies, fundamentally grain. The troops of Endušše were bent on destroying the harvest of Kunšum, the capital of Itabalḫum every year. We know from the letters that this was done at least for three or four successive years.¹⁹¹ Turukkum was forced to ask its vassal Kuwari and other vassals for grain supplies for themselves and the troops of the alliance, and also for wool and tin for the manufacture of weapons. Politically the Turukkeans succeeded in the broadening of their alliance by the introduction of new allies. But these allies never offered any help when needed and the Gutians won the war easily. On the western front Šamši-Adad was harvesting the victories of his campaigns and getting closer and closer to the Turukkean domains. The Turukkeans were also worried about this threat, and these matters formed the main issues of the correspondence in this phase. The motive for the Gutian aggression towards the Turukkeans is not clear. Perhaps it is too simple to say it was expansionism. What we do know is that Gutium in this period was a formidable power that was able to smash all its opponents independently.

Turukkum and Šušarrā

The Turukkeans held the land of Utûm¹⁹² under their hegemony. It is not known when this began, but it was an essential asset, particularly in this hard time, because Utûm seems to have been the only part of the kingdom that could supply grain after Endušše had deprived them of this.

The eastern border of Utûm must have been the mountain ranges of Kēwa Rash, Pashkēw and Kurkur, that separate the Rāniya Plain from Qala Dizeh (Map 2). From the north and northwest its borders faded into the mountainous territory of the supposed Kakmean and

¹⁹¹ This is explicitly stated in the letters SH 818 (no. 36) and SH 812 (no. 63), see below.

¹⁹² The name Utûm is understood as Semitic by Eidem, which according to him means “(the land of) the gate-keeper,” referring to its location close to the gorge between the Rāniya and Qala Dizeh Plains: Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives* 2, p. 17 and 41. However, its occurrence in the Haladiny inscription as Utuwe (see Chapter Five) more than a century earlier, thus earlier than the Amorite infiltration to the East-Tigris region, is in favour of a local language etymology, perhaps Hurrian. Even if we assume that the Amorites had begun their infiltration so early, their presence is not attested in a territory as deep in the Zagros as the Rāniya Plain. Utûm is an Akkadianized form (Utu+um), and Utuwe a Hurrianized form (Utu+we), if Utu is not itself a Hurrian name. One does not expect in fact a Semitic name for such a region in the Zagros, predominantly populated by Hurrians and other non-Semitic peoples like Gutians, Lullubians and Subarians as the texts reflect. The trend to interpret every name or term as Semitic, which was the case with Itabalḫum and *nuldānum* too, regardless of its geographical location and ethnic and linguistic textures, is risky; see further above, under ‘The Turukkû: People and Organization.’

thereafter Turukkean territories. The southern and southeastern borders cannot have extended much further than the eastern bank of the Lower Zāb, towards the Qara Sird and Sara chains, the border of the Lullubian country. To the west Utûm was limited by the Haibat Sultān Chain, behind which the lands of Qabrā and Aḥazum were located. That Qabrā was next to or close to Utûm can be seen in a letter of Šepratu to Kuwari, who was eager to know what would be the next step of Šamšī-Adad after the capture of Qabrā:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 63 = SH 812)

And you must investigate the intentions of Samsī-Addu. If he has directed his attention elsewhere, and there is no anxiety for the country of Utûm, then take your best troops under your own command, and come up here.¹⁹³

Šušarrā¹⁹⁴ was the capital of the land of Utûm. This is deduced from the letter SH 827:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 64 = SH 827)

Do this so that they will be friendly towards the country of Utûm, the town of Šušarrā, and the campaign.¹⁹⁵

Utûm comprised, or exercised control over, several other cities; the letters of Shemshāra provide evidence that the cities of Ḫiṣhinašwe and probably Šegibbum were satellites of Šušarrā. Letter 31 from the Assyrian domination phase bears a request of Kurašānum¹⁹⁶ to Kuwari to release the family of a man who had all been sent three years previously to the city of Ḫiṣhinašwe. That Kuwari had the authority to release people restrained in that city is clear evidence that it was under his control:

Kurašānum to Kuwari (no. 31 = SH 916)

Say to Kuwari: Thus (says) Kurašānum: Listen to the case of the bearer of this letter. He sent his brother and his people three years ago to the town of Ḫiṣhinašwe,

¹⁹³ 39) *ù at-ta wa-ar-ka-at* ^m*Sa-am-si-* ^dIM 40) *pu-ru-ús-sú šum-ma ul-li-iš pa-ni-šu* 41) *iš-ta-ka-an-ma ni-sa-tum a-na ma-at* 42) *Ú-te-em* ^{ki} *la i-ba-aš-ši* 43) *ša-ba-ka da-am-qa-am ša-ab-tam-ma* 44) *i-na qa-ti-ka ù i-li-am*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 135 (no. 63).

¹⁹⁴ One may conjecture an analysis of the GN Šušarrā as the hypothetical *Šu=ž(erg.)=ar(r)=a=e/i (see the form *Šušarrae* in 58 = SH 801: 10'; 63 = SH 812: 46, 50, 65; 64 = SH 827: 26, which I think is the original form, since it was written by a native speaker). Thus, the verbal root *ar-* "to give" is possibly a component of the name. It can also be *Šu=šar=a=e/i, consisting of the root *šar-* "to wish, to demand" (cf. Laroche, *GLH*, p. 215; Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, p. 251), which occurs as a final element in the PNs *Wu-ur-ša-ri/tal* and *Šarim/p-šari* (*NPN*, *ibid.*), and the PN *Talpuš-šarri* (see above).

¹⁹⁵ 25) *ki-ma a-na ma-at Ú-te-em* 26) *ù URU* ^{ki} *Š[u-š]ar-ra-e* ^{ki} *ù a-na KASKAL* 27) *i-tà-bu an-ni-tam e-pu-úš*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 137 (no. 64 = SH 827), published earlier in Læssøe, J., "IM 62100: A Letter from Tell Shemshara," *Studies in Honour of B. Landsberger on his 75th Birthday*, Chicago, 1965, p. 193. Another allusion to this is made in the letter SH 825, where a collection of troops from Šušarrā and other places is reported and the total is given in the end of the letter as "500 soldiers from the land of Utûm," which clearly shows that Šušarrā was in the land of Utûm. Læssøe called attention that Finet considered Burullum as the capital of Utûm: Læssøe, J., "The Quest for the Country of *Utûm," *JAOS* 88 (1968), p. 122. If so, we believe this could have been the case only after the destruction of Šušarrā. Burullum can be identified with Burali occurred in an inscription of Adad-Nirari III (810-783 BC), mentioned together with Erbil; cf. Falkner, M., "Studien zur Geographie des alten Mesopotamien," *AfO* 18 (1957-58), p. 7. It should be distinguished from another Burullum, located to the north of Jebel Sinjār, which the texts group with Ḫaburātum, Razama, Karanā and Mardaman; cf. the discussion above. The element *burul-* can be tentatively linked with the Hurrian word *purli-*, 'temple.'

¹⁹⁶ Although an official of Šamšī-Adad, the name Kurašānum can be related to the in Nuzi attested name Kuršini; cf. for Kuršini *NPN*, p. 230.

but now his brother has died, and his people have been detained. Now release his people and his maids.¹⁹⁷

From the Pre-Assyrian domination phase, Talpuš-šarri advised Kuwari to let a certain Ḫabur-atal go to the city Šegibbum, where he was popular:

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari (no. 55 = SH 884)

Say to Kuwari: Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri, your brother: As for Ḫabur-atal, about whom you wrote to me as follows: "They want him in Šegibbum. Send him there, and let him stay!" Hereby I have sent him to you. Do as you see fit. *The Lulleans* will perhaps¹⁹⁸ the country of Šegibbum, and his brothers need him. Send him (there), and for us there will later be a good reputation. The people of Šegibbum love him.¹⁹⁹

This city, called also 'the country,' appears to have been located to the south or southeast of Šušarrā since the Lulleans are somehow involved in its affairs.²⁰⁰

The land of Ištānum was close to Šušarrā, but whether or not it was subordinate to the latter is uncertain. That the name Ištānum is a generic term meaning 'the northern country' has been tentatively suggested.²⁰¹ If so, Ištānum was located to the north of Šušarrā. That it was close to Šušarrā is obvious from a letter of Išme-Dagan to Kuwari, in which he talks about a previous report of Kuwari that contained some news of Ištānum:

Išme-Dagan to Kuwari (no. 26 = SH 856)

With regard to the report about the country of Ištānum, about which you wrote to me, I have written. They will investigate the matter.²⁰²

The same topic occurs in another letter sent by Kurašānum to Kuwari. From the letter it appears that Išme-Dagan had asked Kurašānum to make an investigation about the cities of this land, but Kurašānum had no idea about its background:

Kurašānum to Kuwari (no. 29 = SH 921)

You have sent a letter about investigating the towns of the country of Ištānum to my lord Išme-Dagan, and my Lord wrote thus to me: "Send words to the towns of Ištānum, and have them investigate the situation for you, and write back to me quickly!" This is what my Lord wrote to me. How can I write to these towns [...] you did not write to me, and I do not know the matter. Now, as soon as you hear this letter of mine, send me quickly a complete briefing on the towns of Ištānum so that I

¹⁹⁷ 1) *a-na Ku-wa-ri* 2) *qí-bí-ma* 3) *um-ma Ku-ra-ša-nu-um-ma* 4) *a-wa-at LÚ wa-bi-il tup-pí-ia* 5) *an-ni-im ši-me* 6) *a-ḫu-šu ni-ši-šu* 7) *iš-tu u¹-mi-im MU-3-KAM* 8) *a-na a-lim Ḫi-iš-ḫi-na-aš-we-ma* 9) *iṭ-ru-ud-ma* 10) *i-na-an-na a-ḫu-šu im-tu-ut* 11) *ù ni-šu-šu im-šu-ḫu-uš* 12) *i-na-an-na ni-ši-šu* 13) *ù GEMÉ.ḪÁ-šu wa-aš-še-er*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 102 (no. 31 = SH 916).

¹⁹⁸ Eidem and Læssøe think it is possible to restore this unclear and fragmentary section as *a-na Za-zi<-ia i-na-di-nu>*, "The Lullians perhaps give the country to Zaziya," cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 125, comment on l. 14f.

¹⁹⁹ 1) *a-na Ku-w[a-ri]* 2) *qí-bí-^rma¹* 3) *um-ma ^mTa-al-pu-šar-r[i]* 4) *a-ḫu-ka-a-ma* 5) *aš-šum ^mḪa-bu-ur-a-tal* 6) *ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am* 7) *um-ma at-ta-a-ma* 8) *a-na Še-gi-bu-um i-ri-šu-úš* 9) *tú-ur-da-aš-šu-ma* 10) *li-ši-ib a-nu-um-ma* 11) *aṭ-tà-ar-da-ak-ku-úš* 12) *ki-ma e-li-ka tà-bu* 13) *e-pu-úš* 14) *Lu-ul-^rlu²-ú² mî-nî-di* 15) *ma-at Še-gi-bu^{ki}* a 'na' za zi 16) *ù LÚ.MEŠ a-ḫu-šu* 17) *ša-ti-ma ḫa-aš-ḫu-šu* 18) *tú-ru-sú-[m]a* 19) *ù a-ni-a-šum* 20) *wa-ar-ka-nu-um* 21) *lu-ú šu-mu-um* 22) *LÚ.MEŠ ma-ru še-RI-bu^{ki}* 23) *i-ra-mu-úš*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 125 (no. 55 = SH 884).

²⁰⁰ For the meaning and interpretation of the unclear clause after the city/country name, cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 125, comment on lines 14f.

²⁰¹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and 98, comment on l. 4.

²⁰² 4) *aš-šum ṭe₄-em [m]a-a-tim ša Iš-ta-ni-[i]m^{ki}* 5) *ša ta-aš-p[u-r]a-am* 6) *áš-ta-pa-ar wa-^rar¹-ka-tam ^ri-pa¹-ra-sú-[n]im*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 98 (no. 26 = SH 856).

can write and have them investigate the situation of these towns, and report to my Lord!²⁰³

Kuwari

The ruler appointed for Utûm was Kuwari,²⁰⁴ and he enjoyed a considerable degree of independence and power. The texts designate his position as *nuldānum*. Kuwari was a descendant of a noble family, for according to the letter SH 812 he himself and his father and his grandfather all held the position of *nuldānum* inasmuch as they exercised *nuldānūtum*. But it does not say they were all in Utûm:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 63 = SH 812)

He (= Kuwari) whose father and grandfather exercised *nuldānūtum*.²⁰⁵

As noted by the editors of the Shemshāra tablets, Kuwari was not a citizen of the city Šušarrā, and probably not even of the land Utûm. The letter SH 822 clearly indicates this:

Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari (no. 35 = SH 822)

The king is well. The city of Kunšum, your brother, your estate, your wife and your sons and I who love you are well. You cannot say to us: "You are living there, and yet you do not look after my estate." I entered your estate and questioned the daughter-in-law²⁰⁶ and Tidduri: "Has the harvest work started? You must do the harvest! Have you started the grazing (season) or not?"²⁰⁷

The fact that his house/estate, wife, son and cattle were not in Šušarrā, but rather in a place called Zigulā (SH 811, 16) or Zukula (SH 822, 31), clearly means that he was in Šušarrā for the sake of his function.²⁰⁸ In a letter from his son Tenduri we read:

²⁰³ 4) aš-šum wa-ar-ka-at a-la-ni-e^{ki} 5) ša Iš-ta-ni-im pa-ra-si-im 6) tup-pa-am a-na še-er 7) be-lí-ia Iš-me-dDa-gan 8) tu-ša-bi-il-ma be-lí-a-na [š]e-ri-ia 9) ki-a-am iš-pu-ra-am 10) um-ma-a-mi a-na a-la-ni-e^{ki} 11) ša Iš-ta-ni-im šu-pu-ur-ma 12) wa-ar-ka-tam li-ip-ru-sú-ni-ik-kum-ma-mi 13) ar-ḫi-iš a-na še-ri-ia-mi 14) šu-up-ra-am an-ni-tam 15) [b]e-lí iš-pu-ra-am 16) [k]i-I a-na a-la-ni-e 17) [š]u-n[u]-ti lu-úš-pu-ur(break of ca. 3 lines).... 21) [.....]x x x' 22) ú-ul ta-aš-pu-ra-am-ma 23) li-ib-bi a-wa-tim ú-ul i-di i-na-an-na tup-pí an-né-em i-na še-me-e 25) te-ma-am ga-am-ra-am 26) ša a-la-ni-e ša Iš-ta-ni-im 27) ar-ḫi-iš a-na še-ri-ia 28) šu-bi-lam-ma ki-ma a-na-ku 29) a-ša-ap-pa-ru ú wa-ar-ka-at 30) [a-l]a-[n]i-e šu-nu-ti i-pa-ar-ra-sú-ma 31) [a-na š]e-er be-lí-ia a-ša-ap-pa-ru, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 100-101 (no. 29 = SH 921).

²⁰⁴ The name Kuwari is Hurrian; it appears in the texts of Nuzi in the forms *Ku-a-ri*, *Ku-ú-a-ri* and in some cases a female name as *Ku-ú-a-ri*, *Ku-a-ri*; in Chagar Bazar as *Ku-wi-ri* (Gelb *et al*, *NPN*, p. 228); and in Tell Haddad (OB) as *Ku-wa-rum* (Muhammed, A. K., *Old Babylonian Cuneiform Texts from the Hamrin Basin, Tell Haddad*, London, 1992, 24:13; , p. 53); and in Tell Mizyad (Ur III) texts as *Ku-wa-ri* (18 iv: 6; v: 33; vii: 40-26 I: 10-30 I: 18); cf.

محمود، ن. أ.، دراسات في نصوص مسمارية غير منشورة من عصر سلالة أور الثالثة-تل مزيد، بغداد، ١٩٨٦.

[Mahmood, N. H., *Studies in Unpublished Cuneiform Texts from the Time of the Ur III Dynasty - Tell Mizyad*, Baghdad, 1986 (in Arabic)]

For an earlier study, cf. Læssøe, J., *The Shemshāra Tablets, a Preliminary Report*, Copenhagen, 1959, p. 29, notes 30 and 31.

²⁰⁵ 56) ša a-bu-šu ú a-bi a-bi-šu nu-ul-da-nu-tam 57) i-pu-šu, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 135 (no. 63 = SH 812).

²⁰⁶ According to Charpin, the word *kallatum* should be translated as "wife" or "spouse," cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 174, but compare Ar. كَلَّة, "daughter-in-law."

²⁰⁷ 5) LUGAL ša-li-im a-lum Ku-un-šu-um^{ki} 6) a-ḫu-ka É-ka aš-[š]a-at-ka 7) ú ma-ru-ka ú a-na-ku 8) ra-im-ka ša-al-ma-ku 9) as-sú-ri la ta-qa-bi-a-ni-mi ki-a-am 10) wa-aš-ba-ta-a-ma wa-ar-ka-at 11) É-tim ú-ul ta-pa-ra-ás 12) a-na É-ti-ka e-ru-um-ma 13) ka-la-tam ú Ti-du-ri 14) a-ša-al-ma um-ma a-na-ku-ú-ma 15) ú BUR₁₄.KIN i-ta-ši 16) BUR₁₄ te-pé-ša-me-ku-nu 17) te-ep-tá ú-ul te-ep-tá, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 105 (no. 35 = SH 822).

²⁰⁸ Cf. also letter 59 = SH 811 below.

Tenduri to Kuwari (no. 59 = SH 811)

You know that the grazing (season) is approaching (here) in Zigulā; and the cutter(s) which you turned over to Hizzutta – have *a lot of them* delivered - they are requested for the lambs (and) goats; let them be delivered; and send the servants you promised.... and the cutter(s) which are not available in the house; send the cutter(s).²⁰⁹

A letter from Hulukkadil points out clearly that his cattle were in a place called Sašharšum:

Hulukkadil to Kuwari (no. 50 = SH 813)

Talpuš-šarri went to Sašharšum and inspected your flocks and took away 10 Šubarian sheep. Note that they are with the shepherd Hizutta. Do not worry!²¹⁰

After the beginning of the Assyrian domination, which followed the Gutian victory over the Turukkean alliance, his wife Šip-šarri (SH 826, 14; SH 827, 66), and probably also his son Tenduri and daughter-in-law, were moved to Šušarrā. This too means that Zigulā was located in the area targeted by the Gutian warfare, and thus in Turukkean territory, if not close to the city of Kunšum.

By contrast, the prominent Turukkean figures had economic investments in the rich land of Utûm. This was the case with Talpuš-šarri, who had an estate there and had special people who were in charge of running it, as we understand from an interesting letter to Kuwari:

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari (no. 53 = SH 810)

Say to Kuwari: Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri, your brother: Imdiya came to me and (said): "Your estate in Šušarrā is not being looked after." I explained these things to you. Did I not say this to you concerning this estate of mine: "Kuwari do not be negligent with regard to this estate! Do not depend on the steward! When you arrive you must inspect my estate, and if the steward living (there) manages the estate well, then let him stay. If not so, then you yourself appoint a steward of your choice!" Now why is this estate being ruined, and you do nothing? Now have the grain of my estate checked and guarded!²¹¹

Charpin is against associating the ownership of estates in a feudal pattern with the Hurrian mountain kingdoms similar to the pattern found later in Nuzi and Alalah as noticed by Eidem. Charpin finds this to be a common practice of the polities of the period, referring to the estates of Yasmaḥ-Addu in the region of Ekallātum and Šubat-Enlil and that of Zimri-Lim in Alalḫum in the kingdom of Yamḥad.²¹²

²⁰⁹ 15) *ša-am-mu wu-di it-tà-ḫu-nim* 16) *i-na Zi-gu-la-a^{ki}* 17) *ù URUDU KU₅.KIN ša a-na qa-ti* 18) *ḫi-iz-zu-ut-ta ta-ad-[di-nu]* 1. e 19) *li-mu a-na SILA₄ li-i[n-di-nu-nim]* 20) *a-na SILA₄ ÛZ i-ri-š[u-nim]* rev. 21) *li-in-di-nu-[nim]* 22) *ù LÚ.MEŠ ÌR š[a ta]-aq-b[u(-ú)]* 23) *šu-bi-lam* 27) *ù URUDU KU₅.KIN ša É* 28) *ú-ul i-ba-šu-ú* 29) *URUDU KU₅.KIN šu-bi-lam*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 129-130 (no. 59 = SH 811).

²¹⁰ 3) *Ta-al-pu-šar-ri* 4) *a-na Sa-aš-ḫa-ar-ši-im^{ki}* 5) *il-li-ik ú UDU.ḪÁ-ni-ka* 6) *i-mu-ur-ma* 7) *10 UDU.ḪÁ Šu-ba-ri-i* 8) *it-ru it-ti ḫi-zu-ta* SIPA 9) *lu ti-de li-ba-ka* 10) *la ima-ra-aš*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 119-20 (no. 50 = SH 813).

²¹¹ 1) *a-na Ku-wa-ri* 2) *qí-bi-ma* 3) *um-ma Ta-al-pu-šar-ri* 4) *Im-di-ia il-li-kam* 5) *ù um-ma šu-ú-ma* 6) *bi-it-ka-a-mi ša i-na* 7) *Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki} ú-ul in-né-ep-pé-eš* 8) *an-ni-a-ti-im ad-bu-ba-ak-kum* 9) *aš-šum bi-ti-ia a-nu-um-mi-im* 10) *ú-ul ki-a-am ad-bu-ba-kum* 11) *um-ma a-na-ku-ma* 12) *Ḫu-wa-ri a-na bi-tim a-nu-um-mi-im* 13) *la te-gi a-na a-bu-bi-tim* 14) *la ta-na-at-tà-al* 15) *i-nu-ma ta-ka-aš-ša-dú* 16) *bi-ti a-mu-ur-ma* 17) *šum<-ma> a-bu-bi-tum ša wa-aš-bu* 18) *bi-tam da-am-qí-iš* 19) *i-ip-pé-eš* 20) *ù li-ši-ib* 21) *šum-ma la ki-a-am* 22) *at-ta-a-ma a-bu-bi-tum* 23) *ša li-ib-bi-ka* 24) *šu-ku-un* 25) *i-na-an-na am-mi-nim* 26) *bi-tum* (sic.) *ša-ti ú-ḫa-al-la-qú* 27) *ù at-ta ši-ip-pá-at* 28) *i-na-an-na še-a-am ša bi-ti-ia* 29) *pí-qí-id-ma li-iš-šú-ru*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 123 (no. 53 = SH 810).

²¹² Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 169.

The Gutian Siege

Letters 63 = SH 812 and 36 = SH 818 state explicitly that the Gutians were blockading the core of the Turukkean country at the capital Kunšum for three or four years and destroying the harvest. Under these circumstances, one of the main tasks of Kuwari was to supply his lords with grain and to entertain good relations with the Lullubians to ensure the flow of grain to them. This indicates that the Lullubians were either the suppliers of grain or that the routes to Kunšum were (partly) passing through their territory. Šepratu, the writer of the first letter, reminds Kuwari that he will be reproached in case he remains negligent over their requests:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 63 = SH 812)

Now his (= Kuwari's) lord has been under siege for three years, but he did not come.²¹³

In the second letter Sîn-išme'anni writes to Kuwari:

Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari (no. 36 = SH 818)

Induše has come looting²¹⁴ and [...] he has destroyed the harvest of the town of Kunšum *together with* the harvest of *Ir(...)taḫum*, [You indeed] know that for three years it has not been possible to bring in the harvest. And now he has destroyed the harvest of the country and...²¹⁵

Letter 36 seems to be later than Letter 63, since there the harvest had already been destroyed for three years; “now he has destroyed the harvest” (no 36) means in all probability a fourth time.

Grain Supply

Thus, one of the main tasks Kuwari was asked to perform by his lords was to provide and to deliver grain to his lords. This is reflected in several letters sent by more than one person. In one of them Sîn-išme'anni writes:

Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari (no. 34 = SH 826)

Say to Kuwari: thus (says) Sîn-išme'anni, who loves you: Have barley for the palace transported quickly, so that your lord and the country will be pleased with you, [and your good name] will be established forever, and I too will be pleased..... thirdly: You know yourself that they have no barley. (Some of) my retainers are staying with you. Load their donkeys with barley, and send them quickly to me by a safe route! They have no [barley].²¹⁶

²¹³ 58) *i-na-an-na be-el-šu iš-tu* 3 MU 59) *la-wi-ma ù šu-ú ù-ul il-li-kam-ma*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 135 (no. 63 = SH 812).

²¹⁴ Charpin prefers “invading” instead of “looting.” Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 174. This is possible since the verb *ḥabātu* also means “to move across, to make an incursion or a razzia into enemy territory,” cf. *CAD* H, p. 12, *ḥabātu* D; for the verb *ḥabātu* in general and its meanings cf. also Kraus, F. R., “Akkadische Wörter und Ausdrücke, IX,” *RA* 69 (1975), p. 31-40.

²¹⁵ 4) ^m*In-[d]u-úš-še iḥ-ḫa-ab-ta'-am-ma* 5) *'e-bu'-[ur]* URU^{ki} *Ku-un'-ši-im*^{ki} 6) *'x x' [x (x)] 'e'-b[u-u]r Ir-'(x)-'ta'-ḫi-im* 7) *[x x x x] im-ḫa-aš* 8) *[at-ta lu-ú] 'ti'-de* 9) *k[i-ma e-b]u-ra-am iš-ti* 3 MU+KAM 10) *'u'-[ul] 'u'-še-ri-bu* 11) *'u i-na-an-na e-'bu'-ra-am* 12) *'ša' ma-'tim' im-ta-[ḫa-a]š-ma*....., Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 106 (no. 36 = SH 818).

²¹⁶ 1) *a-na Ku-wa-ri* 2) *qí-bi-ma* 3) *[u]m-ma* ^dEN.ZU-*iš-me-an-ni* 4) *[r]a-im-ka-a-ma* 5) *še-am ar-ḫi-iš a-na É.GAL* 6) *[šu-ú]š-ši-am-ma ù be-'e'l'-ka* 7) *[ù m]a-tum li-iḥ-'da-ni-kum'* 8) *[ù šu-um-k]a a-na ka-li-iš* 9) *lu ša-k[i-i]n ù a-na-ku* 10) *lu-uḫ-du*..... 21) *ša-ni-tam at-ta-a-ma* 22) *ti-de ki-ma* 23) *še-am la i-šu-ú* 24) *šu-ḫa-ru-ia ma-aḫ-ri-ka*

In another letter, he reports the effect of the circumstances on the household of Kuwari himself, and urges him to save his own household at least:

Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari (no. 35= SH 822)

They (Kuwari's son Tenduri, and daughter-in-law) answered as follows: "There [is no] grain available." If you arrange transport of the grain of the palace, then send 20 (measures) of flour with the grain for the palace, the harvest may not be delayed.²¹⁷ If you do not arrange transport of the grain of the palace, then at least send 20 (measures) of flour to Zukula, so that your estate will prosper.²¹⁸

Nevertheless, Kuwari's compliance to these requests was not swift. In letter 54 = SH 819, Talpuš-šarri reminds him for the third time that he should send the barley. More importantly, the letter makes a clear allusion to the alliance arranged by the Turukkeans, so that the armies of several countries were heading to defend Kunšum. But because they still had the problem of provisions there was urgent demand for barley:

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari (no. 54= SH 819)

Say to Kuwari: Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri: (Both) once and twice I have written to you to have the grain delivered, but you have not delivered the grain. Now the countries which march to our assistance have drawn near, and I command the army in Zutlum. Now, before the troops come, have grain brought quickly! You know indeed that (even) the *inner palace* is empty, and that there is not (even) [a litre of] chick peas available. Do not be idle with regard to the grain! Have it brought quickly!²¹⁹

We learn from this letter that the situation at home was catastrophic. There was no grain to feed themselves let alone the troops that were coming to give military help. The promised grain from Utūm was seemingly their only hope, but it was not sent. That even the *inner palace* was empty, which probably alludes to carefully stored strategic reserves, shows how effective and damaging the Gutian siege was. Zutlum was thus a city in the orbit of Kunšum, perhaps close to it. The fact that Talpuš-šarri, who appears from the letters to have been second in command to the great king, was in charge of the defence there shows its strategic significance. Nevertheless, even the importance of Zutlum could not ensure the promised shipment of grain:

25) *wa-aš-bu še-am* ANŠE-šu-nu 26) *mu-li-a-ma ar-ḫi-iš* 27) *i-na ḫa-ra-an šu-ul-mi-im* 28) *ṭu-ur-da³-šu-nu-ti* 29) [*še-am*] *u³-ul i³-šu*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 104 (no. 34 = SH 826).

²¹⁷ "The harvest may not be delayed" is accidentally omitted in Eidem and Læssøe.

²¹⁸ 18) *um-ma šu-nu-ú-m[a]* 19) ŠE *i-na qa-ti-ma [u³-ul i-ba-ši]* 26) *šum-ma ŠE ša É.GAL tu-ša-ši-am* 27) 20 ZÌ.ŠE *it-ti ŠE ša É.GAL* 28) *š[u³-u]š-š[i]-a-ma BUR₁₄ la i-ni-zi-ib* 29) *šum-ma ŠE ša É.GAL la tu-ša-ši-am* 30) *tà-bi-iš-ma* 20 ZÌ.ŠE *a-na Zu-ku-la* 31) *šu-úš-ši-am É-ka* 32) *li-n[é]-pé-eš*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 105 (no. 35 = SH 822).

²¹⁹ 1) *a-na Ku-wa-ri* 2) *qí-bí-ma* 3) *um-ma Ta-al-pu-³šar³-ri* 4) *iš³-ti-iš-³šu³* 5) *ù ši-ni-³šu³* 6) *aš-šum še-a-³am³* 7) *šu-úš-ši-i[m]* 8) *aš-pu-ra-kum-ma* 9) *ù še-a-am u³-ul tu-še-eš-ši-³em³* 10) *i-na-an-na ma-ta-tum* 11) *ša a-na ti-il-lu-ti-ni* 12) *i-il-la-ku* 13) *iq-te-er-ba-nim* 14) *ù a-na-ku i-na Zu-ut-li-im* 15) *a-na pa³-ni ša-bi-im* 16) *a-³al-la³-ak* 17) *i-na-an-na³* 18) *la-ma ša-³bu-um³* 19) *i-il-la-kam* 20) *ar-ḫi-³iš³* 21) *š[e]-a-am šu-uš-še-a-am* 22) *[a]t-ta-a-³ma³* 23) *ti-di ki-ma³* 24) É.³GAL³ *e-ka-a³-lim* 25) *ri-³iq³* [u³ ³1³]SILÀ³ *ap³-pá-nu* 26) *u³-[u] i-b[a]-aš-ši* 27) *aš-šum [še-a-i]m³ a³-ah³-ka* 28) *la ta-na-ad-di³ ar-ḫi-iš* 29) *šu-uš-še-a-am*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 124 (no. 54= SH 819).

Tenduri to Kuwari (no. 59 = SH 811)

The grain that Talpuš-šarri promised, Hulukkadil did not deliver. Do not count on this grain! Now they have detained a caravan to Zutlum. Those who will not (even) give straw will not give to Zutlum like before.²²⁰

Talpuš-šarri, it appears from the letter, had already promised to provide this city, which he was in charge of its defence, with grain (see also letter no. 54). But he was unable to fulfil his commitment.

The impression the letters give is that Kuwari was negligent about the frequent requests from his lords because, it can be supposed, he was unable to fulfil all of them. Nevertheless, a letter of Sîn-išme'anni states that the safety of communications may have stopped the grain being sent in time. He writes with pleasure that the grain can finally be sent with the troops:

Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari (no. 37 = SH 829)

Send the barley that I have written to you about both once and twice with these troops! And I shall keep praying for you before Šamaš.²²¹

The troops were apparently those sent by Talpuš-šarri, which are mentioned in his letter to Kuwari. The situation in the Turukkean heartland was so miserable that soldiers and servants could desert the service of their lords:

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari (no. 56 = SH 829)

Hereby I have sent men to you to transport the grain. Hopefully these men do not scatter in the land. Post guards so that these men return to the country. And you yourself must provide the soldiers who are coming to you with food and beer and oil and send them (back) to me quickly! And this measure should be 4 (*times*) larger than the previous measure- and send as much wine as you can with the barley. It is *ready* here, and it is *ready* elsewhere. So collect tin, (and) send (it) to me!²²²

It is noteworthy that not only the capital Kunšum needed grain supplies, but other places, such as Zutlum, were waiting for barley urgently. A letter to Kuwari from Hulukkadil is probably about one such case, if the final destination of the barley mentioned was not Kunšum:

Hulukkadil to Kuwari (no. 52 = SH 820)

Also I hope you will gain renown concerning the tribute. The country looks to you. Have the barley transported here, and in future we shall have renown!²²³

²²⁰ 3) še-a-am ša ^mTa-al-pu-šar-ri 4) iq-bu-ú ^mHu-lu-uk-ka-di-il 5) ú-ul i-di-in 6) a-na še-a<<-am>>-im a-nu-um-mi-im 7) la ta-ak-la-ta 8) i-na-an-na a-na Zu-ut-li-im 9) ha-ar-ra-na-am ik-ta-lu-ú 10) ša pí-a-am ú-ul i-na-di-nu 11) a-na Zu-ut-li-im ki-i pa-na ú-ul i-na-di-nu, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 129-30 (no. 59 = SH 811).

²²¹ 3) še-am ša iš-ti-išu 2-ni-šu 4) aš-pu-ra-ak-k[u]m it-ti ša-bi-im 5) an-ni-im šu-bi-lam-[ma()] 6) ù ma-ḥa-ar ^dUTU lu-uk-ta¹-ra-ba²-kum³, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 108 (no. 37 = SH 829).

²²² 5) a-nu-um-ma ša-ba-am aṭ-tà-ar-[da]-ak-k[um] 6) a-na še-im šu-uš-ši-im 7) as-sú-ri-e-ma ša-bu-um 8) šu-ú i-na li-bi ma-tim 9) la i-sa-pa-aḥ ma-ša-ri 10) šu-ku-un-ma ša-bu-um šu-ú 11) a-na ma-tim li-tu-ra-ma 12) ù at-ta ša-ba-am ša i-la-ka-k[u]m 13) a-ka-lam ú ši-ka-ra-am 14) ú Ì pí-qí-id ù ar-ḥi-iš 15) tú-ur-da-aš-šu..... 24) ù i-na še-er na-ma-dim 25) ša pa-na an-nu-um na-ma-du-um 26) 4 ra-bi¹ ù GEŠTIN ki-ma te-le-ú 27) it-ti ŠE-ma šu-uš-ši-a-am 28) an-na-nu-um ku-um-ma ú-la-nu-um-[m]a 29) ku-um-ma ù a-na-ka-am pu-ḥi-ir 30) šu-bi-lam, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 126-7 (no. 56 = SH 829).

²²³ 27) ša-ni-tam aš-šum GÚ mi-de 28) šum-k[a] ta-ša-ak-ka-an 29) ma-tum i-na-tà-la-ak-kum 30) še-am šu-uš-ši-a-am-ma 31) 'u' a-na wa-ar-ka-at 32) u⁴-mì-ni lu šu-mu-um, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 121-2 (no. 52 = SH 820). The same issue of grain is once more touched upon in the badly preserved letter no. 51 = SH 805, sent by Hulukkadil to Kuwari.

The Rāniya Plain was always one of the main agricultural areas of the region that produced large amounts of grain. So it is strange why making peace with the Lullubians was essential for grain. If it was not just because the transport routes passed through the Lullubian land, we may assume that grain from their land was also needed. This could be due to the extra demand for grain, for more than could be produced in Rāniya. The region as a whole may have been smitten by a periodic drought, as often happened and still happens from time to time. Or the Lullubians may have been controlling part of the Rāniya Plain at this time and only a peaceful agreement could keep open the routes. The letter of Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari rules out the possibility of drought. From this letter we learn that the problem, at least in and around the city of Kunšum, was the Gutian siege that had every year destroyed the harvest. Making peace with the “numerous kings of the Lulleans” is emphasized in the letter of Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 63 = SH 812, see below). From the tone of the text and the context it appears that the Turukkeans badly needed this peace; it was essential to fetch grain for the success of the whole campaign.²²⁴ It shows that the Lulleans were the obstacle for bringing grain to Šušarrā. The command “seize their best terms and accept their peace, you know indeed that the stores are empty” followed by “Now make a firm peace with the Lulleans, and do what is needed for the transport of grain and flour” make this clear.²²⁵ The Lulleans, we conclude, collaborated with the Gutians in the blockade probably willingly, not out of fear, because they were able to offer peace with Kuwari independently, as the letter shows. It appears that they played a game with both sides to get as much advantage as possible. The grain was, then (partly) imported to Šušarrā and from there to the Turukkean lands, since the land of Utûm was seemingly unable to provide the large quantities asked for. The Lullubeans for their part found this a good opportunity to put pressure on Kuwari and his lords to get benefit for themselves. It is worth noting that there were some Lulleans who were already allied to, or perhaps hired by, Kuwari, since he could keep “some reliable Lulleans” in Šušarrā until he could leave to join the campaign.²²⁶

Not only grain but other items were requested from Kuwari, such as wool:

Hulukkadil to Kuwari (no. 50 = SH 813)

And you must send much wool from your stock for the king's wool supply.²²⁷

Hulukkadil to Kuwari (no. 52 = SH 820)

You know indeed, that there is no wool in the palace..... when you come bring [wool] for the king's wool supply.²²⁸

²²⁴ Cf. also letter 64 = SH 827 also from Šepratu: 22) 'ù' a-na Lu-ul-li-im LUGAL.MEŠ 23) ša it-ti-[k]a na-ak-ru šu-pu-ur-ma 24) it-ti-ka li-iš-li-mu la ta-na-ki-ir 25) sa-li-im-šu-nu le-qé ki-ma a-na ma-at Ú-te-em 26) ù URU^{ki} Š[u-š]ar-ree^{ki} ù a-na KASKAL 27) i-tà-bu an-ni-tam e-pu-úš, “Send words to the Lullean kings who are hostile to you, that they should make peace with you! Do not continue hostilities! Accept their peace! Do this so that they will be friendly towards the country of Utûm, the town of Šušarrā, and the campaign!” Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 137-8 (no. 64 = SH 827).

²²⁵ Similar information and instructions were cited also in letter 64 = SH 827: 44) it-ti Lu-ul-li-im si-li-im-ma 45) še-am ar-ḫi-iš šu-úš-ši-a-am, “Make peace with the Lulleans and have the barley transported quickly!” Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 137-8.

²²⁶ The mention of gifts to LUGAL ša Lulli, “the king of Lulli” (SH 116, 3; 128, 4; 133, 12; 145, 2; 146, 4) in the administrative archives of Shemshāra may refer to the king of this allied group of Lullubians or to one of the kings who made peace with Kuwari; for these texts, cf. Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives 2*.

²²⁷ 11) ù iš-tu ma-aḫ-ri-ka 12) SÍG-tim ma-da-tim 13) a-na lu-bu-úš-ti LUGAL 14) šu-bi-lam, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 120 (no. 50 = SH 813).

²²⁸ 10) at-ta-a-ma ti-di ki-i-ma 11) i-na li-bi É.KÁL SÍG ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši-a..... 14) ki-ma ta-li-k[am[?] SÍG[?]] a-na lu-bu-úš-ti 'LUGAL'....., Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 121 (no. 52 = SH 820); SIG has been accidentally written in l. 11.

Tin, copper and other items were requested from the vassals and others. Pišendēn asked personally his “son” Šu-Enlil for a shipment of tin for the manufacture of lance blades. He reports that he has already received 5,000 shafts from Kusanarḫum for the lances and what he needs is the tin. The smooth language with which the king addresses Šu-Enlil and the high appreciation of the service he expects is noteworthy:

Pišendēn to Šu-Enlil (no. 68= SH 868)

Say to Šu-Enlil: Thus (says) Pišente, your father: I requested lance(s) from the king (of) Kusnar(h)um, and he accordingly sent me 5,000 lances. I am having the blades of the lance(s) made, but I have no tin available. My son must not deny (me) the tin which I request, and the tin which my son gives (/sells?) me, will give me success like 20,000 soldiers! Be forever generous to your father, and all the tin I request, will my son please send it to me quickly so that I can have the lance(s) made.²²⁹

In another letter to Yašub-Addu of Aḫazum, apparently in the time when he was allied to the Turukkeans, Pišendēn asks him for copper, tin and other items:

Pišendēn to Yašub-Addu (no. 67= SH 816)

All [I] want [...] in Kunšum [deliver] 200 [...], red stone, [...] cloaks, 20 ..., 14 minas of pure metal, 10 minas of *kurbianum*, and ... sweet oil [...] If you are in truth my son, these goods must not be lost. I need the copper and the tin for (the manufacture of) weapons. Have them delivered with all dispatch. These goods must not be lost!²³⁰

It appears that the need for metals, particularly tin, was so urgent that it surpassed the need for grain, because they were ready to pay barley in exchange for tin:

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari (no. 57 = SH 824)

Say to Kuwari: Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri, your brother: Enter my estate, and check all the grain available. If 500 (measures) are ready, then seal [300 (measures)], and [turn] 200 (measures) over to Imdiya, and let him [make purchases of] tin.²³¹

This letter, however, could be from the earlier phase of the correspondence, before the conditions had become as bad as they became in the later phase, shortly before the campaign. This is suggested because Talpuš-šarri was still in a mood to take care of his estate in Šušarrā, asking Kuwari in the same letter to recruit a new guard. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the correspondence of this whole phase (= the Pre-Assyrian phase) took a couple of

²²⁹ 1) *a-na* 'Šu-^dEN'.LÍL 2) *qí-bí-ma* 3) *um-ma* ^mPí-še-en-te 4) *a-bu-ka-a-ma* 5) *it-ti Ku-s[a-n]a-ri-im* LUGAL 6) ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR *e-ri-iš-ma* 7) *ù 5 li-mi* ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR 8) *ú-ša-bi-lam* 9) *ù li-š[a-n]a<<am>>-tim* 10) *ša* ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR *ú-še-ep-pé-eš* 11) *ù an-na-ku-um a-na qa-^rtí-ia* 12) *ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši* 13) *an-na-ka-am ša e-ri-šu* 14) *ma-ri la i-ka-al-la-a* 15) *ù an-na-ka-am ša ma-ri* 16) *i-na-ad-di-nu ki-ma* 17) *20 li-mi ša-bi-im* 18) *'aⁿ-[a] a-ia-ši-im ku₈-ši-ru* 19) *[a-n]a 'da^r-ri-iš u₄-mi-im* 20) *[a]-na a-bi-ka gi-mi-il-ma* 21) *a-na-ka-am ma-li* 22) *e-ri-šu* 23) *[a]r-ḫi-iš ma-ri li-ša-bi-lam-ma* 24) *[ù]* ^{GIŠ}ŠUK[U]R *lu-še-pí-iš*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 142 (no. 68 = SH 868). In discussing the name of the recipient the editors state that a king with this name is not attested elsewhere, so it is possible he was an Assyrian commercial agent; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *ibid.*

²³⁰ 18) [...] *mi*-im-ma 'ḫi-še-eh^r-[ti-.....] 19) [...] *'t-na Ku-u[n]-ši-i[m^{ki}]* 20) [...] *'x x-dí-ma* 21) [...] *'x x x' na* [...] 22) [...] *'xⁿ-KU-tum 2 me-at 'x' [...]* 23) *'x x' sa-am-tu[m x]* GÚ.È.A 24) 20 '(x) x' BU 14 MA.[N]A *ma-sú-um* 25) 10 MA.NA *ku-ur-bi-a-nu-um* 26) *'x' I.DU₈ 'x' [...]* 30) *šu[m-m]a i-na ki-na-t[im] ma-ri* 31) *[a]t-ta i-nu-tum š[i]-i* 32) *[I]a i-ḫa-li-iq a-na-k[an]* 33) *ù we-ri-am ḫa-aš-^rḫa^r-ku^r* 34) *a-na ka-ak-ki [a]r-ḫi-^riš* 35) *li-ša-aḫ-mi-t[ù]-nim-[ma]* 36) *[ù i]-nu-tum ší-^rt' [I]a i-ḫa-li-iq*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 140-1 (no. 67 = SH 816).

²³¹ 1) *a-na [K]u-wa-ri 2) qí-bí-ma 3) um<-ma> Ta-al-pu-šar-ri* 4) *a-ḫu-ka-a-ma* 5) *i-na bi-ti-ia* 6) *'e^r-ru-[u]b-ma* *ù še-a-am* 7) *[ma-li] 'i-ba-aš^r-šu-ú* 8) *[pí-qí-id]-ma šum-ma 5 me-tim* 9) *[a-ša-ri-i]š ša-ak-nu* 10) *[3 me-tim k]u-nu-uk-ma* *ù 2 [me]-tim* 11) *[a-na qa-a]t^m Im-di-ia* 12) *[i-di-in-ma]* *ù a-na-ka-am* 13) *[li-iš-ta-a]m*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 127-8 (no. 57 = SH 824).

months, they must have felt the crisis beginning. The shortage would certainly have been predictable.

Diplomacy

In order to keep their kingdom strong and united, the Turukkeans had to practise diplomacy. There were seemingly some vassals and friends who were hesitating, and to keep them loyal, the king himself or his retainers sent persuasive letters and perhaps also envoys. In the same letter of Pišendēn to Yašub-Addu quoted above he reminds him of the long-established brotherhood between their fathers and grandfathers. This also implies an old Amorite presence in Aḫazum represented by the ruling family of Yašub-Addu:

Pišendēn to Yašub-Addu (no. 67= SH 816)

Have you yourself not heard that my father and my grandfather made an alliance of brotherhood with your father and your grandfather. Now you [...] must not leave, and *Kunšum* must not divide [...].²³²

Talpuš-šarri too sent a letter to Yašub-Addu bearing the same message, perhaps simultaneously with the letter of his lord Pišendēn.²³³ Yašub-Addu had apparently made his calculations and had realized that he would lose if he decided to stay on the Turukkean side, which is why he did not send his envoys to his lord:

Talpuš-šarri to Yašub-Addu (no. 66= SH 896)

Why do you not send your envoy to your father Pišendēn? Like previously your father and your grandfather conferred with this House and the country of Itabalḫum. You should now confer (with it) in the same manner!²³⁴

Another small kingdom or city-state that was closer to Šušarrā than to the Turukkean lands²³⁵ was urged to stay loyal, exactly as Kuwari had done, and to be ready when asked to “go up” and join the campaign. The message had to be delivered by Kuwari himself:

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari (no. 58 = SH 801)

Say [to] Kuwari: [Thus] (says) Talpu-šarri, your [brother]: [The en]voy [.....] and let him indeed hear (this) and let him say thus: "You, like Kuwari loves his lord, and he sent him grain, flour, and what his lord needs, you likewise must not neglect the country and the town of Šušarrā. Until your lord sends for you and you go up you should stay there! When the armies from elsewhere are coming I will write to you to come."²³⁶

²³² 4) 'a'-bu-k[a-a]-ma 5) at-ta 'u-ul' ta-aš-me-e <<x>>-ma 6) a-bi <ù> a-bi a-bi-ia [i]t-ti 'a'-bi-k[a] 7) ù a-bi a-bi-ka 'at'-ḫu-tam i-pu-šu 8) i-na-an-na at-ta [.....] 9) la ta-a[l]-la-ak-ma 'ku-unšu-um' 10) la i-pa-ra-á[s.....], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 140-1 (no. 67 = SH 816).

²³³ Since both letters were found in Šušarrā, one concludes that the letters did not reach their destination in Šaikšabbum. This also proves that both letters were sent to Yašub-Addu together, or at least within a very short time span.

²³⁴ 4) 'a'-na mī-ni-im a'-na še-er' 5) [a-b]i-ka mPi-še-en-de-en 6) [DUMU] ši-ip-ri-ka la t[a-š]a-ap-pa-[ar] 7) [ki-m]a u-um-šu-um [(...)] 8) [a-b]u-ka ù a-bi a-bi-ka 9) [i]t-ti É-tim an-ni-im 10) 'ù' ma-tim ša I-ta-ba-al-ḫi-im^{ki} 11) [i]d-bu-bu ù i-na-an-na 12) [a]t-ta [k]i-a-am-ma 13) [d]u-bu-ub, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 140 (no. 66 = SH 896).

²³⁵ Since the kingdom is urged to be loyal to Šušarrā, it means that it was closer to the latter city. It was probably a city-state in Utūm or within its orbit.

²³⁶ 1) [a-na] Ku-wa-ri qí-b[i-ma] 2) [um-ma] Ta-al-pu-šar-ri 3) [a-ḫu-k]a-a-[ma] 4) [DUMU] ši-i[p-ri] [.....]3') ù 'še-mu-um' li-'iš-me'-ma 4') ki-a-am li-iq-bi 5') at-ta ki-ma mKu-wa-ri 6') be-el-šu i-ra-am-mu-ma 7') še-am qé-ma-am ù ḫi-ši-ih-t[i] 8') be-lí-šu ù-ša-bi-lam 9') ù at-ta a-na ma-tim 10') ù URU^{ki} Šu-šar-ra-e^{ki} 11') la te-gi a-di be-el-ka 12') i-ša-ap-pa-ra-ak-ku-um-ma 13') te-el-li-am 14') [a]š-ra-nu-um-ma lu wa-aš-ba-ta 15') 'i'-nu-ma

Shortly before the campaign, Kuwari received envoys from Šamši-Adad, Ya'ilānum and Šimurum. This is reported in the same letter of Šepratu to Kuwari in which he asks him to investigate whether it is true that Šamši-Adad has become hostile to Ya'ilānum. We assume that the Turukkeans did their utmost to build a broad coalition against the Gutians or, at least, to neutralize those who were not ready to enter the alliance. On the other hand, it appears that those powers, like Šimurum, Ya'ilānum and Assyria, had their reasons to prevent any single power, let alone the Gutians, from controlling the whole Transtigris region. We understand from the letter that the Turukkean kings, represented by Šepratu, wanted to go further into details with the envoys of these three powers together with the agents/envoys of Kuwari who brought him the news, Nipram, Kubiya and Ullam-Tašni.²³⁷ In addition, we conclude that the envoys were anxious about the Lulleans who were in Šušarrā. The reason for this anxiety is not clear, but one can assume that they were suspected of having ties with the Gutians and did not want the news of their communications with the Turukkeans to reach Enduše:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 64 = SH 827)

Let Nipram, Kubiya and Ullam-tašni come up here together with the envoys of Samsi-Addu, Ya'ilānum and Šimurum, and seize all the important Lulleans and keep them under your control. Do this so that the envoys of these kings can come with a light heart and we will not get trouble.²³⁸

At about the same time as this letter was sent, perhaps shortly afterwards, Talpuš-šarri sent a letter to Kuwari telling him that it was not necessary to meet the envoy of Šamši-Adad, but to meet the envoy of Ya'ilānum who had brought tin. He describes the message of that envoy as “dated,” a reference to old arguments that he would not believe any more. Does this behaviour have something to do with an unfulfilled promise of the Assyrians to provide the Turukkeans with tin? If so, the Assyrians might not have faithfully kept faith with the Turukkeans, but rather followed a policy of maintaining the power balance. The fragile trust between the parties is reflected in the same letter, when Talpuš-šarri asks Kuwari not to send the retainers of the envoys together with them when they come to the meeting, but rather to send them alone:

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari (no. 73 = SH 804)

The envoy of Samsi-Addu, who is staying before you, his message is dated. Why should he come up here? You can give him instructions and send him off, but the envoy of Ya'ilānum, who brought tin, let him come with one of your retainers, and have them indeed bring up the tin with him. When the envoys of Samsi-Addu and Ya'ilānum [who (are)] there who ... want to come up, do not detain them, [but] their

um-ma-na-tum 16') [ša u]l-la-nu-um i-na-ša-nim ù a-na-ku 17') [a-n]a še-ri-ka a-ša-ap-pa-ra-am, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 128-9 (no. 58 = SH 801); reading in l. 3' *ši-mu*....

²³⁷ Since Nipram was the envoy of Kuwari to Šamši-Adad, it is possible that the other two were his envoys to Ya'ilānum and Šimurum. The name Nipram can linguistically be closely related to the names of Pušam, king of Simanum in the Ur III period, and of Kipram, the king defeated by Šamši-Adad in the *limmu* of Aššur-malik, according to the MEC. It could be that he was king of Nurrugum; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 21-22 and note 30. The name Kubiya is not certain, since the suffix *-ija* or *-ia* was frequently used as a hypocoristic element both in Hurrian and Akkadian names; cf. *NPN*, p. 219. The name Ullam-tašni is Hurrian, with its second element identical to the Hurrian GN *Tašenni* (modern Tis'īn) in Kirkuk; it can be analysed as *taše*, “votive offering” + *nni*, according to Bork; cf. *NPN*, p. 263. The element *ullam* may include the element *ul(l)*, found in some Nuzi names: cf. *NPN*, p. 271 under *ul* and *ull*.

²³⁸ 33) ^mNi-ip-ra-am ^mKu-bi-ia ^mUl-la-am-taš-ni 34) it-ti DUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri ša Sa-am-si-^dIM 35) ^mIaš-i-la-ni ù Ši-mu-ur-ri-im 36) li-lu-ni-im ù Lu-ul-li-im 37) ma-[l]i da-am-qú-tim ša-ba-at-ma 38) i-na qa-ti-ka ki-il₃ ki-ma 39) DUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri ša [LUGA]L.MEŠ šu-nu-ti 40) i-na tū-ub li-ib-bi-im i-lu-ni-im 41) ù li-ba-ni la i-ma-ra-šú 42) an-ni-tam e-puš, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 137-8 (no. 64 = SH 827).

retainers who are with them [and the] all of them who are with them must not come. Let them [come without] their retainers.²³⁹

The fragmentary state of the section in which the Lulleans are mentioned means what was said about them is not known. But we can guess that it was one of the points stressed in other letters, to make peace with them or to hide the news of these communications from them.

Formation of the Alliance and Assembling Troops

It is true that the Turukkeans were preparing for a campaign against the Gutians, but this was only a desperate attempt to break the siege. It would not have been reasonable to wage war while the people and the army were starving, when the stores and silos were empty, the soldiers or servants were seeking a chance to desert (see above, letter no. 56), and the king was asking his vassals for barley, tin and even wooden shafts for lances (see above). The preparations, apart from diplomacy and ensuring supplies, comprised the formation of an alliance of Turukkean and probably some non-Turukkean kingdoms and city-states. This occurs in several letters from Shemshāra. The most important was sent by Šepratu to Kuwari:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 63 = SH 812)

Zuzum, the *hanizarum* of Ilalae, who had been sent to Kusanar(h)um, came and with him he brought the king of Kusanar(h)um to Aliae; and he had a meeting with Kigirza and Talpuš-šarri, and they swore a comprehensive oath to each other. The king of Kusanar(h)um, Naššumar,²⁴⁰ and (his) sons, Tarugur (and) Šurti, will come with 3,000 troops; and Berdigendae, the general of Zutlum, will come to Kunšum with his army; and Kigirza with his own troops from Kusanar(h)um and Šudamelum have marched off to besiege Arrunum. Inside the town, there is someone who says, "Come! I will give the town to you!"

Now if the numerous kings of the Lulleans who were hostile to you are ready for peace and (accept) the comprehensive treaty you have offered them, then seize their best terms and accept their peace. You know indeed that the stores are empty and that there is no grain for these troops who are coming. Now make a firm peace with the Lulleans and do what is needed for the transport of grain and flour, so that your lord and the land will rejoice and you will gain eternal renown.

Also get me 500 slings!

And you must investigate the intentions of Samsī-Addu. If he has directed his attention elsewhere and there is no anxiety for the country of Utûm, then take your best troops under your own command and come up here and have some reliable Lulleans kept inside Šušarrā until you come up. If you have investigated the matter and there is (reason to) fear for the country of Utûm, then leave the troops to protect the country of Utûm and the town of Šušarrā; but you yourself come up with your retainers and the country will not reproach you.²⁴¹

²³⁹ 3) 'DUMU' šī-ip-ru-um ša ^mS[a-am-si-^dIM] 4) ša ma-aḥ-ri-ka wa-[aš-bu] 5) 'a'-wa-tu-šu il-ta-bi-ra 6) 'a'-na mi-'nim' an-ni-iš i-il-le-em 7) 'at-ta-a-ma' ú-e-er-šu-ma <<x>> 8) ù tū-ru-us-sú ù DUMU šī-ip-ru-u[m] 9) ša ^mIa-i-la-n[im] ša an-n[a]-ka-am ub-[la-am] 10) 'it-ti šú-ḥa-r[i-ka] iš-te-en li-li-'kam-ma' 11) ù an-na-ka-am 'it-ti'-šu-ma li-še-lu-nim 12) [i-n]u-ma ma-ru šī-ip-ru ša Sa-am-si-^dIM 13) [ù] ^mIa-i-la-n[im] ša an-ni-iš ša [.....] 14) [x x]'x' il-š-lu-ni[m] l[a] 'ta'-ka-al-[l]a-šu-nu-[t]i 15) [ù šú]-ḥa-ru-ú šu-nu [ša i]t-ti-šu-nu 16) [.....]'x' ka-'lu'-š[u š]a it-ti-šu-nu la i-[la-ku-nim] 17) [ba-lu-um šú-ḥ]a-ri-šu-[nu l]i-'x' li-[i-ku-nim], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 150-51 (no. 73 = SH 804).

²⁴⁰ Since many Hurrian PNs were composed partly of GNs (see above), this name may be compared with the land Nusummar, which formed part of the lands of Šimaški; for Šimaški and its different parts, cf. Potts, D. T., *The Archaeology of Elam*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 141.

²⁴¹ 4) ^mZu-zu-um ḥa-ni-za-ru-um 5) ša I-la-la-e^{ki} ša a-na Ku-sa-na-ar-ḥi-im 6) iš-pu-ru-úš il-li-kam-ma 7) ù it-ti LUGAL ša Ku-sa-na-ri-im 8) it-ra-am a-na A-li-a-e^{ki} 9) ù it-ti-šu Ki-gi-ir-za ù Ta-al-pu-šar-ri 10) in-na-me-er ù ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ ga-am-ra-am 11) i-na bi-ri-ti-šu-nu iš-ku-nu 12) ù LUGAL ša Ku-sa-na-ri-im ^mNa-aš-šu-ma-ar 13) ù ma-ru<šu> Ta-ru-gu-ur ^mŠu-úr-ti 14) it-ti ša-bi-im 3 li-mi i-la-ku-nim 15) ù ^mBe-er-di-ge-en-da-e GAL.^d<MAR.>TU 16) ša Zu-ut-li-im it-ti um-ma-na-ti-šu 17) a-na URU^{ki} Ku-un-ši-im^{ki} i-la-kam 18) ù Ki-gi-ir-za

After urging Kuwari to join the campaign, a matter touched upon also by his own son Tenduri.²⁴² Again he is asked for grain because the arrival of the army is imminent:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 63 = SH 812)

But have the grain brought in advance! Please (make) haste! Do not tarry! (The arrival of) the army is imminent!²⁴³

This letter, the major part of which is cited above, is extremely important. It outlines the political map of the Turukkean alliance and the conditions under which the alliance was formed. The alliance, according to this and other letters, involved the following powers:

Kingdom/City-State	Capital city	Ruler	Description
Itabalḫum	Kunšum	Pišendēn	king
Utûm	Šušarrā	Kuwari	nuldān(um)
Ilalae		Zuzum	ḫanizar(um)
Kusanarḫum		Naššumar Tarugur Šurti	king son of the king son of the king
Šudamelum		?	subordinate to Kusanarḫum?
Zutlum		Kigirza Berdigendae	king? general (GAL.^d<MAR.>TU
Aḫazum	Šikšabbum	Yašub-Addu	Commander-in-chief of the troops
(A small kingdom in the orbit of Utûm, cf. letter 58 = SH 801)	?	?	
?	Aliae	?	a city in which the meeting for the treaty was held
?	?	Talpuš-šarri	
Elam	Susa ?	Šuruḫtuḫ	
Šimurru	Šimurru	Tu[...]?	

The etymology of the title *ḫanizarum* has been disputed, whether it is Semitic or Hurrian. Læssøe discussed it in detail years ago and suggested a possible Akkadianized form of the

it-ti ša-bi-šu 19) *ù ša-bi-im ša Ku-sa-na-ri-im* *ù Šu-da-me-li-im* 20) *a-na Ar-ru-ni-im^{ki} la-wi-im* 21) *it-ta-al-ku i-na li-bi URU^{ki}* 22) *i-ba-aš-ši ša i-da-bu-bu* 23) *um-ma al-kam URU^{ki} lu-di-na-ak-kum* 24) *i-na-an-na šum-ma LUGAL.MEŠ ma-du-tum* 25) *ša Lu-ul-li-im ša it-ti-ka* 26) *i-ki-ru is-sa-al-mu* *ù ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ* 27) *ga-am-ra-am ša ta-ad-di-nu-šu-nu-šum* 28) *tà-ba-ti-šu-nu ša-ba-at-ma* 29) *sa-li-im-šu-nu le-qé at-ta-am* 30) *ti-di ki-ma na-ka-ma-tu[m]* 31) *ri-qa <<x>>* *ù ŠE a-na ša-bi-i[m]* 32) *an-ni-im ša i-la-ka-am la i-ba-aš-šu-ù* 33) *i-na-an-na it-ti Lu-ul-li-im sa-li-ma-am* 34) *da-am-qí-iš e-pu-úš-ma* 35) *ša šu-úš-ši-im ŠE* *ù qé-mi-im* 36) *e-pu-úš ki-ma be-el-ka* *ù ma-tum* 37) *i-ḫa-du-ù* *ù šu-um-ka a-na da-ar iša-ka-nu* 38) *ù wa-as-pí 5 me-tim šu-ul-qí-am* 39) *ù at-ta wa-ar-ka-at^m Sa-am-si-^dIM* 40) *pu-ru-ús-sú šum-ma ul-li-iš pa-ni-šu* 41) *iš-ta-ka-an-ma ni-sa-tum a-na ma-at* 42) *Ú-te-em^{ki} la i-ba-aš-ši* 43) *ša-ba-ka da-am-qa-am ša-ab-tam-ma* 44) *i-na qa-ti-ka* *ù i-li-am* 45) *ù Lu-ul-li-i ta-ak-lu-tim i-na li-bi* 46) *Šu-šar-rae^{ki} a-di at-ta te-li-am* 47) *li-ki^l-lu-šu-nu-ti šum-ma wa-ar-ka-tam* 48) *ta-ap-ru-ús-ma pu-lu-uh-tum a-na ma-at* 49) *Ú-te-em ša-ba-am iz-ba-am-ma* 50) *ma-at Ú-te-em* *ù URU^{ki} Šu-šar-ra-e^{ki} li-šur* 51) *ù at-ta it-ti šu-ḫa-ri-ka* 52) *e-li-am* *ù ma-tum mi-im-ma la i-qa-bi-kum*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 134-7 (no. 63 = SH 812).

²⁴² In his letter Tenduri speaks to his father as follows: 30) *ù šum-ma ma-ta-tum* 31) *ma-li^m Ta-al-pu-šar-ri* 32) *i-ra-di-a-am i-la-ku-nim* 33) *ù at-ta i-li-a-am* 34) *la ta-ka-la*, “And if all the countries which Talpuš-šarri commands come, then you too must come up;” Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 130 (no. 59 = SH 811). Šepratu, in another letter asks Kuwari to “...take your best troops under your own command and come up here!” (for the transliteration see above under *Turukkum and Šušarrā*).

²⁴³ 67) *ù at-ta ti-be-ma at-la-kam* 68) *ù še-am i-pa-ni-ka šu-úš-ši-a-am* 69) *ap-pu-tum ar-ḫi-iš la tu-ḫa-ra-am* 70) *ša-bu-um wu-di qú-ru-ub*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 135-6 (no. 63 = SH 812).

Hurrian word *ḥa-ni-za-ra-a-e*, attested in *KUB* 12, 44, ii 20.²⁴⁴ He did not rule out a Semitic origin of the word, comparing Semitic *ḥnzr* group attested in Ugaritic,²⁴⁵ related to the Semitic word for ‘pig, boar.’ Goetze suggested a Hurrian etymology, from **ḥinzuri*, ‘girl, lassie.’²⁴⁶ *ḥanizarum* is known to be a title, most probably military or administrative,²⁴⁷ or a profession, parallel to *glm* ‘(male) servant.’²⁴⁸ In a text from Ugarit *ḥnzr*, ‘officer(s)’ occurs in the same context as ‘servants.’²⁴⁹ If the word is originally Semitic it would be directly comparable to the title of some generals centuries later in Sassanian Iran, such as Hurmuzd-warāz, “Boar of Hurmuzd (the king),” Warāz-Pirūz, Šapur-warāz (governor of Azerbaijan in the time of Narseh), or Warāz-Šapur.²⁵⁰ The seal of king Khusraw II includes the title *Šahrwarāz*, “Boar of the empire.”²⁵¹ Perhaps a Semitic term has survived in the tradition there for millennia. It is also possible that *ḥanizarum* may have been used only among the few close friends Kuwari, Šepratu and Šîn-išme’anni, as a disparaging nickname for Zuzum, who appears to have been a powerful but troublesome figure. This is concluded from letter 35 that alludes to a certain Zuzum²⁵² who was troubling Utûm:

Šîn-išme’anni to Kuwari (no. 35 = SH 822)

Another matter: I keep hearing that Zuzum is up to no good. He troubles the land of Utûm and takes away the sheep (of) its (people). Perhaps no one will tell you (about it); since your retainers are afraid of him, no one will tell you (about it).²⁵³

Yašub-Addu was an untrustworthy vassal of Itabalḥum, so one hesitates to list his name with the allies, for we do not know whether he had changed his mind by this time. Šamši-Adad said that he had followed Ya’ilānum after the abandonment of the Turukkeans.

The name of the small kingdom alluded to in letter 58 is unfortunately not preserved, but it may have been the land of Ištānum, that was also in the realm of Šušarrā, about which Kuwari wrote a report to Išme-Dagan later in the Assyrian domination phase.²⁵⁴ Yet, another city under the control of Kuwari was Ḫiṣḫinašwe, mentioned in letter no. 31 = SH 916. It

²⁴⁴ Læssøe, *The Shemshāra Tablets*, p.83.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

²⁴⁸ Caquot, A., M. Sznycer and A. Herdner, *Textes Ougaritiques*, tome I: Mythes et légendes, introduction, traduction, commentaire, Paris, 1974, p. 248, note g, which states that the word is Hurrian in origin. To Watson, the meaning of the word is uncertain, but he considers it is the same word for ‘officer’ occurring in the Ugritic literary text cited below, although he does not rule it out as the Hurrian word *ḥinzur* ‘apple;’ cf. Watson, W. G. E., *Lexical Studies in Ugaritic*, Barcelona, 2007, p. 167; cf. also del Olmo Lette, G. and J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*, part 1, Leiden, 2003, p. 399.

²⁴⁹ The text reads *šb^t. glmk. ṯmn. ḥnzrk*, “(With) your seven lads, your eight officers.” For the transliteration cf. Dietrich, M., O. Loretz and J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and other Places (KTU: second, enlarged edition)*, Münster, 1995, p. 24, V 8-9; for the translation, cf. Hallo, W. W. *et al.* (eds.), *Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World, The Context of Scripture*, vol. 1, Leiden, 1997, p. 267; Caquot *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 247. However, Wyatt translates the word as ‘boar,’ cf. Wyatt, N., *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, Sheffield, 1998, p. 124.

²⁵⁰ Christensen, A., *L’Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen, 1944, p. 410 and note 12.

²⁵¹ For the seals, cf. Gyselen, R., *The Four Generals of the Sassanian Empire: Some Sigillographic Evidence*, Rome, 2001, p. 22f.

²⁵² Another individual also named Zuzum is recorded in a letter from Mari. According to the letter, this Zuzum was a peasant and his wife, Qabišatum, was sent back from Qabrā after she was found hiding in a straw silo, cf. Joannès, F., “La femmes sous la paille,” *FM I*, Paris, 1991, p. 82-83.

²⁵³ 33) *ù ša-ni-tam eš₁₅-te-né-me-ma* 34) *ṁZu-zu-um le-em-ni-iš* 35) *i-te-né-pe-eš ma-at Ú-te-em* 36) *ù-da-ba-ab ù UDU.ḪÁ-šu-nu* 37) *i-la-qa-at mi-de ma-am-ma-an* 38) *ù-ul i-qa-bi-a-kum* 39) *ù šú-ḥa-ru-ka i-na pa-ni-šu ù-da-pa-ru* 40) *ma-am-ma-an ù-ul i-qa-bi-a-ku[m]*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 105-6 (no. 35 = SH 822).

²⁵⁴ Cf. letters 26 = SH 856 and 29 = SH 921.

could also be identified with the polity mentioned in letter 58, but if not, we still have two satellite polities assisting the military enterprises of Kuwari, and through that Turukkum.

The same could be said for Talpuš-šarri and Kigirza. It is possible that they, particularly Talpuš-šarri, were rulers of polities beside their functions in the Turukkean alliance. Otherwise, they may have been high officials and not rulers of polities. A letter from Shemshāra (no. 59 = SH 811) said that Talpuš-šarri was leading all the lands which means that he functioned as commander-in-chief of the alliance troops. Eidem and Læssøe consider it possible that Kigirza was the ruler of Zutlum.²⁵⁵ This would be true if Berdigendae was only a military general of that polity under its ruler, not a ruling general on behalf of Pišendēn.

Eidem and Læssøe compare the meeting and the diplomatic procedure reported in this letter with the meeting of leaders of two Northern Mesopotamian kingdoms in the time of Zimri-Lim. According to *ARMT* 26, 404,²⁵⁶ Atamrum of Andarig sent an official to Aškur-Addu of Karanā and invited him to a meeting to conclude a treaty in a small town on the border of the two kingdoms. It is also reported that Aškur-Addu sent an official to Andarig to fetch Atamrum with his troops and vassals, followed by the meeting of the two kings.²⁵⁷ At the same time, there is no clue in our letter whether the city of Aliae was one of the city-states that entered the treaty or was a city within one of the mentioned kingdoms. However, taking into account that the summit of Andarig and Karanā is a parallel to this meeting, we can say that Aliae was also a city on the border of Kusanarḫum and Zutlum.

Since both Kusanarḫum and Šudamelum are attested only in this letter in the same context, the latter might have been a subordinate territory to the former, but this remains conjectural in our present state of knowledge.

As discussed above, making peace with the “numerous kings of the Lulleans” was vital to the Turukkeans and their alliance, seeing that they could obstruct or allow, wholly or partly, the passage of goods. However, some letters show that some Lulleans were allied to Kuwari and were residing in the city of Šušarrā (no. 63 = SH 812).

In those same hard times Šamšī-Adad was moving on their western front, which made the situation extra-critical for the Turukkeans. They were afraid of the loss of Utûm, their ‘bread basket,’ should the Assyrians decide to turn to Šušarrā after the capture of Qabrā and Arrappā. This worry is reflected in a passage in which Kuwari is asked to investigate the intentions of Šamšī-Adad so that he could decide whether to take his troops or leave them in the city to protect it.

An important ally was Elam. Letter 64 = SH 827 refers to a message which Širuk-tuḫ (written Šuruḫtuḫ)²⁵⁸ of Elam sent to Tabitu, whom we know as the son of Pišendēn, thanks to the seal legend of the latter. In his message, Širuk-tuḫ asks why no envoys of Itabalḫum have been sent to him. The information that a large army of 12,000 troops is assembled to march against the Gutians must have reached Šepratu from Tabitu, who obtained the information from Širuk-tuḫ:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 64 = SH 827)

Another matter, Šuruḫtuḫ, the king of Elam, sent the following message to Tabitu:

"Why does the land of Itabalḫum not send envoys to me?" The armies are

²⁵⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

²⁵⁶ For this letter, cf. Chapter Seven.

²⁵⁷ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

²⁵⁸ Širuk-tuḫ was a *sukkalmah* of Elam in the period called ‘The *sukkalmahs* period,’ cf. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, p. 160ff., 164 and 168.

assembled; they will march against Indaššu. Now he gave Nabi-ilī the command of 12,000 soldiers who are ready, saying, "Now take command of these!"²⁵⁹

The question raised here is why the king of Elam addressed Tabitu, not king Pišendēn, father of Tabitu. There is no related information in the texts that can give any hint, but we may conjecture that this son was, as the crown-prince, the ruler of a vassal kingdom of Itabālhum that was nearer to Elam than Itabālhum itself or was located between them. The seal legend of Pišendēn states that this son had a special status: "Pišendēn the begetter of Tabiti" (see above). Eidem and Møller do not rule out that by this time he may have succeeded his father on the throne of Itabālhum. But, they add, the very close date of this letter with that of his father does not make this likely.²⁶⁰

Letter no. 64 is a reply to a letter that Kuwari sent in answer to the questions Šepratu asked in the previous letter, so it can be dated directly after letter no. 63. Among the significant information Kuwari sent in his reply was that Šamšī-Adad had moved towards Qabrā after Arrapha and had sent his son to conquer Nurrugum, so there was no fear for Utūm in that short phase. However, Šepratu, as an experienced politician, still had doubts. He would not rely on the reports and asks Kuwari to pay attention to the news and to investigate whether it is true that Šamšī-Adad is in hostilities with Ya'ilānum. He also asks Kuwari to hide his doubts from the envoy of Šamšī-Adad and to act as if they feel comfortable:

Šepratu to Kuwari (no. 64 = SH 827)

I have heard the letter you sent me (where you wrote) as follows: "Nipram came back from Samsī-Addu and said: 'All that Samsī-Addu gave me in reply is very good news; and having conquered the city of Arraphum, it is towards Qabrā Samsī-Addu has proceeded, and he has sent his son Išme-Dagan with 60,000 troops to besiege Nurrugum.' This is what you wrote in the letter you sent to me. Pay close attention to this news. Hopefully the man will not conquer the whole country, and we shall not have to worry. Keep this news from the envoy of Samsī-Addu, and let your words be pleasing to him."²⁶¹

"Another matter, the news about Samsī-Addu that runs as follows: "He has become hostile to Ya'ilānum." Investigate whether the substance of the news is correct or not and send me a letter quickly."²⁶²

The clue to dating this letter is the mention of the capture of Arrapha and the plans to capture Qabrā and Nurrugum. Šamšī-Adad captured Arrapha in VIII* of *limmu* Asqudum (1781 BC),²⁶³ crossed the Zāb to the land of Qabrā in 20th of VIII*, and captured the fortified

²⁵⁹ 49) š[a-ni]-tam 50) ^mŠu-ru-uh-tu-uh LUGAL ša NIM.MA-tim 51) a-na ^mTa-bi-tu iš-pu-ra-am 52) um-ma šu-ú-ma a-na mī-nim ma-at I-a-ba-al-ḫi-im 53) ma-ru ši-ip-ri-im a-na še-ri-ia 54) la i-ša-pa-ra-am um-ma-na-tum pa-aḫ-ra 55) a-na še-er ^mIn-da-aš-šu pa-nu-šu ša-ak-nu 56) i-na-an-na 12 li-mi ša-ba-am ša qa-tim 57) a-na ^mNa-bi-li i-di-in₄ um-ma šu-ú-ma 58) an-ni-am i-na-an-na rede, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 137-8 (no. 64 = SH 827).

²⁶⁰ Eidem and Møller, "A Royal Seal from the Ancient Zagros," *MARI* 6, p. 636.

²⁶¹ 3) tu-pa-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam 4) Eš₁₅-me-ma um-ma at-ta-a-ma 5) ^mNi-ip-ra-am iš-tu 'ma'-ḫa-ar 6) ^mSa-am-si-^dIM il-li-kam-ma 7) um-ma šu-ú-ma ṭe₄-mu-um ma-li ^mSa-am-si ^dIM i-pu-la-an-ni 8) ma-di-iš' ša ḫa-di-im ù URU^{ki} Ar-ra-ap-ḫa-am^{ki} 9) iš-ša-ba-a[t] ù a-na Qa-ba-ra-e^{ki} 10) ^mSa-am-s[i]-^dIM i-ta-ši 11) ù ma-ra-šu ^mIš-me-^dDa-gan 12) [i]t-ti ša-bi-im 1 šu-ši li-mi 13) a-na Nu-úr-ru-gi-im^{ki} la-wi-[i]m 14) iš-ta-pa-ar an-ni-a-tim 15) i-na tu-pi-im ta-aš-ti-ra-am-ma 16) tu-ša-bi-lam a-na ṭe₄-mī-im 17) an-ni-im ma-di-iš qú-ú-ul 18) as-sú-ri-i-ma a-wi-lu ma-tam ka-la-ša 19) la i-ša-ba-at-ma an-ni-a-ši-im 20) la i-ma-ra-aš a-na LÚ ^mSa-am-si-^dIM 21) ṭe₄-ma-am ki-il₅ ù a-wa-tu-ka 22) lu-ú ṭa-ba-šum, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 136-8 (no. 64 = SH 827).

²⁶² 28) ù ša-ni-tam ṭe₄-ma-am ša ^mSa-am-si-^dIM 29) ša um-ma-mi it<-ti> ^mIa₈-i-la-ni it-ta-ki-ir 30) ki-na ú-ul ki-na a-wa-tam ṭe₄-ma-ma-am 31) wa-ar-ka-sa pu-ur-sa-am-ma 32) tu-pa-am ar-ḫi-iš šu-bi-lam, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 137-8 (no. 64 = SH 827).

²⁶³ Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 146; but in Charpin, *OBO*, p. 166, he has 1780.

cities of the plain of Erbil in IX* of the same year.²⁶⁴ This letter, then, was sent sometime between months VIII* and IX of *limmu* Asqudum (1781 or 1780).

Letter 69 = SH 802, 808+815 has already been discussed. We suggested, following Eidem and Læssøe, that it was sent to the king of Šimurru, although only a part of the first sign of his name is preserved. In his letter, Pišendēn reminds the addressee of the traditional good relations between the two dynasties. But his main message was to get this king to persuade the kings of Elam, Niqqum and Namar to undertake a joint campaign against the kingdom of Kakmum. Pišendēn reminds Tu[...] that those kings received gold and silver from him (?) to attack his enemy, but they are silent. We have unfortunately no details about why Kakmum was on the list of adversaries. Furthermore, we have no precise date for the letter. All we can conjecture is that Kakmum, as a major power in the area, has found the Turukkean expansion to Utûm unacceptable and therefore has made trouble for them. It is conceivable that Kakmum saw this expansion to Utûm as an incursion into its traditional domain, remembering that Utûm was under its control in the time of Iddi(n)-Sîn. Pišendēn has certainly tried to breathe life into the old feud between the two kingdoms of Šimurru and Kakmum that went back to the time of Iddi(n)-Sîn and probably even earlier. The question that we cannot answer is why Pišendēn asked those kingdoms to attack Kakmum. Had Kakmum's power surpassed that of Turukkum, or was Turukkum unable to fight Kakmum because of its preoccupation on other fronts of conflict? One more problem is the distance between Kakmum and those kingdoms that could campaign against it. The way to Kakmum would pass through the terrains of Gutium or Lullubum to reach its suggested location in Rawāndiz. The fragmentary state of the letter is frustrating in this regard. Nevertheless, the land of Lullubum is probably mentioned a few lines later, a place which might have afforded a passage for the troops to Kakmum:

Pišendēn to Tu[...] (no. 69 = SH 802, 808+815)

Say to Tu[.....]: Thus (says) Pišen[dēn], your brother: Your envoy [..... brought me] your greetings. I questioned him and [he told me your news]. I was as pleased as if I and [you had (actually) met]. As for [..... why] are you silent? My slave²⁶⁵ [....] like/as if²⁶⁶ [.....] [.....] established brotherhood and friendship, and the previous kings established brotherhood and friendship. Like/as [... ..]²⁶⁷, no[w why....] [you] are silent?²⁶⁸ Like²⁶⁹ [...(break)...]. [.....] I/he honoured your [.....]. Was it not his [...] who honoured him? And the plan was as follows: "Now send words to the "father," the grand-regent,²⁷⁰ and to Namarum, and to Dâsi, the king of Nikum, and promise silver, gold, and costly things if they will make attacks on the land of Kakmum" Why did our fathers get silver (and) gold, either 2 or 3 talents, for this promise? Keep the kings on our side (for the rest of) this year. Now look sharp and your troops [will defeat] the enemy and the hostile [....] to the Lu[llean(?)...(break)...].²⁷¹

²⁶⁴ These dates are according to the Stele of Mardin; cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 146-7 and the table above under 'Chronology.'

²⁶⁵ This *İR-di* was left untranslated by the editors.

²⁶⁶ *ki-ma* was also left untranslated.

²⁶⁷ Also left untranslated.

²⁶⁸ Also left untranslated.

²⁶⁹ Also left untranslated.

²⁷⁰ Eidem and Læssøe are of the opinion that the *waklum rabûm* "must be a local variant of the title used for the king of Elam, *sukkal-mah* - or possibly its Akkadian version;" Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 145, comment on lines 27ff.

²⁷¹ 1) *a-na T[u.....]* 2) *qí-bí-[ma]* 3) *um-ma Pi-še-e[n-de-en]* 4) *a-ḫu-ka-a-[ma]* 5) *ma-ru ši-ip-ri-k[a* 6) *šu-lu-um <<x x>>-ka [ub-la-am]* 7) *a-ša-al-šu-^ru^r-ma [e-em-ka iq-bé-em]* 8) *ki-ma ša a-na-ku [ù at-ta ni-na-am-ru]* 9) *ma-di-iš aḫ-du a-na m[i-ni-ma (.....)]* 10) *ši-ip-p[a-t]a [š]a al 'x' [.....]* 11) *İR-di [.....]* 12) *ki-ma [.....]* 13) *'ù' 'ka' at 'x' [.....]* 14) *at-ḫu-[tam ù ra-i-mu]-tam* 15) *i-pu-^ršu ù LUGAL.ME[Š]-tam* 16) *pa-nu-tu[m a]t-ḫ[ut-a]m ù ra-i-mu-tam* 17) *i-p[u-šu*]'x' ka 'x'

Finally, the Turukkeans launched their attack on the Gutians. However, their attempt to break through the siege was not only futile, but it also had adverse results: Endušše was victorious, the allies did not fight faithfully and the country suffered more than 20 days of Gutian devastation and pillage. This is reported in a sad letter of Kuwari's sincere friend, Sîn-išme'anni. He tells Kuwari about the coming of Endušše and the destruction of the harvest of Kunšum and other surrounding cities (see above, under 'The Gutian Siege'), and continues:

Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari (no. 36 = SH 818)

.... And Kusana(r)hum and Zutlum, *the allies who keep hearing (about it)*, nobody came to (help) us. Now Indušše has roamed the countryside for 20 + x days, and we have not confronted him in open battle, and the soldier of our secret depot and the guards have absented themselves.²⁷² A brother does not trust his (own) brother!²⁷³

That the news of the front reached Kuwari through a friend may very possibly mean that he had not "gone up" with his troops to join the campaign. In justification he certainly argued that the city of Šušarrā would not be safe so he would not leave it but stay where he was. This was a very good excuse that was supported by the similar advice he had received in the letters (see above). At present we cannot know whether he was being honest or was looking for an excuse to stay at home. Further, we assume that the war broke out before the arrival of the Elamite troops to the battlefield. Otherwise, the results of the war is likely to have been quite different if they had contributed to the campaign with their promised 12,000 troops. Endušše, as a skilful general, must have hastened his attack, perhaps even before the Turrukeans attacked him, once he heard the news that the Elamites were coming in support but before their arrival.

A number of Turukkean kings, with or without their allies, fled to Šušarrā after the defeat. Sîn-išme'anni asks Kuwari to be friendly towards them. The names of some of the refugees appear in later correspondence and in the administrative texts,²⁷⁴ but there is no mention of Pišendēn and Sîn-išme'anni. Perhaps they had fled deeper into Turukkean territory, or were killed in the battle, or just faded away from being active and so were not mentioned in the correspondence between Kuwari and his new lord Šamšī-Adad. The omen that the sender would take for the fate of Kunšum perhaps means that the city had not yet fallen into the hands of Endušše. If so, we could expect Pišendēn still to be residing there. But the omen

ša 'u'-ul a[n-.....] 18) ki-ma [.....] 19) i-na-a[n-na a-na mi-ni-im-ma] 20) ši-pa-t[a] 21) ki-ma 'x' [.....] (break) 23') [.....-n]u-um-ma 24') [x]'x'[.....]-i-ti-ka ú-ša-qí-ir 25') ú-ul 'x' [x x x]'x'-šu ú-ša-qí-ir-šu 26') ú te-mu-um šu-'u' um-ma 27') i-na-an-na a-na a-bi-im UGULA ra-bi-i-im 28') ú Na-ma-ri-im ú Da-a-si 29') LUGAL Ni-ki-im^{ki} šu-pu-ur-ma 30') KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI ú aš-la-le-em 31') da-am-qa-am qí-bi-ma 32') a-na ma-at Ka-ak-mi-im li-iš-ta-ḫi-tú 33') [a-na] mi-ni-ma a-b[u-n]i KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI [(...)] 34') [ù-l]u-ú '2' ú 3 'GÚ' a-na p[í-i]m 35') [an-ni]-im ir-šu 36') [ù š]a-at-tu-um an-ni-tum 37') [LUGAL.MEŠ] i-ta-ap-la-sa-an-ni-a-ši-im 38') [i-na-an-na š]i-ri-im-ma 39') [ù ša-bu-ka LÚ.KÚ]R ú a-ia-[ba-am] 40') [x x x x x] a-na Lu-[.....] (break), Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 142-4 (no. 69 = SH 802, 808+815).

²⁷² Eidem and Læssøe explain that their translation of this passage is tentative; they point to the suggestion of Durand in *ARM* 26/1, p. 345, note 37: "The small peasants too who smuggle and the (customs) guards stay inactive ...," cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 107, comment on lines 22f.

²⁷³ 14) ú 'Ku-sa-na-ḫu'-um ú Zu-ut-lu-um 15) 'ti-la-tum' Ša ší³-te-mu-ú 16) ma-am-ma-an ú-lu 'il'-li-kam 17) 'i-na-an-na iš³-tu 20 [(+x)] u₄-mì-im 18) ^m[n-d]u-úš-še i-na li-ib-bi ma-tim 19) 'it-ta-na³-al-la-ak-ma 20) ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.MEŠ ú ta-ḫa-za-am 21) it-'tí'-šu ú-ul ni-pu-úš 22) 'ú³ ḫu-up-šu-um ša pa-zu-ur-ta-ni 23) ú 'ma³-ša-ra-tum ir-ti-qa 24) a-'hu'-um a-na a-ḫi-im ú-ul ip-pa-la-às, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 106-7 (no. 36 = SH 818). Eidem and Læssøe translate l. 24 as: "Nobody trusts each other!."

²⁷⁴ Cf. Eidem, *ShA* 2.

may also have been taken to foretell the fate of the city under the Gutians. Both suggestions are speculative.

The letter of Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari states that Endušše destroyed the harvest, which can hardly mean anything else than setting fire to the ripe grain, a custom occasionally recorded in the royal inscriptions. The letters often specify that the grain was barley, which ripens earlier than wheat, in May. So we conclude that the war broke out around this month or slightly later, taking into account that the Turukkean lands on a higher elevation were cooler. Endušše would have been in a hurry to destroy it as early as possible in order not to give any chance to his enemies to harvest it. The timing of the destruction of the harvest by Endušše could not have been worse, for it was in the same year when Šamši-Adad destroyed the harvest of the land of Qabrā, according to his own statement in the Mardin stele.²⁷⁵

Sîn-išme'anni did not forget to give Kuwari his last advice coupled with requests. He expected that Endušše would head on to Šušarrā. So he asked Kuwari to reinforce his stores and to be friendly to the Lulleans, probably to let them be neutral in the war:

Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari (no. 36 = SH 818)

You must not let (us) down there! (Act) like a (noble)man! Reinforce the defence of your stores! Come a propitious day and I will take omens for the fate of Kunšum and [write down] and convey the results to you. [.....] Be friendly to the kings you control, and be friendly to the Lulleans! And [in order that] they will not destroy the harvest (there) and it will be well for Kunšum and with do not be negligent, but alert the countryside!²⁷⁶

Sîn-išme'anni had seemingly the time to write another letter to a certain Namram-šarur during this same war. Apparently, the letter did not reach its destination but instead found its way to the palace of Šušarrā. The reason is easy to guess, for the routes were blocked or were too dangerous to follow because of the Gutians or (or together with) their Lullean allies. This becomes understandable if we read that the letter was sent to the city of Awal in the Hamrin Basin, and would have to pass through the enemy territories. In that letter, the sender refers clearly to the current war:

Sîn-išme'anni to Namram-šarur (no. 65 = SH 918)

[....Here] there is war and I cannot send you any of my retainers.²⁷⁷

The Aftermath

Thus, the bitter defeat reported in the letter of Sîn-išme'anni resulted in a great change in the political situation. No mention of Pišendēn is made from now on and years later other Turukkean kings, such as Lidāya and Zaziya, are named instead. This points to profound changes, not only on the political level, but also on the social and ideological levels in the Zagros. Ideological changes include the transition that took place in Turukkean life, from being an isolated inner-Zagros kingdom to one in direct contact with the Mesopotamian

²⁷⁵ For the inscription of the stele see below. The chronology of these episodes is discussed below under 'The Assyrian Domination Phase.'

²⁷⁶ 25) 'at-ta' aš-ra-nu-um la ti-gi 26) 'lu-ū' a-wi-lum at-ta 27) n[a-k]a-ma-ti-ka du-un-ni-in 28) u₄-mu¹-um ta-bu-um li-ti-iq-mq 29) te-er-'tam' a-na šu-lu-um Ku-un-ši-im^{ki} 30) 'lu-pu-úš-ma an-ni-tam la an-ni-tam 31) lu-[úš-tú-r]a-ak-kum-ma 32) l[u-úš-pu-r]a-ak-kum 33) 'x'[x x]'ú' i²-ti LUGAL.MEŠ 34) ša 'qá-ti-ka' lu ta-ba-ta 35) ú 'it'<-ti> Lu-ul-li-[im] 36) lu ta-ba-'ta' 37) ú [ki-ma] e-bu-ra-a[m š]a-'a'-tu la 'im-ta-ḫa-šú' 38) ú ša Ku-un<-ši>-im^{ki}-ma ta-ba'²-ma a-'na x x x' 39) la te-gi-ma ma-'tam nu'-ḫi-'da-am', Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 107 (no. 36 = SH 818).

²⁷⁷ 17) [an-na-nu-u]m nu-ku-'ur'-tum-ma 18) ma-am-ma-[a]n i-na šú-ḫa-ri-ia 19) a-'na' še-'ri'-ka 20) [ú-ul a-š]a-'pa'-ar, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 139 (no. 65 = SH 918).

powers and developing an expansionist ideology towards the territories to the west of the Tigris and the Habur region.

As a direct result of the Gutian triumph the lords of Kuwari became powerless. Many of those lords, governors, high officials, and perhaps a large number of other officials and ordinary people, all became refugees in Šušarrā.²⁷⁸ Šušarrā itself was threatened by the Gutians, as shown in the letter of Šîn-išme'anni (no. 36, see above). The scale of devastation and looting the Gutians brought about was huge, and Kuwari remained without any protective cover after the collapse of the Turukkean front. The pressure was now considerable: large numbers of refugees caused problems from within, and there was an impending military invasion from without. Under such circumstances, Kuwari had few if any choices. He had to offer himself as vassal to the ambitious king of Assyria, who clung to every chance to expand his realm. Their two aims coincided perfectly. With this, a new phase in the history of Šušarrā and of the northern Transtigris begins, to be called the phase of Assyrian Domination.

The Assyrian Domination Phase

In Šušarrā this phase begins with Kuwari's offer of allegiance to Šamšī-Adad. But more importantly there are a set of significant episodes which had taken place before this. In the *limmu* of Asqudum both Šamšī-Adad and Daduša of Ešnunna²⁷⁹ were victorious in a joint expedition against Arrapha in VIII* Asqudum (1780 BC),²⁸⁰ against Nineveh in X*,²⁸¹ and against Qabrā.²⁸² As a result, a large part of the plains of the east side of the Tigris were

²⁷⁸ A list of individuals, mostly bearing Hurrian names, are mentioned in letter no. 8 = SH 887, sent by Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari asking him for their release. Seven of these individuals are named "PN, with his men" or "PN, with his people," which means that they had been influential persons with a retinue, such as former governors or city-rulers. The only exception to this might be Uštap-tupki, who is designated as "the cook." This could have been just a title, or he really was a cook with (political ?) influence with a large family or followers; for the letter, cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 78-81 (no. 8 = SH 887).

²⁷⁹ The alliance of Ešnunna and Assyria lasted until late in the reign of Išme-Dagan. That it was more than a mere political alliance between two royal houses is clear from the roots of Šamšī-Adad's family in the south. His father Ila-kabkābu was ruler in the Diyāla region, and his grandfather Yas/dkur-El was governor of Zarlulu (modern Tell Dhibā'i). Even Šamšī-Adad describes himself as "King of Agade" in one of his royal inscriptions and both Šamšī-Adad and Išme-Dagan chose Babylonia as a refuge during hard times; cf. Birot, "Les chroniques ...," *MARI* 4, p. 222-3, for the relations between the ancestors of Šamšī-Adad with the Diyāla region; Wu Yuhong, *A Political ...*, p. 62-3, for Yaskur-El and his identification with Yaskur-El, the grandfather of Šamšī-Adad; Durand, *LAPU* II, p. 108-9 who suggests Agade as the cradle of the dynasty of Šamšī-Adad and that the latter was once a vassal of Ešnunna (p. 108); Charpin, *OBO*, p. 149; Charpin, D., "Mari und die Assyrer," 2000 v. Chr., *Politische, Wirtschaftliche und Kulturelle Entwicklung im Zeichen einer Jahrtausend*, Internationale Colloquium der Orient-Gesellschaft 4.-7. April 2000, Saarbrücken, 2004, p. 372f.

²⁸⁰ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 166.

²⁸¹ The letter M.8898 relates that Išme-Dagan left Ninê (=Nineveh) on the second day of X* after its capture; cf. Charpin, *OBO*, p. 167 and note 785.

²⁸² Since the conquest of Aḫazum and Nurrugum (*limmu* Aššur-malik, cf. MEC) must have chronologically followed the conquest of Qabrā, the conquest of the latter should have taken place in the *limmu* Asqudum that records a victory(?) of Šamšī-Adad; cf. also Charpin and Durand, "La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim," *MARI* 4, Paris, 1985, p. 315; and Eidem, who considers month VIII* of Asqudum and perhaps month I* of Aššur-malik: Eidem, *ShA* 2, p. 17. However, Charpin, in his later article in *RA* dates this joint campaign to the beginning of month II* of *limmu* Aššur-malik, i.e. in the autumn of that year (1779): Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 170 (referring also to Charpin, D. and N. Ziegler, *Mari et le Proche-Orient...*, *FM* V, p. 95) and *OBO*, p. 168. I note that in the *limmu* Aššur-malik there is mention of victory over Yašub-Addu of Aḫazum. We know from the correspondence of Šamšī-Adad with Kuwari that the former planned to conquer Šikšabbum, the capital of Yašub-Addu, but winter was the obstacle (see below), so he waited until spring. This spring must have been within the *limmu* Aššur-malik. Since the capture of Šikšabbum and Nurrugum postdates the capture of Qabrā, the joint campaign of Šamšī-Adad and Daduša on Qabrā can hardly have taken place in the autumn (of Aššur-malik) as Charpin suggests. This is based on the fact that, in autumn there is no harvest to burn or to destroy, as told by the stele of

subjugated and the Assyrian power came into direct contact with the inner Zagros region and its political affairs. These operations shook the political structure of the region, and this accordingly resulted in demographic changes that will be shown later in this study.

The Conquest of Qabrā

Qabrā must have been a large, powerful and well-fortified city in the region. This is supported first by the elaborate preparations for its capture, when the surrounding towns and villages were captured to cut off supplies and support. Second, both Ešnunna and Assyria joined forces to attack it. Šamšī-Adad himself with both his sons personally led the troops. The details of this campaign are recorded in two important royal inscriptions as well as several letters from Mari. The first royal inscription is the stele of Daduša, found accidentally in 1983 in the Diyāla region (now in the Iraq Museum) while digging a well.²⁸³ The second is the stele of Šamšī-Adad, purchased in Mosul and said to have come from Sinjār or Mardin. It is now in the Louvre and known as the Mardin Stele.²⁸⁴ The historical section of the Daduša stele runs as follows:

Qabrā - none of the previous princes²⁸⁵ who ruled in Ešnunna and none of the kings of the whole land who are (today?) had ever dared to proceed to its siege - this land, that disdained me and did not bow down in respect on hearing my great name - I sent against it 10,000 of my elite troops. With the powerful weapon of Tišpak, the hero, and Adad, my god, I marched through its territory like a furious scythe. Nobody among its allies (and) its warriors could stop me. Its main cities, Tutarra, Ḥatsum, Ḥurārā, Kirḥum and its large settlements I conquered with my mighty weapons within a twinkling. I transported its gods (statues), its booty²⁸⁶ (that I spoiled) and its best kept possessions to Ešnunna, my royal city. After that I plundered the surrounding territory and extensively devastated the whole country. I approached

Mardin. To be compatible with the statement of the stele we must date it in May-June of *limmu* Asqudum and suggest that the capture of Nineveh was after, not before Qabrā. It needs no explanation that the correspondence of Šamšī-Adad with Kuwari was of course after the submission of the latter to the former, which took place after the capture of Qabrā. The suggestion of Charpin cannot be based on the fact that the Assyrian calendar, also in the time of Šamšī-Adad, began in the late autumn (cf. Hunger, H., "Kalender," *RIA* 5, Berlin, 1976-1980, p. 299 and 301), because Šamšī-Adad, judging by the mention of the month *magrānum* in his stele, used the Ešnunna calendar, which was different from the OA calendar, (for the OA calendar, cf. Hunger, *op. cit.*, p. 301). In the Ešnunna calendar, *magrānum* (attested as such in Harmal = Šaduppum, and as *magrattum* in Ešnunna) was the second month, approximately May.

²⁸³ Ismail, B. Kh., "Eine Siegesstele des Königs Daduša von Ešnunna," *Im Bannkreis des Alten Orients, Studien zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients und seines Ausstrahlungsraumes: Karl Oberhuber zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, eds. W. Meid and H. Trenkwalder, Innsbruck, 1986, p. 105.

²⁸⁴ Grayson, *RIMA* I, p. 63. The name of Šamšī-Adad is not preserved on the stele, but there is a strong probability for attributing it to him and this is supported by Von Soden, Læssøe, Charpin and Durand; cf. Grayson, *RIMA* I, p. 63; Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 162 and bibliography. A criterion used by Charpin and Durand is the occurrence of the month names Addarum and Magrānum, which they say were not included in the calendar of Ešnunna: Charpin and Durand, "La prise du pouvoir ...," *MARI* 4, p. 315, n. 98. They are correct insofar as *addarum* and *magrānum* were the months used by Šamšī-Adad. But they are not correct to assume that *magrānum* was not used in Ešnunna, when it is attested there also as the second month; cf. Hunger, *RIA* 5, p. 301; see also above; for *adarum* and *magrānum* in the calendar of Šamšī-Adad, cf. Wu Yuhong, *A Political History...*, p. 155.

²⁸⁵ Ismail translates the word *rubē* as "kings," cf. *BM*, p. 143.

²⁸⁶ Or, according to Charpin "captives," cf. Charpin, D., "Chroniques bibliographiques.....," *RA* 98 (2004), p. 154 and his note on p. 156. He argues that the word *šallatu(m)* means anything taken as booty of war; people and property alike, and since property is mentioned separately, the word here should be restricted to people taken captive.

vigorously Qabrā, its capital city.²⁸⁷ By laying siege to the encircling wall,²⁸⁸ heaping up earth (against the wall), breaching, sweeping attack(s) and my great power, I captured that city in ten days. Its king, Bunu-Ištar, I overwhelmed in a twinkling with the strike of my mighty weapon²⁸⁹ and sent his (decapitated) head²⁹⁰ immediately to Ešnunna. (Thus) I smashed the bond of the kings who fought for him and (the bond) of his auxiliary troops, and I spread silence upon them. I brought triumphantly their rich booty, the great wealth of the city, gold, silver,²⁹¹ precious stones, expensive items, everything this land had, to my royal city Ešnunna, and I showed (all) the people of the upper and lower lands, big and small. Everything else in that land, that city, its widespread land/territory and its settlements, I presented as a gift to Samse-Addu (=Šamši-Adad), the king of Ekallātum. In the north (lit. height), in the land of Šubartum, from the land of Burunda and the land of Eluḫti²⁹² to Mount Diluba and Mount (of) Lullum, those land(s) I subjugated with my mighty arms without mercy. (Thus) I made the king(s) of the whole land(s) praise me forever. In that same year, I built Dūr-Daduša, (to become) my border city on the bank of the Tigris, (by which) I made a good name for the days to come.²⁹³

The inscription, as a traditional royal inscription, is the narrative of a military action. It begins by showing the might of the enemy, mentioning that it had never been conquered by an Ešnunnean nor another king of the land. To justify the campaign, Daduša says that Qabrā

²⁸⁷ Ismail has “Marktstad,” however, the words *rebītišu* was already been explained by Charpin as “centre” in a note in *NABU* (*NABU* 1991, no. 112), cf. Charpin, “Chroniques bibliographiques....,” *RA* 98, p. 156.

²⁸⁸ Charpin says the translation of Edzard, “I surrounded it with a wall,” cannot be correct; cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 156; compare Edzard, D. O., *Altbabylonische Literatur und Religion, in Mesopotamien: Die altbabylonische Zeit*, *OBO* 160/4, p. 552.

²⁸⁹ Edzard has “with my hot blades:” Edzard, *OBO*, p. 552 and note 242. This because he reads *šimtu* as *šibbatu* “to burn;” Charpin prefers *ši-ib-ba-at*; for this, and the correction of *šibbatu* to *šimtu*, cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 156.

²⁹⁰ Ismail adds tentatively “(ihn persönlich?)” after “head” in her translation. This seems unlikely because, as Charpin also says, it was a common practice in that period to decapitate enemies; cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 152; for instances of beheading enemies as a political tool cf. Charpin, D., “Une décollation mystérieuse,” *NABU* 1994, no. 59, p. 51-2.

²⁹¹ Charpin finds it exceptional to mention gold before silver in such a context; cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 152.

²⁹² According to Edzard it is “in the land of Šubartum, I struck the territory between the lands of Burunda and Eluḫt and the lands D. and Lullūm with my mighty arms;” cf. Edzard, *OBO*, p. 552.

²⁹³ V 12) *i-nu-mi-šu Qá-ba-ra-a^{ki}* 13) *ša i-na ru-bé-e šu-ú-ut pa-na-nu-um* VI 1) *ša i-na Èš-nun-na^{ki} iš-pí-tú 2) ù šar-ri ša i-na ma-tim ka-li-ša¹* 3) *i-ba-aš-šu-ú a-na la-we-šu 4) šar-ru-um ma-am-ma-an la i-wi-ru 5) ma-tum ši-i ša i-ši-ra-an-ni-ma 6) a-na zi-ki-ir šu-mi-ia kab-tim 7) pa-al-ḫi-iš la ik-nu-ša-am 8) 10 li-mi ša-bi dam-qá-am 9) aṭ-ru-us-sú-um-ma 10) i-na ka-ak-ki-im da-an-nim 11) ša qar-ra-di-im^d Tišpak 12) ù^d IM i-li-ia 13) ki-ma ka-šu-ši-im na-ad-ri-im VII 1) *i-na er-še-ti-šu a-ba-ma 2) ša-bi ti-il-la-ti-šu 3) ù na-ap-ḫar qar-ra-di-šu 4) ma-am-ma-an a-na pa-ni-ia la ip-ri-ku 5) a-la-ni-šu ra-ap-šu-tim 6) Tu-ta-ar-ra^{ki} Ḫa-at-kum^{ki} 7) Ḫu-ra-ra-a^{ki} Ki-ir-ḫu-um^{ki} 8) ù na-ma-aš-ši-šu ra-ap-šu-tim 9) i-na ka-ak-ki-ia da-an-nim 10) ur-ru-ḫi-iš aš-ba-at-ma 11) i-li-šu-nu ša-al-la-as-sú-nu 12) ù bu-še-šu-nu na-aš-ru-tim 13) a-na Èš-nun-na^{ki} a-al šar-ru-ti-ia 14) lu ú-ša-ri-a-am VIII 1) *iš-tu i-ta-ti-šu ú-na-wu-ma 2) ma-as-sú ra-pa-áš-tam áš-ki-šu 3) a-na Qá-ba-ra-a^{ki} a-al ri-bi-ti-šu 4) ra-bi-i-š áš-ni-iq-ma 5) i-na li-wi-it du-ur ni-tim 6) ši-pí-ik e-pé-ri pí-il-ši 7) si-iḫ-pí-im ù e-mu-qí-ia 8) ra-bi-i-im a-lam šu-a-ti 9) i-na U₄ 10.KAM aš-ba-at-ma 10) šar-ra-šu Bu-nu-Eš₄-tár 11) *i-na ši-ib-ba-at ka-ak-ki-ia 12) da-an-nim ur-ru-ḫi-iš ak-mi-šu-ma 13) ḫa-am-ti-iš qá-qá-as-sú 14) a-na Èš-nun-na^{ki} lu ú-ša-ri-a-am IX 1) *te₄-em šar-ri mu-qar-ri-di-šu 2) ù ti-la-ti-šu iš-ti-ni-iš 3) ú-pa-ar-ri-ir-ma 4) qú-la-tim e-li-šu-nu lu ad-di 5) ša-al-la-as-sú ra-pa-áš-tam 6) ma-ak-ku-ur a-li-im šu-a-ti kab-tam 7) KÜ.GI KÜ.BABBAR NA₄ wa-qar-tam 8) a-ši-la-le-e-em dam-qá-am 9) ù mi-im-ma šum-šu 10) ša ma-tum ši-i ir-šu-ú 11) a-na Èš-nun-na^{ki} 12) a-al šar-ru-ti-ia 13) e-te-el-li-iš ub-lam-ma X 1) *ni-iš ma-tim e-li-tim 2) ù ša-ap-li-tim še-eḫ-ra-am 3) ù ra-bi-a-am lu ú-ka-al-li-im 4) ši-ta-at mi-im-ma 5) i-na li-ib-bu ma-tim šu-a-ti 6) in-ne-ez-bu a-lam šu-a-ti 7) er-še-sú ra-pa-áš-tam 8) ù na-ma-aš-ši-šu 9) a-na Sa-am-se-e^d IM 10) LUGAL É-kál-la-tim^{ki} 11) a-na qí-iš-tim lu a-qí-iš 12) e-li-iš i-na ma-a-at Šu-bar-tim 13) iš-tu ma-a-at Bu-ru-un-da^{ki} XI 1) ù ma-a-at E-lu-úḫ-ti^{ki} 2) a-di KUR Di-i-lu-ba 3) ù KUR Lu-ul-lu-ú-um^{ki} 4) ma-tam ša-ti i-na ka-ak-ki-ia 5) da-an-nim ez-zi-iš lu aš-ki-iš 6) ki-ma šar-ru ša i-na ma-tim ka-li-ša 7) i-ba-aš-šu-ú a-na da-ri-a-tim 8) uš-ta-na-du-ni-in-ni lu e-pu-uš 9) i-na li-ib-bu ša-at-tim ša-ti-ma 10) i-na ki-ša-ad^{id} IDIGNA 11) BÀD-Da-du-ša^{ki} a-al pa-ti-ia 12) e-pu-uš-ma šu-mi dam-qá-am 13) a-na wa-ar-ki-a-at u₄-mi 14) lu ú-ša-ab-ši, Ismail, B. Kh. (in cooperation with A. Cavigneux), “Dādušas Siegesstele IM 95200 aus Ešnunna. Die Inschrift,” *BM* 34 (2003), p. 142-147; Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 154f.******

disdained him and did not show any respect. Charpin noted that Daduša, while saying nothing about his own allies, alludes to the regular soldiers (*na-ap-ḥar qar-ra-di-šu*, vii 3) as well as to the auxiliaries (*ša-bi ti-il-la-ti-šu*, vii 2), who supported his opponent Bunu-Ištar.²⁹⁴ The king, realizing the conquest of the city will need a siege, began his campaign with the control and destruction of the towns, villages and settlements of the land to deprive Qabrā of supplies and support. None of the towns mentioned in the inscription, namely Tutarra,²⁹⁵ Ḥatsum, Ḥurarrā and Kirḥum, has been precisely located, except that their general location was in the fertile plain to the north of the Zāb.²⁹⁶ The second step, laying siege to the fortified capital itself (Fig. 5), took 10 days, during which every available siege technique was utilised. Charpin is correct when he says that Daduša would not have been able to reach Qabrā without the conquest of Arrapha by Šamši-Adad and supposes that Daduša has followed the route of the Adhēm Valley, although no itinerary is given.²⁹⁷ However, we think that the fragmentary section of the MEC, that mentions the city of Mē-Turan and Daduša in the *limmu* Ikūn-pīya, directly before *limmu* Asqudum (see above under Chronology), has certainly something to do with the preparations and opening up the ways leading to Arrapha and Qabrā.²⁹⁸ The inscription implies a pact between Daduša and Šamši-Adad to divide the spoils of Qabrā; Ešnunna takes the moveable possessions and Assyria takes the land. This suggests that Šamši-Adad received Qabrā emptied of its inhabitants.²⁹⁹

Another side to the story comes from the stele of Šamši-Adad (the Mardin Stele):

...[I th]ought.³⁰⁰ [By] the command of [the god] Enlil and [... thanks to the vigour of] my attack [I broke into³⁰¹ the fortress³⁰² of Arra]pḥa [within] seven days and I sacrificed [to DN....(lacuna of about 4 lines)....]. I entered his fortress. I kissed the feet of the god Adad, my lord, and reorganized the land. I installed my governors everywhere and in Arrapha itself I sacrificed at the Festival of Heat³⁰³ to the gods Šamaš (=Šimegi) and Adad (=Teššup).³⁰⁴ On the twentieth day of the month *niggallum* (VIII*)³⁰⁵ I crossed the River Zab (written Zaib)³⁰⁶ and made a razzia in the land of Qabrā. I destroyed (lit. struck down) the harvest of that land and in the month of Magrānum (IX*)³⁰⁷ (lit. Threshing-Floor) I captured all the fortified cities of the land of Urbēl (= Urbilum/Arbela). I established my garrisons everywhere. On[ly] Qabrā

²⁹⁴ Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 164.

²⁹⁵ The name Tutarra has been translated as “The Bridge;” cf. Durand, J.-M., “Le dieu Abnu à Mari?,” *NABU* 1987, no. 78, p. 42.

²⁹⁶ Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 164. To Charpin, they were in the plain between the two Zābs, but we are not sure if Qabrā controlled the whole region up to the Upper Zāb, since we know of other polities in the region, such as Aḥazum, Ya’ilānum and perhaps even Nurrugum.

²⁹⁷ Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 165.

²⁹⁸ Mē-Turan was a key centre on the way from Ešnunna to Arrapha. It was associated with Daduša three years before as well, in the *limmu* Aššur-imitti (III); cf. MEC.

²⁹⁹ Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 166, note 58, referring to Ziegler, N., “Aspects économiques des guerres de Samsî-Addu,” in *Economie antique. la guerre dans les économies antiques*, eds. J. Andreau, P. Briant and R. Descat, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, 2000, p. 14-33.

³⁰⁰ Grayson, *RIMA* 1: [x x-d]a(?)*-al-ma*.

³⁰¹ For *ḥepû* cf. *CAD* H, p. 170f.

³⁰² Grayson, *RIMA* 1: *ina*.

³⁰³ Grayson, *RIMA* 1. Charpin leaves it as “*ḥumtum* festival.”

³⁰⁴ Charpin and Durand are correct in their suggestion to read these two DNs in Hurrian: Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “La prise du pouvoir ...,” *MARI* 4, p. 315, note 99 (referred to by Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 64, note to ii’ 9), because we expect Hurrian deities in the temple of the by-that-time Hurrianized city as also the city name indicates.

³⁰⁵ This is month I of the ŠA calendar; cf. the concordance in Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.* p. 155.

³⁰⁶ This river name is written in the same way in his letters he sent to Kuwari, for instance no. 1 = SH 809: 21 and no. 9 = SH 882: 11; for transliteration see below.

³⁰⁷ Month II of the ŠA calendar.

re[mained] This city which, during [?] month(s) could not [*be taken*], th[is] city, in the month *kinûnum* (II*) wit[h my] mi[ghty weapons]... [*I took over*].³⁰⁸

Šamši-Adad here says nothing about booty or prisoners, as Daduša had done. Instead, he speaks about reorganization and consolidation of his authority by installing garrisons and governors everywhere. The pact between the two kings seems to have been a long-term one, since in the following year, in the *limmu* Aššur-malik, several lands were conquered and 9 kings were captured, all of them handed over(?) to Daduša, according to the MEC (see above). This pact is reminiscent of the alliance between the Neo-Babylonians and the Medes who jointly attacked Assyria. Then it seems that the Babylonians took the spoils and the Medes inherited the Assyrian territories.³⁰⁹ Daduša is not honest when he ignores every allusion in his stele to the cooperation of the troops of Šamši-Adad. Eidem collected a group of letters from Mari that concern this campaign.³¹⁰ From the letters we learn that the troops were led by Išme-Dagan, who actively took part in the conquest of all the cities of Qabrā. The letter *ARM* 1, 138 reports:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 1, 138)

I have reached Ḫatka. Within one single day I conquered it and took it. Rejoice!³¹¹

In another letter, Išme-Dagan reports more successes and repeats the old one:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 1, 131)

As soon as I conquered Tutarrum, Ḫatka and Šunḫūm, I went to attack Ḫurarā. I laid siege to this town, I set up siege tower(s) and battering ram(s) (towards its walls). I took it within seven days. Rejoice!³¹²

After taking these towns, Išme-Dagan, of course together with Ešnunnean troops, went on to take Kerḫum:

³⁰⁸ i' 1) [áš-t]-al-ma 2) [i-na] qí-bi-it 3) [dE]N.LÍL-ma 4) [x x] x i-ti-'lam' 5) [x x x t]i-bi-ia 6) [i-na Ar-ra-a]p-ḫi-im^{ki} 7) [i-na] 'U₄' 7.KAM 8) [lu-ú aḫ]-pí-ma 9) [a-na DN lu a]q-qí 10) [x x x x x]-'ma' [...(lacuna of 4 lines)...] ii' 1) a-na 'ke'-er-ḫi-šu e-ru-ub 2) še-pa^dIM be-lí-ia 3) aš-ši-iq-ma 4) ma-'a-tam' ša-a-ti 5) ú-uk}-ki-in 6) ša-ak-'ni'-ia 7) aš-'ta(?)'-ka-ma 8) i-si-in ḫu-um-tim 9) a-na^dUTU ú^dIM 10) i-na Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im^{ki}-ma 11) lu-ú aq-qí 12) ITI ŠE.KIN.KU₅ 13) i-na U₄ 20.KAM-šu 14) i^{17(?)}Za-i-ba-am 15) [lu] e-bi-ir-ma iii' 1) a-na ma-a-at 2) Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} 3) aḫ-ḫa-bi-it-ma 4) ma-a-tam ša-a-ti 5) e-bu-úr-ša 6) am-ḫa-aš-ma 7) a-la-ni da-an-na-ti 8) ša ma-a-at Ur-bi-e-el 9) ka-la-šu-nu 10) i-na ITI ma-ag-ra-nim 11) ú-ša-bi-it-ma 12) bi-ra-ti-ia 13) lu-ú áš-ta-ak-ka-an 14) Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} iv' 1) e-di-[iš-ši-šu] 2) lu-ú [e-zi-ib] 3) i-na [x x x] 4) e-BU-[...] 5) ID x [...] 6) a-lum 'šu'-[ú ša] 7) i-na ITI [?.KAM] 8) la iš-'šu'-[...] 9) a-lam ša-[a-ti] 10) i-na I[TI ki-nu-nim] 11) i-n[a ka-ak-ki-ia] 12) da-[an-nu-tim], Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 162-3, with references to restorations; cf. also Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 64-65.

³⁰⁹ About this alliance, recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle known as "Fall of Nineveh," cf. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, p. 90-96. As for the problems concerning the control of territories in Northern Mesopotamia, cf. Rollinger, R., "The Western Expansion of the Median "Empire:" a Re-Examination," in *Continuity of Empire (?) Assyria, Media, Persia*, ed. G. B. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf and R. Rollinger, Padova, 2003, p. 289ff.

³¹⁰ Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives* 2, p. 16f.

³¹¹ 5) a-na Ḫa-at-ka^{ki} 6) áš-ni-iq-ma 7) i-na li-ib-bi 8) u₄-ma-ka-al 9) a-lam ša-a-ti 10) áš-ḫu-up-m[a] 11) aš-ša-ba-[a]t! 12) lu-ú ḫa-[d]e-et, Dossin, *ARM* 1, 138; for the translation and restoration of l. 12, cf. Durand, *LAPPO* II, p. 122.

³¹² 5) [iš]-tu Tu-ta-ar-ra-am^{ki} 6) Ḫ[a-a]t-ka^{ki} 7) ú Šu-un-ḫa-am^{ki} 8) aš-ba-tu a-na Ḫu-ra-ra-a^{ki} 9) áš-ni-iq-ma 10) a-lam ša-a-ti al-wi-ma 11) ^{GIŠ}di-im-tam 12) ú ^{GIŠ}ia-ši-ba-am 13) uš-zi-is-sú-um-ma 14) i-na U₄ 7.KAM 15) a-lam^{ki} ša-a-ti 16) aš-ša-ba-at 17) l[u]-ú ḫa-de-et, Dossin, *ARM* 1, 131, p. 212; for the translation and correction of l. 5, cf. Durand, *LAPPO* II, p. 124.

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 1, 135)

When I arrived at the city of Kerḫum, I set up a (siege) tower and demolished its wall by means of a breach. Within 8 days, I took the city of Kerḫum. Rejoice! All the fortified towns of the land of Qabrā have been taken, only Qabrā itself has remained.³¹³

The same event was reported by Šamšī-Adad to his son Yasmaḥ-Addu:

Šamšī-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (A.4413)

Your brother has conquered Kerḫum. Rejoice!³¹⁴

According to the texts A.4413 and A.2745+, Yasmaḥ-Addu was residing in Razama but moved with his troops to Qabrā, passing by Ekallātum, to join his brother for the siege of Qabrā.³¹⁵ There he remained at least 20 days:

Yasmaḥ-Addu to Šamšī-Adad (A.2745+)

... Now [on]ly Qabrā has remained... We, Išme-Dagan and 'T, have been laying siege to Razama for 20 days.³¹⁶

The information provided by the letter *ARM* 4, 49 proves that the king himself was commanding other troops, also in the same region of Qabrā, since he is reported to have approached the town of Sarri(ma). As a result of this approach the inhabitants of the city fled to Qabrā. This perhaps indicates that Qabrā was better fortified, or was the only place remaining:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 4, 49)

When the king with massive troops marched to Sarrima, a city of Qabrā, the city of Sarrima was abandoned before the king and they entered Qabrā. Now the king has stayed in Sarrima.³¹⁷

The last phase of the campaign had now been reached. After this Šamšī-Adad took A'innum and Zamiyātum on the bank of the Lower Zāb and began to march towards Qabrā:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 1, 121)

The king took A'innum and Zamiyātum which stand on the bank of the Zāb and which are the cities of Qabrā. Rejoice! After the king had taken these cities, he directly marched to Qabrā.³¹⁸

³¹³ 4) *ki-ma a-na a-lim Ki-i[r-ḫi-im^{ki}]* 5) *ás-ni-[qú]* 6) ^{Giš} *di-im-tam* 7) *uš' (IZ)-zi-iz-ma* 8) *ù BÀD-šu* 9) *i-na pi-il-ši* 10) *ú-ša-am-qí-i[t-ma]* 11) *i-na U₄ 8.[KAM]* 12) *a-lam Ki-ir-ḫa-[am^{ki}]* 13) *aš-ša-ba-[at]* 14) *lu-ú ḫa-de-[e]t* 15) *a-al dan-na-tim* 16) *ša ma-a-at Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 17) *ka-la-šu-nu iš-ša-a[b-tu-ma(?)]* 18) *[Qa]-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 19) *a-na ra-ma-[ni-šu-ma(?)]* 20) *ir-te-<ḫe>-e'*, Dossin, *ARM* 1, 135, with corrections to lines 4, 7, 12 and 20 following Durand, *LPO* II, p. 125; cf. also Wu Yuhong, *A Political History ...*, p. 183; for a discussion of the reading of l. 20, cf. Eidem, *ShA* 2, p. 17, note 17.

³¹⁴ *[a]-ḫu-ka [Ki]-ir-ḫa-am^{ki} iš-ša-ba-at [l]u-ú ḫa-de-e-et*, after: Eidem, *ShA* 2, p. 17.

³¹⁵ Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 94.

³¹⁶ 13) *..... i-na-an-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 14) *[e-d]i-iš-ši-šu e-zi-ib* 18) *.... I-na-an-na iš-tu U₄ 20.KAM* 19) ^m *Iš-me-dDa-gan ù a-[na-k]u Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} la-we-nu*, Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 94, note 159.

³¹⁷ 5) LUGAL *a-n[a S]a-ar-ri-ma^{ki}* 6) *a-lim ša Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 7) *qa-du-um ka-bi-it-ti ša-bi-[i]m* 8) *[it]-ḫe-ma a-lum Sa-ar-ri-ma^{ki}* 9) *[a-n]a pa-an LUGAL* 10) *[in-na]-di-ma a-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 11) *[i-te-r]u-ub ù LUGAL* 12) *[i-na] Sa-ar-ri-ma^{ki}* 13) *[w]a-ši-ib*, Dossin, *ARM* 4, 49; the breaks in lines 10 and 11 are partly restored by Durand, *LPO* II, p. 122; cf. also Wu Yuhong, *A Political History ...*, p. 184.

³¹⁸ 5) LUGAL *A-i-in-na-am^{ki}* 6) *ù Za-mi-ia-tam^{ki}* 7) *ša i-na a-aḫ^{id} Za-i-bi-im ša-ak-nu a-la-nu šu-nu* 8) *ša Qa-ab-[r]a-a^{ki} LUGAL iš-ba-as-sú-nu-[t]i* 9) *lu-ú ḫa-de-[e]t iš-tu a-la-né-e šu-nu-ti* 10) LUGAL *iš-ba-tu a-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 11) *[u]š-te-še-er*, Dossin, *ARM* 1, 121, Wu Yuhong, *A Political History ...*, p. 184.

It was at this moment that Yašub-Addu of Aḫazum seems to have gone to meet Šamši-Adad to swear an oath of allegiance for the second time (no. 1 = SH 809, see below), most likely after the capture of A'innum. Why did he go for a second time and why to A'innum? Probably it was a town in the eastern part of the land of Qabrā, close to Aḫazum, between Šikšabbum, the capital of Aḫazum, and Qabrā. We can imagine Yašub-Addu went to the king out of fear and tried to avoid suffering the same fate of A'innum.

Like Daduša, Šamši-Adad attacked Qabrā from the south, for he points to crossing the Zāb, implying he had made his preparations in Arrapha. Charpin and Durand find it very probable that he had attacked Arrapha also from the south.³¹⁹ This must have been the time when Yašub-Addu for the first time swore an oath of allegiance to Šamši-Adad in the temple of Adad in Arrapha, as mentioned in the letter 1 = SH 809 (see below). Such an allegiance procedure could be counted as part of the reorganization Šamši-Adad undertook (see above, the Mardin Stele). It is important to note that Bunu-Ištar, king of Qabrā, mentioned in the inscription of Daduša, is styled later in the same inscription (col. xii, l. 12) as king of the land of Urbēl.³²⁰ The royal family of Qabrā seems to have been deported to Ešnunna as part of the spoils. The cylinder seal of a certain Eki-Teššup was found in Ešnunna, and from the legend it appears that he was in the service of Bunu-Ištar.³²¹ Shortly after their deportation, Šamši-Adad demanded the delivery of the members of the royal family as stated in one of his letters to his son Yasmaḥ-Addu. From it we learn that Šamši-Adad had earlier wanted to have the members of that family, but he waited until Daduša had taken over Malgium. On that happy moment he would ask for them.³²² The letter states:

Šamši-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 1, 27)

.... Now since my brother's heart became happy (with the take over of Malgium), honour (him) and ask for your desire, the sons of the king who were taken from Qabrā, and say, "What are these sons of the king? They are dogs. Give me these men and gladden the heart of your brother!" Write [this] to Ešnunna!³²³

Qabrā was a territory with southern limits beginning on the northern shore of the Lower Zāb, to the north of which Erbil was also located. So it is no surprise that these two names have been switched when referring to approximately the same territory (as in the stele of Daduša). The name of Qabrā as the dominant power of this period prevailed, but the ancient name of Erbil, despite its dwindled political role, re-emerged from time to time thanks to its glorious past. It is not known why Erbil is attested so infrequently in the records of the OB period, the period with the richest written sources up to that time. Erbil was close to where Šamši-Adad and his son were operating but it is never mentioned in their correspondence. The Ur III campaigns were much fewer than those against a land like Simurru, so they cannot be

³¹⁹ Charpin and Durand, "La prise du," p. 315.

³²⁰ Charpin explains this as a possible mistake committed by the scribe when copying from an exemplar written by another scribe: Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 164. This does not seem to be likely. Other cases of mistakes in transmission involve one sign, component(s) of a sign, or haplography or dittography of a sign; they do not involve a whole name, as here *Úr-bé-el*^{ki}.

³²¹ The seal legend reads 1) *E-ki-IM* 2) *DUMU A-ta-ta-wi-ra* 3) *İR Bu-nu-^dIš-tár*, "Eki-Teššup, son of Atatawira, servant of Bunu-Ištar," Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 270 (text no. E4.21.1); Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 180. Both names, Eki-Teššup and Atatawira, are Hurrian; cf. Frayne, *ibid.*

³²² Durand describes this as a 'manoeuvre,' by making his request on such a happy moment it cannot be refused; cf. Durand, *LAPPO* I, p. 500.

³²³ 24) *i-na-an-na at-ta iš-tu li-ib-bi a-ḫi-ia* 25) *it-ṭi-bu ku-ta-an-ni-ma e-ri-iš-ta-ka* 26) *DUMU.MEŠ ša 'i-na' Qa-a[b-r]a-a^{ki} il-le-qú-ú* 27) *e-ri-iš ú ki-a-am qí-bí um-m[a-a-mi]* 28) *[ù š]u-nu lu-ú DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL mi-nu-um šu-[nu-ma] ka-al-bu* 29) *[LÚ.ME]Š šu-nu-ti-i i-di-in-ma* 30) *[li-ib]-bi a-ḫi-ka ṭi-ib* 31) *[an-ni-tam a]-na Èš-nun-na^{ki} šu-pu-ur*, Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 180; Durand, *LAPPO* I, p. 499.

held responsible for any presumed destruction. What is more, Simurruum reappeared as a major power while Erbil faded out. The fact that Qabrā overshadowed Erbil can hardly be enough reason for such silence.³²⁴ The answer suggested by Eidem is that the ‘traditional’ large cities of Assur, Nineveh and Erbil were abandoned by the Amorite sheikhs, who preferred to live in newly built fortified cities, or military bases some distance away from those ancient cities. According to him, this was to avoid problems from the urban elites of those ancient centres, who would have resisted these Amorite usurpers. That is why Ekallātum, Nurrugum and Qabrā were founded as capitals.³²⁵ Later parallels reinforce this suggestion: the Arab conquerors of the 7th century AD did not reside in the major cities and urban centres of Mesopotamia, such as Ctesophon, Hīra, Nu-Ardashīr (= Mosul) or many others. Instead they first built military bases at Kūfa and Baṣra, which soon became cities when the warriors brought their families to live there. Later, in the Umayyad Period, they founded Wāsit as a new city, and in the Abbasid period, they moved from a small camp city, not to an urban centre, but to the newly founded Baghdad.³²⁶ The old Sassanian capital, consisted of a conglomeration of seven towns, and Hīra diminished gradually. A similar fate must have happened to Erbil.

Ya’ilānum Faces the Fate of Qabrā

Only five days after the capture of Qabrā, Šamšī-Adad campaigned against Ya’ilānum. The direct reason for this was a raid by 200 men from Ya’ilānum on Ekallātum to rob the emmer of Lamassi-Aššur, the wife of Išme-Dagan, as reported in a letter of Tarim-šakim to Yasmaḥ-Addu.³²⁷ The letters *ARM* 1, 8 (dated to 15 of Tīrum), *ARM* 1, 92 and *ARM* 4, 33 deal with the war on Ya’ilānum.³²⁸ The first letter bears a terrible message to Yasmaḥ-Addu. He is ordered to kill the relatives (perhaps of the king of Ya’ilānum) who were resident with him. They would be kept as hostages if the peace plan with Ya’ilānum was successful, but since this was not the case, they should die, their possessions be confiscated and their concubines be sent to Šamšī-Adad himself. From this letter we understand that there had already been serious problems between Šamšī-Adad and Ya’ilānum, and this raid was only the final straw. The stele of Daduša mentions Tutarrā among the cities of Qabrā that he had captured with Šamšī-Adad. Nevertheless, Tutarrā (written Tutarwa/ya or probably Tutarwe³²⁹) is again mentioned in the letter *ARM* 4, 33 as the capital of Ya’ilānum that was decisively conquered. This makes Tutarra a city of Ya’ilānum, not Qabrā. The joint campaign of Daduša and Šamšī-Adad had traversed Qabrā to the territories of Ya’ilānum, which had started hatred and enmity. The reaction of the king appears in the following message:

Šamšī-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 1, 8)

As to the sons of Wilanum who are at your side, when it seemed there would be peace later, I ordered to hold them as hostages. Now, there is no peace with Wilanum at all. I am talking about seizing it.³³⁰ Give orders that all the Wilaneans who are

³²⁴ Charpin concluded that Qabrā was the capital of the land Erbil: Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 164; but both land of Urbēl and land of Qabrā are mentioned simultaneously.

³²⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 22. The question is whether we can count Nurrugum as a city founded by the Amorites, since the name of its king, Kipram, occurring in the correspondence is not Amorite. Note that Wu Yuhong suggests that Qabrā may have been the name of the citadel of Erbil city: Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 182; this is impossible.

³²⁶ In Egypt too, a new city was founded which later became Cairo.

³²⁷ For the letter and other details, cf. Wu Yuhong, *A Political ...*, p. 190-2.

³²⁸ Eidem, *ShA* 2, p. 17, note 20.

³²⁹ This seems to be the Hurrian form of the name *Tutar+we* (genitive suffix).

³³⁰ Wu Yuhong has “him,” p. 192. However, I think the king means seizing the land of Wilanum = Ya’ilānum.

before you must die in the night. There must be no rite, wake and grief. Let tombs be made for them and let them die and be buried in the tombs! [Let men bury (?)] Sammetar, his blood (relative). You must not hold his concubines. [Send them] to me [with] two asses of tribute and p[ut] an attendant wi[th them]! In the hands of the concubines of Sammetar there is one mina of gold and two minas of silver. Mananna the subordinate should not say improper things. Do not trust him! Escort [them to me]! Mananna, the subordinate must not approach [the concubines]. Let men pull off what are on their veils and their garments, and (you), take their gold and silver but send these women to me! There are left two girl singers of Nawirašarur³³¹ and all their other women. Keep these women at your side! However, send the concubines of Sammetar to me! On the 15th of the month of Tīrum, I am sending this tablet of mine to you.³³²

The campaign was successful and the king conquered the city of Ḫimarā, which is possibly identical with Dūr-Wilanum mentioned in the letter of Tarim-šakim.³³³ The letter ARM 1, 92 mentions the capture of the city of Ḫimarā, which was ruled by the son of the king/sheikh of Ya'ilānum:

Šamši-Adad to Yasmaḫ-Addu (ARM 1, 92)

After I defeated the ruler of Qabrā, just five days later I defeated Wilanum. I have taken the city Ḫimarā.³³⁴ I conquered his 300 troops, the garrison and his son³³⁵ in that city. Rejoice!³³⁶

However, putting an end to the power of Ya'ilānum necessitated a battle against its gathered troops. This time too the victory was decisive:

³³¹ Wu Yuhong noted that this name is attested also in Shemshāra letter no. 65 = SH 918, a letter from Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari. Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

³³² 5) aš-šum DUMU.MEŠ Wi-i-la-nim ša ma-aḫ-ri-ka 6) tu-ša wa-ar-ka-nu-um sa-li-mu-um 7) ib-ba-aš-ši-ma i-na qa-tim ku-ul-la-šu-nu aq-bi 8) i-na-an-na mi-im-ma sa-li-mu-um 9) it-ti Wi-i-la-nim ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši 10) ša ša-ba-ti-šu-ma a-da-ab-bu-ub 11) DUMU.MEŠ Wi-i-la-nim ma-la ma-aḫ-ri-ka 12) a-ḫu-né-e i-ba-aš-šu-ú 13) wu-e-er-ma i-na mu-ši-im-ma li-mu-tu 14) ma-aš-ša-ar-tum na-ḫa-du-um ú ú-ku-ul-lu-um 15) la ib-ba-aš-ši 16) qú-bu-ri li-pu-[š]u-šu-nu-ši-im-m[a] 17) li-mu-tu ú i-na qú-bu-ri li-iq-[qé-eb-ru] 18) [m]S[a-am-me-tar da-mi-šu ú-[qa-ba-ru-ma] 19) GÉME.MEŠ-šu [I]a ta-k[a-la] 20) 2 ANŠE GÚ ú 1 TUR [.....] 21) iz-za-az-[zu-ši-na-ši-ma] 22) a-na še-ri-i[a šu-re-ši-na-ti] 23) ú i-na qa-at GÉME.MEŠ Sa-[am-me-a-tar] 24) 1 ma-na KÙ.GI 2 ma-n[a KÙ.BABBAR] 25) i-ba-aš-[ši] 26) LÚ.TUR Ma-na-an-na [I]a dam-qa-tim 27) la <<x x x>> i-qa-ab-[bi-kum-ma] 28) ú <<x x x>> [I]a t[a-ka-al-šum] šu-r[e-em-ma] 29) LÚ.TUR Ma-na-an-na a-n[a GÉME.MEŠ-šu] 30) la i-ṭe-ḫeḫ-[ḫe] 31) ša qā-qa-di-ši-na ú TÚG.ḪÁ-ši-n[a] e²-di-i[š-ši-na] 32) li-sú-<uḫ>-ḫu-ma 33) KÙ.BABBAR-ši-na ú KÙ.GI-<si>-na li-qé ú MUNUS.MEŠ ši-na-ti 34) a-na še-ri-ia šu-ri-ia šu-re-e-em 35) 2 MUNUS.NAR.MEŠ Na-wi-ra-ša-ru-ur 36) ú MUNUS.MEŠ-šu-nu a-ḫu-né-e i-ba-aš-še-e 37) MUNUS.MEŠ ši-na-<ti> ma-aḫ-ri-ka ki-la 38) ú GÉME.MEŠ Sa-am-me-tar 39) a-na še-ri-ia šu-re-e-em 40) ITI Ti-ri-im U₄ 15.KAM BA.ZAL-m[a] 41) tup-pí an-né-e-em 42) ú-ša-bi-la-kum, Wu Yuhong, *A Political ...*, p. 192; corrections and restorations of lines 17; 19; 20-21; 25; 26-28; 29; 31 and 33 following Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 414.

³³³ Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

³³⁴ According to Durand, the city could have been related to the city of E/Imār, as long as ḪI could be converted to ^c in the Mari texts: Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 125. He further suggests that according to the phenomenon of *toponyms in the mirror* of the Amorite period, the name of Ḫimarā in this way would mean "Country with asses" as long as the city of Imār (OB)/Emār (MB) means "City of the ass" or "Market with asses," *op. cit.*, p. 126.

³³⁵ Durand in *LAPO* II, p. 125 and Dossin in ARM 1 read 1 DUMU instead of 2 DUMU, as in Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

³³⁶ 5) wa-ar-ki da-aw-de-e-em 6) ša LÚ Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} 7) ša ad-du-ku 8) UD.5.KAM i-ma-aš-ši 9) da-aw-da-<am> ša Wi-i-la-nim 10) a-du-uk 11) ú a-lam Ḫi-ma-ra-a^{ki} 12) aš-ša-ba-at 13) 3 ME ša-ba-šu bi-ir-tam 14) ú 1 DUMU-šu i-<<a>>-na a-lim^{ki} ša-a-tim 15) ak-šu-ud 16) [I]u-ú ḫa-de-e-et, Dossin, ARM 1, 92; Wu Yuhong, *A Political History ...*, p. 193.

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 4, 33)

The troops of Wilanum completely gathered around Mār-Adad/Bina-Addu in order to do battle and we did battle in Tutarwi. I have achieved the victory. Mār-Adad/Bina-Addu and all the sons of Wilanum were killed. All of his servants and his troops were killed. There is no enemy who escaped. Rejoice!³³⁷

One of the results of this triumph was the capture and beheading of Bina-Addu. An unpublished letter from Māšum to Yasmaḥ-Addu includes “when I took to my lord the head of Bina-Addu.”³³⁸ One of his daughters entered the harem of Išme-Dagan, and later that of Adal-šenni of Burundum, as shown by the letter M.8161.³³⁹

The Allegiance of Utûm to Šamšī-Adad

A letter in the archives of Shemshāra mentioning a meeting in which the elders of the land of Utûm together with Kuwari assembled must have been related to the procedure of taking an oath and concluding a treaty between them and the Assyrians. However, the ceremony seems to have taken place later, because the sender of the letter in which this is mentioned is addressed himself as “your lord,” not as “Šamšī-Adad,” as in the early letter no. 1.³⁴⁰ The letter reads as follows:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 18 = SH 878)

I have heard the letter you sent me. If before this letter reaches you, you have already made haste to leave Šušarrā to come to me, then don't bring the elders of the land and many troops with you. Just come to me yourself with your retainers. 15 days after I have sent this letter to you, towards the end of next month, you will meet me in Šubat-Enlil. If this is not so, and this letter has reached you there, and you have not yet left to come to me, do not come until I write to you. Stay there. I shall arrive in Qabrā and write to you, and you shall lead the elders of the land with you, and come with all your forces.³⁴¹

This annexation of Utûm to Assyria, or at least the declaration of its allegiance, took place in the *limmu* Asqudum (c. 1781 BC), after the capture of Qabrā and before the year in which Šamšī-Adad conquered Nurrugum. We know this from the letters from Šamšī-Adad and Etellum to Kuwari that make allusions to the coming conquest of Nurrugum (see below). The

³³⁷ 5) *ša-ab Wi-i-la-nim* 6) *qa-du-um ga-ma-ar-ti-šu* 7) *it-ti* [D]UMU.^dIM 8) *a-na ka-ak-ki e-pé-ši-im* 9) *ip-ḥu-ra-am-ma* 10) *i-na Tu-tar-<<x>>-wi-<<x>>*^{ki} 11) *ka-ak-ki* 12) *ni-pu-uš-ma* 13) *da-aw-da-am da-du-uk* 14) ^mDUMU.^dIM 15) *ù DUMU.MEŠ Wi-i-la-nim* 16) *[k]a-lu-šu-nu di-i-ku* 17) *ÌR-du-šu ka-lu-šu-nu* 18) *ù ša-bu-šu di-ik* 19) ^u^L*na-ak-rum ša ú-šú-ú* 20) *[ú-u]l i-ba-aš-ši* 21) *[lu]-ú ḥa-de-et*, Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 193; Dossin, *ARM* 4, p. 56-7; restorations and corrections of l. 10 and 19-20 following Durand, *LPO* II, p. 122-3.

³³⁸ *i-nu-ma* SAG DUMU.^dIM *a-na be-li-ia ú-ša-ba-lam*, A.3349: Charpin, D., “Une décollation mystérieuse,” *NABU* 1994, no. 59, p. 51-2; cf. also Durand, *LPO* II, p. 123.

³³⁹ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 23; about the letter A.8161, cf. Marelli, P., “Liqtum, reine du Burundum,” *MARI* 8, Paris, 1997, p. 455-6.

³⁴⁰ For this chronological criterion, cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 43-4.

³⁴¹ 3) *ṭup-pa-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam eš-me* 4) *šum-[m]a la-ma ṭup-pi an-nu-um* 5) *i-[k]a-aš-ša-da-kum* 6) *ta-aḥ-mu-ṭam-ma iš-tu Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki}* 7) *a-na še-ri-ia ta-ta-še-em* 8) *ši-bu-ut <<x>> ma-tim* 9) *ù ša-ba-am ma-dam it-ti-ka* 10) *la te-re-ed-de-em* 11) *at-ta-ma qa-du-um LÚ.TUR.MEŠ-ka* 12) *a-na še-ri-ia al-kam* 13) *U₄ 15.KAM ki ṭup-pi an-né-em* 14) *ú-ša-bi-la-[k]um* 15) *i-na re-eš ITI an-ni-im* 16) *i-na Šu-ba-at-^dE[N.LÍ]L^{ki}* 17) *ta-^fma¹-aḥ-ḥa-ra-an-ni* 18) *šum-ma la ki-a-am-ma* 19) *ṭup-pi an-nu-um aš-ra-nu-um-ma* 20) *ik-ta-ša-ad-ka-ma* 21) *a-di-ni a-na še-ri-ia la tu-še-em* 22) *a-di a-ša-ap-pa-ra-kum* 23) *la ta-al-la-kam aš-ra-nu-um-ma ši-ib* 24) *a-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} a-ka-aš-ša-dam-ma* 25) *a-š-ap-pa-ra-kum-ma ši-bu-ut ma-tim* 26) *it-ti-ka te-re-^fde¹-em* 27) *ù i-na ka-bi-it-ti-ka ta-al-kam* 28) *ù aš-šum ṭup-pu-um i-na a-la-^fki¹-im* 29) *ú-uḥ-ḥi-ru a-na-ku ṭup-pa-am* 30) *i-na šu-bu-lim ú-ul ú-ḥi-ir* 31) *qa-tam a-na qa-tim-ma ṭup-pa-am* 31) *ú-^fša¹-bi-il* 33) *LÚ.TUR-ka-ma i-na a-la-ki-im ú-uḥ-ḥi-ir* 34) *i-na U₄ 25.KAM a-na še-ri-ia ik-šu-dam* 35) *an-ni-tam lu-^fú¹ ti-di*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 91-2 (no. 18 = SH 878).

capture of Nurrugum is recorded in the *limmu* Aššur-malik, which was the 29th year of Šamši-Adad, c. 1780 BC.³⁴² (see above under Chronology).

Šikšabbum, a Thorn in the Side

The dominant theme of the correspondence of this phase was the city of Šikšabbum, the capital of Aḫazum. Šamši-Adad was terribly upset about the city and its ruler Yašub-Addu. He expressed himself to Kuwari more than once and attributed this feeling to the changing loyalties of Yašub-Addu and his unstable character:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 1 = SH 809)

Surely you have heard about the enmity of Yašub-Addu, the Aḫazeen. Previously he followed the ruler of Šimurru. He left the ruler of Šimurru, and followed the ruler of the Tirukkeans. He left the ruler of the Tirukkeans, and followed Ya'ilānum. He left Ya'ilānum, and followed me. He left me and now follows the ruler of Kakmum. And to all these kings he has sworn an oath. Within just three years he made alliances with these kings and broke them. When he made an alliance with me he swore an oath to me in the temple of Teššup in Arraphum; (and) again he swore an oath to me on the bank of the Zāb River in A'innum; and I swore an oath to him. Twice he swore an oath to me, and from the day he seized the hem of my garment I never collected any silver, oxen or grain in his land. I did not seize a single town in his land. Now he has broken relations with me and follows the ruler of Kakmum. He makes an alliance with one king and swears an oath. He makes an alliance with (another) king and swears an oath, but breaks off relations with the first king with whom he made an alliance, and with the (new) king with whom he made an alliance; his alliance and his enmity [*change*] within (just) 2[+x]³⁴³ months. [He had an alliance] with me for 1[+x] months, and then he turned hostile again.³⁴⁴

³⁴² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 34. It is interesting that the capture of Nurrugum was fixed by Šamši-Adad as a landmark in the history of his dynasty and the Emenue shrine in the Ištar temple complex of Nineveh. He says in his inscription: 14) *bi-tam ša iš-tu* 15) *šu-lum A-ka-de^{ki}* 16) *a-di šar-ru-ti-ia* 17) *a-di ša-ba-at Nu-ur-ru-gi^{ki}* 18) *7 da-a-ru i-ti-qū-ma* 19) *i-na LUGAL.MEŠ* 20) *a-li-ku-ut pa-ni-ia⁷* 21) *LUGAL ma-an-na-ma* 22) *la i-pu-šu-⁷ma⁷*, "The temple which none of the kings who preceded me, from the *fall* of Akkad until my sovereignty, until the capture of Nurrugu- seven generations have passed- had rebuilt and ... (lacuna)...", Grayson, A. K., *RIMA 1*, p. 53 (text A.0.39.2).

³⁴³ Here two numerals are defectively written; the editors propose 2-3 months; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 72, comment on l. 43f.

³⁴⁴ 4) *wu-d[i] ni-ku-ur-ti Ia-šu-ub-^dIM* 5) *LÚ Aḫ-za-a-ji^{ki} te-eš-me* 6) *pa-na-nu-um wa-ar-ki LÚ Ši-mu-ur-ri-i^{ki}* 7) *il-li-ik LÚ Ši-mu-ur-ri-i^{ki}* 8) *i-zi-ib-ma wa-ar-ki LÚ Ti-ru-ki-i^{ki}* 9) *il-li-ik LÚ Ti-ru-ki-i^{ki}* 10) *i-zi-ib-ma wa-ar-ki Ia₈-i-la-nim* 11) *il-li-ik Ia₈-i-la-nim i-zi-ib-ma* 12) *wa-ar-ki-ia il-li-ik i-ia-ti* 13) *i-zi-ba-an-ni-ma wa-ar-ki LÚ Ka-a[k-m]^{i^{ki}}* 14) *it-ta-la-ak ù a-na ka-al LUGAL.MEŠ* 15) *an-nu-tim ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ iz-za-ka-ar* 16) *iš-tu it-ti LUGAL.MEŠ an-nu-tim is-⁷li-mu⁷* 17) *ù ik-ki-ru MU.3.KAM-ma i-ma-ší* 18) *i-nu-ma it-ti-ia is-li-mu* 19) *i-na É^dIM Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im^{ki}* 20) *ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ iz-ku-ra-am* 21) *i-tu-ur-ma i-na a-aḫ Za-i-bi-im* 22) *i-na A-i-ni-im^{ki} ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ iz-ku-ra-[a]m* 23) *ù a-na-ku ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ áz-ku-ur-šum* 24) *2-šu ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ iz-ku-ra-am* 25) *iš-tu u₄-mi-im ša qa-ra-an šu-ba-ti-ia* 26) *iš-ba-tu ma-ti-ma i-na ma-ti-šu* 27) *KÚ.BABBAR GU₄.ḪÁ ù še-em* 28) *mi-im-ma ú-ul al-qú-ut* 29) *a-lam^{ki} iš-te-en i-na ma-ti-šu* 30) *ú-ul aš-[b]a-[at]* 31) *i-na-an-na it-ti-ia ik-[i-ir-ma]* 32) *ù wa-ar-⁷ki⁷ LÚ Ka-ak-m[i^{ki}]* 33) *it-ta-la-[ak]* 34) *it-ti LUGAL i-sa-li-im-[ma]* 35) *ù ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ i-za-ka-ar* 36) *it-ti LUGAL i-sa-lim-ma* 37) *ù ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ i-za-ka-ar* 38) *ù it-ti LUGAL ma-a[ḫ-r]i-im-ma* 39) *ša ⁷i-sa⁷-li-mu [i-n]a-ki-ir* 40) *ù [i]t-ti LUGAL [ša] ⁷i-sa-[i]i-mu* 41) *sa-la-am-šu ù na-ka-[ar-š]u* 42) *i-na bi-ri-it ITI.2[+x].KAM* 43) *[i]t-ti-ia ITI.1[+x].KAM is-li-im-ma* 44) *i-tu-ur-ma [it-t]a-ki-[ir]*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 70-1 (no. 1 = SH 809). As noted by Eidem and Læssøe and later confirmed by Charpin, the form *Ti-ru-ki-i^{ki}* for *Tu-ru-ku* is unique and is considered a *Hörfehler* caused by the dictation of the letter taken by the scribe; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 72; Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 174; but see our suggestion regarding this under People and Organization.

The same complaint is recorded in another letter to Kuwari that appears to have been sent later than letter no. 1. However, there is a slight difference. Yašub-Addu has gone first to Šamši-Adad, who has counted him with the ruler of Ya'ilānum, who appears to have been allied to Šamši-Adad at that time. But later, Yašub-Addu allied himself to Šamši-Adad directly. This might be understood as one change, not two. Another point of interest is the clear allusion that Kuwari was a Turukkean, when “you” in this letter replaces “the Turukkeans” of the previous letter:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 2 = SH 894)

[I have heard] the letter you sent to me. As for the news of Ya[šub-Addu] which you wrote to me, this cheater!; having followed the ruler of Šimurru for two years, he left the ruler of Šimurru and [followed you]. He left you and came to me. I counted him with Ya'ilānum, and for this reason he left Ya'ilānum and came to me. [Now] he has left me and follows the ruler of [Kakmum].³⁴⁵

Apparently, Kuwari agreed with the feelings of Šamši-Adad towards Yašub-Addu and added more to what his lord knew about him. This other letter to Kuwari shows an extreme resentment:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 4 = SH 886)

I have heard the letter you sent me. All the things you wrote me are correct. The word of Yašub-Addu is mad. The hand of the god is on him, and his statement is false. He does not know his own words, and he does not know the oath he swears. As if he swears an oath in his dream, he *disregards* (it). He is a madman, and his statement is false. A king whonever existed!³⁴⁶

But this change of loyalty may not have been sufficient reason or even the only reason to arouse such anger. However annoying it was to have such an untrustworthy ally, it seems to me that the geopolitical position of the kingdom of Aḫazum, particularly its capital Šikšabbum, would have played a role in understanding the situation. In the previous chapter, an attempt was made to identify the location of this city. The available data and criteria pointed to (or somewhere close to) Taqtaq on the Lower Zāb, downstream from Šušarrā (see Chapter Five). This means that Šikšabbum, now allied to the enemy of Šamši-Adad, was barricading his way to reach his newly gained land of Utûm, a road already known as dangerous for Assyrian messengers and envoys. A clear allusion to this is made in letter no. 2:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 2 = SH 894)

And [with your work] I am much pleased, but your reward for this service you have rendered me I cannot send. The roads are dangerous, and envoys must travel in

³⁴⁵ 3) *tup-pa-ka ša tu-š[a-bi-lam eš-me]* 4) *aš-šum te-em Ia-[šu-ub-^dIM]* 5) *ša ta-aš-pu-[ra-am]* 6) *sà-ar-ru-um a-nu-u[m-mu-um]* 7) *iš-ti MU.2.[K]AM wa-a[r-ki LÚ Ši-mu-ur-^rri^{kh}]* 8) *il-li-ik-[m]a LÚ Ši-[mu-ur-ri-^{ki}]* 9) *i-zi-ib-ma wa-a[r-ki-ku-nu il-li-ik]* 10) *ku-nu-^rti i-zi-i[b-ma]* 11) *a-na še-ri-ia it-ta-a[l-ka-am]* 12) *[a-n]a-ku a-na qa-at Ia₈-i-[a-ni]m ap-q[i-is-sú]* 13) *[i]-na a-wa-tim an-ni-e-[tim]* 14) ^m*Ia₈-i-la-nam i-zi-ib-[ma]* 15) *a-na [s]e-ri-ia it-ta-al-ka-[am]* 16) *[i-na-an-n]a i-ia-^rti i-zi-ba-an-ni-[ma]* 17) *[a-na s]e-er LÚ [Ka-ak-mi^{ki} it-ta-la-ak]*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 72-3 (no. 2 = SH 894).

³⁴⁶ 3) *tup-pa-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam eš-me* 4) *a-wa-[t]u-ka ma-al ta-aš-pu-ra-am sà-an-qa* 5) *a-wa-at Ia-šu-ub-^dIM li-il* 6) *qa-at 'DINGIR³¹ e-li-šu te-em-šu ma-qí-^rit'* 7) *a-wa-ti-šu ú-ul i-di* 8) *ù ni-iš DINGIR ša i-za-ka-ru* 9) *ú-ul i-di* 10) *ki-ma ša i-na šu-ut-ti-šu* 11) *ni-iš DINGIR i-za-ka-ru* 12) *i-na-ša li-il-lu ù te-em-šu ma-^raq³-[t]u* 13) *LUHAL ša x-x-am* 14) *ir-x-x ú-ul ib-ši*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 75-6 (no. 5 = SH 880).

secrecy. When you come and meet me, I will give you the reward for your services.³⁴⁷

The Assyrian troops and messengers would have to take the difficult tracks that went through the mountains that became blocked by winter snowfall, as pointed out in letter no. 1. This is exactly why Šamši-Adad asks Kuwari to send the messenger back to him before the winter. The normal route along the Zāb would rarely be blocked by snow, unlike the mountain tracks. Šamši-Adad obviously had good knowledge about the local topography so that he was able to find safe routes avoiding Šikšabbum. A sidetrack like this is suggested in letter no.1:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 1 = SH 809)

(As for) Kušiya, why is he staying there? Give him the instructions, and send him to me before the ...-th of this month. Send him to me before the mountains and roads become snowbound: from Zaslum to Šegibbu; from Šegibbu to Zikum; from Zikum to Ura'u; from Ura'u to Lutpiš; from Lutpiš to the land of Ḥaburātum. If too late (lit. if not so), and the mountains and roads have become snowbound (and) he cannot go, let him stay with you. It will be your responsibility, and you must provide him and his retainers with bread and beer.³⁴⁸

A route along the inner mountain territory but parallel to the route along the plain that passed through the GNs mentioned is conceivable. Among these GNs only Zaslum and Ḥaburātum can be approximately identified. The former was on the Lower Zāb, downstream from Šušarrā, according to other data from Shemshāra.³⁴⁹ It cannot have been too far from Šušarrā because it was located before Šikšabbum, which we locate at Taqtaq.³⁵⁰ Ḥaburātum was to the north of Nineveh, probably close to the eastern Habur (=Pēšḥabur) close to the Iraq-Turkey border.³⁵¹ While we know that Šegibbu was within the local sphere of the

³⁴⁷ 35) ù [aš-šum e-p]é-ši-ka an-ni-[im] 36) ma-di-iš 'ḥa-de-ku ù' qí-iš-ta-ka 37) [š]a du-um¹-mi-uq-ti-ka an-ni-im 38) [š]a tú-¹da¹-mi-qú šu-bu-la-am ú-ul i-li-e 39) [g]e-er-ru ma-ar-šú ù DUMU.MEŠ ší-ip-ri 40) na-ap-za-ra-am-ma it-ta-na-la-ku 41) i-nu-ma it-ti-ia ta-an-na-ma-ru qí-iš-[tam] 42) ša du-um-mu-uq-ti-ka a-qé-eš-ša-¹kum¹, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 73 (no. 2 = SH 894).

³⁴⁸ 49) ^mKu-ši-ia aš-ra-nu-um am-mi-n[im wa]-ši-¹ib¹ 50) wu-e-ra-aš-šu-um-ma a-d[i] 'U4' [x.]KAM 51) ITI an-ni-im a-na [š]e-ri-ia tú-ur-da-šum 52) la-ma K[UR].ḪÁ ù KASKAL.ḪÁ 'šu-ri¹pa-am 53) 'i-ša-ba-tu a-na še-ri-ia 54) tú-ur-da-šum iš-tu Za-as-lí^{ki} 55) a-na Še-gi-ib-bu^{ki} iš-tu Še-gi-ib-bu^{ki} 56) a-na Zi-kum^{ki} iš-tu Zi-kum^{ki} 57) a-na Ú-¹ra¹-ú^{ki} iš-ti Ú-ra-ú^{ki} 58) a-na Lu-ut-pí-iš^{ki} iš-tu Lu-ut-pí-iš^{ki} 59) a-na ma-a-at¹ Ḥa-bu-ra-tim^{ki} 60) šum-ma la ki-am-ma KUR.ḪÁ KASKAL.ḪÁ šu-ri-¹pa-am 61) ša-ab-tu a-la-kam ú-ul i-le-i 62) ma-aḥ-ri-ka-¹ma¹ li-ši-ib 63) lu-ú-ri-tu-ka-ma i-na NINDA ù KAŠ 64) pa-ni-[š]u 'ú' pa-an 'LÚ'-TUR.MEŠ-šu 65) 'lu-ú' t[a-š]a¹-ab-ba-[a]t, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 70-1 (no. 1 = SH 809).

³⁴⁹ Eidem and Læssøe locate it below Dukān: Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 72, comment on lines 54ff.

³⁵⁰ The identification given by Klengel, on the Tigris close to the junction with the Lower Zāb, is unlikely; cf. Klengel, "Das Gebirgsvolk der Turukkū ...," *Klio* 40 (1962), p. 9.

³⁵¹ Joannès and Ziegler, "Une attestation de Kummé...", *NABU* 1995, no. 19, p. 17. Ḥaburātum seems to have been a region populated with Hurrians. In the time of Zimri-Lim its king had the Hurrian name Nanip-šauri, and a messenger of this king also had a good Hurrian name, Eḫlip-atal; for the attestation of these names cf. Durand, J.-M., *ARM* 26/1, p. 294; Lacambre, D., "Ehliḫ-adal, messenger de Haburātum," *NABU* 2004, no. 91. Durand points to its occurrence in the texts of Rimāh and other Mari texts, which group male and female weavers of Ḥaburātum together with those from Karanā, Razama and Burullum. For him this implies that they were close to each other and formed one homogenous group (basing himself on information in letter *ARM* 5, 67). Similar evidence is deduced from reports about a pact between Andarig and Razama to smite Mardaman, which was to the west of Ḥaburātum and north of Razama and Andarig: Durand, *ibid.* According to Charpin, the name Ḥaburātum no doubt elicits the name of the Habur River, which is the Eastern Habur in this case: Charpin, "Une campagne de Yahdun-Lîm en Haute-Mésopotamie," *FM* II, p. 180-1, note 30. For the name Nanip-šauri, compare Nanip-šarri from Nuzi, where the first element is *nani-*, and the second is common in the Hurrian names; cf. Gelb *et. al.*, *NPN*, p. 237-8.

Shemshāra letters its precise location is unknown. It is reasonable to think of a location to the west or northwest of Zaslum, where the sidetrack could turn to the northwest. Ura'ū was, according to Astour, close to MA Šibaniba (modern Tell Billa), basing himself on data from Ur III, MA and NA periods.³⁵² Eidem and Læssøe agree with Astour in that the route “traversed the plain of Kōy Sanjaq, followed the Bastōre River all the way to Gird Mamik, crossed the Great Zāb, and continued, via the otherwise unknown Lutpiš, to a terminal in the land of Ḫaburātum.”³⁵³ However, the plain of Kōy Sanjaq seems to me unlikely for two reasons. First, from the Kōy Sanjaq plain to the region of Bastōre in the Erbil plain there is no mountainous terrain which could be snowbound in the winter. Secondly, the Kōy Sanjaq plain forms one geographically integrated territory with Taqtaq, where we assumed Šikšabbum was located. Thus it is quite difficult to imagine this plain to be out of the reach of Yašub-Addu. The best alternative route would have followed partly the river Basalam, a tributary of the Lower Zāb, and then passed through the valley between Makōk-Harīr and Safin Ranges up to Shaqlāwa (Map 2). From Shaqlāwa, a tributary of the Upper Zāb leads to the plains east of the region of Nineveh, south of °Aqra and west of Jebel Maqlūb, in the territory of Mušri, as identified by Astour. Both Šegibbum and Zikum must have been located between a point downstream from Shemshāra (= Zaslum) and south of °Aqra on the Upper Zāb (= Ura'um). Shaqlāwa could well be Zikum.

Šamši-Adad did not leave Yašub-Addu in peace. He planned to crush him and thought of every possible way to do it. But Yašub-Addu proved to be no easy target. First of all, his timing was perfect. He declared his revolt at a time when military action against him was no longer possible. Šamši-Adad expressed this explicitly in his letter:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 1 = SH 809)

Now for the next [x+]1 months it is winter, and I cannot lay hands on him; but as soon as the weather becomes milder you will hear all I shall do in his land!³⁵⁴

The is repeated in the letter no. 3:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 3 = SH 828)

It is winter, and for the next two months it will stay cold. I cannot lay hands on him. [...] .., [and on the very] first day the weather becomes milder I shall come up with a complete army and bring him to account.³⁵⁵

Another letter, apparently later than letter no. 1, was sent to Kuwari with the same message, to bring Yašub-Addu to account. This time Šamši-Adad asked Kuwari to move against his enemy. Obviously the king was loosing patience:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 2 = SH 894)

... and bringing him to account is not [...]. Either you go out, and bring him to account, and do me a (great) service. If you do not go out, and do not bring him to

³⁵² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 72; Astour, “Semites and Hurrian in the Northern Transtigris,” *SCCNH* 2, p. 45. Astour further explains that Ura of the NA period belonged to the land of Mušri according to the annals of Tiglath-Pileser III. Mušri, in turn, was located in the area between the ranges of Jebel Maqlūb and Jebel Zirga Bardarash in the southwest and Jebel °Aqrah (Ākrē) in the northeast, the greater Zāb in the east, and a line east of Bavian in the west. The letter *ABL* 490 of Sargon II also refers to a location of Ura downstream from Kumme and Ukkū on the same river, *ibid.*

³⁵³ Astour, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

³⁵⁴ 45) *i-na-an-na* I[*TI.x+*]1.KAM *an-nu-tim ka-a[s-šú-ú]* 46) *ù qa-ti ú-ul ub-ba-a[l-šum]* 47) *iš-tu u₄-mi i-ti₄-bu ma-li 'f-[na] ma-a-ti-'šú'* 48) *e-pé-šú te-še-[em-me]*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 71 (no. 1 = SH 809).

³⁵⁵ 22) *ku-uš-šú-ma* ITI.2.KAM *an-nu-tim ka-šú-'tim'* 23) *[q]a-tam ú-ul ub-ba-al-[š]um* 24) *[x (x)]-'x'-pa-ak-ka-šú'-[ma']* 25) *[ki]-'f' U₄ 1.KAM-[ma]* 26) *[iš-tu u₄-m]u it-ti-b[u]* 27) *[it-ti] ka-bi-it-ti ša-bi-im* 28) *[e-l]e-em-ma a-ša-al-'šú'*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 74-5 (no. 3 = SH 828).

account [.....(ca. 3 lines are broken)....] I will come up there with the complete armies and bring him to account.³⁵⁶

It is noteworthy that Šamšī-Adad repeats in this letter his request to send Kušiya to him, but this time via Kumme, which “is now safe.” This alludes undoubtedly to a change in the situation in Kumme; most probably it had been subdued by Šamšī-Adad or his sons:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 2 = SH 894)

Secondly, why do you detain my servant Kušiya? Send him to me! The road via Kumme is now safe. Send him to me by the way of Kumme!³⁵⁷

Kuwari had seemingly suggested other methods than war to punish Yašub-Addu. His reticence to obey on this occasion, and the case of his not participating in the campaign against the Gutians with the Turukkeans, and (as we shall see) his repeated staying behind when Etellum went to attack Šikšabbum, despite requests and encouragements, all lead us to conclude that Kuwari was a man who avoided wars as much as he could. The reply of Šamšī-Adad outlines his plans:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 3 = SH 828)

As for catching Yašub-Addu, which you wrote to me about, may the god guide you! Catch him! Do me this favour, and for this single favour which you do me, I shall do you 10 favours (in return). As for bringing his land in a state of unrest, which you wrote to me about, ally yourself with the Lullean, and bring his land in turmoil!³⁵⁸

Finally, Kušiya reached Šamšī-Adad, probably after the winter cold months had passed. The oral message he brought from Kuwari was not compatible with the written letter and did not give him the information he should give; probably he had forgotten many details. The king is upset and asks Kuwari to meet him in person when he comes to the war against Aḫazum. The rendezvous would be “the upper (part) of Aḫazum.” This letter must be later than letters 1 and 2:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 5 = SH 880)

I have read the letter you sent me. Kušiya conveyed nothing of this message of yours. He is a liar! He pretended to take it, but he did not put your message before me. Now I shall send for you to come to the upper (part) of the land of Aḫ(a)zum, and you will come to me and meet with me and I shall give you a complete briefing.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁶ 26) *ù ša-al-š[u] 'ú-ul te'-[.....]* 27) *ú-lu at-ta bu-ma [š]a-al-š[u]* 28) *'ù du-um-mi-qa-am šum-ma at-t[a]* 29) *[l]a ta-bu-ma la ta-ša-al-š[u]* (ca. 3 lines broken) 33) *[a-na-ku it-ti k]a-bi-i-[t-t]i um-m[a-na]-'tim'* 34) *'a'-[ša-ri-i]š e-l[e]-em-m[a] a-ša-al-'šu'*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 73 (no. 2 = SH 894).

³⁵⁷ 43) *ša-ni-tam Ku-ši-<x>-ia ÌR-di am-m[i-n]im 'ka-le'-e[t]* 44) *tú-ur-da-aš-šu ge-er-'ri'* 45) *ša Ku-um-mi^{ki} i-te-eš-ru* 46) *ge-er-ri ša Ku-um-mi^{ki}-ma* 47) *tú-ur-da-aš-šu*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 73 (no. 2 = SH 894). J. Eidem (in a personal communication) wonders if Kumme of this letter corresponds to the GN Šaummi of the Haladiny inscription, or if there is a scribal error in one of the texts. Since this form is written twice in this letter (l. 45 and 46) a scribal error is ruled out and the occurrence of *girri ša* GN in other texts may support this. For such occurrences, cf. *CAD* vol. G, p. 90. Further, it would be too difficult in this case to think of Šaummi, which was on the Lower Zāb and closer to Šikšabbum, as an alternative route, because it could be more dangerous for the messenger Kušiya. See Chapter Five for the location of Šaummi.

³⁵⁸ 10) *aš-šum ša-ba-a[t] Ia-šu-ub-r^dIM'* 11) *ša ta-[a]š-pu-ra-am* 12) *DINGIR-lum li-[i]r-di-ka ša-ba-as-sú* 13) *du-um-mi-qa-am-ma* 14) *a-na iš-te-et du-um-mu-uq-tim* 15) *ša tu-d[a]m-ma-qa-am* 16) *10 ú-dam-ma-qa-kum* 17) *ù aš-šum ma-ti-šu sé-ḫe-e* 18) *ša ta-[aš]-pu-ra-am* 19) *at-ta ù LÚ Lu-ul-li-im* 20) *ne-en-mi-da-ma* 21) *ma-as-sú sé-ḫe-e*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 74-5 (no. 3 = SH 828).

³⁵⁹ 4) *tup-pa-ka ša tu-ša-b[i-la]m eš-me* 5) *mi-im-ma te-em-ka an-ni-'e'-e[m]* 6) *^mKu-ši-'ia'* 7) *ú-ul id<<x>>-bu-ba-am* 8) *sà-a-ar ša le-qé-šu-ma* 9) *i-pu-uš* 10) *ù te-em-ka ma-aḫ-ri-ia* 11) *ú-ul iš-ku-un* 12) *i-na-an-na a-na ma-a-at Aḫ-[z]i-[i]m^{ki}* 13) *e-li-ti-im* 14) *a-[š]a-ap-pa-ra-kum-ma* 15) *a-na še-ri-ia* 16) *ta-la-kam-ma* 17) *[i]t-ti-ia ta-na-am-*

Slightly before or after this letter, letter no. 4 discussed the provisions Kuwari should provide for the army of Šamši-Adad when he comes to beat Aḫazum:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 4 = SH 886)

Now if you can manage what you wrote to me, then place your barley which they are stocking at the disposal of the king, and return the land to its fortress(es). If (the land?) does not starve, will be available there in one month as field supplies. Together with the armies I will come up to that land. You will come and join me, and you will bring the retainer with you.³⁶⁰

Before taking action against Šikšabbum Šamši-Adad wanted first to conquer Nurrugum, which seems to have been important for securing his expansion in the north. In the meantime, the Turukkean chieftain Lidāya was staying with Šamši-Adad, whom the king wanted to keep with himself until the conquest of Nurrugum. This is evidence that the Gutian victory over the Turukkeans was before *limmu* Aššur-malik, i.e. before 1780 BC.³⁶¹ This evidence is reported in the short letter no. 7, in which the king asks Kuwari to bring the siege engines downstream to Zaslum to be ready for the campaign. This, as well, is a clear allusion to the fact that Zaslum was to the south of Šušarrā and was located between Šušarrā and Šikšabbum:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 7 = SH 915)

I have heard the letters you sent me. Lidāya came here and had a meeting with me. Until the conquest of Nurrugum he stays before me. When Nurrugum has been conquered, he will come with the army to the country of Aḫazum. And siege towers must be brought downstream to Zaslum, so that they are ready for the army. At that time when [Nurrugum has been conquered(break).....].³⁶²

At this same time, Šamši-Adad sent an army to mount attacks on Aḫazum. He probably wanted to weaken it or prevent it from getting stronger by receiving assistance, because Šamši-Adad emphasized in his letters *his* coming to conquer Šikšabbum. This army was under the command of a general called Etellum. Letter no. 14 reports this and bears a request from Šamši-Adad to join Etellum with 1,000 troops to conquer Šikšabbum, the capital of Aḫazum. From the tone of the letter it appears it was the first letter in the series of repeated requests that followed:

ma-ar 18) *ù te₄-ma-am ga-am-ra-am* 19) *ma-aḫ-ri-ka a-ša-ak-ka-an*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 76-7 (no. 5 = SH 880). Note that the numbering of the last line in Eidem and Læssøe should be 19 not 20.

³⁶⁰ 15) *i-na-an-na šum-<x x>>ma* 16) *ki-ma ša ta-aš-pu-ra-a[m]* 17) *te¹-le-I* 18) *[še-e]m⁷-[k]a ša i-ma-al-lu-¹u¹* 19) *‘a¹-na LUGAL šu-ku-un-ma* 20) *ma-a-tam a-na b[i-i]r-ti-ša te-er* 21) *šum-ma la b[é-r]i-i* 22) *[x]-ni-tam a-na ‘ŠE⁷ a¹-di* ITI.1.KAM 23) *a-‘ša¹-ri-‘iš⁷ a-na i-me-ru-tim* 24) *ib-ba-aš-šu-ú qa-du-um um-ma-n[a]-tim* 25) *‘a¹-na ma-a-tim ša-a-ti* 26) *‘e¹-el-l[e-e]m a[t]-ta* 27) *a-na pa-ni-ia ‘ta¹-la-kam-ma* 28) *it-ti-ka LÚ.TUR* 29) *ta-ra-de-em*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 75-6 (no. 4 = SH 886). The comment on the word *imerūtum* of l. 23 on p. 76 refers to Durand, who has translated it as provisions of grain held by a donkey for the army. This word has survived and entered modern Arabic as *ميرة*, “provisions for the army.”

³⁶¹ As we have explained already in this chapter the conquest of Aḫazum and Nurrugum was in the *limmu* Aššur-malik according to the MEC. Now we learn from letter 7 that Lidāya, who was one of the fleeing Turukkean chieftains after their defeat on the hands of the Gutians, was staying with Šamši-Adad until the conquest of Nurrugum, which means a time before Aššur-malik.

³⁶² 4) *tup-pa-ti-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam eš-me* 5) *Li-da-e* 6) *il-li-kam-ma it-ti-ia* 7) *in-na-me-er* 8) *a-di ša-ba-at Nu-úr-ru-gi-im^{ki}* 9) *ma-aḫ-ri-ia-ma wa-ši-ib* 10) *iš-tu Nu-úr-ru-gu-um^{ki}* 11) *it-ta-aš-ba-tu* 12) *‘it-ti¹ ša-bi-im-ma* 13) *‘a-na ma-a-at A-ḫa-zi-im^{ki}* 14) *i-la-kam* 15) *ù Giš-di-ma-a-ti* 16) *a-na Za-as-li-im^{ki}* 17) *lu-ú šu-ru-du* 18) *ak-ki-ma re-eš ša-bi-im* 19) *ú-ka-al-lu* 20) *i-na u₄-mi-šu-[m]a* 21) *i-nu-ma [Nu-úr-ru-gu-u]m^{ki}* 22) *[ittašbatu(?)....] (1-2 lines lost)*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 78 (no. 7 = SH 915).

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 14 = SH 917)

Hereby I have sent an army with Etellum for the siege. Muster 1,000 of your troops and send (them) to him (at) Šikšabbum!³⁶³

It seems that Šamši-Adad was too optimistic about the military contribution of Kuwari. As we will see, this became later the subject of many letters sent to Kuwari by both Etellum and Šamši-Adad.

Etellum's Hopeless Calls for Help

Apparently the request for support from Kuwari was not only a matter for a moral contribution. Victory would have been impossible without it. Etellum, as well as his king, frequently asked Kuwari for help. The fact is that he was unable to conquer the city alone, and the reasons for that are stated in letter no. 42. It is important to note that some towns of the land of Aḫazum had already been conquered and Assyrian garrisons were stationed inside them:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 42 = SH 859+881)

I have no troops available. The troops have been left in four (sections) in walled towns in the land of Aḫazum and cannot leave the town(s), (since) they hold the towns and the rest of my troops are with the king. I have no troops available. You must gather troops and muster the Lulleans with you and come to Zaslum and take up position against him. Then send words that the whole land becomes hostile to him. When he leaves you attack him and cut him off.³⁶⁴

From his numerous letters to Kuwari we learn that Kuwari never took any serious step to comply in this case. The date of letter no. 39 is approximately close to that of letter no. 7. It reports that Nurrugum will be conquered within 3 or 4 days, unless this is an exaggeration by Etellum. But letter no. 7 mentions an impending attack on that same land. Letter 39 also instigates anger against Šikšabbum:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 39 = SH 913)

Šikšabbum is your enemy! It is a menace to both you and me. Let us prepare to besiege Šikšabbum. As soon as you hear this letter muster all your troops and (take) the Lullean with you and march off! Let us quickly besiege Šikšabbum and gain renown before our lord! I am now staying on the border of Tarum. I wait (for you). Come quickly and let us put Šikšabbum to account before the king arrives. In three or four days the king will conquer Nurrugum and the king will (then) come with the armies to Šikšabbum. Before the king arrives let us together do our lord a great service. Do not hesitate! Come!³⁶⁵

³⁶³ 4) *a-nu-um-ma ša-ba-am* <<x>> 5) *it-ti E-te-el-lim* 6) *a-na la-we-e* <<KI>> 7) *aṭ-tà-ra-ad* <<KI>> 8) (erased) 9) *1 li-im ša-bi-it-ma* 11) *a-na 'še-ri-šu'* 12) *Ši-ik-ša-am-bi*^{ki} 13) *tu-ru-ud*<<Ú>>, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 87 (no. 14 = SH 917).

³⁶⁴ 18) *ša-bu-um i-na qa-ti-ia ú-ul [i-ba-aš-ši]* 19) *ša-bu-um ša 4-šu i-na BÂD.ĤÁ š[a] m[a-at]* 20) *A-ḫa-zi-im i-ta-ad-du* 21) *ù iš-tu a-li-im ú-ul uš-ši* 22) *BÂD-šu-ma ú-ka-al* 23) *'ù' [š]a-pi-il-ti ša-bi-i[a]* 24) *[i-n]a ma-ḫa-ar LUGAL* 25) *[š]a-bu-um i-na qa-ti-ia* 26) *ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši* 27) *at-ta ša-ba-ka pu-uḫ-ḫi-ir-ma* 28) *ù LÚ Lu-ul-li-im it-ti-ka lu-pu-ut* 29) *a-na Za-as-li-im al-ka-am-ma* 30) *šu-ub-ta-am ši-ib-šu-um-ma* 31) *ù šu-pu-ur-ma ka-al ma-tim* 32) *li-ig-ru-šu i-nu-ma uš-še-ma* 33) *at-ta ti-bi-šum-ma ù ḫu-ru-'us-sù'*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 111-3 (no. 42 = SH 859+881).

³⁶⁵ 4) *Ši-ik-ša-ab-bu-um*^{ki} 5) *a-ka-šu-um ù a-ia-ši-im ma-ru-uš* 6) *ša Ši-ik-ša-ab-bi-im*^{ki} 7) <<x>> *la-we-e-em i ni-pu*<<x>> *uš*<<x>> 8) *tu-pi an-né-em i-na še-me-e-em* 9) *'ga'-ma-ar-ti* 10) *ša-bi-ka ù LÚ Lu-ul-li-im* 11) *it-ti-ka* <<Ú DA? E>> 12) *lu-pu-ut-[m]a* 13) *ù at-la-ka-am* 14) *ar-ḫi-iš* 15) *Ši-ik-ša-ab-ba-am*^{ki} 16) *i ni-il-we ù šu-ma-am IGI be-li-ni*₅ 17) *ni-ir-ši* 18) *an-na a-na-ku i-na pa-aṭ Ta-ri-im*^{ki} 19) *w[a-aš-ba-k]u ú-qa*<<QA>> *ar-ḫi-iš* 20) *[al-ka]-am* <<x>> 21) *[ù Ši-i]k-ša-ab-bá-am* 22) *[i ni-š]a-al la-ma LUGAL i-ka-aš-ša-dám* 23) *[a]-di* U₄ 3.KAM U₄ 4.KAM *Nu-ru-ga-am LUGAL* 24) *[i]-ša-ab-bá-at* 25) *[ù] LUGAL it-ti um-ma-na-tim* 26) *[a-n]a [š]i-ik-ša-ab-bi-im*^{ki} 27) *i-*

After this letter was sent Etellum waited seven days for Kuwari, but Kuwari did not come. Then Etellum sent him the following letter to inform him about his plan to leave Tarum to the city Ikkalnum, which seems to have been the capital or central city of Tarum:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 41 = SH 925+942)

I waited for you 7 days but you did not come, and the whole country [togeth]er has turned [*against me*]. You should not [*come....(rest of obv. is lost).....*].
.... you gave your promise to the king. Now do what is needed to destroy this ferry!
The face of Kakmum of Šuruthum has turned to my lord. Rejoice! Let him come to your lord's side.

Another matter: I will go to Ikkalnum. This town [...] I will leave a garrison and [go] to Arraphum; and you must hold your own land and be available in Zaslum to support Ikkalnum. Perhaps something will happen, and you must come as relief from there and I will come as relief from here, and then the interior of the land will become quiet.

Another matter: in seven days the king will come to Arraphum. Be aware of this and send your greetings to Arraphum to the king.³⁶⁶

The ferry that Kuwari was asked to destroy was perhaps used for bringing the siege towers from Šušarrā to Zaslum. As we learn from other letters (see below no. 47 = SH 941 for instance), its destruction was necessary to avoid its being used by enemy troops bringing provisions to support Šikšabbum. However, Kuwari did not destroy the ferry. We are not sure whether Kuwari was just negligent or playing the game of balancing the rival powers for his own interests. Etellum would not have insisted on his requests for support if there were real threats against Šušarrā. The next letter, in addition to reminding Kuwari of the danger and enmity of Šikšabbum, refers to the ferry again:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 42 = SH 859+881)

About the ferry, you spoke thus to the king: "I will destroy this ferry for the king!" but you did not destroy (it).³⁶⁷

We may suppose that Etellum, seeing Kuwari was doing nothing for the destruction of the ferry, asked Yadinum³⁶⁸ to write a letter to Kuwari with the same message. In addition, he gave Kuwari a sign of danger, that there were Gutian troops ready to cross the river to enter Šikšabbum:

Yadinum to Kuwari (no. 47 = SH 941)

[*a*]-*ka-am* 28) *la-ma* LUGAL *i-la-ka-am ni-mu* 29) *iš-te-et i nu-dā-am-mi-iq* 30) 'a-na be-li-ni₅ 31) [*a tu-<la>* ap-pa-at al-ka-am, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 108-9 (no. 39 = SH 913).

³⁶⁶ 3) U₄ 7.KAM *ú-qí-ka-a-ma* 4) *ú-ul ta-al-li-ka-a-am* 5) *ú ma-a-tum ka-[lu-ša iš-te-n]i-iš* 6) *is-sà-ḫu-u[r]* 7) *la ta-[.....]* 8) 'x' [...] (break) 1') [...] 'x' [...] 2') [*q*]-*ba-ka a-na* LUGAL *ta-ad-di-in* 3') *i-na-an-na ša ḫu-ul-^rlu^r-uq* ^{GIŠ} MÁ *ša-a-[ti]* 4') *e-pu-uš IGI Ka-ak-mi-im ša Šu-ru-ut-ḫi-im* 5') *a-na be-lí-^ria iš-sà-^rḫu^r-^rur^r lu-ú ḫa-de₄-e[*t*] 6') (erased) 7') *a-na i-di be-lí-<ka> li-li-kam <<x>>* 8') (erased) 9') (erased) 10') *ša-ni-tam a-na-ku a-na Ik-k[a-al-nim^{ki}] 11') a-la-ak a-lam ša-a-ti 'x'[.....]* 12') *bi-ir-tam a-na-ad-di-m[a]* 13') *a-na Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im^{ki} lu-u[l-li-ik]* 14') *ú at-ta ma-a-at-ka ki-il* 15') *ú i-na Za-as-li-im lu-ú qú-ur-[ru-ba-at]* 16') *a-na ni-ḫ-ra-ar Ik-ka-al-nim^{ki} 17') pí-[q]a-at mi-im-ma ib-bá-ši-[ma]* 18') *at-ta iš-tu a-ša-ra-nu-um ta-[na-(aḫ-ḫa-ar]* 19') *ú a-na-ku iš-tu an-na-nu-um a-na-ḫa-[ar-ma]* 20') *i-nu-mi-šu li-ib-bi ma-a-tim tà-^rab^r* 21) *ša-ni-tam a-na* U₄ 7.KAM LUGAL 22') *a-na Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im i-la-ka-am* 23') *an-ni-tam lu-ú ti₄-de₄* 24') *ú šu-lu-u[m-k]a a-na Ar-ra-a[p-ḫi-i]m* 25') *šu-bi-la-a-am* 26') *a-na 'LUGAL'*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 110-11 (no. 41 = SH 925+942).*

³⁶⁷ 11) *aš-šum* ^{GIŠ} MÁ *a-na LUGAL ta-aq-bi um-ma at-ta-ma* 12) *a-na LUGAL* ^{GIŠ} MÁ *ú-ḫa-al-la-aq 'ù' ú-ul 'tu-ḫa-a^r-li-iq*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 112-3 (no. 42 = SH 859+881).

³⁶⁸ Eidem and Læssøe pointed out that Yadinum was perhaps the same official of Šamšī-Adad who is mentioned in ARM I, 99; cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

Say to Kuwari: Thus (says) Yadinum, your son: News reached from [...] as follows: "Troops - 300 Gutian troops - are deployed to cross (the river), so they can find (a way) to enter Šikšabbum. Send words to the ferry that this ferry must be removed so that Yašub-Addu does not [become] stronger and he cannot [trouble] the land and does not in future give [us trouble]!"³⁶⁹

The allusion to the Gutians who are ready to cross the river to enter Šikšabbum is evidence of the location of this city on the northern bank of the Zāb, not on the southern bank where the Gutians would be coming from, from the centre of their country. One may infer that Yašub-Addu had by now allied himself to the Gutians, so another power can be added to the list of Šamši-Adad (letters no. 1 and 2).

After Etellum gave up hope of assistance from Kuwari he left Tarum to enter the city of Ikkalnum. There he met its elders and the rulers of two other places. His request for help from Kuwari this time was linked to the condition that there was no threat against Šušarrā:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 40 = SH 877)

I departed from the border of Tarum. I have entered Ikkalnum. There the ruler of Ḫanbat and the ruler of Zappan and the country is gathered. Make a forced march all night and come here! If you have not arrived tomorrow I shall break camp and march off and withdraw. If you have not arrived tomorrow, do not come. Hold your own country and stay close to Zaslum. Be ready to assist the troops I left behind in the garrisons.³⁷⁰

Three important observations arise from these two letters. First, Tarum with its city Ikkalnum was close to both Zaslum and Šikšabbum. Secondly, Ikkalnum was one night's march away from Zaslum, where Kuwari seems to have camped. Thirdly, the letter indicates that the reason Kuwari stayed behind was that his land was also under threat, possibly from Kakmum or the Gutians. In letter no. 44, there is news from Etellum that Muškawe, king of Kakmum, has attacked and looted the city of Kigibiši. Kuwari is asked to launch a counter-attack to divert Muškawe and force him to retreat:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 44 = SH 875)

The ruler of Kakmum, Muškawe, made an attack into Kigibiši and took 100 sheep, 10 cows, [and x] men, [and] its inhabitants reacted; [and sin]ce the town of Kigibiši [..... to] besiege the town [.....(break)...] 'those' [me]n.. and you... the man staying 'before me...and one man in ...not... attack his land, [and] with its [deed] your Lord [you will please] and [you will gain] renown [for yourself...(break).....] Now do what you will according to your own wish. But if not, send me words whether this or that. When you attack his country then you will make him retreat from this town. Do not be negligent with regard to this!³⁷¹

³⁶⁹ 1) 'a'-[na] K[u-wa-ri] 2) qí-b[í-ma] 3) um-ma Ia-d[i-nu-um] 4) ma-ru-ka-a-[ma] 5) te-mu-um iš-tu ma-ḥ[a-ar] 6) im-qú-ta-a-am 7) um-ma-mi ša-bu-um 8) 3 me-tim Qú-tu-um ša-bu-u[m] 9) a-na e-bé-ri-im 10) ku-un-ma 11) ù a-na URU Ši-ik-ša-bi^{ki} 12) 'e'-re-ba-am 13) ú-ta-'a'-[a]m 14) a-na e-le-pí-im 15) šu-pu-[u]r-m[a] 16) e-le-pa-am ša-a-t[u] 17) li-dá-ap-pí-ru 18) ki-ma Ia-šu-ub-^dI[M] 19) e-mu-qa-am la i-[ra-aš-šu-ma] 20) ma-ta-am la ú-[da-ba-bu-ma] 21) ú'-ra-'am' š[e-ra-am] 22) la 'i'-m[a-ar-ra-šú-ni-a-ši-im], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 118 (no. 47 = SH 941).

³⁷⁰ 4) iš-tu pa-aṭ Ta-ri^{ki} 5) et-bé-e-em 6) a-na Ik-ka-al-nim^{ki} e-te-ru-ub aš-ra-nu-um 7) LÚ 'Ḫa'-an-ba-at ù LÚ Za-ap-pa-an^{ki} ù ma-a-tum pa-ḥi-ir 8) [k]a-al mu-ši-im ra-aḥ-ša-am 9) al-ka-am šum-ma ur-ra-a-am 10) ú-ul ta-ak-šu-ud e-te-eb-bi 11) [a]t-ta-al-la-ak ù a-na-ad-dá 12) [š]um-ma ur-ra-a-am 13) la ta-ak-šu-ud 14) la 'ta'-la-ka-a-am 15) [m]a-at-[k]a-ma ki-i[l] 16) 'ù' a-na Za-as-'lī-im^{rk} 17) lu-ú qú-ur-r[u]-ba-at 18) a-na ni-iḥ-ra-ar ša-bi-im 19) ša a-na bi-ra-tim 20) at-t[a-a]d-d[u]-ú 21) re-[š]a-[a]m 'k'i-il, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 110 (no. 40 = SH 877).

³⁷¹ 5) [L]Ú Ka-ak-mu-um Mu-uš-ka-we 6) [q]a-ab-sa-am ša Ki-gi-bi-ši^{ki} 7) [iš-ḥ]i-iṭ 1 me-at UDU.ḪÁ 10 GU₄.ḪÁ 8) [x] LÚ.MEŠ il-te-qé 9) [ù] LÚ.MEŠ a-lu-ju-šu it-'bu'-[ú] 10) [ù] k[i]-ma a-lam Ki-gi-bi-š^{rk} 11) [x]'x' 'x'[.....] 12) [x]'x'-i a-lam la-we-[.....] (break) 1') 'x'[x] LÚ.M]EŠ 'šu-nu-ti a'-[.....] 2') ù at-ta ap-pí-iš[.....] 3') LÚ 'ma-aḥ'-ri-ia wa-aš-bu [.....] 4') ú iš-t-en LÚ i-na [.....] 5') ú-ul i-zi-[.....]

It is true that Kakmum was an old warlike enemy of Utûm, but there was another enemy on the scene. Endušše was still the greatest enemy about whom they would have had much apprehension. It was because Kakmum formed a tripartite axis with Gutium and Aḫazum against Kuwari and the Assyrians that it attacked Kigibiši. From the letter it appears that the city was within, or at least close to, the domain of Kuwari. By such an action Kakmum could reduce the pressure on Šikšabbum. During the correspondence between Kuwari and Etellum on the one hand, and between Kuwari and Šamši-Adad on the other, Šamši-Adad sent an envoy to the Gutians. The envoy came back with terrible news:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 8 = SH 887)

Warad-šarrim arrived here from before Indušše, and reported to me. Indušše is dead set against you; he will not leave you in peace. In case he marches against you, you must be prepared; and do not spread your garrisons! If the garrisons are small and the townspeople many, will (the latter) not be in control and hand (them) over to the enemy? Do not spread your garrisons! Let all your troops be gathered in Šušarrā itself and be ready! You must be prepared. As on the very same day the enemy approaches you, thus you shall be prepared.³⁷²

In another letter, Šamši-Adad tells Kuwari how Endušše is angry about Šamši-Adad because of the protection the latter offers Kuwari. The message was brought back by the same envoy of the king, Warad-šarrim, who had been sent to Endušše three months earlier. It is strange that when Šamši-Adad expresses his anger about the Gutian in this letter, he says he looks forward to the time when his land will starve. This could mean that Šamši-Adad was helping him with food supplies, and the protest of the people to Endušše that the barley was finished would reproach him for his hostile reaction to Šamši-Adad that led to that aid being stopped:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 20 = SH 905)

Three months ago I sent Warad-šarrim to Endaššu, but he did not receive an (official) brief or an escort, and his words are hostile to us. He gave him the following message: "I am his son, who does his [...] and his bidding. Kuwari my enemy took silver and gold from Šušarrā, and went to him, and I became [angry]. When [...] they defeated [...] to Kunšum..." (rest of obv. too broken for translation). I shall not send envoys to [Endaššu] again, [and when] his country starves, and the barley in his [country] is finished, they will protest to him. When you [...] *your barley* then harvest it quickly. Do not be negligent with [your own] harvest! Also if this letter has reached you while [...] is (still) staying with you, then do not [send him] to Endaššu. [If] they turn around like this, then let him be treated likewise!³⁷³

6') *ma-as-sú ši-[ta-ḫi-it]* 7') *i-na an-ni-ti[m]* 8') *be-el-ka 'x' [.....]* 9') *ù šum-[.....]* 10') *'x x x' [.....]* (break ca. 3 lines) 1'') *[.....]'x x' 2'') [.....]'x' [.....]'x' 3'') [i-n]a-an'-na ki-ma 'x'[x (x)] li-ib-bi-ka 4'') [š]i-bu-ut-ka e-pu-uš 5'') 'u'-la-šu-ma an-ni-it-[a] la an-ni-it'-tim' 6'') šu-up-ra-am 7'') i-nu-ma ma-as-sú ta-aš-ta-'ḫi-tū 8'') *ù ša-a-tu i-na zu-mu-ur a-lim 9'') tu-ša-ap-'tā'-ar-šu 10'') a-na an-ni-tim 'a'-aḫ-ka 11'') la ta-na-ad-di*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 114-5 (no. 44 = SH 875).*

³⁷² 12) *ù IR.LUGAL 13) iš-tu ma-ḫa-ar In-du-úš-še il-li-kam-ma 14) te-ma-am ub-lam In-du-úš-še 15) ša-ri-im-kum ú-ul pa-ti-ir-kum 16) as-sú-ur-ri i-la-ka-kum te-em-ka 17) lu-ú ša-ab-ta-at ù bi-ra-ti-kan 18) la tu-uš-ma-ad šum-ma bi-ra-tum i-šú-ú 19) ù a-lu-ju ma-du ú-ul ú-ka-lu-ma 20) a-na qa-tim 'ša' na-ak-rim-im ú-[u]l 'i-na'-di-nu 21) mi-im-ma bi-ra-tim la tu-uš-[ma-ad] ša-bu-ka 22) ka-la-šu i-na Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki}-ma' 23) lu-ú pa-ḫi-ir-ma re-eš-ka li-ki-il 24) te-em-ka lu-ú ša-bi-it 25) ki-ma ša u-ma-am na-ak-rum 26) i-te-eh-ḫi-kum ki-a-am te-em-ka 27) lu-ú ša-bi-it*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 79-80 (no. 8 = SH 887).

³⁷³ 4) *m'IR.LUGAL iš-tu-3-'KAM a-na' s[e-e]r 5) [E]n-da-aš-šu aš-pu-ur-[ma] 6) [ù] te-em-šú' a-li-ik i-di-š[u] 7) [ù]-ul 'il'-qé'-ma' a'-wa-'tu'-šu 8) [na-a]k-ru-'niš' ki-a-am ú-wa-e-ra- [aš-šu] 9) [um-m]a šu-'ma' [a-n]a-ku 'ma'-ru-š[u] (....)] 10) [x (x)]-šu ù 'qa'-bé-šu e-ep-p[é-eš] 11) [K]u-'wa-ri a-ia-bi' KÙ.BABBAR ù K[Ù.GI] 12) [ša] Šu-šar-*

To approach their target the Gutians supported the enemy of Kuwari and his lord. So they began to send messengers and troops to Šikšabbum. Now we understand why the king and his general Etellum insisted on the destruction of the ferry, for directly after the question why Kuwari did not destroy the ferry, Etellum states:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 42 = SH 859+881)

Messengers and troops from Induše keep crossing (the river),- now 200 Gutian troops. And they keep attacking the land, and you remain silent. How shall we answer the king?³⁷⁴

Etellum utilized all his literary abilities in his letters to persuade Kuwari to attack Šikšabbum with him and he kept on writing. Once he said that he had only one enemy, which was Šikšabbum. On one occasion he encouraged him to do a favour to their lord, and on another he invited him to gain renown by conquering the city (see above, no. 39):

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 42 = SH 859+881)

Why do you not act to slaughter Šikšabbum? Previously when this land was hostile, you attacked it daily, and your whip was swung over this land, and you gave no respite to this land. Now why do you do nothing?
Do this service to your Lord! So if Šikšabbum becomes stronger, will it not be bad for you as well as for me? Why do you do nothing? Apart from Šikšabbum who is your enemy? Apart from it you have no enemy! Stop doing nothing about it!³⁷⁵

It is worth noting that Kuwari, as said in the letter, was formerly a major enemy of Šikšabbum, but now he does nothing against it. We suspect he withheld his contribution the capture the city in order not to give Šamši-Adad an absolute upper hand in the region. However, it is also likely that he did not move against it because of the constant threat of the Gutians and Kakmeans on Šušarrā. Another significant point is that the previous enmity between Utūm and Aḫazum did not change, though they had both been vassals of Pišendēn shortly before the Assyrian domination, a vassaldom indicated in letters no. 66 and 67 (see above).

*ra-^ra^{ki} il-qgē-e-[ma] 13) [a-n]a še-ri-^ršū it-ta-la-a[k-ma] 14) [.....]^rx ar-ta-^ršī i-nu-ma ^rx[.....] 15) [.....]^rū² da-aw-^rde-e²-šū i-d[u-ku] 16) [.....]^ra-na^r Ku-^run-šī^r-i[m^{ki} x] x x^r[(...)] 17) [.....]^rx ki²-a-am id-b[u²-x]^rx[.....] 18) [.....]^rx^r-šū ka-^rlu^r-šū [.....] 19) [.....]^rx^r-ri hu-ul šu-šī-ir^r[(...)] 20) [.....]^rx tu^r[(.....)] (break) 1') 'ū-u[.....] 2') 'ī-na q[a-.....] 3') 'ī-na-an-na ^rx [x x] 'šū-UK^r[(.....] 4') la ū-ka-aš-ša-du^r [x]^rx x x^r [.....] 5') ū-ul a-ta-ar-ma a-na š[e-er En-da-aš-šū] 6') ū-ul a-ša-ap[pa]-ar 'ū [i-nu-ma] 7') ma-as-sū bi-ru-ū š[e-u]m i-na^r m[a-ti-šū] 8') ga-am-ru i-da-a[b-b]u-bu-n[i-šū] 9') i-nu-ma 'še²-em²-ka^r ta-an-[(.....] 10') ar-ḫi-iš e-šī^r-is^r-sū ma-a[ḫ-ri-ka] 11') a-na e-bu-ri-k[a] a-aḫ-k[a la ta-na-ad-di] 12') ša-ni-tam šum-ma ṭup-pi an-né-[em] 13') ik-ta-aš-^rda^r-ak-kum ^rx x^r[(.....] 14') i-n[a] ma-aḫ-ri-ka wa-šī-i[b] 15') 'a^r-n[a š]e-er En-da-aš-šū la t[a-ša-ap-pa-ar-šū] 16') [šum-ma] ki-a-am 'ir^r-ta-^rru^r[-nim] 17') [ū ki-a-a]m²-ma li-t[e]-er-ru-[ni-iš-šū], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 94-5 (no. 20 = SH 905). Eidem and Læssøe (Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 54) are correct in dating the letter to the months of Addarum or Maqrānum in the limmu of Aššur-malik (at the earliest) shortly before the rebellion of Lidāya, because in the letter Šamši-Adad urges Kuwari not to be negligent concerning bringing in the harvest, but rather to do it quickly.*

³⁷⁴ 13) DUMU.MEŠ šī-ip-ri 'ū ša^r-bu-um 'ša^r In-du-uš-še i-te-né-eb-bé-er 14) i-na-an-na 2 me ša-b[u]-um LÚ Qú-tù-ú 15) 'ū ma-tam iš-ta-na-aḫ-ḫi-it 16) 'ū at-ta šī-ip-pa-[a]t 17) mi-na-am ni-ip-pa-al LUGAL, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 112-3 (no. 42 = SH 859+881).

³⁷⁵ 3) am-mi-nim a-na Šī-ik<-ša>-bi-im^{ki} q[a-ta-li-im] 4) 'a^r-aḫ-ka na-di 5) pa-na-nu-um i-nu-ma ma-a-tum ša-i 6) na-ak-ru ša u^r-mi-šū ta-aš-ta-na-aḫ-ḫi-ṭam-ma 7) qí-in-na-az-ka ta-ri-ik e-li 8) ma-a-tim ša-a-ti ū na-pa-ša-am 9) ū-ul ta-na-ad-di-in <<x>> ma-tam ša-a-ti 10) i-na-an-na mi-nu-um i-du-um ša a-aḫ-ka ta-ad-du-ú 34) ū a-na be-lí-ka 'iš-tēt dummuqum^r 35) dú-um-mi-[iq] 53) ša-ni-tam šum-ma Šī-ik-ša-ab-bu^{ki} 54) e-mu-qa-am i-ra-aš-ši 55) ū-ul a-ka-šum-ma-a 56) ū a-ia-ši-im 57) i-ma-ar-ra-aš 58) an-mi-ni-im a-aḫ<-ka> [n]a-di 59) <<x>> ul-la-nu-um Šī-ik-ša-bi-im^{ki} ma-an-nu-um 60) na-k[a]^r-^ra^r-ka ul-la-nu-uš-šū 61) na-ka-ar-ka ū-ul i-ba-aš-ši a-aḫ-ka 62) la na-de-es-sú, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 111-3 (no. 42 = SH 859+881); restoration of l. 34 by Charpin, *RA* 98.

Another letter, that seems to have been written after no. 42, reproaches Kuwari for doing nothing. This letter shows that Šamšī-Adad too was waiting for some action by Kuwari and entertaining the hope that he together with his general would conquer the city:

Etellum to Kuwari (no. 43 = SH 857)

Now what are you doing? Why do you not come here? The king keeps writing from there: "Has Kuwari still not turned up?" As soon as you hear this letter of mine, make haste and march all night to join me!³⁷⁶

Internal Troubles in Utûm: Refugees, Citizens and the Case of Hazip-Teššup

In the same letter of Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari no. 8 the king says that he has given a full briefing about Nurrugum. But we do not know whether the land was taken or not because the text gives no details of the briefing. What we do learn are facts about the conditions inside Šušarrā. The Turukkean refugee chieftains were making troubles for Kuwari, and Kuwari for his part may have been afraid of his position or annoyed about them. He put some of them in jail, killed others (Hazip-Teššup), and asked Šamšī-Adad himself to settle others. In several letters Kuwari was asked to release people or send them to Šamšī-Adad. Letter no. 8 bears a clear message with a list of names of people Kuwari should release:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 8 = SH 887)

Why have you detained countrymen under Hazip-Teššup and incite public opinion against yourself? Release these men!³⁷⁷

Eidem and Læssøe noticed that Hazip-Teššup was not a refugee from the Turukkean land, but rather a local nobleman who enjoyed a significant influence. This they understood from letter 16, which states that he attempted to instigate a rebellion in "his town."³⁷⁸ It appears that he tried to assume power from Kuwari and to sit on his throne. Kuwari saw killing him as the best solution and asked his lord for such permission. But his lord, though afraid of public opinion, finally gave him permission, on condition that he do it secretly:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 16 = SH 883)

An idea occurred to me concerning Hazip-Teššup, about whose execution you wrote to me. Since you want to kill him, let him die! Why should he live? Let him die in the workshop!³⁷⁹ He keeps writing to his town and tries to turn your [country] against you. [And if] his brothers who are (staying) with me [ask] me, [I shall pretend] that he is alive and [say]: "He is alive, he is alive! [And ...] we are indeed his brothers!" So they will assume that he is (still) alive and staying in the workshop.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁶ 4) [mī]-n-um e-pī-iš-ta-ka 5) [a]n-ni-tum 'am-mī-nim 6) la ta-la-ka-[a]m 7) LUGAL iš-tu ul-la-nu-um 8) iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ar 9) a-di-ni-mi-i 10) ^mKu-wa-ri ú-ul ik-šu-dám 11) tup-pí an-ni-e-em 'i-na' še-me-e 12) ar-ḫi-iš ra-[a]ḫ-ša-am 13) ka-al mu-ši-im 14) a-na še-ri-ia ku-uš-dám, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 113-4 (no. 43 = SH 857).

³⁷⁷ 9) DUMU.MEŠ ma-tim šu-ut Ḫa-zi-ip-te-šu-up 10) am-mi-nim ta-ak-la ù pí-I ma-a-tim 11) e-li-ka tu-uš-ba-la-ka-at 12) LÚ.MEŠ šu-nu-ti wa-aš-še-ra-am, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 79-80 (no. 8 = SH 887).

³⁷⁸ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

³⁷⁹ Charpin does not agree with the translation "workshop" for *nēparum*; rather he finds that it denotes the exterior part of the palaces: Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 174 (referring to Durand, *LAPO* III, p. 106).

³⁸⁰ 15) a-wa-tum im-qú-ta-an-ni 16) aš-šum Ḫa-zi-ip-te-šu-up 17) ša šu-mu-us-sú ta-aš-pu-ra-am 18) iš-tu šu-mu-us-sú ta-aq-bū-ú 19) li-mu-ut am-mi-nim i-ba-lu-ut 20) i-na né-pa-ri-im li-mu-ut 21) a-na a-li-šu iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ar-ma 22) p[ī](-i) ma-ti-k[a] uš-ba-la-ka-at 23) [ù šum-ma LÚ.MEŠ a]-ḫu-šu ša ma-aḫ-ri-ia 24) [i-ša-lu-ni]-in-ni 25) [a-na-ku k]i-ma ša ba-al-tú-ma 26) [um-ma-a-mi ba]-li-iṭ ba-li-iṭ 27) [ù a]ḫ-ḫi-šu 28) lu-ú ni-nu 29) ù ki-ma ša ba-al-tú-ma 30) i-na né-pa-ri-im wa-aš-bu 31) iš-ta-na-ka-nu-šu, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 89-90 (no. 16 = SH 883).

Charpin thinks that this ʕazip-Teššup is to be identified with ʕazip-Teššup, ruler of ʕaburātum under Yaḥdun-Lim, who fled and sought refuge in Šušarrā.³⁸¹ This is not impossible but should not be taken as certain. Statements of Šamšī-Adad that his brothers were before him and that he kept writing to his town to instigate a rebellion should not necessarily be understood as support for this opinion. The brothers of ʕazip-Teššup were before the king certainly to put pressure on Kuwari to release their brother. But it does not necessarily mean that they were natives of ʕaburātum, and “his town” can be any town in the realm of Kuwari or the Turukkean country. Any troubles in a town in Kuwari’s domain would concern Šamšī-Adad as troubles in the domain of the king himself, evoking the same reaction as for instigating a rebellion. Furthermore, if a former governor of ʕaburātum now tries to instigate them to rebel that means a rebellion against Šamšī-Adad, since ʕaburātum had been conquered and ruled by Šamšī-Adad himself. Šamšī-Adad would not have tolerated such an act and received him in the honorific way recorded in no. 17 (see below). The name ʕazip-Teššup, on the other hand, seems to have been a common name among the Hurrians, as, for instance, Tiš-atal, which was the name of three contemporary rulers in the Ur III period (see Chapter Four).

Kuwari was not popular in Šušarrā, perhaps because of the oppression he exerted and the numerous people he detained, as documented in the letters of his lord (see above, letter no. 8). That was why it was easy for an influential nobleman like ʕazip-Teššup to call the people to rebel. Before his detention ʕazip-Teššup once visited Šamšī-Adad. During that visit the king showed him high esteem and respect by offering him a garment and a golden ring, even though Kuwari had asked the king to rid him of the man:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 17 = SH 906 + 909A + 923A + 927 + 928 + 929 + 932 + 933)

Concerning ʕazip-Teššup you wrote thus to me: "My lord must not send him to me. And why did my lord put a gold ring on him, and dress him in a garment? He must not return and come to me." This you wrote to me with Šumaḥum. You did not (however) send ʕazip-Teššup to me to be executed. You sent him to me to be calmed and returned to you. [And] I asked your retainer, who escorted ʕazip-Teššup [(to me)] saying as follows: "Shall I keep ʕazip-Teššup here forever, or return him to Kuwari?" [Thus] I spoke to your retainer, and your retainer answered me thus: "He must not be detained. Let him calm down and return him. This is what I was instructed (by) Kuwari: 'Let him return and let him stay with me'." This your retainer said to me, and for this reason I put a gold ring on him and dressed him in a garment, and calmed him, and said as follows to him: "Does a father not stand by a son? And your father stands by you. He has brought you to account according to your case. Do not worry!" These things I told him, and I calmed him saying: "Let him rest 2 or 3 days. Then I will send him to Kuwari."³⁸²

³⁸¹ Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 174. Similarly, Joannès and Ziegler find it possible to identify the two ʕazip-Teššups, but strangely assume that he was smitten by the Gutians and consequently fled to Šušarrā, cf. Joannès and Ziegler, "Une attestation de Kumme...", *NABU* 1995, no. 19, p. 17. If he was indeed the same king of ʕaburātum, it would be impossible to blame the Gutians for his flight. This is because of the distance between ʕaburātum and the Gutian land, and the absence of Gutian activity in that region, at least at this time. And finally, if he was indeed the king of ʕaburātum, Šamšī-Adad would have restored him to his throne as a vassal, at least because it was the Gutians, the enemy of the Šamšī-Adad in this phase, who had overthrown him. Needless to say, ʕaburātum was at this time under the control of Šamšī-Adad.

³⁸² 3) *aš-šum ʕa-zi-ip-Te-šu-up ki-[a]-am ta-aš-pu-ra-am* 4) *be-lí la 'i-ṭà-ra-da-šu ù [a]m-mi-nim be-lí* 5) *ʕUR KÙ.ZI' [i]š-ku-un'-šu ù šu-ba-tam ú-la-'bi-is-sú'* 6) *la i-ta-ra-am-ma a-na še-ri-ia la i-l[a]-kam* 7) *an-ni-tam šu-ma-ḥa-am ta-aš-pu-r[a]-am* 8) *ʕa-zi-ip-Te-šu-up a-na šu-mu-ti-[šu ú-ul ta-aṭ-ru-dam]* 9) *a-na [nu]-uḥ-ḥi-im ù a-[n]a še-ri'-ka 'tu'-u[r-ri-im]* 10) *ta-aṭ-ru-da-aš-šu [ù LÚ.T]UR-ka [š]a ʕa-z[i]-ip-Te-šu-up* 11) *ir-de-'e'-em a-ša-[al-šu um-m]a a-n[a-k]u-[ma]* 12) *ʕa-zi-ip-[Te-šu-up u]r-ra-a[m še-ra-am]* 13) *a-ka-al-la-[šu ú-lu a-na K]u-wa-ri-[ma]* 14) *ú-ta-[a]-ar [ki-a-am a-na] šu-ḥa-r[i]-ka* 15) *aq-bi-'ma' šu-ḥa-[ar-ka ki-a-a]m i-pu-[la-an-ni]* 16) *um-ma-mi mi-im-[ma la ka-li l[i]-nu-ḥ-ma]* 17) *ù tu-ur-ri [ki-a-am w]u-ú-ra-[ku-ma]* 18) *ʕu-wa-ri l[i]-tu-ra-am-m]a it-ti-ma li-*

From this, we learn that Ḫazip-Teššup and Kuwari were on bad terms and that there were problems between them, not only about the inciting of rebellion, that led the latter to get furious. It is true that Kuwari had sent him to Šamšī-Adad in the hope that he would not see him again, but his lord treated him with respect, perhaps to keep him for the day he would need him to oppose Kuwari.

Ḫazip-Teššup was not the only figure that posed danger for the position of Kuwari. On another occasion Kuwari asked Šamšī-Adad where to settle Lidāya, seemingly to keep him away, but the king preferred Lidāya to remain until the conquest of Šikšabbum:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 10 = SH 943)

I have heard the letters you sent me. You wrote as follows about Lidāya: "My lord should write to me where to settle (him)." This you wrote to me. [...] who [enter(s)] Šikšabbum [(5 lines broken)]. Until the plan for Šikšabbum has been carried out, [let him stay] in that land.³⁸³

This letter must be later than no. 7 that informed Kuwari that Lidāya should stay before Šamšī-Adad until the conquest of Nurrugum (see above). We understand from the two letters that Lidāya had visited and met Šamšī-Adad at least twice. Letter 24 also mentions sending Lidāya to Šamšī-Adad, but it is unfortunately too broken to say more:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 24 = SH 852)

For my god's sake, if [...] Lidāya [...] perhaps [...(rest of obv. broken)....] [...] send him to me, and before me [...], and I seized Nabi-Ištar, his retainer. The matter stands thus. Send him to me.³⁸⁴

We learn from letter no. 19 that the people of the country of Utûm also disliked Kuwari and his authority. This was exemplified by Šušarrā, and part of the hatred stemmed from the burdens imposed upon them by the numerous Turukkean refugees. The letter shows that Šamšī-Adad was angry with the citizens of Utûm who had annoyed him with these troubles, while their elders had already expressed their allegiance to him in Sarrima in the land of Qabrā. According to Eidem and Læssøe, this approach of the elders of Utûm took place during the campaign against Qabrā.³⁸⁵ This section of the letter reads as follows:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 19 = SH 861)

The citizens of Utûm hate the town of Šušarrā, and you, you citizens of Kunšum who left Kunšum, they hate you. They are villainous and rebellious. Previously, when I

š[i-ib] 19) an-ni-tam šu-[h]a-^rar-ka iq-bi-e-em-ma 20) aš-šum [ki]-^ra-^r[a]m ḪUR KÙ.ZI¹ aš-ku-un-šu 21) 'ù' 'šú-ba-tam' ú-^rla¹-ab-bi-is-sú-^rma' ú-ni-iḫ-šu-m[a] 22) ú ki-a-am aq-bi-šum um-ma a-na-ku-ma 23) a-bu-um a-na ma-ri-im ú-ul i-zi-iz 24) [ù] 'a¹-bu-ka i-te-ez-za-kum 25) a-na 'di¹-ni-ka iš-ta-al-ka 26) mi-im-ma li-ib-ba-ka la i-ma-ra-aš 27) an-né-tim ad-bu-ub-šu ú-ni-iḫ-šu um-ma a-na-ku-ma 28) U₄ 2.KAM U₄ 3.KAM li-nu-uḫ-ma a-na še-er Ku-^rwa-ri¹ 29) lu-ut-ru-us-s[ù], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 90-1 (no. 17 = SH 906 + 909A + 923A + 927 + 928 + 929 + 932 + 933).

³⁸³ 4) tu-pa-ti-ka ša tu-ša-bi-[la]m eš-m[e] 5) a[š-š]um ^mLi-da-e ta-aš-p[u-ra-am] 6) u[m]-ma at-ta-a-ma 7) a-^ršar¹ šu-šu-b[i-i]m be-lí [i-iš-pu-ra-am] 8) an-ni-tam ta-aš-pu-ra-[am] 9) [x x x] ša a-na Ši-i[k-ša]-bi-[im^{ki}] 15) 'a¹-di te-em Ši-^rik¹-ša-[bi-im^{ki}] 16) in-ne-ep-pé-[šu] 17) 'i-na¹ ma-tim ša-a-[ti li-ši-ib], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 82 (no. 10 = SH 943).

³⁸⁴ 4) aš-šum DINGIR-ia šum-m[a]x x¹[...] 5) ^mLi-da-e 'x'[.....] 6) [p]i²-qa-at 'x'[.....] (break) 1') [x x]x x¹[.....] 2') [tú-u]r-da-aš-šu-ma 'ah¹-r[i-ia] (...) 3') 'x (x) x x¹ I-x LÚ [.....] 4') 'ù Na-bi-eš-tár LÚ.TUR¹-šu aš-b[a-a]t 5') te-mu-um 'ke¹-e[m] 'i¹-b[a]-aš-ši 6') tú-ur-da-aš-šu-nu-ti¹, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 97 (no. 24 = SH 852).

³⁸⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

stayed in Sarre(ma) in the country of Qabrā, their elders came to me and said: "We are indeed your servants [.....(broken)....]"³⁸⁶

In this same letter military support from Šamši-Adad for Kuwari is mentioned, so it seems very probable that it aimed to protect Kuwari from internal perils, such as Ḫazip-Teššup. This support was one of the fruits Kuwari gained from the treaty he had concluded with the Assyrian king, and according to the letter he received 600 Assyrian troops:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 19 = SH 861)

Hereby I have sent you 600 troops to protect Šušarrā. Let these troops enter Šušarrā itself, and you yourself come to me.³⁸⁷

Letter 12 seems to follow letter 19 chronologically because it is about details of a meeting between Šamši-Adad and Kuwari. This meeting could be the one his lord asked for in letter 19. In the letter, that predates the conquest of Šikšabbum, Kuwari was asked again to send troops to contribute to the conquest of that city:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 12 = SH 888)

Before you left I gave you a decision. I instructed you thus: "If Šikšabbum is conquered, then come to me in Arraphum. If Šikšabbum has not been conquered, let the garrison troops enter the environs of Šikšabbum and you, according to your own judgement, go to Šušarrā and instruct a commander of Šušarrā, and take the troops of the district of Šušarrā with you and come to me!" This I instructed you. The instruction was thus. (Now) act in accordance with the instruction I gave you! If Šikšabbum is conquered, and you go to the country of Šušarrā, then until you return to me you must keep writing to me any information you learn. [If not] and you stay there, let [the commander] of Šušarrā send the troops of the upper land to me; [and you] must keep writing to me so that I am informed.³⁸⁸

Plot or Tactic?

With regard to the Gutians, who had decided to help the enemy of Kuwari and Šamši-Adad by supporting Šikšabbum, we note an interesting letter sent to Kuwari to inform him about a deal with them. Endušše promised Šamši-Adad not to attack the land of Utûm as long as it was under the control of his "father," the title he uses for Šamši-Adad. Such a father-son style is also found in letter no. 20, where Endušše states "I am his son." Was this deal reached after the punitive act of Šamši-Adad (see above) or was the punishment a result of the collapse of the deal? This question at present cannot be answered. What is noteworthy is

³⁸⁶ 9) LÚ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ Ú-ta-im^{ki} a-lam Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki} 10) i-zi-ir-ru ù ku-nu-ti DUMU.MEŠ Ku-un-ši-im^{ki} 11) ša iš-tu Ku-un-ši-im^{ki} tu-ši-e [(.....)] 12) i-zi-ir-ru-ku-nu-ti 13) sà-ar-ru mu-ut-ta-ab-la-ka-tu 14) i-na pa-ni-tim i-nu-ma i-na Sa-a[r-ri-ma]^{ki} 15) i-na ma-a-at Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} uš-[ba-ku] 16) ši-bu-tu-šu-nu a-na še-ri-i[a] 17) [i]l-li-ku-nim 18) [um-ma]-a-mi lu-ú IR-[d]u-ka n[i-nu], Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 93 (no. 19 = SH 861).

³⁸⁷ 4) a-nu-um-ma 6 ME ša-ba-[a]m 'a'-n[a] ma-ša-ar-'ti' 5) Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki} at-tà-ra-ad 6) ša-bu-um šu-[ú] 'a'-na li-ib-bi 7) Šu-šar-ra-'a^{ki} li-ru-ub-ma 8) ù at-ta a-na še-ri-ia al-ka-am, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 93 (no. 19 = SH 861).

³⁸⁸ 4) i-na pa-an wa-še-e-ka pu-ru-us-sà-am 5) ad-di-na-kum ki-a-am ú-wa-e-er-ka 6) um-ma a-na-ku-ma šum-ma Ši-ik-ša-ab-bu-um^{ki} 7) it-ta-'aš'-ba-at a-na Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im^{ki} 8) a-na pa-ni-ia al-kam 9) šum-[m]a Ši-ik-ša-ab-bu-um^{ki} la iš-ša-bi-it 10) ša-ba-am bi-ir-tam a-na i-ta-at Ši-ik-ša-ab-bi-im^{ki} 11) li-ru-ub-ma at-ta ki-ma pa-ni-ka-ma a-na 12) Šu-ša[r-r]a-a^{ki} a-lik-ma LÚ mu-ki-il [Š]u-šar-[r]a-a^{ki} 13) wu-e-[e]r-ma ša-ab ḫa<<al>>-la-aš Šu-šar-ra-'a^{ki} 14) it-ti-ka tu-ra-am-ma a-na še-r[i-ia] l-kam 15) a[n-n]i-tam ú-wa-e-er-ka wu-ú-ur-tum ši-m[a] 16) ša pí-i wu-ú-ur-tim ša ú-wa-e-ru-ka e-p[u-u]š 17) 'šum-ma' [Ši-i]k-[š]a-am-bu-um^{ki} it-ta-a[s]-ba-a[t]-ma 18) 'a'-na [m]a-'a'-[a]t Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki} ta-at-ta-la-ak 19) [a]-di a-na še-ri-ia ta-tu-ra-am 20) [te-ma-a]m ma-la ta-la-am-ma-du 21) [a-na še]-ri-ia ši-ta-ap-pa-ra-a[m] 22) [šum-ma la-a] ki-a-am-ma a[n-n]i-ki-a-am wa-aš-ba-at 23) [LÚ mu-ki-i]l Šu-šar-r[a-a^{ki}] ša-ba-am ša ma-tim e-li-tim <<x x>> 24) [a-na še]-ri-ia i-š[a-ap-p]a-ra-am-ma' 25) [ù at-ta] 'a'-n[a s]e-r[i-i]a 'ši'-tap-pa-ra-am-ma 26) [lu-ú] i-di, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 84-5 (no. 12 = SH 888).

that the same Warad-šarrim was the envoy involved in the negotiations and discussions with Endušše in all three letters. He was perhaps the envoy specializing in Gutian affairs and most probably able to speak Gutian.³⁸⁹ A second confirmation of the agreement reached Šamšī-Adad through a Gutian envoy:

Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari (no. 11 = SH 920)

An envoy of the Gutians who are staying in Šikšabbum came to me and said this to me: "The ruler of Gutium, Indušše, said this to me: 'If the army of Šamšī-Adad, my father, should approach Šikšabbum, do not do battle! I shall never sin against my father. If he orders you to march off, (then) march off! If he orders you to stay, (then) stay!'. " This is what he said. Who knows whether their words are true or not? Perhaps they have seen the prospects of the town and concocted this themselves. Or they have been instructed from outside. Who knows? So I questioned him, and he gave me indications about the retinue of Warad-šarrim. A *hullum* ring which I gave to Mutušu, the envoy, he told me as an indication, and the colleague of Mutušu, Etellini, was ill in Arraphum, and he told me about the illness of this man. And he gave me all these indications, so that I trusted his message. And I questioned him about the news of Warad-šarrim, and he (said), "His message Indušše received (and replied)³⁹⁰ as follows: 'To the border of Šušarrā in the land which my father controls, I will not draw near!' " This he told me. Warad-šarrim brings good news. Be aware of this!³⁹¹

Why did Šamšī-Adad send this letter to Kuwari and show him the double confirmation of the agreement he had concluded with the Gutians? Apart from the exchange of information between allies, it must have aimed at giving him the message that there will be no Gutian threat to Šušarrā, so Kuwari could no longer use that argument to withhold his military support for the campaign against Šikšabbum.

We have already questioned whether Kuwari was negligent towards his lord or whether he was deliberately playing a game of power balancing when we discussed the letters of Etellum and Šamšī-Adad to him. The following letter that relates a plot that was hatched between his lord Šamšī-Adad and his enemy Endušše, of which Kuwari would be the victim, sheds more light on this question. Whether the plot was actually made or was a subterfuge to break off the alliance between Šamšī-Adad and Kuwari we are not sure, but the report was a reply to a letter Kuwari had sent earlier. Whatever the case may be, the report must have had a damaging effect on Kuwari and his confidence towards his lord. The sender's name is

³⁸⁹ His name in the Shemshāra letters was always written in Sumerian logograms, so it is not completely certain whether we can read his name as the Akkadian Warad-šarrim. He could have been a local citizen in the service of the Assyrians with an indigenous name written logographically.

³⁹⁰ The translation of Eidem and Læssøe needs to be supplemented with "(and replied)," because what follows must be the answer of Endušše. Without this it would seem as if it was Warad-šarrim's answer. The Akkadian text lacks any indication to Endušše (see the transliteration below).

³⁹¹ 4) DUMU šī-ip-ri ša Qū-ti-I 5) ša i-na Šī-ik-ša-am-bi-im^{ki} wa-aš-bu 6) a-na še-ri-ia il-li-kam-ma 7) ki-a-am iq-bé-em um-ma-mi 8) LÚ Qū-tu-ú-ma En-du-uš-še 9) ki-a-am iq-bé-em um-ma-mi 10) šum-ma ša-bu-um ša ^dUTU-ši-^dIM a-bi-ia 11) a-na Šī-ik-ša-am-bi-im^{ki} is-sà-an-qa-am 12) ^{GIŠ}TUKUL.ĤÁ la te-ep-pé-ša ma-ti-ma a-na a-bi-ia ú-ul ú-ga-la-al 13) šum-ma wa-ša-am iq-ta-bu-ni-ik-ku-nu-ši-im 14) ši-e šum-ma iq-ta-bu-ni-ku-nu-ši-im ši-ba 15) an-ni-tam iq-bé-em 16) a-wa-tu-šu-nu ki-na ù sà-ar-ra 17) ma-an-nu-um lu-ú i-di 18) pí-qa-at te-em a-lim^{ki} i-mu-ru-ma 19) it-ti ra-ma-ni-šu-nu-ma 20) a-wa-tim an-né-tim uš-ta-aš-bi-tu 21) ú-lu-ma ul-la-nu-um-ma 22) wu-ú-ru ma-an-nu-um lu-ú i-di 23) ù áš-ta-al-šu-ma 24) it-ta-tim ša šu-ut ÌR.LUGAL 25) id-bu-ba-am še-we-ra-am 26) ħu-ul-lam ša a-na mu-tu-šu 27) DUMU šī-ip-ri ad-di-nu a-na it-ti iq-bé-em 28) ù ta-ap-pé-e mu-tu-šu 29) E-te-el-li-ni i-na Ar-ra-ap-ĥi-im^{ki} 30) im-tu-aš ù mu-ru-us-^{si} 31) ša a-wi-lim ša-a-ti iq-bé-em-ma 32) it-ta-tim ka-la-ši-na id-bu-ba-am 33) ik-ke-em a-wa-sú-nu a-qí-ip 34) ù áš-šum te-em ÌR.LUGAL 35) áš-ta-al-šu-ma 36) um-ma-a-mi te-em-šu En-du-uš-še im-ĥu-ur 37) um-ma-mi a-na pa-at Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki} 38) i-na ma-tim ša qa-at a-bi-ia ša-ak-na-at 39) ú-ul e-te-eĥ-ĥe 40) an-ni-tam iq-bé-em ^mÌR.LUGAL 41) te-ma-am ša ĥa-di-im ub-ba-lam 42) an-ni-tam lu-ú ti-di, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 82-3 (no. 11 = SH 920).

unfortunately broken, but the script and format of the tablet is unique within the archive³⁹² which indicates somebody outside the circle of envoys already known:

..... to Kuwari? (no. 71 = SH 891)

[...(break)...] You wrote to me about Imdi-Adad, the servant of Samsī-Addu, who brought presents of silver, gold and silver bars to Induše. This matter is correct, and I have heard all he brought him. The silver, the gold, the silver bars which he sent – in reference to what did he send them? He sent them in reference to you. He wrote as follows to Induše: "I and you, our agreement is long overdue. I will have a statue of you and a statue of me made in gold, and brother shall embrace brother. I will give you my daughter, and as dowry for my daughter I will give you the country of Šušarrā and the country [...(break)...]."³⁹³

It is possible to date this letter to the short phase after the collapse of the Turukkean front and before the vassaldom of Kuwari to Šamši-Adad. In this case the Turukkean kings, who were not happy with the loss of their former province to the Assyrians, might have sent a report such as this to Kuwari to prevent him from going to Šamši-Adad. Note, particularly, that the letter uses the form Samsī-Addu, just as Šepratu did (no. 63 and 64). However, this form of the name cannot be taken as conclusive. Instead another aspect in the letter calls for attention. Šamši-Adad styled Enduše "brother" in contrast to the father-son terminology found in the two letters discussed above (twice in no. 11 and once in 20). In both instances it is Enduše who styles himself son of the king, while nothing like that is recorded by Šamši-Adad himself. Is it possible, then, that Šamši-Adad considered him a peer because he needed his alliance, and Enduše, on his part, felt flattered because he needed his aid? At any rate, the more likely date of the letter is the time after the vassaldom of Kuwari, because there were many more reasons in this phase to send such a report, particularly by the numerous enemies of both parties. These enemies would have been eager to see the alliance of Kuwari with Šamši-Adad broken, and keen to poison that relationship by inserting such a report into the correspondence. At this time the alliance of Gutium with Aḫazum and Kakmum formed a powerful axis, as noted by Eidem and Læssøe,³⁹⁴ so, it is also quite possible that Šamši-Adad had thus tried to break off this alliance. Whether Šamši-Adad was serious in this offer or made it just as a manoeuvre is a matter for speculation.

Other Turukkeans Help Šikšabbum

It was not only the Gutians who helped the Aḫazians. Many Turukkeans who were fleeing from Šušarrā or who had been sent by Kuwari to Šamši-Adad entered Šikšabbum. This worried Šamši-Adad seriously:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 13 = SH 919+924)

Concerning the Turukkeans who you sent to me together with their people: [as] many Turukkeans with their people as you sent me –they do not correspond to [..... I asked them for an explanation] and they told me this: "At [night and in] secrecy [our feet] are sore, and the men who stole away and entered Šikšabbum are as many as we are." This

³⁹² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

³⁹³ ... (break)... 1') [...aš-š]um ^{rm}Im-di-^dIM ÌR ^dS[a-am-si-^dUTU] 2') [š]a ta-ma-ar-tam KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI ù ru-[uq-qa-at] 3') KÙ.BABBAR a-na ^mIn-du-úš-še ub-lu ta-aš-p[u-ra-am] 4') a-wa-tum ši-i ki-na-at ù ma-li ub-[u-šum] 5') še-me-ku KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI ù ru-uq-qa-at KÙ.[BABBAR] 6') ša ú-ša-bi-lu aš-šum ma-an-nim ú-ša-bi-i[?] 7') aš-šu-mi-ka ú-ša-bi-il a-na En-du-úš-[še] 8') ki-a-am iš-pu-ur um-ma šu-ma-a 9') a-na-ku ù at-ta pu-ḫu-ur-ni ú-za-bi-[il] 10') ša-la-am-ka ù ša-al-mi ša KÙ.GI 11') lu-še-pi-iš-ma a-ḫu-um ki-ša-ad a-ḫi-im 12') li-ki-il DUMU.MÍ ma-ar-ti 13') lu-ud-di-na-ak-kum-ma a-na ša-ar-ra-k[u-ut] 14') DUMU.MÍ-ti-ia ma-a-at Šu-šar-ra-a^{ki} 15') ^rlu-ud-di-na-ak-kum ù ma-a-at (break), Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 147-8 (no. 71 = SH 891).

³⁹⁴ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

they told me, and you said thus to me: "They slander me to my Lord." How do they slander you? Previously I wrote thus to you: "Those Turukkeans whose maintenance you cannot manage, send them to me, and I shall take charge of them here." This I wrote to you. Now all [the Turukkean]s you send to me come at night and in secrecy, and the land in front of them they *claim*, and they keep entering Šikšabbum. Is it right that we should make the enemy stronger, and his army greater. I am worried about this. Now assemble the country, and tell them thus: "He who wants to can stay here; he who does not want to stay here can go to my lord!" Tell them this, and all the Turukkeans you send to me, must not come at night and in secrecy. Let one of your retainers take charge of them, and [lead] them [safely] to [.....]. Since [.....] let them lead] them. [.....] Take precautions so that [the land in front of them] they do not *claim*, and they do not enter [Šikšabbum], and we do not make our enemy stronger and do not make his army greater!³⁹⁵ And all the Turukkeans you send to me, should first be listed on a tablet.³⁹⁶

The letter makes it clear why many Turukkeans were sent to Šamši-Adad. Kuwari wished to get dozens of Turukkeans out of his domain because he claimed he was unable to maintain them due to his limited resources. By doing so, he was imposing a kind of exile on troublesome Turukkeans who threatened his authority by participating in or organizing rebellions. But why did those Turukkeans choose for Yašub-Addu and not for Šamši-Adad? Was it to take revenge on Kuwari? Or did they find the authority of Šamši-Adad no better than that of Kuwari? Or did they find the regions in the Habur area where they were destined to settle too far away and too much like exile? Or did the Gutian-Kakmean-Aḫazian alliance offer them better conditions? A letter to Kuwari that was sent before letter 13 hints that some of them were kidnapped *en route* and forced to enter Šikšabbum. How the others ended there is not yet known. In that letter Šamši-Adad says he had already given Kuwari the instruction to send retainers with them, but Kuwari, perhaps on purpose, apparently neglected the order:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 15 = SH 911+922)

When you stayed before me I instructed you as follows: "The Turukkeans who are coming in from outside, those you can manage to provide for, you shall keep with you; those you cannot manage to provide for should proceed to me." This I instructed you. Was I not happy with their staying there? Is it not a border town? Indeed many troops should stay there, and *do service out there*, and in force they will protect this land. These things I decided. Now keep the troops you can manage to provide for with you, and send those you cannot manage to provide for to me. But why do they come without

³⁹⁵ Lit.: "make his lance stronger," Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 87; Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 174.

³⁹⁶ 4) *aš-šum* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ki-i^{ki}* 5) *ša qa-du-um ni-š¹i-šu-nu a-na še-ri-ia* 6) *ta-at-ru-dam* [ma-l]a LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ki-i^{ki}* 7) *qa-du-um ni-š¹i-šu-nu ta-at-ru-dam-ma* 8) 'a'-[.....] *ú-ul* i-ma-aš-šú-ú 9) *te-er[em-šu-nu aš-ta-al-m]a ki-a-am iq-bu-nim um-ma-a-mi* 10) *i-n[a mu-ši-im] u* na-ap-za-ri-im 11) *še-p[é-ni] ma-ar-ša* 12) *ú ša-bu-um ša a-na Ši-ik-ša-bi-i^{ki}m* 13) *ip-zi-ru-ma i-ru-bu ma-li-ni-m[a] 'i¹-ma-aš-ši* 14) *an-ni-tam iq-bu-nim* 15) *ú ki-a-am ta-aq-bi um-ma at-t[a]-a¹-ma* 16) *ka-ar-šú-ia a-na be-lí-ia ak-[lu-nim]* 17) *mi-nu-um ka-ar-šú-ka* 18) *ša ak-lu-nim* 19) *i-na pa-ni-tim-ma ki-a-am aš-pu-ra-kum* 20) *um-ma-a-mi* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ki-i^{ki}* 21) [š]a *šu-ku-ul-šu-nu la te-le-ú* 22) *a-na še-ri-ia tú-ur-dam-ma* 23) *an-[n]a-nu-um a[n-ni-ki]-a¹-am lu-ša-aš-bi-i[s]-šú-nu-ti* 24) *a[n-ni-t]am aš-pu-r[a]-kum* 25) *i-na-an-na* [LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ki-i^{ki}* 26) *ma-la ta-tà-ra-[dam i-na m]u-š[i-im]* 27) *na-ap-za-ra-am 'i¹-[la-ku-nim]* 28) A.ŠÀ *i-na pa-ni-šu-nu¹ i-ri-š²u²-[ma]* 29) *a-na Ši-ik-ša-bi-im^{rkhi} i-te-né-ru-b[u-nim]* 30) *i-ša-ri-iš ma-a a-aḫ na-ak-ri-n[i]* 31) *nu-ka-ab-ba-ar* ^{GIS}ŠUKUR-šu *nu-da-a[n-na-an]* 32) *aš-šum ki-a-am li-ib-bi im-ra-aš* 33) *i-na-an-na ma-a-tam pu-uh¹-h¹-ir-ma* 34) *ki-a-am qí-bé-[š]u-nu-ši-im um-ma-a-mi* 35) *ša li-ib-ba-šu an-na-nu-um wa-ša-ba-am li-ši-ib* 36) *ša la li-ib-ba-šu an-na-nu-um la wa-ša-ba-am* 37) *a-na še-er be-lí-ia li-il-li-ik* 38) *an-ni-tam qí-bé-šu-nu-ši-im* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ki-i^{ki}* 39) *ma-la a-na še-ri-ia ta-tà-ra-dam* 40) *i-na mu-ši-im na-ap-za-ra-am* 41) *la i-il-la-ku-nim* 1 LÚ.TUR-ka 42) *pa-ni-šu-nu li-iš-ba-tam* 43) *a-na ni-e[l²-.... li-š]a-li-ma-šu-nu-ti* 44) *iš-t[u].....* 45) 'x'[.....] *li-ša-l[i-mu-šu-nu-ti]* 46) 'x'[.....] *-t[i²]* 47) *aš-šum* [A.ŠÀ *i-na pa-ni-šu-nu*] 48) *la i-ri-š²u²-ma 'a¹-[na Ši-ik-ša-bi-im^{ki}]* 49) *la i-ru-bu-ma a-aḫ na-ak-ri-ni* 50) *la i-ka-ab-bi-ru-u* ^{GIS}ŠUKUR-šu 51) *la i-da-an-ni-nu ki-a¹-am i-pu-uš* 52) *ú LÚ Tu-ru-ki-i^{ki} ma-la a-na še-ri-ia* 53) *ta-tà-ra-dam ma-aḫ-ru-ú-ma* 54) *i-na tup-pi-im lu-ú šu-ut-tú-ru*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 85-6 (no. 13 = SH 919+924); the expression, lit. "make his lance stronger," in l. 31 occurs also in l. 50.

a retainer of yours. They sneak away themselves en route, or midway [*they*] kidnap them. [Those] who cannot stay there, and are not conducted safely here in one group by your retainer, will disappear [en route, or] they will force them [into Ši]kšabbum. [...] joyful, [and there] they will hold the country. You shall send them in a single group. Let one of your retainers lead them, and conduct them safely to me, and they will not disappear en route. If not so, we will frighten them. And then will they not turn their faces elsewhere?³⁹⁷

Whatever the reasons, this transfer marked the beginning of the Turukkean presence in the Habur area and the surrounding regions. Later from there they were to play a crucial role in the Turukkean expansion into Assyria and west of the Tigris.

The End of Šikšabbum

In the end Šamšī-Adad sent a huge army under his son Išme-Dagan and managed to conquer Šikšabbum. This could be done only after the conquest of Nurrugum, which was such an important episode that it was mentioned as a dating event in a royal inscription of Šamšī-Adad.³⁹⁸ Fugitives from Nurrugum reached Mari and are mentioned there in texts of the time of Zimri-Lim.³⁹⁹ They were in all probability victims of this campaign. In a letter to Yasmaḥ-Addu, Išme-Dagan allows his brother to keep those he wants and send him those he do not want:

Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 26, 269)

About the fugitives who fled from Nurrugum, concerning whom you wrote to me, dispatch to me a secretary (from among them)! 'Keep' the physician with 'you'! And from the fugitives keep whom you want to keep and have the 'remainder' of them conducted to me! And from now on keep those of the fugitive that come to you that you want to keep, and have conducted to me any that you do not keep, and I shall assign them where they can be assigned.⁴⁰⁰

Since the king of Šikšabbum was captured and delivered to Daduša, as the MEC states, Ešnunna must have contributed to the campaign. Šaššaranum, who played a prominent role

³⁹⁷ 3) *i-nu-ma ma-aḥ-ri-ia tu-uš-bu ki-a-am aq-bé-kum* 4) *um-^rma¹ a-na-ku-ma LÚ Tu-ru-ku-ú^{ki}* 5) *ša ^rkī¹-ma iš-tu ul-la-nu-um i-la-ku-nim* 6) *ša e-mu-uq šu-ku-li-šu-nu te-le-ú* 7) *ma-aḥ-ri-ka ki-la ša ki-ma e-mu-uq šu-ku-li-šu-nu* 8) *la te-le-ú a-na še-ri-ia li-ti-qú-nim* 9) *an-ni-tam aq-bé-kum* 10) *a-na-ku a-na wa-ša-bi-šu-nu aš-ra-nu-um* 11) *ú-ul ḥa-de-ku-ú ú-ul a-al pa-ti-i* 12) *ma-a ša-bu-um ma-du-um li-ši-ib-ma* 13) *ul-la-n[u]-^rum-ma li-ta-pa-al* 14) *ú^r i-na ^re'-mu-qí-im¹ ma-[t]am š[a-a-t]i lu-ú ḥe-sú-ú* 15) *an-né-tim ša-ab-ta-ku* 16) *i-na-an-na ša-ba-am ša šu-ku-lam te-le-ú* 17) *ma-aḥ-ri-ka ki-la ú ša šu-ku-lam la te-le-ú¹* 18) *a-na še-ri-ia tū-ur-dam* 19) *ú am-mi-nim ba-lum LÚ.TUR-ka ^ri-[a]-[k]u-nim* 20) *^ri-na a-la-ki-šu-nu pa-ga-a[r-šu-nu]* 21) *[š]a-r[a]-qum i-ša-ar-ri-qú-nim-m[a]* 22) *[ú-lu] ^ri-na qa-ab-li-it ge-er-ri* 23) *[..... i-ma-š]a-ḥu-šu-nu-ti* 24) *[ša aš-ra-n]u-um ú-ul uš-ša-bu* 25) *[ú iš-te-n]i-iš LÚ.TUR-ka* 26) *[ú-ul ú-š]a-al-la-ma-šu-nu-ti* 27) *[i-na bi-ri-t]im-ma i-ḥa-al-li-qú* 28) *[ú-lu a-na Ši-i]k-ša-ab-bi i-la-qú-s[ú-n]u-ti-ma* 29) *[.....] ^rpu-ḥa-tim x ^r ḥa-di-i-im* 30) *[ú aš-ra-nu-u]m ma-tam li-ki-lu* 31) *^riš-te-ni¹ iš ta-tà-ar-ra-dam* 32) *1 LÚ.TUR-ka pa-ni-šu-nu li-iš-ba-tam-ma* 33) *a-na še-ri-ia li-ša-al-li<ma>-šu-nu-ti-ma* 34) *i-na bi-ri-tim-ma la i-ḥa-al-li-qú* 35) *šum-ma la ki-a-am-ma nu-ga-la-at-šu-nu-t[i-m]a* 36) *^rpa¹-ni-šu-nu a-šar ša-ni-im ú-ul i-ša-ka-nu-ú*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 87-8 (no. 15 = SH 911+922).

³⁹⁸ 14) *bi-tam ša iš-tu* 15) *šu-lum A-kà-dē^{ki}* 16) *a-di šar-ru-ti-ia* 17) *a-di ša-ba-at Nu-ur-ru-gi^{ki}* ... "The temple (which none of the kings who preceded me) from the fall of Akkad until my sovereignty, until the capture of Nurrugu...", Grayson, *RIMA I*, p. 53 (text A.0.39.2); cf. also above, under Geopolitical Scene -Nurrugum.

³⁹⁹ For the texts mentioning them, cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 99, note 198.

⁴⁰⁰ 5) *[aš] mu-un-na-ab-[tu-ti]* 6) *[ša] iš-tu Nu-ur-ru-gi-im^{ki}* 7) *in-na-bi-tu-nim* 8) *ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am* 9) *1 LÚ.DUB.SAR a-na še-ri-ia* 10) *tū-ur-dam* 11) *^{LÚ} a-se-e-em ma-aḥ-ri-[k]a ki-[l]a* 12) *ú i-na mu-un-na-a[b-tu-ti]* 13) *[ša] ka-li-ka ki-la-m[a]* 14) *[ša-p]i-[i]l-ta-šu-nu* 15) *[a-na š]e-ri-ia* 16) *šu-re-e-[e]m* 17) *ú iš-[t]u i-na-an-[na]* 18) *i-na LÚ.MEŠ mu-un-na-[ab-t]u-ti* 19) *[š]a i-la-ku-ni-kum* 20) *ša ka-li-ka ak-ka-ši-im* 21) *ki-la-ma ša ki-ma la ta-ka-a[l-lu]* 22) *a-na še-ri-ia šu-ri-a-[a]m-ma* 23) *a-na-ku a-šar e-se-ki-i[m]* 24) *lu-si-ik-[š]u-nu-ti*, Durand, *ARM 26/1*, p. 569; Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

in the capture of both Qabrā and Nurrugum, was rewarded with the governorship of Nurrugum.⁴⁰¹ The main battle in Aḫazum took place in Ikkalnum, where Etellum had stationed a garrison.⁴⁰² According to a letter from Mari, this must have taken place prior to the 10th of Addarum (late March).⁴⁰³ The city of Šikšabbum itself was conquered after a short siege on 10th of VIII* of Aššur-malik⁴⁰⁴ and a new king for Aḫazum was installed whose name was Ḫalun-pî-ûmu.⁴⁰⁵ The letter *ARM* 1, 69+M.7538 gives some valuable details concerning this campaign. One of the points worth mentioning is the strategic significance of Qabrā as a communications hub for assembling troops. The Aḫazians seem to have taken the initiative by coming to Ikkalnum, apparently downstream (= west) from Šikšabbum, to do battle where Etellum was stationed with his garrison in the hope of saving their capital:

Šamši-Adad to Yasmaḫ-Addu (*ARM* 1, 69+M.7538)

When the troops gathered in Qabrā, I dispatched Išme-Dagan with the troops to the land of Aḫazum and I have come to the city (= Ekallātum).⁴⁰⁶ While the troops were gathering in Qabrā, the land of Aḫazum heard of the gathering of the troops in Qabrā and took action. The troops of all that land and the Turukkeans with them were gathered and were stationed in the city of Ikkallum (= Ikkalnum) of the land of Aḫazum against Išme-Dagan. Išme-Dagan made up his mind to go against that city and, at a distance of 300 (cubits?) away from it, the troops of all that land and the Turukkeans gathering with them to do battle, they [raised] weapons in the face of Išme-Dagan to do battle; [...] the people of that land and the Turukkeans with them he captured them (all). No one escaped and on that day, he took all the land of Aḫazum. That victory is great for the land. Rejoice!⁴⁰⁷

The Turukkeans who fought side by side with the Aḫazians and were defeated by Išme-Dagan, as the letter relates, must have been those who were entering Šikšabbum in secrecy or that had been kidnapped during their transfer to Šamši-Adad from Kuwari.

The conquest of Aḫazum was very important and vital for the king; he saw it as a great and perfect triumph, giving him a great reputation to follow, and addresses his son accordingly:

⁴⁰¹ Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 99.

⁴⁰² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴⁰³ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 51. Charpin has 21 VI* of Aššur-malik; cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 171.

⁴⁰⁴ Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 171. This date is fixed thanks to an unpublished text that mentions the presence of Šamši-Adad in Šikšabbum, dated on the 10th of VIII*; cf. Charpin, *OBO*, p. 171, note 802.

⁴⁰⁵ Charpin, *OBO*, p. 171; Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 100.

⁴⁰⁶ The expression “the city” in the texts of the time of Šamši-Adad and his sons always indicates Ekallātum; cf. Ziegler, “Le royaume d’Ekallātum et ...,” *FM* VI, p. 213-4.

⁴⁰⁷ 5) *ki-ma um-ma-na-tu i-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 6) *ip-ḫu-ra Iš-me-^dDa-gan it-ti um-ma-na-tim* 7) *a-na ma-a-at A-ḫa-zi-im aṭ-ru-ud* 8) *ù a-na-ku a-na a-lim^{ki} at-ta-al-kam* 9) *ù i-nu-ma [u]m-[m]a-[na-tu]m-ma* 10) *i-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki} i-pa-aḫ-ḫu-ra* 11) *pa-ḫa-ar um-ma-na-tim i-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{ki}* 12) *ma-a-at A-ḫa-zi-im^{ki} iš-me-e-ma ṭe-em-ša iṣ-ša-ba-at* 13) *ša-ab ma-a-tim ša-a-ti ka-li-ša* 14) *ù LÚ.MEŠ [T]u-ru-uk-ku-ú ša it-ti-šu-nu* 15) *up-ta-ḫa-aḫ-ḫi-ru-ma* 16) *[i-n]a a-lim Ik-ka-[a]l-lim^{ki}* 17) *[š]a ma-a-at A-[ḫ]a-zi-im^{ki}* 18) *a-na pa-an Iš-[me-^dD]a-gan* 19) *[š]a-[ak]-nu* 20) *^mIš-me-^dDa-gan pa-né-šu* 21) *a-na a-lim^{ki} [š]a-a-ti [i]š-ku-un-ma* 22) *a-na A.ŠA 5 šu-ši la ṭe-ḫe-e-em* 23) *ša-ab ma-a-tim ša-a-ti ka-li-ša* 24) *ù LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú* 25) *ša it-ti-šu-nu ip-ḫu-ru* 26) *a-na pa-an [Iš-me-^dD]a-gan a-na G¹⁸TUKUL.MEŠ 27) [e-pé-ši-im G¹⁸TUKUL.MEŠ [iṣ-su-ú]* 28) *[i-pu]-šu-ú-ma 'x x' [na-ak-r]u?-[u]m?* 29) *[um-m]a-a-at [m]a-a-tim ša-a-ti* 30) *š[a it-]ti-šu-nu ip-ḫu-ru il-ku-ud* 31) *1 LÚ ú-ul ú-ší* 32) *u¹-mi-šu-ma* 33) *ma-a-tam A-[ḫ]a-zi-im^{ki} ka-la-ša* 34) *iṣ-ša-ba-at da-aw-du-ú-um šu-ú* 35) *a-na ma-a-tim ra-bi* 36) *lu-ú ḫa-de-et*, Dossin, *ARM* 1, p. 130-1; Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 207-8; restrations and combination with M.7538 by Charpin and Durand, “La prise ...,” *MARI* 4, p. 313 and 314, note 96; also Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 24-6.

Šamši-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 1, 69+M.7538)

Your brother has here achieved a victory but you, there, are sleeping among women. Now, when you go with troops to Qaṭanum, be a man! As your brother established a great reputation for himself, you establish a great reputation for yourself!⁴⁰⁸

Kaštappum, Iṣtanum, Abšeniwe and others

After this there was another mission waiting for the Assyrian troops as well as for those of Kuwari. He received a letter from Šamši-Adad asking him to send 1,000 troops to Kaštappum, where his lord had arrived. The plan seemed to be that they would meet there with the troops of Iṣme-Dagan and the king of Ešnunna, who had just crossed the Zāb. Before the conquest of Šikšabbum, it would have been too difficult to send troops to Kaštappum along the Zāb, so this must have been after the conquest of Šikšabbum. That makes a statement of Charpin, that the request came first to Kuwari to send troops to Kaštappum but a little later the request was changed to send them to Šikšabbum, seem unlikely.⁴⁰⁹ The letter reads as follows:

Šamši-Adad to Kuwari (no. 9 = SH 882)

The army which is with Iṣme-Dagan has arrived. The day I sent you this letter the whole army which is with Iṣme-Dagan and the army from Ešnunna have crossed the Zāb and I have arrived in Kaštappum. The day you hear this letter, on the third day, let 1,000 of your troops descend to me to Kaštappum, and let one of your generals come with the troops.⁴¹⁰

Most probably related to this mission is letter no. 30, sent by Kurašānum, a high official of Šamši-Adad. The letter gives Kuwari the sign that he can send his garrison troops that were stationed in a town called Ḫalluliwe to receive their rations. This town is attested within the orbit of Nuzi,⁴¹¹ and from information in this letter it seems to have been a local centre for Šamši-Adad's administration of the Transtigridian provinces.⁴¹² The presence of troops and issue of rations in a centre close to Nuzi indicates that the troops of Kuwari were still far from home. They were most probably occupied with the duty referred to in letter no. 9. Kurašānum wrote to Kuwari:

Kurašānum to Kuwari and Šamaš-našir (no. 30 = SH 879)

I went to Ekallātum to meet with the king, but before I went to the king you wrote to me about issuing the grain rations for the garrison troops stationed there in Ḫalluliwe. When you hear this letter of mine, send the garrison troops to receive their grain rations in Ḫalluliwe, and let them receive their grain rations. I have now

⁴⁰⁸ 35) *a-ḫu-ka an-ni-ki-a-am* 36) *da-aw-da-am i-du-uk ù at-ta* 37) *aš-ra-nu-um i-na bi-ri-it* SAL.MEŠ 38) *ša-al-la-at i-na-an-na-ma* 39) *i-nu-ma it-ti um-ma-na-tim a-na Qa-tà-nim^{ki}* 40) *ta-al-la-ku lu-ù a-wi-la-at* 41) *ki-ma a-ḫu-ka šu-ma-am ra-bé-e-em* 42) *iš-ta-ak-nu ù at-ta i-[n]a KASKAL Qa-tà-nim^{ki}* 43) *šu-ma-am ra-bé-e-em ši-i-[t]-ka-an*, Dossin, ARM 1, p. 130-1; Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 207-8; restorations and corrections by Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 24-6.

⁴⁰⁹ For his statement, cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 171.

⁴¹⁰ 4) *ša-bu-um ša it-ti I[š-me-^dD]a-g[an]* 5) *ik-ta-aš-[d]am* 6) *u₄-um ṭup-pí an-ni-e-em* 7) *ù-ša-bi-la-kum* 8) *ša-bu-um ša it-ti Iš-me-^dD[a]-g[an]* 9) *'ka'-lu-šu* 10) *ù ša-bu-um LÚ Ēš-nun-na^{rk}* 11) *ÍD Za-'i'-ba-am i-te-bi-r[u]* 12) *ù a-na-ku a-na Ka-aš-tap-pí-i[m]^{rk}* 13) *ak-ta-áš-dam* 14) *u₄-um ṭup-pí an-ni-e-em te-še-mu-ù* 15) *i-na ša-al-ši-im u₄-mi-im* 16) *a-na Ka-aš-tap-pí-im^{ki}* 17) *a-na še-ri-ia* 18) *l li-im ša-bu-ka* 19) *'li-ri-dam'-ma* 20) *l GAL.MAR.TU-ka* 21) *it-ti ša-bi-im* 22) *[l]i-li-kam*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 91 (no. 9 = SH 882)

⁴¹¹ Cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 85-6. Grain supplies were sent from this GN to Nuzi (HSS XIII 367), *ibid.*

⁴¹² Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

sent off a man from E[kallātum] who [will issue] this [grain] in Ḫalluliwe. Let these troops rush to Ḫalluliwe!⁴¹³

Eidem and Læssøe suggest that the victory reported in this same letter of Kurašānum was a victory of Išme-Dagan over the cities of Ištānum (= “The Northern Country”), a subject mentioned in letters 26 and 29.⁴¹⁴ However, we consider that it does not refer to Ištānum but to a country in or around Kaštappum itself. This is based on three reasons. First, the information gathered from letters 26 and especially from 29 implies that the country of Ištānum was closer to Šušarrā, not to Ekallātum, where Kurašānum was placed. Note that in letter 29 it is Kuwari who was asked to send his report about the cities of the land of Ištānum to Kurašānum. Secondly, since Kurašānum was placed in Ekallātum, we would not expect him to send news of a country to Kuwari that was nearer to the addressee than to the sender. Finally, if our suggestion proves to be correct that the content of the first part of this letter is related to the joint mission of Ešnunna, Assyria and the province of Kuwari, then the victory reported in its second part must be the one they fought for together. Thus, the letter can be seen as one interrelated report.

It is quite possible that letters 26 and 29, that concern the affairs of the country of Ištānum and discussed already, belong to this time, after the conquest of Šikšabbum,⁴¹⁵ particularly since the ‘lord’ mentioned in these letters was Išme-Dagan, who seems to have resided in a city close to the region, in Qabrā or Arrapha.

Kuwari, beside his duties towards his lord Šamši-Adad, was deeply involved in internal affairs of his realm and its citizens. We know this from letters about some military activities, such as the conquest of a city called Zu(l?)zulā (*Zu*[?] <<*ul*[?]>> -*zu-la-a*^{ki}), about which Šamši-Adad expressed his pleasure in letter no. 16. Several letters deal with requests for the release of detained people (nos. 8; 32; 38 and 46) or other legal disputes (no. 33) or other affairs (no. 45). In letter no. 62, a certain Wanni/a was asked by Kuwari to release three individuals and send them back to him, but Wanni refused, although he was somehow a vassal of Kuwari.⁴¹⁶ Instead his reply was that the three together with a fourth person will be executed. It is worth noting that Kuwari and this Wanni were on good terms. Kuwari had once advised Wanni to go to his lord (meaning most probably Šamši-Adad) to become his vassal, as he himself did:

Wanni to Kuwari (no. 60 = SH 874)

I paid much attention to the words my father wrote to me, and these words are good. Like you went to my lord and kissed my lord’s feet, I shall now go to my lord and kiss the feet of my lord. The noblemen of the country will come with me, (and kiss) the feet of my lord, and hear the word(s) of my lord’s lip.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹³ 5) *a-na É-kál-la-tim*^{ki} 6) *it-ti LUGAL a-na na-an-mu-ri-im* 7) *al-li-ik ù la-ma a-na še-er LUGAL* 8) *al-li-ku aš-šum ŠE.BA ša-bi-im bi-ir-tim* 9) *ša aš-ra-nu-um wa-aš-bu* 10) *i-na Ḫa-lu-ul-li-we*^{ki} 11) *na-da-na-am ta-aš-pu-ra-nim* 12) *ṭup-pí an-né-em i-na še-me-e* 13) *ša-ba-am bi-ir-tam* 14) *a-na ŠE.BA-šu-nu ma-ḫa-ri-im* 15) *‘a-na’ Ḫa-lu-ul-li-we*^{ki} *ṭú-ur-da-nim-ma* 16) *ŠE.[B]A-šu-nu li-im-ḫu-ru* 17) *‘a’-n[u-u]m-ma DUMU É-k[ál-la-tim*^{ki} (?) 18) *ša ‘(x) x x’ [x x š]a-a-t[i]* 19) *‘i’-na Ḫ[a-lu-u]l-li-^rwe*^{ki} 20) *‘i-na’-ad-di-nu at-ru-ud* 21) *ša-bu-um šu-ú a-na Ḫa-lu-ul-li-we*^{ki} 22) *ar-ḫi-iš li-iḫ-mu-tam*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 101-2 (no. 30 = SH 879).

⁴¹⁴ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁴¹⁵ Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 51. However, Charpin and Ziegler do not rule out that the campaign on Ištānum took place before the fall of Šikšabbum, suggesting that Išme-Dagan left Aḫazum after the capture of Ikkalnum to deal with the troubles of Ištānum: Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 99, note 201.

⁴¹⁶ In the letters 60 and 62 Wanni styles himself as “your son.”

⁴¹⁷ 5) *a-na a-wa-tim ša a-bi* 6) *iš-pu-ra-am* 7) *ma-di-iš a-qú-ul* 8) *ù a-wa-tum ši-na da-am-qa* 9) *ki-ma at-ta a-na še-er* 10) *be-lí-ia ta-al-li-ku-ma* 11) *še-ep be-lí-ia ta-aš-ši-qú* 12) *i-na-an-na a-na-<<x>>ku* 13) *a-na še-er be-lí-[ia]* 14) *a-la-ak ù še-ep be-[lí-ia]* 15) *a-na-aš-ši-iq ra-ab-bu-‘ut ma-tim’* 16) *it-ti-ia i-la-ku* 17) *še-ep be-lí-ia <i-na-aš-ši-qú>* 18) *ù a-wa-at pí-[i-i]m ša be-lí-ia* 19) *i-še-em-mu-ú*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 130-1 (no. 60 = SH 874).

Wanni in turn warned Kuwari about troubles in a town called Abšeniwe in two letters. The town, the letters imply, was under the control of Kuwari and was under threat from an enemy whose name is unfortunately not written:

Wanni to Kuwari (no. 60 = SH 874)

Do not be idle about the town Abšeniwe and the campaign. My lord's attention is extensive. I hope my father will not neglect to gather for the country. Install yourself in Abšeniwe and the campaign will be dissolved.⁴¹⁸

Wanni to Kuwari (no. 61 = SH 900)

.... The guard is staying with Yaqqim-Addu and you should stay in the town of the Abšum. Send words so that reinforcements do not reach him and his envoys cannot pass through, and [...] and we shall bring him to account! [...] write to me whether this or that is the case!⁴¹⁹

Letter no. 60 makes a distinction between “my father” and “my lord.” By the former he means Kuwari, by the latter the lord of Kuwari, to whom he would go. It should be noted that Wanni, the sender, warns Kuwari, his father, about the intentions⁴²⁰ of the lord. The context distinguishes ‘father’ from ‘lord.’ The campaign mentioned was led by the lord, the target was the town Abšeniwe, and Kuwari was asked “to gather” the country to confront the campaign that would be dissolved. It is most natural to assume that this ‘lord’ was the same ‘lord’ in the first paragraph of the same letter. The most fitting interpretation is that Wanni, as a subordinate of Kuwari, or even as an independent but less powerful friend of Kuwari, was the ruler of a small country. If Wanni was a subordinate his country would have been part of the realm of Kuwari. The town Abšeniwe was within the domain of Wanni, but Wanni had not yet sworn an oath of allegiance to Šamši-Adad. Therefore, his domain was under the threat of the Assyrian troops, which appear to have been led by Yaqqim-Addu (see letter no. 61). Although Wanni and Kuwari (perhaps his lord) tried to save the town from plunder and destruction, from the letter it seemed to them hopeless to hold on to it any longer. So Kuwari suggested to Wanni to become a vassal of Šamši-Adad. Wanni, having accepted the suggestion, would become an ally of or would tighten the alliance with Kuwari, secured by accepting a daughter in marriage mentioned in letter 60:

Wanni to Kuwari (no. 60 = SH 874)

And as for your daughter whom you talked to me about saying: "Either give me your daughter or let me give you my daughter!" Now give me your daughter for my son and may the family ties between us not be dissolved.⁴²¹

The name *Wa-an-ni* in letter no. 61 is written *Pa-an-ni*; the sign PA may indicate that the initial W/P was in fact pronounced /f/ or /v/.

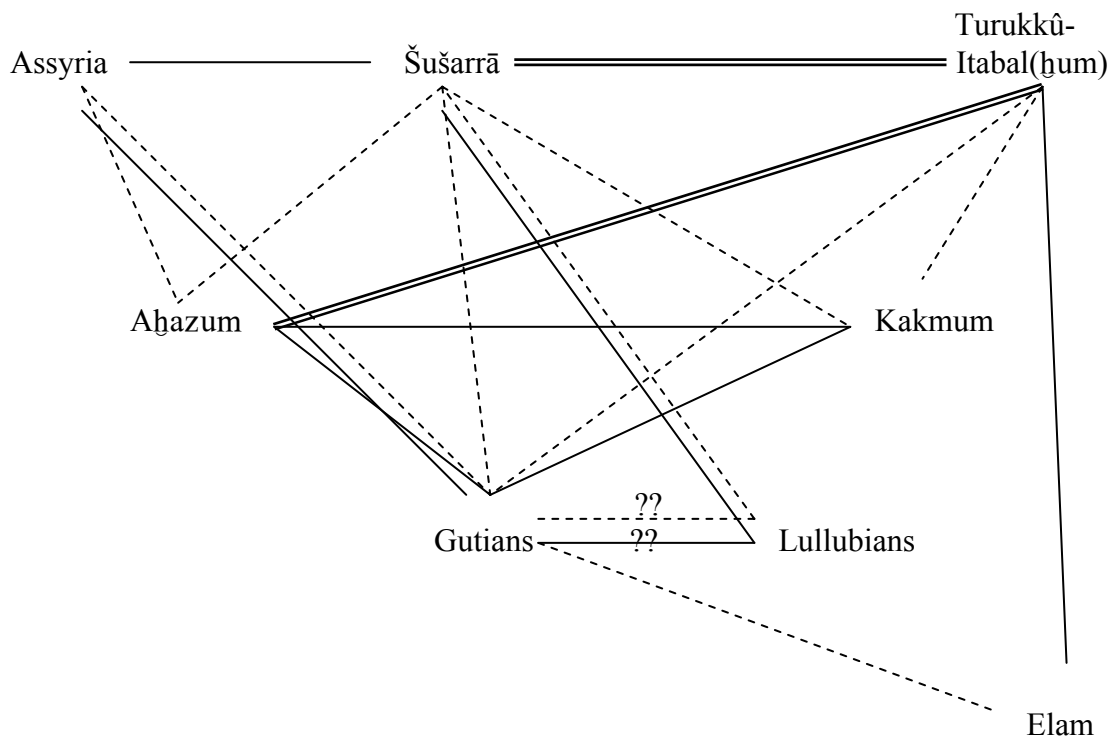
⁴¹⁸ 20) *a-na a-li-im ša Ab-še-ni-we*^{ki} 21) *ù ge-er-ri-im* 22) *la-a te-eg-gi* 23) *pa-ni be-lí-ia ra-ap-šu* 24) *as-sú-ur-ri pa-ḥa-ra-am* 25) *a-na ma-a^r-tim a-bi la i-gi* 26) *i-na Ab-še-ni-we*^{ki} 27) *ta-ša^r-ab-ma* 28) *ù ge-er-ru-um li-ip-pa-ri-ís*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 131 (no. 60 = SH 874).

⁴¹⁹ 1') *[qa-d]u-um Ia-a[q-q]i-[i]m^d* IM 2') *bé-eh-rum wa-ši-ib* 3') *ù at-ta i-na URU ša Ab-ši-im* 4') *lu wa-aš-ba-at* 5') *aš-šum ša-bu-um te-er-di-[t]im* 6') *la-a i-ru-bu-šu-um* 7') *ù ma-ru ši-ip-ru-šu* 8') *[I]a-a i-ti-qú* 9') *[at-ta šu]-up-ra-am-ma* 10') [...] 'x'-ma ni-ša-lu-šu 11') [...] -qa an-ni-tam la an-ni-tam 12') [...] šu-up-ra-am, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 132 (no. 61 = SH 900).

⁴²⁰ I prefer to translate the word *panu* here as ‘intention, plan or wish’ rather than ‘attention,’ as Eidem and Læssøe do, to fit the context better.

⁴²¹ 29) *ù aš-šum ma-ar-ti-ka* 30) *ša ta-aq-bi-a-im* 31) *um-ma at-ta-a-ma ú-lu-ú* 32) *ma-ra-at-ka id-na-am* 33) *ú-lu-ú ma-ar-ti* 34) *lu-ud-di-na-ak-kum* 35) *i-na-an-na ma-ra-at-ka* 36) *a-na ma-ri-ia id-na-am* 37) *ú sa-lu-tum i-na bi-ri-n[i]* 38) *la-a ip-pa-ra-ás*, Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 131 (no. 60 = SH 874).

If the interpretation we have presented is correct, we can conclude further that the country of Wanni was located either to the west of the Rāniya Plain or somewhere downstream from Šušarrā and thus subject to the threat from Assyria. It also shows that Kuwari was not acting sincerely towards his lord Šamši-Adad; his allegiance was just bitter fruit under Gutian pressure. The date of these three letters and their sequence within the letters of the Assyrian domination phase remains unknown.



———— Peaceful relation

----- Hostile relation

===== Peaceful relation in the Pre-Assyrian Phase

----- Peaceful at times and hostile at others

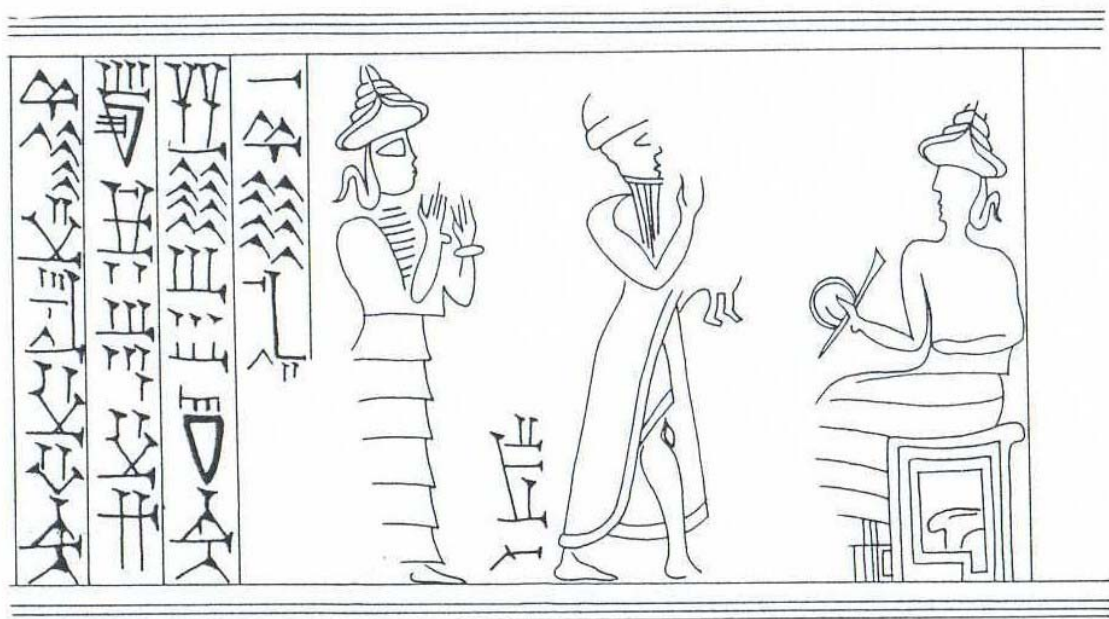
Note: A peaceful relation includes alliances and master-vassal relationships.

Chart showing the pattern of relations between the powers of the Transtigris as documented by the Shemshāra letters in the Pre-Assyrian and Assyrian Domination Phases.

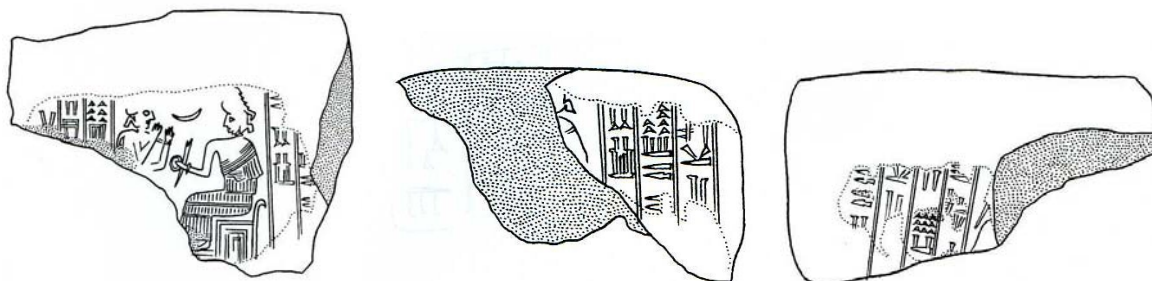
Figures of Chapter Six



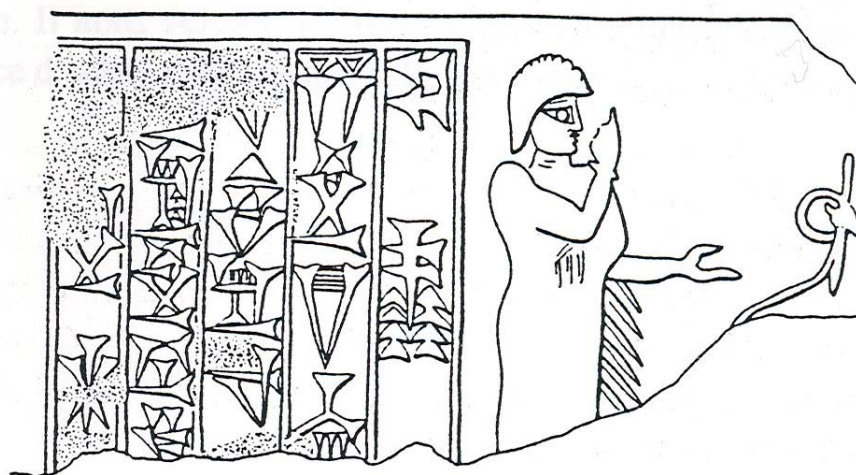
1) Seal impression of Talpuš-šarri. After: Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshara Archives 1, The Letters*, Copenhagen, 2001, published by Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, pl. 87, seal 2.



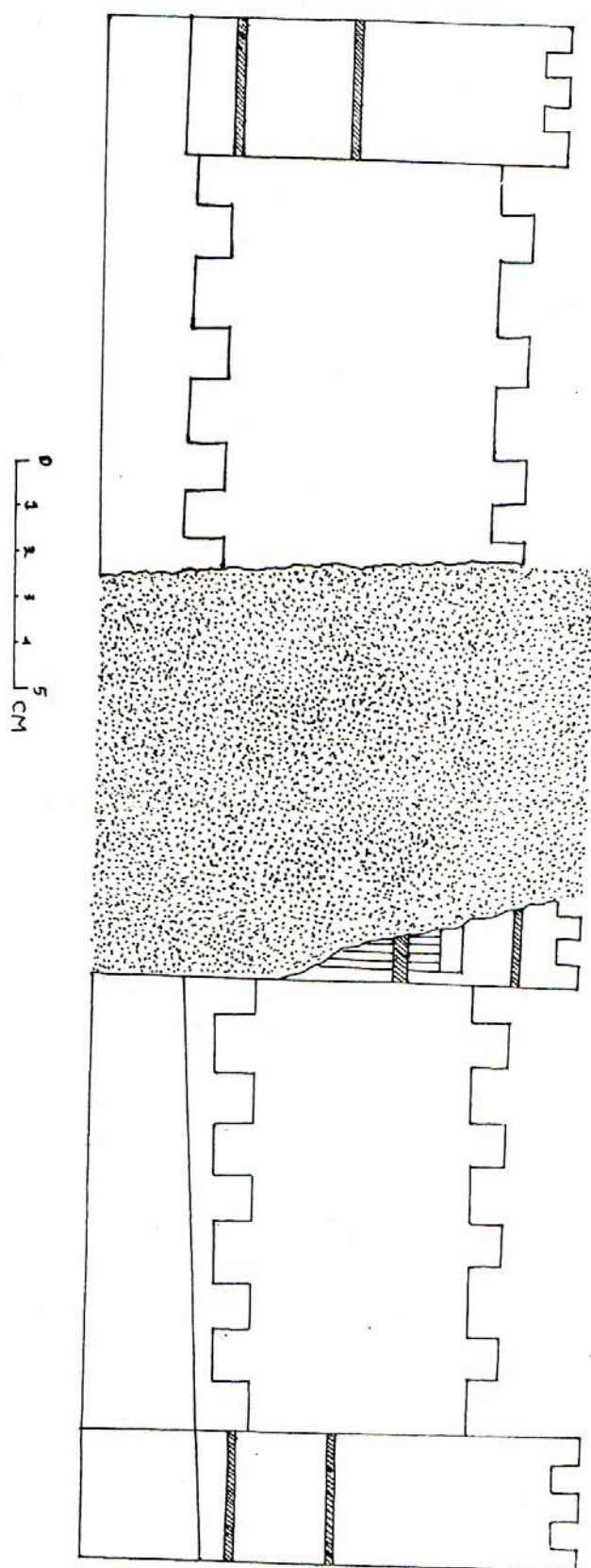
2) Seal impression of Pišendēn. After: Eidem and Möller, *MARI 6*, Paris, 1990, published by Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, p. 638.



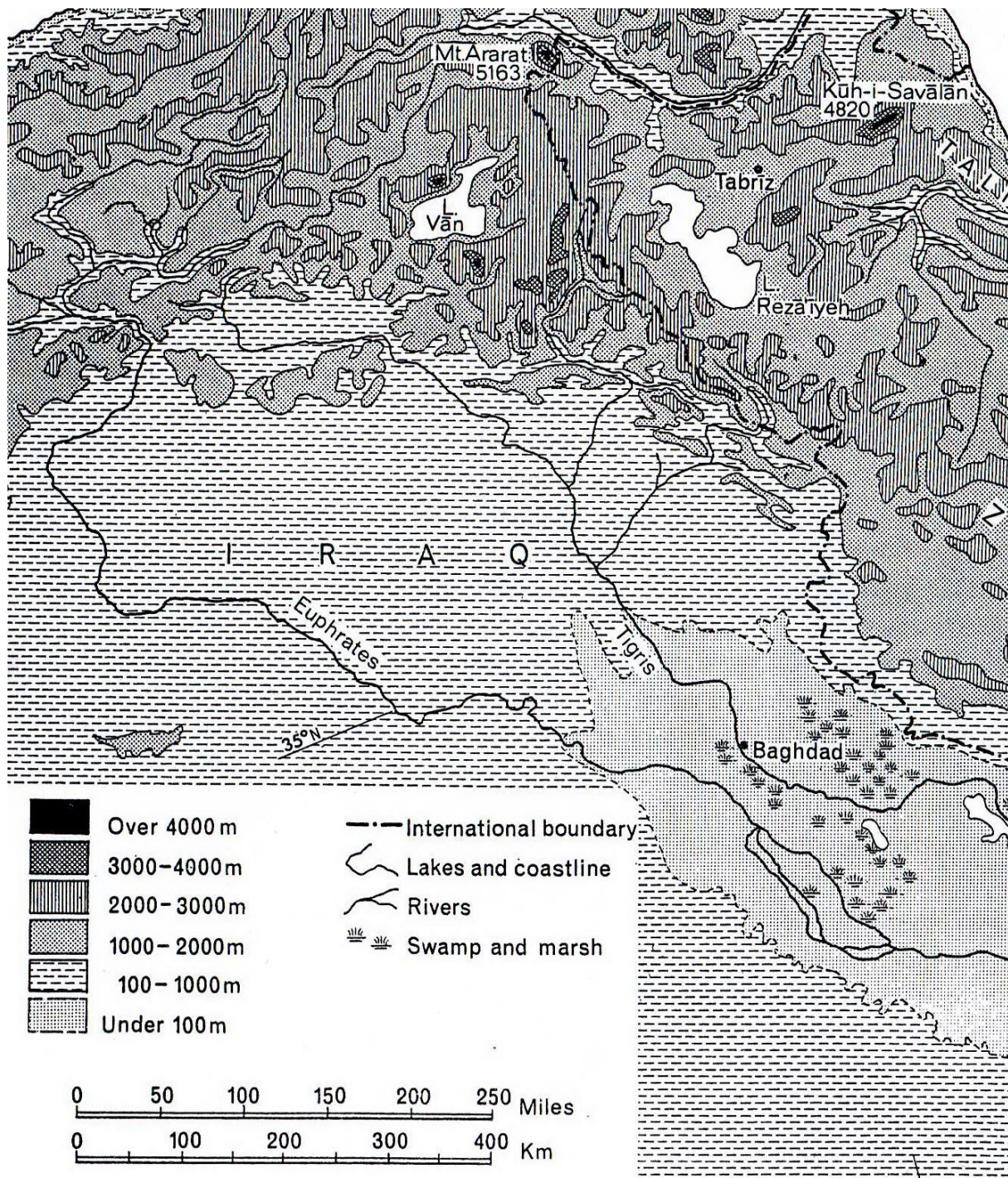
3) Seal impression of Turukti. After: Eidem and Læssøe, *The Shemshāra Archives I*, pl. 87, seal 3.



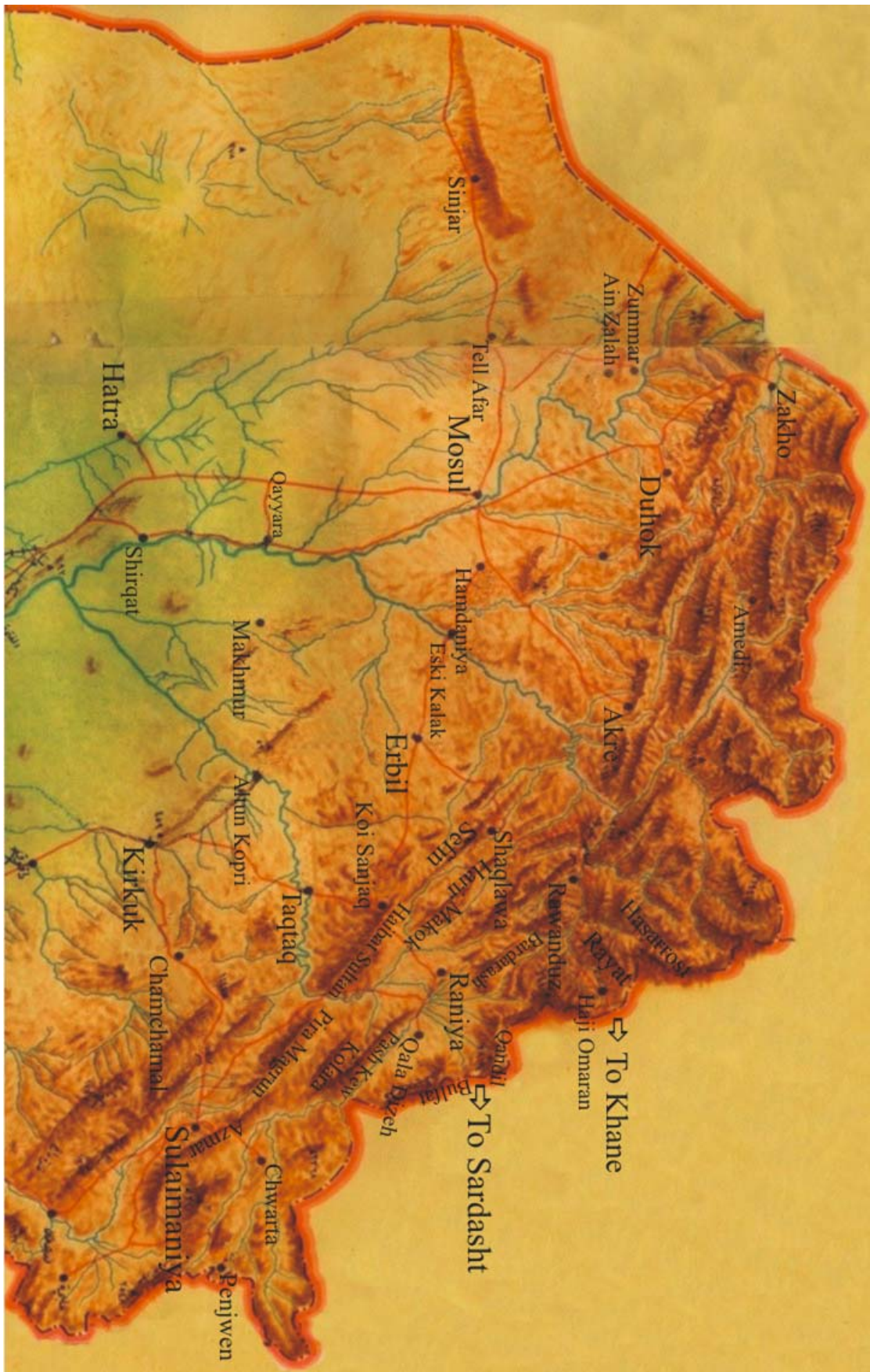
4) Seal impression of Zaziya, found in Mari. After: Beyer and Charpin, *MARI 6*, Paris, 1990, published by Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, figs. 1 and 2, p. 627.



5) The fortifications of Qabrā with the destroyed city gate in the middle. Drawing by the author from the original stele in the Iraq Museum.



Map 1) The plains of Iranian Kurdistan up to Urmia compared to those of Rāniya and Qala Dizēh. Detail of map no.1 in: *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 1, ed. W. B. Fisher.



Map 2) The Rāniya Plain and surroundings.

