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# CHAPTER SEVEN



## Towards the Empire



In the previous chapter, we saw the Hurrians fighting for their survival in the Zagros. They, represented by the Turukkeans and the kingdom of Kuwari, did their best to survive the bitter conflict with the Gutians, the Kakmeans and even the Assyrians. Their conflict did not involve only fighting but they also used diplomacy and a complex pattern of alliances.

The period from the end of Ur III until the vassaldom of Utûm to Assyria can be counted as the period of Amorite expansion into Mesopotamia and the Transtigris. We have seen already how they penetrated the territories to the east of the Tigris as early as the time of Iddi(n)-Sîn of Simurru. They settled and consolidated their authority in the Diyāla Region (the Kingdom of Ešnunna), and in the north we find the polities of Ya'ilānum, Aḥazum and Qabrā, all in the Transtigris. The Amorite names of the rulers of these polities, such as Bunu-Eštar of Qabrā, Yašub-Addu of Aḥazum and Bina-Addu of Ya'ilānum, in addition to the name Ya'ilānum itself, all point to an Amorite domination in the region. They were more successful here than in Simurru, where Iddi(n)-Sîn succeeded in holding them at bay, at least for a certain time. As Eidem and Læssøe have suggested, these Amorite rulers, who usurped control of this region in the early second millennium BC, did not reside in ancient prestigious cities like Nineveh and Erbil. Instead, they built new military capitals for their polities, such as Ekallātum and Qabrā. The reason for this was to avoid any dangerous resistance from strong urban-based elites.

By comparing later models, especially those of the 7<sup>th</sup> century A. D. (see Chapter Eight), we can assume that the Amorites formed the ruling class of the population in this above mentioned region, while the substratum largely remained non-Amorite. Šamšī-Adad began to conquer the region in the last five years of his reign in co-operation with Ešnunna. He put an end to the rule of these different Amorite polities and incorporated them in his empire. Towards the end of his empire, during the reign of his sons Yasmaḥ-Addu and Išme-Dagan and the rise of Turukkean power under Zaziya, the situation was reversed. Then it was the Turukkeans/Hurrians who began a new phase of expansion into the plains east of the Tigris and west of the Tigris up to the Habur. They settled in these lands, controlled its cities and consolidated their presence, establishing kingdoms such as Tig/kunāni. This favourable position of the Hurrians seems to have continued for a couple of centuries until the formation of the Mittanni Empire, which, in fact, had resulted from these developments. The events from the Hurrian revolt until the end of the OB period will be the subject of this chapter.

## The Post-Assyrian Phase

### *The Turukkean Revolt*

Not only the land of Utûm but also the whole Transtigris was in turmoil, according to the Shemshāra correspondence. Turukkean chieftains such as Lidāya and Zaziya were busy organizing a revolt against Kuwari and his Assyrian overlords. Some information concerning these movements can be gleaned from the texts. Lidāya was under the authority of Kuwari, but it is not sure whether he was detained as the other Turukkean chieftains were; Zaziya, Ziliya, Ḥazip-Teššup, Tirwen-šēnni and others (see letter no. 8=SH 887). What we do know is that he was summoned to a meeting by Šamšī-Adad and that was successful (no. 7=SH 915).

Kuwari seems to have asked his lord to send Lidāya back to him,<sup>1</sup> perhaps to put him to death, as he had done with Ḥazip-Teššup. But Šamšī-Adad kept him back until the conquest of Nurrugum, according to the same letter. Šamšī-Adad went on to say that, after the conquest of Nurrugum, Lidāya would come with the army to Aḥazum (l. 10-14), indicating that Lidāya personally participated in the siege of Šikšabbum. We also know that he was installed in the city of Burullum, and seemingly endowed with some position there to keep him away from Kuwari.<sup>2</sup> This city of Burullum seems to be identical with Burulliwe of the administrative texts of Shemshāra, according to Eidem and Læssøe,<sup>3</sup> and is less probably the Burullum in the northwest, to the north of Jebel Sinjār.<sup>4</sup> We suggest this because it was from this city that Lidāya declared his revolt against both Kuwari and his lord Šamšī-Adad, and it was impossible to revolt against Kuwari and Šamšī-Adad from a city so close to the heart of Šamšī-Adad's empire and far from his Turukkean subordinates. It seems that the revolt broke out shortly after letter 20 = SH 905 was sent to Kuwari, in which Šamšī-Adad informed Kuwari about his decision to cut off relations with (and presumably his aid for) the Gutians.<sup>5</sup> Letter ARM 4, 25, from Išme-Dagan to his brother Yasmaḥ-Addu, found in Mari reports the revolt. This letter can be counted among the earliest letters of this phase, since Išme-Dagan still mentions "the king," pointing to his father, meaning that Šamšī-Adad was still alive when the revolt broke out. The letter relates that Lidāya and the Turukkeans who are with him have turned hostile. The designation "The .... who are with him" is the same designation used to denote that part of the Lullubians who were allied to Kuwari. In the same way, this letter alludes to the 'part' of the Turukkeans who have joined the revolt. Specifically it is to those who were the ones living in Utûm as refugees; the rest of them with part of the citizens of Utûm probably remained loyal, or at least neutral, to Assyria. This is why Išme-Dagan decided to resettle them somewhere close to Arrapha and Qabrā. Evidence for this comes from letter A.562: "The people of Utûm who have been deported to Qabrā and Arrapha, have revolted."<sup>6</sup> A tablet from Mari, dated to some years after these events, also mentions an Utûm near the Tigris.<sup>7</sup> In the Habur region there were settlements called Nakabbiniwe and

<sup>1</sup> The verb in line 7 of the letter is broken; only *li-* is preserved. So, the line was restored as *a-n[a] šu-šu-bi-im be-li il-[it-ru-da-šu]* by Læssøe and Jacobsen in Læssøe, J. and Th. Jacobsen, "Šikšabbum Again," *JCS* 42/2 (1990), p. 172; but as *a-šar šu-šu-b[i-i]m be-li [i-iš-pu-ra-am]* by Eidem and Læssøe in Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Eidem, "News from the Eastern Front...", *Iraq*, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 52. According to Lewy, this is the same Burullum where Šamšī-Adad wanted to install Sîn-idinnam as ruler: Lewy, H., "Studien zur Geographie des alten Mesopotamien," *AfO* 19 (1957), p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> For this identification, cf. Chapter Six.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of the date of the rebellion, see below.

<sup>6</sup> 13) LÚ.MEŠ *Ú-ta-i-im*<sup>ki</sup> 14) *ša a-na Qa-ba-ra-a*<sup>ki</sup> *ù Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im*<sup>ki</sup> 15) *na-ás-ḫu ib-ba-al-ki-tu*, Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 121, note 376.

<sup>7</sup> Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

Šillurašwe, which were also names of places in the land of Utûm. The names possibly provide “echoes of the dispersal of Turukkeans across northern Mesopotamia.”<sup>8</sup> The same letter *ARM* 4, 25 relates that Lidāya had destroyed two cities; no names are given, but one must have been Šušarrā. The letter says:

**Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 4, 25)**

Concerning the land of Šušarrā, which you wrote to me about, Išar-Lim will explain to you that this land is troubled, and that we cannot hold it. Lidāya, the Turukkean, and the Turukkeans who are with him (and) who live in that land turned hostile and destroyed two towns. I went to help, but they retreated to the mountains. We deliberated and, since this land cannot be kept under control, I transferred this land, and until ....., I have settled this land in Arraphum and in the land of Qabrā. The troops have marched home. I am well. You should not worry in the least.<sup>9</sup>

Išme-Dagan reasoned from the situation that the land could no longer be kept under control. This was a correct conclusion, as can be seen from an important fact mentioned in the letter, that the Turukkeans retreated to the mountains when Išme-Dagan marched on. This is a clear example of what became (and had most likely been before) the most effective military tactic to fight larger and mightier armies in the mountainous lands, with quick raids and retreats.

At the sack on Šušarrā and the destruction of its palace the archive unfortunately stops. We must now rely for information on those letters from Mari that give news of the Transtigris. We have letters sent by Šamšī-Adad and Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu, and later letters that the ambassadors, the officials and spies sent to Zimri-Lim, the king of Mari, who regained the throne of his father from the Assyrians.

The reaction to the revolt that was touched upon in letter *ARM* 1, 5 (from Šamšī-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu) seems likely to be the same action of Išme-Dagan that he reported to his brother in *ARM* 4, 25. However, in this letter more details are given. It is also stated in the letter that the king plans to take the command of the army by himself. Other letters show that Yasmaḥ-Addu needed troops to fight the Bina-Yamina tribe at this same time and his father could not send him the troops because of their business in Utûm. Eidem and Læssøe established the sequence of three letters related to this matter; Šamšī-Adad sent the letter *ARM* 1, 67 on the 6<sup>th</sup> of Ābum to Yasmaḥ-Addu telling him that Ušur-pî-šarrim will explain why the troops he repeatedly asked for had not yet been sent. Two days later Šamšī-Adad received the latest news about the situation in Utûm, and so he sent an update on the 8<sup>th</sup> of Ābum. He seemed to think that the troubles of the land were ended. Therefore, he determined the date for his departure with his troops to be the middle of the next month. However, when bad news came, such as that in letter *ARM* 4, 25, Šamšī-Adad delayed; the letter *ARM* 2, 8, sent on the 30<sup>th</sup> of Ābum, promised that the troops would arrive on the 15<sup>th</sup> of Tīru.<sup>10</sup> These

<sup>8</sup> Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 54; for the names of those Habur settlements and their relation to Turukkean deportees/refugees from Utûm, cf. also Charpin, Review of The Shemshāra Archives 2, *Syria* 71 (1994), p. 459. Charpin calls attention to the association of the people of Nakabbiniwe with grapes and wine in the texts from Mari, which might be an indication of the skills they brought with them from their land where “the culture of wine growing was highly developed,” *ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> 4) aš-šum ma-a-at Šu-šar-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> 5) ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am 6) ki-ma ma-tum ši-i id-da-al-la-ḥu 7) ù ku-ul-la-ša la ni-le-ú 8) <sup>m</sup>I-šar-Li-im li-id-bu-ba-kum 9) <sup>m</sup>Li-da-a-ia LÚ Tu-ru-ku-ú 10) ù LÚ Tu-ru-ku-ú ša it-ti-šu 11) ša i-na ma-a-tim ša-a-ti wa-aš-bu 12) ik-ki-ru-ma 2 a-la-ni<sup>ki</sup> i[g]-mu-ru 13) a[n]-ḥa-ri-ir-ma 14) [a-na] li-ib-bi KUR-i i-[r]u-[b]u 15) ni-iš-7-ta-al-ma 16) ki-ma ma-tum ši-i 17) a-na k[u]-ul-lim la ir-re-du-ú 18) ma-a-tam ša-a-ti 19) as-[su-u]ḥ-ma 20) m[a-tam ša-ti i-na A]r-ra-ap-ḥi-im<sup>ki</sup> 21) ù [i-na ma-a-a]t Qa-ab-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> 22) a-d[i]<sup>2</sup> x x i]š [ú]-še-ši-ib-[m]a 23) [ša-bu-um š]a li-ib-bi ma-tim 24) [ip-ta-....-a]t-tā-ar 25) [ša-al-ma]-ku mi-im-ma li-ib-bi-ka 26) [la] i-na-ḥi-id, Dossin, *ARM* 4, Paris, 1951, p. 44; lines 19-22 as collated, cf. Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim,” *MARI* 4, Paris, 1985, p. 312, note 91.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 52-53.

events could be dated to the *limmu* Awīliya of the MEC, which mentions a defeat of the Turukkû and a victory of Yasmaḥ-Addu over the Bina-Yamina, as tentatively proposed by Eidem and Læssøe<sup>11</sup> (see also the eponymic chronicle, under Chronology). The last part of letter *ARM* 1, 5, dated on the 8<sup>th</sup> of Ābum and sent from Šubat-Enlil, reports:

**Šamši-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 1, 5)**

Concerning the report that Ušur-pî-šarrim will give you, the enemy positioned with Lidāya before Išme-Dagan heard the din of the armies gathering around Išme-Dagan, and gave up their town, pulled out and left. Išme-Dagan seized their town Burullum. He has calmed and subjugated the whole land of Utûm. He has placed it under a single command. The troops have marched home. They will rest two or three days in their houses and reassemble to me. I shall take command of the troops, and by the middle of next month, I will reach my destination there. Be aware of this! Until I come up, just keep the troops ready!<sup>12</sup>

This letter too confirms the use of guerrilla tactics by the Turukkeans. The rebels retreated to the mountains and left their city to the approaching army of the Assyrians. Išme-Dagan, thinking he was victorious and putting an end to the revolt, has withdrawn from the land, after reorganizing its administration and putting it under one command. Unfortunately, the identity of this commander is not given.

*The Revolt Expands*

Eidem and Læssøe are correct in assuming that, with the return of the troops of Išme-Dagan from the campaign on Lidāya, the news of the revolt would have spread across the whole of northern Mesopotamia with obvious consequences.<sup>13</sup> The many Turukkeans who had been resettled in different parts of Northern Mesopotamia, as noted already, must have heard about the revolt. Such news as the failure of Išme-Dagan to crush the revolt and capture Lidāya must have been a great encouragement for all the Turukkeans to start a great revolt, including those who had been resettled in the plains of Qabrā, Arrapha (see above, letter A.562) and the Habur.<sup>14</sup> Of course, the Turukkeans too knew that the country of Utûm could no longer be held by the Assyrians, a fact admitted by Išme-Dagan in his letter to his brother. A very important point is that also those Turukkeans participated in the revolt who had been transferred by Išme-Dagan. Those Turukkeans were transferred, as we understand from the texts, in order to protect them from the consequences of the revolt because of their assumed loyalty to Assyria. So, what pushed these loyal groups then to join a rebellion against their lords? It seems reasonable to doubt that they were transferred of their own free

<sup>11</sup> Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>12</sup> 24) *aš-šum te<sub>4</sub>-mi-im ša Ú-šur-KA-LUGAL* 25) *ú-we-e-ra-ak-kum* 26) *na-ak-rum ša it-ti Li-da-a-ia* 27) *a-na pa-an Iš-me<sup>d</sup>-Da-gan úš-bu* 28) *tu-uk-ki um-ma-na-a-tim* 29) *ša a-na še-er Iš-me<sup>d</sup>-Da-gan ip-ḥu-ra* 30) *iš-me-ma a-al-šu id-di-i-ma* 31) *it-bé-e-ma it-ta-la-ak* 32) <sup>m</sup>*I[š-m]e<sup>d</sup>-Da-gan a-al-šu* 33) *Bu-ru-ul-la-[x]<sup>ki</sup> iš-ša-ba-at* 34) *ma-a-at Ú-te-em [k]a-la-ša ut-te-eḫ ú-ta-aq<sup>i</sup>(ÁŠ)-qí-in* 35) *a-na pí-i-im iš-te-en uš-te-[ši]-ib-ši* 36) *ša-bu-um a-na li-ib-bi ma-a-tim ip-ta-at-ra-am* 37) U<sub>4</sub> 2.KAM 3.[KAM] *i-na É.ĤA-Šu-nu* 38) *i-nu-uḫ-ḥu-ma i-pa-aḫ-ḥu-ru-nim* 39) *pa-an ša-bi-im ka-li-šu a-ša-ab-ba-at-ma* 40) *i-na li-ib-bi [I]TI an-ni-i-im* 41) *qa-du-um um-[m]a-[n]a-a-tim* 42) *a-na re-eš A.ŠĀ-ia a-ša-ri-iš* 43) *a-ka-aš-ša-dam an-ni-tam lu-ú ti-de-e* 44) *a-di e-li-ia ša na-ša-ar ša-bi-im-ma* 45) *e-pu-úš*, Dossin, *ARM* 1, 5, p. 30; Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 275; Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 52-3; Durand, *LPO* II, p. 115-6. According to Durand, the restoration of l. 34 is: *ma-a-at Ú-te-em [k]a-la-ša ut-te-eḫ ú <it>-ta-ás-ki-in*, *op. cit.*, p. 116, note 250; by replacing the verb *šakānu* with *sakānu* “to reside,” the meaning becomes “and the population remained there (in Utûm).” However, the use of Ú for Ū is questionable.

<sup>13</sup> Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 54. This assumes the date of the revolt in the Habur was after the revolt in Utûm; Villard, followed by Wu Yuhong (see below) suggest it was after that revolt.

<sup>14</sup> Charpin thinks that the revolt was coupled with the revolt of the army that Išme-Dagan sent to Šunâ and Aparḫa, cf. Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177.

will. But there are two texts that indicate they were not forced. The first is the letter of Išme-Dagan (*ARM* 1, 25) that gives the impression that they were displaced because they were counted as loyal citizens. The second is the important Shemshāra letter no. 13, in which Šamšī-Adad orders Kuwari concerning the Turukkeans as follows: “Now assemble the country, and tell them thus: “He who wants to can stay here; he who does not want to stay here can go to my Lord!” Tell them this” (l. 33-38) (see above). The unpublished letter of Išar-Lim (M.5659) reports the same incident, but still does not help to explain whether this transfer was voluntary or compulsory. The related section of the letter reports:

**Išar-Lim to ??? (M.5659)**

I deported them [togeth]er with their oxen and th[eir] sheep, and settled half of them in the land of Arrapha and half of them in the land of Qabrā.<sup>15</sup>

Be that as it may, the participation of the Turukkeans of the homeland and of what we may call their diaspora can be considered as a reflection of a common consciousness, based on blood ties within the tribe and strict compliance to the tribal chiefs. It is also worth discussing whether the revolt was staged only by the transferred Turukkeans. For Eidem it was the transferred Turukkeans who launched the revolt, not an “invasion” of nomadic tribesmen of the Habur region in the time of Šamšī-Adad.<sup>16</sup> Charpin, contrary to Eidem, is of the opinion that the situation had more to do with an invasion.<sup>17</sup> This seems likely because the range and strength of the military operations that threatened the Assyrian Empire in its core area, close to the capital Šubat-Enlil, cannot have been the work of hundreds or even thousands of transferred Turukkeans. These transferred groups consisted of families where only the adult males were warriors, so the number of fighters would be less than the total of the transferred Turukkeans. We know that there were 10,000 troops which Išme-Dagan commanded to rescue the Tillā region that was under Turukkean threat (letter A.863, see below), which means that only there the Turukkeans were at least half of that number.<sup>18</sup> The revolt of Lidāya certainly opened the door to thousands more Turukkeans to invade the plains to the east of the Tigris, from Arrapha up to Nineveh, and later further to the west of the Tigris. Another problem arises here, in that there is no allusion to such a mass migration of Turukkeans to the Habur region in the texts. In this regard we should not forget the Hurrian population of the Habur area who were organized in kingdoms, such as Nawar and Urkeš, in the periods before the emergence of the Šamšī-Adad dynasty, in addition to the Hurrians of the southern Anatolian mountain lands, who were geographically and ethnically connected with the Hurrians of the Habur area. This huge Hurrian population must have joined the Turukkeans to put an end to the Assyrian rule.<sup>19</sup> The more likely possibility is that the name Turukkean may have been applied by the Assyrians to all the Hurrians involved in the revolt, perhaps due to the Turukkean leadership of the revolt or just because of their common ethnic

<sup>15</sup> 15) [it-t]i GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤÁ-šū-nu 16) ù UDU.ĤÁ-š[u-nu] 17) na-sa-ĥu-um-ma 18) mu-ut-ta-tam i-na ma-at Ar-ra-<sup>r</sup>ap-ĥi<sup>7</sup>-im<sup>ki</sup> 19) ù mu-ut-ta-tam i-na ma-at 20) Qa-ab-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> ú-še-eš-še-eb, Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 166, note 59. Note that the verb *nasāḥumma* is in the infinitive.

<sup>16</sup> Eidem, J., “From the Zagros to Aleppo- and Back, Chronological Notes on the Empire of Šamšī-Adad,” *Akkadica* 81 (1993), p. 23.

<sup>17</sup> Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177. Villard also thinks of Turukkean “immigration” in the light of the serious problems they suffered in the Zagros: Villard, P., “La mort de Sūmu-Epuḥ et la révolte des Turukkéens,” *NABU* 1993, no. 119, p. 102.

<sup>18</sup> A rule in the military science is that an attacking force must be two to three times larger than a defending force, and we assume that this was the same in antiquity.

<sup>19</sup> Support for this view comes from the statement of Charpin and Ziegler, who find that the Turukkean revolt was not the only problem the kingdom faced in its core area. In addition it faced resistance from the local population of the Habur area against the dynasty: Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 16-7. The letter A.315 (see below) is a good example for this.

background. Another look at the revolt, from an ethnic point of view, reveals that the revolt can also be seen as a revolt of the Hurrian substratum against the Amorite immigrants, who formed the superstratum in this phase. Hatred of the Amorite dynasty of Šamši-Adad is not to be assumed only in the Hurrian lands. In the inscription of Puzur-Sîn of Assyria, who ruled after the overthrow of the Šamši-Adad dynasty, he explicitly expresses his hatred:

#### Puzur-Sîn

When Puzur-Sîn, vice-regent of the god Aššur, son of Aššur-bēl-šamê, destroyed the evil of Asînum, offspring of Šamši-[Adad],<sup>20</sup> who was ... of the city Aššur, (at that time) [I (= Puzur-Sîn) removed] .... A foreign plague, not of the flesh of [the city] Aššur. The god Aššur justly ... [with] his pure hands and I, by the command of Aššur himself my lord, destroyed that improper thing which he had worked on, (namely) the wall and palace of Šamši-Adad, his grandfather, (who was) a foreign plague, not of the flesh of the city Aššur, and who had destroyed the shrines of the city Aššur.<sup>21</sup>

#### Further Expansion; into the Habur Region

According to the reconstruction of the events presented by Eidem and Læssøe, the great revolt began a few months after its start in Utûm.<sup>22</sup> Some Mari letters provide valuable information about these developments and the spread of the revolt to areas as far as the Habur area. One of the hot-spots of the conflict was in and around Amursakkum. Išme-Dagan was residing in Šuna at the beginning of the month, and on hearing of the revolt he hastened to Amursakkum.<sup>23</sup> Letter ARM 1, 90 gives important information concerning Amursakkum:

#### Šamši-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 1, 90)

In Amursakkum, where (the) Turukkeans are staying, Dādanum with 2,000 Nurrageans is stationed alone on one flank in the siege lines. In order to break through the blockade(?)<sup>24</sup> the enemy (chose) to approach Dādanum to fight with an auxiliary force,<sup>25</sup> and they killed him, and they also killed 5 soldiers with him. Later they drove a herd<sup>26</sup> back and 50 enemies were killed. Išar-Lim stayed with him, (but) Išar-Lim is safe; the troops are safe. Both flanks<sup>27</sup> are secured; the armies are reinforcing the siege lines, digging a moat, and encircling the (whole) town with siege lines. I fear that if you unofficially hear an important person has been killed, you will worry, (but) you should not worry at all; the armies are safe.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>20</sup> He may have been one of the members of Šamši-Adad's royal house.

<sup>21</sup> 1) [i]-nu-me 2) [P]û-zur<sup>s</sup> EN.ZU 3) [É]NSI A.šur 4) [DUM]U(?) A-šur-be-el-AN-e 5) 'le-mu-tu' A-si-nim 6) [pa-r]a-a' UTU-ši-<sup>rd</sup>[IM] 7) 'ša x pu' [x š]a UR[U Aš]-šur<sup>r</sup> 8) 'ú-na'-ap-[pi]-lu x 9) [x x] x [x] re-di-'am' 10) [a]-'na URU Aš-šur [(lu) ú-up(?)]-pi-šu 11) x x ú a-ḫi MU-šu 12) [š]i-bi-i[t(?) 'a-ḫi-tim(?)] la ší-ir 13) [URU] A-šur<sup>rd</sup> 14) [...] x 15) A-š[ur x x (x)] x qa-te-š'u 16) KÙ.[MEŠ]-ti 17) i-na 'ki-na'-te-šu 18) ú-'ZA(?)'-i-da-šu-ma 19) la dam-qa-'am' šu-a-ti 20) 'i'-na 'qi'-bi-it A-šur-ma 21) [b]e-li-a qa-at u[p-p]i-šu 22) [BÀ]D.KI(?) ù É.GAL 23) UTU-ši-<sup>d</sup>[M] 24) a-bu a-bi-š[u] ší-bi-i[t(?) 25) a-ḫi-tim la UZU URU Aš-š[ur] 26) ša iš-ra-at URU Aš-š[ur] 27) ú-na-ak-ki-'ru'-[m]a, Grayson, RIMA 1, p. 77-8.

<sup>22</sup> Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>23</sup> This, according to the letter M.8145+, dated on the 24th of I; cf. Charpin and Ziegler, FM V, p. 115, and note 333.

<sup>24</sup> Durand has "ford." Durand, LAPO II, p. 88.

<sup>25</sup> The word *mu'arrirum* is for Durand a PN, not "auxiliary force;" cf. Durand, J.-M., "Documents pour l'histoire du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie, I," MARI 5, Paris, 1987, p. 171.

<sup>26</sup> For the discussion of the term *ḫallatum* and its meaning, which was already read by Dossin as the Sumerian logogram ḪA.LA, "portion, share," cf. Durand, LAPO II, p. 89-90 g; Durand, "Documents pour l'histoire ...," MARI 5, p. 171 c.

<sup>27</sup> Durand: "the situation" instead of "both flanks;" Durand, LAPO II, p. 89.

<sup>28</sup> 4) i-na A-mur-sà-ak-k[i-i]m<sup>ki</sup> 5) a-šar [L]Ú.MEŠ Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú wa-aš-bu 6) i-na ka-ra-ši-im Da-da-nu-um 7) it-ti 2 li-im Nu-ru-ga-i<sup>k</sup>[i] 8) a-na ra-ma-ni-im-ma i-na i-di iš-te-en 9) wa-ši-ib na-ak-rum a-na ḫa-ra-di-im 10) pa-r[a-



It is clear from the letter that the Turukkeans had been entrenched in the city in the face of the Assyrians laying siege to them. This seems to have taken place in the autumn of 1779 BC (end of month I\* of the *limmu* Awīlīya).<sup>29</sup> Auxiliaries from Nurrugum under the command of Dādanum,<sup>30</sup> who was a high-ranking general, helped the Assyrians, but the Turukkeans, realizing that auxiliaries are a weak part of an army,<sup>31</sup> attacked the Nurrugeans and killed Dādanum. At this point letter M.8145+ that was sent by Išme-Dagan to his brother, mentions Dādanum, and after a lacuna he tries to calm the fear of Yasmaḥ-Addu, who appears to have been seriously worried on hearing of the death of Dādanum.<sup>32</sup> Another attack on the Turukkeans was unsuccessful; although 50 of them were killed they were able to break through the Assyrian siege and secure provisions for four days. Because of this Išme-Dagan resolved to destroy anything edible or any food-supplies locally available to deprive the Turukkeans of provisions. This information comes from two letters, *ARM* 4, 52 and *ARM* 4, 42. In the first, Išme-Dagan relates to his brother:

**Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 4, 52)**

A refugee has arrived from Amursa[kkum] and sa[id] the following: “The Tu[rukkeans] have [crossed?] the moat of Amu[rsakkum] and [took?/looted?] provisions (enough for) 4 days. He said (also): “I have deserted the army.”<sup>33</sup>

In the other letter Išme-Dagan writes to his brother how he has prevented the Turukkeans getting provisions, a method Durand describes as the first recorded instance of following a scorched earth policy:<sup>34</sup>

**Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 4, 42)**

... and I set fire to the environs of Amursakkum as far as half a mile. I destroyed the provisions of the enemy.<sup>35</sup>

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*s[i-im a-[na pa-n]i Da-[d]a-n[u]-um* 11) *a-na* <sup>GIŠ</sup>TUKUL.MEŠ *ša-k[a-nim* 12) *it-ti Mu-ḥa-ri-ri-im iṭ-ḥe-ma id-[d]u-ku-šu* 13) *ù* 5 AGA.UŠ.MEŠ *it-ti-šu id-du-ku wa-ar-ka-nu-um* 14) *ḥa-la-tam ú-te-er-ru-ma* 50 *na-ak-ra-am id-du-ku* 15) <sup>m</sup>*I-šar-Li-im it-ti-šu ú-ši-ib* 16) <sup>m</sup>*I-šar-Li-im ša-lim* 17) *[š]a-bu-um ša-lim* 18) *[iṣ-d]a-an ki-na um-ma-na-tum* 19) *ka-ra-ša-am i-pi-ša* 20) *ḥi-ri-tam i-ḥi-re-e* 21) *a-lam*<sup>ki</sup> *ka-ra-ša-am i-ka-pa-pa* 22) *as-sú-ur-ri aš-šum a-wi-il šu-mi-im* 23) *di-ku i-na a-ḥi-ti-ku-nu te-še-me-ma* 24) *[l]i-i[b]ba-k[u-nu i-na-ḥi-id* 25) *[mi-im]-ma li-[i]b-ba-ku-nu la i-na-ḥi-id* 26) *[u]m-[ma]-na-tum [š]a-al-[ma]*, Dossin, *ARM* 1, 90, p. 160-2; Eidem, *The Shemshāra Archives 2 (ShA 2)*, p. 19; Durand, “Documents ...,” *MARI* 5, p. 70-1; restorations and corrections by Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 88-90.

<sup>29</sup> Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177. Note that Charpin and Ziegler point out the absence of any text dated to month I\* of Awīlīya; they attribute this to a delay in the nomination of the new *limmu* after the end of Aššur-malik due to the restriction imposed on the movement of messengers when the revolt broke out. They cite the letter of Išḫi-Addu in which he reminds Yasmaḥ-Addu of holding his and their envoys from going to Išḫi-Addu as evidence for this: Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 115.

<sup>30</sup> Durand derives the name from *dādum*, “paternal uncle;” Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 89. It is worth noting, as Charpin and Ziegler do, that 15 months after its capture Nurrugum provided troops for its conqueror; cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 109, note 277.

<sup>31</sup> Eidem, *ShA* 2, p. 19. Eidem has corrected the translation Durand offered for this letter, cf. *ibid*, note 22.

<sup>32</sup> Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 115, note 334.

<sup>33</sup> 5) 1 L[Ú] *ma-aq-tum iṣ-tu A-mu-ur-sa-[ki-im*<sup>ki</sup>] 6) *im-qú-ut-ma ki-a-am i[q-bi]-e-e[m]* 7) *um-ma-mi 'LÚ' Tu-[ru-uk-ku-ú (?)* 8) *ḥi-ri-tam ša A-mu-u[r-sà-ki-im*<sup>ki</sup> *i-bi-ru]* 9) *ù ši-dī-it U<sub>4</sub>.K[AM il-qú-u]* 10) *um-ma-mi ša-ba-a[m...]* 11) *[a]-<sup>f</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-ku-ma e-zi-[ib...]*, Dossin, *ARM* 4, 52, p. 78-9; restoration of l. 9 by Durand, *LAPO* II, Paris, 1998, no. 498, p. 90.

<sup>34</sup> Durand, *LAPO*, II, p. 91.

<sup>35</sup> 9) *ù i-ta-a[t]* 10) *A-mu-ur-sà-ki-i[m*<sup>ki</sup>] 11) *bé-ra-a A.ŠÀG [zu-za-am]* 12) *aq-ta-mi-[ma]* 13) *ú-ku-ul-la-a-a[m]* 14) *ša na-ak-ri-im uḥ-ta-al-li-iq*, Dossin, *ARM* 4, 42, p. 66-7; correction of l. 11-12 by: Durand, *LAPO*, II, p. 91.

Letter *ARM* 4, 53 shows that the Assyrians have communicated with the Turukkeans by sending a message through a prisoner, but we do not know whether this was to negotiate or to send warnings to them:

**Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 4, 53)**

The king has sent me the following message: "Write to Yasmaḥ-Addu to send you one of the two prisoners that Tāb-eli-ummanāti-šu brought to you and send him to Amursakki." Now, send me a prisoner who is capable of handling the affairs so that he enters Amursakku.<sup>36</sup>

The siege of Amursakkum ended when it was abandoned by the Turukkeans, despite the approach of the winter. They had to endure the rain and suffered from casualties inflicted by the pursuing troops of Išme-Dagan. As the Turukkeans fled, in order to save their injured comrades from being taken prisoner, they killed 100 of them with their own hands and left behind many chariots.<sup>37</sup> They then stationed in an empty town near Niṭḫum to the north of Amaz,<sup>38</sup> on the route from Kaḫat, in order to raid the land of Tillā. This is recorded in letter A.863, and gives an approximate idea of where Amursakkum was located. The GN is found in some OB tablets from the lower town at Leylān (ancient Šubat-Enlil) indicating it was near there, somewhere in the Habur Basin.<sup>39</sup> According to Charpin, Amursakkum was located in the region of Nuṣaybin, to the northwest of Šubat-Enlil.<sup>40</sup>

Šamši-Adad's response to the new move of the rebels was a reorganization of the defence by sending Išme-Dagan at the head of 10,000 troops to Marētum. He sent other troops to Sabbanum and Eluḫut<sup>41</sup> to cut off the Turukkeans if they decided to flee in front of Išme-Dagan.<sup>42</sup> The letter A.863 reports as follows:

**? to ? (A.863)**

Another matter: a tablet from Išme-Dagan has reached me (edited) in the following terms: "The enemy has left Amursakkum in force and established himself in Tillā<sup>43</sup> on the route from Kaḫat with the intention of raiding the land of Tillā, taking the

<sup>36</sup> 5) LUGAL *ki-a-am iš-pu-ra-am* 6) *um-ma-mi i-na 2 a-si-ri* 7) *ša Tā-ab-el-um-ma-ni-šu* 8) *ú-ša-ri-em* 9) *[a-n]a se-er* 10) *[<sup>m</sup>Ia]-ás-ma-aḫ-<sup>d</sup>I[M]* 11) *1 a-si-ra-am* 12) *li-it-ru-ni-kum-ma* 13) *a-[n]a A-mu-ur-a-sa-ki<sup>ki</sup>* 15) *šu-p[u]-ur-šu* 16) *i-na-an-na 1 a-si-ra-am* 17) *ša a-wa-tim ku-ul-la-am* 18) *i-le-ú šu-ri-im-ma* 19) *a-na A-mu-ur-a-sa-ki<sup>ki</sup>* 20) *li-ru-ub*, Dossin, *ARM* 4, p. 78-9; Durand, *LAPO* I, p. 185-6. It seems that Durand agrees with Sasson in the assumption that the prisoner was destined to fill a position in the city (Durand, *ibid.* and Sasson, J., *The Military Establishments at Mari*, 1969, p. 48), while to Eidem it was to make him bear a message (Eidem, *ShA* 2, p. 19), which seems the more likely suggestion.

<sup>37</sup> Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177; Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 116.

<sup>38</sup> Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177.

<sup>39</sup> Eidem, *ShA* 2, p. 20.

<sup>40</sup> Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177. This is the location proposed by Kessler: Kessler, K., *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens nach keilschriftlichen Quellen des I. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 209. Durand identifies it with the MA Amasakku (a dependency of Ḫanigalbat) and NA Masakku, which neighboured Šudduḫum, Ta'idum, Ḫurrâ and Kaḫat, and formed a large part of the region of Nuṣaybin, probably in Tell Muhammed; cf. for this Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 115, note 331; Durand, *LAPO* I, p. 185. A probable etymology of this name is tentatively proposed by Durand as *âmur-asakkî* "I have noticed/seen my taboo" in Durand, *LAPO* I, p. 185 a, and, in contrast to this, he adds that the name is without doubt non-Semitic. It is noted that it has the same suffixes as the names Ašlakkâ and Ašnakk(um). For the proposed etymology *Volksetymologie* needs to be considered. There are examples of giving Amorite/Semitic names to some GNs that were phonetically similar to the older original non-Semitic names, such as Erbil: *A/I/Urbil* → *Arba-il(um)*.

<sup>41</sup> Possibly Eluḫut had already suffered from Turukkean devastation according to Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 116.

<sup>42</sup> Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 116.

<sup>43</sup> Charpin translated *Til-la-a<sup>ki</sup>* as "in a tell," while the GN Tillā is most likely; cf. Wu Yuhong, "The Extent of Turukkean Raids during the Reign of Šamši-Adad I," *JAC* 8 (1993), p. 121, note to l. 5'.

grain." Išme-Dagan, having heard this, went to the rescue with 10,000 men, and installed himself at Marêtum.<sup>44</sup>

During the winter, while Šamšī-Adad was staying in Andarig,<sup>45</sup> the two brothers, Išme-Dagan and Yasmaḥ-Addu, stayed in the Habur area and secured a number of regions, such as Kaḥat, Tilla, Ḥassikkanum Ḥurašum, and exchanged several letters.<sup>46</sup> From one of them we learn that the local population of the region, or at least those of the land of Kaḥat, supported and encouraged the Turukkean revolt:

**Šamšī-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (A.315+M.8103)**

.... he said to me [this]: "[The men of the l]and of Kaḥat wrote to [the Turu]kkeans as follows: '[It is out of fear that y]ou haste to make peace. [Do not ma]ke peace!'.<sup>47</sup>" This is what he said to me.<sup>47</sup>

For this, the garrisons round Kaḥat, in the three towns of Nilibšunnu, Kallaḥubra and Kabittum, were each reinforced with 100 troops.<sup>48</sup> Yasmaḥ-Addu seemingly left for Mari afterwards, for he was there on 21 V\* Awīliya; his troops may have gone back gradually. The troops which were under Aššur-tillassu reached Mari on 4 VI\* Awīliya, while a contingent from Mari seems to have been kept by Išme-Dagan.<sup>49</sup> This is indicated in a letter of Mašiya to Yasmaḥ-Addu (A.562, dated around VII\* Awīliya) in which he explains why his personal guard is not back: they had gone with Išme-Dagan to pursue the Turukkeans in the mountains.<sup>50</sup> Probably these operations pushed the Turukkeans to the north and northeast, towards Tigunānum. The hot-spot has now moved there.

From other letters we learn that the revolt did not restrict itself to the regions round Šubat-Enlil. Rather there are reports that they threatened the regions of Karanā, Qaṭṭara and Appaya to the southeast. Letter *ARM* 5, 43 reports:

**Ḥasidānum to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 5, 43)**

I listened to the tablet my lord sent to me. My lord wrote to me that Sumiya came from Talmuš, saying: "The enemy has gathered in Ašal." My lord wrote that to me. Now all in the district of Šašaranum have been ordered to enter Apqum<sup>51</sup> and Zanipa, and those in the district of Yanuḥ-Samar have been ordered to enter Sanduwatum.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Charpin, D., "A Contribution to the Geography and History of the Kingdom of Kaḥat," *Tall al-Ḥamīdīya 2, Symposion: Recent Excavations in the Upper Khabur Region, Berne, December 9-11, 1986*, eds. S. Eichler, M. Wäfler and D. Warburton, Göttingen, 1990, p. 75-6, note 29. The unpublished fragmentary letter was quoted first by G. Bardet in *ARM* 23, p. 68-9. The GN Marêtum, according to Charpin, is the contracted form of Mriyātum, located in the region between Kaḥat and Tillā; cf. Charpin, *ibid*.

<sup>45</sup> Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 117 and note 351. There is evidence of his existence there on 15 VI\* Awīliya as attested in a tablet from Chagar Bazar (*OBTCB* 3).

<sup>46</sup> Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 116.

<sup>47</sup> 8) [... ki-a-am] iḡ-bé-e-em 9) [um-ma šu-ma LÚ.MEŠ ma]-a-at Ka-ḥa-at<sup>ki</sup> 10) [a-na LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru]-uk-ki-t<sup>ki</sup> iš-pu-ru-nim um-ma-mi 11) [as-sú-re ta-a]ḥ-mu-tà-ma ta-ás-[lī]-ma 12) [la ta-sa-a]l-li-ma, Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 117, note 347. Note the great difference from the previous transliteration in Charpin, "A Contribution to the ...," *Tall al-Ḥamīdīya* ..., p. 73.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. the rest of the letter in Charpin, "A Contribution to ...," p. 74-5.

<sup>49</sup> Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 117.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 117, note 350.

<sup>51</sup> Wu Yuhong mistakenly writes Aqum: Wu Yuhong, *JAC*, p. 119.

<sup>52</sup> 5) [tu]p-pa-am ša be-lī ú-ša-bi-lam eš-me 6) ki-ma Su-mu-ia iš-tu Ta-al-mu-ús<sup>ki</sup> 7) il-li-kam um-ma-ami 8) na-ak-rum i-na A-ša-al<sup>ki</sup> 9) pa-ḥi-ir an-ni-tam 10) [be]-lī iš-pu-ra-am 11) [i-na]-an-na ḥa-la-aš 12) <sup>m</sup>Ša-ša-ra-nim 13) i-na Ap-qí-im<sup>ki</sup> 14) ù i-na Za-ni-pa-a<sup>ki</sup>-ma [šu-ru]-bu 15) ù ḥa-la-aš Ia-nu-uh-sa-mar 16) i-na Sa-an-du-wa-tim<sup>ki</sup> šu-ru-bu, Wu Yuhong, *JAC* 8, p. 119; Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 119-20.

That somebody from Talmuš brought the news of the enemy's advance (that of the Turukkeans) means that Ašal<sup>53</sup> was closer to Talmuš than to Karanā and Qaṭṭara (= Rimāh), where Ḥasidanum was governor. Both Durand and Wu Yuhong identify Apqum as modern Abu Mariya<sup>54</sup> and Zanipa to the southeast of it, while Sanduwatum was northwest of Assur.<sup>55</sup> Another letter from the same governor to Yasmaḥ-Addu shows that the approaching Turukkeans threatened the regions of Karanā and Qaṭṭara:

**Ḥasidanum to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 5, 37)**

There are no oxen and sheep in the land at all. They have moved away from the steppe. The donkeys of my lord [.....]. Let those near Karanā enter Karanā! Let those near Qaṭṭara enter Qaṭṭara! And let those near Appaya enter Appaya! All the land has been collected into the fortresses. May my lord not be worried!<sup>56</sup>

Wu Yuhong is correct in concluding that the whole region from Jebel Sinjār to the Tigris was under Turukkean threat: the cities Saduwatum and Assur to Zanipa and Apqum, including Karanā and Qaṭṭara.<sup>57</sup> This is confirmed by a letter from Sumiya to his lord Yasmaḥ-Addu, in which he writes:

**Sumiya to Yasmaḥ-Addu (A.4197)**

When Suḥum on the Euphrates rebelled my lord wrote repeatedly for troops; but the land (here) also rebelled, and all the troops at our disposal were deployed here, and for this reason we could not send troops to our lord.<sup>58</sup>

The letter points to the calmness that prevailed in the regions of Nurrugum (round Nineveh), Razama, Azuḥinum (both in the Sinjār region), Šudā, and Šubat-Enlil (in the Habur) after the revolt ended. It shows also that Adal-šenni could go back to Burundum in the north. These regions practically cover the majority of Northern Mesopotamia.<sup>59</sup>

The need for grain reported in the letters in relation to Amursakkum has become a priority in Tignānum.<sup>60</sup> Some letters that touch upon the circumstances there speak of a more urgent

<sup>53</sup> According to Wu Yuhong, Ašal was a city of the Turukkeans: Wu Yuhong, *JAC* 8, p. 114. However, a city close to Talmuš is hardly Turukkean. Rather it was a city in the region of Nineveh, like Talmuš itself, which was not a Turukkean region but most likely Hurrian. This description would be correct only if our suggestion to identify the Turukkeans of the correspondence of Išme-Dagan and Šamšī-Adad with the Hurrians is true (see above). To Durand, Ašal was located to the northeast of Rimāh: Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 120 a. For the Hurrian name and identity of Talmuš, cf. Chapter Four.

<sup>54</sup> Durand refers to Hallo, *JCS* 18 (1964), p. 73.

<sup>55</sup> Wu Yuhong, *JAC* 8, p. 115; Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 120 d and f; Durand makes an allusion to the location of Sanduwatum on the route from Assur to Kaniš, as referred to by Garelli in Garelli, P., *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, p. 85-85, XXVI 527. Therefore, it was in the eastern part of Upper Mesopotamia. He prefers a location in the east southeast of Sinjār: Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 120 f.

<sup>56</sup> 6) *mi-im-ma* GU<sub>4</sub>.ḪĀ ù UDU.ḪĀ 7) *i-na li-bi ma-a-tim ú-ul i-ba-aš-šu-ú* 8) *i-na qa-ši-im-ma* 9) *du-up-pu-ru-ú* 10) [ù] ANŠE.ḪĀ *ša be-l[i-ia]* 11) [..... (Lacuna) ....] 1') *qé-er-be-et Ka-ra-na-a*<sup>ki</sup> 2') *a-na Ka-ra-na-a*<sup>ki</sup> *li-ru-bu* 3') *qé-er-be-et Qa-tà-ra-a*<sup>ki</sup> 4') *a-na Qa-tà-ra-a*<sup>ki</sup> *li-ru-bu* 5') ù *qé-er-be-et Ap-pa-ia*<sup>ki</sup> 6') *a-na Ap-pa-ia*<sup>ki</sup> 7') *li-ru-bu* 8') *ma-a-tum a-na a-al dan-na-tim* 9') *ka-am-sa-at* 10') *li-ib-bi be-l[i-ia]* 11') *la i-na-aḥ-ḫi-id*, Wu Yuhong, *JAC* 8, p. 120 (line numbering misses one line between 5 and 10); restoration of l. 10 by Durand, *LAPO* II, p 106-7.

<sup>57</sup> Wu Yuhong, *JAC* 8, p. 115.

<sup>58</sup> 3) *i-nu-ma Su-ḫi-a*<sup>ki</sup> *ša a-aḥ Pu-ra-a[t-tim]* 4) *ib-ba-al-ki-tu be-li a-na ṣa-bi-[im]* 5) *iš-ta-ap-pa-ra-am ù ma-a-[tum] [?]* 6) *ib-ba-al-ki-it-ma ṣa-bu-um* 7) *ša qa-ti-ne ka-lu-šu it-ta-'al-kam'* 8) [*i*] *k-ke-em ṣa-ba-am a-na ṣe-er* 9) [*b*] *e-lí-ne ú-ul ni-it-ru-dam*, Van Koppen, F., "L'expédition à Tilmun et la révolte des bédouins," *MARI* 8, Paris, 1997, p. 426 and note 38.

<sup>59</sup> Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Van Koppen, *ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Durand located Tignānum on the left bank of the Tigris, to the east of modern Diyarbakir, on the route that joins Amuda-Mardin at the course of the Tigris: Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 81; Durand, *LAPO* I, p. 130. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 50-51 and 117, note 353, almost agree with Durand, putting it on the left bank of the Upper Tigris, but some 50 km downstream from Diyarbakir, perhaps close to modern Bismil. This identification is

situation under the Turukkeans. The letters say that they were starving and therefore raiding neighbouring territory, such as Ħirbazānum. The report that the need for food had pushed them to think of going back to their “own” country is important in this respect.<sup>61</sup> Letters *ARM* 4, 23; 24 and 76 (dated month VIII\*)<sup>62</sup> deal with the circumstances in this place. In the first letter Išme-Dagan relates that he pursued the Turukkeans who crossed the river and entered the land of Tiginānum. The Turukkeans benefited from the river in flood which hindered the pursuit of the troops of Išme-Dagan:

**Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 4, 23)**

You have written to me about the Turukkeans. Since the Turukkeans went out, I have been in trouble so that I did not write to you the news about the Turukkeans. I kept driving them without a truce. I killed many troops. When the (enemy) arrived on the bank of the river they stayed there. Since the river was in flood they could not cross. However, I made a squad cross and dispatched it to the land of Tiginānum. After the squad (crossed), when the river was lower, the Turukkeans crossed over in the night. After they (crossed) the river flooded again so that I could not cross. Now the Turukkeans have entered the land of Tiginānum. I was told that they will depart for their land.<sup>63</sup>

This letter was very likely the reply to the letter *ARM* 4, 87 by Yasmaḥ-Addu to Išme-Dagan, in which he expressed his worry about the news of the “going out” of the Turukkeans, but no more news was sent to him.<sup>64</sup> Another letter from Išme-Dagan (*ARM* 4, 76) again says that the Turukkeans still intend to go back to their land. However, a very important clue the letter provides is the date of the events in Tiginānum. The first part of the letter preserves a quotation from a previous letter of Yasmaḥ-Addu to Išme-Dagan, in which he tells his brother about the journey he made to Tuttul.<sup>65</sup> The journey of Yasmaḥ-Addu to Tuttul was preceded by raids of Sumu-Epuḥ of Yamḥad on that city some months before (month VII\*) (*ARM* 4, 10). There is also a report about this Sumu-Epuḥ, that he had spread the news that he had twice supported the Turukkeans to rebel and had helped them to raid the territory of Šamšī-Adad (*ARM* 5, 17+ A.1882; for this letter see below). The death of Sumu-Epuḥ was announced in the letter *ARM* 1, 91+, sent by Šamšī-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu when

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based also on information from letter A.1182, (cf. for this *op. cit.*, p. 50-1 and notes 188 and 189). However, Salvini pinpoints Tiginānum in the east, at the ford located immediately to the south of Cizre. He bases his proposal on: A) there is mention of crossing a river by the Turukkeans, and the ford here is the most fitting place to cross, being shallow and the current slow; B) seasonal flooding makes crossing impossible there, as mentioned in *ARM* 4, 23; C) it is the last passage before the mountains, cf. Salvini, “Un royaume hourrite en Mésopotamie du nord ...” *Subartu*, IV/1, p. 306.

<sup>61</sup> Eidem, *ShA* 2, p. 20.

<sup>62</sup> Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 117, note 353.

<sup>63</sup> 5) *aš-šum* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-uk-ki-i* 6) *ta-aš-pu-ra-am* 7) *u-um* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú* 8) *ú-šú-ú s[é]-ḫe-ku-ma* 9) *te-em* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-uk-ki-i* 10) *ú-ul aš-pu-ra-kum* 11) KASKAL *er-te-ed-di-šu-ma* 12) *ša-ba-am ma-da-am ma a-du-uk* 13) *ù i-na a-aḫ* ÍD *ik-šu-ud-ma* 14) *it-ta-ša-ab* ÍD *ma-li-ma* 15) *e-bé-ra-am ú-ul i-le* 16) *ù ša-ba-am ú-še-bi-ir-ma* 17) *a-na ma-a-at Ti-gu-na-nim*<sup>ki</sup> 18) *at-tà-ra-ad* 19) *wa-ar-ki ša-bi-im* ÍD 20) *im-ti-ma* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú* 21) *mu-ši-tam-ma i-bi-ru* 22) *wa-ar-ki-šu* ÍD *im-la-ma* 23) *e-bé-ra-am ú-ul e-le* 24) *i-na-an-na* 25) LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú* 26) *a-na ma-a-at Ti-gu-na-nim* 27) *i-te-ru-ub* 28) *ù ki-[a]m iq-bu-nim um-ma-mi* 29) *a-na ma-ti-šu it-ta-al-la-ak*, *ARM* 4, p. 40-1; Wu Yuhong, *A Political ...*, p. 223; Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 98-9. According to Ziegler, this letter was sent after the letter A.562 in which Mašiya at the end of the month *Mana* (VI\*) sends a report to Yasmaḥ-Addu to inform him about the pursuit of the Turukkeans by Išme-Dagan (after Durand, *ibid*).

<sup>64</sup> For the letter, cf. Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 222-3; Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 87-88.

<sup>65</sup> This journey of Yasmaḥ-Addu is dated by Wu Yuhong 21<sup>st</sup> VIII\* *limmu* Aššur-malik: Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 134 and 222. This means that it must have taken place before the departure of Išme-Dagan to Qabrā to gather troops for the campaign on Šikšabbum. If this dating proves to be correct, then the Turukkean revolt in the Habur region must have broken out before the revolt of Lidāya, and the revolt of Lidāya was instigated by that of the Habur, not *vice versa*. Nevertheless, this seems not to be the case (see further the discussion below).

the latter was in Tuttul. In this same letter, Šamši-Adad asks his son to recruit a certain Zimrānum to raid Yamḥad, the territory of Sumu-Epuḥ. This may indicate that Yasmaḥ-Addu's presence in Tuttul was the same occasion when he went there to protect Tuttul from Sumu-Epuḥ's raids. Villard, followed by Wu Yuhong, has put these events in the *limmu* Aššur-malik in the following sequence: in VII\* Yasmaḥ-Addu reported the raids by Sumu-Epuḥ and Išhi-Addu wrote to him about the news of Sumu-Epuḥ dispensing help to the Turukkeans; 15 VII\* Šamši-Adad ordered Yasmaḥ-Addu to go to Tuttul; 21 VIII\* Išme-Dagan mentioned the journey of Yasmaḥ-Addu to Tuttul and the raid of the Turukkeans in Tiginānum.<sup>66</sup> However, according to the reconstruction of the events round Amursakkum and Tiginānum presented later by Charpin<sup>67</sup> and Charpin and Ziegler,<sup>68</sup> the *limmu* Awīlīya should be the correct date; Eidem proposed a later date, after the *limmu* Adad-bāni.<sup>69</sup>

Without going too deep into this complicated issue, which has been touched upon several times,<sup>70</sup> I would call attention to an important point to support the date given by Charpin. The Turukkean revolt broke out in the core of the kingdom, close to the capital Šubat-Enlil and posed a serious threat to the very existence of the kingdom. If this was in the *limmu* Aššur-malik – especially the events in Tiginānum, dated by Wu Yuhong to month VIII\* of that *limmu* -, how could it be that Išme-Dagan, under such urgent circumstances demanding the fullest priority attention, gathered troops in Qabrā on the other side of the kingdom to attack Šikšabbum, also in the spring months of Aššur-malik? When Šikšabbum was conquered Kuwari was still in power and Lidāya had not yet risen up and destroyed the two cities in Utūm. This means that it is impossible to date the revolt in the Habur before that of Utūm. Thus, it cannot be dated to early or middle Aššur-malik. Late autumn or early winter is indicated for the events round Amursakkum because of the rain mentioned in the letter (see Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177), later than the events in Qabrā and Šikšabbum. So the revolt began at the end of Aššur-malik, certainly after the conquest of Šikšabbum, and lasted until Awīlīya.

The letter (*ARM* 4, 76) mentioned above reads:

<sup>66</sup> For the complete list of events and the associated texts, cf. Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 134. For the assignment of the related letters to the eponymy of Aššur-malik, cf. Wu Yuhong, p. 133, 142; Wu Yuhong, *JAC* 8 (1993), p. 114; Villard, P., "Documents pour l'histoire du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie III," *MARI* 6, Paris, 1990, p. 580-1. Note that Villard puts the war round Šikšabbum at the same time as the Turukkean revolt: *op. cit.*, p. 581.

<sup>67</sup> Charpin, *OBO*, p. 177; but note that Charpin dates it to the end of month I\* of this *limmu*, thus the beginning of the revolt might have begun at the end of Aššur-malik.

<sup>68</sup> Charpin, D. and N. Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 112 and 114f.

<sup>69</sup> Eidem, "From the Zagros to Aleppo . . . .," *Akkadiaca* 81 (1993), p. 26.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. for instance Eidem, *Akkadiaca* 81, p. 23ff; Villard, *MARI* 6, *op. cit.*; Villard, "La mort de Sūmu-Epuḥ et . . .," *NABU* 1993, no. 119; Eidem, J., "Sūmu-Epuḥ- A Stretcher-case?," *NABU* 1994, no. 10; and for the reign of Yasmaḥ-Addu, the death of Sumu-Epuḥ, and the end of reign of Šamši-Adad in general, cf. R. Whiting, M. Anbar, D. Charpin & J.-M. Durand, and M. de Jong Ellis (for these bibliographical references cf. Eidem, *Akkadica*, p. 27). One of the problems with the chronology discussed in the above literature is letter A.1314, in which Yarim-Lim claimed to have saved Dēr and Babylon 15 years earlier and Diniktum some 12 years earlier. This has been taken as a chronological marker for the events before and after. It has caused confusion about the date of his accession, the death of his father, the length of the reign of Yasmaḥ-Addu and the related issues. To resolve the problems raised by this, some (such as Sasson in Sasson, J., "Yarim-Lim's War Declaration," *Miscellanea Babylonica, mélanges offerts a Maurice Birot*, Paris, 1985, p. 237-55) have argued that the letter is fictitious. However, a simpler solution can be found: Yarim-Lim could have done what he claims in the letter when he was still crown-prince not necessarily king. We know that crown-princes were in charge of important missions, campaigns and duties, and that they were installed as provincial governors, firstly to consolidate their position, and secondly to train them to become capable kings. In this case we would have two different dates: we are no longer compelled to combine the dates he claims for his accomplishments and the date of his accession.

**Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 4, 76)**

[I listened to] your tablet you sent to me. You wrote to me: "In the beginning<sup>71</sup> of [m]a[grānum (=IX\*)]<sup>72</sup> I ca[me from] Mari [to] fortify Tu[ttul]." You wrote [this] to me.<sup>73</sup>

Then, after 24 lines, the letter resumes:

Days ago, Asdi-Takim intended to go to Ḥamša to you so I dispatched the army with Amur-Aššur and Išar-Lim to him. Three<sup>74</sup> days before the army could cross over the Tigris, Asdi-Takim heard of it and retreated to his land. The (surviving) Turukkeans are staying in the land of Tiguṇānum. The refugees who fled to me tell me: "They are starving and intend to depart for their land. When they collect their travel provision, they will depart for their land." The refugees tell [me] that. I am well. The army is well. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of Addarum (VIII\*) on the day I have Mašiya bring this tablet of mine to you.<sup>75</sup>

Letter ARM 4, 76 seems to be earlier than ARM 4, 24; the former reports the looting of a village by the Turukkeans in the region of Tiguṇānum, while in the latter they waited to prepare provisions for the journey back home. Since they themselves did not have the necessary provisions they decided to loot the village:

**Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (ARM 4, 24)**

As for the news of the Turukkeans about which you wrote to me, the Turukkeans stay in the land of Tiguṇānum. Formerly they starved and went to the land of Ḥirbazānum.<sup>76</sup> The village of Talzur<sup>77</sup> made peace with them but they killed a noble of that village.<sup>78</sup> They took his people and property. That was a mountainous village without resources.<sup>79</sup> The Turukkeans hardly took the food of five<sup>80</sup> days from that village. After that village had made peace with them, they took it. That land which

<sup>71</sup> Durand does not rule out reading this line as *a-na re-eš* IT[I-m]a a[n!-ni-im], "in the end of this month;" he notes that *rēš warḥim* means the beginning or the end of a month: Durand, *LPO I*, p. 130.

<sup>72</sup> Wu Yuhong has VII\*, cf. Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

<sup>73</sup> 5) *tup-pa-ka ša tu-š[a-bi-lam eš-me]* 6) *ki-a-am ta-aš-pu-r[a-a]m a[t-t[a-m]a* 7) *a-na re-eš* I[TI m]a-a[g-ra-nim] 8) *[a-na ] e-pé-éš* [URU] *Tu-[ut-ut-ul]*<sup>ki</sup> 9) *[iš-tu] Ma-ri<sup>ki</sup> at<sup>l</sup>-ta-al-l[a!-ak an-ni-tam] ta-aš-pu-ra-am*, ARM 4, 76, p. 108-9; Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 224; restoration of l. 7-9 by: Durand, *LPO I*, p. 128-31.

<sup>74</sup> Or 2 according to Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>75</sup> 33) *š[a-ni-tam i-n]a pa-ni-ka<sup>l</sup> As-di-ta-ki-[im]* 34) *a-na Ḥa-am-ša-a<sup>ki</sup> pa-ni-šu [i]š-ku-nam-ma* 35) *š[a-ba]-am it-ti A-mur<sup>d</sup>A-šur* 36) *ù I-šar-li-im a-na pa-ni-[i]a a[t]-ru-ud* 37) U<sub>4</sub> 3.KAM *la-ma ša-bu-um* <sup>l</sup>ID[IG]NA *i-ib-[b]i-ru* 38) <sup>m</sup>*As-di-ta-k[i-i]m iš-me-ma* 39) *a-na ma-ti-šu [i]p-ta-t[ā]-a[r]* 40) *ù LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-ku-ù i-na ma-a-at Ti-gu-na-anim<sup>ki</sup>ma* 41) *wa-aš-bu mu-un-na-ab-[t]u ša in-na-bi-tu-[n]im-ma* 42) *ki-a-am i-da-bu-bu-nim um-ma-mi bé-ru-ù-[ma]* 43) *ù a-na at-lu-ki-im-ma a-na ma-ti-šu-[nu]* 44) *pa-nu-šu-nu ša-ak-nu ší-di-is-sú-nu ú-p[a-ḥa-ru-ma]* 45) *a-na ma-ti-šu-nu it-ta-la-ku* 46) *an-né-e-tim mu-un-na-a[b]-tu i-da-bu-b[u-nim]* 47) *ša-al-ma-ku ša-bu-um ša-lim* 48) ITI VIII U<sub>4</sub> 21.KAM BA.ZAL 49) *u<sub>4</sub>-mu-um Ma-ši-ia tup-pí an-né<sup>r</sup>e<sup>l</sup>[em]* 50) *ú-ša-bi-la-kum*, ARM 4, 76, 106-9; Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 224-5; restorations and corrections of l. 33-34; 36-37 and 44 by Durand, *LPO I*, p. 128-31.

<sup>76</sup> Ḥirbazānum is also mentioned in a text from Leylān that lists booty. It is identified with Ḥuršanum, close to Eluḥut and Tiguṇānum, somewhere north-northwest of the Habur Basin, by Eidem in *SHA 2*, p. 20. According to Durand, its attestation in the correspondence of Ibāl-Addu (XXVIII, 57) as Ḥirmensānum implies that its original name was Ḥirm/ban/zzānum: Durand, *LPO II*, p. 100 a. He further conjectures that the name can be in some way related to Ḥurmiš (land or city) and Ḥirmaš (river?) and that Ḥi/urm- or Ḥi/urb was the basic root in the formation of the name of the western part of Tūr<sup>c</sup>Abdīn; cf. *ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> This village's name was left as [x x]-zu-ri-yu<sup>ki</sup> by Dossin in ARM 4; Wu Yuhong restored it as [U]z<sup>2</sup>-zu-ri-yu<sup>ki</sup>: Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 225. But Durand reads *Ta<sup>2</sup>-al<sup>2</sup>-zu-ri-yu<sup>ki</sup>*: *LPO II*, p. 99 and 100 b; he thinks it was the name of a village or a province (valley?) of Ḥirbazānum.

<sup>78</sup> Durand translates, "they killed (no less) than every male of this village," cf. Durand, *LPO II*, p. 99.

<sup>79</sup> This is Durand's restoration and translation; Wu Yuhong has: "That village was robbed [...]," *ibid.* Durand's translation of *šaddūwa* as "mountainous," is based on the equation of the word with Sumerian LÚ.ḤUR.SAĜ in the OB series LÚ (in *MSL 12*, p. 186: 32); cf. Durand, *LPO II*, p. 100 d.

<sup>80</sup> Dossin has 4 days in ARM 4, 24, p. 42.

had turned its attention to them has become tough. It has come into conflict with them. The Turukkeans are still starving. They have no food.<sup>81</sup> They are staying in the land of Tigonānum.<sup>82</sup>

### *The Turukkean Revolt Calms*

With the end of the winter Sumu-Epuḫ succeeded in conquering two border fortresses of Šamšī-Adad, Dūr-Addu and Dūr-Samsi-Addu, separating the two kingdoms on the Euphrates some 20 km to the north of Emar.<sup>83</sup> However, his unexpected death gave the advantage to Šamšī-Adad, because it seems that the Turukkeans lost the support they had had from Yamḫad, of which Sumu-Epuḫ had boasted. That support for the Turukkeans is mentioned in a letter sent by Išḫi-Adad, the king of Qatna, to Yasmaḫ-Addu:

#### **Išḫi-Addu to Yasmaḫ-Addu (ARM 5, 17+A.1882)**

Sumu-Epuḫ keeps sending the Nuzu<sup>84</sup> men and messengers to all the land, saying: "I gathered the Turukkeans and sent the troops into Turukkum. I defeated Šamšī-Adad and plundered his land." He keeps sending this message.

Previously, when the Turukkean rebelled in the land, you (pl.) would hold your (pl.) envoys and my envoys there. You (pl.) would not allow merchants to come up to here.

What is the matter? Why can I not know about your success or failure?<sup>85</sup>

It is important to call attention to several points; Sumu-Epuḫ was one of the main instigators of the Turukkean revolt and he had supported them with troops. The addition of these troops to the Turukkeans themselves and the assumed local groups that joined the revolt would greatly have enhanced the power and danger of the revolt. But no mention of Yamḫadite troops is found in the letters sent to Yasmaḫ-Addu from the front. If the claim of Sumu-Epuḫ were true, he must have sent a small contingent that was not worth mentioning. The Turukkeans for their part benefited from the conflict between the two powerful kingdoms, but the death of Sumu-Epuḫ (VIII\* Awīlīya)<sup>86</sup> must have been a catastrophe for them. Further, the benefit Sumu-Epuḫ gained from his support was more than mere revenge

<sup>81</sup> Durand translates *mākalum* "place where one finds food" instead of just "food," cf. Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 100 and 101 f.

<sup>82</sup> 5) a[š-šu]m te-em LÚ Tu-ru-ki-i 6) [ša] ta-aš-pu-ra-am 7) [LÚ.MEŠ] Tu-ru-k[u]-ú i-na ma-a-at Ti-g[u-n]a-[n]im<sup>k</sup>[i]-m[a] 8) wa-aš-bu [i-na] pa-ni-tim ib-r[u-m]a 9) a-na ma-a-at Ḫi-ir-ba-za-nim<sup>ki</sup> il-li-ku-ma 10) [ka-ap-r]u-u[m] [U]z<sup>7</sup>-zu-ri-yu<sup>ki</sup> 11) [i-t-t]i-š-u-nu [i]s-li-im-ma 12) zi-ka-ra-am šum-šu [š]a k[ap]-ri-i[m] ša-ti i-du-ku 13) ni-ši.MEŠ [ù b]a-ši-is-šú il-qú-ú 14) kap-r[u-um] šu-ú ša-ad-du w[a-be-r]i 15) i-na-[d]a-an-na LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-k[u]-ú 16) [a]-ka-al U<sub>4</sub>.KAM i-na kap-ri-im ša-ti 17) [i]l-qú-ú iš-tu kap-ri-im šu-ú 18) [i]t-ti-š-u-nu is-li-mu-ma 19) il-qú-šú 20) ma-a-tum an-ni-tum 21) [š]a a-na še-ri-šú-nu 22) ú-zu-un-ša tu-ur-ra-at 23) id-da-ni-in it-ti-šú-nu it-ta-ki-ir 24) ù LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-ku-ú 25) bi-te-ru-ú ma-ka-lam ú-ul i-šú-ú 26) ù i-na ma-a-at Ti-gu-na-nim<sup>ki</sup>-ma 27) wa-aš-bu, Dossin, *ARM* 4, 24, p. 42; Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 225 (restorations/corrections in l. 10 and 17 follow Wu Yuhong); restorations of l. 14 and 16 follow Durand in Durand, *LAPO* II, no. 506, p. 99-100.

<sup>83</sup> Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 118.

<sup>84</sup> To Durand these *Nuz/šú* were individuals hired out their service to the king, like many such groups, who wandering throughout the Near East with their families and were hired as needed by other kings and rulers. He thinks that this group, with certain skills in warfare or artisanship, later gave its name to the city of Gasur in the east and changed it to Nuzu/i, cf. Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 375-6. Whether it is correct to attribute the name of a large Hurrian city in the east to a small group of wandering mercenaries of unknown origin must be doubtful.

<sup>85</sup> 3) <sup>m</sup>Su-mu-e-pu-uh Nu-zé-e 4) ù LÚ mu-ba-si-ri a-na ma-tim ka-li-ša 5) [i]š-ta-na-ap-pa-ar u[m]-m[a-a-mi] 6) Tu-ru-ka-am ú-pa-ah-ḫi-ir-ma 7) ša-ba-a[m a-n]a li-ib-bi Tu-ru-ki-im ú-še-ri-ib-ma 8) [d]a-aw-da-am ša <sup>a</sup>UTU-ši-<sup>9</sup>IM a-du-uk 9) ù ma-at-sú aš-ḫi-it an-ni-tam iš-ta-na-pa-ar .... 16) i-na pa-ni-tim i-nu-ma Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú-um 17) i-na li-ib-bi ma-tim ik-ki-ru 18) DUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri-ku-nu ù DUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri-ia 19) aš-ra-nu-um-ma ta-ka-la-a DUMU.MEŠ DAM.GÀR 20) ša an-ni-iš i-il-li-a-am ú-ul ta-na-ad-di-na ..... 27) ma-mi-nu-um a-wa-tum am-mi-nim 28) i-na du-um-qi-ku-nu ù i-na lu-um-[ni-ku]-nu 30) a-na-ku la i-di, Durand, *MARI* 5, p. 167-9.

<sup>86</sup> Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 112.



or acquiring advantage points; he harvested the two border fortresses of Šamši-Adad's kingdom on the Euphrates, most likely the same two where building was reported in fragment C of MEC in *limmu* Ibni-Adad (II).<sup>87</sup> The last point to be noted is the mention of the previous revolt of the Turukkeans *ina libbi mātim*. This implies that even the first revolt broke out in the Habur area, and has nothing to do with the defeat of those Turukkeans who joined Yašub-Addu of Aḫazum.

Another “going out” of the Turukkeans is reported in letter *ARM* 4, 21, when they went to get salt but also took cattle and captives by sending raiders into the land:

**Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 4, 21)**

The enemy, the Turukkeans, went out and arrived at the country here. They took salt<sup>88</sup> and then sent the raiding squads into the land and they took cattle and captives. During this invasion nothing was too big and they took away (everything) indeed. They began to leave. I will investigate and write news to you.<sup>89</sup>

The phrase “they began to leave” hardly means leaving for their country. Rather Išme-Dagan seems to mean leaving the territory they had just invaded. Another letter makes an important allusion to negotiations between the two parties for peace. The Turukkeans asked for hostages but Išme-Dagan refused:

**Išme-Dagan to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM* 4, 22)**

As to the news of the Turukkean for which you wrote to me, their news keeps changing so that until now I cannot write true information to [you]. Their terms that were taken for peace have become troublesome. They want Yantakim, Lu-Ninsianna, Watir-Nannum and (other) high ranking men. Then they wrote to me: “Since you will not give us these hostages, tomorrow or the day after tomorrow we will depart for wherever we want.” Whether they will stay there or go where they want, who can know? [...]. In the district where you are staying, be alert!<sup>90</sup>

This letter also shows that it was the Turukkeans who took the initiative in this phase. They could depart and penetrate the territory whenever they wanted and were not too eager to make peace. This can be of course in part a psychological warfare, but the events reflected in the later letters show that Išme-Dagan was undergoing a really difficult time (see below). It seems that the Turukkeans could mislead the intelligence of Išme-Dagan very well, so he could not determine which report is true to send to his brother. The letter does not show any sign of weakness among the Turukkeans; on the contrary, even the usual “rejoice!” of the former letters is replaced now by “be alert!” and “do not worry!” In the light of such a report,

<sup>87</sup> According to the restoration of Durand, in this year Šamši-Adad built the two border fortresses Dūr-Adad and Dūr-Šamši-Adad in the territory of Yamḥad and defeated [Sumu-Epiḥ?]: 5') BĀD.<sup>d</sup>[IM<sup>ki</sup>] 6') ù BĀD.<sup>d</sup>UTU-ši-<sup>d</sup>I[M<sup>ki</sup>] 7') *i-na da-ad-mi ib-[ta-ni]* 8') *da-aw-da-am š[a Su-mu-e-pu-uh]* 9') *i-na ta-ri-š[u i-du-uk]*, Durand, J.-M., “Documents pour l’histoire du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie II\*,” *MARI* 6, p. 274.

<sup>88</sup> According to Durand, this salt was taken from the south of Sinjār: Durand, *LPO* II, p. 84.

<sup>89</sup> 5) *na-ak-rum Tu-ru-[uk-ku-ú]* 6) *ú-šú-ma a-na m[a-a-tim]* 7) *[i]k-šu-[d]u-n[im]* 8) MUN<sub>x</sub> (U+TIM) *il-qú-[ú-ma] il-qu-[ú-ma]* 9) ù *sa-ad-[da-am]* 10) *a-na li-ib-b[i ma-a-tim]* 11) *ú-wa-aš-še-ru-[nim]* 12) GU<sub>4</sub>.ḪÁ ù *ša-a[l-la-tam]* 13) *il-qú-[ú]* 14) *i[š-t]u a-la-ki-im an-[ni-im]* 15) *mi-nu-um ú-ul ra-bi-b[u]* 16) *wu-di i-ṭi-ru* 17) *ir-tú-bu a-ta-lu-[ka-am]* 18) *áš-ta-al-ma te<sub>4</sub>-ma-am* 19) *a-ša-ap-pa-ra-kum*, Wu Yuhong, p. 232; restorations by Durand, *LPO* II, p. 84. For the writing of MUN<sub>x</sub> as U+TIM, cf. *CAD* vol. T, p. 11.

<sup>90</sup> 5) *aš-šum te<sub>4</sub>-em LÚ Tu-ru-ki-i* 6) *ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am* 7) *te<sub>4</sub>-em-šu-nu it-ta-na-ki-ir* 8) *i-na ki-a-am a-di i-na-an-na* 9) *ta-ki-it-t[am]* 10) *ú-ul a-ša-ap-pa-[ra-kum]* 11) *a-wa-ti-šu-[nu]* 12) *ša a-na sa-li-mi-[im]* 13) *ša-ab-t[u]* 14) *it-ta-at-la-[ka]* 15) <sup>m</sup>*Ia-an-ta-ki-i[m]* 16) <sup>m</sup>LÚ.<sup>d</sup>NIN.SI<sub>4</sub>.AN.NA 17) <sup>m</sup>*Wa-ti-ir-Na-nam* 18) ù LÚ.MEŠ *ra-ab-bu-tim-ma* 19) *i-ḫa-ku-ú ù ki-a-am iš-pu-ru-nim* 20) *um-ma-mi iš-tu li-ṭi an-nu-tim* 21) *la ta-na-di-nam* 22) *ur-ra-am ú-lú ul-liti-iš* 23) *a-šar at-lu-ki-im ni-it-ta-la-ak* 24) *aš-ra-nu-um li-iš-bu-[nim-ma]* 25) ù *a-šar at-lu-ki-im* 26) *[I]i-it-ta-al-[ku]* 27) *[ma-an]-<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> lu i-[de]* 28) *[i-na ḫ]a-al-ši-[ka]* 29) *ša wa-aš-ba-at te<sub>4</sub>-em-ka lu ša-bi-it*, Wu Yuhong, p. 232; restorations and corrections of l. 5; 14; 16; 24 and 27 by Durand, *LPO* II, p. 93.

the conclusion drawn by Eidem, that the revolt was put to an end depending on *ARM 1, 53+M.7346* which relates that *tēm Turukkī* is performed and the campaign against Zalmaqum could begin,<sup>91</sup> must be revised. The letter does not explicitly state that the affair of the Turukkeans has been brought to an end; rather, according to the translation Durand gives, Šamšī-Adad says that his foremost aim is to bring the affair to an end, and then he will move towards Zalmaqum.<sup>92</sup> This clearly means that he expected a quick end to the troubles. Though he seems to have failed in that, the danger was at least reduced, as Charpin and Durand suggest.<sup>93</sup>

**Šamšī-Adad to Yasmaḥ-Addu (*ARM 1, 53+M.7346*)**

About the army which is with you,<sup>94</sup> I have once written to you to dispatch it to me. Dispatch that army to me immediately! You, stay in Mammagira<sup>95</sup> with the rest of that army which you keep with you! Neither your stay in <Ša> Pānāzum, nor in Talḥayum please (me). Mammagira is best for your stay. Another thing, I have written to withdraw<sup>96</sup> my army staying in Babylon and that army has been withdrawn. With that army there is a 3,000-man Ešnunnean army with Ištar (goddesses). This army and those that have reached me and those troops will join with the army here. The force(s), these and those, are gathering and the affair of the Turukkeans will soon be settled. After the affair of the Turukkeans has been settled I will lead troops and come up to Zalmaqum. However, we are going to settle the affair of the Turukkeans and then the expedition to the upper land will be executed. May you know this! On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of Kinunum (II\*) I am sending this tablet of mine to you.<sup>97</sup>

Thus, the revolt was brought to an end, or in fact calmed, not by the arms of Išme-Dagan but by those of an old enemy, the Gutians. The Gutians offered a priceless gift to Išme-Dagan and Šamšī-Adad when they troubled the Turukkeans again in the Zagros and forced them to retreat from the Habur and the surroundings, as we learn from letter A.4197.<sup>98</sup> Did the Gutians move without any intention of serving Šamšī-Adad, or were they perhaps prompted

<sup>91</sup> Eidem, *ShA 2*, p. 21.

<sup>92</sup> The translation of Durand is “As soon as that is done, I will take the lead of the armies and go up to Zalmaqum. For now, we will arrange the affair of the Turukkeans, then the expedition to the Upper Land,” cf. Durand, *LPO II*, p. 58.

<sup>93</sup> Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim,” *MARI 4*, Paris, 1985, p. 318.

<sup>94</sup> Wu Yuhong has “the army under you,” *op. cit.*, p. 255; however, Durand has “the army which is released from your command,” according to his own restoration of the last word of l. 4 as *w[a-aš-šu-r]u*; cf. *LPO II*, p. 58 and note 128.

<sup>95</sup> For the location of this GN in the northwest, close to Nusybin (Finet, *ARMT 15*, 135), or in the springs at the source of the Habur, opposite Ra’s al-<sup>c</sup>Ain (Hallo, *JCS 18*, 75b), cf. Groneberg, *RGTC 3*, p. 157.

<sup>96</sup> The Akkadian verb *šupturu* (l. 14) is translated by Durand as “release” and by Wu Yuhong as “withdraw.” Both translations are admissible, but the most fitting meaning in this context is “to relieve from work assignment (here, “duty”),” cf. *CAD*, vol. P, p. 301. The troops with Yasmaḥ-Addu were of course on duty as were those in Babylon, and Šamšī-Adad asked to be relieved from the duty and get a new one.

<sup>97</sup> 4) *aš-šum ša-bi-im ša i-na ma-aḥ-ri-ka w[a-aš-šu-r]u* 5) *wu-di a-na še-ri-ia ta-ra-as-sú* 6) *aš-pu-ra-ak-kum ar-ḥi-iš ša-ba-am ša-a-ti* 7) *a-na še-ri-ia tu-ur-dam* 8) *ù at-ta qa-du-um ši-ta-at ša-bi-im ša-a-ti* 9) *ša i-na ma-aḥ-ri-ka ta-ka-al-lu-ú* 10) *i-na Ma-am-ma-gi-ra<sup>ki</sup> ši-ib i-na Pa-a-na-ši-i[m<sup>ki</sup>]* 11) *ù Ta-al-ḥa-yi<sup>ki</sup> [w]a-ša-ab-ka i-na-am* 12) *ú-ul ma-ḥi-ir Ma-[a]m-ma-gi-ra-ma<sup>ki</sup>* 13) *[a-n]a wa-ša-bi-ka d[a-m]i-iq* 14) *ša-ni-tam aš-šum šu-up-tu-ur ša-bi-ia ša i-na KÁ.DINGIR.[RA<sup>ki</sup>]* 15) *wa-aš-bu aš-pu-ur-ma ša-ba-am ša-a-ti* 16) *ip-ta-at-ru-nim it-ti ša-bi-im ša-ti* 17) *3 li-mi ša-bu-um LÚ Eš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup>* 18) *it-ti iš-ta-ra-tim ša-bu-um an-nu-ú-um* 19) *ù an-nu-ú-um ik-ta-áš-da-am-ma* 20) *ša-bu-um šu-ú it-ti ša-bi-im* 21) *ša an-na-nu-um in-ne-mi-id-ma* 22) *e-mu-ḡu-um an-nu-tum* 23) *i-pa-aḥ-ḥu-ru-ma* 24) *ar-ḥi-iš te-em LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-ki-i* 25) *in-ne-ep-pé-eš* 26) *iš-tu te-em LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-uk-ki-i* 27) *it-te-en-pé-šu* 28) *pa-an um-ma-na-tim a-ša-ab-ba-at-ma* 29) *a-na ma-a-at Za-al-ma-ḡi-im<sup>ki</sup>* 30) *e-el-le-em i-na-an-na-ma* 31) *te-em LÚ.MEŠ Tu-<ru>uk-ki-i* 32) *in-ne-ep-pé-eš* 33) *ù te-em KASKAL ma-a-tim e-li-tim* 34) *in-ne-ep-pé-e[š]* 35) *an-ni-tam lu-ú te-de* 36) *ITU Ki-nu-nim UD.3.KAM BA.ZA[L-ma]* 37) *tup-pi an-ni-a-am* 38) *ú-ša-bi-la-ak-kum*, Wu Yuhong, *op. cit.*, p. 255-6; restoration of l. 4 by Durand, *LPO II*, p. 58-9.

<sup>98</sup> Van Koppen, *op. cit.*, p. 426 and 427; Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

by him, as Eidem and Læssøe tentatively suggest?<sup>99</sup> Whatever the case may have been, letter A.4197 points to the calm that settled in the regions of Šubat-Enlil, Razama, Ažuḫinum, Šudā and Nurrugum, and the return of Adal-šenni to Burundu in the north.<sup>100</sup> This can be dated to the end of *limmu* Adad-bāni or the beginning of Nīmer-Sīn, when the campaign against Zalmaqum could begin.<sup>101</sup> The phrase “returned back to Burundu,” after the departure of the Turukkeans mentioned above, must be understood to mean that Adal-šenni was cooperating with the Turukkeans in their revolt. When the revolt had calmed his work was finished, or rather was postponed and he returned to his capital. This king fought Išme-Dagan and his father Šamšī-Adad side by side with the Turukkeans, and this made him an ideal ally of Zimri-Lim and even of the kingdom of Yamḥad, all adversaries of the kingdom of Šamšī-Adad.

More can now be said about Adal-šenni and his kingdom. He was one of the Hurrian kings, who ruled the Hurrian kingdom of Burundum in western Šubartum. The location of Burundu(m) is not precisely known, but the available data point to a location to the north of Talḫayum,<sup>102</sup> on the route that leads to Kaniš,<sup>103</sup> before and close to Ḫaḫḫum.<sup>104</sup> Since the governor of Ašnakkum (Chagar Bazar) was his vassal, it is thought that Burundum was to the northwest of Ida-maraš, on its periphery and bordering Eluḫut (indicated by the war between them), not far from Zalmaqum.<sup>105</sup>

In a letter of Adal-šenni to the king of the Lullu (*ARM* 28, 43), who was in Burundum with his troops in the first year of Zimri-Lim, he spoke about the new king of Mari (Zimri-Lim) as equal to him. However, later in the two letters of Zakura-abum, the terms father and son replace the terms indicating parity.<sup>106</sup> The presence of the Lullu troops in Burundum was very likely after the departure of the Turukkeans and lasted until the first year(s) of Zimri-Lim’s reign, as the letter indicates. The kingdom of Burundum was seemingly powerful and important in Ida-maraš, on one occasion being able to mobilize 8,000 troops.<sup>107</sup> Adal-šenni’s influence is seen in his imposition of vassaldom on the governor of Ašnakkum, which he conquered in ZL 1. The vassaldom of the city to Burundum is clearly indicated in the letter of Zakura-abum to Zimri-Lim: “Yaḫmuš-El, the governor of Ašnakkum, [*servant*] of Adal-šenni wrote me as follows....”<sup>108</sup> Although it was Adal-šenni who laid siege to the city and conquered it, most probably aided by the Turukkeans,<sup>109</sup> Zimri-Lim, as lord of Burundum, claimed the victory for himself in a later text.<sup>110</sup> There is also a report about war between Burundum and Eluḫut in the second half of the reign of Zimri-Lim. The circumstance that led to this war was a power vacuum in both Šinamum and Tušḫum, which came under the influence of Eluḫut. However, the two cities were instigated to revolt by Itūr-Asdu, a Mari

<sup>99</sup> Eidem and Læssøe, *ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> Van Koppen, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

<sup>101</sup> Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “La prise du pouvoir...,” *MARI* 4, p. 316.

<sup>102</sup> Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 273; Guichard, M., “Le Šubartum occidental à l’avènement de Zimri-Lim,” *FM* VI, p. 149. According to Mareello, basing himself on a report about Burundum’s involvement in the affairs of Razama and its region as stated in a study of Finet, it was close to Razama; cf. Mareello, “Liqtum, reine du Burundum,” *MARI* 8, p. 457.

<sup>103</sup> Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>104</sup> Barjamovic, *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, p. 97; 103.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 150-1. This is also the case in a late letter by Ibāl-Addu (*ARM* 28, 60), who describes the king of Burundum as the “son” of Zimri-Lim, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 151 and note 125.

<sup>107</sup> This according to the unpublished text A.851, cf. Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 150 and note 120.

<sup>108</sup> A.2436-unpublished: 19) [Ia-a]ḫ-mu-uš-AN LÚ ša-pi-tum ša Aš-na-ak-ki-i[m<sup>ki</sup>] 20) [ĪR A]dal-še-en<sub>6</sub>-ni ke-em iš-pu-ra-an-ni, Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>109</sup> Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

<sup>110</sup> Not only Ašnakkum, but also the conquests of Qirdaḫat, and Kaḫat were all claimed by the army of Zimri-Lim, cf. Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

high official, and as a consequence of the destabilization of the region, under circumstances of which the details are still unknown, the two kingdoms of Burundum and Eluḫut engaged in a military clash that turned out favourably for Eluḫut.<sup>111</sup> Letter A.2436 records the request of Adal-šenni for troops:

**Zakura-abum to Zimri-Lim (FM VI, 7=A.2436)**

Adal-šenni wrote to me as follows: "the E[luḫutean], the Numḫean and the Yamutbalean have made preparations to do battle with me. Entrust to me 1,000 Ḫaneans (= pastoralists) to sit before me." Like the complaint that Adal-šenni made to me, Ḫaduna-Addu of Ḫanzat has written the same to me. And Tarim-natku from Šubat-Enlil has written to me similarly.<sup>112</sup>

It is noted that Šubat-Enlil was in the hands of a governor with a Hurrian name at this time, shortly after the time when Išme-Dagan was expelled from the city. As a result of the defeat of Adal-šenni he withdrew from Ida-maraš, and the country was shared between Qarni-Lim and Zimri-Lim. Guichard notes that after ZL 2 few allusions to Burundum and its king are found in the Mari texts, as a consequence of its withdrawal from Ida-maraš. However, a plan to capture Aḫuna with an army of Zalmaqum before the fall of Mari is reported by an informant of Mari.<sup>113</sup>

Liqtum, the queen of Burundum, was the sister of Zimri-Lim, known from letter M.8161, which she had sent to her brother Zimri-Lim. In the letter, she expresses her absolute satisfaction about Adal-šenni:

**Liqtum to Zimri-Lim (M.8161)**

Say to Zimri-Lim, thus (says) Liqtum, your sister. I am well. Adal-šenni, my lord is well. He has entrusted me his large palace. He has given me much satisfaction. 200 women, singers, weavers (and) stewards, they come and go in my service. They execute my orders and [my directives]. This is [the gift that] Adal-šenni, my lord, [has to]ld [me]....(lacuna) Further, the daughter of Išme-Dagan and the daughter of Bina-Addu of Ya'ilānum are in my service.<sup>114</sup>

It is of historical importance to notice the presence of the daughter of Išme-Dagan and the daughter of Bina-Addu of Ya'ilānum in the palace of Burundum, in the *harem* serving the sister of Zimri-Lim. This is a sign that Burundum contributed to putting an end to the reign of the kingdom of Išme-Dagan in Northern Mesopotamia, by helping Zimri-Lim to restore his rule over Mari. As a reward for this, and to ensure a perpetual alliance with Burundum, Zimri-Lim gave Adal-šenni his sister in marriage.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>111</sup> For this, cf. Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>112</sup> 5') *A-dal-še-e*[n<sub>6</sub>-ni] 6') [ke-e]m iq-bé-em um-ma-mi LÚ 'E'<sup>v</sup>-[lu-ḫu-ut (?) 7') [LÚ Nu]-um-ḫa ù LÚ Ia-mu-ut-ba-a[l] 8') [a-na] <sup>GIS</sup>TUKUL e-pé-ši-im it-ti-ia p[a-nu-š]u-nu 9') [š]a-ak-nu 1 li-im Ḫa-na.MEŠ id-na-am-ma 10') [i]t-ti-ia li-iš-bu a-ḫa-am-ma 11') 'a<sup>1</sup>-dal-še-ni i-ri-ša-an-ni a-ḫa-am-ma 12') <sup>mm</sup>Ḫa-du-na-<sup>d</sup>IM ša Ḫa-an-za-at<sup>ki</sup> i-ša-'pa<sup>1</sup>-ra-am 13') ù a-ḫa-am-ma <sup>m</sup>Ta-ri-im-na-at-ku 14') [ša] Šu-ba-at-<sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL<sup>ki</sup> i-ša-pa-ra-am, Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 131 and 132.

<sup>113</sup> Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>114</sup> 1) [a-n]a Zi-im-ri-Li-i[m] 2) [q]i-bi-ma 3) um-ma <sup>f</sup>Li-iq-tum a-ḫa-at-[ka] 4) ša-al-ma-a-ku 5) <sup>m</sup>A-dal-še-ni be-lí ša-lim 6) é-kál-šu ra-bé-ém a-na qa-ti-[ia] 7) ip-qí-da-am i-ša-ri-iš 8) i-pu-la-an-ni 2 ME MUNUS.MEŠ 9) lu MUNUS NAR.MEŠ lu MUNUS UŠ.BAR.[MEŠ] 10) lu MUNUS.AGRIG.MEŠ a-na qa-ti-i[a] 11) i-la-ka ša pi-ia ù 'e<sup>2</sup>-[pé-eš pi-ia] 12) i-ip-pí-ša a-na zi-ik-[ri<sup>2</sup>-ia<sup>2</sup>] 13) <sup>mmr</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-d[al]-[š[e]-n[i] be-lí-ma 14) [lu-ú iz-ku-r]a-an-[ni..] 4') ša-ni-tam DUMU.MUNUS Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-[gan] 5') ù DUMU.MUNUS DUMU.<sup>d</sup>IM DUMU Ia-i-la-[nim] 6') ma-aḫ-ri-ia wa-aš-b[a], Marello, "Liqtum, reine du Burundum," p. 455-6. According to Guichard's restoration of the broken lines 19'-24', the two daughters were in Kaḫat before Yarim-Addu, and after the "liberation" in the words of Liqtum, Yarim-Addu has given them to serve as priestesses. However, Adal-šenni gave them permanently to her: Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

<sup>115</sup> Marello, *op. cit.*, 457-8.

After Adal-šenni was killed or captured by Šarraya, king of Eluḫut,<sup>116</sup> Edip-ḫuḫ succeeded him to rule Burundum. The name Edip-ḫuḫ may consist of the two elements et/d and ḫuḫ(u). The first is attested in Nuzi PNs,<sup>117</sup> and the second at the end of several Hurrian names discussed in Chapter Four. Edip-ḫuḫ is known from a letter that mentions his ambassador and explicitly styles him king of Burundum: “Tuḫna-adal, the messenger/ambassador of Edip-ḫuḫ, king of Burundi.”<sup>118</sup> The Lulleans who were in Burundum seem to have left the kingdom after Adal-šenni and joined Šadum-adal of Ašlakkā; they are attested there in ZL 3.

*Išme-Dagan Loses, Zimri-Lim Wins!*

The simultaneous revolts of the Turukkeans and the pastoralists<sup>119</sup> in Suḫum and elsewhere must have weakened the empire of Šamšī-Adad. The power and influence of the empire cannot have been the same as before the revolts. After the death of Šamšī-Adad in XII\* *limmu* Ṭab-šilli-Aššur,<sup>120</sup> his son Išme-Dagan assumed the throne. The conditions were far from favourable: his brother Yasmaḫ-Addu was expelled from Mari; the capital Šubat-Enlil was sacked and plundered. Zimri-Lim, the new king of Mari, who replaced Yasmaḫ-Addu, tried to gain control of the city-states of Ida-maraš, whose kings had already been chased off before by Šamšī-Adad. Zimri-Lim sent a circular to its kings and asked them to open the doors of their cities before him. We learn this from a letter (one still sealed and so not actually sent) to the Hurrian-named king of Mardaman, Tiš-ulme. In it he asks for a quick response, after telling him that “everyone entered upon the throne of the house of his father” and all the land had “returned” to his side.<sup>121</sup> Tigunānum was one of the lands which replied positively to Zimri-Lim, as related in a letter stating that its king, Nagatmiš, sent him a letter for which he was reproached by the Eluḫutanes.<sup>122</sup> Negative responses led to a military campaign in the region: Zimri-Lim laid siege to some of the cities and so needed more troops. He requested them from Ibāl-pī-El II (1778-1765 BC) of Ešnunna in a letter styling him as “father (of Zimri-Lim).”<sup>123</sup> One of the cities Zimri-Lim succeeded to conquer was Kaḫat, a victory celebrated by the year-name “The year Zimri-Lim seized Kaḫat.”<sup>124</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Gelb *et. al.*, *NPN*, p. 211.

<sup>118</sup> A.518: 27') *Tu-uh-na-da-al* DUMU *ši-ip-[r]i-im* 28') *ša E-di-ip-ḫu-uh* LUGAL *Bu-ru-u[n-di<sup>ki</sup>]*, Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

<sup>119</sup> Some find the term Bedouin unfitting to designate these groups, since they were not really Bedouin moving with their camels in the desert but pastoral groups breeding cattle in the Euphrates region (personal communication with D. Meijer).

<sup>120</sup> Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 136; 154. His death was announced in the 5<sup>th</sup> year-name of Ibāl-pī-El of Ešnunna, cf. for this Charpin, *OBO*, p. 390.

<sup>121</sup> Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 42-3.

<sup>122</sup> The unpublished letter A.1182 refers also to the time of Yaḫdun-Lim, when Tigunānum was a vassal of Mari: 3') *i-na-an-[na] a-nu-[um-m]a da-aš-ma ša Na-ga-at-mi-iš* 4') *[a-n]a še-er be-lí-ia it-ta-al-[k]am* 5') *b[e]-lí i-ša-ri-iš li-pu-ul-[š]u* 6') *É Ti-gu-na-nim pa-na-nu-um wa-[a]r-ki* 7') *ᵐIa-aḫ-<du>-un-li-im a-bi-ka il-[l]i-ik* 8') *ù ki-ma be-lí a-na ma-a-tim i-lu-ú* 9') *ù Na-ga-at-mi-iš a-na še-er be-lí-ia* 10') *iš-pu-ur-ma* DUMU *ši-ip-ri-šu* 11') LÚ.MEŠ *E-lu-ḫu-ut-ta-yu<sup>ki</sup>* 12') *i-mu-ru-šu-ma* *ù* LÚ.MEŠ *E-lu-ḫu-ut-ta-yu<sup>ki</sup>* 13') *ki-a-am iq-bu-šu um-ma-a-[mi a]m-m[i-nim]* 14') *a-na še-er Zi-i[m-r]i-[L]i-[im]* 15') *ta-[aš]pu-ur* *ù* *qí-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>r</sup>-ta-š[u]* 16') *uš-te-lu-ú*, “Now, is it a deception that Nagatmiš has come to my lord? Let my lord give him satisfaction! The house of Tigunānum, formerly walked behind Yaḫdun-Lim, your father. And now, when my lord came up to the country, Nagatmiš sent him his messenger. The Eluḫuteans saw his message and said to him: Why have you sent a message to Zimri-Lim and he has been offered a gift?”, Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 50 and note 188.

<sup>123</sup> Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>124</sup> Heimpel, *ibid.*

During the period of recession which the kingdom of Šamšī-Adad and his sons were experiencing, the Turukkeans organized themselves to establish a kingdom with Zaziya at its head. Some 15 years after their revolt in the Habur region and in Utûm, they appeared again as one of the main powers of Northern Mesopotamia and played an undeniably important role. According to the complicated patterns of alliances and declarations of hostilities that mark this period of North Mesopotamian history, they had good relations with some powers and were hostile towards others. An important letter from Ašqudum to his lord Zimri-Lim refers to an occasion in the past when Zimri-Lim carried silver and gold to Zaziya to conciliate him, but Zaziya was still not satisfied. Now, when the letter was written in the end of ZL 2',<sup>125</sup> the relations were good. Unfortunately, we do not know how much earlier that event had occurred,<sup>126</sup> but it shows that the Turukkeans with Zaziya at their head were a considerable power. Even Zimri-Lim, when he had regained control of Mari compared his throne to that of Itabalḫum. He was said to have a throne loftier than that of Itabalḫum, where Zaziya most probably was king.<sup>127</sup> The related section of the letter of Ašqudum is as follows:

**Ašqudum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 27)**

And about the issue of Zaziya [...], my lord understands that Dagan had taken the lead of [the troops]. And he handed the land, all of it, over to my lord. 'Zaziya', to 'whom' my lord carried silver and gold in the past, and who was 'not' agreeable; now 'Dagan' has placed 'good' words between my lord and Zaziya.<sup>128</sup>

When the relations between Mari and Ešnunna became hostile in ZL 2', Zaziya sent a letter to Sammetar, the governor of Terqa, to warn him about the march of 3,000 Ešnunnean troops towards Rapiqum. The information he gave was a reply to a question of Sammetar:<sup>129</sup>

**Zaziya to Sammetar (ARM 28, 178)**

You have written to me about information concerning the troops of Ešnunna. 3,000 men of the troops of Ešnunna with Aḫi-Takim .... (lacuna) "... on way back, the Ešnunnean took (the route) until [...] and continued towards Rapiqum." This is the information I am told. Now, write to your lord, so that he takes his decision. Let him not be negligent about this and that.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>125</sup> For the date of this letter, cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 196, note 214.

<sup>126</sup> Lafont alludes to economic and administrative texts from Mari that concern the exchange of gifts and indicate mutual friendly relations between Mari and Turukkum under Zaziya, but none of these texts is dated. He assumes they were on good terms from ZL 2' onwards: Lafont, B., "La correspondance d'Iddiyatum," *ARM 26/2*, p. 470, note 47.

<sup>127</sup> This is referred to in the unpublished fragment M.13034: ĜIŠ.GU.ZA-šu e-li ĜIŠ.GU.ZA ša I-ta-pa-al-ḫi-im e-le-e-et, "his throne is loftier than the throne of Itapalḫum," cf. Charpin, p. 63, note 94 (referring to a communication by Durand).

<sup>128</sup> 29) ù aš-šum ṭe-em Za-zi-i[a LÚ Tu-ru-ki-im] 30) [b]e-lí li-mu-ur ki-ma <sup>d</sup>Da-gan pa-né [ša-bi-im] 31) ša-ab-tu-ma ù ma-a-tam ka-la-ša 32) a-na q[a-a]t be-lí-ia ú-ma-al-lu-ú 33) <sup>m</sup>Za-zi-[ia] ša pa-na-nu-um KÛ.BABBAR ù KÛ.GI 34) be-lí iš-šu-š[um]-ma [l]a-a im-gu-ru 35) i-na-an-na <sup>d</sup>Da-[gan] a-wa-tim dam-[q]a-tim 36) bi-ri-it be-lí-ia ù Za-zi-ia iš-ku-un, Durand, *ARM 26/1*, p. 158; Heimpel, p. 192.

<sup>129</sup> According to Kupper, the reason why Zaziya contacted Sammetar, not the king, is that Sammetar was in charge of the administration in the palace of Mari, having replaced his lord Zimri-Lim at this time. Zimri-Lim himself was absent from his capital for most of the year 3'; cf. Kupper, *ARM 28*, p. 257.

<sup>130</sup> 4) aš-šum ṭe-em ša-bi-im LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> ta-aš-p[u]-ra-am 5) 3 li-mi-im ša-bu-u[m] LÚ Èš-nun-n[a<sup>ki</sup>] 6) [it-t]i A-ḫi-ta-ki-mi [... ..] ... (Lacuna) ... 1') LÚ È[š]-n[un-na<sup>ki</sup>] i-n]a ta-ri-šu a-d[i.....] 2') i-ša-ab-ba-at-ma a-na Ra-pí-qt-im 3') i-it-ti-iq an-ni-tam ša li-ša-nim iq-bu-[nim] 4') i-na-an-an-na a-na be-lí-ka šu-pu-ur 5') ṭe-em-šu li-iš-ba-at 6') a-na a-wa-tim ši-i la š[i]-i<sup>r</sup> 7') a-aḫ-šu la i-na-ad-di-ma, Kupper, *ARM 28*, p. 259.

Zaziya intervened in the political game with the struggling powers in an attempt to gain a foothold in the region west of the Tigris and replace Zimri-Lim. He did this by messages to the kings Bunu-Eštar of Kurdā, Ḫadnu-rabi of Qaṭṭara, Šarrum-kîma-kalî-ma of Razama of Yamutbal, Zimriya of Šurra and others. We learn this from an extraordinarily long and well-preserved letter sent to Zimri-Lim by his general Yassi-Dagan.<sup>131</sup> The letter gives an overview of the situation. The kings mentioned above were allied to Zimri-Lim, but Zimri-Lim himself was busy with the pastoralists far from his allies. Thus, he was unable to help these allies against the aggression of Ešnunna. The allies were desperate and doubtful towards their lord. What made the situation worse was the disclosure of a secret message their lord had sent with a shepherd to Qarni-Lim of Andarig, an ally of Ešnunna, asking him to perform for him quickly the secret service they know about. A secret mission with the ally of their enemy gave the allies of Zimri-Lim the impression that their lord was making peace with Ešnunna behind their backs. The whole country became afraid according to the letter, and the kings began to resent Zimri-Lim. At that moment, Zaziya, who appears to have had an effective intelligence service and knew every detail of the intrigue, found a great opportunity to split the alliance of Zimri-Lim. In the letter, Yassi-Dagan says:

**Yassi-Dagan to Zimri-Lim (A.1025)**

Zaziya prowls around Ḫadnu-rabi and his land to destroy it.<sup>132</sup>

The general quotes what Zaziya told the kings:

**Yassi-Dagan to Zimri-Lim (A.1025)**

"So, where is Zimri-Lim whom you(pl.) looked for to be your(pl.) father? And you were walking behind him when he let himself be conveyed in a litter. Why, now, has he not come to save you?" These are the words of Zaziya to Bunu-Eštar, Ḫadnu-rabi, Šarrum-kîma-kalî-ma, Zimriya and (other) kings.<sup>133</sup>

All the kings Zaziya approached (at least those whose names are recorded) controlled regions to the west of Nineveh, across the Tigris. If this is significant it suggests an attempt to spread his influence there, and thus safeguard a wide corridor to reach the Habur area, to contact his fellowmen, the Hurrians/Turukkeans of the Habur. That would have been possible only if the territories and cities on the eastern side of the Tigris were secured. The relative absence of cities like Nineveh, Nurrugum, and Kawalḫum in the letters of this phase as military targets may indicate that they were already in Turukkean hands, removed from any struggle for controlling them. Letter *ARM* 26, 517 gives a hint that supports this suggestion, mentioning that Zaziya stayed in Ninêṭ (= Nineveh), although for how long is not known.<sup>134</sup> This intervention of Zaziya can be counted as the prelude to his long series of military and political involvements in the lands across the Tigris (see below).

In the letter of Yassi-Dagan he also tells that the kings believed Zaziya and had begun to slander their lord Zimri-Lim, while Zaziya himself had a non-aggression pact with Ešnunna:

<sup>131</sup> Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>132</sup> 13) LÚ *Za-zi-ia i-ta-at Ḫa-ad-nu-ra-bi* 14) *ù ma-ti-šu <a-na> ḫu-ul-lu-qí-im i-sà-aḫ-ḫu-ur-ma*, Kupper, "Une lettre du Général Yassi-Dagan," *MARI* 6, Paris, 1990, p. 337; Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 146.

<sup>133</sup> 15) *a-li-ma Zi-im-ri-Li-im* 16) *ša a-na a-bu-ti-ku-nu te'-ši-a-šu-ma i-nu-ma šu-ú i-na ḡiṣ nu-ba-lim ra-ak-bu* 17) *at-tu-nu wa-ar-ki-šu ta-al-la-ka am-mi-nim i-na-an-na la il-li-kam-ma* 18) *la ú-še-zi-ib-ku-nu-ti an-né-e-tim Za-zi-ia a-na Bu-nu-eš-tár ḡHa-ad-nu-ra-bi* 19) *ḡ[LU]GAL-ki-ma-ka-li-ma Zi-im-ri-ia ù LUGAL.MEŠ i-ta-wu-ú*, Kupper, *ibid.*; Durand, *ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> The letter is cited below. For the identification of Ninêṭ with Nineveh, cf. Ziegler, N., "The Conquest of the Holy City of Nineveh and the Kingdom of Nurrugûm by Samsî-Addu," *Proceedings of the 49<sup>th</sup> RAI*, London, 7-11 July 2003, Part One, *Iraq* 66 (2004), p. 19f.; Wu Yuhong, "The Localisation of Nurrugum and Ninet=Ninuwa," *NABU* 1994, no. 38.

### Yassi-Dagan to Zimri-Lim (A.1025)

But those do not realize the intentions of this man (= Zaziya). One would say he speaks to them with sincerity, while these are only (evil) plots. They began to slander my lord to Zaziya without realizing that he is telling them lies and he (= Zaziya) has a pact of non-aggression with the prince of Ešnunna.<sup>135</sup>

He also informs Zimri-Lim about the situation among the kings, his allies, after his secret letter to Qarni-Lim became known. When Zaziya received them, together with all the chiefs of divisions/captains<sup>136</sup> and Yassi-Dagan himself, he aroused their doubts more and widened the gulf between them and Zimri-Lim by saying:

### Yassi-Dagan to Zimri-Lim (A.1025)

"What are these things that Zimri-Lim has in mind? Last year he 'came up' to the interior of the land. The kings adopted him as their father and leader and he gave troops to Ḫadnu-rabi. He (=Ḫadnu-rabi) took my cities, attacked my sheep, and committed massacres in the heart of my land.<sup>137</sup> Afterwards the Ešnunnean came up, and Zimri-Lim rose and departed for his land. He did not save you. Now he came up a second time, took the oath with Qarni-Lim and the Ešnunnean, and departed for his land." This is, among other things, what Zaziya told (them) and they bear resentment against my lord. They asked him to go with them to Karanā, but he refused, saying: "He has allied himself to Ḫadnu-rabi, a typical aggressor, so I will fight but I am not going to Karanā. Here I will take an omen. If it will be good, I will fight Ešnunna; otherwise, if the omen I will get is too bad, I will not fight. Instead, I will send a letter to Hammurabi. Reinforcement troops will come up from Babylon; then Zimri-Lim will come and we will fight." These are the plans of the man, but all that he says is deception. He has a pact of non-aggression with Ešnunna.<sup>138</sup>

It is unclear why Zimri-Lim supported Ḫadnu-rabi of Qaṭṭara against Zaziya, for we would have expected good relations as long as both parties had Išme-Dagan as a common enemy. Can we assume that the increasing influence of Zaziya in the Hilly Arc made Zimri-Lim feel concerned about his own influence there? It is possible that Išme-Dagan was

<sup>135</sup> 20) ù [š<sub>u</sub>-nu] a-na te-em LÚ ša-a-tu ú-ul i-qú-ul-lu-ma-tu-ša i-na g[i-mi]-ir-ti li-ib-bi-šu 21) i[d-bu-ub-šu-n]u-ši-im-ma i-ka-aš-ša-ar-ši-na-ti ù ir-tú-pu kar-[š<sub>i</sub>] be-lí-ia a-na Za-zi-ia a-ka-lam 22) ú-[ul i-du-ú] ki-ma i-na bi-ib-la-tim-ma it-ti-šu-nu i-da-ab-b[u-bu] ù it-ti LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> 23) sa-[al-mu], Kupper, *MARI* 6, p. 337-8; Durand, *LPO* II, p. 146-7; restoration of l. 21 by Durand.

<sup>136</sup> 41) 60 A.AN.GAL.KUD.MEŠ ša ma-tim; Durand has "et des chefs de sections du Pays," cf. Durand, *LPO* II, p. 147; Kupper, the first author of the text, has "et 60 capitaines de tout le pays..," cf. Kupper, *MARI*, 6, p. 340.

<sup>137</sup> Heimpel has "and he kept setting snares for me," cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>138</sup> 46) mi-nu-um an-né-e-ta-an ša Zi-im-ri-Li-im 47) iš-ba-tu ša-ad-da-ag-de-em a-na li-i[b]-bi ma-a-tim i-l[e]-i-[m]a 48) LUGAL.MEŠ a-na a-bu-ti-šu-nu ù a-lik pa-na il-qú-wu-šu-ma 49) ša-ba-am a-na Ḫa-ad-nu-ra-bi id-di-in a-la-né-e-ia il-qé 50) UD[U].ḪÁ iš-ḫi-it ù ka-ma-ri i-na li-ib-bi ma-ti-ia iš<sub>x</sub>(=UŠ)-ta-ak-ka-an 51) wa-ar-ka-nu-um LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> i-le-e-em-ma it-bé-e-ma 52) mZi-im-ri-Li-im a-na ma-ti-šu it-ta-la-ak ú-ul ú-še-zi-ib-ku-nu-ti 53) i-na-an-na i-tu-ur i-l[e-e]m-ma it-ti Qar-ni-Li-im 54) ù LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> ni-iš AN-lim ú-za-<<KA->>ak-ki-ir-ma a-na ma-ti-šu 55) [i]t-ta-la-ak an-né-e-tim ù m[a]-da-tim-ma 56) 'ša' mZa-zi-ia id-bu-bu-ma e-li be-lí-ia ne-m[é]-et-tam ir-šu-ú 57) ù aš-šum a-na Ka-ra-na-a<sup>ki</sup> a-la-ki-šu iq-bu-šum-ma ú-ul im-gu-ur 58) um-ma šu-ma it-ti Ḫa-ad-nu-ra-bi ú-ba-nim na-ḫi-ip-tim in-ne-em-mi-id-ma 59) ĞIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ e-ep-pé-eš a-na Ka-ra-na-a<sup>ki</sup> ú-ul a-la-la-ak 60) an-ni-ki-a-am te-re-e-tim ú-še-ep-pé-eš-ma šum-ma te-re-e-tu-ia ša-al-ma 61) ĞIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ it-ti LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> e-ep-pé-eš ú-la-šu-ma te-re-e-tu-ia 62) lu-up-pu-ta ĞIŠ.[TUKUL].MEŠ ú-ul e-ep-pé-eš a-na šer Ḫa-am-mu-ra-[b]i 63) a-ša-ap-pa-ar-ma ša-bu-um te-er-di-tum iš-tu LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> i-il-le-e-em 64) ù Zi-im-ri-Li-im i-ka-aš-ša-d[a]m-ma ĞIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ni-ip-pé-[eš] 65) a[n]-né-e-tim LÚ šu-ú ša-bi-it ù a-wa-tu-šu an-né-e-ta-an 66) ša [i]-ta-wu-ú bi-ib-la-tum-ma it-ti LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> sa-li-im, Kupper, *MARI* 6, p. 338; Durand, *LPO* II, p. 147-8; restorations and corrections of l. 47; 56 and 63 by Durand; note that the KA in the verb of l. 54 seems to be erroneous.



contained at this time and he could not pose a serious danger. Danger threatened from the new rising power that had set its face towards the west, the kingdom of Turukkum. Whatever the case may be, the words of Zaziya worked, for Yassi-Dagan admits:

**Yassi-Dagan to Zimri-Lim (A.1025)**

Now, the kings and the whole country are inflamed (with rage) against my lord. Also Bunu-Eštar rose to tell Zaziya: "Zimri-Lim kept his elite troops and sent to us limp people. With them, we shall die!"<sup>139</sup>

Zaziya cleverly used these kings against Zimri-Lim and showed them that he too was hostile towards their enemy Ešnunna while he had a pact with it. When he promised them to fight Ešnunna, the pact was already in force. That is why he did not make any move, using the pretext of taking a favourable omen.

From Zaziya we learn that Ešnunna advanced a second time, after Zimri-Lim had left the region, but it is not said what exactly happened. Probably Ešnunna conquered or peacefully incorporated Aššur and Ekallātum in ZL 2', an event reported in the letter of Meptum to his lord A.2459:

**Meptum to Zimri-Lim (A.2459)**

After Aššur, Ekallātum and Ešnunna have now become one house.<sup>140</sup>

Whatever the political and tactical intentions of Zaziya's speech to the allies of Zimri-Lim, he was not too far from truth. The next year Ešnunnean troops marched to the northwest, defeated Šarraya<sup>141</sup> of Razama of Yussan and two other neighbouring kingdoms. Kurdā and Qaṭṭara leaned towards Ešnunna (*ARM* 14, 106), although Kurdā refused in the end the peace offer of Ešnunna. After a siege (*ARM* 27, 19) Kurdā could resist the Ešnunneans and chase them all the way to Andarig (*ARM* 27, 16), the ally of Ešnunna.<sup>142</sup> Mari reacted by sending only 200 Ḫanean troops for the support of Kurdā (A.2821), and these arrived only after the victory of Kurdā over the Ešnunneans. The Ešnunneans felt sufficiently free in the region to advance towards Šubat-Enlil as well as Qarni-Lim, where Ešnunna took its share of the household of Šamšī-Adad. After this, the Ešnunneans returned home and celebrated their campaigns by calling the 10<sup>th</sup> year of Ibāl-pî-El the year of the defeat of Šubartum (referring to Šarraya) and Ḫana.<sup>143</sup> In ZL 4', Ešnunna moved again towards the northwest in order to conquer "the land of Šubartum, all of it," according to letter A.2119.<sup>144</sup> However, this time Ešnunna lacked an important ally, Qarni-Lim of Andarig, who had switched loyalty to Mari. Mari successfully formed a wide coalition against Ešnunna, including the kingdoms of the Hilly Arc (Andarig, Qaṭṭara, Allaḥad, Kurdā and others). It included as well the kings of Idamarāš and even Zaziya.<sup>145</sup> Apparently it was because of this coalition that Zimri-Lim could come and save Andarig. The difficult mission of building such a coalition was entrusted to

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<sup>139</sup> 67) *i-na-an-na* LUGAL.MEŠ ù *ma-a-tum ka-lu-ša e-li be-lí-ia-ma na-an-ḫu-<<ZU>>-zu* 68) ù *Bu-nu-eš<sub>4</sub>-tár it-bé-e-ma a-na Za-zi-ia ki-a-am i-da-ab-bu-ub* 69) *um-ma-a-mi Zi-im-ri-Li-im ša-ba-šu dam-qa-am ik-la-ma* 70) *ša-ba-am da-al-la-i a-na še-ri-ni it-ru-dam-ma it-ti-šu-nu ni-ma-at*, Kupper, *MARI* 6, p. 338; Durand, *LPO* II, p. 148-9.

<sup>140</sup> 5) *aš-šu-ur<sup>ki</sup> É-kál-la-tum<sup>ki</sup>* 6) ù *Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> iš-tu-ú i-na-an-na* 7) *a-na bi-tim iš<sub>15</sub>-te-en i-tu-ú-ru*, Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, "Aššur avant l'Assyrie," *MARI* 8, Paris, 1997, p. 387; Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>141</sup> Written also Šarriya; cf. for example letter *ARM* 26, 128 in Durand, *ARM* 26/1, p. 293; see also Heimpel, p. 558.

<sup>142</sup> Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 51-2.

<sup>143</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>144</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

Sammetar, who reconciled the kings Zaziya, Bunu-Eštar, Ḫadnu-rabi and Šarraya with Qarni-Lim in ZL 3'.<sup>146</sup>

### *The Elamite Invasion*

After a few years of calm Zimri-Lim decided to support Elam against Ešnunna in ZL 7'.<sup>147</sup> Once Ešnunna was conquered the way was open for Elam. In ZL 8', while Zimri-Lim was visiting his father-in-law, Yarim-Lim of Yamḫad, he went with Yarim-Lim, their families and retinue on a journey to the shores of the Mediterranean. At this time Elam mustered its troops and penetrated Babylonia and the northwestern territories up to the Habur region.<sup>148</sup>

Around this time, Išme-Dagan became gravely ill and resided for a while in Babylon. He left his son Mut-Aškur<sup>149</sup> behind in Ekallātum. Atamrum of Allaḫad<sup>150</sup> (since ZL 10' also of Andarig)<sup>151</sup> plotted against Išme-Dagan, "tied up" Mut-Aškur and put a certain Ḫammutar in his place. Išme-Dagan went to Hammurabi and then to the Vizier, the king of Elam, who was still in Ešnunna, to get help. Afterwards he seems to have presented him valuable gifts. His going to the king of Elam was perhaps because Atamrum was a vassal of Elam, and he hoped with this that the latter would order Atamrum to reverse the coup.<sup>152</sup> In ZL 9' the Elamite and Ešnunnean troops, led by the Elamite general Kunnam, entered Šubat-Enlil<sup>153</sup> and most of the kings of Ida-maraš showed their allegiance to the Elamite. The kings of Šubartum, the mountainous regions to the north and northwest of Assyria, also apparently showed their allegiance to the Elamite, perhaps from hatred of Išme-Dagan. The first thing they did was to denounce Išme-Dagan to the king of Elam. This we learn from letter *ARM* 26, 384, sent to Zimri-Lim, which relates that Hammurabi made Išme-Dagan address the kings of Šubartum "his brothers" and Zimri-Lim "his father," something humiliating for him:

#### **??? to Zimri-Lim? (*ARM* 26, 384)**

.... This he said to them; and, given that, we entered the palace together, and they (= the Babylonians) greeted them (= the Ekallāteans), and they (= the Ekallāteans) delivered their message as follows: "Your servant Išme-Dagan (says): 'I made myself sick for the hardship of my lord. When the Elamite was the enemy of my lord, the kings of the land of Šubartum denounced me to the Vizier (= the king) of Elam and conducted me to Ešnunna, and the Vizier of Elam scolded me, and I had to be helped out. And when the Elamite besieged the city of Ḫiritum, my lord knows the good things I did for him. I was worried sick about the hardship of my lord. Now I dread the glory of my lord. Zaziya, the Turukkean, 'made incursions' into my land and captured 3, 4 of my cities. He was encroaching on my land. And I wrote to you for troops, but you did not give me troops. And you gave troops to another place'."

Hammurabi spoke to the messengers 'of' [Išme-Dagan] as follows, he (said): "The kings of Šubartum have pointed the finger at your lord, and I wrote to him (= Išme-Dagan) as follows: 'To those kings that write to me as sons you [write] as brother.

<sup>146</sup> Charpin and Ziegler, *FMV*, p. 199 and notes 251 and 252.

<sup>147</sup> This has happened in ZL 7' but appears as a date-formula of ZL 8', cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>148</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>149</sup> According to Durand, this PN should be read Mut-asqur. He derives the name Asqur from *zaqārum*, "to be high," and it was also a divine name: Durand, J.-M., "L'emploi des toponymes dans l'onomastique d'époque Amorrite (I) les noms en *Mut-*," *SEL* 8 (1991), p. 88.

<sup>150</sup> Allaḫad was a city somewhere between Andarig and Karaṇā, cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 114-5.

<sup>152</sup> For details, cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>153</sup> Charpin, D., "Les Elamites a Šubat-Enlil," *Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae, mélanges offerts à M. J. Steve*, eds. L. De Meyer, H. Gasche and F. Vallat, Paris, 1986, p. 129.

To Zimri-Lim who writes to me as brother you write as son.' Is what I wrote to him wrong?" This Hammurabi 'answered them.'<sup>154</sup>

Perhaps from ZL 2' on Zaziya was enjoying a good relationship with Hammurabi of Babylon. This we learn from the letter of Yassi-Dagan cited above, in which it is said that Zaziya told the kings he would ask for troops from Hammurabi to hold back the Ešnunneans if necessary. This good relationship was maintained. Now the letter *ARM* 27, 162 provides evidence that a messenger of Zaziya was in the palace of Hammurabi and that the relationship was not one of parity, because Zaziya styles himself as son of Hammurabi:

**Zimri-Addu to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 27, 162)**

A Turukkean messenger came, and he had the following instructions for Hammurabi (of Babylon): "Since I have written to you as son, now then I shall see who 'among the kings' of the land of Šubartum does not write to 'you' as son." This Zaziya [wrote] Hammurabi.<sup>155</sup>

Does this passage indicate that Zaziya was acting as chief of the kings of Šubartum when checking who is not calling Hammurabi "father"? Or was he pretending to have authority over them in front of Hammurabi to guarantee his support? We do not know.

It is worth mention that there was a Gutian contingent within the Elamite troops invading Šubat-Enlil. They appear in the administrative tablets of Leylān<sup>156</sup> and are also mentioned in several letters of Mari.<sup>157</sup> In the same year ZL 9' an Elamite military encounter with the Gutians is recorded.<sup>158</sup> According to a letter of Ibāl-pî-El (*ARM* 2, 26), when the Elamite troops returned from the land of the Gutians two different rumours circulated about the outcome:

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<sup>154</sup> 17') *an-ni-tam iq-bi-šu-nu-ši-im-ma i-di-i[n p]-hu-ur a-na É-kál-lim ni-ir-ru-ub-m[a]* 18') *šu-ul-ma-am i-ša-lu-šu-nu-ti-ma te-em-šu-nu ki-a-am id-di-nu* 19') *um-ma Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan ĪR-ka-a-ma a-na ma-ru-uš-ti be-lí-ia uš-ta-am-ri-iš* 20') *i-nu-ma LÚ.ELAM.MA it-ti be-lí-ia na-ak-ru LUGAL.MEŠ ša ma-a-at Šu-bar-tim* 21') *kar-ši-ia a-na LÚ.SUKKAL ELAM.MA-tim i-ku-lu-ma a-na Éš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> it-ru-ni-in-ni-š-ma* 22') *LÚ SUKKAL ELAM.MA-tim ú-sà-an-ni-qa-an-ni-qa-an-ni-ma i-na ša ra-ši ú-se-e-em* 23') *ù i-nu-ma LÚ.ELAM.MA Ĥi-[r]i-tam<sup>ki</sup> la-wu-ú ša be-lí-ia ú-[d]a-mi-qú* 24') *be-lí-ma i-de-e 'a'-na ma-ru-uš-ti be-lí-ia uš-ta-am-ri-'iš* 25') *i-na-an-na na-wa-ar be-lí-ia a-na-ku a-'a<sub>r</sub>-di-ir Za-zi-ia* LÚ *Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú* 26') *a-na ma-a-ti-ia iḫ-ḫa-[ba-t]am-ma* 3 4 *a-la-né-ia il-qé-e* 27') *ma-a-ti ú-ba-za-a'ú* *ù a-na ša-bi-im aš-pu-ra-kum-ma ša-ba-am* 28') *ú-ul ta-ad-di-nam ù ša-ba-am a-šar ša-ni-ma ta-ad-di-in.*

60') *a-na DUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri š[a Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan]* 61') *<sup>m</sup>Ha-am-mu-ra-bi ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma šu-<ma>* LUGAL.MEŠ *ša m[a]-a-at Šu-bar-t[i]m* 62') *ú-ba-nam e-li be-lí-ku-nu ta-ar-šu-ma ki-a-am aš-pu-ur-šum um-ma a-na-ku-ma* 63') *a-na LUGAL.MEŠ ša a-ia-ši-im ma-ru-tam i-ša-ap-pa-ru-nim at-ta a-ḫu-tam [š-pu-ur]* 64') *a-na Zi-im-ri-Li-im ša a-ia-ši-im a-ḫu-tam i-ša-ap-pa-ra-am* 65') *at-ta ma-ru-tam šu-pu-ur an-ni-tum ša aš-pu-ru-šum ḫa-ṭi-e-et* 66') *an-ni-tam Ĥa-am-mu-ra-bi i[pu-ul-šu]-nu-ti*, Charpin, "Les représentants de Mari a Babylone (I)," *ARM* 26/2, p. 199; Heimpel, p. 332.

<sup>155</sup> 36) DUMU *ši-ip-ri* LÚ *Tu-ru-uk-ku il-li-kam-ma* 37) *a-na Ĥa-am-mu-ra-bi ki-a-am wu-ú-ur um-ma-a-mi* 38) *iš-tu a-na-ku ma-ru-tam aš-pu-ra-kum a-ga-na i-n[a LUGAL.MEŠ]* 39) *ša ma-a-at Šu-bar-tim ša ma-ru-tam la i-ša-pa-ra-k[um]* 40) *lu-mu-ur an-ni-tam Za-zi-ia a-na Ĥa-am-mu-ra-bi [iš-pu-ur]*, Birot, *ARM* 27, p. 274; Heimpel, p. 467.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. the texts 52: 3; 92: 6, rev. 2, 3, 6; 100: rev. 16; 102, lower edge 2 (LÚ.TUR *Qú-ti-i*); see Vincente, *The 1987 Tell Leilan Tablets*.... Not only the Gutians, but Kakmean soldiers as well are mentioned in these tablets, who were probably in the service of its kings and the kings of Kurdā and Karanā(?); cf. Vincente, *op. cit.*, no. 83.

<sup>157</sup> There are allusions in some of these letters to Gutian troops accompanying the Elamites and Ešnunneans; see, for instance, *ARM* 26, 316; *ARM* 26, 338 (fragmentary); and Zimri-Lim asked his representative in Ilan-šura (in ZL 9'-10') to send him as many Gutians as he could, probably to recruit them as guards, cf. *ARM* 26, 330.

<sup>158</sup> According to Heimpel, this encounter seems to have taken place between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> month of that year, cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

### **Ibāl-pî-El to Zimri-Lim (ARM 2, 26)**

The Elamite troops who went to the land of Qutum have returned to Ešnunna. And I heard the following from those around me: "(Qutean) troops' drew up in battle formation against them (= the Elamites), and they 'accepted' their (offer of) peace." And half (of those around me) are saying the following: "The Nawarite (woman) (= *Nawarītum*) - her general bound her and gave her up."<sup>159</sup> This I heard from those around me.<sup>160</sup>

It is interesting to hear of an influential Gutian woman who appears to have been a princess or governor of the city of Nawar in the east Tigris region. She cannot have been queen of the Gutians since, as Heimpel points out, Zazum is mentioned as king of the Gutians before (A.649) and after (ARM 26, 491) this incident.<sup>161</sup> Durand's identification of Nawar with Nawar of the Habur region<sup>162</sup> is impossible because western Nawar was never a Gutian populated city and is nowhere said to be ruled by the Gutians. Further, letter ARM 6, 27 from Mari reports that she sent 10,000 troops against Larsa<sup>163</sup> the year after Elam withdrew from Babylonia. This indicates that she was involved more in southern Mesopotamian affairs than those of the north. Thus it is the eastern Nawar, later Namri, that should be identified with the GN after which she was named. The letter was sent by Baḥdi-Lim to Zimri-Lim; he says:

### **Baḥdi-Lim to Zimri-Lim (ARM 6, 27)**

And thus (they told me): "Troops of 10,000 Gutians of the queen of Nawar have departed just before the feast of 7 (days) of the year and headed to Larsa. And the Babylonians have left Malgium; they rustled the sheep of the Elamites and Hammurabi is in Sippar." This is the news they brought to me.<sup>164</sup>

The information in this letter indicates that Nawarītum was either soon released, or that her arrest and deliverance to the Elamites was a false rumour, as she was able to lead an army to Larsa in the following year. It is possible that Nawarītum was arrested by the Gutian general who was allied to the Elamites, because she attacked at a time when the Elamites and that part of the Gutians undertook their joint invasion of the Habur.

Kunnam, the Elamite general who led the troops to the Habur, wished at first to establish good relations with Zimri-Lim. He styled himself as "your son,"<sup>165</sup> even though he was actually occupying his territory,<sup>166</sup> and Zimri-Lim did his best to form an alliance against the

<sup>159</sup> Durand has restored the verb *ik-[l]u-ši-ma* as *ik-si-ši-ma*, Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 230, note 461.

<sup>160</sup> 5) *ša-bu-um* NIM.MA<sup>ki</sup> *ša a-na ma-a-at*<sup>ki</sup> *Qū-ti-im* 6) *il-li-ku a-n[a]* *Èš-nun-na*<sup>ki</sup> *ma i-tu-ur* 7) *ù i-na a-ḫi-ti-ia ki-a-am eš-me um-ma ša-b[u-u]m a-na ka-ak-ki-im* 8) *a-na pa-ni-šu ip-ri-ik-ma sa-li-im-šu i[l-q]é* 9) *ù mu-ut-tatum [k]i-a-am i-qa-ab-bi um-ma-a-[m]i* SAL *Na-wa-ri-tam* 10) LÚ GAL.MAR.TU-*ša ik-si-ši-ma id-di-in-ši an-ni-tam i-na a-ḫi-ti-ia eš-me*, Jean, *ARM* 2, p. 62-4; restorations and corrections of l. 8 and 10 by Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 230-1; Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

<sup>161</sup> Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

<sup>162</sup> Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 231, b.

<sup>163</sup> Durand, *LAPO* I, Paris, 1997, p. 618. Baḥdi-Lim, the writer of this letter, unfortunately did not give further details about whether these troops were destined to support Larsa or to attack it.

<sup>164</sup> 8') *ù um-ma-a-mi* 10) *li-[mi]* *ša-bu-um* LÚ *Qū-tu-ú* 9') *ša* MUNUS *Na-wa-ri-ti[m]* *a-na p[a-a]n<sup>21</sup> si-bu-ut ša-at-tim-[m]a* 10') *i-li-em a-na L[a]-ar-sa<sup>ki</sup> pa-nu-šu-nu ša-ak-[nu]* 11') *ù* LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> *iš-tu Ma-al-gi-im*<sup>[ki]</sup> 12') *ù-ši-em-ma* UDU.ḪÁ *ša* NIM.MA.MEŠ *i-na* [.....] 13') *iš-ḫi-it* *ù Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi i-na* UD.KI[B.NUN<sup>ki</sup> *wa-ši-ib*], Kupper, *ARM* 6, Paris, 1954, p. 44; Durand, *LAPO* I, p. 618.

<sup>165</sup> Charpin, "Les Elamites...", p. 131.

<sup>166</sup> The letter of Baḥdi-Lim to his lord Zimri-Lim makes a clear allusion to the fact that Ida-maraš was in this time under Zimri-Lim's authority: 1) *[a-na] be-lí-ia qí-bí-m[a]* 2) *[um-ma] Ba-aḫ-di-Li-im ÌR-ka-a-ma* 3) *[<sup>m</sup>H]a-ia-su-ú-mu ki-a-am iš-pu-ra-am* 4) *[um-ma]-a-mi ša-bu-um* NIM.MA *ù* LÚ *Èš-nun-na*<sup>ki</sup> 5) *[i-na k]a-bi-it-ti-šu a-na ma-a-at* 6) *[<sup>m</sup>Zi-i]m-ri-Li-im a-na li-i[b-b]i I-da-ma-ra-aš* 7) *[i-li]-em-ma ma-am-ma-an ša ma-a-at I-da-ma-ra-aš* 8) *ú-še-ez-ze-bu ú-ul i-ba-aš-š[i]*, "Say to my Lord, thus says your servant Baḥdi-Lim. Ḫaya-sûmû wrote to me as follows: 'The Elamite and Ešnunnean troops have come up in masses towards the land of Zimri-Lim, into the interior of Ida-maraš, and there is nobody to save the land of Ida-maraš,'" Dossin, *ARM* 6, 66, p. 94-6; Charpin,

Elamite presence. After he had brought on to his side Qarni-Lim of Andarig, Atamrum of Allāḥad, the Upper Land, the land of Šubartum and Išme-Dagan,<sup>167</sup> he tried the same with Zaziya and the Qabrāeans. Letter *ARM* 26, 489 mentions the dispatch of two messengers, one to Qabrā and the other to Kawilḥum:

**Ibāl-pî-El and Buqaqum to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 26, 489)**

We dispatched Napsi-Eraḥ to Qabrā and Šamaš-Lamassašu to Kawilḥum.<sup>168</sup>

Qabrā was at this time ruled by a certain Ardigandi. The name Ardigandi, as we have noted already, is of the same type as the Shemshāra name Berdigendae, the general of Zutlum (see Chapter Six). This, and the words of Išme-Dagan in this letter that the ruler of Qabrā will turn to Zimri-Lim after his defeat (see below), mean that the city was no longer ruled by Išme-Dagan. Rather the authority had seemingly passed to other groups related to those living in the eastern mountains, specifically the Turukkeans, as the name Ardigandi indicates. The attack of Išme-Dagan on Qabrā in ZL 9' confirms this as fact. The unpublished letter A.2137+, sent by Ḥaḡba-aḥum to his lord, contains a quotation from a letter of Zaziya to Hammurabi. Išme-Dagan had won some victories:

**Ḥaḡba-aḥum to Zimri-Lim (A.2137+)**

Secondly, Zaziya wrote as follows to Hammurabi: "Išme-Dagan, since he came up, has begun acting like his father constantly. He contests the lord of Qabrā in his land. He disputed with Qabrā and made war. [Išme]-Dagan has defeated Qabrā."<sup>169</sup>

Išme-Dagan sent his son and his army to dig the canal of Nurda and the lord of Qabrā rushed with the whole of his army. He blocked the way saying: "You will not come up!" They seized then each other and fought. The son of Išme-[Dagan was] victorious over Qabrā. The army of Išme-Dagan took back the city of Nurda, Abnā and the plain of Zamurū from the lord of Qabrā.<sup>170</sup>

Kawilḥum also seems very likely to have been under Zaziya's control, since when Išme-Dagan negotiated for peace with Zaziya he could place (or keep) his barges in Kawa/ilḥum to receive grain (see below, letter *ARM* 26/2, 491) as a result of the negotiations. The rest of the letter of Ibāl-pî-El and Buqaqum concerning the Kakmean attack on Qabrā and related matters continues:

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"Les Elamites...", p. 130; Durand, *LPO* II, p. 165. Durand translates LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> as "(and) the prince of Ešnunna" instead of "the Ešnunnean troops."

<sup>167</sup> This is deduced from a letter in which its anonymous author states that his lord Zimri-Lim caused those polities to change sides from the Elamites; cf. Heimpel, p. 511 (letter A.3669+). In this same letter the Gutians too are mentioned in a broken context. The question is asked who would know whether they have crossed the river at Mankisum or not. The passage comes in the context of the terrified Elamite troops who were retreating and crossing at Kakkulātum. It is likely that the Gutians have helped with the fight against the Elamites (but not those Gutians who were allied to Elam); the Elamites were not on good terms with the Gutians from the time of the Shemshāra letters (Šuruḥtuḥ against Endušše) until the last Elamite confrontation with Nawarītum in ZL 9'.

<sup>168</sup> 46) <sup>m</sup>Na-ap-si-E-ra-aḥ a-na Qa-ab-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> ù <sup>d</sup>UTU-la-ma-sà-šu 47) a-na Ka-wi-il-ḥi-im<sup>ki</sup> ni-iṭ-ru-sú-nu-ti, Lackenbacher, S., "Les lettres de Buqaqum," *ARM* 26/2, 489; p. 425; Heimpel, p. 387.

<sup>169</sup> 16') ša-ni-tam 'Za-zi-ia' a-na <sup>m</sup>Ḥa-mu-ra-bi 'ke'em iš-pu-ra-am um-<sup>f</sup>ma-a-mi' 17') <sup>m</sup>Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan iš-tu ša i-'le'-em 18') qa-tam ša a-bi-šu-ma ir-tú-<sup>f</sup>ub i-'te-pu-ša-am 19') LÚ Qa-ba-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> i-na ma-<sup>f</sup>ti-šu' ú-ba-qa-ar 20') it-<sup>f</sup>tī' Qa-ba-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> is-sà-bi-<sup>f</sup>it'-ma <sup>GIS</sup>TUKUL.ḤÁ i-pu-úš 21') [<sup>m</sup>Iš-me]-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan da-aw-da-am ša Qa-ba-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> i-du-uk, Ziegler, *FM* VI, p. 272 and note 286.

<sup>170</sup> 31') ù Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan DUMU-šu ù ša-ba-šu a-na na-ri-im 32') ša Nu-ur-da<sup>ki</sup> ḥa-tà-ti-im iṭ-ru-ud-ma 33') LÚ Qa-ba-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> qa-du-um qa-ma-ar-ti ša-bi-šu 34') [in]-ḥa-ri-ir-ma ip-ta-ri-ik-šu um-ma-a-mi ú-<sup>f</sup>ul te-el'-li' 35') 'bī-ri-šu-nu is-sà-ab-tu-<sup>f</sup>ma' <sup>GIS</sup>TUKUL.ḤÁ i-pu-<sup>f</sup>šū-[ma] 36') da-aw-da-am ša Qa-ba-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> DUMU Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan [gan di-ik] 37') a-lam Nu-úr-da<sup>ki</sup> Ab-na-a<sup>ki</sup> ù 'ḥa-<sup>2</sup>-am-qa-am ša Za-mu-ri 38') 'ša' LÚ Qa-ba-<sup>f</sup>ra-a<sup>ki</sup> ša-ab <<IŠ>> <sup>m</sup>Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan 39') [a-<sup>2</sup>na-<sup>2</sup>qa-ti-šu ut-te-[er], Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 272 and note 287.

### Ibāl-pî-El and Buqaqum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 489)

We [arrived] 'in' [the city of] Aššur at bedtime and [heard] the following word from those around us: "Kakmum defeated 'Ardigandi', the [king of] 'Qabrā'." This we heard from those around us. We arrived [in Ekallātum] and Išme-Dagan [spoke to us] as follows, he (said): "500 troops of Gurgurum attacked [the land] of Ardigandi and looted [its villages]. 2,000 troops of Ardigandi 'went out' to the rescue and fought, and Kakmum went ahead and defeated Ardigandi. And his (= Ardigandi's) high-ranking servants were 'running about' aimlessly. Now that man, because of having been defeated, [will ...]. And he will pay attention to your lord (Zimri-Lim). And he will .... His cities." This [news] Išme-Dagan told me. 'Išme-Dagan' is very sick. And according to the instructions of our lord, [we ...] and then [...] him to go to our lord. Now in 1 or 2 days [...], and Mut-Aškur and Lu-Nanna 'will come up' to take his (= Išme-Dagan's) lead and to go to our lord. Based on everything we saw, Išme-Dagan 'is not able to go'. He is very sick. Concerning a message (from Išme-Dagan) about the Qutean, for which our lord sent Ḫabdu-malik to Lu-Nanna, he (= Ḫabdu-malik) did not reach Lu-Nanna and gave us (the message with our lord's) instructions (instead). We told Lu-Nanna that message. And once we had arrived (in Ekallātum), we placed that 'message' before Išme-Dagan, and Išme-Dagan 'spoke' [to us] as follows: "[Lu-Nanna] told me that message before your arrival. The Qutean did 'not' come up at all. And I did not write to your lord that message." This he answered us, and we addressed Lu-Nanna 'before' him [and] (said): "Did not Ḫabdi-Eraḥ tell our lord that message?" With these (words) we addressed Lu-Nanna, and he confirmed their truth (saying): "They (= the words) are true. Ḫabdi-Eraḥ told (Zimri-Lim) that message." 'Perhaps' because our lord <did not> address him with the right words he (= Išme-Dagan) contradicts us, (saying): "The Qutean did not come up at all." And perhaps he is telling 'the truth'. Who would know? Besides, we have not heard anything on the Quteans from those around us.<sup>171</sup>

This is not the whole story of letter ARM 26, 489. In addition to the mention of the Kakmean sack of Qabrā<sup>172</sup> it relates that the gravely sick Išme-Dagan denied sending a message to Zimri-Lim about the "coming up" of the Gutian. Whether by "the Gutian" one individual, (i.e. Zazum) is meant, or whether it is a collective term for the Gutians and their

<sup>171</sup> 6) a-[na URU<sup>2</sup>/ a-lim<sup>2</sup>]<sup>ki</sup>?<sup>d</sup> A-šur nu-ba-tam ni-[ik-šu-ud]-ma 7) a-wa-tam i-na a-ḫi-ti-ni ki-a-am ni-[iš-me um-ma-a-mi] 8) Ka-ak-mu-um da-aw-da-am ša Ar-[di-ga-an-di LUGAL Q]a-ab-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> 9) i-du-uk an-ni-tam i-na a-ḫi-ti-ni ni-iš-m[e a-na É.GAL.ḪÁ<sup>ki</sup>] 10) ni-ik-šu-ud-ma Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan ki-a-am [iq-bi-né-ši-im] 11) um-ma šu-ma 5 ME ša-ab Gu-ur-gu-ri-i[m ... ma<sup>2</sup>-tam<sup>2</sup>] 12) ša Ar-di-ga-an-di iš-ḫi-tú-ma im-šu-[<sup>u</sup><sub>5</sub> ...?...] 13) 2 li-im ša-ab Ar-di-ga-an-di a-na ni-iḫ-r[a-r]i-[im it-ta-s]i-ma 14) k[a-a]k-ki 'r-pu-šu-ma Ka-ak-mu il-qí-šu-ma 15) [da-aw-d]a-am ša Ar-di-ga-an-di i-du-uk ù IR.MEŠ-šu ra-bu-tum 16) [na-a]p-r[u]-ur-ru i-na-an-na LÚ šu-ú iq-qa-at da-aw-da-šu di-ku 17) [x x (x)] x 'ù' [a-na] be-lí-ku-nu i-qa-al a-la-ni<sup>HA</sup>-šu i-na-a-~~<<as>>~~-aš 18) [a-wa-tam] an-ni-[tam<sup>2</sup>] Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan id-bu-ba-am 19) [Iš-me]-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan sú-ul-lu-'ú ù ki-ma wu-úr-ti be-lí-ne 20) [x x x (x)] x x-ma ù a-na še-er be-lí-ne a-la-ki-im 21) [x x x] x-nu-<sup>f</sup>šú' i-na-an-na U<sub>4</sub> 1.KAM ú-lu-ma U<sub>4</sub> 2.KAM 22) [x x x (x)]-ma Mu-tu-aš-kur ù LÚ-NANNA a-na ša-ba-at 23) pa-[ni]-šu ù a-na še-er be-lí-ne 'a<sup>1</sup>-[la]-ki-im 24) il-l[e-e-e]m i-na ma-al ša ni-mu-r[u] I]š-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan 25) a-la-[kam ú]-u[l i]-li-i sú-ul-lu-'ú 26) aš-[šum] te<sub>4</sub>-em LÚ [Qú-t]e-em ša be-el-ni Ḫa-ab-du-ma-lik 27) [a]-na še-er LÚ<sup>d</sup>NANNA iš-pu-ru-ma LÚ<sup>d</sup>NANNA iš-pu-ru-ma LÚ<sup>d</sup>NANNA 28) [ú]-ul ik-šu-ud-ma né-ti ú-wa-e-ra-an-né-ti 29) [te<sub>4</sub>]-ma-am še-a-tu a-na LÚ<sup>d</sup>NANNA ni-id-bu-ub 30) ù ni-ik-šu-ud-ma ma-ḫa-ar Iš-<sup>d</sup>[Da-gan te<sub>4</sub>-ma]-am še-a-tu 31) ni-iš-ku-un-ma Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan ki-am iq[-bé-em] 32) um-ma šu-ma la-ma ka-ša-di(TI)-ku-[nu] x x x x 33) te<sub>4</sub>-ma-am še-a-tu id-bu-[ba]-am 34) [m]i-im-ma LÚ Qú-tu-um [ú-u]l i-le-em 35) ù a-na be-lí-ku-nu te<sub>4</sub>-ma-am še-a-tu mi-im-ma [ú]-ul aš-pu-ur 36) an-ni-tam i-pu-la-an-né-ti-ma LÚ<sup>d</sup>NANNA [ma]-aḫ-ri-šu ni-iš-ba-[at-ma] 37) um-ma ni-nu-ma Ḫa-ab-di-e-ra-aḫ te<sub>4</sub>-ma-am še-a-tu 38) a-na be-lí-ne ú-ul id-bu-ú-ub i-na an-ni-ti[m LÚ]<sup>d</sup>NANNA 39) ni-iš-ba-at-ma uk-ti-in um-ma-a-mi ki-na Ḫa-ab-di-e-ra-aḫ 40) 'te<sub>4</sub>-ma-[am] še-a-tu id-bu-ba-am 41) pí-q[a-a]t aš-šum be-el-ni i-na a-wa-at ri-it-ti-im iš-ba-tu-šu 42) [i]k-ki-~~<<ra>>~~-ra-an-né-ti um-ma-a-mi mi-im-ma 43) [LÚ] Qú-tu-um ú-ul i-le-em ù pí-qa-at i-na ki-[na]-ti-ma 44) i-da-ab-bu-ub ma-an-nu-um lu-ú i-de<sub>4</sub> 45) ul-li-iš i-na a-ḫi-ti-ni mi-im-ma LÚ Qú-te-em ú-ul ni-iš-me, Lackenbacher, "Les lettres de Buqaqum," ARM 26/2, p. 424-6; Heimpel, p. 387; l. 16 restored according to Heimpel.

<sup>172</sup> There is a letter from Mari (ARM 6, 79) that reports the journey of a Kakmean envoy to Zimri-Lim, but unfortunately a precise date for this letter cannot be established; For the letter, cf. Durand, *LAPU* I, p. 584 (no. 391).

troops, is not clear. Nevertheless, we understand from the letter that the Gutians were somehow involved in the affairs, but it is not stated whether they were for or against Išme-Dagan in this matter. The letter gives the impression that the coming up of the Gutian was a warlike action against the kingdom of Išme-Dagan, who had warned Zimri-Lim about it but then denied sending such a message. The key to solving the riddles of this letter is found in letter A.649 that refers to a Gutian offensive on Qabrā and on Turukkean territory, that forced the Turukkeans to retreat from Qaṭṭara, where they had gone to the rescue. Worse than these was the involvement of Išme-Dagan himself, whose men guided the Gutians to Qabrā. Perhaps this is why he denied sending the message to Zimri-Lim about their “coming up:”

#### **Ḥaḡba-aḡum to Zimri-Lim (A.649)**

The Turukkeans came to Qaṭṭara to the aid of Ḥadnu-rabi, because the land of Qaṭṭara began to ask with insistence for the restoration of Ḥadnu-rabi to his throne. But on the fifth day, the Turukkeans began to leave the land of Qaṭṭara because the news concerning the Guti arrived, and Hammurabi (of Kurdā), very worried, told me the following: "When I rose to set off, news arrived from the region downstream (of the Tigris) that Zazum king of the Gutians approached with his troops (and) the retainers of Išme-Dagan guided them; (and that) they have reached the land of Qabrā and occupied the city (of Qabrā); and (on the other hand) Išme-Dagan has arrived from Babylon to Makilan, which was his objective; and from Makilan the messengers of Išme-Dagan continued their route to Atamrum (bearing the following message): 'I am well. I have arrived.'"

On the other hand, the Turukkeans sent me this message: "The Gutians threaten us; yes; we are ourselves certainly in a position of weakness now. Facing the Gutians, are we going to abandon our homes? The Gutians arrive now indeed. Shall we be driven out of everywhere we currently hold? Shall we reach the mountains? Shall we look for ground to live there? And you indeed, Will you abandon your homes and your towns and leave in front of the Gutians? Pay close attention to what has happened. Join your troops with ours to drive out the Gutians." This is what the Turukkeans sent me. Therefore, the Turukkeans on hearing the threat of war of the Gutians, rose and left the land of Qaṭṭara to their (own) land.<sup>173</sup>

Perhaps this was the same time that the king of Elam ordered his general in Šubat-Enlil, Kunnam, to negotiate with Zaziya, to get support against the coalition Zimri-Lim was building against them. Zaziya refused to cooperate and left Kunnam helpless to confront the coalition on the one hand, and a conflict broke out between his Elamite and Ešnunnean garrison troops in Šubat-Enlil on the other.<sup>174</sup> Letter A.910 records this Elamite approach:

<sup>173</sup> 4) [LÚ.MEŠ] *Tu-ru-ku-ú a-na ni-iḡ-ra-ar* <sup>m</sup>[H]a-ad-nu-r[a-bi] 5) *a-na ma-at Qa-tá-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> iḡ-ḡa-bi-[tu-ma]* 6) *ma-at Qa-tá-ta-a ir-tú-up du-bu-ba-am* 7) *aš-šum* <sup>m</sup>Ha-ad-nu-ra-bi a-na <sup>ḡiS</sup>GU.ZA-šu t[u-ur-ri-im] 8) UD.5.KAM LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ku-ú i-na ma-a-at Qa-[ta-ra]-a<sup>ki</sup>* 9) [it-t]a-la-ak-ma *te-em* LÚ.MEŠ *Qú-ti-i im-qú-[ut]* 10) [<sup>m</sup>Ḥa-m]u-ra-bi i-si-ir-ma *te-ma-[am iṣ-pu-ra-am]* 11) *um-ma-a-mi a-di-ma a-na a-la-[ki-ia e-te-eb-bu]* 12) *te-mu-um iṣ-tu ša-ap-la-n[u-um im-qú-ut ki-ma]* 13) <sup>m</sup>Za-zu-um LUGAL *Qú-ti-im qa-du-u[m ša-bi-šu iṣ-ḡu-ma]* 14) IR.MEŠ *ša Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan pa-n[i]-šu iṣ-b[a-tu-ma]* 15) *a-na ma-a-at Qa-ba-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> ik-ta-áš-dam i-na [a-lim<sup>ki</sup> wa-ši-ib]* 16) *ù Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan a-na ḡa-da-ni-šu iṣ-tu* KÀ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> 17) *a-na Ma-ki-la-an<sup>ki</sup> ik-ta-áš-dam iṣ-tu Ma-ki-la-an<sup>ki</sup>* 18) DUMU.MEŠ *ši-ip-ri ša Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan a-na še-er A-tam-ri-im i-te-e[t-qú]* 19) *um-ma-a-mi ša-al-ma-ku ak-ta-áš-dam* 20) *ù [LÚ].MEŠ Tu-ru-ku-ú a-na še-ri-ia iṣ-pu-ru-nim um-ma-a-m[i]* 21) LÚ.MEŠ *Qú-tu-ú a-na še-ri-ni pa-nu-šu ša-ak-nu* 22) *an-na ni-nu wu-di ni-<sup>i</sup>iq<sup>i</sup>-ta-li-il*; 23) *ù i-na pa-ni* LÚ.MEŠ *Qú-t[i]-i <sup>i</sup>bi<sup>i</sup>-ta-ti-ni ni-[zi-i-ib]* 24) *ù i-na-an-na* LÚ.MEŠ *Qú-t[u]-ú i-[a]-k[u] <sup>i</sup>na<sup>i</sup> <sup>i</sup>ma-la<sup>i</sup> [šum-šu]* 25) *ša i-na-an-na nu-ka-lu nu-ud-da-pa-ar* KUR [ni-ka-š]a-ad-ma 26) *qa-qa-ar na-pi-iṣ-ti-ni ni-še-<sup>i</sup>r* 27) [a]t-tu-nu ki-i te-zi-ba-a bi-[t]a-ti-ku-nu *ù a-la-n[i]-ku-nu* 28) <sup>i</sup>na pa-ni LÚ.MEŠ *Qú-ti-i ta-at-ta-la-ka* 29) [a-n]a an-ni-tim *qú-la-ma qa-qa-da-ti-ku-nu šu-te-mi-da-ma* 30) *ša sà-ka-ap* LÚ.MEŠ *Qú-ti-i <sup>i</sup>r ni-pu-úš* 31) *an-ni-tam* LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ku-ú a-na [e]-er-ia iṣ-pu-[ra-a]m* 32) *ù LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-ku-ú tu-ka-am ša* LÚ.MEŠ *Qú-ti-i i[š]-me-ma* 33) *it-bi-ma i-na zu-mu-ur ma-a-at Qa-ta-ra-[a<sup>ki</sup>]* 34) *a-na m[a]-ti-šu it-ta-la-[ak]*, Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand, “Le nom antique de Tell Rimāh,” *RA* 81 (1987), p. 132-3 and 143-4 with corrections and restorations of the transliteration of the original of Dossin; more corrections are in Durand, *LAPPO* II, p. 244-5.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. Charpin, “Les Elamites . . .,” p. 133-4.

### **Yamsum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 310=A.910)**

Kunnam drunk beer and said to Ibni-Addu: “My lord wrote to me: ‘Right now Zimri-Lim will go against you and he will trouble the land. Write to the Turukkean so that the Turukkean comes to your side. Do (pl.) battle against Zimri-Lim!’ He (= Kunnam) wrote to the Turukkean but they did not come to him.”<sup>175</sup>

It is not known why Zaziya refused to cooperate with the Elamites. It is true that an old alliance between Elam and the Turukkean kingdom of Itabalḫum in the time of Pišendēn says nothing in a period full of changing loyalties and shifting alliances like this, but Zaziya was an adversary of Zimri-Lim. He had tried to replace him in the Hilly Arc and the Habur region. Zaziya was also the enemy of Išme-Dagan, whose kingdom was between Elam and the Habur region, so an alliance with Elam could be fruitful for him. Zaziya, on the other hand, as Yassi-Dagan stated, had a non-aggression pact with Ešnunna, now a vassal of Elam. Thus, this offer suited Zaziya best and it could be a chance for him to destroy his enemies and take over their domains. The only explanation that can be given for his refusal is that the Turukkeans were at this time dominating large areas and cities in the east Tigris plains, such as Nineveh and Kawalḫum, and were present in the Habur region following the revolt there. Thus, Zaziya seems to have been concerned about the fate of the domain he controlled at that time and the larger domain he was planning to control. He would have reckoned that overthrowing the petty polities of the region fighting with each other, including the exhausted kingdom of Išme-Dagan, was a much easier aim than regaining those territories from a great power like Elam.

This and other developments forced the Elamites to leave Northern Mesopotamia. Kunnam left Šubat-Enlil with his troops in late ZL 9' and handed over the city to the Elamite-named lieutenant Simat-Ḫuluriš.<sup>176</sup> After the Elamite withdrawal from Babylonia in early ZL 10', the city of Šubat-Enlil too was abandoned and Atamrum entered it as its new master. Letter ARM 2, 49 suggests that Išme-Dagan tried to control the city, but Ibāl-pî-El was recommended by one of his retainers to let Atamrum seize the city before Išme-Dagan did.<sup>177</sup>

### *Turukkû Resumes War*

An independent Qabrā collaborated with Zaziya against Išme-dagan, as shown by a letter from Iddiyātum to his lord:

### **Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 510)**

I and Belum-kima-Iliya entered the palace for instructions and Aškur-Addu<sup>178</sup> told us: "2,000 Turukkeans, 2,000 Qabreans and 1,000 Yaḫurum attacked a work detail that was working on a river of Išme-Dagan. Išme-Dagan came to the rescue, and they defeated him."<sup>179</sup>

This posed a real danger that Išme-Dagan was not able to confront alone. Therefore, he asked for help from Babylon. We do not have a letter that documents his request for help from Babylon but the letter of Yarim-Addu to his lord says enough:

<sup>175</sup> Charpin, “Les Elamites...,” p. 134, note 34. (l. 22-35). Charpin has given no transliteration for this letter.

<sup>176</sup> Charpin, “Les Elamites...,” p. 136.

<sup>177</sup> Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 84, and the letter ARM 2, 49 on p. 480.

<sup>178</sup> Or read Asqur-Addu, cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

<sup>179</sup> 5) *a-na-ku ù Be-lum-ki-ma-Ī-lī-ia* 6) *a-na é-kál-lim a-na wu-ú-ur-tim ni-ru-ub-ma* 7) <sup>m<<x>></sup> *Aš-kur-<sup>d</sup>IM id' (=IK)-bu-ba-an-né-šī-im* 8) *um-ma-a-mi 2 li-im Tu-ru-ku-ú<sup>ki</sup> 9) 2 li-im Qa-ba-ra-i-yu<sup>ki</sup> 10) ù 1 li-im Ia-ḫu-ur-ru-um<sup>ki</sup> 11) e-pi-iš-tam ša na-ra-am ša Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>-Da-gan* 12) *i-<<x>>ip-pé-šu iš-ḫi-tú* 13) <sup>m</sup>*Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan* 14) *in-'a<sub>4</sub>-ri-ir-ma da-aw-da-šu* 15) *i-du-ku*, Lafont, ARM 26/2, p. 478; Heimpel, p. 394-5.



### Yarim-Addu to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 373)

And I heard from those around me the following: "6,000 Babylonian troops are going up to Išme-Dagan." And rumours keep circulating that they (are headed for) another place. I found out these matters: the troops 'set out' because of Zaziya and the king of Qabrā. They are strong. They will go up to Išme-Dagan. I have confirmed the truth of this matter. They will go up to Išme-Dagan in the coming month.<sup>180</sup>

However, we have a letter that preserves a complaint of Išme-Dagan's retainers before Hammurabi of Babylon. They complained about Hammurabi withholding troops from Išme-Dagan when the Turukkeans attacked Išme-Dagan's land and took three or four cities (see above, letter ARM 26, 384). This letter can be chronologically placed here and these Turukkean attacks must have taken place during or shortly after the Elamite invasion.

It was perhaps at this time that Zimri-Lim counted Qabrā among his friends, as long as it was hostile to Išme-Dagan. It is very possible that Zimri-Lim came to Qabrā, since litter-carriers are reported to have been killed between Arrapha and Kakmum, while the litter itself was either robbed or annihilated. That Zimri-Lim had the habit of having himself carried in a litter was already touched upon by Zaziya with disgust (see above, the letter of Yassi-Dagan, A.1025). The letter of Iddiyātum reads:

### Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 512)

A messenger of my lord arrived from 'Qabrā' and spoke to me as follows: "'I have' [no] companion." Further, (he said): "[They 'attacked' Yaduranum and the men who were with him carrying the litter between Arraphum [and] Kakmum [and] killed them. And they [...] 'the litter'.<sup>181</sup>

There is an unclear passage at the end of this letter, where Išme-Dagan and the lord of Ešnunna, Aššur, and setting sight for Arrapha are all mentioned.<sup>182</sup> No fuller interpretation of this passage can be given. It is important that Arrapha, like Qabrā, seems to have liberated itself a long time before from the rule of Išme-Dagan. Its liberation cannot have been later than that of Qabrā because Qabrā is almost halfway between Arrapha and Ekallātum. Letter ARM 26, 523 makes it clear that Arrapha was out of reach of Išme-Dagan, because messengers were advised to go via Arrapha to Ešnunna to avoid arrest by the lord of Ekallātum:

### Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 523)

They released the two Ešnunnean messengers who had been detained 'here'. But they have not yet departed. (Aškur-Addu said): "[I] 'cannot give' you companions. [Take] the route to Arrapha [and reach] Ešnunna (that way)! I am afraid [Išme-Dagan] will detain my messengers because I am detaining [his] messengers."<sup>183</sup>

<sup>180</sup> 34) *ù i-na a-ḫi-ti-ia ki-a-am eš-me um-ma-a-ma* 35) *6 li-mi ṣa-bu-um LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> a-na ṣe-er Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan* 36) *i-il-le ù tu-uk-ka-šu a-šar ṣa-ni-im-ma* 37) *it-ta-na-ad-du-ú a-wa-a-tim ši-na-ti ú-pa-al-li-iš-ma* 38) *aš-šum Za-zi-ia ù LUGAL ṣa Qa-ba-ra-a<sup>ki</sup>* 39) *ṣa-bu-um it-[b]i dan-nu* 40) *a-na ṣe-er Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan i-il-le* 41) *a-wa-tam an-ni-tam uk-ti-in* 42) *ITI e-ri-ba-am ṣa-bu-um a-na ṣe-er Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan i-il-le*, Charpin, "Les représentants de Mari à Babylone (I)," ARM 26/2, p. 183; Heimpel, p. 327.

<sup>181</sup> 5) *DUMU ši-ip-ri-im ṣa be-li-ia iš-t[u] Qa-b[a-ra]-a<sup>ki</sup>* 6) *ik-šu-dam-ma ki-a-am iq-bé-[e-e]m* 7) *um-ma-a-[m]i a-li-ik i-di-im [ú-ul i-]šu* 8) *ṣa-ni-tam um-ma-a-mi Ia-du-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>nam</sup>* 9) *ù LÚ.MEŠ ṣa it-ti-šu nu-ba-la-am na-šu-[ú]* 10) *bi-ri-it Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im<sup>ki</sup>* 11) *[ù Ka]-ak-mi-im<sup>ki</sup> iš-ḫi-[tú-šu-nu-ti-ma]* 12) *[i-du]-ku-šu-nu-ti ù nu-ba-[la-am ṣa na-šu]-ú*, Lafont, ARM 26/2, p. 482; Heimpel, p. 396.

<sup>182</sup> 9') *ṣa-ni-t[am<sup>m</sup>]š-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan ù LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup>* 10') *[i-na x x x] wa-aš-bu Aš-šu-ur<sup>ki</sup>* 11') *a<sup>2</sup>-na<sup>2</sup> [x x] x-ku-tim a-na Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im<sup>ki</sup>* 12') *pa-[nam i]š-ku-un-ma a-wa-tam* 13') *[a-na<sup>m</sup>]š-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan ú-še-ṣu-ma*, "Further, Išme-Dagan and the Ešnunnean are staying in [...] Aššur [...] set 'sight' on [...] for Arraphum, and they let the word go out [to] Išme-Dagan, and [...]," Lafont, ARM 26/2, p. 490; Heimpel, p. 399.

<sup>183</sup> 35) 2 [D]JUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> 36) *ṣa [an-n]a-nu-um ka-lu-ú ú-ta-aš-še<sub>20</sub>-ru <<x>>* 37) *ù a-di-ni ú-ul it-ta-al-ku* 38) *um-ma-a-mi a-li-ik i-di-i[m] 'ú-[ul a-n]a-[d]i-na-ku-nu-ši-im* 39) *gi-ir-ri Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im<sup>ki</sup> le-qé-*

## The Influence of Zaziya across the Tigris and the Hurrian Presence

The range of Zaziya's influence reached the territories to the west of the Tigris. Apart from his political influence there - as reflected in the long letter of Yassi-Dagan (see above) -, he exercised some kind of authority over Hammurabi of Kurdā, as the letter of Yassīm-El (*ARM* 26, 405) indicates. When Atamrum laid siege to the city of Ašihum, Yassīm-El, as a general of Zimri-Lim, who was an ally of Atamrum, found himself compelled to contribute to the siege. The city was defended well by the 1,000 troops under Saggār-abum, the general of Hammurabi of Kurdā. The two parties negotiated a peaceful exit, with a suggestion of exchanging one or more cities. It is important that Hammurabi of Kurdā attaches the condition of Zaziya's approval to the agreement. Although Heimpel thinks that Hammurabi of Kurdā was overstating the rank of Zaziya as a manoeuvre to oppose Atamrum, who had Hammurabi of Babylon and Zimri-Lim as suzerains, the letter shows that Zaziya's name was something to be reckoned with. Further, it is undeniable that the Turukkeans were powerfully present in the region:

### Yassi-El to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 26, 405)

.... [These things and] 'more' I wrote him. [...] that man came out and [...] and answered me as follows: "[I will cede (to you)] the city of 'Harbe' [on] 'command' of the Turukkean [and release to you that which] I took [from] that city." 'Atamrum answered him as follows': "[If] you (= Hammurabi) cede [that city on] command of the Turukkean, [I will....] on command of the Babylonian or else on 'command' [of Zimri-Lim]. After you [increased (the number of)] cities (to be ceded) on command of the Turukkean, I will increase by as much (the number) of cities (to be ceded) to you. While [we wait for] 'Zimri-Lim', the elder brother and strong ally, who is it that 'splits' reed in my reed hut?" These things and many more his (= Hammurabi's) messenger answered; and Arrapha-adal, king of Širwunum, together with [his troops], and with him 2,000 Lullu troops, his allies, 'will come down', [and] he will lay siege to [the city of] 'Adallaya' on command of Atamrum. May my lord know.<sup>184</sup>

Še/irwunum,<sup>185</sup> which was already conquered by Šamšī-Adad, appears now again with a king with a good Hurrian name, Arrapha-adal. He too was an ally or vassal of Atamrum, or at least, what he did was good for Atamrum. To be a vassal or ally of an ally of Zimri-Lim, i.e. Atamrum, means that Šerwunum was no more under Išme-Dagan's authority; it had joined

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e-ma ?] 40) a-na Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> [ku-uš-da-nim ?] 41) aš-šum DUMU.MEŠ šī-ip-r[i É-kál-la-ta-yi<sup>ki</sup>] 42) ka-le-ku as-sú-ur-[ri ša-bu-šu] 43) DUMU.MEŠ šī-ip-ri-ia i-ka-al-lu-ú, Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, p. 498; Heimpel, p. 402.

<sup>184</sup> 32) [an-né-tim ù ma]-da-tim-ma aš-ta-pa-ar-šu [.....] 33) [.....]-šu-um LÚ šu-ú ú-še-em-[ma] 34) [a-na ka-ra-ši-ia it]-he-em-ma ki-a-am i-pu-la-an-ni um-[ma-a-mi] 35) [.....] LÚ.MEŠ ut-te-er-ru i-na-an-[na] 36) [.....] It-t[i] Ia-aḫ-mu-uš<sub>x</sub>(IS)-AN ù [Mu-ta-zi] 37) [.....]-bi<sup>2</sup>-[.....] (lacuna) 1') [.....] ú-še<sup>r</sup>-e<sup>r</sup>-[em-ma ..] 2') [x x x] a-na še-er A-t[am-ri-im il-li-kam-ma te<sub>r</sub>-ma-am] 3') [it-ta]-di-in um-ma-a-mi [.....] 4') [i-na qí-b]i-it Tu-ru-ki-im a-lam Ḫa-[ar-bi ú-wa-aš-ša-ar-ma] 5') [ša i-na] li-ib-bi a-lim še-tu il-qú-ú [ú-ra-ad-da-kum] 6') [A-ta]m-ru-um ki-a-a[m i-p]u-ul-šu um-ma-[a-mi šum-ma a-lam še-tu] 7') [i-na] qí-bi-it Tu-ru-ki-im tu-wa-aš-ša-ar [ù a-na-ku a-lam] 8') i-na qí-bi-it LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> ú-lu-ma i-na q[í-bi-it a-bi-ia ú-wa-aš-ša-ar] 9') iš-tu-ma i-na qí-bi-it Tu-ru-ki-im a-la-né-e [tu-ra-ad-da-am] 10') a-la-né-e ma-li a-la-ni-ma lu-ra-di-kum i-nu-ma Zi-[im-ri-Li-im] 11') a-ḫa-am ra-bé-em ù til-la-tam dan-na-ta-am [x x x x] 12') ma-an-nu-um ša i-na<sup>GI</sup> ki-ki-ši-ia GI i-ša-la-[tú] 13') an-[né-ti]m ù [ma]-da-tim-ma DUMU šī-ip-ri-šu i-pu-ul-ma 14') mAr-ra-ap-ḫa-[a]-dal LUGAL ša ma-at Ši-ir-wu-nim<sup>ki</sup> qa-du-[um ša-bi-šu] 15') ù 2 li-<im> ša-bi-im Lu-ul-li-im til-la-sú it-ti-šu ur-ra-[da-am] 16') i-na qí-bi-it A-tam-ri-[im a-lam A]-da-al-la-ya<sup>ki</sup> i-la-wi 17') be-lí lu i-di, Joannès, Lettres de Yassīm-El, *ARM* 26/2, p. 269; Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 346-7. Lullubians were also present much further in the northwest, in Burundum, the kingdom of Adal-šenni, where Lullubians together with their king were present; cf. Guichard, M., "Le Šubartum occidental à l'avènement de Zimri-Lim," *FM* VI, p. 150.

<sup>185</sup> For its location, cf. Chapter Six.

Qabrā and Arrapha in their independence from Assyria. The location of Adallaya is not precisely known. However, since it was contested between Kurdā (as here in *ARM* 26, 405) and Andarig (*ARM* 26, 421), one may speculate that it was somewhere close to a limit of their range of influence.<sup>186</sup> As for Ašihum, it is identified in the region north of Jebel Sinjār.<sup>187</sup> Its former Hurrian-named king Ḫazip-ulme<sup>188</sup> may indicate a Hurrian (= Turukkean?) population in this period. This and its closeness to the territories controlled by Zaziya can explain why the latter should approve its hand-over.

Two other letters from Mari provide significant information concerning the Turukkean presence in the northern Habur region. The first is *ARM* 26, 128, sent to the king by Išhi-Addu, probably a high-official of Zimri-Lim. The subject of the letter is about Mardaman, and how Qarni-Lim king of Andarig and Šarraya king of Razama entered that place and took numerous prisoners, but later the Turukkeans laid an ambush for them. This clearly indicates a Turukkean presence there and perhaps means that the inhabitants of Mardaman were Turukkeans as well. This is not surprising as Mardaman was known since the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium to have been a Hurrian populated centre.<sup>189</sup> It is important to note also the date of the letter, since Qarni-Lim was beheaded in the first quarter of ZL 9'.<sup>190</sup> Durand thinks the destruction of Mardaman, reported in this letter, was in ZL 7' or ZL 8'.<sup>191</sup> The presence of these Turukkeans then, predates Zaziya's campaign to dominate the West-Tigris:

**Išhi-Addu to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 26, 128)**

Qarni-Lim and 'Šarraya' entered Mardaman. Before Qarni-Lim entered, 'Šarraya entered' prior to him, 'and' Šarraya [captured?] 300 men and [...] women, [and took them t]o Ḫadnum. 'Later, when Qarni-Lim' had arrived (in Mardaman), they took (another) 1,000 'prisoners' and shared the 1,000 prisoners between them. Qarni-Lim took 500, and Šarraya took 500. And [...] (2 lines) and 'the city' [of Mardaman (?)] (he/they) is/are not 'staying'. And 2,000 'Turukkeans' laid an ambush for them. This my lord may know.<sup>192</sup>

Mardaman, the oldest mention of which is in the Oakk. Period,<sup>193</sup> was formerly identified with modern Mardin.<sup>194</sup> However, it appears now that it was not so far to the west and north, and was rather located somewhere to the west of Ḫaburātum, north of Andarig and Razama,<sup>195</sup> i.e. to the north of the Hilly Arc. Apparently, the reason for this belief is a report

<sup>186</sup> According to Heimpel, it was a city of Kurdā: Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

<sup>187</sup> Heimpel, *op. cit.*, map on p. xxii.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. Birot, M., *Correspondance des gouverneurs de Qaṭṭunān*, *ARM* 27, Paris, 1993, p. 144, no. 72-bis, l. 35'-36'. He is mentioned together with another Hurrian-named king of Alilanum (*A-li-la-nim*<sup>ki</sup>), namely Masum-atal (*Ma-su-um-a-tal*), *op. cit.*, l. 34'-35'.

<sup>189</sup> Durand, *ARM* 26/1, p. 294 a. The attested Hurrian PNs associated with Mardaman are Nakdam-atal and Neriš-atal from the Ur III period, cf. Edzard, D. O., "Mardaman," *RIA* 7 (1987-1990), p. 357.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. Heimpel, p. 642.

<sup>191</sup> Durand, *ARM* 26/1, p. 294.

<sup>192</sup> 5) <sup>m</sup>Qar-ni-Li-im ù [Ša]r-r[i-ia] 6) a-na Mar-da-ma-an<sup>ki</sup> i-ru-bu 7) la-ma Qar-ni-Li-im 8) i-ru-bu Šar-r[i-ia] 9) i-na pa-ni-šu i-r[u-ub-m]a 10) 3 ME LÚ.MEŠ ù x [ME/li-im (?) M]JUNUS.MEŠ 11) <sup>m</sup>Šar-ri-ia i[l<sup>2</sup>-qí-ma] 12) [a-n]a Ḫa-ad-na<sup>ki</sup> 13) [ú]-še-[ri-ib-šu-nu-ti] 14) w[a-ar-k]a-nu-u[m] 15) [ki-m]a Qar-ni-Li-[im] 16) ik-ta-áš-dam 1 li-im ša-a[l-la-tam] 17) il-qú-ú-ma 18) i-na bi-ri-ti-šu-nu 19) 1 li-im ša-al-la-tam ša-a-ti i-zu-zu 20) 5 ME Qar-ni-Li-im il-qé 21) ù 5 ME Šar-ri-ia il-qé 22) ù [x x x x x<sup>2</sup>] x 23) ú-[.....] 24) ù a-lu[m Mar-da-ma-an<sup>ki</sup>(?)] 25) ú-ul [w]a-ši-[ib] 26) ù 2 li-im Tu-r[u]-k[u-ú] 27) ša-ub-tam a-na pa-ni-šu-nu na-di 28) an-ni-tam be-lí lu-ú i-de, Durand, *ARM* 26/1, p. 293; Heimpel, p. 225.

<sup>193</sup> If we accept the identification of Maridaban with Mardaman, its oldest occurrence as *Maridaban*<sup>ki</sup> is recorded in a year-name of Narām-Sîn that celebrates its destruction: MU *Na-ra-am*-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU Ma-ri-da-ba-an<sup>ki</sup> MU.ḪUL.A, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 85.

<sup>194</sup> Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, p. 118 with bibliography; Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 160; but note that both Finet and Birot have put it in the Transtigris region, cf. *RGTC* 3, *ibid.* with bibliography.

<sup>195</sup> Heimpel, p. 617; Durand, *ARM* 26/1, p. 294.

concerning an attack on this GN by the kings of Razama and Andarig, which indicates its closeness to them.<sup>196</sup> Furthermore, people travelling from Mardaman to Mari passed through Karanā.<sup>197</sup> Some texts associate Mardaman with Ḫaburātum, which was close to the eastern Habur: A.474 clearly indicates that the two lands could become involved in the war directly.<sup>198</sup> A.2986 speaks of a peace proposal between Mardaman and the king of Ḫaburātum, Nanib-šauri.<sup>199</sup>

If the restoration of the break is correct, letter *ARM 26, 129*, gives more significant information by mentioning Turukkean cities in the same region, implying a Turukkean population in the area:

**Išhi-Addu to Zimri-Lim (*ARM 26, 129*)**

My lord 'instructed' [me] to thoroughly learn the news of the land. I kept 'writing' (to my lord) the news of the land. 'According to' what my lord himself perceived of them, [the kings (of Ida-maraš)] did not act like enemies [and] 'agreement' has been established 'between' them. [And] Ḫaya-sumu keeps writing to them all the time as follows: "Since you did not dispatch your troops to Zaziya, enlist your troops now (and) come to me, and we shall go either against the army or else against the cities of [the Turukkean], and 'together' we shall ring the border area (with defences)." This 'Ḫaya-sumu' keeps writing to them. And they are not in agreement (with him). This my lord may know.<sup>200</sup>

I have doubts about the restoration of “the Turukkean” (l. 20) because of the fact that Ḫaya-sumu offered here alternative options: 1. “if you do not send troops to A;” 2. “let us then attack the army or cities of B instead.” So fighting the army of Zaziya (A) as the first option would be the same army in the second option (B); there would have been no need to offer this as a second option. The two options should be different targets, not the same. Further, it is not quite certain that “dispatching” troops to Zaziya (as the first option) necessarily means fighting him, for it could be to support him. But even then, Ḫaya-sumu would not attack the cities or the army of the one he intended to support.

There were other rulers (or kings) of cities in the region to the west of the Tigris at this time who bore Hurrian names. In many cases we can assume that their subject citizens were also Hurrians, particularly those to the north, northeast and northwest of Jebel Sinjār, since there was a Hurrian presence there in the periods before the Amorite immigrations. Kupper has compiled a list of Hurrians mentioned in the texts of Mari, most of them in the Hilly Arc and the Habur region. He pointed to the importance of the list as it indicates that “in the time of Zimri-Lim, a relatively large number of the small states of Northern Mesopotamia were governed by Hurrian princes.”<sup>201</sup> Such kingdoms, were scattered across the region from Jebel Sinjār (Ḫaburātum and Arriyuk’s kingdom)<sup>202</sup> to the cities of Ḫaššum and Ursu in the west,

<sup>196</sup> Durand, *ibid.*

<sup>197</sup> Durand, *ibid.*

<sup>198</sup> Durand, *ibid.*; cf. also Charpin, “Une campagne de Yahdun-Lîm en Haute-Mésopotamie,” *FM II*, p. 180.

<sup>199</sup> Durand, *ibid.*

<sup>200</sup> 5) *ša-ni-tam aš-šum te-em ma-a-ti[m]* 6) *lu-um-mu-di-im be-lí ú-w[a-e-ra-an-ni]* 7) *te-em ma-a-tim áš-ta-pa-r[-am]* 8) *[ki-m]a ša be-lí-ma it-tú-lu-šu-n[u-ti]* 9) *[LUGAL.MEŠ]-ma ú-ul ik-ki-ru* 10) *[ù m]i-it-gu-ur-tum* 11) *[i-na b]i-ri-šu-nu ša-a[k]-na-at* 12) *[ù] Ḫa-ià-s[u]-ú-mu* 13) *ka-a-ia-an-tam ki-a-am* 14) *iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ra-aš-šu-nu-ši-[im]* 15) *um-ma šu-ma iš-tu-ma ša-ba-ku-nu* 16) *a-na še-er Za-zi-ia la TÁ:AT-ru-da* 17) *i-na-an-na-ma ša-ba-ku-nu lu-up-ta-nim* 18) *a-na še-ri-ia al-ka-nim-ma* 19) *ú-lu a-na še-er um-ma-na-tim* 20) *ú-lu-ma-a a-na a-la-né-e ša LÚ [Tu-ru-uk-ki]* 21) *i li-il-li-ik-ma i-ta-am iš-[te-ni-iš]* 22) *i nu-še-we-er an-ni-tam Ḫa-ià-s[u]-ú-mu* 23) *iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ra-aš-šu-nu-ši-i[m]* 24) *ù šu-nu la-a ma-ga-ra-am-ma* 25) *an-ni-tam be-lí lu-ú i-de*, Durand, *ARM 26, 129*, p. 295; Heimpel, p. 225. Heimpel notes that l. 16 should be *ta-at-ru-da*, the verb in l. 21 as well, should be *i ni-il-li-ik*.

<sup>201</sup> Kupper, J.-R., “Les Hourrites à Mari,” *RHA 36* (1978), p. 124.

<sup>202</sup> For Arriyuk and his kingdom, see below.

i.e. from the Tigris to the Euphrates, with a special density to the north.<sup>203</sup> Charpin and Ziegler also compiled a list of all the rulers of the Near East in the time of the Mari archives.<sup>204</sup> I have combined both lists, and added information from later literature to include the Hurrian rulers (or those with Hurrian names) attested in Mari texts:<sup>205</sup>

### In the Upper and Western Habur

Aniš-ḫurpi <sup>206</sup>	king of Ḫaššum (Gaziantep) <sup>207</sup> and Zarwar (north of Samsat and northeast of Adiyaman) <sup>208</sup>	
Iniš-ulme	(capital unknown)	
Kirip-adal	(capital unknown)	time of ZL
Nuzukka	king of Šinamum <sup>209</sup>	ZL
Šadum-adal	Ašlakka in western Ida-maraš	ZL 0-2'
Šakru-Teššup	Eluḫut (Mardin) <sup>210</sup>	ZL 11'-12'
Šennam	Uršu	
Šepraru (?)	(Capital unknown)	ZL
Šupram	king of Susā. <sup>211</sup>	
Tišnam (?)	(capital unknown)	ZL
Turum-natki	Šubat-Enlil (Apum)	ZL ?-3'
Tamarzi <sup>212</sup>	Tarmanni in Ida-maraš	ZL
Takka (?) <sup>213</sup>	Tilla	ca. ZL 4'
Terru (?)	Urkeš	ZL

### In the Northeast of Sinjār

Arriyuk <sup>214</sup>	Probably <i>Kala-a</i> (see below)	ZL
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<sup>203</sup> Kupper, *ibid.*

<sup>204</sup> Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 263-8; cf. also Charpin, *OBO*, p. 392-402.

<sup>205</sup> Names of those who were not certainly kings or rulers and are listed by Kupper are omitted here; cf. Kupper, "Les Hourrites ...," *RHA* 36, p. 123.

<sup>206</sup> The name Aniš-ḫurpi is equivalent to Anum-ḫirbi, the king of Mama, whose famous letter was found in Kaniš. The two names refer to the same person; cf. Miller, J. L., "Annum-Ḫirbi and his kingdom," *AoF* 28 (2001), p. 93-4 (with bibliographical references).

<sup>207</sup> Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 81. However, Sasson suggested identifying it at Araban, c. 25 km west of the confluence of Karasu with the Euphrates, cf. Sasson, J. M., "Ḫurrians and Ḫurrian Names in the Mari Texts," *UF* 6 (1974), p. 392.

<sup>208</sup> Veenhof, K. R., *Across the Euphrates, Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period*, ed. J. G. Dercksen, Leiden, 2008, p. 16. Veenhof as well as Forlanini prefer the region of Samsat, in contrast to Miller's earlier identification at Tilmen Höyük: Miller, *AoF* 28, p. 77. Tilmen Höyük is now tentatively identified with the city of Apišal: Chambon, G., *Apišal, un royaume du Nord-Ouest*, in *Entre les fleuves-I, Untersuchungen zur historischen Geographie Obermesopotamiens im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, ed. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and N. Ziegler, Gladbeck, 2009, p. 237-8, but neither identification is certain. For the identification and separation of the three or four similar GNs, *Zal/rwar*, *Zalpa/Zlpuwa* and *Zalpaḫ*, cf. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 70-7; Barjamovic, *op. cit.*, p. 108f.

<sup>209</sup> According to Sasson, it was within the sphere of influence of Eluḫut: Sasson, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

<sup>210</sup> Durand, *LPO* III, p. 454.

<sup>211</sup> Susā was a city in Ida-maraš, cf. Kupper, *RHA* 36, p. 124; Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 53. The city was mentioned as Šuša together with Šeḫna, Zarḫanum and Putra when Samsu-iluna invaded the Habur region in 1728 BC (Samsu-iluna 22), cf. Charpin, *OBO*, p. 348.

<sup>212</sup> Compare the element *tamar-* in Nuzi PNs in Gelb *et. al.*, *NPN*, p. 262. For the location of Tarmani in Ida-maraš, cf. Kupper, *RHA*, p. 123, note 43; 124.

<sup>213</sup> Compare the name *Takku* in Nuzi, cf. *NPN, ibid.*

<sup>214</sup> His name seems to be a derivative of the Hurrian verb *ar(r)i-* "to give," meaning "given (by the god)" or "Theodorus" according to Durand: Durand, J.-M., *De l'époque amorrite à la Bible: le cas d'Arriyuk*, in

Masum-adal	Alilanum	ZL
Ḫazip-ulme	Ašihum (discussed above)	ZL
Šadum-šarri	Azuḫinum	ZL
Awa-kiriš <sup>215</sup>	Ḫurašan	ZL

### Tigris Region

Ḫazip-Aranziḫ	(capital unknown), but his city was in Ida-maraš. <sup>216</sup>	ZL
Adal-šenni	Burundum (already discussed)	YA and ZL
Edip-ḫuḫ	Burundum (already discussed)	ZL
Nanib-šawuri	Ḫaburātum	ZL
[Nani]b-šawuri	Ḫuršanum <sup>217</sup>	ZL
Puḫiya <sup>218</sup>	Ḫuršitum	ZL 5'
Tiš-ulme	Mardaman (discussed above)	ZL
Imi'uk (?) <sup>219</sup>	Širwun(um)	ZL
Arrapḫa-adal	Širwun(um)	ZL

It can be concluded that the Hurrians settled over almost the whole region to the east of the Tigris, to the north of the Hilly Arc (north of Jebel Sinjār), to the Habur, and further to the west to the Euphrates and beyond. One of the westernmost points they reached was Apišal, a kingdom with a capital perhaps at Tilmen Höyük in the Islahiye region, where one of its kings bore the Hurrian name Nawar-atal.<sup>220</sup> It is also noted that the Hurrians were not the only ethnic group in the Habur; Semites were there also. This mixed character of the Habur region seems to have continued through the ages, a characteristic of the area still today.<sup>221</sup> In this respect it is interesting that Kupper discovered that the line that separated Hurrians from Amorites in the early second millennium BC is “fairly close to the limit which today separates Kurdish from Arabic speakers.”<sup>222</sup>

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*Memoriae Igor M. Diakonoff, Babel und Bibel 2*, eds. Kogan, L., N. Koslova, S. Loesov, and S. Tishchenko, Winona Lake, 2005, p. 59. However, Charpin and Ziegler label him “an Elamite lieutenant,” cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 226. According to them, he accompanied the Elamites during their invasion of Ešnunna and Northern Mesopotamia and could seize that part of the territory for himself. However, when the Elamites invaded the region he was already king of his realm. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine an Elamite officer reigning over a territory that his overlords (the Elamite king and his troops) could not hold.

<sup>215</sup> Compare the elements *aw* and *kir* and the related forms in Nuzi PNs: *NPN*, p. 208 and 228. Kupper reads Awi-kiriš, *ibid.*

<sup>216</sup> Kupper, *ibid.* with bibliography in note 39.

<sup>217</sup> Another king of Ḫuršanum was a certain Zinnugan (ZL ?-5'), whose name is similar to Zinnum, the king of Subartum, who carried out an attack on Ešnunna at the end of the Ur III period (see Chapter Five, Isin-Larsa). It is probable that the two names were philologically related and were both Subarian. Note that the name of the GN where Zinnugan was ruling means “Highland” (< Sum. ḫur.sag), a name that could be the Akkadian/Amorite designation for (part of) Subartu.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. the name Puḫiya (*Pu-ḫi-ia/Pu-ḫi-a*) in Nuzi: *NPN*, p. 246.

<sup>219</sup> The end of the name is of the same type of Arriyuk; furthermore, Širwunum was a Hurrian populated area.

<sup>220</sup> Although of a slightly later date, a letter from Alalaḫ (level VII = 17<sup>th</sup> century BC) relates the dynastic marriage of Ammiqatum of Alalaḫ with the son of king Nawar-atal of Apišal, cf. Chambon, *op. cit.*, p. 235-6. For his identification of Apišal with Tilmen Höyük, cf. p. 237-8. For the date of Alalaḫ VII, cf. Von Dassow, E., *State and Society in the Late Bronze Age: Alalaḫ under the Mittani Empire*, *SCCNH 17*, Bethesda, 2008, p. XVI. It is important to note that archaeological excavations showed that by the middle of the Middle Bronze Age Tilmen became an important city, perhaps even a capital city, with its grand palace, temple and other principal buildings; cf. Duru, R., *A Forgotten Capital City, Tilmen*, Istanbul, 2003, p. 74.

<sup>221</sup> Today there are Kurds, Arabs, Nestorians and smaller ethnic minorities in the region.

<sup>222</sup> Kupper, J.-R., “Northern Mesopotamia and Syria,” *CAH*, vol. II, part 1, Cambridge, 1973, p. 23.

## *The War of Zaziya across the Tigris and the Decline of Išme-Dagan's Kingdom*

From now on a new phase of Turukkean expansion begins. After Zaziya had taken control on the east of the Tigris, he started incursions to control the west of the Tigris and add it to the Turukkean kingdom. The numerous attacks, sieges and raids were one of his methods of exhausting the economy and consequently weakening the political and military structures of the kingdoms there. Once the Turukkeans had captured and dominated some parts of these territories, they could become new bases for further actions. The attack on the city of Asna, only “two and a half double hours” (i.e. 2.4 km or 1.5 miles)<sup>223</sup> from Ninêš, might be the earliest raid across the Tigris, for it was so close to Ninêš:

### **Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 518 = ARM 2, 42)**

On the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the month Abum (IV), the ‘Turukkean’ crossed the Tigris to ‘the land’ [of...]. And he laid siege to the city of Asna. And ‘the city of’ [Asna lies at a distance of] 2 and ‘a half’ double-hours (= *bērum*) toward (lit. to) ‘Ninêš. After’ he laid siege to ‘the city’ he offered it ‘peace’ but kept [his troops] in place. And he requested (the surrender<sup>224</sup> of) its king. They did not give to him what he asked for. He (=Zaziya) returned.<sup>225</sup>

Sometime in late ZL 10’<sup>226</sup> Turukkean troops penetrated as deep as Karanā. Fear of such an attack on the city is expressed by Aškur-Addu:

### **Zimri-Addu to Zimri-Lim (ARM 27, 154)**

Now Aškur-Addu spoke as follows: “We both go? As long as I meet with my father (=ZL), ‘Ḥaḡba-Ḥammu’ must hold the land. I [am] afraid the Turukkean ‘will make an incursion’ and encroach on the land.”<sup>227</sup>

Also in late ZL 10’ Ešnunnean troops entered Razama and from there they marched on, but it was not known to the sender of letter ARM 26, 390 whether they intended to head to Karanā or to Andarig.<sup>228</sup> Letter ARM 27, 18 reports that 30,000 troops are heading for Andarig, which can very probably relate to the same episode of ARM 26, 390. In ARM 27, 18 there is evidence of contact between Zaziya and Zimri-Lim, which seemingly concerned the developments around Andarig:

<sup>223</sup> Compare both Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 259 and 260, and Heimpel, p. 399.

<sup>224</sup> Durand: “asked for the king (as hostage),” *op. cit.*, p. 259.

<sup>225</sup> 4) ITI *a-bi-im* U<sub>4</sub>25.KAM L[Ú *Tu-r*]u-u[*k-kum*'] 5) I<sub>7</sub> I-d[*i*]-ig-la-at i-bi-ir a-na ma-[a-at ... il-li-ik] 6) ù a-lam [?]-As-na-a<sup>ki</sup> il-wi ù a-l[um<sub>x</sub>] (=LAM) As-na-a<sup>ki</sup> A.ŠÁ 7) a-na Ni<sub>5</sub>-[nē]-et<sup>ki</sup> bé-ra-am ù zu-z[a-am ru-uq'] 8) iš-[*t*]u a-[lam] ša-a-tu il-wu-ú sa-li-[ma-a]m iš-ši-šum-ma 9) [ša-ba-am] ú-še-ši-ib ù LUGAL-šu i-ri-iš 10) [ki-ma ša i-r]i-šu la id-di-nu-šum i-tu-ur-ma, Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, p. 489; Heimpel, p. 399; Durand has [ki-ma ša i-r]i-šu in l. 10 instead of [ki-ma ša i-ri-i]š-šu, cf. Durand, *LAPO* II, p. 259. After a lacuna of about 17 lines, with references to an enemy and troops at the disposal of the author of the letter, there is a passage about the capture of a city. But it is not certain whether it is the same city Zaziya besieged or not. Durand has “he proposed again a peace treaty” instead of “he (= Zaziya) returned,” cf. Durand, *ibid.*

<sup>226</sup> For the date of the letter ARM 27, 154, cf. Heimpel, p. 649.

<sup>227</sup> 24) i-na-[a]n-na Aš-kur-<sup>d</sup>IM [k]i-a-am 25) iq-bi um-ma-a-mi ki-[*t*]a-lu-ni-i 26) ni-il-la-ak a-di it-ti a-bi-ia 27) an-na-am-ma-ru Ḥa-[a]q-b[a-ḥ]a-am-mu 28) ma-tam li-ki-il a[s-s]ú-ur-re' 29) Tu-ru-ku-um iḥ-[ḥ]a-ba-a[*t*]-ma-ma 30) ma-tam ú-ba-az-za-aḥ, Birot, M., Correspondance des gouverneurs de Qaṭṭunân, *ARM* 27, Paris, 1993, p. 260; Heimpel, p. 465, who makes a correction to l. 30.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. the letter in Heimpel, p. 336.

**Ilšu-našir to Zimri-Lim (ARM 27, 18)**

And herewith [I ....] a tablet of Zaziya, a tablet of Šarraya and Zimriya, to my lord.<sup>229</sup>

In the month II of ZL 11' a treaty between Atamrum of Andarig and Aškur-Addu of Karanā was concluded. This was an important event aimed against Kurdā and its allies. On the one side were Andarig and Karanā, supported by Mari, and on the other, Kurdā and Ekallātum, supported by Ešnunna.<sup>230</sup> In the negotiations that preceded the conclusion of this treaty many important personalities and kings were involved, in addition to the representatives of the major powers of Mari, Babylon, and Ešnunna. They were invited to observe and probably to witness its ratification. Heimpel considers that the presence of Ešnunnean and Turukkean representatives was tolerated because the two were enemies of neither Andarig, nor Karanā at that time. He does not agree with Lafont, who thinks that Andarig and Karanā were part of the Mari-Babylon-Andarig-Karanā alliance, because the treaty between Babylon and Ešnunna was not yet concluded.<sup>231</sup> A long and detailed report concerning this event was written and sent to Zimri-Lim by Yasîm-El. What is remarkable in the report is that Turukkû was present, but no mention of Ekallātum is made. If we take into account the growing power and influence Zaziya had in the West-Tigris region, Turukkû's presence will not surprise us. The section in relation to the treaty is as follows:

**Yasîm-El to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 404)**

..... in Šidqum they all congregated and started talking of the matters between them and [...]. Before killing the stallion, while they were talking, [Atamrum] proceeded and, facing the Babylonian (messenger), the Ešnunnean (messenger), the 'Turukkean' (messenger), the seven kings who were present before him and the troops of the alliance, all of them, spoke the following words.....<sup>232</sup>

Zaziya's presence in the meeting did not hinder his plans for the region. At the end of the same long letter comes the news of the Turukkeans, who had crossed the Tigris to lay siege to Razama:

**Yasîm-El to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 404)**

Zuzuni, a servant of Aškur-Addu, '.....' with Yantin-[eraḥ. And] he spoke 'a word' to Yantin-eraḥ as follows: "The Turukkean crossed. Iniš-kibal is heading [to] lay siege to the city of Razama."<sup>233</sup>

This news is also reported in another short letter, which seems to have been written at precisely the same time as this letter of Yasîm-El:

**Ḫabdu-malik to Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu (ARM 26, 395)**

'Further': After I sealed the tablet for the king, news broke. Turukkean troops have crossed. Inform the king!<sup>234</sup>

<sup>229</sup> 17') ù a-nu-um-ma tup-pí 18') mZa-zi-ia tup-pí 19') mŠar-ra-ia 20') ù Zi-im-ri-ia 21') [a]-na še-er be-lí-ia, Birot, ARM 27, p. 66; Heimpel, p. 418.

<sup>230</sup> Heimpel, p. 135.

<sup>231</sup> Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 135, note 202.

<sup>232</sup> 11) ... Ši-id-qí-im<sup>ki(i)</sup> [k]a-lu-šu-nu in-ne-em-du-ma 12) a-wa-at bi-ri-šu-nu ir-tú-pu da-ba-ba-am ù A[NŠE ḫa]-a-[ra-am iq-tú-lu] 13) la-ma da-ak ANŠE ḫa-a-ri-im i-na di-bi-šu-nu [A-tam-rum] 14) mé-eh-re-et LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> LÚ Ēš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> LÚ Tu-r[u-ki-im ù] 15) 7 LUGAL.MEŠ ša ma-aḫ-ri-šu i-za-az-zu ù ma-ḫar ša-ab til-la-t[im] 16) ka-li-<<li>>-ši-na ú-še-ši-ir-ma a-wa-tam ki-a-am iq-bi, Joannès, Lettres de Yasîm-El, ARM 26/2, p. 259; Heimpel, p. 344.

<sup>233</sup> 86) [m]Zu-zu-ni ĪR Aš-kur-<sup>d</sup>IM it-ti Ia-an-ti-[in- x x ik-šu]da-a[m] 87) [ù] a-na Ia-an-ti-in-e-ra-aḫ 88) [a-wa]-tam ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma-a-mi 89) [LÚ T]u-ru-ku-um i-bi-ra-am 90) [a-na] la-wi a-lim<sup>ki</sup> Ra-za-ma<sup>ki</sup> 91) I-ni-iš-ki-ba-al pa-na-am ša-ki-in<sub>4</sub> (erasure)-<<šu>>, Joannès, ARM 26/2, p. 261; Heimpel, p. 345.



Razama was not the only target of Zaziya across the Tigris. There are other reports about cities being attacked, besieged and captured, and even about the rustling of sheep by the Turukkeans. We saw in letter *ARM* 26, 518 how Asna was besieged and later other cities and territories, such as Karanā, Adē, Razama and Ekallātum, followed (see below). From letter *ARM* 28, 155 we learn that Azuḥinnum too was among the cities Zaziya attacked. The letter was sent by Arriyuk to his lord Zimri-Lim, in which he defends himself against the “slander” of Šadu-šarri, king of Azuḥinnum, who accused Arriyuk of cooperation with the Turukkeans when they attacked his city:

**Arriyuk to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 28, 155)**

Say to my father Zimri-Lim: Thus (says) Arriyuk, your son. I heard the tablet my father sent me. Concerning the news of the Turukkeans and the people of Ḫiwilat, about which my father wrote to me as follows: “You have let these people cross (the river) and they pillaged my sheep.” This is what my father wrote to me. Certainly, on five occasions they put insulting (reports) about me in front of my father, and my father listens, while there is no confirmation. As to what Šadu-šarri said: “The troops of Arriyuk went with the Turukkeans,” now, may my father ask (about that)! I learned about the build up of the Turukkean (troops) one month before. I wrote to Azuḥinnum, to the land of Burullum, and to Aqba-ḫammu about the necessity of moving the sheep (and) I gave strict orders to Kibšunatar and Yadaḫatānum, the shepherds (whom) I sent.<sup>235</sup>

He was not only accused of collaboration with the Turukkeans, but also with the Elamites when they invaded the region. According to the restorations of letter *ARM* 28, 153 made by Durand, he defends himself for not sending his messengers to the Elamite:

**Arriyuk to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 28, 153):**

I have not se[nt my messengers to] the Elamite as be[fore. Before, the Elamite] took [out] my [mess]engers to kill them.<sup>236</sup>

Arriyuk was a vassal of Zimri-Lim and owed his position as ruler of a city to him. This is apparent from the repetition of the formula “(you are) my father... (I am) your son” in his letters to Zimri-Lim (see letters *ARM* 28, 153-157). Unfortunately, no mention of his kingdom or capital city is made in these letters, but according to Sasson, it must have been located in the region of Karanā and Razama.<sup>237</sup> Kupper too located it in the region of Jebel Sinjār,<sup>238</sup> to its northeast, in the neighbourhood of Azuḥinnum and Burullum; both Charpin and Ziegler agree.<sup>239</sup> Durand thinks that Arriyuk resided in Kalḫu, arguing that the GN *Ka-la-a*<sup>[ki]</sup>,

<sup>234</sup> 16) *ša-[ni]-tam iš-tu tu<sub>4</sub>-pí* LUGAL 17) *ak-nu-ku te<sub>4</sub>-mu-um* 18) *im-[q]ú-ut ša-bu-um* 19) LÚ *Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú* 20) *i-te-eb-ra-am* 21) *a-na* LUGAL *bu-ur-ri*, Charpin, “Lettres de Habdu-malik,” *ARM* 26/2, p. 229; Heimpel, p. 340.

<sup>235</sup> 1) *a-na a-bi-ia Zi-im-ri-Li-im* 2) *qí-bí-ma* 3) *um-ma Ar-ri-yu-uk!* 4) DUMU-*ka-a-ma* 5) *tu<sub>4</sub>-pa-am ša a-bi ú-ša-bi-lam eš-me* 6) *aš-šum te<sub>4</sub>-em Tu-ru-uk-ki-im ù Ḫi-wi-la-ta-yi<sup>ki</sup>* 7) *ša a-bi iš-pu-ra-am um-ma-a-mi* 8) *ša-ba-am ša-a-ti tu-še-bi-ir-ma* UDU.ḪÁ-*ia iš-ḫi-tú* 9) *an-ni-tam a-bi iš-pu-ra-am* 10) *wu-di 5-šu tá-ap-la-ti-ia ma-ḫa-ar a-bi-ia* 11) *iš-ku-nu-ma a-bi i-še-em-me ù šu-ta-ku-nu-um* 12) *ú-ul i-ba-aš-ša i-na-an-na Ša-du-šar-ri* 13) *iq-bu-ú u[m]-m[a]-a-mi ša-ab Ar-ri-yu-uk* 14) *it-ti* LÚ [*Tu-ru-[u]k-ki-im il-li-ik*] 15) *a-nu-um-ma a-[bi] [i]-ša-al ...*

22) *pa-ḫa-ar* LÚ *Tu-ru-uk-ki-im iš-tu* ITI 1.KAM *eš-me-ma* 23) *a-na A-zu-ḫi-in-nim<sup>ki</sup> a-na ma-a-at Bu-ru-ul-li-im<sup>ki</sup>* 24) *ù a-na še-[e]r Aq-ba-ḫa-am-mu aš-pu-[ur-ma]* 25) *ù aš-šum* UDU.ḪÁ *du-[u]p-pu-ri-im a-na Ki-i[b-šu-n]a-tar* 26) *ù Ia-da-ḫa-ta-nim ú-tu-ul-li ša aš-p[u-ru]* 27) *dan-na-tim aš-ku-un*, Kupper, *ARM* 28, p. 225-6.

<sup>236</sup> 6') *ki-ma pa-na-[nu-um DUMU.MEŠ]* 7) [*ši-ip-ri-ia a-na*] LÚ.ELAM *ú-ul aṭ-ru-u[d pa-na-nu-um]* 8') [LÚ.ELAM DUMU.MEŠ] *ši-ip-ri-ia a-na da-ki-im ú-š[e-ši]*, Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 65-6.

<sup>237</sup> Sasson, “Ḫurrians and ...,” *UF* 6 (1974), p. 358.

<sup>238</sup> Kupper, *RHA*, p. 123.

<sup>239</sup> Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 226, note 520.

mentioned in letter *ARM* 28, 155,<sup>240</sup> as a departure point of a group of people, is one of the different spellings (such as Kawalḫum) the Assyrians used to render the name of Kalḫu.<sup>241</sup> In this letter Arriyuk complained to his lord Zimri-Lim that a group of people were taken to Mari when they were on their way from *Ka-la-a*[<sup>ki</sup>] and he is now afraid that they may be sold later.<sup>242</sup> To Durand, the passage “There are people of mine in large numbers (that I[?]) made depart from Kal’a to Mari” makes sense only if Kal’a is the place where these people departed from.<sup>243</sup> This is possible, although we are not sure whether Arriyuk resided in Kal’a itself or in a second city with authority over Kal’a which enabled him to send people from there. It is more important that we have the modern place Kalak on the Upper Zāb, exactly halfway between Erbil and Mosul, that forms the main crossing point on the river that leads from the region of Erbil to the western territories, which is still in the region of Kalḫu. I would prefer to identify Kalak with Kal’a instead of Kalḫu, provided the reading *Ka-la-a*[<sup>ki</sup>] of Durand is correct. Kalak presumably was also a crossing point in ancient times and perhaps its name today maintains the essence of its old name Kal’a(k).<sup>244</sup> In the letter there is a clear reference to its importance as a crossing point, when Arriyuk is accused of helping Turukkean troops to cross “the river” without identifying which river. In the spring of 2010 an inscribed brick of Shalmaneser I was found in the tell of Kalak that identified it with the city of Kilizi.<sup>245</sup>

It seems that the rulers of the petty kingdoms of the region found themselves stuck between Mari on the one hand and the rising power of Zaziya on the other. They, or many of them, were somehow politically bound to Zimri-Lim, but were not able to resist the demands of Zaziya, and this explains why Arriyuk was accused of collaboration with the Turukkeans, an accusation that seemingly had every reason to be believed.

The texts *ARM* 28, 153 and 154 date events from ZL 3’-4’, and *ARM* 28, 155 and 156 indicate events from ZL 10’-11’, according to Kupper.<sup>246</sup> However, Kupper based himself on the mention of the affairs of Ešnunna and the Elamite intervention in Northern Mesopotamia when dating the events to ZL 3’-4’, but the date of the Elamite invasion was later, in ZL 8’ (see above).<sup>247</sup> Among other events the letters of Arriyuk mention that Zaziya was three times victorious in the region of Mardaman, and now needs military assistance to secure the land:

**Arriyuk to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 28, 156)**

Previously, [Zaziya], the Turukkean, went [to the land] of Mardaman and was victorious [for the second time]; then he crossed [the mountain], he fought for the third time in Šiḫum and he triumphed. Now may my father send me Aškur-Addu so that we can safeguard the land.<sup>248</sup>

It is possible that one of these victories was the one in ZL 7’ or 8’, discussed above.

<sup>240</sup> Note that the reading of this word as a GN is Durand’s suggestion against the reading *ka-al* <*u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im*> of Kupper.

<sup>241</sup> Durand, “De l’époque amorrite à la Bible: le cas d’Arriyuk,” *Memoriae Igor M. Diakonoff*, p. 62-3.

<sup>242</sup> Durand, *ibid.*; cf. also Kupper, *ARM* 28, 155, p. 226.

<sup>243</sup> Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>244</sup> The finite k is a common Iranian suffix attached to substantives.

<sup>245</sup> This according to an oral communication from Mr. Dilshad Zamua and Mr. Qusay Mansoor, both lecturers in the Archaeology Department of the University of Salahaddin-Erbil. One wonders whether there is any link between the names Kal’a and Kilizi.

<sup>246</sup> Kupper, *ARM* 28, p. 221.

<sup>247</sup> According to Durand, letter *ARM* 28, 153 dates to ZL 9’: Durand, “De l’époque amorrite à la Bible...,” p. 65.

<sup>248</sup> 17) [i-n]a p[a-n]a-nu-um 18) [”Za-zi-ia] LÚ [T]u-[ru-uk-ku] 19) [a-na ma-a-a]t Mar-da-ma-an<sup>ki</sup> il-[/i-kam-ma 20) [ši-ni-šu da]-wi-da-am i-du-u[k] 21) [ù KUR ib-ba-a]l-ki-it-[m]a a-na li-ib-[b]i Ši-iš<sub>7</sub>-hi-im 22) [ĜIŠ.TUKUL ša-la]-ši-šu i-[p]u-úš 23) [ù da-wi]-dam-ma i-du-uk 24) [i-na-an-n]a a-bi Aš-qúr-<sup>d</sup>[IM l]i-it-ru-dam-ma 25) ša šu-ul-lum ma-a-tim i ni-pu-úš, Kupper, *ARM* 28, 156, p. 227.

Shortly after the conclusion of the treaty mentioned above, presumably in the same month II of ZL 11', Išme-Dagan carried out an attack on Nusar, a dependency of Karanā.<sup>249</sup> Later he linked with Hammurabi of Kurdā and attacked Šurra. Around the same time Hammurabi of Kurdā and Išme-Dagan attacked Purattum and Ašan. These events called for Zimri-Lim to react. He moved to Šurra and was there on the 29<sup>th</sup> of III of 11'; before his arrival Išme-Dagan and Hammurabi seem to have withdrawn. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of VI of ZL 11' Ekallātean and Ešnunnean troops entered Razama and it became known that they intended to march further to Ḥašarum.<sup>250</sup> This we learn from a letter that Iddiyātum sent to Zimri-Lim. Iddiyātum was right when he reported that the lack of grain was the motive behind the Ekallātean aggression.<sup>251</sup>

**Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 513)**

I wrote my lord once, twice. I (said) "Išme-Dagan will look for an ally. Now that man 'needs(?)' grain and he will look for an ally for (that) reason alone. He will not quit."<sup>252</sup>

This is an important turning point in the history of Išme-Dagan's kingdom. From now on, his star began to fade; most of his next movements aim at obtaining grain or rustling cattle. Ironically the kingdom of Išme-Dagan suffered from the same hardship that the Turukkean lands had suffered from in the past, which resulted in their collapse and all the consequent grain shortages. In the month VI of the same year, he conquered the city of Kiyatan and transported its grain to Razama. However, the caravan was attacked by Ḥaqba-Ḥammu and the accompanying troops of Išme-Dagan were forced to flee into Razama without weapons, food or grain.<sup>253</sup> The Turukkeans, forgetting their previous attempt to stir up the allies of Zimri-Lim against their lord, seem now to have helped the Mari-Andarig-Karanā alliance, as long as it was against Išme-Dagan. There are reports of the march of the Turukkeans against Išme-Dagan; the first relates that 4,000 Turukkean troops had crossed the Tigris towards Ekallātum:

**Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 522)**

And I heard from those around me: "4000 Turukkeans crossed (the Tigris), and 'their sight is set' on Ekallātum." Possibly because of these things, 'Išme-Dagan' [returned].<sup>254</sup>

It is very possible, as Heimpel suggests, that the 300 Turukkeans who were reported to have "arrived inside" the camp of Rakna were part of those 4,000 troops.<sup>255</sup> Rakna was the

<sup>249</sup> According to Lafont, Nusar was located between Razama and Karanā, but closer to the latter. An unpublished letter (A.1180) too states that it was three steps distance from Qaṭṭara (Tell al-Rimāh), on the way that leads from Qaṭṭara to Ekallātum; cf. Lafont, *ARM 26/2*, p. 476; cf. also Ziegler, according to whom it was to the south or southeast of Qaṭṭara: Ziegler, "Le royaume d'Ekallātum . . .", *FM VI*, p. 268.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. Heimpel, p. 139.

<sup>251</sup> Heimpel, p. 139.

<sup>252</sup> 19) 1-šu 3-šu a-na be-lí-ia aš-pu-r[a]-am 20) um-ma -an-ku-ma Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-g[an] ú-ta-la-al 21) ina-an-na LÚ šu-ú še-em 'i-<sup>2</sup>šu-<sup>2</sup>ma 22) i-dam iš-ti-in ú-ta-al-la-al 23) ú-ul i-pa-at-tà-ar, Lafont, La correspondance d'Iddiyatum, *ARM 26/2*, p. 483; Heimpel, p. 397. The restoration of 'i-<sup>2</sup>šu-<sup>2</sup>ma' of l. 21 is understood as 'i-ku-ul-<sup>2</sup>ma' by Durand; however, the alternative of Heimpel to restore the verb *haših*, "to need/lack" fits the context better; cf. Heimpel, p. 397, note 380.

<sup>253</sup> Cf. the letter *ARM 2*, 50. Ḥaqba-Ḥammu attacked the troops, but it is not sure whether it was also he who deprived Išme-Dagan of grain, because the donkeys bearing the grain were not lost; cf. Heimpel, p. 143.

<sup>254</sup> 10') ù i-na a-ḫi-ti-ia ki-a-am eš-me um-ma-mi 11') 4 li-mi Tu-ru-uk-kum i-bi-ra-am-m[a] 12') ù a-na É-kál-la-ti[m]<sup>ki</sup> [p]a-nu-[š]u-<nu> ša-a[k-nu] 13') mi-id-de aš-šum an-né-tim [I]š-me-<sup>d</sup>D[a-gan]..., Lafont, *ARM 26/2*, p. 496; Heimpel, p. 401. The restoration "[returned]" is by Heimpel.

<sup>255</sup> Heimpel, p. 143.

camp Aškur-Addu set up near Razama after he left the camp near Kiyatan.<sup>256</sup> The arrival of those troops was announced in the letter *ARM* 28, 171. This informative letter gives more valuable hints about the situation; it shows that Šubat-Enlil, like Andarig and Allaḥad, was counted among the domains of Zimri-Lim. Further, it reports that Išme-Dagan left his camp in front of Kiyatan and entered Razama, because of a lack of troops, especially after he realized that Ešnunna had refused his request for more troops. The reason for the refusal was worse than the refusal itself: Ešnunna had made peace with Babylon:

**Ḫimdiya to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 28, 171)**

The cities of Andarig, Allaḥad, 'Šubat-Enlil', the land and the troops are well. Four days ago the enemy (= Išme-Dagan) rose from his camp 'in front of' the city of Kiyatan, and he is staying (now) inside the city of Razama. The Babylonian troops, the troops of my lord and the troops of Aškur-Addu-, we are staying in front of the enemy in Rakna, a border city of Aškur-Addu. The day I sent this tablet of mine to my lord, 'the next day', 300 troops of Zaziya arrived inside our camp. From the bivouac of the troops of my lord we will block (the trespass on) the fringe of the land of Karanā 'until' the intention of the enemy is understood. We sent men of the field campaign to capture an informer, and they captured two 'men by' the gate of Assur. We asked 'them', and they spoke to us as follows: "Mut-Aškur, son of 'Išme-Dagan', brought a visitation gift to Ešnunna. He went to bring up additional troops. They did not accept his visitation gift. And they did not give him one man. They pushed him aside and they dispatched him. Four days ago he arrived in Ekallātum. The Ešnunnean and Babylonian made peace between them." This news they told, and I wrote my lord the news I heard.<sup>257</sup>

The information in this letter is confirmed by *ARM* 26, 523, sent by Iddiyātum, in particular the journey of Mut-Aškur to Ešnunna, the refusal of his request and gifts. It adds also that a high-ranking Ešnunnean envoy accompanied Mut-Aškur to Ekallātum to organize the return of their military contingent.<sup>258</sup> The same letter relates that Šubatum on the bank of the Tigris was attacked, and that 40 men and women and 100 heads of cattle were captured; but the writer is not sure whether it was the Ḫadneans who did it or the Turukkeans.<sup>259</sup> Letter *ARM* 26, 341 explains why Išme-Dagan needed extra troops from Ešnunna; he heard about the return of Atamrum from Babylon to Andarig. According to Heimpel, he was afraid of the possibility (or knew indeed of the certainty) that he may bring Babylonian troops against him.<sup>260</sup>

<sup>256</sup> Lafont puts Rakna on the border of the Aškur-Addu's kingdom: Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, p. 476.

<sup>257</sup> 4) URU *An-da-ri-ig*<sup>ki</sup> *Al-la-ḫa-da*<sup>ki</sup> *Šu-ba-at*-[<sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL<sup>ki</sup>] 5) *ma-tum* *ù* *ša-bu-um* *ša-lim* 6) LÚ.KÚR *iš-tu* U<sub>4</sub> 4.KAM *iš-tu* *ka-ra-ši-šu* 'r-n[a] <<[A A]N>> 7) URU *Ki-ia-ta-nim*<sup>ki</sup> *it-bé-em-ma* *i-na* ŠĀ.BA URU *Ra-za-ma-a*<sup>ki</sup> 8) *wa-ši-ib* *ša-bu-um* LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> *ša-bu-um* *ša* *be-lí-ia* 9) *ù* *ša-ba* *Aš-kur*-[I]M *i-na* *pa-an* LÚ.KÚR *i-na* *Ra-ak-na-a*<sup>ki</sup> 10) URU <<x>><sup>ki</sup> *pa-ṭi-im* *ša* *Aš-kur*-<sup>d</sup>IM *wa-aš-ba-nu* 11) 'u<sub>4</sub><sup>7</sup>-um *ṭup-pí* *an-neé-em* *a-na* *be-lí-ia* *ú*-*ša-bi-lam* 12) [*ša*]-*né-em* *u<sub>4</sub>-um*-[*šu*] 3 *me* *ša-bu-um* *ša* *Za-zi-ia* 13) *a-na* ŠĀ.BA *ka*-[*r*]*a-ši-ni* *ik-šu-dam* 14) [*i*]-*na* *ru-bu-uš* *ša-bi-im* *ša* *be-lí-ia* 15) 'a<sup>1</sup>-[*d*]*i* *ṭe<sub>4</sub>-em* LÚ.KÚR *ni-na-ma-ru* 16) *a-na* *pí-a-at* *ma-a-at* *Ka-ra-na-a*<sup>k</sup>[<sup>1</sup>] 17) *nu-pa-ar-ra-ak* 18) LÚ.MEŠ *ša* *ki-ir-ri-i*[*m* *š*]a A.ŠĀ 19) *a-na* LÚ *ša* *li-ša*-[*nim*] *ṭe-qé-em* 20) *ni-iš-pu-ur-ma* 2 L[Ú.MEŠ *i-n*]a KÁ *Aš-šu-ur*<sup>ki</sup> 21) *il-qú-nim* *ni-iš<sub>7</sub>-ta-a*[*l-šu-n*] *u-ti-m*[*a*] 22) *ki-a-am* *iq-bu-nim* *um-ma-a-m*[*i*] *Mu-tu-Aš-kur* DUMU *Iš-me*-<sup>d</sup>[*Dā*]-*g*[*an*] 23) *ta-ma-ar-tam* *a-na* *Ēš-nun-na*<sup>ki</sup> *ú-bi-il* *a-na* *ša-bi-im* *te-er-di-im* 24) *šu-li-im* *il-li-ik* *ta-ma-ar-ta-šu* *ú-ul* *im-ḫu-ru-šu* 25) *ù* 1 LÚ *ú-ul* *id-di-nu-šu* *ú-sà-ki-pu-ni-šu-ma* 26) *it-ru-du-ni-iš-šu* *iš-tu* U<sub>4</sub> 4.KAM *a-na* *Ē-kál-la-tim*<sup>ki</sup> 27) *ik-šu-dam* LÚ *Ēš-nun-na*<sup>ki</sup> *ù* LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> 28) *i-na* *bi-ri-šu-nu* *is-sa-al-mu* 29) *ṭe<sub>4</sub>-ma-am* *an-né-em* *id-bu-bu-nim-ma* 30) *ṭe<sub>4</sub>-em* *eš-mu-ú* *a-na* *be-lí-ia* *aš-pu-ra-am*, Kupper, *ARM* 28, p. 248-9; Heimpel, p. 503. For the problem of l. 12, that tells a story after the tablet was sent, cf. Heimpel, *ibid.*, note 148. Another interesting observation is the significant information civilians knew about the political relations and details of what had happened between the king of Ešnunna and Mut-Aškur; more interestingly, these two men were not from the capital Ekallātum but from Aššur.

<sup>258</sup> Cf. the letter in Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, p. 497-9; Heimpel, p. 401.

<sup>259</sup> Lafont, *ibid.*; Heimpel, *ibid.*

<sup>260</sup> Heimpel, p. 143.

### Yamšum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 341)

Three fugitives from Ekallātum fled here and told the full story to me, (saying): "They (= the Ekallāteans) heard about the coming of Atamrum and dispatched Mut-Aškur to bring up Ešnunnean troops."<sup>261</sup>

The new king of Ešnunna, Šilli-Sîn, who was put on the throne in the beginning of ZL 10',<sup>262</sup> decided to break off the alliance with Išme-Dagan in ZL 11'.<sup>263</sup> The rupture of the alliance was because of a new alliance Ešnunna had concluded with Hammurabi of Babylon after the latter's victory over Larsa.<sup>264</sup> The timing could not be worse; all other lands were hostile to Išme-Dagan, and his territory had shrunk to only Ekallātum, Razama, and Aššur with all the people hating him. Furthermore, the Turukkeans had already resumed their activity against his land by raiding its territories, and above all there was a serious grain shortage in the kingdom. Letter ARM 26, 494 states that Išme-Dagan suggested that his subjects should sell their children for grain in the market of Mankisum, but they refused; he sold 400 of his troops instead.<sup>265</sup> A report of a refugee from Ekallātum to Zimri-Lim presents the best view of these circumstances:

### Buqaqum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 491)

I sent Yasim-Ḫammu to Ḫaqba-Ḫammu in Karanā, and a courtier who fled from Ekallātum to Aškur-Addu '.....' Yasim-Ḫammu between Karanā and [...], and he (= Yasim-Ḫammu) 'asked' him for news of 'Išme-Dagan'. And he (the courtier) told (him) the following: "The Ešnunneans quit, and Išme-Dagan wailed to them. He (said), 'The land, all of it, hates me. How is it that you (= Lipit-Sîn)<sup>266</sup> took the lead of a blind snake of Ešnunneans<sup>267</sup> and then brought it up (here)?' And he spoke as follows to the Ešnunneans: He (said) 'I will depart with you (pl.) for Ešnunna.' Lipit-Sîn and the 500 Ešnunneans (then) stayed<sup>268</sup> in Ekallātum, and Išme-Dagan keeps writing to Zaziya for peace, and 8 talents of silver Išme-Dagan prepared to Zaziya as a gift, and he placed barges at Kawalḫum to receive barley."<sup>269</sup>

<sup>261</sup> 6) 3 LÚ mu-un-na-ab-tu 7) iš-tu É-kál-la-tim<sup>ki</sup> in-na-bi-tù(DU)-nim-ma 8) te<sub>r</sub>-ma-am ga-am-ra-am id-bu-bu-nim 9) um-ma-a-mi e-le-e<sup>m</sup> A-tam-ri-im iš-mu-ma 10) mMu-ut-aš-kur a-na ša-bi-im LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> 11) ša-li-im iṭ-tà-ar-du, Charpin, "Les représentants de Mari à Ilân-surâ," ARM 26/2, p. 112; Heimpel, p. 309.

<sup>262</sup> Šilli-Sîn was a division commander, enthroned by the Ešnunnean army to fill up the power vacuum after the Elamites retreated from Ešnunna; cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 108 and 647.

<sup>263</sup> For this date, cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 172; also Charpin, *op. cit.*, p. 172, note 98, referring also to Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 232 and 236.

<sup>264</sup> Charpin, *op. cit.*, p. 172, note 98, referring also to Charpin and Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 232 and 236; Charpin, *OBO*, p. 325.

<sup>265</sup> Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 142, for the letter cf. p. 390.

<sup>266</sup> Lipit-Sîn, also called Lipissa, was leader of the Ešnunnean contingent in the kingdom of Ekallātum, cf. Heimpel, p. 549.

<sup>267</sup> By the expression "blind snake" Išme-Dagan means incompetent and cowardly Ešnunnean troops: Heimpel, p. 389.

<sup>268</sup> The verb used in the letter is *ikkalū*; Eidem and Læssøe translate it as "they stayed," *op. cit.*, p. 55; Heimpel prefers "detained:" Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 389. However, in the light of the content of letters ARM 26, 491, 524 and 525, it seems more likely that Lipit-Sîn agreed to let the 500 troops stay until Išme-Dagan could find a solution for the dangers menacing him personally. Išme-Dagan perhaps asked him to wait until peace with Zaziya was concluded. In this case "stayed" fits the context better. Išme-Dagan, on the other hand, cannot have been in a state to be able to detain 500 Ešnunneans. Moreover, what would be the military value for him of 500 soldiers kept by force, perhaps even in prison or in fetters as the word 'detained' suggests?

<sup>269</sup> 5) Ia-si-im-ḫa-am-mu-ú 6) a-na Ka-ra-na-a<sup>ki</sup> a-na še-er Ḫa-aq-ba-ḫa-am-mu-ú 7) aš-pu-ur-ma 1 LÚ.GÌR.SIG<sub>5</sub> ša iš-tu É-kál-la-tim<sup>ki</sup> 8) a-na še-er Aš-kur-<sup>d</sup>IM in-na-bi-tam I[a-si-i]m-ḫa-am-mu-ú 9) [i-n]a bi-ri-it Ka-ra-na-a<sup>ki</sup> ù [.....] im 10) [ip<sup>2</sup>-pa<sup>2</sup>-I]i<sup>2</sup>-iš-su-ma te<sub>r</sub>-ma-<sup>r</sup>am ša<sup>r</sup> [Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-ga]n<sup>2</sup> 11) [i-ša-a]l-šu ù ki-a-am id-bu-ub 12) [u]m-ma-ami LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> ip-tù-<sup>r</sup>ur<sup>1</sup> 13) ù Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan ib-ki-šu-nu-ši-im um-ma šu-ma 14) ma-tum ka-lu-<sup>r</sup>ša<sup>r</sup> it-ti-ia ze-né-et 15) ki-i pa-an še-ri-im ḫu-up-pu-DI-im LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> 16) ta-aš-ba-tam-ma ù tu-<sup>r</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-le-em ù a-na LÚ Èš-nun-[na<sup>ki</sup>] 17) ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma šu-ma a-na Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> it-ti-ku-nu-ma 18) at-ta-al-la-<sup>r</sup>ak<sup>r</sup> 5 ME LÚ Èš-nun-

Another letter from Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 26/2, 525) tells exactly the same story, using the same words, which shows how accurate and strict the messengers and spies were in writing reports and choosing words when they transported news. They were passing on exactly what they had heard.

The Ešnunnean troops had been stationed in Razama before the alliance was terminated and it was thanks to these troops that Išme-Dagan was able to keep control over the city. Letter *ARM* 26, 524 gives valuable details:

**Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 26, 524)**

Ḫaḡba-Ḫammu came from the troops and spoke to me as follows: "Three fugitives 'fled' from Razama in the middle of the night and spoke to Aškur-Addu as follows: 'When we departed (to get) here, Išme-Dagan, together with his troops, started out in the middle of the night for Ekallātum. And the grain that Išme-Dagan transported on his donkeys from the *namaššum*<sup>270</sup> of Aškur-Addu did not arrive in Razama. And his donkeys returned without their load to Ekallātum.' They (say): 'Išme-Dagan is hungry. There is no grain whatsoever in his land'. Further: those fugitives spoke to Aškur-Addu as follows: 'When the Ešnunnean 'messenger', a rider of donkeys, who came up with the son of 'Išme-Dagan' to dismiss the Ešnunnean, arrived in Razama, they (the people) saw him in Razama, and the prison rose up in that city. And Išme-Dagan addressed that messenger as follows: "The 500 Ešnunnean troops must stay behind to guard me! If not, my land will kill me after you (depart). They will not let me live." ' Herewith I have written my lord what I heard.<sup>271</sup>

The letters show a desperate Išme-Dagan, terrified by the idea of being abandoned by the supporting troops of Ešnunna. He even prefers to leave his capital city and go with them to Ešnunna (*ARM* 26, 491) to exile. He told the Ešnunneans that he was not on good terms with his land and, therefore, he is afraid for his life (*ARM* 26, 524). The only choice he had was to approach his arch-enemy Zaziya, who had besieged a city of Išme-Dagan three months before and captured it, had cut off the head of its ruler and had sent it to Išme-Dagan.<sup>272</sup> This is reported in a letter of Iddiyātum:

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*na*<sup>ki</sup> 19) *u* Li-pi-it-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU i-na É-kál-la-tim<sup>ki</sup> 20) ik-ka-lu-ú ù Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan 21) a-na Za-zi-ia a-na sa-li-mi-im 22) iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ar 23) ù 8 GÚ KÙ.BABBAR Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan 24) a-na Za-zi-ia a-na šu-bu-lim ú-ki-in 25) ù GIŠ.MÁ.ḪÁ a-na še-em 'le-qé-em' 26) a-na Ka-wa-al-ḫi-im<sup>ki</sup> ú-ki-[in], Lackenbacher, "Les lettres de Buqâqum," *ARM* 26/2, Paris, 1988, p. 427-9; Heimpel, *Letters...*, p. 388-9; cf. also Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>270</sup> According to Lafont, and supported by Heimpel, this word means "territory" in this context: Heimpel, p. 401, note 395.

<sup>271</sup> 3) <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-aq-ba-ḫa-am-mu-ú 4) iš-tu ṣa-bi-im il-li-kam-ma ki-a-am iq-bé-e-em 5) um-ma-a-mi 3 LÚ mu-un-na-ab-tu iš-tu Ra-za-ma-a<sup>ki</sup> 6) mu-ša-am qa-ab-li-tam it-ta-b[i-t]ù-nim-ma 7) a-na Aš-kur-<sup>d</sup>IM ki-a-am iq-bu-<sup>r</sup>ú um<sup>r</sup>-ma-a-mi 8) i-nu-ma ni-nu an-ni-iš ni-it-ta-al-kam 9) <sup>m</sup>[I]š-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan qa-du-um ṣa-bi-šu 10) mu-[ša-a]m qa-ab-li-tam a-na É-kál-la-tim<sup>ki</sup> iš-ši 11) ù še-<sup>r</sup>um<sup>r</sup> ša Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan i-na na-ma-aš-ši 12) <sup>m</sup>Aš-kur-<sup>d</sup>IM ANŠE.ḪÁ-šu iz-bi-lu 13) a-na Ra-za-ma-a<sup>ki</sup> ú-ul ik-šu-ud 14) <sup>r</sup>u ANŠE.ḪÁ-šu re-qú-us-sú-nu a-na É-kál-la-tim<sup>ki</sup> i-tu-ru 15) [u]m-ma šu-nu-ma Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan bé-ri 16) [š]e-um mi-im-ma i-na ma-ti-šu 17) ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši 18) ša-ni-tam LÚ mu-un-na-ab-tu šu-nu 19) a-na Aš-kur-<sup>d</sup>IM 20) ki-a-<sup>r</sup>am iq-bu-<sup>r</sup>ú um-ma-a-mi 21) i-nu-ma DUMU š[i-ip-r]i-im LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> ra-ki-ib ANŠE.ḪÁ 22) ša it-ti DUMU [Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>]Da-gan a-na pa-tà-ar 23) LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> i-le-em a-na Ra-za-ma-a<sup>ki</sup> 24) ik-šu-dam-ma i-na Ra-za-ma-a<sup>ki</sup>i-mu-ru-šu-ma 25) ší-bi-it-tum i-na a-lim ša-a-ti it-bi 26) ù Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan DUMU š[i-ip-ri-im] ša-a-ti 27) i-na a-wa-tim ki-a-am iš-ba-as-sú um-ma-a-mi 28) 5 ME ṣa-ba-am LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> a-na na-ša-ri-ia 29) i-de-em ú-la-šu-ma wa-ar-ki-ka-ma 30) ma-ti i-du-uk-ka-an-ni ú-ul ú-ba-la-tù-ni-in-ni, 31) i-na-an-na DUMU š[i-ip-ri-im] ša it-ti DUMU Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan i-le-em 32) ṣa-ba-šu a-na Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> ip-ta-tà-ar 33) te-<sup>r</sup>ma-am ša eš-mu-ú a-na be-li-ia 34) áš-tap-ra-am <<x>>, Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, p. 500; Heimpel, p. 402-3.

<sup>272</sup> Heimpel, p. 145.

**Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 511)**

And the Turukkean seized the city that he had besieged. And its king, he cut off his head and sent it to Išme-Dagan, (saying): "Herewith the head of one who relied on you."<sup>273</sup>

Zaziya for his part replied positively to Išme-Dagan's call for peace and concluded a treaty with him, but it proved it was without a single benefit for Išme-Dagan (see below). The Turukkean found an alliance with the Gutians more advantageous. The same letter states that Zaziya went to Zazum, the new king of the Gutians who had succeeded his father Endušše,<sup>274</sup> taking with him his sons as hostages. As a sign of good intentions Zaziya also took with him a valuable gift, the king of Šimurum, who had been detained by the Gutians but had fled and sought refuge with the Turukkeans. Zaziya in this way was delivering the refugee to his enemy:

**Buqaqum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 491)**

Zaziya took his sons and had (them) conducted as hostages to Zazum the Gutian. And he carried tribute (to him). The king of Šimurum, who stayed with Zazum the Gutian in the past and (then) fled to Zaziya, Zaziya gave him up to Zazum the Gutian.<sup>275</sup>

Zaziya's reply to Išme-Dagan's call for peace is preserved in another letter, sent to Zimri-Lim:

**Yašim-El to Zimri-Lim (ARM 2, 40)**

Išme-Dagan has concluded an alliance with the Turukkeans. He will receive a daughter of Zaziya for his son Mut-Aškur. Silver and gold for the bride price Išme-Dagan sent to Zaziya.<sup>276</sup>

Nonetheless, the Turukkean does not appear to have been serious in his alliance with Išme-Dagan, who was as good as a dead horse for him; the treaty lasted for a very short time, if at all. It is surprising that the following letter reports an alliance of Zaziya with Kurdā and with Išme-Dagan, but at the same time relates the heavy raid Zaziya launched on the territory of Išme-Dagan:

**Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 526)**

The Ekallātean messenger Išharum, who was detained in Karanā, and Assyrian merchants came and told me the following: "Zaziya made peace with 'Išme-Dagan' in (the form of) a binding agreement. And the gods of Išme-Dagan are staying with Zaziya for (the purpose of) declaring a sacred oath. And his (= ID's) boats remain in Kawalḥum. Later, after Zaziya had made a binding agreement with Išme-Dagan, Zaziya dispatched 3,000 troops up to the gate of Ekallātum, and they beat 100 troops (and) <took> [...] 100 men and women prisoners of war. They (= the troops) attacked their (= the Ekallāteans') cities (all the way) up to Kurdiššatum. They

<sup>273</sup> 56) *ù Tu-ru-u[k]-kum<sup>ki</sup> a-lam ša il-wu-ú iš-ba-at* *ù LUGAL-šu* 57) *ʿqa<sup>l</sup>-qa-as-sú i[k]-ki-is-ma a-na Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan ú-ša-bi-il*; 58) *[u]m-ma-mi a-nu-um-ma qa-qa-ad mu-ta-ki-li-ka*, Lafont, *ARM 26/2*, p. 480; Heimpel, p. 396.

<sup>274</sup> An unpublished text from Mari mentions Zazum as the son of Endušše; cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 268.

<sup>275</sup> 27) *<sup>m</sup>Za-zi-ia DUMU.MEŠ-šu il-qú-ma a-na Za-zi-[i]m* 28) *Qú-ti-im<sup>ki</sup> a-na ia-lu-te ú-ša-ri* 29) *ù bi-la-as-sú iš-ši LUGAL ša Ši-mu-ur-ri-im<sup>ki</sup>* 30) *ša pa-na-nu-um ma-ḥa-ar Za-zi-im Qú-ti-im<sup>ki</sup>* 31) *úš-<sup>f</sup>ba-ma' a-na še-er Za-zi-ia in-na-bi-tam* 32) *<sup>m</sup>Za-zi-ia a-na Za-zi-im Qú-ti-im<sup>ki</sup>* 33) *it-ta-di-in-šu*, *ARM 26/2*, p. 427-9; Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

<sup>276</sup> 5) *Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan it-ti* 6) *LÚ Tu-ru-uk-ki is-lim* (LAM) 7) *DUMU.MÍ Za-zi-ia a-na ma-ri-šu* 8) *<sup>m</sup>Mu-ut-aš-kur i-le-eq-qé* 9) *KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI te<sub>g</sub>-er-ḥa-tim<sub>x</sub>* (TAM) 10) *a-na Za-zi-ia Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan* 11) *ú-ša-bi-il*, Jean, Ch.-F., *ARMT 2*, Paris, 1950, p. 90-1; corrections of l. 6 and 9 by Durand: *LAPO II*, p. 264; cf. also Eidem and Læssøe, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

captured sheep, cattle, and whatever there was (around), up to the gate of Ekallātum. Besides Ekallātum, which he spared, he did not leave anything behind in the land. And (they say): ‘The Ešnunnean general, Lipissa, was there on the day when Zaziya attacked’.” The Ekallātean messengers who came to Aškur-Addu told me this news. And Aškur-Addu departed for Qaṭṭara on the day when the messengers arrived. And so far they have not delivered their instructions. They departed from Qaṭṭara. On the next day, I heard from those around me: "Lipissa retired to Ešnunna together with his troops, and Zaziya committed himself to peace with the Kurdite Hammurabi."<sup>277</sup>

News of this event was sent to Zimri-Lim by another retainer of his, who had heard it from Iddiyātum, the author of *ARM* 26, 526, where more details are given:

**Yasīm-El to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 26, 425)**

Iddiyātum wrote to me as follows: "The Turukkeans raided the land of Ekallātum on the other side of the river and went (all the way) to Kurdiššatum. They took the sheep of Išme-Dagan, all of them. There was nothing (left) for miles. They carried off (the inhabitants of) four of his cities and beat 500 troops of his." I have written to my lord the news that Iddiyātum wrote me."<sup>278</sup>

Heimpel takes this attack as the same as the one reported in letters *ARM* 26, 522 and *ARM* 28, 171; these letters mention the march of 4,000 Turukkeans to Ekallātum,<sup>279</sup> and 300 of them entering the camp of Rakna (see above). However, this does not seem to be the case. First, the figures differ (3,000 in *ARM* 26, 526 instead of 4,000 troops), and in the light of the accurate reports of the messengers of Zimri-Lim this difference cannot be a simple miscalculation. Secondly, at the time of the attack by 4,000 Turukkeans, Išme-Dagan was still in Razama waging war on Kiyatan for grain and asking for more troops from Ešnunna; the attack of the 3,000 Turukkeans coincided with the time when Ešnunna had already repatriated its troops and Išme-Dagan was in his worst position, approaching Zaziya for peace. Thirdly, the attack of the 4,000 troops was at the time of Išme-Dagan's conquest of

<sup>277</sup> 3) <sup>m</sup>Iš-ḥa-rum DUMU ši-ip-ri-im ša i-na Ka-[r]a-na-a<sup>ki</sup> ik-ka-lu-ú 4) LÚ É-kál-la-ta<-yu><sup>ki</sup> ù LÚ DAM.GÁ[R].MEŠ Aš-šu-ru-ú<sup>ki</sup> 5) il-li-ku-nim-ma ki-a-am id-bu-<sup>r</sup>bu-nim<sup>r</sup> 6) um-ma-a-mi Za-zi-[i]a 7) i-na ru-te-e it-ti [Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>]Da-gan is-sa-li-im 8) ù DINGIR.M[ÉŠ š]a Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan it-ti Za-zi-ia <<X X>> 9) a-na ni-iš DINGIR-lim za-ka-ri-im wa-aš-bu 10) ù ĞIŠ.MÁ.ḪÁ-šu i-na Ka-wa-al-ḫi-im<sup>ki</sup> 11) iz-za-az-za wa-ar-ka-nu-um 12) iš-tu Za-zi-ia Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan 13) ú-ra-at-tu-ú <<x>> 3 li-mi ša-ba-am 14) <sup>m</sup>Za-zi-ia a-di KÁ É-kál-la-tim<sup>ki</sup> 15) [i]t-ru-ud-ma 1<sup>r</sup> ME ša-ba-am i-du-uk 16) [x<sup>2</sup> +] 1 ME LÚ.MEŠ MÍ.MEŠ ša-al-la-tam 17) <sup>r</sup>4<sup>r</sup> (+ erasure) URU<sup>ki</sup>-šu-nu 18) <sup>r</sup>a-di Ku-ur-di-ša-tim<sup>ki</sup> 19) [i]š-ḫi-iṭ UDU.ḪÁ GU<sub>4</sub>.ḪÁ ù mi-im-ma 20) ma-li i-ba-aš-šu-ú a-di KÁ<sup>r</sup> É-kál-la-tim<sup>ki</sup> il-qí 21) ul-la-nu-um É-kál-la-tum<sup>ki</sup> ša pa-ga-ar-ši-na 22) ú-še-šé-e mi-im-ma i-na ma-ti-šu 23) ú-ul i-zi-ib ù um-ma-a-mi i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im 24) ša Za-zi-ia iš-ḫi-tú li-pí-is-sà <GAL.>MAR.TU 25) LÚ Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> wa-ši-ib 26) te<sub>4</sub>-ma-am an-né-e-em DUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri <<x>> 27) LÚ É-kál-la-ta-i-yu ša a-na še-er Aš-kur-<sup>d</sup>IM 28) il-li-ku-nim id-bu-bu-nim ù i-na <u<sub>4</sub>>-<sup>r</sup>mi-im<sup>r</sup> 29) ša DUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri a[n-nu-tum ?] ik-šu-du-nim 30) <sup>m</sup>Aš-kur-<sup>d</sup>IM a-na Qa-tá-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> <sup>r</sup>it<sup>r</sup>-ta-la-ak 31) ù a-di-ni wu-ú-ur-ta-šu-nu ú-ul [i/d]-di-nu 32) a-na Qa-tá-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> it-ta-al-ku i-na ša-ni-im u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im 33) i-na aḫi-ti-ia ki-a-am eš-me um-ma-a-mi 34) <sup>m</sup>Li-pí-is-sà qa-du ša-bi-šu 35) a-na Èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> ip-ta-tà-ar 36) ù Za-zi-ia 37) a-na Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi Kur-da-i<sup>ki</sup> 38) a-na sa-li-mi-im na-pí-iš-ta-šu 39) il-pu-ut, Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, p. 503-4; Heimpel, p. 403. The literal translation of the Akkadian text for “committed himself for peace” is “touched the throat for peace.” This is a gesture made still today in the Near East. When swearing or confirming an oath a person will touch the side of his throat, mostly the right side, while speaking. In some countries the oath is formulated as “by the throat,” but the throat is not actually touched. The association of the throat with an oath is to make the oath firm and reliable, implying that the throat or neck or head could be cut off if someone is lying.

<sup>278</sup> 4) I-dí-ia-tum 5) a-na še-ri-ia ki-a-am 6) iš-pu-ra-am 7) um-ma-a-mi LÚ.MEŠ Tu-ru-uk-ku-ú 8) ma-a-at É-kál-la-tim 9) e-bi-ir-ti I<sub>7</sub>-DA 10) is-du-ud-ma 11) a-di Kur-di-iš-ša-tim<sup>ki</sup> 12) il-li-ik UDU.ḪÁ ša Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan 13) ka-la-ši-na il-qí 14) mi-im-ma ú-ul be-ri-iš 15) 4 a-la-ni-šu it-ba-al ù 5 me-tim ša-ba-šu 16) i-du-uk te<sub>4</sub>-em I-dí-ia-tum 17) iš-pu-ra-am a-na še-er be-lí-ia 18) aš-ta-ap-ra-am, Joannès, *ARM* 26/2, p. 321; Heimpel, p. 362.

<sup>279</sup> Heimpel, p. 145.



Kiyatan, which is dated to VI of ZL 11', while the 4,000 attackers moved in at the end of ZL 11'.<sup>280</sup>

Was the offer of hostages by Zaziya to Zazum and the delivery of the unnamed king of Šimurru intended to ensure a firm alliance with the Gutians? Or was it a sign of weakness among the Turukkeans, as Charpin states?<sup>281</sup> We cannot answer this question with certainty, but the image of Zaziya as attacker and raider in the heart of Išme-Dagan's kingdom (cf. for instance *ARM* 26, 526 and *ARM* 26, 522) is not compatible with the image of a king in a time of weakness. By the alliance with Zazum, Zaziya seems instead to have planned to encircle Išme-Dagan with a broad alliance, his Turukkeans, the Gutians, and the kingdom of Kurdā his ally. We notice that Zaziya concentrated his efforts on the kingdom of Išme-Dagan: first at Razama (Zaziya's siege *ARM* 26, 404); later he deprived Ekallātum of its old ally, Kurdā, by his new alliance with Hammurabi of Kurdā. Furthermore, letter A.649 of Ḥaḡba-aḡum to Zimri-Lim (see above) sheds light on the sombreness of this situation; we learn from that letter that Zazum attacked the Turukkean land and marched to Qabrā and in that march, Išme-Dagan's men guided his troops. This cooperation between the Gutians and Išme-Dagan was quite alarming. With their backs unprotected, the Turukkeans could not continue on their mission in Qaṭṭara and felt weak (which is explicitly said in the letter). The first thing they did was to retreat to their own land; then they broke the alliance between Išme-Dagan and Zazum by the alliance Zaziya offered to Zazum, accompanied by offering precious gifts that could not be resisted. The peace with the Gutians was very important in the history of the Turukkeans and the region. Only after this treaty could the Turukkeans proceed. Without it, the usual pattern of exhausting warlike conflicts would have been continuing and would have impeded any state-formation process.

From the sequence of the events, we can conclude that the Gutians, trusting in their power, built a widespread state in the OB period. First, they conquered Simurru, as the presence of its dethroned king before Zaziya indicates. Then they turned their faces towards the north and northeast, where the Turukkean kingdoms of the Urmia Basin were ruling.<sup>282</sup> They were powerfully present in the region of Namar and Diyāla, and even intervened in Babylonian affairs when the Nawarite Gutian queen led an army of 10,000 soldiers against Larsa (*ARM* 6, 27). Even in the time of Zaziya they attacked the Turukkean domains and Qabrā, most probably to enlarge their own domain at the expense of the Turukkeans. It is noteworthy that the Gutians were able to change the power balance of the region so many times with such irresistible power, but never played a commensurate political role. This is, at least, a feeling that emerges when surveying the Mari material and comparing the Gutian role with that of the Turukkeans. An explanation could be that their activity may have been concentrated on those parts of the Zagros that form modern Iranian Kurdistan.

Now, with his rear front secured, Zaziya could attack Ekallātean territory. Lafont is probably correct in assuming that Zaziya took the opportunity of Išme-Dagan's absence; he was occupied with bringing grain from Kawalḡum in accordance with his new alliance.<sup>283</sup> Even so, Zaziya inflicted heavy damage in the regions round Ekallātum, but not in the city itself, which gives the impression that he may have exploited a legal gap in the text of the

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<sup>280</sup> For these dates, cf. the schedule of the prominent events and related texts given in Heimpel, p. 651-2.

<sup>281</sup> Charpin finds that Zaziya was so weak at this time that the powerful Zazum forced Zaziya to deliver his sons as hostages, and to carry a tribute to him etc., cf. Charpin, *RA* 98, p. 172; similarly, Durand labelled these gifts as "tribute," cf. Durand, *LPO* II, p. 81.

<sup>282</sup> See Chapter Six, The Turukkean Land.

<sup>283</sup> Lafont, *ARM* 26/2, p. 471. He also considers this attack the last fatal blow to the ambitions of Išme-Dagan to control the region, *ibid.*

alliance and interpreted as protection only for the city of Ekallātum.<sup>284</sup> Another explanation would be that Ekallātum was well defended by battlements and troops, and so to be avoided.

The context in which Išme-Dagan sought peace with Zaziya and placed barges in Kawalḥum to receive grain in letter *ARM 26/2*, 491 directly links peace with the Turukkeans and obtaining grain. Kawalḥum, identified with Kalḥu of the NA period,<sup>285</sup> seems to have been controlled by the Turukkeans, or was at least in the range of their influence, and so peace with them was a prerequisite for obtaining grain.<sup>286</sup> That the Turukkeans controlled these areas can be deduced from other letters that point to the stay of Zaziya in Ninêt (= Nineveh) (*ARM 26*, 517) and their raids across the Tigris in the regions west of the river (see below). Raids in the territories west of the Tigris would not be possible until the eastern side was secured and firmly controlled. The image one can deduce from the available data is that the Turukkeans had the upper hand in the regions to the east of the Tigris, with pockets controlled by Qabrā and perhaps Arrapha. The rest of the mountainous regions was under the Gutian, Kakmean and Lullubian hegemony, the last mentioned being the least powerful according to the image deduced from texts. The Turukkeans were present not only in their traditional lands in the Zagros and in the Rāniya Plain but also in the plains between the Tigris and the Zagros Mountains, i.e. the plains of Erbil and Nineveh. The grain shortage in the kingdom of Išme-Dagan must have largely been due to the loss of control over these fertile plains, even today among the best dry-farming grain producing lands in Northern Mesopotamia. The Turukkeans were present, or at least had influence, in the regions to the north and northwest of Nineveh as well, for we learn from letter *ARM 26*, 405 that Zaziya could permit Hammurabi of Kurdā to cede the city of Ḥarbe to Atamrum. The city of Ḥarbe became a matter of exchange during the struggle for Ašihum, which was located to the north of Jebel Sinjār.<sup>287</sup>

In the light of these facts, the more likely conclusion would be that the Turukkeans were not driven back to their own land after their revolt in the Habur region. Their revolt was seemingly not completely crushed, but rather they may have remained, controlling a territory and continually enlarging it at the expense of Išme-Dagan. This territory they made the domain of their kingdom that played a significant role in the politics of the time of Zimri-Lim.

The place from which the Turukkean troops crossed close to Nineveh is mentioned as Adē, in the same letter that points to the staying of Zaziya in Ninêt:

**Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (*ARM 26*, 517)**

.... To Zaziya [.....] of the Turukkean I [asked them?]. The Turukkean army crossed at Adē, [and] Zaziya [is staying] in Ninêt. (They say), "The troops crossed. We did not witness the crossing of Zaziya." I wrote my lord 'the news' that I heard.<sup>288</sup>

The range of raids reached the territories of Karanā:

<sup>284</sup> Since the text of the treaty is not preserved one must speculate that Ekallātum was written without *māt*, "the land of..." and could be interpreted as the city, not the land of Ekallātum, but this remains conjectural.

<sup>285</sup> Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 615; Lafont, *ARM 26/2*, p. 475; Marti, L., "Notes sur l'histoire d'Išme-Dagan," *FM VI*, Paris, 2002, p. 543; Ziegler, "Le royaume d'Ékallātum ...," *FM VI*, p. 270 and note 271.

<sup>286</sup> The assumption of Lafont (cf. Lafont, B., *ARM 26/2*, p. 471) that the grain from Kawalḥum was brought to Ekallātum to be given to Zaziya because his land needed it does not seem likely, because the kingdom of Išme-Dagan, not Zaziya suffered around this same time from a severe grain shortage, as can be seen in letter *ARM 26/2* 494.

<sup>287</sup> Cf. map no. 3 on p. xxii in Heimpel, *op. cit.*

<sup>288</sup> 1') *a-n*]a 'še-er' Za-zi-ia [x x x x] 2') 'ša Tu-ru-uk-k[i-i]m aš-t[a-al-šu-nu-ti?] 3') *um-ma-nu-um* LÚ Tu-ru-uk-kum<sup>k</sup>[i] 4') *i-na A-[d]e-e<sup>ki</sup> i-bi-ra-a[m]* 5') [ù] Za-zi-ia *i-na Ni<sub>5</sub>-né-et<sup>ki</sup> w[a-ša-i-ib?]* 6') [um]-ma-mi *ša-bu-um i-bi-ra-am* 7') *e-bé-er Za-zi-ia* 8') *ú-ul ni-ḥa-tam* 9') [te<sub>4</sub>-m]a-am *ša eš-mu-ú* 10') [a-na] *be-lí-ia aš-tap-ra-am*, Lafont, *ARM 26/2*, 517, p. 489; Heimpel, p. 398.

**Yamsum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 339)**

Further, about the sheep and their shepherds, those of Šuratan, whom the Turukkeans carried off, a messenger of Aškur-Addu 'went with Šuratan to the Turukkean king Zaziya, and he [...] them as follows:<sup>289</sup> "Just as I have [carried off sheep] from the district [of Karanā] (rest broken)."<sup>290</sup>

Another letter by the same writer, to a certain Šu-nuħra-ħalu (ARM 26, 340), repeats almost exactly the report of the negotiation with Zaziya, and preserves part of Zaziya's reply: he warned that he may repeat what he did the first time.<sup>291</sup> This reply underlines how superior the Turukkeans were west of the Tigris in this phase.

It is perhaps noteworthy that the first letter clearly mentions the "king" Zaziya, while the second refers to the "army" of the Turukkeans, two designations not frequently used in relation to the Turukkeans.

Even in the last days of Išme-Dagan Zaziya did not stop raiding his cities:

**Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 519)**

Further, 500 Turukkeans made a raid below Ekallātum and Aššur and reached Razama. They captured 100 persons and 50 cattle. And nobody stood up to them.<sup>292</sup>

Išme-Dagan was ill and his weakened kingdom had lost its prestige. He himself was consequently treated with disdain, according to the same letter:

**Iddiyātum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 519)**

Išme-Dagan spoke to the Sapheans as follows: "How is it that of all (people) the little Aškur-Addu commands you?!" And they answered him: "Should you, a cripple, command us?!" The two men who answered him with these words – he set their dwellings on fire. And he carried off 15 men who approached him.<sup>293</sup>

We learn from other sources that he had sought refuge in Babylon. He is known to have been in Sippar in month I of the ZL 12' (the 13<sup>th</sup> year of ZL's reign) and was probably installed in Tutub.<sup>294</sup>

Shortly after, Išme-Dagan died and the rumours of his death reached his former capital; letter ARM 26, 493 reports the outbreak of the rumour, but the letter of Buqaqum gives the details:

<sup>289</sup> Thus far following Heimpel's translation.

<sup>290</sup> 8) *ša-ni-tam aš-šum* UDU.ĤÁ ù LÚ.SIPA-š*i-na* 9) *ša Šu-ra-ta-an ša* LÚ *Tu-ru-ku-ú*<sup>ki</sup> 10) *it-ba-lu* 1 DUMU *ši-ip-ri-im* 11) *ša Aš-kur-<sup>d</sup>IM i]t-ti Šu-ra-ta-an* 12) [*a-na*] *še-er Za-zi-[i]a* 'LUGAL' [*Tu-t]u-ki-im*<sup>ki</sup> 13) [*il-li*]-*ku-ma ki-a-<sup>r</sup>am*<sup>r</sup> [*i-pu-ul<sup>2</sup>-š]u-nu-ti* 14) [*um-ma-a-mi ki-ma*] *i-[na ħa-la-a]š* 15) *Ka-ra-na-a*<sup>ki</sup> UDU.ĤÁ *at-ba-lu*-ú 16) [.....] 17) [.... UDU.ĤÁ ù LÚ.SIPA-š] *i-na* ..., Charpin, "Les représentants de Mari à Ilân-šurâ," ARM 26/2, p. 110; Heimpel, p. 308.

<sup>291</sup> Letter ARM 26, 340 is a good parallel that helps in the restoration of letter 339. It ends: 10) *ki-a-am* 11) [*i-pu-ul<sup>2</sup>*]-*šu-nu-ti um-ma-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[mi]* 12) [*ki-ma i-n*] *ħa-la-aš K[a-ra-na-a*<sup>ki</sup> 13) [x x x UDU].ĤÁ-*ka at-ba-[lu-ú]* 14) [*ù i-na*]-*an-na a-ša-an-ni-[ma]* 15) '*a-ta<sup>1</sup>-ab-ba-al-lu*, "[he (=Zaziya) told] them the following: '[.....] district [.....] I 'carried off' your 'sheep', [and (that)] '...<sup>1</sup> I will carry off (sheep) a second time.'" Charpin, "Les représentants de Mari à Ilân-šurâ," ARM 26/2, p. 111; Heimpel, *ibid*.

<sup>292</sup> 24) *ša-ni-tam* 25) 5 ME LÚ *Tu-ru-uk-kum ša-ap-la-nu-um* 26) '*É<sup>1</sup>-kál-la-tim*<sup>ki</sup> ù <sup>d</sup>*A-šur*<sup>ki</sup> 27) [*i]s-du-dam-ma a-di ra-za-ma-a*<sup>ki</sup> 28) *ik-šu-dam* 1 ME LÚ *ša-al-la-tam* 29) ù 59 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤÁ *il-qí* 30) ù *a-na pa-ni-šu ma-am-ma-an* 31) *ú-ul iz-zi-iz*, Lafont, ARM 26/2, p. 492; Heimpel, p. 399.

<sup>293</sup> 8) <sup>m<<x>></sup> *Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan a-na Sa-ap-ħa-i*<sup>ki</sup> 9) *ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma-a-[mi]* 10) *ki-i Aš-kur-<sup>d</sup>IM šé-[e]ħ-rum* 11) *a-nu-um-mu-um i-ša-pa-ar-ku-nu-ti* 12) ù *šu-nu ki-a-am i-pu-lu-šu* 13) *um-ma šu-nu-ma* 14) *at-ta-a* LÚ *ħu-um-mu-rum* 15) *ta-ša-ap-pa-ar-né-t[i]* 16) 2 LÚ.MEŠ *ša a-wa-tam an-ni-tam i-pu-lu-šu* 17) *ma-às-ka-an-šu-nu i-ša-tam id-di* 18) ù 15 LÚ.MEŠ *ša a-na še-ri-šu* 19) *it-ħu-ú it-ba-al*, Lafont, ARM 26/2, p. 491-2; Heimpel, p. 399.

<sup>294</sup> Charpin, OBO, p. 325; 327 and note 1703. For his flight to Babylonia cf. also Marti, L., "Une ambassade Mariote à Sippar," FM VI, Paris, 2002, p. 208-9.

### **Buqaqum to Zimri-Lim (ARM 26, 495)**

The day I sent my lord this tablet of mine a fugitive fled here from Ekallātum, and those (manning) my outposts seized him and took him along to me. Incidentally, Išme-Dagan had captured that man from Numḥa in the defeat of Šatu-Yamḥad-Dadi. He told me the following about the report: "Išme-Dagan has died." He (said): "I kept hearing it in the house of my lord Yamsi-Ḥadnu. And beginning with the day on which I heard that report, Yamsi-Ḥadnu kept staying overnight in the palace." And I ask Ekallāteans that come, but their mouth is closed. Now, I have not yet confirmed the truth of that matter. Now, I will check on this report and write my lord to confirm it.<sup>295</sup>

The death of Išme-Dagan must have marked the actual end of the kingdom of Ekallātum, and a main beneficiary from this was certainly Zaziya. The kingdom of Ekallātum was an old enemy of Zaziya and a barrier preventing him from extending further to the west. There remained the minor kingdoms of the Hilly Arc, who were vassals of the major powers of Mari, Ešnunna and Babylon. When Išme-Dagan was in Sippar, the news of the death of Atamrum (late ZL 11') reached him.<sup>296</sup> Hammurabi of Babylon took care of the succession; he divided his kingdom, putting Ḥulālum on the throne of Allāḥad and let Ḥimdiya keep control of Šubat-Enlil, which Išme-Dagan had lost long ago. By dividing the kingdom into two and consequently weakening it Hammurabi seems to have unintentionally served the future plans of Zaziya to further spread and consolidate his authority in the Habur Region.

### *The Years after Išme-Dagan*

It seems that the alliance of Zaziya with Hammurabi of Kurdā continued after the death of Išme-Dagan, but now they became part of a larger alliance that incorporated Zimriya of Zurrā (= Šurrā) and Hammurabi of Babylon. Babylon was among the powers Zaziya established relations with, to whom he sent and most probably from whom he received messengers. We learn this from a letter stating that the Turukkean messengers who were going to Babylon were held up by Meptum, the pasture-chief of Suḥum.<sup>297</sup> Letter ARM 28, 179 from Zaziya reports:

### **Zaziya to Meptum (ARM 28, 179)**

Your lord and you, you constantly commit malicious acts towards me. You (pl.) have held up my messengers whom I sent to Babylon. Now, the road to Babylon is open towards Arrapḥa since I have the steppe under my control (lit. my eyes).<sup>298</sup>

<sup>295</sup> 3) u<sub>4</sub>-um tu<sub>3</sub>-pí an-né-e-em a-na be-lí-ia ú-ša-bi-lam 4) 1 LÚ mu-un-na-ab-tum iš-tu É-kál-la-tim<sup>ki</sup> 5) in-na-bi-tam-ma ša ba-za-ḥa-ti-ia 6) iš-ba-tu-ni-iš-<šu>-ma a-na še-ri-ia ir-du-ni-iš-šu 7) ù LÚ šu-ú i-na [LÚ].MEŠ Nu-un-ḥa-a<sup>ki</sup> 8) i-na da-aw-di-im ṣa' Ša-tu-Ia-am-ḥa-d[a]-di 9) <sup>m</sup>Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan il-qí-šu 10) te<sub>4</sub>-ma-am ki-a-am id-bu-ba-am um-ma-a-mi 11) <sup>m</sup>Iš-me-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan 12) im-tu-ut um-ma šu-ma 13) i-na É be-li(sic)-ia Ia-am-ši-Ḥa-a[d-nu] 14) eš<sub>15</sub>-te-né-em-mi 15) ù iš-tu u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im ša te<sub>4</sub>-ma-am ša-a-ti 16) eš-mu-ú Ia-am-ši-Ḥa-ad-nu i-na é-kál-lim-ma 17) ib-ta-na-ia-at ù DUMU.MEŠ É-kál-la-tim 18) ša i-la-ku-nim a-ša-al-ma 19) pí-šu-nu ma-ti<sub>4</sub> i-na-an-na a-wa-tam ša-a-ti 20) a-di-ni ú-ul ú-ki-in 21) i-na-an-na wa-ar-ka-at te<sub>4</sub>-mi-im 22) an-ni-im a-pa-ra-sa-am-ma 23) ta-ki-tam a-na be-lí-ia 24) a-ša-ap-pa-ra-am, Lackenbacher, "Les lettres de Buqaqum," ARM 26/2, p. 433; Heimpel, p. 390-1. The second sign of the word *bēli-ya* in l. 13 is transliterated as LI, not LÍ.

<sup>296</sup> Charpin, *OBO*, p. 325. The letter to which Charpin alludes reports that it is the son of Atamrum who is nowhere to be found, not Atamrum himself. Nevertheless, the arrangements Hammurabi undertook for the succession in Allāḥad seem to refer to the death of Atamrum. For the letter, cf. Lackenbacher, "Les lettres de Yaššib-Addu," ARM 26/2, no. 451, p. 369; Heimpel, p. 374-5; Marti, "Une ambassade . . .," *FM VI*, p. 201-2.

<sup>297</sup> Kupper considers him commander of the southern frontier of the kingdom (of Mari): Kupper, ARM 28, p. 257.

<sup>298</sup> 7) be-el-ka ù at-ta le-em-ni-iš 8) t[a]-ar-tú-ba e-te-ep-pu-ša-am 9) DU[MU].MEŠ ši-ip-ri-i[a] [š]a ṣa<sup>2</sup>[n]a [K]Á.DINGIR.RA<sup>k</sup>[f] 10) a-ša-a[p-p]a-ru ta-ak-ta-la 11) i-na-an-na KASKAL ša a-na KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> i-la-ku 12) a-na Ar-ra-ap-ḥi-im<sup>ki</sup> it-te-ep-te 13) iš-tu-ma ka-ša-am i-na i-ni-ia 14) a-ma-ru, Kupper, ARM 28, p. 260-1; Durand, *Peuplement et...*, *Amurru III*, p. 145.

Meptum is reported to have seized messengers of Kurdā, Ekallātum and also Ešnunna and to have sent them to Mari; such an act against Zaziya was no exception.<sup>299</sup> In spite of this Zaziya succeeded in sending his envoys to Hammurabi in Babylon, as letter *ARM* 6, 33 indicates; it reports requests of Hammurabi for all three allies. His statement in letter *ARM* 28, 179 that the road to Babylon is open towards Arrapha since he controls the steppe means that Arrapha had come under his control. Letter *ARM* 6, 33 reports:

**Baḥdi-Lim to Zimri-Lim (*ARM* 6, 33)**

I have asked Abumēkīm about the messages of Hammurabi of Babylon to Hammurabi of Kurdā, for Zaziya and Zimriya of Zurrā.

..... And he has sent the following message to Zaziya: "Secure your positions and send your troops (according to the) alliance. Several days ago I asked you about (them) and this is what you answered me: 'I will depart.' But I have neither seen you moving nor crossing yet. Now, let your troops together with that of .... quickly reach me"<sup>300</sup>

This letter is of historical significance in that it proves the existence of political relations between the Turukkeans and Hammurabi of Babylon in this phase; the date of the letter is 16<sup>th</sup> XII ZL 12'.<sup>301</sup> The alliance Hammurabi speaks about is the one Babylon concluded with Kurdā, Zurrā and the Turukkeans during the final confrontation between Babylon and Ešnunna (Hammurabi 31 = 1762 BC).<sup>302</sup> Thus, the river that had to be crossed according to the letter would be the Lower Zāb.<sup>303</sup> Letter *ARM* 28, 179 provides further interesting information and gives a clue about the range of Turukkean domains in this time. Zaziya struggled for the control of the steppe that stretched as far as Šitullum, which was on the Tigris, upstream from Mankisum;<sup>304</sup> more precisely it is identified with Tikrit by Ziegler.<sup>305</sup> One may assume that after the death of Išme-Dagan and the capture of Ešnunna in H 31, Zaziya had a free hand in this region and he could expand his territory further. But instead of the kingdoms of Išme-Dagan and Ešnunna, Zaziya was now confronted by the nomads, who had succeeded in crossing the middle Tigris and formed a threat for both Zaziya and Hammurabi of Babylon, according to Durand.<sup>306</sup> The term *kašūm* used to designate the steppe in this letter is understood by Kupper as the Jazireh, taking the letters of Buqaqum as parallel.<sup>307</sup> In the letter Zaziya offers two alternatives. Either one of them would control the steppe, and in case the other side takes it he demands 1,000 *gukallu*<sup>308</sup> sheep in

<sup>299</sup> Cf. letter *ARM* 6, 27 in Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 484-5.

<sup>300</sup> 3) *te-em na-aš-pa-ra-at Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi LÚ KÁ.DINGIR.RA*<sup>ki</sup> 4) *ša a-na še-er Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi LÚ Kur-da*<sup>ki</sup> 5) *mZa-z[i]-i[a] u Zi-im-ri-ia LÚ Zu-ur-ra*<sup>ki</sup> 6) *[iš-pu-ru] A-bu-me-ki-im áš-[a-al]-ma* ..... 19) *u a-na Za-zi-ia ki-a-am iš-pu-[u]r um-ma-a-m[i]* 20) *[iš-d]e-ku-nu ru-uk-sà-nim-[ma]* 21) *[til-la-ti]-ku-<nu> tu-ur-da-nim <aš>-šum til-[la-ti-ku-nu]* 22) *[iš-tu] u-mi ma-du-tim áš-[ta-al-ka]* 23) *[um-m]a at-ta-a-ma at-ta-al-[a-ak]* 24) *u a-la-ak-ka u e-bé-[er-ka ú-ul a-mu-ur]* 25) *i-na-an-na it-ti ša-bi-im š[a* ..... 26) *ša-bu-ka ar-ḥi-iš [I]i-ik-[š]u-d[am]*, Kupper, *ARM* 6, Paris, 1954, p. 52-4; Durand, *LPO* I, p. 531-2.

<sup>301</sup> While Kupper dates the letter to ZL 9' in: *ARM* 27, p. 257 and note 291, basing himself on the date given by Lackenbacher in *ARM* 26/2, p. 376-7, Durand dates it to the end of ZL 12'. This seems to me to fit the context of the events it treats better. For the dating of Durand, cf. Durand, *LPO* I, p. 532.

<sup>302</sup> For this alliance, cf. Durand, *LPO* I, p. 532; for the date, cf. Charpin, *OBO*, p. 326 and 390.

<sup>303</sup> Durand, *ibid.*

<sup>304</sup> Kupper, *ARM* 28, p. 258.

<sup>305</sup> Ziegler, "Le royaume d'Ekallātum et ...," *FM* VI, p. 240-1; Ziegler, N., "À propos de l'itinéraire paléobabylonien UIOM 2134 iv: 2'-4'," *NABU* 2002, no. 48, p. 48.

<sup>306</sup> Durand, J.-M., *Peuplement et sociétés à l'époque amorrite. (I) les clans bensim'alites, Amurru III, Nomades et sédentaires dans le Proche-Orient ancien*, ed. Ch. Nicolle, Paris, 2004, p. 145 and 146.

<sup>307</sup> Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 258 and note 294. Durand reads the term as *kāšum*, cf. Durand, *Peuplement et sociétés ...*, *Amurru III*, p. 145.

<sup>308</sup> Kupper translates it as "big/fat-tailed sheep," cf. *ARM* 28, p. 261.

compensation. Or he is ready to use his military force in case the other party decides to fight, showing his power and determination. This letter indicates that Zaziya's range of power reached large areas of the steppe:

**Zaziya to Meptum (ARM 28, 179)**

If you desire to take the whole steppe and the pastures of the steppe, speak with your lord and your commoners. Take 1,000 big-tailed sheep - 500 male big-tailed sheep and 500 tailed ewes - and bring them to me! If you do not bring me 1,000 big-tailed sheep I shall not leave the whole steppe down to Šitullum for you and I shall not let your sheep go to pasture. Otherwise, our forces are in position; you would say: "The Hanneans, another one and (even) a third will join (us) and we will fight (him = Zaziya)." Either you (pl.) take the steppe or I will take the steppe. Perhaps you say: "He attempted a shot then calmed down, the army (of Zaziya) does not have the provisions for a day with it." It is true that (the provisions of the army) are not abundant, (but) for sure, I would be able to go about in the middle of the steppe for one (whole) month. I am afraid you say as follows: "Zaziya has not gone (there)." I swear (it) by Adad. I went in person. Send me a reply to my tablet, (either) this or that.<sup>309</sup>

It is true that the defeat (H 32) and destruction (H 34) of Mari by Hammurabi of Babylon put both lands, together with their vassal states, under one authority, but this unification was not without cost. Moving the centre of power to Babylon in the south, far from Mari and Ekallātum, offered another good chance for Zaziya.

Hammurabi of Babylon became a major power for, after the capture of Larsa in ZL 11' = H 30 (= 1763 BC),<sup>310</sup> he pushed further to the northeast and northwest. In his 31<sup>st</sup> regnal year he conquered Ešnunna and in the 32<sup>nd</sup> and 34<sup>th</sup> he fought and captured Mari. The 33<sup>rd</sup> year of Hammurabi was known as the year in which "He overthrew in battle the army of Mari and Malgium; subjugated Mari and its villages. And the many cities (of the mountain land) of Šubartum, (Ekallātum, (all of) Burundum and the land of Zalmaqum, on the bank of the Tigris to the Euphrates); and he caused <them> them to dwell at his command in friendship."<sup>311</sup> This formula does not refer to the Transtigridian territories that were under Zaziya's control; Hammurabi's newly gained domain was between the two rivers. Charpin's suggestion is that Hammurabi's northernmost point in this campaign was the outflow of the Baliḫ into the Euphrates.<sup>312</sup> Even if he was further in the north he was not yet in the Habur, where we think Zaziya now had the upper hand.

<sup>309</sup> 14) *šum-ma ku-ul-li ka-še-em* 15) *ù ri-tam ša ka-ši-im ḥa-aš-ḥa-at* 16) *it-ti be-li-ka* 17) *'ù mu-úš-<ke>-ni-ka du-bu-ub-ma* 18) *1 li-im* GUKKAL.ḪÁ 19) *5 me* UDU.GUKKAL.NÍTA *ù 5 me* 'MUNUS'.GUKKAL.'U<sub>8</sub><sup>31</sup>.MUNUS 20) *it-ti mu-úš-ke-ni-ka lu-gú-ut-ma* 21) *a-ia-ši-im šu-re-em šum-ma 1 li-im* GUKKAL 22) *ú-ul tu-ša-ar-ša-am ka-ša-am* 23) *ka-la-šu 'a'-di Ši-tu-ul-lim* 24) *ú-ul ú-wa-aš-šar-ka* *ù* UDU.ḪÁ-[k]a 25) *a-n[a r]i-tim ú-u[l] 'ú'-wa-aš-ša-ar* 26) *ú-la-šu-ma e-mu-uq-ni'lu' na-di* 27) *ša ta-d[a]-ab-bu-ba* LÚ ḪA.NA *'ù' [ša-n]u-um* 28) *ù ša-al-šu[m] pu-uh-ra-ma* ĞIŠ.TUKUL 29) *i ni-pu-úš ú-lu-'ú' a[t]-t[u]-nu ka-ša-am* 30) *ki-il-la ú-[u]-ma 'a'-na-k[u] k[a]-ša-am* 31) *lu-ki-il p[l]-q[a-a]t* 32) *ki-a-am ta-qa-ab-[b]i um-ma-mi* 33) *il-tu-kam-ma it-tu-u[h'] um-ma-na-tum* 34) NINDA U<sub>4</sub> 1.KAM [ul] *na-š[e]-e* 35) *šum-ma ši-d[i]-tam ma-dam ne-še-e* 36) *wu-di-ma-an* ITI 1.KAM 37) *'i'-na ŠÁ.BA ka-ši-im* 38) *at-t[a-a]-l-[l]a-ak* 39) *as-s[ú]-u[r-r]i ke-em la ta-qa-[a]b-bi* 40) *mZa-zi-ia-mi ú-ul i[l-li]-ik* 41) *dIM at-ma šum-ma a-na-ku-ma [l]a al-li-ik* 42) *an-ni-tam la an-ni-tam* 43) *me-ḥe-er tup-pi-ia* 44) *šu-bi-lam*, Kupper, *ARM* 28, p. 260-1. Durand reads l. 34 as NINDA U<sub>4</sub> 2.KAM-[ma], Durand, *Peuplement et...*, *Amurru III*, p. 145, note 185.

<sup>310</sup> For this date, cf. Charpin and Ziegler, *FM V*, p. 248-9; Charpin, *OBO*, p. 387.

<sup>311</sup> *bí.in.gi<sub>4</sub>.a ugnim Ma.ri<sup>ki</sup> ù Ma.al.gi<sup>ki</sup> mè.ta bí.íb.šub.bé Ma.ri<sup>ki</sup> ù uru.didli<sup>ki</sup> (ma.da kur) Su.bir<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup> (É-kál-la-tum<sup>ki</sup> (kilib) Bu.ru.un.da<sup>ki</sup> ù ma.da Za-al-ma-qum<sup>ki</sup> gú<sup>17</sup> Idigna en.na<sup>17</sup> Buranun gú ki.šè mi.ni.gar) du<sub>11</sub>.ga.né ku.li-bi bí.in.tuš xx .. x. x...*, Horsnell, M. J. A., *The Year-Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon*, vol. II, *The Year-Names Reconstructed and Critically Annotated in Light of their Exemplars*, Hamilton, 1999, p. 146-7; cf. also Charpin, *OBO*, p. 327. Stol translates: submitted peacefully (?) to his rule: *Studies in OB...*, p. 38.

<sup>312</sup> Charpin, *OBO*, p. 328.

The year H 37 is significant; he claimed to have defeated “the army of the Gutians, Kakmum, and the land of Šubartum.”<sup>313</sup> Although there is evidence of such a campaign to these regions, seen in Hurrian-named individuals in Dilbat some years later,<sup>314</sup> it is hard to believe that his victories resulted in a sustained occupation. Parallels from the past reveal the difficulty of keeping control over these mountain lands. Two years later, i.e. in H 39, he had to campaign against Šubartum again,<sup>315</sup> this time without any mention of Kakmum,<sup>316</sup> Gutium or Turukkum. Their omission cannot be attributed to their being under the firm control of Hammurabi, but rather more likely to their liberation. Support for this suggestion may be the enumeration of the 26 cities Hammurabi listed in the prologue of his Code toward the end of his reign. In the list, from which Charpin says to be able to draw a map of the empire, only Nineveh among the northern centres is listed.<sup>317</sup> There is no mention of, for instance, Qabrā, Erbil, Arraphā, or the centres of the Habur region. The conquest of Nineveh, if true, might be considered a brief relapse in the Turukkean expansion. It is easy to conclude that the East-Tigris region and at least some large parts of the Habur were under Turukkean hegemony by this time. We should not forget to say that the campaign of H 37 might mark the end of the peaceful relations between Babylon and Turukkum, since the latter was included in the list of Hammurabi’s targets. With the disappearance of minor, and even major, polities from the scene as a result of Hammurabi’s conquests, the buffer between the kingdoms of Babylon and Turukkum disappeared. The conflict, struggle for power and expansion between the two became inevitable.

The years after the death of Hammurabi of Babylon are not so well documented as those in his lifetime. A significant episode during the reign of Samsu-iluna was the movement of the Kassites. When the king was busy with the revolt of south Babylonia, the Kassites made their first appearance in Mesopotamian history as a power: they launched an attack on the kingdom of Babylon. The alleged victory of Samsu-iluna over them is celebrated with the name of the 9<sup>th</sup> year of his reign:

Samsu-iluna, the king, tore out the foundations of the army of the Kassites at Kikalla.<sup>318</sup>

This may mark the beginning of the rise of the other mountainous peoples, following the period during which the tide of Amorite immigrations ebbed and the wave of their progress dissipated. The Hurrians, the Kassites and the Hittites built large empires that overshadowed the Amorite kingdoms.

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<sup>313</sup> Charpin, *OBO*, p. 332. For the versions of this year-name and related problems, cf. Stol, *Studies in OB...*, p. 38. According to Stol, the submission of the cities of Assur and Šitullum to Hammurabi must have taken place between the regnal years 29-32, while Nineveh was mentioned in the final edition of his Code, sometime after H 38, *op. cit.*, p. 39. For the presumable identification of Šitullum with modern Tikrit, see above.

<sup>314</sup> Charpin presented three letters and three administrative documents from the reigns of Hammurabi and his son Samsu-iluna that mention Turukkeans, Kakmeans and Arrapheans in the region of Dilbat as field owners, receivers of silver and dates; cf. Charpin, D., “Immigrés, réfugiés et déportés en Babylonie sous Hammu-rabi et ses successeurs,” in *La circulation de biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien, RAI 38 (Paris, 8-10 Juillet 1991)*, ed. D. Charpin and F. Joannès, Paris, 1992, p. 215f, for the dating of these documents cf. especially p. 214 and 216; cf. also Charpin, *OBO*, p. 367 and 374, and more recently *RA* 98, p. 172, and earlier in Klengel, H., “Nochmals zu den Turukkäern und ihrem Auftreten,” *AoF* 12 (1985), p. 257.

<sup>315</sup> Charpin, *OBO*, p. 332.

<sup>316</sup> A prominent Kakmean was mentioned in two texts from Rimāh (*OBTR* 255 and 261), who received wine. The date of the texts is after the conquest of Mari by Hammurabi and probably indicate a Kakmean role in this region at that time, of which we have no further details. For the texts cf. Dalley, *OBTR*, p. 185 and 188.

<sup>317</sup> For these city names and the order in which they are arranged, cf. Charpin, *OBO*, p. 333-4.

<sup>318</sup> Charpin, *OBO*, p. 339. Kikalla was probably in the region of Kiš, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

Samsu-iluna invaded the Habur region in 1728 (Samsu-iluna 22, the year 23 bears the formula) and destroyed the land of Apum, according to the year name:

The year: Samsu-iluna, the king, by force of power which Enlil gave him, destroyed Šaḥna (sic.), the capital city of (the land of) Apum, Zarḥanum, Putra Šuša, ....-lazia(?) <and> .... Yakunašar ....Yakun-X.<sup>319</sup>

His victory is also reflected in his royal inscriptions:

The king who subjugated the land of Ida-maraš from the border of Gutium to the border of Elam with his mighty weapon.<sup>320</sup>

Sometime after 1750 BC a certain Mutiya ruled Šeḥna<sup>321</sup> (formerly Šubat-Enlil). He concluded a treaty with Ḫazip-Teššup, the king of Razama of Yussan, which was to the north of Jebel Sinjār.<sup>322</sup> Razama of Yussan was in the time of Zimri-Lim a vassal of Zimri-Lim<sup>323</sup> and was perhaps ruled by Amorites like Šarraya.<sup>324</sup> By this time, the situation seems to have reversed; the Hurrian Ḫazip-Teššup was its ruler and this may indicate that the Hurrian expansion to the west and slightly to the south was still in progress.

Hurrian presence in the Habur region towards the end of the OB period is confirmed by textual evidence. At this time, almost one and a half centuries after the Mari period, Tigunānum appears in the form Tikunani. Its Hurrian-named king Tunip-Teššup<sup>325</sup> became known to us from a few documents, including the well-known prism, familiarly called the Ḫabiru Prism, and the important letter Ḫattušili I of Ḫatti sent to him. In that letter, Ḫattušili (= Labarna LUGAL.GAL) addressed the king as his servant and uses the hypocoristic form of his name, Tuniya.<sup>326</sup> The letter is about plans for an attack on the city of Ḫaḥḫum<sup>327</sup> by

<sup>319</sup> mu *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal.e usu gir.ra <sup>d</sup>En.lil.le mu.un.na.an.sum.ma.ta Ša.aḥ.na.a<sup>ki</sup> uru<sup>ki</sup> sag ma.da <A>.pu.um.ma Za.ar.ḫa.nu.um<sup>ki</sup>Pu.ut.ra<sup>ki</sup>Šu.ša.a<sup>ki</sup>(ma) .. x la?.ši-a? MI bi.ib.gul.gul.la <sup>m</sup>Ia-ku-un-a-šar ... <sup>m</sup>Ia-ku-un-x ....., Horsnell, *op. cit.*, p. 211-12; cf. also Charpin, *OBO*, p. 348.

<sup>320</sup> 3') [LUGAL] *ša ma-at* 4') [I-d]a-ma-ra-a[s<sup>ki</sup>] 5') [iš-t]u pa-at [G]u-ti-um[<sup>ki</sup>] 6') [a-d]i pa-at [NI]M[<sup>ki</sup>]i-tim 7') in *ka-ak-ki-šu da-nim* 8') [ú]-ka-[a]n-ni-š[u] (Akkadian version), Frayne, *RIME* 4, p. 389-90 (text no. E4.3.7.8). With the identification of the region "from the border of Gutium to the border of Elam" he appears to mean the Diyāla region, which he subdued before his attack on the Habur. Nevertheless, the formulation of the sentence here is strange; it gives the impression that by Ida-maraš he means the lands between the border of Gutium and the border of Elam. If so, this is Ida-maraš in the east Tigris region; cf. Chapter Two, under Gutium: Location.

<sup>321</sup> For this date, cf. Charpin, *OBO*, p. 349.

<sup>322</sup> Charpin, *OBO*, p. 350.

<sup>323</sup> Cf. for instance letters *ARM* 27 and 71, where the alliance of Zimri-Lim with its king Šarraya is reported: Heimpel, p. 434. *ARM* 14, 104+ was sent to Zimri-Lim by Yaqqim-Addu and relates that the people of the city said that the city of Razama is Zimri-Lim's: 20) *ki-a-am i-pu-lu-šu um-ma-a-mi a-lum<sup>ki</sup> ša Zi-im-ri-Li-im*, "They answered as follows, thus (they said): 'The city (= Razama) is Zimri-Lim's,'" Charpin, D., "Données nouvelles sur la poliorcétique à l'époque Paléo-Babylonienne," *MARI* 7, Paris, 1993; Heimpel, p. 496; in letters *ARM* 6, 51 and 52 it is expected that Zimri-Lim will march towards the city to save it from the siege mounted by Atamrum, the ally of Elam in this time; for the letters, cf. Heimpel, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

<sup>324</sup> This name was probably a hypocoristic form of Šarrum-kîn, cf. Heimpel, p. 558.

<sup>325</sup> According to Wilhelm the name is *to/un=i=b-Teššob*, presumably "Teššup has enabled(?)," Wilhelm, Hurrians in Kültepe, *Anatolia and the Jazira...*, p. 187, note 34. To Richter the name means "Teššup provided (a child):" Richter, Th., Ein Hurriter wird geboren ... und benannt, p. 522.

<sup>326</sup> Salvini, "Un royaume hourrite en Mésopotamie du nord .....", *Subartu* IV/1, p. 305.

<sup>327</sup> Not to be confused with Ḫaḥḫa(š) of the Hittite texts, which was further north; cf. Liverani, M., "The Fire of Ḫaḥḫum," *OA* 27 (1988), p. 165-6. Our Ḫaḥḫum was located in all probability on the Upper Euphrates, identifiable with modern Samsat (M. Falkner) or Lidar Hüyük; cf. Liverani, *op. cit.*, p. 168; Van de Mieroop, "Sargon of Agade and ...," *SMEA* 42/1 (2000), p. 135; Westenholz, *Legends of ...*, p. 250, note to l. i' 5' and Salvini, M., "Un royaume hourrite ...," *Subartu* IV/1, Turmhout, 1998, p. 305. A recent study has shown it to be located on a high altitude, perhaps on a mountainside, and close to an important river crossing point that must be the Euphrates, but its location whether on the eastern or western bank of the river is not settled; cf. Barjamovic,



both Ḫattušili and Tunip-Teššup, the attack that is recorded in the 6<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Ḫattušili.<sup>328</sup> From the content and the wording of the letter, one understands that Tikunani was a vassal city of the Hittites. The letter is important also because of the chronology it establishes for Tunip-Teššup; it proves that he was a contemporary of Ḫattušili I, who was, in turn, a contemporary of Ammi-šaduqa (1646-1625 BC) of Babylon.<sup>329</sup>

The prism records a large number of male individuals (438 persons) labelled ÉRIN.MEŠ Ḫabiri (Col. I, 1), “Ḫabiru soldiers/ workers”. The editor of the text noted that the names are predominantly Hurrian, the rest are Semitic and names of unknown origin with one Kassite name,<sup>330</sup> providing a valuable hint to the ethnic texture of the region of Tikunani in this time. Salvini thinks it is possible to count Tikunani among the political entities of northern Mesopotamia, which later was incorporated with the kingdom of Mittanni.<sup>331</sup>

A large proportion of names of slaves from Babylonia in the 17<sup>th</sup> century were Hurrian.<sup>332</sup> Charpin feels these came from different regions of Upper Mesopotamia, where the Hurrian population seems to have immigrated from the mountains of Ṭūr-<sup>c</sup>Abdīn and exercised pressure on the southern piedmonts.<sup>333</sup>

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*op. cit.*, p. 99, 100, and 103-104. Barjamovic himself is in favour of the western side of the river, *op. cit.*, p. 101. Ḫaḫḫum, a border city between Syria and Anatolia, was an important city also in the OA trade network, which served as a hub for communications between Assur and Kaneš, “where caravans met, people crossed paths, and messages were exchanged on the trip to and from Anatolia,” cf. Barjamovic, *op. cit.*, p. 87. He further adds that “a large number of Assyrian families seem to have owned a house, had access to a depot there, or had permanent agents stationed in the city,” *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>328</sup> Salvini, *Subartu*, p. 305.

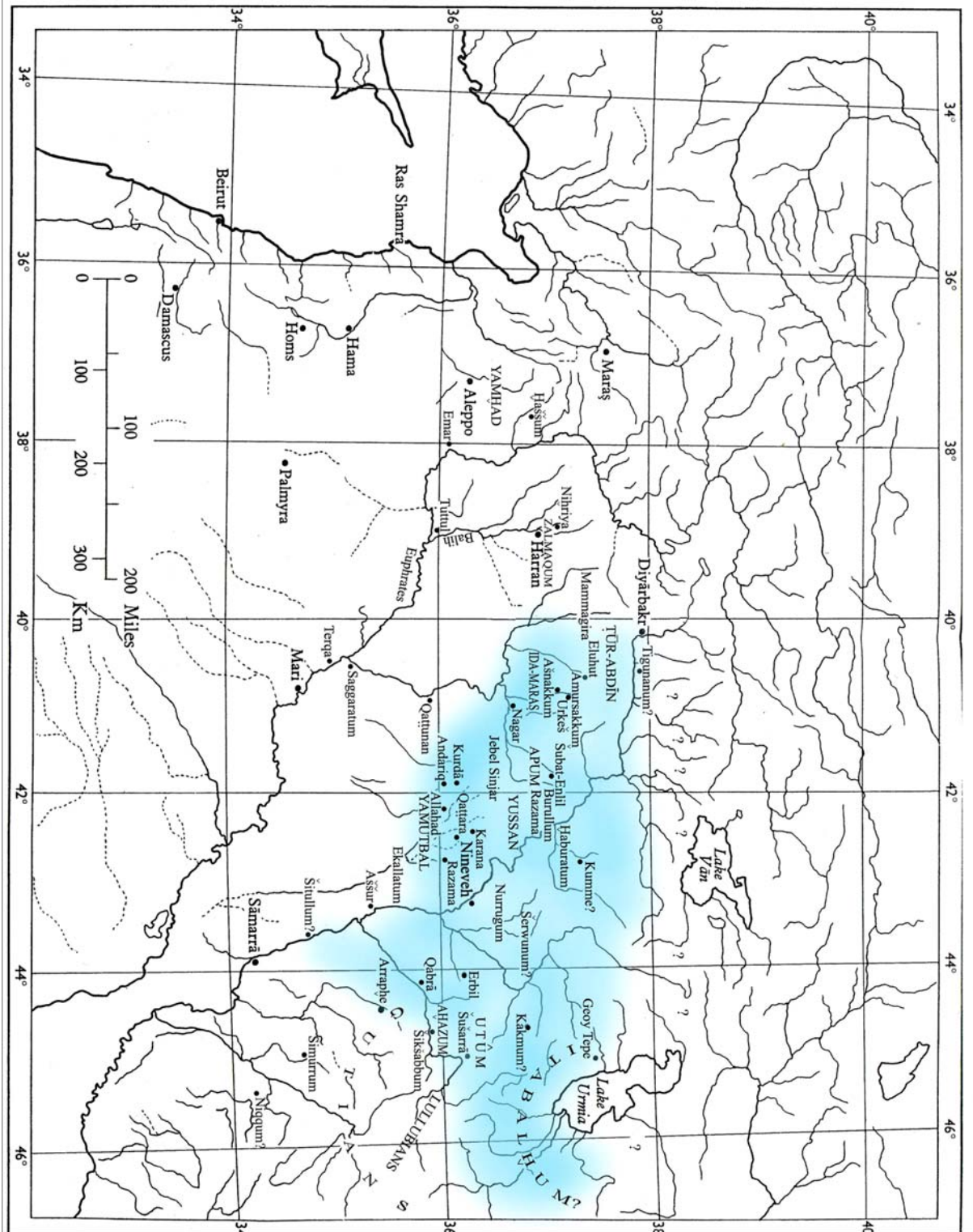
<sup>329</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>330</sup> Salvini, *Subartu*, p. 307; cf. also Salvini, M., *The Ḫabiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani*, Roma, 1996, p. 9.

<sup>331</sup> Salvini, *The Ḫabiru Prism...*, p. 13.

<sup>332</sup> Charpin, *OBO*, p. 375 (referring to bibliographical references in De Graef, K., “Les étrangers dans les textes paléobabyloniens tardifs de Sippar,” *Akkadica* 111 (1999), p. 1-48; and De Graef, *Akkadica* 112 (1999), p. 1-17.

<sup>333</sup> Charpin, *OBO*, p. 375.



The kingdom of Turukku under Zaziya with unknown extensions in the north and east.

