

# THE SHEMSHARA ARCHIVES

Vol. 1 The Letters

Jesper Eidem and Jørgen Læssøe



Cover photo (front):  
Camp of the Danish Dokan Expedition  
on the slope of Tell Shemshara,  
summer 1957.

Cover photo (back):  
The obverse of Letter no. 71.

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Vol. 1

Eidem and Læssøe

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ARCHIVES  
1. THE LETTERS**



# The Shemshara Archives 1

## The Letters

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## **ABSTRACT**

This volume is the final edition of the Old Babylonian letters excavated by the Danish Dokān Expedition at Tell Shemshāra in northeastern Iraq, and completes publication of the epigraphic material from this site. The texts from Tell Shemshāra remain the only substantial body of ancient written sources from the northern Zagros, and the introductory first part of the volume explores significant geographical, historical, and archaeological aspects of the evidence.

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## FOREWORD

This volume is the *editio princeps* of the Old Babylonian letters excavated by the Danish Dokān Expedition at Tell Shemshāra in 1957. The administrative documents from Tell Shemshāra, excavated partly by the Danish expedition, and partly by an Iraqi expedition (1958), have already been published in *The Shemshāra Archives 2* (= ShA 2),<sup>1</sup> so that the entire epigraphic material from the site is now available.

Simple arithmetic reveals the regrettably long gestation of the present volume. Prof. Jørgen Læssøe, who organized the Danish Dokān Expedition, and served as its assistant director and epigrapher, originally undertook to publish all the Old Babylonian tablets from Tell Shemshāra. With impressive dispatch he presented a comprehensive preliminary report (Læssøe 1959a),<sup>2</sup> and subsequently over the years made much additional information available in a series of other publications. Unfortunately, however, various circumstances prevented completion of the final edition of the texts before Læssøe died – after a long period of illness – in February 1993. Having already undertaken the final edition of *The Shemshāra Archives 2*, I agreed to bring also the present volume to completion and received from Mrs. Herdis Læssøe all of Prof. Læssøe's copies and notes. This material forms the core of the volume, but some additional remarks must be made in order to clarify the organization of the book.

The material left by Læssøe included photographs, finished hand-copies, and preliminary transliterations of virtually all the texts. No translations, commentaries, or drafts for historical and other analyses were available, but much information could of course be found in the books and articles already published by Læssøe. For obvious reasons it was decided to present all the tablets, whether published previously or not, in this volume. Apart from providing a comprehensive corpus, this has made it possible to perform some updating of earlier presentations, necessitated not least by the recent rapid development in publication and study of the contemporary archives from ancient Mari.

It should be noted that :

The introductory Part I presents a chronological and historical overview of the evidence from the Shemshāra tablets. Although the sole responsibility of Eidem, the analysis owes much to the basic work done by Læssøe, and to important studies by M. Trolle Larsen (cf. Bibliography).

The texts are presented in the order established by Læssøe in his *Det Første Assyriske Imperium* [*The First Assyrian Empire*] (= Læssøe 1966), 76-79, with some slight updating. The classification of the texts is explained below in II.1.A.

The hand-copies are published here in the final form prepared by Læssøe.<sup>3</sup> The tablets now in Copenhagen have most recently been collated repeatedly by Eidem. Those in *The Iraq Museum* (Baghdad) could unfortunately not be collated again, but the copies have been carefully checked against the complete photographic record in Copenhagen. A few badly preserved tablets in Baghdad must clearly be collated again from the originals, and it is hoped that this will be possible in the near future.<sup>4</sup> Results of collations are noted in the edition where an \* after a sign marks a reading different from – or seemingly not warranted – by the copy.<sup>5</sup>

1. Reviews : Saporetti 1992, Charpin 1994c, Dalley 1994, Lafont 1993-1994, Owen 1994, Pedersen 1994, Weszeli 1994, Edzard 1995, Durand 1996, Ziegler 1997a, Biggs 1998.

2. Reviews : Bottéro 1960, Gadd 1960, Simmons 1960, Falkenstein 1961, Hirsch 1961, Röllig 1963.

3. The draft copy of **70** was inked by Eidem, who is also responsible for copies of the fragments **82** and **97-100**, and some copies of sealings (see notes to individual pieces).

4. The most serious cases are nos. **20**, **36**, **52**, and **72**, where collation from photos, however, has already produced substantial improvements.

5. Thus signs marked with an \* include : signs or traces inadvertently omitted in copy ; signs miscopied ; some signs which seem doubtful in copy, but are clearer on tablet. Minor graphic variation between copy and original is generally not noted. In a few cases, generally not noted here, the surface of tablets (among those in Copenhagen) have suffered some slight deterioration since the copy was made.



Updating of other details in texts previously published or quoted are not systematically noted in the edition.

It should be noted that the edition mostly dispenses with discussion of non-Akkadian personal names found in the texts. For these problems readers are referred to ShA 2, 46-50, and to a forthcoming study by T. Richter on Hurrian onomastic material in texts from this period, and which will integrate all relevant names from Shemshāra.

The volume likewise contains no specific study of the various aberrant linguistic features found in some of the texts since such a study must be undertaken in a much broader context. In a general way, however, the Shemshāra letters written in the local region show many of the features found in other groups of texts from peripheral sites in this period and studied in some detail by D. Charpin (1989).

Study and analysis of the finds from Tell Shemshāra and their implications has been pursued more or less intensively by several Danish archaeologists and assyriologists over the years, and results of these efforts have appeared in publications of various scope and degree of finality. This state of affairs has logically created some uncertainty about the nature and importance of the material, and therefore hesitation by colleagues, in the field of Ancient Near Eastern Studies as well as related disciplines, to make use of the evidence in any but the most superficial manner.<sup>6</sup> With the definitive publication of the written sources now available, it is hoped that this material can finally be properly appreciated, and receive the scholarly attention it deserves. While the epigraphic finds from Tell Shemshāra are modest in comparison with the large contemporary archives from Mari or Tell Leilān, they form a uniquely coherent, informative, and indeed immediately exciting corpus. The significance of this corpus is twofold: it provides some illuminating sidelight on the chronology and history of the north Mesopotamian kingdom of Šamšī-Adad I, and – more importantly – it lifts the veil to an otherwise almost unknown world in the ancient western Zagros.

Many details and aspects of the material have been described or discussed previously, and therefore some repetition has been necessary to make the presentation comprehensive and up to date. Similarly it was felt that the nature of the evidence, which should command interest beyond the narrow circle of specialists, called for a broader treatment than is perhaps usual in similar publications, and chapters 4 and 5 of the introduction therefore present a diachronic summary of the texts, with many of them quoted in translation. This should provide, also for non-specialists, ready access to the sources.

There remains the pleasant task of thanking the institutions and individuals who have made this volume possible, and in various ways helped to shape its contents and production.

It was the Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish Government Foundation for the Promotion of Research which jointly provided funding for the Danish Dokān Expedition in 1957. The Carlsberg Foundation has subsequently over the years financed analysis and publication of the material excavated at Tell Shemshāra, and most recently provided funds for the preparation of the present volume. I am most grateful for this generous support.

As already indicated Læssøe's pioneering efforts form a solid base for the present volume, and more so than perhaps meets the eye. The many improvements in reading and interpretation of the texts now possible, cannot obscure the remarkable skill with which the copies were made, at a time when little comparative material was yet available, and by a scholar without prior first-hand experience of the genre. Subsequent work on the material also represents collective efforts of the former Institute of Assyriology (University of Copenhagen) – now part of the Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies. Over the years several younger scholars studied the texts with Læssøe, and the present author is grateful for having shared some of this milieu, and for being able to present the results of its efforts here. Prof. M. Trolle Larsen kindly read and offered valuable comments on the manuscript.

I feel confident that J. Læssøe would have joined me in thanking – once again – The Department

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6. This deplorable situation is reflected in two recent works which offer comprehensive surveys of Zagros history and archaeology (Hole (ed.) 1987, and Potts 1994), but make virtually no mention of the evidence from Shemshāra.

of Antiquities of the Republic of Iraq (now the Directorate General of Antiquities and Heritage), as well as the various other institutions and individuals, Iraqi, Danish, and British, who in numerous ways contributed to the success of the Danish Dokān Expedition (see Læssøe 1959a, 5-7).

Jørgen Læssøe is no longer with us, but I am confident also that he would unhesitantly have joined me in dedicating this volume to the memory of his teacher and friend, the late Prof. Thorkild Jacobsen.

*Jesper Eidem*

Copenhagen, September 1998

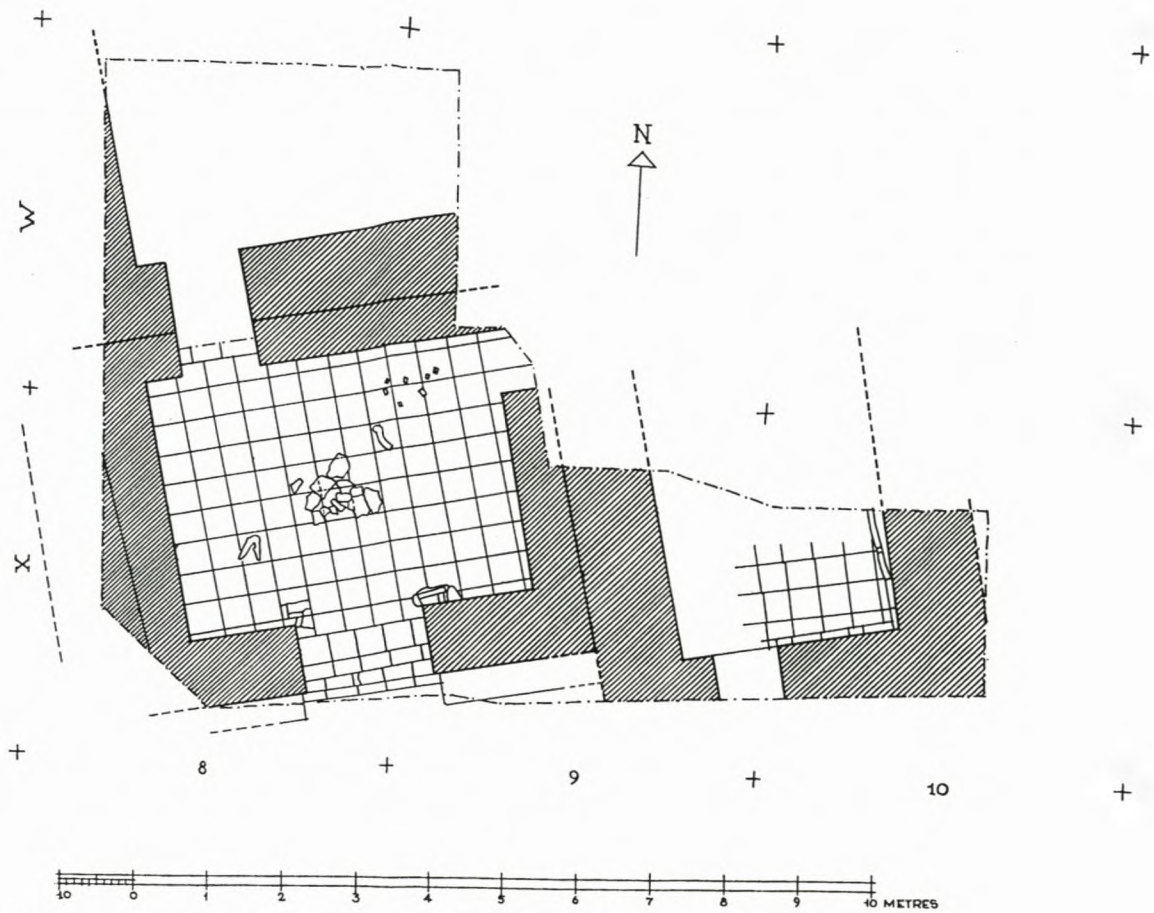


## **PART I**

### **INTRODUCTION**



Room 2 in the Shemshāra palace, facing southeast (photo J. Læssøe).



Plan of area w-x/8-10, Level V (drawing by M. L. Friis).

## 1. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The archaeological context of the archives from Tell Shemshāra has been summarized several times – most recently in ShA 2 (pp. 11-15) – and need only be briefly recalled here.<sup>7</sup>

Tell Shemshāra, now inundated by the Dokān Lake, was situated on the right bank of the Lesser Zab five kms. west of the Sungasur Gorge, through which the river enters the Rania Plain. The strategic position of the site was one of the main reasons which prompted the Danish Dokān Expedition to excavate here, and as stated by Læssøe : “the Sungasur Gorge, which constitutes the only obvious entrance to the Plain from the east, could easily have been guarded and defended from a fortified town at the site of Shemshāra” (Læssøe 1959a, 23). The tell consisted of a high northern part (ca. 19 m high) and a lower southern extension (ca. 6 m high), covering some 3 ha. The Danish expedition, working from 21st May to 5th August 1957, concentrated its efforts on a deep sounding on the summit of the tell, but also made some trial trenches in the lower part. In the latter operation (area w-x/8-10) rooms of an Old Babylonian palatial structure were uncovered in the fifth level, and one of these rooms (no. 2) contained 146 tablets or fragments of tablets, both letters and administrative documents, and a few sealings.

The Danish expedition could not return to the site in 1958, and instead the excavation was continued by an Iraqi expedition, directed by Abd al-Qādir al-Tekrīti, in 1958 and 1959. The results of this work have not been published, but it was mostly concentrated on further investigation of the Old Babylonian palace,<sup>8</sup> and produced a smaller group of tablets, almost exclusively administrative documents, found in rooms 27 and 34. As demonstrated in ShA 2 these tablets are contemporary with the archive from room 2.

In sum little is known archaeologically about the Old Babylonian settlement at Tell Shemshāra, but a few important points deserve mention here. The epigraphic finds fully support the supposition that the lower mound level V building was a “palace”, since it functioned as residence for the local ruler, and as administrative center for the surrounding countryside. The supposedly contemporary levels (IV-VIII) on the summit are less easy to interpret on present evidence, but are known to have contained a substantial brick platform, which perhaps indicates the presence of another public building here (Ingholt 1957). A final point is that at least the Old Babylonian settlement probably extended beyond the main mound, and as observed by Læssøe (1959c, 17), several adjacent rises to the north and west of the tell proper belonged to the site. Although new investigations on location would be necessary to confirm this, it seems likely that Tell Shemshāra had a layout similar to that of many other major early second millennium settlements in the north, and that the main mound was the “citadel” (*kerhum*) of a more extensive, probably walled, “lower town” (*adaššum*).<sup>9</sup>

The tablets excavated in 1957 were all found in room 2 of the building in area w-x/8-10. The first tablet to appear (on 30th July) was the small account of grain issues SH.800 (= ShA 2, 108), found ca. 15 cms from the south wall and ca. 40 cms above the floor of baked bricks in the room. This piece thematically belongs with the administrative tablets excavated by the Iraqi team in 1958, and was thus presumably out of context. Only two days later (1st August) appeared the next 6 tablets lying *on* the actual floor, and over the next four days the remainder of the room was cleared (Læssøe 1957, 216). The situation was described as follows by Læssøe (1959a, 25f.) :

7. For more detailed information readers are referred to Ingholt 1957, Læssøe 1959a, and Mortensen 1970. The archaeological material from the period contemporary with the archives is being prepared for publication by I. Thuesen (cf. bibliography), to whom I am grateful for some additional information on the findspot of the tablets in room 2.

8. With the kind permission of Dr. Abd al-Qādir, I was able to study the field catalogues for the 1958 and 1959 excavations at Tell Shemshāra during a visit to The Iraq Museum (Baghdad) in 1979. Apart from the group of tablets unearthed in 1958, relatively few further objects were apparently retrieved in the palace, which then seems to have been thoroughly evacuated or looted prior to its destruction.

The Danish expedition found a few other items in room 2 (see Læssøe 1959a, 27 ; and photos in Læssøe 1966, 6f.) : a ceramic jar stand (SH.712), a fine ware beaker (SH.713), and the torso of a clay animal figurine (SH.714).

9. For a general discussion of these features see D. Oates 1985 and Charpin 1993b.

“The tablets were lying on the floor, or in loose earth immediately above floor level, scattered over the northeastern quarter of the pavement ; some tablets were lying on the fragments of clay pots, remains of the containers in which the tablets were stored. 146 individual tablets or fragments of tablets were registered (field catalogue Nos. SH.800-945). It should be noted that six tablets, SH.824-829, are mutually associated by circumstances of discovery in the sense that they were found lying together on one large potsherd (SH.715). There was not, at the time of discovery, sufficient evidence to show whether the tablets found had all been stored originally in one pot, or whether the sherds represent the remains of more than one container ; but it may be noted that SH.800-904 represent a hoard of tablets found within a distance of 2 metres from the east wall and 1 1/2 metres from the north wall, i. e., in the extreme northeast corner of the room, whereas SH.905-945 represent a lot discovered closer to the doorway leading north into an adjoining room (not excavated in 1957). There was, further, no clear evidence which would permit us to establish whether the tablets were originally kept in this room, or whether the container or containers in which they were kept, came accidentally to the place in which they were excavated, possibly in connexion with an attempt to evacuate the building. The latter explanation, although not mandatory, may be considered owing to the fact that there was clear evidence of a fire having affected this part of the building, and several tablets emerged from heavy deposits of burnt debris.”

The now complete study of the epigraphic material shows that it includes 75 letters (this volume **1-73** ; including **28 B** and **44 B**)<sup>10</sup> where address/part of address – or substantial portions of text is preserved. Of these letters at least 66 were addressed to Kuwari, 1 written or dictated by him, but either a copy, or never dispatched, 5 addressed to other figures and presumably “stranded” at Shemshāra, and finally 3 acephalous. As outlined in several summaries of the evidence the archive covers two different historical situations, the earliest where Kuwari functioned as viceroy for a local kingdom centered in the Zagros, and the later where Kuwari had become a vassal of Šamšī-Adad I.<sup>11</sup> Although every single letter cannot with absolute certainty be ascribed to the correct period, it can be stated that at least 22 letters belong to the earlier period, and that at least 44 letters, all addressed to Kuwari, belong to the later period.

The archive also includes some 20 smaller fragments of letters, in some cases no doubt further theoretical joins with other preserved tablets, but in a number of cases fragments from tablets otherwise entirely lost.

The archive further includes 38 administrative texts published in ShA 2 (nos. 108 -146, including SH.800, which probably did not belong with the rest of the material found in room 2), and 3 additional fragments of administrative texts, not previously identified as such, and published in this volume (**98-100**).

Found with these tablets were finally a number of sealings, mostly on envelope fragments, representing 6 different seals (this volume, **Seals 1-6**).

An important question is whether the archaeological context and the composition of the archive can improve understanding of the historical circumstances accompanying its formation and its ultimate fate. We shall first consider the physical distribution of the material in room 2, for which the excavators have provided the following information :

**A)** The larger group SH.801-904 was found in the northeast corner of the room ; within this group SH.824-829 were all found resting on the large sherd SH.715, and as shown by the photo and drawing in Læssøe 1959a, 28, SH.809-812 and 817 constitute another sub-group of items found close together.

10. To ease orientation most references to texts published in this volume are in bold face.

11. We prefer the Akkadian version of this name over the Amorite form Samsī-Addu (also found in these texts ; cf. index). It is obviously a moot point how the graphic representation <sup>d</sup>utu-šī-<sup>d</sup>im would have been pronounced in any specific instance, but it is logical to assume that it reflects the most common – Akkadian – form. Irrespective of precise ethno-linguistic affiliation individuals in this period could carry Akkadian, Amorite, or Hurrian personal names, and indeed the two famous sons of Šamšī-Adad carried an Akkadian and an Amorite name respectively.

er. It may be noted that the tablets in this group were relatively intact, at least in the sense that few joins could be made.

**B)** The smaller group SH.905-945 was found in the northwest part of the room closer to the doorway in the north wall. In contrast to group A) several of these tablets were found in many smaller fragments.

A first observation is that no certain joins can be made between groups A) and B).<sup>12</sup> This might support the theory that more than one container is involved, but of more interest is the question whether any thematic or other principle for the division of the groups can be detected. In a summary of the Shemshāra evidence published in Danish Læssøe considered this problem in relation to the small sub-group SH.824-829 from A), found on the same large potsherd, and therefore certain to have been stored in the same container. The group includes :

ShA 2, 111	a list of 526 troops of <i>māt Utēm</i>
<b>3</b>	letter from Šamšī-Adad to Kuwari
<b>34</b>	letter from Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari
<b>56/37</b>	letter from Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari with note from Sîn-išme'anni
<b>57</b>	letter from Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari
<b>64</b>	letter from Šepratu to Kuwari

Læssøe concluded that “in this archive there was no division for storage between letters and administrative documents ..... we may further conclude that a principle ‘letter-received -from same sender-stored-in same-container’ was not used since the relevant letters were dispatched by 4 different correspondents ..... On the other hand it may, from the circumstances of discovery described, be deduced that documents stored together concerned related subjects.”<sup>13</sup>

The last of these observations provide, I believe, the key to how the archive was organized. Anticipating the diachronic analysis of the evidence presented below, it can be stated that the 5 different letters listed above must belong to the same division of time within the period covered by the archive. **34, 56/37, 57, and 64** all belong to the early, “local” period, and **3** can be shown to belong to the earliest phase of the “late” period. A similar observation can be made for the other sub-group within A), where 3 letters (**53, 59, 63**) belong to the early period, and **1** is almost certainly the earliest “late” letter. This observation can in fact be applied to the entire archive for which the concordance appended at end of this volume may be consulted. It appears that letters from the early period cluster in group A) – and indeed in the lowest range of SH. nos., between SH.800 and SH.829, which includes no less than 18 of the minimum of 22 early letters, but only 3 letters (all sent from Šamšī-Adad) from the later period : **1** and **3**, demonstrably from the earliest phase of the period, and the very short **25** which cannot be dated with any accuracy. Early letters, on the other hand, are virtually absent from group B) which includes only one possible example.<sup>14</sup> The Shemshāra field records do not reveal precise criteria for assignment of SH. nos. to individual pieces, but the two sub-groups of A) considered above show that the sequence of nos. generally follows the order in which the tablets were extracted from the ground. Most likely, however, this principle was not strictly adhered to so that, for instance, the cluster of administrative texts SH.834 – 851 may have been created as a thematic ordering of the material – the smaller administrative tablets being immediately identified as belonging to a separate category.

12. Group B) includes only a single administrative text, and two envelope fragments with remains of impression. One of these envelope fragments is numbered SH.923 and preserves part of the sealing of Turukti, whose seal is also impressed on the fragment SH.817 from group A) (Seal no. 3). This fragment might then be a possible link between the two groups, but the evidence is not certain. The field number SH.923 includes also a fairly large number of mostly very small tablet fragments from several tablets and some undecorated envelope fragments. Although the field records do not mention anything about this, it might be a collection of pieces from sieving or similar, which could be a mixture of items from A) and B), and it seems wiser not to rely too much on the provenience of individual pieces numbered SH.923.

13. Læssøe 1966, 57f. n. 52. English translation by Eidem.

14. This is SH.918 (= **65**) sent from Sîn-išme'anni to a certain Nawram-šarur, possibly a citizen of Ja'ilānum. The letter probably “stranded” at Shemshāra because political circumstances made delivery impossible or superfluous.



Nevertheless it seems fairly certain that the sequence of SH. nos. generally parallels a diachronic sequence of the letters and that this in turn must be a reflection of an original archival order based on the simple principle that the tablets were stored “as they came in”.<sup>15</sup>

Returning at this point to the distribution of tablets within room 2 an attractive hypothesis of how the material was ultimately deposited as excavated can be suggested. Since the smaller group B) is generally “late”, and the larger group A) generally “early” – with the “earliest” texts generally exposed first during excavation, it seems likely that the entire material was stored in a single container which somehow was turned over – spilling the top contents (= group B) towards the northwest part of room 2, so that several tablets were shattered – and then crushed against the floor at such an angle that the lower contents (= group A) were spread in the portion of floor excavated first – or slightly higher above the floor. Assuming the existence of two tablet containers is more difficult, especially since the sherds associated with the tablets seem to have been concentrated with group A).

Another question raised by Læssøe is whether the tablets were originally stored in room 2, or perhaps ended there during an obviously unsuccessful evacuation. Without more comprehensive information on the layout and stratigraphy of the building, this problem can hardly be solved in any definitive way. As can be seen on the photos of the room after the tablets had been extracted, remains of a large jar lie crushed flat against the floor almost in the center of the room, and it does not seem very likely that the tablet container would have been kept there originally. This is not mentioned by Læssøe, but subsequently the sherds on the floor were removed, and this revealed a drain hole in the floor. This shows that room 2 served some purpose connected with the use of water, and it seems possible that someone, whether the inhabitants or the conquerors of the palace, simply wanted to discard the tablets. The contemporary administrative texts found in rooms 27 and 34 in 1958, were partly deposited in fill well above the paved floors and oddly distributed between the two rooms. On the strength of these circumstances it was tentatively suggested in ShA 2, 15 that these tablets could originally have been stored in an upper storey of the building, only landing in the rooms below when the building collapsed. It was further suggested that the same could apply to the tablets from room 2, but this now seems to me less likely, since one would then have expected more debris underlying the tablets and the sherds from the container.

Whatever the case the main point for present purposes is certainly the fact that some correlation between the diachronic sequence of the letters and the sequence of SH. nos. seems to exist. Obviously the correlation, for many reasons, is not precise, but it may still serve to support, with all due caution, certain assumptions about the date of individual letters.

## 2. THE CHRONOLOGICAL SETTING

The basic chronological scheme for the Shemshāra archive was established long ago, during seminars held at the former Institute of Assyriology at the University of Copenhagen. Some results of these seminars were presented in an unpublished MA thesis (Saxtorph 1965), while summaries have been offered by Larsen (1976, 88f., 1977, and 1986). As part of an integrated analysis of the administrative texts from Shemshāra the present author investigated the chronology of the texts again, within the wider historical framework for the period, and published a comprehensive summary of the results in 1985. There are three main chronological premises for a correct understanding of the archive. The first is the division of the archive into an “early” local correspondence, and a “later” correspondence, conducted with Šamšī-Adad and his officials. The second is the conclusion that the divide can be dated to the year when Šamšī-Adad conquered Arrapha and Qabrā – and that this corresponded to his 28th regnal year, since his ally Dāduša of Ešnunna records the conquest of Qabrā for that year. Finally the facts that Šamšī-Adad conquered Nurrugum the following year, the 29th of his reign, and that a major portion of the Shemshāra archive dates to this year.

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15. Compare the administrative records excavated at Tell Leilān in 1991, and which were found in or around 4 broken jars, and which have “a clear chronological division according to findspot” (Van de Mierop 1994, 305).

Since 1985 a number of important new sources and studies have appeared and largely corroborated or confirmed these premises, which evolved from the Shemshāra archives, but also added much information on the overall history of the whole period involved, and many interesting details. Among these recent publications particular mention must be made of the so-called “Dāduša stele” reported by Ismail (1986), which confirms, as suggested by the Shemshāra texts, that Šamši-Adad and Dāduša were allies when Arrapha and Qabrā were conquered, and the publication of the “Mari Eponym Chronicle” (= MEC) by Birot (1985), which gives a sequence of *līmu* eponyms with historical annotations for much of Šamši-Adad’s reign. Of great importance is also a series of publications by the French Mari scholars providing collations to many of the relevant sources from Mari, or presenting entirely new texts, while several broader studies have appeared, offering comprehensive summaries of the whole period.<sup>16</sup>

Although the basic historical framework for the texts published here has not been altered much, it must be noted that the wider framework for the period and the reign of Šamši-Adad and his sons is still somewhat unclear. Some basic chronological problems remain unresolved,<sup>17</sup> and many details will require further analysis and not least publication of the remaining documentation from Mari, which is now in progress.<sup>18</sup> Consequently the presentation here will deliberately confine itself mostly to the issues of direct relevance for the sources from Shemshāra. For these purposes it will be convenient to summarize the chronology of events during the 27th-31st regnal years of Šamši-Adad, as it now emerges from the published sources, in the table below. The sequence of *līmū* during these years is provided mainly by the “Mari Eponym Chronicle”, while the sequence of months in the calendar used by Šamši-Adad was established finally by Charpin (1985), and further supported by the evidence presented by van de Mierop (1994, 308-310). The exact beginning of the eponym year in relation to the solar year varied from year to year, but since the month Addarum more or less corresponded to spring equinox, Niqumum can be equated with August/September.

The correlation between these years and the larger framework of Mesopotamian chronology is less certain, and we cannot go into these highly complex problems in the present context. The now widely accepted correlation is that proposed by Charpin and Durand (1985), which makes the year Asqudum/Aššur-malik equal to Hammurabi year 12, which in turn corresponds to 1781 B.C.<sup>19</sup> This in conventional terms of the “middle chronology”, and it should be noted that recent studies suggest that this is ca. 100 years too high (Gasche, Armstrong, Cole, Gurzadyan 1998).

Another unresolved problem is the sequence of some major events in the reign of Šamši-Adad, especially the latter years, which are extensively documented in the texts from Mari. Since any substantial reevaluation of these problems must await the publication of the rest of this material, we shall only comment briefly on some issues of special relevance for the years discussed here. Apart from a more precise dating of events for which a basic sequence is already established and seems certain, there is still considerable uncertainty about the sequence of events following the middle part of Šamši-Adad’s regnal year 29. The relevant part of the MEC is broken, and it is not entirely certain whether the important annotation on the fragment A.1614.a belongs to Awīlīja, or perhaps the succeeding *līmu* Adad-bani (Koppen 1997, 426). Various groups of texts can be shown to belong to the years after this point, like numerous texts which refer to the famous census (*tebibtum*) during the *līmu* year Adad-bani. Another group concerns the Turukkean rebellion, which preceded an Assyrian campaign north into Zalmaqum, also mentioned in numerous texts. Of particular importance for our purposes is the correct date for the Turukkean rebellion. As will be shown here the Shemshāra archive covers events at least down to the middle part of Aššur-malik, and analysis leaves rather few texts which can be dated after

16. Especially Veenhof 1985, Charpin and Durand 1985, Whiting 1990, Anbar 1989 and 1993, Yuhong 1994b.

17. See, for instance, Eidem 1993 with further references (cf. the response by Villard 1993 with rejoinder Eidem 1994).

18. Substantial portions of the remaining tablets from the time of Šamši-Adad and his sons will appear in AEM II, which is currently in preparation (J.-M. Durand, personal communication).

19. For an alternative possibility, which moves the correlation some 2-3 years back, see Whiting 1990, 175-180, and cf. Eidem 1993. For an overview of the *līmū* from the reign of Šamši-Adad see Whiting 1990, 211. The new *līmu* lists from Kültepe (KEL), reported by Prof. Veenhof at the RAI 1998, provide all the early *līmū* and overlap with the MEC.

that point in time. There is no way of knowing whether the archive could have included texts which were removed in antiquity, but on present evidence this seems unlikely. An obvious theory for the end of the archive is provided by information in a letter from Mari, which mentions that a certain Lidāja started a revolt, and destroyed two towns in Utûm, probably in the month Dumuzi (see Ch. 6). Assuming that this event removed Kuwari, and closed his archive, it should belong either in late Aššur-malik or in late Awīlīja, but it is not clear which solution is correct. The former possibility creates a very narrow time frame, while the latter adds a whole year to the life-span of the archive, and this seems too much in view of the few available texts. This question also has consequences for the correct dating of the great Turukkean rebellion, which broke out in the core of the Šamšī-Adad kingdom, since it most likely followed the revolt in Utûm.

We have here opted for the solution that the Lidāja revolt belongs to late Aššur-malik, and hence the Turukkean rebellion to Awīlīja, but the tentative nature of this reconstruction must be stressed. It seems likely, on the other hand, that the general sequential scheme is sound, and that the history of the Turukkeans, as it evolves from the texts from Shemshāra and Mari, will not be radically changed when a more secure chronological framework becomes available.

#### SYNOPSIS OF EVENTS CA. 1782-1778 B.C.

<i>līmu</i> /month	Assyria	Zagros
<b>Asqudum</b> = Š.-A. 27/28	MEC : Some feat of Š.-A. <sup>20</sup>	conflict between Turukkeans and Guteans enters its 3rd year
Niqmum		
Kinūnum		
Tamhīrum		
Nabrûm		
Mammītum		
Mana		
Ajjārum		
Addarum	20 : Š.-A. invades Qabrā <sup>21</sup>	alliance against the Guteans
Maqrānum	walled towns of Qabrā conquered by end of this month <sup>22</sup>	
Dumuzi		
Abum		
Tīrum	Š.-A. at war with Ja'ilānum <sup>23</sup>	

20. MEC= Mari Eponym Chronicle (Biro 1985).

21. Qabrā stele, col. ii (Grayson 1987).

22. Qabrā stele, col. iii ; ARM I 135 gives a similar general statement that "all the walled towns have been conquered", but without indicating the date. The Dāduša stele specifically lists the towns Tutarra, Hatkum, Hurara, Kerhum. Contemporary letters from Mari duplicate this : ARM I 131 (Tutarrum, Hatka, and Hurara taken by Išme-Dagan ; cf. Durand 1987b, 231), ARM I 138 (Hatka), ARM I 135 and A.4413 (quoted in Durand 1987b, 225) (Kerhum, which was conquered already during Addarum ; see Charpin 1992a), and the additional towns Šunhum (ARM I 131), A'innum and Zamijātum on the bank of the Zāb (ARM I 121), and Sarrima (ARM IV 49 ; cf. Durand 1987b, 217).

23. ARM I 8 (dated 15. Tīrum) Šamšī-Adad orders Jasmah-Addu to execute the Ja'ilānum staying in Mari.

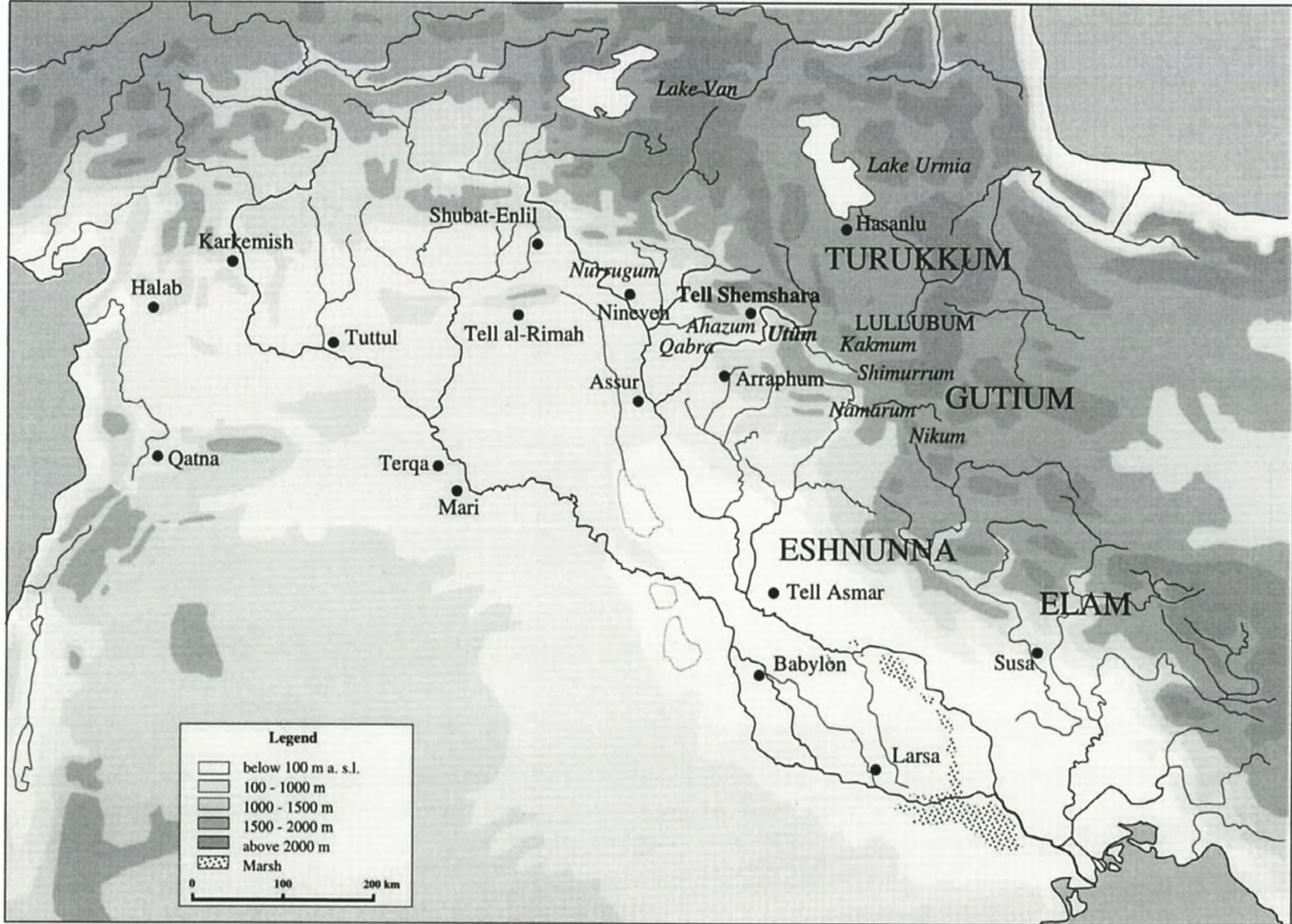
<b>Aššur-malik</b> = Š.-A. 28/29	MEC : defeat of Nurrugum and Ahazum	Turukkean alliance collapses ; Kuwari becomes vassal of Š.-A.
Niqmum	Qabrā conquered in this or following month(?) <sup>24</sup>	
Kinūnum		
Tamhīrum		
Nabrūm		
Mammītum		
Mana		
Ajjārum		
Addarum	10 : Šikšabbum has been conquered <sup>25</sup>	
Maqrānum	army sent to Qatna	
Dumuzi		Lidāja sacks Shemshāra(?)
Abum		
Tīrum		
<b>Awīlija</b> = Š.-A. 29/30	(MEC : defeat of Turukkeans and Bina-Jaminu)?	Turukkeans in Habur etc. rebel
Niqmum	rebellion has begun	
Kinūnum		
Tamhīrum		
Nabrūm		
Mammītum		
Mana		
Ajjārum		
Addarum		
Maqrānum		
Dumuzi	rebellion ended(?)	
Abum		
Tīrum		
<b>Adad-bani</b> = Š.-A. 30/31	great census ( <i>tebibtum</i> )	
Niqmum		
Kinūnum		
Tamhīrum		
Nabrūm	Dilmun envoys return via Mari <sup>26</sup>	
Mammītum		
Mana		
Ajjārum		
Addarum		
Maqrānum	4-15 : Jasmah-Addu at Chagar Bazar <sup>27</sup>	
Dumuzi		
Abum		
Tīrum		

24. Thus according to Charpin in forthcoming study mentioned by Villard 1990, 581 n. 50.

25. See Villard 1990, 582.

26. Cf. Eidem and Højlund 1997 ; also Koppen 1997.

27. See Talon 1997, 9.



Mesopotamia and Western Iran in the early 2nd mill. B.C.

### 3. GEO-POLITICAL SURVEY

#### A. Introduction

The archives from Tell Shemshāra relate to three different geo-political horizons : the local region around the site itself, known as *māt Utēm*, “the land of the gate-keeper”,<sup>28</sup> and the towns and villages within – or near this land ; the Mesopotamian city-states to the west, and finally the eastern, Zagros, horizon. The letters published in this volume provide little information on the local region in addition to that already presented and discussed in ShA 2 (see especially pp. 54-56 ; also 40-42). The two international horizons, on the other hand, must be examined here in order to clarify the political events in Kuwari’s correspondence. There are obvious and severe obstacles to a reconstruction of the historical geography of eastern Mesopotamia in general, and of course in particular of the Zagros. These areas are as yet poorly documented in Old Babylonian sources and likely to remain so until larger archives are discovered at sites within the region. The archives from Mari contain much general information, but their main focus is not the eastern periphery, and even when completely published some time in the future, they will hardly provide very dense or precise documentation. Another problem is the comparative lack of systematic and well-published archaeological surveys in this region, which makes it difficult to evaluate patterns of settlement, and also renders attempts at precise locations of ancient toponyms virtually impossible. At the present stage of research therefore, all that can be attempted is a rough sketch of the geo-political landscape, which may provide a comprehensive pattern of relative locations for the main polities of the time.

As a point of departure for such a sketch it seems convenient first to separate the region under consideration into a series of zones – “arches” as it were – extending from the banks of the Tigris eastwards some distance into the mountains of Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, and Luristan. Next to assume as a guiding principle that the interval and degree of precision in extant lowland references to any given polity of some substance indicates to which “arch” it belongs. This is obviously a dangerous principle, but used with proper caution seems to yield reasonable results. Four zones, with the most important polities listed in an order northwest to southeast, may be posited :

#### I. On the Tigris

Nurrugum – Ekallātum – Aššur – Ešnunna

#### II. In the east-Tigris plain

Urbel/Qabrā – Arrapha – Ešnunna

#### III. In the Zagros foothills

Kumme – Ja’ilānum – Ahazum – Kakmum – Šimurrum, Namar, Nikum

#### IV. In the inner Zagros

Turukkum/Lullubum – Gutium – Elam

Zone I poses no immediate problems.<sup>29</sup> Nurrugum was the region around Nineveh (= Ninēt), perhaps

28. See Læssøe 1968. Quite likely this was a popular Akkadian etymology for a non-Akkadian toponym. The Neo-Assyrian Tumme, located in the same area according to Liverani (1992, 19f.), is perhaps an echo of Utûm. In a slightly later period we find a second Utûm, located on the bank of the Tigris to the west, in a text published by Joannès (1992 ; I cannot agree with the proposal there, p. 193 n. 18, that the Utûm mentioned in ARM I, 5 could be the western one). The explanation for this is surely the exodus from the east documented at Shemshāra and Mari, so that the Tigris locality was founded (or renamed) by exiles from the Zagros.

29. For a recent overview of the historical geography of Syria and Mesopotamia in this period see Joannès 1996.

with this city as capital, and perhaps with a king named Kipram.<sup>30</sup> Ekallātum can be located on the Tigris not far north of Aššur,<sup>31</sup> and Ešnunna is known to have controlled the Diyāla Basin up to – and including the Hamrīn valley, where several sites have yielded Old Babylonian tablets dated with Ešnunna year formulae.

Zone II is again relatively unproblematic. Both Urbel (Erbīl) and Arrapha (Kirkūk) seem to have been independent city-states when conquered by Šamši-Adad and Dāduša. In the case of Urbel only official inscriptions like the Qabrā and Dāduša stelae actually use this name, whereas other sources consistently refer to a town and a country called Qabrā. It has recently been suggested that Qabrā may be identified with the Neo-Assyrian fortress Baqarri, which can be located fairly accurately ca. 15-20 kms northwest of Altin Köprü (Deller 1990b).

It is interesting to note that perhaps three major ancient city-states in this region, Aššur, Nineveh, and Urbel, all may have been outstripped politically by new-founded military capitals – Ekallātum, Nurrugum, and Qabrā – during the early 2nd millennium. The “tradition” of founding new capitals was of course taken up by later Assyrian kings, and the most likely theory is that the Amorite noblemen, who usurped power in the region in the early 2nd millennium, were moved by similar motives. They would have preferred residing in their own fortified capitals some distance removed from ancient prestigious cities like Aššur and Urbel, which strong urban-based elites would have made potentially dangerous centres of resistance and rebellion.

## ***B. Kingdoms of the Foothills***

### **Haburātum and Kumme**

Real problems begin with Zone III, where the different polities are poorly attested, but not completely absent in lowland sources. All of these places must be located on the very margin of the Mesopotamian scene, in the foothills and westernmost ranges of the Zagros. The far northeastern corner of modern Iraq and adjacent areas, where several important city-states can be located, is barely in evidence in the texts. In **1** and **2** Šamši-Adad suggests itineraries for the envoy Kušija, via the country of Haburātum and Kumme respectively, describing routes from Shemshāra northwest along the foothills to the Habur Basin, but presumably avoiding the enemy territory of Nurrugum around modern Mosul.

### **Ahazum**

The country of Ahazum is exclusively attested in the texts from Shemshāra and Mari, but its location can be plotted fairly accurately from the available sources. Ahazum must have encompassed the area between the Rania Plain and Erbīl, around the modern town of Koi Sanjaq. The king of Ahazum, Jašub-Addu, concluded alliances with the Turukkeans to the (north)east, Šimurrum to the south(east), Šamši-Adad to the west, and Kakmum to the south(east) (**1**). The western border is further hinted at by the fact that Jašub-Addu had meetings with Šamši-Adad in Arrapha and in A'innum (in Qabrā), on the bank of the (Lower) Zab (**1**). The capital of Ahazum was Šikšabbum, referred to often in our texts, and

30. Cf. Yuhong 1994a. Nurrugum is only attested in this period and the name almost disappears after Šamši-Adad's conquest. Especially if the identification Nineveh = Ninēt is correct, it seems doubtful that a third name, Nurrugum, should refer to the same place, and perhaps Nurrugum was a short-lived, heavily fortified site in the region of Nineveh, which may now be hard to locate on the ground. A certain Kipram is the first, and probably the most important, of 9 kings listed in the MEC as defeated by Šamši-Adad or his sons during the *līmu* year Aššur-malik, when Nurrugum was conquered. His name is followed by Jašub-Addu (of Ahazum). Consequently Kipram was quite likely king of Nurrugum.

31. Traditionally identified with Tulul al Haikal on the east bank of the Tigris some 20 km north of Aššur. Recently, however, Dittmann (1995, 101 ; cf. also Læssøe *apud* Eidem and Højlund 1997, 30f. ) has provided information on Haikal which renders the identification doubtful, and instead suggested Tell Akra, some 20 km east of Aššur, also on the east bank, as a likely candidate. Akra seems certainly to have been an important place in this period, but Dittmann's suggestion runs counter to recent studies, which conclude that Ekallātum must be sought on the opposite, west bank of the Tigris (Heimpel 1996 ; Charpin and Durand 1997, 368ff.), although no alternative ancient site has been suggested.

also known from Ur III sources (see Astour 1987, 34f.). It must be located somewhere on the Lower Zab downstream from Shemshāra, perhaps near the modern town of Taqtaq. Ikkalnum and Tarum are other towns in Ahazum mentioned in the texts (cf. index, s. n.).

### **Ja'ilānum**

The polity known as Ja'ilānum, often written with the PN determinative, perhaps derived its name from a founding, eponymous, ruler of Amorite stock (cf. Eidem 1985, 85 n.11). Associated with its territory are the towns Himara and Tutarrum (Tutarwe), and a place called Dūr-Ja'ilānim. According to the Dāduša stela and ARM I 131, Tutarru was a town conquered during the campaign in Qabrā, which reinforces the general impression that Ja'ilānum territory was closely adjacent to – and perhaps overlapped, that of Qabrā. The ruler of Ja'ilānum was a certain Bina(or Mar)-Addu. He was defeated, killed and beheaded (Charpin 1994a) by Išme-Dagan in a battle at Tutarrum (ARM IV 33), and one of his daughters ended up first in the harem of Išme-Dagan, and later in that of Adal-šenni of Burundum (M.8161 ; see Marelló 1997).

### **Kakmum**

The letters from Shemshāra as well as new sources from Tell Leilān and Mari add considerably to the previous, rather meagre evidence for Kakmum, which was most recently summarised by Astour (1987, 8-11), who tentatively placed it in the region between Ekallātum and Erbīl. This location, however, is immediately excluded by the evidence from Shemshāra, since here Kakmum figures as an enemy of Šamši-Adad, at a time *after* Erbīl had been incorporated in the empire, and it is therefore necessary to look elsewhere. The available sources may be briefly reviewed :

#### *3rd millennium*

- First it can be noted that the GN Kakmum referred to often in the texts from Ebla, concerns a homonymous city located in western Syria (see Archi 1993, 326).
- An Ur III text mentions Kakmum together with Gumaraši, Šerši, and Šešabi, all poorly attested toponyms which generally belong in northeastern Mesopotamia (see Astour 1987, 10, and *passim* for discussion of these toponyms).

#### *2nd millennium*

##### A) Time of Šamši-Adad

- In **69** someone is requested to persuade the kings of Elam, Namri, and Nikum to attack Kakmum.
- As reported in **1** and **2** Jašub-Addu of Ahazum, a land which we locate on the north bank of the Lesser Zab below Dokān (area around modern Koi Sanjaq), breaks away from Šamši-Adad and allies himself with Kakmum.
- In **44** the ruler of Kakmum, Muškawe, attacks an otherwise unknown town called Kigibiši, and Kuwari is asked to man a counter-attack.

##### B) Time of Zimri-Lim

- ARM VI 79 mentions an envoy from Kakmum en route to Mari
- ARMT XXVI/2 489 (quoted below Ch. 7) : Buqāqum reports from Ekallātum that Gurgurum of Kakmum has raided into Qabrā with 500 men and defeated the force of 2.000 men sent against him by Ardigandi of Qabrā.
- ARMT XXVI/2 512 : Iddijatūm (at Karanā) reports that an envoy of Zimri-Lim, arriving from Qabrā, related that a certain Jadurānum and his men have been attacked between Arrapha and Kakmum.

##### C) Time after sack of Mari

- Hammurabi year name 37 enumerates defeat of Gutium, Turukkum, Kakmum, and Subartu.
- Two texts from Rimah, OBTR 255 and 261, mention probably a prominent Kakmean participating in a tour or campaign and staying in towns in the region between Sinjar and Nineveh.
- An administrative text from Tell Leilān (Vincente 1991, no. 83) records issue of a garment to an envoy from the Kakmeans.
- Eidem n. d., no. 8 (also from Leilān ; quoted in Eidem 1991b, 120 w. n. 14) refers to troops from Kakmum hired(?) by the kings of Leilān, Kurdā, and Karanā(?).
- AbB 2, 46 : letter sent by two men who have been seized by enemy (*nakrum*) above (*elēnum*) Ekallātum, and are held in the palace of Kakmum.<sup>32</sup>
- Ungnad, AbPh 134 : mention of people deported from Arrapha and Kakmum in Babylonia (time of Samsu-iluna)

32. Cf. for this text Charpin and Durand 1997, 369 n. 15. (It may be noted that the reading of the GN as Kakmum is not in doubt, since the Til-Agmim quoted by CAD B, 201 obviously relies on an early edition of the text).



The references to Kakmeans from Leilān and Rimah probably concern mercenaries, perhaps not even specifically from Kakmum, but from the eastern mountains, where also other groups like Gutean “Swiss guards” were recruited. Another possibility, in view of the displacement of Kakmeans and other eastern groups in the wake of Hammurabi’s northern campaigns (cf. Charpin 1992b), is that such groups were simply adrift in northern Mesopotamia – like the *habbātum* (see Eidem 1996, and Eidem n. d.). We therefore have to turn to the older references for Kakmum in order to consider its location. The texts in group B) may indicate that Kakmum and Qabrā had a common border, and seem to place Kakmum east of Qabrā and Arrapha. The texts from Shemshāra show further a relative proximity to Ahazum on the Lower Zab, and that Kakmum must have been accessible for attacks from Namar, Nikum and Elam. This latter information would favour a relatively southern location of Kakmum, and *not* as suggested previously (Eidem 1985, 97 n. 68) “north of the Rania Plain”. The last reference from Shemshāra, however, shows that the northern border of Kakmum must have been not too far from the Rania region. In sum a location in the valleys between Chemchemāl and Suleimāniye seems the best solution on present evidence.

An interesting question is the relationship between Kakmum and Gutium. The texts published here, and some of the references from Mari, show that Kakmum was aligned with the Guteans on several occasions, and if our location of Kakmum is correct, it was also geographically close to the Gutean lands (cf. Zadok 1994, 49). The Kakmum king Muškawe would seem to have carried a Hurrian PN.<sup>33</sup>

### Šimurru, Namarum and Nikum

Šimurru was an important city-state in the Sargonic and Ur III periods, but like many other polities in eastern Mesopotamia disappears from record at the end of the Old Babylonian period (cf. Astour 1987, 40). Through numerous references from Ur III sources Šimurru appears as the perhaps most important polity in the so-called “Hurrian Frontier”, i. e. the arch of city-states with Hurrian rulers on the eastern and northeastern periphery of Mesopotamia, with whom Ur III rulers fought and interacted on many occasions (see Hallo 1978 ; Potts 1994, 131-133). It remains difficult, however, to locate its core area. Most recently Frayne has concluded that it should be sought in the region of Darbandikhan (Frayne 1997, 104), which seems entirely possible. Fairly little new information on Šimurru has surfaced in recent years. The inscriptions of Zabazuna of Šimurru (son of Iddin-Sîn), found at Bitwāta north of the Rania Plain (Frayne 1990, 707-716), commemorate the defeat of a town named Kulunnum, perhaps located close to Bitwāta. However that may be, the inscriptions testify to the relative power of Šimurru, and belong to the small group of sources which portray internal Zagros conflicts, of which the most famous is the Anubanini relief and inscription at Sar-i-Pūl (Frayne 1990, 704-706).

In the Shemshāra texts Šimurru is mentioned several times. Jašub-Addu of Ahazum was allied to Šimurru (1 and 2), and envoys from there came through Shemshāra en route to Kunšum (64). No named king of Šimurru is attested, but the addressee of 69, a certain Tu- ...., is a possible candidate. Some 15 years later an unnamed king of Šimurru had sought refuge with Zazija of Turukkum, but was extradited to the king of Gutium (ARMT XXVI/2 491 ; quoted below Ch. 7). Possibly Šimurru had become a vassal of the Guteans already in our period.

The countries of Namarum (Namar) and Nikum, requested to attack Kakmum in 69, are usually located in the same region, but further to the south. Most recently Kessler (1998) suggested to place Namar in the Khānaqīn region, or alternatively somewhat further east, across the Iranian border. For Nikum Frayne has suggested a location on the Upper Diyala. The kingdom is poorly documented, but an Old Akkadian governor of Nikum by the name of Karšum (servant of Naram-Sîn) has left us some dedicatory inscriptions (Frayne 1993, 166ff.), and Nikum is mentioned together with Halman in an early Old Babylonian letter from Ešnunna (Whiting 1987, no. 2). The name of the king of Nikum

33. Based on the verb *muš*, which is very frequent in Hurrian names. The PN is written *mu-uš-ka-PI*, and if read *Muškaju* could mean “The one from Muški”, but a connection between our man and the ancient Phrygians, the *Muški* (see Röllig 1997), does not seem likely.

mentioned in **69**, Dâsi (*da-a-si*), is of uncertain derivation, but reminiscent of the Ur III ruler *da-a-zi* of Anšan (cf. Stolper 1982, 50).

### C. The Zagros Kingdoms

The final zone belongs to the inner Zagros ranges and intermontane valleys where the conflict reflected in the Shemshāra archives provides the basic north-south division Turukkum – Gutium – Elam. Especially the important letters **36**, **63**, and **64** show clearly how this conflict involved Gutean pressure on the Turukkean kingdoms, which in turn received support from Šuruhduh of Elam. Simultaneously a fourth entity, the Lulleans, can be seen to operate near and around the region of Shemshāra.

#### Turukkum

Before discovery of the archives from Mari, Shemshāra, and Rimah this ethnonym was very poorly documented, and even today there exist only three references to Turukkum or Turukkeans outside Old Babylonian texts, all seemingly anachronisms.<sup>34</sup> What then was Turukkum, and who were the Turukkeans? Until recently the image conveyed by the published sources from Mari was that of very mobile groups waging guerilla warfare against the cities and kingdoms in the north Mesopotamian plains, and most commentators have followed an early survey of the evidence (Klengel 1962), and assumed that the Turukkeans were a semi-nomadic mountain tribe dominated by Hurrian speaking groups. In standard reference works we typically find Turukkum glossed as “Nomadenstamm ö. des Tigris” (Groneberg 1980, 241), or “Population montagnarde du Zagros” (Kupper ARMT XVI/1, 36), and a number of scholars have made use of this image in more general discussions of the Mesopotamian social landscape. Thus Rowton, in a discussion of so-called “dimorphic chiefdoms”, stated that: “We do have a chiefdom of this kind in the Zagros piedmont, that of the Turukkeans northwest (sic!) of Assyria; though we cannot be certain as yet which was the town which functioned as its tribal center and was the seat of its dynasty” (Rowton 1987, 373). Similarly Klengel, in an updated version (1985) of his original survey, assumed that the Turukkeans were a distinct group of tribal semi-nomads, which entered varying relationships with the settled, village and town based population in the Zagros foothills. All these assumptions can now be tested against the evidence from Shemshāra, and as will become clear this evidence serves to correct some basic misunderstandings about Zagros society.<sup>35</sup>

In our texts a comparison between the parallel passages in **1** and **2**, sent from Šamšī-Adad, makes it clear that Kuwari and his associates were considered to be Turukkeans, since the latter text replaces “you” (plural) of the former with *lú ti-ru-ki-i*. This provides a firm association between a rather opaque Zagros ethnonym and more detailed information on specific polities in the mountains, since Kuwari can be connected with a broader geo-political horizon, which must have included a fairly

34. The first is the retrospective statement by Adad-nerari I that his father Arik-den-ili conquered “the land of the Turukkū and the land Nigimhu to its entire extent” (Grayson 1987, 132; cf. ShA 2, 53 n. 42). The other two references both come from the corpus of compositions connected with the famous Old Akkadian kings, and found in the so-called “Sargon Geography” (Grayson, 1974-77), and in “Gula-AN and the Seventeen Kings against Naram-Sîn”. The latter text belongs to the corpus concerning the great revolt against Naram-Sîn (see Goodnick-Westenholz 1997 for these texts), compiled in Old Babylonian times, and several mention kings of lands in the east: (Mari version; A.8696, 6', Charpin 1997) Pašahnadgalni of Lullubu; (Geneva version:) Putti-matal of Šimurrum, Ingi of *māt* Namar; (Gula-AN and the Seventeen Kings:) Gula-AN of Gutium, [...]el of Kakmum, [...]a-el of Lulum, ..... -]i-i-AN of Turukkum. The lists of opponents vary in these texts, and the historicity of any individual king mentioned must be uncertain, but some of the above *could* have existed and ruled in the late 3rd or early 2nd millennium B.C.

35. Cf. e.g. Klengel's conclusion that: “Die Turukkäer gehörten offenbar zu jenen noch spät-gentilen Gruppen, bei denen durch einen engen, teilweise durch ökonomische Zwänge hergestellten Kontakt zu der staatlich organisierten, in der Rania-Ebene und im Zagros-Vorland Regenfeldbau betreibenden Bevölkerung, die urgesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse bereits verfielen und Stammesführer eine permanente Funktion ausübten” (Klengel 1985, 256), which in reality projects the late stage in the history of the Turukkeans back in time, and in this way describes socio-political developments in the reverse!

large region in the mountains and with Shemshāra as a western outpost. The most powerful entity appears to be the land of Itabalthum (or simply Itab/pal, cf. below, Seal 1) with its king Pišenden. His seal impressed on the envelope of letter **69** (**Seal 1**), has the following inscription :

“Pišenden, son of Tukukti, king of the land of Itabal, begetter of Tabitu”

Another seal inscription provides the name of Pišenden’s grandfather (**Seal 3**) :

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

In spite of the graphic variation between the two inscriptions we may confidently identify Turukti as Pišenden’s father. His name poses the question of a possible connection with the ethnicon Turukk(um), both perhaps based on a presumably Hurrian word *turuk*. That the ethnicon was an eponymous designation seems possible (cf. the case of Ja’ilānum ; see above section B), and it could be speculated that Itabalthum, through political and military exploits of Turukti, emerged as a dominant kingdom in the northwestern Zagros, and that his name for this reason was used in reference to the population there. The earliest use of the ethnicon goes back some 15 years before the Shemshāra archives. At that time Jahdun-Lim of Mari defeated Šamši-Adad in the Habur, and a costly garment was sent to a certain Tazigi, king of Turukkum (Charpin 1994b, 198, no. 112, 2-3 : *ta-zi-gi*, *lugal tu-ru-ku-ú<sup>ki</sup>*). This would seem to exclude the theory that Pišenden’s father was responsible for the ethnicon. If Tazigi was king of Itabalthum, he should be a predecessor of Turukti, but quite likely he was king of another polity in the Turukkean areas.

However that may be we have a succession of no less than three kings of Itabalthum. In both inscriptions the kings name sons as probably heir apparents. In the case of Turukti his son is not identical with Pišenden, and cannot be identified with any figure documented elsewhere. Possibly he died early – or was outmanoeuvred by Pišenden, whose son Tabitu, on the other hand, is in evidence in an executive role (**64**). Yet another seal inscription (**Seal 4**) belonged to a figure who was “servant”(?) of Turukti, and both this and the fact that Turukti’s own seal was used at all while Pišenden was active as king, poses another difficult question. It is unfortunately impossible to match the envelope fragments bearing Turukti’s seal with a particular letter (cf. notes to the text), and we are left with several possible explanations. Perhaps Turukti was still alive either at – or shortly before this time? Perhaps his seal was reused by Pišenden and used together with his own? Or perhaps there was a hierarchy of contemporary kings in Itabalthum – reminiscent of the complex system used in the Elamite state (cf. below)?

These uncertainties clearly show how limited our knowledge is, and further speculation seems pointless at present. We may therefore turn to the next level of authority, that represented by Talpuš-šarri and Kuwari himself. That Talpuš-šarri was somehow subordinate to Pišenden evolves from his seal inscription (**Seal 2**), and from the fact that, when both he and Pišenden wrote letters to Jašub-Addu of Ahazum, Pišenden styled himself “father”, while Talpuš-šarri used the “neutral” style, avoiding any kinship term in the introduction. It is clear, on the other hand, that Talpuš-šarri himself had a high status, since he is seen to participate in a royal summit and could conclude a treaty (**63**), and lead countries (**59**) and armies (**54**). Talpuš-šarri would seem to have belonged to the same socio-political level as Kuwari, since he addressed him as “brother” or used the “neutral” style, but their association must be examined as part of a particular sub-system which included other local correspondents. As will be shown below (Ch. 4.A) a good deal of these local letters can be placed in synchronous “sets”, i. e. groups of letters sent simultaneously by different correspondents. This together with the physical evidence from the actual tablets (below II.1.B), allow us to conclude that Pišenden, Talpuš-šarri, and three other important local correspondents, Šepratu, Šîn-išme’anni and Hulukkadil, all basically were located in the same place. All of these elements help to clarify the following information.

In both **34** and **35** Šîn-išme’anni reports to Kuwari on the well-being of :

35

the king  
the town of Kunšum  
your brother  
your house  
your wife  
your sons  
I who love you

34

your Lord  
the country  
your brother who loves you  
your house  
Šip-šarri, your 'maid'  
the boys, your sons  
I who love you

The king, Kuwari's "lord", can be no other than Pišenden, whose capital must have been Kunšum. The loving "brother" seems likely to have been either Talpuš-šarri or Šepratu. Sîn-išme'anni modestly puts himself last, but seems to have had the closest personal ties with Kuwari. Information from **63** indicates that Kuwari and his immediate ancestors held the title of *nû/uldānum*, a word of uncertain interpretation, but unlikely to be a royal title (cf. Eidem 1990). In ShA 2, (40 n. 36) it was suggested that the word derives from the root *walādum* "beget child" (cf. Durand 1996, 380f.), which is also used in the last line of Pišenden's seal legend. However that may be such an idea would seem to fit the title well. Pišenden at Shemshāra Kuwari functioned as a kind of "lord of the marches", and tentatively *nuldānum* may be translated "duke". It is extremely interesting to find that many years later, another Turukkean, long thought to be "king" of the Turukkeans, also carried this title, something we shall return to below (see Ch. 7).

Pišenden, sending letters through Shemshāra, apparently did not communicate directly with Kuwari, although it is claimed that Kuwari's lord "loves him like his own life" (**63**), and the most likely theory which can be offered is that Talpuš-šarri, Kuwari etc. belonged to a side-branch of the royal line, or perhaps to a closely allied princely dynasty. When both Talpuš-šarri and Pišenden wrote to Jašub-Addu of Ahazum to persuade him to remain loyal, Talpuš-šarri asked him to be true to "this house and the land of Itabalhum" (**66**), a statement which could indicate that Talpuš-šarri represented a noble line separate from that of Pišenden. In any case it is important to stress the apparent freedom of action which Talpuš-šarri and Kuwari had. In contrast to, e. g. governors or officials of a Šamši-Adad, Jasmah-Addu, or Zimri-Lim, Kuwari did not receive actual orders, but mostly advice, urges, and requests from his peers and family members.

The texts make reference to other polities than Itabalhum, but provide very few details. In **63** a major coalition against the Guteans is formed, involving the countries of Itabalhum, Kusanarhum, Zutlum, and Šudamelum, and the same text gives us names of some prominent representatives for these areas : king Naššumar of Kusanarhum and his sons Tarugur and Šurti, the Zutlum general Berdigendae, and a certain Kigirza, perhaps king of Zutlum. It may be assumed that these countries were ethnically and structurally very similar to Itabalhum, although of varying territorial and political importance. Given the fact that they lined up against the Guteans, given the protracted and no doubt fundamental nature of the conflict, we are probably correct in assuming that these polities were also, at least from the perspective of lowland Mesopotamia, considered Turukkean. Consequently we have the outline of an answer to the question "who were the Turukkeans", namely a group of kingdoms in the valleys of the northwestern Zagros, predominantly of Hurrian affiliation. There is evidence to indicate fairly complex political organization in these polities, with systems of noble lineages sharing territorial power.

A next question, however, is how to provide some geographical approximation for the core region of the Turukkean kingdoms. Unfortunately none of the geographical names mentioned in our texts as connected with the Turukkean Zagros region can be located with any degree of certainty. The name of what seems to have been the most important kingdom, Itabalhum, is not attested outside Shemshāra (and Mari), and the same applies to other names for "countries", like Zutlum, Kusanar(h)um, Šudamelum, or towns like Aliae,<sup>36</sup> Ardamekum, Ilalae, Sašharšum, and Zukulā.

36. The MA Alaja (?); see Nashef 1982, 10.

Two possible exceptions, however, can be noted. The first is the town Arrunum, apparently allied to the Guteans (cf. **63**), which may be referred to in Kassite period texts, but not in contexts helpful for a location.<sup>37</sup> The second is the town Kunšum itself, which may tentatively be connected with the land Kunzuhhe/Kuššuhhe attested in Nuzi documents, and usually equated with the land of the Kassites. It appears that this land imported grain and exported horses (see Fincke 1993, 160ff.).

Following another line of inquiry it can be noted that movements between Shemshāra and part of the core areas around the town of Kunšum are described as “going up” (*elûm* – **49**, 10 ; **53**, 39 ; **58**, 13 ; **59**, 12, 33 ; **63**, 44, 52 ; **64**, 36, 40, 64 ; **73**, 6, 11, 14 ) from Shemshāra, but “going down” (*warādum* – **56**, 39) from Kunšum.

When Kuwari’s associates in Kunšum seek information on the movements of Šamšī-Adad during his campaign against Arrapha and Qabrā, they must apparently procure it through Shemshāra (**63** and **64**).

Limited as it is this information provides suggestive indications. The lack of references to the relevant toponyms would indicate that the Turukkean core region is well removed from the Mesopotamian scene, and this finds some general confirmation in our texts, where it does not seem that Kuwari is particularly close to his base. The fact that the route to there from Shemshāra leads “up” may evidently refer to movement uphill, into the mountains, and this is clearly a common use of the verb *elûm*. A good example is provided by the Old Assyrian texts which repeatedly speak of “going up” to Anatolia, and “going down” to Aššur.<sup>38</sup> Finally the last observation above seems to exclude the region south/southeast of the Rania Plain, since from here it should not have been necessary to get intelligence about events around Arrapha and Qabrā through Shemshāra.

In sum the evidence points to a location northeast of Shemshāra, and a logical candidate must be the Urmia Basin, which can be reached fairly easily from Shemshāra. Through the Darband Gorge travellers may proceed northeast via Qala Diza and Sardasht :

The most important road from Sardasht leads to Mahabad, and it seems to have been the major caravan route connecting the centres of Azerbaijan with Baghdad during the Islamic period. The modern road, which follows what one strongly suspects was the caravan trail, winds through the mountains until it picks up one of the branches of the Mahabad Chai. There is no pass to be crossed on this route (although there is the rise out of the Zab valley to the mountains), and the only major ford is that of the Zab itself. Once having reached Mahabad, the entire Urmia basin is open to the traveller, with its rich fields and good roads to all parts of Azerbaijan. (Levine 1974, 102)

The Urmia basin is, of course, one of the main population centers in the Zagros, and seems a good candidate for the core of the Turukkean lands, and by way of elimination, it also seems difficult to suggest a convincing alternative. To the east of the Rania area, in Iranian Kurdistan, the valleys are narrow and “The area is sparsely settled, much of it being good for upland pasturage and little else” (Levine 1974, 100). The foothill region both northwest and southeast of the Rania area, on the other hand, is seemingly occupied by the various kingdoms discussed above, and which in contrast to the Turukkean-related localities are mentioned, although infrequently, in lowland sources.

Without fresh information it is obviously pointless to attempt any further degree of precision as to the location of the various “countries” and their domains, but it is not without interest to consider some implications of what is proposed here. It has long been recognised that sites in northwestern Iran, in the Ushnu-Solduz Valley south of Lake Urmia, produce distinct, albeit limited amounts of early second millennium “Habur Ware”, otherwise distributed in a wide arch across northern Iraq and Syria. First identified in the excavations at Hasanlu (Level VI), the most extensive material comes from Level IV at Dinkha Tepe, published and discussed by C. Kramer ([Kramer] Hamlin 1971 and 1974 ; Kramer 1977), and similar material has been identified on the surface of other sites. According to a recent assessment a total of seven sites with Habur Ware, all in the region between Ushnu and Mahābād, are known (Kroll 1994, 165). Since such material may be separated from contemporary local Iranian types of ceramics, it has been suggested that this particular area, during a fairly limited pe-

37. See Læssøe 1959a : 85 ad 20, and Nashef 1982, 39 s. v. Arunāju.

38. Cf. for instance the treaty between Aššur and Till-Abnū (Eidem 1991a), where Assyrian merchants passing through Leilān, are described as “going up or going down”.

riod in the early second millennium B.C., must have had direct contacts with northern Mesopotamia. The nature of such contact has not yet been elucidated, but international trade, more specifically the famous Old Assyrian trade in tin and textiles, is usually quoted as the most likely explanation. This theory is not least inspired by the evidence from Shemshāra.

In 1959 Læssøe published letter **68** in a separate study. The evidence from this text, the author suggested, may “be of interest for the history of early metallurgy in hinting that supplies of tin were available in Southern Kurdistan, even though the mines where the ore was obtained may have to be sought beyond the higher ranges of the Zagros Mountains” (Læssøe 1959b, 94). Since then students of the tin trade have generally followed this conclusion, and have assumed that the evidence from Shemshāra suggests that tin from sources further east passed through this site, which is indeed located astride a strategic route. As put by one recent survey of the question: “Tin is also known to have been passing through Tell Shemshara (ancient *Shusharra*), which controlled the Sungasur gorge leading into the Rania Plain from north-west Iran (Læssøe 1959). Thence it is likely to have passed through Erbil and Kirkūk into the Diyāla Basin.” (Moorey 1994, 298f.). It is easy to see how this evidence could help inspire trade as the explanation for the spread of Habur Ware and other Mesopotamian type objects into the Urmia Basin.<sup>39</sup>

Unfortunately, however, there is a basic misunderstanding with this as regards the evidence from Shemshāra. Apart from the example published long ago tin (Akkadian *annakum*) is mentioned in several other letters here, but the evidence does not support the theories above. Tin was not brought out of Iran via Shemshāra, and the situation is in fact quite the reverse, namely rulers based generally east of Shemshāra, who seek supplies of tin from areas in the west! This does not exclude that trade in tin east-west existed in the northern Zagros, since the texts from Shemshāra portray a period of serious crisis in the mountains, something which could have interrupted normal supply routes. It remains, however, that such routes are yet to be documented.<sup>40</sup> By the same token it follows that the tin trade as an explanation for the spread of Habur Ware into Iran must remain pure speculation, and that alternative explanations should be considered.

As will be shown below (Ch.s 6 and 7) the dramatic events documented at Shemshāra and from Mari, eventually brought large numbers of Turukkeans out into areas of northeastern Iraq and northeastern Syria, where they ended up controlling at least part of the east-Tigris Plain. These Turukkeans were led by a certain Zazija, who claimed the title of *nuldānum* of Itabalthum. Simultaneously it appears that the old kingdom of Itabalthum was still considered a powerful polity. Since we may, with some confidence, state that the core of the Turukkean area should be found east or northeast of the Rania Plain, and that a possible location would be precisely the Urmia Basin,<sup>41</sup> easily accessible through the Sungasur Gorge which Shemshāra protects, the archaeological evidence may provide corroborative evidence. If large numbers of Turukkeans, leaving their mountain homes, ended up on the north Mesopotamian plain, and remained there in force for many years it seems likely that there was a lively interaction between these Turukkeans and what remained of the Zagros “homeland”. These contacts would provide an excellent explanation for the spread of Mesopotamian material culture into these areas.

Thus, while this cannot be proved in any conclusive way, written and archaeological evidence may converge to support the theory that the Urmia Basin and adjacent areas in the early 2nd millennium B.C. constituted the core of the Turukkean kingdoms. Whether such a theory matches all available ev-

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39. In a recent publication of a late Old Babylonian tomb at Dinkha Tepe the author concluded: “The data provided by the analysis of the contents of this tomb provide further evidence for Dinkha’s link with a far-flung trading network in the second quarter of the second millennium. The precise role of Dinkha in this trade is not known. Although “wasters” of Habur ware were found at the site and massive walls ..... indicate a major, possibly fortified structure of some kind, no texts were excavated, so identifying Dinkha as an Assyrian trading colony is speculative, as Kramer noted. Nevertheless, the presence of both Habur ware and western jewelry types clearly indicates Dinkha’s connections to the west. Based on the known existence of a long-distance trade network in this period, the presence of these materials at Dinkha should be attributed to trade.” (Rubinson 1991, 389).

40. For further comments on this issue see below Ch. 8.

41. This has previously been suggested by Yusifov (1986), although I disagree with most of his arguments and conclusions.

idence will require studies which are beyond the scope of this volume. A crucial problem is of course the precise evaluation of the relevant archaeological evidence from northwestern Iran. Ironically the Dinkha material was until quite recently one of the few published groups of Habur Ware from a modern excavation, but the corpora of material from Tell Brak (Oates, Oates, and McDonald 1998), Tell Leilān (Frane 1996), and Rimah (Postgate, Oates, and Oates 1997) now provide the basis for better comparison with contemporary ceramics from northern Mesopotamia. It seems, however, that the Dinkha material includes types which in Mesopotamia belong to the early period for this assemblage, so that from a chronological point of view the theory proposed here is not at odds with the evidence.<sup>42</sup> Another problem pertains to the spatial distribution of Habur Ware in Iran and northeastern Iraq. Surveys of the contemporary assemblages in Iran indicate that the occurrence of Habur Ware in the Urmia Basin is well isolated in all directions except to the south and southeast where comparable data are missing (Edwards 1986, 72f. ; Kroll 1994, 165f.). On the Rania Plain itself, which should be a crucial link in the chain, it is interesting to note that the Danish excavations at Shemshāra produced virtually no painted Habur Ware,<sup>43</sup> whereas Iraqi excavations at Tell Bazmusian, just five kms further south, retrieved clear examples (as-Soof 1970, 94). This rather curious feature could of course have several explanations, but in the present context one in particular recommends itself: Shemshāra was sacked before the Turukkean interaction between lowland and highland really took force, and consequently it left little mark there. Bazmusian, on the other hand, may have participated more intensively in this interaction.<sup>44</sup>

### Lullubum

The evidence for Lullubum and the Lulleans was discussed in some detail in ShA 2 (50-54; cf. also Klengel 1965 and 1988), and need only be mentioned briefly here. Scattered early references and extensive later use of the ethnonym in various Zagros contexts may indicate that it once, like Turukkum, had specific ethno-linguistic and geo-political referents. It is clear, however, that by the early 2nd millennium B.C. the designation was used in wide areas of Mesopotamia as a generic term for “mountain dweller”, and this also seems to fit the contemporary Zagros setting. In the texts from Shemshāra the impression is that the Lulleans were distinct from the valley-based kingdoms, that they were divided into smaller political groups, and that they were scattered over wider areas. They may have inhabited the higher and less accessible valleys, and relied more on herding and other non-agricultural subsistence strategies. Ethnographic parallels suggest that such socio-economic and political division in a

42. Based on new evidence retrieved at sites in the Eski Mosul Salvage project in northern Iraq H. Oguchi (1997) has divided the Habur Ware sequence into four phases, of which the earliest is pre-Šamši-Adad, and has suggested that Habur Ware was “possibly” introduced at Dinkha in the latter part of this phase (Oguchi 1998, 120 n. 3). If this is correct it might seem to put the theory proposed here in jeopardy, but clearly the ceramic evidence is not sufficiently precise to either disprove or confirm it. The important point is surely that the Dinkha material can be placed within the period ca. 1800-1600 B.C., which is in fine agreement with our suggestion: the introduction of Habur Ware in the Urmia Basin could well belong in the early 18th century, and the responsible interaction and/or tradition would have endured for some considerable time after that.

43. I owe this information to I. Thuesen, who is preparing the material for publication. Some notes on the Old Babylonian ceramics from Shemshāra may be found in [Kramer] Hamlin 1971, 150f.

44. Oguchi suggests, still on the premise that the tin trade lies behind the spread of Habur Ware into these areas, that Bazmusian could have been the site of an Assyrian *kārum* or *wabartum* (Oguchi 1998, 122), and Shemshāra a purely local settlement. This is not a very convincing theory, especially since the excavations at Kültepe/Kaniš, as noted by Oguchi (ibid. 129), which is abundantly documented as an Assyrian commercial settlement, have produced only a few examples of Habur Ware, and exclusively from graves.

It would obviously be of interest to pursue studies of objects excavated on the Rania Plain, as well as in Dinkha Tepe and Hasanlu from the perspective proposed here, but such studies will not be simple. Various levels of cultural interaction between these areas and lowland Mesopotamia would of course have preceded the specific and more intense interaction, which may lie behind the spread of ceramic traditions. Items like weapons and jewelry, and other luxury goods travel more easily than fairly mundane pottery, and the evidence for local production of Habur ware in Dinkha seems particularly significant, since it may testify to a real transfer of production technology and cultural tradition, transcending mere trade. Given the evidence discussed above it demands little imagination to suppose Turukkean groups returning to their “homeland” after prolonged absence and organising their own production of ceramics inspired by lowland models.

mountain context, with separate groups exploiting different zones in a complementary pattern, is a very likely scenario for this period in Zagros history (cf. also Ch. 8).

What possible ethno-linguistic difference may have existed between Turukkeans and Lulleans is unknown, but a likely theory is that the Lullean groups included residual elements of a pre-Hurrian population.

We may note in passing the interesting letter published by Ziegler (1997b), and where Išme-Dagan asks his brother for more information on the recent defeat inflicted on Ešnunna by Lulleans. Ziegler dates the letter to the time of the Qabrā campaign, where Dāduša and Šamši-Adad were allies. Removed from any secure context this evidence is difficult to evaluate, but might well give further support to the idea that Lullum in this period had become a mostly generic term.

### **Gutium**

A comprehensive discussion of the evidence for Gutium and the Guteans has been presented by Hallo (1971), with an up-dated summary by Potts (1994, 24-27), and again specifically for the 2nd millennium onomastics by Zadok (1987, 20f.), and there is no need to repeat much of it here. The Gutean invasion of Mesopotamia at the end of the Old Akkadian period, whatever the reality of this event, made this people, whoever the original Guteans were, notorious, and the name eventually became a standard designation for mountain dwellers of the central Zagros. Although late use of the ethnicon is clearly vague and stereotype, Mesopotamian tradition links Guteans quite firmly with the mountains north of Elam, and there is no reason to suspect that they did not belong there in the 3rd millennium B.C. (cf. Zadok 1987, 21 ; Potts 1994, 26 n. 139).<sup>45</sup> Henrickson has repeatedly argued for an identification of the areas in Luristan with Godin III :2 ceramics with Šimaški, the supposed northern extension of the Old Babylonian Elamite kingdom (Henrickson 1984, 1986, 1987), but the evidence from ceramics is not compelling for geo-political patterns in this vast region, and it seems impossible to outline any precise border between the Elamite lands and Gutean territory in this period.

Since the ethnicon Gutean virtually disappears during the Ur III period, at least in contemporary sources, in spite of the fact that Sumerians in this period infiltrated most of the eastern periphery, it is conceivable that mostly traditional use of the term Gutium links 3rd and 2nd millennium references, and that substantial political changes had taken place in the old Gutean areas.

In any case the references to Guteans in the early 2nd millennium must be separated into two basic categories, those referring to individuals or smaller groups of people called Gutean, and serving in various functions in Mesopotamia proper, and those which provide evidence for independent action of an actual Gutean polity.

The first group, which is by far the largest, may be compared to the extensive evidence for people called Elamites found in similar contexts, often serving in menial positions, and acting as guards or mercenaries. Likewise Guteans forming special groups of guards or mercenaries are known from Babylonia (Zadok 1987, 20f.), and texts published by B. Lafont (1986) show that Jasmah-Addu at Mari had a guard of Guteans. In fact most of the references to people called Guteans in administrative texts from Mari probably come under this category, and it is interesting to note that similar groups are encountered in other northern towns like Razamā (ARMT XXV, 624, rev. 11), Rimah, and Leilān. At Rimah Guteans are mentioned in texts from the wine archive (dated to the *līmu* Šabrum), which relate to a royal tour of small towns, fairly close to Rimah, and list issues to a Gutean officer (OBTR, 253, 254, 260). Undated, but probably contemporary, beer texts also list issues to Guteans (OBTR, 267-68, 271). These text groups share traits with the Mari texts published by Lafont, and no doubt the Guteans at Rimah served a similar function. Their presence may therefore also account for two occurrences of the ethnicon in texts from the Iltani archive (OBTR, 81 and 198). A similar situation obtains at Leilān,

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45. Based on the presence of presumed Gutean PNs in the OB texts from Chagar Bazar a northwestern (Anatolian) origin for the Guteans has been proposed, most firmly by Finkelstein (1966, 107f.), but the evidence is not compelling. There is far too little "Gutean" linguistic material for any valid comparison, and other OB texts from northern Mesopotamia list very similar PNs which no doubt just belong to local substrata (cf., e. g., the evidence from Ašlakkā presented in Marengo 1994). It is of some importance to stress this point since the theory has surfaced again in very recent studies (like Weiss and Courty 1993, 142 n. 37).



where texts from ca. 1750-30 B.C. mention groups of Guteans in the Habur (cf. indices in Ismail 1991 and Vincente 1991). In all these instances the label Gutean was probably used in a fairly broad sense as denoting “highlander”, and not as a specific ethno-linguistic referent. In the few cases where the names of people labelled Gutean are given or preserved, Akkadian names predominate, a feature for which several explanations could be suggested.<sup>46</sup> There were of course a number of ways in which individuals or small groups of people from the Zagros could have ended up in towns on the plain, but for these Gutean “guards” in the north Mesopotamian palaces, a regular import or drafting from the east cannot be excluded. It seems reasonable to compare them to the Germanic warriors employed in the Roman empire, or the famous guards of Swiss soldiers known from recent European history.

Turning to the second category of references one notes, apart from the year-formulae of Hammurabi and the evidence from Shemshāra discussed in this volume, the Old Babylonian copies of inscriptions of the Gutean king Erridu-pizir (Frayne 1993, 220-228). They recount his war against Šimurru and Lullubum, with battles in mountainous terrain, and his defeat of Nirišhuha, *ensi* of Erbīl. Although these events should be much older than our period, it is of interest to note how the geo-political scenario also fits the Old Babylonian situation, where the Guteans interfere in exactly Šimurru and the region around Erbīl (see Ch. 7). An army of 10.000 Guteans supported the Elamite campaign in Mesopotamia in ZL 9'-10' (Lacambre 1997, 450 sub c), possibly under the command of a certain Puluḥ.<sup>47</sup> Guteans also formed part of the Elamite garrison in Šubat-Enlil (Charpin 1986). It is at this time we meet the mysterious, and much discussed Gutean “queen”, Nawaritum.<sup>48</sup> Elamite troops seem at some point to have warred in Gutium, captured Nawaritum, and later released her (ARM II 26). This lady is also mentioned in ARM VI 27, where we learn that she is sending 10.000 Guteans against Larsa.

The details of these events are not yet clear, but the mention of what must to all appearances be a Gutean queen or princess is certainly interesting. The possible inference from her name, that she came from the region of Nawar/Namar, would indicate that this could be considered part of Gutium. Like Turukkum and the Elamite kingdom, Gutium must have been both a rather fluid geo-political term, and certainly composed of several distinct polities. In the texts from Shemshāra Guteans appear under a leader named Indušše.<sup>49</sup> In later texts he would seem to have been succeeded or replaced by a certain Zazum (see Ch. 7), while Nawaritum may have belonged to a southern portion of the Gutean areas.

## Elam

The Elamite state of the early 2nd millennium B.C. was a confederation consisting of the Susiana plain/Khuzistan, and the adjoining mountain countries, prominently Anšan (the area around Tell i-Malyan in Fars), and Šimaški (perhaps in Luristan). In accordance with its confederate structure, the Elamite state had a triad of rulers with unequal rank and age, functioning in an as yet poorly understood system of monarchical rule (Stolper 1982 ; Vallat 1994). According to Vallat the king or “great foreman” (ugula *rabûm*, 69) from the Shemshāra archives, Siruk-tuh I (64 : Šuruhtuh), probably had three sons. Simut-wartaš, who died before his father. Siwe-palar-huppak who succeeded him, but probably had no son, so that his brother Kudu-zuluš's son(?), KUtir-nahhunte, succeeded him (Vallat 1994, 6). In several recent studies Durand and Charpin have shown how the Elamite king considered himself to be a kind of “emperor”, claiming nominal suzerainty over the Mesopotamian kingdoms (Charpin and Durand 1987b ; Durand 1994b). Like many Elamite monarchs before and after him,

46. Cf. the references collected by Zadok 1987, 20f. ARMT XXV, 140, which lists silver for 17 Guteans ; the two names preserved are both Akkadian. The name *i-la-si* in OBTR 198, 3 is not clear to me, but perhaps also Akkadian (contracted from *Ilī-asī*?). The “meal” texts from both Mari and Rimah show the Guteans to have enjoyed a rather privileged position, so perhaps locals wanted admittance to these groups ; another possibility is renaming on entering service, or – again – the men with Akkadian names may have belonged to a 2nd generation.

47. The text has *ù pu-lu-uh lú qú-tu-ú* (A.3669+, 14' ; Lacambre 1997, 446ff.) ; which the editor translated “.... is full of fear. The Gutean ....”, but could be understood as “and Puluḥ, the Gutean .....”.

48. See Astour 1987, 17 n. 98. A third reference to Nawaritum, in ARMT XXVI/2 470, 2', cannot be considered certain.

49. For the different writings of this name see index. The same name is attested for an Ur III king in Šimaški (cf. ShA 2, 49), and for a *hābiru* in Tikunānum (Salvini 1995, Prism col. iii 50 : *līn-da-a-zu*).

Siwe-palar-huppak (Vallat 1996, 314f.) also attempted an actual invasion of Mesopotamia, and met with some initial success. He conquered Ešnunna, and invaded the Habur (Charpin 1986b), but eventually the lowland kings joined forces against him (Durand 1986), and inflicted a decisive defeat on the Elamites at Hirītum north of Babylon (see Lacambre 1997 with further literature).

Elamite policies within the Zagros, on the northern and eastern borders, are of course much less documented. Letter **64**, however, shows that Siruk-tuh was involved in the Turukkean war against the Guteans. Although a somewhat conjectural piece of evidence it seems relevant to mention in this connection the Elamite stela published by Farber (1975). Unfortunately it does not come from a controlled excavation, and the place of origin is given as “Iran”. It contains the remainder of an inscription in Elamite, and the royal name at the beginning, although partly broken, is reasonably restored as that of Siruk-tuh I. The text is essentially a list of names followed by the word *duh* “he took”. There is some doubt as to whether the names refer to personal or geographic names, but the text indicates an aggressive Elamite policy towards people east of Mesopotamia, and probably within the Zagros. Vallat (1996, 314) has recently suggested that this campaign could have been prompted by the eastward expansion of Šamšī-Adad, but in view of events discussed in this volume, this seems unlikely. Rather the campaign may, albeit tentatively, be linked with the evidence for Elam’s participation in conflicts with Gutium and Kakmum (cf. Eidem 1985, 91 n. 43).

## 4. THE PRE-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

### *A. Introduction*

One of the attractions of the letters from Shemshāra is that they read like a virtual novel. Obviously many aspects and details of the story remain undocumented or obscure, but supplemented with the available information from other contemporary sources, the texts do form a fairly coherent narrative. Indeed this is hardly surprising if we consider the ancient situation. The archive of Kuwari, found in Room 2 of the palace, seems to include a reasonably complete sample of his correspondence over a restricted period of time, and since Kuwari was one of the key figures in the regional political power game, it is logical to find references in his letters to the main events of the time. In the following pages we shall attempt to reconstruct these events, simultaneously placing as many of our texts as possible in their correct chronological order. The formal classification of the letters already reflects the most likely sequence for some texts, but a more systematic and comprehensive presentation is necessary. This presentation quite deliberately introduces a rather free and speculative – narrative – approach, and represents what we at present consider the best analytical departure from the available corpus. The formal edition of the sources in Part II, however, should help other scholars, whether immediately or at a later date, when more documentation is available, to take a fresh look at the evidence, and formulate analytical departures of their own choice.

It is important, on the other hand, to reflect also on the restrictions and limitations imposed by the material. Old Babylonian letters are some of the most informative and directly accessible texts available from ancient Mesopotamia, but must be used with great caution in historical reconstructions. In order to understand how the available epistolary sources relate to the ancient reality, it is necessary to consider some general features of long-distance communication. Since this volume is not the place for any extended discussion of the issue, we shall limit ourselves to some brief observations.

Of primary importance is the well-known fact that many letters did not constitute a comprehensive message in themselves, but were intended to be accompanied or supplemented by oral communication. Evidence for this abounds in Old Babylonian letters, so that a single example drawn from our corpus should suffice. In **8** Šamšī-Adad writes to Kuwari that his messenger Šamaš-našir will explain the situation about Nurrugum in detail, and then goes on to discuss different matters – leaving the modern readers deprived of important information. With some contextual variation this is a general

feature, ultimately relating to the semi-literate nature of ancient Mesopotamian society. The actual letter usually served to authenticate the oral message, and of course as *aide de mémoire* (Schroeder 1938, 63). Most letters would have been sent in sealed envelopes – or were themselves sealed (cf. Kraus 1985; see also the section with sealings in this volume). The generous number of long and highly informative Old Babylonian letters should not obscure the existence of far more extremely short texts, which contain only greetings, a very simple instruction, or an introduction and recommendation for the bearer. Although still conveying a message there can be little doubt that such texts, as a rule, were little more than “chits” supporting other information. That the tablet itself had more than just informative value is shown also by our texts, where, e. g., Halukkatil writes to Kuwari: “Let not your news come by oral message! Send it to me in a letter!” (50, 30f.), and less explicitly he states: “Send a letter in answer to this letter!” (52, 50f.). In fact there can be little doubt that many messages were purely oral, and thus have left no explicit written record. Instead the authenticity of the message was probably supported by the status of the messenger or envoy, who carried some kind of credentials. A rather special case is reflected by 11, where Šamši-Adad needs confirmation that the Gutean envoys coming from Šikšabbum really convey information deriving from the ruler Induše. Since the envoys presumably did not carry any tablet or other concrete credentials, they instead prove with various inside knowledge, that they are involved with the diplomatic links between Šamši-Adad and Induše. Thus in sum, the preserved epistolary record, even if complete, is not a complete record of the relevant communication which took place between the correspondents.

Another important observation, particularly relevant for the correspondence published here, is that a small-scale ruler like Kuwari, in contrast to, e. g., the kings of Mari, would not have received many routine reports or other correspondence in written form, and it is clear that most of the extant letters in his archive focus on very specific points in time, where circumstances prompted an unusually brisk exchange of communication. Thus the early part of the archive, as will be shown presently, largely relates to a short span of time, possibly only a couple of spring months, just before Kuwari became a vassal of Šamši-Adad, when his local Turukkean associates desperately try to persuade him to remain loyal. The later portion of the archive, on the other hand, covers a longer period, but again focuses very much on two specific points in time: the moment in late autumn when the treacherous Jašub-Addu had broken his alliance with Šamši-Adad, and subsequently the period in spring when the campaign against Jašub-Addu was under way.

This urgency must also have had consequences for the transmission of the letters. There was of course never any regular mail service in a modern sense, and both severe weather conditions and political disturbances would create particularly irregular intervals of delivery. In 1 and 2, e. g., we see how the onset of winter could threaten communication in the hills, and further how the troubles with Ahazum, astride the more direct route between Kuwari and Šamši-Adad, suggested alternative and possibly more arduous routes. Such difficulties would have added to another problem, which in some degree devolves from the nature of the physical means of transmission, the tablet. Since the individual letter was dried and sealed before dispatch, new information or deliberation could precede it, and rather than open up the first letter, a new additional one would be composed and sent as well. This means that two or more letters in a particular correspondence may have been delivered together, and of course extra delays in transmission would have increased the number of such instances. In a letter from Mari a correspondent explicitly states that a piece of news arrived after his letter had been sealed, and he therefore put it in another letter dispatched simultaneously (ARMT XXVI/2, 395). In our texts Šamši-Adad in three instances writes to Kuwari that he has received his “tablets” (*tuppātika*) instead of the usual single “tablet” (see II.1.A). Of course Šamši-Adad may have been too busy or arrogant to answer every letter from his eastern vassal individually, but it seems likely that the above problems also applied, and that several letters from Kuwari could have arrived together or with very short intervals.

The Pre-Assyrian period is the earliest period covered by the archive. It antedates the moment when Kuwari attached himself and his domain to Šamši-Adad, which happened during the year corresponding to the *līmū* Asqudum/Aššur-malik (= ca. 1781 B.C.), while the campaign against Qabrā was drawing towards a close. How far back in time from this moment the archive reaches, on the other

hand, is difficult to establish. While it cannot be excluded that a few texts could be several years older, the general impression is certainly that most of the relevant letters belong to a period of time almost immediately antedating Kuwari's change of allegiance, and this can be formally demonstrated. In the table below we have attempted to arrange the letters sent to Kuwari in a chronological scheme.

D) Letters sent to Kuwari from :

Šepratu	Sîn-išme'anni	Talpuš-šarri	Hulukkatiil	Tenturi
		55 (884)		
		57 (824)	50 (813)	
		53 (810)	51 (805)	
63 (812)	35 (822)			
64 (827)	34 (826)	73 (804)		59 (811)
	37 (829)=	56 (829)	49 (858)	
	36 (818)	54 (819)	52 (820)	

The 5 letters in the upper part of the table, from Talpuš-šarri and Hulukkadiil, make no direct reference to political or other events which help place them in time, but the rest of the texts may be linked by such references.

The two letters from Šepratu were clearly sent in the order of the edition here, since **64** refers back to information in **63**. The later text provides a firm link with **34**, since both convey the news that Kuwari's wife has recovered from an illness. **34** provides a link to **59** by specific matters concerning Kuwari's estate, while **73** may be linked to **64**, since both concern dispatch of envoys to Kunšum. The short **37** refers to two other occasions, when the sender requested a shipment of grain, and since this subject seems to be introduced in **35**, and is again referred to in **34**, these two letters may well have preceded **37** in that order. **56** can of course be tied to the sequence via **37**, and finally **36**, which reports the Gutean raid on Kunšum, might well be the last dispatch from Sîn-išme'anni.

Based on this cluster of links it may be suggested, that what we have is in reality several "sets" of letters sent to Kuwari. Obviously this theory cannot be proved, but it seems extremely reasonable to assume that these correspondents, all closely connected, would often have made use of the same "postman". The penultimate row above is particularly suggestive in this respect : Talpuš-šarri let Sîn-išme'anni write a message to Kuwari on the left edge of the tablet, and in the same mail Kuwari could well have received **49** from Hulukkadiil, who asks him to send up a certain individual with the transport convoy, no doubt that mentioned in **56**. The other rows are more tentative as "sets", but at least that linked with **64** seems likely to be correct. Incidentally it may also be observed that the ultimate row would, if correct, join three consecutive field numbers (cf. above Ch. 1). In theory then all of the letters above may represent a total of some 5 "mails" or dispatches from the east, but we must of course also consider a second group of texts, namely those to other addressees than Kuwari.

II) Letters "stranded" at Shemshāra

addr./sender	Pišenden	Talpuš-šarri	Sîn-išme'anni	Kuwari
Tu-...	69 (802+)			
Jašub-Addu	67 (816)	66 (896)		
Šū-Enlil	68 (868)			
Sîn-išme'anni				70 (899)
Nawram-šarur			65 (918)	

Since most of the envelope fragments found with the tablets must come from these letters, it seems certain that they are not copies, but letters which never reached their destination. This theory also fits the general historical reconstruction below, since Kuwari's and Jašub-Addu's changes of allegiance

would have rendered delivery superfluous. Two of three letters from Pišenden contain requests for tin, and might have been sent off in the same mail, but the physical evidence from the tablets suggests at least two “sets” (cf. II.1.B). It seems likely that they arrived at Shemshāra with some of the “sets” discussed above, and also that the two letters to Jašub-Addu were in the same mail. The single letter from Kuwari, **70**, was probably never sent, and may well have been written shortly before he joined Šamši-Adad (see end of section B).

Several letters from other correspondents belong in a local context, but cannot be placed chronologically. These include the isolated **72** (SH.821), which deal with local events, and the three letters sent from Wannī (**60-62** = SH.874, SH.900, SH.914), which probably date to the Assyrian period (see notes to texts).

## ***B. The Alliance against Gutium***

Kuwari was not himself a native of Utûm, but placed at Šušarrā as a kind of duke or viceroy (*nuldānum*). Several letters provide some information on his background. In **35** Šîn-išmeanni writes :

(Šîn-išme’anni “to the one who loves me” = Kuwari :)

The king is well. The city of Kunšum, your brother, your estate, your wife, and your sons, and I who love you, are well.

You cannot say thus to us : “You are living there and yet you do not look after my estate!” I entered your estate, and questioned the daughter-in-law and Tidduri saying : “Has the harvest work started? You must do the harvest! Have you started the grazing (season) or not?”

They answered as follows : “There [is no] grain available!” And you don’t even know how much grain you left in your own estate! In future don’t reproach me!

The harvest is approaching. If you arrange transport of the grain for the palace, then send 20 (measures) flour with the grain of the palace. If you do not arrange transport of the grain of the palace, then at least send 20 (measures) of flour to Zukula, so that your estate will prosper. (**35**)

The information here shows that Kuwari’s home base and family was in a place called Zukula. In his absence the estate was managed by a certain Tidduri, perhaps his eldest son. Tidduri (Tenduri) himself wrote to Kuwari about the same problems :

(Tenduri to Kuwari :)

Therefore plead as much as you can with Ugutlae, so that grain, as much as 20 of his servants can carry, is delivered. You know that the grazing (season) is approaching (here) in Zigulā, and the cutter(s) which you turned over to Hizzutta – have a lot of them delivered ; they are requested for the lambs (and) goats – let them be delivered. And send the servants you promised. You know that the harvest is approaching. Together with the barley that you send, send the men. And the cutter(s) which are not available in the house – send the cutter(s). (**59**)

Tidduri is in need of grain, men, and tools for the farm work. The harvest time is approaching, and before the sheep and goats are sent into the hills to graze on the spring grass they must be shorn. Ethnographic evidence from the Zagros suggests that these letters were written in what corresponds to late May or early June. The shearing of the animals is often done on a communal basis, and accompanied by festive social events. Often the animals are sent to pasture in communal flocks or herded by hired shepherds (Watson 1979, 93ff.).

A letter sent from Talpuš-šarri suggests that Kuwari had perhaps not been posted at Šušarrā for very long when the archive opens :

(Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari :)

Imdija came to me and (said) : “Your estate in Šušarrā is not being looked after!” I explained these things to you! Did I not say this to you concerning this estate of mine : “Kuwari, do not be negligent with regard to this estate! Do not depend on the steward! When you arrive you must inspect my estate and if the steward living (there) manages the estate well, then let him stay. If not so, then you yourself appoint a steward of your choice!” Now why is this estate being ruined, and you do nothing! Now have the grain of my estate checked and guarded. (**53**)

The implication here could be that Kuwari only recently had left to take up residence in Šušarrā. The management of Talpuš-šarri's estate is also discussed in 57, which seems likely to have been sent before 53, where Imdija has returned and reported on the estate :

(Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari, his "brother" :)

Enter my estate, and check all the grain available. If 500 (measures) are ready, then seal [300 (measures)], and [turn] 200 (measures) over to Imdija, and let him [make purchases of] tin. But if [..... ll. 14-16 broken .....] turn over to Imdija, and let him make purchases of tin. And his accounts for the grain he sells and for the tin you must be au fait with.

Also as regards this estate of mine, do no rely on the steward. *The estate* must not be neglected, and you must appoint a steward of your own choice, so that the estate is well managed. And a steward [.....]. He shall arrive quickly, and [*the estate will be managed*] (57)

These two texts have important broader implications. The fact that Talpuš-šarri owned an estate in Utūm allows certain assumptions on socio-economic structures. It seems likely that the noble families of these Hurrian mountain kingdoms owned widely scattered lands, in a feudal pattern reminiscent of that found in the later texts from Nuzi and Alalah. Secondly it seems that grain could be sold or converted, and tin purchased not far from – or perhaps at Šušarrā itself. This issue, procurement of tin, is a central theme in several of the texts we shall present subsequently. For now it is important to note that Kuwari's duties included collection of what constituted the *sūtum* of the king (63). This consisted of revenue in grain from the agriculturally rich Rania Plain, and wool for what is termed the "kings clothing" (*lubušti šarrim* ; 50 and 52). Some evidence as to how these revenues were procured is found in the administrative texts, published and discussed in ShA 2, 27-32. Under normal circumstances portions of these products were probably converted into silver or other materials before delivery to Kunšum (cf. ShA 2, 40-42), as in the instance with Talpuš-šarri's grain, but during the evolving crisis this spring primary products were also in demand.

Spring comes late to the hills of Kurdistan, but as the roads dried and the spring harvest approached, the Turukkeans made preparations for a military campaign against Induše of Gutium. The mood was slightly apprehensive, but generally upbeat, when Šepratu reported to Kuwari on preparations :

(Šepratu to Kuwari, his "brother" :)

Zuzum, the *hanizarum* of Ilalae, who had been sent to Kusanarhum came, and with him he brought the king of Kusanarhum to Aliae, and he had a meeting with Kigirza and Talpuš-šarri, and they swore a comprehensive oath to each other. The king of Kusanarhum, Naššumar, and (his) sons Tarugur (and) Šurti will come with 3.000 troops ; and Berdigendae, the general of Zutlum, will come to Kunšum with his army ; and Kigirza with his own troops and troops from Kusanarhum and Šudamelum have marched off to besiege Arrunum. Inside the town there is someone who says : "Come! I will give the town to you!" (63)

Talpuš-šarri had secured a military alliance with the kingdoms of Kusanarhum, Zutlum, and Šudamelum, and as a first effort they sent troops against the town Arrunum, where local support promised an easy success. Nothing more is heard of this affair, but in his next letter Šepratu provides us with a wider framework for the military activities :

(Šepratu to Kuwari, his "brother" :)

Šuruhtuh, the king of Elam, sent the following message to Tabitu : "Why does the land of Itabalum not send envoys to me?" The armies are assembled ; they will march against Indaššu. Now he gave Nabi-ili the command of 12.000 soldiers who are ready, saying : "Now take command of these!" (64)

This passage shows that the mighty Elamite king was allied with the Turukkeans against the Guteans, and at once reveals that the conflicts spanned almost the entire Zagros horizon. Tabitu was presumably the eldest son or heir apparent of Pišenden, the king of Itabalum, and must already have functioned in an executive role, placed in an outlying part of the kingdom, where he was more easily accessible from Elam. The ruler of Elam is mentioned once more in these texts :

(Pišenden to Tu-..., his “brother” :)

Your envoy [..... brought me] your greetings. I questioned him and [he told me your news]. I was as pleased as if I and [you had (actually) met]. As for [..... why ] are you silent? [... 3 lines broken ....] established brotherhood and friendship, and the previous kings established brotherhood and friendship [... fragmentary passage ....].

.... (l. 26') and the plan was as follows : “Now send words to the “father”, the grand regent, and to Namarum, and to Dâsi, the king of Nikum, and promise silver, gold, and costly things if they will make attacks on the land of Kakmum.” Why did our fathers get silver (and) gold, either 2 or 3 talents, for this promise? Keep the kings on our side (for the rest of) this year. Now look sharp and your troops [*will defeat*] the enemy and the hostile [.....] to the Lu[llean(?)] ..... (69)

Unfortunately the addressee of this letter cannot be identified, but he was clearly an important king, perhaps of Šimurru. Pišenden referred to previous cooperation, and how their fathers had paid for support against Kakmum from Namar and Nikum, kingdoms in the central western Zagros, and from the “great foreman”, no doubt a local term for the *sukkal-mah* or “grand-regent” of Elam. Apparently the allies could not afford to do this again, but Pišenden still hoped to solicit their help. Another part of the letter (69.B) probably mentioned Indušše.

Some of the background for the war against the Guteans is revealed in 63, where it is stated that Kuwari's lord has been under siege for three years, and in 36 where it is said that for three years it has not been possible to bring in the harvest due to the Gutean raids. Thus the conflict did not begin this spring, but dated back several years, and had its roots in as yet obscure developments within the Zagros. While this conflict seemingly had no direct connection with simultaneous military events in the north Mesopotamian plain, the two scenarios influenced each other. In early spring Šamši-Adad and Dāduša set out to conquer the east-Tigris country. Early progress of the campaign is reported in the text on the so-called Qabrā stela :

.... ( in Arrapha) I entered his fortress. I kissed the feet of the god Adad, my Lord, and reorganized that land. I installed my governors everywhere and in Arrapha itself I sacrificed at the *humṭum* Festival<sup>50</sup> to the gods Šamaš and Adad. On the twentieth day of the month Addar I crossed the river Zab and made a razzia in the land of Qabra. I destroyed the harvest of that land and in the month of Magrānum I captured all the fortified citiers of the land of Arbela. I established my garrisons everywhere. Qabra alone remained. In ... the harvest .... that city in the month .... they did not carry ... that city in [...] (Grayson 1987, 63-64 ; Eidem 1985, 83-84)

Beyond mere ambitions of territorial expansion, the precise motives or the background for this campaign are unknown. Annotations in the MEC document the old rivalry between Ešnunna and the Šamši-Adad dynasty, which included military clashes in the region east of the Tigris, where, for instance, Ipiq-Adad of Ešnunna, early in the reign of Šamši-Adad, conquered Arrapha. No doubt, however, the evidently fairly powerful city-states like Arrapha and Urbil benefited from this rivalry to the extent that they remained independent – until the alliance between their neighbours put an end to this situation.

News of the war in Qabrā reached the leaders of Itabalthum in the Zagros, and Šepratu wrote to Kuwari :

(Šepratu to Kuwari, his “brother” :)

And you must investigate the intentions of Samsi-Addu. If he has directed his attention elsewhere, and there is no anxiety for the country of Utûm, then take your best troops under your own command and come up here, and have some reliable Lulleans kept inside Šušarrā while you come up. If you have investigated the matter, and there is (reason to) fear for the country of Utûm, then leave the troops to protect the country of Utûm and the town of Šušarrā, but you yourself come up with your retainers, and the country will not reproach you. You know indeed that (if not) they will forever raise their voices saying : “He indeed has acted like this – he whose father and grandfather exercised *nuldānūtum*, and whom his Lord loves like his own life! Now his Lord has been under siege for three years, but he did not come, and he did not deliver his Lord's revenue, and he did not stand by us!” This they will say about you, and it will be an insult forever, and our hearts will be sad. (63)

50. For this festival see Durand and Guichard 1997, 44f. (the authors cite the passage here, but seem hesitant to ascribe the stela to Šamši-Adad, which is somewhat surprising in view of the conclusive arguments in Eidem 1985, 83f. and ShA 2, 17 n. 17).

In response to this letter Kuwari, however, was able to send reassuring news back, as related by Šepratu :

(Šepratu to Kuwari, his “brother” :)

I have heard the letter you sent me (where you wrote) as follows : “Nipram came back from Samsī-Addu and said : ‘All that Samsī-Addu gave me in reply is very good news ; and having conquered the city of Arraphum, it is towards Qabrā Samsī-Addu has proceeded, and he has sent his son Išme-Dagan with 60.000 troops to besiege Nurrugum.’ This is what you wrote in the letter you sent to me. Pay close attention to this news. Hopefully the man will not conquer the whole country, and we shall not have to worry. Keep this news from the envoy of Samsī-Addu, and let your words be pleasing to him.

Send words to the Lulleans kings who are hostile to you that they should make peace with you. Don’t continue hostilities. Accept their peace. Do this so that they will be friendly towards the country of Utūm, the town of Šušarrā, and the campaign.

Next the news about Samsī-Addu that runs as follows : “He has become hostile to Ja’ilānum”, investigate whether the substance of the news is correct or not, and send me a letter quickly. Let Nipram, Kubija, and Ullam-tašni come up here together with the envoys of Samsī-Addu, Ja’ilānum, and Šimurum, and seize all the important Lulleans, and keep them under your control. Do this so that the envoys of these kings can come up with a light heart and we won’t get trouble. (64)

This letter thus reflects events which took place in Maqrānum of the *līmu* Asqudum. Some of the Mari evidence for the progress of the campaign is summarized above (Ch. 2), and need not be repeated here. The end result is described in the Dāduša stela, where it is stated that Qabrā is conquered in just 10 days, but probably after a prolonged siege. The king Bunu-Ištar was beheaded, and his head sent to Ešnunna, while Dāduša claimed to have donated the land of Qabrā to Šamši-Adad. No doubt troops of both Dāduša and Šamši-Adad participated in the conquest of Qabrā, but further details of this campaign will no doubt emerge with the publication of the remainder of Išme-Dagan’s correspondence announced for the near future.<sup>51</sup> The noblemen in Itabalthum were clearly relieved by the thought that Šamši-Adad had his hands full, and hence was unlikely to push his territorial ambitions further east. The rumour about hostility with Ja’ilānum however, may have been a bit disturbing, since this polity was no doubt envisaged as a potential ally against the Guteans, as was perhaps Šimurum. Šepratu seems to advise Kuwari to keep the news from the Šamši-Adad envoy staying at Šušarrā, but send him “up” together with the envoys of Ja’ilānum and Šimurum. Possibly by the same mail, however, Kuwari received different advice on the latter issue from Talpuš-šarri :

(Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari :)

The envoy of Samsī-Addu, who is staying before you, his message is dated. Why should he come up here? You can give him instructions, and send him off, but the envoy of Ja’ilānum, who brought tin, let him come with one of your retainers, and have them indeed bring up the tin with him. When the envoys of Samsī-Addu and Ja’ilānum [who (are)] there who ..... want to come up, do not detain them, [but] their retainers who are with them [and the .....] all of them who are with them must not come. Let them [come without] their retainers [... rest of obv. and rev. too broken for translation ....] (73)

Why Talpuš-šarri should want the envoy of Šamši-Adad dismissed is not entirely clear, but it seems likely that, in view of the encouraging news about how Šamši-Adad was preoccupied, Talpuš-šarri no longer felt it useful to discuss whatever his envoy had to propose, something which events had rendered “dated”. It would have been interesting to know what message the envoy carried – and whether he eventually was sent up to Kunšum. The incident perhaps implies that Šamši-Adad at this time sought allies and support in areas east of his opponents in the east-Tigris plain.

Once again Talpuš-šarri was eager to secure supplies of tin, which was brought by the envoys from Ja’ilānum. The need for tin was evidently related to production of weapons for the impending campaign, as revealed in a letter from Pišenden to a certain Šū-Enlil :

51. Forthcoming in ARMT XXIX, announced in Ziegler 1997a, 145 n. 1.



(Pišente to Šū-Enlil, his “son” :)

I requested lance(s) from the king (of) Kusanarum, and he accordingly sent me 5.000 lances. I am having the blades of the lance(s) made, but I have no tin available. My son must not deny (me) the tin which I request, and the tin which my son gives/(sells?) me, will give me success like 20.000 soldiers. Be forever generous to your father, and all the tin I request, will my son please send it to me quickly so that I can have the lance(s) made. (68)

The addressee of this letter is otherwise unknown, but his name is of a type very common in Aššur, and it is not impossible that he could have been an Assyrian merchant. In another, badly preserved, letter Pišenden again voiced the urgent need for delivery of tin, this time to Jašub-Addu of Ahazum :

(Pišenden to Jašub-Addu, his “son” :)

If you are in truth my son, these goods must not be lost. I need the copper and the tin for (manufacture of) weapons. Have them deliver with all dispatch – but these goods must not be lost! (67)

A final reference to tin is found in a letter from Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari :

(Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari, his “brother” :)

Hereby I have sent men to you to transport the grain. Hopefully these men do not scatter in the land. Post guards so that these men return to the country. And you yourself must provide the soldiers who are coming to you with food and beer and oil, and send them (back) to me quickly! Let the day [come], and on that day [.....] and you must collect the [.....] you have available, and [.....] this [.....] do, and [.....] establish your renown. And this measure should be 4 (*times*) larger than the previous measure – and send as much wine as you can with the barley. It is *ready* here, and it is *ready* elsewhere. So collect tin, (and) send (it) to me! (56)

This letter also indicates another urgent need, namely food supplies for the campaign, a theme repeated in many of these letters :

(Hulukkadil to Kuwari :)

Also I hope you will make a name for yourself concerning the tribute. The country looks to you! Have the barley transported here, and in future we shall have renown! You and I are not opponents. (52)

(Šēpratu to Kuwari, his “brother” :)

Now if the numerous kings of the Lulleans, who were hostile to you, are ready for peace and (accept) the comprehensive treaty you have offered them, then seize their best terms and accept their peace. You know indeed that the stores are empty, and that there is no grain for these troops who are coming. Now make a firm peace with the Lulleans, and do what is needed for the transport of grain and flour, so that your Lord and the land will rejoice, and you will gain eternal renown. (63)

(Šēpratu to Kuwari, his “brother” :)

Next why do keep silent about having the barley transported. Make peace with the Lulleans and have the barley transported quickly. You know that the stores are empty ; there is no barley (or) flour. Have barley and flour transported here quickly! The armies are near. Establish your renown! (64)

(Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari :)

(Both) once and twice I have written to you to have grain delivered, but you have not delivered the grain. Now the countries which march to our assistance are coming, and I am commanding the army in Zutlum. Now since the troops are coming, have grain brought quickly. You know indeed that (even) the *inner palace* is empty, and there is not (even) [*a litre of*] chick peas available! Do not be idle with regard to the grain. Have it brought quickly! (54)

The tone in these letters is clearly fairly desperate, and it does not seem that Kuwari was very responsive. There are surprisingly few references to any dispatches from Kuwari, who also seems to have had problems with the Lullean groups, located in the hills surrounding Utûm.

Pišenden and Talpuš-šarri simultaneously faced another problem, namely that some of their allies in the region west of Shemshāra had become embroiled in events connected with the Šamšī-Adad and Dāduša campaign. In 64 we saw how envoys of some of these polities were staying at Shemshāra, but another potential ally, Jašub-Addu of Ahazum, had at this stage already left the Turukkean cause, as we learn retrospectively in a letter from Šamšī-Adad :

(Šamši-Adad to Kuwari :)

Surely you have heard about the enmity of Jašub-Addu, the Ahzean. Previously he followed the ruler of Šimurru. He left the ruler of Šimurru and followed the ruler of the Tirukkeans. He left the ruler of the Tirukkeans and followed Ja'ilānum. He left Ja'ilānum and followed me. He left me, and now follows the ruler of Kakmum. And to all these kings he has sworn an oath! Within just three years he made alliances with these kings and broke them! When he made an alliance with me, he swore an oath to me in the temple of Teššup of Arraphum, (and) again he swore an oath to me on the bank of the Zab river in A'innum, and I swore an oath to him. (1)

The closely parallel passage in another letter helps understand the details better :

(the King to Kuwari :)

[I have heard] the letter you sent me. As for the news of Ja[šub-Addu] which you wrote to me – this outlaw! – having followed the ruler of Šimurru for two years, he left the ruler of Šimurru and [followed you]. He left you and came to me. I counted him with Ja'ilānum, and for this reason he left Ja'ilānum and came to me! [Now] he has left me, and follows the ruler of [Kakmum]. (2)

Jašub-Adad must have approached Šamši-Adad just after the conquest of Arrapha, i. e. before the 20th of Addarum (April), at a time when he was considered an ally of Ja'ilānum. When Šamši-Adad also made war on this polity a few months later, Jašub-Addu returned to affirm his alliance with Šamši-Adad. This happened in A'innum on the lower Zab, a town in Qabrā, whose conquest is reported in ARM I 121.

Perhaps shortly before this juncture, both Pišenden and Talpuš-šarri wrote to Jašub-Addu, and tried to persuade him to assist Itabalum. It seems likely that both letters were dispatched together :

(Pišenden to Jašub-Addu, his “son” :)

Have you yourself not heard that my father and my grandfather made an alliance of brotherhood with your father and your grandfather. Now you [.....] must not leave, and *Kunšum* must not divide [.....]. (67)

(Talpuš-šarri to Jašub-Addu :)

Why do you not send your envoy to your father Pišenden? Like previously your father and your grandfather conferred with this House and the country of Itabalum you should now confer (with it) in the same manner! [... rest too broken for translation ....] (66)

When these letters reached Shemshāra, however, events had already rendered final delivery superfluous! During the month of Maqrānum (April-May) Šamši-Adad and Dāduša conquered the walled towns in Qabrā, and then began a siege of the capital itself, which lasted perhaps 3 months. If the report from Nipram quoted in 64 was correct, it would have been during this time that Išme-Dagan moved north to conquer Nurrugum, while also hostilities with Ja'ilānum began. We know that Nurrugum was not conquered until late spring or summer the following *līmu* year, and the precise sequence of events cannot yet be reconstructed. If the campaign against Nurrugum really got under way before winter, a few letters from Mari which refer to the campaign may belong here, or alternatively to a period after winter when the campaign was resumed.

Two letters from Išme-Dagan to Jasmah-Addu must relate to the Nurrugum campaign, since they detail conquests of Ninēt (Nineveh), and Šibaniba (Tell Billa) :

(Išme-Dagan to Jasmah-Addu :)

The land has succumbed to me, but the citadel of Ninēt I have not yet taken. A deserter from the town said : ‘The inhabitants are starving!’ As long as I have not taken the citadel of Ninēt, I shall not march elsewhere. (A.2728, Dossin 1972, 126)

(Išme-Dagan to Jasmah-Addu :)

Previously I wrote to you about the victory. Now I have taken Šibanum, Ninēt, and the whole land. Rejoice! (ARM I 124)

A third letter from Mari, communicated only in quotations, was reportedly sent from a place “à proximité de Nurrugum ..... ville qu’il se fait fort de prendre à condition de recevoir des renforts”. The letter was sent from Tarīm-šakim to Jasmah-Addu, and warns him that his messengers to Išme-Dagan should not come via the sender’s place, but follow a route across the Tigris at Adûm north of Nineveh. The letter also reports on a raid made by Ja’ilānum troops from Dūr-Ja’ilānum on a town Erin-....., where grain of Lamassī-Aššur, the wife of Išme-Dagan, was kept :

(Tarīm-šakim to Jasmah-Addu :)

Secondly the messenger of my Lord, with whom my lord sends letters to Išme-Dagan, should take a secret route. Since letters coming from my Lord to Išme-Dagan are blocked here where I am, from now on the messenger of my Lord going to Išme-Dagan should not come via me, but should pass by Gadašum, a village .... and by night he should go in secret to Adûm, and cross the Tigris. Once he has crossed the Tigris, (he can proceed to) *Nineveh*.<sup>52</sup> This should be their route. (TH 72.2 , Birot 1973, 4)

..... Secondly wheat of my lady Lamassī-Aššur is in Erin-... and I left 20 of my retainers in the town to guard this wheat, and 200 Ja’ila troops came from Dūr-Ja’ilānum to carry off this wheat. They cut off 10 (of their) heads and wounded 20 men, and I have sent the heads to your father. (Il. 44-53, quoted in Marello 1993, 279)

Back in the mountains the planned campaign against Indušše probably never really got under way. Kuwari, repeatedly urged to “come up” and participate in the campaign, apparently never budged. Exactly what happened is not known, but at some point, probably in summer, Kuwari received dramatic news from Sîn-išme’anni :

(Sîn-išme’anni to Kuwari, whom he loves :)

Indušše has come looting and [.....] he has destroyed the harvest of the town of Kunšum *together with* the harvest of *Ir-tahum*. [You indeed] know that for three years it has not been possible to bring in the harvest. And now he has destroyed the harvest of the country, and ..... and Kusana(r)hum and Zutlum, *the allies who keep hearing (about it)*, nobody came to (help) us.

Now Indušše has roamed the countryside for 20(+x) days, and we have not confronted him in open battle, and the soldier of our secret depot and the guards have absented themselves. Nobody trusts each other! You there must not let (us) down! (Act) like a (noble)man! Reinforce defense of your stores! Come a propitious day, and I will take omens for the fate of Kunšum, and [write down] and convey the results to you.

[.....] be friendly to the kings you control, and be friendly to the Lulleans! And [*in order that*] the harvest (there) they *will not destroy* and it will be well for Kunšum and with ..... do not be negligent, but *alert the countryside!* (36)

This letter could have been the last to come out of Kunšum. The destruction of the harvest of the land would most likely have occurred after the actual harvest, when the grain was being dried, threshed, and stocked. It is somewhat surprising to see how desperate the situation must have been. Apparently Indušše could not actually conquer the main walled towns in Itabalthum, but could make raids deep into its territory unopposed. The isolated evidence in this text combined with subsequent developments indicate the catastrophic nature of the situation. It seems that the alliance against the Guteans collapsed, and that Gutean territorial control was pushed westwards. The core area of Itabalthum was probably able to resist, but in general events drove thousands of refugees out of the mountains. The immediate effect of all this on Kuwari and Utûm is known from some retrospective passages in letters from Šamši-Adad :

52. The geographical information in this text has been discussed by several scholars. Birot tentatively read the last GN as Baninê (ou Maninê?), which he identified with *bi-na-nu-û* in the Urbana itinerary (where it is the next station north of Ekallatum), and he assumed that the end point of the route was Ekallatum. Subsequently collation seems to have established that the first sign in the GN is MA, which gave Yuhong the idea to read *alum-ma ni-ne-eki*. This is accepted by Joannès (1996, 340 n. 76), but apparently not by Charpin and Durand (1997, 368). However, the basic problem with the information is that we cannot be sure where the protagonists were located. Tarīm-šakim was evidently placed so that he received information on events near the area of Ja’ilānum, and so that dispatches for Išme-Dagan would normally pass through him if roads were safe. If we are to believe the summary provided by Birot, it seems best to suppose that Išme-Dagan was campaigning near Nurrugum, and that this area was the end station for the route described.

(the Lord to Kuwari :)

Hereby I have sent 600 troops to protect Šušarrā. Let these troops enter Šušarrā itself, and you yourself come to me. The citizens of Utûm hate the town of Šušarrā, and you – you citizens of Kunšum who left Kunšum – they hate you! They are villaineous and rebellious. Previously when I stayed in Sarre in the country of Qabrā, their elders came to me and said : “We are indeed your servants [..... break .....] (19)

This show that refugees from Kunšum joined Kuwari in Utûm, most likely including his own family, and that the local population of Utûm had approached Šamši-Adad at an early stage of the campaign in Qabrā, when he, as reported in ARM IV 49, conquered Sarri. The implication is that this happened without Kuwari’s knowledge or consent, but it could have occasioned the dispatch of envoys from Šamši-Adad, whom we found present at Šušarrā in 64 and 73. Later however, Kuwari must have decided that the best move to save himself and his small domain was to become a vassal of Šamši-Adad, as indignantly recalled by Induše :

(the Lord to Kuwari :)

Three months ago I sent Warad-šarrim to Endaššu, but he did not receive his (official) brief or his escort, and his words are hostile to us. He gave him the following message : “I am his son who do his [...] and his bidding. Kuwari my enemy took silver and gold from Šušarrā, and went to him, and I became [*angry*]. When [...] they defeated [...] to Kunšum .... [rest of obv. too broken for translation]. (20)

If not pure slander from Induše, we may conclude that Kuwari brought rich tribute to Šamši-Adad, and became his vassal. This move prevented Induše from attacking Utûm. It also seems to have severed any official connections between Kunšum and Kuwari, since not a single text sent from his associates there can be dated after this point. By a strange twist of fate, however, we may have the last letter Kuwari *intended* to send east, but never did. This letter is unfortunately very difficult to understand, but certain parts indicate that it probably was the answer to the letter from Sîn-išme’anni (36), which reported on Induše’s raid, and promised news on omens about the safety of Kunšum :

(Kuwari to Sîn-išme’anni, whom he loves :)

I have heard your letter *about* Hazibatu. *Trusting in your information* I acted like a fool and sent Šunšija to you with these words : “Go (and) ask the one who loves me about the town of Kunšum : will it be safe, or will it not be safe?” I acted foolishly, and confided my secret to Šunšija. (70)

The letter also indicates that roads had become unsafe to travel, and conveys a general atmosphere of growing confusion and disorder.

## 5. THE ASSYRIAN PERIOD

### A. Introduction

In contrast to the previous period, when Kuwari received series or sets of letters from several correspondents, we now have a group of 25 letters from Šamši-Adad, which can be supplemented with smaller groups of letters sent from his son Išme-Dagan, and from some of his officials, primarily the general Etellum, and the official Kurašānum. The series of letters from Šamši-Adad himself were of course written in a precise order, which it should be possible to reconstruct, but as usual with such texts there are too many gaps in our knowledge to achieve this. On the other hand certain observations may help establish a relatively correct sequence. The archaeological evidence places 15 of the 25 letters from Šamši-Adad in the early group A) and 10 in the late group B), namely nos. 7, 10, 11, 13-15, 17, 20, 21, 23. Letters 1-5, which do not use the designation *bēlum* “lord” for Šamši-Adad, all come from group A), and their contents clearly show that they belong to a time in late autumn or winter preceding Šamši-Adad’s defeat of Ahazum and the conquest of Nurrugum, which occurred during the

*līmu* year Aššur-malik. It can thus be established that these letters are classified correctly from a diachronic perspective, and that the modes of address, as suggested by Læssøe (1966, 75), reflect different stages in the relationship between Šamši-Adad and Kuwari. Since we otherwise only have letters from Šamši-Adad to his sons and certain officials, this evidence is of some interest. Following the initiatives from the Utūm elders and Kuwari himself, discussed above, Šamši-Adad approached Kuwari simply with his name in **1**, which is no doubt the earliest letter from him. In **3** and **5** an initial “Šamši-Adad” in the address seems to have been erased in favour of the sign *lugal* “the king”, an interesting feature which shows that the choice of address was not taken lightly. In **2** and **4** *lugal* is used seemingly without any hesitation, and subsequently all letters from Šamši-Adad use *bēlum* “lord”.

These observations serve to further confirm that the division between groups A) and B) is chronologically significant, but since the division does not mark a precise point in time, it is not as helpful as could be hoped. Apart from **1-5** most of the letters from Šamši-Adad and associates deal with the same complex of problems preceding the conquest of Šikšabbum, the capital of Ahazum, and these themes occur in letters from both groups A) and B). The 8 letters from the general Etellum may illustrate the problem. At least 4 of these texts, **39-42**, concern field operations in or near Šikšabbum, and must belong closely together in time, but come from both A) and B). We know that Etellum was dispatched specifically to lead operations in Ahazum, and during the short period covered by his letters, two changes in the mode of address can be observed. In two letters he used the “neutral” style (**38-39**), in two others he calls himself “your friend” (*rā'imka*, **40-41**), and in the remaining four letters “your brother” (**42-44 B**). As in the case with letters from Šamši-Adad, the formal classification, which follows these changes, may correspond to a chronological division. The “neutral” letters could well be the earliest, and then Etellum’s mode of address changed twice during the campaign in Ahazum, ending in “brother” mode. It would seem, however, that the rather abrupt change from “friend” to “brother” is circumstantial, and clearly too much weight should not be put on this evidence.

In spite of the gaps and difficulties the available material does describe a reasonably coherent story, and although some letters refer to events which cannot be placed within the main story it seems certain that the texts do not reach much further down in time than the final conquest of Šikšabbum, which occurred in spring. The more exact end point for the archive is difficult to establish (cf. Ch. 2 and below Ch. 6).

## ***B. War in Ahazum***

While Šamši-Adad and Dāduša triumphed over their opponents in the plain east of the Tigris, the Turukkean alliance had experienced a decisive crisis. The double pressure exerted by powerful forces inside the mountains, and simultaneously in the western plain exploded the existing political order in northeastern Mesopotamia, and the resulting confusion is vividly illustrated by the no doubt genuinely disparate manoeuvres of Jašub-Addu of Ahazum. Fearful of the progress of the Šamši-Adad and Dāduša campaigns, he must have felt compelled to look for new allies. The traditional friendship he seems to have had with Itabalum no longer promised any support, since that kingdom was itself hard pressed by enemies who, as will become apparent, also moved close to the borders of Ahazum. In this situation Jašub-Addu found common ground with Bina-Addu of Ja'ilānum – until Šamši-Adad turned against this king, and left Jašub-Addu no alternative but to submit to the new super-power. A few months later, however, when winter approached and Šamši-Adad presumably had moved his main forces north to Nurrugum, Jašub-Addu made use of the opportunity to break away from the alliance with Šamši-Adad. Instead he joined the ruler of Kakmum, probably Muškawe (**44**). In broader political perspective it seems likely that this in effect meant alliance with the Guteans, and in the months to come it was an axis Gutium – Kakmum – Ahazum which formed the enemy front for Šamši-Adad and Kuwari.

Jašub-Addu’s move made Šamši-Adad furious as is clear from the language used in the letters he sent to Kuwari.

(Šamši-Adad to Kuwari :)

Surely you have heard about the enmity of Jašub-Addu, the ruler of Ahazum. Previously he followed the ruler of Šimurru. He left the ruler of Šimurru and followed the ruler of the Tirukkeans. He left the ruler of the Tirukkeans and followed Ja'ilānum. He left Ja'ilānum and followed me. He left me and now follows the ruler of Kakmum (1, ll. )

.....

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

(As for) Kušija – why is he staying there? Give him his instructions and send him to me before the ...th of this month. Send him to me before the mountains and roads become snowbound : from Zaslum to Šegibbu ; from Šegibbu to Zikum ; from Zikum to Ura'u ; from Ura'u to Lutpiš ; from Lutpiš to the land of Haburātum. If too late and the mountains and roads have become snowbound (and) he cannot go, let him stay with you. It will be your responsibility, and you must provide him and his retainers with bread and beer. (1)

Information in this letter shows that it not was sent with an envoy of Šamši-Adad, but a local figure whose associates are detained at Šušarrā. At the same time Kuwari seems reluctant to send off the Šamši-Adad envoy Kušija, who is also mentioned in **2**, where an alternative route for him is indicated :

(the King to Kuwari :)

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

[..... ll. 18-25 too broken for translation .....]

... and bringing him to account is not [.....]. Either you go out, and bring him to account, and do me a (great) service. If you do not go out, and do not bring him to account [..... ca. 3 ll. broken .....] I will come up there with the complete armies, and bring him to account. And [with your work] I am much pleased, but your reward for this service you have rendered me I cannot send. The roads are dangerous and envoys must travel in secrecy. When you come and meet me, I will give you the reward for your services.

Secondly : Why do you detain my servant Kušija? Send him to me! The road via Kumme is now safe. Send him to me by way of Kumme! (2)

It may seem strange that Šamši-Adad repeated the story of Jašub-Addu's changing alliances here, but this may be explained by the circumstances surrounding the dispatch of the letter. The letter from Kuwari referred to in **2** may have arrived by messenger before letter **1** could have reached Kuwari, and allowed him a reaction to it. Instead Kuwari seems to have himself complained about Jašub-Addu, which occasioned Šamši-Adad to repeat his statement from **1** in a slightly different version. Kuwari also seems to have reported on some action which pleased Šamši-Adad to the extent that he promised him a rich reward. Finally Šamši-Adad used letter **2** to repeat the request for Kušija's dispatch and informed Kuwari of a route via Kumme, which was now considered passable.

Letters **3-5** all concern Jašub-Addu and Šamši-Adad's plans to get even with him, and these letters, which all refer to dispatches from Kuwari, must have been sent over the next few months when winter still prevented major military action. They may have been sent in the order of the classification in this edition, but this cannot be conclusively shown :

(the King to Kuwari :)

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

It is winter, and for the next two months it will stay cold. I cannot lay hands on him. [...] .., [and on the very] first day the weather becomes milder, I shall come up with a complete army and bring him to account. (3)

(the King to Kuwari :)

I have heard the letter you sent me. All the things you wrote me are correct. The word of Jašub-Addu is mad! The hand of the god is on him, and his statement is false. He does not know his own words, and he does not know the oath he swears. As if he swears an oath in his dream, he *disregards* (it). He is a madman, and his statement is false! A king who ..... never existed!

Now if you can, then like you wrote to me – your barley which they are stocking, place at the disposal of the king, and return the land to its fortress. If it (the land?) does not starve, ..... will be available there in one month as field sup-

plies. Together with the armies I will come up to that land. You will come and join me, and you will bring the retainer with you. (4)

(the King to Kuwari :)

I have heard the letter you sent me. Kušija conveyed nothing of this message of your's. He is a liar. He pretended to take it, but he did not put your message before me. Now I shall send for you to come to the upper (part) of the land of Ah(a)zum, and you will come to me and meet with me, and I shall give you a complete briefing. (5)

These letters would seem to take us into late winter or very early spring. The precise sequence of subsequent letters from Šamši-Adad cannot be reconstructed at present, but most of them, as well as those from his son or his officials, clearly belong to the period from between late winter and some months into the new year, prior to the conquests of Nurrugum and the final defeat of Ahazum, both events listed for the *līmu* of Aššur-malik in the MEC. Three interrelated themes are discussed in these letters : the conquest of Ahazum, the Turukkean refugees coming out of the mountains, and the attitudes and policies of the Guteans. Two long and well-preserved letters from Šamši-Adad bring these themes into focus :

(the Lord to Kuwari :)

An envoy from the Guteans who are staying in Šikšabbum came to me, and said this to me : “The ruler of Gutium, Endušše, said this to me : ‘If the army of Šamši-Adad, my father, should approach Šikšabbum, do not do battle! I shall never sin against my father. If he orders you to march off, (then) march off! If he orders you to stay, (then) stay!’” This is what he said.

Who knows whether their words are true or not? Perhaps they have seen the prospects of the town, and concocted this themselves. Or they have been instructed from outside. Who knows? So I questioned him, and he gave me indications about the retinue of Warad-šarrim. A *hullum* ring which I gave to Mutušu, the envoy, he told me as an indication, and the colleague of Mutušu, Etellini, was ill in Arraphum, and he told me about the illness of this man, and he gave me all these indications, so that I trusted his message. And I questioned him about the news of Warad-šarrim, and he (said) : “His message Endušše received as follows : ‘To the border of Šušarrā in the land which my father controls, I will not draw near!’” This he told me. Warad-šarrim brings good news. Be aware of this! (11)

Evidently Šamši-Adad's envoy to Indušše had not yet returned, but his brief was allegedly preempted by a messenger from Guteans staying in Šikšabbum. Most likely these Guteans had only recently arrived in Šikšabbum, and not surprisingly Šamši-Adad was apprehensive about Indušše's motives. The news was, however, most reassuring. Indušše acknowledged Šamši-Adad's political superiority by calling him “father”, and he pledged both neutrality as regards a conflict with Ahazum, and that he would not move into the land of Šamši-Adad's vassal Kuwari. That this was too good to be true was soon revealed :

(the Lord to Kuwari :)

Warad-šarrim arrived here from before Indušše and reported to me. Indušše is dead set against you – he will not leave you in peace! In case he marches against you, you must be prepared ; and do not spread your garrisons! If the garrisons are small and the townspeople many, will (the latter) not be in control and hand (them) over to the enemy? Do not spread your garrisons! Let all your troops be gathered in Šušarrā itself and be ready. You must be prepared. As on the very same day the enemy approaches you – thus you shall be prepared. (8)

In view of subsequent developments, which show a persistent enmity between Turukkeans and Guteans, Šamši-Adad's fear of local treason may have been based on a misapprehension of local conditions. Kuwari no doubt commanded troops bound to him by personal loyalty, and may already at this time have received a garrison from Šamši-Adad (cf. 19), but it seems doubtful that the local population would have preferred Gutean rule from that by Kuwari and his Assyrian overlord. That Kuwari was far from popular in the region, however, is clear from a letter already quoted :

(the Lord to Kuwari :)

The citizens of Utūm hate the town of Šušarrā and you – you citizens of Kunšum who left Kunšum – they hate you! (19)

This state of affairs is also in evidence in several letters where Šamši-Adad refers to “countrymen” being detained by Kuwari :

(the Lord to Kuwari : )

Hereby [I have sent] Šamaš-našir [to you]. Concerning the Nurrugum situation ....., and hereby I have given him a full briefing. Pay close attention to the message he gives you, and listen to all the things I have written to you.

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

Release these men and public opinion will not be against you :

Zazija with his men,

Šarram-ušur with his men,

Šarnida with his men,

Ziliija with his sons, his daughter, and his wife,

Tirwen-šenni with his sons, his daughters, and his wife,

Izzini (and) Uštun with their people,

Adija with his people

Huzalu with his people,

Uštup-tupki, the cook, with his people,

(and) Hazip-Teššup

Release these men! (8)

In a previous attempt to elucidate exactly who Hazip-Teššup and his large following were, it was suggested that they probably did not come from Utûm itself, but had fled west from areas near Kunšum after the collapse of the Turukkean alliance. Not least in view of an improved understanding of the crucial letter **19**, however, this conclusion should no doubt be revised.<sup>53</sup> Hazip-Teššup was most likely a local nobleman. At a later stage his execution is justified by his attempts to instigate a rebellion in “his town” (**16**), and this of course only makes sense if the relevant town was under Assyrian control. Without more information it is unfortunately difficult to describe the relationship between Kuwari and Hazip-Teššup accurately, or explain why Kuwari thought it necessary to detain him and many other local people. In letter **19** we learn that the “elders” of Utûm had approached Šamši-Adad in Qabrā, and called him “our Lord”, something which was considered an act of treason, presumably vis-à-vis Kuwari. We do not know who these “elders” were, and they may not have been identical with any of the people detained by Kuwari, but the confusion is probably a correct reflection of the ancient situation. Kuwari seems to have been caught between two equally unpleasant alternatives, namely submission to Induše, or to Šamši-Adad, and was therefore an easy target for opposition whatever his course. Possibly the “elders” constituted a local elite which had few ties to Itabalum, while Hazip-Teššup and other noblemen, like Kuwari, were linked to the princely or royal families further east. Further information on the history of Hazip-Teššup shows that both Šamši-Adad and Kuwari had to tread carefully to avoid mishaps, and Hazip-Teššup must have been a very important figure. The two following letters reveal how both Kuwari and Šamši-Adad ideally wanted him removed, but were afraid of the political consequences :

(the Lord to Kuwari : )

Concerning Hazip-Teššup you wrote thus to me : “My Lord must not send him to me! And why did my Lord put a gold ring on him and dress him in a garment? He must not return and come to me!”

This you wrote to me with Šumahum. You did not (however) send Hazip-Teššup to me to be executed. You sent him to me to be calmed and returned to you. [And] I asked your retainer who escorted Hazip-Teššup [(to me)], saying as follows : “Shall I keep Hazip-Teššup here forever, or return him to Kuwari?”

[Thus] I spoke to your retainer, and your retainer answered me thus : “He must not be detained! Let him calm down, and return him. This is what I was instructed (by) Kuwari : “Let him return and let him stay with me!”

53. This new interpretation has some consequence for discussion presented in ShA 2. Here the frequent mention of Hazip-Teššup and members of his following in the administrative texts was used as an argument for dating several of these to the Assyrian period, i. e. after the point in time where Turukkean refugees began to arrive at Shemshāra. Although the dating of many of these texts may still be correct, the precise argument is now invalid. The new chronological division between tablets from groups A) and B) is unfortunately not helpful here since only a single administrative text comes from group B) (ShA 2, no. 146).



This your retainer said to me, and for this reason I put a gold ring on him and dressed him in a garment, and calmed him, and said as follows to him : “Does a father not stand by a son? And your father stands by you. He has brought you to account according to your case. Do not worry!”

These things I told him, and I calmed him saying : “Let him rest 2 or 3 days. Then I will send him to Kuwari. Jaši-El(?) arri[ved here, and] I consulted him, and he [answered me] thus : “Kuwari loves him [.....]”. This he said to me [.....]. Now [.....] Haz[ip-Teššup ..... rest to broken for translation .....]. (17)

(the Lord to Kuwari : )

An idea occurred to me concerning Hazip-Teššup, about whose execution you wrote to me. Since you want to kill him, let him die! Why should he live! Let him die in the workshop! He keeps writing to his town and tries to turn your [country] against you. [And if] his brothers who are (staying) with me [ask] me, [I shall pretend] that he is alive and [say] : “He is alive, he is alive! [And ....] we are indeed his brothers!” So they will assume that he is (still) alive, and staying in the workshop. (16)

This was a cunning, but also slightly desperate plot! A virtual Shakespearian story unfolds. Hazip-Teššup was apparently passed back and forth between Kuwari and Šamši-Adad, and treated with royal honours, while his two hosts contemplated the best way to murder him. The real problem was, that by now his followers were present in force, both in Utûm, and further west in the kingdom, so that his death would provoke unrest in both places. It is not easy to decide which of these two letters is the latest, and we also cannot know whether Hazip-Teššup was actually murdered or not. In any case he disappears from record, and his place was probably taken by Zazija (see below Ch. 7).

Another local noble, who was soon to play a crucial role in the history of Utûm, was Lidāja, whose situation seems very similar to that of Hazip-Teššup :

(the Lord to Kuwari : )

I have heard the letters you sent me. Lidāja came here and had a meeting with me. Until the conquest of Nurrugum he stays before me. When Nurrugum has been conquered, he will come with the army to the country of Ahazum. And siege towers must be brought downstream to Zaslum, so that they are ready for the army. At that time when [Nurrugum has been conquered .... break ....]. (7)

(the Lord to Kuwari : )

I have heard the letters you sent me. You wrote as follows about Lidāja : “My Lord should write to me where to settle (him)”. This you wrote to me. [.....] who [enter(s)] Šikšabbum [.... 5 lines broken ....] (15) Until the plan for Šikšabbum has been carried out [let him stay] in that land. .... (10)

These discontented and scheming noblemen apart, a main problem for Šamši-Adad was the stream of Turukkeans coming out of the mountains, presumably fleeing from the advancing forces of Induše. We can only follow events at Shemshāra, but it is possible that numerous Turukkeans entered the north Mesopotamian scene through other localities. In any event they were a source of great concern to Šamši-Adad, who instructed Kuwari to either keep them under his own control, or send them west to him. In two letters which describe this problem Šamši-Adad complained that the Turukkeans, who were sent west, did not have a sufficient escort, and that many therefore absented themselves, also joining Jašub-Addu of Ahazum, and thereby reinforcing the defense of Šikšabbum :

(the Lord to Kuwari : )

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

This they told me, and you said thus to me : “They slander me to my Lord!” How do they slander you? Previously I wrote thus to you : “Those Turukkeans whose maintenance you cannot manage, send them to me, and I shall take charge of them here. This I wrote to you! Now all [the Turukkean]s you send to me come at night and in secrecy, and the land in front of them they *claim*, and they keep entering Šikšabbum. Is it right that we should make the enemy stronger, and his army greater. I am worried about this!

Now assemble the country, and tell them thus : “He who wants to can stay here ; he who does not want to stay here, can go to my Lord!” Tell them this, and all the Turukkeans you send to me, must not come at night and in secrecy. Let one of your retainers take charge of them, and [lead] them [safely] to [.....]. Since [..... let them lead] them. [.....] Take precautions so that [the land in front of them] they do not *claim*, and they do not enter [Šikšabbum], and

we do not make our enemy stronger and do not make his army greater! And all the Turukkeans you send to me, should first be listed on a tablet. (13)

(the Lord to Kuwari :)

When you stayed before me I instructed you as follows : “The Turukkeans who are coming in from outside – those you can manage to provision you shall keep with you ; those you cannot manage to provision should proceed to me!” This I instructed you. Was I not happy with their staying there? Is it not a border town? Indeed many troops should stay there, and *do service out there*, and in force they will protect this land. These things I decided. Now keep the troops you can manage to provision with you, and send those you cannot manage to provision to me. But why do they come without a retainer of your’s. They sneak away themselves en route, or midway [*they*] kidnap them. [Those] who cannot stay there, and are not conducted safely here in one group by your retainer, will disappear [en route, or] they will force them [into Ši]kšabbum. [.....] joyful, [and there] they will hold the country. You shall send them in a single group. Let one of your retainers lead them, and conduct them safely to me, and they will not disappear en route. If not so, we will frighten them, and will they not then turn their faces elsewhere? (15)

A precise date for the letters dealing with Hazip-Teššup, Lidāja, and the Turukkean refugees cannot be given, but they clearly belong to the period preceding the conquests of Nurrugum and Ahazum, and must therefore be placed in early spring, either shortly before the actual campaigns, or some time into them. In 7 Kuwari was also instructed to have siege engines brought down the Zab, to a place called Zaslum, in preparation for the campaign against Ahazum, which was evidently to begin shortly.

When spring finally came, Šamši-Adad devoted himself to the conquests of Nurrugum and Ahazum. Dāduša of Ešnunna again sent troops north to assist Šamši-Adad. This army made a rendezvous with Išme-Dagan and the Assyrian troops, and crossed the Zab. At this juncture Šamši-Adad presumably sent for reinforcements from several of his vassals, among them Kuwari of Šušarrā, who was requested to supply 1.000 men. This detachment was supposed to follow a route down the Zab to Kaštappum.

(the Lord to Kuwari :)

The army which is with Išme-Dagan has arrived. The day I sent you this letter the whole army which is with Išme-Dagan and the army from Ešnunna have crossed the Zab, and I have arrived in Kaštappum. The day you hear this letter – on the third day let 1.000 of your troops descend to me to Kaštappum, and let one of your generals come with the troops. (9)

Kaštappum has been tentatively identified with a tell near the confluence of the Zab and the Tigris, and the proposal seems to match the occasion. Šamši-Adad would have massed his troops in this region for a push into Nurrugum further up the Tigris from the south. Unfortunately little information on the campaign in Nurrugum is available in the sources published at present. Possibly Nurrugum was already considerably weakened by Assyrian efforts in autumn and winter, where a conquest seems to have been under way (cf. 64). What happened next is uncertain. Given the precarious situation in Utūm, Kuwari was hardly eager to supply as many as 1.000 men to Šamši-Adad, and on present evidence it seems most likely that it never happened. Instead it can be assumed that Šamši-Adad eventually asked Kuwari to let the troops support his general Etellum, who was dispatched to conquer Ahazum :

(the Lord to Kuwari :)

Hereby I have sent an army with Etellum for the siege. Muster 1.000 of your troops and send (them) to him (at) Šikšabbum. (14)

Subsequent events are mostly described in letters sent from Etellum to Kuwari, and the isolated 38 apart, they can be placed in a reasonably secure chronological sequence. The earliest seems to be 39 :

(Etellum to Kuwari :)

Šikšabbum is your enemy! It is a menace to both you and me. Let us prepare to besiege Šikšabbum. As soon as you hear this letter, muster all your troops, and (take) the Lullean with you, and march off! Let us quickly besiege Šikšabbum, and gain renown before our Lord!

I am now staying on the border of Tarum. I wait (for you). Come quickly and let us put Šikšabbum to account before the king arrives. In three or four days the king will conquer Nurrugum, and the king will (then) come with the armies to Šikšabbum. Before the king arrives, let us together do our Lord a service. Do not hesitate! Come! (39)

Etellum was to wait in vain for Kuwari in Tarum, as revealed by his next letter :

(Etellum to Kuwari, whom he loves :)

I waited for you 7 days, but you did not come, and the whole country [togeth]er has turned [*against me*]. You should not [*come*..... rest of obv. lost .....]

.... you gave your promise to the king. Now do what is needed to destroy this ferry! The face of Kakmum of Šuruthum has turned to my Lord. Rejoice! Let him come to your Lord's side.

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

Another matter : in seven days the king will come to Arraphum. Be aware of this and send your greetings to Arraphum to the king. (41)

Etellum does not seem to have received any direct response, but left Tarum. His next letter, which has a different format, (cf. II.1.B) was probably 40 :

(Etellum to Kuwari, whom he loves :)

I departed from the border of Tarum. I have entered Ikkalnum. There the ruler of Hanbat, and the ruler of Zappan, and the country is gathered. Make a forced march all night and come here. If you have not arrived tomorrow I shall break camp and march off and withdraw. If you have not arrived tomorrow don't come. Hold your own country, and stay close to Zaslum. Be ready to assist the troops I left behind in the garrisons. (40)

Apparently Etellum was facing allies of Ahazum, and could only engage in battle with support from Kuwari. Although the time table here should perhaps not be understood literally, it appears that the action must have taken place quite close to Utûm.

Kuwari seems not to have given much support to Etellum, and in his longest letter he complains in very colourful language about this. It appears that not only have displaced Turukkeans gathered in Šikšabbum, but Induše is also sending troops and supplies across the Zab river into Šikšabbum. The repeated reference to a boat, which Kuwari has promised to remove, must be to a kind of ferry operating on the Zab, presumably near the town Zaslum, in the region of modern Dokān. Etellum had managed to conquer and garrison the main walled towns in Ahazum, which left him no troops to conquer the capital or secure the countryside.

(Etellum to Kuwari, his "brother" :)

Why do you not act to slaughter Šikšabbum? Previously when this land was hostile, you attacked it daily, and your whip was swung over this land, and you gave no respite to this land. Now why do you do nothing? About the ferry you spoke thus to the king : "I will destroy this ferry for the king!" But you did not destroy (it). Messengers and grain from Induše keep crossing (the river), (and) now 200 Gutean troops! And they keep attacking the land, and you remain silent! How shall we answer the king? I have no troops available. The troops have been left in four (sections) in walled towns in the land of Ahazum, and cannot leave the town(s), (since) they hold the towns, and the rest of my troops are with the king. I have no troops available. You must gather troops and muster the Lulleans with you, and come to Zaslum and take up position against him. Then send words so that the whole land becomes hostile to him. When he leaves, you attack him and cut him off. Do this service to your Lord! (42)

A letter from a certain Jadinum, probably another Šamši-Adad official, also refers to Gutean troops ready to cross the Zab, and enter the town of Šikšabbum :

(Jadinum to Kuwari, his "father" :)

News reached me from [.....] as follows : "Troops – 300 Gutean troops – are deployed to cross (the river), and will find (a way) to enter Šikšabbum. Send words to the ferry that this ferry must be removed – so that Jašub-Addu does not [become] stronger, and he cannot [trouble] the land, and does not in future give [us trouble]! (47)

Kuwari, however, seems not to have taken much action, and presumably had his hands full with other problems. He finally also received a letter from Šamši-Adad himself :

(the Lord to Kuwari :)

Before you left I gave you a decision. I instructed you thus : “If Šikšabbum is conquered, then come to me in Arraphum. If Šikšabbum has not been conquered, let the garrison troops enter the environs of Šikšabbum and you – according to your own judgement – go to Šušarrā and instruct a commander of Šušarrā, and take the troops of the district of Šušarrā with you, and come to me!”

This I instructed you. The instruction was thus! (Now) act in accordance with the instruction I gave you! If Šikšabbum is conquered and you go to the country of Šušarrā, then until you return to me, you must keep writing any information you learn to me. [If not] so, and you stay there, let [the commander] of Šušarrā send the troops of the upper land to me, [and you] must keep writing to me so that I am au fait. (12)

Etellum and Šamši-Adad were clearly urging a rather reluctant Kuwari, and for this reason Etellum may have been unduly optimistic about the conquest of Nurrugum. In fact Kuwari’s apparent hesitance may well have been due to uncertainty about the military situation in Nurrugum. On the whole Etellum’s campaign was unsuccessful because his resources were inadequate to produce decisive results. Reinforced by Turukkeans and Guteans, Jašub-Addu may indeed have been able to reconquer the walled towns in his land, which had been occupied by Etellum’s troops. At least this is the implication of a letter from Mari, which reports on the presumably conclusive defeat of Ahazum :

(Šamši-Adad to Jasmah-Addu :)

When the armies had gathered in Qabrā I sent Išme-Dagan with the armies to the land of Ahazum, and myself I went to the City [= Ekallātum]. And while the armies gathered in Qabrā, the land of Ahazum heard about the massing of the armies in Qabrā, and made ready. Troops of all the land and the Turukkeans who had joined forces with them took up position against Išme-Dagan in the town of Ikkalnum in the land of Ahazum. Išme-Dagan marched against this town, and when only 150 metres away, the troops of that land, and the Turukkeans who had joined up with them, attacked Išme-Dagan ..... he slew the troops of that land, and the Turukkeans who had joined up with them. Not one man escaped, and on that day he conquered the whole land of Ahazum. This is a great victory for (our) land. Rejoice! (ARM I 69+, 5-35 ; Charpin and Durand 1985, 313ff.)

This matches the evidence from Shemshāra perfectly : groups of Turukkeans had joined Jašub-Addu, and the main battle took place in Ikkalnum, where Etellum had previously garrisoned troops. In the end Ahazum could only be defeated by major armies led by Išme-Dagan. From an unpublished Mari text we know that the town of Šikšabbum must have been conquered prior to 10th of Addarum (late March), and if correct, this whole series of events portrayed in the letters from Shemshāra should belong to a surprisingly short period in late winter and early spring.

What happened next in Utūm is harder to establish, but some of the letters from Šamši-Adad, Išme-Dagan, and their officials, which make no reference to events around Šikšabbum, the Turukkeans etc. may conveniently be placed here. Several of these texts would seem to belong to a somewhat calmer period, after the war in Ahazum. We have five letters from the Assyrian official Kurašānum, who is also attested at Mari (Ziegler 1997a, 788), and probably was stationed in Qabrā or Arrapha. Unfortunately several of these letters are short or fragmentary, but they provide a little historical information. Thus in the two following letters reference is made to affairs of the land of Ištānum, an otherwise unknown entity, in which Išme-Dagan took great interest. Possibly the geographical name should be understood as generic, i. e. “north-country”, but in any case it is not yet possible to link this evidence to information from the Mari archives.

(Išme-Dagan to Kuwari :)

With regard to the report about the country of Ištānum, which you wrote to me about, I have written. They will investigate the matter, but I have made my own plan here. Now following this letter of mine, I shall arrive in Qabrā. So why have you not sent me this report (sooner)? Now have this report verified, and write the result to me. (26)

(Kurašānum to Kuwari :)

You have sent a letter about investigating the towns of the country of Ištānum to my Lord Išme-Dagan, and my Lord wrote thus to me : “Send words to the towns of Ištānum and have them investigate the situation for you, and write back to me quickly!” This my Lord wrote to me.

How can I write to these towns [.....] you did not write to me, and I don’t know the matter. Now as soon as you hear this letter of mine, send me quickly a complete briefing on the towns of Ištānum so that I can write and have them investigate the situation of these towns, and report to my Lord! (29)

Kurašānum was clearly vexed that Kuwari had by-passed him, and thus embarrassed him to his master.

In another letter Kurašānum informs Kuwari about a major victory won by Išme-Dagan, but unfortunately the name of the enemy is not revealed, and so again no link to evidence from Mari suggests itself. The fact that Šamaš-našir is co-addressee could point to a fairly early date for this letter, since this individual is also mentioned in 8, where Šamši-Adad sent him to Kuwari, but he may of course have visited Kuwari more than once. It is possible that the towns conquered by Išme-Dagan here are those of the land of Ištānum.

(Kurašānum to Kuwari and Šamaš-našir :)

I went to Ekallātum to meet with the king, and before I went to the king you wrote to me about issuing the grain rations for the garrison troops stationed there, in Halluliwe. When you hear this letter of mine, send the garrison troops to receive their grain rations in Halluliwe, and let them receive their grain rations. I have now sent off a man from E[kallātum], who [will issue] this [grain] in Halluliwe. Let these troops rush to Halluliwe!

Secondly : the king is well ; my Lord Išme-Dagan and the troops marching with him are well. He has defeated an army of 6.000, and the towns my Lord Išme-Dagan has conquered. Rejoice! (30)

## 6. THE GREAT REBELLION

There remains a few other texts which cannot be placed firmly in time, but the general impression is certainly that the archive of Kuwari, as far as preserved, cannot cover a very long time after the war in Ahazum. As mentioned above (Ch. 2) it seems likely that Lidāja, a Turukkean nobleman, was responsible for the destruction of the palace at Shemshāra, and thus the end of the archive. Four letters from Mari all seem to belong to the time of this event. In the earliest of these Išme-Dagan relates to his brother, that Lidāja has “turned hostile”, and destroyed two towns, one of which could well have been Shemshāra itself. Extremely interesting is the information that Išme-Dagan has evacuated part of the local population to areas further west near Arrapha and Qabrā. A letter from Mari, written some years after these events, documents an area called Utūm, but located near the Tigris, and this could easily be an echo of Išme-Dagan’s evacuation and resettlement (see above n. 28).

(Išme-Dagan to Jasmah-Addu :)

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. Lidāja, 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.<sup>54</sup> The troops have marched home. I am well. You should not worry in the least. (ARM IV 25)

A series of three letters from Šamši-Adad can be grouped with ARM IV 25 from contents, dates, and phrasing. The second text quoted below gives a more optimistic report on the events in Utūm, and reveals that the local base for Lidāja was the town of Burullum, probably identical with the town Burulluwe mentioned frequently in the administrative texts from Shemshāra. The two other texts clearly belong in the series :

(Šamši-Adad to Jasmah-Addu ; sent 6th of Abu from Šubat-Enlil :)

I have heard the letter you sent me. You wrote that ..... You keep writing about sending (you) troops fast. Why have I not sent you troops until now? Hereby Ušur-pî-šarrim will brief you fully on my campaign plan. Listen carefully to his report. (ARM I 67, 1-17)

(Šamši-Adad to Jasmah-Addu ; sent 8th of Abu from Šubat-Enlil :)

In order to defeat the enemy you change plans and manoeuvre around, and the enemy likewise manoeuvres around against you. Like wrestlers each seeks a strategem against the other. This reminds me of the old saying, that the hasty bitch bore blind puppies! Now you should not act like this and let the enemy trap you! (ll. 4-16) ..... The march up there is at hand. Until I come up, just keep the troops ready. Concerning the report Ušur-pî-šarrim will give you : the enemy

54. For this passage cf. Durand and Charpin 1985, 312.

positioned with Lidāja 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. 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. (ARM I 5)

These two letters were written with an interval of just two days. It seems likely that Ušur-pî-šarrim was supposed to brief Jasmah-Addu about events in the east, which delayed the dispatch of troops. Shortly after the first letter was sent Šamšī-Adad received more news, and therefore updated the report in a second letter. At this point Šamšī-Adad thought that the situation in Utûm was under control, as he had not yet received the end of the story as told in the letter from Išme-Dagan quoted above. This caused a new delay, and only three weeks later Šamšī-Adad could finally give Jasmah-Addu a definite date for arrival of the troops he needed :

(Šamšī-Adad to Jasmah-Addu ; sent 30. Abu from Šubat-Enlil :)

Išar-Lim arrived here, and put a full report before me. The troops who stayed with Išme-Dagan have marched home. They have been sent to their houses to prepare provisions ..... on the 15th of Tiru I will reach you. You should just keep the troops ready until I arrive (ARM II 8, 5-10, 17-20)

ARM I 67 reveals that the enemy facing Jasmah-Addu was the Bina-Jaminu, and this could indicate that these texts date just before the beginning of the *līmu* Awīlīja, to which may belong the annotation in the MEC about defeat of the Turukkeans and a Jasmah-Addu victory over the Bina-Jaminu, but as noted above (Ch. 2) this cannot be considered certain.

Another question is of course the background for events in Utûm. The key may be provided by the unfortunately fragmentary letter **71** :

[..... break .....] You wrote to me concerning Imdi-Adad, the servant of Samsī-Addu, who brought presents of silver, gold and silver bars to Indušše. This matter is correct and I have heard all he brought him. The silver, the gold, the silver bars which he sent – on whose behalf did he he send them? He sent them on your behalf. He wrote as follows to Indušše : “I and you – our agreement is long overdue. I will have a statue of you and a statue of me made in gold, and brother shall embrace brother. I will give you my daughter, and as dowry for my daughter I will give you the country of Šušarrā and the country [..... break .....] (71)

The fragment most likely belonged to a letter addressed to Kuwari from an unknown associate. The format of the text is unique, so that the sender probably is not identical with any of the other correspondents in the archive. Apparently Kuwari had heard rumours of the presents sent to Indušše by Šamšī-Adad, and had asked the writer of this letter for further information. The answer would have been a chock to Kuwari and the population of Utûm. If we are to believe the information, Šamšī-Adad offered Indušše marriage with one of his daughters and the land of Šušarrā as dowry – a complete betrayal of Kuwari, who of course was a far less important figure than Indušše. Nothing indicates actual military confrontation between Šamšī-Adad and the Guteans, but relations were evidently strained, not least after Guteans had supported Šikšabbum. Probably after the defeat of Ahazum Šamšī-Adad seems to have come into conflict with Kakmum, possibly allied to the Guteans. In a very poorly preserved letter Kuwari is asked to relieve a town called Kigibiši, which is under attack from Kakmum :

(Etellum to Kuwari, his “brother” :)

The ruler of Kakmum, Muškawe, made an attack into Kigibiši and took 100 sheep, 10 cows, [and x] men, [and] its inhabitants reacted, [and sin]ce the town of Kigibiši [.....to ] besiege the town [... break ....]

(rev.) [... 5 ll. too broken for translation ....]. Attack his land, [and] with this [*deed*] your Lord [*you will please*] and [*you will gain*] renown [*for yourself* .... break .....]

(ll. 5”) Now do what you will according to your own wish, but if not send me words whether this or that. When you attack his country then you will make him retreat from this town. Do not be negligent with regard to this! (44)

Letter **20** could also belong to this last phase of the archive :

(the Lord to Kuwari :)

(rev. l. 5' :) I shall not send envoys to [Endaššu] again, [and when] his country starves and the barley in his [country] is finished they will protest to him. When you [.....] *your barley* then harvest it quickly. Do not be negligent with [your own] harvest!

Also if this letter has reached you while [.....] is (still) staying with you, then don't [send him] to Endaššu. [If] they turn around like this, then let him be treated likewise! (20)

This letter can be dated to a period shortly before the harvest, thus to Addarum or Maqrānum in the year Aššur-malik (at the earliest!), shortly before the Lidāja revolt. We should of course be careful not to assume that events in Utûm alone influenced the wider political scenario, but judging from the letters from Mari concerning the Lidāja revolt it would seem to have been an event of some consequence. At least with the return of Išme-Dagan's troops, news of these events would have spread across northern Mesopotamia, and hence also have reached the Turukkeans now in residence there. We have already seen how large numbers of these people had come out of the mountains, and that some of them were sent to Šamši-Adad, and no doubt settled in other parts of the kingdom. In the letter quoted above, Išme-Dagan relates how he had settled people from Utûm in areas near Qabrā and Arrahpa. From a slightly later period toponyms provide other possible echoes of the dispersal of Turukkeans across northern Mesopotamia. A second land of Utûm is located on the Tigris (Joannès 1992), and in the Habur region we find settlements like Nakabbiniwe and Šallurašwe, names also attested in Utûm, and possibly founded by deported Turukkeans (see Charpin 1994c, 459 ; and cf. ShA 2, 56).

In this situation word of the Lidāja revolt could well have started the great rebellion which, according to our reconstruction, would have begun only a few months later. The evidence for the rebellion from Mari has been treated before (ShA 2, 19-21), and need not be discussed in detail here, but to complete the picture a brief presentation is necessary.

An unpublished letter from Mari (A.4197 sent from Sumija to Jasmah-Addu ; quoted in Koppen 1997, 426) dates to a time when the rebellion had just ended. It shows how Išme-Dagan can demobilize his troops, and that calm reigns again in the regions of Nurrugum, Razamā, Azuhinnu, Šudā, and Šubat-Enlil. The same developments also allow Adal-šenni to return to Burundum, which had perhaps been occupied by the Turukkeans. In the same letter Sumija writes : "When Suhum 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." (ll. 3-9). This evidence indicates the scope of events, which touched the region around Nineveh (Nurrugum), the Sinjar (Razamā, Azuhinnu), the Habur (Šubat-Enlil), and areas further north (Burundum) – in short much of northern Mesopotamia.

Series of letters refer to events in different parts of the region. Thus we have clear evidence for the Habur. Several texts refer to large groups of Turukkeans who had barricaded themselves in the town Amursakkum, not far from Šubat-Enlil itself, and were under siege by Assyrian troops. They were finally forced to leave :

Another matter. A tablet from Išme-Dagan has reached me (edited) in the following terms : the enemy has left Amursakkum in force and has established himself at a tell on the route from Kahat with the intention of raiding the land of Tillā, taking the grain! Išme-Dagan, having heard this, went to the rescue with ten thousand men and installed himself at Marētum (A.863 ; quoted from Charpin 1990, 75f. n. 29)

The threat to the region around Kahat is also reflected in a letter where Šamši-Adad distributes garrisons to walled towns in this area, and gives instructions that the local townspeople should be removed from the citadels for fear of treason (A.315+ ; Charpin 1990, 73-75). This indicates how extremely dangerous the rebellion was, and it may in fact have brought the Šamši-Adad kingdom close to collapse.

Another group of letters concern conflicts with Turukkeans in the far north, in areas of southern Anatolia, in places like Tigonānum and Hirbazānum (cf. Salvini 1995, 11-13). The sources available at present indicate a minimum time range for the rebellion from late Niqumum to Addarum, thus

through the first 7-8 months of a *limu* year. The letter A.4197 (Koppen 1997, 426) also reveals that it was the king of Gutium who made the Turukkeans leave the “interior of the land”, presumably by threatening the Turukkean homeland. It would seem that this, more than the military efforts of Šamši-Adad and his sons, saved the kingdom. Induše probably tried to push further into the Turukkean areas in the east, perhaps prompted by Šamši-Adad, and this brought some of the displaced groups roaming the northern plain back into the mountains to help their compatriots.

Further evidence from Mari will undoubtedly bring all these events into clearer focus,<sup>55</sup> and help us understand what happened in the east-Tigris plain during the last years of Šamši-Adad’s reign.

## 7. EPILOGUE : ZAZIJA’S REVENGE

Many years later (mid-ZL 11’), when the once mighty empire of Šamši-Adad had long disintegrated, Jasmah-Addu was chased out of Mari, and Šubat-Enlil conquered and looted, we find Išme-Dagan at the end of his career. His domain now reduced to the immediate environs of Aššur and Ekallātum, abandoned by his last ally, Ešnunna, with his country starving and harassed by raiding Turukkeans, he was fighting to hold the last portions of the kingdom together. A refugee from Ekallātum arriving at Karanā was asked for news, and replied :

(Iddijatum to Zimri-Lim :)

The Ešnunneans departed and Išme-Dagan wailed to them saying : ‘The whole country hates me! Why did you lead the blind snake Ešnunna up to me?’ And he said to the Ešnunneans : ‘I will depart to Ešnunna together with you!’ 500 Ešnunneans and Lipit-Sîn (then) stayed in Ekallātum, and Išme-Dagan keeps writing to Zazija to offer an alliance, and 8 talents of silver Išme-Dagan prepared to Zazija as a gift, and he placed barges at Kawalhum to receive barley.

Zazija took his sons and sent them as hostages to Zazum the Gutean, and paid him tribute. The king of Šimurru, who previously was staying with Zazum the Gutean, but fled to Zazija, Zazija has returned to Zazum. (ARMT XXVI/2 491 with parallel no. 525)

Thus, in a desperate effort to hold his own, Išme-Dagan attempted to pacify the Turukkeans and their king Zazija, an event also reported by Jasim-El in a famous letter :

(Jasim-El to Zimri-Lim :)

Išme-Dagan has concluded an alliance with the Turukkeans. He will receive a daughter of Zazija for his son Mut-Aškur. Silver and gold for the brideprice Išme-Dagan sent to Zazija. (ARM II 40)

Extremely interesting is the rare sidelight on affairs in the far eastern corner of Mesopotamia offered in the previous letter quoted. Zazija was obliged to send tribute and hostages to the Gutean king, and also to hand over to him the king of Šimurru. Clearly Zazum and his Guteans were a powerful force, and it seems likely that the Guteans now controlled Šimurru. In another letter from Iddijatum we learn that Zazija had no intention of helping Išme-Dagan, but instead attacked him, and raided into the environs of Ekallātum.

(Iddijatum to Zimri-Lim :)

..... people from Ekallātum and traders from Aššur arrived, and told us as follows : ‘Zazija as a strategem made an alliance with Išme-Dagan, and the divine symbols of Išme-Dagan are with Zazija for the oath ceremony, and his barges are ready at Kawalhum. Having thus fooled Išme-Dagan, Zazija sent 3.000 troops to the gates of Ekallātum, killed 100 men, took hundreds of men and women prisoners, and raided 4 of their towns until Kurdiššātum. They took the sheep, the cows and everything else right up to the gates of Ekallātum. Besides Ekallātum itself, which remained intact, they left nothing in his land. On the day Zazija attacked, Lipissa [= Lipit-Sîn], the general from Ešnunna, was (still) staying (there) ..... (but later) Lipissa together with his troops have departed for Ešnunna, and Zazija concluded an alliance by throat-touching ceremony with Hammurabi of Kurda. (ARMT XXVI/2 526).

55. Several unpublished texts are referred to in Ziegler 1997a, 788.



This was more or less the end for Išme-Dagan, who seems to have given up and left the north to seek final refuge with Hammurabi in Babylon (see Charpin and Durand 1997, 372f. n. 43). By a strange twist of fate it was the Turukkeans who dealt the final blow to the once mighty Šamši-Adad dynasty, and one cannot help think that there was a very conscious connection between this event and developments many years before at Shemshāra. Unwittingly Šamši-Adad had stirred up a veritable hornet's nest, and his treatment of the Turukkeans brought down retribution on both him and his successor. Who was this Zazija, and what do we know about events in the intervening period?

Throughout the years contemporary with the reign of Zimri-Lim at Mari, a certain Zazija is in evidence as leader of Turukkeans operating in the east-Tigris country, and interfering or raiding across the river. They are particularly in evidence in connection with events in the Sinjar region, and the towns of Karanā and Qaṭṭarā, but also as adversaries of Išme-Dagan. Unfortunately the Mari letters from this period are not much concerned with the east-Tigris region, and so it remains difficult to evaluate in detail developments here following the time of Šamši-Adad. B. Lafont has given an excellent summary of the evidence (ARMT XXVI/2, pp. 469-471), and there is no need to reiterate in any detail here Turukkean participation in the complicated political events of this period, but some key issues which relate directly to the material from Shemshāra must be examined. First of all the relationship between Zazija and his Turukkeans, vis-à-vis Itabalthum and the geo-political patterns of eastern Mesopotamia in the preceding period. Finally we must – to end the story which “began” at Shemshāra – follow the dramatic events which ended the old enmity between the Turukkeans and Šamši-Adad.

An important question relates to the identity of Zazija,<sup>56</sup> who possibly, but not certainly, is the individual mentioned in 8, as second in importance to Hazip-Teššup. The possibility is increased by the seal legend of Zazija, found at Mari, and which reads :

“Zazija, son of Tern[ae<sup>57</sup>], *nuldānum*, of Ittebalhum, [servant] of the deity [X]” (Beyer and Charpin 1990)

The title used here makes it likely that this individual is the same as the high-ranking Zazija found at Shemshāra, and that consequently this figure wrote a letter supplied with envelope which reached Mari. On present evidence, however, this man is perhaps not the same as the Zazija who appears as leader of the Turukkeans during the reign of Zimri-Lim. In the edition of the seal legend Charpin referred to four unpublished letters from Zazija (three to Zimri-Lim and one to Meptūm), but Kupper subsequently noted that one of these letters in reality is addressed to a certain *ú-bi-x x x*, and contains the statement *a-na-ku dumu ak-ki-ia ù at-ta, dumu ta-hu-na a-bi ù a-bu-ka, at-hu-ú* – “I am the son of Akkija and you are the son of Tahuna. My father and your father are brothers”. On this evidence Kupper (1990a) suggested that this was the Zazija known as leader of the Turukkeans, and that the one in the seal legend a homonym. Since Kupper's estimate presumably is based on format of the tablets, which shows them to have issued from the same individual, and on contents which show this individual in a role matching that of the Zazija mentioned in many Mari texts, his suggestion cannot be lightly dismissed. Until we are better informed about these letters from Zazija, however, the idea that the Zimri-Lim period Zazija should be a *nuldānum* of Itabalthum seems so eminently in tune with the historical context, that this too should not be lightly dismissed. In sum this problem unfortunately cannot be solved in any definitive way at present.<sup>57b</sup>

Another interesting piece of information is the sentence from a Mari letter quoted by Charpin

56. His name is occasionally understood as the Akkadian PN Sāsija (thus Durand and Guichard 1997, 39 n. 124), but although Turukkeans could certainly carry Akkadian names (cf. ShA 2, 47f.) this seems unlikely to be correct. Compare the name of Zazum, the king of Gutium, or names like Zazi and Zāzi in the prism of Tunip-Teššup, thus among hundreds of mostly Hurrian PNs (Salvini 1995, 47).

57. For this reconstruction see ShA 2, 38 n. 33.

57b. The relevant letters have now been published by Kupper (nos. 177-180 in his book *Lettres royales du temps de Zimri-Lim*. ARMT XXVIII, ERC, Paris 1998), who concludes that the Zazija who claims to be son of Akkija was a homonym of the leader of the Turukkeans. [December 1998]

(1985, 63 n. 94 ; M.13034), and where it is said about Zimri-Lim : *gišgu-za-šu e-li gišgu-za ša i-ta-pa-al-hi-im e-le-e-et*, “Is his throne raised above that of Itabalthum?” Although difficult to evaluate in isolation this statement should provide proof that the kingdom of Itabalthum was still in existence, and considered a powerful polity during the reign of Zimri-Lim. If this is correct it seems more than likely that the Turukkeans operating under Zazija in the east-Tigris country had close ties with the old kingdoms in the Zagros, and also that Zazija could have carried the title of *nuldānum* of Itabalthum.

The many scattered references to Zazija and his Turukkeans in letters contemporary with the reign of Zimri-Lim are often very incidental, and we shall only cite some significant samples of the available sources. Many of these date to the last years of Zimri-Lim’s reign and relate to events in the Sinjar region, which is in more or less constant fear of Turukkeans raiding across the Tigris. Others contain reports on the increasingly difficult situation for Išme-Dagan, following his return to the north in ZL 10’, after a brief exile in Babylon. Several sources indicate that the major geo-political entities in eastern Mesopotamia remained in place during the reign of Zimri-Lim. Apart from references to envoys from Arrapha, Qabrā etc. some letters provide interesting information. The following letter, which should date in ZL 10’, relates how troops from Kakmum invaded and defeated the king of Qabrā :

(Ibal-pī-El and Buqaqum to Zimri-Lim :)

We reached Aššur in the evening and heard this from people : “Kakmum has defeated Ardigandi, the king of Qabrā!” This is what people told us. (Then) we went to the palace and (also) Išme-Dagan told us this : “500 troops of Gurgurum attacked the land of Ardigandi and looted. 2.000 troops of Ardigandi counter-attacked ; they fought and the Kakmum (troops) gained the upper hand and defeated Ardigandi ; and his important officials are scattered. Now this man is [...] because of his defeat he [...] and he puts his trust in your lord (and) neglects his own towns. (ARMT XXVI/2 489, 6-17)

Another important letter shows that the Turukkeans at this time apparently had some kind of control with Qabrā or areas close to it, which they regarded as their “homeland” (*qaqqar napištim*), and also that the old enmity with the Guteans continued. According to the editors this letter also dates to the time when Išme-Dagan returned to the north from Babylon in ZL 10’ (ARMT XXVI/2, p. 41 n. 89), and attacked the kingdoms in the Sinjar area. The Turukkeans, being old enemies of Išme-Dagan, tried to help Hatnu-rapi of Qaṭṭarā (Tell al-Rimah) regain his capital, but had to retreat when the Guteans under their king Zazum invaded the land of Qabrā. The Turukkeans then wrote to Hammurabi of Kurdā :

(Haqba-ahum to Zimri-Lim :)

The Guteans have set themselves against us! ..... How could you yourselves abandon your houses and leave your towns confronted with the Guteans? Pay attention to this, and join forces, and let us together defeat the Guteans! (A.649, 21, 27-30 ; Durand and Charpin 1987a, 133f. and 143-145)

These two letters may easily relate to the same events, and if so reveal a remarkable degree of continuity with the earlier period documented at Shemshāra. Both Kakmum and the Guteans attack Qabrā and the Turukkeans, who consider this region part of their domain. Again the Guteans, perhaps unwittingly, help Išme-Dagan by diverting the Turukkeans. It is important to note that Qabrā still had its own king, and was not as such a part of Zazija’s domain, but the association between the Turukkeans and Qabrā emerges clearly from our sources. The Turukkeans apparently had actual settlements in Qabrā, and perhaps the king there was a mere vassal.

Zimri-Lim’s envoy reports news given him by Aškur-Addu of Karanā :

(Iddijatum reports from Karanā :)

I and Bēlum-kīma-ilīja went into the palace for the council, and Aškur-Addu informed us as follows : ‘2.000 Turukkeans, 2.000 Qabreans, and 1.000 Jahreans attacked the river construction Išme-Dagan is making. Išme-Dagan, however, came in relief and defeated them’. (ARMT XXVI/2 510)

The Turukkean pressure on Išme-Dagan was mounting, and a remarkable text shows how respect for the weakened and battle-worn old king was waning :

(Iddijatum reports from Karanā :)

When Išme-Dagan was passing through during his last campaign, he stayed the night in Saphum. Išme-Dagan said to some people in Saphum : “Why do you let this little fellow Aškur-Addu rule over you?”

They answered him : “Should you who are an invalid perhaps rule us?”

He burned the houses of the two men who had answered thus, and carried off 15 (other) people who had overheard the incident.

The country is calm. Those who previously evacuated their country to the walled towns, have now heard that my Lord is coming, and have sent the herds out of the walled towns.

Another matter : 500 Turukkeans raided below Ekallātum and Aššur and reached all the way to Razamā. They took 100 prisoners and 50 oxen, and nobody resisted them. (ARMT XXVI/2 519)

We can easily imagine Zimri-Lim enjoying this pathetic anecdote about the old enemy of his dynasty, and he probably also enjoyed the following report :

(Iddijatum reports from Karanā :)

The Turukkeans conquered the town they besieged, and they cut off the head of its king, and sent it to Išme-Dagan with this message : “Here is the head of one who trusted in you(r help)! (ARMT XXVI/2 511)

Shortly afterwards Išme-Dagan made his exit from history, but his old enemies, the Turukkeans, were soon to follow him into the shadows. Hammurabi of Babylon emerged triumphant from showdowns with the other major powers of the time, Larsa, Ešnunna, and Mari, and extended his political control into the Habur Basin of northeastern Syria. One of his year names from this time boasts defeats inflicted on Turukkeans and Guteans, and both groups effectively disappear from record thereafter. The slightly later texts recently found at Tell Leilān make no reference to Turukkeans (Eidem n. d.), and their story ends here.

In a different perspective, however, the history of the Turukkeans, as recounted through these early 2nd millennium sources, heralded the beginning of a new era in the history of northern Mesopotamia, parallel with the rise of the famous Hurro-Mitannian kingdom. As suggested in previous studies of the Shemshāra texts, the events portrayed provide an evocative background for this poorly documented process. Crucial intervening elements remain unknown, and it is not suggested that specifically the Turukkeans and their descendants spearheaded the formation of the Mitanni empire. Rather their story is presumably one of several, structurally similar, stories, which brought Hurrian-speaking groups out of the mountainous periphery of Mesopotamia – to fill the power vacuum left by the warring Amorite states of the Mari period. By eliminating the local city-states in northern Mesopotamia Šamšī-Adad, and later Hammurabi, paved the way for this development, since neither monarch in the end commanded the administrative resources to build a real empire. Like previous efforts of this kind, foremost that of the Old Akkadian kings, their achievements proved episodic. In contrast the succeeding Kassite and Mitanni states, in spite of all difficulties and set-backs, seem to have enjoyed greater resilience and stability. One reason for this – doubtless among many others – could well have been peculiar political traditions which these “Bergvölker” brought with them, characterised by systems of princely and aristocratic families sharing territorial power. This is an interesting, but rather superficial observation, which should be considered in more detail.

## 8. PERSPECTIVES

The material published and analysed in this volume may easily seem too limited to support conclusions of a more general nature about Zagros history, but supplying a direct historical access to ancient mountain society it provides a unique opportunity to consider wider issues. The finds from Shemshāra indirectly prove that contemporary written sources should be available at other sites in the western Zagros (cf. ShA 2, 8ff.), and although concentrations or quantities of tablets like in lowland contexts cannot be expected, I have little doubt that archives similar to that from Shemshāra may eventually turn up elsewhere. The current lack of such evidence could seem to belie optimism, but it must be remembered that different research priorities and difficult political conditions have allowed for very

limited exposures of early to mid-second millennium levels in much of the western Zagros.<sup>58</sup> A similar situation obtains for the east-Tigris region, where circumstances have long prevented archaeological work, which no doubt could have produced considerable evidence. Here too the texts from Shemshāra, coupled with evidence from Mari and elsewhere, at the moment provide the most complete perspective of socio-political patterns prior to the period represented by finds from Nuzi and Neo-Assyrian times. The rich potential of archaeological research in this region should obviously warn us against premature definitive statements, but the remarkably coherent patterns emerging from analysis of the material certainly obliges us to go beyond pure empirical observation and consider some wider perspectives.

First of all the evidence supplies a sketch portrait of eastern Mesopotamia in the early 2nd millennium B.C. On an ethno-linguistic level the foothills marked the maximum extent of Semitic speaking groups, while in the mountains we find groups speaking Hurrian dialects, Elamite, or other languages which, for lack of better terms, may be labelled “Gutean” and “Lullean”. The rough tripartite division which can be posited north – south between Hurrian, Gutean, and Elamite may seem somewhat parallel to conditions in pre-modern times, and the distribution of respectively Kurdish, Luri, and Bakhtiari groups (cf. Ehlers 1980, map 3, pp. 200/201). We must of course be careful not to make simplistic correspondences between ethno-linguistic and political entities. On present evidence the Turukkeans were predominantly Hurrians, but apparently distinct from other Hurrian groups spread across the mountainous periphery of northern Syria and Iraq. Simultaneously it seems likely that groups referred to as Lulleans could include both ethno-linguistic “Lulleans”, as well as Hurrians and others. In the Elamite realm we must assume a complicated pattern of different ethno-linguistic and political groups subsumed under the label “Elam”, and no doubt the same applies to some extent to “Turukkum” and “Gutium”. It is remarkable, however, to observe that the conflict between Turukkeans and Guteans persisted throughout the period for which we have documentation, and it seems an inescapable conclusion that the antagonism went deeper than mere political manoeuvring, and must have been based also on ethno-linguistic opposition.

Here we enter the world of inter-Zagros conflicts, usually not documented in our sources, which mostly deal with highland-lowland conflicts. After the collapse of the Ur III state the Zagros societies were able to develop free of lowland infiltration, and this led to the situation in evidence in the early 18th century B.C. The background for the Gutean “aggression” can only be guessed at, but it may one day be possible to connect it with broader developments in Iran. Gutean territory is roughly where Kassites appear only slightly later (Reade 1978), and it could be speculated that major ethnic displacements on the Iranian Plateau or beyond ultimately lie behind some of these events.

It is in any case important to stress the fact that these inter-Zagros developments must be basically separated from contemporary events in lowland Mesopotamia. It seems increasingly certain that the expansionist schemes of Šamši-Adad never reached a stage where penetration, let alone dominance, of areas in the eastern mountains was on the agenda. In fact the evidence reveals the clearly accidental and episodic Assyrian presence in the Rania region. Early publication of one letter from

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58. Much archaeological work in this region has focused on prehistory or the early Iron Age. Disregarding the finer details of chronology, better left to the specialists, a brief muster of the major exposures in levels presumably contemporary with (including) Mesopotamian Isin-Larsa/Old Babylonian periods, may serve to illustrate the point: only two larger exposures of early – to mid second millennium levels have been made in the central and northern western Zagros. In Azerbaijan near the NW shore of Lake Urmia, at Haftavan Tepe, (Early VIB) excavations cover some 2000 square meter, with portions of some substantial, but not too clear buildings (Edwards 1983). South of Lake Urmia an exposure of some 5 x 11 m has been made at Dinkha Tepe (IVA), contemporary with Period VI at nearby Hasanlu, where very little of that period could be excavated (see [Kramer] Hamlin 1974). At Godin Tepe in the Kangavar Valley (Luristan), 700 square meter of Level III :2 were excavated, revealing several phases of partly substantial domestic structures (Henrickson 1987, 211). Finally at Baba Jan (Level IVA-B) some 8 x 4 m in a deep sounding exposed a courtyard and kitchen area (Goff 1976). In sum these scientifically excavated settlement surfaces could easily be accommodated 4 times inside Zimri-Lim’s palace at Mari.

The work done in the Dokān and Darbandikhan projects should also be considered, but is somewhat difficult to evaluate on present evidence. In several places early-to mid 2nd millennium levels were certainly reached. For information on other sites in the Dokān project see ShA 2, 54ff. ; and for the Shahrizor Valley cf. the excavations at Tell Shamlu (Janabi 1961), and Tell Bakrawa (Madhloum 1965, and Husaini 1962).

Shemshāra, which mentions tin, and the temptation to see the site as an important relay point for import of this vital metal into northern Mesopotamia, has led to some confusion and numerous statements like the following: “It appears that one of Šamši-Adad’s main concerns was to secure the eastern end of the profitable trade network which extended from northwest Iran through Mesopotamia into Anatolia” (Moorey 1995, 441). As mentioned above, however, the documentation from Shemshāra shows how Pišenden and Talpuš-šarri, presumably based in the mountains east or northeast of the site, seek to secure supplies of tin from areas further west, from Ahazum and Ja’ilānum in the east-Tigris Plain. It seems also that tin was available at or near Shemshāra. At least this is the implication of **56** and **57**, where Talpuš-šarri asks Kuwari to procure supplies. The logic of this is fairly clear: while Pišenden hoped to secure tin from kings west of Shemshāra, the less important Talpuš-šarri wrote to his close associate Kuwari. In both cases the reference is most likely to tin locally available, and not to a major “source”, and it may be assumed that, for instance, Pišenden could have directed similar requests also to rulers placed further east or north in the mountains.

The conclusion is surely that this evidence cannot support, nor evidently exclude, the existence of an important tin route via Shemshāra. The inter-Zagros conflict may momentarily have disrupted traditional supply routes, but if so, it surely was beyond the powers of even a Šamši-Adad to reestablish these. The evidence from Shemshāra was for many years a convenient *point de repère* for the theory of a northern route which brought tin (and other commodities) into the orbit of the Old Assyrian trade, but with this evidence gone, Elam and the southern Zagros remains the sole documented source of tin coming into Mesopotamia in this period (cf. Michel 1996, 390f.). It is therefore possible that the situation reflected in our texts is “normal”, in the sense that the northwestern Zagros, like Anatolia, relied on re-export of tin deriving from a route via Elam into northern Iraq. Another possibility, however, is to view the problem in less rigid terms. Apparently there was a major flow of this strategic metal from the east, via Elam into Mesopotamia and areas beyond, like the well-organized Old Assyrian trade on Anatolia, but simultaneously the existence of routes of lesser importance, bringing the same commodity in smaller quantities north through areas in the Zagros, seems entirely possible.

While these considerations serve to illustrate the Zagros as a region in its own right, and not exclusively as a funnel for trade items, a repository for barbarian invaders of the lowland, or a playground for ambitious lowland rulers, the events documented here also clearly involve a series of developments which bring highland-lowland relations into focus, and this indeed is one of the key elements for an understanding of the variety of social and political changes among the mountain peoples through time. A persistent image, inspired by ancient propaganda, as well as conditions in the recent past, is that the Zagros was largely inhabited by “nomads”, loosely organized politically in “tribes”, led by “chiefs”. A somewhat more sophisticated approach is represented by the work of Rowton, who attempted to develop a model for socio-economic and political relations between pastoral nomadic tribes and settled agriculturalists through all of Mesopotamian history.<sup>59</sup> His based his model on topology, defined as “the effect of the physical environment on the history of a given region”, combined with extensive use of ethnographic data from the recent past. Briefly stated his argument was that especially in the peripheral areas of Mesopotamia, like the western Zagros, agricultural and pastoral lands are closely interwoven. This determined that the social structure in such areas was “dimorphic”, i. e. a pastoral, nomadic, and tribal paradigm merged with an agricultural, settled, and non-tribal one. The dominant political structure were “dimorphic chiefdoms”, within which a tribal chief based in a town exercised control over both settled and nomadic segments of the tribe(s), and over non-tribal peasants. The tribes also interacted with the urban-based central states.

Rowton’s work remains one of the most comprehensive attempts to analyze the “forgotten factor” of nomadism in ancient Mesopotamia, but many of his conclusions seem unconvincing. He provided dozens of pages with discussion of the Kurdish and Luri tribes and “dimorphic structure” in the Zagros in relation to ancient conditions, without proving the validity of such analogies much beyond the evidence of “topology”. It is not to be doubted, of course, that pastoral activities played a significant role in the economic life of the ancient Zagros, as in other parts of the Near East. The intensity of pastoral production in relation to nomadic strategies and political organization, however, must be viewed,

59. For references to these articles, and a critical evaluation of their arguments see Lancaster and Lancaster 1996.

not as constant factors determined by ecological conditions, but as independent variables, relating to many complex factors and general historical processes. Obviously ethnographic data may be of great value for understanding ancient data, but themselves portray specific historical situations, and not a master-chart of organizational principles.

Much of the extant ethnographic literature on the Zagros describe conditions there during the last ca. 150 years and, as demonstrated by van Bruinessen (1978), many of the Kurdish tribes are secondary formations created or shaped by close interaction with the surrounding empires. Before the Ottoman and Safavid dynasties partitioned Kurdistan in the 16th century A.D., there existed a number of semi-independent Kurdish emirates in the mountains. The Ottomans found it easier to administer the mountains, which also constituted a border zone to one of their main rivals, by indirect rule. Consequently they allowed the emirates a high degree of regional autonomy, and this in effect made them into small-scale replicas of the empire. The *mîrs* held court like the sultan, with a hierarchy of officials, had standing armies, and delegated regional authority to members of their families or other favourites. The various tribes within the emirates were controlled by a mixture of the traditional authority which the *mîrs* could command and coercive force. In the mid-19th century, however, the emirates were abolished by Ottoman reforms in an attempt to introduce more direct rule by state appointed governors. In the general state of decline at that time the Ottoman government was incapable of integrating the Kurdish tribes, and the governors could not replace the *mîrs*. Instead the tribe became in reality the highest level of local political organization, and without the control of the *mîrs*, there was little restraint on inter-tribal conflicts. The consequent segmentation of Kurdish society was furthered by Ottoman and Persian manipulation of the tribes, either for purposes of *divide et impera*, or for recruitment in conflicts between the two empires. A tribal chief backed by the central government could increase his following considerably, but his power and that of his tribe would quickly disintegrate if central authority was weakened. Leaders of the great tribes competed for power among their followers, and famous tribal confederations like the Pizdar and Jaf dominated large areas. Finally in this century the power of the tribes came to an end as the international borders were effectively closed for nomadic migrations, and central authority increased. These phases in Kurdish history form a classic example of what may be termed social underdevelopment, from something resembling a state, to chiefdom, to tribe!<sup>60</sup>

It is easy to see how such data may be used or abused to illuminate the history of the Turukkeans. If, for the sake of simplicity, we reduce Turukkean history to a similar three-tiered developmental schema, it may be suggested that the Turukkeans underwent the same process as the Kurdish emirates. The serious crisis in the Turukkean kingdoms broke up otherwise carefully balanced socio-political structures, and brought new leaders like Lidāja and Zazija to the fore. These individuals evidently had inherited high status and could command considerable traditional authority. So equipped they were able to secure large followings in opposition to leaders like Kuwari, compromised by association with extraneous powers, or in opposition to these powers themselves. Finally Turukkeans deported to the core of the Šamši-Adad kingdom, and later splitting up into smaller groups fighting Išme-Dagan and his generals, would appear reduced to a “tribal” stage. The fact that the Turukkeans first became known to modern scholars through texts from Mari, which document these late developments, has obviously led to serious misunderstandings. The “tribal” stage has been taken as the norm, and projected back into the Zagros homeland, where any number of ethnographic parallels for situations of near-anarchy can be found. With the documentation now available, however, we can instead reconstruct a history of “underdevelopment”, which resulted in the appearance of Turukkean “tribesmen” in northern Mesopotamia.

Did the Zagros kingdoms then resemble the Kurdish emirates in their heyday, or how are we to understand these societies? We still know regrettably little about people like the Turukkeans, and cannot even with confidence locate the territory they inhabited, but some basic elements seem clear. Our sources do not provide much evidence for the role of pastoral nomadism in Turukkean society. The rather few references to pastoral activities apparently relate to normal household affairs, and do not indicate any particular nomadic strategies. Rather we must assume that the Turukkeans in the Zagros

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60. For a recent detailed discussion of very similar developments in Luristan see I. D. Mortensen 1993, 43-61.

were predominantly settled agriculturalists, evidently practicing the more restricted vertical transhumance found in the mountains in all periods. Indeed large-scale pastoral nomadism, as known from the recent past, would seem to be a relatively modern phenomenon, following in the wake of the Mongol devastations in the late Middle Ages (cf. I. D. Mortensen 1993, 39-42). As argued elsewhere (ShA 2, 50-54) the real Zagros “nomads” in this period, seem to have been the Lulleans, apparently scattered over wide areas, and with a political organization different from that of the valley kingdoms. Such a sharp contrast between closely adjacent groups is hardly in evidence in later periods, and this stresses the need to look beyond this evidence if we want to understand the ancient situation.

In contrast to the Kurdish *mîrs* or Luri atabegs, the ruling lines in Itabalthum were not only autonomous in relation to empires on the Iranian Plateau or in lowland Mesopotamia, structures which did not yet exist, but seemingly wholly independent politically. Several of the letters exchanged between these eastern rulers discuss their political relations generations back in time, and we are allowed to assume that the patterns found in this period were, in the first instance, those which had formed in the process of reorganization following the collapse of the Ur III empire, and its intensive infiltration of the eastern periphery. This heritage may also go some way to explain the clear cultural links to the lowland, the very fact, for instance, that the complex of cuneiform, with records, letters, and inscribed seals, was in use so far east. As viewed from Shemshāra the Turukkean kingdom of Itabalthum appears to be a peripheral polity, with a largely Mesopotamian material culture, but this site clearly functioned as a western outpost of the kingdom, and without more evidence from sites in its core areas, the real situation is difficult to evaluate. In a more general way, however, the archaeological evidence available from excavations and surveys in western Iran indicates that the larger valleys had considerable permanent settlement in the early 2nd millennium B.C. (Henrickson 1987), and urban communities flourished in the Urmia Basin through many centuries in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. (Dyson and Voigt 1989 ; cf. also Burney 1977).

Although the evidence is limited we have attempted to describe political organization in Itabalthum in as much detail as possible. What emerges is a system where the king delegated power and territorial control to members of noble lines, including his own. Some or all of these nobles carried the specific title *nuldānum*, which we tentatively translate “duke”. Judging from the example of Kuwari we can to some extent delineate the functions of these figures. Apart from political duties, they were supposed to collect royal revenues, referred to as the *sūtum*, and rendered in primary products, but presumably also in converted form, as silver or luxury objects. A well-organized system of delegated territorial authority evolves logically from the geographical context, as the only realistic means of forming larger polities, integrating series of mountain valleys. Although lowland Mesopotamia practised similar administrative systems, as shown, for instance, by the example of “Šamši-Adad & Sons”, a number of factors, foremost the city-state traditions, prevented the formation of ranked patterns of the same order as found in the peripheral mountains. Unfortunately we lose track of the Turukkeans in the mid-18th century B.C., but they and other Hurrian groups would have remained on the fringes of northern Mesopotamia throughout the subsequent “dark age”. Recent finds from southeastern Anatolia have revealed the existence there of the Hurrian kingdom of Tikunānum, in the mid-17th century (Salvini 1997), and later Hittite sources refer to Hurrians present in northern Mesopotamia in the same period. In time these Hurrian groups expanded into the lowlands, where their traditional socio-political structure served to integrate the remaining city-states, and form a large territorial state, which was to endure for several centuries (Wilhelm 1989). The evidence from Shemshāra cannot solve all outstanding problems in this process, but provides vivid illustrations of its background and earliest phase.

Another important conclusion from all this must be that future research on the early Zagros societies should handle somewhat lightly the burden of ethnographic data from these areas. Obviously studies on the fundamental mechanics of everyday life in pre-industrial settings, like the overviews provided by Watson (1979) or I. D. Mortensen (1993), remain extremely important, but the broader canvas of socio-political developments in the mountains cannot be looked up in manuals of events in the recent past. This because a setting similar to the one found in our ancient sources has not really prevailed since, as one simple observation proves. I know of no other documented pre-modern situation where mountain polities, spanning almost the entire stretch of the Zagros, were involved in a conflict within the mountains, and on a scale similar to that documented here. The sources provide little

quantitative information, but one notes the sizes of some army units involved : 3.000 troops mustered by Naššumar of Kusanarhum (63), implicitly 5.000 by Pišenden (68), 10.000 by Nawarītum of Gutium (cf. above I.3.C), and 12.000 by Elam (64), thus formations of the same general sizes as those current in lowland contexts (cf. Abrahami 1992). For a figure like our “hero” Kuwari, no doubt a mature man at the time we get to know him, placed in his fort near the Sungasur Gorge, the world must have appeared much different than to any Kurdish mîr. The two long letters from Šepratu (63 and 64) bring this out very clearly : the lowland empires, represented by Dāduša and Šamši-Adad, seem like mere casual distractions – in comparison with the armies of Induše. This situation, of basic political autonomy in the mountains, portrayed in these early sources, takes us beyond examples from the heyday of the Kurdish emirates, to a setting rarely in focus in extant evidence, but which must have prevailed for long periods in the 3rd to 1st millennia B. C. The finds from Tell Shemshāra provide a key-hole to this lost world, and light the hope of future discoveries.





**PART II**  
**THE TEXTS**



# 1. INTRODUCTION

## A. Classification of the Texts

The classification of the letters was established by Læssøe, and published by him in Danish (Læssøe 1966, 76-79). It is reproduced here with only some slight updating. The improved historical comprehension of the material might now suggest a different classification and sequence of presentation, like evidently one which follows the diachronic analysis offered in this volume. It was decided, however, to stay with the original, fairly formal system which leaves the primary evidence more open to fresh analysis.

*Grosso modo* the early part of the archive is represented by the letters of Group I, 4 and 9-13, and Groups II-III. The latest part of the archive is represented by the remaining letters in Group I.

Except letter **70**, from Kuwari to Sîn-išme'anni, and presumably never dispatched, information on Kuwari's own letters – or dispatches – is preserved only in “mirror” image. Kuwari's correspondents refer to these, typically with the phrases *tuppaka / tuppātīka ša tušābilam* or *aššum ..... ša tašpuram*. In the classification below letters with references to previous dispatches are listed within square brackets. Where no tablet is mentioned the relevant no. is marked with italics, while references to several tablets are marked with bold face. What emerges immediately from this listing, is that most of the entries concern letters sent to Šamšī-Adad or his officials. Significantly Kuwari's associates in Kunšum refer to very few dispatches from him, and the same applies to the general Etellum, in both instances no doubt a reflection of hesitant or missing cooperation from Kuwari. For further discussion of the mechanics of communication see immediately below, and chapters I.4.A. and 5.A.

### I. Letters to Kuwari

From :

1. Šamšī-Adad
  - (a) sender named : 1
  - (b) sender “King” : 2-5 [2, 3, 4, 5]
  - (c) sender “Lord” : 6-25 [**7, 10**, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, **25**]
2. Išme-Dagan : 26-28 (+28 B) [26]
3. Kurašānum : 29-33 [30]
4. Sîn-išme'anni : 34-37
5. Etellum : 38-44 (+44 B) [42]
6. Migir-Adad : 45
7. Asīrum : 46
8. Jadinum : 47-48 [48]
9. Hulukkati : 49-52
10. Talpuš-šarri : 53-58 [55]
11. Tenduri : 59
12. Wannī : 60-62 [60-62]
13. Šepratu : 63-64 [64]

### II. Letters to other addressees

To Nawram-šarur from Sîn-išme'anni : 65

To Jašub-Addu

- a) from Talpuš-šarri : 66
- b) from Pišente : 67

To Šū-Enlil from Pišenden : 68

To T[u-....] from Pišenden : 69

### III. Letter to Šin-išme'anni from Kuwari : 70 [70]

#### IV. Acephalous letters

- Larger fragments : 71-74 [71]
  - from Jašub-Addu to [...] : 72 [72]
  - from Talpuš-šarri : 73 [73]
- Small fragments : 76-97

(75\*=28 B ; 84\* joined to 83 ; 86\*= 44 B ; 87\* joined to 23 ; 92\* joined to 13)

#### V. Fragments of administrative texts : 98-100

##### *B. A Note on Tablet Formats*

As observed by Læssøe : “By external appearance, as well as by intrinsic paleographic and linguistic features, the letters fall into two distinct groups. One group of letters is constituted by tablets resembling the Mari letters, of tall and rather rounded shape, the reverse side being pronouncedly more convex than the obverse, and the lines of writing acquiring an increasingly bold upward slant toward the bottom of the inscribed surface. Sizes vary, of course, greatly ; the largest is SH.809, measuring 15.3 cms. in height and 5.8 cms. in width. The character of the script is Old Babylonian cursive writing as used at Mari. The second group of letters is represented by tablets of rather a different shape : their surfaces are flatter, the reverse side frequently lacks a pronounced roundish shape, and many specimens of this category are comparatively wide in relation to their height (e. g. SH.811 : height 8.2 cms., width 5.0 cms. ; SH.812 : h. 11.7 cms., w. 5.7 cms.). The script found on this group of tablets sometimes differs only slightly, but at other times considerably, from that of the former group.” (Læssøe 1959a, 9).

These remarks were based on a preliminary study of the material, and a more detailed discussion was deferred to the final report, but it is clear that, confronted with the actual tablets, Læssøe immediately realized the potential importance of their physical characteristics, an approach rarely employed in editions of such texts, and difficult or impossible to study second-hand. In the context of a complete edition this approach must therefore be pursued a little further, but no exhaustive study has been possible. Many of the tablets are in Baghdad, and traditional photos are far from ideal for this kind of analysis. Furthermore there exists no colour descriptions of the tablets, and a good deal of those in Copenhagen were subsequently baked. Judging from the specimens now in Copenhagen and which were not blackened in the ancient conflagration or baked in modern times, the tablets from Room 2 all had a variety of medium – to dark brown colours. Variation in colour occurs between letters sent from the same person, but given the small sample, and the varying effect of the ancient fire, no clear patterns emerge from such observations.

The basic division established by Læssøe is easily shown to pertain to a difference between the letters sent from the west, from Šamši-Adad and his officials, and those sent from local figures. That the “western” tablets are generally thicker appears from the appended concordance, which gives the measures of individual tablets, and shows that only specimens sent from Šamši-Adad, Išme-Dagan, Etellum, and Kurašānum reach or exceed 3 cm max. thickness. The appended photos of selected tablets also show the generally broader and flatter appearance of the “eastern” tablets.<sup>61</sup> With few corroborative data available this observation cannot be studied in wider perspective, except in very impressionistic manner. Based on extant information, and not least on personal observations, I assume that there existed a special “style” of producing and inscribing tablets used by Šamši-Adad and his officials. Often the features of this style, the shape and colour of the tablet as well as the format and size of the signs, are so clear that such tablets and even fragments can be separated out in a mixed group, and this seems to hold

61. The style of the copies, which do not reproduce the shapes of the tablets accurately or to scale, unfortunately serves to obscure these features.

true for both Shemshāra, Mari and Tell Leilān.<sup>62</sup> This “imperial” style is no great surprise. Our evidence shows how high officials were rotated between different parts of the realm, and they no doubt largely used the same group of official scribes. We may note some additional details :

- among the letters sent from Šamšī-Adad **4** and **5** clearly have a different format. The tablets are more flat and lighter in colour, and the script is less “crowded” than usual. Both texts are composed with unusual phrasing and somewhat maladroit grammar. Further they both belong to the group of 3 letters which Šamšī-Adad sent as “king”. Presumably they belong closely together in time, and they were perhaps written under circumstances which involved a different location and scribe.
- among the letters sent from Etellum, we find two different formats. The first is close to the standard “imperial” format. The tablets are fairly thick and have a rounded appearance (**38**, **40**, **43**). The other type consists of longish tablets with signs deeply impressed. Another characteristic of the latter type are the many erasures on the tablets, almost as if the texts were palimpsests (**39**, **41-42**, **44**). Since it is clear that at least **39-42** were written during Etellum’s field campaign in Ahazum, the letters may well have been composed in unusual fashion. Interestingly **40**, which is the odd item in the group, reports that Etellum has just left Tarum and gone to Ikkalnum.

The local or “eastern”, style, on the other hand, also shows remarkable coherence. So much so in fact that Læssøe estimated that the letters **73**, **63**, **35**, and **64** were “demonstrably written by the same scribe” (Læssøe 1959a, 60), something which a review of the entire material, however, renders less certain. Rather the similarity is primarily due to particular traditions shared by the different princes and noblemen in the Turukkean domain, much like the “imperial” western style. Indeed the clearly unusual letter **59** (Læssøe and Knudsen 1963), which “features peculiarly archaic forms of signs” (Læssøe 1959a, 9), but written in a private context, supports this idea. A general implication of the texts is that Pišenden, Talpuš-šarri, Šepratu, Sîn-išme’anni, and Hulukkadil were closely connected, and in general their letters seem very similar in all particulars. It can be established, however, that among the letters sent from Talpuš-šarri, **54** stands out as clearly different from the rest, with an unusual elongated shape and large writing. The text provides a likely explanation for this since Talpuš-šarri states : “and I command the troops in Zutlum” (ll. 14-16), and we may deduce that this was not his normal base. Among the three letters sent from Pišenden **68** was apparently written by a different scribe than **67** and **69**. This can be established from the shape of the tablet, the shape of certain signs, most clearly the use of three small vertical strokes in “BI”, and finally the form *pī-še-en-te* as opposed to the more usual *pī-še-en-de-en*. Unfortunately the text provides no explanation. Comparing **67** and **69** from Pišenden with letters sent from the other eastern figures no clear differences can be identified.

In contrast to the material from Shemshāra the slightly later letters found at Tell Leilān in 1987 show a remarkable variety of colours, formats and styles, which to a large extent can be correlated with their origin in different city-states (Eidem n. d., appendix 1). Another example of tablet and format variety is found among the letters issued from the Mari official Itūr-Asdu, whose tablets became relatively thinner and more reddish in colour as he proceeded north via assignments in Mari itself, to Saggārātum, and later to Nahur in the northern Jezira.<sup>63</sup> The fact that geographical and socio-political patterns may be illuminated by studies of the physical evidence of the tablets demonstrates the importance of this level of analysis, and stresses the need for epigraphers to go beyond the mere texts inscribed on tablets, and treat also the physical medium as evidence. The French Mari team has made some overtures in this direction (e. g. Charpin 1989), but there is scope for much more work here, also on text groups published long ago.

62. The observation for Tell Leilān is based only on the few tablets from the time of Šamšī-Adad excavated in 1985 and 1987, and which are mostly administrative documents.

63. This is a much simplified summary of the situation. The detailed evidence will be discussed in my forthcoming edition of the two earliest portions of Itūr-Asdu’s correspondence. (The study of these texts has proceeded as part of the French Mari project, and I am grateful to Prof. J.-M. Durand for his invitation to undertake it).

## 2. THE TABLETS

### 1

SH.809 (IM.62089)

Lit. : publ. Læssøe 1971 ; photo in Læssøe 1966, 84. Translation of ll. 1-48 in Moran 1969, 628 ; translation of ll. 1-41 in Sasson 1989.

Šamši-Adad recounts the changing alliances of Jašub-Addu of Ahazum, who has now broken the treaty with the Assyrians, and become an ally of the king of Kakmum. When spring comes Šamši-Adad will march up and punish him. Meanwhile he requests that the envoy Kušija be sent to him before snow closes roads in the mountains, and he suggests a specific itinerary from Šušarrā to the Habur Plains, which avoids enemy territory.

- obv.    *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
          *qí-bí-ma*  
          *um-ma<sup>d</sup>utu-ši-<sup>d</sup>im-ma*  
          *wu-d[i] ni-ku-úr-ti ia-šu-ub-<sup>d</sup>im*
- 5        *lú ah-za-a-<sup>j</sup>ki<sup>ki</sup> te-eš-me*  
          *pa-na-nu-um wa-ar-ki lú ši-mu-ur-ri-<sup>i</sup>ki<sup>ki</sup>*  
          *il-li-ik lú ši-mu-ur-ri-<sup>i</sup>ki<sup>ki</sup>*  
          *i-zi-ib-ma wa-ar-ki lú ti-ru-ki-<sup>i</sup>ki<sup>ki</sup>*  
          *il-li-ik lú ti-ru-ki-<sup>i</sup>ki<sup>ki</sup>*
- 10       *i-zi-ib-ma wa-ar-ki ia<sub>8</sub>-i-la-nim*  
          *il-li-ik ia<sub>8</sub>-i-la-nim i-zi-ib-ma*  
          *wa-ar-ki-ia il-li-ik i-ia-ti*  
          *i-zi-ba-an-ni-ma wa-ar-ki lú ka-a[k-m]<sup>i</sup>ki<sup>ki</sup>*  
          *it-ta-la-ak ù a-na ka-al lugal-meš*
- 15       *an-nu-tim ni-iš dingir-meš iz-za-ka-ar*  
          *iš-tu it-ti lugal-meš an-nu-tim is-<sup>l</sup>li-mu<sup>l</sup>*  
          *ù ik-ki-ru mu-3-kam-ma i-ma-ší*  
          *i-nu-ma it-ti-ia is-li-mu*  
          *i-na é<sup>d</sup>im ar-ra-ap-hi-im<sup>ki</sup>*
- 20       *ni-iš dingir-meš iz-ku-ra-am*  
          *i-tu-úr-ma i-na a-ah za-i-bi-im*  
          *i-na a-i-ni-im<sup>ki</sup> ni-iš dingir-meš iz-ku-ra-[a]m*  
          *ù a-na-ku ni-iš dingir-meš áz-ku-ur-šum*  
          *2-šu ni-iš dingir-meš iz-ku-ra-am*
- 25       *iš-tu u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im ša qa-ra-an šú-ba-ti-ia*  
          *iš-ba-tu ma-ti-ma i-na ma-ti-šu*  
          *kù-babbar gu<sub>4</sub>-há ù še-em*  
          *mi-im-ma ú-ul al-qú-ut*  
          *a-lam<sup>ki</sup> iš-te-en i-na ma-ti-šu*
- 30       *ú-ul aš-[b]a-[at]*
- l. e.     *i-na-an-na it-ti-ia ik-k[i-ir-ma]*  
          *ù wa-ar-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>l</sup> lú ka-ak-m<sup>i</sup>ki<sup>ki</sup>*  
          *it-ta-la-[ak]*  
          *it-ti lugal i-sa-li-im-[ma]*
- r. 35     *ù ni-iš dingir-meš i-za-ka-ar*  
          *it-ti lugal i-sa-lim-ma*  
          *ù ni-iš dingir-meš i-za-ka-ar*  
          *ù it-ti lugal ma-a[h-r]i-im-ma*  
          *ša<sup>r</sup> i-sa<sup>l</sup>-li-mu [i-n]a-ki-ir*
- 40       *ù i[r]-ti lugal [ša]<sup>r</sup> i<sup>l</sup>-sa-[l]i-mu*

- sa-la-am-šu ù na-ka-[ar-š]u*  
*i-na bi-ri-it iti-2[(+x)-kam .....]*  
*[i]t-ti-ia iti-1[(+x)-kam is-li-im-ma]*  
*i-tu-úr-ma [it-t]a-ki-[ir]*  
45 *i-na-an-na i[ti-x+]1-kam an-nu-tim ka-a[š-šú-ú]*  
*ù qa-ti ú-ul ub-ba-a[l-šum]*  
*iš-tu u<sub>4</sub>-mi i-ṭi<sub>4</sub>-bu ma-li ṽi<sup>1</sup>-[na] ma-a-ti-ṽš<sup>1</sup>*  
*e-pé-šu te-še-[em-me]*  
*ṽku-ši-ia aš-ra-nu-um am-mi-n[im wa]-ši-ṽib<sup>1</sup>*  
50 *wu-e-ra-aš-šu-um-ma a-d[i] ṽu<sup>4</sup>1-[x]-kam*  
*iti an-ni-im a-na [š]e-ri-ia ṽú-ur-da-šum*  
*la-ma k[ur]-há ù kaskal-há ṽš<sup>1</sup>-ri<sup>1</sup>-pa-am*  
*ṽi<sup>1</sup>-ša-ba-tu a-na še-ri-ia*  
*ṽú-ur-da-šum iš-tu za-as-li<sup>ki</sup>*  
55 *a-na še-gi-ib-bu<sup>ki</sup> iš-tu še-gi-ib-bu<sup>ki</sup>*  
*a-na zi-kum<sup>ki</sup> iš-tu zi-kum<sup>ki</sup>*  
*a-na ú-ṽra<sup>1</sup>-ú<sup>ki</sup> iš-tu ú-ṽra-ú<sup>ki</sup>*  
*a-na lu-ut-pí-iš<sup>ki</sup> iš-tu lu-ut-pí-iš<sup>ki</sup>*  
*a-na ma-a-ṽat<sup>1</sup> ha-bu-ra-tim<sup>ki</sup>*  
60 *šum-ma la ki-am-ma kur-há kaskal-há šu-ri-pa-am*  
*ša-ab-tu a-la-kam ú-ul i-le-i*  
*ma-ah-ri-ka-ṽma<sup>1</sup> li-ši-ib*  
*lu-ú ri-tu-ka-ma i-na ninda ù kaš*  
*pa-ni-[š]u ṽù<sup>1</sup> pa-an ṽlú\*<sup>1</sup>-tur\*-meš\*-š<sup>1</sup>u*  
65 *ṽlu-ú<sup>1</sup> t[a-š]a<sup>1</sup>-ab-ba-[a]t*  
u.e. *[lú w]a-bi-il tup-pí-ia an-ni-[im]*  
*[ni-š]i-š<sup>1</sup>u wa-aš-še-er*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Šamši-Adad :

Surely you have heard about the enmity of Jašub-Addu, the Ahzean. Previously he followed the ruler of Šimurru. He left the ruler of Šimurru, and followed the ruler of the Tirukkeans. He left the ruler of the Tirukkeans,<sup>10</sup> and followed Ja'ilānum. He left Ja'ilānum, and followed me. He left me, and now follows the ruler of Kakmum. And to all these kings he has sworn an oath! Within just three years he made alliances with these kings and broke them! When he made an alliance with me, he swore an oath to me in the temple of Teššup of Arraphum,<sup>20</sup> (and) again he swore an oath to me on the bank of the Zab river in A'innum, and I swore an oath to him. Twice he swore an oath to me, and from the day he seized the hem of my garment, I never collected any silver, oxen or grain in his land. I did not seize a single town in his land.<sup>30</sup> Now he has broken relations with me, and follows the ruler of Kakmum. He makes an alliance with one king and swears an oath. He makes an alliance with (another) king and swears an oath, but breaks off relations to the first king he made an alliance with,<sup>40</sup> and with the (new) king he made an alliance with, his alliance and his enmity [*changes*] within (just) 2[+x] months. [He had an alliance] with me for 1[+x] months, and then he turned hostile again.

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

(As for) Kušija, why is he staying there? <sup>50</sup>Give him his instructions, and send him to me before the ...th of this month. Send him to me before the mountains and roads become snowbound : from Zaslum to Šegibbu ; from Šegibbu to Zikum ; from Zikum to Ura'u ; from Ura'u to Lutpiš ; from Lutpiš to the land of Haburātum. <sup>60</sup>If too late, and the mountains and roads have become snowbound (and) he cannot go, let him stay with you. It will be your responsibility, and you must provide him and his retainers with bread and beer.

(As for) the bearer of this letter – release his people!



- 5) The spelling here and in 5, 12 shows that the GN is Ahazum with short vowel.
- 8f.) The writing Tirukkî (for Turukkî) is unique, and may possibly be explained as a simple “Hörfehler” – indicating perhaps that the ethnicon was as yet rarely referred to in the Šamši-Adad kingdom.
- 19) The Adad or Teššup temple in Arraphum was one of the famous cults in the north, and Šamši-Adad himself describes his veneration for the god in the so-called “Qabrā stela” (Grayson 1987, p. 64, col. ii).
- 21ff.) The treaty between Šamši-Adad and Jašub-Addu had to be adjusted in view of new political developments. Cf. 2.
- 22) A’innum, a town in Qabrā, is also mentioned in ARM I 126, where it has just been conquered by Šamši-Adad, and presumably the letter here refers to that very time.
- 42) A restoration with the verb *šanûm* “to change” could be suggested since this verb is used often about changing of attitude, plan, state of mind etc. as in ARM I 103, 9; ARM IV 80, 4; ARM II 24, 16’; A.2769, 19 (Dossin 1974, 30).
- 43f.) The number of months in both lines must be the same, probably 2 or 3.
- 45f.) Cf. the parallel passage in 3, 22f.
- 46) The same expression in 3, 23. To “carry the hand to something/somebody” signifies harmful action; cf. ARMT XXVI/1 37, 19’f. *qa-as-sú-nu ub-ba-lu-ma, te-ni-iš-ta-am i-ma-aš-ša-hu* – “they will get up to no good and plunder the population”. Cf. also ARMT XXVI/2 443, 3’, and ARMT XXVII 162, 45.
- 47) Close parallels to our passage are found in A.3946 (ARMT XXVI/1, p. 36), *i-na-an-na ku-šú-um, ik-šu-dam a-la-kam, [a]na še-er be-lí-ni, ú-ul ni-le-i, di-šu-um i-la-kam-ma, u<sub>4</sub>-um i-ṭi<sub>4</sub>-ib-bu-ma*, PN *ir-ka, a-ša-ap-pa-ra-am-ma*; and in A.1025, 82f. (Kupper 1990b), *[iš-t]u’ u<sub>4</sub>-mu iṭ-ṭi-bu-ma qa-tum iš-ta-ah-nu, [giš-tuku]-meš it-ti GN i ni-pu-úš*.
- 49) The name of this envoy cannot be changed to Mašija, as tentatively suggested in Joannès and Ziegler 1995. Like several other Šamši-Adad officials operating in the east in these texts, he is not (as yet) documented at Mari, but this is hardly surprising.
- 54ff.) The itinerary indicated for Kušija has been discussed in some detail by Astour (1987, 44ff.). Like the itinerary Šubat-Enlil to Mari, planned by Šamši-Adad in ARM I 26, it includes rare toponyms, and was clearly given in such detail because it was an unusual route. In ARM I 26 Šamši-Adad intended to cut across steppe country to reach Saggarātum on the Lower Habur near the Euphrates junction, and would thus pass places like Jāti and Lakušir, which are otherwise unattested. In the present case Zaslum, attested elsewhere in these texts, must mark a point on the Zab below Dokān, while Šegibbu is also within the local horizon (cf. ShA 2, 20, 3, and 55; the GN was erroneously read Šezibbu in Læssøe 1959a, 101 *ad* “Zaslim”, and in *idem* 1971). Both Zikum and Lutpiš are otherwise unknown, but Astour noted that Ura’u “can be put on the map fairly accurately. Besides its early attestation as an ensidom of the Ur III empire, it appears as a town within the narrow horizon of MA Šibaniba and in instructive pieces of evidence of the NA period”, and concluded that: “after emerging from the Dukan gorge, the route prescribed .... took a sharp turn to the northeast, traversed the plain of Koi Sanjaq, followed the Bastura river all the way to Girdmamik, crossed the Great Zab, and continued, via the otherwise unknown Lutpiš to a terminal in the land of Haburātum, where the king stayed at the time.”
- This description seems reasonable. The route was obviously intended to avoid the territory controlled by Jašub-Addu – and presumably that of Nurrugum – so that in order to reach Šubat-Enlil (the most likely terminal for the itinerary!) Kušija would have to follow the arch of the foothills across northern Iraq, entering the Habur Plains through the territory around the town Haburātum north of Nineveh. In the subsequent letter 2 Šamši-Adad instead suggests the road via Kumme, a town in the same general region.
- For some details on Haburātum and this region see most recently Durand, ARMT XXVI/1, p. 294.
- 66f.) This passage shows that the letter was sent with a local man, and not with a Šamši-Adad envoy.

## 2

SH.894

Lit. : ll. 1-18 quoted in Eidem 1985, 96f.

A group of small, undecorated envelope fragments have been labelled SH.894 A. Possibly they were found close to the tablet, but seem unlikely to have belonged with it.

Letter clearly sent shortly after 1, and partly parallel with this. Šamši-Adad refers to the changing alliances of Jašub-Addu. If Kuwari cannot punish him, Šamši-Adad will come up with the armies and bring him to account. The envoy Kušija is still at Šušarrā, and Šamši-Adad now suggests that he travels via the town of Kumme.

- obv.    *a-na ku-wa-<sup>r</sup>ri qî\*1-[bí-ma]*  
           *um-ma lugal-[ma]*  
           *tup-pa-ka ša tu-š[a-bi-lam eš-me]*  
           *aš-šum ṭe<sub>4</sub>-em ia-[šu-ub-<sup>d</sup>im]*
- 5        *ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am]*  
           *sà-ar-ru-um a-nu-u[m-mu-um]*  
           *iš-tu mu-2-[k]am wa-a[r-ki lú ši-mu-ur]-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>ki</sup>1*

*il-li-ik-[m]a\* lú ši-[mu-ur-ri-iki]*  
*i-zi-ib-ma wa-a[r-ki-ku-nu il-li-ik]*  
10 *ku-nu-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> i-zi-ib-ma*  
*a-na še-ri-ia it-ta-a[l-ka-am]*  
*[a-n]a-ku a-na qa-at ia<sub>8</sub>-i-l[a-ni]m ap-q[í-is-sú]*  
*[i]-na\* a-wa-tim an-ni-e-[tim]*  
<sup>1</sup>*ia<sub>8</sub>-i-la-nam i-zi-ib-[ma]*  
15 *a-na [š]e-ri-ia it-ta-al-ka-[am]*  
*[i-na-an-n]a <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-ia-<sup>1</sup>ti i-zi<sup>1</sup>-ba-an-ni-[ma]*  
*[a-na š]e-er lú [ka-ak-mi<sup>ki</sup> it-ta-la-ak]*  
*[.....]<sup>1</sup>x<sup>\*1</sup> e<sup>\*</sup> [.....]*  
*[.....]<sup>1</sup>x x<sup>\*</sup> x<sup>\*1</sup>[.....]*  
20 *[.....]<sup>1</sup>x na<sup>\*1</sup>[.....]*  
*ú-bi\*-il-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>\*1</sup> dumu\*-mi<sup>\*</sup> <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[.....]*  
*[.....a-na še-e]r <sup>1</sup>lú\* ša<sup>\*1</sup> -[a-ti .....]*  
l.e. *[.....] ma [.....]*  
<sup>1</sup>*x<sup>\*</sup> x<sup>\*1</sup>[.....]<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[.....]*  
25 <sup>1</sup>*ù it\*-ti<sup>\*1</sup>[.....]*  
rev. *ù ša-al-š[u] <sup>1</sup>ú-ul te<sup>1</sup>-[.....]*  
*ú-lu at-ta bu-ma [š]a-al-š[u]*  
<sup>1</sup>*ù<sup>1</sup> du-um-mi-qa-am šum-ma at-t[a]*  
*[l]a ta-bu-ma la ta-ša-al-š[u]*  
ca. 3 lines broken  
*[a-na-ku it-ti k]a-bi-i[t-t]i um-m[a-na]-<sup>1</sup>tim<sup>\*1</sup>*  
<sup>1</sup>*a<sup>\*1</sup>-[ša-ri-i]š e-l[e]-em-m[a] a-ša-al\*-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>\*1</sup>*  
35 *ù [aš-šum e-p]é\*-ši-ka an-ni-[im]*  
*ma-di-iš <sup>1</sup>ha\*-de\*-ku\* <sup>1</sup>ù<sup>1</sup> qí-iš-ta-ka*  
*[š]a du-<sup>1</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-mi-uq-ti-ka an-ni-im*  
*[š]a tú-<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-mi-qú šu-bu-la-am ú-ul i-li-e*  
*[g]e-er-ru ma-ar-šú <sup>1</sup>ù dumu-meš ši-ip-ri*  
40 *na-ap-za-ra-am-ma it-ta-na-la-ku*  
*i-nu-ma it-ti-ia ta-an-na-ma-ru qí-iš-[tam]*  
*ša du-um-mu-uq-ti-ka a-qé-eš-ša-<sup>1</sup>kum<sup>\*1</sup>*  
<sup>1</sup>*ša-ni-tam ku-ši<<x>>-ia ìr-di\* am-m[i-n]im <sup>1</sup>ka\*-le<sup>\*1</sup>-e[t\*]*  
<sup>1</sup>*tú-ur-da-aš-šu ge-er-<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>*  
45 *ša ku-um-mi<sup>ki</sup> i-te-eš-ru*  
*ge-er-ri ša ku-um-mi<sup>ki</sup>-ma*  
<sup>1</sup>*tú-ur-da-aš-šu*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) the King :

[I have heard] the letter you sent me. As for the news of Ja[šub-Addu], which you wrote to me – this outlaw! – having followed the ruler of Šimurrum for two years, he left the ruler of Šimurrum and [followed you]. <sup>10</sup>He left you and came to me. I counted him with Ja'ilānum, and for this reason he left Ja'ilānum and came to me! [Now] he has left me and follows the ruler of [Kakmum].

[..... ll. 18-25 too broken for translation .....]

... and bringing him to account is not [.....]. Either you go out, and bring him to account, and do me a (great) service. If you do not go out, and do not bring him to account [..... ca. 3 ll. broken .....] I will come up there with the complete armies, and bring him to account. And [with your work] I am much pleased, but your reward for this service you have rendered me I cannot send. The roads are dangerous, and envoys <sup>40</sup>must travel in secrecy. When you come and meet me, I will give you the reward for your services.

Secondly : Why do you detain my servant Kušija? Send him to me! The road via Kumme is now safe. Send him to me by way of Kumme!

**Note** : Further cleaning and collation have revealed several additional traces of signs on this tablet since the copy was made.

19) The traces in copy, which look like 𒄠dingir-meš<sup>1</sup>, are less distinct on the tablet.

21f.) The remains of text in these lines imply that Jašub-Addu perhaps sent tribute to the king of Kakmum and offered him a marriage alliance. For a parallel case cf. 71.

27, 29) The verb here is *bâ'um*, II (AHw, 117b); cf. also its use when “issuing” a tablet in ARMT XXVI/1 224,15.

37) The MI in *du-um-mi-uq-ti-ka* (for *dummuqtika*) is probably a simple mistake : the scribe mixed in a sign from more common verbal forms, and did not bother to correct the text.

43) The sign ŠI in the PN is written over an erased ZI, and the scribe apparently first wanted to write *ku-zi-ia*. The graphic alternation š/z for the voiced allophone of intervocalic /š/ is often found in names from Hurrian milieu; cf. Hašip/Hazip-Teššup, Ašamhul/Azamhul (Habur GN) etc.

45f.) The GN was mistakenly quoted as Šakummi in ShA 2, 56 n. 43 (as also observed in Joannès and Ziegler 1995). The town of Kumme, famous for its cult of Adad/Teššup, was located somewhere north of Nineveh (cf. Röllig 1983), which generally fits as an alternative to *māt Haburātim* in 1. Although rarely attested in OB texts, Kumme is referred to in connection with its cult of Adad/Teššup in a treaty (Joannès 1991), in ARM VII 219, 7, and in the Hurrian texts from Mari (see Salvini 1988, p. 64 ad l. 13'). Men from Kumme are also listed in OBTR 260, 3. For an etymology of the GN see Wilhelm 1994 (“Wurzel *kum-* (architektonische Tätigkeit?) und dem Suffix *-me*”).

### 3

SH.828

Lit. : ll. 22-3 quoted in Eidem 1985, 96 n. 64.

Kuwari has referred to a certain individual, and Šamšī-Adad now wants to know where he lives. He then discusses possibilities for punishing Jašub-Addu : Kuwari might harass his land together with the Lulleans. When spring arrives Šamšī-Adad himself will come with the army.

obv. [a-na ku-w]a-ri  
 [qí-b]í-ma  
 [um-ma lu]gal <<ši-d>>-ma  
 [aš-šum ʔe<sub>4</sub>-e]m\* ma-ri-šu ša i-ba-al-e-ra-ah  
 5 [ša] ta-aš-pu-ra-am  
 [ú-u]l i-di-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> a-ji-ki-a-am wa-ši-ib  
 [i-n]a ma-a-at a[r-r]a-ap<sup>1</sup>-hi-im<sup>ki1</sup> [wa]-<sup>1</sup>ši-ib<sup>1</sup>  
 a-šar wa-aš-bu š[u]-up-r[a-am-ma]  
 lu-mu-ur-[š]u  
 10 aš-šum ša-ba-a[t] ia-šu-ub-<sup>d</sup>im<sup>1</sup>  
 ša ta-[a]š-pu-ra-am  
 dingir-lum li-[i]r-di-ka ša-ba-as-sú  
 du-um-mi-qa-am-ma  
 a-na iš<sub>7</sub>-te-et du-um-mu-uq-tim  
 l.e.15 ša tu-d[a]m-ma-qa-am  
 10 ú-dam-ma-qa-kum  
 ù aš-šum ma-ti-šu sé-he-e  
 rev. ša ta-[aš]-pu-ra-am  
 at-ta ù lú lu-ul-li-im  
 20 ne-en-mi-da-ma  
 ma-as-sú sé-he-e  
 ku-uš-šú-ma iti-2-kam an-nu-tim ka\*-šú\*-<sup>1</sup>tim\*<sup>1</sup>  
 [q]a-tam ú-ul ub-ba-al-[š]um  
 [x (x)]<sup>1</sup>pa-ak-ka\*-šú\*<sup>?</sup>-[ma<sup>?</sup>]  
 25 [ki]-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-l-kam-[ma]  
 [iš-tu u<sub>4</sub>-m]u iṭ-ṭi-b[u]

[it-ti] ka-bi-it-ti ša-bi-im  
[e-l]e-em-ma a-ša-al\*-[š]u<sup>1</sup>

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) the King :

[As for the] information on this son of Ibal-Erah, which you wrote to me about : I don't know him. Where is he staying? Is he staying in Arraphum? Write to me where he is staying, and I shall see him.

<sup>10</sup>As for catching Jašub-Addu, which you wrote to me about : may the god guide you! Catch him! Do me this favour, and for this single favour which you do me, I shall do you 10 favours (in return)! As for bringing his land in a state of unrest, which you wrote to me about : ally yourself with the Lullean, <sup>20</sup>and bring his land in turmoil!

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

3) The scribe first wrote the name Šamšī-Adad, but then corrected this to lugal. Cf. also 5, 3.

17 and 21) The exact connotations of *sehûm* are not clear. The verb is fairly rare in texts from this period, and the best parallel to our text seems to be ARM II 25, 13' where it is also transitive "to make/stir up trouble/unrest".

Otherwise the verb is mostly used by kings who explain that they have been "preoccupied" or "troubled" (*sehêku*) in, for instance, ARM IV 20 (republ. in Charpin 1993a, 173), ARM IV 23, Eidem n. d., 24, 2' and 203, 6 ; A.2178, 24 (Kupper 1994, 268 ; N-stem *assahi-ma*).

23) Cf. 1, 46.

24) Reading and interpretation of this line is not clear to me.

26) Cf. 1, 47.

#### 4

SH.886 (IM.62128)

Šamšī-Adad again voices his extreme annoyance with the perfidious Jašub-Addu. Discussion of barley supplies for the coming campaign.

obv.    *a-na ku-wa-ri qí-bí-ma*  
          *um-ma lugal-ma*  
          *tup-pa-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam eš-me*  
          *a-wa-[t]u-ka ma-al ta-aš-pu-ra-am sà-an-qa*  
5        *a-wa-at ia-šu-ub-<sup>d</sup>im li-il*  
          *qa-at [dingir]<sup>21</sup> e-li-šu ʔe<sub>4</sub>-em-šu ma-qí-[it]<sup>1</sup>*  
          *a-wa-ti-šu ú-ul i-di*  
          *ù ni-iš dingir ša i-za-ka-ru*  
          *ú-ul i-di*  
10       *ki-ma ša i-na šu-ut-ti-šu*  
          *ni-iš dingir i-za-ka-ru*  
          *i-na-ša\* li-il-lu ù ʔe<sub>4</sub>-em-šu ma-[aq]<sup>1</sup>-[t]u*  
          *lugal ša x-x-am*  
          *ir-x-x ú-ul ib-ši*  
1.e.15   *i-na-an-na šum-<<x x>>ma*  
          *ki-ma ša ta-aš-pu-ra-a[m]*  
          *[te]<sup>1</sup>-le-i\**  
          *[še-e]m<sup>2\*</sup>-[k]a ša i-ma\*-al-lu-[ú]<sup>1</sup>*  
          *[a\*]<sup>1</sup>-na lugal šu-ku-un-ma*  
20       *ma-a-tam a-na b[i-i]r-ti-ša te-er*  
          *šum-ma la b[é-r]i-i*  
          *[x]-ni-tam a-na [še]<sup>2</sup> a<sup>1</sup>-di iti-1-kam*  
          *a-[ša\*]<sup>1</sup>-ri-[iš]<sup>7</sup> a-na i-me-ru-tim*

25 *ib-ba-aš-šu-ú qa-du-um um-ma-n[a]-tim*  
 †a<sup>1</sup>-na ma-a-tim ša-a-ti  
 †e<sup>1</sup>-el-l[e-e]m a[t]-ta  
 a-na pa-ni-ia †ta<sup>1</sup>-la-kam-ma  
 it-ti-ka lú-tur  
 ta-ra-de-em

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) the King :

I have heard the letter you sent me. All the things you wrote me are correct. The word of Jašub-Addu is mad! The hand of the god is on him, and his statement is false. He does not know his own words, and he does not know the oath he swears. <sup>10</sup>As if he swears an oath in his dream, he *disregards* (it). He is a madman, and his statement is false! A king who ..... never existed!

Now if you can manage what you wrote to me, then place your barley, which they are stocking, at the disposal of the king, and <sup>20</sup>return the land to its fortress(es). If (the land?) does not starve, ..... will be available there in one month as field supplies. Together with the armies I will come up to that land. You will come and join me, and you will bring the retainer with you.

5, 12) *lillum* means literally “idiot, fool” (see CAD L, 189). No doubt this is the word found in l. 5 and l. 12, and the parallelism between ll. 5-6 and 12 seems clear. Later texts show that the term *lillum* was used about people born with mental disabilities. J.-M. Durand has suggested the more specific connotation of a person given to spontaneous visions – a “touched” person – for a woman *lillatum* listed among ritual personnel in ARMT XXI 333, 42’ (*ibid.* pp. 444f. n. 9). Apart from this single example the word is used here, in **70**, and in several Old Assyrian letters about “normal” people acting like “fools” on specific occasions.

6) The image of “the hand of the god” being “on/over” someone is reminiscent of the often used expression of illness being due to “the hand of DN” (cf., e. g., here **34**, 17). The meaning is possibly that (according to Šamši-Adad) Jašub-Addu has gone so far that he must be “stricken”.

The combination *ṭēmum* – *maqtum* here (and in l. 12) signifies “careless, stupid, or false information” – as shown by the subsequent passage!

12) The verbal form which begins this line is not clear, since the end vowel is unexpected with verbs like *našûm* or *nadûm* (a reading *i-na-dá* (TA) is not impossible in spite of collation from photos). Other possibilities are perhaps *enûm* “to change” (with suffix “he changes it”), or *ešûm* in an N stem (“he is confused”), but no firm conclusion seems possible.

13f.) This perhaps proverbial passage is not clear, and collation from photos has not solved the problems. In both lines crucial words can be read differently. In l. 13 the two first signs in the noun can be respectively *zi* or *gi* – and *ba* or *ma*. In l. 14 the first word is equally opaque, and several readings possible.

18ff.) It is unexpected to find Šamši-Adad referring to himself(?) as “the king” in l. 19. The middle part of l. 22 is not clear.

23) For *imerûtum* see Durand 1987a, 166 sub e : “les provisions de grain portées à dos d’âne pour l’armée”.

28f.) Normally a lú-tur is just any “servant”, but why should Šamši-Adad bother to ask Kuwari to bring a retainer, if not a particular individual is meant? A possible solution is that Šamši-Adad refers to Kušija, whom Kuwari somehow seems reluctant to send back (cf. **1** and **2**). Hence the tentative translation with the definite article.

## 5

SH.880 (IM.62124)

Šamši-Adad complains that the envoy Kušija has not briefed him adequately. Šamši-Adad envisages a meeting with Kuwari in the upper part of the country of Ahazum.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma lugal[( )]†<<x>>-ma*  
*tup-pa-ka ša tu-ša-b[i-la]m eš-me*  
 5 *mi-im-ma ṭe<sub>4</sub>-em-ka an-ni-†e<sup>1</sup>-e[m]*  
*†ku-ši-†ia<sup>1</sup>*  
*ú-ul id\*<<x x>>-bu\*-ba\*-am*  
*sà-a-ar ša le-qé-šu-ma*

*i-pu-uš*  
 10 *ù ʔe<sub>4</sub>-em-ka ma-ah-ri-ia*  
*ú-ul iš-ku-un*  
*i-na-an-na a-na ma-a-at ah-[z]i-[i]m<sup>ki</sup>*  
 l.e. *e-li-ti-im*  
 rev. *a-[š]a-ap-pa-ra-kum-ma*  
 15 *a-na še-ri-ia*  
*ta-la-kam-ma*  
*[i]t-ti-ia ta-na-am-ma-ar*  
*ù ʔe<sub>4</sub>-ma-am ga-am-ra-am*  
 20 *ma-ah-ri-ka a-ša-ak-ka-an*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) the King :

I have heard the letter you sent me. Kušija conveyed nothing of this message of your's. He is a liar! He pretended to take it, <sup>10</sup>but he did not put your message before me. Now I shall send for you to come to the upper (part) of the land of Ah(a)zum, and you will come to me, and meet with me, and I shall give you a complete briefing.

3) For the erasure in this line cf. 3, 3.

## 6

SH.872 (IM.62118)

Šamšī-Adad sends troops and envoys, and allows Kuwari to fetch salt and bitumen.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma*  
*tup-pa-ka ša a-na še-er*  
 5 *l<sup>1</sup>iš-me-<sup>d</sup>da-gan*  
*tu-ša-bi-lam*  
*l<sup>1</sup>iš-me-<sup>d</sup>da-gan*  
*a-na še-ri-ia*  
*ú-ša-bi-lam-ma*  
 l.e.10 *eš-me-šu*  
 rev. *a-nu-um-ma ša-ba-am*  
*ù dumu-meš ši-ip-ri-im*  
*ú-wa-<sup>l</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-er-ma*  
*[a]t-<sup>l</sup>à-ar-da-kum*  
 15 *ù aš-šum hi-ši-i[h]-ti-ka*  
*š[a] ta-aš-pu-ra-am*  
*ša-ba-am [t]ú-ur-dam-ma*  
*<sup>l</sup>mun<sub>x</sub> <sup>l</sup>ù i<sup>l</sup>-<sup>l</sup>à-am*  
*li-il<sup>l</sup>-qú-ni-kum*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

Your letter – which you sent to Išme-Dagan – Išme-Dagan has sent (on) to me, and <sup>10</sup>I have heard it. Hereby I have instructed troops and envoys, and sent them to you. And as for your request which you wrote about, you can send men to take salt and bitumen for you.

18) For salt (mun<sub>x</sub>= *amannum*) and its sources in this period see Guichard 1997 with further lit.

## 7

SH.915 (IM.62136)

Lit. : quoted in Læssøe 1959a, 45-7 ; see also Læssøe 1963, 156.

Šamšī-Adad has received Lidāja, who will stay with him until the conquest of Nurrugum. Afterwards he will come with the army to Ahazum. Kuwari is instructed to have siege towers brought downstream to Zaslum, in preparation for the campaign in Ahazum.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma*  
*tup-pa-ti-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam eš-me*  
5 *li-da-e*  
*il-li-kam-ma it-ti-ia*  
*in-na-me-er*  
*a-di ša-ba-at nu-úr-ru-gi-im<sup>ki</sup>*  
*ma-ah-ri-ia-ma wa-ši-ib*  
10 *iš-tu nu-úr-ru-gu-um<sup>ki</sup>*  
l.e. *it-ta-aš-ba-tu*  
*it-ti<sup>l</sup> ša-bi-im-ma*  
*a-na<sup>l</sup> ma-a-at a-ha-zi-im<sup>ki</sup>*  
rev. *i-la-kam*  
15 *ù<sup>g</sup>di-ma-a-ti*  
*a-na za-as-li-im<sup>ki</sup>*  
*lu-ú šu-ru-du*  
*ak-ki-ma re-eš ša-bi-im*  
*ú-ka-al-lu*  
20 *i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šu-[m]a*  
*i-nu-ma [nu-úr-ru-gu-u]<sup>m<sup>ki</sup></sup>*  
*[ittašbatu(?),...]*  
1-2 lines lost

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

I have heard the letters you sent me. Lidāja came here, and had a meeting with me. Until the conquest of Nurrugum he stays before me. <sup>10</sup>When Nurrugum has been conquered, he will come with the army to the country of Ahazum. And siege towers must be brought downstream to Zaslum, so that they are ready for the army. <sup>20</sup>At that time when [Nurrugum has been conquered .... break ....].

15ff.) For some comments on siege equipment see Durand, ARMT XXI, pp. 346ff. The *dintum* was a wooden tower, often equipped with a battering ram (*jāšibum*). Transport of such equipment posed obvious logistical problems, and there are several references to river transport in the Mari texts. The passage here shows that the Zab could be used for such transport.

Another interesting implication is that the siege equipment here probably was of local manufacture, but it is of course possible that the towers were to be produced *ad hoc* – wood being relatively plentiful in this region – and that they were not normally used locally.

## 8

SH.887

Lit. : publ. in Læssøe 1959a, 37-43.

Šamšī-Adad has given Šamaš-našir information about Nurrugum and sent him to Kuwari.

He urges Kuwari to release Hazip-Teššup and his people, who are detained at Šusarrā, in order to calm local opinion.

Warad-šarrim has returned from his mission to Indušše, and reported that the Guteans are set against Šušarrā, and Kuwari is advised to concentrate his troops in Šušarrā itself, and not deploy them thinly in towns where the local population might commit treason.

A certain Igilištae has complained that his retainers are detained, and Kuwari is asked to release them.

A certain Ušuni from Kutha, who is detained at Šušarrā, should be sent to Šamši-Adad with Šamaš-našir.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-[ri qí-bí-ma]  
um-ma be-el-[ka-a-ma]  
a-nu-um-ma <sup>d</sup>utu-na-ši[r aṭṭardakkum]  
aš-šum ṭe<sub>4</sub>-em n[u]-ur-ru-gi-im<sup>ki</sup> x x x hu<sup>1</sup>-du  
5 *ù a-nu-um-ma ṭe<sub>4</sub>-ma-am ga-am-ra-am  
ú-wa-e-ra-aš-šu a-na ṭe<sub>4</sub>-mi-im  
ma-la ma<<-ha>>-ah-ri-ka i-ša-ak-ka-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> qú-ul-ma  
a-wa-tim ma-la aš-pu-ra-kum ši-me  
dumu-meš ma-tim šu-ut ha-zi-ip-te-šu-up  
10 *am-mi-nim ta-ak-la ù pí-i ma-a-tim  
e-li-ka tu-uš-ba-la-ka-at  
lú-meš šu-nu-ti wa-aš-še-ra-am ù ìr-lugal  
iš-tu ma-ha-ar in-du-úš-še il-li-kam-ma  
ṭe<sub>4</sub>-ma-am ub-lam in-du-úš-še  
15 *ša-ri-im-kum ú-ul pa-tì-ir-kum  
as-sú-ur-ri i-la-ka-kum ṭe<sub>4</sub>-em-ka  
lu-ú ša-ab-ta-at ù bi-ra-ti-ka  
la tu-uš-ma-ad šum-ma bi-ra-tum i-šú-ú  
ù a-lu-ju ma-du ú-ul ú-ka-lu-ma  
20 *a-na qa-tim <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> na-ak-rim-im ú-[u] <sup>1</sup>i-na<sup>1</sup>-di-nu  
mi-im-ma bi-ra-tim la tu-uš-[ma-ad] ša-bu-ka  
ka-la-šu i-na šu-šar-ra-a<sup>ki</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>  
l.e. *lu-ú pa-hi-ir-ma re-eš-ka li-ki-il  
ṭe<sub>4</sub>-em-ka lu-ú ša-bi-it  
25 *ki-ma ša u<sub>4</sub>-ma-am na-ak-rum  
rev. *i-ṭe<sub>4</sub>-eh-hi-kum ki-a-am ṭe<sub>4</sub>-em-ka  
lu-ú ša-bi-it  
lú-meš an-nu-tim wa-aš-še-er-ma  
pí-i ma-tim e-li-ka la ib-ba-la-ka-at  
30 *<sup>1</sup>Iza-zi-ia qa-du-um ša-bi-šu  
<sup>1</sup>Ilugal-ú-šur qa-du-um ša-bi-šu  
<sup>1</sup>Išar-ni-da qa-du-um ša-bi-šu  
<sup>1</sup>Izi-li-ia qa-du dumu-meš-šu dumu-mí-šu ù dam-šu  
<sup>1</sup>Iti-ir-we-en-še-ni qa-du dumu-meš-šu dumu-mí-meš-šu  
35 *ù dam-šu  
<sup>1</sup>Iiz-zi-ni <sup>1</sup>Iuš-tu-un\* qa-du ni-ši-šu-nu  
<sup>1</sup>Ia-di-ia qa-du-um dumu-meš-šu  
<sup>1</sup>Ihu-za-lu qa-du-um ni-ši-šu  
<sup>1</sup>Iuš-tap-tu-up-ki lú-muhaldim qa-du ni-ši-šu  
40 *<sup>1</sup>Iha-zi-ip-te-šu-up  
lú-meš an-nu-tim wa-aš-še-er la ta-ka-al-la-am  
ù i-gi-li-iš-ta-e ki-a-am im-hu-ra-an-ni  
um-ma-mi lú-tur-meš ma-du-tim ka-lu-ú  
i-na-an-na lú-tur-meš-šu wa-aš-še-er  
45 *ù ú-šu-ni lú gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a<sup>ki</sup>************



*ša i-na ší-bi-it-tim na-du-ú ma-ša-ri-šu*  
*šu-uk-na-am-ma it-t[i<sup>d</sup>u]tu-na-šir*  
*li-ir-du-ni-šu as-[s]ú-u[r]-ri [...]*  
*ki-ma li-da-ia<sub>8</sub> ki-[.....]*  
 e.50 *ma-ša-ri-šu du-ni-[in.....]*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

Hereby [I have sent] Šamaš-našir [to you]. Concerning the Nurrugum situation ....., and hereby I have given him a full briefing. Pay close attention to the message he gives you, and listen to all the things I have written to you.

<sup>10</sup>Why have you detained countrymen under Hazip-Teššup, and incited public opinion against yourself? Release these men!

Warad-šarrim arrived here from before Indušše, and reported to me. Indušše is dead set against you – he will not leave you in peace! In case he marches against you, you must be prepared ; and do not spread your garrisons! If the garrisons are small and the townspeople many, will (the latter) not be in control and <sup>20</sup>hand (them) over to the enemy? Do not spread your garrisons! Let all your troops be gathered in Šušarrā itself, and be ready. You must be prepared. As on the very same day the enemy approaches you – thus you shall be prepared.

Release these men, and public opinion will not be against you :

<sup>30</sup>Zazija with his men,  
 Šarram-ušur with his men,  
 Šarnida with his men,  
 Zilija with his sons, his daughter, and his wife,  
 Tirwen-šenni with his sons, his daughters, and his wife,  
 Izzini (and) Uštun with their people,  
 Adija with his people  
 Huzalu with his people,  
 Uštup-tupki, the cook, with his people,  
<sup>40</sup>(and) Hazip-Teššup

Release these men – don't detain (them)!

And Igilištae (said) thus : “Many retainers are detained!” Now release his retainers. And Ušuni, the man from Kutha who was imprisoned, form a guard for him, and have him brought here together with Šamaš-našir. In case .... make his escort as strong as that for Lidāja.

3) This individual Šamaš-našir does not seem to be attested in the extant Mari texts. Kurašānum addresses letter 30 to Kuwari *and* Š.-n., so presumably he was one of the Šamši-Adad officials who paid several visits to Šušarrā.

4) The copy is very accurate, and in spite of repeated collation no convincing reconstruction for the last part of the line emerges.

6ff.) Kuwari is advised to heed both the oral message brought by Šamaš-našir and the contents of the present letter. A clear example of how these two types of communication supplemented each other. Šamaš-našir will inform Kuwari about the broader political situation, particularly concerning Nurrugum, while the letter contains specific instructions directly to Kuwari.

9) For the use of *šūt* PN cf. Lafont 1994, 209 note d.

Joannès and Ziegler (1995) have suggested that Hazip-Teššub may be identified with a homonym king of Haburātum, attested during the reign of Jahdun-Lim, and that he, evicted from Haburātum by the Guteans, had sought refuge at Shemshāra. Although an interesting possibility the theory runs counter to other information in the Shemshāra archives. One observation which might have added credence to such a theory, is that the name Hazip-Teššub seems fairly rare in this period. Apart from the Haburātum king the published Mari texts mention only two other individuals (ARM VI 62, 8 (an envoy) and ARMT XXI 382, iii 4 (recipient of garment), but in fact the name is not that uncommon, and at OB Tell Leilān, for instance, at least three different figures with this name are attested in letters and administrative texts found in the “Lower Town Palace” in 1987 : a king of Razamā, a lú Hurāšā, and a lú Nilibšini ; in addition a sealing mentions a certain Hazip-Teššub as father of the seal owner, who was a “servant” of Jakūn-Ašar (king of Leilān), but whose name is not preserved (this is L.87-370, quoted in Frayne 1990, no. 2001).

14) For a thorough discussion of the particle *assurri* in texts from this period see Wasserman 1994. For other occurrences in our texts cf. index s. v.

15) For this line see Eidem 1985, 98 n. 70.

17-21) Cf. Eidem 1985, 98 n. 71. Compare 21, 10-15.

30-32) Note that the three first figures, clearly the most important, are listed with their *šābum*, and the rest just with their families. The source for this detailed list must have been locals who had come to Šamši-Adad, like Igilištae (l. 42). 33ff.) The short form *qadu* for *qadum* in three instances is clearly due to economy of space in the relevant lines.

45) Ušuni of Kutha is not attested elsewhere, and the rest of his “story” is consequently obscure. The administrative text ShA 2, 11 lists envoys from Babylon receiving rations at Shemshāra, and on the assumption that Kutha at this time was under Babylonian control, Ušuni might be identical with one of these. Another theory would be to regard him as an individual merchant(?) visiting Shemshāra. For Kutha see Edzard and Gallery 1983.

46) For *šibittum* (place used as *ad hoc*) “prison” see Scoufflaire 1989.

## 9

SH.882 (IM.62125)

Lit. : quoted in Eidem 1985, 87f.

Šamši-Adad writes that the armies of Išme-Dagan and of the king of Ešnunna have crossed the Zab river. Šamši-Adad has arrived in Kaštappum, and asks Kuwari to send 1.000 troops with a general to this town.

obv.    *a-[n]a ku-w[a-r]i*  
          *qí-b[í]-ma*  
          *um-ma be-e[l-ka-a]-ma*  
          *ša-bu-um ša it-ti i[š-me-<sup>d</sup>d]a-g[an]*  
5        *ik-ta-aš-[d]am*  
          *u<sub>4</sub>-um tup-pí an-ni-e-em*  
          *ú-ša-bi-la-kum*  
          *ša-bu-um ša it-ti iš-me-<sup>d</sup>d[a]-g[an]*  
          <sup>l</sup>*ka<sup>1</sup>-lu-šu*  
r.10     *ù ša-bu-um lú èš-nun-na<sup>l</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>*  
          *íd za-<sup>l</sup>í<sup>1</sup>-ba-am i-te-bi-r[u]*  
          *ù a-na-ku a-na ka-aš-tap-pí-i[m]<sup>l</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>*  
          *ak-ta-aš-dam*  
          *u<sub>4</sub>-um tup-pí an-ni-e-em te-še-mu-ú*  
15       *i-na ša-al-ši-im u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im*  
          *a-na ka-aš-tap-pí-im<sup>ki</sup>*  
          *a-na še-ri-ia*  
          *l li-im ša-bu-ka*  
          <sup>l</sup>*li-ri-dam<sup>1</sup>-ma\**  
e.20     *l gal-mar-tu-ka*  
          *it-ti ša-bi-im*  
          <sup>l</sup>*i-li-kam*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

The army which is with Išme-Dagan has arrived. The day I sent you this letter the whole army which is with Išme-Dagan <sup>10</sup>and the army from Ešnunna have crossed the Zab and I have arrived in Kaštappum. The day you hear this letter – on the third day let 1.000 of your troops descend to me to Kaštappum, <sup>20</sup>and let one of your generals come with the troops.

8) The signs IŠ and ME are clearer on the tablet and the reading is certain.

12) Deller (1990a) has very plausibly suggested to identify Kaštappum with Tell Kašaf, a large site located on the Upper Zab ca. 2 kms from its confluence with the Tigris.

**10**

SH.943

Lit. : publ. Læssøe and Jacobsen 1990, 172-174 (no. X).

Šamši-Adad has received letters from Kuwari, who asks to settle Lidāja, but Šamši-Adad prefers to keep him in the Šušarrā region until Šikšabbum has been conquered.

obv.    *ʾa<sup>1</sup>-na ku-wa-ri*  
           *qí-bí-ma*  
           *um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma*  
           *tup-pa-ti-ka ša tu-ša-bi-[la]m eš-m[e]*  
 5       *a[š-š]um<sup>1</sup> li-da-e ta-aš-p[u-ra-am]*  
           *u[m]-ma at-ta-a-ma*  
           *a-šar\*<sup>1</sup> šu-šu-b[i-i]m be-lí l[i-iš-pu-ra-am]*  
           *an-ni-tam ta-aš-pu-ra-[am]*  
           *[x x x] ša a-na ši-i[k-ša]-bi-[im<sup>ki</sup>]*  
 rev.               2 lines broken  
           *[.....]ʾša\*<sup>1</sup>-bi-i[m\*.....]*  
           *[ša aṭ-ṭâ-ar]-ʾda<sup>1</sup>-[kum]*  
           *ʾx x x<sup>1</sup>-ka [.....]*  
 15       *ʾa<sup>1</sup>-di te<sub>4</sub>-em ši-ʾik<sup>1</sup>-ša-[bi-im<sup>ki</sup>]*  
           *in-ne\*-ep-pé-[šu]*  
           *ʾi\*-na<sup>1</sup> ma-tim ša-a-[ti li-ši-ib]*  
           *[x x]ʾx x<sup>1</sup> -a i-ʾx<sup>1</sup>[.....]*  
           *[.....]ʾx<sup>1</sup>[.....]*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

I have heard the letters you sent me. You wrote as follows about Lidāja : “My Lord should write to me where to settle (him)”. This you wrote to me. [.....] who [enter(s)] Šikšabbum [.... 5 lines broken ....]

<sup>15</sup>Until the plan for Šikšabbum has been carried out, [let him stay] in that land. [.... 2 lines broken ....]!

9ff.) The various restorations in these lines suggested by Yuhong (1994b, 220) are not supported by collation.

**11**

SH.920 (IM.62139) Photo Pl. 11

Lit. : publ. in Læssøe 1959a, 32-7 ; republ. in Læssøe and Jacobsen 1990, 128-134 (no. I).

Šamši-Adad relates to Kuwari that he has received an envoy from the Guteans in Šikšabbum. The envoy claims that Induše has ordered them to be neutral in a conflict between Šamši-Adad and the town, and to retreat if so ordered by Šamši-Adad. It appears that Šamši-Adad’s envoy, Warad-šarrim, has received the same message from Induše, and it therefore seems reliable.

obv.    *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
           *qí-bí-ma*  
           *um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma*  
           *dumu ši-ip-ri ša qú-ti-i*  
 5       *ša i-na ši-ik-ša-am-bi-im<sup>ki</sup> wa-aš-bu*  
           *a-na še-ri-ia il-li-kam-ma*  
           *ki-a-am iq-bé-em um-ma-mi*  
           *lú qú-tu-ú-ma en-du-uš-še*  
           *ki-a-am iq-bé-em um-ma-mi*  
 10       *šum-ma ša-bu-um ša<sup>d</sup>utu-ši-<sup>d</sup>im a-bi-ia*

*a-na ši-ik-ša-am-bi-im<sup>ki</sup> is-sà-an-qa-am*  
 𒂗<sup>is</sup>tukul-há la te-ep-pé-ša ma-ti-ma a-na a-bi-ia ú-ul ú-ga-la-al  
*šum-ma wa-ša-am iq-ta-bu-ni-ik-ku-nu-ši-im*  
*ši-e šum-ma iq-ta-bu-ni-ku-nu-ši-im ši-ba*  
 15 *an-ni-tam iq-bé-em*  
*a-wa-tu-šu-nu ki-na ù sà-ar-ra*  
*ma-an-nu-um lu-ú i-di*  
*pí-qa-at 𐎶<sub>4</sub>-em a-lim<sup>ki</sup> i-mu-ru-ma*  
*it-ti ra-ma-ni-šu-nu-ma*  
 l.e.20 *a-wa-tim an-né-tim uš-ta-aš-bi-tu*  
*ú-lu-ma ul-la-nu-um-ma*  
*wu-ú-ru ma-an-nu-um lu-ú i-di*  
 rev. *ù áš-ta-al-šu-ma*  
*it-ta-tim ša šu-ut ìr-lugal*  
 25 *id-bu-ba-am še-we-ra-am*  
*hu-ul-lam ša a-na mu-tu-šu*  
*dumu ši-ip-ri ad-di-nu a-na it-ti iq-bé-em*  
*ù ta-ap-pé-e mu-tu-šu*  
*e-te-el-li-ni i-na ar-ra-ap-hi-im<sup>ki</sup>*  
 30 *im-ra-aš ù mu-ru-us-<sup>1</sup>sú<sup>1</sup>*  
*ša a-wi-lim ša-a-ti iq-bé-em-ma*  
*it-ta-tim ka-la-ši-na id-bu-ba-am*  
*ik-ke-em a-wa-sú-nu a-qí-ip*  
*ù áš-šum 𐎶<sub>4</sub>-em ìr-lugal*  
 35 *áš-ta-al-šu-ma*  
*um-ma-a-mi 𐎶<sub>4</sub>-em-šu en-du-uš-še im-hu-ur*  
*um-ma-mi a-na pa-aš šu-šar-ra-a<sup>ki</sup>*  
*i-na ma-tim ša qa-at a-bi-ia ša-ak-na-at*  
*ú-ul e-𐎶<sub>4</sub>-eh-he*  
 40 *an-ni-tam iq-bé-em ìr-lugal*  
*𐎶<sub>4</sub>-ma-am ša ha-di-im ub-ba-lam*  
 u.e. *an-ni-tam lu-ú ti-di*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

An envoy from the Guteans who are staying in Šikšabbum came to me, and said this to me : “The ruler of Gutium, Indušše, said this to me : <sup>10</sup>“If the army of Šamši-Adad, my father, should approach Šikšabbum, do not do battle! I shall never sin against my father. If he orders you to march off, (then) march off! If he orders you to stay, (then) stay!” This is what he said.

Who knows whether their words are true or not? Perhaps they have seen the prospects of the town, <sup>20</sup>and concocted this themselves. Or they have been instructed from outside. Who knows? So I questioned him, and he gave me indications about the retinue of Warad-šarrim. A *hullum* ring which I gave to Mutušu, the envoy, he told me as an indication, and the colleague of Mutušu, Etellini, was ill in Arraphum, <sup>30</sup>and he told me about the illness of this man. And he gave me all these indications, so that I trusted his message. And I questioned him about the news of Warad-šarrim, and he (said) : “His message Indušše received as follows : ‘To the border of Šušarrā in the land which my father controls, I will not draw near!’” <sup>40</sup>This he told me. Warad-šarrim brings good news. Be aware of this!

26ff.) Mutušu is not attested elsewhere. Etellini is probably not identical with the general Etellum.

## 12

SH.888

Lit. : ll. 27-30a quoted *apud* Kilmer 1974, 181 n. 18 ; publ. in Læssøe 1985 (cf. remarks in Durand 1988). Republ. in Læssøe and Jacobsen 1990, 154-160 (no. VII).

Šamši-Adad elaborates on the instructions he gave Kuwari when they met : When Šikšabbum has been conquered, he must come to Arrapha to meet Šamši-Adad. Until then he can stay in Šušarrā, but should send troops to assist the siege of Šikšabbum, and keep Šamši-Adad informed of new developments.

Šamši-Adad further discusses preparations for concluding a treaty with the king of Lullum.

- obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma*  
*i-na pa-an wa-še-e-ka pu-ru-us-sà-am*  
5 *ad-di-na-kum ki-a-am ú-wa-e-er-ka*  
*um-ma a-na-ku-ma šum-ma ši-ik-ša-ab-bu-um<sup>ki</sup>*  
*it-ta-<sup>1</sup>aš<sup>1</sup>-ba-at a-na ar-ra-ap-hi-im<sup>ki</sup>*  
*a-na pa-ni-ia al-kam*  
*šum-[m]a ši-ik-ša-ab-bu-um<sup>ki</sup> la iṣ-ša-bi-it*  
10 *ša-ba-am bi-ir-tam a-na i-ta-at ši-ik-ša-ab-bi-im<sup>ki</sup>*  
*li-ru-ub-ma at-ta ki-ma pa-ni-ka-ma a-na*  
*šu-ša[r-r]a-a<sup>ki</sup> a-lik-ma lú mu-ki-il [š]u-šar-[r]a-a<sup>ki</sup>*  
*wu-e-[e]r-ma ša-ab ha<<al>>-la-aš šu-šar-ra-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>ki</sup>*  
*it-ti-ka tu-ra-am-ma a-na še-r[i-ia a]l-kam*  
15 *a[n-n]i-tam ú-wa-e-er-ka wu-ú-ur-tum ši-m[a]*  
*ša pí-i wu-ú-ur-tim ša ú-wa-e-ru-ka e-p[u-u]š*  
*<sup>1</sup>šum-ma<sup>1</sup> [ši-í]k-[š]a-am-bu-um<sup>ki</sup> it-ta-a[š]-ba-a[t]-ma*  
*<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na [m]a-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[a]t šu-šar-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> ta-at-ta-la-ak*  
*[a]-di a-na še-ri-ia ta-tu-ra-am*  
20 *[te<sub>4</sub>-ma-a]m ma-la ta-la-am-ma-du*  
*[a-na še]-ri-ia ši-ta-ap-pa-ra-a[m]*  
*[šum-ma la-a] ki-a-am-ma a[n-n]i-ki-a-am wa-aš-ba-at*  
*[lú mu-ki-i]l šu-šar-r[a-a<sup>ki</sup>] ša-ba-am ša ma-tim e-li-tim <<x x>>*  
l.e. *[a-na še]-ri-ia i-š[a-ap-p]a-ra-am-ma<sup>1</sup>*  
25 *[ù at-ta] <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-n[a] e-r[i-i]a <sup>1</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-tap-pa-ra-am-ma*  
*[lu-ú] i-di*  
rev. *[ša]-ni-t[am] a[š-š]um <sup>1</sup>a-na<sup>1</sup> lú lu-ul-li-im<sup>ki</sup>*  
*[n]a-pí-iš-ti-ia la-pa-tim*  
*[ša t]a-aq-bé-[e]m qa-ta-a-ia*  
30 *[ú-u]l me-se-e-ma me-ès-ki-nam*  
*[aṭ-ru]-da\*-ma <sup>1</sup>ú-ul<sup>1</sup> ú-ša-áz-ki-ru-šu<<x>>-nu-ši-im*  
*[as-s]ú-[u]r-ri <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-na li-ib-bi-šu<-nu> mi-i[m]-ma i-<sup>1</sup>qa<sup>1</sup>-ab-bu-[ú]*  
*[šu]-<sup>1</sup>pu-ur<sup>1</sup> lú-me[š] re-qú-ti-šu-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> li-il-li-ku-nim-ma*  
*[ù ni-i]š dingir-meš [l]u-uz-[k]u-ur-[š]u-nu-ši-im*  
35 *[ú-l]u a-na-ku an-[na]-n[u-u]m ìr-di-ia <sup>1</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-úš-pu-ur-ma*  
*[ù ni]-iš dingir-meš li-sa-áz-ki-ru-šu-nu-ti*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

Before you left I gave you a decision. I instructed you thus : “If Šikšabbum is conquered, then come to me in Arraphum. If Šikšabbum has not been conquered, <sup>10</sup>let the garrison troops enter the environs of Šikšabbum and you – according to your own judgement – go to Šušarrā and instruct a commander of Šušarrā, and take the troops of the district of Šušarrā with you and come to me!”

This I instructed you. The instruction was thus! (Now) act in accordance with the instruction I gave you! If Šikšabbum is conquered, and you go to the country of Šušarrā, then until you return to me <sup>20</sup>you must keep writing any information you learn to me. [If not] so and you stay there, let [the commander] of Šušarrā send the troops of the upper land to me, [and you] must keep writing to me so that I am informed.

Secondly regarding touching my throat to the ruler of Lullum that you talked to me about : without my hands <sup>30</sup>cleansed, [I sent] Meskinum, and they would not let (him) swear to them. I fear they will think (badly) about this. [Send words] that the men should come to me empty-handed so that I can swear an oath to them, or I will from here send my servants, and they can have them swear the oath.

10) *šābam birtam* should be nominative, and no doubt the scribe had a transitive form (*šūrub*) in mind at this point instead of *erēbum* in the G-stem. Durand (1988) suggested to read *šābam pirdam* (from *parādum* or *parāṭum*) “detach troops”, arguing that the context seems to exclude “garrison” because it concerns an army besieging a town which is not yet conquered. The troops in question, however, are no doubt those stationed in Šušarrā by Šamši-Adad himself, and therefore logically referred to as *šābum birtum* (cf. 19).

17) Læssøe and Jacobsen suggested (p. 183) that the line was inserted later because news of the conquest arrived ; Durand did not comment on this theory, but translates as if he reads *šumma* instead of *anumma* at the beginning of the line, and this idea is confirmed by collation.

25) Læssøe and Jacobsen read [*te<sub>4</sub>-em-ka*], while Durand suggested an emendation which is not supported by collation

29f.) This passage was discussed by K. Reiter (1993, 361) in relation to other evidence for treaty procedure.

30) The reading Meskinum was established by Durand (1988), who referred to an unpubl. Mari text which connects this official with affairs in Qabrā. As noted by Durand (1987a, 196) he is also known from ARM I, 110 (letter from Jasmah-Addu to Šamši-Adad : Meskinum is detached together with Ilī-asū as escort for Ešnunna envoys sent to Šubat-Enlil), and as author of ARM V, 68, which he sent to Jasmah-Addu.

### 13

SH.919 (IM.62138) + SH.924

Lit. : publ. in Læssøe and Jacobsen 1990, 166-171 (no. IX).

Šamši-Adad complains that many of the Turukkeans sent by Kuwari disappear en route, and enter Šikšabbum to be enlisted by the enemy. He asks Kuwari to take precautions against this.

obv.    *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
           *qí-bí-ma*  
           *um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma*  
           *aš-šum lú-meš tu-ru-ki-iki*  
 5        *ša qa-du-um ni-šil-šu-nu a-na še-ri-ia*  
           *ta-aṭ-ru-dam [ma-l]a lú-meš tu-ru-ki-iki*  
           *qa-du-um ni-šil-šu-nu ta-aṭ-ru-dam-ma*  
           <sup>1</sup>*a<sup>1</sup>-[..... ú-ul] i-ma-aš-šú-ú*  
           <sup>4</sup>*te<sub>4</sub>-[em-šu-nu aš-ta-al-m]a ki-a-am iq-bu-nim um-ma-a-mi*  
 10       *i-n[a mu-ši-im ù] na-ap-za-ri-im*  
           *še-p[é-ni] ma-ar-ša*  
           <sup>1</sup>*ù ša-bu-um ša a-na ši-ik-ša-bi-[i]m<sup>ki</sup>*  
           <sup>1</sup>*ip-zi-ru-ma i-ru-bu ma-li-ni-m[a] i<sup>1</sup>-ma-aš-ší*  
           *an-ni-tam iq-bu-nim*  
 15       <sup>1</sup>*ù ki-a-am ta-aq-bi um-ma at-t[a]-a<sup>1</sup>-ma*  
           <sup>1</sup>*ka-ar-šú-ia a-na be-lí-ia ak-[lu-nim]*  
           <sup>1</sup>*mi-nu-um ka-ar-šú-ka*  
           <sup>1</sup>*ša ak-lu-nim*  
           <sup>1</sup>*i-na pa-ni-tim-ma ki-a-am aš-pu-ra-kum*  
 20       <sup>1</sup>*um-ma-a-mi lú-meš tu-ru-ki-iki*  
           <sup>1</sup>*[š]a šu-ku-ul-šu-nu la te-le-ú*

- l.e. *a-na še-ri-ia tū-ur-dam-ma*  
*an-[n]a-nu-um a[n-ni-ki]-[a<sup>1</sup>-am lu-ša\*-aš-bi-i[s]-sú-nu-ti*  
*a[n-ni-t]am aš-pu-r[a]-kum*
- r. 25 *i-na-an-na [lú-meš tu-ru-ki]-i<sup>ki</sup>*  
*ma-la ta-ṭà-ra-[dam i-na m]u-š[i-im]*  
*na-ap-za-ra-am [i<sup>1</sup>]-[la-ku-nim]*  
*a-šà i-na pa-ni-šu-[nu\*<sup>1</sup>] i-ri-[šú<sup>2</sup>]-[ma]*  
*a-na ši-ik-ša-bi-im<sup>ki</sup>] i-te-né-ru-b[u-nim]*
- 30 *i-ša-ri-iš ma-a a-ah na-ak-ri-n[i]*  
*nu-ka-ab-ba-ar ù ḡššukur-šu nu-da-a[n-na-an]*  
*aš-šum ki-a-am li-ib-bi im-ra-aš*  
*i-na-an-na ma-a-tam pu-uh-hi-ir-ma*  
*ki-a-am qí-bé-[š]u-nu-ši-im um-ma-a-mi*
- 35 *ša li-ib-ba-šu an-na-nu-um wa-ša-ba-am li-ši-ib*  
*ša la li-ib-ba-šu an-na-nu-um la wa-ša-ba-am*  
*a-na še-er be-lí-ia li-il-li-ik*  
*an-ni-tam qí-bé-šu-nu-ši-im-ma lú-meš tu-ru-ki-i<sup>ki</sup>*  
*ma-la a-na še-ri-ia ta-ṭà-ra-dam*
- 40 *i-na mu-ši-im na-ap-za-ra-am*  
*la i-il-la-ku-nim 1 lú-tur-ka*  
*pa-ni-šu-nu li-i[s-ba-tam]-ma*  
*a-na ni-e[<sup>l?</sup>-.... li-š]a-li-ma-šu-/nu-ti*  
*iš-t[u.....]*
- 45 *[x<sup>1</sup>][..... li-ša-l]i-mu-šu-nu-ti*  
*[x<sup>1</sup>][.....-t]i<sup>?</sup>*
- u.e. *aš-šum [a-šà i-na pa-ni-šu-nu]*  
*la i-ri-[šú<sup>2</sup>]-ma [a<sup>1</sup>]-[na ši-ik-ša-bi-im<sup>ki</sup>]*  
*la i-ru-bu-ma a-ah na-ak-ri-ni*
- 50 *la i-ka-ab-bi-ru ù ḡššukur-šu*
- left e. *la i-da-an-ni-nu ki-[a<sup>1</sup>-am i-pu-uš*  
*ù lú tu-ru-ki-i<sup>ki</sup> ma-la a-na še-ri-ia*  
*ta-ṭà-ra-dam ma-ah-ru-ú-ma*  
*i-na tup-pí-im lu-ú šu-uṭ-tú-ru*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

Concerning the Turukkeans whom you sent to me together with their people : [As] many Turukkeans with their people as you sent me – they do not correspond to [..... I asked them for an explanation] and they told me this : <sup>10</sup>“At [night and in] secrecy [*our feet*] are sore, and the men who stole away and entered Šikšabbum, are as many as we are!”

This they told me, and you said thus to me : “They slander me to my Lord!” How do they slander you? Previously I wrote thus to you : <sup>20</sup>“Those Turukkeans whose maintenance you cannot manage, send them to me, and I shall take charge of them here. This I wrote to you! Now all [the Turukkean]s you send to me come at night and in secrecy, and the land in front of them they *claim*, and they keep entering Šikšabbum. <sup>30</sup>Is it right that we should make the enemy stronger, and his army greater. I am worried about this!

Now assemble the country, and tell them thus : “He who wants to can stay here ; he who does not want to stay here, can go to my Lord!” Tell them this, and all the Turukkeans you send to me, <sup>40</sup>must not come at night and in secrecy. Let one of your retainers take charge of them, and [lead] them [safely] to [.....]. Since [..... let them lead] them. [.....] Take precautions so that [the land in front of them] they do not *claim*, and they do not enter [Šikšabbum], <sup>50</sup>and we do not make our enemy stronger and do not make his army greater! And all the Turukkeans you send to me, should first be listed on a tablet.

20-24) The broken passage here has been restored recently by a join with two small surface fragments SH.924, now in Copenhagen. SH.924 includes 6 additional tiny fragments preserving only a few broken signs. In l. 23 the copy's clear TA in the verb is less clear on the tablet, and the reading follows that suggested by Læssøe and Jacobsen.

28) The expression here, which recurs in ll. 47f., is otherwise unknown to me. In both instances the verb is slightly damaged, but the sign with the 3rd radical is either ŠU or KU. The translation is tentative.

31) Lit. "make his lance stronger" ; the lance is used as a metonym for the army.

## 14

SH.917

Lit. : quoted in Eidem 1985, 100 ; publ. in Læssøe and Jacobsen 1990, 134-135 (no. II).

Šamši-Adad has detached troops under Etellum to besiege Šikšabbum, and asks Kuwari to send 1.000 troops to assist him.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma*  
*a-nu-um-ma ša-ba-am <<x>>*  
5 *it-ti e-te-el-lim*  
*a-na la-we-e<<ki>>*  
l.e. *aṭ-ṭà-ra-ad<<ki>>*  
rev. erased  
1 *li-im ša-ba-ka*  
10 *šu-ta-aš-bi-it-ma*  
*a-na ṽše-ri-šuṽ*  
*ši-ik-ša-am-bi<sup>ki</sup>*  
*ṽú-ru-ud<<ú>>*  
left e. *zi-ik-ri-eš<sub>4</sub>-tár*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

Hereby I have sent an army with Etellum for the siege. <sup>10</sup>Muster 1.000 of your troops and send (them) to him (at) Šikšabbum.

14) Zikri-Ištar is very likely identical with the official mentioned in ARM IV, 86 and ARM V, 71, and possibly had something to do with the dispatch of the letter (as suggested in Læssøe and Jacobsen 1990, 135).

## 15

SH.911+922

Lit. : ll. 42-3 quoted in Læssøe 1959a, 42 (ad l. 33f.) ; translation of ll. 4-7 and 15-17 in Læssøe 1963,150 ; ll.1-36 quoted in Eidem 1985, 98f. ; publ. in Læssøe and Jacobsen 1990, 161-166 (no. VIII).

Letter from Šamši-Adad, probably sent prior to **13**, and refers to the same matters : Šamši-Adad is worried that the Turukkeans moving west from Shemshāra, are not under sufficient control, and will enter Šikšabbum or otherwise create troubles.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma*  
*i-nu-ma ma-ah-ri-ia tu-uš-bu ki-a-am aq-bé-kum*  
*um-ṽmaṽ a-na-ku-ma lú tu-ru-ku-ú<sup>ki</sup>*  
5 *ša ṽkiṽ-ma iš-tu ul-la-nu-um i-la-ku-nim*  
*ša e-mu-uq šu-ku-li-šu-nu te-le-ú*



- ma-ah-ri-ka ki-la ša ki-ma e-mu-uq šu-ku-li-šu-nu*  
*la te-le-ú a-na še-ri-ia li-ti-qú-nim*  
*an-ni-tam aq-bé-kum*  
 10 *a-na-ku a-na wa-ša-bi-šu-nu aš-ra-nu-um*  
*ú-ul ha-de-ku-ú ú-ul a-al pa-ti-i*  
*ma-a ša-bu-um ma-du-um li-ši-ib-ma*  
*ul-la-n[u]-[um-ma li<sup>1</sup>-ta-pa-al*  
*[ù<sup>1</sup> i-na [e<sup>1</sup>-mu-[qí-im<sup>1</sup> ma-[t]am š[a-a-t]i lu-ú he-sú-ú*  
 15 *an-né-tim ša-ab-ta-ku*  
*i-na-an-na ša-ba-am ša šu-ku-lam te-le-ú*  
*ma-ah-ri-ka ki-la ù ša šu-ku-lam la te-le-ú<sup>1</sup>*  
*a-na še-ri-ia t<sup>1</sup>ur-dam*  
*ù am-mi-nim ba-lum lú-tur-ka [i<sup>1</sup>-[l]a-[k]u-nim*  
 l.e.20 *[i<sup>1</sup>-na a-la-ki-šu-nu pa-ga-a[r-šu-nu]*  
*[š]a-r[a]-qum i-ša-ar-ri-qú-nim-m[a]*  
*[ú-lu] [i<sup>1</sup>-na qa-ab-li-it ge-er-ri*  
*[..... i-ma-š]a-hu-šu-nu-ti*  
 rev. *[ša aš-ra-n]u-um ú-ul uš-ša-bu*  
 25 *[ù iš-te-n]i-iš lú-tur-ka*  
*[ú-ul ú-š]a-al-la-ma-šu-nu-ti*  
*[i-na bi-ri-t]im-ma i-ha-al-li-qú*  
*[ú-lu a-na ši-i]k-ša-ab-bi i-la-qú-s[ú-n]u-ti-ma*  
*[.....] [pu-ha-tim x x<sup>1</sup> ha-di-i-im*  
 30 *[ù aš-ra-nu-u]m ma-tam li-ki-lu*  
*[iš-te-ni\*<sup>1</sup>-iš ta-tà-ar-ra-dam*  
*1 lú-tur-ka pa-ni-šu-nu li-iš-ba-tam-ma*  
*a-na še-ri-ia li-ša-al-li<ma>-šu-nu-ti-ma*  
*i-na bi-ri-tim-ma la i-ha-al-li-qú*  
 35 *šum-ma la ki-a-am-ma nu-ga-la-at-šu-nu-t[i-m]a*  
*[pa<sup>1</sup>-ni-šu-nu a-šar ša-ni-im ú-ul i-ša-ka-nu-ú*  
*ù i-ba-aš-šu-ú ša im-hu-ru-ni-[i]n-ni<sub>5</sub>*  
*um-ma-[mi mu<sup>2</sup>-da-a[r<sup>2</sup>-r]u<sup>2</sup>-um-ma-mi*  
*a-hi ma-ah-ri-šu i-n[a]-[an<sup>1</sup>-na a-nu-um-[m]a*  
 40 *be-el di-na-tim ša im-hu-ru-ni-ni<sub>5</sub>*  
*aṭ-ṭà-ar-da-kum šu-še-er-šu-nu-ti*  
*[ti-ir-we-še-ni ù zi-li-ia [a<sup>1</sup>-ha-šu*  
*ša ta-ak-lu-ú a-na še-ri-ia t<sup>1</sup>ur-dam*  
*ù ša aṭ-ru-da<kum> a-na pí-i di-ni-šu-nu*  
 45 *ap-la-šu-nu-ti*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

When you stayed before me I instructed you as follows : “The Turukkeans who are coming in from outside – those you can manage to provision you shall keep with you ; those you cannot manage to provision should proceed to me!” This I instructed you. <sup>10</sup>Was I not happy with their staying there? Is it not a border town? Indeed many troops should stay there, and *do service out there*, and in force they will protect this land. These things I decided. Now keep the troops you can manage to provision with you, and send those you cannot manage to provision to me. But why do they come without a retainer of your’s. <sup>20</sup>They sneak away themselves en route, or midway [*they*] kidnap them. [Those] who cannot stay there, and are not conducted safely here in one group by your retainer, will disappear [en route, or] they will force them [into Ši]kšabbum. [.....] joyful, <sup>30</sup>[and there] they will hold the country. You shall send them in a single group. Let one of your retainers lead them, and conduct them safely to me, and they will not disappear en route. If not so, we will frighten them, and will they not then turn their faces elsewhere?

And there are someone here who appealed to me saying : “Mudarrum, my brother, is with him!”  
Now hereby <sup>40</sup>I have sent to you the plaintiffs who appealed to me. Sort out their (case)! Send to me  
Tirweš-šenni and Zilija his brother whom you detained and deal with those I have sent in accordance  
with their case.

20) The expression *pagram šarāqum* is not attested before, and the translation tentative.

29) The copy of remains in this line very accurate.

38) A PN Mudarrum seems otherwise unknown, and reading and interpretation of this line is not certain.

## 16

SH.883 (IM.62126)

Lit. : translation of ll. 16-22 in Læssøe 1963, 155.

Šamši-Adad congratulates Kuwari for his defeat of a local town. He gives Kuwari permission to execute Hazip-Teššup, who is detained in the palace in Šušarrā, but tries to stir up trouble. Šamši-Adad suggests that the execution be done inside the palace and that it should be kept secret.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma*  
*tup-pa-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam eš-me*  
5 *ki-ma zu<sup>3</sup><<ul<sup>?</sup>>>-zu\*-la-a<sup>ki</sup>*  
*i-na <sup>gš</sup>tukul-há tu-ha-aṭ-ṭi-ṭú*  
*ta-<sup>l</sup>ás<sup>l</sup>-ni-qú-šu ma-li te-pu-šu*  
*ta-aš-pu-ra-am-ma ma-di-iš ah-du*  
*ša-ni-tam aš-šum šar-ni-da*  
10 *ù lú-muhaldim ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am*  
*[m]i-im-ma ú-u[l ha-aš-h]a-<sup>l</sup>a<sup>l</sup>-[k]u-ma\**  
*i-na pí-i-im i-na tup-pí-i-im*  
*aš-pu-ra-<sup>l</sup>kum<sup>l</sup>*  
l.e. *an-ni-tam la an-ni-tam šu-up-ra-am*  
15 *a-wa-tum im-qú-ta-an-ni*  
rev. *aš-šum ha-zi-ip-te-šu-up*  
*ša šu-mu-us-sú ta-aš-pu-ra-am*  
*iš-tu šu-mu-us-sú ta-aq-bú-ú*  
*li-mu-ut am-mi-nim i-ba-lu-uṭ*  
20 *i-na né-pa-ri-im li-mu-ut*  
*a-na a-li-šu iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ar-ma*  
*p[í(-i) ma-ti-k]a uš-ba-la-ka-at*  
*[ù šum-ma lú-meš a]-hu-šu ša ma-ah-ri-ia*  
*[i-ša-lu-ni]-in-ni*  
25 *[a-na-ku k]i-ma ša ba-al-ṭú-ma*  
*[um-ma-a-mi ba]-li-iṭ ba-li-iṭ*  
*[ù ..... a]h\*-hi-šu*  
u.e. *lu-ú ni-nu*  
*ù ki-ma ša ba-al-ṭú-ma*  
30 *i-na né-pa-ri-im wa-aš-bu*  
*iš-ta-na-ka-nu-šu*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

I have heard the letter you sent me. That you have cleaned out Zuzulā(?) with weapons and taught it a lesson – all you have done – you wrote to me, and I was very pleased.

Secondly about Šarnida <sup>10</sup>and the cook whom you wrote to me about : I have no opinion. Did I send you words by messenger or in a letter? Send words and remind me.

An idea occurred to me concerning Hazip-Teššup, about whose execution you wrote to me. Since you want to kill him, let him die! Why should he live! <sup>20</sup>Let him die in the workshop! He keeps writing to his town and tries to turn your [country] against you. [And if] his brothers who are (staying) with me [ask] me, [I shall pretend] that he is alive and [say] : “He is alive, he is alive! [And ....] we are indeed his brothers!” So they will assume that he is (still) alive, <sup>30</sup>and staying in the workshop.

5ff.) The reading of the GN is not clear, and perhaps an obscure local toponym gave Šamši-Adad’s scribe problems. The first sign is formally best BA, but could be ZU. It is followed by an erased sign which looks like UL, and then a sign formally best ZU. The rest is clear. Although one is reminded of *zu-ku-la* (35, 31) and *zi-gu-la-a<sup>ki</sup>* (59, 16), the town where Kuwari’s “home” was located, this can hardly be involved here.

6) The verb *haṭāṭum* is otherwise used about digging or cleaning canals. Its use here, in the stronger D-stem, must be colloquial, and the translation is *ad sensum*. For *sanāqum* “to bring to order” cf. Durand ARMT XXVI/1, 6f).

10f.) Šarnida is also mentioned in 8, 32 in the list of Hazip-Teššup’s people. In the same list we find Uštap-tupki a “cook”, presumably identical with the anonymous “cook” here.

15) “An idea occurred to me” is a rather free translation of an expression which usually means something like “news reached me”, but since Šamši-Adad’s cunning suggestion seems to be based on his own deliberation, the context supports this rendering.

20) For the *nepārum* “workshop” used for POWs etc. see Scoufflaire 1989.

## 17

SH.906+909A+923A+927+928+929+932+933

Kuwari has sent Hazip-Teššup to Šamši-Adad who treats him well. This worries Kuwari who apparently hoped that Šamši-Adad would rid him of a troublesome rival. Šamši-Adad here replies that he has just followed the advice of Kuwari’s own envoy in the matter.

obv.    *a-na ku-wa-ri [qf]-bī-ma*  
           *um-ma be-el-ka-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ma*  
           *aš-šum ha-zi-ip-te-šu-up ki-[a]-am ta-aš-pu-ra-am*  
           *be-lí la <sup>f</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-ṭà-ra-da-šu ù [a]m-mi-nim be-lí*  
 5        *hur kù-zi [i]š-ku-<sup>f</sup>un<sup>1</sup>-šu ù šú-ba-tam ú-la-<sup>f</sup>bi-ìs-sú<sup>1</sup>*  
           *la i-ta-ra-am-ma a-na še-ri-ia la i-l[a]-kam*  
           *an-ni-tam šu-ma-ha-am ta-aš-pu-r[a]-am*  
           <sup>1</sup>*ha-zi-ip-te-šu-up a-na šu-mu-ti-[šú ú-ul ta-aṭ-ru-dam]*  
           *a-na [nu]-uh-hi-im ù a-[n]a še-<sup>f</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-ka <sup>f</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>-u[r-ri-im]*  
 10        *ta-aṭ-ru-da-aš-šu [ù lú-t]ur-ka [š]a ha-z[i-ip-te-šu-up]*  
           *ir-de-<sup>f</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-em a-ša-[al-šu um-m]a a-n[a-k]u-[ma]*  
           <sup>1</sup>*ha-zi-ip-[te-šu-up u]r-ra-a[m še-ra-am]*  
           *a-ka-al-la-[šú ú-lu a-na k]u-wa-ri-[ma]*  
           *ú-ta-[a]-ar [ki-a-am a-na] šú-ha-r[i-ka]*  
 15        *aq-bi-<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> šú-ha-[ar-ka ki-a-a]m i-pu-[la-an-ni]*  
           *um-ma-mi mi-im-[ma la ka-li l]i\*-[nu-uh-ma]*  
           *ù tu-ur-ri [ki-a-am w]u-ú-ra-[ku-ma]*  
           <sup>1</sup>*ku-wa-ri l[i-tu-ra-am-m]a\* it-ti-ia-ma li-š[i-ib]*  
           *an-ni-tam šú-[h]a-<sup>f</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>-ka iq-bi-e-em-ma*  
 20        *aš-šum [ki]-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[a]m hur kù-zi aš-ku-un-šu*  
           <sup>f</sup>*ù<sup>1</sup> [šú-ba-tam<sup>1</sup> ú-<sup>f</sup>la<sup>1</sup>-ab-bi-ìs-sú-<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> ú-ni-ih-šu-m[a]*  
           *ù ki-a-am aq-bi-šum um-ma a-na-ku-ma*  
           *a-bu-um a-na ma-ri-im ú-ul i-zi-iz*  
 1.e.     *[ù] <sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-bu-ka i-te-ez-za-kum*  
 25        *a-na <sup>f</sup>dí<sup>1</sup>-ni-ka iš-ta-al-ka*

*mi-im-ma li-ib-ba-ka la i-ma-ra-aš*  
 rev. *an-né-tim ad-bu-ub-šu ú-ni-ih-šu um-ma a-na-ku-ma*  
*u<sub>4</sub>-2-kam u<sub>4</sub>-3-kam li-nu-uh-ma a-na še-er ku-<sup>1</sup>wa-ri<sup>1</sup>*  
*lu-uṭ-ru-us-s[ú] ia-ší<-an> il-li-k[a-am-ma]*  
 30 *a-ša-al-šu-ma ki-a-am-ma [i-pu-la-an-ni]*  
*um-ma šu-ma ku-wa-ri i-ra-am-š[u...]*  
*an-ni-tam iq-<sup>1</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>-[e-em...]<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[.....]*  
*i-na-an-na š[u<sup>2</sup>-.....]*  
*<sup>1</sup>ha-z[i-ip-te-šu-up.....]*  
 35 *ṭe<sub>4</sub>-e[m-šu.....]*  
*ba-[.....]*  
*<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[.....]*  
*[.....]*  
*[x]<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[.....]*  
 40 *a-na-ku la [.....]*  
*mi-i-it [.....]*  
*ù i-n[a.....]*  
*ub-ba-[.....]*  
*la [.....]*  
 break

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

Concerning Hazip-Teššup you wrote thus to me : “My Lord must not send him to me! And why did my Lord put a gold ring on him, and dress him in a garment? He must not return and come to me!”

This you wrote to me with Šumahum. You did not (however) send Hazip-Teššup to me to be executed. You sent him to me to be calmed and returned to you. <sup>10</sup>[And] I asked your retainer, who escorted Hazip-Teššup [(to me)] saying as follows : “Shall I keep Hazip-Teššup here forever, or return him to Kuwari?”

[Thus] I spoke to your retainer, and your retainer answered me thus : “He must not be detained! Let him calm down and return him. This is what I was instructed (by) Kuwari : “Let him return and let him stay with me!”

This your retainer said to me, and <sup>20</sup>for this reason I put a gold ring on him and dressed him in a garment, and calmed him, and said as follows to him : “Does a father not stand by a son? And your father stands by you. He has brought you to account according to your case. Do not worry!”

These things I told him, and I calmed him saying : “Let him rest 2 or 3 days. Then I will send him to Kuwari”. Jaši-El(?) arri[ved here, and] <sup>30</sup>I consulted him, and he [answered me] thus : “Kuwari loves him [.....]”. This he said to me [.....]. Now [.....] Haz[ip-Teššup ..... rest too broken for translation .....].

7) This individual is not attested elsewhere. For the feminine version of the PN (Šumahatum) see Durand 1997, 652 (Liste D v, 55’).

29) It is tempting to restore *il-li-k[a-am-ma]* at the end of the line, but this leads to the admittedly less compelling reconstruction of the PN. The person in question is acquainted with relations between Kuwari and Hazip-Teššup, and seems likely to come from the east.

## 18

SH.878

Lit. : published in Læssøe 1959a, 47-50.

From Šamši-Adad. Kuwari is preparing to meet Šamši-Adad, and will bring the local council and a large force with him – probably for the purpose of a formal summit and conclusion of a treaty. Šamši-Adad now wants to postpone the event, probably because pressing business calls him to the west. If

Kuwari has already left Šušarrā, he should come quickly with a small escort directly to Šubat-Enlil to meet Šamši-Adad. If Kuwari has not yet left, he should stay, and the meeting will take place later, when Šamši-Adad comes to Qabrā.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma*  
*tup-pa-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam eš-me*  
*šum-[m]a la-ma tup-pí an-nu-um*  
5 *i-[k]a-aš-ša-da-kum*  
*ta-ah-mu-ṭam-ma iš-tu šu-šar-ra-a<sup>ki</sup>*  
*a-na še-ri-ia ta-ta-še-em*  
*ši-bu-ut <<x>> ma-tim*  
*ù ša-ba-am ma-dam it-ti-ka*  
10 *la te-re-ed-de-em*  
*at-ta-ma qa-du-um lú-tur-meš-ka*  
*a-na še-ri-ia al-kam*  
l.e. *u<sub>4</sub>-15-kam ki tup-pí an-né-em*  
*ú-ša-bi-la-[k]um*  
r. 15 *i-na re-eš iti an-ni-im*  
*i-na šu-ba-at-<sup>d</sup>e[n-lí]ki*  
*ta-<sup>l</sup>ma<sup>l</sup>-ah-ha-ra-an-ni*  
*šum-ma la ki-a-am-ma*  
*tup-pí an-nu-um aš-ra-nu-um-ma*  
20 *ik-ta-ša-ad-ka-ma*  
*a-di-ni a-na še-ri-ia la tu-še-em*  
*a-di a-ša-ap-pa-ra-kum*  
*la ta-al-la-kam aš-ra-nu-um-ma ši-ib*  
*a-na qa-ab-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> a-ka-aš-ša-dam-ma*  
25 *a-ša-ap-pa-ra-kum-ma ši-bu-ut ma-tim*  
*it-ti-ka te-re-<sup>l</sup>de<sup>l</sup>-em*  
*ù i-na ka-bi-it-ti-ka ta-la-kam*  
u.e. *ù aš-šum tup-pu-um i-na a-la-<sup>l</sup>ki<sup>l</sup>-im*  
*ú-uh-hi-ru a-na-ku tup-pa-am*  
30 *i-na šu-bu-lim ú-ul ú-hi-ir*  
*qa-tam a-na qa-tim-ma tup-pa-am*  
*ú-<sup>l</sup>ša<sup>l</sup>-bi-il*  
left e. *lú-tur-ka-ma i-na a-la-ki-im ú-uh-hi-ir*  
*i-na u<sub>4</sub>-25-kam a-na še-ri-ia ik-šu-dam*  
35 *an-ni-tam lu-<sup>l</sup>ú<sup>l</sup> ti-di*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

I have heard the letter you sent me. If before this letter reaches you, you have already made haste to leave Šušarrā to come to me – then don't bring the elders of the land and many troops <sup>10</sup>with you. Just come to me yourself with your retainers. 15 days *after* I have sent this letter to you – *towards* the end of *next* month, you will meet me in Šubat-Enlil. If this is not so, and this letter <sup>20</sup>has reached you there, and you have not yet left to come to me, do not come until I write to you. Stay there. I shall arrive in Qabrā, and write to you, and you shall lead the elders of the land with you, and come with all your forces.

And as for the letter being delayed en route : I <sup>30</sup>have not delayed sending a letter ; forthwith I have sent the letter. (It is) your retainer who was late ; he arrived here (only) the 25th. Beware of this!

15) The calendar of events is not immediately clear. As shown by Durand (1987c) *rēš warhim* was the end of a month including the first day of the following. According to l. 34 the envoy of Kuwari, announcing his imminent de-

parture, arrived the 25th, and if a calendar date, thus close to the end of a month. Since Šamši-Adad claims that he has sent our letter forthwith, and he wants Kuwari to meet him *rēš warhim*, this must refer to the following month. This, however, does not fit l. 13, where Šamši-Adad seems to envisage a meeting in Šubat-Enlil 15 days *after* the dispatch of our letter (cf. Læssøe 1959a, 50 ad l. 13). It seems likely that Šamši-Adad sent the present letter from somewhere in the east, like Qabrā, and was about to leave for Šubat-Enlil. Before Kuwari could meet him there, our letter would first have to reach him somewhere en route from Shemshāra, and he would then have to travel, although with a small following, all the way to the Habur. Possibly the 15 days in l. 13 refer to the time after Kuwari *receives* the letter, and we must translate: “In 15 days – like (the time since) I sent you this letter – ..... etc.”

## 19

SH.861 (IM.62113) Photo Pl. 21

Lit. : quoted in Læssøe 1959a, 57f.

Šamši-Adad sends 600 soldiers to protect Shemshāra and “you who left Kunšum” – “hated” by the local population of Utūm. He refers to the time of the Qabrā campaign, when the elders of Utūm approached him in Sarri(ma).

obv.    *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
           *qí-bí-ma*  
           *um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma*  
           *a-nu-um-ma 6 me ša-ba-[a]m ṽa¹-n[a] ma-ša-ar-ṽtí¹*  
 5        *šu-šar-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> aṽ-ṽà-ra-ad*  
           *ša-bu-um šu-[ú] ṽa¹-na li-ib-bi*  
           *šu-šar-ra-ṽa<sup>ki</sup> li-ru-ub-ma*  
           *ù at-ta a-na še-ri-ia al-ka-am*  
           *lú-meš dumu-meš ú-ta-im<sup>ki</sup> a-lam šu-šar-ra-a<sup>ki</sup>*  
 10        *i-zi-ir-ru ù ku-nu-ti dumu-meš ku-un-ši-im<sup>ki</sup>*  
           *ša iš-tu ku-un-ši-im<sup>ki</sup> tu-ší-e [(.....)]*  
           *i-zi-ir-ru-ku-nu-ti*  
           *sà-ar-ru mu-ut-ta-ab-la-ka-tu*  
           *i-na pa-ni-tim i-nu-ma i-na sa-a[r-ri-ma<sup>ki</sup>]*  
 15        *i-na ma-a-at qa-ab-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> uš-[ba-ku]*  
           *ši-bu-tu-šu-nu a-na še-ri-i[a]*  
 l.e.     *[i]l-li-ku-nim*  
           *[um-ma]-a-mi lu-ú ìr-[d]u-ka\* n[i-nu]*  
           *[x x x]ṽ x x x li x¹[.....]*  
           break  
 rev.    *[.....-t]a-al-la-a[k.....]*  
           *[.....]ṽ x¹ šu ta ma² [.....]*  
           *[.....] ṽi¹-na nu-ṽur¹-r[u²-gi-im<sup>ki</sup>.....]*  
           *[.....-a]b-ba-tu ù ṽa²¹[.....]*  
 5'      *[.....]ṽ x¹ KI a ṽ x¹[.....]*  
           (some signs from ends of lines preserved on edge, cf. copy of obv.)

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

Hereby I have sent 600 troops to protect Šušarrā. Let these troops enter Šušarrā itself, and you yourself come to me. The citizens of Utūm hate the town of Šušarrā,<sup>10</sup> and you – you citizens of Kunšum who left Kunšum – they hate you! They are villainous and rebellious. Previously when I stayed in Sarre in the country of Qabrā, their elders came to me and said : “We are indeed your servants [..... break .....]

(The additional small fragment from rev. probably mentions Nurrugum).

9f.) These crucial lines can now be understood better. Læssøe originally read *it-ti* for *ku-nu-ti* in l. 9 and *tu-zi-r[a-am(?)]* for *tu-ší-e* at end of l. 10. The new readings are certain from both copy and photos. This means that the D-stem of *zêrum* is not attested in l. 10 (and also that the suggestion about the passage in Eidem 1991a, 205f. ad col. ii, 6', 8', can be disregarded).

## 20

SH.905 (IM.62135) Photo Pl. 23

Šamši-Adad informs Kuwari that his envoy Warad-šarrim has returned from Induše of Gutium, who is angry because Šamši-Adad protects his enemy Kuwari. Šamši-Adad will not pursue good relations with Induše, and looks forward to the time when his land will starve – while simultaneously advising Kuwari to take care with his own harvest.

- obv. [a-n]a ku-wa-r[i]  
*qí-bí-[m]a*  
*um-ma be-<sup>f</sup>el-ka-a<sup>1</sup>-ma*  
*l̄ir-lugal iš-tu iti\*-3-<sup>f</sup>kam a\*-na\*<sup>1</sup> ṣ[e-e]r*
- 5 [e]n-da-aš-šu aš-pu-ur-[ma]  
[ù] ṭe<sub>4</sub>-em-<sup>f</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> a-li-ik i-di-š[u]  
[ú]-ul <sup>f</sup>il<sup>2</sup>-qe<sup>2</sup>-em<sup>2</sup>-ma<sup>2</sup> a<sup>1</sup>-wa-<sup>f</sup>tu\*<sup>1</sup>-šú  
[na-a]k-ru-<sup>f</sup>ni<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup> ki-a-am ú-wa-e-ra-[aš-šú]  
[um-m]a šu-<sup>f</sup>ma\*<sup>1</sup> [a-n]a-ku <sup>f</sup>ma\*<sup>1</sup>-ru -š[u (...)]
- 10 [x (x)]-šú ù <sup>f</sup>qa<sup>1</sup>-bé-šú e-ep-p[é-eš]  
[k]u-<sup>f</sup>wa\*-ri\* a-ia-bi\*<sup>1</sup> kù-babbar ù k[ù-gi]  
[ša] šu-ša-ar-ra-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>ki il-qé-e-[ma]  
[a-n]a še-ri-<sup>f</sup>šú<sup>1</sup> it-ta-la-a[k-ma]  
[.....] <sup>f</sup>x<sup>1</sup> ar-ta-<sup>f</sup>ší\*<sup>1</sup> i-nu-ma <sup>f</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[.....]
- 15 [.....] <sup>f</sup>ú<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup> da\*-aw-<sup>f</sup>de\*-e\*<sup>2</sup>-šú i-d[u-ku]  
[.....] <sup>f</sup>a-na<sup>1</sup> ku-<sup>f</sup>un\*-ší\*<sup>1</sup>-i[m<sup>ki</sup> x] <sup>f</sup>x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
[.....] <sup>f</sup>x\* ki<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-a-am id\*-b[u<sup>2</sup>\*-x] <sup>f</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
[.....] <sup>f</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-šú ka-<sup>f</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>-šú [.....]  
[.....] <sup>f</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-ri hu-<sup>f</sup>ul\* šú\*-ší-ir<sup>1</sup>[.....]
- 20 [.....] <sup>f</sup>x tu\*<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
break
- rev. <sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-u[l.....]  
<sup>f</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-na q[a.....]  
<sup>f</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-na-an-na <sup>f</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x x] <sup>f</sup>šú\*-uK\*<sup>1</sup>-[.....]  
la ú-ka-aš-ša-<sup>f</sup>du\*<sup>1</sup> [x] <sup>f</sup>x x x\*<sup>1</sup>[.....]
- 5' ú-ul a-ta-ar-ma a-na ṣ[e-er en-da-aš-šú]  
ú-ul a-ša-ap-[pa]-ar <sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> [i-nu-ma]  
ma-as-sú bi-ru-ú š[e-u]m i-<sup>f</sup>na\*<sup>1</sup> m[a\*-ti-šú]  
ga-am-ru i-da-a[b-b]u-bu-n[i-šú]  
i-nu-ma <sup>f</sup>še<sup>2</sup>-em<sup>2</sup>-ka<sup>1</sup> ta\*-an-[.....]
- 10' ar-hi-iš e-ší-<sup>f</sup>is\*<sup>1</sup>-sú ma-a[h-ri-ka]  
a-na e-bu-ri-k[a] a-ah-k[a la ta-na-ad-di]  
ša-ni-tam šum-ma tup-pí an-né-[em]  
ik-ta-áš-<sup>f</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-ak-kum <sup>f</sup>x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
i-n[a] ma-ah-ri-ka wa-ši-i[b]
- 15' <sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-n[a ṣ]e-er en-da-aš-šú la <sup>f</sup>[a-ša-ap-pa-ar-šú]  
[šum-ma] ki-a-am <sup>f</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-ta-<sup>f</sup>ru\*<sup>1</sup>-[nim]  
[ù ki-a-a]m\*<sup>2</sup>-ma li-t[e]-er-ru-[ni-iš-šú]

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

Three months ago I sent Warad-šarrim to Endaššu, but he did not receive an (official) brief or an escort, and his words are hostile to us. He gave him the following message : “I am his son, <sup>10</sup>who do his [...] and his bidding. Kuwari my enemy took silver and gold from Šušarrā, and went to him, and I became [*angry*]. When [...] they defeated [...] to Kunšum .... [rest of obv. too broken for translation].

(rev. l. 5' :) I shall not send envoys to [Endaššu] again, [and when] his country starves, and the barley in his [country] is finished, they will protest to him. When you [...] *your barley* <sup>10</sup>then harvest it quickly. Do not be negligent with [your own] harvest!

Also if this letter has reached you while [...] is (still) staying with you, then don't [send him] to Endaššu. [If] they turn around like this, then let him be treated likewise!

**Note** : The copy of this difficult text is basically correct, but some important improvements have been made from the photos. Inspection of the original tablet could doubtless clarify additional details.

6f.) The translation assumes a distinction between an official message (*tēmum*), and the angry opinion expressed by Indušše. If correct this reinforces the impression of a breach in relations between the two kings.

19) The preserved signs seem clear enough, but only the last three produce a good reading.

## 21

SH.926 (IM.62142)

Šamši-Adad comments on the strength of the garrison in a particular town, which he thinks may be too small to prevent the inhabitants from joining the enemy (cf. 8, 17-21).

obv.    ʿa-na ku<sup>1</sup>-w[a\*-ri]  
          [q]i-bi-[ma]  
          um-ma be-el-k[a-a-ma]  
          aš-šum ʿma\*?-ši-im<sup>1</sup> ša a-na ʿx<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
5        ʿx<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
          60 ʿša-bu\*-um\*<sup>1</sup> ták\*-[lu-tum]  
          ù 40 ʿša-bu-um\* [š]a sa-am-s[i-ma-lik(?)]  
          ʿi<sup>1</sup>-[n]a li-ib-bi ʿa\*-lim\*<sup>1</sup> w[a-aš-bu]  
          ʿta<sup>1</sup>-aš-pu-ra-am  
10       ʿl<sup>1</sup> me ʿša-bu-ku-nu  
          ša a-na a-lim<sup>ki</sup> ša-a-ti  
rev.     tu-še-ri-ba i-iš  
          pí-qa-at a-lu-ju ma-du  
          as-sú-ur-ri a-na lú-ʿkúr<sup>1</sup> i-[š]a-pa-ru-ma  
15       ʿša-ba-am bi-ir-tam a-na qa-[a]t lú-kúr  
          i\*-na\*-di-nu-ma\* a\*-ʿna\* x<sup>1</sup>[.....] ʿx<sup>1</sup>-Bu-ul  
          ʿx x x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
          1 me ʿma<sup>1</sup>-šú-ú [.....]  
          ʿša-ba-am šu-ul-lu-[....]  
20       1 me 50 ʿ[a-b .....]  
          ʿša-a[b .....]  
          aB-[.....]  
          a[D-.....]  
u.e.       broken  
l. e.     [ù ʿ]a-ba-šu a-l[am<sup>ki</sup> š]a-a-ti li-ʿki<sup>?</sup>-i[l<sup>?</sup>]

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

You wrote to me concerning *Mašum*, who to [.....] that 60 reliable soldiers and 40 men under



Samsi-[malik(?) are stationed inside the town. <sup>10</sup>Your 100 soldiers which you stationed in this town are not enough. Perhaps the townspeople are many. I fear that they will send words to the enemy and betray the garrison to the enemy and to [..... (l. 17)] 100 are enough [.....] make certain that the troops are safe [.....] <sup>20</sup>150 troops [.....] (left e.) [And] let his troops guard this town.

4) Mašum, a well-known Šamši-Adad official, may be involved here, but the reading is not certain!

7) For Samsi-malik see ShA 2, p. 43.

## 22

SH.892 (IM.62130)

Letter from Šamši-Adad, but no consecutive text preserved.

obv.    *ʾa-na<sup>1</sup> ku-wa-ri*  
           *q[í]-bí-[ma]*  
           *um-ma be-ʾel<sup>1</sup>-ka-a-ma*  
           *[tu]p-pa-ka ša [t]u-ša-bi-lam eš-me*  
 5        *[aš-š]um m[a-....š]a ta-aš-pu-ra-[a]m*  
           4 lines with traces  
 l.e.       broken  
 rev.    *ʾa\*-di\*<sup>1</sup> tup-pa-am [l]a ú-ša-b[i-la-kum]*  
           *[x x-k]a-du ša i[m-.....]*  
 15        *[x x (x)]x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]*  
           *i-ʾnu\*-ma\*<sup>1</sup> [.....]*  
           *ma-am-[ma-an.....]*  
           *ʾx x<sup>1</sup>[.....]*  
           *ʾx<sup>1</sup>[.....]*  
 20        *ʾx\*<sup>1</sup>[.....]*  
           *ʾx<sup>1</sup>[.....]*  
 u.e.       broken

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

I have heard the letter you sent me. As for [..... about which] you wrote to me [.....] (rev.) As long as I have not sent [you] a letter, then ....-kadu(?), who [..... rest too broken for translation .....

6ff.) The last lines on obv. preserve signs not shown in copy, but these cannot be read with any confidence from the photo.

14) The beginning of line could contain a PN with the (Hurrian) element -kadu.

## 23

SH.909 B + 909 C

Kuwari has for three months written to Šamši-Adad that he wants to meet him. Šamši-Adad's reply here is almost completely lost.

obv.    *a-na ku-wa-[ri]*  
           *qí-bí-ʾma<sup>1</sup>*  
           *um-ma be-el-k[a]-ʾa<sup>1</sup>-ma*  
           *aš-šum a-na še-[ri]-ia a-la-ki-k[a]*  
 5        *iš-tu iti-3-kam*  
           *ta-áš-ta-na-ap-[pa]-ra-am-ma*

*ší-bé-tum m[a-d]a-tum*  
*nu-us-sú-ka* <sup>ʿx</sup> an[še<sup>2</sup>(x)]  
<sup>ʿù x x x<sup>1</sup>-ak-li-ka</sup>  
 10 [.....] *a-la-kam*  
 [..... *a-n*] *a é-kál-la-[tim<sup>ki</sup>]*  
 [.....]-*dam*  
 l.e. [.....]-*me\*-e-[em]*  
 break

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

For three months you have kept writing to me about your coming to me and many requests *have piled up* [.....] <sup>10</sup>to go [.... to] Ekallātum [.... break ....]

8) This seems to be the verb *nasākum*, used often in Mari texts about “piling up” grain etc. (cf. CAD N/2, 16f.) in an otherwise unattested D stem. It should be possible to reconstruct the next passage, but I can suggest no convincing solution.

## 24

SH.852 A (IM.62109)

(This fragment does not join SH.852 B or C, cf. nos. 79-80).

Šamšī-Adad discusses Lidāja and other people he wants Kuwari to send to him.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*u[m-m]a be-el-ka-a-ma*  
*aš-šum dingir-ia šum-m[a]* <sup>ʿx x<sup>1</sup>[....]</sup>  
 5 <sup>ʿl</sup> *li-da-e* <sup>ʿx</sup> [.....]  
 [p] <sup>ʿt</sup> *qa-at* <sup>ʿx</sup> [.....]  
 break  
 rev. [x x] <sup>ʿx x<sup>1</sup>[.....]</sup>  
 [tú-u] *r-da-aš-šu-ma ma-* <sup>ʿah<sup>1</sup>-r[i\*-ia (...)]</sup>  
<sup>ʿx (x) x x<sup>1</sup> i-x lú [.....]</sup>  
<sup>ʿù na-bi-eš<sub>4</sub>-tár lú\*-tur\*<sup>1</sup>-šu aš-b[a-a]t</sup>  
 5' *te<sub>4</sub>-mu-um* <sup>ʿke\*<sup>1</sup>-e[m]</sup> <sup>ʿi<sup>1</sup>-b[a]-aš-ši</sup>  
 u.e. *a-na še-ri-[i]a*  
*tú-ur-da-aš-šu-* <sup>ʿnu-ti<sup>1</sup></sup>

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :

For my god's sake if [.....] Lidāja [.....] perhaps [.... rest of obv. lost ....]

(rev.) [....] send him to me, and before me [.....], and I seized Nabi-Ištar, his retainer. The matter stands thus. Send them to me.

**Note** : reading and interpretation of text on rev. tentative.

## 25

SH.814 (IM.62092)

Šamšī-Adad states that he will act according to the letters he received from Kuwari.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma*  
*tup-pa-ti-ka*  
5 *ša tu-ša-bi-lam eš-me*  
rev. *ma-li ša ta-ša-ap-pa-[r]a-am-ma*  
*e-ep-pé-eš*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) your Lord :  
I have heard the letters you sent me. All that you write to me I will do.

## 26

SH.856 (IM.62110)  
Lit. : published in Læssøe 1959a, 51-3.

Išme-Dagan has received a no doubt alarming report about the country of Ištānum from Kuwari. He has ordered the matter investigated, but is himself about to leave for Qabrā, and asks Kuwari to get confirmation and write back. The letter is closely associated with **30** sent from Kurašānum.

obv. *[a-n]a k[u-w]a-ri*  
*[q]í-bí-ma*  
*um-ma i[š-m]e<sup>d</sup>da-[g]an-ma*  
*aš-šum ʔe<sub>4</sub>-em [m]a-a-tim ša iš-ta-ni-[i]m<sup>ki</sup>1*  
5 *ša ta-aš-p[u-r]a-am*  
*áš-ta-pa-ar wa-ʔar<sup>l</sup>-ka-tam ʔi-pa<sup>l</sup>-ra-sú-[n]im*  
*ù a-na-ku an-ni-[n]u-um*  
*ʔe<sub>4</sub>-mi ša-ab-ta-ku*  
*an-na wa-ar-ki tup-pí-ia*  
10 *an-ni-i-im*  
*a-na qa-ab-ra-a<sup>ki</sup>*  
*a-ka-ša-ad*  
rev. *ù am-mi-nim ʔe<sub>4</sub>-ma-am ša-a-ti*  
*la ta-aš-pu-ra-am*  
15 *i-na-an-na ʔe<sub>4</sub>-ma-am ša-a-ti*  
*ki-in-nam-ma an-ni-tam*  
*la an-ni-tam*  
*šu-up-ra-am*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Išme-Dagan :  
With regard to the report about the country of Ištānum, which you wrote to me about, I have written. They will investigate the matter, but I have made my own plan here. Now following this letter of mine,<sup>10</sup> I shall arrive in Qabrā. So why have you not sent me this report (sooner)? Now have this report verified, and write the result to me.

4) The country of \*Ištānum is also mentioned in **29**, 4f. (*a-la-ni-e<sup>ki</sup> / ša iš-ta-ni-im*). Such a GN is not attested elsewhere, and the term is perhaps generic “north country”, i. e. presumably areas to the north of Shemshāra (cf. AHw 399a and CAD I/J, 270), but this interpretation is not certain.

## 27

SH.908

Išme-Dagan has sent troops to guard Šušarrā while Kuwari pays him a visit.

obv.     $\lceil a^1-na ku-wa-ri$   
            $\lceil qí-bí]-ma$   
            $\lceil um-ma i \rceil š-me-<sup>d</sup>da-gan-ma$   
            $\lceil a-na še-ri-ia \rceil \lceil a^{*1}-ta-al-\lceil kam^1$   
 5        $\lceil a-nu-um-ma x m \rceil e^* ša-\lceil ba^1-am$   
            $\lceil a\lceil-ṭà-ar-d \rceil a-\lceil kum^{*1}$   
            $\lceil ..... \rceil -ma$   
            $\lceil ..... \rceil \lceil x^1 \lceil [.....]$   
 rev.     $\grave{u} a-d \lceil i \rceil at^1-ta ta^*-t \lceil u-ra-am \rceil$   
 10       $ša^*-bu-um^* \lceil š \rceil u-ú$   
            $i-na šu-šar-ra-a << x >>^{ki}$   
            $li-ši-\lceil ib^1$

**Note :** Further cleaning of this tablet has revealed the signs in ll. 4, 5, and 10 not in copy. The last sign in l. 6 is reasonably certain. The copy's clear TA in l. 8 cannot be confirmed. In l.10 the sign ZA is fairly wide, which explains the erroneous copy before cleaning.

[Say] to Kuwari : [Thus] (says) Išme-Dagan :

March off [to me. Hereby I have sent] you [x+]100 soldiers [..... 2 lines broken .....] ; and until you have returned let <sup>10</sup>these troops stay in Šušarrā.

7f.) In this passage one expects an instruction somewhat similar to that in **19**, 6-7 (*a-nu-um-ma 6 me ša-ba-[a]m*  $\lceil a^1-n[a] ma-ša-ar-\lceil ti^1, šu-šar-ra-a^{ki} a\lceil-ṭà-ra-ad, ) ša-bu-um šu-[ú] \lceil a^1-na li-ib-bi, šu-šar-ra-\lceil a^{ki} li-ru-ub-ma, (\grave{u} at-ta a-na še-ri-ia al-ka-am).$

## 28

SH.944 (IM.62146)

Letter from Išme-Dagan, but contents entirely lost.

obv.     $a-na ku-wa-r \lceil i \rceil$   
            $\lceil qí]-bí-ma$   
            $\lceil um-m \rceil a i š-me-<sup>d</sup>d \lceil a \rceil -gan-ma$   
            $\lceil ..... \rceil \lceil x x x x^1 \lceil x \rceil \lceil x x x x^1$   
           3 lines broken  
            $\lceil ..... \rceil \lceil x^1 še-me$   
           break  
 rev.     $\lceil ..... \rceil \lceil x^1-im$   
            $\lceil x x (x) \rceil -ra-kum$

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Išme-Dagan :

[..... too broken for translation .....]

28 B [= formerly 75]  
SH.860

Išme-Dagan writes to (almost certainly) Kuwari that he has sent the seal of Kuwari on to the king, and that the king has returned it directly to Kuwari.

obv. [a-na ku-wa-ri]  
[qí-bí]-m[a]  
[um-ma] iš-me-<sup>d</sup>da-gan-[ma]  
[ku-nu]-uk-ka-ka ša a-na lu[gal]  
5 [t]u-ša-bi-lam  
[a<sup>1</sup>-na [še-er<sup>1</sup> lugal ú-šá<sup>1</sup>-bi-i[l\*]  
[ku-nu-kam<sup>1</sup> [š]a-a-ti ki-a-am-ma l[ugal?]  
[x x x] ú-te-ra-aš-šu ù lu[gal]  
[ki-a-am iš<sup>1</sup>-pu-ra-am um-m[a-a-mi]  
10 [a-nu-um-ma<sup>1</sup>-mi ku-nu-kam\*-mi ša k[u\*?-wa?-ri?]  
a-na-mi ku-wa-ri uš-ta-bi-lam  
[an<sup>1</sup>-ni-tam lugal [i]š-pu-<sup>1</sup>ra\*-am<sup>1</sup>  
l.e. vacant  
rev. not preserved

[Say to Kuwari : Thus(says)] Išme-Dagan :  
Your seal which you sent to the king I have sent (on) to the king. This seal the king [.....] returned, and the king wrote thus to me : <sup>10</sup>“Now I have sent the seal of Kuwari (back) to Kuwari”. This the king wrote to me. [..... break .....]

29  
SH.921 (IM.62140) Photo Pl. 29  
Lit. : quoted in Laessøe 1959a, 53-55.

Kurašānum is annoyed because Kuwari has written to Išme-Dagan about the country of Ištānum without informing him. Now Išme-Dagan has asked Kurašānum for a report, and he needs information from Kuwari in order to reply.

obv. a-na ku-wa-ri  
qí-bí-ma  
um-ma ku-ra-ša-nu-um-ma  
aš-šum wa-ar-ka-at a-la-ni-e<sup>ki</sup>  
5 ša iš-ta-ni-im pa-ra-si-im  
tup-pa-am a-na še-er  
be-lí-ia iš-me-<sup>d</sup>da-gan  
tu-ša-bi-il-ma be-lí a-na [š]e-ri-ia  
ki-a-am iš-pu-ra-am  
10 um-ma-a-mi a-na a-la-ni-e<sup>ki</sup>  
ša iš-ta-ni-im šu-pu-ur-ma  
wa-ar-ka-tam li-ip-ru-sú-ni-ik-kum-lma-mi  
ar-hi-iš a-na še-ri-ia-mi  
šu-up-ra-am an-ni-tam  
15 [b]e-lí iš-pu-ra-am  
l.e. [k]i-i a-na a-la-ni-e  
[š]u-n[u]-ti lu-úš-pu-ur  
break of ca. 3 lines

rev. [.....]ᵀx x x ᵀ  
 ú-ul ta-aš-pu-ra-am-ma  
 li-ib-bi a-wa-tim ú-ul i-di  
 i-na-an-na tup-pí an-né-em i-na še-me-e  
 25 ᵀe₄-ma-am ga-am-ra-am  
 ša a-la-ni-e ša iš-ta-ni-im  
 ar-hi-iš a-na še-ri-ia  
 šu-bi-lam-ma ki-ma a-na-ku  
 a-ša-ap-pa-ru ù wa-ar-ka-at  
 30 [a-l]a-[n]i-e šu-nu-ti i-pa-ar-ra-sú-ma  
 [a-na ᵀ]e-er be-lí-ia a-ša-ap-pa-ru

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Kurašānum :

You have sent a letter about investigating the towns of the country of Ištānum to my Lord Išme-Dagan, and my Lord wrote thus to me : <sup>10</sup>“Send words to the towns of Ištānum, and have them investigate the situation for you, and write back to me quickly!” This my Lord wrote to me.

How can I write to these towns [.....] you did not write to me, and I don't know the matter. Now as soon as you hear this letter of mine, send me quickly a complete briefing on the towns of Ištānum, so that I can write <sup>30</sup>and have them investigate the situation of these towns, and report to my Lord!

5) For Ištānum cf. 26.

### 30

SH.879 (IM.62123)

Lit. : ll. 21-22 quoted in Læssøe 1960, 19 n. 20 ; ll. 23-29 quoted in Læssøe 1959a, 56.

From Kurašānum to Kuwari and Šamaš-našir. As requested they can send the garrison troops to Hal-luliwe to receive grain rations, and Kurašānum has sent an official to that town to issue them.

Kurašānum adds that both the king (Šamši-Adad) and Išme-Dagan are well. Išme-Dagan has defeated an army of 6.000 men, and conquered the towns (of Ištānum?).

obv. a-na ku-wa-ri  
 ù ᵀutu-na-šir  
 qí-bí-ma  
 um-ma ku-ra-ša-nu-um-ma  
 5 a-na é-kál-la-tim<sup>ki</sup>  
 it-ti lugal a-na na-an-mu-ri-im  
 al-li-ik ù la-ma a-na še-er lugal  
 al-li-ku aš-šum še-ba ša-bi-im bi-ir-tim  
 ša aš-ra-nu-um wa-aš-bu  
 10 i-na ha-lu-ul-li-we<sup>ki</sup>  
 na-da-na-am ta-aš-pu-ra-nim  
 tup-pí an-né-em i-na še-me-e  
 ša-ba-am bi-ir-tam  
 a-na še-ba-šu-nu ma-ha-ri-im  
 15 ᵀa-na<sup>1</sup> ha-lu-ul-li-we<sup>ki</sup> ᵀú-ur-da-nim-ma  
 še-[b]a-šu-nu li-im-hu-ru  
 l.e. ᵀa<sup>1</sup>-n[u-u]m-ma dumu é-k[ál-la-tim<sup>ki</sup>(?)]  
 ša ᵀ(x) x x<sup>1</sup> [x x ᵀ]a-a-t[i]  
 ᵀi<sup>1</sup>-na h[a-lu-u]l-li-ᵀwe<sup>ki</sup>  
 r. 20 ᵀi-na<sup>1</sup>-ad-di-nu aᵀ-ru-ud  
 ša-bu-um šu-ú a-na ha-lu-ul-li-we<sup>ki</sup>

*ar-hi-iš li-ih-mu-ṭam*  
*ša-ni-tam a-na lugal šu-ul-mu*  
*a-na be-lí-ia iš-me-<sup>d</sup>da-gan*  
 25 *ù a-na ša-bi-im ša it-ti-šu*  
*i-il-la-ku šu-ul-mu*  
 6 *li<<x>>-mi da-am<sub>7</sub>-da-am i-du-uk*  
*ù a-la-ni-e be-lí iš-me-<sup>d</sup>da-[g]an iṣ-ba-at*  
*lu-ú ha-d[e-t]u-nu*

Say to Kuwari and Šamaš-našir : Thus (says) Kurašānum :

I went to Ekallātum to meet with the king, but before I went to the king you wrote to me about issuing the grain rations for the garrison troops stationed there <sup>10</sup>in Halluliwe. When you hear this letter of mine, send the garrison troops to receive their grain rations in Halluliwe, and let them receive their grain rations. I have now sent off a man from E[kallātum] who [will issue] this [grain] in Halluliwe.<sup>20</sup> Let these troops rush to Halluliwe!

Secondly : the king is well ; my Lord Išme-Dagan and the troops marching with him are well. He has defeated an army of 6.000, and the towns my Lord Išme-Dagan has conquered. Rejoice!

15) A town Halluliwe is attested within the orbit of Nuzi (see Fincke 1993, 85f.), and seems from our text to have been a local center for the Šamši-Adad administration of the east-Tigris region.

23ff.) This victory cannot be securely related to other information from Shemshāra or Mari. Possibly it should be connected with the information on the “country of Išānum” referred to in 26 and 29.

### 31

SH.916

From Kurašānum. Letter of introduction for bearer requests the release of his dead brother’s people from the town Hišhina(šwe).

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma ku-ra-ša-nu-um-ma*  
*a-wa-at lú wa-bi-il tup-pí-ia*  
 5 *an-ni-im ši-me*  
*a-hu-šu ni-šu-šu*  
*iš-tu u<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-mi-im mu-3-kam*  
*a-na a-lim hi-iš-hi-na-aš-we-ma*  
 l.e. *iṭ-ru-ud-ma*  
 r.10 *i-na-an-na a-hu-šu im-tu-ut*  
*ù ni-šu-šu im-šu-hu-uš*  
*i-na-an-na ni-šu-šu*  
*ù gemé-há-šu wa-aš-še-er*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Kurašānum :

Listen to the case of the bearer of this letter. His brother and his people he three years ago sent to the town of Hišhinašwe, but <sup>10</sup>now his brother has died, and his people have been restrained. Now release his people and his maids.

6) In spite of the forms the words in this line must be object in the sentence. The same applies to *nišū* in ll. 11 and 12.

7) The third sign is formally closest in shape to ŠÀ (collation), but the reading proposed here seems the best solution.

8) The town Hišhinašwe is identical with Hišhina listed in two adm. texts (ShA 2, 26 and 45), but here supplied with the Hurrian ending -ašwe (= article pl. + gen. pl.). The same place is perhaps mentioned in a letter from Mari, M.11009 (mentioned by Durand 1994a, 106f.), where the official Hadni-Addu to Jasmah-Addu refers to deported people from *hi-iš-hi-ni-ia-a*<sup>[ki]</sup> led by Šupri-Erah. Evidently this letter could be very close in date to our text.

11) This short form of -šu is also attested in 55 and 63.

### 32

SH.907

Letter from Kurašānum with introduction for man who has relatives(?) staying in the palace workshops (in Šušarrā?), presumably concerning their release.

obv. *a-na [k]u-wa-ri*  
*qí-[bí]-ma*  
*um-m[a] ku-r[a-š]a-nu-um-ma*  
*a-wa-a[t] lú [w]a-bi-il\**  
 5 *ʽtupʽ-pí-ia ʽanʽ-ni-im ši-me*  
*1 ʽšešʽ-šu ši-it-ta a-ʽha-tiʽ-šu*  
*i-na ʽnéʽ-pá-ri\*-im w[a-aš-bu]*  
 remaining ca. 5 lines (on l.e. + rev.) worthless

Say to Kuwarai : Thus (says) Kurašānum :

Listen to the word of the bearer of this letter. One of his brothers (and) two of his sisters are staying in the workshops [..... break .....

### 33

SH.895

Letter from Kurašānum with introduction for bearer concerning a legal dispute.

obv. *ʽaʽ-n[a ku-wa-r]i*  
*q[í-bí-m]a*  
*um-ma ku-[r]a-ša-nu-[um-ma]*  
*a-wa-a[t] lú w[a-b]i-[il]*  
 5 *[tu]p-p[í-ia an-n]i-[im] ʽši-meʽ*  
 break  
 rev. [.....]-ʽxʽ  
*[š]u\*-ʽpuʽ-ur\*-ma*  
*ma\*-ah\*-ʽriʽ-ka\* li\*-ir-du -ʽniʽ-šu\*-maʽ*  
*ʽdi\*-inʽ-šu\* šu\*-še\*-er*

[Say to Kuwari] : Thus (says) Kurašānum :

Listen to the word of the bearer of this letter [..... break .....] Send words [to .....] that they lead (him) before you, and then sort out his case.



Sîn-išme'anni urges Kuwari to send barley quickly, both for the palace and for Kuwari's own household – where all is well. Kuwari's wife Šip-šarri has recovered from an illness.

- obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*[u]m-ma<sup>d</sup>en-zu-iš-me-an-ni*  
*[r]a-im-ka-a-ma*
- 5 *še-am ar-hi-iš a-na é-gal*  
*[šu-ú]š-ši-am-ma ù be-<sup>f</sup>el<sup>l</sup>-ka*  
*[ù m]a-tum li-ih-<sup>f</sup>da-ni-kum<sup>l</sup>*  
*[ù šu-um-k]a a-na ka-li-iš*  
*lu ša-k[i-i]n ù a-na-ku*
- 10 *lu-uh-du [(...)ša]-ni-ta[m]*  
*a-hu-ka ra-<sup>f</sup>i<sup>l</sup>-[i]m-k[a]*  
*ù a-na-ku r[a]-i-im-[ka]*  
*ša-al<<x>>-m[a-ku] ù é-[ka ša-lim]*  
*ù ši-ip-š[ar-r]i a-ma-at-ka*
- 15 *im-ra-aš-ma te-[e]r-tam*  
*e-pu-<sup>f</sup>uš<sup>l</sup>-ma*
- l.e. *qa-at eš<sub>4</sub>-tár ú-še-li*  
*i-na-an-na i-tu-uh*
- rev. *ša-al-ma-at ù šú-ha-ru*
- 20 *ma-ru-ka ša-al-mu*  
*ša-ni-tam at-ta-a-ma*  
*ti-de ki-ma*  
*še-am la i-šu-ú*  
*šú-ha-ru-ia ma-ah-ri-ka*
- 25 *wa-aš-bu še-am anše-šu-nu*  
*mu-li-a-ma ar-hi-iš*  
*i-na ha-ra-an šu-ul-mì-im*  
<sup>f</sup>*tú-ur-da<sup>l</sup>-šu-nu-ti*  
<sup>f</sup>*[še-am] <sup>f</sup>ú<sup>l</sup>-ul <sup>f</sup>i<sup>l</sup>-šu*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Sîn-išme'anni, who loves you :

Have barley for the palace transported quickly, so that your Lord and the country will be pleased with you, [and your good name] will be established forever, and I too will be pleased.

<sup>10</sup>Secondly : your brother who loves you, and I who love you are well, and [your] house [is well], but Šip-šarri, your maid, was ill, and I took an omen, and lifted the hand of Ištar. Now she has recovered and is well, and the boys, <sup>20</sup>your sons, are well.

Thirdly : You know yourself that they have no barley. (Some of) my retainers are staying with you. Load their donkeys with barley, and send them quickly to me by a safe route. They have no [barley]!

14-18) The same incident is reported by Šepratu in 64, 66f.

Sîn-išme'anni reports that all is well : the king, the town of Kunšum, Kuwari's household and family. He is careful to check on Kuwari's household which now lacks supplies to get through the approaching harvest period. Kuwari is asked to send flour either together with the grain for the palace or directly to the town of Zukula.

The writer warns Kuwari that Zuzum is troubling Utûm, but that Kuwari's servants are too afraid of Zuzum to warn him themselves.

The letter echoes information in **59** sent from Tenduri (= Tidduri).

- obv. *a-na ra-i-mi-ia*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma* <sup>l</sup>den-zu-iš-me-an-ni  
*ra-im-ka-a-ma*
- 5 *lugal ša-li-im a-lum ku-un-šu-um*<sup>ki</sup>  
*a-hu-ka é-ka aš-[š]a-at-ka*  
*ù ma-ru-ka ù a-na-ku*  
*ra-im-ka ša-al-ma-ku*  
*as-sú-ri la ta-qa-bi-a-ni-mi ki-a-am*\*
- 10 *wa-aš-ba-ta-a-ma wa-ar-ka-at*  
*é-tim ú-ul ta-pa-ra-ás*  
*a-na é-ti-ka e-ru-um-ma*  
*ka-la-tam ù* <sup>l</sup>ti-du-ri  
*a-ša-al-ma um-ma a-na-ku-ú-ma*
- 15 *ù bur*<sub>14</sub>*-kin i-ta-ší*  
*bur*<sub>14</sub> *te-pé-ša ša-me-ku-nu*
- l.e. *te-ep-tá ú-ul te-ep-tá*
- rev. *um-ma šu-nu-ú-m[a]*  
*še i-na qa-ti-ma [ú-ul i-ba-ší]*
- 20 *ù at-ta še ma-l[i]*  
<sup>l</sup>i-na é-ti-ka ti-zi-bu  
*ù-ul ti-de-e*  
*ur-ra-am ši-ra-am*  
*mì-im-ma la-a ta-qa-bi*
- 25 *bur*<sub>14</sub> *i-te*<sub>4</sub>*-hi-am*  
*šum-ma še ša é-gal tu-ša-ši-am*  
 20 *zì-še it-ti še ša é-gal*  
*š[u-ú]š-š[i]-a-ma bur*<sub>14</sub> *la i-ni-zi-ib*  
*šum-ma še ša é-gal la tu-ša-ši-am*
- 30 *ṭà-bi-iš-ma* 20 *zì-še a-na zu-ku-la*  
*šu-úš-ši-am-ma é-ka*  
*li-n[é]-pé-eš*  
*ù ša-ni-tam eš*<sub>15</sub>*-te-né-me-ma*  
<sup>l</sup>zu-zu-um le-em-ni-iš
- 35 *i-te-né-pé-eš ma-at ú-te-em*
- u.e. *ù-da-ba-ab ù udu-há-šu-nu*  
*i-la-qa-at mì-de ma-am-ma-an*  
*ú-ul i-qa-bi-a-kum*
- left e. *ù šú-ha-ru-ka i-na pa-ni-šu ú-da-pa-ru*
- 40 *ma-am-ma-an ú-ul i-qa-bi-a-ku[m]*

Say to the one who loves me : Thus (says) Sîn-išme'anni who loves you :  
The king is well. The city of Kunšum, your brother, your estate, your wife, and your sons, and I who love you, are well.

You cannot say thus to us : <sup>10</sup>“You are living there, and yet you do not look after my estate!” I entered your estate and questioned the daughter-in-law and Tidduri saying : “Has the harvest work started? You must do the harvest! Have you started the grazing (season) or not?”

They answered as follows : “There [is no] grain available!” <sup>20</sup>And you don't even know how much grain you left in your own estate! In future don't reproach me!

The harvest is approaching. If you arrange transport of the grain of the palace, then send 20 (measures) flour with the grain for the palace. If you do not arrange transport of the grain of the palace, <sup>30</sup>then at least send 20 (measures) of flour to Zukula, so that your estate will prosper.

Another matter : I keep hearing that Zuzum is up to no good. He troubles the land of Utûm and takes away the sheep (of) its (people). Perhaps no one will tell you (about it) ; since your retainers are afraid of him, <sup>40</sup>no one will tell you (about it).

16f.) Interpretation of this passage is aided by 59, where we have (l. 15f.) *ša-am-mu wu-di iṭ-tà-hu-nim* (ina GN) “The grazing(-season) is approaching (in GN)”. Here *šammu* should have the same meaning, and the verb must be *petûm* “open, start”.

27) These 20 measures of flour must be identical with the *še-a-im ki-i 20 ir-du-šu-ma liššûnim* requested by Tenduri himself in 59, 14f. This reveals that the “measure” involved corresponds to a “man load”, which again should correspond to the standard capacity measure of ca. 30 litres used at Shemshāra (cf. ShA 2, p. 26f.). Note, however, that grain was transported on donkeys over longer distances (34, 25f.).

34) Zuzum may be identical with Zuzum, *hanizarum* of Ilalae, mentioned in 63, 4.

37) The reading *mì-de* for *minde* was suggested by Hirsch (1961, 43).

### 36

SH.818 (IM.62095) Photo Pl. 35

Lit. : ll. 1-32 quoted in Eidem 1985, 93f.

Sîn-išme'anni relates to Kuwari how Indušše has destroyed the harvest in the land around Kunšum – apparently for the third consecutive year! None of the allies provided any help, and now the land seems in a state of panic. Kuwari is asked to make every effort to save his harvest, and to entertain good relations with his neighbours.

obv. *a-na ra-i-mì-ia qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma* <sup>ld</sup>en.zu-iš-me-an-ni  
*ra-im-ka-a-ma*  
<sup>l</sup>in-[d]u-úš-še ih-ha-ab-<sup>l</sup>ta<sup>l</sup>-am\*-ma  
5 <sup>l</sup>e-bu<sup>l</sup>-[ur] uru<sup>ki</sup> ku-<sup>l</sup>un<sup>l</sup>-ši-im<sup>ki</sup>  
<sup>l</sup>x x<sup>l</sup>[x (x)] <sup>l</sup>e<sup>l</sup>-b[u-u]r ir-<sup>l</sup>(x)<sup>l</sup>-<sup>l</sup>ta<sup>l</sup>-hi-im  
<sup>l</sup>x x x x] im-ha-aš  
<sup>l</sup>at-ta lu-ú] <sup>l</sup>ti\*<sup>l</sup>-de  
*k[i-ma e-b]u-ra-am iš-tu 3 mu+kam\**  
10 <sup>l</sup>ú<sup>l</sup>-[ul] <sup>l</sup>ú<sup>l</sup>-še-ri-bu  
<sup>l</sup>ù <sup>l</sup>i<sup>l</sup>-na-an-na e-<sup>l</sup>bu<sup>l</sup>-ra-am  
<sup>l</sup>ša<sup>l</sup> ma-<sup>l</sup>tim<sup>l</sup> im-ta-[ha-a]š-ma  
<sup>ù</sup> ma-d[a<sup>?</sup> x (x) t]i <sup>l</sup>ta<sup>l</sup> [x] ní?  
<sup>ù</sup> <sup>l</sup>ku\*-sa\*-na-hu<sup>l</sup>-um <sup>ù</sup>\* zu-ut-lu-um  
15 <sup>l</sup>ti-la-tum? <sup>ša</sup>\* <sup>š</sup>i<sup>?</sup>l-te-mu-ú  
*ma-am-ma-an ú-ul* <sup>l</sup>il<sup>l</sup>-li-kam  
l.e. <sup>l</sup>i-na-an-na\* <sup>iš</sup>\*<sup>l</sup>-tu 20 [(+x)] <sup>u</sup><sub>4</sub>-mì-im  
<sup>l</sup>i[n-d]u-úš-še i-na li-bi ma-tim  
rev. <sup>l</sup>it-ta-na<sup>l</sup>-al-la-ak-ma

- 20 ǵištukul-meš ú ta-ha-za-am  
 it-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-šu ú-ul ni-pu-úš  
<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> hu-up-šu-um ša pa-zu-ur-ta-ni  
 ù <sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-ša-ra-tum ir-ti-qa  
 a-<sup>1</sup>hu<sup>1</sup>-um a-na a-hi-im ú-ul ip-pa-la-às
- 25 <sup>1</sup>at-ta<sup>1</sup> aš-ra-nu-um la ti-gi  
<sup>1</sup>lu-ú<sup>1</sup> a-wi-lum at-ta  
 n[a-k]a-ma-ti-ka du-un-ni-in  
 u<sub>4</sub>-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-um řà-bu-um li-ti-iq-ma  
 te-er-<sup>1</sup>tam<sup>1</sup> a-na šu-lu-um ku-un-ši-im<sup>ki</sup>
- 30 <sup>1</sup>lu-pu-úš<sup>1</sup>-ma an-ni-tam la an-ni-tam  
 lu-[úš-řú-r]a\*-ak-kum-ma  
 l[u-úš-pu-r]a-ak-kum  
<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[x x]<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> it<sup>1</sup>-ti lugal-meš  
 ša <sup>1</sup>qá-ti-ka<sup>1</sup> lu\* řà-ba-ta
- e.35 ù <sup>1</sup>ir<sup>1</sup><-ti> lu\*-ul\*-li-[im]  
 lu\* řà-ba-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>
- left e. ù [ki-ma] e-bu-ra-a[m š]a-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-tu la <sup>1</sup>im-ta-ha-šú<sup>1</sup>  
 ù ša ku-un<-ši>-<sup>1</sup>im<sup>ki</sup>-ma řà-<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-ma a-<sup>1</sup>na\* x x x<sup>1</sup>  
 la te-gi-ma ma\*-<sup>1</sup>tam\* nu\*<sup>1</sup>-hi-<sup>1</sup>da\*-am\*<sup>1</sup>

Say to the one who loves me : Thus (says) Sîn-išme’anni, who loves you :

Indušše has come looting and [...] he has destroyed the harvest of the town of Kunšum *together with* the harvest of *Irtahum*. [You indeed] know that for three years it has not been possible to bring in the harvest.<sup>10</sup> And now he has destroyed the harvest of the country and ..... and Kusana(r)hum and Zutlum, *the allies who keep hearing (about it)*, nobody came to (help) us.

Now Indušše has roamed the countryside for 20(+x) days, and <sup>20</sup>we have not confronted him in open battle, and the soldier of our secret depot and the guards have absented themselves. Nobody trusts each other! You must not let (us) down there! (Act) like a (noble)man! Reinforce defense of your stores! Come a propitious day, and I will take omens for the fate of Kunšum <sup>30</sup>and [write down] and convey the results to you.

[.....] be friendly to the kings you control, and be friendly to the Lulleans! And [*in order that*] the harvest (there) they *will not destroy* and it will be well for Kunšum and with ..... do not be negligent, but *alert the countryside!*

**Note:** Unfortunately several passages in this important letter are badly preserved and could no doubt benefit from a collation of the original – like ll. 6, 13-15, and 33ff. It seems unlikely, however, that the basic meaning of the text as presently understood would be altered.

4) This reading is to be preferred over that suggested previously (Eidem 1985, 93). The verb *habātum* (in the N-stem) is used often in the texts from Mari about invading and raiding armies (cf., e.g., ARMT XXVII 141 ; 154 ; 167).

14) The reading of the first GN is not certain. The signs read as KU and SA are clearer on tablet (photo!) than in copy, but not completely certain.

22f.) The translation of this passage is tentative (cf. Durand’s (ARMT XXVI/1, p. 345 n. 37) suggestion : “Aussi bien les petits paysans qui pratiquent la contrebande que les gardes (de la douane) restent inactifs .....”). For *hupšum* see Fales 1991, 85 n. 34 with further lit.

### 37

SH.829 (IM.62101)

Separate note on left edge of **56** (from Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari).

From Sîn-išme’anni to Kuwari who is asked finally to send the barley requested with the troops of Talpuš-šarri (as detailed in **56**).

*a-na ra-i-mì-ia qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma<sup>d</sup>en-zu-iš-me-an-ni-ma*  
*še-am ša iš-ti-šu 2-ni-šu*  
*aš-pu-ra-ak-k[u]m it-ti ša-bi-im*  
 5 *an-ni-im šu-bi-lam-[ma ( )]*  
*ù ma-ha-ar<sup>d</sup>utu lu-<sup>l</sup>uk\*-ta<sup>l</sup>/ra-ba\*-<sup>l</sup>kum\*<sup>l</sup>*

Say to the one who loves me : Thus (says) Sîn-išme'anni :  
 Send the barley that I have written to you about both once and twice with these troops, and I shall keep praying for you before Šamaš.

3) This may refer to the letters **34** and **35**, where requests for grain are made.

### 38

SH.876 (IM.62122)

Lit. : quoted in Læssøe 1959a, 65f.

Etellum asks Kuwari to release the wife of a soldier detained in the palace (of Šušarrā).

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma e-te-el-lum-ma*  
*a-nu-um<-ma> aš-ša-at re-de-em*  
 5 *i-na é-kál-lim*  
*i-ba-aš-ši*  
*ú ka-ia-an ú-da-ab-ba-ba-ni*  
*šum-ma ta-ra-am-ma-an-ni*  
 rev. *aš-ša-as-sú*  
 10 *wu-uš-še-ra-am*  
*la ta-ka-al-la-a-ši*  
*i-na an-ni-tim*  
*i-ša-ri-iš da-ba-ab-ltim*  
*a-am-ma-ar*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Etellum : Now there is the wife of a soldier staying in the palace, and he keeps bothering me (about it). If you love me, then release his wife.<sup>10</sup> Do not withhold her. In this (matter) I shall recognise fair dealing.

### 39

SH.913

Lit. : quoted in Eidem 1985,100 ; publ. in Læssøe and Jacobsen 1990, 136-139 (no. III).

Etellum is staying on the border of Tarum, and eagerly advises Kuwari to come and help him conquer Šikšabbum. He states that the king (Šamši-Adad) in 3-4 days will conquer Nurrugum, and then come to Šikšabbum.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma e-te-el-lum-ma*  
*ši-ik-ša-ab-bu-um<sup>ki</sup> na-ka-ar-ka*  
 5 *a-ka-šu-um ù a-ia-ši-im ma-ru-uš*

ša ši-ik-ša-ab-bi-im<sup>ki</sup>  
 <<x>> la-we-e-em i ni-pu<<x>>-uš<<x>>  
 tup-pí an-né-em i-na še-me-e-em  
 l.e. †ga\*1-ma-ar-ti  
 10 ša-bi-ka ù lú lu-ul-/li-im  
 it-ti-ka <<ù da<sup>?</sup> e>>  
 lu-pu-ut-[m]a  
 rev. ù at-la-ka-am  
 ar-hi-iš  
 15 ši-ik-ša-ab-ba-am<sup>ki</sup>  
 i ni-il-we ù šu-ma-am igi be-lí-ni<sub>5</sub>  
 ni-ir-ši  
 an-na a-na-ku i-na pa-aṭ ta-ri-im/<sup>ki</sup>  
 w[a-aš-ba-k]u ú-qa <<qa>> ar-hi-iš  
 20 [al-ka]-am <<x>>  
 [ù ši-i]k-ša-ab-bá-am  
 [i ni-š]a-al la-ma lugal i-ka-aš-/ša-dám  
 u.e. [a]-di u<sub>4</sub>-3-kam u<sub>4</sub>-4-kam nu-ru-ga-am lugal  
 [i]-ša-ab-bá-at  
 25 [ù] lugal it-ti um-ma-na-/tim  
 [a-n]a [š]i-ik-ša-ab-bi-im<sup>ki</sup>  
 i-[a]-ka-am  
 left e. la-ma lugal i-la-ka-am ni-nu  
 iš-te-et i nu-dá-am-mi-iq  
 30 †a<sup>1</sup>-na be-lí-ni<sub>5</sub>  
 [l]a tu<-la>-ap-pa-at al-ka-am

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Etellum :

Šikšabbum is your enemy! It is a menace to both you and me. Let us prepare to besiege Šikšabbum. As soon as you hear this letter, muster all <sup>10</sup>your troops, and (take) the Lullean with you, and march off! Let us quickly besiege Šikšabbum, and gain renown before our Lord!

I am now staying on the border of Tarum. I wait (for you). Come quickly<sup>20</sup> and let us put Šikšabbum to account before the king arrives. In three or four days the king will conquer Nurrugum, and the king will (then) come with the armies to Šikšabbum. Before the king arrives, let us together do our Lord a great service.<sup>30</sup> Do not hesitate! Come!

19) Læssøe and Jacobsen suggested ú-<qa>-ka “I wait”, while Yuhong (1994b, 206) suggests ú-ka “now” (a rare particle known from a few Mari letters), but neither is confirmed by the tablet, where the sequence is : “ú” (but with 4 vertical wedges as in copy!) – followed by two signs which both formally are “qa” (but with traces of extra verticals as also indicated in copy). Since the letters of Etellum are full of erasures and the passage here broken a definite solution does not seem possible, and the one proposed here remains tentative.

20) One might expect (like Yuhong 1994b, 206) [al-ka-a]m-[m]a, but the sign at end of line was clearly erased deliberately.

#### 40

SH.877

Lit. : publ. in Læssøe and Jacobsen 1990, 144-147 (no. V).

Etellum to Kuwari : he has left Tarum and entered Ikkalnum, where the rulers of Hanbat, the ruler of Zappan, and the locals are gathered. Kuwari should join him immediately, but if unable to do this he should stay and defend his own land, and be ready to assist the garrisons Etellum left in towns near Zaslum.

obv. ʿa<sup>1</sup>-na ku-wa-ri  
qí-bí-ma  
um-ma e-te-el-lum ra-im-ka-a-ma  
iš-tu pa-aṭ ta-ri<sup>ki</sup>  
5 et-bé-e-em  
a-na ik-ka-al-nim<sup>ki</sup> e-te-ru-ub aš-ra-nu-um  
lú ʿha\*<sup>1</sup>-an-ba-at ù lú za-ap-pa-an<sup>ki</sup> ù ma-a-tum pa-hi-ir  
[k]a-al mu-ši-im ra-ah-ša-am  
al-ka-am šum-ma ur-ra-a-am  
10 ú-ul ta-ak-šu-ud e-te-eb-bi  
[a]t-ta-al-la-ak ù a-na-ad-dá  
[š]um-ma ur-ra-a-am  
l.e. la ta-ak-šu-ud  
la ʿta<sup>1</sup>-la-ka-a-am  
r.15 [m]a-at-[k]a-ma ki-i[l]  
ʿù<sup>1</sup> a-na za-as-ʿli<sup>1</sup>-im<sup>ki</sup>  
lu-ú qú-ur-r[u]-ba-at  
a-na ni-ih-ra-ar ša-bi-im  
ša a-na bi-ra-tim  
20 at-t[a-a]d-d[u]-ú  
re-[š]a-[a]m ʿki\*<sup>1</sup>-il

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Etellum who loves you :

I departed from the border of Tarum. I have entered Ikkalnum. There the ruler of Hanbat, and the ruler of Zappan, and the country is gathered. Make a forced march all night and come here. If you have not arrived tomorrow, <sup>10</sup>I shall break camp and march off and withdraw. If you have not arrived tomorrow – don't come. Hold your own country, and stay close to Zaslum. Be ready to assist the troops I left behind<sup>20</sup> in the garrisons.

#### 41

SH.925+942 (IM.62141+62144)

Lit. : publ. in Læssøe and Jacobsen 1990, 140-144 (no. IV).

Etellum has waited for Kuwari, but he did not come. He will go to Ikkalnum, leave a garrison and proceed to Arrapha. Kuwari must destroy the ferry and be ready to assist the garrisons left by Etellum – and also send his greetings to the king who will arrive in Arrapha shortly. The ruler of Šuruthum, a certain Kakmum, has joined Šamšī-Adad.

obv. a-na ku-wa-ri qí-bí-ma  
um-ma e-te-el-ʿlum<sup>1</sup> ra-im-ka-a-ma  
u<sub>4</sub>-7-kam ú-qí-ka-a-ma  
ú-ul ta-al-li-ka-a-am  
5 ù ma-a-tum\* ka-[lu-ša iš-te-n]i-iš  
is-sà-hu-u[r.....]  
la ta-[.....]  
ʿx<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
break  
l.e. [...]'x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
[q]a-ba-ka a-na lugal ta-ad-di-in  
rev. i-na-an-na ša hu-ul-ʿlu<sup>1</sup>-uq ḡ<sup>š</sup>má ša-a-[ti]  
e-pu-uš igi ka-ak-mi-im ša šu-ru-ut-hi-im

- 5' *a-na be-lí-ia is<sup>1</sup>-sà-<sup>1</sup>hu<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ur<sup>1</sup> lu-ú ha-de<sub>4</sub>-e[t]*  
 erased  
*a-na i-di be-lí<-ka> li\*-li-kam\* <<x>>*  
 erased  
 erased
- 10' *ša-ni-tam a-na-ku a-na ik-k[a-al-nim<sup>ki</sup>]*  
*a-la-ak a-lam ša-a-ti <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[...]*  
*bi-ir-tam a-na-ad-di-m[a]*  
*a-na ar-ra-ap-hi-im<sup>ki</sup> lu-u[l-li-ik]*  
*ù at-ta ma-a-at-ka ki-il*
- 15' *ù i-na za-as-li-im lu-ú qú-ur-[ru-ba-at]*  
*a-na ni-ih-ra-ar ik-ka-al-nim<sup>ki</sup>]*  
*pí-[q]a-at mi-im-ma ib-bá-ši-[ma]*  
*at-ta iš-tu a-ša-ra-nu-um ta-[na-(ah-)ha-ar]*  
*ù a-na-ku iš-tu an-na-nu-um a<sup>1</sup>-na-ha-[ar-ma]*
- 20' *i-nu-mi-šu li-ib-bi ma\*-a\*-tim\* <sup>1</sup>à-<sup>1</sup>ab<sup>1</sup>*  
*ša-ni-tam a-na u<sub>4</sub>-7-kam lugal*  
*a-na ar-ra-ap-hi-im i-la-ka-am*
- u.e. *an-ni-tam lu-ú tí<sub>4</sub>-de<sub>4</sub>*  
*ù šu-lu-u[m-k]a a-na ar-ra-a[p-hi-i]m*
- 25' *šu-bi-la-a-am*  
 l.e. *a-na <sup>1</sup>lugal<sup>?</sup>*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Etellum, who loves you :

I waited for you 7 days, but you did not come, and the whole country [togeth]er has turned [against me]. You should not [come..... rest of obv. lost ....]

.... you gave your promise to the king. Now do what is needed to destroy this ferry! The face of Kakmum of Šuruthum has turned to my Lord. Rejoice! Let him come to your Lord's side.

<sup>10'</sup>Another matter : I will go to Ikkalnum. This town [.....] I will leave a garrison, and [go] to Arraphum ; and you must hold your own land and be available in Zaslum to support Ikkalnum. Perhaps something will happen, and you must come in relief from there, and I will come in relief from here, <sup>20'</sup>and then the interior of the land will become quiet.

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

4'f.) This is a difficult, but important passage. Læssøe and Jacobsen suggested : .... l<ú> *Ka-ak-mi-im ša Š.* – “The ruler of the Kakmians of Š.”, assuming that “the scribe seemingly forgot lú and tried unsuccessfully to squeeze it in later”. The little mark before KA, however, is formally ŠI, and therefore the reading IGI is preferred.

Another question is the connection between Kakmum and Šuruthum. The latter GN is poorly attested, but in Ur III sources associated with Šašrum (= Šušarrā), and combining this with the evidence from an Elamite inscription which refers to the “Mountain pass of Š.” Astour (1987, 35f.) has proposed a location near the Qarasird Gorge south of Dokān. This location seems too precise on present evidence, but it can hardly be doubted that Šuruthum must be sought relatively close to both Shemshāra and the region of Ahazum.

As for Kakmum I would suggest that we here have – not the well-known GN – but a PN carried by the ruler of Šuruthum, whose city is specified precisely to avoid confusion with the GN Kakmum. This individual may indeed be identical with a possibly quite prominent person <sup>1</sup>*ka-ak-me* receiving luxury items in ShA 2, 118.

## 42

SH.859+881

Lit. : translation of ll. 3-9a in Læssøe 1963, 156 ; copy in Læssøe 1966, fig. 4 ; photo ibid. pl. 3 ; publ. in Læssøe and Jacobsen 1990, 147-154 (no. VI).

Etellum complains that Kuwari is not doing enough to help conquer Šikšabbum. He promised to have



the ferry removed, but has not done it. Supplies and soon also troops from Indušše can cross the river and enter the town. All of Etellum's troops are posted in garrisons and cannot be used. So Kuwari should muster his own troops and the Lulleans, and take up position near Zaslum to attack Jašub-Addu.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma e-te-el-lum a-hu-ka-a-ma*  
*am-mi-nim a-na ši-ik<-ša>-bi-im<sup>ki</sup> q]a\*-ta\*-li-im*  
*ʾa<sup>1</sup>-ah-ka na-dì*

5 *pa-na-nu-um i-nu-ma ma-a-tum ši-i*  
*na-ak-ru ša u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šu ta-aš-ta-na-ah-hi-ṭam-ma*  
*qí-in-na-az-ka ta-ri-ik e-li*  
*ma-a-tim ša-a-ti ù na-pa-ša-am*  
*ú-ul ta-na-ad-dì-in <<x>> ma-tam ša-a-ti*

10 *i-na-an-na mi-nu-um i-du-um ša a-ah-ka ta-ad-du-ú*  
*aš-šum giš-má a-na lugal ta-aq-bi um-ma at-ta-ma*  
*a-na lugal giš-má ú-ha-al-la-aq ʾù<sup>1</sup> ú-ul ʾtu-ha-al<sup>1</sup>-/li-iq*  
*dumu-meš ši-ip-ri ʾù ša<sup>1</sup>-bu-um ʾša<sup>1</sup> in-du-uš-še i-te-né-eb-bé-er*  
*i-na-an-na 2 me ša-b[u]-um lú qú-tù-ú*

15 *ʾù<sup>1</sup> ma-tam iš-ta-na-ah-hi-iṭ*  
*ʾù<sup>1</sup> at-ta ši-ip-pa-[a]t*  
*mi-na-am ni-ip-pa-al lugal*  
*ša-bu-um i-na qa-ti-ia ú-ul [i-ba-aš-ši]*  
*ša-bu-um ša 4-šu i-na bád-há š[a] m[a-at]*

20 *a-ha-zi-im i-ta-ad-du\**  
*ù iš-tu a-li-im ú-ul uš-ší*  
*bád-šu-ma ú-ka-al*  
*ʾù<sup>1</sup> [š]a-pí-il-ti ša-bi-i[a]*

l.e. *[i-n]a ma-ha-ar lugal*  
 25 *[š]a-bu-um i-na qa-ti-ia*  
*ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši*

rev. *at-ta ša-ba-ka pu-uh-hi-ir-ma*  
*ù lú lu-ul-li-im it-ti-ka lu-pu-ut*  
*a-na za-as-li-im al-ka-am-ma*

30 *šu-ub-ta-am ši-ib-šu-um-ma*  
*ù šu-pu-ur-ma ka-al ma-tim*  
*li-ig-ru-šu i-nu-ma uš-šé-ma*  
*at-ta ti-bi-šum-ma ù hu-ru-ʾus-sú<sup>1</sup>*  
*ù a-na be-lí-ka ʾi x (x)<sup>1</sup>[...]*

35 *dú-um-mi-[iq]*  
*ša-n[i-tam] aš-šum ir-ar-dì-ʾka<sup>1</sup> ša ta-aš-ʾpu-ra<sup>1</sup>-lam*  
*um-ma at-ta-ma wa-ar-du-ia-mi*  
*i-na ma-a-at ar-ra-ap-hi-im<sup>ki</sup>*  
*wa-ar-dì-ka i-sa-ah-hu-ru a-di ú-ul i-mu-ru*

40 *wa-ar-dì-ni šu-nu-ši i-nu-ma é<sup>1</sup>-kál-lum*  
*i-ma-aq-qú-tù ù ša-bu-um*  
*i-na ši-ik-ša-ab-bi-im<sup>ki</sup> uš-ša-ab*  
*ʾi-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi<sup>1</sup>-šu wa-ar-dì-ka*  
*[.....]ʾa x<sup>1</sup> [...]ʾa<sup>1</sup>-ta-ma-ar-šu-/nu-ti*

45 *ù ʾuš-ta<sup>1</sup>-[ma-ra-ša]-kum*  
*ki-ma at-ta a-na w[a-ar-dì-ia]*  
*tu-uš-ta-ma-ra-šú ʾa-na-ku<sup>1</sup> ʾqa<sup>1</sup>-tam-ma*  
*a-na wa-ar-dì-ka an-nu-tim uš-ta-ma-ra-ša*

50 *šum-ma i-na ma-a-at ar-ra-ap-pí-hi-im*<sup>ki</sup>  
*wa-ar-du-ka wa-aš-bu <<x x>>*  
 u.e. *a-ma-ar-šu-nu-ti-ma ú-ša-ar-ra-kum*  
       *erased*  
       *ša-ni-tam šum-ma ši-ik-ša-ab-bu*<sup>ki</sup>  
       *e-mu-qa-am i-ra-aš-ši*  
 l.e.55 *ú-ul a-ka-šum-ma-a*  
       *ù a-ia-ši-im*  
       *i-ma-ar-ra-aš*  
       *an-mi-nim a-ah<-ka> [n]a-dì*  
       <<x>> *ul-la-nu-um ši-ik-ša-bi-im*<sup>ki</sup> *ma-an-nu-um*  
 60 *na-k[a]ᵀarᵀ-ka ul-la-nu-uš-šu*  
       *na-ka-ar-ka ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši a-ah-ka*  
       *la na-de₄-es-sú*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Etellum, your brother :

Why do you not act to slaughter Šikšabbum? Previously when this land was hostile, you attacked it daily, and your whip was swung over this land, and you gave no respite to this land. <sup>10</sup>Now why do you do nothing? About the ferry you spoke thus to the king : “I will destroy this ferry for the king!” But you did not destroy (it). Messengers and grain from Induše keep crossing (the river), (and) now 200 Gutean troops! And they keep attacking the land, and you remain silent! How shall we answer the king? I have no troops available. The troops have been left in four (sections) in walled towns in the land <sup>20</sup>of Ahazum, and cannot leave the town(s), (since) they hold the towns, and the rest of my troops are with the king. I have no troops available. You must gather troops and muster the Lulleans with you, and come to Zaslum and take up <sup>30</sup>position against him. Then send words that the whole land becomes hostile to him. When he leaves, you attack him and cut him off. Do this service to your Lord!

Secondly concerning your servants, whom you wrote to me about as follows : “My servants are looking for your servants in the land of Arraphum!” Since they did not find <sup>40</sup>these servants of mine – when the palace falls and the troops stay in Šikšabbum, on that day your servants [.....] I will see them, and I will attend to your concerns. Like you concern yourself with my servants, I shall likewise concern myself with these servants of yours. If (it is) in the land of Arraphum <sup>50</sup>that your servants are staying, I shall see them and send them to you.

So if Šikšabbum becomes stronger, will it not be bad for you as well as for me? Why do you do nothing? Apart from Šikšabbum who is your enemy? <sup>60</sup>Apart from it you have no enemy! Stop doing nothing about it!

16) The form *ši-ip-pa-at* occurs also in **53**, 27 (*ši-ip-pá-at*), **64**, 43 (*ši-pa-ta*), and **69**, 10 (*ši-ip-p[a-t]a*) and 20 (*ši-pa-ta*) ; it is also found in OBTR 141, 12 (*ši-ip-pa-ta*). In CAD Š/1, 490 s.v. \*šapûm, Gt “to be silent” the examples from 42 and 64 were erroneously emended to respectively *ši-it¹-pa-at* and *ši-<it>-pa-ta* (in AHw, on the other hand, the first example is quoted s.v. *šibbû*, *šippûm* “eine Person” (p. 1590), but the second under *šapûm* (as *ši¹-pa-ta* ; p. 1177). There can be little doubt that the interpretation as a stative Gt of *šapûm* is correct, and we must assume an assimilated form of \*šitpat.

#### 43

SH.857 (IM.62111)

Lit. : ll. 5b-12 translated in Læssøe 1963,156.

Etellum again reproaches Kuwari for not pulling his weight, and urges him to come at once!

obv. *ᵀa¹-na ku-wa-ri*  
       *qí-bí-ma*  
       *um-ma e-te-el-lum a-hu-ka-a-m[a]*

5 [mì]-nu-um e-pí-iš-ta-ka  
 [a]n-ni-tum ʽam-miʽ-ʽnim  
 la ta-la-ka-[a]m  
 lugal iš-tu ul-la-nu-um  
 iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ar  
 a-di-ni-mi-i  
 10 ʽku-wa-ri ú-ul ik-šu-dám  
 rev. tup-pí an-ni-e-em ʽi-naʽ še-me-e  
 ar-hi-iš ra-[a]h-ša-am  
 ka-al mu-ši-im  
 a-na še-ri-ia ku-uš-dám  
 15 ú-la-šu-m[a] tu-la-ap-pa-at  
 ʽùʽ s[a-.....i-n]a e-pé-ši-ia  
 ʽx xʽ[.....]ʽxʽ[...]  
 ù ʽxʽ[.....]ʽxʽ-ti  
 wa-ar-[ka-nu-um ki-a-am]  
 20 la t[a]-qa-ʽabʽ-[bi um-ma-mi]  
 am-mi-[n]im it-ti ʽeʽ-te-el-lim  
 at-t[a]-zi-iz  
 u.e. [din]girʽ-lum aš-šum-ʽšuʽ  
 [a] id-di-na-am  
 25 ʽxʽ-ri-tu i-šaʽ-ru  
 left e. [ša-ni]-tam šu-[.....]ʽx xʽ  
 [ša m]a-ʽahʽ-ri-ʽiaʽ wa-ši-ib  
 qí-ʽiš-taʽ-ka ʽúʽ-šé-em  
 ma-ha-[(.)]-ar lugal ʽi-ba-šiʽ

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Etellum, your brother :

Now what are you doing? Why do you not come here? The king keeps writing from there : <sup>10</sup>“Has Kuwari still not turned up?” As soon as you hear this letter of mine, make haste and march all night to join me! If on the other hand you delay ..... my actions [..... 2 lines broken .....] (then) don't say afterwards<sup>20</sup> : “Why did I stand by Etellum? *God forbid that* .....” .

Secondly Šu-.... who is staying with me, produced your present. It is before the king.

23ff.) The reading of text on upper – and left edges is very tentative. In l. 23f. we probably have a (unique!) construction with DN *ā iddin*, for which see the numerous examples collected by Durand, ARMT XXVI/1, p. 310.

#### 44

SH.875 (IM.62121)

Etellum to Kuwari : Muškawe, the king of Kakmum, has looted the town of Kigibiši. Kuwari is requested to raid into Kakmum to divert Muškawe, and make him retreat from Kigibiši.

obv. a-na ku-wa-ri  
 qí-bí-ma  
 um-ma e-te-el-lum  
 a-hu-ka-a-ma  
 5 [l]ú ka-ak-mu-um mu-uš-ka-we  
 [q]a-ab-sa-am ša ki-gi-bi-ši-ki  
 [iš-h]i-iṭ 1 me-at udu-há 10 gu<sub>4</sub>-há  
 [x l]ú-meš il-te-qé  
 [ù l]ú-meš a-lu-ju-šu it-ʽbuʽ\*1-[ú]

10 [ù k]i-ma a-lam ki-gi-bi-š[ki]  
 [x]x<sup>1</sup> x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [x]x<sup>1</sup>-i a-lam la-we-[.....]  
 break  
 rev. x<sup>1</sup>[x lú-m]eš šu-nu-ti a<sup>1</sup>-[.....]  
 ù at-ta ap-pí-i[š.....]  
 lú ma-ah<sup>1</sup>-ri-ia wa-aš-bu [.....]  
 ú iš-te-en lú i-na [.....]  
 5' ú-ul i-zi-[.....]  
 ma-as-sú ši-[ta-hi-iš]  
 i-na an-ni-ti[m.....]  
 be-el-ka x<sup>1</sup> [.....]  
 ù šum-[.....]  
 10' x x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 break (ca. 3 lines)  
 [.....]x<sup>1</sup>  
 [.....]x<sup>1</sup>[.....]x<sup>1</sup>  
 [i-n]a-an<sup>1</sup>-na ki-ma x<sup>1</sup>[x (x)] li\*-ib-bil-ka  
 [š]í-bu-ut-ka e-pu-uš  
 5'' ú<sup>1</sup>-la-šu-ma an-ni-it-t[a] la an-ni-it<sup>1</sup>-/tim<sup>1</sup>\*  
 šu-up-ra-am  
 i-nu-ma ma-as-sú ta-aš-ta-<sup>1</sup>hi-ú<sup>1</sup>  
 ù ša-a-tu i-na zu\*-mu-ur a\*-lim\*  
 u.e. tu-ša-ap-<sup>1</sup>ta\*<sup>1</sup>-ar-šu  
 10'' a-na an-ni-tim <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-ah-ka  
 la ta-na-ad-di  
 left e. dumu šu-ur-r[a-.....]  
 x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 a[n-.....]x-lam<sup>1</sup>

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Etellum, your brother :

The ruler of Kakmum, Muškawe, made an attack into Kigibiši and took 100 sheep, 10 cows, [and x] men, [and] its inhabitants reacted, <sup>10</sup>[and sin]ce the town of Kigibiši [.....to ] besiege the town [.... break ....]

(rev.) [.... 5 ll. too broken for translation ....]. Attack his land, [and] with this [deed] your Lord [you will please] and [you will gain] renown [for yourself .... break .....

(l. 3'') Now do what you will according to your own wish, but if not send me words whether this or that. When you attack his country then you will make him retreat from this town. <sup>10</sup>“Do not be negligent with regard to this! The son of Šurr[a-..... rest of left e. too broken for translation ....]

5) For Kakmum see above I.3.B.

6) The town Kigibiši is not attested elsewhere. For *qab/psum*, “area inside/within the settlement GN”, see Fales 1990, 95f. The word is not otherwise attested in published OB sources.

6'-9') The translation is obviously tentative, but the passage seems likely to have been to this effect.

5'') The forms *annitta* and *annittim* seem certain ; the last sign on the edge is not in copy. It is damaged, but definitely not a TA.

8'f.) The expression *ina zumur GN paṭārum* is also known from ARM XIV, 103, 5'f., ARMT XXVI/2, 327, 6'f., and A.3669+, 8' (Lacambre 1997, 446), in all instances with the verb in the G-stem.

#### 44 B

SH.904 E (formerly classified as 86)

Fragment of letter from Etellum.

[a-na ku-wa-ri]  
 [qí-b]í-[ma]  
 [um-m]a e-te-e[l-lum]  
 [a-hu-k]a-a-[ma]  
 5 [.....]ugal a-na ʿé¹-[kál-la-tim<sup>ki</sup>]  
 [.....] ù a-na-ku ʿa\*¹-[na-.....]  
 break

[Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Etellum, your [brother] :  
 [.....] the king [went] to E[kallātum], and I to [.... break ....]

**45**  
 SH.912

Migir-Adad sends his retainer to obtain some favour from Kuwari who is asked to provide the retainer with an escort for his safe return.

Migir-Adad is not attested elsewhere in these texts, but is likely to have resided not too far from Shemshāra.

obv. a-na ku-wa-ri  
 qí-bí-ma  
 um-ma mi-gir-<sup>d</sup>im  
 ra-im-ka-a-ma  
 5 i-na pa-ni-tim lú-tur-ri  
 l.e. ku-du-ka-di-ʿil\*¹  
 [aš-š]um\* hi-še-eh-ti-ia  
 rev. [a]t-ru-da-ku-um  
 i-na-an-na a-nu-um-ma  
 10 lú-tur-ri aṭ-ṭà-ar-da-ku  
 hi-še-eh-ti la ta-ka-la-am  
 ù lú-tur-ri ša ki-ma  
 ʿa¹-ṭà-ra-da-ku-um  
 u.e. [t]a-aq\*-ri-ba-tam  
 15 i-di-šum-ma  
 left e. kaskal šu-ul-mi-im  
 ʿli¹-li-kam ù šu-lum-ka  
 lu ka-ia-an

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Migir-Adad ; who loves you :  
 Previously I sent my retainer Kudukkadil to you about my request. Now hereby <sup>10</sup>I have sent my retainer to you (again). Do not deny my request, and whenever I send my retainer to you give him an escort so that he can travel safely. And let your news (reach me) regularly.

**Note** : The erasures indicated on copy can be disregarded.

6) This individual is not attested elsewhere.

14) For (šābum) taqrībatum “escort” cf. Lafont 1992, 181.

## 46

SH.873 (IM.62119)

Asīrum asks Kuwari to release a certain Kirkiri, who is detained in the palace at Shemshāra, because his wife claims that he deserted her.

- obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri-i[m] a-bi-ia*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma a-si-rum*  
*ma-ru-ka-a-ma*
- 5 *lú ki-ir-ki-ri šum-šu*  
*i-na ʾpaʾ-le an-nu-ti-in*  
*a-ša-ri-iš i-li*  
*ʾi-ru-ki-tam*  
*i-hu-uz*
- 10 *munus ka-ar-ši-šu*
- rev. *i-ʾkuʾ-<<x>>-la-kum-ma*  
*um-ma ši-m[a] a-na ma-ti-šu*  
*ʾinʾ-na-bi-it*  
*ʾaʾ-w[i]-[l]am a-na ne-pa-ri-im*
- 15 *tu-uš-te-ri-ib*  
*ʾaʾ-na an-ni-tim*  
*a-wi-lam ša-ti la ta-ka-la-a-am*  
*ʾù 2 [lú] mu-ki-ʾilʾ-ka*  
*ma-ʾlaʾ ta-ha-ku-ú*
- 20 *2 [l]ú-meš\* ú-wa-aš-ša-ra-ak-ku-u[m]*  
*[a]-n[a an-n]i-tim*
- u.e. *a-bi lú ša-a-ti*  
*ʾla i-kaʾ-al-la-aš-šu*  
*ù ma-ti-ma hi-di-tam*
- e. 25 *it-ti a-bi-[i]a ú-u[l] e-ri-iš*  
*ʾaʾ-[bi] ʾa-naʾ an-ni-tim\* la\* i\*-ka\*-al\*-ʾlaʾ-a-am*

Say to Kuwarum my father : Thus (says) Asīrum, your son :

A man by the name of Kirkiri went up there during the present reign. He married Irukitam. <sup>10</sup>The woman slandered him to you saying : “He has run away to his own land!” This man you put into the workshop. Do not restrain the man for this reason. Then 2 of your supporters, (or) as many you expect – <sup>20</sup>2 men I shall release to you. My father must not restrain the man for this reason, and I have never asked my father for a favour. My father must not deny me this!

3) Kirkiri : for this PN cf. the early OB king of Ešnunna *ki-ri-ki-ri* (Whiting 1987, 23ff.).

## 47

SH.941 (IM.62145)

Lit. : publ. in Læssøe and Jacobsen 1990, 174-178 (no. XI ; erroneously indicated as SH.941 A).

Jadinum quotes report that 300 Gutean troops are ready to cross the river and enter Šikšabbum. Kuwari must have the ferry removed to prevent this support for Jašub-Addu. The same matter is also referred to by Etellum in 42, 9ff. The writer may be identical with a Šamši-Adad official mentioned in ARM I 99.

obv.    <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[na] k[u-wa-ri]  
           qí-b[í-ma]  
           um-ma ia-d[i-nu-um]  
           ma-ru-ka-a-[ma]  
 5        ṭe<sub>4</sub>-mu-um iš-tu ma-h[a-ar .....]  
           im-qú-ta-a-am  
           um-ma-mi ṣa-bu-um  
           3 me-tim qú-tu-um ṣa-bu-u[m]  
           a-na e-bé-ri-im  
 10       ku-un-ma  
 l. e.     ù a-na uru ši-ik-ša\*-bi<sup>ki</sup>  
           <sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-re-ba-am  
           ú-ta-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[a]m  
 rev.     a-na e-le-pí-im  
 15        šu-pu-[u]r-m[a]  
           e-le-pa-am ṣa-a-t[u]  
           li-dá-ap-pí-ru  
           ki-ma ia-šu-ub-<sup>d</sup>i[m]  
           e-mu-qa-am la i-[ra-aš-šu-ma]  
 20        ma-ta-am la ú-[da-ba-bu-ma]  
           ú<sup>?</sup>-ra-<sup>1</sup>am<sup>1</sup> š[e\*-ra-am]  
           la <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>\*-m[a-ar-ra-šú-ni-a-ši-im]  
           ṣa-ba\*-a[m.....]  
 u. e.     šú-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 25        lu-[.....]  
           <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 left e.   ù ma-ta-a-am la ú-da-ba-bu  
           ša du-pu-ur e-le-pí-i[m]  
           ša-tu e-pu-uš

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Jadinum, your son :

News reached me from [.....] as follows : “Troops – 300 Gutean troops – are deployed to cross (the river),<sup>10</sup> so they can find (a way) to enter Šikšabbum. Send words to the ferry that this ferry must be removed – so that Jašub-Addu does not [become] stronger and <sup>20</sup>he cannot [trouble] the land, and does not in future give [us trouble]! Troops [.... ll. 23-26 too broken for translation ....] (left edge : in order that ....) and he cannot trouble the land make certain that this ferry is removed.

5) The report could have come from lugal (Šamšī-Adad), as suggested by Læssøe and Jacobsen, but a more likely source seems to be Etellum.

13) The copy of this line is correct and the second sign, emended to NA<sup>?</sup> in Læssøe and Jacobsen, can only be TA (or less likely ŠA). The verb involved is *watûm* “find, discover”. Kupper (1997, 786) suggested *ú-ul* <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[di-i]n.

## 48

SH.945 (IM.62147)

Fragment of letter from Jadinum.

obv.    [a-na k]u-[w]a-r[i]  
           [qí]-bí-[ma]  
           [um-ma] ia-di-nu-[um]  
           [ma-ru]-ka-a-[ma]  
 5        [aš-šum x]-ar-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [.....]

[ša ta]-aš-pu-ra-[am]  
 [.....] ta ZA [.....]  
 break

Say to Kuwari : Thus says Jadinum, your [son] :  
 [As for the ..... which you] wrote about [..... break .....]

**49**

SH.858 (IM.62112) Photo Pl. 48  
 Lit. : quoted in Læssøe 1959a, 66f.

Hulukkatiil asks Kuwari to send back the wife of Abdi-Erah, who is staying with Kizzima, together with the transport convoy.

obv. a-na ku-wa-ri  
 qí-bí-ma  
 um-ma hu-lu-uk-ka-ti-il  
 it-ti <sup>1</sup>ki-iz-zi-ma  
 5 aš-ša-at <sup>1</sup>ab-di-e-ra-ah  
 a-hi-ia wa-aš-ba-at  
 e-ki-im-šu-ma  
 ù it-ti na-ši bi-il-tim  
 ša-bi-im an-ni-iš  
 10 li-še-lu-nim  
 rev. šum-ma i-qa-ab-b[i(-kum)]  
 a-hi-ti-m[i]  
 ú-la-mi <sup>1</sup>a-na-ad-di-i[n (...)]  
 ù at-ta la <sup>1</sup>ta-ba-aq-qá<sup>1</sup>-ar<sup>1</sup>-šu

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Hulukkatiil :  
 It is with Kizzima that the wife of Abdi-Erah, my brother, is staying. Take (her) away from him, and send (her) up here with the transport convoy.<sup>10</sup> If he says [(to you)] : “She is my sister! I will not part (with her)!” – then you should not bring claim against him.

**50**

SH.813  
 Lit. : ll. 1-14 quoted in Læssøe 1959a, 70 n. 57.

Hulukkatiil relates that Talpuš-šarri has removed sheep belonging to Kuwari in Sašharšum, but they are with the shepherd Hizutta, and Kuwari should not worry about it.

Kuwari is urged to send much wool to the king.

Hulukkatiil sends a certain Bisanši, who should be allowed to visit his people and return safely.

Hulukkatiil sends a certain Arrûk, and asks Kuwari to supply him with a plot of land or other permanent means of subsistence.

obv. a-na ku-wa-ri qí-bí-ma  
 um-ma <sup>1</sup>hu-lu-uk-ka-di-il-ma  
<sup>1</sup>ta-al-pu-šar-ri  
 a-na sa-aš-ha-ar-ši-im<sup>ki</sup>  
 5 il-li-ik ú udu-há-ni-ka  
 i-mu-ur-ma



10 udu-há šu-ba-ri-i  
 it-ru it-ti <sup>1</sup>hi-zu-ta sipa  
 lu ti-de li-ba-ka  
 10 la i-ma-ra-aš  
 ù iš-tu ma-ah-ri-ka  
 síg-tim ma-da-tim  
 l. e. a-na lu-bu-úš-ti lugal  
 šu-bi-lam  
 r. 15 ù <sup>1</sup>bi-sa-an-ši  
 a-na-ku-ú-ma aṭ-ru-da-am  
 mī-im-ma la te<sub>9</sub>-pé-šu  
 ni-ši-šu li-mu-ra-am-ma  
 li-tu-ra-am  
 20 ù <sup>1</sup>ar-ru-uk  
 aṭ-ru-da-ak-kum  
 šum-ma a-na é a-šà-tim  
 ša a-na ia-šum ta-na-di-nu  
 šu-ši-ib-šu šum-ma  
 25 la ki-a-am a-<sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-ar  
 a-ka-la-am i-ka-lu  
 u.e. šu-ši-ib-šu a-di dingir  
 i-pa-la-sú  
 left e. <sup>te</sup><sub>4</sub>-em-ka i-na KA-im la i-la-kam  
 30 i-na tup-pí-ma šu-bi-lam

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Hulukkati! :

Talpuš-šarri went to Sašharšum and inspected your flocks and took away 10 Šubarean sheep. Note that they are with the shepherd Hizutta. Don't worry!<sup>10</sup>

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

And Bisanši I myself have sent. Don't harm him! Let him see his people and return!

<sup>20</sup>And Arrûk I have sent to you. If there is a farm (available) which you will (care) to give me, then settle him there. If this is not the case, then settle him wherever he can earn his bread.

Until the god helps (us), let not your news come by oral message! Sent it to me in a letter!<sup>30</sup>

4) Sašharšum is not otherwise attested.

5) udu-há-ni-ka should probably be read *šēnika* (cf. CAD Š, p. 129).

7) "Šubarean" sheep may denote a (northern) lowland type. For the geographical reality of Šubartu in this period see Charpin 1992c.

8) The shepherd Hizutta is also mentioned in 59, and in ShA 2, 126 and 130.

13) Wool for the *lubušti šarrim* "garments of the king" is also requested by the writer in 52. Presumably a regular wool tax is involved.

27f.) In view of the passage in 64, 61f. "the god will look to the country", the translation assumes that the temporal clause belongs with the following sentence.

## 51

SH.805

Fragmentary obv. of letter from Hulukkati! . Contents concern the urgent need for grain. Talpuš-šarri (l. 9) and possibly other individuals (cf. l.13) are mentioned.

obv. [a-na ku]-wa-ri qí-bí-ma  
 [um-ma] hu-lu-ka-di-il[(-ma)]  
 [at-ta]-ma ti-di

[ki-ma] še-am [i-n]a ma-tim  
 5 [x x x]ᵀ x¹ im k[a.....]  
 [.....-a]m ša ᵀ x¹ [.....]-am-m[a]  
 [.....]ᵀ x x¹ [.....]  
 [.....] ša ka-[.....]  
 [.....] ta-al-p[u-šar-ri]  
 10 [.....] x KU t[u-.....]  
 [.....ma]-ša-ar-[.....]  
 [.....šu-ku]-un-ma še-[am.....]  
 [.....-m]a-lik ù k[a x]ᵀ x¹-ra\* k[a² (...)]  
 [.....t]a-aq-bu-ú  
 15 [.....]-im-ma še-šu  
 [.....]-pu-šu  
 rev. [.....]-ta  
 [.....]  
 [.....]-ši

Say to Kuwari : [Thus] (says) Hulukkatiil : [You] know [that there is no/little] barley in the land [..... rest too broken for translation .....] ]

**52**

SH.820 (IM.62096) Photo Pl. 51

The obv. of this long letter from Hulukkatiil is poorly preserved, but subjects include his delivery of grain, the arrival of a retainer of Talpuš-šarri, and the lack of wool in the palace. Like in **50** Kuwari is requested to provide wool for the *lubušti šarrim*. On the better preserved rev. Kuwari is requested to bring his “tribute”, particularly grain. The writer refers to Kuwari’s envoy Šunšija (cf. also **70**), who has asked Talpuš-šarri for some oxen, apparently in exchange for various goods, which the writer now wants Kuwari to send.

obv. a-na ku-wa-ri  
 qí-bí-ma  
 um-ma ᵀ hu-lu-[u]k-ka-ti-il₅-ma  
 še-am a-na ᵀ bu¹-nu-si-di ub-lam  
 5 ù ša ᵀ x x x-tu¹ ma-ᵀ x¹  
 ᵀ ti¹-ir-ri\*?-hi¹-im  
 ú ᵀ ṣú¹-ha-a[r t]a-ᵀ al-pu-šar-ᵀ ri¹  
 a-na ša ᵀ x x (x)¹ il-li-ᵀ ka-am¹  
 ᵀ ù¹ me túg ᵀ ú¹-ul ᵀ ú-ša-bi-la-am¹  
 10 at-ta-a-ma ti-di ki-i-ma  
 i-na li-bi ᵀ é-kál sig ú-ul i¹-ba-aš-ši-a  
 ù ᵀ a x x¹ [.....]-tim-ma  
 ša ib-ᵀ x x¹ [.....]ᵀ x x¹-ša  
 ki-ma ta-li-k[am² síg²] a-na lu-bu-uš-ti/ ᵀ lugal¹  
 15 ll. 15-24 only traces preserved  
 25 a-ᵀ na a-wa¹-tim ᵀ à-ba-tim  
 ù-tu-ul-ᵀ la¹ bi na ᵀ lu-li-im  
 ša-ni-tam aš-šum gú mì-de  
 šum-k[a] ta-ša-ak-ka-an  
 ma-tum\* i-na-ᵀ à-la-ak-kum  
 30 še-am šu-uš-ši-a-am-ma  
 ᵀ ù¹ a-na wa-ar-ka-at

*u<sub>4</sub>-mì-ni lu šu-mu-um*  
*at-ta ù a-na-ku ú-ul*  
*ši-it-na-nu ša-ni-tam*  
 35 *šú-ha-ar-ka Iš<sup>1</sup>u-un-ši-ia*  
 10 *gu<sub>4</sub>-há it-ti I<sup>1</sup>ta-al-pu-šar-r[i]*  
*i-ri-iš<sub>7</sub>-ma aš-pu-ur-[š]u*  
*iš-tu zu-ut-li-im ša-[x-x]<sup>1</sup>*  
*a-na-ku a-na ku-un-ši-im at-[ta<sup>1</sup>]-la-ak*  
 40 *[ù] šú-[ha-ar<sup>1</sup>]-ka lu-um\*-mu-[ur<sup>1</sup>*  
*iš\*-tu la il-[li<sup>1</sup>]-kam-ma*  
*gu<sub>4</sub>-há él-te<sub>9</sub>-[qē<sup>1</sup>] i<sup>1</sup>-na-an-na*  
*gu<sub>4</sub>-há er-sú-u ù\* túg-gú-è-a*  
 u.e. *giš<sup>1</sup>šukur ù giš-SIG*  
 45 *ša qa-ti-ka er-sa-at*  
*šu-ul-li ta-ak-lam*  
 left e. *šu-up-ra-a[m-m]a lu-di-in*  
*šú-ha-ra-am ša-pa-ra<-am> ú-ul i<sup>1</sup>-le-e*  
*[x x x (x) i<sup>1</sup>-nu-tum i-na mu<sup>1</sup>-[x]-[x]<sup>1</sup>*  
 50 *tup-pa-am me-he-e[r]*  
*tup-pí-im šu-bi-l[a]m*  
*[x<sup>1</sup>]-ru-um [a<sup>1</sup>]-bu-[x<sup>1</sup>*

**Note** : This letter will need collation of the original, but judging by the photo, the obv. is apparently too poorly preserved to yield a comprehensive text. The edition here must be considered provisional.

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Hulukkati! :

I brought grain to *Bunusidum*(?), and [... 2 lines broken ....], and the retainer of Talpuš-šarri arrived to ...., but did not bring (even?) 100 garments. <sup>10</sup>You know indeed, that there is no wool in the palace [... 2 lines broken ....] When you come bring [wool] for the king's wool supply. [... ll. 15-26 not intelligible ....]

(l. 27) Also I hope you will gain renown concerning the tribute. The country looks to you! <sup>30</sup>Have the barley transported here, and in future we shall have renown! You and I are not opponents.

Also your retainer Šunšija requested 10 oxen from Talpuš-šarri, and I sent him (on?). From Zulum .... I shall leave for Kunšum, <sup>40</sup>and I shall *see* your retainer. Since he did not come here, but I have taken (out) the oxen, now the oxen are ready. So send up the cloaks, the lances, and the ..... , which you have ready. Send me a trusted (man) and I shall deliver you (the oxen). I (myself) cannot send a retainer. [...] the goods are in ..... <sup>50</sup>Send me a letter in response to this letter! .....

2ff.) Readings of possible names in ll. 2 and 6 wholly uncertain.

25f.) The signs *ba<sup>1</sup>-tim* occur erroneously twice in copy. The line does not extend on to right edge. L. 26 cannot be reconstructed properly from copy or photo.

35ff.) Exact details of what happens here are not clear. The signs at end of l. 38 look like forming the sequence *ša-ka-nim<sup>1</sup>*, but if correct, the meaning is not obvious! In l. 40 the verbal form at end is suspect, and the reading tentative.

44) For the *giš-SIG*, an unidentified weapon or tool, also attested in administrative texts from Shemshāra see ShA 2, 26 (the suggestion in Ziegler 1997a, 792, to emend to *giš<sup>1</sup>tukul!* is not convincing).

## 53

SH.810 (IM.62090) Photo Pl. 53

Talpuš-šarri has heard from Imdija that his estate in Šušarrā is not properly managed, and now instructs Kuwari to have complete stock taken. Four named tenants are to be brought “up” to Talpuš-šarri under guard, implying that they are under suspicion for embezzlement.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma ta-al-pu-šar-ri*  
*ᵀim-di-ia il-li-kam*  
 5 *ù um-ma šu-ú-ma*  
*bi-it-ka-a-mi ša i-na*  
*šu-šar-ra-a<sup>ki</sup> ú-ul in-né-ep-pé-eš*  
*an-ni-a-ti-im ad-bu-ba-ak-kum*  
*aš-šum bi-ti-ia a-nu-um-mi-im*  
 10 *ú-ul ki-a-am ad-bu-ba-kum*  
*um-ma a-na-ku-ma*  
*ᵀku-wa-ri a-na bi-tim a-nu-um-mi-im*  
*la te-gi a-na a-bu-bi-tim*  
*la ta-na-aṭ-ṭà-al*  
 15 *i-nu-ma ta-ka-aš-ša-dú*  
*bi-ti a-mu-ur-ma*  
*šum<-ma> a-bu-bi-tum ša wa-aš-bu*  
*bi-tam da-am-qí-iš*  
*i-ip-pé-eš*  
 r. 20 *ù li-ši-ib*  
*šum-ma la ki-a-am*  
*at-ta-a-ma a-bu-bi-tam*  
*ša li-ib-bi-ka*  
*šu-ku-un*  
 25 *i-na-an-na am-mi-nim*  
*bi-tum ša-ti ú-ha-al-la-qú*  
*ù at-ta ši-ip-pá-at*  
*i-na-an-na še-a-am ša bi-ti-ia*  
*pí-qí-id-ma li-iš-šú-ru*  
 30 *ša-ni-tam bi-it ᵀa-ia-ta*  
*bi-it ur-na-mu-úš*  
*bi-it ᵀwa-ra-ki*  
*ù bi-it ᵀta-ki*  
*li-im-šu-hu-ma*  
 35 *ù i-na li-ib-bi*  
*bi-ti-ia li-še-ri-bu*  
*ù a-wi-lu-ú li-iš-šú-ru*  
*a-na še-ri-ia*  
*li-še-lu-nim-ma*  
 40 *ù aš-šum bi-tim*  
 u.e. *lu-ša-al-šu-nu-ti*  
 left e. *ap-pu-tum a-ᵀpu<sup>l</sup>-tum a-wi-lu-ú li-iš-šú-ru*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri, your brother :

Imdija came to me and (said) : “Your estate in Šušarrā is not being looked after!” I explained these things to you! Did I not say this to you<sup>10</sup> concerning this estate of mine : “Kuwari, do not be negligent with regard to this estate! Do not depend on the steward! When you arrive you must inspect my estate, and if the steward living (there) manages the estate well,<sup>20</sup> then let him stay. If not so, then you yourself appoint a steward of your choice!”

Now why is this estate being ruined, and you do nothing! Now have the grain of my estate checked and guarded.

<sup>30</sup>Secondly : have the property of Ajata, the property of Urnamuš, the property of Waraki, and the property of Take empounded, and brought into my estate, but have the men themselves put under

guard and brought up to me, <sup>40</sup>so that I can question them about the estate. Please – please have these men put under guard!

**Note** : no Sumerograms for *bītum* and *awīlum*.

3) For the PN Talpuš-šarri “The God-king is great” cf. Matthews and Eidem 1993, 202.

31) A PN Urnamu/iš also occurs in adm. texts from Tell Leilān (C. Vincente 1991, nos. 2 and 6). Most likely the name is Hurrian.

37, 42) Formally the best translation would be : “let (trusted gentle)men guard (them) .... etc”, but *awīlū* seems most likely to refer to the 4 tenants. If so the scribe has confused object and subject. The same mistake seems to have been made in l. 26 where *bītum*, although clearly the object, is in nominative.

## 54

SH.819

Lit. : quoted in Eidem 1985, 92f.

Talpuš-šarri reminds Kuwari that he has twice asked him to send barley, and now urges him to do it before the allied armies arrive. Talpuš-šarri himself has taken command of an army in Zutlum.

obv.    *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
           *qí-bí-ma*  
           *um-ma ta-al-pu-šar<sup>1</sup>-ri*  
           *š<sup>1</sup>i-<sup>1</sup>ti-iš-š<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>*  
 5        *ù š<sup>1</sup>i-ni-š<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>*  
           *aš-šum še-a-am<sup>1</sup>*  
           *šu-úš-š<sup>1</sup>i-i[m]*  
           *aš-pu-ra-kum-ma*  
           *ù še-a-am ú-ul tu-še-eš-š<sup>1</sup>i-em<sup>1</sup>*  
 10       *i-na-an-na ma-ta-tum\**  
           *ša a-na ti-il-lu-ti-ni*  
           *i-il-la-ku*  
           *iq-te-er-ba-nim*  
           *ù a-na-ku i-na zu-ut-li-im*  
 r. 15    *š<sup>1</sup>a-na pa<sup>1</sup>-ni ša-bi-im*  
           *a-al-la<sup>1</sup>-ak*  
           *i-na-an-na<sup>1</sup>*  
           *la\*-ma ša-bu-um<sup>1</sup>*  
           *i-il-la-kam\**  
 20       *ar-hi-iš<sup>1</sup>*  
           *š[e]-a-am šu-úš-še-a-am*  
           *[a]t-ta-a-ma<sup>1</sup>*  
           *š<sup>1</sup>ti-di ki\*-ma<sup>1</sup>*  
           *é-gal<sup>?</sup> e-ka-al<sup>1</sup>-lim*  
 25       *ri-iq<sup>?</sup> [ù<sup>?</sup> 1<sup>?</sup>] silà<sup>?</sup> [ap<sup>?</sup>1-pá\*-nu*  
           *š<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-[u]l i-b[a]-aš-š<sup>1</sup>i*  
           *aš-šum [še-a-i]m a<sup>1</sup>-ah-ka*  
           *la ta-na-ad-di<sup>1</sup> ar-hi-iš*  
           *šu-úš-še-a-am*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri :

(Both) once and twice I have written to you to have grain delivered, but you have not delivered the grain. <sup>10</sup>Now the countries which march to our assistance are coming, and I command the army in Zutlum. Now before the troops come <sup>20</sup>have grain brought quickly. You know indeed that (even) the

*inner palace* is empty, and there is not (even) [*a litre of*] chick peas available! Do not be idle with regard to the grain. Have it brought quickly!

24f.) The traces on the tablet are very faint and the readings tentative.

55

SH.884 (IM.62127)

Talpuš-šarri to Kuwari. A certain Habur-atal is very popular in the town Šegibbum, and he is now sent to Kuwari who is advised to let him go to Šegibbum.

obv. *a-na ku-w[a-ri]*  
*qí-bí-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>*  
*um-ma <sup>1</sup>ta-al-pu-šar-r[i]*  
*a-hu-ka-a-ma*  
5 *aš-šum <sup>1</sup>ha-bu-ur-a-tal*  
*ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am*  
*um-ma at-ta-a-ma*  
*a-na še-gi-bu-um i-ri-šu-úš*  
*ṭú-ur-da-aš-šu-ma*  
10 *li-ši-ib a-nu-um-ma*  
*aṭ-ṭà-ar-da-ak-ku-úš*  
*ki-ma e-li-ka ṭà-bu*  
*e-pu-úš*  
rev. *lu-ul-<sup>1</sup>lu<sup>2</sup>-ú<sup>2</sup> mî-in<sup>1</sup>-di*  
15 *ma-at še-gi-bu<sup>ki</sup> a <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> za zi\**  
*ù lú-meš a-hu-šu*  
*ša-ti-ma ha-aš-hu-šu*  
*ṭú-ru-sú-[m]a*  
*ù a-ni-a-šum*  
20 *wa-ar-ka-nu-um*  
*lu-ú šu-mu-um*  
*lú-meš ma-ru še-RI-bu<sup>ki</sup>*  
*i-ra-mu-úš*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri, your brother :

As for Habur-atal whom you wrote to me about as follows : “They want him in Šegibbum. Send him there, and <sup>10</sup>let him stay!”.

Hereby I have sent him to you. Do as you see fit. *The Lulleans* will perhaps ..... the country of Šegibbum, and his brothers need him. Send him (there), and for us <sup>20</sup>there will later be a good reputation. The people of Šegibbum love him.

8, 11, 23) Note the short form of the suffix *-šu* ; see above ad 31, 11.

14f.) Reading and interpretation of this passage is not clear in spite of repeated collation (from perfectly clear photos). The last sign in l. 15 is ZI (vertical wedge at beginning and extra oblique at end not in copy!). A very speculative reconstruction could be : *a-na za-zi<-ia i-na-ad-di-nu>* “will give (the land) to Zazija”.

22) The sign RI in Šegibbum may reflect a non-Akkadian phoneme (cf. Tur/Kukti, see Seal 3) – if not a simple *lapsus calami*.

Talpuš-šarri sends soldiers or workmen to fetch barley, and is concerned that Kuwari should keep them together, provision them, and have them sent back safely. He requests a larger shipment than previous and also asks for wine, and finally for tin.

In the last part of the letter the writer reports on events which are not clear.

- obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma* <sup>1</sup>*ta-al-pu-šar-ri*  
*a-hu-ka-a-ma*
- 5 *a-nu-um-ma ša-ba-am aṭ-ṭà-ar-d[a]-/ak-k[um]*  
*a-na še-im šu-uš-ši-im*  
*as-sú-ri-e-ma ša-bu-um*  
*šu-ú i-na li-bi ma-tim*  
*la i-sa-pa-ah ma-ša-ri*
- 10 *šu-ku-un-ma ša-bu-um šu-ú*  
*a-na ma-tim li-tu-ra-ma*  
*ù at-ta ša-ba-am ša i-la-ka-k[u]m*  
*a-ka-lam ú ši-ka-ra-am*  
*ú ì pí-qí-id ù ar-hi-iš*
- 15 *ṭú-ur-da-aš-šu l[a.....]*  
*u<sub>4</sub>-[ma<sup>1</sup>-am l [i-ti-iq-ma]*
- l.e. *i-na ša u<sub>4</sub>-mì-[im.....]*  
*ù [aṭ<sup>1</sup>-t[a.....]*
- rev. *ša ma-ah-r[i-ka.....]*
- 20 *pu-hi-ir-ma [.....]*  
*an-ni-im [x<sup>1</sup> [.....]*  
*[e-p]u-úš-m[a.....]*  
*ú šu-um-ka šu-ku-[un<sup>1</sup>*  
*ù i-na še-er na-ma-di-im*
- 25 *ša pa-na an-nu-um na-ma-du-um*  
*4 ra-bi<sup>1</sup> ù geštin ki-ma te-le-ú*  
*it-ti še-ma šu-uš-ši-a-am*  
*an-na-nu-um ku-um-ma ú-la-nu-um-[m]a*  
*ku-um-ma ù a-na-ka-am pu-hi-ir*
- 30 *šu-bi-lam ù ša-ni-tam*  
*gu-pa-ra-am ni-a-am*  
*[ša]-[bu\*-um<sup>1</sup> ša ti-ir-me-en-[še-ni ( )*  
*[i<sup>1</sup> -[mu]-ur i-na ta-ri-[x<sup>1</sup> [.....]*  
*ú-š[a-x-b]u-šu [x<sup>1</sup> [x x] [x<sup>1</sup> [.....]*
- 35 *is-sà-ba-as-s[ú.....][x<sup>1</sup>-ma*  
*i-na ar-da-me-ki-im wa-aš-ba-ku*
- u.e. *ù a-wa-tam ub-lu-ni-im*  
*li-ba-ka la i-ma-ra-aš*  
<sup>1</sup>*ša-ba-am ša ur-r[a-d]a-ak-kum*
- 40 *[i-n]a kaskal [šu-ul]-m[i-i]m šu-li-a-a[m]*

left e. additional note from Sîn-išme'anni to Kuwari = 37.

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri, your brother :  
 Hereby I have sent men to you to transport the grain. Hopefully these men do not scatter in the land.

<sup>10</sup>Post guards so that these men return to the country. And you yourself must provide the soldiers who are coming to you with food and beer and oil and send them (back) to me quickly! Let a day [pass], and of the day [.....] and you must collect the [.....] you have available,<sup>20</sup> and [.....] this [.....] do, and [.....] establish your renown. And this measure should be 4 (*times*) larger than the previous measure – and send as much wine as you can with the barley. It is *ready* here, and it is *ready* elsewhere. So collect tin, <sup>30</sup>(and) send (it) to me!

And secondly the troops of Tirmen-šenni *saw* our camp *when returning* [and .....] has seized .... [.....], and I am staying in Ardamekum and they brought me the news. Don't worry. Let the men I send down to you <sup>40</sup>come (back) up to me via a safe route!

24ff.) The *namaddum* is a “measuring vessel” or “measure” (CAD Š/II, pp. 206f.), and the context here seems to favour the abstract meaning. Unfortunately it seems that the commodity in question is hidden in the broken passage before these lines. It is also unclear whether *ina šēr ..... 4 rabi* here means “four times larger” or just “larger by four”.

26) The reference to wine here is the only one found at Shemshāra.

27f.) The translation assumes that *ku-um-ma = kūn + ma*.

31ff.) The first part of this passage is not clear and would no doubt benefit from a collation of the original. The key seems to be the word *gu-PA-ra-am* in l. 31 :

Talpuš-šarri is brought some news concerning “our” *gupārum* while staying in Ardamekum (otherwise not attested), and the news seems to be reassuring since Kuwari is advised not to worry (l. 38). The fragmentary ll. 32-35 seem to imply that troops under Tirmen-šenni had an encounter with the *gupārum*.

The context thus excludes that the word *gubārum* “ingot” is concerned – in spite of the mention of tin in the previous paragraph. Instead one thinks of the rather mysterious word *gupārum* attested in a number of Mari letters and recently discussed by J.-M. Durand (ARMT XXVI/1, pp. 159f.) who mustered the following examples :

ARMT X, 29,5 *lú-gal mar-tu a-mu-ur-ma it-ti, munus-meš ah-ha-ti-[i]a a-na gu-pa-ri-im, ú-še-em um-ma a-na-ku-ma, ..... “I saw the general and went out to ..... together with my sisters saying :....(follow arguments and requests which are refused)”*.

A.2821,8 *at'-la-a[k], i-ta-at kur-da<sup>ki</sup> i-ša-ta-tim nu-up-pí-ih, ù šum-ma a-lum<sub>x</sub> kur-da<sup>ki</sup> gu-pa-ra-am ú-ul le-[yi], a-na li-ib-bi a-lim<sup>ki</sup> [e-ru-u]b-ma ....etc.*

A.3857+,8 *....a-li[k šum-ma kur-da<sup>ki</sup>], gu-pa-ra-am ú-ul le-yi a-na [li-ib-bi a-lim<sup>ki</sup>], e-ru-ub-ma .... etc.*

Durand noted that all examples occur in a military context and suggested that the *gupārum* is a “lieu militaire” (“caserne” ou “camp fortifié”), and this could fit the context here.

36) A GN \*Ardamekum is not attested elsewhere.

## 57

SH.824 (IM.62099)

Lit. : ll. 19-22 quoted ShA 2, 42.

Talpuš-šarri instructs Kuwari about his estate in Šušarrā region. The available grain must be checked and 200 (measures [presumably = ca. 6.000 l, see below]) should be given to Imdija for purchase of tin. Kuwari should appoint a new steward.

obv.    *a-na [k]u-wa-ri*  
           *qí-bí-ma*  
           *um<-ma> ta-al-pu-šar-ri*  
           *a-hu-ka-a-ma*  
 5        *i-na bi-ti-ia*  
           <sup>†</sup>*e<sup>1</sup>-ru-[u]b-ma ù še-a-am*  
           <sup>†</sup>*[ma-li] i-ba-aš<sup>1</sup>-šu-ú*  
           <sup>†</sup>*[pí-qí-id]-ma šum-ma 5 me-tim*  
           <sup>†</sup>*[a-ša-ri-i]š ša-ak-nu*  
 10       <sup>†</sup>*[3 me-tim k]u-nu-uk-ma ù 2 [me]-tim*  
           <sup>†</sup>*[a-na qa-a]t Iim-di-ia*  
 l.e.     <sup>†</sup>*[i-di-in-ma] ù a-na-ka-am*  
           <sup>†</sup>*[li-iš-ta-a]m ù šum-ma*  
 rev.    <sup>†</sup>*[.....] x<sup>1</sup>-pu*



15 [.....]-gi  
 [.....]-šu  
 [.....a]-na qa-at  
 [im-d]i-i[a] ʿi-di\*1-in\*-ma  
 ʿa-na1-[ka]m li-iš-ta-am  
 20 ù ni-ik-ka-[as-sú]  
 ša še-a-am š[a i-n]a-a[d]-di-nu  
 ša a-na-ki-im [l]u\*-ú\* ʿti-di1  
 š[a]-ni-tam ʿa1-[n]a [b]i-[t]i-ia ša-a-ti  
 ʿa1-na a-bu-bi-[t]im la ta-na-aṭ-ṭà-la  
 25 bi-ʿx x1 x [x x x] la in-ni-iz-zi-ib  
 ù a-bu-bi-[tam š]a li-ib-bi-ka  
 u. e. at-ta-a-ma šu-k[u]-un-ma  
 ù é li-in-né-pí-iš  
 left e. ù a\*-bu-bi-tum ʿx1[.....]  
 30 [a]r-[h]i-iš li-li-k[am]-m[a.....]

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri, your brother :

Enter my estate, and check all the grain available. If 500 (measures) are ready, <sup>10</sup>then seal [300 (measures)], and [turn] 200 (measures) over to Imdija, and let him [make purchases of] tin. But if [..... ll. 14-16 broken .....] turn over to Imdija, and let him make purchases of tin. <sup>20</sup>And his accounts for the grain he sells and for the tin you must be au fait with.

Also as regards this estate of mine, do not rely on the steward. *The estate* must not be neglected, and you must appoint a steward of your own choice, so that the estate is well managed. And a steward [.....]. <sup>30</sup>He shall arrive quickly, and [*the estate will be managed*]

8, 10) The measure of grain used is presumably the baneš (= ca. 30 l). See ShA 2, p. 26f. (“Metrology”), and cf. above ad 35, 27.

## 58

SH.801 (IM.62084)

Letter from Talpuš-šarri in which only address and text on rev. is preserved. It quotes a message presumably to be delivered to a kinglet close to Šusarrā who is expected to remain loyal to Šušarrā, and later to “go up” to join the campaign against the Guteans.

obv. [a-na] ku-wa-ri qí-b[í-ma]  
 [um-ma] ta-al-pu-[šar-ri]  
 [a-hu-k]a-a-[ma]  
 [dumu ší-i]p-ri [.....]  
 5 [.....] mi ʿx1 [.....]  
 break  
 rev. l[a.....]  
 ù [.....]  
 ù ʿši-mu-um1 li-ʿi-š-me1-ma  
 ki-a-am li-iq-bi  
 5' at-ta ki-ma 1ku-wa-ri  
 be-el-šu i-ra-am-mu-ma  
 še-am qé-ma-am ù hi-ši-ih-t[i]  
 be-lí-šu ù-ša-bi-lam  
 ù at-ta a-na ma-tim

- 10' *ù uru<sup>ki</sup> šu-šar-ra-e<sup>ki</sup>*  
*la te-gi a-di be-el-ka*  
*i-ša-ap-pa-ra-ak-ku-um-ma*  
*te-el-li-am*  
*[a]š-ra-nu-um-ma lu wa-aš-ba-ta*
- 15' *ʾil-nu-ma um-ma-na-tum*  
*[ša u]l-la-nu-um i-na-ša-nim ù a-na-ku*  
*[a-n]a še-ri-ka a-ša-ap-pa-ra-am*
- l.e. 1-2 lines missing  
*[.....b]i<sup>?</sup>ʾti<sup>?</sup>1-ka a-ʾx x<sup>1</sup> k[u.....]*  
*ʾma<sup>1</sup>-h[a-ar.....]*

Say [to] Kuwari : [Thus] (says) Talpu-[šarri], your [brother] :  
 [obv. almost entirely lost]

[rev. l. 3' :] and let him indeed hear (this) and let him say thus : “You – like Kuwari loves his Lord and sent him grain, flour, and what his Lord needs – you likewise <sup>10</sup> must not neglect the country and the town of Šušarrā. Until your Lord sends for you and you go up you should stay there! When the armies from elsewhere are coming I will write to you to come.” [..... break of ca. 2 lines .....] your estate ..... before .....

## 59

SH.811 Photo Pl. 59

Lit. : publ. in Læssøe and Knudsen 1963.

Tenduri requests grain, workers, and tools for the agricultural work on Kuwari’s estate in Zigulā. Apparently the supply situation is so desperate that the authorities have empounded a delivery to the allied country of Zutlum. Tenduri urges Kuwari to come and join Talpuš-šarri for the impending campaign.

- obv. *a-na ʾku-wa-ri qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma ʾte-en-du-ri-ma*  
*še-a-im ša ʾta-al-pu-šar-ri*  
*iq-bu-ú ʾhu-lu-uk-ka-di-il*
- 5 *ú-ul i-di-in*  
*a-na še-a<<-am>>-im a-nu-um-mi-im*  
*la ta-ak-la-ta*  
*i-na-an-na a-na zu-ut-li-im*  
*ha-ar-ra-na-am ik-ta-lu-ú*
- 10 *ša pí-a-am ú-ul i-na-di-nu*  
*a-na zu-ut-li-im ki-i pa-na ú-ul / i-na-di-nu*  
*ù ša-ni-tam ki-ma ti-la-ú*  
*a-na ʾú-gu-ut-la-e sú-li-šu\**  
*še-a-im ki-i 20 ʾr-du-šu-ma li-šu-nim*
- 15 *ša-am-mu wu-di iṭ-ṭà-hu-nim*  
*i-na zi-gu-la-a<sup>ki</sup>*  
*ù urudu ku<sub>5</sub>-kin ša a-na qa-ti*  
*ʾhi-iz-zu-ut-ta ta-ad-[di-nu]*
- l.e. *li-mu a-na sila<sub>4</sub> li-i[n-di-nu-nim]*
- 20 *a-na sila<sub>4</sub> ùz i-ri-š[u-nim]*
- rev. *li-in-di-nu-[nim]*  
*ù lú-meš ʾr š[a ta]/-aq-b[u(-ú)]*  
*šu-bi-lam e-bu-ru-u[m]*

25 *wu-di iṭ-tà-hi-a-am*  
*it-ti še-a-am ša tu-ša-ba-la-am*  
*it-ti-šu lú-meš šu-bi-lam*  
*ù urudu ku<sub>5</sub>-kin ša é*  
*ú-ul i-ba-šu-ú*  
*urudu ku<sub>5</sub>-kin šu-bi-lam*  
 30 *ù šum-ma ma-ta-tum*  
*ma-li 1<sup>1</sup>ta-al-pu-šar-ri*  
*i-ra-di-a-am i-la-ku-nim*  
*ù at-ta i-li-a-am*  
*la ta-ka-la*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Tenduri :

The grain which Talpuš-šarri promised, Hulukkadil did not deliver. Do not count on this grain. Now they have detained a caravan to Zutlum. <sup>10</sup>Those who will not (even) give straw, will not give to Zutlum like before.

Therefore plead as much as you can with Ugutlae, so that grain, as much as 20 of his servants can carry, is delivered. You know that the grazing (season) is approaching (here) in Zigulā, and the cutter(s) which you turned over to Hizzutta – have *a lot of them* delivered ; <sup>20</sup>they are requested for the lambs (and) goats – let them be delivered. And send the servants you promised. You know that the harvest is approaching. Together with the barley that you send, send the men. And the cutter(s) which are not available in the house – send the cutter(s).

<sup>30</sup>And if all the countries which Talpuš-šarri commands come, then you too must come up. Do not stay behind!

**Note** : the script of this letter is unique among the Shemshāra tablets (cf. the remarks in Læssøe and Knudsen 1963, 132), and has a clearly archaic style, different from the more current style used in other of the local letters from Talpuš-šarri, Šepratu etc. The a-vowel in verbs (lines 12, 15, and 32) as well as other features could be described as “Assyrian”, or more properly an “east-Tigridian” tradition (cf. *ibid.*, p. 134), but are also found in other peripheral letters of this period. Cf. Charpin 1989 and Kupper 1992.

10) The word “straw” should probably not be understood literally, but stresses that nothing at all is given to Zutlum. Cf. ARMT XXVI/2, 326, 3<sup>f.</sup>, “Now ‘from straw to gold’ there is no mistake!” 14ff.) Cf. note to 35, 27.

19) Lit. “1000”, but this seems excessive!

17) As noted by the CAD N/2, p. 214, the urudu-kud-kin is otherwise unknown, but may be the equivalent of the urudu-kin – Akk. *niggallum* “sickle”. In the original edition the word was translated “shearing implement”, but since shearers seem to have been introduced only in the 1st mill. BC, we have preferred to translate “cutter”. Contemporary texts otherwise refer to “plucking” of sheep.

## 60

SH.874 (IM.62120)

Lit. : publ. in Læssøe 1959a, 61-5.

As suggested by Kuwari, Wanni will – like Kuwari – go to “his Lord” (presumably Šamšī-Adad) and become his vassal.

Wanni asks Kuwari to install himself in the town Abšeniwe – apparently to block an enemy campaign (cf. 61).

Wanni also agrees to the marriage alliance suggested by Kuwari, and asks him to offer a daughter to his son.

obv. *a-n[a] ku-wa-ri*  
*q[í]-bí-ma*  
*um-1<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> wa-an-ni*

ma-<sup>l</sup>ru<sup>l</sup>-ka-a-ma  
 5 a-na a-wa-tim ša a-bi  
 iš-pu-ra-am  
 ma-di-iš a-qú-ul  
 ù a-wa-tum ši-na da-am-qa  
 ki-ma at-ta a-na še-er  
 10 be-lí-ia ta-al-li-ku-ma  
 še-ep be-lí-ia ta-aš-ši-qú  
 i-na-an-na a-na-<sup><<x>></sup>ku  
 a-na še-er be-lí-[ia]  
 a-la-ak ù še-ep be-[lí-ia]  
 15 a-na-aš-ši-iq ra-ab-bu-<sup>l</sup>ut ma-tim<sup>l</sup>  
 it-ti-ia i-la-ku  
 rev. še-ep be-lí-ia <i-na-aš-ši-qú>  
 ù a-wa-at pí-[i-i]m ša be-lí-ia  
 i-še-em-mu-ú  
 20 a-na a-li-im ša ab-še-<sup>l</sup>ni-we<sup>ki</sup><sup>1</sup>  
 ù ge-er-ri-im  
 la-a te-eg-gi  
 pa-ni be-lí-ia ra-ap-šu  
 as-sú-ur-ri pa-ha-ra-am  
 25 a-na ma-<sup>l</sup>a<sup>l</sup>-tim a-bi la i-gi  
 i-na ab-še-ni-we<sup>ki</sup>  
 ta-<sup>l</sup>ša\*<sup>l</sup>-ab-ma  
 ù\* ge\*-er-ru-um li-ip-pa-ri-ís  
 ù aš-šum ma-ar-ti-ka  
 30 ša ta-aq-bi-a-im  
 um-ma at-ta-a-ma ú-lu-ú  
 ma-ra-at-ka id-na-am  
 ú-lu-ú ma-ar-ti  
 u.e. lu-ud-di-na-ak-kum  
 35 i-na-an-na ma-ra-at-ka  
 a-na ma-ri-ia id-na-am  
 ú sa-lu-tum i-na bi-ri-n[i]  
 left e. la-a ip-pa-ra-ás

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Wanni, your son :

I paid much attention to the words my father wrote to me, and these words are good. Like you <sup>10</sup>went to my Lord and kissed my Lord's feet, I shall now go to my Lord and kiss the feet of my Lord. The noblemen of the country will come with me, (and kiss) the feet of my Lord, and hear the word(s) of my Lord's lip.

<sup>20</sup>Do not be idle about the town Abšeniwe and the campaign. My Lord's attention is extensive. I hope my father will not neglect to gather for the country. Install yourself in Abšeniwe, and the campaign will be dissolved.

As for your daughter <sup>30</sup>whom you talked to me about saying : "Either give me your daughter or let me give you my daughter!" Now give me your daughter for my son and may the family ties between us not be dissolved.

11) The act of "kissing the feet" (*šēpam našāqum*) was performed by kings towards gods and by vassal kings towards their lord.

15) The reading at end of this line is fully supported by the original.

20, 26) In 61, 3 the same GN is written *uru ša ab-ši-im* "the town of the *abšu* (a kind of vegetable ; cf. AHW, p. 7)", while here the GN is supplied with the Hurrian article in sing. and the gen. suffix : *abše+ni+we*.

23) The expression here must be a kind of warning : if Kuwari does not look sharp the “Lord” will notice it!

27) The imp. *tašab* (<*wašābum*, or *tašābum*) is used fairly rarely in OA and OB with the meaning “install yourself (in ...)”, and in contrast to the “normal” imp. seems to imply a degree of emphasis or “imposition” in the act ; cf. ARMT XXVI/2 389 b) and 412 c) ; and ARMT XXVII 25 j).

37) The word *salūtum* is found also in OBTR 132,19 (cf. CAD S, 106).

## 61

SH.900 (IM.62133)

Wanni to Kuwari : the first part of the letter is not very clear, but on the rev. the writer asks Kuwari to be on guard in the town Abšenniwe, to prevent an unknown enemy from receiving reinforcements and envoys.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri-im*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma pa-an-ni*  
*ma-ru-ka-a-ma*  
5 *aš-šum ma-ru ši-ip-ri-ka-mi*  
*ʾa<sup>1</sup>-na še-ri-ia lu-ʾú<sup>1</sup> ka-ia-an*  
*[ta]-aš-pu-ra-am*  
*[ù ] ʾa<sup>1</sup>-na-ku šú\*-ha-ʾx x<sup>1</sup> ʾšil-na*  
*[..... ki]-ʾa<sup>1</sup> -am ša [ta-aš]-pu-ʾra-am<sup>1</sup>*  
10 *[.....]ʾx<sup>1</sup>[.....]*  
break  
rev. *[qa-d]u-um ia-a[q-q]í-[i]m<sup>d</sup>im*  
*bé-eh-rum wa-ši-ib*  
*ù at-ta i-na uru ša ab-ši-im*  
*lu wa-aš-ba-at*  
5' *aš-šum ša-bu-um te-er-di-[t]um*  
*la-a i-ru-bu-šu-um*  
u. e. *ù ma-ru ši-ip-ru-šu*  
*[l]a-a i-ti-qú*  
left e. *[at-ta šu]-up-ra-am-ma*  
10' *[.....]ʾx<sup>1</sup>-ma ni-ša-lu-šu*  
*[.....]-qa an-ni-tam la an-ni-tam*  
*[.....] šu-up-ra-am*

Say to Kuwarum : Thus (says) Panni :

As for your writing to me : “May your envoys (come) to me continually!” I ..... them, and like you wrote to me [.... break ....]

(rev.) .... the guard is staying with Jaqqim-Addu and you should stay in the town of the Abšum. Send words so that reinforcements do not reach him and his envoys cannot pass through, and <sup>10'</sup>[.....] and we shall bring him to account! [.....] write to me whether this or that is the case!

3) The variation w/p in Wanni/Panni is also found in ShA 2, 111, 4 (*pa-ar-ši<sup>ki</sup>* for more common *Waršu/i/e*).

1') This individual is not attested elsewhere in these texts.

3') For this GN see note to 60, 20.

Wanna refuses to hand over three named individuals to Kuwari. They will be executed together with a fourth individual, and their heads sent to Kuwari in a sack! Wanna's reasons for this attitude are not clear, but it seems that Kuwari has not fulfilled certain wishes in return.

- obv.    *ʿa-na<sup>1</sup> ku-wa-ri*  
           *qí-bí-ma*  
           *[u]m-ma wa-an-na*  
           *[m]a-[r]u-ka-a-ma*
- 5        *[a]š-šum lú-meš 3 an-ʿnu<sup>1</sup>-tim*  
           *[t]a-aš-pu-ra-a-am*  
           *[u]m-ma at-ta-a-ma*  
           *ʿku-la<sup>1</sup>-ru-um*  
           *ʿti-ir-we-en-še-en\*-ni\**
- 10        *ù ša-at-ʿli<sup>1</sup>-ia*  
           *ša ma-[a]h-r[i-k]a wa-aš-bu*
- l.e.      *id-na-aš-šu-nu-ʿti<sup>1</sup>-mi\**  
           *ki-a-am ta-aš-ʿpu-ra-am<sup>1</sup>*  
           *ú-ul a-wa<-ša>-ar-ma*
- r.15     *a-na qa-ti-im ú\*-ul\* a-wa-[š]ar\*-šu-nu<-ti>*  
           *a-di\* ni-qa-ti i-na ma-tim*  
           *ú-ul šu-ʿx<sup>1</sup>-ša-at*  
           *[a-w]a-šar-š[u]-nu-ti*  
           *[qa-d]u-um ki-iz-zu-ma*
- 20        *[li-m]u-tu ù qa-qa-ʿsú-nu\*<sup>1</sup>*  
           *ʿi\*-na\*<sup>1</sup> na-ru-qí-im*  
           *a-na še-ri-ka ú-ša-ba-la-ʿam\*<sup>1</sup>*  
           *iš-ti-šu-ma\* a-bi i-ri-ʿšú<sup>1</sup>-nu-ʿti<sup>1</sup>*  
           *ʿù a<sup>1</sup>-di lú sipa*
- 25        *ʿta<sup>2</sup>-š]a-a-al-šu*  
           *[x]ʿx<sup>1</sup> [x] wa<-aš>-bu*
- u.e.      *[x x]ʿx<sup>1</sup>[x]ʿBI<sup>1</sup>-[x-k]u<sup>2</sup>-uš-šu*  
           *[ù] ʿa-na<sup>1</sup>-[ku .....]*  
           *[a-na še]-ʿri-ka a-tu\*-ʿur\*<sup>2</sup>*
- 30        *[x (x)]ʿx<sup>1</sup>-hu du ma-tim*
- left e.   *[at]-ta ʿù<sup>1</sup> [.....]*  
           *ʿx x<sup>1</sup>[.....]*  
           *ʿx x<sup>1</sup>[.....]*  
           *ʿa\*<sup>1</sup>-bi ʿli\*<sup>1</sup>-p[u\*-uš (...)]*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Wanna, your son :

You wrote to me about these three men as follows : “Kularum, Tirwen-šenni, <sup>10</sup>and Šatlija, who are staying with you – turn them over to me!” Thus you wrote to me. I will not release (them), and I will not turn them over to someone else. Should I set them free while you have not ..... my offerings in the land? They shall die together with Kizzuma, <sup>20</sup>and I shall send you their heads in a sack! Twice my father has asked for them, and until *you have brought* the shepherd to account [.....]. 26-34 too broken for translation ....]

14f.) The use of *wašārum* in the G-stem (probably also in l. 18) must clearly be a mistake.

20ff.) For beheading of political enemies (and the treatment of the heads) in this period cf. the references collected in Charpin 1994a.

Šepratu reports on a summit between Talpuš-šarri, Kigirza of Zutlum(?), and Naššumar of Kusanarhum, who conclude a formal alliance. Naššumar and his sons with an army of 3.000 men, and another army from Zutlum led by a general, will come to Kunšum. Meanwhile Kigirza will take command of an allied army and attack the town of Arrunum, where treason is brewing.

Šepratu advises Kuwari to make peace with the many hostile Lulleans as quickly and as best he can, so that he can send up provisions for the allied armies.

Kuwari is further requested to report on the activities of Šamši-Adad. If his campaign does not pose a threat to Utûm, Kuwari should join the allies with all his troops, or otherwise at least come up himself with his retainers. If not he will be accused of treason to his lord – who has now been under siege for three years!

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma* <sup>I</sup>*še-ep-ra-tu*  
*a-hu-ka-a-ma*  
<sup>I</sup>*zu-zu-um ha-ni-za-ru-um*  
5 *ša i-la-la-e*<sup>ki</sup> *ša a-na ku-sa-na-ar-hi-im*  
*iš-pu-ru-úš il-li-kam-ma*  
*ù it-ti lugal ša ku-sa-na-ri-im*  
*it-ra-am a-na a-li-a-e*<sup>ki</sup>  
*ù it-ti-šu ki-gi-ir-za ù ta-al-pu-šar-ri*  
10 *in-na-me-er ù ni-iš dingir-meš ga-am-ra-am*  
*i-na bi-ri-ti-šu-nu iš-ku-nu*  
*ù lugal ša ku-sa-na-ri-im* <sup>I</sup>*na-aš-šu-ma-ar*  
*ù ma-ru<-šu> ta-ru-gu-ur* <sup>I</sup>*šu-úr-ti*  
*it-ti ša-bi-im* 3 *li-mi i-la-ku-nim*  
15 *ù* <sup>I</sup>*be-er-di-ge-en-da-e gal*<sup>d</sup> <mar>*tu*  
*ša zu-ut-li-im it-ti um-ma-na-ti-šu*  
*a-na uru*<sup>ki</sup> *ku-un-ši-im*<sup>ki</sup> *i-la-kam*  
*ù ki-gi-ir-za it-ti ša-bi-šu*  
*ù ša-bi-im ša ku-sa-na-ri-im ù šu-da-me-li-im*  
20 *a-na ar-ru-ni-im*<sup>ki</sup> *la-wi-im*  
*it-ta-al-ku i-na li-bi uru*<sup>ki</sup>  
*i-ba-aš-ši ša i-da-bu-bu*  
*um-ma al-kam uru*<sup>ki</sup> *lu-di-na-ak-kum*  
*i-na-an-na šum-ma lugal-meš ma-du-tum*  
25 *ša lu-ul-li-im ša it-ti-ka*  
*i-ki-ru ís-sa-al-mu ù ni-iš dingir-meš*  
*ga-am-ra-am ša ta-ad-di-nu-šu-nu-šum*  
*ṭà-ba-ti-šu-nu ša-ba-at-ma*  
l.e. *sa-li-im-šu-nu le-qé at-ta-ma*  
30 *ti-di ki-ma na-ka-ma-tu*[m]  
*ri-qa <<x>> ù še a-na ša-bi-i*[m]  
rev. *an-ni-im ša i-la-ka-am la i-ba-aš-šu-ú*  
*i-na-an-na it-ti lu-ul-li-im sa-li-ma-am*  
*da-am-qí-iš e-pu-úš-ma*  
35 *ša šu-úš-ši-im še ù qé-mi-im*  
*e-pu-úš ki-ma be-el-ka ù ma-tum*  
*i-ha-du-ú ù šu-um-ka a-na da-ar i-ša-ka-nu*  
*ù wa-as-pí* 5 *me-tim šu-ul-qí-am*

40            *ù at-ta wa-ar-ka-at* <sup>I</sup>*sa-am-si-dim*  
*pu-ru-ús-sú šum-ma ul-li-iš pa-ni-šu*  
*iš-ta-ka-an-ma ni-sa-tum a-na ma-at*  
*ù-te-em*<sup>ki</sup> *la i-ba-aš-ši*  
*ša-ba-ka da-am-qa-am ša-ab-tam-ma*  
*i-na qa-ti-ka ù i-li-am*  
 45            *ù lu-ul-li-i ta-ak-lu-tim i-na li-bi*  
*šu-šar-ra-e*<sup>ki</sup> *a-di at-ta te-li-am*  
*li-ki'-lu-šu-nu-ti šum-ma wa-ar-ka-tam*  
*ta-ap-ru-ús-ma pu-lu-uh-tum a-na ma-at*  
*ù-te-em ša-ba-am iz-ba-am-ma*  
 50            *ma-at ú-te-em ù uru*<sup>ki</sup> *šu-šar-ra-e*<sup>ki</sup> *li-šur*  
*ù at-ta it-ti šú-ha-ri-ka*  
*e-li-am ù ma-tum mî-im-ma la i-qa-bi-kum*  
*at-ta-a-ma ti-di KA-šu-nu ur-ra-am*  
*ši-ra-am i-te-bu-ma ki-am i-qa-bu-ú*  
 55            *um-ma šu-nu-ma šu-ma ki-a-am i-te-pè-eš*  
*ša a-bu-šu ú a-bi a-bi-šu nu-ul-da-nu-tam*  
*i-pu-šu ù ša-tu be-el-šu ki-ma na-pí-iš-ti-šu*  
*i-ra-mu-šu i-na-an-na be-el-šu iš-tu 3 mu*  
*la-wi-ma ù šu-ú ù-ul il-li-kam-ma*  
 60            *sú-ut be-lí-šu ú-ul ù-ša-qí-il*  
*ù i-na i-dí-ni ú-ul i-zi-iz*  
*an-ni-a-tim i-qa-bu-ni-kum-ma*  
 u.e.           *ù a-na wa-ar-ka-at* *u<sub>4</sub>-mî*  
*pí-iš-tum ù li-ba-ni i-ma-ra-aš*  
 65            *te-er-tam a-na šu-lum uru*<sup>ki</sup> *šu-šar-ra-e*<sup>ki</sup>  
*šu-pí-iš-ma*  
 left e.       *ù at-ta ti-be-ma at-la-kam*  
*ù še-am i-pa-ni-ka šu-úš-ši-a-am*  
*ap-pu-tum ar-hi-iš la tu-ha-ra-am*  
 70            *ša-bu-um wu-di qú-ru-ub*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Šepratu, your brother :

Zuzum, the *hanizarum* of Ilalae, who had been sent to Kusanarhum came, and with him he brought the king of Kusanarhum to Aliae, and he had a meeting with Kigirza and Talpuš-šarri, <sup>10</sup>and they swore a comprehensive oath to each other. The king of Kusanarhum, Naššumar, and (his) sons Tarugur (and) Šurti, will come with 3.000 troops ; and Berdigendae, the general of Zutlum, will come to Kunšum with his army ; and Kigirza with his own troops and troops from Kusanarhum and Šudamelum <sup>20</sup>have marched off to besiege Arrunum. Inside the town there is someone who says : “Come! I will give the town to you!”

Now if the numerous kings of the Lulleans who were hostile to you, are ready for peace and (accept) the comprehensive treaty you have offered them, then seize their best terms and accept their peace. <sup>30</sup>You know indeed that the stores are empty, and that there is no grain for these troops who are coming. Now make a firm peace with the Lulleans, and do what is needed for the transport of grain and flour so that your Lord and the land will rejoice, and you will gain eternal renown.

Also get me 500 slings!

And you must investigate the intentions of Samsī-Addu.<sup>40</sup> If he has directed his attention elsewhere, and there is no anxiety for the country of Utûm, then take your best troops under your own command, and come up here, and have some reliable Lulleans kept inside Šušarrā until you come up. If you have investigated the matter, and there is (reason to) fear for the country of Utûm, then leave the troops <sup>50</sup>to protect the country of Utûm and the town of Šušarrā, but you yourself come up with your retainers, and the country will not reproach you. You know indeed that (if not), they will forever



raise their voices saying: “He has acted like this – he whose father and grandfather exercised *nuldānūtum*, and whom his Lord loves like his own life! Now his Lord has been under siege for three years, but he did not come, and <sup>60</sup>he did not deliver his Lord’s revenue, and he did not stand by us!” This they will say about you, and it will be an insult forever, and our hearts will be sad.

Have omens taken for the welfare of the town of Šušarrā, and then you must get ready and set off. But have the grain brought in advance! Please (make) haste! Do not tarry! <sup>70</sup>(The arrival of) the army is imminent!

4) Zuzum is possibly identical with the individual(s) mentioned in **35**, 34ff. and **67**, 12. The word *hanizarum* must be an administrative or military title. It occurs only here, and in ShA 2, 111, 12. Cf. Læssøe 1959a, 83.

6ff.) The town Aliae is only attested here (cf. I.3.C). The diplomatic procedure is similar to that found in the Mari letter ARMT XXVI/2, 404 (time of Zimri-Lim), where Atamrum of Andarig sends an official to Aškur-Addu of Karanā, and invites him to a treaty summit in a small town on the border of the kingdoms. Aškur-Addu then sends an official to Andarig to fetch Atamrum with his troops and vassals, and the kings meet (the whole meeting is described in great detail).

6) For other examples of the short form of the suffix *-šu* cf. index.

9ff.) The “who’s who” in this important passage is not entirely clear. Assuming that the three protagonists who met in Aliae were all kings or princes we need to identify the domain of Kigirza. The passage ll. 18f. must exclude Šudamelum, and this leaves Zutlum as a good candidate. Šudamelum is only mentioned here. Cf. also I.3.C.

20) For Arrunum see I.3.C. The proposed treason is not explained further, but such incidents were not uncommon.

38) Slings (*wašpum*) are mentioned a few times in other texts from this period, but never in such large numbers. Unless the word here has a different meaning we must assume that slings were standard equipment for large military units. For a survey of the evidence for slings in the ancient Near East see Korfmann 1972.

56) For *nuldānūtum* see above I.3.C.

60) For the *sūtum* “revenue” see ShA 2, p. 41.

64) For *pištum* “insult, shameful thing” cf. Whiting 1987, no. 13, 9’; and for TIM IX, 6 see Alster 1990, 8.

## 64

SH.827 (IM.62100)

Lit. : publ. in Læssøe 1965.

Šepratu quotes news Kuwari wrote to him in a letter, which presumably was the answer to the previous letter **63** sent by Šepratu.

It is reported that Šamši-Adad has conquered Arraphum, and has marched on Qabrā, and further sent his son, Išme-Dagan, with an army of 60.000 men against Nurrugum. This news is reassuring since Šamši-Adad accordingly poses no immediate threat to areas further east. Šepratu asks for confirmation of the news that Šamši-Adad is at war with Ja’ilānum.

Kuwari is again urged to make peace with the Lulleans to ensure the safety of Šušarrā and communications. Kuwari is asked to send up the envoys of Šamši-Adad, Ja’ilānum, and Šimurru with named escorts. He is further again requested to send grain and flour to fill the empty stores, and supply the allied armies.

Šepratu reports that Šuruhtuh of Elam has written to Tabitu (the son of Pišenden, cf. below, **Seal 1**) to coordinate operations with Itabalthum. Šuruhtuh has sent the general Nabi-ilī with 12.000 men against Indušše.

Šepratu finally gives Kuwari news of his family, and like Sîn-išme’anni in **34**, relates the illness and recovery of Kuwari’s wife, Šip-šarri.

obv. *a-na ku-wa-ri qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma Iše-ep-ra-tu a-hu-ka-a-ma*  
*tup-pa-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam*  
*eš<sub>15</sub>-me-ma um-ma at-ta-a-ma*  
 5 *I<sub>ni</sub>-ip-ra-am iš-tu I<sub>ma</sub><sup>1</sup>-ha-ar*  
*I<sub>sa</sub>-am-si-<sup>d</sup>im il-li-kam-ma*  
*um-ma šu-ú-ma I<sub>mu</sub>-um ma-li I<sub>sa</sub>-am-si-<sup>d</sup>im i-pu-la-an-ni*

ma-di-iš<sup>1</sup> ša ha-di-im ù uru<sup>ki</sup> ar-ra-ap-ha-am<sup>ki</sup>  
 iš-ša-ba-a[t] ù a-na qa-ba-ra-e<sup>ki</sup>  
 10 I<sup>1</sup>sa-am-s[i]-<sup>d</sup>im i-ta-ši  
 ù ma-ra-šu I<sup>1</sup>iš-me-<sup>d</sup>da-gan  
 [i]t-ti ša-bi-im 1 šu-ši li-mi  
 a-na nu-úr-ru-gi-im<sup>ki</sup> la-wi-[i]m  
 iš-ta-pa-ar an-ni-a-tim  
 15 i-na tup-pí-im ta-aš-<sup>1</sup>ú-ra-am-ma  
 tu-ša-bi-lam a-na <sup>1</sup>te<sub>4</sub>-mì-im  
 an-ni-im ma-di-iš qú-ú-ul  
 as-sú-ri-i-ma a-wi-lu ma-tam ka-la-ša  
 la i-ša-ba-at-ma an-ni-a-ši-im  
 20 la i-ma-ra-aš a-na lú I<sup>1</sup>sa-am-si-<sup>d</sup>im  
<sup>1</sup>te<sub>4</sub>-ma-am ki-il<sub>5</sub> ù a-wa-tu-ka  
 lu-ú <sup>1</sup>tà-ba-šum<sup>1</sup> ù a-na lu-ul-li-im lugal-meš  
 ša it-ti-[k]a na-ak-ru šu-pu-ur-ma  
 it-ti-ka li-iš-li-mu la ta-na-ki-ir  
 25 sa-li-im-šu-nu le-qé ki-ma a-na ma-at lú-te-em  
 l.e. ù uru<sup>ki</sup> š[u-š]ar-ra-e<sup>ki</sup> ù a-na kaskal  
 i-<sup>1</sup>tà-bu an-ni-tam e-pu-úš  
 ù ša-ni-tam <sup>1</sup>te<sub>4</sub>-ma-am ša I<sup>1</sup>sa-am-si-<sup>d</sup>im  
 rev. ša um-ma-mi it<-ti> I<sup>1</sup>ia<sub>8</sub>-i-la-ni it-ta-ki-ir  
 30 ki-na ú-ul ki-na a-wa-tam <sup>1</sup>te<sub>4</sub>-ma-am  
 wa-ar-ka-sa pu-ur-sa-am-ma  
 tup-pa-am ar-hi-iš šu-bi-lam  
 I<sup>1</sup>ni-ip-ra-am I<sup>1</sup>ku-bi-ia I<sup>1</sup>ul-la-am-taš-ni  
 it-ti dumu-meš ši-ip-ri ša sa-am-si-<sup>d</sup>im  
 35 I<sup>1</sup>ia<sub>8</sub>-i-la-ni ù ši-mu-ur-ri-im  
 li-lu-ni-im ù lu-ul-li-im  
 ma-[l]i da-am-qú-tim ša-ba-at-ma  
 i-na qa-ti-ka ki-il<sub>5</sub> ki-ma  
 dumu-meš ši-ip-ri ša [luga]l-meš šu-nu-ti  
 40 i-na <sup>1</sup>tú-ub li-ib-bi-im i-lu-ni-im  
 ù li-ba-ni la i-ma-ra-šú  
 an-ni-tam e-pu-úš ù ša-ni-tam  
 aš-šum še-im šu-úš-ši-im a-na mi-nim ši-pa-ta  
 it-ti lu-ul-li-im si-li-im-ma  
 45 še-am ar-hi-iš šu-úš-ši-a-am  
 at-ta-a-ma ti-dì ki-ma na-ka-ma-tum  
 ri-qa še qé-mu-um ú-ul i-ba-ši  
 še-am qé-ma-am ar-hi-iš šu-úš-ši-a[m]  
 um-ma-na-tum qé-er-ba šu-um-ka šu-k[u-u]n š[a-ni]-tam  
 50 I<sup>1</sup>šu-ru-uh-tu-uh lugal ša NIM-MA-tim  
 a-na I<sup>1</sup>ta-bi-tu iš-pu-ra-am  
 um-ma šu-ú-ma a-na mì-nim ma-at i-ta-ba-al-hi-im  
 ma-ru ši-ip-ri-im a-na še-ri-ia  
 la i-ša-pa-ra-am um-ma-na-tum pa-ah-ra  
 55 a-na še-er I<sup>1</sup>in-da-aš-šu pa-nu-šu ša-ak-nu  
 i-na-an-na 12 li-mì ša-ba-am ša qa-tim  
 u.e. a-na I<sup>1</sup>na-bi-li i-di-in<sub>4</sub> um-ma šu-ú-ma  
 an-ni-am i-na-an-na re-de  
 a-dì še-um ù ša-mu-um i-lu-ú  
 60 gi-nu-a-tum-ma i-te-be-a

left e. *i-na iti an-ni-im dingir a-na ma-tim*  
*i-pa-la-às ù at-ta lu a-wi-lum*  
*aš-ra-nu-um a-di ma-ru ši-ip-ri-im*  
*[il-l]i-ka-am ù te-li-<sup>1</sup>am<sup>1</sup> ù ša-ni-tam*  
65 *[<sup>1</sup>den-z]u-iš-<sup>1</sup>me-an<sup>1</sup>-ni <sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-im-ka-a-ma é-ka*  
*u[ru-k]i ù [a-ma-a]t-<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup> ši-ip-šar-ri*  
*ša-al-ma im-<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-aš-ma it-tu-[uh]*

Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Šepratu, your brother :

I have heard the letter you sent me (where you wrote) as follows : “Nipram came back from Samsī-Addu and said : ‘All that Samsī-Addu gave me in reply is very good news ; and having conquered the city of Arraphum, it is towards Qabrā <sup>10</sup>Samsī-Addu has proceeded, and he has sent his son Išme-Dagan with 60.000 troops to besiege Nurrugum.’ This is what you wrote in the letter you sent to me. Pay close attention to this news. Hopefully the man will not conquer the whole country, and we <sup>20</sup>shall not have to worry. Keep this news from the envoy of Samsī-Addu, and let your words be pleasing to him.

Send words to the Lulleans kings who are hostile to you, that they should make peace with you. Don’t continue hostilities. Accept their peace. Do this so that they will be friendly towards the country of Utûm, the town of Šušarrā, and the campaign.

Next the news about Samsī-Addu that runs as follows : “He has become hostile to Ja’ilānum”, <sup>30</sup>investigate whether the substance of the news is correct or not and send me a letter quickly. Let Nipram, Kubija, and Ullam-tašni come up here together with the envoys of Samsī-Addu, Ja’ilānum, and Šimurru, and seize all the important Lulleans and keep them under your control. Do this so that the envoys of these kings <sup>40</sup>can come up with a light heart and we won’t get trouble.

Next why do keep silent about having the barley transported. Make peace with the Lulleans and have the barley transported quickly. You know that the stores are empty ; there is no barley (or) flour. Have barley and flour transported here quickly! The armies are near. Establish your renown!

Next <sup>50</sup>Šuruhtuh, the king of Elam, sent the following message to Tabitu : “Why does the land of Itabalhum not send envoys to me?” The armies are assembled ; they will march against Indaššu. Now he gave Nabi-ilī the command of 12.000 soldiers who are ready, saying : “Now take command of these!” When the barley and the grass ripen, <sup>60</sup>the (regular) offerings will rise, and in this month the god will look to the country. And you (must act like) a nobleman! (Stay) there until an envoy arrives, and (then) come up.

And finally Sîn-išme’anni, who loves you, your estate, the town, and your maid Šip-šarri are (all) well. She was ill, but has recovered.

5) Nip/bram was a local figure, but is not attested elsewhere. The same PN is carried by an agricultural worker at Mari (cf. ARMT XVI/1, p. 164 s. v. Nibram), and a *hābiru* at Tikunānum (Salvini 1995, prism iii 43).

12) The figure 60.000 is hardly credible, and perhaps merely given to stress that the bulk of Šamši-Adad’s troops is involved.

33) These three individuals acted as escorts for the envoys. Nipram had recently arrived at Shemshāra with a Šamši-Adad envoy (ll. 5f.). Kubija may be identical with the man mentioned in ShA 2, 16, 4. For Ullam-tašni, who was to escort the envoy from Šimurru, and his son Uštan-šarri see note to ShA 2, 11.

43) For *ši-pa-ta* see note to 42, 16.

60) The “regular offering”, *ginûm*, is normally masculine. The construction with *tebûm* is also unusual, but may refer to the “rising” smoke from the offering.

61f.) Cf. 50, 27f.

65ff.) Cf. 35, 10ff.

Sîn-išme'anni is pleased with the news sent by Namram-šarur. He refers to a legal dispute involving a female. He states that because of the war he cannot send any of his retainers, and asks Namram-šarur to send someone, presumably to fetch certain goods, and to bring news of the city Awal.

obv. *a-na na-am<sub>7</sub>-ra-am-ša-ru-úr*  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma* <sup>Id</sup>en.zu-iš-me-an-ni  
<sup>Γ</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-hu-ka-a-ma  
5 <sup>Γ</sup>I<sup>1</sup>bu-ul-la-at-tal\*  
[š]u-lu-um-ka ub-la-am-ma  
ma-di-[i]š ah-du  
ki-ma [š]a a-na<-ku> <sup>Γ</sup>ù<sup>1</sup> at-ta  
ni-na-am-ru-ma ni-na-aš-qú  
10 ki-a-am ab-ba-ši  
ù a-na-[k]u an-ni-ki-a-am  
ša-al-ma-ku lu-ú ha-di-a-ta  
ù aš-šu[m.....šú<sup>2</sup>-h]a<sup>2</sup>-ar-tim  
[.....] <sup>Γ</sup>x<sup>1</sup> di-ni\* ša <sup>d</sup>utu  
15 [.....] <sup>Γ</sup>x<sup>1</sup> ni-šu\*<sup>2</sup>  
rev. [.....]-IZ  
[an-na-nu-u]m nu-ku-<sup>Γ</sup>ur<sup>1</sup>-tum-ma  
ma-am-ma-[a]n i-na šú\*-ha-ri-ia  
a-<sup>Γ</sup>na<sup>1</sup> še-<sup>Γ</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-ka  
20 [ú-ul a-š]a\*-<sup>Γ</sup>pa\*<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-ar  
[i-na šú-h]a\*-<sup>Γ</sup>ri\*<sup>1</sup>-ka  
[.....] <sup>Γ</sup>x<sup>1</sup> un<sup>2</sup>  
[.....]-ma  
[.....] <sup>Γ</sup>x<sup>1</sup> lu-ša-bi-la-ak-kum  
25 [te<sub>4</sub>-em] a-wa-a<sup>Γ</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>Γ</sup>ù<sup>1</sup> ni-ši-ni ša-al-ma  
[š]ú-ha-ar-ka ša i-la-kam  
li-ib-la-am  
ù ma-ru ši-ip-ri-im  
30 ša tup-pa-am an-ni-a-am  
u.e. na-ši-a-kum ma-di-iš  
[š]u-qí-ir

Say to Namram-šarur : Thus (says) Sîn-išme'anni, your brother :

Bullattal brought me your greetings and I was very pleased. I felt as if you and I had met and embraced!<sup>10</sup> And I myself am well! Be glad!

And as for [.....] verdict (worthy) of Šamaš [..... (17) Here] there is war and I cannot send you any of my retainers.<sup>20</sup> [Among] your retainers [send me (Mr.) ....]-un(?), and [the .....] I shall send you. Ask for news of Awal and our people and let your retainer who comes bring (it) to me ; and treat the messenger <sup>30</sup>who brings you this letter with respect.

1) As observed by Læssøe (1959a, 93 n. 71) the name Namra-šarur is carried by a man of Ja'ilānum mentioned in ARM I, 8, where Šamši-Adad gives his son instructions about the execution of Ja'ilānum people staying at Mari. It seems possible that this man is identical with the addressee in our letter. The name is comparatively rare, and the letter can be dated to a period shortly before ARM I, 8 (15.xii\* Aššur-malik).

25) Awal has been identified with Tell as-Suleimah on the Diyala, south of the modern town Sa'diyah (see Steinkeller 1981).

## 66

SH.896

Lit. : ll. 4-13a quoted in Eidem and Møller 1990, 636 w. n. 7.

Letter from Talpuš-šarri to Jašub-Addu, who is reproached for not maintaining the traditional good relations with “his father” Pišenden, and the country of Itabalthum.

- obv.    <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na ia-šu-ub-<sup>d</sup>[im]  
           [q]í-bí-m[a]  
           [u]m-ma <sup>1</sup>ta-al-pu-<sup>1</sup>šar-ri\*-ma\*<sup>1</sup>  
           <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na mi-ni-im a-<sup>1</sup>na še-er\*<sup>1</sup>
- 5       [a-b]i-ka <sup>1</sup>pi-še-en-de-en  
           [dumu] ši-ip-ri-ka la t[a-š]a-ap-pa-[ar]  
           [ki-m]a u<sub>4</sub>-um-šu-um [(...)]  
           [a-b]u-ka ù a-bi a-bi-ka  
           [i]t-ti é-tim an-ni-im
- 10      <sup>1</sup>ù<sup>1</sup> ma-tim ša i-ta-ba-al-hi-im<sup>ki</sup><sup>1</sup>  
           [i]d-bu-bu ù i-na-an-na  
           [a]t-ta [k]i-a-am-ma  
           [d]u-bu-ub aš-šu[m....]  
           [...n]a-ak-ru-x [.....]
- l.e.15               3 lines with only traces
- rev.    [.....] šar-[ri?]  
           [.....] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> i-pa-la-[.....]
- 20      [.....]ša<sup>2</sup>-bi<sup>2</sup>-i]m<sup>2</sup> ša qú-t[i-.....]  
           [.....]-šu [(-x)]  
           [.....] ma l[i.....]  
           [.....]<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[.....]
- break
- a few traces remain on lower rev. (not in copy!) and on u. e.

Say to Jašub-[Addu] : Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri :

Why do you not send your envoy to your father Pišenden? Like previously your father and your grandfather conferred with this House <sup>10</sup>and the country of Itabalthum, you should now confer (with it) in the same manner! [... rest too broken for translation ....]

4f.) The collation of this passage was noted also in ShA 2, 38 n. 32.

## 67

SH.816

Letter from Pišenden to Jašub-Addu, who is reminded that their forebears were “brothers”, and reproached for not living up to that. The rest of the text is very fragmentary, but it emerges that Pišenden requests shipments of various items, among them copper and tin for manufacture of weapons (cf. 68), to be delivered with all possible dispatch.

- obv.    a-na ia-šu-ub-<sup>d</sup>im  
           qí-bí-m[a]  
           [u]m-[m]a <sup>1</sup>p[í-š]e-en-[d]e-en  
           <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-bu-k[a-a]-ma
- 5       at-ta <sup>1</sup>ú-ul<sup>1</sup> ta-aš-me-e\*<sup><<x>></sup>-ma  
           a-bi <ù> a-bi a-bi-ia [i]t-ti <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-bi-k[a]

ù a-bi a-bi-ka ʾat<sup>1</sup>-hu-tam i-pu-šū  
 i-na-an-na at-ta [.....]  
 la ta-a[l]-la-ak-ma ʾku-un-šū-um<sup>1</sup>  
 10 la i-pa-ra-á[s.....]ʾx x<sup>1</sup>-am  
 ʾù<sup>1</sup> ša-[n]i-ta[m.....]  
 [a-na] ʾzu-zi-im [ù.....]  
 [x] gún 15 ma-[na.....]  
 [ki-ma] hi-še-eh-t[i-šū-nu.....]  
 l.e.15 [li-di-n]u-šū-nu-ši-i[m.....]  
 [.....]-im ù ʾx<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [.....-i]m [.....]  
 rev. [.....mi]-im-ma ʾhi-še-eh<sup>1</sup>-[ti- .....]  
 [.....] ʾi<sup>1</sup>-na ku-u[n]-šī-i[m<sup>ki</sup>]  
 20 [.....]ʾx x-di<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 [.....]ʾx\* x\* x\*<sup>1</sup> na [.....]  
 [.....]ʾx<sup>1</sup>-KU-tum 2 me-at ʾx<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 ʾx x<sup>1</sup> sa-am-tu[m x ] gú-è-a  
 20 ʾ(x) x<sup>1</sup> BU 14 ma-[n]a ma-sú-um  
 25 10 ma-na ku-ur-bi-a-nu-um  
 ʾx<sup>1</sup> ì-du<sub>8</sub> ʾx<sup>1</sup>[.....]ú\*-meš  
 9<sup>?</sup> šú-ha-ru-[ia š]a de-ku  
 ʾan<sup>1</sup>-nu-um ʾe<sup>1</sup>-pé-eš<sub>15</sub>-ka ʾda<sup>1</sup>-mì-iq  
 [ša t]e-pu-šū<x>-ma <x>  
 30 šu[m-m]a i-na ki-na-t[im] ma-ri  
 [a]t-ta i-nu-tum š[i]-i  
 [l]a i-ha-li-iq a-na-k[am]  
 u.e. ù we-ri-am ha-aš-ʾha<sup>1</sup>-ku<sup>1</sup>  
 a-na ka-ak-ki [a]r-hi-ʾiš<sup>1</sup>  
 35 li-ša-ah-mì-t[ú]-nim-[ma]  
 left e. [ù i]-nu-tum šī-ʾi<sup>1</sup> [l]a i-ha-li-iq

Say to Jašub-Addu : Thus (says) Pišenden, your father :

Have you yourself not heard that my father and my grandfather made an alliance of brotherhood with your father and your grandfather. Now you [.....] must not leave, and *Kunšum*<sup>10</sup> must not divide [.....].

(l. 11) [And] also [..... to] Zuzum [and ..... x] talents 15 mi[nas of ..... according to their] wishes let them have [.....] (rev.) all [l] want [.....] in Kunšum<sup>20</sup> [deliver .....] 200 [.....], *red stone*, [... x] cloaks, 20 ....., 14 minas of pure metal, 10 minas of *kurbianum*, and .... sweet oil [.....] the men, 9 of my retainers, *who were recruited* – this deed of yours which you have done, is that good?

<sup>30</sup>If you are in truth my son, these goods must not be lost. I need the copper and the tin for (manufacture of) weapons. Have them deliver with all dispatch, but these goods must not be lost!

9) The reading at end of this line uncertain.

12) Zuzum could be identical with the *hanizarum* of Ilalae mentioned in 64 and/or with the troublemaker attested in 35, 34.

22f.) The various items listed here are not too clear. In 23 we may have the word *samtum* “red stone” (carnelian), but that does not seem to go well with the “cloaks” listed next.

24f.) The word *māsum* denotes “purified” metal, while *kurbianum* (cf. *kiurbānum* : “lump of stone, metal or slag ; CAD K, 403) is hardly worthless slag. In view of the relatively small quantities both terms may refer to special metal products, which we are as yet unable to define.

27) The incident referred to is not clear. The translation assumes that the verb *dekām* “to call up” is involved, but a more dramatic solution would be to read *di-ku* (from *dākum*) and translate “who were killed”. In any case the implication seems to be that some of Pišenden’s servants have been given problems by Jašub-Addu.

33) The last sign in the line is as in copy, and looks more like UM than KU, but the reading and interpretation seems certain.

## 68

SH.868

Lit. : publ. in Læssøe 1959b.

Pišente needs lances and has obtained 5.000 lance shafts from Kusanarum. He now asks his “son” Šū-Enlil to send (/sell?) him the tin to make the blades as quickly as possible. The pleading tone indicates how urgent the need for tin was.

obv. *a-na* ʾšū-<sup>d</sup>en<sup>l</sup>-líl  
*qí-bí-ma*  
*um-ma* ʾpí<sup>l</sup>-še-en-te  
*a-bu-ʾka-a<sup>l</sup>-ma*

5 *it-ti ku-s[a-n]a-ri-im* lugal  
*ḡiššukur e-ri-iš-ma*  
*ù 5 li-mi ḡiššukur*  
*ú-ša-bi-lam*  
*ù li-š[a-n]a<<am>>-tim*

10 *ša ḡiššukur ú-še-ep-pé-eš*  
*ù an-na-ku-um a-na qa-ʾti<sup>l</sup>-ia*  
*ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši*

rev. *an-na-ka-am ša e-ri-šu*  
*ma-ri la i-ka-al-la-a*

15 *ù an-na-ka-am ša ma-ri*  
*i-na-ad-di-nu ki-ma*  
*20 li-mi ša-bi-im*  
*ʾa<sup>l</sup>-n[a] a-ia-ši-im ku<sub>8</sub>-ši-ru*  
*[a-n]a ʾda<sup>l</sup>-ri-iš u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im*

20 *[a]-na a-bi-ka gi-mi-il-ma*  
*an-na-ka-am ma-li*  
*e-ri-šu*  
*[a]r-hi-iš ma-ri li-ša-bi-lam-ma*  
*[ù] ḡiššuk[u]r lu-še-pí-iš*

Say to Šū-Enlil : Thus (says) Pišente, your father :

I requested lance(s) from the king (of) Kusanarum, and he accordingly sent me 5.000 lances. I am having the blades <sup>10</sup>of the lance(s) made, but I have no tin available. My son must not deny (me) the tin which I request, and the tin which my son gives (/sells?) me, will give me success like 20.000 soldiers! Be forever generous<sup>20</sup> to your father, and all the tin I request, will my son please send it to me quickly so that I can have the lance(s) made.

1) Various suggestions have been made about the name of addressee (cf. Læssøe 1959b, 89), the latest being *ku-ul-lu* (Læssøe 1966), but recent collation has established that ʾ<sup>d</sup>en<sup>l</sup>-líl is certain, and hence the first sign, which remains slightly unclear, must be ŠU. A king Šū-Enlil is not attested elsewhere. PNs of the type šū-DN are of course very common in Old Assyrian Assur, and it is possible that the recipient was an Assyrian commercial agent.

18) For *kušīrum* “success, profit” see CAD K, 599. The word is used about commercial “profit” in Old Assyrian texts, but is otherwise rare in this period. Other examples are found in ARMT XXVI/1 1, 1’ (“diviners loyalty oath”); and in a letter from Leilān (Eidem n. d., no. 175, 4f. : lú-meš sà-ar-ra-ru i-nu-ma i-na bi-ri-ni, i-ba-aš-šu-ú mi-nu-um ku-ši-ir-ni “When outlaws are among us what chance do we have of success?”).

## 69

SH.802, 808+815

(IM.62085, 62088, 62093)

Photo Pl. 74

Lit. : Læssøe 1959a, 68.

Pišenden writes to an important king (his “brother”), whose envoy he was pleased to receive. He is displeased, however, that the addressee should not live up to the traditional alliance between their dynasties. After a broken passage follows discussion of a plan to secure help from Elam, Namar, and Nikum, and reference to a previous occasion when these kingdoms were offered silver, gold, and other treasure for attacking Kakmum.

**Note** : Parts of ll. 35’-40’ have been restored from imprints on reverse of envelope fragment SH.817 B+ (see Pl. 86), impressed on the obverse with the seal of Pišenden (**Seal 1**). The preserved text on this fragment is marked with bold face below.

obv. *a-na t[u-.....]*  
*qí-bí-[ma]*  
*um-ma pì-še-e[n-de-en]*  
*a-hu-ka-a-[ma]*  
5 *ma-ru ši-ip-ri-k[a.....]*  
*šu-lu-um<<x x>>-ka [ub-la-am]*  
*a-ša-al-šu-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ma t[e<sub>4</sub>-em-ka iq-bé-em]*  
*ki-ma ša a-na-ku [ù at-ta ni-na-am-ru]*  
*ma-di-iš ah-du a-na m[ì-ni-ma (.....)]*  
10 *ši-ip-p[a-t]a [š]a al<sup>1</sup>[x<sup>1</sup>][.....]*  
*ir-dì [.....]*  
*ki-ma [.....]*  
*ù<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>1</sup> at<sup>1</sup> x<sup>1</sup> [.....]*  
*at-hu-[tam ù ra-i-mu]-tam*  
15 *i-pu-<sup>1</sup>šu ù lugal-me[š]-ni*  
*pa-nu-tu[m a]t-h[u-ta]m ù ra-i-mu-tam*  
*i-p[u-šu.....]<sup>1</sup> x<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>1</sup> x<sup>1</sup> ša<sup>1</sup> ú<sup>1</sup>-ul a[n-.....]*  
*ki-ma [.....]*  
*i-na-a[n-na a-na mìn-ni-im-ma]*  
20 *ši-pa-t[a.....]*  
*ki-ma<sup>1</sup> x<sup>1</sup> [.....]*  
break  
[.....-n]u-um-ma  
[x]<sup>1</sup> x<sup>1</sup> [.....]-i-ti-ka ú-ša-qí-ir  
25’ *ù-ul<sup>1</sup> x<sup>1</sup> x<sup>1</sup> x<sup>1</sup> x<sup>1</sup> šu\* ú-ša-qí-ir-šu*  
*ú te<sub>4</sub>-mu-um šu-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> um-ma*  
l.e. *i-na-an-na a-na a-bi-im ugula ra-bi\*-i\*-im*  
*ù na-ma-ri-im ù da-a-si*  
*lugal ni-ki-im<sup>ki</sup> šu-pu-ur-ma*  
r. 30’ *kù-babbar kù-gi ù aš-la-le-em*  
*da-am-qa-am qí-bí-ma*  
*a-na ma-at ka-ak-mi-im li-iš-ta-hi-tú*  
*[a-na] mi-ni-ma a-b[u-n]i kù-babbar kù-gi [(...)]*  
*[ù-l]u-ú<sup>1</sup> 2\*<sup>1</sup> ù 3\*<sup>1</sup> gú<sup>1</sup> a-na p[í-i]m*  
35’ *[an-ni]-im ir-šu*  
*[ù š]a-at-tu-um an-ni-tum*  
*[lugal-me]š i-ta-ap-la-sa-an-ni-a-ši-im*  
*[i-na-an-na š]i-ri-im-ma*  
*[ù ša-bu-ka lú-kú]r ù a-ia-[ba-am]*  
40’ *[x x x x x] ù a-na lu-[.....]*  
break  
50’ *ù<sup>1</sup> [.....]*  
*ù<sup>1</sup> x<sup>1</sup> [.....]*



ù a-[.....]  
 lugal-m[eš .....]  
 ù x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 55' ù ni-x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 ni-za-k[a-.....]  
 ša-tim an-[ni-tim .....]  
 x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 u.e. [.....]x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 60' [.....]x-bu-nim<sup>ki</sup>  
 ma-ah-ri-ka wa-aš-b[u]  
 left e. i-na-an-na <<x>> ma-ru-šu ú ma-ra-tu-šu  
 im-ta-na-ha-ru-ni-in<-ni> é-sú i-né-pé-eš  
 [1]ú ša-tu la ta-ka-la-a-am  
 65' i-pí-ka li-zi-i[b-ma]  
 mi<sup>1</sup>-tum li-ib-l[u-ut]

### 69.B

Impression of tablet on rev. of SH.890 (photo Pl. 86). The obv. of the two envelope fragments seem to join (though not directly), so that this piece should continue text on SH.817 B+ after break of some 2-4 lines, but it has not been possible to integrate it with the text on rev. of the tablet. The mention of “brotherhood” perhaps suggests that the piece belonged to a “second” impression on the envelope which covered the lower obv. of the tablet, and a match with ll. 17-24 is possible.

[...]x x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [...]x<sup>1</sup> at-hu-tam ni-x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [... i-na-a]n-na a-na mi-ni-[im .....]  
 [..... -t]a ..... ú-ul [.....]  
 5' [..... 1]ú-meš i-<sup>l</sup>du<sup>2</sup>-x<sup>1</sup> [.....]  
 [.....]i<sup>1</sup>-ha-du-ú-<sup>l</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> [.....]  
 [.....]x<sup>1</sup>-am ìr x x x<sup>1</sup> [.....]  
 [a-na i]n<sup>2</sup>-da-aš-šu iš-p[u-ra-am (...)]

Say to Tu-[.....]: Thus (says) Pišen[den], your brother :

Your envoy [..... brought me] your greetings. I questioned him and [he told me your news]. I was as pleased as if I and [you had (actually) met]. As for [..... why ]<sup>10</sup>are you silent? [... 3 lines broken ...] established brotherhood and friendship, and the previous kings established brotherhood and friendship [... 5 lines broken ...]

(l. 24') [.....] I/he honoured your [.....]. Was it not his [.....] who honoured him? And the plan was as follows : “Now send words to the “father”, the grand-regent, and to Namarum, and to Dâsi, the king of Nikum, and <sup>30</sup>promise silver, gold, and costly things if they will make attacks on the land of Kakmum.” Why did our fathers get silver (and) gold, either 2 or 3 talents, for this promise? Keep the kings on our side (for the rest of) this year. Now look sharp and your troops [will defeat] the enemy and the hostile <sup>40</sup>[.....] to the Lu[llean(?) ...break... ; ll. 50'-59' too broken for translation ...]

<sup>60</sup>[PN from .....]-bunum, [who] is staying with you. Now his sons and his daughters keep pleading with me : “His estate must be looked after!” Do not detain this man. Let him leave on your order, and the one who is dead shall live (again)!

1) The first sign in addressee's name is virtually certain to be TU, and the addressee must, as a “brother” of Pišen-den, have been a fairly important king as well. Our figure should belong in (north)eastern Mesopotamia, and be placed so that a letter from Pišenden would be sent via Shemshāra. Within this horizon we lack documentation for the king of Šimurum, a kingdom which was clearly in diplomatic contact with Itabalthum at this time (cf. 64), and possibly the present letter was addressed to the king of this state.

8) For the restoration of this line cf. 65, 8.

27'ff.) The *waklum rabâm* here must be a local variant of the title used for the king of Elam, *sukkal-mah* – or possibly its Akkadian version. For the title *waklum* (*ugula*) used by the Old Assyrian kings see Larsen 1976, 129ff.

For Namarum (Namar) and Nikum see above I.3.B.

30') For *ašlalûm* “precious object” see the references listed by Durand 1991, 18-20, where the same sequence: “silver, gold, and *ašlalûm*” is quoted from the Mari fragment M.5009, 2', referring to royal presents/tribute.

55'f.) This passage seems to mention the conclusion of a treaty.

## 70

SH.899 Photo Pl. 76

The only letter written by Kuwari, but presumably never sent, is unfortunately difficult to understand. It seems to follow up on topics raised in **36** (omens for Kunšum), and **52** (Šunšija and transport of goods).

Although reading and interpretation of the text is often very precarious, the basic story concerns Kuwari's servant Šunšija. He was supposed to bring goods from Sîn-išme'anni, but has instead come back with less than expected (or nothing) and a false story. When writing this letter Kuwari has discovered the fraud(?) and asks for Šunšija to be sent back, and attempts to explain/defend his misplaced trust in Šunšija. An important issue in the letter is a “secret” (*awât libbim*) which Kuwari shares with a small group of people including Sîn-išme'anni, and which he regrets having confided to Šunšija. Do we here perhaps have evidence for a conspiracy leading up to Kuwari's change of allegiance?

However that may be the letter portrays a dismal situation with fear of the future, mistrust, treason(?), and unsafe roads.

obv. [a-na <sup>Id</sup>en-zu-i]š-me-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>l</sup>-ni  
 [qí-bí]-ma  
 um-ma ku-wa-ri  
 ra-im-ka-ma tup-pá-ka  
 5 ša <sup>h</sup>ha-[z]i-ba-<sup>f</sup>a-tu<sup>l</sup> eš-me  
 ki-na-<sup>f</sup>tim<sup>?</sup> a-na [pi-i] <sup>f</sup>a-wa<sup>l</sup>-ti-ka <<x>>  
 a-n[a-ku ki-ma] li-[i]l-li-im <sup>f</sup>a<sup>l</sup>-tu-<sup>f</sup>úr <sup>ù</sup>  
<sup>f</sup>šū-un-ši-ia<sup>l</sup> [a]k-ka-ši ki-a-am  
 aš-<sup>f</sup>pu<sup>l</sup>-r[a-a]m um-ma a-na-ku-[m]a a-li[k]  
 10 it-ti r[a]-<sup>f</sup>i<sup>l</sup>-mi-[i]a ša-al uru-ki  
 ku-un-ša-a[m?] <sup>f</sup>ki<sup>l</sup> [i-š]a-al-li-im ú-ul  
 i-ša-al-li-[im] li-il-lu-ta-am  
 e-pu-úš<sup>!</sup> <sup>ù</sup> a-w[a]at li-i[b-b]i-ia  
 a-na šū-un-ši-[ia (...)] <sup>f</sup>x <sup>x</sup> ad-di-in  
 15 ki-<sup>f</sup>a-am lu-ú<sup>l</sup> [áš-p]u-ur-<sup>f</sup>šū<sup>l</sup>  
<sup>f</sup>ù<sup>l</sup> i-nu-tam k[a-la-š]a<sup>?</sup> ša i-na qa-ti-šū  
<sup>f</sup>ta-ad-di-nu<sup>l</sup> a-ia-ši <sup>f</sup>ú-ul<sup>l</sup>  
<sup>f</sup>iq<sup>l</sup>-bé-em-ma wa-ar-ka-nu-ma  
<sup>f</sup>il-li<sup>l</sup>-kam um-ma <sup>f</sup>šū<sup>l</sup>-ma  
 20 i-<sup>f</sup>nu-tam<sup>l</sup>-ma ša <sup>f</sup>Iden-zu-iš-me-ú<sup>l</sup>-ni<sup>l</sup>  
<sup>ù</sup>-ul-<sup>f</sup>lu<sup>l</sup>-mi it-ba-<sup>f</sup>lu<sup>l</sup>-<sup>ù</sup>-mi  
<sup>Id</sup>en-zu-iš-me-an-ni te-er-tam-mi  
<sup>f</sup>i<sup>l</sup>-pu-ša-an-ni aš-šum-mi i-nu-ti-šū  
 l.e. <sup>ù</sup>-mi ša-al-ma-ku  
 25 [i-n]a-an-na <sup>f</sup>šū-un-ši-ia  
 [a-n]u-um-mi-iš aš-pu-ur-šū  
 rev. [a]-nu-um-m[a šū-up-r]a-am-ma  
<sup>ù</sup> a-ša-a[l-š]u <sup>f</sup>ú-ul<sup>l</sup>

- a-BA-[.....]x x<sup>1</sup>  
 30 i-n[u-t]am<sup>1</sup> ú-ta-ar-ru ù<sup>1</sup>  
 [a-n]a<sup>1</sup> šu-un<sup>1</sup>-<ši>-ia a-wa-at<sup>1</sup> li-ib<sup>1</sup>-[bi-ia]  
 a<sup>1</sup>-na-ad-di-<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup> ú-ul<sup>1</sup> x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 šum-ma tup-pá-am na-ši ù i-il-<sup>1</sup>la-x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 ha-ar-ra-na-<sup>1</sup>tim pá<sup>1</sup>-as-<sup>1</sup>sú-ma ù ta-x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 35 aš-ta-na-ap-pá-ar-šu um-ma a-na-ku-m[a]  
 ù-lu-ú le-mu-tam<sup>1</sup> ù-lu-ú li-x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [iq]-bu-ú-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> ši-<sup>1</sup>ib ka-ak<sup>1</sup>-ku i-na  
 [h]a-ar-ra-ni-im i-ha-al-l[i-qú (.....)]  
 a<sup>1</sup>-nu-um-[m]a<sup>1</sup> ha<-zì>-ib-a-tu-um <<x>>  
 40 [š]a a-[w]a-at l[i]-ib-bi-ia ú-ki-lu  
 i-na ha-ar-ra<-nim> ù-[ha-a]l-l[i-qú (...)]  
 [a]š-šum ki-a-am-ma<sup>1</sup> š[u-un-ši-ia]  
 [aš-ta-n]a-ap-pá-ar-š[u um-ma a-na-ku-ma]  
 [Iden-z]u-iš-me-a-ni šum-m[a aš-ra-n]u-um-mi ki-a-<sup>1</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 45 [w]a-ši-ib a-wa-at li-ib-bi-[ia i-di-iš-šum]  
 [f]e<sub>4</sub>-ma-am <ša> dingir<sup>1</sup> ad<sup>1</sup>-bu<sup>1</sup>-ub at-[t]a  
 [x (x)]x<sup>1</sup>-nu-ú<sup>1</sup> ṣīl-lí-<sup>1</sup>ip-pu<sup>1</sup> ù a-na-ku  
 [x x x]-<sup>1</sup>x at<sup>1</sup>-tu-nu a-wa-<sup>1</sup>at<sup>1</sup>  
 [li-ib-bi-i]m a-ia-ši ta-dá-ab-bu-ba  
 e.50 [ù a-wa]-at li-ib-bi-ia  
 [a-na-k]u<sup>1</sup> a-dá<sup>1</sup>-ab-bu-ub  
 [.....m]a-am-ma-an  
 [..... z]i-lí-<sup>1</sup>ip<sup>1</sup>-pu  
 [.....] x x x<sup>1</sup>  
 l.e.55 ù i-n[a a-wa-a]t li-ib-bi-ka ú-ul i-[x]-BI-[x]  
 x x<sup>1</sup> [.....]e<sup>2</sup>-nu<sup>2</sup>-tum<sup>1</sup> x x<sup>1</sup> [.....]x ni<sup>1</sup> šu ka<sup>1</sup> x<sup>1</sup> [.....]  
 [.....]x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]x x<sup>1</sup> šum-ma [.....]  
 [.....]x<sup>1</sup> ma-[ah-r]i-ia [ú]-ul wa-aš-b[u]  
 [.....]x x x<sup>1</sup> šu-p[u-u]r-ma ù l[i-li<sup>2</sup>-kam<sup>2</sup>]

[Say to Sîn]-išme'anni : Thus (says) Kuwari, who loves you :

I have heard your letter *about* Hazibatu. *Trusting in your information* I acted like a fool and sent Šunšija to you with these words : “Go (and) <sup>10</sup>ask the one who loves me about the town of Kunšum : will it be safe, or will it not be safe?” I acted foolishly, and confided my secret to Šunšija. Thus I sent him off, and he did not mention to me [all] the goods that you turned over to him, and later he came to me and said : <sup>20</sup>“The goods of Sîn-išme'anni they have carried off elsewhere. Sîn-išme'anni took an omen for me, (and) concerning his goods (it is well), and I am well”.

Now I have sent for Šunšija to come here. Hereby [send him] to me, and I will question him ; I will not [.....] <sup>30</sup>They will return the goods, and to Šunšija I will confide my secret. .... will not [.....]. If he carries a letter and *leaves*, (and) they make the roads unsafe, and [.....] I keep sending him, saying : “If either evil or [.....] they have warned (against), then stay! The weapons will be lost en route!” Now Hazibatam, <sup>40</sup>who kept my secret to himself, [*they removed*] en route. For this reason I keep sending Šunšija, saying : “If Sîn-išme'anni is staying there under those conditions, then [confide to him] my secret!” I explained the message *of the god*. You, [Mr.....]-nû, Šilippu, and I [*share information*]. You will confide (your) secret to me, <sup>50</sup>[and I] will confide my secret [.... ll. 52-59 too broken for translation ....]

**Note** : The slighty maladroit copy is based on a draft made by Læssøe before the tablet was baked (in which process it lost several small pieces) and in which results of collations from photos of the unbaked tablet and the original itself have been integrated. Especially the surface on the reverse is very worn, and many signs are only preserved in faint outline.

5) The PN Hazibatum (reading not entirely certain ; cf. l. 39) is also found at Mari and is a hypocoristicon based on a Hurrian predicate *hazib* with a Semitic affirmative (cf. Durand 1997, 599 and 605 n. 93).

The translation tentatively assumes that Hazibatum (here probably a male figure!) had come to grief (cf. ll. 39ff.) and that Kuwari refers to a letter reporting the incident.

6) The end of the line is written over erasures.

7, 12) For *lillum* and *lillūtum* cf. note to 4.

8) For Šunšija, Kuwari's envoy, cf. above 52, 35.

11f.) This may be a reaction to Sin-išme'anni's statement in 36, that he would take omens for the welfare of Kunšum.

13) The term *awāt libbim* "word of the heart" is also found in OBTR 20, 10, where it was tentatively translated "secret(?)", and although this may be too precise the general implication is surely a "confidential" matter.

16) The "goods" should refer principally to weapons (cf. l. 37)

20ff.) The meaning seems to be that Šunšija is suspected of appropriating items for himself, and it can be noted that his behaviour in 52 also seems less than reliable. This may explain Kuwari's admission of having made a mistake by speaking too freely to him – the implication being that he thereby senses the danger, and possibilities to exploit the situation.

21) The repeated use of *-mi* within direct speech is a common feature in peripheral OB letters (cf. Charpin 1989, 37). In this volume cf. 28 where it is found in a letter from Išme-Dagan.

33ff.) The interpretation is quite precarious, but the passage at least conveys the idea of unsafe and dangerous routes between Kunšum and Šušarrā. For the verb *pasāsum* about unsafe towns in poor state of defense (*pa-as-sū*) cf. A.315+, 20 (Charpin 1990, 71ff.).

46) The "message of the god" should refer to an omen, but the interpretation is uncertain.

47, 53) For Š/Zilippu cf. at Nuzi Zilippu, Zilipuja (Gelb, Purves, and MacRae 1943, 170).

## 71

SH.891

Lit. : copy in Læssøe 1966, 103 ; ll. 1'-15' quoted in Eidem 1985, 103f. ; translation of ll. 10'-12' also in Læssøe 1963, 155.

Acephalous fragment. The receiver, presumably Kuwari, is informed that Šamši-Adad plans an alliance with the king of Gutium. He offers Induše one of his daughters in marriage, and the country of Šušarrā as her dowry.

obv.                    break  
 [.....aš-š]um ᵀim-di-dim ᵀr d<sub>s</sub>[a-am-si-dutu]  
 [š]a ta-ma-ar-tam kù-babbar kù-gi ù ru-[uq-qa-at]  
 kù-babbar a-na ᵀin-du-úš-še ub-lu ta-aš-p[u-ra-am]  
 a-wa-tum ši-i ki-na-at ù ma-li ub-l[u-šum]  
 5'                    še-me-ku kù-babbar kù-gi ù ru-uq-qa-at kù-[babbar]  
                       ša ú-ša-bi-lu aš-šum ma-an-nim ú-ša-bi-i[l]  
                       aš-šu-mi-ka ú-ša-bi-il a-na en-du-úš-[še]  
                       ki-a-am iš-pu-ur um-ma šu-ma-a  
                       a-na-ku ù at-ta pu-hu-ur-ni ú-za-bi-[il]  
 10'                    ša-la-am-ka ù ša-al-mi ša kù-gi  
                       lu-še-pí-iš-ma a-hu-um ki-ša-ad a-hi-im  
                       li-ki-il dumu-mí ma-ar-ti  
                       lu-ud-di-na-ak-kum-ma a-na ša-ar-ra-k[u-ut]  
                       dumu-mí-ti-ia ma-a-at šu-šar-ra-a<sup>ki</sup>  
 15'                    ᵀlu-ud<sup>l</sup>-di-na-ak-kum ù ma-a-at  
                       break  
 rev.                    a few signs from ends of lines preserved :

[.....-r]u-tam  
 [.....]ᵀx<sup>l</sup>  
 [.....elin-du]-úš-še  
 break

left e. [.....]x<sup>1</sup> a-lam IZ-[.....]  
 [.....]li\*<sup>1</sup>-wa-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[er(...)]

[..... break .....] You wrote to me about Imdi-Adad, the servant of Samsī-Addu, who brought presents of silver, gold and silver bars to Indušše. This matter is correct, and I have heard all he brought him. The silver, the gold, the silver bars which he sent – in reference to what did he send them? He sent them in reference to you! He wrote as follows to Indušše: “I and you – our agreement is long overdue! <sup>10</sup>I will have a statue of you and a statue of me made in gold, and brother shall embrace brother. I will give you my daughter, and as dowry for my daughter I will give you the country of Šušarrā and the country [..... break .....]

(on rev. the discussion about Indušše continues)

**Note:** The format and script of this tablet is unique within the archive, and provide no clues to the identity of the sender.

1') Imdi-Adad is not otherwise attested, and seems unlikely to be identical with Imdija (see index for references).

2') For *tamartum* see Lafont 1992, 175.

10'ff.) The diplomatic gesture of producing gold statues (- or one statue with both kings embracing?) is not otherwise attested in this period, but of course reminiscent of practices mentioned in the letters from Amarna etc.

13') Forms *šarrakum/šarrakūtum* (from *šarākum*) are found in texts from especially Alalah to denote a special class of people (see CAD Š/II, pp. 68f.), but *šarrakūtum* here seems to be the (royal?) equivalent of *šeriktum* “marriage prestation” (CAD Š/III, pp. 103f.).

## 72

SH.821 (IM.62097) Photo Pl. 79

Badly preserved letter. The sender, probably Jašub-Addu, has been reproached by the unknown addressee – possibly Kuwari – that he is not sufficiently energetic with regard to the common goal of “destroying” their adversaries, the otherwise unknown Zabzabi and Šarrum-Teššup. The rev. of the tablet, which is mostly lost, presumably contained sender’s response.

obv. [a-na ..... qí-bí-ma]  
 [um-ma ia]-šú-u[b<sup>?</sup>-<sup>d</sup>im]  
 [.....]-ka-a-m[a]  
 [tup-pa-am] ša aš-šum za-ab-[za-bi]  
 5 [ù lug]al\*-<sup>1</sup>ru\*-<sup>1</sup>um-<sup>d</sup>im tu-ša-bi-l[am eš-me]  
 [ki-a-a]m <sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-aš-pu-ra-[a]m um-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> at-t[a-ma]  
 [a-nu]-um-mi <sup>1</sup>e\*-<sup>1</sup>pé-e[š-k]a\* <sup>1</sup>an\*-<sup>1</sup>nu-<sup>1</sup>um\*<sup>1</sup>  
 [ša t]e-te-né-<sup>1</sup>ep\*-pé\*-šú\* it<sup>1</sup>-ti-ka-ma-mi  
 [te<sub>4</sub>]-mu-um <sup>1</sup>na-ší\*-iq\*<sup>1</sup> ù it\*-ti-ka\*-mi  
 10 [na-k]à-ar\*-ni\* <sup>1</sup>za-ab-za-bi  
 [ù] <sup>1</sup>lugal\*-ru\*-um\*-<sup>d</sup>im\*<sup>1</sup> a-nu-um-ma-nu-um  
 ú-ul ìr-du-<sup>1</sup>ka a-na-ku an-na-nu-um a-ba-šì<sup>1</sup>  
 ú-ul ìr-du-<sup>1</sup>ia šú-x-x i-na-an-na<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>1</sup>an\*-<sup>1</sup>na-nu-um a-na-ku lu-ha-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-i[q-šú-n]u-ti  
 15 <sup>1</sup>ù\*<sup>1</sup> at-ta a-nu-<sup>1</sup>ma\*-<sup>1</sup>nu-um <sup>1</sup>hu\*-ul\*-li\*-iq\*-šú-[nu]/-ti<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>1</sup>ù<sup>1</sup> šú-ma\*-am\* [ra-bé-e]m <sup>1</sup>i\* ni\*-iš\*<sup>1</sup>-ku\*-un\*  
 a-na <sup>1</sup>mi-nim šú-ha\*-ri\*-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu  
<sup>1</sup>qa-du<sup>1</sup>-um <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-nu-ti-<sup>1</sup>šú-nu<sup>1</sup>  
 i-na he-eš-ri-im <sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>-ub-<sup>1</sup>tum<sup>?</sup>  
 20 <sup>1</sup>iš\*-hi\*-šú\*-nu\*-ti\* x\* la\*<sup>?</sup> ú\*-ha\*-al\*-li\*-qú-šú-nu\*/-ti  
<sup>1</sup>e\*-<sup>1</sup>pé-<sup>1</sup>eš\*-ka\* an\*-<sup>1</sup>nu\*-um\* ú-ul ki-a-am  
 [a-n]a-ku\* <sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-na\*-nu-um aš\*-šú-mi-ka\*

l.e. [k]i\*-ma\* mu-ur-št\*<sup>1</sup>-ia ma-ar-šal-ku  
 [.....]x a<sup>1</sup>-lim ša-tim  
 r. 25 [.....-t]a-an-ni  
 [.....]x<sup>1</sup>-ta-at  
 [.....-i]G<sup>?</sup> tu<sup>1</sup>-ša-am-qí-it\*  
 [.....-k]a<sup>?</sup>  
 [.....]x<sup>1</sup>  
 30 [.....]ù a-na-ku e-pé-ša\*-am<sup>1</sup>  
 [..... šu]m\*-ma\* ma\*<sup>1</sup>-ha\*-ar  
 [.....]i x x<sup>1</sup>  
 [.....]x<sup>1</sup>  
 [.....]x<sup>1</sup>-am  
 35 [x]x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [luga]l\*-ru-u[m-<sup>d</sup>im.....]  
 [x (x)]x x x x<sup>1</sup>[x (x)]x\*<sup>1</sup>[.....-n]u  
 [x (x)]x x x x<sup>1</sup>[x (x)]x\*<sup>1</sup>[.....]-ri-bi<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>  
 [x (x)]x x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]x<sup>1</sup>-nu  
 40 [....] ad-di-x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [(x)a]n\*-na\*-nu\*-um\* iš\*-tu\*<sup>1</sup> ma-ah-ri-k[a<sup>?</sup>]  
 [x x]x\* x\* x\*<sup>1</sup> a-na-ku an-nu-um-[.....]  
 [.....]x\* ú\*<sup>1</sup>-ul kù\*-babbar x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [.....ú]-ul\* urudu\* ša\*-al-la-ti[m\* (...)]  
 45 [.....]x<sup>1</sup>[.....]x<sup>1</sup>[x x]x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 u.e. [.....]x<sup>1</sup> ša za-ab-za-bi [(...)]  
 [.....]x x<sup>1</sup>-am\*-ma\*  
 [.....]x-il<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 [.....]x x x<sup>1</sup>

**Note** : Læssøe's copy (final version dated 13/9, 1963) of this badly preserved tablet could now be substantially improved. The many corrections here have been made from the photos. They must eventually be checked and supplemented by collation of the original tablet, but seem to produce a reasonably correct text.

[Say to ..... : Thus (says) Ja]šu[b-Addu(?)], your [.....] :

I have heard the letter which you sent me concerning Zabzabi and Šarrum-Teššup. You wrote as follows : "Now this task that you keep doing is your responsibility. The matter is a problem, and it rests with you! <sup>10</sup>Our (common) enemy Zabzabi and Šarrum-Teššup (are) there. (Are they) not your servants? I am here. (They are) not servants of mine. Now here I (for my part) shall destroy them, and you shall destroy them there, and we will establish great renown. Why did a patrol sight their retainers with their equipment <sup>20</sup>in Hešrum without destroying them? This task of yours (is) not thus. I worry sick here because of you!

[The rest of tablet (ll. 24ff.) preserves virtually no consecutive text, but it is clear that the discussion about Zabzabi and Šarrum-Teššup continues, and on lower reverse mention is made of silver and of copper]

4f.) Zabzabi and Šarrum-Teššup occur only in this letter, but the names are not unique : cf. lugal-<sup>d</sup>im in ARMT XVIII 62, 15 (man from Andarig) ; and Zabzabu (*līmu* eponym ; see Van de Mieroop 1994, 306).

9) In spite of the spelling the verb here must be *nazāqum*.

11) The adverb *anummānum* "there" (CAD A/2, p. 148) is rare and hitherto only attested in a few letters from Mari (ARM II 94, 6 *terqaja a. wašbū u awātum mimma elišunu ibašši ūrdaššunuti* ; ARM V 31,14 *bēlī a. lisanniq* ; ARMT XXVI/1 123,16 *appiš bēlī a. , wašbu lú šābam, lisniqam*).

19) A toponym Hešrum is not otherwise attested, and other solutions could be considered. A reading *kur eš-ri-im* "the land of Ešrum" is materially possible.

19f.) This passage is difficult and very uncertain. The last sign in l. 19 is not clear on the photo, but seems most likely to be TUM. The word *šubtum* denotes, however, a place ("dwelling, position, ambush" ; cf. CAD Š/3, p. 172,

and above text 42), and is unusual as subject of a sentence, while the first half of l. 20 is very badly preserved and difficult to read with any confidence. The reconstruction can only be a proposal *ad sensum*.

23) This expression is new, but seems to match the proposed English idiom very well.

24) The copy is correct, but the reading not certain.

37ff.) A good deal more of the damaged signs on the lower rev. could probably be read on the original tablet, but not from the available photos.

### 73

SH.804

That the sender of this letter was Talpuš-šarri can be established from a match between the tablet and the rev. imprint on the envelope fragment SH.898 (see Seal 2). That the addressee was Kuwari is the most likely theory, and not contradicted by the contents of the letter.

Talpuš-šarri is annoyed with the envoy of Šamši-Adad and thinks that it would be pointless to have him “come up”. Kuwari(?) can instruct him and send him off. The envoy of Ja'ilānum who has brought tin, however, should come with an escort provided by the addressee. The badly preserved rev. of the tablet may have included a quotation from a different letter. The Lulleans are mentioned, but the context is not clear.

obv. [a-na ku-wa-ri qí-bí-ma]  
 [um-ma ta-al-pu-šar-ri]  
 ʾdumu<sup>1</sup> ší-ip-ru\*-um ša<sup>1</sup>s[a-am-si-<sup>d</sup>im]  
 ša ma-ah-ri-ka wa-[aš-bu]  
 5 ʾa<sup>1</sup>-wa-tu-šu il-ta-bi-ra  
 ʾa<sup>1</sup>-na mi-ʾnim<sup>1</sup> an-ni-iš i-il-le-em  
 ʾat-ta-a-ma<sup>1</sup> ú-e-er-šu-ma <<x>>  
 ù ʾú-ru-us-sú ù dumu ší-ip-ru-u[m]  
 ša<sup>1</sup>ia-i-la-n[im ša an-n]a-ka-am ub-[la-am]  
 10 ʾit<sup>1</sup>-ti šú-ha-r[i-ka i]š-te-en li-li-ʾkam-ma<sup>1</sup>  
 ù an\*-na-ka-am ʾit\*-ti\*<sup>1</sup>-šu-ma li-še-lu-nim  
 [i-n]u-ma ma-ru ší-ip-ru ša sa-am-si-<sup>d</sup>im  
 [ù] <sup>1</sup>ia-i-la-n[im ša] an-ni-iš ša [.....]  
 [x x]ʾx<sup>1</sup> il<sub>5</sub>-lu-ni[m l]a ʾta<sup>1</sup>-ka-al-[l]a-šu-nu-[t]i  
 15 [ù šú]-ha-ru-ú šu-nu [ša i]t-ti-šu-nu  
 [.....]ʾx<sup>1</sup> ka-ʾlu<sup>1</sup>-š[u\* š]a it-ti-šu-nu la i-[la-ku-nim]  
 [ba-lu-um šú-h]a-ri-šu-[nu l]i-ʾx<sup>1</sup> li-l[i-ku-nim]  
 [.....]ʾx<sup>1</sup> i ni-i[š-ku-un(?)]  
 [.....]-ur-ri ʾli-ib<sup>2</sup>-ba<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-šu ʾú<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-[.....]  
 20 [.....-n]a\* ʾaš\*-ta\*<sup>1</sup>-[al]-ma  
 [.....]ʾx x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [.....]-am ʾiq\*-bu-x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [.....]ʾx x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [.....]ʾx\*-al\*<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 break  
 rev. [.....]ʾx ma<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [.....]ʾx\* x\* x\*<sup>1</sup> ta-aš-p[u<sup>2</sup>-.....]  
 [.....] šum-ma ʾla<sup>1</sup> ki\*-ʾa\*<sup>1</sup>-[am (.....)]  
 40 [.....] an]-ʾni\*<sup>2</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-tim ʾi\*<sup>2</sup>-pu<sup>1</sup>-úš ʾa\*<sup>1</sup>-na [.....]  
 [.....]-ʾe<sup>1</sup> lu-úš-pu-ʾur<sup>1</sup>-ma be-lí ʾli-x<sup>1</sup>-[.....]  
 [.....]ʾx x x x<sup>1</sup> a-la-ak-ka ʾx<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [.....]ʾx<sup>1</sup>-na-tu ʾa-na lu\*-ul-[i-i]m ki-a<sup>1</sup><sup>2</sup>-am  
 [.....]-tu-ma be-lí\* i\*-na\* na-ʾan\*<sup>1</sup>-mu-ur-tim  
 45 [.....]ʾx<sup>1</sup> la\* ú-ta-aš-š[e-er<sup>2</sup>.....]

[.....] *i-da*-[x<sup>1</sup>] [.....]  
 [.....] [x<sup>\*</sup> x<sup>\*</sup>] [.....]  
 [.....] [x<sup>1</sup> *ú-ul*] [.....]  
 [.....] *-tim\** *tu*-[x<sup>1</sup>] [.....]  
 [.....] *-n* *a-nu-um an*-[.....] [x<sup>1</sup>-*šu*  
 50 [.....] [x<sup>1</sup> *la ma* [a<sup>1</sup>] [.....] [x<sup>1</sup>  
 break  
 left e. [.....]

[Say to Kuwari : Thus (says) Talpuš-šarri :

The envoy of Samsī-Addu, who is staying before you, his message is dated. Why should he come up here? You can give him instructions and send him off, but the envoy of Ja'ilānum, who brought tin, <sup>10</sup>let him come with one of your retainers, and have them indeed bring up the tin with him. When the envoys of Samsī-Addu and Ja'ilānum [who (are)] there who ..... want to come up, do not detain them, [but] their retainers who are with them [and the .....] all of them who are with them must not come. <sup>17</sup>Let them [come without] their retainers [.... rest of obv. and rev. too broken for translation ....]

8) The word *šiprum* here erroneously in nominative.

23) This line erroneously omitted in copy. Since line count on rev. after break is in any case tentative the count suggested in copy is retained.

37-39) The first preserved signs in these lines are on a small surface flake, which, however, does not belong here. Since more than half of the surface on the rev. of the tablet is missing the placing of the fragment is uncertain, and it is disregarded in the transliteration presented.

46) Following this line is a double ruling indicating probably that the letter included a quotation (for similar formatting cf. ARMT XXVII, 161). The most likely situation here is that the quotation ended with l. 46 – and hence in the preceding portion of text the address “my Lord” does not refer to the addressee of the present letter.

47) This line has been omitted in copy.

## 74

SH.930+938 (IM.62143)

Small surface fragment from tablet.

The mention of Arraphum(?) and Nurrugum indicates that the fragment probably belongs to the Assyrian period.

[.....] *t* *a-aš-pu-ra*-[*am*.....]  
 [.....] [x<sup>1</sup> *ú-ra-am ša*] [.....]  
 [.....] [x<sup>1</sup> *ta-ma*] [.....]  
 [.....] *-[a<sup>1</sup>-tam ša [ar<sup>1</sup>-ra-a[p-hi-im<sup>ki</sup>(?).....]*  
 5' [.....] [x<sup>1</sup> *nu-ru-ga-am<sup>ki</sup>*] [.....]  
 [.....] *ra ša* [x x] [x<sup>1</sup>] [.....]  
 [.....] KI AB [.....]  
 [.....] *te* [.....]

4') Or *ša q[a-a]b-ra-e<sup>1</sup>[<sup>ki</sup>.....]* (?)

[75 (=SH 860), reclassified as 28 B]

## NOTE

The fragments **76-96** are basically classified according to SH. field nos. In view of the observations on the archive above (I.1) fragments with nos. higher than SH.904 are unlikely to belong with the early group, and physical aspects of



the material largely confirm this principle. Most of these pieces are in Copenhagen, and further joins with more complete tablets here may be virtually excluded, whereas the possibility of some further joins with tablets now in Baghdad cannot be entirely ruled out.

## 76

SH.830

Small fragment from lower obv. of tablet.

[.....]ṫ x\* x\*1[.....]  
 [.....]ṫ x1-še-šī\* ṫ ū1[.....]  
 [.....] ṫ ṣa\*1-ba-šu ū-[.....]  
 [.....]ṫ a1-na še-ri-ia l[ī\*-li-kam.....]  
 5' [.....ṣa?-b]a\*?-am lu\*-di-šu-um [.....]

(end of obv. ; i. e. apparently uninscribed)

(4') [.....] his troops [..... and] let them(?) come to me [.....] I shall give him troops [... break ...]

The preserved text allows no firm conclusions on this fragment. The fairly small script, however, excludes that it belonged to a letter from Šamši-Adad.

## 77

SH.831

Small surface flake from near right edge of tablet.

[.....]-ka i-ba-aš-šu  
 [.....]ṫ x1 it-ti ṣa-bi-im  
 [.....k]i-ma ti-le\*-ú  
 [.....x+]l še-am li-ṫ šī1-a-am\*

The connection between troops and sending barley may indicate that this piece belongs to the early part of the correspondence, where these subjects are treated several times.

## 78

SH.833

Small fragment with only a few signs preserved.

## 79

SH.852 B

Small fragment from a lower right edge of tablet.

obv.    ú-la ṫ x1[.....]  
           an-ni-tam ṫ x1[.....]  
 l.e.    ki-i ba-lu-ka na-di-ṫ x1[.....]  
           tup-pa-tum ú-ša-bi-ṫ la-x1[.....]  
 r. 5'    ul-ṫ x x1[.....]

4') One expects *tup-pa-tim!*

**80**

SH.852 C

Small fragment from a lower left of tablet.

obv.?  
 [.....]-im  
 [.....]x<sup>1</sup>  
 break  
 rev. [.....-n]a-ah-ra-<sup>r</sup>ri<sup>2</sup>[(...)]  
 [.....]x-zi<sup>1</sup>-iz  
 u.e. [.....]x<sup>1</sup> at-tam-me-er  
 [.....-m]a ú-lu gi-mì-lum

**81**

SH.854 B

Small fragment from edge of tablet.

obv. [.....n]a<sup>2</sup> <sup>r</sup>šú<sup>2</sup> di šī [.....]  
 [.....a]m ta [.....]  
 [.....] lu-ú <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[.....]  
 rev. [.....] ù ša-ni-[tam.....]  
 5' [.....]x x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [.....]x all[.....]  
 [.....]x<sup>1</sup>[.....]

**82**

SH. 855

Two small fragments.

i) Fragment from upper left corner of tablet with part of address preserved. 2.3 x 2.7 x 2.0 cm. Extant part of rev. not inscribed. Copy by Eidem.

obv. [a-na .....]  
 [qí-bí-ma]  
<sup>r</sup>um-ma<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 a-hu-k[a-a-ma]  
 5 <sup>r</sup>i-na-an-na x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 break

ii) Fragment from central part of lower edge of tablet. 3.0 x 2.0 x 1.5 cm. Only a few traces of signs preserved. Format indicates adm. note : traces of 2 lines on lower obv. + 1. e. – space – 1 line on upper rev. followed by space – then traces of 2 lines which probably contained a summary. Not copied.

**83**

SH.904 A + 904 B

Fragment from right edge of tablet + surface flake. Theoretical join.

Although some consecutive text can be reconstructed on this fragment the information cannot be firmly connected with any of the other letters. The projected marriage alliance, however, is reminiscent of the discussion found in **60**, 29ff. from Wannī, and the fragment could belong to yet another letter from this figure.

[.....]ʽx xʽ[.....]  
*i-na\*-mi ta-ʽar\*-ti-ka\*ʽ*  
 [š]um-ma-an dumu-mí-ti t[e-r]i\*-iš  
 ù-lu-ú-ma a-na-ku dumu-[mí-k]a\* e-ri-iš  
 5' šu-ú a-bu-ur\* é-ka-m[a\*] i\*-ip\*-pí-iš/ma  
 ú [.....]  
 a[n-..... a<sup>2</sup>-b]u<sup>2</sup>-ka

[.....] when you return – whether you ask me for my daughter or I ask you for your daughter, <sup>5</sup>he shall have the job as your steward, but [.....]

2') The particle *-mi* shows that the preserved text was a quotation.

[84 = SH.904 B ; joined to 83]

### 85

SH 904 C+D

Fragment from lower left corner of tablet.

obv. ʽxʽ[.....]  
 ù [.....]  
 ù [.....]  
 ma-a[l.....]  
 5' ša ʽx xʽ[.....]  
 te-[.....]  
 ar-[.....]  
 ša-ni-t[am.....]  
 šú-ha-a[r.....]  
 e. 10' ʽle<sup>1</sup>-qé-e[m\*.....]  
 break (3-4 lines)  
 r. 15' ka\*-[.....]  
 šu-bi-[.....]  
 i-[.....]  
 break  
 left e. [.....]ú šu-ú ú-ul da-mi-iq [.....]  
 [.....] a-nu-um-ma a-na lugal aš-ta-pa-ar  
 [.....]-ma dumu ši-ip-ri-ia ʽiʽ-[.....]  
 [.....]š]a<sup>2</sup>-a-ti ú-da-ap-pa-[.....]  
 5'' [.....-n]i\*-im-ma i-ša-k[a<sup>2</sup>-.....]

[86 (=SH.904 E) = 44 B]

[87 (=SH 909 B) joined to 23]

### 88

SH.909 D

Small fragment from near a right edge of tablet.

[.....]ᵛx¹[(...)]  
 [.....-k]a-lim tu-r[u-.....]  
 [.....] ma-ah-ri-ka  
 [.....]-AN

**89**

SH.909 E

Surface flake from right edge of fairly large tablet.

The fairly certain mention of Zaslum in l. 8' may indicate that the fragment belongs to a letter sent by Etellum. If this is correct nos. **41**, **44**, and **44 B** are possible candidates.

[.....]ᵛx x¹ lli¹-l[i-kam]  
 [.....]ᵛà-ra-di-im  
 [.....]ᵛx¹-ma te₄-em-ka ub-lu-[nim...]  
 [.....]-šu i-tu-ra-am  
 5' [.....i-na-a]n-na  
 [.....]ᵛx¹ ka-lu-šu ki-i  
 [.....-n]u\*-mi-i-is-sú lu\*-uᵛ-ru-ᵛda-kum?¹  
 [.....-k]a ù aš-ra-nu-um i-na ᵛza¹-as-l[i-im]ᵛki¹  
 [.....i-na] li-ib-bi ma-ᵛa¹-[at/tim.....]  
 10' [.....-a]K\*-tam ᵛx¹[.....]  
 [.....] ù [.....]  
 [.....] x [.....]

**90**

SH.910

Large fragment from lower left corner of tablet.

The fragment is too broken for translation. Possibly citizens of Utûm are mentioned in l. 8'(?).

obv. break  
 [ù ma]ᵛa¹-tam [.....]  
 [(.) a]-wa-at lú [.....]  
 [at]-ta\* ti-[de.....]  
 ᵛli-ib¹-bi ᵛx x¹[.....]  
 5' aš-šum lú-meš [.....]  
 1 ᵛlú¹ ir-ši-ᵛšu?¹ [.....]  
 mi-im-ma a-[.....]  
 lú-meš ú-ᵛti?¹-[.....]  
 ᵛi-nu²-ma¹ [x] ta-aš-p[u-ra-am(?)]  
 10' ta-ša-ᵛa¹-lu ᵛx¹[.....]  
 ma-di-iš a[h-du.....]  
 rev. i-na-a[n-na.....]  
 a-nu-um-m[a.....]  
 ša ᵛx¹[.....]  
 15' ᵛù¹ [.....]  
 ᵛx¹[.....]  
 break

**91**

SH.923 B+936

Surface fragment from tablet.

[.....i]š<sup>?</sup>-*pu-ra*-[.....]  
 [.....m]a\*-*am-ma-a*[n.....]  
 [.....]-*ma lu-ul*<<x>>-[x<sup>1</sup>][.....]  
 [.....][x<sup>1</sup> *mi-im-ma li-ip-qi*-[*dam*.....]  
 5' [.....*an-n*]i-*e-tim i-n*[a] *bi-ri-t*[*im*.....]  
 [.....] *pí-ha-sú ku-nu-ti* [.....]  
 [.....]-*m*[a] *a-na a-wa-ti*[*m*.....]  
 [.....][x<sup>1</sup> *al a*-[.....]  
 [.....][x<sup>1</sup>[.....]

[92 (= SH.924) joined to 13]

**93**

SH.931

Small fragment.

break  
 l.e. [š<sup>u</sup> x x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
       *te<sub>4</sub>-ma-am š*[*a-a-ti*]  
 rev. *ú-ul i*-[.....]  
       *à at-ta* [x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 5' *a-wa-tim a-na š*[*e-er/ri*-.....]  
 break

**94**

SH.934

Small, worthless fragment.

**95**

SH.940

According to the Tell Shemshāra 1957 field catalogue a "Fragment of unscribed edge of tablet". 2.0 x 2.7 x 0.8 cms.

Not available for study.

**96**

SH. 923 D

Group of small fragments of which 7 preserve some writing. Not copied.

i) Fragment from lower right corner of tablet.

obv. broken  
 l.e. [.....*an*<sup>?</sup>-*n*]i-*im*  
       [.....x+]1 *me-tim ša-ba-am*  
 rev. [.....]-*am tú-ur-d*[*am-m*]a

[.....]ᵀx x x¹

4') Only faint traces remain.

ii) Surface flake from near a left edge of tablet.

ᵀka¹-[.....]  
wa-a[r-.....]  
an-ni-i[m.....]  
nu-ur-ru-g[i-im .....]

5' ᵀa¹-ša-pa-[.....]

iii) Surface flake from near a left edge of tablet.

ᵀa-la¹-k[a-.....]  
a-na ṣ[e-er/ri.....]  
space (end of text)

iv) Small surface flake.

[.....]ᵀx¹ li-ša-al-l[i-.....]  
[.....]p]a²-ni-šu-nu [.....]  
[.....]a-n]a a-ha-zi-ma [.....]

3') Possibly the GN Ahazum is involved.

v) Small surface flake.

[.....]-ri-i[a .....]  
[.....] e² lu-ša-b[i²- .....]  
[.....]-ZA-am la ᵀx¹[.....]

vi) Small flake.

[..... -b]i<sup>ki</sup> [.....]

1') Quite likely the GN is Šikšabbum.

vii) Small flake. Traces of 3 lines ; only the middle line preserves complete signs :

[.....]-li-we<sup>ki</sup> [.....]

2') The GN could be Halluliwe (cf. 30), or the local center Burulliwe (cf. ShA 2).

## 97

No. SH. no. 1

Small surface fragment near left edge of obv. of tablet. The fragment has been rebaked and in this process lost its SH. no. which cannot now be reconstructed. Copy by Eidem.

obv. break  
um-m[a .....]  
aš-šum lú [.....]

5'      ṽi-zi-ib<sup>1</sup> [.....]  
          ṽša a-na lú x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
          ṽú x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
          x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
          x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
          break

**98**

SH. 803 [formerly not classified as part of edition]. Copy by Eidem.  
 Small fragment from corner of administrative note.

**99**

SH. 885 [= formerly classified as no. 82]  
 Badly preserved administrative note. Only obv. inscribed. Copy by Eidem.

The text seems to be a list of :

- issues of items, possibly food-stuffs, like “wheat” (gig<sup>?</sup> : l. 7', beginning)
- to individuals (l. 7 end : a-na ṽšū-na<sup>1</sup>-ak ra-nu ; l. 8 : a-na ṽa<sup>?</sup>1-[x]-[x x<sup>1</sup>])
- from various localities (l. 6 : [šā-al]-[lu<sup>?</sup>1]-ra-aš-we ; l. 8 : [šā<sup>?</sup>] tu-ud-[ma<sup>1</sup>-aš-šī])

This very limited information provides some links with the texts published in ShA 2. An individual Šunakrānu is attested there (in 119,4, and 136,37), while the localities Šallurrašwe and Tudmašše/u/i occur often in the texts from rooms 27 and 34 in the palace (see ShA 2, index), and belonged to the countryside around Shemshāra.

**100**

No SH. no. 2  
 3 small surface fragments in separate box marked “found inside jar with tablets” (the exact meaning of this is unclear) ; also small fragment of envelope with very faint traces of legend and rev. imprint. Copies by Eidem.

i) 2.0 x 1.5 x 1.2 cm.

[.....]KI x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [.....]x<sup>1</sup>-am x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [.....x+]1 me<sup>1</sup>-tim x<sup>1</sup>[.....]  
 [.....] a-na qa-a[t .....]

ii) Remains of 3 lines near a right edge. 1.5 x 1.3 x 0.5 cm.

iii) Remains of 2 lines on surface flake. 1.0 x 1.0 x 0.2 cm.

**3. THE SEALINGS**

With one exception (no. 5) all the sealings found in Room 2 were on envelope fragments.<sup>64</sup> In the field some individual pieces were recorded as SH.817 A and B, SH.852 D, and SH.937, while groups of fragments were recorded under nos. SH.890 (20 fragments), SH.894 A (15 fragments), SH.898 (sev-

64. For letters and their envelopes see the study by Kraus 1985 ; and cf. Eidem n. d., appendix 2, for a discussion of the evidence from Tell Leilān.

eral pieces), and SH.923. Many of these latter fragments are in Copenhagen, but most have been baked and lost their nos., and the pieces listed below as without SH. no. must come from either of these groups. Many of the fragments have no part of a seal impression on the outer surface, but sometimes small traces of a tablet imprint on the inner surface. Such pieces are not treated here.

Among the sealed fragments a total of 6 different seals have been identified, and in 4 cases these belonged to local figures. It is significant that no trace of any envelope belonging to Assyrian period letters can be identified. Since surely some at least of these letters would have been encased in envelopes the conclusion is clear : the envelopes were removed and discarded upon receipt and not kept with the tablets. The fact that virtually all the envelope fragments were found with the tablets of group A) lends further support to this. Why then did the evidence presented below survive? Seals **1** and **2** may be associated with respectively letters **69** and **73**. The former text, from Pišenden to a certain T[u-.....], was probably never delivered, while the latter, although the address is broken, was no doubt addressed to Kuwari. The other seals cannot be associated with particular texts. In the case of **69** it could be thought that the envelope survived because the letter was never delivered, and a similar theory might apply to some of the other evidence, but apparently not to **73**. Since it seems likely that Kuwari would eventually have opened also letters that did not reach their final destination, like **69**, it remains possible that some of the sealings survived simply to be on record, as a kind of “calling cards”.

It is also of interest to note that the legends on both Seal **1**, **2**, and **4** do not fit the cases, and extend into the seal field. Both Seal **1** here, and the “Turukkean” seal published by Charpin and Beyer (1990), have archaic styles, pointing back to Ur III times. It seems likely that these seals were imported into the region from Mesopotamia, perhaps long before the time of our texts, and used as a kind of dynastic seals, with changing legends, cut locally.

## 1

Seal of Pišenden (Lit. : Eidem and Møller 1990) Photo Pl. 86

Impressed on envelope fragments SH.890, and SH.817 B + fragment without SH. no. All fragments belong to the envelope of the letter **69**. Hence rev. imprints of 2 fragments help reconstruct some lines of that text.

*I*pi-še-e[n-te(-en)]  
 dumu *I*tu-ku-[u]k-ti  
 lugal ma-[a]t i-ta-pa(+ in field :)-al<sup>ki</sup>  
 wa-li-[i]d ta-bi-ti

Piše[nten],  
 son of Tukukti,  
 king of the country of Itapal(hum),  
 begetter of Tabitu

1) For possible restorations of the end of the PN cf. index s. n.

2) Although the second sign in the PN is not too clear, it cannot be RU, but the figure is almost certainly identical with Turukti of seals 3 and 4. The alternation may be explained as a result of a non-Akkadian phoneme ; compare Šeg/ribbum in 55, 22.

3) In the first edition the last part of the GN (in seal field) was read : /-al-h[i], but new collation shows that the last sign is certainly KI. The GN is elsewhere written : *i-ta-ba-al-hi-im*<sup>ki</sup> (in **64** and **66**), *i-ta-pa-al-hi-im* (M.13034, Charpin 1985, 63 n. 94), and *it-te-ba-a[l-hi-im]* (M.10924+, Beyer and Charpin 1990), which has been interpreted as Semitic \*ida-palhim – “Flank of the Terrible” = the *chaîne magistrale* of the Zagros (cf. Charpin 1994c, 459), in parallel with Ida-Maraş – “Flank of the Difficult” (= the Tur Abdin). The text here, however, perhaps demonstrates that the basic form was Itab/pal, while the added *-hi* elsewhere could be the Hurrian adjectival suffix, and consequently weakens the theory of a Semitic origin for the name.

Impression of tablet on rev. of SH.817 B ; belongs to letter **69**, 35’-40’. Photo Pl. 86

Impression of tablet on rev. of SH.890 ; see **69.B**. Photo Pl. 86



## 2

Seal of Talpuš-šarri Photo Pl. 87  
Remains of legend on fragments SH.898 and SH.852 D.

<sup>1</sup>ta-al-<sup>1</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-š[ar](+ in field :)-r[i]  
[dumu .....]x x<sup>1</sup>[x]  
[x<sup>1</sup>]p<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-še-en-[te]

Talpuš-šarri  
[son of .....]  
[..... of] Pišen[te]

2) The vague traces at the end of this line, which probably contains the seal-owners patronym, can unfortunately not be read.

3) There does seem to be space at end of line for an additional sign EN, but the name is also written thus in address of 68. It would obviously have been extremely interesting to have the beginning of this line, and firmer information on the relationship between Talpuš-šarri and Pišenden. In a Mesopotamian context one would expect *ir* (*wardum*) “servant”, and this is the most likely restoration.

Impression of tablet on rev. of SH.898 fits text in letter 73,12-14, center. The fragment covers a larger area of the obv., but most of the imprint is illegible. Rev. of SH.852 D is worthless.

## 3

Seal of Turukti(?)  
Remains of legend on fragments SH.817 A, 2 other fragments (all in Baghdad), and one fragment in Copenhagen numbered SH.923. Drawings by J. Læssøe.

[<sup>1</sup>]t[u-r]u<sup>2</sup>-<sup>1</sup>uk<sup>2</sup>1-t[i<sup>2</sup>]  
[du]mu u[š<sup>2</sup>-ta]p<sup>2</sup>-šar-[ri<sup>2</sup>]  
[lug]al [i<sup>2</sup>]-ta-p[a-al<sup>ki</sup>(?)]  
[x]-tu a-a-b[i-šu]  
5 <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-bi AD-[.....]

Turukti(?)  
son of Uštap(?) -šarri  
king of Itap[alhum]  
*conqueror* of [his] enemies  
father of AD-[.....]

- 1) In view of Seal 1, 2 and Seal 4, 3 the restoration here seems certain.
- 2) The restoration of the patronym is very tentative.
- 4) I can offer no reconstruction of the first sign, and the translation is *ad sensum*.
- 5) The suggested reading is supported by the last line in Seal 1, which gives the name of the seal-owner's son (and heir apparent). The name of the prince(?) here cannot be reconstructed.

**Note :** The fragment SH.817 A was published by Læssøe (1959a, 30-31), who presented a photo and drawing of the obv., and a copy of the rev. imprint from the encased tablet. The copy published here was made subsequently, and includes two other fragments with the same seal. Supposedly the additional fragments have the same SH.-no. They are presumably in Baghdad, and it has not been possible to check them for possible rev. imprints. Since no letter sent from a figure whose name begins with the sign TU is preserved, the envelope must have belonged either to a letter now lost, or to a letter where the address is broken. Unfortunately the small portions of text preserved on the rev. of the fragments cannot be matched with any extant tablet.

Impression of tablet on rev. of SH.817 A. Copy by Læssøe.

[... w]a-šī-ib ù ma-ah-[ri-.....]  
 [.....]ᵛx¹-x ù at-ta [.....]  
 [.....]a²-ba²-am ki²-[ma² .....]  
 [.....]ᵛx x¹[.....]

Impression of tablet on rev. of SH.923. Copy by Eidem.

[.....] i²-n[a² .....]  
 [.....] ka l[a² .....]  
 [...i]D² a-nu-u[m-ma.....]  
 [.....]ᵛx¹ ù ša [.....]  
 5' [.....] il²-l[i² .....]  
 [.....] ᵛx x¹[.....]

#### 4

Seal of servant of Turukti Photo Pl. 88

No SH.-no. 2 small baked fragments with sealing showing standing god and supplicant ; remains of two last lines of legend. Drawing by D. Parayre.

[.....]  
 [dum]u AN ᵛx x¹  
 [i]r² tu-ru-uk-/ti

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

Both fragments have vague imprints of a few signs from tablet on rev.

#### 5

Seal of Šumšu-liter(?)

SH.937. Sealing with remains of 4 lines of legend. Drawing by Eidem.

[Iš]u²-um-š[u-li-te-er]  
 [du]mu ᵛim- x¹ [.....]  
 [i]r² ku-ᵛra²¹-[ša-nim]

The readings are very uncertain, and not too likely to be correct. For Šumšu-liter cf. ShA 2, 43.

#### 6

Seal of .....

No. SH.-no. Two small flakes from corner part of envelope with remains of 4 lines of seal legend ; no rev. imprint. Drawing by Eidem.

[(x)]ᵛx¹[.....]  
 [...]ᵛx x¹[.....]  
 [.....A]N i-t[a²- .....]  
 [.....] š[a² ha-[.....]

No reconstruction or interpretation suggests itself.



# INDICES



## GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

### Abšenniwe

60, 20 : *a-li-im ša ab-še-<sup>r</sup>ni-we<sup>ki</sup>, 26*

61, 3' : *uru ša ab-ši-im*

### A'innum

1, 22 : *a-i-ni-im<sup>ki</sup>*

### Ahazum

1, 5 : *lú ah-za-a-ji<sup>ki</sup>*

5, 12 : *māt ah-[z]i-[i]m<sup>ki</sup>*

7, 13 : *māt a-ha-zi-im<sup>ki</sup>*

42, 20 : *māt a-ha-zi-im*

96, iv, 3<sup>?</sup>

### Aliae

63, 8 : *a-li-a-e<sup>ki</sup>*

### Ardamekum

56, 36 : *ar-da-me-ki-im*

### Arraphum

1, 19 : *é<sup>d</sup>im arraphim<sup>ki</sup>*

3, 7, 11, 29, 12, 7

41, 13', 22', 24'

42, 38, 49 (*māt*), 64, 8 *uru<sup>ki</sup>*

74, 4<sup>?</sup>

### Arrunum

63, 20 : *ar-ru-ni-im<sup>ki</sup>*

### Awal

65, 25 : *a-wa-al<sup>ki</sup>*

### Bunusidum(?)

52, 4

### Ekallātum

23, 11, 30, 5, 17<sup>?</sup>, 44 B, 5

### Elamtum

64, 50 : *NIM.MA-tim*

### Ešnunna

9, 10

### gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a, see Kutha

### Haburātum

1, 59 : *māt H.*

### Halluliwe

30, 10, 15, 19, 21

### Hanbat

40, 7 : *lú<sup>r</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>-an-ba-at*

### Hešrum(?)

72, 19

### Hišhinašwe

31, 8 : *a-lim hi-iš-hi-na-aš-we-ma*

### Ikkalnum

40, 6

41, 10', 16'

### Ilalae

63, 5 : *i-la-la-e<sup>ki</sup>*

### Ir(..)tahum(?)

36, 6 : *ir-[( )]ta-hi-im*

### Ištānum

26, 4 : *mātīm ša iš-ta-ni-im<sup>ki</sup>*

29, 5, 12, 26 : *a-la-ni-e<sup>(ki)</sup>* ša-iš-ta-ni-im

### Itabalhum

64, 52 : *māt i-ta-ba-al-hi-im*

66, 10 : *mātīm ša i-ta-ba-al-hi-im<sup>rki</sup>*

Seal 1, 3 : *māt i-ta-pal-al<sup>ki</sup>*

Seal 3, 3 : [*i<sup>?</sup>*]-ta-p[*a-al<sup>ki</sup>*(?)]

### Ja'ilānum

1, 10, 11 : *ia<sub>8</sub>-i-la-nim*

2, 12, 14 (<sup>I</sup>i.)

64, 29, 35 : <sup>I</sup>ia<sub>8</sub>-i-la-ni

73, 9, 13

### Kakmum

1, 13, 32 : *lú ka-ak-mi<sup>ki</sup>*

2, [17]

44, 5 : *lú ka-ak-mu-um RN*

69, 32' : *māt K.*

### Kaštappum

9, 12, 16 : *ka-aš-tap-pí-im<sup>ki</sup>*

### Kigibiši

44, 6 : [*q*]absam ša ki-gi-bi-ši<sup>ki</sup>, 10

### Kumme

2, 45, 46 : *ku-um-mi<sup>ki</sup>*

### Kunšum

19, 10 : *dumu-meš ku-un-ši-im<sup>ki</sup>, 11*

20, 16, 35, 5 : *alum ku-un-šu-um<sup>ki</sup>*

36, 5 *uru<sup>ki</sup> ku-un-ši-im<sup>ki</sup>, 29, 38<sup>?</sup>*

52, 39, 63, 17 : *uru<sup>ki</sup> ku-un-šu-um<sup>ki</sup>*

67, 9, 19

70, 11 : *uru<sup>ki</sup> ku-un-ša-a[m]<sup>ki</sup>*

### Kusanarhum

36, 14<sup>?</sup>

63, 5 : *ku-sa-na-ar-hi-im, 7, 12, 19 : ku-sa-*

*na-ri-im, 68, 5 : ku-s[a-n]a-ri-im*

### Kutha

8, 45 : *PN lú gú-du<sub>8</sub>-a*

### Lullum

3, 19 : *lú lu-ul-li-im*

12, 27 : *lú lu-ul-li-im<sup>ki</sup>*

36, 35

39, 10

42, 28

55, 14<sup>?</sup>

63, 25 : *lugal-meš mādūtīm ša lu-ul-li-im, 33,*

*45 : lu-ul-li-i*

64, 22 : *lu-ul-li-im lugal-meš, 36, 44*

- 73, 43  
**Lutpiš**  
 1, 58 : *lu-ut-pí-iš*
- Namarum**  
 69, 28'
- Nikum**  
 69, 7' : *lugal ni-ki-im<sup>ki</sup>*
- Nurrugum**  
 7, 8, 10, 21, 8, 4, 19, 3',  
 39, 23, 64, 13, 74, 5'
- Qabrā**  
 18, 24 : *qa-ab-ra-a<sup>ki</sup>*  
 19, 15 : *māt qa-ab-ra-a<sup>ki</sup>*  
 26, 11, 64, 9 : *qa-ba-ra-e<sup>ki</sup>*
- Qutum**  
 11, 4 : *qú-ti-i*, 8 : *lú qú-tu-ú-ma RN*  
 42, 14 : *šābum lú qú-tù-ú*  
 47, 8 : 3 *mētim qú-tu-um šābum*
- Sarri(ma)**  
 19, 14 : *sa-a[r-ri(-ma)](ki)*
- Sašharšum**  
 50, 4 : *sa-aš-ha-ar-ši-im<sup>ki</sup>*
- Šallurrašwe**  
 99, 6'
- Šegibbum**  
 1, 55  
 55, 8 : *še-gi-bu-um*, 15 : *māt še-gi-bu<sup>ki</sup>*,  
 22 : *māru še-RI-bu<sup>ki</sup>*
- Šikšabbum**  
 10, 9, 15  
 11, 5, 11 : *ši-ik-ša-am-bi-im<sup>ki</sup>*  
 12, 6, 9, 10 : *itāt ši-ik-ša-ab-bi-im<sup>ki</sup>*,  
 17 : *ši-ik-ša-am-bu-um<sup>ki</sup>*  
 13, 12, 29, 48  
 14, 12 : *ši-ik-ša-am-bi<sup>ki</sup>*  
 15, 28  
 39, 4, 6, 15, 21, 26  
 42, 3, 42, 53, 59  
 47, 11  
 96, iv, 1''
- Šimurum**  
 1, 6, 7 : *lú ši-mu-ur-ri-i<sup>ki</sup>*  
 2, 7, 8, 64, 35 : *ši-mu-ur-ri-im*
- Šubarum**  
 50, 7 : *udu-há šu-ba-ri-i*
- Šubat-Enlil**  
 18, 16
- Šudamelum**  
 63, 19 : *šu-da-me-li-im*
- Šuruthum**  
 41, 4' : *šu-ru-ut-hi-im*
- Šušarrā**  
 8, 22
- 11, 37 : *pāt Š.*  
 12, 12, 13, 23 : *halaš Š.*, 18 : *māt Š.*  
 18, 6  
 19, 5, 7, 9 : *alam Š.*  
 20, 12 : *šu-ša-ar-ra-a<sup>ki</sup>*  
 27, 11, 53, 7  
 58, 10' : *uru<sup>ki</sup> šu-šar-ra-e<sup>ki</sup>*  
 63, 46, 50, 65 : *uru<sup>ki</sup> šu-šar-ra-e<sup>ki</sup>*  
 64, 26 : *uru<sup>ki</sup> šu-šar-ra-e<sup>ki</sup>*  
 71, 14' : *māt Š.*
- Tarum**  
 39, 18 : *pāt ta-ri-im<sup>ki</sup>*  
 40, 4 : *pāt ta-ri<sup>ki</sup>*
- Tirrihum(?)**  
 52, 6
- Tudmašši**  
 99, 8'
- Turukkum**  
 1, 8, 9 : *lú ti-ru-ki-i<sup>ki</sup>*  
 13, 4, 6, 20, 25, 38, 52 : *lú-meš tu-ru-ki-i<sup>ki</sup>*  
 15, 4 : *lú tu-ru-ku-ú<sup>ki</sup>*
- Ura'u**  
 1, 57 : *ú-ra-ú<sup>ki</sup>*
- Utûm**  
 19, 9 : *dumu-meš ú-tá-im<sup>ki</sup>*  
 35, 35  
 63, 42, 49 : *māt ù-te-em(ki)* ,  
 50 : *māt ú-te-em*  
 64, 25 : *māt ú-te-em*
- Za'ibum**  
 1, 21 : *za-i-bi-im*  
 9, 11 : *íd za-i-ba-am*
- Zappan**  
 40, 7 : *lú za-ap-pa-an<sup>ki</sup>*
- Zaslum**  
 1, 54 , 7, 16, 40, 16, 41, 15',  
 42, 29, 44 B, 5?, 89, 8'
- Zikum**  
 1, 56
- Zukula**  
 35, 31 : *zu-ku-la*  
 59, 16 : *zi-gu-la-a<sup>ki</sup>*
- Zutlum**  
 36, 14, 52, 38, 54, 14,  
 59, 8, 11, 63, 16
- Zuzulā(?)**  
 16, 5 : *zu<<ul>>-zu-la-a<sup>ki</sup>*
- ...-bu-nim<sup>ki</sup>**  
 69, 60'
- ...-li-we<sup>ki</sup>**  
 96, viii, 1'

## PERSONAL NAMES

- A-.....**  
**99, 8'**
- Abdi-Erah**  
**49, 5**
- Adija**  
**8, 37 : a-di-ia**
- Ajata** (tenant farmer)  
**53, 30 : <sup>l</sup>a-ia-ta**
- Arrûk**  
**50, 20 : <sup>l</sup>ar-ru-uk**
- Asirum**  
 sender of **46**
- Berdigendae** (general of Zutlum)  
**63, 15 : <sup>l</sup>be-er-di-ge-en-da-e**
- Bisanši**  
**50, 15 : <sup>l</sup>bi-sa-an-ši**
- Bullattal**  
**65, 5 : <sup>l</sup>bu-ul-la-at-RI**
- Dâsi** (king of Nikum)  
**69, 28' : da-a-si**
- Etellini** (envoy)  
**11, 29**
- Etellum** (Š.-A. officer)  
 sender of **38-44 B**  
**14, 5 : e-te-el-lim**  
**43, 21, 23'**
- Habur-atal**  
**55, 5 : <sup>l</sup>ha-bu-ur-a-tal**
- Hazibatum**  
**70, 5, 39**
- Hazip-Teššup** (local nobleman)  
**8, 9, 40, 16, 16**  
**17, 3, 8, 10, 12, 34**
- Hizzutta** (shepherd)  
**50, 8 : <sup>l</sup>hi-zu-ta**  
**59, 18 : <sup>l</sup>hi-iz-zu-ut-ta**
- Hulukkatil**  
 sender of **49-52**  
**59, 4 : <sup>l</sup>hu-lu-uk-ka-di-il**
- Huzalu**  
**8, 38 : hu-za-lu**
- Ibal-Erah**  
**3, 4**
- Igilištae**  
**8, 42 : i-gi-li-iš-ta-e**
- Ikrukitam** (lonely lady)  
**46, 8 : <sup>f</sup>ik-ru-ki-tam**
- Imdija** (official of Talpuš-šarri)  
**53, 4 : <sup>l</sup>im-di-ia**  
**57, 18**
- Imdi-Adad** (envoy of Š.-A.)  
**71, 1' : <sup>l</sup>im-di-<sup>d</sup>im**
- Indušše** (king of Gutium)  
**8, 13, 14 : in-du-úš-še**  
**11, 8, 36 : en-du-uš-še**  
**20, 5, [5']?, 15' : en-da-aš-šu**  
**36, 4, 18 : <sup>l</sup>in-du-úš-še**  
**42, 13 : in-du-uš-še**  
**64, 55 : <sup>l</sup>in-da-aš-šu**  
**71, 3' : <sup>l</sup>in-du-uš-še,**  
**7', 3'' : en-du-úš-še**
- Išme-Dagan** (son of Š.-A.)  
 sender of **26-28 B**  
**6, 5, 7, 9, 4, 8**  
**29, 7, 30, 24, 28**  
**64, 11**
- Izzini**  
**8, 36 : iz-zi-ni**
- Jadinum** (official of Š.-A.?)  
 sender of **47-48**
- Jaqqim-Addu** (officer)  
**61, 1'**
- Jašub-Addu** (king of Ahazum)  
 receiver of **66-67**  
 sender of **72(?)**  
**1, 4, 2, 4, 3, 10, 4, 5,**  
**21, 16, 47, 18**
- Jaši<-AN> (?)** (envoy)  
**17, 29**
- Kakmum** (king of Šuruthum?)  
**41, 4'**
- Kigirza** (king of Zutlum?)  
**63, 9, 18 : ki-gi-ir-za**
- Kirkiri** (eloped husband)  
**46, 5 : ki-ir-ki-ri**
- Kizzima**  
**49, 4 : ki-iz-zi-ma**  
**62, 19 : ki-iz-zu-ma**
- Kubija**  
**64, 33 : <sup>l</sup>ku-bi-ia**
- Kudukadil** (envoy)  
**45, 6 : ku-du-ka-di-<sup>l</sup>il<sup>l</sup>**
- Kularum**  
**62, 8 : <sup>l</sup>ku-la<sup>l</sup>-ru-um**
- Kurašānum** (official of Išme-Dagan)  
 sender of **29-33**



- Seal 5, 3 (?)
- Kušija** (envoy of Š.-A.)  
1,49 , 2,43, 5, 6
- Kuwari** (lord of Šušarrā)  
17, 13, 18, 28, 31, 20, 11,  
28 B, 10<sup>2</sup>, 11, 43, 10, 53, 12,  
58 5'
- Li-....(?)**  
56, 16 : <sup>I</sup>[i<sup>?</sup>-....]
- Lidae** (local nobleman)  
7, 5 : *li-da-e*  
8, 49 : *li-da-ia<sub>8</sub>*  
10, 5 : *li-da-e*  
24, 5 : <sup>I</sup>*li-da-e*
- Mašum(?)**  
21, 4
- Meskinum** (envoy of Š.-A.)  
12, 30 : *me-ès-ki-nam*
- Migir-Adad**  
sender of 45
- Mudarrum(?)**  
15, 38
- Muškawē** (king of Kakmum)  
44, 5 : *mu-uš-ka-PI*
- Mutušu** (envoy of Š.-A.)  
11, 26, 28 : *mu-tu-šu*
- Nabi-ilī** (Elamite general)  
64, 57 : <sup>I</sup>*na-bi-li*
- Nabi-Ištar(?)**  
24, 4'
- Naššumar** (king of Kusanarhum)  
63, 12 : <sup>I</sup>*na-aš-šu-ma-ar*
- Nawram-šarur**  
receiver of 65
- Nipram** (envoy)  
64, 5, 33 : <sup>I</sup>*ni-ip-ra-am*
- Pišenden** (king of Itabalthum)  
sender of the 67-69 :  
67 : <sup>I</sup>*p[ì-š]e-en-[d]e-en*  
68 : <sup>I</sup>*pī<sup>1</sup>-še-en-te*  
69 : *pī-še-e[n-de-en]*  
66, 5 : <sup>I</sup>*pī-še-en-de-en*  
Seal 1, 1  
Seal 2, 3
- Samsī-malik(?)** (officer)  
21, 7 : *sa-am-s[i-....]*
- Sîn-išme'anni**  
sender of 33-37 to Kuwari,  
sender of 65 to Nawram-šarur  
receiver of 70 from Kuwari  
64, 65  
70, 20, 22, 44
- Šamaš-našir** (official of Š.-A.)  
receiver of 30 w. Kuwari  
8, 3, 47
- Šamši-Adad** (king of Ekallātum)  
sender of 1 (Š.-A.)  
sender of 2-5 (lugal)  
sender of 6-25 (*bēlum*)  
1, S : <sup>d</sup>*utu-ši-<sup>d</sup>im*  
11, 10 : <sup>d</sup>*utu-ši-<sup>d</sup>im*  
63, 39 : <sup>I</sup>*sa-am-si-<sup>d</sup>im*  
64, 6, 7, 10, 20, 28, 34 : (<sup>I</sup>)*sa-am-si-<sup>d</sup>im*  
71, 1' : <sup>I</sup>*s[a-.....]*  
73, 3, 12
- Šarnida**  
8, 32, 16, 9
- Šarram-ušur**  
8, 31
- Šarrum-Teššup**  
72, 5, 11, 36 : lugal-<sup>d</sup>*im*
- Šatlīja**  
62, 10 : *ša-at-li-ia*
- Šepratu**  
sender of 63-64
- Šip-šarri** (wife of Kuwari)  
34, 14 : *ši-ip-š[ar-r]i amatka*  
64, 66 : [*a-ma-a*]t-<sup>I</sup>*ka<sup>1</sup> ši-ip-šar-ri*
- Šū-Enlil**  
receiver of 68
- Šumšu-liter** (Š.-A. official)  
Seal 5, 1(?)
- Šunšija** (envoy of Kuwari)  
52, 35  
70, 8, 14, 25, 31, 42
- Šunakrānu**  
99, 7'
- Šurra-...**  
44, 12'' : *dumu <sup>I</sup>šu-ur-r[a-....]*
- Šurti** (prince of Kusanarhum)  
63, 13 : <sup>I</sup>*šu-úr-ti*
- Šuruhtuh** (king of Elam)  
64, 50 : <sup>I</sup>*šu-ru-uh-tu-uh*
- Tabitu** (prince of Itabalthum)  
64, 51 : <sup>I</sup>*ta-bi-tu*  
Seal 1, 4 : *ta-bi-ti*
- Taki** (tenant farmer)  
53, 33 : <sup>I</sup>*ta-ki*
- Talpuš-šarri**  
sender of 53-58 to Kuwari  
sender of 66 to Jašub-Addu,  
sender of 73 to Kuwari (?)  
50, 3, 51, 9(?), 52, 7, 36  
59, 3, 31, 63, 9

- Seal 2, 1  
**Tarugur** (prince of Kusanarhum)  
 63, 13  
**Tenduri** (son of Kuwari)  
 sender of 59 (*te-en-du-ri*)  
 35, 13 : <sup>I</sup>*ti-du-ri*  
**Tirwen-šenni**  
 8, 34 : *ti-ir-we-en-še-ni*  
 15, 42 : <sup>I</sup>*ti-ir-we-en* (brother of Zilija)  
 56, 32 : *ti-ir-me-en-[še-ni]*  
 62, 9 : <sup>I</sup>*ti-ir-we-en-še-en-ni*  
**Tukukti** (king of Itabalthum)  
 Seal 1, 2  
**Turukti** (= Tukukti?)  
 Seal 3, 1  
 Seal 4, 3  
**Tu-.....** (king)  
 receiver of 69  
**Ugutlae**  
 59, 13 : <sup>I</sup>*ú-gu-ut-la-e*  
**Ullam-tašni**  
 64, 33 : <sup>I</sup>*ul-la-am-taš-ni*  
**Urnamuš** (tenant farmer)  
 53, 31 : *ur-na-mu-úš*  
**Uštap-tupki** (“cook”)  
 8, 39 : *uš-tap-tu-up-ki*  
**Uštap-šarri(?)** (king of Itabalthum)  
 Seal 3, 2 : *u[š<sup>2</sup>-ta]p<sup>2</sup>-šar-[ri<sup>2</sup>]*  
**Uštun**  
 8, 36 : *uš-tu-un*  
**Ušuni** (from Kutha)  
 8, 45
- Wanni** (king)  
 sender of 60-62 (*wa-an-ni* ; *pa-an-ni* ;  
*wa-an-na*)  
**Warad-šarrim** (ir-lugal)  
 (envoy of Š.-A.)  
 8, 12  
 11, 24, 34, 40  
 20, 4  
 47, [5]?  
**Waraki** (tenant farmer)  
 53, 32 : <sup>I</sup>*wa-ra-ki*  
**Zabzabi**  
 72, 5, 10, 46  
**Zazija**  
 8, 30, 55, 15?  
**Zikri-Ištar** (official of Š.-A.)  
 14, 14  
**Zilija**  
 8, 33, 15, 42  
**Zilippu** (envoy)  
 70, 47, 53  
**Zuzum**  
 35, 34  
 63, 4 (*hanizarum* of Ilalae)  
 67, 12  
 ...-k]a-du  
 22, 14  
 ...-m]a-lik  
 51, 13  
 ...-nu-ú  
 70, 47

## DEITIES

- Adad/Teššup**  
 1, 19 (é<sup>d</sup>im, in Arrapha)  
**Ištar**  
 34, 17
- Šamaš**  
 37, 6, 65, 14

## SELECTED VOCABULARY

- šū =-š – 31 11 ; 55, 8, 11, 23 ; 63, 6  
*amannum* – (mun<sub>x</sub>) “salt” 6, 18  
*annakum* – “tin” 56, 29 ; 57, 12, 19, 22 ;  
 67, 32 ; 68, passim ; 73, 9, 11  
*anninum* – 26, 6  
*anummīš* – 70, 26  
*anummûm* – 2, 6 ; 53, 9, 12 ; 59, 6  
*ašlalûm* – 69, 8’  
*assurri* – 8, 16, 48 ; 12, 32 ; 21, 14 ;  
 35, 9 ; 56, 7, 60, 24  
*awâtum* – *awât libbim* 70, passim  
*bâ’um* – 2, 27, 29  
*behrum* – 61, 2’  
*biltum* – *nāšī biltim* 49, 8 ; 52, 27 gú  
*birtum* – *šābum birtum* 12, 10 ; 21, 15  
 30, 8, 13  
*bītum* – in é a-šà-tim 50, 22 ; “family” 66, 9  
*dapārum* – D 35, 39 ; D 47, 17, 28  
*dintum* – “siege tower” 7, 15  
*erēšum* – *eqlam erēšum(?)* 13, 28, 47  
*gerûm* – 42, 32  
*ginûm* – “sacrifice” 64, 60  
*guparum* – 56, 31  
*habātum* – N 36, 4  
*hanīzarum* – 63, 4  
*harāšum* – 42, 33  
*haṭāṭum* – D 16, 6  
*hesûm* – 15, 14  
*hullum* – 11, 26  
*hupšum* – 36, 22  
*imerūtum* – 5, 23  
*iṭṭum* – “bitumen” 6, 13  
*kabārum* – 13, 50 (G), 31 (D)  
*kallatum* – 35, 13  
*kanākum* – 57, 10  
*kišādum* – *kišād PN kullum* 71, 11’  
*kunukkum* – 28 B, 4, 7, 10  
*kurbiānum* – 67, 25  
*kušīrum* – “success” 69, 18  
*laqātum* – 1, 28 ; 15, 28 ; 35, 37  
*lillum* – “fool” 5, 5, 12 ; 70, 7  
*lillūtum* – “mistake” 70, 12  
*mâdum* – Š “increase” 8, 18, 21  
*maq̄tum* – 5, 6, 12  
*maq̄atum* – *awātum maq̄atum* 16, 15 ; 42, 41  
*mašāhum* – 31, 11 ; 53, 34  
*masûm* – 67, 24  
*mašûm* – 1, 17 ; 13, 8  
*mesûm* – *qātam mesûm* 12, 30  
*midde* – 35, 37 ; 52, 27 ; 55, 14  
*muttablakkatum* – 19, 13  
*mā* – 13, 30 ; 15, 12  
*nadûm* – “leave garrison” 40, 11 ; 41, 12’ ; 42,  
 20  
*nakamtum* – 36, 27 ; 63, 30 ; 64, 46  
*namaddum* – 56, 24, 25  
*napāšum* – 42, 8  
*napištum* – *napištam lapātum* 12, 28  
*napzaram* – “secretly” 2, 40 ; 13, 27, 40  
*napzarum* – 13, 10  
*nasākum* – D 23, 8  
*našāqum* – 65, 9  
*našûm* – “march” 58, 16’  
*nepārum* – 16, 20, 30 ; 32, 7 ; 46, 14  
*nikkassum* – 57, 20  
*nīqum* – 62, 16  
*nissatum* – 63, 41  
*nuldānūtum* – 63, 56  
*pagrum* – *pagram šarāqum* 15, 20  
*palûm* – “reign, era” 46, 6  
*palāsum* – 50, 28 ; 64, 62  
*pazārum* – 13, 13  
*pazurtum* – 36, 22  
*piqat* – 11, 18 ; 21, 13 ; 24, 6 ; 41, 17’  
*pištum* – 63, 64  
*puhrum* – 71, 9’  
*pûm* – *pî mātīm šubalkutum* 8, 29 ; do. Š 8, 10 ;  
 Š 16, 22 ; *pûm tebûm* 63, 54  
*qabsum* – 44, 6  
*qaqqadum* – 62, 20 (sent in sack!)  
*qarnum* – *qaran šubāt RN šabātum* 1, 25  
*qāt ilim* – 5, 6 ; *qāt DN šulûm* 34, 17  
*qātum* – *qātam wabālum* + dat. 1, 46 ; 3, 23  
*qaṭālum* – “slaughter” 42, 3  
*qērēbum* – D, *ana GN* 40, 17 ; 41, 15’  
*qinnazum* – “whip” 42, 7  
*qu”um* – “wait” 39, 19 ; 41, 3  
*rabbūtum* – 60, 15 (*rabbūt mātīm*)  
*rahāšum* – 40, 8 ; 43, 12  
*rapšum* – 60, 23 *pān RN rapšu*  
*salūtum* – 60, 37  
*sarrum* – 2, 6 ; 19, 13  
*sehûm* – 3, 17, 21  
*gīšSIG* – 52, 44

*sullûm* – “plead” **59**, 13  
*sûtum* – **63**, 60  
*şalmum* – **71**, 10’  
*şibittum* – **8**, 46  
*şammum* – “grass” **35**, 16 ; **59**, 15 ; **64**, 59  
*şarrakûtum* – **71**, 13’  
*şēpum* – **13**, 11 ; *şēpam našāqum* **60**, 11, 15, 17  
*şewerum* – **11**, 25  
*şībūtum* – **18**, 8, 25 ; **19**, 16  
*şippat* – **42**, 16 ; **53**, 27 ; **64**, 43 ; **69**, 10, 20  
*şubtum* – **42**, 30, **72**, 19  
*şurīpum* – “ice” **1**, 52, 60  
*şūt* – **8**, 9 ; **11**, 24  
*şuttum* – “dream” **5**, 10  
*tamartum* – **71**, 2’  
*tappûm* – **11**, 28

*taqribātum* – “escort” **45**, 14  
*tertum* – *tertam epēšum* “take omen” **34**, 15 ;  
**36**, 29 ; **63**, 65 ; **70**, 22  
*tillatum* – **36**, 15  
*ulliš* – **63**, 40  
*ūmšum* – “previously” **66**, 7  
*wašpum* – “sling” **63**, 38  
*wašābum* – imp. *tašab* **60**, 27  
*watûm* – enemy *ana GN erēbam* **47**, 13  
*werium* – “copper” **67**, 33  
*wuddi* – **1**, 4 ; **59**, 15 ; **63**, 70  
*zakārum* – Š **12**, 31, 36  
*zêrum* – “hate” **19**, 10, 12  
*zumrum* – enemy *ina zumur ālim šupṭurum* **44**,  
8”

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## CONCORDANCE BETWEEN SH. FIELD NOS. AND PUBLICATION NOS.

The concordance lists all tablets and fragments found by the Danish Dokān Expedition in 1957 including those published in ShA 2 (marked by italics). Specific details for the pieces marked with an asterisk (\*) are added at end of list.

SH. number	Publ. number	Sender	Receiver	Dimensions
800	<i>108</i>			
801	<b>58</b>	Talpuš-šarri	Kuwari	6.2 x 4.7 x 1.9
802 [joins 808+815]	<b>69</b>	Pišenden	T[u-...]	9.4 x 5.7 x 2.5
803*	<b>98</b>			2.8 x 2.8 x 1.8
804	<b>73</b>	[Talpuš-šarri]	[Kuwari]	10.9 x 5.4 x 2.9
805	<b>51</b>	Hulukkatil	Kuwari	8.0 x 4.2 x 1.8
806	<i>109</i>			
807	<i>110</i>			
[808+815 ; joins 802]	[69]			
809	<b>1</b>	Š.-A.	Kuwari	15.3 x 5.8 x 3.4
810	<b>53</b>	Talpuš-šarri	Kuwari	9.1 x 4.6 x 2.0
811	<b>59</b>	Tenturi	Kuwari	8.1 x 5.0 x 2.2
812	<b>63</b>	Šepratu	Kuwari	11.7 x 5.8 x 2.9
813	<b>50</b>	Hulukkatil	Kuwari	5.9 x 4.3 x 1.8
814	<b>25</b>	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	3.6 x 3.4 x 2.4
[815+808 ; joins 802]	[69]			
816	<b>67</b>	Pišenten	Jašub-Addu	7.7 x 4.8 x 2.6
817 A	Seal <b>3</b>			5.3 x 4.0 x 2.3
817 B	Seal <b>1</b>			4.1 x 2.8 x 0.6
818	<b>36</b>	Sîn-išme'anni	Kuwari	8.1 x 5.2 x 2.8
819	<b>54</b>	Talpuš-šarri	Kuwari	7.8 x 4.4 x 2.0
820	<b>52</b>	Hulukkatil	Kuwari	9.0 x 5.2 x 2.6
821	<b>72</b>	[Jašub-Addu?]	[.....]	9.4 x 5.0 x 2.6
822	<b>35</b>	Sîn-išme'anni	Kuwari	6.6 x 4.5 x 2.4
823*				
824	<b>57</b>	Talpuš-šarri	Kuwari	7.0 x 4.4 x 2.0
825	<i>111</i>			
826	<b>34</b>	Sîn-išme'anni	Kuwari	6.2 x 4.2 x 1.9
827	<b>64</b>	Šepratu	Kuwari	10.1 x 5.4 x 2.8
828	<b>3</b>	lugal	Kuwari	7.2 x 4.7 x 3.1
829	<b>56 + 37</b>	Talpuš-šarri	Kuwari	8.3 x 4.8 x 2.6
830	<b>76</b>			3.2 x 2.7 x 1.5
831	<b>77</b>			2.7 x 1.8 x 0.7
832*	<i>112</i>			
833	<b>78</b>			2.5 x 2.0 x 1.1
834	<i>113</i>			
835	<i>114</i>			
836	<i>115</i>			
837	<i>116</i>			
838	<i>117</i>			
839	<i>118</i>			
840	<i>119</i>			

841	120			
842	121			
843	122			
844	123			
845	124			
846	125			
847	126			
848	127			
849	128			
850	129			
851	130			
852 A	<b>24</b>	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	3.0 x 4.0 x 2.5
852 B	<b>79</b>			1.2 x 3.8 x 1.9
852 C	<b>80</b>			1.4 x 2.2 x 1.4
852 D	Seal <b>2</b>			
853	131			
854 A	<b>81 A</b>			3.0 x 3.0 x 1.8
854 B	<b>81 B</b>			3.1 x 2.2 x 2.2
855*	<b>82</b>			2 fragments
856	<b>26</b>	Išme-Dagan	Kuwari	7.4 x 4.7 x 3.0
857	<b>43</b>	Etellum	Kuwari	6.6 x 4.1 x 3.0
858	<b>49</b>	Hulukkatiil	Kuwari	6.2 x 4.3 x 2.3
859+881	<b>42</b>	Etellum	Kuwari	
860*	<b>28 B</b>	Išme-Dagan	Kuwari	6.7 x 4.4 x 2.4
861	<b>19</b>	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	7.5 x 4.6 x 2.1
862	132			
863	133			
864+870	134			
865	135			
866	136			
867	137			
868	<b>68</b>	Pišenten	Kullu	6.5 x 4.1 x 2.1
869	138			
[870 ; joins 864]	134			
871	139			
872	<b>6</b>	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	5.2 x 3.7 x 2.4
873	<b>46</b>	Asīrum	Kuwari	5.5 x 4.4 x 2.6
874	<b>60</b>	Wanni	Kuwari	8.6 x 4.9 x 2.7
875	<b>44</b>	Etellum	Kuwari	6.8 x 5.0 x 3.0
876	<b>38</b>	Etellum	Kuwari	4.7 x 3.8 x 2.3
877	<b>40</b>	Etellum	Kuwari	7.2 x 4.7 x 3.0
878	<b>18</b>	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	6.6 x 4.5 x 3.0
879	<b>30</b>	Kurašānum	Kuwari	8.2 x 4.5 x 3.3
880	<b>5</b>	lugal	Kuwari	7.0 x 4.6 x 2.3
[881 ; joins 859]	[42]			
882	<b>9</b>	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	5.4 x 4.2 x 2.5
883	<b>16</b>	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	6.4 x 4.5 x 2.7
884	<b>55</b>	Talpuš-šarri	Kuwari	6.0 x 4.3 x 1.9
885*	<b>99</b>			6.6 x 4.5 x 2.5
886	<b>4</b>	lugal	Kuwari	8.0 x 5.1 x 3.1
887	<b>8</b>	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	10.8 x 5.5 x 3.2
888	<b>12</b>	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	12.2 x 6.1 x 3.5

889	140			
890	Seal 1			20 fragments
891	71			6.3 x 5.2 x 2.4
892	22	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	5.8 x 4.7 x 2.5
893	141			
894	2	lugal	Kuwari	12.6 x 6.2 x 3.4
894 A	envelop.			15 fragments
895	33	Kurašānum	Kuwari	4.7 x 4.0 x 3.0
896	66	Talpuš-šarri	Jašub-Addu	7.5 x 4.7 x 2.2
897	142			
898	Seal 2			several pieces
899	70	Kuwari	Sîn-išme'anni	9.1 x 4.8 x 2.4
900	61	Wanni	Kuwari	4.5 x 4.0 x 2.5
901	143			
902	144			
903	145			
904 A + 904 B	83			4.1 x 4.2 x 2.2
[904B ;joins 904 A]*	[83]			
904 C+D	85			5.7 x 2.0 x 2.1
904 E*	44 B	Etellum	Kuwari	2.4 x 3.3 x 2.3
905	20	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	9.8 x 5.8 x 3.6
906+909A+923A+927 +928+929+932+933	17	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	
907	32	Kurašānum	Kuwari	4.6 x 4.3 x 3.1
908	27	Išme-Dagan	Kuwari	6.2 x 4.8 x 2.6
[909 A ; joins 906]	[17]			
909 B+909 C*	23	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	6.5 x 4.4 x 1.3
[909 C ; joins 909 B]	[23]			
909 D	88			1.7 x 2.6 x 0.5
909 E	89			5.7 x 4.8 x 0.7
910	90			6.0 x 4.0 x 2.1
911+922	15	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	10.7 x 5.4 x 3.1
912	45	Migir-Adad	Kuwari	4.0 x 3.9 x 2.6
913	39	Etellum	Kuwari	5.2 x 4.0 x 2.3
914	62	Wanni	Kuwari	5.5 x 3.8 x 2.4
915	7	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	5.3 x 4.2 x 2.8
916	31	Kurašānum	Kuwari	5.0 x 4.2 x 2.8
917	14	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	3.4 x 3.4 x 2.1
918	65	Sîn-išme'anni	Nawram-šarur	6.5 x 4.3 x 2.0
919	13	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	9.1 x 4.8 x 2.8
920	11	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	9.9 x 5.7 x 3.2
921	29	Kurašānum	Kuwari	8.6 x 4.6 x 2.9
[922 ; joins 911]	[15]			
[923 A ; joins 906]	[17]			
923 B+936	91			4.1 x 3.2 x 1.6
923 C	146			
923 D*	96			7 small fragm.s
924*	[13]			8 small fragm.s
925+935+939+942	41	Etellum	Kuwari	
926	21	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	6.6 x 4.2 x 2.8
[927 ; joins 906]	[17]			
[928 ; joins 906]	[17]			



[929 ; joins 906]	[17]			
930	<b>74</b>			2.9 x 4.4 x 1.1
931	<b>93</b>			3.0 x 1.7 x 0.4
[932 ; joins 906]	[17]			
[933 ; joins 906]	[17]			
934	<b>94</b>			1.8 x 1.9 x 0.6
[935 ; joins 925]	[41]			
[936 ; joins 923B]	[91]			
937	Seal <b>5</b>			1.8 x 3.2 x 0.8
[938 ; joins 930]	[74]			
[939 ; joins 925]	[41]			
940*	<b>95</b>			
941	<b>47</b>	Jadinum	Kuwari	5.0 x 3.8 x 2.2
[942 ; joins 925]	[41]			
943	<b>10</b>	<i>bēlum</i>	Kuwari	6.0 x 4.5 x 3.0
944	<b>28</b>	Išme-Dagan	Kuwari	4.5 x 4.7 x 2.7
945	<b>48</b>	Jadinum	Kuwari	7.4 x 5.5 x 2.3
no SH. no.*	<b>97</b>			3.8 x 2.4 x 1.6
no SH. no.*	<b>100</b>			3 small fragm.s
no SH. no.	Seal <b>4</b>			
no SH. no.	Seal <b>6</b>			

\*SH.803 : Fragment from administrative text accidentally not included in ShA 2.

\*SH.823 (=IM.62098) has a complicated, and not entirely clear history. In the Shemshāra field catalogue made in 1957 it is described as : “Letter, extremely fragile, in 2 pieces. Needs preservative treatment. Total height 9.5, width 4.0, thickness 2.4 cms”. From later notes in Læssøe’s papers, however, it appears that the two fragments must have been accidentally separated at the division of finds between the Expedition and the Iraq Museum and that one piece, which is part of an administrative note, ended in Copenhagen under the field number SH.832 (= ShA 2, 112). The second piece is presumably in the Iraq Museum where Læssøe seems to have searched for it since he notes : “probably joined to some other fragment in Baghdad and not any longer identifiable”.

Also unaccounted for is the *true* SH.832 which in the 1957 catalogue was described as : “Fragment of tablet. Traces of 2 lines. 2.2 x 1.3 x 1.4 cms.” Presumably this piece lost its number and since there is no recorded trace of such a fragment in Copenhagen it most likely remained in Baghdad.

\*SH.832 : See above ad SH.823.

\*SH.855 : Formerly not classified as part of edition.

\*SH.860 : Formerly classified as no. 75.

\*SH. 885 : Formerly classified as no. 82.

\*SH. 904 B : Formerly classified as no. 84.

\*SH.904 E : Formerly classified as no. 86.

\*SH.909 B : Formerly classified as no. 87.

\*SH.923 D : Formerly not classified as part of edition.

\*SH.924 : Formerly classified as no. 92.

\*SH.940 : This piece, classified as no. 95, can no longer be located. Since the 1957 catalogue gives the description "Fragment of uninscribed edge of tablet. 2.0 x 2.7 x 0.8 cms." the loss seems acceptable.

\*no SH. no. 1 : Formerly not classified as part of edition.

\*no SH. no. 2 : Formerly not classified as part of edition.



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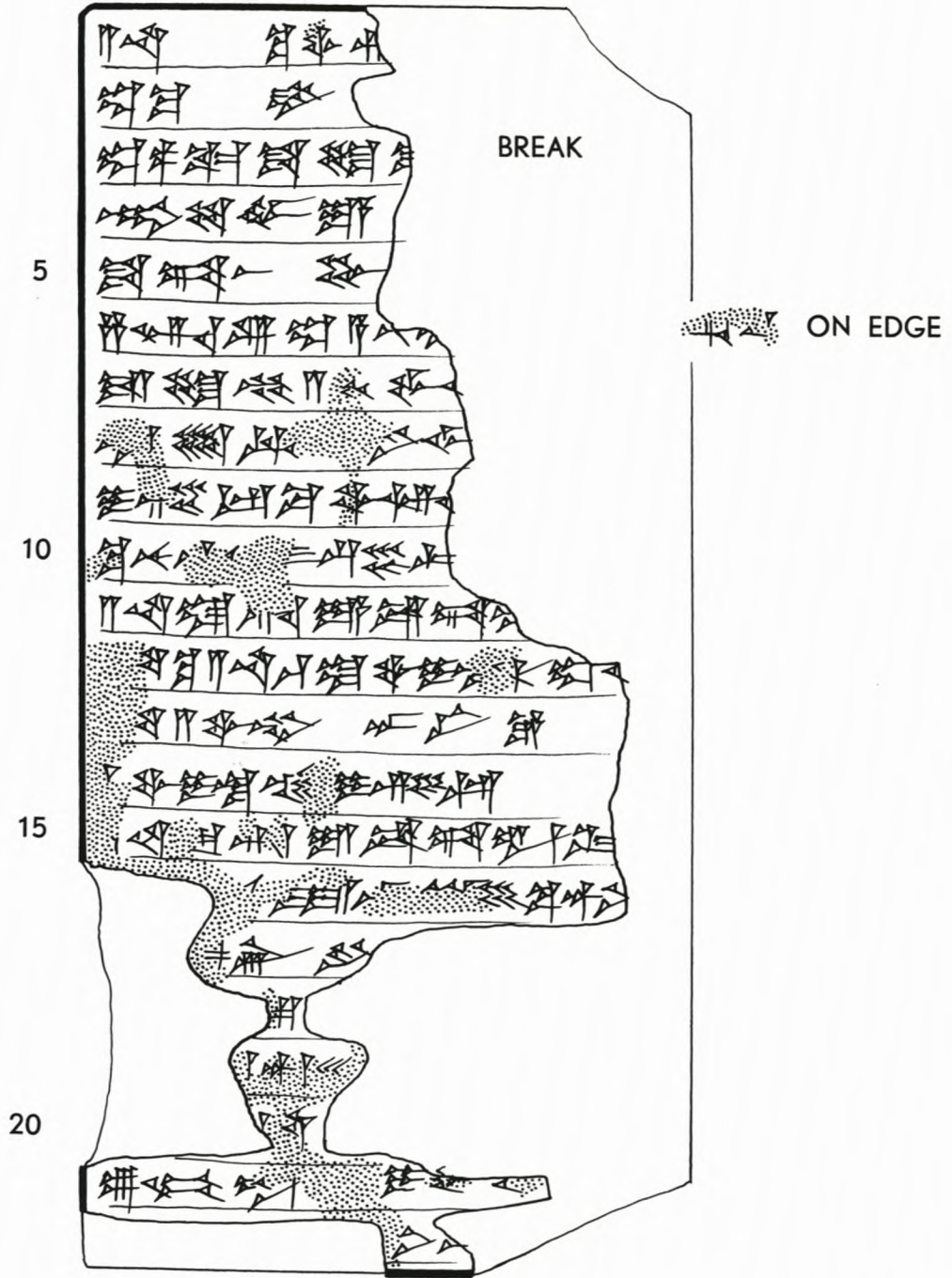
LOWER EDGE

Lower edge of the obverse side showing the bottom-most characters of the inscriptions.

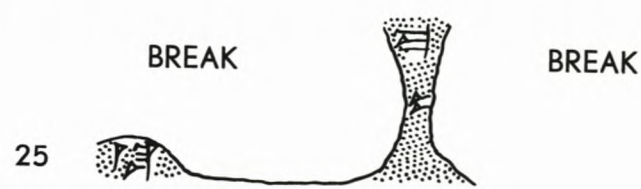
UPPER EDGE

Upper edge of the reverse side showing the top-most characters of the inscriptions.

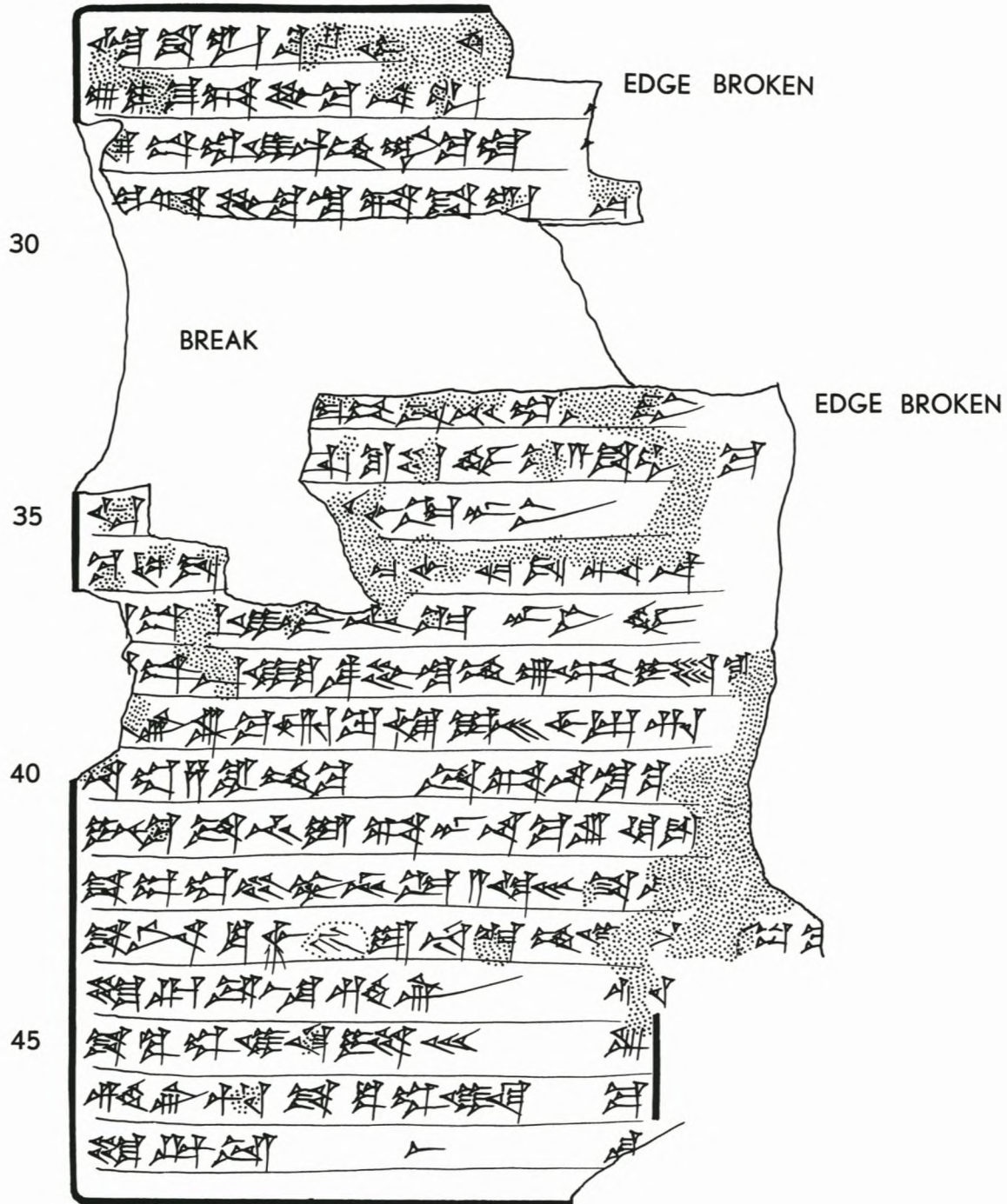
OBVERSE



LOWER EDGE



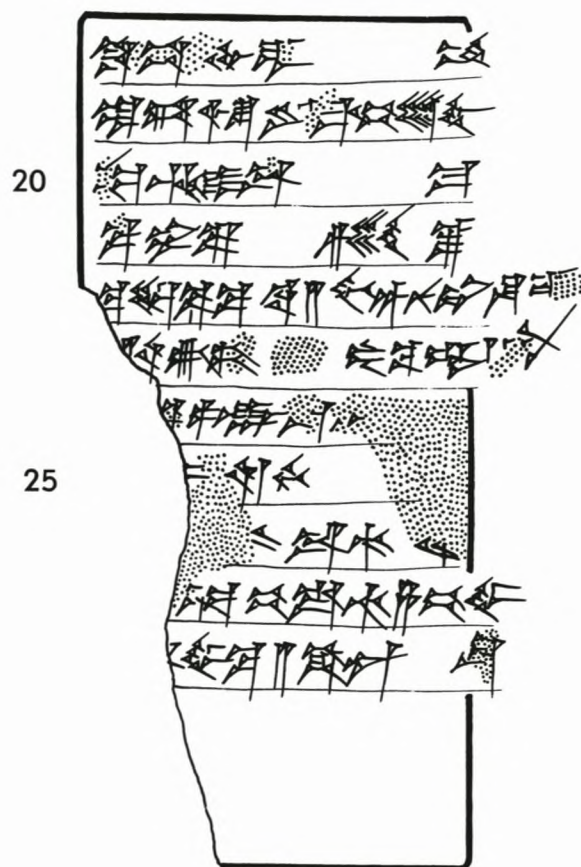
REVERSE



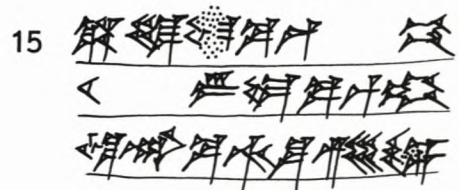
OBVERSE



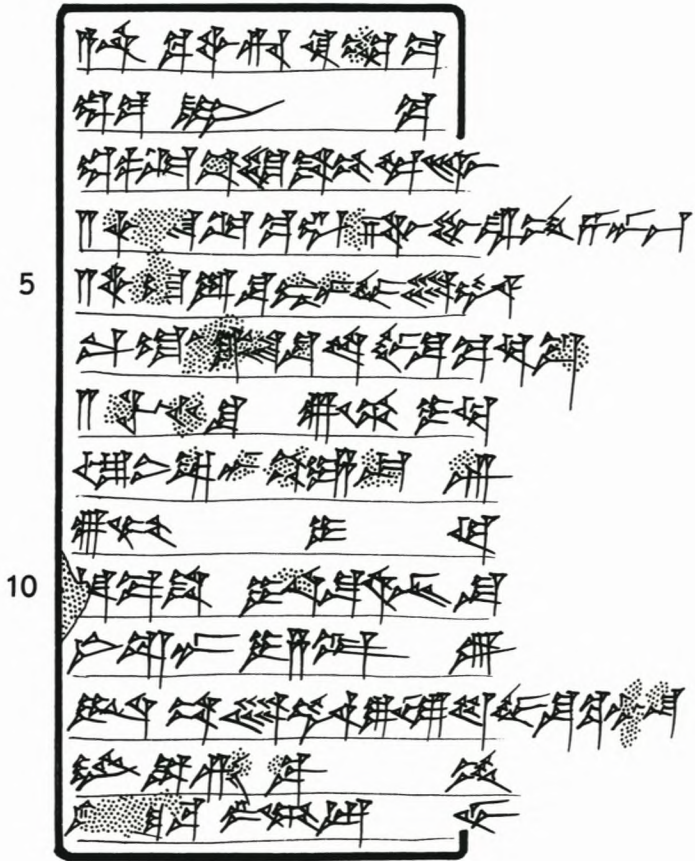
REVERSE



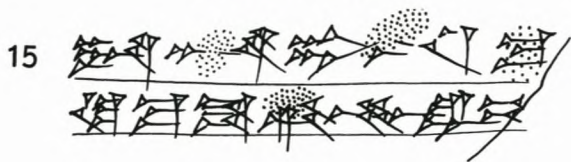
LOWER EDGE



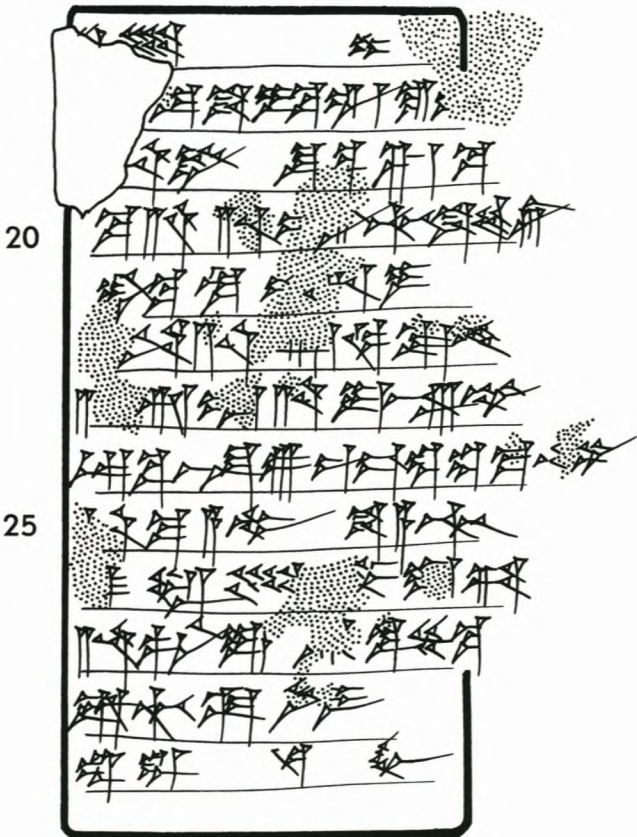
OBVERSE



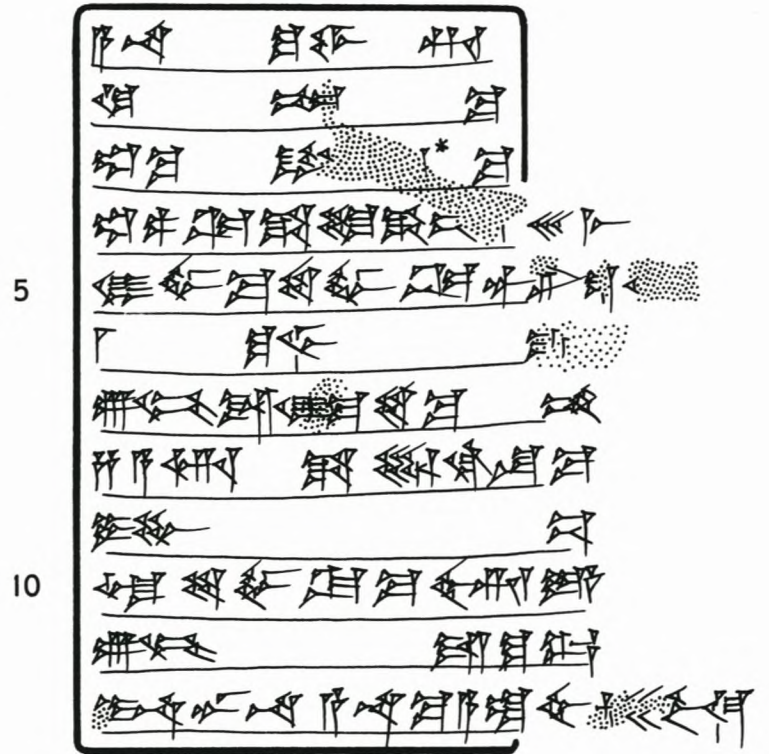
LOWER EDGE



REVERSE



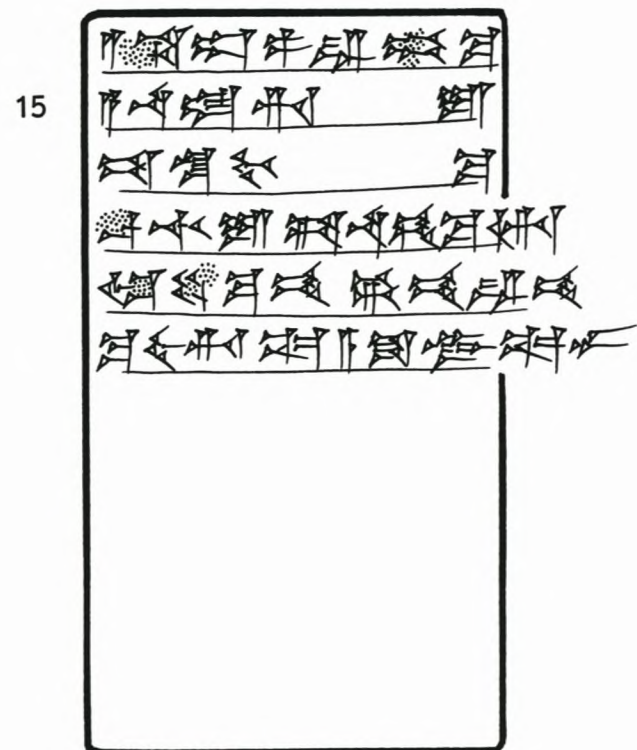
OBVERSE



LOWER EDGE

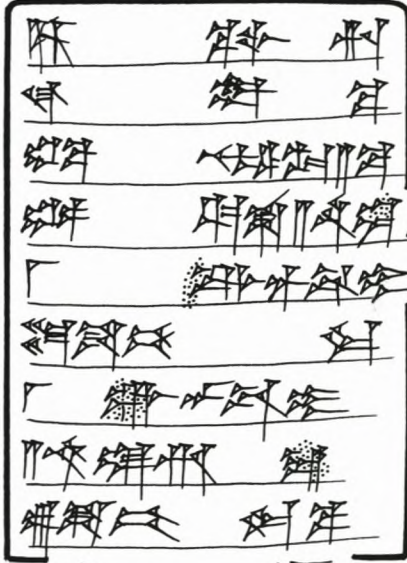


REVERSE



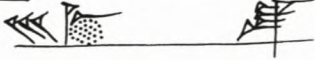


OBVERSE



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10 LOWER EDGE



OBVERSE



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LOWER EDGE

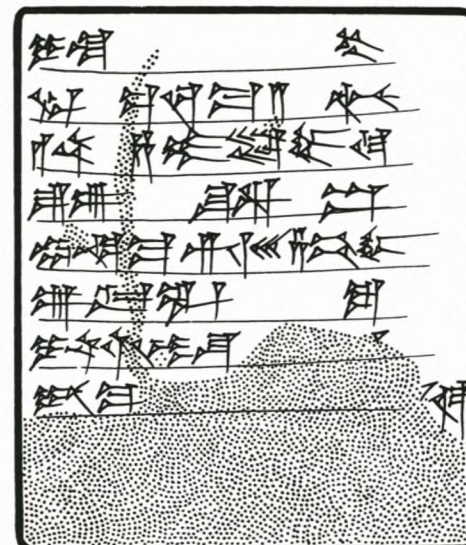


REVERSE



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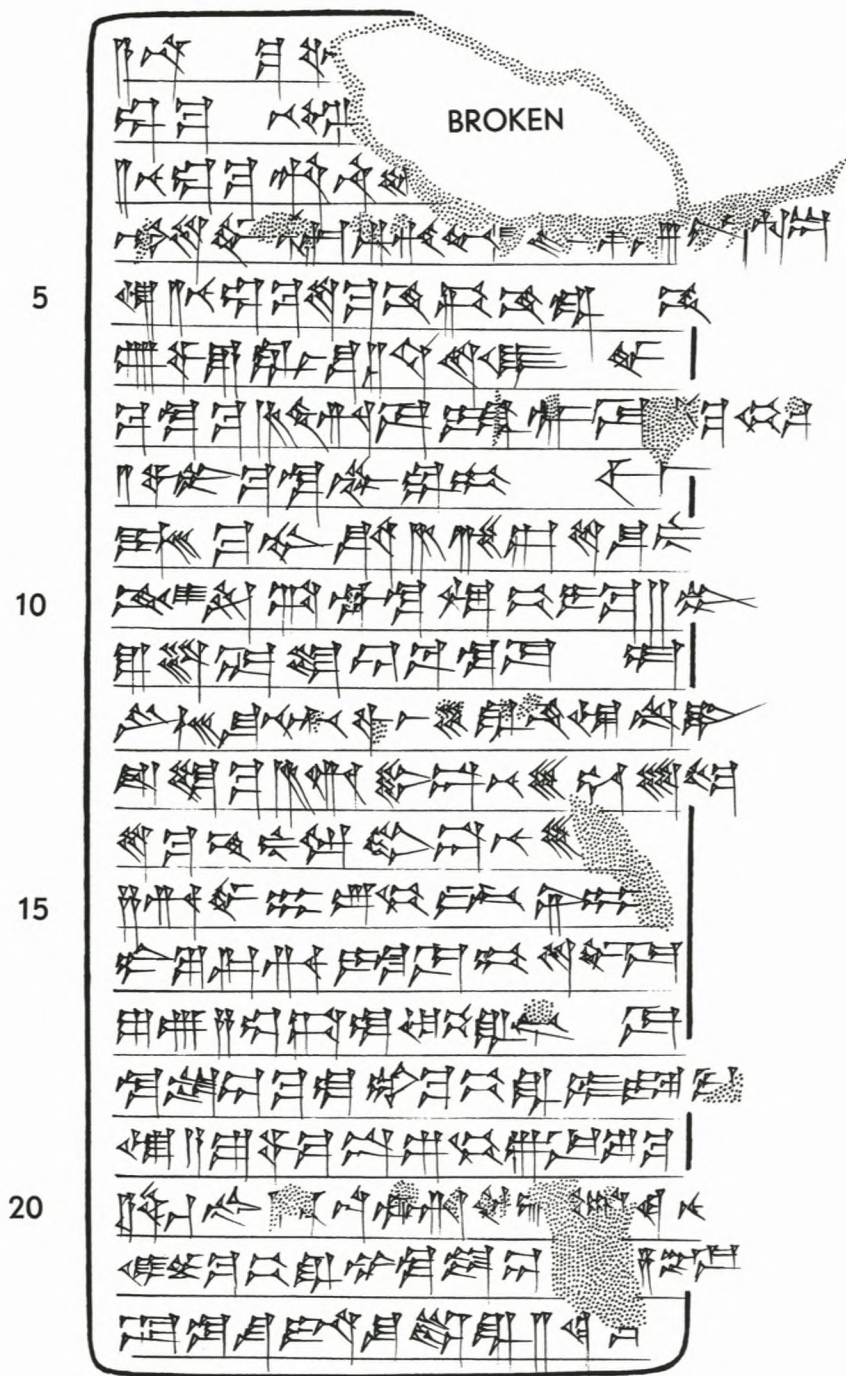
REVERSE



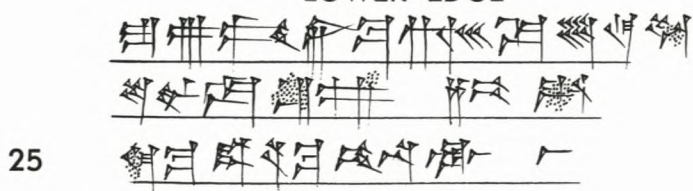
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OBVERSE



LOWER EDGE



REVERSE

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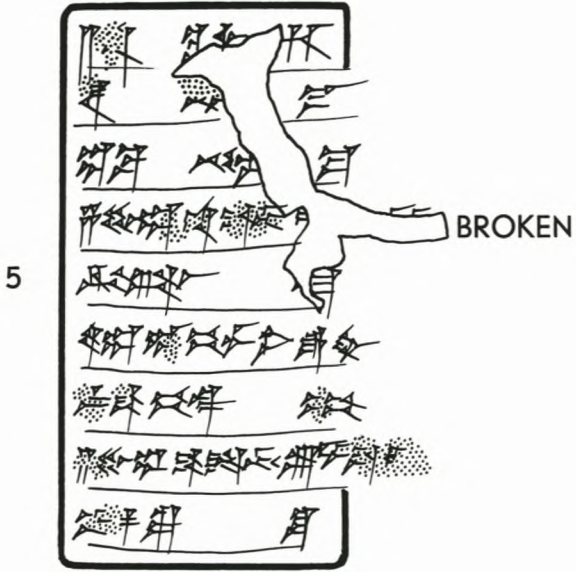
BROKEN

UPPER EDGE

The image shows a vertical column of ancient Chinese characters in seal script. The characters are arranged in horizontal lines, with some lines starting with a small vertical mark. The text is partially obscured by a shaded area at the bottom, labeled 'BROKEN' and 'UPPER EDGE'. The characters are arranged in a column, with some lines starting with a small vertical mark. The text is partially obscured by a shaded area at the bottom, labeled 'BROKEN' and 'UPPER EDGE'.

9

OBVERSE

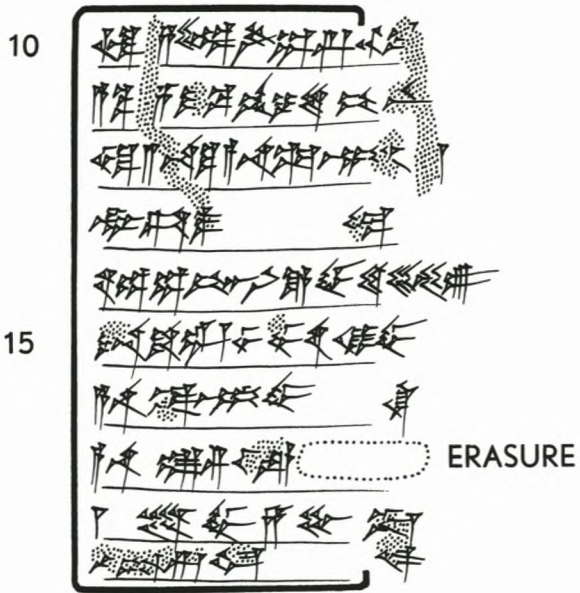


10

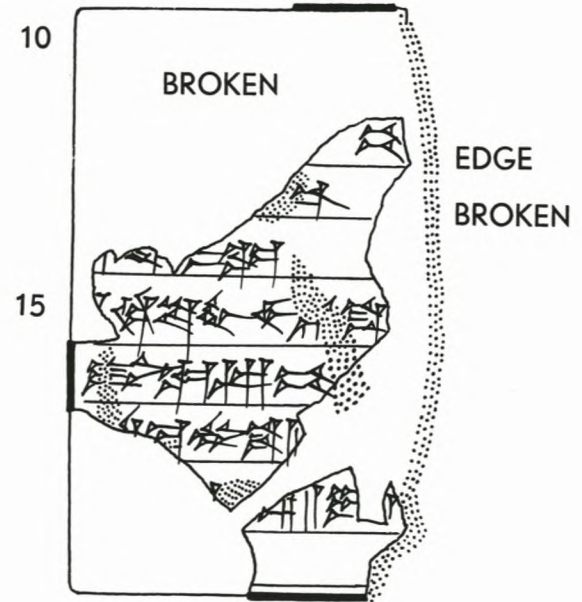
OBVERSE



REVERSE

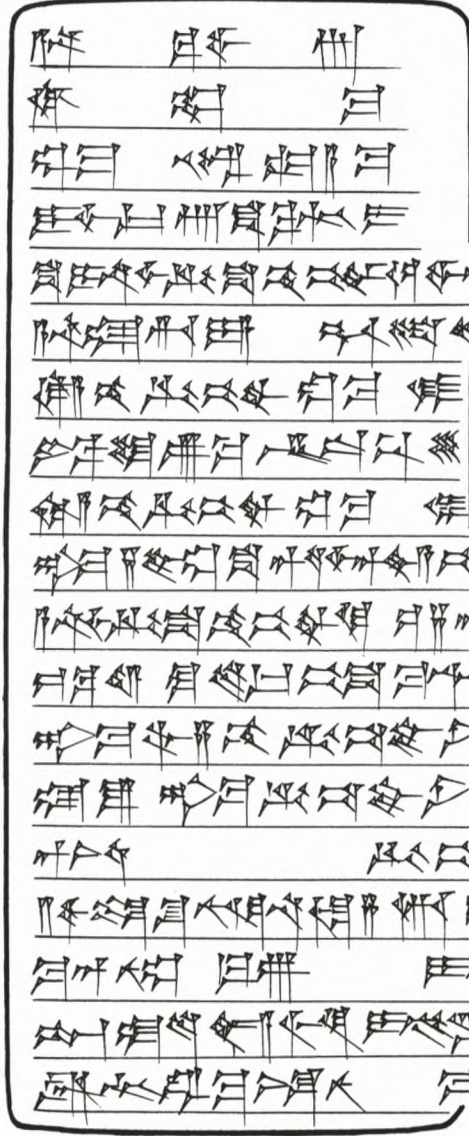


REVERSE



UPPER EDGE





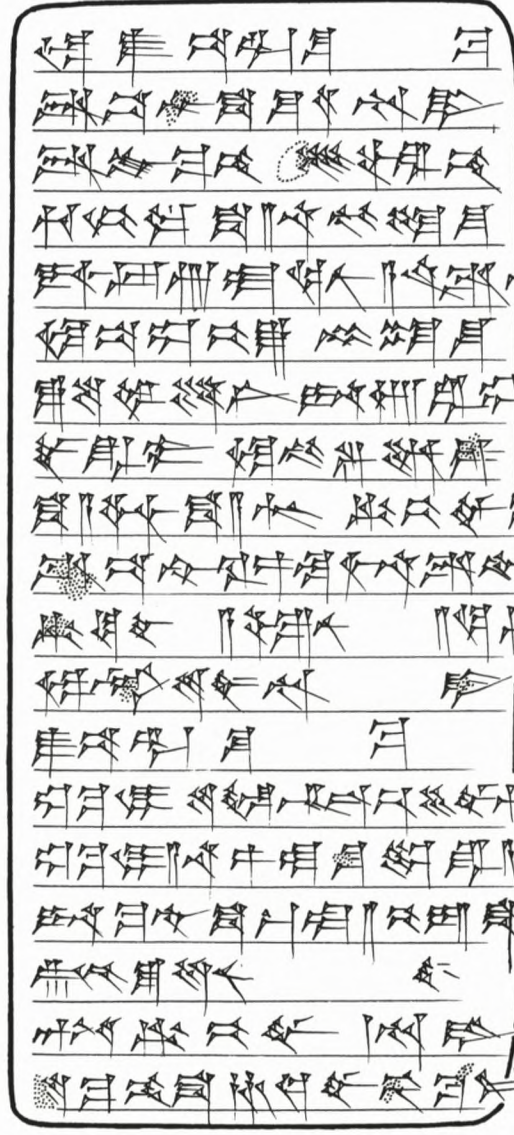
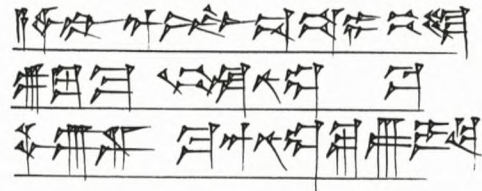
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LOWER EDGE

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ERASURE

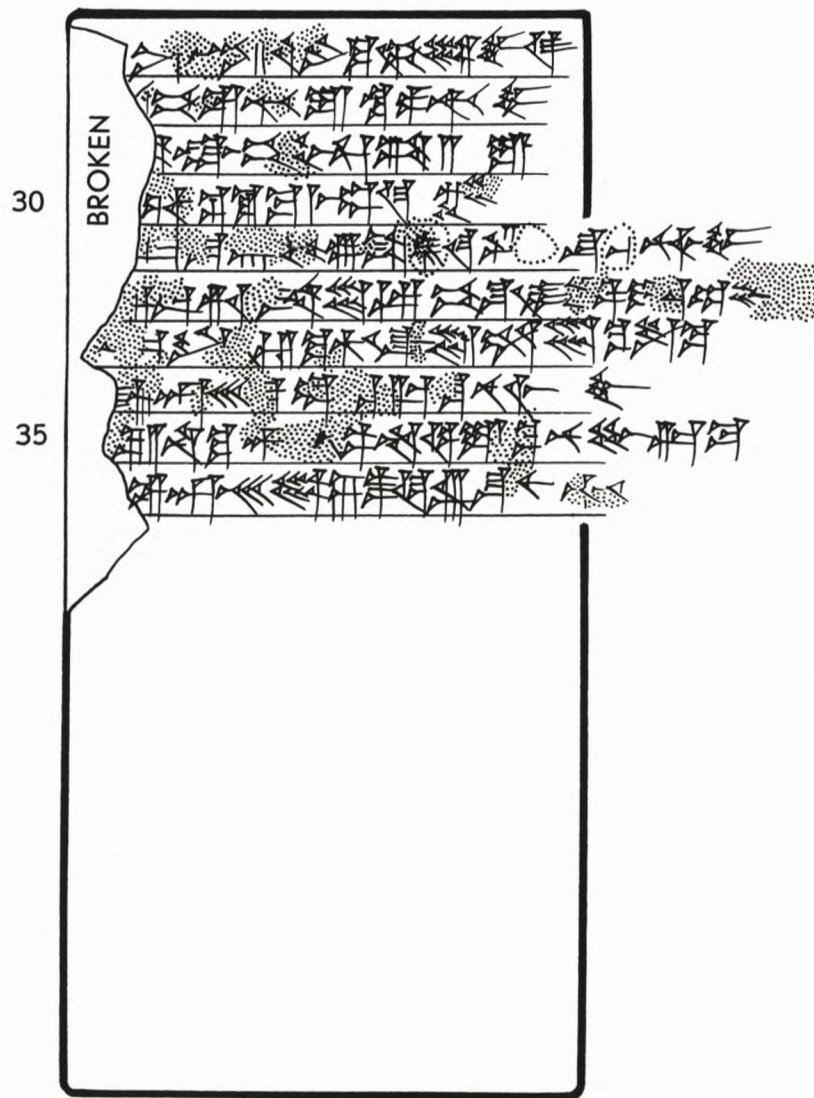
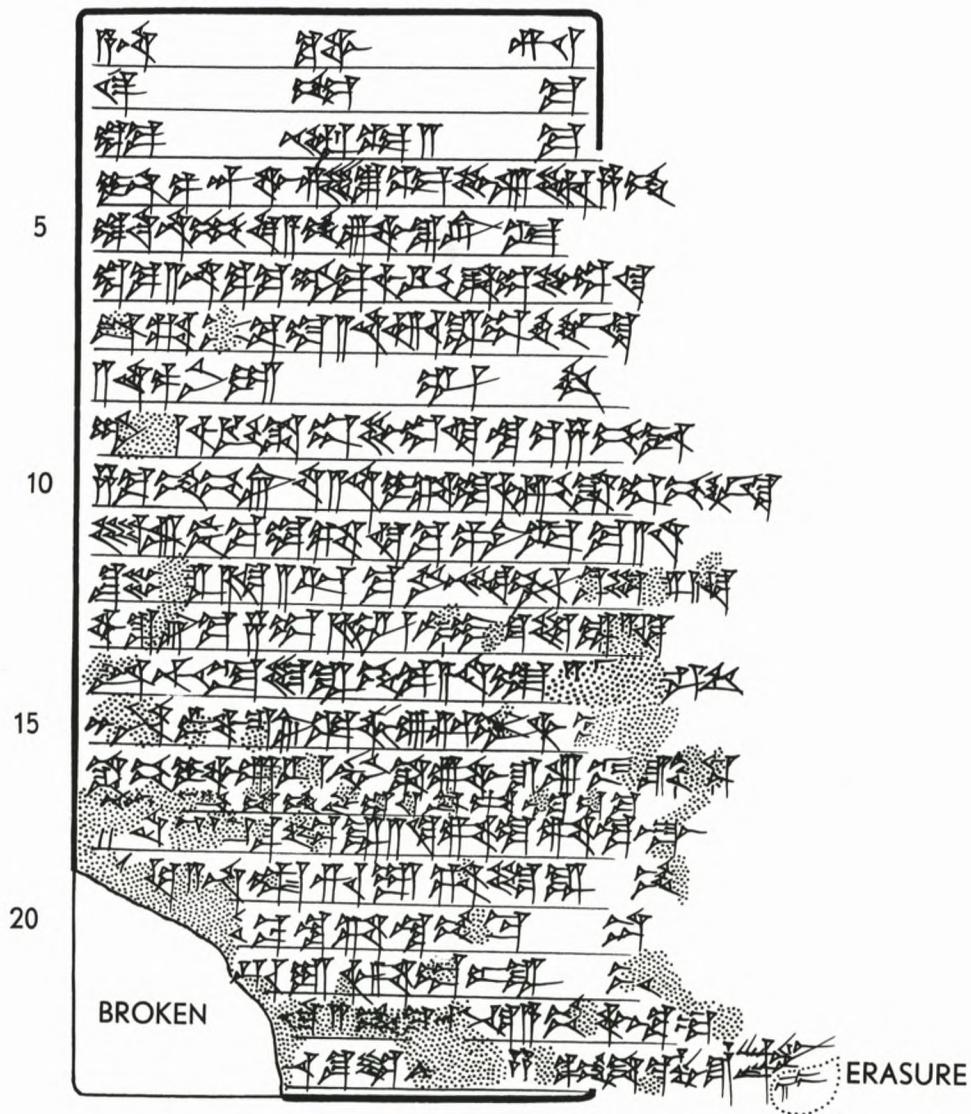
UPPER EDGE





OBVERSE

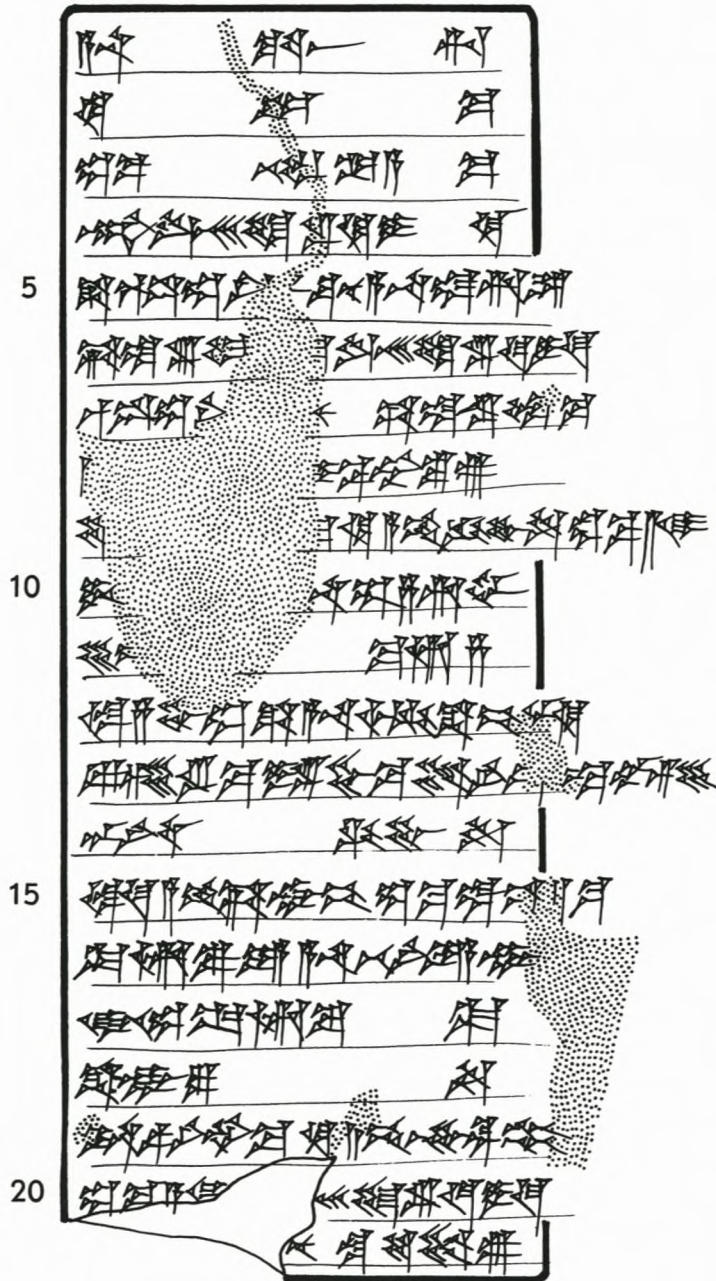
REVERSE



LOWER EDGE



OBVERSE



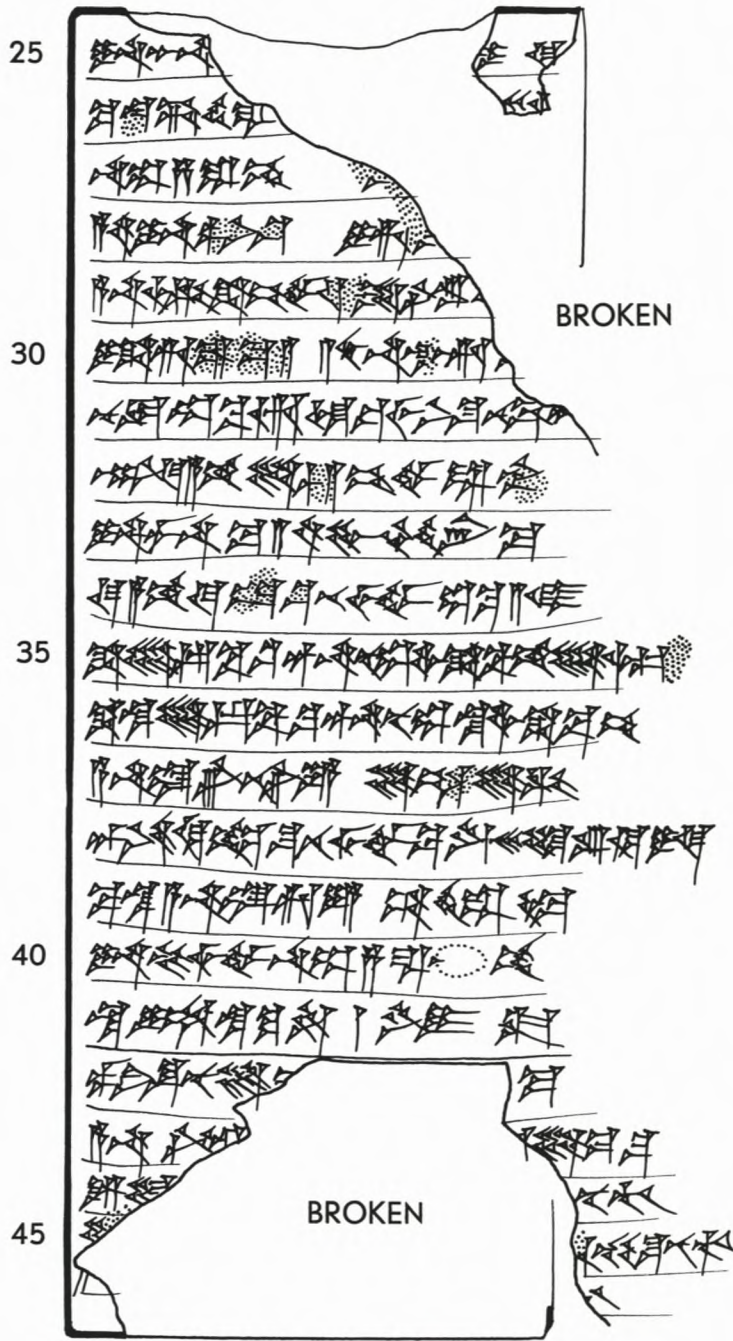
LOWER EDGE





13

REVERSE



UPPER EDGE

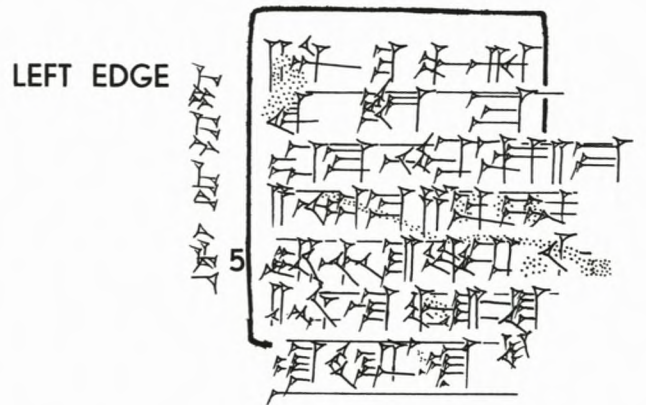


LEFT EDGE

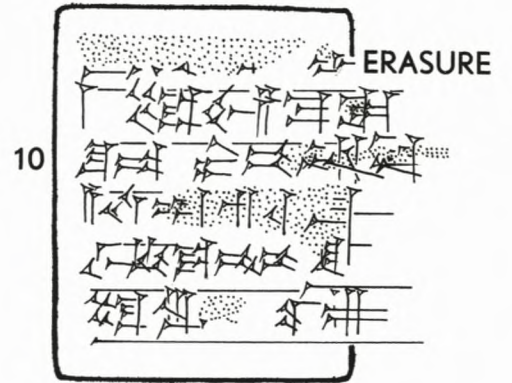


14

OBVERSE



REVERSE



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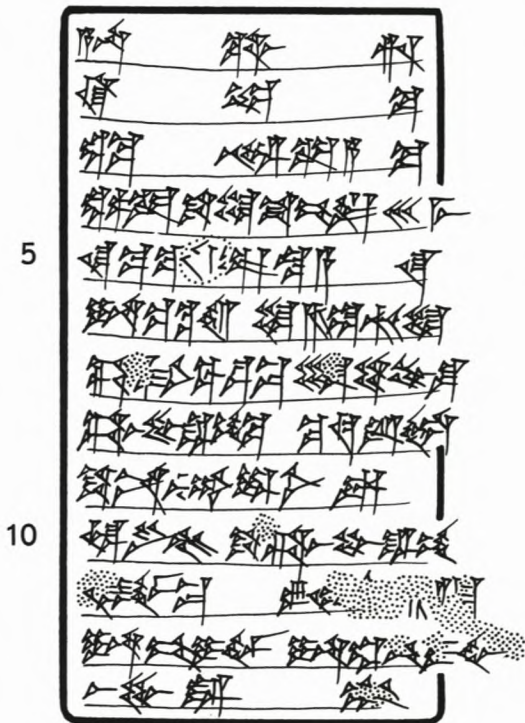
LOWER EDGE

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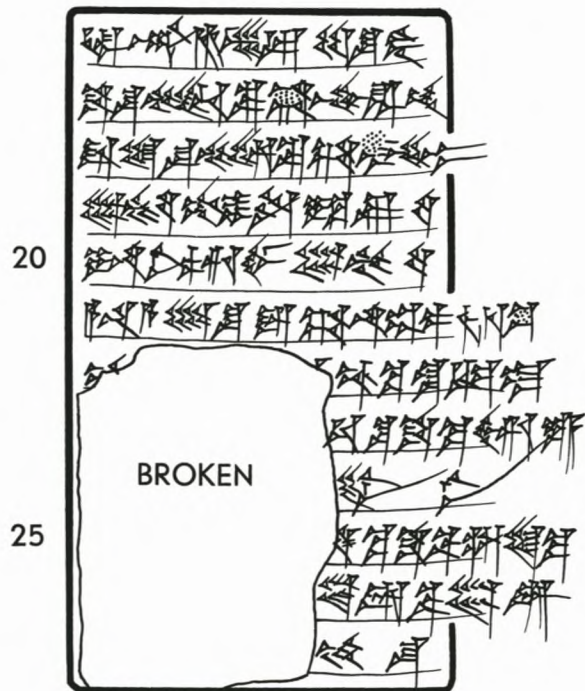
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BROKEN

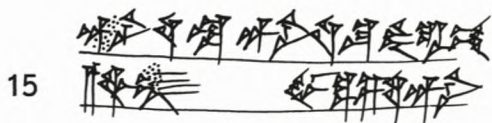
OBVERSE



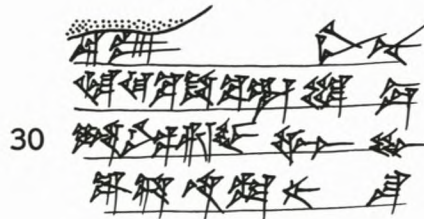
REVERSE



LOWER EDGE



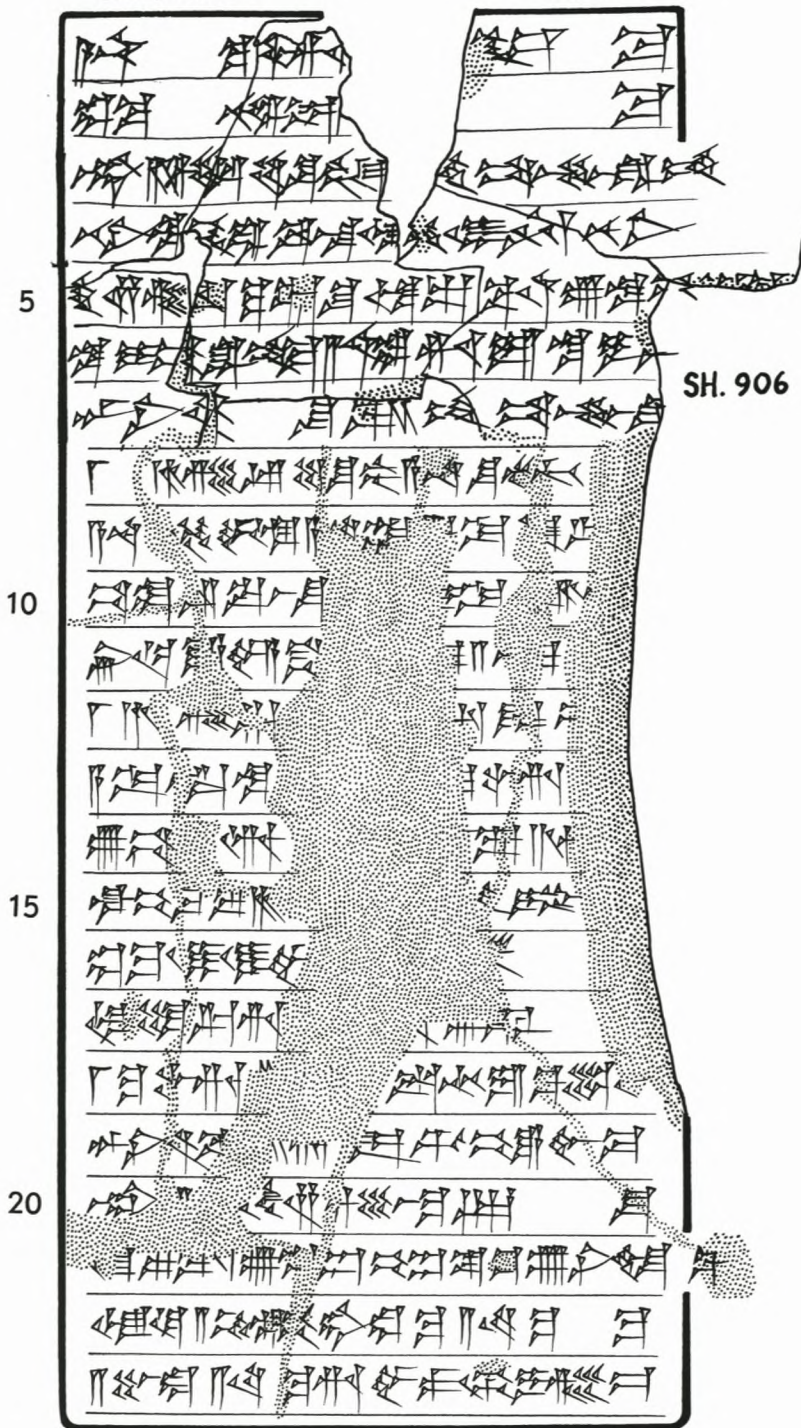
UPPER EDGE



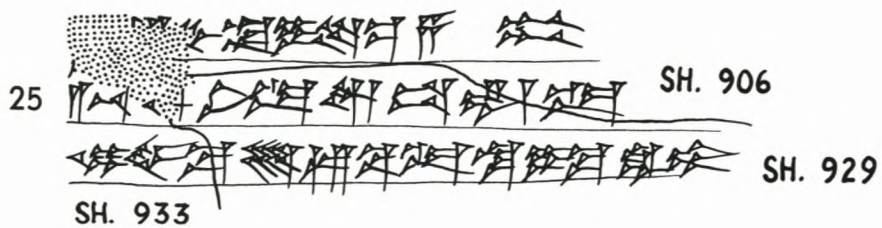
OBVERSE

SH. 909 A

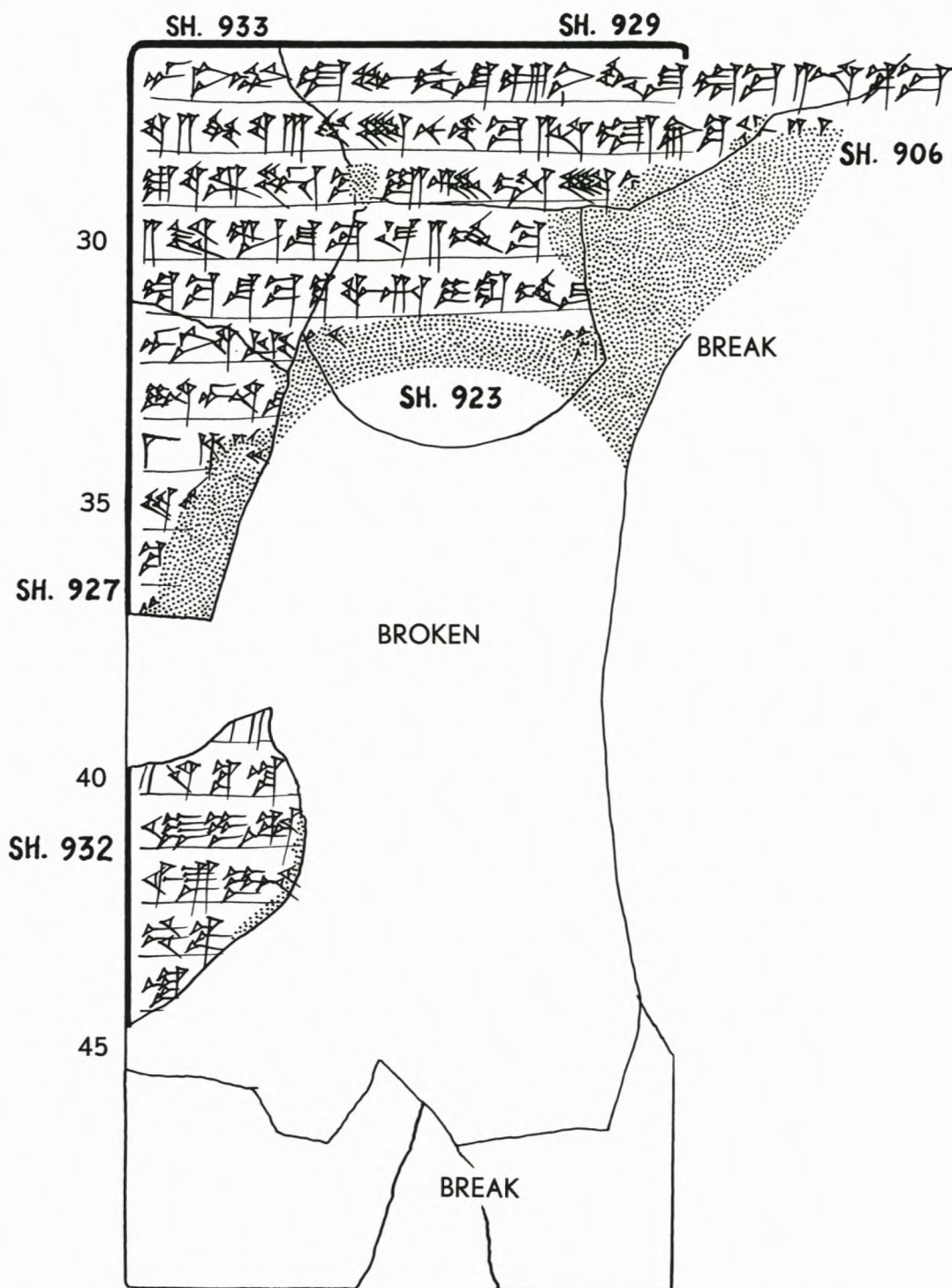
SH. 928



LOWER EDGE



REVERSE



OBVERSE

REVERSE

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LOWER EDGE

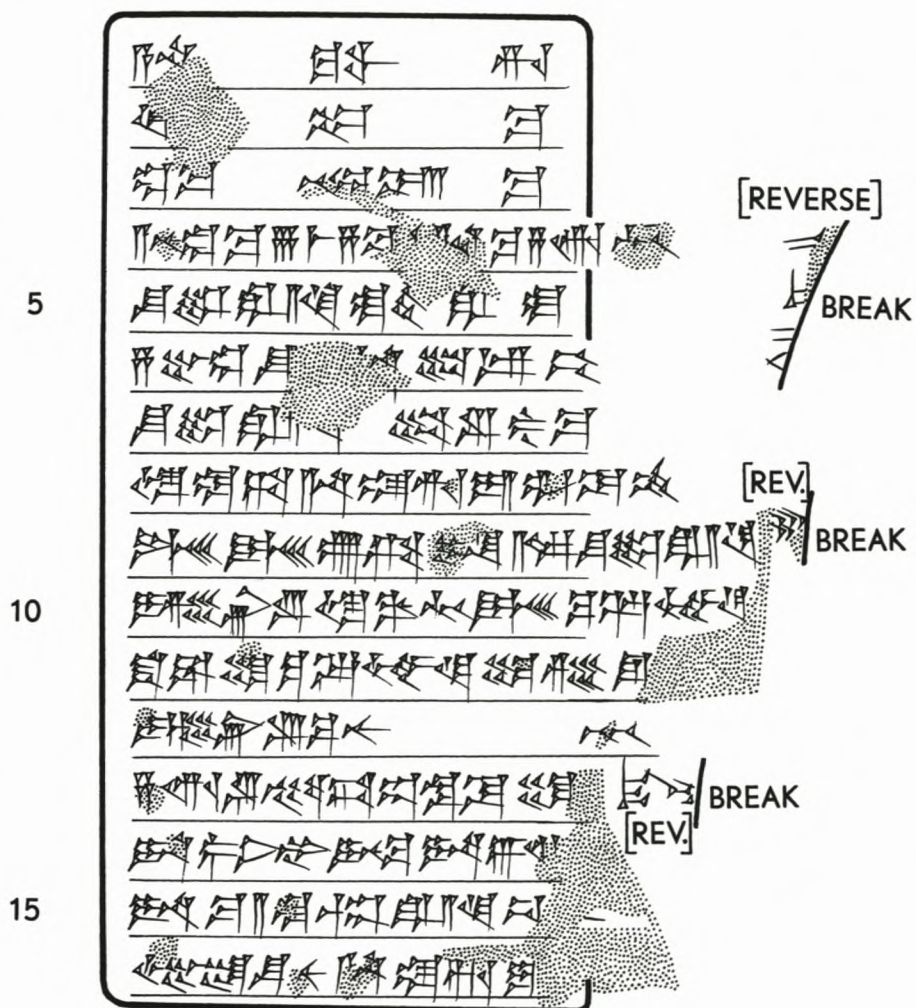
UPPER EDGE

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LEFT EDGE

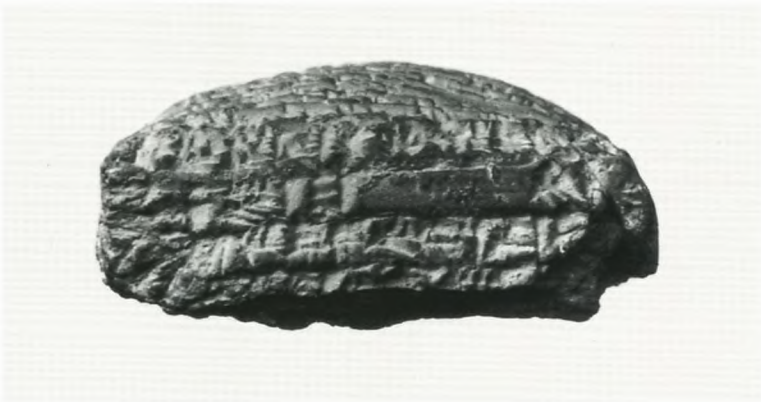
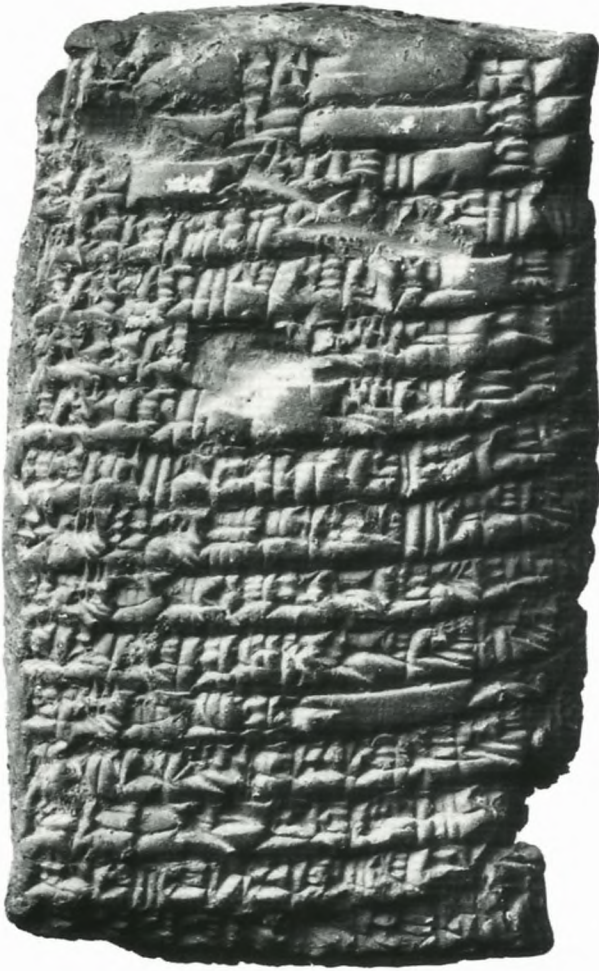
35

OBVERSE



LOWER EDGE



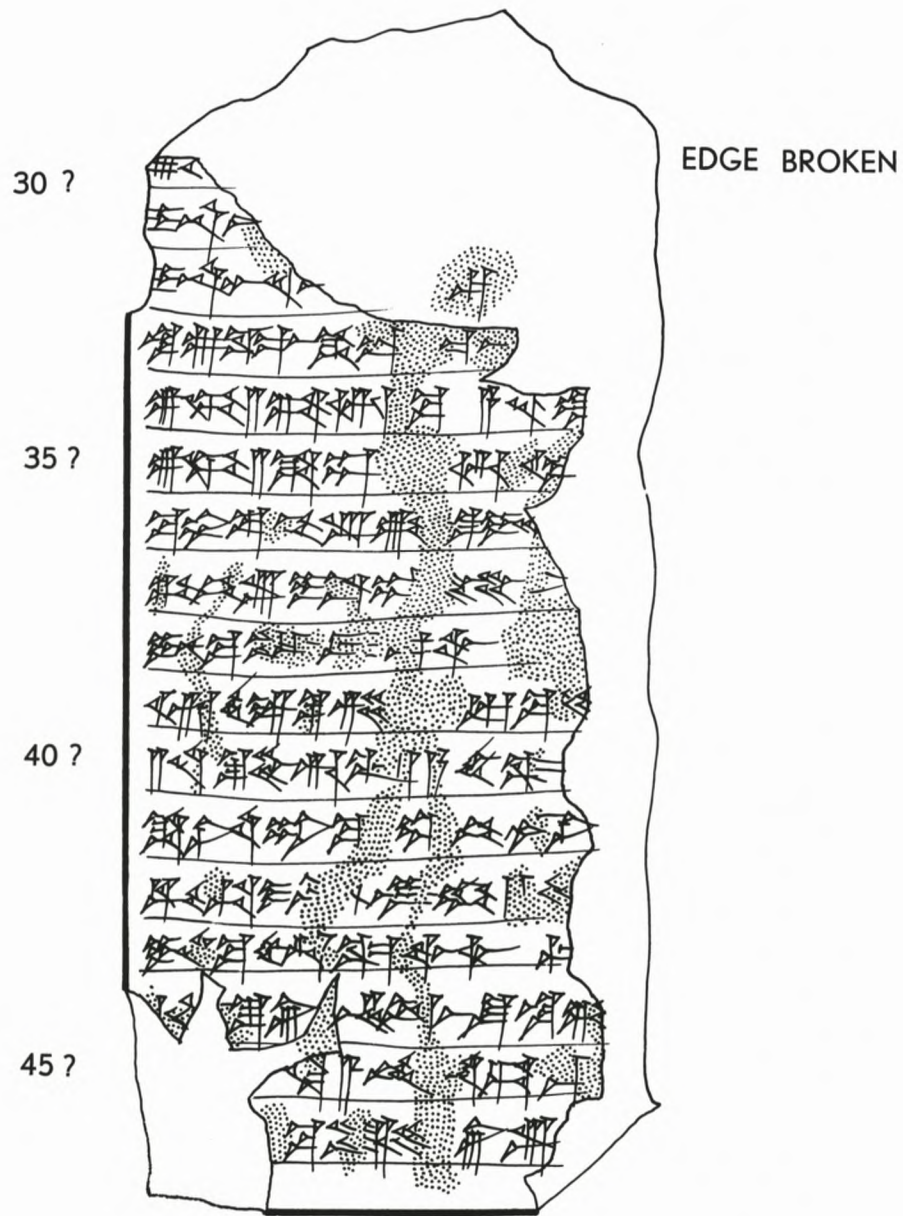
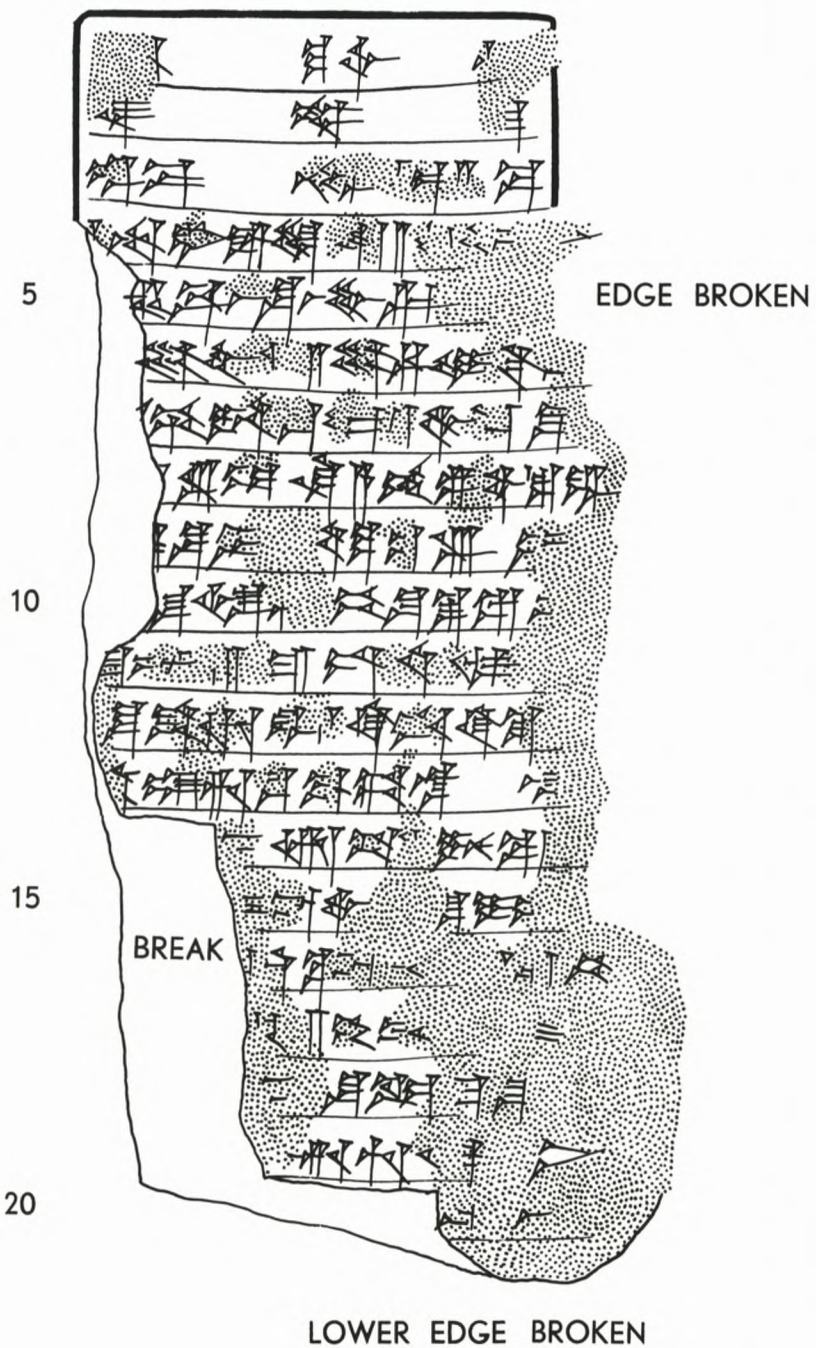


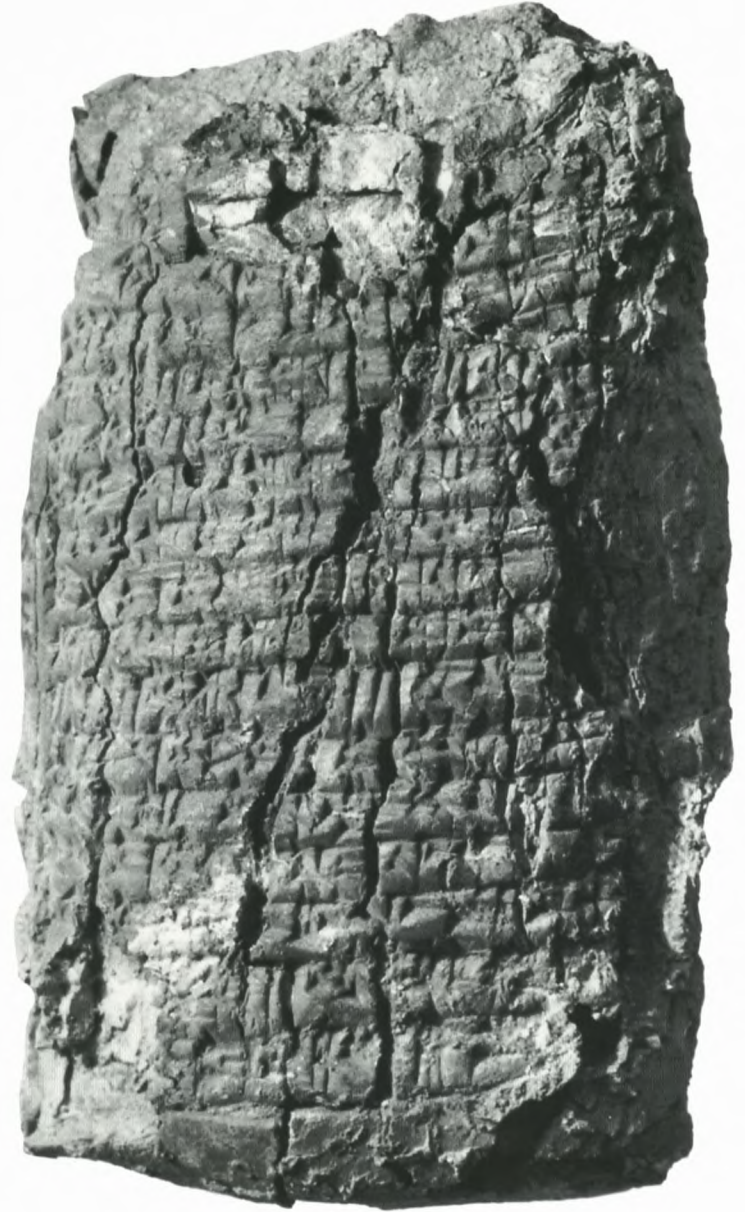
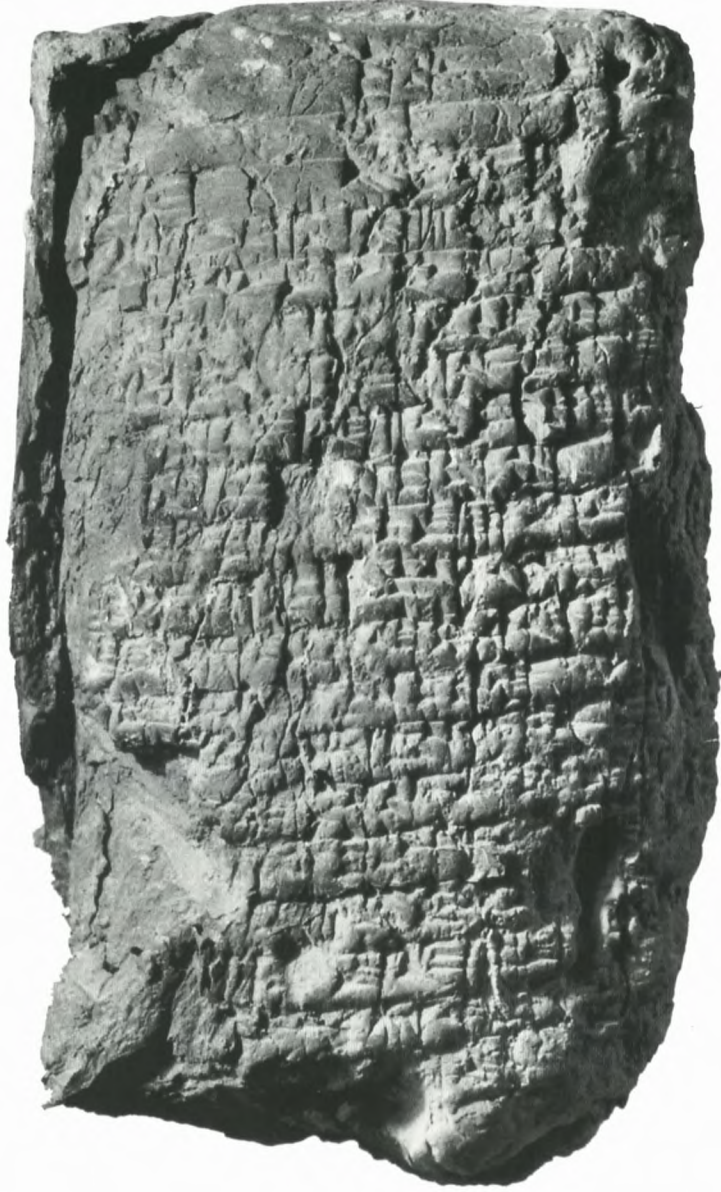


OBVERSE

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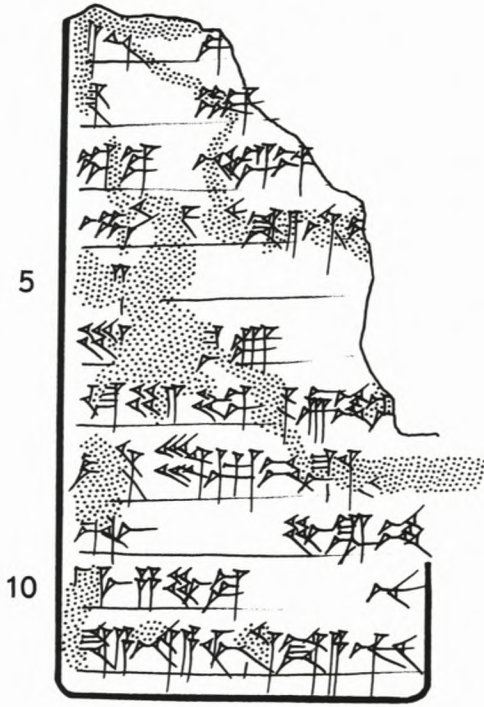
REVERSE



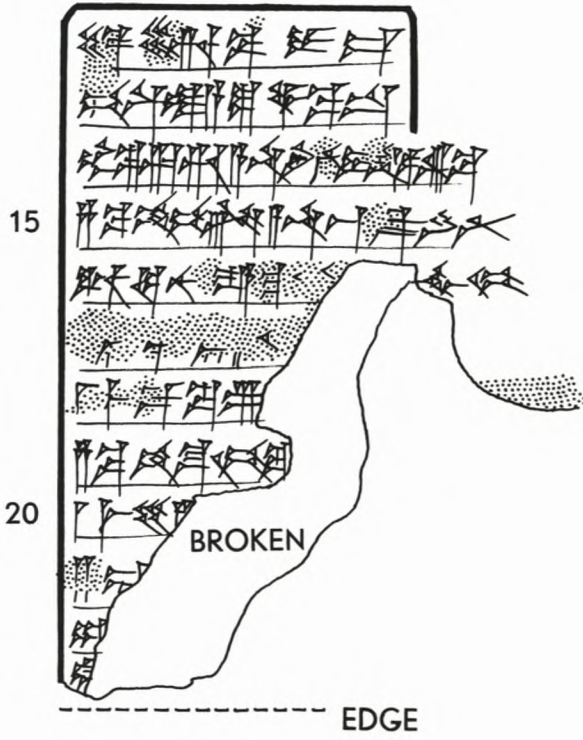


21

OBVERSE



REVERSE

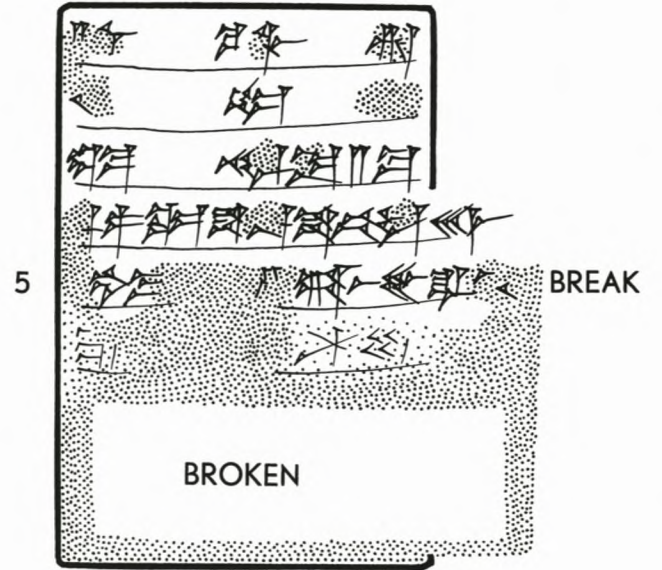


LEFT EDGE



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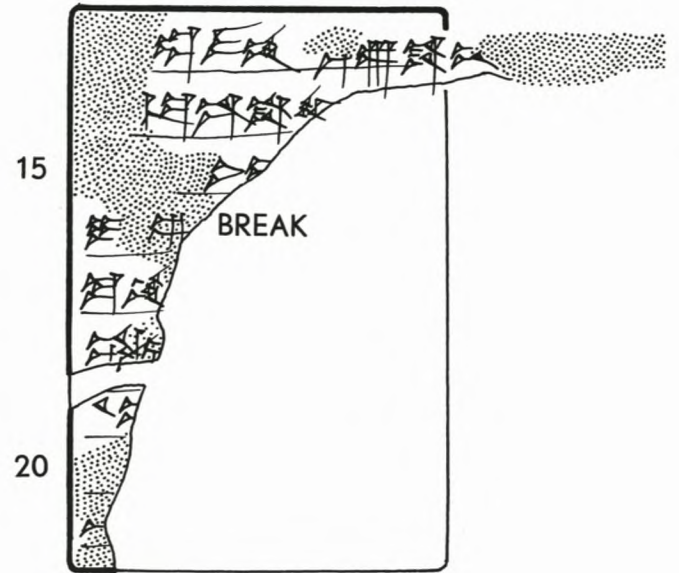
OBVERSE



LOWER EDGE



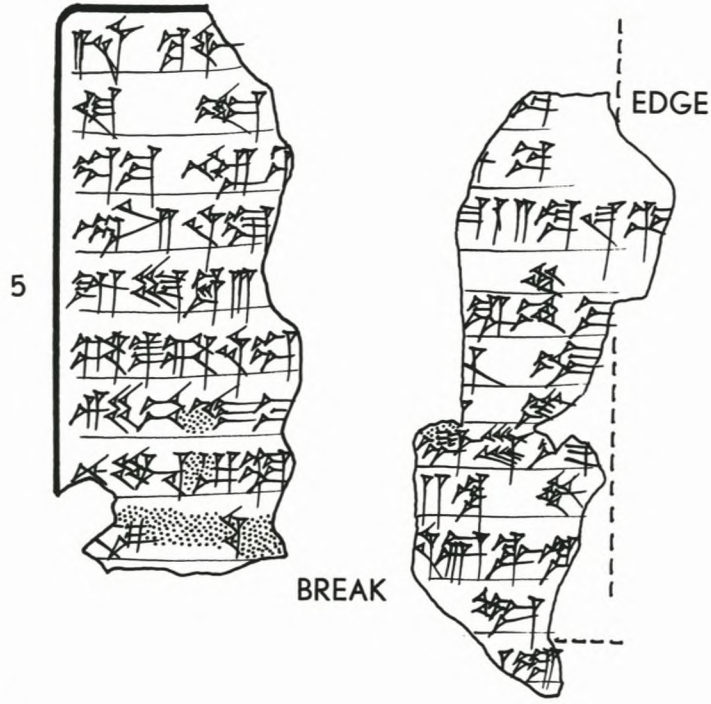
REVERSE



UPPER EDGE

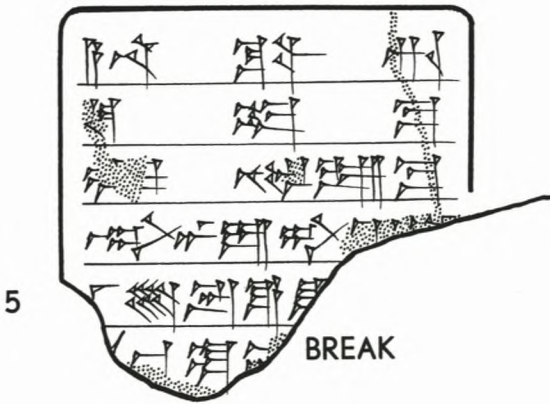


OBVERSE

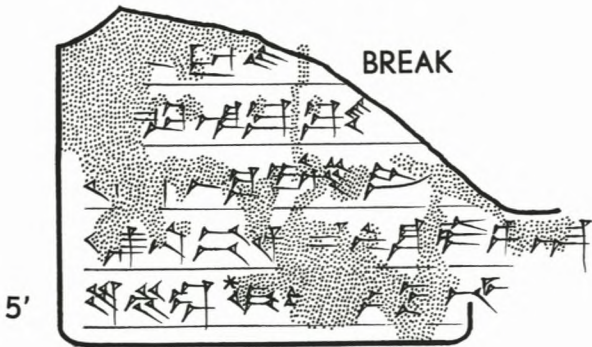


24

OBVERSE



REVERSE

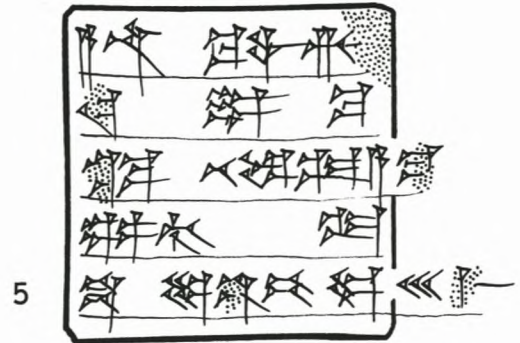


UPPER EDGE

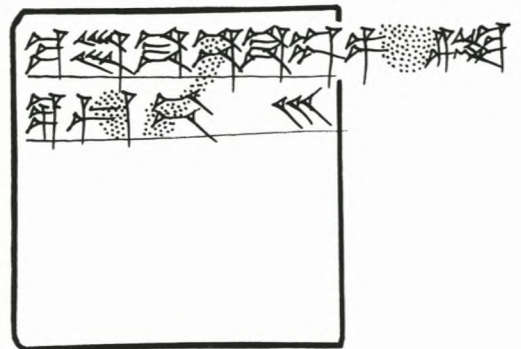


25

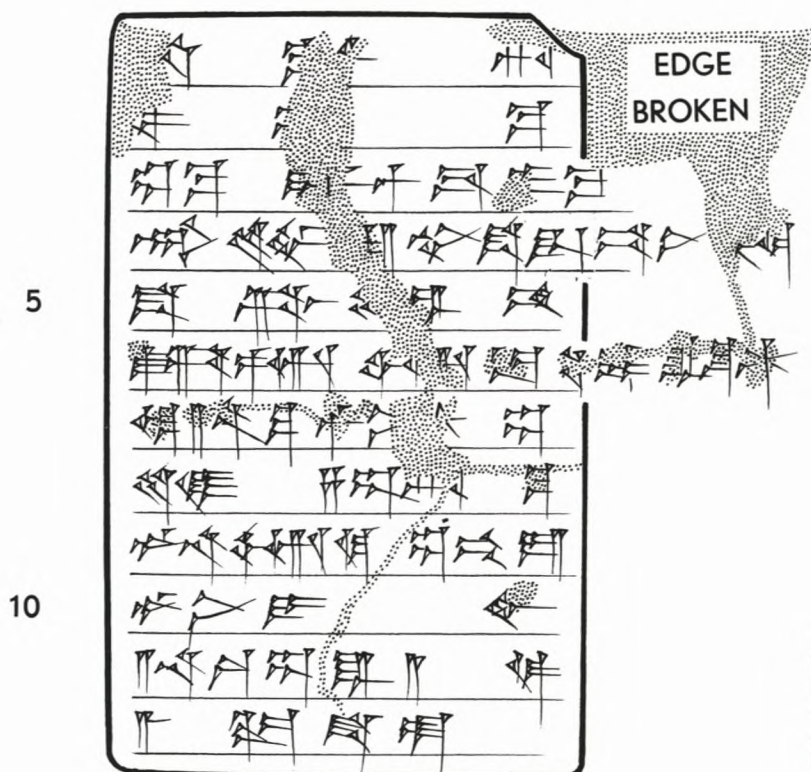
OBVERSE



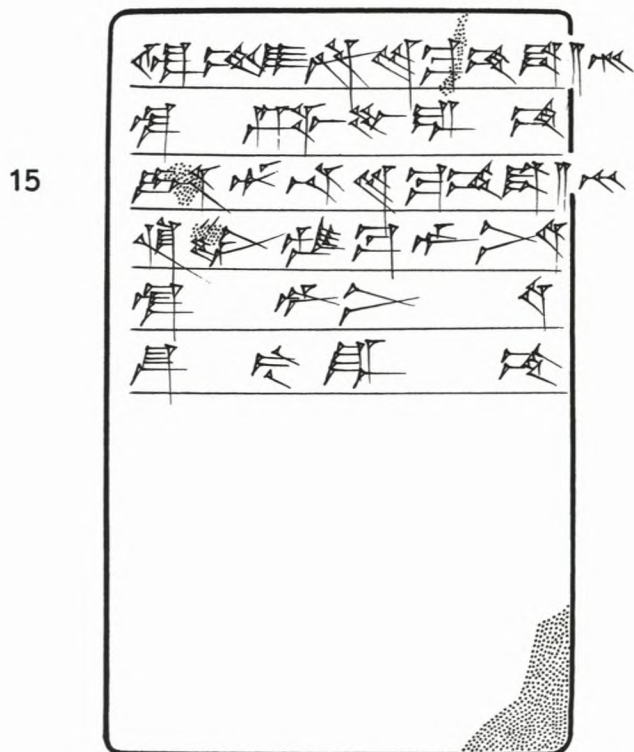
REVERSE



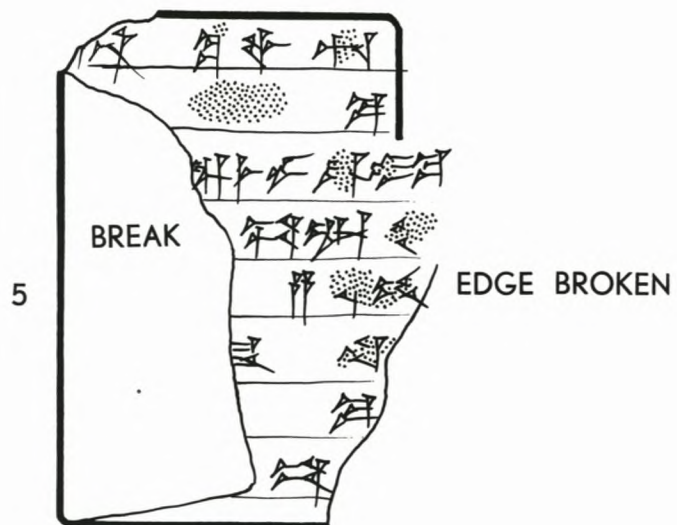
OBVERSE



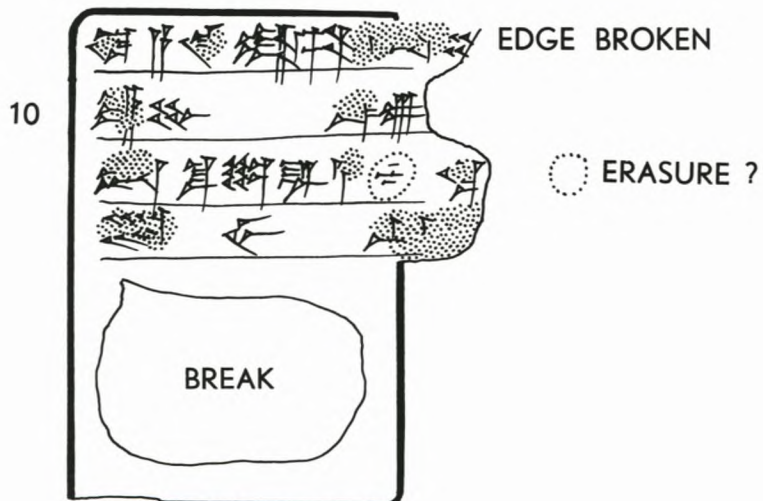
REVERSE



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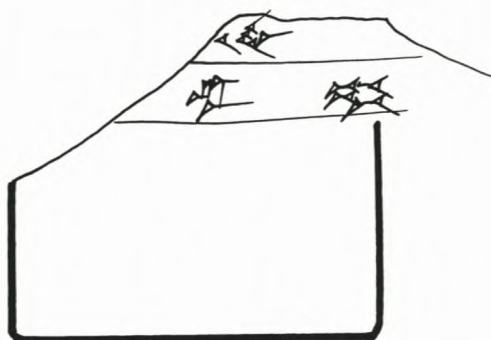
REVERSE



OBVERSE

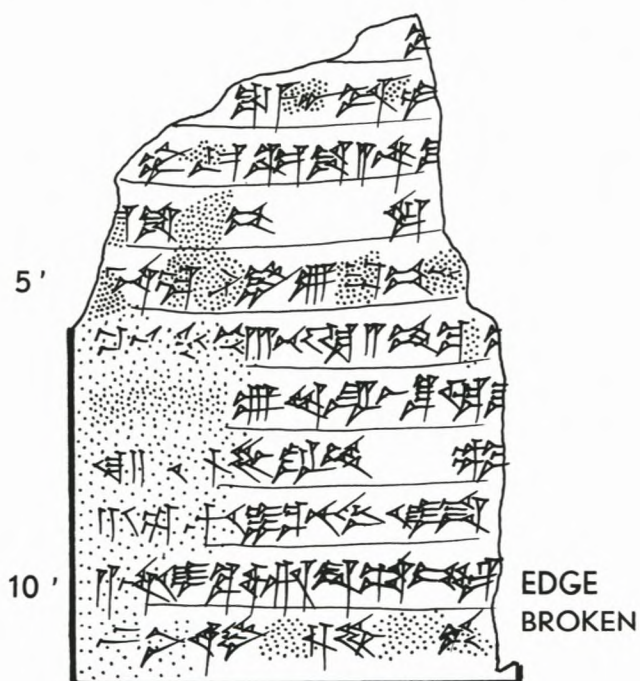


REVERSE

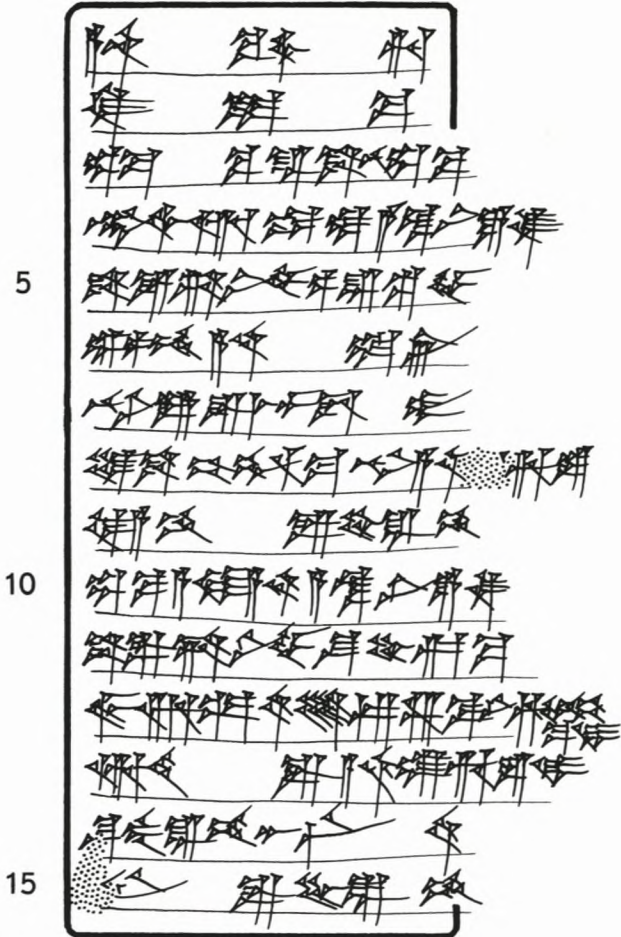


28B

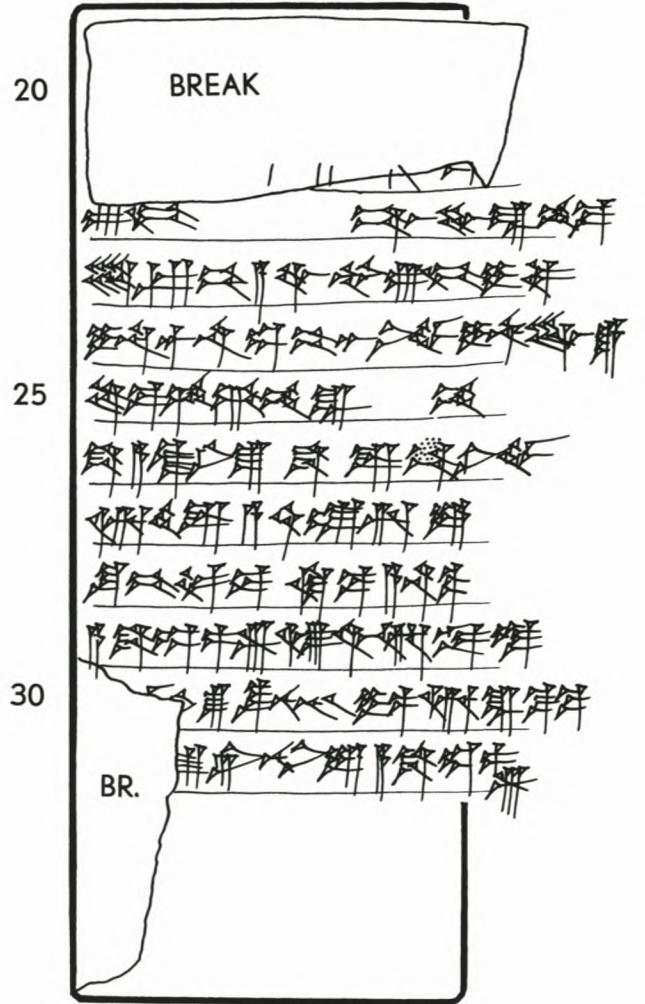
REVERSE



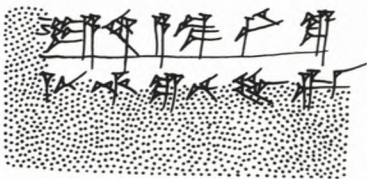
OBVERSE



REVERSE



LOWER EDGE

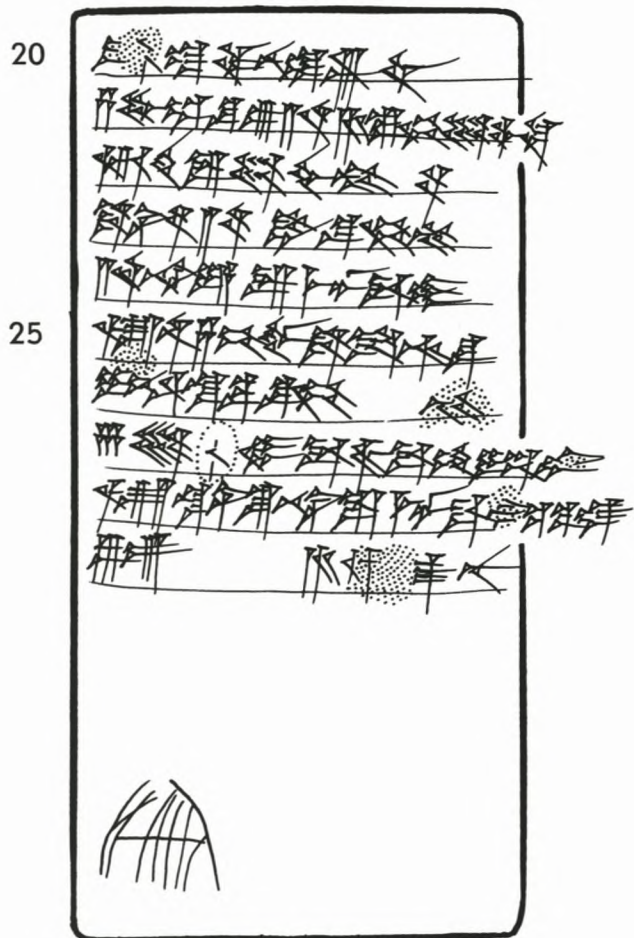
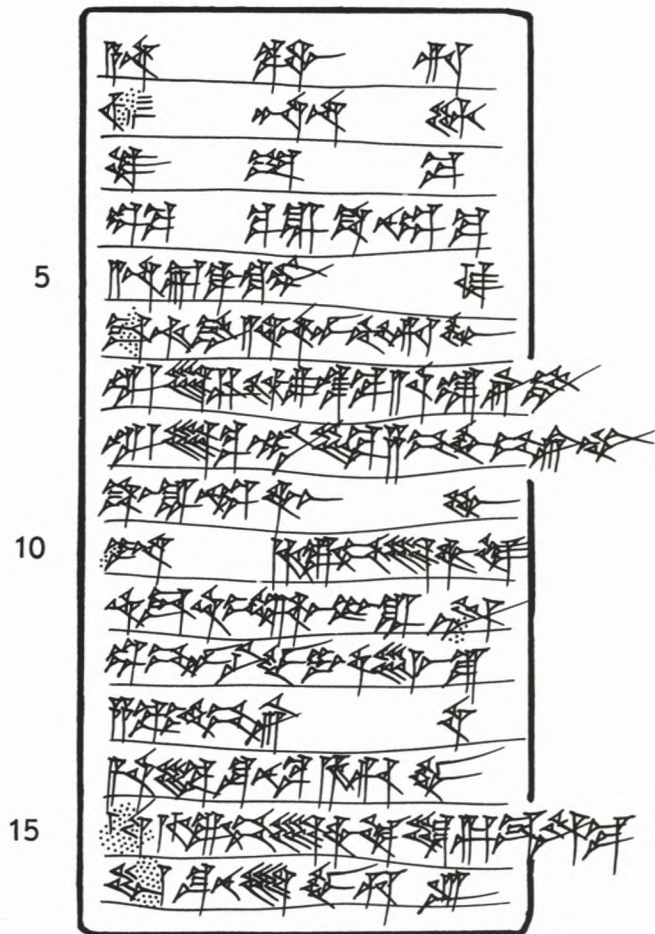




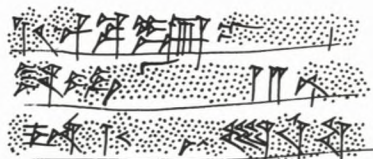


OBVERSE

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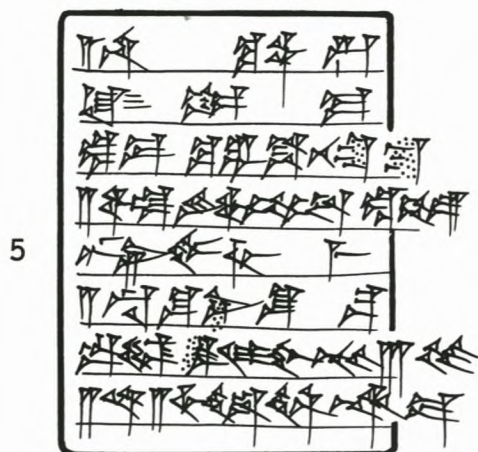


LOWER EDGE



31

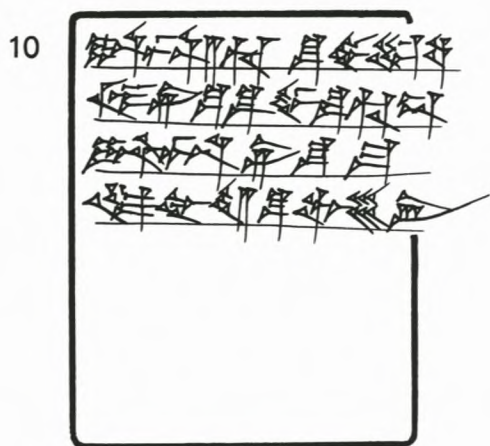
OBVERSE



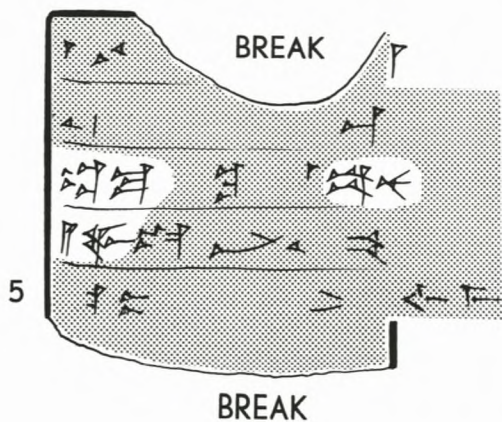
LOWER EDGE



REVERSE

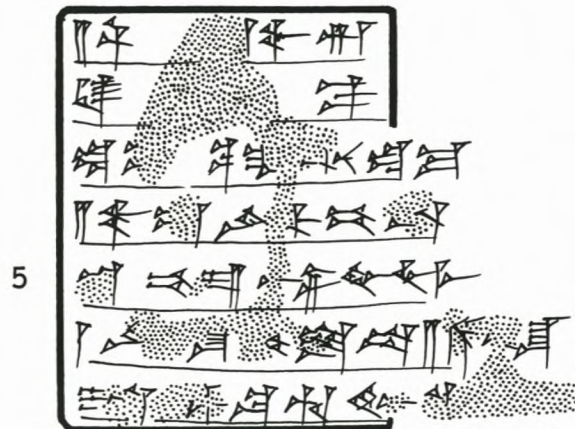


OBVERSE



32

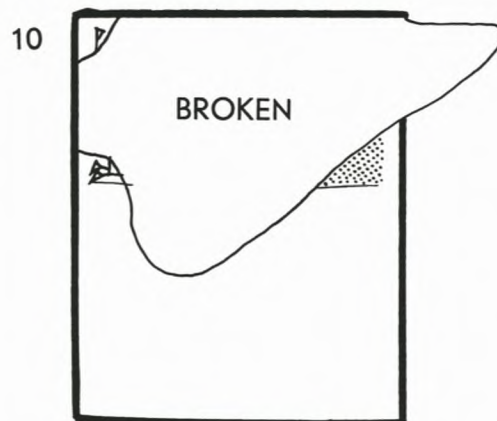
OBVERSE



LOWER EDGE

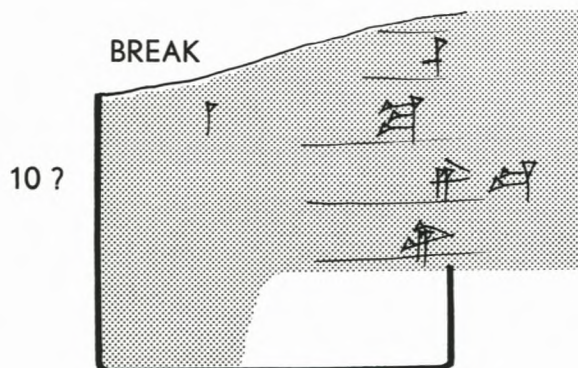


REVERSE

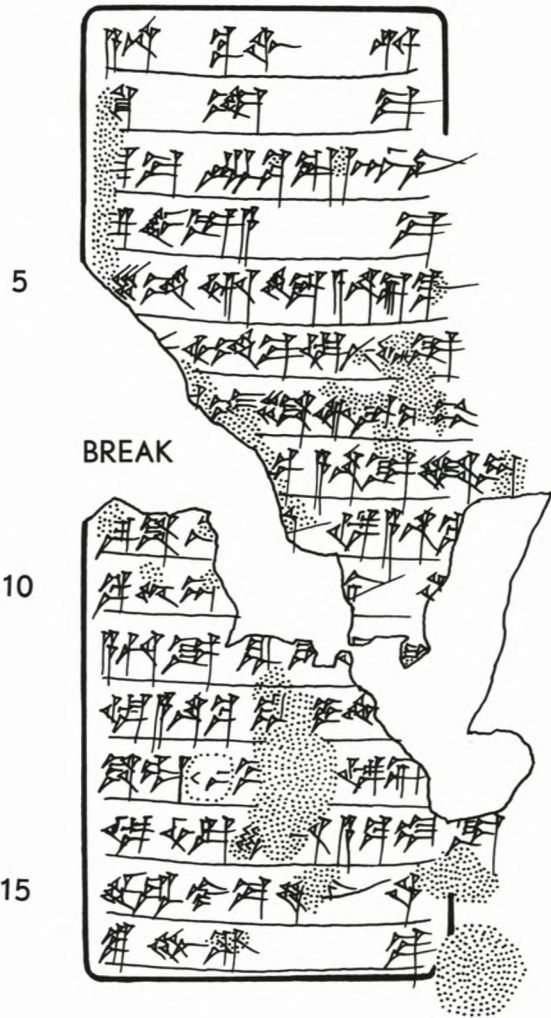


33

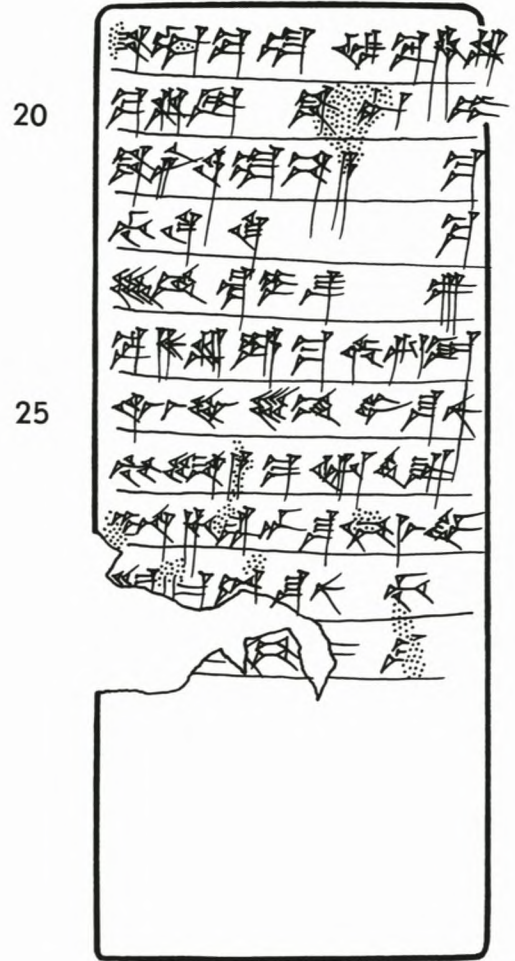
REVERSE



OBVERSE



REVERSE



LOWER EDGE



OBVERSE

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LOWER EDGE

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REVERSE

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 34 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎  
 35 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎

UPPER EDGE

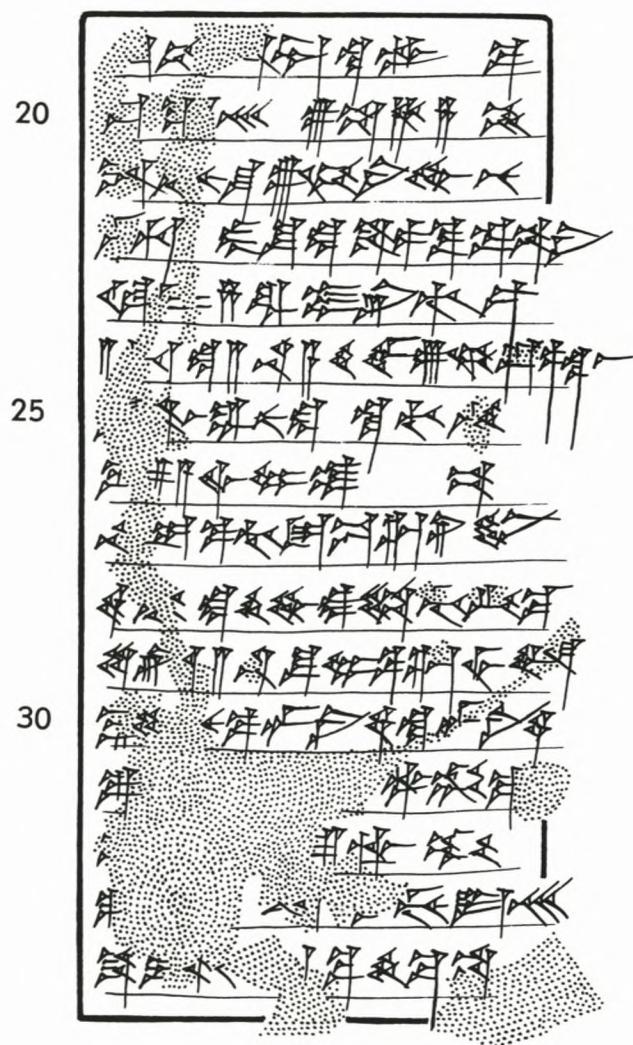
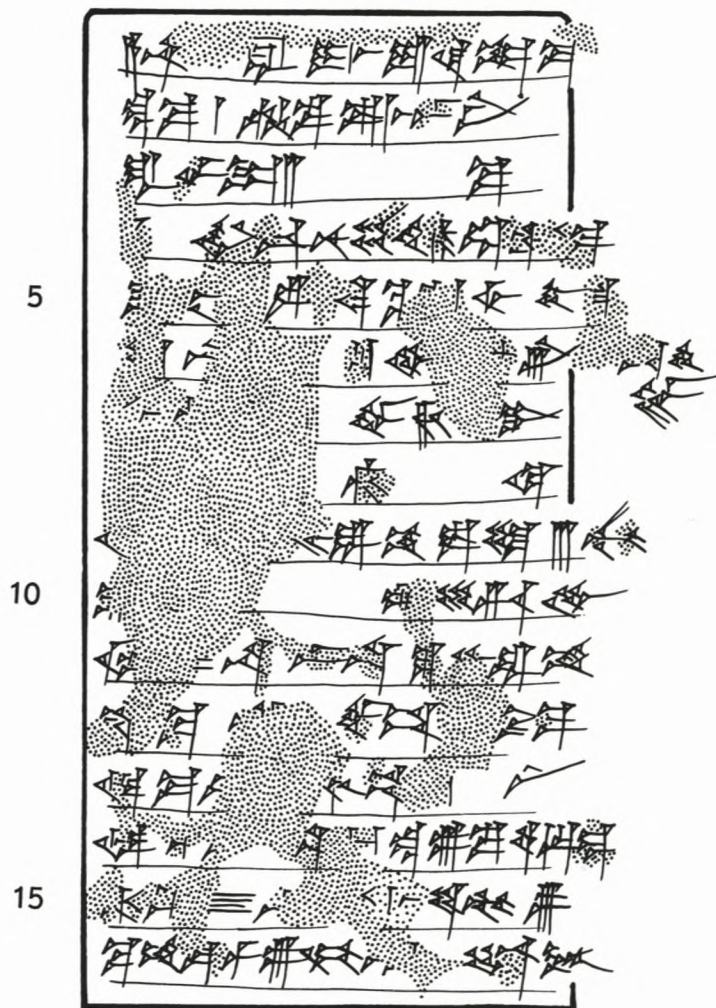
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 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎

LEFT EDGE

40 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎  
 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎

OBVERSE

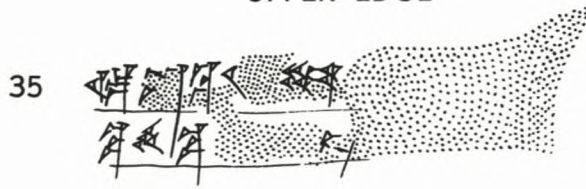
REVERSE



LOWER EDGE



UPPER EDGE

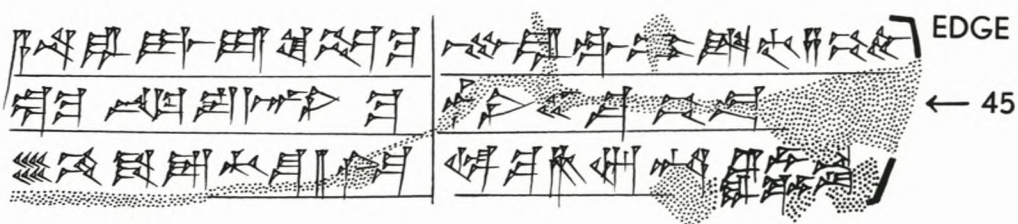


LEFT EDGE





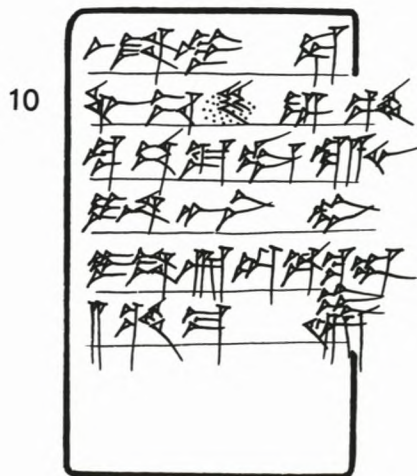
LEFT EDGE



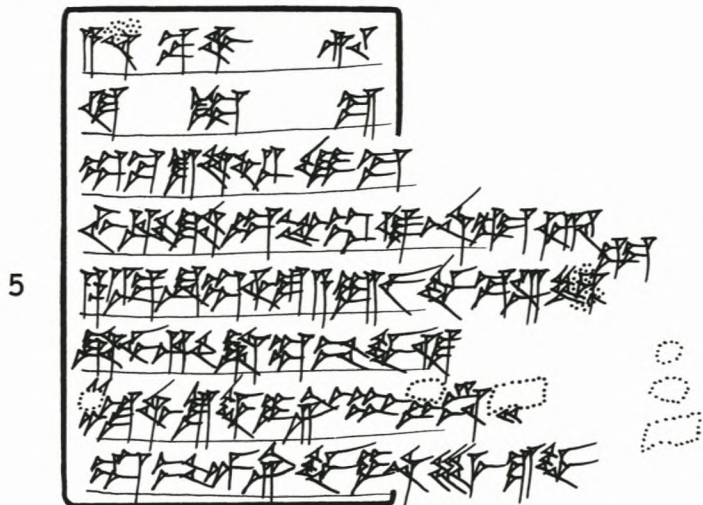
OBVERSE



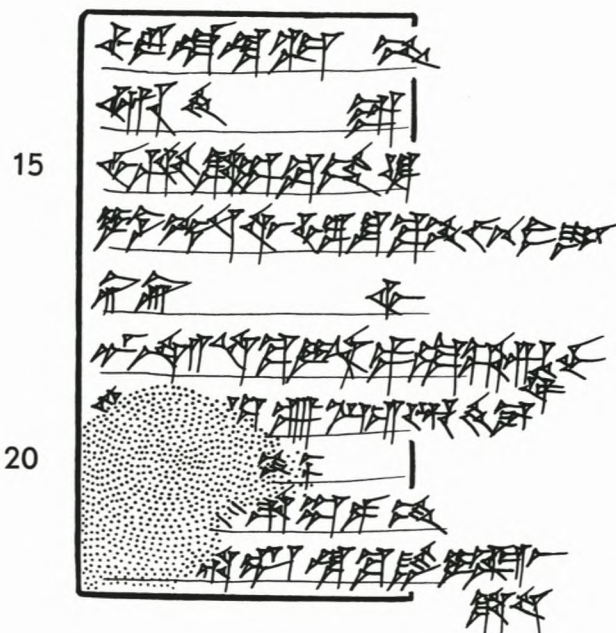
REVERSE



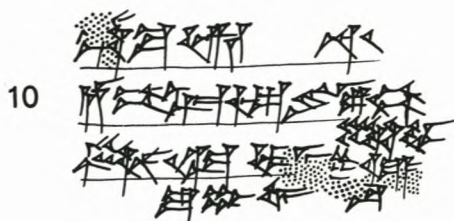
OBVERSE



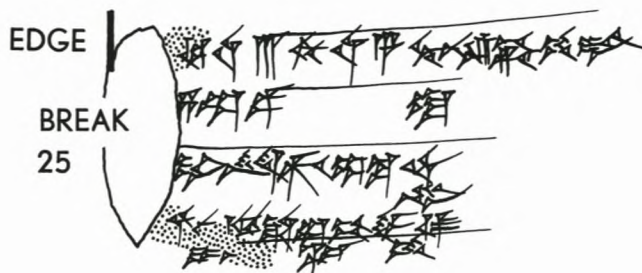
REVERSE



LOWER EDGE



UPPER EDGE



LEFT EDGE







REVERSE

LOWER EDGE

BREAK

ERASURE

ERASURE

ERASURE

41

OBVERSE

LEFT EDGE

5'

10'

15'

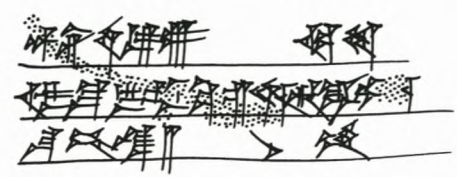
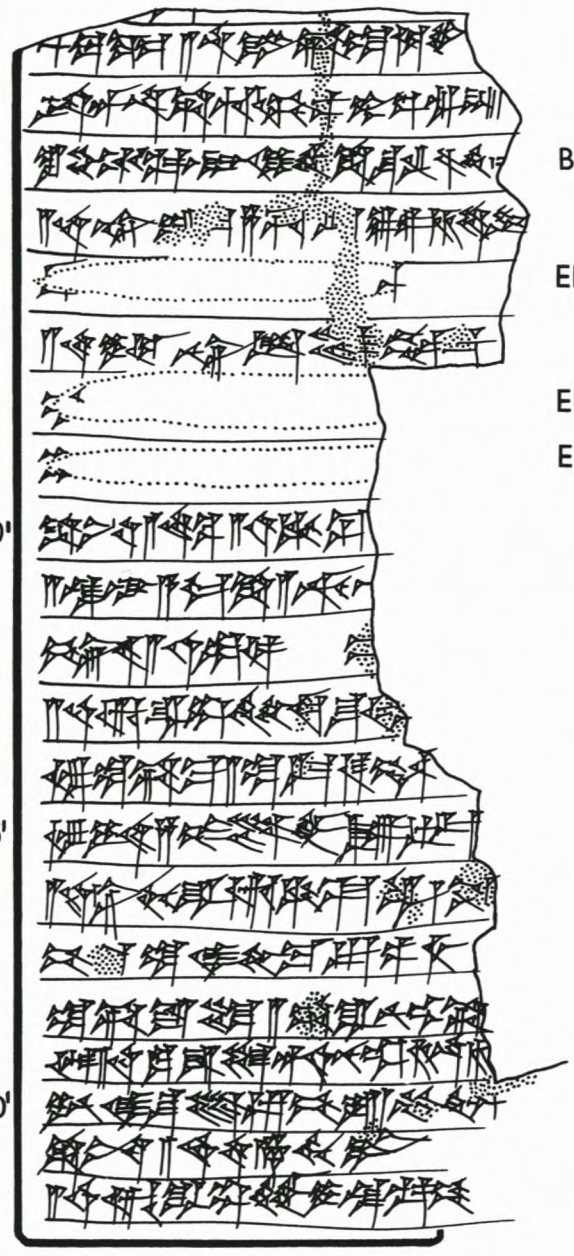
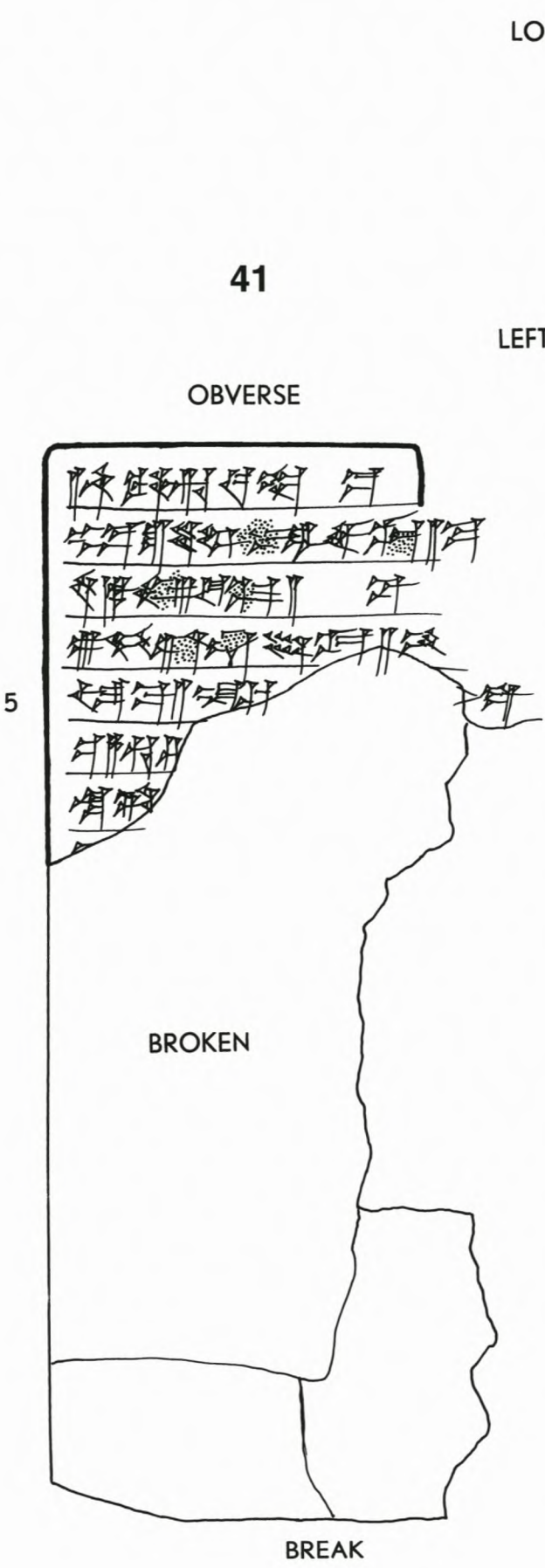
20'

25'

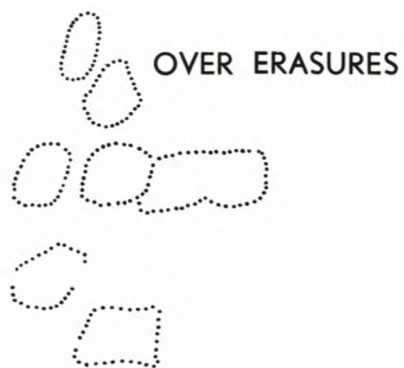
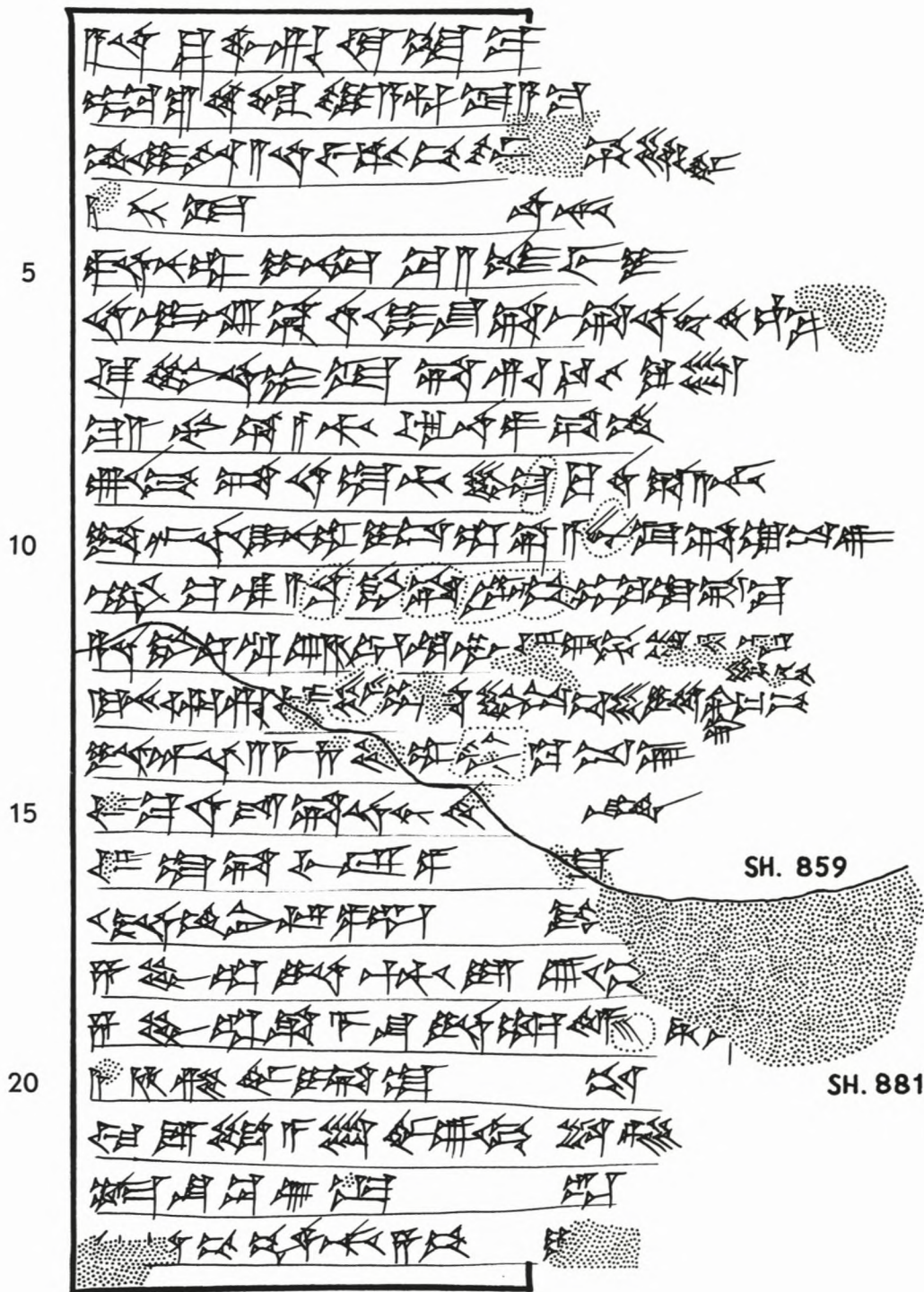
5

BROKEN

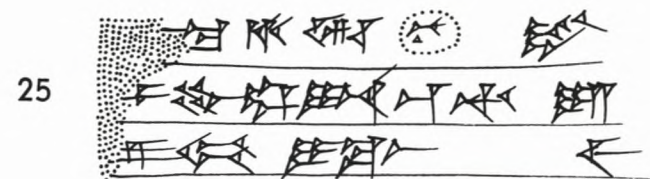
BREAK



OBVERSE



LOWER EDGE



REVERSE

30  
 35  
 40  
 45  
 50

SH. 881  
 SH. 859

ERASURE

OVER ERASURES



← 60

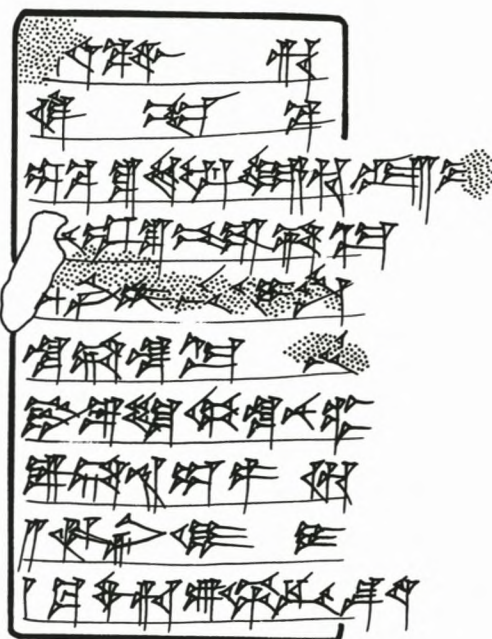
UPPER EDGE

ERASURE

LEFT EDGE

55

OBVERSE



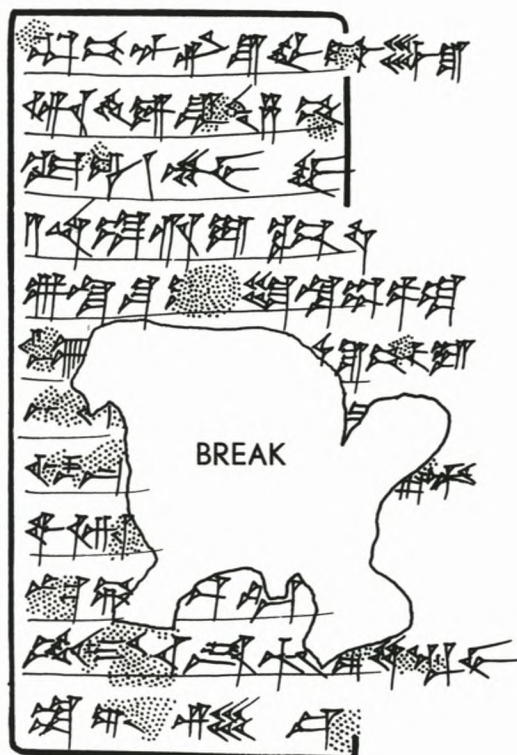
10

LEFT EDGE



EDGE

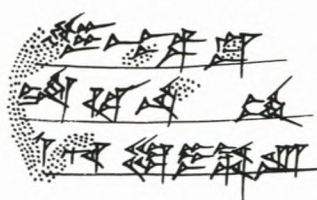
REVERSE



15

20

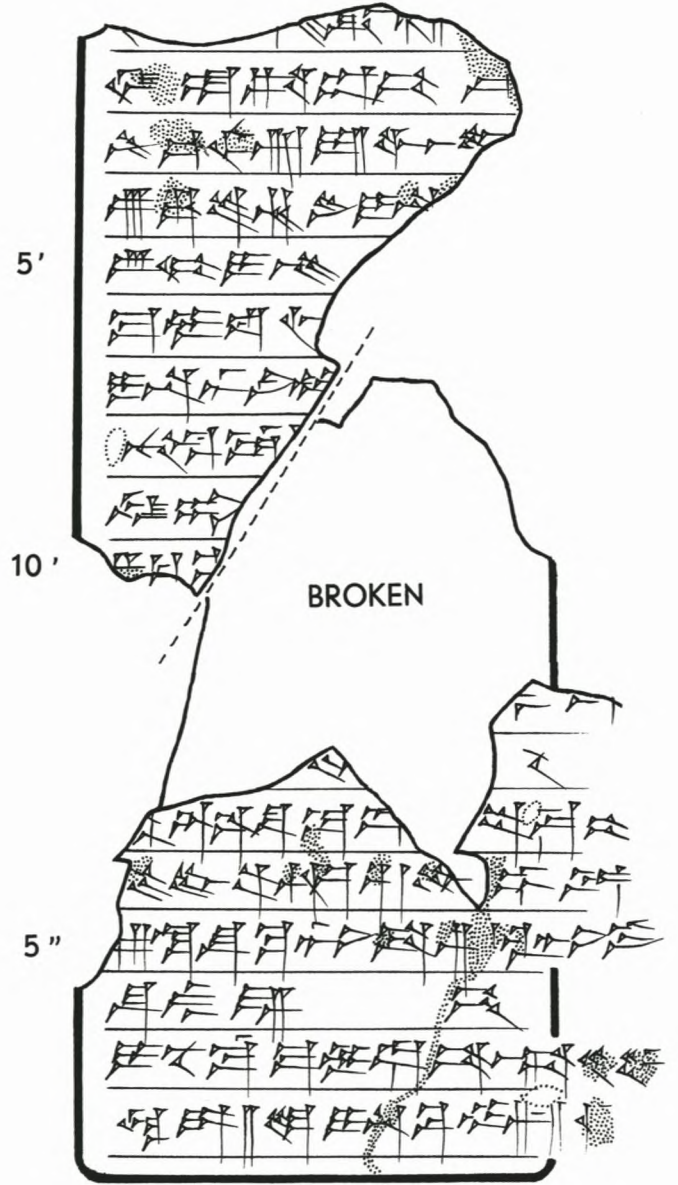
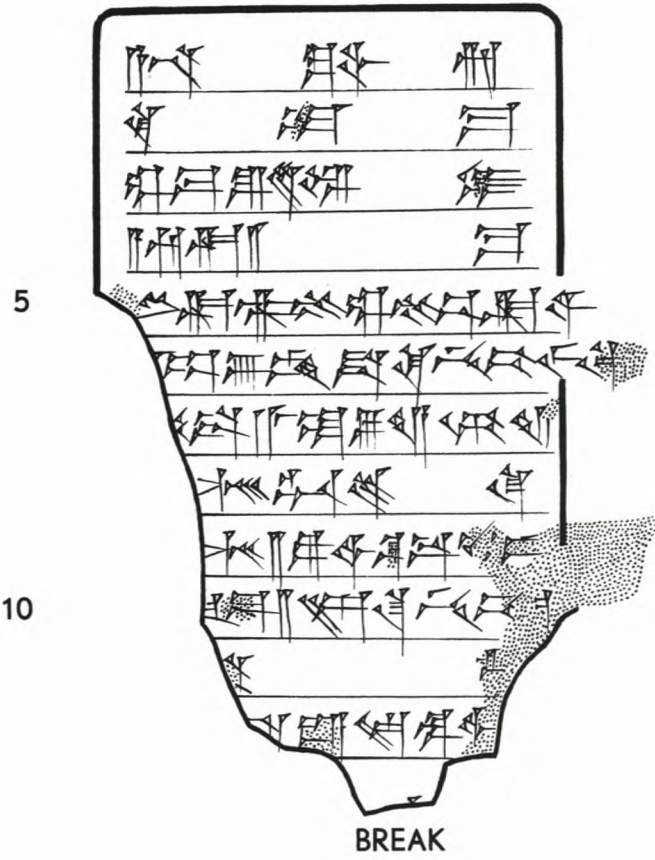
UPPER EDGE



25

OBVERSE

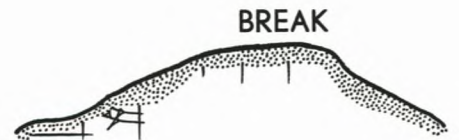
REVERSE



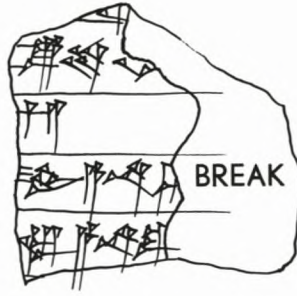
UPPER EDGE



LEFT EDGE

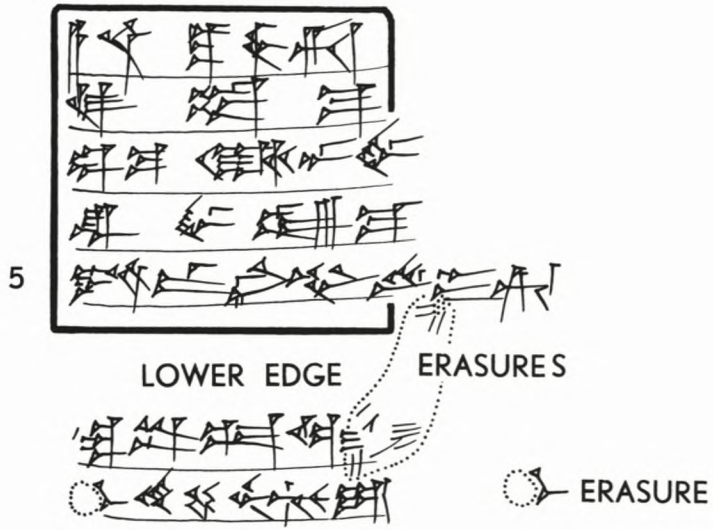


44B

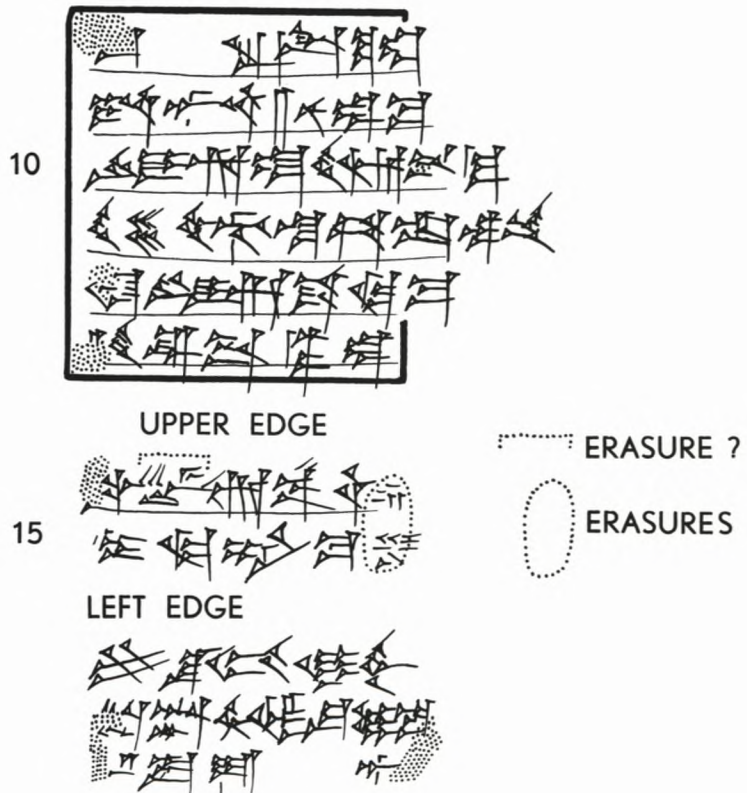


45

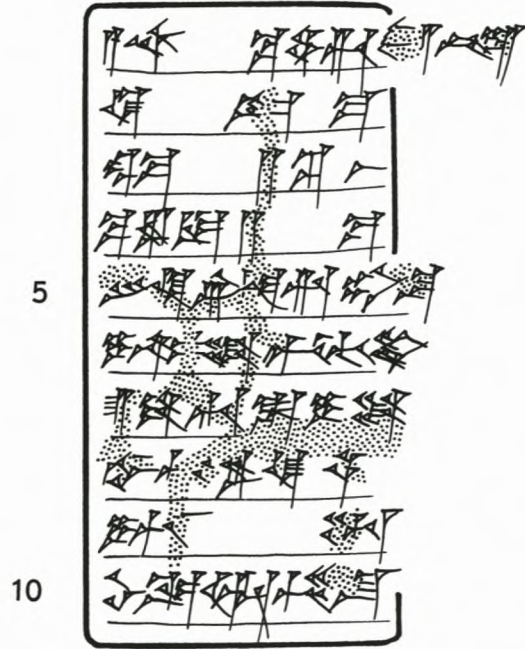
OBVERSE



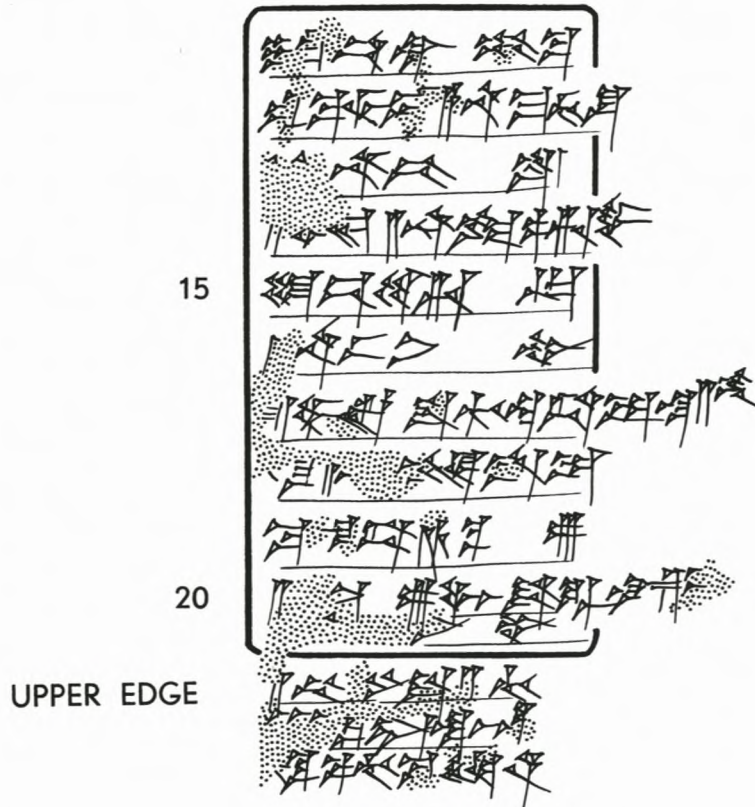
REVERSE



OBVERSE



REVERSE

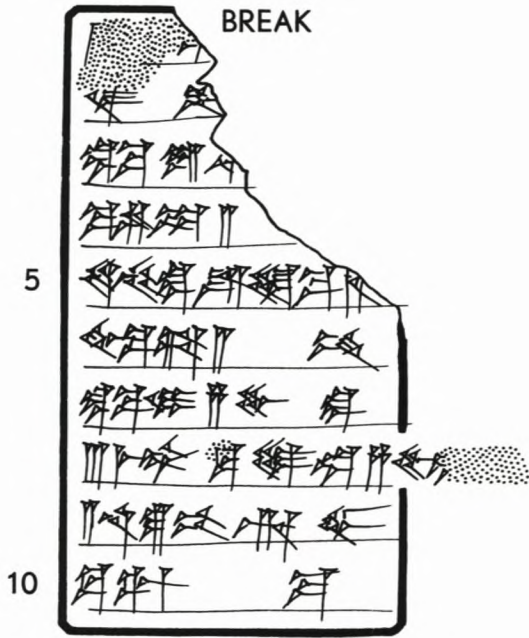


LEFT EDGE

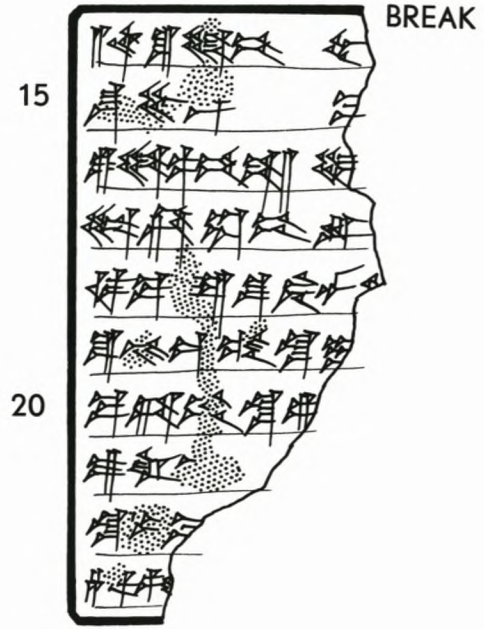




OBVERSE



REVERSE



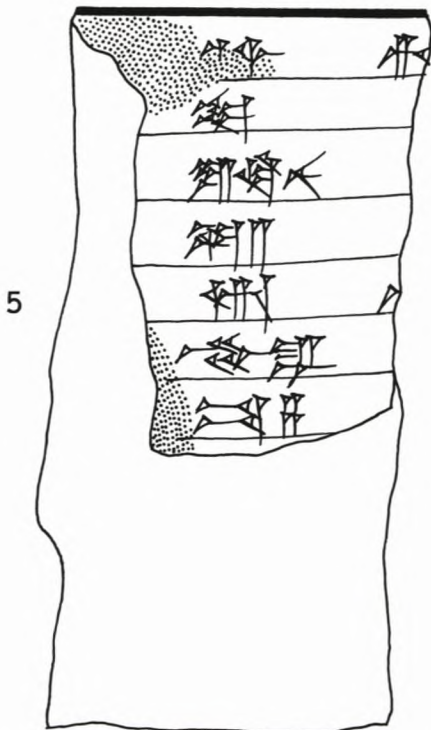
LOWER EDGE



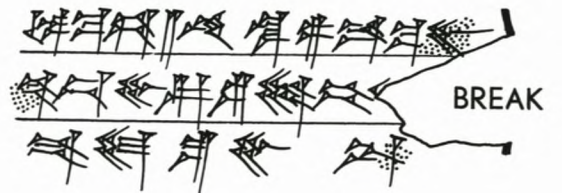
UPPER EDGE



OBVERSE

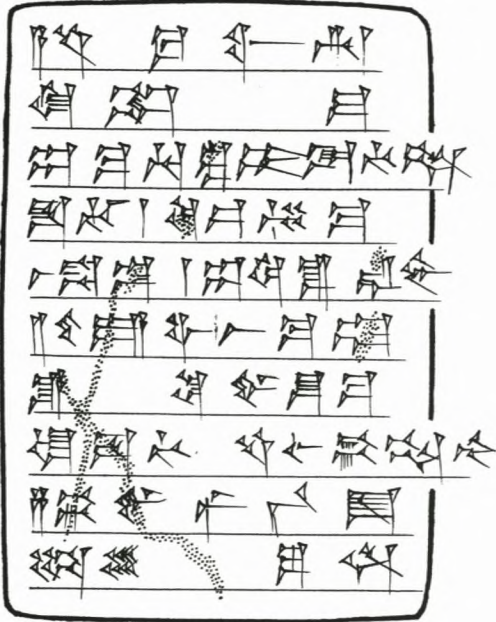


LEFT EDGE



49

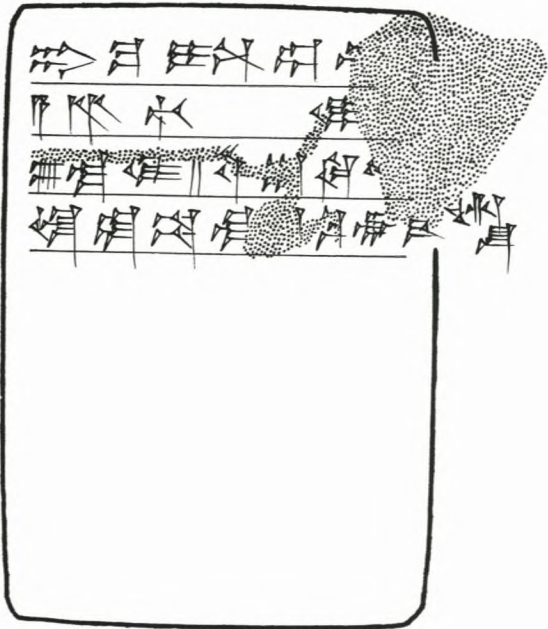
OBVERSE



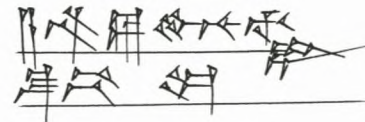
5

10

REVERSE



LOWER EDGE



REVERSE



15

20

25

UPPER EDGE



LEFT EDGE

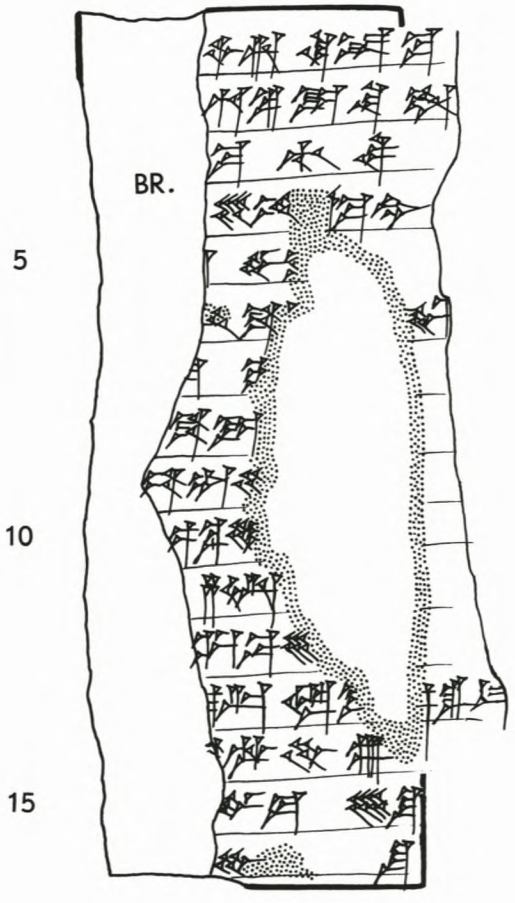


30

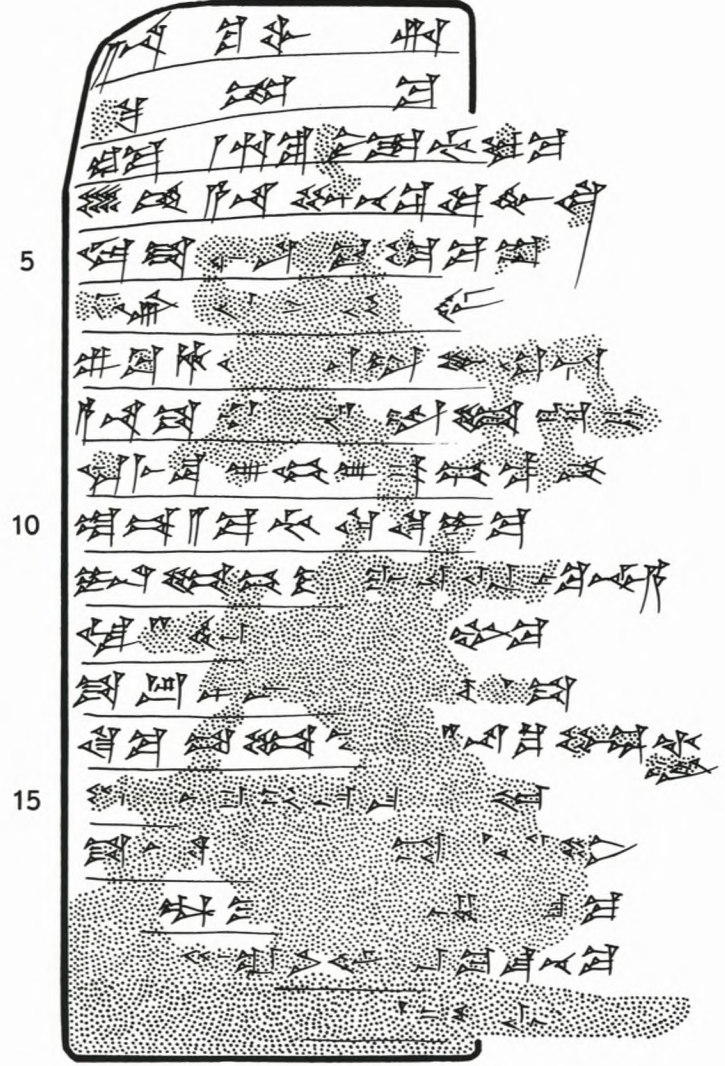
49



OBVERSE



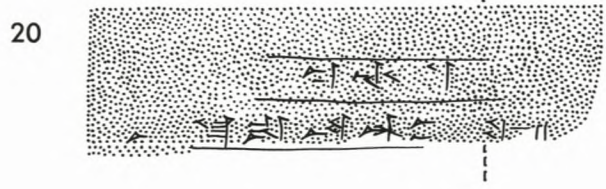
OBVERSE



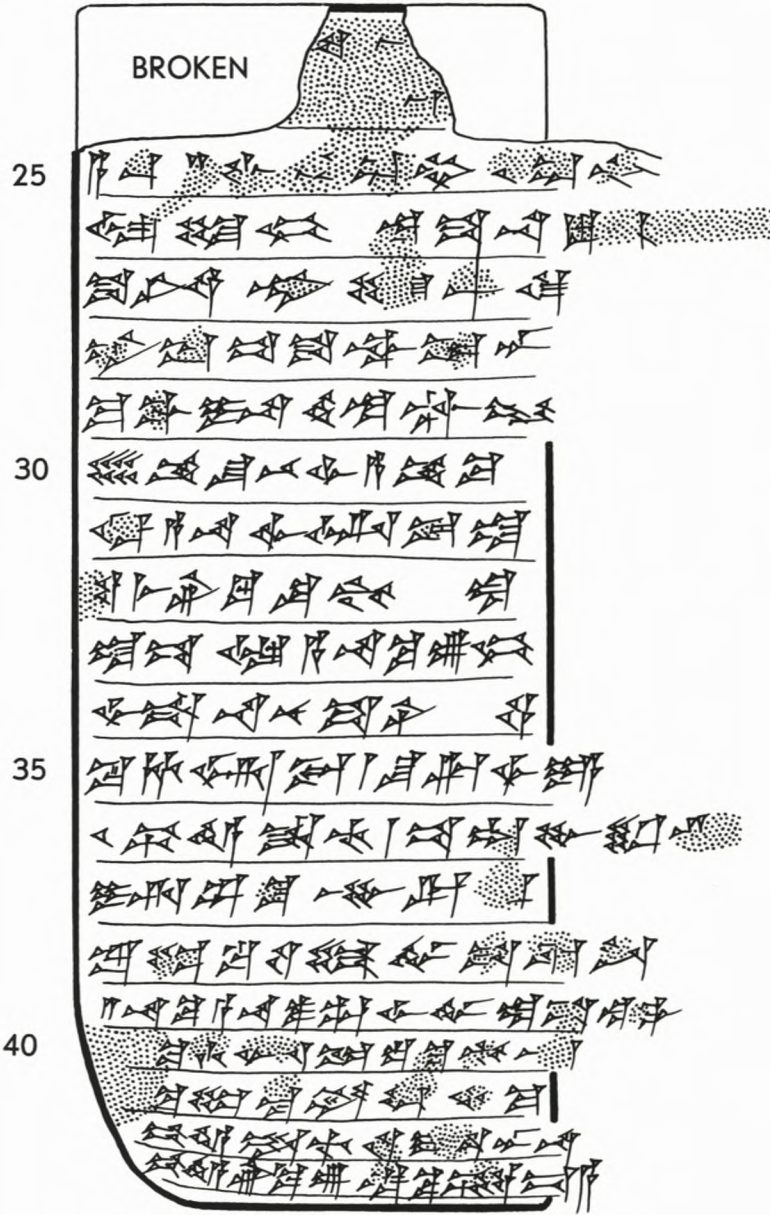
REVERSE



LOWER EDGE



REVERSE



UPPER EDGE



LEFT EDGE





REVERSE

OBVERSE

20

金匱要略  
 卷之五  
 雜論  
 論風濕痺痛  
 論風濕痺痛  
 論風濕痺痛

25

論風濕痺痛  
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 論風濕痺痛

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40

UPPER EDGE

論風濕痺痛  
 論風濕痺痛

LEFT EDGE

論風濕痺痛  
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 論風濕痺痛

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10

論風濕痺痛  
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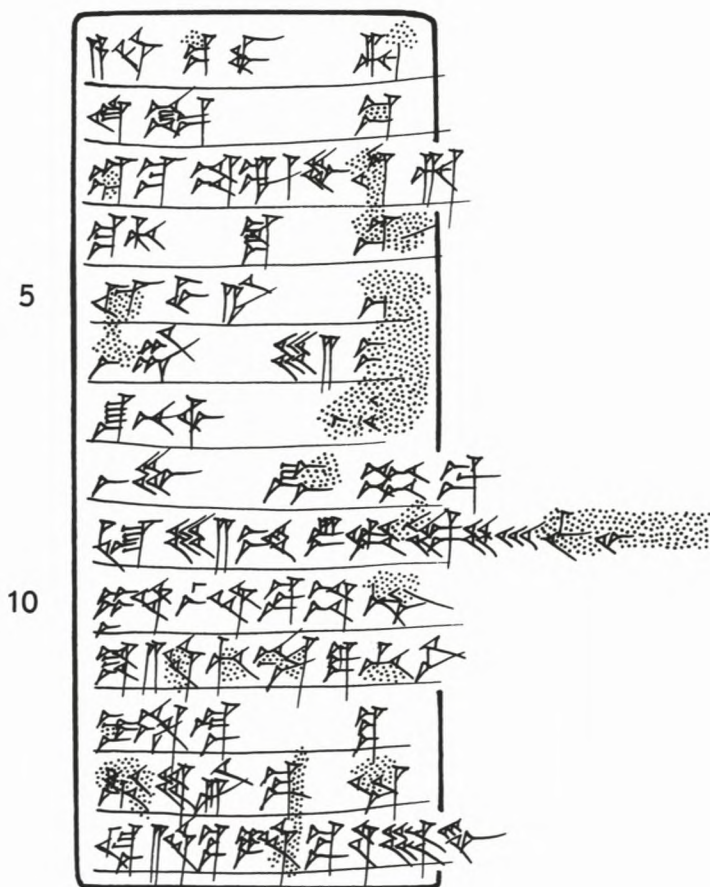
15

論風濕痺痛  
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 論風濕痺痛

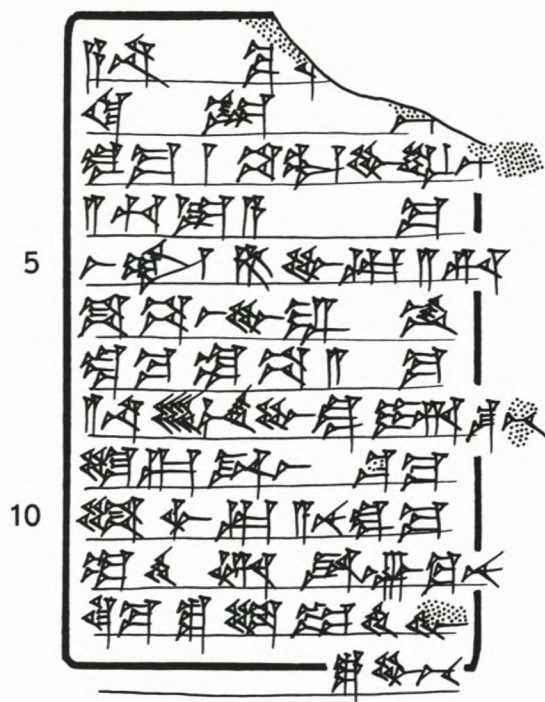




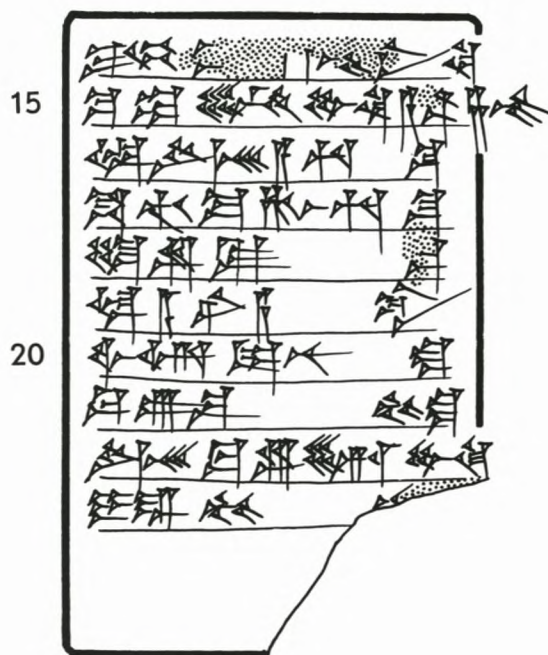
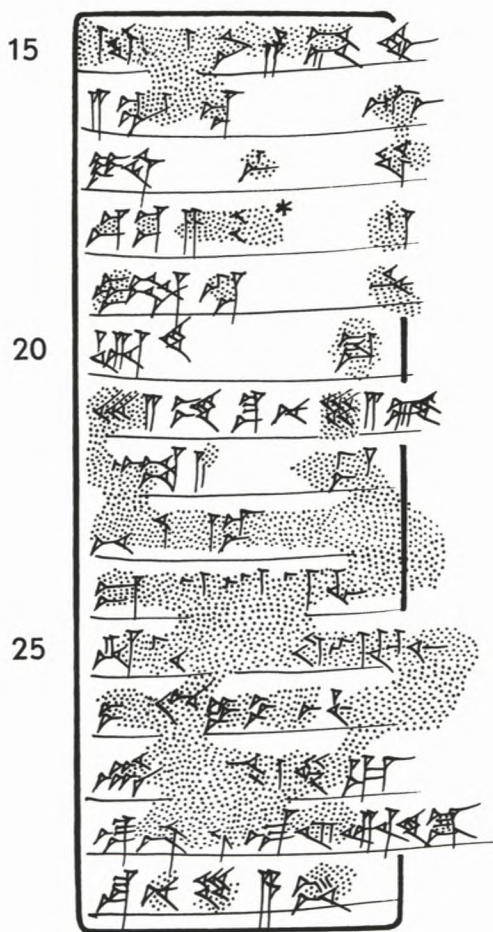
OBVERSE



OBVERSE

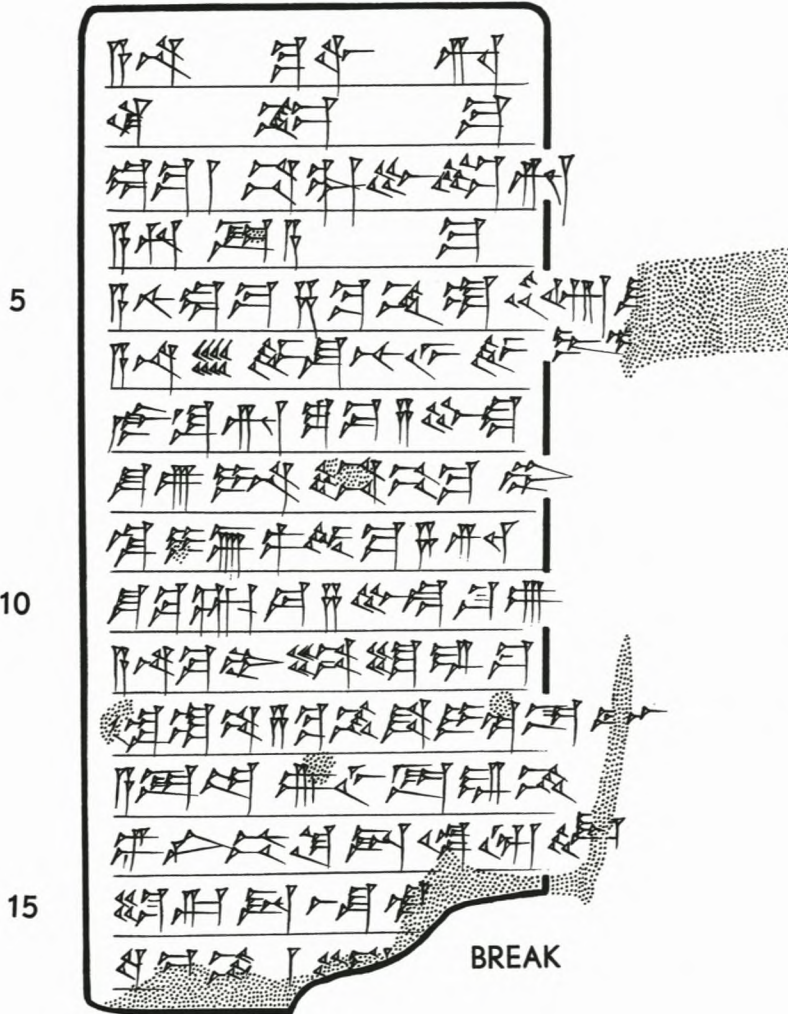


REVERSE

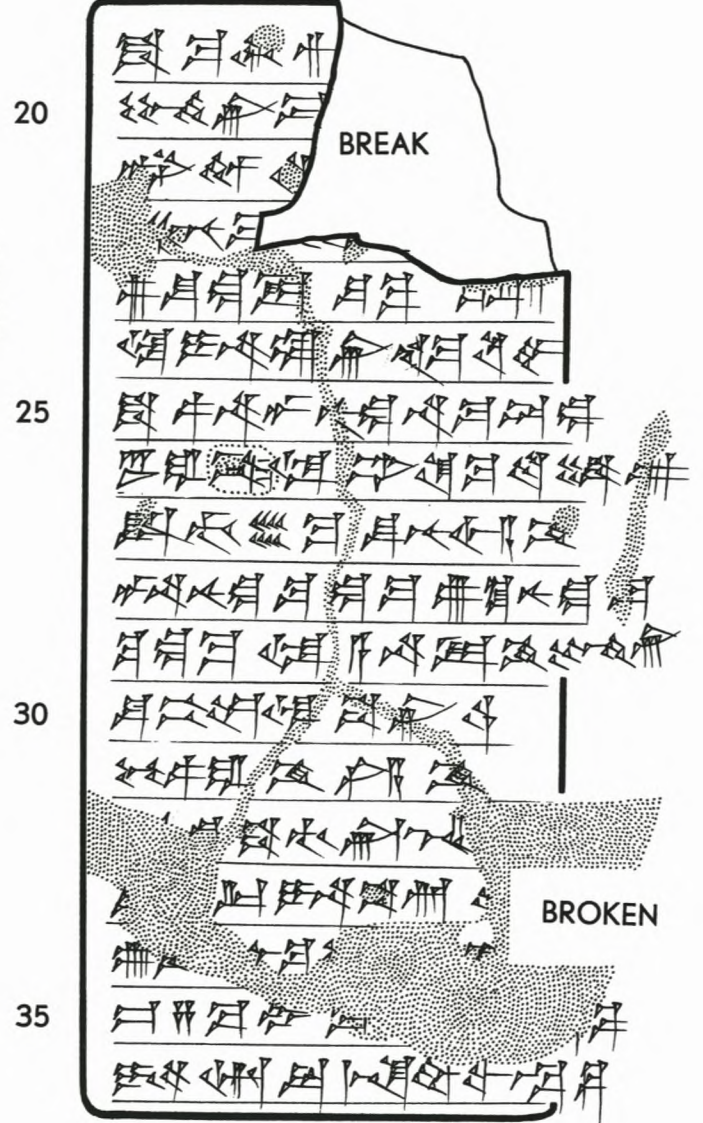


OBVERSE

REVERSE

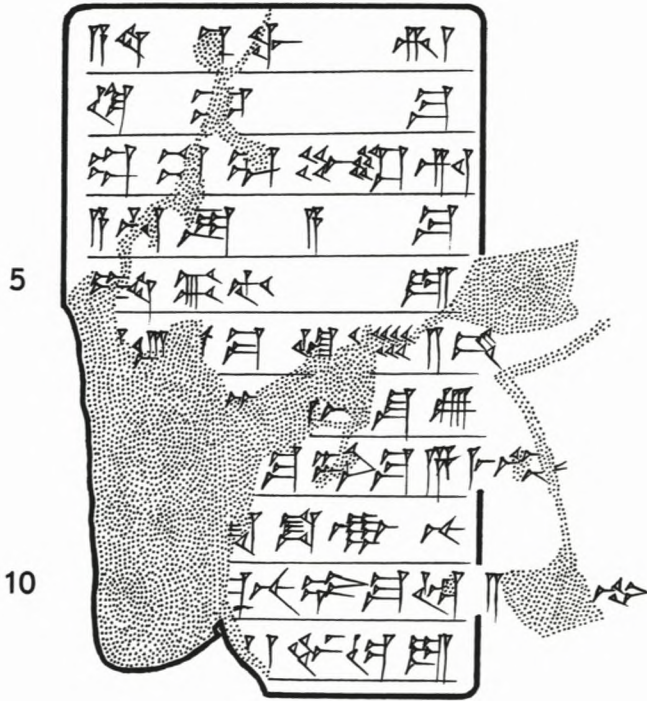


LOWER EDGE



40 EDGE

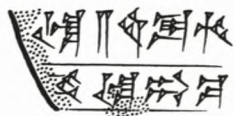
OBVERSE



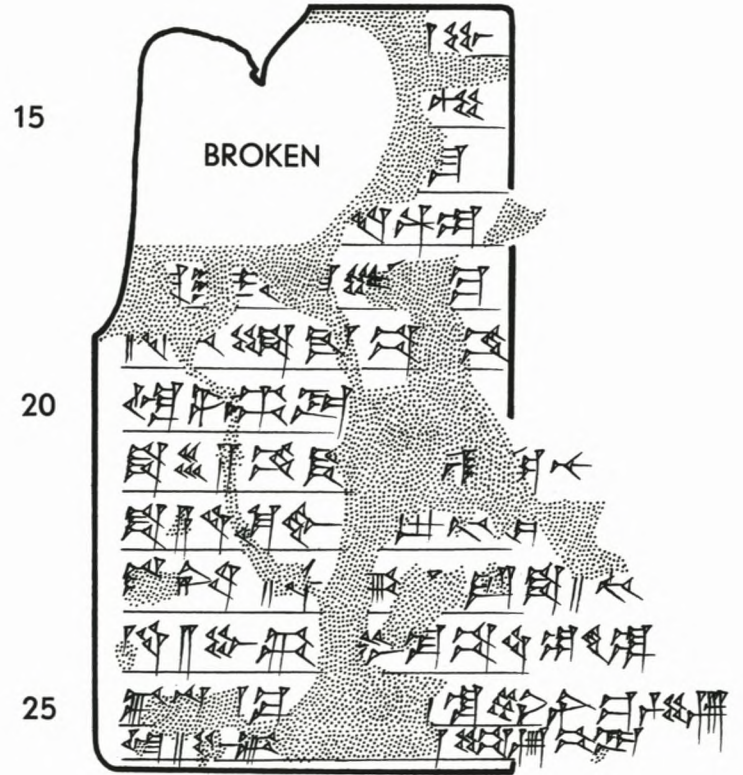
5

10

LOWER EDGE



REVERSE



15

20

25

UPPER EDGE

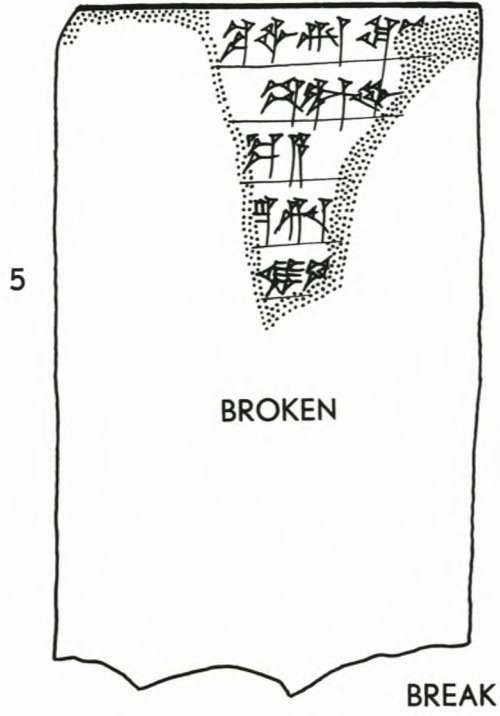


LEFT EDGE

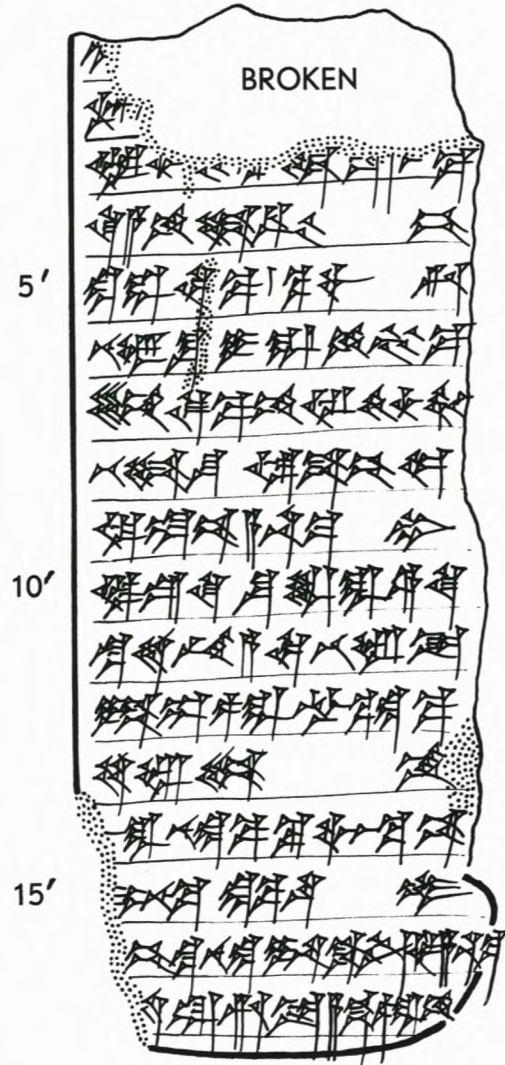


30

OBVERSE

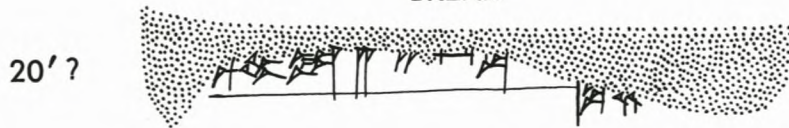


REVERSE



LEFT EDGE

BREAK



5  
 10  
 15  
 BROKEN

LOWER EDGE

20  
 BROKEN

BROKEN  
 25  
 30



OBVERSE

REVERSE

5  
 10  
 15

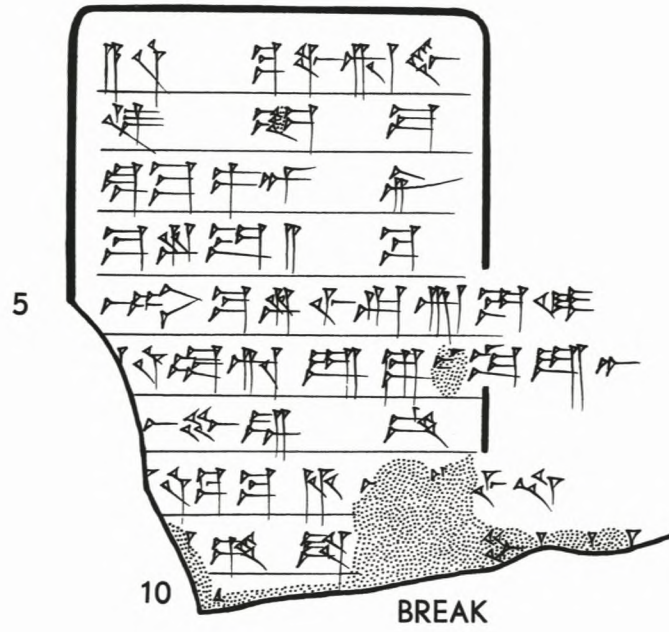
20  
 25  
 30

UPPER EDGE

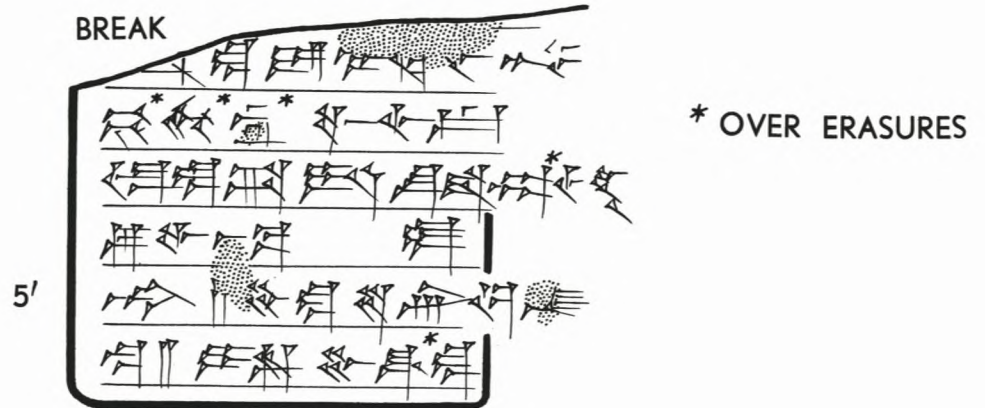
35

LEFT EDGE

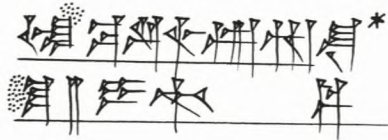
OBVERSE



REVERSE



UPPER EDGE

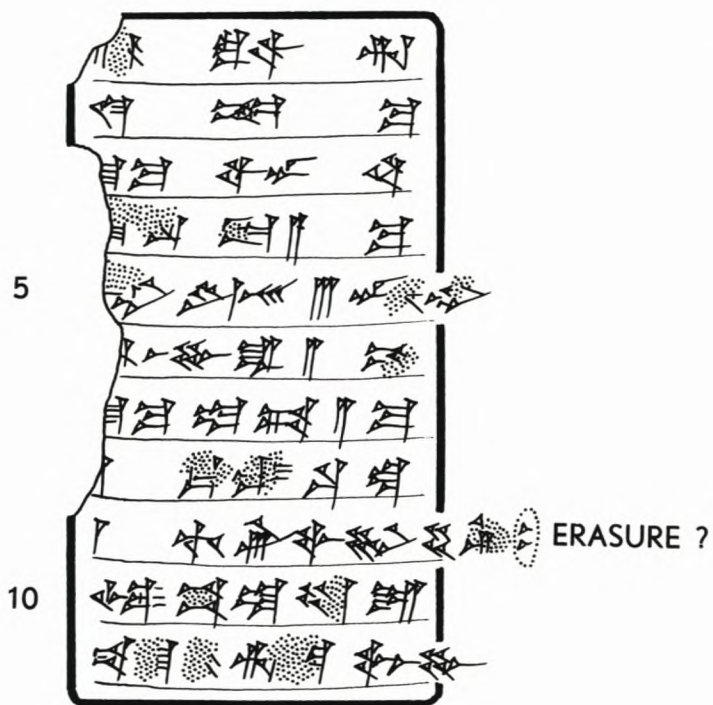


LEFT EDGE

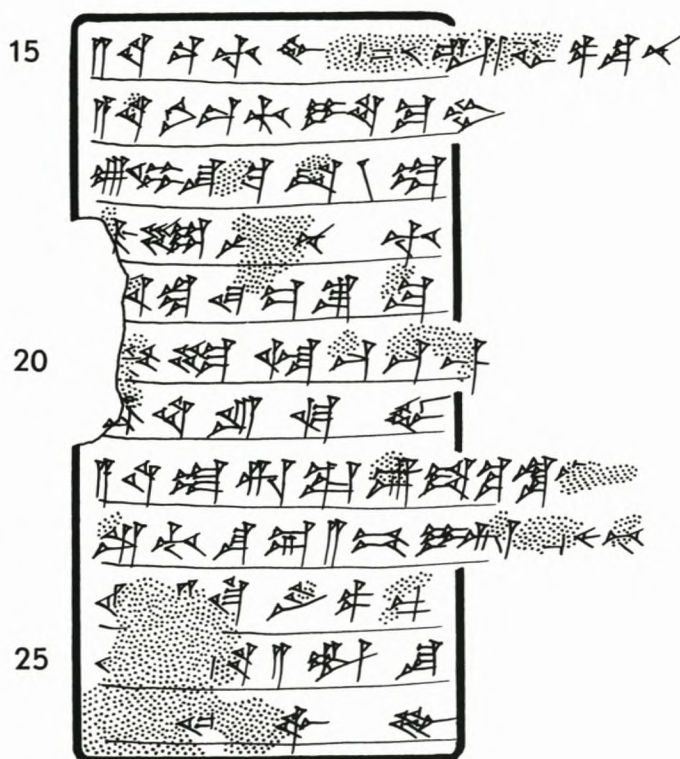




OBVERSE



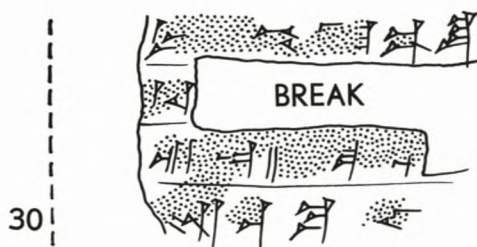
REVERSE



LOWER EDGE



UPPER EDGE



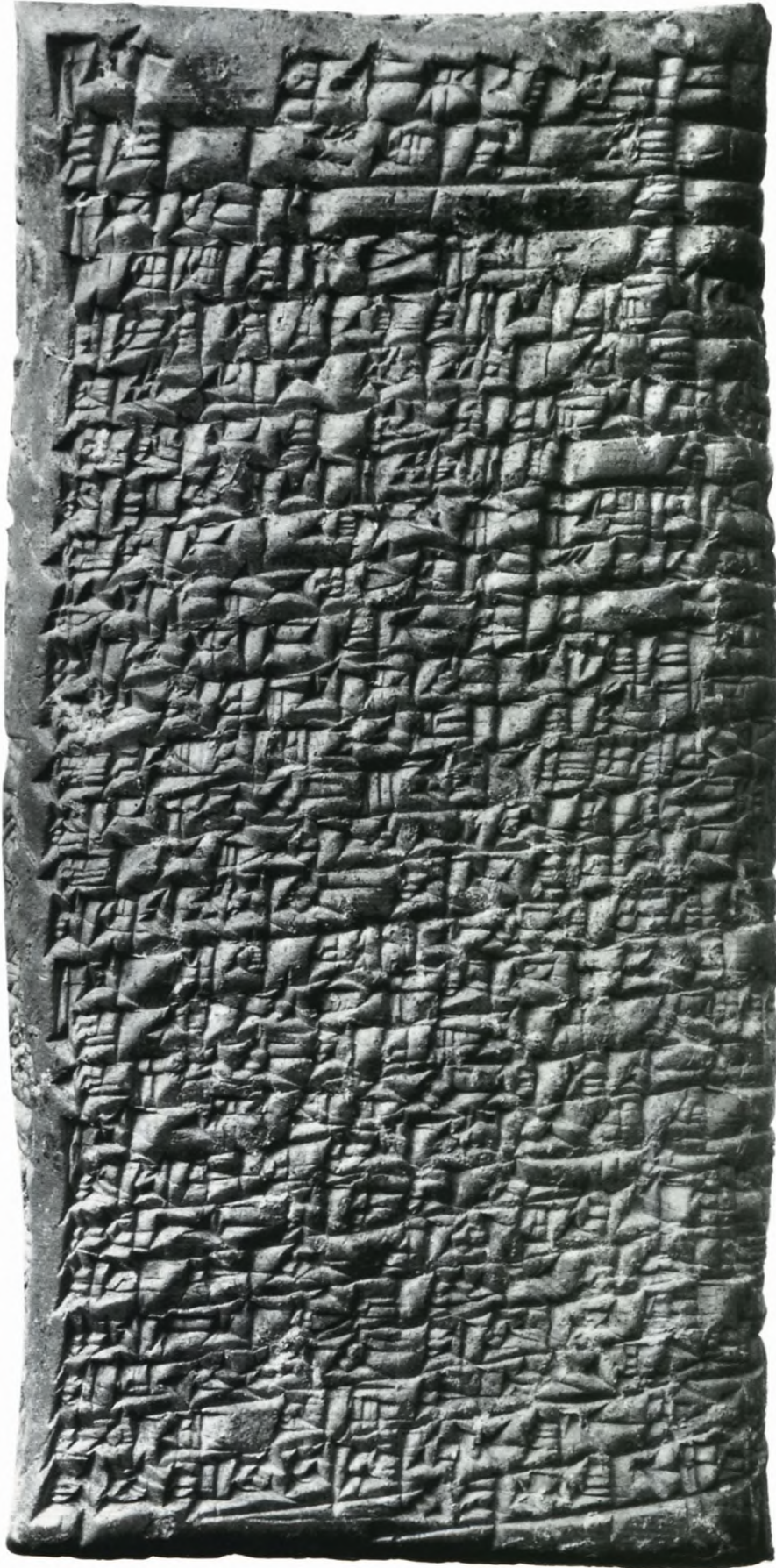
LEFT EDGE





63

OBVERSE

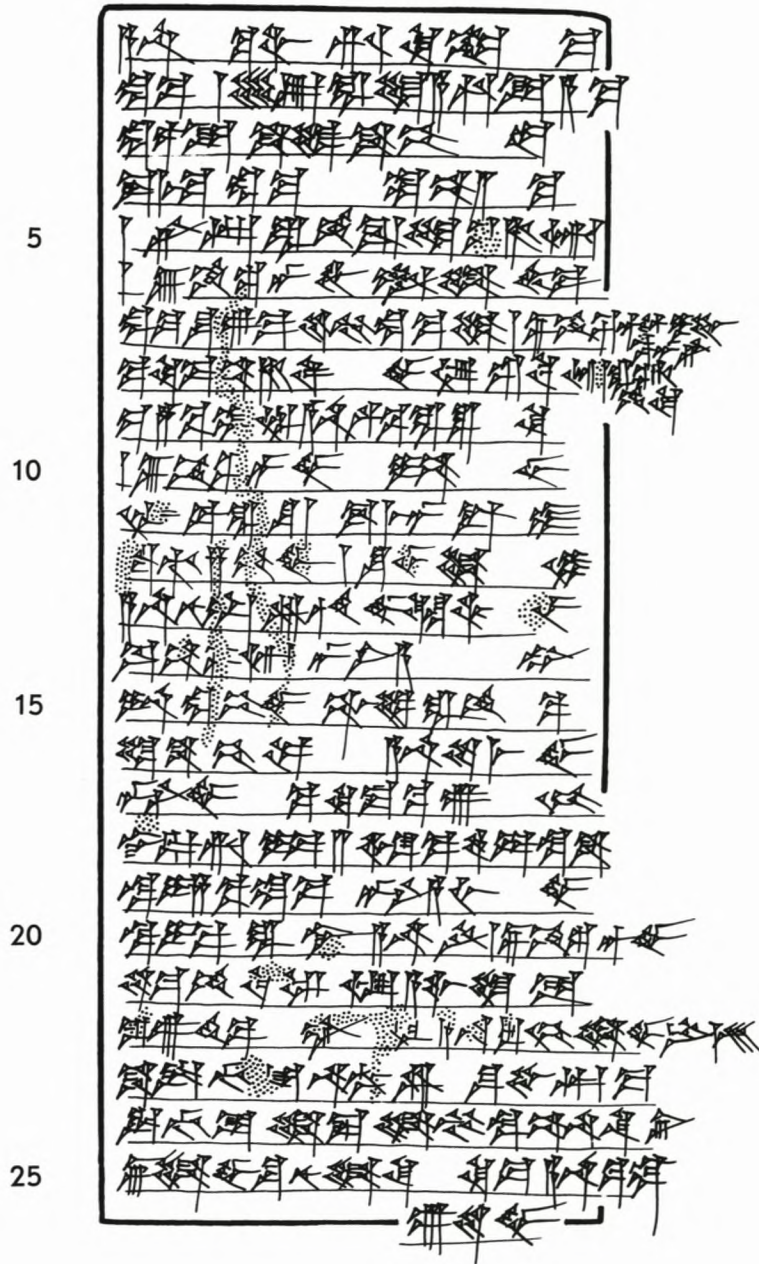


Pl. 64

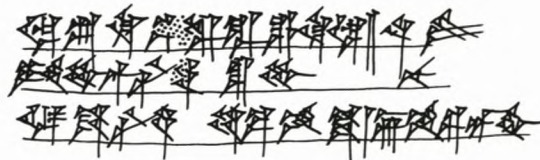
REVERSE

35 于今命 厥任惟厚 及治用之 肆肆  
 厥功不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不  
 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不  
 40 于今命 厥任惟厚 及治用之 肆肆  
 厥功不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不  
 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不  
 45 于今命 厥任惟厚 及治用之 肆肆  
 厥功不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不  
 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不  
 50 于今命 厥任惟厚 及治用之 肆肆  
 厥功不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不  
 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不  
 55 于今命 厥任惟厚 及治用之 肆肆  
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 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不  
 60 于今命 厥任惟厚 及治用之 肆肆  
 厥功不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不 厥厥不  
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OBVERSE



LOWER EDGE



REVERSE

30  
 35  
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 45  
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 55

UPPER EDGE

60

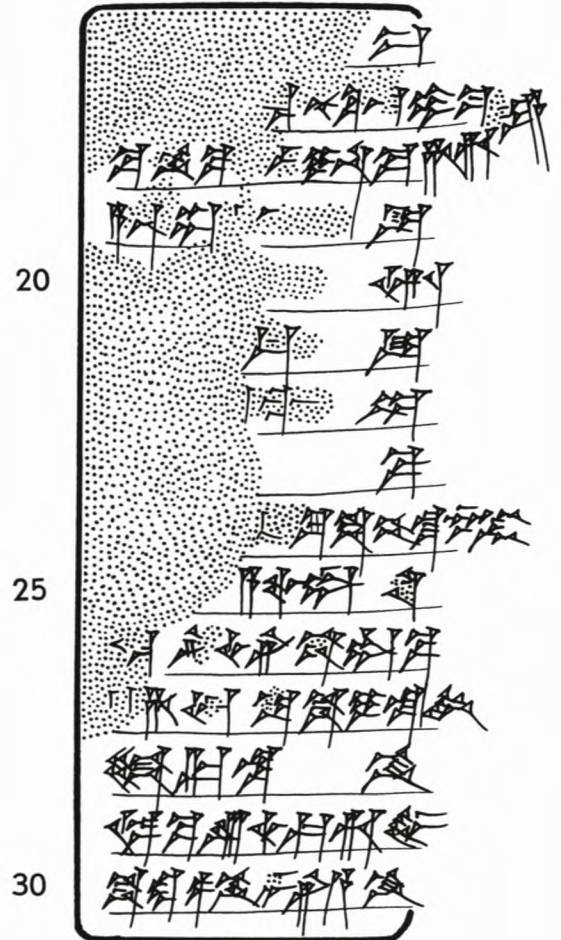
LEFT EDGE

65

OBVERSE

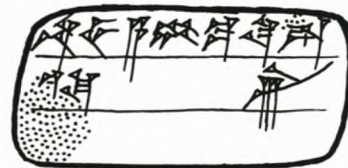


REVERSE



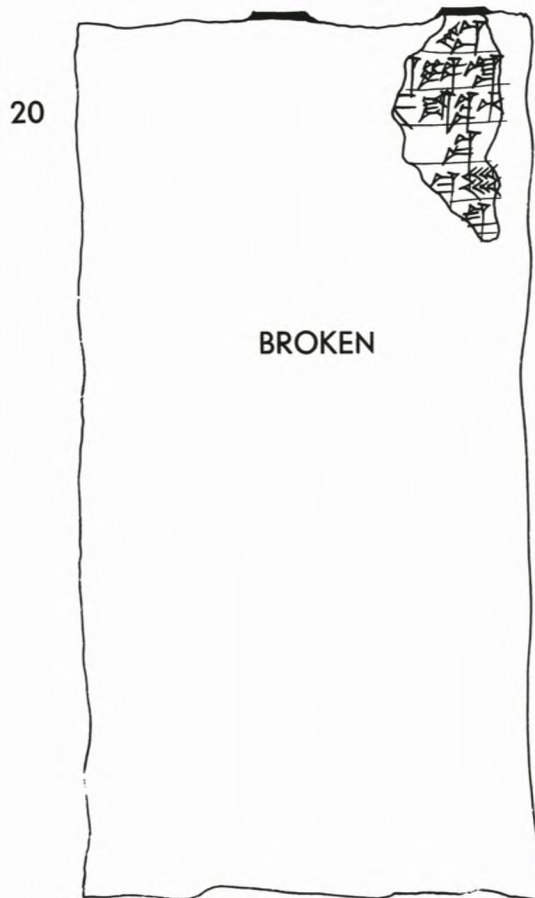
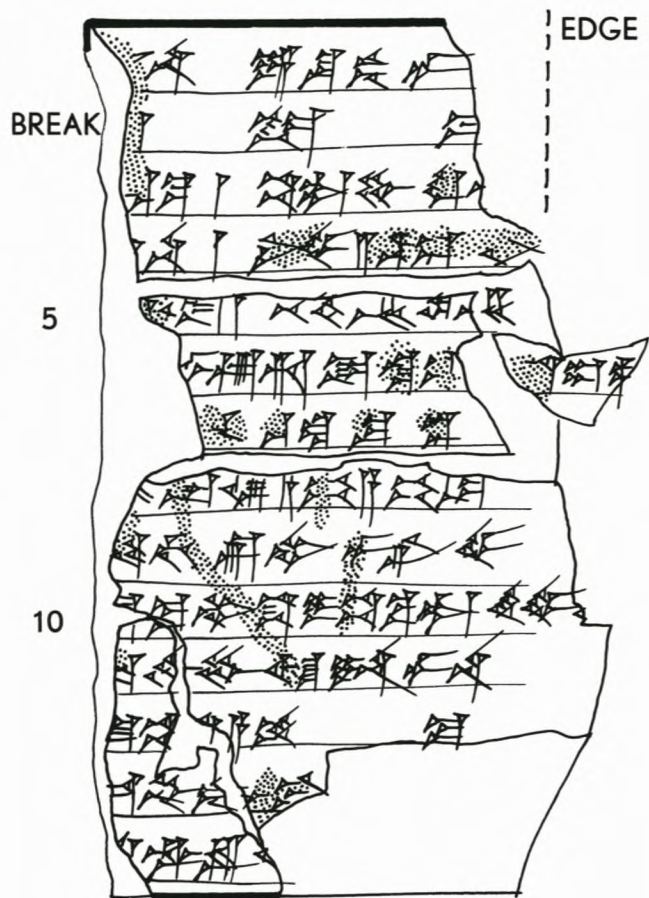
\* ERASURE

UPPER EDGE



OBVERSE

REVERSE



LOWER EDGE



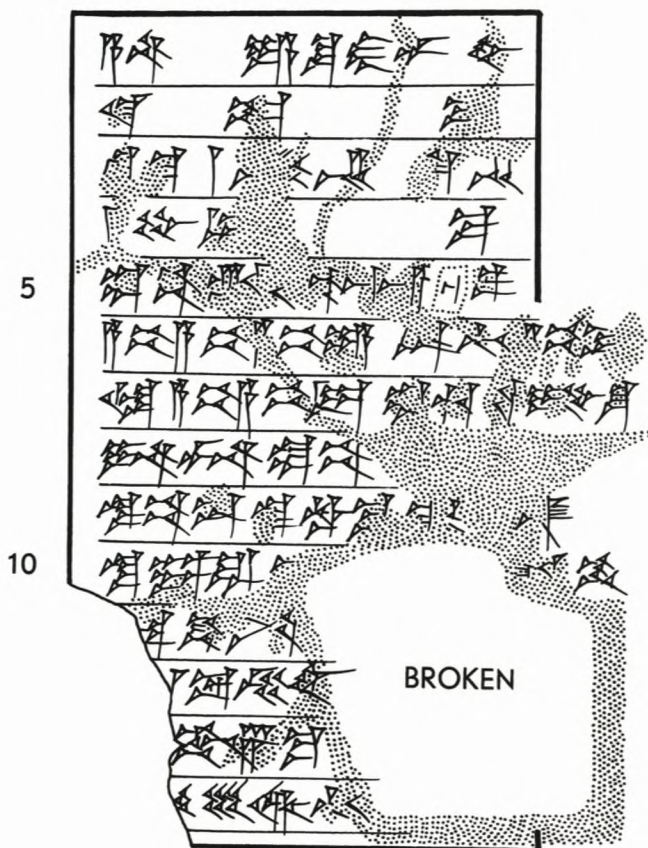
UPPER EDGE



LEFT EDGE BROKEN



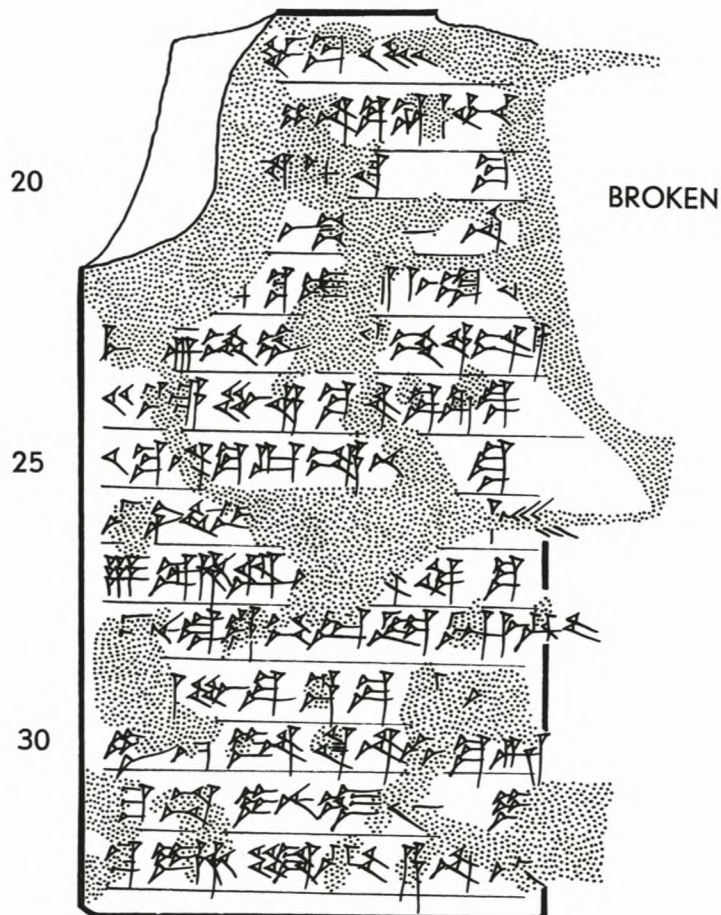
OBVERSE



LOWER EDGE



REVERSE



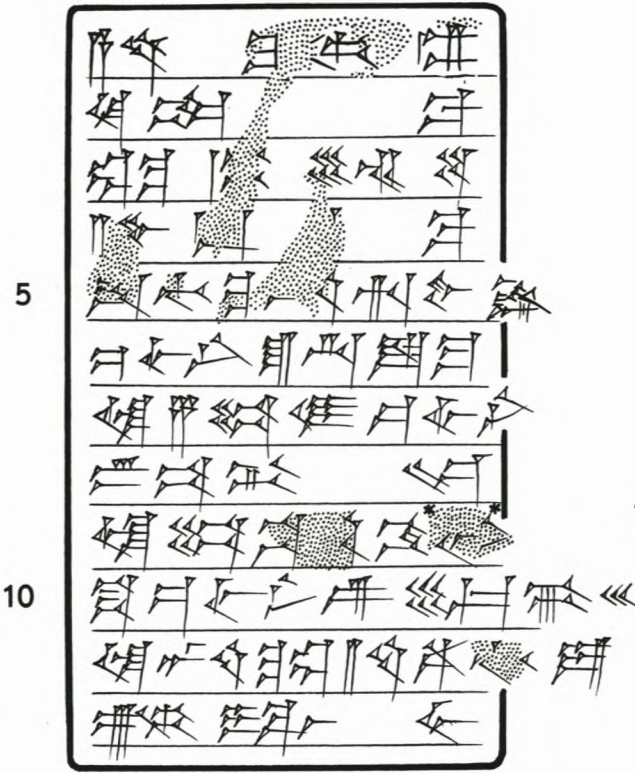
UPPER EDGE



LEFT EDGE

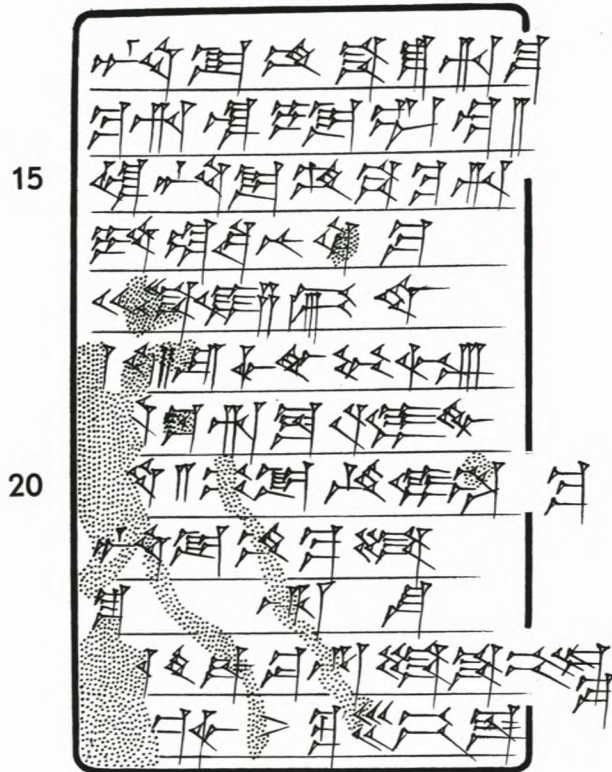


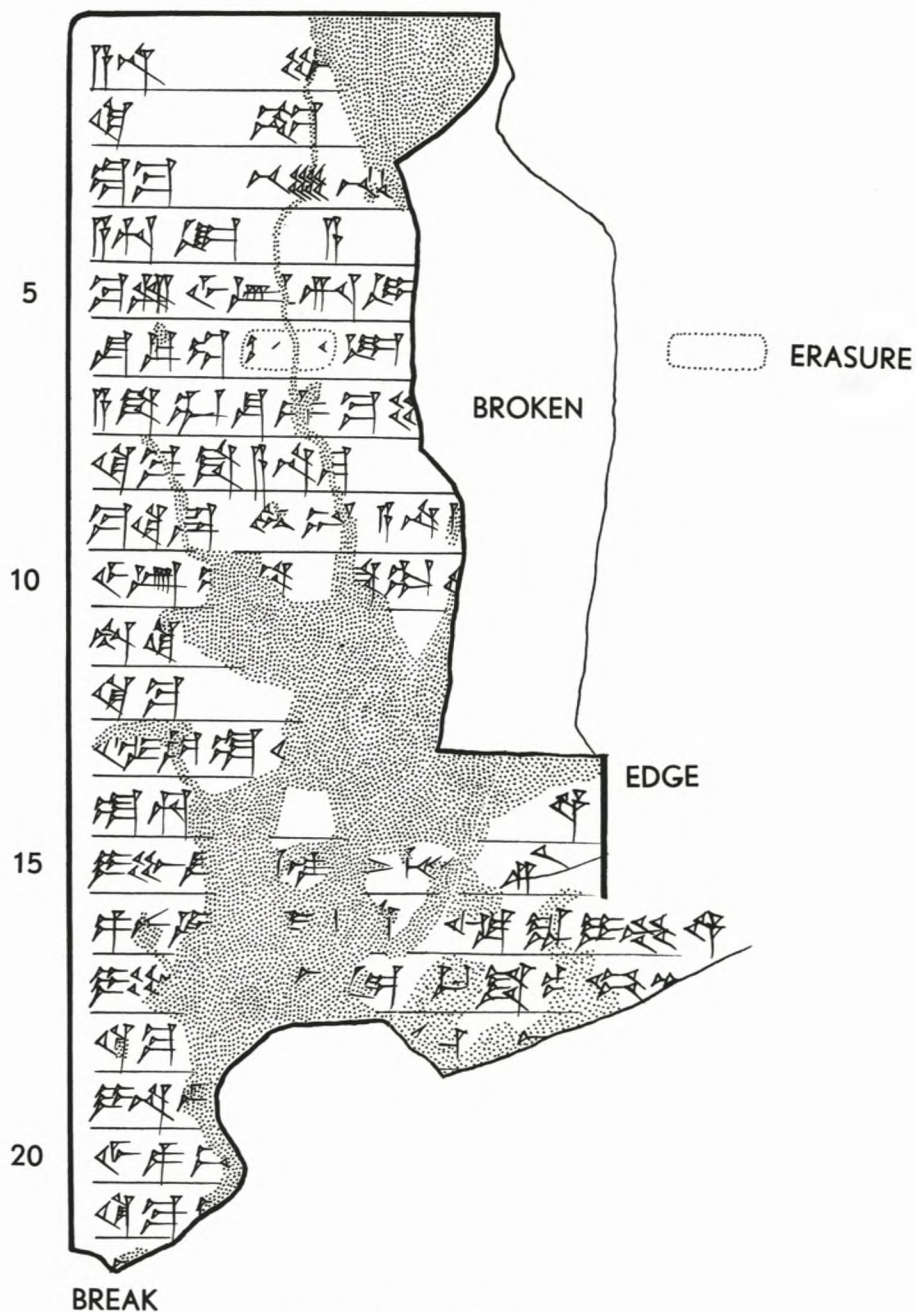
OBVERSE



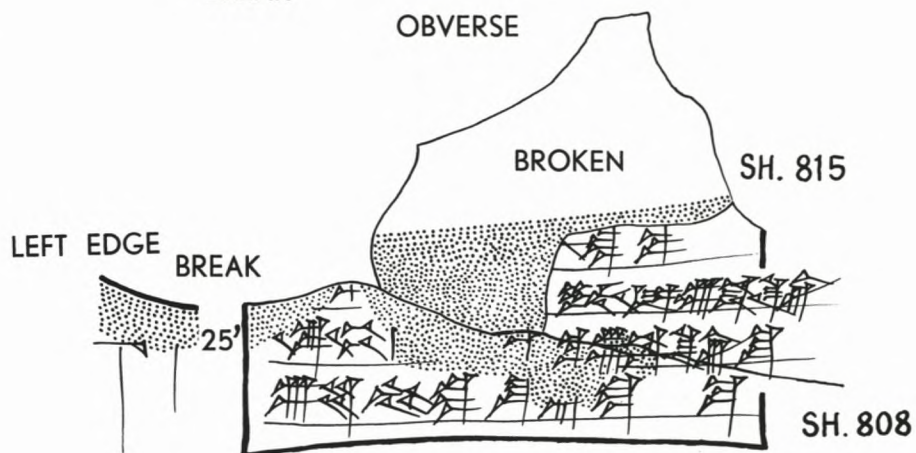
\*\*ERASURE ?

REVERSE

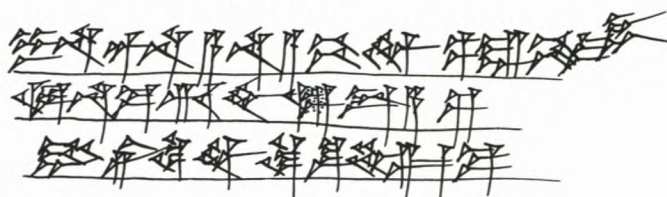




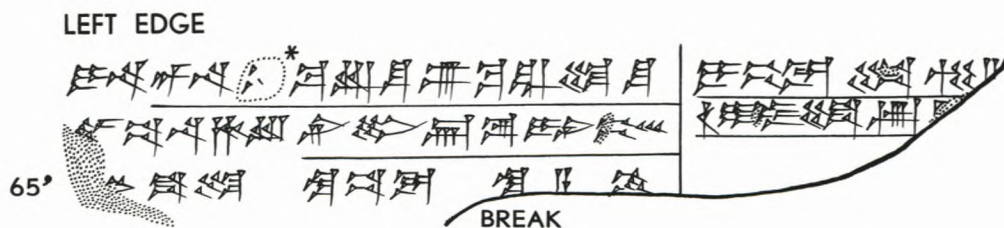
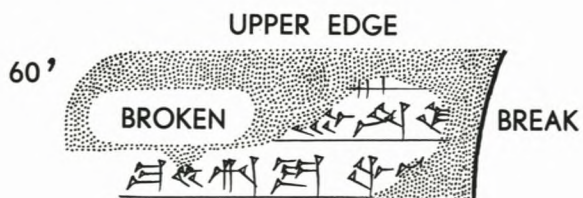
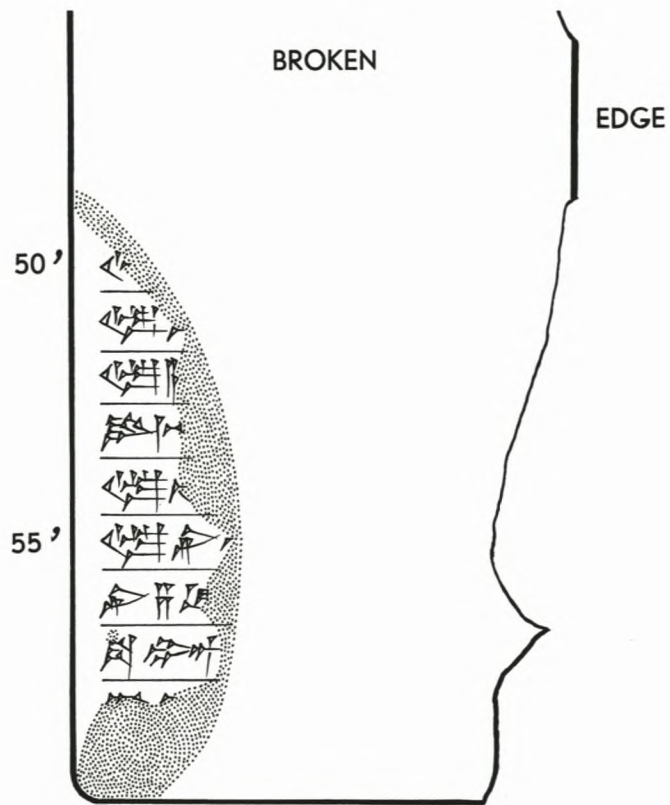
OBVERSE



LOWER EDGE



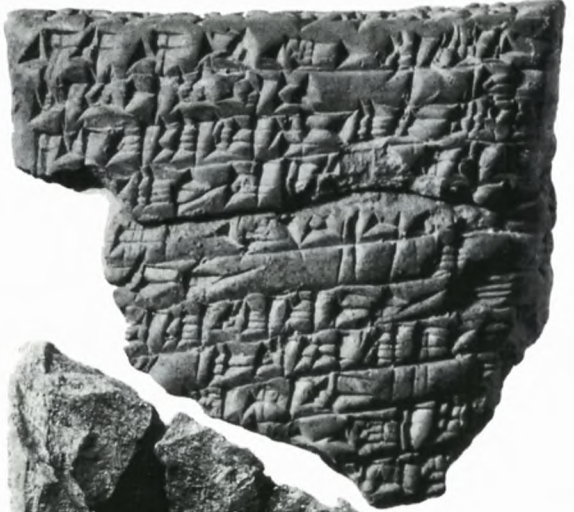
REVERSE



\* - - - - -



69



LEFT EDGE

55



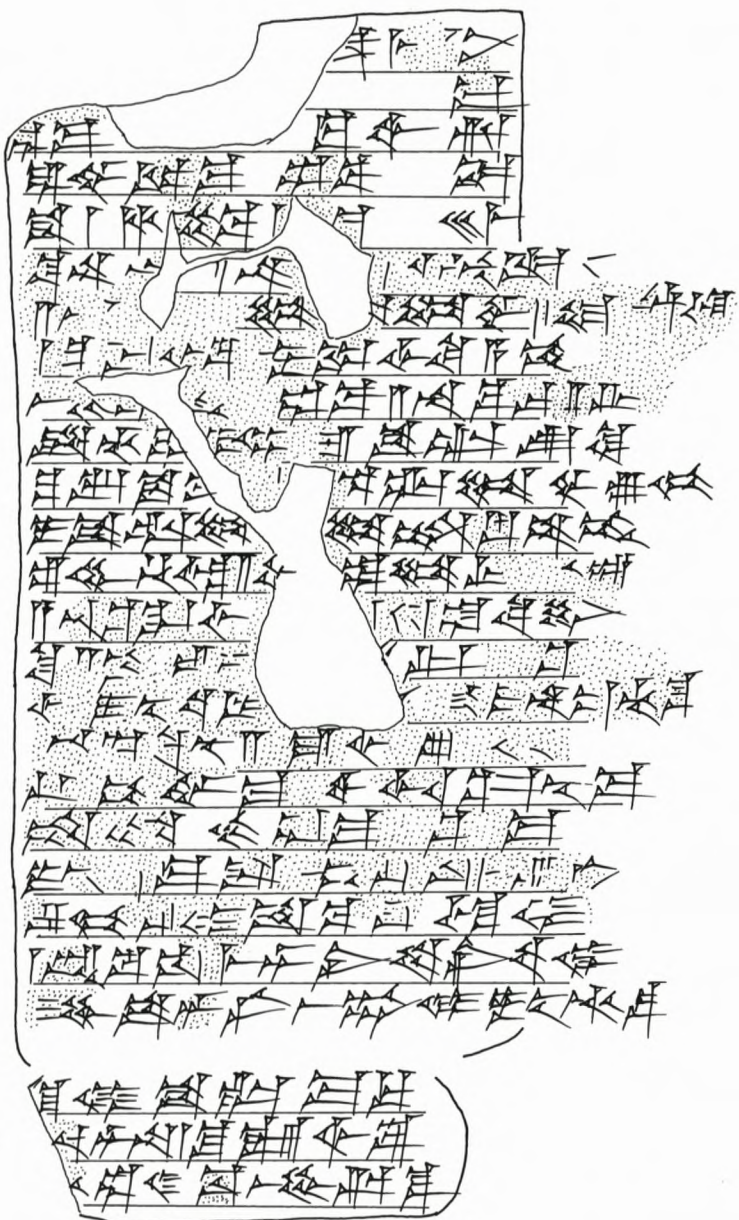
5

10

15

20

25



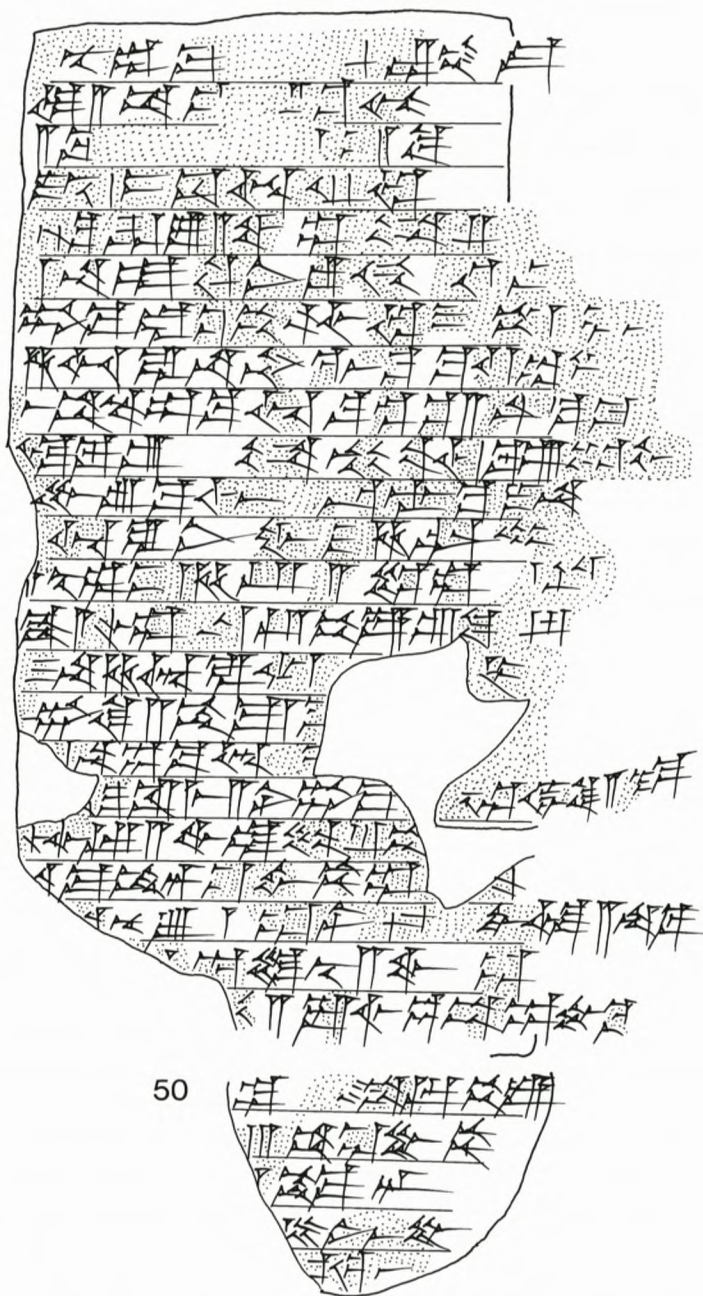
30

35

40

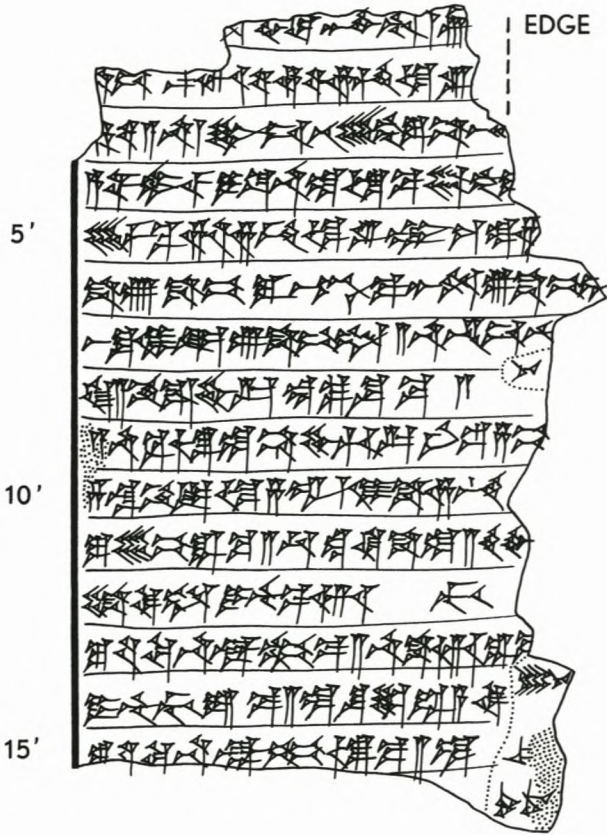
45

50





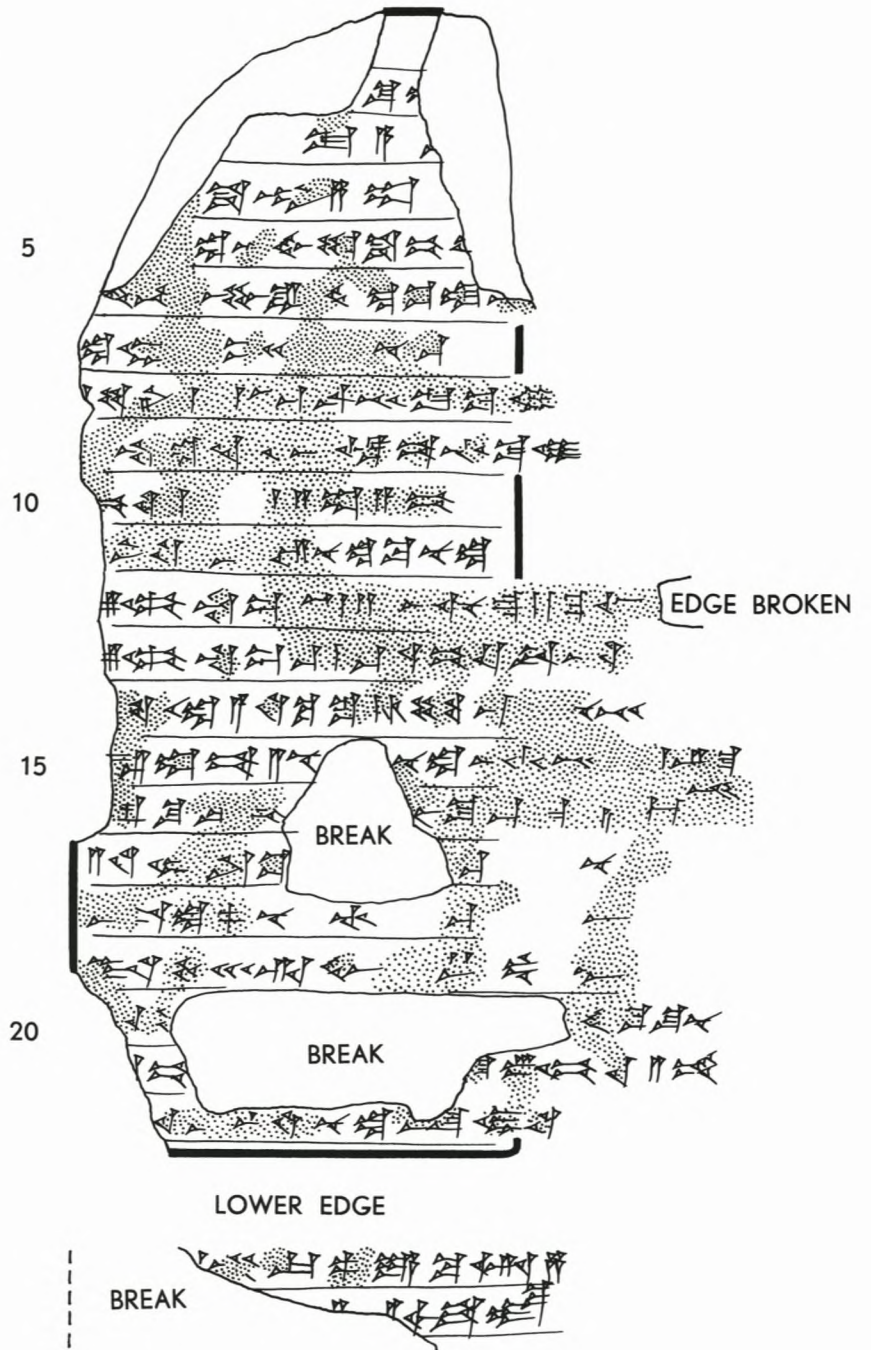
OBVERSE



LEFT EDGE

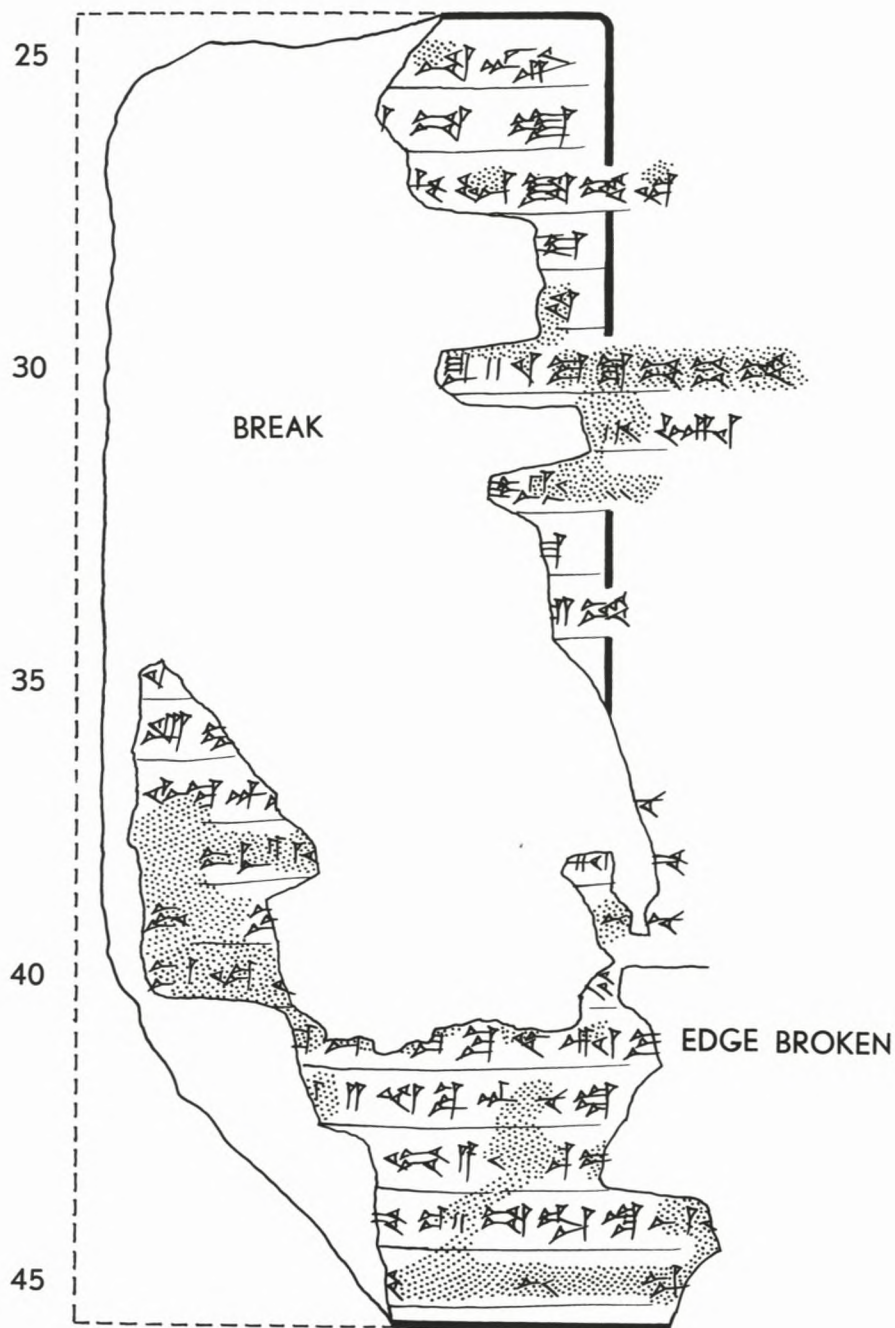


OBVERSE



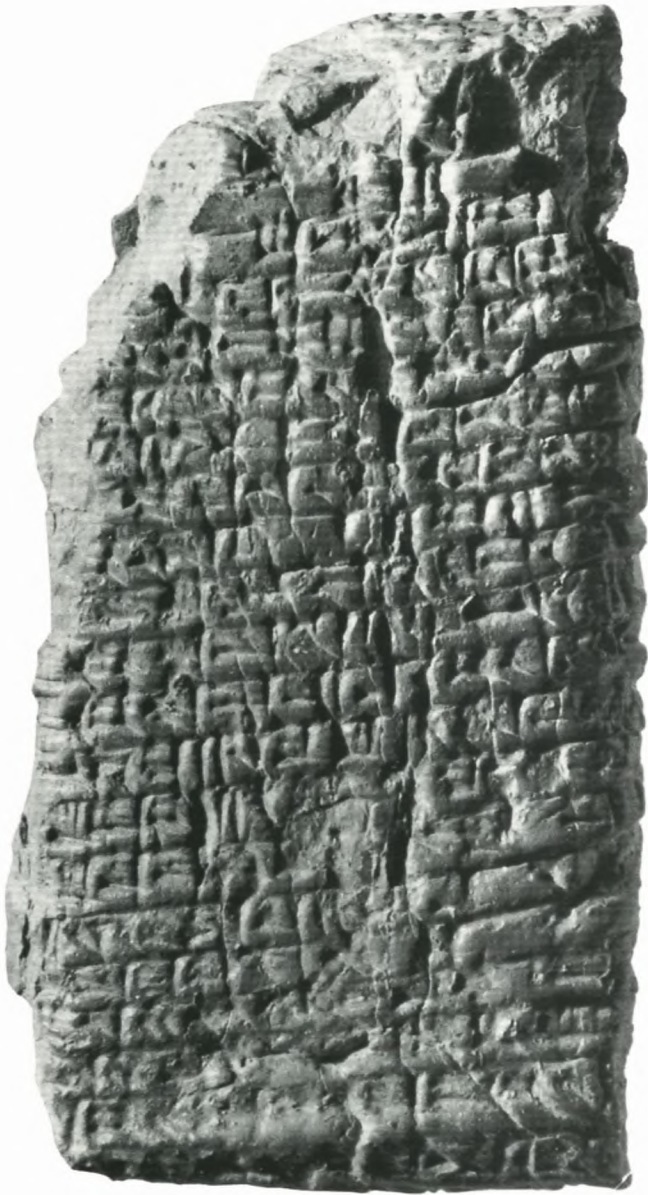


REVERSE

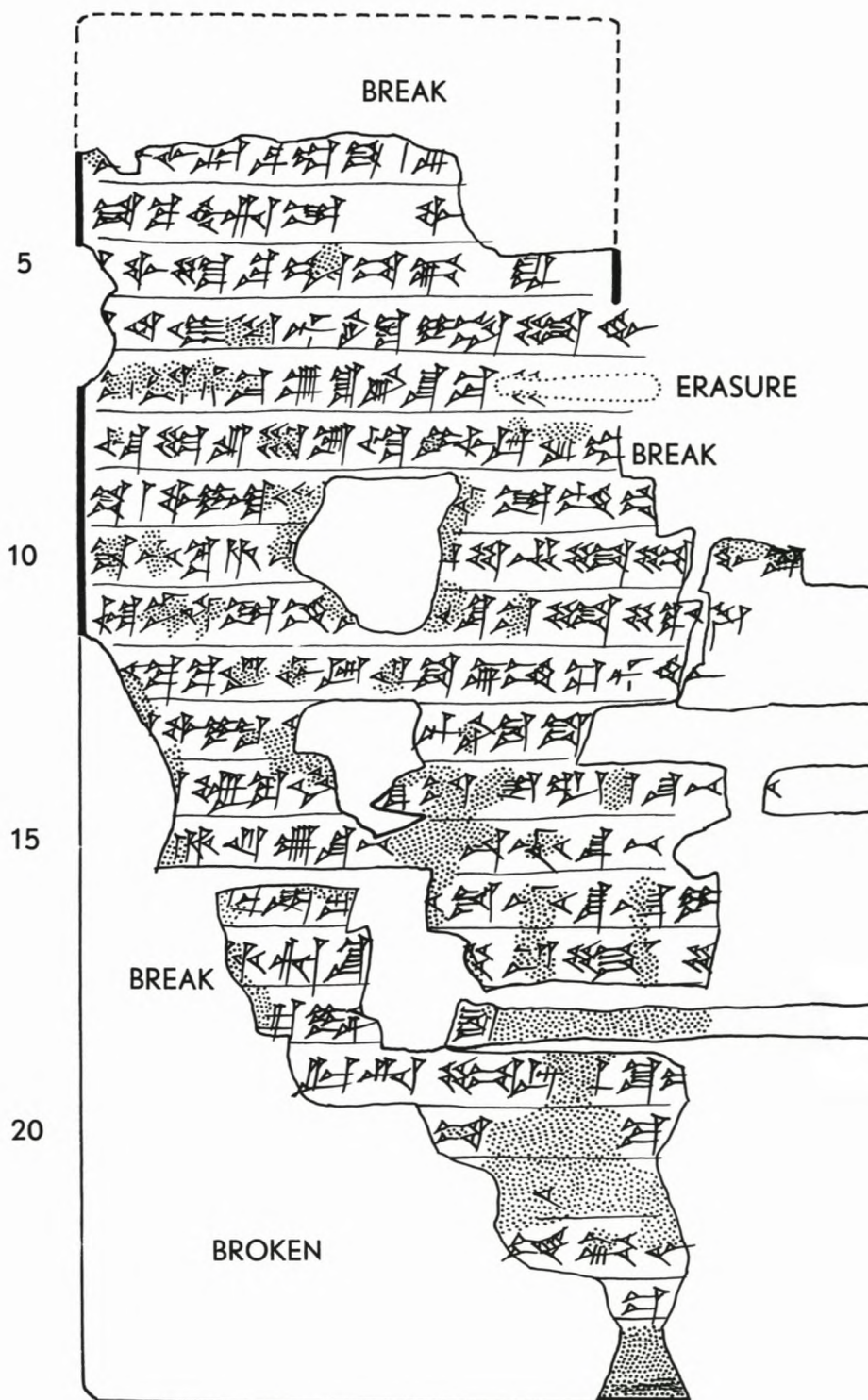


UPPER EDGE





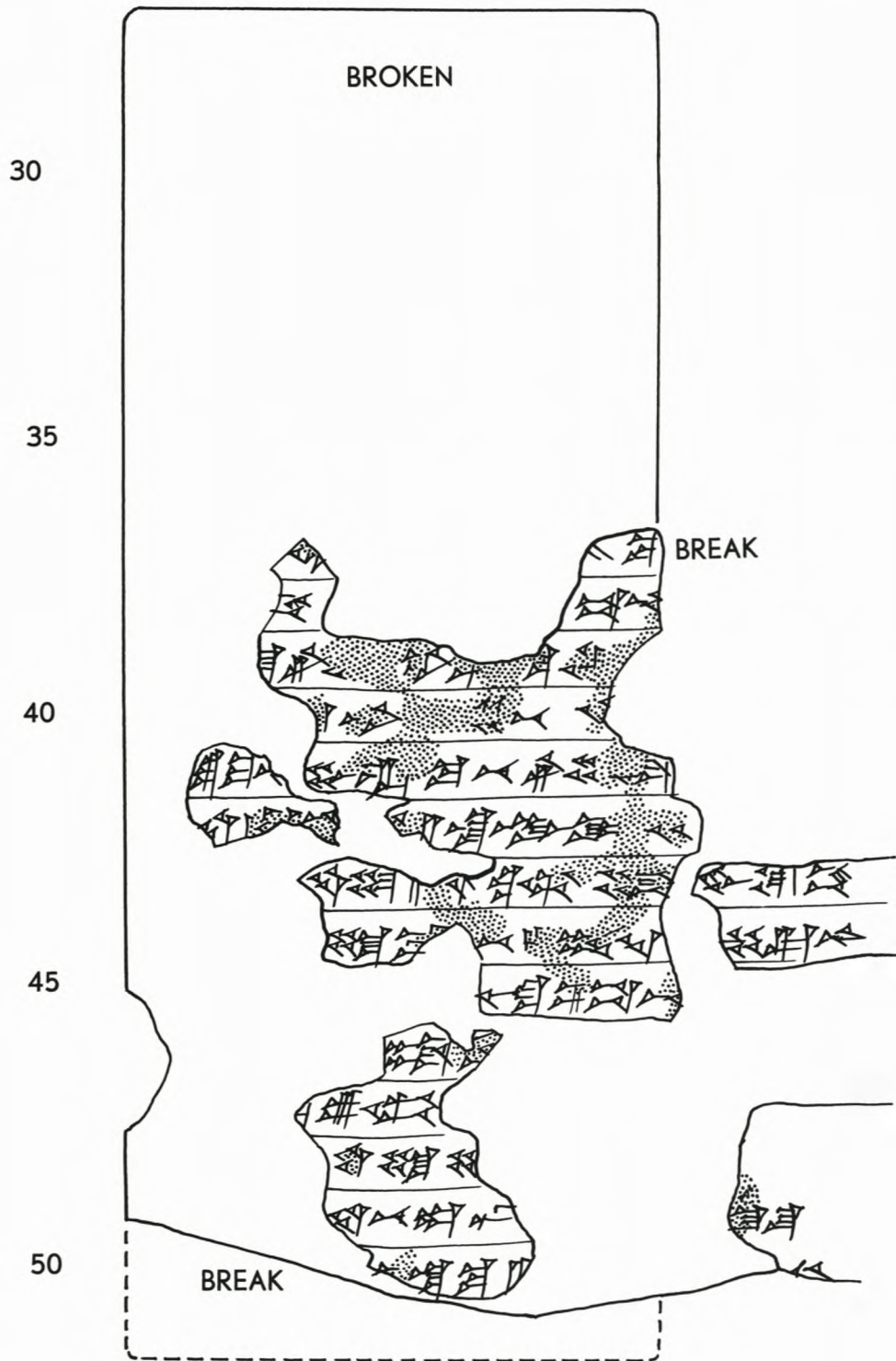
OBVERSE



LOWER EDGE

73

REVERSE

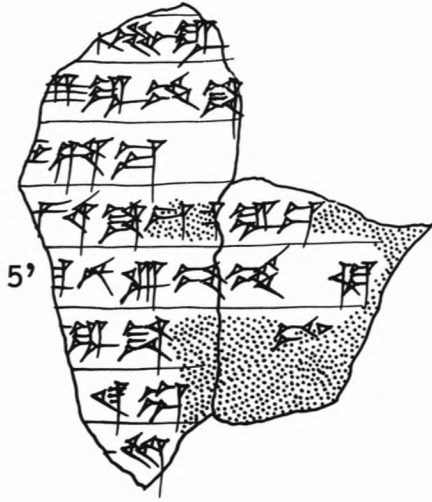


UPPER EDGE

LEFT EDGE

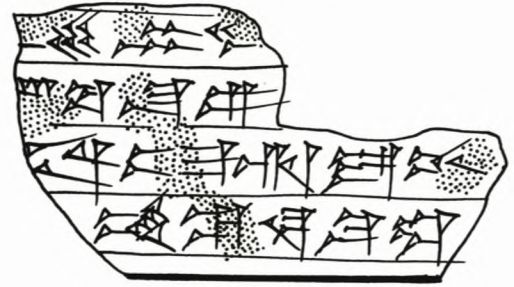


74



76

OBVERSE



77

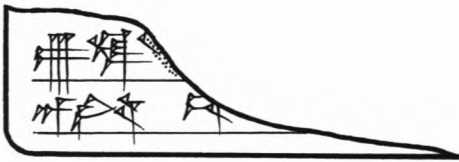


78



79

OBVERSE



LOWER EDGE

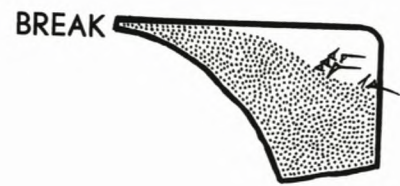


REVERSE



80

OBVERSE ?



REVERSE ?



UPPER EDGE



81

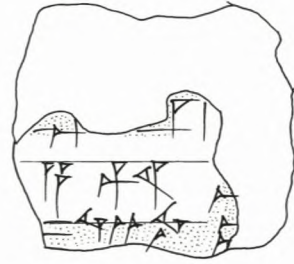
OBVERSE



REVERSE



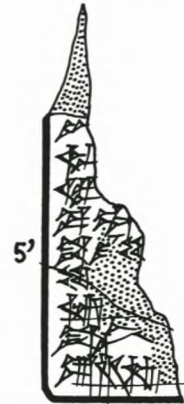
82



85

OBVERSE

LEFT EDGE



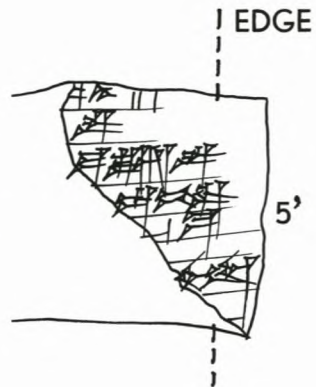
LOWER EDGE



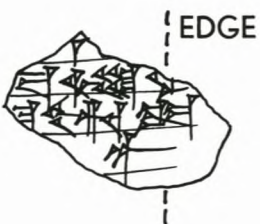
REVERSE



83

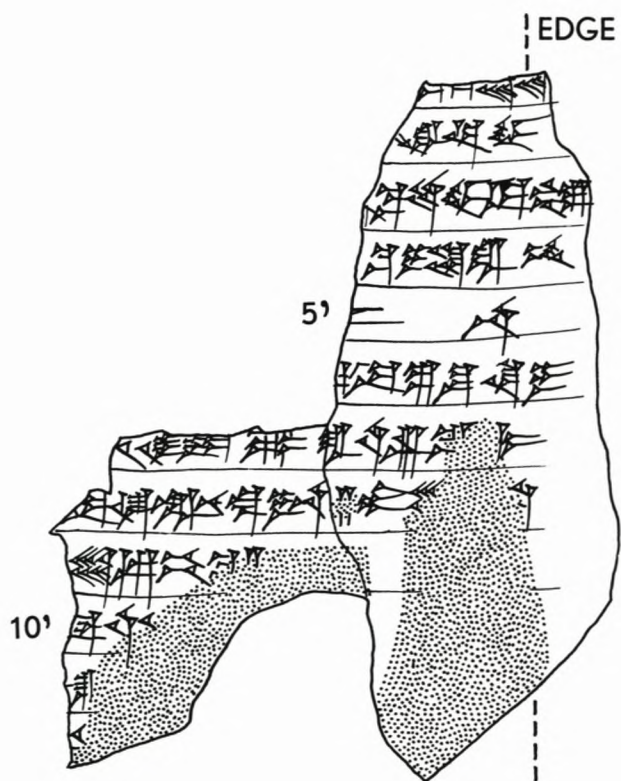


88

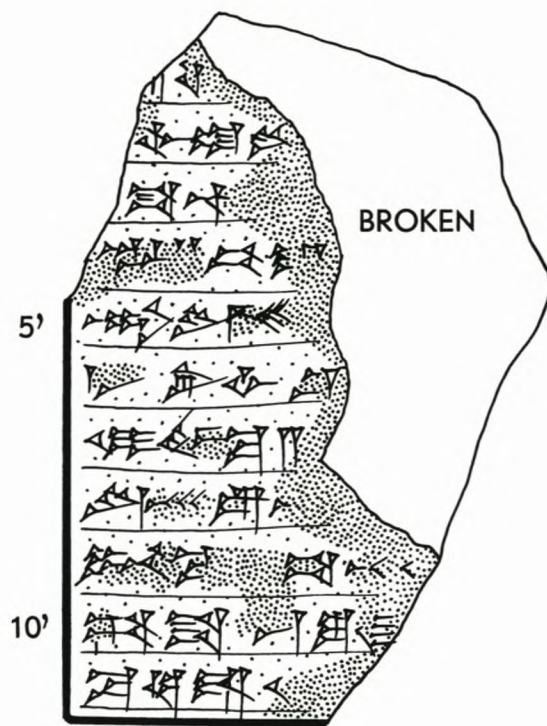


89

90



OBVERSE

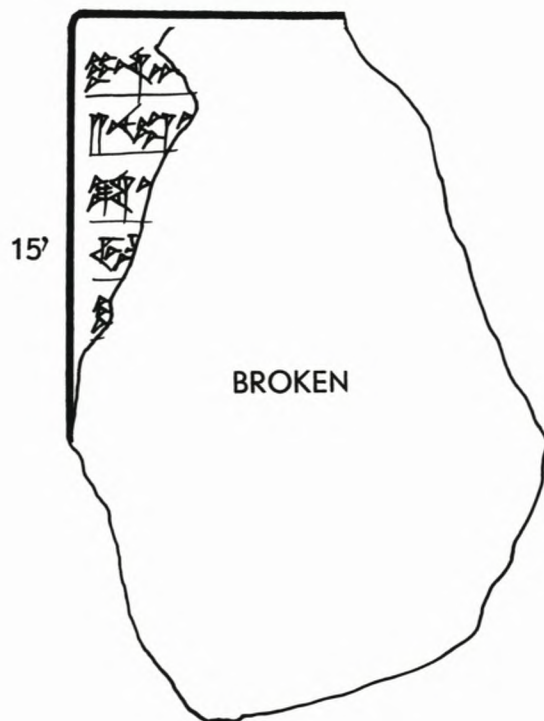


91



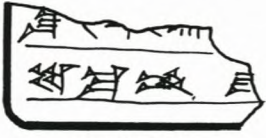
○ ERASURE

REVERSE



93

LOWER EDGE



REVERSE



5'

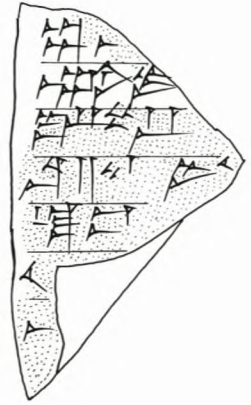
94

EDGE

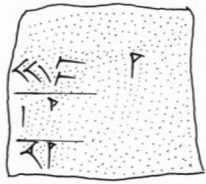


97

5'



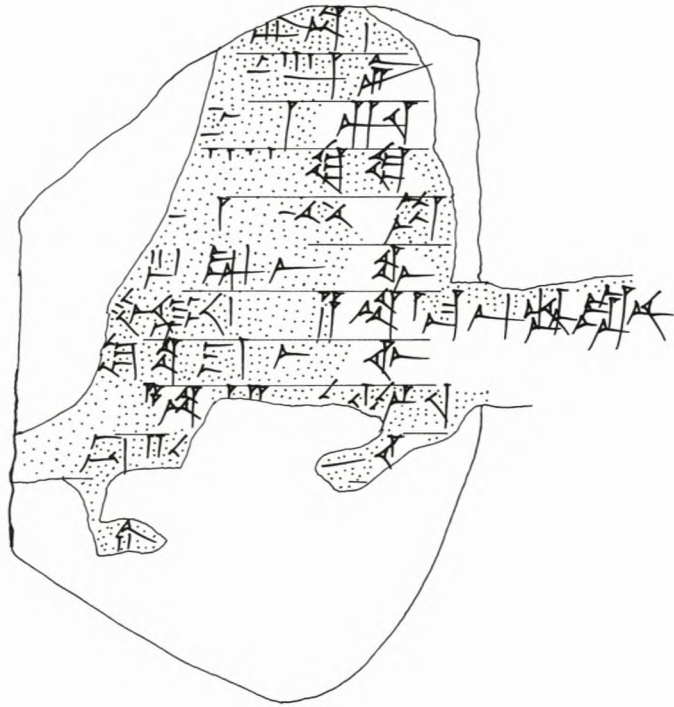
98



99

5'

10'



100





Seal 1



SH. 817 B



69B  
(SH. 890)



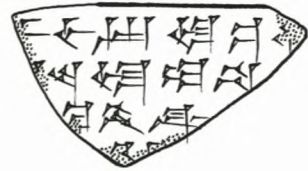
Seal 2



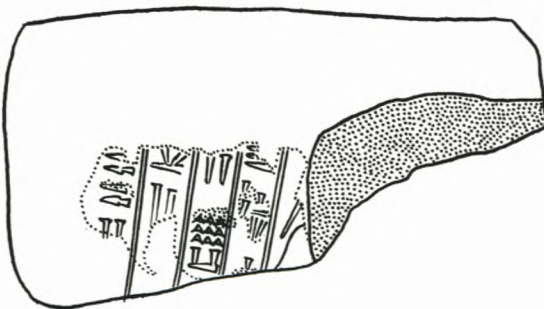
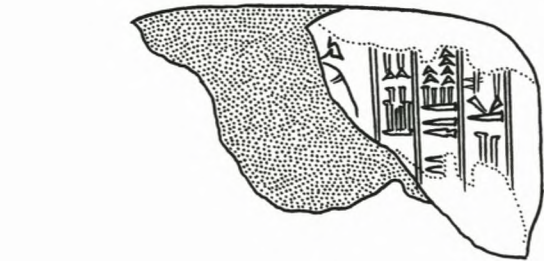
Seal 3



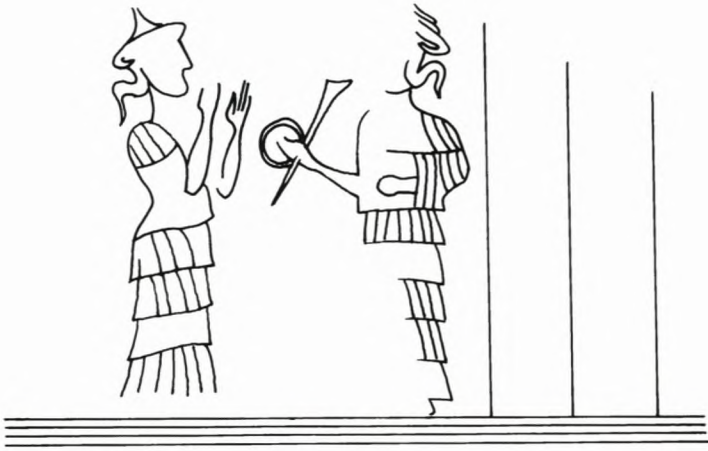
SH. 817 A



SH. 923



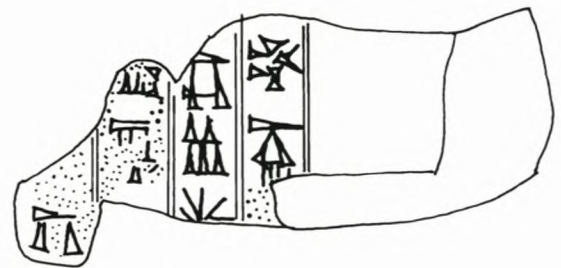
**Seal 4**



**Seal 5**



**Seal 6**





In 1957 a Danish archaeological expedition, directed by Harald Ingholt and Jørgen Læssøe, excavating at the site of Tell Shemshara in northeastern Iraq, made a unique discovery. In the ruins of a building from the early 2nd mill. B.C. they found an archive of political and diplomatic letters, written in cuneiform on clay tablets. The archive belonged to a local nobleman by the name of Kuwari, whose precarious position between warring kingdoms in the ancient Zagros mountains is vividly illustrated by the texts. This volume contains the complete scientific edition of these nearly 4000 year old letters, and also reviews the evidence in broader historical perspectives.

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