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THE SHEMŠĀRA TABLETS

A PRELIMINARY REPORT

BY

JØRGEN LÆSSØE



København 1959
i kommission hos Ejnar Munksgaard

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To
Professor *Johannes Pedersen*

Preface

The excavations by which the inscriptional material discussed in this Report was discovered, were made possible by funds provided jointly by the Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish Government Foundation for the Promotion of Research (*Statens almindelige videnskabsfond*). A deep debt of gratitude is acknowledged to these two Institutions and their Directors who were ready to appreciate the urgency of archaeological work in the Rania Plain, in Iraqi Kurdistan. Through the agency of the two Foundations antiquities of the greatest significance were recovered in an area where further investigation will shortly have become a physical impossibility. A sincere appreciation for his interest in the plan, from the time when it was first formed, is due to Professor JOHANNES PEDERSEN, formerly Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Carlsberg Foundation. The late Professor KAARE GRØNBECH, until his untimely death a Director of the Carlsberg Foundation, is gratefully remembered for his vigorous support of the project which was to materialise as the Danish Dokan Expedition.

The Rask-Ørsted Foundation contributed a generous grant which enabled the less experienced members of the Expedition to participate in the excavations of Nimrud, conducted by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, under the direction of Professor M. E. L. MALLOWAN. Sincere thanks are due for this grant. The circumstance that members of the Expedition were present in Iraq well in advance of the date when our operations in the Dokan area were to commence, greatly facilitated the making of preliminary arrangements, which were essential to the organisation of our work.

Warm thanks are offered to The British School of Archaeology in Iraq, to its Director, Professor MALLOWAN, and to friends and

former colleagues at Nimrud for much invaluable help and good advice. The generous loan of tents and camp equipment from the outfit of the British School is gratefully acknowledged.

The Expedition received a much appreciated private contribution from Mr. ERIK THUNE, Executive Director in the firm F. L. Smidth & Co., A/S, of Copenhagen.

In Iraq, generous assistance was lent the Expedition by Mr. F. LYSTØ, until the summer of 1957 Chargé d'affaires a. i. in Baghdad on behalf of the Government of Denmark, and subsequently by his successor, Mr. F. de JONQUIÈRES, the present Chargé d'affaires a. i., as well as by the staff of the Danish Legation and many members of the Danish colony in Baghdad. Invaluable aid was yielded by Mr. J. G. CAMPBELL, Resident Engineer at the Dokan Dam Site, and by members of his staff, all of the firm Binnie, Deacon & Gourley, of London, as well as by the contractors, the firm Dumez-Ballot (Groupement d'entreprises pour la construction du barrage de Dokan), of Paris. The Expedition owes the sincerest thanks to its English, Scottish, and French friends at Dokan. For the duration of its operations under arduous climatic conditions in an area where communication is extremely difficult, the Dokan Dam Site was the main point of contact between the Expedition and the outside world.

Last, but not least, cordial thanks are tendered to the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Iraq and to its officials. H. E. Dr. NAJI AL AŞIL, Director General of the Department at the time of the Expedition, who has since reached the age of retirement and resigned his office, called my attention to the urgency of archaeological excavation in the Dokan area during conversations in Baghdad in the spring of 1956, and was kind enough to communicate information and data collected in the area by members of his Department during the latter part of 1956. To Dr. AL AŞIL, Sayyid TAHA BAQIR, now Director General, Professor FUAD SAFAR, Director of Excavations, Dr. FARAJ BASMACHI, Director of the Iraq Museum, and to Sayyid MUHAMMAD ALI MUSTAFA, as well as to other members of the Department, indebtedness is gratefully acknowledged for much help and many facilities bestowed on the Expedition.

In the course of my work with the inscribed material discovered in the Rania Plain in 1957, some results of which are pre-

sented in the following pages, I have had the benefit of discussing, in correspondence, a number of problems raised by these texts with Assyriologists on the Continent and abroad. For corrections and suggestions thus received, specifically acknowledged in their proper context, and for the interest thus displayed, I wish to thank Miss EDITH PORADA, Professor in Columbia University, New York; Professor BENNO LANDSBERGER, of the University of Chicago; and my friend and former colleague on the Assyrian Dictionary Staff of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Dr. JEAN-ROBERT KUPPER, of the University of Liège. Dr. KUPPER has also communicated comments to me which Professor GEORGES DOSSIN, of the same University, has been kind enough to make. Mr. EBBE E. KNUDSEN, Mr. MOGENS TROLLE LARSEN, and Mr. MOGENS WEITEMEYER, students of Assyriology at the University of Copenhagen, have participated with enthusiasm in seminars on the Shemshāra texts, and I have derived much benefit from my discussions with them and from many suggestions which they have brought forward.

Mr. T. WHEILDON BROWN, Senior Assistant to the Resident Engineer at Dokan, who has acquired an intimate knowledge of the topography of Southern Kurdistan and made several significant archaeological discoveries*, has generously communicated information to me which is of relevance for the history of the Rania Plain; for this, I convey my sincere appreciation.

Copenhagen, December, 1958.

J. L.

* [T. Wheildon Brown's article, quoted in note 29, has now been published in *Sumer* 14, 1/2 (1958), 122—124, with two plates. The *tell* shown on the right bank of the Lesser Zab, near the upper left corner of Wheildon Brown's map (Fig. 3), marks the site of Tell Shemshāra.]

Introduction

This Report is a preliminary enquiry into a collection of clay tablets, inscribed in the cuneiform character, which were uncovered by the Danish Dokan Expedition in the remains of a building in Tell Shemshāra, an ancient mound situated on the right bank of the Lesser Zab, near Rania in Iraqi Kurdistan (Sulaimaniyah *liwa'*). The tablets, which were discovered in the summer of 1957, were provisionally registered in the field, and some field photographs of individual tablets in good state of preservation were taken by the present writer. 146 tablets were discovered, and the field numbers SH. 800—SH. 945 were assigned to them.

The tablets were subsequently brought to Baghdad and deposited with the Department of Antiquities. When, in accordance with the provisions laid down in the Antiquities Law of Iraq, a number of antiquities discovered in Tell Shemshāra were allotted to the Expedition, the tablets were left undivided. Division of this material will take place when the complete collection has been studied.

By arrangement with the Department, part of the collection of tablets was sent to Denmark on loan for adequate preservative treatment and study. The first group to be received comprised 42 numbers. The tablets concerned represent a fair cross-section of the total material in terms of epigraphic typology and state of preservation. When this group has been returned to Baghdad, the Department of Antiquities has agreed to the loan of a second group, approximately another third of the total number, and so forth until the entire collection of tablets has been dealt with. It is hoped that this work will have been completed by midsummer of 1959. The Department of Antiquities is much to be thanked for agreeing to this arrangement by which it has become possible for the Shemshāra tablets to be studied in Denmark.

The present Report is based on a study of the 42 tablets referred to above, supplemented with notes from my Field Catalogue of Inscribed Material, field photographs, and notes made during a visit to Baghdad in the spring of 1958 when I selected a limited group of Shemshāra tablets, which had remained with the Department, for a closer preliminary study.

The Shemshāra texts, although exposed as one lot of tablets, represent a disparate collection. It comprises commercial documents, mostly small tablets (*e. g.* SH. 836, which measures 2.2×2.2 cms.), and lists of cattle, payments, *etc.*, but the larger part of the collection consists of letters. By external appearance, as well as by intrinsic palaeographic 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. One specimen, SH. 811, features peculiarly archaic forms of signs. While the language used in both categories of letters, and in fact in all the Shemshāra texts, is Old-Babylonian Akkadian, there are noticeable dialectal features in both groups of letters. Those occurring in the former group provide a link linguistically with the Old-Babylonian dialect of the Mari letters,** whereas the dialect of letters of the

* See the photographs of Mari letters in J. Bottéro and A. Finet, *Répertoire analytique (Archives royales de Mari, XV [Paris, 1954])*, Pls. I—II (fac. p. 32).

** A reference to the dialect of the Mari letters should be modified by an admonition to the effect that, by the diversity of their origin, the Mari letters represent a linguistically disparate collection of texts. This cautionary point of view has been expressed most clearly by I. J. Gelb, who has so often served Assyriology well as a monitor in matters of linguistic methodology. Reviewing

latter description often has a distinct foreign flavour, which may well testify to the fact that they originated among people whose native language was not Akkadian.

Further discussion of the significance of such observations for our knowledge of early ethnic relations and migrations and for the ancient history of northeastern Mesopotamia generally must await the publication of the complete collection of tablets from Tell Shemshāra. It is the purpose of this preliminary Report to establish the date of the texts and to examine some aspects of their historical implications.

[After this manuscript went to press, I was able to include the proper names contained in the two important letters SH. 809 (*cf.* note 32) and SH. 827 (*cf.* notes 58 and 68, and § 23 at end) with *Index A*. For evaluation of this added material, the reader is asked to consult *Index A* under the following headings: Adad, Aḫzaw/īum, Ainim, Arrapha, Elam, Ḫaburātīm, Iāšub-Adad, Indaššu, Itabalḫim, Kakmum, Kubija, Kušija, Lullū, Lullum, Lutpiš, Nabili, Nipram, Qabarae, Šezibbu, Šimurrum, Šuruḫtuḫ, Šušarrae, Tabitu, temple, Tirukū, Ullamtašni, Urau, Utem, Wilanum, Zab, Zaslīm, Zikum. In *Index B*, reference is made to *nikurtum* and *qarnum*. Some important linguistic features of SH. 827 have been added at the end of note 68. (Baghdad, March, 1959.)]

A. Finet, *L'accadien des lettres de Mari* (Bruxelles, 1956), for the journal *Language* (Vol. 33 [1957], 197—204), Gelb deals with the multifarious origin of the Mari letters and proceeds to state that, in consequence thereof, "they may represent not one but several different dialects or subdialects. We should distinguish at least five different groups: (a) the largest group, containing the letters written by the rulers and officials of Mari and representing the official dialect of Mari, (b) letters coming from the areas surrounding Mari such as Aleppo and Qatna, which may represent a closely related dialect, (c) letters coming from Assyria, which may reflect influences of the Old Assyrian dialect, (d) letters of Hammurapi and other rulers and officials of Babylonia proper, which represent the classical Old Babylonian dialect, and (e) the West Semitic ('Amorite') language, which can be reconstructed from the idioms and non-Akkadian proper names (such as personal, divine, and geographical names) occurring in letters of groups (a) to (d)" (*Language*, 33, p. 199). Specifically we should say, therefore, that a relationship exists between the first group of Shemshāra letters described above and group (c) of Gelb's list. This statement does not necessarily imply that the second group of Shemshāra letters may not represent a dialect or dialects of Akkadian which may have been exposed to influence from Assyria proper, while at the same time it betrays peculiarities pertaining to an indigenous non-Akkadian vernacular. With regard to influence from the (Old) Assyrian dialect and/or system of writing detectable in letters from Tell Shemshāra, reference is made provisionally to brief remarks at the end of note 68.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations are in accordance with the system used in *Archiv für Orientforschung* (Graz). In addition to the abbreviations listed with each issue of this journal, the following have been used in the present study.

ARM 1 ff.	<i>Archives royales de Mari</i> , tomes 1—6 (Paris, 1950—1954).
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago</i> (Chicago and Glückstadt, 1956 ff.).
Edmonds, <i>Kurds</i>	C. J. Edmonds, <i>Kurds, Turks and Arabs</i> (London, 1957).
Gelb, <i>HS</i>	I. J. Gelb, <i>Hurrians and Subarians</i> (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations, No. 22 [Chicago, 1944]).
<i>HSS</i> <i>Iraq</i>	Harvard Semitic Series (Cambridge, Mass., 1912 ff.). <i>Iraq</i> . Published by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq (London, 1934 ff.).
Kupper, <i>Nomades</i>	J.-R. Kupper, <i>Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari</i> (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège. Fasc. CXLII [Paris, 1957]).
MAD	Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary, 1 ff. (Chicago, 1952 ff.).
MSL	Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon, 1 ff. (Rome, 1937 ff.).
NPN	I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves and A. A. MacRae, <i>Nuzi Personal Names</i> (<i>OIP</i> 57 [Chicago, 1943]).
NS <i>Rép.</i>	Nova Series. J. Bottéro et A. Finet, <i>Répertoire analytique des tomes I à V</i> (= <i>ARM</i> 15 [Paris, 1954]).
SH. (followed by number)	Field registration number of items discovered in the course of the excavations of Tell Shemshāra, 1957.
Soden, <i>GAG</i>	Wolfram von Soden, <i>Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik</i> (Analecta Orientalia 33 [Rome, 1952]).
Speiser, <i>IH</i>	E. A. Speiser, <i>Introduction to Hurrian</i> (<i>AASOR</i> 20 [New Haven, Conn., 1941]).
UET	Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, to Mesopotamia. <i>Ur Excavations, Texts</i> (London, 1928 ff.).

Symbols used

- * preceding a form indicates that the latter is not attested.
- + separates signs transliterated in the order in which they appear in cuneiform writing although this order may not correspond to the sequence in which they were to be read.
- > develops into.
- < developed from.
- [] indicates a break in the text.
- [x] indicates one sign missing in the text.
- [x (x)] indicates one or possibly two signs missing in the text.
- [.] indicates a break in the text, in which the number of missing signs cannot be determined.
- [] indicates a damaged sign.
- x y indicates (remains of) two signs which are clearly different, but unidentifiable.
- < > indicates sign(s) erroneously omitted by the ancient scribe.
- << >> indicates sign(s) erroneously added by the ancient scribe.
- indicates modern omission.
- / between transliterations of cuneiform signs indicates alternative sign-values or alternative epigraphic possibilities.
- // enclose normalised phonetic transcription.
- (?) in a transliterated text indicates that uncertainty exists with regard to the identification of the preceding cuneiform sign and/or its specific reading in the particular context.
- (!) in a transliterated text introduces an element of doubt with regard to the identification of the preceding cuneiform sign, where the shape of the latter deviates noticeably from its normal ductus. The commentary accompanying the text will contain an explanation of the doubt felt by the author; otherwise, the reader is asked to observe that this symbol conveys an implicit reference to the copy of the text.

The notation of Akkadian syllabograms is in accordance with W. von Soden, *Das akkadische Syllabar* (*AnOr* 27 [1948]). Akkadian and Hurrian (as well as other non-Akkadian and non-Sumerian) words are rendered with *italics*, Sumerian words with letter-spaced roman. CAPITALS represent cuneiform signs the reading of which is uncertain or unknown or intentionally left undecided for the time being; also, logograms in Akkadian context are thus indicated.

CHAPTER I

Southern Kurdistan. A Comment on its Archaeology and Ancient History

§ 1. Excavations undertaken by various expeditions in the northeastern part of Iraq, east of Amadia, Aqra, Arbil, and Altın Köprü, and north of Kirkuk, Chemchemical, and Sulaimaniyah, have provided evidence for the existence of a variety of prehistoric assemblages in the area. At Shanidar, northwest of Rowanduz, repeated soundings have uncovered palaeolithic remains, including the first palaeolithic skeleton to be discovered in Iraq.¹ At Zarzi, near the Lesser Zab, there is evidence of palaeolithic cave dwellers.² Another palaeolithic site was discovered at Barda Balka, half way between Chemchemical and Sulaimaniyah,³ and neolithic levels have been shown at the same site, as well as at near-by Jarmo⁴ and at Shanidar. At the latter site there would also seem to be evidence for a neolithic and a proto-literate level. The *Map of Ancient Sites of Iraq*, issued by the Department of Antiquities, Government of Iraq (Baghdad, 1954), indicates that finds from the Uruk Period and from the time of the Assyrian Empire have been made at Rania, about 100 kms. northwest of Sulaimaniyah, and records Hassuna, Uruk, and Assyrian finds at the neighbouring village Kidri Basikin (known locally as Boskîn⁵). Further controlled archaeological activity in the area is desirable for a variety of reasons; one

¹ R. S. Solecki, Cave Sites in the Rowanduz District (*Sumer* 8 [1952], 37—48); Shanidar Cave, a Paleolithic Site (*loc. cit.*, 127—192); Shanidar Cave, a Paleolithic Site (*Sumer* 9 [1953], 60—93); Shanidar Cave (*loc. cit.*, 229—232).

² D. A. E. Garrod and D. M. A. Bate, The Palaeolithic of Southern Kurdistan (*Bulletin of the American School of Prehistoric Research* 6 [1930], 13—23).

³ B. Howe and H. E. Wright, *Sumer* 7 (1951), 107—117; H. E. Wright, *BASOR* 128 (1952), 11—24.

⁴ R. J. and L. Braidwood, *Journal of World History* 1 (1953), 278—310.

⁵ See C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds*, map of the Rania district (fac. p. 262).

reason is the circumstance that there is a noticeable lack of clear evidence for the nature of prehistoric relations between the Iranian Plateau and northern Mesopotamia. D. E. McCown, in his book *The Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran* (1942), assumed the Halaf culture to be of Iranian origin (p. 35), but added, "In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to explain the mechanism of such contact, because of the great distance between northern Mesopotamia and Fars and the difficulty of penetration from the plains into the mountains. Excavation of intervening sites is needed to assure these necessarily tentative explanations of Mesopotamian relations" (*ibid.*).⁶

§ 2. While it is well known in a general sense that the peoples of Southern Kurdistan challenged the sovereignty of ancient Mesopotamian kingdoms on more than one occasion, the lack of inscribed material excavated in the area has made it very difficult to identify ancient sites in Southern Kurdistan with places mentioned in Sumerian and Akkadian texts; such identifications have had to be made by deduction and inference. The Gutium people who are first mentioned in a letter from the reign of Šarkališarrī of Akkad (ab. 2250 B.C.),⁷ and who subsequently overthrew the Old Akkadian dynasty, are generally believed to have had their home somewhere in Southern Kurdistan, in the Zagros Mountains. The country of Lullubum, which was invaded by Naram-Sin (ab. 2300 B.C.), must be located in the same direction; one or two rock carvings in Southern Kurdistan testify to incursions by the armies of Naram-Sin into the Sulaimaniyah area.

One of Naram-Sin's rock reliefs was discovered by C. J. Edmonds at Darband-i-Gawr, near the town of Qara Dagħ, south of Sulaimaniyah. This is the carving referred to by Sidney Smith in *Early History of Assyria* (1928), pp. 96 f.; for a recent description, see Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs* (1957), pp. 359 f. (with photograph, Pl. 13 b). Darband-i-Gawr is shown on the map facing p. 440 in Edmonds's book, at a distance of 24 miles straight south of Sulaimaniyah.

The existence of another relief at Darband-i-Ramkan, where the Lesser Zab leaves the Nawdasht Valley at Sungasur and enters the Plain south of Rania, has long been suspected in spite of conflicting

⁶ Compare A. L. Perkins, *The Comparative Archaeology of Early Mesopotamia* (Second Printing, 1957), 43 f., where McCown's theory of Iranian influence on the Halaf culture is disputed.

⁷ S. Smith, *JRAS* 1932, 295 ff.

reports by various travellers (see Edmonds, *Kurds*, pp. 238—241, with map fac. p. 262 where Darband is shown at a distance of 6 miles south-east of Rania). The relief, a panel ab. one metre wide and 60 cms. high, was observed by Mr. T. Wheildon Brown, in June, 1958, during a visit to the Sungasur Gorge. The carving is ab. 20 metres above the ground, on the steep rock face which is separated from the right bank of the Lesser Zab only by a narrow track. From Mr. Wheildon Brown's description of the relief, which he kindly communicated to me in a letter dated the 3rd July, 1958, it would appear very likely that this is another specimen of the Naram-Sin "Victory Stela" type, and in fact very similar to the relief at Darband-i-Gawr.

§ 3. As a target for Mesopotamian military endeavour, Lullubum reappears at the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Among the year formulae of Šulgi (21st century B.C.), conquests of Lullubum are mentioned three times, viz., in his 26th, 45th, and 46th regnal years. In all these cases, the formulae include a reference to a simultaneous conquest of Šimurru which B. Meissner has located to the neighbourhood of Altın Köprü.⁸ One version of the formula for the 46th year of Šulgi also refers to conquests of Urbillum (Assyrian Arba'ilu, modern Arbil) and Karḫar.⁹ The following list includes such year formulae of Šulgi, Amar-Sîn and Ibbî-Sîn which are relevant in the present discussion in that they record campaigns against towns or districts in Southern Kurdistan. The list is compiled from A. Ungnad's article entitled *Datenlisten*, in *RLA* 2 (1938), 131—194.

Šulgi	25	Karḫar
	26	Lullubum and Šimurru
	27	Šimurru
	32	Karḫar
	33	Šimurru
	34	Karḫar
	43	Šašrum ¹⁰
	45	Šimurru and Lullubum
	46	Urbillum, Šimurru, Lullubum and Karḫar

⁸ *OLZ* 22 (1919), 69 f. See also I. J. Gelb, *HS* 57, and A. Goetze, *JCS* 1 (1947), 260 note 46, and *JNES* 12 (1953), 120 with notes 51 and 52. E. F. Weidner, in his article *Simurru und Zabān* (*AfO* 15 [1945/51], 75—80), would place Šimurru considerably further to the south.

⁹ Formerly read Ganḫar. See Gelb, *HS* 57 with note 72; also Goetze, *JNES* 12 (1953), 118 note 34.

¹⁰ *Cf.* Gelb, *HS* 40; 59 f.; 113. Gelb discusses the important evidence of namrag texts from the Ur III period, listing provisions for enslaved foreign

Amar-Sîn	2	Urbillum
	6	Šašrum ¹¹
Ibbi-Sîn	3	Šimurru ¹²

(The formula of Šulgi's 47th year reports a conquest of Kimaš and Ħumurtum, and conquests of Ħarši are commemorated in the formulae of his 28th and 49th years. On these towns which would seem to have been located in Southern Kurdistan, see the remarks by A. Goetze, *JNES* 12 [1953], 118, and *cf.* the same author in *JCS* 7 [1953], 105 note 9 where *Ħu-ur-ti* is explained as a variant of *Ħumurti*. Note also a reference to a man from Urbillum occurring in the same text which mentions a number of foreigners.¹³)

The succinct information which can be gleaned from year formulae and economic texts bears evidence to the fact that at the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur considerable Sumerian expansion took place in the northeastern part of Mesopotamia. During the reigns of the three rulers whose northeastern conquests are implied by the above-mentioned year formulae, large parts of Southern Kurdistan must have been under more or less effective Sumerian supremacy. With the decline of the Third Dynasty of Ur, these provinces would seem to have regained their independence; and it is not until the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon that concerted efforts were made once again to bring the tribes of the northeastern mountains to allegiance.

§ 4. In the 18th century B.C., Hammurabi of Babylon incorporated Mari and Ešnunna into the state which he succeeded in building up, and resumed a military initiative directed against Southern Kurdistan, which had remained dormant since the time of the powerful Ur III kings. Hammurabi's 30th year records

women and their children, whose places of origin appear to be Šašrum and Šurut-Ħum. Of a total of some 150 names, three are Hurrian (note the name *A-ri-du-pu-uk*, discussed *op. cit.*, 113 n. 62), whereas the remainder, according to Gelb, may be Subarian names. For Šašrum, see also Goetze, *JNES* 12 (1953), 120 with n. 55. Note the varying spellings of the name in the Sumerian year formulae: *Ša-aš-ru*^{KI}, *Ša-aš-ru-um*^(KI), *Ša-aš-šu-ru*^{KI}, *Ša-su-ru-um*^{KI}. (Compare perhaps the personal name Šašarānum, attested in the Mari Period as the name of a governor in the district of Nurrugum; see *Rép.* 156, *s.v.*)

¹¹ For evidence suggesting victories over Šašrum previous to the one celebrated in Amar-Sîn's 6th year, see T. Jacobsen, *JCS* 7 (1953), 41 n. 48.

¹² *Cf.* T. Jacobsen, *JCS* 7 (1953), 43, and E. Sollberger, *JCS* 7, 50.

¹³ The tablet is referred to by Goetze as Kenrick No. 72 (*JCS* 7, 105 ff., iii 17 f.).

his victory over the armies of Subartu, Gutium, Ešnunna and Malgium; Gutium, among others, was defeated again in his 32nd year; and in his 37th year the armies of Turukkum, Kakmum and the land of Subartu were vanquished (*RLA* 2, 180 f.¹⁴). In her period of independence preceding the Babylonian conquest, Ešnunna made an attempt at extending her influence northwards in the districts east of the Tigris; under Daduša, a conquest of the town Qabrā (Qabarā) furnishes the name of what appears to be the last year of this king's reign.¹⁵ Qabrā, which is to be located near Arbīl, and probably north of the Lesser Zab,¹⁶ commanded an area which was considered essential to Assyria at the time of Šamši-Adad I; numerous references to this town in the Mari letters reveal the importance attributed to it by Šamši-Adad himself and by his son Išmē-Dagan, the viceroy at Ekallātum.¹⁷ Eventually, a campaign against Qabrā was conducted by Šamši-Adad in person, leading to its conquest by the Assyrians.¹⁸ Gutium, the ancient enemy who perpetrated their first threat to the peoples of the Mesopotamian plains at the time of the kings of Akkad, recur as the Qutū, prominent antagonists in the mountainous districts east of Assyria according to the Mari letters (*Rép.* 132, *s. v.*); also Šimurru, once conquered by Šulgi and Ibbi-Sin (*cf.* § 3 and note 8), is mentioned (*ARM* 3, 81, 12); and the Turukkū tribe with whom Hammurabi was concerned in his 37th year, plays a significant part in the eastern policy of the Assyrians under Šamši-Adad and Išmē-Dagan (*Rép.* 136, *s. v.*).

§ 5. In later times, whenever Assyria was in a position to conduct an expansive policy towards the east and northeast, Southern Kurdistan was an area which Assyrian kings looked upon with obvious interest. Control over the fertile Shehrizor Plain became a main concern of theirs, and numerous Assyrian reports are available describing the campaigns of Assyrian armies

¹⁴ *Cf.* Gelb, *HS* 41 ff., and J.-R. Kupper, *Nomades*, 92 n. 1.

¹⁵ Taha Baqir, *Sumer* 5 (1949), 58 with p. 45. Note the Ešnunna year formula which correlates the death of Šamši-Adad I of Assyria with the 5th year of Ibalpiel II, successor to Daduša.

¹⁶ Goetze, *RA* 46 (1952), 156. Note the occurrence of Qabrā in the itinerary of *ARM* 6, 23, 21 (Babylon → Ešnunna → Ekallātum → Karanā → Qabrā → Ar-raphā).

¹⁷ See references in *Rép.* 131, *s. v.* Qab(a)rā.

¹⁸ See J.-R. Kupper, *OrNS* 27 (1958), 442, with references to earlier literature.

into the Zagros Range. A. Billerbeck, in *Das Sandschak Suleimania und dessen persische Nachbarlandschaften zur babylonischen und assyrischen Zeit* (1898), has collected much useful information on the topography of the area, and ventured a number of identifications of ancient names with modern sites and districts, particularly with regard to Assyrian campaigns into Zamua. A survey of the Sulaimaniyah district made by E. A. Speiser in 1927 added substantially to the conclusions reached by Billerbeck, and necessitated a number of corrections of Billerbeck's proposed identifications; Speiser's results are published in his monograph *Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal and Today* (AASOR 8 [1928], 1—41, with map following p. 41).¹⁹ Speiser endorses the identification of Mount Pir Omar Gudrun (known locally, among the Kurds, as Pira Magrun) with the Nišir mountain of Assyrian sources (*op. cit.*, 18), and that of the Bazian Pass²⁰ with Babite (*op. cit.*, 16), a pass which according to his annals Ashurnasirpal negotiated whenever approaching the Shehrizor (Zamua).²¹ He further accepts the identification of the mountain range known at present as Kolara with the Kullar mountain mentioned as a serious but not insurmountable obstacle by Shalmaneser III, Šamsi-Adad V, and Sargon II (*op. cit.*, 19).²² Speiser's main concern, however, was surveying the area south of Sulaimaniyah, with such important sites as Bakrawa and Yasin Tepe in the Shehrizor Plain, so that consequently his report includes no information with regard to the country north of the Taslūja Pass, through which he travelled (*op. cit.*, 7), in the direction of Dokan and, beyond, Rania.

§ 6. The account of the eighth campaign of Sargon II of Assyria (714 B.C.), published by F. Thureau-Dangin as *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon* (1912),²³ is notable

¹⁹ Important corrections of some of Billerbeck's identifications by Speiser, *op. cit.*, 16 n. 26.

²⁰ For the Bazian Pass, see C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds*, map fac. p. 440 (location shown northeast of Chemchemal).

²¹ For references to the Babite Pass in Assyrian texts, see D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records* 2 (1927), p. 451 *s.v.*

²² Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne de Sargon* (1912), p. iii, and map in Speiser, *op. cit.*

²³ Cf. H. A. Rigg, *Sargon's 'Eighth Military Campaign'* (JAOS 62 [1942], 130—138); M. al Amin, *Notes on the Eighth Campaign of Sargon II* (Sumer 5 [1949], 215—245); H. Tadmor, *The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur* (JCS 12 [1958], 22—40); and the study by E. M. Wright quoted subsequently in this paragraph.

for the detailed information which it contains in describing the itinerary of the Assyrian army from Kalḫu (modern Nimrud) eastward into the Zagros Mountains, and to the north from there against Urarṭu as far as Lake Van, whence the army returned to base. In his introduction to the text, Thureau-Dangin devoted a lucid study to the problem of the route followed by the Assyrians (*op. cit.*, iii ff.), in which he assumes that Sargon marched by way of modern Altın Köprü to the Sulaimaniyah Plain where he inspected his troops in the Shehrizor (*op. cit.*, iii) before assaulting the higher ranges of the Zagros Mountains. The pertinent passages of the text run as follows (lines 10 f.):

- (10) ^{1D}Za-ban KI.TA-ú ša ni-bir-ta-šú pa-áš-qa-at um-ma-na-at
^dUTU ^dAMAR.UTU pal-gi-iš ú-šá-áš-ḫi-iṭ
 (11) i-na ni-ri-bi ša ^{KUR}Kul-la-ar KUR-i zaq-ri ša KUR Lu-lu-mi-i
 ša ^{KUR}Za-mu-a i-qab-bu-šu-ni e-tar-ba

“(10) The Lower Zab, the crossing of which is difficult, I let the armies of Shamash and Marduk jump across as if (it were) a ditch; (11) I penetrated into the passes of Mount Kullar, a steep mountain (range) of the land of the Lullumū²⁴, which they call the land of Zamua.”

The subsequent inspection of troops took place in a district which Sargon refers to as Sumbi (line 12: *i-na* ^{KUR}Su-um-bi na-gi-i pi-qit-ti um-ma-ni-ja áš-kun “I inspected my troops in the district of Sumbi”).²⁵ Thureau-Dangin’s identification of this district with the Shehrizor south of Sulaimaniyah has been contested by E. M. Wright in a study of Sargon’s itinerary. Wright, who knew the country round Lake Riza’iyah (formerly Lake Urmiyah) extremely well from personal experience, presented his observations in an

²⁴ Lullū, Lullubū and Lullumū are alternating nomina gentilia presumably based on various indigenous terms for the country and the people. For earlier literature on the location of the country, see *AOB* 1, 58 n. 1, and cf. A. Goetze, *JNES* 12 [1953], 119 with n. 36, and J.-R. Kupper, *Nomades*, 8 n. 3. Note the occurrence of Lullū in a Mari letter (*Semitica* 1 [1948], 18—20), in the following sequence (ll. 27 ff.): *E-lu-ḫu-ul*[^{KI} LÚ]Lu-ul-li-[i (x x)] *Ḥa-aḫ-ḫi-im*[^{KI} ma-a-at Za-al-m[a-q]i-im[^{KI}] Pu-r[u]-un-di-im[^{KI} ù]Ta-al-ḫa-wi-im[^{KI}]. For a reference to the Lullū as connected with Subarians, see I. J. Gelb, *HS* 46 and 103. See also § 22.

²⁵ F. Thureau-Dangin, *Huit. camp.* p. iii n. 3, pointed out that Sumbi is associated with Bit-Ḥabban in a late Assyrian letter. (Bit-Ḥabban identical with Bit-Ḥamban? For the latter, see D. D. Luckenbill, *Anc. Records* 2 [1927], p. 454, references s.v.).

article entitled *The Eighth Campaign of Sargon II of Assyria* (*JNES* 2 [1943], 173—186). It is his suggestion that Sargon did not in fact proceed as far east as Sulaimaniyah on the way from the plain west of the foothills, but that the army veered north from the Shehrizor, following the Lesser Zab into the wide valley south of Rania, known to-day as the Dasht-i-Bitwain, and proceeded along the River through the Sungasur Gorge (Darband-i-Ramkan), there entering the Nawdasht Valley northwest of the modern town of Qal'ah Dizeh which is marked by an impressive *tell*. Wright points out that three negotiable trails make further penetration into the Zagros Range possible from the Nawdasht Valley, and he proposes to identify the plains of Rania and Qal'ah Dizeh with the district of Sumbi (*JNES* 2, 175—177, with map on p. 176).

§ 7. The Rania Plain (Dasht-i-Bitwain), an extremely fertile valley well sheltered by mountain ranges on all sides, is not easily accessible except through a narrow gorge at the southern end of the plain where the Lesser Zab leaves the valley, through the Sungasur Gorge where the River enters from the neighbouring Nawdasht, and across the mountain range which forms the western borderline of the valley by a trail connecting the modern towns Rania and Kōi Sanjak. The country round Rania could, therefore, be effectively defended against foreign invasion, and even recent travellers have rarely visited this self-contained district, but usually skirted along the mountains west of the valley, this being the natural line of communication between Kōi Sanjak and Sulaimaniyah. The recently published book by C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs* (1957), however, contains a great deal of information about Rania and the surrounding country, much of which is of the greatest value for the evaluation of Assyrian historical sources bearing on conditions in the eastern provinces.²⁶

Attempts at identifying specifically the Rania Plain with conquered eastern territories described by Assyrian historiographers have been correspondingly rare. E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (1920), analyses the eastern campaign

²⁶ See the valuable list of the works of seventeen British and five Continental travellers through Kurdistan, with brief notes on each itinerary, in C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds*, 22—28.

conducted by Tukulti-Ninurta II in the year 885 B.C. as follows (pp. 38 f.):

“Er marschierte durch den Pass von Kurruri, also von Herir nach Osten und dann im Tale des jetzigen Alana-Su in die Gebirge Urrupnu und Išrun ein, die seine Väter nicht betreten hatten, und gelangt südöstlich übers Gebirge nach den Städten des Landes Ladani, das von den Lullu bewohnt wird. Vom Kamme des Išrun-Gebirges bis zum unteren Zab erobert er alle Städte, deren Einwohner, um sich zu retten, den unteren Zab überschritten. Es ist die mitten im Gebirge am Zab eingelagerte Ebene von Rania, die Tukulti-Nimurta II. damals eroberte und zu der Provinz hinzufügte, deren Mittelpunkt Hoi-Sandjak war, und die an Kakzu östlich angrenzte.

“Der Name dieser Provinz ist uns unbekannt, aber wir wissen, dass sie dem Nagir ekalli unterstellt war.”²⁷

The name under which the Rania Plain was known to the Assyrians in the early centuries of the first millennium B.C., remains unknown; and identifications such as those proposed by Forrer and Wright must remain tentative. Although deduction and inference based on study and comparison of the written sources, corroborated by topographical information provided by travellers, have led to many convincing results in terms of identifying places and sites of Southern Kurdistan with names of places occurring in ancient sources, it is equally true that excavation of historic sites (and preferably discovery of inscriptions) in the area is needed to substantiate such identifications and verify relations between names of places and ethnic groups in so far as such connexions have been made by circumstantial evidence.

It so happens that the Rania Plain would appear to be a promising field of investigation in Southern Kurdistan. There are some 40 *tells* in the Plain offering evidence of occupation in antiquity. A priori, all of these mounds may be described as *intervening sites* in McCown's sense (see § 1); and bearing in mind that cuneiform sources from many periods of Mesopotamian history testify to relations between Southern Kurdistan and the Mesopotamian Plain, one may also be justified in believing that the country round Rania may have been exposed to cultural influence from Babylonia and Assyria.

²⁷ Kakzu, modern Qaşr Shamāmuk. For the excavations conducted there, see G. Furlani, *Gli scavi italiani in Assiria (Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana, NS 2 [1934], 265—276).*

CHAPTER II

Excavations in the Rania Plain

§ 8. Preliminary information with regard to the ancient mounds of the Rania Plain was collected on behalf of the Iraq Directorate General of Antiquities by Sayyid Sabri Shukri, an official of the Department of Antiquities (Government of Iraq), and submitted in a report dated 20th February, 1950.²⁸ Investigation of ancient settlements in the Plain became a matter of immediate urgency when the Development Board of the Government of Iraq decided to build an arch dam a short distance north of the village of Dokan, a project which, when completed, will transform the major part of the Dasht-i-Bitwain into a water reservoir covering about 230 square kms. Attention was called to this circumstance by R. S. Solecki in the article *A Programme for Salvage Archaeology in the Projected Flood Basins in Iraq* (*Sumer* 9 [1953], 101 ff.).

In 1956, soundings and preliminary excavations were initiated by the Iraq Department of Antiquities in four places in the potential reservoir area, when an assessment of the relative importance of the pertinent mounds (including collection of surface finds) had been made by officials of the Department. A brief report on the results of this work was published by Naji al Aşil in *Sumer* 12 (1956), 6 f.; a summary (by E. Weidner) of this report will be found in *AfO* 18/1 (1957), 177. The sites examined were Tell Kamarian, Tell ed-Dēm, Qara Shina, and Bazmusian. At Tell ed-Dēm a small temple from the late Assyrian period was discovered; otherwise, the occupation levels examined by the

²⁸ Information according to R. S. Solecki, *Sumer* 9 (1953), 103. The map accompanying A. Billerbeck, *Das Sandschak Suleimania* (1898), does in fact indicate one ancient site in the Rania Plain, a *tell* called Gulek (known locally as Kolak).

Iraqi archaeologists appear to belong to the 2nd millennium and to prehistoric periods. The Department of Antiquities continued its work in the Rania Plain in 1957, and is engaged in further excavating at the time of this writing (autumn, 1958).

In May, 1957, a Danish expedition, sponsored jointly by the Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish Government Foundation for the Promotion of Research (*Statens almindelige videnskabsfond*), commenced an excavation of a site known as Tell Shemshāra, situated on the right bank of the Lesser Zab, eight kms. south-east of Rania and five kms. west of Darband-i-Ramkan (Sungasur Gorge). A report on the general results of this excavation, which lasted for approximately three months, was published by H. Ing-holt, *The Danish Doka Expedition* (*Sumer* 13 [1957], 214 f.), and a summary has appeared in E. Weidner's note, *Tell Schemschara* (*AfO* 18/2 [1958], 456). One of the reasons for the choice of Tell Shemshāra, among numerous possibilities, as the objective of our operations, was an appreciation of the strategic position of the *tell*: 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 Tell Shemshāra.²⁹ Such considerations, however, were greatly facilitated by the liberal information which officials of the Iraq Department of Antiquities, in particular Professor Fuad Safar and Sayyid Muhammad Ali Mustafa, generously communicated to me in the course of the last week of February, 1957. A great debt of gratitude is owed to the Iraq Department of Antiquities for its readiness to place all relevant information at the disposal of the Danish expedition to Tell Shemshāra, including a map of the Dasht-i-Bitwain showing the location of all *tells* in the area, and reports of findings by Iraqi archaeologists already acquainted with the Rania Plain at a time when no account of surface finds, soundings and excavations had yet reached publication stage. By its enlightened

²⁹ In March, 1958, Mr. T. Wheildon Brown discovered the existence of an extensive line of fortifications, built of massive dry stone masonry, on the ridge of the mountain range known as Khal-i-Darband, stretching south from Darband-i-Ramkan along the east side of the Rania Plain. There is evidence to show that these forts were constructed for the purpose of defending the Rania Plain against attack from the east. No dating evidence has been found as yet. I owe this information to Mr. Wheildon Brown, who very kindly sent me a copy of a mimeographed report on his findings (*A Report on the Discovery of a Line of Fortifications on a Ridge to the East of the Rania Plain, Sulaimaniyah Liwa* [1958]). [See p. 7, note.]

policy the Iraq Department of Antiquities saved the Danish expedition a time-consuming and costly survey which would otherwise have been necessary.

A good map of the Rania Plain will be found in C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds*, fac. p. 262. The site of Tell Shemshāra (which is not indicated on the map) is one half mile south of Lake Ganaw, and exactly 19 miles north of Dokan village as the crow flies.

§ 9. For the general archaeological results of the excavation of Tell Shemshāra, where the Danish expedition struck camp on 6th August, 1957, reference is made to H. Ingholt's report (see § 8). A sequence of an occupation of Jarmo type antedating a Hassunan occupation, discovered in properly stratified context at Tell Shemshāra, will contribute significant new evidence for the correlation of the Jarmo and Hassuna phases of Near Eastern prehistory. Another discovery of major importance, a collection of tablets inscribed in the cuneiform character found between the 30th July and the 5th August, will be the subject of the following paragraphs. A preliminary account of this discovery has been published by the present writer under the title *An Old-Babylonian Archive Discovered at Tell Shemshara* (*Sumer* 13 [1957], 216—218).

CHAPTER III

The Shemshāra Tablets: Circumstances of Discovery

§ 10. The Shemshāra tablets were found in a room belonging to a building which was exposed in part by the Danish expedition, in a southern extension of the conical *tell*. The building represents the fifth level of occupation of this part of the mound, counting from surface. For a description of the room, I refer to *Sumer* 13, 216. A plan of the room, drawn by Mr. M. L. Friis, will be found at the end of the present account (Plate I), and photographs of the room after excavation will be found in Figs. 1—2. 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 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 $1\frac{1}{2}$ 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,

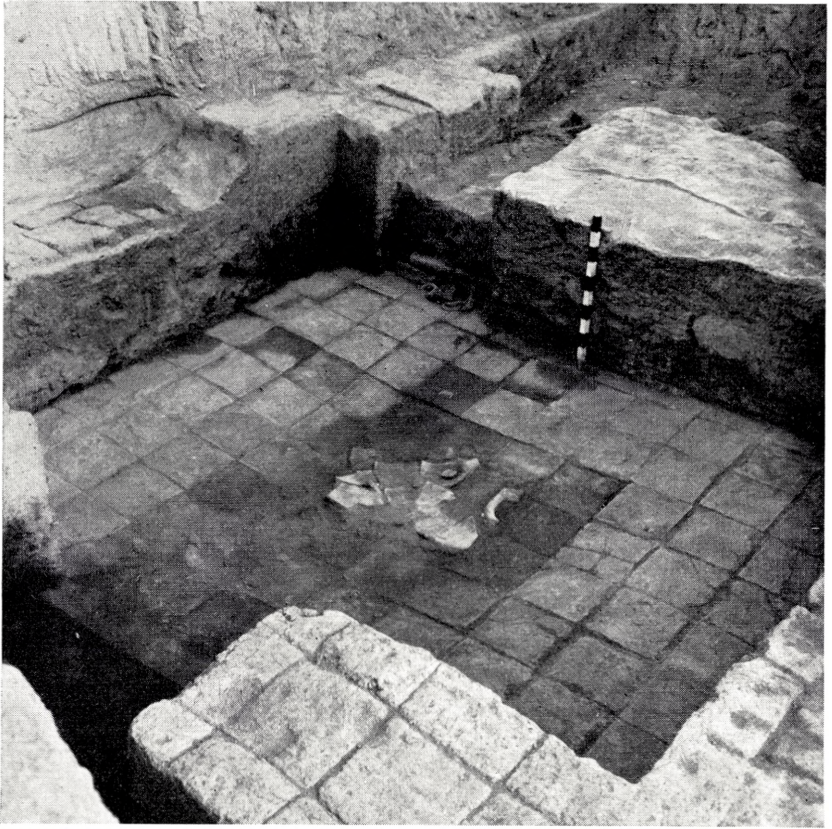


Fig. 1. The Tablet Room of Tell Shemshāra. Facing northwest.
Phot. J. L.

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 débris. The extended excavation of the building, which is now being conducted by the Iraq Department of Antiquities, may contribute to solving these problems; for practical purposes, however, it may not be amiss to refer to the chamber excavated in 1957 as the Tablet Room of Tell Shemshāra.



Fig. 2. The Tablet Room of Tell Shemshāra. Facing southwest.
Phot. J. L.

§ 11. Associated with the tablets, aside from a terracotta jarstand (SH. 712), a finely made beaker of light brown clay (SH. 713), and a small clay model of a quadruped (SH. 714), was the core of a horn from a member of the hollow-horned family of hoofed mammals, an item for the presence of which, in this environment, I can offer no explanation. The horn is shown on the Plan (Pl. I), at a distance of 1.2 metres from the north wall, and is also visible on Figs. 1 and 2. Fig. 3 (p. 28) shows the relative position of this horn, three fragments of a tablet jar, and the tablets Nos. SH. 809, 810, 811, 812, and 817 *in situ* in the course of excavation.

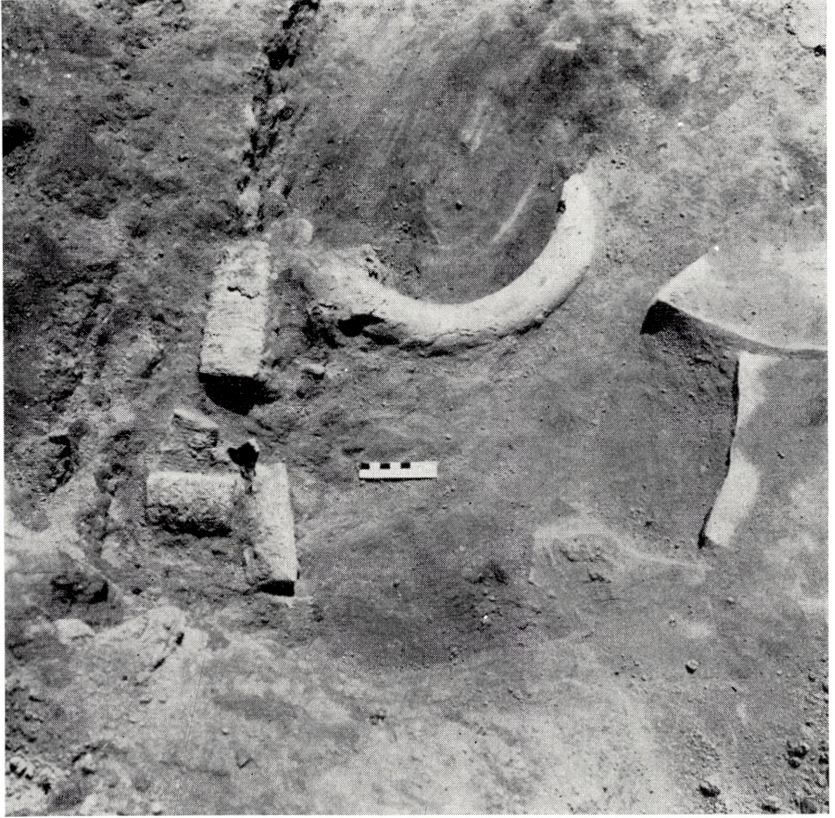


Fig. 3. (a) Tablets, &c., *in situ*. Measuring rod 5 cms. Phot. J. L.

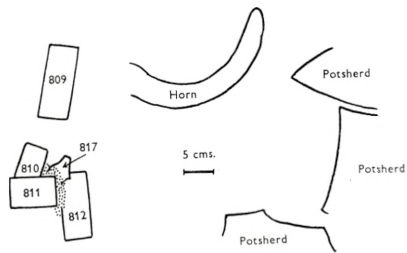


Fig. 3. (b) Plan indicating registration number of tablets shown in Fig. 3 (a).

CHAPTER IV

Identification of the Site. Date of the Shemshāra Tablets. Relations with Assyria

§ 12. The tablets SH. 809, 810, 811 and 812 are letters addressed to a certain Kuwari,³⁰ a name which seems to be Hurrian.³¹ SH. 809 is despatched by a certain Šamši-Adad,³² SH. 810 by a certain Talpušarri, SH. 811 by a certain Tenduri,³³ and SH. 812, a copy of which will be found with *Appendix I* in Fig. 12, by a certain Šepratu who calls himself a "brother" of Kuwari's. Evidence will be presented subsequently to suggest that the sender of SH. 809 is in fact identical with Šamši-Adad I of Assyria. SH. 817, which was found wedged in between SH. 811 and SH. 812, is a fragment of a tablet envelope with part of an impression of a cylinder seal with an Old Babylonian *motif*, a minor

³⁰ The name Kuwari also occurs at Chagar Bazar (C. J. Gadd, *Iraq* 7 [1940], 39, *s.v.* *Ku-wi-ri*), at Alalah (D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* [1953], 141, *s.v.* *Ku-wu-ri*), and at Nuzi (*NPN* 89, *s.v.* Kuari; at Nuzi, the spelling *Ku-a-ri* alternates with *Ku-ū-a-ri*). The writing of the name current in Nuzi texts shows that the second syllable should be read *-wa-*. The name is used by men as well as by women. Compare the name Kuwarija at Mari (*Rép.* 151), and perhaps the name Kuari occurring in a later Assyrian text from Nimrud (ND. 463; see D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 13 [1951], 113; borne by a man from the town Sunigi. For other late occurrences of Hurrian names, see I. J. Gelb, *HS* 81 ff.). There is one occurrence of the form *Ku-wa-ri-im* in the Shemshāra texts: SH. 900, 1 (letter from *Pa-an-ni*, for whom *cf.* § 24, SH. 874, comment on lin. 3). The total number of letters addressed to Kuwari, in the collection found in the Tablet Room of Tell Shemshāra, is 50; but there may be more among the letters in which the name of the addressee is lost.

³¹ *Cf.* *NPN* 228, *s.v.* *kuari*.

³² This letter, which is at present in Baghdad and not at my disposal, remains to be rebaked and studied. Its text refers to a certain Iašub-Adad (*Ia-šu-ub-^dIM*), who may be identical with the addressee of SH. 816 (sent by ^mÚ[š-š]e-en-[de](?)-en), and to Wilanum (*Wi-i-la-num*), which in the context of the letter seems to be a personal name (for parallel cases at Mari, see J.-R. Kupper, *Nomades* 53 n. 2).

³³ The name Tenduri (^m*Te-en-du-ri*) may be compared with the Nuzi name *Ti-a-an-du-ri* (*HSS* 14, 543, 32). I owe this suggestion to Mr. E. E. Knudsen.



Fig. 4. SH. 817. Fragment of tablet envelope with impression of cylinder seal. Scale 2 : 1. Phot. Lennart Larsen.

goddess before a seated deity (see Fig. 4 [photo] and Fig. 5 [drawing]).³⁴ No devotee is shown.

SH. 810 and 811 deal with matters of local concern, viz., deliveries of consignments of grain and the construction of a house in Kuwari's town, the name of which, according to SH. 810, 7, is Šušarrā (Šu-šar-ra-a^{KI}). This piece of information is

³⁴ Note that the enthroned deity holding the rod and ring is a goddess. For a similar representation, Professor E. Porada refers to L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental. Musée du Louvre. II* (Paris, 1923), Pl. 78, 17.—The inside of the envelope SH. 817 has preserved a clear negative impression of a small part of the edge of the inner tablet, which is lost. The appended copy, which is drawn from an inverted imprint made with plasticine, reproduces the preserved part of this text which was most likely Akkadian (line 1':]-ši-ib ù GIŠ[; 2':]-na ù at-ta[; 3':]-ma-am GAL(?)[).



SH. 817, text from inner tablet (copied from inverted imprint of inside of envelope.)

of considerable consequence, for it provides the first definitive link between Assyria and her eastern provinces. [It seems almost certain that the modern name of Tell Shemshāra is an echo of the ancient name Šušarrā].

§ 13. In the Mari letter *ARM* 4, 25, Išmē-Dagan writes to Iasmaḥ-Adad, his brother, as follows: "With regard to the country of Šušarrā (*ma-a-at Šu-šar-ra-a*^{KI}), about which you have written



Fig. 5. SH. 817. Drawing by Herdis Læssøe.

to me that this country is disturbed and that we cannot hold it, let Išar-Lim explain (the situation) to you. Lidāja, the Turukkaean (chief), and the Turukkaeans who are with him (and) present in this country (i. e., the country of Šušarrā), started hostilities and destroyed two towns. I came to their relief, and they withdrew into the mountains. We collected information (lit., asked), and I have [. . . .] that this country could not be brought under control." Here the account is broken, but Arrapha (the Kirkuk area) and Qabrā (cf. § 4) are mentioned in the sequel.

This Mari letter, which is the only one mentioning Šušarrā, shows us, then, that Šušarrā was at one time under Assyrian control, and that Assyrian hegemony was threatened by the Turukkū tribe (cf. § 4), whose attack may even have meant that Šušarrā was irretrievably lost to the Assyrians. It also suggests that Šušarrā was a prominent town at the time of Išmē-Dagan inasmuch as the district surrounding it was named from the city, and referred to as *māt Š.* "the country of Š.", a circumstance which would seem to indicate that Šušarrā was the ad-

ministrative and military centre of a large part of the Rania Plain in the 18th century B.C.

§ 14. Some information with regard to the time at which Šušarrā was brought under Assyrian control can be gleaned from the letter SH. 920, a copy of which will be found in Fig. 6. A transliteration and translation of this letter follows.

SH. 920 (see Fig. 6).

(Obverse.)

a-na Ku-wa-ri

qí-bí-ma

um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma

DUMU *ši-íp-ri ša Qú-ti-i*

5. *ša i-na Ši-ik-ša-am-bi-im^{KI} wa-aš-bu*

a-na ši-ri-ja il-li-kam-ma

ki-a-am iq-bi-im um-ma-mi

^{LÚ}*Qú-tu-ú-ma En-du-uš-še*

ki-a-am iq-bi-im um-ma-mi

10. *šum-ma ša-bu-um ša ^dUTU-ši-^dIM a-bi-ja*

a-na Ši-ik-ša-am-bi-im^{KI} is-sà-an-qa-am

GIŠ.TUKUL.ĤI.A *la te-ep-pé-ša ma-ti-ma a-[na] a-bi-ja ú-ul*
ú-ga-la-al³⁵

šum-ma wa-ša-am iq-ta-bu-ni-ik-ku-nu-ši-im

še-e šum-ma iq-ta-bu-ni-ku-nu-ši-im ši-ba

15. *an-ni-tam iq-bi-im*

a-wa-tu-šu-nu ki-na ù sà-ar-ra

ma-an-nu-um lu-ú i-de

pí-qa-at ʔe₄-em a-lim^{KI} i-mu-ru-ma

it-ti ra-ma-ni-šu-nu-ma

(Lower edge.)

20. *a-wa-tim an-ni-tim uš-ta-aš-bi-tu*

ú-lu-ma ul-la-nu-um-ma

wu-ú-ru ma-an-nu-um lu-ú i-de

(Reverse.)

ù áš-ta-al-šu-ma

it-ta-tim ša šu-ut ERÍ LUGAL

³⁵ The reading of *ú-ga-la-al* was established by Prof. B. Landsberger.

OBVERSE

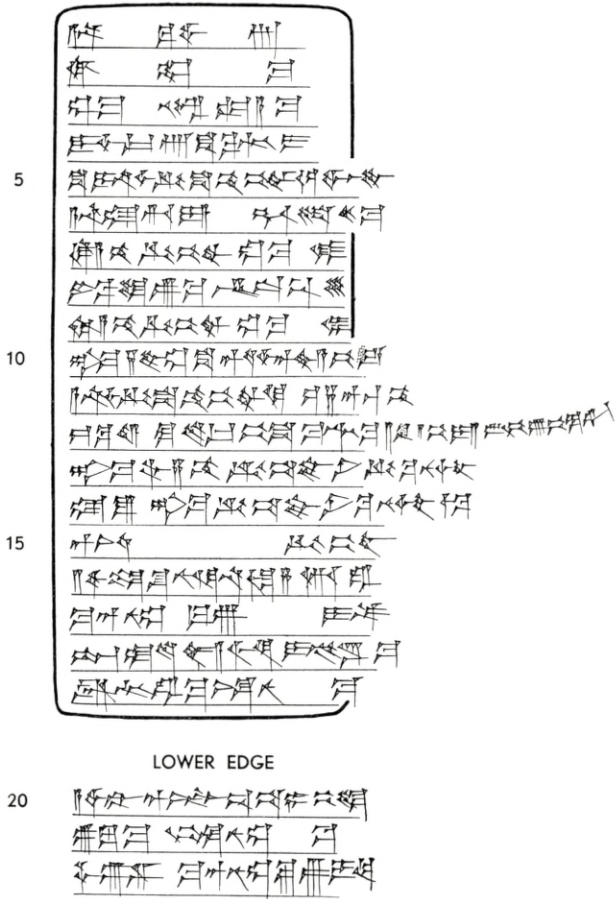


Fig. 6 a. SH. 920.

- 25. *id-bu-ba-am še-we-ra-am*
ḫu-ul-lam ša a-na Mu-tu-šu
DUMU ši-ip-ri ad-di-nu a-na it-ti iq-bi-im
ù ta-ap-pé-e Mu-tu-šu
E-te-el-li-ni i-na Ar-ra-ap-ḫi-im^{KI}
- 30. *im-ra-aš ù mu-ru-us-sú*
ša a-wi-lim ša-a-ti iq-bi-im-ma
it-ta-tim ka-la-ši-na id-bu-ba-am
ik-ke-em a-wa-sú-nu a-qí-ip

(Translation.) Say to Kuwari: thus (says) your lord. A messenger from the Qutaeans who are in Šikšambum came to me and said to me as follows: "There is a Qutaeans, (by the name of) Endušše — he said to me as follows: 'If the army of Šamši-Adad, my father, draws near to Šikšambim, do not engage in battle, (for) I will never commit a sin against my father. If they tell you to go away, go away! If they so tell you, stay!'" This he said to me. Who knows whether their words are trustworthy or treacherous. It may or may not be that they have seen (i. e., become acquainted with?) a report concerning the City and have dealt with these matters on their own initiative, or perhaps they have received their instructions there: who knows? However, I questioned him, and he explained to me indications concerning those of (i. e., the entourage of) Warad-Šarrim. A *ḫullum*-ring, which I had given to Mutušu, the messenger, he mentioned to me as an indication. Further, Etellini, a colleague of Mutušu, has been taken ill at Arrapha; and the illness of this man he mentioned to me; and he explained all the indications to me. On this basis, I trusted their word, and, further, I questioned him concerning Warad-Šarrim's report, and (he spoke) as follows: "*Endušše has received news concerning him(?)*, as follows: 'I will not approach the district of Šušarrā in the country which my father's hand subjugated.'" This he said to me. Warad-Šarrim brings me pleasing news. May you know this!

(Commentary.)

Line 3 *be-el-ka-a-ma*: see § 20.

5 *Ši-ik-ša-am-bi-im*^{KI}: this city, which is otherwise unknown, recurs in the letters SH. 888, 10 (*Ši-ik-ša-ab-bu-um*^{KI}), SH. 917, 12 (*Ši-ik-ša-am-bi*^{KI}), and SH. 919, 12 (where it seems to be associated with LÚ.MEŠ *Tu-ru-ki-i*^{KI} "Turukkaeans"). These three letters were all despatched to Kuwari by the same sender as SH. 920. Šikšambum, the name of which is almost certainly Hurrian, would appear to be a city between Assyrian and Qutaeans spheres of interest. The present letter seems to presuppose that a Qutaeans garrison was stationed there. [For *-ambum*, *-abbum* (*b/p*), cf. the Hurrian element *amp*, discussed in *NPN* 200, *s.v.*; note also *ampi*, *ibid.*]

7 *iq-bi-im*. Note the contraction *-ia-* > *-e-* (often written *-i-*) in *iqbem* (also lines 9, 15, 27, 30, and 40), *šē* (< *šī'ā*) in line 14, *annētim* (written *an-ni-tim*, < *anniātim*) in line 20, *ikkem* (< *in(a) kiam*) in line 33. For this phenomenon, which is a

characteristic of the Mari dialect of Old Babylonian, see W. von Soden, *GAG* § 16 k.

- 8 The translation is an attempt at rendering the sequence *Qutāma Endušše*, which does not seem to justify the translation “Endušše, a Qutaeen”. The plural suffix *-šunu* (line 16), however, conflicts with this interpretation.
En-du-uš-še: personal name which also occurs in SH. 887, 13 and 14, in the form *In-du-úš-še*. Perhaps a cognate of the Hurrian *enda*- “lord, ruler” (see A. Parrot and J. Nougayrol, *RA* 42 [1948], 11). For the element *-ušše*, see note 63.
- 10 Note that Endušše is in a position to issue orders to the Qutaeans at Šikšambum. He would appear to be bound to the Assyrians by a treaty as he would otherwise not refer to Šamši-Adad as his father.³⁸ (It is here assumed that Šamši-Adad of the present letter is in fact identical with Šamši-Adad I of Assyria.)
- 12 ff. The 2. person pl. and the imperative forms of the verbs are interpreted as referring to the Qutaeans, the 3. ps. pl. forms as referring to the Assyrians.
- 24 ff. *ittātim dabābum* should apparently be understood to denote watchwords: the author of the letter interrogates the messenger in an attempt to establish his identity, and tests his reliability on the strength of his knowledge of certain unofficial facts with which he could be expected to be acquainted if he is the person he pretends to be. For the phrase *ittātim dabābum*, cf. the *Erra Epic*, V 23 (F. Gössmann, *Das Era-Epos* [1956], p. 35), where *i-dab-bu-ub it-tu* is parallel with the phrase *ṭēmam šakānum* of V 24.
- 24 ERÍ LUGAL. The interpretation of these logograms as a personal name was originally suggested to me by Dr. J.-R. Kupper, who pointed to the occurrence, in line 40, of the determinative sign DIŠ before the two characters, and quoted *YOS* 5, 41, 6, and *UET* 5, 607, 59, as parallel cases where the same name seems to occur. The rendering of (ᵐ)ERÍ LUGAL as Akkadian Warad-Šarrim is given with some reservation, as the logograms may of course equally well represent a non-Akkadian personal name for which this writing was found suitable. The same person reappears in SH. 887 (§ 15), 12, where he is said to have come from Endušše (*In-du-úš-še*).
- 25 The translation renders *dabābum* as “to explain” as distinct from *qabūm* “to mention”.
- 25 f. *še-we-ra-am hu-ul-lam* is rendered as “a *hullum*-ring” on the assumption that the general term for ring (*šewerum*) is qualified by the more specific term *hullum*, for which see *CAD* 6 (1956), 229 f.

³⁸ For a comprehensive study of the political terminology of the Mari Period, see J. M. Munn-Rankin, *Diplomacy in Western Asia in the Early Second Millennium B.C.* (*Iraq* 18 [1956], 68—110).

- 29 The interpretation of *E-te-el-li-ni* as a personal name is tentative.
- 36 For a (seemingly mandatory) emendation of this line, see § 16.
- 36 f. A parallelism is assumed to exist between this double quote and that of lines 7 and 9, so that *ummāmi* of line 36 introduces the messenger's speech, and *ummāmi* of line 37 Endušše's speech as quoted by the messenger.
- 42 *lu-ú ti-de*. The traditional rendering ("may you know") has been discredited by W. von Soden, *GAG* § 81 c, who claims that the precativ particle *lū* never occurs with the 2. person. See also I. J. Gelb, *BiOr* 12 (1955), 109, who would translate "truly you know" on the understanding that von Soden's argument is borne out.

It appears from SH. 920 that Šušarrā was conquered by Šamši-Adad (lin. 37 f.). An agreement seems to exist between Endušše, a Qutaeen, who acknowledges Šamši-Adad as his overlord (*abum*) against whom he will not transgress,³⁹ and Kuwari, who is put in the picture by this letter, is reassured by its anonymous writer (*bēl-ka* "your lord") that the Qutaeans contemplate no hostile interference in his country. There is a notable reference to "the City" (*ālum*^{KI}, line 18), which can only mean Ashur. The relationship between Endušše and Warad-Šarrim, as far as I can see, remains quite obscure; and it will be natural, therefore, to examine the letter SH. 887, in which the two men also appear together, and which is of considerable interest for a number of other reasons as well.

§ 15. SH. 887 (see Fig. 7).

(Obverse.)

a-na Ku-wa[-ri qí-bí-ma]

um-ma be-el[-ka-a-ma]

a-nu-um-ma ^dUTU-na-ši[r]

aš-šum *te₄-em* N[u]-ur-ru-gi-im^K[^I x x x x -] *hu(?)*-du

5. *à a-nu-um-ma te₄-ma-am ga-am-ra-am*

lu-wa-e-ra-aš-šu a-na te₄-mi-im

ma-la ma<<-ḥa>>-aḥ-ri-ka i-ša-ak-ka-[nu] qú-ul-[m]a

a-wa-tim ma-la aš-pu-ra-kum ši-me

DUMU.MEŠ *ma-tim šu-ut Ḥa-zi-ip-Te-šu-up*

10. *am-mi-nim ta-ak-la à pí-i ma-a-tim*

³⁹ For the implications of *gullutu*, see *CAD* 5 (1956), 131 f., s.v.

OBVERSE

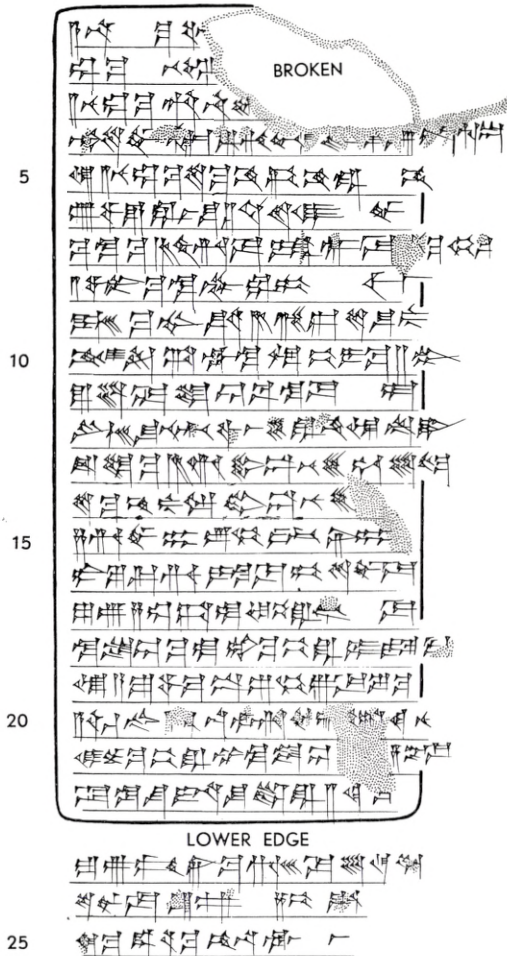


Fig. 7a. SH. 887.

e-li-ka tu-uš-ba-la-ka-at

LÚ.MEŠ šu-nu-ti wa-aš-še-ra-am ù ERÍ LUGAL

iš-tu ma-ḫa-ar In-du-úš-še il-li-kam-ma

ṭe₄-ma-am ub-lam In-du-úš-še

15. ṣa-ri-im-kum ú-ul pa-ṭi(sign T1)-ir-kum

as-sú-ur-ri i-la-ka-kum ṭe₄-em-ka

lu-ú ṣa-ab-ta-at ù bi-ra-ti-ka

REVERSE

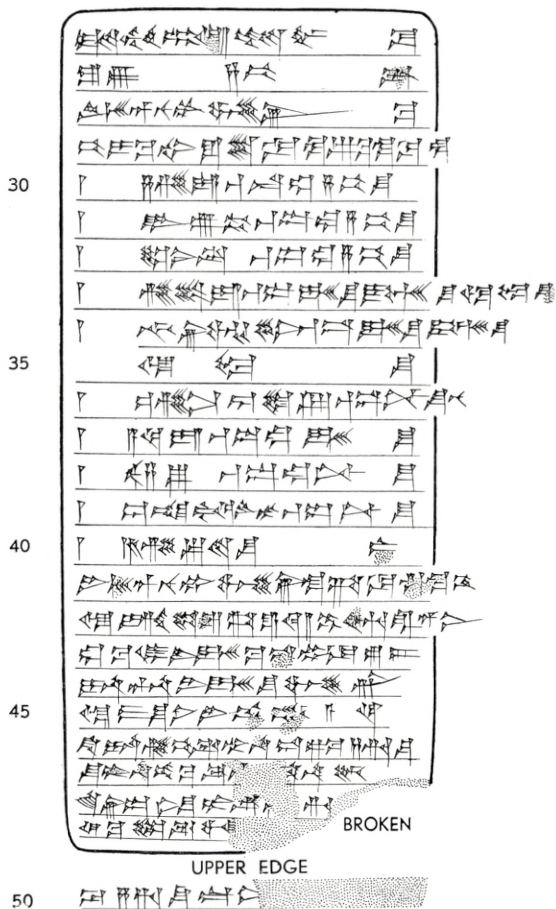


Fig. 7b. SH. 887.

la¹⁰ tu-uš-ma-at šum-ma bi-ra-tum I ZU(?)/LU(?) KA(?)/UR(?)
 ù A-lu-wa-ma-du ú-ul ú-ka-lu-ma

20. a-na qa-tim [x y] na-ak-ri-im ú[-u]l i-n[a]-di-nu
 mi-im-ma bi-ra-tim la tu-uš-[ma-at] ša-bu-ka
 ka-la-šu i-na Šu-šar-ra-a^{KL}-ma

(Lower edge.)

lu-ú pa-ḫi-ir-ma re-eš-ka li-ki-il
 ṭe₄-em-ka lu-ú ša-bi-it

25. *ki-ma ša UD-ma-am na-ak-rum*

(Reverse.)

i(!)-te₄-eḫ-ḫi-kum k[i]-a-am te₄-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. ^m*Za-zi-ja qa-du-um ša-bi-šu*

^mLUGAL-ú- x *qa-du-um ša-bi-šu*

^m*Šar-ni-da(?) / id(?) qa-du-um ša-bi-šu*

^m*Zi-li-ja qa-du DUMU.MEŠ-šu DUMU.SAL.MEŠ-šu ù DAM-šu*

^m*Ti-ir-we-en-še-ni qa-du DUMU.MEŠ-šu DUMU.SAL.MEŠ-šu*

35. ù DAM-šu

^m*Iz-zi-ni* ^m*Du-li(?) - ip(?) qa-du ni-ši-šu-nu*

^m*A-di-ja qa-du-um DUMU.MEŠ-šu*

^m*Ḫu-za-lu qa-du-um ni-ši-šu*

^m*Du- x -tu-up-ki(!)*⁴⁰ LÚ.MU *qa-du ni-ši-šu*

40. ^m*Ḫa-zi-ip-Te-šu-up*

LÚ.MEŠ *an-nu-tim wa-aš-še-er*

ù *I-gi-li-iš-ta-e ki-a-am im-ḫu-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.DU₈.A^{KI}

ša i-na ší-bi-it-tim na-du-ú ma-ša-ri-šu

šu-uk-na-am-ma it-t[i ^aU]TU-na-šir

li(!)-ir-du-ni-šu as-[s]ú(!)-u[r]-ri [.]

ki-ma li id(?) / da(?) wa ki[-.]

(Upper edge.)

50. *ma-ša-ri-šu du-ni[-in]*

(Translation.) [Say] to Kuwa[ri]: thus (says) [your] lord. By this, Šamaš-nāšir [.] with regard to the decision about Nurrugum [.]. Further, by this I will instruct him (about) the definitive decision. Pay close attention to the decision which he will place before you, and hear the words which I have written to you! Why have you detained the sons of the country, (namely) those of Ḫazip-Tešup, so that you incite public opinion (lit., the mouth of the country) against you? Release these men! Further, Warad-

⁴⁰ The reading of *-tu-up-ki(!)* was suggested to me by Dr. J.-R. Kupper.

Šarrim came to me from Indušše and brought me news. Indušše is . . . , he is not . . . Perhaps he will come to you. May you make your decision! And do not bring your fortresses to death! If the fortresses do not hold . . . and Aluwamadu, they will not surrender (them) to the hand of the enemy. Do not bring any one of the fortresses [to death]! Let all your troops assemble in Šušarrā itself, and let them be ready (lit., at your disposal). May your decision be made! As if the enemy approached you on this very day, thus may your decision be made!⁴¹ Release these men so that public opinion will not be incited against you. Zaziija with his troops, LUGAL-ú-x with his troops, Šarnid(a) with his troops, Ziliija with his sons, his daughters and his wife, Tirwenšeni with his sons, his daughters and his wife, Izzini (and) Dulip(?) with their people, Adija with his sons, ẖuzalu with his people, Du-x -tupki, the baker, with his people, (and) ẖazip-Tešup: release these men! Further, Igilištae implored me as follows: "They detain many servants." Now, release his servants! Further, Ušuni, the man of Kutha, who has been thrown in prison — post guards over him and let them bring him to me in the custody of Šamaš-nāšir! Perhaps [.] like [.]. Reinfor[ce] his guards [.].

(Commentary.)

Line 3 *a-nu-um-ma*. Rendered here, and in lin. 5, as "by this". For the connotation of *anumma*, see *Rép.* 174, *s.v.*

^dUTU-*na-ši[r]*. Šamaš-nāšir (for whom see also the present letter, lin. 47) recurs in SH. 879, which is a letter despatched by a certain Kurašānum to Kuwari and Šamaš-nāšir jointly. *Cf.* § 21.

4 *N[u]-ur-ru-gi-im^K[I]*. For the city of Nurrugum, see *Rép.* 131, with references to occurrences in the Mari letters. M. Falkner, *AJO* 18/1 (1957), 22, would place Nurrugum west of the Tigris. Note the occurrences of Nurrugum in SH. 915 (§ 17) and SH. 827 (see note 58), the latter mentioning a campaign against Nurrugum conducted by Išmē-Dagan with an army of 60,000 men.

9 *Ḥa-zi-ip-Te-šū-up*. See also lin. 40. Recurs in the much broken text SH. 906 (a letter; name of sender and addressee not preserved). Note the identical name (*Ḥa-zi-ip-Te-iš-šū-up*) in *ARM* 6, 62, 8 and 14, of a member of a delegation from Karanā.

⁴¹ The proper understanding of this sentence was established by Dr. Kupper.

Nurrugum appears to be in the vicinity of Karanā (*Rép.* 131; *AJO* 18/1, 22).

- 10 f. For the phrase $pī$ x *šubalkutum*, cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *JAOS* 61 (1941), 261. For *šubalkutum eli*, see *Rép.* 184 s.v. *eli*.
- 12 *wa-aš-še-ra-am*. For the imperative *waššer* (also in lines 28, 41 and 44), which alternates with *wuššer* in the Mari letters, cf. *Rép.* 278, s.v. *wašārum*, and A. Finet, *L'accadien des lettres de Mari* (1956), p. 146.
- 15 *ša-ri-im-kum*: *šarim* a permansive of *šarāmum* "to pay attention, to think about"? (Cf. *Rép.* 270, s.v.).
pa-ṭi-ir-kum: *paṭir* a permansive of *paṭārum* in the sense "to desert"?
- With due reserve, and with the note that the verbs are connected with dative suffixes, the following rendering is proposed as a tentative translation of lines 14 f.: "Induše is thinking about you, he is not one to desert you".
- 16 *i-la-ka-kum*. If the proposed translation of lines 14 f. (see the preceding note) adequately renders the tenor of these lines, the purport of *illakakkum* "he will come to you" would seem to be that Induše will come to Kuwari's aid. This explanation, however, conflicts with the presence of the particle *assurri*, which implies a possibility which is not considered desirable ("perhaps, but I hope not"); cf. W. von Soden, *GAG* § 121 e. Does line 15 imply, then, a warning to this effect: "Induše has you in mind, he is not likely to divert his attention from you"? See further remarks in § 16.
- 19 *A-lu-wa-ma-du*: a personal name? The element *aluwa-* may be compared with the personal name Alluwa at Alalah (see D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalah Tablets* [1953], No. 167, 8, quoted p. 127).
- 20 [x y]. The traces possibly represent an erased *a-na*; and an attempt seems to have been made by the scribe at changing the traces into *ša*.
- 26 *i(!)-*. The sign bears some resemblance to ID in, e. g., *ARM* 2, 137, 12 (cf. *Rép.* 15, No. 187).
- 30 *mZa-zi-ja*. According to *ARM* 2, 40, Išmē-Dagan made peace with the Turukkū (cf. § 4), on which occasion Mut-asqur, his son, was to marry the daughter of one Zaziija, in whom we may, therefore, recognise the chief of the Turukkū. Cf. A. Finet in *Rép.* 158, s.v. *Zaziija*.
- 31 *mLUGAL-ú-* x. x = *pí?* or *kum?* Reading of LUGAL uncertain in the present context. Cf. SH. 870 (§ 26), 3, and note 52.
- 32 *mŠar-ni-da*: reading *-id* also possible.
- 33 f. Ziliija and Tirwešeni recur as detainees in SH. 922 (a letter to Kuwari from his *bēlum* "lord"), 43' f.: *mTi-ir-we-še-ni ù Zi-li-ja a-ḥa-šu ša ta-ak-lu-ú a-na ši-ri-ja ṭú-ur-dam*, i. e., Send Tirwešeni and Ziliija, his brother, whom you have detained, to me! (For

the Hurrian element *zil*, and its possible connexion with Akkadian *šillum*, see *NPN* 277, *s.v.*).

- 37 ^mA-*dī-ja*. The second sign of the name is certainly DI. The same name occurs in SH. 867 (§ 27), 13 (^mA-*dī-ī*[*a*] NAGAR). Cf. the name *A-ki-ja* in Mari, for which see J. Bottéro in *Rép.* 75, No. 61, 55 with note 3 and references listed there, and A. Finet in *Rép.* 231, *s.v. nuḫatimmum*.
- 38 Reading of H̄U confirmed by collation. Cf. *CAD* 6 (1956), 265 f.
- 39 ^mDu- x -*tu-up-ki*(!). x, which consists of two horizontal wedges only, may be intended for the sign Ú, although the horizontals are shorter than usual in very casual forms of this sign. There are no traces whatever of vertical strokes. For the element -*tupki*, Dr. J.-R. Kupper refers me to *NPN* 269 and to the name *A-ri-tu-up-ki* occurring at Mari (*Semitica* 1 [1948], 18, line 5). These parallels suggest that the last sign of the present name is intended for KI, although the original exhibits a clear DI. Compare the name Aridupuk occurring in a namrag list from the Ur III Period (borne by a person from Šašrum), discussed by I. J. Gelb, *HS* 113 with note 62.
- 42 *im-hu-ra-an-ni*. The context clearly requires a rendering of *maḫārum* as a declarative verb. As Igilištae is launching a complaint against Kuwari to the sender of the letter, I have chosen the rendering “to implore”; cf. F. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (1896), 400, *s.v. maḫāru*, 1 (e) “jem., z. B. eine Gottheit (Acc.) angehen, mit einer Bitte angehen, anflehen.”
- 43 LÚ.TUR. Akkadian reading *šuḫārum* (cf. *Rép.* 78, No. 144, 15) although this reading seems to be restricted to the Mari letters, *šeḫrum* being the common Akkadian equivalent. (A. L. Oppenheim, *JNES* 13 [1954], 148, has pointed out that LÚ.TUR is clearly to be read as *šeḫrum* in the Mari letter *ARM* 6, 43, 8.) Here translated as “servant”. J.-R. Kupper, in *ARM* 6, p. 115, note to Letter 1, line 5, favours a translation “valet” as distinct from *wardum* “servant”. For the functions of the *šuḫārum* “servant”, see also J. Bottéro, *RA* 52 (1958), 164, commentary on line 5.
- 44 A faint trace of a vertical wedge after the sign DU₈ appears to have been produced inadvertently by the scribe.
- 48 *li*(!)-. The sign has been affected by pressure applied to the tablet before the clay had dried.
- 49 *li id*(?)/*da*(?) *wa*. With regard to the second sign of this group, either ID or DA is possible. Personal name?⁴²

The tone of this letter is one of reproach and warning. Kuwari is reproached for having detained a number of people; in so

⁴² *Li-da-ja*₈? (Cf. ^m*Li-da-e*, SH. 915, 5 [§ 17], and ^m*Li-da-a-ja* [*ARM* 4, 25, 9; 1, 5, 26]). The syllabic value *ja*₈ of the sign PI is, however, rare in the Mari Period (see *Rép.* 50, *s.v. ja*), and not entirely certain. The value is well documented in the Amarna letters.

doing he would appear to have endangered his public relations, a cause of common concern to him and the writer of the letter. The number of persons, and indeed troops, withheld, and the standing of some of these men, would indicate that Kuwari was himself a man of no mean resources. The reproof is accompanied by a signal for Kuwari's troops to be alerted and kept under emergency orders in Šušarrā, as if an attack were imminent. Who is to launch the attack?

§ 16. The combined evidence of the letters SH. 920 and SH. 887 does not bear out whether Endušše⁴³ is entirely friendly, or entirely hostile, to Kuwari and Šušarrā. It is not clear whether SH. 887, 15—16, represents a statement of reassurance or warning with regard to Endušše's intentions (see § 15, comment on these lines) in this respect. According to SH. 887, Warad-Šarrim [a negotiator?] seems to travel freely between Endušše and the author of the two letters, conveying information of a somewhat confidential nature to the latter who relays relevant impressions, thus obtained, to Kuwari. SH. 920, 36—39, represents an assurance to the effect that no enemy activity is being contemplated against the district of Šušarrā; but the text of SH. 920, 36, is not consistent with the assumption that this reassurance is being issued by Endušše. In SH. 920, the report concerning Endušše is submitted to the writer by a Qutaeen messenger, and received with a certain amount of scepticism. However, questioned about Warad-Šarrim's report, the messenger is quoted as saying: *te₄-em-šu En-du-uš-še im-ḫu-ur* (l. 36), where Endušše would appear to be the subject of the sentence, *-šu* referring to Warad-Šarrim. An emendation of the text by elimination of the suffix *-šu* would make the statement consistent with the general drift of thought represented by SH. 887, and relieve the text of the problematic transposition of subject and object. By reading *te₄-em<<-šu>>En-du-uš-še im-ḫu-ur* "he (*i. e.*, Warad-Šarrim) has received news of Endušše", we arrive at the conclusion that SH. 920, 37—39, is in fact Endušše's promise to desist from invading the country of Šušarrā. If he was as good as his word, the anonymous enemy of Kuwari's referred to in SH. 887, 20 ff., would

⁴³ Although initial *e-* and *i-* alternate in the writing of this name, it is henceforth normalised in the form Endušše on the assumption that it is cognate with Hurrian *enda-* (see § 14, SH. 920, comment on lin. 8).

not, then, seem to be Qutaeen armies. It may be remembered in this connexion that the Mari letter *ARM* 4, 25, shows that the country of Šušarrā was at one time exposed to attack from the Turukkaean under Lidāja who wrested the area from the Assyrians (*cf.* § 13).

§ 17. The events with which the letters found in the Tablet Room of Tell Shemshāra deal are likely to have occurred prior to the Turukkaean attack on the city. Evidence suggesting this relative dating is provided by the letter SH. 915.

SH. 915.

(Obverse.)

a-na Ku-wa-ri

qí-bí-ma

um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma

tup-pa-ti-ka ša [t]u-ša-bi-lam eš-me

5. ^m*Li-da-e*

il-li-kam-ma it-ti-ja

in-na-me-er

a-di ša-ba-at Nu-úr-ru-gi-im^{KI}

ma-aḥ-ri-ja-ma wa-ši-ib

10. *iš-tu Nu-úr-ru-gu-um^{KI}*

(Lower edge.)

it-ta-aš-ba-tu⁴⁴

[i]t-[t]i ša-bi-im-ma

[a]-[n]a ma-a-at A-ḥa-zi-im^{KI}

(Reverse.)

i-la-kam

15. *ù GIŠdi-ma-a-ti⁴⁵*

a-na Za-as-li-im^{KI}

lu-ú šu-ru-du

ak-ki-ma re-eš ša-bi-im

ú-ka-al-lu

⁴⁴ The reading of *it-ta-aš-ba-tu* was established by Prof. G. Dossin, who refers to *ARM* 1, 27, 10 and 19, for similar constructions.

⁴⁵ The reading of *GIŠdi-ma-a-ti* was established by Prof. Dossin.

20. *i-na* UD-[*m*]i-šu [x x x]
i-nu-ma [x x x x x x] KI
 (2 lines lost.)

(Translation.) Say to Kuwari: thus (says) your lord. I have heard your letters, which you sent me. Lidāe came to me and had a meeting with me. Until the conquest of Nurrugum, he stays with me. As soon as Nurrugum has been conquered, he will march with the army to the country of Aḥazim. Further, let them bring siege towers down(stream) to Zaslīm in order that the army may be at his (their?) disposal. At that time [. . . .] when [. . . .].

(Commentary.)

- Line 5 ^m*Li-da-e*. The name appears to be closely related to ^m*Li-da-a-ja* (*ARM* 4, 25, 9 and *ARM* 1, 5, 26), and may represent the indigenous (Hurrian?) form of that name. Personal and geographical names ending in *-ae* occur frequently in the Shemshāra texts. For *-ae* as a Hurrian suffix, see E. Speiser, *IH* § 165—167. (Note that SH. 812 [*Appendix* I], 46 and 65, refers to Šušarrā as Šušarrae).—The Mari letter *ARM* 1, 5 (24 ff.), states that Lidāja, commanding a Turukkaean army opposite Išmē-Dagan, has been impressed by the *din* created by the Assyrian armies, and has abandoned Burullum, his city, and departed, whereupon Išmē-Dagan has conquered Burullum and the entire country of Utem. Cf. *Appendix* I (SH. 812, with comments on lines 41 f.). [For *ARM* 1, 5, 28: *tu-uk-ki um-ma-na-a-tim*, see J.-R. Kupper, *Notes lexicographiques*, I. *tukku* (*RA* 45 [1951], 120—125); a late Assyrian reference may be added: R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, VII (1902), No. 716, rev. 21, with L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, IV (1936), 186.] For a discussion of Burullum and the possibility of the existence of two cities of that name, see M. Falkner, *AJO* 18/1 (1957), 7; Miss Falkner quotes an unpublished inscription of Adad-nirāri III (Assur 987 + 1544), where the districts of Burallu and Arbailu are listed together.
- 13 *ma-a-at A-ḥa-zi-im*^{KI}: cf. *ARM* 1, 69, 7 and rev. 5' (with *ARM* 1, 106, 6), where this district is associated with the Turukkū tribe (note also a reference to Qabrā, l. 5) in the sense that an Assyrian victory over the combined forces of the country of Aḥazim and the Turukkaeans is reported.
- 16 f. The connotation of *šūrudum* “to transport downstream” was emphasised by Dr. J.-R. Kupper, who refers me to *ARM* 2, 7, 8 ff. for an example of siege towers being transported upstream (*muhḥurum*). The city of Zaslīm, on this evidence, should be

located at or near the course of the Lesser Zab downstream from the site of Šušarrā.

18 *ak-ki-ma, akkīma* (< *ana kīma*): see W. von Soden, *GAG* § 178 c.

At the time when this letter was despatched, Kuwari was in a state of dependency on the man by whose orders it was sent, and the latter appears to have been on sufficiently friendly terms with Lidae (whom I would propose to identify with Lidāja of the letter *ARM* 4, 25, sent by Išmē-Dagan to Iasmaḥ-Adad) for a meeting to be arranged between them.

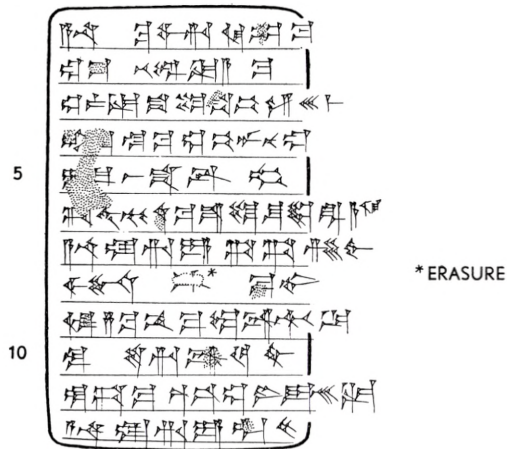
§ 18. The question of the authorship of the three Shemshāra letters so far dealt with is a question which affects a substantial part of the texts discovered in the Tablet Room. At least twelve texts are certainly letters despatched by order of the correspondent who is introduced as *bēlum* "the lord", namely the following numbers: SH. 814, 852 (A), 861, 878, 883, 887, 888, 915, 917, 919, 920, and 922. Additions to this list may be anticipated, constituted by letters in which the introductory formula is lost. A good deal of circumstantial evidence has already been presented to suggest that the texts belong in the Old Babylonian Period and, more specifically, that they are to be linked with the phase of the 18th century B.C. now commonly called the Mari Period. Palaeography and linguistic features of the texts, as well as topographical references which the Shemshāra letters have in common with Mari letters dealing with affairs round Ekallātum and in the eastern provinces of Assyria, connect the two groups of documents mutually. The name of Šamši-Adad occurs in SH. 920 (§ 14), and a letter from Šamši-Adad was actually received by Kuwari (SH. 809; *cf.* § 12). A reference to Šubat-Enlil, residence of Šamši-Adad, appearing in SH. 878, provides a definitive point of contact with Assyria in the Mari Period.

SH. 878 (see Fig. 8).

(Obverse.)

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

OBVERSE



LOWER EDGE

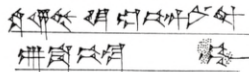
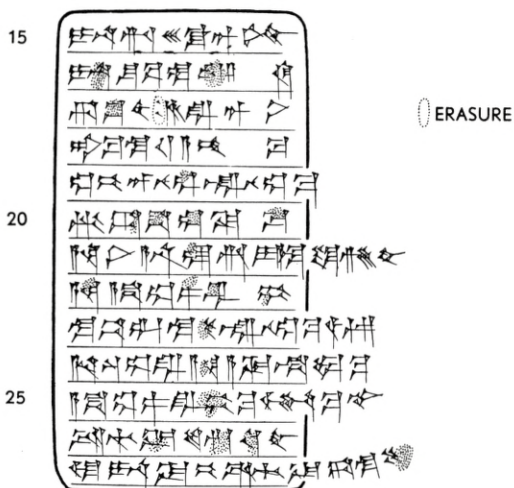


Fig. 8a. SH. 878.

5. *i-[k]a-aš-ša-da-kum*
ta-aḫ-mu-ṭám-ma iš-tu Šu-šar-ra-a^{KI}
a-na ši-ri-ja ta-ta-še-em
ši-bu-ut 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 ši-ri-ja al-kam
- (Lower edge.)
- UD 15.KAM *ki tup-pí an-ni-im*
ú-ša-bi-la-kum
- (Reverse.)
15. *i-na re-eš ITI an-ni-im*
i-na Šu-ba-at-^dE[N].LÍL^{KI}
ta-ma-aḫ-ḫa-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*

REVERSE



UPPER EDGE



LEFT EDGE



Fig. 8b. SH. 878.

a-di-ni a-na ši-ri-ja 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^{KI} a-ka-aš-ša-dam-ma
 25. *a-ša-ap-pa-ra-kum-ma ši-bu-ut ma-tim*
it-ti-ka te-re-de-em
ù i-na ka-bi-it-ti-ka ta-la-kam
 (Upper edge.)

ù aš-šum tup-pu-um i-na a-la-[k]i-im

ú-uh-ḫi-ru a-na-ku tup-pa-am

30. *i-na šu-bu-lim ú-ul ú-ḫi-ir*⁴⁶
qa-t[a]m a-na qa-tim-ma tup-pa-am
ú-ša-bi-la-kum(!)

(Left edge.)

LÚ.TUR-ka-ma i-na a-la-ki-im ú-uh-ḫi-ir
 i-na UD 25.KAM a-na ši-ri-ja ik-šu-da[m]

35. *an-n[i]-tam lu-ú ti-de*

(Translation.) Say to Kuwari: thus (says) your lord. I have heard your letter which you have sent me. If, before this letter of mine reaches you, you have hastened to leave Šušarrā (to come) to me, do not bring the elders of the country and many troops with you to me. Only you together with your servants come to me! On the 15th day . . . I have sent you this letter of mine(,) at the end of this month you will come and stand before me in Šubat-Enlil. If this is not the case, and this letter of mine has reached you there (*scil.*, at Šušarrā), do not leave yet (to come) to me. Until I write to you, do not come, (but) stay there! When I arrive at Qabrā, I shall write to you, and the elders of the country you shall then bring with you to me, and you shall come with all your forces. In view of the fact that the letter was delayed en route, I for my part have not delayed the letter in dispatching (it); forthwith, I have sent you the letter. It is your servant who has been delayed en route: he arrived to me (only) on the 25th day. May you know this!

(Commentary.)

Line 7 Note that the syllable /*ši*/ (written ŠI) is neatly distinguished from the syllable /*še*/ (written ZI, in *ta-ta-še-em*, < *tattašiam*). Cf. lin. 21.

13 *ki*. To be interpreted as *kī*? Or is *-ma* omitted inadvertently after *ki*? To be translated as “after”? Whether lines 13 f. are to be connected with lines 15—17, depends on the interpretation of this subjunction.

32 The signs Ú and ŠA are somewhat misshapen owing to their proximity to the edge which was exposed to pressure before the tablet was dry.

For KUM, the original has NIM (scribal error).

⁴⁶ The reading of *ú-ul ú-ḫi-ir* was established by Prof. B. Landsberger.

The mention of Šubat-Enlil unambiguously refers the letter to the reign of Šamši-Adad I of Assyria, and the author of SH. 809 may, therefore, be identified with this ruler. It should be noted, also, that the city of Qabrā is attested as being under Assyrian control by SH. 878, 24; this situation is further substantiated by SH. 856, 11 f. (see § 19), and SH. 861, 14 ff. (see § 22). The letters sent to Kuwari by Assyrian correspondents may, therefore, be assigned to a period following the successful campaign which Šamši-Adad is known to have conducted against Qabrā (see § 4, with notes 17 and 18).

SH. 878 is not, however, decisive with regard to the authorship of the letters despatched by order of *bēlum* "the lord", and does not permit an identification of this correspondent with Šamši-Adad. A suggestion to this effect would leave the circumstance unexplained that SH. 809 is in fact introduced by the formula which would be expected in a letter issued by Šamši-Adad (line 3: *um-ma* ^dUTU-*ši*-^dIM-*ma* "thus (says) Šamši-Adad"), and not account for the phenomenon that Šamši-Adad should elsewhere have chosen anonymity under the title *bēlum*. It should be observed, further, that Šamši-Adad is normally referred to as *šarrum* "the king" or, under given circumstances involving political dependency, as *abum* "father" (followed by a pronominal suffix).

§ 19. Two letters dealing with the relations between Assyria and a city called Ištanim⁴⁷ are of relevance for the further discussion of the authorship of the letters featuring *bēlum* in the introductory formula. They are SH. 856 (a copy of which is appended in Fig. 9) and SH. 921.

SH. 856 (see Fig. 9).

(Obverse.)

[*a-n*]a *Ku[-w]*a-ri

[*q*]i-b[*t*]-ma

um-ma I[*š-m*]e-^dDa-[*g*]an-*ma*

aš-šum *te*₄-em m[*a*]-a-tim *ša* Iš-ta-ni-[*im*]^{KI}

⁴⁷ If an Akkadian name, to be normalised as *Ištānum*⁽⁷⁾. In the following interpreted as a geographical name owing to the determinative sign KI after the name in SH. 856, 4; but it should be pointed out that this determinative is absent in connexion with the name *Ištanim* in SH. 921.

OBVERSE

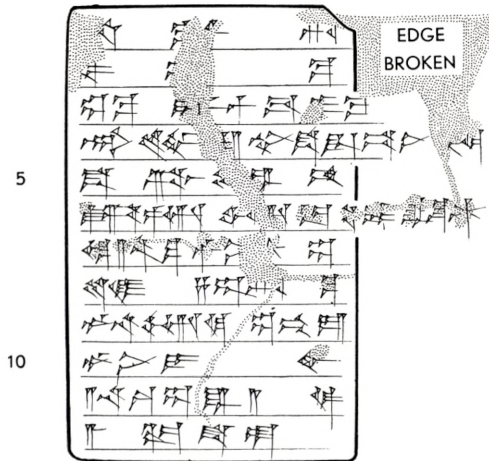


Fig. 9a. SH. 856.

5. *ša ta-aš-p[u-]ra-am*
áš-ta-pa-ar wa-[a]r-ka-tam [i-pa]-ra-[s]u-n[i]m
ù a-na-ku an-n[i-n]u-um
ṭe₄-mi ša-ab-[ta]-ku
an-na wa-ar-ki tup-pi-ja
10. *an-ni-i-im*
a-na Qa-ab-ra-a^{KI}
a-ka-ša-ad
- (Reverse.)
ù am-mi-nim ṭe₄-ma-am ša-a-ti
la ta-aš-pu-ra-am
15. *i-na-an-na ṭe₄-ma-am ša-a-ti*
ki-in-nam-ma an-ni-tam
la an-ni-tam
šu-up-ra-am

(Translation.) Say to Kuwari: thus (says) I[šm]ē-Da[g]an. With regard to the report concerning the country of Ištanim, which you have sent me, I have written (lit., sent, viz., a message). They will investigate the matter. Further, I have made my decision here. Verily, following this letter of mine I shall arrive at Qabrā.

REVERSE

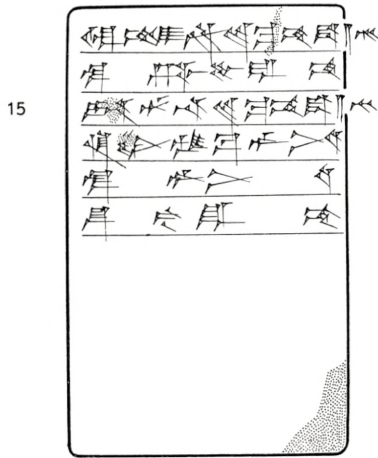


Fig. 9b. SH. 856.

Further, why have you not sent me this report (sooner)? Now, confirm this report and write to me whether (the situation is) this or that!

(Commentary.)

Line 7 *an-n[i-n]u-um*. For the second sign, only N[I] is possible. Rendered on the assumption that *anninum* is a variant form of *annanum* "here".

9 *an-na*. Cf. four occurrences of *anna* in Mari letters listed *Rép.* 174, *s.v.*

SH. 921.

(Obverse.)

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^{KI}

5. *ša Iš-ta-ni-im pa-ra-si-im*

tup-pa-am a-na ši-ir

be-lí-ja Iš-me-^aDa-gan

tu-ša-bi-il-ma be-lí a-n[a ši]-ri-ja

ki-a-am iš-pu-ra-am

10. *um-ma-a-mi a-na a-la-ni-e^{KI}*
ša Iš-ta-ni-im šu-pu-ur-ma
wa-ar-ka-tam li-ip-ru-su-ni-ik-kum-ma-mi
ar-ḫi-iš a-na ši-ri-ja-mi
šu-up-ra-am an-ni-tam
15. *[be]-lí iš-pu-ra-am*
 (Lower edge.)
[x (x) -m]i-i a-na a-la-ni-e
[š]u-n[u]-ti lu-úš-pu-ur
 (One line lost.)
 (Reverse.)
 (First 3 lines lost.)
- 22'. *ú-ul ta-aš-pu-ra-am-ma*
li-ib-bi a-wa-tim ú-ul i-de
i-na-an-na tup-pí an-ni-im i-na še-me-e(-em)
- 25'. *te₄-ma-am ga-am-ra-am*
ša a-la-ni-e ša Iš-ta-ni-im
ar-ḫi-iš a-na ši-ri-ja
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-su-ma*
[a-na š]i-ir be-lí-ja a-ša-ap-pa-ru

(Translation.) Say to Kuwari: thus (says) Kurašānum. With regard to the investigation of the matter concerning the cities of (the country of?) Ištanim, you have sent a letter to my lord Išmē-Dagan, and my lord has written to me as follows: "Write to the cities of (the country of?) Ištanim, so that they will investigate the matter for me, and write to me earliest!" This my lord wrote to me. [. . . .] I will write to these cities. [. . . .] you have not written to me, so that I do not know the heart of the matter (lit., words; render perhaps: the nature of the case). Now, when hearing this letter of mine, send me earliest a full report (or: the definitive decision) with regard to the cities of (the country of?) Ištanim, so that I may write to my lord that it is I who am writing (*i. e.*, to them) and (that) they are investigating the matter of these cities.

(Commentary.)

Line 3 *Ku-ra-ša-nu-um-ma*. The name Kurašānum perhaps East Canaanite.

5 *Iš-ta-ni-im*. Cf. lines 11 and 26'. It has been assumed that Ištanim denotes a city, rather than a person, on the strength of the presence of the determinative sign KI in SH. 856, 4. See note 47.

7 Note that Kurašānum refers to Išmē-Dagan as his "lord".

§ 20. It is obvious that SH. 856 and SH. 921 deal with one and the same matter. The combined evidence of the two letters suggests that Kurašānum was a man on whom Išmē-Dagan relied for collection of intelligence from the eastern provinces of Assyria. When Kurašānum reproaches Kuwari for not having submitted reports which were due, necessitating the despatch of a letter to Kuwari from Išmē-Dagan himself (*i. e.*, SH. 856, a communication which is not devoid of a tone of irritation), it is suggested that the offices of Kurašānum were the normal channels for correspondence between Kuwari and his Assyrian overlords, so that letters were sent to Kuwari from Šamši-Adad (SH. 809) and Išmē-Dagan (SH. 856) only under exceptional circumstances. The available evidence would seem to suggest that *bēlum* in the formula *umma bēlkāma*, in letters to Šušarrā, refers to Išmē-Dagan,⁴⁸ but that such letters were, in fact, despatched on his behalf by Kurašānum who was relaying orders received from Išmē-Dagan's central administration. That his personality emerges from anonymity in the letter SH. 921, is explicable by the fact that Kurašānum is dealing with a personal matter between himself and Kuwari, involving a case of dereliction of duty on the part of the latter.

§ 21. The attempt at defining the rôle of Kurašānum as that of a go-between transmitting information between Ekallātum, the residence of Išmē-Dagan, and Šušarrā, is not inconsistent with SH. 879 which contains a report to Kuwari, despatched by Kurašānum, about a victory of Išmē-Dagan's. This letter may well have been written during Išmē-Dagan's absence from Ekallātum, as is actually suggested by a reference to the campaigning army in

⁴⁸ It will thus be necessary to construe SH. 878, 15 ff., as referring to a temporary sojourn of Išmē-Dagan's in Šubat-Enlil.

lines 25 f. I quote the relevant section of SH. 879, which is addressed to Kuwari and Šamaš-nāšir (cf. § 15: SH. 887):

23. *ša-ni-tam a-na LUGAL šu-ul-mu*
a-na be-lí-ja Iš-me-^dDa-gan
25. *ù a-na ša-bi-im ša it-ti-šu*
i-il-la-ku šu-ul-mu
6 li-mi da-wi-da-am i-du-uk
ù a-la-ni-e be-lí Iš-me-^dDa-gan iṣ-ba-at
lu-ú ḥa-de-[t]u-nu

(Translation.) Second matter. The king is well. My lord Išmē-Dagan and the army which marches with him is well. He defeated 6,000, and my lord Išmē-Dagan conquered the cities. May you (both) rejoice!

(Commentary.)

- Line 23 LUGAL. *šarrum* “the king” can only refer to Šamši-Adad.
- 27 For the phrase *dawidām dākum*, see H. Tadmor, *Historical Implications of the Correct Rendering of Akkadian dāku* (*JNES* 17 [1958], 129—141). For the Hittite equivalent, cf. H. Otten, in *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy im Jahre 1957* (*MDOG* 91 [1958]), 79 note 17.
- 28 The letter contains no reference to the area in which the conquered cities were located.

§ 22. Šamaš-nāšir, whose name has been found so far only in the letters SH. 879 and SH. 887, was scarcely a native of the Šušarrā area where a considerable proportion of the indigenous population appears to have been Hurrian (see § 30). Although due allowance must be made owing to the very limited evidence, it may be suggested that Šamaš-nāšir was Išmē-Dagan’s representative or political agent at Kuwari’s court. The forthcoming publication of the complete archive discovered at Tell Shemshāra in 1957 will show that the presence of a trusted Assyrian envoy at Šušarrā was very likely looked upon as a desirable arrangement by Šamši-Adad and Išmē-Dagan. Letters received by Kuwari from his great western allies and from rulers of neighbouring territories reveal that Assyrian control over Šušarrā must have been precarious indeed, and probably of brief duration. At the present stage of the investigation it is uncertain whether Kuwari was a wholly loyal satellite of Assyria. He did not in all

cases act in unison with Assyrian intentions and is seen to have jeopardised his overlord's arrangements (*e. g.*, SH. 887 [§ 15]); there are instances where he appears to have held up or delayed the despatch of urgent reports (*e. g.*, SH. 878 [§ 18] and SH. 856 [§ 19]). It remains to be seen whether Kuwari was a party to conspiracies against Assyria. His relations with the Lullaeans, inhabitants of the Lullubum country to which reference has been made in § 2—3 and § 6—relations which will require further study—are of particular relevance in this respect. (See reference to the Lullū people in SH. 870, 5 [quoted in § 26], and SH. 812 [Appendix I], 25, 33, 45. See also note 24.)

The precarious position of Šušarrā as an Assyrian dependency is illustrated in some measure by the letter SH. 861, of which, unfortunately, only the obverse is preserved.

SH. 861.

(Obverse.)

a-na Ku-wa-ri

q[í]-bí-ma

um-ma be-[e]l-ka-a-ma

a-nu-um-ma 6 ME *ša-ba[-a]m a-na ma-ša-ar-[ti]*

5. *Šu-šar-ra-a^{KI} aṭ-ṭà-ra-ad*

ša-bu-um šu[-ú] [a-na] li-ib-bi

Šu-šar-ra-[a^{KI}] li-ru-ub-ma

ù at-ta a-na ši-ri-ja al-ka-am

LÜ.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ *Ú-ta-[im]^{KI} a-lam Šu-šar-ra-a^{KI}*

10. *i-zi-ir-ru ù it-ti* TUR/DUMU.MEŠ *Ku-un-ši-im^{KI}*

ša iš-tu Ku-un-ši-im^{KI} tu-zi-r[a-am(?)]

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^{KI}]

15. *i-na ma-a-at Qa-ab-ra-a^{KI} uš[-bu]*

ši-bu-tu-šu-[n]u a-na ši-ri-ĵ[a]

(Lower edge.)

[il]-li-ku-nim

[x (x) x] mi lu ú ERÍ [x] šu n[i]

(Unidentifiable traces of one further line on lower edge; reverse not preserved.)

(Translation.) Say to Kuwari: thus (says) your lord. By this (I inform you that) I have despatched an army of six hundred for the protection of Šušarrā. Let this army enter Šušarrā, and you —: come to me! The servants of (the city of) Uta are beginning to desert the city of Šušarrā, and together with the sons of (the city of) Kunšum, whom you made des[ert](?) Kunšum, they are beginning to desert you (pl.). Treacherous (and) rebellious (they are)! Formerly, when they were sett[led](?) in (the city of) Sar[rima] in the country of Qabrā, their elders came to me. (Break.)

(Commentary.)

Line 9 LÚ.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ. Interpreted as the plural constr. state of *šuhārum*, although the determinative sign LÚ is not usually accompanied by the plural sign MEŠ.

Ú-ta-[im]^{KI}. The surface of the tablet is damaged at the third sign of this word; but the traces which remain are consistent with the outline of the sign IM. Ú-ta-[im]^{KI} has been interpreted, therefore, as a genitive form of the name of a city *Uta*, which seems to be mentioned in the Mari letter ARM 4, 20, 10 (*a-lam*^{KI} Ú-ta) and possibly also in ARM 4, 38, 17' (doubtful). For the location of this city, see *Rép.* 137 *s.v.* with note 1; as suggested there, a connexion may exist between the city of Uta and the country of Utem. The latter occurs three times in the letter SH. 812 (see *Appendix I*, note on l. 41 f. of this letter), once in SH. 822, 35 (quoted in *Appendix I*, comment on SH. 812, 4), and once in the Mari letter ARM 1, 5, 34, invariably in the genitive case (*māt Utem*) and in one instance accompanied by the determinative sign KI (SH. 812, 42). It is thus possible that Utem (*Utēm?*, < *Uta'im?*) is in fact identical with Uta.

10 *i-zi-ir-ru*. For the verb *zārum* "to turn away (from), to abandon", see G. Dossin, *RA* 42 (1948), 121—124.

Ku-un-ši-im^{KI}. For the city of Kunšum, see *Appendix I*, comment on SH. 812, 17.

11 *tu-zi-r[a-am(?)]*. The translation is based on the assumption that a II form, with causative-iterative function, of the verb *zārum* (see comment on l. 10) is involved. The restoration of the form presupposes that *tu-zi-ra-am* represents *tuzirram* by failure to show doubling of the *r* in writing. (For the use of the II form of transitive verbs, see the principle formulated by A. Poebel, *Studies in Akkadian Grammar* [*Assyriological Studies*, 9 (1939)], 5 note 1.)

14 *Sa-a[r-rì-ma*^{KI}]. Restored by comparison with ARM 4, 49, 5, 8 and 12, where it is stated that Sarrima, a city in the territory of Qabrā, has surrendered to Šamši-Adad.

While the precise implications of the impending defections, which Išmē-Dagan saw coming, remain uncertain, the ominous overtone of the letter is unmistakable. The evidence available at present does not authorise a conclusion with regard to the question whether the Assyrian reinforcements of six hundred men mentioned here were sent for the relief of Šušarrā when the attack anticipated in the letter SH. 887 (§ 15) seemed imminent; and it is not possible to determine the relation between Išmē-Dagan's orders for Kuwari to leave Šušarrā as set forth in the present letter and in the letter SH. 878 (§ 18). It is, however, clear that a state of emergency existed at the time when the letter SH. 861 was despatched; and it may not be amiss to consider whether the Assyrian relieving force which followed this message was, say, an advance party of the reinforcements to the province of Šušarrā about which Išmē-Dagan wrote to Iasmah-Adad in a letter discovered at Mari (*ARM* 4, 25; see § 13).

CHAPTER V

Local Horizon of the Shemshāra Documents

§ 23. The majority of the documents discovered in the Tablet Room of Tell Shemshāra are letters received by Kuwari, and a few other addressees, from correspondents who may have been residents of the city of Šušarrā or the country surrounding it, i. e., the Rania Plain, or from local rulers in the adjoining areas of Southern Kurdistan. In addition, there are texts of a commercial nature. Circumstances of discovery have shown that these documents are contemporary with the period of Assyrian domination at Šušarrā, the Šamši-Adad letter SH. 809 having been found in immediate association with texts of this description (see § 11—12). The language of such texts originating with eastern kinglets and officials is Akkadian, but in their orthography and grammar these texts frequently exhibit dialectal features which will require especially careful investigation. [It may be observed that the letters SH. 802, 812, 822, and 827 are demonstrably written by the same scribe.]

(a). Local Correspondence of a Political Nature.

§ 24. Letters are available in which colleagues of Kuwari's, fellow kinglets, address him as their "brother" (*aḥum*), following the political terminology of the period.⁴⁹ A specimen of this category is given in *Appendix I*. Other letters indicate that Kuwari was recognised, in his own right, as overlord by lesser rulers in the area who would address him as their "father" (*abum*) and call themselves "son" (*mārum*). As an example of this latter group, a transliteration and translation is given of the letter SH. 874.

⁴⁹ See the study by J. M. Munn-Rankin quoted in note 38.

OBVERSE

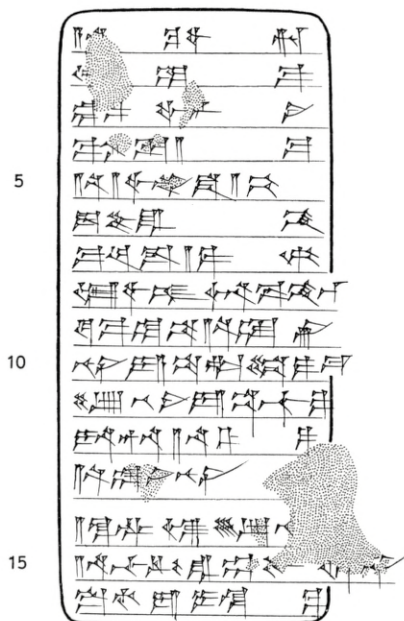


Fig. 10a. SH. 874.

SH. 874 (see Fig. 10).

(Obverse.)

a-[n]a Ku-wa-ri

q[í]-bí-ma

um-ma Wa-[a]n-ni

ma-r[u]-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 ši-ir

10. *be-lí-ja ta-al-li-ku-ma*

še-ep be-lí-ja ta-aš-ši-qú

i-na-an-na a-na-ku⁵⁰

⁵⁰ The sign KU, first written immediately to the right of NA, has been erased by the scribe and rewritten at the end of the line, the latter arrangement being consistent with proper scribal practice.

REVERSE



Fig. 10b. SH. 874.

a-na ši-[i]r be-lí-[ja]

a-la-ak ù še-ep be[-lí-ja]

15. *a-na-aš-ši-iq ra-ab-b[u] [x] [TA](?) [N]I(?)
it-ti-ja i-la-ku*

(Reverse.)

še-ep be-lí-ja

ù a-wa-at pi[-(?)-i(?)-i]m(?) ša(?) be-lí-ja

i-še-em-mu-ú

20. *a-na a-li-im ša(?) ap [te] [x y]*

ù ge-er-ri-im

la-a te-eg-gi

pa-ni be-li-ja ra-ap-šu

as-sú-ur-ri pa-ḥa-ra-am

25. *a-na ma-[a]-tim a-bi la i-gi*

i-na [a]b-še-ni wu-di(?)

ta-r[a]-ab-ba(?)/ma(?)

[ù][ge]-er-ru-um li-ip-pa-ri-ís

ù aš-šum ma-ar-ti-ka

30. *ša ta-aq-bi-a-am(! sign IM)*

um-ma at-ta-a-ma ú-lu-ú

ma-ra-at-ka id-na-am

ú-lu-ú ma-ar-ti

(Upper edge.)

lu-ud-di-na-ak-kum

35. *i-na-an-na ma-ra-at-ka*

a-na ma-ri-ja id-na-am

ù sa-lu-tum i-na bi-ri-n[i]

(Left edge.)

la-a ip-pa-ar-ra-ás

(Translation.) Say to Kuwari: thus (says) Wanni, your son. I have paid close attention to the words which my father sent me. And these words are good. Just as you have gone to my lord and kissed my lord's foot, I shall now go to my lord and kiss my lord's foot. The shall go with me and <kiss> my lord's foot, and the word (words) of my lord's mouth(?) they shall hear. Do not be negligent towards the city, which(?), or the expedition. My lord is long-suffering (?). Perhaps my father will not neglect to collect (*viz.*, provisions?) for the country? It is certainly in the furrows that you, so let the expedition be dissolved. Further, with regard to your daughter whom you talked to me about, in these words: "Give me your daughter, and I will then give you my daughter!" — now, give your daughter to my son, and let not the family relationship between us be dissolved!

(Commentary.)

- Line 3 *Wa-[a]n-ni*. Perhaps identical with the sender of SH. 900, where the name is written *Pa-an-ni*. (The two letters are not in the same handwriting.) Probably Hurrian; cf. NPN 274 s.vv. *wan* and *wann*.
- 15 *ra-ab-bu*, &c. Dr. J.-R. Kupper proposes to read *ra-ab-bu* [ḫal-[-[á]-[ti]m (for the latter, the reading [ḫal-[-[a]-[ti]m perhaps recommends itself), i. e., “captains”. Cf. R. F. G. Sweet, *AJO* 18/2 (1958), 360.
- 17 After *be-li-ia*, the verb *inaššiqu* “they shall kiss” is omitted by mistake (scribal error).
- 18 The text is restored freely. The sign BI (*pí*) may equally well represent the first elements of the sign TA.
- 20 It is possible that the name of a city should be restored after *ālim*.
- 23 Lit., “my lord’s countenance is wide”. The idiom *pānī x rapšū*, for which I have discovered no parallel, may be a variant of the idiom *uznum rapšum* “a wide ear”, for which the sense “comprehensive understanding, vast knowledge, profound insight, &c.” is well established. In the present passage, the sequel would seem to suggest, however, that the writer is reminding Kuwari of his lord’s (presumably Išmē-Dagan’s) leniency which, in his opinion, will preclude reproaches even if Kuwari attends to his agricultural work. For this reason I do not find a warning in l. 23 of the present letter; but, it is a free assumption that this idiom implies leniency, compassion or long-sufferance. Hebrew idioms such as אֲרֵיךְ נַפְשִׁי (Job 6, 11), אֲרֵךְ אַפַּיִם and אֲרֵךְ רַחֵם may be comparable.
- 26 [*a*]b-še-ni. Translated on the assumption that the word is identical with *abšennum* “furrow”. The correct understanding of *abšennum* was established by B. Landsberger, *Die Serie ana ittišu* (MSL 1 [1937]), pp. 157 f. *wu-di*(?). The second sign is clearly KI, which, however, frequently interchanges with DI and vice versa, in the sense that the two signs are not clearly differentiated in the script.
- 27 -ba(?)/-ma(?) The signs MA and BA, normally distinct from one another by the downward slant of the bottom horizontal wedge in BA, are not consistently differentiated in the documents constituting local correspondence at Šušarrā. It is, thus, admissible to propose a reading of this line as *ta-r[a]-ab-ba*(!). “It is certainly in the furrows (i. e., by agricultural labour) that you (pl.) (shall) become great”?
- 30 *ta-aq-bi-a-am*(! sign IM). J. Bottéro has proposed to attribute the value *am*_x to the sign IM in cases where the Mari syllabary exhibits peculiarities of an identical nature (*Rép.* 45, No. 236), or, alternatively, to assign the value *e*_x to the sign A (*ibid.*,

note 4, and p. 46, No. 311); see also notes by the same author in *RA* 52 [1958], 166.

36 *-ja*. The sign $\bar{I}A$ seems certain, but *KA*, which would suit the context provided by ll. 31—34, were to be expected.

37 *sa-lu-tum. salūtum*, abstract noun to *salātum*.

There is no evidence in the present letter to discredit the identification, suggested in § 20, of *bēlum* “the lord” with Išmē-Dagan. Wannī, whose country of origin is unfortunately not disclosed, had the intention of joining Kuwari as an ally of Assyria. The Mari letters so far published do not seem to bear out whether this alliance took effect.

(b). Local Correspondance of a Private Nature.

§ 25. Within the jurisdiction of Šušarrā, Kuwari seems to have held the office of justice of the peace, before whom cases involving the practice of civil law could be submitted. This aspect of his functions is exemplified by the letters SH. 876 and SH. 858.

SH. 876.⁵¹

(Obverse.)

a-na Ku-wa-ri

qí-bí-ma

um-ma E-te-el-lum-ma

a-nu-um aš-ša-at re-de-em

5. *i-na É.GAL-lim*

i-ba-aš-ši

ú ka-ja-an ú-da-ab-ba-ba-ni

šum-ma ta-ra-am-ma-an-ni

(Reverse.)

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 PIRIG

a-am-ma-ar

⁵¹ The letter, which is at present in Baghdad, has not yet been rebaked and cleaned. It is read here from my field photograph of the tablet.

(Translation.) Say to Kuwari: thus (says) Etellum. By this (I inform you): there is a wife of a *rēdūm*-officer in the palace. And permanently he (she?) importunes me. If you love me, release his wife! Do not withhold her! In (your verdict in) this matter I shall rightly recognise the speech of. . . .

(Commentary.)

Line 4 *a-nu-um*: for *anumma*?

6 *ka-ja-an*. The form *kaĵĵān* (adverb denoting duration) otherwise attested in later Babylonian. For the forms normally used in Old Babylonian and in the Mari dialect, see W. von Soden, *GAG* § 120 h.

dubbubum "to importune, to cause inconvenience", cf. *Rép.* 197, s.v., and A. L. Oppenheim, *JNES* 13 (1954), 145.

SH. 858.

(Obverse.)

a-na Ku-wa-ri

qí-bí-ma

um-ma Ḫu-lu-uk-ka-ti-i

it-ti m[Ki]ḫ-iz-zi-ma

5. *aš-ša-at mAb-di-e-ra-aḫ*

a-ḫi-ja 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*

(Reverse.)

šum-ma i-qa-ab-b[i (x x x)]

a-ḫa-ti-m[i x x (x)]

ú-la-mi a-[n]a [Ab]ḫ-di- x[x (x)]

ù at-ta la [x][x] ak [. . . .]

(Translation.) Say to Kuwari: thus (says) Ḫulukkatil. It is with Kizzi that the wife of Abdi-erāḫ, my brother, is living. Take him away, so that they may bring (him) up to me with the *nāši bil-tim* (of?) the army. If he says, "She is my sister [. . . .] never to Abdi-. [. . . .]." And you [. . . .] not [. . . .].

(Commentary.)

- Line 3 *Hu-lu-uk-ka-ti-il*. Sender of SH. 813 (a letter to Kuwari), and mentioned in SH. 811, 4, in connexion with delivery of grain to Kuwari. In these letters written *-di-il*. Hurrian name; cf. *NPN* 217, s.v. *hul* (2), and 266, s.v. *til*.
- 4 ^m[*Ki*]-*iz-zi-ma*. The first sign of the name could equally well be read as the sign DI. The reading Kizzi is chosen by comparison with Nuzi names containing the element *kizz* (*NPN* 266).
- 5 ^m*Ab-di-e-ra-aḥ*. East Canaanite. There is, unfortunately, no evidence to determine whether *aḥum* (lin. 6) implies actual kinship, or merely a political relationship, between Ḫulukkatiil and Abdi-erāḥ. It has, however, been pointed out by J. Bottéro (*RA* 52 [1958], 164) that *aḥum* ("colleague", as a political term), while used between people of equal standing, is said rather more freely of kings and princes, which may suggest that Abdi-erāḥ was indeed a brother of Ḫulukkatiil's.
- 8 For the functions of the *nāši biltim*, see G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, 2 (1955), 167, and A. Falkenstein, *ZANF* 18 (1957), 327.
- 9 The particle *ša* is required before *šābim*. Inadvertently omitted?
- 13 -x[x (x)]. *-eraḥ* expected, but the traces of the sign -x[do not conform with the sign E; they are three small flicks arranged as in the sign KUR.

(c.) Business Documents.

§ 26. The collection of tablets excavated at Tell Shemshāra included texts concerned with business transactions. Some are brief notes accounting for receipt, or expenditure, of goods. SH. 836, a small tablet (2.2 × 2.2 cms.) inscribed with two lines, is of interest in that it provides a new occurrence of the rare word *agasalikum*:

SH. 836 18 MA.NA URUDU
 a-na a-ga-sa-li-ki
 "18 manas of copper for (the manufacture of) *a*."

To my knowledge, *agasalikum* is otherwise attested only in an Old Babylonian letter translated by A. Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Ḫammurapi-Dynastie* (VAB 6 [1914]), No. 173, 16 and 21 (*a-ga-sa-li-kam*) and 5 (*a-ga-sa-la-ki-im*), where it denotes an implement made from bronze, and in the series ḪAR.ra = *ḫubullu* (see *MSL* 6, 73, 229).

SH. 870, a much damaged fragment of an economic text, seems to record payments in silver and gold to persons and groups of people, *i. a.* (lin. 3) 3 [x (x)] *a-na* LUGAL-ú-kum(?),⁵² (lin. 4) [x x] *a-na Nu-pu-ur-wa-ri* [(x x x)],⁵³ and (lin. 5) [x x x x] *a-na Lu-ul-li-[i (x x)]*, the latter, if not to be interpreted as a personal name,⁵⁴ another interesting reference to the Lullaeans and an economic relationship between them and Šušarrā (cf. § 22).

It may be appropriate to quote, in this connexion, the text SH. 808 which has a pattern of reference similar to SH. 870. The former document is a fragment of a letter, of which only the two last lines of the obv., three lines of the lower edge, and the four first lines of the rev. are preserved. The existing part of the text deals with delivery of silver (KUG.UD), gold (KUG.GI), and *ašlālum* (*aš-la-li-im* [SH. 808, 7']) to the country of Kakkum (9': *a-na ma-at Ka-ak-mi-im*). Kakkum was conquered by Hammurabi of Babylon in his 37th year (cf. § 4, with note 14), and the people of Kakkum were repelled by Sargon II of Assyria (see A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II*, Pt. I: *The Annals* [1929], p. 12, lin. 77, and F. Thureau-Dangin, *Huit. camp.*, p. 12, lin. 56, with p. v, note 3).

§ 27. A list of 138 oxen, belonging to Kuwari and engaged in various types of work under the supervision of persons who would by necessity seem to be residents of Šušarrā, is of particular interest for the testimony which it bears to Kuwari's position in the economic pattern of Šušarrā, and by virtue of the list of personal names contained in the specification.

SH. 867 (see Fig. 11).

(Obverse.)

30 GUD.ĤIA *ik-ka-ru ša* APIN

25 GUD.ĤIA *ša ma-ja-al-ti*

4 *i-na TŪL ri-iš-ḫi*

a-na qa-ti ^m*I-zi-ja*

5. 5 GUD.ĤIA *a-na qa-ti* ^m*Ta-ge(?)*-e[n](?)

8 GUD.ĤIA *it-ti* ^m*Pu-ḫu-še-ni*

⁵² Possibly identical with the name occurring in SH. 887 (§ 15), 31. If correctly read, an element *ukum-* may occur in the name ^m*U-kum(?)*-*ra-ma-AN-ka* (SH. 867 [§ 27], 9).

⁵³ The first element of this name may perhaps be compared with the Hurrian element *nup* (NPN 241, *s.v.*) and the (Hurrian?) element *-nupar* (*ibid.*). For *-wa-ri* (*-wa-ri*[-?]), cf. the Hurrian element *war* in *warim-* (NPN 274, *s.v.*).

⁵⁴ For this possibility, cf. the discussion of the Nuzi element *null* (NPN 240, *s.v.*).

OBVERSE

REVERSE

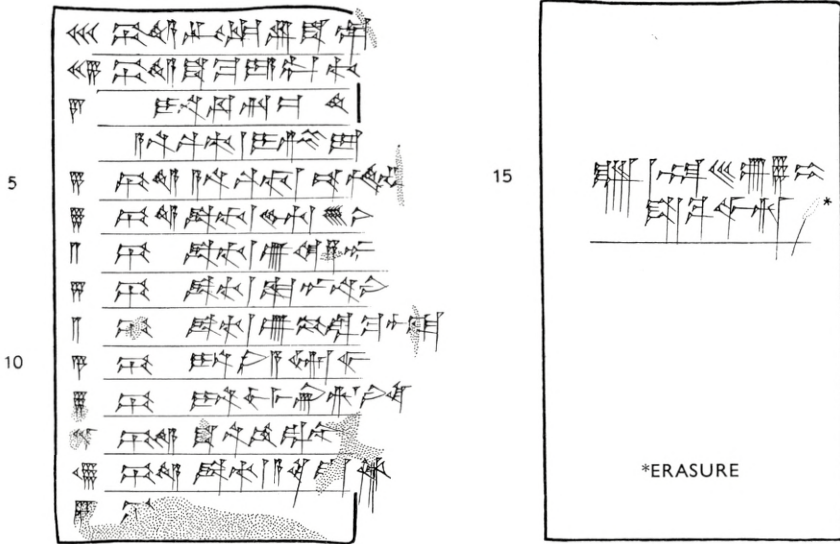


Fig. 11. SH. 867.

- 2 GUD *it-ti* ^mŪ-*ki-za-AN*
- 5 GUD *it-ti* ^mKa-*an-na-ni*
- 2 GUD *it-ti* ^mŪ-*kum(?)*-*ra-ma-AN-ka*
- 10. 4 GUD *i-na* *Ni-a-ar-ši*
- 8 GUD *i-na* *Ši-me-er-ri-ni-ki*
- 21 GUD.ĤIA *ša na-am-ra-tim*
- 19 GUD.ĤIA *it-ti* ^mA-*di-[ja]* NAGAR
- 5 G[UD x (x)]

(Reverse.)

- 15. ŠU.NIGIN 1 *me-at* 30-ú 8 GUD(!)
- ša* ^mKu-*wa-ri*

(Notes.)

- Line 2 For *māiāllum* as denoting an irrigation machine, see J. Læssøe, *JCS* 7 (1953), 11. To the references collected there may be added an occurrence in an economic text from Chagar Bazar: GUD.ĤIA *ša* GIŠ*ma-a-ja-al-tim* (C. J. Gadd, *Iraq* 7 [1940], 54, No. A 972).
- 3 TŪL *ri-is-ḫi. riṣum*, for *riḫsum*, by metathesis? "Irrigation well"? For metathesis of *ḫs/sh* in the Nuzi dialect, see M. Ber-

- kooz, *The Nuzi Dialect of Akkadian (Language Dissertations published by the Linguistic Society of America, No. 23 [1937])*, p. 64.
- 5 ^mTa-ge(?)-e[n](?). For GE, it would be possible to read the sign as MUD; but this sign is not attested with the syllabic value *mud* until the Middle Babylonian period and later (*cf.* W. von Soden, *Das akkadische Syllabar* [1948], No. 56).
- 9 ^mŪ-kum(?)-. Compare perhaps the name ^mLUGAL-ú-kum(?), SH. 887 (§ 15), 31; see comment on this line.
- 10 f. *Ni-a-ar-ši* and *Ši-me-er-ri-ni-ki*: geographical names? (KI determinative sign?)
- 12 *ša na-am-ra-tim* "for fattening". See *Rép.*, 232 *s. v.*, with references.

Of the names occurring in this list, Puḫu-šeni is certainly Hurrian, and Izija (*cf.* the Nuzi name Izzija, *NPN* 221), Kannani (*cf.* Nuzi: -kanani, *NPN* 222, *s. v. kan*), and Adija⁵⁵ (*cf.* Nuzi: Adija, *NPN* 206 f., *s. v. at*), are very likely so. Further research will be required to establish the linguistic relations of the remainder of these names. One line of research which should not be neglected within the frames of Shemshāra onomastics is a careful comparison of the non-Hurrian names of the Ur III namrag texts referred to in note 10, with the non-Hurrian and non-Akkadian names occurring in the Shemshāra documents; for there seems to be some circumstantial evidence to suggest the identity of Šušarrā with the Šašrum (Šaššurum, Šasurum) conquered by Šulgi and Amar-Sin (see § 3).⁵⁶ The possibility may have to be considered whether in the 18th century B.C. a substantial part of the population of the country of Šušarrā was Subarian.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ The name ^mA-di-ja also occurs in SH. 887 (§ 15), 37; see comment on this line.

⁵⁶ In the Ur III year formulae, Šašrum occurs in periods when the Sumerian armies are engaged generally in the east and northeast. Note the association of Šašrum with Šarīthum (Šuruthum); *cf.* A. Goetze, *JNES* 12 (1953), 120 n. 55. The pattern of the name *Šušarrā* is consistent with that of very many geographical names with a final -ā in northern and northeastern Mesopotamia known in the Mari period. In the form Šašrum, with its variants, the stem would appear to be *Šašr-* (*Šašur-*, *Šasur-*), -um being the characteristic ending of words adopted into Sumerian from Akkadian in the Ur III period (*cf.* I. J. Gelb, *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar* [MAD 2, 1952], 24). The Ur III name of Arbīl: *Urbil(l)-um* may be comparable.

⁵⁷ The gentilicium *Šubarām* occurs only once (SH. 813, 7) in the Shemshāra texts so far studied, and there qualifies sheep, as follows:

a-na Ku-wa-ri qí-bí-ma
um-ma Ḫu-lu-uk-ka-dí-il-ma
^mTa-al-pu-šar-ri
a-na Sa-aš-ḫa-ar-ši-im^{KI}
 5. *il-lí-ik ú UDU.ḪI.A-ni-ka*
i-mu-ur-ma

-
- 10 UDU.ĪLA Šu-ba-ri-i
 it-ru it-ti ^mĪ-lu-ta SIPAD
 lu ti-de li-ba-ka
 10. la i-ma-ra-a[š]
 ù iš-tu ma-aḫ-ri-ka
 SiG-tim ma-da-tim
 a-na lu-bu-úš-ti LUGAL
 šu-bi-lam

(Translation.) Say to Kuwari; thus (says) Īlukkati. Talpušarri went to (the city of) Sašharšim, and he saw (*i. e.*, inspected?) your sheep. Ten Subarian sheep he took from Īluta, the shepherd. May you know (it). Do not let your heart worry. Further, send me much wool from you(r stores) for the king's dress!—(The sequel, another 14 lines, deals with a different matter. It mentions two men, ^mBi-sa-an-ši and ^mAr-ru-uk, the latter having been sent to Kuwari by the writer of the letter whereas the former has been commissioned to inspect the men of a certain Ku-ú-ku[?]).

CHAPTER VI

General Implications of the Shemshāra Documents

(a). Historical Inferences.

§ 28. The Šušarrā archive belongs to a time when Šamši-Adad I was king of Assyria and Išmē-Dagan, his son, was viceroy at Ekallātum.⁵⁸ Kuwari, the governor of Šušarrā, probably a man of indigenous stock, acknowledges Assyrian sovereignty, which Šamši-Adad has imposed on the district (§ 14: SH. 920, 37 ff.), and seems to have an Assyrian agent, Šamaš-nāšir, at his side (§ 22). The Qutaeans, whose military leader is one Enduše, seem to entertain friendly relations with Assyria at this time (§ 14: SH. 920, 10 ff.), although a report to this effect is subjected to scepticism (§ 14 and § 16); and Qutaeen interference in the country of Šušarrā would seem to be suspected inasmuch as a reassurance to the contrary is necessary (§ 14: SH. 920, 39). One Wannī, a lesser eastern ruler, follows Kuwari, and one of

⁵⁸ Šamši-Adad and Išmē-Dagan are mentioned together in SH. 827, a letter which is at present in Baghdad and remains to be studied in detail. [The sender of the letter, which is addressed to Kuwari, is Šepratu (^mŠe-ep-ra-tu), from whom another letter, SH. 812 (see *Appendix I*), is extant. SH. 827 and SH. 812 are obviously written by the same scribe.] The name of Šamši-Adad, in SH. 827, is written consistently as ^mSa-am-si-^dIM (similarly SH. 812, 39). SH. 827, 3—14, brings a quotation from a letter of Kuwari's to Šepratu and refers to an Assyrian campaign against Nurrugum (*cf.* SH. 887 [§ 15], 4, and SH. 915 [§ 17], 8 and 10; see also § 29), as follows: (3) *tup-pa-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam* (4) *eš₁₅-me-ma um-ma at-ta-a-ma* (5) ^mNi-ip-ra-am iš-tu [mal-*ha-ar* (6) ^mSa-am-si-^dIM il-li-kam-ma (7) um-ma šu-ú-ma *fe₄-mu-um ma-li* ^mSa-am-si-^dIM i-pu-la-an-ni (8) ma-di-iš [š]a *ha-di-im* ù URU.KI *Ar-ra-ap-*ha-am*^{KI} (9) iš-ša-ba-at ù a-na Qa-ba-ra-e^{KI} (10) ^mŠa-am-si-^dIM i-ta-ar(?) (11) ù ma-ra-šu ^mIš-me-^dDa-gan (12) [i]l-ti ša-[b]i-im 1 ŠU.ŠI li-mi (13) a-na Nu-úr-ru-gi-im la-we-em (14) x - y (- z)-ar an-ni-a-tim (15) i-na tup-pi-im ta-aš-*tú-ra-am-ma* (16) *tu-ša-bi-lam*. (Translation.) Your letter, which you (*i. e.*, Kuwari) sent me, I have heard, and thus you (wrote): "Nipram came to me from Samsi-Adad, and thus he (said): 'The news which Samsi-Adad gave me in reply is very pleasing; and the city of Arrapha he conquered; and Samsi-Adad will return to (the city of) Qabarae; and Išmē-Dagan, his son, with an army of 60,000, to besiege Nurrugum.'" These (matters) you wrote to me and despatched (the message) to me.*

his sons is to marry a daughter of Kuwari's (§ 24: SH. 874); Wannī declares his intention to join the Assyrian cause. It is likely that Assyrian domination of Šušarrā was brought to an end by the Turukkaeans under command of Lidāja (§ 13: *ARM* 4, 25); but at the time when the Shemshāra letters were exchanged, Kuwari is sufficiently powerful to detain Zaziya, king of the Turukkaeans, with a contingent of his troops, at Šušarrā,⁵⁹ so that it is necessary for Išmē-Dagan to ask for his release (§ 15: SH. 887). It was presumably before this event occurred that Išmē-Dagan was planning to conclude a treaty with the Turukkaeans, sealed by a marriage between a daughter of Zaziya's and Mut-asqur, a son of Išmē-Dagan's (*ARM* 2, 40), an assumption corroborated by the fact that Lidāe (Lidāja) was with Išmē-Dagan at the time of the Assyrian conquest of Nurrugum (§ 17: SH. 915). There is much evidence for the fact that at the time of the Shemshāra letters, Qabrā was dominated by Assyria (§ 18: SH. 878, and § 19: SH. 856).⁶⁰

§ 29. If it can be shown, as has been attempted by P. van der Meer (*RA* 47 [1953], 16—18), that a decline of Assyrian military power and political influence occurred towards the end of Šamši-Adad's reign, the evidence summarised in § 28 would indicate that the Shemshāra documents should be dated before the year 1721 B.C. (assuming that Šamši-Adad ruled from 1748 to 1716 B.C.⁶¹), to a period when Assyrian power was near its peak. This suggestion gains strength when it is remembered that Šamši-Adad considered the conquest of Nurrugum, which appears to be imminent in the despatches communicated by SH. 915 (§ 17) and SH. 827 (see note 58), an event of major importance in the course of his reign (*cf.* J.-R. Kupper, *Nomades*, 227 n. 1, with references). The loss of Šušarrā, and the capture of Qabrā by Ešnunna under Daduša (*cf.* § 4, with note 15), would have

⁵⁹ It is here assumed that Zaziya of SH. 887, 30, is identical with Zaziya of *ARM* 2, 40. Observe (in support hereof) that the persons named in SH. 887, 30 ff., seem to be listed in a descending order of importance.

⁶⁰ A further reference to Qabrā, in SH. 861 (§ 22), 15, is non-specific with regard to the political affiliations of the city.

⁶¹ For the sake of convenience, the dates given in H. Schmökel, *Geschichte des alten Vorderasien* (Hdb. der Orientalistik, II. Keilschriftforschung und alte Geschichte Vorderasiens, 3. Abschnitt [1957]), 96, have been uncritically adopted. I do not wish in this connexion to commit myself with regard to the problems of absolute chronology.

occurred in connexion with a general disintegration of Assyrian power. The following chart will illustrate the relative chronology thus proposed.

B. C.	Assyria	Ešnunna
1724	⋮	
1723	Assyrian domination of Qabrā and Šušarrā	
1722	⋮	
1721	↓	{ Daduša seizes Qabrā Daduša dies
1720		Ibalpiel II, 1st year of reign
1719		
1718		
1717		
1716	Šamši-Adad I dies (Ibalpiel II, 5th year)
1715	{ Išem-Dagan king of Assyria	

[For Assyrian history, Šamši-Adad's letter numbered SH. 809 is of considerable consequence. As the passages quoted in *Index A s. vv.* Ainim and Arrapĥa will show, it is surely admissible to link the events of this text with those of the Mari letter *ARM 1, 121*, and of the stela *AO 2776* of the Louvre (published by H. de Genouillac in *RA 7* [1910], 151—156 with plates 5 and 6); my inference is that the combined evidence of the three texts supports the views of W. von Soden, *Or NS 22* (1953), 256, and J.-R. Kupper, *Or NS 27* (1958), 442, to the effect that the Louvre stela does indeed commemorate the conquest of Qabrā by Šamši-Adad I. of Assyria and not the capture of this city by Daduša of Ešnunna, as claimed by A. Goetze, *RA 46* (1952), 155—157.

For Mesopotamian history in a wider aspect, the mention of Šuruĥtuĥ, king of Elam, in SH. 827, 51 ff. (see the passage quoted in *Index A, s. v.* Itabalĥim), provides an important synchronism. I propose to identify Šuruĥtuĥ with the Elamite ruler whose name, at Susa, is written Siruktuĥ (Širuktuĥ), and for whom,

for the nonce, I would refer to L. W. King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad* (1916), 306, and F. W. König in *RLA* 2 (1938), 328 f.

(Baghdad, March, 1959.)

(b.) Ethnic Characteristics of Šušarrā.

§ 30. Caution must be advocated against generalisation on the basis of the limited material examined at the present stage of the investigation. The fact that a letter was received, at Šušarrā, by Kuwari and Šamaš-nāšir as joint addressees must not lead us to postulate the presence of an influential class of Semitic speaking people in the district; for the duration of Šamaš-nāšir's stay at Šušarrā was no doubt proportionate with the duration of Assyrian domination of the city, which cannot well have exceeded some twenty years: probably it was briefer. [Indeed it seems likely that the events with which the Shemshāra letters deal occurred over an extremely limited span of time, quite possibly less than a year.] The native population was probably largely Hurrian. The Hurrian name of the local ruler, Kuwari, must be relevant for this deduction. Names of residents of Šušarrā and its neighbourhood, gleaned from documents concerned with local affairs, suggest that there were certainly Hurrians among the members of the community sufficiently distinguished to entertain a correspondence with Kuwari: names such as Adiḡa, Ḥulukkatil, Izija, Kannani, Kizzi, Puḡuḡeni, Talpuḡarri, Tenduri, Ugutlae, (Zutlim, if a personal and not a geographical name). Other names borne by residents of Šušarrā do not appear to be demonstrably Hurrian, and a few are obviously Semitic, such as Etellum and Abdi-erāḡ. The latter name is of an especial interest in revealing the presence of at least one Eastern Canaanite (Amurrite) in the country east of the Tigris as far to the north as Shemshāra.⁶² Some settlement in Southern Kurdistan by

⁶² For a recent discussion of the East Canaanites (Amurrites, "Western Semites"), see J.-R. Kupper, *Nomades*, 197—244. See also D. O. Edzard, *Die "zweite Zwischenzeit" Babylonians* (1957), and his review of J.-R. Kupper, *Nomades*, in *OLZ* 53 (1958), 545—551; and cf. L. Matouš, *Einige Bemerkungen zum Beduinenproblem im alten Mesopotamien* (*ArOr* 26 [1958], 631—635.)—The presence at Šušarrā of one Iašub-Adad, another person with an East Canaanite name (recipient of the letter SH. 816, and mentioned in the letter SH. 809 [cf. note 32]), is inconclusive because this person may have been a foreign (Assyrian) agent holding a position similar to that proposed for Šamaš-nāšir (see § 22); it should be observed, however, that SH. 816 (and SH. 802) was despatched by an otherwise unknown Hurrian, Uššend(?)en, who calls himself "father" of Iašub-Adad.—It is at present

Semitic speaking groups of people had occurred by this time, it would appear; and knowledge of the cuneiform writing as well as of the Akkadian language must have been attended to by scribes called in from the cultural centres in the Mesopotamian Plain or by natives of the mountainous eastern countries, exposed to long training in the Mesopotamian scribal tradition.

(Note 62, continued.)

impossible to determine the reasons why SH. 917 should be inscribed on the edge with the East Canaanite name Zikri-Ištar (see note 70), and to establish whether this person is identical with one Zikri-Ištar, an employee of Iasmah-Adad's mentioned in the Mari letters *ARM* 4, 86, 17, and 5, 71, 8 and 22.

(If the identity of Zikri-Ištar [SH. 917] with the employee of Iasmah-Adad's, of the same name, is borne out by further study of the complete material, the following considerations may become relevant for the dating of the Shemshāra letters and their relation to Assyrian history:

- 1°. When Išmē-Dagan writes to Iasmah-Adad that he has succeeded to the throne of Assyria (*ARM* 4, 20), which presumably entailed his removal from Ekallātum to Šubat-Enlil, it seems to be implied that the eastern provinces, wholly or in part, were placed under Iasmah-Adad's jurisdiction, for it is stated (*ARM* 4, 20, 10 f.) that the latter was to assume control with the city of Uta. (For this city, cf. § 22, comment on SH. 861, 9, with references.)
- 2°. It should be observed that the Mari letter *ARM* 4, 25 (quoted in § 13), contains a statement to the effect that it is Iasmah-Adad who has expressed concern to Išmē-Dagan with regard to the fate of Šušarrā and the possibility of maintaining Assyrian control with the province. The letter is phrased in such a way as to make it conceivable that at the time when it was written, Išmē-Dagan had just surrendered his administration of the province to his brother, who accepted the burden of responsibility with some misgiving. Išar-Lim is to put Iasmah-Adad in the picture, and Išmē-Dagan places the information which is at his own disposal before his brother (*ARM* 4, 25, 9 ff.).
- 3°. Zikri-Ištar may have been a member of a staff appointed by Iasmah-Adad for control with eastern affairs, following the transfer of administration from Išmē-Dagan.

This hypothesis would explain satisfactorily the occurrence of Uta in *ARM* 4, 20, and relieve the difficulties with regard to the location of this city pointed out by Finet and Kupper (*Rép.* 137, note 1). It might, further, account for the fact that according to SH. 878 (§ 18), 16 f., Kuwari is to report to Išmē-Dagan in Šubat-Enlil.)

Appendix I

SH. 812 (see Fig. 12). (For circumstances of discovery, see § 11—12.)

(Obverse.)

a-na Ku-wa-ri qí-bí-ma

um-ma ^mŠe-ep-ra-tu

a-ḫu-ka-a-ma

^mZu-zu-um ḫa-ni-za-ru-um

5. *ša I-la-la-e^{KI} ša a-na Ku-sa-na-ar-ḫi-im*
iš-pu-ru-nu il-li-kam-ma
ù it-ti-šu LUGAL ša Ku-sa-na-ri-im
it-ra-am a-na A-li-a-e^{KI}
ù it-ti Ki-gi-ir-za ù ^mTa-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 ^mNa-aš-šu-ma-ar
ù ma ru ta ru gu ur ^mŠu(?)-úr(?)-ti
it-ti ša-bi-im 3 li-mi i-la-ku-nim
15. *ù ^mBe-er-di-ge-en-da-e GAL ^d<MAR.>TU*
ša Zu-ut-li-im it-ti um-ma-na-ti-šu(!)
a-na URU.KI Ku-un-ši-im^{KI} i-la-kam
ù ^mKi-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^{KI} la-we-em*
it-ta-al-ku i-na li-bi URU.KI
i-ba-aš-ši ša i-da-bu-bu
um-ma al-kam URU.KI 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 is-sa-al-mu ù ni-iš DINGIR.MEŠ

OBVERSE

5
 10
 15
 20
 25

LOWER EDGE

30
 * ERASURE

Fig. 12a. SH. 812.

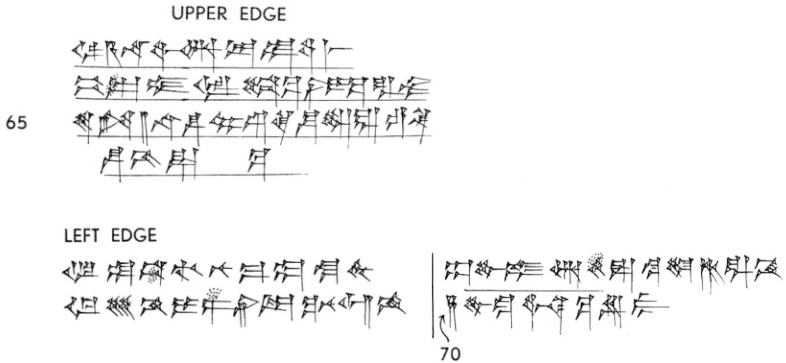


Fig. 12c. SH. 812.

ga-am-ra-am ta-ad-di-nu-šu-nu-šum
ḫa-ba-ti-šu-nu ṣa-ba-at-ma

(Lower edge.)

sa-li-im-šu-nu le-qé at-ta-ma
 30. *ti-de ki-ma na-ka-ma-t[um]*
ri-qa à ŠE a-na ṣa-bi-i[m]

(Reverse.)

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 à qé-me-em*
e-pu-úš ki-ma be-el-ka à ma-tum
i-ḫa-du-ú à šum-ka a-na da-ar i-ša-ka-nu
à WA AZ BI 5 me-tim šu-ul-qí-am
à at-ta wa-ar-ka-at ^mSa-am-si-^dIM
 40. *pu-ru-ús-ma šum-ma ul-li-iš pa-ni-šu*
iš-ta-ka-an-ma ni-sa-tum a-na ma-at
Û-te-em^{KI} la i-ba-aš-ši
ṣa-ba-ka da-am-qa-am ṣa-ab-tam-ma
i-na qa-ti-ka à i-li-am
 45. *à Lu-ul-li-i ta-ak-lu-tim i-na li-bi*
Šu-šar-ra-e^{KI} a-di at-ta te-li-am
li-ki(! D1)-lu-šu-nu-ti šum-ma wa-ar-ka-tam
ta-ap-ru-ús-ma pu-lu-uḫ-tum a-na ma-at
Û-te-em ṣa-ba-am <šu->uš-ba-am-ma

50. *ma-at Ú-te-em ù URU.KI Šu-šar-ra-e^{KI} li-šur*
ù at-ta it-ti šú-ḥa-ri-ka
e-li-am ù ma-tum m̀im-ma la i-qa-bi-kum
at-ta-a-ma ti-de 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. *ZU UD be-li-šu ú-ul ù-ša-di-il₅*
ù i-na i-di-ni ú-ul i-zi-iz
an-ni-a-tim i-qa-bu-ni-kum-ma

(Upper edge.)

ù a-na wa-ar-ka-at UD-me
bi-[i]š-tum ù li-ba-ni i-ma(! BA)-ra-aš

65. *te-er-tam a-na šu-lum URU.KI Šu-šar-ra-e^{KI}*
šu-pí-iš-ma

(Left edge.)

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-ḥi-iš la tu-ḥa-ra-am

70. *ša-bu-um wu-di qú-ru-ub*

(Translation.) Say to Kuwari: thus (says) Šepratu, your brother. Zuzum, the *hanizarum* of (the city of) Ilalae, who had sent a message (reading *išpurūnu*) to Kusanarḥim, came, and he brought with him the king of Kusanarim to (the city of) Aliae, and he had a meeting with Kigirza and Talpušarri, and they swore (lit., imposed) a definitive oath between them, and Naššumar, the king of Kusanarim, and Šurti(?),, are coming with an army of 3,000, and Berdigendae, the *rab Amurrim* of Zutlim, is coming to the city of Kunšum with his troops, and Kigirza with his army and the army of Kusanarim and Šudamelim — (they) have left to besiege (the city of) Arrunim (? Arrunum). (21 ff.) In the city (perhaps there) is (someone) who will say thus: "Come! I will give (*i. e.*, surrender) the city to you." Now, if the numerous kings of Lullum, who became your enemies,

will make peace, and you have granted them a definitive oath, (then) seize their grace (lit., their favourable [terms?]) and accept their peace! You yourself know that the grain stores are empty and that there is no grain for this army which is coming. Now, arrange a peace on good terms with Lullum and arrange for the transport (*i. e.*, delivery?) of grain and flour so that your lord and the country may rejoice and (so that) he may establish your name forever. And let 500 be requisitioned for me! And you must investigate the situation with regard to Samsi-Adad, (40 ff.) and if he has set his mind (lit., face) beyond (this?) (*i. e.*, proceeded further?), then let there be no anxiety on account of (*ana*) the country of Utem, (and then) take your good army (*i. e.*, the best of your army?) in hand and come up to me, and let them retain the trustworthy Lullaecans in (the city of) Šušarrae, until you have come up to me. If you have (already) investigated the situation, and (there is) fear on account of (*ana*) the country of Utem, (then) let the army remain (lit., settle down) so that it may protect the country of Utem and the city of Šušarrae, and you, with your servants: come up to me! — and let not the country say anything to (*i. e.*, against?) you. You yourself know their opinion (? , lit., mouth). In all future they will rise, and thus they will say, as follows: “He alone has done thus(?), (he) whose father and(?) made , and whom, as far as he is concerned, his lord loves like his (own) life — now, his lord has been under siege for three years, but he did not come, (60 ff.) and he did not extend his lord’s(?) , and he did not stand by our side.” These (things) they will say to (*i. e.*, against?) you, and (it will be) an evil deed until distant days, and our heart worries. Let omens be taken with regard to the welfare (*i. e.*, salvation?) of the city of Šušarrae, and you must set out and come away to me, and let the grain be transported to me under your supervision! I urge you: (do it) earliest, do not postpone (it). As you know, the army is near by.

(Commentary.)

Line 4 ^mZu-zu-um. This element is separated from the following *ḥa-ni-za-ru-um*, and interpreted as a personal name by comparison with SH. 822 (letter to Raimeja from Sin-išmēanni), 33 ff.:

- ù ša-ni-tam eš₁₅(iŠ)-te-ni-me-ma
 mZu-zu-um le-em-ni-iš
 35. i-te-ni-pé-eš ma-at Ú-te-em
 ù-da-ba-ab ù UDU.ĪIA-šu-nu
 i-la-qa-at šib(?ME)-qí(?DÍ) ma-am-ma-an
 ú-ul i-qa-bi-a-kum
 ù šú-ḥa-ru-ka i-na pa-ni-šu ú-da-pa-ru
 40. ma-am-ma-an ú-ul i-qa-bi-a-kum

(Translation.) Further, second (matter). I keep hearing (reports) and Zuzum keeps up constantly his evil conduct. The country of Utem he inconveniences and their sheep he snatches away. No one will mention the schemes(?) to you (*i. e.*, blame you for them?). And your servants stay away from his face. No one will mention (it) to you (*i. e.*, blame you for it?).

[Line 37: the reading of the signs ME DI is uncertain. For *šibqum*, see *Rép.* 257, *s.v.*, with reference to W. von Soden, *ZANF* 15 (1949), 176; note, however, that the value *šib* of the sign ME is not attested earlier than Middle Babylonian (W. von Soden, *Das akkadische Syllabar* [1948], No. 287). Line 39: for *duppurum*, see W. von Soden, *OrNS* 18 (1949), 393—395.]

Compare also the Nuzi name *Zu-zu*, *Zu-ú-zu* (*NPN* 279, *s.v.* *zuzu*), and the Gasur name *Zu-zu* (*HSS* 10, p. xxxix) discussed by I. J. Gelb, *HS* 53.

ḥa-ni-za-ru-um. A military title? (not, to my knowledge, attested elsewhere). Apparently an artificially Akkadianised form of a Hurrian(?) word. Compare perhaps *ḥa-ni-za-ra-a-e* (*KUB* 12, 44, ii 20), for which see references to literature in *NPN* 213, *s.v.* *ḥan* (subheading *ḥanizu*). Note also the group *ḥnzr* occurring in Ugaritic, for which C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook* (1947), 231 (No. 760), would propose a Semitic etymology (Arabic *خنزير*), whereas A. Goetze, *RHA* 12 (1952), 10 f. note 32, suggests that it may represent a Hurrian word **ḥinzuri*—“girl, lassie”. See also F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 36 (1939), 22.

- 5 *Ku-sa-na-ar-ḫi-im*. Comparison with the form used in lines 7 and 12 would suggest that /-ḫ-/ renders a stop representing a phoneme for which the cuneiform system of writing had no adequate sign.
- 6 *iš-pu-ru-nu*. The alternative reading of the last sign as -úš, which is possible from the epigraphic point of view, has been rejected for these reasons: (1) loss of the final vowel in the pronominal suffix -šu is without parallel in the Shemshāra letters (although not unknown in Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian; see W. von Soden, *GAG* § 42 g note 7, and I. J. Gelb, *MAD* 2, 174 f.); (2) there does not appear to be a member of the governing clause for a suffix -šu to resume.—The suffix -nu has been analysed, therefore, as a rare occurrence of the subjunctive indicator varying with -ni and restricted to the Assyrian dialects of Akkadian. See I. J. Gelb, *BiOr* 12 (1955), 109 f.
- 8 Transposition of predicate and prepositional group is not infrequent in Shemshāra letters composed by local correspondents; compare SH. 813, 8 (quoted in note 57). For similar sequences in classical Akkadian, where they are of an exceptional nature, and in dialectal Akkadian from other linguistically provincial areas, see W. von Soden, *GAG* § 130 c—e.
- 12 ^m*Na-aš-šu-ma-ar*. The second sign of the name, AŠ, is written with a small vertical wedge above the main stroke. The same peculiarity is found, *e. g.*, in AŠ as written in SH. 920, 34 (*aš-šum*) [see Fig. 6]; and a similar deviating form is attested in the Mari letter *ARM* 1, 103, 12'.
- 13 *ma ru ta ru gu ur*: unintelligible. The reading of the two first signs of the following name is conjectural.
- 15 GAL ^d(MAR.)TU. Free emendation, which is supported by the circumstance that the context requires a reference to a military commander. For parallel instances of *rab Amurrim* written GAL AN MAR TU, see J.-R. Kupper, *Nomades*, 192 f.
- 16 *Zu-ut-li-im*. Name recurs in SH. 811, 8 and 11 (without determinative). Aside from this [personal or geograph-

ical?] name and the names of its sender (^m*Te-en-du-ri* [cf. note 33]) and addressee (*Ku-wa-ri*), the letter SH. 811 refers to the following persons: ^m*Ta-al-pu-šar-ri* (l. 3 and 32), *Hu-lu-uk-ka-di-il* (l. 4 [cf. SH. 858: § 25]), *Di-ma-ti-la-ú* (l. 12 [personal name?]), and ^m*Ú-gu-ut-la-e* (l. 13), and to a city called *Zi-gu-la-a*^{KI}. (The sign LA is quite clear in this name which would not seem, therefore, to have any relation to the personal name read *Zigulae* by A. Ungnad, *Subartu* [1936], 119 and 136, inasmuch as this reading has been corrected by I. J. Gelb, *HS* 19 and 38, into *Zi-gu-UM-e*. Gelb, *HS* 105, quotes a Nuzi name *Zi-ku-um-mi* [no reference]. Note also the Nuzi name *Zi-ku-la* [NPN 277].)

-šú(!): reading confirmed by collation.

- 17 *Ku-un-ši-im*^{KI}: see SH. 822, 5 (quoted in note 67) and SH. 861, 10 and 11 (§ 22). Compare perhaps the personal name *Kunšimatum* (fem.) occurring at Mari (see *Rép.* 151, s.v.).
- 20 *Ar-ru-ni-im*^{KI}. A gentilicium formed from this city name seems to be attested in Akkadian texts of the Kassite period; A. T. Clay, in *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period* (*YOS* 1 [1912]), 25, quotes *A-ru-na-aju-u* [Clay's transliteration, where *-aju-* presumably renders *-a-a-*] "the Arunite" (no reference to source or sources). I owe this reference to Mr. M. Trolle Larsen.
- 22 For the construction of *ibašši* in the present context, cf. similar usages in the Mari letters, to which references are listed in *Rép.* 178, s.v. *ibašši*.
- 35 f. *ša šu-úš-ši-im . . . e-pu-úš*. For the construction of *epēšum* with *ša*, cf. *Rép.* 256, s.v. *ša* (1°). The mimation in *šuššim* is grammatically incorrect.
- 38 WA AZ BI: unintelligible. ?Compare *wašpum* (*Rép.* 279: "partie en pierre d'une bâtisse(?)")?
- 41 f. *ma-at Ū-te-em*^{KI} (again in lines 49 and, with a variant writing, 50). Recurs in SH. 822, 35 (quoted above, in comment on l. 4 of the present letter), where it is stated that Zuzum engaged in hostile activity against this country.

There is one reference to the *māt Utem* in the Mari letters (*ARM* 1, 5, 34; *cf. Rép.* 137), from which it would appear that this country, with a city in it called Burullum (*cf.* § 17: SH. 915, comment on l. 5), has been conquered by Išmē-Dagan in contest with Lidāja (on this person, a Turukkaean commander, see § 17 and § 28). See also SH. 861 (§ 22), 9 with comment.

- 43 f. On the inversion of prepositional group and predicate, see above, comment on l. 8.
- 49 <šu->uš-*ba-am-ma*: emendation proposed by Dr. J.-R. Kupper.
- 50 *li-šur*. For a suggestion leading to the identification of the last sign, I am indebted to Dr. J.-R. Kupper, who observed that the context suggests the verb *lišsur*. The sign is similar to Ch. Fossey, *Manuel d'assyriologie*, 2 (1926), No. 28097, from which it differs only in having four initial strokes.
- 53 f. *ur-ra-am ši-ra-am*. For the possible Hurrian origin of these words, see the proposal of E. Weidner, *AfO* 15 (1945—51), 83. See also J.-R. Kupper, *BiOr* 11 (1954), 119, and J. Bottéro, *RA* 52 (1958), 169. Note that the semantic equivalent of the term *urram šeram*, *viz. ana warkāt ūmē*, occurs in lin. 63 of the present letter.
- 55 *i-te-pè-eš*. The value *pè* of the sign BAD is not otherwise attested in Old Babylonian, but does occur in Old Akkadian, Old (and Middle) Assyrian, and in the Amarna and Nuzi texts (*cf.* W. von Soden, *Das akkadische Syllabar* [1948], No. 42).
- 56 f. The relative clause is not intelligible to me (read perhaps *ša a-bu-šu ú a-bi a-bi-šu*<<-*nu*>>, &c. ["whose father and whose father's father", &c.], but note that the sign *Ú* is not usually employed for the conjunction *u* [two examples of this usage may, however, be noted: SH. 813, 5, quoted in note 57, and SH. 876 (§ 25), 6]). The identity of the last sign of l. 56, here rendered *-tam(?)*, is uncertain.
- 59 f. Note the use of the sign *Û* in the negation *ù-ul* and for initial *u-* in the verb *ù-ša-di-il₅*.

- 60 ZU UD: a construct state is required before the following genitive. Note the use of the sign LI (for NI with the value *lí*) in *be-li-šu*.
- 64 *bī-[i]š-tum*. *bīštum* translated as “evil deed”. (Dr. J.-R. Kupper refers to *CAD* 4 [1958], 205, for the phrase *bīštam epēšum* “commit an evil deed”).
- 68 *i-pa-ni-ka*: for *ina pānika*. For this assimilation, see W. von Soden, *GAG* § 114 c and § 115 l.

Appendix II

Preliminary Classification of the Shemshāra Texts.

(A). Fragments of tablets with text of indeterminate character.

SH.	801	831	853	903	923	929	932	935	939
	815	832	855	904	924	930	933	936	940
	830	833	895	909	928	931	934	938	

(B). Administrative and economic texts.

SH.	800	
	803	
	806	
	807	
	817	(fragment of envelope with impression of cylinder seal; see § 12 and Figs. 4—5. See also text copy accompanying note 34).
	834	
	835	
	836	(see § 26).
	837	
	838	
	839	
	840	
	841	
	842	
	843	
	844	
	845	
	846	
	847	
	848	
	849	

SH. 850

851

852 (D) (fragment of envelope with trace of impression of cylinder seal).

854

863

864

867 (see § 27 and Fig. 11).

869

870 (quoted in § 26).

871

890 (20 unjoined fragments of envelopes with impressions of cylinder seals).

893

896

897

898 (fragment of envelope with trace of impression of cylinder seal).

901

902

937 (fragment of envelope with impression of cylinder seal).

(C). Letters.

Abbreviations and symbols used in the following list.

K. The name Kuwari in the form *Ku-wa-ri*. The abbreviation is discarded in cases where the name is partly destroyed in the original text or written anomalously.

b. *bēlum* "lord" as occurring in the formula *um-ma be-el-ka-a-ma* "thus (says) your lord". For the proposed identity of this person with Išmē-Dagan, son of Šamši-Adad I of Assyria, see § 20.

— Indicates name destroyed in the original text or totally missing owing to break in tablet.

() Indicates name not seen or read at the present stage of investigation.

The suffix *-ma*, which normally follows the sender's name in the introductory formula of Old Babylonian letters, is not used consistently in the Shemshāra letters. It has, therefore, been retained in transliteration in the following list where it does occur with senders' names.

The determinative sign DIŠ (transliterated ^m) before personal names of male persons is not used consistently in the Shemshāra letters. (For its use in the Mari letters, see *Rép.* 103 f., 2°.) In the following list it is, therefore, shown where it does occur.

SH.	SENDER	RECIPIENT
802	Úš ⁶³ -še-e[n-de?-en] ⁶⁴ a-ḫu-ka-a-[ma]	Pu[(?)- ⁶⁵]
804	()	()
805	()	()
808	—	—
809	^d UTU-ši- ^d IM-ma	K. See note 32 and p. 74.
810	Ta-al-pu-šar-ri	K.
811	^m Te-en-du-ri-ma	^m K.
812	^m Še-ep-ra-tu a-ḫu-ka-a-ma	K. See Appendix I and Fig. 12.
813	^m Hu-lu-uk-ka-di-il-ma	K. Quoted in note 57.
814	b.	K.
816	^m Ú[š-š]e-en-[de](?) ⁶⁶ -en [a]-bu-k[a-a]-ma	Ia-šu-ub- ^d IM
818	()	()
819	()	K.
820	()	K.
821	()	()
822	^{md} EN+ZU-iš-me-an-ni ⁶⁷ ra-im-ka-a-ma	Ra-i-me-ia ⁶⁸ Quoted in note 67 and in Appendix I, comment on SH. 812, 4.
823	()	()

⁶³ The sign BAD with the reading úš, a value otherwise restricted to the Mari texts (cf. W. von Soden, *Das akkadische Syllabar* [1948], No. 42, and J. Botéro in *Rép.*, 62), occurs freely in the Shemshāra documents; e. g., SH. 887 (§ 15), 13 and 14: *In-du-úš-še*; SH. 812 (*Appendix I*), 34 and 36: *e-pu-úš*, 35: *šu-úš-ši-im*, 68: *šu-úš-ši-a-am*; SH. 813 (note 57), 13: *lu-bu-úš-ti*; SH. 829, 6: *šu-úš-ši-im*; SH. 921 (§ 19), 17: *lu-úš-pu-ur*; and *passim*. The reading of BAD as úš in the present name is based on comparison with Nuzi names formed on the Hurrian element *ušš* (*NPN* 273, *s.v.*) which, in the Shemshāra letters, recurs in the personal name Endušše (§ 14 [SH. 920, 8 and 36] and § 15 [see above]). Note that in the Nuzi forms of names based on this element, as well as in the two Shemshāra names, the prefixed form of the element is *uššen-*, whereas the affixed form is *-ušše*.

⁶⁴ Restored by comparison with the name of the sender of SH. 816, *q.v.*

⁶⁵ Reading of sign uncertain. The remains of the sign are as follows:



⁶⁶ For the reading of the first sign of the name, see note 63. *[-del(?)]*: this sign, which is damaged, may also be KI (*[-kel-en]*). The latter reading is perhaps supported by comparison with the Hurrian element *ken* (*NPN* 225); note also, however, Hurrian *-teni* (*NPN* 264).

⁶⁷ Sin-išmēanni, who recurs as co-sender with Talpušarri of the letter SH. 829

824	<i>Ta-al-pu-šar-ri</i> <i>a-ḥu-ka-a-ma</i>	K.
825	()	()
826	()	K.
827	^m Še-ep-ra-tu <i>a-ḥu-ka-a-ma</i>	K. Quoted in note 58. See also p. 74.
828	()	()

(cf. note 69), appears to write to Raimeja from the city of Kunšum (for this city, cf. SH. 812 [Appendix I], 17, and SH. 861 [§ 22], 10 and 11):

(SH. 822, obverse.)

a-na Ra-i-me-ja

qi-bi-ma

um-ma ^{md}EN+ZU-iš-me-an-ni

ra-im-ka-a-ma

5. LUGAL ša-li-im a-lum Ku-un-šu-um^{KI}

a-ḥu-ka É-ka aš-š]a-at-ka

ù ma-ru-ka ù a-na-ku

ra-im-ka ša-al-ma-ku (&c.)

(Translation.) Say to Raimeja: thus (says) Sin-išmeanni, who loves you. The king is well. The city of Kunšum, your brother, your house, your wife, and your son (are well), and I, who loves you, am well. (&c.)

⁶⁸ Raimeja: possibly a Semitic name based on the participle *rā'im* "one who loves", being a hypocoristic form of a longer name ("[divine name] is one who loves"). The hypocoristic ending *-ja* is, however, common in Akkadian as well as in Hurrian names (cf. *NPN* 294, s.v. *-ja* [Akk.], and 219 [Hurr.]), but the initial *r-* is against considering Raimeja a Hurrian name, *r-* being a phoneme which does not seem to occur at all in initial position in Hurrian proper names (see E. A. Speiser, *IH* § 38, and cf. *NPN* 248, s.v. *-r*).—Raimeja is co-recipient with Kuwari of the letter SH. 829, *q.v.* (with note 69).

Note, however, that all letters to Raimeja are despatched by Sin-išmeanni (*viz.*, SH. 818 [see Appendix II, Addenda], SH. 822, and SH. 829 [2]), who calls himself, in the two former cases, "he who loves you" (*ra-im-ka-a-ma*); one of his letters, SH. 826 (see Appendix II, Add.), is addressed to Kuwari, with the same addition. It is possible that *ra-i-me-ja* should be understood not as a personal name but as a term of endearment (*rā'imī*, cas. obl. *rā'imīja*, "he who loves me") by which Sin-išmeanni preferred to address Kuwari. The circumstance that *ra-i-me-ja* does not occur with the determinative sign DIŠ, is an argumentum e silentio.

The relationship between the letters SH. 812, 818, 822, 826, 827, and 829, a problem raised by this possibility and by the circumstance that SH. 812, 822, and 827 are from the hand of the same scribe, will require further study. It cannot at present be determined with certainty whether the use of ME (for MI), in *ra-i-ME-ja*, reflects a dialectal peculiarity or an orthographic (Old Assyrian?) convention, and whether the notation *ra-i-mi-ja* is justified, although a number of (Old) Assyrian features may be noted in SH. 812 (see Appendix I), lines 6 (see Commentary), 52 (*mi-im-ma*), 59 (*ù-ut*), 60 (*ù-ša-di-il₅*) and perhaps 68 (*i-pa-ni-ka*; see Comm.). The use of ME (*mī*) is also attested in SH. 822, 24 (*ur-ra-am ši-ra-am mi-im-ma la-a ta-qa-bi*), and in SH. 827, 44 (*a-na mi-ni-im*) and 53 (*a-na mi-nim*). (The form *mara-*, of *mārum* "son", before suffix, occurring in SH. 827, 11 [a passage quoted in note 58], may be compared with Old Assyrian *merā-šu* of which *marā-šu* may represent a dialectal variant.) Note further SH. 827, 16: *a-na* *še₄-mi-im*; 21: *še₄-ma-am ki-il₅*; 58: *i-di-in₄* (for *iddin*).

829 ⁶⁹	1: ^m Ta-al-pu-šar-ri a-ḥu-ka-a-ma	K.
	2: ^d EN+ZU-iš-me-an- -ni-ma	Ra-i-me-ja
852(A)	b.	K.
852(B)	—	—
852(C)	—	—
856	I[š-m]e- ^d Da-[g]an-ma	K. See § 19 and Fig. 9
857	()	K.
858	Ḥu-lu-uk-ka-ti-il	K. See § 25.
859	()	K.
860	—	—
861	b.	K. See § 22.
862	()	()
865	()	()
866	()	()
868	()	K.
872	()	K.
873	()	K.
874	Wa-an-ni ma-ru-ka-a-ma	K. See § 24 and Fig. 10.
875	E-te-el-lum a-ḥu-ka-a-ma	K.
876	E-te-el-lum-ma	K. See § 25.
877	()	K.
878	b.	K. See § 18 and Fig. 8.
879	Ku-ra-ša-nu-um-ma	K. ù ^d UTU-na-šir. Quoted in § 21.
880	()	K.
881	—	—
882	()	()
883	b.	K.
884	^m Ta-al-pu-šar-r[i] a-ḥu-ka-a-ma	Ku-w[a-ri]

⁶⁹ The major part of this tablet (obv., lower edge, rev., and upper edge) is devoted to a message to Kuwari from Talpušarri. The inscription on the left edge is a message (written in the same hand as the rest of the text) to Raimeja from Sin-išmēanni, introduced as a new letter (*a-na R. qi-bi-ma um-ma* ^dEN+ZU-iš-me-an-ni). For the rare practice of despatching two or more messages to different recipients, written together on one tablet, cf. O. Schroeder, *Ein mündlich zu bestellender altbabylonischer Brief* (OLZ 21 [1918], 5 f.). From this arrangement of SH. 829, the significant conclusion emerges that a close association must certainly have existed between Talpušarri and Sin-išmēanni on one side, and between Kuwari and Raimeja on the other. For the possible identity of Raimeja with Kuwari, on the assumption that the former noun is not a proper name, see the preceding note.

885	—	—
886	()	K.
887	b.	<i>Ku-w[a-ri]</i> . See § 15 and Fig. 7.
888	b.	K.
889	()	()
891	—	—
892	()	()
894	()	()
899	()	()
900	<i>Pa-an-ni ma-ru-ka-a-ma</i>	<i>Ku-wa-ri-im</i>
905	()	K.
906	—	—
907	()	K.
908	()	K.
910	—	—
911	—	—
912	<i>Mi-gir</i> - ^d IM <i>ra-im-ka-a-ma</i>	K.
913	<i>E-te-el-lum-ma</i>	K.
914	()	K.
915	b.	K. See § 17.
916	()	K.
917 ⁷⁰	b.	K.
918	^{md} EN+ZU- <i>iš-me-an-ni</i> <i>a-ḥu-ka-a-ma</i>	<i>Na-wi-ra-am-ša-ru-úr</i> ⁷¹
919	b.	K.
920	b.	K. See § 13 and Fig. 6.
921	<i>Ku-ra-ša-nu-um-ma</i>	K. See § 19.
922	b.	K. Quoted in § 15 (comment on SH. 887, ll. 33 f.).
925	—	—
926	—	—
927	—	—
941	<i>Ia-k[i(?).....]</i>	— ⁷²

⁷⁰ On left edge, in small script, the name *Zi-ik-ri-Iš₈-tár* is added, bearing no syntactic relationship to the text of the letter.

⁷¹ Compare the name Nawira-Šarur, attested in the Mari letter ARM 1, 8, 35 (cf. *Rép.* 153, s.v.) as the name of a member of the Wilanum tribe. With reference to *Rép.* 153, note 1, it may be observed that Nawiram-Šarur, the recipient of SH. 918, is a man, as shown by the masculine suffix in *aḥu-kā-ma*.

⁷² My reference to a personal name [x]-*li-bi*-[x (x)] (see *Sumer* 13, 1/2 [1957], 217), allegedly occurring in this text, is to be corrected.

942	()	K.
943	()	K.
944	()	K.
945	()	()

[ADDENDA. Since writing this Preliminary Report, the author has been able to collate the Shemshāra tablets which are at present in Baghdad. The following corrections and additions are the first result of this collation.

SH. 801 and SH. 909, which are listed above under Group (A), should in fact be assigned to Group (C), as shown in the following list. SH. 909, a number assigned to a group of fragments which I originally believed to form parts of one tablet, has proved to represent at least three letters, two of which (SH. 909 A—B and SH. 909 C—D) are from *b.* to *K.*, whereas in the third (SH. 909 E) the names of sender and recipient are lost; the writing of this fragment is, however, identical with that of SH. 906, and it is possible that SH. 909 E is part of the obverse of SH. 906. SH. 859 has been joined to SH. 881, and SH. 859 + 881 proves to be a letter to Kuwari from Etellum, as shown below.

801	<i>Ta-al-pu-[šar-ri]</i>	K.
805	<i>Hu-lu-ka-di-il</i>	K.
818	^{md} EN + ZU- <i>iš-me-an-ni ra-im-ka-a-ma</i>	<i>Ra-i-me-ja</i>
819	<i>Ta-al-pu-šar-ri</i>	K.
826	^d EN + ZU- <i>iš-me-an-ni [r]a-im-ka-a-ma</i>	K.
857	<i>E-te-el-lum a-ḥu-ka-a-ma</i>	K.
859 + 881	<i>E-te-el-lum a-ḥu-ka-a-ma</i>	K.
877	<i>E-te-el-lum ra-im-ka-a-ma</i>	K.
880	LUG[AL]ma	K.
881	see 859.	
909 A—B	<i>b.</i>	K.
909 C—D	<i>b.</i>	K.
909 E	—	—
914	<i>Wa-an-na(?)</i>	K.
916	<i>Ku-ra-ša-nu-um-ma</i>	K.
925	<i>E-te-el-lum ra-im-ka-a-ma</i>	K.
926	<i>b.</i>	K[<i>u-wa-ri</i>]
943	<i>b.</i>	K.

Baghdad, March, 1959.]

Indices

All references, except those to the unpublished letters SH. 809 and SH. 827 (see p. 10), are to pages. The sequence of letters is alphabetical; *ḥ* is listed with *h*, *ī* with *i*, *š* after *s*, *ṣ* after *š*, *ṭ* after *t*. *ṣ* used only in ancient names; words not found under *š* should be sought under *sh*. References printed in bold-face type indicate that the catch-word involved is quoted from a text transliterated and translated wholly or in part in this Report; such references are to pages where the translations of these texts appear. Proper names and *nomina gentilitia* occurring in the letters SH. 809 and SH. 827 are included in *Index A*; references to these texts are placed between brackets.

Abbreviations used in the Index: (c.) country, (k.) king, (mt.) mountain, (n.) note, (p.) people, (p. n.) personal name, (r.) river, (s.) site, (t.) town.

INDEX A.

General index, including references to personal names, place names, and *nomina gentilitia*.

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 the temple of Adad of Arrapĥa
 he (*i. e.*, Iašub-Adad, *q. v.*) swore
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iš-ba-tu ma-ti-ma i-na ma-ti-šu
KUG.UDGUD.ḪIA.UDU.ḪIA
ú še-em mi-im-ma ú-ul al-qú-ut
a-lam^{KI} iš-te-en i-na ma-ti-šu
ú-ul aš-b[a-at] “since the day
 when he (*i. e.*, Iašub-Adad) seized
 the ‘horn’ of my garment, I have
 never appropriated silver, oxen,
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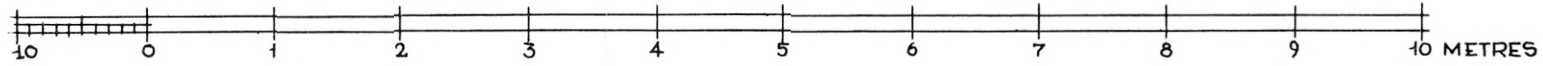
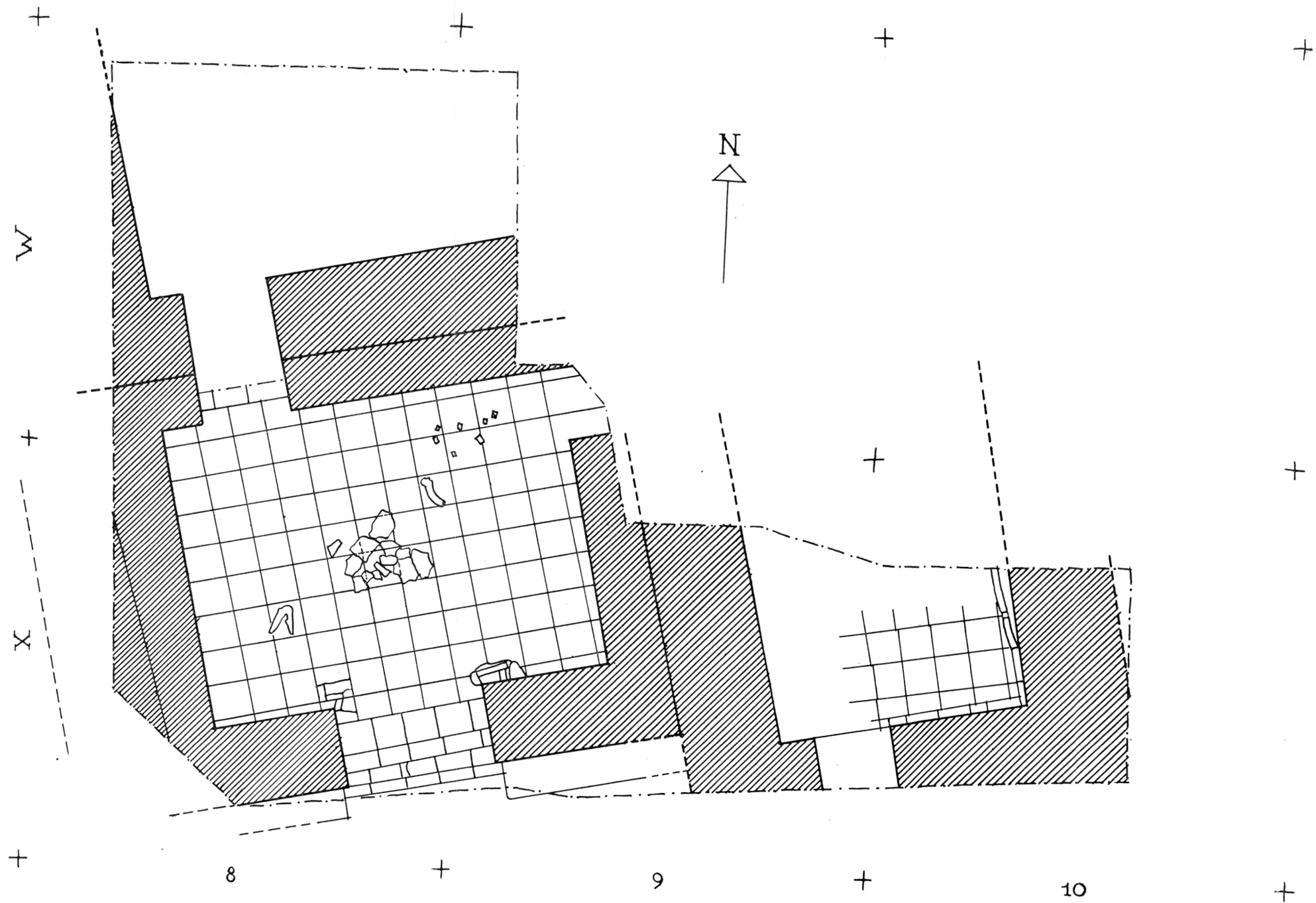


Plate I. Plan of the Tablet Room of Tell Shemshāra. Drawing by M. L. Friis.