

The Shemshāra Archives 2 The Administrative Texts

By JESPER EIDEM



Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 15

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters

Commissioner: Munksgaard · Copenhagen 1992

The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters

publishes four monograph series, an Annual Report and, occasionally, special publications. The format is governed by the requirements of the illustrations, which should comply with the following measures.

Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser, 8°

Authorized Abbreviations

Hist.Fil.Medd.Dan.Vid.Selsk.
(printed area 175 × 104 mm, 2700 units)

Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter, 4°
(History, Philosophy, Philology,
Archaeology, Art History)

Hist.Filos.Skr.Dan.Vid.Selsk.
(printed area 2 columns,
each 199 × 177 mm, 2100 units)

Matematisk-fysiske Meddelelser, 8°
(Mathematics, Physics,
Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology)

Mat.Fys.Medd.Dan.Vid.Selsk.
(printed area 180 × 126 mm, 3360 units)

Biologiske Skrifter, 4°
(Botany, Zoology, Palaeontology,
General Biology)

Biol.Skr.Dan.Vid.Selsk.
(printed area 2 columns,
each 199 × 77 mm, 2100 units)

Oversigt, Annual Report, 8°

Overs.Dan.Vid.Selsk.

The Academy invites original papers that contribute significantly to research carried on in Denmark. Foreign contributions are accepted from temporary residents in Denmark, participants in a joint project involving Danish researchers, or partakers in discussion with Danish contributors.

Instructions to Authors

Manuscripts from contributors who are not members of the Academy will be refereed by two members of the Academy. Authors of accepted papers receive galley proof and page proof which should be returned promptly to the editor. Minidisks etc. may be accepted; contact the editor in advance, giving technical specifications.

Alterations causing more than 15% proof changes will be charged to the author(s). 50 free copies are supplied. Order form, quoting a special price for additional copies, accompanies the page proof. Authors are urged to provide addresses for up to 20 journals which may receive review copies.

Manuscripts not returned during the production of the book are not returned after printing. Original photos and art work are returned when requested.

Manuscript

General. – Manuscripts and illustrations must comply with the details given above. The original ms. and illustrations plus one clear copy of both should be sent to the undersigned editor.

NB: A ms. should not contain less than 32 *printed* pages. This applies also to the Mat. Fys.Medd., where contributions to the history of science are welcome.

Language. – English is the preferred language. Danish, German and French mss. are accepted and in special cases other languages. Where necessary, language revision must be carried out before final acceptance.

The Shemshāra Archives 2 The Administrative Texts

By JESPER EIDEM



Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter **15**

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters

Commissioner: Munksgaard · Copenhagen 1992

Abstract

Tell Shemshāra, located in the intermontane Rania plain in the western Zagros (northeastern Iraq), was sounded and partially excavated by Danish and Iraqi archaeological expeditions in 1957-59. Among the finds were some 250 clay tablets with cuneiform writing constituting remains of palace archives of letters and administrative records dating to the early 18th century B. C. This volume presents an *editio princeps* of all the administrative records, a total of 146 tablets or fragments of tablets. The introductory first part of the volume contains studies of the contents and historical context of the material.

The administrative records found in the palace at Shemshāra formed parts of two different archives. The first group belonged, together with the letters found, to an archive kept by the ruler of the ancient town, a certain Kuwari. The texts in this group deal almost exclusively with the administration of clothing, metal items, and weapons received or issued in the palace. The second group of records, found separately, concerns mainly agricultural products received or issued by the palace.

In contrast to similar records from other sites the administrative texts from Shemshāra are not dated, but prosopographic studies show that they must be contemporary with the political letters found at Shemshāra and dated firmly to ca. 1785 B.C.

Drawing on all the sources from Shemshāra some basic outlines of political and socio-economic structures in northeastern Iraq and northwestern Iran at this time can be reconstructed. Shemshāra and the countryside around it, originally a province in a confederate polity ruled by local kings, became the easternmost outpost for an expanding, but ephemeral, lowland empire and the period documented witnessed dramatic political and social changes. The convergence of these two different historical situations is to some extent reflected in the administrative records and is studied through prosopographic analysis.

The onomastic material in the records is also an important source for ethno-linguistic patterns. Analysis of this evidence shows that the dominant local language in an extensive area of northeastern Iraq and northwestern Iran in this period was Hurrian, while traces of other, poorly defined, linguistic strata, are found. The evidence, when compared with an assumed ethnic division between Turukkeans and Lulleans in the region, suggests that this distinction was primarily socio-political rather than linguistic.

JESPER EIDEM
The Carsten Niebuhr Institute
Njalsgade 78
DK-2300 Copenhagen S



1. View north from Shemshāra Acropolis with camp of The Danish Dokan Expedition on lower mound north
(phot. Jørgen Læssøe).

Table of Contents

Preface	7
Introductory Remark: The Significance of the Shemshāra Archives	8
I. INTRODUCTION	11
1. Archaeological and Historical Context	11
A. The Excavations at Tell Shemshāra	11
B. The Administrative Archives	14
C. Historical Context	16
2. Types, Formats and Contents of the Texts	21
A. Archive 1	21
B. Archive 2	26
C. Archival and Chronological Patterns	33
3. Syn- and Diachronic Convergence	37
A. The Local System	37
B. A Stage of Transition	42
C. The Dating of the Texts	44
4. Ethno-Linguistic Patterns	46
A. The Onomastic Material	46
B. An Aspect of Zagros Ethnography	50
C. Appendix: Notes on Utûm Geography	54
II CATALOGUE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE TABLETS	57
Archive 2	57
Archive 1	76
Indices	
Geographical Names	88
Personal Names	90
Deities	101
Words and subjects discussed	101
List of letters from Shemshāra published or made known	102
Bibliographical References	103
Handcopies	107
Photographs	156

Preface

This volume presents an edition of all the Old Babylonian administrative documents from Tell Shemshāra – ancient Šušarrā. These texts consist of two distinct groups:

First the administrative tablets from the archive of Kuwari, found in room 2 of the level V palace in the lower town in 1957, and excavated by the Danish Dokan Expedition directed by Professors Harald Ingholt and Jørgen Læssøe. The expedition was sponsored jointly by the Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish Government Foundation for the Promotion of Research. At the subsequent division of finds most of the administrative tablets from Kuwari's archive were made part of the Danish lot, and are now in Copenhagen.

Secondly the tablets found in two other rooms of the same building in 1958, and excavated by an Iraqi expedition under the Directorate General of Antiquities, and directed by Dr. Abd al-Qadir at-Tekrîti. All of these tablets, except a few re-allocated to the Erbil Museum, are now in the *Iraq Museum*, Baghdad.

Jørgen Læssøe, who assumed responsibility for the publication of all the inscribed material from Tell Shemshāra, has over the years made much of this available in a number of books and articles, but to date only a small number of the administrative texts have been published or discussed in detail (see notes to individual texts in the catalogue and the list of letters treated previously p. 102). In 1979 Læssøe, with his customary generosity, suggested to me, then a graduate student in the Institute of Assyriology at the University of Copenhagen, that I should undertake a study of the administrative texts from Shemshāra and subsequently edit their final publication. At this time excellent handcopies in various stages of preparation were available for many of the texts, and during a stay in Baghdad the same year I was able to make a study of the material now in the Iraq Museum.

The tablets from Tell Shemshāra have an importance exceeding their number and overt infor-

mative value and my subsequent immersion in these problems as well as other commitments have unfortunately delayed the appearance of the present volume, but have, I hope, also served to enhance its quality.

Prior to the publication a final collation of the material in Baghdad was planned, but due to various factors such a scheme has proved impossible. Instead the copies have been carefully checked against the virtually complete photographic record available in Copenhagen, and rather than delay the publication any further it was decided if possible to publish separately at a later date any corrections and additions which may result from a new collation. Given the poor state of preservation of many texts, especially those found in 1958, it is my feeling that further intensive collation could probably improve details like some of the many broken PNs in the texts, but would not significantly alter understanding of the material.

The present author has established the transliterations and commentary independently and of course assumes full responsibility for views expressed in this volume, but it must be added that the basis for a publication of these difficult texts remains the many, virtually faultless copies originally prepared by Læssøe, who also over the years has given freely of his time and of his knowledge concerning the Shemshāra texts. I owe him much as an inspiring scholar and a friend. Other of my former teachers in the Institute of Assyriology in Copenhagen (now part of The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies) likewise deserve my sincere gratitude. Foremost Prof. M. T. Larsen whose work on the historical context of the Shemshāra archives is important for an understanding of the texts (cf. Larsen 1976, p. 88, 1977, and 1986), and who has given me important advice on issues discussed in the following pages. Last but not least I would like to thank the Carlsberg Foundation for its generous financial support of my work.

Copenhagen, October 1990

Introductory Remark:

The Significance of the Shemshāra Archives

The distribution of epigraphic finds from early second mill. B. C. contexts in the Near East seemingly shows the Zagros as the eastern limit of literacy and a paraliterate border zone between the historically well-documented cultures to the west and completely non-literate areas on the Iranian plateau. Apart from areas in the southern sectors of the Zagros controlled by the Elamite state of the *sukkal-mahs*, which in significant ways remained culturally integrated with lowland Mesopotamia, excavations of levels in this time span further north in the mountain valleys of Luristan, Kurdistan and Azerbaijan, like Godin III:2, Hasanlu VI, and Haftavan VIB, have to date revealed no written documents.¹

In this context the archives excavated at Tell Shemshāra in the Dokan valley in Southern Kurdistan, gain a special importance, as they appear to move the hitherto assumed border of literacy further east. Apart from the administrative texts treated in this volume, the epigraphic material from Shemshāra, which all dates to the early 18th century B. C., includes the well-known letters sent to the ruler of the town, a certain *Kuwari*. These letters can be divided into two major groups according to their origin, those sent from the west, from Šamši-Adad I., his son Išme-Dagan, and their officials, and secondly those from local associates of *Kuwari*, prominently his immediate superior, *Talpu-šarri*, and other people in the local kingdom. Although none of the geographical names mentioned in this latter group of the correspondence can be placed with any accuracy on a map, there can be little doubt that the local horizon of the texts must include rather wide areas of the western Zagros, and hence a tradition and practice of writing existed there in the early second mill. In fact it appears that epistolary texts were exchanged between at least

rulers and officials in an area spanning the entire stretch of the western Zagros, from Elam to the northern confines of Kurdistan, and there is no question of these texts displaying primitive styles, as shown by the two magnificent letters SH 812 and SH 827, both well-written and in good Akkadian. From this evidence it may be concluded that if excavations in the northern and central western Zagros have not yet produced any texts from this period, this is not due to local non-literacy, but to the fact that the right sites or levels have not been explored. In all probability letter archives of a similar or larger order than that from Shemshāra still lie buried in some of the mounds in the valleys of the western Zagros.

This observation obviously poses a number of questions: If a postulated local tradition of writing really existed in the Zagros, when and where did it originate, and was it just an ephemeral phenomenon, closely restricted to a specific period of time? How do the administrative texts from Shemshāra fit into the local traditions? And finally what is the wider significance of this phenomenon in the context of mountain society?

The first question is best answered by a brief review of other epigraphic finds from the extreme eastern periphery of Mesopotamia. Apart from inscriptions on the famous rock-reliefs of Anubanini at Sar-i-Pol-i-Zohab (see Börker-Klähn 1982, 138f), and inscriptions of the kings of Šimurrum (see Whiting 1987, 38 w. further lit.), all we have from these areas are a few texts excavated in the Rania area or in the Shahrizor valley. From the Rania

1: Cf. however, C. Burney 1977, 2: [in Haftavan VIB] "... one finds the barest hints of the possibility of writing, in the form of a clay tablet with dots, surely for numeration only ..."

area, from Tell Brustī close to Shemshāra, the find of a single Ur III text from the reign of Ibī-Sīn is reported (v. Dijk/Læssøe, pers. comm.), and at Bazmusian was found a small group of very fragmentary middle Assyrian letters dated to the 13th century (Læssøe 1959c). The texts from Shahrizor, from Tell Bakr Awa, remain mostly unpublished, but also seem to date to the late 2. millennium B. C. (cf. Weidner 1963, 223-24). Although these latter text groups are difficult to evaluate in any detail, it seems reasonable to link their presence in the east more or less directly with contemporary dominance of varying order by lowland powers, and the same may in large measure be true for the text groups recently excavated in the Hamrin valley northeast of Baghdad. This will obviously only be clear when more of the texts are published, but apart from the fact that the Hamrin is much closer to the states of central Mesopotamia and astride the principal east-west route through the Zagros gates, it can be noted that the area in the Old Babylonian period was under heavy influence and control from Ešnunna and the south (see e.g. Rouault/Saporetti 1985).

In comparison it is clear that the Assyrian infiltration of the east-Tigridian area including the Zagros foothills, accounts for a considerable part of Kuwari's correspondence, but the local letters antedate this situation, and belong to a period of regional autonomy in the east. Thus, although the spread of writing into the Zagros obviously in a wider context is due to lowland Mesopotamian influence, the traditions behind the early second mill. texts from Shemshāra were maintained locally and at least politically independent of the lowland states.

While the letters from Shemshāra sent from the east show that such texts were produced there, the administrative records cannot, of course, furnish evidence of the same order. Unfortunately many of the texts are very badly preserved, and we must also conclude that the number of administrative records, like that of the letters, probably increased due to the changing fortunes of Shemshāra, which from a provincial centre developed into the capital of a vassal principality. In contrast to the letters the

administrative texts appear decidedly "primitive" in style compared to texts from contemporary sites in the west, and not least the apparent lack of any dating system seems to show that writing was only sparingly used for administrative purposes. The aberrant traits found in the texts, however, stress that we must be faced with a tradition not immediately built on lowland models, and it seems likely that administrative archives were kept also in major towns located further east.

In considering which models formed the background for the Shemshāra texts we are faced with the problem that no contemporary texts have yet been found in the entire northeast-Tigridian area, although such texts certainly existed. The documentation from Shemshāra itself and from Mari show that large states centred on famous towns like Arrapha (Kirkūk), Qabrā (in the plain of Erbil), and Nurrugum (in the Mosul region) were located in this area. From the time of the collapse of the Ur III empire at the turn of the 3. millennium and until the Mari period what little information we have from the east-Tigris country comes almost exclusively from Old Assyrian texts, of which a few, very fragmentary ones, have also been found in Gasur (later Nuzi) near Arrapha. Although unproved it remains a likely theory that the trade in tin created links between Assur and areas to the east, perhaps well into the Zagros (cf. *infra* ch. 3A), but such a specific, and accidentally well-documented phenomenon as the Old Assyrian trade is not really necessary in order to assume that contacts on a number of levels must have existed between the northeastern plain and the western Zagros. Although evidence from the east is still scarce it is becoming increasingly clear that local scribal traditions appeared in a wide arch of Upper Mesopotamia in the wake of Ur III domination (cf. e.g. Charpin 1989, 38-40).

Viewed against its historical background the practice of literacy in the western Zagros in the early second millennium need not surprise us, but what can be said about the apparent disappearance of indigenous traditions for a very long time after

this period? Without succumbing to the fallacy of regarding the presence/absence of literacy as a crucial index for level of cultural development, the traditional explanation for this, namely the pastoral nomadic and tribal character of Zagros society could be brought to bear on the issue, but in consequence an opposite case could be made for the early second mill. Obviously the fact that cuneiform writing reached a stage of maximum diffusion and minimum complexity as a means of communication at this time should be correlated with broader historical processes affecting Greater Mesopotamia after the Ur III period, and the western Zagros to some extent shared in these developments. In these areas, like prominently in Elam, local dynasties inherited cultural and political patterns enforced by infiltration or conquest by late third millennium lowland empires, and with these expelled and collapsed, could imitate their efforts on more modest regional scales.

The result, it seems, was the creation of a number of state-like polities in the mountains, structures which could integrate the tribes here in a context of regional autonomy. Indeed a broader view of Zagros history seems to confirm that such structures have appeared intermittently and with a varying degree of success, as part of the larger pattern of

rising or declining lowland or plateau states. The Shemshāra archives are important in documenting not only such a stage of relative autonomy in the eastern periphery, but also diachronically subsequent stages of socio-political devolution when the local patterns were upset by the expanding first "Assyrian" empire concurrent with pressure from within the mountains. In recent times a structural parallel can be found in the stages of socio-political developments in the Zagros in the 19th to early 20th centuries A.D., when Ottoman reforms abolished the local emirates, which had functioned as semi-independent replicas of the empire. With these structures gone, integration devolved directly on the tribal organizations, which in turn, however, in this century lost much of their former power (van Bruinessen 1978).

Against this background the terse and superficially rather uninformative administrative texts from Shemshāra come to life, and take their place in the wider issues of developments in Greater Mesopotamia in the early 2. mill. B.C., where indeed the problem of parallel or competing levels of socio-political integration has become a major focus of scholarly concern. The rather lengthy historical and analytical introduction to the texts published here therefore needs no excuse.

I. Introduction

1. Archaeological and Historical Context

A. The Excavations at Tell Shemshāra

Tell Shemshāra, now partially flooded by the Dokan Lake, is situated on the upper course of the Lesser Zab river just south of where this enters the Rania plain through the narrow Sungasur gorge at Darband-i-Ramkan. The Zab follows a course southwards bisecting the area between the Kuhl-i-Resh and Hab-es-Sultan Dagh mountain ranges before leaving the valley through the Qarasird gorge north of the village of Dokan. Shemshāra is thus located at a point of obvious strategic importance, commanding the main gateway in a major east-west route through the Zagros.²

It was at Dokan that the government of Iraq ca. 1950 decided to construct a dam across the Zab, which would create a large artificial reservoir in the Rania plain (Solecki 1953; Husaini 1955). In September 1955 the projected flood area was surveyed by Iraqi archaeologists who found ca. 40 ancient sites which would be threatened by the completion of the dam, and over the next four years teams of Iraqi archaeologists, joined by the Danish Dokan Expedition, worked to save as much as possible. A number of mounds were sounded or partially excavated, but apart from Shemshāra, more extensive information has so far been made available for only two sites, Tell Bazmusian and Tell ed-Deim.³

The work of the Danish Dokan Expedition and the results of its excavation at Tell Shemshāra is described in detail elsewhere,⁴ and need not detain us for long here. The expedition worked for about three months in the summer of 1957, and conducted excavations in two places. On the summit of the high northern part of the mound (area 6-12/F-O) 16 levels were sounded, of which the prehistoric levels XVI to IX have been fully published by Mortensen (1970). Above these were 5 so-called Hurrian, and 3 late Islamic levels. Towards the end of the season a small trench was dug on the low southern extension of the main mound (area 8-9/w-y), and it was here, in what was designated level V and roughly contemporary with the Hurrian levels on the summit (VIII-IV), that the “first” archive was found. It rested on a pavement of baked bricks in a small room (no. 2) of what later turned out to be a palace.

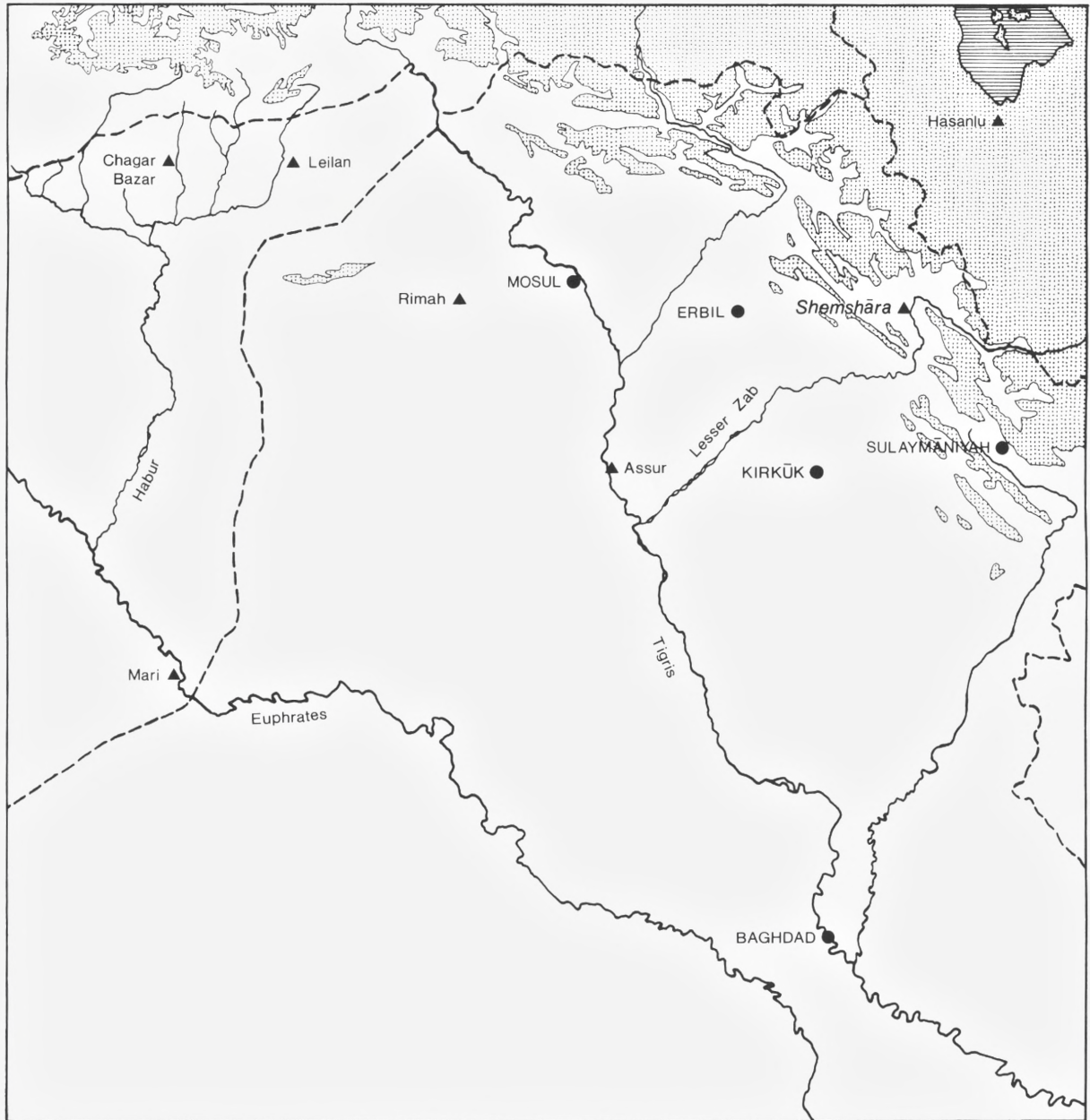
Unfortunately the Danish expedition was unable to return to Shemshāra in 1958, and instead the excavation was continued through the seasons of 1958 and 1959 by an expedition from the Iraqi Directorate General of Antiquities directed by Dr. Abd al-Qadir at-Tekrîti. The excavation on the lower mound was expanded, and the building in level V, where the tablets had been found in 1957, extensively cleared. In the course of this work a second group of tablets was discovered in 1958 in two small rooms (Læssøe 1960).

The material excavated by the Danish expedition in the Islamic and Hurrian levels is only now being prepared for publication, and the results of the Iraqi excavation are not yet published. Consequently some brief remarks on the archaeological evidence must suffice here:

2: See maps in this vol. A detailed map of the Rania area is found in Edmonds 1957, facing p. 262. For a discussion of the traditional routes in the Zagros see Levine 1973, 5ff.

3: See respectively as-Soof 1970, and at-Tekrîti 1960; also the notes below ch. 4.C.

4: See Ingholt 1957 and idem in Mortensen 1970, 5-16; also Læssøe 1957 and 1963. A full publication of the archaeological material from the 2. mill. levels is now in preparation; see bibliography, s.v. Thuesen.



Map 1. Northern Mesopotamia (drawn by Britta Munch)

0 50 100 KM.

The core of the site is the succession of prehistoric villages found in the high northern part. After the last of these was abandoned, there seems to be an occupational break in this part of the site until the early 2. mill. B.C., whereas the lower mound is reported to have had 4th and 3rd mill. material below the Old Babylonian level V.⁵ Shemshāra, known as Šušarrā in the Old Babylonian period, is no doubt identical with Ur III Šaš(š)urum/Šaš-urum, a recurrent target for military expeditions from lowland Ur, and it can be safely assumed that the site was occupied in this period.⁶

The main features of the Hurrian levels on the

- 5: Three sherds (Jemdet Nasr) from levels VIII-IX have been published by as-Soof 1964, pl. V, nos. 4, 17, and 18.
- 6: For this identification, suggested already in ShT, 70, see most recently Astour 1987, 33. An Ur III tablet dated to the reign of Ibbi-Sin was found by Iraqi archaeologists on Tell Brustī close to Shemshāra (van Dijk/Læssøe, personal comm.).
- 7: See as-Soof, 1970, for Temple 2 in the OB level IV which stood on a stepped platform of mudbrick.
- 8: In this sense the area may be comparable to the border zone further south discussed by Henrickson 1986, 25. The Habur Ware of Habur Ware-related material from sites in NW Iran (especially Dinkha Tepe, see Hamlin 1974; cf. also for Gül Tepe Tala'i 1984) may fit a "sloping horizon" since e.g. the Habur Ware from Bazmusian includes some types not present at Dinkha (see examples in as-Soof 1970, 94). Reliably stratified material from Rimah, Brak, and Leilan for which publications are under way will no doubt help to clarify the temporal/spatial variations of Habur Ware, which seem to have been considerable (cf. Stein 1984, 30f). For the Rania area it should be noted in this connection that the ca. 2 year long Assyrian presence would hardly have altered local ceramic traditions underlining that there is no simple and direct correlation in the apparent overlap between Habur Ware distribution and Šamši-Adad's power sphere, which of course never extended into the Urmia Basin.
- 9: For the material from Room 2 I refer to the forthcoming publication; for the rest of the palace I am obliged to Dr. Abd al-Qadir, who kindly allowed me to study the catalogue from the Iraqi excavations.
- 10: OBTR, no. 267:12, a text from the "Beer Archive", which can be dated to ca. 1760-55 B.C.
- 11: The Islamic material from the Danish excavation will be published by P. Mortensen.

summit are a number of graves with bronze weapons etc., and a mudbrick platform, which could be the remains of a small temple like the one excavated on the summit of Tell Bazmusian.⁷ In the lower town the only building known from level V is the palace, but the final plan of this has unfortunately not been published. The exact extent of the site in the early 2. mill. is also unknown. The published topographic map shows an area of only a few hectares (Mortensen 1970, pl. 1), but it seems to have been the impression of the excavators that several closely adjacent mounds belonged with the site, which may have been considerably larger (cf. Læssøe 1959c, 17). It is therefore possible that Šušarrā was not just a military/administrative stronghold, but a real town.

The ceramics from the Old Babylonian levels are at present being analyzed for publication (Thuesen n.d.), but have already been the subject of scholarly comment because of the presence of so-called Habur Ware (see Hamlin 1971, 150f), and similar material was of course retrieved at Bazmusian. Since early 2. mill. ceramics from the Rania plain apparently also show affinities with central Mesopotamian traditions and local traditions like "Šamlu Ware", they would seem to reflect quite well the position of the area as a strategic border-zone between highland and lowland.⁸

The level V palace was evidently destroyed by fire, an event which should probably be correlated with information in letters from Mari, and tentatively dated to the 30th regnal year of Šamši-Adad I. (ca. 1783 B.C). Apart from the tablets rather few objects were found in the building, which was probably emptied of valuables before its destruction.⁹

At the moment little can be said about the upper levels of the lower part of the site. Judging from the mention of a *lú šu.gi lú Šu¹-šar-ra-ju* in a text from Rimah, which can be dated to the early post-Mari period,¹⁰ the destruction of the level V palace did not mark an end of 2. mill. occupation. Finally there is evidence for late Islamic occupation also on the lower part of the site.¹¹

B. The Administrative Archives

Archive 1 [108-146]

The tablets from Room 2, a total of 146 field numbers (SH 800-945) representing ca. 100 letters or fragments of letters, 39 administrative documents (= nos. 108-146), and a few envelope fragments, 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 ... 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 1½ 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).” (Læssøe, ShT, 25f).

Everything on the floor was embedded in a thick layer of burnt debris and the tablets partially baked *in situ*, clear evidence for a major conflagration which marked the end of level V.

It should be noted that both groups of tablets contained letters as well as administrative documents (although in the case of group SH 905-945 only one, SH 923=no. 146) and that the contents of both categories of texts reveal no thematic principle for a deliberate division into two groups. Analysis of the letters has shown that these represent a continuous series for a period of about 2-3 years, covering two distinct historical situations for convenience labelled the “Pre-Assyrian” and the “Assyrian”.¹²

Considering how the reconstructed series of letters is divided between the two lots, we find that there is no clear-cut chronological break between them, but that the letters of the lot SH 905-945 are exclusively texts which must be placed late in the series. The field nos. SH 905-945 represent 22 different letters where the address is preserved, and all

date to the Assyrian period, while at least three of the ca. 15 seemingly isolated fragments from the group can be securely related to that period from their contents. Since the letters from the Pre-Assyrian period constitute ca. 1/3 of the total epistolary material it can hardly be accidental that not a single piece was found with SH 905-945, and a reasonable conclusion is that the texts may have been stored chronologically, simply “as they came in”, and not according to a more sophisticated filing system. Although no joins could be made between the two lots, the fact that the chronological break between them is not absolute, probably shows that all the texts represent the original contents of just a single container, of which SH 905-945 may well have formed the upper third. If the extant material, as seems likely, really comprises a nearly complete archive of Kuwari for 2-3 years, it would not have been difficult, within such a relatively small number of texts, to have found old ones for reference.

Archive 2 [1-107]

This “second” archive, a total of 104 field numbers, came from room 27 (SH2 100-123 and 168-178), and room 34 (SH2 124-167 and 179-203). Apart from a small fragment of a letter, a multiplication table, and a few loan documents, it consists entirely of administrative texts.

The archaeological context of these tablets, as communicated to him by the excavators, has been summarized by Læssøe, who refers to the unpublished plan of the palace, where the room excavated in 1957 is numbered 2:

12: The term “Assyrian” for Šamši-Adad and his kingdom is of course problematic, and J.-M. Durand and D. Charpin have recently opted for “kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia” as a more neutral – and perhaps more authentic – designation (an assessment of the problem with bibliographical references is given by M. deJong Ellis, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 249 n. 74, who supports the French suggestion). Although I essentially agree with their arguments for abandoning the word Assyrian in this context, it is used here for convenience. See also D. Charpin, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 132 n. 17.

“Entrance to this room was from a small courtyard to the south of it, from which a gateway led west into a very large open court in the central part of the building. The tablets of Group II were found in two rooms, 27 and 34, immediately south of this large court. Access to room 27 was gained from room 30 which is located to the west of the former and linked with the large courtyard by a doorway. Room 34 extends south of room 27; on Level V, these two rooms were linked by a doorway which was, however, blocked by subsequent occupants. It is likely that the paved floors of rooms 27 and 34 are in fact contemporaneous with the paved floor of room 2, all of which represent the fifth level of occupation in this part of Tell Shemshāra, and all show the remains and traces of a big fire which took place in several suites of this building.” (Læssøe 1960, 13).

Læssøe proceeded to discuss the comparative stratigraphy of the two tablet groups, noting that SH 800 (108) from room 2, which is a type unique among the texts found there, but has parallels in Group II, was not directly associated with the other tablets in the room, which rested directly on the floor, but came from loose fill well above the floor:

“The tablets of Group II were all found in loose earth above the paved floor of level V, and a few were found right on clay benches in Rooms 27 and 34 of that level. There is, thus, clear evidence permitting us to associate the tablets of Group II (and SH. 800 of Group I) with level V. The tablets of Group II seem to have been originally stored in jars placed over clay benches of Rooms 27 and 34, since the sherds of such storage jars were found scattered over the benches and near by on the floor of the two rooms. The storing of these tablets most probably took place blocking the doorway in between the two rooms.” (ibid., 13f).

Læssøe subsequently discussed the chronological relationship between the two tablet groups considering also the textual evidence, and concluded that Group II was somewhat later than Group I. Subsequent studies of the entire material, however, show effectively that the two groups must be roughly con-

temporary. The clearest evidence of this is provided by SH2 110 (11), which almost certainly links up with an affair mentioned in a Šamši-Adad period letter from Mari. Also several of the people known from Group I, occur prominently in Group II, viz. Kuwari, Hašip-Teššup, and Talpu-šarri.

As observed by Læssøe SH 800 from Group I belongs logically with Group II, but likewise, the letter fragment SH2 203 (106) is probably out of context in II, and without more information on the archaeological context it is difficult to account for this.

A possible explanation may of course be disturbances caused by later building activity or pits, but in fact it seems likely that both archives were found out of context. The first archive was found in a small room with a drain in the floor (Thuesen, pers. comm.), hence perhaps a bathroom, and one is immediately reminded of the archive of Iltani, retrieved from a small room (VI) with similar installations in the Rimah palace, and reasonably regarded as a secondary deposit by the excavators (D. Oates, OBTR, xiii). Similarly the distribution of Archive 2 in two small groups in two adjacent rooms with a blocked doorway is suspicious. There seems to be no thematic or other logical division that would account for this although it must be admitted that the poor state of preservation of many of the texts may mask relevant criteria. One possible solution to these problems is that all the texts from both archives could have been kept originally in rooms of an upper storey only landing on the floors and benches in rooms below when the palace was burnt. No final proof for such a theory can be offered, of course, without additional archaeological evidence from the site itself, but it can be noted that the rooms in question both at Shemshāra and at Rimah were situated in wings of the pertinent structures where from elsewhere, at Mari, there is considerable evidence for the presence of a first floor (see Margueron, Pierre-Muller, Renesio, *M.A.R.I.* 6, 433ff).

C. Historical Context

A diachronic reconstruction of the Shemshāra archives poses a situation which is the reverse of that in other contemporary contexts like prominently Mari, where a more refined sequence of the historical events mentioned in the epistolary texts is only now evolving mainly from the framework provided by dated administrative texts. At Shemshāra no texts are dated, and consequently the diachronic sequence of the letters must serve as a base for the administrative texts. The historical background for the Shemshāra archives, the dating, the temporal extension, and the diachronic sequence of the epistolary texts has been discussed in some detail by Læssøe (ShT and subsequent publications, see bibliography), Larsen (see bibliography), and Eidem (1985a), but it seems convenient to provide a brief summary of the evidence here, also because a number of new important sources and studies have since appeared.¹³ It should be noted that while the basic sequence of events and questions of relative chronology within the time span of the Shemshāra archives will probably need no drastic revision in the future, the overall framework for the period is currently in a stage of readjustment due to the new rapid development in the field of Mari studies.

Šamši-Adad (?-) 28

The 28th regnal year of Šamši-Adad (ŠA 28 = ca. 1785 B.C.)¹⁴ is the year corresponding to the *limus* Asqudum (MEC: mentions a victory of ŠA)/Aššurmalik.

The letters from Shemshāra apparently cover a period of about 2-3 years corresponding to the regnal years 28-30 of Šamši-Adad. The focal point for the dating of the letters is the conquest of Arrapha and Qabrā by Šamši-Adad explicitly referred to in SH 827. This event was coeval with the conquest of Qabrā by Dāduša of Ešnunna, known from his last year-formula, that equals the 28th regnal year of Šamši-Adad. The theory that these two events, long believed to be separate, are in fact one, has since been definitely proved by the recently discovered victory stele of Dāduša. The stele, which awaits a

full publication, has been described and discussed by B. K. Ismail, and its evidence, combined with new information from the Mari archives, now provides the following sources for the joint campaign:

The victory stele of Dāduša (IM.95200, Ismail 1986) describes how Dāduša conquered the towns Tutarra, Hatkum,¹⁵ Hurara, Kerhum, and had the booty brought to Ešnunna. After looting the country he went against Qabrā, which was conquered in 10 days. Būnu-Ištar, the king of Urbēl (Erbil; for the location of the town Qabrā see Deller, *N.A.B.U.* 90/84) was caught and decapitated, and his head sent to Ešnunna. The land and town was given to ŠA, king of Ekallātum.

The evidence from this remarkable text may be correlated with a number of letters from Mari:

ARM 1,138 (Išme-Dagan to Jasmah-Addu) ID has reached the town Hatka and conquered it in one day.

ARM 1,131 (ID to JA) ID has conquered Tutarrum, Hatka, and Šunhum; he has reached Hurara, which he conquered after 7 days' siege.

ARM 1,135 (ID to JA) ID has conquered Kerhum¹⁶ in Qabrā with siege engines. Now all the

13: Notably the "Mari Eponym Chronicle" (hereafter abbrev. MEC) published by Birot, *M.A.R.I.* 4, 219ff, the Dāduša stele reported by Ismail 1986, a number of important studies by especially J.-M. Durand and D. Charpin in volumes of the journal *M.A.R.I.*, and not least Whiting 1990.

14: Calculated using the conventional scheme which only takes account of the last 33 years of his reign when he ruled Assur, traditionally dated to 1813-1781 B. C. (Middle Chronology). The problems concerning his early career as ruler elsewhere and the length of this period are extremely complicated and beyond the scope of the present discussion (see Whiting 1990 and cf. Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 6, 274f). For the precise relative date of the end of his reign the new suggestion by Durand/Charpin in *M.A.R.I.* 4, 304ff, which moves it 5 years down to 1776, cannot be considered proved; as argued by R. Whiting (1990) we may still have to posit a short reign for Jasmah-Addu after the death of his father, perhaps a period of 2-3 years according to the preserved *limus* which could relate to this time.

15: Thus instead of Halkum, see Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 231.

16: Cf. Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 225; see also *M.A.R.I.* 4, 314 n. 95 + fig. 6.

towns in Qabrā have been conquered and only Qabrā itself is left.¹⁷

A.4413 (ŠA to JA) (quoted by Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 225): [a]-hu-ka [Ki]-ir-ha-am^{ki} iṣ-ṣa-ba-at, [l]u-ú ha-de-e-et “your brother has conquered Kerhum-re-joice!”

Apart from the town Šunhum mentioned in ARM 1,131, the conquests boasted by ID in these letters tally neatly with the towns listed in the Dāduša stela. Evidently Išme-Dagan was campaigning with Dāduša and troops from Ešnunna, while his father commanded troops elsewhere in the area between the two Zabs.

ARM 4,49 (ID to JA): “The king approached Sarri(ma), a town in Qabrā, with the main force of

the army, and the inhabitants of Sarri(ma) fled to Qabrā. The king is staying in Sarri(ma).”¹⁸

ARM 1,121 (ID to JA): The king has conquered A’innum and Zamijātum, located on the bank of the Zab, and has proceeded towards Qabrā. ID will write again when he has more news.

Like Dāduša, Šamši-Adad has left us a stele describing the campaign, and although much of the crucial part of the text is broken, it is clear that Šamši-Adad claims much, if not all, credit, for the conquests himself. Seen in the wider perspective of ancient Near Eastern historiography, it is of course interesting to note that neither of the two steles, nor the archival texts alone tell the whole story, which can only, to a certain extent, be pieced together from all of these sources.¹⁹

Probably Šamši-Adad was the first to lay siege to Qabrā itself, but the town only fell when the combined forces of the Assyrians under ID and Dāduša arrived. The campaign ended with Šamši-Adad’s war with Ja’ilānum, known to have begun in the month Tīrum, probably just after the conquest of Qabrā.²⁰ and we now know that the whole campaign dates to the period between month 8 in the *līmu* Asqudum and perhaps month 1 in Aššur-malik.

For the same period the letters from Shemshāra provide the outline of events as seen from the Zagros, where, briefly told, the situation was the following:²¹

Kuwari was ruler or viceroy of Šušarrā/Shemshāra, the administrative centre for an area called *māt Utēm* “the country of the gate-keeper”, which included the Rania plain with the strategic passage through the mountains at Darband-i-Ramkan. Utēm was part of a larger polity. In the first place it related to an area ruled by a certain Talpu-šarri who appears to have been only slightly superior in status to Kuwari. Presumably the capital of this area was the town Kunšum. In the second place both Kuwari and Talpu-šarri related to a more powerful ruler, Pišenden, the king of Itabalthum. Our evidence does not reveal the details of this political set-up, but reasonable inference is that we

17: The restoration of l. 19 suggested in *M.A.R.I.* 4, 314 n. 95: *ana ra-ma-[ni-ia]*, *ir-du*-ú** [“Qabrā m’a parfaitement convenu” = a été un adversaire comme je les aime”, does not seem convincing. The suggestion made by Veenhof (*ibid.*) to read *ir-te-e[h-ha-am]* supports my own interpretation of this passage (Eidem 1985a, 84 + n. 6), but is rejected by Durand and Charpin because “après ir la tablette offre un clair du” (*ibid.*). Unfortunately this particular text does not offer comparative evidence, but judging from published copies of other Mari letters from this period, TE may indeed look like DU, like e.g. in ARM 1, 8: 30. Also it does seem that this reading compares well with the text of the so-called Qabrā stele (Eidem 1985a, *ibid.*). It is not suggested, of course, that this particular letter was used as a source for the text of the stele, but the phrase may well have found its way into other now lost sources used to compose this text and, e.g., the MEC.

18: Cf. Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 217; and *idem*, *M.A.R.I.* 4, 314 n. 92.

19: The MEC is honest enough to list setbacks as well as triumphs, but unfortunately the relevant annotation for the *līmu* Asqudum is broken. One notes, however, that both the preceding and the following annotations, for Ikuppīja and Aššur-malik respectively, end in *ana Dāduša*[...], indicating the alliance with Ešnunna (cf. Birot, *M.A.R.I.* 4, 226).

20: See Eidem 1985a, 85. The campaign is known mainly from the three Mari letters ARM 1,8 (dated to 15. Tīrum), 1,92, and 4,33 (which mentions a defeat of J. in Tutarru (thus Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 231), i.e. in the country of Qabrā).

21: This description in some measure supersedes that given in Eidem 1985a, partly as a result of new important evidence (Eidem and Møller, *M.A.R.I.* 6, 635ff; Beyer and Charpin, *ibid.*, 625ff); for more details see *infra* ch. 3.A.

are dealing with a number of different “countries” to be equated with valleys in the western Zagros functioning in a kind of confederacy based to a large extent on kinship relations between the various rulers. Pišenden, Talpu-šarri, Kuwari, and their associates were referred to as Turukkeans, an ethnic label which may also have applied to other “countries”. Kuwari was not himself a native of Utûm, and had his family and probably main household in a place close to Kunšum. His main tasks in Utûm was to procure shipments of grain and other tribute to the king, and handle relations with the Lullean chiefs in the mountains.

The archive reflects a situation of crisis. The Turukkeans were hard pressed by the Gutians under their king Indaššu (Endušše) based probably to the south/southeast of the Turukkean lands. During spring of this year preparations were made for a campaign against Indaššu and a great alliance was formed. This alliance included, prominently within the mountains, countries like Kusanarhum and Zutlum – perhaps also Turukkean, and in the south the powerful Elamite state. Attempts were also made to enrol countries in the east-Tigris plain like Ahazum and Ja’ilānum, but the disturbances caused by the joint ŠA-Dāduša campaign in the plain tore politics here away from events in the mountains. This situation combined with Gutian strength seems to have exploded the alliance. Instead the Turukkean lands were attacked by the Gutians, who probably conquered large areas, and reached the banks of the Lower Zab. In this situation Kuwari changed his allegiance, and now became, as ruler of Utûm, a vassal of Šamši-Adad, a move which saved his corner of the old kingdom from a Gutian invasion. Many people from the mountains, however, now fled west, and these displaced persons soon posed a severe problem for both Kuwari and the Assyrians.

Šamši-Adad 29

This year corresponds to the *līmus* Aššur-malik (MEC: defeat of ... by ID, conquest of Nurrugum; several kings, Kipram, Jašub-Addu, Jašub-Lim ...

captured(?) and given(?) to Dāduša)/ Awīlija.

In the spring of this year a new series of campaigns began. Again supported by Ešnunna the Assyrians managed to conquer Nurrugum, while a smaller Assyrian force under the general Etellum was sent east to help Kuwari against Jašub-Addu, the king of Ahazum, who late in the previous year, after a brief submission to Šamši-Adad, had attached himself to the king of Kakmum (see Læssøe/Jacobsen n.d.). The campaign against Nurrugum, an event of major importance in Šamši-Adad’s reign, is unfortunately still poorly reflected in the Mari texts published, but the Shemshāra letters make it clear that immediately upon the conquest of Nurrugum, Išme-Dagan with a large force was able to inflict a decisive defeat on Jašub-Addu, and as described in ARM 1,69+M.7538 (*M.A.R.I.* 4, 313f w. n. 96): “he smote the whole land and the Turukkeans who had gathered with them”.

This campaign against Ahazum is described in a number of letters from Shemshāra, mostly texts sent to Kuwari from the Assyrian general Etellum. It appears that the Gutians were supporting Ahazum, and that the Turukkeans mentioned in, e.g., ARM 1,69+, were people who had fled west, some at least via Šušarrā. Several letters from Šamši-Adad give Kuwari instructions to keep these refugees under control, he must either keep them in Utûm, or send them with an escort to Šamši-Adad himself in Šubat-Enlil.

From ARM 1,69+ it is clear that a major campaign in the west, from Qatna, was planned for this year, and a number of other Mari texts refers to this event.

Presumably Šušarrā remained under Assyrian control for the remainder of this year, and until the summer of the following.

Šamši-Adad 30(-?)

This year corresponds to the *līmus* Awīlija/Adad-bani (MEC: defeat of the Turukkû, and defeat of Jaminites by JA).

As shown by the MEC this year witnessed a major Assyrian confrontation with the Turukkeans,

and judging from the rather few letters from Shemshāra which seem to date later than ŠA 29, this may well have been the year when Šušarrā was attacked by Lidaja, and the Assyrians decided to abandon Utûm. The relevant Mari texts, which have been discussed in detail elsewhere (Eidem 1983a, 102f), show that it happened in the month Abum, i.e. late summer.

A Turukkean Invasion? Already from published Mari sources it appears that events during these and the following, final years of ŠA's reign are fairly well-documented, in fact that much of the Mari evidence from the time of ŠA and his sons belongs to this time (cf. Eidem 1985a, 105). Since considerable additional evidence from this period is only now being prepared for publication any detailed analysis would obviously be premature and we shall limit the discussion here to some features of direct relevance for the Shemshāra sources.

A number of famous Mari letters concern various military activities against the Turukkeans. Most of these letters have been discussed in detail by

22: The text contains a number of problems, and my translation and interpretation differs somewhat from that of Durand, partly as a consequence of the evidence from the other texts in the dossier that the Turukkeans are *inside* Amursakkum. Here as in other texts *karāšum* (l. 6) is the camp and/or line of trenches, stockades etc. for the army laying siege to a town (cf. l. 19, and 21); for the possible meanings of *harādum* see Durand, *ibid.* L. 12: Durand, noting that *mu'arrirum* is a hapax, suggests that it is a PN – carried by a Turukkean commander, but a word “auxiliary force”, as suggested by earlier commentators, actually makes good sense here as denoting the “regiment” from Nurrugum under Dadanum. It also seems logical for the Turukkeans to attack what they believe is the most lax part of the enemy, the auxiliaries. In this case one has to assume that it is Dadanum who is killed – but Šamši-Adad adds cautiously that although Išar-Lim was present, he is safe! It makes less sense, on the other hand, to assume, as does Durand, that the death of a Turukkean leader *Mu'arrirum should develop into a rumour that would worry Jasmah-Addu. Also a Turukkean was less likely to have carried an (unusual!) Akkadian name. L. 14: for *hallatum* see discussion by Durand.

23: Sasson (1969, 48) thought that this POW (*āsirum*) was to fill an important position in A.

Klengel (1962, 1985), but not yet properly understood because both their temporal and spatial setting was unknown. In Eidem, 1985a, 104f, it was suggested that most – if not all – of these texts must date after ŠA 30, the year when Išme-Dagan was forced to withdraw from Utûm, and also that most of the places concerned probably should be located on the eastern fringes of the empire. This scenario is now in need of some revision since it has become evident that many of the texts refer to events which took place in the upper Habur Basin, in the very core of the empire.

The Turukkeans in Amursakkum. A small group of texts attest to the presence of Turukkeans in Amursakkum where they are besieged by Assyrian troops. In ARM 1,90 Šamši-Adad relates to Jasmah-Addu how they attempt to break through the siege lines to get provisions (see Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 170f):

“In Amursakkum, where (the) Turukkeans are staying, Dādanum with 2000 Nuruggeans is stationed alone on one flank in the siege lines. In order to break through the blockade(?) the enemy (chose) to approach Dādanum to fight with an auxiliary force, and they killed him, and they also killed 5 soldiers with him. Later they drove a herd back and 50 enemies were killed. Išar-Lim stayed with him, (but) Išar-Lim is safe; the troops are safe. Both flanks are secure; the armies are reinforcing the siege lines, digging a trench, and encircling the (whole) town with siege lines. I fear that if you unofficially hear an important person has been killed, you will worry, (but) you should not worry at all – the armies are safe!”²²

The much shorter and unfortunately broken text ARM 4,52 sent from Išme-Dagan relates that the Turukkeans have managed to cross the siege trench around Amursakkum and get provisions for 4 days. In ARM 4,42 Išme-Dagan tells his brother that the environs of Amursakkum are devoid of food, and that he has removed anything that might serve as food for the enemy, and in ARM 4,53 Išme-Dagan needs a POW (who is “expendable”)²³ to send with a message to Amursakkum.

Finally the last text belonging to this group is A. 863 (quoted from Charpin 1990, 75f n. 29):

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

Until recently Amursakkum could not be located with any precision, but its proximity to Kahat/Tillā in A.863 as well as evidence in several of the OB texts found in the lower town at Tell Leilan in 1987 confirm a location for this town in the Habur Basin, probably fairly close to Šubat-Enlil (Leilan). This dossier thus shows a situation where the Turukkeans have installed themselves in a town close to the very centre of the empire, from where they undertake raids into the countryside to obtain provisions, menacing e.g. passage to Kahat on the wadi Jaghjah.

The Turukkeans in Tigunānum. The three letters ARM 4,23, 24, and 76 all sent from Išme-Dagan to Jasmah-Addu mention Turukkeans staying in the country Tigunānum, where they are starving and therefore try to raid in the neighbourhood, e.g. in the country of Hirbazānum. The texts have been treated in some detail by Klengel (1962, 11ff), and need not detain us for long. It should be noted, however, that like in the dossier discussed above, the Turukkeans are described as “going out” from their stronghold and subsequently being pursued by Išme-Dagan. Due to their desperate food situation it is reported that they intend to go back to their “own” country.

The texts contain very little information that might help us to place this situation in time and space. ARM 4,76 is dated to the 12. of Addaru, and mentions “the King” which indicates a date within the reign of Šamši-Adad. Asdi-Takim of Harran is also mentioned, and as this king reigned probably well into the time of Zimri-Lim, this could indicate a date for these texts fairly late in the reign of Šam-

ši-Adad. Hirbazānum is not yet attested elsewhere, but a Šamši-Adad period text recently excavated at Tell Leilan mentions “booty from Huršānum and Tigunānum” (Whiting 1990, 189), and this provides at least a vague clue; Huršānum is known from ARM 14,94, where its conquest by Šarrāja of Eluhut is reported. Hence we may assume a relative proximity for Eluhut, Huršānum, and Tigunānum somewhere N-NW of the Habur Basin.

Other texts. Finally the remainder of the texts mentioning Turukkeans from this period may be briefly summarized.²⁴

ARM 5,17+ A.1882 (see Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 167-70) sent to Jasmah-Addu from Išhi-Addu of Qatna, who writes: “Sūmu-Epuh sends *nuZû* and messengers to the whole country saying: I gathered the Turukkeans, added (my own) troops to the Turukkeans, and defeated Šamši-Adad, and looted his land (11.3-9), and later adds: “earlier when Turukkûm started hostilities in the interior of the land ...” (11.16f).

In ARM 4,87 Jasmah-Addu writes to his brother: “Previously the king wrote to me that the Turukkeans went out and were surrounded in Nithum. Since then neither the king nor you have written to me whether these people were killed or escaped completely ...”

In ARM 4,22 Išme-Dagan reports that the intentions of the Turukkeans are uncertain; their request for hostages in connection with a peace agreement has apparently been refused, and they may now turn even against Jasmah-Addu’s district.

ARM 4,78 is a long, but very broken text; it seems that Išme-Dagan and others have successfully fought the Turukkeans.

In ARM 4,21 (see Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 199f) Turukkeans are again reported to “go out” in order to get supplies of salt and raid the interior of the land (*libbi mātīm*).

24: For ARM 4,5 see note to text nr. 11. For ARM 1,16 see Marzal, 1976, 45-50 (cf. Finet, 1978, 222). Finally for ARMT 23, 594 (cf. Klengel 1985, 255) see now Charpin, *Cahiers de N.A.B.U.* 1, 118f.

Durand in his comments to ARM 1, 90 (*M.A.R.I.* 5, 170f) stated that: "Plusieurs lettres font référence à cette percée catastrophique des barbares qui parviennent jusqu'au coeur du royaume, sans doute même menaçant Šubat-Enlil, à la saison des pluies. ARM 1, 90 appartient au dossier." (p. 170); and "L'attaque des T. se passe au moment où commencent les grandes pluies, donc au début de l'hiver. Ce moment peut donc convenir pour la transhumance des troupeaux vers le sud." (p. 171). Also Charpin (1990, 75) in a similar vein mentions "an invasion of Turukkians in the region of Kahat".

No doubt this vista is mistaken since it is reasonable to assume a very narrow connection between the Turukkean exodus due to the Gutian war and the texts from Mari describing trouble with the Turukkeans in northeastern Syria. These people were probably to a large extent the very same Turukkeans that we have seen Kuwari was instructed to send west to Šubat-Enlil, and Šamši-Adad may in fact himself have installed them in places like Amursakkum and Tigonānum. Judging from A.863 where Išme-Dagan musters 10.000 men to protect the area near Kahat from the Turukkeans who have left Amursakkum, their number must have been considerable, and when they turned hostile in the heartland of the empire (cf. ARM 5,17+) constituted a severe threat. We would

certainly like to know how long this situation lasted and whether the Turukkeans eventually returned to their "own" land. In ARM 1,53+ (see *M.A.R.I.* 4, 315ff), which dates to the beginning of the campaign against Zalmaqum, it is reported that the *tēm Turukkī*, which had held up action, is now performed, and that the campaign can begin, and we may assume that Šamši-Adad eventually was able to put an end to the menace.

An important point emerging indirectly from the improved understanding of these texts is the strong probability that there may in fact exist no extant references to the Turukkeans before events in ŠA 28-29, which are likely to have caused their début on the Mesopotamian scene. Hence there is no evidence for long-distance nomadic migrations of Turukkeans, or for any straightforward "invasion" in the simplest sense of this word, but instead, in narrow connection with the evidence just reviewed, of a practice well-known from later sources, that of mass-deportation. Obviously, however, the strategies applied by Šamši-Adad and Kuwari to contain and resettle the stream of refugees coming out of the Zagros were eventually unsuccessful, and the whole process led on to the situation found during the reign of Zimri-Lim, when a powerful political entity dominated by Turukkeans is in evidence in the east-Tigris plain.

2. Types, Formats, and Contents of the Texts

A. Archive I

Comments on Types and Formats

The 39 administrative tablets or fragments of tablets found with Kuwari's letters in room 2 form a rather coherent group, and with a few exceptions all concern the circulation of clothing, metal objects, weapons, measured quantities of metal, etc. The following types of texts are present:

I. *Miscellaneous Types:*

List of 526 soldiers in the country of Utūm (111).

List of 138 oxen belonging to Kuwari and

assigned to various tasks, individuals, and towns (137).

Note of sheep and goats assigned to the charge of shepherds (126); the fragment (139) also concerns sheep.

Note of an assignment of tools (114).

Texts recording issues of products for manufacture: an issue of copper for *agasalikku* axes (115); an issue of gold for precious objects (120).

II. *Texts concerning circulation of clothing, metal items etc.:*

This is by far the dominant group of texts, and can be divided into two main types:

A. General summaries of clothing issued. One text of this category (124) is a kind of interim memorandum on the circulation of garments (*túg*), while the other (138) is a list of clothing (*túg*, *gú.è.a*, and *patinnu*) assigned (*paqādum*) for distribution.

B. Large lists with many entries or small notes with only a single or a few entries recording receipts, issues or assignments for issues; this type includes all the remaining texts. The texts consist entirely of entries with only very occasional summaries. They are all undated, and have no explanatory notes except a few *inūma*-clauses. Judging from the texts and portions of text preserved social markers like titles or geographical origin are very rarely attached to names involved in the transactions. The basic pattern of the entries is:

item(s) – (ana) name of recipient

The syntactical marker *ana* is often missing, in some texts, like nos. 118 and 125, completely, while in others it is just occasionally omitted, but this is a common feature of administrative lists, and the texts do not otherwise furnish evidence that the presence/absence of this marker has any significance. Hence we assume the pattern *item + PN* always signifies “item given to PN”.

In a number of cases we find the pattern *item(s) ana qāti PN* – “to the hand of PN”, which signifies that the items are transferred to the responsibility of the individual listed and not given to him personally. No. 122 is revealing in this respect. It lists 3 *marišanu*-vessels “to the hand” of Awaku which are “before” (*ša panānu*) (and) 4 which are “after” (*ša warkānu*); then follows issues of 1 vessel to 3 different individuals. No doubt these 3 vessels are those noted as “before”, i.e. a first distribution, while the 4 noted as “after” are also actually transferred to Awaku, who will later account for their distribution. The pattern does not occur very often, and mostly in connection with a higher number of items than with the basic pattern (e.g. 143,5: 13 *našinnu*, 6: 30 *našinnu*; 145, 13: 20 *qurpisu*). Similarly animals

belonging to Kuwari are listed as *ana qāti PN* (in 126 and 137,4), and the verb used in 126 is *paqādum* “entrust”, the same verb used in 138 (see above sub type A) which is a summary of clothing issued in this manner.

Probably some of the people mentioned in these entries were palace officials, but since no titles are attached to their names, and they are not known from elsewhere, this cannot be shown in individual cases. For instance Meša-kulli (143,6), Idin-Sîn (146,14), and Nagarduk (146,22) are also listed in other texts as “normal” recipients of objects. In one case a silver cup (*gal kug.babbar*) given to a Lullu king is listed as *ša Meša-kulli* (116,2), and this takes us to another variant of the basic entry pattern, that including a “donator”.

“Donators” appear occasionally in the texts, mostly in the pattern *item(s) (ša) PN (ana) PN*, and we supply here an almost complete list of such entries:

- 1) 113: items [PNs] *ana* Kuwari
- 2) 116: items *ša* Hašip-Teššup and *ša* Meša-kulli
ana a Lullu king
- 3) 117: item Hame *iddin* (to Kuwari)
- 4) 117: item Azija *iddin* (to Kuwari)
- 5) 123,1’f: item Ilī-asû / *ana* Šarram-ušur
- 6) 128,5: items Ibni-Adad *ana* Kuwari
- 7) 128,8: [items] Kuwari *ana* Litae
- 8) 131,5’f: item *ša* Zilija *ana* Šarni[da]
- 9) 132,8: item *ša* Kurašāni *ana* Šipu-lugal
- 10) 133,1f: item *ša* Haš[ip-Teššup?]/ *ana* Ka[k-...]
- 11) 134,1: item lugal *ana* Rud[andi(?)]
- 12) 135,14: item [*ša* PN?] *iddinu ana* Meša-kulli
- 13) 135,20: items Uzaka *ana* Kuwari
- 14) 144,2: item Ilī-asû *ana* Šipu-lugal
- 15) 144,3: item *ša* lugal *ana* Kunšaki
- 16) 146,5: item *ša* Šip-šarri *ana* [PN]
- 17) 146,6: item *ša* Šip-šarri *ana* [PN]

Before discussing these entries the important text no. 109 must be examined: the tablet is fairly well preserved, but damaged in places. It enumerates a large number of different items, and includes sign sequences which seem to belong to personal names. The observation that the name of Kuwari himself

occurs twice as recipient towards the end of the text leads to the reasonable reconstruction of his name also in lines 6, 10, and 12. It is further observed that a pattern of five different entries tallies with the fact that only the lines naming Kuwari are ruled. In the last entry the pattern is complete: *x item – ša* (unproblematic) PN (Samsi-malik) – *ana* Kuwari. With this formula as a model one can proceed to look for possible donators in the less clear or broken entries, and suggest that the text lists groups of gifts to Kuwari from: lugal, Ilī-asû, Kurašānum, Tarinam, and Samsi-malik. Since both Kurašānum, probably Ilī-asû, and perhaps Samsi-malik were Šamši-Adad officials, the text can be dated to the Assyrian period and lugal in this case is likely to be Šamši-Adad himself (cf. *infra* ch. 3.C).

If correct this means that Kuwari received fairly large quantities of items as diplomatic presents, and obviously some items were redistributed if necessary. Consequently the entries listed above most likely include such redistributions. It is not surprising, of course, that the administration noted the names of individuals who gave items to Kuwari or his wife Šip(u)-šarri, but the entries where they are not involved, the clearest examples being 2), 5), 8) and 10) could be explained as redistribution, i.e. items taken from a specific group in stock in the palace specified by original donator. Obviously this might also apply to a number of the other entries listed since 109 shows groups of items given to Kuwari from the same “donators” met with in 9), 11), 14), and 15). In two (extant) cases texts open with the donator pattern, 10) and 11), to continue apparently exclusively with the basic pattern, while elsewhere most donator entries occur interspersed with basic entries. In both 10) and 11) the donators, Hašip-Teššup and lugal, are likely to have been behind large donations (whether given directly to the people listed or issued as redistribution), and it is possible that they are subsumed as donators for the entire texts, but such a theory cannot be proved.

Cross-reference between transactions might also, in comparison with, e.g., the texts from Mari, be

expected to appear in another way, as some of the smaller notes with a single or only a few entries being summarized/integrated on the longer lists, but on extant evidence such procedure cannot be proved for our material. In the case of the longest list (136), however, several PNs recur as recipients twice and it seems likely that this text merges several separate series of issues for which individual records could have existed. It is in general typical for the longer lists that the same select group of individuals recur as recipients in several of them, although every text also includes some “new” names, often unattested elsewhere. The impression is not that we are faced with a very well-developed scribal administration, but a rather haphazard listing of transactions as they take place (see for instance the remarkable summary no. 124).

Given the often poor condition of the tablets and the facts that the entries in these texts sometimes extend over several lines, that the items involved are sometimes designated by otherwise unknown or obscure terms, that a donator may or may not be included, that the syntactical markers *ša* and *ana* occasionally are omitted, that many names belong to a poorly defined or unknown linguistic background, reading and interpretation of these texts is at times quite precarious. Some aid, however, is provided by the fact that many names recur on several tablets which allows a number of reasonable reconstructions of broken passages. As for structure and interpretation some premises have been outlined or suggested here, and although it must be admitted that many details remain unclear and open to more than one solution, the general situation seems clear enough. The palace and/or Kuwari received a variety of more or less luxurious items as diplomatic presents, but the palace also had its own production of, e.g., weapons, and it can be assumed that at Shemshāra, as at Mari, Rimah etc., there would also have been palace workshops for textiles. These workshops are once implicitly referred to by the mention of the palace *nepārum* in the letter SH 883. What figures most prominently in the material are the series of items issued to

rather select groups of individuals, something which signifies a generally comprehensive and diachronically restricted scenario.

The people involved in the entries and the historical background will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, but here some brief comments on the many different items listed in the texts must be made.

Textiles

The repertoire of textiles attested at Shemshāra has affinities to that from Mari which has recently been discussed in detail by J.-M. Durand in ARMT 21, pp. 394ff, but also includes some local variants. In general the many different varieties of textiles and clothing mentioned in our texts, even within a large corpus like that from Mari, can only be vaguely described, and given the small number of texts from Shemshāra we can do little more than provide a list of the expressions found. Whether all the terms known from elsewhere had exactly the same meaning at Shemshāra, is of course impossible to establish.

–síg (134, 22ff; 135, 29) “wool” is issued in numbers of unspecified units (minas or talents?) from 1 to 16.

–túg is the predominant item listed. It was a standard garment(/cloth), which came in numerous varieties sometimes detailed in the texts. The following descriptions are found at Shemshāra:

quality: túg sig₅.ga – “1. quality” is opposed to túg tirdennu “2. quality” (*ta/erd/tennu*, Sum. ús – “ranking second”; also used about clothing in Nuzi, cf. AHw, p. 1329a) (no. 138; also 128,2).

colour: “red” (*sāmu* – 131,4’; 134,4) and “black” (*šalmu* – 131,1’) are attested.

use: the túg *ki-ši-hu* listed in 125,4, 132,5, and 136,13 is apparently not attested outside Shemshāra, but *kišihu* must be the Hurrian word *kešhi* “chair” (GLH, 143f), and túg *k.* is presumably a cover for a chair/stool or perhaps simply a kind of cushion? (for textiles in connection w. furniture see Durand, ARMT 21, p. 420, 425f).

origin: to this category belong probably túg *ša*

Marambi, túg *ša Nirši* (cf. index of GN), and túg *Tarnine* (118,4). Apparently both Tarnine (see note to text) and Nirši (which in the form *Ni-a-ar-ši* is also mentioned in 137 as one of the places where oxen belonging to Kuwari are placed; hence Nirši was probably located fairly close to Shemshāra), were towns, but similar evidence is not available for Marambi.

Interesting is the occurrence of túg *šušinnu* (124,4 and 134,1), which elsewhere is only known from EA 25 iv, 46: 10 túg *šušinnu burrumu*. The most recent translation of this text refers to an older suggestion that the word was borrowed from Egyptian *šus* “byssus” to which was added a Hurrian ending (see Moran 1987, 166 n. 35), but this would now seem less likely in view of distance in time and space, and the word may be Hurrian or at least “East-Tigridian” (cf. PN Šušenna in no. 50,13’; also Nuzi (f)Šušenna, AAN, 134). Text no. 124 provides no clues for a dating, while 134, where both lugal (who is the “donator” of this garment) and Šarram-ušur are mentioned, can probably be assigned to the Assyrian period (cf. ch. 3.C), but if the garment came from ŠA it is possible that we have a local translation of a term more common in the west (like at Mari).

uncertain: finally a túg *ta-ar-da-da-hu* is mentioned twice in 132,5 and 7. The word is otherwise unknown, but seems unlikely to be either a PN (denoting donator) or a GN. Very tentatively a connection with the *tartarahhu* ornament known from MB texts (see AHw, 163b) could be suggested, in which case the term here would seem to denote a garment with a special kind of decoration (appliqué?).

–gú.è.a (109, 2, 7; 129, 7, and passim) (túg) gú.è.a corresponds to Akk. *nahlaptum* – a shirt or coat (cf. Durand, ARMT 21, 397); túg gú.ud (118, 6; 136) and gú.ud (135, 21; 136, 20, 39; 146, 7f) are abbreviated writings of (túg) gú.è.a, which can also be written simply (túg)gú (cf. ARMT 21, p. 402) or gú.du.a (ARMT 23, 39).

–*kubšu* (109, 7) – a cap or headdress, sometimes of great value (cf. ARMT 21, p. 421).

– *qurpisum* (142, 19, 44; 146, 13f) – *qurpisu* is a helmet (see Kendall 1981). The word occurs often in Mari texts, and one notes e.g. ARMT 23, 233, which lists a present of a *q.* sag from Arda-kanda, the king of Qabrā.

– *našmadu ša qabli* (109, 8) – *našmadum* is a band to fasten clothing (see ARMT 21, p. 401 n. 25), and here specified as “for the waist”.

– *patinum* (135, 12; 136; 138) – likewise a kind of band; see ARMT 21, p. 417f.

– kuš.suhúb (109, 9; 132; 135; 136; 144) – Akk. *šuhuppum* “leather shoes” (cf. ARMT 21, 422f).

Metal and metal objects

Metal is issued in quantities specified with numerals only – presumably in shekels.

– gold: 1 kug.gi (in 118, 7; 125, 1, 3; 136, 19; 142, 6, 14, 30); cf. also 120.

– silver: 1/2 ma-na 15 kug.babbar (134, 20), 20 kug.babbar (142, 35).

– bronze(?): the passage [x x] [z]abar *a-ri-š[u]* (109, 15) is obscure to me; cf. also 142, 28.

Silver (and once gold in 136, 21) is also issued as “rings” hur (= Akk. *šewērum*) without indication of weight (109, 5; 128, 1; 132, 10; 135; 136; 142), or with numeral indicating weight (4: 123, 5'; 5: 132, 3, 11; 5/4/3: 134, 9-11). Again the numerals probably refer to shekels. Finally for *hullum* (109, 5?), a word also used for “ring” (specifically a bracelet) cf. Limet, ARMT 25, p. 274 ad 79,4, and ShT, 36 ad 25f.

– gal – the term gal has recently been discussed by Durand, ARMT 21, 350ff, who concluded that its Akkadian equivalent, generally assumed to be *kāsum*, is still to be found (contra von Soden, 1987, 101); the term covers a wide range of cups/goblets of various sizes, shapes, and (expensive) materials. At Shemshāra we only find gal kug.babbar “silver” (109, 3; 116, 2; 118, 8; 142, 10), and much more frequently gal zabar “bronze” (118, 1; 125, 4, 7;

128, 5, 9; et passim), and the two problematic terms gal *marišanu* (122) and gal (zabar) *šinitu-ašhu* (127, 3, 5 and 142, 28), both of which seem unattested elsewhere. For the gal *šinitu-ašhu*, however, one is reminded of similar Hurrian formations at Mari like the gal *hubrušhum* (for this vessel and the ending – *uši* see Wilhelm, RLA 4, p. 478) and the gal *šattušhum* both discussed in ARMT 21, p. 352f.

– *ruqqum* (116, 1; 125, 1, 6; 128, 7; 145, 1, 146, 4) – an object of hammered metal, often large dishes or kettles (see Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 2, 134), here once in 145, 1 specifically of gold (cf. SH 891 where it is reported that Šamši-Adad has sent silver, gold, and *ruqqāt* kug.babbar to Indaššu).

– *mašqaltum* (109, 3; 128, 6 and 142, 27) – probably a suspension device for certain bowls or basins; see most recently Joannès 1989, 125f.

– *nemsētum* (109, 4, 13; 125, 5, 6; 135, 20; 142, 6; 146, 11) – well attested especially at Nuzi as a wash basin: *n. gal/tur ša qāti mesê / ša ramāki* (see CAD, N/2, 165).

– *našinnum* (113; 117; 118; 119; et passim) – the *našinnum* is also known as a kind of wash basin (cf. Salonen 1965a, 92f); the word is very rare, but occurs repeatedly in these texts, and this should remove the doubts expressed by the dictionaries (CAD N/2, p. 64 and AHw p. 1579) which both refer the lemma to the more common *šennum*.

– *šušmarûm* (109, 4, 13) – for this term, again a kind of wash basin, see the discussion by Durand, ARMT 21, pp. 357f.

– *pakartinum* (142, 2, 22) – this word is not attested elsewhere, but may be identical with the *pa-ra-ak-ka-ta-nu* made of gold mentioned in EA 25, ii 36 (see Adler 1976, p. 186).²⁵

– *agasalikkum* (115, 2) – this word, denoting a kind of axe, is well-attested at Mari (see e.g. ARMT 18, p. 194). No. 115 records an issue of 18 minas (ca. 9 kg) of copper for the manufacture of ca. 10-15 specimens. It is of interest in this connection to note that an axe mould was found in the Shemshāra palace, and that this could have been the very one used for the *a.* axes (see Læssøe 1963, 156).

– urudu.kud.kin (114, 1) – is a “shearing imple-

25: It is interesting to note that this word is the third candidate for terms otherwise attested virtually only in the Mitanni lists from Amarna (cf. the túg *šušinnu* and túg *tardadahu*).

ment” known at Shemshāra also from the letter SH 811 where no less than 1000 of these are needed for shearing sheep.

– gír (134, 20; 135; 142, 8, 44) – a sword or dagger, to be read probably *namṣārum*; see Charpin, *N.A.B.U.* 1987, no. 76.

– giš.šukur (142, 5, 7, 18, 45) – (giš.igi.kak) = *šukurrum*; a lance; cf. Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 185f; the word also occurs in letters from Shemshāra, thus in SH 868 Pišenden has received 5000 lances and requests tin (*annakum*) for the manufacture of their *lišānum* “blade”.

– giš.tukul (142, 11; 146, 12, 22) – “mace”.

– “moon” (*sīnu*) and “sun” (*šamšu*) discs are mentioned in 109, 1-2. For the sun-disc (GUR₇.ME = *šamšum*) see the recent detailed analysis by Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 6, 125-58, and Charpin, *ibid.*, 159f.

Miscellaneous

No. 120 lists issues of gold for the manufacture of *takakuni* (*ta-ka-¹ku¹-ni*) a word which is otherwise unknown to me, and for *lurmûm* (*lu-úr-¹me-e¹*) – probably an ornament in the shape of a pomegranate.

giš.silà (135, 19) is “a measuring vessel of standard capacity” (ca. 11.); see CAD, Q, p. 289.

giš.DA.DA (135, 32; 146, 20) and giš.SIG (142, 12; 146, 21). These two objects are problematic: giš.da.da is attested as a (side)board for a chariot (cf. Salonen 1951, 87), but this meaning may not apply here; giš.sig, which does not seem to be attested outside Shemshāra, is also mentioned in the letter SH 820 together with túg.gú.è.a and giš.šukur (ll. 43f) all of which Kuwari is requested to send to Hulukkatiil.

Personnel is assigned/given to individuals in 136: sag.îr “slave” (ll. 7 and 25) and gemé “female slave” (ll. 22 and 25). In the same text we also find a “donkey” (anše) given to a “messenger” (dumu *šipri*). Transfer of personnel is otherwise a subject treated in the texts from Archive 2.

B. Archive 2

The second archive of administrative texts deals almost exclusively with the circulation of agricultural products and the movement of personnel. Unfortunately severe difficulties are attached to analysis of the archive. First because many of the texts are in an extremely poor state of conservation and almost worthless. This applies especially to several large tablets which seem mainly to have recorded issues of rations, but also a good deal of the smaller notes are virtually illegible. Secondly we face with this archive the same difficulty as with archive 1, namely that the style of the texts is terse in the extreme, and not only specific details, but also the very structure of individual texts or text groups is sometimes difficult to elucidate. Before proceeding to discuss briefly the main types of texts, however, some general problems must be reviewed.

Metrology

Quantities of cereals etc. occur repeatedly in these texts, but the system of capacity measures used is not completely clear. In the letters no units are specified, and quantities of dry measures given in numerals only (e.g. SH 822, 27, 30: 20 zì.še), while the example in SH 811, 14: *še-a-im ki-i* 20 îr *i-na-šuma li-šu-nim* “have barley – as much as 20 servants can carry brought to me”, is unique and certainly incidental. In the administrative texts standard units like silà and bán are used, but higher units mostly written with numerals alone. By comparison with other corpora of north Mesopotamian texts from this period one would expect the higher unit to be anše (Akk. *imērum* = 100 silà) used at Chagar Bazar, Rimah, and Leilan; see also the remarks by Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 606f, about its use in north-eastern Syria), and once, in no. 51, this unit is employed.

Other texts, however, occasionally qualify higher units as *ša lugal* (2, 3, 48, and 105) or just lugal (4, 10) – i.e. “according to the royal standard”. Fortunately text no. 3 allows us to compute the value of this unit, and it seems to equal 3 bán: In l. 8 the total is “15 *ša lugal* 1 bán 4 silà grain spent (in) 1

day (for) the meal”. Then follows a computation for one month: 464 *ša* lugal, and for four months: 1856 *ša* lugal. The full measures in ll. 1-5 add up to 14, which is 1x and 14 silà short of the total (assuming a bán of 10 silà). The subunits in ll. 1-5 add up to 44 silà, and this gives x=30 silà=3 bán. As a test we may compute the total for one month: $(15 \times 30) + (1.4 \times 30) = 450 + (42 : 3 =) 14 = 464 - 4$ times which is 1856. The 3 bán measure, the baneš or *šimdu*, was widely used in Mesopotamia, especially on a lower administrative – or household level, since the volume of ca. 30 liters involved was a manageable unit for material measured, transported and stored in jars or other containers.²⁶

It might then be assumed that all higher units not qualified as (*ša*) lugal refer to anše, and this theory is supported by text no. 5 where unspecified units are used together with the signs banmin and baneš, but apparently the matter is not quite so simple, since in two cases, nos. 11 and 26, where the unit is not specified, the baneš or *šimdu* unit still seems to be involved. In no. 11 e.g. the total of še is given as 7.2.0 (without *ša* lugal) in l. 15; this corresponds to 5 unspecified measures and 11 bán in the previous lines neatly reaching the correct total when assuming that x = 3 bán – and that the total was supposed to be 8.2.0 (scribal error). Not least in view of the often very high numbers of units listed running into hundreds or even thousands, it seems likely that the *šimdu* in fact was the most common higher unit employed in these text, but this cannot be definitely proved.

It can finally be noted that a single text, no. 47, perhaps mentions a bán *ša* *bi-tim*, hence perhaps a special (private?) *sūtu* vessel used by the individual who received the quantities recorded.

Agricultural Products

The repertoire mentioned in our texts is fairly limited. Besides 2-row Barley (*še*), Emmer Wheat

(*zíz*), and Bread Wheat (*gig*) (see Helbaek 1963, and Powel 1984), groats (*nì.àr.ra*; see Postgate 1984), and flour made from the cereals, we meet only a variety of pulses, *viz.* *gú.gal*, *gú.tur*, *appānu*, *kīššānu*, and *matqutum* – probably representing respectively broad bean, pea/lentil, chick-pea, bitter vetch, and grass pea(?) (see Stol 1985, and Eidem 1985b). Very occasionally refined products made from these basics are mentioned like in no. 3,7: peas (*gú.tur*) for *ummaru* – a kind of stew (see AHw, 1414b) and 52, 30f: wheat for *hirhirmi* – a substance which is otherwise unattested.

Although we are in a corner of Mesopotamia where fruits and nuts must have been abundant, such products are not attested in the texts. Apparently the archive contains no texts listing issues of wine or beer, but does record issues of barley for beer production (e.g. no. 52, 29). Letters, however, record consumption of both beer (SH 809, 63) and wine (SH 829, 26: Talpu-šarri requests shipment of wine from Kuwari).

Typology of the Texts

I. Miscellaneous types: distribution of animals: pigs (86), oxen (92); multiplication table (90); fragment of letter (106).

II. Texts related to interaction between palace and rural countryside (seeds and crops).

First under this heading may be mentioned the isolated list of work-gangs from various localities bringing firewood (45). Although not specified this text probably reflects a system of collective corvée-duty imposed on the rural countryside (for similar practices in the area in pre-modern times see e.g. Edmonds 1957, 224).

Texts recording issues of pulse seeds from Shem-shāra (4, 6, 10, 12, 14).

Two of these texts have already been published and discussed elsewhere (see Eidem 1985b). They list seeds issued from Šušarrā for fields belonging to “the palace”, “the soldiers” (*aga.uš*), and fields in various localities. The areas involved are listed as numeral + *a.šà* “field”, but presumably the sign

26: See for the baneš and other capacity standards Veenhof 1985, 300ff. For the value of the OB silà see Postgate, 1978.

gán (*ikû*) is subsumed (cf. no. 2, 1). Even within the small group available there is a remarkable variation in details of format, and it is also possible to distinguish two types: one listing issues by type of seeds (4, 10, 12), and another listing issues by locality (6 and 14). Since all the texts are small notes one would not expect this to reflect any kind of re-accounting, and indeed the only possible redundancy is issue of 10 units of *gú.tur* to Elu both in 4 and 14. The issues can be tabulated as follows (location followed by issues according to number of (*ikû*) a.šà):

ekallum – 26 *gú.tur*, 24 *kiššānu*, 37 *gú.tur*
 aga.uš – 7½ *gú.gal*, 12 *gú.tur*, 12 *gú.gal*, 6 *kiššānu*,
 10 *appānu*
 Elu – 10 *gú.gal*, 11 *gú.tur*, 10 *gú.gal*, 5 *kiššānu*, 20
appānu, 20 *matqutum*
 Šimerriwe – 1 *gú.gal*, 1½ *kiššānu*
 Waršu – 7 *gú.gal*, 3 *gú.tur*
 Šallurrašwe – 10 *appānu*
 Bue – 9 *gú.gal*
 Tupkikku – 6½ *kiššānu*
 Erina – 10 *gú.tur*

Any statistical evaluation on such a slim basis must of course be extremely precarious, but it is hardly accidental that “the palace” figures prominently. If the issues refer exclusively to seeding of land belonging to the palace such holdings can be presumed to have been more extensive close to Shemshāra itself, and it is also possible that similar issues were made from local stores (see discussion of subsequent text types).

Texts recording various types of outlays/loans of cereals (2, 5, 16, 33, 34, 36, 47).

Text no. 2 is exceptional as the only tablet from either of the administrative archives where consecutive Akkadian text is found. It lists grain issued from Nakabbiniwe and owed (ugu PN *bašûm*) by three individuals.

No. 5 is a record of a grain loan with interest (*še.ur₅.ra*) given by PN of GN to two groups of 8 and 7 people and guaranteed (*šu.dù.a*) by 2 different individuals.

No. 16 lists flour and grain from various localities owed by 2 different people (ugu PN).

No. 33 lists grain and pulses from the kislāhs of Šimerriwe and Nakabbiniwe owed (*eli*) by various localities. The poorly preserved no. 36 is of the same type.

No. 34 is a note of grain ugu PN1 PN2 *iddinam*

No. 47 is a *šu.ba.an.ti* record for grain and pulses; it was encased in a sealed envelope.

While none of these texts has any lists of witnesses and only no. 47 is sealed, nos. 5, 34, and 47 seem definitely to be private records with no *apparent* relation to the palace administration. The remaining 4 texts, on the other hand, show that the palace issued grain “on loan” to individuals and villages from grain-stores (for kislāh see below) in localities outside Shemshāra.

Texts recording deliveries/issues of agricultural products (8, 24-26, 37-39, 41-43, 48, 60, 65?, 67, 79, 80, 83, 88, 98, 108).

Common to these texts are the two *mots clés* kislāh (KI.UD) and *ublam* (*wabālum*) – “he/it delivered”. For convenience the information and formatting of these texts and their summaries are tabulated below (not included are nos. 60, 65, 67, 79, 83, 88, which are too poorly preserved).

abbrev. : k. =kislah; u= *ublam* ; Šim(erriwe), Nak(abbiniwe), Šall(urrašwe).

8

4 še Kap-ulu u.

24

66 gig k. Šim. Habaru u.

100 zíz k. Šim. Bue u.

20 zíz k. Šim. Awarae u.

31 zíz k. Šim. Šim. u.

57 zíz k. Šim. Habaru u. total: ...k. Šim. *ša mātum ublam*

25

1 gig/3 zíz k. Nak. Burulliwe

7 še/8 gig k. Nak. Tupkikku total: ...ša k. Nak.

2 zíz/2 še k. Šim. Kiziqanu u.

7 še k. Šim. Kiwa u.

7 še/5 zíz k. Šim. Erina total: ...k. Šim še *ša mātum ublam*

26

records delivery (wbl) of goats (nì.àr.ra) to Shemshāra directly from towns

37

70 še k. Elu Šim. u.

70 še k. Elu Bue u.

70 še k. Elu Awarae u.

70 še k. Elu aga.uš u. total: ...k. Elu *mātum ublam*

38

33 gig k. Šall. u.

.... k. Šall. u.

39

21 še	k. Šall.	Gizzutam	u.
21 še	k. Šall.	Šutanu	u.

41

62(?) še	k. Šim.		
30 gig	k. Nak.		[.....]
61 še	k. Šim.		
32 gig	k. Nak.		Burulliwe <i>iddin</i>

42

(pulses)	ša Nak.	Tudmaššu	u.
(pulses)	ša Šim.	Burulliwe	u.
.....	ša Šim.	Erina	u.
.....	ša Šim		
+130 zíz	ša Šim.	Elu	u.

43

(pulses)		Tudmaššu	
zíz/gig		Waršu	
še/zíz		Burulliwe	
gig		
še/zíz		Tupkikkum	total: ...ša k. Nak. <i>ana qāt</i> Šumšu-liter

48

flour		Tudmaššu?	u.
flour		aga.uš	u.
flour		Awarae	u.
flour		aga.uš	u. total: ...flour <i>ša mātum ublam</i>

98

50 zíz	k. Nak.	Tupkikku	u.
50 zíz	k. Nak.	Bue	u.
x zíz	k. Nak.-niri	u.
50 zíz	k. Nak.	Waršu	u.
x zíz	k. Nak.	Awarae	u.
50 zíz	k. Nak.	[rest broken]

108

20 gú.tur		Elu	u.
25 gú.tur		Elu	u.
7 gú.tur	<i>ištu</i> Nak.	Agašturum	u.

The formats used in these texts pose a number of basic problems. Most of the names involved are clearly geographical and must denote settlements close to Shemshāra (cf. appendix on geography, ch. 4.C), but we also find *aga.uš* “soldiers”, and individuals. From the previous text group discussed we have already seen that grain or seeds could be issued on loan from the *kislahs* of Šimerrīwe and Nakabbīniwe, and in these texts we find mention of two other *kislahs*, those of Elu and Šallurrašwe. A first observation must be that the term *kislah* in our texts does not designate a “threshing floor” in the basic sense of the word. In the texts preserved only four different *kislahs* are mentioned, and the same settlement is seen to be connected with several of these (like Tudmaššu with both Nak. and Elu; Awarae with both Šim., Nak., and Elu; Bue with both Nak. and Šim.; and Šim. itself with Elu). Hence we must assume that the *kislahs* (Akk. *maš-kānum*) were granaries belonging to the palace (perhaps in association with threshing floors), which locally issued and received agricultural products.²⁷ Letters from Shemshāra provide slight evi-

dence to support such a theory: in SH 887 Kuwari is advised not to split his troops between too many garrisons because the townspeople cannot be trusted (cf. Eidem 1985a, 98 n. 71), and in SH 818 he is instructed to “reinforce his granaries”, – references both of which reflect an administrative presence/operative network locally in the Shemshāra region (Utûm). The GNs associated with *kislahs* are unfortunately not mentioned in the letters, but this may well be accidental, since these texts only very rarely refer to small local towns. Šimerrīwe (written Šimerrini), however, is mentioned in no. 111,6 as a local settlement.

Mutatis mutandis it is interesting to compare this evidence with the description of the so-called “Qala” in a traditional Luristani share-cropper village:

(the Qala) ... “is the headquarters of the landlord and the residence of the kadhoda. Here the landlord’s share of the harvest is stored and sealed, and here the landlord stays when he visits the village ... The large unroofed center court may be securely closed by heavy wooden doors. There are high walls all around the court, and a 2-meter wall has been erected to enclose on three sides the roofs of the rooms at the north end of the structure. The Qala is, in some ways, a small, rural, Near Eastern version of a feudal lord’s fort.” (Watson 1979, 40).

In spite of the overt similarities of format in our texts their syntactical poverty may mask a variety of transactions. The most frequent pattern found (in nos. 24, 25, second half, 37-39, and 98) is:

A. quantity + *kislah* GN + GN (/PN?) *ublam*

In four cases the transactions listed are summarized as: total (*kislah* GN) which the country delivered (*ša mātum ublam*).

Other patterns are:

B. quantity + *ša* *kislah* GN + GN *ublam* (42)

C. quantity + *kislah* GN + GN – summarized as quantity *ša* *kislah* GN (25, first half)

D. quantity + *kislah* GN + GN *iddin* (41)

In order to elucidate the possible situations reflected in these patterns it must be considered why the *kislahs* were mentioned at all:

27: For a discussion of the different readings and meanings of *kislah* see Charpin 1980, 163f.

1. because products (seeds/loans) had been issued there previously and were now repaid,
2. because products (revenue/tax) were delivered there and not to the Shemshāra palace, or
3. because products (in stock at kislahs) were moved from there to Shemshāra.

For text no. 25 with patterns C and A, but listing quite small quantities we may have a match with 1. For text 41 (D) a match with 1 also seems likely. Otherwise the best solution is probably to match patterns A and B with 3 (which of course subsumes a previous step 2). If correct most of these texts record entries of products into the palace and the localities effecting the deliveries are listed primarily as responsible for providing the transport in the context of a *corvée* system. This would also explain why the same localities are connected with several kislahs.

Deliveries of grain connected with kislahs are not attested very often in other archives of this kind, but at Mari e.g. this seems related to accidents of discovery.²⁸ In ARM 24, 1, however, we find quantities of barley listed as *mu.túm kislah GN* – translated as “apport de l’aire de GN” by the editor, and in OBTR, 235 similarly *mu.túm kislah uru Qa-tà-ra-a^{ki}* – to be translated “entrée au palais, en provenance de l’aire(?) de Qaṭṭarâ” (see Charpin/Durand 1987, 137 n. 42).

While it does not at the moment seem very profitable to speculate further on the details of these texts, it can be stated in conclusion that the palace had local granaries in the rural hinterland, and that probably various taxes or revenues (which must have applied, but are not detailed in our texts), repayments of loans, and presumably crops from land owned by the palace ended up there subsequently to be re-transported to Shemshāra or re-issued locally.

III. Miscellaneous texts recording agricultural products issued by the palace.

This is a large and varied group of texts recording issues for rations, meals, offerings, but also summaries of the products issued by the palace. In

a sense these texts provide a logical sequel to the previous group discussed.

The clearest example of a summary is no. 7 which accounts for huge quantities of emmer wheat “spent (issued)” (*igtamru*). It has four different entries for quantities: “for seeds”, “spent”, “for Kuwari”, and “given to the soldiers for pounding”. Since the second entry probably covers the internal expenditure for meals/rations etc. the text seems to cover the main aspects of palace expenditure. The large issue to Kuwari can perhaps be considered a kind of surplus income of the palace placed at his disposal. Another example of a summary is no. 52 which records a number of issues to individuals(?), but includes a summary of issues for seeding, brewing, and production of refined food-products. Yet another type is no. 3 which calculates expenditure for “meals” (*naptanu*) over different periods (perhaps in relation to specific circumstances, see note to text).

The most common type of text is that constituted by lists of rations/meals given to individuals. Probably this type includes a number of the large, very poorly preserved tablets like nos. 58, 70, 87, and 99. Better preserved examples of tablets listing issues to individuals are nos. 46, 49, 50, 51, 54. Some of the names in these texts recur in lists which are not specific as to purpose like nos. 1 and 44, which may well belong to the same category. Most likely these lists largely concern issues to resident palace dependants/servants, while others have a different background. No. 105 is headed by a large issue to Talpu-šarri, surely identical with Kuwari’s superior in Kunšum, followed by 14 mostly illegible entries; the text which can be dated to the Pre-Assyrian period, may be a list of shipments to peo-

28: See Durand 1987, 74f: “... nous n’avons plus les archives qui traitaient de l’entrée des matières premières dans le palais royal. Peut-être des fouilles dans le secteur de la “Seconde Porte Nord” du palais nous les rendront-elles un jour. Il semble en tout cas que tout le secteur **R** dit «des Réserves» soit, par contre, à jamais perdu. Sans doute était-ce là que trouvaient les silos centraux et les lieux de stockage les plus importants”.

ple outside Shemshāra or perhaps a list of guests. A clear example of the type “guest list” is no. 11 which lists issues to several named individuals from other localities, including envoys from Babylon (for the historical-chronological implications see notes to text).

Finally we have a few texts which record issues of flour in connexion with religious ceremonies (nos. 13, 27, and 62). The tablets are unfortunately all badly preserved, and only no. 13 provides the names of some deities: Bēlet-ekallim, Nergal, and Bēltum *ša ikribi*.

IV. Texts recording assignment / transfer of personnel (9, 15, 17-20, 22-23, 29, 35, 61, 69, 73, 74?)

These texts are mostly small notes recording a single transfer, while a few specimens record several. The longest text no. 69 listing large numbers of personnel belonging to Kuwari being assigned to named individuals seems unique, but a few other large tablets now completely illegible could in theory belong to this type. The types of personnel being transferred are “men” (lú), “boys” (lú.tur; see Birot, ARMT 9, p. 357), “women” (munus), “girls” (mí.tur), and male and female “slaves” (sag.îr/gemé). As in other text groups the syntax of the transactions is inadequately or inconsistently expressed, and their background or circumstances rarely specified. The following patterns are found:

number of personnel + *ana* PN *ša* GN (20)
“(assigned) to PN from GN”

number of personnel + PN (19, 29, 35, 69),

where the preposition *ana* almost certainly is subsumed before the PN “(assigned to) PN”

1 mí/lú PN + *ana* PN (15); and

1 mí PN + PN (18) “Mrs/Mr X (assigned to) PN”

number of personnel + *ana hurizhi ša* PN (9, 23)
“(assigned) to the estate of PN” (see comments to no. 9)

number of personnel *ša* GN + PN *ublam* (17, 22)
“from GN (which) PN brought”

1 lú + PN + *waššur* (15) “Mr X has been released”; and

x munus (PN?) + é (PN?) + *uwaššerūnim* (73) “x women from house (of Mr X)- they have been released”.

In spite of the few details provided by our texts they do seem to reflect a rotation of palace personnel somewhat similar to that found in other contemporary archives.²⁹ It is no surprise to find that personnel is assigned, e.g., to Hašip-Teššup, who was a prominent guest/detainee at Shemshāra, and may have needed a servant, but most of the transfers remain obscure since we are not informed of the status of the people who are being assigned personnel. In the texts where “estates” or geographical names are mentioned one could think of farms owned by the palace.

It is also of interest to note that in a few instances personnel is assigned to named individuals in texts from archive 1 (cf. *supra* sec. A), one of the very few overlaps found between the two archives.

C. Archival and Chronological Patterns

The observations on typology, format, and content of the administrative records lead on to some basic questions about the nature of the archives. First it may be considered to what extent the extant material represents the total administrative documentation kept in the Shemshāra palace at the time of its destruction (marking the end of level V) and what the scope of this documentation was. Second, it is important to establish criteria for a relative date of the administrative records, especially since the epis-

29: The acquisition through war, or purchase, the administration, exchange or manumission of personnel forms an important subject matter not only in administrative records, but also in letters from this period. A large number of the Iltani letters from Tell al Rimah discusses problems with personnel, and in the new post-Mari letters excavated at Tell Leilan in the northeastern Habur Basin they form a central theme. See e.g. the recent discussion by Villard, ARMT 23, p. 476ff, where groups of people are followed from entering palace service as prisoners of war through various assignments and reassignments to their final release against ransom.

tolary material shows that the Shemshāra texts span two different socio-political contexts.

For the first question both the historical, the archaeological, and the archival evidence must be evaluated.

As has been suggested (see ShT, 31 and Eidem 1985a, 102) the destruction of the Shemshāra palace may be related to events mentioned in a letter from Mari, ARM 4,25 (cf. collations in *M.A.R.I.* 4, 312) where Išme-Dagan writes to his brother: “Lidaja, the Turukkean, and the Turukkeans who are with him who are staying in that country (i.e. *māt Šušarrā* mentioned in l. 4) turned hostile and destroyed two towns” (ll. 9-12). Išme-Dagan then arrived on the scene, but Lidaja and his men – using a well-known stratagem – just retreated into the mountains avoiding open battle, and Išme-Dagan decided that the area had to be abandoned. No doubt it was this rebellion which caused the destruction of the Shemshāra palace and the removal of the local Assyrian vassal, Kuwari, and made further control of the region unfeasible. The ultimate fate of Kuwari is unknown, but he certainly left his own archive, that from room 2, behind, and neither he, his associates, nor their enemies are likely to have removed other records in the palace. A slight possibility is that some of the Assyrian officers and officials stationed at Shemshāra (see for these *infra* 3.B) could have had personal records which they removed.

The archaeological evidence is more difficult to evaluate since the exact extent of the excavations in the palace is unknown and the existence of further unexcavated texts cannot be excluded.

The excavated archives consisted of A) records mixed with the letters of Kuwari. These records typically relate to the administration of expensive items, but also to what seems to have been Kuwari’s own personal property. One notes e.g. the list of oxen said to belong to Kuwari and not to the “palace” although it must be admitted that the two spheres were probably not kept rigidly apart. Probably the simplest way to describe these texts is to say that they were the most important records deal-

ing with affairs over which Kuwari wanted more personal and direct control. B) a separate collection of records dealing basically with circulation of agricultural produce and the administration of personnel.

Comparing this distribution with the situation obtaining elsewhere we find basically a similar pattern. Mari with its vast and extremely complicated and refined administration (cf. Durand 1987) does not provide a good basis for comparison, but the evidence from Tell Rimah and the Lower Town Palace at Tell Leilan is of an order more similar to that from Shemshāra. From the Rimah palace we have the archive of Iltani, where letters are mixed with administrative records. These records include notes on expensive items, but also more mundane matters like the running of Iltani’s own household. Contemporary with this group is the beer and wine archive found elsewhere in the Rimah palace and possibly other administrative texts some of which are very similar to texts from our archive 2.³⁰ At Leilan the recently discovered material in the Lower Town Palace shows some of the same characteristics. The main archive of letters belonging to two post-Mari kings of Leilan includes administrative records, the majority dealing with luxury items, diplomatic gifts, etc. Like at Rimah a group of texts, slightly later than those just mentioned, concerning mainly beer and wine, was found separately.³¹ The Rimah palace, of course, could not be excavated completely, and investigation of the Leilan palace is still in progress, so that it is entirely possible that both buildings may contain other administrative archives more similar to the Shemshāra archive 2. There is obviously little point in pursuing these comparisons too far since the situations at the three sites are not entirely comparable. On a political level, for instance, it can be noted that Iltani was a queen resident in a secondary

30: For summaries and recent assessments of the Rimah evidence I refer to Veenhof, *M.A.R.I.* 4, 196f, Whiting 1990, and Eidem 1989a; see also Charpin/Durand 1987.

31: See Eidem 1989b and 1991.

capital of the Sinjar kingdom of Karanā, that Leilan at the time in question was the main capital of a fairly large geo-political structure, “the country of Apum”, including most of the eastern Habur Basin, while finally Kuwari was governor or viceroy. Also the evidence does not generally support theories of rigid standard procedures for archival practices in the various town of Northern Mesopotamia so that the many variables may well be explained by simple *ad hoc* arrangements. The general pattern, however, is fairly clear: certain sectors of the administration and the records evolving from these sectors would be kept closely connected with the affairs and records of the king or governor, while other sectors were kept separate.

In spite of the decidedly primitive nature of the Shemshāra administration, there must in sum remain a distinct possibility that further texts may have existed. The lack of any legible references to e.g. wine is conspicuous since this, as we know, was served in the palace (cf. *supra* sec. B), and the evidence from elsewhere shows that this rather luxurious commodity was carefully accounted for and the accounts sometimes kept separately, perhaps close to the actual “cellars”. Another commodity appearing often in other northern archives like oil is also apparently completely missing in our texts (except once when included in a group of presents in 109, 9).

In contrast to other contemporary archives from Northern Mesopotamia like Mari, Rimah, or Leilan - or indeed from anywhere in this period, the administrative texts from Shemshāra are, as far as can be ascertained, all undated, and the infrequent *inūma* clauses found seem to have been the only method employed to indicate a temporal dimension for the transactions listed. This distinctive and curious trait, however, can hardly be taken as proof that a calendrical system was unknown to the peoples of the eastern periphery, but rather indicates that the administration, to the extent that it is reflected in written records, was so small-scale that it was not found necessary to use a dating system in this context. It is also interesting to note that neith-

er the influence from trading activity nor events during the Assyrian period changed this.

As stated above (p. 15) there is no basis for doubting the general contemporaneity of both archives of administrative texts with the letters, but comparison with other contemporary palace archives warns us that the two categories of texts may not be diachronically parallel. Both at Rimah and Tell Leilan, which provide the best comparisons, and where letters and administrative records were also found mixed, there is a clear tendency for the administrative texts to cluster in a late phase of the time spans covered by the archives. Thus at Tell al Rimah the vast majority of the records associated with the period when Iltani was in residence in the Rimah palace, is dated to the *līmu* Šabrum. The texts cover all months of this year except the two last, Abum and Tīrum, and probably belong to the last year of the sequence covered by the letters sent to Iltani. The situation for the archives from the Lower Town Palace at Tell Leilan is more complex because the main text group is a composite archive encompassing at least two different reigns, but here too the administrative texts cluster to especially two *līmu* years. The generally accepted explanation for this phenomenon is that older administrative texts were periodically removed from the “living archive”, summarized on other tablets and/or simply discarded or recycled (see Charpin, *M.A.R.I.* 3, 258-9).

Assuming a similar situation at Shemshāra one would not expect the older phase, the so-called Pre-Assyrian period, to be much in evidence in the administrative records, but since the texts are undated and furnish virtually no direct historical evidence, the only way to investigate this problem must be prosopographic studies. No less than 22 figures mentioned in the administrative records have a very good chance of being identical with people mentioned in letters from Shemshāra, or in a few cases in texts from Mari, and at the end of this chapter is appended a list of these with a summary of the entries involved. The following chapter will provide more detailed discussions of these people,

but for present purposes 3 different categories can be distinguished:

Local associates of Kuwari mentioned only in SH letters from the Pre-Assyrian period: Hizutta, Šip-šarri, Talpu-šarri, and Tenturi. This group covers a total of 7 different texts.

Certain or presumed Assyrian officials: Ilī-asû, Kurašānum, Samsi-malik, and Šumšu-līter. This group covers a total of 9 different texts.

Detainees mentioned only in SH letters from the Assyrian period: Hašip-Teššup, Lidaja, Šarnida, Šarram-ušur, Uštap-tupki, Zazija, and Zilija. This group covers a total of 16 different texts.

A formal view might lead to the conclusion that this evidence more or less proves a “late” date for the administrative records and the mention especially of a number of Assyrian officials indicates that prosopographic studies may be rewarding. But simple matching of names in administrative records with names in letters does not by itself provide sufficient criteria for a dating of the texts since most individuals, including Assyrian officials acting as diplomats, could easily turn up in both temporal situations covered by the letters. It is therefore necessary, before considering the prosopographic evidence in detail, to establish possible criteria for placing such evidence in proper context, and this will be the subject of the next chapter. It hardly needs emphasizing that the chronological question is crucial to an understanding of these texts and their exploitation on a historical level and by no means a trivial one. To exemplify this one might speculate what number and kind of administrative texts would have been found had the palace been destroyed, say by the Gutians, just before Turuk-kean refugees and the Assyrians arrived on the scene. Undoubtedly the dramatic changes in the area also meant administrative changes. From being a local though high-ranking nobleman Kuwari was becoming a kind of “para-social” leader for the eastern fringes of the Šamši-Adad empire and struggling to consolidate, maintain, and probably advance this position. Do the rather sumptuous outlays of expensive gifts to a large number of peo-

ple in Archive 1 reflect this situation or could it be assumed that this kind of texts would have been found in the same number just a year or two earlier?

Individuals (/homonyms) mentioned in the adm. texts and known from SH letters or elsewhere (ref. to texts from Archive 2 in bold)

Hašip-Teššup

- 19**, 1: assigned a female servant
46, 11: issue of bread
74, 1': assignment of personnel(?)
 116, 1: 1 garment and 1 *ruqqu* given to a Lullu king noted as from H.-T. (perhaps received by palace on previous occasion)
 121, 2, 8: issues twice of [...]
 125, 1: 1 garment, 1 *našinnu*, 1 (shekel) gold, 1 *ruqqu* (to) H.-T.
 129, 2: 2 garments, 2 *našinnu*, 1 x (to) H.-T.
 133, 1: 1 garment from *Ha-š[i-ip-Te-šu-up]?*/to *Ka-a[k-...]*
 133, 3: 1 garment to H.-T., the messenger (in this case probably a homonym!)

Hizutta

- 126, 3: H. given charge of animals
 130, 14: broken context

Ilī-asû

- 109, 10: sends/gives objects to Kuwari
 123, 1': garment from I.-a. to Šarram-ušur
 144, 2: garment from I.-a. to Šipu-šarri

Kizima

- 111, 3: lists 20 lú.meš ša ^m*Ki-si-ma* l[ú *B*]u-ru-lí^{ki}
 121, 5: issue of [...]
 125, 7: 1 garment, 1 *ruqqu*, 1 *nemsētu*, 1 bronze cup (to) K.
 142, 6: 1 (weight) gold, 1 *nemsētu* (to) K. (spelled Kiziman!)

Kubija

- 16**, 4: debt note of grain

Kularum

111, 11: lists x+2 lú.meš ša K.

Kunšeja

11, 2: issue of barley and gú.tur

Kurašānum

109, 11: items from K. to Kuwari

132, 8: 1 garment from K. to Šipu-šarri

Lidaja (/dae) (in both ref. *Li-ta-e* as opposed to usually *Li-da-e* (/PI) in letters)

128, 8: 14 x from Kuwari to L.

136, 39, 72: set of clothing (to) L. / 1 garment to L.

Samsi-malik

109, 16: item from S.-m. to Kuwari

136, 13: tóg *kišihu* (to) S.-m.

Šarnida

131, 7': [1 ?] garment from Zilija to Š.

Šarram-ušur

123, 2': garment from Ilī-asû to Š.-u.

134, 22: wool to Š.-u.

Šip(u)-šarri

132, 8: 1 garment from Kurašāni to [Ši]pu-lugal

144, 2: 1 garment from Ilī-asû to Šipu-lugal

146, 5, 6: garments from Šip-šarri to PN1 and PN2

Šumšu-līter

43, 16: List of agricultural products from the kishlah of Nakabbiniwe turned over to Š.-l.

65,8: List of large quantities of agricultural products “used” by Š.-l.

Talpu-šarri

105, 1: issue of barley

Tenturi

140, 3': garment(?) to T.

Tirwen-šenni

142, 31: *našinnu* and 1 (shekel) gold to T.-š.

145, 3: broken context

Uštan-šarri

11, 1: issue of emmer

Uštāp-tupki

29, 3: assigned a servant

135, 24: issue of sword to U.-t.

Zazija

129, 6: garment and ... (to) Z.(?)

133, 7: garment to Z.(?)

136, 4, 46: garments

142, 31, 36: *našinnu* and silver cup (to) Z.

146, 21: giš.sig to Z.

Zilija

131, 6': [1 ?] garment from Z. to Šarnida.

Zuzu

57, 4: (zu-uz-zu) issue of barley (possibly a homonym)

134, 26: issue of wool

3. Syn- and Diachronic Convergence

A. The Local System

Political structures

Before ŠA 28 Kuwari, the ruler of Utûm, related to local power structures which are not clear to us in detail. Since the latest summary of the situation was presented (Eidem 1985a), however, some new important clues have appeared which necessitate a reassessment of the available evidence.

The major part of the local letters in Kuwari's archive was sent from five different individuals (Talpu-šarri, Sîn-išmeanni, Hulukkati, Šepratu, and Tenturi) who were close associates or relatives of his and all seem to have resided in or near the town Kunšum, which appears to have been the capital of their “country”. We learn that Kuwari had an estate (é) in a place called Zikulā (SH 811, 16)

or Zukula (SH 822, 31), and that his wife Šip-šarri resided there together with his son Tenturi. It is possible that Šip-šarri later joined Kuwari at Shemshāra, but the fact that apparently she was not there prior to the Assyrian period, suggests that Kuwari himself was not a native of Utûm, but a kind of governor or viceroy stationed there. Unfortunately the texts furnish no specific evidence for a location of Kunšum, but since travel from Shemshāra to Kunšum is described as “going up” (*elûm*) it seems reasonable, in this context, to assume a movement into the mountains.

There is a good deal of redundancy and cross-reference in the contents of the letters sent from these people and also a marked mixture of official and private affairs. The most important figure among them was undoubtedly Talpu-šarri (sender of SH 801, 810, 819, 824, 829, 884). This appears not so much from his own letters as from those of the other correspondents: Šepratu reports how Talpu-šarri has concluded a treaty with Naššumar, the king of Kusanarhum (SH 812), and Tenturi states: “And if the countries, all those Talpu-šarri leads, come, then you too must come up – do not stay away!” (SH 811). As suggested by the author elsewhere (e.g. Eidem 1985a) this information would seem to indicate that Talpu-šarri was in fact the king or lord of Kuwari mentioned by various correspondents (but never by Talpu-šarri himself!) like e.g. Sîn-išmeanni: “The king is well, the town of Kunšum, your brother, your estate, your wife, and also your sons and I who love you – are well!” (SH 822, 5-8). The fact that Talpu-šarri addresses Kuwari as “brother” (except in two letters where the address is neutral (unmarked) may seem strange, but could be explained as perhaps actual kinship.

This theory, however, has proved too simple since new evidence from seal inscriptions combined with information in the epistolary texts points to a more complex pattern. First we have the seal inscription of Pišenden (Eidem and Møller, *M.A.R.I.* 6, 635-39):

“Pišenden, son of Tukukti(?), king of Itabalthum, begetter of Tabitu”.

The seal and its inscription has been reconstructed from impressions on 3 envelope fragments found together with Kuwari’s letters in room 2 of the palace, and must stem from the 3 letters sent from Pišenden found there, not to Kuwari, but to Jašub-Addu, the king of Ahazum west of the Rania plain, to a certain Kullu, and to a third person whose name is broken. It is interesting to note that Pišenden refers to himself as “father” when writing to the king of Ahazum (SH 816) and to the (otherwise unknown) Kullu (SH 868), while we should very much have liked to know more about the third addressee, a certain T[u-...] (SH 802+), whom Pišenden called “brother”. These letters were sent via Shemshāra, but due to the changing political circumstances never reached their destinations.

The land of Itabalthum is mentioned in two letters from Shemshāra. The first is SH 827, sent from Šepratu to Kuwari who is informed that: “Šuruhtuh, the king of Elam wrote to Tabitu as follows: Why does the land of Itabalthum not send messengers to me?” (ll. 50-54a). The second is SH 896, sent from Talpu-šarri to Jašub-Addu (but like the letters from Pišenden did not reach its addressee): “Why do you not send your messenger to your father Pišenden. Like until now your father and your grandfather have consulted with this house and with the land of Itabalthum – you should now consult (it) in the same manner!” (ll. 4-13a).³²

The second seal inscription is that of Zazija found on envelope fragments from Mari and recently published by Beyer and Charpin, *M.A.R.I.* 6, 625-28; it reads:

“Zazija, son of Tern[a-...]³³, *nuldānum*, of Ittebalthum, servant(?) of (the god) ...”

32: Quoted in Eidem and Møller *M.A.R.I.* 6, 636 w. n. 7; note that ll. 4-5 should be read *ana minim a-[n]a ši-i[r] / [a-b]i-ka ...* etc. (coll.).

33: Reconstructed as Tîr-Nanum by Charpin, but this is not entirely convincing. Amorite names seem to have been rather rare in this context (see *infra*, ch. 4.A), and instead I would suggest a name like Te-er-na-e attested in our texts (cf. index). In any case the spacing in l. 1 of Zazija’s legend does seem to favour a shorter name.

The envelope fragments stem from letters sent from Zazija and dating to the time of Zimri-Lim when Zazija is well-attested as “king of the Turukkeans”. This, however, was the situation as viewed from Mari, while in his own context Zazija was a *nuldānum* of the land Itabalthum, the importance of which also at this time is evidenced by the letter fragment from Mari, M.13034, where it is indicated that the king of Itabalthum was mightier than Zimri-Lim himself. The title *nuldānum* is also known from Shemshāra attested in the letter SH 812 where it is stated that the father and grandfather of Kuwari exercised *nuldānūtum* indicating that this was perhaps the title carried by Kuwari himself. The meaning of the title must have been something like “duke”.³⁴ Another important aspect of this inscription is that it links Zazija and by inference other people attested at Shemshāra with the land of Itabalthum. Zazija is only mentioned in the letter SH 887, a text which can be dated fairly accurately to probably early spring of the year when Nurrugum and Ahazum were conquered by Šamši-Adad:

34: The title was discussed in *N.A.B.U.* 1990/63 (for a possible etymology see below w. n. 36), where reference was made to SH2 118 (here no. 19) (note of a servant assigned to Hašip-Teššup when they “lifted” (*našūm*) the *nuldānūtum*) and it was suggested that the abstract form here denoted a tax/revenue associated with the office and that this was being brought to Kunšum/Itabalthum. Although this must remain unproven I would now be more inclined to translate “when he (H.-T.) brought the *n.*”, and connect this with the changing fortunes of H.-T. who seems to have been given charge of a town in Utûm (see *infra* sec. B). Another question mentioned in the same note was the temporal reality of Zazija’s title, and it was suggested that it was used (or reused) by him mainly to legitimize his new role as Turukkean king. This may still be correct, but judging from the letter fragment from Mari which mentions Itabalthum it would seem that this country remained a political force into the reign of Zimri-Lim, and there may have been two “Turukkums”, Itabalthum (and other old Turukkean lands) and a new entity further west ruled by Zazija, and there would of course have been interconnections between them. (For new evidence about the east-Tigris region and the continued opposition between Turukkeans and Guteans see the texts recently edited and discussed by Lafont in *ARMT* 26/2, pp. 461ff).

“Why have you detained sons of the country, those under Hašip-Teššup, and turned public opinion against you? Release these people!” (ll. 9-12a) ... “Release these people and public opinion will not turn against you; Zazija with his retainers, Šarramušur with his retainers, Šarnida with his retainers, Zilija with his sons, his daughters and his wife, Tirwen-šenni with his sons, his daughters and his wife, Izzini (and) Uštur with their retainers, Adija with his sons, Huzalu with his people, Uštup-tupki, the cook, with his people, (and) Hašip-Teššup – release these people – do not detain them!” (ll. 28-41).

It cannot be definitely proved that the Zazija mentioned in this letter is identical with the Zazija mentioned in Mari texts, but the probability of this being the case is very high. If correct we are allowed to identify Hašip-Teššup/Zazija and their followers as Turukkeans and associate them with Itabalthum. Because of their designation as “countrymen” – whether this is to be understood in the sense “native of Utûm” or “native of Itabalthum” – a point of some importance which will be taken up later (see below section C), we are also allowed to make the same association for Kuwari.

In view of this it can be concluded that the local king mentioned in the SH letters in all probability is Pišenden, the king of Itabalthum, who must have been a very powerful monarch indeed with an extensive realm. Considering that Indaššu and the Gutians must have invaded at least part of his land and thus effected the Turukkean exodus it seems likely that Itabalthum should be located south/south-east of the Rania plain, where the large fertile plain of Shahrizor dotted with important tells (see Speiser 1928) offers an attractive candidate for its centre. However that may be it is clear that we are confronted with a fairly complicated geo-political pattern in which Pišenden appears as the most powerful figure with his son (and heir apparent?) Tabitu as second-in-command. Probably one step down in rank we could place Talpu-šarri, and in this connection mention a third seal inscription found on the envelope fragment SH 898. Unfortunately the legend is much broken, but it is possible

to read 1. 1 which has *Ta-al-p[u²-x] + (in field)-r[i]*, and the end of 1. 3 which has [...-t]e²-en.³⁵ Quite likely this was the seal of Talpu-šarri, who in 1. 3 qualified his relationship with Pišenden. One step further down we finally reach Kuwari, who seems to have had close, perhaps kinship ties with Talpu-šarri, and perhaps held the title of *nuldānum*.

To this apparently three-tiered political ranking we can assume a corresponding geographical construction. Talpu-šarri and other of Kuwari's local correspondents were related to the town Kunšum, and while it cannot be excluded that this town was the actual capital of Itabalthum, the impression is not that Pišenden belonged there. While ultimately subordinated Pišenden and Itabalthum we have already noted the independent political/military field of action open to Talpu-šarri, and his reference to "this house and the land of Itabalthum" in SH 896 could be interpreted as meaning "my dynastic line and that of Pišenden".

If the details of this set-up after all still elude us, its general character and background on the other hand seem fairly clear. A recent study by M. Stolper has attempted to elucidate the historical circumstances which accompanied the formation of the Elamite state from seemingly autonomous and disparate countries. His conclusion is that Ur III military expansion in the eastern marches triggered this development as it brought the various highland entities together in their opposition to – and contacts with the Ur empire. He also suggests that the well-documented practice of marrying off Sumerian princesses to eastern rulers in order to gain indirect control with the periphery may have been imitated by highland rulers, who in this manner created true dynastic lines with hereditary claim to extensive realms. This provides a logical background for the curious and complex system of rule in Old Babylonian Elam, where the sukkalmah or grand-regent residing in the capital Susa shared his power with junior members of the ruling family. Thus there was a sukkal of Elam and Šimaški who probably resided in the latter locality, which was the ancestral land of the dynasty, and a sukkal of Susa who

functioned as governor of Elam (Stolper 1982, and 1984).

There can be little doubt that similar systems, perhaps in more rudimentary shapes, could have been adopted in areas further north in the mountains, in areas which were certainly afflicted by Ur III expansion (see e.g. ShT, 15 and Hallo 1978), and which of course would also have been influenced by internal developments in the mountains like the formation of the powerful Elamite state. It is significant that the letters from Shemshāra, like e.g. SH 896 and SH 812, repeatedly take political relations back three generations, showing that we are not dealing with an ephemeral situation, but probably fairly well-established geo-political patterns harking back to early post-Ur III times. With these considerations in mind it seems possible that Pišenden, Talpu-šarri, Kuwari, Zazija, Hašip-Teššup etc. were all members of the various dynastic lines which made up a supra-local Itabalthum kingdom. The emphasis on kinship as a source for political authority is shown by the unique formula found in the last line of Pišenden's seal legend, where he claims to be "begetter" of Tabitu who, by the way, also seems to have played an active political role during his father's reign (cf. SH 827). Possibly also the title *nuldānum*, which could be considered a *nupras* formation of the verb *walādum*, points in the same direction.³⁶

The Administration of māṭ Utēm

The valley system which centers on Tell Shemshāra consists of three main areas. Below Darband-i-Ramkan on the right bank of the Zab the Dasht-i-Bitwaîn or Rania plain, and on the left bank the Mirgah plain. Finally east of the Sungasur gorge is the roughly semi-circular Pizhdar plain. It is within this space and the fringes of the surrounding hill-country that the country of Utēm (*māṭ Utēm*), alter-

35: See photograph of this fragment in Læssøe 1966, 63.

36: As tentatively suggested in ShT, 102. The correct form would then be *nuldānum* (with suff. -ānum and loss of short vowel from **nūladum*).

natively called the country of Šušarrā (*māt Šušarrā*) from its main administrative centre, must be located (Læssøe 1968) although its exact extent is unknown. Considering the geo-strategic position of the area an Akkadian (popular?) etymology for *ulûm* meaning “gate-keeper” (cf. AHw, p. 1445a) seems certain.

Without the drainage problems due to modern deforestation the region is extremely fertile with rich soils and adequate precipitation. Edmonds (1957, 216) quotes population figures of more than 50.000 for the Rania and Qala Dizah districts (an area corresponding roughly to the valley system described above and surrounding hill-country), and similar or even higher figures for the early 2. mill. B. C. are quite possible. Edmonds’ figures for the Rania/Mirgah plains and surrounding hills add up to ca. 30.000 and this may be compared to the possible ca. 30 sites with material from the first half of the 2. mill. found in the plains alone. Besides the larger plains the many smaller and higher valleys in the surrounding hill country would also have had a considerable village population. In recent times such areas have tended to be settled by small, semi-independent tribal groupings probably in our period corresponding to the Lullean groups which in the texts appear as independent of the valley population and having a different socio-political organization (see *infra* ch. 4.B).

The main obligations of Kuwari vis à vis his superiors can to some extent be delineated. In SH 812, SH 827, and several other letters from Kunšum, Kuwari is severely reproached for not delivering grain and flour, and in some cases urged to deliver wool (e.g. SH 813). One doubts, however, that large overland shipments of grain and other agricultural products, especially in a mountain terrain, would reflect a normal procedure, and we do know that at this particular time special circumstances were involved since we are told that for three years the Gutians had prevented a proper

harvest, and also that the need for grain and flour is particularly urgent because armies from allied Zagros countries like Kusanarhum and Zutlum are expected to arrive for the planned campaign against Indaššu (see Eidem 1985a, 91-94). An indication of a more normal practice may be found in SH 812, 60 where it is anticipated that Kuwari will be reproached for not having “paid his lord’s *sūtum*” (*sū-ut be-lí-šu ú-ul ú-ša-qí-il₅*). This phrasing indicates that normally Kuwari was expected to render tax/revenue in the shape of silver, and not (exclusively) primary produce. By inference ways of effecting a conversion of primary produce into silver must have existed in the region and as in southern Mesopotamia could have involved traders taking charge of primary produce from the palace revenue.³⁷

The details of these procedures must obviously remain obscure since there is no further information in our texts, but the question of trade and traders in the region must be briefly considered. It has to be admitted first of all that there is not a single explicit reference to merchants in the SH texts, but it can hardly be doubted that the route through the Rania plain and the Sungasur gorge at Darband, providing access to a number of routes, e.g., up into the Urmia Basin, must have been used by merchants. References to envoys from Babylon (see no. 11) and to a man from Kutha imprisoned at Shemshāra (SH 887, 45ff) may well belong in such a context, and it must be emphasized that we have no information on the settlement around the Shemshāra palace, which could easily have included a merchant quarter, located, e.g., on the adjacent mound north of the Acropolis, where the Danish expedition had its camp (see the topographic map in Mortensen 1970; also the landscape photos *ibid.*, and in the present vol. p. 3). It is a general feature of our documentation from the north in this period that the bulk of evidence are palace archives which provide only occasional and oblique insights into other spheres of society, and that on the other hand documentation like the Old Assyrian texts provides equally limited information on political life, etc.

37: See for this system Charpin 1987, 121ff with further literature; cf. also about *sūtum* the remarks by Kraus 1984, 227ff.

Not least in our case this exclusive character of the documentation is unfortunate since it seems likely that Shemshāra could have been a station on the route by which tin reached Assur and evidence has long been available to the effect that large amounts of tin could be procured locally (see Læssøe 1959b and Larsen 1976, 88f).

In this context the evidence provided by the unpublished letter SH 824 sent from Talpu-šarri is of obvious importance. The first part is badly broken, but it appears that Kuwari is instructed to enter Talpu-šarri's "house" (i.e. his estate in Utûm), take large quantities of barley, and probably hand it over to a certain Imdija. Then follows a better preserved part and we read:

(19) ʾa-naʾ-[ka]m li-iš-ta-am (20) ù ni-ik-ka-[...] (21) ša še-a-am š[a i-n]a-ʾadʾ-di-nu (22) ša a-na-ki-im
[lu]ʾ-ú ti-di

"let him make purchases of tin and you must keep the accounts of the grain he sells for tin!"

Imdija is mentioned also in SH 810, where he has reported to Talpu-šarri on the affairs of Talpu-šarri's estate in Utûm. He seems to have been an official or agent rather than a merchant, but in any case this text clearly shows that surplus agricultural produce could be sold/converted and tin purchased locally, perhaps at Shemshāra itself.

What little evidence we have for the patterns of social structure, landownership etc. in Utûm can be briefly summarized. Letters mention "elders" (*šibūtum*, SH 861, 16) as well as "the big men of the country" (*rabbūt mātīm*, SH 874, 15 in association with the land of Wannī, probably close to the Rania region) both terms well-known from other northern texts. Some of these important locals would seem to have been in charge of towns or villages in Utûm. In no. 111 troops from e.g. Kisima lú Burulli and a certain Kularum are listed, and men like Lidaja and Hašip-Teššup had or were given charge of towns in the region. Otherwise the activities of these noblemen and big landowners are not much in evidence, but it seems likely that the rural landscape in Utûm could have resembled that found later around Nuzi. The administrative texts obvi-

ously deal mostly with the palace sphere, and mention fields belonging to the palace, and probably cultivated by palace personnel, and fields cultivated by "soldiers" (*aga.ús*).

Unfortunately the letters from the Pre-Assyrian period mention few names of local people besides the actual senders, but some recur in the administrative records: we find mention of several local associates of Kuwari (cf. the list *supra* at end of 2.A), *viz.* **Talpu-šarri**, whose name appears only once in the administrative texts, **Hizzutta**, the shepherd, who is known from SH 811, sent from **Tenturi**, Kuwari's son, who is also in our list, and from SH 813.

Šip(u)-šarri was Kuwari's wife (see Eidem 1985a, 92 n. 50), and **Kunšeja** could well be identical with a messenger whose name in letters from Šamši-Adad (like e.g. SH 809 and SH 894) is spelled *Ku-ši-ia*, but in two local letters *Ku-un-ši-ia* (in SH 820 and SH 899). A man named **Kubija** is mentioned once in SH 827 where he is to accompany envoys from Shemshāra to Kunšum. See finally for the rather special case of **Uštan-šarri** the discussion with text no. 11.

B. A Stage of Transition

Probably late in the year ŠA 28 Utûm severed its links with Itabalum and became a vassal principality of Šamši-Adad. Some of the circumstances of this event are described retrospectively by ŠA in SH 861:

"Hereby I have sent 600 soldiers for the protection of Šušarrā. Let these troops enter Šušarrā itself and you yourself come to me. The men (who are) "sons" of Utûm hate the town of Šušarrā and together with the "sons" of Kunšum that you diverted from Kunšum they hate you. They are false and treacherous. Earlier when I was staying in Sarri-(ma) in the country of Qabrā their elders came to me ..."

The events described in the letters from the Assyrian period belong to a large extent in a more

international context and need not concern us here where instead we shall focus on some information regarding the local situation. First of all the letters document the presence of specific Assyrian officers or officials staying at Shemshāra or corresponding with Kuwari, like prominently, Šamaš-nāšir (see ShT, 41 ad 1. 4), and the general Etellum involved in the campaign against Ahazum (see Læssøe/Jacobsen n.d.). There are no extant references to these men in our texts, but other Assyrians are mentioned:

Kurašānum, who is known as the sender of 5 letters to Kuwari (among them SH 879). He was clearly an Assyrian official, and in close contact with Šamši-Adad and Išme-Dagan.

Šumšu-līter. The name is not very common, and our individual, although not mentioned in the letters, is almost certainly identical with the official known from ŠA-period texts from Mari (cf. ARM 4, 80, where he is mentioned with Etellum, and ARM 5, 64), since we know that many high officials were rotated between the main centres of the empire (cf. e.g. the case of Līter-šarrūssu, Charpin, ARMT 26/2, p. 29 sub c).

A similar case can be made for **II-āsū** attested as resident at Mari, and at Šubat-Enlil; also active as envoy to Ešnunna (see ARMT 16/2 s.v.; also A. 4054 (*M.A.R.I.* 2, 213 n. 9), and ARMT 26/1, no. 91).

Samsi-malik, finally, may be identical with a certain *Sa-am-s[i-...]* mentioned in the letter SH 926, where Šamši-Adad in discussing the defense of a local town refers to 40 *šābum* under this individual. Samsi-malik may therefore have been an officer in the garrison provided by Šamši-Adad for the protection of Kuwari and Assyrian interests (SH 861), although it should be noted that this person is not attested in the published texts from Mari.³⁸

The evidence shows that Utûm was cut off from the old political superstructure entailing also of

course a halt to the flow of revenue out of Utûm to Kunšum/Itabalhum. Kuwari, however, who must then have been in a position to keep this revenue, may well have needed it to meet new pressing obligations. First of all one notes the two texts where large amounts of agricultural products are given to Šumšu-līter suggesting that the Assyrians may have received their share, but other new arrivals likewise demanded attention.

In SH 911+ Šamši-Adad instructs Kuwari to keep only the Turukkean refugees he himself can feed (1. 6: *ša emūq šūkulišunu tele'u*), and send the rest on to ŠA. The local system of political alliances had broken down under Gutian and Assyrian pressure, and the Turukkeans, refugees from at least the areas related to Itabalhum, probably quite numerous, poured into Utûm. For Šamši-Adad the Turukkean refugees posed a twofold problem. First there was the danger of losing control with Utûm, and secondly the danger of the Turukkeans joining forces with enemies of Šamši-Adad like Jašub-Addu, the king of Ahazum. Accordingly Šamši-Adad urged Kuwari to keep the refugees under control – or send them west. Eventually both of the dangers became very real, since large numbers of Turukkeans did join Jašub-Adad, and Kuwari was finally ousted by the Lidaja revolt. That large numbers were involved is certain in view of the large-scale operations against Turukkeans in the Habur Basin (cf. *supra*, ch. 1.C).

There can be little doubt that the named “countrymen” in SH 887 discussed above were also Turukkeans, but as SH 861 neatly distinguishes “sons of Utûm” and “sons of Kunšum” it remains to be established whether they were resident in the area already in the pre-Assyrian period or were refugees (cf. next section). From other letters it is possible to follow the fate of some of these people. **Hašip-Teššup** was sent to Šamši-Adad, who treated him with respect, soothed him, and probably sent him back to Kuwari (SH 906+). Probably after this event Šamši-Adad wrote to Kuwari and agreed that the best thing to do was to execute Hašip-Teššup in the *nepārum* at Shemshāra, since he

38: Apparently only a single individual with this name, father of Yattija, servant of Šamši-Adad, is attested in the published Mari texts (see *M.A.R.I.* 2, 63), and probably a homonym.

“writes to his town and instigates rebellion”. Because of public opinion Šamši-Adad advised Kuwari to carry out the execution in secret and pretend officially that Hašip-Teššup was still alive (SH 883). Since we subsequently lose track of Hašip-Teššup and Zazija perhaps took his place, it could be assumed that this plan was actually carried out. **Zazija** is not referred to again in the correspondence, but only later, during the reign of Zimri-Lim, appears as a leader of the Turukkeans.

Šarnida is mentioned again together with “the cook” – presumably **Uštap-tupki** (cf. SH 887) – in the letter where Šamši-Adad instructs Kuwari about the execution of Hašip-Teššup. The context provides no details, but presumably their mention shows that they were still being detained at Shemshāra at this time.

We are better informed about **Tirwen-šenni**, who besides SH 887, is mentioned in three other letters. In SH 911+ we learn that he was the brother of **Zilija**, and Kuwari is instructed to send them both to Šamši-Adad. He is also mentioned in SH 829 sent from Talpu-šarri and presumably antedating the Assyrian period. Finally we have a letter (SH 914) from Wannī, a local ruler, who is apparently detaining not only Tirwen-šenni, but also Kularum, and Šatlija. Kuwari has requested their return, but Wannī refuses and states that later he will kill them together with Kizzuma, and send Kuwari their heads in a sack!

This information takes us on to some of the other people in our list (end of ch. 2.C) not mentioned in SH 887:

Kularum must be identical with the man of this name who is listed with troops from Utûm in no. 111, while **Kizzuma** is presumably identical with *Ki-si-ma lú Burulli* in the same text, and also with a certain *Ki-iz-zi-ma*, mentioned as an Utûm resident in the letter SH 858. The implication seems to be that both were local noblemen, who turned enemies of Kuwari.

Lidaja, well-known as the Turukkean, lord of Burullum, who eventually ousted the Assyrians from Utûm, is probably identical with our *Li-ta-e*.

He is first mentioned at Shemshāra in SH 887. Then in SH 915, where Šamši-Adad wants to keep him until the conquest of Nurrugum has been achieved. In SH 943 we learn that Kuwari wants him settled (*šūšubum*), but Šamši-Adad does not want him back in the east until Ahazum and Šikšabbum have been conquered, and finally he is mentioned in broken context in SH 852. From the available evidence he would seem also to have been a refugee. He was settled in Burullum, one of the major centres of Utûm, and apparently used his base there to work against Kuwari and prepare the famous rebellion which put an end to Assyrian dominance.

C. The Dating of the Texts

Having outlined the main elements of the historical background which may serve to date and explain the administrative records, some relevant conclusions can be presented.

Turning first to Archive 1, which is by far the most informative, the text no. **109** may serve as a point of departure for chronological analysis. The probable co-occurrence of Assyrian officials, Kurašānum, Ilī-asû, and perhaps Samsi-malik, with “lugal” excludes a Pre-Assyrian date. Assyrian diplomats are of course attested at Shemshāra in this period (cf. e.g. SH 827), but significantly Šamši-Adad is not referred to as lugal, but by name. This may be compared with the forms of address found in the Šamši-Adad letters to Kuwari. Only in SH 809, which seems to be the earliest preserved, is his name used, while subsequently in four other letters sent slightly later he refers to himself as lugal, and finally in the remaining texts as *bēlum*. These changes in style probably mark stages in the relationship between ŠA and Kuwari (cf. Læssøe 1966, 75), and we may tentatively date no. 109 to the time of the lugal-letters, i.e. late autumn/winter of the year ŠA 28. If correct it follows that other texts can be dated to a similar time range:

lugal is also mentioned in texts nos. **144** and **146** in the pattern “item(s) *ša* lugal” and in **134** with the pattern “item lugal”.

Ili-asû is mentioned in **123** and 144 with pattern “item *ša*.”

Kurašānum is mentioned in **132** also with this pattern

Samsi-malik finally, whose identification as Assyrian official is less certain, is mentioned as recipient in no. **136**.

Of these texts nos. 132, 144, and 146 also mention Kuwari’s wife, Šip-šarri, known not to have resided at Shemshāra in the early period, but probably joined him later when Kuwari transferred “sons of Kunšum” to Shemshāra (SH 861). A similar case can be made for Tenturi mentioned in no. **140**.

Thus at least these 8 texts may reasonably be dated to the Assyrian period. Other texts with possible chronological clues are less helpful:

110: “garment for Bēlī (goddess?) when she came from before the king”, where the king could be ŠA (the letters furnish no relevant evidence here). Similarly “messengers from Arrapha” (118), donations of bronze goblets to Šauška/Ištar of Nineveh (129) and Teššup/Adad of Arrapha (133), and the frequent donations to a Lullean “king” (passim) could refer to events in both periods.

Other clues are constituted by the frequent mention of the men listed in SH 887, the “countrymen” under Hašip-Teššup, but the question remains whether this puts them among the “sons of Utûm”, i.e. locals resident from before the Assyrian period, or the “sons of Kunšum”, i.e. Turukkean refugees from elsewhere in Itabalthum (the distinction used by ŠA in SH 861). This question is of obvious importance since these individuals are mentioned in a total of 13 texts in Archive 1, 9 of which are not in the group already assigned a date. Considering that these men are mentioned as a group “those under Hašip-Teššup”, we need in theory only a single decisive reference to either of them to establish their origin. Although more suggestive than decisive a reference to Tirwen-šenni found in the letter SH 829 sent from Talpu-šarri should be mentioned. Unfortunately the text is broken and not very clear, but since Talpu-šarri reports to Kuwari on activity

by Tirwen-šenni elsewhere it seems most likely that he was not a native of Utûm.

In this context it should be noted that several of the administrative texts from Archive 2 use an unusual adjectival form of the noun *mātum* in meaning certainly the equivalent to *mār mātīm*:

46, 26, 27 – mentions a carpenter of the country *nangarim ša ma-tu-ji^(ki)*

50, 17’ – mentions a munus *ma-tu-ju^{ki}*

54, 44 – lists 43 *lú.meš ša še il-qú-ú ma-tu-ju^{ki}*

74,7’ – mentions a Hiari (?) *ma-tu-ju*

and compare:

111, 14 – mentions 80 *lú.meš ma-ru ma-tim* ending a listing of 526 *šābum ša Utêm*

Since the scribes who wrote these texts otherwise rarely added information to the many PN’s listed, the qualification “countryman” must have another meaning than just “native of Utûm” since in theory numerous other people mentioned in the texts should have been thus referred to. The distinction must relate to people who, like Kuwari, were integrated in the basic, dominant strata of population in the areas controlled by Itabalthum – but coming from outside Utûm. In the Pre-Assyrian period numerous people from elsewhere in Itabalthum could have been present in Utûm, like a personal retinue/guard of Kuwari and more or less long-established feudal lords, craftsmen, traders etc.. In a wider sense, of course, the ambiguity of the term is stressed by the fact that the noun *mātum* is also used to sum up local villages bringing cereals (see ch. 2.B), but in the case of SH 887, where ŠA is probably repeating a phrasing used in the complaints put to him, “countryman” logically has the connotation found in the administrative texts, which corroborates the theory that these people were not natives of Utûm.

In theory then it is possible to date 9 further texts from Archive 1 to the Assyrian period (nos. 116, 121, 125, 129, 131, 133, 135, 142, 145), and although this may certainly be wrong in a few cases since some of the same individuals could have made earlier visits to Kuwari, the general picture should be valid. Hašip-Teššup and his large following in-

cluding wives, children, and retainers must have arrived as displaced persons at Shemshāra late in ŠA 28 being part of the Turukkean exodus which was to cause troubles in much of northern Mesopotamia. The shifting policies applied to deal with these troubles and the fates of Hašip-Teššup and his men have already been summarized in the previous section, but the probable dating of the majority of the Archive 1 lists to the Assyrian period adds more flavour to the dramatic events. Apparently these people on several occasions partook in generous series of luxurious items being distributed by Kuwari, who was at the same time plotting to get rid of them, and also themselves presented gifts to the palace.

Another obvious question is who the other people mentioned in these lists were. Apart from those already considered, a number of others unattested outside the administrative texts occur prominently and repeatedly like Amur-Ištar, Awaja, Babandiki, Benši, Idin-Sîn, Meša-kulli, Nagarduk Natupšudu, Nupur-ewri, Nūr-Šamaš, Rudandi, Šattida, and Uwandib. Some like Idin-Sîn, Meša-kulli, and Nagarduk could have been palace officials/retainers (cf. ch. 2.A), but a good deal were probably also Turukkean refugees. Finally, others were probably local or regional dignitaries. The evidence portrays vividly the chaotic situation during this time when the old structures were changing and new social

and political alliances formed. Kuwari was in effect trying to establish a whole new power base and remembering his interesting association with Wannī (cf. SH 874), we can assume that he initiated alliances with other chiefs and noblemen in the region.

Archive 2 can be dealt with much more briefly since the legible portions of texts are much less informative on this level. Nevertheless some indications are present to give a similar general date for this group: The mention of Hašip-Teššup in several texts – the mention of Uštan-šarri together with envoys from Babylon – the mention of Šumšu-līter who takes charge of large quantities of food-stuff. On the other hand the issue of barley to Talpu-šarri in 105 might well date at least this single text to the Pre-Assyrian period – in fact the only reasonably certain example.

In sum, then, we reach substantial confirmation of the suspected “late” date of the majority of the administrative texts in relation to the letters, but it is of course regrettable that the evidence does not allow more precise dating of individual texts and also that positive identification with precise origin can be made for so few of the people mentioned in the texts since this would have provided precious information for a final question which deserves attention with regard to the administrative records from Shemshāra.

4. Ethno-Linguistic Patterns

A. The Onomastic Material

Outside the Shemshāra texts we possess only a handful of names carried by people from northeastern Mesopotamia in the early 2. mill. B. C., but enough to show that both Akkadian, Amorite, and Hurrian elements were present. The texts from Shemshāra, however, provide the first chance of assessing the ethno-linguistic situation in the far eastern corner of the region from a more extensive material. A provisional discussion of the evidence

was provided by Læssøe (ShT, 75f), who suggested that the rather few Akkadian names found might well be explained largely by the brief period of incorporation in the Šamši-Adad empire. He also pointed to the large Hurrian element, a clear Amorite element, and finally elements which could not well be defined, being apparently neither Semitic nor Hurrian. These observations are fully borne out by the more complete study which can now be made. While Kuwari’s letters provide some local

onomastic evidence, it is as expected the administrative texts which are most rewarding in this respect, although we could certainly wish for a larger sample. With the exception of some 20 different names occurring in unpublished letters, and not otherwise made known,³⁹ the following discussion considers the entire onomastic material.

For obvious practical reasons the search for parallels has had to be kept within certain limits. If not otherwise noted, parallels are drawn from the following bodies of material (sigla used below in bold):

Alalah: Draffkorn 1959. **Chagar Bazar:** Gadd 1938, and Loretz 1969. **Elam:** Zadok 1984. **Mari:** ARMT 16/1 supplemented with indices in ARMT 21-26, indices for *M.A.R.I* 1-5 (in *M.A.R.I* 5), and private files. **Nuzi:** NPN, AAN. **Rimah:** OBTR.

Semitic Names

Akkadian Names. Even a glance at the first page of the appended index of personal names reveals that Shemshāra was outside the area where Semitic languages predominated, since e.g. the very prolific names with *abum* and *ahum*, are entirely missing, and this first impression is confirmed by closer inspection of the material. Only the following handful of names are certifiably Akkadian: Amur-Ištar, Ibni-Adad (and the hypocoristic Ibnija), Idin-Sîn, Ilī-Adad, Ilī-asû, Irība-AN, Mušallišu, Nabi-Šamaš, Nūr-Šamaš, Pī-Sîn, Šamaš-idī, Šamaš-magir, Šamaš-šarri (could also be Hurrian!), Šarram-ušur, Šumšu-līter, and Ušur-ramanka.

To these may be added names like Asīrum, Imdi-Adad (SH 891), Migir-Adad, Nabi-ilī, Sîn-Iš-

meanni, Šamaš-nāšir, and Warad-Šarrim from the letters (only).

Of these people Imdi-Adad, Šamaš-našir, and Warad-Šarrim are known from the letters to have been Šamši-Adad officials, and to this group should probably be added Ilī-asû and Šumšu-līter.

Several of the remaining names may likewise have belonged to people who were not of local origin, but with some we know that this was not the case. Nabi-ilī was an Elamite army commander, Sîn-išmeanni a close associate of Kuwari (possibly a brother), and Šarram-ušur was listed with the people associated with Hašip-Teššup. Asīrum and Migir-Adad are known only as senders of respectively SH 873, and SH 912 (both unpublished), the contents of which show that at least at the time of writing they were placed in a local context, but do not allow us to define their background in any detail.

In sum it can be stated that a good deal of the Akkadian names found in the texts are accounted for by the precise historical situation which brought people from the west into the Rania area, but that such names in rather isolated cases could be borne by locals, whose linguistic affiliation was probably not Semitic. Given the prestige of such names and the fact that locals could write, read, and probably also speak Akkadian, this is not surprising.

Amorite Names. Names of West Semitic origin seem even rarer than the Akkadian ones, and judging from the very few clear examples one would certainly hesitate to include in this category shorter, fairly obscure names which in other contexts with strong West Semitic influence might have been considered to belong here.

Ajammu- ..., Ana-kibal, Bini-Šakim (dumu-ša-ki-im, cf. e.g. R: *Bi-ni-Ša-ki-im*), Būnu-Addu, Hatni-Šamaš, Ibal-pī-El, Ibbi-Salim, Innabatum (cf. Gelb 1980, no. 3713-15, all FN), Jakūn-El, Jarim-..., Kabija (cf. Charpin, 1990, p. 83), Kabkab (cf. M Kabkaba, Kabkabum), Kurašānum (cf. Gelb 1980 no. 4133), Pāki-El, Pāki-abija(?), Samsimalik, Šiqlānum (cf. Gelb 1980, no. 5881-2).

39: Most of the onomastic evidence from the letters was excerpted in ShT, and can be traced through the index of that volume and the lists of senders/recipients *ibid.* pp. 88ff and Læssøe 1965. Names otherwise/subsequently communicated are noted separately below. The ca. 20 unpublished names from letters have roughly the same distribution as the remainder of the material, but have not been incorporated in the discussion here.

From Letters: Abdi-Erah, Huzālu Jadinum, Jašub-Addu (king of Ahazum west of the Rania plain), Meskinum (SH 888, cf. Durand, *N.A.B.U.* 1988/68), Nipram (messenger; cf. Gelb 1980, no. 5036), Šepratu (? cf. Gelb 1980, no. 5852).

Like in the case of the Akkadian material a number of these people can be accounted for by the historical events and do not belong to the local population. Kurašānum, Meskinum, and possibly Samsi-malik were Šamši-Adad officials. Also Jadinum, who is known as sender of two letters to Kuwari (SH 941 and SH 945) dating to the time of the campaign against Ahazum, may belong in this category.

Otherwise the background here may be somewhat different from that of the Akkadian material since the element of fashion/prestige might be expected to be weaker, while on the other hand people of West Semitic origin seem to have been established in – or close to the local region. Unfortunately very little evidence is available for the northeastern plain, but not surprisingly this evidence points to strong Amorite influence. Apart from the case of Jašub-Addu of Ahazum we have the tribe of Ja'ilānum with its leader Bina-Addu, and the two known kings of Qabrā, Būnu-Ištar and Arda-kanda, both had Amorite names. It is therefore easy to imagine that a few individuals could have sifted into the Zagros foot-hills, and this may explain the occurrence of some of our names. On the other hand it is clear that even fairly high-ranking people thoroughly integrated in the local region could bear Amorite names. A certain Abdi-Erah was apparently a brother of Hulukkatil, one of Kuwari's intimate Kunšum associates (see SH 858). Šepratu, another important Kunšum associate, should of course also be mentioned in this connection, but since the name seems unique, some reservation about its Semitic origin is perhaps prudent.

Non-Semitic Names

The handful of Semitic names in the Shemshāra texts, in many cases proved to belong to outsiders brought into the Rania area by specific political

events, in others – unverified – possibly to other messengers and officials from the west, and only rarely to definitely local people, is significantly dwarfed by the number of non-Semitic names. There are of course severe difficulties attached to this material and we shall not attempt a complete analysis, but discuss only samples of three main groups: clearly Hurrian names, possibly Hurrian names, and finally names of more uncertain derivation. Names which are partly broken on the tablet or based on very uncertain readings will not be considered, and the same applies to the many short names or hypocoristica which may be found in widely separated contexts and of little help for a reconstruction of linguistic background.

Clearly Hurrian Names. These are names which consist of well-established Hurrian elements, and for which exact parallels in many cases (noted by sigla alone) can be found in other corpora of texts. (It must be noted that the references to comparative material are fairly selective).

Agapše (N) *Akap-tahi* (A/M/R) (OBTR 318,18: a-k[a*-a]p*-ta-hi) *Akap-tukki* (N/R) (OBTR 224,20: a-ka-ap*-tu-up-[ki]*; also 322 iii, 12' [a*]-gab-tup-ki) *Awiš-abi* (?) (cf. M/N elm. awiš-) *Ewri-atal* (N) *Halu-wata* cf. N Hur. elem.s halu+wati *Hamar-atal* cf. N Hamar-elli/-tati *Hašija* (A/N/R) *Hašip-ma...* *Hašip-Teššup* (M/N) *Išip-halu* (N) *Kuzuh-ewri* (A/M) *Mušum-atal* (CB/M/N/R) *Nanip-šarri* (M (from Nurrugum)/N) *Nupur-ewri* (M) *Puhu-šenni* and *Puhuše* (A/N) *Puhi-šenni* *Šarrip-atal* (?) cf. N *Šarip-šarri/tilla/ume* *Šehran-šenni* cf. N *Šehram-mušni* *Šinin-šali* (M *Šinin-šali* / N *Šiniš-šalli*) *Šip(u)-šarri* (cf. N *Šibiš-šarri*) *Talpu-šarri* (cf. R *Talpunu-ewri*) *Teššup-ewri* (N) *Tirm/we(n)-šenni* *Tu-IZ-kiaše* reading of first part uncertain, but clearly H. from last elem. *Dup-šarri* (= *Tupki-šarri* (?); cf. N, du-up/dup-ki-lugal) *Ugur-atal* (R) *Ullup-atal* (N) *Unap-šarri* cf. R, *Unap-eli*, *Unapše* *Uštan-šarri* cf. M *Uštam-šenni* *Uštap-tup/kki* (CB and cf. M *Uštap-atal/Kiriš*) *Uwandib* cf. e.g. next name *Wandib-šenni* (N *Wantiš-šenni*) *Wari-kiba* (A/M) *Ziliš-ewri* *Ziliš-šarri* (N).

Names presumably Hurrian. These are non-Semitic names, generally shorter, where a Hurrian derivation is less certain, but occurrences in corpora from Hurrian milieus make such a derivation likely. Especially when parallels can be found beyond the Nuzi area, at Mari, Rimah etc., at Hurrian derivation must be fairly certain since possible linguistic substrata from the Zagros could not be expected to have left many traces there.

Agamtim (?) cf. elem. akam-, N Akam-menni/nani/-mušni *Alan-zadae* probably to be analyzed alan-za-dae, cf. M elan-za/kijaše/šaki *Ammina* cf. N amminaiē *Baban* and *Babandiki* cf. M Paban and Paban-šarri; N Papante *Benši* and *Pinzi* cf. M Pí-in-zi-ia (Andarig) *Elakka* and *Elaku* cf. N Ellaku *Halu* cf. N Ha-lu-ia and elm. Halu- *Hame* cf. N Hami-Teššup *Kaḫ-ulu* cf. N Ka-pu-li *Kunše/ija* (= Kuššija) (N) *Kuwari* (A/CB/E/M/N) see ShT, 20 n. 30 *Menne*, *Menni*, *Mennate* M/CB *Menna*; N *Menni*, *Mennikeraše/-waše* *Na'iggu* (N) *Nawaja* (N) *Nuzaku* cf. R *Nuzama*/N (Fisher 1959, no. 461) *Nu-zak-ku Rudandi* cf. M (ú-)un-da-an-di *Šarnida* cf. N (Fisher 1959, no. 559) *Šarnida*^{ki} *Šattida* cf. CB (Gadd 1940, A.994, 14: ša-at-ti-da*) *Šilu* cf. N Šilu/Šilu-melli *Šušenna* (N) *Tenturi* cf. N Tianduri, see ShT, 29 n. 33 *Tulpi* cf. N Tulpija *Turiša/u* cf. CB *Turiša Warate* cf. N *Waratteja Zazija* A/CB/E/M/N/R (cf. Sasson 1974, 372; some of the occur. from M and R refer to our individual) *Zilija* (N).

Names of uncertain origin. These constitute a residual group. A few names seem to be related to the Elamite language group, most clearly perhaps the king of Gutium, whose name is variously written E/Indušše and E/Indaššu – and parallels the In-da-su/sú, known from Ur III times as a Šimaššian king (see Zadok 1984, sec. 67; not included as “Gutian” in idem 1987, 20f). Other possibilities for similar origin (cf. Zadok 1984 for E. elements) are *Guliki* (cf. element -kul “force, glory” and names like a-ad-da-ku-li-ki), *Mamuratu* and *Mamurhup* ... (cf. element *mamur*), *Meša-kulli*, *Uwa-hušu* (cf. element -hušu); also *GUL-simi* and *NI-NI-simi* (i-lí-si-mi) cf. element (-simi). In view of the contacts

within the Zagros evidenced by our texts, isolated names of Elamite stock are no surprise. Likewise one could expect to find evidence for Kassites and at least one example may point in this direction: *Burna-tari* (cf. discussion NPN, 247: “uncer., Kassite?”).

Otherwise the names left seem of unknown derivation and I have not been able to trace good parallels for the following names:

Agaš-turum, *AHARradari*, *Altipanu*, *Appu-bandi*, *Arazan*, *Ardimmatu*, *Ašnateki*, *Bulu-kudrae* and *Kudrae* (cf. N *Kutra*), *Ebi'unni* (noted as *Lullu*), *Halšarae*, *Hillura*, *Hizzutta*, *Iwadatae*, *Irkatie*, *Išandu*, *Kabītuni*, *Kamazi*, *Kannani*, *Kašmenki*, *Katamri*, *Kizzima*, *Kizzuri*, *Kumur-atte*, *Kularum*, *Mesakda*, *Mešatak*, *Metaškum*, *Minidija*, *Nagadu*, *Nagardug*, *Natupšudu*, *Niber*, *Nuhniš*, *Panduzi*, *Puhmu-šarlaš*, *Šamejari*, *Šepullu*, *Tagen*, *Takrišû*, *Ternae*, *Tuhšim*, *Tutikanu*, *Ukizan*, *Ullutta*, *Uru-tadni*, *Uzurra-mulaš*, *Wašhelpu*, *Zapari*, *Zidrantie*.

This of course does not exclude a possible Hurrian (or in a few cases Semitic) origin for some of these names. Several have syllables which could correspond to known/presumed Hurrian elements like e.g. *Appu-bandi* (cf. H. elm.-bendi) *Nagar-dug* (comparable to *Nawar-tukki*?) and *Iwadatae*, *Irkatie*, *Zidrantie* (cf. H. elm. -tae/tie), but it seems wiser to withhold judgement without better comparative evidence since evidently other linguistic influences than Hurrian – or indeed peripheral Hurrian dialects must have been effective in the mountains. The most conspicuous “barbarian” names are probably examples like *Puhmu-šarlaš* and *Uzurra-mulaš* where it seems possible to isolate a presumably non-Hurrian elm./ending -laš.

To these three groups of names may be added a few attested only in the letters:

Arruk (messenger from *Kunšum*) cf. M/N (see Sasson 1974, 358) *Berdigendae* (general of *Zutlum*) *Bisanši* (resident in *Kunšum*) *Hulukkatil* (resident in *Kunšum*) see ShT, 67; cf. N *Hulukka*, *Kutukkatil* *Igilištae* (Turukkean?) *Izzini* (ment. w. *Hašip-*

Teššup) *Kullu* (received letter from Pišenden) (R) *Kigirza* (Zagros king?) *Mutušu* (messenger) *Naššumar* (Zagros king) *Pišenden* (see ch. 3.A; king of Itabalthum) cf. elm. piš- (GLH, 202) *Šurti* (son of Naššumar) (N) *Tabitu* (son of Pišenden) *Tarugur* (son of Naššumar) *Ugutlae* (resident near(?) Kunšum) *Ullam-tašni*; (cf. note to text no. 11) *Uštur* (ment. w. Hašip-Teššup) cf. N Uštun-naia *Ušuni* (from Kutha) *Wanni/a* (local ruler).

Here at least Arruk, Hulukkati, Pišenden, Šurti, Ullam-tašni and the names ending in -d/tae are probably Hurrian, while others are too short or clear parallels from elsewhere are missing, and especially the kings/princes of other countries in the western Zagros could easily belong to unknown linguistic backgrounds.

In summing up this evidence it may first of all be noted that there is a clear predominance of Hurrian names among the individuals known to have been associated with Itabalthum and whom we are allowed to identify as Turukkeans (like e.g. Kuwari's correspondents from Kunšum, the men listed with Hašip-Teššup etc.). An obvious difficulty is that for many names we have no means of identifying the geographical origin of their bearers with precision, but it is a reasonable theory that most of the people listed in the administrative texts would have been either Turukkean refugees or Utûm region locals. This together with various words and glosses in the texts (cf. index) and the local toponymy (see section C) amply supports the presumed predominant Hurrian character of Utûm population and Turukkean society.

B. An Aspect of Zagros Ethnography

The evidence from Shemshāra, however, poses a problem which was defined and discussed already in 1965 by H. Klengel:

“Diese altbabylonischen Belege aus Šemšāra und Mari stellen zugleich die Frage nach dem Verhältnis der Lullubäer zu den aus gleicher Zeit und etwa für den gleichen Raum bezeugten Turukkû ..., Da

das für die Anführer der Turukkû überlieferte PN-Material Hurritisch ist, scheint es nicht ausgeschlossen, in den T. ein hurritisches Bevölkerungselement zu sehen, dass sich zeitweise über das dem elamischen Sprachkreis zugehörnde lullubäische Substrat legte. Damit wurde auch eine Erklärung finden, weshalb die Lullubäer – im Gegensatz zu den Turukkû – als nicht politisch führende Teil der Bevölkerung Lullubums in den Texten aus Šemšāra und Mari so spärlich bezeugt sind.” (p. 356f).

This conquest theory was put forward in the context of a thorough survey of the evidence for Lullu(bum) in the cuneiform record later updated by the same author (1988) which shows that areas of Southern Kurdistan traditionally was known as Lullubum or land of the Lulleans, and that 3. mill. sources seem to reflect the historical reality upon which this tradition built. Both Old Akkadian and Ur III sources refer to victories over Lullean kings or the country Lullubum and interestingly a later historical text in Hurrian from Boghazköy records a “king of kings of Lullu” named Immašku, who allegedly reigned in the late Old Akkadian period. In contrast references to Turukkeans appear only in the early 2. mill. and these people now seem to have replaced the Lulleans as the general ethno-political referent for the region. The term Lullu, however, continued in use, both as a traditional geographical topos, but also in an extended sense as a general term for “barbarian, mountain-dweller”. As stated by Klengel (1988, 165):

“Spätestens in der altbab. Periode [...] setzte eine inhaltliche Ausweitung des Begriffs L. ein, mit dem fortan auch nicht genauer lokalisierte Bergbewohner bezeichnet werden konnten; [...] Eine unmittelbare Beziehung zum Lande L. um Sulaimanija kann daher insbesondere für Überlieferung aus räumlich weiter entfernten Bereichen (Anatolien, Ägypten) kaum noch angenommen werden. Im Zeugnis der Texte aus Tall Šimšāra (alt Šušarrā) in der Rānia-Ebene erscheint L. als ein ethnisch weiter gefasster Begriff für Gebirgsbewohner einer bestimmten Region.”

This means that we need to investigate two diffe-

rent but related problems: 1) to which degree do the OB sources show the extension of the term Lullu to an international “social” label, – and 2) what ethno-linguistic reality does the opposition Lullean/Turukkean in the “old” Lullubum reflect? In order to solve these problems we shall review first briefly the OB evidence for Lulleans.

In other text groups from the north Lulleans are occasionally mentioned – never in connection with events in the east-Tigris or Zagros regions, but in areas further west. Mari texts like B.308 and Arch. ép. 111 mention Lulleans as present in areas to the north/northwest of the Habur Basin (in connection with Burundum, Eluhut, Hahhum, Zalmaqum, and Talhajum), and in A.3006 (cf. *M.A.R.I.* 4, 297 w. n. 22) Sammêtar mentions that the Lulleans “sinned” in Tuttul under the reigns of Aminum, Šamšī-Adad, and Jahdun-Lim, but not yet under Zimri-Lim. The MEC notes that very early in his reign Šamšī-Adad was defeated by Lulleans in Lazapātum, close to Šubat-Enlil (Tell Leilan), i.e. in the northeastern part of the Habur Basin,⁴⁰ while texts like OBTR 195 and especially ARMT 26/2, 405 attest Lulleans in the Sinjar Plain. These references to Lulleans seem to have given rise to some confusion. Birot, when publishing the MEC, noted that “Si les Lullū semblent avoir hanté surtout les pays à l’Est du Tigre, une partie d’entre eux avait donc déjà franchi le fleuve”, (Birot, *M.A.R.I.* 4, 222 n. 19) while more recently Joannès in a similar vein commented that “Les Lullû ... opéraient apparemment aussi de l’autre côté du fleuve [i.e. the Tigris] jusqu’en Eluhut ...” (Joannès, ARMT 26/2, p. 271 ad 405: 15’). What seems implied is that the Lulleans in the west originated in the Zagros, but this is probably not the case. Obviously individual easterners could have been glossed as Lulleans, just like the designations Gutean and Elamite could be used in a rather loose sense in texts from lowland Mesopotamia, but the Mari references rather indicate a permanent Lullean presence quite far from

the Zagros “homeland” while there is no evidence for ethnic movements which could have brought them there and it can be concluded that the term Lullean in the west was used primarily to designate “(barbarous) highlanders” from areas in or near the Tur Abdin and Sinjar ranges. These considerations largely confirm the thesis put forward by Klengel, that already by this time Lullean had assumed a broader field of reference, and given the available information about the ethno-linguistic landscape west of the Tigris, one would expect the western Lulleans to have been much dominated by Hurrian elements. It is interesting to note that besides the term Lullu, widely used in Akkadian texts, there exists a Hurrian term for highlander – *pabanhi* (from *paban* mountain; see GLH, 190f; and cf. such names in this vol. as Baban, Babandiki etc.) and this is used often in Mari texts (cf. Durand 1989, 186) presumably with a field of reference very similar to Lullu.

Turning next to the situation in the east, where “real” Lulleans are more likely to be found, two series of references in the political correspondence from Shemshāra must be considered. The first is found in the Pre-Assyrian letters SH 812 and SH 827, where the sender Šēpratu urges Kuwari to establish peace and good relations with “the many Lullean kings” It is explicitly stated that this is to ensure safe passage of messengers and shipments of urgently needed food supplies to Kunšum. From this information it can be deduced that the Lullean “kings” did not constitute a political force equivalent to the various named countries or city-states in the region, and that the Lulleans must have been scattered over wider areas in the mountains since they could hamper communications. In SH 812 which is slightly earlier than SH 827 Šēpratu also advises Kuwari to “come up” to Kunšum with his best troops (*šābum damqum*), but have the “reliable” (*taklūtum*) Lulleans held inside Šušarrā until he arrives, while in SH 827 he is told to have the “well-to-do” (*damqūtum* – or used parallel to “reliable”?) Lulleans held until a number of envoys have “come up”. There can be little doubt that these Lulleans

40: For Lazapātum see Durand, ARMT 26/1, p. 269, sub b).

were to be used as hostages for the behaviour of their wilder compatriots.

The second series of references to Lulleans is found in the letters from the Assyrian period exclusively in contexts where their military assistance is desired (see SH 888 and texts discussed in Læssøe/Jacobsen n.d.). Curiously they refer consistently to the *lú lullim* (ki) as if only one specific chief or king is meant and similarly we find in the administrative texts mention several times of presents to the *lugal ša Lulli*. If only one and the same chief is involved – which of course is not certain – it is difficult to explain the significance of this. Either a new “king of kings” could have appeared, or more likely the references concern only Lulleans in a restricted area close to Shemshāra who were likely allies.

How then are we to imagine the distinction between Lullean and non-Lullean (= Turukkean) in the Rania region? Foremost the distinction like further west must have been geographical and socio-economic. The non-Lulleans constituted the core population in the lower and generally larger intermontane valleys/plains. On a political level they were integrated in the fairly stable supra-regional confederacies ruled by allied aristocratic families. The Lulleans on the other hand filled up remaining space in the region inhabiting presumably the higher or more inaccessible portions depending economically more heavily on non-agricultural strategies like herding and hunting.

This vista which admittedly is built on slim evidence and necessarily much simplified should be exposed to some relevant objections/modifications. The first is the possibility of an active ethno-linguistic opposition between Lulleans and Turukkeans – an opposition which obviously could supplement the social distinction, but also could lead to an alternative theory similar to that indicated by Klengel in the passage quoted above. This view would postulate an aboriginal Lullean population speaking Lullean dialects being subjugated by other groups speaking Hurrian dialects, and if correct it could be argued that the situation at Shemshāra should be interpreted in this light, i.e.

the Lulleans as the basic local population in Utûm, and Kuwari and his associates as an ethnically differentiated ruling class.

Such a theory cannot be entirely excluded, but it must be admitted that it finds little support in the available linguistic evidence. Hurrians were present in northern Mesopotamia as early as the Old Akkadian period, and most probably in the western Zagros as well although they become discernible only in the Ur III period. From this time we fortunately have some evidence from the Šašrum/Shemshāra region. Besides the Hurrian Ari-dupuk of Šašrum the lists from Umma giving the names of nearly 200 women and children probably from this region show that both Hurrians and Semites are in evidence there. Many of the names, however, are of the well-known “banana”-type found abundantly at Gasur, but also in other geographical contexts and not of much value for judging linguistic background (see Foster 1981, 302f). Finally there remains a group of peculiar names which cannot be attributed to any known language.⁴¹ Comparing this evidence to that from the early 2. mill. one finds considerable differences. Hurrian and Akkadian names are more frequent, there are virtually no “banana” names, and the longer names of unknown or uncertain affiliation are different. The question is, however, whether these differences have much significance. The Ur III lists concern women and children of fairly low status, while our texts mostly concern men in many cases belonging to the upper strata of society where e.g. the clearly recognizable Hurrian names and perhaps “imported” Semitic names would be more common, and “banana” names in general become much less common in this period. It is unfortunate, of course, that we cannot link any of the strange names in the two sets of evidence with any specific language. Both in the case of the Ur III lists – as suggested by Astour

41: For description and discussion of these texts see Astour 1987, 37f n. 259. The residual group in this material provides no real parallels to the names from Shemshāra left unanalyzed in the previous section.

(1987, 38 n. 259) – and of the texts from Shemshāra, these names could well be Lullean, but this term in a linguistic sense has little meaning except as a collective label for residual elements as long as we have no criteria for isolating elements belonging to a Lullean language. It can therefore be concluded that there is no firm evidence for a major linguistic change in the region.

Claiming primacy for a socio-political distinction over an unproven and at the moment unverifiable linguistic opposition, however, does not preclude the likely existence of a complementary pattern of these two levels of cultural integration since no doubt ethnic “Lulleans” or rather “non-Hurrians” were integrated in Turukkean society, which may account for the strange names in our material, but it must be stressed that the political structures found in the western Zagros in this period predict a pattern where political and social divisions transgress linguistic boundaries. Although Turukkeans seem predominantly Hurrian, the term obviously does not refer primarily to a linguistic, but to a political reality. It should be noted that we do not possess a single reference to Turukkeans prior to ŠA 28 (cf. *supra* ch. 1.C), and that the name disappears almost completely after the Old Babylonian period.⁴² This suggests that the term may not have had much significance beyond its perhaps rather incidental use in connection with the dramatic events in our period which brought large numbers of uprooted easterners into close contact with states and cities in lowland Mesopotamia. The origin of the name remains obscure, but in view of the occurrence of such PNs as Turuga/Turugaja at Nuzi (cf. NPN), one could very tentatively think of an eponymous ancestor for one of the leading dynasties in the region.

Another objection which could be voiced concerns the likelihood of a presumed “vertical” socio-political division in the mountains which does not

seem paralleled in other periods. For classical antiquity, e.g., we have the excellent analysis of Zagros peoples by Briant (1982) who concludes:

“La différenciation de Strabon faite par strates altitudinales n’est donc pas totalement erronée: les conditions écologiques ont joué évidemment un rôle dans le développement relatif de l’agriculture et de l’élevage. Mais – le plus souvent – cette disposition ne correspond pas à plusieurs peuples, mais à différentes activités à l’intérieur du même ethnos. Chacun de ces peuples avait accès à une aire d’activité dont la limites ne suivaient pas les courbes de niveau mais les recoupaient. Chaque territoire comprenait donc des zones complémentaires d’agriculture (fond de vallée) et d’élevage (sur les pentes).” (p. 74).

For recent times this description can be compared to the remarks by Edmonds about the different tribes associated with groups of villages in the Rania region and to some extent forming territorial units, but “The totality or elements of all these tribes, Aghas and ryots alike, are accustomed to spend the summer with their flocks on both sides of the frontier ...” (1957, 222).

This vertical semi-nomadism which must have been practised in the mountains from a very early date, whether by professional groups of shepherds or whole villages, is of course a situation which must also be supposed for the early 2. mill. B.C. The population of Utûm and other intermontane valleys would have needed at least mountainous peripheries for grazing, but this apparently still left space in the higher valleys for distinct political groups. Although our evidence is not really sufficient to draw definite conclusions, we suggest that there is in fact no contradiction here. The sources portray a situation of regional autonomy – independent and territorial state-like polities. These structures had a history and a certain stability and are not strictly comparable to the political structures found in later sources where to a large extent the mountains became a buffer-zone between competing East-West empires, something which obviously precluded much success for fragile tendencies of

42: See Klengel 1962 and 1985; interestingly the single MA reference could indicate that only Assyrian historical sources, now lost, kept the memory of these people alive.

political centralization in a topographically fragmented region. Viewed against this background it seems logical to find an extra level of “highlandness” represented by the Lulleans in this particular period, groups which had become enclosed by the relatively tighter political control exercised by valley rulers. It is not surprising, moreover, if this situation has caused some confusion for modern scholars. As seen from the vista of lowland Mesopotamia the Turukkeans – not least as participants in a specific “parasocial” situation attested in the texts from Mari – would certainly appear to be the “barbarous, semi-nomadic mountaintdwellers”, while at the same time *inside* the Zagros the Lulleans seem to play the very same part.

C. Appendix: Notes on Utûm Geography

A Note on the Archaeological Evidence

Since a good deal of the geographical names listed in the index must refer to small towns/villages/estates located on the Rania/Mirgah/Pizhdar plains, it is of some interest to review briefly the archaeological evidence for settlement there. Apart from Shemshāra Old Babylonian material has been reported from 5 sites excavated (all by expeditions from the Iraq Directorate General of Antiquities):

Tell Bazmusian The largest mound on the Rania plain located on the right bank of the Zab some 5 kms downstream from Shemshāra. Excavated 1956-1958, publ. by as-Soof 1970. Old Babylonian levels were excavated on the summit of the mound (levels V and IV) revealing principally the oldest phases of a small, but well-built temple with architectural decorations reminiscent of contemporary structures at e.g. Tell al Rimah and Tell Leilan.

Qorashina Located ca. 5 kms downstream from Bazmusian. Excavated 1956 and 1959. No details available, but “Hurrian-Assyrian” material found acc. to Haik 1968, and DDE (= Danish Dokan Expedition) files. (See as-Soof 1964, 38 about earlier material).

Du Gird Khan Located ca. 7 kms west of Bazmu-

sian. Excavated 1959. No details available, but “Hurrian-Assyrian” material acc. to Haik and DDE files.

Kamarian Located on the left bank of the Zab at its confluence with the Baslām. “Hurrian-Assyrian” material acc. to DDE files; see also as-Soof 1964, 39f.

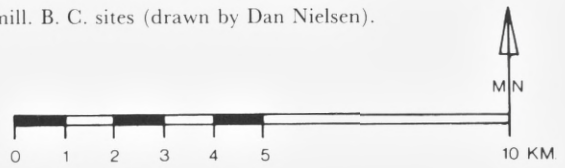
Tell ed-Deim Located on the left bank of the Zab shortly downstream from the confluence of the Baslām. Excavated 1956; published by at-Tekrīti 1960 (in Arabic); see also Ayoub 1982, 10f. Old Babylonian material was retrieved in level IV.

A second category of sites are those from which survey material labelled “Hurrian” and/or “Assyrian” has been reported (sources for these are as-Soof 1970, and unpl. information from the files of the Danish Dokan Expedition). Given the inadequate chronological control which still obtains for ceramic material from these areas and the broad, somewhat confused periodization employed in the DGA survey, the distribution of sites on our map opposite is unlikely to be entirely correct. The nos. on the map refer to the list of sites in as-Soof 1970. The three sites indicated by names in parentheses are not listed by as-Soof, but probably belong to his nos. 20-27 for which no names or details are given. Nos. 36 (Ghaznah) and 39 (Kirdel) are listed by as-Soof as having “Assyrian” material, but their location is not indicated and they have not been placed on our map. Consequently the total number of possible early-to-mid 2. mill. sites on the Rania/Mirgah plains can be put at 29 (including Shemshāra). No details are available for the Pizhdar Plain.

A good deal of these 29 sites should probably be identified with the localities mentioned in the administrative texts. The geographical names in the texts seem to refer almost exclusively to small settlements fairly close to Shemshāra. It should be noted, however, that a number of names occurring only once and without the determinative KI have been listed in our index as GNs from contextual evidence, but may in fact be PNs. Taking account of



Map. 2. The Rania plain with location of (early) 2. mill. B. C. sites (drawn by Dan Nielsen).



this problem and discounting obvious non-local toponyms we still have some 30 names.⁴³ The fact that this number tallies rather neatly with the number of possible sites is not so significant as one might wish. Apart from the uncertainty regarding the exact extension of the area in question and the lack of information on the Pizhdar plain, it should be remembered that evidence from elsewhere warns us that the number of settlements within a fairly well-defined and restricted area mentioned in ancient texts is usually found to exceed the number of possible site candidates found on surveys. This is a situation which evolves from inherent (as well as applied) limitations in surface survey results, since many of the small, no doubt often short-lived, rural settlements mentioned in our texts did not end up as mounded sites.

A Note on Utûm Toponyms

Šušarrā itself, of course, which in a remarkable way retained its ancient name, is known from other sources, from Mari and Rimah, and plausibly identified with Ur III Šašrum (cf. Astour 1987, 33).⁴⁴ Another Utûm toponym attested at Mari is Burullum, an obviously important town, for which one could think of Bazmusian or perhaps – in view of the modern name – Quralla (No. 33), as likely candidates. Burullum with its variant Burulliwe is a good example of the well-known Hurrian genitive construction found in toponyms, and in our texts also attested in Nakabbiniwe, Šallurrašwe, and Šimmeriwe. Like a number of other Shemshāra toponyms these names recur in different geographical contexts, a feature which confirms their Hurrian derivation (but also warns us against identifications of our names with homonyms especially from Nuzi). Review of a few examples may serve to show the basically Hurrian toponymy of Utûm:

Awarae – (from H. *awar-* “field”) found at Nuzi and in N. Syria (see Astour 1981, p. 14).

Burulliwe – (from H. *pur(u)li* “house”; see GLH, 206) is also the name of a town between the Habur Basin and the Tigris (see Groneberg 1980, 47, and

cf. Astour 1981, 23 w. n. 71; attested also frequently in 1987 tablets from Tell Leilan).

Habaru – cf. MA Habaru(h)ha in Trans-Tigris (see Astour 1981, p. 13).

Bue – found at Nuzi (cf. Fisher 1959, no. 201: the *dimtu Pu-i*).

Erina – cf. perhaps Ur III Arinum/MA Arina/i/u (see Astour 1987, 22).

Karri – cf. the *dimtu Ka-a-ri/Qa-ri* at Nuzi (Fisher 1959, no. 351).

Both *Nakabbiniwe* and *Šallurrašwe* (H. and Akk. plant names) are attested in Mari texts as towns in Northern Syria (ARMT 13, 142 and 149⁴⁵; and ARM 2, 3). *Šimmeriwe* (H. and Akk. plant name; see Astour 1981, p. 18; and idem. 1987, 8 w. n. 29) has parallels in Nuzi and N. Syria.

Other examples are *Tupkikku* (Tupki-ikku), *Kilijawe* (Kilija-we), and *Abšenniwe* (SH 874, probably not in Utûm, but same general region); also *Nirši* (from H. *niri* “good”, cf. GLH, 185; also used in PNs, see NPN, p. 240) and *Parališu* (cf. NPN, p. 243).

43: Only very few additional toponyms belonging to the Utûm region can be added from the letters, the best example being Šakummi which in SH 894 is an alternative to Šegibbu (thus and *not* Šezibbu like in Groneberg 1980, 221, and Astour 1987, 44) in a route out of Utûm towards the west.

44: According to Astour the name is based on a Semitic word and he refers to OAkk. *šašurum* “an object of reed”, but it actually seems more likely that this was a popular etymology from an original non-Semitic name, and one notes the occurrence of such PNs as Šiššara (AAN, 129) and Šimšar (NPN, 134) at Nuzi.

45: These letters were sent from Šubat-Enlil by Jawi-Ila and presumably N. was located in/or close to the country of Apum.

II. Catalogue of the Administrative Tablets

The catalogue provides a complete listing of the administrative tablets found at Tell Shemshāra beginning with the archive excavated in 1958 (SH2) followed by those excavated in 1957 (SH). The publication no. is followed by *field no.*

museum no. and (present) *location* (IM = tablets in the Iraq Museum; no IM-no. = poorly preserved tablets or fragments in the Iraq Museum; AS = tablets in the Danish National Museum (on loan to the Carsten Niebuhr Institute, University of Copenhagen))

dimensions and *colour(s)* of tablet (for some of the pieces now in the Iraq Museum this information has not been available)

find spot (room no.)

short *description* of text and in most cases a full *transliteration*; tablets or fragments too poorly preserved to warrant copying are so noted below.

commentary is kept to a minimum and mostly concerns problems relating to details of reading/interpretation, while the more general discussion of the texts is integrated in part I of this volume.

Archive 2

1. SH2 100 (IM 63316)

4.8 × 4.0 × 2.4 cm, dark brown; from room 27.

List of people. Most of the entries are checked (?) with a circular impression after the sign “1”. For a text with similar format see ARMT 23, 424 (copy, *M.A.R.I.* 5, p. 406). Photo of obv. p. 157.

	1 o	<i>ì-lí-dim</i>
	1 o	<i>ia-a-ia</i>
	1 o	<i>ha-ni-ia</i>
	1 o	<i>ha-ši-ia</i>
5	1 o	<i>am-mi-na</i>
	1 o	<i>kab-kab</i>
	1 o	dam ¹ lú ¹
	1 o	<i>ni-ni-si-mi</i>
	1 o	<i>a-wa-a-zi</i>
10	1	<i>ku-un-zu</i>
	1 o	<i>ki-zi-ia</i>
	1	<i>iš-ta-an-du</i>
	1	<i>te-di-ia</i>

	1	<i>ku-uz-zu</i>
15	1	<i>a-ga-am-t[im]</i>
	1	<i>hu-ti-na</i>
	1	<i>a-har-ra-d[a]-ri</i>
	1 o	<i>hi-ru</i>
	1 o	<i>a-ga-aš-tu-rum</i>
20	1 o	<i>a-har-ra-da-ri</i>
		<i>ša du-up-lugal</i>
	1	<i>hi-il-lu-ra</i>
	1	<i>wa-ri-ki-ba</i>
	1	šu.i
25		<i>ša ub-ku-rum</i>

8 The second element in the name *ni-ni-si-mi* is also found in *gul-si-mi* (132,25); an element *-simi* is known from e.g. Elamite names (see Zadok 1984, p. 39), and if involved here *ni-ni-si-mi* (in the form *ì-lí-si-mi*) could be an example of the not uncommon hybrid Elamite-Akkadian names.

17 The name in this line (also in l. 20) is also

unlikely to be Semitic and in the absence of parallels the reading of the second sign is left undecided.

21 By parallel with l. 25 *ša* is unlikely to belong to the PN. A Hurrian element *dup-* seems unattested, while a name *dupki-šarri* is known from e.g. Nuzi (NPN, 158) and an emendation to *du-up<-ki-lugal* may be required. An interpretation *tupšarrum* as title “scribe”, or PN (as attested at Nuzi, cf. ANN, 151), would also be possible. The passage was inserted to distinguish AHARradari from his homonym in l. 17, while in l. 25 the “barber” needed distinction as *ša ub-ku-rum* (PN or GN?).

2. SH2 101 (IM 63317)

6.0 × 4.2 × 2.2 cm, black; from room 27.

Note of grain from Nakabbiniwe owed by three different individuals. Photo of rev. p. 157.

5 iku a.ša še.numun

ša ka-ga-am-ku-ra^{ki}

ša la i-ri-šu

ugu tu-iz-ki-a-še

space

5 10 ša lugal še ša pa-ni-šu¹ ma²

i-ku-lu ugu tu-iz-ki-a-še

space

12 ša lugal še

ša pa-ni-šu i-ku-l[u]

ugu tu-ul-pí

space

10 10 zíz ša pa-ni-šu i-ku-lu

ugu e-la-ak-ka

space

an-nu-um še-um

ša na-ga-pa-ni-we

ša pa-ni-šu

15 i-ku-lu

ugu-šu-nu i-ba-aš-ši

Translation

Seed for 5 *ikû* land in (the town) Kagamkura, which he did not cultivate, is owed by Tu...-kiaše – 10 royal (measures) of barley, “for private use”, is owed by Tu...-kiaše – 12 royal (measures) of barley, “for private use”, is owed by Tulpi – 10 (measures) of emmer, “for private use”, is owed by Elakka – This grain from Nakabbiniwe, “for private use”, is owed by them.

4,6 The PN is clearly Hurrian, but the reading of the initial element not certain; the sign IZ can also be read uz (cf. Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 5, 670), but no parallels from e.g. Nuzi seem to suggest the correct solution.

5f The idiom *pānam akālum*, lit. “eating/having use of the frontside”, is apparently not attested outside these texts where it is also found in the form *igi a-kali* in 10,4 (about seeds). In both texts the term is used to designate issues measured in standard units as distinct from issues for seeding measured by area. The first entry in the present text lists seeds owed from land not cultivated – perhaps in the sense “for the palace”, while in no. 10 the term occurs as distinct from issues of seeds to localities – probably in connection with palace land. Hence in view of the context it is tentatively suggested here that the term means “advance/issue for private use”.

3. SH2 102 (IM 63318)

7.1 × 4.7 × 2.5 cm, dark brown; from room 27.

List of items for *naptanu*-expenditure for one day, subsequently computed for 1 and 4 months. Such a format is unusual, and can be explained either as a summary of effected issues or as relating to a situation where the palace administration in advance computed the stock needed for feeding arriving/expected dependants. In the latter case the text can be related to situations like the projected arrival of an Assyrian garrison of 600 men announced in SH 861, or to the large numbers of Turukkean refugees arriving in Utûm from late ŠA 28 onwards and

indicated in SH 911 + as a strain on food supplies. The total for one day, a. 464 l. of grain/pulses (for the system of capacity measures, and details in this text see ch. 2.B), shows that the account involves several hundred people. Photo of obv. p. 157.

- 8 še *a-na* nì.àr.ra
 1 še *a-na* munu₄
 1 še *a-na* zì.še
 2 ù 0.2.5 zì.zíz
 5 2 ù 0.0.5 zì.¹gig¹
 0.2 gú.tur *a-na* x
 0.0.4 gú.tur *a-na um-ma-ri*
 space
 šu.nigin 15 ša lugal 0.1.4 še
 zi.ga u₄.1.kam *na-ap-ta-nu*
 space
 10 *i-na* iti.1.kam 4 *me-tim* 1 šu-š[i] 4 š[a] ¹lugal¹
 \še space
 ša iti.4.kam
 1 li 8 *me-tim* 56 ša luga[l] še
 3 lines erased

6 The reading of the sign at the end of line, designating a (refined) product of gú.tur, is not clear; possibly the same configuration is found in no. 52, 30 (last sign), but there the product is made from emmer.

10 The signs on edge read thus (coll.).

4. SH2 103 (IM 63319)

3.4 × 3.4 × 2.2 cm, black; from room 27.

List of pulse seeds for fields in various localities, for fields of the palace, and for fields of the soldiers; issued from Šušarrā.

- 9 a.šà gú.gal *bu-e* numun
 7 a.šà *wa-ar-šu*

7 a.šà 1/2 aga.uš

26 a.šà 1/2 é.gal

5 1 a.šà *ši-me-er-ri-we*

šu.nigin 51¹ a.šà gú.gal numun

ša šu-šar-ra-a

10 a.šà gú.gal *a-na e-¹lu¹* numun

26 lugal gú.gal ša gi šà[?] *il-tu-hu-ul-lim*

10 10 a.šà *ap-pá-nu*

a-na ša-al-lu-ur-ra-aš-we

6 The first vertical wedge written before the obliques shows that the figure has been reedited by scribe.

9 Reading at end of line uncertain.

5. SH2 104 (IM 63320)

5.2 × 4.5 × 2.6 cm, reddish brown; from room 27.

List of interest loans of grain and pulses: to four named Gutians, and three other individuals, guaranteed by Agapše; to eight individuals, guaranteed by Bugiri; “grain-loan (against interest) from (the town of) Urhi, which Uzurra-mulaš gave”. Photo of rev. p. 157.

1 zíz *a-bi-ia*

1 zíz *bi-it-tu-un*

1 zíz *ú-gur-a-tal*

1 zíz *a-gi-ia*

space

5 4 lú.meš ša *qú-ti-i*

0.2 še *hal-ša-ra-e*

0.2 še *lu-ul-lu*

0.2 še *a-i-iz-za*

7 lú.meš

10 *a-ga-ap-še* šu.dù.a

0.3 gú.tur *ul-lu-ut-ta*

0.3 *ka-ni-is*

0.3 *pu-hu-še*

0.3 *a-ga-ap-še*
 15 0.3 *a-bi-ia*
 0.3 *mi-ni-di-ia*
 0.3 *a-gi-ia*
 0.3 *bu-gi-ri*
 space
 8 lú.meš ^m*bu-gi-ri*
 20 šu.dù.a.meš
 še.ur₅.ra ša úr-h^{ki}
 ša ^m*ú-zur-ra-mu-la-aš*
id-di-nu

5 The first sign in *qú-ti-i* is formally šu, but *šu-ti-i* does not seem a good reading here. If these 4 men are Gutians it is interesting to note that at least one, Ugur-atal, has a Hurrian name.

6. SH 105 (IM 63321)

2.9 × 2.9 × 1.8 cm, black; from room 27.

Cf. Læssøe 1960, 18 (copy) and 15; also Eidem 1985b, 142.

List of pulse seeds issued to “the soldiers”.

12 a.šà gú.tur
 12 a.šà gú.gal
 6 a.šà *ki-iš-ša-nu*
 10 a.šà *ap-pa-nu*
 5 numun ša ¹*aga.uš*¹

5 End of line reads thus (coll.).

7. SH2 106 (IM 63322)

2.3 × 2.3 × 1.8 cm, black; from room 27.

Summary of emmer expenditure from the palace: 252 (measures) for seeding, 410 which have been spent, 100 for Kuwari, 120 given to the “soldiers” for pounding; total: 880 which have been spent.

2 *me-tim* ¹*52* zíz *a-na* numun
 4 *me-tim* 10 zíz ša *ig-ta-am-ru*

1 *me-at a-na ku-wa-ri*

1 *me-at* 20 *a-na* aga.¹*uš*¹

5 *a-na ha-ša-li ta-dì-in*

šu.nigin 8 *me-tim* 80 zíz ša *ig-ta-am-ru*

5 *hašalum*: cf. Postgate 1984, 107: “to crush (by pounding)”; note the “Assyrian” stative *ta-dì-in*.

6 The total is wrong (should be 882).

8. SH2 107 (IM 73323)

2.5 × 3.1 × 1.6 cm, black; from room 27.

Short note of two different transactions: an issue of emmer and barley seeds for the town Erina, and a delivery of barley from a certain Kap-ulu.

1 zíz «x» 20 še numun

e-ri-na

4 še *ka-ap-ú-lu u[b-l]am*

9. SH2 108 (IM 65125)

2.8 × 3.4 × 1.7 cm, dark brown; from room 27.

Short note of personnel (4 men and 4 women) assigned to work for Zilip-šarri.

4 sag.ìr 4 munus.há

a-na hu-ri-iz-hi

ša *zi-li-ip-šar-ri*

2 *hurizhi* is the Hurrian word *hurizu* (with Hur. suffix *-hi*) known from Nuzi; it has a suggested meaning “residence” (palace or private; see Fadhail 1983, 166). The word also occurs in no. 137,3 (there provisionally read as túl *ri-iš-hi* – “irrigation well” in ShT, 68f) which lists 4 gu₄ *i-na hu-ri-iz-hi / a-na qa-ti* ^m*i-zi-ia*, and in no. 23,5 where a woman is assigned *a-na hu-ri-iz-/hi* [ša PN?].

10. SH2 109 (IM 63324)

3.3 × 3.5 × 2.4 cm, dark brown; from room 27.

Note of issue of *kiššānu* seeds for fields belonging to

the palace, and in two towns, also an issue for private use(?) (see no. 2, ad ll. 5-6).

24 a.šà é.gal ^rki^r-ša-n[u] numun
 1 a.šà 1/2 ši-me-er-ri-we^{ki}
 6 a.šà 1/2 tu-up-ki-ik-ku^{ki}
 space
 [x+]15 lugal ki-ša-nu numun igi a-ka-li

11. SH2 110 (IM 63325)

5.3 × 4.3 × 2.3 cm, black; from room 27.

cf. Læssøe 1960, 15.

List of grain and pulse rations to various individuals. This text provides a surprising link with the letters in Kuwari's archive – and further with a text from Mari. In ARM 4,5 Šamši-Adad instructs his son about a Turukkean, Uštan-šarri, son of Ullum-tišni, who must be found and sent to Šubat-Enlil. He was taken to Babylon, but is now with Mašum in Saggārātum, and must be returned to Babylon. The name Ullum-tišni has already been compared to the Ullam-tašni mentioned in SH 827,33 (cf. Klengel 1985, 254f w. n. 13 and 14), where he appears as a messenger/official of Kuwari/Talpu-šarri. In the present text we have the mention of Uštan-šarri and messengers from Babylon receiving rations at Šušarrā. There can be little if any doubt that the father and son mentioned in ARM 4,5 are identical with their namesakes in Shemshāra texts, and our text may date to the very time of Uštan-šarri's removal to Babylon. Photo of obv. p. 157.

2 zíz uš-ta-an-šar-ri
 0.1 še 0.1 gú.tur ^mku-un-še-ia
 0.1 gú.tur kab-kab
 0.1 še a-na dumu ši-ip-ri
 5 ba-bi-la-ji
 1 ù 0.1 še ba-ba-an
 ša pa-du-na-an
 0.2 še še-eh-ra-an-še-ni
 ša a-ša-nim

10 0.2 še a-na 2 tóg gú.è
 2 ù 0.1 še a-na 2 tóg
 0.1 še šeš ^mbi-ki-ia
 1 še ke-el-li
 0.1 še pa-an-du-zi
 15 0.1 še dumu ši-ip-ri
 ša ba-ab-dingir^{ki}
 1 gig dam ^ma-mur-eš₄-tár
 1 še dumu.mí ^mku-zu-uh-ew-ri
 space
 šu.nigin 7 ù 0.2 še 2 zíz 1 gig 0.2 gú.tur zi.ga
 20 0.1 še tu-di-ia
 0.1 še e-bi-ú-un-ni
 lu-ul-lu

19 The 7 (measures) in total probably mistake for 8 (cf. discussion of capacity measures ch. 2.B).

12. SH2 111 (IM 63326)

4.2 × 3.9 × 2.4 cm, dark brown; from room 27.

Note of issues of pulse seeds from Šušarrā for fields belonging to the palace and in 2 localities.

37 a.šà é-kál-lum «x-ra-aš-we»
 10 a.šà e-ri-na
 3 a.šà wa-ar-še
 2 lines erased
 šu.nigin 50 a.šà 43 ù 0.1 gú.tur numun
 5 ša šu-šar-ra^{ki} é-kál-lum

1 The tablet was much reedited by the scribe; thus the last word in this line is probably the end of an erased *Šallur-ra-aš-we*. Note also that the summary, originally written on the lower obv., has been erased and reedited on the rev.

13. SH2 112 (IM 63327)

3.4 × 3.6 × 2.4 cm, dark brown; from room 27.

List of flour used for *šihli*-offerings(?) and issued to deities Bēltum ša ikribi, Nergal, and Bēlet-ekallim.

The two sections of the text refer to the 5th and 6th days – probably of a particular festival rather than of a month. The first entries in each section list amounts of 20 l. for 7 – and 5 l. for 2 items being “made”; the word for these items is barely legible in either section and the proposed reconstruction tentative. Photo p. 158.

- 0.2 zì *i-nu-ma* 7 ʿš*i-ih-li*¹
i-pu-šu
 0.0.1 zì *a-na* ^dnin ʿš*ik-ri-bi*¹
 0.0.1 zì ^dnè-iri₁₁-gal
 5 0.0.1 ^dnin-é.gal
 ʿ0.0.1¹ zì ʿx x¹-tí[m]
 š*a* u_{4.5}.ka[m]
 ʿ0.0.5¹ 2 ʿš*i-ih-li*¹
 ʿx x x¹
 10 *i-pu-šu*
 ʿ0.0.1¹ zì ^drè-iri₁₁-[gal]
 ʿ0.0.1¹ zì ^dnin¹
 š*a* ʿ*ik-ri-bi*¹
 š*a* u_{4.6}.ka[m]

1 For *š*i-ih-li** (also in 1. 8) cf. the Hurrian word *š*ehli* /š*ehali** which according to GLH, 221f conveys the general notion of “purity” and was used to denote cultic objects, festivals, and month names (Nuzi). The word also seems to occur several times in no. 27. In both cases flour is used for *š*ihli** which probably refers to offerings.

14. SH2 113 (IM 63328)
 2.9 × 3.0 × 2.0 cm, black; from room 27
 Cf. Læssøe 1960, 18 (copy) and 15; also Eidem 1985b, 141.
 Note of pulse seeds which the town Elu “took” from Šušarrā.

- 20 a.šà *ma-at-qú-tu*
 20 a.šà *ap-pa-nu*
 10 a.šà g[ú].gal

- 11 a.šà *gú.tur*
 5 5 a.šà *ki-ša-nu*
*numun š*a* e-lu*
*iš-tu š*u-šar-ra-a il-qè**

15. SH2 114 (IM 63329)
 2.8 × 2.9 × 2.0 cm, black; from room 27.
 List of personnel assigned to 3 named individuals, and of a man who has been “released”.

- 1 mí *ma-mu-ra-tu*
a-na zi-id-ra-an-ti-e
 1 lú *tu-ti-ka-nu*
*a-na pu-uh-mu-š*ar-la-aš**
 5 1 lú *tu-ri-ša*
 1 mí *ar-di-im-ma-tu*
a-na ib-ni-ia
 1 lú *ha-ši-ia*
wa-aš-šu-ur
 10 *dub š*a* zi.ga*

16. SH2 115 (IM 65126)
 3.4 × 3.7 × 2.1 cm, dark brown; from room 27.
 Note of goats and cereals (in first entry from towns [...], Waršu, and Erina) owed by two individuals.

- 3 zì.[gig¹ [...]]x¹
 3 nì.àr.ʿ*ra wa*¹-a[r-š*u*]
 0.1 nì.àr.ʿ*ri-na*¹
ugu ku-bi-ia
 5 12 š*e* 10 z*íz*
 3 gig
ugu^mx x¹[x]

17. SH2 116 (IM 63330)
 2.5 × 3.5 × 1.9 cm, buff brown; from room 27.
 Note of a woman from (the town) Arraja brought by Šiqlānu. Note that no. 23 mentions a woman, who could be the same, being assigned to a *hurizhi*.

1 munus *ša ar-ra-a*^{ki}
ši-iq-la-nu ub-lam

18. SH2 117 (IM 63331)
2.4 × 3.2 × 1.9 cm, buff brown; from room 27.
Note of a woman assigned to Nagadu.

1 [m]í *šu -[x]x x¹*
na-ga-du

19. SH2 118 (IM 63332)
3.1 × 3.6 × 2.2 cm, buff brown; from room 27.
Note of servant woman assigned to Hašip-Teššup,
“when he lifted the *nuldānūtum* (or *nūldānūtum*; see
discussion ch. 3.A)”, and of a servant girl assigned
to Bugiri. Photo p. 158.

1 munus *ha-ši-ip-te-eš-šu-up*
i-nu-ma nu-ul-[da-nu-ŋ]am
iš-šu-ú
1 mí.tur *bu-g[i-r]i*

20. SH2 119 (IM 63333)
2.3 × 3.3 × 1.7 cm, buff brown; from room 27.
Note of personnel assigned to Attama(?) from
Šegibbu(m).

2 sag.ír 2 munus.há
a-na at-ta-ŋma[?]
ša še-gi-ib-bi

21. SH2 120 (IM 64180)
3.0 × 3.0 × 1.8 cm, buff brown; from room 27.
Note of barley seeds issued to Uru-tadni from
Našahum.

1.1.0 še *ú-ru-ta-ad-ni*
ša na-ša-hi-im
še.numun

22. SH2 121 (IM 63334)
2.1 × 3.1 × 1.3 cm, dark brown; from room 27.
Note of servant woman from Šunewehum (GN?)
which Šuqā brought.

1 munus *ša šu-ni-we-hi-im*
šu-qa-a ub-lam

23. SH2 122 (IM 64181)
3.3 × 3.4 × 2.3 cm, black (obv.) and dark brown
(rev.); from room 27.
Note concerning servant women assigned to the
estate (for *hurizhi* see no. 9) [of PN?].

1 mí [x x]^ŋx¹-*ki*
1 mí *a-ta-ŋx x¹*
1 mí *za-ku-ra-ŋx x¹*
1 munus *ša ar-ra-e*¹
5 *a-na hu-ri-iz-hi*

3 lines on rev. illeg.

4 Cf. no. 17.

24. SH2 123 (IM 63335)
2.5 × 2.5 × 1.6 cm, buff brown; from room 27.
List of wheat and emmer brought by “the country”,
by localities Habaru, Bue, Awarae, and Šimerriwe
from the kishlah of Šimerriwe.

1 *šu-ši* 6 gig kishlah *š[i]-me-er-ri-we*
ha-ba-ru ub-lam
1 *me-at zíz¹* kishlah *ši-me-er-ri-we*
bu-e ub-lam
5 20 *zíz* kishlah *ši-me-er-ri-we*
a-wa-ra-e ub-lam
31 *zíz¹* kishlah *ši-me-er-ri-we*
ši-me-er-ri-we u[b-la]m
57 *zíz* kishlah *ši-me-er-ri-we*

10 *ha-ba-ru ub-lam*
 šu.nigin ʿ2ʿ *me-tim* 8 zíz
 kishlah *ši-me-er-ʿri-we*¹
ša ma-tum ub-lam

3 zíz is certain (coll.).

25. SH2 124 (IM 64182 – now in Erbil Museum)
 4.2 × 4.1 × 2.3 cm, dark brown; from room 34.
 List of cereals from kishlah Nakabbiniwe to localities
 Burulluwe and Tupkikku, and of cereals brought by
 “the country”, by Kiwa, Kiziqanu (?), and Erina,
 from kishlah Šimerriwe.

1 gig 3 zíz kishlah ʿna¹-g[a-a]b-bi-ni-we
bu-ru-ul-li-we^{ki}

7 še 8 gig kishlah ʿna¹-ga-bi-ni-w[e]
tu-up-ki-ik-ku^{ki}

5 šu.nigin 9 gig 7 še 3 zíz
ša kishlah na-ga-ab-bi-ni-we

2 zíz 2 še kishlah *ši-me-er-ri-we*
ki-ʿzi^{ʿ2}-qa -nu ub-lam

ʿ7ʿ še KI<UD> *ši-me-er-ri-we*

10 *ki-wa ub-lam*

7 še 5 zíz ʿkishlah¹
ši-me-er-ri-we^{ki}
*e-ʿ[*i-n*]a*^{ki}

šu.nigin 16 še ʿ7 zíz¹

15 kishlah *ši-me-er-ri-ʿwe*^{ki}
še ša ma -ʿtum¹ ʿub -lam¹

26. SH2 125 (IM 63336)
 4.0 × 3.6 × 2.1 cm, dark brown; from room 34.
 List of groats brought by various localities.

17 ù 0.2 ʿnì.àr¹.ra
tu-ud-ʿma-aš -še¹

6 ù 0.2 *wa-ar-še*

5 *hi-iš-hi-na*

5 ʿ6ʿ *na-aš-šu-we*

2 *ki-ʿdu¹-[x]-lu*

šu.nigin 37 ù 0.1

nì.àr.ra ub-lu-nim[!]

27. SH2 126 (IM 63337)

3.7 × 3.6 × 2.0 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

List of flour issued for *šihli*-offerings (cf. no. 13).

Note that the illegible signs at ends of both ll. 3 and
 4 seem to be the same.

0.0.5 zì ʿx¹[x]^ʿx x¹

[a - n]a *ši-ʿih-li*^ʿ

ʿ0.0.x¹ zì a-na ʿše-eh-li *ša* x x x¹

0.0.1 zì¹ a-na *ši-ʿi[h-li]ša* ʿx x x¹

5 0.0.2 [zì (...)] 5 [...]

i-bi-[.....]

28. SH2 127 (no IM-no.)

3.5 × 3.5 × 2.4 cm, dark brown; from room 34.

Text concerning grain; 13 lines (6 on obv., 2 on l.e.,
 4 on rev.), but only isolated signs legible; the town
 ʿe¹-ri-na is probably mentioned in l. 12 – not copied.

29. SH2 128 (IM 63338)

4.0 × 3.8 × 2.3 cm, dark brown; from room 34.

List of personnel assigned to individuals. Photo p.
 158.

obv. 1 munus 2 ʿmí x x (x)¹ tur

ʿ2 x x¹ m ʿia¹-ku-un-AN

1 ʿlú *uš¹-tap-tu-up-ki*

ʿ1 munus¹ *zi-im-tim*

5 1 ʿlú¹ ab ba x 1 ʿdam^{ʿ2} x

1 ʿmunus *ša¹ munus.há x ab ba*

5f The reading and interpretation of this section is
 not clear to me.

30. SH2 129 (IM 63339)

3.6 × 3.6 × 2.1 cm, dark brown; from room 34.

List of fields.

20 iku a.šà-[*la*]-*am*

šà 'x ki x' [...]

'5 iku' a.šà [...]

'šà x pa x' [...]

5 5 [iku a.šà]-*la-am*

break (i.e. destroyed, rev. vac.)

31. SH2 130 (no IM-no.)

4.2 × 4.5 × 2.5 cm, dark brown; from room 34.

Text concerning grain/pulses; traces of 16 lines (7 on obv., 2 on i.e., 7 on rev.), but only isolated signs legible – not copied.

32. SH2 131 (no IM-no.)

3.5 × 3.9 × 2.3 cm, dark brown; from room 34.

Text concerning flour (zì.gig and zì.zìz); traces of 16 lines (6 on obv., 2 on i.e., 6 on rev., 2 on u.e.) – not copied.

33. SH2 132 (IM 63340)

3.3 × 3.0 × 1.9 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

List of cereals and pulses advanced to various localities from the kislahs of Šimerriwe and Nakabbiniwe.

1 zíz [.....k]islah š*i-me-er-ri-w*[e]1 še *e-l*[i.....]1 še *e-li* 'a'[-.....ki]slah š*i-me-er-ri*'-we'1 še *e* 'li ki-[.....k]islah 'x x x'5 1 'še' *e-li* š*i-me-er-ri-we* 'kislah' *na-ka-ab-bi-ni*-
-we<1>'ki-šà-nu' e-'li' [w]a-ar-ši 'kislah' *na-k*[a-
-a]b-bi-ni-we

'1' [x] e-'li' wa-ar-ši ki[slah na]-ka-ab-bi-ni-we

11 šà *e-li a-me-er-ši*1 'ap-pa'-nu *e-li* 'bu-e'

10 1 'x x x x'

kislah š*i-me-er-ri-we*

šu.nigin 20

34. SH2 133 (IM 63341)

2.8 × 3.5 × 2.0 cm, dark brown; from room 34.

Note of barley given by Zilip-šarri as loan to Ullup-atal.

2 še ugu *ul-lu-up-a-tal*

z[i-]i-'ip'-šar-ri

id-di-'nam'

35. SH2 134 (IM 63342)

2.6 × 3.2 × 1.8 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

Note of assignment of 3 women to Ternae.

2 munus 1 mí.'tur'

*ter-na-e***36.** SH2 135 (IM 63343)

1.9 × 2.1 × 1.2 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

Note of similar type as no. 33 (amount of še *e-li* P/GN); traces of 3 lines on obv. continuing on to rev. probably with 3 different entries, but names illegible – not copied.**37.** SH2 136 (IM 63344)

3.2 × 3.4 × 2.1 cm, black; from room 34.

List of barley brought by “the country”, by various localities and the “soldiers” from kislah Elu.

70 še kislah *e-lu*^{ki} š*i-me-er-ri-we ub-lam*70 še kislah *e-lu bu-e ub-lam*'70 še' kislah *e-lu* 'a'-wa-ra-e *ub-lam*70 še kislah *e-lu* aga.uš *ub-lam*5 šu.nigin 2 m[e-]im 80 še kislah *e-lu m*[a-]um
ub-lam

38. SH2 137 (IM 63345)

1.9 × 2.2 × 1.4 cm, buff brown; from room 34.
List of wheat brought from kishlah Šallurrašwe by two localities (or individuals).

ʿ33ʿ¹ gig kishlah š[a-a]l-[u-r]a-aš-we
ʿx x¹-ša ub-lam
ʿx x¹ kishlah ša-al-lu-ur-ra-aš-we
[x x x]¹ʿx (x) ub-lam¹
traces of 3 lines on l.e.

39. SH2 138 (IM 63346)

2.5 × 2.5 × 1.8 cm, dark brown; from room 34.
Note of barley brought from kishlah Šallurrašwe by two localities (or individuals).

21 še kishlah ša-a[l-lu-u]r-ra-aš-we^{ki}
gi-iz-zu-tam[?] [ub-la]m
21 še kishlah ša-al-lu-ur-ra-aš-we
šu-ta-nu ub-lam

40. SH2 139 (no IM-no.)

3.6 × 3.4 × 2.4 cm, buff brown; from room 34.
Text concerning grain(?); traces of 11 lines (5 on obv., 2 on l.e., 4 on rev.), only isolated signs legible – not copied.

41. SH2 140 (IM 65127)

3.3 × 3.7 × 2.2 cm, buff brown, from room 34.
Note of two transactions with cereals from the kishlahs of Šimerriwe and Nakabbiniwe; the second concerns a delivery by Burulliwe.

ʿ62+x¹ še kishlah ši-me-er-ri-we
30 gig KI<.UD> na-ka-ab-bi-ni-we
2 last lines on obv. illeg.
space
5 šu-ši 1 še kishlah ši-me-er-ri-we
32 gig kishlah na-ka-ab-bi-ni-we
bu-ru-ul-li-we [i]d-di-ʿin¹

42. SH2 141 (IM 63347)

6.1 × 4.2 × 2.8 cm, reddish brown; from room 34.
List of deliveries of grain and pulses from kishlahs of Nakabbiniwe and Šimerriwe by various localities.

7 ʿgú.tur¹[.....]
76 ma-at-[qú-tum]
ša na-ga-ab-[bi-ni-we]
tu-ud-ma-aš-š[e^{ki} ub-l]am
5 31+x gú.tur ʿša¹ ši-me-er-ʿri-we^{ki}
b[u-ru(-ul)]-li-we ub-l¹ lam¹
[x x ša] ši-me-er-ri-we
[e]-ʿri-na¹ ub-lam
ʿ30¹[+x]
10 [š]a ši-me-er-ri-we
1 me-at 30 zíz ša ši-me-er-ri-
ʿ-^{ki} we e-lu ub-lam

43. SH2 142 (IM 63348)

7.8 × 4.8 × 2.9 cm, dark brown; from room 34.
List of cereals and pulses from kishlah of Nakabbiniwe brought by various localities and assigned to Šumšu-liter. Photo of rev. p. 158.

16 g[ú.t]ur 16 ʿma-at¹-[qù-]tum
ʿ4 ki-iš¹-ša-nu
tu-ud-ma-aš-šu^{ki}
57 ʿzíz¹ 42 gig
wa-ar-šu^{ki}
50 še [50 zíz bu-ru-u]l-ʿli /-we^{ki}
ʿ58¹ gig ša ʿx x x x¹ ki
50 še 80[?] zíz t[u-up-ki-i]k-kum^{ki}
space (2 erased lines)
šu.nigin 1 me-at še
10 1 me-at 1 gig
1 me-at 97 zíz
16 gú.tur

16 *ma-at-qù-tum*[4¹ *ki-iš-ša-[nu]*[4¹ *ki-iš-ša-[nu]*

- 15 [ša¹ *kisl[ah n]a-ga-ab-b[i-ni-we^{ki}]*
a-na šu mšū-um-šu-¹l j¹-ter

44. SH2 143 (IM 63349)

8.6 × 5.0 × 2.9 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

List of personnel (?) from various towns and individuals.

[.....]

[....] [x¹ *lú* [x¹ [...][1] [tu-ti - we¹1 [ši-lu¹

- 5 1
- na-ka-ab-bi-ni-we*

1 *ú-ga-za-¹x¹*1 [ki-li-ia-we¹1 [x x x x¹1 [10¹ a -¹x x¹[x]

- 10 1 [10
- ¹
- a-me-er-še*

1 *hu-ru-we-¹ni^{ki?}*1 *ša ka-¹ar-ri¹*1 *ri-¹si-ma -x-ni¹***45.** SH2 144 (IM 63350 – now in Erbil Museum)

3.4 × 3.3 × 2.2 cm, black; from room 34.

List of people from various settlements carrying firewood presumably as deliveries to the palace: “total 57 talents of firewood; total 91 men who carried the firewood” (ll. 10f).

Although firewood is mentioned fairly often in cuneiform texts, it is usually just denoted *išum* “wood”. Mainly from lexical texts, however, a number of more specific terms are known, like the one used here *giš.gibil*, which according to Hh. VI corresponds to *išu erru/kabbu/maqqudu/qilūtu* (cf. Salonen 1965b, 332f), but to my knowledge none of these words is attested in OB archival texts, and the Akkadian reading here is uncertain. For wood be-

ing measured according to weight see, e.g., ARMT 23, nos. 514, 515, and 523. This text could be seen also as a reflection of the environmental conditions in northeastern Mesopotamia, where the need for firewood for heating was more acute – and wood more easily obtained.

20 *gú* 1 *giš.gibil tu-up-ki-ik-ku^{ki}*7 *wa-ar-šu^{ki}* 15 *lú.meš*7 *tu-ud-ma-aš-šu^{ki}* 15 *lú.meš*5 *bi-ik-ma-an-na-aš-ši^{ki}* 9 *lú.meš*

- 5 3
- hi-iš-hi-na^{ki}*
- 5
- lú.meš*

3 *ki-li-ia-we^{ki}* 6 *lú.meš*3 *ka-ar-ri^{ki}* 6 *lú.meš*6 *a-m[e-]er-šu* 10 *lú.meš*3 *tí-we* 6 *lú.meš*

- 10
- šu.nigin*
- 57
- gú giš.gibil*

šu.nigin 91 *lú.meš**ša giš.gibil iš-šu-ú*

11 The total of 91 men is correct assuming that in l. 1 the numeral “1” was added after *gú* to note that in this case the number of men was identical with number of talents. Otherwise the text lists ca. 2 men per talent.

46. SH2 145+196 (IM 63351)

(10.9) × 5.7 × 3.6 cm, red and black; both pieces from room 34.

Cf. Læssøe 1960, 16. List of bread rations to individuals, servants, messengers etc. Photo of obv. p. 159.

4 *ninda še še-pu-ul-lu*4 *me-¹ta¹-áš-kum*4 *at-ta-ru*4 *te-er-na-¹e¹*

- 5 4
- me-en-ne*

[x+]1 *a-na-ki-ba-al*[x] *na-ig-gu*

[x] nu-za-ku
 [x] š[i]-ip-di
 10 [x] k[a-b]i-ia
 [x] h[a-ši-ip-t]e-eš-[š]u-ub
 [.....]ᵀx-x¹
 [.....-n]i-ip-ši-ri
 [.....]-ir-še
 15 [.....]ᵀx¹-di-iš-ri¹-ha
 [.....]-a-ia
 [.....]ᵀx¹-i
 [.....]ᵀx¹-ar-te
 [.....k]i-ig-gu¹
 20 [.....] a-kap-tu-uk-ki
 [.....] a-kap-ta-hi
 [.....] a-la-an-za-da-e
 [.....] ke-el-tu-hu-ul
 [.....] ᵀutu-i-ta-ᵀx¹
 25 [.....]ú.tur.meš ša ᵀutu-i-di
 [.....na-a)n-ga-ri-im ša ma-tu-ji
 [.....m]eš «x» ša na-an-ᵀga¹-ri-im
 √ša¹ ma-tu-jiᵀki
 [.....i]a-ri-im-ᵀx x¹
 [.....] ᵀutu-šar-ri
 30 [.....] ke-el-tu-ri-im
 [.....](-)be-l[.....]
 [.....]ᵀx¹[.....]

BREAK

(rev.: first ca. 20 lines have only a few signs preserved)

21' [x nin]da a-na 7 lú.meš šú-ha-ri ša
 √x¹[.....]
 [x] ta-[.....]
 [x] ᵀx¹[.....]
 [x] ha-ᵀx¹[.....]
 25' ᵀx¹ ab-ᵀx¹[.....]
 4 ᵀutu²-ᵀx¹[.....]

4 iš-šu-ma-[.....]
 4 ninda zíz wa-aš-he-el-p[u.....]
 4 ninda zíz pa-ki-a-bi-i[a]
 30' 4 ninda zíz ka-aš-me-en-ki
 4 ninda zíz ᵀa¹-na mí[x(x)]ᵀx¹-di-ᵀx¹
 4 ninda zíz a-na šu-uh-ha-ar-ᵀx¹
 4 ninda zíz a-na nu-uh-ni-iš ù ad-di-ia
 10 ninda zíz a-na be-el-di
 35' 10 ninda zíz a-na in-na-ba-tum
 4 ninda zíz me-en-na-te
 left e.
 10 ninda zíz a-na [.....]
 4 ninda zíz [.....]
 4 ninda še [.....]
 40' 4 ninda še [.....]

23 *keltuhul* is presumably the Hurrian word *kel-tuhlu* “bowmaker” (see Fadhail 1983, 112).

47. SH2 146 (IM 63352)

3.4 × 3.3 × 2.0 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

šu.ba.an.ti record of large quantities of grain and pulses. The upper rev. containing the names involved in the transaction is unfortunately destroyed. Belonging with the tablet is a sealed envelope, but the 3 line legend of the seal is almost completely illegible: (1) a-ᵀxx¹ [...] (2) [dumu²] ᵀx¹-bu-ᵀx¹ [...] (3) [i]r² [...]. (the sealing will be published together with the remaining sealed envelopes from Tell Shemshāra). Photo of obv. and envelope p. 159.

2 me-tím 44 zíz i-na bán ša <é/bi>-tím
 41 gig
 54 gú.tur
 12 gú.gal
 5 71 ki-ša-nu
 rev. 2 lines broken
 šu.ba.an.ti

1 The proposed emendation at the end of this line is tentative; a specific *sūtu* measure definitely seems to be involved, and of the many different varieties attested in other texts the *giš.bán é(-tim)* appears to be the most likely candidate. The term denotes a “private” *sūtu* measuring vessel as opposed to the more official standards. (see CAD S, p. 422b).

48. SH2 147 (IM 63353)

2.1 × 2.8 × 1.9 cm, black; from room 34.

List of wheat flour brought by “the country”.

9 ša lugal zíd.gig *tu* -^lx x x x¹

5 zíd.gig aga.uš *ub-lam*

9 zíd.gig *a-wa-ra-e ub-lam*

4 zíd.gig aga.^luš¹ *ub-lam*

5 šu-nigin 27 zíd.gig ša ^l*ma-tum / ub-lam*¹

1 The traces on the edge are not clear; possibly the town Tudmaššu is involved.

49. SH2 148 (IM 63354)

(8.6) × 6.0 × 3.2 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

Fragmentary; upper, lower, and most of left e. broken. List of bread rations. The text which apart from isolated signs is illegible has remains of 23 lines (11 on obv., 10 on rev., and 2 on left e.) with numerals and PNs – not copied.

50. SH2 149 (IM 63355)

(6.7) × 5.8 × 3.4 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

List of bread rations. Lower part missing – not copied (cf. photo p. 159).

The numerals on the left side of the tablet are mostly illegible; the recipients are as follows:

obv. break
 [.....]-*na*
 [.....]-*hi*-^lx¹
 ^l*hi*-x x x x¹
 ^l*a*-x x x x¹

5' [*k*] *i* [?]-*ir-zu* [?]
 *wa*-^l*ri*¹-*ki-ba*
 *tu*-^l*ur-še*¹
 *i* -^l*l*¹-^d*im*
 *hi*-^l*il*¹-*lu-ra*

l.e.

10' *nu-uh-še*
 *ša-ú*

rev.

..... *pu*-^lx x x x¹-*na*
 ^l*šu*¹-*še-en-na*
 *ul-mu-ur*-^l*da-hi*¹
 15' *nin-dingir*-^l*ra*[?]¹
 *i-la-an-zu*
 *munus ma-tu-ju* ^{ki}¹
 *dumu i-ši*-^l*ia*¹
 *a-ša-ku-ú*
 20' *šu-bi*-^l*ia*¹
 *ma-na-ra*-^l*e*¹
 break

51. SH2 150 (IM 63356)

7.4 × 4.6 × 2.6 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

List of issues of grain for individuals, for servants(?), and assigned for groats. Photo of obv. p. 160.

obv. 1 še *t*[*u*]-*ru-še*
 1 *kab-kab*
 1 *a-ga-aš-tu-t*[*um*]
 1 ^l*a-ri-x-x*¹
 5 1 še *sag*.[*i*]*r*[?]
 5 anše *a-na* / [*n*]*i.à*.*ra*

Upper rev. is vac., lower part has 6 lines each listing issues of 1 (*ziz*); the only recipient whose name is legible is *wa-ri-ki-ba* (l. 12).

52. SH2 151 (IM 63357)

8.6 × 5.0 × 2.7 cm, reddish brown; from room 34. Account for issues of cereals and flour. The badly preserved obv., i.e., and beginning of rev. contain 4 different sections ending in summaries of total quantities, and all the entries in the last section seem to recur in other sections: Pušephi 1. 22 and 1. 11; Šāti 1. 23 and 1. 15; lú Šumura 1. 24 and 1. 8. The last summary is followed by the statement “besides the messengers”. The middle rev. which is vac. is followed by a listing of cereals used for general purposes: barley for malt, seeds, beer-bread; “fine” (sig₅) emmer wheat for ... (for the second sign cf. no. 3, 6 end), and wheat for *hirhirmi*, a substance otherwise unknown to me.

rev. ʿx¹ zì.zíz a-na ʿpu-še-ep-hi¹
 0.1 gig a-na ša-a-ti
 0.0.2 zì.gig lú ša šu-mu-ra
 25 šu.nigin 2 ù 0.0.3 zì.gig
 ʿe¹-zu-ub l[ú].meš ši-ip-ri
 space
 10 še a-na munu₄
 10 še a-na numun
 80 še a-na ba-ap-pí-ri
 30 16 zíz ʿsig₅¹ a-na x x
 ʿx¹ gi[g] a-na hi-ir-hi-ir/-ni

53. SH2 152 (IM 63358)

2.1 × 2.7 × 1.7 cm, buff brown; from room 34. Small poorly preserved *maššartum* -note (1. 3: *ma-aš-ša-a[r]-t[um]*) with 3 lines of text on obv. continuing on rev. – not copied.

54. SH2 153 (IM 63359)

11.0 × 5.8 × 3.7 cm, dark brown; from room 34. Lists of issues of barley to 51 individuals. Each line has numeral 1 + space + PN. In 1. 43 on rev. is a first summary: šu.nigin ʿ43 lú.meš¹ ša [še] il-qú-ú / *ma-tu-ju*^{ki} – “total: 43 men who took barley, countrymen”. In last 1. on low. rev. (1. 53) is a second summary: [šu.nigin 8 1]ú.meš ʿša še¹ il-qú-ú. Unfor-

tunately only a few of the names are legible:

19: ʿha¹-ši-ʿia¹
 22: ʿhi¹-il-ʿlu-ra¹
 33: na-tu-up-šu-[du]
 34: zi-id-na-[.....]
 54: iz-[z]i-ip-še-en-ni

– not copied (cf. photo of rev. p. 160).

55. SH2 154 (no IM-no.)

3.6 × (2.9) × 2.3 cm, buff brown; from room 34. Fragmentary; right half of tablet with traces of 6 illegible lines (5 on obv. and 1 on 1.e.) – not copied.

56. SH2 155 (no IM-no.)

Not available for study.

57. SH2 156 (IM 63360)

8.7 × 5.1 × 2.8 cm, buff brown; from room 34. Account for issues of cereals and pulses. The surface of the tablet is very worn and few passages can be read. One notes an issue for a certain ʿzu-uz-zu¹ (PN, 1. 4), and for ʿdumu¹.meš ši-ʿip¹-[ri] (1. 15); ll. 16f list *ap-pa-nu* and ʿki-iš-ša-nu¹. Both in ll. 5 and 18 we find issues for *tašiltum*, probably a festival (see AHw, 1338) – not copied (cf. photo p. 160).

58. SH2 157 (IM 63384)

(13.8) × 8.5 × 5.4 cm, dark brown; from room 34. Large ration(?) list; traces of 30 l. on obv., and about 37 l. on rev.; each line apparently has the pattern: numeral + še + PN, but the surface of the tablet is poorly preserved and no complete names can be read or reconstructed – not copied. Photo of obv. p. 161.

59. SH2 158 (IM 63361)

6.9 × 4.7 × 2.5 cm, buff brown; from room 34. Tablet with traces of 12 l. on obv. (rest un-inscribed). The first 11 lines have pattern: numeral 1 + (illeg.) name(?), while 1. 12 seems to have contained a summary – not copied.

60. SH2 159 (no IM-no.)

3.3 × 3.5 × 2.3 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

Text concerning cereals from kislaks in large quantities; traces of 7 lines of text (5 on obv. and 2 on l.e). Ll. 1 and 4 seem to begin with [†]11 *me-at*, and l. 2 ends in [... *na-ka-b*]*i-ni-we* – not copied.

61. SH2 160 (no IM-no.)

2.6 × 3.5 × 2.0 cm; dark brown; from room 34.

Text concerning female personnel; traces of 4 lines (on obv.), but surface broken or illeg.; l. 1 has: 1 *munus* [...] – not copied.

62. SH2 161 (IM 63362)

8.6 × 4.9 × 2.5 cm, dark brown; from room 34.

Account for issues of groats, cereals, and flour apparently in connection with various religious activities. Unfortunately the surface of the tablet is very worn and difficult to read. One notes the many *inūma* – clauses in the text, among them: *i-nu-ma* [...] / *i-[na] ma-aš-[†]ka¹-n[i-im...]* (ll. 5f; for *maškanum* see ch. 2.B); *i-nu-ma ni-qi-im* / [†]ša¹ dingir.meš [†]x¹ [...] (ll. 14f); and *i-nu-ma ni-qi-[†]im¹* [š¹]/^dni[n-...] (ll. 22f). Photo p. 161.

63. SH2 162 (no IM-no.)

4.1 × 3.8 × 2.2 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

Tablet with illegible traces of 15 lines (6 on obv, 2 on l.e., 5 on rev., and 2 on u.e) – not copied.

64. SH2 163 (no IM-no.)

3.8 × 2.8 × 2.4 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

Tablet with illegible traces of ca. 10 lines (5 on obv., 2(?) on l.e., and 3 on rev.) – not copied.

65. SH2 164 (IM 63363)

3.5 × 3.5 × 2.1 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

Note of large quantities of grain and pulses summarized as “cereals which Šumšu-liter used” (cf. no. 43).

70 [†]še x x¹[.....]

10 *li-im* [†]x¹[x] še

9 *me* -[*tim* x][†]x¹[...]

1 *me-[†]at* 80¹[.....]

5 1 *me-at* [.....][†]x x¹

1 *me-at* [†]13¹[.....]

10 še 1 K[I.....]

space

še ša *šu-um-[†]šu-li¹-[ter]*

[*g*]a-[†]am¹-ru

9 or [*ig-t*]a-[†]am¹-ru

66. SH2 165 (IM (63364)

3.3 × 3.3 × 2.8 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

Fragmentary tablet with traces of 6 illegible lines (4 on obv. and 2 on rev.) – not copied.

67. SH2 166 (IM 63365)

2.1 × 2.6 × 1.6 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

Note concerning grain deliveries with traces of 6 lines (5 on obv., 1 on l.e., rev. vac.); l. 5-6 probably read: ša [*na-k*]a-/[a]*b-[†]bi¹-ni-we* – not copied.

68. SH2 167 (IM 63366)

14.1 × 7.1 × 3.9 cm, dark brown; from room 34.

Large tablet which is almost complete, but surface in very poor condition and text completely illegible – not copied.

69. SH2 168 (IM 63367)

(9.6) × 6.0 × 3.8 cm, black; from room 27.

List of personnel assigned to various people; upper part broken. The structure of the text is unusual. Having inscribed all surfaces of the tablet the scribe erased/smoothed the left part of the rev. to get space for a total summary leaving a “floating” list of names of people assigned personnel on the right half of the rev. The name of Kuwari appearing at the end of the summary suggests that the personnel belonged to him. Photo of rev. p. 162.

break

(first ca. 11 ll. preserved on obv. worthless)

- 12' *ta-¹ri-¹ip¹-[...]*
ma-ma-¹x¹-ta
 mí.tur *bé-en-«x»-¹š¹i[?]*
- 15' mí.tur *im-di-¹x¹[(...)]*
 mí.tur ¹x x x x¹
 11 munus.há 3 mí.tur. ¹x¹ sag.ì[r.....]
 šu.nigin 24 sag ì[r.....]
ú-na-a[¹p-.....]
- 20' *te-ri-[.....]*
ha-¹š¹i-ia¹
a-kap-ta-hi
¹pi¹-in-zi
- rev. (eras.) ¹x¹[.....]
- 25' (eras.) *te-he-eš-¹š¹u[?]-ka[?]*
 (eras.) *ma-mu-ur-hu-up [(...)]*
 (eras.) *wa-ra-te*
 (eras.) «x» *ke-el-hu-ru*
 (eras.) *ki-iz-zu-ri*
- 30' (eras.) *ha-š¹i-ba-¹x¹*
 (eras.) *wa-an-di-ib-š¹e-en-ni*
 (eras.) [x]-*ak-ri-ia*
 (eras.) [x]-*te-en-¹x¹*
 (eras.) *zi-li-eš-ew-ri*
- 35' (eras.) *na-¹az¹-za-gu*
 (eras.) ¹ha¹-lu
 (eras.) *te-eš-š¹u-¹up¹-ew-ri*
 (eras.) [k]*e-el-lu-ug-gi*
 (eras.) ¹x¹-*mi-ia*
- 40' (eras.) ¹x¹ [x]-*da-ú-ri*
 (eras..) ¹x¹ AN [...] *-na*
¹ki¹-in-nu
ha-ma-ar-a-¹tal¹
ha-lu-wa-ta
- 45' [.....] ¹x¹-*hi*
 [.....]-*ri*

- break
- left e. [.....]-¹at¹-*hu-r[u]*
 [.....(-)a]n-¹di¹(-)*me-en-ni*
 [.....x]+ 1 lú.tur *ne-e-el-li*
 [.....x] ¹mí.tur¹ 2 lú.tur ¹ša¹ *na-bi*
 -^dutu
- 5'' [.....]ú.tur ¹x¹[x (x)-b]i-¹x¹
 [.....]EL [x x]¹x¹ [.....]

on left rev.

- 8 lú.meš 4 lú.tur
 20[+x]+3 ¹gemé¹
¹x mí.tur¹
 10'' 36 lú.meš
 4 lú.tur
¹10¹munus.há
 [x+]² mí.tur
¹(x)¹mku-wa-ri

70. SH2 169 (no IM-no.)

10.2 × 6.1 × 4.0 cm, dark brown; from room 27.
 Large ration(?) list; traces of 20-25 l. on obv., 27 on rev. Each line apparently has the pattern: numeral 1 + PN – not copied.

71. SH2 170 (IM 63368)

4.4 × 4.0 × 2.0 cm, buff brown; from room 27.
 Tablet with illegible traces of ca. 8 lines (4? on obv., 1 on l.e., 3? on rev.) – not copied.

72. SH2 171 (no IM-no.)

5.8 × 4.9 × 3.0 cm, dark brown; from room 27.
 Tablet with surface completely destroyed – not copied.

73. SH2 172 (IM 63369)

3.6 × 4.3 × 2.2 cm, black; from room 27.
 List of women from various “houses”, who have been released.

[x] munus ʿx x¹[.....]

2 munus é ʿx¹-a-ki [....] x

1 munus ʿé¹ ʿx x x x x¹

[x] munus ʿx x¹-[x]

5 ú-wa-še-ʿru-nim¹

74. SH2 173 (IM 63370)

(7.8 × 4.6) × 3.1 cm, black; from room 27.

Fragmentary list perhaps concerning personnel; upper left corner and left edge broken; 29 lines (15 on obv., 2 on l.e., and 12 on rev.) – l.e. and rev. illegible and not copied.

break

obv. [x (x) ha²-z]i²-ʿip¹-te-šu-[up]

[x (x)] a-ʿwi¹-iš-a-ʿbi²ʿ¹

[x (x)] a-wa-ku

[x (x)] ki-ʿwa-x¹

5' [x (x)] a-kap-ta-hi

[x (x)] ʿx¹-za-bi

[.....(-)]hi-a-ri ma-tu-ju

[x (x)] [n]i-en-na

[x (x)] [x (x)-w]a-am

10' [x (x)][x (x)-i]a-ʿx x¹

[.....]ʿx ʿir¹ a-na ʿx¹[...]

[.....] na-ad-[nu]

[x (x)] [x]ʿx x¹-te-ri

[x (x)] [x x(x)-b]i-iš

15' [x (x)] [x x x] ʿx¹

75. SH2 174 (no IM-no.)

3.2 × 4.0 × 1.9 cm, buff brown; from room 27.

List of grain used for seed.

obv. 1 ʿme-at¹ 26 še [x]ʿx x¹

ʿa-na numun¹

space

rev. 1 me-at ʿx x numun²ʿ¹

76. SH2 175 (no IM-no.)

(4.4 × 6.6 × 4.1) cm, dark brown; from room 27.

Fragment from large tablet, no writing preserved – not copied.

77. SH2 176a (no IM-no.)

3.1 × 2.9 × 2.2 cm, buff brown; from room 27.

Tablet with traces of ca. 3 illegible lines on obv. (rest vac.) – not copied.

78. SH2 176b (no IM-no.)

4.1 × 3.9 × 2.5 cm, dark brown; from room 27.

Tablet with traces of ca. 3-6 illegible lines on obv. (rest vac.) – not copied.

79. SH2 177 (IM 63371)

2.6 × 2.8 × 1.9 cm, buff brown; from room 27.

Note concerning grain deliveries; traces of 8 lines (3 on obv., 1 on l.e., and 4 on rev.).

ʿkislah¹ ši-me-er/-ri-we^{ki} can be read in ll. 6-7 – not copied.

80. SH2 178 (IM 63372)

3.3 × 3.8 × 2.1 cm, buff brown; from room 27.

Note concerning grain deliveries; traces of 7 lines (6 on obv. and 1 on l.e.); [x] ʿx¹ ša kislah ši-me-[er-ri-we] can be read in l. 5 – not copied.

81. SH2 179 (IM 63373)

4.7 × 4.5 × 2.5 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

Tablet with traces of 5-6 lines on obv. (rest vac.) – not copied.

82. SH2 180 (IM 63374)

3.1 × 3.7 × 2.0 cm, dark brown; from room 34.

Tablet with traces of 2 lines on obv. (rest vac.) – not copied.

83. SH2 181 (IM 63375)

(2.2) × 3.8 × 2.2 cm, black; from room 34.

Fragment; lower half of tablet with remains of 9 lines (4 on obv., 1 on l.e., and 4 on rev.). A few legible words like ʿub¹-lam (end of l. 1'), me-at (beg.

l. 2'), and kishlah (beg. of l. 3') show that the text is a note of grain delivery – not copied.

84. SH2 182 (no IM-no.)

3.5 × 3.4 × 1.8 cm, dark brown; from room 34.
Completely illegible tablet – not copied.

85. SH2 183 (IM 63376)

3.2 × (2.8) × 1.7 cm, buff brown; from room 34.
Tablet with traces of 3-4 l. on both obv. and rev. – not copied.

86. SH2 184 (IM 63377)

(2.5 × 3.5) × 2.0 cm; buff brown; from room 34.
Fragment from list of piglets (šah.tur) given to individuals.

obv. [x]šah.tur a-na d^utu-ma-gi-ir
[x š]ah.tur a-na e-[x-x¹-dⁱm
[x šah].tur a-na [x-x¹][x]-an-ni
[.....][x¹][x x]-ri kab-kab [x¹
break

87. SH2 185 (IM 63378)

(12.6) × 12.7 × 5.2 cm, dark brown; from room 34.
Large tablet with 4 columns; upper and lower parts missing. On obv. 2 columns each with remains of ca. 21 lines; on rev. remains of ca. 22 lines in col. iii; col. iv apparently vacant except for part of summary: 1 m[e-a]t šu-ši 4(/5) lú.meš. The text lists distributions of both še and gig (in quantities 1-5 unspecified units) to named individuals. Judging from the summary less than half the tablet is preserved. Virtually no complete names are legible or can be reconstructed (in col. I: 11' the name [na-wa-a-ia¹] can be read) – not copied. Cf. photo p. 162.

88. SH2 186 (IM 63379)

(11.0) × 5.4 × 2.8 cm, buff brown; from room 34.
Fragmentary tablet in poor condition; note on delivery of cereals (gig and še); kishlah of Šimerriwe mentioned several times – not copied.

89. SH2 187 (no IM-no.)

(6.7 × 3.3 × 2.1) cm, buff brown; from room 34.
Flake from large tablet with traces of 7-9 illegible lines – not copied.

90. SH2 188 (IM 64480)

3.7 × 3.4 × 1.9 cm, black; from room 34.
Multiplication table. Photo of obv. p. 163.

45 a.rá 1	45
2	90
3	135

etc. to 20, 30, 40, 50 × 45; last line on upper edge (11') reads: 45 a.rá 1 45 (=) 2025.

91. SH2 189 (no IM-no.)

2.6 × 2.7 × 2.0 cm, buff brown; from room 34.
Tablet with traces of 3-4 lines on obv. (rest vac.); 1. 3 reads: 1 me-[at...] – not copied.

92. SH2 190 (IM 63381)

(3.8) × 4.4 × 2.3 cm, red and black; from room 34.
Fragmentary list of oxen (gu₄) given to various individuals whose names are poorly preserved, among them a messenger from Arrapha i-ti-[x x¹] (l. 1'f), and a certain qa-[ma-an¹] (l. 3'). The figures on the lower rev. seem to bear no relation to the contents of the text.

93. SH2 191 (IM 63382)

5. × 4.2 × 2.5 cm, buff brown; from room 34.
Fragmentary tablet; obv. destroyed, traces of 1 l. on l.e. and 3 on rev. (lower rev. vac.) – not copied.

94. SH2 192 (no IM-no.)

(4.4 × 5.5) × 2.5 cm; dark brown; from room 34.
Fragment from large tablet with traces of 7 lines on obv. (rev. vac.) – not copied.

95. SH2 193a (no IM-no.)

3.2 × (2.1) × 2.0 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

Fragment from centre of tablet with traces of a few illegible lines – not copied.

96. SH2 193b (no IM-no.)

(2.3) × 3.6 × 2.4 cm, dark brown; from room 34. Fragmentary tablet, upper part missing; traces of 5 lines (3 on obv. and 2 on l.e.) – not copied.

97. SH2 194 (no IM-no.)

(2.6 × 4.0) × 3.1 cm, black; from room 34. Fragment from corner of large tablet with a few faint traces of writing – not copied.

98. SH2 195 (IM 63383)

5.0 × 4.2 × 2.4 cm, dark brown; from room 34. List of localities (Tupkikku, Bue, ... -niri, Waršu, Awarae, and others) bringing emmer from kishlah Nakabbiniwe.

50 zíz kisl[ah] *na-ka-ab-bi-n[i-w]e*

tu-[u]p-ki-^lik¹-ku u[b-la]m

^l50¹ zíz kishlah *na-ka-ab-bi-n[i-we]*

bu-e ub-lam

5 ^l20+x¹ zíz kishlah *na-ka-ab-[b]i-n[i]-w[e]*

[x x]-ni-ri ^lub-lam¹

50 zíz kishlah *na-^lka-ab-bi-ni-we¹*

wa-^lar¹-šu ^lub¹-lam

[x] zíz kishlah ^l*na-ka¹-ab-[bi-ni-we]*

10 *a-^lwa-ra-e¹ [ub]-lam*

^l50?¹ zíz kishlah *na-k[a-ab-bi-ni-we]*

illegible traces of 6 more lines

99. SH2 197 (no IM-no.)

(6.0) × 5.0 × 2.6 cm, buff brown; from room 34. Upper part of tablet. List of barley rations with traces of 24 lines (13 on obv., 9 on rev., and 2 on u.e.). Each line has the pattern: numeral (še) + recipient – not copied.

100. SH2 198a (no IM-no.)

(2.1 × 2.9) × 1.9 cm, dark brown, from room 34.

Fragment with a few faint traces of writing – not copied.

101. SH2 198b (no IM-no.),

from room 34.

Several small fragments with only faint traces of writing – not copied.

102. SH2 199 (no IM-no.)

(2.3) × 3.2 × 2.2 cm, black; from room 34.

Fragment from l. e. of tablet with remains of 3 lines (2 on u.e. and 1 on rev.) – not copied.

103. SH2 200 (no IM-no.)

4.9 × (3.9) × 2.6 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

Tablet with traces of ca. 14 lines (7 on obv., 2 on l.e., and 5[?] on rev.) – not copied.

104. SH2 201 (no IM-no.),

from room 34.

A number of small and 2 larger fragments; worthless – not copied.

105. SH2 202 (no IM-no.)

3.8 × 3.6 × 2.7 cm, buff brown; from room 34.

List of 15 people receiving issues of barley. One notes that the list opens with an issue to Talpušarri, identical no doubt with the wellknown correspondent of Kuwari.

5 *ša lugal še ta-al-pu-^lšar¹-ri*

5 ^l*šar-ri-ip[?]1-a-tal*

rest worthless; last line on rev. :

[šu.nigi]n 15 lú.meš

106. SH2 203a (no IM-no)

(3.4 × 3.1 × 1.1) cm, black, from room 34.

Small fragment from surface of letter from near a left edge. This piece is clearly out of context with the rest of the tablets from this room. Search among the letters from room 2 now in Copenhagen and copies of those in Baghdad has failed to produce a join. This does not of course exclude that the frag-

ment belonged with these texts, but other possibilities, like the (original) presence of other letter groups in the palace, remain open. Photo p. 163.

break

ʽú -xʽ[.....]

ú-kam-ma-ʽxʽ[.....]

1 dumu ši-íp-ri (-)[.....]

i-na ka-ab-ʽu-.....]

5' [š]i-i i-ri-ša [.....]

ʽi ʽna a-la-ʽxʽ[.....]

[g]a ʽ!-a [m-.....]

break

2' Both the shape of U₂ and the syllabic use of KAM are peculiar features; in view of the mention

of a messenger in the following line the verb in question could be *gamārum* (D-stem; cf. A.2769, 12: *ṭēmkuunu gummerānēšimma*).

4' A reconstruction *ina kabt[ūtim...]* – “among the mighty” is possible.

6' Presumably an infinitive of *alākum* is involved in this passage.

107. SH2 203b-d (no IM-no.)

From room 34.

b) (2.3 × 2.5 × 1.1) cm, dark brown; fragment from lower left of tablet with remains of 6 lines. Mention quantities of še and zíz – not copied.

c) very small fragment from same(?) tablet with traces of 2 lines.

d) 4.1 × 3.6 × 1.7 cm, dark brown clay; uninscribed and unsealed docket(?) with string impression.

Archive 1

Following nos. 108-146 were all found in room 2 (so-called “Tablet Room”).

108. SH 800 (AS)

2.9 × 3.0 × 1.8 cm, black; found ca. 40 cms above floor level in Room 2.

Cf. Læssøe 1960, 13.

List of pulses brought by locality Elu, and by Agaš-turum from Nakabbiniwe.

20 ša lugal gú.tur e-lu ub-lam

25 ma-at-qú-tum e-lu ub-lam

7 lugal gú.tur iš-tu na-ka-ab-bi-ni-we

^ma-ka-aš-tu-ru ub-lam

109. SH 806 (IM 62086, now in Erbil Museum)

5.5 × 4.0 × 1.9 cm.

List of items given/sent to Kuwari: from the king (? = Šamši-Adad), Ilī-asû, Kurašānu(m)(?), Tari-

nam, and Samsi-malik; finally an entry for 1 garment to a certain Guliki.

1 si-nu

1 ša-am-šu 4 gú.è.a

4 túg 4 gal kug.babbar 1 ma-aš-qa-al-tu

1 né-em-se-tu 1 šu-úš-ma-ru-ʽú ʽ1

5 [x] hu-ul-ʽu ʽ1 ʽ1 h[u]r kug.babbar

[lug]al? a-[n]a ʽku ʽ-w[a-r]i

1 túg 1 gú.ʽè.a ʽ1 ku-ub-šu

ʽ2 ʽ na-aš-ʽ ma-du ʽ ša qa-ab-li

ì du₁₀.ga [x x x] 1 kuš.suhúb

10 «x» ^mAN-a -[sú a-na ku-w]a«-x»-ri

1 túg 1 gu₄ k[u-ra-š]a-nu (?)

ʽa ʽ-[n]a ku-w [a]-ri

1 né-em-se-IM 1 š[u]-úš-ma-ru-ú

^mta-ri-nam a-na ku-wa-ri

- 15 ʿx x¹ [z]abar a-ri-[š]u
 ša^m sa-am-si-ma-lik a-na ku-wa-ri
 1 túg a-na gu-li-ki
- 1f Note that the text begins on the upper edge.
 8 This is the only mention of oil in these texts.
 13 No doubt IM is a mistake for TU (*nemsētum*).

110. SH 807 (IM 62087)

3.0 × 2.9 × 1.6 cm.

Note on issues of garments for *bēltī* – “my Lady” – who could be a person like possibly another wife of Kuwari (– since *bēltī* is also mentioned in no. 144 together with Šipu-šarri, a wife of Kuwari, she cannot be identical with her), but more likely is a goddess. The first issue is for *bēltī* “when she came from before the king”. No. 144 can probably be dated to the “Assyrian” period (mention of Ilī-asû), and if the same applies to this text we may here have mention of the statue of the goddess returning from a treaty ceremony with Šamšī-Adad (cf. the letter SH 878 which probably refers to plans for this).

- [x] túg a-na be-el-ti
 [i]-nu-ma ʿiš-tu igi¹ lugal¹ il-li-[kam]
 [x x] a-na be-e [l-t]i
 [1 túg š]a ʿma^{1?}-ra-am -ʿbi^{1?}
- 5 [x x (x) a-na PI-ʿx x x¹-bi

111. SH 825 (AS)

7.5 × 4.6 × 2.7 cm, dark brown.

Copy previously published in Læssøe 1968. List of troops from various localities and noblemen in *māt Utê*m, a total of 526 of which 80 are called *māru mātim*. Photo p. 163.

- 1 me-a [t] ša-bu-um
 ša šu-šar-ra-a^{ki}
 20 lú.meš ša^m ki-si-ma l[ú b]u-ru-li^{ki}
 52 lú.meš ša PA-ar-ši^{ki}

- 5 23 lú.meš ša ʿpa-ra¹-li-ʿšu¹
 17 lú.meš š[a] ši-me-ri-n[i^{kj}]
 1 šu-ši ʿlú¹.m[eš š]a ku-mu-ur-a-at-[e]
 1 šu-ši lú.meš ša tu<-up>-ki-ik-ki
 [x+]30 lú.m[eš š]a tu-ud-ma-aš-ši
 10 [x+]3? [lú.m]e[š š]a bu-e^{ki}
 [x+]2 lú.meš ša ku-la-ṛ[u (-um)]
 [x] lú.meš ha-ni-za-ru
 [x x x(x)] ʿx x x¹
 80 lú.meš ma-ru ma-tim
- 15 šu.nigin 5 me-tim 26
 ša-bu-um ša ú-te-em
 (i.e.: calculations)

(Collation has resulted in some slight deviations from copy).

4 The sign PA is no doubt intended to indicate a PI and the town in question identical with Waršu/i/e mentioned often in the administrative texts (cf. index).

12 For *hanizaru* see ShT, p. 83; judging from this text the word seems to denote a (lower?) military rank (cf. AHw, 321a s.v. *hanizarrum* “ein Funktionär”).

112. SH 832 (AS)

2.2 × 1.3 × 1.4 cm, dark brown.

Note of issues of garments (túg: ll. 1, 5, 8), and perhaps other items. No reconstruction of consecutive text possible.

113. SH 834 (IM 62102)

3.3 × 3.3 × 1.5 cm.

Note of *našinnu*-vessels given to Kuwari; the broken signs following *našinnu* in ll. 1 and 3 probably represent the names of two individuals.

- 1 na-ši-nu^m ʿx¹[x]¹ʿx¹-ha-ma
 ʿa-na¹ [k]u-wa-ṛ[i]
 1 na-ši-nu ʿx¹[x]¹ʿx¹

a-na ku-wa-ri

4 PI for copy's PA (coll. Læssøe).

114. SH 835 (AS)

2.3 × 2.4 × 1.0 cm, dark brown.

“x shearing implements for the son of Na(?) - ...”

[x urud]u kud.k[in]

ʿa¹-na dumu^mn[a ?-x x]

115. SH 836 (IM 62103, now in Erbil Museum)

2.2 × 2.2 × 1.2 cm.

(publ. by Læssøe ShT, 67).

Note on issue of copper for the manufacture of axes.

18 ma-na urudu

a-na a-ga-sa-li-ki

116. (SH 837) (AS)

2.4 × 2.4 × 1.0, dark brown.

“1 garment and 1 kettle from Hašip-Teššup, 1 silver goblet from Meša-kulli: to the Lullû king.” Photo p. 163.

1 túg 1 ru-qú ša^mha-ši-ip-te-šu-up

1 gal kug.babbar ša^mme-ša-ku-li

a-na lugal ša lu-li-im

117. SH 838 (AS)

3.0 × 2.8 × 1.3 cm, dark brown.

“1 *našinnu* Hame gave; 1 *našinnu* Azija gave”. The text is unusual in not giving the name of the recipient (probably Kuwari). Photo p. 163.

1 na-[š]i-nu^mha-me

i-dí-in

1 na-ši-nu^ma-zi-ia

i-dí-in

118. SH 839 (IM 62104)

2.9 × 3.0 × 1.3 cm.

List of objects issued to messenger from Arrapha, and three other individuals.

3 gal zabar

dumu *ši-ip-ri*

ʿša¹ ar-ra-ap-hi

1 túg ta-ar-ni-ne^{ʿki}

5 1 na-ši-nu^mka-ak-me

1 túg gú.ud 1 na-ši-nu

1 kug.gi^mzi-lu-ša

1 ga[l k]ug.babbar 1 gu₄

mi-lu

“3 bronze cups for the Arrapha messenger; 1 *Tar-nine* garment, 1 *našinnu* for Kakme; 1 coat, 1 *našinnu*, 1 (shekel) gold for Ziluša; 1 silver cup, 1 ox for Ilu.”

4 A reading Ša¹-ar-ni-da¹ «x» is possible, but not likely since this PN is otherwise written Šar-ni-da. The pattern of the text and its rulings suggest that both ll. 4 and 5 contain items for the man Kakme. A town written *Tar-ni-nu* and probably located in NE Assyria is known from a NA text from Nimrud (ND.2791, *Iraq* 23 (1961), p. 54).

119. SH 840 (AS)

3.0 × 3.0 × 1.2 cm, buff brown.

Note of garments and *našinnu* vessels issued.

1 túg ʿx¹ [.....]

a-na^m[.....]

ʿx na¹-ši-[nu.....]

a-na šú-h[a-r]i ʿša¹ šu-ʿna-ak-ra¹-nu

120. SH 841 (AS)

3.6 × 3.3 × 1.5 cm, buff brown.

Note of issues of 7 (shekel) gold for manufacture of *takakunu* – and *lurmû* (with the shape of a pomegranate) ornaments by Mušallišu. Photo p. 164.

4 kug.gi a-na ta-ka-^fku¹-ni
^mmu-ša-li-šu i-pu-úš
 [2+]1 kug.gi a-na lu-úr-^fme-e¹
 [^m]mu-ša-li-šu i-pu-úš

5 7 kug.gi

3 The end of this line is slightly at variance with copy due to coll.

121. SH 842 (AS)

3.3 × (2.2) × 1.3 cm, buff brown.

Fragmentary list of items issued to individuals.

[x x a-na] na-ga-ar-du-uk
 [x x a-n]a ha-ši-ip-te-šu-up
 [x x a-n]a mu-^fšum-a¹-tal
 [x x a-n]a bi-[x]-ma-te-ri
 5 [x x a-n]a ki-zi-^fma¹
 [x x a-n]a li-ik-ri
 [x x š]a wa-ar-ka-^fnu¹
 [x x a-n]a ha-ši-ip-te-šu-^fup¹
 [x x a-na] ku-bi

122. SH 843 (AS)

3.3 × 3.5 × 1.5 cm, dark brown.

Note of *marišanu* vessels transferred to Awaku for issues: 3 “first” (probably = the 3 issues listed in this text) and 4 “for later”.

3 gal ma-ri-ša-nu a-na qa-t[i] a-wa-ku
 ša pa-na-nu 4 ša wa-ar-ka-nu
^f1 gal ma-ri-ša-nu a-mur-eš₄-tár
 1 gal ma-ri-ša-nu bé-en-ši
 5 [1] gal ma-ri-ša-nu a-na ^mti-ri-ia

1.5 The readings of ends of these lines are slightly at variance with copy due to coll.

123. SH 844 (AS)

4.0 × 3.8 × (1.2) cm, buff brown.

Fragmentary list of garments and other items issued; ll. 3^f record issue of “2 garments for Šattida when he gave his daughter”.

obv. broken, only traces of the two last lines preserved

l.e. 1 tú[g] ^mAN-a-sú

rev. a-na ^mlugal-ú-šur

2 ^ftúg¹ a-na ^mša-at-ti-da

i-nu-ma dumu.mí i-dí-nu

5' [x] túg 1 hur kug.babbar ^f4¹ a-na mu-^ftu-ma-an-
 \-da¹

^f11¹ [n]a-ši-nu a-na a-mur-eš₄-tár

(7'-8') only faint traces

5' In PN at end of line TU is certain (coll.).

124. SH 845 (IM 62105)

3.8 × 3.4 × 1.5 cm.

Account for 50 garments issued “after” (an unspecified feast), and a note of 10 garments which “entered after the feast”.

50 túg.há ša wa-ar-k[i]
 ša ú-šì-ú 20 túg ša ^fx¹ [x (x)]
 20 túg i-na qí-ša-ti ^fú-šì-ú¹
 3 túg ^fšu¹-ši-nu
 5 4 túg ša la ma-nu-ú
^mku-hu-ar-ra-ma-^fx¹
 ú-še-ši
 1 ša ma-ra-am-bi
 1 ša ni-ir-ši
 10 1 ^ftúg¹ ka-ma-zi
 [š]a la ma-nu
 10 túg.há wa-ar-ki i-si-ni
 i-ru-bu 6 ša-ak-nu
 3 š[u]-du-^fú¹

“50 garments from afterwards, which issued: 20 garments which ...; 20 garments issued as presents; 3 *šušinnu*-garments; 4 garments which are not noted Kuhu-arrama... issued; 1 *Marambi* (-garment); 1 *Nirši* (-garment), 1 garment (for) Kamazi, which was not noted.
10 garments, which came in after the feast: 6 are “put” (in stock) – 3 are “marked”.

The numbers of garments mentioned in lines 2-10 add up to 50, and hence must be a listing of the 50 garments (“issued afterwards”, i.e. after “the feast”). This text shows probably the awkwardness resulting from the lack of a dating system instead of which constructions with *warki* or *warkānu* are used (cf. 121 and 122). The phrase *ša lā manû* which obviously cannot mean simply “not counted”, may have a specific technical connotation, but presumably just indicates transactions which have not otherwise been noted in any document. The exact connotations of the last term used in 1.14, a stative of *idûm* (Š), are not clear.

125. SH 846 (AS)

4.0 × 3.5 × 1.6 cm, dark brown.

Note of items issued to Hašip-Teššup, Kubi, Mušum-atal, Kizima, and ... -ia. Photo p. 164.

[1 tú]g 1 *na-ši-nu* 1 kug.gi 1 *ru-quí*
^m*ha-ši-ip-te-šu-up*
 1 túg 1 kug.gi ^m*ku-bi*
 1 túg *ki-ši-hu* 2 gal zabar
 5 1 *né-em-se-tu* ^m*mu-šum-a-tal*
 1 túg 1 *ru-quí* 1 *né-em-se-tu*
 1 gal zabar ^m*ki-zi-ma*
 1 *na-ši-nu* 1 gal zabar
^m[x x x¹-[i]a

126. SH 847 (AS)

4.0 × 3.5 × 1.7 cm, dark brown.

List of animals entrusted to the charge of a

shepherd Hizutta, and to x for transfer to Tu-š[i²-...].

[x+]32 ug.há [x+]20 ¹šu ga¹ ab aš
 [x+]10 máš.tur
a-n [a q a]-*tí* [^mhi-¹zu-ta¹
ip-[pá-aq]-*da*
 5 14 ug [há x+]9 šu ¹ga ab¹ [aš]
 16 máš.t[ur]
a-na tu-š[i²-....]
a-na qa-tí ^m[x x¹-[...]
ip-pá-[a]q-*du*
 10 šu.nigin 1 *m*[e-a]t 31 ¹udu.há¹
 [x (x)]¹x -*mu*¹-*ra*
 [x x x]¹x¹-*in*
 [x x x]¹x x¹

1,5 The interpretation of the signs šu ga ab aš is not clear to me, but one expects a variety of sheep/goat.

11 Possibly the name Šumura, found in no. 52, is involved.

127. SH 848 (IM 62106)

3.1 × 3.0 × 1.8 cm.

Note of quantity of metal(?) issued to individual, and of *šinitu* ¹*ašhu* vessels to two men.

1 *ma-na ú* 1/2 *ú gín*
a-na hi-il-hi-¹x (x)¹-*iz*
 1 gal zabar *ši-ni-tu-aš-hu*
a-na a-wa-ia
 5 1 gal *š*[i-ni-*t*]u-aš-hu
a-na ^m*ap-pu-ba-an-dí*

1 Although the reading proposed here seems the best solution it remains strange that the commodity measured is not listed. It should be noted that the conjunction *ú* is used in similar fashion in no. 137,

15 listing 138 oxen: *me-at* 30 ú 8. This may reflect the way such figures were expressed orally.

128. SH 849 (AS)

4.6 × 3.7 × 1.4 cm, buff brown.

List of garments and other items issued to various individuals. The surface of the tablet is very worn and difficult to read. One notes the present of a bronze vessel to Ištar of Niniveh. Photo p. 164.

1 túg 1 hur kug.babbar ^ma-mur-eš₄-tár

1 túg sig₅.ga ^mru-da-an-di

1 túg a-na I¹x-ri¹

1 túg a-na lugal ša lu¹-ul-li

5 túg gal zabar ib-ni^d im a-na ^mku-wa-ri

1 ma-aš-qa-al-tu 2 na-še-ni¹

1 ru-qú ^mhu-š¹u - x x¹

14[?] x ka tu¹ ku-wa-ri a-[n]a li-ta -e¹

[x] gal zabar a-na eš₄-tár ša ni-nu-wa¹

10 túg li¹-im 1 me-at x+14¹ lú.meš¹

space

92 túg.há

9 For Šauška/Ištar of Niveveh see Menzel 1981, 116-8; and Wegner 1981; cf. also the remarks by Lafont, ARMT 26/2, p. 476, who supports the tentative equation Nineveh=Ninet (well-known in this period for Ištar cult) suggested by Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 5, p. 224.

10f The meaning of the last passages, which seem to have no relation to the rest of the text, is not clear.

129. SH 850 (IM 62107)

4.6 × 3.8 × 1.5 cm.

Badly preserved list with issues of garments and *našinnu* – vessels.

2 túg 2 n[a]-š[i-n]u 1 GI (x) x x¹

^mha-ši-ip-te-š¹u-u[p]

1 túg [x] n[a]-š[i-n]u 2 gal z[abar...]

1 túg 1¹ n[a-ši-n]u x (x) x x¹ [(..)]

5 1 túg x x x x x¹

^mr_{za}[?] -zi-¹ia[?]

1 [tú]g gú.è.a [x] na-š[i-n]u¹[(..)]

^mr_{ti}¹-ri¹?-ia

1 túg 1 gú 1 ta¹ i [.....]

10 [m]¹[...] x x¹ [...]

[x tú]g 1 na-ši-n[u.....]

^mú-w[a-an-d]i-ib

[x+]1 túg ta-ši-[.....]

130. SH 851 (IM 62108)

4.4 × 3.7 × 1.8 cm.

List with names presumably preceded by entries of e.g. túg. Only two complete names can be read with any confidence: 1.4: *bé-en-ši*, and 1. 14: *hi-zu-ut-[t]a*

131. SH 853 (AS)

(3.4 × 2.5 × 0.3) cm, black (surface flake).

Small fragment from list of issues of garments.

[x] túg ša-al-mu a-n[a.....]

x¹ túg a-na ^ma-nu-pu-x¹[...]

[x] túg a-na ^ma-ri-[...]

[x] túg ša-mu a-na [...]

5' [x t]úg a-na ^mše-ni-[...]

[x tú]g ša ^mzi-li-[ia]

a-na ^mšar-ni-[da]

[x túg x x] x x x¹

132. SH 862 (AS)

(6.9) × 4.6 × 2.4 cm, buff brown.

List of numerous issues of clothing, silver rings, shoes etc. Photo p. 164.

[x túg] a-na¹ ^mia-[.....]

túg ša x¹-[.....]

- [1 tóg 1 h]ur kug.babbar 5 a-na ^mta-^fx¹-[...]
 [1 tóg]g ša ma-ra <-am >-bi a-na za-[.....]
 5 [1 t]óg ki-ši-hu 1 tóg ta-ar-d[a-da-hu a-
 \na]^fx¹[...]-lugal
 [1 t]óg a-na ^mf a¹-ia-am-m[u.....]
 [1] tóg ta-ar-da-da-^fhu¹ a-na ^m[x]-di-^dim
 [1] tóg ša ^mku-ra-ša-ni ^fa¹-[na š]i-pu-lugal
 1 tóg a-na ^mf x¹-ki-^fx¹[...]^fx¹
 10 1 hur kug.babbar 1 kuš.suhúb ta-k[a-.....]^fx¹-hu-
 \um-ku-mu-ur
 1 hur kug.babbar 5 a-na ^md[a - x x x]-im
 1 tóg a-na ^fm x x x¹[x x x]-mi-šu
 šu.nigin 14 tóg.há 3 hur kug.babbar
 1 kuš.suhúb a-na ^mbe-en-ši
 15 1 kuš.suhúb a-na «^m» ša-ni-im na-ri
 1 kuš.suhúb a-na ša-al-šum na-ri
 1 kuš.suhúb a-na ^mú-wa-an-di-ib
 1 kuš.suhúb a-na ^mka-ta-am-ri
 1 kuš.suhúb a-na ^mnu-pu-ur-ew-ri
 20 1 kuš.suhúb a-na ^mša-am-ri
 1 kuš.suhúb a-na ^mnu-úr-^dutu
^f1 kuš.suhúb a-na ^fm i-din-^den.zu¹
 1 kuš.suhúb a-na ^m[.....]-^fx¹
 1 kuš.suhúb a-na ^mf na-tu¹-up-šu-du
 25 1 kuš.suhúb a-na gul-si-mi
 1 kuš.suhúb a-na ^mta-ak-ri-šu-ú
 1 kuš.suhúb a-na dumu-ša-ki-im
 1 kuš.suhúb a-na dumu ^mka-bi-ia
 [1 kuš.su]húb 2 pa-ti-nu a-na ú-^fx¹-[.....]
 30 [1 kuš.su]húb a-na ^mal-^fx¹[x x x]
 [1 kuš.suhúb a-n]a ^mpa-[.....]
 break

15f The vertical vedge in front of the recipient in l. 15 is half erased, and in both lines probably titles and not PNs are involved: “2. singer” (*nārum*) and

“3. singer”. Although highly unusual this seems the best solution, and it finds some support in the possible *qutīm nāri* “Gutean singer” found in no. 136, 48. 23 The figure 10 written on the left edge refers to a count of issues of shoes (from line 14).

133. SH 863 (AS)

5.7 × 4.0 × 1.7 cm, buff brown.

List of garments and bronze vessels issued to various individuals.

- 1 tóg ša ^mha-š[i-ip-te-šu-up]
 a-na ^mka-a[k-....]
 1 tóg ^mku-ud-ru-[...]
 1 tóg ^mdu-a-[...]
 5 erased
 1 tóg ^mru-d[a-an-di]
 1 tóg a-na ^mza-^fzi¹-[ia (?)]
 1 tóg ^mwa-šu-[.....]
 1 tóg ^mba-ba-a[n-di-ki]
 10 1 tóg ^mf za-pa¹-[ri (?)]
 1 tóg ^mf x x¹-[.....]
 1 gal zabar a-na lugal ša [lu-ul-li]
 1 gal zabar a-na ^mša-n[i-.....]
 13 gal zabar a-na ^fr[u[?].....]
 15 i-nu-ma ^mhu-šu-^fx¹[.....]
 2 gal zabar a-na ^di[m]
 [š]a ar-ra-ap-[hi-i]m [^{ki}]
 3 g[al] zabar [.....]
^mf x x¹ [.....]
 20 1 gal ud.ka<bar> ^mf x x¹[.....]

134. SH 864+870 (IM 62114+62117) 7.3 × 4.9 × 2.3 cm.

(Cf. ShT, p. 68)

List of garments, silver rings, weapons, etc. given to various individuals.

- 1 tóg šu-ši-^fnu¹ lugal a <-na > ru-d[a-an-di (?)]

- 1 [t]úg ¹te-er-x¹-nu a-na [.....]
- 2 [t]úg 1 g[al[?] zab]ar [x x] ¹x¹ [x (..)]
- 1 túg sa-[m]u a-na ^mx¹-[x x] ¹x¹ \[(...)]
- 5 1 túg 1 gal za[bar]¹x x¹ [a-na.....-k]u-li
- 1 t[úg] a-na [.....]
- 1 tú[g.....] ¹x x x¹
- ¹i¹-[nu-ma]¹x x¹ ab ¹x (x)¹ il-li-k[u]
- 1 túg 1 hur kug.babbar 5 a-na ^mšu-ba-an
- 10 1 túg 1 hur kug.babbar 4 a-na ^mi-ba-al-pì-el
- 1 túg 1 hur kug.babbar 3 a-na h a-ši-ip-ma-¹x-x¹
- on rest of obv.+l.e. (a.7 lines)
- only traces preserved
- rev.
- 20 2 gír [x] 1/2 ma<-na> 15 kug.babbar
- 4 [x x] kug.gi a-na ma-aš-ma-k[i]
- 3 síg a-na lugal-ú-šur
- ¹x¹ síg a-na nu-pu-ur-ew-ri
- [x síg] a-na lu-ul-li
- 25 2 síg a-na ^mx x x x¹
- 4 síg a-na zu-zu
- 1 síg a-na za-pa-ri

7f Unfortunately this *inūma* clause is broken (tablet not available for collation in 1979). The traces at end of l. 7 could perhaps be read ¹lu-ul-lu/i¹ (?), but I can offer no convincing suggestion for l. 8.

19f The issue recorded here with much silver and gold is unusual in these texts. A PN Mašmaki (otherwise unknown to me) as recipient is a tentative suggestion and chosen because the copy shows a clear MA as first sign. Otherwise a reading gal ma-t[im] (cf. the *rabbūt mātīm* in SH 874) would seem a possible solution.

135. SH 865 (AS)

6.9 × 4.2 × 2.1 cm, buff brown.

Account for issues of garments, silver rings, swords, etc.

first 8 lines destroyed/illeg.

- 1 túg [.....] ¹a-na ¹mru-da-an-d[i]
- 10 [1 túg 1 n]a-[šī-n]u me-¹ri-ni-šū-x¹
- ¹1 túg 1 hur kug¹.babbar a-na ¹ia-si-ia¹
- 1 ¹kúš.suhúb¹[x] pa-ti-nu a-na ^me-la¹-ku
- [.....] ¹a-na ¹tu-pa-tí
- [1] ¹túg¹[(...)]ša.....¹x¹ i-¹di¹-nu a-na
- 15 [me-š]a-ku-li
- 1 gú.¹è.a¹ a-na ^mx x¹-ib-¹ew¹-ri
- 1 hur kug.babbar a-na ^mú-n[a-a]p-šar-ri
- 1 túg hur kug.babbar ¹a-na ¹[na-t]u-up-šū-¹du¹
- 1 giš.silà 1 ¹x¹ [...] ¹x a-na ¹ku-wa-ri
- 20 1 túg 1 ¹né-em-si¹-tu ^mú-za-ka a-na ku-wa-ri
- 1 gú.ud kuš «x» suhúb a-na dumu.mí ^ma-wa-ia
- 1 gír a-na ^mbu-nu-^dim
- 1 gír a-na ^mnu-ra-ku-ta
- 1 gír a-na ^múš-tap-tu-u[k-k]i
- 25 1 gír a-na [^m] ¹x x x¹
- 1 gír a-na [^m]a-bi-za
- 2 gír a-na qa-[t]i ^mzi-lu-š[a]
- 2 gír a-na q[a]-ti ša-ki-im [(...)]
- 16 síg a-na tu-uh-ši-im
- 30 1 na-ši-nu ¹a-na¹ ^mta-ka-¹x¹[.....]
- 1 na-ši-nu [.....]
- 1 g[iš.da].da ¹x¹ [.....]
- upper e. broken; traces of 2 lines on left edge

136. SH 866 (AS)

11.5 × 5.6 × 2.8 cm, dark brown.

Long list of garments, shoes, silver rings, etc. issued. Several names occur more than once, and it is possible that this text merges several smaller separate lists.

- 1 túg a-na ^mru-da-an-di
- 1 túg a-wa-¹x¹[.....]-ta

- 1 tóg *a-na na-[.....]-di*
 1 tóg ^m*za-zi-i[a (x)]* ^r*x zi x*¹
- 5 1 tóg kuš.suhúb [^m]^r*ha-at* ¹⁻ⁿⁱ -^dutu
 1 tóg kuš.suhúb <1> *pa-ti-nu* ^m*pa-ka-il*
 1 tóg ^rkuš.suhúb¹ 1 *pa-ti-nu* 1 sag.ì[r]
 ^r*a-na x x*¹-*ad-ni* -^dutu
 1 tóg [1 *pa-ti-i-nu*] ^m*bi-^rx*¹-*nu-am-^rx*¹
- 10 11 tóg kuš.suhúb I-^r*x-x-x -x*¹ dumu *ši-ip-ri*
 1 tóg ^m*bu-lu-ku-^rud*¹-*ra-e*
 1 tóg ^m*be-ru-tum* [*ša ú-na-ri-^riš*]¹
 1 tóg [*k*]*i-ši-hu* ^m*sa-am-si-ma-lik*
 1 tóg *a-na* ^m*mu-^rx-ir-zi-[x]*
- 15 1 tóg *ša ni-ir-ši* ^m*bi-ra-a-ia*
 1 tóg *ša ni-ir-ši* ^m*bu-lu-ku-ud-ra-e*
 1 tóg *ša ma-ra-am-bi a-na* dumu *š[i-ip]-ri*
 1 tóg *ša ma-ra-am-bi* 1 kuš.suhúb 1
 \[.....]^r*x*¹KI^r*x*¹
 1 tóg 1 kug.gi ^r*a*¹-*na be-^rel*¹-[.....]^r*x x*¹
- 20 1 tóg 1 gú.u[d x]^r*x x x*¹[.....]^r*x*¹
 1 tóg ^r1 hur kug.¹gi ^m*z[a-.....]*
 1 gemé 1 anše *a-na* dumu *ši-ip-[ri]*
 1 tóg hur kug.babbar ^m*na-ga-ar-du-u[k]*
 1 tóg hur kug.babbar ^m*nu-úr*-^dutu
- 25 1 tóg 2 gu₄ 2 gemé 2 sag.ìr ^m*x*¹-*am -^rx*¹[...]
 1 tóg ^m*ta -ru-[x x]*^r*x*¹[...]
 1 tóg hur kug.babbar ^m*a[^r.....]*
 1 tóg ^m*e-.....*
 1 tóg ^m*x*¹[.....]
- 30 1 tóg ^m*x*¹-[.....]
 11 tóg ^m*ha-.....*
 11 tóg kuš.suhúb ^r*x*¹-[.....]
 [1 tóg ()] ^r*x*¹-[.....]
 [1 tóg ()] ^m*i-zi-d* [*a* ?-.....]
- 35 [1 tóg kuš.su]húb ^m*i-bi-^rsa*¹-*I[im]*
 [1 tóg]g ^m*ku-ta-r[a-.....]*
- [1 tóg h]ur kug.babbar ^m*šu-na-ak-ra-[nu]*
 1 tóg gú.ud ^m*a-li-pa-n[i-...]*
 1 tóg 1 kuš.suhúb 1 gú.ud 1 *pa-ti <-nu >*^m*li-ta-*
 \-^r*e*¹
- 40 1 tóg *a-na* dam ^m*ru-da-an-di*
 1 tóg ^m*ir-ka-ti-e*
 1 tóg ^m*ú-wa-hu-šu*
 1 hur kug.babbar ^r*x*¹-*wa -^rx*¹
- 45 3 kuš.suhúb ^r*a*¹-*na šú-^rha*¹-*ri* *ša* dumu *ši-ip-ri*
 1 tóg g[ú.u]d ^m*me-ša-ku-ul-li*
 1 tóg ^m*za-zi-ia*
 1 tóg ^m*me-ša-ta-ak*
 1 tóg *a-na* *qú-ti-im* [*n*]*a-ri*
 1 tóg ^m*i-ri-^rx*¹[.....]
- 50 1 tóg ^m*ša-ap-pu-[.....]*
 1 tóg ^rgú.ud¹ ^m*za -z[i-ia (?)]*
 1 tóg ^rgú.ud¹ 1 ^r*x-ru-[x]* *a-wa-ia*
 1 tóg [^m*a*]*l-ti-pa-nu*
 [...] *me-sa-ak-da*
- 55 [...] ^m*i-ši-ip-ha-lu*
 [...] ^m*nu-pu-ur-ew-ri*
 1 tóg [...] *ši-ni-en-ša-li*
 1 tóg [...] *na-tu-up-šu-du*
 1 tóg [*x-w*] *a-šu-nu*
- 60 1 tóg [...] ^r*x*¹-*bu-ul-^rx*¹
 1 tóg [...] ^r*x*¹-*ta-am-^rx*¹[.....]
 1 tóg [...] *a-bi-tu-ni*
 1 tóg [...] ^m*tu-ri-šu*
 1 tóg ^m*I-wa-da-ta-e*
- 65 [1 tóg] ^m*ba-ba-an-di-ki*
 [1 tóg 1 gú.u]d.du.a ^m*ša-at-ti-da*
 [...] ^m*i-bi-sa-lim*
 1 tóg ^m*za-pa-ri*
 1 tóg ^m*zi-x*¹-*im*
- 70 1 tóg ^m*x x x*¹

1 túg^m[x-x]-^den.zu

1 túg^mli-ta-^fe¹

left e.

[...] ^fx¹ túg ša a li ma tu [...]

[x t]úg [x kuš.suh]úb 1 pa-ti-nu ^mpí-^fden.zu¹

75 ^f1 túg¹ ki-i[n-ni]-e

[.....]^fx¹ da ^fx¹ 14 há ^fx¹ tu

[1 túg]^fku-wa¹-ri 13 kuš.suhúb [x p]a-ti-nu

^mi-din^{-d}en.zu 3 pa-ti-nu ru-da-an-di 8 gú.è.a

1 pa-ti-nu ^mi-gi-ia

48 For the possible interpretation of the recipient as a “Gutean singer” cf. no. 132 ad 15f.

137. SH 867 (IM 62115)

7.5 × 4.9 × 2.7 cm.

(publ. Læssøe ShT, 68-70)

List of 138 oxen belonging to Kuwari: 30 assigned for plowing, 25 for wagons, 4 are in the charge of Izija in the estate (for *hurizhi* see above ad no. 9), other groups are “with” (*itti*) various named individuals, presumably tenant farmers, or in localities outside Shemshāra like Niarši (Nirši) or Šimerrini (Šimerriwe). Also oxen kept for “fattening”.

30 gu₄.há ik-ka-ru ša apin

25 gu₄.há ša ma-ia-al-ti

4 i-na hu-ri-iz-hi

a-na qa-ti ^mi-zi-ia

5 5 gu₄.há a-na qa-ti ^mta-ge-en

8 gu₄.há it-ti ^mpu-hu-še-ni

2 gu₄.há it-ti ^mú-ki-za-an

5 gu₄.há it-ti ^mka-an-na-ni

2 gu₄.há it-ti ^mú-šur-ra-ma-an-ka

10 4 gu₄.há i-na ni-a-ar-ši

8 gu₄.há i-na ši-me-er-ri-ni^{ki}

21 gu₄.há ša na-am-ra-tim

19 gu₄.há it-ti ^ma-di-^fia¹ nagar

5 g[u₄.há.....]

15 šu.nigin me-at 30 ú 8 gu₄

ša ^mku-wa-ri

2 For *majaltum*, probably a kind of wagon, see CAD M1, 117a.

15 See for this line note to no. 127.

138. SH 869 (IM 62116)

4.8 × 4.1 × 2.1 cm:

Note of 70 garments, 15 coats, and 19 bands, which have been assigned for issues.

13 túg.há sig₅.ga

57 túg.há ti-ir-de-nu

4 gú.è.[a] sig₅.ga

10 gú.è.a [t]i-ir-de-nu

5 8 pa-ti-nu sig₅.ga

11 pa-ti-nu [i]-ir-de-nu

space

šu.nigin 70 túg.há 15 gú.è.a

19 pa-ti-nu ša ip-pa-aq-du

139. SH 871 (AS)

(1.8 × 4.0 × 1.8) cm.

Fragment from left corner of tablet; only beginning of last line on obv. preserved (26 udu [...]) while l.e. and upper rev. vacant – not copied.

140. SH 889 (IM 62129)

10.0 × 5.2 × 2.6 cm.

Large, very badly preserved list of items issued. The proposed reconstruction of the *inūma* clause on the l.e. – “when the Lullu swore” – is tentative, but has a measure of historical probability in view of several references in SH letters to projected treaties with Lulleans (see SH 812 and 827, and specifically SH 888).

obv. worthless

- l.e. ʿ1 túg¹ ʿš a¹-at-ti-d[a] i-nu-ma
 [lu-u]l-[l]u ʿit-mu¹
 rev. [1 x] a-na mte-en-tu-ri
 20' 1 [x] a-na mi-din-de[n.z]u
 1 [x] a-na miš-me-ia-ri
 [1 x] a-na maš-na-t[e]-ki

rest mostly illeg.: issues of gír and giš.sig

141. SH 893 (IM 62131)

6.6 × 5.0 × 2.6 cm.

Almost completely illegible tablet only inscribed on obv.; list of issues of garments. In 1. 10 perhaps [1 túg nu-ú]r²-dutu.

142. SH 897 (IM 62132)

9.9 × 5.6 × 2.8 cm.

List of metal vessels, garments, weapons, etc. issued to individuals.

- 1 na-ši-nu m^rza-zi-ia¹
 1 pa-ka-ar-ti-nu mba-ba-an-di-ki
 1 na-ši-nu ma-ra-za-an
 1 gal zabar mšar-ri-ia
 5 1 túg 2 na-ši-nu 1 giš.igi.ka[k] ma-m[ur]-eš₄-tár
 1 kug.gi 1 né-em-se-tu mki-zi-ma-an
 1 giš.šuk[ur] mbu-úr-na-ta-[r]i[?]
 1 gal zabar 1 ʿgír¹ mew-ri-a-tal
 1 gal zabar mku-wa-ri
 10 1 na-ši-nu 1 gal kug.babbar m^rša-x-x-x¹
 1 giš.tukul mku-[x (x)]-tu
 1 giš.sig [m]^rden.zu-x x¹[.....]
 1 na-ši-nu [x x] ʿx¹ [x x] ʿx¹
 [x] na-ši-nu ʿ1 gal zabar¹ 1 kug.gi
 15 ša iG-ʿx¹[(...)]
 [1 na]-ši-nu mal-ti-pa-nu
 1 [ga]l zabar m^rx¹-še-za-[x]
 1 giš.igi<kak> mli-iz-[.....]

- 4 q[ú-u]r-[pí-sú] m^rle-el-ʿx¹
 20 1 na-ši-nu [m]^rda-x-x-za¹-[...]
 1 na-ši-nu [m]^rzi-ʿx-x-x¹
 1 túg 2 pa-ka-ar-[ti-nu....]
 m^ram -[.....]
 ʿ1¹ túg ʿx x x¹ [.....]
 25 [.....x n]a-ši-nu ma-[.....]
 1 t[úg x] gal kug.babbar 1 hur kug.babbar
 m^rx¹[.....]
 1 t[úg 1 gal z]abar 1 ma-aš-qa-al-t[u]
 1 [x 1 na-]ši-nu ʿx¹ zabar 1 [š]i-ni-tu-[aš-hu]
 m^rú-wa-an-di-ib
 30 1 [n]a-ši-nu ʿx x x x x¹
 1 na-ši-nu 1 kug.gi m^rti-ir-me-še-en-ni
 [1 n]a-ši-nu mza-zi-ia
 [1 n]a-ši-nu mi-ri-ba-AN
 1 na-ši-nu mir-ka-ti-ʿe¹
 35 1 na-ši-nu m^rx¹-zi-ša-ʿx¹
 1 na-ši-nu ma-hi-ia
 20 kug.babbar ma-ú-ša-hi-ʿx¹
 1 gal kug.babbar [m]^rza-zi-i[a]
 1 túg 1 na-ši-nu [x] gal zabar mša-ʿam¹-ši-aš-
 \-du-e
 40 1 na-ši-nu mna-ni-ip-šar-ʿri¹
 šu.nigin 48 na-š[i-n]u ʿ22²1 tú[g.h]á
 44 gal zabar 11 ʿx x x¹
 6 gú.è.a 5 hur ku[g.bab]bar
 4 qú-ur-[p]í-sú 3 gír
 45 ʿ8¹ giš.ʿx¹ 5 ʿgiš.igi.<kak>(?)¹

1 Name at end of line reads thus (coll.).

143. SH 901 (AS)

3.7 × 4.2 × 1.7 cm, dark brown.

Issues of našinnu-vessels to various individuals.

2 lines broken

4¹ n[a]-š[i]-n[u a-n]a m^d[a-....]

6 n[a]-š[i]-nu a-n[a.....]

5 13 n a-š i-nu a-na ʿqa-ti¹ m[....]ʿx (x)¹

30 na-ši-nu a-na qa-ti m[m^e-š]a-ku-li

ʿ2¹ na-ši-nu a-na La-ta-e

144. SH 902 (IM 62134)

2.4 × 2.7 × 1.0 cm.

Note of items given to Bēlū, to Šipu-šarri, and to Kunšaki (see the comments to no. 110 above).

[....]ʿx¹ a-na bē-e-l-ʿ[ī]

ʿx¹ kuš.ʿsuhúb¹ mAN-a-sú a-na ši-pu-lug[al]

[x+]1 túg.há ša lugal a-na ku-un-ša-ki

145. SH 903 (AS)

(4.8 × 3.0) × 2.1 cm, dark brown.

Fragment from upper right corner of tablet. List of items given to various people.

[....]ʿx¹ 1 ru-qú ša ʿkug.gi¹

[a-na lugal ša ʿ]u-ul-li

[....ti-ir-w]e-en-še-ni m^{ma}-ʿšu-tu¹

[.....](-) ú-ku-ul-la-si

5 [.....]ʿx hu¹-ba-ʿx¹

[.....]ʿx¹-ru-nu

[.....]-mi-nu-ni

[.....-b]i-ir-ku-ʿx¹

[.....] ú-zi-ʿx¹[...]

10 [.....] ʿx x¹

break

on lower rev.:

[.....]ʿx¹-ri-e

146. SH 923 (AS)

6.4 × 4.1 × 2.0 cm, black and reddish.

List of garments, vessels, rings, and weapons given to various individuals. Photo p. 164.

1 t[úg.....-t]u-ur

1 ʿx¹ [(x x)] ʿa-na¹ [.....]-ni

1 [x] a-na m^{ha}-[ši-ip-t]e-šu-up dumu ši-ip-ri

[1 túg] 1 ru-qú a-na [lugal ša ʿ]u-ul-ʿli¹

5 1 túg ša ši-ip-šar-ʿ[ī] a-na m^ú-[x x]ʿx¹

1 túg ša ši-ip-šar-ʿ[ī] a-)na m^{ku}-[x x x]

√a-na m^xʿx¹[(x (x))] ʿx x¹

2 gú.ud a-na ʿx¹-[x]-ri-[...]ʿx x¹

1 gú.ud ša lugal a-n[a m]ʿa¹-wa-i [a]

1 [hur kug.]babbar 3 a-n[a x]-ʿx¹-ʿ[ī]i.....]

1 line vac.

10 1 [....] ʿx x¹ [.....]

1 [n]é-e[m-se]-tu a-na qa-[ti.....]

1 giš.ʿtukul a¹-[na] qa-ti m^š[i-.....]

20 qú-ur-[pí-sú] a-na qa-ti mⁿⁱ-be-er

2 qú-ur-[pí-sú] a-na qa-ti mⁱ-din^den.z[u]

15 1 na-ši-nu a-na qa-t[ī]i.....]

1 na-ši-nu a-na qa-ti m[.....]

1 na-ši-nu a-n [a qa-ti.....]

1 na-ši-nu [.....]

m^{ka}-[x]-tu-[x x]

20 1 giš.da.da a -[n]a m^{ku}-ud-ʿ[ā]-ʿe¹

1 giš.sig a-na m^{za}-zi-ia

14 giš.ʿtukul a¹-n[a q]a-ti m^{na}-ga-a[r-du-uk]

Indices

(Names/presumed names of which only conjectural signs/traces of signs or middle/end portions remain, and which cannot be restored, are not included)

A. Geographical Names

A-...

33, 3: a-[.....]

44, 9: a-^rx x^l[x][(...)]

Ameršu

33, 8: a-me-er-ši

44, 10: a-me-cr-še

45, 8: a-m[e]-er-šu

Arraja

17, 1: ar-ra-a^{ki}23, 5: ^rar-ra-e²¹

Arraphum

92, 2'f : dumu šipri ar-r[a]-/ap-hi

118, 3 : (dumu šipri) ša ar-ra-ap-hi

133, 17: (^dim) [š]a ar-ra-ap-[hi-i]m^[ki]

Ašanum

11, 9: (PN) ša a-ša-nim

Awarac(a-wa-ra-e)

24, 6; 37, 3; 48, 3; 98, 10

Babylon

11, 5 : (dumu šipri) ba-bi-la-ji

16: (do.) ba-ab-đingir^{ki}

Bikmannašši

45, 4: bi-ik-ma-an-na-aš-ši^{ki}

Bue (bu-e)

4, 1; 24, 4; 33, 9; 37, 2; 98, 4

111, 10 (bu-e^{ki})

Burulli(we) (bu-ru-ul-li-we)

25, 2 (b.^{ki}); 41, 7; 42, 6; 43, 6111, 3: kisima l[ú b]u-ru-li^{ki}

Elu (e-lu)

4, 8; 14, 6; 37, ps. (1: e-lu^{ki})

42, 12; 108, 1, 2

Erina (e-ri-na)

8, 2 ; 12, 2; 16, 3

25, 13: e-r[i-n]a^{ki}

28, 12 (?); 42, 8

Gizzuttam(GN?)

39, 2: gi-iz-zu-tam?

Habarū

24, 2, 10: ha-ba-ru

Hišhina (hi-iš-hi-na)

26, 4; 45, 5: hi-iš-hi-na^{ki}

Huruweni

44, 11: hu-ru-we-^rni^{ki}

Kagamkura

2, 2: ka-ga-am-ku-ra^{ki}

Karri

44, 12: ša ka-^rar-ri^l45, 7: ka-ar-ri^{ki}

Ki-....

33, 4: ki-[....]

Kidu-...lu

26, 6: ki-^rdu^l-[x]-lu

Kilijawe

44, 7: ^rki-li-ia-we^l45, 6: ki-li-ia-we^{ki}

Kiwa

25, 10: ki-wa

- Kiziqanu 137, 10: (oxen ina) ni-a-ar-ši
- 25, 8: ki-¹zi¹-qa-nu
- Lullum 11, 22: (PN) lu-ul-lu
116, 3: lugal ša lu-li-im
128, 4: lugal ša lu-ul-li
133, 12: lugal ša [lu-ul-li]
134, 24: [...] ana lu-ul-li
140, 18' (?)
145, 2: [...lugal ša l]u-ul-li
146, 4: [lugal ša l]u-ul-li
- Marambi 110, 4 : (?)
124, 8: 1 (túg) ša ma-ra-am-bi
132, 4: ma-ra<-am>-bi
136, 17, 18: 1 túg ša ma-ra-am-bi
- mātuju 46, 26, 27: (nangarim ša) ma-tu-
ji (^{ki1})
50, 17': munus ma-tu-ju^{ki}
54, 44: (lú.meš) ma-tu-ju^{ki1}
74, 7': (PN?) ma-tu-ju
- Nakabbiniwe (na-k/ga-ab-bi-ni-we)
2, 13: na-ga-pa-ni-we; 25, ps.
33, ps.; 41, 2, 6; 42, 3; 43, 15; 44, 5
60, 2; 67, 5f; 98, ps.; 108, 3
- Našahum 21, 2: (PN) ša na-ša-hi-im
- Naššuwe 26, 5: na-aš-šu-we
- Ninuwa 128, 9: ¹eš₄-tár ša ni-nu-wa¹
- Nirši 124, 9: 1 (túg) ša ni-ir-ši
136, 15, 16: 1 túg ša ni-ir-ši
- Padunan 11, 7: (PN) ša pa-du-na-an
- Parališu 111, 5: ¹pa-ra¹-li-¹šu¹
- Qutû 5, 5: 4 lú.meš ša qú-ti-i
136, 48: qú-ti-im [n]a-ri
- Risima-...(?) 44, 13: ri-¹si-ma-x-ni¹
92, 3: ¹ri-si¹-ma-¹x¹[x]ki
- Šallurrašwe(ša-al-lu-ur-ra-aš-we)
4, 11; 12, 1: <<x-ra-aš-we>>
38, 1, 3; 39, 1, 3
- Šegibbi 20, 3: še-gi-ib-bi
- Šimerrini 111, 6: ši-me-ri-n[^{ki1}]
137, 11: (oxen ina) ši-me-er-
ri-ni^{ki}
- Šimerriwe (ši-me-er-ri-we)
4, 5; 10, 2; 24, ps.; 25, ps.; 33, ps.
37, 1; 41, 1, 5; 42, ps.; 79, 6f; 80, 5
88, ps.
- Šunewehum 22, 1: 1munus ša šu-ni-we-hi-im
- Šušarra(šu-šar-ra-a)
4, 7 ; 12, 5: šu-šar-ra^{ki} ekallum
14, 7; 111, 2: šu-šar-ra-a^{ki}
- Šutanu (GN?) 39, 4: šu-ta-nu
- Tarnine(?) 118, 4: ta-ar-ni-ne^{ki1}
- Tiwe 45, 9: ti-we

Tupkikku (tu-up-ki-ik-ku^{ki})
 10, 3; 25, 4; 43, 8; 45, 1
 98, 2; 111, 8: tu<-up>-ki-ik-ki

Tudmaššu
 26, 2: tu-ud-ma-aš-še
 42, 4: tu-ud-ma-aš-š[e...]
 43, 3: tu-ud-ma-aš-šu^{ki}
 45, 3: tu-ud-ma-aš-šu^{ki}
 48, 1: tu-^fx x x¹
 111, 9: tu-ud-ma-aš-ši

Tuši-.....(GN?)
 126, 7: tu-š[i?-.....]

Tutiwe(?)
 44, 3: ^ftu-ti-we¹

Ugaza-...(?)
 44, 6: ú-ga-za-^fx¹

Unariš(GN?)
 136, 12: ^mbe-ru-tum [š]a ú-
 na-ri-^fiš²¹

Urhi
 5, 21: ú-r-hi^{ki}

Utûm
 111, 16: šābum ša ú-te-em

Waršu
 4, 2: wa-ar-šu
 12, 3: wa-ar-še
 16, 2: wa-a[r-šu]
 26, 3: wa-ar-še
 33, 6, 7: wa-ar-ši
 43, 5: wa-ar-šu^{ki}
 45, 2: wa-ar-šu^{ki}
 98, 8: wa-^far¹-šu
 111, 4: PA-ar-ši^{ki}

...-niri
 98, 6: [x x]-ni-ri

B. Personal Names

A-...
 142, 25: a-[...]

Ab-.....
 46, 25': ab-^fx¹[...]

Abija
 5,1, 15: a-bi-ia

Abiza
 135, 26: a-bi-za

Addija
 46, 33': ad-di-ia

Adija
 137, 13: a-di-ja (nagar)

Agamtim
 1, 15: a-ga-am-t[im]

Agapše
 5, 10, 14: a-ga-ap-še

Agašturum
 1, 19: a-ga-aš-tu-rum
 51, 3: a-ga-aš-tu-r[um]
 108, 4: a-ka-aš-tu-ru

Agija
 5, 4, 17: a-gi-ia

AHARradari
 1, 17, 20: a-HAR-ra-da-ri

Ahija
 142, 36: a-hi-ia

Ajammu-...
 132, 6: a-ia-am-m[u-...]

Ajizza
 5, 8: a-i-iz-za

Akap-tahi (a-kap-ta-hi)
 46, 21; 69, 22'; 74, 5'

Akap-tukki	46, 20: a-kap-tu-uk-ki	Attama	20, 2: at-ta- ^f ma [?]
Al-...	132, 30: al- ^f x ¹ -[...]	Attaru	46, 3: at-ta-ru
	136, 27: a[l-.....]	Au'šahi-...(?)	142, 37: a-ú-ša-hi- ^f x ¹
Alanzadae	46, 22: a-la-an-za-da-e	Awa-...-ta	136, 2: a-wa- ^f x ¹ [...]-ta
Alipani-...	136, 38: a-li-pa-n[i-...]	Awaja (a-wa-ia)	127, 4; 135, 21: (dumu.mf) a.
Altipanu (al-ti-pa-nu)	136, 53; 142, 16		136, 52; 146, 8
Am-...	142, 23: am-[...]	Awaku (a-wa-ku)	74, 3'; 122, 1
Ammina	1, 5: am-mi-na	Awa-azi	1, 9: a-wa-a-zi
Amur-Ištar (a-mur-eš ₄ -tár)	11, 17: dam A.; 122, 3; 123, 6'	Awiš-abi	74, 2': a- ^f wi ¹ -iš-a- ^f bi ¹
	128, 1; 142, 5	Azija	117, 3: a-zi-ia
Ana-kibal	46, 6: a-na-ki-ba-al	Baban	11, 6: ba-ba-an
Anupu-...	131, 2': a-nu-pu- ^f x ¹ [...]	Babandiki (ba-ba-an-di-ki)	133, 9
Appu-bandi	127, 6: ap-pu-ba-an-di		136, 65
Arazan	142, 3: a-ra-za-an		142, 2
Ardimmatu	15, 6: mí ar-di-im-ma-tu	Babli-.....	92, 6: ^f ba ¹ -ab-li- ^f x x ¹ -ri
Ari-...	51, 4: ^f a-ri-x-x ¹	Bel-...	136, 19: be- ^f el ¹ -[...] ^f x x ¹
	131, 3': a-ri-[...]	Beldi	46, 34': be-el-di
Ašakû	50, 19': a-ša-ku-ú	(B/bēlti see index of DN)	
Ašnateki	140, 22': aš-na-[t]e-ki		

- Benši (bé-en-ši)
 69,14': bé-en-<<x>>-ʿši[?]
 122, 4; 130, 4; 132, 14: be-en-ši
 cf. Pinzi
- Berutum
 136, 12: ^mbe-ru-tum [š]a ú-na-ri-ʿiš[?]
- Bi-...
 136, 9: bi-ʿx¹-nu-am-ʿx¹
- Bi-x-ma-teri
 121, 4: bi-[x]-ma-te-ri
- Bikija
 11, 12: šeš bi-ki-ia
- Bini-Šakim
 132, 27: dumu-ša-ki-im
- Biraja
 136, 15: bi-ra-a-ia
- Bittun
 5, 2: bi-it-tu-un
- Bugiri (bu-gi-ri)
 5, 18, 19; 19, 4
- Bulu-kudrae
 136, 11, 16: bu-lu-ku-ud-ra-e
- Būnu-Addu
 135, 22: bu-nu-ʿ^dim¹
- Burna-tari
 142, 7: bu-úr-na-ta-[r]i?
- Da-...-za-...
 142, 20: ʿda-x-x-za¹-[...]
- Du'a-...
 133, 4: du-a-[...]
- Dup(ki?)-šarri
 1, 21: du-up<-ki?>-lugal
- E-...
 136, 28: e-[...]
- Ebi-unni
 11, 21: e-bi-ú-un-ni (lullu)
- Elakka
 2, 11: e-la-ak-ka
- Elaku
 135, 12: ʿe-la¹-ku
- E-.....Adad
 86, 2: e-ʿx x¹-^dim
- Ewri-atal
 142, 8: ew-ri-a-tal
- Guliki
 109, 17: gu-li-ki
- GUL-simi
 132, 25: GUL-simi
- Ha-...
 46, 24': ha-ʿx¹[...]
 136, 31: ha-[...]
- Halšarae
 5, 6: haš-ša-ra-e
- Halu
 69, 36': ha-lu
- Halu-wata
 69, 44': ha-lu-wa-ta
- Hamar-atal
 69, 43': ha-ma-ar-a-ʿtal¹
- Hame
 117, 1: ha-me
- Hanija
 1, 3: ha-ni-ia
- Hašija (ha-ši-ia)
 1, 4; 15, 8; 54, 19; 69, 21'
- Hašiba-x
 69, 30': ha-ši-ba-ʿx¹
- Hašip-ma-...
 134, 11: ha-ši-ip-ma-ʿx-x¹

Hašip-Teššup (ha-ši-ip-te-šu-up)	Igija
19, 1: ha-ši-ip-te-eš-šu-up	136, 79: i-gi- ^f ia ¹
46, 11: do. ; 74, 1' ; 116, 1	Ilanzu
121, 2, 8; 125, 2; 129, 2	50, 16': i-la-an-zu
133, 1: ha-š[i-ip-te-šu-up]	Ilī-Adad (ī-lī- ^d im)
146, 3: ha-[ši-ip-t]e-šu-up dumu	1, 1; 50, 8'
šipri	Ilī-asû (AN-a-sû)
Hatni-Šamaš	109, 10; 123, 1'; 144, 2
136, 5: ^f ha-at ¹ -ni- ^d utu	Ili-simi
Hiari (?)	1, 8: ì-lí-si-mi
74, 7': [..(-)]hi-a-ri	Ilu
Hilhi-...iz	118, 9: i-lu
127, 2: hi-il-hi- ^f x (x) ¹ -iz	Imdi-...
Hillura (hi-il-lu-ra)	69, 15': im-di- ^f x x ¹ [(..)]
1, 22; 50, 9'; 54, 22	Innabatum
Hiru	46, 35': in-na-ba-tum
1, 18: hi-ru	Iriba-AN
Hizzutta	142, 33: i-ri-ba -an
126, 3: hi- ^f zu-ta ¹	Iri-...
130, 14: hi-zu-ut-[t]a	136, 49: i-ri- ^f x ¹ [.....]
Hušu-...	Irkatie (ir-ka-ti-e)
128, 7: hu- ^f šu x x ¹	136, 41; 142, 34
133, 15: inūma hu-šu- ^f x ¹ [....]	Išija
Hutina	50, 18': dumu i-ši- ^f ia ¹
1, 16	Išip-halu
Ibal-pî-El	136, 55: i-ši-ip-ha-lu
134, 10: i-ba-al-pî-el	Išme-iari
Ibbi-salim	140, 21': iš-me-ia-ri
136, 35, 67: i-bi-sa-lim	Iššuma-..
Ibni-Adad	46, 27': iš-šu-ma-[...]
128, 5: ib-ni- ^d im	Ištandu
Ibnija	1, 12: iš-ta-an-du
15, 7: ib-ni-ia	Iti-....
Idin-Sîn (i-din- ^d en.zu)	92, 1': i-ti- ^f x x ¹ (messenger from
132, 22; 136, 78; 140, 20'; 146, 14	Arrapha)

Iwadatae		Kap-ulu	
136, 64: i-wa-da-ta-e		8, 3: ka-ap-ú-lu	
Izida?-...		Kašmenki	
136, 34: i-zi-d[a ² -.....]		46, 30': ka-aš-me-en-ki	
Izija		Katamri	
137, 4: i-zi-ia		132, 18: ka-ta-am-ri	
Izzip-šenni		Kelhuru	
54, 54: iz-[z]i-ip-še-en-ni		69, 28': ke-el-hu-ru	
I-x-ri		Kelli	
128, 3		11, 13: ke-el-li	
Ja-..		(k/Keltuhul, probably title)	
132, 1: ia-[...]		46, 23: ke-el-tu-hu-ul	
Ja'aja		Kelturim	
1, 2: ia-a-ia		46, 30: ke-el-tu-ri-im	
Jakūn-El		Kelluggi	
29, 2: 'ia ¹ -ku-un-AN		69, 38': [k]e-el-lu-ug-gi	
Jarim-...		Kiggu	
46, 28: [...i]a-ri-im- ^f x x ¹		46, 19: [...k]i-ig-gu	
Jasija		Kinnē	
135, 11: 'ia-si-ia ¹		136, 75: ki-i[n-ni]-e	
Kabija (ka-bi-ia)		Kinnu	
46, 10; 132, 28: dumu ^m k.		69, 42': 'ki ¹ -in-nu	
Kabituni		Kirzu(?)	
136, 62 [(...) k]a-bi-tu-ni		50, 5': k[i ²]-ir-zu ²	
Kak-...		Kiwa-...	
133, 2: ka-a[k-...]		74, 4': ki- ^f wa-x ¹	
Kakme		Kizija	
118, 5: ka-ak-me		1, 11: ki-zi-ia	
Kamazi		Kizima	
124, 10: ka-ma-zi		111, 3: ki-si-ma lú Burulli	
Kanis		121, 5: ki-zi- ^f ma ¹	
5, 12: ka-ni-is		125, 7: ki-zi-ma	
Kannani		142, 6: ki-zi-ma-an	
137, 8: ka-an-na-ni		Kizzuri	
Kabkab (kab-kab)		69, 29': ki-iz-zu-ri	
1, 6; 11, 3; 51, 2; 86, 4			

Ku-...-tu	Latae
142, 11: ku-[x (x)]-tu	143, 7: la-ta-e
Kubi (ku-bi)	Lel-...
121, 9; 125, 3	142, 19: le-el- ^l x ^l
Kubija (ku-bi-ia)	Likri
16, 4	121, 6: li-ik-ri
Kudrae (ku-ud-ra-e)	Litae
146, 20	128, 8: ^l li-ta-e ^l
Kudru-...	136, 39, 72: li-ta- ^l e ^l
133, 3: ku-ud-ru-[...]	Liz-...
Kuhu-arrama...	142, 18: li-iz-[...]
124, 6: ku-hu-ar-ra-ma- ^l x ^l	Lullu
Kularum	5, 7: lu-ul-lu
111, 11: ku-la-r[u(-um)]	Mama..ta
Kumur-atte	69, 13': ma-ma- ^l x ^l -ta
111, 7: ku-mu-ur-a-at-t[e]	Mamuratu
Kunšaki	15, 1: mí ma-mu-ra-tu
144, 3: ku-un-ša-ki	Mamurhup(...)
Kunšeja	69, 26': ma-mu-ur-hu-up[(...)]
11, 2: ku-un-še-ia	Manarae
Kurašānu(m)	50, 21': ma-na-ra- ^l e ^l
109, 11: k[u-ra-š]a-nu	Mašmaki(PN?)
132, 8: ku-ra-ša-ni	134, 21: ma-aš-ma-k[i]
Kutara-...	Mašutu
136, 36: ku-ta-r[a-...]	145, 3: ma- ^l šu-tu ^l
Kuwari (always written ku-wa-ri)	Mennate
7, 3; 69, 14''; 109, 6, 10, 12, 14, 16	46, 36': me-en-na-te
113, 2, 4; 128, 5, 8; 135, 19, 2	Menne
136, 77; 137, 16; 142, 9	46, 5: me-en-ne
Kuzuh-ewri	Menni
11, 18: ku-zu-uh-ew-ri	69, 2''': me-en-ni
Kunzu	Merinišu-...
1, 10: ku-un-zu	135, 10: me- ^l ri-ni-šu-x ^l
Kuzzu	Mesakda
1, 14: ku-uz-zu	136, 54: me-sa-ak-da

- Mešakulli
 116, 2: me-ša-ku-li
 135, 15: [me-š]a-ku-li
 136, 45: me-ša-ku-ul-li
 143, 6: m[e-š]a-ku-li
- Mešatak
 136, 47: me-ša-ta-ak
- Metaškum
 46, 2: me-^fta¹-áš-kum
- Minidija
 5, 16: mi-ni-di-ia
- Mu-...
 136, 14 mu-^fx-ir-zi¹[x]
- Mušālišu
 120, 2, 4: mu-ša-li-šu
- Mušum-atal (mu-šum-a-tal)
 121, 3; 125, 5
- Mutu-manda(?)
 123, 5': mu-^ftu-ma-an-/da¹
- Na(?)-....
 114, 2 dumu ^mn[a²-x-x]
- Na-...-di
 136, 3: na-[...]-di
- Nabi-Šamaš
 69, 4'': na-bi-^dutu
- Nagadu
 18, 2: na-ga-du
- Nagarduk (na-ga-ar-du-uk)
 121, 1; 136, 23
 146, 22: na-ga-a[r-du-uk]
- Na'iggu
 46, 7: na-ig-gu
- Nanip-šarri
 142, 40: na-ni-ip-šar-^fri¹
- Natupšudu (na-tu-up-šu-du)
 54, 33; 132, 24; 135, 18; 136, 58
- Nawaja
 87, I 11': ^fna-wa-a-ia¹
- Nazzagu
 69, 35': na-^faz¹-za-gu
- Nelli
 69, 3'': ne-e-el-li
- Nenna
 74, 8': [...n]i-en-na
- Niber
 146, 13: ni-be-er
- NI-NI-si-mi
 see Ili-simi
- Nuhniš
 46, 33': nu-uh-ni-iš
- Nuhše
 50, 10': nu-uh-še
- Nupur-ewri (nu-pu-ur-ew-ri)
 132, 19; 134, 23; 136, 56
- Nurakuta
 135, 23: nu-ra-ku-^fta¹
- Nūr-Šamaš (nu-úr-^dutu)
 132, 21; 136, 24; 141, 10 (?)
- Nuzaku
 46, 8: nu-za-ku
- Pa-...
 132, 31: pa-[...]
- Paka-El
 136, 6: pa-ka-il
- Paki-abija(?)
 46, 29': pa-ki-a-bi-i[a]
- Panduzi
 11, 14: pa-an-du-zi
- Pinzi (cf. Beṣi)
 69, 23': pi-^fin-zi¹
- Pī-Sîn
 136, 74: pī-^fden.zu¹

Pu-....-na

50, 12': pu-^fx x x¹-na

Puhmu-šarlaš

15, 4: pu-uh-mu-šar-la-aš

Puhuše

5, 13: pu-hu-še

Puhu-šenni

137, 6: pu-hu-še-ni

Pušephi

52, 11, 22: pu-še-ep-hi

Qama-AN

92, 3': qa-^fma-an¹

Rudandi (ru-da-an-di)

128, 2; 133, 6: ru-d[a-an-di]

134, 1: ru-d[a-an-di]; 135, 9

136, 1, 40 (dam r.), 78

Samsi-malik (sa-am-si-ma-lik)

109, 16; 136, 13

Šîn-...

142, 12: ^fden.zu-x x¹

Ša-...

142, 10: ^fša-x-x-x¹

Šappu-...

136, 50: ša-ap-pu-[...]

Šakim

135, 28: ša-ki-im [(...)]

Šamaš-...

46, 26': ^dutu-^fx¹[...]

Šamaš-idi

46, 25: ^dutu-i-di

Šamaš-ita-...

46, 24: ^dutu-i-ta-^fx¹

Šamaš-magir

86, 1: ^dutu-ma-gi-ir

Šamaš-šarri

46, 29: ^dutu-šar-ri

Šamri

132, 20: ša-am-ri

Šamši-ašdue

142, 37: ša-^fam¹-ši-aš-du-e

Šani-...

133, 13: ša-n[i?]-...

Šarnida

131, 7': šar-ni-[da]

Šarram-ušur(lugal-ú-šur)

123, 2'; 134, 22

Šarrip-atal(?)

105, 2: ^fšar-ri-ip¹-a-tal

Šarrija

142, 4: šar-ri-ia

Šâti

52, 15, 23: ša-a-ti

Šattida (ša-at-ti-da)

123, 3'; 136, 66; 140, 17'

Ša'u

50, 11': ša-ú

Šehran-šenni

11, 8: še-eh-ra-an-še-ni

Šeni-...

131, 5': še-ni-[...]

Šepullu

46, 1: še-pu-ul-lu

Šilu

44, 4: ^fši-lu¹

Šinin-šali

136, 57: ši-ni-en-ša-li

Šipdi

46, 9: š[i]-ip-di

- Šip(u)-šarri
 132, 8: [..š]i-pu-^flugal¹
 144, 2: ši-pu-lug[al]
 146, 5, 6 : ši-ip-šar-r[i]
- Šiqlānu
 17, 2: ši-iq-la-nu
- Šu-...
 18, 1: mí šu-[x]-^fx x¹
- Šuban
 134, 9: šu-ba-an
- Šubija
 50, 20': šu-bi-^fia¹
- Šuhhar-...
 46, 32': šu-uh-ha-ar-^fx¹
- Šūmšu-līter
 43, 16: šu-um-šu-^fli¹-ter
 65, 8
- Šumura(PN?)
 52, 8: šu-[m]u-ra, 24: lú ša šu-
 mu-ra
 126, 11: [...]^fx-mu¹-ra (?)
- Šunakranu
 119, 4: šu-^fna-ak-ra¹-nu
 136, 37: šu-na-ak-ra-[nu]
- Šuqā
 22, 2: šu-qa-a
- Šušenna
 50, 13': ^fšu¹-še-en-na
- Ta-...
 46, 22': ta-[...]
 132, 3: ta-^fx¹[...]
- Tagen
 137, 5: ta-ge-en
- Ta-k[a-...]
 132, 10
- Taka-...
 135, 30: ta-ka-^fx¹[.....]
- Takrišû
 132, 26: ta-ak-ri-šu-ú
- Talpu-šarri
 105, 1: ta-al-pu-šar-ri
- Tarinam
 109, 14: ta-ri-nam
- Tarip-...
 69, 12': ta-^fri-ip¹-[...]
- Taru-...
 136, 26: ta-ru-[x x]^fx¹
- Taši-...
 129, 13: ta-ši-[...]
- Tedija
 1, 13: te-di-ia
- Teheššuka(?)
 69, 25': te-he-eš-^fšu²-ka²¹
- Tenturi
 140, 19': te-en-tu-ri
- Ter-....
 134, 2: ^fte-er-x¹-nu
- Teri-...
 69, 20': te-ri-[...]
- Ternae
 35, 2: ter-na-e; 46, 4: te-er-na-^fe¹
- Teššup-ewri
 69, 37': te-eš-šu-^fup¹-ew-ri
- Tiriya
 122, 5: ti-ri-ia
 129, 8: ^fti¹-ri¹?-ia
- Tirme-šenni
 142, 31: ti-ir-me-še-en-ni
 145, 3: [...ti-ir-w]e-en-še-ni

Tudija	11, 20: tu-di-ia	Ullutta	5, 11: ul-lu-ut-ta
Tu-iz-kiaše	2, 4, 6: tu-IZ-ki-a-še	Ulmur-dahi	50, 14': ul-mu-ur- ^f da-hi ¹
Tuhšim	135, 29: tu-uh-ši-im	Unap-....	69, 19': ú-na-a[p-....]
Tulpí	2, 9: tu-ul-pí	Unap-šarri	135, 17: ú-n[a-a]p-šar-ri
Tupati	135, 13: tu-pa-ti	Uru-tadni	21, 1: ú-ru-ta-ad-ni
Turiša	15, 5: tu-ri-ša	Ušur-ramanka	137, 9: ú-šur-ra-ma-an-ka
Turišu	136, 63: tu-ri-šu [(...)]	Uštap-tup/kki	29, 3: ^f uš ¹ -tap-tu-up-ki
Turše	50, 7': tu- ^f ur-še ¹	135, 24: úš-tap-tu-u[k-k]i	Uštan-šarri
Turu-...	92, 5: tu- ^f ru-x x ¹ [x] ^f x ¹	11, 1: uš-ta-an-šar-ri	Uwahušu
Turuše	51, 1: t[u]-ru-še	136, 42: ú-wa-hu-šu	Uwandib (ú-wa-an-di-ib)
Tutikanu	15, 3: tu-ti-ka-nu	129, 12; 132, 17; 142, 29	Uzaka
U-...	132, 29: ú- ^f x ¹ [...]	135, 20: ú-za-ka	Uzurramulaš
	146, 5: ú-[x x] ^f x x ¹		5, 22: ú-zur-ra-mu-la-aš
Ubkurum	1, 25: ub-ku-rum	Wa-...	110, 5: PI- ^f x x x ¹ -bi
Ugur-atal	5, 3: ú-gur-a-tal	Wandib-šenni	69, 31': wa-an-di-ib-še-en-ni
Ukizan	137, 7: ú-ki-za-an	Warate	69, 27': wa-ra-te
Ukullasi(?)	145, 4: [...](-)ú-ku-ul-la-si	Warikiba (wa-ri-ki-ba)	1, 23; 50, 6'; 51, 12
Ullup-atal	34, 1: ul-lu-up-a-tal	Wašhelpu	46, 28': wa-aš-he-el-p[u(...)]

Wašu-...		Zuzu	
133, 8: wa-šu-[...]		57, 4: ¹ zu-uz-zu ¹	
Za-...		134, 26: zu-zu	
132, 4: za-[...]		...-adni-Šamaš	
136, 21 z[a-...]		136, 8: ¹ x x-ad ¹ -ni-d ^d utu	
Zakura-...		...-akrija	
23, 3: za-ku-ra- ¹ x x ¹		69, 32': [x]-ak-ri-ia	
Zamejari(?)		...-andi	
52, 4: ¹ za-me-a-ri ¹		69, 2'': [...-a]n- ¹ di ¹	
Zapari (za-pa-ri)		...-athuru(-...)	
133, 10: ¹ za-pa ¹ -[ri]; 134, 27		69, 1'': [...]- ¹ at ¹ -hu-r[u(-...)]	
136, 68		...-da-uri	
Zazija		69, 40': ¹ x ¹ [x]-da-ú-ri	
129, 6: ¹ za ¹ -zi- ¹ ia ¹ ?		...-di-d ^d im	
133, 7: za- ¹ zi ¹ -[ia (?)]		132, 7	
136, 4, 46, 51(?); 142, 1, 32, 38		...-dišriha	
146, 21		46, 15: [...] ¹ x ¹ -di-iš- ¹ ri ¹ -ha	
Zi-...		...-hama	
142, 21: zi- ¹ x-x-x ¹		113, 1: ¹ x ¹ [x] ¹ x ¹ -ha-ma	
136, 69: ¹ zi-x ¹ -im		...-ib-ewri	
Zidna-....		135, 16: ¹ x x ¹ -ib-ew-ri	
54, 34: zi-id-na-[.....]		...-kuli	
Zidrantie		134, 5: [...-k]u-li	
15, 2: zi-id-ra-an-ti-e		...-mija	
Zilip-šarri (zi-li-ip-šar-ri)		69, 39': ¹ x x ¹ -mi-ia	
9, 3; 34, 2		...-nipširi	
Zilija		46, 13: [...-n]i-ip-ši-ri	
131, 6': zi-li-[ia]		...-Šin	
Ziliš-ewri		136, 71:[x x]-d.en.zu	
69, 34': zi-li-eš-ew-ri		...-šarri	
Ziluša		132, 5: [...]-lugal	
118, 7: zi-lu-ša; 135, 27: zi-lu-š[a]		...-ten-....	
Zimtim(?)		69, 33': [x]-te-en- ¹ x ¹	
29, 4: zi-im- ¹ tim ¹ ?		...-wašunu	
		136, 59: [x-w]a-šu-nu	

C. Deities

Bēlet-ekallim

13, 5: ^dnin-é.gal

Bēltī (or PN?)

110, 1, 3; 144, 1

bēltum ša ikribi

13, 3, 12f: ^dnin ša 'ik-ri-bi¹

Nergal

13, 4, 11: ^dnè-iri₁₁-gal

Nin-...

62, 23: ^dni[n-....]

Šauška (Ištar)

128, 9: 'eš₄-tár ša ni-nu-wa¹

Teššup (Adad)

133, 16: ^dim ([š]a ar-ra-ap-[hi-
i]m^[ki])*idûm, Š* - p. 80*karāšum* - p. 19 n. 22*keltuhul* - p. 68*kešhi* - p. 24*kislah (=maškanum)* - p. 31f*(túg)kišihu* - p. 24*kiššānum* - p. 27*kubšum* - p. 24*kuš.suhúp* - p. 25*lugal (ša lugal)* - p. 26f*lurmû* - p. 26*majaltum* - p. 85*marišanum (gal)* - p. 25*matqutum* - p. 27*maššartum* - p. 70*mašqaltum* - p. 25*mu'arrirum* - p. 19 n. 22*našinnum* - p. 25*našmadum* - p. 25*nemsētum* - p. 25*nepārum* - p. 23*nīqum* - p. 71*nuldānum* - p. 38ff*nuldānūtum* - p. 39*nārum* - p. 82*pakartinum* - p. 25*pānam akālum* - p. 58*paqādum* - p. 22*parakkatanum* - p. 25*patinum* - p. 25*qurpisum* - p. 25*rabbūt mātīm* - p. 42*ruqqum* - p. 25*(túg)sāmum* - p. 24*(giš)sig* - p. 26*(túg)sig₅.ga* - p. 24*(giš)silà (=sūtum)* - p. 26**D. Words Discussed***agasalikkum* - p. 25*annakum* - p. 42*appānum* - p. 27*(giš)da.da* - p. 26*gal (=kāsūm?)* - p. 25*(giš)gibil* - p. 67*gír (=namšārum?)* - p. 26*gú.è.a (=nahlaptum)* - p. 24*gú.gal* - p. 27*gú.tur* - p. 27*iltuhullum* - p. 59*hanizarum* - p. 77*hašālum* - p. 60*hirhirni* - p. 27*hullum* - p. 25*hur (=šewērum?)* - p. 25*hurizu , hurizhi* - p. 60

síg - p. 24	šušmarûm - p. 25
sînum - p. 26	takakuni - p. 26
sûtum - p. 41	(túg)tardadahum - p. 24
(túg)šalmum - p. 24	tartarahhum - p. 24
šimdum - p. 27	tašiltum - p. 70
šamšum - p. 26	(túg)tirdennu - p. 24
šibûtum - p. 42	túg - p. 24f
šihli - p. 62	(giš)tukul - p. 25
(gal)šinitu-ašhu - p. 25	ummarum - p. 27
šukur (=šukurrum) - p. 26	urudu.kud.kin - p. 25f
(túg)šušinum - p. 24	

List of letters from Shemshāra published or made known

Listings of all the letters can be found in Læssøe ShT, 88-94, 1965, and 1966. Note that the latter publication provides Danish translations of most of the letters.

SH 809: L(æssøe) 1971, 199-95; L 1966, 84 (photo)	SH 874: ShT, 61-65
SH 811: L/Knudsen 1963	SH 876: ShT, 65f (quoted)
SH 812: ShT, 77-87; L 1963, pl. 15 (photo of obv.)	SH 878: ShT, 47-50
SH 813: ShT, 70 n. 57 (ll. 1-14 quoted)	SH 879: ShT, 56 (ll. 23-9 quoted)
SH 818: E(idem) 1985a, 93f (ll. 1-32 quoted)	SH 882: E 1985a, 87f (quoted)
SH 819: E 1985a, 92f (quoted)	SH 883: L 1963, (ll. 16-22 in translation)
SH 822: ShT 91 n. 67 (ll. 1-8 quoted), <i>ibid.</i> 83 (ll. 33-40 quoted)	SH 887: ShT, 37-43
SH 826: E 1985a, 92 (quoted)	SH 888: L 1985
SH 827: L 1965	SH 892: E 1985a, 103f (quoted); L 1966 (copy)
SH 828: E 1985a, 96 n. 64 (ll. 22f quoted)	SH 894: E 1985a, 96f (ll. 1-18 quoted)
SH 856: ShT, 51-3	SH 911+: E 1985a, 98f (ll. 1-36 quoted); ShT, 42 ad 1. 33f (ll. 42'f quoted)
SH 857: L 1963, 156 (ll. 5b-12 in translation)	SH 913: E 1985a, 100 (quoted)
SH 858: ShT, 66f (quoted)	SH 915: ShT, 45-47 (quoted)
SH 859+: L 1966, pl. 3 (photo), fig. 4 (copy); L 1963, 156 (ll. 3-9a in translation)	SH 917: E 1985a, 100 (quoted)
SH 861: ShT, 57f (quoted)	SH 920: ShT, 32-37
SH 868: L 1959b	SH 921: ShT, 53-55 (quoted)

To these references should be added the texts published/discussed in Læssøe/Jacobsen n.d.

Bibliographical References

Articles published in the journals *M.A.R.I.* (= *MARI Annales de Recherches interdisciplinaires*, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations. Paris 1982-), and *N.A.B.U.* (= *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*, Paris 1987-).

- AAN E. Cassin et J.-J. Glassner, *Anthroponymie et Anthropologie de Nuzi, vol. 1 Les Anthroponymes*. Malibu 1977
- ARM(T) *Archives Royales de Mari (Textes)*. Paris 1950-
- GLH E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la langue hurrite*. Paris 1979 (= *RHA* 34-35)
- NPN I. Gelb, P. Purves, and A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names* (= *OIP* 57), Chicago 1943
- OBTR S. Dalley, C. Walker, and J. Hawkins, *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al Rimah*. British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1976
- RLA *Reallexicon der Assyriologie*, Berlin 1932-
- ShT Læssøe, J., *The Shemshara Tablets, A Preliminary Report*. Arkæol.-Kunsthist. Medd. Dan.Vid.-Selsk. 4/3, Copenhagen 1959
- Adler, H.-P. 1976: *Das Akkadische des Königs Tušratta von Mitanni*, AOAT 201.
- Astour, M. C. 1981 «Toponymic Parallels Between the Nuzi Area and Northern Syria», SCCNH 1, 11-26.
- 1987: «Semites and Hurrians in Northern Transtigris», SCCNH 2, 3-68.
- Ayoub, S. 1982 *Die Keramik in Mesopotamien und in den Nachbargebieten*. Münchener Vorderasiatische Studien II.
- Briant, P. 1982 *État et pasteurs au Moyen-Orient*. Paris/Cambridge.
- Bruinessen, M. v. 1978 *Agha, Shaikh and State*. Univ. of Utrecht Diss.
- Burney, Charles 1977 «The Economic Basis of Settled Communities in North-Western Iran», in L. D. Levine and T. C. Young (eds.), *Mountains and Lowlands, BiMe VII*, Malibu, 1-7.
- Börker-Klähn, J. 1982 *Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs* (= *Baghdader Forschungen* Bd. 4). Mainz am Rhein.
- Carter E., and M. Stolper 1984 *Elam. Surveys of Political History and Archaeology*. University of California Publications: Near Eastern Studies 25.
- Charpin, D. 1980 *Archives familiales et propriété privée en Babylonie ancienne*. Paris.
- 1986 «Données nouvelles sur la chronologie des souverains d'Ešnunna», in Durand and Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica*, (Fs. Birot) ERC Paris, 51-66.
- 1987 «Le rôle économique du palais en Babylonie sous Hammurabi et ses successeurs», in E. Lévy (ed.), *Le système palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome*. Strasbourg, 111-26.
- 1989 «L'akkadien des lettres d'Ilan-Surâ», in M. Lebeau/Ph. Talon (eds.), *Réflets des deux fleuves* (Fs. Finet) = *Akkadica Suppl.* VI. Leuven, 31-40.
- 1990 «A Contribution to the Geography and History of the Kingdom of Kahat», in Eichler, Wäfler, Warburton, *Tall al-Hamidīya 2*. Freiburg/Göttingen, 67-85.
- Charpin, D. and J.-M. Durand 1987 «Le nom Antique de Tell Rimāh», *RA* 81, 125-46.
- Draffkorn, A. E. 1959 *Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalah: An Ethno-Linguistic Analysis*. Ph.-D. Diss. Univ. of Penn.
- Durand, J.-M. 1987 «L'organisation de l'espace dans le palais de Mari: le témoignage des textes» in E. Lévy (ed.), *Le système palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome*. Strasbourg, 39-110.
- 1989 review of D. Arnaud, *Recherches au Pays Aštata, RA* 83, 161-193.
- Edmonds, C. J. 1957 *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, London.
- Eidem, J. 1985a «News from the Eastern Front: The evidence from Tell Shemshāra», *Iraq* 47, 83-107.
- 1985b «A Note on the Pulse Crops at Tell Shemshāra», *BSA* II, 141-3.
- 1989a «Some Remarks on the Iltani Archive from Tell al Rimah», *Iraq* 51, 67-78.
- 1989b «Tell Leilan Tablets 1987 – A Preliminary Report», *AAAS* 38/39 (in press).
- 1991 «The Tell Leilan Archives 1987», *RA* (in press).
- Fadhil, Abdullah 1983 *Studien zur Topographie und Prosopographie der Provinzstädte des Königreichs Arraphe* (= *Baghdader Forschungen* Bd. 6). Mainz am Rhein.
- Finet, A. 1978 Review of Marzal, 1976, *BiOr* 35, 220-224.
- Fisher, L. R. 1959 *Nuzu Geographical Names*. Ph.-D. Diss., Brandeis Univ.
- Foster, B. J. 1981 «Ethnicity and Onomastics in Sargonic Mesopotamia», *OrNS* 51, 297-354.
- Gadd, C. J. 1940 «Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tall Brak 1937-38», *Iraq* 7, 22-66.
- Gelb, I. J. 1980 *Computer-aided analysis of Amorite*. AS 21. Chicago.
- Groneberg, B. 1980 *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 3* (= *Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients B 7/3*), Wiesbaden.
- Haik, A. al 1968 *Key Lists of Archaeological Excavations in Iraq 1842-1965*. Field Research Projects. Coconut Grove, Florida.
- Hallo, W. 1978 «Šimurrum and the Hurrian Frontier», *RHA* 36, 71-83.

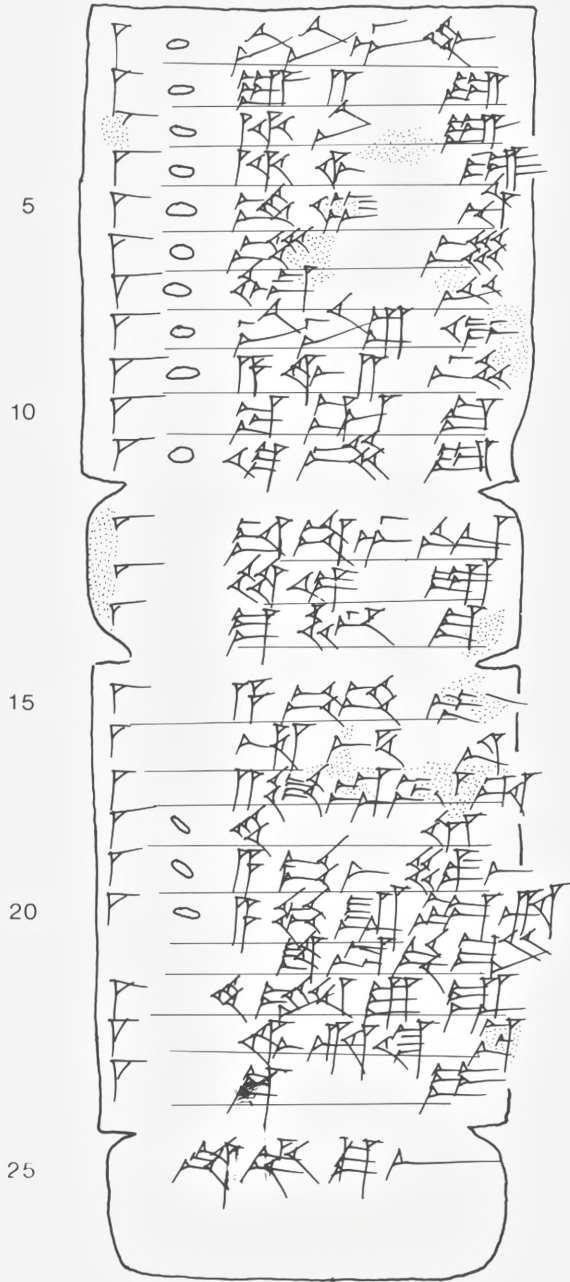
- Hamlin, Carol 1971 *The Habur Ware Ceramic Assemblage of Northern Mesopotamia*, Univ. of Penn. Ph.D. Diss., Univ. Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- 1974 «The early second millennium ceramic assemblage of Dinkha Tepe», *Iran* 12, 125-153.
- Helbaek, H. 1963 «Isin-Larsa and Horian Food Remains At Tell Bazmosian in the Dokan Valley», *Sumer* 19, 27-35.
- Henrickson, Robert C. 1986 «A Regional Perspective on Godin III Cultural Development in Central Western Iran», *Iran* 24, 1-55.
- Husaini, S. al 1955 «The Basin of the Dokan Reservoir», *Sumer* 11, 146ff.
- Ingholt, H. 1957 «The Danish Dokan Expedition», *Sumer* 13, 214f.
- Ismail, B. Khalil 1986 «Eine Siegesstele des Königs Daduša von Ešnunna», in Meid/Trenkwalder (eds.), *Im Bannkreis des alten Orients* (Fs. Oberhuber). Innsbruck, 5-8.
- Joannès, F. 1989 «La culture matérielle à Mari (IV): Les méthodes de pesée». *RA* 83, 113-151.
- Kendall, T. 1981 «Gurpisu ša awēli: The Helmets of the Warriors of Nuzi», *SCCNH* 1, 210-32.
- Klengel, H. 1962 «Das Gebirgsvolk der Turukkû in den Keilschrifttexten altbabylonischer Zeit», *Klio* 40, 5-22.
- 1965 «Lullubum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der altvorderasiatischen Gebirgsvölker», *MIO* 11, 349-71.
- 1985 «Nochmals zu den Turukkâern und ihren Auftreten in Mesopotamien», *Altorientalische Forschungen* 12, 252-8.
- 1988 «Lullu(bum)», *RLA* 7, 3/4, 164-68.
- Kraus, F. R. 1984 *Königliche Verfügungen in altbabylonischer Zeit*. Studia et Documenta Vol. 11. Leiden.
- Larsen, M. T. 1976 *The Old Assyrian City State and its Colonies*. Mesopotamia 4. Copenhagen.
- 1977 «The Hurrian Society at Shemshāra»; (unpubl. paper given at 24th RAI, Paris).
- 1986 «The Shemshāra Archives», *Sumer* 42, 36-39.
- Levine, L. D. 1973 «Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros», Part I, *Iran* 11, 1-28.
- Loretz, O. 1969 *Texte aus Chagar Bazar und Tell Brak* (= AOAT 3/1), Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- Læssøe, J. 1957 «An Old Babylonian Archive Discovered at Tell Shemshara», *Sumer* 13, 213-18.
- 1959b «Akkadian Annakum: "Tin" or "Lead"», *AcOr* 24, 83-94.
- 1959c «The Bazmusian Tablets», *Sumer* 15, 15-18.
- 1960 «The Second Shemshara Archive», *Sumer* 16, 12-19.
- 1963 *People of Ancient Assyria*, London.
- 1965 «IM 62100: A Letter from Tell Shemshara», *AS* 16, 189-96.
- 1966 *Det Første Assyriske Imperium, Et Aspekt*. København.
- 1968 «The Quest for the Country of *Utûm», *JAOS* 88, 120-22 (= W. W. Hallo (ed.), *Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser*), New Haven.
- 1971 «An Aspect of Assyrian Archaeology», in M. Lurker (ed.), *In Memoriam Eckhard Unger*, Baden-Baden, 189-95.
- 1985 «Šikšabbum, an Elusive City», *OrNS* 54, 182-88.
- Læssøe, J. and Th. Jacobsen n.d. «Šikšabbum Again», *JCS* (in press).
- Læssøe, J., and E. E. Knudsen 1963 «An Old Babylonian Letter from a Hurrian Environment», *ZA* 55, 131-37.
- Marzal, A. 1976 *Gleanings from the Wisdom of Mari*. Studia Pohl, 11, Rome.
- Menzel, B. 1981 *Assyrische Tempel* 1. Studia Pohl, Ser. Major 10/1, Rome.
- Moran, W. L. 1987 *Les Lettres d'El Amarna*. Les éditions du cerf, Paris.
- Mortensen, P. 1970 *Tell Shimshara, The Hassuna Period*, Dan. Vid. Selsk. Hist.-Filos. Skr. 5/2, Copenhagen.
- Postgate, N. 1978 «An Inscribed Jar from Tell al Rimah», *Iraq* 40, 71-5.
- 1984 «Processing of cereals in the cuneiform record», *BSA* 1, 103-113.
- Powell, M. A. 1984 «Sumerian Cereal Crops», *BSA* 1, 49-72.
- Rouault, O. and C. Saporetti 1985 «Old Babylonian Texts from Tell Yelkhi». *Mesopotamia* 20, 23-52.
- Salonen, A. 1951 *Die Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamien*. AASF Ser. B 72.3. Helsinki.
- 1965a *Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamier* 1, AASF Ser. B 139. Helsinki.
- 1965b «Bemerkungen zur sumerisch-akkadischen Brenholz-Terminologie», *JEOL* 18, 331-9.
- Sasson, J. M. 1969 *The Military Establishments at Mari*, Studia Pohl 3. Rome.
- 1974 «Hurrians and Hurrian Names in the Mari Texts», *UF* 6, 353-400.
- Soden, W. v. 1987 Review of ARM(T) 21-24, *Or* 56, 97-105.
- Solecki, R. 1953 «A Programme for Salvage Archaeology in the Projected Flood Basins in Iraq», *Sumer* 9, 101ff.
- as-Sooif, B. Abu 1964 «Uruk Pottery from the Dokan and Shahrazur Districts», *Sumer* 20, 37-44.
- 1970 «Mounds in the Rania Plain, and Excavations at Tell Bazmusian», *Sumer* 26, 65-104.
- Speiser, E. A. 1928 «Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal and Today», *AASOR* 8, 1-41.
- Stein, D. 1984 «Khabur Ware and Nuzi Ware: Their Origin, Relationship, and Significance», *Assur* 4/1.
- Stol, M. 1985 «Beans, peas, lentils and vetches in Akkadian texts». *BSA* II, 127-139.
- Stolper, M. 1982 «On the Dynasty of Šimaški and the Early Sukkalmahs», *ZA* 72, 42-67.
- 1984 see Carter, E.
- Tala'i, H. 1984 «Notes on New Pottery Evidence from the Eastern Urmia Basin», *Iran* 22, 151-56.
- at-Tekrîti, A. al-Qadir 1960 «Excavations at Tell ed-Deim», *Sumer* 16, 93-107 (in Arabic).

- Thuesen, I. 1988 «The Hurrian Levels of Tell Shemshāra», paper given at the XXXV RAI, Philadelphia 1988.
- n.d. Publication of Archaeological Material from 2. mill. levels at Shemshāra (in preparation).
- Veenhof, K. R. 1985 «Šag.il.la = *saggilû*, “Difference Assessed”. On Measuring and Accounting in some Old Babylonian Texts», in Durand and Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica* (Fs. Birot) ERC. Paris, 285-306.
- Watson, P. J. 1979 *Archaeological Ethnography in Western Iran*. University of Arizona Press.
- Wegner, Ilse 1981 *Gestalt und Kult der Istar-Šawuška in Kleinasien*. AOAT 36. Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- Weidner, E. 1963 (ed.) «Ausgrabungen und Forschungsreisen». *AfO* 20, 206ff.
- Whiting, R. M. 1987 *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar. AS 22*. Chicago.
- 1990 «Tell Leilan/Šubat-Enlil: Chronological Problems and Perspectives». in Eichler, Wäfler, Warburton, *Tall al-Hamīdiyya 2*. Freiburg/Göttingen.
- Zadok, R. 1984 *The Elamite Onomasticon*. Napoli.
- 1987 «Peoples from the Iranian Plateau in Babylonia during the Second Millennium B. C.», *Iran* 25, 1-26.

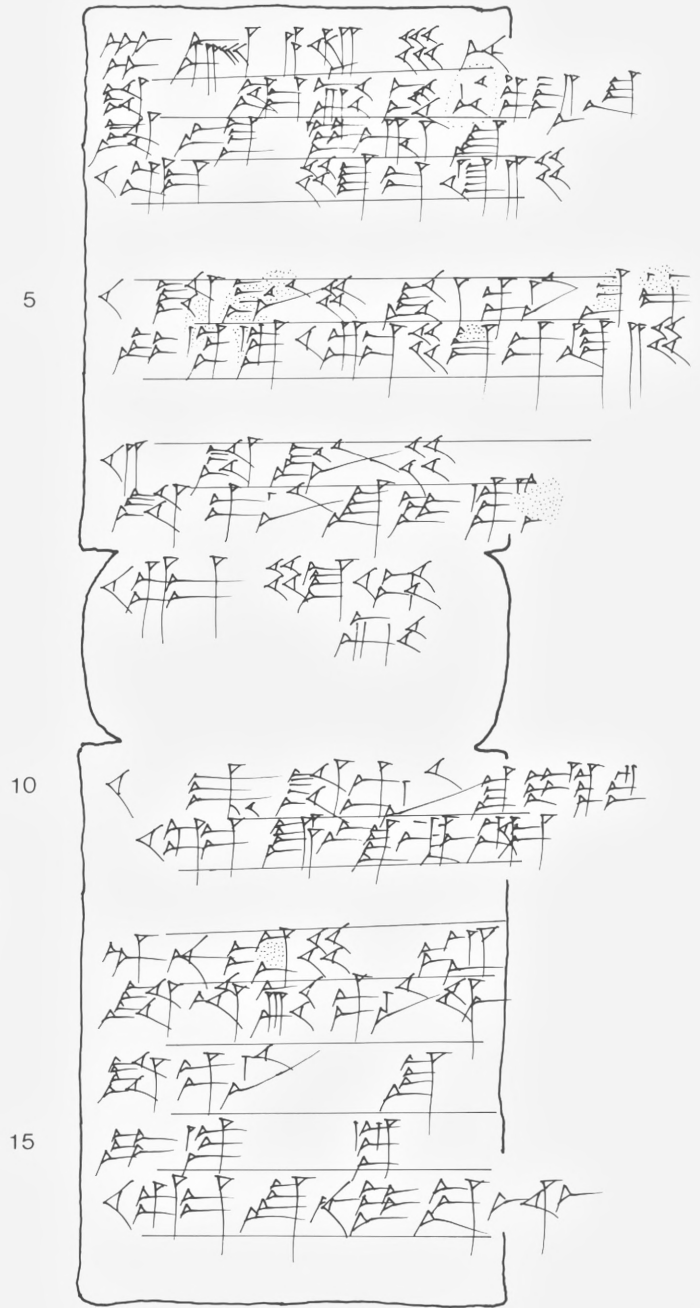
Handcopies

The handcopies represent a joint effort Læssøe/Eidem: nos. 110, 111, 113, 115, 116, 120, 122-4, 127, 129, 130, 137 are presented in the final form prepared by Læssøe, while the rest were finished by Eidem from Læssøe's drafts. Nos. 17, 23, 26, 29, 33, 38, 44, 51, 52, 62, 65, 69 (obv.), 74, 75, 86, 90, 92, 98, 105, 106, 108, 119, 128, 135-6, 143-146, however, were prepared entirely by Eidem. Especially the tablets now in Copenhagen have been collated several times and this in a few cases has caused some minor deviations between copy and reading which are noted in the catalogue.

1



2



3

5

10

5

5

10

15

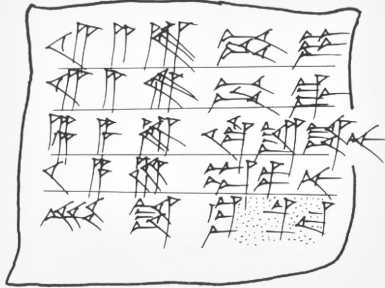
20

4

5

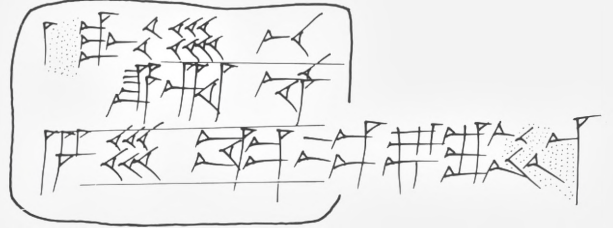
10

6

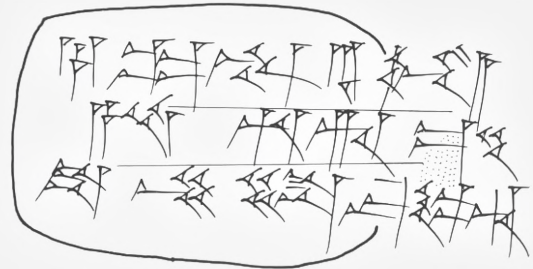


5

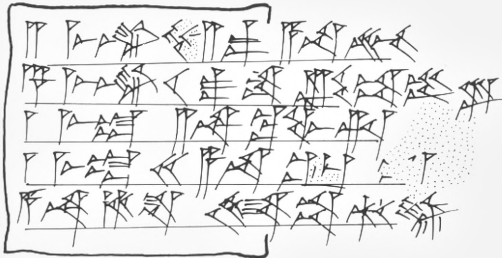
8



9

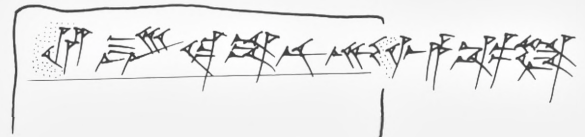
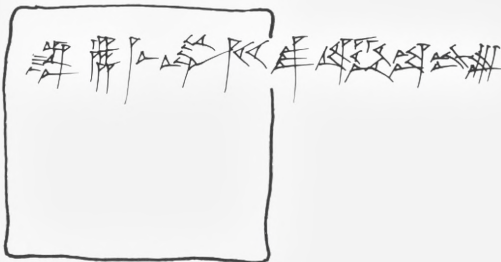
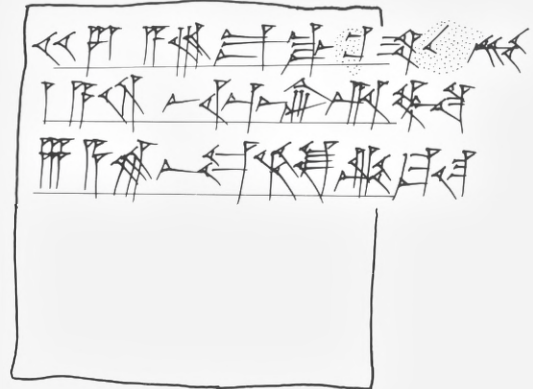


7



5

10



11

5
 10
 15
 20

The page contains several groups of handwritten musical notation. The notation is dense and complex, featuring a variety of symbols such as vertical stems, horizontal lines, and intricate shapes. Some groups are enclosed in hand-drawn boxes, while others are not. The notation is arranged in a roughly vertical sequence, with some groups appearing to be connected or related. The overall appearance is that of a musical score or a set of musical exercises.

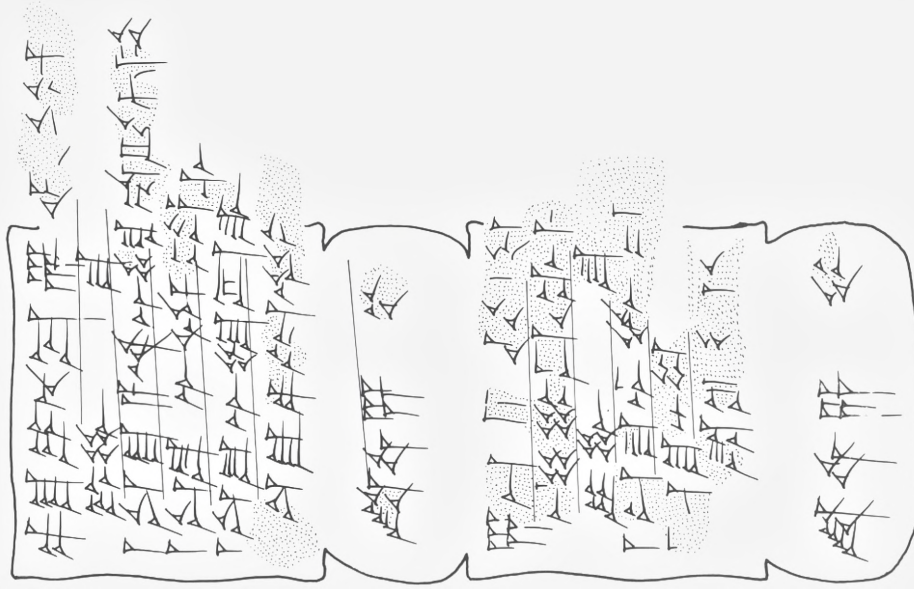
12



5



13

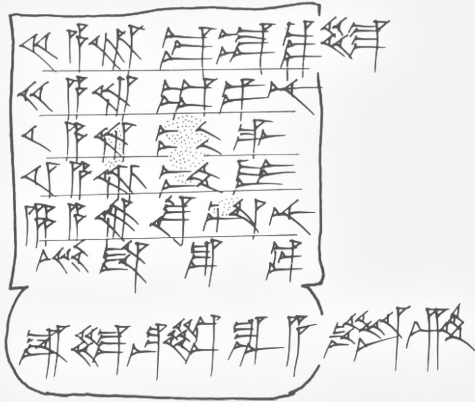


5

10

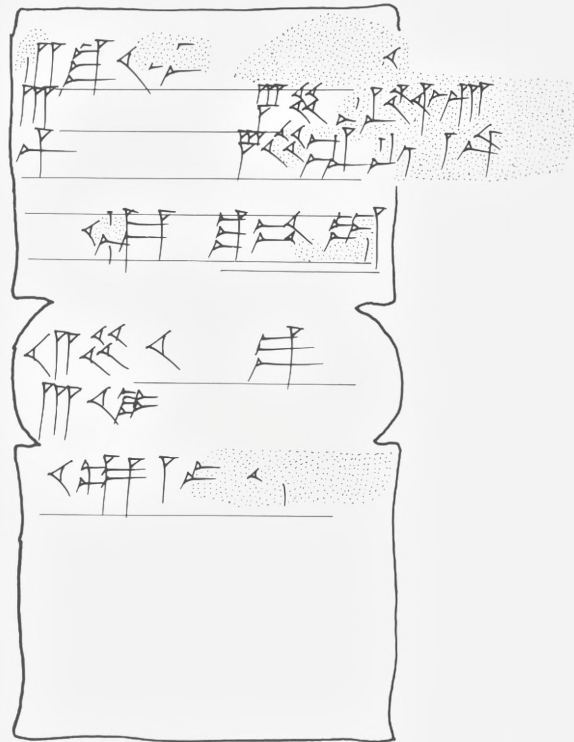
14

5



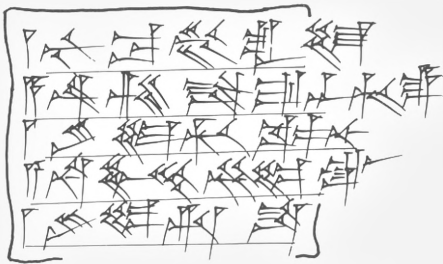
16

5



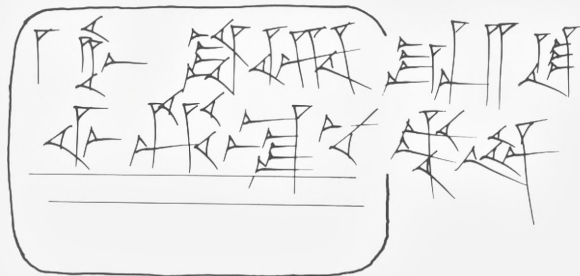
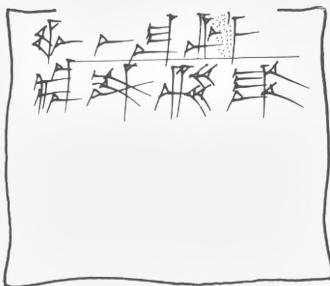
15

5

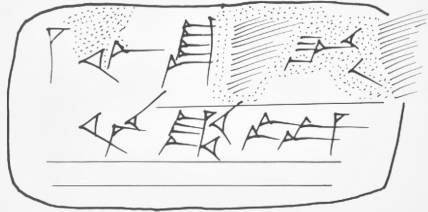


17

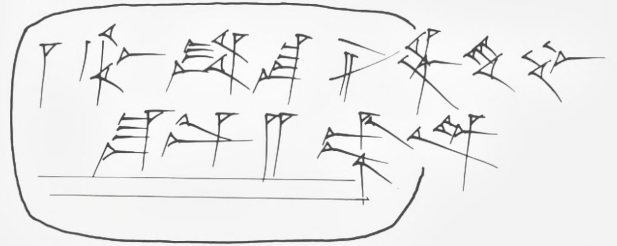
10



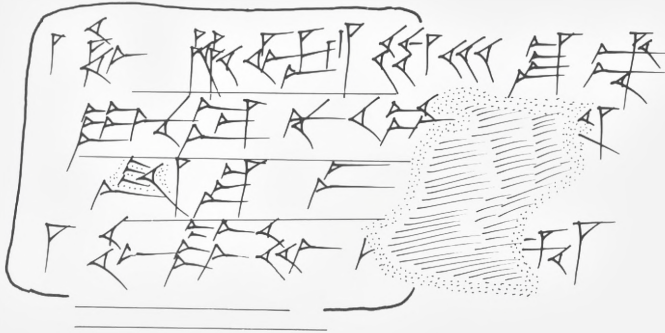
18



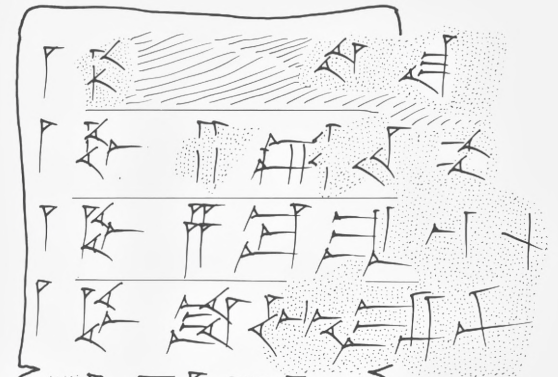
22



19



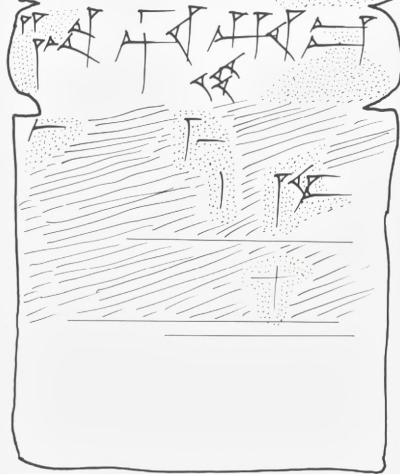
23



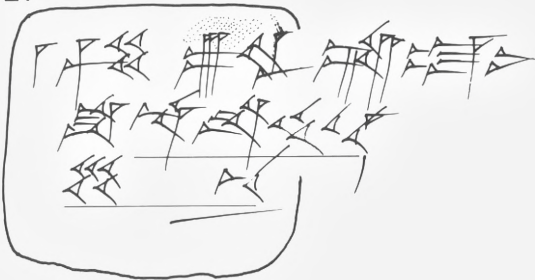
20



5



21



24

1 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 2 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 3 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 4 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎

5

1 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 2 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 3 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎

10

1 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 2 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 3 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 4 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎

25

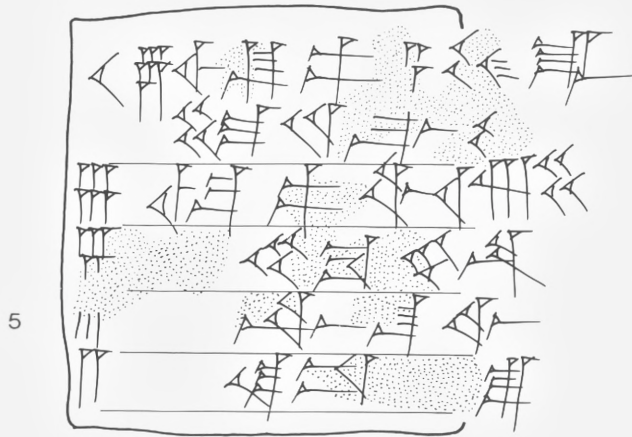
1 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 2 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 3 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 4 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 5 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 6 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 7 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 8 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 9 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 10 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 11 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 12 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 13 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 14 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎
 15 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎 𠄎

5

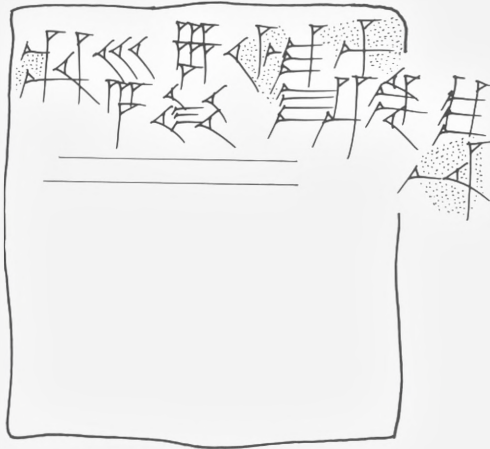
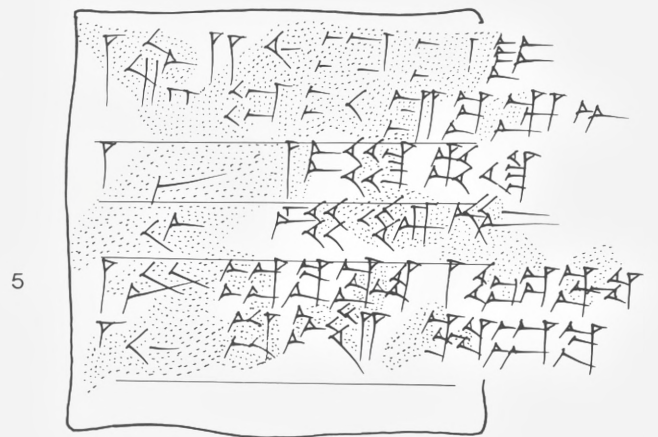
10

15

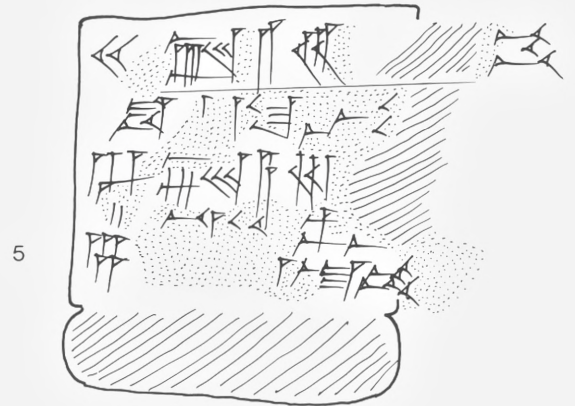
26



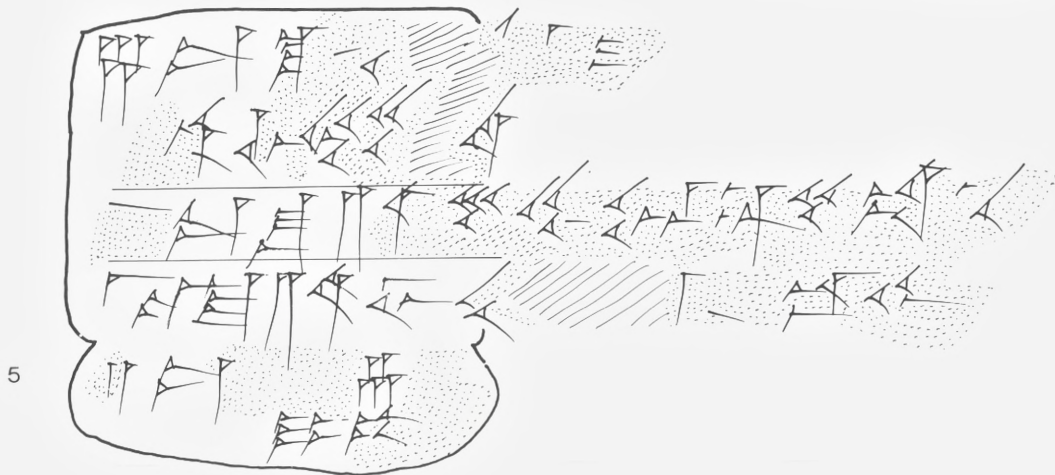
29



30



27



33

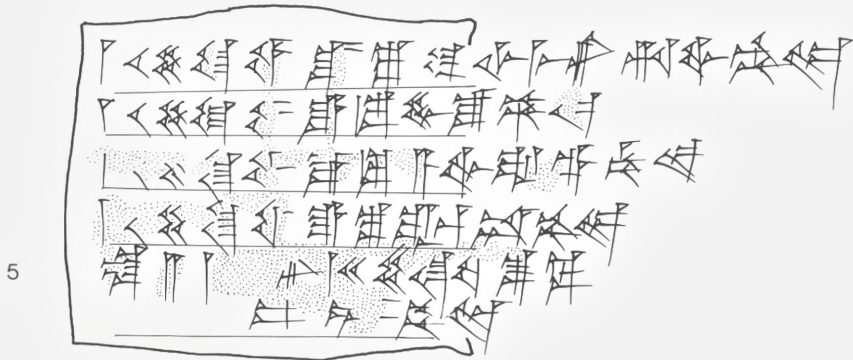
5

10

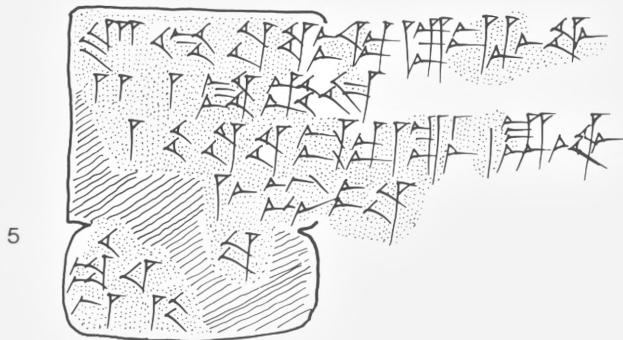
35

34

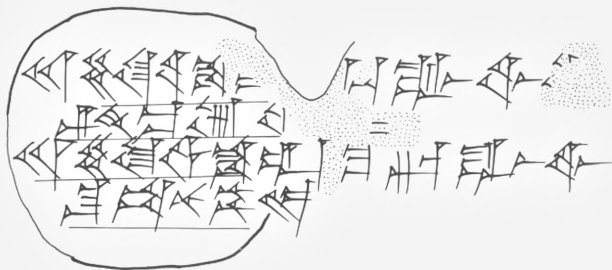
37



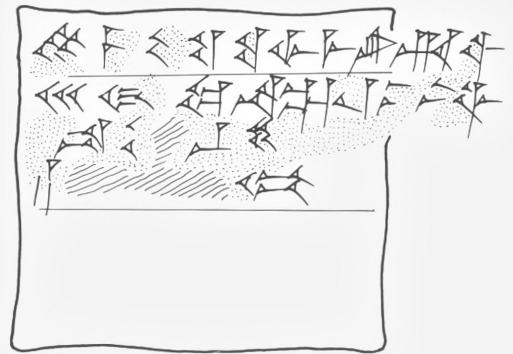
38



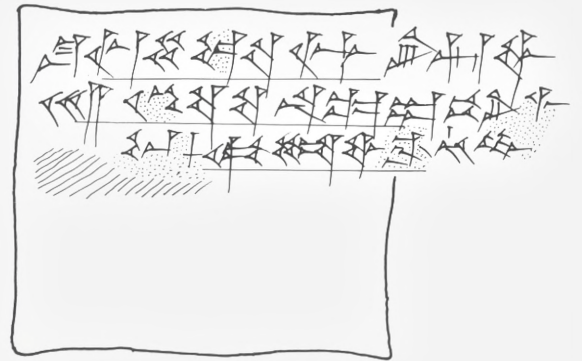
39



41



5



42

5

10

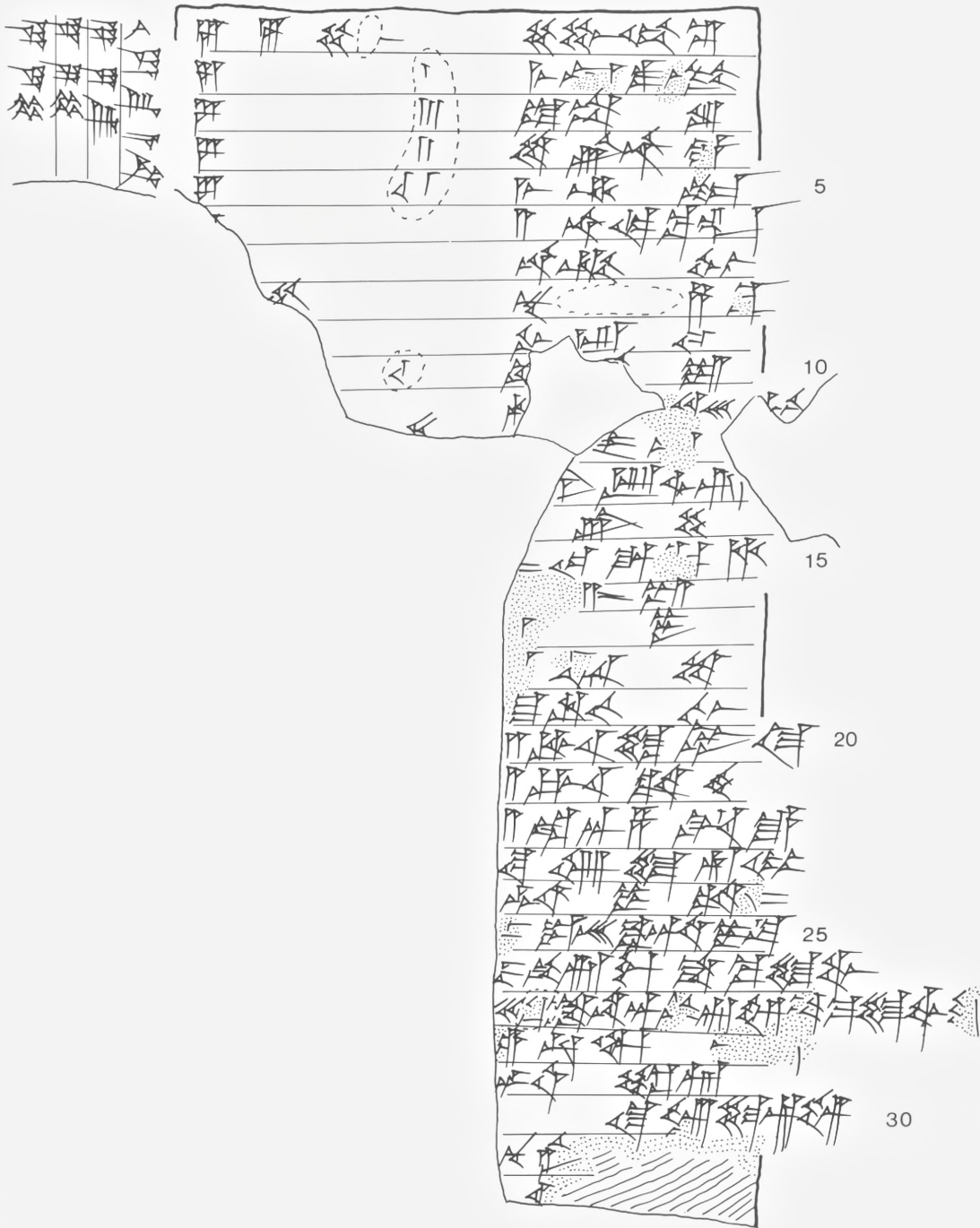
43

5

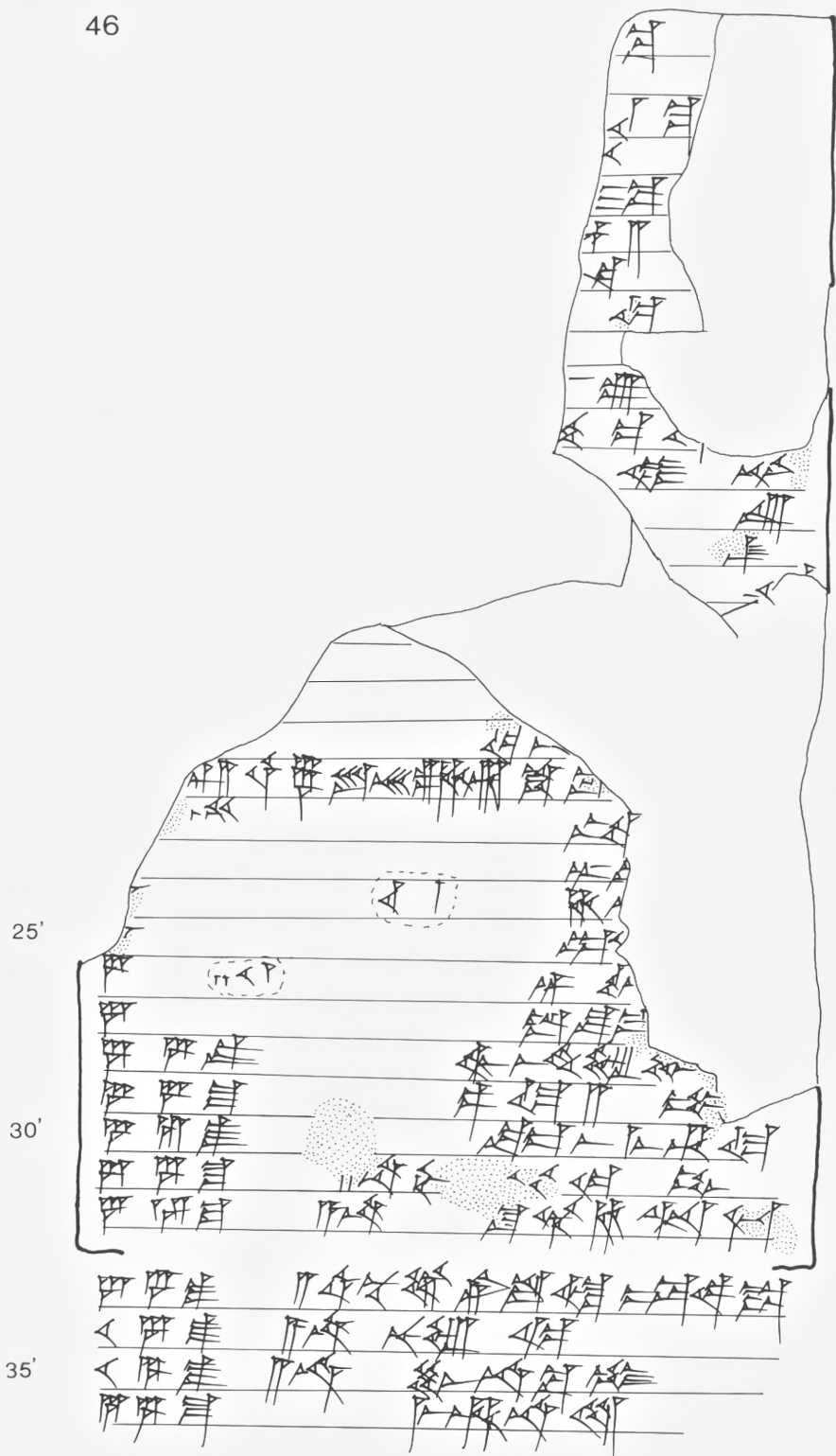
10

15

46



46

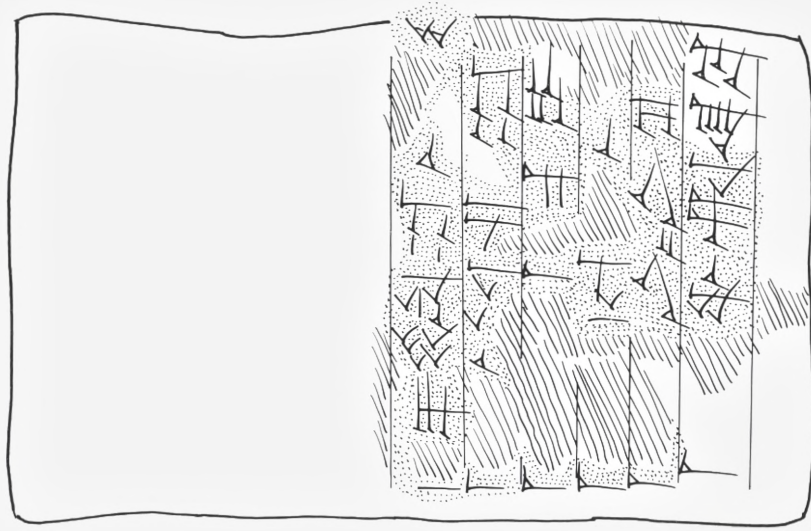


47

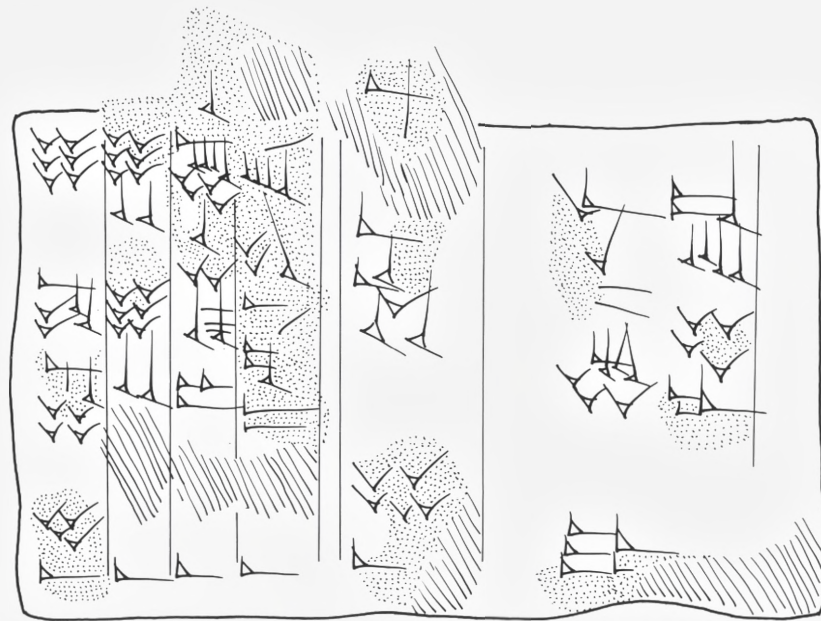


48





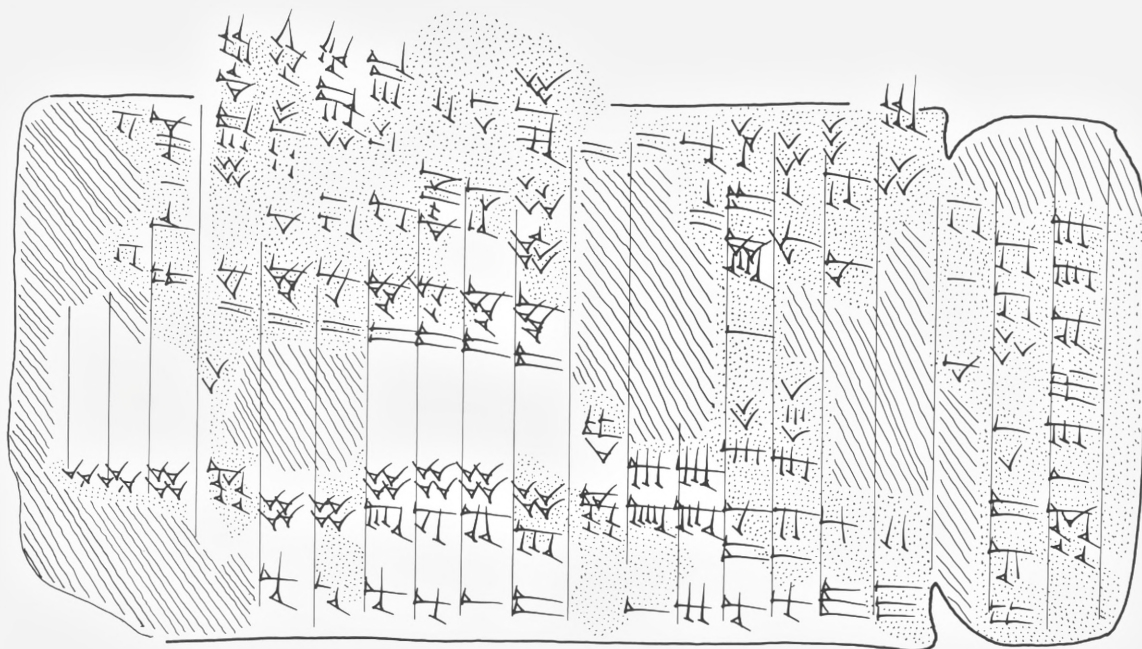
10



5

51

52

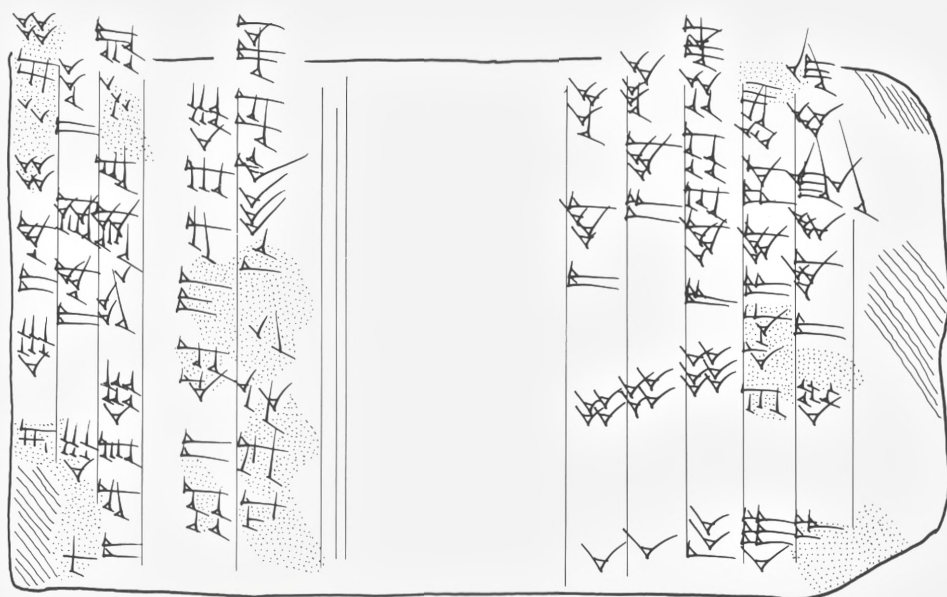


5

10

15

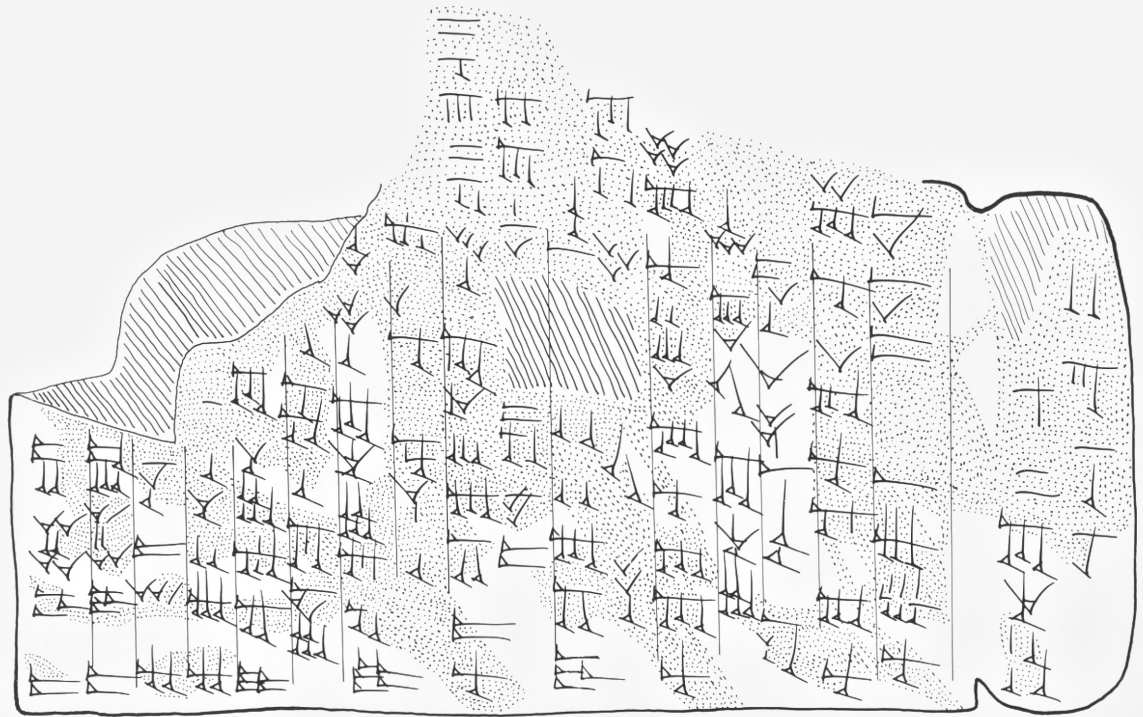
20



25

30

62

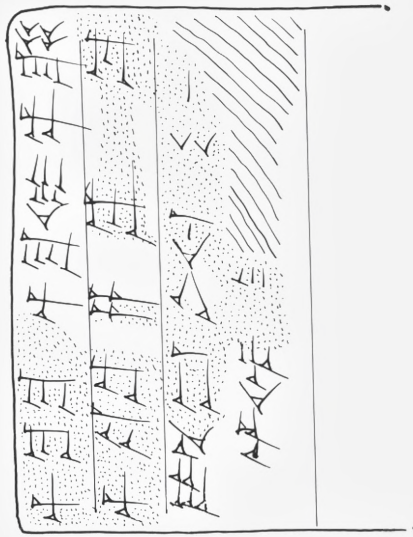


5

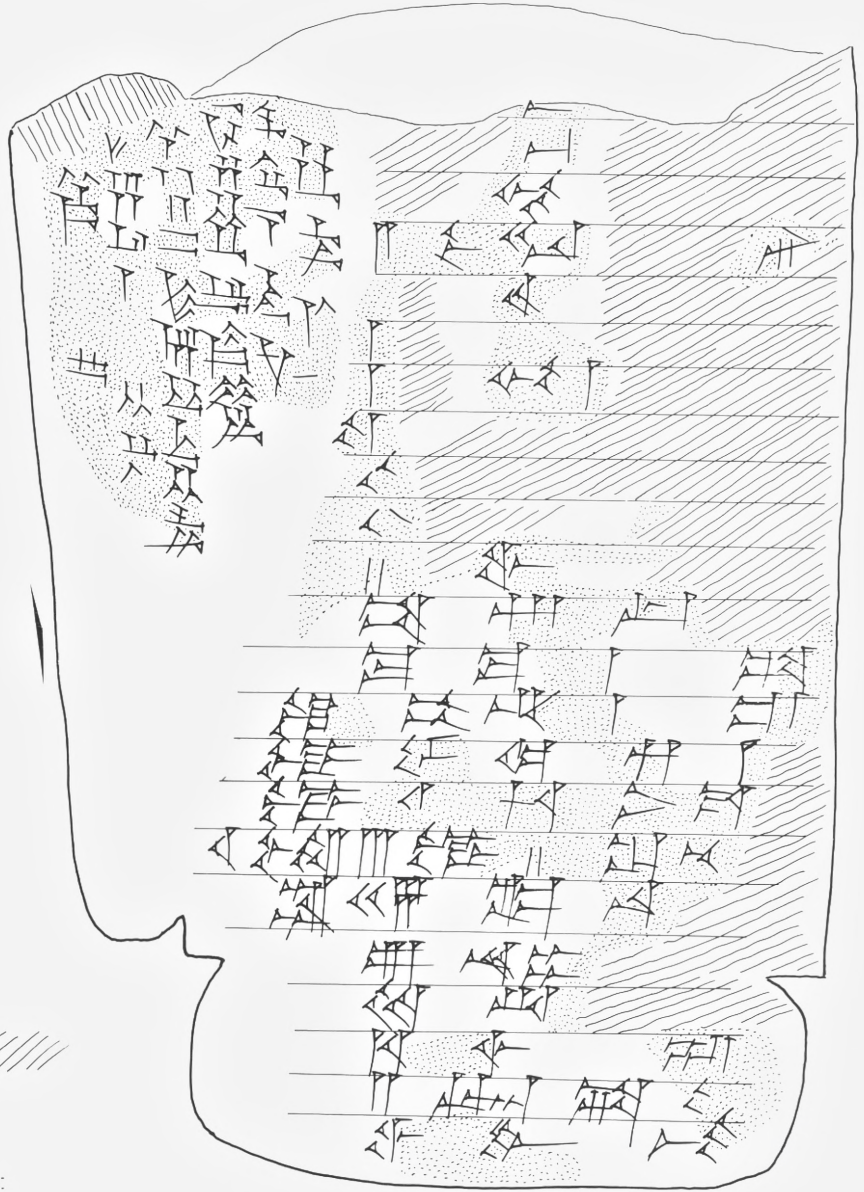
10

15

20

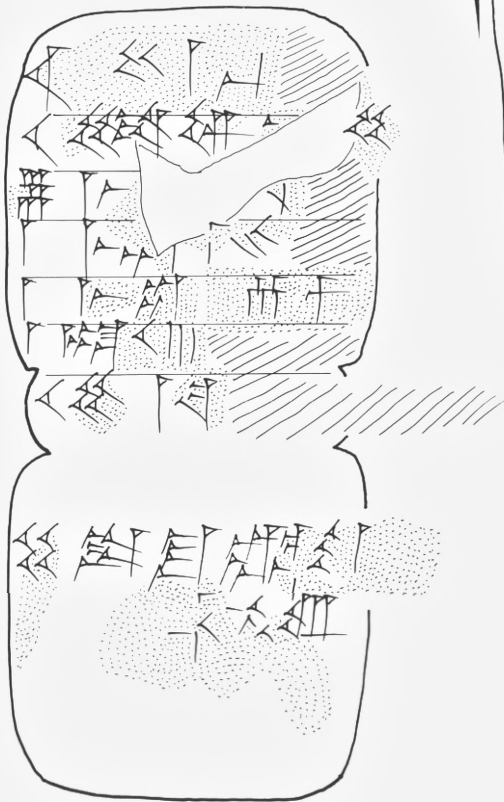


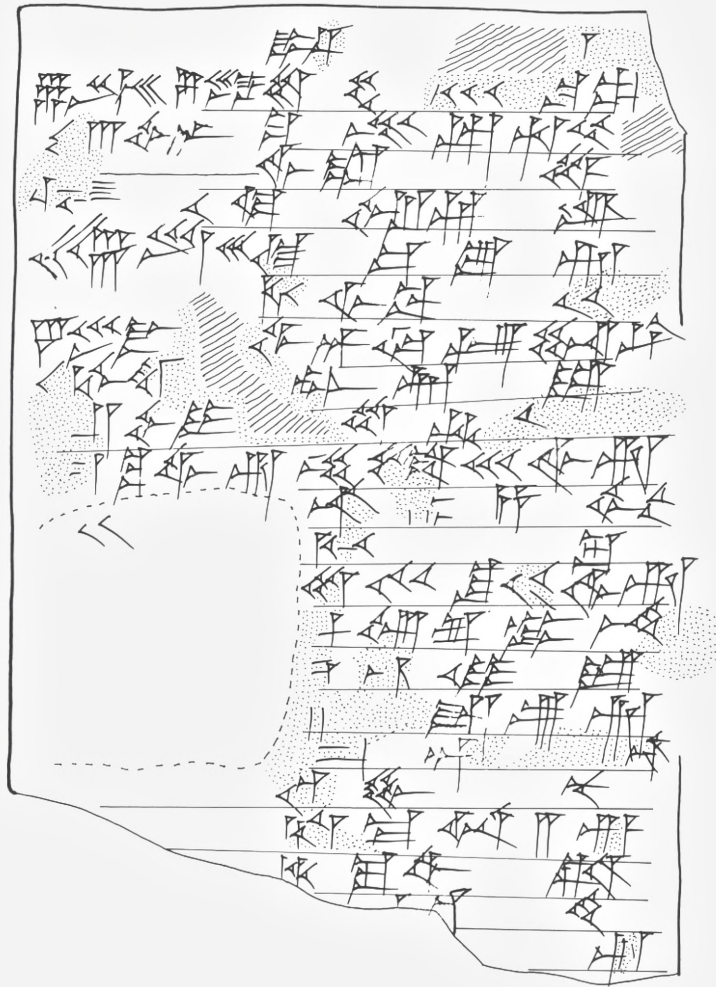
69



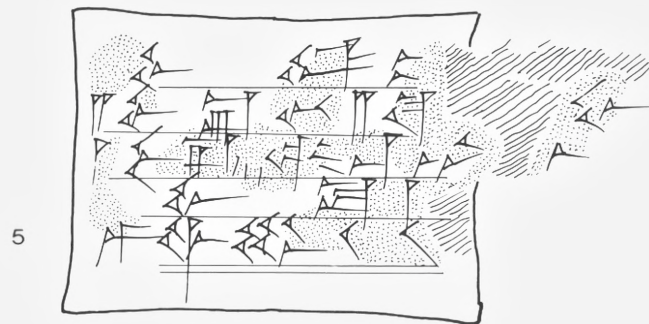
65

5



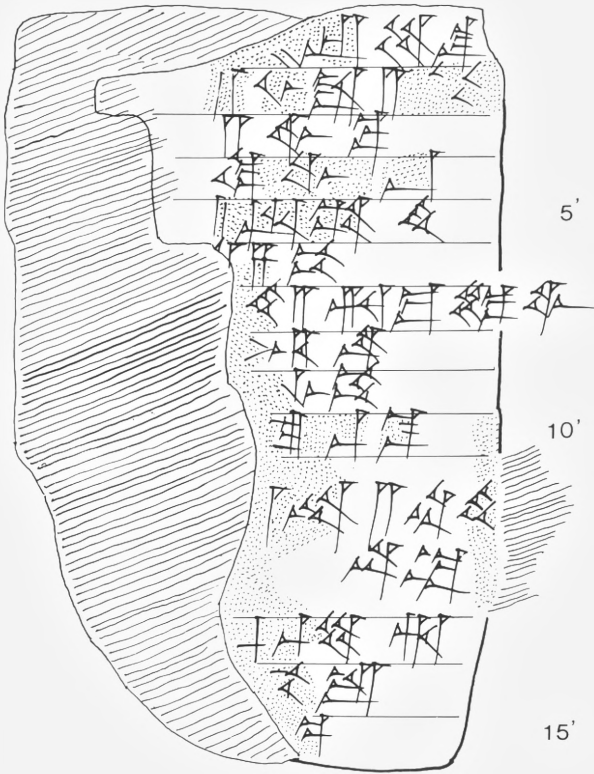


73

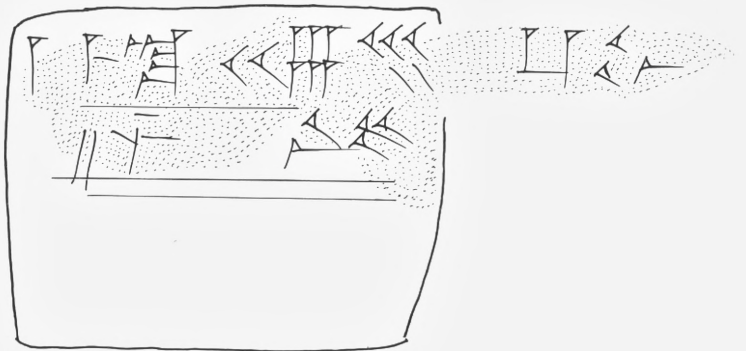


5

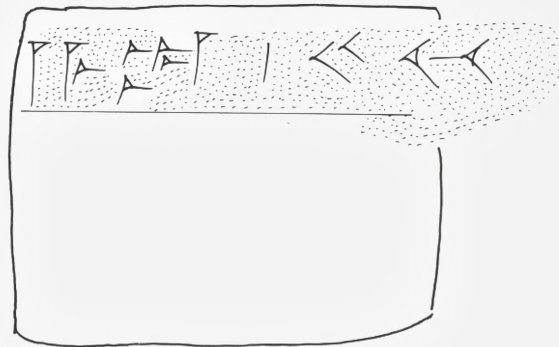
74



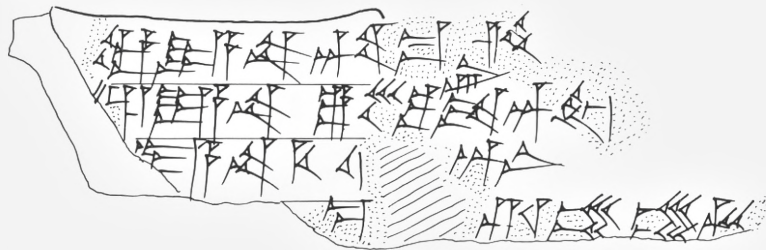
75



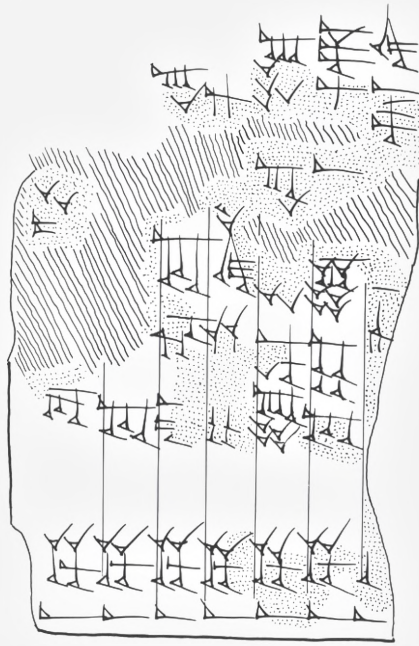
15'



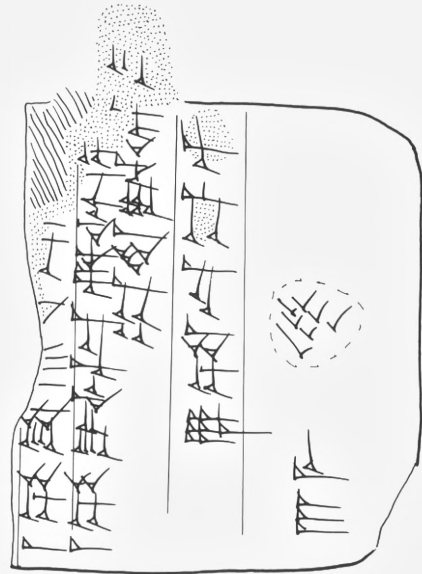
86



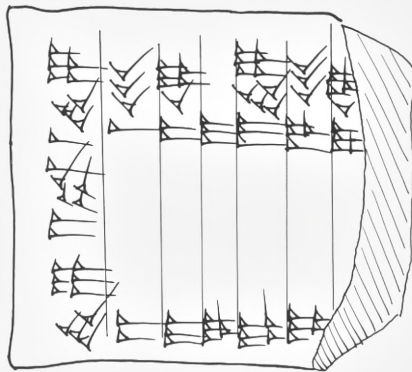
92



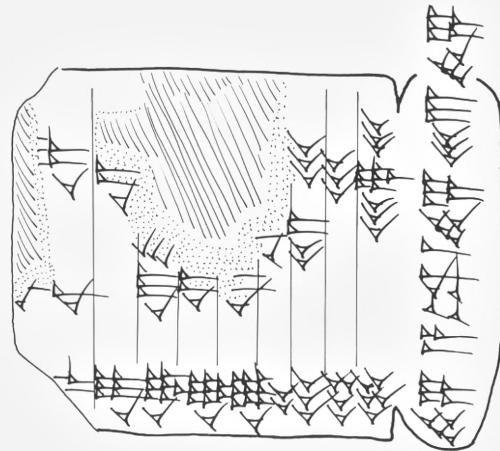
5



90



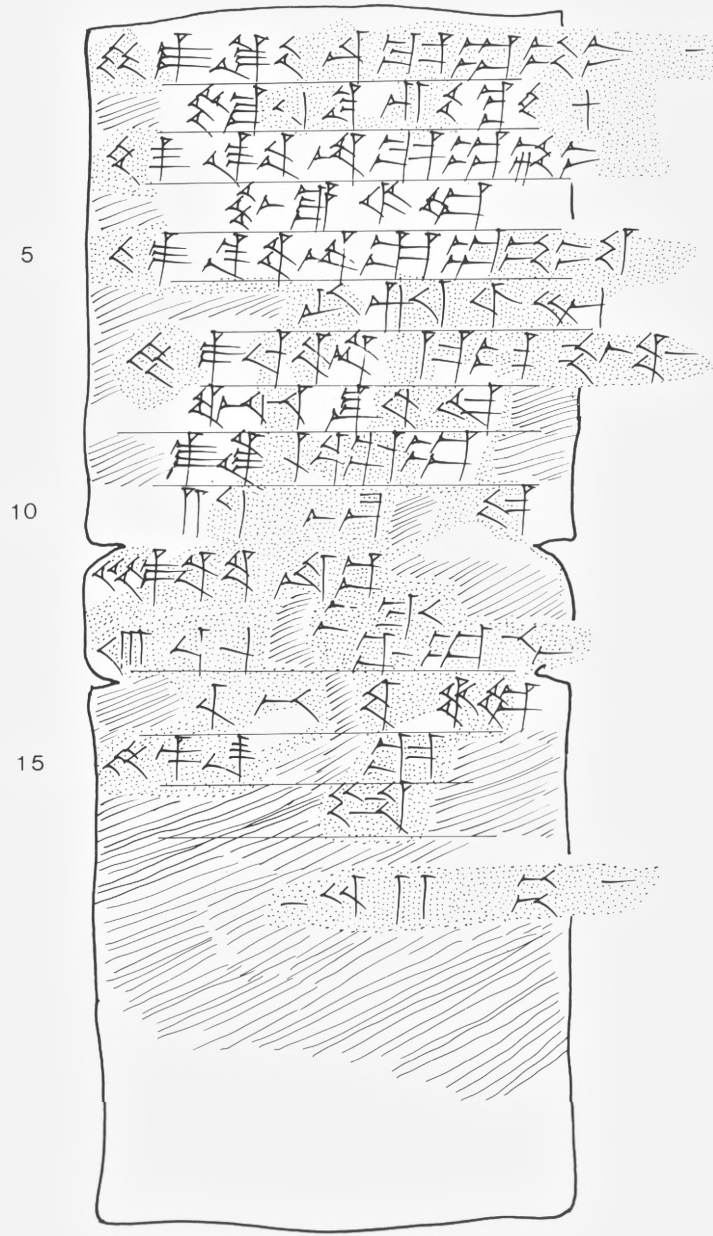
5



5

10'

98

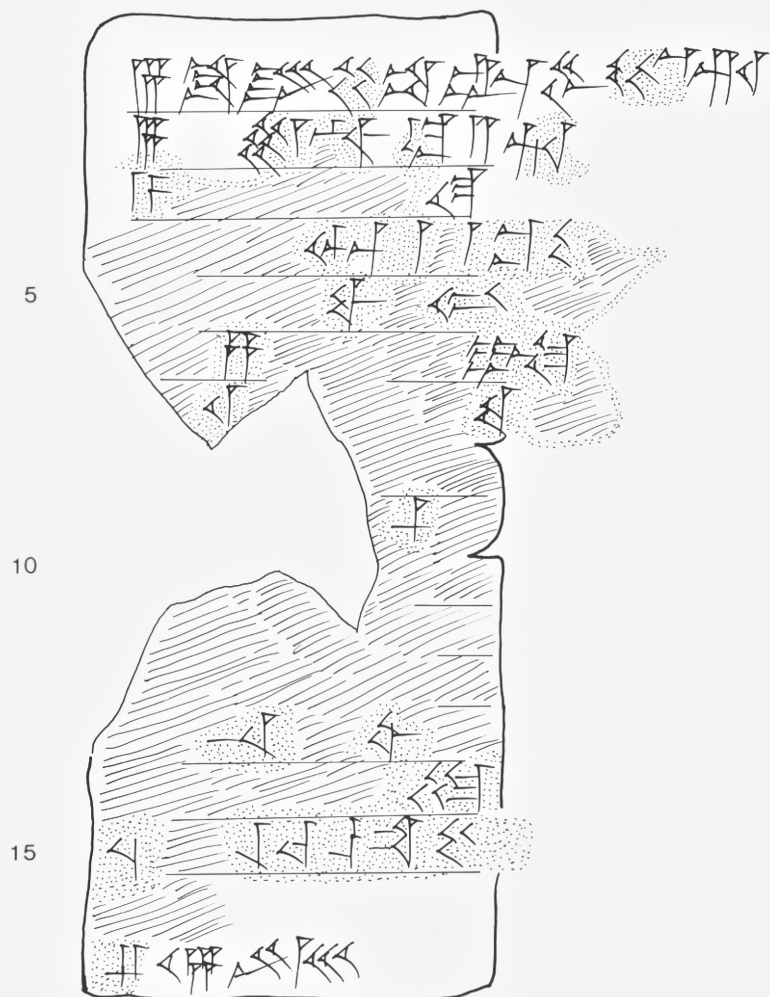


5

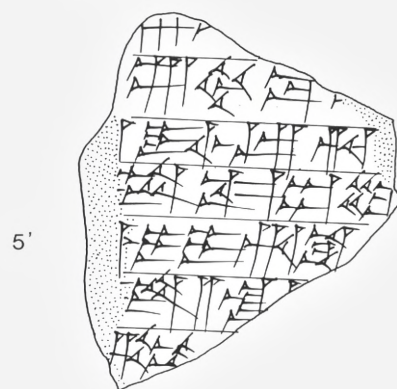
10

15

105



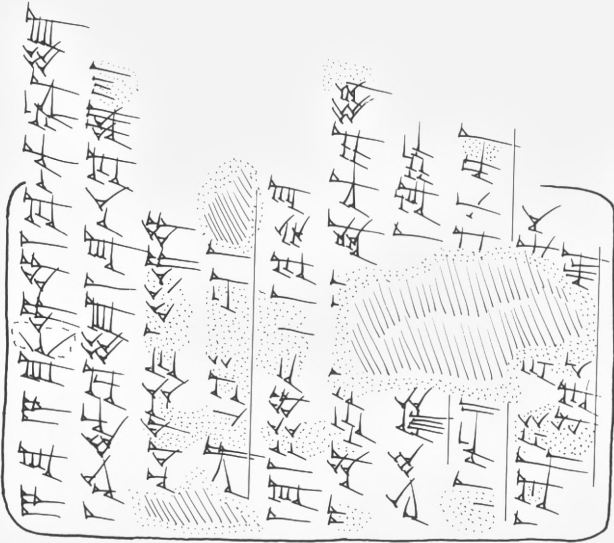
106



108



109



5

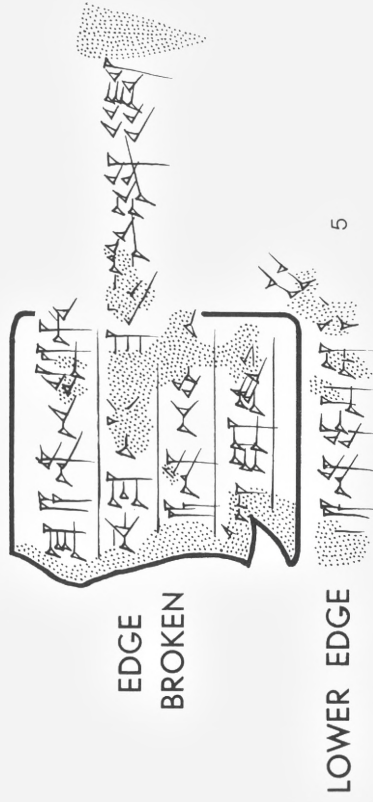
10

15



1

110



5

111

OBVERSE

REVERSE

LEFT EDGE

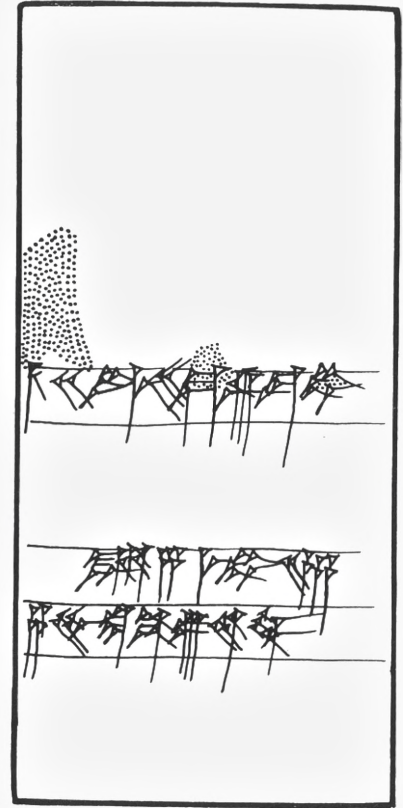


5

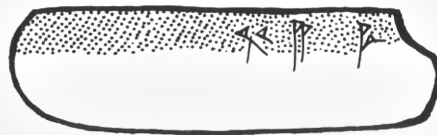
10



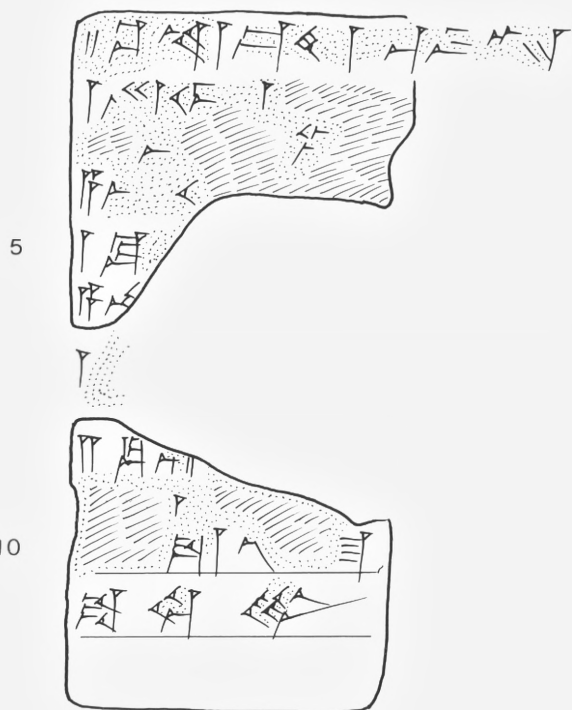
15



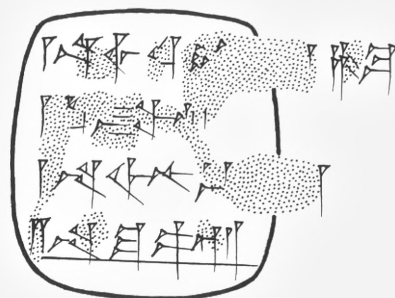
LOWER EDGE



112



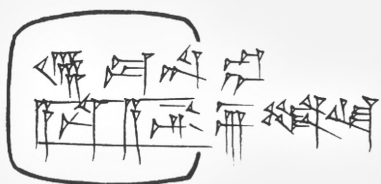
113



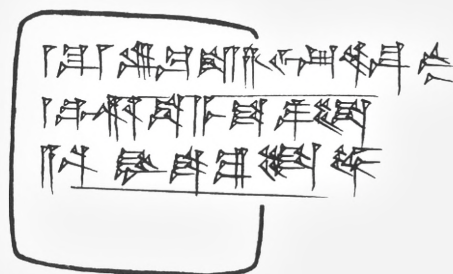
114



115



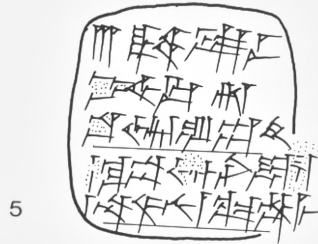
116



117



118



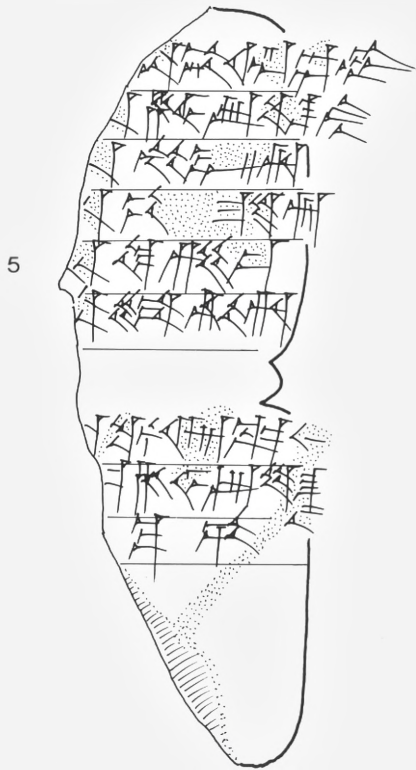
119



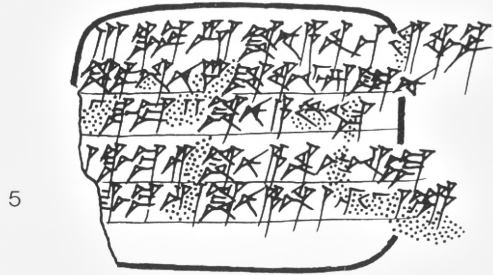
120



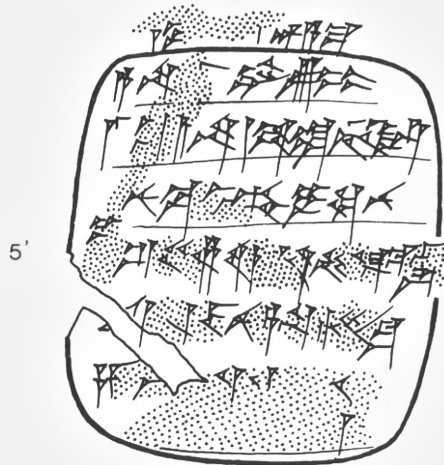
121



122



123



124 OBVERSE

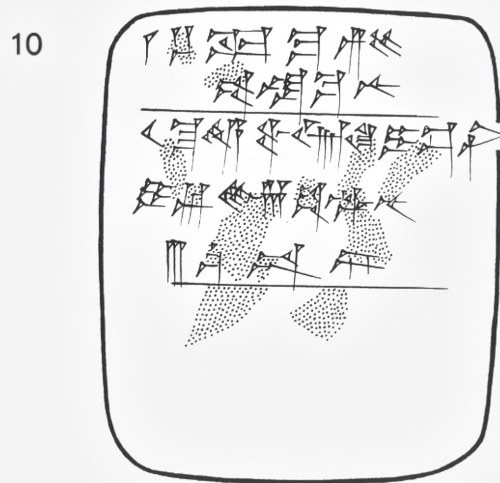


ERASURE

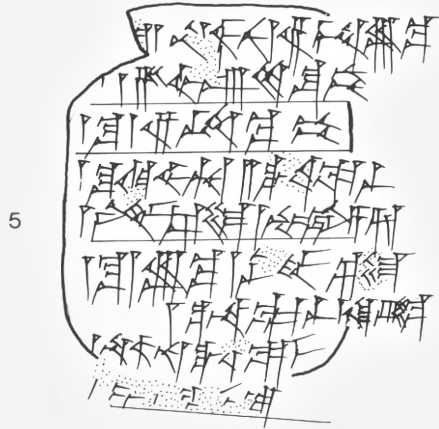
LOWER EDGE



REVERSE



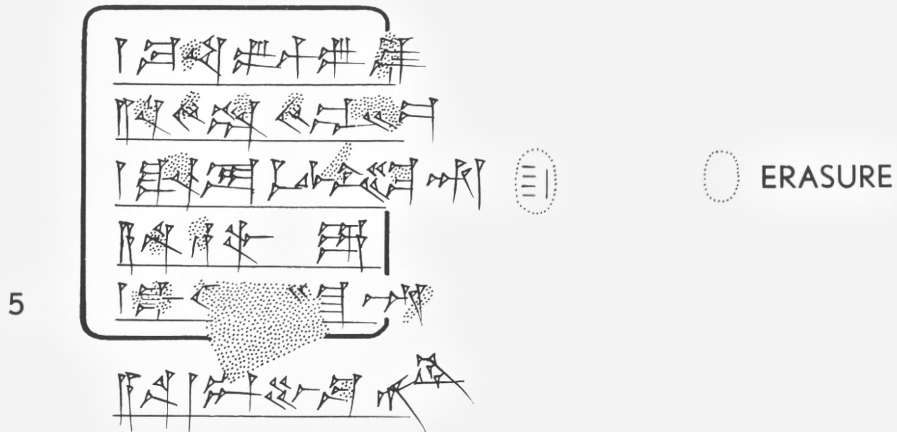
125



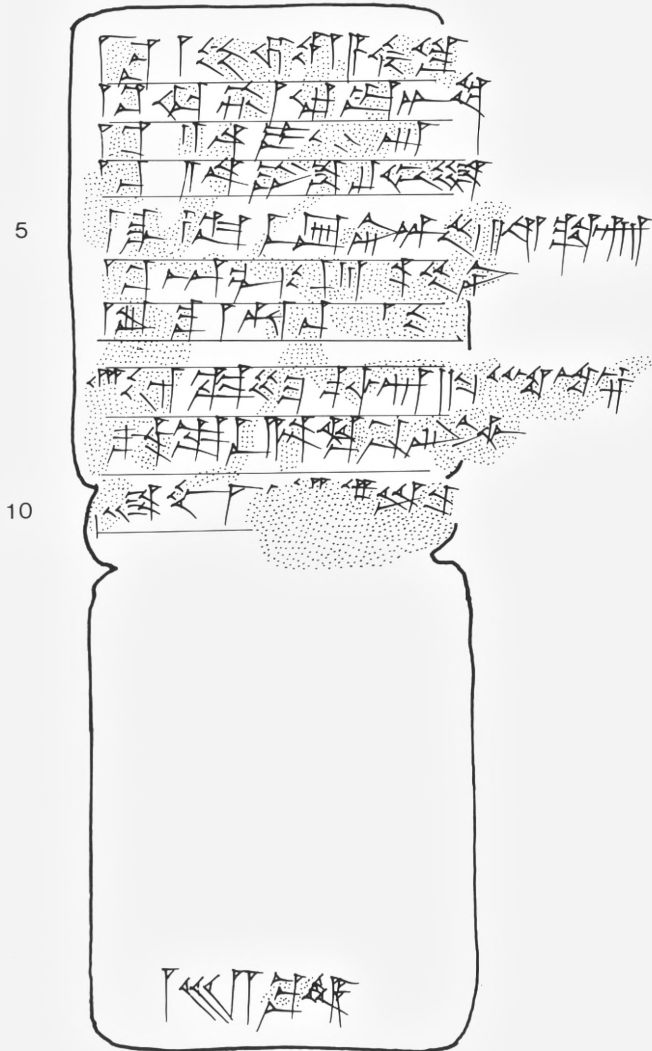
126



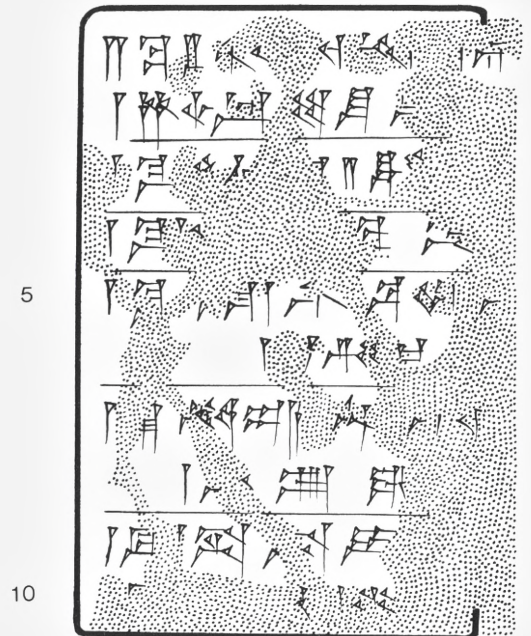
127



128

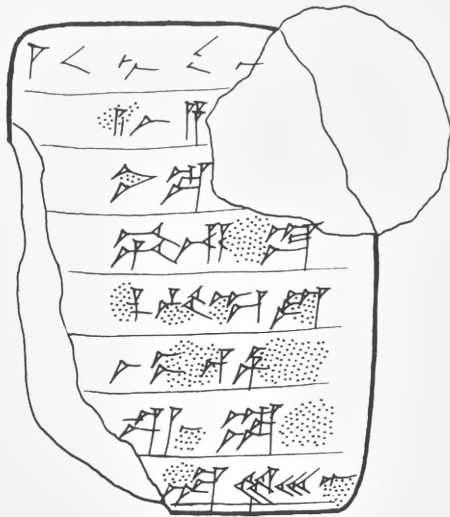


129



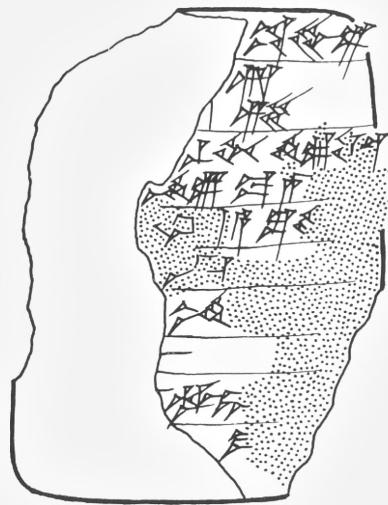
130

5



15

20



10



131

5



133

1 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢
 2 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢
 3 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢
 4 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢
 5 𐎠𐎢
 6 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢
 7 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢
 8
 9 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢
 10 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢
 11 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢
 12 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢
 13 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢
 14 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢
 15 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢
 16 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢

17 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢
 18 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢
 19 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢
 20 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢
 21 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢

20

134

Handwritten musical notation on a page with a large shaded area. The notation consists of rhythmic patterns and notes on a staff. The page is numbered 5, 10, and 15.

5

10

15

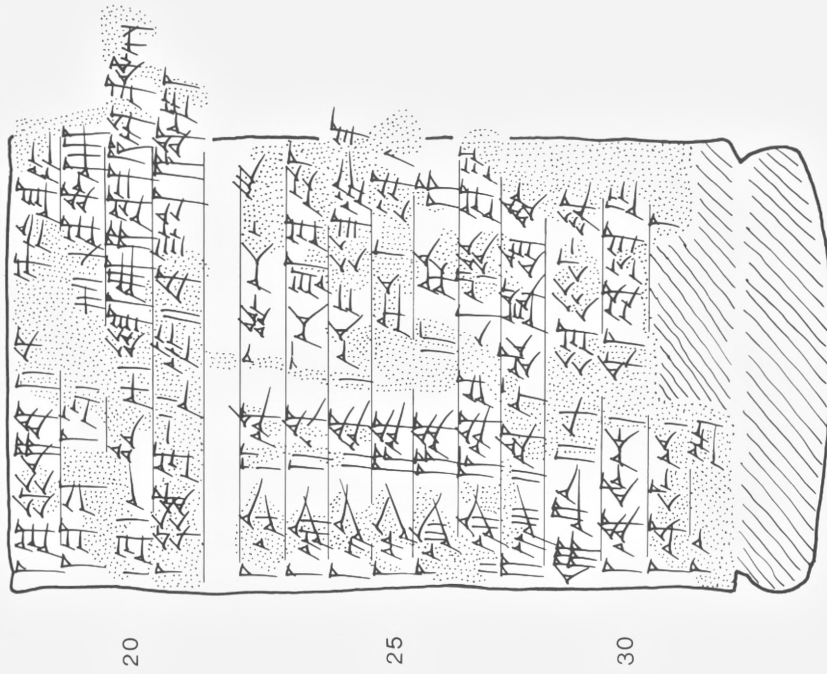
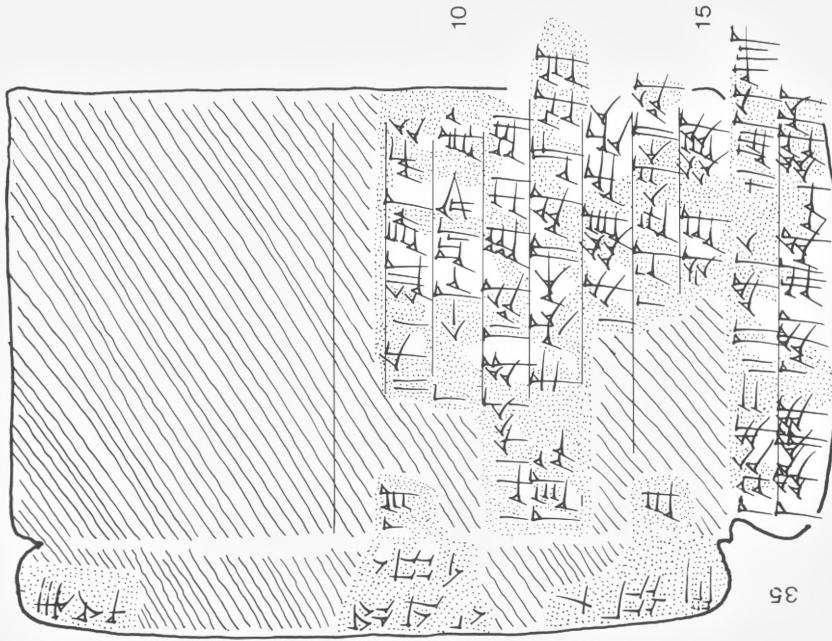
Handwritten musical notation on a page with a large shaded area. The notation consists of rhythmic patterns and notes on a staff. The page is numbered 20 and 25.

20

25

Handwritten musical notation on a page with a shaded area. The notation consists of rhythmic patterns and notes on a staff.

135

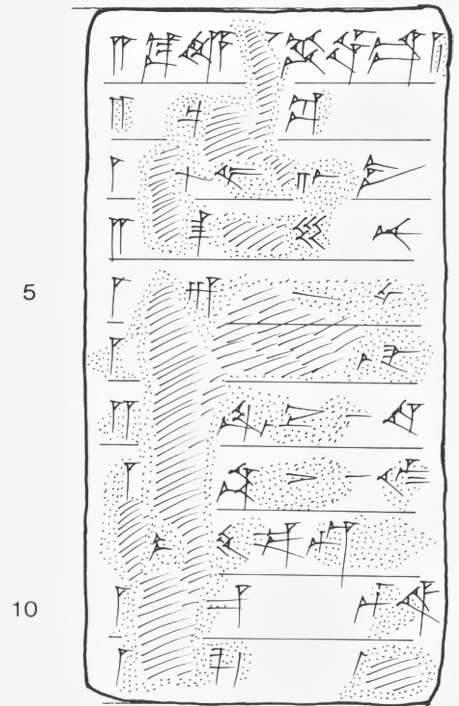
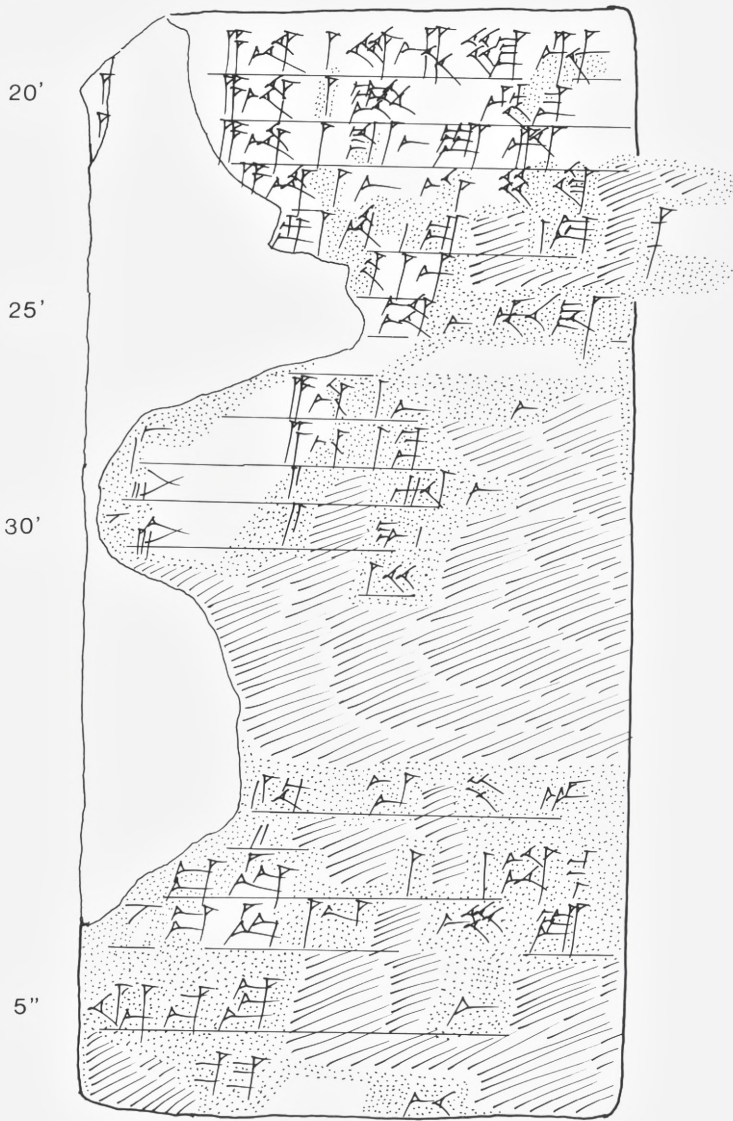


138

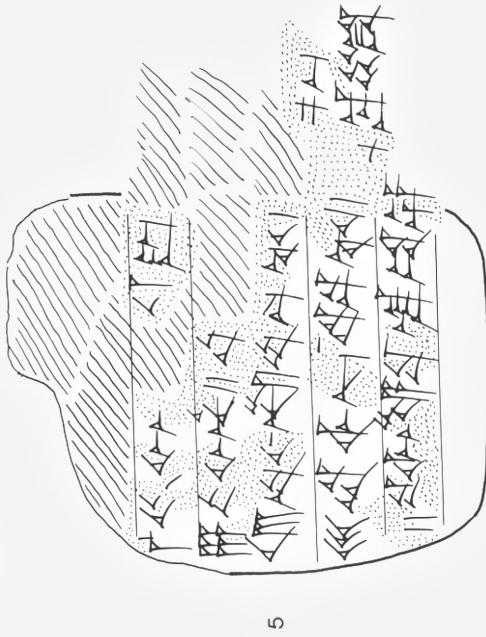


140



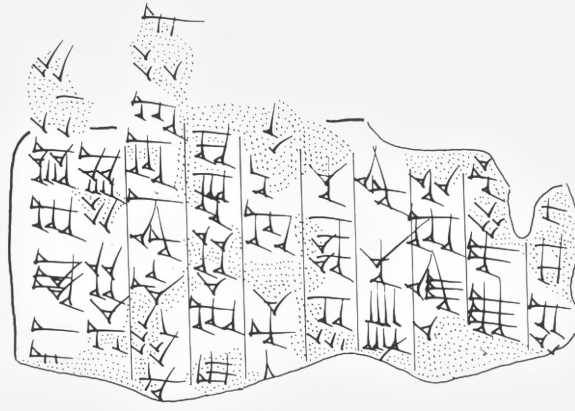


143



5

145

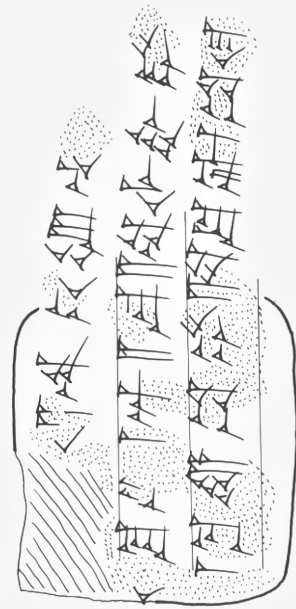


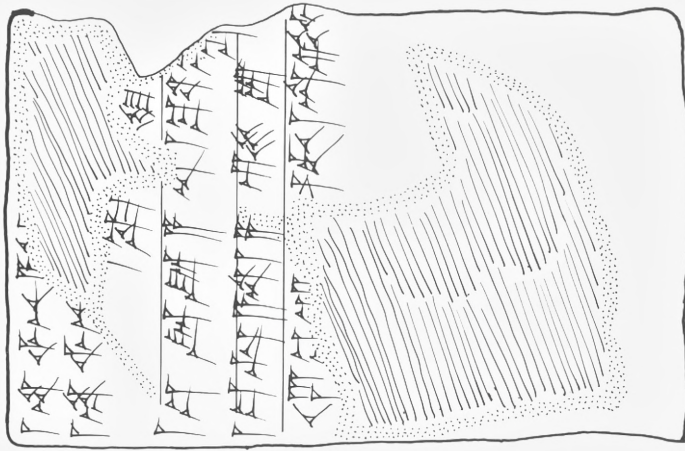
5

10



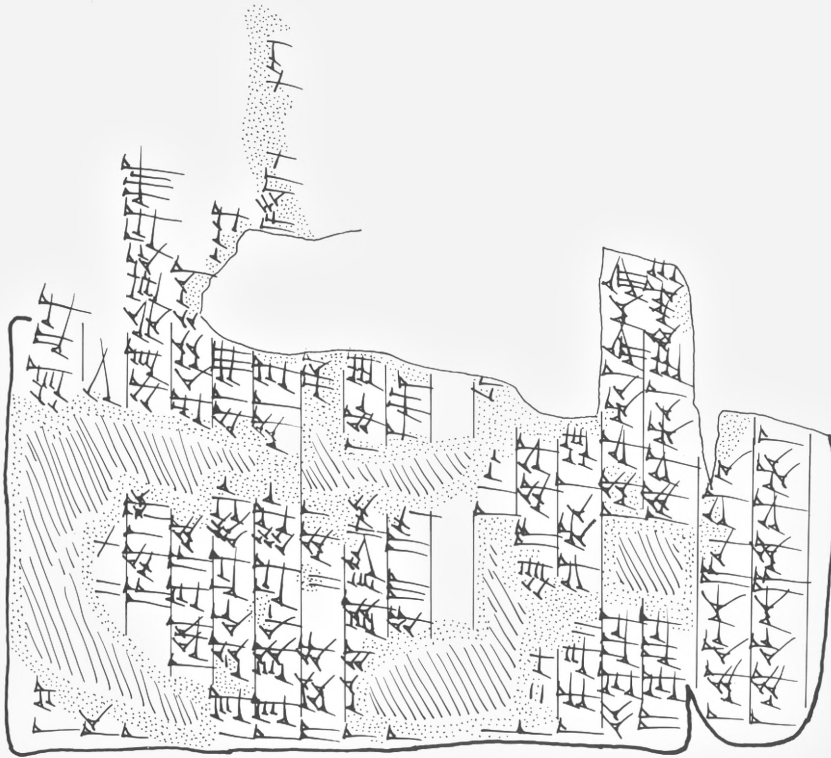
144





20

146



5

10

15

Photographs

Photos by J. Læssøe (JL), B. Mann Nielsen (BMN), and J. Eidem (JE)



2. Room 2 in Lower Town Palace ("Tablet Room"). Facing southwest (JL)



3. The Shemshāra Acropolis. View south. (JL)



4. Room 2 in Lower Town Palace (“Tablet Room”). Facing southeast (JL)



5. No. 1, obv. (JL)

6. No. 2, rev. (JE)

7. No. 3, obv. (JL)

8. No. 5, rev. (JL)

9. No. 11, obv. (JE)

10 a



10 b



10 c



11 a



11 b



12 a



12 b



13



- 10. No. 13 (JE)
- 11. No. 19 (JL)
- 12. No. 29 (JE)
- 13. No. 43, rev. (JL)

14



16



15



14. No. 46. obv. (JL)

15. No. 47. obv. and envelope (JE)

16. No. 50 (JL)

17



19 a



18



19 b



17. No. 51, obv. (JE)

18. No. 54, obv. (JE)

19. No. 57 (JE)

20



21



20. No. 58, obv. (JE)
21. No. 62 (JE)



22



23 a



23 b



23 c



22. No. 69. rev. (JE)

23. No. 87, col. 1-3 (JE)

24



25



26 a



26 b



27



28



24. No. 90, obv. (JE)
 25. No. 106 (JE)
 26. No. 111 (BMN)
 27. No. 116, obv. (BMN)
 28. No. 117, obv. (BMN)

29



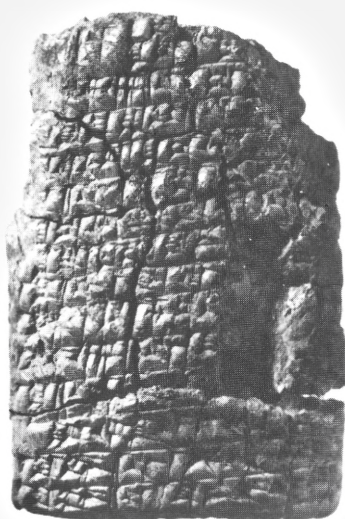
30



31



32



33



29. No. 120, obv. (BMN)
30. No. 125, obv. (BMN)
31. No. 128, obv. (BMN)
32. No. 132, obv. (BMN)
33. No. 146, obv. (BMN)

Title. – Titles should be kept as short as possible and with an emphasis on words useful for indexing and information retrieval.

Abstract, Summary. – An abstract in English is compulsory. It should count 10-15 lines, outline main features, stress novel information and conclusions, and end with the author's name, title, and institutional and/or private postal address. – Papers in Danish may be provided with a summary in another language by agreement between author and editor.

Typescript. – Page 1 should contain title, author's name and the name of the Academy. Page 2: Abstract, author's name and address. Page 3: Table of contents if necessary. Captions should be delivered on separate sheets. Footnotes should be avoided if at all possible; if indispensable, they, too, should be typed on separate sheets. Consult a *recent* issue of the series for general layout.

Typewrite with double space throughout and leave a 4 cm margin *right*. Indicate desired position of illustrations and tables with pencil in margin *and repeat it in the galley proof*.

Use three or fewer grades of heading unless more are indispensable. Avoid long headings. Indicate clearly the hierarchy of headings.

Figures. – Please submit two copies of each graph, map, photograph, etc., all marked with the author's name. Whenever possible all figures will be placed within the text; the nature of the illustrations will govern the editor's choice of paper quality.

All figures, also line drawings, must be submitted as glossy, photographic prints suitable for direct reproduction. Prints fitting the indicated printed area are preferred, but the final size is the responsibility of the editor. The scale should be indicated in the caption or, preferably, on the illustration itself.

Fold-out figures and tables should be avoided. Use distinct (but not dominant) capital letters for the items in composite figures. For transfer lettering use simple, semi-bold typefaces. The size of the smallest letters should not be less than 1.5 mm. Intricate tables are often more easily reproduced from line-drawings or from technically perfect original computer or type processor output.

References. – In general, the editor expects all references to be formally consistent and in accordance with accepted practice within the particular field of research. Bibliographical references should preferably be given as, e.g., Shergold 1975, 16, the latter figure indicating the page number unless misunderstandable.

Correspondence

Manuscripts should be sent to the Editor, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, H. C. Andersens Boulevard 35, DK-1553, Copenhagen V, Denmark (tlf. +45.1.11 32 40). Questions concerning subscription to the series should be directed to the publishers.

Publisher

Munksgaard Export and Subscription Service
Nørre Søgade 35, DK-1370 Copenhagen K, Denmark

Editor: Poul Lindegård Hjorth

© (Year) Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form without the written permission of the copyright owner.

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab

Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter

Hist. Filos. Skr. Dan. Vid. Selsk.

Priser excl. moms / Prices abroad in Danish Crowns

Vol.		
10:1.	THRANE, HENRIK: Sūkās IV. A Middle Bronze Age Collective Grave on Tall Sūkās. 1978. (Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 5) Simultaneously published: Publications 6: ALEXANDERSEN, VERNER: Sūkās V. A Study of Teeth and Jaws from a Middle Bronze Age Collective Grave on Tall Sūkās. <i>Biologiske Skrifter</i> 22:2	100.- 80.-
10:2.	RIIS, P.J.: Sūkās VI. The Graeco-Phoenician Cemetery and Sanctuary at the Southern Harbour. 1978. (Publications 7)	120.-
10:3.	OLDENBURG, EVELYN, and ROHWEDER, JØRGEN: The Excavations at Tall Darūk (Usnu?) and 'Arab-al-Mulk (Paltos). 1981. (Publications 8)	200.-
10:4.	BUHL, MARIE-LOUISE: Sūkās VII. The Near Eastern Pottery and Objects of Other Materials from the Upper Strata. 1983. (Publications 9)	200.-
11.	STEENSBERG, AXËL: Hal og gård i Hejninge. En arkæologisk undersøgelse af to sjællandske gårdtomter. 1986	200.-
12.	LUND, JOHN: Sūkās VIII. The Habitation Quarters (Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 10). 1986	400.-
13.	BECKER, C.J.: Nøtte Sandegård. Arkæologiske undersøgelser på Bornholm 1948-1952. 1990	400.-
14.	OLDENBURG, EVELYN: Sūkās IX. The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Periods (Publications of the Carlsberg Expedition to Phoenicia 11). 1991	250.-
15.	EIDEM, JESPER: The Shemshāra Archives 2. The Administrative Texts. 1992	350.-

Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser

Hist. Filos. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk.

Priser excl. moms / Prices abroad in Danish Crowns

Vol.		
55.	OLSEN, BIRGIT ANETTE: The Proto-Indoeuropean Instrument Noun Suffix *tlom and its Variants. 1988	100.-
56.	HANSEN, MOGENS HERMAN: Three Studies in Athenian Demography. 1988	50.-
57.	KRISTENSEN, ANNE KATRINE GADE: Who were the Cimmerians, and where did they come from? 1988	220.-
58.	CHRISTENSEN, TORBEN: Rufinus of Aquileia and the <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> , Lib. VIII-IX, of Eusebius. 1989	450.-
59.	HANSEN, MOGENS HERMAN: Was Athens a Democracy? 1989	50.-
60.	WILLIAMS, A.V.: The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg. Part I: Transliteration, Transcription and Glossary. Part II: Transliteration, Commentary and Pahlavi Text. 1990	500.-
61.	SCHMITT, RÜDIGER: Ernst Kuhn und Wilhelm Thomsen. Aspekte ihres Forschens im Spiegel ihrer Korrespondenz. 1990	50.-
62.	HANSEN, AAGE: Om Peder Laales danske ordsprog. Udg. af MERETE K. JØRGENSEN og IVER KJÆR. 1991	400.-
63.	FAVRHOLDT, DAVID: Niels Bohr's Philosophical Background. 1992	300.-
64.	KOCH, C. H.: Jens Kraft som filosof. 1992	50.-