Originalveröffentlichung in: Catherine Kuzucuoğlu, Catherine Marro (Hg.), Sociétés humaines et changement climatique à la fin du troisième millénaire: une crise a-t-elle eu lieu en Haute Mésopotamie? Actes du colloque de Lyon, 5–8 décembre 2005 (Varia Anatolica Bd. 19), Paris 2007, S. 417-456; Online-Veröffentlichung auf Propylaeum-DOK (2024), DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeumdok.00006246

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FROM URBAN CULTURE TO NOMADISM: A HISTORY OF UPPER MESOPOTAMIA IN THE LATE THIRD MILLENNIUM

Résumé

Cet article passe en revue les sources écrites de l'histoire de la Haute Mésopotamie de l'époque des archives d'Ebla (24ème siècle av. J-C.) jusqu'à la fin du Troisième Millénaire. L'objectif est de définir avec précision, en termes d'espace et de temps, les régions d'intérêt et de contrôle politique des différentes dynasties mésopotamiennes ou de leurs souverains.

À l'époque des archives d'Ebla (24ème siècle av J.-C.), les plaines de Haute Mésopotamie connurent le développement d'une culture urbaine florissante ; l'agriculture et l'élevage étaient organisés par les villes. Un demi millénaire plus tard cependant, d'après les textes de Mari (18ème siècle av. J.-C), de grands secteurs du triangle du Khabur ont perdu la plupart de leurs centres urbains ; et les nomades ont pris le contrôle du territoire.

Lors des dernières guerres entre Ebla, Nagar, Mari et 'Kish', la vie urbaine est considérablement réduite. La Haute Mésopotamie, en particulier le Khabur oriental avec Nagar, et le bassin supérieur du Tigre sont intégrés à l'Empire sargonide. Plus tard, c'est Urkish qui semble avoir pris un rôle majeur (22ème siècle). A l'époque de la 3ème Dynastie d'Ur (2110-2003), les villes les plus importantes sont Mari, Ebla, Urshu et Shimanum ; tandis que d'autres centres urbains apparaissent principalement le long des vallées du Tigre et de l'Euphrate. Les plaines septentrionales ont désormais perdu leur importance politique, en contraste complet avec les régions qui les entourent.

Ces plaines sont connues sous le nom de "pays amorite" pendant la période paléobabylonienne, et comme le démontre cet article, cette région était probablement déjà désignée sous ce terme à l'époque d'Ur III. Le processus de disparition des centres urbains à la fin du Troisième Millénaire suggère que la Haute Mésopotamie a été le lieu d'une ethnogenèse des nomades amorites.

THE PROBLEM: FROM EARLY URBAN CULTURE TO OLD BABYLONIAN NOMADISM

The rise and decline of dynasties, of states and of regions mark the path of history and the most dramatic developments attract the historian's attention. The history of the ancient Near East is rich in dramatic changes and the event we are dealing with here surely belongs to this category: the

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1) This article has profited from the discussions in Lyon in December 2005 and at the ARCANE meeting in München, July 2006. For their valuable remarks I am very grateful to Catherine Marro, Karen Radner, Frans van Koppen, to Peter Steinkeller, who kindly informed me about his own work on related matters, to Michael Roaf, who also helped me with my English, and to Alexander Pruß, who also was so kind to prepare the maps. M. Molina and R. de Maaijer have kindly provided me with the by now indispensible electronic text corpora. – In this article, English orthography is used for proper names (kh representing *ḫ*) without indicating vowel length.

decline of the urban culture in Upper Mesopotamia. Upper Mesopotamia is defined as the region between the Euphrates and the Tigris, confined to the South by the Babylonian alluvial plain and to the north by the mountain regions; it corresponds to *Mesopotamia* of classical antiquity, the Jezireh.

The beginning and end can be briefly characterized by focusing on one key region, the Khabur triangle: in the time of the Ebla archives, the 24th century B.C. according to the Middle Chronology, we observe a flourishing urban culture, a densely inhabited region, and an agricultural socio-economic situation not too different from southern Mesopotamia. The texts from Tell Beydar (ancient Nabada) make for a better understanding of the socio-economic conditions in the region: the main part of the population of the city depended on the central administration, which distributed monthly wages in grain. Agriculture was a common undertaking centrally organised, comparable to the system we know in the South. Even animal husbandry was controlled by the center, as the documents concerning sheep and goat herds and their shepherds testify. The area of land used for agriculture and for the herds of institutional Nabada would not allow for large scale independent nomadism in the same region[2]. But precisely this is what had been surmised for northern Mesopotamia before the texts from Tell Beydar were found and studied. So still as late as 2000, G. van Driel could write as follows: "While the earlier economy of the Mesopotamian alluvium can still be seen by many as an economy totally dominated by the institutions, especially, in the Third Millennium, the temple, such an approach is impossible for the North. This is the direct result of the natural circumstances in combination with the ethnic situation, which exclude complete institutional domination of both arable agriculture and animal husbandry ... A static, localised, institution cannot dominate a largely non-sedentary population, which drifts in and out of both arable agriculture and animal husbandry"[3]. This traditional view, which has now changed after the study of the Tell Beydar evidence, was not based on written or archaeological sources from the period under discussion, but was inferred from the situation in the Old Babylonian period.

And indeed, half a millennium later, at the time of the Mari texts, in the 18th century B.C., the picture has completely changed: large parts of the Khabur triangle, especially in its central and western parts in the country of Idamaras, were almost devoid of settlements, nomads controlling the land. The change is easily recognizable in the archaeological record: the dense network of urban centers disappeared at the end of the Early Jezireh IIIb, small sites were given up, larger ones were reduced in size, and after the Akkad period (EJ IV) only a few settlements remained[4]. The reapparance of settlements in the early Second Millennium, the Amorite period, especially in the eastern part of the Khabur is reflected in the Amorite renaming of toponyms also in use in other places[5].

The political history linked to the archaeologically-attested development of northern Mesopotamia remaining largely unknown, both cause and consequences of the decline of urban settlements are only imperfectly understood and mostly still guesswork[6]. This of course is due to the scarcity of written sources from Upper Mesopotamia or relating to this region. Narrative royal inscriptions originate only from the southern centers such as Akkad or Ur, but they do not relate the exploitation of agricultural land, climatic changes, movements of peoples; other narrative historical sources such as annals or chronicles are not known yet, and the few Ebla letters do not contribute substantially.

The following attempt to set down the history of Upper Mesopotamia in the late Third Millennium is based mainly on royal inscriptions and administrative documents. Inscriptions con-

2) Pruß and Sallaberger 2003/04 have provided arguments how deeply animal husbandry is rooted in the urban culture of Tell Beydar.

3) Van Driel 2000 : 282 ff.

4) For an overview of the development in the Khabur region according to survey data see Lyonnet 1996, *ead.* 2004 ; and see Ur 2004 for a comparison of the situation in the later Third Millennium and the early Second Millennium/Old Babylonian period : for the Tell Beydar survey (e.g. p. 334 f., figs. 4.26 and 4.27), for the Tell Hamoukar survey (p. 326 f. fig. 4.18 and 4.20). For a historical-archaeological description of the region in EJ IIIb see Sallaberger and Ur 2004 ; for the situation during the time of the Mari archives see e.g. Guichard 2002 (especially p. 154 ff. on "les Bédouins") or Durand 1998 : 417 ff., both with further literature. Early Jezireh (EJ) periodization according to Lebeau *et al.* 2000.

5) Charpin 2003 : 17 f.

6) Weiss 1997.

centrate on the exertion of political power and on wars and hence relate historical events. But even the shortest inscriptions, indicating only name and title, can form an integral part of the history of states and rulers, since they indicate the political ruler at a given place and at a certain point of time. Administrative documents are of restricted use, if they deal with local matters only, but some of them can be employed for a reconstruction of history. Letters are the most important source for the history of the Second Millennium, but letter archives comparable to Mari, Shemshara, Amarna or Hattusha do not exist for the Third Millennium.

Despite these obstacles, the history of Upper Mesopotamia in the late Third Millennium has been summarized on various occasions in the past years[7]. Whereas the Hurrians have attracted most attention[8], a more general view on the region before the Old Babylonian period has not been put forward yet[9].

It is the intention of this paper to review the sources related to the history of Upper Mesopotamia from the time of the Ebla archives until the end of the Third Millennium. In this undertaking I will draw on sources that have only recently become available and focus on texts that have been neglected in the historical narratives. The aim is to define more exactly in terms of space and time regions in which various rulers and dynasties had political control or maintained an interest. In so doing one has to concentrate on the most important powers of the late Third Millennium, the dynasties of Akkade in the 23rd and of Ur in the 21st century B.C. It is of special interest to observe how the zones of control differ between Akkad and Ur. The reference to Upper Mesopotamia in the kingdoms of the South reveals much about the political landscape of the region.

A NOTE ON CHRONOLOGY: HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION AND RADIOCARBON DATES

Any historian of the Third Millennium B.C. is inevitably hampered by the difficulties of the chronology. Here, our terms of reference are the conventional Middle chronology; more exactly, all dates should be brought forward by 16 years in accordance with the most plausible recent calculations of the absolute dates based on a solar eclipse under Shamshi-Adad and the dendrochronological dating of the Acemhöyük palace. Our choice of this chronology is based on the following methodological considerations: the new proposal for absolute dating is linked to dendrochronology; dendrochronology and radiocarbon dates are closely interrelated, since all wood samples have been dated by ^{14}C. Radiocarbon dating is also used for archaeological excavations, and therefore these archaeological dates should correspond to the historical dates, since the latter are basically relative dates linked to the absolute chronology, which in our case corresponds to the dendrochronological sequence. Since the newly revised Middle Chronology has to stand the test of time and since the historical uncertainties are much greater for the Third Millennium, the traditional Middle Chronology is kept here.

The historical relative chronology of the second half of the Third Millennium still contains various uncertainties[10]. For the Akkad rulers, I rely on the Sumerian King List and for Naram-Sin the higher number of 56 years is chosen, which is basically confirmed by the Ur III exemplar of the king list[11]; for Sargon two dates are given, 55 years in the Sumerian King List and 40 years in its Ur III manuscript. This is of secondary importance, however, since the end of the reign of Sargon is more relevant for a correlation with the destruction of Mari and Ebla (which are all guesses based on probability).

7) Here, I only mention D. I. Owen 1992 on 'Syrians' in Ur III archival sources, the overview of H. Weiss and M.-A. Courty (1993), P. Steinkeller's history of an early Hurrian kingdom in northern Mesopotamia (1998), P. Michalowski (1999) on the use of the toponym Subir, Th. Richter (2004) on the early history of the Hurrians, and the view from the most important urban center, Tell Brak, by Joan and David Oates (2001).

8) See also e.g. Salvini 1998, 2000, Wilhelm 1988, 1998.

9) Characteristically, the two recent great works on the history of the Old Babylonian period, Charpin 2004 and Charpin and Ziegler 2003 do not touch the period under consideration. There, the history starts with the (re)sedentarization of the Amorites.

10) These uncertainties have been recently summarized in Sallaberger 2004.

11) Steinkeller 2003.

The Guti period, the gap between the end of Sargon's dynasty at Akkad (death of Sharkalisharri) and the beginning of the Ur III dynasty is calculated as 40 years, as had been proposed by W. Hallo[12]. Whereas it seems impossible to reduce the Guti period, nothing speaks against an extension, and indeed, recently P. Steinkeller[13], also drawing on various hitherto unpublished sources, has argued for a much longer Guti period of up to 100 years. I endorse this contribution by adding a second date favouring a 100-year Guti period, which, as we will see, agrees well with both the archaeological radiocarbon dates and certain historical developments. The two dates given may indicate a time frame within the Middle chronology.

The correlation of the Babylonian chronology and the destructions of Ebla and Mari is based on recently presented arguments[14] together with the new data provided by Archi and Biga[15] and an addition by Charpin[16]. As can be seen from Table 1 below, all dates before Ur III contain an increasing factor of uncertainty. A more detailed presentation of the historical chronology of the Third Millennium will be found in a forthcoming volume of the ARCANE project.

The historical dates are essentially relative dates and the correlation with ^{14}C archaeological dating remains difficult at the moment. Such a correlation is not meant as a proof to establish whether the radiocarbon dates or the absolute historical dates used are 'correct', but as a test to understand the relationship between the two sets of data better. Before radiocarbon dates can be used for historical argumentation, one has to dispose of a good series of ^{14}C dates from historically dated contexts.

Table 1 : Dates of Middle Chronology ; Akkad period dates depending on the duration of the Guti period of 40 years (left, minimum) or 100 years (right, maximum).

Akkade		
Sargon (55/40 years)	2298/2293-2254	2358/2343-2314
defeat of Lugalzagesi	*ca.* 2275	*ca.* 2335
destruction of Mari	*ca.* 2270	*ca.* 2330
destruction of Ebla	*ca.* 2280	*ca.* 2340
Rimush/Manishtushu (22 years)	2253-2232	2313-2292
Naram-Sin (56 years)	2231-2176	2291-2236
Sharkalisharri (25 years)	2175-2151	2235-2211
Guti period	**40 years** (Hallo)	**100 years** (Steinkeller)
	ca. 2150-2111	*ca.* 2210-2111
Ur III:	2110-2003	
Ur-Namma	2110-2093	
Shulgi	2092-2045	
Amar-Sin	2044-2036	
Shu-Sin	2035-2027	
Ibbi-Sin	2026-2003	
Isin: 2019-1794		
Ishbi-Erra	2019-1987	(Ishbi-Erra 1 = Ibbi-Suen 8)
Shu-ilishu	1986-1977	
etc.		
Larsa:	1933-1763	
Babylon I:		
Hammurabi	1792-1750	

12) W. Hallo 1972-1975 : 713 f.
13) Steinkeller (in preparation).
14) Sallaberger 2004.
15) Archi and Biga 2003.
16) Charpin 2005.

Only then a correlation of the absolute radiocarbon dates and any historical chronology can be developed. The current state of knowledge should be exemplified by the few examples available. In the following the radiocarbon dates are indicated as they are given by archaeologists in their publications; readers should always keep in mind that these are hypotheses.

Tell Brak: The Naram-Sin building can be placed in relation to the dust layer discovered by Marie-Agnès Courty, which is thought to be the result of an "exceptional air blast event". The dust layer predates the Naram-Sin palace[17]. According to Courty[18] the "Late EJ III/Early Akkadian Air Blast event " happened after the end of EJ III period, a radiocarbon date of "2350 B.C." is given. Even the longer historical chronology (based on Steinkeller's 100 years Guti period) would be a little too late (destruction of Ebla *ca.* 2340, adapted Middle Chronology *ca.* 2325).

From the destruction layer of phase L, the end of EJ III, comes a radiocarbon date based on grain of 2450/30 or 2350/2200 B.C.[19]. If we try to correlate this with the destructions of Mari or Ebla (see below for the historical arguments), the first date is too early, the second one much too imprecise to be of any help.

Tell Beydar: The radiocarbon date of the layer of the Beydar tablets is given as "2475-2380 B.C."[20]. If the tablets predate the end of Ebla by around 40 years, again the historical date (*ca.* 2320 or 2380, adapted Middle Chronology *ca.* 2305 or 2365 B.C.) of the longer adapted Middle Chronology gives the better fit, although it is at the later extreme as well.

Mari: The destruction of Mari "Ville II" is dated according to ^{14}C analysis to "2291-2200 B.C."[21]. According to historical considerations this date should be around 2270 or 2330 (revised: 2255 or 2315) in our relative sequence of events. Here, the lower revised Middle Chronology (40 years Guti period) gives the better fit.

Tell Mozan: Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati[22] give "2175 B.C." as a radiocarbon date for the Tupkish phase 2a of Palace AK at Mozan, based on four samples. This phase is earlier than the presence of Naram-Sin's daughter Tar'am-Akkade, probably still in the time of Naram-Sin or before. According to the revised Middle Chronology, Naram-Sin ruled between 2291/2231-2236/2176, and therefore a plausible date for Tupkish would be somewhere in the range 2250-2200 or 2310-2260. Here, only the later historical date seems possible.

In conclusion, the currently available radiocarbon dates do not authorise a correlation with the historical dates, since the historically determined relative distances between certain events (above: Beydar tablets, end of Brak phase L and before Naram-Sin, destruction of Mari ville II, Tupkish at Mozan) do not agree with the relative distances between the radiocarbon dates. The Tell Brak and Tell Beydar datings are "earlier", Mari and Tell Mozan "later". Scientifically published and critically evaluated radiocarbon dates from seeds and from contexts like the destruction layer of Ebla, various phases at Tell Mozan or the historical layers of Tell Leilan would certainly make for a better correlation of historical events and radiocarbon dates.

THE END OF EBLA

The first royal inscription concerning our region comes from the South: Eanatum of Lagash boasts of a military defeat of Kish, Akshak and Mari; apparently armies from these three centers had intruded on the territory of Lagash after an attack by an eastern coalition of Elam, Subir and the eastern city URU×A[23]. Eanatum ruled roughly little more than a century before Sargon's victory over

17) Oates and Oates 2001 : 392.
18) Courty 2001.
19) Oates and Oates 2001 : 382.
20) Lebeau and Milano 2003 : 20.
21) Archi and Biga 2003 : 30.
22) Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2000 : 154.
23) Ean. 2 : "(vi 21–20) E'anatum, the prince of Lagash, who subdues all countries to Ninĝirsu, defeated Elam, Subir and URU×A from the Asuhur canal. (vi 21–vii 2) He defeated Kish, Akshak and Mari from the Antasura of Ninĝirsu" (Steible and Behrens 1982 : 150f. ; Cooper 1986 : 42). The obviously correct historical interpretation is given e.g. by Michalowski 1999 : 307. Antasura and Asuhur are toponyms of the city state of Girsu ; see Steinkeller 1998 : 78.

Sumer (*ca.* 2400/2375 or 2460/2435); at that period, still half a century before the beginning of the Ebla archives, Mari's influence reached as far as Sumer. Later, Mari never achieved a comparable extension of power again.

The vast region from Sumer in the South to Subir/Subartu in the North[24] and Ebla in the West was closely linked by cultural and economic bonds in the Pre-Sargonic period. The most impressive testimony to the 'international' exchanges are the archives from the palace of Ebla, which include for example valuable evidence for the relations with Mari, the first ancient power on the Euphrates, with Nagar/Tell Brak in the Khabur triangle, and with Kish, which may have been the contemporary name for the land of Babylonia[25]. Ebla was part of a Mesopotamian-Syrian cultural *continuum*, and nothing is known about contacts with the Levant from the textual evidence.

The *ca.* forty years covered by the archives from Ebla's palace G witness a change in the distribution of power in Upper Mesopotamia and Syria[26]. Whereas Mari alone had dominated the region during the early years covered by the archives, Ebla gained importance and became one of the leading powers, being almost on a par with Mari[27]. The struggle for power eventually led to a coalition of Ebla with Nagar, modern Tell Brak in the Khabur plain, and with Kish in Babylonia against Mari. The decisive battle between the allies and Mari was fought near Terqa and was regarded as a victory for Ebla. But three years after the victory, Ebla was destroyed. The conclusion drawn by Archi and Biga[28] that it was Mari which had destroyed Ebla is absolutely convincing. Also Tell Brak was severely damaged at about this period; a destruction layer was discovered in various areas of the city. Is it too far-fetched to suggest that Nagar suffered a fate similar to its former ally Ebla?[29]

Mari continued to exist for another ten years or so and the Pre-Sargonic tablets found there were correlated with her last rulers by Charpin[30]. But Mari was finally destroyed, and this must have been achieved by Sargon of Akkade, as the relevant year date and royal inscriptions indicate[31]. This means the end of the Early Dynastic town of Mari, the "Ville II" as labeled by the excavator Jean-Claude Margueron[32].

The Ebla archives document fragments of the history of Upper Mesopotamia and northern Syria over about forty years. Always, wars had been fought between city states. But in the end, the coalition between Nagar, Ebla and Kish, their war against Mari, Mari's revenge and destruction of Ebla three years later and perhaps even of Nagar and then finally the invasion of Sargon apparently meant an unprecedented dimension in warfare. More generally, we must not forget the effects of such wars

24) On Subir/Subartu see the clarifying statement by Steinkeller 1998 : 77, separating a broader term "Subartu" for the "North" (of Sumer and Akkad) from Subartu in the narrow sense, refering to the east Tigris region north of the Diyala and thus largely corresponding to the heartland of later Assyria ; see furthermore Archi 1998 : 3f., Michalowski 1999, all citing earlier literature.

25) See the summary of Ebla's relations by Archi and Biga 2003. The international correspondence and treaties of Ebla are now edited by Fronzaroli 2003.

26) Throughout this article, the term Syria is used in its geographical sense covering the region to the West of the Euphrates.

27) For the history of Ebla and especially the events at the destruction see Archi and Biga 2003.

28) Archi and Biga 2003.

29) See Oates and Oates 2001 : 382 on the destruction layer ending phase L ; on the radiocarbon date see above. The history of Nagar is known for about thirty-five years thanks to Ebla (Archi 1998). Since Nagar was at the peak of its influence during this period, especially if the dating of the Beydar tablets *ca.* 40 years before the end of Ebla proves to be correct, a major destruction shortly before the time of the Ebla archives seems less probable than at the end. Two states may be considered responsible for the destruction in the first place : either Mari, as Archi and Biga 2003 consider for Ebla, or Sargon. But if Sargon was in fact the king of Kish at that time (as suggested by Sallaberger 2004 : 24) and since Kish was an ally of Ebla and Nagar, everything points to Mari or perhaps an ally of Mari as responsible for Nagar's destruction.

30) See Charpin 2005. The texts from Chantier B at Mari (Charpin 1987, 1989) date to years 20-35 of an unnamed ruler ; this should correspond to the time of Ṭāb-da'ar (previously read "Hida'ar", new reading proposed by G. Marchesi), a contemporary of Ish'ar-Damu of Ebla ; the end of Ṭāb-da'ar dates around Ish'ar-Damu 35, his last year. The tablets of groups C and D bear dates of years 2-8 which should correspond to Ishqi-Mari of Mari. In his year 9 then, Mari was destroyed. The paleographic appearance of the Mari tablets (later than Beydar and Ebla, but before Sargonic) corresponds well to the sequence proposed by Charpin 2005.

31) See most conveniently Kienast and Sommerfeld 1994 : 91 f. *s.v.* Mari. For the Sargonic year dates see Gelb and Kienast 1990 : 49–61 and Frayne 1993, both relying on the work of A. Westenholz.

32) Margueron 2004.

on the society and economy of the whole region: men were absent from their work, were wounded and killed, the armies had to be sustained. This is all the more serious since society rested on a firm basis of men working as farmers in peace times and as soldiers in war[33].

The consequences of large scale wars and the neglect of agriculture could even lead to a real disaster. As K. Radner[34] has demonstrated, Moroccan locusts live in Upper Mesopotamia and without control – especially in times of war – swarms may arise in restricted areas. The letters of the Second Millennium illustrate their immense destructive force: Mari's governor of Qaṭṭunān could hardly stop his people from leaving their cities and during the Middle Assyrian locust invasion the inhabitants fled from the settlements. Since similar cases are attested twice for the Khabur area, we must not exclude the possibility that such a natural catastrophe caused by human warfare could have occurred once or several times in the Third Millennium, too. The wars at the end of the Ebla period are good cases, which could have led to such catastrophes.

On a more general level, the texts from Ebla and Tell Beydar[35] confirm the archaeological evidence: the whole Khabur region was densely inhabited during EJ IIIb. A century or so later, the place names from the Old Akkadian Tell Brak texts tend to concentrate on the Jaghjagh region only, the eastern part of the Khabur triangle[36]. Beside political turmoils, the exploitation of the natural resources may have contributed to the decline of the urban, agriculture-based culture in the Khabur region and to the end or drastic reduction of many sites, especially in the western part of the Khabur triangle and in adjacent regions to the West. But the discussion at the meeting in Lyon (December 2005, see this volume) has made it clear that climatic changes cannot be made the sole or main factor responsible for this sudden decline.

Therefore the exceptional intensity of the battles, wars and conquests leading to the destruction of the prominent centres of Ebla and Mari may plausibly be related to the dramatic reduction in urban culture. With the evidence at present available I am inclined to give more weight to political and social causes for the decline at the end of EJ IIIb than to a change in climate or agricultural conditions. All the leading powers of its time were engaged in the wars at the end of the Ebla period: Ebla, Nagar, and Kish, *i.e.* Sargon of Akkade, on the one side, Mari and perhaps Armi on the other. Possibly even Lugalzagesi of Uruk was involved in the conflict, and as the adversary of Sargon he must have been an ally of Mari; after Mari's victory against Ebla he could really have directed the ways of his people to the "Upper Sea", as his famous inscription says[37]. This was a truly outstanding conflict in the history of the Third Millennium. Furthermore, after Sargon's triumph no comparable military campaign was led from the South into Upper Mesopotamia for the rest of the millennium, as the year dates of the dynasties of Akkad and of Ur III testify. But Upper Mesopotamia never recovered from this catastrophe.

SARGON, RIMUSH AND MANISHTUSHU: AKKADIAN CONQUEST OF UPPER MESOPOTAMIA

As said above, the wars between the leading powers of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia had weakened the country so much that even a king from a distant region, namely Sargon of Akkade, could conquer the land. As already mentioned, it is quite possible that he was already involved as an ally of Ebla and Nagar against Mari. According to his inscriptions, Sargon conquered Mari, and a year date for the destruction of Mari is reasonably attributed to Sargon. It is impossible to date Sargon's Western campaign more exactly, whether it happened before or after Sargon's final victory against Lugalzagesi in the South. In any case it may be attributed to his later years, and surely after the inclu-

33) These men are called lú-giš-DU in the Tell Beydar texts ; they can be compared to similar segments of the society in Southern Mesopotamia ; see Sallaberger in print.

34) K. Radner 2004.

35) Most recently Milano *et al.* 2004 with further references.

36) Summarized by Charpin 2003 : 18 note 122.

37) Steible and Behrens 1982 : 317 ii 3-11. I owe this important observation to Michael Roaf.

sion of Nippur in his empire[38]. The conquest of Mari concerned a region much larger than just Mari and its immediate hinterland, as Sargon's inscriptions make clear:

> "Mari and Elam stood before Sargon, king of the land" (*RIME* 2, E2.1.1.1 Sum. 81-87 // Akk. 86–93; also 1.1.2:92-99),

thus pointing to the conquests in the East and in the West. And:

> "King Sargon bowed down to the god Dagan in Tuttul and prayed to him. He (Dagan) gave to him (Sargon) the Upper Land, (and) Mari, Yarmuti, Ebla, as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountain." (*RIME* 2, E2.1.1.11 Sum. 14-18 // Akk. 17-35).

Upper Mesopotamia was probably included in the account of the conquests under the designation "Upper Land" (kalam igi.nim // *mātum alītum*); "Upper Land" is the region mentioned by Naram-Sin in the context of Amar-girid's expedition to Upper Mesopotamia (see below). The cited Sargon passage (E2.1.1.11), however, separates the "Upper Land" and the other places ("Mari, etc.") by the verb in both versions. Does that mean that the "Upper Land" is a different entity than Mari and the Syrian places enumerated later? Or does "Upper Land" as a very general designation comprise all the places mentioned? In any case Sargon himself took much more interest in his victories against Lugalzagesi of Uruk and against Elam than in his Mari and Syrian campaign, as the preserved inscriptions and copies testify.

Of the two sons of Sargon, Manishtushu and Rimush, the latter has left more important traces in Upper Mesopotamia. Two fragments of stone vessels with an inscription concerning Rimush were unearthed in the Naram-Sin palace at Tell Brak. One of these inscriptions identifies the vessel as booty from his campaign to Elam and Parahshum[39], the other inscription names only "Rimush, king of Kish"[40]. Similar vessels from Rimush's campaigns have been found in many Mesopotamian sites, at Girsu, Nippur, Ur, Uruk, Sippar, Kish(?), Tutub. The distribution depends in part on the irregular nature of modern excavations, but still it is revealing: apart from the great centres of Babylonia, such vessels were found only at Tutub in the Diyala region, a place linked closely to the Sargonic royal family[41], and at Tell Brak. We do not attempt to reconstruct the longer inscription to see if it was a dedication to a deity or not. But we may speculate about the way these royal vessels have reached Tell Brak. Precious objects from booty were kept in the royal storehouse or they were dedicated to the gods of the land, but they could also be given as presents to the political and military elite or as diplomatic gifts to vassals and allies. Although the dedication to a deity cannot be excluded, I would suggest that the provenance from the palatial area evokes a royal gift to a loyal governor at Tell Brak[42].

The Rimush stone vessels can thus be seen as an important testimony to the role of Tell Brak in the internal organization of the Akkade empire. This status becomes even more plausible, if one accepts the most recent proposal for a localisation of Akkade near the confluence of the Tigris and the Adheim rivers[43]. This evidently implies a stronger orientation towards the North than the tradi-

38) The relevant year date ("Mari destroyed"), which is plausibly ascribed to Sargon, is found on Nippur tablets ; *cf.* Frayne 1993 : 8. Unfortunately, it is not possible to date the events of Sargon's reign (see above on some plausible estimates). Note that the important datum of Meskigala of Adab, who was considered ruler both under Lugalzagesi and Sargon's son Rimush, is not relevant any more, since new unpublished evidence points to two different persons (information kindly provided by F. Pomponio at the ARCANE meeting at München in July 2006).

39) Eidem *et al.* 2001 : 105, Brak 1b, published in *Iraq* 9, pl. L,4 = *RIME* 2.1.2.16.

40) Eidem *et al.* 2001 : 105, Brak 1a ; see Potts 1989 : 149 f.

41) Sommerfeld 1999 : 36 ff.

42) Eidem *et al.* 2001 : 105 assume that the vessel was dedicated to a local deity. However, deities of Nagar/Tell Brak or of Upper Mesopotamia (besides the Tigris valley) do not play a role in the Akkadian corpus. The fragments were found in the 'Naram-Sin Palace'. A later import cannot be excluded, but given the distribution of the vessels at major Mesopotamian sites in the South, the obvious assumption is a simple transfer from an earlier building of the local governor to the 'Naram-Sin Palace'.

43) Reade 2002 : 269.

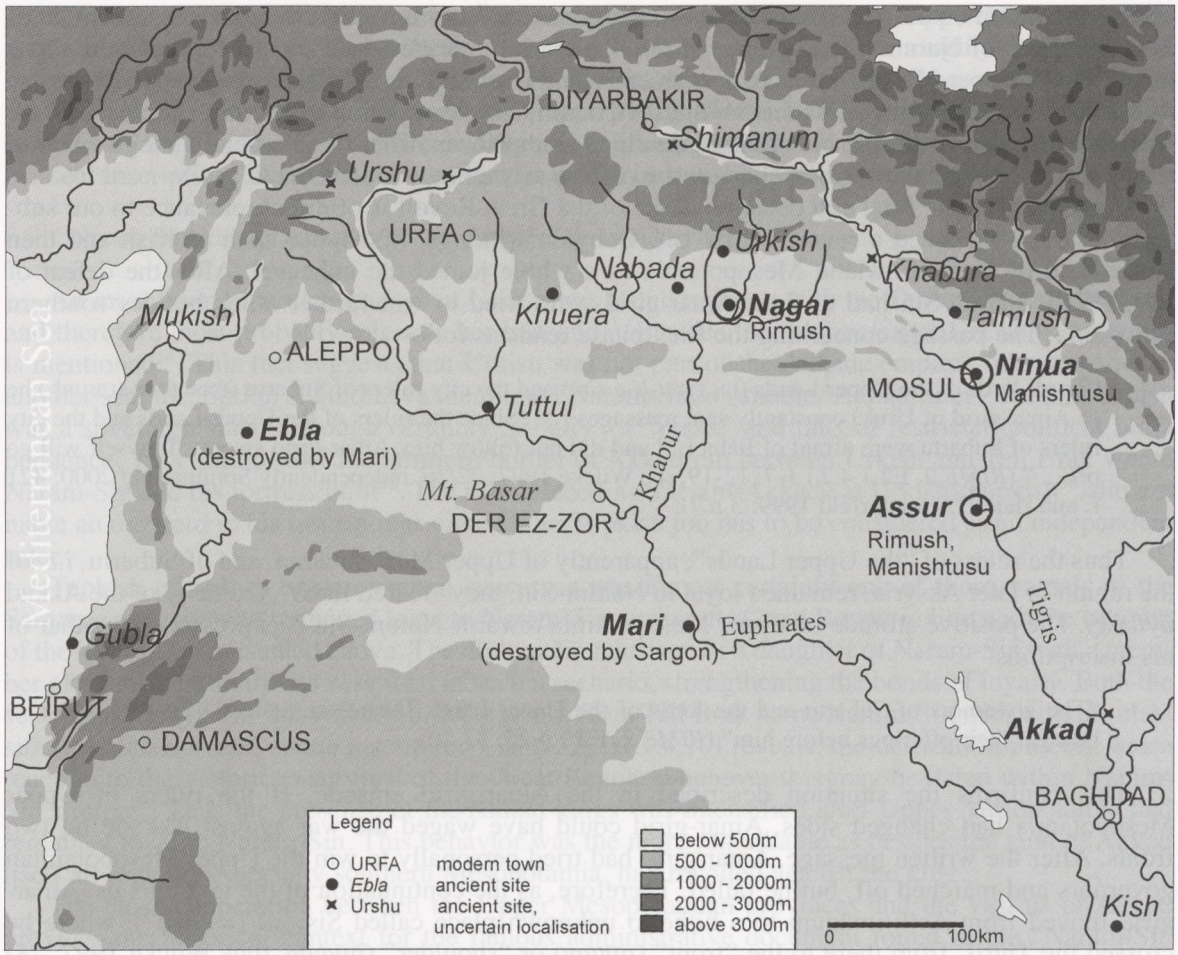

Fig. 1 : Early Sargonic presence in Upper Mesopotamia (Map by Alexander Pruß).

tional localisation in northern Babylonia would imply. In addition we note that inscriptions from Rimush and a servant of Manishtushu were found at Assur[44] and that Manishtushu is said to have built the Ishtar temple at Niniveh (*RIMA* 1, A.0.39.2). Fragmentary as this evidence may be, it indicates that the regions of later Assyria and the eastern Khabur triangle became an integral part of the empire of Akkad well before Naram-Sin.

THE REIGN OF NARAM-SIN: UPPER MESOPOTAMIA AS LOYAL PARTNER OF AKKAD

The long rule of Naram-Sin lasting more than fifty years[45] is crucial for the history of Upper Mesopotamia in the Akkad period. The historical inscriptions of Naram-Sin, the 'Naram-Sin Palace' at Tell Brak, the Tar'am-Akkade seal inscription and the Hurrian presence at Urkish at present dom-

44) Rimush : *RIME* 2, E2.1.2.19 ex.42, Manishtushu : *RIME* 2, E2.1.3.2002 = *RIMA* 1, A.0.1002.2001 ; cf. *RIME* 2, E2.0.0.1005.

45) Even if the dates of the Sumerian King List cannot be proven by contemporary evidence, the deeds accomplished by Naram-Sin and the sheer number of texts preserved point to a very long reign, like e.g. Shulgi (48 years), Rim-Sin (60 years) or Hammurabi (43 years). So the dates of the Sumerian King List are at least probable and can therefore be retained, especially if one accepts an early, Sargonic origin of the text (see Steinkeller 2003 on the Ur III version of the Sumerian King List ; Sallaberger 2004 : 27-29 on length of reign of Naram-Sin).

inate our opinion on the view on this period. P. Steinkeller[46] has recently offered a reconstruction of the campaigns of Naram-Sin in Upper Mesopotamia: he interpreted the evidence as pointing to a major war in Upper Mesopotamia against an emerging Hurrian kingdom. However, new data ask for a revision: 1. the improved understanding of Naram-Sin's inscription concerning the end of the Great Revolt; and 2. the Tar'am-Akkade-sealings from Mozan. These two crucial data give rise to a new historical narrative, which changes the picture as we know it considerably.

The course of the final and decisive phase of the Great Revolt is of direct relevance to our subject[47]. Naram-Sin faced a revolt led by two Babylonian kings, first Iphur-Kish of Kish and then Amar-girid of Uruk. Lowland Mesopotamia as a whole joined the upheavel. After the defeat of Iphur-Kish, Naram-Sin had to fight Amar-girid, who tried to win further allies besides southern Babylonia. The passage concerning the final phase reads as follows:

> "To all lords of the Upper Lands (EN.EN *a-lí-a-tim*) and the city rulers of Subartu (ÉNSI.ÉNSI ŠUBUR^{ki}) he (= Amar-girid of Uruk) constantly sent messages [...]. Since the rulers of the Upper Lands and the city rulers of Subartu were afraid of Ilaba [...] and did not follow him, Amar-girid swore: 'I myself will go off' ..." (*RIME* 2, E2.1.4.2 i 1-7. 12-19, see Wilcke 1997: 22/26, independently Sommerfeld 2000: 421 f. and [later!] Sommerfeld 1999: 3 n.7).

Thus the rulers of "the Upper Lands", apparently of Upper Mesopotamia, and of Subartu, *i.e.* of the region of later Assyria, remained loyal to Naram-Sin; they "feared Ilaba", the deity of the Akkad dynasty. The positive attitude of Upper Mesopotamia towards Naram-Sin is expressed in another of his inscriptions:

> "The governors of Subartu and the lords of the Upper Lands (ÉNSI.ÉNSI ŠUBUR^{ki} *ù* EN.EN *a-lí-a-tim*) brought their offerings before him" (*RIME* 2, E2.1.4.25: 33-40).

This confirms the situation described in the Amar-girid episode. If the rulers of Upper Mesopotamia had changed sides, Amar-girid could have waged the war against Akkade on two fronts. After the written message, Amar-girid had tried personally to win the Upper Mesopotamian governors and marched off, but he failed. Therefore, as the continuation of the text tells us, Amar-girid moved from As(h)imānum to a hitherto unknown place called Sisi-AN (= Sisil?), where he crossed the Tigris, from there to the "front" (*pūtum*) or "shoulder" (*būdum*, thus Wilcke 1997: 28) of the Euphrates, crossed the Euphrates and continued his way to Mt. Basar, modern Jebel Bishri. Naram-Sin approached Mt. Basar from Akkade[48]. Here, at Jebel Bishri, the decisive battle between Naram-Sin of Akkade and Amar-girid of Uruk was fought, the final victory falling to Naram-Sin. Amar-girid was taken prisoner as were 31 nobles and 6143 ordinary soldiers; 9 nobles and 9126 men were killed. The grand total of captives and dead, probably from the nine battles of the great Revolt, lists [2] kings, 13 generals, 33 city rulers (ÉNSI), 1210 nobles and 118140 men[49]. Concerning the numbers given, some evidence of the text itself indicates the scale of the wars fought by Naram-Sin, a deed remembered for centuries in Mesopotamia. The highest political and military leaders killed and captured are listed by name. The numbers of warriors killed and captured in each battle give the the scale of the numbers involved in the war. The totals point to an army of at least 15.000 men for Amar-girid, an impressive number, possible only because cities throughout Babylonia had joined him.

46) Steinkeller 1998 : 91-93.

47) The text has been (re)published by Wilcke 1997 and (partly) by Sommerfeld 2000, improving considerably the provisional edition as found in *RIME* 2, E2.1.4.2. Some corrections of the text have been added by Sommerfeld 1999 : 3 note 7.

48) On this passage see besides the edition of Wilcke 1997 the notes by Sommerfeld 2000 : 423 (with further literature). The place name Sisil can not yet be identified with confidence, and the equation of As(h)imanum with Ur III Shimanum (on this see below) must remain uncertain. It can only be safely stated that Amar-girid must have started east of the Tigris, since he crossed both the Tigris and the Euphrates to reach Jebel Bishri. Since place names before the Tigris crossing are named, perhaps he followed the Tigris towards the North, crossed the Jezireh and approached Jebel Bishri from the North.

49) Wilcke 1997 : 24/27 vii 4-20.

The episode is important for our inquiry as demonstrating the loyalty of Upper Mesopotamia to Akkad in a time of far-reaching upheavel, whereby Amar-girid's expedition roughly determines the extent of the "Upper Land" (kalam igi.nim // *mātum alītum* or *aliātum* "the Upper ones").

The second new data is a seal inscription found at Tell Mozan/Urkish. A daughter of Naram-Sin named Tar'am-Akkade was the wife or daughter-in-law of an unknown ruler, *endan*, of Urkish[50]. In her seal inscriptions, Naram-Sin is deified, so it is to be dated after the Great Revolt[51]:

"[d]Naram-Sin, king of Akkade, Tar'am-Akkade, his daughter"[52].

An inscription of a ruler (*endan*) of Urkish was found together with the Tar'am-Akkade sealings and therefore most probably refers to her husband[53]. Besides the title *endan* of Urkish no overlord is mentioned[54]. This fact suggests that Urkish was not part of the Akkade empire –otherwise his or another seal inscription should have mentioned Naram-Sin or another Akkad ruler– but that Urkish was a sovereign state, although certainly an 'ally' or 'vassal' and thus of restricted political independence. This implies that the northern border of Akkad ran between Urkish and Tell Brak where Naram-Sin had his fortress built[55]. The ruler preceding Tar'am-Akkade at Urkish, Tupkish[56], did not name an overlord in his inscriptions either[57]. So Tupkish too has to be considered as an independent ruler.

Tupkish of Urkish or an eventual successor was almost certainly one of those vassals of the Sargonic dynasty who remained loyal to Naram-Sin during the Great Revolt in line with the account of the inscription presented above. The diplomatic marriage of a daughter of Naram-Sin with a member of the ruling family fits very well in such a scenario, strengthening the bonds of loyalty. Both the seal inscription of Tar'am-Akkade and the bricks from Tell Brak name Naram-Sin with a divine classifier. As the Bassetki statue inscription (*RIME* 2, E2.1.4.10) reveals, the deification process was a reaction to the victorious survival of the Great Revolt, whenever this may be dated within Naram-Sin's reign[58]. Thus the presence of the Akkad kings was intensified after Upper Mesopotamia had remained loyal to Naram-Sin. This behavior was the more remarkable as besides the land of Akkad itself all regions, especially southern Mesopotamia, had revolted against the king.

The close cooperation between the Upper Mesopotamian provinces and the vassals of Akkad provides the historical context for the famous administrative document found in the "Naram-Sin Palace"[59]. It lists between 10 and 60 "men" (GURUŠ), probably soldiers, from cities of the eastern

50) Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2000 : 153-155.

51) Westenholz 2000 : 553 with note 19 warns against the use of the absence of the divine determinative as a chronological marker, since inscriptions after the Great Revolt may write Naram-Sin's name without this classifier. But this fact alone does not prove that the presence or absence of the divine determinative is not a chronological marker, since the exact time span between the Great Revolt and his divinisation (and its single steps, as they are known for Shulgi) is unknown. As long as no decisive arguments are known, the presence or absence of the divine determinative is taken seriously as chronological indicator ; the dating "after the Great Revolt" is of course only a vague indication of the relative sequence.

52) Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2000 : 140 fig. 3.

53) Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2001 : 74 ff.

54) Note that Tuta-napshum names her father Naram-Sin in *RIME* 2, E2.1.4.18 and 20, but not in 19.

55) The brick inscription *RIME* 2, E2.1.4.22 is republished by Eidem *et al.* 2001 : 105.

56) On Tar'am-Akkade Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2000 : 153-155 ; on the sequence Tupkish – Tar'am-Akkade see Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2001 : 71-76 and 90-93. Royal princesses of the period appear in the sources both as priestesses of important deities of Mesopotamia (like of the moon-god at Ur) and as wives of persons of high esteem with the king, such as high officials, generals, or most importantly foreign rulers with whom good relations are maintained. Since Urkish does not boast a sanctuary of outstanding importance for the dynasty and since the local ruler does not name the Akkad king in his inscriptions, a diplomatic marriage is almost assured for Tar'am-Akkade.

57) Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995/96.

58) The Bassetki statue inscription about the building of a temple for Naram-Sin, perhaps the first step in the deification process, explains the socio-political purpose of deification as a political-religious focus of identity for the empire ; see Sallaberger 2002 : 95 f. The date of the Great Revolt is still debated ; a critical discussion of the most recent proposals by Sallaberger 2004 : 29 note 30. On historical problems connected with the deification of Naram-Sin see Westenholz 2000 : 553–556.

59) Eidem *et al.* 2001 : 106 f., n° 14.

Khabur region, from Nagar/Tell Brak itself, then Urkish/Tell Mozan, Lilabshinnum, Shehna/Tell Leilan, and others. Since beside the cities of a state vassals as well are always obliged to send troops in case of emergency, the document kept at the Akkadian administration at Tell Brak illustrates very well how the coalition mentioned in the historical texts continued to work.

Besides the outstanding event of the Great Revolt, which gives a detailed view on the relationship between Upper Mesopotamia and Naram-Sin, other activities of the Akkadian king can be listed.

Before his deification Naram-Sin led campaigns to the North, to Subartu, up the Tigris from the region of Niniveh northwards: Talmush north of Niniveh (*RIME* 2, E2.1.4.1), Maridaban, probably a by-form of Mardaman, which is supposedly situated near the confluence of the eastern Khabur and the Tigris (year date Frayne 1993: 85: e)[60]. The campaign against Talhadum, perhaps Tell Dülük 11 km north of Gaziantep, may be related (*RIME* 2, E2 1.4.25; identification doubtful).

Apparently the early Subartu campaign was successful to a certain extent, as the events at the Great Revolt testify. The end of this dramatic year is celebrated in the Bassetki Statue, found *ca.* 70 kilometers northwest of Mossul (*RIME* 2, E2.1.4.10). The location of the statue suggests that this region near the Tigris was also part of the Akkad empire. Fragmentary inscriptions found at Niniveh may attest a building or dedication to Naram-Sin there (*RIME* 2, E2.1.4.28)[61]. His presence in Upper Mesopotamia after the deification is recorded by the monumental "Palace" at Tell Brak (see above) and of course the marriage of his daughter Tar'am-Akkade with the *endan* of Urkish (see above). Finally, Naram-Sin reports an auroch hunt in Mt. Dibar, modern Jebel 'Abd al-'Aziz (*RIME* 2, E2.1.4.23)[62].

After his deification, Naram-Sin reached the sources of the Tigris and the Euphrates and 'was victorious' over the land *Šè*-NAM-*in-da-(a)*^{ki}, a place known as a source of slaves in Sargonic times (year date Frayne 1993: 86: t)[63]. The victory monument from Pir Hüseyn north of Diyarbakir (*RIME* 2, E2.1.4.24)[64] may be seen in relation to this event as well as an expedition to Abarnium (*'à-mar-nu-um*) (year date Frayne 1993: 86: v; identification very problematic).

In seeming contrast to the peaceful and intensive relations with Upper Mesopotamia is his second war against Subartu as reported in a year date:

"(In the year) (divine) Naram-Sin was victorious over Subartu at Azuhinnum and captured Tahish-atili"[65].

An Azuhinnum is located to the North of the Jebel Sinjar and West of the Tigris, and this location and the Hurrian name of Tahish-atili are the main arguments for a 'Hurrian war' of Naram-Sin in the eastern Upper Habur region as reconstructed by Steinkeller[66]. But since new evidence suggests a different reconstruction for Upper Mesopotamia under Naram-Sin, the Azuhinnum year date has to be reviewed. First, it says that the victory was reached "at Azuhinnum" (*in a-zu-hi-nim*^{ki}) and not that Azuhinnum was conquered. The above mentioned battle of Naram-Sin of Akkad against Amar-

60) Note that the data compiled by Frayne 1993 : 85 have to be corrected according to the new edition of *RIME* 2, E2.1.4.2 by Wilcke 1997 : delete Apishal (read Uruk) ; on Ashimanum (= Shimanum?) see above note 48.

61) The fragments have been reedited by Westenholz 2000 : 548-552. Goodnick Westenholz (2004) seriously doubts the activity of the Akkadian kings at Niniveh, but she did not consider the context of the general relations of Akkad to Upper Mesopotamia. Concerning Manishtushu's building at Niniveh, she doubts the credibility of Shamshi-Adad ; her reading of the Naram-Sin inscription from Niniveh relies on Westenholz 2000 : 551 f. ; he reconstructs the Naram-Sin fragments from Niniveh as reading : [BA.DIM$_2$] / [e$_2$.kur] / 'E$_2$' / [^{d}*e*]*n-lil*$_2$, "[builder of the Ekur, the temp]le [of Enlil]". This reconstruction, however, is not beyond suspicion : the noun phrase e$_2$ + divine name is never written in two cases in Naram-Sin's inscriptions. Therefore it has to remain hypothetical and unproven, if the Naram-Sin inscription from Niniveh was originally a building inscription dedicated to Enlil. So the fragments (or at least a part of them) may refer to Niniveh where they were found.

62) Beginning of name not preserved and thus presence or absence of divine classifier not visible.

63) References to this toponym collected by Sommerfeld 1999 : 64.

64) According to an information kindly provided by Andreas Schachner, then München, now Istanbul, a small administrative tablet dating to post-Akkadian times was found in the same area.

65) Frayne 1993 : 86 : q.

66) Steinkeller 1998 : 91-93.

girid of Uruk at Jebel Bishri shows that decisive battles can be fought far away from the homelands of the opponents. Furthermore, there exists a second place called Azuhinnum in the eastern Tigris region at least in the Second Millennium B.C.[67]; the situation for the Third Millennium cannot be decided yet. Other texts adduced by Steinkeller are not conclusive. The inscription on stone *RIME* 2, E2.1.4.21 lists the distances between various places, of which Nahur, Kur[da] and Az[u]hinnum, all pointing to Upper Mesopotamia, are fairly well preserved; however, the itinerary does not at all indicate a military action against Azuhinnum[68]. The fragmentary text *RIME* 2, E2.1.4.30 (= Michalowski 1986), including a number of settlements under the heading "Subartu", poses problems of identification. It includes an Azuhinnum, but it is not certain if it was the eastern or the western one. Of the about thirty place names mentioned, however, none points to the eastern Khabur region as it is known from the Ebla and Tell Brak texts[69]. A war of Naram-Sin in the eastern Khabur is difficult to reconcile with the evidence presented above. Most probably the 'Hurrian campaign' was directed towards the land east of the Tigris, the eastern part of the land of Subartu in the proper sense, and it may somehow be related to Naram-Sin's military activities against Simurrum (*RIME* 2, p.87) and against Lullubum (Naram-Sin stela, *RIME* 2, E2.1.4.31)[70].

Finally, Naram-Sin's activities in the West have to be addressed. At Mari, his presence is attested by an Old Babylonian copy of an inscription (*RIME* 2, E2.1.4.46), and the names of two of his daughters are inscribed on bronze bowls from the *Maison Rouge*: ME-ulmash (E2.1.4.52) and Shumshani, the high priestess of the god Shamash in Sippar (E2.1.4.51); both inscriptions write the name of Naram-Sin without divine classifier[71]. After the deification, Naram-Sin conducted an expedition to the cedar forest (year date Frayne 1993: 86: y), cut cedars in Mt. Amanus (year date *ibid.* z), and he conquered Armānum[72] and Ebla (*RIME* 2, E2.1.4.26 and 27)[73].

The long reign of Naram-Sin is the best documented period of the Sargonic empire. Compared to other regions of ancient Mesopotamia, Upper Mesopotamia was relatively calm during this time. Naram-Sin's monuments and activities in Upper Mesopotamia attest his interest in the region. If we accept the most plausible location of Akkad near the confluence of the Adheim and the Tigris north of Baghdad, Upper Mesopotamia plays an important strategic role in the empire, especially if we consider the military campaigns and expeditions to the Northeast, to the North and to the West.

67) Salvini 1998 : 100, Charpin 2003 : 11 and 22.

68) Other options – not considered by Foster 1992 and subsequently – are measurements for field sale, for political borders or for construction works (*cf.*, for example monuments like the Manishtushu Obelisk, the Ur-Namma cadastre text, the measurements of the city walls of Armanum *RIME* 2, E2.1.4.26).

69) Besides Azuhinnum (ex. 2 iv 8), the only place names adduced to point to campaigns in Upper Mesopotamia are *tu-tu-*[(ex. 1 ii 6'), which was equated with Tuttul, and UR-K[I- (ex. 1, ii 9'), which was thought to represent Urkish, although the place is usually written *ur-kèš*^{ki} or *ur-kiš*^{ki}, also *ur-gi*$_4$*-iš* ^{ki} (see note 73 below) ; see e.g. Steinkeller 1998 : 91-93 ; cautiously Wilhelm 1988 : 45 ("muß ... leider unsicher bleiben"). Note that a second Tuttul is known in the East ; see the summary in Edzard and Farber 1974 : 33 s.v. Duduli. None of the place names can be found in the list of cities related to Nagar in Ebla texts (Archi 1996) and in the toponyms of the Third Millennium Tell Brak texts (Eidem *et al.* 2001 : 120).

70) Visicato 2001 collected administrative sources pertaining to an alleged journey of a Sargonic king to Assur and Gasur. Despite the evident royal connections a royal journey cannot be deduced from the evidence available.

71) The bronze bowls were found above the destruction layer of the *Maison Rouge* ; see Margueron 2004 : 191 with note 22 : "le lot a été trouvé au-dessus du niveau de destruction de la Maison Rouge." This find (before deification, above the destruction layer) almost certainly excludes the possibility that Naram-Sin conquered Mari on his way to Ebla (after deification), as assumed by Margueron ; see Archi and Biga 2003 : 34.

72) At the Rencontre Assyriologique at Münster, July 2006, and at the Altorientalisches Kolloquium at München, November 7, 2006, Adelheid Otto presented evidence pointing to a probable identification of Armi (Ebla) / Armanum (Naram-Sin) with the Tell Banat/Tell Bazi city complex.

73) Many of the toponyms known from Naram-Sin's campaigns reappear in *RIME* 2, E2.1.4.1004 = *RIME* 3/2, E3/2.1.4.2 (Shu-Sin) : Mahaz[um], E[bl]a (? reading very uncertain), Abarnum, Mari, Tuttul, Urkish, Mukish, the cedar mountains, Subartu, the Upper Sea and Magan. The context of this list of toponyms and its attribution to Naram-Sin or Shu-Sin remains unknown. The description of Frayne 1997 : 300 ("inscription ... recounts campaigns of an unnamed king (he most likely was Šū-Sîn)...") is difficult to ascertain : if it dates to Shu-Sin, it should not tell about campaigns against e.g. Ebla and Mari, but possibly a delivery of presents v.s. An attribution to Naram-Sin appears more likely (note the references to the cedar forest and the term Šubur = Subartu), although the context cannot be evaluated (extension of empire? list of gifts? expeditions?).

The role of the North in Sargonic times is emphasised by the evidence of the administrative texts. After very rare references to the North in Pre-Sargonic times, Subir/Subartu is attested very often in classical Sargonic texts from the time of Naram-Sin and Sharkalisharri, especially as a designation of persons in the same way as 'Gutium' and 'Mardu/Amorite'. This evidence generally indicates intensive contacts. Some of the Subareans may have been deported by Naram-Sin after his early campaigns in the northern eastern Tigris region[74]. Mari, however, is practically missing from the administrative record, as are other places from the West[75], in marked contrast to the situation during the Ur III period, which will be discussed below. This agrees well with the long chronology for the Guti period proposed by Steinkeller (in preparation), since then the *Shakkanakku* 'dynasty' of Mari[76]

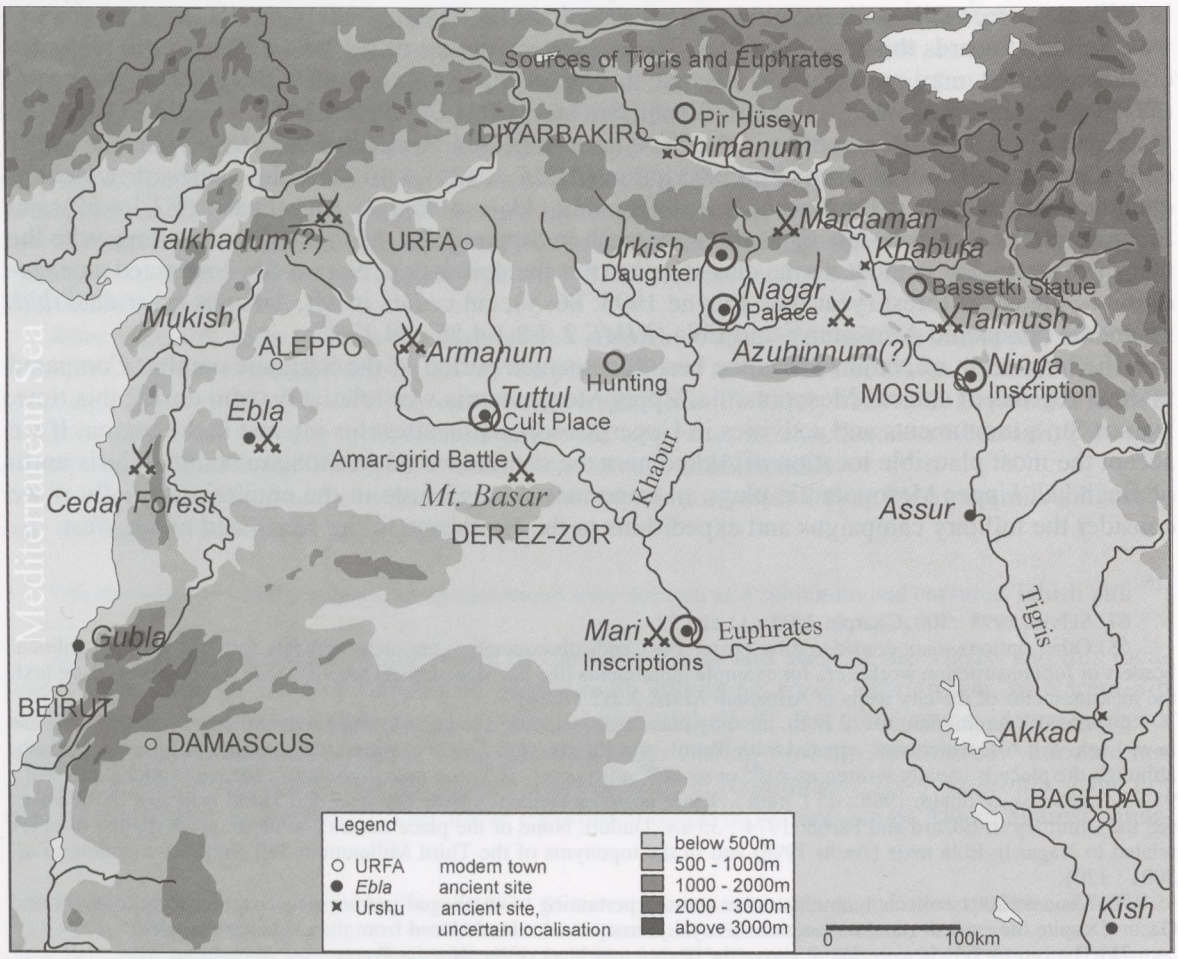

Fig. 2 : Naram-Sin in Upper Mesopotamia (Map by Alexander Pruß).

74) Westenholz 1999 : 95 ff.

75) The distribution of toponyms for the Pre-Sargonic and the Sargonic period is based on the work of Ingo Schrakamp presented at the ARCANE meeting at München, July 2006. The only references to Mari are *CT* 50, 72 from the Quradum archive from Sippar(?) : price of objects, exchange with Mari and *tu-tu-li*^{ki} (= Tuttul on the Balikh or Tuttul in the East? ; see above note 69) and *MAD* 1, 272 (from the Diyala region ; wood from Mari) .

76) For the chronology of the Shakkanakkus see Otto (in print). Note that the Old Babylonian account of the 'Great Revolt against Naram-Sin' names a certain Migir-Dagan as "king" of Mari (Goodnick Westenholz 1997 : 244f. : 32) among various kings ; although Wilcke 1997 has shown the historicity of parts of the Old Babylonian accounts of the 'Great Revolt', the list of rulers in the Geneva version (Goodnick Westenholz 1997 : 242-245 : Text 16A 29-38) for various reasons appears to be fictive and is therefore not considered here.

would start only after Sharkalisharri. Together with the picture derived from the administrative texts this points to the relatively restricted importance of Mari in the century after its destruction by Sargon.

AFTER NARAM-SIN, THE 'POSTAKKADIAN' PERIOD

The available documentation shows the vital interest of the Sargonic kings from Rimush and Manishtushu to Naram-Sin in Upper Mesopotamia, and that the region was firmly integrated into the empire or bound by diplomatic means. The situation changed with Naram-Sin's successor Sharkalisharri, the last ruler of Sargon's family. No single written source related to Sharkalisharri has survived from Upper Mesopotamia. All inscriptions from or related to Sharkalisharri come from the alluvial plain and adjacent regions.

According to a year date he fought against the Amorites at Mt. Basar/Jebel Bishri[77]. Sharkalisharri paid much more attention to the East, a situation that will also be observed for the Ur III period.

After Sharkalisharri and before the texts from the Third Dynasty of Ur from the last years of Shulgi, for a period of 100 or (depending on the chronology) up to 160 years[78], Upper Mesopotamia does not appear in the meagre cuneiform record from southern Mesopotamia. The only relevant source is Statue B of Gudea of Lagash (around 2130/20 B.C.), which lists building materials from various regions, among others: cedars and other trees "from the Amanum (=Amanus) mountains" and "from the city Ursu (= Urshu?) and from the Ebla mountains", stone "from Umanum, the Menua mountains, from Pusalla (= Basar?), the 'Mardu'-mountains", and "from Tidanum, the 'Mardu'-mountains'" (*RIME* 3/1, E3/1.1.7StB v 28–vi 20). The toponyms given as the sources of the stone have not yet been identified convincingly[79].

Local sources are rare and they are difficult to date. For Tell Brak, an important centre at the time of Naram-Sin, the documentation becomes meagre. In the archaeological record, levels 4 (of Naram-Sin) and later level 3 (of areas SS and FS) display a continuity of monumental architecture[80]. The only ruler of Nagar known after the Akkadian kings is Talpush-atili, "the Sun of the land of Nagar"[81]. The relative dating depends on the form of the Hurrian element *-atili* "strong" instead of the usual *-atal*, which appears however in the names Atalshen and Tishatal of the roughly contemporary Urkish rulers. The same form is known from Tahish-atili of Azuhinnum who was defeated by Naram-Sin[82].

77) Frayne 1993 : 183 : dates l, l', l" ; Sommerfeld 2000 : 435.

78) The difference depends on the duration of the Guti period ; see above. The summation runs as follows : 40/100 (Guti) + 18 (Ur-Namma) + 43 (years of Shulgi before relevant administrative texts) = 101/161.

79) On the difficult geographical names in this passage see the recent discussion by Marchesi 2006 : 15 f. ; differently Streck 1999 : 35 (with evidence in favor of Pu_3-sal-la = Basar). The evidence is inconclusive. First, the relationship of the two place names (toponym 1 – toponym 2-mountains) is not clear, since grammatically "Umanum and the Menua mountains" (coordination), "Umanum, the Menua mountains" (apposition) and "Umanum of the Menua mountains" (genitive) are equally possible. Coordination is probable for v 53 f. "from the city Ursu (= Urshu) and the Ebla mountains" (see below on the localisation of Urshu), apposition for vi 5-6 "from Pusalla, the Mardu mountains", if Pu_3-sal-la is indeed an orthographic variant for Basar ; this is not excluded (*pace* Marchesi), if one accounts for the deviating orthography of toponyms in Gudea's statue B (note v 28 ama-a-num_2 for Amanus with AMA as phonogram). The Menua mountains and the 'Mardu' mountains are listed as source of stone used for the "stelae", which are known to be made of limestone, or as source for "alabaster" (Tidanum). Limestone is ubiquitous in Mesopotamia, and an identification Pusalla = Basar = Jebel Bishri, though still possible, becomes hardly credible given the appearance of Jebel Bishri as soft elevation and the long distance for an import of a stone wich could easily be mined closer to Sumer (e.g. along the Tigris). Therefore no solution can be proposed for the exact meaning of the term "Mardu mountains" in Gudea's Statue B, a term which was known as apposition of Mt. Basar/Jebel Bishri in Naram-Sin's inscription (*cf.* above).

80) See Oates and Oates 2001 : 392 ff. Eidem *et al.* repeatedly point to the fact that tablet 74 from FS level 4 (Eidem *et al.* 2001 : 116 no. 74 and p. 105 fig. 139) have 'pointed' numbers instead of the usual round numbers of Sargonic tablets (this is implied by Oates and Oates 2001 : 391 who speak of Late-Sargonic tablets). However, 'pointed' numbers do occur since Pre-Sargonic times in tablets as a special notation, e.g. as deficits (see in this regard the last entries of the famous list of men from Tell Brak, Eidem *et al.* 2001 : 106 f. no.14). Therefore, the form of the numbers alone does not date the tablet. Script and format of tablet 74 seem to correspond to the other tablets from FS level 4.

81) Matthews and Eidem 1993 ; Eidem *et al.* 2001 : 105 n° 3.

82) See e.g. Salvini 1998 : 100 note 1.

This points to a date for Talpush-atili of Nagar shortly after the end of Sargonic rule at Tell Brak, probably in the time of Sharkalisharri or directly afterwards. So far there are no indications that the third-millennium texts found at Tell Brak reach down to the Ur III period[83]. Archaeologically, post-Akkadian levels 1 and 2 are fundamentally different from the Akkadian levels 3-4, since the monumental buildings have been replaced by domestic architecture[84].

The situation seems to be slightly different at Urkish, Tell Mozan, where after Naram-Sin's daughter and her *endan* further rulers are attested. Tish-atal, the ruler (*endan*) of Urkish may belong here, since he bears the same title *endan* as Tupkish and the ruler whose seals were found with Tar'am-Akkade, probably her husband (see above). Buccellati[85] places him[86] even earlier than Tupkish, whereas traditionally he is placed after Atalshen. Atalshen, "king of Urkish and Nawar", is dated after Akkad according to the syllabary used in his inscription[87]. The city Nawar is identified with the nearby 'northern' Nawar, Old Babylonian Nawal/u, Neo-Assyrian Nabula, modern Girnavaz[88]. Furthermore, one may include a "king" (LUGAL) Rimush known from a recently found seal inscription[89]. These four rulers of Urkish fit easily into the time interval after Naram-Sin and before Ur III.

In Ur III archival texts, two persons from Urkish receive gifts: Annatal (AS 3/xi = 2026 B.C.) and the messenger ENIdagu (Š 47/xii). It is impossible to know if Annatal was ruler of Urkish or not. At least seen from the perspective of Ur, Urkish has soon lost its importance for the benefit of Shimanum (see below).

Late Third Millennium rulers of Urkish

Tupkish *endan* of Urkish (*ca.* 2230-2180/2290-2240)
Tar'am-Akkade daughter of ^{d}Naram-Sin (2215-2160/2275-2220), married to *endan*
Tishatal *endan* of Urkiš
Rimush "king" (LUGAL) (?)
Shatarmat "king" (LUGAL), father of
Atalshen "king" (LUGAL) of Urkiš and Nawar
Annatal "man of Urkish" (a ruler?) (2026)

Acknowledging the fragmentary nature of the archaeological and even more the historical data one may draw the following conclusion: Nagar/Tell Brak can be regarded as the dominating centre during Akkad times. Whereas in Post-Akkadian times only domestic architecture was found at Tell Brak, the monumental character of Urkish/Tell Mozan seems to have remained a while longer, until the palace was covered by private houses[90]. The written documents found at Tell Brak and at Mozan[91] may end before or (perhaps at Mozan) just extend into the Ur III period.

Looking at the Akkadian and the Post-Akkadian periods together, the kings of Akkad left some traces in Upper Mesopotamia, first of all the monumental building at Tell Brak. But nothing points to an supra-regional importance of the cities Nagar or Urkish. On the contrary a decline of palatial culture at both places can be discerned, perhaps a little later in the North.

83) Eidem *et al.* 2001 : 110 no. 31 has been assigned to the *shakkanakku* period (in epigraphical terms early second millennium) by J.-M. Durand *apud* Charpin 2003 : 18 note 122.
84) Oates and Oates 2001 : 392 ff.
85) Buccellati 2001 : 91.
86) Tishatal was even sometimes identified with an Ur III Tishatal, "man from Niniveh" (*cf.* Wilhelm 1998 : 120 f.).
87) Wilhelm 1988 : 46-50.
88) See the concise summary of Charpin 2003 : 27 ; on the identification see also the literature collected by Salvini 1998 : 108-110 and 2000 : 47-50, who points to the fact that in the Hurrian literary tradition of Boghazköy, the northern Nawar occurs with Mt. Kašiyari/Tur-'Abdin ; in rituals, "the sacred cities" Talmušše, Nineveh, Urkish (as Urkini), and Nawar are named.
89) Volk 2004 : 95-98.
90) On Tell Brak see above ; for Mozan level 4 see (e.g.) Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2002.
91) Milano 1991 ; Volk 1994.

The local rulers of Urkish and Nagar bore Hurrian names. In the documents from Mozan both Hurrian and Semitic names appear, whereas Semitic names had prevailed in Pre-Sargonic times in documents from Tell Brak[92] and Tell Beydar[93]. Apparently, the decline of urban culture before and during the conquests of Sargon had favoured the spread of Hurrians from their original homeland, the Upper Tigris region and the Tur Abdin[94].

THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR AND UPPER MESOPOTAMIA

In southern Mesopotamia the Third Dynasty of Ur (2110-2003) had risen to power. The most important deeds of the kings of Ur are immortalized in the year names, and here military campaigns figure prominently[95]. It has to be emphasised that the military actions of the kings of Ur are directed towards the mountain ranges in the Southeast, East and Northeast of the empire. The opponents reach from Urbilum and Shashrum (Old Babylonian Shusharra) between Greater and Lower Zab in the North over Simurrum or Shimashki to Khukhnuri close to the ancient Gulf and to Anshan. With one exception, Shu-Sin's campaign to Shimanum on the Upper Tigris, Upper Mesopotamia does not appear at all in official royal texts: the relations with the direct neighbors in the Northwest were apparently mostly peaceful.

Friendly relations were ensured by the exchange of messengers and they could be intensified by a diplomatic marriage. The outstanding marriage is certainly the one between the daughter of Apilkin of Mari and Ur-Namma's son Shulgi. The marriage starts a long and intensive period of contacts between Mari and Ur[96]. The contacts were not restricted to the exchange of messengers, for the temple administrator of the Shamash temple of Larsa came from the ruling family of Mari[97]. As yet no conclusive evidence exists that the queen of Shulgi's son Amar-Sin, Abi-simti, had connections with Mari.

Another foreign princess of the royal harem of Ur was probably Tiamat-bashti from Niniveh who was one of Shu-Sin's wives[98]. The firm bonds with Niniveh helped to secure this important city on the northern border of the kingdom. A princess of Ur was married to a son of the ruler of Shimanum on the Upper Tigris[99]. But king Shu-Sin of Ur had to conduct a military campaign to Shimanum later in order to reinstall the rulers (see below).

Ur III diplomatic marriages related to Upper Mesopotamia

Taram-Uram, daughter of Apilkin of Mari – Shulgi, son of Ur-Namma of Ur
Tiamat-bashti from Niniveh – king Shu-Sin of Ur
Kunshi-matum of Ur – son of ruler of Shimanum

92) Catagnoti 1996.

93) *Subartu* 2 and 12.

94) See Steinkeller 1998 : 89 ; Richter 2004. The absence of Hurrian names at Tell Beydar and their appearance at Akkadian Brak has been seen as indicative for this development. Furthermore no Hurrian place names are found in the Khabur region in the Third Millennium. Richter (2004 : 276) votes for a Hurrian interpretation of the Tell Beydar names *sa-/ša-tar-gu-ni* and *šu-gu-zi,* which would be the first testimony of Hurrian presence in the Khabur triangle. Although admittedly not all names from Tell Beydar can be explained, problems remain with the interpretation of these two names as Hurrian. In the first name, the reading of TAR as *tar* is highly doubtful ; note that the Hurrian element *sadar* is written *sa-dar-* not **sa/ša-tar-* ; the second name *šu-gu-zi* apparently belongs to the well known Akkadian name formation *šu* "he of" + theophoric element. The first possibly Hurrian name seems to be the name of Nagar's prince *Ultum-huhu*, active during the last years of Ebla (Richter 2004 : 278). Besides the difference in time between Tell Beydar and Tell Mozan, one has also to account for the regional difference.

95) Sallaberger 1999 : 140–174.

96) Boese and Sallaberger 1996.

97) Sharlach 2001.

98) The Ninivite background of Tiamat-bashti has been reconstructed by Wilcke 1988 and 1990b (*cf.* Frayne 1997 : 338) ; Tish-atal's role after the Shimanum campaign corroborates the fact that Ninive was an ally, but not center of a province of the state.

99) Michalowski 1975.

From the later part of the rule of the Ur dynasty, tens of thousands of administrative texts have been discovered. Although a large majority of these texts deals only with local matters, one group, namely the texts from Drehem/Puzrishdagan are of primary importance for the reconstruction of political history[100]. The Puzrishdagan organization was mainly responsible for the administration of animals that belonged directly to the king, to a lesser extent it handled also royal gold and silver objects. An important part in this business was the distribution of meat as royal gift, among others to the dignitaries of the state and to foreign messengers and envoys[101]. Therefore the documents from Puzrishdagan reflect directly the foreign policy of the Ur kings: a person is honoured with a gift of the precious meat from the royal belongings, if he or she is considered important from the king's point of view. Seen in this perspective it is legitimate to consider the preserved documentation as a rough, but fair representation of the actual diplomatic relations. The intensity of these relations depends on the relevance of a foreign state for Ur: the more important in its area and the closer to Ur, the more often a place is named (although other factors may certainly play a role). At the opposite pole of contact are military confrontations, which are attested both in the year names and in the lists of animals brought as booty to Puzrishdagan. The documentation implies that only regional centres are named: envoys from a second-rank city would not be hosted by the kings of Ur. Therefore the cities the messengers came from represent the capitals of regional states.

Our concern is Upper Mesopotamia. An important part of the relevant sources pertaining to messengers at Ur has been collected by D.I. Owen 1992, who studied Abarnium, Ebla, Gubla, Ia'madium, Mari, Mukish, Tuttul and Urshu, a collection that continued in a way the work begun by I. J. Gelb[102]. To these a number of cities especially along the Upper Tigris were added, using as a starting point the places listed in Edzard and Farber[103]. The northernmost province of the Ur empire[104] was Assur with the well-known governor Zarriqum[105]. Our collection starts with Niniveh in the North and follows the Upper Tigris, but does not extend to the East; all place names to the West and Northwest of the Ur III empire have been taken into account.

The following Table 2 lists the attestations of settlements from Upper Mesopotamia, Syria and adjacent regions in Ur III documents from Puzrishdagan. The number of attestations, the number of different persons mentioned and the time span indicate the intensity of a relationship. The case of Gubla may be chosen to explain the method: although two documents attest Gubla and although two persons are named, the dates range over very few days, so we are dealing only with one single visit by two persons from Gubla to the royal court of Ur.

100) Without the help of electronic Ur III *corpora* the research for the concluding two sections would have been impossible. I am grateful to Remco de Maaijer and to Manuel Molina for having provided me with their material.

101) Sallaberger 2003/04.

102) I. J. Gelb 1938.

103) Edzard and Farber 1974.

104) The ample documentation of the Ur III period allows always a clear decision between the status of province or vassal in the region concerned here.

105) *Cf. RIMA* 1 A.0.1003, *RIME* 3/2 E3/2.1.3.2001 ; Maeda 1992 : 149 f.

Table 2 : Place names of Upper Mesopotamia and Syria in Ur III documents.

Place	Person mentioned in text	(1)	(2)	time span	= MC dates
Abarnium	mess. **ensi$_2$** A.	1	1	AS 6/iv/1	2039
Ebla	m. E./mess. m. E./mess. **ensi$_2$** E.	6	31 / 36	Š 44/iii/18–ŠS 6/viii/20	2049-2030
Gubla	mess. **ensi$_2$** G.	2	2	AS 4/v/6-9	2041
Khabura	m. Kh./mess. m. Kh.	1	5 / 6	Š 46/i/6–ŠS 3/iii/18	2047-2033
Mardaman	m. M.	3	6	Š 47/iii/9–AS 8/xii/29	2046-2037
Mari	m. M./mess. m. M.	25	66 / 72	Š 43/i–ŠS 6/viii/20 (ŠS 8)	2050-2030
Mukish	m. M.	1	2	AS 9/xi/3-4	2036
Ninua	m. N.	1	1 / 5	Š 46/xii/9–ŠS 3/x	2047-2033
Shimanum	m. Sh./mess. **ensi$_2$** Sh.	5	19 / 28	Š 47/vii/5–IS 1/iii/25	2046-2026
Talmush	m. T./**ensi$_2$** T.	4	4 / 7	Š 47/v/16–ŠS 3/iii/18	2046-2033
Tuttul	m. T./mess. **ensi$_2$** T.	2	3	AS 4/v/6–AS 7/v/21	2041-2038
Urkish	m. U./mess. m. U.	2	5 / 6	Š 39–AS 3/xi/3	2054-2042
Urshu	m. U. / mess. m. U.	6	18 / 19	Š 31/vii/9–ŠS 2/vi/30	2062-2034
Yamadium	mar-du$_2$ Y./m.Y./mess. m. Y.	2	6	Š 46/viii/3–ŠS 6/viii/20	2047-2030
(?) Nawar	m. N. (priest)	1	1	AS 5/vii	2040
(?) Shuda'e	m. Sh./mess. m. Sh.	2	2	Š 47/xii/27–AS 1/ix/21	2046-2044

Abbreviations used in Table 2:

Person mentioned: m. = "man" (lu$_2$), mess. = messenger (lu$_2$ kiĝ$_2$-ge$_4$-a), coming from city given.

(1) Total number of persons in all texts

(2) Total number of attestations for persons as recipients of royal gifts / total number of attestations of place name (if deviating). Note that various persons as recipients on the same day are counted as 1 attestation only.

Dates are given according to year/month/day.

Š = Shulgi	2092-2045	(48 years)
AS = Amar-Sin	2044-2036	(9 years)
ŠS = Shu-Sin	2035-2027	(9 years)
IS = Ibbi-Sin	2026-2003	(24/25 years; Puzrishdagan archive ends IS 2)

MC = Middle Chronology

REFERENCES AND NOTES ON THE LOCALISATIONS

Abarnium: Owen 1992: 117

Ruler (ensi$_2$) not named.

For the localisation Owen (1992: 177 fn. 44) refers to Gelb (1938 : 66f.): "on the basis of similarity of sound only" (Gelb *l.c.*) identified as Abarne, between Malatya and Amida (Diyarbakır); identification therefore doubtful. Note that Owen's statement "Its appearance ... in Shu-Sin's historical inscriptions", referring to Civil (1967: 37f.), cannot be proven yet: the inscription cannot be dated and was accordingly edited with Naram-Sin as *RIME* 2, E2.1.4.1004 and with Shu-Sin as *RIME* 3/2, E 3/2.1.4.2 (see note 73).

Ebla/Tell Mardikh: Owen 1992 : 117–121

ad Ilī-Dagān add: *JCS* 57, 28 NBC 10804 (AS 1/ii/23) and *OIP* 121, 470 (AS 6/viii/26)

ad Kurbilak add: *UDU* 27(!) here instead of Uršu as indicated by Owen 1992: 134 fn. 71.

ad Zurim add: Widdell 2005 no. 3 (Š 47/ix/9) and *AAICAB* I/2, Ashm. 1971-363 (Š 46/iii/7)

Ruler (ensi$_2$): MeGum (Owen 1992: 120: Trout 1; AS 7/v/21)

Ebla appears often together with Mari, also with Uršu.

Gubla/Byblos: Owen 1992: 122.

Khabura:
šu-HAR-*da* : *DCEPHE* 274 (Š 46/i/6)
lu_2 ki$\hat{g}_2$-ge_4-a lu_2 H. *JCS* 31, 35 BMC 2 (Š 46/ix/4); *OLP* 8, 9 no. 6 (Š 47/iii/9) and *CST* 168 (Š 47/iii/14), both together with messenger from Mardaman
lu_2 H.: *Studies Astour* 372 ii 9 (AS 7/x)
$erin_2$ H. ("troops of [=at] H."): *Birmingham* 1, 4 (ŠS 3/iii/18); on this text see below.
Generally localised near the confluence of the eastern Khabur and the Tigris; see Frayne 1997: 288; for Old Babylonian Khaburatum see Charpin 1994 : 180f. note 30; van Koppen 2004: 28 (on the western bank of the Tigris).
Mardaman (*mar/ma-ar-da-ma-an*^{ki}) :
na-ag-da-ma-ri : *TCL* 2, 5500 (AS 8/x/17)
gu-zu-zu: *UDT* 92 (AS 8/xii/29)
lu_2 ki$\hat{g}_2$-ge_4-a lu_2 M. : *OLP* 8, 9 n.6 (Š 47/iii/9) and *CST* 168 (Š 47/iii/14), both together with messenger from Khabura
lu_2: *AOS* 32, B2 (AS 5/x/6); *PDT* 2, 1147 (AS 8/x/13)
Probably situated close to Khabura; see e.g. Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 274; Richter 2004: 280 note 74; van Koppen 2004: 26 and 28 (on the western bank of the Tigris).
Mari/Tell Hariri: Owen 1992 : 123–132.
add $GIRI_3$-*ag*: *MVN* 16, 716 (AS 6/i/-) (with reference to *MVN* 4, 71 $GIRI_3$-*ag-ga*)
add *iš-bi*$_2$-^{d}*da-gan*: *AAICAB* I/2, Ash 1971-363 (Š 46/iii/7)
ad Išme-Dagan add: Widdell 2005 no. 3 (Š 47/ix/9); *JCS* 57, 28 NBC 10804 (AS 1/ii/23)
ad Šu-Dagan add: *Santag* 6, 127 (AS 4/–/–); *JCS* 57, 27 NBC 704 (AS 5/iii/–), both Umma
lu_2 M.: add *SAT* 1, 299 (Š 46/ix/–; Girsu : "old grain (measured) according to the kor (measure) of the man of Mari")
No ruler named.
Mukiš/'Amuq: Owen 1992 : 132.
Mukiš is 'Amuq in the second mill. B.C. (see Edzard and Farber 1974: 134).
Ninua/Niniveh (ni-nu/nu_2-a^{ki}) :
ti-iš-a-tal: *JCS* 28, 179 (ŠS 3/x) : flour from Ešnunna; together with more than 100 followers; Zettler 2006 : 504f. 6 NT 559 (ŠS 3/ix/28) : oath of Tišatal, $ensi_2$, together with 80 men (ĝuruš) of Ninua
$erin_2$ N. ("troops of [=at] N.") : *Birmingham* 1, 4 (ŠS 3/iii/18); delivery, see below
lu_2 N. : *Birmingham* 1, 68 (Š 47/vii/5)
AnOr. 7= *MVN* 18, 79 (Š 46/xii/9); ^{d}ša-u_{18}-ša N. "(goddess) Šauš(k)a of Niniveh"
On the link of the royal house with Niniveh see Wilcke 1988, 1990b. Three out of five documents are connected with the events of the year Shu-Sin 3, the campaign against Shimanum.
Shimanum (*ši/si-ma-num*$_2$*/nu-um*^{ki}) :
a-ri-ib-a-tal dumu *bu-ša-am* : *UDT* 92 (AS 8/xii/29) =
= *ar-ba-tal* : *MVN* 3, 639 (AS 9/ix/11); *TENS* 480 (ŠS 1/iii/9) and *AUCT* 3, 294 (ŠS 1/iv/1), both *ku-un-ši-ma-tum* e_2-gi_4-a A.; *Birmingham* 1, 95 (ŠS 1/vi/21); *SAKF* 112 (ŠS 1/vi/26)
bu$_{(3)}$*-ša-am* : *MCS* 7, 24 Liv516381 (AS 2/i/16); *Nisaba* 8, 156 (AS 2/i/20); *MVN* 5, 113 (AS 5/vii/5); *MVN* 15, 199 (AS 5/vii/12); *TrDr* 84 (AS 6/iv; treasure archive, see below); *OIP* 121, 458 (AS 7/vii/9); *SET* 91 (ŠS 5/xi/16)
ib-hu-ha : *JCS* 10, 28 no.5 (IS 1/iii/25)
^{d}*šu*-^{d}*suen-wu-su*$_2$*-um-i-šar-ri* : *Or*SP 47/49, 36 (ŠS 2/ix/[x]); *PDT* 2, 904 (ŠS 2/ix/17)
x-x-na : *AUCT* 1, 110 (AS 1/xi/2)
lu_2 Š. : *Birmingham* 1, 68 (Š 47/vii/5); *CST* 193 (Š 47/10/25)
Deportees in Sumer : *ITT* 3 6045 (ŠS 6; Girsu); *NATN* 450 (ŠS 8/vi/7, Nippur); *TMH* NF 1/2 300 to 304 (ŠS 8/vi/12, 19, 20, 21, 26; Nippur); *NATN* 701 (ŠS 8/[x/x]; Nippur); *Santag* 6, 382 ([x/x]/25, Umma)
Ruler ($ensi_2$) : Bušam; called $ensi_2$ only in *TrDr* 84 (AS 6/iv, text from another archive, the treasure archive!), all other references to lu_2 Š. "man of Shimanum"; his son Ar(i)batal is husband of the Ur III princess Kunšī-mātum (Michalowski 1975).
Ur III Shimanum is assumed to be the same as Old Babylonian Shinamum, Neo-Assyrian Sinabu, possibly to be localised southeast of Diyarbakir at Pornak; see, after the fundamental study of Kessler 1980 : 79-84 and 110–121, the recent evaluation of Radner and Schachner 2001: 756 on Sinābu east to Diyarbakır = Amedi. For Shu-Sin's Shimanum see also Frayne 1997: 288 with a slightly different localisation (North of the Tigris at the Batman river; localisation less probable because of the inaccessability of the Tigris valley north-east of the Tur Abdin). On Shinamum in Mari sources see Ziegler 1999: 494 f.; in

Mari it appears together with Burundum, Eluhut and Tushhum (= Neo-Assyrian Tushhan). On the localisation see also the discussion below.

Talmuš (*tal-muš/mu-uš*^{ki}) :

a-ab-ba-a ensi$_2$ T.: *JCS* 39, 122 no. 6 (AS 7/viii/23); *OIP* 121, 472 (AS 7/viii/25); *MVN* 3, 235 (AS 7/viii/29)

a-ri-ip-hu-ub-bi : UDT 92 (AS 8/xii/29)

hi-li-iš: *BIN* 3, 505 (Š 47/v/16; delivery to Drehem); *Birmingham* 1, 4 (ŠS 3/iii/18; delivery, see above *ad* Khabura)

min-ni-iš BIN 3, 558 (ŠS 2/x/-), monthly deliveries (sa$_2$-du$_{11}$)

Ruler (ensi$_2$): Ayabbaya

Persons from Talmuš listed together with persons from Shimanum, Mardaman or Ninua (especially *Birmingham* 1, 4); therefore identical with Neo-Assyrian Talmus(a), northeast of Niniveh at or near Jarahiya; see Nashef 1982: 258; Frayne 1993: 88 and 1997: 288

Tuttul/Tell Bi'a (*tu-tu-la*^{ki}): Owen 1992: 133.

Ruler (ensi$_2$) : Yaši-lim (AS 4/v/6-9)

Urkish (*ur-kiš*^{ki})/Tell Mozan:

an-na-tal : Langdon, *Babyloniaca* 7, 240/T.XXI n.14 (AS 3/xi/3); *TCL* 2, 5565 (AS 3/xi; treasure archive, u$_4$ ur-kiš^{ki}-ta i$_3$-im-ĝen-na-a "when he came from Urkiš")

e$_2$-NI-*da-gu$_2$* lu$_2$ kiĝ$_2$-ge$_4$-a lu$_2$ U.: *JCS* 57, NBC 10790 (Š 47/xii/23); Nakahara, *Kyoto* 15 (Š 47/xii/27)

lu$_2$: RA 74, 47 no. 116 ([Š x]/v/13); *AUCT* 2, 16 (Š 39)

See above on the rulers of post-Akkadian times; a part of the archaeological evidence from Mozan dated to the Ur III period is discussed by Schmidt 2005 (with further references).

Urshu (*ur-šu*^{ki}): Owen 1992: 133–135.

Add *bu$_3$-u$_2$-da-zu* : *AAICAB* I/2 Ashm. 1971-363 (Š 46/iii 7)

ad Budur add : *JCS* 57, NBC 10804 (AS 1/ii/23); *bu-ud-ra* Widell 2005 Nr. 3 (Š 47/ix)

Kurbilak in *UDU* 27(!) now counted with Ebla as indicated by Owen 1992 : 134 fn. 71.

For the traditional localisation at or near Gaziantep see the literature cited by Richter[106]; according to Michalowski[107] Kazane Höyük on the Urfa Plain is Urshu or Abarsal. Here we follow the more recent identification of Urshu with Samsat Höyük, the most important settlement of the Karababa region without any major hiatus in this period, although the full argumentation is not yet published[108]. Seen from the court of Ur and considering the general scope of our investigation, the exact localisation (between Gaziantep and Samsat) is less important; in any case it is the first-rank center between Shimanum and Ebla.

Yamadium (*ia$_3$-a-ma-di$_3$-um*): Owen 1992 : 122f.

Delete there the personal name *ia$_3$-a-ma-du$_2$* (= Owen 1992: 151 f. Text 54) : no provenance indicated.

Four references write Dulqānum/Ipiq-rē'û mar-du$_2$ Y. "Amorite of Yamadium", one Dulqānum lu$_2$ Y. "man of Y.", one lists an anonymous "messenger of the man of Y". Note that the six references refer only to three visits of messengers (Š 46/viii; AS 2/vii-viii; ŠS 6/viii 14-20).

Owen (1993) points to the late lexical equation *yamadû = ahlamu* (*malku-šarru* I 233). Wilcke[109] refers to Gelb[110] Ya'madīyum < Yam'adīyum, "the one from Yamhad", but points out that the metathesis of the Aleph ' remains unexplained[111]. However, the orthography does not indicate whether the name is *ya'madīyum*, *yāmadīyum* or even *yamadīyum* (transliterating *ia$_3^a$-* or *i$_3$-a-ma-di$_3$-um*). Although Akkadian knows the historical development of *par'->pār-* (this parallel was pointed out to me by M. Krebernik), such a development is hardly probable for a foreign proper name preserved in Sumerian context. So in the absence of any further arguments the equation with later Yamhad must remain more than doubtful. See also Buccellati 1966 : 242–245 on the tribal name, probably to be located in the West (equally doubtful). Note that the rise of Yamhad could have occurred only after the decline of Ebla (after Ishbi-Erra 25; see below).

106) Richter 2004 : 281 n.77.

107) Michalowski 1998 : 53 and n. 4-5.

108) See Miller 2001 : 75, accepted by Charpin 2003 : 276.

109) Wilcke 1990a.

110) Gelb 1980 : 607.

111) This point is not accepted by Owen 1993.

The persons from Yamadium appear always together with men from Mari and from Ebla[112]. In Shu-Sin B Yamadium supports the rebels of Shimanum together with Tidnum. The exact localisation of Yamadium, probably a tribe and its region, in Ur III times remains unknown; see the discussion below.
Add perhaps with Buccellati 1966 : 245 also Napsānum lu_2 $kiĝ_2$-ge_4-a *ia*$_3$*-a-mu-tum* "messenger of Yamutum" *TCL* 2, 5508. This Yamutum is regarded as possibly a "shortened form of Yamut-bala" by Steinkeller 2004: 40.

The identification remains uncertain for two place names:

Nawar:
Nawaršen: *TrDr* 83 (AS 5/vii/-, treasure archive), 1 silver ring for two persons and for *na-wa-ar-še-en* $gudu_4$ ^{d}nin-hur-saĝ-ĝa$_2$ lu_2 na-wa-ar^{ki} u_4 na-wa-ar^{ki}-ta i_3-im-e-re-eš$_2$-ša-a "Nawaršen, the cult priest of Ninhursaĝa, the man from Nawar, when (they) came from Nawar".
The localisation of Nawar in this text is unclear. According to Edzard and Farber 1974: 138, Nawar corresponds to the Middle Babylonian Namar east of the Tigris; Nashef (1982: 202) places this Nawar in the Diyala valley. This localisation agrees with the fact that another messenger in the same text comes from the east, namely from Shimashki (the hometown of the third, Buli, is unknown). Therefore, it is less probable that Nawar here refers to the northern Nawar/Girnavaz (see above), known from Atalshen's title "king of Urkish and Nawar". The Hurrian name of the priest is the main argument which points to the northern Nawar.

Shuda'e (*šu-da-e*^{ki}):
ku-tu-ma lu_2 $kiĝ_2$-ge_4-a lu_2 Š. "messenger of the man of Š.": Nakahara, *Kyoto* 15 (Š 47/xii/27)
ab-na-u$_3$*-u*$_2$*-du-ru*: *MVN* 13, 529 (AS 1/ix/21)
See Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 235 fn. 604 and Charpin 2003: 29 on two places Shuda/Shude in Idamaras (northern Khabur triangle, foothills of Tur Abdin) and in Zalmaqum (upper Balikh) respectively. The person from Shuda'e occurs with one from Urkish in Nakahara, *Kyoto* 15, but with persons from the eastern Shikshabbum or from Shimashki in *MVN* 13, 529. Therefore, identification with one of the Old Babylonian Upper Mesopotamian places Shuda/e remains hypothetical.

The places not considered in *Table* 2 include:

Aššur is a province of the Ur III empire.
Kakmi (*kak-mi*^{ki}), which could be related to the north-western Syrian kingdom *kak-mi-um*^{ki} of the Ebla texts (Bonechi 1993: 144), more plausibly refers to the eastern Old Babylonian Kakmum in the Zagros (Groneberg 1980: 129f.).
Terqa: Owen (1992: 132 and note 67) points out that the place name *te-er-qa*$_3^{ki}$ seems to refer to the eastern Terqa, not to the town on the Middle Euphrates.

According to the number of attestations we can divide the toponyms in three groups (Tables 3a-3c).

The list of foreigners attested in archival documents emphasises the outstanding role of Mari (Table 3a) remarkably a ruler of Mari is never named. Whereas the high number of attestations is certainly indebted to the close family relationship and the regional proximity, the total textual evidence indicates that Mari apparently represented a large region. On the Euphrates it reached up to Tuttul on the Balikh, which had its own ruler ($ensi_2$). Towards the North no other city appears before

Table 3a : Group 1 : More than 10 attestations, the dominating centers.

Mari	m. M./mess. m. M.	25	66 / 72	Š 43/i–ŠS 6/viii/20 (ŠS 8)	2066-2046
Ebla	m. E./mess. m. E./mess. **ensi**$_2$ E.	6	31 / 36	Š 44/iii/18–ŠS 6/viii/20	2065-2046
Shimanum	m. Š./mess. **ensi**$_2$ Š.	5	19 / 28	Š 47/vii/5–IS 1/iii/25	2052-2042
Urshu	m. U. / mess. m. U.	6	18 / 19	Š 31/vii/9–ŠS 2/vi/30	2078-2040

112) *cf.* Owen 1993.

Urkish. Does this mean that not only the middle Khabur, but even the northern Khabur triangle was under the influence of Mari? We will return to this point later.

Second in rank are Ebla in the West and Shimanum in the North on the Tigris. The (wider) Upper Euphrates region is represented by Urshu (at Samsat or near Gaziantep or in the Urfa plain), the last of the four high-ranking centres situated to the West and Northwest of the Ur III state.

According to the principles laid out above, these were the four most important capitals in the view of the royal house of Ur. Since the relevance depends both on political influence and distance, these four cities may represent more or less equally important political entities. The high rank reflected by the Ur III documents is also indicated by the wealth of the discoveries from the Ur III period both at Mari[113] and at Ebla[114]. It should be emphasized that Mari hardly appeared in the Sargonic texts from Southern Mesopotamia (23rd century; see above note 75); and only little more than one century later (21st century) it was counted as one of the most important powers again.

Many cities, which sent messengers to Sumer are situated in the Tigris valley, namely from South to North: Ninua/Niniveh (group 2), Talmush (group 2) north of Niniveh, Khabura (2) and Mardaman (2) at the eastern Khabur, and finally the dominant capital Shimanum (1). The location of Abarnium (3), attested only once, is uncertain (see above). Ninua (3), probably the hometown of Ti'amat-bashti of Shu-Sin's harem, is apparently the first allied state in the North bordering on the province of Assur. Many more cities, which are not listed here belong to the regions east of the Tigris, the area of repeated military campaigns.

In the West beyond Mari (1) Ebla (1) is clearly the dominant center. Only Tuttul (3) is named in between. Messengers from two places situated even further to the West appear on one visit each: from Mukish (3), if this really corresponds to later Mukish/'Amq, and from Gubla/Byblos (3).

Upper Mesopotamia is hardly represented at all; none of the great names of Ebla times like Karkemish, Abarsal or Harran or from the Akkad period like Nagar, Shehna, Lilabshinum etc. appears. Urshu (1) and Shimanum (1) are situated outside the plains, Shimanum north of the Tur Abdin or to the East of the Khabur triangle (see below), Urshu in the Euphrates valley (or near

Table 3b : Group 2 : 5 to 10 attestations, second-rank centers.

Khabura	m. H./mess. m. H.	1	5 / 6	Š 46/i/6–ŠS 3/iii/18	2063-2049
Ninua	m. N.	1	1 / 5	Š 46/xii/9–ŠS 3/x	2063-2049
Mardaman	m. M.	3	6	Š 47/iii/9–AS 8/xii/29	2062-2053
Talmush	m. T./**ensi**$_2$ T.	4	4 / 7	Š 47/v/16–ŠS 3/iii/18	2062-2049
Urkish	m. U./mess. m. U.	2	5 / 6	Š 39–AS 3/xi/3	2070-2058
Yamadium	mar-du$_2$ Y./m.Y./mess. m. Y.	2	6	Š 46/viii/3–ŠS 6/viii/20	2063-2046

Table 3c : Group 3 : Less than 5 attestations, rare contacts because of great distance or minor importance.

Abarnium	mess. **ensi**$_2$ A.	1	1	AS 6/iv/1	2055
Gubla	mess. **ensi**$_2$ G.	2	2	AS 4/v/6-9	2057
Mukish	m. M.	1	2	AS 9/xi/3-4	2052
Tuttul	m. T./mess. **ensi**$_2$ T.	2	3	AS 4/v/6–AS 7/v/21	2057-2054
(?) Nawar	m. N. (priest)	1	1	AS 5/vii	2056
(?) Shuda'e	m. Š./mess. m. Š.	2	2	Š 47/xii/27–AS 1/ix/21	2062-2060

113) During the historical *shakkanakku* period ; see Margueron 1996, 2004 ; and Butterlin, this volume.

114) See for instance Matthiae 1995 on the Ur III period palace in the northern Lower Town. This was kindly pointed out to me at the Lyon meeting by J.-Cl. Margueron and by S. Mazzoni.

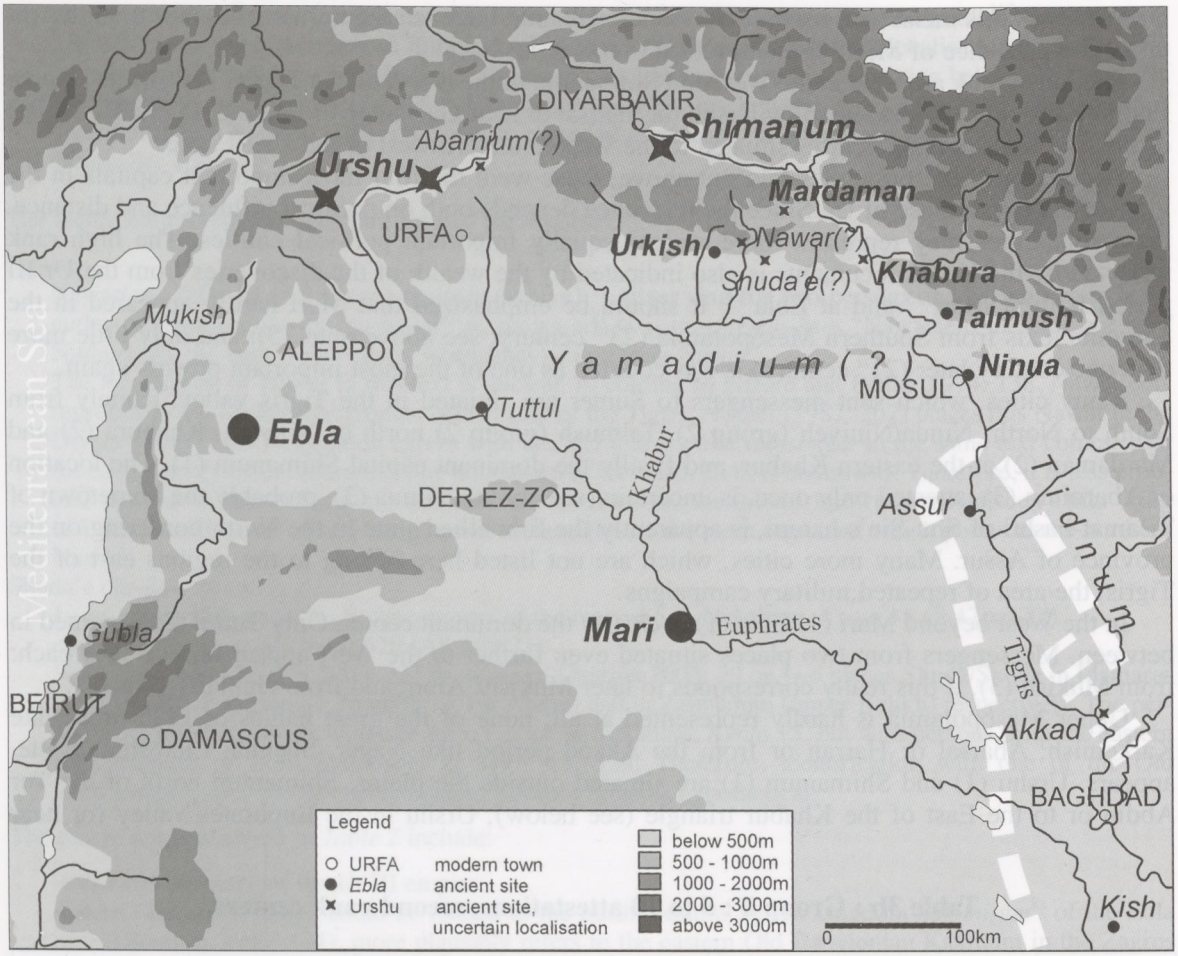

Fig. 3 : The relations of the court of Ur with Upper Mesopotamia (Map by Alexander Pruß). **On the rank of the cities according to the number of attestations see Tables 3a to 3c.**

Gaziantep or in the Urfa plain). The plains around the Balikh and the Khabur are represented only by Urkish (2) close to the southern slope of the Tur Abdin – and possibly Shuda'e (3) and Nawar (3), depending on the identification (see above). Shimanum (1), Khabura (2) and Mardaman (2) were the frontiers of the limited region of influence of Urkish to the North-East. This role of Urkish as remaining centre of the Khabur plain corresponds to the attestations of the local rulers and the excavated remains of the late Third Millennium. Nagar does not appear at all, although the goddess Belat-Nagar, "Lady of Nagar", was venerated at the Ur III court[115]. The presence of messengers at Sumer thus leads to the conclusion that the centre of power of the eastern Khabur, the region of importance in the Late Akkad period, had moved to the North, from Nagar to Urkish, between *ca.* 2200 and the 21st century B.C.

In this context the temporal division of the attestations becomes interesting. In the following *Table* 4 the places of Table 2 are arranged in the order of the dates of the latest attestations.

Of course group 3 toponyms of only 1 or 2 occurrences are hardly decisive in this connection. Furthermore, relevant texts and therefore attestations of messengers from the West and North are extremely rare before Šulgi 43, most texts dating between Shulgi 47 and Amar-Sin 8 with a wealth of data especially around the years Amar-Sin 4-6.

115) *Cf.* Sharlach 2002 : 100f. ; for Nawar see above.

Table 4 : Messengers to Sumer arranged according to end of documentation (MC = Middle Chronology).

Place (group)	Person mentioned in text	(1)	(2)	time span	= MC dates
(?) Shuda'e (3)	m. Sh./mess. m. Sh.	2	2	Š 47/xii/27–AS 1/ix/21	2046-2044
Urkish (2)	m. U./mess. m. U.	2	5 / 6	Š 39–AS 3/xi/3	2054-2042
Gubla (3)	mess. **ensi$_2$** G.	2	2	AS 4/v/6-9	2041
(?) Nawar (3)	m. N. (priest)	1	1	AS 5/vii	2040
Abarnium (3)	mess. **ensi$_2$** A.	1	1	AS 6/iv/1	2039
Tuttul (3)	m. T./mess. **ensi$_2$** T.	2	3	AS 4/v/6–AS 7/v/21	2041-2038
Mardaman (2)	m. M.	3	6	Š 47/iii/9–AS 8/xii/29	2046-2037
Mukish (3)	m. M.	1	2	AS 9/xi/3-4	2036
Urshu (1)	m. U. / mess. m. U.	6	18 / 19	Š 31/vii/9–ŠS 2/vi/30	2062-2034
Khabura (2)	m. H./mess. m. H.	1	5 / 6	Š 46/i/6–ŠS 3/iii/18	2047-2033
Talmush (2)	m. T./**ensi$_2$** T.	4	4 / 7	Š 47/v/16–ŠS 3/iii/18	2046-2033
Ninua (2)	m. N.	1	1 / 5	Š 46/xii/9–ŠS 3/x	2047-2033
Ebla (1)	m. E./mess. m. E./mess. **ensi$_2$** E.	6	31 / 36	Š 44/iii/18–ŠS 6/viii/20	2049-2030
Yamadium (2)	mar-du$_2$ Y./m.Y./mess. m. Y.	2	6	Š 46/viii/3–ŠS 6/viii/20	2047-2030
Mari (1)	m. M./mess. m. M.	25	66 / 72	Š 43/i–ŠS 6/viii/20 (ŠS 8)	2050-2030
Shimanum (1)	m. Sh./mess. **ensi$_2$** Sh.	5	19 / 28	Š 47/vii/5–IS 1/iii/25	2046-2026

It is noteworthy that Urkish is the group 2 place that ends first, namely in Amar-Sin 3. Since so many Drehem texts come from the years of Amar-Sin and the early years of Shu-Sin, this must reflect a loss of importance – perhaps to the benefit of the nearest capital, Shimanum. So in the later part of the Ur empire, from Amar-Sin 4 to Ibbi-Sin 2 (2041-2025), the first- and second-rank cities surround the Jezireh like a circle – but the interior of the circle was now practically empty. This is in marked contrast to the situation in the Akkad period only one and a half or two centuries earlier with Naram-Sin's close relation to Urkish and Nagar and his activities in Upper Mesopotamia, and of course differs completely from the situation at the time of Ebla. The Tigris line, on the contrary, continued to be as relevant for the Ur kings as it was for Naram-Sin.

Archaeological prospections[116] and excavations (at Tell Beydar, Chuera, Leilan, etc.) had revealed a similar picture of Upper Mesopotamia at the end of the Third Millennium. The advantage of the historical analysis is that we can positively identify the varying rank of cities of the period and the differing developments from Akkade to Ur III along the Tigris line (continuity), the Euphrates valley and Syria: Mari and Ebla (new importance under Ur III), and the Jezireh (loss of importance).

THE SHIMANUM CAMPAIGN OF SHU-SUEN OF UR

Of the few historical texts from the Ur III period, one Shu-Sin inscription deals with Upper Mesopotamia, namely the Old Babylonian copy of an inscription on a statue dedicated to Enlil in Nippur ("Shu-Sin Historical Collection B", *RIME* 3/2, E3/2.1.4.1). The military action of Shu-Sin of Ur is directed against Shimanum. In the inscription Shimanum appears together with Khabura, located at the confluence of the Upper Khabur and the Tigris. Groups of messengers in Drehem texts (see above notes to Table 2) suggest a localisation for Shimanum in the same region:

Nakahara, *Kyoto* 15 (Shulgi 47/xii/27): Shuda'e – Shimanum – Urkish
UDT 92 (Amar-Sin 8/xii/29): Shimanum – Talmush – Mardaman (next entry: Dilmun)

116) Lyonnet 1996, 2004.

After the Shimanum campaign, animals are delivered from the following places:

Birmingham 1, 4 (Šu-Sin 3/iii/18, see below): Khabura – Talmush – an Amorite (mar-du_2) – Ninua/Niniveh – Ura'e(?, *ú-r[a]-e*^{ki})

According to the number of contacts with Ur discussed in the preceding section Shimanum was the dominant center in the region defined by the neighboring cities (Khabura, Mardaman, Shudae(?), Talmush, Urkish). The identification of Shimanum remains problematic, however. Given the general localisation and its rank it probably corresponds to Old Babylonian Sinamum, Neo-Assyrian Sinabu, localised by Kessler[117] at Pornak southeast of Diyarbakır (see above notes to Table 2). This region is linked to the Tigris valley of (later) Assyria by the Tur Abdin routes: both the southeastern slopes of this mountain range towards the Tigris (near Khabura) and the eastern Jezireh and the northern hills towards the Upper Tigris valley near modern Hasankeyf afford the best communication routes[118]. If one considers the evident importance of the Tur Abdin in controlling both the Upper Tigris and the northeastern Jezireh adjacent to it, *i.e.* the whole line from Urkish to Khabura, the combinations of place names listed above do not at all exclude the localisation of Shimanum east of Diyarbakır (though not necessarily in the Tigris valley)[119]. A kingdom reaching from Shimanum to Khabura as it was installed after Shu-Sin's campaign (see below) would thus encompass the main route through the Tur Abdin[120]. A first-rank city such as Shimanum will hardly be looked for within the Tur Abdin itself, since the agricultural land available in the limestone mountains would not suffice to feed the city. Interestingly, a place called S(h)imala (*Šimālā*) also was situated on the route of the Old Assyrian merchants passing the Tur Abdin[121]. Although it seems probable that Ur III Shimanum, Old Assyrian Shimala, Old Babylonian Shinamum and Neo-Assyrian Sinabu are one and the same place, the precise localisation cannot be determined yet and we will have to hope for the discovery of new evidence to settle this matter[122]. As a working hypothesis it may be assumed that Shimanum controlled the Tur Abdin region, probably in a strategically most effective position on its northern slopes.

Shu-Sin reacted after the inhabitants of Shimanum had driven out the ruling family including the princess of Ur, who was married to a local prince. According to archival sources the princess was called Kunshi-matum, and already under Shu-Sin's predecessor Amar-Sin she appeared together with the Shimanum ruling family[123]. The successful defeat of Shimanum gave the name to the third year of king Shu-Sin (2033), and as we will see below this campaign was most probably concluded in the third month of the same year. We read as follows:

(iii 26-29) His [i.e. Shu-Sin's??] daughter [was] given to Shimanum as a bride.
(iii 30-37) [Shimanu]m, [Khabur]a [and] their lands were ho[stile towards the king]. His [daughter] from [her] re[sidence] they chased [away].
(iii 38-45) The Amorites (Mardu) [...], the Tidnum and the Yamadiyum, came forth together with [them] and the[ir] rulers [confro]nted him in com[bat] and battles.

117) Kessler 1980 : 79-84 and 110-120.

118) Radner in print.

119) The localisation of Shimanum is the most debated point of this article, and both Michael Roaf and Peter Steinkeller have voted for a 'southern' localisation, *i.e.* south of the Tur Abdin. Forlanini (2006 : 157 note 51) proposes to identify the Ur III Shimanum with Tell Hamoukar (main argument is the size of the tell). It is, however, not sure if Tell Hamoukar remained an important center in the Ur III period ; the pottery published is 'post-Akkadian', but it cannot be compared with the Ur III shapes known from Tell Mozan (I owe this important observation to Alexander Pruß). This evidence and a closer look at the main routes in the Tur Abdin region (see presently) strongly favour the 'northern' localisation of Ur III Shimanum.

120) I am obliged to Karen Radner who pointed out the essential role of the Tur Abdin to control the northeastern fringe of the Jezireh.

121) According to a reconstruction of the trade routes by Forlanini (2006 : 157) perhaps situated at or near today's Midiyat.

122) In passing it should be noted that Parpola and Porter (2001 : 19) think of a more southern localisation of Sinabu than Kessler.

123) Michalowski 1975.

(iii 46-48) By the [strength of En]lil, h[is lord], in this [...].
(lacuna, followed by description of the victorious battle)
(iv 21-25) He struck the heads of Shimanum, Khabura and their lands with the fist.
(iv 26-28) His daughter, he returned to her residence.
(iv 29-33) Shimanum, Khabura and their lands he presented to her for her service.
(iv 34-43) He settled the enemy people, his booty, for Enlil and Ninlil in the borders of Nippur as (a second) Shimanum and built it for them. He installed them for them (= Enlil and Ninlil) from [...].
(iv 44-46) Of this town, it was Shu-Sin who was its god.

Shu-Sin underlines the uniqueness of such a foundation of deportees for his gods Enlil and Ninlil. After a lacuna we read:

(v 24-28) Since that day the Amorites, destructive people, of doglike mind, like wolves, the stalls [.....].

Then the text breaks off[124].

The outstanding deed of settling deportees for Enlil and Ninlil in Sumer is attested in a handful of texts from Nippur. Some fifty men, called "troops ($erin_2$) of Shimanum", turn up in inspection lists of agricultural workers from Nippur, all dating to Shu-Sin 8, month vi[125]. Without doubt, these are the deportees living near Nippur. And a legal document from Girsu demonstrates how persons from Shimanum were distributed in the country (*ITT* 3 6545 = *NG* 190). Three years after the campaign to Shimanum (in Shu-Sin 6), deportees from Mardaman and from another place were sent by Shu-Sin to mine gold and silver in the mountains of Zabshali in the East[126]. Although the contacts of messengers ended already in Amar-Sin 8, eight years later Shu-Sin still could exercise power in this region. Along with the contacts with Shimanum this proves that the Shimanum campaign was successful for Shu-Sin.

More importantly, the cited Shu-Sin inscription confirms our conclusions drawn from the distribution of cities on the map: Shimanum was the dominant centre in the region; and it adds an important historical detail: Shu-Sin even enlarged its dominion and zone of influence after his successful campaign in his third year (2033). A reflection of the campaign can be seen in deliveries of animals to Drehem from troops at Khabura, Talmush, and Ninua (*Birmingham* 1, 4, Šu-Sin 3/iii/18)[127]: The text lists oxen as income ($mu\text{-}ku_x$) to Puzrishdagan from the troops ($erin_2$) of Khabura and Ninua, from a person of Talmush and an Amorite (see above). This unique delivery of animals from these places to Sumer is surely to be seen in connection with the campaign of Shu-Sin to Shimanum which had taken place exactly at that period: the year Shu-Sin 3 is named after the victory against Shimanum after the third month[128]. Half a year after the end of the campaign (ninth month), Tish-

124) Restoration of lines v 29-33 in *RIME* 3/2 erroneous, see Wilcke 1990a.
125) *TMH* NF 1/2 300-304, *NATN* 450 and 701.
126) *RIME* 3/2, E 3/2.1.4.3 vi 8-18 ; whereas the restoration of [*mar*]-*da-ma-an* (vi 10) is convincing, the restoration *ha-*[*bu-ra*]^{ki} has become implausible after the collation of Krebernik 2002 : 132f.
127) *Cf.* generally Frayne 1997 : 287-290 with the following corrections : Arbatal is "man" (lu_2) not "king" (lugal) of Shimanum in *AUCT* 3, 294 as in other documents ; the place name in *Birmingham* 1, 4 : 6 cannot be corrected to *'ma'-ri-<da>-ma-nu-um*^{ki}, since this is hardly compatible with the subsequent annotation $mar\text{-}du_2$ "Amorite".
128) A quick check of the database of M. Molina (BDTS) of the year dates used for Shu-Sin 3 revealed that the Shimanum campaign had happened early in the same year. The distribution of the year formulae for Shu-Sin 3, either the "following year" (us_2-sa date) of the preceding year Shu-Sin 2 or the new formula concerning the destruction of Shimanum runs as follows :
month i : 22 texts in total, all except one us_2-sa-date of ŠS 2 ; only *Torino* 1, 263 Shimanum-name
ii : 20 texts, all us_2-sa-date
iii : 33 texts, only two monthly calculations (written therefore after the end of the month) use Shimanum date (*CST* 418 ; *RA* 9, 53 SA 209)
iv : 32 texts, only two use Shimanum date
v : 23 texts, 10 texts use Shimanum date
vi : 21 texts, only one uses the us_2-sa-date
Generally, the evidence is very clear : The Shimanum dates begin to appear only in the fourth month and they are used almost exclusively two months later. Obviously, the exception *Torino* 1, 263 from the first month has to be explained differently (written at a later date ; mistake e.g. us_2-sa missing, which is not impossible in the year of Shu-Sin's reform of the

atal, the ruler of Niniveh, came to Sumer to swear an oath of allegiance to Shu-Sin[129]. The empire of Ur was thus protected by two vassal states to the North, Niniveh and Shimanum.

After the delivery of animals in Shu-Sin 3, the Tigris sites Talmush, Khabura and Mardaman do not appear any more, whereas the ruling family of Shimanum continues to receive presents in Shu-Sin 5 and Ibbi-Sin 1 (see above notes to Table 2). This agrees with the words of Shu-Sin's inscription that he had given Shimanum and Khabura to his daughter. The vassal state Shimanum was thus reinforced and enlarged. Perhaps the end of messengers from Urshu in Shusuen 2, the first group 1 town to come to a stop (see Table 4 above), can be seen in the light of this campaign, too. The war would have ended the diplomatic contacts – perhaps because Urshu was somehow involved in the revolt at Shimanum?[130] In the final years of the Ur empire (after Shu-Sin 4, 2032) only contacts with Ebla, Yamadium, Mari and Shimanum are attested.

After the end of Ur, the dynasty of Isin took over the relations with Mari and Ebla: messengers were exchanged with Mari even three years before the end of Ur (Ishbi-Erra year 14 = 2006), so this diplomatic contact remained intact[131]. An administrative text mentions a leather bag to keep the tablets from Ebla and Mari[132], unfortunately the only trace of a diplomatic correspondence at the court of Isin. The date of this document, Ishbi-Erra 25 = 1995 B.C. (= 1979 in the revised Middle Chronology), may become a *terminus post quem* for the decline or destruction of Early Syrian Ebla[133]. And for southern Mesopotamian kings Mari remained the most important partner in the West.

THE AMORITES (MARDU, AMURRÛ) IN UPPER MESOPOTAMIA

The above cited inscription of Shu-Sin about the campaign of his third year names another group which was hardly present in our discussion until now: the Amorites. The Amorites became the classic enemy of the Ur III empire, and finally contributed substantially to the fall of Ur. A hymn to Nergal on behalf of Shulgi (Shulgi U line 25') names Anshan in the far Southeast and Dit(a)num as the paradigmatic enemies. Literary texts characterise the Mardu as non-urban inhabitants of the steppe who are "ignorant of grain"[134]. In this context we are interested in the Amorites and Upper Mesopotamia in the Ur III period, a subject that to my knowledge has not been discussed before, since the advance of the Amorites in southern Mesopotamia alone has always attracted scholarly attention.

The conflict with the Amorites in Shu-Sin 3 may be seen as related to the building of the Amorite wall, a deed after which Shu-Sin named his years 4 and 5. The exact designation as "Amorite wall"

calendar). Given the general distribution of Ur III year dates, this tabulation suggests that the name for Shu-Sin's third year was only coined during the third month. The document *Birmingham* 1, 4 clearly lists deliveries after the campaign (Steinkeller in an unpublished article, see following note, has considered these deliveries as representing gun_2 ma-da tax ; but the number of animals, the various persons involved – including an Amorite – and the terminology clearly show that this is no regular delivery or tax but a kind of tribute delivered at the very occasion of the presence of the army). It is therefore more than likely that the proclamation of the new year date in the fourth month occured shortly after the end of the campaign.

129) Zettler 2006 ; and see under Ninua in the notes to *Table* 2 above. I am very grateful to P. Steinkeller to have sent me a draft of an article devoted to the document published by Zettler. In this article Steinkeller proves convincingly that the oath is taken in the Ninurta temple at Nippur and that this has to be understood as an oath of allegiance.

130) Since the Drehem documentation changes after Shu-Sin 2, this evidence should not be overrated.

131) Messengers from Mari in the Isin craft archive : *BIN* 9, 324 (Ishbi-Erra 14 ; also sending to Mari) ; 233 (Ishbi-Erra 20). Other messengers in the first years of Isin as reflected in the craft archive : *BIN* 9, 382 (Ishbi-Erra 19) : Indadu of Elam ; 424 (Ishbi-Erra 21) : KaraHAR/Karakin (for the reading of the place name see Wilcke 2006) ; 405 (Shu-ilishu 3) : sending to Dilmun.

132) *BIN* 9, 417 (Ishbi-Erra 25) : "2 courier's pouches ; the written tablets of the man of Mari and the man of Ebla are put in it" ($2^{kuš}du_{10}$-gan ti-bala-a im-sar-ra lu_2 $ma\text{-}ri_2^{ki}$ u_3 lu_2 $eb\text{-}la^{ki}$ ba-an-ĝar).

133) See Matthiae 2000 : 609 and note 104.

134) Edzard 1993-97 : 438 f. ; Streck 1999 : 74 ff.

named 'Which keeps the Tidnum at distance'" (bad_3 mar-du_2 *murīq-tidnim*) points precisely to the Dit(a)num of our inscription[135]. The wall itself may have been built as a modest protecting wall against sheep and serving as a demarcation line[136]. Already twenty-three years earlier Shulgi had built the "Wall of the land" (bad_3 ma-da), probably an early version of the Amorite wall. According to the collection of royal letters, which was copied in the Old Babylonian schools, the wall was situated in northern Babylonia in the region where the Euphrates and the Tigris approach each other and it was directed towards Zimudar. Simurrum supported the Tidnum, the campaign against them led towards Mt. Ebih/Jebel Hamrin[137]. Therefore at the end of the Third Millennium the Tidnum lived north of Babylonia, extending into the region east of the Tigris.

On the other hand the Amorite land was always situated near Jebel Bishri[138]: in Ebla, in Naram-Sin's campaign against Amar-girid, in inscriptions and, more importantly, in a year date from Sharkalisharri[139]. The "Amorite mountain" mentioned by Gudea, an early contemporary of Ur-Namma of Ur, as source of limestone and alabaster may refer to the Jebel Bishri, although this is uncertain (see above with note 79). Only 150 to 200 years after Sharkalisharri a wall is built against the Amorites in central Babylonia by Shulgi and Shu-Sin, far away from Jebel Bishri.

The traditional explanation for an invasion of Amorites from the West into Babylonia, the Jebel Bishri as a source of never-ceasing waves of invaders, carries little conviction[140]. Mardu/Amorites appear in the Third Millennium in lowland Mesopotamia, and they are first attested in the earliest preserved substantial corpus, the ED IIIa texts from Fara[141]. But what is the reason for identifying these people as Amorites, whereas usually people are not identified by their homeland or language?[142] If we apply the wide meaning for Mardu which is suggested by the literary texts, Mardu/Amorite came to mean also "nomad" in Babylonia and it apparently applied also to persons of a recent nomadic past. Such an identification of a person is quite sensible: whereas other Babylonians could be and were identified by their homecity, a "nomad" could only be identified as such; this is in a certain respect his provenance. The Amorites were especially prominent in Ur III times, and this may be seen as an increase in the presence of nomads after the Sargonic empire. Many of the Amorites received presents from the king of Ur, which can be understood as part of a pact of coexistence with the Babylonian Amorites that materialized in the presents[143]. In marked contrast to the people from Shimanum who can be clearly identified as prisoners of war in Babylonia, such a characterization never applies to Amorites.

135) Tidnum/Ditānum never appears in Ur III archival sources, *cf.* Frayne 1997 : 290 ; see also *RIME* 3/2, E 3/2.1.4.17 : 20-26 (building of Shara temple, i. e. Shu-Sin year 9) : "when he (= Shu-Sin) built the Mardu wall 'which holds the Ditnum at distance' and had turned the feet of Mardu back to his land" (u_4 bad_3 mar-du_2 *mu-ri-iq ti-id-ni-im* mu-du_3-a u_3 ĝiri$_3$ mar-du_2 ma-da-ni-e bi_2-in-gi_4-a ; this refers to Shu-Sin 4, five years earlier). On the sources for the Tidnum see Marchesi 2006 : 9-19.

136) The find of a long distance wall near Al-Rawda (Southeast of and perhaps depending on Ebla) brings new light on the discussion of the Amorite wall ; I am very grateful to Corinne Castel for informing me about this important new find which will be published by B. Geyer.

137) See the discussion by Wilcke 1969 ; Michalowski 1976 : 113 ff. ; see Frayne 1997 : 291.

138) *Cf.* in general Buccellati 1966 : 236-242 ; Wilcke 1969 ; Edzard 1987-1990 ; Whiting 1995 ; Streck 1999. For Ebla see Archi 1985, but note that Mar-TUM^{ki} does not correspond to Mardu but is a cult place near Ebla (*cf.* also Pettinato 1995) ; this changes some of the conclusions drawn by Archi and others.

139) Sommerfeld 2000 : 435.

140) See the concise summary of Whiting 1995. Westenholz 1999 : 97 : "Amorites were defeated by Sharkalisharri at that mountain [= Jebel Bishri] ; and presumably this marks their first attempt to penetrate into Babylonia – about two centuries later, they had better luck."

141) *Cf.* Sommerfeld 2000 : 436 ; Marchesi 2006 : 23f. with notes ; the UD.GAL.NUN literary text mentioned by Marchesi (2006 : 63 note 95) links Mardu with Mari (read ma-ri$_2$ instead of Marchesi's URU MA ; reading suggested orally by K. Zand, who is preparing his doctoral dissertation on this early literature and kindly drew my attention to the reference) ; for the Sargonic period see Westenholz 1999 : 97 note 444 (Foster 1982 : 113 for Umma, *MDP* 14, 18 : 12 for Susa).

142) The term NIM$^{(ki)}$ for "Easterners, Highlanders" apparently identifies the homecountry of these people who often served as workers or soldiers in Mesopotamia. Note, however, that NIM$^{(ki)}$do not occur in Puzrishdagan documents in a similar way as Mardu.

143) Sallaberger 2003/04 : 55.

P. Steinkeller[144] has adduced evidence that the most important Ur III Amorite, Naplānum, lived at least for some time near Ur, which makes it more plausible that he was indeed the founder of the Larsa dynasty, the leaders of the Emutbalum tribe. Emutbalum or Yamutbalum is one of the most prominent cases of the mirror toponymy in the ancient Near East, since Yamutbalum is not only found in Babylonia from Mashkan-shapir to Larsa, but also south of the Jebel Sinjar[145]. At Larsa, the future seat of the Naplanum dynasty, the son of a Shakkanakkum of Mari held the post of temple administrator of Shamash[146], and also other men from Mari may have lived in Sumer for a while[147]. Can we even assume a special relationship between Mari and Mardu? Be that as it may the case of Yamut-balum may serve as a prime example of the extension of a Mardu tribe from the South to Upper Mesopotamia. The spatial extension rests probably both on annual transhumance and on the intensification of existing contacts between the regions. Only after the end of the Ur III period, could Amorites become rulers in Babylonia. This new role of the Amorites in Babylonia can already be seen in the years of the end of the Ur III state: the new rulers at Isin hastened to send frequent diplomatic gifts (called nig_2-šu-$taka_4$-a) to the Amorites[148].

Therefore one has to distinguish between the Mardu/Amorite country proper and the term Mardu/Amorite in the wide sense, since both entities existed at the same time. The Amorite country proper is the land to the West, especially around Jebel Bishri. The meaning "west" of the term Mardu is surely related to precisely this location. The term Mardu/Amorite in the wide sense refers to people living or identifying themselves along the tradition of the Amorite nomads of the West.

Although a more exact evaluation is impossible, one can observe a general increase in 'Amorites' at the end of the Third Millennium. The greater historical context has to be observed to understand this phenomenon. The decline of the urban culture in the northern Mesopotamian plains, which gradually evolved after the EJ IIIb period, left a *vacuum* in this region. As we have seen, the Khabur region lost the importance it had had in Sargonic times and during the Ur III period the high-ranking urban centres are all situated outside these northern plains; even Urkish seems to have suffered some decline after post-Sargonic times. As in the Mari period a few centuries later, the plains must have been inhabited by nomadic tribes living on sheep-breeding[149]. The post-Akkadian situation of a few cities (like Nagar, Urkish) dominated by Hurrians and the steppe controlled by Amorite nomads may generally be compared to the early First Millennium with the Hittite cities and the Aramean tribes.

The nomadic population of late third-millennium Upper Mesopotamia was probably raised from two sources: 1) Amorites entering the plains from their original homelands on the western bank of the Euphrates assumedly as early as the decline of urban culture in the 24th century, and 2) the descendants of the earlier urban agriculturalists of Upper Mesopotamia[150] who changed to nomadic life and became "Amorites" themselves. The lifestyle of the pastoralists would have entailed the adoption of their language, too[151]. The postulated language change may have been less dramatic since most inhabitants of the Upper Khabur region were already of Semitic tongue.

144) Steinkeller 2004 : 37-40.

145) Charpin 2003.

146) Sharlach 2001

147) Michalowski 1995.

148) See for e.g. Buccellati 1966 : 308 ff.

149) It is not reasonable to assume that these plains were entirely uninhabited, given e.g. the presence of the Amorites in Babylonia in Ur III and in this region in Old Babylonian times.

150) Remember that sheep and goat breeding was an important aspect of their economic life ; see Pruß and Sallaberger 2003/04 (with further literature).

151) It is important to remember in this context that language change is a wide-spread phenomenon which is not directly linked to biological descent ; therefore the adoption of the Amorite language by the former inhabitants of the cities has to be seriously considered. Compared to the traditional theory of invasions of Amorites from the West this hypothesis both explains the fate of the former inhabitants of the cities and solves the problem of the Mardu core land as region of constant overpopulation. The hypothetical character of this historical reconstruction has to be underlined, however (which is not yet based on any further arguments – like perhaps a linguistic differentiation of various strata of 'Amorite'?).

There is more evidence concerning the Amorites who did not live in lowland Mesopotamia, but who may have been the main inhabitants of the post-urban plains of Upper Mesopotamia. In the first place Shu-Sin according to his above-cited inscription fights against hostile Amorites on his campaign to Shimanum on the Upper Tigris, passing Ninua, Talmush and Khabura (see above). The ill-repute of the Amorites directly leads to the building of the "Amorite wall", after which the next year is named. The "Amorite wall" in the North of Babylonia pinpoints the area of contact and conflict. The Amorite tribe with the most intensive impact on Babylonia are the Dit(a)num[152].

Before Shu-Sin, there are repeated references to animals delivered as "booty from the Mardu/Amorite land" (nam-ra AK kur mar-du_2) and registered by the royal organisation at Puzrishdagan/Drehem[153]. The Booty originates from regions outside the state of Ur, therefore it does not refer to the Amorites within the country. Deliveries of animals as "booty" from a certain place are known from Shulgi 33 to Amar-Sin 5.

Booty from Mardu/Amorite land (kur mar-du_2) is registered at Drehem between Shulgi 40 (2053) and Amar-Sin 5 (2040):

Shulgi 40/05 (*Ontario* 1, 50; YBC 11456 cited by Michalowski 1976: 81): no campaign in year dates Shulgi 40/41, no other booty attested at Drehem

Shulgi 44/02"-03" (Erm. 14738; *BIN* 3, 321): no other booty; year 44-45 named after campaigns against Simurrum, Lullubum, and (only 45) Urbilum and KaraHAR/Karakin

Shulgi 46/12 (Margolis, *STD* 9; cf. *Ontario* 1, 53 from Shulgi 46/–/20): no other booty at the end of year, booty from Urbilum in *Ontario* 1, 53; no new campaign to name year 47

Shulgi 47/05 (*JCS* 22, 57 [month name to be restored accordingly!]; *OIP* 115, 336; *PDT* 2, 802): Shimashkean booty distributed at the same time (*PDT* 2 802); note campaign against Kharshi, Kimash and Khurti (probably as part of Shimashki) according to year date Shulgi 48

Shulgi 48/07 (*OIP* 115, 287): booty from Kimash and Kharshi in the same month (*TCL* 2, 5484; *TPTS* 1, 60; *AUCT* 2 364 [date not preserved, but surely belonging here])[154]

Amar-Sin 1/01 (*RA* 62, 8 no. 11): no other booty; year 2 named after campaign against Urbilum/Erbil

Amar-Sin 4/12 (*SAT* 2, 800): Shimashkean booty four months earlier, in Amar-Sin 4/08 from Shashru and Shurutkhum (*TCL* 2, 5545; *cf.* on Shariphum Frayne 1997: 237 f.)

Amar-Sin 5/01 (*PDT* 1, 32): booty from Uru-Nergal/Meslamtaea on Amar-Sin 5/01/21 (*PDT* 1, 120; *BIN* 3, 532; see Frayne 1997: 238); year 6 named after (second) campaign against Shashru

Since no hostile actions against Amorites are celebrated in year names[155], an identification of the "Mardu land" (kur mar-du_2) of the booty texts was notoriously difficult. The evidence available nowadays, often published only recently, leads to a fairly clear conclusion. The relations between Ur and Mari and Mari's role as prominent centre in the *shakkanakku* period exclude that the Amorite booty came from "Mardu land" proper, the Jebel Bishri region. Since Ur III foreign policy is well documented by year names and archival sources, we can exclude any military campaign against "Mardu land" in the West, and since furthermore friendly relations are kept with Mari, Urkish, Ninua and most of all Shimanum, one explanation is that 'Mardu land' corresponds to the small states in the eastern Tigris region or Zagros mountains[156]. However, the countries named in the year dates as

152) The evidence carefully collected by Marchesi (2006 : 9–19) perhaps indicates that the Tidnum were 'originally' located in the West : the Ebla attestation of a ruler of *Da-da-nu*^{ki} (in *ARET* 8, 531 ; Marchesi 2006 : 11) together with the rulers of Mardu (around Jebel Bishri) and of Ib'al, situated south of Ebla, is suggestive in this regard. It is perhaps no coincidence that this geographical term turns up in the last years of Ebla, the beginning of the decline of many cities of Upper Mesopotamia. For the Gudea reference (Statue B vi 12 ff.), however, a satisfactory explanation is still missing (see above).

153) See the (somewhat outdated) collection of references to booty by Maeda 1992 : 156-158 note 21.

154) The booty from Kimash and Khurti stems from the campaign after which the year Shulgi 48 was named ; note that the calendar starts with the sixth month during the last years of Shulgi. Shulgi 47/05 is thus only two months before Shulgi 48/07.

155) Steinkeller in print : note 13 points to the variant of year date Shulgi 47 in *YOS* 4, 86, which writes Kimash and Mardu (mar-du_2^{ki}) instead of Kimash and Hurti ; this slip of a scribe, however, can hardly be used as evidence in the localisation.

156) Sallaberger 1999 : 158 (hesitatingly voting for a "Sammelbezeichnung dieser Kleinstaaten im Nordosten des Reiches von Ur III") ; for the localisation of 'Mardu land' see Lieberman 1968 : 61 f. : Diyala region, because the Mardu wall was directed there ; Michalowski 1976 : 101-118 : in the Jebel Hamrin.

targets of campaigns (such as Kharshi, Kimash or Urbilum) do appear as designations of booty in archival texts, and usually the designations in the Drehem texts are not ambiguous.

Now, with new texts published, it has become certain that the 'Mardu land' is different from the targets of the campaigns of the year dates. The argumentation runs as follows: *Ontario* 1, 53 (Shulgi 46/–/20) lists both booty from "Mardu land" and from Urbilum, therefore Urbilum/Erbil cannot correspond to 'Mardu land'. *PDT* 2, 802 (Shulgi 47/05) differentiates between booty from Shimashki (LU_2.SU) and from 'Mardu land'. Booty from Shimashki often includes sheep and goats of Shimashkean breed (cf. *ZVO* 25, 134 n.1; *JCS* 31, 175 H); Shimashkean goats are part of the booty from Shashru (probably = Shusharra/Shemshara) and Shurutkhum (*TCL* 2, 5545[157]). Finally, booty from Urbilum (*MVN* 13, 423) and from Khurti (*MVN* 15, 201), is distributed to Amorites (perhaps because of their participation in the campaign?); therefore these countries were not Amorite as well. To summarize, "Mardu land" does not correspond to Urbilum, not to Shimashki which includes Shashru and Shurutkhum, and not to Khurti, the places known from the year dates. So why is no year named after an "Amorite campaign?" Apparently a raid against nomads was not considered a heroic deed in the same way as a campaign against other urban centres and states and therefore no "Amorite campaign" is mentioned in the year dates of the Ur III kings[158]. On the other hand, the temporal proximity of the Mardu booty to other campaigns in Shulgi 46 to 48 points to an eastern location of the Mardu land. The data for Shulgi 40, 44, Amar-Sin 1 and 4, however, indicate that campaigns to the Mardu land may have occurred independently of other military undertakings.

Another feature separates the booty from the "Mardu land" from that of other places and this makes the distinction certain: Amorite booty very often includes donkeys ($dusi_2$) and fat-tailed sheep (kuĝgal, literally "big tail", Akkadian *gukkallum*); the latter never appear in other booty texts, donkeys only once in booty from Khurti (*MVN* 15, 201, characteristically handed over to the Amorite Naplanum). Fat-tailed sheep can be regarded as the characteristic animals of the Amorite nomads, a correlation based on the special ability of this breed to withstand periods of shortage of food: It featured the name-giving fat tail, which "evolved in an arid area to store food"[159]. This breed was also known as wool-bearing "mountain sheep" (udu kur-ra, in Umma[160]). Although Amorites, apparently those living in Babylonia, appear much rarer than other people in the Puzrishdagan documentation, 38 attestations of deliveries of fat-tailed sheep were made by Amorites and 34 by other persons. The numbers are even more impressive: between Shulgi 43 and Ibbi-Sin 1 Amorite nomads delivered 268 fat-tailed sheep to Puzrishdagan, other persons in the same time span (Shulgi 43 to Shu-Sin 5) only 101[161]. Although Amorites also delivered other animals, surprisingly often cows and oxen[162], their herding of fat-tailed sheep remains remarkable[163]. And this fact strongly corroborates the identification of 'Mardu' as nomads.

157) Heimpel 1993 : 135.

158) The date for Ibbi-Sin 17 was written under different historical conditions : "Year : To Ibbi-Sin, king of Ur, the Amorites submitted, the powerful south wind who, from the remote past, have not known cities." At this time, however, Amorites had become a threatening power in the South, and Ibbi-Sin was fighting to protect the city of Ur and its precincts. In these years, animals from the herds of Ur were led away as booty, probably by the Amorites (thus *UET* 3, 1243, Ibbi-Sin 8 ; cf. *UET* 3, 1244, Ibbi-Sin 14 : "booty of the Amorites" - *genitivus subiectivus* or *obiectivus*?).

159) Ryder 1993 : 11.

160) Heimpel 1993 : 137 ff ; Steinkeller 1995 : 51.

161) The count is based on the corpus of Ur III texts collected by Remco de Maaijer in the late 1990s, and which includes *ca.* 80% of the Ur III texts currently available (the Drehem percentage is probably even higher). Only deliveries from outside to the royal organization were considered, no transactions within the organization. Buccellati (1966 : 283) had already noted that Amorites contribute a large number of fat-tail sheep, but did not develope this point (the citation of Ishme-Dagan A 268 however refers to ewes, u_8, not fat-tail sheep, kuĝgal). Lieberman (1968 : 59 with note 50) concludes from the distribution of asses ($dusi_2$; Lieberman instead "onagers") that "the Mardu were ass-nomads who brought their herds of sheep along with them in their travels".

162) Note that a breed called "Mardu oxen" (gud mar-du_2) rarely appears in the Puzrishdagan documentation.

163) The annual distribution of the Mardu booty texts is of little help. The wet winter season does not appear (months viii to xi, corresponding to November to February), but this may be due to the fact that people were needed in Sumer and Akkad for agriculture and were not available for razzias into Amorite country. In the hot Summer months (e.g. two attestations for month v = August), the Mardu may perhaps have moved to higher regions like the Khabur plains.

The Ur III "Mardu land", as it appears in the booty texts, therefore has to be differentiated from the Shimashkian land in the East. Michalowski[164] proposed the Jebel Hamrin, based on a number of arguments, more or less the region of the Tidnum nomads. According to Steinkeller[165] "the 'land of the Amorites,' [...] denotes Jebel Hamrin and, more generally, the entire piedmont zone, extending from the middle course of the Tigris to the region of Susiana".

Considering the example of Yamutbalu (see above), the spatial extension of nomadic movements, and the exact temporal distribution of the booty texts (see above) it would appear more prudent to identify as 'Mardu land' a somewhat larger region, extending perhaps from the Jebel Hamrin as southernmost point to the Jebel Sinjar (thus roughly following the belt between the 200mm and 300mm isohyet) and perhaps extending to the Upper Mesopotamian plains: This area is situated north of Babylonia, supporting the rebels of the Upper Tigridian cities Shimanum and Khabura, in the wide region which is devoid of prominent urban centers[166]. It is furthermore sufficiently close to the Ur III state (which, we recall, included Assur as the northernmost provincial capital) to have been a constant danger. The movements of the Amorite tribes, especially of the Tidnum, reached down to lowland Babylonia, where many nomads called "Amorites" already lived among the inhabitants of the cities and began to adopt their lifestyle.

Whereas the Tidnum, the first tribe mentioned by Shu-Sin, can be traced fairly well[167], the case of the Yamadium (or Yamatium) is more difficult to solve. Yamadium appears in archival sources as the place of origin of messengers received at the royal court of the kings of Ur; messengers from Yamadium – and in fact only from Yamadium – are often referred to as Mardu (see above Table 2). Since Yamadians appear both in diplomatic missions between Shulgi 46 and Shu-Sin 6 (*ibid.*) and as opponents in Shu-Sin's campaign against Shimanum, they must have played a far more important role than the few attestations suggest. The suggestive but still speculative connection with Old Babylonian Yamhad (see notes to Table 2) seems to agree with the appearance of Yamadium's messengers together with persons from Mari and Ebla. But can Yamadium refer to a region to the West of the Euphrates? Why would the only foreign Mardu "nomads" to receive presents at Sumer have come from such a distant region? And why should they help Shimanum against Shu-Sin? Considering the general distribution of the diplomatic contacts of the Ur III empire (Table 2), one may assume that the Yamadium were a main group of pastoralists of the Balikh and Khabur plains and/or around the Jebel Sinjar. If one places them in a region to the West of the Tigris, one could imagine how the western Yamadium and the eastern Dit(a)num had opposed Shu-Sin on his way to Shimanum. The data of the booty texts could be harmonized with this distribution: the eastern Tidnum were affected on campaigns against Urbilum, Shashrum, Lullubum and the Shimashkean countries, whereas in other years the razzias might have been directed against the western Mardu, the Yamadium. The presence of Amorite Yamadium messengers probably excludes an assumption that the Upper Habur triangle was simply dominated by Mari and that therefore no messengers from the Upper Mesopotamian cities would have come to Sumer. Admittedly, on the evidence available the puzzle cannot be solved completely[168].

164) Michalowski 1976 : 101-118.

165) Steinkeller in print.

166) It would be interesting to know, if the "Mardu mountains" of Gudea Statue B vi (see above) of Pusalla and Tidnum can be sought in this region.

167) Marchesi 2006.

168) An equation of Yamatium with Yamutum (attested only *TCL* 2, 5508) remains doubtful ; see above p. 437-438 on Yamadium in *Table* 2.The different thematic vowel speaks against this assumption (although some variation of weak roots is not impossible), whereas the equation with Yamhad faces similar problems (see above p. 437-438). Concerning this Yamutum, Steinkeller (2004 : 40) has speculated whether this may be an earlier, abbreviated name of later Yamutbalum. The idea of equating now Yamatiyum = Yamutum = Yamutbalum is attractive, especially adducing the location of Yamutbal to the Southeast of the Jebel Sinjar. Perhaps one may add as a further argument in this direction that the likely forefather of Yamutbalum in Ur III times, the Amorite Naplanum, often received gifts as an important 'partner' of the kings of Ur, and that similarly the Yamad/tiyum are the only Amorites that are hosted by the Ur III king (see above *Table* 2).

CONCLUSION

At the time of the Ebla archives (24th century B.C.), the plains of Upper Mesopotamia possessed an urban culture, both agriculture and animal husbandry were city-based. Close cultural ties, most impressively documented by the art of writing, linked the whole region from Ebla to Upper Mesopotamia, to Mari and to Sumer. The urban culture of Upper Mesopotamia is heavily reduced after the destruction of Ebla and Mari, the time of Sargon's campaign to the West. The exceptionally destructive battles and wars fought between the dominating powers of Mesopotamia, Upper Mesopotamia and Syria, namely 'Kish'/Akkad, Nagar, Mari, Ebla, and their allies (like Armi, Uruk) may plausibly be linked to the drastic decline of the urban civilization. Perhaps we should look for the beginnings of nomadic pastoralism in the region as early as this time.

Upper Mesopotamia, especially the eastern Khabur with its centre Nagar, and the Middle Tigris region have become an integral part of the Sargonic empire. After the intervention of Sargon at Mari and the early campaigns of Naram-Sin (2231-2176 or 2291-2236) in more distant regions, no military action was led against Upper Mesopotamia. The cities of the Khabur, most notably Tell Brak/Nagar, mainly served to safeguard this buffer zone, which may also have served as a trade route, but generally the Mesopotamian kings showed little genuine interest in this region.

After the end of Akkadian rule Urkish seems to have taken over the leading role from Nagar in the eastern Khabur plain (22nd century). The political elite was apparently of Hurrian background, and the Hurrian language had probably won influence after the decline of urban culture. For the period from Akkad to Ur III one may even suggest that the urban and agricultural spheres were dominantly Hurrian (note the names of rulers), while the plains were mainly inhabited by Semitic-speaking pastoralists, the "Amorites".

At the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2110-2003), the leading cities are Mari, Ebla, Urshu and Shimanum, further centres are mainly situated along the Tigris or the Euphrates – and in the eastern Tigris region, which has not been included in our study here. Always, the contacts with the East were more important for Mesopotamian cities and rulers than the West and North-West: military campaigns are led to the mountainous Zagros regions and its piedmont, intensive diplomatic contacts are maintained with the rulers of Anshan and Shimashki, the foreign merchants import luxury goods from the East. As we have seen, the West and North-West of Mesopotamia is a region that hardly appears in the written sources at the end of the Third Millennium.

The Khabur triangle has lost the political importance it had held for Naram-Sin under the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur. And in marked contrast to the surrounding regions no major centres are found in the northern plains between the Euphrates and the Tigris. The region is known as Amorite country in the Old Babylonian period and, as argued in this article, the case was in all probability the same in the preceding Ur III period: "Mardu country" apparently extended from the Hamrin to the Sinjar and beyond, and Shu-Sin faced Amorites on his campaign against Shimanum in the Upper Tigris/Tur Abdin region. This study has tried to avoid two problems in tackling the history of the Near East, namely to assume migrations from Mardu country near Jebel Bishri to explain the presence of Amorites in Upper Mesopotamia and in Babylonia and to leave unanswered the question of the inhabitants of Upper Mesopotamia after the decline of the urban culture. The general process of the disappearance of urban centres in Upper Mesopotamia in the late Third Millennium suggests an ethnogenesis of Amorite nomads meaning that a changing lifestyle of the former urban inhabitants of Upper Mesopotamia towards nomadism also included the adoption of the language of the nomads, Amorite.

Although the documentary evidence remains scanty, the process of the transformation from an urban civilization before Sargon to the nomadic culture of the Amorites can be traced by means of the disappearance of place names and the gradual loss of importance of first Nagar and then Urkish. The geographical distribution of the diplomatic contacts in Ur III times most impressively demonstrates how effective this transformation was.

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