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UNDERSTANDING HEGEMONIC PRACTICES OF THE EARLY ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

ESSAYS DEDICATED TO FRANS WIGGERMANN

edited by

Bleda S. DÜRING



NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN

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14.

Foreign Kings in the Middle Assyrian Archival Documentation¹

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The history of the Middle Assyrian Empire has usually been based on the royal inscriptions and the chronicles (Munn-Rankin 1975; Kuhrt 1995: 348-65; Mayer 1995: 168-257; Veenhof 2001: 176-83; Edzard 2004: 163-73; Van de Mieroop 2007: 179-84). Archival texts, defined as ‘a group of texts of administrative, economic, juridical and similar types, including letters’ (Pedersén 1985: 20) have been little used in the reconstructions of the period (Weidner 1935-36; Freydank 1982a; Harrak 1987; 1989). Various factors have prevented the use of this kind of documentation. First, many of the Middle Assyrian documents have not been published until recently (Freydank and Feller 2004-2010; Frahm 2009; Prechel and Freydank 2011), and many of the ones that are important for this historical reconstruction, remain unpublished. However, in many cases the contents of these texts has been partially communicated. Second, an important part of these archival documents have only been published in cuneiform copy or in scattered articles which makes their consultation difficult.

The use of archival material for historical purposes is not without problems. The first problem concerns chronology. Many archival documents carry a date with an eponym, but a complete list of these officials is still lacking for the Middle Assyrian period (Freydank 1982a: 41), although significant progress has recently been made for the 13th to 11th centuries BC (Freydank 2005; Bloch 2012b). Given that many interesting documents lack a date (or their date is broken), we cannot place them in a precise chronological context. The second problem is the nature of these texts, which were designed for immediate administrative or economic purposes and obviously not for describing historical events (Lambert 1974: 103; Van de Mieroop 1999: 13-25).

A common feature of the royal inscriptions and the official administrative documentation is that the king is the protagonist in both. This is indisputable in the case of the former, and frequent in the case of the latter, where the king appears actively commanding, giving, receiving, travelling, and so forth. Both types of documentation were issued by the royal administration (Lambert 1974: 103). Due to the nature of these sources, histories of the Ancient Near East are often accounts of the feats of kings.

In the present paper, I will focus on the kings, but not on the Assyrian ones. Instead, I will concentrate on the attestations of foreign kings mentioned in the Middle Assyrian administrative documentation and compare them with the information from the royal inscriptions, chronicles, and other sources of historical information. A discussion of the foreign kings in the archival documentation can help to clarify obscure points in the political expansion of Assyria during the Middle Assyrian period. Some propagandistic statements of the royal inscriptions concerning the conquest of territories can be precised with the help of the more neutral economic and administrative documentation. Royal inscriptions and chronicles centre on military clashes, whereas archival documentation can shed light on other aspects of the relation between Assyrian and neighboring kingdoms, such as diplomatic or cooperative contacts. For the purpose of clarity, this analysis will follow a chronological arrangement.

I will not consider the Assyrian kings of Hanigalbat (i.e. the Grand Viziers) (Llop 2012: 96), who were Assyrian officials, as foreigners, nor the kings of Tābete (Tell Ṭaban) (Shibata 2011; 2012, this volume) nor the kings of Idu (Satu Qala) (Van Soldt 2008, Pappi 2012: 602-03; Van Soldt *et al.* 2013), mainly because their territories were integrated in the Assyrian kingdom and

¹ I would like to dedicate this article to Frans Wiggermann with gratitude.

consequently they do not qualify as foreign. In fact, they may not have been considered kings at the same level by the Assyrian monarchs, as Postgate has already pointed out elsewhere (he defines them as ‘client rulers’).² Among the administrative documentation, I will also consider the attestations of kings from the letters (as stated in the definition above).

14.1 Foreign Kings in the Middle Assyrian documentation

In the main section of my paper, I will summarize the general foreign policy of the Middle Assyrian kings as taken from the Assyrian king list, royal inscriptions, chronicles and other relevant historical documentation, as well as the references to foreign kings (as defined above) in the economic documentation, and try to harmonize these data.

14.1.1 *From Puzur-Aššur III (ca. 1500 BC) to Erība-Adad (1380-1354 BC)*

Little is known of the first kings of the Middle Assyrian period or of their contacts with their foreign counterparts. According to the Synchronistic History, Puzur-Aššur III settled the border with the Babylonian king Burnaburiaš I (Synchronistic History I 5’-7’). Most scholars agree that Assur was under Mittani dominance during part or most of this period, although we have little information from this period (Lion 2011). However, Aššur-nādin-ahhē I (ca. 1421 BC) corresponded with a pharaoh (possibly Thutmose III; EA 16: 19), and Aššur-bēl-nišešu (1407-1399 BC) agreed on the common border with the Kassite king Karaindaš (Synchronistic History I 1’-4’). These actions are not characteristic of dependent kings.

The hypothesis of the Mittani domination over Assur is based on the introduction to the treaty between the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma (Frantz-Szabó and Wilhelm 2012) and the Mittani king Šattiwaza (Wilhelm 2009a), in which the plundering of a gate from Assur around 1450 BC by the Mittani king Šauštatar (Wilhelm 2009c) is mentioned and Šattiwaza is reported as saying that his opponent to the Mittanian throne, Šuttarna, ‘threw himself down before the Assyrian, the subject of his father, who no longer pays tribute, and gave him his riches as a gift’ (KBo I 3: 6-9; Beckman 1996: no. 6B). The documentation found in Assur itself does not support a Mittani domination, as no attestation of Mittani occupying forces, political dependence or payment of tribute has been found in the texts found there.

No data related to foreign kings or foreign domination are found in Assur in this period because only few archival documents have been unearthed. They can be used, at most, to confirm the filiation of the Assyrian kings (Saporetti 1979a: 29-44; 1979b).

14.1.2 *Aššur-uballiṭ I (1353-1318 BC)*

It is almost universally agreed that Aššur-uballiṭ was the founder of the Middle Assyrian territorial state (C. Kühne 1973: 77-8; Wilhelm 1993-97: 295b; Jakob 2003a: 6; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2003: 41; Freu 2003b: 137; Postgate 2011: 89-90; Lion 2011: 150; Maidman 2011). However, this assessment is challenged by the new archaeological information for Puzur-Aššur III (Miglus 2011). The creation of the Assyrian provinces has also been attributed to Aššur-uballiṭ, but no firm evidence is available for this claim (Llop 2011c). Nonetheless, there is no doubt that Aššur-uballiṭ was a significant king who made a decisive contribution to overthrowing Mittani as a Near Eastern power. According to the prologue of the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Šattiwaza, ‘Assyria’, i.e. probably Aššur-uballiṭ, as well as Alše supported Šuttarna III, Šattiwaza’s rival to the throne (KBo 1, 1: 50; Beckman 1996: no. 6A § 6 and KBo 1, 3: 12; Beckman 1996: no. 6B § 1; Wilhelm 2009a;

² Postgate 1985: 99-100. Previously, Postgate 1971: 519; 1981: 49-50; 1979: 203, 213 used the term ‘vassal’; afterwards, he has also used this term, see Postgate 1994: 237-9; 2000: 95 note 22. In other publications, they are treated as ‘vassal’ kings, for example Harrak 1987 *passim*; Jakob 2003a: 270 note 63; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2003: 43. See below on *urduttu*. A denomination ‘servant kings’ would be more literal. D. Shibata uses the term ‘local’ applied to the kings of Ṭabete in his publications.

2012a; 2012b). Aššur-uballiṭ supposedly annexed the kingdom of Arraphe, either partially or completely (Maidman 2011). He married his daughter, Muballiṭat-Šerua, to the Babylonian king and intervened in Babylonia when his grandson was deposed there by a rebellion. Finally, he installed a new Babylonian king, Kurigalzu II (Synchronistic History I 8'-12' and Chronicle P I 5-14; Brinkman 1980-83).

Attestations of foreign kings during his reign come not from Assyria, but from Egypt. Two famous letters (EA 15 and 16) sent by Aššur-uballiṭ to the Egyptian pharaoh³ (LUGAL KUR *m[u-uš-ri]* or *m[i-iš(-ša)-ri]*;⁴ *mi-iš-ša-ri*) (EA 16: 2; Winckler and Abel 1889: pl. 9) report the rise of Assyria to the status of an international power to the detriment of Mittani (Hanigalbat; LUGAL *ḥa-ni-gal-ba-tu-ú/ḥa-ni-[gal]-ba-ti-[i]*) (EA 16: 22, 26). The main subject of these letters was the exchange of messengers/envoys (and messages) and presents between the monarchs.⁵ These letters have already been extensively discussed (Schwemer 2006: 178-80).

Both the Assyrian intervention in Mittani and the letters to the pharaoh show one of the central directions of their expansion in the period, i.e. to the west (Syria). The chronicles point to the second direction: Babylonia. Areas to the north and east were apparently of less concern to the Assyrians.

14.1.3 Enlil-nārārī (1317-1308 BC) and Arik-dēn-ili (1307-1296 BC)

According to a fragmentary royal inscription and the Synchronistic History, Enlil-nārārī repelled the attack of Kurigalzu II at Sugaga.⁶ This is confirmed by a fragment of a chronicle (VAT 13056, Weidner 1963: 115-6; ABC 185) and the introduction to the epic of Tukultī-Ninurta, where Enlil-nārārī is also mentioned together with Kurigalzu II (Machinist 1978: 78; A II 29-30). Further, a couple of his letters suggest commercial relations with the governor of Nippur (*šandabakku*), Enlil-kidinnī,⁷ but no foreign king is attested in the archival texts of his reign.

According to the fragmentary epic of Adad-nārārī I, his father, Arik-dēn-ili, had tense relations with the 'king of the Kassites' (*šar māt kaššī*) (VAT 9820, Weidner 1963: 113-5), probably Kurigalzu II. No information in this respect is available from the archival documentation.

14.1.4 Adad-nārārī I (1295-1264 BC)

In his royal inscriptions, Adad-nārārī is reported to have initiated the conquest of Hanigalbat (i.e. the Hittite protectorate in the Jazirah) (RIMA 1, A.0.76.3: 5; Harrak 1987: 62-131). His opponent in this undertaking was Šattuara I (*šar māt Hanigalbat*) (Wilhelm 2009b). Šattuara was taken to Assur as a prisoner, swore allegiance to Adad-nārārī and paid tribute to him for the rest of his reign (RIMA 1, A.0.76.3: 4; 22: 7 (copy Weidner 1928-29: 97)). Interestingly, the rebellious Uasašatta, his son, is not given the title king, which is probably not a coincidence (RIMA 1, A.0.76.3: 15).

³ The addressee of the letters may have been Amenhotep IV (EA 15 and 16) or Tutankhamun (EA 16), see Moran 1992: xxxviii and note 137.

⁴ EA 15: 1; Moran 1988: no. 102 reconstructed *m[i-iš(-ša)-ri]*, similarly Moran 1992: 38 note 1 (following EA 16: 2, see already Knudtzon 1907-1915), and has been followed by most authors, e.g. Belmonte Marín 2001: 192, Faist 2001: 80, Jakob 2003a: 295; Mynarova 2007: 190. However, Moran's copy of the damaged sign does not fit a MI (which begins with a big *Winkelhaken*; compare with the preceding sign KUR), and could be a MU. A restoration *m[u-uš-ri]* would possibly fit better in a Middle Assyrian context (Nashef 1982: 199).

⁵ See Faist 2001: 80-82 and Jakob 2003a: 295 on EA 15; and Faist 2001: 11-17 on EA 16 both with previous literature.

⁶ RIMA 1, A.0.74.1001: 9'; Synchronistic History i 18'-23' (ABC: 159-60). Cf. Chronicle P iii 20-22 (ABC: 175) reports as opponents Kurigalzu II and Adad-nārārī I in the encounter at Sugaga; Nashef 1982: 235; Jakob 2011: 192; Fuchs 2011: 246.

⁷ Radau 1908 no. 91 and Ni 669; see Von Soden 1957-58: 368-71; Faist 2001: 19-21 and 210. Landsberger 1965: 76 identified the addressee, Enlilīya with the *šandabakku* of Nippur. A messenger of Enlil-nārārī is mentioned in a Middle Babylonian document about clothing (CBS 3235), see Van Soldt 1997; Faist 2001: 209 note 42.

Another king of the Hurrians ([LUGA]L[?] KUR *šu-ub-r[e-e]*) may be mentioned in a fragmentary tablet from Assur (Ass. 2001.D-2279: 9; Frahm 2002: 82-3). Only the theophoric element of his name has survived, the name ends in ...-Šarruma (Trémouille 2009). The title ‘king’ is damaged and it has been restored by E. Frahm, who published a summary of the contents of this still unpublished document. According to Frahm, it seems that the document recorded the despatch of bows, arrows and *tilpānu*-bows⁸ to Assur. Frahm interprets further that this was a present of the Hurrian king brought by Ibašši-ilī, son of Ilī-padā.⁹ This Ibašši-ilī is the father of Bābu-aha-iddina, the high official during the reign of Shalmaneser I (KAJ 158; Saporetti 1970: 154.1). The name of the eponym in the date of the document is broken,¹⁰ but in view of the mention of Ibašši-ilī, this record can probably be dated to the reign of Adad-nārārī. This poses the question of the relative chronological placement of this Hurrian king, because the commonly accepted sequence is Šattuara I → Uasašatta → Šattuara II (Harrak 1987: 95, fig. 7; Wilhelm 2009b). The problem remains still open, as a position of ...-Šarrumma before Šattuara I seems unlikely given the generational sequence of the Bābu-aha-iddina’s family (table 14.1).

Ilī-padā		
Ibašši-ilī	Adad-nārārī I (1295-1264 BC)	Šattuara I
		Uasašatta
Bābu-aha-iddina	Shalmaneser I (1263-1234 BC)	Šattuara II

Table 14.1: Synchronisms, the Bābu-aha-iddina’s family and the Hurrian and Assyrian kings.

Another king with a broken name is mentioned in a fragmentary royal inscription possibly belonging to Adad-nārārī I (RIMA 1, A.0.76.1001: 2’, 8’; see Millard 1985: 21-22). Only the filiation of the son of Irištienni remains.¹¹ This unknown king may have been associated with the land of Lullumu and may have been subjugated.

According to a fragmentary royal inscription,¹² several epic fragments (Borger 1954-56: 369; Weidner 1963: 113-5; Wilcke 1977: 187-91; Machinist 1978: 78; A ii 31’-32’), and above all to the chronicles,¹³ Adad-nārārī I fought the Babylonian king Nazi-Maruttaš (1307-1282 BC) (Brinkman 1998-2001a). Furthermore, he appears with Nazi-Maruttaš’ successor, Kadašman-Turgu (1281-1264 BC) (Brinkman 1976-80), in a fragmentary document which is known as the ‘treaty of Adad-nārārī’, but whose precise nature is uncertain.¹⁴ The toponyms Kiliešhi and Siria are only

⁸ This word seems Middle Assyrian but is only attested in this document. AHw. 1350 ‘ein Wurfholz; eine Art von Bogen’; CAD T 414, ‘bow (?)’; CDA 406 ‘bow’.

⁹ [(šā³)¹]Ī.GÁL-DINGIR DUMU DINGIR-*i-pa-da*, Ass.2001.D-2279: 6 (Frahm 2002: 82).

¹⁰ [...*li²-m*]^{u² 1²d² a²}-[šur-x (x) DUMU² (x)] x-^da-šur, Ass.2001.D-2279: 24-25 (Frahm 2002: 83). As far as I am aware, there is only one attestation else of an eponym whose name begins with the theonym Aššur and whose filiation has Aššur not in the first member of the name, VAT 19853: 11’-12’ (Ass. 14446; Freydank 1991: 112, with different line numbering; Reculeau 2012: no. 24). Unfortunately, the eponym’s name is also broken there. Reculeau (2012: 14a) restores this name as Aššur-šad-nišēšu son of Ša-Aššur-... This eponym might also belong to the reign of Adad-nārārī I.

¹¹ Name is restored in its final part, see Millard 1985: 21 and note to line 2’, “If correctly read, this could be a Hurrian-Akkadian hybrid name, ‘Desire of the gods’.”

¹² RIMA 1, A.0.76.21: 9’, [Nazi-Maruttaš King] of Karduniaš is restored; cf. Grayson 1983: 10-11 who restores Kurigalzu.

¹³ The Chronicle P iii 20-22 reports that Kurigalzu II fought against Adad-nārārī at Sugagu; Chronicle P iii 23 mentions Nazi-Maruttaš, but the name of his Assyrian opponent is broken away. However, the epics (see precedent note) and the Synchronistic History i 24’-31’ mention Nazi-Maruttaš fighting against Adad-nārārī at Kār-Ištar.

¹⁴ The fragment VAT 15420 was published by Weidner (1959: pl. 12) and discussed on p. 46; see also Grayson (1972: 78); Brinkman (1976: 163 (L.3.7)) and Pedersén (1985: 55 (M 5: 13)). They have provisionally classified this fragment as a treaty. A new fragment possibly belonging to the same document has been published by

attested there (Nashef 1982: 166 and 232). Bābu-aha-iddina may also be mentioned in this document (VAT 15420: 19'; Weidner 1959: pl. 12). Because of the very fragmentary condition of the document, not much else can be said. The name of the Babylonian king Kadašman-Turgu is also preserved in the text of a sealing on a tablet from Tiglath-pileser's reign (1114-1076 BC).¹⁵ We may wonder, how this seal reached Assyria. Stiehler-Alegria (2003: 296) speculates that the seal was brought to Assyria after Tukultī-Ninurta's sack of Babylon.

A less famous king appears in a letter from Bābu-aha-iddina's archive (KAV 107) (Freydank and Saporetta 1989: 27, 67). It has the following wording (table 14.2):

1) <i>a-na</i> ¹ [šil-li- ^d É]-a-LUGAL 2) <i>ù</i> ¹ EN-li-bur 3) <i>qí-bi-ma</i> 4) <i>um-ma</i> ^{1d} ba-bu-ŠEŠ-SUM-na-ma	“(1-4) To Šilli-Ea-šarri and Bēlu-libūr speak, the following (says) Bābu-aha-iddina:
5) ^{LÜ} <i>ge-el-zu-lim-ma</i> 6) <i>ša</i> ¹ <i>áš-ti-ú-ri</i> 7) DUMU <i>ši-ip-ri</i> 8) <i>ša</i> LUGAL ^{URU} <i>ib-li-ta-ie-e</i> 9) <i>ša-da-aq-di</i> 10) <i>i+na</i> <i>ša</i> ¹ ÍD e.11) <i>ú-še-ri-ba-ni</i> ¹⁶ 12) <i>ù</i> <i>a-na</i> <i>té-i-nu-te</i> r.13) <i>ta-ad-mu-ni</i> 14) <i>ar-ḫiš</i> <i>a-na</i> ^{URU} <i>ki-li-zi</i> 15) <i>še-bi-la-né-šu</i> 16) <i>a-na</i> ¹ DÜG.GA- <i>pa-láh</i> -DINGIR 17) <i>li-di-nu-uš</i> 18) <i>šum-ma</i> <i>la tu-da-a-šu mi-ma</i> 19) <i>pi-i-šu</i> <i>ša-a</i> '-la 20) <i>ù</i> <i>šum-ma me-et tup-pu-ku-nu</i> 21) <i>šu-uṭ-ra</i> <i>a-na</i> UGU 22) ¹ DÜG.GA- <i>pa-láh</i> -DINGIR 23) <i>še-bi-la-né</i> 24) ^{ITI} <i>ḫi</i> -[<i>bur</i>] UD.5.KÁM* 25) <i>li-mu</i> ^{1d} <i>a-šur</i> -KAM	(5-23) ‘the <i>gelzulimma</i> , whom Aštiuri, the messenger of the king of the (city of the) E/iblitæan brought (him) last year to the river and was assigned to milling, send (pl.) him quickly to Kilizi. May they give him to Tāb-palāḫ-ili. If you (pl.) do not know him, ask (pl.) for information about him (<i>mimma pišu ša 'lā</i>), ¹⁷ and if he is dead, write (pl.) your tablet and send it to me to the charge of Tāb-palāḫ-ili.’ (24-25) Month: Hibur, 5th day, eponym [Aššur]-ēriš.”

Table 14.2: Translation and transliteration of KAV 107 (Freydank and Saporetta 1989).

Bābu-aha-iddina is asking his subordinates about a person brought by the messenger of the king of E/iblit, and orders them to find out where he is. This letter contains the first attestation of the city of Eblit, which is probably different from Ebla –Tell Mardikh – in Syria (Nashef 1982:

Frahm (2009: no. 65 (see p. 127-28)). Frahm supposes that this text is an epic. He transliterates and translates VAT 15420 on p. 128. Kadašman-Turgu (lines 2, 14, 15) this king is possibly contemporary with Adad-nārārī I and Salmanassar I, this is the only attestation for a possible synchronism between both kings.

¹⁵ See Brinkman (1976:162 (L.2.14)) VAT 9672 + 15466 with sealing (the tablet is MARV 6, 90 and the sealing published as no. 21). The inscription is read there by L. Sassmannshausen.

¹⁶ This reading is according to the copy; see also CAD E 270a; Freydank and Saporetta (1989: 67) read *ú-qár-ri-ba-ni* ‘(er) hat dargebracht’, which could be based on collation, see Freydank and Saporetta 1989 ‘Vorwort’, although no specific comment on this line is provided.

¹⁷ CAD Š/1, 277, 1c, “if you do not know him, ask what he has to say”. However, if the addressees do not know him, the obvious question is to ask for his whereabouts. That is why the translation in CAD M/2, 78, c, “inquire about whatever is rumored about his (whereabouts)” and CAD P 463a, 3c, “ask for some information about him” are to be preferred.

135; Deller and Postgate 1985: 71b; *cf.* Pettinato 1976-80: 10b). The style of the letter is very concise and so we do not know what a *gelzulim(ma)* did,¹⁸ or why he was brought by the king's messenger. Given the type of work to which he was assigned (forced labour), we may speculate that he was being punished. The reference in the letter to his possible death reinforces this speculation. The fact that the letter was written during the month of *Hibur*, i.e. the last month of the Assyrian administrative year, seems to indicate that the letter may have been part of the closing of accounts, usually executed in this month. According to Saporetti (1979a: 58), this letter should be chronologically placed during the reign of Adad-nārārī I.¹⁹

The letters between the Hittite and Assyrian kings found in Hattuša are more difficult to date (Mora and Giorgieri 2004; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2008; Giorgieri 2011). Most of them, though not all,²⁰ are copies of messages sent by the Hittite king to his Assyrian counterpart and, consequently, did not originate in the Assyrian chancellery. They will not be treated here in depth as they are outside the framework of the present study, and, in fact, they are available in an excellent recent edition by Mora and Giorgieri (2004). However, they should be mentioned, as they are very important for the study of diplomatic relations between these two kingdoms.

Two of these letters mention the kings of Hanigalbat and Karduniaš. KBo 1, 14 is a letter from the Hittite to his the Assyrian counterpart (Mora and Giorgieri 2004: 57-62; Faist 2008: 420-22). The message deals with a range of political and economic matters. The most relevant point is the possession of the disputed frontier city of Turira, which involves the king of Hanigalbat (LUGAL KUR *ḥa-ni-kal-bat*) (KBo 1, 14: 8'.14'; see Beckman 1996: no. 24B; Faist 2001: 22-8; Mora and Giorgieri 2004 no. 1; Bryce 2005: 274; Wilhelm 2006: 238-40). The lack of exchange of presents is also mentioned. KBo 1, 20 was sent from Assyria to the Hittite court (Mora and Giorgieri 2004: 76-8, no. 2; Faist 2008: 422), it mentions the 'Hurrian king' (LUGAL *šū-ub-ri-ū*) in a warlike context and as the enemy of the Assyrian monarch.

14.1.5 *Shalmaneser I (1263-1234 BC)*

Like his father, Shalmaneser continued the subjugation of Hanigalbat, which was the main task of his reign. In his royal inscriptions, he mentions only one king, Šattuara II, supposedly the son of Uasašatta, king of Hanigalbat.²¹ Šattuara II fled in the face of the Assyrian onslaught. The campaign against Šattuara II, who was supported by the Hittites and *Aḥlamū*, ended with the deportation of 14,400 people (RIMA 1, A.0.77.1: 74).

An anonymous Hittite king may be mentioned in the administrative documentation.²² Donbaz contends that an unpublished tablet from Istanbul (earlier reported as a letter) may mention the 'Hittite king'.²³ According to its archaeological number, this document belongs to the archive

¹⁸ AHw. 284b, 'ein Beruf'; CAD G 60b, sub *gelzulimma* (separated from *gelduḥlu*), 'a profession'; CDA 91, referred to *gelduḥlu*, 'bowyer, bowmaker'.

¹⁹ The eponym Aššur-ēriš belongs to the reign of Adad-nārārī (RIMA 1, A.0.76.9: 36; 14: 39; Saporetti 1979a: 58; *cf.* Jakob 2003a: 294) or Shalmaneser. Another possible restoration might be Ištār-ēriš, who belongs to Shalmaneser's reign (Bloch 2008: 147). However, the former is to be preferred, see KAV 96.

²⁰ An notorious exception is KBo 28, 61+ (Mora and Giorgieri 2004 no. 8), sent probably by Tukultī-Ninurta to Šuppiluliuma II; see Mora and Giorgieri 2004, page 23 for other letters sent by the Middle Assyrian kings.

²¹ RIMA 1, A.0.77.1: 60 (Wilhelm 2009b). Exemplars of this inscription are dated during the eponym years of Aššur-nādin-šumī (actual campaign) and Mušallim-Aššur (some years afterwards). For the chronological position of these eponyms during the reign of Shalmaneser I see Bloch (2008: 146-7) and Reculeau (2011: 172).

²² From a chronological point of view, this king must be Hattušili III or Tudhaliya IV (Bryce 2005: xv).

²³ A 1587 is dated in the eponym year of Ittabši-dēn-Aššur (Brinkman and Donbaz 1985: 79; Donbaz 1997: 104), in the reign of Shalmaneser. On this eponym see Bloch (2008: 147) and Reculeau (2011: 172). The geographical name in A 1587: 6 was communicated by Nashef (1982: 123). According to Brinkman and Donbaz (1985: 79) and Cancik-Kirschbaum (1996: 236a, no. 42), A 1587 is a letter. However, Donbaz (1997: 194), reports it as not being a letter.

of Babu-aha-iddina (Pedersén 1985: 112, M 11: 42). Donbaz presents slight differences in the wording of the document in two publications which appeared almost at the same time (table 14.3: the main differences between the two versions are underlined), and can be translated as: ‘Cloth (which)...he has brought back to the (Hittite) king, whose belt ... land Hatti...’

A 1587; Donbaz 1997: 104	A 1587; Donbaz 1998: 181
1) <i>lu-pu-ul-<u>[a]</u></i> (line 2 not reported)	1') <i>lu-pu-ul-<u>tu</u></i>
3) <i>a-na <u>LUGAL</u> <u>hat-[te]</u></i>	3') <i>a-na <u>LUGAL</u></i>
4) <i>'ú'-ta-e-'ru'-[ú-ni]</i>	4') <i>[ú]-ta-e-ru'-[ú-ni]</i>
5) <i>ša TÚG.ÍB.LÁ <u>ša</u> [...]</i>	5') <i>ša TÚG.ÍB.LÁ <u>ŠIG</u></i>
6) <i>[...] KUR <u>ha-at-te</u></i>	6') <i>[...] KUR <u>ha-at-te</u></i>

Table 14.3: Two different transliterations of text A 1587 by Donbaz.

This information is problematic. The king of Hatti appeared restored in the first report, but disappeared from the second. Moreover, this geographical name is not accompanied by the determinative KUR for lands, which almost always appears in the Middle Assyrian documentation.²⁴ For all these reasons, this attestation should be considered with caution until the text is fully published. If it is confirmed, this may be a further example of an exchange of presents between the Hittite and the Assyrian courts.

There is more information on the relations between Hittites and Assyrians during the reign of Shalmaneser in diplomatic letters from Hattuša, in which kings are mentioned. At least one of these letters was sent by Shalmaneser I (KBo 28, 59; Mora and Giorgieri 2004: no. 6). Unfortunately, only the introductory formula and the five-line ending are preserved. Two further letters in the Hittite language were possibly a copy of an Akkadian original addressed to Shalmaneser (KBo 18, 24; KUB 23, 99; Mora and Giorgieri 2004: nos. 4 and 18). Both are preserved in form of fragments. KBo 18, 24 deals with the status of the Assyrian king and his conquests, mainly referring to the city of Malitiya. Only eight lines are preserved in KUB 23, 99. There Tudhaliya complains to Shalmaneser that he has not sent a messenger, when the Hittite king ascended to the throne (as was the customary practice).

Finally, the identity of the sender of the diplomatic letter RS 34.165 (Ras Shamra, Ugarit) is still a matter of debate (Lackenbacher 1982: 141; Harrak 1987: 140-42; van Soldt 1991: 868; Dietrich 2003; Schwemer 2006: 254-56). Some scholars credit Shalmaneser with the authorship, others Tukultī-Ninurta.²⁵ The Assyrian king sent this letter to the king of Ugarit. He gives a detailed report of the tensions between the Assyrians and Hittites around the cities of Nihriya²⁶ and Šurra²⁷ which culminated in a battle between them. According to the sender of the letter, the Hittites, led by Tudhaliya, were defeated. The aim of the letter may have been to encourage Ugarit to defect from its Hittite master (Schwemer 2006: 254).

²⁴ Nashef (1982: 123) reported only the geographical name in line 6, which was provided by Donbaz (*apud* Nashef 1982: x).

²⁵ Shalmaneser: (Harrak 1987: 142; Dietrich 2003). Tukultī-Ninurta: (Singer 1985: 107-08; Vita 2002: 121; Jakob 2003a: 298; Freu 2003a: 107; Mora and Giorgieri 2004: 16-17; Bryce 2005: 314; Schwemer 2006: 254-56; Klinger 2007: 115; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2008: 209 note 10; Bányai 2010: 11-15; Fales 2011: 26). Undecided: (Van Soldt 1991: 868; Streck 1998-2001: 315a; Giorgieri 2011: 181; De Martino 2012: 195-200).

²⁶ Streck (1998-2001: 314): “Region in der Gegend von Diyarbakır und Urfa”; Miller (2012: 349 and *passim*): “Nihriya is to be sought along the upper Balih River”, on pages 358-9, he proposes to identify Nihriya with Kazane Höyük.

²⁷ Belmonte Marín (2001: 269) identifies this city with the Middle Assyrian Šūru (Savur). Note that Kessler (2012) does not mention RS 34.165 r. 22 in treating Šūru, which seems to negate this identification.

14.1.6 *Tukultī-Ninurta I (1233-1197 BC)*

The reign of Tukultī-Ninurta is the period with the most information about foreign kings in the Middle Assyrian documentation.

Tukultī-Ninurta's royal inscriptions report campaigns to the north and east of Assyria during his first years (Harrak 1987: 206-77). Only Abu-lê (Wilcke 2010), the king of Uqumanu,²⁸ and Ehli-Teššup (RIMA 1, A.0.78.1 iv 2, 6; Görg 1989: 209 iv 29, 33), king of Alzu, are explicitly mentioned by name. The 'allied kings' (LUGAL.MEŠ *ra-i-ši-šú-nu*) of Šubarū and Alzu appear anonymously (RIMA 1, A.0.78.1 iii 40-41; Görg 1989: 209 iv 21). In later inscriptions, Abu-lê and Ehli-Teššup disappear from the reports as Tukultī-Ninurta assumes kingship over their lands (RIMA 1, A.0.78.2: 22.27; 5: 17.25). The submission of other lands like Qutī'u, Lullumu, Paphu or Katmuḫu never includes the names of kings or even their presence, although the existence of such kings may be postulated as monarchy was the predominating political system (like in the case of Uqumanu and Alzu, and see below the cases of Buššu and Purulumzu).

Other lands in the north were annexed by Tukultī-Ninurta in successive campaigns: 'Paphu, the lands Katmuḫu, Buššu, Mummu, the totality of the Kašiyaru mountain, Alzu, Madanu, Nihanu, Alaya, Tepurzu, Purulumzu, the entire extensive land of Šubarū.'²⁹ Tukultī-Ninurta says specifically of these lands: 'I subdued at my feet the kings, their leaders, and imposed corvée (upon them)' (RIMA 1, A.0.78.5: 31-32; 23: 38-39; Deller *et al.* 1994: 464: 35-7; Talon 2005: 126: 35-6). He reports to have taken hostages (*līṭū*)³⁰ from some of these lands (Alzu, Madanu, Nihanu, Alaya, Tepurzu, Purulumzu).

The first part of Tukultī-Ninurta's reign also included a campaign against the anonymous forty kings of the Nairi lands. The description of their fate in the inscriptions grew progressively grim with the passing of time (Salvini 1998-2001). Nairi was an unknown territory at the beginning of the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta (RIMA 1, A.0.78.1 iv 10). Its forty kings were defeated by the Assyrian king (RIMA 1, A.0.78.5: 39; 6: 17; 13: 14; 16: 18; 24: 31; 26: 7-15; 1001 r. 7: 7') and paid tribute (RIMA 1, A.0.78.4: 5'-6'; 26: 16). Tukultī-Ninurta assumed the kingship over Nairi (RIMA 1, A.0.78.5: 8; 18: 23; 24: 18). The kings of Nairi appear in the royal inscriptions as slaughtered (RIMA 1, A.0.78.5: 41-44), or brought in bronze clasps in front of the god Aššur (RIMA 1, A.0.78.20: 6'-7' (restored); 23: 50-53).

In later inscriptions, the theme of the submission of the Šubarū kings and of the forty kings of Nairi is combined: 'I subdued at my feet forty kings and their troops' (RIMA 1, A.0.78.24: 32) and summarized 'the one who subdued princes (and) all kings' (RIMA 1, A.0.78.21: 3'; 23: 10-11). In fact, Tukultī-Ninurta is the first Mesopotamian ruler to use epithets such as 'king of kings' (*šar šarrāni*) and the very similar 'ruler of rulers' (*malik maliki*) (RIMA 1, A.0.78.13: 3-4; 16: 3; 24: 7; 38: 3; 39: 3; Seux 1967: 157, 318; Sazonov 2010: 118 and 125; 2011: 259).

Whereas some of these lands appear only in the royal inscriptions (Alzu, Qutī'u,³¹ Paphu and (A)Madanu), and some of them only in Tukultī-Ninurta's (Nihanu, Alayu and Tepurzu), deportees from other of these lands resurface in the administrative documentation. That is the case of the Uqumaneans, Lulleans (or Lullumeans), Katmuḫeans, Buššeans Mummeans, Naireans, as

²⁸ RIMA 1, A.0.78.1 iii 2; Görg 1989: 207 column iii line 3 ; to the latter inscription see Streck (2007) and Wilcke (2010), *cf.* Liebig (2010: no. 91). According to Moorgat-Correns (1988), the victory of Tukultī-Ninurta over Abu-lê is represented in his famous altar found in Assur.

²⁹ RIMA 1, A.0.78.2: 24-30; compare the listings of geographical places, Harrak 1987: 212-3. Buššu and Mummu are the less cited. See the map in Harrak (1987: 246). Other geographical names like Mušri and Harallu are connected to this region, but only appear in the administrative documentation of his reign (Nashef 1982: 119, 198-9).

³⁰ RIMA 1, A.0.78.1 iv 22. This is the only passage mentioning hostages in the Middle Assyrian royal inscriptions before Tiglath-pileser I.

³¹ In fact, one Qutean cloth is attested outside of the royal inscriptions; Postgate 1973: 13, 7 (cited by Nashef 1982: 192), eponym Usāt-Marduk, reign of Shalmaneser I.

well as others with the more general designation Šubrī'u. Their presence confirms the campaigns of Tukultī-Ninurta against their lands. Among them, here I will treat briefly only the case of the Uqumaneans (table 14.4):

Year	Eponym	Attestation
10/11 (26/III)	Abattu	51 (ÉRIN.MEŠ) KUR <i>ú-qu-m[a-na-iu]</i> , MARV 4, 172: 9'
10/11 (27/III)	Abattu	51 (ÉRIN.MEŠ) KUR <i>qu-ma-na-ie</i> , MARV 1, 12: 9
10/11 (n/IV)	Abattu	ÉRIN.MEŠ x KUR <i>ú-qu-ma-na-ie-e</i> , MARV 4, 60: 7
10/11?	Abattu?	[n ÉRIN.MEŠ ³² KUR] <i>ú-qu-ma-na-ie-e</i> , MARV 4, 47: 27'
13	Étel-pî-Aššur	ÉRIN.MEŠ <i>ša li-i-ti</i> KUR <i>ú-qu-ma-na-ie-e</i> , MARV 1, 1 i 51'
ca. after year 20	Aššur-mušēzib	30' KIMIN (GIŠ.šāššugū) <i>ša</i> KUR <i>qu-um-m[a-ni]</i> , MARV 4, 35: 17
ca. after year 20	Ušur-namkūr-šarri	KUR <i>ú-qu-m[a-na-iu]</i> , MARV 4, 74: 44
ca. after year 20	Kaštiliašu] <i>i+na</i> UGU <i>li-ti ú-qu-ma-na-ie-e</i> , MARV 4, 148: 4

Table 14.4: Uqumanean deportees in Assyria during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I.

Hostages (*līū*) from Uqumanu are attested in the archival documentation (but are absent in the royal inscriptions), but Abu-lê, or simply, the Uqumanean king, is not among them. From the table of attestations above we can infer that the Uqumaneans stayed between 10 and 27 years in Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta. Interestingly enough, they appear three times (out of the eight instances above) with people from Mušru.³² However, no campaign by Tukultī-Ninurta against Mušru is attested either in the royal inscriptions or elsewhere. This may indicate that these Mušreans were the remnants or descendants of people brought from this land by Shalmaneser³³ or that Tukultī-Ninurta launched a campaign against this land which is not reported in the royal inscriptions.³⁴

Only two kings from the lands above resurface in the Middle Assyrian archival documentation. One of them is the king of the land of Buššu,³⁵ who appears in an unpublished Assur-tablet from Istanbul, which was reported by Ernst Weidner (Weidner 1939-41: 112 (Ass. 11017k, obv. 2); Nashef 1982: 76, cites line 3).

The king of Buššu is attested there receiving three sheep (A 68: 2-3). This raises the question of his status during this time in Assur. Although from the royal inscriptions we can suppose that he was staying as a prisoner or a hostage, we cannot be entirely sure. Unfortunately we do not have the date of the text, but, given that the land Buššu is attested exclusively in royal inscriptions and archival documentation (table 14.5) during Tukultī-Ninurta's reign, and due to the inclusion of this tablet in the group of texts that comprise Assur M 8, this list must belong to this specific period (Pedersén 1985: 87, no. 20). The same king (LUGAL KUR *bu-uš-še*) is attested again in a fragmentary list of deportees from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta (MARV 4, 102 II 3).³⁶ The sons (no number is given) of the king of Buššu are mentioned as receivers of 2477 litres of barley for people for 4 months (i.e. ca. 20 litre/day).³⁷ This is equivalent to 20 people receiving a litre of barley per day, which is the normal daily ration at the time (Freydank 1975: 60 on VAT 17999 = MARV 1, 1; see also MARV 1, 71: 18-19; Llop 2003c: 7-8).

³² In MARV 1, 12; MARV 4, 47 and MARV 4, 172. The land Mušru was located to the north of Assyria, north of the Upper Zab (Nashef 1982: 198-99; Kessler 1993-97 both *sub* Mušri I).

³³ The land of Mušru occurs in the campaigns of Adad-nārārī, RIMA 1, A.0.76.1: 31; and Shalmaneser, RIMA 1, A.0.77.1: 54; 17: 3.

³⁴ Other campaigns of Tukultī-Ninurta were not mentioned in the royal inscriptions, although we know of their existence through the administrative documentation, for example against Hanigalbat (MARV 2, 17: 110) and Suhu (MARV 4, 27: 22 and 30: 20').

³⁵ Nashef (1982: 76): "im (grösseren) Berich des Kašijari-gebirges zu suchen". In DeZ 3281: 10, between Araziqu and Nihriya (Röllig 1997: 281-93; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009: 140-42).

³⁶ The eponym is broken.

³⁷ MARV 1, 1 I 49; eponym Étel-pî-Aššur, i.e. 13th year.

Year	Eponym	Attestation
13	Etel-pî-Aššur	DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL KUR <i>bu-uš-ša-ie-e</i> , MARV 1, 1 i 49'
	?	LUGAL KUR <i>bu-ša-ie-e</i> , A 68: 2-3 (Weidner 1939-41: 112)
After 20th year	Enlil-nādin-apli	URU <i>bu-ša-iu-ú</i> , DeZ 3281: 10 (Röllig 1997: 284)
	Broken	KUR <i>b]u-uš-ša-ie-e</i> , MARV 4, 51: 14] x KUR <i>bu-uš-še</i> , MARV 4, 51: 25
	Broken	KUR <i>bu-uš-[še...]</i> , MARV 4, 53 r. 3'
	Broken	LUGAL KUR <i>bu-uš-še</i> , MARV 4, 102 ii 3

Table 14.5: Buššeian deportees during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I.

This evidence suggests that Buššeian royal family was staying (probably as hostages) in Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta (Harrak 1987: 269). More Buššeians appear in other administrative documents from this city.³⁸ The reception of meat by the king of Buššu (above) indicates that the prominent hostages were not badly treated by the Assyrians, as meat is not a usual staple for rations (see also below on Kaštīliáš).

The king of Purulumzu (LUGAL KUR *pu-ru-lum-za-ie-e*) is the second king attested in the administrative documentation from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta.³⁹ The document is very different from the rations lists in which the king of Bušše is mentioned (table 14.6). The king of Purulumzu appears in a fragmentary document which may record the distribution (?) of perfumed oils to several people. Uballiṭtū,⁴⁰ the daughter of Ilī-padâ (line 10') is mentioned among these people as (having or receiving – no verb is mentioned) a box with three containers carrying five litres of high quality perfumed oils.

Unfortunately, the context is fragmentary, but it is obvious that she is linked in some way to the king of Purulumzu (who is mentioned in the next line of the document, but not in relation to the oils). The passage is damaged, but we may speculate that Uballiṭtū was married (?) to the king of Purulumzu (see also Shibata this volume). It is possible that Ilī-padâ tried to link his family with the royal family of the neighbour / client kingdom to gather allies in his bid for power. It should not be forgotten that Ilī-padâ concluded a treaty with the Suteans, in which the Assyrian king is not mentioned and in which the Assyrians, among others, are seen as potential enemies (TSA T 04-37; Wiggermann 2010: 29, 56-7; Llop 2011a: 105-07). So Ilī-padâ had his own agenda and sought the support of royalty for his own aspirations. Ilī-padâ himself was mentioned in a literary diplomatic letter as Assyrian king together with Aššur-nārārī III (ABL 924+, see below).

³⁸ MARV 4, 51: 14, 25, in a context of flour rations; MARV 4, 53 r. 3'; LUGAL on line 4'.

³⁹ MARV 4, 146: 11'. For Purulumzu see Streck 2006, "zwischen Murat Su und Tur Abdin"; Radner 2006: 148.

⁴⁰ This personal name should be explained as a nominalization with the feminine ending *-ītu*, Assyrian *-ittu* (cf. Saporetti 1970 volume II 107).

obv.	
1') []a-s[i] ²	[] myrtle oil ² ,
2') [x x x] a-si [x x x x x] x [ša SAG].DU ² LUGAL ² [(x)]	[...] myrtle oil [...]...of/for the head ² of the king ² , (see line 17')
3') [n] ma-šar-a-[tu ša] Ī.ME[Š (x x)] DÙG.GA.MEŠ	[n] maššartu-container of good perfumed oils
4') [i+n]a ² qu-pi ša MUNUS ¹⁹ .[(x)]KŪ ri-qi-ta ú-r[iq ²]	[in ²] a box of Ellittu ² , perfumed oil....
5') 1 ma-šar-tu ša Ī su-ni a-na nap-šu-u[š-ši] ⁴¹	one maššartu-container of filtered oil to anoint oneself entrusted to the king's eunuch.
6') a-na ša SAG LUGAL 0 pa- ^r qi-id ^r	
7') 2 ma-šar-a-tu ša 1 qa.TA.ĀM Ī a-si [(x x)]	2 maššartu-container of one litre each (of) myrtle oil,
8') 2 ma-šar-a-tu ša 1 qa.TA.ĀM Ī ZĪ.DA DÙG.G[A ²]	2 maššartu-container of one litre each (of) good...oil,
9') 1 KI.MIN ša 1 qa ^r x ^r ĞI ŠU.NÍGIN '5' qa Ī.MEŠ DÙG.GA.MEŠ	one the same of one litre..., altogether five litres of good perfumed oils
10') [x q]u-pi ša [MUN]US.ú-bal-li-ṭi-te DUMU.MÍ DINGIR-pa-da	[in ²] a box of Uballiṭtu, the daughter of Ilī-padā
11') [] AN [x x] LUGAL KUR pu-ru-lum-za-ie-e	[...]...[] the king of the land Purulumzu.
l.e.	
12') []ša i+na UD-mi LUGAL	[...] which...at the time when the king
13') [] hu-ra-di	[...] campaign
14') [] e/e[-]li-ú-ni	[...] went up,
15') [] x-né-ni	[...]....
r.	
16') [] mar-hu-ša-e	[...] of marhušau-red stone.
17') []ŠU ša SAG.DU LUGAL	[...]...of/for the head of the king.
18') [x] KI.MIN ša Ṭ [x x] ṬLUGAL ¹⁹ . ḪUR-ri ša 2-šu še-šu-ni	[n] the same of perfumed oil [...]... who/which let go out two times.
19') [n+]I KI.MIN ša Ī sad ¹⁹ -ri ša a-na pa-ni LUGAL ra-qu'-ni	[n] the same of perfumed oil of <i>standard quality</i> (?) which was prepared in front of/for the face of the king.
20') 1 šap-pu-tu ša x-ri ša Ī a-si x x	one jar of ... of myrtle perfumed oil...,
21') 1 KI.MIN 0 ša [x x x x] ša si x [(x)]	one the same of [...] ...,
22') 3 KI.MIN ša x [x x] 2 KI.MIN ša Ī ia-ru-te	three the same of [...]..., two the same of perfumed oil of <i>ayāru</i> -plants
23') ŠU.NÍ[GIN n ma-šar]-a-tu ša Ī.MEŠ	Total [n] maššartu-containers of perfumed oils,
24') []x an-na-x rest broken	[n šappātu...]...
left edge	
28 ⁿ) [(x)] x-KAR GAL É.[GAL]	PN the palace overseer.
29 ⁿ) [ITI.š]a-sa-ra-te [UD.x.KĀM li-mu]	Month ša sarāte (VIII), [day n, eponym]
30 ⁿ) 0 1.ú-š[ur ² -namkūr-šarri (?)]	Ušur-[namkūr-šarri] (?)

Table 14.6: VAT 18091 = MARV 4, 146.

Another important direction of Assyrian expansion was southwards. Tukultī-Ninurta's victory over Kaštīliaš IV, the king of Karduniaš (Babylonia; king of the Kassites), is described in detail in his royal inscriptions, which show Kaštīliaš being humiliated by Tukultī-Ninurta:

“In the midst of that battle I captured Kaštīliašu, king of the Kassites, (and) trod with my feet upon his lordly neck as though it were a footstool. Bound I brought him as a captive into the presence of Aššur, my lord”.⁴²

⁴¹ For the reconstruction of this line ending see KBo 1, 14 r. 9'.

⁴² Translation from RIMA 1, A.0.78.5: 59-65; see also lines 4-5, 53-58; RIMA 1, A.0.78.6: 23-24; RIMA 1, A.0.78.23: 60-68; RIMA 1, A.0.78.24: 34-40; RIMA 1, A.0.78.25: 4-8; Deller *et al.* 1994: 460 (IM 57821): 35-44; 466 (IM 76787): 38-44; Talon 2005: 125: 37-45.

Chronicle P reports Tukultī-Ninurta's conquest and sack of Babylonia.⁴³ An epic was composed to praise the heroism of Tukultī-Ninurta against his evil Babylonian opponent, who was demonized (Machinist 1978). Kaštīliaš appears in a fragment of literary letter (VAT 9525 = KAH 2, 157; Llop and George 2001-02).

Several administrative documents can be connected to the Babylonian campaigns of the Assyrian king and arranged to present a succession of events in Tukultī-Ninurta's Babylonian policy (Bloch 2010b: 43-67; Jakob 2011; Llop 2011b; Bloch 2012b: 190-275; Jakob 2013). Babylonian deportees appear in the archival documentation of Assur, Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta, etc., as working in the empire's most important cities and building projects (Pempe 1996: 69-74; Llop 2001: 251-66; Jakob 2005: 183; Akkermans and Wiggermann, this volume). In Tukultī-Ninurta's administrative documentation, the denomination for Babylonian is always Kassite (*kaššī'u*). This designation may be due to the fact that the Babylonian army was composed mainly of Kassites (Sassmannshausen 2001: 137-38), or alternatively it may have been used in a derogative way.

As Cancik-Kirschbaum has already noted, Kaštīliaš may be the Babylonian king appearing with his wife in a letter from Dūr-katlimmu.⁴⁴ In fact, Kaštīliaš is the name of an eponym from the last part of Tukultī-Ninurta's reign, which may be identified with the ex-Babylonian king (Freydank 1991: 147).

But Kaštīliaš is not the only Babylonian king cited in the documentation from Tukultī-Ninurta's reign. The Babylonian king Šagarakti-Šuriaš (Brinkman 2006), Kaštīliaš' predecessor, is also mentioned in a seal, which was taken by Tukultī-Ninurta and retaken by Sennacherib.⁴⁵ Was it originally brought to Assyria after the sack of Babylon by Tukultī-Ninurta's troops?⁴⁶

Other fragmentary tablets have not been considered in the above studies, although they possibly belong to this reign. A 'king of the Kassites' or a 'messenger from the king of the Kassites' is mentioned in three heavily damaged fragments, possibly from related texts. According to H. Freydank, the context of some of these fragments is the commerce of the palace (*Fernhandelsbeziehungen des Palastes*) (Freydank 1994: 13b), but probably record the sending of presents between the Assyrian and the Babylonian kings.

The relevant lines of these documents report the following.⁴⁷

Red wool [...]... *mār šipri ša šar kaššē ḥamri* [...] '[...] the envoy of the Kassite king [...]' VAT 16450: 5' (Weidner 1959 pl. 11);⁴⁸

Dark wool [...] *ša šar kaššē* [...] *ušēbilanni* [...], '[...] which the Kassite king [...]' sent [...]' VAT 19755 = MARV 3, 78 r. 9'-10'.⁴⁹

A similar fragment states:

Red wool, dark wool, bowls *mimma anni'u ana PN kaššē ḥamri mār šipri ša šarri rabê ina URU. x x [x (x)] ki rēmutte tadin* 'All this was given as a present to PN, the ...Kassite, messenger of the great king in the city...' VAT 19757 = MARV 7, 102: 23'-26'.

⁴³ Chronicle P IV 1-13 (ABC: 175-6); see also the broken Synchronistic History ii 1-3 (ABC: 161) and the Chronicle 25: 1-2 (Walker 1982: 400), to the latter cf. Reade 2000.

⁴⁴ See Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 42 on letter no. 10. Cf. Jakob 2013: 519 proposes that the Kassite king is the vassal king Adad-šuma-iddina.

⁴⁵ RIMA 1, A.0.78.28: 8, 12, "Seal of Šagarakti-Šuriaš, king of the Universe".

⁴⁶ This was not the only case of an inscription on a tablet with a Babylonian royal name found in Assyria, see MARV 6, 90 (above) where the name Kadašman-Turgu appears.

⁴⁷ VAT 20508 = MARV 9, 44 might belong to this context; here a Kassite personal name ending in [...]-Bugaš (line 10) is attested.

⁴⁸ Weidner 1959: 45b, related this fragment to an exchange of presents between Tukultī-Ninurta and Kaštīliaš previous to the Babylonian campaigns of the former.

⁴⁹ According to Freydank 1994: 13b, VAT 16450 (Weidner 1959: pl. 11) and VAT 19755 (MARV 3, 78) may have been part of the same tablet, but he was not able to piece them together.

The date is not present in any of these fragments, but they can be linked because of the mention of Kassites. Thereby, they may well belong to the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I.

The west was the third front on which Tukultī-Ninurta was active. His later royal inscriptions describe the deportation of 28,800 Hittites (ÉRIN.MEŠ^{KUR} *ha-at-ti-i*) at the beginning of his reign.⁵⁰ The problem is here that the early inscriptions of Tukultī-Ninurta do not mention such a large-scale operation in the west and in fact this has ignited debate among scholars about the very existence of this deportation (Galter 1988; Giorgieri 2011: 182). To a large extent their incredulity is due to the fact that 28,800 is the exactly twice 14,400, the number of deportees mentioned by his predecessor Shalmaneser I (RIMA 1, A.0.77.1: 74). This passage of the royal inscriptions has also been related to the battle of Nihriya, reported in the Ugarit letter RS 34.165 (see above).⁵¹ In spite of this, it is significant that no Hittite deportees are found in the administrative documentation of Tukultī-Ninurtas reign (Harrak 1987: 280; Galter 1988: 228; Freydank and Fischer 2001).

Some fragments of diplomatic correspondence between Assyria and Hatti have been edited by Cl. Mora and M. Giorgieri (2004: 23-24). KBo 28, 61-64 (Mora and Giorgieri 2004 no. 8) was possibly sent by Tukultī-Ninurta to the Hittite king.⁵² Other Hittite letters had possibly Tukultī-Ninurta as recipient: KBo 18, 20 (Mora and Giorgieri 2004 no. 3); KBo 18, 25+ (Mora and Giorgieri 2004 no. 5a); KUB 23, 109 (Mora and Giorgieri 2004 no. 21); KUB 26, 70 (Mora and Giorgieri 2004 no. 22). A further letter to the king of Ugarit (*šar māt ugarit*) came from Assyria (RS 18.054a = Nougayrol 1956: 228-29, pl. 81; its date is broken). In general, the use of informations from these letters is hampered by their fragmentarity. In spite of this, some of them, like KBo 28, 61-64, have produced an extensive literature (Bloch 2012b: 261-71).

Surprisingly, Carchemish (Jerablus), the Hittite enclave on the Euphrates, is not attested in Tukultī-Ninurta's royal inscriptions. Fortunately, this city is mentioned in the archival documentation.⁵³ People (or troops) from this city are reported to have been followed by Sīn-mudammīq, a royal official possibly in Uššukanni (BATSH 4, 2: 4, see also lines 29 and 32). For his part, the king of Carchemish (unfortunately never mentioned by name, but to be identified with either Ini-Teššub or his successor Talmi-Teššub, Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 38-9) plays an important role in the communications to Aššur-iddin, the Grand Vizier, in Dūr-Katlimmu. In two letters to Aššur-iddin, the king of Carchemish is described as an important partner in the supply of linen to the Assyrians (BATSH 4, 6: 2'.6'; BATSH 4, 7: 18'; see Faist 2001: 129-34). Merchants of the king of Carchemish trade in the Assyrian territories of the Jazirah. They are reported to have been assaulted by an unidentified enemy and had to be compensated (BATSH 4, 6: 16'; Faist 2001: 130-33).

Finally, the king of Egypt is mentioned in the letters from Harbe (Tell Chuēra). There, Salmānu-mušabši, probably as Grand Vizier, ordered to the governor of Harbe to arrange food supplies for the journey of the Sidonian Milku-rāmu, an envoy (*ubru*)⁵⁴ from the pharaoh, who had

⁵⁰ RIMA 1, A.0.78.23: 28; 24: 23; IM 76787 (Deller *et al.* 1994: 464): 24; Talon 2005: 124, 24. See critics to this number, De Odorico 1995: 150-51, with previous bibliography.

⁵¹ Singer 1985; Giorgieri 2011: 182. According to Freu 2003a: 106 both events are not related.

⁵² The specific sender of other fragmentary letters to the king of the Hittites is not known: KUB 3, 73: 3 = Mora and Giorgieri 2004 no. 11 and KUB 37, 114 = Mora and Giorgieri 2004 no. 23.

⁵³ According to a document from Tell Taban (Tab T05A-609, unpublished, courtesy D. Shibata) Carchemish was the (diplomatic) objective of a royal journey during the last years of Shalmaneser I.

⁵⁴ The word used to define Milku-rāmu and the other envoys in the Harbe documentation is *ubru*. The translation 'envoy' (see Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 229a and Jakob 2009: 161, both 'Gesandter') for this word is a result of the function described in these documents as carriers of tablets which had as sender the Egyptian king and as recipient the Assyrian king; cf. AHW. 1454b, 'Ortsfremder; Beisasse'; CAD U/W 398, '(a type of foreigner)'; see also Bodi 2003: 35, 'resident-alien'; Naaman 2005: 475-8, 'residing foreign delegate, ambassador'.

visited Tukultī-Ninurta in Assur (*šar māt Mušriāye; ana muhhi šarri* [Assyrian king] *ana Libbi-āli illikanni*).⁵⁵ In very similar letters, supplies are provided for the envoys of Amurru (Jakob 2009: no. 23) and Hatti (Teli-Šarruma).⁵⁶ Jakob has interpreted this movement of envoys during the second and third month of the year of Ninuāyu (i.e. in the twenties of Tukultī-Ninurta's reign) as the result of Tukultī-Ninurta's conquest of Babylonia (Jakob 2003b). In any case, Harbe was a usual staging post for caravans conveying envoys from the Hittites and other western kingdoms as is shown by a another document written several years later (eponym Enlil-nādin-apli),⁵⁷ and also for merchants (from Carchemish; BATSH 4, no. 6: 25', 32-35). Consequently, this city was a target for 'enemy' attacks (BATSH 4, no. 4: 7).⁵⁸

According to the chronicles, Tukultī-Ninurta I was murdered by one of his sons in collusion with parts of the Assyrian nobility (Chronicle P iv 10-11 =ABC p. 176). Wiggermann has published an exceptional letter from Tell Sabi Abyad in which anonymous 'kings of another land' (LUGAL.MEŠ-*nu ša KUR-te ša-ni-it-te*) are said to have come to Assur to mourn the dead Assyrian king and to meet his new successor (TSA T 02-32: 10-13; Wiggermann 2006: 94). After seven years of Tukultī-Ninurta's rule over Babylonia, Adad-šuma-ušur was the new king there.⁵⁹ He was probably not one of the kings of other lands who came to Assur to mourn his dead enemy or to pay respect to the new Assyrian monarch, Aššur-nādin-apli (1196-1193 BC).

14.1.7 Aššur-nārārī III (1192-1187 BC)

In fact, Adad-šuma-ušur is the author of a scornful letter addressed to the 'Assyrian kings' (LUGAL.MEŠ *šá KUR aš+šur*^{K1}), Aššur-nārārī III and Ilī-padâ, in which the Assyrians are described with contempt (ABL 924+).⁶⁰ The letter begins with the following lines:⁶¹

- 1) [To] Aššur-nārāra and Ilī-padâ,
- 2) [to (?)] the kings of the land Assur, speak
- 3) [the following (says)] Adad-šuma-ušur, the great king, the strong king,
- 4) [the king] of the land Karduniaš:
- 5) "[...]... to Aššur-nārāra and Ilī-padâ.
- 6) [Through] irresponsibility (lit. forgetting yourselves), constantly being drunk and not making decisions,
- 7) your (pl.) mind has become insane forever.
- 8) There is nobody with sense or advice among you (pl.).

⁵⁵ Jakob 2009: no. 22. A Sidonian envoy is mentioned also in no. 28: 7.

⁵⁶ Jakob 2009: no. 24; 25 (letter sent to the governor of Amīmu); 26 (letter sent to the governor of Sahlala). A Hittite envoy is also mentioned in no. 56: 2-3.

⁵⁷ Jakob 2009: no. 54: 2-3, 10-11 (Hittite envoy); 17-18 (Canaanite envoy). For the, still unsure, position of Enlil-nādin-apli in the sequence of the eponyms of Tukultī-Ninurta I see Freydank 2005: 50; Jakob 2009: 3; Bloch 2010a: 32.

⁵⁸ Cancik-kirschbaum 1996: 37-8 identifies this enemy (*nakru*) with the Hurrians.

⁵⁹ Chronicle P iv 7-9 (ABC: 176); Synchronistic History is broken for Tukultī-Ninurta (ABC: 161); Chronicle 25: 2-10 (Walker 1982: 400); cf. Reade 2000 and Bloch 2010b: 66-7. See Yamada 2003.

⁶⁰ Note that the sole mention of 'Assyrian kings' as the title of the addressees of the letter had an insulting purpose as the Assyrian king was *de jure* one per definition (see the Assyrian King List, Grayson 1980-83 § 3.9. Adad-šuma-ušur refuses to give equal titulature to his Assyrian colleagues with the same denigrating purpose). However, Adad-šuma-ušur's statement was probably based on real events, see Llop 2001: 334-41; Llop and George 2001-02: 10 with previous literature; Wiggermann 2006; Llop 2011a.

⁶¹ Wiggermann joined the fragments K 3045 (ABL 924) and K 1109 adding 15 fragmentary lines to the obverse and 15 (also highly damaged) to the reverse. M. Frazer (Yale) has found some more fragments of this fascinating letter. She is preparing a new copy and edition of the letter in the frame of her PhD thesis: *Akkadian Royal Letters in Later Tradition*. I am grateful to Frazer for having sent to me her provisional edition of the letter, on which the translated lines are based, with minor variations.

- 9) After the great [gods] have driven you (pl.) insane,
- 10) the word that you (pl.) speak, your (pl.) face [...]
- 11) You (pl.) give each other counsel of sin and crime.
- 12) Your (pl.) deeds (?) [...] What will you (pl.) do that (is) godless? (...)

The king of Carchemish (Talmi-Teššub?) reappears occasionally in the archival documentation of Aššur-nārārī's reign. It seems that he was under Assyrian protection after the destruction of the Hittite empire in the west during the migrations of the Sea Peoples. Both documents were found in Tell Sabi Abyad and are still unpublished. Wiggermann reports of one of them:

“Of historical interest is a text dated to Aššur-nirari *uklu* (1192-1187), one of the later texts of Ili-pada/Tammite group (TSA 98-119). In this text the ‘governors of the land Harran’ owe 164 sheep to Tammite, and the debt is incurred ‘when Ili-pada came to the help of the king of Carchemish, and ... they were given them to eat’. Apparently the *dunnu* fed a passing army of Ili-pada” (Wiggermann 2000: 200).

A second reference of the king of Carchemish appears in a letter (TSA T 96-1) reported by Wiggermann in one of his handouts. On this letter, he writes:

“Ahi-mal[ik], the king (?) of Emar, instigates peace talks with the king of Carchemiš; information requested (matter kept secret from the Assyrians ?)” (Wiggermann 2003: 3).

Some pages later he edits the letter and translates: “I [Ili-padâ] have heard that Ahī-mal[ik] (and the Emarites are sending peace proposals to the king of Carchemiš. [In]quire if this is true, and if (in fact) they have come to[gether]; and then let me know” (Wiggermann 2003: 7).

14.1.8 *Enlil-kudurrī-ušur (1186-1182 BC) and Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1181-1169 BC)*

The Assyrian king list (Grayson 1980-83: 111, § 50) and the Chronicles (Synchronistic History ii 3-8 (ABC p.161-62); Chronicle 25: 1-7 (Walker 1982: 400) describe how Enlil-kudurrī-ušur was deposed by Ninurta-apil-ekur, the son of Ilī-padâ, a descendant of Erība-Adad I, after his defeat by the Babylonian king Adad-šuma-ušur. For the first (and only) time in Assyrian history, an Assyrian king (Enlil-kudurrī-ušur) was delivered to the Babylonian enemy by the Assyrian nobles themselves (Llop and George 2001-02: 17b). Nothing else was known about the relation between the Assyrian and the Babylonian royal houses after Adad-šuma-ušur's help for Ninurta-apil-ekur.

An economic document confirms that Ninurta-apil-Ekur and the Babylonian king Meli-Šipak (c. 1186-1172) were contemporaries. This fragmentary document is still unpublished and only a summary of the contents, by E. Frahm, is known (Ass. 2001.D-2217: 13'-14'; see Frahm 2002: 75). According to Frahm, this document is a list of products and mainly military devices with indications of their origin. On the passage obv. 10'-14', various objects are listed among others horse teams, which the Babylonian king Meli-Šipak sent to the Assyrian ruler Ninurta-apil-Ekur.⁶² According to Frahm, this document attests that after his rise to the throne Ninurta-apil-Ekur still enjoyed the support of the Babylonian king. In any case, this administrative document explicitly states the good relations between the monarchs.

14.1.9 *Aššur-dān I (1168-1133 BC)*

It is not confirmed whether Aššur-dān I, the son and successor of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, was a contemporary of Meli-Šipak, and nothing is known of the relation between Aššur-dān and Marduk-apla-iddina (c. 1171-1159 BC) (Brinkman 1987-90a: 374b), Meli-Šipak's successor. The Synchronistic History reports that Aššur-dān fought with another Babylonian king, Zababa-šuma-

⁶² “Waren und (vorwiegend militärischen Zwecken dienen) Geräten mit Herkunftsangabe. Besonders interessant ist der Passus Vs, 10'-14'. Hier werden verschiedene Gegenstände, u.a. Pferdegespanne aufgelistet, die der babylonische König Melišipak dem assyrischen Herrscher Ninurta-apil-Ekur zukommen liess” (Frahm 2002: 75).

iddina (c. 1158 BC) (Synchronistic History II 9-12 =ABC p. 162). Little information has been preserved from this period, as practically no royal inscription of Aššur-dān I is preserved.⁶³

According to the 6th-year-royal inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BC), the *Mušku* invaded the Assyrian territories of the Jazirah (Alzu, Purulumzu and, later (?) Katmuhu) fifty years earlier, that is during the reign of Aššur-dān, c. 1159.⁶⁴ By the time of their defeat by Tiglath-pileser, the *Mušku* were led by ‘five kings’. Tiglath-pileser recovered the lost territories for Assyria in what can be called a first reconquest (preceding the Aramean invasion). The royal inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser report (RIMA 2, A.0.87.1 I 62-77):

62) *i-na šur-ru LUGAL-ti-ia 20 LIM LÚ.MEŠ 63) KUR muš-ka-a-ia.MEŠ ù 5 LUGAL.MEŠ-ni-šu-u 64) ša 50 MU.MEŠ KUR al-zi 65) ù KUR pu-ru-lum-zi na-a-đš GUN 66) ù ma-da-at-te ša^d a-šur EN-ia iš-ba-tu-ni 67) LUGAL ia-um-ma i-na tam-ħa-ri GABA-šu-nu 68) la-a ú-né-ħu a-na da-na-ni-šu-nu 69) it-ka-lu-ma ur-du-ni KUR kat-mu-ħi 70) iš-ba-tu i-na^{GIS} tukul-ti^d a-šur EN-ia 71) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ù qu-ra-di-ia.MEŠ lul-te-šir 72) EGIR-a ul ú-qí KUR ka-ši-ia-ra 73) A.ŠÀ nam-ra-ši lu-u ab-bal-kit 74) it-ti 20 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ muq-tab-li-šu-nu 75) ù 5 LUGAL.MEŠ-šu-nu i-na KUR kat-mu-ħi 76) lu al-ta-na-an a-bi-ik-ta-šu-nu 77) lu áš-kun (...)*

“In my accession year: 20,000 *Mušku* with their five kings, who had held for 50 years the lands Alzu and Purulumzu — bearers of tribute and tithe to the god Aššur, my lord — (the *Mušku*), whom no king had ever repelled in battle, being confident of their strength they came down (and) captured the land Katmuhu. With the support of the god Aššur, my lord, I put my chariotry and army in readiness (and), not waiting for my rear guard, I traversed the rough terrain of Mount Kašiyari. I fought with their 20,000 men-at-arms and five kings in the land Katmuhu. I brought about their defeat.”

The land of Katmuhu, invaded by the *Mušku*, was not an Assyrian possession, however. That it had remained a long time outside of Assyrian control is implied by the fact that Tiglath-pileser I needed two campaigns to subjugate this land (RIMA 2, A.0.87 i 89-ii 35 and iii 7-31) and from the fact that Katmuhu had as allied a neighboring king, Kili-Teššub son of Kali-Teššub, known as Errupi (RIMA 2, A.0.87 ii 25), the king of Paphû (Wilhelm 1976-80; 2003-05).

This information raises the problem of the chronological position of the ‘tribute list’ BM 122635 + 122642 (Millard 1970: 172-73, pl. 33-34) (table 14.7). The genre of the document is according to the caption title in the publication of the tablet by A. Millard, although no mention of ‘tribute’, ‘give’, ‘send’ or ‘present’ is made in the fragment.⁶⁵ In this fragment of a multicolumn tablet, Assyrian ‘client rulers’ and governors (EN.NAM) are mentioned along with shields, skins of wine, chests with large jars, sheep, oxen, tin, cooper and horses.

⁶³ The royal inscription K 2667 = RIMA 1, A.0.82.1001, assigned to Aššur-dān, belongs possibly to Tukultī-Ninurta (see Llop 2003b).

⁶⁴ In RIMA 2, A.0.87.1 i 63, they are said to have arrived fifty years earlier, and this inscription was written during Tiglath-pileser’s 6th year, which implies that the *Mušku* arrived ca. 1159 BC. The combat with the *Mušku* is also referred in RIMA 2, A.0.87.2:18, 20; 4: 18 and 10: 21, but the kings are not mentioned there. On the *Mušku* see Wittke 2004. MARV 2, 22 (eponyms Ninurta-apla-iddina, Ragiššānu) reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, reports a battle between Assyrians and *Mušku*.

⁶⁵ See a previous characterization of the document by Postgate 1969: 124, “(BM 122635) records dues of various kinds paid, or to be paid, by the governors of the provinces and cities in the middle Assyrian times. It is possible that these dues were *nāmurtu*, payable to the king, but they could also be offerings owed to a temple.” He has been followed e.g. by Maul 2005: 15 and Michel 2007: 172.

line	person	observations
obv. 4'	Saduhi, ^{KUR} Katmuhāyu	see table 14.9; cf. Aššur-šēzibanni, son of Habbakar, governor of Katmuhu, Stele 66. these three people are attested only here
8'	Šedulāyu, <i>qēpu</i> , [ša(r)?] ⁶⁶ ^{KUR} Kat[muhi/āye (?)]	
11'	Huadipa, ^{KUR} Katmuhāyu	
12'	Ubasāyu, <i>bēl pāhete ša</i> ^{URU} I[di/Isana (?)]	this governor is attested only here
13'	Salmānu-šuma-iddina [...]	it is a usual name. Two eponyms carry this name during Aššur-nārārī III and Tiglath-pileser's 37 th year (Otherwise, this personal name is mostly attested in the Dūr-katlimmu documentation)
16'	[...] <i>bēl pāhete ša</i> ^{URU} Buralli	governor attested only here
17'	Qalī [...]	personal name attested only here
18'	Lā-damqu [...]	personal name attested only here
21'	Gula-ērīš	two other persons carry this name, but they do not fit here.
22'	^{KUR} Ruqahāyu	geographical name attested only here
rev. 2'	Ninurtāyu, <i>bēl pāhete ša</i> ^{URU} Ninua	different from Ninurtāyu, <i>bēl pāhete ša</i> ^{URU} Ahurra or Alkapra, KAJ 284; KAJ 192; A 3186; all eponym Sīn-šēya (see below)
4'-5'	Kidin-Ninua [<i>bēl pāhete (?) ša</i>] ^{URU} Šadikanni	this governor (?) is attested only here
6'	[...], <i>bēl pāhete ša</i> ^{URU} Qatni	this governor is attested only here
7'	Adad-apla-iddina, ^{URU} Tabatāyu	this ruler is attested only here; cf. Mannu-lū-āyu, KAJ 195: 4-5; A 1746: 3 (both eponym Sīn-šēya)
8'	Mardukīya, <i>bēl pāhete ša</i> ^{URU} Halahhi	Cf. Eru-apla-iddin/ušur <i>bēl pāhete ša</i> ^{KUR} Halahhi, KAJ 191: 4 (Sīn-šēya); <i>sukkallu rabiu, šakin</i> ^{KUR} Halahhi, Stele 128

Table 14.7: 'Client rulers' and governors (**bēlū pāhāte*) mentioned in BM 122635 + 122642.

The date of the tablet is broken away. Different proposals for the chronological position of this document have been made. Most authors suggest a datation in the 12th century BC (table 14.8).

Author/ Publication	Dating proposal
Millard 1970: 173	mid-twelfth century
Zadok 1985: 63	Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur or Tiglath-pileser
Postgate 1985: 99-100	early in Tiglath-pileser's reign or before his accession seems probable
Lipiński 2000: 48	Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur
Jakob 2003a: 268, 270 n. 63	twelfth century, ca. Aššur-dān
Maul 2005: 15	mid-twelfth century or Tiglath-pileser I
Kertai 2008-09: 48	around 1150
Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009: 137	late twelfth century
Fales 2011: 59 note 159	twelfth or eleventh century

Table 14.8: Some dating proposals for BM 122635+.

⁶⁶ Šedulāyu *qēpu* [ša(r)?] ^{KUR}Kat[muhi], Freydank and Saporetti 1979: 124; Šedulāyu *qēpu* [ša] Kat[muhhi], Jakob 2003a: 268.

This document is difficult to place chronologically, because the date is absent and the persons attested seem not to appear elsewhere in the Middle Assyrian documentation.⁶⁷ Most authors above have used the political and administrative status of Katmuhu to date the document. We now have additional information about Katmuhu at our disposal (table 14.9).

Katmuhu had been an Assyrian province since the days of Tukultī-Ninurta I, and, in fact, Katmuhean deportees are present in Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta (MARV 1, 27: 14).⁶⁸ This may have been the status of Katmuhu until the reign of Aššur-dān I, and consequently BM 122635+ does not fit in this context.

King	administrative position	attestation
Adad-nārārī I	‘Conqueror of the land Katmuhu’ <i>kāšid māt Katmuhi</i> Katmuhean boots in Assyria	RIMA 1, A.0.76.1: 22 MARV 3, 64: 8
Shalmaneser I	Deserted/far-away region Katmuhean male goats in Assyria Katmuhean boots in Assyria	RIMA 1, A.0.77.1: 99 KAJ 314: 1 Postgate 1973: 13: 19; Freydank 1985: 248; Freydank and Saporetti 1989: 85
Tukultī-Ninurta I	Assyrian conquest	RIMA 1, A.0.78.1 iii 22, iv 30; 2: 24; 5: 24; 6: 6; 8: 8'
Tukultī-Ninurta I	Province (<i>pāhutu</i>)	MARV 4, 119: 4; MARV 10, 61: 7
Tukultī-Ninurta I	campaign (<i>hurādu</i>)... Katmuhu	Billa 12: 17-18 (eponym Ilī-padā)
Aššur-nādin-apli	?	?
Aššur-nārārī III	?	?
Enlil-kudurrī-ušur	Province (<i>pāhutu</i>)	MARV 7, 27: 7
Ninurta-apil-Ekur	Province (<i>pāhutu</i>)	<i>ginā'u</i> lists (MARV 5, 1: 9, etc.)
Ninurta-apil-Ekur	Mardukīya son of Ilī-padā, governor of Katmuhu	Stele 129: 3
Aššur-dān I	Aššur-šēzibanni son of Habbakar, governor of Katmuhu	Stele 66: 5
Aššur-dān I	Katmuhu lost to the <i>Mušku</i> (c. 1159) (?)	RIMA 2, A.0.87 i 69
Aššur-dān I/ Aššur-rēša-iši	Katmuhu possession of the <i>Mušku</i> (?)	Not mentioned in the documentation from Assur M 6
Aššur-dān I/ Aššur-rēša-iši	Adad-apla-iddina, ruler of Ṭabete (?)	BM 122635+ r. 7' (here?)
Tiglath-pileser I	(Re)conquered in two campaigns during the first regnal year	RIMA 2, A.0.87.1 i 89-ii 35, iii 7-31
Tiglath-pileser I	Province (<i>pāhutu</i>) during first, second and eighteenth regnal year	MARV 6, 70: 5; MARV 7, 22: 15 and MARV 7, 51: 7
Tiglath-pileser I	Lost again?, Tiglath-pileser [goes] to Katmuhu	Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 4: 13
Aššur-bēl-kala	Not mentioned; ‘client kingdom’?	BM 122635+ (here?)
Aššur-bēl-kala	Kings in Qatnu; conversion to Assyrian province (?)	<i>cf.</i> BM 122635+ r. 6' mentions a(n Assyrian) governor of Qatnu (here??)
Aššur-dān II (934-912)	Campaign; king of Katmuhu flayed in Assur	RIMA 1, A.0.98.1: 35, 39

Table 14.9: Evolution of Katmuhu’s administrative status during the Middle Assyrian period.

There is no evidence that Katmuhu was under Assyrian control in the second part of Aššur-dān’s reign or during the reign of Aššur-rēša-iši, which possibly implies that Katmuhu was beyond

⁶⁷ E.g. Postgate 1985: 99-100 wrote: “This list cannot be certainly dated, although early in Tiglath-pileser’s reign or before his accession seems probable.”

⁶⁸ For Katmuhu see Postgate 1976-80: 487. For Katmuhu as an Assyrian province see Llop 2012.

the limits of the Assyrian influence. This may be related to the arrival of the Mušku to the area during the reign of Aššur-dān. Note that Katmuhu is not mentioned in the documentation composing the archive Assur M 6 (reign of Aššur-dān I). The lack of pre-existing Assyrian control is supported by the fact that Tiglath-pileser reconquered the region during his first regnal year after repelling the Mušku and the Papheans. In fact, we find an Assyrian governor sending tribute during Tiglath-pileser's first,⁶⁹ second,⁷⁰ around the eighteenth⁷¹ and a further⁷² regnal years. Katmuhu therefore was an Assyrian province again (situation contrasting with BM 122635+). The Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 4 reports another expedition led by Tiglath-pileser to Katmuhu (Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 4: 13). However, we also know that during the years of Bēlu-libūr (c. 18th year) and Šahhutu (possibly 35th year) the ruler of Ṭabete was Aššur-ketti-lēšir II and not Adad-apla-iddina (as in BM 122635+). According to Shibata (2011: 178), Adad-apla-iddina can only be included in the Ṭabatean sequence of rulers in a pre-Aššur-rēša-iši period (if in fact, he was a ruler there) (also Shibata 2012: 492). But BM 122635+ cannot belong to the period of Assur M 6 (reign of Aššur-dān I, see the tables 14.7 and 14.9). Nor does the presence of the Aramean Ruqāhu fit well in the pre-Tiglath-pileser period.

In short, this list (BM 122635+) is difficult to place during or prior to the reign of Tiglath-pileser I. But nor is it easy to place it after this reign. Aššur-bēl-kala reports having campaigned against Tukultī-Mēr, the king of Mari and Hana (RIMA 2, A.0.89.1 obv. 14'; RIMA 2, A.0.89.2001: 2). In a second campaign in the area, Aššur-bēl-kala finds 'kings' in Qatnu (*cf.* the presence of a governor of Qatnu in BM 122635+) (RIMA 2, A.0.89.2 ii 6'). Our list would only fit in this context, if Aššur-bēl-kala conquered the region of Mari and Qatnu, installed or tolerated Adad-apla-iddina in Ṭabete, and installed a governor in Qatnu. It should also be taken into account that the broken obelisk reports fighting against the Arameans in this area afterwards (RIMA 2, A.0.89.7 iii 20-24). A concrete chronological position of the list BM 122635+ remains difficult to propose.

No other foreign kings appear in the economic documents from Aššur-dān's reign. Only the archive Assur M 6 is known for the end of his reign (but see Freydank 2011). The title 'king' is attested only twice among the more than hundred documents of the archive referring to living kings (Pedersén 1985: 56-68). One reference may be to the Assyrian monarch (KAJ 194: 3), and the other to the Ṭabatean ruler (A 1736: 2).⁷³

A Babylonian literary letter probably has Mutakkil-Nusku as addressee (Llop and George 2001-02). The Assyrians are presented in this letter as failures and are the object of scorn. The Assyrian king and his brother, Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur, are the main subjects of the document. This letter, sent originally by the Babylonian king to his Assyrian counterpart, does not mention other kings, but it refers anonymously to the '...the kings of your surroundings' (...šarrāni ša limītika, line 43').⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Katmuhu was sending barley as a province, MARV 6, 70: 5 and MARV 7, 58: 4 (both eponym Tiglath-pileser).

⁷⁰ Katmuhu was sending barley again, MARV 7, 22: 15 and MARV 8, 13: 1 (both eponym Ištu-Aššur-ašāmšu).

⁷¹ Katmuhu was sending a product, possibly fruits, MARV 7, 51: 7 (eponym Bēlu-libūr).

⁷² Katmuhu was sending possibly barley, MARV 10, 88: 4 (eponym Mudammīq-Bēl).

⁷³ Donbaz 1976: pl. 5. Mannu-lū-yāu, the Ṭabatean, is attested in KAJ 195: 4; without any complementation in A 1746: 3 (Donbaz 1976 pl. 8). For the integration of Mannu-lū-yāu in the list of Ṭabatean rulers see Shibata 2011: 178 and 2012: 492.

⁷⁴ Other references to kings in the letter are made in more general terms: *ki-i šarrim(LUGAL)-ma ṭē-ma i-šak-k[a-nu]*, 'command like a king', line 48'; [...*da-ba*]-*bu ša šarrī* (LUGAL.MEŠ), 'speech of kings', line 56'; 'the kings my predecessors', *šarrū(LUGAL.MEŠ)-ma abbū(AD.MEŠ)*[..., Rs. 12', 13'. See Llop and George 2001-02: 10b.

14.1.10 *Aššur-rēša-iši (1132-1115 BC)*

The royal inscriptions of Aššur-rēša-iši deal mainly with the king's building activity. Only one refers to external campaigns.⁷⁵ No foreign kings are mentioned there. Aššur-rēša-iši had to defend Assyria twice from Babylonian attack (Bloch 2012a). First, he confronted Ninurta-nādin-šumi (1131-1126 BC) in Arbail.⁷⁶ The Synchronistic History explains that the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104 BC), came and besieged the Assyrian fortress of Zanqu (possibly on the Lower Zab).⁷⁷ Aššur-rēša-iši fought off the attack. In a second campaign, Nebuchadnezzar I tried to conquer the fortress of Idu, also on the Lower Zab (Van Soldt 2008; Pappi 2012; Van Soldt *et. al.* 2013). According to the chronicle, Nebuchadnezzar I was defeated again.

This coming of Nebuchadnezzar I may find its match in the archival documentation, as the sentence: 'In the time when Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Karduniaš (Babylonia), came,...' (*ina ūmi Nabû-kudurrī-ušur šar māt Karduniaš illikanni*) is reported in an unpublished document from Assur in Istanbul.⁷⁸ As the document has not been published, no further conclusions can be drawn at present.⁷⁹ Confirmation of this match would provide strong support for the reliability of the controversial Synchronistic History.

14.1.11 *Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 BC)*

The references to foreign kings in Tiglath-pileser's documentation come exclusively from the royal inscriptions and the chronicles.

His 6th-year-prisms mention the 'five kings' of the Mušku (see above) (RIMA 2, A.0.87.1 i 63, 75. See Wilhelm 1976-80: 591b); 'Kili-Teššub, the son of Kali-Teššub, who is called Errupī', the king of Paphû (RIMA 2, A.0.87.1 ii 25-27); 'Šadi-Teššub, son of Hattubu, the king of the city of Urratīnaš' (RIMA 2, A.0.87.1 ii 45); the distant kings of the land Nairi (RIMA 2, A.0.87.1 iv 49).

Tiglath-pileser had a greater taste for detail than his predecessors, and he specifically lists the twenty-three kings of the Nairi lands individually (the king of Tammu, of Tunubu, of Tualu, of Dardaru, of Uzula, etc.).⁸⁰ Some lines later, these kings multiply to the 'sixty kings of Nairi' (RIMA 2, A.0.87.1 iv 96). Nevertheless, they were defeated and submitted to vassalage (*urduutu*).⁸¹ One of them, 'Sēni, king of the land Dayēnu' was brought to the city of Assur to be paraded before the people (RIMA 2, A.0.87 v 22-32). A successor of Abu-lê (see above), 'the king of Qumanu' was also subjugated during the first five years of reign (RIMA 2, A.0.87 vi 24). Interestingly enough, these kings are named together with the west-semitic title *malku* instead of *šarru*.⁸²

In inscriptions of following years, the number of Nairi kings rises from twenty-three to thirty, although no new campaigns are reported in this area (RIMA 2, A.0.87.2: 26; 3: 12). Ini-Teššub, the king of the land Hatti (Carchemish?) is also mentioned (RIMA 2, A.0.87.3: 28; 4: 30; 10: 35; CUSAS 17, 129: 17-18; Frahm 2009: no. 8-11: 13'. See Bryce 2012: 4, 84, 87, 99, 100,

⁷⁵ Only the Ahlamû, Lullumu and Qutû are mentioned once in RIMA 1, A.0.86.1: 6-7.

⁷⁶ Assyrian Fragment Chronicle 3 (ABC p. 187-88); see Brinkman 1998-2001c.

⁷⁷ Synchronistic History II 1'-13' (ABC 162-164). On the geographical position of Zanqu (= Zaqqa) see Pappi 2012: 607. See also Brinkman, 1998-2001b: 193a.

⁷⁸ A 1471 (Donbaz 1998: 183). Cf. Bloch 2012a: 74, who detaches this information from the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar reported in the Synchronistic History and interprets the sentence as "a personal visit to the city of Aššur".

⁷⁹ Donbaz 1998: 183, reports the date as not preserved.

⁸⁰ RIMA 2, A.0.87.1 iv 71-83; line 83 specifies 'altogether 23 kings'.

⁸¹ AHW. 1466a, 4. 'Dienst politisch'; CAD A/2, 251, 2. 'vassalage'; CDA 434, 'vassalage, political (servitude)'.
⁸² 42 *mātāti u malkīšina*, RIMA 2, A.0.87.1 vi 39.

200, 302). Tiglath-pileser took hostages from him, imposed tribute and obliged him to pay a tax consisting of cedar beams.

A recent addition to this collection of foreign kings is the Egyptian pharaoh. A Tiglath-pileser's royal inscription from Assur mentions a despatch from the 'king of Egypt'.⁸³ Frahm, the editor of the inscription, proposes to identify this pharaoh with Rameses XI (1099-1069 BC).

Finally, Tiglath-pileser's Babylonian opponent appears in the royal inscriptions (RIMA 2, A.87.4: 40 and 51; 10: 50-53; CUSAS 17, 129: 40-42; and VAT 9636 = Frahm 2009 no. 8-11: 27'). The chronicles also inform that Tiglath-pileser I fought against Marduk-nādin-ahhē (Brinkman 1987-90b). In another study, I have already examined the campaign against Marduk-nādin-ahhē and discussed it in the light of information in the archival documentation (Llop 2003a). I refer to that study for a full explanation of this confrontation. Briefly, the Assyrian *casus belli* was understood as a reaction to the kidnapping of the divine statues of Adad and Šala from Ekallāte by the Marduk-nādin-ahhē, reported in the royal inscriptions of Sennacherib (704-681 BC) (Luckenbill 1924: 83, 49; see Frahm 1997: 151-54). An administrative document from Assur allows a complementary explanation to the origins of the war – the fact that two sons of Tiglath-pileser were murdered by the Babylonians (A 1123).

Unfortunately the rich information from Tiglath-pileser's royal inscriptions, has no parallel in the archival documentation.

14.1.12 Aššur-bēl-kala (1073-1056 BC)

The last king to be treated in this study is Aššur-bēl-kala, for whom archival documentation has been found (see Radner 2004). However, the only sources mentioning foreign kings are again the royal inscriptions and the chronicles.

The king of Mari and Hana, Tukultī-Mēr, the son of Ilī-iqīša, is reported to have been defeated by Aššur-bēl-kala (RIMA 2, A.0.89.1: 14' [Mari]; RIMA 2, A.0.89.2001: 2 [Hana]). 'The kings of the people of the city of Qatnu' should be placed in this same geographical area (on the Habur) (RIMA 2, A.0.89.2 'II' 6'), because this Qatnu is probably a settlement near to Dūr-Katlimmu (Michel 2007, Cancik 2009: 137-8; Fales 2011: 29). These kinglets were also subjugated. All in all, these two reports are a veiled confession of a previous Assyrian withdrawal from the region, because Qatnu on the Habur had been in Assyrian hands at least since the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I, and Mari is attested as a client kingdom since Shalmaneser I (Shibata 2012: 494-8).

Aššur-etellu, son of the king of Sa[...] is another figure mentioned in a military context in the inscriptions (RIMA 2, A.0.89.2 'II' 3'), but the text is so fragmentary that no more can be said. The name of this prince shows that he was placed in an Assyrianized area (Brown 2013: 127).

The Egyptian pharaoh is mentioned sending wild animals (a monkey, a crocodile and a 'river man') as presents for the Assyrian king.⁸⁴ Marduk-nādin-ahhē, the king of Akkad (Babylonia) appears in a highly damaged part of the beginning (column I) of the broken obelisk (RIMA 2, A.0.89.7 i 17). The Synchronistic History (II 25'-37') reports that Aššur-bēl-kala allied with Marduk-šāpik-zēri.⁸⁵ After that, the Assyrian king made Adad-apla-iddina, son of Esagil-šadūni, king of Babylonian. No Babylonian king had been placed on the throne by the Assyrian ruler since Aššur-uballiṭ I, three hundred years earlier. In this case, however, Aššur-bēl-kala married the daughter of the Babylonian king. The Synchronistic History ended this paragraph with the sentence that 'the people of Assyria and Karduniaš (Babylonia) mingled together' (Synchronistic History ii 36'-37').

⁸³ *šubulta* (?) *ša šar māt Muš[ri]*; VAT 9484+ = Frahm 2009 no. 6: 2. See also RIMA 2, A.0.87.4, 27-40 and 73-79 "Darbringung des Königs von Ägypten".

⁸⁴ RIMA 2, A.0.89.6: 5'; RIMA 2, A.0.89.7 iv 30; according to Frahm 2009: 31, the Pharaoh would be Smendes (1069-1043 BC).

⁸⁵ Similarly the "Eclectic Chronicle", ABC 180: 4-7. Brinkman 1987-90c.

14.2 Conclusions

In this paper, I have collected some attestations in the administrative documentation referring to foreign kings and I have tried to connect them with other sources of historical knowledge such as the royal inscriptions, chronicles and epics, in order to provide a context for the information provided by the archival documentation. The result is that the administrative documentation helps and completes our understanding of the Assyrian history, but it cannot stand alone and must be seen as a complement to other sources. It is important nonetheless because it gives us details that are not present in the other sources.

Two factors hamper our understanding of information from the archival documentation. First, relevant historical details are contained in still unpublished documents, which have been only partially (and not always consistently) reported. Second, some of the information comes from highly damaged / fragmentary documents (for example, the so-called 'Adad-nārārī treaty', VAT 15420; many of the Hattuša letters; RS 34.165), a situation which, in some cases, provokes discussions about, for example, the author of a letter, or the precise chronological setting of a message (RS 34.165). Third, some of these documents are very concise; sometimes they only mention a personal name (for example in the case of some sealings), which makes them difficult to interpret. Fourth, the chronological problem remains since some of these documents lack a date, or the date is broken (for example the tribute list BM 122635+).

From a chronological point of view the archival documentation is useful as it shows or confirms relevant synchronisms: for example Ninurta-apil-ekur and Meli-Šipak (Ass. 201.D.2217). Sometimes, they cause surprise, for example the presence of an unexpected Hurrian king during Adad-nārārī's reign (Ass.2001.D.2279).

Assyrian royal inscriptions, chronicles and epics are centred on the Assyrian king, who is represented as a pious figure, as he obeys the commands of the gods and provides for them (he builds temples, he furnishes them with offerings). He is also a hero, expert in the art of war and can never be defeated. Some of the information from the archival documentation confirms the military and political life of these leaders: for example, an economic document corroborates the report in the chronicles referring to a campaign of Nebuchadnezzar in Assyria (A 1471). Or the documentation can provide new insights: another economic document gives us an alternative explanation for Tiglath-pileser's campaigns against Babylonia (A 1123). These details are neglected or concealed by the other more ideological sources, such as royal inscriptions or chronicles.

From an administrative point of view, archival documentation is, of course, central. It confirms or clarifies annexations, territorial dominance or expansion (for example in the case of Katmuhu). The existence of other (client or vassal) kings was known from letters such as KAV 107, which was published before the findings in Tabete (Tell Taban) and Idu (Satu Qala) were made.

The attestations of foreign kings in the archival documentation can shed new light on the relations of the Assyrian kings in contexts other than warfare.

The archival documentation also highlights the continuous diplomatic contact with other courts of the great powers (Egypt, Babylonia, Hatti, Mittani/Hanigalbat; latter is to be supposed although not attested through diplomatic letters with Assyria) or less important realms (Ugarit, Amurru, the Phoenician cities), which is rarely documented in the other sources. This contact occurred through envoys (*ubrū*) as we have seen in the case of Harbe (Tell Chuēra), where they took supplies.

An important subject of this diplomatic contact was the exchange of presents between the kings (or the complaint because no presents were forthcoming). This exchange is not restricted to the Amarna period, but continued afterwards (see above on EA 15 and 16, Ass. 2001.D.2279; KBo 1, 14 and 20; A 1587, VAT 16450 = Weidner 1959: pl. 11; VAT 19755 = MARV 3, 78; Ass. 2001.D.2217) (Liverani 1990; Faist 2001: 201-37). Presents from hitherto unknown kings such as a Hurrian king during the reign of Adad-nārārī are attested in the archival documentation (Ass. 2001

D.2279). Only the royal inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I and Aššur-bēl-kala report such despatches from the king of Egypt, whereas they are already present in the letters from El-Amarna, two centuries earlier. The archival sources present sometimes the Assyrian king discussing commerce with foreign officials (for instance, Enlil-nārārī's letters to the *šandabakku* of Nippur).

The archival documentation also provides a new insight (absent from the royal inscriptions), into the economic cooperation and the supply of raw materials (for example, linen from Carchemish). Merchants of other kings traded in Assyrian territory (as attested by the letters from Dūr-katlimmu), though not always in total safety. Similarly, Assyrian merchants traded in the territories of other kings (Faist 2001).

Letters show reports of espionage on neighbouring kings (TSA 96-1). But military cooperation is also reported, when, for example, Ilī-padā comes to the aid of the king of Kakermish (TSA 98-119).

In spite of the cruel stories presented in the royal inscriptions, defeated kings might live in Assyria as hostages or prisoners, but as far as we can judge, they received acceptable treatment. For example, the king of Buššu received sheep possibly as meat ration (A 68), as attested for Assyrian rulers). Kaštiliaš was probably eponym indicating some kind of recognition, although no clear practical consequence can be inferred.

Finally, the archival documentation also reports extraordinary events that are not recorded elsewhere. Thanks to a letter, we know that 'kings of another land' came to Assur to mourn Tukultī-Ninurta and to meet his successor (TSA T 02-32).

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Abbreviations

A =	Assur Collection, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, museum number.
ABC =	Grayson 1975.
ABL =	Harper 1892-1914.
AHw. =	Von Soden 1959-1981.
Ass. =	Assur, excavation number.
BATSH 4 =	Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996.
CAD =	Oppenheim <i>et al.</i> 1956-2010.
CBS =	Collection of the Babylonian Section (University Museum, Philadelphia), museum number.
CDA =	Black <i>et al.</i> 2000.
Chronicle 25 =	Walker 1982.
Chronicle P =	Grayson 1975 no 22.
CUSAS 17 =	George 2011.
DeZ =	Dēr ez Zōr, museum number.
EA =	Knudtzon 1907-1915.
KAH 2 =	Schroeder 1922.
KAJ =	Ebeling 1927.
KAV =	Schroeder 1920.
KBo 1-4 =	Figulla, <i>et al.</i> 1923; 18 = Güterbock 1971; 28 = Kümmel 1985.
KUB 3 =	Weidner 1922; 23 = Götze 1929; 37 = Köcher 1953.
Ni =	Nippur, excavation number.
MARV 1-10 =	1 = Freydank 1976; 2 = Freydank 1982b; 3 = Freydank 1994; 4 = Freydank and Fischer 2001; 5 = Freydank and Feller 2004; 6 = Freydank and Feller 2005; 7 = Freydank and Feller 2006; 8 = Freydank and Feller 2007; 9 = Freydank and Feller 2010; 10 = Prechel and Freydank 2011.

IM =	Iraq Museum (Baghdad), museum number.
RIMA 1-2 =	1 = Grayson 1987; 2 = Grayson 1991.
Synchronistic History =	Grayson 1975 no. 21.
TSA =	Tell Sabi Abyad, excavation number.
VAT =	Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Tontafeln, museum number, Berlin.

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