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SYNOPSIS OF VOLUME II, CHAPTER I

NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA AND SYRIA

BY

J.-R. KUPPER
Docteur spécial en Histoire et Philologie orientales
Chargé de cours associé à l'Université de Liège

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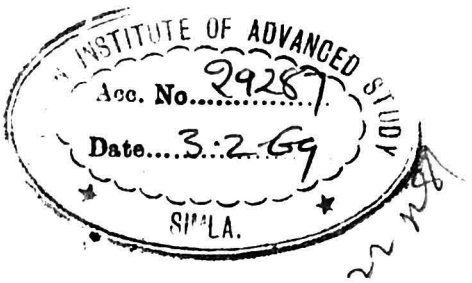

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CHAPTER I

NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA AND SYRIA

I. SHAMSHI-ADAD I

SCARCELY thirty years ago the figure of Hammurabi, the unifier of Babylonia, still stood out in striking isolation. In fact, at the time he ascended the throne another centralized empire already occupied the whole of northern Mesopotamia: it was the personal creation of Shamshi-Adad I, to whom recent discoveries have made it possible to give his place in history.

Whereas Hammurabi had inherited a considerable territory from his father, Shamshi-Adad had more modest beginnings. He belonged to one of the numerous nomad clans which had infiltrated into Mesopotamia after the break-up of the Third Dynasty of Ur. His father, Ila-kabkabu, ruled over a land bordering on the kingdom of Mari, with which he had come into conflict.[1] It is not well known what happened next. According to one version, the authenticity of which is not certain, Shamshi-Adad made his way into Babylonia, while his brother succeeded to Ila-kabkabu. Later on he seized Ekallatum; the capture of this fortress, on the left bank of the Tigris, in the southern reaches of the lower Zab, laid the gates of Assyria open to him.[2] The moment was propitious, for Assyria had only lately regained her independence, having previously had to submit to Naram-Sin of Eshnunna, who had advanced as far as the upper Khabur.[3] But Naram-Sin's conquests had been ephemeral: on his death, Assyria had shaken off the yoke of Eshnunna, only to fall beneath that of Shamshi-Adad. Once installed on the throne of Ashur, the latter soon set about extending his dominion in the direction of Mesopotamia. Among the archives of the palace of Mari has been found a letter from a prince of the 'High Country' seeking the protection of Iakhdunlim.[4] He feels that the encroachments of Shamshi-Adad, who has already taken several of his towns, are a threat to him; until then he had victoriously resisted the attacks of his neighbours from the lands of Aleppo, Carchemish and Urshu. But

[1] G, 6, 207 f., 212.
[2] G, 7, 34 f.; G, 6, 211; §1, 5, 26 f.
[3] G, 6, 8 n. 1.
[4] G, 1, vol. 1, 22, no. 1.

Iakhdunlim himself was to pass from the scene, assassinated by his own servants,[1] who perhaps acted on Shamshi-Adad's instigation. At all events, he turned the affair to account by occupying Mari, while the heir to the throne, Zimrilim, took refuge with the king of Aleppo. The annexation of Mari represented a considerable gain in territory, for Iakhdunlim then controlled the middle Euphrates valley at least as far as the mouth of the Balīkh.

In possession, from now onwards, of an empire which stretched from the Zagros hills to the Euphrates, Shamshi-Adad shared his power with his two sons.[2] He installed the eldest, Ishme-Dagan, in Ekallatum, with the onerous task of keeping the warlike inhabitants of the mountains in check and of mounting a vigilant guard against the kingdom of Eshnunna, which was to remain his chief enemy. In Mari he left his younger son, Iasmakh-Adad, who would have to exert himself mostly against incursions of nomads from the Syrian steppe.

The correspondence between the king and his two sons recovered at Mari, along with a small collection of archives coming from Tall Shemshāra, the centre of a district government in southern Kurdistan, make it possible to determine the limits of Shamshi-Adad's authority. In the direction of Eshnunna the frontier—if one may speak of 'frontier' at this date—must have run more or less along the 'Adhaim, at least along the Tigris valley, since the eastern marches remained in dispute. Thus it was that Shamshi-Adad had to struggle with Dadusha, the successor of Naram-Sin, for the possession of Qabrā,[3] in the district of Arbela, while the Turukkians made it impossible to retain Shusharra (Tall Shemshāra).[4] Here it was not only the almost continuous hostility of Eshnunna which had to be faced, but the turbulent inhabitants of the foot-hills of the Zagros as well—the Gutians and Turukkians. These last must have been particularly dangerous opponents. On the occasion of a peace treaty Mut-Ashkur, the son and successor of Ishme-Dagan, married the daughter of a Turukkian chieftain called Zaziya,[5] and even Hammurabi of Babylonia did not disdain to seek this man's alliance.[6]

The whole of Upper Mesopotamia proper was in Shamshi-Adad's hands. The Assyrian 'colonies' in Cappadocia were showing renewed activity at that time, but it is not known how far the new ruler's real authority extended in the direction of the

[1] G, 7, 35 n. 28; §1, 3, 63.
[2] §1, 5, 27.
[3] §1, 7, 441. Cf. below, p. 8.
[4] §1, 6, 31.
[5] G, 1, vol. II, 90, no. 40.
[6] G, 1, vol. VI, 54, no. 33.

Anatolian plateau. In the west it must have stopped at the Euphrates, where began the kingdom of Iamkhad, with its capital at Aleppo. When Shamshi-Adad boasts of having erected triumphal stelae on the Mediterranean coast, in the Lebanon,[1] it can have been only upon one of those short-lived expeditions, more economic than military, in the tradition established by Sargon of Agade years before. However, Shamshi-Adad did not neglect to extend his influence so as to neutralize Aleppo. He was in alliance with princes of Upper Syria, notably the prince of Carchemish, and he sealed his good relations with Qatna by a marriage: his son Iasmakh-Adad married the daughter of the king of that city, Ishkhi-Adad.[2] In the south, finally, he dominated the middle Euphrates valley almost to the latitude of Eshnunna.

The empire which Shamshi-Adad had carved out for himself in this way was vast and prosperous. Crossed by several great trade routes, it embraced the prolific Assyrian plain, the humid belt bordering on the Anatolian plateau and the fertile valleys of the Khabur and Euphrates. Naturally, it was coveted to an equal degree by all his neighbours—the half-starved plunderers of the mountains and steppes, and the ambitious monarchs of Aleppo, Eshnunna and Babylon. Shamshi-Adad was to manœuvre through these manifold dangers with clear-sightedness and skill, energy and tenacity. We have seen that he gave his sons the duty of watching the two flanks of his realm. On Ishme-Dagan, who was, like himself, a forceful soldier not afraid to risk his own skin, he could rely unhesitatingly. Nor did he omit to hold him up as an example to his second son, who was far from following in his footsteps. Feeble and hesitant, Iasmakh-Adad more often deserved blame than praise:[3] 'Are you a child, not a man,' his father reproached him, 'have you no beard on your chin?' He tells him some blunt home-truths: 'While here your brother is victorious, down there you lie about among the women....' Ishme-Dagan too does not scruple to admonish his younger brother: 'Why are you setting up a wail about this thing? That is not great conduct.'[4] Later, he suggests, either as a political manœuvre or out of a genuine desire to help his brother, that he should not address himself to the king, their father, directly, but use him as intermediary: 'Write me what you are intending to write to the king, so that, where possible, I can advise you myself.' Elsewhere he exclaims: 'Show some sense.' It is under-

[1] §1, 1, 15.
[2] See below, p. 22.
[3] See §1, 3, 68 f.
[4] G, 1, vol. IV, 96 ff., no. 70.

standable that Shamshi-Adad, whose commendable intention was to school his son for exercising power, should give him advisers who had his confidence and were kept informed of the instructions Iasmakh-Adad received from his father.[1] At the same time, the latter kept his hand on everything. His letters deal not only with questions of high policy, with international relations or military operations, but frequently concern themselves with matters of lesser importance, such as the appointment of officials, caravans or messengers passing through, measures to be taken with regard to fugitives, the watch to be kept on nomads, the despatch of livestock or provisions, boat-building, the projected movements of Iasmakh-Adad, not to mention private matters concerning individuals.

If Shamshi-Adad kept a strict control over things, it was still not his intention to take all initiative away from his sons or officials. For instance, it was for Iasmakh-Adad himself to fill the post of governor of Terqa, or mayor of the palace at Mari.[2] It was often the matter of his father's complaints: 'How long will you not rule in your own house? Do you not see your brother commanding great armies?'[3] On the other hand, the whole running of affairs did not rest solely on the sovereign's shoulders, for the administrative service was organized on a sound basis at all levels. Each district was entrusted to a governor assisted by other career-officials, all carefully selected on the dual ground of competence and loyalty.[4] Other high officers were specialized, like the one concerned with the preparation of censuses, who was attached to Iasmakh-Adad's 'headquarters'.[5] Chancellery and accounting services were organized with the same concern for efficiency. Fast-moving couriers regularly passed through the land, and Shamshi-Adad often emphasized the urgency of messages which were to be passed. That is why he sometimes dates his letters, a practice uncommon at that time, in certain cases even going so far as to specify the time of day.[6] The king and his sons were always on the move, but the correspondence addressed to them nevertheless ended by being sorted and catalogued in the archive rooms of the central administration. There was the same strictness about the drafting and the keeping of financial docu-

[1] G, 6, 194.
[2] G, 1, vol. 1, 38, no. 9; 120, no. 61.
[3] G, 1, vol. 1, 182, no. 108.
[4] G, 1, vol. 1, 38, no. 9; 52 ff., no. 18; 122, no. 62; 200, no. 120.
[5] G, 6, 194.
[6] G, 1, vol. 1, 42, no. 10; 128, no. 67 (cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *J.N.E.S.* 11 (1952), 131 f.).

ments. Thus, Shamshi-Adad required that detailed accounts should be produced concerning the cost of making silver statues.[1]

Military affairs were naturally organized with no less care than the civil administration. Garrisons, no doubt small in numbers, were permanently stationed in the towns, and troops were levied for each campaign, both from the fixed population and the nomads; the Khanaeans, especially, provided valued contingents. On their return, the men were demobilized. It sometimes happened that they were sent to rest in their homes for a few days between two engagements, and for the same reason, measures were taken to relieve fortress garrisons periodically. Before marching, a list of the men taking part in the campaign was drawn up, and the distribution of provisions was settled. Sometimes troops operated in considerable numbers: for the siege of Nurrugum, the capture of which represented, on the evidence of Shamshi-Adad himself, one of the most important military events of his reign, the figure of 60,000 men is mentioned.[2] Censuses, which involved at the same time purificatory rites and the registering of inhabitants on the army muster-rolls, were instituted sometimes at district level, sometimes throughout the kingdom.[3] Although the texts make no mention of it, the army must have included some specialized personnel in its ranks. In fact, it was perfectly equipped for siege-warfare, about which, until now, our only information had come from Assyrian sources. All the methods which may be called classic were employed—the throwing-up of encircling ramparts to strengthen the blockade of a besieged town, the construction of assault-banks of compacted earth making it possible to reach the top of fortifications, digging of galleries to undermine walls, and the use of two kinds of siege-engines, the assault-tower and the battering-ram.[4] Preparations for conquests were made far in advance: recourse was had to spies, and a propaganda campaign, carried out by natives who had been bought over, opened the way for the military offensive. The aim was to get the populace to come over to the invader's side of its own accord. Finally, the invading columns were preceded by advance guards, whose duty it was to carry out reconnaissance.[5]

Whether it was to lead his troops into battle in person, or to inspect them, to meet foreign princes, or simply to make sure that his orders were carried out intelligently and to keep in working-

[1] G, 1, vol. 1, 138 ff., no. 74.
[2] §1, 6, 72 n. 58.
[3] G, 6, 23 ff.
[4] See J.-R. Kupper, *R.A.* 45 (1951), 125 f.
[5] *Ibid.* 123 f.

order the bureaucratic machine he had created, Shamshi-Adad was continually on the move. It cannot really be said that he had a capital. To judge from the letters that have come down to us, he was not often at Ashur nor at Nineveh, but preferred living in a city on the upper Khabur, which we must probably look for at the site of Chagar Bazar,[1] where a repository of financial archives has been found.

This city was called Shubat-Enlil in honour of the god of Nippur, who pronounced the names of kings and delivered the sceptre to them. The ambition of Shamshi-Adad was in proportion with his success, and he did not hesitate to proclaim himself 'king of all', a title borne of old by Sargon of Agade. In accordance with this claim he invoked the patronage of Enlil, whose lieutenant he was pleased to style himself, and built a new temple for that god at Ashur.[2] It was probably in the same line of conduct that he repaired the ruins of the temple of Ishtar, built in former days at Nineveh by Manishtusu, and that he dedicated a temple to Dagan in his town of Terqa,[3] for Dagan was the god who had once accepted the worship of Sargon, and granted him in return sovereignty over the 'Upper Country'.

It is not yet possible to write a history of Shamshi-Adad's reign. Thanks to the letters from Mari we know some of its outstanding events, but they give us only momentary glimpses. They are not arranged chronologically, and they cover, irregularly no doubt, only part of the reign, which is said to have lasted thirty-three years in all. As for the manner of dating texts, two methods are used.[4] Since the Assyrian practice of appointing annual eponyms is the one most in favour, year-names according to Babylonian usage are rare. At all events, the numerous references to military operations in the king's correspondence indicate that his reign was far from peaceful. One of the principal campaigns had the region of the lower Zab as its objective. This ended with the capture of several important towns, notably Qabrā, Arrapkha and Nurrugum.[5] Many operations, conducted with varying fortune against the Turukkians, also took place in the mountainous region of the eastern marches.[6] A most carefully organized expedition was made in order to conquer the land of Zalmaqum, the name given to the region of Harran.[7] Only a few echoes reveal the hostilities with Eshnunna; we know,

[1] G, 7, 36; G, 6, 2 ff.
[2] §1, 1, 13f.
[3] §1, 1, 9f., 17. See §1, 8, 25 f.
[4] §1, 2, 53 f.
[5] §1, 6, 72 ff.
[6] §1, 5, 28 n. 1.
[7] G, 1, vol. 1, 40, no. 10; 72, no. 29; 110, no. 53; 116 ff., no. 60.

from a year-name of Dadusha's reign, that he defeated an army commanded by Ishme-Dagan.[1] A series of letters deals with another defensive campaign waged against the armies of Eshnunna, but it is composed only of messages exchanged between Iasmakh-Adad and his brother Ishme-Dagan. All the evidence suggests that these events took place only after their father's death.

Shamshi-Adad, in fact, must have passed from the scene at the height of his career. In Eshnunna, Dadusha's son and successor, Ibalpiel II, called the fifth year of his reign 'the year of Shamshi-Adad's death', which suggests that about this time he had become a dependant of the great king. This is confirmed by a letter in which Ishme-Dagan, having ascended the throne, reassures his brother, saying in particular that he has the Elamites on a leash as well as their ally, the king of Eshnunna.[2] However, Iasmakh-Adad's fears were well-founded. Here the testimonies bear one another out. Several letters recovered at Mari indicate the advance of the troops of Eshnunna; they had reached the Euphrates at Rapiqum, three days' march above Sippar, and were moving upstream. The names of the eighth and ninth years of Ibalpiel II, for their part, commemorate the destruction of Rapiqum and the defeat of the armies of Subartu and Khana, by which we should understand Assyria and Mari.[3] Ishme-Dagan had not been able to come to his brother's aid effectively. No doubt he was engaged elsewhere against other adversaries, for the conqueror's death had certainly spurred all his enemies on to attack his dominions. As soon as he was reduced to his own resources, Iasmakh-Adad, a colourless individual, was doomed to be lost from sight in the storm. The precise circumstances accompanying his downfall are not known. A passage in a leteer implies that he was driven out of Mari after a defeat inflictedt on his elder brother.[4]

The army of Eshnunna did not get as far as Mari, for Ibalpiel makes no reference to the city's capture. But the representative of the dynasty which had been dispossessed, Zimrilim, took advantage of these events in order to regain the throne of his fathers. He could count on the support of King Iarimlim of Aleppo, who had made him welcome during his long years of exile and had given him his daughter in marriage.[5] Perhaps the defeat suffered by Ishme-Dagan was inflicted on him by troops from Aleppo, who had then expelled Iasmakh-Adad in favour of Zimrilim. In

[1] §I, 7, 440 f.
[2] G, I, vol. IV, 36, no. 20.
[3] G, 7, 38 f.; §I, 6, 445 ff.
[4] §V, 4, 981 n. I.
[5] §III, 4, 236 f.

a letter to his father-in-law Zimrilim declares: 'Truly it is my father who has caused me to regain my throne.'[1] It is nevertheless a fact that the king of Eshnunna's campaign had opened the way for Zimrilim's reconquest by invading Shamshi-Adad's former empire from the south.

As for Ishme-Dagan, he succeeded in holding his own, but only in Assyria, losing at one stroke the middle Euphrates and the greater part of Upper Mesopotamia, which either regained its independence or passed under Zimrilim's control.[2] Even the region of the upper Khabur, along with his father's residence Shubat-Enlil, passed out of his hands.[3] He did indeed attempt several counter offensives in this direction, but apparently without success, at least during Zimrilim's reign. We do not know whether he succeeded in regaining a foothold in this portion of his father's heritage after Eshnunna and Mari had fallen under Hammurabi's onslaughts: from that moment our sources fall silent, leaving in obscurity the rest of the reign of Ishme-Dagan, to whom the royal lists give the high total of forty or even fifty years.[4]

To judge from his father's letters Ishme-Dagan seemed nevertheless to have the stature to carry on the work which had been begun. The fact was that the empire Shamshi-Adad bequeathed him was difficult to maintain. It was rich and populous, but lacking in cohesion, formed by a juxtaposition of several quite distinct provinces. Besides, exposed along all its frontiers, its geographical situation made it particularly vulnerable; there was, for example, no direct communication between Mari and Ashur. Hemmed in by powerful and ill-disposed neighbours, Aleppo and Eshnunna, it could not survive the man who had created it by his personal qualities alone, by his unflagging energy, his military genius, and his abilities as an organizer.

II. MARI

Like Shamshi-Adad, Iakhdunlim, his unsuccessful opponent at Mari, was a Western Semite whose forebears had abandoned the nomadic life in order to settle in the Euphrates valley. The origins of his dynasty are obscure. Of his father Iagitlim we know only that he came into conflict with Shamshi-Adad's father, after having been his ally.[5] But it was Iakhdunlim who seems to have laid the foundations of Mari's greatness. In a building-

[1] §III, 4, 235. [2] §I, 5, 29. [3] G, 6, 30.
[4] G, 7, 36; §I, 5, 31. [5] G, 6, 33.

record,[1] which by its flawless material execution and brilliant literary qualities shows how far the sons of the desert had adopted Babylonian culture, Iakhdunlim recalls the triumphant campaign he had waged, as the first of his line, on the Mediterranean coast and in the mountains, from which he had brought back valuable timber, while at the same time forcing the country to pay tribute. It has been seen that Shamshi-Adad boasted that he had done the same thing (above, p. 5), which cannot be considered a real conquest. Moreover, Iakhdunlim's power was not wholly secure in his own territory; he had to withstand both attacks by the petty kings of the middle Euphrates and the incursions of nomads, Benjaminites and Khanaeans. It was against the last of these that he had his most striking successes, imposing his rule on them from that time onwards. Once the country was pacified he was able to build a temple to Shamash and to undertake great irrigation projects, designed, notably, to supply water to a new city. It is a fact, as he himself claimed, that he had strengthened the foundations of Mari.[2] Although his kingdom was shortly to fall into Shamshi-Adad's hands, his work was not in vain, since it was taken up by his son Zimrilim.

The latter did not wait long after the usurper's death to ascend the throne of Mari. We are no more in a position to give an account of the new king's reign than to understand how the reconquest took place. More than thirty year-names have been recovered, but the order of their succession is not known. State correspondence makes it possible to reconstruct certain events, but the constant instability of the political situation in Mesopotamia at this time obliges us to show extreme caution in arranging the letters.

Basically, Zimrilim's kingdom was made up of the middle Euphrates and Khabur valleys. To the south it cannot have reached farther than Hīt. To the north it undoubtedly included the mouth of the Balīkh, but beyond that it is uncertain whether there lay territories directly dependent on Mari and administered by district governors, or simply more or less autonomous vassal princedoms.[3] In his attempts to expand Zimrilim directed the best part of his efforts towards the 'High Country', that is to say Upper Mesopotamia, which in those days was split up into numerous little states. In particular the region, bordering on the upper Khabur, which at Mari was called Idamaraz, appears to have been under his control all the time.[4] But Zimrilim's policy

[1] §11, 2.
[2] G, 6, 33 f.
[3] §11, 4, 163.
[4] G, 1, vol. IX, 348 f.; G, 6, 10.

was to impose his tutelage on the petty monarchs of the 'High Country', or even simply to draw them into alliance with him, rather than to annex their countries—no doubt because he had not the resources to do so. This line of conduct was fairly general. We have only to listen to the report of one of Zimrilim's correspondents: 'No king is powerful by himself: ten or fifteen kings follow Hammurabi, king of Babylon, as many follow Rim-Sin, king of Larsa, as many follow Ibalpiel, king of Eshnunna, as many follow Amutpiel, king of Qatna, twenty kings follow Iarimlim, king of Iamkhad....'[1] Grouping their vassals about them, the 'great powers' of the time entered in their turn into wider coalitions, aiming at supremacy, but these formed and broke up as circumstances and the interests of the moment dictated.

In this changing world, between negotiations and battles, Zimrilim's policy nevertheless kept certain constant factors in view—it remained loyal to the alliances with Babylon and Aleppo. In this the king of Mari obeyed a vital necessity, for his country was above all a line of communication linking Babylon with northern Syria, and he needed to retain the goodwill of the powers which guarded both ends. These powers, for their part, had every interest in protecting the freedom of trade and leaving the burden of doing it to an ally. But once Hammurabi, after unifying Babylonia, felt strong enough to assume control himself and reap the profit from it he did not hesitate to subjugate Mari.

It is understandable that in these conditions political intrigue was extremely vigorous, leading constantly to fresh conflicts. Zimrilim recognizes this in a message which he sends to his father-in-law the king of Aleppo: 'Now, since I regained my throne many days ago, I have had nothing but fights and battles.'[2] The opponents were manifold; first, enemies outside, the most dangerous of whom was Eshnunna, frequently operating in concert with its ally Elam, and not afraid to send its troops into the heart of the High Country.[3] There were also rebellious vassals whose loyalty had to be enforced. Lastly, and perhaps above all, there were the nomads, constantly on watch at the edge of the desert, whom no defeat could disarm once and for all.[4] Zimrilim boasts of having crushed the Benjaminites in the Khabur valley, but a victory like this could, at the most, procure a momentary respite for him, for the struggle between nomads and settlers, having its origins in physical conditions, could never cease. Without any respite, new groups came to replace those who had left

[1] G, 3, 117; §III, 4, 230 f.
[2] §III, 4, 235.
[3] See below, p. 17.
[4] See below, pp. 27 ff.

the desert to install themselves in the sown lands. The threat was there each day. Not content with raiding the flocks or plundering the villages, the nomads became bold enough to attack important localities, whether caravan cities or towns on the banks of the Euphrates. The anxiety to ensure the policing of the desert and to contain the movements of the nomads must have been among Zimrilim's main preoccupations. No negligence could be permitted, lest it should be the start of a catastrophic invasion, for every advance of the nomads brought with it an inevitable process of disintegration. Despite the measures taken, security remained precarious. Sometimes it happened that the nomads infested the whole countryside and were brought to a halt only before the ramparts of the towns. The king himself was advised not to leave the capital. Clearly, a struggle like this must have been a considerable embarrassment to Zimrilim's policy, using up his resources and weakening the country's economy.

This state of affairs was certainly not what the country had known in the time of Shamshi-Adad. Relations with the Benjaminites, in particular, had distinctly deteriorated. Shamshi-Adad was at the head of a powerful, centralized state, making the nomads, whose movements he could control over vast areas of land, acutely aware of his authority. Zimrilim, on the other hand, absorbed in exhausting competition with other sovereigns, had relatively limited means at his disposal and reigned over a smaller territory, entirely surrounded by steppe. However, the archives seem to reflect the image of a prosperous, vigorous country. The palace of Mari enrolled a large staff, in which singing girls, for example, are to be counted in tens.[1] We see executives in movement all the time, hurrying in from all the surrounding countries, while reports pour in addressed to the king by his representatives and by the ambassadors he maintains at the principal foreign courts.[2] The inventories bear witness to the wealth of precious things,[3] and the accounts record the arrival of foodstuffs and luxury products, the latter generally sent by kings of neighbouring lands, to whom Zimrilim replied in kind.

Archaeological discoveries have given this picture material form. We have a message in which the king of Aleppo communicates to Zimrilim the wish expressed to him by the king of Ugarit to visit the palace of Mari.[4] This palace is in fact the most remarkable monument that excavations have found there.[5] It is of gigantic proportions. More than 260 chambers, courtyards and

[1] §II, 1, 59. [2] §II, 3, 585 ff.; G, 1, vol. VII, 333.
[3] G, 2, 104. [4] §III, 4, 236. [5] See Plate Vol.

corridors have already been counted, arranged according to a plan in the shape of a trapezium, but one part of the building has entirely disappeared; the complete structure must have covered an area of more than six acres. The decoration of the private apartments and some of the reception rooms is up to the standard of this royal architecture. The brilliant art of the fresco-painters is displayed particularly in the great compositions of the central court, leading to the chamber with a *podium* and the throne room. In the scene which has given its name to the main painting, the king is receiving investiture at the hands of the goddess Ishtar, shown in her warlike aspect.[1] The luxurious refinement of the decoration has its counterpart in the comfort of the domestic installations. But the palace was not simply the king's residence; it was also an administrative centre, with a school for training scribes, its archive-repositories, its magazines and workshops.

It is impossible to believe that a building like this could have been the work of a single person. Moreover, the successive stages in the plan or in the construction can be picked out without difficulty. But Zimrilim was responsible for the latest architectural phase and left his mark in the form of bricks inscribed with his name.[2] The occupant of such an imposing palace, which excited the admiration of contemporaries, needed abundant resources, as reading of the records suggests. Hence arises the question of Zimrilim's resources—what did his wealth come from? The reports of his provincial governors reveal the attention paid by the king to agriculture and to the irrigation-works upon which it depended.[3] There was an extensive network of canals, the most important of which (still visible today) had been dug on the orders of Iakhdunlim.[4] These made it possible, at the cost of unremitting efforts, to extend the area under cultivation. But despite their fertility the Euphrates and Khabur valleys, closed in by arid plateaux, are not enough to explain Mari's prosperity, for as a result of a famine, caused no doubt by war, we even find Zimrilim having corn brought from Upper Syria.[5]

The geographical position of Mari provides the answer to our question: the city controlled the caravan-route linking the Persian Gulf with Syria and the Mediterranean coast. Merely to trace the main destinations of trade on the map establishes how much it followed this route. Along it Babylonia received the timber,

[1] See Plate Vol.
[2] §II, 10, 169 f.; §II, 8, part 1, 18, 47, 52, and *passim*.
[3] §II, 3, 583 f.; §II, 4, 175 ff.
[4] G, 1, vol. III, 112; G, 6, 33 f.
[5] §III, 4, 235.

stone and resinous substances of Lebanon and the Amanus mountains, the wine and olive-oil of Syria.[1] Other products too reached Mari from more distant countries, perhaps to be re-exported. Thus Zimrilim sends Hammurabi of Babylon some object, or a piece of cloth, coming from Crete.[2] On the other hand the Cypriot copper which is several times mentioned in the accounts,[3] no doubt remained at Mari, because Babylonia had other sources of supply. In any case, the city kept up close relations with the Mediterranean ports of Ugarit and Byblos,[4] and even with Palestine. Babylonian messengers went through Mari on their return from a long stay at Hazor in Galilee.[5] In the other direction, Babylonia had little to export. But she kept up a vigorous flow of trade with Tilmun, the island of Baḥrain, from which she got notably copper and precious stones. An embassage from Tilmun to Shubat-Enlil has been observed returning home by way of Mari—this was in the reign of Shamshi-Adad.[6] Moreover there were other routes, bringing the products of central Asia, which ran into Babylonia. Along one of these lay Susa, another came down the Diyālā valley. It was no doubt by this route that lapis-lazuli, quarried in Afghanistan, was brought. One text does in fact mention lapis-lazuli as coming from Eshnunna.[7] It was also through Mari that the tin imported by Babylonia from Elam passed westwards towards Aleppo, Qatna, Carchemish and Hazor.[8]

The chamber of commerce (*kārum*) of Sippar had good reason to keep a mission in the capital of the middle Euphrates,[9] which was one of the cross-roads of international trade. The numerous stores and repositories of the palace, in which even now rows of enormous jars have been found, bear witness perhaps to Zimrilim's direct participation in this profitable business, without taking into account the revenue he got from it to swell his treasury. In spite of the struggles caused by inter-state rivalries the whole of western Asia at that time shared a common civilization. There was no splitting up into compartments, and despite temporary restrictions men and merchandise could move about from the Persian Gulf to Upper Syria, and from Elam to the Mediterranean coast.

[1] §II, 5, 102 ff.
[2] G, 2, 111.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] G, 1, vol. VI, 110, no. 78.
[6] G, 1, vol. I, 50, no. 17. See §II, 5, 141.
[7] G, 1, vol. IX, 209, no. 254.
[8] G, 1, vol. VII, 337 f.; §II, 5, 123 f.
[9] §II, 5, 106 ff.

It was the prominent part played by Mari in these exchanges which guaranteed its material prosperity and placed Zimrilim on a level footing with the principal sovereigns of his time, permitting him to finance expensive campaigns or to act as intermediary between the kings of Aleppo and Babylon. But in the last analysis, this power was artificial and could give only a false security. The glamour is deceptive, the wonders of Mari more brilliant than solid. Without natural defences and without hinterland, spread out along the Euphrates and Khabur valleys, and plagued by the disturbing proximity of the nomads, the country could not put up any serious resistance to the pressure of a real military power. So long as Hammurabi was kept occupied on other frontiers, he played Zimrilim skilfully, leaving him the profit he gained from his situation as well as the duty of protecting the route to the west. But as soon as his hands were free he changed his policy. Mari was eliminated in two stages, the second ending in the city's occupation and final ruin.[1] Here is the palpable weakness of its position: the middle Euphrates would never again seem a political factor of any importance. Mari's prosperity was vulnerable because it depended to a large extent upon external circumstances. Its high point coincided with a moment of equilibrium, the fortunate conditions of which did not recur. Zimrilim had the merit of turning it to the best possible account.

III. ESHNUNNA, IAMKHAD, QATNA AND OTHER STATES

Among the chief powers of the day enumerated by one of Zimrilim's correspondents[2] are two Syrian kingdoms, Qatna and Iamkhad, and at the other extremity of the Fertile Crescent, in the region beyond the Tigris, the kingdom of Eshnunna. There is good reason for the last of these states figuring on the list: the best proof of this is found in the direct interference of its kings in the affairs of Upper Mesopotamia. Naram-Sin, the first of them, who had gained a foothold in Assyria, penetrated far into the region and seized Ashnakkum, a locality in the district of Upper Idamaraz.[3] This exploit was to have no lasting result for Eshnunna, because Naram-Sin was shortly to be driven out of Ashur by Shamshi-Adad. During the latter's reign relations with Eshnunna were not good, but the theatre of military operations was

[1] See below, p. 30.
[2] See above, p. 12.
[3] See above, pp. 3 and 11.

on the eastern frontiers of Assyria. Ishme-Dagan guarded Ekallatum strongly, and in spite of a defeat inflicted on him by Dadusha, Naram-Sin's brother and successor, he barred the way into Upper Mesopotamia. It has been seen that on Shamshi-Adad's death, Ishme-Dagan reassured his brother Iasmakh-Adad, declaring that he held Elam and Eshnunna on a leash (above, p. 9). The alliance of these two powers was of long standing, for it is frequently recalled in the correspondence of Zimrilim, who seems to credit Elam with the leading role.[1] However, Dadusha's son, Ibalpiel II, who occupied the throne of Eshnunna at that time, was not long in opening hostilities by attacking the weak spot. His troops pushed on as far as the Euphrates, then moved up the valley in the direction of Mari. The campaign ended with the expulsion of Iasmakh-Adad and with Zimrilim's return to the throne of Mari.[2]

It is hard to believe that this was all that Ibalpiel intended, yet the king of Eshnunna does not seem to have exploited his success in any other way. But the dismembering of Shamshi-Adad's empire had freed Upper Mesopotamia. It is in this direction that Eshnunna once again set its sights, managing from time to time to get the co-operation of its former enemy: Ishme-Dagan had held on to Assyria only, and was naturally trying to regain the lands he had lost. The troops of Elam and Eshnunna took again the road to Idamaraz and to the town of Ashnakkum.[3] They laid siege to Razama, a town not yet located; it was in the hands of one of Zimrilim's vassal princes. The prize was important, for Hammurabi of Babylon got reinforcements through to his ally in Mari.[4] Zimrilim's correspondence seldom names the king of Eshnunna, we do not know when Ṣilli-Sin succeeded to Ibalpiel II.[5] But the days of the dynasty were numbered. The 32nd year of Hammurabi's reign takes its name from a great victory won against Eshnunna and its allies. Zimrilim, who was to be the future victim of Babylonian expansion, advised Hammurabi to set himself on the throne of Eshnunna or to designate one of his adherents.[6]

If the armies despatched by Eshnunna were able to advance so far into Upper Mesopotamia, it was no doubt because they had met with support, but also because they had not come up against any organized force. Apart from the time when it was unified under the sceptre of Shamshi-Adad, Upper Mesopotamia

[1] §II, 6, 333 ff.
[2] See above, p. 9.
[3] G, 6, 10 n. 2.
[4] G, 6, 86; §II, 6, 338 ff.
[5] G, 2, 109; §III, 6, 140, 200.
[6] G, 3, 120.

was split up into a series of small principalities. The Mari letters contain references to the kings of Subartu and Zalmaqum and the princes of Idamaraz.[1] The most influential of them, like the kings of Kurda or Nakhur must, at the most, have ruled over a few towns. The humid belt of higher country between the Tigris and Euphrates is rich in agricultural resources, and the numerous *talls* scattered across it, especially in the Khabur 'triangle', reveal how densely it was populated in ancient times. But this proliferation of towns close together is unfavourable to the formation of wide territorial units. Moreover this was a corridor zone, open to migratory movements and to the armies of conquerors.

The Mari documents name some of these petty kings; the majority of them have 'West Semitic' names, the rest Hurrian.[2] About the people themselves we have no information, except at Chagar Bazar, the possible site of Shubat-Enlil.[3] Here the Akkadian element is foremost, exceeding by a clear margin the Hurrians, who themselves outnumber the 'Western Semites'. It is therefore likely that a double stream, originating in the mountainous periphery and the Syrian steppe, had come in and mingled with the old element under Babylonian influence, supplanting it in the political structure.

To find a country which has a place in international relations, even in the second rank, one has to go as far as the Euphrates: this was the kingdom of Carchemish. Hemmed in between the important kingdom of Iamkhad in the south, and that of Urshu in the north, the territory under the sway of Carchemish cannot have been very extensive. But its situation on the great bend of the Euphrates, where the mountains open out, was highly favourable for large-scale trade: it was the gateway to the Taurus and to the Anatolian plateau. That is why its princes sent to Mari not only local products such as wine, honey and olive-oil, and also manufactured articles—clothing and vases—of unknown provenance, but cedar-wood from the Amanus mountains and horses bred in Anatolia.[4]

In the interests of both cities relations between Mari and Carchemish were always friendly, although the two participants cannot have dealt with one another as equals. It is known that exchanges of gifts between sovereigns were only a form of trade, but Aplakhanda of Carchemish showed himself remarkably atten-

[1] G, 1, vol. II, 80, no. 35; vol. III, 60, no. 37; G, 3, 109; §II, 10, 173; §V, 4, 986, 992. See also G, 1, vol. IX, 346 ff.

[2] G, 6, 230 n. 1.

[3] G, 6, 229.

[4] G, 1, vol. VII, 337; vol. IX, 346; §III, 1, 119 f.; §III, 2, 48; §II, 5, 103.

tive in fulfilling the wishes of Iasmakh-Adad. He calls Shamshi-Adad his father, and, on the latter's evidence, joined in his alliance.[1] The change of régime at Mari did not make any difference to the good relations. On Aplakhanda's death his son Iatar-ami made a declaration of fidelity to Zimrilim, which reveals his position as a vassal.[2]

In fact, the position of Carchemish on the borders of one of the most important states of the time, the kingdom of Iamkhad, or of Aleppo, from the name of its capital, was peculiarly delicate. While other sovereigns could reckon between ten and fifteen vassals, twenty princes followed Iarimlim, the first king of Iamkhad whose memory has been preserved in the letters of Zimrilim. Little is known of his country's history before him. A certain Sumuepu' of Iamkhad is named among the opponents of Zimrilim's father Iakhdunlim. He is referred to several times in the correspondence of Shamshi-Adad, who launched an attack on him with the help of the princes of Khashshum, Urshu and Carchemish. Some have therefore proposed to see in him a king of Iamkhad preceding Iarimlim,[3] but neither Iakhdunlim nor Shamshi-Adad gives him the royal title, and the latter does not even mention the land of Iamkhad in connection with him.

At all events, the Aleppo monarchy was well-established before Zimrilim's return to Mari, for it was in Aleppo that the latter found sanctuary during his exile, and it was owing to the support of Iarimlim, who had become his father-in-law in the meantime, that he was able to reconquer his paternal throne. The letters of Shamshi-Adad's time practically ignore Aleppo and the land of Iamkhad, but this was not on account of the distance, for Shamshi-Adad maintained excellent relations with the king of Qatna, who was another Syrian prince. It is probable that there was some hosti ity between Iarimlim—or his predecessor—and Shamshi-Adad. As the latter did not seek to enlarge his empire on the right bank of the Euphrates at the expense of his western neighbour, lone may conclude that he had there a serious opponent. Perhaps it was as much in order to contain this neighbour as to find an opening on to the Mediterranean that Shamshi-Adad had concluded an alliance with Qatna.

It would seem that the kingdom of Iamkhad was at the height of its power under Iarimlim, although it is often difficult for us to make a distinction between his reign and that of his successor Hammurabi. As regards Iarimlim there is no lack of evidence

[1] §III, 8, 28.
[2] §III, 1, 120.
[3] §III, 8, 44 ff.; §VII, 4, 114.

to bear witness to his prestige and power. We need only observe the marked deference Zimrilim shows him,[1] the report already quoted in which he appears as the foremost sovereign of his age (above, p. 12), and a letter addressed to the prince of Dēr, recovered at Mari where it had been held up in transit.[2] In this message, Iarimlim reminds his 'brother' that he had saved his life fifteen years before, at the time when he was coming to the help of Babylon, and that he had also given his support to the king of the town of Diniktum, on the Tigris, to whom he supplied five hundred boats. Outraged by the prince of Dēr's ingratitude he threatens to come at the head of his troops and exterminate him. The campaign thus recalled by the king of Aleppo took place in the north of Babylonia and in the region beyond the Tigris, as far as Badrah, the modern site of Dēr. The only opponent it can have had seems to be Eshnunna, and it might have been a counter to Ibalpiel II's advance along the Euphrates. In that case, it would be as a consequence that Zimrilim returned to Mari. Whatever the circumstances of the expedition were, it says a great deal for the military power of Iarimlim, who led the soldiers of Aleppo as far as the borders of Elam.

The assistance which Iarimlim had given to Babylon explains the consideration Hammurabi showed to the ambassadors of Aleppo at his court.[3] The friendly understanding survived the decease of Iarimlim, for his son Hammurabi was persuaded to send a contingent of troops to his namesake in Babylon.[4] It is likely enough that the new king's reign was less brilliant than his father's, although Zimrilim's more relaxed demeanour is not proof of this. The consolidation of his authority and the prevailing prosperity he had brought about may have given Zimrilim more assurance, besides the fact that he was now dealing with a younger prince. The king of Mari went to Aleppo again in the time of Hammurabi, but perhaps his veneration for Adad, the great god of Aleppo, had something to do with his journey.[5] There was never a break in the friendly relations between Aleppo and Mari: letters and accounts reveal messengers making frequent journeys in both directions and numerous 'presents' exchanged by the two courts.[6]

The kingdom of Iamkhad occupied a privileged position for trading relations. To the east it bordered on the Euphrates; to the west it stretched as far as the Mediterranean coast, if not

[1] §III, 4, 235 f.; §III, 8, 56.
[2] §III, 3.
[3] §III, 4, 232.
[4] §III, 8, 62.
[5] §III, 2, 49; §III, 4, 233.
[6] §III, 4, 236 f.; §III, 8, 58, 64 f.

directly, at least through the intermediary of a vassal state. It was through Aleppo that merchandise imported by sea, bound for either the upper Tigris or for Babylonia and the Persian Gulf, entered Mesopotamia. Caravans and travellers going from Babylonia to Syria or Palestine were obliged to pass through territory belonging to Aleppo, if they wished to avoid the dangers of the desert route through Palmyra. In exchange for tin Aleppo sent much the same commodities as Carchemish—clothes, vases and local products.[1] The city must also have served as a staging-post for copper from Cyprus and luxury goods from the Aegean.[2] It is known from other evidence that there were herds of elephants in northern Syria, and tusks have been found in the palace of Alalakh, a town on the lower Orontes, on the way from Aleppo to the coast.[3] It is therefore likely that the profitable ivory trade was controlled by the kings of Aleppo, whose power was based at once on the economic prosperity of their country and on its pivotal strategic position between the Mediterranean world and Mesopotamia.

The few names of persons at Aleppo so far recovered can be assigned to the 'West Semitic' category.[4] Nevertheless, the tablets discovered at Alalakh have established that there must have been Hurrians in Upper Syria at this time. Indeed, the oldest group of tablets, which is about half a century later than the Mari documents, gives us a glimpse of a society in which the Hurrian element occupied an important position and revealed its presence in various fields.[5] This presupposes that the Hurrian penetration was already of relatively long standing. A further indication is to be found in the Hurrian names of several of the princes of Upper Mesopotamia. None the less at Aleppo, as at Babylon and Mari, the royal power was in the hands of Amorites.

An Amorite dynasty also ruled over the neighbouring kingdom of Qatna. The city of Qatna stood at the centre of a district rich in cereals, the plain of Homs, where the vine and olive-tree also flourished. It was at one extremity of the caravan-route running from the Euphrates through Palmyra, and its communications with the sea were secured by the Tripoli pass, which cleaves its way between the Lebanon and the 'Anṣāriyyah mountains. Numerous ancient *talls* survive in this area to bear witness to the importance of Qatna. To the east a belt of pasture-land, frequented even today by sheep-rearing tribes, forms the transition

[1] G, 1, vol. VII, 337 f.; vol. IX, 346; §III, 2, 48.
[2] See above, p. 15.
[3] §VII, 10, 102; §VII, 11, 74 f.
[4] §III, 4, 237 f.; G, 6, 232 f.
[5] See below, p. 25.

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between the lands under cultivation and the desert steppe, stretching as far as the Euphrates valley; the Mari letters refer to the rich pastures of the land of Qatna.[1] How far the kingdom extended to west and south is not known.

The two states of Aleppo and Qatna appear to have developed almost simultaneously. We are better informed about the history of the second during the reign of Shamshi-Adad because he was the ally of Ishkhi-Adad, who occupied the throne of Qatna at that time. The agreement between the two monarchs had been sealed by a marriage, Iasmakh-Adad, the viceroy of Mari, having married Ishkhi-Adad's daughter.[2] Co-operation was political and military as well as economic. There were frequent movements of troops between Mari and Qatna, and it seems likely that a detachment from Mari was stationed in the Syrian town.[3] The presence of these foreign soldiers at Qatna does not seem to indicate a relation of dependence, for Ishkhi-Adad himself insists on their being sent, and invites his son-in-law to take part in an expedition which seems likely to yield some spoils.[4] It was Shamshi-Adad who had taken the first steps towards the marriage, stressing to his son that the house of Qatna had a 'name'. He also dealt on level terms with Ishkhi-Adad, whom he called his brother.[5]

The end of Ishkhi-Adad's reign is still obscure. Committed as he was to the 'Assyrian' alliance his position must have been considerably weakened by the crumbling of Shamshi-Adad's empire. From then onwards he could rely only on his own forces to defend himself against his powerful northern neighbour, the king of Aleppo, who, for his part, helped Zimrilim to evict Iasmakh-Adad from Mari. It is possible that another faction then gained power in Qatna. At all events a new name appears in Zimrilim's correspondence, that of Amutpiel, who had therefore succeeded to Ishkhi-Adad in the interval. Owing to a change of political trend, or merely to its very favourable geographical situation, Qatna seems to have been able to recover its position quickly. The city maintained constant relations with Mari, from which it obtained tin, and a succession of messengers journeyed in both directions.[6] With its prosperity founded on trade, Mari had every interest in being on good terms with the important city of the middle Orontes on the other side of the Syrian desert. It was no doubt Zimrilim in person who worked for a reconciliation between the former enemies, Qatna and Aleppo, and the

[1] G, 6, 179; §III, 5, 422.
[2] §III, 4, 231; §III, 5, 417.
[3] §III, 8, 76 f.
[4] §III, 5, 420 f.
[5] §III, 8, 80.
[6] G, 1, vol. VII, 337 f.; §III, 8, 83.

treaty restoring peace was concluded in Aleppo.[1] This step need not be interpreted as a gesture of submission on the part of the king of Qatna. His multifarious diplomatic relations with Mari, Babylon, Larsa, Eshnunna, Arrapkha and even Susa[2] fully establish his independence. Iarimlim of Aleppo no doubt had a greater number of vassals at his disposal, but in this respect Amutpiel could rival Hammurabi, Rim-Sin or Ibalpiel.[3] Qatna was looked upon during his reign as one of the great capitals of the Fertile Crescent.

Immediately to the south of Qatna, it seems, began the country of Amurru, which was divided up between several petty kings.[4] The name of Damascus has not yet appeared in the Mari documents. The town of Apum, in which some have proposed to find Damascus under the name known from the Amarna letters,[5] also figures in the Cappadocian tablets; it must have been in Upper Mesopotamia.[6] Syria really occupied a peripheral position in relation to Mari, and since the Mari documents are the only source for this period at our disposal, information is spasmodic and fragmentary. It naturally becomes more scarce the farther one gets from the Euphrates. Of the coastal towns, only two are mentioned in the Mari texts, Ugarit and Byblos. The first does not seem to have had any direct relations with Mari, for it is through the king of Aleppo, whose ally or vassal he was, that the king of Ugarit expresses his wish to visit Zimrilim's palace.[7] Byblos, which had contacts with Mesopotamia from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur,[8] is often encountered, especially in financial documents.[9] Its messengers accompanied those of Aleppo and Qatna, and the king of the city gave Zimrilim a golden vase. The name of this king, Iantin-Khamu, is 'West Semitic', as are also those of his predecessors, known to us from objects discovered in their tombs.[10] A dynastic seal, still used by the kings of Ugarit in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, proves that 'West Semitic' kings ruled over the city at about the beginning of the First Dynasty of Babylon.[11] Adding these facts to the information supplied by the Egyptian execration texts, we may conclude that the Amorites had succeeded in imposing themselves everywhere, even in Palestine, to the west of the Syrian

[1] §III, 5, 423. [2] §III, 8, 83. [3] See above, p. 12.
[4] G, 6, 179. See now G. Dossin in *R.S.O.* 32 (1957), 37.
[5] Cf. G, 7, 115 n. 234.
[6] See M. Falkner in *Arch. f. Or.* 18 (1957), 2.
[7] §III, 4, 236; §III, 8, 69.
[8] See E. Sollberger in *Arch. f. Or.* 19 (1959–60), 120 ff.
[9] G, 2, 111. [10] §III, 8, 88. [11] G, 6, 235.

desert.[1] This conquest is not merely of political significance. It must have helped to make Syria look towards Mesopotamia and play a more intimate part in the common civilization which had developed there in this period.

IV. THE HURRIANS *c.* 1800 B.C.

The Hurrians had already penetrated into northern Mesopotamia in the Sargonic period. However, under the Third Dynasty of Ur, their main centres of population were still to the east of the Tigris. The situation does not appear to have changed during the period of the Mari documents. A tablet from the Chagar Bazar excavations contains a list of workers in the palace of Ekallatum, where more than half of the names are Hurrian.[2] At Shusharra, on the lower Zab, to the south-east of Rania, the majority of the population was Hurrian.[3] Probably on Shamshi-Adad's death the town had to be abandoned under pressure from the Turukkians.[4] One of the chiefs of the latter, Zaziya, has a name which appears to be Hurrian; two other Turukkians mentioned in a letter from Mari answer to names which certainly are such.[5] It is conceivable, therefore, that the whole warlike race of Turukkians, which lived on the slopes of the Zagros and entered into conflict with Hammurabi himself, belonged to the Hurrian family.

For Upper Mesopotamia the Mari documents yield the names of a score of princes, the majority of them 'West Semitic'. Four or five of them, however, are Hurrian, like Arishenni of Nakhur and Shukru-Teshub of Elakhut.[6] In some cases, therefore, the advance of the Hurrian population achieved political ascendency. This did not necessarily mean that the country had to be densely occupied. At Chagar Bazar, the only place where we can take a test of the personal names, the Hurrians must have constituted a little less than a third of the population, the Akkadian section supplying the biggest contingent.[7] Apart from Harran, where the king was an Amorite, none of the towns in which the princes in question reigned has been definitely located. For this reason it is not known where in Upper Mesopotamia the Hurrian principalities lay, whether grouped together or scattered across the whole region.

In Syria power was generally in the hands of the Amorites, but Hurrians had nevertheless crossed the Euphrates and conquered

[1] Cf. §v, 5, 38 f. [2] G, 6, 227 f. [3] §1, 6, 75.
[4] G, 1, vol. IV, 44, no. 25. Cf. §1, 6, 31.
[5] §1, 6, 73; G, 6, 232 n. 1. [6] G, 6, 230 n. 1. [7] G, 6, 229.

some territories on the right bank. The principalities they occupied, like Khashshum and Urshu[1] were situated to the north of Aleppo, between the river and the foot-hills which prolong Mount Casius and the Amanus. Here the division between the Hurrian and the Amorite zones may have been fairly close to the limit which today separates the Kurdish from the Arabic-speaking inhabitants.

This geographical division holds good only on the political plane, for it is probable that the Hurrian population had already swarmed farther southwards. Our evidence on this point is very poor, only a few names of royal messengers from Aleppo and Qatna, all 'West Semitic'.[2] On the other hand, we have in the Alalakh tablets a more recent source which nevertheless allows us to make an instructive comparison. These tablets divide up into two main groups, the older (level VII) going back to the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon. In the society there described the Hurrians appear to be firmly established. Leaving aside the throne, on which there are Amorites, they occupy high civil and religious offices, while the religious practices bear traces of their presence. The texts contain a number of Hurrian terms, particularly in technical matters, and certain indications suggest that possibly Hurrian was the language of the scribes.[3] Such a state of affairs makes it necessary to push the beginnings of Hurrian penetration back to a more remote date. Between these texts, however, and the Mari documents, there is a gap which we shall see reason to estimate as at least fifty years.[4] The second group of Alalakh tablets (level IV), which belongs to the fifteenth century, reveals a society Hurrianized in every respect; the 'West Semitic' element represents no more than a tiny minority.[5] The Hurrian advance had therefore persisted and gathered force in the interval between the two groups, but it must already have been in progress at the time the tablets of level VII were written. The deed by which king Abbael of Aleppo cedes the town of Alalakh to his vassal Iarimlim shows that the great Hurrian goddess Khepat had been accepted into the official religion at this time.[6] The existence, during Zimrilim's reign, of Hurrian kingdoms in the north of Syria is another pointer tending to prove that the Hurrian expansion in Upper Syria had begun at the time of the Mari documents.

It is now possible for us to appreciate the scope of the Hurrian

[1] G, 2, 109.
[2] G, 6, 232 f., 236.
[3] G, 6, 234 f.; §v, 5, 39.
[4] See below, p. 33.
[5] G, 8, 9. See also below, p. 37.
[6] See below, p. 43.

movement as a whole about 1800 B.C. The heaviest concentrations can be observed to the east of the Tigris, but there are also Hurrians in Upper Mesopotamia, where they control several small states, and they have gained a foothold on the western bank of the Euphrates. It looks as if, coming from a generally north-easterly direction, the Hurrians moved down in ever-increasing numbers from the mountainous border of the Fertile Crescent, and advanced to meet the Amorites, who for their part had come out of the Syrian steppe. At Chagar Bazar, in the heart of Upper Mesopotamia where the two streams meet, it is the Hurrians who come off best. On the other hand, to the south, at Mari, on the edge of the desert, the Amorites are completely triumphant. There the Hurrians play hardly any part, although a few religious texts written in Hurrian have been discovered in the palace,[1] and a fragment of a letter indicates that the language was understood in Zimrilim's chancellery.[2] On the other side of the desert, at Qatna, the situation must have been roughly the same as at Mari, while at Aleppo and Alalakh the Hurrians made their presence felt more markedly.

V. THE BENJAMINITES AND OTHER NOMADS, AND THE HABIRU

The steppe occupies a great part of the territories now under consideration. The valley of the Euphrates, which separates Syria from Mesopotamia, is but a fertile ribbon unrolling along a desert landscape. Between the land under cultivation and the desert proper, the limits of which are determined by the annual rainfall, stretches a belt of steppe on which the flocks of nomads find enough to support them. To the west of the Euphrates, this belt goes down as far as the region of Palmyra; to the east, it takes in the region traversed by the Balīkh and the Khabur.

In fact, the people in question were semi-nomads. Nomadic life in the full meaning of the word depends on the use of the camel. At the period now reached, the camel was still unknown.[3] The herdsmen were sheep-rearers, who move slowly from one place to another, and cannot go too far away from the rivers or watering-places. They generally have more or less precarious settlements in the valleys, to which they have to return to work at seed-time and harvest. Living on the edge of the desert in this way, close to the cultivated lands, these were in permanent contact

[1] See below, p. 42.
[2] Cf. E. Laroche in *R.A.* 51 (1957), 104 ff.
[3] G, 6, x; §v, 5, 27.

with the settled population, and gradually many of them allowed themselves to become rooted to the soil and ended by joining the ranks of the peasants, while, unremittingly, other groups formed behind them.

As has been established by study of the names, all the tribes at this time were closely related. They belong to the great complex of 'West Semitic' peoples commonly called 'Amorites', who had originally come out of the Syrian desert. After the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur they had spread into Babylonia and as far as the other side of the Tigris, leaving traces of their settlement in the place-names and founding new dynasties. Advance guards had broken into the old Babylonian cities in earlier years, and had peopled the towns along the desert which bordered the rivers, but the mass of nomads, constantly recruited, nevertheless continued to wander across the steppes of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, keeping up unremitting pressure on the fixed population. The most vivid evidence of this is to be found in the Mari documents.

Pre-eminent among this turbulent population, which the texts have made known to us, are the Benjaminites.[1] They were scattered over a wide expanse of territory, their encampments spread out along the Euphrates, but they were continually on the move between the river banks and the pasture-lands of Upper Mesopotamia, and were especially active in the region of Harran. Their grazing-routes also led them over to the right bank of the Euphrates, and sometimes they took their flocks to feed on the western fringe of the Syrian desert, in the lands of Aleppo, Qatna and Amurru. The Benjaminites in fact formed a vast confederation, made up of a number of tribes. Four of them are known to us; two of them gave their names to the localities of Sippar-Amnanu and Sippar-Iakhruru, while Sin-kashid, founder of a dynasty at Uruk, came of the Amnanu tribe.

At the head of the Benjaminites were shaikhs and, occasionally, 'kings', that is, war-chiefs, a distinction which also exists among the Bedouin.[2] Their relations with the settlers were most frequently strained, if not openly hostile, especially during Zimri-lim's reign. The reports which that king received about them talk of surprise attacks, assaults on towns, suspicious gatherings which might degenerate into general insurrection. The Benjaminites were continually making raids which sometimes took on

[1] §v, 4; G, 6, 47 ff.; G, 1, vol. VII, 224. This name has been retained as quasi-traditional, but it would be more exact to call them 'Iaminites'; cf. §v, 3, 49, and §v, 5, 37 f.

[2] G, 6, 59; §v, 6, 120.

considerable proportions. Moreover, the petty kings of northern Mesopotamia and even the king of Eshnunna himself did not hesitate to take sides with them. There were times when the only places of safety were inside the towns. In this struggle, naturally, setbacks alternated with successes. In one of his date-formulae Zimrilim commemorated the severe defeat he inflicted on the Benjaminites at Sagaratim, in the Khabur valley, massacring their leaders. But, by its very nature, the conflict was unending, and faced with opponents like this, who were as tenacious as they were elusive, the established authority could never relax its vigilance.

The Benjaminites, moreover, were not the only ones threatening the peace. To the west of the Euphrates the danger came from the Sutians,[1] who dominated the Syrian desert. The Sutians have long been identified as scattered intruders into Babylonia at the time of the First Babylonian Dynasty, but we now learn where the main body of this people, which also included several tribes,[2] was to be found. According to the Mari correspondence, the Sutians were bold and inveterate plunderers. Their activities extended over the whole Syrian steppe and along the edge of the desert beside the Euphrates, as far as the approaches to Babylonia. Like the Benjaminites, they were not afraid to attack towns—now a locality situated on the Euphrates, downstream from 'Ānah, now a staging-post on the route from Palmyra to Damascus, now they would take it into their heads to raid the great caravan city of Palmyra itself. They sometimes operated in strength, for Iasmakh-Adad was warned that a body of 2000 Sutians was on the march towards the Qatna region. It is rare for the texts to record peaceful relations.

There is less to be told about other similar peoples. Some of them were perhaps related to the Benjaminites, like the Rabbians,[3] who lived in the Iamkhad region and were called brothers of the Benjaminites. From their name, the Benē-sim'āl,[4] that is to say 'sons of the north', seem to be a group analogous to the Benjaminites, 'sons of the south'. Until now, they have been seldom encountered, and only in the 'High Country'. Their disposition appears to have been more friendly. About the Numkha and Iamutbal tribes[5] we know hardly anything, but it is interesting to note that there were still groups of these peoples moving about the middle Euphrates in this period, at a time when other groups had long ago given their names to localities on the left bank of the Tigris.

[1] G, 6, 83 ff.; G, 1, vol. VII, 224.
[2] §V, 7, 198.
[3] G, 6, 53.
[4] G, 6, 54 f.
[5] G, 6, 216 f.

About the Khanaeans, on the other hand, whose history is intimately bound up with that of the kingdom of Mari, there is a great deal of information.[1] They were established in strength in the Euphrates and Khabur valleys, for the district of Terqa alone, between Mari and the mouth of the Khabur, could muster several thousands. They were found in Upper Mesopotamia, particularly in the grassy steppes extending between the Balīkh and the upper Khabur. They too were semi-nomadic, but already on the way to fixed habitation, transferring from their encampments on the steppe to their settlements on the banks of the Euphrates, where they occupied land granted by 'the Palace' in reward for their services. The Khanaeans were in fact soldiers by profession, for they had taken armed service with the kings of Mari ever since Iakhdunlim had succeeded in subduing them. They are found mounting guard in the palace, manning local garrisons, keeping order in the desert, and serving in all campaigns. A few minor incidents apart, they seem to have done their duty loyally. They were completely under the control of the central power, and their shaikhs were unobtrusive, though their tribal organization was respected; in their quarters, the Khanaean troops were grouped by their clans, of which about ten are known. The important part played by the Khanaeans at Mari earned their name the privilege of being used occasionally, by extension, for all the 'Western Semites' in the kingdom. The possibility that it sometimes had the general meaning of 'nomads' is not excluded.[2]

A final group was formed by the Habiru.[3] Gathered in battle formations, the Habiru plundered towns, or else fought intermittently for the petty kings of the 'High Country'. Their field of operations was chiefly in the west of Upper Mesopotamia, that is, in the territory bounded by the Euphrates and the upper Khabur. Later on, during the reign of King Irkabtum of Aleppo, we find them making their appearance in Syria as well.

As regards the name Habiru, despite numerous studies devoted to it, a lively controversy still subsists, but the idea that it bore an ethnic signification is more and more abandoned. The Mari tablets have accentuated this by showing that Habiru could be recruited among 'West Semitic' nomads, for a Sutian and men belonging to the tribe of Iamutbal are designated as Habiru. Consequently it seems that the Habiru do not form a distinct group within the great nomad family. Their name has a descriptive sense, but its origin and significance are unknown. Its

[1] G, 6, 1 ff.
[2] §v, 5, 37.
[3] G, 6, 249 ff.; §v, 2, 18 ff., 26; §v, 7.

applications certainly varied according to time and place,[1] but at the time of the Mari documents it denoted bands of 'free companions' who devoted themselves to brigandage and spread disorder in Upper Mesopotamia.

VI. HAMMURABI'S CONQUESTS IN THE NORTH AND THE DECLINE OF THE EASTERN AMORITE STATES

The diplomatic archives discovered at Mari say nothing about the circumstances of the sudden rupture between Hammurabi and Zimrilim. Even with an inkling of the underlying reason,[2] we still do not know the train of events which was to bring about the ruin of Mari. Only the list of regnal years of the Babylonian monarch has preserved the memory of a victory over Mari (date-formula for the 33rd year), then, two years later, of the dismantling of the city (date-formula for the 35th year). It is probable that in the intervening time Zimrilim had sought a retrial of his lost cause either by resort to arms or in the diplomatic field. The first defeat, however, had been severe. It had been followed by an occupation which left its mark in the form of military registers and labels of tablet-baskets, dated in the 32nd year of Hammurabi.[3] While the conqueror's soldiers were quartered in the city, therefore, the officials who had come with them were rearranging the palace archives.

The Babylonian conquest cannot have finished its course at Mari. The 33rd year of Samsuiluna is dated from works which Hammurabi's successor had carried out at Sagaratim, an important locality on the Khabur, which had previously been the principal town of a province dependent on Mari.[4] From this it will be deduced that Hammurabi had annexed all the territory of Zimrilim's former kingdom to his empire. But did he advance any farther in the direction of the 'High Country'? To the northwest he ran the risk of coming into conflict with the land of Iamkhad, because the disappearance of Mari certainly prompted the kings of Aleppo to extend their influence on the left bank of the Euphrates. In the north it is sometimes allowed that Hammurabi got as far as Diyārbakr, but this statement is unfounded.[5] If he seized Assyria, while Ishme-Dagan took refuge somewhere, it was by going up the Tigris valley.

[1] See §v, 1, 131. [2] See above, p. 12. [3] G, 6, 40 n. 1.
[4] §vi, 3, 22. [5] G, 6, 176 n. 2.

A thick veil now falls over Upper Mesopotamia. For the Amorite principalities which dominated the greater part of the country in Zimrilim's time, that silence was to be final; one after the other they were to be engulfed in the Hurrian tide. When the darkness disperses, nearly three centuries later, it is the Hurrian state of Mitanni which emerges in full power.[1] As for Mari, the town survived, but went into a complete decline. The land of Khana which was subsequently born out of the ruins of its kingdom adopted Terqa, about forty-five miles north of Mari, as its centre.[2] Terqa, formerly the chief town of a district during Zimrilim's reign, housed the principal sanctuary of Dagan, the supreme god of the middle Euphrates. The official title of the sovereigns of Mari comprised a threefold designation: 'King of Mari, Tuttul, and the land of Khana'.[3] The town of Mari, abandoned as the capital, could no longer count, while Tuttul was certainly not under the new princes' control. Of the old title, all that was left was the land of Khana, which was identified with the Mari region and took its name from the Khanaeans established there.

The history of this kingdom of Khana, which might help to clear up some greater problems of chronology, is still very confused. It is known only from a small group of documents which have preserved the names of six sovereigns,[4] and there is uncertainty about the exact period to which they should be assigned. To judge from the script they are scarcely different from the Mari tablets, though they do reveal certain divergences in the utilization of signs, and they employ values of signs attested only at a more recent date. The most reliable criterion seems to be provided by the seals imprinted upon them. The collection of seal cylinders and cylinder imprints recovered at Mari now offers a sound basis for comparison. The glyptic art of Mari follows the Babylonian classical tradition fairly closely, but tends to diverge towards the so-called Syrian style.[5] The seals on the tablets from Khana display different characteristics, either the style peculiar to the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty or the style heralding the Kassite period.[6] Clearly, therefore, there is a break in the glyptic tradition. It can be explained both by a new impulse, due no doubt to a lengthy Babylonian occupation, and by a certain separation in time.

The order of succession of the six princes of Khana is itself

[1] See below, p. 39.
[2] §II, 4, 154 ff.
[3] G, 6, 30.
[4] See G, 5, 63 f.; §VI, 2, 205.
[5] §II, 8, part 3, 248 ff.
[6] G, 5, 63 f.

uncertain. It is probable that they followed one another fairly rapidly on the throne, like the kings of the first 'West Semitic' dynasties in Babylonia. In any case, the documents belong to the same period, and from the names preserved, the population seems stable. With one exception, the royal names are 'West Semitic'—Ammimadar, Hammurapi', Isikh-Dagan, Isharlim, Shunukh-rammu. In the population as a whole the Akkadian element predominates. There are no Hurrian names and no Kassite names apart from that of a king Kashtiliash.[1] The latter followed the same traditions as the other kings of Khana. According to the Babylonian custom he named one of his regnal years after an act of social justice (*mēšarum*), and he took oath by the gods Shamash, Dagan and Iturmer.[2] Nothing in these documents lends support to the hypothesis of a real Kassite kingdom established in the middle Euphrates valley. From his name Kashtiliash must have been connected with the family which seized power in Babylonia, and thus, in spite of certain difficulties, he may be taken as the last known king of the dynasty of Khana.[3]

Born out of Babylonia's weakness, the land of Khana was doomed to a proportionate mediocrity as the decadence of Babylonia itself became more pronounced, bringing with it the closing up of the roads. At the other end of the great river-way, the Hittites were shortly to intervene in Upper Syria. The small kingdom of the middle Euphrates was fated to disappear in the upheaval caused by the encroachments of the Hittites and the advance of the Hurrians whose empire progressively extended over the whole of Northern Mesopotamia.

VII. THE 'GREAT KINGSHIP' OF ALEPPO

Until the discovery of the Alalakh tablets, the history of Syria at the time of Hammurabi's successors in Babylon was unknown. It was clear, however, that the city of Aleppo had continued to play the same dominant role as in the days of Zimrilim. The famous treaty, known as the Treaty of Aleppo, concluded between Murshilish II and Talmi-Sharruma of Aleppo in the fourteenth century B.C., gives the history of relations between Aleppo and the Hittites. It recalls, in particular, that in former years the kings of the land of Aleppo had a 'great kingship', to which Khattushilish, the great king of the land of Khatti, had put

[1] Cf. G, 7, 64. [2] Texts quoted in G, 5, 64.

[3] Cf. G, 5, 65. In this detail we suggest an order differing from the scheme of this *History*.

an end; after him, his grandson Murshilish had ruined the kingship and country of Aleppo.[1] The term 'great kingship' is significant, for it tells us that the Hittites considered the kings of Aleppo as their equals.

The chronology of the Alalakh texts is not yet definitely established. Most of the tablets of the earlier group (level VII) were found in a chamber adjoining the central court of the palace,[2] so it is certainly a collection of archives. They cover the reigns of two princes of Alalakh, Iarimlim and his son Ammitaqum. This is a normal span for administrative archives and it fits the archaeological observations, which assign only a fairly short life to level VII.[3] But for the same length of time the documents name six kings of Aleppo, who succeed each other mostly, if not all, in a direct line. It is likely that the first of these, Abbael, was nearing the end of his reign when he handed over Alalakh to Iarimlim. On the other hand Hammurabi II, the last but one of his successors, must have had but a short reign, for he is known only by a few tablets dated in his accession-year.[4] But the pair Hammurabi and Samsuiluna alone occupied the throne of Babylon for eighty-one years. By assigning the maximum to the reigns of Iarimlim and Ammitaqum one might probably allow them seventy-five years, so it is not impossible to include within the same span the end of Abbael, the four kings who succeeded him, and the first years of Iarimlim III, in whose time the records of Alalakh come to an end. The texts make it certain that Ammitaqum was contemporary with four kings at Aleppo.[5]

To set in time the period which we have thus defined is another problem. It is generally assumed that Abbael's father, named Hammurabi, was identical with the king Hammurabi who ruled Aleppo in the time of Zimrilim. It is now known from the *res gestae* of Khattushilish I, discovered at Boğazköy in 1957, that the Hittite king sacked Alalakh in the first years of his reign.[6] To this event must be ascribed the radical destruction which closes level VII at Alalakh.[7] Taking our earlier conclusions into account, we are able to date Iarimlim's accession and the oldest Alalakh tablets from the end of the eighteenth century B.C., that is to say, probably during the reign of Abieshu' at Babylon. Roughly fifty years, therefore, separate the disappearance of Zimrilim from the foundation at Alalakh of a vassal dynasty of

[1] G, 7, 52 n. 89.
[2] G, 8, 121 f.; §VII, 10, 102.
[3] §VII, 10, 91.
[4] §VII, 4, 111.
[5] G, 5, 70 n. 181 *a*; §VII, 4, 110 f.
[6] §VII, 5, 78.
[7] §VII, 11, 83 f.

Aleppo. There is still, however, one difficulty: Iarimlim certainly seems to be the son of Abbael,[1] that is to say the grandson of Hammurabi of Aleppo, Zimrilim's contemporary, and this prevents us from bringing the date of his installation in Alalakh too far forward.

The Alalakh tablets throw only an indirect and most incomplete light on the history of Aleppo. The principality of Alalakh was created after a rebellion by Abbael's brothers. In particular the town of Irrid, which belonged to Iarimlim already or was destined for him, rose against the king of Aleppo. The latter captured and destroyed the rebel city, but he decided to give Iarimlim, who had remained loyal to him, the city of Alalakh in exchange for it—in return for an act of vassalage drawn up in due form.[2] The episode demonstrates that at this time the king of Aleppo had brought territories beyond the Euphrates under his domination, because the town of Irrid was to the east of Carchemish. After Abbael the dynasty carries on from father to son, with Iarimlim II (Iarimlim I being the father-in-law of Zimrilim), Niqmiepu' and Irkabtum. That the two last sovereigns, Hammurabi II and Iarimlim III, were father and son cannot be proved but it is probable.[3] Hammurabi II has been seen as but a transitory figure on the throne of Aleppo, and Iarimlim III had occupied it only a few years when Khattushilish came and destroyed Alalakh. Several year-names commemorate important events: they inform us that Niqmiepu' seized Aranzik on the Euphrates, almost on a level with Aleppo, and that Iarimlim III gained a victory over Qatna.[4]

The *res gestae* of Khattushilish, for their part, carry on from the Alalakh tablets and give glimpses of the history of the last years of Aleppo, before it fell under the blows of the Hittites.[5] After his action against Alalakh, Khattushilish turned against Urshu and laid the country waste. From the well-known account of the siege of Urshu, of which there is no mention in the Khattushilish text, it is known that the town had the support of Aleppo and Carchemish.[6] After this, Northern Syria had a brief respite. While Khattushilish was engaged in operations against the land of Arzawa he was taken in the rear by the Hurrians, who dealt him some hard blows before he was able to break out of their grip. The attack he launched on Khashshum marks his return

[1] Cf. §VII, 8, 129; vol. I, ch. VI above, p. 43. [2] §VII, 1, 27 f.; §VII, 8, 129.
[3] For their order of succession see vol. I of this *History*, ch. VI, pp. 43 ff.
[4] §VII, 4, 110 f. [5] §VII, 5, 78 ff.; see below in this vol., ch. VI, pp. 16 ff.
[6] G, 7, 64 n. 157.

to the offensive to the south-east of the Anatolian plateau. In spite of reinforcements of troops sent by Aleppo, the Hittites triumphed; they seized Khashshum and plundered the town, carrying off a rich booty.

With the aid of this Boğazköy document, we can now follow the manœuvres directed against Aleppo. The Hittite king, reaching Syria via the passes through the Amanus mountains, struck first at Alalakh, in order to interrupt direct communications between Aleppo and the sea. Then, in a sort of enveloping movement, he attacked the neighbouring states of Urshu and Khashshum, to the north-east of Aleppo. It was in the course of a campaign against Khahhum that he crossed the Euphrates for the first time in pursuit of the opposing army.[1] The *res gestae* make no reference to the ill-fated operations against Aleppo itself. It fell to the successor of Khattushilish, Murshilish I, to avenge the defeat and destroy the city before launching an expedition against Babylon.[2] But the protocol of the Treaty of Aleppo was not at fault in asserting that it was Khattushilish who had begun the weakening of the 'great kingship' of Aleppo. It will be noted that the sovereigns of Aleppo, faithful to ancient custom, kept to the title of 'king of Iamkhad'. The Alalakh texts sometimes give them that of 'great king', but only after Ammitaqum had designated himself as king.[3]

The status of Alalakh before it was ceded to Iarimlim is not known; perhaps the city was directly dependent on Aleppo, unless it had been confiscated from one of the king's rebellious brothers. It had an excellent situation near the Orontes, bordering on a plain, which was then fertile and well populated, whereas its central depression is today occupied by the marshy lake of the 'Amuq.[4] It dominated the road linking Aleppo with the Mediterranean, and being near to the Amanus mountains, it must also have benefited from the timber trade. The resources afforded by this favourable situation enabled the princes of Alalakh to build themselves an imposing palace, the state rooms of which were decorated with frescoes.[5] They were also able to raise strong fortifications,[6] which bore witness at once to their power and their virtual independence. But it is quite possible that the territory under their sway was confined to the plain mentioned above.

Iarimlim lived on into the reign of Niqmiepu'. His son Ammitaqum, who succeeded him, soon began to assume the title

[1] §VII, 5, 83.
[2] G, 7, 53 n. 89; 64.
[3] G, 7, 53 n. 90; §VII, 4, 109.
[4] §VII, 11, 17 ff.
[5] See Plate Vol.
[6] See Plate Vol.

of 'king', no longer satisfied to be called 'man of Alalakh', and he occasionally made use of his own date-formulae.[1] He had married a Hurrian princess, who had given him a son named Hammurabi, and the deed ratified in the presence of Iarimlim, by which Ammitaqum appointed Hammurabi as his heir, has been discovered.[2] The latter does not seem to have come to the throne; at all events, the archives leave off before his accession. Ammitaqum's reign was very long, for it began under Niqmiepu' and ended only in the time of Iarimlim III, third successor to him.

The land of Iamkhad must have had more than one vassal state. The Alalakh archives mention the names of a number of important towns, such as Carchemish, Qatna, Ugarit, Ibla, Emar and Tunip, without giving any details of their political status.[3] The first two were capitals of independent kingdoms. It is impossible at present to form an opinion regarding Ugarit, but Ibla does appear to have been a vassal city. As for the last two towns, they may have been directly under the rule of Aleppo. But caution is in place here for we find 'kings' at the head of places less prominent than these, such as Nashtarbi and Tuba.[4] The case of Nashtarbi, the site of which is unknown, makes an interesting study. Towards the end of Iarimlim's reign the town was still a dependency of Alalakh, and after some dispute, sanctions were prescribed against anybody who disputed his possession of it,[5] but under Ammitaqum the town had a 'king' of its own.[6] Should we see in this fact a sign of a tendency for the territory to split up? Here is the same phenomenon of a decline in the central power which might have led Ammitaqum to take the title of king. The title 'great king' with which the sovereigns of Aleppo were graced would do no more than mask an increasing weakness, which, in the long run, would have suited Hittite designs very well. This enfeeblement might be traced to Hurrian penetration, the newcomers gradually attaining power and remoulding the governing classes.

The Hurrians did, in fact, leave a deep impression on the Alalakh archives.[7] Hurrians figure among those occupying high positions, their language was widely used, even in the cultured sections of society, they had introduced names of months into the calendar, and king Abbael recalls the help he received from their goddess Khepat in reconquering Irrid. In the aggregate, however, to judge from the personal names, Hurrians were in the

[1] §VII, 4, 111. [2] G, 8, 33, no. 6. [3] G, 8, 154 ff.
[4] G, 8, 101, no. 367. [5] G, 8, 38, no. 11.
[6] G, 8, 86, no. 269. [7] G, 6, 233 ff.; §V, 5, 39.

minority, the Semites being almost twice as numerous. Attention has also been drawn to a series of names belonging to a people not yet identified. This people, which must have been established in the country for a long time, reveals its presence also in the place-names, where Semitic and Hurrian names are the exception.[1] This ancient layer had been followed by the 'West Semitic' element, and the period covered by the archives had, in its turn, experienced an intensive penetration by Hurrians. The trend increased; towards the middle of the millennium the Hurrian element was predominant at Alalakh (level IV), and the organization of society itself bore the Hurrian stamp.[2]

Practically nothing is known of the rest of Syria. The Alalakh tablets mention only the names of Qatna[3] and Ugarit,[4] together with the land of Amurru,[5] already known to the Mari documents, which was situated to the south of Qatna. Later documents inform us that in about the fifteenth century B.C. Hurrians were numerous at Qatna, where their influence made itself strongly felt.[6] The Ugarit texts, on the other hand, bear witness to a much higher proportion of Semites, and there too are found many more Semitic place-names than at Alalakh.[7] It seems that during the period under consideration the surge of Hurrians had spread southwards, but with varying results from region to region.

So far we have not had occasion to speak of the Hyksos. Some historians have, in fact, turned their eyes upon Syria, seeking far away from Egypt the starting-point of the Hyksos invasion.[8] The different opinions expressed upon this still-debatable subject are largely dependent upon the view which is taken of chronology. It is generally allowed that the Hyksos period opened in Egypt towards the end of the eighteenth century, the invaders having occupied Avaris in the Delta about 1720 B.C. Regarding Syria and Mesopotamia we are not on such firm ground. According to the system adopted in the present work, the date of the occupation of Avaris falls in about the middle of the reign of Samsuiluna at Babylon. In view of the conclusions we have reached, it would be placed in the interval between the Mari documents and those of Alalakh; the latter would all be included within the Hyksos period. Neither in the Mari tablets, where one surely ought to perceive some anticipatory signs, nor in those of Alalakh, is there any trace of a new political power which could be connected with

[1] §v, 5, 39f.
[2] G, 7, 56 ff.; §vii, 7, 19 f.
[3] §vii, 9, 25, no. 259; see also above, p. 34.
[4] G, 8, 99, no. 358.
[5] G, 6, 179.
[6] §vii, 2, 13 n. 1.
[7] G, 4, 69; §v, 5, 40.
[8] §vii, 2, 8 f.

the Hyksos. It is true that certain movements of peoples may have escaped attention, but there are some facts already known which bear upon the origin of the Hyksos. At the time when these were moving into the Delta the Hurrians were just beginning to spread into Northern Syria, the only route they could have followed to Egypt. This being so, it is impossible, without pushing Hammurabi's date considerably farther back,[1] to connect the Hyksos with the Hurrian migration. In the same way there can be no influence of the Indo-Aryans, who appeared distinctly later, certainly after the period of level VII at Alalakh.[2] To sum up, the local evidence leads one to believe that Syria played no part in the Hyksos invasion. This result is not simply negative; it gives the direction in which a solution to the Hyksos problem as a whole will be found.

VIII. DEVELOPMENT OF THE HURRIAN STATES

Urshu and Khashshum, the northern neighbours of Aleppo, were under Hurrian rule at the time of Zimrilim, and there is no doubt that their Hurrian transformation was of long standing. Several figures of deities appear among the spoils which Khattushilish brought back from Khashshum, and these belonged to the Hurrian pantheon.[3] On the other side of the Euphrates the Hurrian states of Upper Mesopotamia must have continued to spread, but this region is plunged into almost total obscurity. After the disappearance of Mari our sources fall silent. Towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the silence is finally broken, we are suddenly confronted with an important state, Mitanni, which has united the whole of Northern Mesopotamia and already extended its influence beyond the two rivers.[4] Nothing is known about the phases of its development.

At the time of the Mari documents the Hurrians already dominated several principalities in the north of Mesopotamia, where conditions favoured their expansion. The unification of the country by Shamshi-Adad had been ephemeral, and his territory was divided up among numerous small states.[5] Some of them had submitted more or less completely to the authority of Zimrilim, but the fall of Mari freed them from any kind of tutelage, because Hammurabi does not appear to have extended his conquests as far as the 'High Country'. With the break-up of the Babylonian

[1] Cf. §VII, 4, 113. [2] See below, p. 40. [3] See below, p. 43.
[4] G, 4, 75 f. [5] See above, p. 17 f.

empire under Abieshu' there was not even any prospect of intervention from the south. To the east, Assyria too had ceased to be a great power. Even when freed from Babylonian occupation it remained absorbed in its internal difficulties, and efforts to bring about a revival, later on, came to very little. At the beginning of the fifteenth century Assyria was annexed by Saustatar and attached to the Mitannian empire as a vassal principality.[1] In the west of Upper Mesopotamia only one state capable of playing a significant part survived, the kingdom of Iamkhad. It has been seen that the sovereigns of Aleppo had taken advantage of the eclipse of Mari to gain a foothold on the left bank of the Euphrates (above, p. 34), but they do not seem to have pushed on very far in this direction.

For the Hurrians who had spread into the fertile country of Upper Mesopotamia the way was open for seizing power to the detriment of the Amorite invaders who had preceded them. Settlement and conquest no doubt went hand in hand, and the division of the country into small units made conquest easier than in Syria. This first phase, which is one of progressive Hurrian domination, was to be followed by a second, which would witness the regrouping of the petty states before their final unification within the kingdom of Mitanni. About the progress of this unification, which must have been completed in the second half of the sixteenth century, there is no information.

The existence of Hurrian principalities in Upper Mesopotamia towards the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty is confirmed by the Hittite evidence relating to Khattushilish and Murshilish.[2] While he was making war in the land of Arzawa, Khattushilish was attacked in the rear by the Hurrians. The Hittite campaign against Urshu had taken place during the previous year. Conscious of the danger menacing them, the Hurrians had perhaps decided to grasp the initiative by carrying the war into the enemy's camp. It is certainly from Mesopotamia that they came: instead of naming the Hurrians, as in the Hittite version, the Akkadian version of the *res gestae* makes the aggressor come from the land of Khanigalbat.[3] The blow was severe and it brought Khattushilish to the verge of disaster: the greater part of his territory revolted, and the town of Khattusha alone, he says, remained loyal, but in the end he was able to survive the ordeal. The effort put forth by the Hurrians seems to have exhausted them, for Khattushilish seized Khashshum a few years later, and

[1] §I, 5, 32 ff.
[2] G, 7, 64; §VII, 5, 78 ff.; §IX, 1, 384.
[3] §VII, 5, 79 n. 16; see below in this vol., ch. VI, p. 17.

even crossed the Euphrates. When Murshilish returned from his expedition against Babylon, he had to repulse a final assault by the Hurrians from Mesopotamia. Those from the kingdoms to the west of the Euphrates had certainly been put out of the fight before the capture of Aleppo. It has been observed that the Khana tablets contain no Hurrian names (above, p. 32). The Hurrians therefore seem to have settled especially in the northern regions.

The formation of the Mitannian empire is linked with the onset of a new immigration, that of the Indo-Aryans, coming from the north-east. There is proof enough of their intervention in several fields, although there is sometimes a tendency to overvalue their contribution to the so-called Mitannian civilization. Basically, Mitanni was a Hurrian state, in which the language was Hurrian; names of Indo-Aryan origin never represented more than a minute percentage. It is usually believed that the Indo-Aryans formed a military aristocracy imposed upon the local peasantry. In spite of numerical weakness, therefore, their political influence may have been dominant. However, the Hurrians did not wait for the stimulus of an Indo-Aryan ruling class before spreading into Mesopotamia and Syria, nor even before seizing power. There were already Hurrian kings in the days of Zimrilim. The Hurrians occupy an increasingly important position at Alalakh, but the Indo-Aryans do not figure in the tablets of level VII,[1] and appear only at level IV: it is in the time between that they must have penetrated into Syria, that is to say, in the course of the sixteenth century. Moreover, it has not so far been possible to establish for certain the existence of Indo-Aryan elements before the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty.[2]

Mysterious invaders known by the name of Umman-Manda, *i.e.* 'Manda-host' or 'Host (of the) Manda', have sometimes been connected with the irruption of the Indo-Aryans.[3] The first mention of these Umman-Manda in an historical context goes back to the reign of Khattushilish I.[4] In a passage dealing with the Hittite king's campaigns in North Syria the leader of the Umman-Manda figures among his adversaries, in company with the general commanding the troops of Aleppo. At about the same time, according to an account preserved in the great collection of observations of the planet Venus, Ammiṣaduqa of Babylon won a victory over the Umman-Manda.[5] But at this date the Umman-Manda had long been known in Babylonia. They al-

[1] G, 7, 56 f.; §VII, 7, 19.
[2] G, 7, 53, 58; §VII, 2, 13 ff.
[3] Cf. §VII, 1, 31.
[4] §VII, 5, 78 n. 14.
[5] §VII, 1, 31 n. 16.

ready appear in omen-texts of the Hammurabi period,[1] which do no more than record a more ancient tradition. Umman-Manda were spoken of long before the arrival of the Indo-Aryans; so that the one must not be confused with the other. If, as is most frequently believed, the term Umman-Manda has in fact a descriptive sense, designating particularly noxious bands of warriors, it may have been applied in certain circumstances to the Indo-Aryan invaders. But in any case, further evidence is needed to attest the presence of the latter; the mention of the Umman-Manda alone is not enough. In the existing state of our knowledge the Indo-Aryan invasion does not appear to have touched Mesopotamia or Syria before the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty and the break-up of the old Hittite empire, following the assassination of Murshilish I. Until this period, the Indo-Aryans could not have had any influence upon the destiny of the Hurrian states.

IX. HURRIAN ELEMENTS IN ART AND RELIGION

The search for Hurrian elements in art encounters two major difficulties: the rarity of the available monuments and the uncertainties which persist even as to the definition of Hurrian art. The problem of knowing what properly belongs to the Hurrians is far from having been resolved, and some authors have gone so far as to deny them the slightest originality in the artistic field. The Hurrians, it is true, showed a marked capacity for assimilating the cultural values of the more advanced peoples with whom they came into contact. To the Mesopotamian civilization, above all, they were vastly indebted. However, the exchanges did not in every case flow one way only: there is to be considered, for example, the extent of Hurrian influence on the Hittite world.[2]

The most objective method is to survey the monuments and works of art throughout the Mitannian kingdom as a whole at the time of its greatest extension. This comparative study has for its object to define the characteristics of a 'Mitannian' art, the inspiration of which must have been mainly Hurrian. The survey has been made; it has yielded positive results, notably for the glyptic and ceramic arts.[3] But all certainty vanishes once a search begins for the direct antecedents of this art. There is nothing to justify adherence to any view without reservation: the problem

[1] See J. Nougayrol in *R.A.* 44 (1950), 12 ff. On the possibility of the Umman-Manda being at Mari, see J. Bottéro in G, 1, vol. VII, 224 f.

[2] §IX, 1.

[3] §IX, 2.

remains unresolved. Sometimes the Hurrians had been preceded by peoples of whom we know very little, which makes the task of giving the Hurrians their due even more complicated. This is the case in Syria, where the most ancient layer of the population is composed of an unknown ethnic element.[1] The Hurrians arrived late in the country, and only after the Amorites. They cannot therefore be allowed any part in the development of the so-called Syrian glyptic art,[2] the characteristics of which were settled at the beginning of the period considered in this chapter.[3]

In the religious field the traces of Hurrian influence are more easily discernible. At Mari six texts have been recovered among the archives which are composed wholly or partly in Hurrian, and are extracts from rituals.[4] In order to preserve their full efficacity great care was taken to pronounce the rituals in their original form. At Boğazköy, too, Hurrian was to occupy an important position in the religious ceremonies. Such tablets are proof of the value attached to the religious practices of the Hurrians. Apart from them there is nothing to justify us in assuming that other aspects of religious life at Mari were affected. No Hurrian deity was worshipped there. Attention has been drawn, however, to three names of women, each composed of an Akkadian element and the sacred name Khubat,[5] which must be a special form of the name of the Hurrian goddess Khepat, and this would be her earliest appearance.[6] In the absence of other information, these hybrid names would seem to come from mixed Akkadian–Hurrian families rather than to be a sign of Hurrian religious penetration. The women who bear them were weavers in the royal workshops. They were not necessarily natives of Mari, since the palace also recruited the numerous female workers it needed from outside. In Babylonia, during the reign of Ammiditana, a Subarian slave-woman had a name formed in a similar way, Ummi-Khepet.[7]

On the other hand a Hurrian god certainly makes his appearance under the kingdom of Khana, when the king Shunukhrammu dates one of his years from a sacrifice made to 'Dagan of the Hurrians' (*ša Ḫurri*).[8] This was evidently an exceptional occasion, for the pious acts commemorated in date-formulae are normally the building of a temple or the dedication of a statue, a

[1] See above, p. 37. [2] See Plate Vol.
[3] §VII, 4, 119 ff.; §II, 8, part 3, 248 ff.
[4] §IX, 4. [5] G, 1, vol. IX, 350.
[6] A Syrian seal inscribed with the name of Khepat (cf. G, 4, 106) is of more recent date than the Mari archives. [7] G, 4, 106. [8] G, 4, 63.

throne, or an emblem. Perhaps the sacrifice in this case had a political significance, for the god so honoured could not have been the ordinary object of worship in the land of Khana. The god Dagan had long been considered the supreme master of the middle Euphrates, and it is possible that under the designation 'Dagan of the Hurrians', it was in fact Teshub, the great god of the Hurrians, that was intended.

In Syria, Hurrian influence in the religious field was naturally more marked. In one of the most ancient documents discovered at Alalakh, which concerns the cession of this town, the king of Aleppo, Abbael, makes a point of recalling the support given him by the goddess Khepat.[1] Worship of the goddess had therefore been officially introduced to Aleppo by this date. Khepat was the titular wife of Teshub, and in this instance she is associated with the god Adad, written with the ideogram IM; it is a question whether the reading should not be Teshub rather than Adad. But perhaps the question is superfluous, for in the Hurrian personal names yielded by the Alalakh tablets ideograms concealing names of Hurrian deities are encountered. The practice is especially common during the late period (tablets of level IV), but it is not unknown during the earlier.[2] Teshub being identified with Adad, each ethnic community could express the name of the Weather God in its own language. In the Boğazköy texts, the great god Adad of Aleppo, to whom Zimrilim had dedicated his statue in former years, was to become Teshub of Aleppo.[3] The change was beginning to take place in the time of Abbael since Khepat had already taken her place beside the god of Aleppo. The mark left by the Hurrians is revealed, too, by other references in the Alalakh documents. Certain religious festivals have Hurrian names,[4] and several names of months are also Hurrian, one of them containing the name of the god Ashtapi.[5]

In addition to this, the influence of neighbouring countries reinforced the influence exerted by the Hurrians installed in Syria itself. Among the northern allies of Aleppo, religion was dominated entirely by Hurrians. When Khattushilish I sacked Khashshum, some years after the destruction of Alalakh, he returned with a batch of statues he had removed from the temples in the city.[6] Among them were effigies of the god of Aleppo and his wife Khepat, as well as a pair of silver bulls, which must have represented Sherri and Khurri, the two great bulls which were attributes of Teshub.

[1] G, 8, 25.
[2] G, 7, 57 n. 111; §IX, 1, 384 n. 6.
[3] §IX, 1, 390.
[4] G, 8, 86, no. 269; §VII, 9, 27, no. 264.
[5] G, 8, 85, no. 263.
[6] §VII, 5, 82.

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