

PART TWO

HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

CHAPTER VII

THE HOMELAND OF THE AMORITES

The language of the Amorites, or at least those elements of the language which can be isolated in some of the personal names, appear to be West Semitic. Are we to infer from this that the place of origin of the Amorites was in the West? For a correct answer we can avail ourselves of evidence which is explicitly geographical, and which carries therefore more weight than an inference drawn from the linguistic character of the personal names. At the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur the Amorites were still foreigners in Mesopotamia.¹ Their place of origin was not a remote homeland known only through memories of earlier migrations. On the contrary, there were direct communications between their country and the Sumerian cities. The relationship between Amorites and Sumerians was either peaceful or hostile, depending on the times; but in all cases, there was a direct and constant interchange. From references in the sources relating to this country, it is possible to reach some conclusions regarding its geographical location. It is generally accepted today that the homeland of the Amorites was in the northern Syrian desert, west of the Middle Euphrates.² The main arguments which have been brought to bear in favor of such localization are,

¹ See below, chapter IX, especially pp. 324-36.

² See R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, Roma 1948, pp. 18-21; Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, pp. 34-36; Kupper, *Nomades*, pp. 149-51; 156-57; *AHw*, p. 46, s.v. *Amurru*; S. Moscati, *The Semites in Ancient History*, Cardiff 1959, p. 54; Gelb, "Early History," pp. 29-30; M. A. Beek, *Atlas of Mesopotamia*, London 1962, p. 17, map 1; M. Liverani, *Introduzione alla storia dell'Asia Anteriore antica*, Roma 1963, p. 84; E. A. Speiser, in E. A. Speiser (ed.), *At the Dawn of Civilization*, New Brunswick, N. J., 1964, p. 205; D. O. Edzard, in E. Cassin et al. (eds.), *Die altorientalischen Reiche, I: Vom Paläolithikum bis zur Mitte des 2. Jahrtausend*, Frankfurt 1965, p. 127.

in addition to the West Semitic character of the language of the Amorites, their connection with geographical and tribal names which are set in the West (Jebel Bišri, *Didnum*, etc.), and the use of the term MAR.TU to refer to the West in general from a Mesopotamian viewpoint. In the next pages we will reconsider the entire question concentrating especially on materials which relate to the Ur III period and which either were not available before or were not taken sufficiently into account.

1. CONNECTIONS WITH THE WEST

1. *Basar* (Jebel Bišri)

The main argument which has been advanced so far in favor of the localization of the Amorites in the West is the connection between the Amorites and the mountain range known as Jebel Bišri. The earliest evidence goes back to the Old Akkadian period: a year of king Šar-kali-šarri takes its name from a victory achieved by the king "over the Amorites in the mountain of *Ba-sa-ar*." ³ Just before the beginning of Ur III, Gudea writes that he has caused large stones to be brought down to Lagaš "from *Ba_{II}-sal-la*, the mountain of the Amorites" (*hur-sag* MAR.TU).⁴ During Ur III, a tablet from Drehem gives a record of animals brought in for ^dMAR.TU and for "the mountain of Basar."⁵ Later occurrences of the same name, in the forms *Bi-ši-ir*, *Bi-eš-ri*, *Bi-šir*, *Bi-su-ru*, are quite frequent, but they are of no immediate interest to us here.⁶ The identification of *Ba-ša-ar*/*Ba-sa-ar*/*Ba_{II}-sal-la* ⁷ with Jebel Bišri was first proposed, to my knowledge, by E. Unger,⁸ and has been generally accepted.⁹

³ *RTC* 124 + *MAD* I 268: 6-9, see *MAD* III, pp. 262 and 264; and cf. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 33; Kupper, *Nomades*, pp. 149-150.

⁴ Gudea, Statue B, vi 5-6; and cf. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 31; Kupper, *Nomades*, p. 150; cf. Statue B, vi 13-14.

⁵ *RA* 9 (1912) p. 57, Pl. I, SA 3; and cf. Gelb, "Topography," p. 73; Kupper, *Nomades*, p. 150, n. 1; p. 165, n. 3; Kupper, *Dieu Amurru*, p. 78.

⁶ See E. Unger, in *RLA* I, p. 430; E. Honigsmann, in *RLA* II, p. 18; Gelb, "Topography," p. 73; Kupper, *Nomades*, p. 150 n. 1.

⁷ The identification of *Ba_{II}-sal-la* with *Ba-sa-ar* was first suggested by F. Böhl, *Kanaanäer and Hebräer*, Leipzig 1911, p. 33.

⁸ In *RLA* I, p. 430 (published in 1932).

⁹ Gelb, "Topography," p. 73; J. R. Kupper, in *ARM* XV, p. 122; Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 35; Kupper, *Nomades*, pp. 149-51.

Jebel Bišri¹⁰ is a rather low ridge whose highest peak measures m. 856.¹¹ It is, however, the first considerable elevation (as one travels the Euphrates upstream) whose eastern slopes come fairly close to the course of the river: the peak of Jebel Bišri is about 37 kilometers (and the 500 m. isometric curve only 16 kilometers) from the river, whose banks, at that point, coincide with the 250 m. isometric curve. The area has never been excavated, and it may be assumed that it would be hard to find any material remains of the Amorites who once occupied it.¹² However, a series of mounds has been observed in the general area of the Jebel Bišri,¹³ and surface pottery from these mounds has been reported to date back to neolithic times and to continue down through the Bronze Age into the Iron Age.¹⁴ Whether these sites may at all be linked with the Amorites, remains to be seen. They should however prove to be of great interest, because of the reported chronological and geographical correspondence with the period of the Amorites.^{14a}

2. Kur MAR.TU (the Highland of the Amorites).

In the text of Gudea just quoted¹⁵ we saw that Jebel Bišri was qualified as "mountain of the Amorites (*hur-sag* MAR.TU)." A

¹⁰ Jebel Bišri seems to be the most common modern form of the name, but other forms are attested such as Jebel el-Bišri, Jebel el-Biṣr.

¹¹ See the map published in second edition (1950) by the Institut Géographique Nationale, in Series *Levant*, 1:200.000, pl. Ni 37-XXII (Raqqā).

¹² For remarks on the difficulty of finding archaeological evidence referring to nomad populations see M. J. Mellink, "Postscript on Nomadic Art," in M. J. Mellink (ed.), *Dark Ages and Nomads, c. 1000 B.C.*, Istanbul 1964, pp. 63-70.

¹³ Cf. E. Wirth, "Die Ackerebenen Nordost-syriens," in *Geographische Zeitschrift* 52 (1964), esp. p. 14; this reference was kindly furnished me by M. Van Loon. See also the names of tells and springs registered in the map quoted above, n. 11.

¹⁴ I owe this information to the kindness of H. Kassis, of the University of British Columbia, who did a surface exploration of the area of Qaryateyn.

^{14a} [In August 1966 my wife Marilyn and I made a survey of the area from Palmyra to the Jebel Bišri, the results of which we hope to publish soon.]

¹⁵ See above, n. 4.

similar expression is *kur* MAR.TU which occurs often in the sources. Its approximate location can be deduced from a combination of the following data, all found in texts coming from Drehem :

(1) Animals for Nablānum, the Amorite, were put on a *ship* directed toward *kur* MAR.TU (*ki Na-ab-la-núm* MAR.TU-šè *kur* MAR.TU-šè *má-a ba-a-gin*); ¹⁶

(2) Nablānum is elsewhere mentioned in connection with people from the West and especially from Mari; ¹⁷

(3) In another text, ¹⁸ *I-bi-iq-ri-e-ú*, the Amorite of *Ià-a-ma-tu* is also mentioned in connection with people from Mari and Ibla. Here the text adds, concerning both *I-bi-iq-ri-e-ú* and the other people from the West: "going (back) to their cities; they went by boat" (*uru-ne-ne-šè gin-ni má-a ba-dé-DU*).

The texts may be interpreted as follows. First of all, a "ship" directed from Drehem "toward *kur* MAR.TU" could only have followed the course of the Euphrates upstream.¹⁹ How far upstream, text (1) does not say. An answer is suggested by text (2) which points in the direction of Mari, and an important confirmation is found in text (3): here the Amorites and the people of Mari are explicitly linked together, since it is said that they go back by ship to their cities. It is true that in text (3) *I-bi-iq-ri-e-ú* is associated with *Ià-a-ma-tu* rather than with *kur* MAR.TU; but it could hardly be accidental that both he and Nablānum should be connected, in similar texts, with people of Mari and with riverine navigation. The most likely conclusion is that *kur* MAR.TU as well as *Ià-a-ma-tu* were in the general direction of Mari from the viewpoint of Drehem; as suggested below, *Ià-a-ma-tu* could be the name of one of the tribes of *kur* MAR.TU.

The preceding considerations are also supported by the fact that in the texts of Drehem we find more than once connections between Amorites and people from cities in the Northwest such as

¹⁶ A 2882:2.

¹⁷ *An. Or.* VII 99-9.21-26; the Amorites in general are often attested in connection with peoples from cities in the West, see below, pp. 302-05.

¹⁸ A 29365.

¹⁹ For the location of Drehem on the ancient bed of the Euphrates see T. Jacobsen, "The Waters of Ur," in *Iraq* 22 (1960) p. 176 n. 3 and Pl. XXVIII (shown as Puzriš-Dagan).

Mari.²⁰ In Isin too we find an envoy of Usium, the Amorite, mentioned together with several people from Mari.²¹ Another text from Isin is the record of provisions "for the envoys of the king, (who) are going to the mountain, to the place of Šamāmum, the Amorite" (*hur-sag ki Ša-ma-mu-um MAR.TU-šè gin-na-me*).²² There can be no doubt, in view of the parallels quoted so far, that the "mountain" (*hur-sag*) of Šamāmum is the same as (1) the "mountain of the Amorites" (*hur-sag MAR.TU*) quoted on the statue of Gudea and (2) *kur MAR.TU* quoted in the texts of Drehem.

It should be made clear that the connection of the Amorites with the people of Mari does not mean that Mari was itself in an Amorite area; as emphasized by I. J. Gelb, Mari, throughout the early periods of its history (i.e. before the period of the dynasty of Yaggid-Lim), was an outpost of Babylonian civilization, rather than a bridgehead of Amorite infiltration.²³ But precisely because it was an outpost, Mari was in contact with the people beyond the frontiers, the Amorites. It may be most likely assumed that this frontier ran through the south-eastern slopes of the Jebel Bišri and the Euphrates, and that the mountainous area occupied by the Amorites extended considerably beyond this frontier, in the steppes and uplands corresponding roughly to the area encircled by the isohyetal curves from 100 to 200 mm.²⁴ Here is a detailed description of the area: "This rather monotonous, gently undulating area (alt. c. 1,000 ft.) is only relieved in the West by artificial mounds (*tells*) the sites of many villages. It slopes imperceptibly eastwards, and there are several basalt plateaux which stand out from the limestone steppe-land. Between the salt marshes of Möfti Göl and Jebbul Göl are the basaltic plateaux of Jebel Hass and Jebel Shbeit, which are more fertile and better watered in the north: they reach a height of over 1,900 feet and were formerly better cultivated than now... It is difficult to estimate precisely where the cultivable steppe merges into

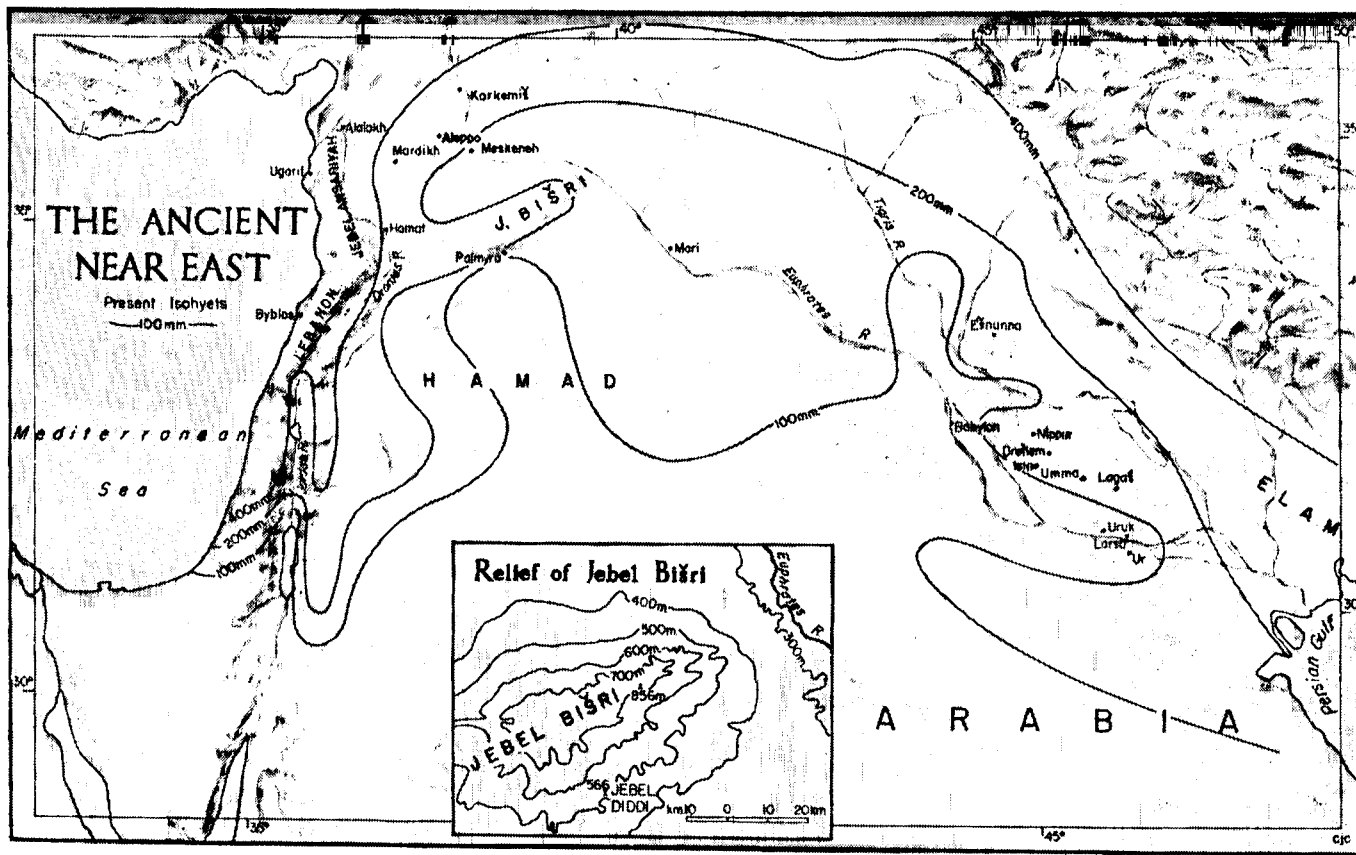
²⁰ See below, Chart C, pp. 294-99.

²¹ *BIN IX 324*.

²² *BIN IX 390*.

²³ Gelb, "Topography," pp. 80-81; Id., review of A. Parrot (ed.), *Studia Mariana*, in *JNES* 13 (1954), p. 270; Id., "On the Recently Published Economic Texts from Mari," in *RA* 50 (1956), p. 6; Id., "Early History," pp. 34-45; see also below, p. 246.

²⁴ See the map on the following page.



semi-desert. In the east, wherever there are wells with a sufficient flow cultivation is possible... but between such areas, and toward the Euphrates, large tongues of semi-desert penetrate from the east, and these are barren and almost uninhabited except for nomads. ”²⁵

There are other references to *kur* MAR.TU still to be quoted. Some texts from Drehem qualify incoming animals as “booty (from) *kur* MAR.TU. ”²⁶ Similar texts from Ur speak simply of “booty (of/from) MAR.TU (people). ”²⁷ It is interesting to note that chronologically the evidence begins as far back as the last years of Šulgi, i.e. at a time when the Ur III kingdom was at its height. The situation is easy to understand if one accepts the location of *kur* MAR.TU in the area described above. To place it east of the Tigris would instead cause difficulties, since many of the known Ur III ensidoms are already located there.²⁸

Given the identification of *kur* MAR.TU with Jebel Bišri and the area west of it, the term *kur* may be taken to refer to the hilly nature of the territory, and could therefore be translated as “plateau, highland, ” as well as “country, land. ”²⁹ The term MAR.TU, on the other hand, refers probably to the tribes settled in this area. This is suggested on the basis of the following considerations. (1) The term MAR.TU corresponds to Amurru (whether or not MAR.TU may be taken as a Sumerian rendering of Amurru³⁰), and Amurru may be interpreted as a tribal name.³¹ (2) From a study of the term MAR.TU in connection with the personal names of the Ur III period it appears probable that the term was often used as a gentilic to denote tribal affiliation.³² (3) The gentilic added to the person-

²⁵ Syria, “Geographical Handbook Series: B.R. 513, ” (Great Britain) Naval Intelligence Division, 1944, pp. 25-27.

²⁶ A 5254:5 (Š 48 V); A 5169:18 (Š 48 VII); *PDTI* 32:5 (AS 4 I). Cf. also *Or.* 47, 38.

²⁷ *UET* III 1391: iv 5 (date broken); *UET* III 1244: 17 (IS 20).

²⁸ See W. W. Hallo, *The Ensi's of the Ur III Dynasty*, Dissertation Chicago 1953, p. 93.

²⁹ Cf. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 31, n. 131; Kupper, *Dieu Amurru*, p. 62 with n. 5, but see the objections of Lewy, “Amurritica,” pp. 52-58. For other indications that the Amorites were living in a mountainous territory see below, p. 331.

³⁰ See above, chapter IV, s.v. MAR.TU.

³¹ See above, chapter IV, s.v. *A-mu-ru-um*, and below, p. 361.

³² See below, pp. 346-53.

al names is always MAR.TU, never *lú kur* MAR.TU;³³ in other words, the gentilic is primary, while the geographical name is secondary. (4) This is confirmed by the fact that in Ur III texts the term MAR.TU never appears with the determinative KI, otherwise regular with geographical names. (5) The lack of a writing MAR.TU KUR is equally noteworthy, because the postposition of the word for "mountain" occurs frequently in this period with truly geographical names.³⁴ (6) Also note a text from Isin, which states that royal envoys were to go *hur-sag ki Ša-ma-mu-um* MAR.TU-šè: not "to the MAR.TU mountain, the place of Šamāmum," but "to the mountain, the place of Šamāmum the MAR.TU." — *Kur* MAR.TU, then, is to be understood properly as "the highland of the Amorites." That a geographical area should be designated by the name of the people settled in it, corresponds to a type well attested in the Ancient Near East. To quote only one example, one may refer to the "mountains of the Aḫlamu" (*šá-da-an Aḫ-la-mi-i*), mentioned in a text of Tukulti-Ninurta I.³⁶ This example is especially pertinent as Yaḥmadu (which I interpret as a tribe of the Amorites), is elsewhere identified with the Aḫlamu.³⁷

3. Western tribes

The clearest example of a tribal name is the one which has been interpreted above as Yaḥmadu. The name occurs five times in Ur III texts: *Ià-a-ma-tu* (no context known),³⁸ *Dú-ul-ga-núm* MAR.TU *Ià-a-ma-ti*,³⁹ *I-bi-iq-ri-e-ú* MAR.TU *Ià-a-ma-ti-um*,⁴⁰ *I-bi-iq-ri-e-ú* MAR.TU *Ià-a-ma-ti-[um]*.⁴¹ The form *Ià-a-ma-ti-um* is a gentilic

³³ At least in the Ur III period. For the later periods (when, it should be noted, the term MAR.TU is much less common and is hardly ever used as an appellative) one finds expressions like *dumu kur* MAR.TU (*PBS* VIII/2 169: i 7-9, cf. Kupper, *Nomades*, p. 169, n. 3; Lewy, "Amurritica," p. 39 with n. 5).

³⁴ Cf. *MAD* III, pp. 263-64.

³⁵ *BIN* IX 390, cf. above, p. 239.

³⁶ *KAH* II 60:70.

³⁷ See below, p. 243.

³⁸ New. 1978.

³⁹ *JCS* 7, p. 105:9.

⁴⁰ A 29365:17.

⁴¹ A 2790:ii 32; *JCS* 7, p. 107:iii 15.

formation with ending *-iyum* which occurs elsewhere in Old Amorite.⁴² This implies that the name from which the gentilic pattern is derived is a tribal or geographical name, attested in its simple form in the first two examples cited. The absence of the determinative for country in the second example favors the interpretation of the name as a tribal name, rather than as a geographical name. From a text already discussed above,⁴³ it appears that Yaḥmadu was located upstream along the Euphrates in the direction of Mari. This conclusion is confirmed by a later lexical text which exhibits the equation: *Ia-ma-tu-ú/Aḥ-la-mu-ú*.⁴⁴ Whether the gentilic Yaḥmadū died out in favor of Aḥlamu, or whether the equation was established simply on the basis of a general tribal and geographical similarity is impossible to say. In any case, there do not seem to be other traces of the term Yaḥmadu in later times.⁴⁵

Another tribal name is Did(a)num. The name occurs only twice in Ur III sources: (1) The year ŠS 4 is named after the construction of the "fortress of the Amorites, which holds back Didnum";⁴⁶ variants of the same year's name have *Ù-ri-iq Da-ad-na-am*⁴⁷ and *Mu-ri-iq Dì-da-nim*.⁴⁸ (2) A rather obscure Sumerian text,⁴⁹ to which attention has been called by A. Falkenstein,⁵⁰ describes

⁴² See above, p. 195; for the same ending in Old Akkadian cf. *MAD* II², p. 156.

⁴³ A 29365:15-19, see above, p. 238.

⁴⁴ *Malku Šarru* I 233, as established by A. Draffkorn Kilmer, "The First Tablet of *malku-šarru* together with its Explicit Version," in *JAOS* 83 (1963) p. 428. For the location of the Aḥlamū in the area of Jebel Bišri and of the Palmyrene in the time of Tiglath-Pileser III see Kupper, *Nomades*, p. 110. Note especially the passage *KAH* II 63 iii 9-10: URU *Ta-ad-mar* šá KUR *A-mur-ri*, and cf. Bauer, "Ueberprüfung," p. 149-52.

⁴⁵ One may note the similarity with Yamḥad (a reading Yamḥad is equally possible), attested in later periods as the name of the Aleppo area; if one accepts the reading Yaḥmadu(m), Yamḥad could be derived from it by way of metathesis.

⁴⁶ Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 33 (c-d), see above, p. 92.

⁴⁷ *MAD* III, p. 294.

⁴⁸ *CCTE*, p. 174, n. 33.

⁴⁹ *TCL* XV 15:ii 12'-13'.

⁵⁰ "'Zu Inannas Gang zur Unterwelt'," in *A/O* 14 (1941-44) p. 129. [Th. Jacobsen has kindly pointed out to me the following duplicates: *CT* XLII 31 (Pl. 41, BM 17308): Obv. 9-10; *STCV* 66 Rev. i 15-16. His translation runs as follows: "(the gods) having removed the vile Didanum

Didanum⁵¹ as an enemy of Lagaš (or Umma?). The name Didanum is often attested outside the Ur III period, not only in cuneiform, but also in Israelite and South-Arabic sources.⁵² It is clear that the term Didanum refers to a tribal group.⁵³ It is not possible to precisely locate its territory, but the frequent occurrence of the name in the west may be taken as an indication that the early Didanum, too, was west of the Euphrates.⁵⁴ The text which links Didanum with Lagaš (or Umma?) is isolated, but cannot be ignored. It could be taken to refer to an inroad of a group of the Didanum tribe(s) into the south-east, following a route similar to the one taken by Yamūt-Bāl in later years.

Two other possible candidates for tribal names may be mentioned here. The first one is found in the name *A-bi-a-mu-ti*, if the interpretation as *'abi Yamūti*, "father (i.e., sheikh) of Yamūtum,"⁵⁵ holds true. There are, however, no clues as to the geographical location of such a tribe of Yamūtum, and a relationship with the later tribe of Yamūt-Bāl is purely conjectural. The other candidate is *Ià-a-mu-tum*, which by some has also been interpreted as Yamūtum and connected with Yamūt-Bāl, whereas I prefer to interpret the name as Yaḥmuṭum, to be identified with *Ia-aḥ-mu-tu(-um)*, attested twice in the Old Babylonian period.⁵⁶ In both Old Babylonian occurrences the term appears side by side with Elam and the Suteans,

from their houses, Umma and SIG-*kur-šà-ga* (i.e. Ishtar's temple in Umma).⁵⁷ So it was Umma, rather than Lagaš, that was plagued by Didanum. — Jacobsen also calls attention to another passage mentioning *Di-da-nu-um*: PBS V 20: Rev. 9' = PBS V 21: Obv. 5.]

⁵¹ *Di-da-nu-um*; Falkenstein, *loc. cit.*, n. 39, remarks that the name is construed as a plural and should therefore be translated as "Leute von Tidanum."

⁵² See especially W. F. Albright, "Dedan," in *Geschichte und Altes Testament: Alt-Festschrift*, Tübingen 1953, pp. 1-12; Kupper, *Dieu Amurru*, p. 68, n. 5. For new evidence see *Malku-Šarru* VIII 122 (= STT II 334) *Ti-id-nu/a-mur'[-ru]*. In PBS XI/2, I:1 26 read: *'Su-mu-di'-id-nu-um*.

⁵³ Cf. A. Falkenstein, review of Kupper, *Nomades*, in ZA 53 (1959) p. 281.

⁵⁴ Cf. Gelb, "Early History," p. 30. It should be noted that one of the peaks of Jebel Bišri is called Jebel Diddi, see the map quoted above, n. 11; the form Diddi may possibly be explained as assimilated from Didni. For Did(a)num see also below, p. 333.

⁵⁵ See above, chapter IV, s.v. *A-bi-a-mu-ti*.

⁵⁶ See above, chapter IV, s.v. *Ià-a-mu-tum*.

and in one of these occurrences the term is followed by the determinative KI.⁵⁷ The Ur III occurrence, on the other hand, reads: *Na-ap-sa-nu-um lú kin-gi-a lā-a-mu-tum*.⁵⁸ Since in Ur III texts the term *lú kin-gi-a*, "envoy," is regularly followed by a personal name (i.e., the name of the person who sends the envoy), *lā-a-mu-tum* can hardly be a geographical name. What would naturally be expected is the name of an Amorite chieftain or sheikh,⁵⁹ but it would not seem impossible to have instead the name of a tribe. Note that in the two Old Babylonian occurrences quoted, *Ia-ah-mu-tu-(um)* is mentioned together with the Suteans, and also that *Ia-ah-mu-tu-(um)*⁶¹ is not preceded by the determinative KUR, whereas both NIM⁶¹ and *Su-tu-um*⁶¹ are: these facts could be easily explained if in all cases Yaḥmuṭum is taken to refer to a tribe. Even if this is so, however, there are no indications as to the possible geographical location of the tribe. The connection with Elamites and Suteans⁶⁰ is of no avail, since these two names point in opposite geographical directions, i.e., the East and the West.⁶¹

4. Western cities

All of the evidence discussed so far links the Amorites with the mountainous area northwest of Sumer. Connections with cities in the river valleys or on the Mediterranean coast are, on the other hand, very limited and precarious.

The only piece of evidence which is relatively clear is the mention, in two parallel texts,⁶² of *Iā-ši-li-im* PA.TE-si *Tu-tu-la*⁶¹. While the qualification MAR.TU does not occur, the name *Iā-ši-li-im* is

⁵⁷ UET V 97:21.

⁵⁸ TCL II 5508.

⁵⁹ Thus in texts from Isin one finds frequent mention of envoys of Šamāmum, see below, p. 326. Šamāmum, in turn, should most likely be considered a sheikh, even though he is never explicitly qualified as such.

⁶⁰ UET V 97:20 mentions Elam and Suteans together. The other text (Ch.-F. Jean, *Tell Sifr*, Paris 1931, 13:14) mentions the Suteans only.

⁶¹ Unless the lack of KUR in front of *Ia-ah-mu-tu-(um)* means that this name has to be closely linked with the preceding one, so that one should read "the country of Sutum and of Yaḥmuṭum." If so, Yaḥmuṭum should be located in the general area of the Suteans.

⁶² *A/O* 19, p. 121; *An.Or.* VII 99. Cf. Gelb, "Early History," p. 35.

certainly Amorite.⁶³ The city of *Ià-ši-li-im*, Tuttul, is certainly to be located in the West, on either the Balikh or the Euphrates.⁶⁴ Another city mentioned in the same context is *Ku-ub-la*⁶⁵ which has been identified with Byblos: ⁶⁵ if so, the texts would be of considerable importance for the study of West Semitic people, but the names of the city's ruler, *Ib-da-ti*, and his envoy, *I-ba-ti*, are not followed by the qualification MAR.TU and cannot easily be interpreted as Amorite,⁶⁶ so that these data do not come into consideration for our problem. Another possible piece of evidence is the name *Ib-la-nu-um*, if the interpretation as "man of Ibla" is correct.⁶⁷ Ibla is a city in the general direction of Mari,⁶⁸ even though its precise location is unknown.

If one considers how frequently individuals mentioned in the Ur III texts are characterized as coming from a certain city, it can hardly be accidental that the reverse is true in the case of the Amorites coming from the North-west. It is in fact very revealing that the only clear Amorite name connected with a Western city, *Ià-ši-li-im*, is not qualified as MAR.TU. The logical assumption would be that, though his name belongs to the same linguistic group as that of the people qualified as MAR.TU, he was actually different from them precisely because he was a city-dweller.⁶⁹ Gelb's observation, that Mari was not at this time an Amorite city,⁷⁰ may have a broader value and apply in general to urban settlements along the river valley. The Amorites were perhaps as foreign to the Orontes valley

⁶³ See above, chapter, s.v. *Ià-ši-li-im*, and, for the use of the term "Amorite" in this connection, see below, p. 361.

⁶⁴ Cf. A Goetze, "Ḫulibar of Duddul," in *JNES* 12 (1953) pp. 121-23; Kupper, *Nomades*, p. 49, n. 1; E. Sollberger, "Byblos sous les rois d'Ur," in *AfO* 19 (1959-60) p. 121. Also note the GN *Til* in the Samaria ostraca, cf. M. Astour, "Bené-Iamina et Jéricho," in *Semitica* 9 (1959) pp. 12-13.

⁶⁵ See especially Sollberger, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁶ Albright, "Abram," p. 45, n. 44, interprets the names as *Ib-dādī*, "The God Ib is my Patron," and *Ib-addī*, "Ib is my father," but no clear evidence can be adduced to support this interpretation of *Ib*.

⁶⁷ See above, chapter IV, s.v. *Ib-la-nu-um*.

⁶⁸ On Ibla see recently M. Liverani, in P. Matthiae et al., *Missione archeologica italiana in Siria, Rapporto preliminare della campagna 1964*, Roma 1965, p. 121 with nn. 49-51.

⁶⁹ See also below, pp. 331; 361.

⁷⁰ See above, n. 23.

and the upper Euphrates with its tributaries as they were to the lower Euphrates and Tigris. In this case the same process of sedentarization as the one reflected by the archives of the Sumerian cities⁷¹ should be assumed to have taken place in the cities of the North-west. This reconstruction is hypothetical and is based on Mesopotamian data. The new excavations now being undertaken in Northern Syria will undoubtedly contribute a more direct documentation and will vastly improve our knowledge of the area. This is true especially of the Italian excavations at Tell Mardikh,⁷² which have brought to light important remains belonging to the general period with which we are concerned. The ethnic affiliation of the inhabitants of Tell Mardikh cannot as yet be determined with certainty. On the basis of circumstantial evidence, one of the authors of the first preliminary report, Mario Liverani, has suggested that they may be considered Amorites.⁷³ This reconstruction, which undoubtedly deserves serious consideration, seems on this point to be at variance with the Mesopotamian evidence which we have just considered, especially with the fact that in the Sumerian texts the Amorites are never connected with Western cities in contrast to the other people of the West who usually are.⁷⁴ However, a full comparison and harmonization of the data will have to wait until more complete results of the excavations are available and a thorough investigation of the archaeological material has been made.

2. CONNECTIONS WITH THE EAST AND THE SOUTH

1. *The East*

An isolated variant of the year name Š 47 links the city of Kimaš with the Amorites.⁷⁵ The reading MAR.TU in this particular

⁷¹ See below, pp. 355-60.

⁷² P. Matthiae *et al.*, *Missione archeologica*, quoted.

⁷³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 122-24.

⁷⁴ This observation is in harmony with those literary texts which say that the Amorites did not know city-life, see below, p. 330; cf. also p. 361. Cf. G. Garbini, "Sulle origini della lingua araba," in *A Francesco Gabrieli*, Roma 1964, p. 134.

⁷⁵ See above, pp. 94-95.

context is exceptional, and an emendation may well be in place,⁷⁶ but it cannot be ruled out as impossible in principle if we consider it in line with other pieces of evidence. Kimaš is located in the region of Arrapkha and Nuzi,⁷⁷ near cities like Simurru and Šimānum, often mentioned in Ur III texts. As shown in tabular form in the next chapter,⁷⁸ Nablānum and other Amorites are mentioned more than once in the same context as these cities, and an indirect connection is possible even though no explicit statement is found in the sources.⁷⁹ Possibly a direct connection of the Amorites with the East is to be found in a text from Drehem, in which the expression "from Dēr" is found immediately after an entry containing the name of Nablānum,⁸⁰ and also in a text from Ur which speaks of the Amorites of Sakkul-mada, to be identified with the Ebiḥ mountain, i.e., the Jebel Hamrīn east of the Tigris.⁸¹

Another possible connection of the Amorites with the East has been suggested by A. Falkenstein.⁸² A Sumerian hymn says that "the pure mountain, the mountain of lapis lazuli" has been given to the god Amurru. This has been interpreted by Falkenstein in the sense that the Amorites (of whom the god Amurru is here the personification) controlled the caravan routes leading from Afghanistan, the center of the lapis lazuli commerce, toward the west. It seems more likely, however, to follow an alternative solution proposed by Falkenstein himself, and developed by Kupper,⁸³ according to which the text may simply be read as: "the holy mountain, the

⁷⁶ See *ibid.*

⁷⁷ A Goetze, "Ḫulibar of Duddul," in *JNES* 12 (1953) pp. 118-19; in *SET*, p. 298, there is a map based on Goetze's article.

⁷⁸ See chart D below, pp. 303-05.

⁷⁹ A similar argument is used above, p. 238, to link the Amorites with the West.

⁸⁰ *BADki-ta*, *SET* 104. See also *UET* III 1136 which speaks of "Amorites coming from Dēr." For *BADki* as Dēr see Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 74.

⁸¹ *MAR.TU Sak-kul-ma-da-ka*, *UET* III 1685. For the localization see E. Reiner, "Mālamir," in *RA* 57 (1963) p. 173.

⁸² A Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*, Zürich 1953, p. 362.

⁸³ Kupper, *Dieu Amurru*, pp. 73-74. Kupper had previously accepted the hypothesis connecting *kur na, za-gin* with Afghanistan, see *Nomades*, p. 164.

luminous mountain " (*kur*<<*na₄*>>*za-gin*), a reference to the north-Syrian steppe with which the god Amurru is otherwise regularly connected.⁸⁴

Finally, two possible connections with the East are suggested by the analysis of personal names. One is *Mar-da-ba-nu-um*, which may perhaps be connected with the city *Mar-da-ma-an*⁸⁵, also in the East.⁸⁵ The other is *Qá-ad-ma-nu-um*, if the interpretation "Easterner"⁸⁶ is correct; note in this respect that the very fact such a name could be distinctive for an Amorite would imply that only few Amorites, if any, were in fact coming to Mesopotamia from the East.

2. Dilmun

The only place south of Mesopotamia with which the Amorites seem to be connected is the island of Dilmun, in the Persian Gulf. The evidence in this respect is quite elusive, and it is difficult to see how to combine whatever else we know about the Amorites with the possibility of their coming from an island. Whether or not this strand of evidence may be taken as an indication that the Amorites were ultimately coming from the Arabian peninsula,⁸⁷ is difficult to determine, mainly because the only explicit data found in our sources point quite clearly in the direction of the North-west. Dilmun is mentioned in connection with the Amorites in two texts from Drehem dated from two successive days of the same month and the same year: both texts record the expenditure of sheep "for Amorites (and) diviners coming (?) from Dilmun" (*MAR.TU maš-maš NI.TUK-ta e-ra-ne*).⁸⁸ The qualification "from Dilmun" could refer, strictly speaking, to the diviners only and not to the

⁸⁴ Cf. Kupper, *Dieu Amurru*, pp. 54, 61-68.

⁸⁵ See above, chapter IV, s.v. *Mar-da-ba-nu-um*, and Gelb, *Hurrians*, p. 113; *CCTE* B 2, n. b; A Goetze, "Hulibar of Duddul," in *JNES* 12 (1953), n. 55.

⁸⁶ See above, chapter IV, s.v. *Qá-ad-ma-nu-um*.

⁸⁷ As suggested by B. Landsberger, "Königsliste," p. 56, n. 103; "Amorites," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, I (1965) p. 809.

⁸⁸ *CST* 254; *TRU* 305 (this text omits *ta*). For the omission of *KI* after *NI.TUK*, cf. *ŠL* 231, 219. The expression *MAR.TU maš-maš* should be understood as an asyndeton, "Amorites (and) diviners"; "Amorite diviners"

Amorites, but in any case it is clear that there is some connection between the two; note also that an unnamed "man of Dilmun" (*lú* NI.TUK⁸¹) is mentioned after Nablānum in another text of Drehem.⁸⁹ The two texts with reference to diviners are dated in the second year of Amar-Sîn, i.e., in the early part of the period under consideration in this book; from the last year of the same period, namely the second year of Šu-ilīšu, there is a text from Isin which records the manufacturing of leather objects "for Dilmun and the Amorites" (*nig-šu-tag-ra* NI.TUK⁸¹ ù MAR.TU-ne).⁹⁰ Here again it is not stated that the Amorites come from Dilmun, but some relation between the two is nevertheless undeniable. It may be worth mentioning in this connection that a text of unusual type from Drehem records a certain amount of fresh fish brought in by the "interpreter of the Amorites."⁹¹ The connection of Amorites with fish is puzzling, but not unique, for it is also found in a literary text which says that "the Amorites used to bring fish from far away."⁹² Since it is unlikely that the Amorites coming from the North-west (or from the North-east, for that matter) should have been known for fishing, one may tentatively link this evidence with the texts concerning Dilmun.⁹³

3. CONCLUSIONS

The evidence available indicates that in the Ur III period the Amorites were present, outside Babylonia, in northern Syria and possibly in eastern Mesopotamia and to the south in the area of

would be *maš-maš* MAR.TU; for *maš-maš* as name of profession in Sargonic and Ur III texts cf. I. J. Gelb, *Old Akkadian Inscription in Chicago Natural History Museum*, Chicago 1955, 2:6; 25:1; HSS X 222:vi 5; TMH V 164:3; SET 130:328.337. For *e-ra-ne* cf. *ir-ra-ne* in TRU 334:5, where *ir* stands for *alāku* (cf. CAD I [A], p. 300; this interpretation of *e-ra-ne* has been suggested to me by B. Landsberger).

⁸⁹ UDT 92:29.

⁹⁰ BIN IX 405.

⁹¹ TD 81.

⁹² See above, p. 90.

⁹³ The text of a year name (UET I 206) says that the Amorites are like "the power of the southern wind" (MAR.TU á-IM-GIŠGAL, cf. Edzard,

the Persian Gulf. There can be little doubt, however, that their original homeland was in northern Syria. Both the West Semitic character of the names and the localization of *kur* MAR.TU in that area are strong arguments in favor of such a reconstruction. The sub-arid zone enclosed by the Orontes and the Euphrates provides the natural habitat for the type of semi-nomadic life which was most likely proper to the Amorites.⁹⁴ It was easy for them to cross over from there to the northern basin of the Tigris, a movement paralleled in later periods; it may also be noted that in so doing they were advancing along a corridor, as it were, edged on the two sides by the same isohyetal curves as those delimiting the Amorite plateau.⁹⁵

While the general connection with the West is by no means new,⁹⁶ some of the evidence just considered compels us to introduce a change in the commonly accepted reconstruction of the events. Ever since Landsberger⁹⁷ and Bauer⁹⁸ called attention to the evidence which locates some of the Amorites in the East, there has been a tendency to assume that the Amorites had turned southward to Babylonia *only after* they had settled east of the Tigris. Thus Edzard writes: "Es scheint ohne weiters möglich anzunehmen, ein Beduinenstamm, die MAR.TU oder ein Teil von ihnen, hätte eine Zeitlang am *ġebel bišrī* gegessen und sei dann durch 'Mesopotamia' hindurch in das Gebiet östlich des Tigris gelangt, *von wo* aus er nach Babylonien eingesickert sei, teils auf dem friedlichen Wege des Weidewechsel, teils in gewaltsamen Razzien."⁹⁹ And more recently von Soden states a similar point of view: "Vielleicht schon während der Herrschaft der Gutäer waren aus der Syrischen Wüste semitische Nomaden auf den üblichen Wegen in das nördliche Osttigrisland gelangt und hatten *von dort* aus Babylonien unter-

Zwischenzeit, p. 33 with n. 138): this expression, however, may have little to do with geographical provenience.

⁹⁴ See below, pp. 330; 332-36.

⁹⁵ See above, p. 239.

⁹⁶ See above, n. 2.

⁹⁷ "Völker."

⁹⁸ *Ostkanaanäer*, esp. pp. 84-85.

⁹⁹ Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 36 (*italics mine*).

wandert. ”¹⁰⁰ To my mind it is unfounded to assume that this was the only, and perhaps even the main, process of infiltration into Babylonia. At least some Amorites followed the Euphrates route.¹⁰¹ The texts discussed above in section 1/2 of this chapter (*kur* MAR. TU) show that the Drehem complex was in *direct* contact with Amorites of the Jebel Bišri area. The direct route along the Euphrates, with no need for a detour across the banks of the Tigris, had therefore become familiar to the Amorites. Among these, Nablānum occurs often. If he was the same man as the founder of the kingdom of Larsa,¹⁰² we would have an important link between an Amorite political success in Babylonia (the founding of an independent kingdom) and the Amorites of the Jebel Bišri area. The same route was followed by Išbi-Irra, the “man of Mari ”¹⁰³ who founded the independent kingdom of Isin, though he may not have been of Amorite descent and Mari was not yet an Amorite city.

¹⁰⁰ W. von Soden, “Sumer, Babylon, und Hethiter bis zur Mitte des zweiten Jahrtausend v. Chr.,” in G. Mann and A. Heuss (eds.), *Propyläen Weltgeschichte*, vol. I, Berlin 1961, p. 568 (italics in text are mine); see also Kupper, *Nomades*, pp. 196; 242.

¹⁰¹ Thus for instance L. Legrain in *TRU*, pp. 11-12: “En remontant le cours de l’Euphrate nous sommes bien sur la route des invasions. C’est par là que sont venus ces nombreux Martu...” See now A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Chicago 1964, pp. 54, 57, 59.

¹⁰² Which however is not certain, see below, pp. 318-21.

¹⁰³ Cf. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, pp. 59-60.

CHAPTER VIII

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE SUMERIAN CITIES

1. SYNOPSIS ACCORDING TO DATE AND PROVENIENCE

A study of the geographical distribution of the Amorites within the Sumerian cities reveals some interesting patterns. Amorites are attested in all areas from which we have texts of the Ur III period, but by far the greatest concentration is to be found in Drehem, Isin, and Lagaš. In turn, the documentation pertaining to those cities shows considerable differences: on the one hand, all texts from Drehem and Isin are dated, while few texts from Lagaš are; on the other hand, most of the MAR.TU names attested in Drehem and Isin are West Semitic, whereas in Lagaš almost all names are Mesopotamian, i.e., Sumerian and Akkadian. These differences are shown clearly in the following list, where all names are tabulated according to date (where available) and provenience. Normal print is used for names which are either Sumerian or Akkadian, italics are used for names which are either Akkadian/Amorite or Amorite, capital letters are used for names for which no interpretation can be given. The cities are listed from top to bottom in an order corresponding to the geographical order from North to South. In each column the numbers on the left refer to the month (Roman numerals) and the day (Arabic numerals).

Chronology presents a few special problems, namely: (1) the number of Šulgi's years is under discussion; (2) the sequence of Ibī-Sin's years is not established; (3) a few years are missing from the beginning of Išbi-Irra's year list. Since chronological exactness is of no great importance in the present context, the following

solutions appear to be sufficiently satisfactory: (1) for Šulgi's reign I followed Kraus¹ who has shown that the number of regnal years as attested in the year lists in 39; adding 4 years at the beginning and 5 at the end, we reach a total of 48 regnal years (however, Ungnad's numeration² with a total of 49 years is still followed here); (2) I have arbitrarily taken Legrain's reconstruction of Ibbi-Sîn's years³ as representing a chronological sequence, and (3) I have assumed that the years missing at the beginning of Išbi-Irra's reign are two.⁴ In order to facilitate the use of the chart, I have added to each regnal years the corresponding years taken from the so-called Middle Chronology.⁵ The concentration of part of the material in certain periods (e.g., the Drehem material in the central years of the Ur III period) does not have any special meaning, because the increase of material pertaining to the Amorites is paralleled by a proportional increase of the entire material from the same place and period.

The data here presented lend themselves to important observations concerning the process of sedentarization, observations which will be developed in the following chapters. To anticipate some conclusions, most of the Amorites attested at Drehem and Isin are foreigners in the full sense of the word, and this is why they retain Amorite names. The Amorites of Lagaš, on the other hand, are settled in the area and have lost some of their distinctive features;

¹ F. R. Kraus, "Zur Chronologie der Könige Ur-Nammu und Šulgi von Ur," in *Or. NS* 20 (1951) pp. 385-98; and see E. Sollberger, "Sur la chronologie des rois d'Ur et quelques problèmes connexes," in *AfO* 17 (1954-56) pp. 10-48.

² In *RLA* II, pp. 140-43, s.v. "Datenlisten."

³ In *UET* III, pp. 277-78. See the criticism and corrections by A. Falkenstein, review of *CCTE* and *UET* III, in *JAOS* 72 (1952) p. 42, n. 16; Th. Jacobsen, "The Reign of Ibbi-Suen," in *JCS* 7 (1953) pp. 36-47; E. Sollberger, "Sur la chronologie des rois d'Ur et quelques problèmes connexes," in *AfO* 17 (1954-56) pp. 38-45.

⁴ Cf. T. Baqir, "A Date-List of Ishbi-Irra," in *Sumer* 4 (1948) pp. 103-13; V. E. Crawford, in *BIN* IX (1954) pp. 6-24; S. N. Kramer, review of *BIN* IX in *JAOS* 75 (1965) pp. 128-30; Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, pp. 24-25.

⁵ Cf. recently M. B. Rowton, *Chronology: Western Asia*, in *CAH*, vol. I², ch. VI, Cambridge 1962, pp. 38-39; 48-49; M. Liverani, *Introduzione alla storia dell'Asia Anteriore Antica*, Roma 1963, charts I and II; J. A. Brinkman in A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Chicago 1964, p. 336.

they can hardly be called nomads any longer, but have assimilated the sedentary customs as well as the language of the Sumerians. In Umma a situation similar to that in Lagaš prevails, while in Ur there are more Amorite names, as in Drehem and Isin.

The total^{5a} of the names attested in each city and the respective percentages are as follows:

Totals	Sum.	Akk.	A/A	Am.	Unkn.	Total
Ešnunna	—	—	—	—	1	1
Nippur	—	—	—	1	—	1
Drehem	7	18	11	73	14	123
Isin	1	8	8	44	14	75
Umma	8	4	—	3	3	18
Lagaš	56	8	3	8	14	89
Larsa	—	—	—	2	—	2
Ur	4	2	—	9	—	15

Percentages

Drehem	5.7	14.6	8.9	59.4	11.4
Isin	1.3	10.7	10.7	58.7	18.6
Umma	44.4	22.2	—	16.7	16.7
Lagaš	62.9	9.0	3.4	9.0	15.7
Ur	26.7	13.3	—	60.0	—

^{5a} The grand total (324 names) is different from the one given above on p. 100 (309 names) because in some cases the same name occurs in more than one site.

Year	§ 29 (=2067 B.C.)	§ 31 (=2065)	§ 33 (= 2063)	§ 34 (=2062)	§ 35 (= 2061)	§ 36 (= 2060)
Ešnunna		MA.AN.MA.Ú (TA 1931-32, 334)				
Nippur			MAR.TU (2 N-T 601)			
Drehem						XII gemé UN.II MAR.TU-ne (Dok. 481)
Lagaš	Ur-ba-gár (ITT IV 7673)			Ama-lugal- uru-da (ITT IV 7318; 7523)	Ur-dNun-gal (ITT IV 7838)	

	§ 37 (= 2059)	§ 38 (= 2058)	§ 42 (= 2054)	§ 43 (2053)	§ 44 (= 2052)
Drehem	XI 10 <i>I-za-núm</i> (<i>TCL</i> II 5503)			VIII I <i>Na-ab-la-nu-um</i> (<i>CST</i> 88)	I 4 <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> (A 2882) IV 15 <i>La-e-ri-ḥu-um</i> (<i>TJA</i> IES 121) VI 10 MA.TI.NA.AD (<i>CST</i> 117) VI 25 Á-bi-lum dumu Ik-šu-tum (A 2947) VIII A-ù-da-il <i>Ḥa-aš-ma-nu-um</i> (A 4648)
Lagaš		IV MAR.TU en- gar (<i>CT</i> I 2-3)			Ša-bi ḤU.LA.LI GU.Ú.DA <i>Zu?-ba-la-tum</i> (<i>CT</i> X 16)
Ur			XII * <i>l-za-núm</i> (<i>UET</i> III 1019)		

	§ 45 (= 2051)	§ 46 (= 2050)	§ 47 (= 2049)	
Drehem	<p>I 25 <i>Mu-da-nu-um</i> (PDTI 433)</p> <p>III 12 <i>dÉ-il</i> <i>Ħu-um-ra-nu-um</i> <i>I-la-ab-ti-il</i> <i>DINGIR-la-il</i> <i>En-gi-mu-um</i> <i>Na-du-be-lí</i> (SO 9/1, 21)</p> <p>V 25 eme-bal MAR.TU (TD 81)</p> <p>VIII <i>En-gi-mu-um</i> (TRU 29)</p> <p>X 2 MAR.TU-ne (CST 185)</p>	<p>VII 3 <i>Mar-da-ba-nu-um</i> (A 2905)</p> <p>XI 2 <i>Aḥ-ba-bu</i> (IM 46306)</p> <p>XI <i>Na-ab-la-núm!</i> (CCTE Bab 17)</p> <p>XII 6 [<i>Na</i>]-<i>ab-la-nu-um</i> <i>Mi-da-nu-um</i> [<i>M</i>]-<i>a-ḥ-ra-nu-um</i> (A 5994)</p>	<p>I 2 <i>Ma-ni-um</i> (A 2996)</p> <p>II MAR.TU (plur.) (PDTI 328)</p> <p>III <i>La-a-ba</i> MAR.TU (AO 11733)</p> <p>IV 18 <i>Ū-ga</i> (A 5546)</p> <p>V 17 <i>A-aw-te-il</i> (PDTI 28)</p> <p>VI 3 L.A.A.A <i>Na-ḥa-nu-um</i> <i>Ri-ma-nu-um</i> <i>A-wi-la-nu-um</i> <i>Ū-ma-il</i> <i>Qi-id-ma-nu-um</i> (HUCA 29, p. 109)</p> <p>VII 15 <i>Mi-da-nu-um</i> (RA 9, p. 58, SA 25)</p>	<p>VII 16 <i>Na-ab-la-nu-um</i> (TRU 266)</p> <p>VIII 5 <i>A-bi-a-mu-ti</i> <i>Ša-at-dŠul-gi</i> <i>Lú-é-a</i> <i>Ū-ga</i> <i>é-gi-a</i> <i>Mu-ra-nu-um</i> (TRU 267)</p> <p>XII <i>A-bi-WA-dar</i> (TCS 327)</p> <p>XII nam-ra-ag kur MAR.TU (SRD 9)</p> <p>?<i>Na-ab-<la>-nu-um</i> <i>Gu-ba-ru-um</i> (III. 265)</p>
Umma		<p>I uku-uš MAR.TU (CCTE W 29)</p>		
Lagaš	<p>XI MAR.TU-ne (RTC 305)</p>	<p>X MAR.TU (BM 15363)</p>	<p>XII uku-uš MAR.TU (HLC I 305) MAR.TU (HLC III 250) uku-uš MAR.TU (BM 17815)</p>	

	§ 48 (= 2048)	§ 49 (= 2047)	AS 1 (= 2046)	AS 2 (= 2045)
Drehem	IV 20 dam dŠul-gi-i-lí (A 5065) V 4 ŠU.BA.BA (PDTI 41) V 14 Lú-kal-la STD 22 V nam-ra-ag kur MAR.TU (A 5254) VII 19 nam-ra-ag kur MAR.TU (A 5169) VII 30 Ku-na-ma-tum (Dok. 450) VIII 11 Ku-na-ma-tum (A 5777) VIII 18 Kir-ba-núm (TAD 38) IX 3 La-šu-il (Unpub. A) XI 21 *I-la-ša-ma-ar dŠul-gi-na-piš-ti (A 2964) XI 20 E-la-nu-um Ma-ga-nu-um (TRU 295)	VI 15 Nu-da-tum (Owen) XI 21 Na-ab-la-nu-um Nu-uk-ra-nu-um (MLC 100) XII 14 Lugal-é-[maḥ- e] (PDTI 508)	VIII A.RI.ZA.NU.UM (MCS 7, p. 25) VIII 10 A-ba-nu-um (TAD 17)	III 30 Al-la (PDTI 171) VI 3 MAR.TU maš- maš (CST 254) VI 4 MAR.TU maš- maš (TRU 305) VI 16 MAR.TU-e-ne (Or. 47, 15) VIII dUtu-sig ₃ (An.OR. VII 98) VIII Dú-ul-ga-núm MAR.TU Ià-a-ma-ti (JCS 7, p. 105) IX 24 dŠul-gi-i-lí (Or. 47, 21) XI 30 Da-na-bi-it HU.UN.HU.UB.ŠE Lú-é-a Ma-li-a A-na-na Lú-ri-e-ú (YBC 3635) MAR.TU engar (BM 12935)
Umma	II uku-uš MAR.TU (Or. 18, 24)			
Lagaš		V MAR.TU Lú-dNin-Šubur dumu-ni (TUT 152)	MAR.TU (plur.) (STA 27) AS [] V Lú-dBa-ú (TUT 159)	

	AS 3 (= 2044)	AS 4 (= 2043)	AS 5 (= 2042)	AS 6 (= 2041)
Drehem	<p>I 15 MAR.TU (plur.) (TRU 325)</p> <p>II 15 <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> (STA 31)</p> <p>X 5 <i>Na-ab-la-nu-um</i> (TRU 320)</p> <p>I-XIII Lú-dingir (CST 263)</p>	<p>I 3 nam-ra-ag kur MAR.TU (PDTI 32)</p> <p>I 5 <i>Na-ab-la-nu-um</i> (SET 61)</p> <p>I 6 <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> <i>Ià-an-bu-li šeš-a-ni</i> <i>A-bi-iš-ki-in dumu-ni</i> <i>dam Ià-an-bi-i-lum</i> <i>Na-ap-ša-nu-um lú</i> <i>kin-gi-a Ià-a-mu-tum</i> <i>dŠul-gi-a-bí</i> <i>Ħu-un-dŠul-gi</i> (TCL II 5508)</p> <p>I 8 <i>Nu-uk-ra-nu-um</i> (Ill. 133)</p> <p>V 4 <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> <i>*Ia!-ši!-lil-im!</i> (An.Or. VII 99)</p> <p>V 9 <i>*Ià-ši-li-im</i> (AfO 19, p. 120)</p> <p>IX 19 <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> (UDT 97)</p>	<p>I <i>Na-ab-la-nú[m]</i> (TD 27)</p> <p>II 23 <i>Gul-ba-nu-um</i> (CST 304)</p> <p>IV 20 <i>I-na-ba-nu-um</i> (A 2868)</p> <p>V 25 <i>E-ri-ĥi-DINGIR</i> <i>Iš-me-DINGIR</i> <i>A-ku-um</i> (TCS 326)</p> <p>VII 6 <i>Qá-ad-ma-nu-um</i> <i>Ā.NI.Ā</i> <i>Aĥ-bu-te-um</i> <i>Ša-at-dEN.ZU</i> <i>dam Ià-li-e</i> (A 5158)</p> <p>XII <i>Šu-mi-in-ni</i> <i>a-ba ù MAR.TU</i> (Nebr.)</p>	<p>X 10 <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> (SET 63)</p>
Lagaš	<p>Nigin-gar-ki-dùg (NSGU 195)</p> <p>Ur-dBa-ú (NSGU 63)</p>	<p>Lú-dBa-ú Lugal-ša-kud (CTC 54)</p>	<p>Kud-da *Ur-ba-gár *Sipa-KA-gi-na Ur-dLama (NSGU 33)</p>	<p>DA.GI [U]r-dŠul-gi-ra (after AS 4) (NSGU 52)</p>

	AS 8 (= 2039)	AS 9 (= 2038)	ŠS 1 (= 2037)	ŠS 2 (= 2036)	ŠS 3 (= 2035)
Drehem	IV 4 <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> (PDTI 344) VII 2 <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> <i>At-ga-nu-um</i> lú kin-gi-a <i>A-ú-</i> <i>DINGIR</i> (PDTI 548) VIII 29 <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> (A 3311) X 17 <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> MAR.TU-me (TCL II 5500) X <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> (SET 104) XII 19 <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> (UDT 92)	II 24 <i>dŠul-gi-i-li</i> (Or. 47, 21) II 26 <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> (PDTI 579) II 26 <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> (SET 66) VI 6 ŠU[] TI-[] <i>I-bi-la-i-lum</i> <i>l-lum-a-bu-um</i> (PDTI 561) VI 17 MAR.TU- e-ne (UDT 106)	VI 24 <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> <i>l-li-a-ḫu</i> <i>A-ḫi-a</i> <i>E-a-ḫu-um</i> <i>l-a-ma-tu</i> <i>E-šu-nu-um</i> <i>La-ḫi-a-nu-um</i> <i>Mu-gi-ra-nu-um</i> <i>Ap-lu-zi-nu-um</i> (New. 1978) XII 14 <i>Ku-um-da-nu-um</i> <i>Ta-ba-tum</i> <i>Mi-il-ga-nu-um</i> <i>Ba-da-nu-um</i> <i>Ša-ba-ar-kum</i> <i>Na-ap-sa-nu-um</i> <i>La-da-bu-um</i> (PDTI 335)		I <i>Ma-ni-il</i> (CCTE I 1) IV kur MAR.TU (Or. 47, 38)
Umma	? <i>dŠul-gi-i-li</i> (BIN V 119)			III 10 MAR.TU-ne (Or. 18,26) III 8 MA.AR.TU- ne (Or. 18,27)	
Lagaš	XII 10 + x 9 SAL MAR.TU (ITT II 962)				
Ur	I * <i>A-du-ni-la</i> (UET III 787)	? <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> (MAH 16253)			

	ŠS 4 (= 2034) (bàd MAR.TU in year name)	ŠS 5 (= 2033)	ŠS 6 (= 2032)	
Drehem	VIII 2 Muš-da-nu-um (A 4218)	XII <i>Dan- DINGIR</i> (YOS IV 254)	VI I <i>A-bu-um-DINGIR</i> <i>Ia-gu-na-an</i> <i>Yi-ba-la-tum</i> <i>Ku-da-da-nu-um</i> <i>Bu-na-a-nu-um</i> <i>La-da-bu-um</i> MU.E.UM <i>Da-ra-um</i> (MLC 80) VIII 14 <i>I-bi-iq-ri-e-ú</i> MAR.TU <i>Ià-a-ma-ti-um</i> (A 29365)	? 8 ŠU.AB.BA <i>I-bi-iq-ri-e-ú</i> MAR.TU <i>Ià-a-ma-ti-um</i> (JCS 7, pp. 105- 107) ? 20 ŠU.AB.BA <i>I-bi-iq-ri-e-ú</i> MAR.TU <i>Ià-a-ma-ti-[um]</i> (A 2790)
Umma	MAR.TU (plur.) (UCP IX/2,121) V <i>A-mu-ru-um</i> (MAH 16404) 28 Lú MAR.TU (SET 221)			
Lagaš	? MA[R].TU (NSGU 89) ? <i>Ba-ta-núm</i> *Šul-gi-da (ITT II/2,3470; 3470a)	Kud-da *Ur-ba-gár *Sipa-KA-gi na Ur-dLama (NSGU 34)		

	ŠS 9 (= 2029)	IS 1 (= 2028)	IS 2 (= 2027)	IS 3 (= 2026)	IS 4 (= 2025)
Nippur	[] * <i>A-du-ra-mu</i> (<i>TMH</i> NF I/II 132)				
Drehem		II 15 SA.MI. TUM (<i>PDTI</i> 621)	IX 20 * <i>ĭ-li-ba-bu-um</i> dumu <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> (Unpubl. B)		
Lagaš				MAR.TU (<i>RTC</i> 399)	
Ur			<i>Na-ab-la-nu-u[m]</i> (<i>YOS</i> I 32:1)		VIII <i>Ià-ma-am-ú</i> <i>Ià-a-nu-zu-um</i> <i>Lú-a-nu-um</i> <i>Ú-za-DU</i> <i>Ià-a-um</i> (<i>UET</i> III 1678) VIII MAR.TU (plur.) (<i>UET</i> III 1685) IX MAR.TU-ne (<i>UET</i> III 1206)

	IS 5 (= 2024)	IS 10 (= 2019)	IS 11 (= 2018)	IS 15/II 4 (= 2014)	IS 16/II 5 (= 2013)
Isin					XII MAR.TU (plur.) (<i>BIN</i> IX 269)
Ur	III *l-za-núm (<i>UET</i> III 884)	III dŠEŠ.KI-i-zi Lú-dNin-šubur ARAD-dŠEŠ.KI Ma-da-am-en- nam Lú-bal-ša-ga (<i>UET</i> III 1052) VI *l-za-núm ŠIM (<i>UET</i> III 1005)	VIII E-bi-da-nu-um I-a-um (<i>UET</i> III 566)	MAR.TU (plur.) (<i>UET</i> III 262)	

	IS 18/II 7 (= 2011)	IS 19/II 8 (= 2010)	IS 20/II 9 (= 2009)	
Isin	<p>I MAR.TU (plur.) (BIN IX 317)</p> <p>V 10 *[Mi]-el-ki-li-il (BIN IX 256)</p> <p>? Ú.SI.I [I-b]i-š-i-il I-la-nu-um Me-te-um MA.AM.NU.UM E-nu-zu-um (?) WA-ta-ar-<a>hu-um Lu-bu-DINGIR Lu-ra-bí ME [] MU [] Na-ap-ša-nu-um Ma-ra-šum Bu-ga-nu-um Pu-me-il Mi-il-ki-li-il I-li-mi-ti Nu-ḫi-DINGIR (BIN IX 408)</p>	<p>VI 10 *Sa-ma-mu-um (BIN IX 276)</p> <p>VII 12 MAR.TU-ne (BIN IX 240)</p> <p>XI 12 Še-ep-ra? nu-um lú kin-gi₄-a U.SI.I (BIN IX 324)</p> <p>XII 1 Ši-ip-ra? nu-um Šu-ul-ma-nu-um Kir_x(GIR)-ma-nu-um lú kin-gi₄-a U.S[I.I] MAR.TU-me (BIN IX 325)</p>	<p>II MAR.TU (plur.) (BIN IX 152)</p> <p>III 4 *Sa-ma-mu-um *Pi-a-núm šeš-a-ni (MCS 5, p. 116)</p> <p>IV 21 lú kin-gi₄-a *U.SI.I dumu *Ša-ma-[mu]- um ù dumu *Ša-pi- ru-um-ma (BIN IX 326)</p> <p>IV 24 MAR.TU (plur.) (BIN IX 283)</p> <p>VII I-túr-[pi₅]- DINGIR Mi[-il-ki-li-i]l I-la-nu-um LA.MU.MA.NU. UM Me-pi-um LA.Ú.SUM Ab-te-il Ú.ŠA.SUM Iq-ba-nu-um Ma-si-id-a-nu-um Ša-ma-mu-um dam Ša-ma-mu-um Ma-na-nu-um</p>	<p>I-da-pi₅(NE)- DINGIR DU.SI.MU.UM Ša-ab-ra-nu-um Ib-la-nu-um Hu-ni-na-nu-um Da-dum-pi₅- DINGIR A-ḫi-da-nu-um Lú-dMAR.TU E-mi-zum (?) DA-I-_x[-_x]._x I-na-nu-um I-la-bi-ni A-za-zum Ma-ra-šum Bu-ga-nu-um Na-ap-ša nu-um [x]-MA.NU.UM [Me?]-qi-bu-um [B]u-ú-lu-um E-ti-um Lu-bu-e-el A-_{ga}-_l-ad-e-el A-da-tum (BIN IX 316)</p> <p>X I-da-nu-um (BIN IX 186)</p>
Ur			XII 25 nam-ra-aš-ag (UET III 1244)	MAR.TU

	IS 22/II 11 (= 2007)	IS 23/II 12 (= 2006)	IS 24/II 13 (= 2005) (MAR.TU in year n.)	II 14 (= 2004)	II 15 (= 2003)
Isin	III 21 <i>I-la-nu-um</i> (BIN IX 225)	VI 26 * <i>Ma-aḥ-da-nu-um</i> (BIN IX 288)	IX 21 <i>Ša-ṣma-ḫbu-um</i> (BIN IX 410) ? <i>I-ri-ib</i> (BIN IX 430)	II 18 * <i>I-dí-DINGIR</i> * <i>Ša-ma-mu-um</i> * <i>In-ti-nu-um</i> dam <i>Ša-ma-mu-um</i> (BIN IX 406)	VII 22 <i>Sa-ma-mu-um</i> <i>Kā-mi-sum</i> <i>Bu-ga-⟨nu⟩-um</i> MAR.TU <i>ŠA</i> Ú TUM BI (BIN IX 383) XII 20 + [×] <i>lú</i> <i>kin-gi-a</i> <i>lugal</i> <i>hur-sag ki</i> <i>Ša-ma-mu-um</i> MAR.TU- <i>še</i> <i>gin-na-me</i> (BIN IX 390)
Larsa			? <i>E-mi-zum</i> (YOS I 32)		

	II 16 (= 2002)	II 17 (= 2001)	II 18 (=2000)	II 19 (= 1999)	II 20 (= 1998)
Isin	XI MAR.TU-ne (BIN IX 314)	IV 6 I-ku-mi-šar (BIN IX 363)	IV 2 *E-mi-zu- zum (BIN IX 217)	III [lú kin-g]i ₄ -a Ša-[ma]-mu- um (BIN IX 425) III 25 Iq-ri-ba- nu-um (BIN IX 433) ? Ri-i-bu-um (BIN IX 266)	X MAR.TU (plur.) (BIN IX 271) X MAR.TU (plur.) (MCS 5, p. 120) XII 14 MAR.TU (plur.) (BIN IX 301)

	II 21 (= 1997)	II D	II E	ŠI 1 (= 1984)
Isin	II 9 <i>Ma-na-um</i> GA.Ú.SUM (BIN IX 409) III 23 Ú.DA.MA (BIN IX 414) III * <i>Kà-al-ba-il</i> (BIN IX 407) IV * <i>Ia₈-at-ra-il</i> * <i>Ša-pi-ru-um</i> (BIN IX 411)	I 6 MAR.TU-ne (BIN IX 277) I 24 BIR ₅ .BÍ.RU. MA ra-bi-a-nu- um-ma ù I-dí-DINGIR (BIN IX 199) XI 15 * <i>Sa-ma-mu-um</i> * <i>In-ti-nu-um</i> *ŠU.NE.BÍ.RA. AD * <i>Da-mi-ru-um</i> * <i>Na-ra-mu-um</i> * <i>Ia₈-at-ra-il</i> *Bi[]a-bi ù šeš-a-ni dumu <i>Ma-na-um-me</i> (BIN IX 224) XI 24 MAR.TU- e-ne (BIN IX 226) XIII 30 BIR ₅ .BÍ. RU.UM (BIN IX 392)	V 28 MAR.TU-ne (BIN IX 400) VIII 15 Ú.SI.I lú kin-gi ₄ -a Ú.SI.I (BIN IX 395) XI 22 MAR.TU (plur.) (BIN IX 282)	III 18 MAR.TU (plur.) (BIN IX 289) IV 3 [] MAR.TU-ne (BIN IX 416) IV 10 GA.Ú.SUM (BIN IX 191) VI 16 MAR.TU (plur.) (BIN IX 310)

	ŠI 2 (= 1983)	ŠI 3 (= 1982)
Isin	<p>II 14 MAR.TU-ne (BIN IX 405)</p> <p>IX MAR.TU-ne (BIN IX 286)</p>	<p>I 13 MAR.TU-ne (BIN XI 419)</p> <p>I 22 <i>Zu-da-dum</i> HU.NE.𒄠 dumu I-la-ar-šum (BIN IX 388)</p> <p>I 30 MAR.TU-ne (BIN IX 293)</p> <p>IV 18 lú kin-gi-a <i>Sa-ma-mu-um</i> (BIN IX 423)</p>

Drehem	[] <i>A-du-ra-mu</i> (TMH NF I/II 132)	Umma	V II MAR.TU šà é MAR.TU igi lugal-še tuš-a (RA 8, p. 156)
Nippur	[] <i>En-gi-mu-um</i> (PDTI 529) [] LA.A.[] U.SA.AN[] <i>La-a-nu-um</i> (TD 25) [] <i>Lú-ri-ḥu</i> (UDT 91) [] UM, <i>Mar-da-mu-um</i> <i>I-wi-mu-ti</i> AP.KI.DA <i>Ma-li-kum</i> (A 5508) [] <i>Na-ab-la-núm</i> (TRU 370) [] <i>gur-da MAR.TU-me</i> MAR.TU lú didli-me (RIAA 86) n.d. MAR.TU (SET 93) ? <i>Na-ab-la-nu-um</i> (RA 9, p. 56) ? <i>A-gi-um, A-ga-nu-um, I-la-nu-um</i> (Hulin 7)	V 15 MAR.TU šà é MAR.TU igi lugal-še tuš-a (CHEU 56) V 25 MAR.TU šà é MAR.TU igi lugal-še tuš-a (Or. 47, 477) VI Lugal-di-kud (BIN V 165) 25 MAR.TU (UCP IX/2, 26) [] <i>Ad-da-gaba</i> UR.ME.LUM DA.ŠU AL.LA.ŠU.ḪU Ra-di-tum <i>Ar-si' a ním</i> It-lum <i>Ša-ma-núm</i> (CST 728) n.d. ARAD-mu (YOS IV 114) [] lú MAR.T[U] Ur-àm-ma Inim-dŠarà ù Ku-li Ur, šà-ta-lú A-da-lál ù Lú-nim-gir-ma-da (CCTE CI)	
Isin	[] x MAR.TU (BIN IX 150) [] MAR.TU (plur.) (BIN IX 280) [] <i>giš ga-am-lu gu-la MAR.TU</i> (BIN IX 461) [] * <i>I-la-nu-um</i> (BIN IX 190)		

Lagaš

I DINGIR.ID.NI.IK
(*UDT* 39)

I DINGIR.ID.NI.IK
(*BM* 17940)

I MAR.TU
(*ITT* II/1 1030)

I Na-di
(*ITT* IV 7277)

I 8 Ur-dNanše
(*OBTR* 110)

I 17 Lú-ša₆
(*ITT* II/1 638)

II I-ti-ZI
(*BM* 18000)

II MAR.TU
(*RA* 19, p. 39)

II MAR.TU
(*ITT* II/1 778)

II MAR.TU (plur.)
(*ITT* IV 7955)

II 1 Lugal-me-lám
Ad-da-mu
(*RTC* 388)

II 13 Lú-ša₆-ga
(*BM* 17965)

II 15 še MAR.TU
(*BM* 17989)

II 21 MAR.TU
(*ITT* IV 7717)

III 18 Šeš-kal-la
(*TUT* 201)

III 28 Lú-giri_x(KA)-zal
(*CBT* 13510)

IV DINGIR.ID¹.NI.IK
(*OBTR* 59)

IV Lú-dBa-ú
(*HLC* III 284)

IV Nam-ḥa-ni
Ur-dEN.ZU
ARAD-mu
(*CBT* 15177)

IV 2 Kur-gir-ni-še
(*RTC* 335)

IV 2 Ur-giš-gigir
(*RA* 59, p. 111)

V DINGIR.ID.NI.IK
(*BM* 17941)

V Ur-dNin-a-zu
(*BM* 17988)

V Ur-dNin-giš-zi-da
(*ITT* II/1 641)

V 21 Lú-dBa-ú
Lugal-me-lám
(*CBT* 14709)

VI DINGIR.ID.NI.IK
(*CBT* 13617)

VI Lugal-túg¹-maḥ¹
(*HLC* III 163)

VI Ur-giš-gigir
(*HSS* IV 82)

VI Ur-dLama
(*RA* 19, p. 41)

VI Ur-dNin-giš-zi-da
Na-ba-ša₆
(*BM* 15486)

VI 3 Lú-giri_x(KA)-zal
GU.ZA.NI
Uru-ki-bi

(*ITT* II/1 812)

VII ḤU.BU.NI
(*MAH* 16597)

VII 27 Ir-ib
(*ITT* II/1 644)

VIII DINGIR.ID.NI.IK
(*MAH* 16358)

VIII 21 Ur-dDumu-zi
(*CBT* 12690)

VIII 30 DINGIR.ID.NI.IK
(*ABTR* 2)

Lagaš

IX Ša-da
(ITT IV 7679)

IX Ur-dBa-ú
(MCS 5, p. 30)

IX Ur-é-bar₁₁-bar₁₁
(BTBC 79)

IX Uš-gi-na
(HLC III 212)

IX 7 Ur-dBa-ú
Nig-dBa-ú
(HLC II 101)

IX 25 Ur-dNanše
(RTC 395)

X Ur-DUN
(HLC II 109)

X Ūr-ri-ba-du₇
TAR?.GU.DA.A
(ITT IV 7761)

X 2 HU.WA.WA
(ITT II/1 683)

X 3 Pá-ḫa-ru-um
(ITT IV 7863)

XI DINGIR.ID.NI.IK
(HLC III 333)

XI Ur-dBa-ú
UN.IL
(ITT II/1 639)

XI MAR.TU (plur.)
(BM 15340)

XI 7 Lú-nin-gá
(MAH 15862)

XI 15 dUtu-me-lám
(BM 17918)

XII DINGIR.MA.DA.IK
(BM 15504)

XII GU.Ú.TAR
(ITT IV 7696)

XII MAR.TU
(TLB III 2)

XII 3 Kug-a-a
(ITT IV 7635)

XII 6 LA.LA?A
(HSS IV 72)

XII 9 Ur-ba-gár?
(ABTR 16)

XII 24 ARÁD-mu
Nig-dBa-ú
(HAV, p. 140)

XII 30 Lú-ezen
(HLC III 315)

XIII ARÁD-mu
(BM 17921)

dirig XII DINGIR.ID.NI.IK
(CBT 14498)

1-30 MAR.TU lú giš x x me
(SET 297)

[] lú MAR.TU
(TUT 161)

[] BI.Ū

Ib-ú-lum

Ša-da-ga

Tu-ra-i-lí

(MAH 16124)

[] DA.DA

(RA 59, p. 112)

[] Lú-dNin-gir-su

d. A-mu-ru-um (TUT 160)

[] MAR.TU

(MAH 16393)

[] [Ur]-d[Ig-al]im

(NSGU 129)

n.d. MAR.TU

(BM 15500)

n.d. Dingir-ra

Lugal-uru-da

Ur-DUN dumu Ša-da

A.TU

Ši-GABA

Lá-ni-DINGIR

(CT VII 43 b)

n.d. MAR.TU-ne

(ITT III 6617)

n.d. Ur-nigín-gar

(YBC 3641)

Lagaš	<p>n.d. Lú-dBa-ú (MAH 16339)</p> <p>n.d. MAR.TU dumu Ú-⁷za-zi⁷ (BM 14352)</p> <p>n.d. Ur_x-ri-ba-du₇ (BM 14616)</p> <p>n.d. gemé MAR.TU-ne (TLB III 53)</p> <p>? Lugal-ezen (ITT IV 7366)</p> <p>? dŠul-gi-i-li (BM 15302)</p> <p>? []dBa-ú (ITT II/1 952)</p> <p>? MAR.TU (MAH 15897)</p> <p>? ̒U.BU.NI (MAH 16597)</p> <p>? Gù-dé-a (BM 17964)</p> <p>? Lú-kal-la dumu Ur-nigín-gar (YBC 3641)</p> <p>? Ur-ig-alim (MCS 8, p. 70.)</p>	Ur	<p>Ša-il-tum Da-ri-ša Ad-mu-a Ša-lim-MI</p> <p>MAR.TU SAL-me (see below, pp. 313-15)</p> <p>[] *Na-bi-dEN.ZU *I-za-nu-um nam-ra-aš-ag MAR.TU (UET III 1391)</p> <p>[] 17 MAR.TU (plur.) (UET III 1136)</p>
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2. DREHEM

There are 113 texts from Drehem⁶ containing references to the Amorites. They can be subdivided as follows:

I. Records concerning animals:

(a) Records of the central administration:

- (1) Incoming animal: 35 texts;⁷
- (2) Balanced accounts: 3 texts;⁸
- (3) Routing of animals by the central administration: 56 texts;⁹

(b) Other records:

- (4) Records of the branch offices: 12 texts;¹⁰
- (5) Animal husbandry: 1 text;¹¹

⁶ The modern name is used throughout this book, in view of the uncertainty concerning the ancient reading, which was either Puzriš-Dagan, or Šilluš-Dagan, see recently A. Goetze, review of *SET*, in *JCS* 17 (1963) p. 34 (and cf. *ibid.*, p. 13).

⁷ A 2868; A 2905; A 2947; A 2996; A 4648; A 5158; A 5169; A 5508; A 5546; A 5994; AO 11733; *CCTE* I 1; *CST* 117; *CST* 304; *HUCA* 29, p. 109, No. 1; Hulin 7; MLC 80; Nebr.; Owen; *PDTI* 28; *PDTI* 41; *PDTI* 171; *PDTI* 335; *PDTI* 433; *PDTI* 561; *PDTI* 621; *SRD* 9; *STD* 22; *TCS* 326; *TCS* 327; *TD* 25; *TD* 81; *TRU* 29; *UDT* 91; YBC 3636. All texts deal with bovines, ovines and equines, except *TD* 81 which is a record of fish.

⁸ *PDTI* 344; *SET* 93; *SET* 104.

⁹ A 2882; A 2964; A 3311; A 4218; A 5065; A 5254; A 5777; A 29365; *A/O* 19, p. 120; *An. Or.* VII 98; *An. Or.* VII 99; *CCTE* Bab. 17; *CCTE* O 7; *CST* 88; *CST* 153; *CST* 185; *CST* 254; *CST* 514; *Dok.* 450; *III.* 133; *JCS* 7, p. 105; *MCS* 7, p. 25; MLC 100; *Or.* 47, 15; *Or.* 47, 21; *PDTI* 32; *PDTI* 508; *PDTI* 529; *PDTI* 548; *PDTI* 579; *RA* 9, p. 56 (SA 241); *RA* 9, p. 58, Pl. II (SA 25); *SET* 61; *SET* 63; *SET* 66; *SO* 9/1 (1940, p. 25, 21; *STA* 31; *TAD* 17; *TAD* 38; *TCL* II 5500; *TCL* II 5508; *TD* 27; *TJA* IES 121; *TRU* 266; *TRU* 267; *TRU* 295; *TRU* 300; *TRU* 305; *TRU* 320; *TRU* 325; *TRU* 370; *UDT* 92; *UDT* 97; *UDT* 106; Unpubl. A; Unpubl. B.

¹⁰ A 4703; *CST* 97; *CST* 161; *CST* 294; *Dok.* 481; *PDTI* 328; *PDTI* 596; *PDTI* 670; *TCL* II 5503; *TCS* 86; *TRU* 252; *YOS* IV 254.

¹¹ A 4971.

II. Miscellanea :

(6) Rations and food allowances : 4 texts; ¹²

(7) Records of objects : 2 texts.¹³

The texts from Drehem are more significant for the study of the Amorites than any other group of Ur III texts. It is here that the great majority of Amorite names is attested and that we find the most valuable information concerning the Amorites as foreigners. Another interesting feature of these texts is that practically all of them come from the same archive; this can be shown on the basis of internal analysis only, because none of the texts has come to light during legitimate excavations. The importance of this material warrants a longer discussion of Drehem than of the other cities, including Lagas, which has yielded the greatest number of texts relating to the Amorites. First, we shall discuss the organization of the establishment to which the archives belonged, and then the role of the Amorites within the framework of that establishment.

1. *The organization at Drehem*

A. *The central administration*

In their study on the organization at Drehem ¹⁴ Jones and Snyder have proven the importance of certain officials who follow one another in the highest position,¹⁵ and are known to us by name :

<i>Na-ša₆</i>	Š 48	I - AS 1 VII
<i>Ab-ba-ša₆-ga</i>	AS 1	VIII - AS 9 VI
<i>In-ta-è-a</i>	AS 9	VII - IS 2 IX

The title of these officials is never stated; Jones and Snyder call them "receiving officials." ¹⁶ In the period before Š 48 no one

¹² A 2790; CST 263; JCS 7, pp. 105-107; RIAA 86.

¹³ IM 46306; Or. 47, 38. — Another text from Drehem is III. 265, but the information I have is not sufficient to allow a precise classification of the text.

¹⁴ "The Basic Organization at Drehem," in SET, pp. 212-38.

¹⁵ Op. cit., pp. 213-18; 237.

¹⁶ Their position may be compared to that of Ur-Šulgira at Ur with respect to the textile industry, see T. Jacobsen, "On the Textile Industry at Ur under Ibbi-Sin," in *Studia Orientalia I. Pedersen*, Copenhagen 1953, pp. 186-87.

who would be the equivalent of the receiving officials is mentioned, but this does not necessarily mean that the organization was different. It is most likely that there were receiving officials before this date, but their names began to be regularly mentioned only in the last year of Šulgi.

The receiving officials were at the head of the central administration office. Among other activities, it was their responsibility to (1) register the incoming animals, (2) assign them to some immediate destination in Drehem, and (3) supervise their subsequent disposition within the Drehem complex.

(1) The texts which give the record of incoming animals follow a pattern which is relatively easy to understand. The two elements which are essential to the body of the text are the number and type of animals, on the one hand, and the person who brought in the animals (or had them brought in), on the other. There are two types of subscription¹⁷ for these texts: in the years before Š 48 it is simply stated that the animals have been "brought in" (*mu-TÚM*). From Š 48 on, the names of the receiving officials who "registered" (literally "took" *i-dab₅*) the animals is added.¹⁸ It is noteworthy that the purpose for which the animals were brought in is not usually stated. The animals, however, were earmarked as having been "brought in by so and so" (*mu-TÚM PN*), information which must have had some bearing on the eventual disposition of the animals.

(2) Animals were brought in daily to Drehem, often by the hundreds. As a result, the total number of animals on hand must have been quite large at all times. The central administration kept track of all animals, supervising their movements within the Drehem complex, and eventually providing for some final destination (for instance, the temple or the kitchen). The "routing"¹⁹ of the animals, i.e., their assignment from one office to the other, was accompanied at all stages by written documents. The central administration would first assign the incoming animal to some specific

¹⁷ By "subscription" I mean the indication appended at the end of the tablet which give a short description of the nature of the text. The term "subscription," as I use it, does not include the date.

¹⁸ Cf. Jones and Snyder, *SET*, p. 213.

¹⁹ The term has been introduced by Jones and Snyder, in *SET*, p. 215.

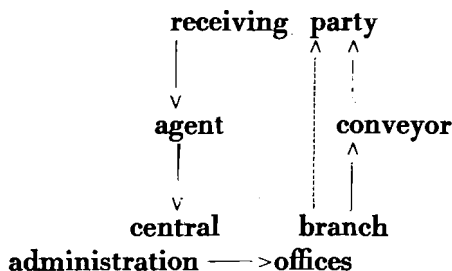
destination within the Drehem complex. The texts which record these operations do not have a subscription like that described above, but are characterized by the fact that they follow the pattern of a balanced account: ²⁰ they first give a list of the animals brought in on a certain day, and then state what has been done "out of these" (*šà-bi-ta*) same animals. Both the first and the second list end with a figure representing the total number of animals, and the totals are of course supposed to balance.

(3) The animals remained under the control of the central administration as long as they were within the Drehem complex, so that any movement of the animals after they had reached their first destination was still recorded by the same administration. In fact, any further movement of the animals was *ordered* by the central administration. The texts which give a record of these operations also have a subscription. In the years before Š 48 it is simply stated that the animals have been "moved" (*zi-ga*); from Š 48 onward the name of the official by whom the animals have been "moved" (*ki-PN-ta ba-zi*) is also stated,²¹ this official being the same high official as the "receiving official" discussed above. This usage suggests that the title "receiving official" is too narrow, and that it might be better to introduce in its place the term "director," meaning director of the entire Drehem complex. The texts of this group have a more complicated pattern than those considered before. The two essential elements found in the body of the text are the *number and type* of the animals on the one hand, and the *destination* of the animals on the other. This destination may be (the temple of) a certain god, a person specified by name, the kitchen, or some other receiving party. Occasionally, the *purpose* for which the animals are destined is also given. As a rule, routing operations were based on a triangle of relationship: the central administration which issued orders, the branch office where the animals were located, and the receiving party. Routing operations were therefore complex and required the activity of other persons besides those already mentioned. Among these persons two were of particular

²⁰ See *SET*, pp. 239-41.

²¹ These two types correspond to series II and III as proposed by Jones and Snyder, *SET*, p. 214.

importance. One was the agent (*maškim*),²² who was recognized by the central administration as having the power of ordering movements of animals out of the Drehem complex to a specified destination.²³ The other person was the conveyor (*GIR PN*),²⁴ who was in charge of delivering the animals from the central office to the receiving party in cases where the latter could not go directly to the central office. It is likely that this was often the case, and it is understandable that the central office wanted to keep a record of the persons to whom the animals were actually given out.²⁵ In summary, the network of relationships involved in the routing operations, including the activity of agents and conveyors, may be graphically represented as follows:



²² For different translations of the term in legal contexts see *NSGU*, vol. I, p. 53, n. 3. "Bailiff" (Gelb) and "deputy" (Jacobsen) fit a legal context, but seem too specialized and connected with legal usage to be used for the official mentioned in the administrative texts.

²³ This description of the functions of the agent is conjectural. It is made likely by the fact that agents are few and tend to be connected with certain specific operations: *Ur-dBa-ú* and *A-a-kal-la* with the *é-uzù-ga* (*SET*, pp. 228-29), the *zabar-dab*, with the *É-kur*, *ARÁD-mu* with foreigners like the Amorites, and so on. For the use of the term *maškim* in legal texts see *NSGU*, vol. I, pp. 47-54.

²⁴ The reading seems to be *šakán*, see T. Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 184, n. 41. However, it is doubtful whether the term, which is regularly in front of the name (with exceptions, e.g. *BIN IX* 338:4), should be considered as a real title. The translation "conveyor" has been suggested by Jones and Snyder, *SET* p. 278, n. 76. The usual translation "controller" implies a controlling activity which does not seem to be suggested by the texts. It should be made clear that the term *GIR* does not refer to a profession, but to a function.

²⁵ This description of the function of the conveyor is also conjectural, and is mainly based on the fact that conveyors are often linked, in one

One last point should be made in connection with the book-keeping system of the central administration. In the titles of some texts one finds an indication of the type *ša Unuga*. This has been explained as meaning that the official responsible for the operation was at that time "in Uruk."²⁶ For example: "Two sheep for

way or another, to the receiving party (in these cases the conveyor was like a messenger or a representative sent by the receiving party; in other cases the conveyor was anyone whom the central administration could trust, including persons of the Drehem complex). The following list includes some texts from Drehem and elsewhere which show a connection between the conveyor and the receiving party:

	object of transaction	receiving party	conveyor	
Drehem:	1 udu-ŠE	é-MU	Ur-dBa-ú MU	(SET 66:12-14)
Lagaš:	(rations)	A-gu-a sukkal	A-gu-a sukkal	
	(rations)	NIM Ši-ma-aš _{K1} me	Ši-ma-aš _{K1} -ta gin-ni	(HSS IV 83)
	(rations)	NIM Ši-ma-aš-gi _{K1}	Šu-dEN.ZU lú GIN Ši-ma-aš-gi _{K1} -ta gin-ni	(HLC III 284)
	(rations)	NIM Du ₈ -du ₈ - li _{K1} -me	I-ti-ZI MAR.TU Du ₈ -du ₈ -li _{K1} -še gin-ni	(BM 18000 unp.)
Ešnunna:	i-giš	mu kuš ap-pa tum šeš-e-de	dumú Su-na- nu-um ašgab	(TA '30,30)
Isin:	(leather object)	é dDa-gan-še	I-din-dDa-gan	(BIN IX 395)
	»	»	» gudú	(BIN IX 326)

²⁶ Thus SET, p. 236.

the kitchen, on behalf of the Amorites; (operation performed by) the agent *Ur-nigin-gar*; in Uruk, routing operation ordered by *Lú-dingir-ra*. ”²⁷ *Lú-dingir-ra* would be a traveling official who was in Uruk at the time of the operation, even though the operation would clearly take place in Drehem. But why would *Lú-dingir-ra* preside a Drehem routing operation while in Uruk? To overcome this difficulty, I would propose a different solution. It is possible that clauses of the type *ša GN* imply that the animals referred to in the document are from the city referred to, i.e., possibly its governor or *ensi*. The formula *ša GN* would thus have to be taken not literally to mean “in such and such a city,” but rather “on (the account of) such and such a city.”²⁸ This is not the place for a detailed discussion of such matters; what is relevant is simply to remark that the formula *ša GN* can hardly be taken as an evidence for the presence of the Amorites in the city to which the formula refers rather than in the city from which the document originates.

B. The branch offices

The most important of the branch offices dependent on the central administration were the corral for the cattle and the pens for the sheep.²⁹ Here the animals were cared for while awaiting their final disposition. Another Drehem establishment was the warehouse (*é-DUB-ba*) where dead animals were kept.³⁰ These offices kept records similar to those of the central administration, but texts from their archives are less numerous than those from the central administration, the best reason being perhaps that these offices were not at the site corresponding to the present mound of Drehem.³¹ There are however other texts, originating from these

²⁷ CST 185:6.

²⁸ For a similar use of *ša* cf. for instance *ša mu-TUM PN*, “out of (the animals) brought in by PN” (TRU 300:19); *ša udu PN*, “out of the animals of PN” (SET 104:24).

²⁹ See SET, pp. 218-21.

³⁰ See SET, pp. 22-27.

³¹ The site of one of these offices may be the mound of Drehem, about 13 km. south of Drehem, and similar to it in size. It may be noted in this connection that a text listing the rations of the workmen of a place called *Ba-ba-az^{k1}* is connected with Drehem because of the month name

offices, of which we have a greater number. These are receipts, issued by the branch offices to officials of the central administration. The few texts coming from the branch offices are not very relevant to our problem, because they seldom mention Amorite persons and include no details about their role.

C. Other texts

Texts of types other than those recording movements of animals are not common in Drehem, and very few deal with the Amorites. One of these texts³² deals with animal husbandry, and since it relates the number of both bovines and ovines born in a certain day or month, apparently originates from the central administration.

The other texts which are most likely to have also come from the central administration, deal with (1) rations given to Drehem workmen³³ and food allowance given to foreigners,³⁴ and (2) objects of precious metal distributed for no stated reason.³⁵

2. The Amorites at Drehem

Drehem was not an ordinary settlement. Our material indicates that it was essentially an administrative center, with few people in residence, practically all of whom belonged to the organization of the establishment. It is true that this may be a distorted view of the actual situation due to the fact that all texts come from one area of the site only, i.e., from just one archive which possibly was not the only one in Drehem.³⁶ But the fact remains that the texts

(CST 263); most of these warden are linked with cattle: could *Ba-ba-az*³² be the corral, or one of the corrals, perhaps to be identified with Drehem?

³² A 4971.

³³ CST 263; RIAA 86.

³⁴ A 2790; JCS 7, p. 105.

³⁵ IM 46306; Or. 47, 38.

³⁶ The site has never been excavated systematically, and all tablets come from illicit diggings done mostly at the beginning of the century. However, the holes dug by the robbers are quite clearly in evidence, so that there can be little doubt that the tablets all come from the same area. This area lies in the northern part of the site, about 175 m. north

we have do not as a rule contain transactions with local people, but with outsiders. Thus the only persons whom we may say with certainty were settled in Drehem were the officers of the administrative staff and the people who manned the pens, corrals, etc.³⁷

Very few Amorites are attested among the residents of Drehem, and those who are attested belong to the lower stratum, i.e., to the people who were not on the administrative staff. One text records rations paid out to two groups of people, the first called *gur.da* MAR.TU-*me*, and the second *dumu-dumu uku-uš* MAR.TU *lú-didli-me*,³⁸ while another text records a certain number of dead cattle (27 carcasses) delivered "for the Amorite UN.ÍL-girls."³⁹ There are two other doubtful occurrences in which it is not clear whether the persons in question are actually Amorites: (1) *Dan-DINGIR* MAR.TU (or *Dan-dMAR.TU* ?) is mentioned among the "overseers of sheep and goats" as receiving 166 sheep;⁴⁰ (2) *Lú-dingir* MAR.TU (or *Lú-dMAR.TU* ?) is mentioned as receiving rations among the *amar-nud* UN.ÍL-*me* of Babaz, apparently a dependency of Drehem.⁴¹ Finally, an Amorite called *Al-la* acts at the same time as conveyor and agent for prince Šu-Sîn.⁴²

The great majority of Amorites attested in the Drehem texts were thus "outsiders," rather than residents, and, as was the case with all other outsiders, they were either the contributors or the recipients of the items recorded in the transactions. The following discussion is correspondingly divided into two sections.

A. The Amorites as contributors of animals.

In the case of incoming animals the main concern of the central administration was to register the number of animals and the identity of the persons contributing them. For the latter purpose it

of the central elevation. There do not seem to be traces of digging in this central elevation. These remarks are based on personal observations made during visits to the tell in 1962-63 and 1966.

³⁷ See above, pp. 275; 277-78; 280.

³⁸ RIAA 86, and see below, pp 340; 342.

³⁹ *Dok.* 481, and see below, 342.

⁴⁰ YOS IV 254.

⁴¹ CST 263; for Babaz see above, n. 31.

⁴² PDTI 171.

was often sufficient to simply give the name of the person involved: in such cases we are at a loss in trying to determine the respective rank or social status, unless the personal name is sufficient to establish unambiguously the identity of that person. Often, however, the personal name is followed by a title which almost invariably indicates that the person in question is of high status, such as a governor or a priest.⁴³ Additional information is found only seldom. At times, for instance, one finds stated the reason for which the animals were brought to Drehem — to be given to the kitchen,⁴⁴ or to be offered at a given temple,⁴⁵ or at a given time.⁴⁶

In the texts concerning Amorites, therefore, hardly any information is found besides the two constants indicated above — number of animals and personal names. These data are tabulated in Chart A. The most interesting feature resulting from this chart is the comparatively large number and the great variety of fat-tail sheep (*gukkal*), especially if compared with Chart C which tabulates the animals routed to the Amorites, where only one animal of that type appear.⁴⁷ Other comments will be found in connection with Chart C, but it must unfortunately be admitted that these charts do not reveal as much as we would hope. One will look in vain, for instance, for indications of seasonal preferences in the traces of the Amorites' presence at Drehem, preferences which would be expected had the movement of the Amorites been determined by the exigencies of pastoral transhumance.

Other information is only rarely given. Additions to personal names are found in only two cases, one of them being the enigmatic expression *a-ba ù MAR.TU*,⁴⁸ the other an indication of family rela-

⁴³ For cases where the title refers to lower ranks see, e.g., *SET* 8:7 (*saḥar*, "bay, servant"), *PDTI* 133:4 (*šila-šu-du*, "cup-bearer").

⁴⁴ *Šu-gíd é-MU-šè*, for example in *SET* 50:18.

⁴⁵ Cf. the text with the indication *mu-TUM dŠul-gi-ra* collected by A. Goetze, review of *SET*, in *JCS* 17 (1963), p. 36, n. 23.

⁴⁶ *Mu-TUM A-ki-ti*, for example in *TCL* II 5508: iv 68.

⁴⁷ For *gukkal* see *MSL* II, p. 52, note to l. 255; *CAD* V (G), pp. 126-27. See *TCL* XV 9: xvi 24 (above, p. 93), a literary text which implies (if the reading is correct) that the Amorites were famous for the *alum*-sheep and fat-tail sheep which they brought to Sumer. See also *ZA* 57 (1965) p. 52, where oxen and kids are mentioned.

⁴⁸ *Nebr.*, and see below, pp. 242-43.

CHART A: ANIMALS BROUGHT IN BY THE AMORITES

(date)	Š 44 VI 10	VI 25	VIII	45 I 25	VIII	46 VII 3
gud	1+1 ³	1	3 2			
udu	12+8 ⁶	2+4 ⁶	5+4 ⁶	17		26
gukkal	3	2			2	1+1 ¹²
māš	16 ¹⁴	1 ¹⁴	10 ¹⁴			1 ¹⁴
ANŠE LIBIR						
(total)	41	10	3 21	1	2	5
	Ma-ti-ne-ad, CST 117	A-bi-lum, A 2947	A-ù-da-il Hè-sè-ma-nu-um A 4648	Mu-da-nu-um, PDTI 433	En-gi-mu-um, TRU 29	Ma-da-ba-nu-um, A 2905

Continuation of CHART A

XII 6	47 I 2	IV 18	V 17	VI
$[\times]^3 [\times] [\times]^2 + [\times]^3$	2 2+3 ⁶ 2 3 ¹⁴	$2 + 1^1 + 4^2 + 2^3$	2 16 2 5 ¹⁴	$1^2 \ 1$ 2 ⁶ 7+8 ⁶ 1 ⁶ 1 ⁶ 2+1 ⁶ 1 5 1 2 22 ¹⁴ 5 ¹⁵ 1 ¹⁴ 2 ¹⁴
$[\times] \quad [\times] \quad [\times]$	12	9	10	6 1 45 7 2 5
[M]a- <i>ab</i> -re-nu-um Mi-da-nu-um [Na]- <i>ab</i> -la-nu-um	Ma-ni-um, A 2996	U-ga, A 5546	A-sa-te-il, PDTI 28	Qi-id-me-nu-um U-me-il A-Wi-la-nu-um Hu-ca-29 Ri-me-nu-um Ne- <i>he</i> -nu-um La-a-a

Continuation of CHART A

XII	XII	48 V 4	V 14	VII 19	49 VI 15	AS 5 II 23	IV 20
17	6+16	1	1 ²			1+1 ⁴	2
165 +13 ¹⁰		16 23+ 1 ¹⁰ +1 ¹²	2+2 ⁶ 11		4	2+2 ¹¹	
2 ¹⁴	2 ¹⁴	3	2 ¹⁴	2 ¹⁶ +2 ¹⁷	6 ¹⁴		
181	9	30	18	4	10	6	2
na-am-ra-ag kur MAR.TU, SRD 9	A-bi-WA-dar, TCS 327	Šu-ba-ba PDTI 41	Lú-kal-la, STD 22	nam-ra-ag kur MAR.TU, A 5169	Nu-da-tum, Owen	Gul-ba-nu-um, CST 304	I-na-ba-nu-um, A 2868

Continuation of CHART A

V 25	VII 6				XII	9 VI 6			
	2 5								
[x]	3+17 ⁶	5+3 ⁶	6+2 ⁶		9+3 ⁶	1 ⁵	1 ⁶		
[x] 4 4	2+1 ⁹					5	2	1	8
3	9 ¹⁴	2 ¹⁴	3 ¹⁴		8 ¹⁴			1 ¹⁴	
3+[x] 4 4	32	10	2	16	20	6	3	2	8
A-ku-um Iš-me-DINGIR E-ri-gi-DINGIR	Qa-ad-me-nu-um A-ni-á Ab-bu-te-um Sa-at-dEN.ZU				Su-mi-in-mi, Nebr.	t-lum-a-bu-um I-bi-le-lum Ti-l] Su-l]			
TCS 326	A 5158					PDT 561			

Continuation of CHART A

ŠS 1 XII 14	3 I	IS 1 II 15	?	?
86 46 46' 36' 26 26 2 114 114 114	26	25 28	[×] ² 13 3 2 3 2 3 4	16 7 ² +16 3+211 314? 2?
8 3 5 4 3 3 2	2	4	[×] 1 5 5 7	8 8 3
Ku-um-da-nu-um Ta-ba-tum Mi-il-ga-nu-um Ba-da-nu-um Ša-ba-ar-kum Na-ap-se-nu-um La-da-bu-um	Ma-ni-il, CCTE I 1	Se-mi-tum, PDTI 621	[]-um Ma-li-kum Ap-ki-da I-wu-mu-ti Mar-da-mu-um A 5508	La-a-nu-um U-se-AN [×] La-a-[] TD 25
PDTI 335				

Continuation of CHART A

?	<i>totals</i>	
	$40 + \times (28 + 1^1 + 6^2 + 4^3 + 1^4)$ $168 + \times (72 \times 3^5 + 92^6 + 1^7)$ $4 + 3^{12} \cdot 290 + \times (163 + 2^8 + 1^9 + 14^{10} + 4^{11} + 5^{12} + 1^{13})$ $126 (17 + 104^{14} + 5^{15})$ 4	gud udu gukkal máš ANŠE.LIBIR
7	$628 + \times$	
Lú-ri-ġu, UDT 91		¹ gud-giš-dù ² gud-DAR.a ³ gud-giš-dù-DAR.a ⁴ áb ⁵ udu-ú ⁵ udu-a-lum ⁶ udu-a-lum-ŠE ⁷ sila ₄ ⁸ gukkal-ú ⁹ gukkal-babbar ¹⁰ gukkal-giš-dù ¹¹ ganám-gukkal ¹² ganám-ĤŪL ¹³ sila ₄ -gukkal ¹⁴ máš-gal ¹⁵ máš-gal-DAR.a ¹⁶ ANŠE.LIBIR. NITAĤ ¹⁷ ANŠE.LIBIR.SAL

tionship.⁴⁹ Another text of a rather unique nature gives an important title — “interpreter of the Amorites” — but omits the personal name.⁵⁰ The purpose which animals were to serve is specified in a few cases. One text says that the incoming animals were for a wedding to be performed in the *é Ħa-an-za-ab-tum*,⁵¹ while four others state that the animals were “for the king.”⁵² The latter information is important because it seems to indicate the existence of formal ties between the Amorites and the central government. Note also that in two texts the people who bring animals to Drehem “for the king” are officials in high positions, namely governors and generals.⁵³ Finally, three texts which record incoming animals should be mentioned, even though they register animals brought in not by Amorites, but rather as spoil from war, or raids, against the Amorites (*nam-ra-ag kur MAR.TU*).⁵⁴ From the first text cited it appears that the animals have come directly from the “front,” so to speak, because they are delivered by a courier, or conveyor, sent by a general (*ki Lú-^dŠEŠ.KI ĠİR.NITAĦ-ta ĠİR La-muš-ša lú-kaš₄*).⁵⁵

Additional information is given in five texts which do not formally belong with those discussed above because they are not the record of incoming animals, but rather the record of the routing of animals. The texts are tabulated in Chart B. The recipients of the animals are, in order: four Amorites mentioned by name, the *é-uzù-ga*,⁵⁶ *dInnin* and *En-^dInnin*, and twice *Lugal-má-*

⁴⁹ *Ku-um-da-nu-um ... Ta-ba-tum dam-a-ni*, PDTI 335.

⁵⁰ TD 81. For a discussion of this text see above, p. 250, and below, pp. 328-29.

⁵¹ Owen.

⁵² CCTE I 1; Nebr.; PDTI 344:10; PDTI 621. For a discussion of the expression *mu-TUM lugal* see recently A. Goetze, review of SET, in JCS 17 (1963) p. 36.

⁵³ CCTE I 1; Nebr.; For Šilluš-Dagan in the first text, known to have been a general, see Goetze, “Šakkanakkus,” pp. 13-14.

⁵⁴ A 5169; A 5254; SRD 9. For other occurrences of this expression see above, p. 241.

⁵⁵ SRD 9. For the general Lú-Nanna, cf. Goetze, “Šakkanakkus,” pp. 16-17, n. 18.

⁵⁶ Cf. SET, pp. 227-32.

**CHART B: ANIMALS BROUGHT IN BY THE AMORITES AND GIVEN TO A
THIRD PARTY**

	Š 45 III 12	48 VIII 11	AS 2 VI 16	4 I 3	9 VI 17	
gukkal	1		1			2
udu	2				6 ⁷	8
gud	1 ¹		7 + 1 ² + 1 ³ + 1 ⁴ + 2 ⁵	3 + 5 ³ + 1 ⁶	4	26
máš	1	1				2
total	5	1	13	9	10	38
	mu-TUM En-gi-mu-um ù Na-du-be-i, SO 9/1, p. 25	mu-TUM Ku-na-ma-tum, A 5777	ša mu-TUM MAR.TU-e-ne, Or. 47, 15	ša mu-TUM nam-ra-ag kur MAR.TU, PDT 32	ša mu-TUM MAR.TU-e-ne, UDT 106	

- ¹ máš-gal
² gukkal-babbar
³ gukkal-giš-dù
⁴ gukkal-giš-dù-babbar

- ⁵ ganám.HUL
⁶ sila₄-gukkal
⁷ udu-a-lum

gur₈-ri.⁵⁷ In these texts, the genitive following *mu-TÚM* is a subjective genitive (" (animals) brought in by ") rather than an objective genitive (as in the case of *mu-TÚM lugal*, "brought in for the king" ⁵⁸). This is shown especially by the fourth text ^{58a} — " (animals) brought in out of the spoils of the country of the Amorites " — where a translation with "for" would yield no meaning. Perhaps an even better translation could be "deposit," or "credit," meaning that there was in Drehem a certain stock of animals earmarked as having been "brought in" or "deposited" by a certain person (e.g., *Ku-na-ma-tum*) or a group of persons (the "Amorites"), animals which were therefore "credited" to these persons. The terms may sound anachronistic because they are derived from modern banking practices; yet it may be precisely in this light that we should understand the Drehem operations. The "customers" there had something like an "account," against which animals could be "debited" (through a routing operation, *zi-ga*) or "credited" (through deposits, *mu-TÚM*). The "balance" was referred to as "deposit" or, more literally, "(stock of animals) brought in by" (*mu-TÚM* + genitive), as evidenced by the five texts tabulated above. It is interesting to note that according to the first text ^{58aa} the animals taken from the "account" of "Enqimū and Nadūb-Elī the Amorites" are given in turn to four other Amorites, also mentioned by name. Another point to be noted is that since two of the texts speak of an "account of the Amorites" (*mu-TÚM MAR.TU-e-ne*), it would appear as though the Amorites as a group had business dealings with Drehem.

The interpretation here proposed is substantiated by another line of evidence furnished by a different group of texts belonging to the category which can be termed "Balanced Account."⁵⁹ These

⁵⁷ Possibly the same who acted as *maškim* for the "Amorite diviners coming from Dilmun," *CST* 254; *TRU* 305; cf. Goetze, "Šakkanakkus," pp. 10-12.

⁵⁸ See above, n. 52.

^{58a} *PDTI* 32.

^{58aa} *SO* 9/1, p. 25.

⁵⁹ Cf. *SET*, pp. 239-41. These texts are characterized by the formula *ša-bi-ta*, "out of it," occurring between the list of incoming and that of outgoing animals.

texts, only three of which refer to the Amorites,⁶⁰ record cases of immediate disposition of incoming animals, and thus mention both the party that brought in the animals and the one that received them, with a technique corresponding to the system of double-entry bookkeeping. In one text we find a different rendering of the concept "deposit, balance," which is otherwise expressed by means of the formula *mu-TÚM PN*; the variant in question is *udu šà udu Na-ab-la-núm*, "sheep out of the sheep of Nablanum."⁶¹

B. The Amorites as recipients of animals.

The texts referring to the Amorites as recipients of animals convey more valuable information than those referring to them as contributors, in part because there are more texts of this kind, but especially because they contain more circumstantial details than the others. The reason for this higher degree of precision is probably due to the need on the part of the administration to prevent the danger of mismanagement that might result from vagueness in the records. In other words, the administration had to protect itself from possible thefts or other abuses by making certain that its records showed exactly who was responsible for each "withdrawal" of animals and, when possible, the reasons for such withdrawals. Thus it is that these texts state not only the name of the recipients and the number of animals involved, but also the name of the agent (*maškim*) who authorized the disbursement of the animals and the name of the conveyor (*GÌR*) who actually received the animals from the Drehem corrals and was responsible for their delivery to the recipients of the disbursement. Chart C tabulates the pertinent material according to the method employed in Chart A. Although the names of agent and conveyors should, in principle, be included because they occur in the text almost as constantly as the other material tabulated (i.e., date, names and animals), they have been omitted since the names of the conveyors themselves are practically

⁶⁰ *PDTI* 344; *SET* 93; *SET* 104.

⁶¹ *SET* 104:24.

CHART C: ANIMALS GIVEN TO THE AMORITES

	Š 37 XIII 10	43 VIII 1	44 I 4	IV 15	45 III 12	X 2	46 XI	47 II	VII 15
gud	1				1		[×] ²	7	
udu		47	54		2	24			5
gukkal					1				
māš					1 ⁹				4 ⁹
ANŠELIBIR				4 ¹³					
total	1	4	5	4	5	2	[×]	7	9
	I-ze-núm, <i>TCL</i> II 5503	Ne-ab-la-nu-um, <i>CST</i> 88	Ne-ab-la-núm, A 2882	La-e-ri-ḡu-um <i>T/A</i> IES 121	4 PN'S, <i>SO</i> 9, p.25	MAR.TU-ne, <i>CST</i> 185	Ne-ab-la-núm!, <i>CCTE</i> Bab 17	MAR.TU, <i>PDTI</i> 328	Mi-da-nu-um, <i>RA</i> 9, p. 85

Continuation of CHART C

[illegible]

Continuation of CHART C

49 XII 14	AS I VIII 10+×	VIII	2 VI 3	VI 4	VIII	VIII	3 I 15	II 15	X 5	4 I 5
3	7	3 2	14	24	1 ¹³	1	24 ²	24	34 2 ¹⁰	1 ¹
3	7	5	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	1
Lugal-é-[maḡ-e], <i>PDTI</i> 508	A-ba-nu-um, <i>TAD</i> 17	A-ri-za-nu-um, <i>MCS</i> 7, p. 25	MAR.TU maš-maš, <i>CST</i> 254	MAR.TU maš-maš, <i>TRU</i> 305	Dú-ul-ga-núm Iá-a-ma-ti, <i>JCS</i> 7, p. 105	kišib dUtu-siḡa (?), <i>An.Or.</i> VII 98	MAR.TU, <i>TRU</i> 325	Na-ab-la-núm, <i>STA</i> 31	Na-ab-la-nu-um, <i>TRU</i> 320	Na-ab-la-nu-um, <i>SET</i> 61

Continuation of CHART C

I 6							I 8	V 4	IX 19	5 I	6 X 10	8 VII 2		
2 ¹ 3 + 2 ⁵ + 5 ⁶ 2							45	5 ⁴	10	2 ¹ 10 + 2 ⁴	1 ¹ 1 + 2 ⁵ + 1 ⁶	2 ¹ 3 + 2 ⁵ 1 + 1 ⁶ 1 2 ⁹		
14	2	2	2	1	2	1	60	5	10	14	5	9	2	1
Na-ab-la-núm <														

Continuation of CHART C

						ŠS 4 VIII	6 VIII	IS 2 IX 1-20	[]
VIII 29	X 17	XII 19	9 II 24	II 26	II 26	2	14		
1 ¹	2 ¹ 3 + 2 ⁴ 4 + 5 ⁶ 2 ⁹	2 ¹ 5 + 2 ⁵ + 2 ⁶ 5 ⁹	5	2 ⁴	1 ⁴	2 ³	5 ⁶	8 ⁶ 2 ¹¹	2 5 3
1	14	4	16	5	2	1	2	5	10
Na-ab-la-núm, A 3311	Na-ab-la-núm MAR.TU-me TCL II 5500	Na-ab-la-núm, UDT 92	dŠul-gi-i-lí, Or. 47, 21	Na-ab-la-núm, PDTI 579	Na-ab-la-núm, SET 66	Muš-da-nu-um, A 4218	I-bi-ig-ri-e-ú, A 29365	I-li-ba-bu-um d. Na-ab-la-núm, Unpubl. B	Na-ab-la-núm, TRU 370

Continuation of CHART C

[]	<i>totals</i>	
<p>1</p> <p>3 + 2⁴</p>	<p>55 (32 + 13¹ + 10²)</p> <p>202 + × (124 + 2³ + 31⁴ + 8⁵ + 27⁶ + 4⁷ + 6⁸)</p> <p>1</p> <p>55 (31 + 16⁹ + 2¹⁰ + 2¹¹ + 4¹²)</p> <p>19 (1 + 13¹³ + 5¹⁴)</p>	<p>gud</p> <p>udu</p> <p>gukkal</p> <p>máš</p> <p>ANŠE.LIBIR</p>
6	332 + ×	
En-gi-mu-um, PDTI 529		<p>¹ gud-ŠE</p> <p>² áb</p> <p>³ udu-ú</p> <p>⁴ udu-ŠE</p> <p>⁵ udu-ŠE-sig₅</p> <p>⁶ udu-ŠE-gud-e-ús-sa</p> <p>⁷ udu-a-lum</p> <p>⁸ ganám</p> <p>⁹ máš-gal</p> <p>¹⁰ máš-gal-ŠE</p> <p>¹¹ máš-gal-ŠE-gud-e-ús-sa</p> <p>¹² ùz</p> <p>¹³ ANŠE.LIBIR.</p> <p>NITAḤ</p> <p>¹⁴ ANŠE.LIBIR.SAL</p>

irrelevant, and with very few exceptions,⁶² the same agent, ARÁD-mu, occurs throughout.

The first kind of information contained in these texts consists of qualifications added to the names of the recipients, such as indications of family relationship,⁶³ of profession or function,⁶⁴ and of geographical or tribal connections.⁶⁵ The occasions on which the animals are used are sometimes specified: marriage,⁶⁶ childbirth,⁶⁷ the performance of a singer.⁶⁸ Two uses of the animals are stated in the sources: as offerings (*sá-dug*),⁶⁹ or for consumption at a meal.⁷⁰ One may perhaps assume that these were in fact the two most common ways of disposing of the animals;⁷¹ other possible usages, which however are not attested in the sources, would be for breeding or, in the case of sheep, for shearing. It should also be

⁶² The few other agents who appear in connection with the Amorites are (in chronological order): *É-a-ì-lí* (SO 9/1, p. 25), *Ur-nigìn-gar* (CST 185 the disbursement is actually to the kitchen on account of the Amorites), *A-a-kal-la* (A 5777: the disbursement is actually to the *é-uzù-ga*), *Lugal-má-gur-ri* (CST 254; TRU 305: in both cases the disbursement is to the kitchen), *Ur-sar-ru-um* (TD 27).

⁶³ TCL II 5508; TRU 267; Unpubl. B.

⁶⁴ CST 254 and TRU 305 (*maš-maš*, see above, p. 249); PDTI 548 and TCL II 5508 (*lú king-gi-ra*, see below, p. 326); see also PDTI 508 (*lú [x x]*).

⁶⁵ A 2882; A 29365; CST 254; JCS 7, p. 105; TRU 305; see above, pp. 238 and 242.

⁶⁶ *Nu-da-tum* MAR.TU *u, nig-SAL-ús-sa é Ħa-an-za-ab-tum-ma-še in-na-ag-a*, Owen; *E-la-nu-um* MAR.TU, ... *Ma-ga-nu-um* MAR.TU, ... *é Ú-ÜR-a-ne-ne-še nig-SAL-ús-sa-še ag-de*, TRU 295.

⁶⁷ *Dam aŠul-gi-ì-lí* MAR.TU ... *u, dumu in-tu-eš-še*, A 5065.

⁶⁸ A 2964; A 4218; Dok. 450; MCS 7, p. 25; Or. 47, 21; see below, p. 341.

⁶⁹ SET 104; Unpubl. B. For the expression *sá-dug*, cf. CCTE D 5 and H 30; SET p. 108.

⁷⁰ *Mu-du-lum* MAR.TU : TRU 325; *é-MU-še mu* MAR.TU-*ne-še* (and variants): CST 185; CST 254; TRU 305; *é-MU mu Na-ab-la-núm* MAR.TU-*še* (and variants): A 3311; CCTE Bab. 7; SET 66. Cf., in Lagaš, a text with record of food for a *na-ap-ta-núm* (SET 297).

⁷¹ That this was the most common destination of the animals may be gathered also from other Drehem texts, for instance those giving record of animals offered to gods (e.g., A 2964 : 4-14) or given to a lion (*mu ur-maḥ-še*, SET 78 passim).

noted that on two occasions the animals of the Amorites are put on a boat,⁷² possibly to be used as food during the trip. It has been pointed out above⁷³ that the Amorites appear often as a group at Drehem, a conclusion substantiated by the texts concerning routing, since on more than one occasion the animals are assigned to the Amorites as a group.⁷⁴ In one instance, these Amorites seem to be retainers in the following of Nablānum.⁷⁵ It may perhaps be assumed that a similar situation obtained in most, if not all, of the cases in which the Amorites are mentioned as a group, rather than individually by name. Note in this respect that in Drehem texts containing records of routing operations one often finds people mentioned as a group rather than as individuals, and that these groups include as a rule people of lower social status or occupational rank, such as soldiers,⁷⁶ messengers,⁷⁷ or prebendaries.⁷⁸

It would be of considerable value to determine the source from which the animals given to the Amorites came or, to use the modern terminology illustrated above, the account against which the animals were charged. Unfortunately, there are only five texts containing such information, and in all cases the animals are debited to account of individuals (rather than, e.g., the account of a temple or perhaps the palace). In two texts the persons who contribute the animals for the Amorites are not otherwise connected with them.⁷⁹ In the other texts, however, the persons who contribute animals are either connected with the Amorites,⁸⁰ or are Amorites themself-

⁷² A 2882; A 29365.

⁷³ See above, p. 292.

⁷⁴ CST 185; CST 254; TCL II 5500; TRU 305; TRU 325.

⁷⁵ TCL II 5500.

⁷⁶ Uku-uš-e-ne, PDTI 508:24.

⁷⁷ Kaš-ke-ne, SET 81:3, : in the genitive.

⁷⁸ Lú-kur-ra-ke-ne, SET 77:4.

⁷⁹ UDT 97:23 (ša-mu-TUM Be-li-a-ri-ik); PDTI 529 viii 34.36 (mu-TUM ŠUL-a-dŠul-gi_{ki} (?), mu-TUM Lugal-u-sud-še).

⁸⁰ CST 88:3 (mu-TUM dam Šar-ru-um-i-lí); RA 9, p. 58, SA 25:1-2 (mu-TUM Šar-ru-um'-i-lí sukka_l; mu-TUM Kur-bi-la-ak lú Ba-šim-ek_i). The wife of Šarrum-ilī is also connected with the Amorites in A 5065:6; and a certain Šarrum-ilī is connected with the Amorites at Lagaš in RA 19, p. 39. For Kurbilak see A. Goetze, "Four Ur Dynasty Tablets Mentioning Foreigners," in JCS 7 (1963) p. 105 with n. 14.

ves.⁸¹ In the majority of cases, no statement is made as to the provenience of the animals, so that it would seem a logical assumption that the animals were as a rule charged against the account of the recipients themselves. What is certain is that, when no specification is given, a standard rule must have been followed, since it is otherwise inconceivable that such an important element in the transaction would have been left unrecorded by the administration.

The practice of referring regularly to the agent (*maškim*) has an indirect bearing on our understanding of the position of the Amorites at Drehem. The number of agents was limited, and each one took care of several transactions at the same time. As a result, the texts which register more than one transaction are usually divided into units including the several transactions initiated, or authorized, by the same agent. These units can be isolated because a subscription with the name of the agent usually follows each group of transactions. We have already seen that the agents tend to deal always with the same parties, ARĀD-*mu* being the agent who deals almost exclusively with the Amorites,⁸² and we may now add that in many cases there seems to have been some connection among the different parties dealing with the same agent. Only an exhaustive study of the Drehem material could show to what extent this assumption is correct and how important its implications are. As far as the Amorites are concerned, it will be sufficient to remark that in the majority of cases (cf. Chart D) they are mentioned together with foreigners coming from different cities, of which Mari and Ibla occur most frequently (five times each), and Marḥaši and Zidānum second most frequently (four times each).

3. ISIN

There are 57 texts from Isin⁸³ containing references to the Amorites. They are all of the same type, dealing with leather

⁸¹ SO 9/1, p. 25, 21 (*mu-TUM En-gi-mu-um ù ʾNa-du-be-li* MAR. TU).

⁸² See above p. 293.

⁸³ For the provenience from Isin see L. Matouš, review of *BIN IX* in *Bi.Or.* 13 (1956) pp. 136-37; Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 59, n. 273.

CHART D: AMORITES MENTIONED TOGETHER WITH OTHER PARTIES

			Dal-muški	Duḡ-duḡ-likki	E.GU.LA	Gu-ma-ra-šiki	Ha-ar-šiki	Hi-bi-la-atki	Ib-laki	In-šumki	Kul-ub'-la'ki	Ma-ḥi-likki	Ma-ar-da-ma-anki	Mar-ḥa-šiki	Má-riki	Ni-bi-bu-umki	Ni-ḥiki	NI.TUKki	Si-ma-nūmki
Š 47	VII	16																	
48	IV	20																	
	VII	30																	
	XI	21																	
49	XII	14																	
AS 1	VIII	10+[×]																	
2	VI	3							1						1				
	VI	4							1						1				
	VIII								1						1				
3	II	15																	
4	I	6												1 ¹	1				
	V	4							1		1 ¹			1 ¹	1				
	IX	19																	
5	I	[]												1 ¹					
6	X	10																	
8	VII	2		1			1 ¹	1		1							1		
	X	17		1 ²		1		1 ²				1	1	1 ²		1			
	XII	19	1										1					1	1
	II	24																	
9	II	26										1							
	II	26			1														
ŠS 4	VIII	2																	
6	VIII	14							2						1				1 ¹
[]																	
[]																	

Continuation of CHART D

	Si-mu-rumki	Sa-ri-id-hu-umki	Sa-aš-ruki	Ti-ki-ti-hu-umki	Tu-tu-laki	Ü-ülki	Zi-da-nümki	lu SU	lu king-gi-a PN	Ag-ba-ni A-mur-dšul-gi Hu-un-dšul-gi dšul-gi-a-bi dšul-gi-i-li dšul-gi-pa-li-il	PN
(Š 47 VII)											2
(48 IV)											1
(VII)											1
(XI)											1
(49 XII)											1
(AS 1 VIII)											
(2 VI)							1				
(VI)							1				
(VIII)											
(3 II)							1				9
(4 I)							1 ²	7	2		2
(V)											1
(IX)					1 ¹						1
(5 I)											
(6 X)										× ×	9
(8 VII)						1 ¹				× × × × × ×	
(X)	1	1	1	2						× × × × × ×	1
(XII)										× × × × ×	1
(9 II)											1
(II)											1
(II)	1							1			1
(ŠŠ 4 VIII)											
(6 VIII)								1			2

Continuation of CHART D

	nar US.KU uku-úš-e-ne rá-gab-me kas ₄ -e-ne GIR-ke ₄ -ne ù-kul	DN Dub-lal-mah En-dInnin dumu-lugal A-bi-si-im-ti	
(§ 47 VII)	1		TRU 266
(48 IV)			A 5056
(VII)	×		Dok. 450
(XI)			A 2964
(49 XII)	×		PDTI 508
(AS 1 VIII)	1		TAD 17
(2 VI)			CST 254
(VI)			TRU 305
(VIII)			JCS 7, p. 105
(3 II)			STA 31
(4 I)	1	1	TCL II 5508
(V)			An.Or. 7, 99
(IX)	1 1 3		UDT 97
(5 I)			TD 27
(6 X)	1		SET 63
(8 VII)			PDTI 548
(X)		×	TCL II 5500
(XII)		×	UDT 92
(9 II)	×		Or. 47, 21
(II)			PDTI 579
(II)	×		SET 66
(§§ 4 VIII)	×	1	A 4218
(6 VIII)	×		A 29365
		1	TRU 370
			RA 9, p. 56

¹ lú kin-gi₄-a PN lú GN.

² PN connected with GN in other sources.

products, and they most likely come from the same archive. But for two exceptions,⁸⁴ all texts appear in the same publication,⁸⁵ a fact which greatly facilitates their study. The nature of the material is similar to that of the Drehem texts. As in Drehem, most of the Amorites attested at Isin have Amorite names, and the majority at least were certainly foreigners. Since the purpose of the texts is to keep records of the production and distribution of leather products, it is obvious that the main information to be gained is in that sphere. Three points can be made in this respect.

(1) The Amorites are never connected with production, with only two possible exceptions. In one text⁸⁶ an Amorite called *I-da-nu-um* receives one goat skin for a chair and two goat skins for some kind of weapon destined for the king;⁸⁷ it is not altogether certain, however, that the qualification MAR.TU actually refers to *I-da-nu-um*,⁸⁸ and if it does not, then the text is not evidence that the Amorites were working with leather. The second piece of evidence is also questionable. The text⁸⁹ begins by stating a certain amount of *še-gín*⁹⁰ and of goat skins, after which comes the name *Ri-i-bu-um* MAR.TU. If this were the extent of the entry, we would interpret the text in the sense that the raw material was given to *Ri-i-bu-um* to be used in the production of some object. But the name of *Ri-i-bu-um* is actually followed by a clause which may tentatively be read as *u₄ GIŠ IŠ.BA. 𐎶RU? 𐎶ba-na-dím-ma GAR. ŠA.NA^{KI}-šè*, "on the day in which the *GIŠ IŠ.BA. 𐎶RU? 𐎶* (a wooden object) was fashioned for him, (to be shipped) to GAR.ŠA.NA."

⁸⁴ MSC 5, p. 116; p. 129.

⁸⁵ BIN IX. The texts are studies by the author of BIN IX in his unpublished Ph. D. thesis: V. E. Crawford, *Terminology of the Leather Industry in Late Sumerian Times*, Dissertation Yale, 1948. For other studies see especially L. Matouš, review of BIN IX in *Bi.Or.* 13 (1956) pp. 135-40; Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 59-66, especially n. 273.

⁸⁶ BIN IX 186. Cf. also BIN IX 185:3 and 199:8-10, if the correct reading is *I-dí-DINGIR* MAR.TU, see above, p. 121.

⁸⁷ *GIŠ ma-sá-tum lugal* (l. 6), cf. MAD III, pp. 184-85, s.v. *maššadum*.

⁸⁸ See above, p. 24. One may also consider the possibility of *i-da-nu-um* being a part of both the chair and the weapon mentioned in the text, cf. perhaps *itānu* = *qarnu*, CAD I (VII), p. 293; AHw, p. 403 ("[Netz-] Maschen").

⁸⁹ BIN IX 266.

⁹⁰ A dye, cf. L. Matouš, review of BIN IX, in *Bi.Or.* 13 (1956) p. 138.

If so, the text would give no evidence for *Ri-i-bu-um* being in the service of a leather workshop, but it would rather show that he was a "customer," to whom the finished product was destined.

(2) The Amorites do not as a rule contribute the material used in the production of leather objects. There is only one exception, namely a text ⁹¹ with two separate entries in which a certain amount of raw material to be used for the production of shoes is described as *nig-ba*, "gift," of two different persons qualified as MAR.TU.⁹² It is worth noting that in the first entry the shoes are also qualified as MAR.TU.⁹³

(3) In practically all cases, the Amorites are mentioned in the texts as recipients of finished products. The most numerous category of leather objects produced for the Amorites consists of bags and containers of various types (*KUŠdùg-gan*,⁹⁴ *KUŠdùg-šagan*,⁹⁵ *KUŠA.EDIN.LÁ*,⁹⁶ *PISANna-aḥ-ba-tum*⁹⁷) and their accessories (*ka-tab*,⁹⁸ *nig-U.NU-a*⁹⁹). The second group of objects, namely shoes or sandals (*KUŠe-sir*¹⁰⁰), is much less represented; it is perhaps not a coincidence that in almost all cases¹⁰¹ sandals are given to persons qualified as envoys. Finally, leather was used in the production of

⁹¹ BIN IX 388.

⁹² *Nig-ba Zu-da-dum MAR.TU* (l. 10); *nig-ba HUNE.Γ×Γ dumu I-la-ar-šum MAR.TU* (l. 16). Cf. Also BIN IX 372:8 if the correct reading is *I-di-DINGIR MAR.TU*, see above, p. 121.

⁹³ *KUŠe-sir MAR.TU* (l. 9); or are these "shoes for the Amorites"?

⁹⁴ BIN IX *217 (in this and in the following notes an asterisk in front of a text number means that the text contains Amorites names not qualified as MAR.TU); *224; 225; 226; 227; 269; 271; 280; 282; 283; *288; 289; *292; 293; 301; 310; 316; 400; 405; *406; *407; 408; 409; 410; *411; 414; 416(?); 419; MCS 5, p. 116.

⁹⁵ BIN IX *276; 280; 283; 286; 289; 293; 310; 314; 316; 317; 405; *407; 408; 409; *411; 414.

⁹⁶ BIN IX 39; 199; *326; 363; 392; 395; 416 (?); 423; 425.

⁹⁷ BIN IX 225; 395.

⁹⁸ BIN IX *217; *224; 225; 227; 240; *276; 280; 282; 283; 286; 293; 301; 310; 314; 316; 317; 400; 405; *407; 408; 409; 410; *411; 414; 419; MCS 5, p. 120. The *ka-tab* is as a rule connected with *KUŠdùg-gan* and *KUŠdùg-šagan*; once (BIN IX 240), however, it is connected with *KUŠdal*.

⁹⁹ BIN IX 392; 423.

¹⁰⁰ BIN 39; 324; 325; *326; 383; 395; 425.

¹⁰¹ Except for BIN IX 383 and the second entry in BIN IX 326.

two chariots (^{GIŠ}*gigir*¹⁰²) and of an ox yoke (^{GIŠ}*šudun-apin*¹⁰³?) for individual Amorites.¹⁰⁴ There are several reasons for concluding that in all these texts the Amorites were actually the recipients of the finished products. To begin with, this assumption is made likely by the general context. Note especially how certain finished products like shoes are mentioned in connection with envoys, who obviously cannot have had any part in the manufacturing of the goods; also the fact that single items are connected with individuals mentioned by name shows that these individuals were the recipients of the items, rather than workmen, since it would obviously be unlikely that records should be kept stating which workman had manufactured each individual product. More important still is the fact that in about half of the texts one finds the explicit statement that the merchandise was destined for the Amorites. The most common expression is *nig-šu-tag-a* "delivery, distribution," followed either by a personal name or by the general expression "the Amorites."¹⁰⁵ Another expression, which may perhaps be understood simply as an abbreviation of the previous formula, is: "for the Amorites,"¹⁰⁶ added immediately after the entry.

¹⁰² *BIN IX* *190; 191.

¹⁰³ *BIN IX* *256; for the reading cf. *MSL VI*, p. 19:166.

¹⁰⁴ See also above, p. 306 for the possibility of leather being used in the production of a ^{GIŠ}*IS.BA.RU*¹⁰⁷ for an Amorite. In the following texts the term *MAR.TU* occurs in unclear context: *BIN IX* 150; 430; 433; 461.

¹⁰⁵ For reading and meaning see W. L. Moran, "A New Fragment of *DIN.TIR.KI* = *BABILU* and *ENUMA ELIŠ* vi 61-66," in *An.Bibl.* XII, Roma 1959, p. 258-59, n. 1; Y. Rosengarten, *Le régime des offrandes dans la société sumérienne*, Paris 1960, pp. 21-22; E. Reiner, "Mālamir," in *RA* 57 (1963) p. 173 with n. 3. A list of all pertinent texts follows; *n.* stands for *nig-šu-tag-a*(a): *n.* PN *MAR.TU*: *BIN IX* 225; *n. ki* PN *MAR.TU-še*: *BIN IX* 383; 395; *n.* *MAR.TU-ne*: *BIN IX* 310; *n.* *MAR.TU-še*: *BIN IX* 280; 317; *n. ki* *MAR.TU*: *BIN IX* 282; 289; 301; *n. ki* *MAR.TU-e-ne*: *BIN IX* 316; *n. ki* *MAR.TU-še*: *BIN IX* 269; 271; 283; 408; *n. ki* *MAR.TU-ne-še*: *BIN* 227; 286; 293; 314; 400; 419; *n. [ki* *MAR.TU-n]**e-še*: *BIN IX* 410; *n.* *MAR.<TU>e-ne-še*: *BIN XI* 266; *n. ki* *MAR.TU-e-<ne-še>*: *BIN IX* 409; *n.<ki* *MAR.TU-ne-še>*: *BIN IX* 224; *n.* *NI.TUKki ù* *MAR.TU-ne*: *BIN IX* 405. Note that in all cases the texts deal with leather bags or containers and their accessories.

¹⁰⁶ *MAR.TU-ne-še*, *BIN IX* 392; *mu* *MAR.TU-ne-še*, *BIN IX* 240; *ki* *MAR.TU-še*, *MCS* 5, p. 120.

From the foregoing it appears that the Amorites are without any doubt attested in the texts of Isin almost exclusively as the recipients of finished leather products. The situation is thus different from that which we have seen at Drehem, where the Amorites are equally well attested as contributors and as recipients of animals. Another difference with respect to Drehem is that in Isin the use to which the products were put is not problematic but obvious, considering the nature of these products (containers, shoes, etc.). One important question, on the other hand, must go unanswered, namely who paid for these products: was it the administration? or the Amorites themselves? The texts do not offer only clear clue,¹⁰⁷ except perhaps for the fact that in a few instances the conveyors (GIR) of the finished products are "envoys of the king,"¹⁰⁸ which may imply that these products were given to the Amorites by the local government.

Information besides that pertaining strictly to the distribution of the leather products is limited, but important. Thus one finds the title "envoy" added to Amorite personal names more frequently than at Drehem;¹⁰⁹ similarly, there are more cases in which one has reason to assume the presence of Amorite sheikhs in our texts,¹¹⁰ and we also find for the first time the title *rabiānum* attested, possibly at least, in connection with the Amorites.¹¹¹ There is only one text which contains evidence of a direct geographical character, but this isolated piece of evidence is especially important.¹¹² Indirect evidence concerning the problem of geographical provenience may be gathered from the fact that in Isin, as in Drehem, the Amorites are mentioned together with foreigners. The evidence is however much more limited since only Mari¹¹³ and Dilmun¹¹⁴ are mentioned

¹⁰⁷ Note in this respect that differently from what is the case in Drehem a *maškim* seldom figures in the records, and even more seldom does the same *maškim* take part in more than one transaction. One high official who is mentioned more than once (BIN IX 363; 383; 388; 392) is the *sukkal-mah*.

¹⁰⁸ *Lú kin-gi-a lugal*, BIN IX 325; 326; *lú-kin-gi-a*, BIN IX 395.

¹⁰⁹ See below, p. 326.

¹¹⁰ See below, p. 336.

¹¹¹ See below, p. 340.

¹¹² See above, p. 239.

¹¹³ BIN IX 324:3-4.14.22.

¹¹⁴ BIN IX 405:6.

in connection with the Amorites. Finally, there is one piece of information which is very important but unfortunately isolated, so that its real significance is difficult to assess. The text in question records the expenditure of skins "for a band (?) of (?) silver, the gift of the Amorites, on the day in which the weapon of Elam was smitten" (*nig-kešda kū-babbar* 𐎶𐎶𐎶? *nig-ba* MAR.TU *u*, *GIS tukul NIM-a* 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶).¹¹⁵ Does the gift consist of the skins or the silver? And what is its real significance? Was it given to the Amorites for their help against the Elamites, or by the Amorites as a token of friendship and perhaps as tribute on the occasion of Isin's victory over the Elamites? No answer can be given and perhaps all that can be safely said is simply that there were common bonds between the Amorites and Išbi-Irra, even though this rapprochement may well have been temporary, brought about, perhaps, by the common danger represented by the Elamites. In any case, we are faced with the same triangle: Sumerian cities — Amorites — Elamites which is so conspicuous in connection with the fall of the third dynasty of Ur and which, in the more general formulation: river valleys — desert — mountains, has always played such a great role in determining the course of Mesopotamian history.

4. LAGAŠ

The total number of texts from Lagaš containing references to the Amorites is 142. The can be subdivided as follows:

- (1) Balanced accounts: 2 texts; ¹¹⁶
- (2) Rations: 18 texts; ¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ BIN IX 152. Differently Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 62: "als Elam mit der Waffe geschlagen wurde." The translation "band (?) of (?) silver" is suggested here tentatively on the basis of (1) the correspondence *nig-kēš-da* = *ra-kis-ti* (*ŠL* 597, 178), and (2) the occurrence in Old Assyrian texts of objects made of silver and called *ri-ik-sū-um* (*TC* III 209:5; III 68: 19.27. 38; etc.; cf. G. Eisser and J. Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe*, I, Leipzig 1930, p. 129).

¹¹⁶ *RTC* 305; *TLB* III 53.

¹¹⁷ BM 12935; BM 17815; *CT* IX 17; *CT* X 16; *CTC* 54; *HLC* I, 305 *ITT* II/1 918; *ITT* IV 7318; *ITT* IV 7523; *ITT* IV 7955; MAH 16124; MAH 16393; *RTC* 399; *TUT* 152; *TUT* 159; *TUT* 160; *TUT* 161; cf. BM 14352.

- (3) Food allowances (including the so-called "messenger texts")¹¹⁸: 86 texts;
- (4) Food offerings: 10 texts;¹¹⁹
- (5) Work assignment: 3 texts;¹²⁰
- (6) Records of animals, objects, garments: 9 texts;¹²¹
- (7) Records of fields: 4 texts;¹²²
- (8) Letters: 2 texts;¹²³
- (9) Legal texts and contracts: 8 texts.¹²⁴

The total number of texts is higher for Lagaš than for Drehem, but the latter group is more important because it contains not only a higher number of name occurrences, but also a greater amount of information.

¹¹⁸ "Messenger texts": *ABTR* 16; *BM* 15486; *BM* 17918; *BM* 17921; *BM* 17964; *BM* 17965; *BM* 17988; *BM* 17989; *BM* 18000; *BTBC* 79; *CBT* 12690; *CBT* 13510; *CBT* 14709; *CBT* 15177; *HAV* p. 140, 4; *HLC* II 101; *HLC* II 109; *HLC* III 163; *HLC* III 212; *HLC* III 284; *HLC* III 315; *HSS* IV 72; *HSS* IV 82; *ITT* II/1 638; *ITT* II/1 639; *ITT* II/1 641; *ITT* II/1 644; *ITT* II/1 683; *ITT* II/1 778; *ITT* II/1 812; *ITT* IV 7277; *ITT* IV 7366; *ITT* IV 7673; *ITT* IV 7679; *ITT* IV 7838; *ITT* IV 7863; *MAH* 15862; *MAH* 16597; *MCS* 5, p. 30; *OBTR* 110; *RA* 19, p. 39, 2; *RA* 19, p. 41, 47; *RTC* 335; *RTC* 388; *RTC* 395; *TUT* 201.

Other food allowances: *AT* 80a; *AT* 80b; *BM* 15251; *BM* 15302; *BM* 15340; *BM* 15496; *BM* 17978; *BTBC* 78; *BTBC* 88; *CBT* 12693; *CBT* 12718; *CBT* 12730; *CBT* 12754; *CBT* 13644; *CBT* 14572; *CBT* 14796; *CBT* 15170; *CBT* 15185; *HLC* III 159; *HLC* III 199; *HSS* IV 51; *HSS* IV 53; *HSS* IV 92; *ITT* IV 7635; *ITT* IV 7696; *ITT* IV 7717; *ITT* IV 7761; *MAH* 16223; *MAH* 16311; *New*. 1558; *RA* 10, p. 65, 24; *RA* 59, p. 111; *RA* 59, p. 112; *SET* 297; *TUT* 206; *TUT* 207; *TUT* 208; *TUT* 234; *TUT* 235; *TUT* 236.

¹¹⁹ *ABTR* 2; *BM* 15504; *BM* 17940; *BM* 17941; *CBT* 13617; *CBT* 14498; *HLC* III 333; *MAH* 16358; *OBTR* 59; *UDT* 39. For a discussion of these texts see above, pp. 141-43.

¹²⁰ *BM* 15363; *HLC* III 250; *ITT* II/1 962.

¹²¹ *BM* 15500; *ITT* II/1 952; *ITT* II/1 1030; *ITT* II/1 4531; *ITT* V 6744; *MAH* 15897; *MAH* 16404; *STA* 27; *TLB* III 2.

¹²² *BM* 14616; *CT* I 2-3; *CT* VII 43b; *MCS* 8, p. 70.

¹²³ *ITT* III 6617; *MAH* 16339.

¹²⁴ *ITT* II/2 3470, 3470a; *NSGU* 33; *NSGU* 34; *NSGU* 52; *NSGU* 63; *NSGU* 89; *NSGU* 129; *NSGU* 195. — Another text which possibly comes from Lagaš is *YBC* 3641, but the information I have is not sufficient to allow a precise classification of the text.

As can be readily seen from the breakdown given above, most of the texts from Lagaš are records of food allowances for individuals. The purpose for the assignment of the allowances is usually given in the case of the so-called "messenger texts," but it consists simply of the statement that one or more persons are going to a certain destination for a specified purpose.¹²⁵ The most interesting information is that in these texts the persons qualified as Amorites occur side by side with others who are not, and all of them together seem to belong to the same body of officials, all of them being employed by one administration. The kind of employment reflected by texts recording allowances for individuals was only temporary, and the allowances were issued not on a regular basis, but as an indemnity due to the "messengers" while on special service. Following Jones and Snyder, I would agree that the "messengers" were drawn from a "class of functionaries for whom special ration payments were necessary" because "their employment had temporarily displaced them from their normal means of support."¹²⁶ It seems that, to some extent at least, the amount of food allowance corresponded to the official rank occupied by each individual official. These ranks have been established by Jones and Snyder,¹²⁷ from whose results it appears that the Amorites occupy a rather low position, namely position 13 in a list of 16 positions. The great majority of Amorites occurring in these texts bear Sumerian names. The few names which can be analyzed as Amorite are the following: *Ad-mu-a*, *Ša-bi*, *Ša-da-ga*, *Zu²-ba-la-tum*, and possibly *Da-rí-ša*, *Ib-ú-lum*, *Ir-ib*.¹²⁸

Among the texts with special food allowances there is one group which deserves a special mention. It includes 31, or possibly 32,¹²⁹ texts, all of which record a standard ration of bread, measured in *šila*'s and issued to a small group of Amorite women. These women are regularly referred to as MAR.TU SAL, and the total of rations

¹²⁵ For a list of the texts including this information, see below, pp. 342-43.

¹²⁶ *SET*, p. 291.

¹²⁷ *SET*, p. 296.

¹²⁸ See above, in chapter IV, s.vv. For *Lá-ni-DINGIR* see above, p. 46.

¹²⁹ If one includes *ITT* II 918.

Date	MAR.TU SAL	Ur-ri-ba-du, Ur-dDa.mu su-gi-me	dub-sar tur-tur	ur-gir-me	Ad-da Kud-da sipa ur-gir-me	Ur-é-dar-a Lú-kal-la má gín Ma- gan-na-me	Publication
AS 5 I 8	5 2					3 2	AT 80 a
AS 5 I 10	5 2					3 2	AT 80 b
II 24	5 2 2						CBT 12754
II 29	5 2 2						CBT 12730
III 2	5		20	12	8		CBT 15170
III 3	5		[x]	[x]			
4	5		20	12	8		TUT 207
[5]	[x]		[x]	32	4		
III 7	5 2 2						TUT 236
III 23	5 2 2						TUT 234
IV 1	5		20	12	8		TUT 208
IV 18	5		20	12	8		CBT 14572
IV 19	5		20	12	8	6	BM 15496
V 2	[5]		20			5	TUT 235
VI 11	5 2 2						RA 10, p. 65,
VII 16	5					6 6	MAH 16311
VI/II 9	5		24	10	2 2	6	CBT 14796
VIII 13	5		24	10	2 3	6	CBT 15185
VIII 14	5		24	10	2 2	6	CBT 12718
VIII 18	5 2 2						HLC III, 159
VIII 21	6		24	10	2 2	6	BM 15251
IX 13	5		24	10	2 2	6	HSS IV 92
IX 17	5* 2 2						HLC III 199*
X 3	5		24	10	2 2	6	CBT 12693
XI	5*						MAH 16223*
XI 3	5					2	CBT 13644
XI 23	5* 2 2						HSS IV 53*
XII 11	5* 2 2						HSS IV 51*
[x] 3	5 2 2						TUT 206
[x] 10+	5		24	10	2 2	6	BTBC 88
[x]							
[x] 18	5		22			6	BTBC 78
[x] 19	5		22				BM 17978
[x]	5*			x			New. 1558

is always 5 *šila*.¹³⁰ In six texts (indicated by an asterisk in the chart below), we find four women mentioned by name and receiving rations totaling 5 *šila*. We may conclude that we are dealing with the same four women in all cases. As a matter of fact, it seems possible to go one step farther and suggest that all the texts belong either to the same year or at least to a rather short period of time. This is suggested by the fact that only a few other recipients of allowances recur throughout this group of texts, and that two of these recipients, namely *Ūr-ri-ba-du*, and *Ur.^dDa-mu* are characterized as "old."¹³¹ It should also be noted that the periods of time covered by the texts do not overlap, a fact easily determined since the texts are all dated to the day and the month. The texts are tabulated in the following chart, where the numbers refer to the amount of food allowance, in *šila*'s.

In the texts marked with an asterisk, the entry about the Amorite women includes four personal names, as follows:

1½ <i>Ša-il-tum</i>	1½ <i>Ša-il-tum</i>	1½ <i>Ša-il-tum</i>
1½ <i>Da-ri-ša</i>	1½ <i>Ad-mu-a</i>	1½ <i>Ad-mu-a</i>
1½ <i>Ad-mu-a</i>	1½ <i>Da-ri-ša</i>	1½ <i>Da-ri-ša</i>
1 <i>Ša-lim-MI</i>	1 <i>Ša-lim-MI</i>	1 <i>Ša-lim-MI</i>
MAR.TU	MAR.TU	MAR.TU- <i>ne</i>
SAL- <i>me</i>	SAL- <i>me</i>	
(HLC III 199; HSS	(HSS IV 51; New.	(MAH 16223)
IV 53)	1558)	

All other groups of texts from Lagaš are considerably smaller. The legal texts are interesting by their very nature, yet they do not yield any information of special value concerning the Amorites mentioned in them. Perhaps the most important observation¹³² is

¹³⁰ With the only exception of BM 15251, which registers rations of 6 *šila*'s. Also note that RA 10, p. 65, 24 has MAR.TU instead of MAR.TU SAL.

¹³¹ The same two persons are qualified as *lú HULU-me* in HLC III 199, and as *gá-nun-da túš-a-me* in HSS IV 51 and 53.

¹³² Besides the observations concerning the social status of the Amorites involved in these deeds, for which see below, p. 357.

simply that the persons qualified as Amorites appear to be on the same juridical level as all the other persons mentioned in the same kind of documents. Both the officials and the procedure attested in trials in which Amorites were involved were the same as in all other trials from the same periods. It is worth mentioning in this connection that occasionally one finds Amorite witnesses attested in connection with trials involving Amorites.¹³³ This may imply that the Amorites had the tendency to form groups of their own,^{133a} even though the case should not be overstated since the evidence is very limited.

From other texts too we have evidence of the existence of Amorite groups, none of which, however, was very large in size. Besides the four Amorite women of whom discussion has already been made above,¹³⁴ the texts from Lagaš mention directly or indirectly other groups of eight Amorite (men),¹³⁵ and nine¹³⁶ and twelve¹³⁷ Amorite women. These are the largest groups of *resident*¹³⁸ Amorites attested not only in Lagaš, but also anywhere else in the Sumerian cities of this period.

¹³³ NSGU 33; NSGU 34; NSGU 52.

^{133a} Note also CT VII 43b, which seems to imply that the fields of several Amorites were in the same area.

¹³⁴ See above, pp. 312-14. See also CT X 16.

¹³⁵ RTC 305 records an amount of 1 *gur*, 3 *pi* (= 480 *silā*) of barley (*še-ba* MAR.TU-*ne*) for one month; at the regular monthly ration of 60 *silā* for each man, such an amount implies the presence of eight recipients. Note also SET 297, where a group of Amorites receives a specified amount of beer for a meal (*na-ap-ta-núm*, cf. above, n. 70).

¹³⁶ ITT II/1 962.

¹³⁷ CT IX 17; TLB III 53. Both texts record an amount of 36 minas of wool for one year; at the regular yearly ration of 3 minas for each woman, such an amount implies the presence of twelve recipients. Note also the text STA 27, which records the amount 13 *gur*, 2 *pi*, 40 *silā* of "barley of the Amorites" (*še* MAR.TU), identified as "remnant of the *Nag-dug-ra*." The amount of barley is considerable, but there is no way of determining the number of Amorites for whom it was destined, since there is no indication of the yearly or monthly total of the rations. The same is true for the "three 60-*gur* boats, grain boats of the Amorites" (ITT III/2 6617).

¹³⁸ For the definition of "resident" and "foreigner" see below in chapter IX; for larger groups of Amorites as foreigners see above, p. 265.

5. OTHER CITIES

None of the other Sumerian cities of the Ur III period has yielded nearly as much evidence concerning the Amorites as Drehem, Isin, and Lagaš. It is impossible to judge whether this is due to chance in the discovery of texts, or whether one has to assume that the data at our disposal reflect a real distributional pattern. While the second alternative is more attractive in that it would allow us to draw significant historical conclusions, the first one is safer, especially as long as the precise nature of the archives from which our texts come is not investigated more thoroughly. In any case, we will refrain here from overall considerations, and we will limit ourselves to a few observations concerning the extant data from — in geographical order — Ešnunna, Nippur, Umma, Larsa, Ur.

1. *Ešnunna*

The texts of Ešnunna of the Ur III and Isin-Larsa period are as yet unpublished, but all date formulas contained in them have been collected and studied by T. Jacobsen.¹³⁹ The texts which are dated to the Third Dynasty of Ur are 104,¹⁴⁰ and of these only one contains the term MAR.TU. No doubt there are more texts, in which the date is either broken or missing, which could be assigned to the Ur III period on the basis of other criteria, such as prosopographic or stylistic investigations. However, due to the bulk of the material (well over a thousand tablets, including all periods), such investigations are clearly beyond the scope of this work. From a preliminary and partial survey which I have made, it appears that in the undated texts of the Ur III period as well as in the texts of the Isin-Larsa period there are many occurrences of the term MAR.TU and of Amorite personal names. Of special

¹³⁹ In H. Frankfort, S. Lloyd and T. Jacobsen, *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar, OIP XLIII*, Chicago 1940, pp. 161-95.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-69.

¹⁴¹ TA '31, 334.

importance is the element of continuity, since the documentation runs more or less uninterruptedly from the earlier to the later times. Undoubtedly these conditions will prove very favorable for a further clarification of the problem of the Amorites.

The only dated Ur III text containing the term MAR.TU¹⁴¹ is a receipt for the disbursement of food items to several individuals. It is unfortunately not clear from which administrative unit the disbursement is made.

2. Nippur

In the numerous published and, as far as available, in the unpublished Ur III texts from Nippur, the term MAR.TU occurs only once.¹⁴² The absence of the Amorites from Nippur is especially conspicuous if one considers not only the abundance of textual material from that city, but also the fact that the Amorites are attested in great number in Drehem, a dependency of Nippur. A possible explanation is that the Amorites of Drehem are at the same time the Amorites of Nippur, except that the archives of Nippur had not as much occasion to mention foreigners as did the archives of Drehem. Such an interpretation would certainly fit well with the fact that many Amorites attested at Drehem can be shown to have been foreigners on the basis of other reasons.¹⁴³

The text from Nippur containing the term MAR.TU¹⁴⁴ is a record of bronze objects with silver decorations distributed to several individuals mentioned by name. In the last entry, the recipient is simply called MAR.TU, which means that the term "Amorite" is used instead of a personal name.¹⁴⁵ The entry carries the further qualification (missing in the previous entries) that the Amorite is "(staying) at the place of Lú-kal-la" (*ki Lú-kal-la*). The administrative unit from which the disbursement originated is not stated.

¹⁴² UM 55-21-91. See also *TMH NF I/II* 132, where **A-du-ra-mu* occurs.

¹⁴³ See above, p. 282, and below, pp. 343-45.

¹⁴⁴ UM 55-21-91.

¹⁴⁵ See below, p. 348, n. 4.

3. Umma

There are seventeen texts from Umma containing references to the Amorites. They can be subdivided as follows:

- (1) Balanced accounts: 1 text; ¹⁴⁶
- (2) Rations: 3 texts; ¹⁴⁷
- (3) Food allowances: 7 texts; ¹⁴⁸
- (4) Records of objects: 1 text; ¹⁴⁹
- (5) Letters: 1 text; ¹⁵⁰
- (6) Miscellaneous: 4 texts. ¹⁵¹

It is not clear from what type (or types) of administrative unit the texts originate. The so-called "messenger texts" have here been included under the title "food allowances," as in Lagaš.¹⁵²

Since the Ur III texts from Umma are very numerous, the proportion of Amorites attested for this city is undoubtedly small. It should be noted that only one or possibly two Amorite names are attested (besides the name *A-mu-ru-um* which occurs once): *Ša-ma-núm* and *Ar-si¹⁵³?-a¹⁵⁴-núm* (both in the same text). In many cases, the Amorites are mentioned in groups,¹⁵³ often of soldiers,¹⁵⁴ and are not named as individuals. It is difficult, on the basis of these data, to assess the role of the Amorites in Umma. The general impression is that a situation similar to that in Lagaš obtained here, namely that the Amorites were residents rather than foreigners, and that many of them were in public service, either as soldiers, or as recipients of rations in the so-called messenger

¹⁴⁶ *BIN* V 119.

¹⁴⁷ *CCTE* W 29; *CST* 728; *Or.* 18, 24.

¹⁴⁸ *CHÉU* 56; *Or.* 18, 26; *Or.* 18, 27; *Or.* 47, 477; *RA* 8, p. 156; *SET* 221; *UCP* IX/2 26.

¹⁴⁹ *UCP* IX/2, 121.

¹⁵⁰ *YOS* IV 114.

¹⁵¹ *BIN* V 165; *CCTE* C 1; *MAH* 16460; *Or.* 20, p. 83. — For Umma see also above, p. 243.

¹⁵² See above, p. 311.

¹⁵³ *CHÉU* 56; *Or.* 18, 24; *Or.* 18, 26; *Or.* 18, 27; *Or.* 47, 477; *RA* 8, p. 156.

¹⁵⁴ See below, p. 340.

texts. If the proportion between Amorites attested and the total number of texts from each city corresponds to reality, than the percentage of the Amorites with respect to the total population is much smaller in Umma than in Lagaš.

4. *Larsa*

The only evidence concerning Amorites in Larsa during the Ur III period comes from the Larsa king list.¹⁵⁵ The names of the first two kings only, *Na-ab-la-nu-um* and *E-mi-zum*, have been entered in the list of names given in chapter III, both because the time range of these two kings is coterminous with the period covered by the last king of Ur and the first two kings of Isin, and because both names are otherwise attested in the texts from other cities in the same period.¹⁵⁶ A special problem in this connection is to determine whether the first king of Larsa, Nablānum, is the same as his namesake so frequently mentioned in the Drehem texts. The importance of this question lies in the fact that if we are dealing with one and the same person in both cities, we would have a link between the instauration of a new dynasty in a Sumerian city-state on the one hand, and the nomadic inroads from Syria on the other.¹⁵⁷ The data at our disposal do not unfortunately allow a clear answer to this problem, but they do not seem in favor of identifying the Nablānum of Drehem with the Nablānum of Larsa. (1) As pointed out by Edzard,¹⁵⁸ if Nablānum is the same person in all cases, then by the end of his rule in Larsa (2005 B.C.) he would have been at least 76 years old, assuming that in the year AS 4 (= 2043 B.C.) he was at least 38, since he is attested in that year as having a son who must have been at least 18 years old.¹⁵⁹ Since

¹⁵⁵ YOS I 32.

¹⁵⁶ See above, s.vv. in chapter III.

¹⁵⁷ For the connection between Nablānum and *kur* MAR.TU see above, p. 238.

¹⁵⁸ *Zwischenzeit*, p. 24, n. 102.

¹⁵⁹ TCL II 5508. The assumption that the son, *A-bi-iš-ki-in*, was at least 18 years old is based in turn on another assumption, namely that *A-bi-iš-ki-in*, who received a regular amount of cattle and is mentioned in the text without his mother, had already reached mature age.

76 is a minimal figure, this argument does not seem to favor the probability, even though it does not exclude the possibility, of Nablānum being the same person in all cases. (2) Nablānum is attested very often in Drehem (29 times), but over a circumscribed period of time, namely under Šulgi and Amar-Sîn.¹⁶⁰ He is never attested in texts from the reign of Šu-Sîn, while in the second year of Ibbi-Sîn — i.e. eleven years after the last occurrence of Nablānum in Drehem — a son of Nablānum, Ili-bābum, is attested, also in Drehem.¹⁶¹ This gap in the documentation would seem to favor the possibility that we are dealing with more than one person of the same name. (3) Ili-bābum, son of Nablānum, is attested in Drehem in the eleventh month of the same year in which Nablānum begins his rule in Larsa.¹⁶² If the beginning of Nablānum's rule in Larsa was marked by a break with the dynasty of Ur — as it may reasonably be assumed —, it is strange that in the same year his son should be carrying on peaceful business in Drehem, at that time still under the control of the dynasty of Ur. While several speculations might easily be made concerning this matter,¹⁶³ it is better to suspend our judgment until more information becomes available.

5. Ur

There are 10 texts from Ur containing references to the Amorites. They can be subdivided as follows :

- (1) Rations: 4 texts;¹⁶⁴
- (2) Records about workmen: 1 text;¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ Earliest evidence is in Š 43 VIII 1 (CST 88), latest in AS 9 II 26 (SET 66).

¹⁶¹ Unpubl. B.

¹⁶² See above, p. 263.

¹⁶³ For instance, if *A-bi-a-mu-ti* is indeed a title meaning "sheikh of Yamūtum" and if it refers to Nablānum (see above, p. 127 and below, p. 338, n. 95), one could see here a link between Nablānum and Larsa, since the title "sheikh of Yamūt-bal" was linked, as is well known, with the history of Larsa in the Old Babylonian period (cf. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 168).

¹⁶⁴ UET III 262; UET III 1052; UET III 1136; UET III 1391.

¹⁶⁵ MAH 16253.

- (3) Records about animals: 2 texts;¹⁶⁶
- (4) Records about clothes: 2 texts;¹⁶⁷
- (5) Records about objects: 1 text.¹⁶⁸

The texts come from different administrative units, the exact nature of which it is not possible to determine here. The Amorites are often mentioned as a group; where they are mentioned individually by name,¹⁶⁹ the names are Amorite. In this respect, the situation at Ur is similar to that in Drehem and Isin. There is no indication, however, as to whether the Amorites at Ur were in residence or only on a temporary stay. Twice they are connected with geographical names,¹⁷⁰ and on one of these occasions they are issued clothes, apparently by the government.¹⁷¹ As in Umma, the number of Amorites attested at Ur is surprisingly low. Whether this has anything to do with the geographical position of the city in the southernmost part of the country, a position relatively safe with respect to the general direction of the Amorite infiltration from the North-west, remains a matter of speculation.

¹⁶⁶ UET III 1206; UET III 1244.

¹⁶⁷ UET III 1678; UET III 1685.

¹⁶⁸ UET III 566. Also note UET III 787, containing the name *A-du-ni-la*, which is not followed by the qualification MAR.TU, but can be interpreted as Amorite.

¹⁶⁹ MAH 16253; UET III 566; UET III 1678. The Sumerian and Akkadian names occurring in UET III 1052 may not actually refer to Amorites, see above, p. 85.

¹⁷⁰ UET III 1136: MAR.TU BAD.SIG₇-ia gin-na-me; UET III 1685: MAR.TU *Sak-kul-ma-da-ka* (cf. E. Reiner, "Mālamir," in *RA* 57 [1963] p. 173 with n. 3).

¹⁷¹ UET III 1685: *nig-šu-tag-a ki* MAR.TU ... šè.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

In chapter VII the term *kur* MAR.TU has been shown to refer to a specific geographical area outside Babylonia. Are we to assume that all persons to whose name the Sumerian scribes added the qualification MAR.TU had come to Babylonia from the "country of the Amorites"? Or is the qualification MAR.TU to be separated from *kur* MAR.TU, and to be understood in a different sense than an ethnic appellative? To phrase the problem in different terms: what was the position of the persons qualified as MAR.TU within the framework of Sumerian society? Were they identified as a foreign body and distinguished from the rest of society, or were they assimilated to the native population? The answer seems to be that both conditions coexisted at the same time: there were Amorites who were considered foreigners in a full sense because they were in Babylonia on a temporary basis only, and there were Amorites who had begun to settle down and were in the progress of being assimilated, that is, in the progress of losing their differential status as foreigners. There is no radical opposition between the two aspects of the problem, since they can be explained as representing two stages along the same line of development. This developmental process cannot be fully understood without taking into consideration the later stages of the same evolution, namely the stages reflected by the texts of Ešnunna and the later Old Babylonian period. A few remarks on the subject will be found in the next chapter. In this chapter one will find instead a descriptive analysis of the different aspects of the position of the Amorites in the society of the Ur III period. We will start by considering the criteria according to which foreigners were distinguished as such from the rest of the population, and we will see how these criteria may be applied to the Amorites. Then we will consider the position of those Amorites who may be considered more properly to be foreigners because they retained active ties with their homeland. Finally we will study the status of those Amorites who appear to have settled down in Babylonia.

1. THE AMORITES AS FOREIGNERS

1. Designation of foreigners in the Ur III period

Leaving aside for the moment the Amorites, one may ask the more general question as to whether and how foreigners were referred to in the administrative texts of the Ur III period. In the first place it should be noted that we seem to lack the very word for "foreigner." At least, the word which can be used to refer to foreigners, namely *lú kúr* (Akkadian *aḫūm*, *ubāru* and *nakrum*), does not seem to be used anywhere to qualify specific persons in contrast with others who are considered natives. It is interesting to note that this is also true of later periods of Mesopotamian history: the clearest passage where *aḫiūtum* means "foreigners," as opposed to *aliūtum*, "citizens (of Aššur)," is in a text coming not from Mesopotamia, but Anatolia.¹

The usual way of referring to foreigners in the Ur III period was to state their provenience, in one of two ways: either with a gentilic adjective, or with a genitive clause of the type *lú GN*, "man of/from a certain city or country." Thus NIM is a gentilic, "Elamite," since it is found in direct apposition to personal names (note that *lú NIM*^{K1}, "man of Elam," does not occur), while *lú Mar-ḥa-ši-ke₄-ne*² or *lú Ung-_{K1}ga*³ are clearly genitive clauses. Note that the latter construction is regular with city names. It should also be noted that for certain ethnic groups, whom we can safely assume to have been considered foreigners by the Sumerians of the Ur III period, no ethnic designation is used in the texts. This is true of the Hurrians, who can be identified as Hurrians

¹ CAD I (A) pp. 390-91, s.v. **ālū*; cf. also *zēru aḫū* CAD XXI (Z), p. 97; s.v. *zēru*. On the position of the foreigners in Mesopotamian society see G. Cardascia, "Le statut de l'étranger dans la Mésopotamie ancienne," in *L'étranger*, I vol. IX of the *Récueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, Bruxelles 1958, pp. 105-117; and A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Chicago 1964, especially pp. 78-79, where the difference between Mesopotamian and Israelite institutions is also noted. See also the interesting proverb in *BWL*, p. 259: 16-17: *ubāru ina āli šanimma rēšu*, "a resident alien in another city is a slave."

² CCTE Bab. 12. Cf. also *lú Nag-su_{K1}-ke₄*, NSGU 120a:4.

³ UET III 1600:5, and often elsewhere.

because of their personal names, but are not qualified as Hurrians in the texts; if the texts show that they are foreigners, it is by stating their provenience from a certain city.⁴ It should finally be noted that the genitive clause is not as a rule followed by a second geographical name, whereas this is often the case with a gentilic like NIM.⁵ This is a confirmation of the formal difference between the two terms, of which only the second is a true gentilic.

From the foregoing it appears that:

- (1) no individual is qualified, in the administrative texts of Ur III, by the simple designation "foreigner" (unless one of the as yet unexplained appellatives found after personal names may be a candidate for such a translation);
- (2) at times, foreigners are not distinguished by any appellation whatever — this is the case with the Hurrians;
- (3) if they are qualified as foreigners, this is done by stating their provenience, in one of two ways, either (a) by stating the city or country of origin, or (b) by means of a gentilic, which at times is further qualified with the addition of the place of origin.

The difference between a gentilic and the expression *lú* GN is not only one of form. The gentilic gives expression to an ultimate derivation from, whereas *lú* GN may simply refer to a temporary connection with, a certain place of origin. Thus if a person is said to be an "Elamite of Kimaš," his ultimate origin is Elam, and Kimaš is only his more recent, and perhaps accidental, place of residence.

2. Identification of the Amorites as foreigners

It is my opinion that the term MAR.TU is used as a gentilic in the sense stated in the preceding section. It is clear, however, that a person qualified as MAR.TU cannot *ipso facto* be considered

⁴ Gelb, *Hurrians*, pp. 112-14.

⁵ Cf. T. Fish, "Towards a Study of Lagash Mission 'or Messenger' Texts," in *MCS* 5 (1955) pp. 1-9. For MAR.TU followed by a geographical name see below, p. 350, nn. 19-21.

a foreigner, because there is no doubt that in many cases the term MAR.TU refers to people settled in the land. It is therefore necessary to look for other criteria to establish whether any of the persons qualified as MAR.TU were actually foreigners. The criteria I can suggest are based on the provenience, the language and the customs of the Amorites. At the end of the chapter we will come back to the question of the precise meaning and usage of the appellation MAR.TU.

A. The provenience

The texts which have been utilized above in the discussion concerning the location of *kur* MAR.TU⁶ also give evidence of the fact that at least some of the Amorites were coming to Sumer from abroad. This conclusion was reached specifically for Nablānum and *I-bi-iq-ri-e-ú*.⁷ The same may be assumed for the several other cases in which Amorite envoys (*lú kin-gi₄-a*) are attested in the Sumerian cities, namely:

- Drehem: *Na-ap-ša-nu-um*, envoy of *Ià-a-mu-tu-um*; ⁸
no name given, envoy of *Á-ú-DINGIR*; ⁹
Isin: *A-ḥa-am-ar-ši*, *Mu-da-du-um*, envoys of *Ú-si-um*; ¹⁰
Še-ep-ra¹-nu-um, envoy of *Ú-si-i*; ¹¹
Ši¹-ip-ra¹-nu-um, *Šu¹-ul¹-ma-nu-um*, *Kir_x(GÌR)-mu-nu-um*, envoys of *Ú-s[i-i]*; ¹²
no names given, 2 envoys of *Ú-si-i*; ¹³
no names given, 3 envoys of *Ú-si-i*; ¹⁴
no name given, envoy of *Sa-ma-mu-um*; ¹⁵
no name given, envoy of *Ša-[ma]-mu-um*.¹⁶

⁶ See above, pp. 237-42.

⁷ A 2882; A 29365.

⁸ TCL II 5508; see above, pp. 244-46.

⁹ PDTI 548.

¹⁰ BIN IX 39.

¹¹ BIN IX 324.

¹² BIN IX 325.

¹³ BIN IX 326.

¹⁴ BIN IX 395.

¹⁵ BIN IX 423.

¹⁶ BIN IX 425.

Even though no indication is given in the texts as to the point of origin of the envoys' mission, it seems obvious that this point was actually beyond Sumerian frontiers. As a confirmation one may recall a text which states that the envoys of the king were going "to the mountain, to the place of Šamāmum, the Amorite."¹⁷ Since this Šamāmum is certainly the same as the one whose envoys are attested in Isin, it is obvious that "the mountain, the place of Šamāmum" should also be the starting point of Šamāmum's envoys. Whether or not this "mountain" may be identified with *kur* MAR.TU, as it seems likely,¹⁸ there is little doubt that "mountain" (*hur-sag*) can hardly refer to an area within Sumerian territory.

The fact that the place of origin of the envoys is not stated is interesting, because such an indication is otherwise very common in the Ur III texts. One may give a simple explanation if one considers that when a place of origin is stated in the Ur III texts, this is as a rule a city. If no city is mentioned in connection with the Amorites, the most likely reason is precisely that they had no city. This assumption fits well with the text just quoted, which states that the envoys of the king of Isin were going "to the mountain, to the place of Šamāmum, the Amorite,"¹⁹ as well as with the possible interpretation of *Ià-a-mu-tum* (whose envoys are attested at Drehem) as a tribal name.²⁰

There is another type of evidence which refers to the Amorites as coming from abroad. The literary sources and the year names speak of the Amorites as pressing at the border of Mesopotamia. Šar-kali-šarri had already mentioned in a year name his victory over the Amorites at Jebel Bišri.²¹ In the Ur III period the geographical orientation is less precise, but the idea is the same: the Amorite live in a mountainous territory;²² a wall is built to keep them away

¹⁷ *BIN* IX 390.

¹⁸ See above, p. 241.

¹⁹ *BIN* IX 390.

²⁰ See above, p. 244; cf. also pp. 246-47.

²¹ *RTC* 124; cf. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 33, 2a.

²² See below, p. 331.

from Babylonia,²³ but the increasing pressure of the Amorites grows to such a point that eventually they overrun such barriers and are able to "enter" the land.²⁴

B. The language

The personal names borne by some of the people qualified as MAR.TU set them apart from the rest of the population. This would seem at first to be a good criterion for identifying the Amorites as foreigners: they were foreigners because they spoke a different language. Yet, it is not safe to assume on the basis of personal names that the people were aware of linguistic differences, since in principle they could have perserved their names after having given up their language. Thus while the personal names may serve as a good indication of the provenience of the Amorites, they cannot be claimed as evidence to prove that the Amorites were identified as foreigners by the Sumerians because of a difference in the language they spoke.²⁵

There are, however, other reasons to believe that the language spoken by the Amorites was indeed considered a foreign language. In a text to which attention has already been called by Gelb²⁶ there is record of various amounts of fish brought to Drehem by several individuals, among whom there is an unnamed "inter-

²³ See especially E. Unger, "Tempelweihinschrift des Gimil-Sin aus Giš-Uh ki (Umma)," in *ZA* 29 (1914-15), pp. 180-81, Pl. I: *u, bād-MAR.TU Mu-ri-ig-ti-id-ni-im mu-dú-a ù nē-MAR.TU ma-da-ni-e bi-in-gi-a* "the day on which (i.e., when) he built the Amorite wall, (called) Muriq-Tidnim, and repelled from his land the Amorite forces," see Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 33. See also *RLA* II, pp. 144-45; *Or.* 22 (1953) Pl. XL (above, pp. 9-92); W. W. Hallo, "The Road to Emar," in *JCS* 18 (1964) p. 67. For the construction of the wall, its location and its purpose see Gadd, *Babylonia*, pp. 17-18.

²⁴ *PBS* XIII 9:7: *inim MAR.TU lú-kúr-ra ša ma-da ba!-ku-ra* "reports that hostile Amorites had entered the plains," cf. Jacobsen, "Ibbi-Suen," p. 39.

²⁵ It should be noted that the fact of linguistic difference is only seldom emphasized in the Ancient Near East, see for instance *UET* I 146 iii 7 and iv 7 (= *CAD* IV [E] p. 42, s.v. *egēru*); Gen. 11:6-9; 2 Kings 18:26-27 = Is. 36:11-12.

²⁶ Gelb, "Early History," p. 32.

preter of the Amorites" (*eme-bal* MAR.TU).²⁷ The other persons mentioned in the text are two sons of the king, namely *Na-sá* (1.10) and *Ur-^dEN.ZU* (1.22); two minor officials, namely *Lú-^dŠEŠ.KI* PA.AL (1.8) and *Lugal-ezen lú kas₄* (1.16); and finally other persons who bear no title, but are simply mentioned by name, e.g. *É-a-ì-lí* (1.20) and *Gu-zu-núm* (1.28). The last name is preceded by the specification *ŠID-tab^{x1}-ta*, a city near Marad.²⁸ It would seem that the persons mentioned in the texts are not foreigners considering the titles they bear and the mention of *ŠID-tab*; this suggests that the interpreter was not attached to a foreign convoy, because in such a case we would expect the other persons on the convoy to be mentioned in the text.²⁹ We may assume that the interpreter was settled in Drehem, and that his service were necessary for the Amorites who were coming through Drehem for a short stay and did not have an interpreter of their own. If this assumption is correct, it would indicate that the Amorites reaching Drehem were numerous enough to justify the permanent presence there of an interpreter.

²⁷ TD 81. The precise meaning of *eme-bal* MAR.TU seems to be "interpreter of the Amorites," rather than "Amorite interpreter." This is suggested by parallels such as *sukkal eme-bal lú Mar-ḥa-šix^{x1}* (JCS 7 [1953] pp. 106-7, i 19'), *eme-bal Me-luḥ-ḥa* (Catalogue de la Collection de Clerq, Paris 1888, Vol. I, pl. 9:83 and, in later periods, *Gi-ki-i LÚ tar-gu-ma-nu ša KUR Man-nu-a-a* (ADD 865: Obv. 6-7). In the case of *eme-bal* MAR.TU, the term MAR.TU is used as a substantive in the plural, as in many other cases (see below, pp. 348-49, N. 13).

²⁸ On the reading of the name and the location of the city see A. Poebel, "The City Aktab," in JAOS 57 (1937) esp. pp. 362-65; F. R. Kraus, "Provinzen des neusumerischen Reiches von Ur," in ZA 52 (1955) esp. p. 57; B. Landsberger, "The Seventh Tablet of the Series e a -nāqu," in JCS 13 (1959) p. 129, l. 199.

²⁹ As with the "「3」 interpreters who are with the man of Marḥašī" 「3」 *eme-bal ki lú Mar-ḥa-šix^{x1} gub-「ba」-me* (A 2790:i 23). On the other hand, it is elsewhere said of the Amorites that they "used to bring fish from far away" (see above, pp. 90 and 251); whether the Amorite interpreter mentioned in TD 81 is connected with this type of trade, is impossible to say.

C. The customs

The administrative texts contain no direct³⁰ reference to foreign customs characteristic of the Amorites. Nor do we find in Mesopotamian art any figurative representation of these early nomads.³¹ For evidence concerning their habits and customs we have to turn instead to literary sources.³² From these it appears that the traits used to characterize the Amorites were in the process of becoming conventionalized, since the same expressions are often repeated in different texts. The various attributes add up to a telling description; they can be grouped as follows:³³

I. The Amorites are nomads. This is expressed both in a positive way, by stating that they live in tents, on negatively, by saying that they know no city(-life) and no (stable) house:

za-lam-gar-ti IM.IM-šég-[gá],³⁴ "a tent dweller [buffeted?] by wind and rain";³⁵
uru^{KI} nu-zu,³⁶ "the one who does not know city(-life)";
ul-ta uru^{KI} nu-zu,³⁷ "the one who has never known city(-life)";
é nu-zu,³⁸ "the one who does not know (i.e. have, a stable) house";
u-ti-la-na é nu-tuku-a,³⁹ "the one who in his lifetime does not have a house."

³⁰ The partial evidence of a tribal structure, for which see below, pp. 332-36, may however be taken as an indirect documentation.

³¹ See above, pp. 13-14.

³² See above, pp. 88-89.

³³ In giving quotations, I first refer, whenever possible, to Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, pp. 31-34; thus lg refers to section 1, paragraph g, on p. 32.

³⁴ *SEM* 58:iv 24.

³⁵ Reading and translation by S. N. Kramer, "Sumero-Akkadian Interconnections: Religious Ideas," in *Genava*, NS 8 (1960) p. 281 and n. 34.

³⁶ 1f: *TCL* XV 9 vi 22 = *SEM* 112:ii 6'. See also above, p. 274, n. 74.

³⁷ 2e: *UET* I 206. The seeming contradiction between these texts and the expression *uru KI MAR.TU* (*Sumer* 4, p. 113; and cf. p. 170) may be explained assuming that in the latter text *uru* refers to a nomadic camp.

³⁸ 1f : *TCL* XV 9:vi 22 = *SEM* 112:ii 6'.

³⁹ 1g: *SEM* 58:iv 28.

II. The Amorites live in a mountainous area,⁴⁰ without agriculture, and almost in a food-gathering stage:

MAR.TU *kur-ra*,⁴¹ "the Amorite of the mountains";
lú-líl-lá ḥur-sag-gá tuš-a,⁴² "the awkward man living in the mountains";

MAR.TU *kur-bi-ta*,^{42a} "the Amorite from their mountain";
lú še nu-zu,⁴³ "the one who does not know (i.e. cultivate) grain";
lú uz[u]-diri kur-da mu-un-ba-al-la,⁴⁴ "the one who digs up mushrooms at the foot of the mountain."

III. The Amorite mode of life is peculiar and strange:
du₁₀-gúr nu-zu-àm,⁴⁵ "who does not know how to (i.e., never does) bend his knee";
uzu-nu-šeg-gá al-kú-e,⁴⁶ "who eats uncooked meat";
u₄-da'-ús-a-na ki nu-túm-mu-dam,⁴⁷ "who on the day of his death will not be buried."

IV. Finally, there are more generic statements referring to the warlike character of the Amorites, as viewed by Sumerian eyes:

⁴⁰ In *PBS XIII 9: i 7* Edzard (*Zwischenzeit*, p. 32, n. 131, and p. 34) reads *lú kur-ra*, "highlander"; the copy shows however clearly *lú kúr-ra*, "hostile man" (as read by Jacobsen, "Ibbi-Suen," pp. 39-40).

⁴¹ Id: *ZA* 57 (1965) p. 52; *SLTN* 103-10-11.

⁴² If: *TCL XV 9 vi 23* = *SEM* 112 ii 7'.

^{42a} *PBS XIII 6: Rev. 4*, cf. Falkenstein, "Ibbi-Suen," pp. 63, 72.

⁴³ Unpublished Šu-Sin inscription, courtesy M. Civil; Id: *TCL XVI 66: Rv. 12'*; le: *SEM* 1: v 11.

⁴⁴ *SEM* 58 iv 26. For this interpretation see B. Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie Ḥar-ra-ḥubullu*, Leipzig 1934, p. 111, with n. 2. For a different interpretation see S. N. Kramer, "Interconnections," quoted, p. 281, who reads: *LÜN[E] dirig*, and translates: "contenti[ous]? to excess, he turns (?) against the lands."

⁴⁵ 1g: *SEM* 58: iv 26-27.

⁴⁶ *Ibid* M. Civil calls my attention to the proverb published by E. I. Gordon in his article "A New Look at the Wisdom of Sumer and Akkad," in *BiOr* 17 (1960), p. 131: *gig-gú-nunuz-a lál-gin_x(GIM) ib-ag*, MAR.TU *ì-kú-e níg-ša-bi nu-un-zu*, translated by Gordon as: "They have prepared wheat (and) *gú-nunuz* (grain) as a confection, (but) an Amorite will eat it without (even) recognizing what it contains!"

⁴⁷ *SEM* 58: iv 29.

MAR.TU *lú-kúr-ra šà ma-da ba'ku⁴⁸-ra*, "that the hostile Amorites have entered the plains";

MAR.TU *lú-ḥa-lam-m[a] dīm-ma-ur-ra-gin_x ur-ba-ra-gin_x*,⁴⁹ "the Amorites, a ravaging people, with canine instincts, like wolves ..."

3. *Traces of tribal structure*

From the foregoing it appears certain that the term MAR.TU was used frequently, if not exclusively, to refer to foreign populations. It also appears that they were coming from northern Syria, and that possibly they knew no city life, had no permanent dwellings, and that their economy was basically not agricultural. Is there any information about their social structure? The evidence in this respect is limited, but important.

On the analogy of the later nomadic groups from the Syrian desert, one might expect to find traces of a tribal organization. A typical feature of the nomadic system has always been that each tribe possessed an individuality of its own, symbolized by its name. In our case the first name to be considered is of course MAR.TU. If the West Semitic interpretation of Amurru⁵⁰ (of which MAR.TU is the equivalent⁵¹) is correct, the name can be taken as the name of the most important tribe or, perhaps, the name of a group of tribes of the northern Syrian desert.⁵² We should note that there is nothing against the assumption that these early nomads might have had tribal names, and that they might have been known to Sumerians and Akkadians by such names; this was clearly the case in the Old Babylonian period, when several nomadic groups were known to the Akkadians by their own tribal names, some of which will be mentioned presently.

⁴⁸ PBS XIII 9 i 7, cf. Jacobsen, "Ibbi-Suen," p. 39.

⁴⁹ Unpublished, courtesy M. Civil.

⁵⁰ See above, chapter IV, s.v. *A-mu-ru-um*.

⁵¹ See above, chapter IV, s.v. MAR.TU.

⁵² This interpretation has been suggested most explicitly by Falkenstein, "Chronologie" p. 16: "...glaube ich als allgemein akzeptabel ansehen zu dürfen, wenn ich unter der MAR.TU-Namen den wichtigsten Stamm der semitische Nomaden verstehe..."

That the name MAR.TU may have referred to a group including several tribes rather than to a single tribe is suggested by the expressions PN MAR.TU *lā-a-ma-ti-um* and *lā-a-ma-ti*.⁵³ This expression is formally related to the following ones from later periods: *Am-na-an Ia-aḥ-ru-ur*,⁵⁴ MAR.TU *Su-ti-um*,⁵⁵ *Ḥa-na-a DU-MU.MEŠ-ia-mi-im*,⁵⁶ LÚ.MEŠ *Ia-ri-ḥa-yu*^{K1} *su-ga-gu ša LÚ-Ḥa-na-MEŠ*,⁵⁷ *Ḥa-na-MEŠ Iaṣ-ma-ḥa-mu-um*,⁵⁸ Aramean Aḥlamu,⁵⁹ 'Aram Šôbâ,⁶⁰ 'Aram bêt-R^eḥôb,⁶¹ 'Aram Šôbâ û R^eḥôb,⁶² KUR Šal-la-a-a DUMU Ba-ḥi-a-ni.⁶³ While it is only in cases where *lā-a-ma-tu* occurs that a personal name is followed by two tribal names, this is possibly not the only attestation for the existence of other tribes besides Amurru. Other possible tribal names are Yaḥmuṭum,⁶⁴ Yamūtum,⁶⁵ and Aḥbūtum.⁶⁶ These are all attested together with the name MAR.TU, so that they may be taken to refer to individual tribes of the Amorite group. Different is the case of Did(a)num,⁶⁷ which also refers to a tribe or a tribal group which appears to be regarded on the same level with MAR.TU.⁶⁸

There is another indication to suggest that MAR.TU/Amurru

⁵³ See above, p. 242.

⁵⁴ A. Falkenstein, "Zu den Inschriftfunden der Grabung in Uruk-Warka 1960-1961," in *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 2 (1963) pp. 22-23.

⁵⁵ UET V 564:i 6, cf. Kupper, *Nomades*, pp. 88-89.

⁵⁶ Dossin, "Benjaminites," p. 989; Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁵⁷ ARM II 53:10; Kupper, *loc. cit.*; Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 37, n. 159.

⁵⁸ ARM V 81:9; Kupper, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁵⁹ Cf. S. Moscati, "The 'Aramean Aḥlamū'," in *JSS* 4 (1959) pp. 303-307.

⁶⁰ 2 Sam. 10:6; Ps. 60:2.

⁶¹ 2 Sam. 10:6.

⁶² 2 Sam. 10:8, cf. G. Buccellati, *Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria*, Roma (in press), pp. 143-45.

⁶³ Aššurbanipal, *Annals* II 21-22 = AKA, p. 302.

⁶⁴ See above, chapter IV, s.v. *lā-a-mu-tum*, and pp. 244-46.

⁶⁵ See above, chapter IV, s.v. *A-bi-a-mu-ti*, and p. 244.

⁶⁶ See above, chapter IV, s.v. *Aḥ-bu-te-um*.

⁶⁷ See above, pp. 243-44.

⁶⁸ See the year name quoted above, p. 243. The equation Didnu/Amurru in a later lexical text (see above, p. 244, n. 52) may be generic the meaning of the lexical entry may simply be that both names refer to tribal groups from the same area.

was a group of tribes, rather than a single tribe. In his letter to Ibbi-Sin, Išbi-Irra writes that "the MAR.TU in their entirety have *ša kalam-ma-še ba-an-ku₄-ur*";⁶⁹ a similar expression is found in a text which entered the interior of the country " (MAR.TU *dù-dù-[a-bi]*) later texts from Ešnunna which says that " all of Amurru has joined together " (*A¹-mu¹-ru¹-um ga-lu-šu i-ba-hu-ra-am*).⁷⁰ It is not impossible that these expressions may refer to the process by which several, if not " all," Amorite tribes were brought together under specific circumstances.⁷¹

As for political institutions, nomadic tribes have been traditionally associated with a typical figure of leader, usually designated by the Arabic term " sheikh. " One of the Old Babylonian terms which seems to correspond to " sheikh " is " father " (Akkadian *abum*).⁷² The same title occurs already in our period. In a Drehem text dated in the fifth year of Amar-Sin the name *Šu-mi-in-ni* is followed by the qualification *a-ba* à MAR.TU.⁷³ The form *a-ba* occurs frequently in Old Akkadian personal names,⁷⁴ and once in a lexical text with the equivalent *a-bu*.⁷⁵ The sign *ù* presents difficulties. One possibility is to interpret *ù* as a conjunction, and to understand the passage as meaning " the sheikh Šumī-ḫinnī and the Amorites. " Note that the conjunction *ù* is used elsewhere in a similar construction,⁷⁶ and that groups of retainers are often mentioned in administrative texts, as in the following two examples

⁶⁹ PBS XIII 9:9, cf. Jacobsen, " Ibbi-Suen, " p. 39.

⁷⁰ TA '31:299, Rev. 2-3, unpublished letter to Bilalama.

⁷¹ See also, in a text from Mari, the mention of the " *mârimeš šī-ip-ri ša 4 šarrâni meš A-[mu]-ur-ri-i*, " quoted from an unpublished text by G. Dossin, " Kengen, pays de Canaan, " in RSO 32 (1957) p. 37. And cf. the expression " all of Aram, " *'rm klh* in the inscription of Sefire, KAI 222 A:5.6; B: 3/4; for a historical interpretation see especially M. Noth. " Der historische Hintergrund der Inschriften von Sefire, " in ZDPV 77 (1961) pp. 130-31.

⁷² Cf. CAD I (A) p. 12 (s.v. *abum*); Kupper, *Nomades*, pp. 174-77; the Sumerian rendering is *ad-da*, see Kupper, *ibid.*, and Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 35, n. 144. For a different interpretation of *abum* (" protector ") see J. Lewy, " Amurritica, " pp. 58-60.

⁷³ Nebr.:vi 12.

⁷⁴ MAD III, p. 11.

⁷⁵ *Erimḫuš* II 270, cf. CAD I, p. 67. The common Sumerian form is *ab-ba*, cf. ŠL 128:3.

⁷⁶ *Nig-šu-tag₄*, NI.TUK *ù* MAR.TU-ne, BIN IX 405.

which refer to Amorites: (animals for) *Na-ab-la-núm* MAR.TU, (animals for) MAR.TU-me;⁷⁷ (food allowance for) *I-bi-iq-ri-e-ú* MAR.TU *lā-a-ma-ti-[um]*, (food allowance for) *lú-ús-sa-ni-me*, i.e., "his followers."⁷⁸ The expression *ù* MAR.TU is however attested in other cases in which the context makes it impossible to consider *ù* as a conjunction:⁷⁹ here the expression *ù* MAR.TU occurs as single unit, the meaning of which is impossible to determine. Even so, however, the reading and meaning of *a-ba* would remain unchanged, and the text could still be taken as evidence of the use of the term "father" for "sheikh."

If the interpretation of the name *A-bi-a-mu-ti* as 'abi-yamūti, "father, i.e. sheikh, of Yamūtum," is correct, we may consider it as another piece of evidence for *abum* meaning "sheikh." The comparison with the expression *A-bi-a-mu-ur-ri-im*, found in an Old Babylonian letter,⁸⁰ is particularly instructive, since this also is used in place of a personal name, but, as has been made clear by Kupper,⁸¹ is actually a title and refers to Kudur-Mabug, known from other texts to have borne the same title in Sumerian form: *ad-da kur* MAR.TU. An even better parallel is another title of Kudur-Mabug, namely *a-bu E-mu-ut-ba-la*,⁸² of which 'abi Yamūti could be the shortened form. In favor of considering *A-bi-a-mu-ti* a title used as a personal name one can adduce the fact that foreigners in the Drehem texts are often mentioned by title and not by name, notably in the case of Amorite envoys.⁸³ While neither the title *abum* nor any other equivalent term appears in the texts of Isin, it is possible that both *Ū-si-um* and *Šamām/num* were tribal

⁷⁷ TCL II 5500.

⁷⁸ A 2790; the expression *lú-ús-sa-ni* occurs elsewhere in the same text. Note also, from Lagaš: (allowance for) PN, 20 *lú-ús-sa* 2 *šila* [*kás*]-ta, "20 retainers at 2 quarts of beer each," SET 297:31-43.

⁷⁹ See the following passages, to which I. J. Gelb has called my attention: *gan* *ù* MAR.TU-ne (Nik. I 42); *še (gan)* *ù* MAR.TU-ka-kam (RTC 70); *lú* *ù* MAR.TU-ne_{KI}-me (ITT I 1475:11); "chez les *ù mar-tu*" (ITT II/2, p. 35, 4637); cf. also PN *lú kin-gi-a* *ù* A-pi-sá_{KI} (Th. Fish, "A-pi-sá_{KI}," in MCS VI, p. 80, BM 105707); PN *lú kin-gi-a* *ù* Maš-gan_{KI} (ibid.).

⁸⁰ See above, chapter IV, s.v. *A-bi-a-mu-ti*.

⁸¹ Kupper, *Nomades*, pp. 175-76.

⁸² *Op. cit.*, p. 178. See above, p. 320, n. 163.

⁸³ See above, p. 326.

chieftains or sheikhs, since their envoys are often mentioned in the same texts⁸⁴ and envoys are as a rule connected with either independent rulers or high officials.

4. *Position of the Amorites as foreigners*

The data gathered in the previous pages make it clear that at least some of the Amorites attested in Mesopotamia in the Ur III period were considered foreigners. The combined evidence of the several elements analyzed above yields the following picture. There were in Mesopotamia individuals qualified as MAR.TU who spoke a language unfamiliar to the Mesopotamians (as evidenced by the presence of an *eme-bal* MAR.TU) and related to West Semitic (as evidenced by the personal names). They were in direct connection with the uplands of northern Syria (*kur* MAR.TU), since they are said to travel toward that destination setting off from Mesopotamia. The envoys of persons qualified as MAR.TU were also by definition on a short stay in Mesopotamia, even though in their case the sources do not state where they were from. There is little doubt that these Amorites were the same as the Amorites who in the literary texts and the year names appear as nomads coming from the northern Syrian desert; for besides the coincidence of name, time and space, there are indications that the Amorites attested as foreigners in the administrative texts were living in a society based on tribal structure, typical of nomadic society. The next question to be asked is: What was the position of these Amorites during their sojourn in Babylonia?

The description of the Amorites given in the literary sources shows both contempt and fear; the year names give a hint of how unrelenting was the threat of the nomads at the frontiers; and even the administrative texts, however dry and repetitive they may be, give at times a hint of the immediate reality of war — when animals are brought back to Drehem and Ur as "booty (taken from) the Amorites." But these Amorites — dangerous, barbarous and unwieldy — were, so to speak, the "outer Amorites," that is the Amorites as an impersonal mass of unnamed people pushing at the frontiers of the kingdom. Whenever, on the other hand, the Am-

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

orites appear as persons, as named individuals, then they are, or at least they appear to be, as urbane as the bureaucratic organization to which we owe the record of their existence. Certainly, it appears that the attitude of dread and hostility which the Sumerians felt toward the " Amorites " did not impair the position of the individual Amorite who happened to come as a foreigner to Babylonia.

The first and most obvious observation to be made in this respect is in regard to the envoys who are mentioned in the texts of Drehem and Isin, listed above.⁸⁵ In all cases they are recorded in the texts as recipients, namely of animals at Drehem and of leather products at Isin. It is unfortunate that we do not know whether animals or leather products were given them by the palace or not, in other words, whether or not they were official guests of the government. A possible indication in favor of this assumption is that in one text from Isin an Amorite envoy is mentioned side by side with an envoy of the king of Isin.⁸⁶ The same text, it should be noted, may also be taken to imply that the Amorite envoys were not considered barbarians, but enjoyed an official status which put them on a level of diplomatic parity with the representatives of the Sumerian government. A similar situation is attested in connection with the " sheikh of Yamūtum " (*A-bi-a-mu-ti*)⁸⁷ in whose name animals were also routed by the Drehem administration. We are not informed about the occasion which brought these people to Mesopotamia, but we have some evidence concerning another Amorite whom we may consider a sheikh, namely Šumī-ḫinnī,⁸⁸ who had come to Drehem to bring animals to the king (*mu-TUM lugal*).⁸⁹ It should be noted that Šumī-ḫinnī is mentioned together with ensi's of the Ur III kingdom, which confirms his high rank. The fact that the sheikh is mentioned together with Sumerian ensi's may imply that he was at the head of a tribe whose movements were entirely, or for the most part, within Sumerian territory, in

⁸⁵ See above, p. 326.

⁸⁶ PN *lú kin-[g]i-ra lugal ù [lú kin-g]i-ra Ša-[ma]-mu-um* MAR.TU, BIN IX 425.

⁸⁷ See above, p. 335.

⁸⁸ See above, p. 334.

⁸⁹ Nebr.: x 15.

the *edin*.⁹⁰ In two other cases animals brought to Drehem are qualified as *mu-TÚM lugal*. One text⁹¹ does not record important officials, whereas the other⁹² mentions, next to the Amorite Manī-II, Šilluš-Dagan, who is known to have been a general.⁹³

The evidence is sufficient to show that there were diplomatic relationships between the kingdom of Ur III and the nomads. An important text from Isin shows that these relationships were reciprocal: the text is a record of leather products "for the envoys of the king who are going to the mountain, to the place of Šamāmum, the Amorite" (*lú kin-gi-a lugal hur-sag ki Ša-ma-mu-um MAR.TU-še gin-na-me*).⁹⁴ It is obvious that these envoys were returning the visits of the envoys of Šamāmum, attested from other texts, and it is quite likely that similar exchanges were not rare and had already taken place under the kings of the III dynasty of Ur. But whether or not the envoys of Ur returned the visit of the envoys of *Ià-a-mu-tum* and *Á-ú-DINGIR* (attested at Drehem), the fact remains that already under the Ur III dynasty there were diplomatic contacts between the Amorites nomads and the Ur III kingdom. The historical implications of this fact will be emphasized in the next chapter.

That the Amorites were accepted by Mesopotamian society can also be inferred from the fact that some indications in the texts can be construed as evidence for ethnical intermarriage. In at least⁹⁵ two instances where the texts refer to a couple by giving the names of both the husband and the wife, the name of the wife is Akkadian, the husband has either a West Semitic name or a title which links him with the nomadic tribes: *Ša-at-dEN.ZU dam*

⁹⁰ See below, p. 346.

⁹¹ *PDTI* 621:8.

⁹² *CCTE* I 1.

⁹³ See Goetze, "Šakkanakkus," pp. 13-14.

⁹⁴ *BIN* IX 390.

⁹⁵ Unfortunately the name of the wife of Nablānum in *CCTE* Bab. 17 is broken except for the last syllable: [...g]i. If this stood for Šāt-Šulgi, it would be tempting to identify Nablānum (the husband of [...g]i) with *A-bi-a-mu-ti* (the husband of Šāt-Šulgi).

*Ià-li-e*⁹⁶ and *Ša-at-Šul-gi dam A-bi-a-mu-ti*.⁹⁷ It is tempting to suggest an identification of Šāt-Šulgi, the wife of the sheikh of Yamūtum, with the princess Šāt-Šulgi of the Sumerian royal house.⁹⁸ It is known that it was a policy of the Ur III kings to marry off their daughters to neighbouring rulers,⁹⁹ and considering the high position of 'abi Yamūti, as a tribal leader, it is certainly possible that his wife might indeed have been of royal blood. It will be recalled that the myth of the god MAR.TU¹⁰⁰ deals precisely with such a marriage of a Mesopotamian woman to an Amorite nomad, and it could well be that a princely marriage had provided the *Sitz im Leben* for the myth.

2. THE AMORITES AS RESIDENTS

Just as there is no special term in the administrative texts to define a foreigner, there is also no term for "resident." Here too

⁹⁶ A 5158.

⁹⁷ TRU 267. — The other evidence concerning marriage relationships does not yield any special clue. There are two types: a) the wife is mentioned by name: *Ku-um-da-nu-um ... Ta-ba-tum dam-a-ni* (PDTI 335); *dBa-ú-in-zu dam Ur-dBa-ú-ka-ke*, (NSGU 63); *In-ti-nu-um dam Ša-ma-mu-um* (BIN IX 406); b) the wife is not mentioned by name: *dam Ša-ma-mu-um* (BIN IX 316); *dam Ià-an-bi-ì-lum* (TCL II 5508); *dam dŠul-gi-ì-lì* (A 5065).

⁹⁸ Cf. N. Schneider, "Die 'Königskinder' des Herrscherhauses von Ur III," in *Or NS* 12 (1943) p. 188; E. Sollberger, "Sur la chronologie des rois d'Ur et quelques problèmes connexes," in *Afo* 17 (1954-56) p. 21, where other names of princes and princesses composed with the element Šulgi are quoted. Note however that the several occurrences of Šāt-Šulgi (quoted by Schneider) are dated from the 7th year of Amar-Sin until the 1st year of Šu-Sin, whereas Šāt-Šulgi, wife of *A-bi-a-mu-ti*, occurs in the 47th year of Šulgi. — A different interpretation, suggested by M. Civil, would be to assume that Šāt-Šulgi was a new name taken by the (Amorite) wife of *A-bi-a-mu-ti* as a sign of homage toward the reigning dynasty of Ur. For a similar example see the name *Tá-ra-am-ŠEŠ.ABKI-am*, which the daughter of a "king of Mari" took after moving to Ur (M. Civil, "Un nouveau synchronisme Mari — III^e dynastie d'Ur," in *RA* 56 (1962) p. 213).

⁹⁹ Cf. the year names Š 17, Š 31, and the date N. III in A. Ungnad, "Datenlisten," *RLA* II, p. 146; see also Ch. Virolleaud, "Quelques textes cunéiformes inédits," in *ZA* 19 (1905-6) p. 384; Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 62.

¹⁰⁰ See S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, New York 1961², pp. 98-101.

we must rely on the context in order to determine which Amorites had settled down among the Sumerians. A criterion for the identification of a resident is more readily available than for the identification of a foreigner, because there were individuals qualified as MAR.TU who were practicing professions otherwise typical of the sedentary population. The only likely assumption is that the Amorites practicing these professions were actually sedentary, especially in view of the fact that a whole gamut of professions is represented, implying that the Amorites were not connected with any special trade inherited from their nomadic past. The very variety of professions attested for the Amorites is perhaps more relevant than any conclusions to be drawn from the attestation of any single profession. Another important consideration is that these professions give an idea of the social position acquired by the Amorites, since it is obvious that a profession such as that of royal envoy is only compatible with a relatively high social status. In the following pages we will limit ourselves to a presentation of the material in tabular form; additional remarks will be found at the end of this chapter and in the next chapter.

"envoy of the king,"

Lagaš: *Ur-dLama MAR.TU lú kin-⟨gi₄⟩-a
lugal;*¹⁰¹

"mayor" (?), Isin: *ki Bir₅-bí-ru-ma ra-bí-a-nu-um-ma;*¹⁰²

"bodyguard" (?),

Umma: *MAR.TU (plur.) šà é(-a),
MAR.TU (plur.) igi lugal-šè tuš-a;*¹⁰³

"soldiers":

*uku-uš, Drehem: dumu-dumu uku-uš MAR.TU lú didli-
me;*¹⁰⁴

Umma: *še-ba uku-uš MAR.TU ... šà ŠEŠ.AB^{KL}.
ma;*¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ NSGU 33; 34. Cf. at Drehem *Al-la MAR.TU maškim* who acts as "conveyor," GİR, for the prince Šu-Sin, see below, n. 108.

¹⁰² BIN IX 199.

¹⁰³ CHEU 56; Or. 47, 477; RA 8, p. 156.

¹⁰⁴ RIAA 86.

¹⁰⁵ CCTE W 29; Or. 18, 24.

- Lagaš : *še-ba uku-uš* MAR.TU ša ŠEŠ.AB^{KI}-ma;¹⁰⁶
lú giš-tukul, Lagaš : *lú giš-tukul* MAR.TU;¹⁰⁷
 "dependent" (?),
 Drehem : *Aḥ-ba-bu* MAR.TU *lú* DUN-a A-bu-mi;^{107a}
 "conveyors," Drehem : GÌR *Al-la* MAR.TU *maškim*; ¹⁰⁸
 Umma : GÌR *Ur-àm-ma*, *Inim-dŠarà* ù *Ku-li* MAR.
 TU *lú maškim-me*; ¹⁰⁹
 "lamerter," Drehem : *Ku-na-ma-tum* MAR.TU *u₄ nam-gala-še*
 ì-in-ku₄-ra'; ¹¹⁰
 dŠul-gi-na-piš-ti MAR.TU *u₄ nam-gala*
 in-ag-a; ¹¹¹
 A-ri-za-nu-um MAR.TU *u₄ nam-gala-še*
 ì-in-ku₄-ra; ¹¹²
 dŠul-gi-ì-li MAR.TU *u₄ nam-gala-še*
 ì-in-ku₄-ra; ¹¹³
 Muš-da-nu-um MAR.TU *u₄ nam-gala*
 in-ag; ¹¹⁴
 "priest," Ur : *dŠEŠ.KI-ì-zi gudú* (UḤ.ME); ¹¹⁵
 "brewer," Ur : *Lú-dNin-šubur ŠIM*; ¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁶ HLC I 305, cf. BM 17815. See also SET 297, where in the body of the text there is mention of MAR.TU *lú-giš* ... *me*, l. 12, while in the total the term *uku-uš* occurs, l. 22. Note the following two "messenger texts" where an Amorite is mentioned together with an *uku-uš*: ITT II/I 644; RTC 335.

¹⁰⁷ ITT II/1 778; see also ITT IV 7679; SET 297.

^{107a} IM 46306.

¹⁰⁸ PDTI 171.

¹⁰⁹ CCTE C 1.

¹¹⁰ Dok. 450.

¹¹¹ A 2964.

¹¹² MCS 7, p. 25.

¹¹³ Or. 47, 21.

¹¹⁴ A 4218.

¹¹⁵ UET 1052. Note that there are some uncertainties as to whether the persons qualified by a name of profession in UET 1052 are themselves Amorites, or whether the Amorites are simply assigned to work for them.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

" fuller, " Ur :	ARAD- ^d ŠEŠ.KI <i>ašlag</i> (LÚ.TÚG); ¹¹⁷
" chief of the weavers, "	
Ur :	<i>Ma-da-am-en-nam ugula uš-bar</i> ; ¹¹⁸
" farmer, " Umma :	MAR.TU <i>engar</i> ; ¹¹⁹
	<i>a-ša</i> ARÁD-mu MAR.TU- <i>ka</i> ; ¹²⁰
Lagaš:	<i>a-ša</i> Ur- ^d Ig-alim MAR.TU; ¹²¹
	(several fields) MAR.TU- <i>me</i> ; ¹²²
" fowler, " Lagaš :	MAR.TU <i>mušen-dū-me</i> ; ¹²³
"janitor, " Lagaš :	MAR.TU <i>ì-du_s</i> ; ¹²⁴
unknown : <i>gur-da</i> ,	
Drehem :	<i>gur-da</i> MAR.TU- <i>me</i> ; ¹²⁵
UN.ÍL, Drehem :	<i>gemé</i> UN.ÍL MAR.TU- <i>ne</i> ; ¹²⁶
	<i>Lú-dingir</i> MAR.TU belongs to the <i>amar-</i>
	<i>kud</i> UN.ÍL- <i>me</i> ; ¹²⁷
Lagaš :	UN.ÍL MAR.TU; ¹²⁸
	^d <i>Nin-gír-su-ì-ša₆</i> MAR.TU belongs to the
	UN.ÍL <i>ša-gud-še</i> . ¹²⁹

Finally, we have to add to the list those Amorites whose profession is not stated, but who appear nevertheless to have been in the service of the public administration, because they occur in the " messenger texts " where they receive allowances for specific purposes. All the texts come from Lagaš and they may be grouped as follows :

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ CT I 2-3; MAH 15897.

¹²⁰ YOS IV 114.

¹²¹ MCS 8, p. 70.

¹²² CT VII 43b.

¹²³ ITT IV 7955.

¹²⁴ BM 15500.

¹²⁵ RIAA 86.

¹²⁶ *Dok.* 481. Note that the commonly accepted meaning "porter" does not actually fit the contexts in which the noun occurs. A discussion by I. J. Gelb on the subject is forthcoming.

¹²⁷ CST 263; note the connection with animal husbandry.

¹²⁸ ITT II/1 639.

¹²⁹ BM 15363; note the connection with animal husbandry.

Going to, or coming from, a specific place :

- " from Adamdum "; ¹³⁰
- " to Adamdum "; ¹³¹
- " to Duduli "; ¹³²
- " from Susa "; ¹³³
- " to the canal of Edin "; ¹³⁴
- " to the place of the ensi. " ¹³⁵

Going with somebody :

- " the soldiers going with the Amorite(s). " ¹³⁶

Going for a specific purpose:

- " to lead out the crew of the temple of Šulgi "; ¹³⁷
- " to summon the harvesting crew "; ¹³⁸
- " on account of the fugitives (i.e., to search for them?) "; ¹³⁹
- " on account of the men of the first boat "; ¹⁴⁰
- " on account of Lú-Nanna "; ¹⁴¹
- " to look for the sheep "; ¹⁴²
- " for the skinning of the sheep "; ¹⁴³
- " to irrigate the fields "; ¹⁴⁴
- " on account of flax. " ¹⁴⁵

¹³⁰ *ITT* IV 7863.

¹³¹ *CBT* 14709.

¹³² *BM* 18000.

¹³³ *BM* 17988; *ITT* II/1 641.

¹³⁴ *CBT* 15177.

¹³⁵ *RTC* 335.

¹³⁶ *ITT* II/1 778.

¹³⁷ *HSS* IV 82. See also *TUT* 152.

¹³⁸ *HAV* p. 140, IV.

¹³⁹ *MCS* 5, p. 30; *HLC* II 101.

¹⁴⁰ *BM* 15486.

¹⁴¹ *HLC* III 212.

¹⁴² *ITT* IV 7761.

¹⁴³ *ITT* IV 7696.

¹⁴⁴ *BM* 15486.

¹⁴⁵ *ITT* IV 7635.

Meaning not clear :

SAG?-šè *gin-na*; ¹⁴⁶

níg-sag-šè gin-na; ¹⁴⁷

níg-sur-šè gin-na; ¹⁴⁸

kin ID.KA.SUM gin[?]-ni. ¹⁴⁹

3. AMORITES OF UNDETERMINED STATUS

In distinguishing between foreigners and residents we have so far utilized only those texts which contain specific indications such as the qualifications "envoy," "farmer," etc. In a large number of texts, however, there are no such indications, so that a determination of the status of the Amorites can only be suggested on the basis of circumstantial evidence. If we consider the Amorites whose status, discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter, can be clearly ascertained, we see that (1) all those who are foreigners are attested in Drehem and Isin, (2) the great majority of those who are residents are attested in Lagaš and Umma, (3) most of those who are foreigners bear Amorite names, and (4) hardly any one among the residents bears an Amorite name. If these data are summarized graphically, one can easily detect a pattern of complementary distribution :

	Drehem	Amorite	Lagaš	non-Amor.
	/Isin	names	/Umma	names
foreigners	+	+	-	-
residents	-	-	+	+

This chart gives us a relatively safe criterion for determining the status of the other Amorites, namely those for whom there are no explicit indications in the texts. The presence of an Amorite name is a first sign that the person bearing it may be a foreigner; and if

¹⁴⁶ CBT 12690.

¹⁴⁷ BM 17918.

¹⁴⁸ BTBC 79.

¹⁴⁹ ITT IV 7679.

in addition this person is attested in Drehem or Isin, we may consider it as highly probable that he is indeed a foreigner. Conversely, Amorites attested in Lagaš and Umma and bearing non-Amorite names are most likely residents. In other words, the Amorites of undetermined status can be safely recognized as foreigners or residents if one combines the evidence of linguistic affiliation and geographical distribution. From the foregoing it appears that it is not accidental that most Amorites at Drehem and Isin have Amorite names, whereas most Amorites at Lagaš and Umma have non-Amorite names.¹⁵⁰ The first group consists of foreigners, who are found in the northern cities because they are nearer the area of origin of the Amorites. The Amorites of the southern cities, on the other hand, namely those from Lagaš and Umma, have already achieved sedentarization and the assimilation of Sumerian culture, a process which had been favored by the fact that they were farther away from their original homeland.

It goes without saying that such a generalization, precisely because it is a generalization, probably holds true to a limited extent only. But there are some other considerations which may be adduced as a confirmation. Thus it can hardly be a coincidence that the few Amorites explicitly attested as residents at Drehem should all have non-Amorite names.¹⁵¹ On the other hand it is interesting to note that when an Amorite with an Amorite name is attested more than once at Drehem, the gap in time is often of a few months only, thus possibly indicating that we are dealing with the same person, coming from abroad on a single trip of a few months duration. The cases in point are as follows: ¹⁵²

<i>En-gi-mu-um</i> :	Š 45 III — Š 45 VIII; ¹⁵³
<i>Mi-da-nu-um</i> :	Š 46 VII — Š 47 VII; ¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ See chapter VIII, section 1.

¹⁵¹ See above, p. 282.

¹⁵² *Nu-uk-ra-nu-um* and *La-da-bu-um* are also mentioned twice, but a date is missing in each case. In two other instances — besides the exceptional Nablānum —, the same name appears at several years interval (note that the name is spelled differently in both cases): *A-ù-da-il* Š 44 VIII (A 4648) — *A-aw-te-il*, Š 47 V (PDTI 28); *Na-ap-ša-nu-um*, AS 4 I (TCL II 5508) — *Na-ap-sa-nu-um*, ŠS 1 XII (PDTI 335).

¹⁵³ SO 9/1, p. 25; TRU 29.

¹⁵⁴ A 5994; RA 9, p. 58.

Ū-ga :

§ 47 VI — § 47 VIII; ¹⁵⁵

I-bi-iq-ri-e-ú

§§ 6 VIII — §§ 6.¹⁵⁶

between Sumer and *kur* MAR.TU.

4. USE OF THE APPELLATIVE MAR.TU

From what has been said so far it appears that the appellative, or qualification, MAR.TU is used in apposition to the names of both foreigners and residents. We must now see what is its precise

¹⁵⁸ See Lewy, "Amurritica," pp. 65-67, 72; Albright, "Abram," esp. pp. 40-43. If the text of Dreher actually contain a reference to Byblos (see above, p. 245), one may surmise that the Amorites controlled the caravan route cutting across the northern Syrian steppe along a series of springs from the Jebel Bisri to the depression south of Jebel Ansariyah; see above, the map on p. 240.

¹⁵⁹ For the *edin* as open desert between the Sumerian cities cf. T. Jacobsen, "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," in ZA 52 (1957) pp. 98-99.

		Singular		Plural	
		Attributive	Substantive	Attributive	Substantive
simple	with PN	1. PN MAR.TU 2. PN M., PN M., PN M.		5. PN, PN ù PN MAR.TU 6. PN, PN, PN MAR.TU-me 7. PN, PN, PN MAR.TU-SAL-me 8. PN, PN, PN gemé MAR.TU-me 9. PN, PN, PN MAR.TU-ne (fem.) 10. lú MAR.TU-ne 11. SAL/gemé MAR.TU 12. gemé MAR.TU-ne	13. MAR.TU 14. MAR.TU-me 15. MAR.TU-ne 16. MAR.TU-e-ne 17. MAR.TU-SAL 18. MAR.TU-SAL-me
	without PN	3. lú MAR.TU	4. MAR.TU		
	with GN	19. PN MAR.TU (GN) 20. prof. MAR.TU GN	21. MAR.TU GN		
with profession	with PN	22. PN MAR.TU prof. 23. PN prof. ù MAR.TU(?)		26. PN, PN, PN MAR.TU prof.-me	
	without PN	24. Prof. MAR.TU	25. MAR.TU prof.	27. prof. MAR.TU 28. prof. MAR.TU-me 29. prof. MAR.TU-ne	30. MAR.TU prof. 31. MAR.TU prof.-me

meaning and what are the criteria which govern its usage. This purpose is best served by giving a complete breakdown of the different contextual environments in which the term appears. In the following chart it is noted whether MAR.TU refers to one or more persons, and whether it is used in an attributive position (in which case the appellative MAR.TU is added to a personal name or to another noun) or a substantive position (in which case the appellative is used itself with the value of a substantive). Each different environment is numbered, and for each number a list of all pertinent references is appended in following pages. The abbreviation "prof." stands for "name of profession."

1. *PN MAR.TU*: this is the most common type; no references are needed.

2. *PN MAR.TU, PN MAR.TU, PN MAR.TU*: this type can be subdivided into two groups:

(a) the personal names qualified as MAR.TU form a sequence: *CBT* 15177; *HLC* II 101; *ITT* II/1 639; *ITT* IV 7761; *RTC* 388; *SO* 9/1, p. 25, 1; *TRU* 267.

(b) one or more personal names, not qualified as MAR.TU, intervene between one MAR.TU name and the other(s): *BM* 15486; *CST* 728; *ITT* II/1, 812; *PDTI* 548; *TRU* 295.

3. *lú MAR.TU*: *CCTE* C 1; *SET* 221; *TUT* 161. This has been interpreted by Kupper as *Lú-^dMAR.TU*; ¹⁶⁰ however, in view of the parallels *MAR.TU* and *lú MAR.TU-ne* (N. 4 and N. 10), and especially *MAR.TU GN* (N. 21), it seems more likely that *lú MAR.TU*, rather than a PN, may be simply "the Amorite."

4. *MAR.TU*: *BM* 15363; *CTC* 54; *ITT* IV 7635; *NSGU* 89; *Or.* 47, 38 (?); *RTC* 399; *SET* 93; *TLB* III 2; *TUT* 152; *UCP* IX/2, 26; *UM* 55-21-91. See also *A-mu-ru-um*, *MAH* 16404; *TUT* 160.

5. *PN, PN ù PN MAR.TU*: *GÌR Ur-àm-ma, Inim-^dŠará ù ku-li MAR.TU lú maškim-me, CCTE* C 1 (here however MAR.TU

¹⁵⁵ A 5546; *TRU* 267.

¹⁵⁶ A 29365; *JCS* 7, p. 107; A 2790.

¹⁵⁷ See above, section 1/3.

¹⁶⁰ Kupper, *Dieu Amurru*, p. 81, n. 2.

could refer to *Ku-li* only); *En-gi-mu-um ù Na-du-be-li* MAR.TU, SO 9/1.

6. *PN, PN, PN MAR.TU-me*: A 5508; A 5508; CCTE C 1; CT VII 43b; HUCA 29, p. 109, 1; PDTI 561; TCL II 5508; TCS 326; TD 25.

7. *PN, PN, PN, PN MAR.TU-SAL-me*: CBT 12693; HSS IV 51; HSS IV 53.

8. *PN, PN, PN, PN gemé MAR.TU-me*: CT X 16.

9. *PN, PN, PN, PN MAR.TU-ne*: ITT II 918.

10. *lu MAR.TU-ne*: UET III 1052.

11. *SAL/gemé MAR.TU (plur.)*: CT IX 17; ITT II 962.

12. *gemé MAR.TU-ne*: TLB III 53.

13. *MAR.TU (plur.)*: BIN IX 152, 269, 271, 280, 282, 283, 289, 301, 317, 408; BM 12789; BM 15340; CST 254; HLC III 250; PDTI 328; RA 19, p. 39; STA 27; TRU 305; TRU 328; UCP IX/2, 121; UET III, 1136. MAR.TU is also used as a plural feminine in RA 10, p. 65, 24 (see above, p. 314, n. 130).

14. *MAR.TU-me*: TLC II 5500.

15. *MAR.TU-ne*: BIN IX 227, 240, 286, 293, 310, 314, 400, 405, 416, (?), 419; CST 185; ITT III 6617; MAH 16253; Or. 18, 26; Or. 18, 27 (MA.AR.TU-ne); RTC 305.

16. *MAR.TU-e-ne*: BIN IX 226 (MAR.<TU>-e-ne), 316, 409 (MAR.TU-e-<ne>); Or. 47, 15; UDT 106.

17. *MAR.TU.SAL (plur.)*: AT 80 a.b.; BM15251, 15496, 17978; BTBC 78, 88; CBT 12693, 12718, 12730, CBT 12754, 13644, 14752, 14796, 15170, 15185; HLC III 159; HSS IV 92; MAH 16311; TUT 206, 207, 208, 234, 235, 236.

18. *MAR.TU.SAL-me*: CBT 15170.

19. *PN MAR.TU (GN)*: A 29365; JCS 7, p. 105; JCS 7, p. 107. The GN is in all cases a tribal name, Yaḥmadum, twice in the form of a gentilic.

20. *prof. MAR.TU GN: uku-uš MAR.TU šà ŠEŠ.AB^{K1}-ma, HLC I 305.*^{160a}

21. *MAR.TU GN: [MAR.?]TU Ti-ma-at ^dEn-líl-lá^{K1}, Or. 47, 38; MAR.TU Gú-ab-ba^{K1} tuš-a, ITT IV 7717; MAR.TU Sak-kul-ma-da-ka, UET III 1685.*

22. *PN MAR.TU prof.: GÌR Al-la MAR.TU maškim, SET 66:37; Ur-^dLama MAR.TU lú kin-[<]gi⁺a[>] lugal, ITT II/2 3810; NSGU 33.*

23. *PN prof. ù MAR.TU: Šu-mi-in-ni a-ba ù MAR.TU, Nebr.; the grammatical interpretation of this passage is however uncertain, see above, pp. 334-36.*

24. *prof. MAR.TU: uku-uš MAR.TU, HLC I 305; lú giš-tukul MAR.TU, ITT II/1 778; eme-bal MAR.TU, TD 81.*

25. *MAR.TU prof.: MAR.TU engar, BM 12935; CT I 2-3; MAH 15897; MAR.TU ì-du₈, BM 15500.*

26. *PN, PN, PN MAR.TU prof.-me: cf. CCTE C 1 (see above, N. 5).*

27. *prof. MAR.TU (plur.): uku-uš MAR.TU, CCTE W29; HLC I 305; Or. 18, 24.*

28. *prof. MAR.TU-me: PN, PN, (PN), lú kin-gi⁺a Ū-si-um MAR.TU-me, BIN IX 39, 325; gur-da MAR.TU-me, RIAA 86.*

29. *prof. MAR.TU-ne: gemé UN.IL MAR.TU-ne, Dok. 481.*

30. *MAR.TU prof. (plur.): MAR.TU šà é, Or. 47, 477; RA 8, p. 156; UCP IX/1 92; MAR.TU igi lugal-šè tuš-a, Or. 47 477; RA 8, p. 156; UCP IX/1 92.*

31. *MAR.TU prof.-me: MAR.TU mušen-dù-me, ITT IX 7955; MAR.TU lú giš x x me, SET 297; cf. MAR.TU lú didli-me, RIAA 86.*

For an analysis of the data tabulated in the chart it is best to start by considering the question as to whether or not the term

^{160a} For a the use of a gentilic followed by a geographical name, see Lewy, "Amurritica," pp. 67-69.

MAR.TU may be taken to refer to a specific profession.¹⁶¹ The criterion to follow is to analyze the cases where the term MAR.TU occurs together with other names of professions.

The relevant data may be summarized typologically as follows:

- (1) PN MAR.TU prof. (NN. 22-23, 26);
- (2) MAR.TU prof. (NN. 25, 30-31);
- (3) prof. MAR.TU (NN. 24, 27-29).

Here the meaning of the appellative MAR.TU is clearly circumscribed by the contextual environment. It can easily be noted, in fact, that the names of profession attested in the cases listed above do not admit being qualified by further names of profession. This means that one cannot find profession names in the same environment in which one finds the term MAR.TU. Of what we find in the same environment the following can be of interest of us:

- a) PN, *dumu* PN, prof. (e.g. *Ur-dBa-ú dumu Ú-da nagar*¹⁶²);
PN prof. *dumu* PN (e.g. *Ur-dIg-alim dub-sar dumu Na-ba-ša₆*¹⁶³);
- b) prof. GN (e.g. *sipa Gír-su^{K1}-me*; ¹⁶⁴ *erín GN*¹⁶⁵);
- c) prof. *Mar-sa*; ¹⁶⁶
- d) *guruš* prof. (e.g. *guruš ma-laḥ₆*¹⁶⁷).

In all of these cases the term following or preceding the name of profession is not a second profession name, but a further specification which refers back either to the personal name, or to the name of

¹⁶¹ As first suggested for the Old Babylonian period by F. Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI*, p. 170, n.f.; Id. "Lettres de l'époque de la première dynastie babylonienne," in *HAV*, p. 158, n. 2; Id., *Lettres et contracts de l'époque de la première dynastie babylonienne*, Paris 1910, p. 18, n. 2. Cf. Bauer, *Ostkanaanäer*, p. 87.

¹⁶² *ITT* IV 7003:4-5.

¹⁶³ *ITT* IV 7174 seal.

¹⁶⁴ *SET* 310:82.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. *CCTE* B 8.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. *CCTE* O 32.

¹⁶⁷ *CCTE* Bab. 8, and cf. B 8.

profession, or both. Thus we have a statement of filiation (a), of provenience from a city/country (b) or place (c), and of social status (d). It is clear that the meaning of this second qualification cannot be obtained from the name of profession with which it is associated, but rather from outside criteria. Thus one can say that the expression *sipa Gír-su*^{KI} is of the pattern prof. GN because we know that *Gír-su*^{KI} is a geographical name. It is clear, therefore, that, considering the distribution of the term MAR.TU with respect to other names of profession, the term MAR.TU itself cannot be taken to refer to a specific profession. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that there are so many professions attested for people who are qualified as MAR.TU,¹⁶⁸ that this term can hardly refer to a special profession common to all of them. It should also be noted that the appellative MAR.TU is used of women as well as of men, and that such an ambivalence does not apply to most names of profession.

To my mind there is hardly any doubt that the appellative MAR.TU, i.e., the Sumerian rendering of Amorite *Amurru*,¹⁶⁹ is a gentilic, used in the majority of the cases in its proper meaning, and in some cases, possibly at least, in a transferred meaning. In its *proper* meaning, the term is a gentilic derived from the name of a tribe or group of tribes¹⁷⁰ from the northern Syrian desert. The territory occupied by these tribes is called *kur* MAR.TU, i.e., the "highland of the Amorites,"¹⁷¹ and the people are called MAR.TU, both as a group and as individuals. The term MAR.TU is also used in a proper meaning when it refers to Amorite tribesmen who had become sedentary (or descendants of such Amorites). In a *transferred* meaning the term MAR.TU may have been used to refer to nomads in general, somehow like the modern term "Bedouins." No specific evidence may be quoted to show that this was actually the case in the Ur III period, but the assumption

¹⁶⁸ See above, pp. 242-43; 340-42.

¹⁶⁹ See above, chapter IV s.v. MAR.TU.

¹⁷⁰ See above, pp. 332-34.

¹⁷¹ See above, pp. 237-43.

¹⁷² Cf. Landsberger, "Königsliste," p. 56, n. 103; Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, pp. 37-39. See, however, Lewy, "Amurritica," pp. 33, 66-71.

seems quite likely if one considers the analogy from later periods.¹⁷²

A discussion of the use of the appellative MAR.TU would not be complete without mentioning the cases where the appellative was apparently omitted. This implies, however, a discussion of a diachronic character which is better reserved for the next chapter.¹⁷³

¹⁷³ See below, pp. 359-60.

CHAPTER X

CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

1. THE PROCESS OF SEDENTARIZATION

The history of any society is conditioned to a large extent by the type of relationship it establishes with foreign elements. There is a wide range of possibilities, from ghettos to free ports. The specific types of relationship are determined by many factors, of which the two fundamental ones are the attitude of a given society towards intruding elements and, reciprocally, the attitude of the foreigners toward the society into which they intrude. If interaction and assimilation are desired and favored on each side, the result of the encounter will obviously be different than in cases where diffidence and opposition prevail. For instance the interaction between Egyptians and Hyksos was different than between Egyptians and Greeks, and equally different was the relationship established by the Roman Gauls with the Huns on the one hand with the Franks on the other. The results, in terms of history of culture, were correspondingly different. The examples could be multiplied and several patterns could be easily recognized, but what matters here is simply to place the problem of the Amorites within a wider historical perspective. The research done in the preceding pages and based especially on the administrative documents of the Ur III kingdom has shown that the growing presence of the Amorites in Mesopotamia was to some extent channeled and controlled. There was communication and dialogue between the Sumerian society of the Ur III kingdom and the nomads from the northern Syrian desert. Differences had grown smaller as the degree of interaction had increased. It is no doubt for this reason that the ultimate result of the Amorite infiltration was so different from what had happened for instance with the Gutians who were still considered foreigners when they were expelled from the country.¹

¹ See the inscription of Utu-ḫegal, for which cf. especially T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, Chicago 1939, pp. 138-40. Similar considerations

In the preceding chapter we have discussed synchronically the two poles around which the process of sedentarization evolved: from nomadism the one hand (the Amorites as foreigners) to urbanization on the other (the Amorites as residents). If the sources were sufficient, we would now have to describe diachronically the whole process in its main phases. But since the material at our disposal is insufficient, we shall limit ourselves to a few remarks to show that change did occur and the manner in which it was taking place.

In the first place we should mention the change in language. Most of the Amorites who are attested as practicing professions typical of a sedentary culture bear Mesopotamian names. It may reasonably be assumed that the change of the personal names was paralleled by a change in the language. That this change was a gradual one, as might be expected, can be seen from the fact that several Amorites with good Amorite names are engaged in the same activities as Amorites with good Mesopotamian names.²

There are indications that intermarriage was taking place. Besides cases in which the husband, but not the wife, has an Amorite name,³ the sources give evidence of Amorites, or better people with Amorite names, being married in Drehem (or possibly Nippur), presumably to Sumerian women.⁴ Possibly as a result of intermarriage, we find that Amorites of the "second generation" were not always distinguished as Amorites as their fathers had been. Thus in Lagaš we meet twice with persons who are qualified as MAR.TU whereas their sons are not.⁵ In Drehem we find a son of Nablānum who bears an Akkadian name, *lī-ba-bu-um dumu*

apply to Semitic "invasions" throughout the history of the Ancient Near East; see especially S. Moscati, *The Semites in Ancient History*, Cardiff 1959.

² See especially CST 728 (Umma) and CT X 16 (Lagaš) where Mesopotamian and Amorite names occur side by side. It is not unlikely that some persons might have borne two names (Mesopotamian-Amorite) at the same time, as is attested — in a different historical and social context — for Eannatum, see SAKI 22:v 10-14, and cf. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 9, n. 39.

³ See above, p. 338.

⁴ Owen (*Nu-da-tum*); TRU 295 (*E-la-nu-um*, *Ma-ga-nu-um*).

⁵ NSGU 33; 34; ITT II/1 3470 and 3470a. See, however, ITT IV 7366 where the son, but not the father, is qualified as MAR.TU.

Na-ab-la-núm MAR.TU.⁶ Note that the text has the qualification MAR.TU only after the name of the father, just as in the case of Mesopotamian wives of Amorites the qualification MAR.TU is added only after the name of the husband.⁷

There is no indication that the Amorites who chose to settle in the country met with opposition from the native Mesopotamians, while as evidence that the infiltration was all-pervasive one may quote the fact that they are found at almost all levels of the social ladder. One noticeable exception is that there are no Amorite slaves.^{7a} Some Amorites appear among the *guruš*-class as can be determined on the basis of their receiving rations. Among them are soldiers (*uku-uš*),⁸ workers in public households,⁹ and women (*gemê*).¹⁰ The Amorites who are mentioned in the so-called "messenger texts" are probably free men, as certainly are the Amorites who own slaves¹¹ or fields,¹² act as witnesses,¹³ and serve as ambassadors of the king.¹⁴ In fact we find Amorites at the topmost social level. The first king of Larsa, after the fall of the Ur III kingdom, bore the typical Amorite name Nablānum. He is not called MAR.TU in the only text which refers to him, the Larsa king-list,¹⁵ but there is little doubt that he was as much an Amorite as his namesake in Drehem.

⁶ Unpubl. B.

⁷ *Ša-at-dŠul-gi dam A-bi-a-mu-ti* MAR.TU, TRU 267; [...g]i dam *Na-ab-la-num* MAR.TU (?), CCTE Bab. 17, cf. above, p. 338; in the case of *Ša-at-dEN.ZU dam Iā-li-e* one finds the appellative MAR.TU-me, referring to several people, at the end of the text, A 5158.

^{7a} The relationship of "dependence" expressed by *lú DUN-a* does not refer to slave, see above, p. 50.

⁸ CCTE W 29; Or. 18, 24.

⁹ CST 728.

¹⁰ BM 15363; CT X 16; CT IX 17; HLC III 250; RTC 399.

¹¹ NSGU 33; 34; 52; 63; 129; 195; ITT II/1 3470 and 3470a. The texts where certain individuals are given as *a-ru-a* offerings by Amorites do not give us any clue as to the position of the Amorites, since *a-ru-a* gift could and were given by both rich and poor people (although not by slaves).

¹² See above, p. 341.

¹³ NSGU 52.

¹⁴ NSGU 33; 34.

¹⁵ YOS I 32:1 (see above, pp. 318-20).

One result of the process of assimilation was that the difference between Amorites and Sumerians was growing less as time passed. Another variable in the relationship between the two ethnic groups which was bound to change with the passing of time was the proportion between "immigrants" and "natives." Even though no statistics are available, the course of military and political events shows clearly that the Amorites were an ever growing presence at the boundaries of the Sumerian territory, and, eventually, within it. The increased number of "invaders" thus succeeded in completely eliminating what their growing familiarity with the "natives" had already begun to reduce, namely the distinctive foreign traits, which the Amorites had retained for some time within the framework of Sumerian society. This foreignness had been reflected by the appellative MAR.TU added with an almost tedious regularity by the scribes after Amorite personal names. Thus Nablanum is mentioned 30 times in Drehem,¹⁶ and not a single time is the qualification MAR.TU omitted; even when the name occurs twice in the same text, the appellative is repeated after each occurrence.¹⁷ As the peculiarity of the Amorites began to be effaced, the reasons for adding the appellative MAR.TU to personal names began also to vanish. A differentiation based on ethnic values was pointless considering how well assimilated the Amorites had become, and was at the same time non distinctive considering the high percentage of Amorites in the population. Partially¹⁸ as a result of this process the addition of the appellative MAR.TU to personal names was eventually abandoned completely, so that by the time of the Old Babylonian period practically no "Amorite" name is designated as such by the sources.

Evidence for the reconstruction here suggested is afforded by a comparison between the earlier and the later texts of the period covered by this book. The texts of Drehem, the greater part of which come from the early part of the Ur III period (Šulgi and Amar-Sîn), exhibit the appellative MAR.TU almost without excep-

¹⁶ See above, p. 113.

¹⁷ *CCTE* Bab. 17; *SET* 66; cf. also *TRU* 267.

¹⁸ For another reason see below, p. 361.

tion wherever expected.¹⁹ The texts of Isin, on the other hand, which are from the latter half of the period, very often omit the appellative. A good parallel to Drehem's Nablānum is Isin's Šamām/num, who is mentioned seven times with, and six times without the appellative MAR.TU.²⁰ Other names which occur in the texts of Isin with and without the appellative are: *Bir₅-bí-ru-um*, *I-la-nu-um*, *Ma-na-um*, *Ma-ra-šum*, *Mi-il-ki-li-il*.²¹ Names which never have the appellative MAR.TU are: *Ia₈-at-ra-il*, *In-ti-nu-um*, *Kà-al-ba-il*, *Kà-mi-súm*, *Ma-aḥ-da-nu-um*, *Pi-a-núm*, *Ša-pí-ru-um*.²² The situation is similar at Ur where the names *A-du-ni-la* and *I-za-nu-um* occur without the qualification MAR.TU (note that *I-za-núm* is attested in Drehem *with* the appellative).²³ The unpublished texts of Ešnunna show how this process was carried further with the passing of time. A cursory examination of the texts indicates that the use of the terms MAR.TU and *A-mu-ru-um* gradually decreased during the Ur III period and that they hardly ever appear as appellatives following personal names.

The data which have been discussed here concern the process of transformation undergone by the "foreigners." However fragmentary the evidence, we have at least some information about their original language and social structure, their place of origin and the routes by which they came, the process of their interaction with the Sumerians and the result of this sedentarization process. On the other hand, we have not been able to determine the extent to which they influenced the society into which they were intruding. The very fact that a person with an Amorite name (Nablānum) became king of a Sumerian state (Larsa), and was followed on the throne by other individuals with Amorite names, certainly implies that the Amorites had a considerable impact on the political and social institutions of the country. However, to study the process

¹⁹ For *Ià-ši-li-im* see below, p. 361. For cases in which the son or the wife of an Amorite is not qualified as MAR.TU see above, pp. 356-57. The only real exception at Drehem seems to be *I-la-ša-ma-ar*, see above, chapter IV, s.v.

²⁰ See above, p. 116.

²¹ See above, chapter III, s.vv.

²² See above, chapter III, s.vv.

²³ See above, chapter III, s.vv.

of transformation of Sumerian society²⁴ would involve a systematic comparison of the institutions of different periods, and this would be a whole new study, which would largely fall beyond our chronological scope. It appears, therefore, that a full historical evaluation of the problem of the early Amorites cannot be made within the limits of the present work. Only a few remarks are in place here concerning the relationship between earlier and later Amorites and the very use of the term "Amorite."

2. FROM UR III TO OLD BABYLONIAN

The conclusion reached above in chapter VI in comparing the West Semitic names attested in the Ur III texts with the West Semitic names attested in the Old Babylonian texts was that the two groups of names belong to the same linguistic group. Inasmuch as considerations based on the onomastic may be relevant for ethnic reconstruction,²⁵ we may infer that the two groups of people bearing those names belong in one and the same historical tradition. Certainly the main reason why the two groups were separated in the first place²⁶ was the alleged linguistic difference between the two, so that if linguistic continuity is accepted as correct, historical continuity becomes much more plausible. The other reason for separating the two groups was the assumption that their respective geographical origin was different, the Ur III group coming from the East and the Old Babylonian from the West. But this argument does not in my opinion hold true since, for the reasons stated above in chapter VIII, at least the great majority of the Ur III group was also originally from the West.

Continuity, however, does not necessarily mean identity. Use of the same language and derivation from the same geographical habitat may still be insufficient to identify one human group with another when a considerable gap in time separates the two. And,

²⁴ See on the subject the remarks by Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, pp. 4-9; A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Chicago 1964, p. 58.

²⁵ See on the problem the methodological observations by I. J. Gelb, "Ethnic Reconstruction and Onomastic Evidence," in *Names* 10 (1962) pp. 45-52.

²⁶ See above, pp. 6-7, 10.

as a matter of fact, the sources do not favor a simple identification of the people with West Semitic names of the Ur III period with those of the Old Babylonian period, the difference being that the term MAR.TU, so frequently used in Ur III to refer to people (both as individuals and as groups) falls into disuse during the Old Babylonian period.²⁷ This difference is easily explained if one accepts the interpretation suggested above for MAR.TU/Amurru as a tribal name.²⁸ For in this case the progressive fading, if not disappearance, of the term MAR.TU to refer to people may be simply taken as evidence that old tribes were being replaced by new ones; and the new tribes were indeed related to the old ones both in their language and their geographical origin, yet were also different precisely because, as different tribes, they had an identity of their own. There are indications that in the Ur III period the term MAR.TU was used in the fairly circumscribed sense proposed here. It did *not* refer, for instance, to people from the western cities. As already stressed above, the only clear West Semitic name attested in connection with a Western city, *Ià-ši-li-im*, is not qualified as MAR.TU,²⁹ the most obvious reason being precisely that he was not a MAR.TU (i.e. an Amorite tribesman), but rather a city-dweller.

Once a case is made for the narrow meaning of the term "Amorite" when referring to a specific group of people, it obviously does not follow that the same term may not, in different context, be used in a broader sense. There is especially no reason why the range of meaning of the term "Amorite" should not be extended analogically when used as an ethno-linguistic term, provided the analogy is warranted and one is aware that it is only an analogy. I am thinking especially of the term Amorite used to refer to the language represented by the West Semitic names of the Old Babylonian period. This usage is, in my opinion, wholly legitimate, both in principle and from a practical point of view. In principle, we find that it is a standard practice to use the name proper to the early stage of a language to refer to the later stages as well: a case in point is the use of the term Akkadian to refer to the

²⁷ Cf. Kupper, *Nomades*, pp. 197-244; Gelb, "Early History," p. 46.

²⁸ See above, pp. 241-42; 351-52.

²⁹ See above, p. 246.

later Babylonian and Assyrian dialects.³⁰ From a practical point of view, the term Amorite for the West Semitic names of the Old Babylonian period seems quite suitable, because it does not cause any ambiguity. Note especially that this term does not prejudge the question of the relationship of this language to other West Semitic languages: "Amorite" describes the language from within, i.e., on its own merit, whereas terms like East Canaanite and Proto-aramaic describe the language in relationship to something else. The fact that the term MAR.TU/Amurru was also used (although not in the Ur III period) to refer to the West in general is no objection. This is simply another indication of how the term could be used in an even broader sense, without causing any ambiguity because the term MAR.TU/Amurru, when used in a geographical sense, is translated as "West, Westerner," and not as "Amorite." It is because of these considerations that I have used throughout the book the term Amorite to refer not only to the personal names of the Ur III, but also to those of the Old Babylonian period. To differentiate between the two periods, one can refer to them as Early and Late Amorite; however, to leave open the possibility of linguistic connections with the periods after Old Babylonian, I have preferred to use Gelb's terminology,³¹ where Amorite is subdivided into three periods called Old, Middle, and New Amorite.

³⁰ Cases of analogical extension, whereby a term can be used in a broad as well as in a narrow sense, are practically unlimited. Thus the Greek term "Mesopotamia" is used to refer to pre-Greek periods, the term "English" is used for the language spoken by people who have no connection with England, and so on.

³¹ Gelb, "Early History," p. 47.

APPENDIX

NEW TEXTS

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1. Š 31 (TA 1931-32, 334; width cm. 3.6/ length cm. 4.-/ thickness cm. 2.-)

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2. Š 44 I 4 (A 2882; 3.1/ 3.4/ 1.7)
3. Š 44 VI 25 (A 2947; 3.-/ 3.5/ 1.6)
4. Š 44 VIII (A 4648; 4.5/ 7.45/ 2.3)
5. Š 46 VII 3 (A 2905; 3.3/ 3.7/ 1.5)
6. Š 46 XII 6 (A 5994; 3.9/ 5.6/ 2.-)
7. Š 47 I 2 (A 2996; 3.3/ 3.8/ 1.6)
8. Š 47 IV 18 (A 5546; 3.7/ 4.4/ 1.9)
9. Š 47 X 17 (A 4703; 3.-/ 3.2/ 1.5)
10. Š 48 IV 20 (A 5065; 3.4/ 4.4/ 1.9)
11. Š 48 V (A 5254; 3.7/ 4.3/ 1.8)
12. Š 48 VII 19 (A 5169; 4.-/ 5.7/ 1.9)
13. Š 48 VIII 11 (A 5777; 3.8/ 4.6/ 1.7)
14. Š 48 XI 21 (A 2964; 4.1/ 5.9/ 2.2)
15. Š 49 VI 15 (Owen; 4.-/ 4.8/ 2.-)
16. AS 5 IV 20 (A 2868; 3.4/ 4.-/ 1.4)
17. AS 5 VII 6 (A 5158; 3.4/ 4.5/ 1.75)
18. AS 5 XII (Nebr.; 14.7/ 16.-/ 3.5)
19. AS 8 VIII 29 (A 3311; 2.7/ 3.-/ 1.9)
20. ŠS 4 VIII 2 (A 4218; 3.7/ 4.3/ 1.8)
21. ŠS 6 VIII 14 (A 29365; 5.-/ 11.2/ 2.4)
22. ŠS 6 - 20 (A 2790; 10.-/ 16.7/ 3.1)
23. [] 7 (A 5508; 4.3/ 6.7/ 2.4)
24. date broken (A 4971; 3.7/ 3.7/ 1.9)

Lagaš (collations)

25. ŠS 4 (*ITT* 3470: lines 2, 5, and case)
26. IX (*ITT* 7679: 7)
27. X (*ITT* 7761: 13-14)
28. XII (*ITT* 7696: 3-4)

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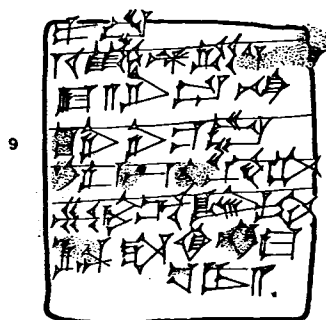
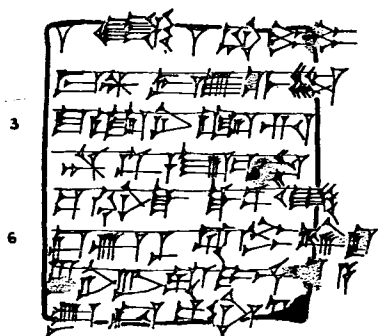
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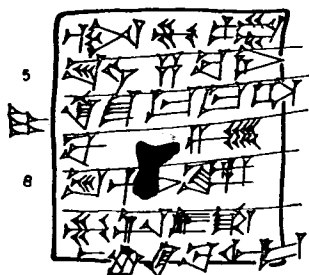
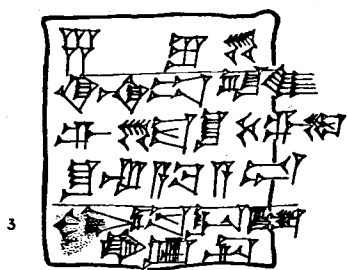
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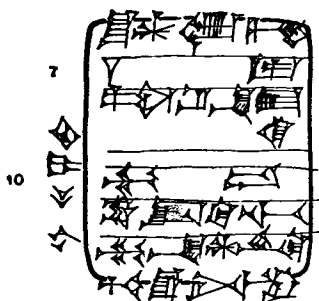
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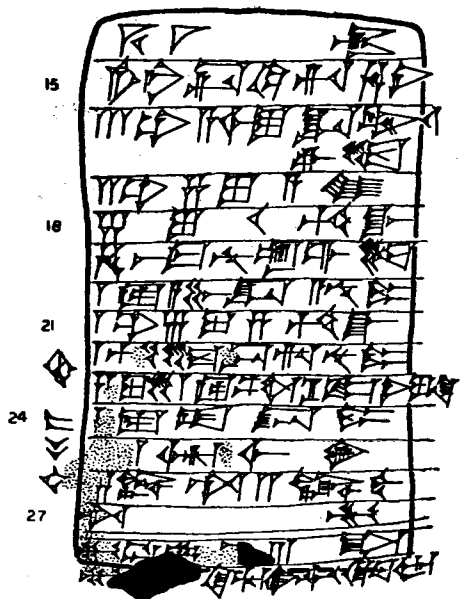
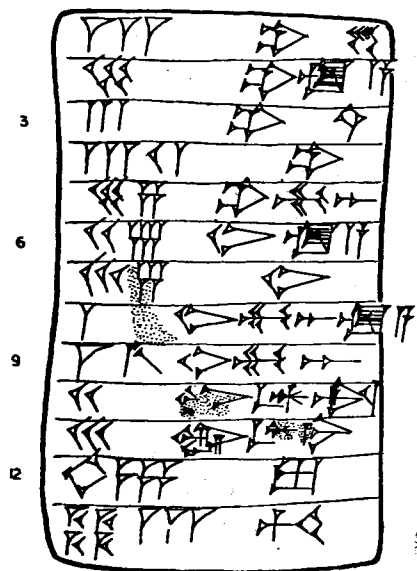
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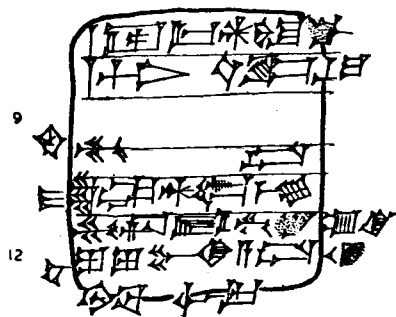
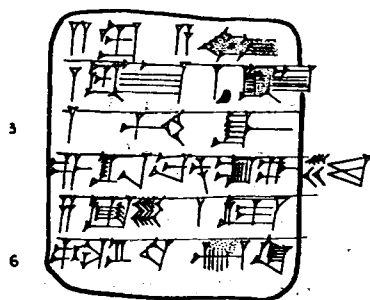
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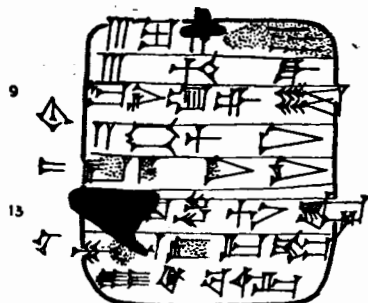
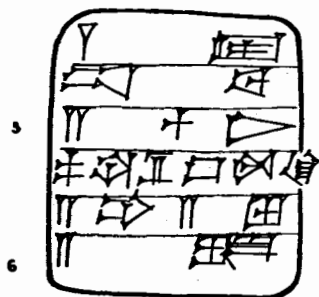
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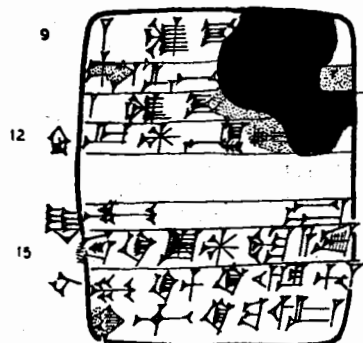
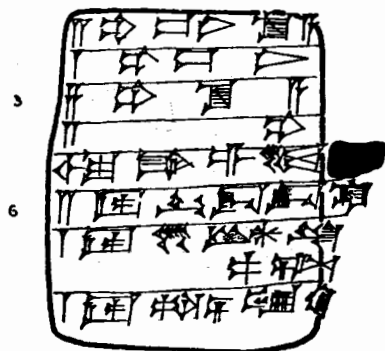
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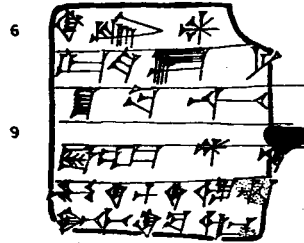
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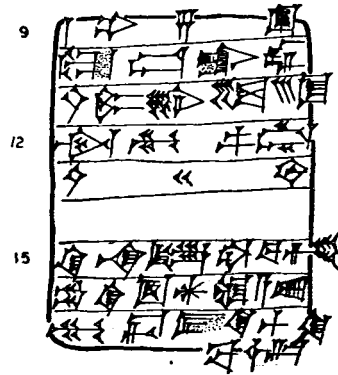
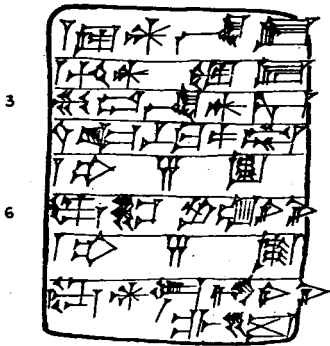
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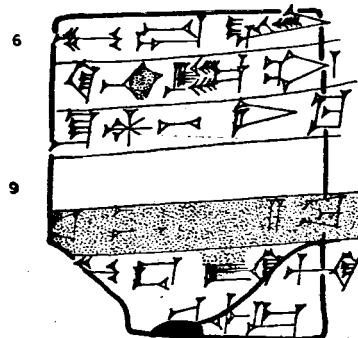
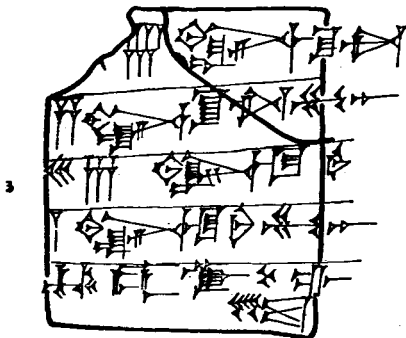
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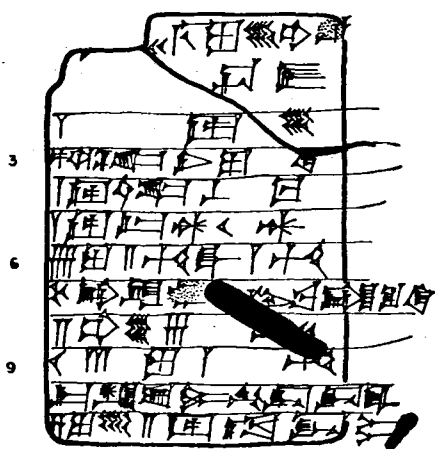
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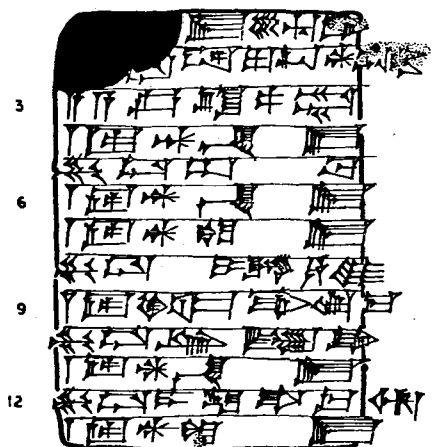
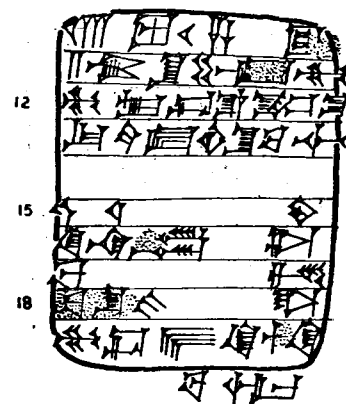
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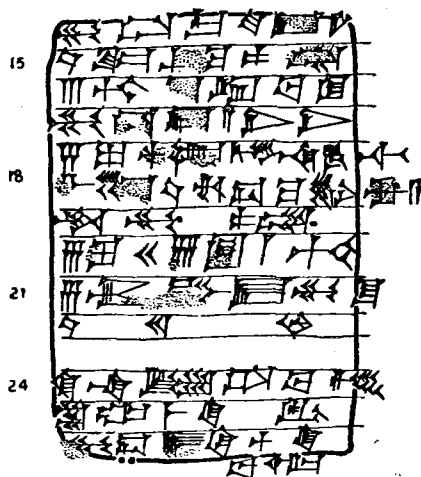
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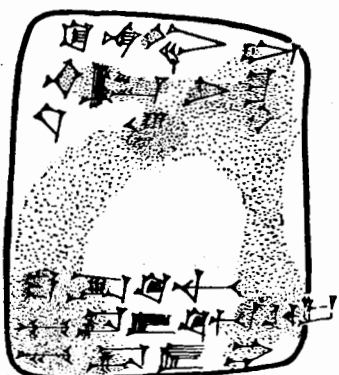
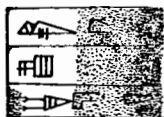
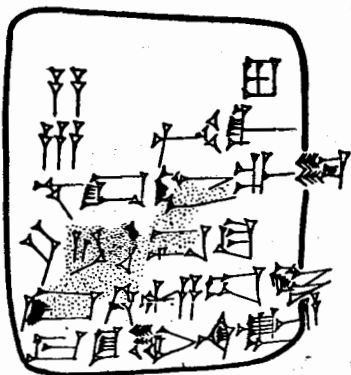


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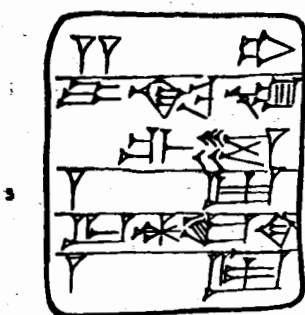


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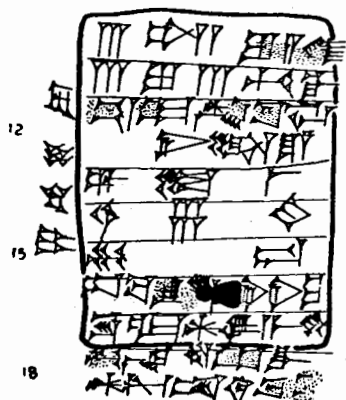
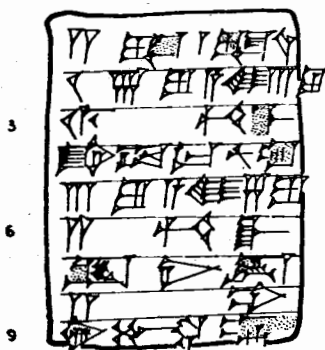




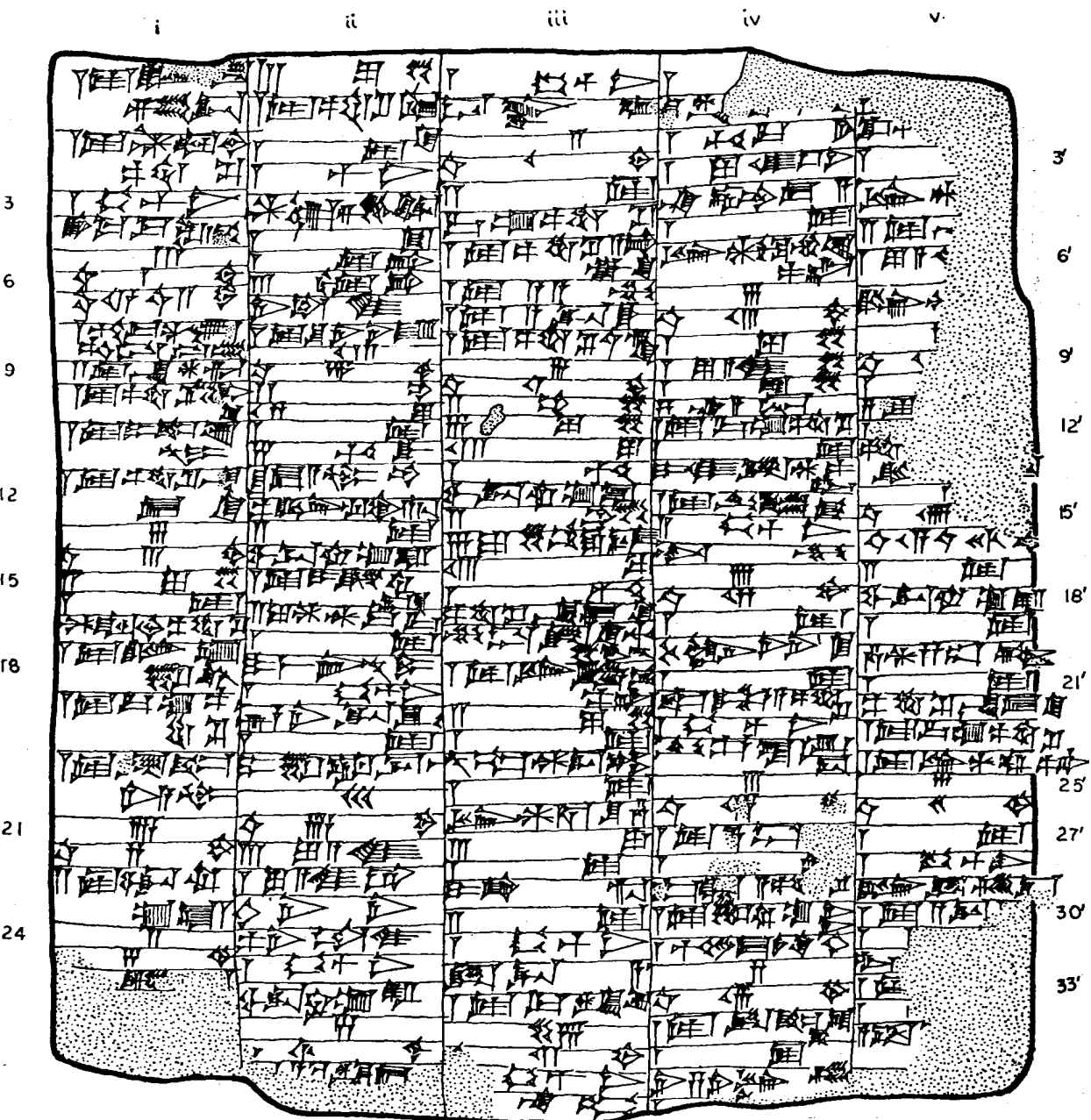
15



16



17



x

ix

viii

vii

vi

3

6

9

12

15

8

21

3'

6'

9'

12'

15

18

21'

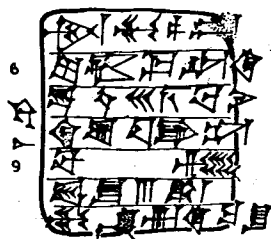
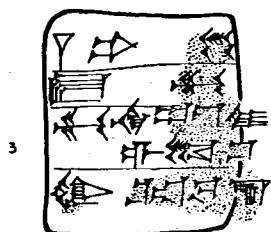
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27

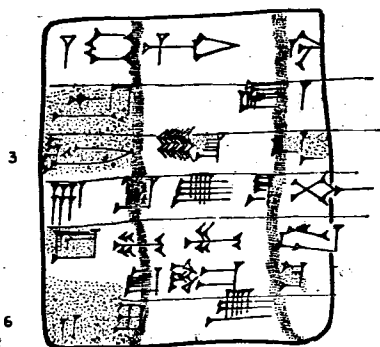
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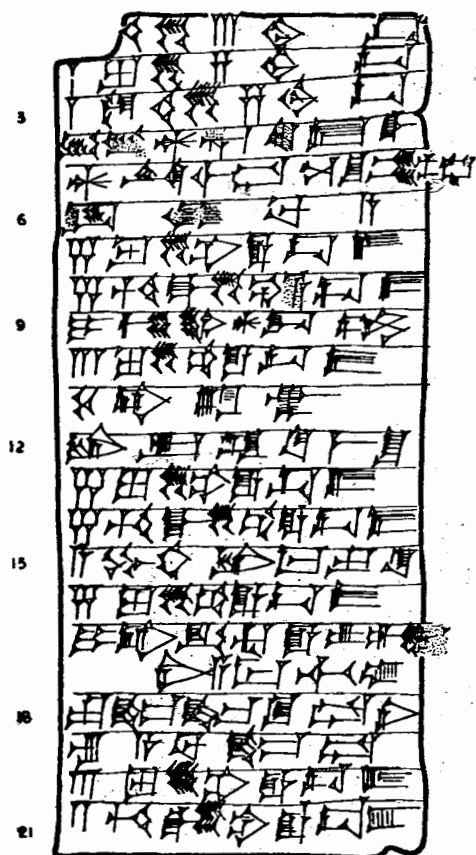
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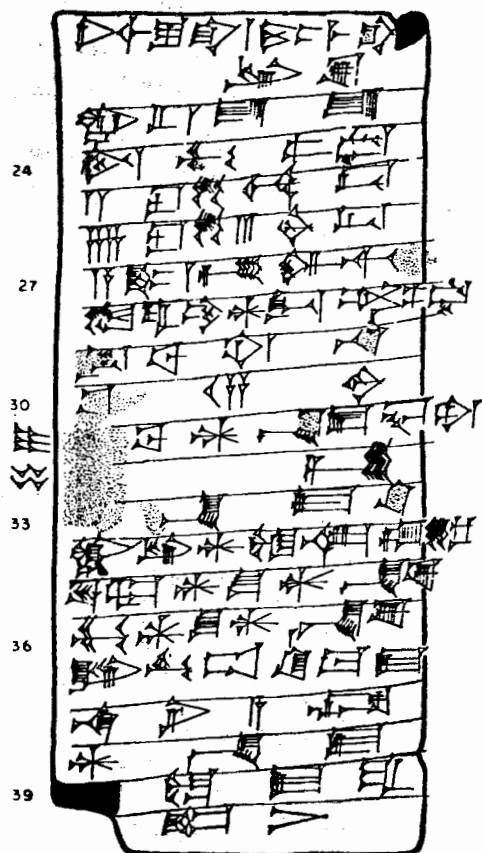


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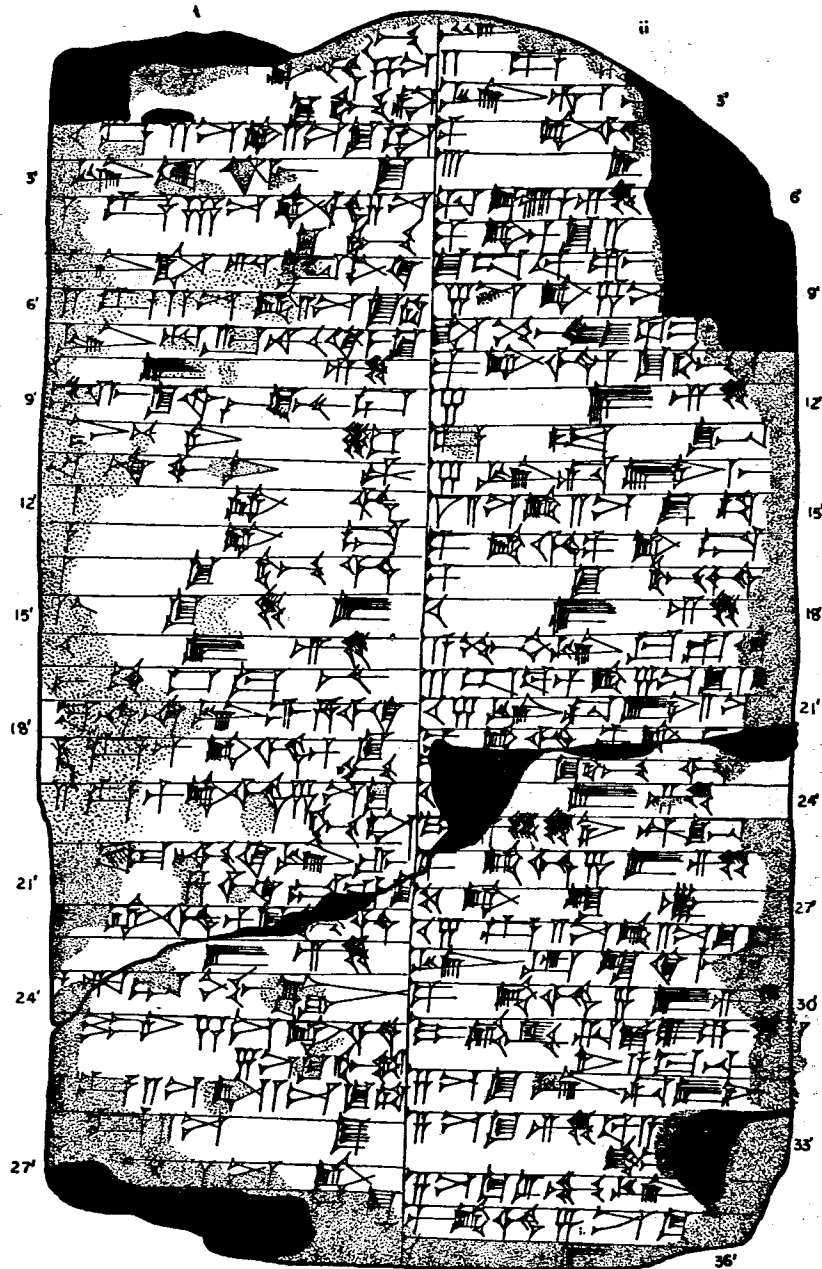


Obverse

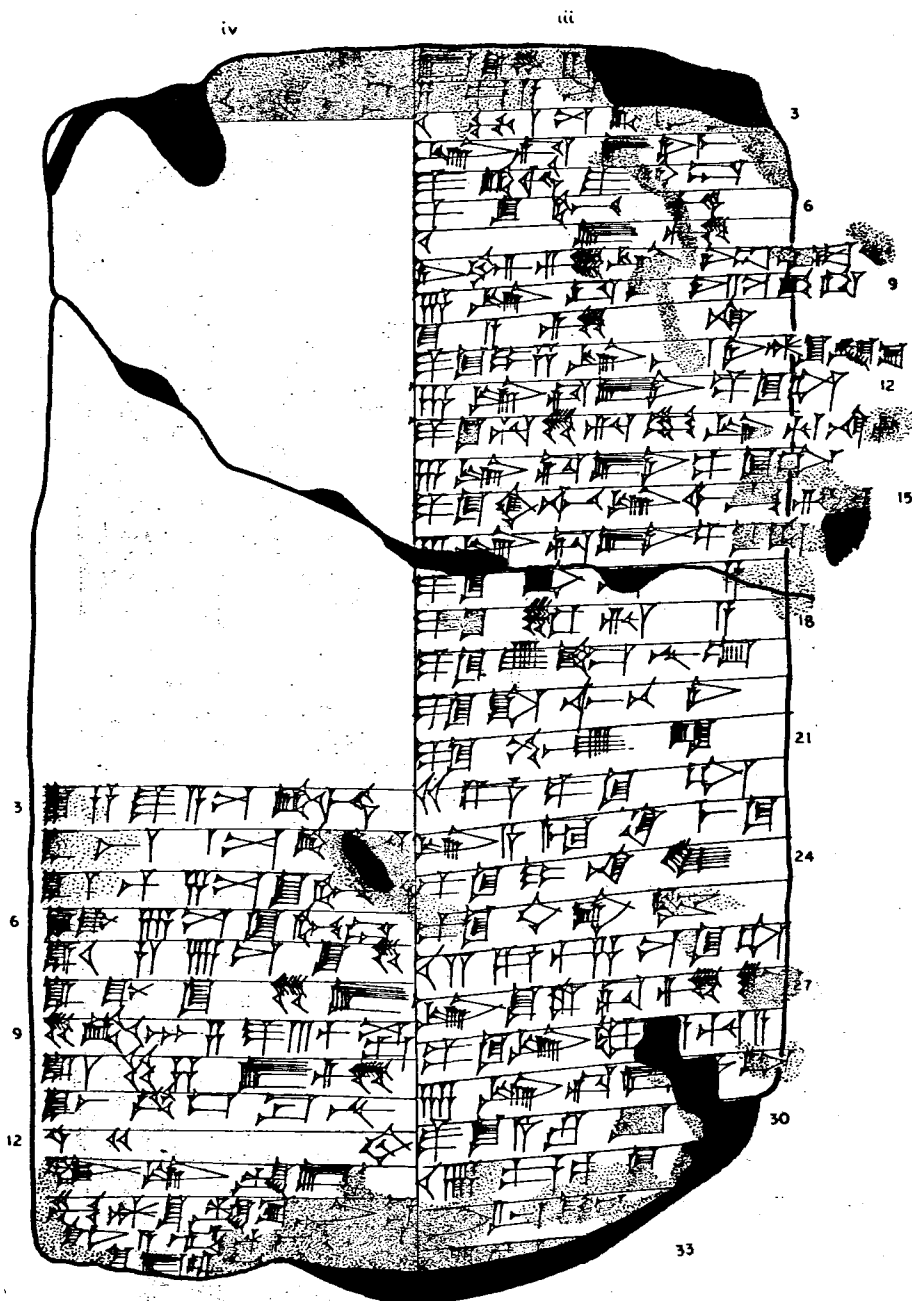
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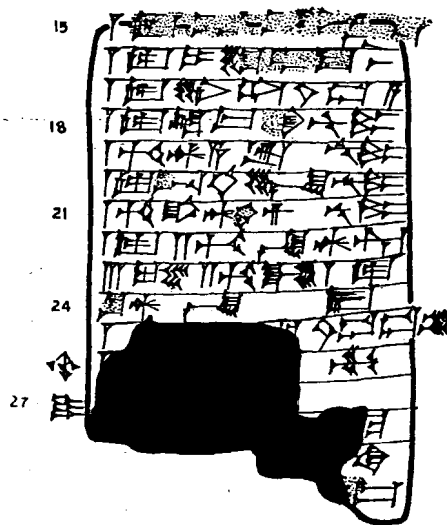
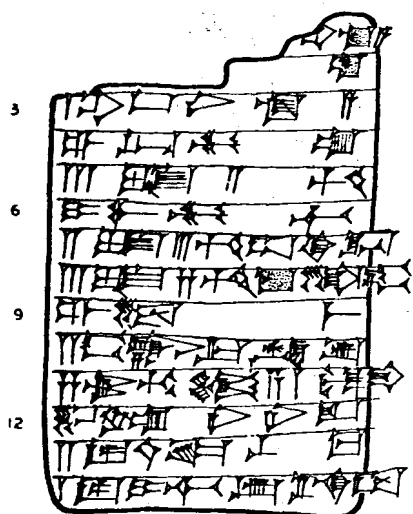


Reverse

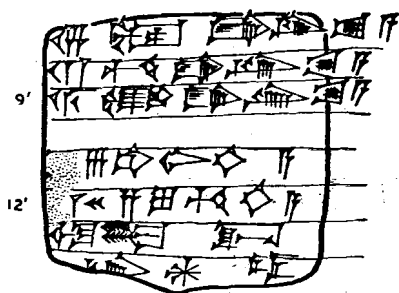


22 Obverse

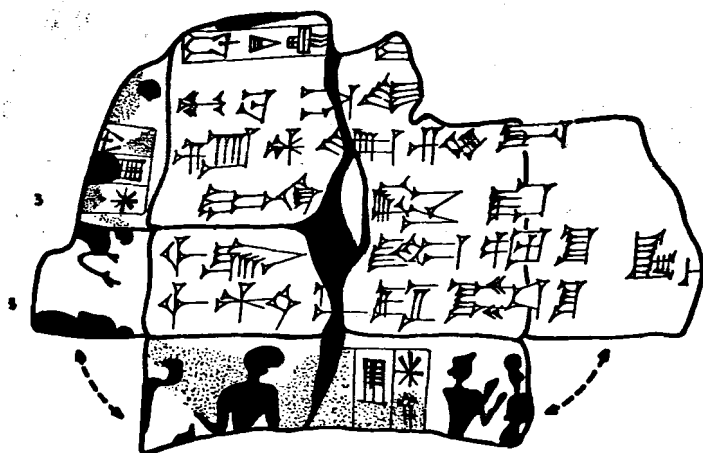
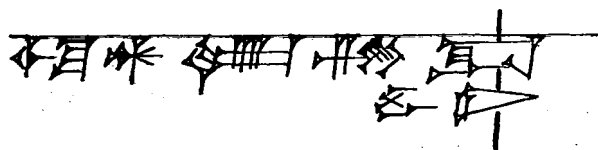




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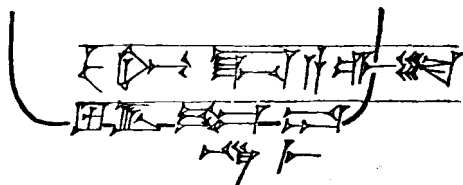
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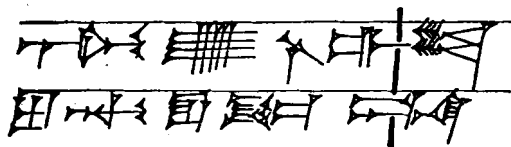
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