Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten

Herausgegeben von der Kommission für den Alten Orient
der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur
Band 45

# Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie

## Würzburg, 4.–8. Oktober 1999

Herausgegeben von Gernot Wilhelm

2001

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

# Ḫattušili I's Expansion into Northern Syria in Light of the Tikunani Letter[1]

Jared L. Miller - Tel Aviv

## Introduction

The Tikunani Letter, published in commendable fashion by Mirjo Salvini (1994; 1996), is a remarkable document sent by the Great King Labarna to King Tuniya, otherwise known as Tunip-Teššub, King of Tikunani. It consists of the Great King's instructions to Tuniya concerning what his role should be in the imminent attack on the city of Ḫaḫḫum, an attack reflected also in the Annals of Ḫattušili (CTH 4). The Letter is the first epistolary document authored by Ḫattušili ever discovered, indeed the first from the Old Kingdom, and the only document of any nature that deals with Ḫattušili's campaigns which is contemporary with the events it relates. Most other texts concerning his campaigns consist of later copies – in most cases upwards of 300 years later – of legends, annals or historical references which had entered into the literary corpus of the Hittites.[2] Hence, it is important, contemporary confirmation of the historicity of elements in Hittite legend and "history" in general and the campaigns of Ḫattušili in particular.

## The Location of Tikunani

Until little more than a decade ago, the location of Tikunani was based upon three occurrences, all in *Archives Royales du Mari* IV, where, as Tigunānum, it is a focal point of attacks by the Turukkeans, a Zagros mountain tribe; hence, Tigunānum was identified as a "Pays à l'est du Tigre, proche de celui des Turukkû" (Kupper 1979:35). The Turukkeans, in turn, were the subject of a number of treatments (e.g. Klengel 1962; 1985; Eidem 1985; Yuhong 1993). Two research events changed dramatically the localisation of Tikunani. The first was the studies of Jesper Eidem (1985; 1992:16-21; 1993) and Jean-Marie Durand (1987/90:167-171; 1998:80-107), which, rather than seeking Tigunānum in the land of the Turukkeans, sought the Turukkeans in the land around Tigunānum; more exactly, the Turukkeans could be shown to have been displaced from their mountain

---

[1] This paper summarises a portion of my 1999 MA thesis, which I had the privilege of completing under the supervision of I. Singer.

[2] The only two exceptions, composed soon after the occurrence of the events reflected in them, are the Siege of Uršu (CTH 7) and a number of the Zukraši fragments (CTH 15), which are indeed Old Kingdom creations.

homeland of the western Zagros valleys by the political upheavals toward the end of the reign of Šamši-Adad, and were in fact settled as refugees in the heartland of the *royaume de haute-Mésopotamie* itself.

The second was the Letter from Ḫattušili I to the King of Tikunani. This new attestation of Tikunani in the Letter and a new occurrence in a document from Tell Leilan, along with those long known from Mari, present a significant index (Table 1). In view of the revelation of the link between Ḫattušili I and Tikunani, it must be asked which attestations in the Hittite texts can be identified with Tikunani. It should be immediately clear that the occurrence in the Hittite version of the Annals of Ḫattušili I (KBo X 2 iii 25) and in a duplicate fragment (KUB XXIII 20:8') can be transliterated $^{URU}$*Ti-ku-na*. This city may be equated with the $^{URU}$*Ti*$_4$-KU-*na-an* of the Tikunani Letter[3] and very likely the $^{KUR}$*Ti-gu-na-nim*$^{ki}$ of the Mari texts.

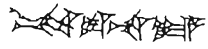
| Text | Reading in RGTC VI | Updated Reading | KBo / KUB (copy) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Annals of Ḫattušili<br>KBo X 2 iii 25 | $^{URU}$*Ti-ma-na* | $^{URU}$*Ti-ku-na* |  |
| KUB XXIII 20:8' | $^{URU}$*Ti-ma-na* | $^{URU}$*Ti-ku-na* |  |
| KBo X 1 rev. 16 | $^{URU}$*Dim-ma-na-ya* | $^{URU}$IT$^{!}$-*ku*$^{!}$-*na-ia* (initial metathesis); or: $^{URU}$*Ti*$_8$-*ku*$^{!}$-*na-ia* |  |
| Tikunani Letter (obv. 6) | | $^{URU}$*Ti*$_4$-KU-*na-an* | |
| Leilan (L85-142) | | *Ti-gu-na-nim* | |
| ARM IV 23, 24 and 76 | | $^{KUR}$*Ti-gu-na-nim*$^{KI}$ | |
| Kültepe 87/k 304 (?) | | *Ti-ga-nu-ú* (*nisbe*) | |

Table 1: The Attestations of Tikunani in the Cuneiform Sources

The occurrence of the Akkadian version of the Annals (KBo X 1 rev. 16) is somewhat more complex. Salvini (1994:69) proposed reading the first sign (often read *dìm*) as *tè* = *ti*$_5$. However, the sign is a clear IT; hence,

[3] Salvini (1996:7 n. 4) reports that the toponym is written $^{URU}$*Ti-ku-na-ni*, $^{URU}$*Ti-ku-na-nu*$^{KI}$ and $^{URU}$*Ti-ku-un-* > *un* < *-an-ni*$^{KI}$ in other texts, yet unpublished, from the Tikunani archive.

the name can likely be transliterated $^{URU}$IT$^{!}$-*ku*$^{!}$-*na-ia* (with initial metathesis), or $^{URU}$*Ti*$_8$-*ku*$^{!}$-*na-ia*. In the light of the clear $^{URU}$*Ti-ku-na* in the Hittite version and the $^{URU}$*Ti*$_4$-KU-*na-an* in the Tikunani Letter,[4] this reading is rather satisfying. Finally, in unpublished Kültepe text 87/k 304 *Ti-ga-nu-ú* occurs as a *nisbe*. RGTC IV relates the occurrence to Takanziya of KBo XXI 1 ii 3, but perhaps it should be related to Tikunani instead, without ignoring the obvious difficulty presented by the vowel variance.[5] The Timmina of the Treaty with Šattiwaza, grouped together with Tikuna in RGTC VI, should obviously be sought elsewhere.

## The Turukkean Threat in the Heart of the *royaume de haute-Mésopotamie* of Šamši-Adad

The most revealing new information regarding the location of Tikunani, apart from the Tikunani Letter, is contained in the tablets from Tell Shemshāra, some recently published, others reinterpreted, by Jesper Eidem (1985; 1992:16-21). The site is located in the Rania Plain of the western Zagros, and is securely identified with Šušarrā of the Old Babylonian period. Its tablets, coupled with the Mari documents, give dramatic evidence concerning the action of Turukkean expatriates in the Ḫābūr Triangle during the last years of the reign of Šamši-Adad of the *royaume de haute-Mésopotamie*. The relatively minor city of Šušarrā was caught in the midst of the great power struggles waged at that time in upper Mesopotamia. Kuwari, the King of Šušarrā,[6] played the political game as well as he could, picking up the scraps left by the larger predators. The Turukkean confederation, including Šušarrā, was under pressure from the Gutian tribes to the south-east. While much Turukkean territory fell to the Gutians, Kuwari made a switch of allegiance to Šamši-Adad. Many less fortunate Turukkean

---

[4] It seems there is enough evidence to transliterate the initial sign as *ti*$_4$ in $^{URU}$*Ti*$_4$-KU-*na-an*, against Wilhelm's cautious DI (1998:296), since it is now evidenced as *ti* in Mari, in the forthcoming Tikunani archives (Salvini 1996:7 n. 4) and at Boğazköy as both *ti* and IT/*Ti*$_8$. The second sign, however, should probably be transliterated KU and its consonantal value left open for discussion, with Wilhelm (ibid.), as the Mari and Leilan scribes consistently write *gu*, while the Tikunani archive and the Boğazköy texts attest *ku*, non-geminated in the latter.

[5] From the Ebla archives come two occurrences which bear phonological similarity to Tikunani: *Da-ga-na-am*$^{ki}$ (ARET IV 17 r. VIII:14; see RGTC XII/1:89) and *Ti-gi-na-ù*$^{ki}$ (ARET I 15 v. I:6; see RGTC XII/1:101). In any case, neither occurrence, even if one were to assume an identity with Tikunani, would be of help in locating it.

[6] Kuwari's status at Šušarrā is not as simple as presented here for the sake of convenience. See Eidem's studies for details.

communities, however, fled the Gutian invasions. As part of his deal with Šamši-Adad, Kuwari, as King of Šušarrā, was obliged to either control the influx of refugees that flooded toward the Ḫābūr area, or send them as captive workers to Šubat-Enlil itself. Shemshāra Text 911, for example, from Šamši-Adad to Kuwari, reads:

> "All the Turukkeans who might come from there, those whose maintenance you can manage, you should keep with you – but those whose maintenance you cannot manage should proceed to me."

One of the principal cities which came under attack by the Turukkeans was Amursakkum, for which recent evidence suggests a location near Šubat-Enlil (see below). This shows that indeed, contrary to assumptions, the Turukkeans had become troublesome in the very heart of Šamši-Adad's empire. Indeed, Šamši-Adad's son, Išme-Dagan, called up 10,000[!] soldiers to protect the town of Kaḫat from the Turukkeans who had left the city of Amursakkum. Eidem, therefore, suggests that these troublesome Turukkeans were the very people that Šamši-Adad instructed Kuwari to send as bondservants to Šubat-Enlil. Finally, in a text recently excavated from Tell Leilan, booty is taken together from the cities of Tigunānum and Ḫuršanum, the latter of which must be located near Eluḫut (see below). Hence, the theatre of action described is clearly in or immediately north or northwest of the Ḫābūr Triangle, far from the supposed location of Tigunānum in the western Zagros (see Fig. 1).

In defining the general geographical extent of this Turukkean episode as reflected in the Mari archives, Eidem (1992:19-20) has assembled a small dossier, consisting of ARM I 90; IV 42, 52 and 53; and A.863. Yuhong (1993:115) includes ARM IV 56, a divination concerning Tillā and Kaḫat, and ARM IV 29 and 44 in the same group. The texts detail the conflict between the Turukkeans and the forces of the *royaume de haute-Mésopotamie* as it centred around Amursakkum. A.863 seems to place Amursakkum, Kaḫat, Tillā and Marētum in a restricted region, though how restricted can only be vaguely guessed from this text alone. Kaḫat, the precise location of which has been recently debated (Wäfler 1995; Guichard 1994:240-244; Charpin 1990a, 1990b, 1994:184 n. 53), should be located along the southern Jaghjagh, perhaps at Tell Barrī (Wäfler and Charpin) or Tell al-Ḥamīdīya (Guichard). Tillā is to be located a day's journey south of Šubat-Enlil according to ARM I 26. Guichard, utilising A.47 and A.4182, would place the land of Tillā just south of the confluence of the Jaghjagh and the Abbas (1994:244, 252, 261). Amursakkum, considering its relation to Kaḫat and Tillā in A.863 and Eidem's claim that the group of texts from Tell Leilan

discovered in 1987 confirm this location (1992:20),[7] should apparently also be placed in the eastern part of the Ḫābūr Triangle. Durand places it "dans les alentours de la ligne représentée par le Wadi Djaghdjagh ou à son confluent avec le Wadi ar-Radd," based on the equation with Middle Assyrian Amasakku and neo-Assyrian Masakku, and its attestations along with Šudduḫum, Ta'idum, Ḫurrā and Kaḫat (1997:185 n. a).

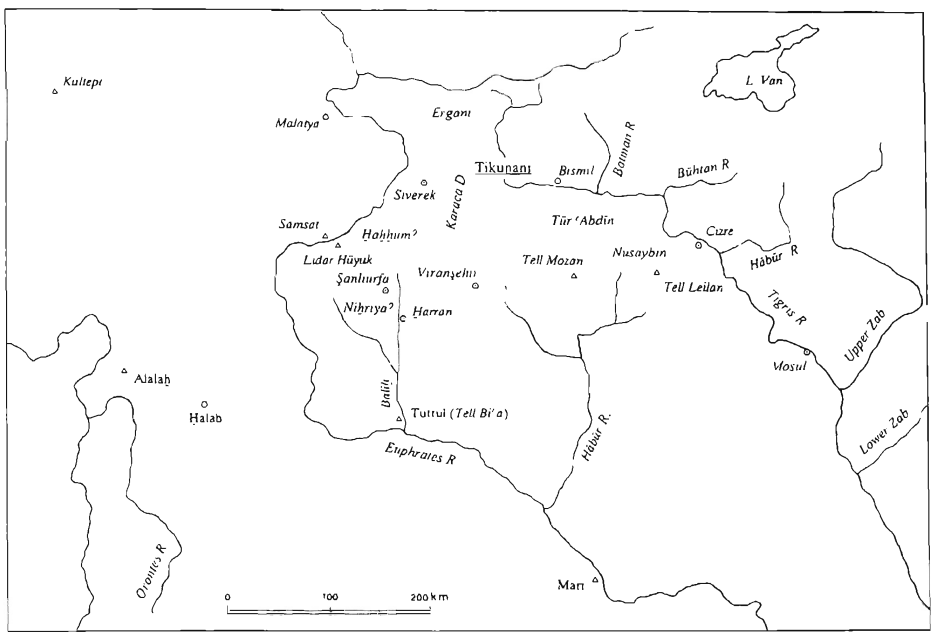



Fig. 1: Proposed location of Tikunani.

Marētum is to be located either "in the region between Kaḫat and Tillā" (Charpin 1990a:76 n. 29) or "to the southeast of Kaḫat, Tilla and Amursakkum, and on the northwest of Zanipa," taking into account the Marāta of the OB Itinerary (Yuhong 1993:116; Goetze 1953). A.47 shows that Marētum was part of the territory of Ḫaya-Sumu of Ilanzura (Guichard 1994:262).[8] Hence, a geographical sphere in the south-eastern Ḫābūr Triangle for this portion of the Turukkean actions can be rather tightly cir-

[7] No mention is made of these attestations in Eidem 1991.

[8] Incidentally, this fact, among others, would be impossible to reconcile with Astour's (1992) location of Ilanzura at Hasankeyf.

cumscribed.

A further clue for the location of Tigunānum is provided by a recently discovered text from Tell Leilan (L85-142), which lists "100 rams and 100 women presented by the palace out of the booty from Ḫuršānum and Tigunānum."[9] The text is tentatively dated by Whiting to "between the conquest of Aššur and Mari", and its events are associated with the Turukkean episode discussed here (1990:189 and n. 114; 1990b:577). Eidem would place Tigunānum and Ḫuršanum in close proximity to Eluḫut, due to ARM XIV 94, which records the conquest of Ḫuršanum by Šarrāya of Eluḫut (1992:20). He feels this places all three north or north-west of the Ḫābūr Triangle. While it should be emphasised that the relationship "city A conquers city B" only vaguely indicates geographical "nearness", the text may perhaps be understood as placing Tigunānum and Ḫuršanum somewhere within the triangle Diyarbakır-Şanlıurfa-Nusaybin.

Charpin (1990a:71-77), seemingly with good reason, would add A.315+M.8103 to the dossier, adding the toponyms Nilibšinnu, Kallaḫubra and Kabittum to the list of those that should be associated with these Turukkean affairs around Amursakkum and Kaḫat. None of these three cities aid in further defining the geographical sphere of the episode, though each should be located within the land of Kaḫat. Charpin proposes identifying Nilibšinnu with the Lilabšinum of the tablets from Tell Brak and the Nilapšini of the Šuppiluliuma-Šattiwaza treaty, and places it at Tell al-Ḥamīdīya (1990a:76; 1987:131; see also Zadok 1991). Kallaḫubra must lay within two days' march of Kaḫat according to a Yaḫdun-Lim itinerary (Charpin 1990a:68-69, 76; 1994:180, 182), while Kabittum can only be placed "near" to Kaḫat. Hence, if indeed this tablet should be included in the corpus concerning this Turukkean episode – an assumption which is only conjectural, as the enemy in question is never named, and the dating of the text is vague – at least this portion of the events can be rather specifically located; i.e. roughly along a narrow corridor either side of the southern Jaghjagh.

## The Flight of the Turukkeans and Išme-Dagan's Pursuit

The Mari archives provide the most specific clues to the location of Tigunānum. ARM IV 23, a letter from Išme-Dagan to his brother, Yasmaḫ-

[9] 100 UDU.NITÁ 100 GEMÉ *ša iš-tu* É.GAL-*lim in-na-ad-nu ša ša-la-at Ḫu-ur-ša-nim ù Ti-gu-na-nim* (Whiting 1990:189 n. 114).

Addu, has long served as a centrepiece of the evidence.[10] In his report, the Turukkeans, fleeing from Išme-Dagan, arrive at the bank of a river, but are unable to ford it, as it is in flood. That night, the flood subsides and the band of Turukkeans is able to cross. Immediately afterward, the river again swells to a torrent, this time hindering Išme-Dagan from crossing it, and allowing the Turukkeans time to reach the land of Tigunānum on the opposite bank. The situation described is one of a river rising, to a degree which makes it impossible to cross it, falling, to a degree which permits uninhibited fording, and rising again very rapidly. Durand's supposition that the weather described in the letter would have taken place toward November (1998:83) seems more reasonable than Klengel's (1962:12). The latter assumes that the events must have happened in the spring run-off season, when sudden increases in river volume can result from spring rains in the Taurus, which adds to river volume and, along with suddenly warmer temperatures, hastens snow-melt. While relatively rapid increases can indeed result from this phenomenon (Ionides 1937:2, 8-9, 161; Fales 1995: 205-206), the subsequent decrease would be much more sluggish than that caused by the rains, and one does not see such a pattern of rapid rise, rapid fall and again rapid rise in volume. Moreover, such extremely rapid flooding and subsiding is not the behaviour of a major river which drains a broad catchment, but that of a comparatively insubstantial river, the volume of which might be greatly influenced by short-term meteorological events. This points to a smaller tributary of one of the great Mesopotamian rivers, without excluding the upper reaches of the Tigris. Based upon this text, the Tigris south of Mosul should probably be excluded, and a stretch upstream from its confluence with the Upper Zab, the Bühtan and the Batman Rivers should probably be favoured.

The text that proves that it was indeed the Tigris[11] over which the

---

[10] "Dis à Yasmah-Addu: ainsi parle Išme-Dagan, ton frère. Tu m'as écrit au sujet des Turukkéens. Le jour où les Turukkéens ont quitté (le Pays), j'étais trop occupé pour t'écrire à leur propos. Une expédition les a poursuivis sans trêve. J'ai tué beaucoup de gens. (L'ennemi) arrivé aux bords du fleuve y a installé son camp: le fleuve était en crue et il ne pouvait traverser. Cependant, j'ai fait traverser des soldats et les ai expédiés au pays de Tigunānum. Après (le passage de) ces soldats, le fleuve a diminué et la nuit même les Turukkéens (en) ont fait la traversée. Comme (immédiatement) après ça le fleuve a (re)grossi, je n'ai pu (moi-même) traverser. Maintenant, les Turukkéens sont donc entrés dans le pays de Tigunānum et voici ce qu'on m'a dit: 'Ils vont repartir vers leur pays.' Suite à cette tablette de moi, je t'enverrai tous détails sur les Turukkéens" (trans. in Durand 1998:98-99).

[11] The damaged remnants of line 37 were not grasped by the editors of ARM IV. Du-

Turukkeans fled is ARM IV 76, another report to Yasmaḫ-Addu, in which Išme-Dagan crosses the Tigris.[12] Apparently Asdī-Takim, King of Ḫarran, had set out toward Ḫamšâ. As a countermeasure, Išme-Dagan deployed a division against him, assigning two commanders to lead it. Asdī-Takim learned of the deployment, however, and aborted his campaign three days before Išme-Dagan crossed the Tigris River. The Turukkeans are still holed up in Tigunānum, apparently after Išme-Dagan succeeded in gaining control of the situation. Turukkean fugitives inform him that they have had enough of flight and deprivation and are interested only in turning homeward.[13]

Salvini (1998a:306) has suggested that the Assyrian troops crossed the Tigris immediately south of modern Cizre, where the valley widens and the current slows. However, in view of the Tikunani Letter and the treaty with Yaḫdun-Lim (see below), as well as the hydrological considerations just mentioned, a Tikunani located in the region around Cizre would be only nominally less surprising than a Tikunani located around the Zab Rivers. The uppermost reaches of the Tigris, before its confluence with the Batman, Yanarsu, Bühtan and other lesser tributaries which turn the Tigris already into a great river, match the details provided in the texts no less well, if not better. Perhaps somewhere west of Bismil is to be preferred, due to the hydrological considerations and the existence of a suitable crossing point located near Üçtepe, 8 km. west of Bismil. Köroğlu (1998:104-

---

rand recently collated the tablet, confirming a rereading and partial restoration of the Tigris. ARM IV 76:37 reads, "UD 3 KAM *la-ma ṣa-bu-um* (*nâr*)*K*[*u*(?)-x-*a*]*m i-ib-*[*b*]*i-ru*". Durand sees "$u_4$ 3-kam *la-ma ṣa-bu-um* íd-id[ig]na* *i-ib-*[*b*]*i-ru*", and comments, "La lecture íd-id[ig]na, proposée par L. Oppenheim et universellement adoptée, semble confirmée par collation. Il faut comprendre donc que les troupes de renfort partent d'une base située sur la rive gauche du Tigre" (1998:129-131, n. g).

[12] "Dis à Yasmah-Addu: ainsi parle Išme-Dagan, ton frère ... Asdî-Takim avait pris la direction de Hamšâ antérieurement à ton déplacement. J'avais envoyé de la troupe avec Amur-Aššur et Išar-Lîm, avant que je ne bouge moi-même. Asdî-Takim l'ayant appris – deux jours avant même que (mon) armée ne fasse la traversée du Tigre –, a décroché vers son pays. Des (survivants) Turukkéens se trouvent dans le pays de Tigunânum même. Des fugitifs qui se sont enfuis m'ont déclaré ceci: 'Ils meurent de faim et veulent rentrer chez eux. Quand ils auront rassembleé leurs provisions de route, ils partiront vers leur pays.' Voilà ce que les fugitifs m'ont dit. Je vais bien; la troupe va bien" (from trans. in Durand 1997:128-129).

[13] The document is also important for the dating of the Turukkean actions in the heartland of the empire, an issue which cannot be dealt with in this study (see Durand 1997: 130; Eidem 1993; Villard 1993; Durand 1987/90:167-171). It might only be noted here that Villard (1993), in response to Eidem (1993), presents serious arguments which could challenge Eidem's chronological reconstruction. Cf. also van Koppen 1997:427.

105) notes that "the bed of the Tigris becomes wide and shallow in front of Üçtepe and ... sources from the Middle Ages and various travellers mention that the Tigris can be crossed at this point."

The final text of this dossier, ARM IV 24, represents Tigunānum as a mountainous country.[14] Describing how the Turukkeans had managed to reach Tigunānum, Išme-Dagan informs his brother that they had previously made it to Hirbazānum, pressed by hunger. Apparently wary of the approach of such a large and battle-ready clan, the people of Talzuru(?) had made some kind of non-aggression pact with them, despite which the Turukkeans devastated the town, plundering its people and goods. Little was gained, however, as the village was a small mountain hamlet, poor in resources. The rest of the region of Hirbazānum was understandably appalled and became hostile to the Turukkeans, exacerbating their plight. Consequently, they occupied Tigunānum. Due to the rare opportunity this letter affords of linking Tigunānum with other toponyms and geographic features, several attempts (cf. Whiting 1990:189; Durand 1998:100 n. b; Eidem 1992:20) have been made at reconciling the troublesome Hirbazānum and Talzuru with other toponyms, none of which are overly convincing.

## Yaḫdun-Lim's Sphere of Influence

A further important piece of data concerning the location of Tigunānum is unpublished Mari text A.1182, which, according to Durand (1998:80), shows that "Tigunânum ... avait en son temps conclu un pacte avec Yahdun-Lîm, lequel est rappelé aux débuts du règne de Zimrî-Lîm par le roi Nagatmiš." While Durand does not specify, it seems likely that the pact would have referred to a sovereign-vassal relationship, considering the rising fortune of Mari under Yaḫdun-Lim and that it was recalled by the vas-

[14] "Dis à Yasmah-Addu: ainsi parle Išme-Dagan, ton frère. À propos des Turukkéens, objet de ta lettre, ces gens-là se trouvent dans le pays de Tigunânum proprement dit. Auparavant, souffrant de famine, ils étaient allés au pays de Hirbazânum. Talzuru, un village, avait fait un pacte de non-aggression avec eux. Ils n'en tuèrent (pas moins) tout mâle de ce village et s'emparèrent de force des gens et des biens. C'était un village de montagnards sans resources. Les Turukkéens y ont pris avec peine de la nourriture pour 5 jours. Étant donné que ce village avait des rapports pacifiques avec eux et qu'ils s'en étaient emparé de force, ce pays qui avait de la sympathie pour eux se durcit et devint leur ennemi. Alors les Turukkéens eurent de plus en plus faim et ne trouvèrent lieu où manger. Donc ils sont dans le Tigunânum proprement dit. Je t'écrirai, suite à cette tablette de moi, l'endroit où ils se dirigeront et partiront ainsi que des indications sur leur itinéraire. Je vais bien. Les armées vont bien. Ne manque pas de m'envoyer de tes nouvelles" (trans. in Durand 1998:99-100).

sal king upon the return to the throne of Mari of its "rightful" heir. Thus, the placement of Tigunānum in a very northerly position, e.g. on the left bank of the Tigris near Diyarbakır, with Durand, would have the consequence of extending Yaḫdun-Lim's sphere of influence far to the north of what is currently understood, and the extent of his influence would certainly require reexamination. The greatest attested northward extent of Yaḫdun-Lim's campaigns swept from Karkemiš and the middle Baliḫ, through the Ḫābūr Triangle, perhaps to the Tigris at the confluence with the eastern Ḫābūr River, not all of which would necessarily have been directly integrated into his realm, apparently resulting in a border of sorts between the kingdoms of Yaḫdun-Lim and that of Šamši-Adad along the Jaghjagh (Charpin 1994; 1990a:68-69; Charpin and Durand 1985:293-299; Dietrich and Loretz 1988; Ghouti 1992:65; 1995:874). In any case, perhaps Tigunānum's "foreign policy" was similar during Yaḫdun-Lim's day as it was during Ḫattušili's, that is, a policy of siding quickly with an aggressive, expanding power.

## The Evidence of the Tikunani Archive

Further important, if presently unverifiable, data are provided by Salvini (1996:12) in a list of toponyms attested in the yet unpublished documents from Tikunani: Ḫaḫḫum, Zalpar, Niḫriya,[15] Naḫur,[16] Ḫalab,[17] Eluḫut,[18] Ḫuršanum,[19] Ašnakku[20] and Burundi.[21] Salvini (ibid.) makes the impor-

---

[15] For exhaustive and current discussions of the locations of Zalpar and Niḫriya, see Miller 1999: Sections 4.2.1 and 4.3.1.

[16] Naḫur follows Apum and Amaṣ and precedes Eluḫut and Abrum on the Old Assyrian trade route (Nashef 1987:69) and is one of the four city-states which comprise the Ida-Maraṣ (Charpin 1993:165 n. 2).

[17] Naḫur and Ḫalab are found in the onomastica of the archive, not strictly as toponyms.

[18] Eluḫut follows Apum, Amaṣ and Naḫur on the Old Assyrian trade route (Nashef 1987:69).

[19] Ḫuršanum can be associated with Tigunānum and Eluḫut (see above), but no more precisely localised.

[20] Ašnakkum follows Šubat-Enlil and Šunā in the outbound portion of the Old Babylonian Itinerary and precedes Urkiš, Šunā, Ḫarsi and Šubat-Enlil on the return leg (Goetze 1953). See now ARM XXVII 20:7-21, which groups Ašnakkum as a country of the Ida-Maraṣ. It should be located in the north-western quadrant of the Ḫābūr basin (Kupper 1998:139-160; Charpin 1993; RGTC III:25).

[21] Burundi, or Burundum, is associated with Eluḫut, Ḫaḫḫum, Zalmaqqum and Talḫayum in B.308 (see now ARM XXVIII 60), and follows Zalpa and precedes Ḫaḫḫum on the Old Assyrian trade route(s) (Nashef 1987:69).

tant observation that four of these cities appear as stations on the Old Assyrian caravan route to Kaniš, all of which should be located west of Apum\Tell Leilan.[22] Ḫaḫḫum, the goal of Ḫattušili's campaign as reflected in the Tikunani Letter and his Annals, should probably be located between Şanlıurfa and the Euphrates (Miller 1999:81-88), perhaps at Lidar Höyük, with Liverani, or at Tatar Höyük. It would thus be located some 3-4 days march west-south-westard along the road through Siverek from what must be the location of Tikunani. While the location of no single city of the archive can be unequivocally equated with a specific tell, the region is rather well circumscribed. The "world" of late Old Babylonian Tikunani, as expressed in its own archives, encompasses the region defined by Ḫaḫḫum (between Şanlıurfa and the Euphrates) and Niḫriya (upper Baliḫ) in the west, and Ašnakkum, Naḫur and Eluḫut (between Nusaybin and Viranşehir) to the east.

In the Mari documents, the entity in question is referred to as $^{KUR}$, never as $^{URU}$Tigunānim, suggesting that when the Turukkeans crossed the Tigris, they crossed into the *country* of Tigunānum, which does not necessarily imply that the *city* of Tigunānum was in the immediate vicinity. Hence, one might conceive of the country of Tigunānum as defined, perhaps, by the modern points of Bismil, Ergani, Siverek, and the Karaca Dağ. Its association with Ḫattušili I suggests that perhaps the city itself was located to the west of the north-south stretch of the Tigris, perhaps on one of its tributaries (Boğaz Cay; Esirkul Deresi?).[23] Its land might then include the Karaca or some part thereof. This would fulfill the requirements of the Mari letters: that the Turukkeans crossed into the *land* of Tigunānum when crossing the Tigris; that it is a mountainous country. It would also place it in perfect position to attack Ḫaḫḫum from the east, as demanded by Ḫattušili.

In summarising the evidence for the location of Tikunani, it is known from the Tikunani Letter that the city must be located within the sphere of influence – not necessarily control – of Ḫattušili I. Considering Ḫattušili's request that Tikunani complement his attack on Ḫaḫḫum, Tikunani seems certainly to have been strategically located in relation to Ḫaḫḫum. Likewise,

---

[22] This grouping accords well with T.574, an unpublished Mari text which mentions successively deportees from Niḫriya and Tigunānum (Durand 1998:80).

[23] It must have been similar considerations which led Freydank (1997:689) to the similar conclusion that Tikunani lay, "östlich des oberen Euphrat und jedenfalls westlich des oberen Tigris." Salvini (1998b:114), in the same article in which he proposes Cizre as the Turukkean crossing point, seems to have considered a similar conclusion, stating that Tikunani might have lain, "in a undefined area between the upper courses of the Euphrates and the Tigris."

Yaḫdun-Lim is known to have held some level of influence in the area, as he is recorded as entering into a treaty with Tigunānum. From the Mari archives it is known that at least the land of Tigunānum should be located within or near the sphere of the struggles between Šamši-Adad and the Turukkeans, which indicates an area from within the Ḫābūr Triangle up to the Ṭūr ᶜAbdīn and the Tigris. At least some portion of the *land* of Tigunānum was a mountainous region, and at least some portion of it should be located on the opposite bank of a fordable stretch of the Tigris which is capable of rapid volume fluctuations. From the toponyms reportedly recorded in the unpublished Tikunani archives, one should seek the city near the western reaches of the northernmost Ḫābūr Triangle. The uppermost reaches of the Tigris in the near environs of Diyarbakır immediately suggest themselves. The area is plausible as a stage for the Turukkean flight, though rather northerly when compared to the known sphere of Šamši-Adad's struggles with them, and would fit well the toponymy of the Tikunani archive, which would become more difficult to reconcile with a location further to the east and south along the Tigris.

Still, a location on the upper Tigris places Tikunani in an area for which there is no complementary data pointing toward influence or control by Yaḫdun-Lim or Ḫattušili I. It is hard to imagine that the hand of the former reached the regions suggested, for which the Ḫābūr Triangle seems a more likely limit. The actions of Ḫattušili as recorded in the Old Hittite texts are confined to within an arc reaching from the upper Orontes to the stretch of the Euphrates around Samsat. Tikunani and Niḫriya, also mentioned in the Tikunani Letter,[24] suggest an area of operations not touched upon in the Annals, in which the east-south-easternmost reaches of his campaigns are Uršu and Ḫaḫḫum, the latter being his only trans-Euphrates achievement. Does the Tikunani Letter force us to redefine the arc of Ḫattušili's military actions? Should it now be drawn from the upper Orontes to the area around Şanlıurfa, and on to the upper reaches of the Tigris around Diyarbakır? If so, why do Ḫattušili's actions there find no further reflection in the Annals or in the occasional and fragmentary supplementary texts relating events of his reign? Is this the area where the Great King's thrust lost inertia and was turned homeward, perhaps by military stalemates or defeats that he did not care to employ his scribes to record? Alternatively, did the Hittites of the

[24] Salvini (1994:65) assumes that lines 17-18 of the Tikunani Letter "allude presumibilmente alla presa della città di Niḫrija, avvenuta prima della spedizione contro Ḫaḫḫum." It does not seem, however, that the context of this occurrence necessitates that Niḫriya be already subject to Ḫattušili.

Old Kingdom, already in control of Išuwa, descend upon the proposed region of Tikunani *before* the thrust toward Ḫaḫḫum from the west? If so, this would entail another series of events which have found no reflection in the textual or archaeological sources (Hawkins 1998: 282). Clearly the Tikunani Letter reveals that Ḫattušili at least *intended* to continue his campaigns to the second of the fronts described, to Niḫriya upon the reduction of Ḫaḫḫum, while he already considered Tikunani a vassal. Whether these plans were realised, or whether the Great King was forced to abort his further ambitions, must presently remain an open question.

The location of the land of late Old Babylonian Tikunani suggested here, the region encompassed perhaps by Bismil, Ergani, Siverek and the Karaca Dağ, within which the remains of the city of Tikunani should probably lie to the west of the north-south course of the Tigris, presents a perplexing dilemma when compared with the archaeological survey data, meagre though they be. Algaze et al. (1991:181-183) report no Middle Bronze wares from their survey of the west bank of the Batman Su and both banks of the Tigris from the Batman to Bismil. Similarly, Rosenberg and Togul (1991: 245) report an absence of Bronze Age wares in their survey of the areas flooded by the Batman Su dam. Algaze et al. (1991:183) admit the possibility that the area could have been largely unsettled in the Middle Bronze, but suggest that the period in the region is probably "characterized by a thus far unreported and unrecognized assemblage." Matney (1998:11-12) proposes that this hitherto unrecognised assemblage may be a "Red-Brown Wash Ware", collected from a survey of Ziyaret Tepe, south of the Tigris near Bismil. He suggests that this ware may typify the Middle Bronze, as it has been found in context with Khabur Ware from Üçtepe. The area from Bismil westward toward the north-south stretch of the upper Tigris is apparently *terra incognita* to archaeological survey dealing with Bronze Age remains, but is unlikely to be radically different from the areas immediately to its east.

Köroğlu (1998:8 resim 1), in his report of the Üçtepe excavations, shows four sites to the west of the north-south stretch of the Tigris near Diyarbakır, just north of the Esirkul: Kayapınar, Gömmetaş, Körtepe and Topyolu. A map of pre-classical tells published by Pecorella (1998:6) shows two further sites in the same region, Çayönü Tepesi and Girikihaciyan. This area between Diyarbakır and the Euphrates is essentially unsurveyed, but if one or more of these sites were found to be characteristic of a significant number sites from the above-mentioned surveys, they might yield a profile which includes significant Middle Bronze (assuming that it is represented by the "Red-Brown Wash Ware") occupation, and hence,

constitute suitable candidates for Tikunani. Perhaps it is at one of these sites that reconciliation between the philological and the archaeological evidence might be attempted.

## The Nature of the Kingdom Tikunani

At present, there is little hard evidence from which to draw conclusions concerning the magnitude of Tikunani, except perhaps the fact that Ḫattušili considered it substantial enough to pursue its alliance in his imminent battle with Ḫaḫḫum. On the other hand, the aid that Tikunani actually sent, one silver chariot, at least as recorded in the Annals, is purely symbolic. It is not known what contribution, if any, Tuniya led or sent in terms of manpower, weaponry or supplies to the battle at Ḫaḫḫum. Ḫattušili would not necessarily credit Tuniya or any other ally with the glory that he would have coveted for himself. The fact that Tikunani had at least one significant archive suggests that it was no provincial backwater, and that it was politically and economically active in its region and beyond. In the Tikunani Letter (ll. 6-7), Ḫattušili mentions not only that the city of Tikunani is his, but the whole country of Tikunani. Similarly, from the Mari archives, it is known only as *māt Tigunānim*, suggesting that it was then a city with some hinterland as well. Archaeologically, nothing is known of the site of ancient Tikunani, and hardly more is known about the region in which it must be located. Hence, it is virtually impossible to extrapolate concerning the magnitude and nature of the entities, Tikunani among them, extant in uppermost Mesopotamia toward the end of the Old Babylonian period.

The documents of the Tikunani archive reveal no reference to any overlord or dominating power, which Salvini suggests indicates that Mitanni "was not yet formed at the time of Ḫattušili I, and that the quotation of Ḫanigalbat in his 'Deeds' has to be considered a later interpolation" (1996: 13; see also 1998a:310). However, this conclusion does not seem unavoidable. If Mitanni was centred, for example, in the western Ḫābūr and was expanding at this time primarily to the west and east, there is no reason that Tikunani, located along the uppermost Tigris, would necessarily have been subject to it. Perhaps Tikunani was banking on its relationship with Ḫattušili I to stave off the encroachment of the power to the south of the Karaca Dağ. There is no universal law according to which Tunip-Teššup would have preferred, merely on the basis of ethnic affinity, the status of subject to Mitanni to that of lesser ally to the distant Hittites. Indeed, it can be gathered from various texts that a Hurrian confederacy, whatever its name and precise nature, did exist at the time of the early Old Kingdom

(Astour 1972; Miller 1999:11-13). The Tikunani archive's silence regarding it might indicate that it had not yet expanded northward to the Taurus, leaving the pocket north of the Karaca Dağ as yet independent.

## Ḫattušili I's Syrian Campaigns in the Light of the Tikunani Letter

Salvini understands the fact that Ḫattušili refers to Tuniya as his servant to indicate that Tuniya was a vassal, and that "(il) se trouve sous sa protection" (1998a:305). Ḫattušili does seem to repeatedly emphasise that Tuniya is his servant. He refers to the city of Tikunani as his city and the country of Tikunani as his country. And he seems to cajole, bribe and even threaten Tuniya into remaining loyal. Further, Ḫattušili indicates some sort of diplomatic exchange between himself and Tuniya when he says he will send his servant and when he requests the embassage of one Bullitadi and a servant of Tuniya. However, it is difficult to believe that such profuse encouragement would be expended on a subject already firmly in the Hittite camp. Hence, perhaps this letter was part of a search for support, or a propaganda campaign, waged by Ḫattušili, to which Tikunani responded positively. In other words, it may be hasty to conclude on the evidence of this single letter that Tikunani, even before the conquest of Ḫaḫḫum, was a vassal state to the Hittite Old Kingdom. In this context, Šuppiluliuma I's approach toward Niqmaddu I of Ugarit might be recalled. In his well-known letter Šuppiluliuma tries to tempt Niqmaddu, with similar bribes and threats, into allying himself to the Hittite cause against Nuḫašše and Mukiš (from §§2, 5; trans. in Beckman 1995:119-120). Concluding that Tikunani was a Hittite vassal state would require that the Old Kingdom included, even *before* the attack on Ḫaḫḫum, contiguous territory from the uppermost Tigris into Anatolia itself. It seems more likely that Ḫattušili's claims on Tikunani were largely optimistic thinking, perhaps encouraged by the creative diplomacy of Tuniya, such as the silver chariot recorded in the Annals, as opposed to the belligerent responses of other north Mesopotamian cities, such as Ḫaḫḫum.

While Tigunānum of the Mari archives need not have been a significant power, it may have augmented by the time of Ḫattušili I. Perhaps, if it expanded during the intervening period to comprise most of the region from Bismil to Ergani and the northern Karaca, it might have had access to or control of the rich mining centres near Ergani. If so, this would have presented Ḫattušili with excellent reason to have established relations with Tikunani before his action against Ḫaḫḫum. It is seen from the Tikunani Letter that the terms in which Ḫattušili related to Tuniya were extremely generous

and profitable; so much so that one wonders why Ḫattušili would grant such terms to a small, peripheral kingdom. There must have been *some* significant advantage to Ḫattušili of having Tikunani on his side.

A detail in the Tikunani Letter may provide a clue regarding Tikunani and its relationship to the Old Kingdom. Ḫattušili says (ll. 14-16): "I from here and you from there, (like) iron and a lion." The iron and the lion are understood here as metaphors for the two attacking sides, Tuniya and Ḫattušili. The reading, which differs slightly from Salvini's, allows one to associate with Ḫattušili once again the lion imagery he so often employs, and eliminates the question of what exactly the lion that Tuniya was to send might have been – a cult figure (with Salvini); a captured lion (with Collins 1998)? The iron metaphor applied to Tuniya might then assume special significance. Iron would be somehow associated with Tuniya and/or Tikunani. Whether Ḫattušili's association of Tikunani with iron might hint at the basis of the relationship which obtained between the Hittite power and Tikunani cannot be concluded from one ambiguous passage.[25] But it should not be excluded that the reference hints at the motivation for Ḫattušili's interest in Tikunani, that is to say, the need for metals to supply his military machine. One might extrapolate further and suggest that Tikunani, never mentioned as such in the Old Assyrian documents, supplied the trade centre and *kārum* at Niḫriya; hence, it might have played a role in the trade system, without having found its way into the historical records. It should be remembered that the Habiru prism discovered at Tikunani employs Assyrian *līmu* dates. Moreover, while the grammar and syllabary of the *šummu izbu* omen text published by Salvini are predominantly Old Babylonian, traces of Old Assyrian grammar are present (Arnaud, in Salvini 1996:117 n. 1). Finally, as mentioned, a Kültepe text witnesses the *nisbe Ti-ga-nu-ú*. These clues indicate, as suggested already by Salvini (1996:8), that at some point the area had been influenced by Assyrian traditions, surely traceable to the impact of the Old Assyrian merchants on Niḫriya, Ḫaḫḫum and their neighbours.

Tikunani is the last city mentioned in the narrative of the Annals, inserted into the summary section, almost as an addendum or afterthought. Ḫattušili simply states (KBo X 2 ii 25-28), "The King of Tikuna [sent] the Great King a silver chariot", with no other details: not of how Tikunani had been conquered, if indeed it had been; not of Tikunani's status as a vassal, a protectorate, or an independant ally; and not of any further contribution of

[25] For the earliest archaeological and philological attestations of iron in Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia, see Yalçin 1998.

Tikunani to the campaign. Nowhere else in the Annals is there a comparable passage. Tribute sent to the marching Great King is otherwise unknown, unlike the ubiquitous references in the annals of the neo-Assyrian kings, for example. Does this passage serve a like purpose? If so, why only this single oblique reference? Was it indeed the only case? If not, why was only this case recorded? The sometimes baffling selection of events might support the suggestion that there were events related to Ḫattušili's campaigns in the region that he did not want remembered.

## Conclusion

In recent years what has long been suspected has become increasingly apparent. The Annals include only the early years of Ḫattušili's exploits and are very selective. They record only the military high points, in very concise form, leaving to other genres the Hittite efforts to consolidate their gains and the erection of an administrative apparatus. Governors were installed in Ḫaššu, for example, according to the Palace and Puḫanu Chronicles. The Zukraši texts show that Ḫattušili faced the military forces of Emar and Ebla, and from the Talmi-Šarruma Treaty it is known that Ḫattušili I decided in favour of Aštata and Nuḫašše regarding land disputes that existed between them and Aleppo. Now the Tikunani Letter shows that Ḫattušili had intentions, as yet ill defined, in Niḫriya, in the upper Baliḫ region, and held at least some sway in the city of Tikunani near the uppermost Tigris.

## References

Algaze, G. Breuninger / R. Lightfoot, C. / Rosenberg, M.
1991 "The Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1989-1990 Seasons", *Anatolica* 17, 175-240.

Astour, M.C.
1972 "Ḫattušiliš, Ḫalab and Ḫanigalbat", *JNES* 31, 102-109.
1992 "The North Mesopotamian Kingdom of Ilānṣurā", in: G.D. Young (ed.), *Mari in Retrospect*, Winona Lake, 1-33.

Beckman, G.
1995 "The Siege of Uršu Text (CTH 7) and Old Hittite Historiography", *JCS* 47, 23-34.

Charpin, D.
1987 "Šubat-Enlil et le pays d'Apum", *M.A.R.I.* 5, 129-140.

1990a "A Contribution to the Geography and History of the Kingdom of Kaḫat", in: S. Eichler / M. Wäfler / D. Warburton (eds.), *Tall al-Ḥamīdīya 2* (OBO Ser. Archaeol. 6), Freiburg/Schweiz, 67-85.

1990b "La Region de Kahat et de Shoubat-Enlil", *Les Dossiers d'Archéologie* 155, 64-71.

1993 "Un souverain Éphémère en Ida-Maraš: Išme-Addu d'Ašnakkum", *M.A.R.I.* 7, 165-191.

1994 "Une campagne de Yahdun-Lîm en haute-Mésopotamie", in: D. Charpin / J.-M. Durand (eds.), *Florilegium marianum II: Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot* (Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 3), Paris, 177-199.

Charpin, D. / Durand, J.-M.

1985 "La Prise du Pouvoir par Zimri-Lim", *M.A.R.I.* 4, 293-343.

Collins, B.J.

1998 "Ḫattušili I, The Lion King", *JCS* 50, 15-20.

Dietrich, M. / Loretz, O.

1988 "Votiv- und Bauinschriften aus Mari und Ugarit", in: Ch. Butterweg et al., *Grab-, Sarg-, Votiv- und Bauinschriften* (TUAT II/4), Gütersloh, 501-505.

Durand, J.-M.

1987/90 "Documents pour l'histoire du royaume de haute-Mésopotamie I & II", *M.A.R.I.* 5, 155-198; 6, 271-301.

1992 "Unité et diversités au Proche-Orient à l'époque Amorrite", in: D. Charpin / F. Joannès (eds.), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient Ancien. Actes de la XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 8-10 juillet 1991)*, Paris, 97-128.

1997 *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari I.* (LAPO 16), Paris.

1998 *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari II.* (LAPO 17), Paris.

Eidem, J.

1985 "News from the Eastern Front: The Evidence from Tell Shemshāra", *Iraq* 47, 83-107.

1991 "The Tell Leilan Archives 1987", *RA* 85, 109-135.

1992 *The Shemshāra Archives 2: The Administrative Texts* (Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 15), Copenhagen.

1993 "From the Zagros to Aleppo – and Back: Chronological Notes on the Empire of Šamši-Adad", *Akkadica* 81, 23-28.

Fales, F.M.

1995 "Rivers in Neo-Assyrian Geography", in: M. Liverani (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography* (QGS 5), Rome, 203-215.

Freydank, H.

1997 Review of Salvini, M. 1996, in: *OLZ* 92, 689-692.

Ghouti, M.

1992 "Témoins derrière la Porte", in: J.-M. Durand (ed.), *Florilegium marianum. Recueil d'études en l'honneur de Michel Fleury* (Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 1), Paris, 61-68.

Goetze, A.

1953 "An Old Babylonian Itinerary", *JCS* 7, 51-72.

Guichard, M.
1994 "Au pays de la dame de Nagar", In: D. Charpin / J.-M. Durand (eds.), *Florilegium marianum II: Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot* (Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 3), Paris, 235-272.
Hawkins, J.D.
1998 "The Land of Išuwa: The Hieroglyphic Evidence", In: S. Alp / A. Süel (eds.), *Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology, Çorum, September 16-22, 1996*, Ankara, 281-295.
Ionides, M.G.
1937 *The Régime of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London.
Klengel, H.
1962 "Das Gebirgsvolk der Turukkū in den Keilschrifttexten altbabylonischer Zeit", *Klio* 40, 5-22.
1985 "Nochmals zu den Turukkäern und ihrem Auftreten in Mesopotamien", *AoF* 12, 252-258.
Köroğlu, K.
1998 *Üçtepe I*, Ankara.
Kupper, J.-R.
1979 "Noms Géographiques", in: M. Birot / J.-R. Kupper / O. Rouault, *Répertoire analytique* (ARM XVI/1), Paris, 1-42.
1998 *Lettres royales du temps de Zimri-Lim* (ARM XXVIII), Paris.
Matney, T.
1998 "The First Season of Work at Ziyaret Tepe in the Diyarbakir Province: Preliminary Report", *Anatolica* 24, 7-30.
Miller, J.
1999 *The Expeditions of Ḫattušili I to the Eastern Frontiers: A Study in the Historical Geography and Chronology of the Great King's Campaigns* (Unpublished MA thesis, Tel Aviv University).
Nashef, K.
1987 *Rekonstruktion der Reiserouten zur Zeit der altassyrischen Handelsniederlassungen* (TAVO Beihefte, Reihe B, Nr. 83), Wiesbaden.
Pecorella, P.E.
1998 *Tell Barri/Kaḫat* 2 (DA 5), Rome.
Rosenberg, M. / Togul, H.
1991 "The Batman River Archaeological Site Survey, 1990", *Anatolica* 17, 241-254.
Salvini, M.
1994 "Una Lettera di Ḫattušili I relativa alla spedizione contro Ḫaḫḫum", *SMEA* 34, 63-80.
1996 *The Ḫabiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani* (DA 3), Rome.
1998a "Un royaume hourrite en Mésopotamie du Nord à l'époque de Ḫattušili I", in: M. Lebeau (ed.), *About Subartu: Studies Devoted to Upper Mesopotamia* (Subartu IV/1), Turnhout, 305-311.
1998b "The Earliest Evidences of the Hurrians before the Formation of the Reign of Mittanni", in: G. Buccellati / M. Kelly-Buccellati (eds.), *Urkesh and the*

*Hurrians: Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen* (BibMes 26; Urkesh/Mozan Studies 3), Malibu, 99-115.

van Koppen, F.
1997 "L'expédition à Tilmun et la révolte des Bédouins", *M.A.R.I.* 8, 417-429.

Villard, P.
1993 "La mort de Sûmu-Epuh et la révolte des Turukkéens", *N.A.B.U.* 1993/119.
1995 "Shamshi-Adad and Sons: The Rise and Fall of an Upper Mesopotamian Empire", in: J. Sasson (ed.), *CANE* 2, 873-883.

Wäfler, M.
1995 "Kaḫat, Tâdum and Ilanṣurā", *N.A.B.U.* 1995/31.

Whiting, R.M.
1990 "Tell Leilan/Šubat-Enlil: Chronological Problems and Perspectives", in: Eichler, S. / Wäfler, M. / Warburton D. (eds.), *Tall al-Ḥamīdīya 2* (OBO Ser. Archaeol. 6), Freiburg/Schweiz, 167-218.

Wilhelm, G.
1998 Review of Salvini, M. 1996, in: *ZA* 88, 295-296.

Yalçin, Ü.
1998 "Frühe Eisenverwendung in Anatolian", *IM* 48, 79-95.

Yuhong, W.
1994 "Mebbidum of Hab(b)a'um in the tablets of Yahdun-Lim and Hab(b)a'um (not Haššum!) of Membida in ARM 1 37", *N.A.B.U.* 1994/67.

Zadok, R.
1991 "Geographical and Topographical Notes", *N.A.B.U.*, 1991/70.