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YAĞMUR HEFFRON, ADAM STONE, and MARTIN WORTHINGTON

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An Expedition of King Shalmaneser I and Prince Tukultī-Ninurta to Carchemish

DAISUKE SHIBATA

Assyria and Hatti both, from East and West respectively, conquered territories formerly belonging to Mittani. Unsurprisingly, then, recent studies have uncovered complexities in their political relationship in the 13th century B.C.:¹ while some sources appear to suggest battles between the two states, others reveal diplomatic negotiations and alliances. A Middle Assyrian document from an archive from Tell Taban offers new information on this topic, revealing that in the closing period of his reign, in the eponymate of Enlil-ašarēd, King Shalmaneser I was bound for Carchemish together with Prince Tukultī-Ninurta. It is a great pleasure to place an edition and study of this document in a volume honouring Nicholas Postgate, who both makes such extremely important contributions to Neo- and Middle Assyrian studies and directed the excavation of Kilise Tepe.

A Middle Assyrian Document from Tell Taban, Tab T05A-609

The archival texts from Tell Taban / Ṭābetu enable us to study not only the local kingdom of Māri,² but also the wider region of Assyria and even its surrounding countries. One administrative text, Tab T05A-609, contributes to study of Assyria and its vicinity. The tablet was found in a block of tablets (see fig. 1).³ The text it bears refers to an event which is suggestive in many respects. First, I would like to offer an edition of the text:⁴

Tab T05A-609 (copy: fig. 2, photograph: fig. 3)

| | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Obv. 1 '10' UDU.NÍTA MU-4 | 2 SILA ₄ |
| 2 'a'-na LUGAL | qar-ru-bu |
| 3 '1 UDU'.NÍTA MU-2 | ^{m.d} SILIM-le-i |

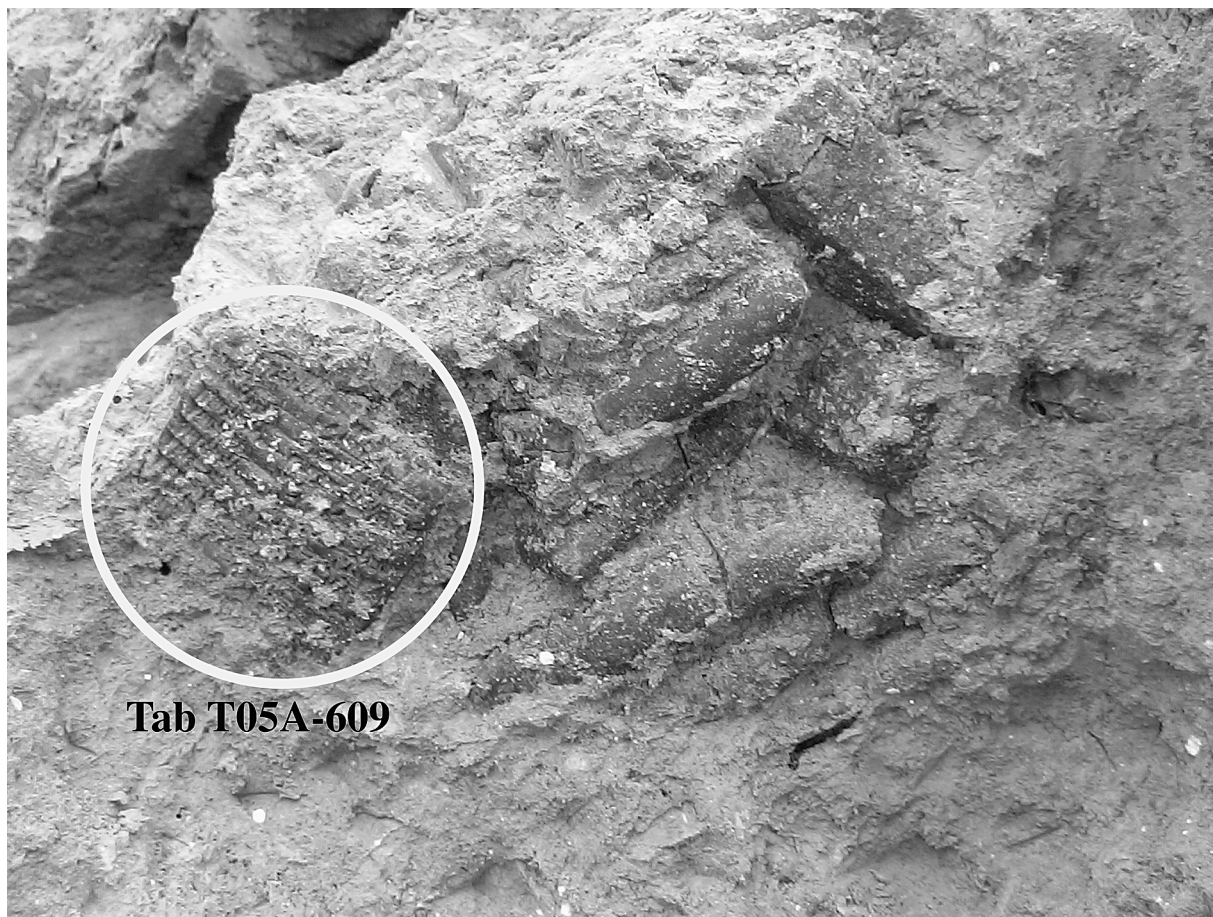
Author's note: Earlier versions of this paper were presented in the workshop 'Administration and Law in the Ancient Near East', in Damascus, 10th–11th October 2008, and *Table-ronde du projet franco-japonais «Sakura»*, at the University of Tsukuba, 25th November 2009. I would like to thank the participants of both workshops for their remarks. I am also grateful to Martin Worthington for important suggestions, and to Simone Mühl for the beautiful map. This study was supported by MEXT KAKENHI Grant Number 24101009 and JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 26370817.

1. Sources and studies related to this topic are very usefully collected by Giorgieri (2011). See furthermore Miller 2012 and Yamada 2011.

2. On the local kingdom of Māri see Shibata 2011 and 2012.

3. See Shibata 2007: 64; 2016: 99–101.

4. I am grateful to DGAM and Hirotoshi Numoto, the director of the Tell Taban Archaeological Project, for permission to publish the document. The text will be re-edited in the final report on the archive.



Tab T05A-609

Fig. 1. The Middle Assyrian tablets as found by the excavators. The text edited here, Tab T05A-609, is on the left edge. © Tell Taban Archaeological Project.

| | | | |
|------|----|--|---|
| 4 | 2 | UDU.NÍTA MU-2 | ^{m.dr} IŠKUR-ŠEŠ-SUM-na ka ¹ -kar-di-nu |
| 5 | 1 | UDU.NÍTA MU-2 | ^m Hi-qu |
| 6 | 1 | UDU.NÍTA MU-3 | DUMU.MUNUS ^m Qí-bi ^d A-šur |
| 7 | 1 | UDU.NIM | ^m Mu-na-bi-tu |
| 8 | 1 | UDU.NÍTA MU-2 | i+na U ₄ 10.KÁM i+na ^r nap-te ¹ -né |
| 9 | | i+na ^{uu} Ku-liš- <i>hi</i> -na-áš ¹ e-pi-i[š] | |
| 10 | 1 | UDU.NIM | i+na U ₄ 10.KÁM-ma ^r i+na ^{uu} A-da-liš- <i>hi</i> |
| 11 | 1 | UDU.NÍTA MU-2 | i+na U ₄ 11.KÁM |
| 12 | | ^r i+na ¹ ^{uu} A-da-liš- <i>hi</i> -ma | |
| B.E. | 13 | ^r 1 [UDU.NÍ]TA MU-2 | ^{m.gi} sTUKUL-ti- ^d Nin-urta |
| | 14 | [ŠU.NÍGI]N 22 | UDU.MEŠ |
| Rev. | 15 | [š]a DUMU.MEŠ ^{lu} (NA).GADA.MEŠ | |
| | 16 | ^r ki ¹ -i LUGAL i+na ^{uu} Ku- ^r li ¹ -iš- <i>hi</i> -na | |
| | 17 | a-na ^{uu} Ga-ar-ga-mi-si | |

18 *e-ti-qu-ni*
 19 *lu-ú a-na LUGAL ù lu-ú*
 20 *a-na pi-qi-te qar-ru-bu*

(*vacat*)

21 ⁱⁱⁱ*Sa-bu-tu* U₄ 10.KÁM *li-mu*
 22 ^{m.d.}*En-lil-SAG*

| | | |
|-------|---|--|
| 1 | 10 sheep, four years old, | 2 lambs |
| 2 | served for the king (of Assyria). | |
| 3 | 1 sheep, two years old, | (for) Salmānu-leʿi |
| 4 | 2 sheep, two years old, | (for) Adad-aḥa-iddina, the confectioner |
| 5 | 1 sheep, two years old, | (for) Ḫīqu |
| 6 | 1 sheep, three years old, | (for) a daughter of Qibi-Aššur |
| 7 | 1 spring-lamb | (for) Munnabittu |
| 8 | 1 sheep, two years old, | used on the 10th day at the banquet |
| 9 | in the city of Kulišḫinaš | |
| 10 | 1 spring-lamb, | also on the 10th day in the town of Adališḫu |
| 11 | 1 sheep, two years old, | on the 11th day |
| 12 | also in the town of Adališḫu | |
| 13 | 1 [she]ep, two years old, | (for) Tukultī-Ninurta |
| 14 | [Tot]al 22 sheep | |
| 15 | [o]f the members (‘sons’) of the flock masters. | |
| 16–19 | When the king (of Assyria) passed through the city of Kulišḫina(š) to the city of Carchemish, | |
| 19 | they (= sheep) were served for the king or | |
| 20 | for the allocation. | |

21 Month of Sabūtu, 10th day, eponymate of
 22 Enlil-ašarēd

Philological Notes

On the format of the text, the date, the persons, and the toponyms, see below.

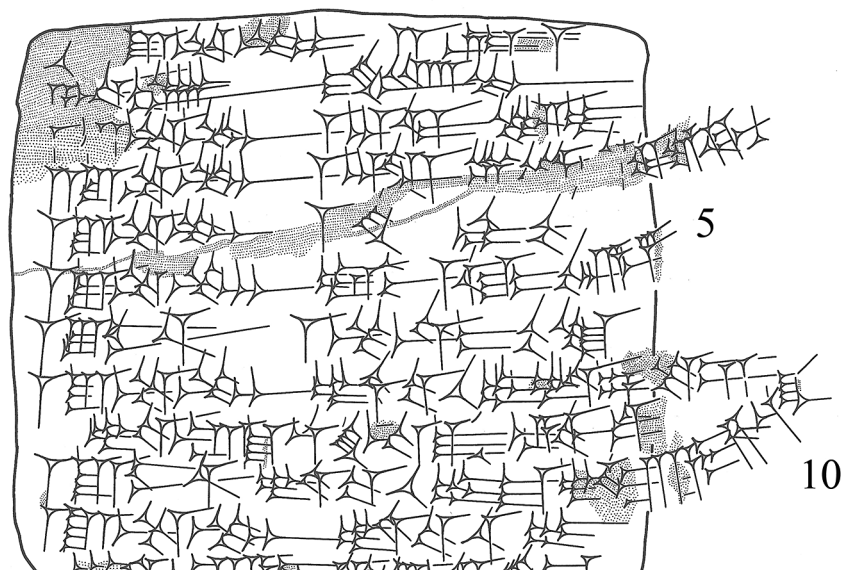
2 The verb *qarrubu* (Bab. *qurrubu*), in a sense of delivering gifts as well as serving meals, clearly has a nuance of respectful presentation. See attestations in *CAD Q* 237–38, sub *qerēbu* 10b–c. It is obvious that in lines 2 and 20 the verb is used because the recipient is an Assyrian king.

15 It is safe to assume that the sign NA was omitted by mistake. The context clearly requires ^{lu}NA.GADA = *nāqidu* ‘flock-master’, as suggested by comparable documents of the same period, e.g., Jakob 2003a: 365–73, Röllig 2008: 195 sub *nāqidu*, and Ismail and Postgate 2008.

16 The spelling ^{uu}*Ku-li-iš-ḫi-na*, may be a (local-scribal?) variant of Kulišḫinaš. The same spelling is attested also in Tab T05A-151, 10 (see Shibata 2012: 494–95).

Tab T05A-609

Obv.



B.E.



Rev.

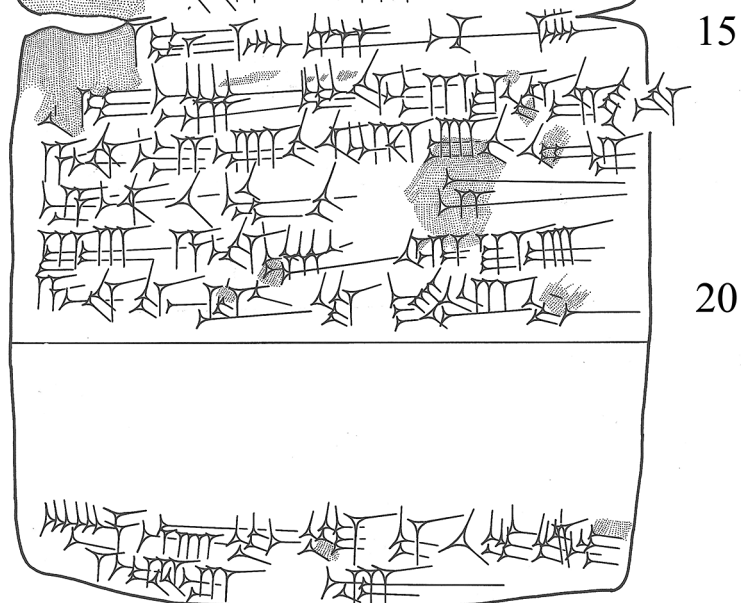


Fig. 2. Hand-copy of Tab T05A-609.



Fig. 3. Photograph of Tab T05A-609. © The Tell Taban Archaeological Project.

Date

The text has a date formula documenting that it was written on the 10th day of the month of Sabūtu in the eponymate of Enlil-ašarēd. The month of Sabūtu belongs to the Middle Assyrian local calendar of Ṭābetu.⁵ The literal meaning of the month name, ‘the seventh’, may suggest that the month occurred in Autumn or Spring,⁶ although its relationship to the Assyrian calendar remains unclear. As for the eponymate of Enlil-ašarēd, even though the chronological sequence of eponyms in the Middle Assyrian period is still disputed, the chronological place of this eponymate is, fortunately, agreed on by most researchers: it belongs in the very late reign of King Shalmaneser I, between the Usāt-Marduk and Ittabši-dēn-Aššur.⁷ The year corresponds to the 28th regnal year of Shalmaneser I, i.e., 1246/36 B.C. In the city of Ṭābetu, the year appears to be placed in the reign of the local ruler, Aššur-ketta-lēšir I.⁸

Format and Purpose

The tablet, which is almost intact, bears no sealing and there is no envelope. Such characteristics clearly indicate that it is not a document produced for the reference of two parties, but rather an internal record of a single institution. The format is suggestive of an administrative memorandum.⁹

The basic format of the text is very clear. It records the consumption of sheep, and has characteristics common to documents about flock masters (*nāqīdu*) and animal husbandry.¹⁰ Such texts are known especially from the recently published Middle Assyrian archives of Tell Ali / Atmannu and Tell Šēḫ Ḥamad / Dūr-Katlimmu.¹¹ The first half of texts of this type lists the number and type of the consumed sheep. Next to the sheep, the list also specifies to whom the sheep were served, and the purposes to which the sheep were put. In our case, the list ends with a sum of the sheep in lines 14–15, which mention that the sheep were brought by the flock masters. The latter half of texts of this type gives the reason why and the occasion on which

5. See Shibata 2010: 226.

6. On the assumption that the local calendar began in the Spring and had an intercalary month, the month of Sabūtu would fall in the Autumn. However, the calendar of Old Babylonian Sippar applied the month name Sebūtum to the first month in the Spring (Greengus 1987: esp. 213; see also Greengus 2001). As suggested by Lambert (1989), the case of Sippar may be explained as remnant of an old tradition that the new year began in the Autumn, and therefore the first month in the Spring remained designated as the ‘seventh’.

7. See e.g., Freydank 2005: 49; Röllig 2008: 4; Bloch 2009: 147; Salah 2014: 62. Reculeau proposes to postulate Rīš-Adad, which order remains in discussion, between Usāt-Marduk and Enlil-ašarēd, but with a question mark (2011: 161 with fn. 50 and p. 172).

8. See Shibata 2011: 170–71. On the grammatically unexpected accusative form *ketta* in the name Aššur-ketta-lēšir see Shibata 2012: 489–90 with fn. 3.

9. On the typology and administrative background of Middle Assyrian archival texts see Postgate 1986, 2003 and most recently and comprehensively 2013. On Middle Assyrian administrative memoranda see Postgate 2013: esp. 195–96, 233–5, 297 and 415.

10. On the defective writing of the logogram see above, philological note to line 15. On *nāqīdu* see Ismail and Postgate 2008: 149–51. See also Jakob 2003: 365–72, and Röllig 2008: 6.

11. See Ismail and Postgate 2008 (Tell Ali) and Röllig 2008 (Dūr-Katlimmu). See also Postgate 2013: 294–326 and Jakob 2003a: 365–73.

the sheep were consumed. Here the text states that the sheep were consumed ‘when the king passed through the city of Kulišhinaš to the city of Carchemish’, and served (*qarrubū*) ‘to the king or for the allocation’.

Identification of the Persons

To clarify the background of the text we will begin with the identification of the individuals mentioned in our text. The most important person is certainly the ‘king’. As well as in a sentence in the latter half of the text (ll. 16 and 19), he is mentioned also in the first half of the text, at the very beginning of the list preceding other people. In addition to his position in the list, his importance is indicated by the extraordinary quantity of meat served to him (ten sheep and two lambs), and by the verb *qarrubu*.

Theoretically there are two possibilities for the identification of this ‘king’. He could have been either the king of Assyria, Shalmaneser I, or the local ruler, the king of the land of Māri, Aššur-ketta-lēšir I. However, it is obvious that the ‘king’ here designates not the local ruler but the Assyrian king. Like contemporary archival texts from other cities, the archival texts from Ṭābetu always refer to Assyrian kings only as ‘king’ without their names, whereas local rulers appear by their names.¹²

‘Important person number two’ seems to be the individual mentioned at the very end of the list, a certain Tukultī-Ninurta (l. 13). The allusion to King Shalmaneser I of Assyria makes it highly probable that this Tukultī-Ninurta is none but the person who succeeded to the throne of Assyria as king Tukultī-Ninurta I. This is all the more likely in view of a certain ‘taboo’ about using royal names for common persons.¹³ As mentioned above, the text dates in the very late reign of Shalmaneser I, who must have been elderly. It is very probable that Tukultī-Ninurta held a high position such as regent as well as crown prince.

We may safely expect that other members listed in the text were also important persons in the Assyrian court or retainers of the Assyrian king, such as Adad-aḥa-iddina, the confectioner (l. 4), who is to be interpreted as a confectioner working for the king, though otherwise not attested. Unfortunately, for Salmānu-lē’i (l. 3),¹⁴ Hīqu (l. 5),¹⁵ and Munnabittu (l. 7),¹⁶ it remains unclear what kind of status they held at the Assyrian court. Nevertheless, a lady called ‘daughter of Qibi-Aššur’ (l. 6) can be identified. This lady, who is the only one woman in this list, must have held a position of high status at the Assyrian court, and her father, Qibi-Aššur, must have

12. E.g., Tab T05A-151: 8 (ed. Shibata 2012: 494–97). See *ibid.*: 497

13. See Radner 2005: 35 with fn. 198. It is possible that Tukultī-Ninurta was not his birth name but his throne name, given at appointment as crown prince. See Radner 2005: 33–5.

14. See Saporetti 1970: 468.

15. A person of the same name is referred to in a list of persons, VAT 16380 (rev. 13), which is dated by the eponym Qibi-Aššur (son of Ibašši-ilī in the 2nd regnal year of Tukultī-Ninurta I?) and stems from the archive Assur M 8 (hand-copy: Weidner 1939–41, pl. V; ed. Saporetti 1979: 13–16; see Llop 2009: 10, no. 85). See Saporetti 1970: 226. The list possibly enumerates high officials (see Saporetti 1979: 16). If the list indeed dates to the eponymate of Qibi-Aššur, son of Ibašši-ilī, and concerns the high officials, it is not impossible that the two Hīqus are one and same person, though this is highly speculative and not certain.

16. Several persons by this name are attested, see Saporetti 1970: 330. It is not clear if the present Munnabittu should be identified with one of them.

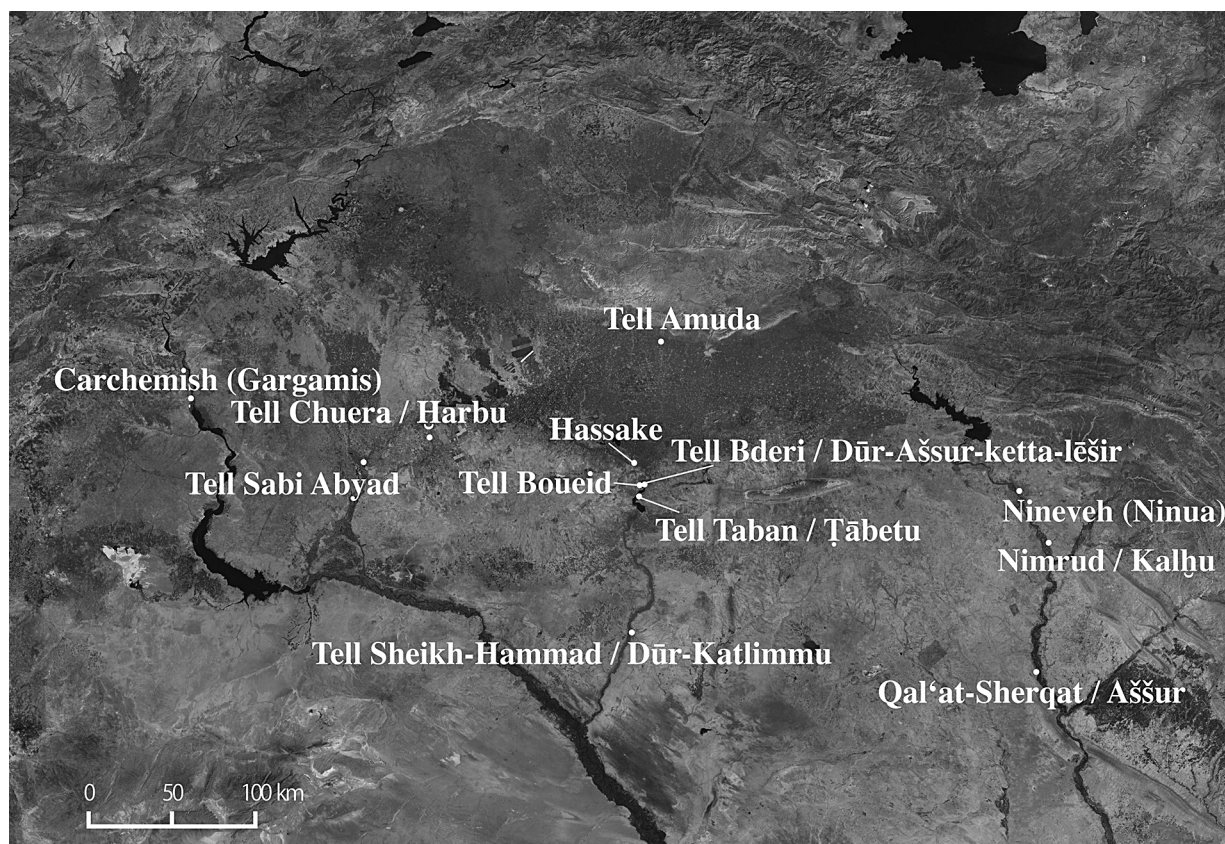


Fig. 4. Map of the area around Tell Taban.

been a very important person in the Assyrian state. The references to Shalmaneser I make it very likely that this Qibi-Aššur was the person of the same name who was a nephew of Shalmaneser I and held the office of the Grand Vizier (*sukkallu rabiʿu*).¹⁷ A daughter of this prominent figure of the state fits our context well.

Identification of the Toponyms, the Reconstruction of the Itinerary and the Problem of Locating Kulišhina(š)

We have seen that the document records a visit of the Assyrian royal family. Where did the royal company come from, and where was it heading? To answer these questions we need to treat the toponyms mentioned in the text: Kulišhina(š), Adališhu and Carchemish (Gargamis). On the toponyms mentioned below see the map in fig. 4.

We will begin with the city of Kulišhinaš, where, according to lines 16–18, the company passed through (ll. 16–18). The city is mentioned also in lines 8–9, which refer to a sheep eaten

17. On Qibi-Aššur and his family see Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 19–29; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1999; Jakob 2003a: 59–65.

in a banquet in Kulišhinaš, on the 10th day of a month. Kulišhinaš was one of the important Assyrian provincial cities in the Upper Habur region at that time.¹⁸ Researchers assume that the city is located at modern Tell Amuda in the Upper Habur region, though this localization is highly problematic.¹⁹ The problem will be discussed below.

The second place the company visited was the city of Adališhu. The city is mentioned twice in lines 10 and 12 following the mention of Kulišhinaš. As in the preceding line, these lines refer to sheep eaten in banquets in Adališhu on the 10th day and the 11th day. Adališhu must have been located somewhere near the city of Ṭābetu, although its exact location is not yet known. The city is referred to in a fragmentary cylinder-inscription of a later local ruler of Ṭābetu, Aššur-ketta-lēšir II, which dates to the end of the 12th century B.C., was brought by an antiquities dealer, and probably stems from the ruin of Adališhu.²⁰ The cylinder-inscription commemorates the fortification of the mound of Adališhu by this local ruler. The present document suggests that Adališhu was located within the territory of the local dynasty of Ṭābetu already in the 13th century B.C. The same is suggested by a Middle Assyrian letter from the archive of Tell Taban (Tab T05A-134), which refers to Ilī-padā, another well-known Grand Vizier of Assyria, staying in the city of Adališhu.²¹ Adališhu appears to have been an important satellite-city in the land of Māri. As for its location, the present document suggests that it was located to the north of Ṭābetu – if it were located to the south of Ṭābetu, the royal company would presumably have instead lodged in Ṭābetu, the capital of the land of Māri: it would be extremely unlikely for Shalmaneser I and his company to skip over Ṭābetu and lodge overnight in the satellite-city. The city is therefore at one of the sites between Tell Taban and probably the region of the modern city of Hassake.²²

18. That Kulišhinaš was located in the Upper Habur region is suggested by tabulated lists of fixed offerings delivered by provinces, which are included in the archives of the Offerings House in the temple of Aššur (M4). The lists put Kulišhinaš in the group of the provinces in the Upper Habur region (Freydank 1982, no. 21, 11; Freydank and Feller 2004, no. 1, 13, no. 2, 14, no. 14, 12, no. 64, 5 and no. 67, 10; Freydank and Feller 2005, no. 49, 10, no. 50, obv. 10' and no. 62, 6'; Freydank and Feller 2010, no. 1, 12, no. 2, 14, no. 6, 12, no. 9, 9' and no. 12, 12). On the lists and the archives see Postgate 2013: 89–146. See also Freydank and Feller 2006, no. 93, 4; Freydank and Feller 2004, no. 55, 60' and no. 60, 11. That the city was already an Assyrian province in the late reign of Shalmaneser I is indicated by another text from the archive of Tell Taban, Tab T05A-151, which is dated in the eponymate of Aššur-nādin-šumē (Shibata 2012: 494–97). The text refers to flour delivered to the Assyrian provincial cities in the Upper Habur region, Naḥur, Kulišhinaš and Amasakku. See also Cancik-Kirschbaum 2014: 299.

19. Machinist 1982, Maul and Fischer 2004. See also Postgate 1983–84.

20. Maul 1992: 35–41.

21. See Shibata 2015.

22. On the localization of Adališhu see most recently Kühne 2013, who proposes to identify the city with Tell Boueid (ca 6 km north of Tell Taban as crow flies) on the west bank of the Habur, opposite Tell Bderi. Indeed, Adališhu is probably north of Tell Taban, as suggested by the present document. See also Shibata 2015: 144–45. As for the identification of Adališhu with Tell Bderi / Dūr-Aššur-ketta-lēšir proposed by C. Michel (Michel 1993: 90–91; see Cancik-Kirschbaum 1997: 449), I hesitate to follow it, because the inscription commemorating the fortification of Tell-Bderi / Dūr-Aššur-ketta-lēšir states 'I (= Aššur-ketta-lēšir II) did not know its (= the mound's) name' (Maul 1992, *Zylinderinschrift A*, l. 2), suggesting that its name had been forgotten by the reign of Aššur-ketta-lēšir II (see Maul 1992: 10). Whereas another inscription commemorating the fortification of Adališhu, which was commissioned by the same local ruler, clearly refers to the name of city, Adališhu (Maul 1992, *Zylinderinschrift B*, 2 and 17).

The third toponym is Carchemish (Gargamis), towards which the company seems to have departed. This city, which is located at the Euphrates on the modern Syrian-Turkish border, is well-known as the Hittites' stronghold, being their centre for the rule of Syria at that time.²³ The city was governed by an offshoot dynasty of the Hittite royal family, the dynasty of the kings of Carchemish – chronologically we would expect the city to be governed by Ini-Tešup at that time.²⁴ Carchemish and its dynasts are mentioned also in the Middle Assyrian texts from Dūr-Katlimmu, Tell Chuera and Tell Sabi Abyad.²⁵

To sum up, the royal company went past Kulišhinaš in the Upper Habur region, then Adališhu in the Middle Habur region near the city of Ṭābetu, and soon afterwards departed for Carchemish, which is on the Euphrates. It is very probable that the company had come to Kulišhinaš from the central part of Assyria, this not being recorded in our document. Presumably, the company departed the city of Assur heading to northwest along Tigris, and then turned to west through the upper Habur region.

To reconstruct the itinerary it is necessary to consider a problem raised by the dates of the banquets in Kulišhinaš and Adališhu. The document mentions that the banquets were held on the 10th day, in Kulišhinaš as well as Adališhu, then in Adališhu again on the 11th day (ll. 8–12). Furthermore the date formula of the document reveals the document was written on the 10th day, which seems have preceded the banquets (l. 21).

Let us first treat the problem concerning the date of the document. Since administrative documents tended to be written to record procedures which had already been carried out, one might suppose that the '10th day' and '11th day' of the banquets refer not to the month Sabūtu, but to a preceding month. However, if this were the case, one would expect the relevant month name to be given after the dates of the banquets. It is therefore likelier that the document was written in the same month as these events, when these sheep were prepared or possibly slaughtered just before they were served up for the banquets.

As for the problem concerning the dates of the banquets, it can be presumed that such a banquet took place in the presence of guests. The document suggests that the royal company left Kulišhinaš on the 10th day and arrived at Adališhu on the very same day, then stayed in this city also on the next day, the 11th day. Such a sequence of the banquets can be also observed at the usage of the enclitic particle *-ma*, which follows the dates (l. 10: *i+na* U₄ 10.KÁM-*ma*) and a toponym (l. 12: *i+na*¹ ^{uru}A-da-li-iš-*hi-ma*¹), and has the sense of 'also', 'likewise'.

However, the above reconstruction raises a serious problem, i.e. the distance between Kulišhinaš and Adališhu. As mentioned above, researchers have assumed that Kulišhinaš is located at modern Tell Amuda. However, in a straight line, the distance from Tell Amuda to the modern city of Hassake amounts to around 70 km, and to Tell Taban it is ca. 85 km. Is it conceivable that a company which included the ageing Assyrian king and the royal lady could manage such a long distance in one day? On the basis of a well-known itinerary of soldiers from Dūr-Katlimmu,²⁶ B. Faist has calculated that a contingent of soldiers marched about 25–30 km

23. On Carchemish see most recently Mora 2008.

24. See e.g., Mora 2008 and Klengel 1992: 120–28.

25. Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, nos 6 and 7. See Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 32–45, and Cancik-Kirschbaum 2008. Also letters from Tell Chuera refer to a prince of Carchemish, Teli-Šarruma (Jakob 1009, nos 24, 25 and 26). Furthermore, rich material from Tell Sabi Abyad is reported by Akkermans and Wiggermann (2014: 119–21).

26. Röllig 1983.

each day.²⁷ However this is the case of a forced march by the soldiers. In general, royal travellers moved more slowly, with many pauses, even if members of royal family are assumed to have taken a ride in vehicles. For instance, an administrative document from Assur (Freydank 1994, no. 1) suggests that, on a subsequent occasion, Tukultī-Ninurta I and his company progressed from Nineveh to Kalḫu (ca. 33 km in a straight line), in two days (i 3–7), covering ca. 16.5 km per day.²⁸ Considering that the road connecting these two very important cities was probably in better condition than most of the other roads running through Assyria, royal travellers would probably have advanced even more slowly in other regions. In short, it is extremely unlikely that the royal company travelled from Tell Amuda to the land of Māri in a single day in an apparently non-emergency situation.

Thus our document raises a serious doubt against the localization of Kulišḫinaš at Tell Amuda. In fact, this localization rests only on the statement of a dealer, who sold some Middle Assyrian tablets written in Kulišḫinaš.²⁹ Needless to say, such information from dealers is not trustworthy. We would, therefore, do better to abandon this localization and seek Kulišḫinaš somewhere to the north of the land of Māri, i.e. in the southern part of the Habur-triangle. Alongside a road passing along the southern foot of the Kašiyari-mountain (modern Tur-Abdin), Old Assyrian texts suggest the existence of another principal road passing through the southern part of the Habur-triangle.³⁰ As suggested by Faist, it is very likely that both roads remained in use as principal roads in a later period.³¹ It seems not unlikely that the royal company took the latter road, but branched off from it west of Kulišḫinaš, which might be an important station on this road,³² to visit the land of Māri, which is not very far from this road. Then, after

27. Faist 2006: 148, fn. 4. Faist suggest that travellers were able to move 20–30 km per day in a normal situation. See Faist 2001: 198 with fn. 240.

28. See Llop and Shibata 2016: 86.

29. See Aynard and Durand 1980: 1. The tablets were purchased in Lebanon (personal communication from Jean-Marie Durand). I am grateful to Jean-Marie Durand for the information and encouraging me to pay attention to this fact. Besides, the mound of Tell Amuda seems too small for Kulišḫinaš, even though Middle Assyrian layers are attested by excavations. See Bunnes and Roobaert-Bunnes 1988, Faivre 1992, and Tenu 2009: 104–6.

30. See Veenhof 2008: 80, with a map and references to further literature.

31. Faist 2001: 196 with fn. 226 and Faist 2006: 148–50.

32. Probably it is no coincidence that the royal company stayed at Kulišḫinaš. In the Middle Assyrian period, as suggested by Faist (2001: 197), the city had the role of an important stopping-place on a road connecting the eastern and the western territories of Assyria. In this respect, it is suggestive that some Middle Assyrian texts from this city, recently published by Maul and Fischer, document provision for the messengers going through Kulišḫinaš (Maul and Fischer 2004, nos 1 and 2). As suggested by Freydank (2012: 211–12), the unclear words in document 2, ll. 5 and 7, should be read as *mih^h-he-te* (l. 5) and *mih^h-hi-ti-šu* (l. 7), which indicate the genitive form of *mih^hutu* (< **mih^hatu*), a feminine variant of *mih^hu* (a sort of beer used for travel-provision), with vowel assimilation. The same form is also attested in a Middle Assyrian letter from Tell Chuēra / Ḥarbu, another important station on a principal road connecting Aššukanni and Saḫlala (Jakob 2009, no. 12, l. 4 with philological note on p. 53; but its plural form, *mih^hātušunu*). On Ḥarbu as a station see *ibid.*: 8–11. Kulišḫinaš was most probably an important station, however presumably a station on the southern road rather than on the northern road running through the foot of Tur-Abdin. If a road connecting the northern and southern roads really existed (around along the river Gaḡgaḡ?) as suggested by Faist (2006: 149, map), Kulišḫinaš might have been located not at the cross road between the connecting road and the northern road, i.e., at Tell Amuda, but near the junction to the southern road. This remains, of course, speculative.

one day's stay in Adališhu, the company may have returned to the principal road and headed for Carchemish.

Historical Implications of the Text: Purpose of the Visit to Carchemish

Why did the royal company go through the Habur region? We may think of an Assyrian campaign against Carchemish. As is well known, researchers have discussed possible Assyrian campaigns against Hatti, being conjectured from sources such as a letter found at Ugarit, RS 34.165,³³ which suggests the much debated battle of Niḥriya, and a few inscriptions of Tukultī-Ninurta I (Grayson 1987, A.0.78.23, ll. 27–55 and A.0.78.24, ll. 23–33).³⁴ However, even if such a possibility of a campaign against Carchemish is worth considering, the terminologies and the contents of the present document rather speak against it. Campaigns are usually designated with the word *hurādu* ‘campaign’ in Middle Assyrian documents, e.g., *ana hurādi alāku* ‘to go on campaign’.³⁵ Furthermore it would be a little odd for a daughter of Qibi-Aššur, a royal lady, to accompany a military campaign.

It therefore seems slightly likelier to me that the present document witnesses to a diplomatic journey to Carchemish. We know Middle Assyrian administrative documents referring to journeys of Assyrian kings as the reason for the performance of transactions.³⁶ Such royal journeys were very common at that time. The present document, describing a visit by Shalmaneser I accompanied by members of the royal family and courtiers, fits such a scenario well.³⁷

33. The letter was most recently edited by M. Dietrich (2003 and 2004).

34. As rightly observed by some researchers, such as M. Giorgieri, the sources contain difficulties in many respects and the alleged battles between Assyria and Hatti remain unclear. See Giorgieri 2011: esp. 181–2 and literature cited there. See furthermore Miller 2012 and Yamada 2011.

35. See Llop and Shibata 2016: 75–78, where attestations are assembled and studied terminologically. See furthermore Freydank 1976, esp. pp. 111–12 and Jakob 2003a: 202–8.

36. Attestations are collected in Llop and Shibata 2016: 68–75.

37. We must note, furthermore, that an important concern in the texts referring to journeys by the Assyrian kings was the food served during the journey (for instance Freydank 1994, no. 1 and Cancik-Kirschbaum no. 10 treat it in detail). The foodstuff is designated as *piqittu*, which is translated as ‘allocation’ (see Llop and Shibata 2016, esp. 85 with n. 58 and p. 87; Jakob 2003a: 123–24 and 173–74; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996: 153). The sheep listed in the present document are also designated as *piqittu* ‘allocation’. For instance a letter from Dūr-Katlimmu, Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, no. 10, which treats a visit of Tukultī-Ninurta I to Dūr-Katlimmu, reveals how carefully the officials of Dūr-Katlimmu must have prepared for the royal visit. Entertaining the king and his company was certainly an obligation for those who were responsible for the governance of each province, which the king's company went through. In the case of the present document we can assume the local ruler of Ṭābetu, Aššur-ketta-lēšir I, had to entertain Shalmaneser I and his company, apparently because they went through his territory. It is difficult to explain, why the sheep consumed in the city of Kulišhinaš were also included in the present document, since the city was entrusted to a provincial governor. For an unknown reason, the local ruler of Ṭābetu seems to have been obliged to arrange the entertainment of the king's tour in the Upper Habur region on this occasion. Perhaps a certain power-relationship between the Assyrian provinces and our local kingdom could be observed here, i.e., the latter appears to have been subordinated to the former. (In this respect it is noteworthy that another document from Tell Taban, Tab T05A-151 [ed. Shibata 2012: 494–8], treats flour prepared for another royal banquet apparently held in the upper Habur region, probably one of the cities, Naḥur, Kulišhinaš and Amasakku. See Shibata 2012: 497–98, and Llop and Shibata 2016: 87–89).

However, while other Middle Assyrian documents pertain to journeys *within* Assyrian territories, the present document concerns a royal journey to Carchemish, the Hittite stronghold, i.e. a diplomatic journey. It is fully conceivable that a member of a royal family could have visited a foreign country for a diplomatic purpose. A Middle Assyrian letter from Tell Sabi Abyad recently published by F. A. M. Wiggermann (TSA T02–32) mentions foreign kings, ‘kings of another land’ (*šarrānu ša mâte šanitte*), who visited the city of Assur, probably for the funeral of Tukultī-Ninurta I.³⁸ Furthermore, Middle Assyrian letters from Tell Chuēra / Ḫarbu refer to Teli-Šarruma, a prince of Carchemish, who stayed at Ḫarbu while on his diplomatic journey in Assyria in the eponymate of Ninu’āyu in the latter half of Tukultī-Ninurta I’s reign.³⁹ Even if the present document does not, strictly speaking, conclusively prove that the company of Shalmaneser I actually arrived at Carchemish, it does at least show that the company was on its way to Carchemish, and the likelihood that they reached it is great. As indicated by recent studies, the Assyro-Hittite relationship in the 13th century B.C. can be characterized as a complex situation of ‘conflict and alliance’ until their peaceful relationship was established, apparently in the second half of Tukultī-Ninurta I’s reign, probably after his conquest of Babylon.⁴⁰ If the present document indeed witnesses to a diplomatic journey of Shalmaneser I to Carchemish, it seems reasonable to infer from our document that at the end of Shalmaneser I’s reign Assyria and Hatti had an amicable relationship. How long this relationship lasted is unclear.

On the assumption that Shalmaneser I and Prince Tukultī-Ninurta indeed visited Carchemish, they must have met important persons on the Hittite side. In this case, they most probably met with the king of Carchemish, Ini-Teššup. Moreover, it is not impossible that a meeting with Tudḫaliya IV was arranged at Carchemish, although this is, of course, highly speculative. The concrete purpose of such a meeting still remains unclear. Was there some kind of summit conference between the Assyrian king and the king of Carchemish, or possibly the Hittite king? Did Tukultī-Ninurta I, who became the crown prince, wish to be introduced to the important neighbour? Or was the visit intended for a wedding between a daughter of Qibi-Aššur and a member of the royal families of the Carchemish-Hittite side? Or do all of these reasons apply together? We can offer no clear answer yet. Hopefully new material will solve this problem.

38. Wiggermann 2006. See Freydank 2009.

39. Jakob 2009, nos 24 (l. 14), 25 (l. 14) and 26 (l. 15). On the diplomatic journey of Teli-Šarruma, who is called a ‘Hittite diplomat (*ubru Ḫattāyu*)’ in the letters, and apparently came to Assur to deliver a congratulatory address to Tukultī-Ninurta I for his victory over Babylon, see Faist 2001: 224–5, Jakob 2003b.

40. See Giorgieri 2011 and Cancik-Kirschbaum 2008.

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