

K. 4675+ - THE ZAMUA ITINERARY

Louis D. Levine - Toronto

K. 4675+ is a small (40 x 98 mm) tablet from the Kuyunjik collection. The surface on the left side of both the obverse and reverse is badly damaged, and only the ends of the lines are usually preserved. The tablet presumably records a journey beginning in the Lower Zab region of Assyria, and ending somewhere in the east, probably in Zamua. The text was copied by Johns and included in *ADD* as number 1096. Using Johns' copy, Peiser¹ edited the text and called it an Assyrian itinerary. Further comments on the text were made by Olmstead², Speiser³, and Weidner⁴. Most recently, it was re-edited, again from Johns' copy, by Fadhil⁵. Thanks to a new copy of the text (Figs. 1-2), kindly prepared for me by J.N. Postgate, it is possible to return to this document once again with improved readings which allow us to analyze its structure, its geographical context, and its possible function.

The Text

The tablet preserves the ends of 42 reconstructible lines of text, divided by ruled lines into eleven sections of unequal length. There is room for an additional six or seven lines following line 42, but the surface at this point is virtually destroyed, and only traces of a few signs remain. From the copy, however, there does not seem to be another ruled line, so that line 42 probably represents the first line of the last section.

Preceding the first section is a blank space which would have accommodated

¹) F. Peiser, *Ein assyrisches Itinerar*, MVAG 6/3 (1901), pp. 134ff.

²) A.T. Olmstead, *The Calculated Frightfulness of Ashur Nasir Apal*, JAOS 38 (1918), pp. 209ff.

³) E.A. Speiser, *Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal and Today*, AASOR 8 (1928), pp. 1ff.

⁴) E.F. Weidner, *Assyrische Itinerare*, AfO 21 (1966), pp. 42ff.

⁵) A. Fadhil, *Studien zur Topographie und Prosopographie der Provinzstädte des Königreichs Arraphe*, Mainz am Rhein 1983, p.76.

approximately five lines. Unless this portion of the text was inscribed only on the now effaced left hand side of the tablet, which is unlikely, the first section was always blank.

Despite its poor state of preservation, the text can be almost entirely restored, thanks to the highly formulaic nature of the contents. A transliteration of the text, with restorations, follows.

K. 4675 + K. 12974

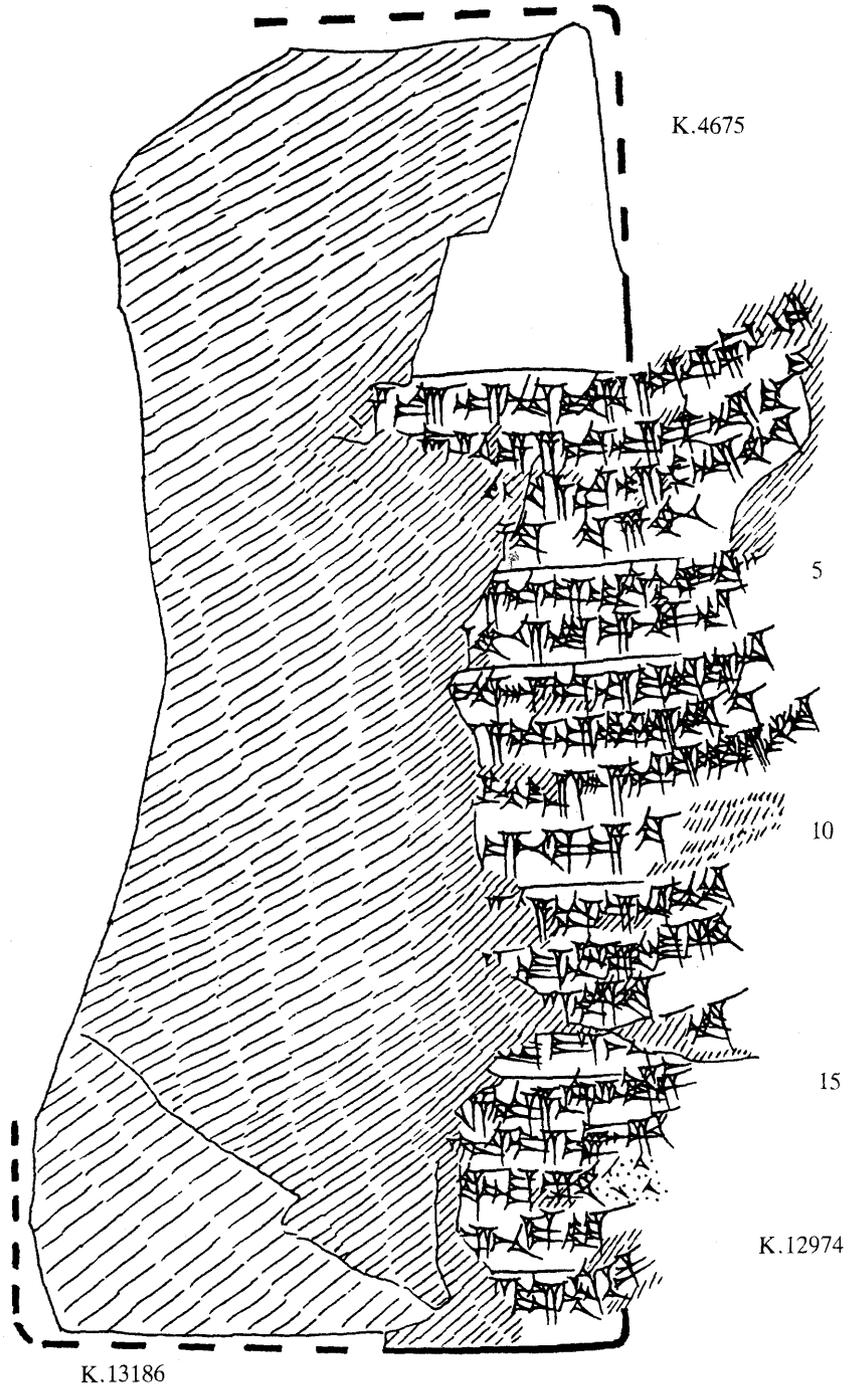
Transliteration

Obverse

- 1 [x DANNA x UŠ x+1]0 NINDA TA*^{URU} Ba-qar-ri a-du^{URU} Sa-^Γre-e^Γ
 2 [x DANNA x UŠ x NINDA TA*^{URU}]U^ΓSa-re^Γ-e a-du^{URU} Ar-zu-hi-na
 3 [PAB x DANNA x UŠ x NINDA TA*^{URU} Ba-qar-r]i[!] a-du^{URU} Ar-zu-hi-na
 4 [1-tu mar-di]^Γ-e[!]-tú UD.6.KAM
-
- 5 [TA*^{URU} Ar-zu-hi-na] a-du^{URU} BÀD-MÍ ANŠE.KUR^{MES}
 6 [x DANNA x UŠ x NINDA UD.6+]1.KAM 2-tu mar-di-tu
-
- 7 [TA*^{URU} BÀD-MÍ AN]ŠE.KUR^{MES} a-du^{URU} Ma-tu-ra-ba
 8 [TA*^{URU} Ma-tu-ra-ba] a-du^{URU} BÀD-ta-li-te
 9 [x DANNA x UŠ x NINDA TA*^{URU} BÀD-MÍ AN]ŠE.KUR.RA^{MES} a-du^{URU} BÀD-ta-li-te
 10 [UD.8.KAM 3-su] mar-di-e-tú
-
- 11 [TA*^{URU} BÀD-ta]-^Γli-te^Γ a-du^{URU} Ba-bi-te
 12 [TA*^{URU} Ba-bi-te a-du^{URU}]U[!]La-ag[!]-ga-la-gi
 13 [x DANNA x UŠ x NINDA TA*^{URU} BÀD-t]a-li-te
 14 [a-du^{URU} La-ag-ga-la-gi UD.9.KAM 4]-tu mar-^Γdi-e^{Γ?}tu
-
- 15 [TA*^{URU} La-ag-ga-la-g]i a-du^{ID} Rad-da-ni
 16 [TA*^{ID} Rad-da-ni] a-du^{URU} Az-ri
 17 [x DANNA x UŠ x NINDA TA*^{URU} La-a]g[!]-la-gi
 18 [a-du^{URU} Az-ri UD.10.KAM 5-su] mar-di-tu
-
- 19 [TA*^{URU} Az-ri a-du^{URU} A]r-ra-ak-di

Edge

- 20 [x DANNA x UŠ x NINDA UD.11.KAM 6-su mar-di-t]u[!]
-
- 21 [x DANNA x UŠ x NINDA TA*^{URU} Ar-ra]-ak[!]-d[i][!]
 22 [a-du^{URU} Ba]-^Γar[!]-zu-un-di



Obverse

Fig. 1.

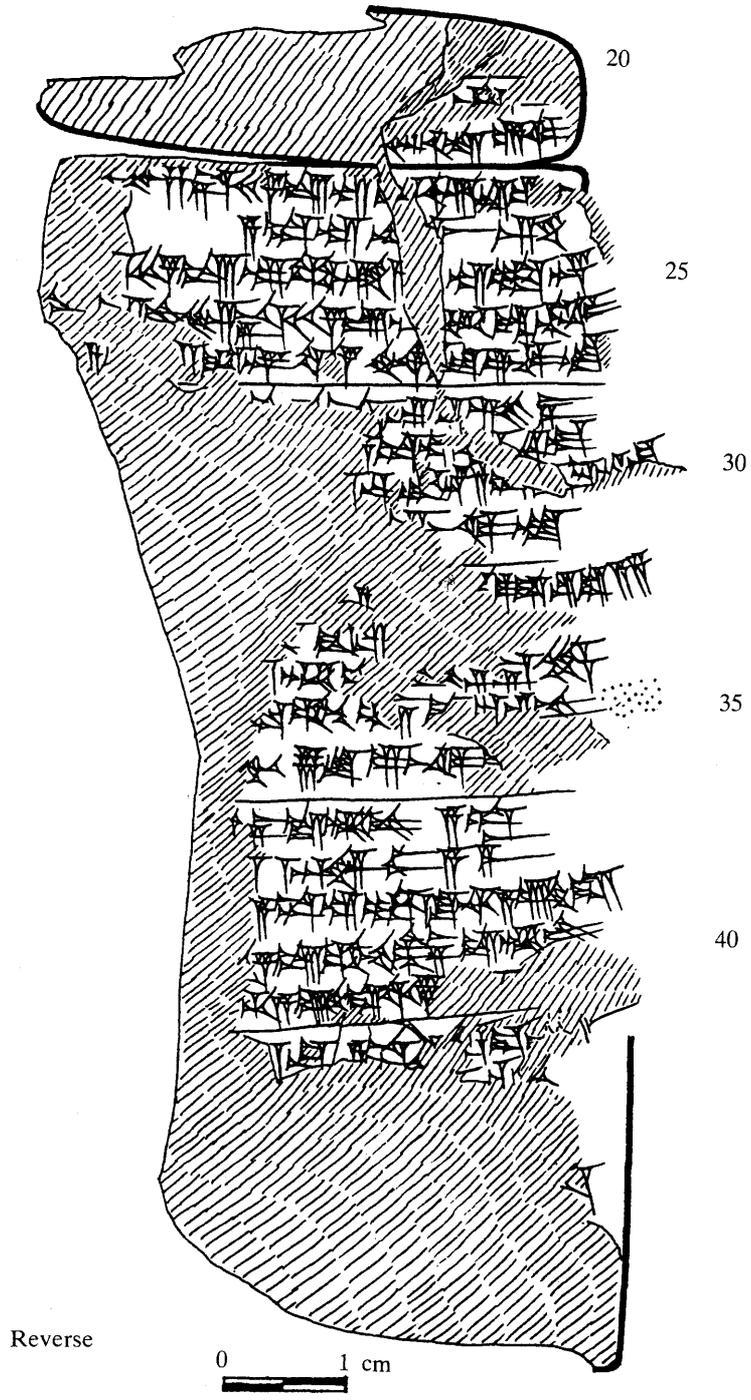


Fig. 2.

Reverse

- 23 [x] DANNA ʾ5ʾ UŠ 20 NINDA TA* URUB[aʾ]-ar-zu-u[n]-d[i]
 24 [a]-du URUN[a-p]i-gi
 25 [x DANNA x U]Š 20 NINDA TA* URUNa-pi-gi a-[du] URUBÀD-Aš-šur
 26 PAB [1]2² DANNA 2 UŠ 20 NINDA TA* U^[RU]Ar-ra-ak-di
 27 a-[du UR]^UBÀD-Aš-šur UD.14.KAM ʾ7ʾ-tu mar-di-tu

-
- 28 [TA* URUBÀD-Aš-šur a-d]u URURSiʾ-zi-ni
 29 [TA* URUSi-zi-ni] a-du URURBanʾ[-b]a-la
 30 [x DANNA x UŠ x NINDA T]A* URUBÀD-Aš-šur a-du ʾURURBan-ba-la
 31 [UD.15.KAM 8-tu] mar-di-tu

-
- 32 [TA* URUBan-ba-la] a-[du URUHal-š]uʾ ša Qur-ra-a-a
 33 [TA* URUHal-š]u ša Qur-[ra-a-a]
 34 [a-du GISgu-up-ni š]a dEN-KAS[KAL x] DANNA 5 UŠ 50 NINDA
 35 [TA* URUBan-ba-la a]-du GISgu-ʾup-ni ša dENʾ-KASKAL
 36 [UD.16].KAM 9-tu mar-de-t[uʾ]

-
- 37 [TA* GISgu-u]p-ni ša dEN-KASKAL a-du
 38 [Hal-šu š]a ʾdIM-rém-a-ni
 39 [TA* hal-šu] a-du URUBÀD-ʾIKU-ti-A-É.ŠÁR.RA
 40 [x DANNA x UŠ x+1]0 NINDA TA* GISgu-up-ni ša dEN-KASKAL
 41 [a-du URUBÀD-ʾIKU-t]i-A-É.ŠÁR.RA UD.17.[KAM 10-t]u [mar-di-tu]

-
- 42 [TA* URUBÀD-ʾIKU-ti-A-É.ŠÁR].RAʾ a-du [0²] A.A[Bʾ.BA]^{MES}
 43 [] 2

Remainder (about 5 lines) broken

Notes

When Johns made his copy, the text was already in poor condition, and it appears to have deteriorated since. Prior to Postgate's copy of the text, prepared in 1986, both Postgate (in 1971) and Parpola (in 1982) had collated the tablet and they have graciously made their notes available to me.

3: One important outcome of the collations of K. 4675+ is that we can eliminate the previous discussions of two towns called Arzuhina, one prefixed by URU, the other by DU₆.

4: Lines with only the day and *marditu* number also occur at 10, 31 and 36. In the two cases where the first element is partially preserved (lines 4 and 36), the spacing seems to show that the line was indented. For further comments on spacing, see notes to line 5 and 39.

5: Not only is it possible to restore the text, it is also possible to estimate the length of broken lines by using preserved strings of signs. When we do so, most lines with only TA* GN₁ *a-du* GN₂ seem to have been indented. This is the case for lines 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 16, 19, 32, 33 (which only has the first half of the phrase), and 37-38. It does not appear to be true, however, in lines 28, 29, 35, or 42. On the spacing of line 39, see below.

17: Postgate noted the *la* as written over an erased GA, and an erased GI at the end of the line.

20: The line is now completely destroyed, but Parpola recorded a partially preserved *tú* at the end of the line.

23: The two last signs were still present when Parpola collated the tablet.

24: Parpola indicates that the line is complete.

32: Postgate read *a-d[u ...]* before the break, with Johns, but saw neither the URU of Johns' text nor the next sign when he first collated the text. The suggested restoration *hal-šu* is Parpola's.

37: Parpola indicates nothing missing after the *a-du* and notes that one of the lines from the obverse wraps around here. A collation by C.B.F. Walker confirms this.

38: Parpola indicates that the line is complete. For the restoration, see I R 8, 1b.

39: The line as restored is far too long for the space, and the preserved section does not seem to show that the scribe felt crowded. Since the previous line is the only one with just the name of a settlement on it, one wonders if the scribe chose in this one case to use either a shortened form of the name, such as *halšu*, or the *ditto* mark, rather than write out the long name once again.

42: The signs after the *a-du* are difficult. Parpola indicates that nothing may be missing before the A, and does not show the sign as broken. Parpola then restores A.A[B[?].BA]^{MEŠ} following Johns. Postgate indicates the start of a sign immediately following the *du*, and sees the end of the A as perhaps belonging to this same sign. Both Postgate and Grayson were unsure of the reading of the next sign, but both excluded AB. Grayson was more convinced by the traces that follow than was Postgate. Postgate notes that the spacing on the copy for this line is measured millimeter by millimeter.

The Structure

Figure 3 is a schematic presentation of K. 4675+. As noted above, the text is divided into 11 inscribed sections. Each section contains five pieces of information:

1. a statement in the form "From GN₁ to GN₂, from GN₂ to GN₃", labelled Main Entry;

2. a measure of the Distance, in connection with either the Main Entry or the Summary, or both;
3. a Summary statement in the form "From GN₁ to GN₃ (or GN₄)";
4. a Day, given as an ordinal number in the form UD.*n*.KAM; and
5. a numbered *marditu*.

For ease of discussion, it is best to start with the last piece of information in the list.

The last notation in each section (except for section I, where it precedes the day) is a reference to a *marditu*, usually understood as a stage in a journey. The preserved numbers in the text make it clear that *marditu* numbers are sequential. Thus, section II preserves reference to the second *marditu*, section VII to the seventh *marditu*, and section IX to the ninth *marditu*. While all other *marditu* numbers are missing, it seems likely that this pattern was consistent in the other sections. I shall return to a discussion of *marditu* below.

Turning next to the entry marked Day, this entry always precedes the reference to the *marditu* (except for section I, as noted above, where the day and *marditu* are reversed). There are two problems connected to this entry. First, the reference for the number that appears in the "day" column is unclear, although days of an unspecified month seem most probable. Second, the references seem to follow a pattern, but this is not as transparent as it is for the *marditus*. Section VII preserves a reference to day fourteen, and section X a reference to day seventeen. Thus, it would seem that for this part of the journey, each *marditu* took one day. However, section I preserves a reference to the sixth day. If each *marditu* took a day, counting back from the seventh *marditu*, which is day 14, should give us day 8 for section I, rather than day 6, which is in the text⁶.

I can propose three possible solutions to this apparent contradiction. First, the journey being described broke at one place for two days, or at two places for a day each between section I and section VII. Second, the scribe made a mistake in line 4, and wrote six for eight. Third, one of the *marditus* took longer than a single day, and the number of the day refers to the day on which the *marditu* ended. As we shall see later in the discussion, there is reason to prefer this last solution.

The Main Entry is always present in each section, and takes the pattern "from GN₁ to GN₂, from GN₂ to GN₃". Normally, two legs are mentioned in each *marditu* (sections I, III-V, and VIII-X). In one case (section VII) three legs are mentioned, and the pattern is then "from GN₁ to GN₂, from GN₂ to GN₃, from GN₃ to GN₄". In two other sections (II and VI), the *marditu* consists of a single leg. The first place mentioned in a

⁶) In addition to Postgate and Parpola, C.B.F. Walker also collated this number for me in July, 1986.

section is always the last place mentioned in the preceding section. The Summary statement "from GN₁ to GN₃ (or GN₄)" is present whenever a *mardîtu* consists of more than a single leg. In the two sections where it is a single leg (II and VI), the summary statement is missing.

Finally, we must turn to the column labelled Distance. Usually only a total distance travelled is recorded in each section. In sections II and VII, where there are no intermediate points between the start and the end of a *mardîtu*, distance follows the main entry. In sections with one or more intermediate points, the distance precedes the summary. The only exceptions to this pattern are found in sections I and VII. In these two sections, not only is the total distance noted, but the distance between the intermediate points is noted as well. The indication for this in section I is the preserved NINDA in line 1. In section VII, more evidence is present. Parts of the numbers are preserved for two of the three intermediate legs of the stage, and the PAB sign indicates a total distance preceding the summary.

The distances are given in unites of *bēru*, and subunits of UŠ and NINDA. For historical-geographical purposes, the *bēru* would be the only significant unit, as the subunits UŠ and NINDA are too small to determine actual distance. A *bēru* is a linear measure of about ten kilometers. While it is unlikely that the precise measure of this unit was always strictly adhered to, especially in texts or parts of texts where effect was more important than precision, the nature of our text makes it likely that the figure was being used in something approximating its precise meaning. From the Old Babylonian itinerary texts, an average day's journey in lowland Mesopotamia was in the vicinity of 25 to 30 kilometers⁷. Thus, approximately 3 *bēru* would constitute an average day's journey and it would be unusual for it to be more than 3 or 4 *bēru*. This does not mean that a day's journey would necessarily have to be as much as 30 km. Other factors, such as a shorter distance between major settlements, or difficult terrain, could have affected the amount of territory covered.

Unfortunately, the only preserved number in the *bēru* column is in line 26, and it is partially broken. While none of the *bēru* numbers are preserved, the partially broken number in line 26 admits of only one restoration, and that is a 10 preceding the 2. The reason for this is fairly straightforward. If any other number is restored, it makes each day's journey between Arrakdi and Dur-Aššur impossibly long. Even with a reading of 12 *bēru*, this represents three hard day's march, assuming that each leg of this section represents one day. This deviation from the regular scheme of one *mardîtu*, one day, also explains why not only the total distance of the *mardîtu* is given, but also the distances of the intermediate legs. Finally, it is worth noting that if each leg of section VII took one day, then the notice of day 6 in section I works out exactly with day 14 for the end of section VII.

⁷ W.W. Hallo, *The Road to Emar*, JCS 18 (1964), p. 63 and *passim*.

There is further support for the idea that recording the length of a leg of a *mardîtu* represents a departure from the usual of one day, one *mardîtu*. In section I, although the text is badly broken, we know that the second leg of this section is Sare to Arzuhina. *ABL* 192 indicates that it took one day to move 120 horses from Arzuhina to Sare. Assuming that driving a herd of this size did not appreciably slow progress, Sare and Arzuhina would be a day's journey apart. Section I would then, like section VII, have been a *mardîtu* of more than a single day, and the text would have noted the distances for each of the days in this *mardîtu*.

In summary, K. 4675+ is the description of a journey lasting at least 14 days that was broken into eleven units called *mardîtu*. The journey would appear to have been a specific one, rather than a general itinerary, since specific days of an unnamed month seem to be referred to in the tablet. In most instances, each *mardîtu* took one day, but the first and the seventh appear to have been longer. Why each day of these two was not considered as a separate *mardîtu* is unclear, but the problem is discussed at the end of this article.

The Geography

The general geographical setting of the text has been known since Billerbeck⁸ identified Dur-Tukulti-apil-Ešarra in Bezold's Kuyunjik Catalogue entry with an eastern location noted in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. Since then, specific discussion of the locations of the twenty one places mentioned in the text have become legion. It is not my intention to present an exhaustive survey of these discussions, nor to suggest specific locations for the settlements mentioned in the text. None of these has been identified with certainty by excavation, nor by the discovery of surface textual material. Furthermore, no adequate surveys of the region have been published, which would allow for a full assessment of the possible sites with which the ancient place names could be linked. Thus, for the present, specific identifications remain largely in the realm of guess-work. Nevertheless, it is possible to suggest some approaches to the historical geography of the region that may further such identifications in the future.

Among the twenty-one geographical names mentioned in the text, three can be localized with some certainty. All three refer to or can be linked with topographic features, rather than settlements alone. The settlement of Babite is either in or adjacent to the mountain pass of the same name, and the pass can be identified with some confidence as the Bazian pass⁹. The Radanu river of the text is the Basira/Adhhem

⁸) A. Billerbeck, *Das Sandschak Suleimania*, Leipzig 1898, p. 92.

⁹) Louis D. Levine, *Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros*, Iran 11 (1973), p. 18.

river¹⁰. Finally, the sea at the end of the itinerary, if indeed the restoration is correct, is Lake Zeribor in Iranian Kurdistan¹¹. These places serve as the only fixed points in the itinerary.

Despite the ambiguous location of the settlements named, the itinerary can be divided into two major sections. In the first part of the text, we are dealing with places that are generally well known in cuneiform literature. Thus, their localization can be deduced not only from where they occur in the itinerary, but also from references in the other texts. The most important of these are a series of Neo-Assyrian letters, which when taken with the itinerary, establish the *relative* positions detailed on Figure 4.

Among the six names that precede Babite in the text, the best known is Arzuhina. Arzuhina is the name of both a town and a province. References in Nuzi establish that the town was administratively part of the district of Arrapha (modern Kirkuk) during the Mitanni period¹². The difficult letter ND 2734+¹³ shows that the Neo-Assyrian province of Arzuhina was adjacent to or included the Radanu river. Both of these lines of evidence lead to the conclusion that Arzuhina, both town and province, lay south of the lower Zab. Further information on the location of the town comes from *ABL* 408, which shows that Arrapha could be reached from Arzuhina. The fact that Arrapha is not mentioned in the itinerary indicates a location for Arzuhina to the east of Arrapha.

All information, then, points to the province of Arzuhina having lain in the strip between Arrapha and the mountains. The topography of the area east Kirkuk is such that a number of low ranges of hills, representing western outlyers of the folded zone of the Zagros, run in discontinuous blocks in a northwest-southeast direction. One such range, the Kani Dolman Dagh, starts at the lower Zab just west of Altun Kopri, and ends just east of Kirkuk. A second such parallel fold, the Khalkhal Dagh, lies approximately 25 kilometers to the east, between the Kani Dolman and the Bazian Ranges. As an initial working hypothesis, one would expect that these topographical divisions of the landscape would have figured in the Assyrian administrative geography. Thus,

¹⁰) Speiser, *ibid.*, pp. 1ff.

¹¹) Levine, *ibid.*, pp. 20ff.

¹²) Fadhil, *ibid.*, pp. 68ff.

¹³) H.W.F. Saggs, *The Nimrud Letters, 1952 - Part IV : The Urartian Frontier*, Iraq 20 (1958), pp. 187ff; Postgate, *TCAE*, p. 38.

Arzuhina may have encompassed the area between the Kani Dolman Dagħ and the Bazian ranges, or it may have lain further east, with the Khalkhal Dagħ as its western boundary

The other places named in the first part of our text must fit the general location of Arzuhina province proposed above. The first place in the itinerary, Baqarri, is virtually unknown, and its location is uncertain. Sare, however, is attested in a number of sources. As noted above, *ABL* 192 indicates that it is a day's journey from Arzuhina, as does the itinerary. *ABL* 635¹⁴ seems to suggest that it was directly linked with Dur-atanate as well, although the length of the journey is not noted. As Fadhil has pointed out, *ABL* 192 further indicates that a river lay between Sare and Arzuhina, and as Arzuhina was south of the Lower Zab, Sare must be on the north bank of that river. This location is supported by ND 2640, which shows that Sare was in an administrative district that lay between Erbil and Arrapha¹⁵.

Fadhil located Sare at Altun Kopri¹⁶. Hannoun located it south of the Lower Zab at Khirbet Qara Resh, some 50 kilometers upstream from Altun Kopri¹⁷. While the location south of the Zab is unlikely, a location upstream from Altun Kopri may be possible, depending upon where the western border of Arzuhina lay.

Of the three remaining names in this part of the text, Dur-atanate, Maturaba, and Dur-talite, nothing is known about Maturaba aside from the fact that it lay between the other two. Dur-atanate is mentioned only in the itinerary, and the two letters *ABL* 408 and 635. All three refer to the area bounded by Sare on the one hand and Southern Kurdistan on the other. From *ABL* 635, it is clear that Dur-atanate is a station between Sare and Dur-talite. *ABL* 408 reads: "The stretch from Urzuhina to Arrakdi is becoming a burden for the animals. Let the king, my lord, give orders that a (mule) express be stationed in Dur-atanate so we can strengthen each other" (translation courtesy of S. Parpola). This, together with the itinerary, shows that Dur-atanate was a point on the way from Arzuhina to the east. Thus, Arzuhina, Sare and Dur-atanate probably formed a rough triangle, with Sare at the head north of the Lower Zab, and Arzuhina to the west of Dur-atanate to be a major site. It may have been little more than a provisioning post along a well travelled route, as the name can be taken to suggest.

Dur-talite is more complex. According to the itinerary, it is located near the mountain pass of Babite. Since Sare must lie to the north or northwest, we can presume that the course of the itinerary is generally southward, and that would place Dur-talite to

¹⁴) Fadhil, *ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁵) Fadhil, *ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁶) Fadhil, *ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁷) N. Hannoun, *Studies in the Historical Geography of Northern Iraq during the Middle and Neo-Assyrian Periods*, Toronto 1986 (Thesis, University of Toronto).

the south or southeast of Dur-atanaté as well. Further, Dur-talite is apparently accessible directly from Arzuhina (*ABL* 408).

Dur-talite appears to have been more than a posting station. It is mentioned in the royal inscriptions of Sargon II, in the same two letters as Dur-atanate (*ABL* 408 and 635), in a broken context with Arzuhina in *ABL* 1192, and in an administrative text from Nimrud, where it appears to be under the jurisdiction of the governor of Arzuhina (ND 2679)¹⁸. Thus, the relationship between the four places Sare, Arzuhina, Dur-atanate and Dur-talite can be sketched as in Figure 4.

The remainder of the itinerary is concerned with southern Kurdistan, and the twelve names following the crossing of the Radanu fall into a number of groups which differ from each other in important ways.

The first group of names occurs early in the list after Babite is crossed, and includes, along with the Radanu river, Lagalagi, Az(a)ri and Arrakdi (Figure 5). The position of these three settlements in the itinerary shows that they are closer to central Assyria than the second and third groups, and their more frequent mention in the royal correspondence bears witness to this.

Lagalagi, the first of the three names, falls between the Babite pass and the Radanu river in the itinerary¹⁹. Thus, it must be located in the valley of the Radanu, and to the west of the river. In the first Zamuan campaign of Ashurnasirpal II, it is said to be part of the territory of Nur-Adad, the chieftain of Dagara, an area which also included Babite and Birutu. It is likely that the upper Adhhem valley was the ancient Dagara.

Az(a)ri, which is the first place mentioned after crossing the river, should be located in the northern Shahr-i Zur, near the headwaters of the Tanjero river. Speiser²⁰ located Az(a)ri at the modern Suleimaniyeh, but this is unlikely. The distance as the crow flies from the modern crossing of the Adhhem to Suleimaniyeh is about 35 kilometers. This seems too long for a single stage, especially one that involves both a river crossing and negotiating a pass over the second set of mountains separating the Assyrian plains from the Shahr-i Zur. Furthermore, in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, the last event of the second Zamuan campaign is a march from Arrakdi (which had been renamed Tukulti-Aššur-ašbat) back to the town of Birutu, which was located, as noted above, in the Adhhem valley (*AKA* 310-311). From this account, it appears that Arrakdi, which is the stage after Az(a)ri, must have been relatively accessible to Birutu.

¹⁸) B. Parker, *Administrative Tablets from the North-West Palace, Nimrud*, Iraq 23 (1961), p. 43.

¹⁹) There have been a number of discussions of the possible phonology of the name Lagalagi, based, as is now clear, on bad copies of the texts. In the itinerary, the one preserved spelling is *La-ag-ga-la-gi*. In *ABL* 408, 16, Parpola's collation shows *La¹-a¹-ga-la-gi*. Ashurnasirpal's Annals have *La-ga-la-ga* (*AKA* 304). All are prefixed by URU. The broken ^{URU}*Ta-ga*-[...] of *ABL* 701 may refer to an entirely different place, as there is no context for the letter.

²⁰) Speiser, *ibid.*, map.

If Az(a)ri is located at Suleimaniyeh, Arrakdi would be still further away from Birutu and Adnhem valley. Given that the distance from the Adnhem to Suleimaniyeh is already considerable, a still more distant position for Arrakdi is highly improbable. Thus, a location for Az(a)ri not too distant from the eastern end of the Tasluja pass seems likely, and Arrakdi would then lie somewhat more distant, perhaps close to Suleimaniyeh itself.

The second group of names is easily disposed of. There are five names that occur nowhere else in the literature. These are Barzundi, Napigi, Sizini, Halšu ša Qurraya and Gupni ša Bel-Harrān. Of interest is that all but the last are intermediary stops or legs within a *mardītu*. It would seem, then, that these intermediary stops were relatively unimportant places which appear here because of the specific circumstances surrounding this text, which are now lost to us. Note, however, that in the first part of the itinerary, three of the four intermediary stops are significant topographic features. These are the crossing of the Zab at Sare, the crossing of the Bazian range at Babite, and the crossing of the Radanu river. Whether the same was true for Maturaba and the later intermediary places cannot be determined.

The third and final group consists of three names, Dur-Aššur, Halšu ša Adad-remanni and Dur-Tukulti-apil-Ešarra. All three names are mentioned in royal inscriptions that deal with places further east. Dur-Aššur, otherwise known as Atlila, is known to be in the Zamua area from the account of the third, and presumably the most easterly Zamuan campaign of Ashurnasirpal II (AKA 326). It again figures in the Mannean campaign of Ashurbanipal. That king, on his way to quell a rebellion by Ahšeri of Mannea, stops in Dur-Aššur, where he is subjected to a surprise attack by the Mannean king²¹. This would suggest an eastern location for Dur-Aššur, as it is unlikely that a Mannean army could have travelled very far in nominally Assyrian territory without being discovered.

Halšu ša Adad-remanni and Dur-Tukulti-apil-Ešarra are the names in the itinerary just before the sea is reached, and should therefore also lie to the east. Both are also connected with even more easterly places in royal inscriptions. Halšu ša Adad-remanni is noted on an epigraph (I R 8, 1b) as being a Mannean place taken by Ashurbanipal. Dur-Tukulti-apil-Ešarra is the place where Tiglath-pileser III receives the tribute of the Medes, Ellipi, and other unspecified mountain chieftains.

Just where these places might be located is far more difficult to establish. A number

²¹ R. Campbell-Thompson, *A Selection from the Cuneiform Historical Texts from Nineveh (1927-32)*, Iraq 7 (1940), p. 104.

of routes link the Suleimaniyeh area with Lake Zeribor, and the geographical indications for a precise location are non-existent.

The History

Despite the geographical imprecision at the end of the itinerary, the text is still useful for reconstructing an outline of the history of Zamua from our sources. Prior to the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, the areas behind the Bazian ranges, which are referred to by the term Zamua, were not part of Assyria. Following a series of campaigns to this area by Ashurnasirpal II, parts of this territory were incorporated into the Assyrian provincial system, although the first unambiguous evidence of the provincial status is in 811 B.C., during the reign of Shalmaneser III, when a eponym is first mentioned.

The extent of Assyrian control during this first phase of expansion into Zamua cannot be fully ascertained. We would suspect that the valley of the Adhhem, as well as the Shahr-i Zur proper, were Assyrian, but the eastern border may well have been a fluid one, depending on the strength of the central regime, and the interest of the monarch in things eastern. Dur-Aššur, a garrison and royal residence built by Ashurnasirpal II (AKA 325 ff.), seems to have been the most easterly stronghold of Assyria during the ninth century. One wonders if the areas still further east are what Shalmaneser III refers to as *Zamua ša bētāni*.

We know little of Zamua in the period between Shalmaneser III and Tiglath-pileser III, although it continues to be mentioned as an eponym through most of the period. Just how much of Zamua the Assyrian kings managed to maintain under their control during the period is unclear. During the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, however, control over the territorial extent of ninth century Zamua was re-established, and it was extended further eastward to Dur-Tukulti-apil-Ešarra, which seems to have been quite close to Lake Zeribor. This put one of the important routes into Mannea in Assyrian hands. It also appears to have given the Assyrians access to farmlands and estates in the area, as reflected in names like the vineyard of Bel-Harrān and the *halšu* of Adad-remanni. By the time of Ashurbanipal, at least the areas farthest to the east seem to have been lost, as Halšu Adad-remanni is called “Mannean” by that king, and the Mannceans can mount a surprise attack on the Assyrians at Dur-Aššur.

The Text (again)

It is finally possible to return to the itinerary, and offer a suggestion on the nature of the text itself. It must be noted that the text is unique in genre, that it was presumably found at Nineveh, that “by external appearance it resembles the letters of Šamaš-bel-ušur”, and that “the signs are like those of that same individual” (personal communi-

Fig. 3: K.4675+ schematic.

	Main Entry		Distance			Summary		Day	marditu
	from	to	bēru	UŠ	NINDA	from	to		
I	Baqarri Sare	Sa[re] Arzuhina	[] [] [PAB]	[] [] []	[x+1]0 [] []	[Baq]arri	Arzuhina	6	[1]
II	[Arzuhina]	Dur-atanate	[]	[]	[]			[7]	2
III	[Dur-atan]ate [Maturaba]	Maturaba Dur-talite	[]	[]	[]	[Dur-a]tanate	Dur-talite	[8]	[3]
IV	[Dur-talite] [Babite]	Babite Laggalagi	[]	[]	[]	[Du]r-talite	[Laggalagi]	[9]	[4]
V	[Laggalagi] ^{1D} Radani	^{1D} Radani Azri	[]	[]	[]	[La]glagi	[Azri]	[10]	[5]
VI	[Azri]	[A]rrakdi	[]	[]	[]			[11]	[6]
VII	[Arr]akdi Barzundi Napigi	[Ba]rzundi N[ap]igi Dur-Aššur	[] [] [] PAB [1]2	[] 4 [] 2	[] 20 [] 20	Arrakdi	Dur-Aššur	14	7
VIII	[Dur-Aššur] [Sizini]	Sizini Banbala	[]	[]	[]	Dur-Aššur	Banbala	[15]	[8]
IX	[Banbala] [Ha]š[u] ša Qu[r]raya	[Ha]š[u] ša Qurraya [Gupni ša] Bel-Harran	[]	5	50	[Banbala]	Gupni ša Bel-Harran	[16]	9
X	[Gu]pni ša Bel-Harran [Ha]š[u] ša Adad-remanni	[Ha]š[u] ša Adad-remanni Dur-Tukulti-apil-Ešarra	[]	[]	10+	Gupni ša Bel-Harran	Dur-Tukulti-apil-Ešarra	17	[10]
XI	[Dur-Tukulti-apil-Ešar]ra [traces at end of line]	A.A[B ² .BA] ^{MES}							

cation from S. Parpola). *ABL* 408, which we have had reason to refer to often, is a letter sent to the king by Šamaš-bel-ušur, and it contains a litany of self-justification. Apparently having been accused of not providing the mule express for a messenger, Šamaš-bel-ušur claims that he provided mules for the outward journey from Arzuhina, and arranged for the posting of mule teams in Dur-talite and Lagalagi, “(When) he departed from Urzuhina, there were two mules at his disposal, (mule) express after (mule) express, until the town of Arrakdi” (ll. 18-21 - translation courtesy of S. Parpola).

The correspondence in place names between the two documents, the fact that they are apparently sent by the same individual, and that the “itinerary” was found in the royal chancellory all suggest that the two are connected. One might suggest that our itinerary is in the nature of an attachment to the letter *ABL* 408, an explicit “verbal map” sent to the king to explain the journey that seems to have caused the difficulty referred to in the letter. There can be little doubt that both documents describe the “royal road” (*harrān šarri*) to Azri referred to in a letter from Nergal-uballiṣ, the governor of Arzuhina, apparently to Tiglath-pileser III²².

If the itinerary is the attachment to *ABL* 408, it may also explain the anomalies around the numbering of the *mardītu*s in K. 4675+. When used by itself in the Neo-Assyrian documents, *mardītu* means a stage in a journey or activities connected with a stage in a journey²³. But it is also used in the Assyrian correspondence in the phrase *bīt mardītu*. Such stations had officials attached to them (*ABL* 414), and were almost certainly located along the royal road system, where they would have been points for provisioning royal (and other?) messenger services. Given the regular nature of the *mardītu* in most of the itinerary, we would expect that the *bīt mardītu*s were placed regularly along the routes at one day intervals, and the normal length of a *mardītu* was one day.

The journey described by K. 4676 consisted of eleven *mardītu*s, and should have taken eleven days. Instead, it took fourteen. This is the anomaly of K. 4765+, and is probably the reason for its composition. Indeed, the self-justifying letter *ABL* 408 reports on events that terminate at Arrakdi, the point at which the *mardītu*s and the days begin to diverge. One almost expects that a letter from the king to Šamaš-bel-ušur awaits discovery in Arzuhina, a letter in which the king tells Šamaš-bel-ušur that he is not interested in what happened up to Arrakdi, as reported in *ABL* 408, but rather what went on afterward. Why, he wants to know, did Šamaš-bel-ušur take a route other than the direct one between Arrakdi and Dur-Aššur? And just what was he doing for three days in all of those places that no-one had ever heard of. But the letter, along with Šamaš-bel-ušur’s answers, remain at this point just another of those enigmas with which the past teases us.

²²) Saggs, *ibid.*, pp. 208f.

²³) Postgate, *TCAE*, p. 383.

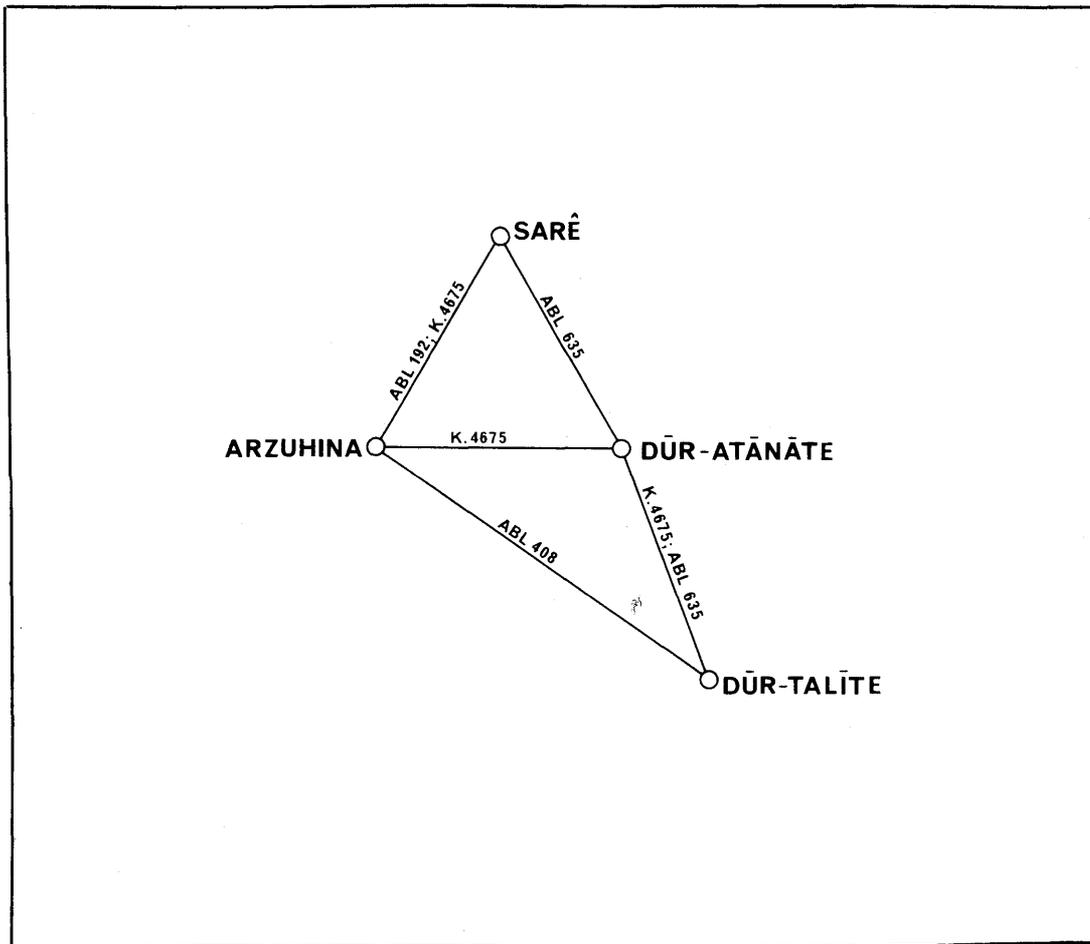


Fig. 4: Relative Positions of Places Mentioned in the First Part.

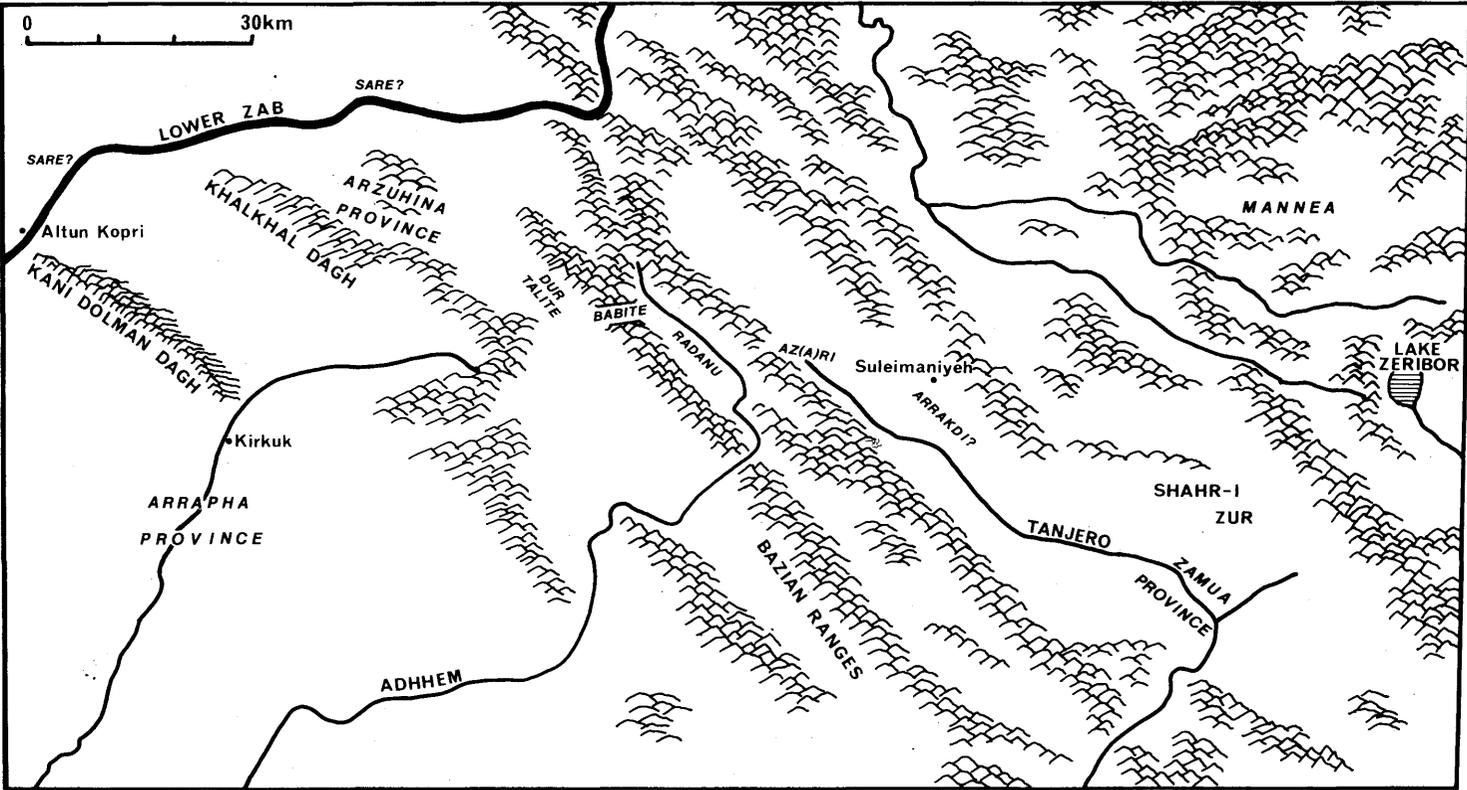


Fig. 5: Southern Assyria and Zamna.