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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES ON SOME ROYAL  
LADIES FROM MARI\*

JACK M. SASSON  
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA  
AT CHAPEL HILL

à M. Georges Dossin, en hommage de respect

Tablette C<sup>1</sup> is a large document which registers the Mari palace's dispensation of oil to a large group consisting of some 400 females. Among the ladies were to be found the high and the lowly. Undoubtedly, many of the ladies named served the harem of the king. It seems likely that the amount of oil depended on the status of the receiver. 2 *qa* were each issued to Dam-ḥurāši and Yatar-Aya. While the lack of evidence at present would not permit any reconstruction concerning Yatar-Aya,<sup>2</sup> we have some information concerning Dam-ḥurāši.<sup>3</sup> ARM 10 62-72 are letters sent by her, two of which, ARM 10 71-72, are addressed to a Sin-muballiṭ. It would have been enormously helpful to know the person's standing at Mari. ARM 9 24 ii 18 (ARM 9 27 ii 37) registers a shepherd by this name. ARM 7 180 iii 7' knows of a Sin-muballiṭ, the ŠU.ĦA, a citizen of Urvat, a locality near Mari.<sup>4</sup> Finally, there is a Sin-muballiṭ who is recorded receiving some protective device issued to the military (ARM 7 255). What complicates the identification of Dam-ḥurāši's correspondent with the above mentioned Sin-muballiṭ's, with the possible exception of the last, is that ARM 10 71 apparently considers

\* This paper is extracted from a larger work on the 'Palace at Mari' in order to substantiate claims made in BiOr 28 355. Prof. Dossin has kindly permitted me recourse to ARM 10, previous to his publication of ARMT 10. Care has been taken not to transliterate or translate, *in extenso*, any text from ARM 10 that has not already appeared in print. The author would like to express his appreciation to the University of North Carolina whose University Research Council's grant aided materially to the composition of this study.

1. M. Birot, RA 50 57-72.

2. Yatar-Aya might be connected with a correspondent of al-Rimāh's Iltani; S. Page (now Dalley), Iraq 30 95.

3. This name was apparently borne also by males (ARM 7 180 v 7) as well as by females. J. Bottéro, *apud* RA 50 62 n. 10, points to a Nuzu GN similarly named.

At Mari, the PN was written *dam-GUŠKIN* (ARM 10 62:3), *da-am-GUŠKIN* (ARM 10 63-68:3; 70-72:3), *dam-ḥu-ra-ši* (ARM 10 69:3), and, most frequently *da-am-ḥu-ra-ši* (remaining attestations except for ARM 10 67:3 which is damaged).

4. See Bottéro, ARMT 7 226-227 (§ 46).

him to be a brother, real or political, of the king. ARM 10 71 contains nothing beyond greetings and requests for news. ARM 10 72, a fragmentary text, begins somewhat similarly. The reverse could be construed to indicate that Sin-muballiṣ was in a position to interfere before the king in order to fulfill Dam-ḥurāši's request.

ARM 10 64–70, letters written to the king, are rather single-minded in their pursuit of news concerning her 'lord.' ARM 10 62 suggests that Dam-ḥurāši lived in Terqa, for in it, she asks her king to come and do obeisance to Dagan of Terqa. Dagan, who is also involved in ARM 10 63:15–19 and 66:16–17, is to deliver the enemy into the king's hands.<sup>5</sup>

ARM 10 70, a text preserved in poor condition, shows Dam-ḥurāši to have consulted oracles on behalf of her lord who was residing, then, at Qattunān (cf. ARM 7 277 v' 6). ARM 7 206 r. 7' registers her as having received a portion of meat equal to Šiptu, the well-known queen of Mari.

All the above sparse information allows one to speculate that Dam-ḥurāši was one of Zimri-Lim's many wives, probably the chief spouse at the Terqa palace. The fact that she is asked to perform oracles (ARM 10 70) and that she is given a portion of meat — never a plentiful staple — equal to Šiptu should be worth keeping in mind. As for Yatar-Aya, one can only imagine her to have held a position equal to Dam-ḥurāši, but perhaps in another of Zimri-Lim's four palaces (cf. ARM 7 277 v' 2–6).<sup>6</sup>

Tablette C i 4–5 indicates that Inib-šīna, the *ugbaltu*-priestess of Adad, received the next largest segment of oil,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *qa*. The Mari archives complicate matters by speaking of at least two persons bearing this name.<sup>7</sup> Our Inib-šīna was a sister of Zimri-Lim. ARM 11 191 preserves her seal impression, confirmed by Dossin from unpublished material: [i-ni]-ib-[šī-na]/DUMU.SAL *ya-aḥ-du-[li-im]* / GEMÉ ša<sup>d</sup>[IM].<sup>8</sup> It is to be noted that in Tablette C, Inib-šīna's name is preceded only by those of the goddesses Ištār and Bēlet-ekallim. She finds preferential treatment, also, in ARM 7 206:4' where it appears that she received a double (?) portion of choice meat. We do not have much material that would shed light on her functions. ARM 8 56:5 refers to her, almost certainly, as lending grain, probably from the estate of Adad. ARM 11 191 reveals

5. ARM 10 63:15 speaks of <sup>d</sup>*da-gan be-el pa-ag-re-e*. The term *paḡrū* (AHw 909, "ein Schlachtopfer für *Dagān* ?") is apparently West Semitic. See the translation of RA 42 128–130, and ARM 2 90, texts which mention this term, in ANET Supp. 623(a), and 624(g). Note AnOr 38 § 19.2006 and perhaps Jer. 31:40 *wekol hā'emeq haḡpegārīm . . . qōdeš leYHWH*. The cults of Dagan associated with sacrifices of the corpses (?) seem to have centered at Terqa. See now J. H. Ebach, UF 3 367–368.

6. Bottéro, ARMT 7 229 (§ 48).

7. The following lines duplicate the statement made in Iraq 34 65–66. Cf. also Bottéro, ARMT 7 240 n. 3 (§ 54 bis). Note the remarks of J. Renger, ZA 58 148 n. 262 which disagree with this interpretation.

8. Cf. ARMT 11 126–127 (§ 7).

her to be dispensing ghee, *himētum*, destined for a daughter of a king. On the other Inib-šina, see the following paragraphs.

1 *qa* of oil each were handed out to Inib-šina, Bēlassunu, Ibbātum, and Inib-šarri (Tablette C i 20,21,6,7). Inib-šina, a daughter of Zimri-Lim, was married to the well-known official Baḥdi-Lim.<sup>9</sup> Possibly for this reason, she becomes involved in matters pertaining to the palace. In ARM 7 220:1 she is allotted clothing, possibly to be distributed to people under her orders. On another occasion, she is recorded as receiving a shekel of silver (ARM 7 139:1), and a cut of meat (ARM 7 206:8'). The reference in ARM 7 190:3 almost certainly refers to her. Elsewhere,<sup>10</sup> I have discussed ARM 10 82 and ARMT 13 14, texts that show Inib-šina's responsibility in caring for stored valuables. When a search was to be made for a certain tablet, she is asked to supervise a group of important officials. ARM 10 80 is one letter that contains a 'prophetic message,'<sup>11</sup> transmitting the warnings of Dagan of Terqa not to trust the king of Ešnunna and not to wander without protection. It is possible that Inib-šina grew up in the palace of Terqa rather than in Mari. This would explain her contacts with the *qabbātum*-prophetess of Terqa. It might also be the reason why she is listed apart from the other TUR.SAL.MEŠ. LUGAL that are given in Tablette C i 6-12. When ARM 7 206 r. 8'-9' speaks of Bēlassunu and Inib-šina among the royal family at Mari, the latter had probably been brought there to marry Baḥdi-Lim. Bēlassunu, on the other hand, was sent northward to Karanā.

Mari's society contained a number of females bearing the name Bēlassunu.<sup>12</sup> Most of the instances in the Mari records where the name occurs (RA 65 61 B iv 23; ARM 9 291 iii 51, and ARMT 13 1 i 17) palace servants are involved. Our princess is recorded as a member of Zimri-Lim's family (ARM 7 206:9'). ARM 10 174 is a letter sent by Aqbu-Ḥammu. He begins by stating that all is fine where he is, including Yatar-Salim and her sons. He had written his lord (Zimri-Lim) and his 'father' Ḥammu-šagiš, apparently a highly placed official in Mari,<sup>13</sup> expressing a desire to begin a journey. He asks her help, as she is now in Mari, to have an armed contingent sent to him. They were to be led by Yamūd-ḥamad, a man otherwise unknown in Mari's archives.

The correspondents are met again in texts from Mari and al-Rimaḥ,

9. J. -R. Kupper, *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* 40 587 n. 5.

10. *Iraq* 34 63-66.

11. This text has been discussed by Moran, *Biblica* 50 52-54; Römer, *Frauenbriefe über Religion, Politik und Privatleben in Māri* (AOAT 12) 21; Huffmon, *BiAr* 31 115-116; Ellermeier, *Prophetie in Mari und Israel* 68-70. It has been translated by Dossin, *La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne* 83, and by Moran in *ANET Supp.* 632.

12. Cf. also my review of *Actes de la XVII<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, in a forthcoming issue of *JNES*.

13. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* 35; ARMT 13 36:28,34; 37:[7],11. He may have operated from Qattunān.

a site which is believed to be Karanā. A multi-talented man, (Ḫ)aqba-(Ḫ)ammu (Huffmon Amorite Names 36), was a *bārū*-diviner, who, like others in his profession, found it difficult to refrain from political activities.<sup>14</sup> According to al-Rimāḥ's archives, he was the son of Ḫimdi-<sup>d</sup>UTU, brother of Yatar-Salim (cf. ARM 2 39:58), and husband of Iltani. The last was the daughter of Samū-Addu and sister of Askur-Addu, two rulers who succeeded each other at Karanā.<sup>15</sup>

In the days of Yasmaḥ-Addad, Askur-Addu succeeded his father and paid homage to Mari (ARM 2 119:10').<sup>16</sup> This was natural since Išme-Dagan of Ekallātum had protected Karanā from the threats of Ešnunna (ARM 4 26). A delegate from the Mari palace was stationed there. But when Zimri-Lim came back to his ancestor's throne, Askur-Addu pledged his support to the new king of Mari. At one point, he even asked for one of his suzerain's daughters (ARM 6 26:5'-8'). Bēlassunu, in due time, was sent. TR 4251, a Rimāḥ letter,<sup>17</sup> reveals a Bēlassunu who was unhappily married to a certain Abdu-šuri. She asks to go to Andariq. But the writer of the letter, instead, advises that she be sent to her brother-in-law's house. Should we be dealing with the Mari princess, it would appear that Abdu-šuri was another prince of Karanā, possibly a brother of Askur-Addu and Iltani. The brother-in-law (*ya-ba-mi-ša*) may have referred to Iltani's husband, Ḫaqba-Ḫammu. With the fall(?) of Askur-Addu, Ḫaqba-Ḫammu, needing Zimri-Lim's support, remained cordial with Bēlassunu. A letter sent to Iltani asks that precious ice be expended to quench the thirst of " 'The Goddess,' you, and Bēlassunu (TR 4097)."<sup>18</sup> Eventually Bēlassunu returned home, leaving her children behind. But, at the Mari palace, she was to remain a contact, as ARM 10 174 shows, for Karanā's new ruler.

Princess Ibbātum (Tablette C 6) is almost certainly the same person who, under the name Inbātum, wrote three letters to her father (ARM 10 84-86).<sup>19</sup> The name was popular at Mari and attested as early as Sumū-Yamam's time (RA 65 65 B vi 63). A citizeness of Ya'il, a town in the Terqa district (ARM 9 291 ii 7) and a palace-singer (Tablette C ii 20) were given this name. The person with a similar appellative appearing in ARM 13 92:16 is a male.

Her letters, of which ARM 10 84 is the best preserved, finds her defending her husband before her father. Ḫimdiya had begun his career as an official in the court of the crafty Atamrum of Andariq. ARM 2 109, a

14. S. Page, Iraq 30 91. On some of the intricate goings-on in the Upper Country, see O. Rouault, "Andariq et Atamrum," RA 64 107-118.

15. Page, *apud* D. Oates, Iraq 32 6, 8.

16. For l. 11', see ARMT 15 198 (*dalālum*).

17. Page, Iraq 30 94.

18. Page, XVII<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique 181-183.

19. Cf. the PN *in-bi-<sup>d</sup>IM*, ARM 13 2:15, given to a metal worker who is also known as *ib-bi-<sup>d</sup>IM* in ARM 13 16:11.

long letter sent by Yasīm-El to Zimri-Lim offers us a glimpse of some of the events that unfolded in the Upper Region. Its central concern is Amas, a city which alternately was occupied by forces loyal to Zimri-Lim and those of his enemy Šukrum-Tešub of Elaḥut. At one point, Elaḥut was trying to join forces with Susa and Andariq in order to (re)conquer Amas. A letter sent to Andariq for that purpose was intercepted by Ḥimdiya who, in turn, communicated it to Zimri-Lim. Failing to have some of his spies in Andariq come to report, Zimri-Lim summons Ḥimdiya who, sheepishly, answered (ll. 45–46): “How could I go to my lord Zimri-Lim without my lord Atamrum (‘s permission).”

But Atamrum was finally dethroned and Ḥimdiya replaced him. The new vassal is given Inbātum as a bride. As her letter, ARM 10 84 indicates, among Ḥimdiya’s first acts was to return Amas into Zimri-Lim’s sphere of influence:<sup>20</sup> “I have heard the letter that my lord has written. My lord had written extensively about Amas. From days past, Amas has been following the land of my lord. But, as soon as the city defected from my lord, Ḥimdiya, your servant, directed it to my lord’s side. He has subjugated the city and established its *suqāqu* as my lord’s governor. He has not pillaged the city in any way.” Inbātum continues to assure her father that her husband’s trip to Babylon should not be misunderstood.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, she assures him that Yamūt-balum and Andariq are Zimri-Lim’s to do with as he wishes. She urges him, therefore, to beware of false reports that Amas is defecting.

Her two other letters deal with less weighty matters. ARM 10 86 chides her father for not writing and asks to be sent a beautician (? *lurakkūtum*) or a female cook. Apparently Zimri-Lim chose to send her a male cook for ARM 10 85:4 reports the arrival of Addu-šarri, a man known from ARM 9 24 ii 26, as a LÚ.MU. Unfortunately, her husband decided to turn him into a guard and had him confined to the city.

While In/bbātum appeared to care for her husband enough to interfere in his behalf, her sister, Inib-šarri, (Tablette C 7), wrote only to complain. Hers is a sad story of a woman given away in a political marriage to an ambitious kinglet of the Upper Country. When, in a bid for independence, the latter’s belligerence increased, Inib-šarri’s situation became intolerable.

In the land of Yaptārum (cf. ARM 13 144:29–36), Ašlakkā was a city, not far from Naḥur, within Zimri-Lim’s sphere of control.<sup>22</sup> Two of

20. Text treated by Römer, AOAT 12 53–54.

21. According to ARM 2 49, Andariq’s fall allowed Babylon to control Allaḥada. Since no other attestation for this town is known from Mari, it is difficult to locate it. Should it be close to Andariq, it might explain Ḥimdiya’s concern at having a powerful force too close to his door. See also Rouault, RA 64 117–118.

22. On Ašlakkā, see J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 9 1–2; A. Finet, Syria 41 135–136; Römer, WO 4 18. To the references collected in ARMT 15 121, add the following: ARM 10

the latter's date-formulae, *Studia Mariana* 54 #2,3, remember his victories over that city. There is no way, unfortunately, to know whether these acts occurred early or late in Zimri-Lim's career.<sup>23</sup> Finet favors a later date.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps one, however, ought to consider the taking of Ašlakkā to have occurred during Zimri-Lim's early years on the throne.

Ibâl-Addu<sup>25</sup>, king of this Ašlakkā, wrote a letter to his lord, with whom he had made a treaty of vassalage (ARM 2 37), assuring him of his constant vigilance over the rebellious Northern District. In particular, he is keeping watch on Elaḥut and the Lullu tribesmen.<sup>26</sup> That Ibâl-Addu was speaking with the proverbial forked tongue can be gathered from a missive he received from Šukrum-Tešub, king of Elaḥut, a letter that was intercepted by Zimri-Lim's officers. In it, Elaḥut offers its regrets for not providing an armed contingent to Ibâl-Addu, for it found itself involved in a conflict. Earlier (?), Šukrum-Tešub wrote the neighboring city of Ḥurrā, requesting its king Ilulli to aid Ibâl-Addu.<sup>27</sup> Warnings concerning Ibâl-Addu's treachery were dispatched to Zimri-Lim from Talḥayum (ARM 13 144:30–38)<sup>28</sup> and Naḥur (ARM 2 113:32–36).<sup>29</sup> That these warnings were taken seriously by Mari is clear from Inib-šarri's dispatches. It is perhaps in this context that one is to understand injunctions to keep hostage some of Ibâl-Addu's daughters: "As many as there are [daughters] of Ibâl-Addu, so that they won't remain idle, let the servant of Šidqī-Epuḥ continually watch them, at all times. (No) one [should come] into [their quarters(?)] (ARM 10 138:5'–side)."<sup>30</sup>

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74:8,10,15; 157:8; ARM 13 143:12; 144:35; Finet, RA 60 19:7 (=Semitica 1 B.308:7); Bottéro, *Le problème des Habiru* 22 No. 27:10.

23. See Birot, ARMT 12 17–18.

24. Syria 41 136.

25. The following are references to the name Ibâl-Addu held by persons other than the king of Ašlakkā: ARM 6 27:6 (a messenger); ARM 9 291:29 (husband of Kiḥila, a woman of the Ya'ila); ARM 13 1 iv 82 (a weaver?). I am not clear about the mention of an Ibâl-Addu in RA 49 26. During the Assyrian period, a scribe, similarly named, is mentioned in ARM 8 9. Though plausible, it is unlikely that this scribe became king of Ašlakkā.

26. On the Lullu, a tribal group that may have been Hurrian, see J. Laessøe, *The Shemsharā Tablets* SH 870 (p. 68); SH 812 (pp. 78–79), and SH 828, a translation of which is given in *Det Første Assyriske Imperium* 87–88.

27. G. Dossin, RA 35 184:43–49. Despite the claims of a functionary, Syria 19 123, it seems doubtful that Ḥurrā was ever firmly in Zimri-Lim's hands. The city seems to have held a Hurrian enclave, see ARMT 15 126; Jean, RÉS 1937 102 [with an intriguing excerpt that is all too brief: "He gave I. the city of Ḥurrā"]; ARM 8 100:19 [a citizen of Ḥurrā, with an Akkadian name].

28. Finet, Syria 41 139–140.

29. Cf., also *Le problème des Habiru* 20 (No. 21) and Finet, Syria 41 135–136.

30. See also ARM 10 123:side: "Keep Ibâl-Addu's daughter *I-ba/ma[x]* there (in Mari). Do not send her here." ARM 10 124 is a letter to Šiptu giving her information on how to deal with a *šagītum* daughter of Ibâl-Addu.



With this short excursus on Ibâl-Addu, we can return to Inib-šarri's dossier. The economic texts record her as receiving a number of sheep (ARM 7 203:1), while sending an ox (ARM 7 125:2) and honey (ARM 9 241:10) to Mari. But her complaints about her unhappy situation are best expressed in ARM 10 74, a letter she writes to her father the king:<sup>31</sup>

I have written a number of times to my lord concerning my unhappiness. My lord wrote (back) as follows: 'Go and enter Ašlakkā, do not cry [read? *ta-ba-[ak!]-ki?*].' My lord had written thus.

Now, I have entered Ašlakkā and have witnessed much unhappiness. The wife of Ibâl-Addu, *she* is the queen. And it is she who continually receives the gifts of the city, Ašlakkā, and the (new) settlers. Meanwhile (s)he has forced me to sit in a corner, and caused me, like an idiot, to hold my cheek in my hand. His eating and drinking is continuous before this woman, [while I could not] open my mouth. He has strengthened the guard over me, invoking my lord's authority. What about me? Should I witness (such) unhappiness here?

After registering a further complaint (ll.31–40), Inib-šarri begs to be brought back to Mari. While there, however, Inib-šarri kept her father informed of her husband's collaboration with Elaḥut (ARM 10 77:1–8). For this reason, she fears his ire and writes neighboring Naḥur, seeking aid from its governor, Itūr-Asdu (ARM 10 77:1'–10'). When matters became intolerable, the king advised his daughter: "Go ahead and gather your household. If that is not possible, (just) cover your head and depart (ARM 2 113:4–7, cf. ARM 10 76:5–9)."<sup>32</sup>

Her answer is recorded, in difficult language, in ARM 2 113:8–36:

I have answered my lord: 'He [Ibâl-Addu] is bypassing the Ḥabur-river, (therefore), my lord's order will be neglected.'<sup>33</sup> Now what I have told my lord is confirmed. As soon as he reached Tarnip,<sup>34</sup> he said: 'Since you have presented (your desire) to your lord, go! Let your lord himself bring you into Ašlakkā.' Instead, he made me enter an enclosed place (?)<sup>35</sup> in Naḥur.<sup>36</sup> Since the time I left the presence

31. Text treated in Römer, AOAT 12 49–50.

32. Text treated by Römer, AOAT 12 48. Note the West Semitic usage for the verb *alākum*, much as *hālak* is used in the Hebrew imperative.

The act of covering the head does not seem to be a Babylonian practice. The Assyrians, however, knew of it. See R. de Vaux, *Bible et Orient* 407–423.

33. For the unique *a-wa-at be-lí-ya/ a-na wa-ar-ki-šu i-na-an-di* compare *wu-ur-[ti be-lí-ya]/ i-zi-ib-ma* in ARM 10 76:13–14.

34. For this city, see Th. Jacobsen, OIP 43 192 (No. 114); E. I. Gordon, JCS 21 71 n. 5.

35. For the difficult *eš-ri-ya*, cf. ARMT 15 188.

36. Apparently a day's journey from Ašlakkā, Finet, RA 60 19:5–7.

of my lord, I have been without food or firewood [. . .<sup>37</sup>]. Let my lord write so that they can return me, for my unhappiness stands now more than before. [. . .<sup>38</sup>]. Has Ibâl-Addu been shaming my lord's enemy?<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, Itūr-Asdu has come here. He wrote many times in my behalf, but Ibâl-Addu paid no attention to his orders.

We have a letter which refers to the circumstances that saw Inib-šarri in Naḥur. She writes Šunuḥraḥalu, a man of imposing position, probably the king's personal secretary,<sup>40</sup> addressing him as 'my brother': "When I sent you Zakura-abum,<sup>41</sup> the courier, and when he died, I did not [x] for/to him. They threw me out of the city, and I departed for Naḥur. I have sent a letter to my lord, make it known to my lord (ARM 10 79:5-14)."

While in Naḥur, Inib-šarri was not idle. ARM 10 79:15-23 communicates to Šunuḥraḥalu her decision to install a certain Libur-bēli, a courier who had been an attendant in the Yaḥdu(n)-Lim estate, as a *šatammu*-officer.<sup>42</sup> He probably was to replace Zakura-abum who had

37. For *e-lī ša pa-na-nu wa-ar-ku-tum/ i-TE-ED-ru*, cf. ARM 10 76:10-12, but note its differing position in this text. Attempted translations of this line: CAD A/2 287-288; AHw 264 (1,a); ARMT 15 184 (*edêrum*), 189 (*eṭêrum*); Römer, AOAT 12 48.

38. For this difficulty, see the suggestion of Finet, L'accadien des lettres de Mari 100 (§ 40, a).

39. A rhetorical question? For other attempts at making sense cf., CAD A/1 223; AHw 893 (3, c).

40. On Šunuḥraḥalu, see Iraq 34 57.

41. Our Zakura-abum is probably not to be identified with a homonym, a member of the Yassa clan of the Ḥanean tribe, RA 49 16-17 i 45. ARM 7 199:26' mentions the reception of four jars of wine from a Zakura-abim. He must have been a well-appointed person.

It so happens that this person has left us a letter, published long ago by Jean in RA 42 7 (No. 10 B.81). The restoration of the name in 1.3, *za-[ku!-ra!]-a-bu*, is fairly certain. He writes to Zimri-Lim:

Because of the grasshoppers, my district has not harvested for three years. There is no seed(?). But in Yaptārum, on the far bank, there is seed (?), and they are harvesting. We (however) will not (be able) to harvest. Our soldiers are in Yaptārum, and they have gone into the land of Zalmāqu to raid [*a-na sa-gi-im*]. When the citizens of Yaptārum saw that our troops have departed to raid Zalmāqu, they became hostile toward us, (and) decided to go into the land in order to bring Askur-Addu. They said as follows: '[ll. 21-22 damaged]. And now they caught our troops who have entered their land in order to [raid]. They tied thirty men from my province and twenty oxen [. . .]. Let my lord write Ibâl-pi-El. Have him depart, together with the Ḥaneans of my district, to Šipaḥ. Have him establish his *rittum* over me. I am well. I am guarding the city of Zalluḥan for my lord. May my lord rejoice.

Zakura-abum, it appears, was the ruler of Zalluḥan. This letter falls neatly before the events mentioned in ARM 10 79:15-23. On this text, see below.

42. Text has *li-ra-be-lī*, which could be read either *tul-ra-be-lī* or *li-bur!-be-lī*. The latter is more likely since a person with that name is attested in Mari as a farmer (ARM 9 27:28 = 24:29), and as a dispenser of food destined for the king's supper (ARM 12 610:8).

died a short while earlier. She returns to the same subject, in another letter addressed to the same official, asking him to interfere before the king (ARM 10 75:17-25).

Other messages to Šunuḫraḫalu discuss a bride-price, demand strong representation before the king (ARM 10 75:4-16), convey her assurances of brilliant victories over the Elamites (ARM 10 78:22-27)<sup>43</sup>, and invoke her goddess Ningal's blessing to protect her correspondent and to improve his court position.<sup>44</sup> It is possible that ARM 10 73, a letter to her father, was written when she was in Naḫur.<sup>45</sup> Inib-šarri reminds her father of a conversation Itūr-asdu, governor of Naḫur, had with Ibâl-addu "formerly, when my lord defeated Idamaraš in [x] . . ." <sup>46</sup> It seems that Ibâl-addu once needed the help of Zimri-Lim to establish himself against a rival. The remainder of the text being fragmentary, it is difficult to ascertain Inib-šarri's interests in composing the letter.

With the difficulties in the Northern Region under some control, Inib-šarri asks to be brought back home (ARM 2 112:5-10): "How long am I remaining in Naḫur? Peace is established, the road(s) are (back to) normal. May my lord write to bring me back; let me see the face of my lord, which I miss."

Of the other princesses listed in Tablette C, Duḫšātum is one who receives rations of  $2/3$  qa of oil each. A lady with the same name, known from Sumū-Yaman's era, (RA 64 43 A.4634:17) is listed as a daughter of Yadiḫa-abim. The last was, apparently, a citizen of Saḫri (ARM 3 68:5ff.). Both he and his daughter reappear in the census lists of Šumū-Yamam (RA 65 45 i 9, 61 iv 22). The name of princesses Kīḫila (Tablette C 9), Aḫatum (Tablette C 11), and Ḫazala (Tablette C 12) were too popular in Mari to permit probable prosopographical reconstruction.<sup>47</sup> Narām-tum's name (Tablette C 13) was also well-liked, but we do

Most convincing is this PN's occurrence in another of Inib-šarri's letter, ARM 10 75:17, for which, see below.

Note that Römer, AOAT 12 10, reads the name Puṭrabēli.

43. For this passage, see Oppenheim, RA 63 95 (no. 6).

44. The cuneiform of ARM 10 78:7, unfortunately damaged, does not permit the reading DAM.É.GAL. Ningal was worshipped at Mari in the Ur III period (Dossin, RA 61 99:4 = Edzard, XV<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique 70). During the OB period, she was known there only from the PN Ningal-ummi(ya), RA 65 58 i 74'; 64 v 75. In a letter sent to his 'sister' Parātum, Ibâl-Addu speaks of Inib-šarri, of *ugbābtū*-priestesses, and of gifts sent to his correspondent (ARM 10 170). It is not clear to me whether or not l. 15, in the midst of a broken context, has a PN formed with this goddess: *nin-gall-na-i-il*.

45. Ll. 5b-18 of ARM 10 73 have been treated by Römer, AOAT 12 46-47.

46. Ll. 3-5. Is this the same victory that is mentioned in Syria 20 104 and in ARM 2 141:13? In general, Idamaraš, located in the Upper Country, was in firm possession of Mari.

47. Kīḫila: Huffmon, Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts 49, and add RA 64 43:12 (TUR.SAL *ya-ap-la-aḫ-li-im*); ARMT 13 1 ii 60; iii 84; v 37.

have some definite information about its royal bearer.<sup>48</sup> ARM 9 129 consists of the following: "One 'linen' garment, one 'linen' cloak: delivery of Narāmtum, daughter of the king." Letters 44–45 of ARM 10 are written by this princess to her father. She is terribly unhappy since she does not hear from her father. She feels rejected, and mistreated where she is. "I am poor," she insists (ARM 10 44:10)<sup>49</sup> and asks for a response to her pleas. ARM 10 46 is her most extensive letter. She paints a picture (ll. 4'–11') of humiliation: "And now, the servants of the palace<sup>50</sup> are assembling here against me, (saying) as follows: 'They do not know you there, in your father's house; they are not worried about you. Should we (therefore) honor you?' "

Kirûm (Tablette C 10), represented by a number of letters in ARM 10, was engaged in a heated, if not bitter, struggle with her sister Šimātum. Kirûm fancied herself an Amorite Cassandra warning her father against dismissing her predictions (ARM 10 31:7'–10'). "And now, even if I am a woman, may my father and lord listen to my message. I constantly send the words of the gods to my father. (So), go up and stay in Naḥur and do all that the gods tell (lit. show) you." As an introduction to these words, Kirûm reminds her father of an instance in which her advice was disregarded to the detriment of Zimri-Lim's cause.<sup>51</sup> Additionally, she seems involved in supervising the construction of a certain building (a temple?) (ll. 14'–21').

The remaining letters in her dossier reveal Kirûm to have been married to Ilaṣurā's Ḥaya-Sumū. Difficulties arose when the same ruler was given Šimātum, another daughter of Zimri-Lim, in marriage. This state of affairs is well described, in ARM 10 32, by Kirûm's dispatch to her father. The obverse of her letter conveys news of political import.<sup>52</sup> In the letter's damaged reverse, Kirûm first speaks of sending some beer. Then, somewhat abruptly:

He arose, Ḥaya-Sumū, before me, (saying) as follows: 'You are installed in the office of *ḥazannum*. Since I shall kill you, let him come up; let your "Star" take you back.' And he took away the remaining

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Aḥatum: This name is probably the most common female appellative in Mari. ARMT 13:1 alone contains some eighteen attestations. No useful purpose will be served by listing them all.

Ḥazala: Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* 32, and add ARM 13 1 vii 50; 57; RA 65 60 iii 27.

48. Apparently not to be related to Zimri-Lim's daughter are the following women with the same name: ARM 8 84:2',7'; ARM 9 24 iii 41; 27 v 8; ARM 13 1 xiii 5; RA 64 34 (No. 29):3.

49. On this line, see Von Soden, MIO 15 322–326.

50. Probably one of the palaces of Zimri-Lim in the provinces.

51. The campaigns against Kaḥat and Tillā, mentioned by Kirûm, are alluded to in ARM 2 62. Further on these circumstances, see Rouault, RA 64 108–109.

52. Rouault, RA 64 109–110.

girls. My lord, the god (?) which you sent to me is judge (?). Let him [the king] send me from among his servants, [x] trustworthy man. Let them bring me back quickly. She arose, Šimātum, before me, (saying) as follows: 'as for me, let my 'Star' do with me whatever he likes; (but) I will do with you whatever I like.'

If he [the king] does not bring me back, I shall die; I will not live.

Her other letters are even more desperate in their appeals: "I am expiring! (*ik-ta-ru na-pá-aš-ti*)," she twice repeats (ARM 10 33:5, 18). She even threatens: "If my lord does not bring me back, I will head toward Mari (and there) jump (fall) from the roof (ll. 7-9)." To make matters worse, Ḫaya-Sumū took away a woman that is to serve her and gave her to Šimātum (ll. 30-34). He even humiliated her before his guests (ll. 25-29), treating her as he would a *muškēnu* (l. 16).

At one point she pauses to tell the king that a lion has killed Zimri-Ḫammu (cf. ARM 2 72:30) and two other girls (ARM 10 35:10-19).<sup>53</sup> But her struggles with her sister go on. ARM 10 95, a text in fragmentary condition, hints that Šimātum wanted (?) Kirūm's gardener (ll. 7ff.). This letter was written by Šimātum who states to Zimri-Lim: "It is you who has made me as daughter and heiress (ARM 10 95:5-6)."<sup>54</sup> Favored, apparently, by father and husband, Šimātum was willing to let bygone be bygone: "Kirūm and I will swear by the gods. There is neither fault nor crime on my part (ARM 10 95:3'-6')."

Unfortunately, Kirūm's affairs did not improve for, as Zimri-Lim confides in his queen: "I have discussed the matter of Kirūm with Ḫaya-Sumū. He answered as follows: 'Send (persons), and have them take her back (ARM 10 135:4-8).'"

Šimātum has also left us a dossier.<sup>55</sup> With the possibility that Kirūm was the author, one could probably credit Šimātum with writing ARM 10 113. In it, she tells her father that Ḫaya-Sumū wants her to remain in Ilaṣurā, while he travels to Mari: "If you and I go together, to whom shall we leave the city? Stay here until I return from Mari (ll. 6-11)." She asks that a wagon and a (travelling) bed be sent so that she could come to Mari and sacrifice to the gods of her father (ll. 17-22). On another occasion, she pleads: "Let my lord, the 'Star,' send me a lapis-lazuli cylinder-seal that (is inscribed with) my name (ARM 10 95:7'-8')." Yet another instance finds her asking for a precious stone (ARM 2 115:15-17<sup>56</sup>).

While a queen in Ilaṣurā, Šimātum still considered herself a Mari

53. ARM 10 35 has been translated by Dossin in Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique 56 313 and fully treated in Syria 48 7-8.

54. *at-ta-a-ma a-na DUMU.MÍ-tim/ à a-na TUR.UŠ* (IBILA) *ta-ad-di-na-an-ni*.

55. ARM 9 291 iv 24' records another Šimātum as GEMÉ AN-*šu-a-bu-šu*. A third (?) person by the same name is attested in ARM 13 1 v 15.

56. CAD K 99 (2,1').

princess. She becomes indignant when slanderous remarks were directed against her in the court of her father (ARM 2 115:9–13). She retains interest in her father's struggles and tries to keep him abreast of political and military events (ARM 2 115:5–8). ARM 10 5 may have been written to her. The addressor is given as <sup>f</sup>*ši-tum*, a likely error for <sup>f</sup>*ši-  
<ma>-tum*.<sup>57</sup> The letter tells of a confused situation, Shubat-Enlil is being approached by a Numḥayan leader, an ally of Zimri-Lim, Sima-ila-ḥanēm.<sup>58</sup> This city, probably in the hands of Ešnunna and its ally, Elam, since the death of Šamši-Adad, was to be brought under Zimri-Lim's control. All attempts at negotiation having failed, Zimri-Lim marshalled his vassals and allies.<sup>59</sup> In addition to Babylon and, possibly,

57. Dossin, ARM 10, 'Description des tablettes,' No. 5, and Römer, AOAT 12 11 n. 8, believe the writer to have been queen Šiptu. As it will be shown, the author of ARM 10 5 did not live in Mari. As far as we know, Šiptu, the main consort, always remained in Mari whence her correspondence stems. The *bēli* of l. 3 is probably Šimātum's husband. The statement of ll. 40–41: "You are really my brother and father," could hardly be uttered by the wife of Zimri-Lim. Rather, Šimātum, by writing these words, is acknowledging her filial and political position.

Furthermore, the personal names which occur in ARM 10 5 tend to confirm this hypothesis since they were borne by individuals who were involved in the intrigues of the Upper Country. Foremost, of course, is the mention of Ḥaya-Sumū (ARM 10 5:7,9,14,16,22). Sima-ila-ḥanēm, of the Numḥaya tribe, becomes king of Kurda during the time of Zimri-Lim. His was a name that was spelled with a bewildering set of variations (Biro, Syria 41 54 n. 1). His relationship with Mari was cordial enough to warrant his visit as guest of Zimri-Lim (Burke, RA 53 142). Turumnadki's name (ll. 6,9,13,16) appears in an as yet unpublished letter partially transliterated by Jean, RÉS 1938 128–129. Because of difficulties in the text — Jean reads Turunat (ki) — it is not easy to assess this letter's significance. Nevertheless, it is obvious that it deals with events connected with ARM 10 5. Cf. also, Dossin, Syria 19 111.

The case of Samiya (l. 23) is more complex. We know of a "Samiya, son of ḥa-NI-malik, the servant of Šamsi-Adad" whose cylinder seal has been studied by Amiet in Syria 37 222. His father, doubtlessly, should be identified with the Mari *limu*-bearer ḥa-NI-ma-lik DUMU *du-da-nim* (cf., further, Amiet, Syria 223 n. 4). Whether or not Samiya remained faithful to Ekallatum after Šamši-Adad's death is another matter. From unpublished material that Dossin communicated to Amiet, we learn that Samiya became a leader in Shubat-Enlil. This, and the reference to the same city in ARM 10 5 renders it likely that we are dealing with the same person. Samiya's activities have also been recorded in Karanā's archives. Mrs. Dalley, Iraq 30 90, reveals that an al-Rimāḥ tablet was sent by Samiya to a Yakīn-Addu. According to ARM 7 209:4, the latter, a man from Andariq, received from Zimri-Lim's coffers 10 shekels of silver. See, now, Or. NS 41 364 n. 19.

Maši-AN of ARM 10 5:27 is otherwise unknown.

ARM 10 5 has recently been studied by H. Sauren in his "L'intronisation du roi en Israël à la lumière d'une lettre de Mari," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 2 5–12. He also believes the author of the letter to be Šiptu. His understanding of the text differs radically from mine.

58. Located in the Upper Country, the land of the Numḥayans lay between Yamut-bal and Ašnakkum. The following are attestations of this tribe: ARMT 15 131; ARM 6 42:18; 60:5; ARM 9 48:3; ARM 10 5:4; 157:10; RA 53 142. Cf. Syria 41 54 n. 2.

59. Jean, RÉS 1939 62–63; Rouault, RA 64 110–111. Elam profited most from the

Ekallatum, Mari's king relied heavily on his relatives of the Upper country: Ibâl-Addu of Ašlakkā, Askur-Addu of Karanā, and Ḥaya-Sumū of Ilaṣurā. Further, Zimri-Lim sought to patch up hostilities between some of his allies and vassals in order to present a united front. It is in the light of the above machinations that we are to understand ARM 10 157, a letter which records a diplomat's attempts at influencing a peace settlement between Qarni-Lim, a ruler whose allegiances were disconcertingly vacillating,<sup>60</sup> and the Yamutbalians.<sup>61</sup> Similarly to be taken is ARM 10 5, in which Šimātum mentions the peaceful settlement of Ḥaya-Sumū and Turumnadki: "Turumnadki and Ḥaya-Sumū got together and supplied him [Sima-ila-ḥanēm] with heavily armed troops [cf. ARM 4 88:20–21]. Ḥaya-Sumū and Turumnadki swore by the gods and joined their troops. Formerly, Turumnadki had acted wrongly and became hostile to Ḥaya-Sumū. (But) now under the order of my lord [Zimri-Lim], Ḥaya-Sumū and Turumnadki joined forces (ll. 6–16)."

Shubat-Enlil was finally taken by Zimri-Lim and his coalition. This fact is known from a letter found at al-Rimāḥ.<sup>62</sup> If Jean's rendering is trustworthy, it is possible that Turumnadki's son was designated as its governor.<sup>63</sup>

We have, finally, one more letter dispatched by Šimātum. This one concerns a dream which was dutifully reported to her father.<sup>64</sup> The first part of ARM 10 94, in poor state of preservation, records her desire to visit her father. A more continuous sequence begins with l. 5' of the reverse: "In my own dream, a watchman stood up and (said) as follows:

venture since we find its force entrenched in Shubat-Enlil (AO.2389 *apud* Rouault, RA 64 113 n. 2).

60. Qarni-Lim's dossier shows him to be just as wily as Ibâl-Addu [to Huffman's Amorite Personal Names in Mari add ARM 10 157:15; ARM 13 127:6; RA 64 111 n. 4; Iraq 30 89 (al-Rimāḥ)]. He may have begun his career as a vassal of Zimri-Lim. At one point, ARM 2 79, he sends two adversaries to be judged by Mari. The economic documents from Mari show him to have sent to and received gifts from Zimri-Lim. He was often invited to the palace where he attended banquets. But his ambitious nature led him to support Zimri-Lim's sworn enemy, the Benjaminites (Mélanges Dussaud 2 990–991). Despite attempts to win him over, efforts to neutralize him (Syria 19 108), and moves to flatter his ego (Syria 19 120; ARM 10 157), Qarni-Lim sides with Ešnunna (Iraq 30 89; RÉŠ 1938 129; RÉŠ 1939 62–63) and aids it in shipping grain between Shubat-Enlil and Andariq (RA 64 111 n. 4).

Zimri-Lim defeats him (Studia Mariana 56 No. 10) and sends his treasures and possessions to Terqa (ARM 3 17; ARM 6 65). Unclear chronologically but likely to have occurred early in Zimri-Lim's reign, are the occasions which saw Qarni-Lim attacking Ekallatum (Syria 19 121), and Shubat-Enlil (ARM 2 130). However, a case could be made to place his involvement with Ekallatum in a later context.

61. Artzi and Malamut, Or. NS 40 81, add the Numḥayan tribe to this coalition.

62. Iraq 30 89.

63. RÉŠ 1939 129.

64. ARM 10 94 is treated by Moran, Biblica 50 43–45 and Römer, AOAT 12 28–29 (ll. 5'–13').

'Let the young girl, the sanctuary girl, Tagiš-natê, be summoned.''' Šimātum advises, first, ascertaining the trustworthiness of this dream, then complying with its requirements.<sup>65</sup>

Although not listed in Tablette C, other princesses are mentioned in the Mari archives. Some were fortunate brides, others were unhappy victims of politically motivated marriages. Falling in the first category is the story of Tišpātum.<sup>66</sup> Her husband was Ili-Ištar, follower of Ḫaya-Sumū of Ilaṣurā, hence a (sub)-vassal of Zimri-Lim. His city was Šunā.<sup>67</sup> Fervently, even lyrically claiming loyalty to Mari,<sup>68</sup> Ili-Ištar, at one point, contributed eighty fighters to Zimri-Lim's forces (ARM 9 298:7). The background of Tišpātum's letter, ARM 10 98, is to be sought, again, in the troubled events that unfolded in the Upper Country. There, a struggle for territory was taking place between the followers of Zimri-Lim and their own vassals. Šupram of Apum was joined by Ili-Addu of Kiduḫ in order to challenge Ḫaya-Sumū and Ili-Ištar.<sup>69</sup> The city of Šun-ḫum had become an object of contention ever since Ḫaya-Sumū began his incursions into Apum, Šupram's territory. Additionally, Šupram and

65. For l. 5', cf. P. -R. Berger, UF 1 221. Read (?) MÍ [pa]-pa-ḫi-im in l. 7' and [ta-ak]-la-at in l. 9'.

66. At least 3 other women named Tišpātum are known. One was married to Yaq-bim, another to Yaskurum (ARM 9 291 iv 8'; ii 10), the last having been a weaver (ARM 13 1 iv 13; xi 19). A third and fourth Tišpātum are better known due to the correspondence of ARM 10. In ARM 10 105:5-13, a Tišpātum writes Dāriš-libur, a trusted official of Zimri-Lim, calling herself his daughter. She asks him to interfere before the king concerning her mother who is being detained against her will. It is difficult to imagine this Tišpātum arguing with *her own father* about the detention of the *latter's wife*. Rather, one should think of Tišpātum as throwing herself at the mercy of Dāriš-libur whom she flatters by calling 'father' and 'counselor.' This Tišpātum should not be confused with Zimri-Lim's daughter of the same name. The fact that ARM 10 105:17-19 continues to declare: "Furthermore, I have now dispatched to you [x] measures of oil, as your provision," may indicate this last Tišpātum to have cared for a storage unit. It is with the writer of ARM 10 108, therefore, that one ought to relate yet one more reference. ARM 10 116 was sent by ḪI-NI-ya to Dagan-Naḫmi, both parties otherwise unknown in Mari. The former complains about her neglect in the palace where she is staying and mentions a variety of foodstuff that is sealed by a Tišpātum. (l. 30).

67. Note that ARM 7 113:17; 212:17, and 281:2 speak of a NI-lu-uk as king of Šunā.

68. Dossin, RHA 35 72.

69. Dossin, CRAI 1958 387-392. Cf. G. Cardascia, Festschrift W. Eilers 1967 22-36. My understanding of the events differs from that of the above named scholars who divide the camps as follows: Šupram and Ili-Ištar *vs.* Ḫaya-Sumū and Ili-Addu.

All the available data concerning Šupram reveal him to be a loyal vassal of Mari, struggling to keep the Northern Region behind Zimri-Lim. See ARM 2 109:4ff., to be connected with ARM 10 84:31 and ARM 13 143:19ff. Note also ARM 13 144:24; 146:19; ARM 7 91:2; 110:3; 199:20'; 9241:1; 298:6.

None of the many Ili-Addus of the Mari Texts seem to correspond to the king of Kiduḫ, an otherwise unattested city.



Ili-Addu had been defending land claimed by Ili-Ištar. Matters had become so entangled that recourse to the River-god's judgement became necessary. Each of these four rulers, together with the 'elders' of their cities were to meet in Ḫaya-Sumū's territory, and submit to divine ruling. When Šupram and Ili-Addu arrived at the appointed place, they found that Ḫaya-Sumū and his 'elders' had failed to show up. In their place was sent Zakkū, Ḫaya-Sumū's functionary, and another young man.<sup>70</sup> For this reason, Šupram and Ili-Addu refused to undergo the ordeal as proposed by Ḫaya-Sumū.<sup>71</sup>

Another text shows Zimri-Lim's persistence in his attempt to settle the matter. He sends a trusted palace official to adjudicate. Meptum meets with representatives from Šupram and Ḫaya-Sumū. Before trustworthy inspectors and emissaries from Babylon (*sic*), an ordeal unfolded.<sup>72</sup> The god's decision favored Šupram.

This was not the only instance in which Ili-Ištar found himself losing an argument. Tišpātum's letter to her father in behalf of her husband makes this clear: "If my lord truly loves Šunā and Ili-Ištar, his servant, then send promptly 100 soldiers and your trusted servant, and save your city and servant. Otherwise, the enemy will seize the city."<sup>73</sup> To drive this message home, Tišpātum paints a picture in which she, a princess, is mocked: "And now, some busy-body (?)<sup>74</sup> is (saying) as follows about me: 'How is it possible that he [Ili-Ištar] is married to Zimri-Lim's daughter and obeys him.' May my father and lord be concerned over

70. A man from Razamā, named Zakkū is known from ARM 7 104 iii 12; 207:12'. Since Razamā is to be located somewhere near Tell al-Rimāḥ, it is tempting to connect the Mari Zakkū with the one from Rimāḥ (Iraq 30 91), who appears as a father of a certain Inib-Šamaš (cf. (?) ARM 10 175:4).

In ARM 2 63:30, a certain Zakkū is to be judged by a vassal of Zimri-Lim.

71. The proposal was to consist of the following steps. Earth from the disputed city of Šunḫum was to be held by two men and two women. It is not clear to whose camp these persons belonged. Possibly they represented Ili-Addu. In plunging into the river, they were to deliver the following (oath): "This city is really mine, and for some time now, it has been given, in part, to the city of Šabāsim [unattested elsewhere]. The king of Apum [Šupram] had not delivered it as a gift." Otherwise, four persons from Šupram's camp were to grasp some earth from Šunḫum, and plunge while declaring: "This city is truly Šupram's. It has been given, long ago, partly to the Ḫanean [Ili-Addu?]." If correctly interpreted, this would mean that either Ili-Addu or Šupram presented his cause for divine judgement. Since it is clearly stated that neither Ḫaya-Sumū nor Ili-Ištar appeared at this ceremony, this interpretation is plausible.

72. First a woman plunged in the waters, and came out safely. An 'elder' plunged next, moved into the waters some eighty cubits (*ca* forty meters/yards, CAD A/2 75) and returned unharmed. A second woman followed the first's example. When a third woman tried her luck, she was submerged. At this point Ḫaya-Sumū's representative refused to continue the process. Begging Šupram not to insist for three other women to plunge, an 'elder' declared Šunḫum and its territory to be Šupram's.

73. Text studied by Römer, AOAT 12 39-40. For ll. 5, 10, see BiOr 28 356-357.

74. LÚ *ša-ar-mu-ma!*. But cf. Römer, AOAT 12 39-40.

these matters." The implication is that Zimri-Lim's son-in-law is obedient yet receives no help from Mari.

In a letter sent to his wife, Zimri-Lim declares that he is heading toward Urgiš and Šunā in order to bring peace to the region (ARM 10 121:8-17). We do not know whether this refers to yet another one of Ili-Ištar's martial involvements.

From this point on, the information concerning other daughters of Zimri-Lim, ones involved in political-marriages, becomes sparser, and therefore subject to more intense speculations. Gašera, queen of Yamḥad and step(?)-mother of Šiptu, receives a letter from Zimri-Lim (ARM 10 139). It seems that a young girl, *'du-[x]-ba[- ]*, may have been promised to Yarim-Lim, perhaps to be given to one of his sons.<sup>75</sup> But Zimri-Lim apparently decided to send her to Aplaḥanda of Carchemish. It is possible that this occurred at a time when Yatar-Ami was being groomed to take over his father's throne. A political marriage for the latter would doubtless have been beneficial for both Mari and Carchemish.<sup>76</sup> But Yarim-Lim's anger became so obvious that Zimri-Lim attempted to assuage it through his mother in law. He even promised to pay back the *terḥatum* and to include a personal letter (of apology) to Yarim-Lim.

Another princess may have been named Kibsātum.<sup>77</sup> ARM 10 99 indicates that she was to live in Ešnunna. She asks her lord to be her 'Sun' (i.e., judge?) in the matter of being released. It seems uncertain whether this Kibsātum is to be identified with a wife of Bina-Ištar (ARM 9 291 iii 19'). The temptation to relate the two is great since Syria 19 108:16, 17 and Mél. Dussaud 2 991 speak of a Bina-Ištar who appears as a high official, if not a provincial leader, allied to Zimri-Lim. Furthermore, it is likely that this Bina-Ištar was loyal to Yaḥdun-Lim's dynasty, serving it as a military leader (ARM 8 2:28). ARM 7 180 v 25', however, lists an ordinary citizen by that name, and it may be this latter who married Kibsātum of ARM 9 291.

In ARM 7 139:2, a Baḥlatum is given 1/6th of a shekel of silver. The fact that she is listed among the palace luminaries testifies to her importance. That she was mentioned just below Inib-šina's name, may indicate

75. Gašera, known also from ARM 7 237:7', is now recorded with her family in the important text published by Dossin in RA 64 99-100:13. Her spouse Yarim-Lim, the heir-apparent Ḥammurapi, and two other sons (?) Tāb-balāṭi and Sin-abūšu are mentioned as receiving tin from Mari.

Note that Römer, AOAT 12 6 reads the PN in l. 3 as 'Duššumatum.

76. This might explain the passage, given by Dossin in transliteration only, in which Yatar-Ami declares: "My father Aplaḥanda has not died; he lives. Zimri-Lim, my father, Yatar-Ami is your son for ever. So hold him in your hand, and he will not (even) realize that his father had died. Speak to him quite frankly." Symbolae Koschaker 113. In this case, then, the relationship father/son should be considered beyond a strictly political parlance.

77. The same name occurs in RA 65 56 i 11; 59 ii 50.

that her connections were royal.<sup>78</sup> ARM 10 173 is a letter Baḥlatum received from Yasīm-Dagan,<sup>79</sup> a *factotum* of the king. Its contents strongly suggest her to have been his wife: "I have not yet seen my caravan ('s arrival). What more can I write? In the organization of your house, let you be the 'lady,' (but) send me news of yourself and my children's well-being."

Baḥlatum's own letter, ARM 10 109, was sent to Ili-idinnam, a jeweler.<sup>80</sup> She had sent him silver to buy a necklace for her. The matter had dragged for four years and, despite outlays of gold and silver, the pectorals were not fabricated.

Some correspondents represented in ARM 10 offer unclear evidence of their relationship to the king. For two of these, there are hints which allow us to consider them as princesses. One lady, whose name is unfortunately not complete, 'x-[?]-ib-mušni writes of her desperate situation (ARM 10 101). She implores her 'father and lord' to take her out of the 'house of Asqudum.'<sup>81</sup> Noteworthy, in case we are dealing with a daughter

78. Other ladies bearing the same PN: ARM 9 291 iv 7'; ARM 13 1 iii 30, 74; viii 31; xi 15; xiv 19, 37; RA 65 59 ii 14; 61 iv 20.

79. The archives at Mari know of 3 Yasīm-Dagans. A barber (ARM 6 21:6); a private citizen (ARM 7 189:5), and an official. The last may have begun his career working for Yasmah-Addu (ARM 4 37:12; ARM 5 26:9 [unclear]). Under Zimri-Lim, he is almost always recorded among other officials (cf. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in Mari* 44). ARM 7 139 sees him listed in the same text which finds a mention of Baḥlatum.

80. As could be expected in the case of such a popular name, Ili-iddinam's was given to a number of persons. The correspondent of Baḥlatum is, doubtlessly, to be identified with a money-lending jeweler (ARM 8 32:6; 31:5; 33:5), whose son, Puzur-Mamma (ARM 8 22:8; 23:8) borrows money to begin his career in metallurgy (cf. ARM 13 3:13). Another (?) of his sons is also known (ARM 8 78:8. For this PN see ARM 7 219:56; ARM 9 252:22; 253 iii 2; 283 iii 14'). At one point, Ili-idinnam sells a slave to the palace functionary Asqudum (ARM 8 10:2,9). It is possibly the same person who receives sheep from the palace (ARM 9 243:7), and who began his career, during the Sumū-yamam period, as a lead worker, RA 64 22:4; 6.

Other persons had this name: a farmer (ARM 11 79:5); an orchard worker (RA 65 54 xii 74); a leather-worker (ARM 7 180 ii' 36'); a fuller (ARM 7 181 r. 7'); another (?) fuller (ARM 7 181 r. 10'); 2 weavers (ARM 13 1 vii 73; xiv 50), a Mari messenger (ARM 2 123:4,15); a Babylonian messenger (ARM 6 21:9); a witness (ARM 8 87:10'), and a resident of Terqa (ARM 7 280 viii' 2). No doubt, some of these citations should be combined to represent fewer individuals.

81. Burke, following Goetze, understands a *bītum* as a "domaine dont un fonctionnaire serait l'administrateur (ARMT 11 130 n. 1)."

Despite the additional data on Asqudum (ARM 11 36:4; 71:4; 177:4; 232:4; ARM 10 59:8'; 101:9; ARM 13 36:35; 39:15), Finet's sketch of him as a *bārū*-diviner who combined religious duties with economic and military functions, still stands (RA 53 67-68). Finet could have drawn support to his thesis by mentioning Asqudum's involvements in money-lending and slave purchasing enterprises (cf. ARM 8 49:3; 50:2 (probably from the same era); 62:4'; 65:9; 10:6).

of Zimri-Lim, is the Hurrian origin of this girl's name.<sup>82</sup> Another woman writes ARM 10 29 under the name, or probably the title, 'Bēltum,' the 'lady.' We suppose her to be of royal blood because of the content of her letter, in particular, the statement in ll. 20–23: "I said: 'Let me grasp my clothing, and approach the house of my father, my Star.'" The term of endearment, 'Star' seems to be used mainly by the king's daughters. It is inconceivable, as Römer proposes,<sup>83</sup> that this letter, written to Šunuḫraḫalu, was dictated by Šiptu, the queen. The missive, in addition, seems to come from outside Mari.

At any rate, this Bēltum, styling herself 'your mother' vis-à-vis her addressee, asks to come to see her 'Star' and Šunuḫraḫalu. She reports that a certain Sin-ašarid,<sup>84</sup> confined within the city, has written *a-na ri-ri-im* in the hopes that his girl-servants will not be involved. Bēltum continues: "He has brought his wife and former children in preference to my house(hold) and your young servants. And me, he does not have pity for me. He did not even give one girl who would wash my feet." The complaint continues, in broken lines, leading her to demand a return home (ll. 20–23, above.). She asks her father to communicate her wishes to a GAL.MAR.TU who, it is presumed, will realize her desires.

Circumstances and political ambitions have conspired to make life somewhat unpalatable to many of Zimri-Lim's daughters. No doubt, a stabler international situation may have seen Mari's princesses better treated, hence less likely to demand returning home. Kings certainly cared about the fate of their daughters, married to princes of far-away cities. Yarim-Lim of Yamḫad retained contact with his daughter in Mari (ARM 10 151), while Zimri-Lim corresponded repeatedly with his children. Queens, at times, would drop a note which concerns their (step)-daughters (ARM 10 139:12?). Išḫi-Adad of Qatna, father-in-law of Yašmaḫ-Adad,<sup>85</sup> is known to have pressured Mari for good treatment of his child. Dossin quotes a letter, so far unpublished, sent by Šamši-Adad to his pleasure-loving son: "Did not the former kings . . . establish their spouses in the palace? Yaḫdun-Lim honored his female companions, (but) placed aside his wife, and moved her (away) in the desert. Perhaps, in the same manner, you might be planning to place the daughter of Išḫi-Adad in the desert. Her father will be deeply troubled over this. This is not good! There are many rooms in the 'Palm-Tree' palace. Let them choose a room for her (there), and let her stay in that room. Do not settle her in the desert."<sup>86</sup> In one other letter, Išḫi-Adad, perhaps knowing his son-in-law only too well, displays further solicitude for his

82. Römer, AOAT 12 13 n. 1.

83. AOAT 12 2 (*sub* No. 29).

84. It is unlikely that we are dealing with the scribe mentioned in ARM 1 125:5.

85. Cf. ARM 1 24; 46; 77; 100:5'(?).

86. AO.2548, Dossin, Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique 38 422.

daughter (ARM 2 51). He writes Mari: "Now you, come up with troops and bring with you my daughter. Let her conciliate the gods of her city, and offer many gifts. Let her meet with me (so that) she will be honored (ll. 16-24)."

Incidentally, this text, and, for that matter, the above-quoted ARM 10 113:17-22, make it clear that a princess' cultic duty before her native city's gods does not terminate with her marriage to a foreign ruler.

Religious involvement of princesses is best exemplified by the dossier of Erišti-Aya. Her name is, in itself, a good indication of her status. She was a *nadītum*, possibly sent to Sippar to worship Šamaš and his family.<sup>87</sup> This is clearly strengthened by an unpublished letter, quoted by Dossin, sent by the *āpilum* of Šamaš in Sippar: "This is what Šamaš, lord of the land, says: 'Let them quickly send to Sippar, for their own well-being, a throne destined for my worthy residence, as well as your daughter, whom I asked for'."<sup>88</sup> It is likely that Zimri-Lim complied by sending Erišti-Aya. It should be noted that on another occasion, Zimri-Lim was known to have satisfied Adad by sending one of his girls to Appan.<sup>89</sup>

Additional evidence for Erišti-Aya's presence in Sippar is suggested by the mention of the Ebabbar-temple: "Am I not your emblem, the intercessor, who makes your reputation splendid in the Ebabbar," she writes her father (ARM 10 38:9-11).<sup>90</sup> Lines 21-23 of the same letter give an indication that she was living in special quarters reserved for foreigners.<sup>91</sup> Additionally, in a bitter tirade against her neglect, Erišti-

87. On this term, see the writings of Rivkah Harris, e.g., *Studies Oppenheim* 106-135; *Or. NS* 30 163-169; *JCS* 16 1-12; *JESHO* 6 121-157. See also J. Renger, *ZA* 58 149-176; Römer, *AOAT* 12 35 n. 6.

In Mari, an Aya-arri is known as a *ša nadītum* (ARM 9 24 iii 16). She receives 40 *qa* of barley from the palace where she apparently worked. A *nadītum* is mentioned in ARM 5 82.

88. Dossin, *La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne* 85. This letter might be dated to Zimri-Lim's last, critical, years which saw a change in his relationship toward Yamḥad and Babylon. When Ḥammurapi of Yamḥad succeeded his father as king, the friendly, even paternal, policy that was extended to Mari began to alter. An entente, probably secret, was forged between Aleppo and Babylon, bypassing Mari's good offices. This dating might explain Šamaš's demand that an *asakkum* be sent to Aleppo.

89. *Studia Mariana* 58 (No. 23). Appan is a locality within Mari's immediate sphere. To attestations of this city in ARMT 15 121, add ARM 6 5:9; 76:12; ARM 7 180 iii' 13'; 225:4'; 226-44; 268:6'; ARM 8 11:10'; 19:12'; ARM 9 253 i 1; ARM 12 143:4.

90. Cf. also ARM 10 36:13-16; 38:7-10 ("Am I not an emblem, an intercessor, who continuously invoke blessings for your life?").

On the Ebabbar, see RIA 2 263. To be sure, there were other Šamaš temples with the same name, one in Lagash, another in Larsa.

At one point in the Lim dynasty, a *kārum* was established by Sippar in Mari and in Mišlan (in the Terqa district); Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period* 106-107. For earlier connections, see Sollberger, *XV<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique* 106-107.

91. On É/LUH (?) *ú-ba-ri* see the bibliographical references collected by Römer, *AOAT* 12 30 n. 9. Further see, E. Cassin, *RA* 52 27-28 (mostly Nuzu).

Aya reminds her step(?)-mother, the queen: "... not to speak of the fact that your husband and you have caused me to enter a 'convent' (*a-na ga-gi-im/tu-ši-ri-ba-ni-in-ni*; ARM 10 43:14-17)."

Her letters are a mixture of fervent wishes for her correspondents' prosperity, and complaints about ill-treatment. She accuses her step-mother of rejecting a gift which she had sent, repaying her only with slander (ARM 10 43:5-11). Of her father, she demands a reinstatement of a full complement of apprentices. It seems that, of two promised, only one was sent (ARM 10 38:12-20; also, 39:15-19; 42:2'-6'). For her part, she assures her father of her constant entreaties before the deities, in his behalf (ARM 10 40:7'-11'; 41:7'-8'; 42:10'-12').<sup>92</sup>

*Addendum*: In a publication (XVIII Rencontre Assyriologique 69) that reached me after the above was in proofs, A. Finet has the following to say about Kirûm: "Kirûm, la fille de Zimri-Lim, qui paraît avoir géré les affaires du palais après la mort de sa mère Šibtu. . . ." No further documentation is offered by him.

92. One more princess is represented in ARM 10 47. Her name, unfortunately, lost in a break where only <sup>1</sup>Ya-[xxx] remains. The fragmented condition of the text allows a coherent translation for lines 9-11 only: "They have rendered homage to me in [E]kal. lātum." The mention of Išme-Dagan's stronghold does not, of course, necessarily require this text to stem from the Assyrian period. Of the female PNs that begin with Ya-[xxx], the most profitable lead allows a connection with Yalik-ḫatum. Now this Yalik-ḫatum is listed as a MĪ.NAR.GAL in RA 50 68 ii 3. Her ration of oil is equal to some of Zimri-Lim's other daughters. Since we know that princesses were raised in the palace and given a musical education (cf. ARM 1 6; Finet, ALPHOS 15 17-32; admittedly, these princesses were daughters of defeated kings), imagination might allow us to regard this Ya-[xxx] as another of Zimri-Lim's daughters.