

Veysel Donbaz'a Sunulan Yazılar
DUB.SAR É.DUB.BA.A
Studies Presented in Honour of
Veysel Donbaz

Yayına Hazırlayan / Edited by
Şevket Dönmez

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ON THE “IŠHI-ADDU” SEAL FROM QATNA

WITH COMMENTS ON QATNA PERSONNEL IN THE OB PERIOD

Jack M. SASSON*

I. A SEAL FROM QATNA

A cylinder seal with the name of Išhi-Addu, undoubtedly the king who ruled Qatna during the Old Babylonian period, has been reconstructed from fragments of sealings recovered by the Syrian-Italian as well as the Syrian-German teams excavating at OB Mishrifeh¹. This king reigned at least since the days of Yasmaḥ-Addu of Mari and continued to do so early into Zimri-Lim’s reign.

Everything about the seal is unusual, including its style, deemed “atypical... unique and distinctive” by its editors (Morandi Bonacossi/Eidem 2006: 41-57). Five registers with repeated guilloches abut on a three-line inscription. As rolled on the clay (and as preserved for us), the legend displays cuneiform signs in the negative. The original was obviously cut in the positive. All this is discussed in the article of Morandi Bonacossi and Eidem. There too (Morandi Bonacossi/Eidem 2006: 54-55) is cited the opinion of D. Collon that such “positively” cut seals tend to be “provincial, late... or unskilled pieces”. While at Third Millennium Urkesh (Tell Mozan) such seals were not rare, the authors nevertheless cautiously argue (Morandi Bonacossi/Eidem 2006: 55) that “the unique structure and contents of the Qatna inscription, and the curious iconography of the seal suggest that this was not the king’s ‘personal’ seal, but presumable one wielded by one of the several high-level administrators in his name”. In this brief note, dedicated to Professor Donbaz on his seventieth birthday, with many more to come, I review the suggestions on how to read the inscription and also offer my own. I also take the opportunity to comment on Qatna people mentioned in Mari era documents.

While not particularly skillfully cut, the cuneiform signs are nevertheless readable; but the brevity of their message, their “negative display”, as well as the 90° position to the geometric design make it difficult to decide with which line to begin. Morandi Bonacossi and Eidem (Morandi Bonacossi/Eidem 2006: 54) first offer the following transcription for what they term “the original seal”:

Iš-ḫi-^dIM / lugal ma-ta-tim / ^dIM i-il šum-šu.

This reading suggested to them the translation, “Išhi-Addu, king of the lands, Addu is the god of his name”. But they also admit another way to read the impression (“the mirror-image version”):

^dIM i-il šum-šu / lugal ma-ta-tim / iš-ḫi-^dIM.

For this layout they offer, “Addu is the god of his name, king of the lands, Išhi-Addu”.

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¹ Morandi Bonacossi/Eidem 2006. Handy overviews of the history of Qatna are in Klengel 2000 and Richter/Pfälzner 2006. A fine bibliography on Qatna is in Intilia 2004.

Either rendering, however, offers difficulties. In the first format, Išhi-Addu would be termed “king of the lands”. The phrase *šar mātātīm*² is normally associated with gods (often Enlil) and so it would be exceptional as an Old Babylonian attribute for kings. But it may not have been so in Syria, for in the Amarna archives Rib-Addi attaches the phrase to pharaoh (EA 79:2)³. There would still be the problem of assessing the meaning of the phrase “^dIM *i-il šum-šu*”. If we judge the inscription to open on the mention of Išhi-Addu, we might link the suffix *-šu* to him; but we would be at a loss to make sense of what is now the opening phrase. Exactly how is Addu “the god of his name”? Is it to the king’s “reputation” (*šumum*) that Addu is being linked? And why are we meeting with defective writing (*i-il*) and a defective construct form (*šumšu* for **šumišu*)?

If, however, we actually open on the phrase “Addu is the god of his name”, then we should be doubly-troubled because “king of the lands” as an attribute of Addu ought to have come right after the mention of the god’s name. Moreover, the king’s name sits forlorn in the last register, with no obvious connection to any of the other components. Morandi Bonacossi and Eidem also are puzzled by this version. Given that the title “king of the lands” tends to be associated with divinity, they speculate that there might be a play here between king and god. Even if there is no evidence that Addu was the titular god of Qatna, in claiming the title, Išhi-Addu would be glorying in his leadership of vast territory as well as paying tribute to Addu, an element in the king’s own name⁴. This is where a brief notice by J.-M. Durand comes in.

In “Le dieu majeur de Qatna”, Durand (Durand 2006) proceeds from signs that are rolled on the clay, treating the whole as an invocation to Addu, principally because “king of the lands” is not (yet) known to be as applicable to kings. Rather than referring to an *ilum*, “god”, *i-il* is the local pronunciation for *e-el*, and should be treated as a stative of the epithet *ellum*. The whole would mean, “Addu—pure is his name!—king of the lands, Išhi-Addu (is his servant)”. Using a seal owned by a god is known to the period; indeed, in illustration we need only cite the seal of “Addu, son of Anum, king of the excellent command, hero, beloved of Anum” that a (relatively) minor Terqa official rolled on two tablets from the time of Zimri-Lim (ARM 9 8 and 13)⁵. Citing Charpin (Charpin 2004: 377), Durand finds a near parallel to the Qatna example in the seal of Sumi-rapa of Tuba. This one opens on mention of a god, with a divine epithet following immediately on the divine name (Frayne 1990: 804)⁶. In the Tuba example, however, none of the gods cited (Addu, Sin, and Ištar) is the focus; instead, each is there to support Sumi-rapa who, in turn, is offering them this perfect seal as testimony of his devotion.

My own hypothesis is that everything about the seal makes it much too modest to belong to a king, let alone to a god. I therefore suggest that it should be assigned to an administrator who used it to seal doors. I would favor the format that opens on the mention of the king:

Išhi-Addu / king of the lands / Addu-il (is) his (the servant’s) name.

In this reading, the king’s name occurs first, followed by an epithet that can only be the king’s. Left to the last would be servant’s name. This pattern and sequence are fairly normal in the repertoire of inscriptions that are allowed

² Note the corrective in Dohmann/Pfälzner 2006: 71-72 and n. 14 regarding the chronology and context of seal impressions from the areas excavated by the German-Syrian team.

³ The phrase *šar mātātīm* is frequently applied to kings of the first millennium, as per the following examples: ABL 797:8 (NB) “May the gods grant a just scepter and the shepherding of mankind to the king of the lands, my lord” (CAD R, 313a, *re’ātu*); Š/2, 44b (*šarāku*); ABL 324 r. 5 (NB) “The messenger (who reported) that the grace of Bēl and Nabū is with the king of the lands has departed” (CAD D, 181b, *dumqu*); YOS 3 7:18 “We have constantly prayed before Ištar and Nanā for the king of the lands, our lord” (CAD Š/2, 81b, *šarru*). The phrase occurs readily in documents from the Persian period; see also Seux 1967: 314-315, already cited by Durand 2006: 89.

⁴ The name of the god of Qatna is not yet known. Given that Addu is so powerfully attached to Aleppo, a major adversary of Qatna, Addu may have been Išhi-Addu’s personal god. We recall that while Addu is Aleppo’s god, Sin (Yariḥ?) is Yarim-Lim’s god; Durand LAPO 16 251, pp. 394-397.

⁵ For seals owned by gods, see Collon 1987: 131-134. At Tuttul, seals were inscribed with “Šamaš [&] Aya”; for list, see Otto 2004: 168.

⁶ “(To) Addu who appointed me, Sin who cherished my reign: Sumi-rapa, son of Yarim-Lim, king of the city Tuba, beloved of Ištar; (this) choicest seal”.

to administrators. The structure of the name is not uncommon in the Mari era: A divine name is followed by some formation of *ilum*, the whole perhaps shortened from a fuller sentence. The closest example for the Qatna name in Mari documents occurs as both ^dIM-AN (M.7384 = FM 2 13:13) and ^dIM-*i-lí*, variant spellings of Addu-il(ī), the name of a *gerseqqum* attached to Samsu-ditana, prince of Babylon (A.183 = FM 2 119:11). In the Mari cases the meaning of the name is transparent, respectively “Addu is god” or “Addu is my god”. In the Qatna seal, however, the name is complicated by the fact that the spelling *i-il* for *il* is not heavily attested⁷. This *il* is best pronounced *el*, referring not to the Canaanite god El but to the common noun for ‘god’. In effect, the Qatna official bore a name that meant “Addu is god”, so in a circuitous way quite the same as Mari’s Addu-il(ī).

Admittedly, the case for attributing the inscription to an administrator rather than to a king would be more challenging were we to read the inscription as follows:

Addu-il (is) his (the servant’s) name / king of the lands / Išhi-Addu.

The awkwardness here is that the epithet “king of the lands” must be attached to Išhi-Addu even if it precedes the king’s name. Placing the king’s name last, however, would be motivated by a desire to give the king’s name honorific status.

No matter how it is read, the seal from Qatna under discussion will have its oddities. Treating it as an administrator’s seal might keep these peculiarities to the minimum. For the present, therefore, we might keep the choice open; but we might also ponder what may be at stake when we find an inscription of the god Addu, King Išhi-Addu, or Addu-il, a Qatna administrator, rolled on a sealed door. What will not change is that the seal was crafted under Išhi-Addu’s sponsorship and that it remained in use long after the death of both king and administrator⁸. When meeting with more than one possible answer to a knotty issue, wishing for more evidence is a common evasive tactic. In this case it is also a prudent one.

Qatna People in the Mari Era

The royal family

The excavations now going on at Tell Mishrife (Qatna) by Italian-Syrian and German-Syrian archeological teams will undoubtedly (and hopefully very soon) recover archives from the Old Babylonian period, permitting us to resurrect what must have been a premier culture of the age. We know much about Old Babylonian Qatna from documents recovered from Tell Hariri. How far back to set the beginning of Išhi-Addu’s reign is not yet determined. He certainly survived Yasmaḥ-Addu’s fall; but by 28.ix.ZL2’ (so ca. 1771, MChron), the next ruler of Qatna was Amut-pi-El, a prince who began his career governing Nazala (dossier in Joannès 1997: 402-408). When the Mari archives peter out, Amut-pi-El was still on the throne, with Yaḥad-abum, possibly the crown prince, learning the trade in the same Nazala (ARM 25 28; collated in Joannès 1997: 402 n. 32).

Išhi-Addu had at least one daughter, Bēltum by name, of whom he was very fond. Prompted by Samsi-Addu, he gave her as queen to Mari’s Yasmaḥ-Addu, who never appreciated her. Since in recent literature about her there is a tendency to give Bēltum an interesting fate, I might rehearse the main views of what is known about her. It is fairly certain that the marriage of Yasmaḥ-Addu to Bēltum was achieved during the *līmum* “Ikuppiya” (Charpin/Ziegler 2003: 86-88). That marriage brought “legitimacy” of sorts to Yasmaḥ-Addu for, as his father recognized, “Mari’s ‘house’ has great repute, as has Qatna’s” (ARM 1 77 = LAPO 18 1005)⁹. Despite an enormous capacity to whine when feeling insulted, Išhi-Addu nevertheless felt hopeful when placing his beloved daughter in his son-in-

⁷ But see *i-il*₂ in CCT 316b:5 [OA], cited in CAD I/J 95a.

⁸ An impression of this seal was recovered from an LB royal tomb; see Dohmann/Pfälzner 2006: 72 n.15.

⁹ The correspondence is conveniently collected in Durand’s LAPO 18, 169-172.

law's care. As he did, he wrote one of the most touching letters in our archives, proving thereby that cold-hearted politics were not alone in controlling the traffic of marriageable princesses¹⁰. The problem was that for whatever reasons this king of Mari was not quite ready to make Bēltum his primary wife, and she was neglected.

The small dossier we have about Bēltum includes a poignant vignette of a young queen sun-stroked from dancing under Mari's cruel mid-day sun (ARM 26 298; with a happy ending in ARM 26 136). During the seven or so remaining years of Yasmaḥ-Addu's rule, Bēltum's misery may have increased to the point that her loving father found an occasion to bring her home for a visit (ARM 2 51 = LAPO 17 450]). We cannot speculate what happened to Bēltum after her husband's loss of power. If Yasmaḥ-Addu was executed (as is likely) by the Sim'al chieftain, Bānum, when he captured Mari for Zimri-Lim, Bēltum was likely sent back home to Qatna. Zimri-Lim could not drag her into his harem and still expect decent relations with Qatna, then still ruled by Iṣḥi-Addu. Moreover, taking her as a prize wife would have compromised his plans to marry the daughter of Yarim-Addu of Aleppo, a staunch opponent of Qatna. Bēltum, therefore, may have returned home before entering into another arranged marriage. This was a possible avenue for widowed princesses, as was the case of Inib-šarri, daughter of Zimri-Lim. Or she may have been made into a priestess. Durand, however, has proposed a more interesting fate for her.

In the Birot memorial volume, Brigitte Groneberg edited A.1292 (FM 2 74), a text in which Zimri-Lim instructs an official to undertake improvements on a palanquin Dām-ḥurāši had gotten from Qatna. Dām-ḥurāši was a major consort for Zimri-Lim, known from his earliest days (at least since ZL 1'), and retaining privileged status well into his last moments¹¹. Arguing (among other points) that such a valuable gift must betray a Qatna connection for the queen, Durand soon thereafter proposed (see LAPO 18, 295-304; also 165-169) that Dām-ḥurāši was none other than Bēltum, who assumed this name on entering Zimri-Lim's harem¹². The proposal was attractive, and soon was followed by other scholars¹³. The issue partially revolves on whether to treat ^[f]*bēltum* as a title applied to a queen or as the personal name of the Qatna princess¹⁴. I opt for the latter, if only because Bēltum is attested as a name for women, whether meaning "The Lady" or as an abbreviation for "Bēlet-mātim"¹⁵. Nonetheless, it is

¹⁰ A.3518 (Durand 1990: 282; LAPO 18 1008), written, surprisingly, to his "brother" Yasmah Addu (and so betraying non-parity with Samsi-Addu), "I am placing in your lap my flesh and my 'future' (*lipištum*). Your maid I have given you, may God prove her attractive to you. I am placing in your lap my flesh and future, for this throne ('House') has now become yours and Mari's has now become mine. Whatever you desire, just write me and I will give it to you. All over my land, whatever the king [Samsi-Addu] has requested, I myself have never held it back. Why is it that whatever I desire from the king, he does not give it? Let him fulfill my request as I fulfill yours".

¹¹ See the succinct pages in Ziegler 1999a:52-54; but also in her discussion of Šibtu, 54-56. Worth noting is ARM 25 343, a document from ZL 11' that records the outlay of precious metal for the "Boat of Sin of Dām-ḥurāši". This might indicate that she was in charge of diverse divine paraphernalia that may include the chariots received from Qatna.

¹² Durand offers two other arguments:

- a. Zimri-Lim's invitation of Amut-pi-El to attend major Mari festivals (ARM 26 25) encourages the assumption of family bonds established by marriage with a Qatna princess. However, there is a dossier surrounding this invitation (including ARM 28 14 and 26 383) showing that the invitation was a (clumsy) attempt to deflect potential political damage: Mari was holding Qatna messengers on their way to Ešnunna, allegedly for their protection. Under these circumstances, Amut-pi-El was hardly likely to accept. On this matter, see Sasson 2007: 461-62 n. 24.
- b. The second of these arguments is the more arresting. Dām-ḥurāši wrote two letters to a Sin-muballiṭ (ARM 71-72 = LAPO 18115-116), calling herself his queen (*bēlatka* [sic]). Durand would like to connect Sin-muballiṭ with a Yasmaḥ-Addu official who might even have been his secretary. (On this official, see Villard 2001: 29-30.) However, aside from the fact that Sin-muballiṭ found employment in both reigns, making the issue *caduc*, there are other persons by that name who might have heard from the queen, including a diviner (KTT 104,105; M.12160 = Marello 1993: 274-275), and an aid to Asqudum (van Koppen 2002:359-360).

¹³ See Charpin/Ziegler 2003: 87, 185-186; Charpin 2004: 164 n. 766. In her great book on the Mari harems (Ziegler 1999a: 52-54), Ziegler is cautious about accepting the proposed correspondence; but by 1999b: 8-9, she seems convinced by Durand's arguments. Durand seems to disregard now (LAPO 18, pp. 298-299) the speculation that Dām-ḥurāši may have become a priestess after losing her prestige to Šibtu (Durand 1995: 447).

¹⁴ On the issue of Bēltum as a throne title or a personal name, see the material collected by Durand 1985: 398-407. Charpin (Charpin 1987) opts for it to be a personal name. This opinion remains valid despite his recant in 2004: 164 n. 776.

¹⁵ For Bēltum as simply a name, see already Stamm 1968 [1939]: 247. In the Mari documents, menials are given this name; see for example ARM 24 223:8. The Bēlet-mātim who writes to Zimri-Lim by name (hence not his wife or daughter) and addresses the king's private secretary as "his mother" (LAPO 18 1187-1189) remains unidentified.

possible that in the court of Yasmaḥ-Addu the Qatna princess was titled *bēltum* because she had become a major queen. Mari administrators, however, could use this label on more than one reigning queen, for we know at least two of Zimri-Lim’s wives, Dām-ḥurāši and Šibtu, who coevally received this label. If in Yasmaḥ-Addu’s court two or more queens could be called *bēltum*, then which one among them was taken into Zimri-Lim’s harem as Dām-ḥurāši becomes impossible to untangle. Moreover, it is curious that the title *bēltum* is applied uncontroversibly to Dām-ḥurāši only in the last years of Zimri-Lim’s rule¹⁶. Had she been brought into Zimri-Lim’s harem, we might imagine her keeping the title *bēltum* early (and not just late) in Zimri-Lim’s reign. As intimated above, given the hostility between Qatna and Halab, Zimri-Lim could not have sued for Šibtu’s hand so soon after he had had incorporated Bēltum/Dām-ḥurāši into his family, especially when Išḥi-Addu was likely still ruling Qatna¹⁷. For these reasons, it therefore seems to me best to treat the two queens of succeeding rulers, Bēltum and Dām-ḥurāši, as distinct persons, at least for the time being.

Qatna individuals

Old Babylonian archives from the period of Išḥi-Addu’s dynasty, have given us the names of a fair number of Qatna citizens, and it might be useful to compile here a list of non-royal personal names from Qatna, in the hope that some of them will turn up in excavations at that site.

¹⁶ The two documents about *igisûm* contributions from Zimri-Lim’s final years (11’ and 12’) mention a series of queens, including a *bēltum*, Šibtu, Haliyatum, and Yatar-Aya. As argued by Ziegler (Ziegler 1991:53), *bēltum* must be taken here as applicable to Dām-ḥurāši.

¹⁷ To reverse expectations, if Bēltum was in fact “Dām-ḥurāši”, we might have met her by her full name in the archives of Yasmaḥ-Addu. Durand solves this problem by assigning to Yasmaḥ-Addu, who normally displays toward Bēltum the sensitivity of a lizard, the amazing nightmare in which Dām-ḥurāši is kidnapped, allegedly as she traveled to meet her spouse (ARM 26 225).

King	Function	Name	Text
YA 15.viii*.Awiliya	(d. <i>šiprim lú Q.</i>)	Yašur-Addu	KTT 87:2
YA 15.viii*.Awiliya	(d. <i>šiprim lú Q.</i>)	Epaššu ² -AN-abi	KTT 87:4
YA 15.viii*.Awiliya	(d. <i>šiprim lú Q.</i>)	Muḫrašu-AN[]	KTT 87:6
YA 30.xi*.Awiliya	(d. <i>šiprim lú Q.</i>)	Altiš-qallu	KTT 106:2; (muḫaldim ¹) LAPO 16 322 [ARM 1 45]:7, 16
YA 30.xi*.Awiliya	(d. <i>šiprim lú Q.</i>)	Mutaniḫim	KTT 106:4
YA 30.xi*.Awiliya	(d. <i>šiprim lú Q.</i>)	Mut-Salim	KTT 106:6
YA 30.xi*.Awiliya	(d. <i>šiprim lú Q.</i>)	Šidqan	KTT 106:8
YA 30.xi*.Awiliya	(d. <i>šiprim lú Q.</i>)	Yatar-AN	KTT 106:10
YA 4.xii*.Awiliya	(d. <i>šiprim lú Q.</i>)	Ali-[..]lum	KTT 108:3
YA 4.xii*.Awiliya	(d. <i>šiprim lú Q.</i>)	Dadi-kun	KTT 108:5
YA	(lú Q.)	Ḥammutar	LAPO 16 257 [ARM 5 26]:8
YA	(lú Q.)	Yasim-Dagan	LAPO 16 257 [ARM 5 26]:9; (d. <i>šipri</i> [m] ša Išḫi Addu lú Q.) A.2760 (FM 1, p. 10)
YA	(lú Q.)	Mut-ramim	LAPO 16 257 [ARM 5 26]:10
ZL 14.xi.2' ¹⁸	(lú Q.)	Iluya	ARM 18 61:19; ARM 23 448:17 [15?.xi.2']; ARM 23 450:17 [21.xi.2']; ARM 22 167:16 [24.xi.2']; ARM 22 327:17 [?.xi.2']; ARM 23 449:16 [20.xi.2']; (Ilwiya) ARM 23 451:18
ZL 30.ix.2'	(lú Q.)	Ḥammi-šagiš	ARM 23 43:2; ARM 21333: 26' [ZL2']; 23 446:1' [ZL 2']; ARM 21 367:10; [ZL?]; d. <i>šipri</i> lú Q. in ARM 23 41:8 [16.iii.4']
ZL 30.ix.2'	(lú Q.)	Sumu-ḥammi	ARM 23 43:4; ARM 21 333:27' [ZL 2']; ARM 23 446:2' [ZL 2']
ZL 24.xi.[2?] ¹⁹	(lúgal ¹ Q.)	Šuḫalan	ARM 22 167:4'-5' ¹⁹
ZL 30.ix.2'	(lú Q.)	Yarpa-Addu	ARM 23:43:5; 37:2 [22.vii.?]; 446:3' [ZL2']; ARM 21 333:28' [ZL2']; FM 3 143 (M.5117; FM 3, pp. 296-297):17 [ZL10'+]; LAPO 16 384 [ARM 6 14: 22-23; 19:12]
ZL 30.ix.2'	(lú Q.)	Maḫnitila	ARM 23 43:6; (Maḫniti-AN) ARM 21 333:29' [ZL2']; ARM 23 446:4' [ZL 2']
ZL 30.ix.2'	(lú Q.)	Kizuyan	ARM 23 43:7; 23 446:5' [ZL 2']; (Kizuwan) ARM 21 333:30' [ZL 2']
ZL [2']	(lú Q.)	Anu-ka- ^d UTU ²⁰	ARM 21 333:31' [ZL 2']; ARM 23 446:6' [ZL 2']; (AN-ka- ^d UTU) ARM 23 43:8
ZL 15.ix.4'	(lú Nazala)	Yaḫad-Abim	ARM 25 28:4 (Crown prince?; see above.)
ZL 28.vi.6'	(lú Q ¹)	Šuḫalan	ARM 7 169:9
ZL 7+.viii ² . [7']	(lú Q.)	Yarmas-AN	ARM 7 219:26 (see MARI 2, 91)
ZL 10'+	(d. <i>šiprim lú Q.</i>)	Yaḫšur-Addu	ARM 26 383:17 ²¹
ZL 10'+	(merchant)	Tuṣatan	ARM 26 530:14,27,29
ZL 10'+	(merchant)	Iddin-Kubi	ARM 26 530:15 (nephew of Tuṣatan)
ZL 11'+	(lú Q.)	Kibsi-Addu	FM3 143 (M.5117; FM 3, pp. 296-297):17
ZL 6.xi.11'	(lú Q.)	Yašši-El	M.15099 (FM4, 196 n.757); ARM 26 530:24 ²²
ZL	[Q. diplomat?]	Aḫum	M.5819 [MARI 8, 404-405]
ZL	[Nazala official]	Išḫi-Addu-abi	A.2080 [MARI 8, 403]
ZL [?]	(lú Q.)	Samsi-Lim	ARM 25 778:3 [=! Dossin 1983:328 n.8]
ZL	(lú Q.)	Addu-baḫli	LAPO 16 385 [ARM 6 15]:8, 13
ZL	(lú Q.)	Ḥabdu-baḫli	(Ḥabdu-baḫla) LAPO 16 390 [ARM 6 78:19]
ZL?	(lú Q.)	Ḥaya-sumu	ARM 21 367:10
ZL	(lú Q.)	Napsi-yandu	LAPO 16 385 [ARM 6 15:10]
ZL	(lú Q.)	Addu-baḫli [mīn]	LAPO 16 385 [ARM 6 15:13]
ZL	(d. <i>šiprim Q.</i>)	Ebi-AN	LAPO 16 429 [ARM 6 19:7]; LAPO 16 426 [ARM 6 22:11]

¹⁸ A fine commentary on the ZL 2' dossier is Soubeyran's segment "Les cadeaux de la fin de l'année ZL 2'", in his 1984: 344-357.

¹⁹ See See Kupper 1984: 184; Durand 1984: 401 n.110 ("error for lú Q."); see below.

²⁰ On this name, see Bardet 1984: 42. Note the name AN-ka-dEN.ZU in ARM 8 32:17

²¹ Charpin, ARM 26/2, 198 (note to 26 383 e)) cites the occurrence of this same name in T.225, dated to YL "Nagar". The text is not yet published and it is not clear to me that Yaḫšur-Addu is specifically attached to Qatna. If so, this person would have had a long career.

²² See also Lafont in ARM 26/2, p. 524 (notes to 26 530 f).

A few observations may suffice:

1. The names are overwhelmingly of Amorite coinage, although they include a Couple of Akkadian (fashionable in certain circles) and Hurrian names. This is as expected.
2. Messengers often traveled in groups, as many as 10 may be in Mari at the same time (see ARM 24 170+258; MARI 5, p. 619). They may have fanned from Mari to different points or they may have constituted a delegation of people with different duties. In our list we notice that a “messenger” could be called *mār šiprim* or simply *lú Qatna*, with variations, as given above²³.
3. Not one of the Qatna personnel shuttling between his city and Mari seems to have worked for both the Yasmaḥ-Addu and Zimri-Lim administrations²⁴. I am not sure what to make of this observation unless it be: a) that messengers may have been selected for their tact, and this include not reminding the new ruler of past rapport; b) that those who worked for a preceding ruler may have been posted to other capitals; c) that they may have reverted to other functions; d) that they may have been killed on the job, or e) they simply may have abandoned their posts. The last suggestion is not so far-fetched, as escape from one’s post is reported remarkably often in the Mari texts, not surprisingly mostly during the Yasmaḥ-Addu period.

²³ See Lafont’s fine overview of such matters in his 1997.

²⁴ See the note sub Yaḥsur-Addu in ARM 26 383:17’.

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