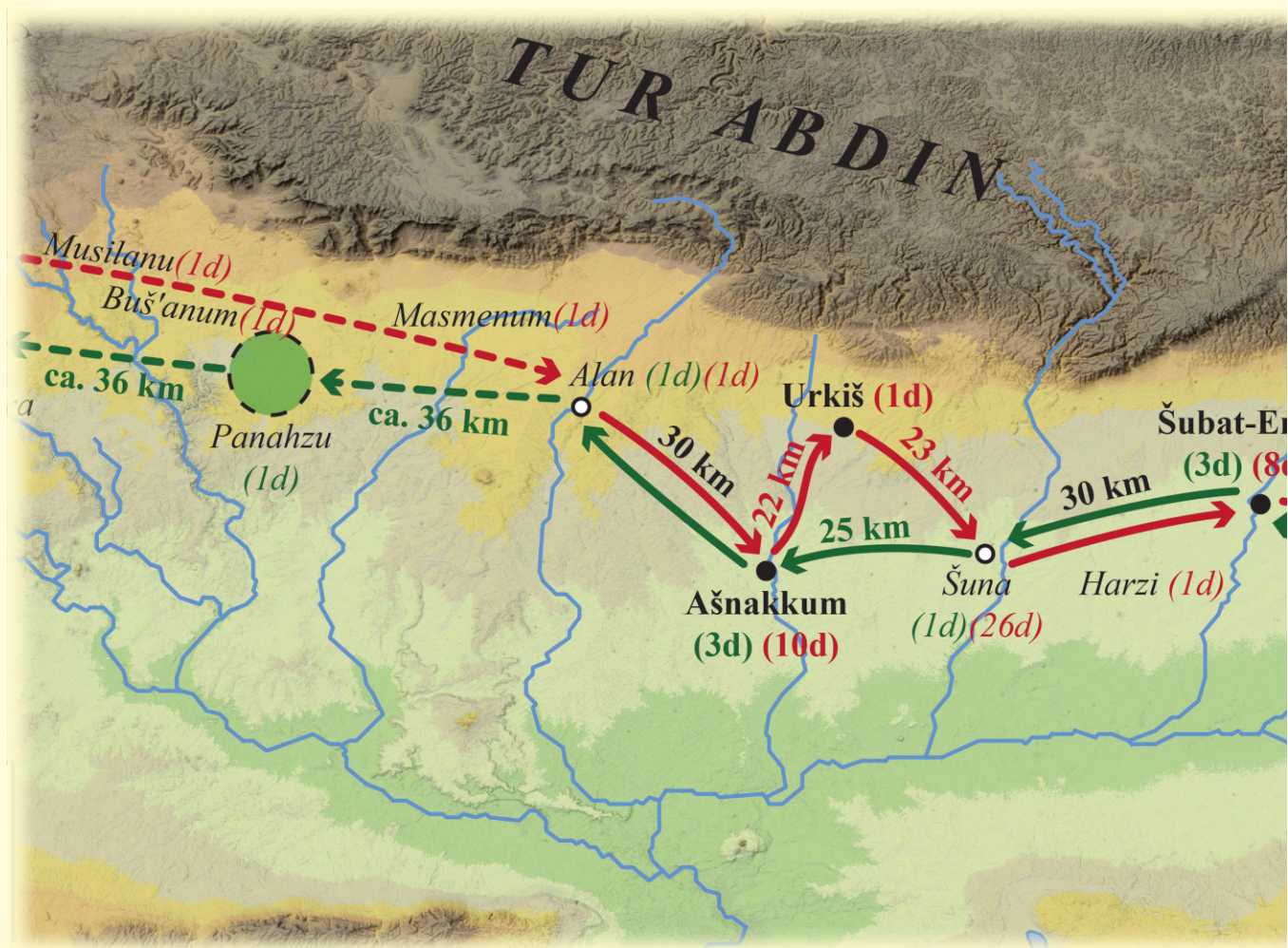Adelheid Otto / Nele Ziegler (eds.)

Entre les fleuves – III
On the Way in Upper Mesopotamia.
Travels, Routes and Environment as a Basis for the Reconstruction of Historical Geography

Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient

Herausgegeben von

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Historical Geography

edited by
Adelheid Otto and Nele Ziegler

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The "Road to Emar" reconsidered

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We dedicate this contribution to its fathers,
Albrecht Goetze and William W. Hallo.
They did a great job already in 1953 and 1964!

The "Road to Emar", sometimes also referred to as the "Old Babylonian Itineraries", is a group of three texts that relate to each other and contain the most important route description of the 18th century BC, and perhaps of the entire Mesopotamian written tradition. With their help, Albrecht Goetze and Willam W. Hallo, who edited the texts for the first time, were able to make a major step forward in the reconstruction of the historical geography of the Middle Bronze Age. Since the publication, our knowledge of the archival texts of the 18th century BC, of the political history and of the settlement of Mesopotamia in the Middle Bronze Age has made tremendous progress. After years of close cooperation between philologists and archaeologists and the systematic collection of all available data, the full potential of the "Road to Emar" (RTE) for the reconstruction of the historical geography of the early second millennium will be presented here.[1]

1. The Contribution of Archaeological Research to the Old Babylonian Itineraries

1.1 General preliminary remarks on routes in archaeological research

In the last 25 years a tremendous dynamic has developed in the field of landscape archaeology, and the combination of archaeological data with remote sensing has become an integral part of the research on settlement distributions, historical geography and route systems.[2] Nevertheless, some general preliminary remarks on the possibilities and pitfalls in the study of ancient route systems should be made here.

A route is by no means always the shortest connection from A to B. Therefore, the method often used in historical geography of placing approximately contemporaneous places on a blank map and drawing lines between them, although simple, usually proves to be wrong when topography and geomorphology are taken into account.

O The common idea that river valleys make good paths is erroneous. Sometimes the river meanders strongly and the valley becomes narrow and impassable at the baffle slope, sometimes the valleys are swampy and the riv-

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er edges are reedy, making it impossible to move close to the river. A river cannot be crossed by foot without problems in any number of places, but only in the area of fords and by boat, or possibly by swimming in places with as little current as possible.

o The method of reconstructing the routes on the basis of hollow ways is possible. However, it cannot be successfully applied in all areas of the Near East, but especially in regions that have been little anthropogenically deformed, i.e. where steppe or semi-steppe prevails today, as well as in sparsely populated areas in the rain-fed region.[3] Especially in areas of river valleys, where settlements are concentrated, or in areas with intensive irrigation farming, paths are difficult to determine by means of hollow ways due to sedimentation or because of the canal net.[4] Since the sometimes up to 100m wide and often very shallow hollow ways are hardly recognisable on the surface, most of them are recorded using remote sensing data; CORONA satellite images from the 1960s, when agriculture was much less intensive, are particularly helpful.

o In recent years, the method of least cost path analysis (LCP) has become very relevant (Surface-Evans & White 2012). On the basis of a digital elevation model, LCP calculates the best possible path between two locations. General parameters were calculated for the movement of a person walking. The cost model includes several cost components. The most evident is the slope, but other cost components such as load, vegetation cover, water as barrier or attractor, social and cultural factors are equally important, although difficult to reconstruct after thousands of years (Herzog 2014).

o The time and energy expenditure is usually determined on the basis of various empirically collected data. However, the "Tobler's hiking function", which is often used in archaeology and indicates an optimal gradient or slope (Tobler 1993), is not undisputed. This is because these relatively simple calculations concern the walking of a person without taking into account, for example, the component load. Especially for trade routes on which goods were transported, this component is crucial. It is also calculated in a relatively mechanical way with a reasonably smooth and homogeneous surface. Neither the possible vegetation is taken into account, nor the condition of the surface (slippery, stony etc.), which in turn depends on the seasonal effects.

o Various other push and pull factors, which are not related to geomorphology and cannot be deduced from an elevation model, influence the choice of an itinerary and the speed of travel. Classic pull factors are water points (springs, rivers, wells), favourable accommodation options or other subjective human decisions. Push factors can include political, economic or sociological circumstances, e.g. hostility with the inhabitants of an area, unsafe route due to bandits, customs stations or the like.[5]

o Other factors are the type and number of travellers and the occasion of the journey, i.e. whether a private person, an army or a group of traders are moving. While a military movement will deviate from the straightest line mainly due to political constellations (bypassing enemy territory), the journey of traders does contain potential for deliberate detours in order to acquire or sell goods on the way.

1.2 Theoretical preliminary remarks on the parameters of a Middle Bronze Age journey

Today we lack essential information on the determining parameters of a journey that took place in the Bronze Age. These include the vegetation of the time, which played an important role in the choice of route; it could be favourable, for example if trees provided shade in summer or if the travellers' animals found sufficient food, or it could be obstructive, for example due to swamps, forests or dense vegetation (see also the contribution by Deckers & de Gruchy 2023 in this volume).[6] It must also be taken into account that some routes changed seasonally. For it is known from archaeologically attested paths and roads that they were

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3 Hollow ways are shallow linear depressions in the landscape some of which were formed by the continuous use of people or animals, either for getting to the fields and agricultural areas in use, or to villages and other settlements, sometimes even on long distance routes. Interest in hollow ways has started already 90 years ago (Poidebard 1934), was developed further by van Liere & Lauffray (1954-1955), and has been established as a method by Wilkinson & Tucker 1995. See also Wilkinson 2003, Ur 2003, Altaweel 2008, de Gruchy & Cunliffe 2020. The broad hollow ways in the Jazira are thought to date to the Bronze Age, whereas the narrow hollow ways are said to belong to the Byzantine – Early Islamic period (Ur 2003). However, as the age of the hollow ways is difficult to determine, there is sometimes disagreement about this, see Weiss & Courty 1994.

4 Elizabeth Stone (2014), however, showed that the method may also work in the alluvial plain of southern Mesopotamia.

5 See also Seifried & Gardner 2019, who tested various LCP models on a well-documented early 19th century travel route in Greece. Based on these findings, they abandoned the determination of a single route and identified a possible corridor of routes by using a modified "Tobler function".

6 Reconstruction of vegetation always plays a major role in all published surveys, see for example Wilkinson & Tucker 1995.

only paved inside villages (mostly by pebbles, sherds and other waste material), but outside they were pure tracks. Therefore, although they were easily passable in the dry season (about May to October), in the rainy season (about November to April) only some paths were certainly passable without problems. Even in summer, dry wadis could turn into impassable streams after occasional, but sometimes torrential rainfall. However, the most urgent need in summer was the accessibility of water sources in form of perennial watercourses or wells at short intervals. In the wet season, water was available in many places in depressions or wadis, which was at least sufficient for the animals. It is therefore quite possible that different routes were chosen for the same journey in summer or winter.

From an archaeological point of view, there are no clues as to how fast people travelled at that time. Apart from Joaquin Córdoba's legendary survey on horseback in the 1980s in the lower Balih Valley (CÓRDOBA 1988, 1990), our present-day modes of movement have little in common with those of the past in terms of speed and type. However, the information from the fortunately numerous travelling accounts of the 19th and early 20th century A.D., when travellers still moved on horseback or in caravans and all roads were unpaved tracks, is quite comparable and therefore very relevant for our question (see contribution DIETZ 2023, this volume).

So, when it comes to reconstructing the stations of routes documented in cuneiform texts, archaeology requires not only the most complete possible recording of sites by means of excavation or survey and data regarding their chronology, but also all available satellite images, aerial photos, modern and ancient maps, information from the travel accounts of the last centuries, the most accurate possible information on geomorphology and the environment, and geoinformatics. With the help of this vast and time-consuming set of methods, the most probable route or corridors can be tentatively reconstructed and, based on this, archaeological sites can be searched for along the assumed route.

1.3 What do "stations of a journey" mean on the archaeological level?

Cuneiform travel descriptions often mention the stations of a journey, i.e. the places where people stayed overnight. The question is what one should imagine by this and what archaeological relics this would have produced. Does a station always have to be a settlement where one stayed overnight? Did one spend the night inside the city walls, which offered protection against criminal attacks, wild animals or unfavourable weather, or did one stay outside the

city walls and perhaps pitch a travelling tent? Were there roadside stations along the way where travellers and their animals could be fed and cared for?[7] Cuneiform texts do mention road stations, but nothing like a road station has ever been excavated, and only rarely are structures mentioned that were located along ancient roads and could possibly be road stations.[8] The problem is: what relics of these would manifest themselves archaeologically? Since it is almost impossible to find isolated buildings after millennia, we can only proceed by looking for natural resources that would favour resting where no settlement remains have been reported, i.e. springs and other water sources, and then assume the likelihood that stations could have been located near such water points. Also, very small villages and settlements with a short life span often do not manifest themselves today. In addition, many sites of that time are covered by later layers, destroyed or not yet recorded. At least half of the stations on the "Road to Emar" are hardly ever mentioned in other texts, from which it may be concluded that some were probably small villages or road stations. Locating such ancient sites, which may have been inhabited only briefly or were very small, is generally very difficult and would only be possible by chance or through an extremely intensive survey.

2. The Old Babylonian Documents of the "Road to Emar" (RTE)

2.1 Three texts – one trip

The texts of the "Road to Emar", or the so-called "Old Babylonian Itineraries", enumerate the stages of an anonymous traveller who had journeyed through the Tigris Valley, the Habur Triangle and the Balih Valley on his way there and back from Larsa to Imar via Babylon and Sippar. The texts report the journey as a collective event — as evidenced by the verb in the 1st person plural in text B: 5. The author is not the organiser, but a participant. Text A: iv 14' uses the 1st person singular.

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7 HEIMPEL 1994 for rest houses ZI.GÚM = *si*KK*um*. Such road stations do not seem to be documented after the Ur III period.

8 For example, OATES 1968: 59-60 with fn. 5 describes small mounds along the King's Road from T. Ḥuwaish (which we now identify with Ekallatum, see this volume ZIEGLER & OTTO 2023) to the north: "At intervals of some 4km., where the road crosses the crest of a ridge, there are small mounds between 5 and 10 m. in diameter. On these only a few sherds of indeterminate character were found. Their purpose is obscure; they are well sited for signal stations but seem unnecessarily close to one another. Only four were identified and their siting may be fortuitous."

The three texts have been published in two basic essays. They are designated in the following with the bold letters A, B and C.[9]

> A. Goetze, "Remarks on the Old Babylonian Itinerary", *JCS* 7, 1953, 51-72 (in the following Goetze 1953)
> o Publication of **A** [UIOM 2134].
> o Publication of **C** [UIOM 2370].
> W. W. Hallo, "The Road to Emar", *JCS* 18, 1964, 57-87 (in the following Hallo 1964)
> o Publication of **B** [YBC 4499].

The three documents, bought on the art market and housed in the Yale and Urbana collections, were certainly found together by illegal diggers, probably in Larsa. They record different stages of composition.

o Text **A** was compiled after the return and contains the entire route.

o Text **B** contains the stages of the outward journey from Dur-Apil-Sin.

o Text **C** contains a small section of the return journey from Šuna to Adum.

It can be assumed that Text **A** was composed on the basis of the information from **B**, **C** and certainly several other documents not yet published or discovered. This means that the scribe initially recorded the stages of his journey on individual smaller documents, similar to text **C**, brought these with him in his luggage and only compiled them into text **A** back home. Text **A** is a kind of "expense voucher". It details all the overnight stops, gives exact dates and lengths of stay, but is otherwise kept laconic.

Since the three texts testify to a travel route with stages of the outward and return journey, we can refer to them as a unit. We do this by referring to the whole as "Road to Emar" under the abbreviation **RTE**.

2.2 First considerations at the time of writing the text

When were the Old Babylonian **RTE** texts written? An answer to this question is difficult. The texts only contain information on the month and day, but they are not dated to a year, unfortunately, and the motivations of the travelling party are not clearly given.

A. Goetze[10] put together the arguments at his disposal and concluded that the Old Babylonian itineraries could

have been written at the earliest in the years Hammurabi 31 and 32. He set the latest date as the decline of the Babylonian empire under Samsu-iluna. He also emphasised that no Kassite presence was yet noticeable. He suggested that the year name Samsu-iluna 28 could commemorate military events that directly illuminated the Old Babylonian itineraries.

W. W. Hallo underlined the fact that the travellers went far around the territory of the Mari Kingdom. This would suggest that the text was written either during the reign of Yahdun-Lim or Zimri-Lim, or at the beginning of the Hana period before 1740 B.C. He considered it possible that the text is a royal travel account[11], of which no one nowadays seems to be convinced.

Francesco di Filippo considered a dating during the reign of Samsi-Addu as probable, since Šubat-Enlil is mentioned.[12] This dating hypothesis seems very unlikely, however.

Although the exact date of the text cannot be established beyond doubt, the following has to be assumed. The **RTE** texts were written at a time when Larsa was part of the Babylonian kingdom, i.e. from 1763 BC until the revolt of Rim-Sin II (1741 BC). It also seems likely that the texts were written only after the destruction of Mari (1760 BC). The travellers bypassed the territory of the former kingdom of Mari widely—the area was too unsafe for them, perhaps there was anarchy or a dynasty hostile to Babylonians had gained control.

2.3 Accompanying information in the itinerary texts of the RTE

Several asides are found in the two main texts of the **RTE**, but they are mostly difficult to interpret. We wish to compile them all here, using the sequence of the itinerary as a guide. Philological comments can be found in § 6 on the respective passages.

Text A col. i
1 [ITI ŠE.KIN.KU₅ U₄ 2]6*.KAM BA.ZAL
2 [U₄ x.KAM URU^ki-*a*]-*hu*ᵎ-*ma*

1 [Month xii, day 2]6:
2 [Day x in Al-A]humma (§ 5.A.2)

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9 The three texts are designated as suggested by Hallo 1964: 64. The UIOM documents are now available as photographs on the CDLI website (see below §7). See for a general presentation of these "itineraries" Edzard 1976-1980: 217-218.
10 Goetze 1953: 70b-71.
11 Hallo 1964: 84.
12 Di Filippo 2016: 452. His main argument seems to be the use of the toponym "Šubat-Enlil" and not "Šehna". However, Šubat-Enlil is still called that in later texts. The toponym also appears in the so-called Cuthean Legend from the 1st millennium BC, see Adali 2011: 48 fn. 38.

Text B
1   ZAG ITI ŠE.KIN.KU₅ U₄ 26.KAM BA.ZAL
2   EN.NA ITI GÚ.SI.SÁ U₄ 4.KAM
3   ŠU.NIGIN₂ ITI 1.KAM *ù*! U₄ 8.KAM
4   *iš-tu* URU^ki!-*a-hu-um-ma*
     i-na BÀD-*a-pil*-^d EN.ZU *ni-is-sú-hu-ú*

1   From month xii day 26
2   until month ii day 4
3   — a total of 1 month and 8 days —
4-5 is, what we made/spent from Al-ahumma (§ 5.A.2)
     to Dur-Apil-Sin (§ 5.C.1).

Text A col. i
17   U₄ 4.KAM *ma-ki-sú*[*m*]
18   *i-nu-ma* ERIN₂.HI.A *ip-p*[*a-aṭ/ah-ru*]
19   *ù* ^giš MÁ.HI.A *i-tu-r*[*a*]/-*nim*

17   4 days Mankisum, (§ 5.C.5)
18   when the men have been relea[sed]/ga[thered]
19   and the boats returned.

Text A col. i
24   [U₄] ⌜2.KAM⌝ *su-qá*-[*qù-ú*]
25   [*a-šar* ERIN₂.HI.]A U₄ 2.K[AM]
26   [*wa-as-b*]*u*-⌜*ú*⌝

24   2 [days] Suqa[qu], (§ 5.D.7)
25   [the place where] the [workmen/troops]
26   [sta]yed 2 days.

Text A col. ii
7   U₄ 3.KAM *aš-na*-[*a*]*k-ki*
8   *a-šar um-m*[*a-na-t*]*um*
9   ⌜*ra*ʔ⌝-[x x o o x] *im-hu-ru*

7   3 days Ašnakkum, (§ 5.H.1)
8   the place where the a[rm]y
9   [has ... (and) where] they received/met° [...]

Text B
30   U₄ 1.KAM ŠÀ-*bi* KUR *a-sa-am* /
31   *ù a-ba-a*

30-31 1 day in the heart of Mount Hasam
       and Aba (§ 5.H.12)

Text B
42   U₄ 2.KAM *a-ša-ar ba-ah-ra*
     i-sí-hu
42-43 2 days at the place, where they assigned elite troops
       (§ 5.J.4)

Text A col. iv
13' [ŠU.NIG]IN₂ ITI 6 U₄ 14.KAM
14' [*wa*]-*ṣí a-na ta-ri*-/*ia*

13' Total: 6 months 14 days
14' my departure until my return.

2.4 Who wrote the texts of the RTE?

We do not know the purpose of the journey, nor do we know the nature or number of the travellers. Two hypotheses have been advanced. The first hypothesis is that the itinerary reflects a military event and that the traveller was even an army commander. A military context is suggested by the epigraphs (see left column), in which words such as *ṣābum* "workmen/troop", *ummanātum* "armies", *baḥrum* perhaps "elite troop" occur or are restored, or verbs such as *paṭārum* N "to be demobilised" and perhaps *esēḥum* "to attribute" (often said of troops or workmen). But it is known that these terms do not only occur in military contexts: *ṣābum* refers to any group of "people", including working gangs, and *esēḥum* is also often used in civilian contexts. It also seems certain that caravans had to travel under the protection of escorts, and furthermore, workers were needed as trekkers of the boats. The second hypothesis, which seems more likely to us, assumes that this was a group of people travelling for commercial or other civil reasons.

A. Goetze assumed a military motive and that the year name Samsu-iluna 28 would commemorate events, which were reflected by the texts of the **RTE**.[13] A few years later he consolidated this opinion and suggested that the **RTE** "describes station by station the march of an army from Larsa to the upper Euphrates and back."[14] W. W. Hallo also suspected a military context when he wrote:[15]

"Old Babylonian literature in Akkadian as well as Sumerian knew, for practical purposes, only two subjects: gods and kings. It follows that the subject of the Itinerary (who emerges in the first person in the last sign of the text!) is most likely a king, or at the least a high royal official. The numerous, if problematic, allusions to military matters in the text further suggest that a military mission led by a king or his general is its primary concern. We may conclude, then, that the Itinerary is part of a historical record of a royal campaign which was on the way to becoming a piece of literature."

13 G ᴏ ᴇ ᴛ ᴢ ᴇ 1953: 70-71.
14 G ᴏ ᴇ ᴛ ᴢ ᴇ 1964: 114.
15 H ᴀ ʟ ʟ ᴏ 1964: 84b.

F. di Filippo considers military action unlikely because, in his opinion, an army cannot advance so swiftly and in regular stages. We agree with this analysis. Let us quote him at length:[16]

> "On this basis, is it still possible to consider the Urbana-Yale itinerary as the report of a journey undertaken by an army across much of what today is Iraq, northern Syria, and south-eastern Turkey? The comparison between historical evidence and computed patterns of movement should definitively disprove the identification of the travelling party with a large military force on the march. Conversely, the LCP analysis seems to substantiate the doubts of those authors who have never been convinced with the original interpretation of both Goetze and Hallo about the purpose of the journey and the identity of the travellers.[17] The state of uncertainty about the contents of the brief narrative units that have been considered the evidence of a military expedition can be here summarized by citing Brinkman[18]'s argument, according to whom: "one also wonders why most authors dealing with the Old Babylonian itineraries assume an army must be involved. Surely the ERÍN.ḪI.A (JCS 7 [1953] 52 i 18) who accompanied the unnamed traveller could be viewed simply as a group of men − ṣābum can mean both "army" and "men", some of whom could have served as caravan guards. (The reading of the word um(?)-ʿx-x-tumʾ in the same text, ii 8, is too uncertain to permit a translation "troops")"

and finally:

> "It would be difficult to envisage a political situation in the Old Babylonian period which would either require or permit an army to march from central Babylonia via northern Assyria all the way to the upper Euphrates and back over a period of six months with such regular stops and without mention of any overt military activity".

2.5 A possible archival context?

The three texts of the RTE do not come from regular excavations, but were probably acquired at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries on the antiquities market. The CDLI website indicates an accession date of texts A [UIOM 2134] (https://cdli.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/artifacts/420515/reader /199859) and C [UIOM 2370] (https://cdli.mpiwg-berlin. mpg.de/artifacts/420750/reader/200094) by the Spurlock

Museum, University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) in 1913.

The archival context is unknown. Certainly, the RTE texts were not alone when looters found them. It can also be assumed that other texts documented parts of the route and were similar to Text C. These have not yet turned up.

A couple of years ago Christopher Walker drew Nele Ziegler's attention to a group of unpublished texts in the British Museum which he thought might have come from the same archive as the RTE. We would like to thank him for this information.[19] Several texts mention among other things trading activities and boats. The most interesting text for our search for the archival context of the RTE is BM 16190. It is dated 30/v/Samsu-iluna 2. The text is a debt note over the hiring of Sin-kuzub-šame, who travelled with Apil-Sin for five months as trade commissioner (šamallûm).

1	1,1,1 5 SILA₃ Á.BI ʿU₄ x.KAMʾ
2	ša iš-tu ITI BÁR.ZAG.GAR
3	a-di ITI NE.NE.GAR U₄ 30.KAM BA.ZAL
4	ni-ka-as ṣa-bi-it-ma
5	ša U₄ 8.KAM ú-ma-at
6	nam-sí-im
7	0,2,4 ŠE ni-ka-as
8	ṣa-bi-it-ma
9	ŠU.NIGIN 1,3,5 5 SILA₃
10	Á.BI ša ᵈEN.ZU-ku-zu-ub-ša-me-e
11	it-ti ¹a-pil-ᵈEN.ZU
12	a-na ša-ma-lu-tim
13	it-ta-la-ku-ú
14	ù ša a-na nam-sí-im
15	il-qú-ú
16	UGU a-pil-ᵈEN.ZU
17	ᴵᵈEN.ZU-ku-zu-ub-ša-me-e
18	IN.TUKU
19	IGI DINGIR-ni DUMU ʿx x xʾ
20	ᵐᵃ⁺KIŠIBʾ a-píl-ᵈEN.ZU
21	ITI NE.NE.GAR U₄ 30.KAM BA.ZAL
22	MU sa-am-su-i-lu-na
23	ŠE.GA DINGIR GAL.GAL.E.NE

1-3	375 l (of barley) hire for x days that are from month i until month v day 30.
4	The account is settled.
5-8	For the 8 days of the "water basin"//brewing vat 160 (l) of barley the total amount is taken.

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16 Di Filippo 2016: 467-468.

17 Di Filippo 2016: 467 fn. 75 gives as bibliography for this: "See for instance Leemans 1968, 211-212; Clines 1972, 420-421; Davies 1974, 55; Astour 1995, 1411-1414; Fales 1996, 127-128; Ziegler 2002, 234-235".

18 Brinkman 1970: 313-314.

19 The text group gives no geographical clues, so we do not want to publish it here.

9-15   Total 535 l (of barley) hire of Sin-kuzub-šame who was regularly going with Apil-Sin as a trading agent and whom he/they took for the "water basin"//brewing vat.

16-18   Over Apil-Sin Sin-kuzub-šame has (it as claim).

19   Witness: Iluni son of [...]

20   Sealing Apil-Sin.

21-23   Date: Month v day 30. Year Samsu-iluna 2.

2.6 A dating of the RTE at the beginning of Samsu-iluna's reign as a working hypothesis

The attempt to connect the RTE texts with the archive of the merchant Apil-Sin is not compelling, but a dating around the year Samsu-iluna 2 seems plausible to us. Even if the RTE texts were to belong to the same archive as BM 16190 (see above § 2.5), they probably do not date from that exact year.

Samsu-iluna 2 probably partly overlaps with the eponymous year Habil-kenum, which is particularly well known from the archives from Tell Leilan.[20] The following year is eponymy Amer-Ištar, which is also well attested.

At the beginning of the year Habil-kenum, Mutiya was probably still the ruler of the kingdom of Apum, whose capital was Šubat-Enlil/Šehna. A little later he was to be succeeded by Till-Abnu. The archives from Tell Leilan allow us to get a better idea of the geopolitical situation of Upper Mesopotamia. The political problems between the kingdom of Apum and the kingdom of Yussan could provide one of the explanatory models for the unusual trajectory of the Itinerary.

In the following, we use a dating around the year Samsu-iluna 2 as a working hypothesis, because it allows us to explain geopolitical issues. Should new discoveries make it possible to correct this hypothetical dating, it nevertheless seems conceivable that the geopolitical situation in Upper Mesopotamia had not changed decisively in the meantime. Even then, the geopolitical considerations made here can retain their validity, at least in part.

2.7 Short comment on the spelling of the toponyms

The writer of the three texts of the RTE came from southern Mesopotamia. He may not have been very familiar with the areas he travelled through. In any case, he had not learned at the time of his school education how some toponyms should best be written down. His spelling of the toponyms is sometimes idiosyncratic, some place names deviate from the spellings known so far. Some place names are as yet unexplained. The linguistic analysis of the toponyms is of secondary importance for us in this chapter. We therefore use normalising spellings without lengthenings. Sometimes we use the toponym with its mimation if we know that this was in use in Old Babylonian. If we do not know this, we use a spelling close to that of the author of the RTE. We have compiled some peculiarities in the spelling of place names below. For Upper Mesopotamia, the texts of the archives from Mari and from Tell Leilan serve as comparative material.

Omission of divine classifyer

○ Kar-Šamaš § 5.C.5: A: i 16 *kar*-UT[U], B: 8 *kar*-UTU.

Usually attested mimation omitted

○ Admum § 5.H.15: A: iii 11 *ad-mi*

○ Adum § 5.E.6: C 10 *a-du-ú*, A ditto

○ Apqum § 5.I.2 B: 33 *ap-⸢qú⸣-ú ša ba-li⸣-/ha-a*. Text A only has the stages of the onbound trip, where the toponym is written in an erudite spelling: A: iii 7 *ap-qum ša* ᵈKASKAL.KUR.

○ Ašnakkum § 5.H.1 A: ii 7 and B: 26 *aš-na-ak-ki* but A: iii 21 (*aš-na-ak-kum*) is correct

○ Bakitanum § 5.H.8: A: iii 16 PA-*ak-ta-nu*

○ Kar-Kakkulatim § 5.C.3: B: 7 *kar-ka-ku-la-ti*

○ Mankisum § 5.C.5: B: 9 has *ma-an-ki-sí* while text marks the mimation A: i 17 (*ma-ki-sú*[*m*]).

Variations in the writing of labials

○ Bakitanum § 5.H.8 PA-*ak-ta-nu*

○ Sanipa (§ 5.E.7) A: iii 31 (*sà-ni-⸢pa-a⸣*); B: 19 (*sa-ni-pa-a*); C: 9 (*sà-ni*-BA-*a*)

○ Šubat-Enlil (§ 5.G.1) is written in text A twice *šu*-PA-*at*-ᵈEN.LÍL. B: 24 (*šu-ba-at*-ᵈEN.LÍL.LÁ), C: 3 *šu-ba-at*-ᵈEN.LÍL. See fn. 223

○ Zalpah § 5.I.4 B: 35 *za-al*-BA-*ah*, Text A: iii 7 has *za-al-pa-ah*.

Other variants

○ Harzi/Harrusi: see the explanations in § 5.G.2, this toponym is probably to be identified with Huraṣa(n)

○ Kalizit § 5.F.5: C: 7 *ka-⸢li⸣-zi-⸢it⸣* A: iii 29 has *ka-li-zi*

○ Libbi-gerrum: see the comments in § 5.F.7

○ Mammagira § 5.H.4 B: 28 *ma-ma-a-gi-ri* with long A and final I which is not otherwise attested

○ Şerda § 5.I.5 B: 36 *şe-er-di*

○ Urkiš § 5.G.4: *ur-ge-eš* instead of the more usual IŠ, see attestations in ZIEGLER & LANGLOIS 2016: 385-386.

20   VINCENTE 1991.

3. Hard Facts and Methodology

3.1 The hard facts of the itinerary

The clay tablets published by A. Goetze in 1953 and W. W. Hallo in 1964 describe a real journey from Larsa to Imar and back in daily stages. The outward and return journeys together took 6 months and 14 days. The three texts of the RTE testify to one journey that actually took place. The outward and return journeys partly record different stations and different lengths of stay, ranging from one day to a maximum of 26 days. For most stations, however, only one day is mentioned, which means that the travellers only stayed overnight in one place.

The season in which the journey was undertaken is also known. It began in Larsa in spring (end of month xii = March/April), reached Imar in summer (24/iii) and arrived back in Larsa in autumn, on 13/vii. This information is important for the reconstruction of the route. Since the travellers in Upper Mesopotamia and their presumed pack animals were essentially dependent on regularly obtaining drinking water, the routes had to be laid out in such a way that they passed water points or springs outside the river valleys (see E. Cancik-Kirschbaum 2023, this volume). In the wetter season, river valleys will have been avoided whenever possible, and tracks though the steppe favoured. Both the environment and vegetation as well as the climate can only be reconstructed approximately, because the vegetation and agriculture in particular have changed considerably up to the present day.[21] However, the climate in the early second millennium BC must have been roughly comparable to that of the early 20th century AD (not to the climate today!) in terms of rainfall and temperature, and also the coexistence of nomads and sedentary people was not entirely dissimilar.[22]

Of the altogether 81 stops, only five were reliably located in the 1953 and 1964 editions, namely **Larsa**, **Babylon**, **Sippar**, **Aššur** and **Harran** (Fig. 1). Three stations were correctly placed by the first editors, although they had not been securely identified at that time: **Imar** was correctly assumed at Meskene, as well as **Šubat-Enlil** in Tell Leilan and **Ašnakkum** in Chagar Bazar (even if it is missing on Hallo's map), while the tentative location of **Tuttul** on the Upper Euphrates later turned out to be incorrect. The **73 other remaining stages** were unknown. Accordingly, the reconstruction on a map was approximate, even if the rough course of the journey was already remarkably correct on many stretches.

Since 1964 several more of the sites mentioned in the RTE texts have been securely identified thanks to archaeological excavations: Šubat-Enlil = Tell Leilan, Ašnakkum = Chagar Bazar, and Tuttul = Tell Bi'a. On the return trip Urkiš = Tell Mozan is mentioned.

Some areas of the itinerary have been explored by surveys since 1964[23], including the area north of Aššur[24], the area between Jebel Sinjar and the Habur Triangle[25], the Habur Triangle[26], the Balih valley[27] and the West Jazira bordering the Balih Valley to the west[28] and the Euphrates Valley between Tuttul and Emar / Imar[29]. However, other areas have not been sufficiently explored: the area between the westernmost tributary of the Habur and the Balih Valley has hardly been surveyed, with the exception of the Wadi Hamar survey near Tell Chuera, and the sites in the Harran Plain can also only be roughly dated to the 2nd millennium without further specification into even the Middle or Late Bronze Age.[30]

The method and documentation of surveys also vary greatly, so that quite different information is available. For example, until a few years ago it was very difficult and time-consuming to record the size and structure of surveyed settlements. Since satellite images have been freely available and especially since the publication of the Corona satellite images of the 1960s, which show a landscape still largely spared from intensive agriculture and modern road and canal construction, this essential method is now available to us.

The theoretically most convenient direct route from Larsa via Babylon to Imar would have led across the territory of the former kingdom of Mari[31] or the steppe west of it[32] and would have been about 300 km shorter. The Old Babylonian travellers obviously did not want to take this shorter route, which is well documented in the earlier Mari texts, or they could not take it because the dangers for travellers from southern Mesopotamia would have been too great in this area.

It is noticeable, however, that not only the kingdom of Mari was bypassed. Along the entire route, few places were visited that were politically important capitals according

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21 Riehl & Deckers 2012; Deckers & de Gruchy 2023, this volume.
22 Ristvet & Weiss 2013 ; see also Dietz 2023, this volume.

23 See Fink 2016: map 2.
24 Oates 1968; Ibrahim 1986; Altaweel 2008.
25 Wilkinson & Tucker 1995.
26 Meijer 1986; Lyonnet 2000; Ur 2010; Ristvet 2012.
27 Mallowan 1946; Córdoba 1988; Curvers 1991.
28 Einwag 1993/1994, 1994, 2000, 2010.
29 Kohlmeyer 1984, 1986.
30 Fink 2016: xii-xv.
31 Hallo 1964: 86; di Filippo 2016: 453.
32 For this connecting route from Babylonia to Aleppo through the steppe see Ziegler 2004.
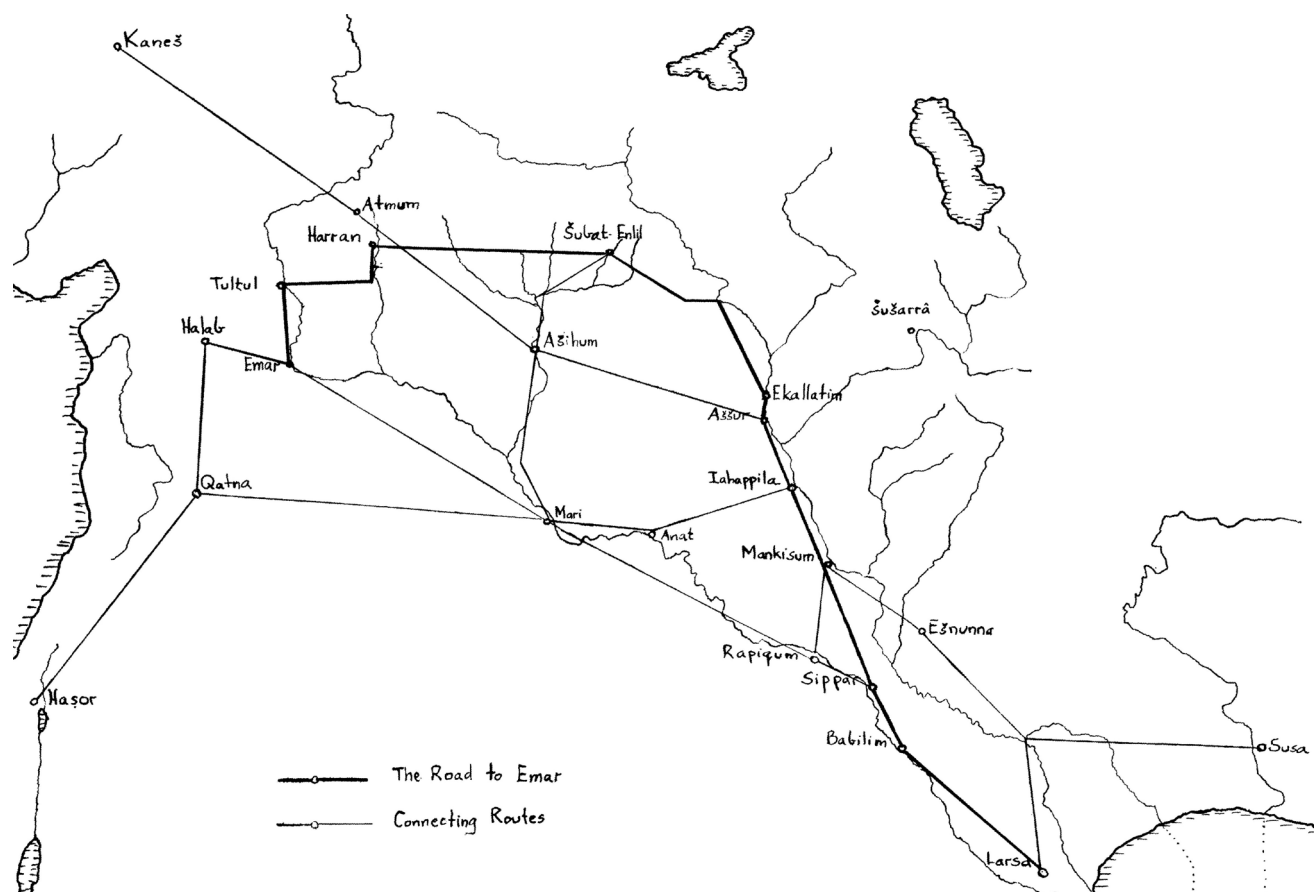
Fig. 1: Map published by Hallo 1964, Fig. 6.

to the prevailing understanding of that time. After leaving the kingdom of Babylon, which was at its maximum extent, the travellers stopped only in a few capitals for which a well-organised *kārum* is known: Aššur and Šubat-Enlil. They also stopped at Ašnakkum, but this was the capital of a vassal of the kings of Šubat-Enlil/Šehna, and on the way back through Urkiš, which was also a medium-sized power only. They went as far as Imar, which was the trade hub between Mesopotamia and the kingdom of Yamhad (Aleppo) and was politically dependent on Aleppo.

3.2 Applied Method of the Reconstruction of the "Road to Emar" Presented Here

We reconstruct the "Road to Emar" in the following way:
○ Texts **A**, **B** and **C** serve as the primary source. Taken as a unit, we refer to them under the abbreviation **RTE**.
○ For each ancient toponym mentioned in the RTE, the available textual sources of the Old Babylonian period are consulted. For Upper Mesopotamia, the basis is provided by the extensive data collection of Ziegler & Langlois 2016. For the Babylonian area, an updated

auxiliary work is not yet available. We rely on Brigitte Groneberg's Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 3[33] and were able to supplement the more recent data, mainly thanks to the website www.archibab.fr.
○ The toponyms identified serve as cornerstones that allow us to divide the route into 10 segments. The outward and return stages are dealt with in separate sections (§§ **A-J**).
○ The distance as the crow flies of each segment is measured between two known locations and, according to the number of stages, the mean and the maximum and minimum of the distance to be covered each day are calculated.
○ In this area, tells or other archaeological localities are searched for which have a proven or at least assumed occupation in Old Babylonian times. The search is based on georeferenced maps from surveys, aerial photographs and all available maps that have been integrated into the GIS. All features that emerge from the texts

33 Groneberg 1980.
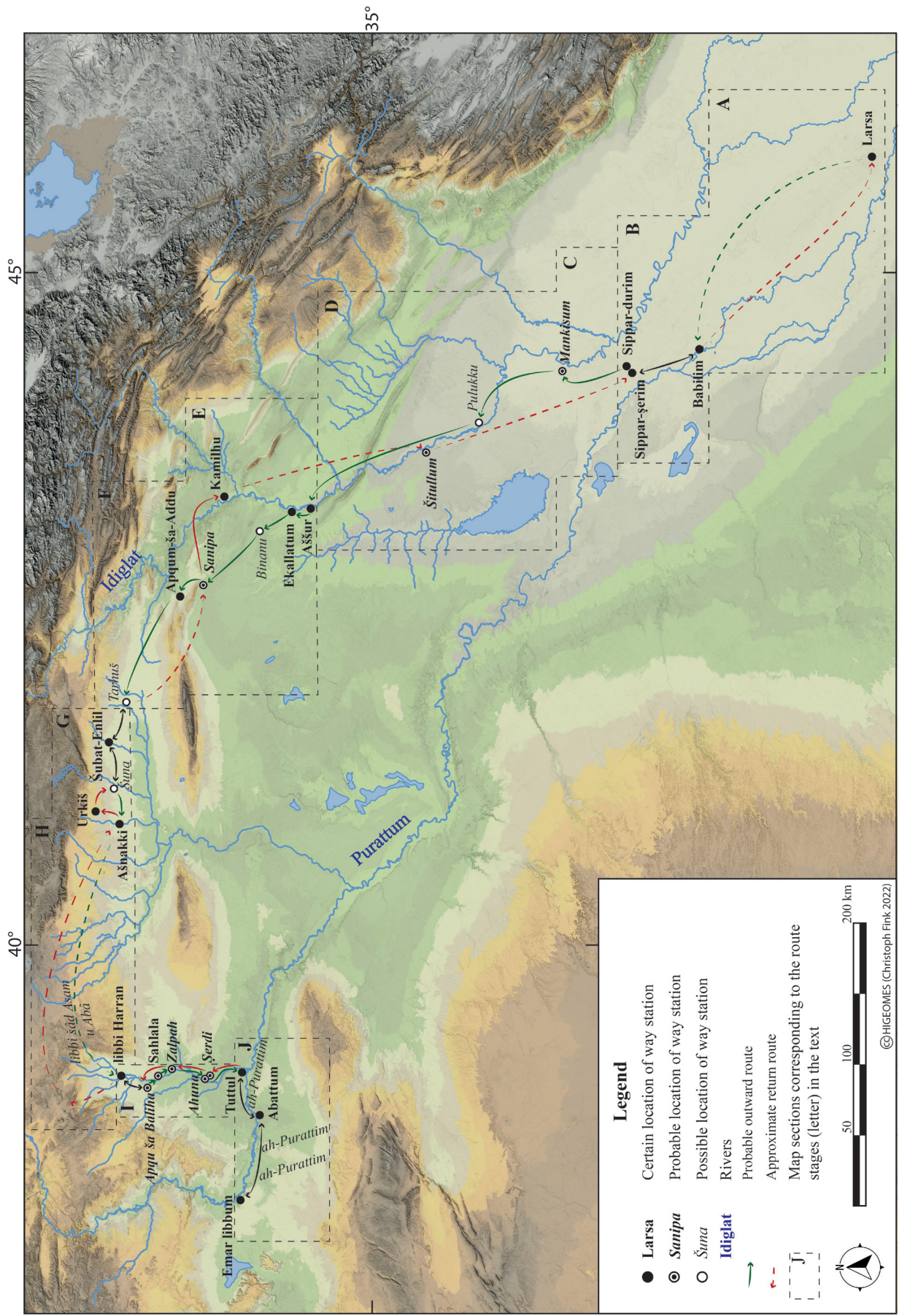
Fig. 2. The overall "Road to Emar" with our suggested path, a few surely identified toponyms and the segments of the trip at a glance.

Outbound night stops ↓	Date out-bound day/ month	Stops	Date inbound read up	Inbound ↑↑↑ read up ↑	Comments §	Textual attestation	Identification Sure (3) *Probable* (2) *Possible* (1)
		Larsa	13/vii		§ 5.A.1	A: iv 12'	**T. Senkereh (3)**
[...] ↓	26/xii	**Al-Ahumma**			§ 5.A.2	A: i 2 B: 4	
[...] ↓		[...]ahi				A: i 3	
[...] ↓		**Rahabum**				A: i 4	
[...] ↓		[...]				A: i 5	
[...] ↓		[...]				A: i 6	
[...] ↓		[...]ni				A: i 7	
[...] ↓		[...]ta			§ 5.A.3	A: i 8	
[...] ↓		[...]			§ 5.A.4	A: i 9	
		Razama	12/vii	1 night ↑	§ 5.A.5	A: iv 11'	
		Tanasapi	11/vii	1 night ↑	§ 5.A.6	A: iv 10'	
		Iplah	10/vii	1 night ↑	§ 5.A.7	A: iv 9'	
		Haphappi	9/vii	1 night ↑	§ 5.A.8	A: iv 8'	
⌜11⌝ nights ↓	4-14/i	**Babilim**	26/vi-8/ vii	13 nights ↑	§ 5.B.1	A: i 10 A: iv 7'	**Babylon (3)**
5 nights ↓	15-19/i	**Sippar-ṣerim**			§ 5.B.2		**T. Abu-Ḫabba (3)**
		Sippar	24-25/vi	2 nights ↑	§ 5.B.2	A: iv 6'	**T. Abu-Ḫabba (3)**
5 nights ↓	20-24/i	**Sippar-durim**			§ 5.B.3		**T. ed-Der (3)**
		Al-ka-mi-ni-ia	23/vi	1 night ↑	§ 5.B.4		
		Maqala	22/vi	1 night ↑	§ 5.B.5		
10 nights ↓	25/i-4/ii	**Dur-Apil-Sin**			§ 5.C.1	A: i 13; B: 5	
1 night ↓	5/ii	**Hibaritum**			§ 5.C.2	A: i 14; B: 6	
1 night ↓	6/ii	**Kar-Kakkulatim**			§ 5.C.3	A: i 15; B: 7	
1 night ↓	7/ii	**Kar-Šamaš**			§ 5.C.4	⌜A: i 16⌝ B: 8	
4 nights ↓	8-11/ii	**Mankisum**			§ 5.C.5	A: i 17-19 B: 9	*T. Kurr* (1)
1 night ↓	12/ii	**Hiššatum**			§ 5.D.1	A: i 20 B: 10	
1 night ↓	13/ii	**Pulukku**			§ 5.D.2	A: i 21 B: 11	
		Dur-[šar]ri(m)	21/vi	1 night ↑	§ 5.D.3	A: iv 3'	
1 night ↓	14/ii	**Yahappila**			§ 5.D.4	A: i 22 B: 12	
		Š[itullum]	20/vi	1 night ↑	§ 5.D.5	A: iv 2'	*Tekrit* (1)
1 night ↓	15/ii	**Marmenu**			§ 5.D.6	A: i 23 B: 13	
2 nights ↓	16-17/ii	**Suqaqu**			§ 5.D.7	A: i 24 B: 14	

Fig. 3: Synoptic compilation of all RTE stages.

Outbound night stops ↓	Date out-bound day/month	Stops	Date inbound read up	Inbound ↑↑↑ read up ↑	Comments §	Textual attestation	Identification Sure (3) *Probable* (2) *Possible* (1)
1 night ↓	18/ii	**Aššur**			§ 5.E.1	A: i 27 B: 15	**Qal'at Sherqat (3)**
1 night ↓	19/ii	**Ekallatum**			§ 5.E.2	A: ⌈i 28⌉ B: 16	**T. Ḥuwaish (3)**
1 night ↓	20/ii	**Binanu**			§ 5.E.3	A: ⌈i 29⌉ B: 17	*Anonymous Tell (43.072093 / 35.831793)* (1)
1 night ↓	21/ii	**Saqa**			§ 5.E.4	A: [i 30] B: 18	
		[...]		[*9 nights broken*] ↑		ca. 7 - 9 lines in col. iv broken.	
		Kamilhu	11/vi	1 night ↑	§ 5.E.5	A: iii 33	*Nimrud* (2)
		Adum	10/vi	1 night ↑	§ 5.E.6	A: iii 32 C: 10	
1 night ↓	22/ii	**Sanipa**	9/vi	1 night ↑	§ 5.E.7	A: [i 31] A: iii 31 B: 19 C: 9	**T. Khamira (2)**
1 night ↓	23/ii	**Apqum-ša-Addu**			§ 5.F.1	A: ii 1 B: 20	**T. Abu Marya (3)**
1 night ↓	24/ii	**Kiškiš**			§ 5.F.2	A: ii 2 B: 21	
1 night ↓	25/ii	**Yapṭurum**			§ 5.F.3	A: ii 3 B: 22	*Tell Abṭa* (1)
		Marrata	8/vi	1 night ↑	§ 5.F.4	A: iii 30 C: 8	*Yarim Tepe* (1)
		Kalizit	7/vi	1 night ↑	§ 5.F.5	A: iii 29 C: 7	
		Lada	6/vi	1 night ↑	§ 5.F.6	A: iii 28 C: 6	
		Libbi-gerrum	5/vi	1 night ↑	§ 5.F.7	A: iii 27 C: 5	
1 night ↓	26/ii	**Tarhuš**	4/vi	1 night ↑	§ 5.F.8	A: ii 4; A: iii 26 B: 23 C: 4	*Tell Qoz* (1)
3 nights ↓	29/ii	**Šubat-Enlil**	25/v-3/vi	8 nights ↑	§ 5.G.1	A: ii 5 A: iii 25 B: 24 C: 3	**T. Leilan (3)**
		Harzi / Harrusi	24/v	1 night ↑	§ 5.G.2	A: iii 24 C: 2	
1 night ↓	1/iii	**Šuna**	28/iv-23/v	26 nights ↑	§ 5.G.3	A: ii 6; A: iii 23 B: 25 C: 1	*T. Mohammed Kabir* (1)
		Urkiš	27/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.G.4	A: iii 22	**T. Mozan (3)**

Fig. 3 (continued): Synoptic compilation of all RTE stages.

Outbound night stops ↓	Date out-bound day/ month	Stops	Date inbound read up	Inbound ↑↑↑ read up ↑	Comments §	Textual attestation	Identification Sure (3) *Probable* (2) *Possible* (1)
3 nights ↓	2-4/iii	**Ašnakkum**	17-26/iv	10 nights ↑	§ 5.H.1	A: ii 7; A: iii 21 B: 26	**Chagar Bazar (3)**
1 night ↓	5/iii	**Alan**	16/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.H.2	A: [ii 8] A: iii 20 B: 27	*T. Ailun* (1)
1 night ↓	6/iii	**Panahzu**			§ 5.H.3	A: [ii 9] B: 28	
1 night ↓	7/iii	**Mammagira**			§ 5.H.4	A: ii 13 B: 29	
		Masmenum	15/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.H.5	A: iii 19	
		Buš>anum	14/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.H.6	A: iii 18	
		Musilanu	13/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.H.7	A: iii 17	
		Bakitanum	12/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.H.8	A: iii 16	
		Kubšum	11/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.H.9	A: iii 15	
		Tunda	10/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.H.10	A: iii 14	
		Palda	9/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.H.11	A: iii 13	
1 night ↓	8/iii	*libbi šād Hasam u Aba*			§ 5.H.12	A: ii 13-14 B: 30	Mountains
1 night ↓	9/iii	**Samu'e**			§ 5.H.13	A: [ii 15] B: 31	*Boztepe / Tepedibi* (1)
		Huburmeš	8/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.H.14	A: iii 12	*Gölpinar* (1)
		Admum	7/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.H.15	A: iii 11	*Urfa* (2)
		Haziri	5-6/iv	2 nights ↑	§ 5.H.16	A: iii 10	*Sultantepe* (2)
		Sarda	4/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.H.17	A: iii 9	
1 night ↓	10/iii	**libbi Harran**	3/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.I.1	A: iii 8 B: 32	**Harran (3)**
1 night ↓	11/iii	**Apqum-ša-Baliha**	2/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.I.2	A: [ii 17] A: iii 7' B: 33	*'Ain al-Arus* (2)
1 night ↓	12/iii	**Sahlala**			§ 5.I.3	B: 34	*T. Sala'n* (2)
1 night ↓	13/iii	**Zalpah**	1/iv	1 night ↑	§ 5.I.4	A: iii 6 B: 35	*T. Hammam al-Tur- kuman* (2)
1 night ↓	14/iii	**Ṣerda**			§ 5.I.5	B:36	*T. es-Sedda* (2)
		Ahuna	29/iii	1 night ↑	§ 5.I.6	A: iii 5	*T. es-Semen* (2)
2 nights ↓	15-16/iii	**Tuttul**	28/iii	1 night ↑	§ 5.J.1	A: iii 4 B: 37	**T. Bi'a (3)**
1 night ↓	17/iii	*ah Purattim*			§ 5.J.3	B: 38	Euphrates Riverbank
2 nights ↓	18-19/iii	**Abattum**	27/iii	1 night ↑	§ 5.J.2	A:iii 3 B: 39	**T. ath-Thadayain (3)**
1 night ↓	20/iii	*ah Purattim*	26/iii	1 night ↑	§ 5.J.3	A: iii 2 B: 40	Euphrates Riverbank
1 night ↓	21/iii	*ah Purattim*			§ 5.J.3	B: 41	Euphrates Riverbank
		[...]attum	25/iii	1 night ↑	§ 5.J.4	A: iii 1	?
2 nights ↓	22-23/iii	*a-ša-ar ba-ah-ra i-sí-hu*			§ 5.J.5	B: 42-43	Place, where they assigned elite troops
1 night ↓	24/iii	**Imar libbum**			§ 5.J.6	B: 44	**Meskene (3)**

Fig. 3 (continued): Synoptic compilation of all RTE stages.

that may be important for identification (importance and size; city wall; citadel for palace or temple; proximity to certain favourable factors such as water bodies, raw materials, etc.) are matched with the features known archaeologically or evident from aerial photographs.

○ Where possible, ancient routes are traced in the form of hollow ways. For one of the routes the Least Cost Path was calculated, but we critically questioned the result (see § 5.H).

○ If all these methods result in a clear candidate, this is presented here as an identification proposal. If there are a number of possibilities, this is also noted; on the map, instead of a point, the approximate localisation is shown graphically as a circle with a 5 km radius.

4. The whole trip in one glance

4.1 The whole itinerary on the map

The entire route is as shown in Fig. 2, where the outbound and return routes are partly identical, but partly different. We have divided the whole area into 10 segments, which we deal with separately in § 5. Each individual stage is arranged as geographically as possible within the segments[34], discussed and numbered with § 5.A.x − 5.J.y. Thus, it is possible to make cross-references between the different paragraphs.

4.2 Synoptic compilation of the stages

The synoptic compilation is inspired by the helpful Fig. 4 of Hallo 1964: 65. For differences, see the notes on texts **A**, **B** and **C** below. The spellings of the ancient toponyms are without indications of lengthenings and are reproduced in a standardised form (see above § 2.7). For the modern identifications, simplified spellings were also used, T. = Tell, Tall.

The dates correspond to the reconstruction of W. W. Hallo and are given by day/month. For the unknown year setting see above § 2.6. For the stops, see comments below in the section indicated by § 5. The identifications with archeological sites are dicussed there, but we wish to give an indication of the certainty of identifications by number-

ing, as explained in MTT I : (**3**) identification is sure, (**2**) is probable, (**1**) is possible.

5.A The stages between Larsa and Babylon[35]

Outbound trip from Larsa to Babylon	Comment on toponym	Return trip from Babylon to Larsa
Babilim	§ 5.B.1	Babilim ↓
	§ 5.A.8	Haphappi ↓
	§ 5.A.7	Iplah ↓
	§ 5.A.6	Tanasapi ↓
	§ 5.A.5	Razama ↓
[...] ↑		
[...]ta ↑		
[...]ni ↑		
[...] ↑		
[...] ↑		
Rahabum ↑	§ 5.A.4	
[...]ahi ↑	§ 5.A.3	
Al-ahumma ↑	§ 5.A.2	
?	§ 5.A.1	Larsa
Outbound trip (to be read from bottom to top)	§ 5.A	Return trip (to be read from top to bottom)

Table to § 5.A : Overview of the stages between Larsa and Babylon.
The arrangement of the toponyms roughly follows the north-south orientation of the stages, north as on the maps above, south below. The outward journey is to be read from bottom to top.

The outward and return trip between Larsa and Babylon are the most badly preserved parts of the journey. Text A, which is the only one to contain the first stages of the outbound trip, is partly broken off for the first lines, while the return stages are legible but cannot be located. It can be assumed that this part of the journey, like the route in segment § 5.B, was covered by boat. In this sense, W. W. Hallo also wrote[36]:

"After a layover of two days at Sippar, and of thirteen days at Babilim, the journey was concluded at the same high speed attested below Mankisum. In fact, the nearly 240 airline km between Abu Habba and Senkereh were covered in six travel-days, i.e., at approximately 40 airline km/day. No doubt, then, this leg too proceeded by boat."

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34 The problem is that the outward and return journey partly chose different stages, but the rough course was partly similar. We have tried to respect this circumstance in the arrangement.

35 The archaeology of the trip between Larsa and Aššur was studied by Christoph Fink. Adelheid Otto concentrated on the RTE segment between Aššur and Imar.

36 Hallo 1964: 84a. See also Cole & Gasche 1998: 20 and di Filippo 2016: 454, 465.
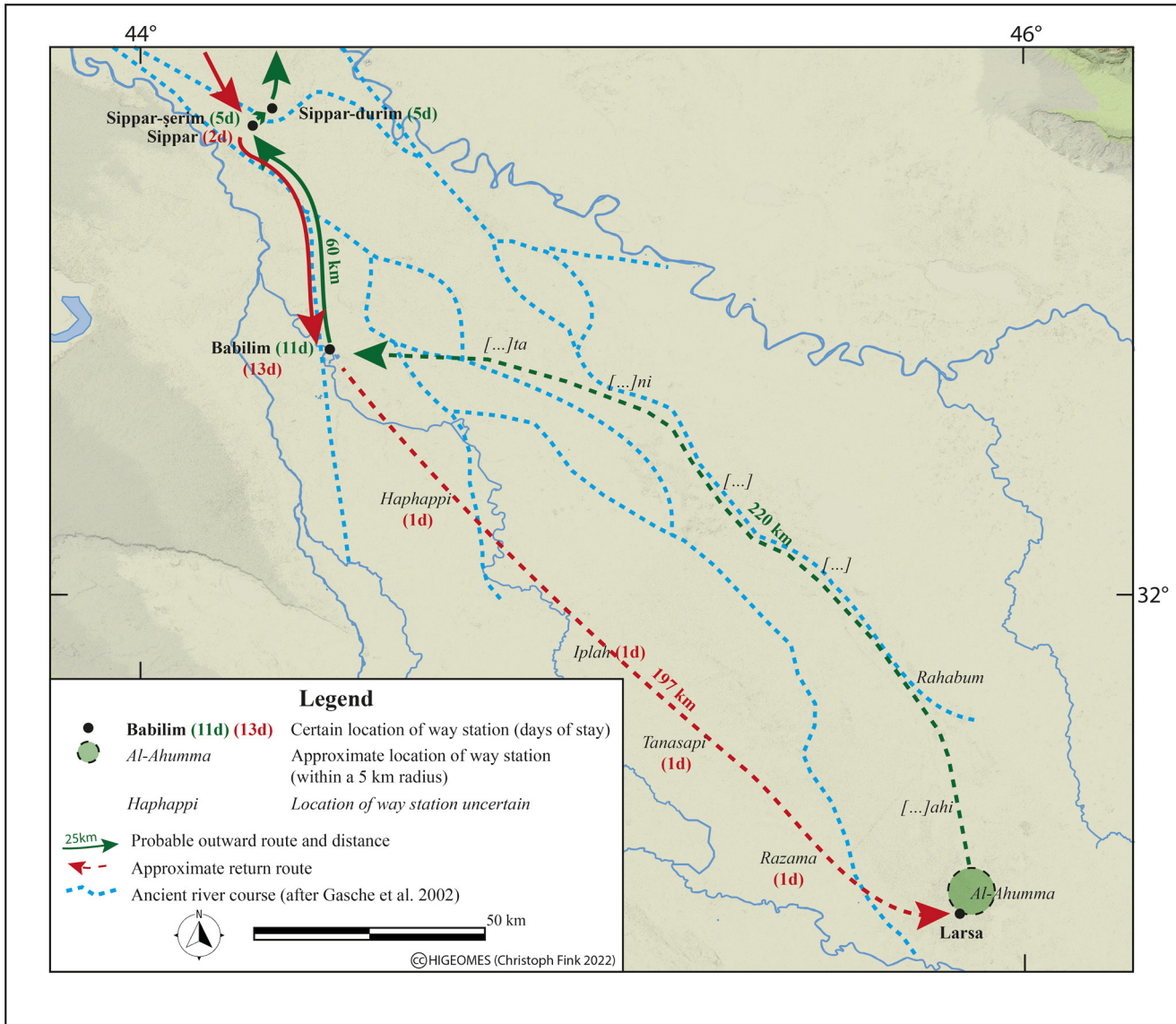
Fig. 4: The stages between Larsa and Sippar. Sections § 5.A and § 5.B.

5.A.1 Larsa = T. Senkereh

The travelling party set out from the area of Larsa and returned there. Text A : iv 12'-14' sums this up with the words:

"1 day Larsa.
  Total: 6 months 14 days — my departure until my return."

Even if this summary reinforces the impression that the journey started directly from Larsa, it is legitimate to ask whether the starting point was actually Larsa. Text A is not preserved for this passage, and text B sums up the first weeks and stations of the outward journey to Dur-

Apil-Sin with an elliptical formulation that is furthermore grammatically difficult to explain[37] (Text B: 1-5):

"ZAG (date) EN.NA (date) ŠU.NIGIN₂ (duration) iš-tu (placename) i-na (placename) ni-is-sú-hu-ú°"
"From (date) until (date) — a total of 1 month and 8 days — is, what we made/spent from Al-ahumma to Dur-Apil-Sin."

---

37 Already STOL 1976: 40 n. 20 struggled with the problem caused by the verb ni-is-su-hu: "Without resorting to an emendation, I cannot explain the subjunctive in line 5 : read <iš-tu> at the beginning of line 5. Translation of 4-5: 'From Aḫumma: <after> we had departed from Dūr-Apilsin, (the route was as follows:)'."

This gives the impression that Al-Ahumma (or Ahumma, § 5.A.2) was the point of departure and not Larsa[38]. The restoration of this toponym in text A [UIOM 2134]: 2 is possible. See on the little-known place below.

5.A.2 Al-Ahumma (or Ahumma)

The reading of line B: 4 (URU[ki!]-*a-hu-um-ma*) is difficult, but it is the reason to restore the toponym in A: i 3 ([URU[ki]-*a*]-*hu*ˈ-*ma*) – both follow the proposal of M. Stol[39]. W. W. Hallo[40] suggested the reading [U₄ 1.KAM *Za-ra-a*]*r-ma* – see his explanations in the quote below (§ 5.A.3).

An inheritance deed, YOS 5 106, mentions Al-Ahumma as well as Rahabum (cf. § 5.A.4), Waqartum and Larsa (§ 5.A.1). A trial, YOS 15 80, dated to Hammurabi's year 35 shows the proximity between Al-Ahumma and Al-Paharum. Presumably all these places were relatively close to each other. Otherwise nothing is known about Al-Ahumma or Ahumma.[41]

5.A.3 [...]ahi

A. Goetze[42] restored in text A: i 3 [*waraḫ* ... *ūmam*] x-*kam* explained in n. e "This is the only restoration that I could think of." W. W. Hallo restored in A: i 3 the toponym [KAR].ˈKIˈ; in col. i 2 he had proposed [*za-ra-a*]*r-ma*. He commented on both *ibidem*:[43]

> "The restoration (...) of A i 2-3 (is based) on the so-called 'Dream-book itinerary,' where KAR.KI is glossed *sar-ra-ár*. Since this entry appears to be at or near the starting point of a northbound trip, it may be tentatively proposed that a location in southernmost Babylonia, i.e. near Larsa, is implied. This might account for the uniquely attested gloss to the name of Larsa which is usually read [*Z*]*a-ra-ar-ma*; (...) One might suppose that the name of Sarar(ma) was variously applied to the 'port' of Larsa, to the city itself, or to a locale in between, as here. Needless to say, little certainty is claimed for the restoration of these lines (...)"

We have not adopted either suggestion. Zarrar-ma is not attested in Old Babylonian. KAR[ki] is only attested as an ideogram for *kārum* "merchant's quai/quarter". Apart

from that, the reading KI is not very likely with the autography of A. Goetze, he himself had read KAM.

5.A.4 Rahabum

Rahabum, the only securely legible toponym on the outward route between Larsa and Babylon,[44] was a relatively important town in the vicinity of Zabalam (Tell Ibzaih), two stations after Al-Ahumma (§ 5.A.2). Hints to the trading activities in Rahabum – evidenced by a *kārum* quarter and merchants – have been collected by M. Stol.[45] Rahabum was situated on a canal.[46] R. de Boer asks whether texts from private collections published in CUSAS 36 could have originated from Rahabum.[47]

An inheritance deed, YOS 5 106, mentions possessions in Al-Ahumma (§ 5.A.2) and Rahabum as well as in Waqartum and Larsa (§ 5.A.1) – all these places were probably in relative proximity to each other.[48]

5.A.5 Razama

There were at least three places called Razama[49] in Old Babylonian times, two were in Upper Mesopotamia,[50] this Razama mentioned here lay in the territory of Larsa. B. Groneberg had already distinguished this correctly and noted that:[51]

> "R. [2] wird im aB Itinerar drei Stationen nach Babylon und eine Station vor Larsa erwähnt. Dieses R. liegt wohl in den beiden aus Larsa stammenden Texten TCL 11, 250 und AbB 4, 118 vor."

38 Goetze 1953: 64 raised the issue but suspected that Larsa was both the point of departure and arrival.

39 Goetze 1953: 51 restored differently.

40 Hallo 1964: 64a.

41 Cf. Groneberg 1980: 6 *s.v.* Aḫumma.

42 Goetze 1953: 51.

43 Hallo 1964: 64.

44 The writing in A: i 4 is [*ra-ḫ*]*a-bu-um*. This has already been suggested by Hallo 1964: 64. A. Goetze tentatively restored the year name Samsu-iluna 28 and read *ia-di-ḫ*]*a-bu-um*. This has to be abandoned.

45 Stol 2006-2008: 231.

46 The Old Babylonian dept note published by M. Streck, www.archibab.fr/T18628, mentions canal works, the letter AbB 8 146 a boat.

47 De Boer 2019: 244b.

48 D. Charpin has asked during a colloquium on Old Babylonian archives in Paris (May 2023) whether Rahabum could be identified with Tell Helib in the south of Umma, see on this site Adams 1965: 144 sites 213-214. See also the revised map in Steinkeller 2001: 40 (Tell no. 213). Archaeological work is needed before this assumption can be confirmed.

49 D. Charpin (2003) described this phenomenon as "toponymie en miroir". Charpin 2003: 27 deals with the three different tomonyms Razama.

50 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 286-289.

51 Groneberg 1980: 197. Shortly Goetze 1953: 64.

To the known attestations we can add CUSAS 36 177: 22, CUSAS 36 194: 6 as well as APM 6435[52]: 11. In the latter Razama is mentioned besides Harharri.

5.A.6 Tanasapi

We don't have any parallels for this place name. A. Goetze read Šanasapi[53]. In comparison with A: iii 16 (autography) we prefer for the time being the reading TA[54].

5.A.7 Iplah

Iplah (A: iv 9' *ip-la-ah*) is a well attested place, but nothing can be said about its exact location.[55] Nuns from Sippar owned or bought land there[56], and in a lawsuit concerning a slave, the judges from Babylon and Borsippa questioned the elders from Iplah.[57] The vindication was dismissed with an oath to Šamaš, Marduk, Hammurabi and the city of Sippar. Most of the evidence thus points to the greater area of Sippar, although Iplah must be sought two stations downriver from Babylon on the way to Larsa. Is this another case of homonymy? An early Babylonian document from Isin names the place Ipla (*ip-la*[ki])[58], which is probably identical with our stage of the RTE.

5.A.8 Haphappi

A place named Haphap is otherwise only attested in the archives of Alammuš-naṣir, who dwelt in the area of Kiš, in Damrum.[59] Text A3533[60] mentions the garden of Haphap as a source of boxwood. Haphap was probably a rather insignificant centre with agricultural activities.

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52 For this document published by W. VAN SOLDT & M. STOL see www.archibab.fr/T18646.

53 GOETZE 1953: 55, 64b.

54 The sign ŠA is written with horizontal wedges in A: i 20, ii 1 and iii 7.

55 Cf. GRONEBERG 1980: 65-66 *s.v.* Eblaḫ for attestations. See GOETZE 1953: 64.

56 CT 2 15, CT 47 4 and TCL 1 187.

57 VS 13 32.

58 BIN 9 417: 2: *ip-la*[ki].

59 D. Charpin prepares the publication of this archive, see CHARPIN (to be published). An overview has already appeared: CHARPIN 2006-2007.

60 STUNECK 1927: 6-7, see on the CDLI website P512746. This document will be reedited by CHARPIN (to be published).

5.B From Babylon to Sippar and the Steppe North of Sippar

Return trip (from the north-western steppe to the south)	Comment on toponym	Outbound trip from the south to the northeast
	§ 5.C.1	Dur-Apil-Sin
Maqala ↓	§ 5.B.5	
Al-ka-mi-ni-ia ↓	§ 5.B.4	
	§ 5.B.3	Sippar-durim ↑
Sippar ↓	§ 5.B.2	
		Sippar-ṣerim ↑
Babilim ↓	§ 5.B.1	Babilim ↑
Return trip (to be read from top to bottom)	§ 5.B	Outbound trip (to be read from bottom to top)

Table to § 5.B : Overview of the stages from Babylon to the north.
The arrangement of the toponyms roughly follows the geographical orientation on modern maps. North as on the maps above, south below, west left, east right. For this reason, the more easterly outbound journey from Babilim to Dur-Apil-Sin is in the right-hand column and must be read from bottom to top.

On the outbound journey, the travelling party stopped in Babylon for 11 days and in the two Sippars for 10 days, a total of more than 21 days; on the way back, they stayed in Babylon again for almost two weeks. The travellers were in the centre of the Babylonian empire and had to or wanted to spend considerable time there.

The route taken by the travelling party on the outward journey in northern Babylonia has been studied in 1998 by Steven Cole and Hermann Gasche. It is particularly astonishing that the way between Babylon and Sippar-ṣerim (Tell Abu-Ḥabba), 61 km as the crow flies, had been covered in a single day. The group of travellers probably used the branch of the Euphrates known as the Arahtum, the course of which changed towards the end of Hammurabi's reign[61]. The travellers were probably once again—like after the departure from Larsa and then as far as Mankisum— on their way by boat or ship.

On the way back, they seem to have made a shortcut through the steppe, which enabled the travellers to reach Sippar directly from the north from Šitullum, i.e. the area of today's Tekrit on the Tigris (see §§ 5.B.4 and 5.B.5). The travel group seemed to have been driven by a great haste, after all the time lost in the Habur region. The stops they made on the return journey are partly not documented in

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61 COLE & GASCHE 1998: 26-27.

Fig. 5: The part of the journey from Babylon to Mankisum (the latter could no more be recorded on the map) in the reconstruction by Cole & Gasche 1998: 46 "Map 6".

the texts, and were probably small deserted villages in the steppe area.

5.B.1 Babilim = Babylon

On the outbound journey, the travelling party stopped in Babylon for 11 days; on the way back, there was another stay of almost two weeks. The visit to the capital was obviously important to the travellers. It is unknown whether on the outward trip this was due to the fact that the travelling party wanted to cross foreign territories and needed special permits for this. And on the way back, they prob-

ably had to report what they had experienced abroad.[62] It cannot be ruled out that the stay was mainly of a logistical nature. Perhaps they were waiting for a good opportunity to continue their journey by water?

Babylon was undoubtedly a transhipment point for trade travellers up and down the river. The time spent in the capital could therefore also have been devoted to pro-

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62 This was already suggested by Goetze 1953: 64b: "The stay of two days in Sippar and of 13 days in Babylon are, we can assume, not so much for rest as for reporting and perhaps the discharge of the troops."

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curing or purchasing goods, and taxes could have been incurred on imported goods on the return journey. It cannot be ruled out that the goods on the way back were inspected by palace officials, as the royal palace probably had a right of preemption.

5.B.2 Sippar-ṣerim, Sippar = Tell Abu-Ḥabba

For the identification of the various Sippars, we refer to CHARPIN 1988. Sippar ṣērim[63] "Sippar-of-the-Steppe" can be identified with Tell Abu-Ḥabba, the place of worship of Šamaš and the "cloister" of the nadītum nuns dedicated to him. On the way out, the travelling party spent 5 days there. For the way back, "Sippar" alone is mentioned, probably meaning the same Sippar = Tell Abu-Ḥabba. The stay on the way back was shorter and lasted only for two days.

5.B.3 Sippar-durim = Tell ed-Der

For Sippar-dūrim "Sippar of the wall" see CHARPIN 1988: 15. Text A is the only attestation of that name. Sippar-durim must be identified with Sippar-Amnanum, nowaday's Tell ed-Der. The travel group spent 5 days there on the outward journey, as it did in Sippar-ṣerim (§ 5.B.2). On the return journey, they probably did not stop in Tell ed-Der.

5.B.4 Al-ka-mi-ni-ia

The reading of the toponym is as questionable today as it was when the text was first published. A. Goetze commented on it thus[64]:

> "AL KA?.MI.NI-a: The reading of the name is problematic; however, one would prefer, in an Old Babylonian name, to read the combination MI.NI-a as ṣilli^li-a."

There is currently no comparison for toponyms ending in -ṣilliya.

However the ancient name must be read, it was certainly a steppe village between Sippar and the depression of the Tharthar, Umm-Rahal[65], on the south-eastern side of which Maqala (see below § 5.B.5) can be sought.

5.B.5 Maqala

Maqala was probably a lookout post in the desert steppe, as its etymology suggests.[66] The place is attested in a letter from Mari,[67] in which it is mentioned as stage of Išme-Dagan between Babylon and Ekallatum and apparently had the function of a border post of the kingdom of Ekallatum. It can be searched for about 60-80 km to the north-east of Tell Abu-Ḥabba. A location in the south-east of the present Tharthar salt lake, i.e. at the depression of Umm-Rahal can be assumed.[68]

5.C The Outbound Trip from Dur-Apil-Sin to Mankisum

Outbound trip from Dur-Apil-Sin to Mankisum	Comment on toponym
Mankisum	§ 5.C.5
Kar-Šamaš ↑	§ 5.C.4
Kar-Kakkulatim ↑	§ 5.C.3
Hibaritum ↑	§ 5.C.2
Dur-Apil-Sin ↑	§ 5.C.1
Outbound trip (to be read from bottom to top)	§ 5.C

Table to § 5.C: Overview of the stages from Dur-Apil-Sin to Mankisum.
The order of the toponyms in the table roughly follows the geographical position of the stages. North as on a modern map above, south below.

The stages of the outbound trip from Sippar apparently have nothing in common with the course of the return journey. The latter seems to have been via a shortcut through the steppe, which enabled the travellers to reach Sippar directly from the north. See above §§ 5.B.4 and 5.B.5.

The outward route, on the other hand, which brought the travellers by water from Sippar to Mankisum, can be reconstructed reasonably well. S. W. Cole and H. Gasche (1998) thoroughly investigated this part of the RTE and also published a map (see Fig. 5).

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63 CHARPIN 1988: 14-15.
64 GOETZE 1953: 64b.
65 On this depression in antiquity cf. JOANNÈS 1993, from whom we have also taken the name Umm-Rahal. Today's huge salt lake is due to engineering work in the mid-20th century AD.
66 Maqala is a possible derivation from qâlum "to spy" and could mean "observation post". For placenames which trace their names back to their function as guard posts see ZIEGLER & CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 2017: 33.
67 The bibliography on letter A.649 published by D. CHARPIN & J.-M. DURAND as well as the transcription and translation are accessible in www.archibab.fr/T21538.
68 On the position, see in detail ZIEGLER 2002: 243 and the map on p. 238. See the summary of the discussions in ZIEGLER & LANGLOIS 2016: 215.

Fig. 6: The stages between Sippar and Aššur. Sections C and D of the RTE.

5.C.1 Dur-Apil-Sin

The fortress that the Babylonian king Apil-Sin built against his eastern neighbours was perhaps located on the then boundary of his empire.[69] Dur-Apil-Sin lay on a ca-

nal and must be considered a day's journey, i.e. an average of 25-30 km, from Sippar. The connection between Sippar and Dur-Apil-Sin is also expressed in two Old Babylonian letters, while a sale contract establishes a connection be-tween Kar-Šamaš (see below § 5.C.3) and Dur-Apil-Sin.[70]

W. W. Hallo had devoted a lengthy commentary to the fortress, suggesting that it would have been located on the

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69 Fortresses called *dūr*+king's name were generally established close to the border of the realm by the named ruler, see JOANNÈS 1996: 336 fn. 55. See CHARPIN 2004: 157: Daduša defines his fortress Dur-Daduša as *āl pāṭiya* "the city on my border".

70 Letters AbB 14 87 and 93. VS 18 17 cf. CHARPIN 2005: 136-137.

Irnina Canal, perhaps in Aqar-Quf, the Kassite Dur-Kurigalzu[71]. Even if the latter hypothesis is no longer accepted today, it has not yet been possible to make an archaeologically substantiated proposal for localisation. The informations have been compiled by S. W. Cole and H. Gasche.[72] See for their hypothetical localisation of the fortress their map (reproduced above Fig. 5).

The travelling party stayed in Dur-Apil-Sin for 10 days. This was, together with the 4 days in Mankisum, the last longer stay before setting off for Upper Mesopotamia.

5.C.2 Hibaritum

The documenary evidence concerning Hibaritum has been gathered by S. W. Cole and H. Gasche[73]. W. W. Hallo also wrote a detailed commentary[74]. The place is mentioned in the so-called cadaster of Urnammu[75] and, according to Middle Babylonian sources, was located on the Zubi canal. In texts of that time, the place is mentioned with another toponym, which may be read Kakkulatum (s. § 5.C.3).

5.C.3 Kar-Kakkulatim, the harbour district of Kakkulatum

Kakkulatum[76], probably in the urban area of today's Baghdad, lay on the Tigris[77]. It was the point, where the river could easily be crossed. At the time of the Elamite invasion of Hammurabi's Babylonia in 1766 BC, the city was fiercely disputed, and even destroyed[78].

The fact that the travellers of the RTE, who, as we assume, passed through the area perhaps a decade after this Elamite invasion, only mention the "trading quarter of Kakkulatum"[79] could indicate that the city as such had not yet been resurrected, but that it continued to serve the logistics of the merchants. Kar-Kakkulatim could therefore represent a toponym in its own right, the pitiful remnant of a formerly strategically important locality.[80]

When and whether the city was revived is unclear. Evidence from the late Old Babylonian period seems to be lacking. In the Kassite period, the place could have been named with the sumerogram [uru]GAKKUL[ki].[81] F. R. Kraus also translitterated this toponym with [uru]MUN[ki] and suggested that this sumerogram could be interpreted as a reference to an ancient salt production. He connected this circumstance with Hibaritum (see above § 5.C.2) for which he believed to have found a localisation clue.[82]

5.C.4 Kar-Šamaš

Two[83], perhaps even three[84] cities Kar-Šamaš[85] are attested by Old Babylonian evidence. The first, Kar-Šamaš (1), was close to Ur, the second lay on the Tigris. All are well attested in the documentation.

W. W. Hallo commented on the toponym and pointed out the philological and historical difficulties:[86]

> "The next station is again a quai or wharf (*kāru*), apparently named for the Sungod. The absence of the divine determinative is troublesome, though not more so than in the analogous Sumerian geographical name Ki-[d]Utu which is sometimes spelled Ki-UTU.KI. Gadd [UET I, p. 31] notes two places called Kar-Šamaš in Old Babylonian times, one on the Euphrates commemorated in Ammiditana's elev-

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71 Hallo 1964: 67. See also Goetze 1953: 55. Gasche & Cole 1998 do not follow the suggestion of locating Dur-Apil-Sin in Aqar-Quf.

72 Cole & Gasche 1998: 20, 22 fn. 104 and 46 (map).

73 Cole & Gasche 1998: 17, 19-20.

74 Hallo 1964: 68. Goetze 1953: 56a draws on texts from the Kassite period.

75 Kraus 1955. See the reedition of this text by Frayne 1997: 50-56, no. 21.

76 Röllig 1976-1980.

77 The maps of Cole & Gasche 1998: 46-47 (see our Fig. 5 above) list the site on the east side. The detailed commentary Cole & Gasche 1998: 20-21 does not mention a river side. W. W. Hallo and A. Goetze had voted for a location more to the west. Goetze 1953: 56 "probably on the western bank", and Hallo 1964: 68 "the itinerary clearly places the site west of the Tigris at about the latitude of Sumeiki Station, i.e. at some distance from Ešnunna and the heart of the Diyala valley perhaps not as far west of the river as now."

    Klengel 1961 argumentation in favour of the eastern bank is based on a misinterpretation of ARM 4 21: 8, which does not mention the place Kakkulatum as the conquest of the Turukkeans, but simply "salt" written with the word sign GAKKUL.

78 Lacambre 1997, see the map of troop movements in Cole & Gasche 1998: 47. The destruction is mentioned in ARM 27 145.

79 See § 2.7. The name is spelled in text B: 7 *kar-ka-ku-la-ti*, and in A: i 15 it is restored. Most attestations mark the final mimation.

80 Several year names of Old Babylonian kings mention the place, see references in Groneberg 1980: 129 and the comment by Röllig 1976-1980.

81 Nashef 1982: 267 ranges this place name *s.v.* Ṭābtu, a reading of the sumerogram GAKKUL "salt", which also inspired F. R. Kraus' comment.

82 Kraus 1955: 63 suggests a localisation of Akšak and Hibaritum on the Tigris, near Telomer, the Tell 'Umair" of Kiepert's map, 26 km east of T. Abu-Ḥabba, since an industrial saltpetre factory was nearby.

83 Cf. Röllig 1976-1980. For Kar-Šamaš near Ur see Fiette 2017.

84 Perhaps three cities, if JCSSS 2 17: 15 KAR.[d]UTU[ki] *ša** GÚ* [i]UD.KIB.NUN.NA* mentions a Kar-Šamaš on the Euphrates. This could be the Kar-Šamaš mentioned together with Sippar.

85 See above § 2.7. The unusual way to write the divine name Šamaš without the divine classifyer in this place name must be emphasised. Text A: i 16 and B: 8 : *kar*-UTU.

86 Hallo 1964: 68b.

enth year, and one on the Tigris commemorated by Hammurapi in his forty-second year. The former was probably not far from Babylon, for a forteress by this name was already built by Sabum. It was a port of transshipment for Sippar and thus may well have been the point where the canal route to the Euphrates left the Tigris. In the geographical name list from Larsa [Jean RA 32, 1935, 166 vi 43. Cf. now also CT XLIV 47 iii], Kar-Šamaš is the last preserved entry before the river names; it follows almost immediately after Hiritum and *Hi-baᵎ-ri-tum*, both of which are located on the water route between Sippar and Mankisum, the former on the Irnina canal, the latter on the Izubitum."

We cannot follow W. W. Hallo's conclusion on the geographical location of Kar-Šamaš, as it is set much too far north. He concluded:[87]

"All these indications accord well with the proposed reading and location of the great bend of the Tigris, some 20-25 km upstream from the confluence of the Adhem, about the point where the later 'Median Wall' met the river."

The localisation of the toponym as proposed by S. W. Cole and H. Gasche seems more convincing to us:[88]

"situated north of Baghdad, along a stretch of the Tigris channel that was prone to shifting"

and in a more detailed footnote, they wrote:[89]

"A date formula of Apil-Sin states that the king returned the bed of the Tigris to its former location (Al Rawi 1993, 24: 16': mu gú íd.idigna ki-bi-šè bí-in-gi₄-a); the formula is a variant of the one mentioning Kār-Šamaš (ibid., 28)."

VS 18 17 is a land purchase contract according to which the mayor of Kar-Šamaš sold land. Among other things, the text mentions work in Dur-Apil-Sin—an identification with the Kar-Šamaš of the RTE seems certain. Also, Kar-Šamaš and Puš, which is probably near the confluence of the Irnina and Zubi canals,[90] are also mentioned together in at least two texts.[91] If the place Kar-Šamaš, which is mentioned together with Hiritum[92], Kiš[93] or Sippar[94], is the same place, or a third Kar-Šamaš, cannot be solved here.

5.C.5 Mankisum, perhaps Tell Kurr (Hig. No. 726, certainty 1)

Mankisum[95], which, according to a suggestion by S. W. Cole and H. Gasche, can be identified with Tell Kurr (Hig. No. 726) on the east bank of a former course of the Tigris ("River Course B"), was the terminus of the journey by water. Apparently, the travelling party had to change here to a donkey caravan before continuing northwards. This action—transferring goods from boats or ships to donkeys, assembling the caravan and probably its escort, and sending back the boats as well as the trekkers—caused a stay of four days in Mankisum. The author of the RTE notes this in the text A: i 17-19:

"4 days Mankisum, when the men have been relea[sed]/ ga[thered] and the boats returned."

Perhaps the people who were relieved of their duties, who were relea[sed], or "demobi[lised]" if we read *ip-p[a-aṭ-ru]*, were trekkers? Mankisum was a natural or political border for the travellers.

Possibly Mankisum was at this time on the north-eastern boundary of the kingdom of Babylon, which was, as we assume, under the beginning rule of Samsu-iluna. The question arises because the changes of escorts and caravans often seem to have taken place in border towns, as the Mari documentation shows particularly clearly.

W. W. Hallo located Mankisum "immediately north of present day Samarra, on the Tigris"[96]. Several researchers followed this suggestion[97] although A. Goetze vehemently opposed such a northern localisation.[98] Goetze was certainly right: Mankisum was later identified by S. W. Cole and H. Gasche with good reason with Tell Kurr on an ancient course of the Tigris, even if direct archaeological evidence is lacking. Before its integration into the kingdom of Babylon, the city was mostly a bridgehead of Ešnunna in regions west of the Tigris. It was fought over several times for this reason. N. Ziegler devoted a lengthy

87 Hallo 1964: 68b.

88 Cole & Gasche 1998: 21 and 46, map.

89 Cole & Gasche 1998: 21 fn. 94.

90 Cole & Gasche 1998: 17.

91 CUSAS 36 209 mentions the transportation of grain from Puš to Kar-Šamaš; BE 6/2 136 mentions the transport of beer mugs from Kar-Šamaš, Puš and other places.

92 JCSSS 2 17.

93 AbB 2 153.

94 AbB 2 72 (a merchant from Sippar who stayed in Kar-Šamaš should pay his natural taxes in Sippar); AbB 7 110; AbB 12 172 ; AbB 14 54 ;

YOS 13 490, and probably also the text published by De Graef 2018 n°12 (see www.archibab.fr/T23226) as well as YOS 12 537; YOS 12 556.

95 Interestingly, the toponym is written differently in texts A and B: A: i 17 *ma-ki-su[m]* with assimilation of N; B: 9 *ma-an-ki-sí* without mimation.

96 Hallo 1964: 69a.

97 See literature in Ziegler 2002: 246.

98 Goetze 1964: 115-116 bases his argumentation on the geopolitical analysis of, above all, the Mari documentation, as well as a text from Tell Harmal. He seeks Mankisum "not too far north of present day Baghdad" and concludes with the words "To sum up I think that a position as far north as Sāmarrā is out of the question".

commentary to the geopolitical situation of this city and collected references to the various written sources on the site. She summed up the state of knowledge thus[99]:

> "Mankisum was an important city, situated on a ford. It had a trading post (*kārum*), an important harbour where ships from the kingdom of Ekallatum could dock, although river navigation seems to have been limited to exceptional grain transports, and people moved on foot, notably in caravans."

5.D From Mankisum to Aššur

Outbound trip from south to north	Comment on toponym	Return trip to the south (toponyms partially broken)
Aššur	§ 5.E.1	[...]
Suqaqu ↑	§ 5.D.7	
Marmenu ↑	§ 5.D.6	
	§ 5.D.5	Ši[tullum] ↓
Yahappila ↑	§ 5.D.4	
	§ 5.D.3	Dur-[šar]ri ↓
Pulukku ↑	§ 5.D.2	
Hiššatum ↑	§ 5.D.1	(Maqala 5.B.5)
Mankisum ↑	§ 5.C.5	
Outbound trip (to be read from bottom to top)	§ 5.D	Return trip (to be read from top to bottom)

Table to § 5.D : The route Mankisum – Aššur at a glance. The stages of the return journey are broken off in text A and can only be partially completed. The arrangement of the toponyms roughly follows the geographical orientation of the stages on modern maps. North as on the maps above, south below. For this reason, the outbound journey is read from bottom to top in the left column.

The route upstream from Mankisum (§ 5.C.5, perhaps Tell Kurr, Hig. No. 726) to Aššur can be reconstructed with some certainty, as it apparently followed the river linearly and there seemed to be few important settlements in this region, at least on the east bank. This region was the border area between the kingdom of Ekallatum and the kingdom of Ešnunna at the time of Zimri-Lim of Mari. The

ancient capital Akkade can perhaps also be sought there[100], although it did not serve as a stage in the Old Babylonian itineraries.

The route of the travellers along the Tigris has been studied by N. Ziegler.[101] She took a closer look at the stages of the itineraries in this area and drew a map (Fig. 7), which partly serves as the basis for Fig. 6. Essentially, the suggestions made at that time are still valid.

According to this proposal, the outward journey took place east of the Tigris. A toponym such as Marmenu (§ 5.D.6), which may go back to the word for the Yaminite tribe "mār yamīnu", seems to refer to a nomadic settlement not yet known from any other text. Clues like this speak for a sparsely populated area.

The return journey is less well attested for this section of the itineraries, since Text A is broken off at this point. It may have led the travellers to Šitullum (§ 5.D.5) along the west bank of the Tigris before they took a shortcut through the steppe area and travelled directly to Sippar.

5.D.1 Hiššatum

Hiššatum, the first station upstream of Mankisum, was sought by A. Goetze near the confluence of the river Adhaim,[102] while W. W. Hallo, influenced by his northern localisation of Mankisum, preferred a location near modern Daur (ed-Dur).[103] Both identified the toponym with the place *hi-iz-za-at* from the so-called "Sargon's Geography" (KAV 92[104]), which has to be searched for at the northern border of the province of Akkad. N. Ziegler commented on the state of knowledge about Hizzat thus[105]:

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99 Ziegler 2002: 246-247: "Mankisum était une ville importante, située sur un gué. Elle possédait un comptoir commercial (*kārum*), un port important où pouvaient accoster des bateaux venant du royaume d'Ekallâtum, même si la navigation fluviale ne semble avoir été limitée qu'aux exceptionnels transports de grain, et que les personnes avançaient à pied, voire en caravanes."

100 We have devoted a dossier to the city of Akkade in *Entre les Fleuves—II* (BBVO 24). On the Old Babylonian Akkade see Ziegler 2014a. The Akkade of the Old Akkadian documentation has been treated by Sommerfeld 2014. For the more recent phases of Akkad's history, which are less well attested in the written sources, see Pethe 2014, Paulus 2014, Marti 2014 and Pirngruber 2014.

101 Ziegler 2002: 246-247.

102 Goetze 1953: 57a

103 Hallo 1963: 69b.

104 Text edition in Horowitz 1998: 67-95, for Hizzat see p. 68-69 § A14: "from Hizzat to Abul-Adad is the Land of Akkad".

105 Ziegler 2002: 245: "Aucun texte de Mari ne semble mentionner cette ville. D. R. Frayne [1992: 105-106, n. 80] propose d'identifier cette Hizzat avec le ville HA.A.IDIGNA des listes de Farâ et d'autres. Il fait allusion à la trouvaille d'une crapaudine comportant une inscription de Maništušu, découverte sur un tell proche de la jonction entre l'Adhaim et le Tigre [Tell Khara'ib Ghdairife], et suppose que cette trouvaille pourrait être originaire de la ville paléo-akkadienne de Hizzat. Cette inscription a depuis été publiée [RIME 2.1.3.6], mais l'identification du tell a été contestée [Steinkeller 1995]."
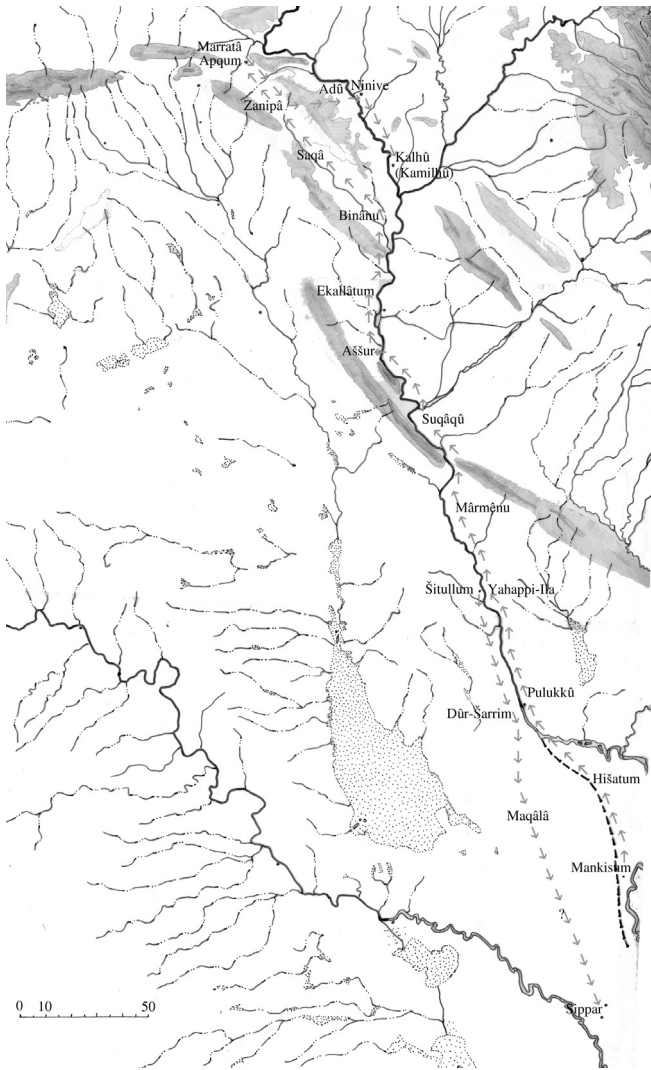
Fig. 7: Former reconstruction of a section of the Old Babylonian itineraries by N. Ziegler (Ziegler 2002: 236).

"No text from Mari seems to mention this city. D. R. Frayne [1992: 105-106, n. 80] proposes to identify this Hizzat with the city HA.A.IDIGNA in the lists of Farâ and others. He alludes to a find of a door socket with a Maništušu inscription, discovered on a tell near the junction of the Adhaim and the Tigris [Tell Khara'ib Ghdairife], and assumes that this find could have originated from the Old Akkadian city of Hizzat. This inscription has since been published [RIME 2.1.3.6], but the identification of the tell has been disputed [Steinkeller 1995]."

In addition to P. Steinkeller's arguments against an identification of Tell Khara'ib Ghdaraife with Hizzat/Hiššatum, W. Sommerfeld can now also be consulted. He summarises the discussion on the place of origin of the Old Akkadian inscription and was not convinced of an identification of this tell with either Akkade or Hišša-

tum.[106] For the region between Baghdad and Samarra, with the location of Tell Kurr and Khara'ib Ghdaraife, the map below from the previous volume *ElF* II (BBVO 24) can be consulted (Fig. 8).

5.D.2 Pulukku

Pulukku[107] was two days' journey upstream from Mankisum (perhaps Tell Kurr, Hig. No. 726). The place name has been associated by W. W. Hallo with a word for "border".[108] W. W. Hallo, following his northern localisation, assumes the place to be near Tekrit. N. Ziegler suggested to search for it in the vicinity of Samarra, where the Tigris valley, which is narrower to the north of it, opens to the south. Pulukku could describe this natural situation:[109]

"Its name indicates a 'border' or 'posts' marking a territorial boundary. Moreover, the question arises as to whether Pulukkû is not to be found in the Samarrâ region, and whether this town did not therefore signify the boundary between the alluvial plain and the beginning of the rocky plateau."

An unpublished Mari text mentions the sacking of [Pu]lukku and Dur-Daduša[110]—both could therefore be located in relative proximity to each other[111] and probably formed the northern border of the kingdom of Ešnunna in Old Babylonian times.

5.D.3 Dur-šarrim

This stage of the return trip was only read "Dūr-[x-]x" by A. Goetze but correctly interpreted as a fortress.[112] The reading Dur-šarrim has been suggested and commented on by N. Ziegler.[113] Like Šitullum, Dur-šarrim can be sought on the western bank of the Tigris, a day's journey down-

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106 Sommerfeld 2014: 155.

107 Cf. Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 266.

108 Hallo 1963: 69b and fn. 48. Goetze 1953: 57 already interpreted this fragmentary place name in A: i 21 correctly.

109 Ziegler 2002: 245 "Son nom indique une « frontière » ou des « poteaux » marquant une limite territoriale. Par ailleurs, il se pose la question de savoir si Pulukkû n'est pas à chercher dans la région de Samarrâ, et si cette ville ne signifiait dès lors pas la limite entre la plaine alluviale et le début du plateau rocheux."

110 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 84-85 locate this fortress on the left bank of the Tigris, on the northern border of the Empire of Ešnunna. See especially the discussion in Ziegler 2002: 242.

111 M.6686 (unpublished).

112 Goetze 1953: 64 and fn. 94 on the strategic situation of a whole series of fortresses.

113 Ziegler 2002: 242-243. See Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 88-89.

stream. An unpublished text from the Mari archives provides valuable clues to the interconnectedness of the various toponyms and clearly shows that Dur-šarrim is to be sought downstream from Šitullum:[114]

> "My 5 servants, whom I had sent to Mankisum to gather accurate information, arrived at my house on the day I had this tablet brought to my master. Downstream (literally below) Šitullum, in Dur-Daduša, they joined a travelling group of people from Dur-šarrim who wanted to go from Mankisum to Šitullum. Among my people whom I sent to the area of Mankisum were two people from Dur-šarrim who (now) live in Suhum.

The text confirms the sequence of Šitullum—Dur-šarrim—Mankisum, and shows that contacts between Dur-šarrim with the Suhum were intensive, as is also attested for Šitullum (below § 5.D.5). For both places, therefore, a location west of the Tigris seems likely.

5.D.4 Yahappila

Yahappila,[115] which was recorded in the Old Babylonian itineraries *ia-ha-ap-pi-i-ìl* or *ia-ha-ap-i*[*l*], was the third stage upstream from Mankisum (perhaps Tell Kurr, Hig. No. 726) and downstream from Aššur, and perhaps lay halfway between these two fixed points. The identification of the stage of the Old Babylonian itineraries with a Yahappila of the Mari documentation[116] had already been suggested by A. Goetze[117], and W. W. Hallo could only agree.[118]

Fig. 8: Map by C. Fink in the introduction to the dossier "Die schriftliche Dokumentation zur Lage Akkades" in Ziegler 2014b:149.

N. Ziegler suggested a location for Yahappila on the eastern bank of the Tigris, approximately at the height of Tekrit, and assumed that the place was situated at a ford.[119] A travelogue from 1910 describes a ford "an hour's walk above the Dahri rocks" (Lorimer 1913: 51), which leads through the Tigris and could be crossed at least at low water (i.e. in autumn). It lies about 15 km south as the crow flies from present-day Tekrit. In this region, however, settlements of the second millennium BC have been relatively rarely explored, which is why a clear identification of a site with Yahappila cannot be made for the time being.

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114 Unpublished text A.558+, quoted by Ziegler 2002: 242 fn 139. The toponym is written there BÀD.LUGAL[ki], in Akkadian Dur-šarrim.

115 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 396 *s.v.* Yahappi-ila (1).

116 ARM 1 35 (LAPO 18 1004, www.archibab.fr/T4456): 15-22 gives instructions to Yasmah-Addu for a trip from Mari to Ešnunna. " There are roads from Mari to Yahpila (*ia-ah-pí-la*[ki])—La'um knows them! Let him bring your equipment to Yahpila, you will get the supplies and provisions from Ekallatum".

117 Goetze 1953: 57a: "This is likely to be identical with *ia-aḫ-bi-la*[ki] of ARM I 35, a station on a direct route from Mari to Ekallātum. The latter is located on the left bank of the Tigris, south of Assur and near the Eshnunna border." This erroneous localisation of Ekallatum has been revised by W. W. Hallo. See the contribution in the same volume (Ziegler & Otto 2023).
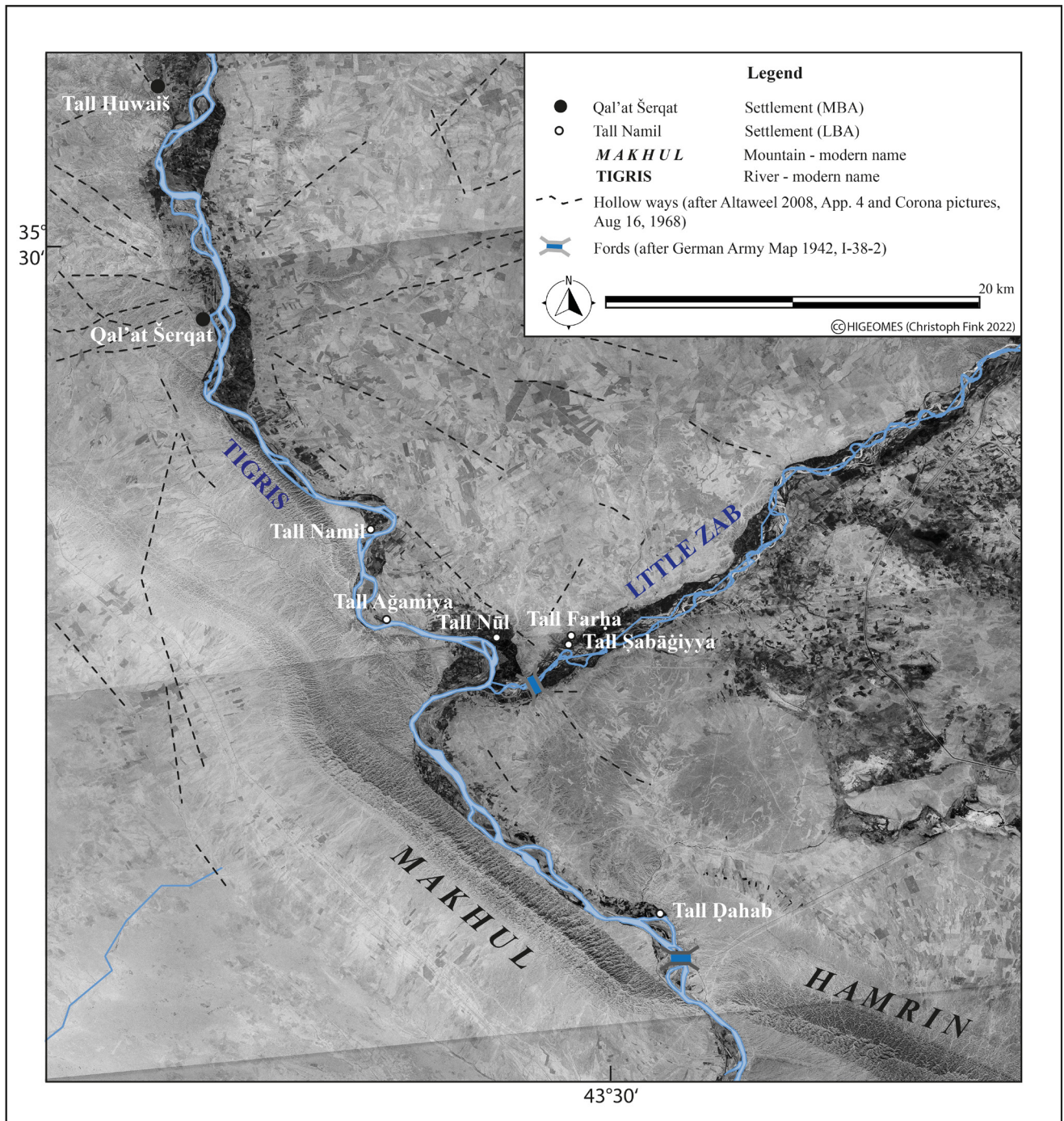
118 Hallo 1964: 70a.

119 Ziegler 2002: 245.

Fig. 9a: Second millennium sites and fords in the area of the confluence of the Little Zab with the Tigris based on a Corona image.
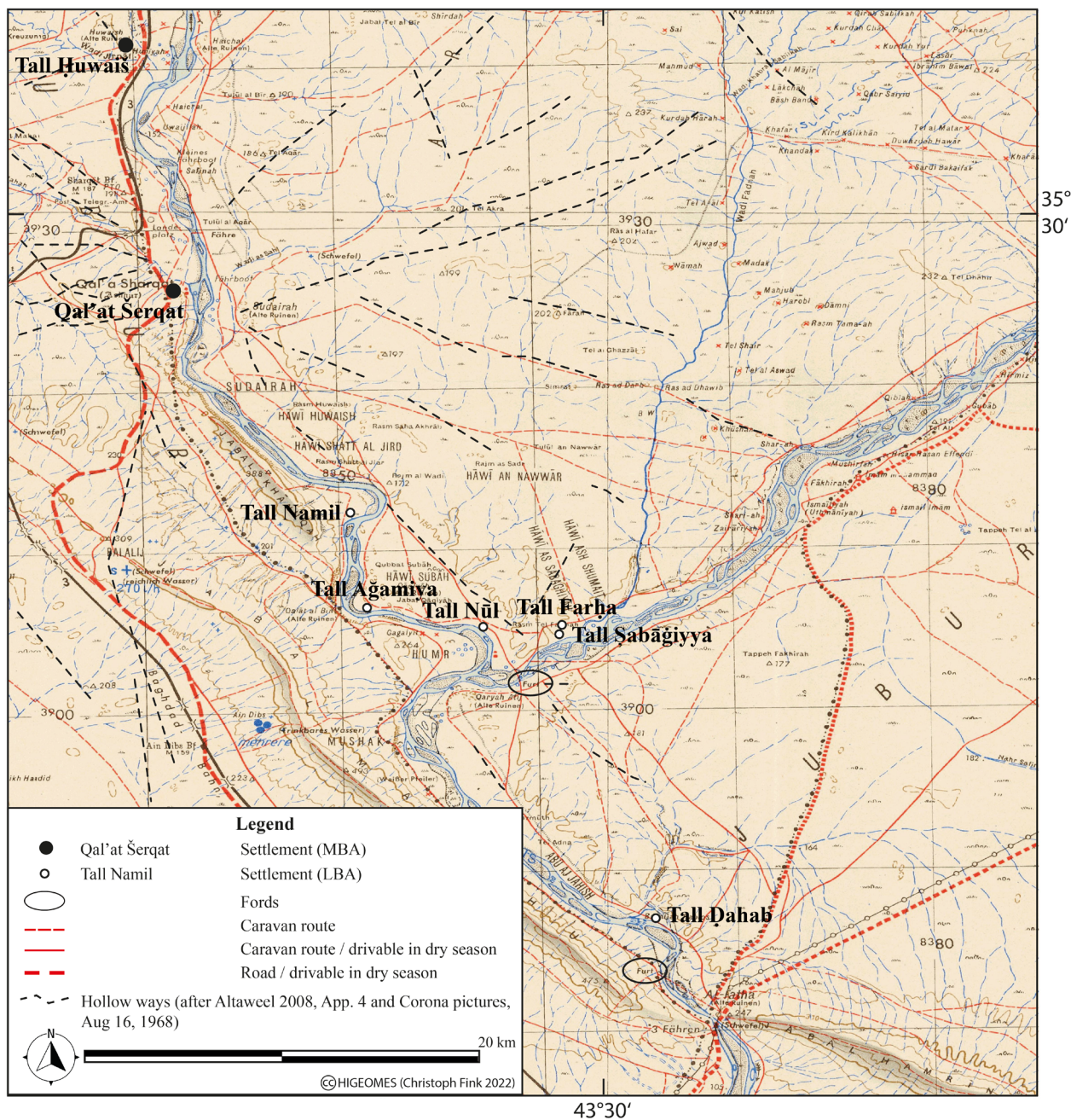
Fig. 9b: The same area as Fig. 9a with sites of the second millennium, hollow ways and fords (= "Furt"), based on maps of the Wehrmacht (1942).*

* Extract from sheet 'I-38/2 - QAL'A SHARQAT' of 'Irak 1:200000'.

5.D.5 Š[itullum]

The restoration of the toponym Šitullum has been suggested by N. Ziegler.[120] Šitullum was the most important fortified town in the south of the kingdom of Ekallatum and secured the border against Ešnunna. Text sources show that it took three days' march from Šitullum to Mankisum.[121] It was therefore, roughly speaking, at the same latitude as Yahappila. Šitullum was also well connected with the Euphrates valley, especially the Suhum. For this and other reasons, N. Ziegler suggested looking for the city on the west bank of the Tigris and identifying it with Tekrit (or a predecessor settlement near Tekrit).[122]

This suggestion is not currently corroborated by archaeological material, which is not surprising given the modern overbuilding, but at least a Middle Assyrian inscription from Tekrit supports the idea of the place's existence during the second millennium BC.[123]

5.D.6 Marmanu, Marmenu

For the penultimate Tigris stage before Aššur, Marmanu/Marmenu, there is no other evidence so far,[124] apart from the RTE texts A: i 23 (*ma-ar-me-nu-*[*ú*]) and B: 13 (*ma-ar-ma-nu*). W. W. Hallo, who defended a northern variant for this part of the itinerary, had suggested:[125]

"It must be sought in the vicinity of al-Fatḥa and probably lay on the left bank of the Tigris."

N. Ziegler's commentary was short[126]:

"No text from Mari documents this stage of the Old Babylonian itineraries between Yahappi-Ila and Suqâqû. Its name could refer to the Benjaminites (cf. FM VII, p. 155) and not to an important town."

Her map (see Fig. 7 above) marked the place south of el-Fatha. Since the Tigris swerves to the west in this area, the travellers may have decided to take a shortcut through the steppe. Marmenu does not necessarily have to be sought in the river valley.

5.D.7 Suqaqu

Suqaqu[127] is a day's journey south of Aššur. The region of the confluence of the Tigris and the Little Zab is dominated on the western bank of the Tigris by the Makhul Mountains, which together with the Hamrin form a mountain range that is pierced by the Tigris about 50 km south of Aššur and thus represents an important bottleneck on the road along the Tigris. The area was investigated very early on by various researchers, including Ernst Herzfeld and Walter Bachmann, but more recent archaeological investigations have only taken place in the last 20 years.

Suqaqu is better known from sources of the post-Old Babylonian period and is mentioned in the Assyrian-Babylonian chronicles as the site of several battles between the two kingdoms. N. Ziegler has summarised the discussion as follows:[128]

"For Suqaqu, the last stage downstream from Aššur according to the two Old Babylonian itineraries, and place of a battle which opposed at the end of the 14th century the Babylonian troops of Kurigalzu II to the Assyrians of Adad-nerari, one refers to the note of J. A. Brinkman [1970]. He argues against locating this city on the right bank of

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120 Ziegler 2002: 240-241.

121 Unpublished A.712+, quoted by Ziegler 2002: 241 fn. 131.

122 Besides Ziegler 2002: 240-241 also have a look at Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 340-341.

123 For the Middle Assyrian documentation, see Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2016: 135 *s.v.* Šītula. A still unpublished inscription of the time of Adad-nerari I found in Tekrit could indicate that the site was settled in the Late Bronze Age. The name Takrit (or similar), which was used from Neo-Assyrian times onwards, has not yet been attested in the written documentation of the 2nd millennium BC.

124 Goetze 1953: 57 "otherwise unknown".

125 Hallo 1964: 70a.

126 Ziegler 2002: 245: "Aucun texte de Mari ne documente cette étape des itinéraires paléo-babyloniens entre Yahappi-Ila et Suqâqû. Son nom pourrait faire allusion aux Benjaminites (cf. FM VII, p. 155) et ne pas désigner une ville importante." See also Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 225.

127 Two Old Babylonian place names Sugagu/Suqaqu exist. Suqaqu (2) that has to be differenciated from Suqaqu (1) in the Euphrates valley, is commented on by Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 314. For the Middle Assyrian evidence see Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2022: 114.

128 Ziegler 2002: 245: "Pour Suqâqû, la dernière étape en aval d'Aššur selon les deux itinéraires paléo-babyloniens, et lieu d'une bataille qui opposa à la fin du XIVᵉ siècle les troupes babyloniennes de Kurigalzu II aux Assyriens d'Adad-nirârî, on se réfère à la note de J. A. Brinkman [1970]. Il s'oppose à une localisation de cette ville sur la rive droite du Tigre, (qui figurait ainsi sur la carte de W. W. Hallo, JCS 18, p. 71) puisque ce côté du fleuve, avec la pente raide du Djebel Makḫul, laisse peu de place pour des routes. En outre, J. A. Brinkman a souligné le fait que la 'Chronique Synchrone' localise cette ville sur le Tigre. Les deux itinéraires font état d'un arrêt de deux jours dans cette ville. Il reste à savoir, si ces deux jours étaient nécessaires pour que les troupes puissent récupérer des fatigues que leur avaient causées les grandes étapes depuis Mankisum, ou bien si ce délai était imposé par des difficultés pour franchir le Petit Zâb. Dans ce cas, Suqâqû serait à chercher dans la proximité immédiate du confluent du Petit Zâb avec le Tigre, sans doute au sud. R. Dittmann [1995 p. 100, n. 20] se demande si Tell ed-Dahab ne pourrait pas recéler les ruines de Suqâqû, mais il note qu'il n'y a apparemment pas de vestiges paléo-assyriens."

the Tigris, (which was thus shown on the map of W. W. Hallo, [1964: 71]) since this side of the river, with the steep slope of Jebel Makḫul, leaves little room for roads. Furthermore, J. A. Brinkman has pointed out the fact that the 'Synchronic Chronicle' locates this city on the Tigris.

Both itineraries mention a two-days stop in this city. It remains to be seen whether these two days were necessary for the troops to recover from the fatigue of the long stages from Mankisum, or whether this delay was imposed by the difficulties of crossing the Little Zab. In this case, Suqaqu would be sought in the immediate vicinity of the confluence of the Little Zab with the Tigris, probably to the south. R. Dittmann [1995: 100, n. 20] wonders whether Tell ed-Dahab might not contain the ruins of Suqaqu, but he notes that there are apparently no Old Assyrian remains."

Since, as already indicated above, the region seemed to have been of great importance for logistical reasons, it is very likely that Suqaqu was located in this area at the tributary of the Little Zab into the Tigris. It can be assumed that the site was located at a ford of the Little Zab. Army maps attest to a ford in the area where the Zab joins the Tigris, and the importance of this ford is underlined by the modern paths and hollow ways leading to it, which are visible in Corona images from 1968 and the work of Mark Altaweel.[129] Other fords across the Tigris existed a few kilometres further north and south of the Makhul–Hamrin breakthrough.

After the Makhul Dam project was launched by the Iraqi government and since the archaeological sites of this region are threatened, archaeological research including surveys and excavations has been carried out.[130] However, no Middle Bronze Age sites could be registered. Even possible "Assyrian" layers on the imposing Tell Dahab were later backdated to the Akkadian period.[131] Accordingly, Fig. 9a shows sites from the 2nd millennium BC more generally. The exact location of Suqaqu can therefore not be proposed.

If Suqaqu must be sought at the confluence of the Little Zab and therefore east of the Tigris, the question arises as to where the travelling party crossed the Tigris on their way to Aššur.

It may be assumed that boats were available for this purpose. In the early 20th century AD, Aššur was reached via a ferry just a few kilometres upstream at Mabar esh-Sherghat. Additionally, there seem to have been fords through the Tigris, e.g. a British map of 1915 ("Eastern Turkey in Asia", Sheet 35 – Kirkuk) shows a ford about 15km further north.[132]

However, it can be assumed that these fords were only accessible at low water, i.e. in late summer or autumn.

5.E From Aššur to Apqum

In the second millennium, the usual route from Aššur to the north or northwest, i.e. also the most direct route taken by the Old Assyrian merchants to Kaneš and Anatolia, ran somewhat north of Aššur to the NNW. It generally did not run along the banks of the Tigris, as the foothills of the Jebel Sinjar between Mosul and the confluence of the Great Zab make the west bank of the Tigris difficult to pass.[133] About 40 km north of Aššur, about halfway between Aššur and Kalhu, the Jebel Najma ridge extends from the west directly to the Tigris valley, leading to rapids at this point, which are marked on Kiepert's map of 1893. Between Aššur and Qaiyara, on the other hand, i.e. between Jebel Makhul and the mountain ranges of Najma, Shanin and Ibrahim, this creates a wide corridor to the northwest, which is the ideal route to Jebel Sinjar and then to the Habur Triangle.

Outbound trip from south-east to north-west	Comment on toponym	Return trip from west to south-east (toponyms of the return trip partly broken off)
Apqum-ša-Addu ↑	5.E.8	
Sanipa ↑	5.E.7	Sanipa ↓
	5.E.6	Adu ↓
	5.E.5	Kamilhu ↓
Saqa ↑	5.E.4	
Binanu ↑	5.E.3	
Ekallatum ↑	5.E.2	[...]
Aššur ↑	5.E.1	
Outbound trip (to be read from bottom to top)	§ 5.E	Return trip (to be read from top to bottom)

Table to § 5.E : Overview of the section Aššur – Apqum. The stages of the return journey are broken off after Kamilhu (§ 5.E.5) and cannot be restored.
The arrangement of the toponyms roughly follows the geographical orientation of the stages on modern maps: Northwest is up, south is down. The outward journey is to be read from bottom to top in the left-hand column.

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129 Altaweel 2008: App. 4.
130 Mühl & Sulaiman 2011: 371.
131 Mühl 2013: 223-224.
132 See in the same volume Ziegler & Otto 2023.

133 For the route that was probably used mainly in Middle and Neo-Assyrian times and that led from Aššur directly to the northwest see Altaweel 2008: 69 Fig. 20. For routes from Aššur or Kalhu and Nineveh directly to the west see Kühne 2021: 304 Figs. 12, 13.

David Oates (1968: 15), who was the first to explore the communication systems in northern Mesopotamia, describes the route from the Tigris to the Habur Triangle like this:

> „Direct penetration to the north between the Khabur and the Tigris is barred by the first outlying range of hills, where Jebel Sinjar, rising as much as 1,000 m. above the plain, is impassable except at a very few points. It is continued south-eastwards from Tell Afar to the Tigris at Qaiyara by an intermittent chain of lower ridges, Jebel Sheikh Ibrahim, Jebel Shanin, Jebel Jawan, and Jebel Najma, which are less formidable than Jebel Sinjar but still present a barrier to communication except at well-defined crossings. The northern sector of this chain is backed by Jebel Atshan, overlooking the Tigris valley at Mosul; parallel with Jebel Najma but further to the south is the rugged range of Jebel Makhul, a north-westward continuation of Jebel Hamrin and separated from it only by the Tigris gorge. The only point at which communication between the steppe and the Tigris north of the gorge is virtually unhindered is the saddle, some 30 km. wide, between Jebel Najma and Jebel Makhul. This serves as a corridor linking the upper Tharthar in the neighborhood of Hatra with the river valley between Qaiyara and Sharqat, the site of ancient Aššur. It is approximately at this point that the outer limit of reliable rainfall crosses the Tigris."

On his map of "North Iraq in the Parthian period", D. Oates marked important routes (Fig. 10) which, in our opinion, partly correspond to the routes of the Old Babylonian period (Fig. 11). Especially in the area between Aššur and the Jebel Sinjar, which has been little influenced by agriculture until today, it is quite probable that proven routes remained more or less unchanged for thousands of years. Therefore, the routes reconstructed by Oates for the Parthian period can certainly be considered as an approximation for the second millennium as well. The route from Mosul to Nisibin also remained almost unchanged for centuries (see below).

Starting from Aššur, the route of the RTE first led along the Tigris about 15 km exactly north to Ekallatum (§ 5.E.2), which can now be identified with certainty with Tell Ḥuwaish (see contribution Ziegler & Otto 2023, this volume).

Upstream of Tell Ḥuwaish, the Tigris makes a bend to the northeast, which is caused by the mountain ranges of Jebel Atshan, Shanin, Jawan and Najma. The Great Zab flows into the Tigris there. Certainly, ancient routes also led along the Tigris to the NNW towards Kamilhu/Kalhu or Nineveh, but these were certainly never the main routes due to the mountain ranges that narrow the valley in many places. The main route led in the corridor described above from Ḥuwaish to the NNW. This ancient road can be traced on the ground over 18 km, starting from the northern city gate

of Tell Ḥuwaish, and is visible on aerial photographs as hollow ways or tracks[134] (Fig. 11). The road can also be traced on the ground, at least this was possible in the 1960s. It is very likely that this road was the royal road for centuries. D. Oates describes archaeological remains that can be interpreted as way stations, which lined this road:[135]

> "At intervals of some 4km., where the road crosses the crest of a ridge, there are small mounds between 5 and 10 m. in diameter. On these only a few sherds of indeterminate character were found. Their purpose is obscure; they are well sited for signal stations but seem unnecessarily close to one another. Only four were identified and their siting may be fortuitous."

These small elevations have never been investigated since then, but it would be very exciting—against the background of better knowledge of the pottery and with the help of modern methods—to check whether there might be road stations hidden in them, perhaps dating back to the second millennium.

The first kilometres of this route were probably also used by travellers towards Razama (Tell Abṭa, Hig. No. 908[136]) and Qaṭṭara (Tell al-Rimah, Hig. No. 101[137]), but this route then turned slightly to the west[138]. According to the written sources in the archives from Qaṭṭara and also the slightly older sources from Mari, this area probably belonged politically to Karana – either to the province of the Upper Mesopotamian kingdom of Samsi-Addu, or to the independent kingdom of Karana (Fig. 12)[139]. This political affiliation to Karana probably applies to the whole stretch of the outward journey from Binanu (§ 5.E.3) to Apqum (§ 5.F.1).

The travellers on the RTE covered the distance from Ekallatum to Apqum-ša-Addu in four stages on the outward journey. Between Tell Ḥuwaish (§ 5.E.2 Ekallatum) and Tell Abu Mariam (§ 5.F.1 = Apqum) there are 110 km as the crow flies, which means a daily average of 27.5 km. However, the first three stages must have been even somewhat longer (about 30 km each), if we identify Sanipa (§ 5.E.7) with Tell Kharima. However, distances of 30 km a day were probably not a problem in this area because the

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134 Oates 1968: 59; Altaweel 2008: 68 Fig. 19. See also Ziegler & Otto 2023, this volume, Fig. 4.

135 Oates 1968: 59-60 with fn. 5.

136 On the Old Babylonian documentation see Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 288-289.

137 On this now esp. Langlois 2017a : 11-15. See also Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 271-273.

138 For this route see Oates 1968: 35-36 with fn. 3 and Ziegler 2002: 255-266.

139 The kingdom of Karana has been studied by Langlois 2017b: 205-230.
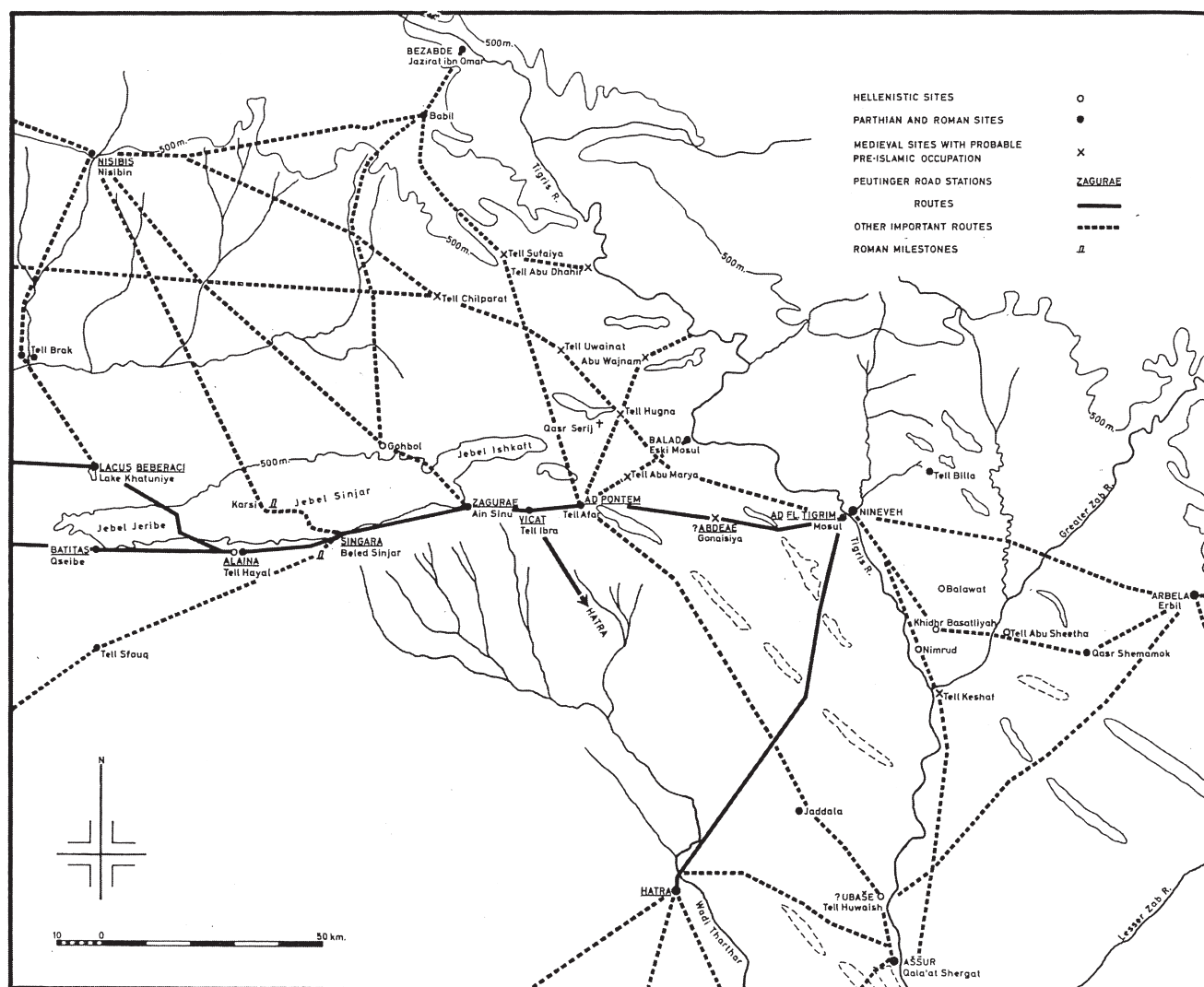
Fig. 10: Route systems in northern Mesopotamia in the Parthian period (OATES 1968: 76, Fig. 5).

terrain is relatively flat, without large wadis or other natural barriers, and was easy to cross.

N. Ziegler reconstructed the travellers' route on a map in her study on Ekallatum in 2002 (above Fig. 7). She assumed at that time that Binanu and Saqa could perhaps be sought northeast of the small mountain ranges Jebel Qayyara, Jawan and Nejma. Today, in view of the road leading NNW from Tell Ḥuwaish, this no longer seems likely, and we propose the route southwest of the mountain range (Fig. 12).

All in all, it is remarkable for the stretch of road between Aššur and Šubat-Enlil that the outward and return ways choose different routes (see in detail Figs. 12 and 14). While the course of the path and many stations of the outward route can be reconstructed with some certainty, most of the stations of the return route remain uncertain. An explanation for this can be found below in § 5.F.

5.E.1 Aššur = Qalat Sharqat (Hig. No. 111)

The documentation on Aššur in Old Babylonian text sources has been collected.[140] The geopolitical role of Aššur in the 18th century BC has been studied by N. Ziegler[141]. It is interesting to note that in the texts from the reign of Samsi-Addu (1809 – 1776 BC) there is the habit of referring to Aššur simply as "the city" (ālum), —as was customary in the archives of the Old Assyrian merchants of Kaneš[142]. This

140 See the attestations in ZIEGLER & LANGLOIS 2016: 44-45, to which can be added a-lim[ki d]a-šùr in LT 5: 8'.

141 ZIEGLER 2002: 217-220, 237-238.

142 ZIEGLER 2002: 213-217. Until then, it had sometimes been assumed that in the texts of Samsi-Addu's time "the city" referred to the political capital Ekallatum (§ 5.E.2). However, this could be refuted.
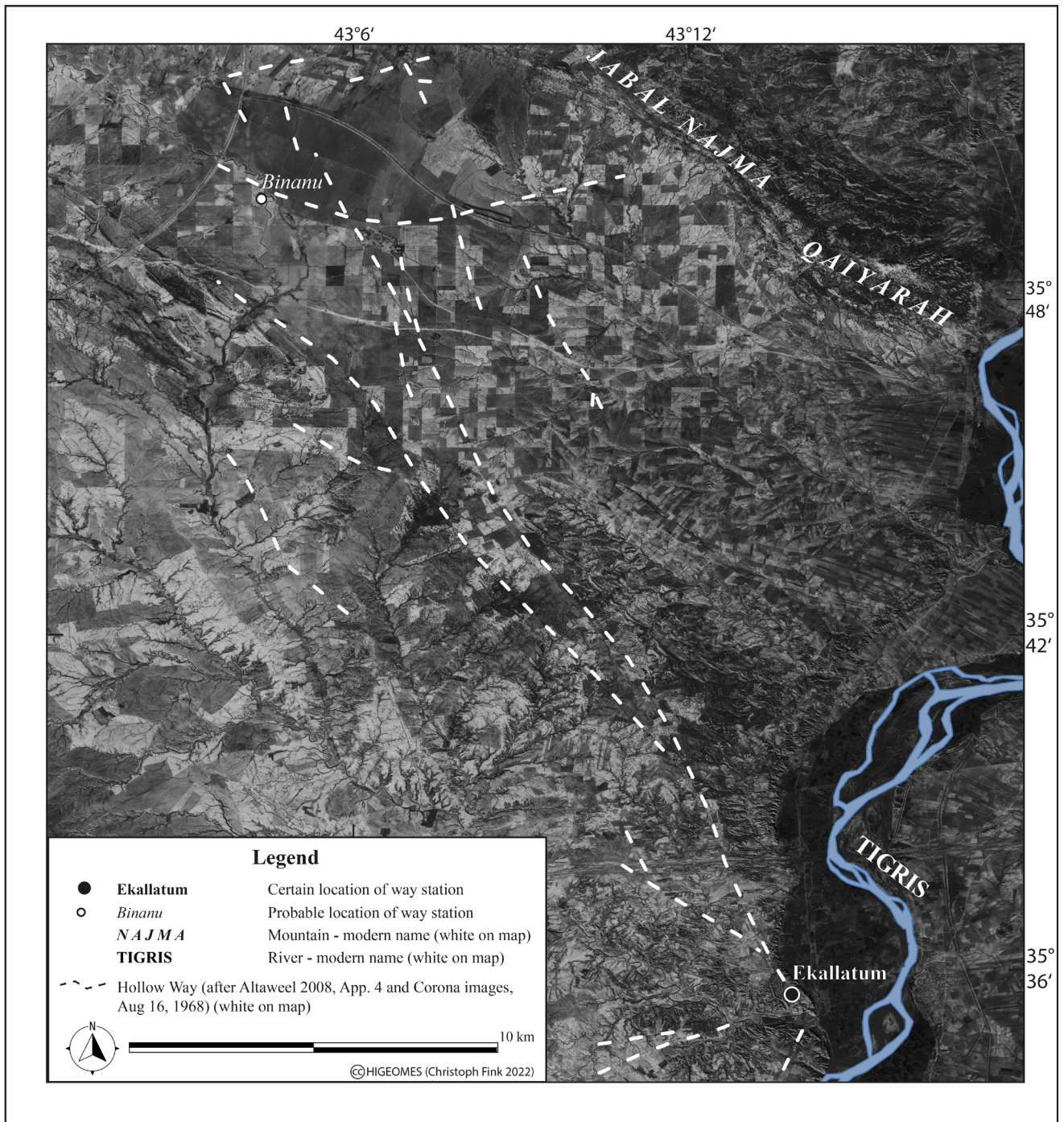
Fig. 11: The route from Ekallatum to the northwest on the base of Corona images.

was probably due to the religiously outstanding role of the city of Aššur. At the time of Samsi-Addu, the bustling ruler of the Upper Mesopotamian kingdom, Aššur was not the political capital, but Ekallatum. This remained so even in the first years of Išme-Dagan's reign, as the Mari texts of the time of Zimri-Lim testify. However, the texts of this period also show that the military influence of Ešnunna and then Babylon was considerable in Ekallatum.

It is not impossible that the city of Aššur was still politically dependent on Ekallatum at the time of the writing of the RTE. Whether Išme-Dagan or his son Mut-Asqur sat on the throne at that time is not ascertainable at present. A sign of a diminished political leadership of this kingdom is that neither the archives from Tell Leilan contemporary to the RTE, nor texts from Qaṭṭara mention a ruler, but they only mention merchants from Aššur. Babylon's mil-
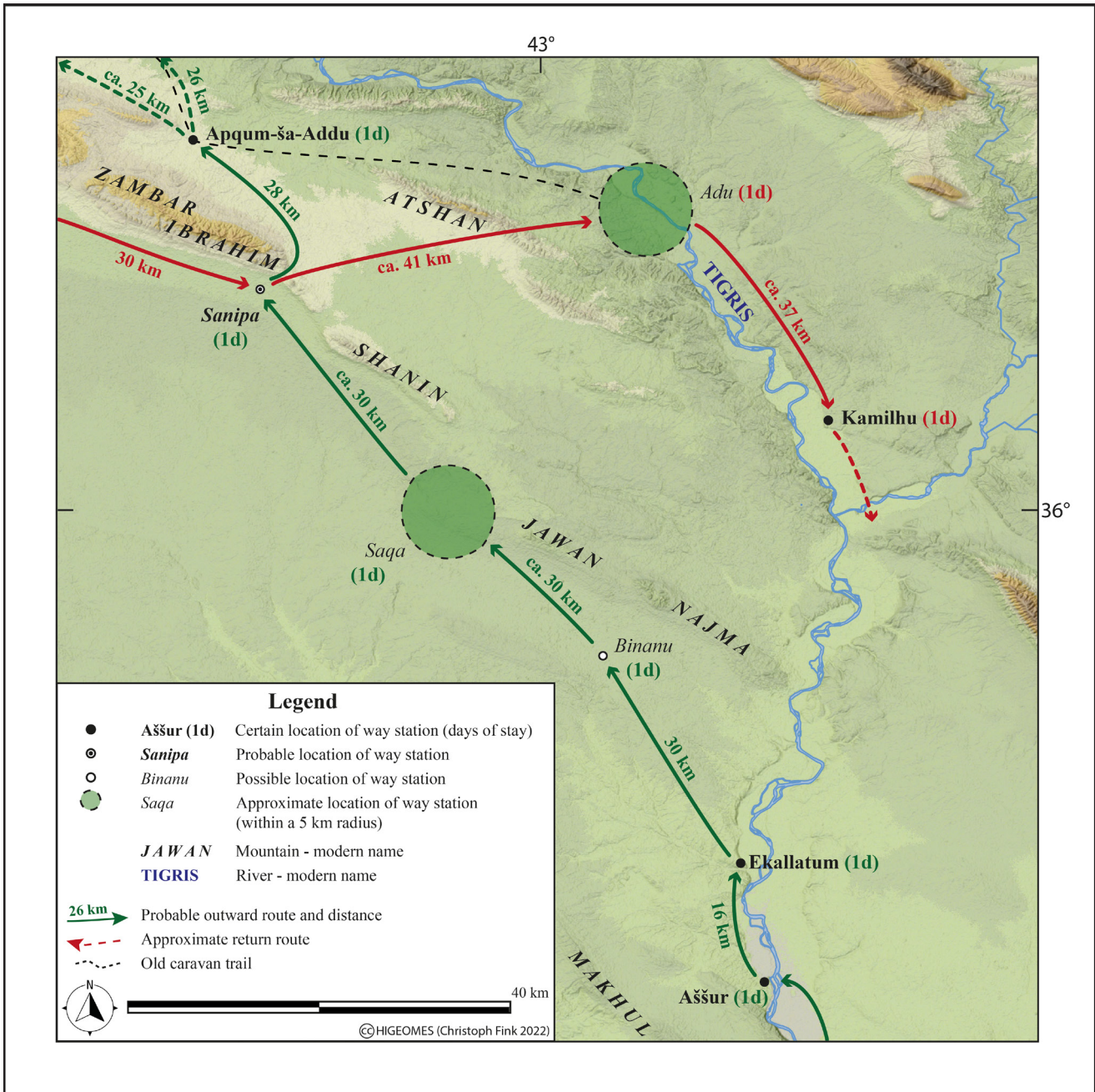
Fig. 12. Section E from Aššur to Apqum.

itary-political influence was perhaps still strong at this time. Unfortunately, the texts from the Karum Kaneš Ib are less illuminating in this respect[143].

The travellers of the RTE did not make a longer stop in Aššur on the way there. Whether they also stopped in

Aššur on the return journey has been assumed by W. W. Hallo[144] but is not certain (see § 5.E.5 below). In both texts, the toponym Aššur is noted phonetically (B: 15 *aš-šu-ur*, A likewise).

143 BARJAMOVIC, HERTEL & LARSEN 2012; KULAKOĞLU 2011; LARSEN 2015.

144 HALLO 1964: 83b.

5.E.2 Ekallatum = Tell Ḥuwaish (Hig. No. 417)

On Ekallatum see the contribution by N. Ziegler and A. Otto in this volume[145].

5.E.3 Binanu, perhaps the nameless tell with the coordinates 43.072093 / 35.831793 (certainty 1)

The toponym written Binanu in the Old Babylonian itineraries may well be identified with Bunineyu[146], a fortified settlement, belonging to the kingdom of Karana. A.-I. Langlois has studied this site on the basis of textual documentation from Qaṭṭara (Tell Rimah)[147]. The fortification of the city by a wall was organised by Haqba-Hammu (OBTR 59). Cattle were fattened in Bunineyu and the royal family of Karana could stay there, as indicated, among other things, by wine deliveries to the king on the occasion of a stay in this place[148]. If this identification of Binanu with Bunineyu is correct, it is astonishing that the first station northwest of Ekallatum apparently no longer belonged to the territory of Ekallatum, but already to the kingdom of Karana. From sources of the time of Zimri-Lim, which are thus a decade older according to our dating hypothesis of the RTE, we know that the kingdom of Ekallatum on the Tigris could reach as far as Kalhu. How far inland it extended remains unknown.

No identification has yet been proposed for Binanu. Starting from Ḥuwaish, the course of the route can be followed for the first 18 km in aerial photographs and on site. If one then continues to follow roughly this direction, one arrives about 30 km north-northwest of Ḥuwaish at a tell site about 90×90 m in size, which appears to be surrounded by a lower town and lies directly on a small watercourse (43.072093 / 35.831793). As no survey of this mound has been published, this is submitted here as a suggestion and will need to be verified in future site surveys.

5.E.4 Saqa

Saqa is poorly documented. Besides being mentioned in the RTE, the site is perhaps attested in only one document from Qaṭṭara (Tell Rimah)[149], which is astonishing, since Saqa probably lay in the territory of the kingdom of Karana, to which Qaṭṭara belonged. Furthermore, an unpublished text from Mari from the time of Samsi-Addu names the place together with Apqum, among others. It may have been a fortified settlement, militarily secured by Addu-napsi with other places mentioned in the text.[150]

Saqa does not seem to have had any particular significance. It can be assumed that the place was primarily a fortified way-station. If our identification of Sanipa with Tell Hamira (below § 5.E.7) is correct, Saqa must be sought about 30 km southeast of it, on the route from Tell Ḥuweish to Tell Hamira. Various smaller tells can be identified on aerial photographs, but there are too few clues even for a tentative identification.

5.E.5 Kamilhu = Nimrud (Hig. No. 170) and the way to the south

Kamilhu, written *ka-mi-il-hu* in Text A: i 33, is a toponym whose pronunciation may have caused problems for the Old Babylonian scribes, since it could also be written Kawilhum, Kawelhum, Kawalhum and even Kalhu with the phonetic sign KÀL, which is rare by Old Babylonian standards[151]. That Kamilhu is to be identified with Kalhu, modern Nimrud, where levels of the second millennium are attested (Hig. No. 170), was already suspected by W. W. Hallo:[152]

> "(...) Kamilhu, two days' march below Zalipâ, may well be none other than the later Kalhu, if it be supposed that the great neo-Assyrian capital perpetuated an ancient village name on the same or nearby site."

and ibid. in footnote 28 he added:

> "Had it been an entirely new foundation, it would probably have borne the name of its royal builder."

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145 For a short note see already Ziegler & Otto 2022.

146 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 66-67, but delete there the erroneous reference to "inédit [TH 72.2]: 39". For TH 72.2 see Ziegler & Otto 2023, this volume, § 2.3.2. Hallo 1964: 72b calls the stations Binanu and Saqa "obscure".

147 Langlois 2017b: 209-210.

148 References in Langlois 2017b: 210.

149 See Langlois 2017b: 221 and esp. note 306; Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 305. Goetze 1953: 64 locates the site in the Wadi Tharthar. Hallo 1964: 72b calls the Binanu and Saqa stations "obscure". The Middle Assyrian homonyms Saqa refer to other localities in the greater Habhu area, cf. Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2022: 110.

150 Unpublished A.3281.

151 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 185 s.v. Kawalhum, where all spellings are collected. An unpublished text from Mari also attests the spelling *kàl-hu-ú*, which makes the restoration of ARM 26/2 494: 27, reedited as FM 6 81, sure. See literature and pictures in www.archibab.fr/T6786.

152 Hallo 1964: 83b.

Kamilhu was only a stage on the return journey and followed the stop at Adu there (§ 5.E.6). 32 km as the crow flies separate Mosul, near which we assume Adu, from Kalhu alias Kamilhu.

Text A breaks off after Kamilhu and does not resume until Š[itullum] (§ 5.D.5), perhaps in the area of Tekrit. How the travellers got from Kamilhum (Nimrud) to Šitullum (perhaps Tekrit) is unclear. W. W. Hallo suggested that they travelled via Ekallatum and Aššur[153]. This is possible, but an interesting letter from Mari lists a completely different alternative route. This route started from Ešnunna via Arrapha and Kalhu, i.e. it avoided the Tigris valley in a large arc to the east[154].

If the course of the return route is still unclear, one thing seems certain: the travellers continued to travel on foot or by donkey caravan, since the stops at the steppe places of Maqala § 5.B.5 and Al-ka-mi-ni-a § 5.B.4 cannot be explained otherwise.

5.E.6 Adum

The Old Babylonian Adum[155] (written *a-du-⌈ú⌉* with long U in A: iii 32) can certainly be identified with Middle Assyrian Adiu[156] and Neo-Assyrian Adia[157] and was situated at the Tigris in close proximity to Nineveh, possibly at a ford, a ferry station or a harbour. Of particular interest is the text TH 72.2, which has been discussed in more detail by Ziegler & Otto 2023 § 2.3.2 in this volume. The textual evidence suggests the following itinerary for messengers:

(Razama) → Gadaššum → Adum → Tigris (Idiglat) → the city of Nine (= Nineveh)

Not only this text, but also ARM 26/2 517 shows that Adum lay on a Tigris ford and was used by those who wanted to cross the Tigris at Nineveh. It may be assumed that the travellers of the RTE, who were under great time pressure on their return trip, obviously also stayed overnight in Adum for this reason in order to cross the Tigris the next morning. From there they proceeded along the eastern bank to Kamilhu (§ 5.E.5), and perhaps advanced south along faster routes.

A. Bagg cites and critically comments on the extensive bibliography on Neo-Assyrian Adiu, which is very well documented. He locates Adiu on the right bank of the Tigris not far from Nineveh and near a quarry,[158] on the basis of the mention of bull colossi in Sargon's correspondence, which is why Adiu is identified in the Helsinki Atlas with Mosul:[159]

> "On the right bank of the Tigris not far from Nineveh, near a quarry, as the mention of bull colossi in Sargon's correspondence attests. (...) The letter SAA 13, 83 seems to indicate that only a river crossing separated A. from Nineveh. For this reason A. is identified with (the western part of) Mosul in Helsinki Atlas, 4. 28 (see also id., Gazetteer, 1)."

5.E.7 Sanipa probably Tell Khamira (Hig. No. 396, certainty 2)

Sanipa[160] must have been a conveniently located place from a traffic point of view, since the travellers of the Old Babylonian itineraries stopped there both on the outward journey and on the otherwise different route of the return journey. Sanipa was a day's journey from Apqum (§ 5.F.1, Tell Abu Marya) and is mentioned in a letter from the governor of Karana at the time of Samsi-Addu with other places in the area and Talmuš in the East Tigris region:[161]

> "I have heard (the contents of) the tablet of my lord. My lord wrote to me that Sumiya had come from Talmuš and (said): 'The enemy has gathered in Ašal!'

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158 The quarry of Balatai, where the stones for the Lamassu colossi for the palace of Ninive had been extracted, are further north, close to Eski Mosul (Hig. No. 681), ca. 20 km northeast of Abu Marya and 50 km northwest of Mosul (Reade 1978a and Moorey 1994: 32). This seems too far to the north for the RTE but remains open for discussion. A. Otto thinks it possible, that the travellers continued by boat and advanced more quickly. This, on the other hand does not seem likely to N. Ziegler. According to her, if the travellers would have taken a boat, the final cutting through the steppe after Šitullum and Dur-Šarrim would be unexplainable, see above § 5.B.

159 Bagg 2017: 6-7 "am rechten Tigrisufer unweit von Ninive, in der Nähe eines Steinbruchs, wie die Erwähnung von Stierkolossen in Sargons Korrespondenz bezeugt. (...) Der Brief SAA 13, 83 scheint darauf hinzudeuten, dass nur eine Flussüberquerung A. von Ninive trennte. Aus diesem Grund wird A. im Helsinki Atlas, 4. 28 (s.auch id., Gazetteer, 1) mit (dem westlichen Teil von) Mosul identifiziert."

160 Interestingly, the spellings of the toponym vary from text to text. Hallo 1964: 72-73 approximates the toponym to a Neo-Assyrian country name [kur]*za-li-pa-a-a*, thus interpreting the Old Babylonian place Salipâ and locating it on the Tigris. We do not follow this view.

161 ARM 5 43. Ašal was a settlement northeast of Qaṭṭara (= Tell al-Rimah), see Langlois 2017b: 209.

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153 Hallo 1964: 83b, Ekallatum would have been reachable two days later, Aššur three days later.

154 M.5431, see Joannès 1992.

155 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 8. Goetze 1953: 64a locates the toponym very far south, at al Fatha, a suggestion with which we disagree.

156 Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2022: 4.

157 Bagg 2017: 6-7.

Fig. 13: Corona satellite photo of Tell Khamira/Hamira, probably Sanipa.

Now let (the population) of the district of Šaššaranum enter Apqum and Sanipa. And (the population) of the district of Yanuh-Samar we let enter Sadduwatum[162] (...)"

Sanipa, like Apqum, was accordingly the best fortified locality in the area[163].

The city was probably still part of Karana territory around the 1750s BC. Surprisingly, no text in the Qaṭṭara (Tell Rimah) archives mentions the place[164].

We suggest identification with Tell Khamira / Hamira.[165] We rate this identification as probable ("certainty 2"). This tell lies 89 km as the crow flies from Tell Ḥuwaish, i.e. ideal three stages of 30 km/day, at the southern end of the Jebel Ibrahim mountain range.

Tell Khamira looks imposing: an oval citadel lies relatively centrally in the surrounding lower town which con-

sists of various smaller elevations. The whole city is surrounded by a roughly pentagonal outer rampart wall. This city wall shows numerous passages and openings, some of which certainly correspond to city gates, and appears to be surrounded by a moat. Some structures are also visible outside the city wall, along the road leading northwards. The extent of the walled town area is about 580 m from SW-NE and a maximum of 550 m in a NW-SE direction. The peculiar structure of an extensive and heavily fortified, but obviously only partially settled lower town fits remarkably well with the above-mentioned text, which describes Sanipa as a refuge for the population of the region.

The site was surveyed by D. Oates[166] and J. Ibrahim[167], and there was a brief sounding by A. H. Layard as early as the 19th century AD[168]. Oates assumes that the site, which like Tell Rimah has a polygonal city wall and a central citadel, was also a new foundation at the beginning of the 2nd millennium. The pottery he registered also seems to confirm this theory:[169]

162 Sadduwatum is tentatively identified with Tell Saadiya Sharqi (Hig. No. 410). Sadduwatum was the first known stage of the ancient Assyrian merchants and belonged to the kingdom of Andarig in the time of Zimri-Lim. See Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 291-292.

163 See above § 5.E.3. Binanu was not fortified with a wall by Haqba-Hammu until about 20 years after the writing of the letter ARM 5 43.

164 The comment Langlois 2017b: 226 is accordingly brief, but see her map in Langlois 2017a: 13.

165 Fink 2016: 65, Higeomes Nr. 396. The tell is sometimes called, perhaps incorrectly, Kharima instead of Khamira.

166 Oates 1968.

167 Ibrahim 1986.

168 Layard 1853: 252.

169 Oates 1985: 589. Altaweel 2008 mentioned only the Neo-Assyrian presence at Tell Khamira.

"Tell Khamira, 16 km. ESE of Rimah, is another somewhat smaller polygonal fortification with a central mound, controlling one of the few passes over the hills from the plain to the region of Niniveh. There has been no excavation here apart from a brief and unproductive sounding by Layard in the last century, but the surface pottery suggests much the same range of occupation as Rimah, ending probably in the Middle Assyrian period but with a considerable quantity of Late Assyrian material. There is no evidence for the date of the walls, but within their circuit there are apparently vacant areas as at Tell al Rimah, and one may reasonably assume that the two sites, given their physical similarity and comparable range of pottery, are not of widely different date."

If the identification of Sanipa with Tell Khamira proposed here is correct, the route on the outward journey from Sanipa takes a small bend to the north-east, bypasses the southern end of Jebel Ibrahim and after about 25 km arrives at Tell Abu Marya (Hig. No. 3), ancient Apqum (§ 5.F.1).

5.F From Apqum (Tell Abu Marya) to Šubat-Enlil (Tell Leilan)

Countless routes must have existed between the settlements of Upper Mesopotamia, often visible as a radial pattern of hollow ways emerging from sites. Additionally, several segments of long-distance routes can be recognized. Various efforts have been made to reconstruct the land routes of the Old Assyrian / Old Babylonian (Nashef 1987), the Roman (Dillemann 1962) and the Parthian period (Oates 1968). Additional information about well situated routes can be derived from the itineraries of travellers in the 19th and early 20th century. The map by Kiepert, published in 1896, illustrates not only Oppenheim's travel route, but also the routes of numerous other travellers and is a certain indication for favourite locations of ancient routes.

On the outward journey, the travel party took 4 days' stages from Apqum (Tell Abu Marya) to Šubat-Enlil (Tell Leilan). The distance of 114 km as the crow flies would correspond to an average daily performance of 28.5 km / day (as the crow flies), resulting in a distance of more than 30km on the ground—a considerable performance, which is an indication that the travellers could, wanted or had to cross this area quickly. Surprisingly, the place names of both the outward and return journeys are very weakly attested in the Old Babylonian documentation known so far. W. W. Hallo had already noticed this in 1964. Although the Old Babylonian text documentation has grown enor-

mously since the 1960s, little has changed in his observation:[170]

"With Apqum, which is only a scant 15 km from the nearest point of the Tigris, that river is definitely left behind and the road once more cuts straight across open country, this time headed west-northwest approximately along the route of the modern Baghdad railway or perhaps, more precisely, parallel to this route and a little south of it. As with the shortcut to Zalipa, we therefore again are confronted by obscure geographical names which probably refer to relatively insignificant places, and two of which are so far unknown outside the Itinerary. Assuming that they were situated at approximately equal intervals of about 28-29 km from each other and from the adjacent stations, the first two caravanserais, Kiškiš and Iapturum, would lie on the Iraqi side of the modern boundary in an area which even today is practically uninhabited."

The fact that both the outward and return journeys of the Old Babylonian travellers passed through places that are little documented remains astonishing. One explanation could be that the places were road stations and not political centres. The travellers' route, according to our knowledge of the geopolitical state at the time of the RTE, passed through the political sphere of influence of the kingdom of Yussan, whose capital Razama is identified with Tell el-Hawa (Hig. No. 59). This kingdom lay north of the Sindjar Mountains and contacts between its ruler Šarraya and Zimri-Lim were friendly. At the time of the writing of the Old Babylonian Itineraries, however, i.e. at the beginning of the reign of Samsu-iluna, Mutiya, the king of the land of Apum, and Hazip-Teššub, the ruler of Yussan, were enemies, as several letters in the archives of Tell Leilan indicate. Merchants, however, were allowed to maintain their neutrality, as Ibal-El reminds Zimri-Lim in a well known letter from the Mari archives:[171]

" My lord knows that I command the nomads and that, like a merchant who crosses (territories) at war and (territories) at peace, the nomads (...) go between (territories) at war and (territories) at peace and learn in the course of their wanderings what the country is about."

If we rightly assume that our travel group consisted of merchants, they were therefore allowed to cross hostile territories according to the custom of the time. But the fact that they did not pass through Razama, the capital of

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170 Hallo 1964: 73.
171 A.350+: 5-7 see bibliography in www.archibab.fr/T909.
     Note the treaty LT 2 (Eidem 2011: 368-386 with corrections in Charpin 2016: 149, 168-176 and remarks in Eidem 2017).

Outbound trip from south-east to north-west. As on modern maps, the easternmost toponyms are on the right, the westernmost on the left. The stages of the outward journey are to be read from right to left.									
Šubat-Enlil	Tarhuš ←					Yapṭurum ←	Kiškiš ←	Apqum-ša-Addu ←	Sanipa ←
§ 5.G.1	§ 5.F.8	§ 5.F.7	§ 5.F.6	§ 5.F.5	§ 5.F.4	§ 5.F.3	§ 5.F.2	§ 5.F.1	§ 5.E.7
→ Šubat-Enlil	→ Tarhuš	→ Libbi-gerrum	→ Lada	→ Kalizit	→ Mar-rata				Sanipa
Return trip from northwest to southeast (to be read from left to right)									

Table to § 5.F: Overview of the stages between Apqum and Šubat-Enlil (see map below Fig. 14).
The order of the toponyms roughly follows the geographical orientation on modern maps: west is on the left, east on the right.
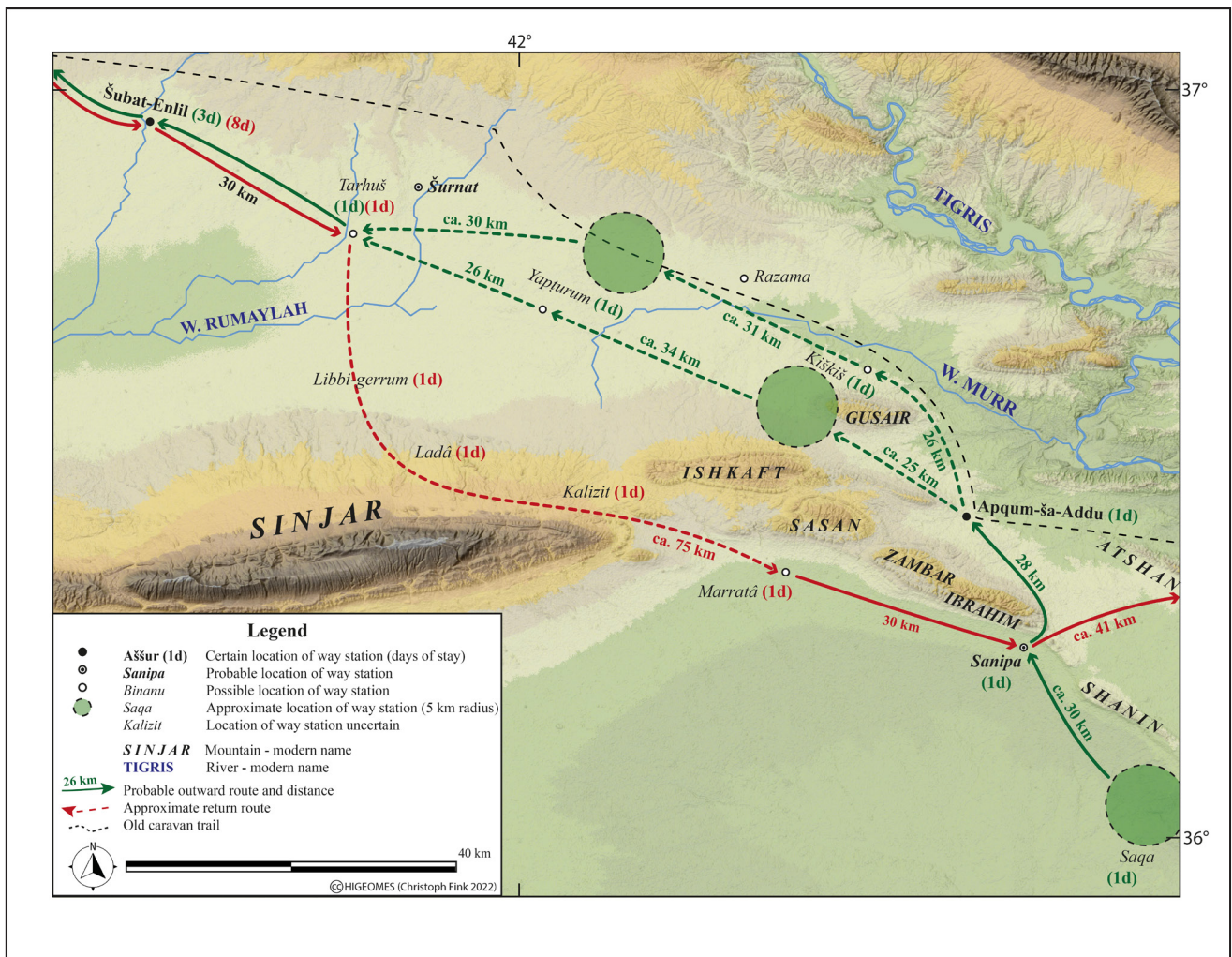

Fig. 14. Sections F from Apqum to Šubat-Enlil in the new reconstruction.

a king who was at enmity with the ruler of Šubat-Enlil, is likely to have political rather than traffic motivation.

Only a part of the area in question has been the target of surveys, and nearly no excavations have taken place in this area (see Fig. 15). The eastern part of the area was partially surveyed in the Tell el-Hawa survey[172]. This survey recorded various tells of the "Khabur period" as well as various hollow ways, some of which can be traced over long stretches and are obviously long-distance routes, some of which must have existed for thousands of years (Fig. 15). An especially wide hollow way passes south of Tell al-Hawa.[173] It can be followed as a straight line from North-West to South-East for more than 50 kilometers and connects not only 3rd millennium sites, but also Old Babylonian, Late Assyrian and Islamic ones. This "Northern route, S branch" is marked by an increased number of Khabur sites which was probably stimulated by human movement, especially trade.[174] If one were to choose this more northerly route, which runs along the Wadi Murr past Tell el-Hawa, the distance as the crow flies would be only slightly more, i.e. 118 km, which would correspond to a daily distance of 29.5 km. However, this does not seem to have been chosen[175].

Another long-distance route marked as hollow way runs approximately parallel to this route 15 km further to the south. Along this "Southern route, N branch" there was a marked increase in Old Assyrian/Old Babylonian sites, which was probably linked to intensive movement and trade.[176] These two routes constitute the quickest ways to connect the Tigris valley around Mosul with the Habur triangle, and it is highly probable that the Old Assyrian merchants generally followed one of these routes.

The southern route seems to have been popular especially in the "Khabur period", while in all other periods it is less well manifested by hollow ways and sites along the route.[177]

The main problem seems to be our relative ignorance of the historical geography of the Kingdom of Yussan. Few towns apart from the capital Razama (Tell el-Hawa) can be identified as belonging to this kingdom. We do not know, therefore, whether the places mentioned as stations on the outward and return journeys of the Old Babylonian itineraries were particularly inconspicuous settlements which we may not be able to identify with archaeological sites, or whether the toponymy of the kingdom of Yussan is still too little known and possibly larger settlements are also among the toponyms mentioned. The latter seems likely to us at least for Tarhuš (§ 5.F.8), a station at which the travellers stopped on their outward and return journeys.

Another problem concerns the historical placement of the Old Babylonian itineraries. If they can indeed be dated to the year Samsu-iluna 2 (see above § 2.6.), they would be contemporaneous with the eponymous year Habil-kenum, which is particularly well attested in the Tell Leilan archives. We know that in this year there was great political tension between the ruler of the kingdom of Apum with capital Šubat-Enlil, Mutiya, and Hazib-Teššub, king of Razama of Yussan, as we argue in § 5.F.8. These events may have been decisive for the route the travellers took.

The return route mentions four stages between Tarhuš (perhaps Tell Qoz, § 5.F.8) and Sanipa (probably Tell Khamira, § 5.E.7), which are never attested in other texts. If the identifications of Tarhuš with Tell Qoz and Sanipa with Tell Khamira are correct, the distance is exactly 100 km. Two of the stages have names that mean something like "pasture" (Mar'ata) and "middle of the way" ("Libbi gerrum"[178]). Therefore, one could formulate as very hypothetical clues that the travellers here had deliberately chosen a route that was as remote as possible and preferred to camp twice in the open countryside, perhaps because they considered this to be the lower risk. As there is no evidence for these stations, we leave this stretch of the way back open (Figs. 14 and 15). If the political problems between Apum and Yussan continued to be decisive, this route may have been even further south than the outward journey.

5.F.1 Apqum-ša-Addu = Tell Abu Marya / Maria (Hig. No. 3, certainty 3)

The travellers of the RTE stopped at two different places called Apqum[179], which is why the scribe sought to dis-

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172 Wilkinson and Tucker 1995.
173 Wilkinson and Tucker 1995. See also the recent study by M. de Gruchy & E. Cunliffe (2020); they call it "Route A".
174 Wilkinson and Tucker 1995: 55.
175 See argumentation in § 5.F.8. Tarhuš.
176 Wilkinson and Tucker 1995: 55: "During at least part of the Old Assyrian empire, interregional routes reached their peak activity and the southern route and its settlements increased in importance, probably as result of the stimulus of both official movement and trade along it. Nevertheless, to judge by the concentration of large sites, the northern routes maintained their primacy even at this time." See also de Gruchy & Cunliffe 2020: 133, fig. 9.10; 9.19; they call this southern route "Route C".
177 Wilkinson and Tucker 1995: 180, fig. 37.

178 But see the variant in Text C, see § 5.F.7.
179 The western Apqum, located in the Balih area, is written in the same text A: iii 7 [a]p-qum ša ᵈKASKAL.KUR, Text B: 33 notes phonetically ap-ʿqúʾ-ú ša ba-li-ha-a. See on this § 5.I.2.
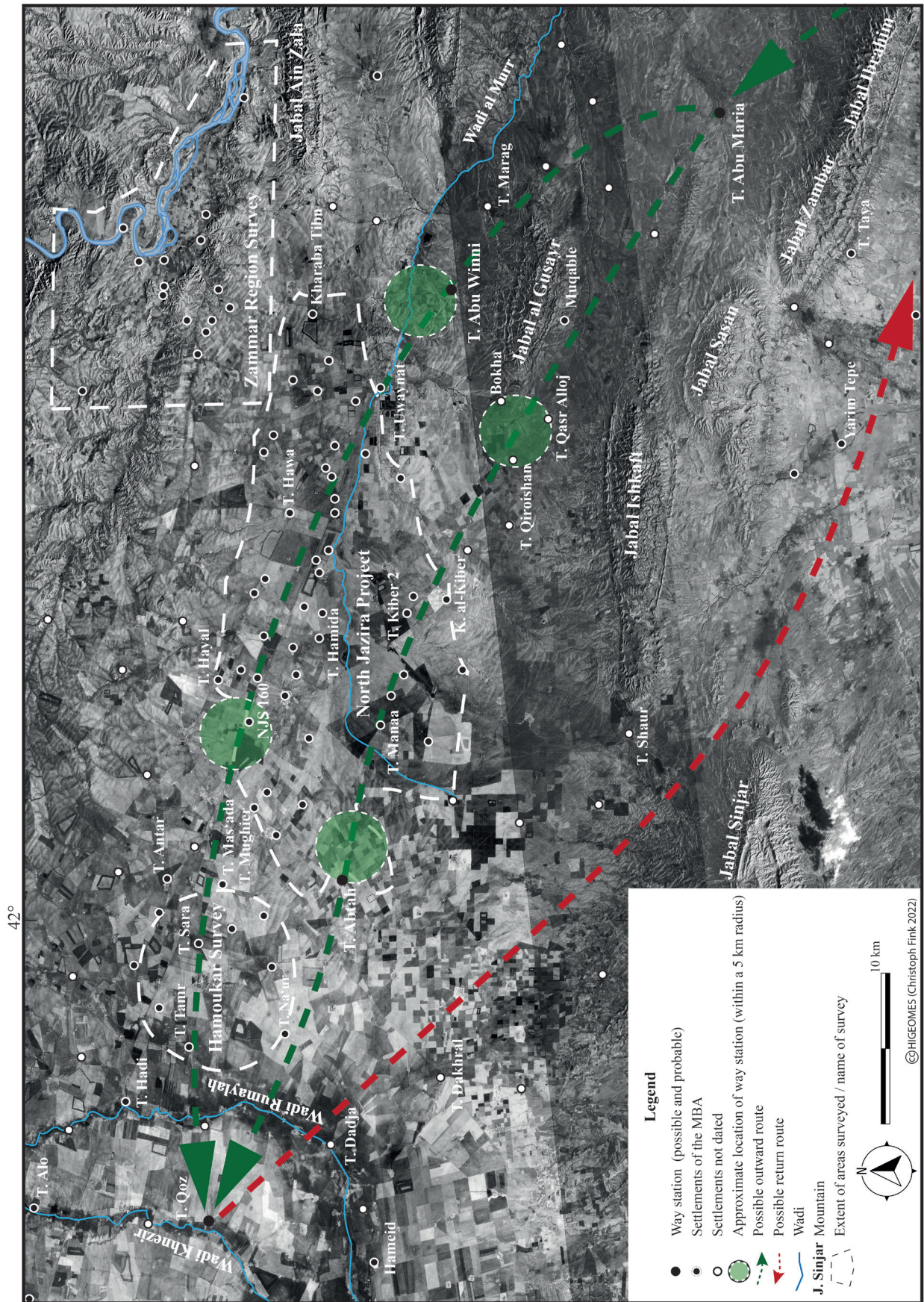
Fig. 15: RTE segment F. The routes from Apqum (Tell Abu Marya) towards Šubat-Enlil with the two possible routes of the outward journey, on the base of a Corona image.

Fig. 16: Satellite images of Tell Abu Marya showing the developed spring (arrow) that gave Apqum its name (left: Bing VirtualEarth (accessed November 2022), right: Corona image of December 11, 1967).

tinguish them by epithets in Text A, while Text B only specifically names the western Apqum.

Apqum Text A: ii 1 records *ap-qum ša* ᵈIŠKUR. Text B: 20 marks only *ap-qum*.

The eastern Apqum, lying between the Sindjar Mountains and the Tigris, is attributed in Text A to the weather god, indicating that a sanctuary of the god Addu was located there. It is likely that this was located at the spring, which certainly gave the place its name (see below). There are no other indications for a spring sanctuary or an Addu temple.

Apqum is attested from the Old Babylonian period onwards. Several texts in the Mari archives mention the place[180]. We do not know whether Apqum still belonged to the kingdom of Karana at the time of the Mari or Tell Leilan archives, or possibly already to the territory of the kingdom of Yussan, whose territory was probably crossed in the next stages of the outward journey (§ 5.F.2-3, 5.F. 8).

The place is also mentioned in texts from Middle and Neo-Assyrian times.[181] The Semitic etymology of the toponym has already been commented on by A. Goetze[182]:

"The spelling here adopted guaranteed by the etymology which in this case can be considered as virtually certain. Later (III 7) we shall encounter *Apqum ša* ᵈ*Balīḫa* and there is no doubt whatever that it refers to the town at the large pool which is considered the source of the Balikh river. West-Semitic *'apqum, 'apiqum* is the correct designation of such pools. It appears in Hebrew not only in the name *'Āφəq* but also in the expression ᵃφīqē *mayyim*; in Ugaritic it is represented by *'apq thmtm* 'the pool of the two Deeps' where god 'El resides. Apqum has been identified with the tell of Būmāriyah (see F. J. Stephens [1953]); indeed, there is to this day a copious spring at the west side of the tell forming a pool."

The spring, already well constructed in antiquity[183], is still visible on satellite images (Fig. 16). F. J. Stephens, who suggested the identification of the site, describes the tell and the history of research (STEPHENS 1953):

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180 See evidence in ZIEGLER & LANGLOIS 2016: 30-31. Cf. also the commentary by Hallo 1964: 73, who agrees with Goetze's view.

181 For the textual evidence of the Middle Assyrian period s. CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM & HESS 2016: 15-16 s.v. Apqu, for the Neo-Assyrian documentation BAGG 2017: 49 s.v. Apku.

182 GOETZE 1953: 57b.

183 STEPHENS 1953.

"This mound has attracted the attention of explorers and excavators since the time of Layard. In his Ninive and its remains, (London 1849), I, 312 he describes it as an ancient artificial mound having a most abundant spring issuing from its foot. The water is collected in large well-built reservoirs. In his Discoveries in the Ruins of Niniveh and Babylon (London, 1853), 335 he says, that his workmen did some diggings here and found some bricks bearing the name of Ashurnaṣirpal. The abundant spring and large reservoir of this site are mentioned also by E. Herzfeld in F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet (Berlin, 1911), I, 207. (...)
In April, 1927, E. A. Speiser surveyed the Sinjar region, including Būmāriyah. He reports in a personal letter to the writer that, 'it is a mound on the bank of a stream, the escarpment revealing pretty plainly a substantial Assyrian occupation suggesting a prominent provincial center.' In Iraq V, 135f., Seton Lloyd reports on a survey of this mound together with others in the Sinjar region."

The toponym can be identified with a high degree of certainty with Tell Abu Marya[184]. Archaeologically, the tell was mainly investigated by Seton Lloyd in the 1930s, who found Assyrian occupation in the upper layers in particular. There was probably also a Middle Assyrian palace of Aššur-reš-iši at Tell Abu Marya, as attested by an inscription found there.[185] Older levels, including those of the Middle Bronze Age, are, however, only attested on the basis of pottery.[186] But Tell Abu Marya is not only a good candidate for Apqum from an archaeological point of view. In particular, its mediating location between the Tigris and the Sinjar Mountains in the east and the Habur triangle predestine it as an important way station—to which the spring pond adds as a further favourable factor. And so it is not surprising that over the millennia almost all routes leading from the Tigris (or the city of Mosul) to the west or north-west passed through Abu Marya.[187]

5.F.2 Kiškiš

Kiškiš is a locality mentioned only in the RTE. Neither the Mari archives nor the texts from the relatively nearby Šehna (T. Leilan) mention the toponym.[188]

About 39 km and 42 km respectively from Tell Abu Marya as the crow flies, the southern route leads to two tells which were occupied in the Middle Bronze Age. The first one is Tell Kharaba al-Kibar (Hig. No. 379), a small mound of 1.8 ha, and the second is Tell Kiber (Hig. No. 378), a site of about 4.5 ha, in the vicinity of which Wilkinson and Tucker already suspected Kiškiš[189]. This distance seems quite far for a day's journey, but was probably not impossible for the RTE group, since the ground was level without major topographical obstacles such as wadis. Nevertheless, it is possible that Kiškiš was located a little further southeast at a normal distance of a day's journey from Abu Marya—an area where three tells can be identified: Qasr Alloj, Bokha and Qiroishan; however, their dating is uncertain. Since Kiškiš is otherwise not attested in texts, it is quite possible that the place was a very small station, perhaps only a village or a nomadic station. If it was a small place, it is naturally difficult to identify it today.

A slightly more northerly route would pass about 26-28 km after Abu Marya on the ground (25 km as the crow flies, but it has to bypass a ridge to the east) Tell Abu Winni, a multi-period site with significant Bronze Age occupation[190]. This tell is oval, about 450 by 300m in size, and lies on a hollow way that leads to the long-distance hollow way past Tell el-Hawa. An identification of Kiškiš with Tell Abu Winni is, however, just as uncertain as the identification with the various smaller mounds mentioned above, which lie along the hollow ways on the southern route at a distance of approximately 25-30 km from Tell Abu Marya.

5.F.3 Yapṭurum, perhaps Tell Abṭa or a tell nearby

Two toponyms "Yapṭurum" are known in Old Babylonian texts[191]. Since the etymology of the name can be traced to the verbal root "PṬR" meaning "to separate", Yapṭurum may have had a separating geographical location. It is possible that the name is due to Yapṭurum's location on a watershed[192].

Yapṭurum (1), which is better attested in the Old Babylonian texts, is the name of the kingdom of Talhayum, which is to be sought on the southern edge of Tur Abdin, perhaps in the area of the watershed between the Habur and Balih tributaries. The less well known Yapṭurum (2), mentioned in the RTE, could possibly be located in the area of the watershed between the Tigris and Habur tribu-

184 Fink 2016: 1, s.v. Abu Maria, Tall, Higeomes Nr. 3.

185 Anastasio 2007: 18.

186 For the soundings see Lloyd 1938.

187 Reade 1968: 236.

188 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 190. Cf. also Hallo 1964: 73b.

189 Wilkinson & Tucker 1995: 55.

190 Atlas of Archaeological Sites in Iraq, Baghdad 1976: no. 96; Wilkinson & Tucker 1995: Fig. 24.

191 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 405-407. Hallo 1964: 73 suspects that it is only a caravanserai, which he locates on Iraqi territory. He notes that this border area was also sparsely populated in his time.

192 See Ziegler & Cancik-Kirschbaum 2017: 335-336.

taries. Yapṭurum (2) is only mentioned in RTE, so it could possibly be only a small settlement that was probably in the area of the kingdom of Razama (Tell el-Hawa).

If the travellers chose the southern route, as we have assumed above, they reached Tell Abṭa or Abtah (42.029250 / 36.709921) at a distance of 56 km from Tell Leilan and 59 km from Abu Marya (not to be confused with Tell Abṭa / Abṭa Shamali, Hig. Nos. 908, 909). On Corona satellite images, Tell Abṭa lies on a broad hollow way that can be traced east-southeast for 9 km, then bends slightly south and continues towards Tell edh-Dhaim, which is almost exactly the ideal straight line between Abu Marya and Tell Leilan (Fig. 15). Today, Tell Abṭa lies in Iraq 4 km east of the Syrian border and measures about 500 by 500 m. Although it has never been surveyed to our knowledge, settlement in the Middle Bronze Age cannot be ruled out, as it appears to consist of four separate mounds which could reflect different settlement periods.[193]

On the long-distance Northern route, N branch, which seems less probable to us, one arrives in the area of Tell es-Samir (Hig. No. 369) about 29 km NNW of Abu Winni. Tell es-Samir is a substantial settlement, over 20 ha in size, which shows occupation in the Khabur period (Wilkinson and Tucker 1995, no. 93). Based on the rare textual evidence, however, Yapṭurum could also be located in one of the numerous smaller mounds with Middle Bronze Age pottery noted in the survey by Wilkinson and Trucker 1995 (e.g. their nos. 160, 132 or 131); therefore we prefer to mark the calculated area with a circle (Fig. 15).

5.F.4 Mar'ata, perhaps Yarim Tepe

Several spellings are known for the toponym Mar'ata. The RTE texts reflect this very well, noting the place in text A: iii 30 *mar-ra-ta-a* while text C: 8 has *ma-ar-a-ta*. Text C was written on the way and seems more trustworthy than text A written once the traveller was back home. The toponym may perhaps be derived from *re'ûm* "to graze".[194] As the spellings vary, so do the localisations of the toponym. In MTT I/1 we put two homonyms Mar'ata (1) and (2), and located the RTE toponym with Mar'ata (2) near the Tigris, while Mar'ata (1) should be sought between Aššur and Šubat-Enlil, south of Qaṭṭara.[195] This separation between Mar'ata (1) and (2) no longer seems compelling to us today. Perhaps all the evidence points to a single place?

A letter from the archives of Tell Rimah (Qaṭṭara) mentions Mar'ata in the same breath as a mountainous area[196].

The Mar'ata mentioned on the return trip of the RTE was a day's journey distant from Sanipa = Tell Khamira (§ 5.E.7), probably west or west-northwest of it, at a distance of about 30 km. This could be the same place mentioned in ARM 4 29 as a stage between the "city"(= Aššur) and Šubat-Enlil via Qaṭṭara.

If the etymology of the place name is meaningful, Mar'ata was a settlement devoted to cattle breeding and belonged to the kingdom of Karana at the time of the RTE. It was conveniently located on a fast route between Šubat-Enlil and Aššur, perhaps not on the more convenient main route.

We therefore assume that the site may have been located near the southern edge of Jebel Sinjar or its eastern extensions, Jebel Sasan and Jebel Zambar—an area that was always sparsely populated but offered ideal grazing grounds.

Yarim Tepe is a possible candidate in this area, 30 km as the crow flies from Tell Khamira, the suggested location of Sanipa. Yarim Tepe consists of a cluster of smaller tells[197], which were investigated by Soviet scholars from 1969 to 1980. Mainly construction phases of the Hassuna and Halaf periods were discovered, more than 6 m in depth. Later periods such as the Middle Bronze Age were only detected on the basis of pits and the associated pottery[198]. A larger Middle Bronze Age settlement cannot be assumed on this basis, but it could very well be a smaller settlement specialised in agriculture or livestock farming, as attested for earlier periods. The Soviet archaeologists did not excavate all the tells, and this is why the hypothesis of locating Mar'ata in Yarim Tepe seems reasonable.

5.F.5 Kalizit

We know of no other evidence for this toponym which is spelled *ka-li-zi* in text A: iii 29, while text C: 7, has *ka-⸢li⸣-zi-⸢it⸣*. We suspect that the place name written by the scribe of text C on the way is the more correct version. It seems unlikely to us that it is a variant of the Old Assyrian

193 Wilkinson & Tucker 1995: 55 tentatively name Tell Mana'a, which is said to have grown considerably in the Khabur period, as a candidate for Yapṭurum or Kiškiš.

194 Goetze 1953: 63-64, who only knew the spelling *Mar-ra-ta*, assumed that the name could allude to "salt marches of the regions south of the Jebel Sinjār", probably because he interpreted a derivative of the Semitic root MRR.

195 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 215-217. Explicitly Langlois 2017b: 216.
196 OBTR 139, see the comment in Langlois 2017b: 216.
197 Ibrahim 1986: 66.
198 Merpert & Munchaev 1987: 2–3.

Kalluzanum.[199] We propose a location of this toponym, as well as that of Lada (§ 5.F.6.), somewhere between the Jebel Sinjar and the Jebel Ishkaft, in an area characterized by pastoralism (Fig. 14).

5.F.6 Lada

Lada is so far only attested in the RTE texts.[200] A. Goetze suggested that the toponym could be equated with the well-known Allahad of the Mari archives.[201] This hypothesis can be ruled out today thanks to better evidence.[202]

5.F.7 Libbi-gerrum?

The toponym poses real epigraphic difficulties. In text A: iii 27, which is the final version of the list and was written after the return of the travellers, it is very likely that ŠÀ'-*bi*(-)*ge-er-rum* "Libbi-gerrum" is read, the etymology of which was probably "middle of the way", but which was perhaps taken as a genuine toponym, since it has no genitive ending. This is the form in which the place name was recorded in MTT I/1.[203] In text C: 5, which seems to have been written on the way and is therefore closer in time to the toponymic reality, the toponym is difficult to read, but seems to be ŠÀ' BI KIB ⌜NA⌝. Interpretations vary between *Babigerrum* and *libbi*(-)*gerrum*. Perhaps the compiler of text A also had problems deciphering the toponym and reinterpreted the place name.

A. Goetze, the editor of the two texts A and C, commented:[204]

"*Ba-bi-gi-ir-rum*: The reading is difficult, since the first sign is damaged in the main text; the initial *ba* is taken from the small duplicate. There, however, a clear *Ba-bi*-KIB-*na* is read. Harmonization can be achieved by assigning to KIB the value gir$_x$ attested in CT XLI 47 1. 45. Babigirrum (Babigirna) is so reminiscent of the (lacus) Beberaci of the Tabula Peutingeriana that identity is likely. Today

the name of the lake, so surprising a feature in the steppe of Upper Mesopotamia, is Haṭṭuniyyah."

W. W. Hallo does not oppose this proposal, but notes that[205]

"It is at least conceivable, however, that we are to read A iii 27 as *lìb-bi Gi-ir-rum* and its variant in C 5 as *lìb-bi* (GIR-RI$_x$(KIB)^{rum}.KI 'in the midst of Girrum'? as in B 30;"

and in a footnote he adds[206]:

"For KIB = girri$_x$, cf. Goetze, p 63 and the references in Hallo, HUCA 33 (1962) 9f., note 67. The form of the sign, and the possible connection with Akkadian *girrum* (for a different etymology, cf. however Albright, BASOR 163: 41, note 25) suggest that girri$_x$ may have had a meaning like crossroads."

If the identification of Tarhuš (see § 5.F.8 below) with Tell Qoz is correct, the stop can be sought 20 − 25 km to the south-east of it. Whether this is a regular toponym or a reference to camping on the route in grammatically questionable wording cannot be decided. No archaeological site can be proposed for it (Fig. 14).

5.F.8 Tarhuš, perhaps Tell Qoz (certainty 1)

Tarhuš[207] like the other topoyms of the stretch of road between Apqum and Šubat-Enlil, is only mentioned in the Old Babylonian itineraries[208], although the road between Ekallatum and Šubat-Enlil was certainly particularly well developed and frequently used at the time of Samsi-Addu.

Tarhuš must be sought a day's journey southeast of Šubat-Enlil, so it was certainly in the Habur Triangle, on the territory of modern Syria. Interestingly, the travellers of the Old Babylonian itineraries stopped at this place both on the outbound trip and on the way back, so it must have been well situated in terms of transport, had an infrastructure that satisfied them, or was an important crossing point of a river. This makes it all the more astonishing that the toponym is not attested in any text known to us in the archives from Tell Leilan. We assume that Tarhuš lay on the border between the kingdom of Apum with capital Šubat-Enlil/Šehna (Tell Leilan, Hig. No. 83) and the

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199 For the latter see Langlois 2017b: 213.

200 It is interesting that the place name in both texts is written with two lengthened vowels. A: iii 28 and C: 6 note *la-a-da-a*. For the research bibliography, see Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 199. The hypothesis expressed there in the commentary that Lada might have to be sought in the area of the Wadi Murr no longer seems compelling to us.

201 Goetze 1953: 63.

202 For Allahad see attestations and proposals of identification in Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 17-18. An identification with Tell Hadhail (Hig. No. 716) south of Jebel Sinjar is possible.

203 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 204, interpreted it as place name.

204 Goetze 1953: 63b.

205 Hallo 1964: 83b.

206 Hallo 1964: 83 n. 25.

207 The site of Tell Qoz dates possibly to the Middle Bronze Age (see below fn. 211). It has not been integrated into the HIGEOMES sites' database, since relevant reports are missing.

208 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 359. Tarhuš has been discussed by Goetze 1953: 57b, 63b, but he searched for it too far to the west on the Djaghdjagh, since he identified Šubat-Enlil with Chagar Bazar.

kingdom of Yussan with its capital Razama (Tell al Hawa, Hig. No. 59), but already belonged to the possessions of Razama.

In our view, this hypothesis allows us to distinguish between the two possible routes. Unfortunately, both Yapṭurum (§ 5.F.3) and Tarhuš lie outside the intensively surveyed area around Hamoukar[209], so that our assumption cannot be confirmed archaeologically (see Fig. 14).

If the travellers had chosen the slightly more northerly route, Tarhuš would have been in the immediate vicinity of the important Middle Bronze Age settlement of Tell Hadi (Hig. No. 784), the Old Babylonian Šurnat, which was a well-militarised border fortress of the kingdom of Apum and lies 33 km ESE of Šehna[210]. This localisation of Tarhuš in the vicinity of Tell Hadi is conceivable, but it seems astonishing to us that the travellers did not stop at Šurnat (Tell Hadi) either on the way there or on the way back. This "northern" hypothesis therefore seems less likely to us.

On the southern route, about 28 km SE of Tell Leilan, the direct route passes Tell Qoz, a roughly 25 ha large, oval tell situated directly east of a larger watercourse. The settlement history of the tell is unfortunately unknown so far. We consider it an ideal candidate for Tarhuš. W. W. Hallo had also already expressed this assumption[211]:

> "(…) Tarhus, could he equated with the modern Tell Qoz on the Wadi Chneyzir, some 20 km inside the Syrian frontier, and near the southeastern limit of the cultivated valley of modern Haseke province. However, the most prominent tell in the immediate vicinity is Hamukar, and since it is a Middle Bronze site, perhaps it represents Tarhus."

W. W. Hallo's suggestion to equate Tarhuš with Tell Hamoukar, on the other hand, can be ruled out, as there is no evidence of a settlement at Hamoukar in the Middle Bronze Age.[212] Moreover, at a distance of 43 km, it would be too far from Tell Leilan to serve as a stop on the outward and return journey.

5.G From Šubat-Enlil (= Tell Leilan) to Ašnakkum (= Chagar Bazar)

Outbound trip from east to west. As on modern maps, the easternmost toponyms are on the right, the westernmost on the left. The stages of the outbound journey are to be read from right to left.				
Ašnakkum		Šuna ←		Šubat-Enlil ←
§ 5.H.1	§ 5.G.4	§ 5.G.3	§ 5.G.2	§ 5.G.1
→ Ašnakkum	→ Urkiš	→ Šuna	→ Harzi	Šubat-Enlil
Return trip from west to east (to be read from left to right)				

Table to § 5.G : Overview of the stages between Šubat-Enlil and Ašnakkum (see map Fig. 17).
The order of the toponyms roughly follows the geographical orientation on modern maps: west is on the left, east on the right. For this reason, the outward journey is to be read in the second column from right to left.

The reconstruction of the ancient land routes in the Habur triangle is especially difficult, since the region has been for the past 70 years (at least until 2010) intensively used for agriculture, being one of Syria's "breadbaskets". Additionally, the site density is enormous, especially along the numerous small water-courses, and their multi-period structure makes the reconstruction of ancient routes very challenging. A large number of surface surveys provide abundant data about the occupation history of this region.[213] According to these surveys, more than 400 sites in the Habur triangle were occupied in the Middle Bronze Age.[214] Except for a few large urban centres, most settlements are small villages which have been explained by strong nomadic presence in the early second millennium BC[215]. The reconstruction of the trade routes of the Old Assyrian period is not really useful for the work with the RTE[216], as there is little evidence of these southeastern stages, and in some cases completely different places were visited. However, there is evidence that the ancient Assyrian merchants stopped at one place: at *kārum Apum*, which was connected to Šubat-Enlil/Šehna, i.e. Tell Leilan. (s. § 5.G.1).

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209 Ur 2002: 74, Fig. 14: Khabur settlement in the THS area.
210 For Šurnat see EIDEM 2008: 302-303 and ZIEGLER & LANGLOIS 2016: 353.
211 HALLO 1964: 73b.
212 Ur 2010: 110–112.

213 MEIJER 1986; EIDEM & WARBURTON 1996; LYONNET 2000; RISTVET 2008; UR & WILKINSON 2008; UR 2010; see also PALMISANO & ALTAWEEL 2015.
214 FINK 2016; PALMISANO & ALTAWEEL 2015: 217.
215 RISTVET 2008.
216 FORLANINI 2006; KOLINSKI 2014.

5.G.1 Šubat-Enlil = Tell Leilan (Hig. No. 83)

The identification of Tell Leilan with Šubat-Enlil looks back on a long historical research.[217] A. Goetze had still advocated an identification with Chagar Bazar,[218] but already W. W. Hallo in 1964 placed the town correctly in Tell Leilan.[219] In his view, two arguments spoke in favour of this. First, it was a day's journey away from Tell Qoz, which W. W. Hallo had mentioned as a suggested identification for Tarhuš (§ 5.F.8); and second, researchers, most notably W. J. van Liere, had placed this identification on a solid basis. But the identification was not yet a certainty at the time of Hallo. The first written evidence from the excavations at Tell Leilan provided a connection with Apum. D. Charpin was able to establish the connection between the country name Apum, as well as the town names Šehna and Šubat-Enlil, and prove that the latter two names could be used for Tell Leilan.[220] He based his argumentation on Mari texts as well as on the name of Samsu-iluna's 23rd year, in which the Babylonian king commemorated the capture of the city and the victory over Yakun-ašar:[221]

> "The year: Samsu-iluna, the king, by the fierce power which Enlil gave him, destroyed Šahna, the capital city of the land of Apum, Putra, Šuša, ..., and [...] Yakun-ašar ... Yakun[...]"

This campaign of Samsu-iluna apparently brought the city to an end in 1728 BC. The final proof of this identification, however, the structure and history of this major city during the 3rd and—after an occupational hiatus of c. 2100 until c. 1900 BC—the early 2nd millennium, are the results of years of excavations at Leilan under the direction of Harvey Weiss.[222]

Šubat-Enlil / Šehna[223] was the capital of the country of Apum. "Apum" was probably also the name given to the

kārum station of the mainly Old Assyrian merchants:[224] the city was therefore particularly well prepared for the stay of traders. Assyrian merchants also concluded a treaty with Till-Abnu, the ruler of Apum, which was supposed to guarantee the protection of the merchants from Aššur.[225]

Šubat-Enlil was the largest fortified center in the Eastern Habur triangle during the days of the RTE. It was a station on the caravan route from Aššur to Cappadocia,[226] called Apum, and it is possible that the route passing by Tell Leilan has existed for millennia. To this day, the major land route across northern Mesopotamia leading from Nisibin to Mosul passes west-east only a few kilometers north of Tell Leilan.[227] The 90 ha site is encompassed by a city wall rising from 5-15 m above plain level. Within these walls, there was certainly enough space to stay safely in the lower town. The travellers stopped here for three days on the outward journey. On the way back, they even stayed for eight days. We assume that at least the longer stay on the return trip was not voluntary, but must be attributed to adverse political circumstances. In their choice of the following stages of the return journey (§ 5.F.7–5.F.4), the travel group apparently tried to make up for lost time.

5.G.2 Harzi / Harrusi

The toponym Harzi / Harruzi of the Old Babylonian itineraries could be identical with other place names of the Tell Leilan and, more rarely, the Mari archives, which had the form Huraşa or Huraşan[228] and were perhaps located south of Tell Leilan, since it is sometimes mentioned in connection with the city Kurda and a man named Šepallu, perhaps the ruler of Karana. Why the travellers had to make a stop on their return journey in this town, for which no localization can be proposed, is unclear. On the outward journey, they had moved directly from Šubat-Enlil to Šuna.

On the return trip, however, they already had to stop in Šuna for 26 days—an unusually long time. This had probably been made necessary by the political circumstances. Perhaps the travellers had hoped to bypass Šubat-Enlil in the south. This had perhaps been denied them. They remained in Šubat-Enlil for another 8 days before they were able to return home as quickly as possible, which led them

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217 For more details see CHARPIN 1987: 129.

218 GOETZE 1953: 58. Unfortunately this wrong identification influences also the supposed localisation of the neighboring stations, notably Tarhuš (§ 5.F.8).

219 HALLO 1964: 73b-74a.

220 CHARPIN 1987.

221 HORSNELL 1999: 211-212 with transliteration and discussion. Further references in https://www.archibab.fr/N82.

222 WEISS 1985; WEISS 2003; for the abundant literature on the excavations at Tell Leilan, see https://leilan.yale.edu/publications/all.

223 Attestations in ZIEGLER & LANGLOIS 2016: 342-345. Interestingly, the toponym is spelled differently in the three texts of the RTE (see § 2.7). Text B: 24, composed at the end of the outbound journey has a scholarly šu-ba-at-dEN.LÍL.LÁ. Text C: 3, written during the return trip has the most usual šu-ba-at-dEN.LÍL. Text A: ii 5, iii 25, written back to Larsa has twice šu-bá-at-dEN.LÍL.

224 VEENHOF 2008: 154-155 passim.

225 LT 5 in EIDEM 2011: 417-426.

226 NASHEF 1987.

227 WEISS et al. 1990: 534.

228 Accordingly ZIEGLER & LANGLOIS 2016:149-159 s.v. Huraşa. HALLO 1964: 83a localises Harzi Harruzi close to Naşibina.

first to the territory of the kingdom of Karana, then by stealth to the Tigris, where they perhaps moved east of the river to the south.

So Harzi was probably a first attempt to get south, but it went wrong.

5.G.3 Šuna, perhaps Tell Mohammed Kabir (Hig. No. 473, certainty 1)

Šuna[229] was an important city in the Habur Triangle in Old Babylonian times, certainly not inferior in importance to places like Urkiš, Ilan-ṣura, Kahat and some others.[230] Various localisation proposals are available. However, since Šuna must have been located halfway between Tell Leilan and Chagar Bazar, the distance as the crow flies between these two towns being 55 km, and since at least four branches of the Habur had to be passed on the way, including the Jaghjagh, a very direct route must have been chosen, which is why many of these suggestions can be ruled out. The most likely location is on the Jaghjagh about halfway between Tell Hamidiyah and the present-day town of Qamishliye. The most likely site is Tell Muhammad/Mohammed Kabir (Hig. No. 473), a tell of about 12 ha in size and 35 m in height, which was surveyed by Diederik Meijer in 1976-1979[231] and by Seyyare Eichler and Markus Wäfler in 1984,[232] and which has material from the Middle Bronze Age.[233] F. di Filippo in his study of the RTE also came to this conclusion and localised Šuna at this point of the Jaghjagh:[234]

> "These sites (Tell Muhammad Kebir and Tell Muhammad Seghir), or the nearby settlement at Tell Dahab, ca. 1 km on the south (Ur 2010, map 3), are all good candidates for the localisation of Šuna. Unfortunately, however, there is no evidence for dating the archaeological phases at Tell Dahab, wheras the complex of mounds at Tell Muhammad Kebir and Tell Muhammad Seghir shows traces of occupation of the Middle Bronze age."

We follow the identification of Šuna with Tell Muhammad Kabir here, although in 2016 we had suggested in our collaborative work MTT I to equate the latter Tell with Amursakku.[235] Interestingly, first doubts arrouse already in MTT I/2 on this proposal which was developed in common. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and C. Hess wrote:[236]

> "While Middle and Late Bronze Age evidence has been found for the neighbouring Tall Muḥammad Saǧīr, Late Bronze Age evidence is lacking for Tall Muḥammad Kabīr. It is not implausible, however, to think of the possibility of the 'Wechselhügel' (alternate mounds)', so that the centre of the 2nd millennium is to be sought here."

We now defend an identification of Šuna with Tell Muhammad Kabir (Hig. No. 473). Between the latter and Tell Muhammad Saghir (Hig. No. 625) lie 3 km only, so that Tell Muhammad Saghir could possibly be equated with Amursakkum (aBab.)/Amasakku (mAss) and Masaka (nAss).

Šuna was important in Old Babylonian times. The city does not seem to be attested in more recent texts,[237] while Amasakku grew in importance over the centuries. It replaced Šuna in its geopolitical role. Šuna – Amursakkum may have been two nearby sites identified respectively with Tell Muhammad Kabir (Hig. No. 473) and Tell Muhammad Saghir (Hig. No. 625).

5.G.4 Urkiš = Tell Mozan (Hig. Nr. 92, certainty 3)

Thanks to the many years of excavations under the direction of Giorgio Buccellati and Marylin Kelly-Buccellati, Urkiš is undoubtedly identified with Tell Mozan, which lies in the fertile Habur triangle at the foot of the Tur Abdin. It was one of the most important cities in northern Mesopotamia and the capital of the Hurrians in the 3rd millennium, losing much of its political importance in the

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229 The spelling of this toponym with a long final A should be noticed. All three texts, A: ii 6; A: iii 23; B: 25 and C: 1 note likewise *šu-na-a*.

230 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 349-351. The commentary by Hallo 1964: 74 suggests that Šuna could be identified to "Tell Hamedi", probably Tell Hamidiyah Hig. No. 54, for which an identification with Tadum is preferred today.

231 Meijer 1986.

232 Eichler & Wäfler 1985.

233 C. Fink notes that a name like Mohammed Kabir in particular would obscure any former name, so that no survival of toponymy may be expected.

234 Di Filippo 2016: 470.

235 In MTT I we proposed to equate Tell Muhammad Kebir with Old Babylonian Amursakkum (Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 23-24), still known in Middle Assyrian times as Amasakku (Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2016: 12-13), and in Neo-Assyrian times as Masaka (Bagg 2017: 394). For the site see Fink 2016: 78, Hig. No. 473.

236 Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2016: 13: "Während mittel- und spätbronzezeitliche Befunde für den benachbarten Tall Muḥammad Saǧīr nachgewiesen sind, fehlen die spätbronzezeitlichen jedoch bisher für Tall Muḥammad Kabīr. Es ist jedoch nicht unplausibel an die Möglichkeit des 'Wechselhügels' zu denken, so dass das Zentrum des 2. Jahrtausends hier zu suchen ist."

237 On the contrary, di Filippo 2016: 470 suggests, that the Neo-Assyrian *su-né-e* could be identified with Old Babylonian Šuna.

2nd millennium, but continuing to exist mainly because of its religious significance.[238]

The traveller's party deliberately approached the city on the way back, accepting a diversion of one day compared to the direct route. The motivation of this is unknown but we have seen above that the way was blocked for the travellers. Perhaps Urkiš was a first attempt to bypass the kingdoms of Apum and Razama which failed. See for another possible attempt above § 5.G.2 (Harzi).

The numerous textual records of Old Babylonian Urkiš are collected in MTT I[239]. Records in the Tell Leilan archives are sparser, but nevertheless J. Eidem suspects that Urkiš was the capital of a kingdom to which Ašnakkum belonged, too. The ruler of Urkiš was probably Yanṣib-Hadnu.[240] A. Goetze did not know the localisation of Urkiš then, but he wrote a detailed commentary on the sources available at that time.[241]

5.H From Ašnakkum to Harran

166 km as the crow flies separate Ašnakkum (Chagar Bazar) and Harran, but the outward and return trips do very different stops. On the outward journey, the travellers pass five localities that have not yet been clearly identified. As the crow flies, they would thus travel an average of 27.7 km per day, a good daily average. On the return journey[242], on the other hand, the travellers stopped at 12 stations before reaching Ašnakkum, where they then also had to stay for 10 days—a daily average of less than 13 km as the crow flies, which is quite unusual. Moreover, on the way back they stayed in Ašnakkum for 10 days and in Šuna for 26 days—a conspicuously long time that cannot be explained by any trade but is more likely to be due to political problems, such as unrest, revolts, enemy inhabitants, nomads, etc. In fact, we have the impression that the return journey was already stalled before, from Harran, since the travellers stayed two days in Haziri (§ 5.H.16), and—if we reconstitute the route correctly—seem to have covered unusually short distances. Exactly which route the return journey took is not clear, because not a single one of the stops between Admum and Alan has been archaeologically secured. Nevertheless, many arguments suggest that the travellers deliberately chose a detour and that the return journey took place along the foothills of the mountains (Fig. 17).

This route from the western Habur area to the Balih area was dealt with intensively in the ANR/DFG funded HIGEOMES project. The route was first calculated by our

Outbound trip from east to west. The easternmost toponyms are in the lower half of the table on the right, the westernmost in the upper half of the table on the left. The outward journey is to be read from bottom right to top left.								
Harran					Samu'e ←	*libbi šād Hasam u Aba* ←		
§ 5.I.1	§ 5.H.17	§ 5.H.16	§ 5.H.15	§ 5.H.14	§ 5.H.13	§ 5.H.12	§ 5.H.11	§ 5.H.10
→	→	→	→	→			→	→
Harran	Sarda	Haziri	Admum	Huburmeš			Palda	Tunda
					Mammagira ←	Panahzu ←	Alan ←	Ašnakkum ←
§ 5.H.9	§ 5.H.8	§ 5.H.7	§ 5.H.6	§ 5.H.5	§ 5.H.4	§ 5.H.3	§ 5.H.2	§ 5.H.1
→	→	→	→	→			→	
Kubšum	Bakitanum	Musilanu	Buš'anum	Masmenum			Alan	Ašnakkum
Return trip from west to east (to be read from the upper half of the table on the left to the lower half on the right)								

Table to § 5.H : Overview of the stages between Ašnakkum and Harran (see map Fig. 17). The arrangement of the toponyms roughly follows the geographical orientation of the stages on modern maps, west is on the left, east on the right. For space reasons the table is divided into two halves: For this reason, the outbound journey begins in the lower half of the table first line on the right and ends in the upper half on the left.

238 Buccellati 2019 ; Kelly-Buccellati 2013. For preliminary reports see the series UMS – Urkesh/Mozan Studies. More literature is available at https://urkesh.org/main/main3a.htm. Hallo 1964: 70 thought an identification with Amuda was assured.

239 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 385-386.

240 Eidem 2011: 33-34.

241 Goetze 1953: 63a questions whether Ha-wi-li-um mentioned in Old Akkadian sources, where Tiš-Atal built a Nergal temple, can be likened to the Old Babylonian Kawila.

242 On the return route, see also Hallo 1964: 82. He assumes that the travellers first went via Admum and Hu(bu)rmeš towards the Euphrates, then branched off to the east and went along the Wadi Jirjib towards Ras al 'Ayn.
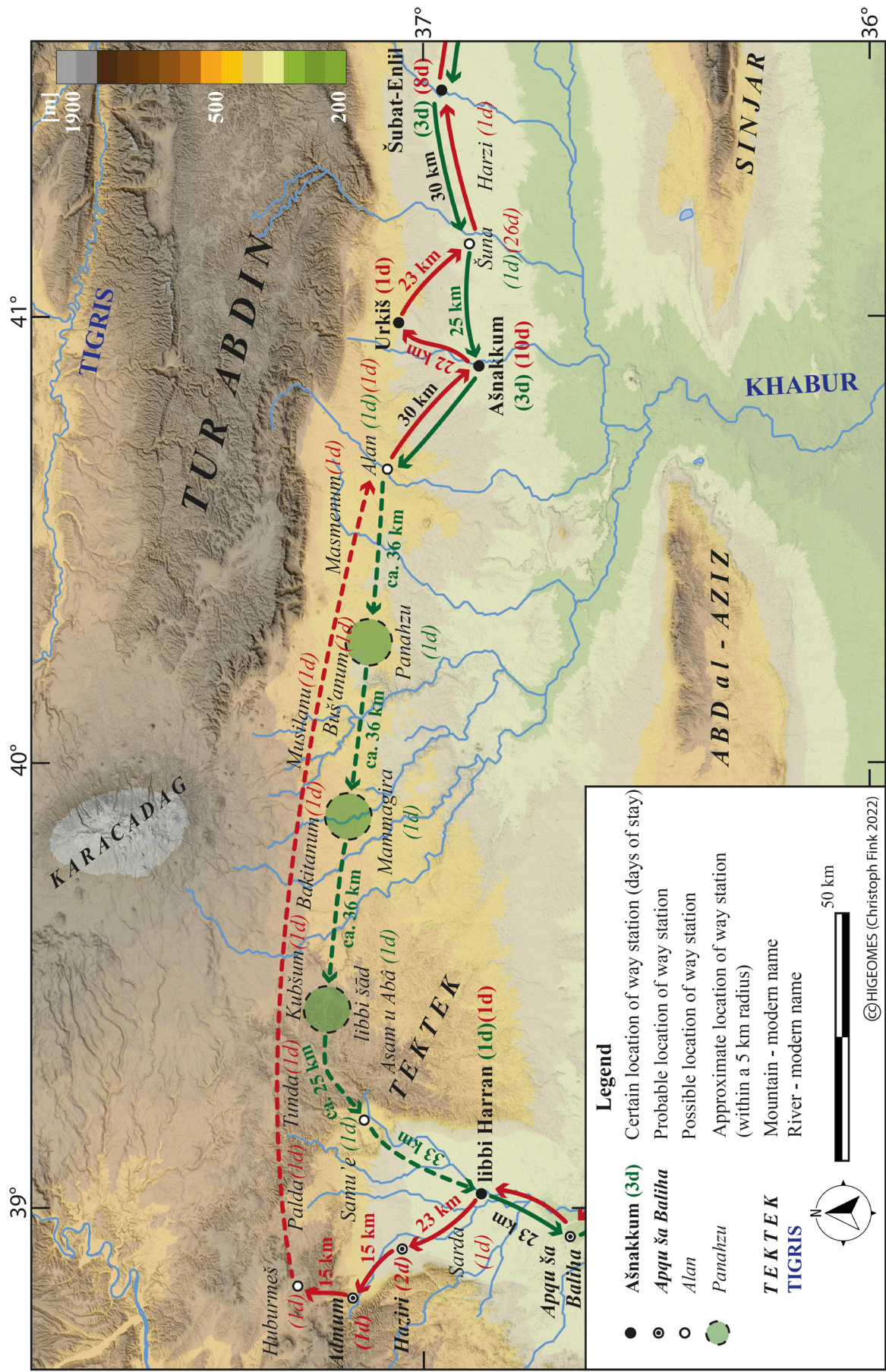
Fig. 17: RTE sections G and H between Šubat-Enlil and Harran.

cooperation partner Kai-Christian Bruhn (i3 Mainz) using least cost path analysis (LCP), then C. Fink searched for possible candidates along the calculated route. The results were presented in papers in 2012, 2015 and 2016, but not published, because we were not convinced by the outcome, especially because Middle Bronze Age sites are missing along the calculated route.[243]

In the meantime, an interesting article by F. di Filippo was published, which deals with the same route and also uses the LCP method.[244] F. di Filippo describes his approach and assumes that the outward route from Šubat-Enlil to Harran chose the shortest route, while on the way back a diversion through the mountains was taken, for which he relies mainly on preliminary work by Massimo Forlanini. It is therefore understandable that his results for the outward journey are very similar to those we had obtained through mechanistic modelling (see Fig. 18a). However, several reasons have since led us to no longer consider the route reconstructed by calculation as the most probable one, as we will explain below.

Figure 18a shows our 2012 attempt to determine the route between Ašnakkum (Chagar Bazar, Hig. No. 66) in the centre of the Habur Triangle and Harran (Hig. No. 57) on the upper reaches of the Balih using LCP. K.-C. Bruhn nick-named the course "Route 66" because the starting point Chagar Bazar bears the Higeomes Number 66. Between Ašnakkum and Harran, which are 167 km apart as the crow flies, 5 stations are mentioned on the outward route, all of which had not been identified earlier:

Alan — Panahzu — Mammagiri — *libbi šād Asam u Aba* — Samu'e.

The distance makes a calculated average of 27.83 km as the crow flies per day. It is difficult to understand why the return route comprised as much as 12 stations, why this obvious diversions was chosen and where this route led along. Therefore, let us first consider the outward route.

The geoinformatics method is based on relief dynamics. With the help of satellite images, a 3D image of the region was constructed, from which the relief dynamics can be precisely calculated and read. The calculation of the least cost path on this route only takes gradients and slopes into account (Fig. 18a). Two different, theoretically possible

routes were calculated by K.-C. Bruhn[245]: one weights the gradient strongly, the other less strongly (red and green line, respectively). The results are surprisingly similar: the route with strong weighting of the gradient is 189km long, the other 180km. For other factors that could have influenced a route calculated only on the basis of the terrain gradient, i.e. natural conditions, water points or political factors that can cause detours, see above § 1.1. These push and pull factors are not taken into account in the map shown in Fig. 18a.

However, when the calculated path distances are underlaid with the distribution of archaeologically known sites of the second millennium, doubts may arise about the probability of this calculated route. There are virtually no archaeological sites on an approximately 90 km long section of the path (the area west of the Habur triangle), and in fact not a single site from the Middle Bronze Age (Figs. 18a, 18b). Along the calculated path, there are no second millennium sites (blue dots) outside the river valleys, and only a vanishingly small number of period-unspecific sites (red dots) from Olof Pedersén's ANE list. The area can almost be described as archaeological no-man's land. Were there no sites there, or are they only unknown because no survey has ever taken place there, with the exception of the Wadi Hamar survey around Tell Chuera?

To answer this question, C. Fink studied all the available satellite images and maps. With the help of Russian military maps of the 1940s and the Corona images of the 1960s, several tells could be identified close to the calculated route (marked as yellow dots, Fig. 18b). However, the date of the red and yellow marked sites is unclear, so that, for example, the identification of Samu'e with a Tell named Adwanija, marked on Russian maps 25 km southeast of Harran, which would lie exactly on the calculated line, cannot be postulated.

However, both the path reconstruction attempts shown here as Fig. 18ab and the aforementioned attempt by Di Philippo 2016 should be rejected for several reasons. First of all, there actually seem to have been virtually no Middle Bronze Age sites between the westernmost tributary of the Habur and the Balih. For example, during the Wadi Hamar Survey, which was carried out in the vicinity of Tell Chuera from 1997 onwards, a dense settlement of this region was recorded for the 3rd millennium BC, while hardly any sites were recorded for the Middle Bronze Age when the area seems to have become deserted.[246]

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243 K.-C. Bruhn calculated the stations of this route with the help of the Least Cost Path, Christoph Fink worked out the route further with the help of various old maps and aerial photographs and searched for suitable sites.

244 Di Philippo 2016 is very useful. However, we do not agree with his dating of the Old Babylonian itineraries in the reign of Samsi-Addu (di Philippo 2016: 452), see above § 2.2.

245 We thank K.-C. Bruhn for his cooperation and calculation of the least cost path.

246 Pruss 2005; Hempelmann 2013: 188-190.
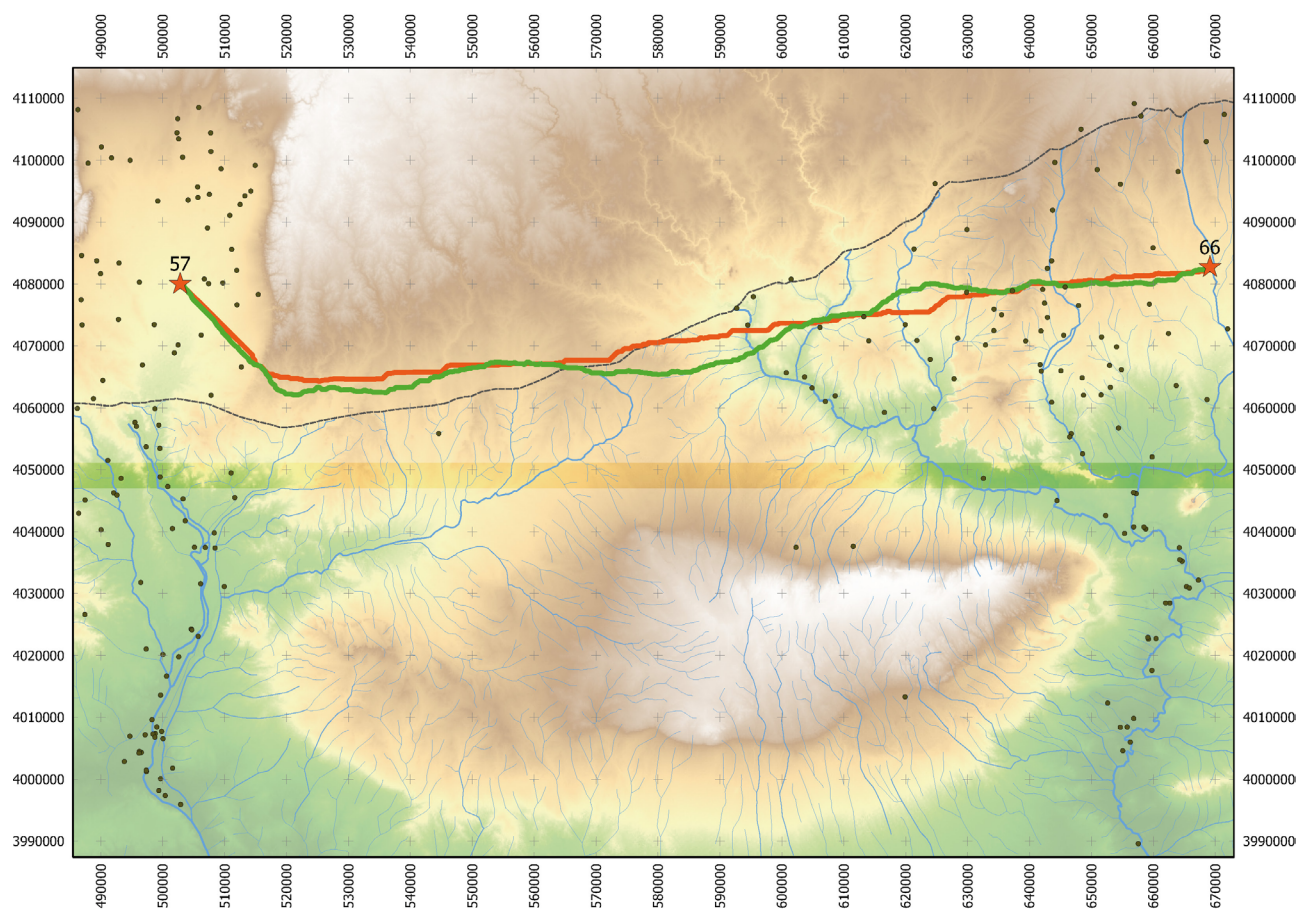
Fig. 18a: Calculating the distance between Ašnakkum (Hig. No. 66) and Harran (Hig. No. 57) using LCP (courtesy Kai-Christian Bruhn, i3 Mainz), dots are 2nd millennium sites; first attempt 2012.
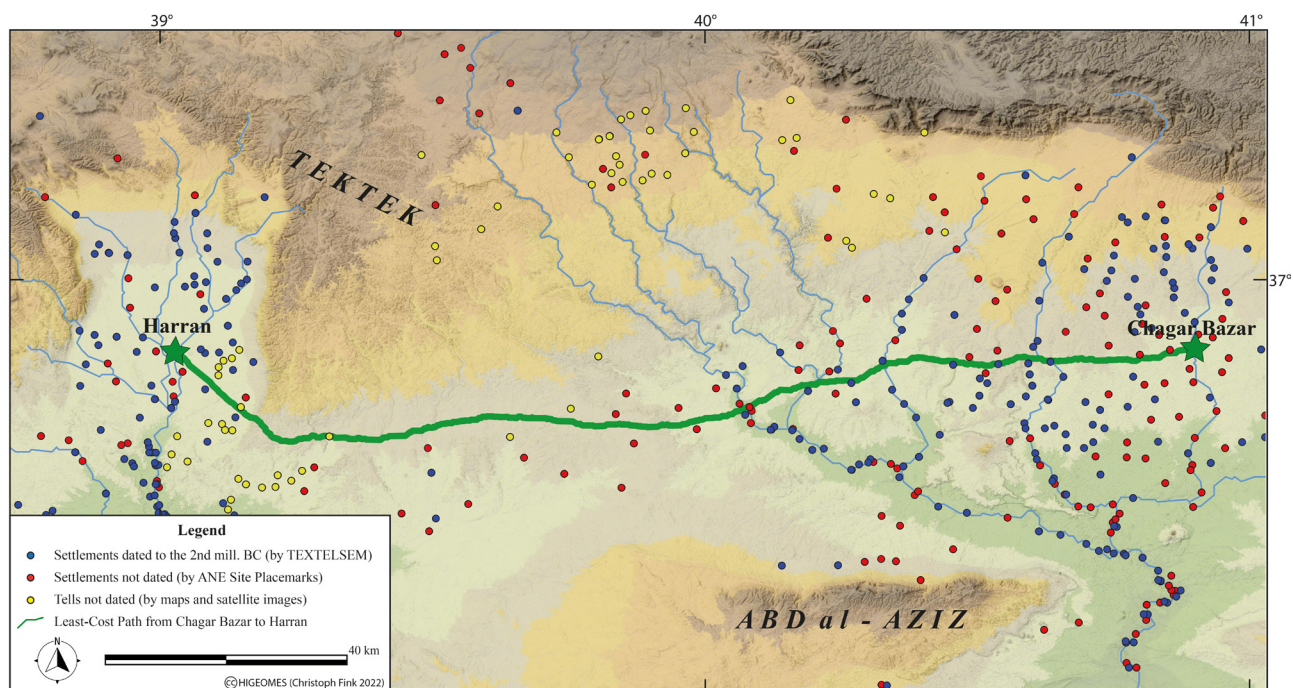
Fig. 18b: Search for settlements along the "Route 66" between Ašnakkum and Harran calculated by LCP.
Blue dots = HIGEOMES settlements of the 2nd millennium. Red dots = period-unspecific sites of O. Pedersén's ANE list.
Yellow dots: Tells determined by means of Russian maps and CORONA aerial photographs.

Fig. 19: Oppenheim's travel group in Tektek in 1913. Caption: "Tektekgebirge. Wassertümpel in Steinmulden."
(Copyright: Max Freiherr von Oppenheim Stiftung).

The area, which even today is steppe and contains hardly any villages, but is inhabited by nomads, was obviously a very sparsely populated region from the second millennium onwards, avoided by travellers because it is very dry and has few wells. Therefore, we suggest below a completely different routing, which seems much more likely to us.

Secondly, the station described as "*libbi šād Asam u Aba*" "in the heart of Mount Hasam and Aba" on the southern route would not be in the middle of a mountain range, as the unusual formulation emphasises, but in the flat, steppe-like plain south of the Tektek Mountains.

Thirdly, our hypothesis presented here is supported by the fact that Old Babylonian texts mention numerous places around Mammagiri (see below § 5.H.4) and Panahzu (see below § 5.H.3). It must therefore be an area with a high density of sites. This applies better to the northern area favoured by us than to the area south of the Tektek.

We think that another argument that was decisive for choosing a much more northerly route was the time of year. The group of travellers that had set out from Larsa must have arrived here in summer. Therefore, the route in the area of Tell Chuera, which has been particularly poor in water since the 2nd millennium, seems much less likely than the journey further north. There, in the eastern part, the route would run along the upper reaches of the Habur feeder rivers, which are water-bearing all year round. In the western part, the route would run through the Tektek Mountains, where there are always cisterns or springs that provide year-round water for travellers. Especially in the Neolithic period, the Tektek region was of great importance and had many settlements and gathering places, as evidenced by sites such as Karahan Tepe and numerous

other similar PPN sites.[247] Numerous cisterns and ruins of castles, monasteries and larger settlements bear witness to the at least temporary importance of this landscape in the past[248]. The term «mountains» for the Tektek is slightly misleading, for this is rather a hilly plateau still used today as a summer resort and where the Tektek National Park (Tek Tek Dağları Millî Parkı) is located.

Max Freiherr von Oppenheim's photographs of his journey with horse-drawn carriages through the Tektek give a good impression of the landscape and the paths, which are naturally formed by depressions and hills and have probably changed little over the millennia. On his journey through the Tektek Mountains, which he recorded in a large annotated photo volume[249], Oppenheim described and photographed water pools in stone hollows that compensated for the small amount of springs (Fig. 19)[250]. With the additional abundance of wildlife that still exists there in the national park today, the Tektek plateau thus offered travellers important resources that were essential, especially in summer.

Today, the route through the Tektek is an important four-lane motor road (D400) connecting Urfa (Şanlıurfa) with Viranşehir on a 91 km stretch and testifying for an easy crossing of the region. So we suggest that the RTE travellers did not bypass the Tektek Mountains to the south, as calculated by the Least Cost Path models, but passed through them. The east-west route through the Tektek Mountains is a real alternative to the southern route from Ras-el 'Ain to Harran. The southern route is basically flatter, but also much drier. This is the reason why the northern route, travelling from Ašnakkum to the

247 NECMI 2022: 8–9.
248 OPPENHEIM 1900: 85. A good map was produced by HÖHFELD 1995: 135-136.
   See the interesting wikipedia entry in German, much more developed than the English counterpart, accessed September 2023: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tektek_Dağları#/media/Datei: Lagekizze_wichtiger_Sehenswürdigkeiten_der_Tektek_Dağları_ (SO-Anatolien)_in_ihrem_naturräumlichen_Umfeld.jpg.
249 It can be viewed digitally in a photo volume today, see https://arachne .dainst.org/project/oppenheim/search?q=catalogPaths:28%20Tektek &fq=facet_bestandsname:%22Fotosammlung%20Max%20von%20 Oppenheim%22
250 https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/arachne/images/portfolio.php?add =1524852. We thank the Oppenheim Stiftung for permission to use this photo.

northwest, remains in the area of the headwaters of the Habur tributaries, which come down from the mountain slopes and are all the more securely watered here further north and are also less deep, i.e. easier to cross than further south.

In addition, the southern route is strongly influenced by nomadism and dependent on ecological factors. If these factors failed, e.g. due to droughts or the collapse of higher-level state structures, the settlements in the area between the Tektek and Jebel Abd-el Aziz were abandoned and it fell into "anarchy", as was the case in the late third millennium. Also in the Middle Ages, after the Mongol invasion, the routes shifted from the south to the north.[251] A similar situation may have existed in the Middle Bronze Age. At least, according to the results of the Wadi Hamar Survey, settlement density rapidly declined at the end of the Early Bronze Age, and only slowly recovered from the Late Bronze Age onwards.

5.H.1 Ašnakkum = Chagar Bazar (Hig. No. 66, certainty 3)

Chagar Bazar is a medium-sized tell in the very heart of the Habur Triangle, already excavated in the 1930s by Max Mallowan, who here for the first time defined the specially shaped and painted Khabur pottery as a hallmark of the Middle Bronze Age of northern Mesopotamia and found the first tablets of Samsi-Addu's administration.[252] After a long break, a team led by Önhan Tunca resumed excavations in 1999, with another team under Augusta McMahon participating.[253] The excavated houses, palaces and tombs give a good picture of the Old Babylonian city Ašnakkum and make it one of the few cities in northern Mesopotamia the most important urban elements of which are partly known. Denis Lacambre and Adelina Millet Albà have provided strong arguments why Ašnakkum must be identified with Chagar Bazar.[254] W. W. Hallo had followed W. J. van Liere's suggestion and favoured the same identification, which was not a certainty at the time.[255] Ašnakkum was an important provincial city in Samsi-Addu's empire, but was then abandoned and knew political unrest several times. At the time of Zimri-Lim, Ašnakkum had a rather

minor political role, but was the capital of the kingdom of Sumum. The archives of Tell Leilan, on the other hand, which are contemporary with the RTE itineraries, contain numerous references to Ašnakkum. J. Eidem assumes that Ašnakkum was at this time part of the kingdom of Urkiš, whose ruler may have been Yanṣib-Hadnu[256].

5.H.2 Alan, perhaps Tell Ailun (Hig. No. 17, certainty 1)

The station west of Ašnakkum was Alan on both the outward and return trips.[257] The sparse textual documentation suggests that Alan was not a politically important city. An identification with Tell Ailun (Hig. No. 17) has been suggested first by W. J. van Liere on the basis of the consonance.[258] Only the coincidence of the name's transmission makes one wonder—on the entire RTE journey, it seems to be one of the few places, along with Harran, that can be traced back to the ancient Babylonian name. Otherwise, the site seems to be the ideal candidate.

In 1956 Tell Ailun was brief visited by A. Moortgat, who even made a small sounding in 1956 where he encountered Middle Bronze Age levels with Khabur pottery.[259] Today it is largely destroyed because it has been dug away to produce mudbricks for the neighbouring village, but the remains still showed an impressive amount of Khabur pottery in 1992 and was therefore already proposed earlier by A. Otto as a good candidate for Alan.[260] Tell Ailun lies just over 30 km as the crow flies from Chagar Bazar in a north-westerly direction. The proposed identification is theoretically possible, especially if the travellers did indeed move into the hill country of Tur-Abdin, as we assume here. Hollow-ways prove routes between Chagar Bazar and Ailun.

F. di Filipo, on the other hand, who proposes a different route for the Old Babylonian travellers than the one we reconstruct here, argues against the identification with Tell Ailun and relies on the argumentation already put forward

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251 Guyer 1911: 204.

252 Mallowan 1947.

253 Tunca *et al.* 2007; McMahon *et al.* 2009.

254 Bibliography in Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 42-43.

255 Hallo 1964: 74b-75a, based on W. J. van Liere's work. W. W. Hallo, however, was not convinced that Ašnakkum and Ašlakka had to be distinguished. Today we know this beyond doubt. Goetze 1953: 59 comments mainly on historical aspects and does not suggest any identification. For him Šubat-Enlil was identical with Chagar Bazar.

256 Eidem 2011: 33-34. See above fn. 240.

257 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 15-16 s.v. Alan. The site is probably attested in the archives from Tell Leilan, see *ibidem*. Durand 2005 asked whether *a-la-an* should not be equated with Alilanum. We do not follow this suggestion here, as we locate Alilanum to the east of Šubat-Enlil. Goetze 1953: 62b knew of no parallel to this toponym. Forlanini 2004: 409 "presso Arada/Akdoğan".

258 Van Liere 1957: 92. Durand 2005 was against this identification, as a place in the immediate vicinity of Urkiš would be better attested in the Mari archives.

259 Moortgat 1957-1958: 182; Moortgat 1959: 15-31.

260 The site was visited by A. Otto and B. Einwag in 1992. For the proposed identification see A. Otto 2000, 8 with fn. 41.

by W. W. Hallo,[261] whose suggestion for identification he endorses:[262]

"Alan would be located at about one hour west of Wadi Aweidj, some kilometres north of the Ardh al-Shaykh / Hemma Plateau, along the hollow way that joins Tell Hanou with Tell Warchek and Tell Habbu, up to Tell Shur."

and in an explanatory footnote Filipo adds:[263]

"According to the LCP model, the stage of Alan is exactly between Tell Warchek and Tell Habbu. (...) Among these 4 sites, only Tell Hanou has been surveyed (Lyonnet 2000, 29 – cf. no. 33, T. Hanoua). It shows traces of "occupation majeure" during the first half of the second millennium."

The identification with Tell Hanoua proposed by W. W. Hallo and F. di Filippo (Hig. No. 232) is based primarily on the fact that they assumed a route leading directly to the west. As explained above, this does not seem likely to us. The arguments put forward against the identification of Alan with Tell Ailun are not convincing. We still think that Tell Ailun is the ideal candidate if the travellers passed through the mountainous country of Tur-Abdin, as we suspect.

5.H.3 Panahzu

Panahzu is perhaps one of the most unusual toponym clusters of Upper Mesopotamia. Indeed, as we argued in MTT I/1, this toponym had variants that perhaps all pointed to a more or less extended reality on the terrain:[264] Panahzu, Panašum, Ša-Panašim, Ša-Panazim and Šatu-Panazim all seem to be interrelated designations of a geographical reality that eludes us.[265] Whether the toponym can be related to the Ebla-period Šanabzugum has been considered.[266] In this case, the site would have a settlement history going back to the 3rd millennium. In Old Babylonian times, however, it had no political pre-eminence, whereas the Ebla-period Šanabzugum was a political centre in Upper Mesopotamia headed by a *badalum*.

The location of Panahzu and its variants are mentioned in several letters of Samsi-Addu's time, and are often referred to with Heššum, but occasionally also with Mammagira (§ 5.H.4), Bakitanum (§ 5.H.8) or Palda (§ 5.H.13). All these toponyms—especially Heššum and the variants of Panahzum—were located on an east-west route whose respective endpoints were the Balih area and Šubat-Enlil, which suggests that they were all in the same major area. This region had briefly come to the attention of Samsi-Addu government officials because Larim-Numaha, the ruler of the as yet unlocated kingdom of Aparha had dared to revolt against Samsi-Addu's suzerainty.[267] Yasmah-Addu from Mari had to come to the rescue with troops, Išme-Dagan and his soldiers joined in, Samsi-Addu planned to come in person.

These places were also crossed by our Old Babylonian travellers, some on the way there and others on the way back. This speaks for a relatively densely populated area which was also important in terms of traffic. As we assume, a valley or parallel valleys of the Tektek were crossed. If our hypothesis is correct, Panahzu was located at the eastern exit of this mountainous crossing area[268] and was probably a city of the kingdom of Yapṭurum, whose capital was Talhayum.[269]

We have calculated the sector in which Panahzu must be searched ca. 36 km west of Alan (Fig. 17). This region corresponds to the area between the Wadi Zerkan and Jirjib. Within this zone, numerous sites are documented, but they are not dated more precisely. Thus, one possibility for the identification of Panahzu would be the cluster of hills at Haramiye, which lies between Viransehir and Tell Ailun[270] (Fig. 20). Overall, however, the density of tells in this area is high. Further to the NW, one enters an area that today lies not far north of the Syrian border in Turkey – an area that has been surveyed,[271] but the Middle Bronze Age sites have not yet been published.

261 HALLO 1964: 75 argues against the identification because it is based on relative homophony. He suggests an identification of Alan with Tell Hanwa (= Tall Hanoua, Hig. No. 232), on the middle course of the Wadi al-A'waǧ.

262 DI FILIPPO 2016: 471.

263 DI FILIPPO 2016: 471 Fn. 91.

264 ZIEGLER & LANGLOIS 2016: 327 gathered the attestations, writings and proposals. Hallo 1964: 75 localised Panahzu in Tell Abu Rasen (Hig. No. 940) on Wadi Zerkan. See DI FILIPPO 2016: 471-472.

265 One explanation is that place names that differ only by "Ša" could lie on both sides of a watercourse. Hiddan and Ša Hiddan are sometimes explained in this way, as are Baṣṣum and Ša-Baṣṣim in Babylonia.

266 BONECHI 1993: 290-291.

267 For the revolt of Larim-Numaha see CHARPIN & ZIEGLER 2003: 105-106, 108-109.

268 DI FILIPPO 2016: 472, who assumes a more southerly course than we do, proposes several identification candidates located at or near the Wadi Jirjib in today Syria.

269 For Talhayum and Yapṭurum see ZIEGLER & LANGLOIS 2016: 357-359, 405-407. In the days of the archives of Tell Leilan, the ruler of Talhayum was Mehilum.

270 AY 2006: No. 144-146.

271 Survey of Eyyüp Ay 2006.

5.H.4 Mammagira

Mammagira[272] was situated at the eastern extremity of Mount Hasam (§ 5.H.12), which is identified with the Tektek, and at the time of Zimri-Lim of Mari on the border of the kingdoms of Yapṭurum and Šuda.[273] Samsi-Addu wrote to his son Yasmah-Addu, when he was—during a revolt in the Zalmaqum—in the region of Šubat-Šamaš:[274]

"Now, Mount Hasam is (only) a couple of double hours from Šubat-Šamaš. Two of your fast couriers should take your tablets and move toward me at night through (Mount) Hasam. Who will notice them? From Hasam, by heading to Šuda or Mammagira, they should make their way to me."

Like Panahzum, Mammagira is repeatedly mentioned together with other places in the region. For example, in another letter from Samsi-Addu to his son Yasmah-Addu:[275]

"As for you, stay put in Mammagira (...). It is not desirable for you to stay at Panašum or Talhaya. Mammagira is indeed well suited for you to stay."

Another unpublished letter of Samsi-Addu, belonging to the same historical context, mentions Mammagira, Bakitanum (§ 5.H.8), Ša-Panazu (perhaps identical with Panahzu § 5.H.3) and Kawila,[276] and all are to be sought in the same area:[277]

"Your stay in Mammagira or Bakitanum is not desirable. Since there is no water in Ša-Panazi, your stay in Kawila is convenient."

According to the written documentation, Mammagira was a well-fortified border town at the eastern exit of the Hasam Mountains. The calculated route records several sites after about 35 km, but the same problem arises as with Panahzu. In the course of the survey of Eyyüp Ay in the upper Khabur triangle in Turkey, more than 140 sites were recorded, dating from the Neolithic period to the Middle Ages.[278] For example, survey site no. 36 (Kele or Germen, 39.885435 / 37.183878) is located about 10 km southeast of Viransehir and measures about 350 m in diameter (Fig. 20). Site No. 35 (Atchana, Turkish name Elgün; 39.828465 / 37.169422) is a roughly circular mound about 400 m in diameter and at least attested for the EBA.[279] Both are situated on one of the numerous north-south running small watercourses (Altınbaşak Deresi). Either of these two medium-sized tells could be candidates for Mammagira. They could also be candidates for Buš'anum or Musilanu, for example, which served as stops on the way back (Fig. 17).

5.H.5 Masmenum

Two Upper Mesopotamian sites with similar names are attested.[280] Mašmiyanum was in the immediate vicinity of Kahat. Texts mention it in connection with Kabittum and Šalluriyu;[281] all evidence published so far from Mari calls this Mašmiyanum. The second toponym, Masmenum, attested in the Old Babylonian Itinerary as station between Buš'anum (§ 5.H.6) and Alan (§ 5.H.2), was closer to the Tur-Abdin and, according to our hypothesis, must be sought perhaps 20 km west of Tell Ailun, in the southwestern vicinity of Kiziltepe. An unpublished fragment from the time of Samsi-Addu, which can be dated to the historical context of the Larim-Numaha revolt, mentions *ma-as-mi-a-nim*[ki] together with Šubat-Šamaš (= probably Bandar Khan, Hig. No. 440, at the Qaramuh river 20km

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272 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 212-213. The spelling in B: 28 (*ma-ma-a-gi-ri*) with a long A is unusual, most attestations render a double M.

273 Hallo 1964: 75b: "Mammagiri itself no doubt brings us to the sources of the Chabur in the Resaina (Ras el-'Ain) area. It should probably be identified with Fekheriye rather than with Guzana-Tell Halaf"—close to which he localises Buzanum (cf. § H.6).
   Di Filippo 2016: 472 assembles the textual data and agrees with Joannès 1996: 342, that Mammagira was a "key node of the communication axis toward the Upper Balikh basin, as well as in close connection with the southeastern foothills of the Tektek Daghları (...) along the course of the Wadi Hamar in the area of Tell Hanzir." Close to the calculated LCP path, di Filippo 2016: 473 finds Tell Kharab Aarnane.

274 ARM I 97: 14-23, translation Sasson 2015: 163 (§ 2.2.e.iv.3). For Šubat-Šamaš = probably Bandar Khan (Hig. No. 440), see below fn. 282.

275 ARM I 53+: 8-13, translation Sasson 2015: 255 (§ 5.iv.d.i.2).

276 A town close to Nahur, cf. Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 186-187. See also above fn. 241 for a possible identification with Old Akkadian Hawilium.

277 Unpublished letter by Samsi-Addu to Yasmah-Addu, M.15047.

278 Ay 2006: 79. So far, there is no detailed breakdown of the sites according to epochs, so that only rough identification suggestions can be made here.

279 Kaplan 2020 : 438.

280 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 227 s.v. Mašmiyanum have not separated these two toponyms. The entries must probably be separated into Mašmiyanum (1) and (2).

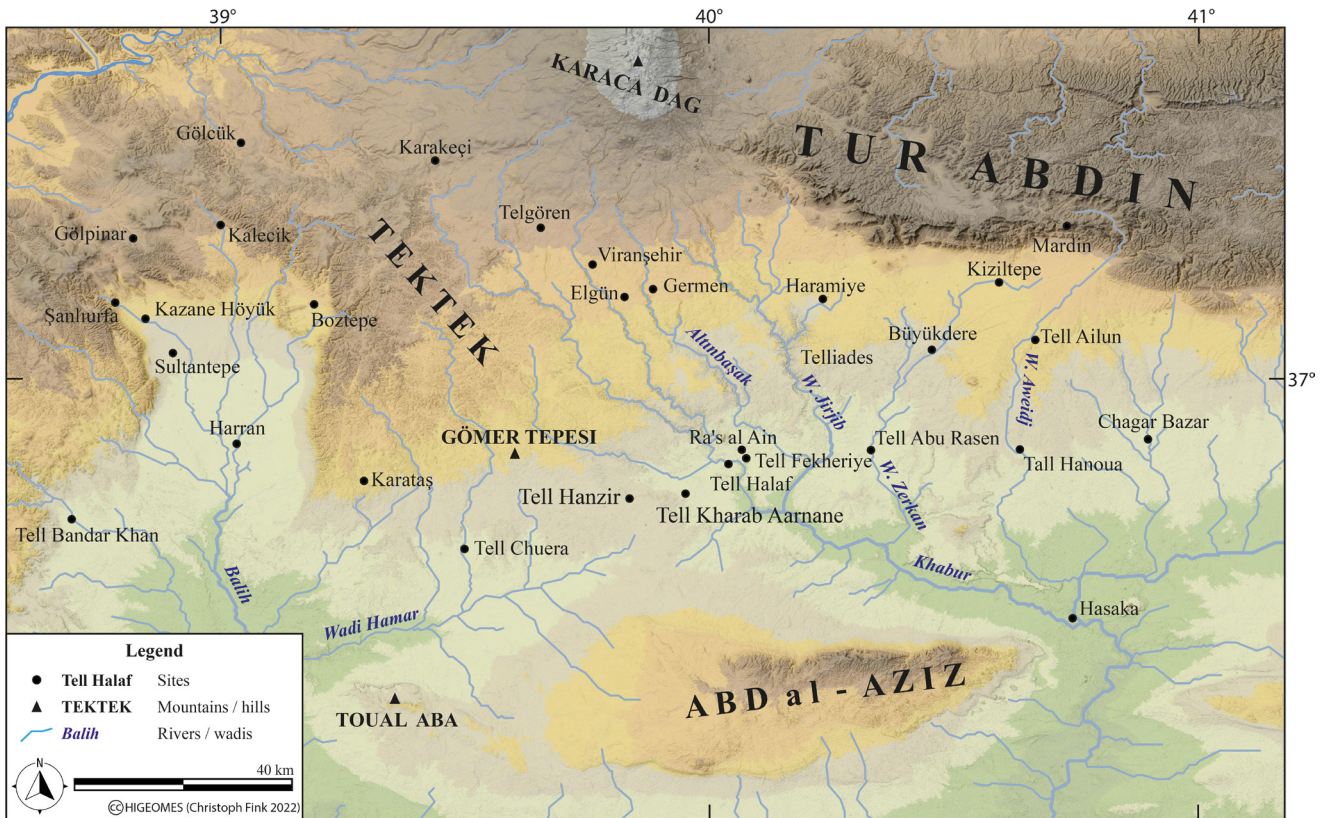281 Goetze 1953: 62b already was aware about this geographical proximity.

Fig. 20: Several sites between Chagar Bazar and Bandar Khan mentioned in this contribution.

west of the Balih[282]) and Haduraha. This document certainly refers to the toponym attested in the RTE.[283]

5.H.6 Buš'anum

Buš'anum, for this is how the toponym written in A: iii 18 *bu-za-nu-um* must probably be rendered in a standardising manner, is relatively well attested in the Mari archives[284] and belonged to the kingdom of Yapṭurum, but lay close to the border with the kingdom of Ašlakka. In a letter from the governor of Nahur one reads:[285]

"Now Yapṭurum has revolted from the Sarum river until Buš'an. They have shown their hostility!"

Michaël Guichard quotes an unpublished letter of the Mari archives, which testifies to the great closeness of the places Buš'anum and Musilanu (§ 5.H.7):[286]

"Itûr-Asdû, the governor of Nahur, in one of the letters in his correspondence which I am editing (A.3063: 26) tells us that there are barely 10 *šušši* between Buš'ân and Musilân (*mu-sí-la-an*ki), i.e. a handful of kilometres (some 4 km?)."

A. Goetze had suggested that the spelling *B/Pu-z/ṣ/sa-nu-um* could be an earlier version of the toponym Guzana, i.e. Tell Ḥalaf near Ras al-ʿAin,[287] but W. W. Hallo was already against the identification with Guzana,[288] as was M. Forlanini who localised Buš'anum near Büyükdere.[289]

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282 For the important site Bandar Khan, one of the major sites along the valley of the Qaramuh, the main tributary of the Balih, with levels of the 3rd and 2nd millennium see Einwag 1993: 25, 37-38, Einwag 2007: 196-197.

283 Forlanini 2004: 409 n. 22 localised Masmenum in Telades.

284 The spellings differ greatly from each other, see Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 70-71.

285 ARM 26/1 217: 34-35. The river Sarum can perhaps be identified with Wadi Zerkan (see bibliography in Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 305-306).

286 Guichard 2006: 31: "Itûr-Asdû, le gouverneur de Nahur, dans une des lettres de sa correspondance dont je prépare l'édition (A.3063: 26) nous apprend qu'il y a entre Buš'ân et Musilân (*mu-sí-la-an*ki) à peine 10 *šušši*, soit une poignée de kilomètres (quelque 4 km?)."

287 Goetze 1953: 62.

288 Hallo 1964: 82b. For more details see Forlanini 2004: 408-409 and fn. 21.

289 Forlanini 2004: 409 fn. 22. See *ibidem* p. 408: 20 for a discussion of the attestations s.v. Buš'ân/Bušânum. The site, under the name "Gir Bunas" (Ay 2006: No. 61), was discovered by the Girnavaz archaeological team in the early 1990ies. It is also called "Demirkapi" and

5.H.7 Musilanu

Musilanu,[290] like Buš'anum (§ 5.H.6), traditionally belonged to the territory of the kingdom of Yapṭurum[291] and was very close to Buš'anum (see above). A. Goetze had originally read the toponym KUL-*za-la-nu*, the collation to *mu-sà-la-nu* is secured.[292] M. Forlanini locates this stage in the north-east of Viranşehir.[293]

5.H.8 Bakitanum

Bakitanum,[294] which is written PA-*ak-ta-nu* in text A: iii 16, is particularly frequently attested in the context of the Larim-Numaha revolt at the time of Samsi-Addu[295] and is mentioned in various texts, some of them still unpublished, together with Mammagira (§ 5.H.4), Ša-Panazim (see Panahzu § 5.H.3) and Šuda. A decade later, at the time of Zimri-Lim, and probably another decade later at the time of the Itineraries, Bakitanum belonged to the kingdom of Šuda, which probably extended over the Tektek Mountains. M. Forlanini identifies Bakitanum with Telgören, which lies ca. 13km in the NW of Viranşehir (Fig. 20).[296]

5.H.9 Kubšum

Kubšum[297] is mentioned in two texts found at Tell Leilan and was evidently located at a bottleneck on an important passage from Upper Mesopotamia to Aleppo. Buria, the ruler of Andarig, reported to Till-Abnu of Šehna that his messengers who were on their way to Aleppo had been forced to turn back at Kubšum, while two other messengers who had chosen a much more southerly route via Tuttul had got through.[298] Kubšum was thus a bolt on one of the routes to the west as seen from Andarig and Šehna. An administrative text from Tell Leilan, probably written in a different historical context, mentions a leather container with perfumed oil brought from Kubšum.[299]

Kubšum is also mentioned in some as yet unpublished Mari texts. J.-M. Durand summarises the evidence as follows:[300]

> "The letter from Hâlî-hadun (A.521+) refers to the town of Kubša, from where the Bedouin army aligned with the Mariotes was due to arrive in Nehriya after making an expedition against it. In another of his letters (A.3030), Kubša seems in fact to be part of the kingdom of Asdi-Takîm, and therefore of the king of Harran."

It can be debated if Kubšum really belonged to Nihriya. It seems more likely to us, that it belonged to the kingdom of Šuda. The place was perhaps located in a mountain valley, as messengers could be prevented from travelling further there. M. Forlanini located Kubšum in the surroundings of Karakeçi.[301]

5.H.10 Tunda

Tunda[302] belonged to the kingdom of Šuda at the time of Zimri-Lim of Mari. The ruler Sibkuna-Addu stressed the cultic importance of Tunda in a letter.[303] More recent Hittite sources know of the sanctuary of the Ištar of Tunda.[304]

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dates presumably to the EBA. However, Büyükdere lies only about 20 km west of Tell Ailun and it is therefore questionable whether Forlanini actually means this place for the identification of Buš'anum.

290 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 237 s.v. (an (2). Two homonyms are known, see ibidem and already Charpin 2003: 26. The spellings differ greatly.

291 ARM 27 64: 8-9: *mu-sí-la-nim*{o}[ki], *ša ha-la-aṣ ta-al-ha-y*[*i*][ki]. Talhayum was the capital of the kingdom of Yapṭurum.

292 Guichard 2006.

293 Forlanini 2004: 409 n. 22.

294 Ziegler & Langlois 2016:53-54. Goetze 1953b commented "not otherwise known".

295 Charpin & Ziegler 2003: 103-106.

296 Forlanini 2004: 409 n. 22. So far, traces of a neolithic settlement have been found in Telgören, but none of the Bronze Age (Kaplan 2020: 437).

297 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 191-192. Goetze 1953: 62 cautiously suggested it might be related to the Tigubis of the Tabula Peutingeriana, for which he enlists other classical sources. For geolocalised access to the Tabula Peutingeriana, the website *Omnes Viae: Itinerarium Romanum* (to Tigubis: https://omnesviae.org/fr/#!iter_TP-Place2653_) can be recommended.

298 PIHANS 117 41.

299 Ismail 1991: 95-96, n°89 : 3. The text is dated into eponymy Amer-Ištar, i.e. the reign of Mutiya.

300 Durand 2005: 7: "La correspondance de Hâlî-hadun (A.521+) fait référence à la ville de Kubša d'où doit arriver à Nehriya l'armée bédouine inféodée aux Mariotes après avoir fait une expédition contre elle. Dans une autre de ses lettres (A.3030), Kubša semble en fait faire partie du royaume d'Asdi-Takîm, donc du roi de Harrân."
    Nihriya can probably be identified with Kazane Höyük (Hig. No. 78), as suggested by J. Miller, see bibliography in Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 252-253.

301 Forlanini 2004: 409 n. 22 "presso Karakeci".

302 Durand 2005 comments on the site. Detailed is Trémouille 2014-2016. On the Old Babylonian evidence see Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 371.

303 ARM 28 31 is a letter from the ruler of Šuna Sibkuna-Addu, who reports to Hali-Hadun that he has restored statues of the gods Tunda and Šitarbi and now wants to have them enter the various palaces of his kingdom in a procession, as well as parade through the wasteland (*huribtum*). Tunda and Šitarbi apparently had greater cultic significance for the king of Šuna.

304 Trémouille 2014-2016.

This has already been commented on in detail by A. Goetze.[305]

The Hittite Tunda is localised in the greater area of "Kizzuwatna". M. Forlanini suggests a localisation in Gölçuk.[306] The city thus had a longer settlement history and probably housed a larger sanctuary of Ištar with a long cult tradition.

5.H.11 Palda

Palda, which has been correctly interpreted by J.-M. Durand in this reading,[307] is known from several still unpublished texts from Mari and probably belonged to the kingdom of Šuda at the time of Zimri-Lim. Also in an unpublished letter of Samsi-Addu, Palda is mentioned as the sojourn of Yasmah-Addu, who had just taken the Zalmaqum fortress of Alatru. Samsi-Addu asks him to go to Heššum now. One of his troops, on the other hand, should go via Šuda and Ša-Panazim.[308] This letter is also to be dated in the context of Larim-Numaha's revolt (see above). Ša-Panazim could be identified with our § 5.H.3 Panahzum.

Palda was one stage from Huburmeš (see below § 5.H.14), which M. Forlanini proposed to localise at Gölpınar. If this was true, the small site of Kalecik lies ca. 15 km to the East of Gölpınar where sherds of the MBA were found (Çelik 2008 : 19).

May this proposal be correct or not, Palda was probably already on the "edge" of the Zalmaqum, i.e. the Balih tributary area, and can perhaps be sought north or northeast of Urfa on the edge of the mountainous area.

5.H.12 A stage in the mountainous area between Hasam and Aba

On the outward journey, RTE travellers were forced to spend the night in open country "between the Hasam and Aba ranges" after having left Mammagira (§ 5.H.4) and before arriving at Samum (§ 5.H.13). W. W. Hallo commented thus:[309]

"At this point the Itinerary evidently crossed the modern Turkish frontier and once more cut straight across open and largely uninhabited country, leaving to the left the chain of settlements that stretch southwest toward Tell Chuera on the Syrian side of the border. In fact the next station was clearly not a town at all, nor even a caravanserai: *lìb-bi šad A-sa-am ù A-ba-a* means simply '(through) the middle of (or: between) the mountain(s?) of Asam and Aba.'"

Obviously the travellers had set up camp where either no settlement existed or where it was deliberately not visited.[310] Could it be between the two mountain ranges that lie to the east of Harran? Mount Hasam / Asam is identified with the mountain range Tektek:[311] the mountain range east of Harran, probably identical with the southern foothills of Tektek. Aba is the name of another mountain range or mountain. It is mentioned in ARM 13 143 in connection with Talhayum,[312] the capital of the kingdom of Yapturum, which is sought at the foot of Tur Abdin perhaps in the area of present Viranşehir.[313] We therefore suggest that the quarters of that night were pitched in the mountains about halfway between today Viranşehir and the Harran plain.

5.H.13 Samu'e, perhaps Boztepe / Tepedibi (Hig. No. 294, certainty 1)

Samu'e, the last station before Harran (§ 5.I.1), can probably be compared with the well-known toponym Samum,[314] which is known above all for a category of high-quality wine, the wine of Samum/Simum.[315] It should therefore not be located in a steppe environment (and thus is another argument for our northernmore route), but ideally in the area of loose soils with a high proportion of pebbles or other rocks, possibly slopes with soils well suited for viticulture near a fertile plain. With Grégory Chambon

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305 Goetze 1953: 62.

306 Forlanini 2004: 408-409 and n. 22.

307 Durand 2005. A. Goetze read PA.AGA.UŠ, see below the commentary on Text A: iii 13. For Palda see also Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 262-263.

308 Unpublished A.4426.

309 Hallo 1964: 75b.

310 Di Filippo 2016: 473 locates the site of the camp on the Gömer tepesi, a 300 m high hill on the southern foothills of the Tektek.

311 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 128–129; Bagg 2017: 217.

312 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 1.

313 See Guichard 2011: 32. W. W. Hallo's suggestion to identify Aba with Toual Aba, the western foothills of Jebel Abd-al-Aziz, is no longer relevant today.

314 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 300-301. Hallo 1964: 76b. Di Filippo 2016 : 473 has no clues as to the location of Samue but, thanks to LCP calculation, supposes it to be near the modern village of Karataş on the south-western slope of the Tektek, while Forlanini 2004: 408 n. 14 looks for it in the north-east of Harran, on the slope of Mount Asam.

315 Chambon 2009: 10, 14-16.

we assume that not every "wine of Samum/Simum" was really a product of the winegrowers of this town, but it is plausible that quality wine was originally planted in the surrounding area of this town and became name-giving for similar products. It is interesting to note that on the occasion of the marriage of Sibkuna-Addu of Šuda with Princess Hazala of Mari, large quantities of wine were delivered to Mari. The text FM 11 21 does not specify that it is "wine from Samum", but it shows that the kingdom of Šuda, to which Samum belonged in our estimation, was famous for its wine production.[316]

Our reconstitution of the route allows the Old Babylonian travellers to enter the plain at a site named Boztepe / Tepedibi (Hig. No. 294; 39.191557 / 37.151210). It lies on the edge of the fertile Harran plain, where a small range of hills separates the valley from the rest of the Balih tributary area (Fig. 20). The tell measures about 4 ha and was registered on a survey.[317] A dating for the early MBA is given, like most ancient sites in the Harran plain, which were explored by Yardimci.[318]

The tell is situated on the NE edge of the Harran plain, which was well suited for vine cultivation, and from where one reached the mountains. A frequently travelled path lead from here through the Tektek Mountains. Today, an important motor road, the (D400), passes through here, connecting Urfa with Viranşehir and following approximately the route of older connecting paths. For Roman times the same path is proposed for the connection between late Roman Edessa (Şanlıurfa) and Antiochia Arabis or Constantia (Viranşehir) with one possible site in the Tektek Mountains called Barbare (Mohammed Khan).[319] Various European travellers also took this route in the 19th and 20th centuries, including William Ainsworth who traveled from Urfa to Mardin in 1840 and botanist Carl Hausknecht in March 1867, who described the flora and fauna in his diaries. Max von Oppenheim used his time in the Tektek Mountains in 1899 to record the various Christian and Muslim monasteries and castles.[320] The "Handbook of Mesopotamia" describes this path as a road passable for two-wheeled carts in the period up to World War 1.[321]

A very interesting letter from the time of Samsi-Addu, ARM 1 103, brings together several realities: papahhi mountain dwellers, Samum and Hurmiš (probably the

Huburmeš of RTE § 5.H.14), as well as Hirmenzanum, an enemy kingdom that can be located in the mountains bordering the fertile North Mesopotamian plains, i.e. the Tektek or Tur-Abdin area (see Fig. 20). We will look at this text in the next § 5.H.14. It testifies to the close proximity of these toponyms on the edge of the Harran plain.

5.H.14 Huburmeš, perhaps Gölpinar (37.28569°N 38.8265°E, certainty 1)

Huburmeš is an unusual toponym for which there is no parallel,[322] but which can probably be identified with the equally unusual toponym Hurmiš[323] and perhaps Hurwaš,[324] which are attested in the Mari archives. It is not yet clear whether they represent one or two different geographical realities. The toponym Hurmiš occurs in a letter of Samsi-Addu and was written in the context of a revolt in Zalmaqum when Yasmah-Addu and Samsi-Addu were close to the scene of events. Samsi-Addu credited Yasmah-Addu with lenient behaviour in the face of the ambivalent attitude of a ruler named Zigildanum:[325]

"Do not impute to treachery the fact that Zigildanum did not go up with you, to stand before [me]. This is the message that Zigildanum [had] sent to me:
"Since Hurmiš has rebelled, [I did not go to Hurmiš]. I thought, 'It is to be feared that, (if) I go to Hurmiš, it will be the people of Hariṣanum[326] who rebel!' This is [why] [I] did not [go] to Hurmiš.
I gave a written order and the people of Hurmiš have just expelled [the com]mandos of the mountaineers (LÚ *pá-pá-hi-i*). [The town has just returned to my party. There are no more problems [in] Hurmiš. [Nevertheless, I will not leave Hariṣanum. I am standing guard over [...]"
This is the message he sent me. According to his missive, leaving Nihriya I will go to Admum (§ 5.H.15). At dawn, I

322 Durand 2005 has tried to make sense of the name and suspects that it is the place where the Habur disappears into the karst before resurfacing at Ra's al Ain. The toponym of the Old Babylonian itineraries, however, must be sought in the northern Balih area.

323 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 147 s.v. Huburmeš, which is tentatively equated with Hurmiš.

324 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 155. Hurwaš is attested in several unpublished texts that shall be published by Brigitte Lion. Zimri-Lim deported the population of this place, as well as of Hiršiphum/Širšiphi, Eqlum-bana, Tillabna, Ṣidqan and Till-badi, none of which can be located, towards the end of his reign. It is unknown whether Hurmiš and Hurwaš can be equated.

325 ARM 1 103 has been collated by J.-M. Durand, see Durand 1998: 43-46 and www.archibab.fr/T4521. The interpretation of l. 9-10 is slightly different: (9) [ki-m]a* ṭe₄-em hu-ur-mi-iš^ki iš-nu-ú [a-n]a* h[u*-ur-mi-iš^ki] (10) ú-ul al-l]i*-ik* (...).

326 Two homonyms are known, see Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 124-125.

316 Chambon 2009: 16.
317 Yardimci 1992, Yardimci 2004.
318 Çelik 2008: 40.
319 Talbert 2000 : 1269-1282, map 88 and 89.
320 Ainsworth 1840: 520; Kiepert 1882; Oppenheim 1943.
321 Naval Staff, Intelligence Department 1917: Route 118.

will send you all the information I have, (to know) wheth-
er it is you who will transport yourself to me or I who will
do it in your direction.

Zigildanum sent me the following message about the city
of S[amu (§ 5.H.13)]:

"Samu (§ 5.H.13) has a non-aggression pact with me." This
is what he wrote to me.

So don't go near the people of Samum! Destroy the vari-
ous villages; cut up his land; destroy it; do not leave a grain
of his wheat; destroy even the grass and everything so that
it becomes a land subject to him. But do not come near
Samum (§ 5.H.13)!"

M. Forlanini suggests that Hurmiš may have been
sought in Gölpinar (37.28569°N 38.8265°E) north of Şanlı-
urfa, a place that lay on the route he suspected and which
is known for the discovery of Hittite reliefs.[327] Another
possibility for the identification of Huburmeš could be the
small site of Kalecik, where lies ca. 15 km to the East of
Gölpinar and where sherds of the MBA were found — if
this was not the location of Palda (§ 5.H.11) the next stage
of the return trip.[328]

5.H.15 Admum, probably Urfa / Şanlıurfa (certainty 2)

M. Forlanini has convincingly suggested identifying Ad-
mum with Urfa (since 1983 named Şanlıurfa), the ancient
Edessa, since medieval Arabic sources identified the latter
as 'DM'.[329] Although this identification has not yet been
confirmed archaeologically, it seems plausible to us, espe-
cially since settlement layers under the urban area of Urfa
date back to the Pre Pottery Neolithic period.[330] Admum[331]
belonged to the kingdom of Nihriya (Kazane Höyük, Hig.
No. 78),[332] but obviously the travellers of the RTE did
not want to stop in the politically more important capital.
The Tell Leilan archives, which document Upper Meso-
potamia at the time of the writing of the RTE, mention

messengers from Nihriya several times. Tahe, the "Man of
Nihriya",[333] may have been the ruler of the city.

5.H.16 Haziri, probably Sultantepe (Hig. No. 171, certainty 2)

Haziri[334] is not attested in the Old Babylonian documen-
tation, apart from text A: iii 10, but since W. W. Hallo[335]
it has been equated with the Middle Assyrian Huziranu[336]
and the Neo-Assyrian Huzirina,[337] which is located in
Sultantepe. This identification seems plausible to us, es-
pecially since excavations and surveys from the 1950s on-
wards prove the occupation of the impressive mound in the
Middle and Late Bronze Age.[338] Sultantepe is only 15 km
from Urfa (Admum § 5.H.15), and also only 23 km from
Harran (§ 5.J.1). Nevertheless, the Old Babylonian travel-
lers stayed two nights[339] at this stopover between Harran
and Admum (§ 5.H.15), which is discussed in the above §.

5.H.17 Sarda

The toponym is not clearly identified and no parallel illu-
minates the reading. The toponym has been read *sa-hul-
da* by A. Goetze. J.-M. Durand[340] asked whether *sa-arʾ-da*
should be read, but knew no parallel for this either. The
place must be sought near Harran. Perhaps it is a word
for a suburb or the perimeter: *sahirtum* "surroundings", for
example, would have been a suitable description for a place
in the vicinity of Harran.

W. W. Hallo quoted former suggestions to identify "Sa-
hulda" with a supposed toponym of Old Assyrian texts[341]

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327 FORLANINI 2004: 408. Hittite stele fragments dating to the 10th
century BC were found in a field near Gölpinar (KULAKOĞLU 1999:
168). Older traces of settlements have not yet come to light.

328 ÇELIK 2008 : 19.

329 FORLANINI 2004: 408.

330 ÇELIK 2000.

331 ZIEGLER & LANGLOIS 2016: 6-7 s.v. Admum (1). A homonym existed
in the Sindjar area.

332 Nihriya has been convincingly equated with Kazane Höyük by
Jared Miller. See e.g. MILLER 2012 and more bibliography and ev-
idence in ZIEGLER & LANGLOIS 2016: 252-253.

333 VINCENTE 1991 nr. 18 : lo.e. 1: *ta-hi* LÚ *ne-ʿeh-riʾ-a*[ki]. The same text
also mentions offerings for a messenger of the "LÚ ʿxʾ-*zi-ra-nim-*
[ki]". Another recipient of the offering is a man from *an-za-wa-wa*[ki],
which could not be identified. Whether ...ziranum is Haziranum
= Haziri seems unlikely, since Haziri was probably not a capital.
The other Tell Leilan evidence on Nihriya is collected in ZIEGLER &
LANGLOIS 2016: 252-253.

334 ZIEGLER & LANGLOIS 2016:134.

335 HALLO 1964: 82.

336 CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM & HESS 2016: 66.

337 BAGG 2017: 238-239. See also HALLO 1964: 82.

338 FINK 2016: 29; ÇELIK 2008: 28; LLOYD & GÖKÇE 1953.

339 In this regard, HALLO 1964: 82b already notes that the writer of the
itineraries apparently did not have to provide any justifications for
such longer stays.

340 DURAND 2005.

341 NASHEF 1991: 42-43 clearly argued against an alleged Sahuldum in
an Old Assyrian text.

and Tell Sahal in the Tektek Mountains[342]—both must be excluded today. More probably it must be sought in one of the many 2nd millennium tells in the Harran plain which, however cannot be dated more precisely today, as has been explained above.

5.I The RTE Route from Harran to Tuttul

Outbound trip from north to south	Comment on toponym	Return trip from south to north
Harran ↓	§ 5.I.1	Harran
Apqum-ša-Baliha ↓	§ 5.I.2	Apqum-ša-Baliha ↑
	§ 5.I.3	Sahlala ↑
Zalpah ↓	§ 5.I.4	Zalpah ↑
Ṣerda ↓	§ 5.I.5	
	§ 5.I.6	Ahuna ↑
Tuttul	§ 5.J.1	Tuttul ↑
Outbound trip (to be read from top to bottom)	§ 5.I	Return trip (to be read from bottom to top)

Table for § 5.I : Overview of the stages of the Harran – Tuttul route.
The order of the toponyms roughly follows the geographical orientation of the stages on modern maps. North above like on the maps, south below.

The route from Harran to Tuttul follows the Balih in its entire length from north to south to its confluence with the Euphrates near Tuttul. While W. W. Hallo stated 1964 for this strech of the route[343]

> "Perhaps the most difficult problems of the whole Itinerary are posed by its final stage: from Harran to Emar (and back)."

and while he got just this section wrong because he was looking for Tuttul north of Emar / Imar on the Euphrates, today it is probably the best known section of the route, for now all the stations on the map can be identified with relative certainty.

The Balih Valley was a broad band of fertile or marshy land crossed by small watercourses; this was so, at least, until about 1990 AD, after which massive irrigation on the Turkish part of the Balih led to the almost complete desiccation of the river course.

There are many small and some medium sized but few large tells along its course, which may have several factors: arable land is limited; the southern part is outside the rain-

fed farming zone and is thus bordered on the west and east by steppes, which have always been nomadic territory and generally politically unstable.[344] The Balih was an unpredictable watercourse in pre-modern times. In spring, it could cause huge floods, whereas in summer it carried very little water. Travellers of the 19th and early 20th century describe this very vividly.[345]

The Balih Valley was first archaeologically surveyed by M. Mallowan in 1938. He describes the marshy environment, in which[346]

> "the river describes a zigzag course and with innumerable ramifications wends its way between steep and reedy banks to join the Euphrates at Raqqa... in its lower reach it becomes a marsh several kilometers in width."

He describes how in this "malaria-ridden district" with "myriads of wild fowl" many townships were difficult to access, and that—when working at Tell Sahlan—the workmen could sometimes reach the tell only by swimming.[347]

A Dutch team surveyed the Balih Valley in the 1980s. Hans Curvers worked on the Middle and Late Bronze age period of this survey in his unpublished dissertation, which he kindly made available to us.[348] He attributes 58 sites to the Middle Bronze II period, i.e. to the time of the RTE. Of these sites, he describes only four as centres:[349]

> "Early-Second-Millennium society in the Balikh Drainage was organized around a few centers of administration and distribution: Bi'a, Saman, Sahlan, and Harran."

Curvers describes five tells as being larger than 5 ha, viz.
– Tell Sahlan (7.5 ha; with city wall; probably Sahlala § 5.I.3),
– Hammam al Turkman (7 ha) (= Zalpah § 5.I.4),
– Tell es-Semen (9 ha, probably Ahuna § 5.I.6),
– Tell es-Sedda (10 ha, probably Ṣerda § 5.I.5) and
– Tell Bi'a (36 ha) (= Tuttul § 5.J.1).

Most of the other sites in the Balih Valley measure less than 1 ha and can at most have been villages by today's standards.[350]

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342 Hallo 1964: 82a.
343 Hallo 1964: 76.

344 For the nomadic zones of the Middle Bronze Age in this area, see Einwag 2010.
345 See Dietz 2023, this volume.
346 Mallowan 1946: 112.
347 Mallowan 1946: 114.
348 Curvers 1991.
349 Curvers 1991: 218.
350 This is one of the reasons why we propose the mentioned sites as candidates for the locations mentioned in RTE, which are also known from other sources as being larger settlements. However, if there were no further information about the way-stations from the cuneiform texts, we could say little about the identification, since undoubtedly the travellers could just as easily have pitched their

Further information on the Balih valley and the adjoining area to the west is obtained from the Westjazira Survey conducted by Berthold Einwag 1992-1993. It covered the entire area between the Euphrates and the Balih on Syrian territory, including the fertile valley of the Qaramuh (a tributary of the river Balih), along whose course lay such important sites as Tell Hajeb (Hig. No. 431, probably ancient Irrid) and Bandar Khan (Hig. No. 440, perhaps Šubat-Šamaš/Hanzat).[351] In the course of the survey, Tell es-Semen and es-Sedda were again visited by B. Einwag and A. Otto and MBA pottery was observed.

The following map (Fig. 21) was created with the help of B. Einwag and cartographically realised by C. Fink. Based on Einwag's survey as well as other surveys in the valleys of Balih and Euphrates, it lists the sites of the second millennium in the area between Euphrates and Balih. The size of the points roughly reflects the size of the sites.

5.I.1 Harran (Hig. No. 57, certainty 3)

Surprisingly, the entry for Harran[352] in text B: 32, which was written on the outward journey, contains the precision URU ŠÀ KASKAL, literally "city + centre + Harran/way".[353] Only in Harran and Imar is the place specification concretised by ŠÀ "*libbum*". But URU, *ālum* is also not used elsewhere in the RTE. Is the author etymologising the place name as "town in the middle of the way"? And why is this spelling not used for the return journey in text A?

Can it be concluded from ŠÀ regarding Harran and Imar that the overnight stays otherwise tended to be on the outskirts or outside the town, possibly in some kind of *kārum* or a road station close to the city wall? W. W. Hallo had commented on this:[354]

"Most probably, though the layover in both cases lasted only one night, it occurred within the walls of the city on

tents in or near a village as in or outside a larger town. The idea that the travellers needed well-fortified stations that would manifest themselves archaeologically as a tell site—possibly even with a city wall—is not compelling, for they also set up camp twice only "on the banks of the Euphrates" or once "in the mountains of Asam and Aba", without a settlement seeming to have existed.

351 For these sites see Einwag 2006, Einwag 2007. The bibliography on the identifications can be found in Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 167-168 (s.v. Irrid) and 346-347 (s.v. Šubat-Šamaš).
352 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 126-127.
353 The parallel passage in text A is not preserved for the outward journey. For the way back, the scribe notes the place name in A: iii 8 KASKAL.
354 Hallo 1964: 77a.

the outbound trip or, literally in the 'central city.' The expression URUŠÀ.KASKAL is, in other words, comparable to URU*lib-ali* frequently used of 'downtown Assur.' The determinative URU was employed here and nowhere else in the Itinerary (not even with Emar, where ŠÀ also occurs) apparently, we must conclude, as a kind of substitute for the postpositive determinative KI which otherwise was used throughout A (except with KASKAL!) and B for logographically written place names."

At the time of Zimri-Lim, Harran was one of the capitals of Greater Zalmaqum, i.e. the Balih tributary area. It was politically independent, its ruler was Asdi-takim. For this period we know that the whole area of Zalmaqum was strongly influenced by nomadism. The sanctuary of the moon god Sin,[355] the Ehulhul, had great importance for the Yaminite nomads. Harran is never mentioned in the Tell Leilan archives, only the powerful neighbour Nihriya (probably Kazane Höyük), which thus perhaps occupied a position of political supremacy, sent messengers to Šehna.

Harran is one of the rare examples of a Bronze Age town that has retained its name throughout the millennia.[356] It is spelled in the texts of the RTE, but also in a letter of the Mari archives with the logogramm KASKAL, which reflects the etymology of the place name "journey, caravan". Nicholas Postgate described the reasons for this as follows:[357]

"H. lies in the flat plain of the Cullab (Ğullāb), ca 40 km SSE of modern Urfa, between the Tektek Dağ to the E. and a similar range of low hills to the W. The site has no particular natural advantages, and during the middle ages at least its water supply was poor; until recently its sole source of water was the Bīr Ja'qūb, W. of the city walls. The site owed its continued importance to its position on the trade routes, especially that running E.-W., close to the hills of N. Mesopotamia."

5.I.2 Apqum-ša-Baliha, probably 'Ain al-Arus (Hig. No. 977, certainty 2)

The first stop after Harran was Apqum-ša-Baliha: "Source of the Balih".[358] Was this the name of a settlement at the Balih spring, or did the travellers set up camp at the spring on the green lawn? An identification with 'Ain al-Arus is

355 Postgate 1972-1975: 124b-125a.
356 Postgate 1972-1975: 122 on the place name in the historical tradition. In the 20th century Harran was given a new name: Altınbaşak.
357 Postgate 1972-1975.
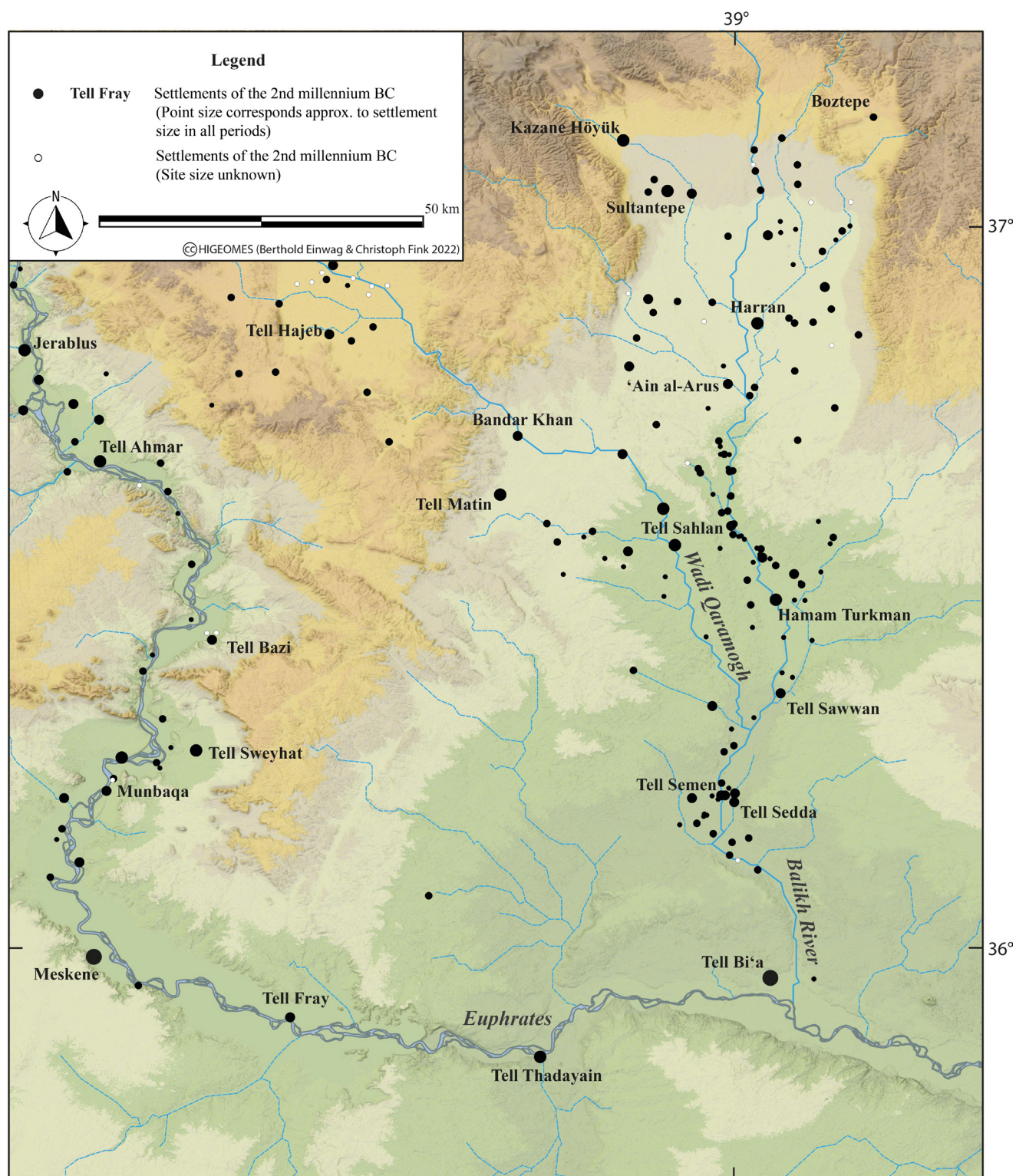358 For the etymology of Apqum see above on Apqum-ša-Addu § 5.F.1.

Fig. 21 : Map of the Western Jazira between the Euphrates and Balih with all identified 2nd millennium sites.

Fig. 22: The spring pot ʿAin al-Arus in August 1985 (Photo : Adelheid Otto).

likely. There is even a small tell on the bank of this spring pot, which allegedly also has Middle Bronze Age sherds.[359]

The archives from Mari, which document the Balih area well, do know several toponyms Apqum,[360] but it is very questionable whether Mari texts refer to the Balih Apqum of the RTE.[361] This possible silence of the Mari sources argues, in our view, against an identification of Apqum with a real city.

So if Apqum was not an urban settlement, perhaps not a permanent settlement at all, the possible identification is ʿAin al-Arus, which has already been suggested by A. Goetze and never had to be questioned since.[362]

5.I.3 Sahlala / Sihlalu = probably Tell Sahlan (Hig. No. 103, certainty 2)

Sahlala or Sihlalum[365] was one of the more important places in the Balih region in the Old Babylonian period, even though it was not a capital. Yasmah-Addu wrote to his mother that Larim-Numaha had come from Aparha with 3,000 soldiers and had taken the city, whereupon he had rushed to help and had already recaptured Ahuna (see below § 1.6).[366] Sahlala remained an important centre in the Balih region in the following period, since texts from the time of Zimri-Lim[367] and of Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian times[368] attest for it, and since its name may have survived until today.

Tell Sahlan (Hig. No. 103) is one of the few larger centres with settlement in the 2nd millennium in the Balih Valley. For this reason, but also because of the similarity of its name, it has been identified with ancient Sahlala

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359 Curvers 1991, site no. 276, dating to the Balikh VIIB period.

360 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 30-32 distinguish three Old Babylonian sites called Apqum.

361 A Der-ša-Apqim of the Mari archives must probably be distinguished from our RTE Apqum. It was probably located in the steppe east of the Balih tributary area, perhaps at a spring or well that gave it its name (for the etymology see above § 5.F.1). The bibliography on the Old Babylonian homonyms Der is quite confusing, see Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 76-79. As noted there, Der (2) and Der (3) (= Der-ša-Apqim) can probably be united into a single entry, the location must be sought in the area between Hasseke and Tell Biʿa.

362 Goetze 1953: 61b "Apqum ša ᵈBalīḫa is the town near the impressive pool which forms the source of the Balikh river and is known as ʿAin al-ʾArūs or ʿAin Ḫalīl ar-Raḥmān, the maps show it 2 km south of the railroad station Tell ʿAbyad. The town at the pool may be the one which in the 'census of Harrān' is simply called Balīḫu." See also Hallo 1964: 77-78 and Córdoba 1990: 361. A. Goetze (ibidem) also suggests several tells of the surroundings in case one had to look for a town, but he seems not to have been really convinced of this, probably rightly so.

363 Mallowan 1946: 112 reports that the local tradition associates ʿAin al-Arus with the meeting of Abraham's servant and Rebecca, and also that of Jacob and Rachel.

364 Numerous Friday excursions of the excavation team from Tell Biʾa had this beautiful bathing lake as their destination. Adelheid Otto's thanks go to the excavation director, the late Eva Strommenger, who organised many unforgettable excursions to places worth seeing for the team, and always enjoyed taking us to places where one could swim.

365 Ziegler & Langlois 2016, 296-297.

366 ARM 10 178. The capture of the city is also reported in letter M.8823, see bibliography in www.archibab.fr/ T5734.

367 Durand 2023.

368 Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2016: 117-118 (Sahlala was a governor's seat) and Bagg 2017: 517.

earlier.[369] Tell Sahlan is situated on the west bank of the Nahr al Turkman, a tributary of the Balih, measures 7.5 ha and has a city wall. There seems to have been a lower city to the west and south-west.[370] In 1938, M. Mallowan made a number of soundings in the imposing, 40 m high central mound, in which he cut, among other things, Old Babylonian levels.[371] He even found a small fragment of a cuneiform tablet from the 2nd millennium on the slopes.[372]

Tell Sahlan is only 11 km as the crow flies from 'Ain al-Arus (Apqum-ša-Baliha § 5.I.2), and the next stop took place in a distance of only 12.5 km at Zalpah (Hammam at-Turkman § 5.I.4), meaning two very small stages. On the return trip, no stop was made in Sahlala. Short stages can have various reasons, and especially in the Balih Valley they could be related to a multitude of poorly passable watercourses and extensive marshlands.

5.I.4 Zalpah, probably Hammam at-Turkuman (Hig. No. 55, certainty 2)

Zalpah[373] lay in the time of Zimri-Lim of Mari immediately north of his sphere of influence and belonged to the independent part of Zalmaqum, but already his ancestor Yahdun-Lim had led a campaign against this city[374] and Yasmah-Addu had problems asserting his authority there.[375] Zimri-Lim's informants in Tuttul, or in the steppe region of Der, did not have direct access to Zalpah, as e.g. this letter shows:[376]

"The kings of Zalmaqum arrived in Zalpah and wrote to the kings of the Yaminites for a meeting. These men returned to Zalpah for the meeting, but so far I have not had any information about this meeting."

Numerous texts in the Mari archives refer to this city, which is often mentioned as the antithesis of Ahuna (§ 5.I.6) and Tuttul (§ 5.J.1).

Zalpah can very probably be identified with Hammam at-Turkuman (Hig. No. 55), following a suggestion by his excavator Maurits van Loon. It is a steep, imposing tell of 7 ha, which has a centuries-old sequence of levels and shows significant Middle Bronze Age remains, including a "Middle Bronze Administrative Complex" on the summit of the tell and a kārum-like arrangement of dwellings at the foot of it.[377]

5.I.5–5.I.6 The neighbouring towns of Șerda and Ahuna

The next stop towards the south is Șerda on the way to Imar and Ahuna on the way back. The fact that the two sites are mentioned as alternative stations between Zalpah and Tuttul on the outward and return routes of the itinerary, indicate that both were located roughly midway between Zalpah and Tuttul. This has led to the search for two medium-sized, adjacent Middle Bronze Age sites. This is true of Tell es-Semen (Hig. No. 271) and Tell es-Sedda (Hig. No. 459; also called es-Semen Sharqi on some maps; in Curvers 1991: unnamed Tell 84), which are only 1.8 km apart (Fig. 23). Tell es-Semen with about 9 ha and Tell es-Sedda with about 10 ha represent the two largest tells in the Balih valley between Tell Bi 'a and Hammam et-Turkman, and today both lie directly on the main course of the Balih. Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery is found in Tell es-Semen and in Tell es-Sedda.[378]

Tell es-Semen consists of two elevations located west and east of the Balih.[379] Curvers describes Tell es-Semen as one of the few urban centres in the southern section of the Balih Valley, while referring to the other settlements as villages.[380]

The identification of these two sites as Ahuna and Șerda respectively is probably correct. However, there are no real clues as to which of the two sites should be identified with which of the two names. The identification with Tell es-Sedda was already suggested by Joaquin Córdoba,

369 Hallo 1964: 78a suggests this identification. Cf. Córdoba 1990: 363.

370 Curvers 1991: no. 247.

371 Mallowan 1946: 138, Fig. 1.

372 Mallowan 1946: 140: "A minute fragment of a cuneiform clay tablet was discovered on the slopes of T. Sahlan, and this proves that some written records are to be found in the valley, not later than the second millennium B.C."

373 The Old Babylonian sources make it difficult for us to distinguish the Zalmaqum city of Zalpah from Zalpa/Zalba(r)/Zalwar, a kingdom to the west of the Euphrates. S. Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 420-423 s.v. Zalpah (1-2) and Zalwar. This probably also explains, among other things, why Hallo 1964: 78b was misled.

374 Charpin & Ziegler 2003: 38, 58. A year name of Yahdun-Lim celebrates the capture or destruction of the city of Zalpah.

375 See below in § 5.I.5 to letter A.1487. Zalpah was outside Yasmah-Addu's zone of influence. He could only protest if the Balih water was cut off there for irrigation projects.

376 A.2526, Bibliography in www.archibab.fr/T7160.

377 Cf. van Loon 1988; Meijer 2007: 320-321.

378 Einwag, Kohlmeyer & Otto 1995: 104 fn. 25; Curvers 1991: 185-186, BS-83 (Tell es-Semen) and BS-84 ("no name").

379 Fortunately, Corona aerial photographs from the 1960s exist (see Fig. 23) showing the landscape before the extensive construction of large canals that today severely affect Tell es-Semen and the adjacent area.

380 Curvers 1991: 204-214.

mainly because of the similarity of the names.[381] The textual evidence from Mari and Tuttul also testifies to the close proximity between the two towns, which are very often mentioned together.[382] The fact that they were located on different sides of the Balih River or at least a tributary (see Fig. 23) could be confirmed by textual evidence, which is unfortunately poorly preserved.[383] The towns both belonged to an administrative district in the domain of the Uprapean nomad king.[384] Texts from Jasmah-Adad's palace in Tuttul prove that Ahuna and Ṣerda were administratively connected to Tuttul.[385]

5.I.5 Ṣerda / Ṣerdi, probably T. es-Sedda (Hig. No. 459, certainty 2)

The author of the Itinerary B: 36 notes "*ṣe₁-er-di*"—while almost all texts of the archives from Mari and Tuttul write *ṣé-er-da*.[386] The site was on the Balih downstream from Zalpah but upstream from Tuttul. The Balih water apparently flowed too sparsely and the lack of this resource led Yasmah-Addu to write a letter of protest to his father (and master) Samsi-Addu, as his authority no longer extended to Zalpah (§ 5.I.4). In the letter he pleaded that only one authority should have the waters of the Balih:[387]

"Formerly, when La'um, Mašum and Mašiya had gone to my lord, my lord charged them as follows concerning Tuttul:

Fig. 23: Tell as-Semen and Tell as-Sedda, probably Ahuna and Ṣerda in the Balih valley (Corona satellite image 1968).

'Gather the waters of the Balih for Tuttul, let one cultivate mu[ch] land! In Ṣerda the field is [few] and far between. Who will take the grain that is now the[re]? Instead of Ṣerda, let them cultivate field of the irrigation district of Tuttul!'
This my lord has commanded them. Now much field is cultivated in Tuttul. But Ili-uri went to Zalpah and has shut off the waters of the Balih. He has also driven away the ploughmen whom I put there. I wrote to him and he replied to me as follows:
'Is it then possible that I should do this without (permission from) my commander, Iškur-lutil? Iškur-lutil has given me the order and I have shut off the water!' This he replied to me.
Is there a river for which two people give orders? What can Tuttul do without water, after the water of the Balih is shut off there? My lord knows well that Zalpah has been walking in the wake of Tuttul since early times! Now, why do they claim Zalpah? May my lord give oders to Iškur-lutil, they should not claim Zalpah [and] gather the waters of the Balih for Tuttul. The whole surface of Tuttul's cultivated land is to be cultivated."

This letter allows the conclusion that Ṣerda was above all an agriculturally quite active centre, although it was obviously sparsely populated. We know that at least one plough team was housed there. In Yasmah-Addu's eyes, it was too far away from the more densely populated Tuttul, and had less land available for farming. The texts from Yasmah-Addu's palace in Tuttul also show that Ahuna and

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381 CÓRDOBA 1988, CÓRDOBA 1990.

382 See, among others, DURAND 2023 and there especially the letters ARM 34 65, 73 and 76. ARM 26/1 153 mentions oracle enquiries concerning Zalpah, Ṣerda and Ahuna. Of particular interest is the letter FM 7 6 which reports that the Yaminite Hardum was staying with other nomadic princes in Ṣerda, while members of his household were staying in close proximity (*qerbiš*) in Ahuna. See also ARM 1 118.

383 We thank J.-M. Durand for this information, which he gave us before the publication of the volume DURAND 2023. ARM 34 76 mentions Ṣerda, fields of Ahuna, and in fragmentary context the expressions "eastern" and "western" (*aqdamatum* and *aharatum* [of Balih]).

384 See ARM 34 73.

385 KREBERNIK 2001: 12; 80, KTT 118: this text mentions people from Ahuna who took barley from Ṣerda and brought it to Tuttul.

386 ZIEGLER & LANGLOIS 2016: 316. The text ARM 23 625: 4 has *ṣi-ia-ar-da*[ki] which supports the interpretation Ṣerda (and not Ṣirda), since in Upper Mesopotamia i+a is often rendered as ê….

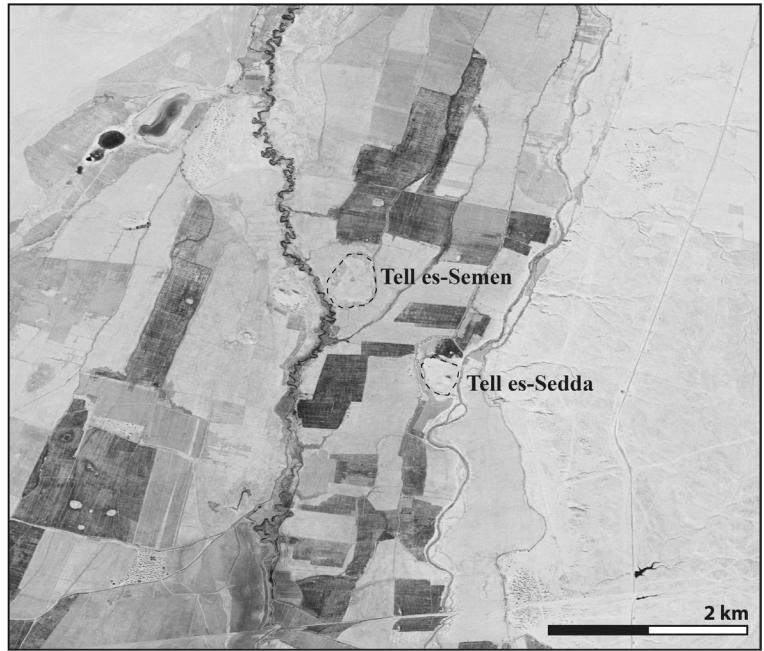387 A.1487+ has been published and discussed by VILLARD 1987. See further bibliography in www.archibab.fr/T4236.

Șerda were administratively linked to Tuttul.[388] At the time of Zimri-Lim, the place hosted Yaminite nomad rulers,[389] who were in bad terms with Zimri-Lim.

The site is still attested in texts of the Middle Assyrian period and was probably located on the opposite bank and south of Sahlala.[390]

5.I.6 Ahuna, probably Tell es-Semen (Hig. No. 271, certainty 2)

Ahuna,[391] which can be located near Șerda, was a place for gatherings of nomads and their leaders.[392] A letter states:[393]

> "The sheikhs of the Yaminites have gathered in Zalpah and went to Ahuna."

and in another letter, Zimri-Lim is given the following explanation:[394]

> "My lord knows well the ways of the nomads, that when they leave, (it is for) about ten days that they go. Moreover, as for the chiefs of pasture whom my lord ordered me to bring back, I was delayed but now, I will bring back all of them before I leave. At the time appointed for them, I will wait for them in Ahuna."

The location of Ahuna and the favourable access to the nomadic steppe on an east-west route could have been a reason for this role of Ahuna.[395] In a letter, a gouvernor reported to Zimri-Lim:[396]

> "The entire auxiliary army has returned to its homeland. And the nomad's army has taken the road from Ahuna to the steppe. They left Yanșibum with the troops in Ahuna."

So the city must have had enough space to accommodate the nomads and their herds. It may also have had enough space for tents and certainly permanent access to water, which allowed for larger gatherings. We also know that the city housed a temple of Annunitum.[397] This may have been indirectly alluded to by Hammi-ištamar in his famous letter describing his long experience during the nomadic meetings in Ahuna, which apparently were not always peaceful:[398]

> "So far I have almost perished and saved myself from death. In the middle of the city of Ahuna, ten times I managed to get out of a riot. Why now do you not consider me a Dumuzi? At the count of the year, he is killed; at each [spring] he returns to the temple of Annunitum."

Tell es-Semen (BS-83 in CURVERS 1991) is a mound, 400 by 300 m large and 17.5m high, who—following Curvers—was a city of about 9 ha in his Balikh VIIB period, which corresponds to the period under consideration here. H. CURVERS (1991: 185) states that "Balikh VII sherds were collected on all slopes and on two small secondary mounds".

If Tell es-Semen can be equated with Ahuna, it would be interesting to investigate the site closer because of its role as a nomadic gathering place. Were there still city walls? At least, H. CURVERS (1991: 185) mentions a city walls of the 3rd millennium. Who guarded the gates? How was access to the water regulated? Where was the open space for setting up nomadic camps, and the possibility of isolating oneself from unwanted neighbours, members of other tribes and guaranteeing the safety of families? And what role did the cult of Annunitum, the cult of Dumuzi play in this milieu?

Our Old Babylonian travellers, on the other hand, had stopped in Ahuna without belonging to the milieu of the Yaminite nomads. Texts also attest to the presence of tax officials in Ahuna who had to collect the *miksum* levy.[399]

The toponym Ahuna has not yet been attested in the Middle or New Assyrian texts. If the identification with Tell es-Semen is correct, Ahuna could have continued to exist under a different name, since the Tell was still inhabited in the Late Bronze Age.[400]

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388 KREBERNIK 2001: 12; 80. See fn. 385.

389 FM 7 6. See also DURAND 2023 for this dossier.

390 CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM & HESS 2016: 119-120 s.v. Serda. In their commentary they note "town on the Balīḫ south of Saḫlālu, apparently on the opposite side of the river". Neo-Assyrian texts do not yet attest to the toponym.

391 ZIEGLER & LANGLOIS 2016: 12-13. J.-M. Durand argues for interpreting the toponym Ahhuna, since the unpublished letter A.1209: 9 attests the spelling *a-aḫ-ḫu-na-a*[ki] (DURAND 2004: 115 n. 20, see ibidem for an etymology that can be traced back to the root HN' "tent camp"). Since only one document has this spelling, we leave the question open and continue to write Ahuna.

392 A.987 (cf. bibliography www.archibab.fr/T9225); ARM 26/1 24; ARM 28 25 (and against the identification of the author with the ruler of Karkemiš, see CHARPIN & ZIEGLER 2002: 203 n. 290).

393 ARM 2 53: 12-14.

394 ARM 33 80: 18-25.

395 Cf. CHARPIN 2023, this volume.

396 ARM 14 92: 17-22. For the historical context, see CHARPIN 2021: 542.

397 KTT 28.

398 A.1046 (cf. Bibliography www.archibab.fr/T1011): 39-44.

399 J.-M. Durand will edit in ARM 35 the unpublished letter A.439, quoted in CHARPIN & ZIEGLER 2003: 182-183 n. 96 and in DURAND 2004: 171 n. 334 (erroneously under the number A.469). In it, the Yaminite prince Yasmah-Addu mentions servants of the ruler of Aleppo, Yarim-Lim, who were working as tax collectors in Ahuna (ÌR.MEŠ *ia-ri-im-li-im ša i-na a-ḫu-na*[ki], *ma-ki-sú-tam e-pí-šu*).

400 FINK 2016: 46, Hig. No. 271; CURVERS 1991: 185-186, BS-83.
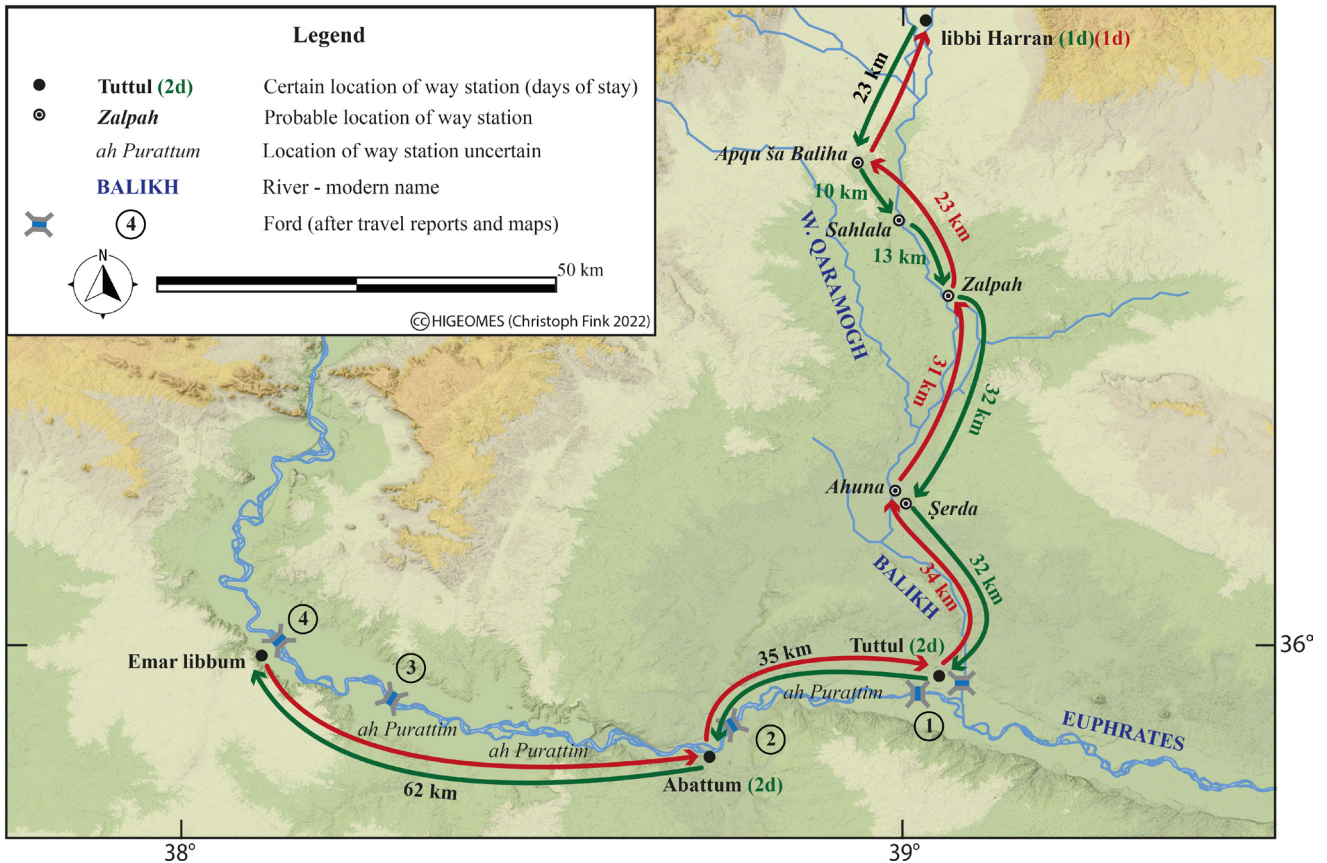
Fig. 24: RTE sections I and J along the Balih and the Euphrates.

5.J From Tuttul to Imar / Emar

The travelling group finally entered the Euphrates valley in Tuttul (Tell Bi'a, § 5.J.1). From there, the travelling party probably proceeded westwards along the same northern bank of the Euphrates. Abattum (Tell ath-Thadayain, § 5.J.2) was the only settlement visited on this stretch of the route, which is nevertheless almost 100 km as the crow flies. On the way to Abattum, an overnight stay had to

be planned, which is only referred to in the itineraries as *ah Purattim* "bank of the Euphrates" (§ 5.J.3). Obviously, a camp was set up in the Euphrates valley and no settlement was visited. Likewise, between Abattum and Imar, several overnight stays were necessary on the banks of the Euphrates. This is unusual when one compares the section of the route with the other stages of the Old Babylonian itineraries. Were there no other fortified settlements in this area?

Within the framework of a survey carried out in the Euphrates valley between Tuttul and Imar, virtually no Middle Bronze Age tells were actually found in the valley between Tell Bi'a and Tell ath-Thadiyain.[401] The Old Babylonian texts confirm this impression of a desolate, sparsely populated area. The valley downstream from Imar is described in a

Destination	Stages of the outbound trip from east to west (to be read from right to left)						
Imar *libbum* § 5.J.6 ↪	*ašar baḫra īsiḫū* ←		*ah* Purattim ←	*ah* Purattim ←	Abattum ←	*ah* Purattim ←	Tuttul ←
	§ 5.J.5	§ 5.J.4	§ 5.J.3	§ 5.J.3	§ 5.J.2	§ 5.J.3	§ 5.J.1
		→ […]attum		→ *ah* Purattim	→ Abattum		Tuttul
	Return trip to the east						

Table to § 5.J : Overview of the stages from Tuttul to Imar.
The order of the toponyms roughly follows the geographical orientation of modern maps: east as on the maps on the right, west on the left.

[401] Kohlmeyer 1984, Kohlmeyer 1986. On this area as well as the route of the Road to Emar on Syrian territory, see Otto 2000: 4-10.

letter as *madbarum* "desert wasteland" and the passing of it as extremely arduous.[402]

At the time of the Mari archives, this area was the tribal territory of the Yaminite Rabbeans.[403] Even at the time of M. von Oppenheim's passage in 1899, the stretch between Raqqa and Meskene was the exclusive tribal territory of the Fed'an-Welde. M. von Oppenheim describes that the nomads stayed in the steppe areas north and south of the Euphrates in winter, but moved into the valleys in summer.[404] Even today, the area is sparsely populated. The areas outside the river valley are virtually free of settlements. Likewise, the Fed'an-Welde still live here today and parts of the communities still move around with tents. The reason for this is the rainfall, as the borders of the rainfed farming zone with more than 200 mm precipitation runs north of Imar and Tuttul. However, as the area outside the deeply incised river valley is made up of limestone heights, irrigated farming has been difficult, so no agriculture was practised in this area.[405]

Tuttul lay to the north, close to the left bank of the Euphrates, Imar and Abattum on the right bank. Where the river, which is powerful and torrential in this area, was crossed is not explicitly stated. It is therefore unclear whether the route between Tuttul and Abattum was chosen north or south of the Euphrates. Where the Euphrates was crossed is essentially related to the location of the fords. Fords, along with mountain passes and clearly identifiable settlements, are probably the most important anchor points for reconstructing an ancient travel route. However, the localisation of these ancient river crossings, due to river straightening, the construction of dams and bridges displacing the modern routes, turns out to be difficult, especially since the names of these crossings vary and there were probably simply no official designations if there was no settlement in the vicinity. It is also often difficult to assess the significance and duration of use of the fords cited in the literature. Their accessibility depended, for example, on the season, i.e. the water level of the river.

On the stretch between Tuttul (Tell Bi'a) and Imar (Meskene), at least four places where the Euphrates could be crossed are mentioned more or less frequently in the travelogues of the 19th and 20th centuries BC and are recorded on contemporary maps. For our map (Fig. 24) we have adopted these possible fords and marked them with the numbers 1-4. According to Alois Musil, the easternmost ford (**Ford 1**) was located near Raqqa,[406] although he himself crossed the river here in the spring of 1912 by means of a ferry boat ;[407] also M. von Oppenheim reported in a footnote on this ford, which was also called "Suāfi".[408]

Between Tuttul and Abattum there was a second good possibility to cross the Euphrates (Fig. 25). This **Ford 2** was east of Tell ath-Thadayain near the Roman-Byzantine Sura, where Oppenheim already identified the remains of a bridge in the Euphrates, indicating a ford or an easy place to cross the Euphrates. Ancient bridge piers are still visible there in the Euphrates today (see e.g. Konrad 2001). This crossing (Ford 2) was also commonly called the "Ford of al Hammam" by European travellers through the Near East. Friedrich Sarre and Ernst Herzfeld describe it as a camel ford[409] and, according to Francis Chesney, it could only be used at low water:[410]

> "About 36 miles below Balis, following the course of the river, are the ruins of Sura, and about six miles lower is the ford of Al Hammam, by which at the low season the river Euphrates may be crossed, but with some difficulty, the water being up to the breast."

According to A. Musil,[411] however, there was a much easier place to ford the Euphrates at Tell ath-Thadayain.

Ford 3: Further west, around the site of Dibsi Faraj, there was probably another area from where it was easier to reach the Euphrates valley from the limestone plateau and then cross the river. The ancient site of Dibsi is about 15 km southeast of Meskene and was inhabited from Roman times until late antiquity.[412] European travellers

402 ARM 26/1 14: 10, see the text www.archibab.fr/T7113. An English translation can be found in Heimpel 2003: 183-184 and in Sasson 2015: 109-110.

403 See for the rich bibliography Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 278-279. See on the Rabbeans in the area between Tuttul and Imar Ziegler 2009: 187.

404 Oppenheim 1939.

405 On the role of the nomads in this area in the second millennium, see Einwag 2010. Arable farming west of Raqqa has only been possible for about the past 30 years, because large canals divert the water of the Balih and deep wells were drilled. Since then, the Balih no longer carries water at almost any time of the year, and the groundwater level has dropped so dramatically that fossil groundwater has to be drilled at great depths.

406 Musil 1927: 185.

407 Musil 1927: 91.

408 See Oppenheim 1900, 5, fn. 3. M. von Oppenheim lists the four fords reproduced here as "Suafi" (near Raqqa), "Haragla" (near Hammam), "Schodha" (near Dibsi) and the ford of Meskene. However, it must be pointed out that von Oppenheim had not yet travelled through the Euphrates valley himself at this time (1900) and that he knew these fords from other sources or from local Bedouins.

409 Sarre & Herzfeld 1911: 153.

410 Chesney 1850: 416.

411 Musil 1927: 220.

412 Harper 1975.

Fig. 25: The section of the route along the Euphrates on a map by R. Kiepert and K. Werner (1911) with the possible fords and river crossings (marked with numbers 1 to 4).

sometimes equated it with the ancient city of Thapsacus, known by Xenophon.[413] This site, also known as the camel ford, is most likely the "Shota" ford mentioned by Oppenheim.[414] The term "camel ford" usually implies that these places could not be crossed by smaller mounts, since the shoulder height of a camel or dromedary is over 2m, whereas donkeys only have a withers height of about 1m. However, our Old Babylonian travellers arrived here in high summer when the Euphrates used to have low water.

Finally a last possible crossing of the Euphrates (**Ford 4**) is to be sought near Meskene itself, as at least F. Sarre & E. Herzfeld[415] and as M. von Oppenheim report. A. Musil mentions a ford at Samûma, 6 km north of Bails (Meskene), where even in his time trade caravans used to cross the Euphrates and then travelled across the western Jazirah to Harran.[416]

5.J.1 Tuttul = Tell Biʻa (Hig. No . 27, certainty 3)

The localisation of Tuttul was one of the few weak points in W. W. Hallo's reconstitution of the Itinerary, although Margarete Falkner had already in 1957 assumed the "Tuttul" stage in Tell Biʻa.[417] The identification of this important city of about 40 ha, excavated under the direction of Eva Strommenger, could only be definitively proven by the cuneiform tablet finds of 1992.[418]

Tuttul has had a chequered political history.[419] In the 19th century, it was an independent political power ruled by the Yaminite king Bahlu-kullim, Sheikh of the Amnanum, until Yahdun-Lim conquered Tuttul and integrated the city into the Mari territory. Yasmah-Addu also had suzerainty over the city and spent much time there. Most of the archival texts found in Tuttul date from his time.[420] The palace of Tuttul came to an end and was abandoned for good when Samsi-Addu died and his son Yasmah-Addu could no longer hold Tuttul.[421] In the days of Zimri-Lim, Tuttul was polit-

ically independent from Mari, but Zimri-Lim had appointed a *hazannum* official, Lanasum, to inform him about the area.[422] Hammurabi's troops probably took Tuttul in the course of the same military campaign that led to the fall of Mari.[423] In the Tell Leilan archives, which are probably closer in time to the RTE, Tuttul was a stage of the route leading from Upper Mesopotamia to Aleppo.[424] However, the city lost importance in the following period.

As the crow flies, Tuttul is about 30km away from Tell es-Semen and Tell es-Sedda, which are identified with Ahuna (§ 5.I.6) and Ṣerda (§ 5.I.5).

5.J.2 Abattum, Tell ath-Thadayain (Hig. No. 217, certainty 3)

Abattum[425] can with certainty be identified with Tell Thadayain (Hig. No. 217).[426] The author of text B drew a dividing line at this point. What his motives were for doing so remains unknown.

The mound lies about 30 km upstream from Tell Biʻa and is—as the Arabic name "Two Breasts" already indicates—clearly characterised by two prominent elevations, which probably represent large grave mounds.[427] It measures about 29 ha and lies directly on the Euphrates valley, slightly elevated above the valley on the natural Holocene gravel terrace. The largest wadi flowing from the Palmyrene desert into the Euphrates, the Wadi as-Salam, flows here from south to north and creates a triangular point on which the city of Abattum was built—an ideal strategic situation. The only survey whose results have been published in a preliminary report refers to an occupation during the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age and already suggests identification with Abattum.[428] Much like Tuttul and Mari, Abattum was founded as a town in the Early Bronze Age and fortified with a mighty city wall.[429] In the Middle Bronze Age it lived on and was the seat of kings.

413 Bell 1911 : 47. On the situation of Thapsacus, see the discussions by Cohen 2006: 149-151.

414 Oppenheim 1900.

415 Sarre & Herzfeld 1911: 121.

416 Musil 1927 : 316-317.

417 Falkner 1957. Like A. Goetze, W. Hallo assumed Tuttul to be upstream from Imar further to the north.

418 Strommenger & Kohlmeyer 1998: 1.

419 Old Babylonian textual evidence in Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 373-375.

420 Krebernik 2001.

421 Contrary to what has been claimed sometimes, the last phase of the Palace A at Tuttul dates to Yasmah-Addu, as is clearly shown by dated cuneiform tablets and hundreds of fragile clay sealings who lay scattered on the floor of the last occupation phase. Probably

Zimri-Lim conquered Tuttul, made an inventory of the treasures, and took the valuables off to Mari; see Otto 2004: 161-162.

422 Durand 2023: 179-275.

423 Charpin & Ziegler 2003: 242-245.

424 PIHANS 117 41, see above. § H.10.

425 Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 1-2. Ziegler 2009: 187-189 on the history of the city at the time of Samsi-Addu.

426 See already Otto 2000: 9, fn. 49 .

427 The gravel fill of the tumuli is clearly visible in bulldozer cuts. B. Einwag and A. Otto visited the site several times on their way to their survey area of the Western Jazirah in 1992 and 1993.

428 Kohlmeyer 1984: 111-112; Kohlmeyer 1986: 52 also described the cut through the Early Bronze Age city wall.

429 The place-name *a-ba-tum* mentioned in Ebla texts certainly refers to the 3rd millennium town of Abattum, although sometimes it is

Thadiyain is still the only prominent tell between Raqqa and the Euphrates bend and lies directly on the main road leading from Raqqa to Aleppo. If one follows southwards the Wadi as-Salam, which flows into the Euphrates at ath-Thadayain, one reaches Rusafa-Sergiopolis after c. 25 km. In Roman and Byzantine times, this road was the *Strata Diocletiana*, which continued to Palmyra or turned west through the steppe towards Homs/Qatna.[430]

It can be assumed that the path from Thadayain along the Wadi as-Salam to the south was already important in the Bronze Age. A letter of Samsi-Addu (ARM I 85) names three routes which the troops could choose for Qatna, and one of them, which we now know was preferred, started at Abattum.[431] The road was therefore already logistically important in Old Babylonian times and led through the steppe towards Qaṭna. This explains why Abattum played an important strategic role. At the time of Yahdun-Lim, i.e. at the end of the 19th century BC, Abattum was the capital of a Yaminite prince of the Rabbu tribe, Ayyalum. Zimri-Lim's mother Addu-duri originated from this family. At the time of Zimri-Lim, the Rabbean ruler Dadi-hadun was king, and undertook construction work to fortify his city, which worried some officials in Mari.[432]

Fig. 26a and b : Tell ath-Thadayain (a: Map based on Google satellite image 2023. b: Photo A. Otto 1993).

5.J.3 Ah Purattim "Banks of the Euphrates"

The area between Tuttul and Imar was sparsely populated and mainly the terrain of nomads (see above). This explains why the travellers had to set up camp on the edge of the river valley on two consecutive days on the way there and possibly only once on the way back (but see § 5.J.4). In fact, archaeologically there are virtually no tells in the area of the Euphrates valley between ath-Thadayain and Meskene, and the area was described in the Old Babylonian sources as *madbarum* "desert land".

searched for farther west; see Archi 2019: 181-183; Otto 2006: 22.
430 Konrad 2001; Dussaud 1927.
431 Ziegler 2009: 187-188.
432 Durand 2023: 222.

5.J.4 [...]-at-tu-um

Either a hitherto unknown toponym in Imar's surroundings or a description of the circumstances of the overnight stay. Perhaps *bamatum* the "slope to the steppe", but the doubling of the T is unusual and makes this reading not very likely.

5.J.5 The place where *bahrum* troop has been assigned

62 km as the crow flies separate Abattum (Tell ath-Thadayain, § 5.J.2) from Imar, and the travellers made three stops along the way. First, the travellers of the RTE had to make two successive stages, described only as "banks of the Euphrates" (§ 5.J.3). Then they came to the last stage before Imar (§ 5.J.6). At this very last stop before the city centre of Imar was the place where the merchants spent two days and where an activity was carried out which is noted in text B: 42 "U₄ 2.KAM *a-ša-ar ba-ah-ra i-ZI-hu*".

The verb is certainly *esēhum* "to allocate". It is attested mainly in relation to soldiers or workers, but sometimes also to barley, fields, boats to be assigned. There is a great deal of evidence, one can consult CAD E 327-329, but the evidence has grown enormously since 1958. In texts from northern Mesopotamia, the *esēkum* variant was preferred. Since the author of the RTE comes from Larsa, the spelling with Ḥ is not unusual. Interesting is the letter AbB 14 167, in which, among others, merchants are accused of having assigned (*esēhum*) only 16 workers (ERIN₂) to the author of the letter, although he actually needed many more workers:[433]

> "Speak to my father: Thus says Imgur-Ninurta. May Šamaš and Marduk for my sake forever grant you good health. I have 20 workers less than the 300 workers which have been assigned to me. While I keep writing to you (about it), you have not answered me. The traders have not given me any (workers). Until yesterday (only) Apil-ilim has given me 5 workers, menials of the god Nergal of Maškan-šapir. I am now carrying out the work with too little workers. And while the traders of Maškan-šapir have assigned (*esēhum*) me 16 workers (ERIN₂.HI.A), I still have five work gangs (KASKAL.MEŠ) too little. (...)"

The word *ba-ah-ra* is more difficult and has been much commented on.[434] It is rare in this vocalisation, but occurs several times in the text UET 5 62: 17, 18, 20 and is always written ERIN₂ *bahrum* there. *Bahrum* can perhaps be translated as "elite troop" or "marine soldier".[435]

The passage in text B: 42 can accordingly—but still with hesitation—be translated as follows:

> "Two days at the place where the elite troops were assigned."

Whether they were escorts for the travellers, or transporters, remains open. Whether the place where the assignment took place was a harbour of Imar, or some kind of a merchants' quarter (*kārum*) on the outskirts of the city is unknown.

5.J.6 Imar / Emar = Meskene, the final destination of the journey (Hig. No. 86, certainty 3)

Finally, it had become high summer, the travellers reached the destination *Imar libbum* (ŠÀ): "Imar − centre". It is noteworthy that in the RTE *libbum* "city centre" only very rarely is added to the place[436] and we assume that this remark was in contrast to the previous overnight stays, which first took place on the river bank and then at the "place where the elite troops were assigned" (§ 5.J.5). In any case, the merchants in Imar seem to have sought out accommodation in the middle of the fortified city. Surprisingly, they only stayed for a short time, as they almost immediately set off on their return journey, which roughly followed the same arc eastwards, even if in many cases other stages were chosen as stops.

Imar is very well attested in the Old Babylonian period.[437] This city was the trading hub between the merchants from Mesopotamia and the Kingdom of Aleppo. Politically, Imar was relatively dependent on Aleppo, but it was not directly part of Yamhad's territory in the 18th century. At this point, the RTE travellers turned back, their mission accomplished.

We can stop here to follow the travellers, since the stations on their way back have been discussed by us above.

6. Summary

The Road to Emar (RTE) can now be reconstructed very precisely thanks to years of preliminary work by many philologists and archaeologists, and with the help of satellite and aerial photography and the study of ancient maps.

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433 AbB 14 162, see also www.archibab.fr/T15416.

434 For more dicussion see below commentary to Text B: 42. On the word spelled *ba-ah-ra* cf. Stol 2004: 821-823 who sees in *bahrum* a variant form of *behrum*, *bā'irum* "fisherman".

435 See Charpin (in print OBO): fn 15.

436 See already above § 5.I.1 on Harran.

437 See in particular Durand 1990. See also Durand 2023: 89-90.

Only a few stretches of the itinerary remain unclear, but they can at least be narrowed down approximately.

It is more difficult to identify several toponyms with archaeological sites. However, we think that the method used here, to mark on a map a calculated area by means of circles of 10 km diameter in case of unclear identifications, is the best method to serve as a basis for future investigations on the ground. Much research remains to be done before all toponyms can be identified, but one day, we are sure, all stages will be securely identified.

In our reconstruction, we have tried to take into account the natural parameters such as geography, precipitation, availability of resources etc. as well. Of course, they were decisive factors in the choice of a route at that time. They explain why the shortest way was not always chosen, nor was the route that could be covered with the least physical effort, which can be calculated using LCP.

Geopolitical circumstances also were important and primed on the aim to use the quickest way from one point to the next. These geopolitical factors have been commented on in the context of a dating hypothesis according to which the RTE was written at the beginning of Samsu-iluna's reign (see above § 2.6). In this time, the territory of several major kingdoms was crossed – the most important of which we enumerate in the table below.

Political hegemony	The capital city if chosen as a stage by the travellers of the RTE
Kingdom of Babylonia	Babylon (§ 5.B.1)
Kingdom Tigris Bank	Aššur (§ 5.E.1) and Ekallatum (§ 5.E.2), whose respective political status are unknown for the beginning of Samsu-iluna's reign
Kingdom of Karana	–
Kingdom of Razama Yussan	–
Kingdom of Apum	Šubat-Enlil (§ 5.G.1)
Kingdom of Sumum, a vassal of Šubat-Enlil	Ašnakkum (§ 5.H.1)
Kingdom of Urkiš, a vassal kingdom	Urkiš (§ 5.G.4)
Kingdom of Yapṭurum	–
Kingdom of Šuda	–
Zalmaqum dominated by Nihriya. Unknown status of Harran (§ 5.I.1) and the various cities of the Balih area	–
City State of Tuttul	Tuttul (§ 5.J.1)
Kingdom of Aleppo and its trading hub Imar	Imar (§ 5.J.6)

The travellers seem to have passed through several important or relatively influential kingdoms on their journey.

Our question is, why did the travellers choose almost only secondary places for their stay? Did the travellers want to avoid taxes?[438] Did they succeed in doing so by avoiding the capitals? Were they not allowed to enter foreign capitals? So many questions remain...

Our knowledge of the historical geography of Mesopotamia would be so much less without the three texts of the RTE. We can only be grateful to the travellers of that time for having recorded their daily stages so carefully. We hope that the proposals jointly developed in permanent discussion between philologists and archaeologists will put further research into historical geography on a new level. It is to be hoped that in the coming years many of the sites mentioned here will be identified and that some of our hypotheses can be checked on the ground – we are looking forward to it!

7. New Edition of the Texts

The right-hand column contains the toponym in a normalised spelling and an indication of the § where it is discussed. Only in exceptional cases we give a translation. Especially the information on the length of stay is not translated. These are well recorded in the overview table Fig. 3 (above p. 145-147). In the right column in bold script ancient toponyms with a proposal of identification.

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438 Comparisons with the situation of the Old Assyrian merchants are not necessarily permissible. But they knew the "*sukinnum* way", which was used to avoid taxes, but was not welcomed by the authorities in Aššur. See VEENHOF 2008: 214-215.

Text A [UIOM 2134]

Text A was published by Goetze 1953 in hand copy. Pictures can now be accessed on the website of the CDLI project, where the text is numbered P420515. Text A contains the compilation of all stages of the outbound and return journey and was probably written after the return to Larsa.

Obv.i	[ITI ŠE.KIN.KU₅ U₄ 2]6*.KAM BA.ZAL	[Month xii, day 2]6:
2	[U₄ x.KAM URU^ki-*a*]-*hu*ᵎ-*ma*	Al-A]humma § 5.A.2
	[U₄ x.KAM … x]-*a*-ᶜ*hi*ˀᵓ	[o o]ahi § 5.A.3
4	[U₄ x.KAM *ra-h*]*a-bu-um*	Rahabum § A.4
	[U₄ x.KAM …]ᶜᵏⁱᵓ	§ 5.A.[…]
6	[U₄ x.KAM …]ᶜᵏⁱᵓ	§ 5.A.[…]
	[U₄ x.KAM … *n*]*i*	[…]ni § 5.A.[…]
8	[U₄ x.KAM …-*t*]*a*	[…]ta § 5.A.[…]
	[U₄ x.KAM …]^ki	§ 5.A.[…]
10	ᶜU₄ 11.KAMᵓ KÁ.DINGIR.RA^ki	**Babilim § 5.B.1**
	U₄ 5.KAM ZIMBIR.EDIN.NA	**Sippar-ṣerim § 5.B.2**
12	U₄ 5.KAM ZIMBIR.BÀD	**Sippar-durim § 5.B.3**
	U₄ 10.KAM BÀD-*a-pil*-^d EN.Z[U]	Dur-Apil-Sin § 5.C.1
14	U₄ 1.KAM *hi-ba-ri-tum*	Hibaritum § 5.C.2
	U₄ 1.KAM *kar-ka-ku-la*-[*ti*]	Kar-Kakkulatim § 5.C.3
16	U₄ 1.KAM *kar*-UT[U]	Kar-Šamaš § 5.C.4
	U₄ 4.KAM *ma-ki-sú*[*m*]	**Mankisum § 5.C.5**
18	*i-nu-ma* ERIN₂.HI.A *ip-p*[*a-aṭ/ah-ru*]	" when the men have been relea[sed]/ga[thered]
	ù ^giš MÁ.HI.A *i-tu-r*[*a*]/-*nim*	and the boats returned."
20	U₄ 1.KAM *hi-ša-tu*[*m*]	Hiššatum § 5.D.1
	U₄ 1.KAM *pu-lu*-[*ku*]	Pulukku § 5.D.2
22	U₄ 1.KAM *ia-ha-ap-i*[*l*]	Yahappila § 5.D.4
	U₄ 1.KAM *ma-ar-me-nu*-[*ú*]	Marmenu § 5.D.6
24	[U₄] ᶜ2.KAMᵓ *su-qá*-[*qù-ú*]	Suqaqu § 5.D.7
	[*a-šar* ERIN₂.HI.]A U₄ 2.K[AM]	"[The place where] the [men]
26	[*wa-as-b*]*u*-ᶜúᵓ	[sta]yed 2 days."
	[U₄ 1.KAM *aš*]-*šu-ur*	**Aššur § 5.E.1**
28	[U₄ 1.KAM *é-kál-l*]*a-t*[*um*]	**Ekallatum § 5.E.2**
	[U₄ 1.KAM *bi-n*]*a*-[*nu-ú*]	**Binanu § 5.E.3**
30	[U₄ 1.KAM *sa-qa-a*]	Saqa § 5.E.4
	[U₄ 1.KAM *sà-ni-pa-a*]	**Sanipa § 5.E.7**
Obv.ii	U₄ 1.KAM *ap-qum ša* ^d IŠKUR	**Apqum-ša-Addu § 5.F.1**
2	U₄ 1.KAM *ki-iš-ki-iš*	Kiškiš § 5.F.2
	U₄ 1.ᶜKAMᵓ *ia-ap*-ᶜ*ṭú-ru*ᵓ-*um*	**Yapṭurum § 5.F.3**
4	U[₄ 1].KAM *ta-ar-hu-uš*	**Tarhuš § 5.F.8**
	U₄ 3.KAM *šu-bá-at*-^d EN.LÍL	**Šubat-Enlil § 5.G.1**
6	U₄ 1.KAM *šu-n*[*a*]-*a*	**Šuna § 5.G.3**
	U₄ 3.KAM *aš-na*-[*a*]*k-ki*	"3 days **Ašnakkum, § 5.H.1**
8	*a-šar um-m*[*a-na-t*]*um*	the place where the a[rm]y
	ᶜ*ra*ˀᵓ-[x x o o x] *im-hu-ru*	[has/was … (and) where] they received/met° […]"
10	U₄ [1.KAM *a-la-an*]	[Alan] **§ 5.H.2**
	[U₄ 1.KAM *pa-na-ah-zu-ú*]	[Panahzu] § 5.H.3
12	[U₄ 1.KAM *ma-ma-a-gi*]-*ri*	Mammagira § 5.H.4
	[U₄ 1.KAM ŠÀ-*bi* KUR *a-sa-a*]*m*	"[in the heart of Mount Hasa]m
14	[*ù a-ba-a*]	[and Aba]" § 5.H.12
	[U₄ 1.KAM *sa-mu-e*]	[**Samu'e] § 5.H.13**

16	[U₄ 1.KAM URU ŠÀ KASKAL]	**[Harran] § 5.I.1**
	[U₄ 1.KAM *ap-qum ša* ᵈKASKAL].KUR	**[Apqum-ša-Bali]ha § 5.I.2**
18	[U₄ 1.KAM *sà-ah-la-la*]	**[Sahlala] § 5.I.3**
	[U₄1.KAM *za-al-pa-ah*]	**[Zalpah] § 5.I.4**
20	[U₄ 1.KAM *ṣe-er-di*]	**[Ṣerda] § 5.I.5**
	[U₄ 2.KAM *tu-ul-tu-ul*]	**[Tuttul] § 5.J.1**
22	[U₄ 1.KAM GÚ ÍD BURANUN]ʳᵏⁱ⁷	[Riverbank of the Euphra]tes § 5.J.3
	[U₄ 2.KAM *a-ba-at-tum*]	**[Abattum] § 5.J.2**
24	[U₄ 1 KAM GÚ ÍD BURANUN]ʳᵏⁱ⁷	[Riverbank of the Euphra]tes § 5.J.3
	[U₄ 1 {1}.KAM GÚ ÍD BURANUNᵏ]ⁱ	[Riverbank of the Euphrates] § 5.J.3

(End of col. ii is broken. It is clear that the whole outbound trip filled the lines of col. ii and ended with the short stay in Imar.)

Rev.iii	[U₄ 1.KAM x]-ʳba²⁷-at-tu-ʳum²⁷	[...b]attum § 5.J.4
2	[U₄ 1.KAM *a-a*]*h* ⁱ⁷<UD.>KIB.NUN.N[Aᵏⁱ]	Riverbank of the Euphrates § 5.J.3
	[U₄ 1.KAM] ʳaʳ-*ba-at-tum*	**Abattum § 5.J.2**
4	[U₄ 1.KAM *t*]*u-ul-tu-ul*	**Tuttul § 5.J.1**
	[U₄ 1.KAM *a*]-*hu-na-a*	**Ahuna § I.6**
6	[ITI² ŠU².NUMUN²] U₄ 1.KAM *za-al-pa-ah*	**Zalpah § I.4**
	[U₄ 1.KAM *a*]*p-qum ša* ᵈKASKAL.KUR	**Apqum-ša-Baliha § I.2**
8	[U₄ 1.K]AM KASKAL	**Harran § 5.I.1**
	[U]₄ 1.KAM *sa-ar²-da*	**Sarda § 5.H.17**
10	U₄ 2.KAM *ha-zi-ri*	**Haziri § 5.H.16**
	U₄ 1.KAM *ad-mi*	**Admum § 5.H.15**
12	U₄ 1.KAM *hu-bu-ur-meš*	Huburmeš § 5.H.14
	U₄ 1.KAM *pa-al-da*	Palda § 5.H.11
14	U₄ 1.KAM *tu-un-da*	Tunda § 5.H.10
	U₄ 1.KAM *ku-ub-šum*	Kubšum § 5.H.9
16	U₄ 1.KAM *bá-ak-ta-nu*	Bakitanum § 5.H.8
	U₄ 1.KAM *mu-sà-la-nu*	Musilanu § 5.H.7
18	U₄ 1.KAM *bu-za-nu-um*	Buzanum § 5.H.6
	U₄ 1.KAM *ma-as-me-nu-um*	Masmenum § 5.H.5
20	U₄ 1.KAM *a-la-an*	**Alan § 5.H.2**
	U₄ 10.KAM *aš-na-ak-kum*	**Ašnakkum § 5.H.1**
22	U₄ 1.KAM *ur-ge-eš*	**Urkiš § 5.G.4**
	U₄ 26.KAM *šu-na-a*	**Šuna § 5.G.3**
24	[U₄ 1²].KAM *ha-ar*-ZI	Harzi / Harrusi § 5.G.2
	[U₄ 8].KAM *šu-bá-at*-ᵈEN.LÍL	**Šubat-Enlil § 5.G.1**
26	U₄ 1.KAM *ta-ar-hu-uš*	**Tarhuš § 5.F.8**
	U₄ 1.KAM ʳŠÀʳ-*bi*(-)*ge-er-rum*	Libbi gerrum § 5.F.7
28	U₄ 1.KAM *la-a-da-a*	Lada § 5.F.6
	U₄ 1.KAM *ka-li-zi*	Kalizi § 5.F.5
30	U₄ 1.KAM *mar-ra-ta-a*	Marrata § 5.F.4
	U₄ 1.KAM *sà-ni-ʳpa-aʳ*	**Sanipa § 5.E.7**
32	U₄ 1.KAM *a-du-ʳúʳ*	Adum § 5.E.6
	U₄ 1.KAM *ka-mi-il-hu*	**Kamilhu** (alias **Kalhu**) **§ 5.E.5**

(Break at the beginning of col. iv for 7 lines.)

Rev.iv	ʳU₄ 1.KAMʳ [...]	
2'	U₄ 1.KAM *š*[*i-tu-ul-lum*]	***Šitullum*** § 5.D.5
	U₄ 1.KAM BÀD-[*šar*]-ʳriʳ	Dur-šarrim § 5.D.3
4'	U₄ 1.KAM *ma-qá-la-a*	Maqala § 5.B.5

	U₄ 1.KAM *al*-x-MI-NI-A	Al-... § 5.B.6	
6'	U₄ 2.KAM ZIMBIR/^{ki}	**Sippar § 5.B.2**	
	U₄ 13.KAM KÁ.DINGIR.RA$^{ki!}$	**Babilim § 5.B.1**	
8'	U₄ 1.KAM *ha-ap-ha-ap-pi*	Haphappi § 5.A.8	
	U₄ 1.KAM *ip-la-ah*	Iplah § 5.A.7	
10'	U₄ 1.KAM *ta-na-sa-pi*	Tanasapi § 5.A.6	
	U₄ 1.KAM *ra-za-ma*	Razama § 5.A.5	
12'	U₄ 1.KAM UD.UNU^{ki}	**Larsa § 5.A.1**	

(Uninscribed.)

	[ŠU.NIG]IN₂ ITI 6 U₄ 14.KAM	" Total: 6 months 14 days −
14'	[*wa*]-*ṣí a-na ta-ri*-/*ia*	my [depar]ture until my return."

i 1-9) For the restorations see Hallo 1964: 64a.

i 2) The toponym has been added in comparison with text B: 4 "*iš-tu* URU$^{ki!}$-*a-hu-um-ma*" and could be the first stage of the journey. Goetze 1953: 51 n. b interpreted the sign as NUN rather than RI. Hallo 1964: 64 suggests with reservation a reading [... *za-ra-a*]*r-ma*, and suspects that it may be the name of the port of Larsa.

i 10) The reading ⌜11⌝ (instead of ⌜14⌝) is from Hallo 1964: 64.

i 17-19) A verb in the N-stem with first radical P must be added. Two possibilities are most likely, *pahārum* or *paṭārum*. The addition of the N-stem of *pahārum* "to gather", which was already present in the text edition by A. Goetze (Goetze 1953, p. 51b and commentary p. 56), is still possible, but the most plausible seems to us to be a derivation from *paṭārum*.

A. Goetze interpreted the second verb, col. i 19 *i-li*[*-ka-nim*], p. 56b he translates this as: "while the army assembled and the boats arrived". According to this interpretation he commented *ibidem* "It becomes clear thereby that Makisum is a port and the journey continued by water."

W. W. Hallo had commented on another reading in his commentary, following a suggestion by B. Landsberger: "*i-nu-ma* ERIM.HI.A *ip-pa-*[*aṭ-ru*] *ù* GIŠ.MÁ.HI.A *i-tu-*⌜*ru-ú*⌝", "when the troops left and the ships went back." Stol 2004: 890 translates this reading differently: "als die Truppen ent[bunden] wurden und die Schiffe zurück[kehrten]", and Edzard 1976-1980: "als die Mannschaft ab[zog] und die Schiffe zurückkehrten".

i 20) Transliteration according to the autography of A. Goetze. See also Hallo 1964, p. 69b who noted "It is written *Ḫi-ša-tum* in B and probably also in A.". A. Goetze transliterated *Ḫi-ša-at*.

i 21) The parallel in text B: 11 contains *pu-lu-uk-ku-ú*. There is no space for this in text A where perhaps only one sign filled in the break.

i 24-25) Restaurations of l. 25-26 as proposed by Hallo 1964: 70. Goetze 1953: 57 has transliterated l. i 25 "[...]x-e *ud.2.kam*" and commented on it thus: "At the head is apparently a construct state on which *ud.2-kam* '(of) two days' depends. I am inclined to propose [*ú-zu-ub-b*]*é-e* and to assume that this is a technical term for 'debarkation.' The boats would have to be abandoned south of the breakthrough of the river through the mountains known as al-Fathah, as strong current and rapids would make boat travel further upstream impractical." and *ibidem* in fn. 26: "*uzubbū*, in a juridical sense, means 'divorce,' the basic meaning being ('abandonment'; cf. von Soden, Symbolae Koschaker 200."

ii 8-9) Goetze 1953: 51 had transliterated (8) *a-šar um-m*[*a-na*]*-tum* (9) *ša?* [...]x[...] *im-ḫu-ru* and commented on p. 59a "The added remark (ll. 8-9) 'where the troops received ...[...]' seems to indicate that, from here on, more than marching was the order of the day."

Hallo 1964b does not interpret the passage further, except that he transcribes l. 9 x instead of *ša?*. Edzard 1976-1980: 217b-218a follows W. W. Hallo and translates "wo die Truppen, welche (?) ... erhielt". Di Filippo 2016: 468 considers the restitution *ummānātum* "too uncertain". Unfortunately we cannot find a better solution for the passage. The problem is that there are few alternatives to choose from. If *ummānātum* were the only subject of the sentence, the verb should be *imhurā*. Therefore, one can still expect at least one masculine noun, but there is not much space left. Cases of genus incongruence are exceptionnally attested, e.g. in CUSAS 29 6: (7) ⌜*i-nu-ma um-ma-na-tum*⌝ (8-11) it-ti PN₁, PN₂, PN₃, PN₄ (12-13) *i-na* GN (14) *wa-*⌜*aš-bu*⌝. The m. plural verb *mahārum* among others has the meaning "to meet someone".

In our text, we may need to understand: "when the troops [(VERB) and (when) (NOUN m. pl.)] met/received."

ii 16-25) Restorations after B: 32-41.

End of column ii) The 2nd column ended with the arrival in Imar. In parallel text B there are 4 lines of text, including the date. There is more space at the bottom of column ii, an estimated 6 lines and possibly space on the lower edge. Since the scribe may have deviated from parallel text B here, I have not restored the bottom lines of the column.

iii 1-6) Hallo 1964: 82a suggests that all stops were for one night U₄ 1.KAM.

iii 1) Goetze 1953: 60a read "[ud.x-*kam* x-*l*]*a-at-tu-um*", and commented ibid. p. 60 that x should be a narrow cuneiform sign, like A or ZA. Hallo 1953: 82a suggested the reading *pu*$^{??}$*-r*]*a*$^{??}$*-at-tu-*⌜*um*⌝, but the river name is written ideogrammatically in the next line.

Presumably a description of the circumstances of their camping in the open field is found here. An addition to *bamtum*, *bamātum* "slope, edge (of the steppe plateau)", see *AHw* 101b § 2 is not very likely and the spelling with doubled T would be unusual.

iii 6) The transliteration follows the proposal of Hallo 1964: 82a.

iii 7) For the spelling [*a*]*p-qum ša* ^{d}KASKAL.KUR see the commentary Goetze 1953: 61.

iii 13) Palda correction has been proposed by Durand 2005, see above § 5.H.11.

The toponym was originally incorrectly read PA.MIR.UŠ. Goetze 1953: 54, 62 commented "probably *wakil redīm* (*redūtim?*): This may simply be a military post on some stretch without permanent settlement. There are few villages and tells between Ḫarrān and Rās-al-'Ain."

iii 17) The correct reading *mu-sà-la-nu* has been suggested by Guichard 2006. Goetze 1953: 54 had formerly read *kul-za-la-nu*, for which he knew of no parallel, Hallo 1964 likewise.

iii 27) See above § 5.F.7.

iii 32) The spelling with a lengthened final vowel is found in C: 10 *a-du-ú*. It suggests that the vowel length in Old Babylonian was already due to a contraction, which also left traces in the younger Middle and New Assyrian forms "Adiu", "Adia". The evidence from Mari marks the mimation.

Text B [YBC 4499]

Text B was first published by W. W. Hallo in 1964 in handcopy and photos. Pictures are now available on the Peabody Museum website https://collections.peabody.yale.edu/search/Record/YPM-BC-018564.

Text B was written after the arrival of the travellers in Imar (§ 5.J.6). It contains the stages of the second part of the outbound journey and follows on from an unpreserved or unpublished text that contained the stages of the first 38 days of the outward journey from the starting point to Dur-Apil-Sin (§ 5.C.1).

Obv.	ZAG ITI ŠE.KIN.KU₅ U₄ 26.KAM BA.ZAL	" From month xii day 26
2	EN.NA ITI GÚ.SI.SÁ U₄ 4.KAM	until month ii day 4
	ŠU.NIGIN₂ ITI 1.KAM *ù*ⁱ U₄ 8.KAM	— a total of 1 month and 8 days —
4	*iš-tu* URU^{ki!}-*a-hu-um-ma*	is, what we made/spent from Al-ahumma (§ 5.A.2)
	i-na BÀD-*a-pil*-^dEN.ZU *ni-is-sú-hu-ú*	to Dur-Apil-Sin."
	—————————————————————	
6	U₄ 1.KAM *hi-ba-ri-tum*	Hibaritum § 5.C.2
	U₄ 1.KAM *kar-ka-ku-la-ti*	Kar-Kakkulatim § 5.C.3
8	U₄ 1.KAM *kar*-UTU	Kar-Šamaš § 5.C.4
	U₄ 4.KAM *ma-an-ki-sí*	**Mankisum § 5.C.5**
10	U₄ 1.KAM *hi-ša-tum*	Hiššatum § 5.D.1
	U₄ 1.KAM *pu-lu-uk-ku-ú*	Pulukku § 5.D.2
12	U₄ 1.KAM *ia-ha-ap-pi-i-ìl*	Yahappila § 5.D.4
	U₄ 1.KAM *ma-ar-ma-nu*	Marmenu § 5.D.6
14	U₄ 2.KAM *su-qá-qù-ú*	Suqaqu § 5.D.7
	U₄ 1.KAM *aš-šu-ur*	**Aššur § 5.E.1**
16	U₄ 1.KAM *é-kál-la-tum*	**Ekallatum § 5.E.2**
	[U₄ 1.K]AM *bi-na-nu-ú*	**Binanu § 5.E.3**
18	[U₄ 1.KAM] *sa-qa-a*	Saqa § 5.E.4
	[U₄ 1.KAM] *sa-ni-pa-a*	**Sanipa § 5.E.7**
L.E.20	[U₄ 1.KAM] *ap-qum*	**Apqum-(ša-Addu) § 5.F.1**
	[U₄ 1.KAM U₄] 20 {KAM} *ki-iš-ki-iš*	Kiškiš § 5.F.2
22	[U₄ 1.KAM] *ia-ap-ṭú-rum*	**Yapṭurum § 5.F.3**
Rev.	[U₄ 1.KAM] *ta-ar-hu-uš*	**Tarhuš § 5.F.8**
24	[U₄]⌈3⌉.KAM *šu-ba-at*-^dEN.LÍL.LÁ	**Šubat-Enlil § 5.G.1**
	U₄ 1.KAM *šu-na-a*	**Šuna § 5.G.3**
26	U₄ 3.KAM *aš-na-ak-ki*	**Ašnakkum § 5.H.1**
	U₄ 1.KAM 10 *a-la-an*	**Alan § 5.H.2**
28	U₄ 1.KAM *pa-na-ah-zu-ú*	Panahzu § 5.H.3
	U₄ 1.KAM *ma-ma-a-gi-ri*	Mammagira § 5.H.4
30	U₄ 1.KAM ŠÀ-*bi* KUR *a-sa-am* /	in the heart of Mount Hasam
	ù a-ba-a	and Aba § 5.H.12
	U₄ 1.KAM *sa-mu-e*	**Samum § 5.H.13**
32	U₄ 1.KAM URU ŠÀ KASKAL	Inner city **Harran** ("city heart of the road") **§ 5.I.1**
	U₄ 1.KAM *ap*-⌈*qú*⌉-*ú ša ba-li*ⁱ-/*ha-a*	**Apqum-ša-Baliha** ("Apqum of the two Balih") **§ 5.I.2**
34	U₄ 1.KAM *sà-ah-la-la*	**Sahlala § 5.I.3**
	U₄ 1.KAM *za-al-pá-ah*	**Zalpah § 5.I.4**
36	U₄ 1.KAM *ṣe-er-di*	**Ṣerda § 5.I.5**

	U₄ 2.KAM *tu-ul-tu-ul*	**Tuttul § 5.J.1**
38	U₄ 1.KAM GÚ ÍD BURANUN^ki	Riverbank of the Euphrates § 5.J.3

———————————————————————

	U₄ 2.KAM *a-ba-at-tum*	**Abattum § 5.J.2**
40	U₄ 1 {1}.KAM GÚ ÍD BURANUN^ki	Riverbank of the Euphrates § 5.J.3
	U₄ 1.KAM GÚ ÍD BURANUN^ki	Riverbank of the Euphrates § 5.J.3
U.E.42	U₄ 2.KAM *a-ša-ar ba-ah-ra*	" 2 days at the place, where they assigned
	i-sí-hu	elite troops" § 5.J.4
44	U₄ 1.KAM /₁₉ *i-ma-ar* ŠÀ	**Imar city center § 5.J.5**
Le.E.	ŠU.NIGIN₂ ITI 2 U₄ 27.KAM	Total: 2 Months 27 days

4) Hallo 1964: 63 had transliterated *iš-tu* URU *ba-a-'u*ₓ(HU)-um-ma. Stol 1976: 40 fn. 20 suggests URU^ki! *a-hu-um-ma*. One can compare KI^i with the two signs KI in l. 21.

5) *ištu* (date) *adi* (date) … *ištu* A *ina* B *nissuhu* is an unusual formulation and the spelling of a vowel length in *ni-is-su-hu-ú* remains unexplained. For here, with AHw 751a, the verb *nasāhum* § 15 "Wohnung usw. verlegen" or § 23 "ellipt. (Zelt?) abreißen = aufbrechen" See also *nasâhum* with the meaning "to begin (date)", cf. the indication of dates U₄ …KAM BA.ZAL.MA.

21) The place name is unknown. The reading DI-*iš*-DI-*iš* cannot be completely ruled out, but there is no parallel for this either. The author has entered "20", the subtotal of the days travelled, in smaller type. W. W. Hallo 1964: 63 read [(…) U₄] ⸢20.KAM⸣. It is not sure that the cuneiform sign KAM is really to be read in the remains, or possibly that it has been deleted. In lines 27 and 44, no KAM follows the subtotal.

27) In lines 21 and 44, the subtotal is noted in smaller letters.

37) The scribe has not been able to mark his note "10" here in small script because the stay extends over the 10-11th day after the last entry. He retrieves the information from l. 44 "19".

38) The ruling after line 38 could represent a mnemonic marking the duration of the two months since the date of departure.

42) See § 5.J.5. See Hallo 1964: 80-81 who based on an uncertain interpretation of *i*-ZI-*hu* supposedly being derived from *nesûm* "repair"

and a possibly wrong interpretation of BA.AH.RA as "chariot" he proposed to translate approximately "where the chariot had to be repaired". Unfortunately this proposal can't be maintained for philological reasons.

Alternative explanations were from Stol 1976: 40 fn. 20 "We now know of a PN *Ba-ah-ra*, the name of a Subaraean (VAS 18 3: 12). Could *a-ša-ar Ba-ah-ra i-sí-hu* mean 'where Bahra revolts'? In that case, however, a permansive form would be much better." Stol soon after changed his mind (see above § 5.J.5)

Durand 1990: 89 n. 267 suggested "peut-être faut il comprendre *ma-ah-ra i*-ZI-*hu-ú* et y voir la même notation que pour la ville de Zalpah *ša ma-hi-ri-im* & Zalpah *ša ma-hi-re-tim*, d'après XXIII [CF. UF 18, p. 397]." This proposal is excluded, because the spelling of the sign MA (cf. above ex. gr. l. 29) is completely different. The reading *ba-ah-ra* seems certain. See above § 5.J.5.

Recently, J.-M. Durand proposed a completely different solution, which we do not follow here either (Durand 2023: 89 fn. 5).

44) Suggestion to read KI instead of ŠÀ by Durand 1990: 89 n. 263 "*i-ma-ar*^ki". We have not followed this proposal, as the determinative KI is very rare in this text and the sign does not seem to be one.

45) Note that the text of the left edge is written upside down, contrary to the general custom.

Text C [UIOM 2370]

Text C has been published only as handcopy by A. Goetze. Photos are now available on the CDLI website under heading P420750.

Text C documents a small part of the return journey recorded in Text A: iii 23-32. During the unusually long 26 days stay in Šuna (§ 5.G.3), the scribe of the text had enough time to write an unpreserved document about the stages from Imar (§ 5.J.6) to Šuna (§ 5.G.3). Text C documents the route from Šuna on the Wadi Djaghdjagh until the Adum stage (§ 5.E.6) on the Tigris.

Obv.	U₄ 26.KAM *šu-na-a*	**Šuna § 5.G.3**
2	U₄ 1.KAM *ha-ar-ru-si*	Harzi / Harrusi § 5.G.2
	U₄ 8.KAM *šu-ba-at-*^d EN.LÍL	**Šubat-Enlil § 5.G.1**
4	U₄ 1.KAM *ta-ar-hu-uš*	**Tarhuš § 5.F.8**
	U₄ 1.KAM ŠÀ^!-*bi*-KIB°-*na*	Libbi gerrum^? § 5.F.7
6	U₄ 1.KAM *la-a-da-a*	Lada § 5.F.6
Rev.	U₄ 1.KAM *ka-*⸢*li*⸣-*zi-*⸢*it*⸣	Kalizit § 5.F.5

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8	U₄ 1.KAM *ma-ar-a-ta*	Marrata § 5.F.4
	U₄ 1.KAM *sà-ni-pá-a*	**Sanipa § 5.E.7**
10	U₄ 1.KAM *a-du-ú*	Adu E.6

1) Šuna has been written over an erasure.

2) The spelling of the toponym with SI is unusual, Text A: iii 24 contains the spelling *ha-ar*-ZI. An identification of the toponym with Huraṣa(n) of the Tell Leilan and Mari archives is probable, see the spellings in Ziegler & Langlois 2016: 149-150.

5) For this difficult entry see the commentary above § 5.F.7.

9) On the various spellings of the toponym, see above fn. 160.

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