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Nele Ziegler

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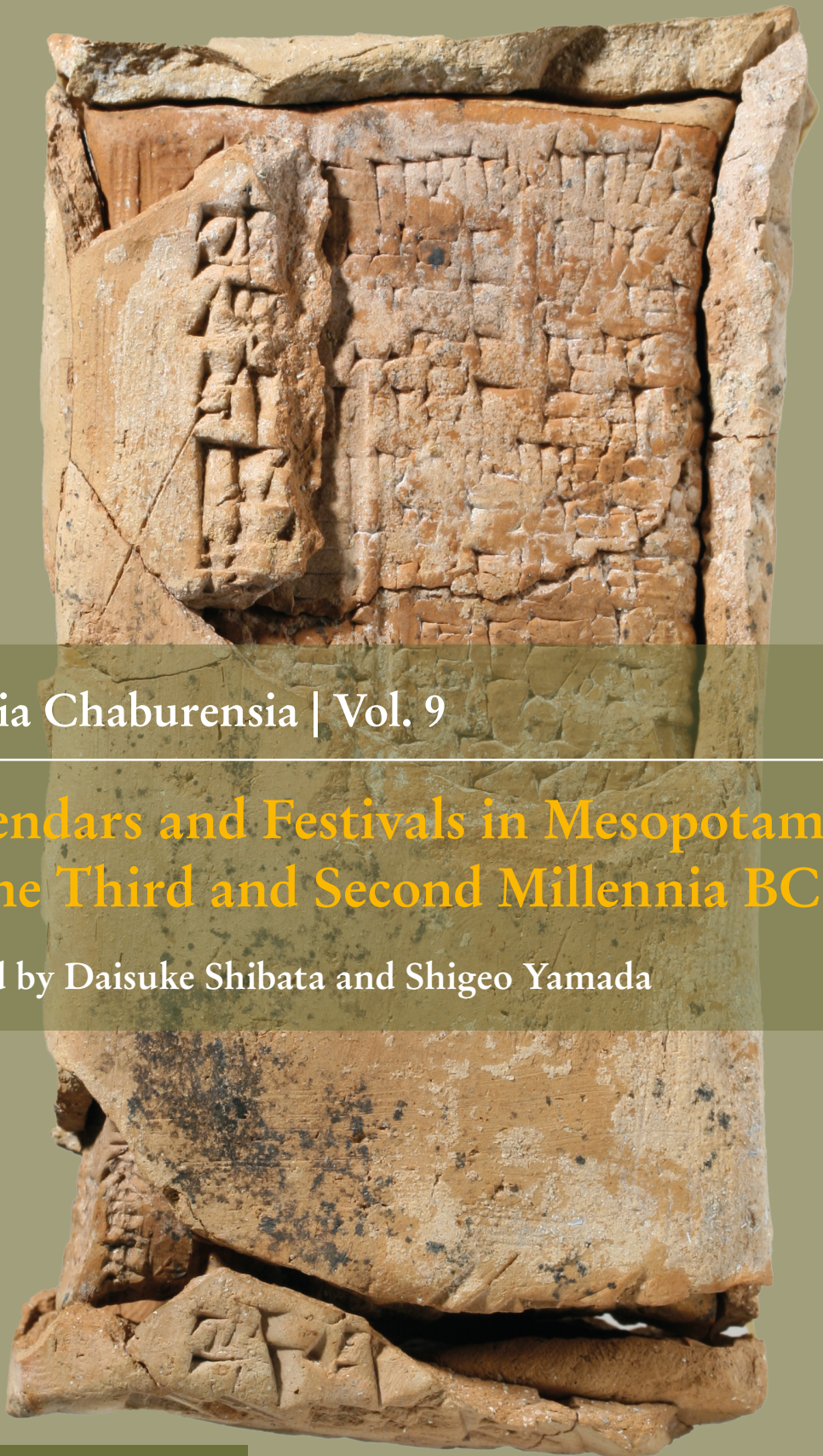
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**Calendars and Festivals in Mesopotamia
in the Third and Second Millennia BC**

Edited by Daisuke Shibata and Shigeo Yamada

Studia Chaburensia

(StCh)

Edited by Hartmut Kühne

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Calendars and Festivals in Mesopotamia in the Third and Second Millennia BC

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Cover illustration: An Old Babylonian clay tablet (Tab T06-4) wrapped in a clay envelope (Tab T06-5) from Tell Taban; @Tell Taban Archaeological Project.

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Abbreviations

Bibliographical Abbreviations

AAA	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>
AAASyr.	<i>Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes: Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire</i>
AbB	Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw.	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i>
AKT	(Ankara) <i>Kültepe Tabletleri / Ankaraner Kültepe-Texte</i>
AMD	Ancient Magic and Divination
ANES	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
AnOr.	Analecta Orientalia
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
APHAO	Association pour la Promotion de l'Histoire et de l'Archéologie Orientales: Publications de la Mission archéologique de l'Université de Liège en Syrie
ARET	Archivi Reali di Ebla. Testi: Missione archeologica italiana in Siria a cura dell'Università (degli studi) di Roma "La Sapienza"
ARM	Archives Royales de Mari
ARMT	Archives Royales de Mari. Traduction
ArOr.	<i>Archív Orientální: Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies</i>
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASJ	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i>
ASJ ss	Acta Sumerologica Supplementary Series
ATHE	B. Kienast, <i>Die altassyrischen Texte des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Heidelberg und der Sammlung Erlenmeyer-Basel, UAVA 1</i>
AulaOr.	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
AulaOr. Supp.	Aula Orientalis Supplements
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BATSH	Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient
BBVOT	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient – Texte
BiMes.	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, Yale University
BiOr.	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis, uitgegeven vanwege het Nederlands instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden</i>
CAD	A. L. Oppenheim et al., <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago</i>

CB III	Siglum for inventory number of texts in: Ö. Tunca and A. Baghdo (eds.), <i>Chagar Bazar (Syrie) III: Les trouvailles épigraphiques et sigillographiques du chantier I (2000–2002)</i>
CBCY	P.-A. Beaulieu et al., <i>Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale</i>
CCT	S. Smith et al., <i>Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum</i>
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (http://cdli.ucla.edu)
CDOG	Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CunMon.	Cuneiform Monographs
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
DP	F. M. Alotte de la Fuÿe, <i>Documents présargoniques</i>
ECTJ	A. Westenholz, <i>Early Cuneiform Texts in Jena</i>
EDATŠ	F. Pomponio and G. Visicato, <i>Early Dynastic Administrative Tablets of Šuruppak</i>
Emar 6	D. Arnaud, <i>Recherches au pays d’Aštata: Emar VI/1–4</i>
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
FM	Florilegium marianum
GAG	W. von Soden, <i>Grundriß der akkadischen Grammatik</i> , AnOr. 33
GBAO	Göttinger Beiträge zum Alten Orient
GCI	G. Buccellati et al., <i>Terqa Data Bases 1, Graphemic Categorization 1</i>
HANEM	History of the Ancient Near East. Monographs
HANES	History of the Ancient Near East. Studies
HdOr.	Handbuch der Orientalistik. 1. Abteilung, Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten
HEO	Hautes Études Orientales
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IAS	R. D. Biggs and D. P. Hansen, <i>Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh</i> , OIP 99
ICK	B. Hrozný, L. Matouš, and M. Matoušová, <i>Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kultépe</i>
ITT	F. Thureau-Dangin et al., <i>Inventaire des tablettes de Tello: conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Voor-Aziatisch-Egyptisch-Gezelschap “Ex Oriente Lux”</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
KAM 11	V. Donbaz, <i>Middle Assyrian Texts from Assur at the Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul</i> , WVDOG 146
Kaskal	<i>Kaskal: Rivista di storia, ambiente e culture del Vicino Oriente antico</i>
KAV	O. Schroeder, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts</i> , WVDOG 35

KBo.	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
KKS	L. Matouš and M. Matoušová-Rajmová, <i>Kappadokische Keilschrifttafeln mit Siegeln aus den Sammlungen der Karlsuniversität in Prag</i>
KTP	F. J. Stephens, "The Cappadocian Tablets in the University of Pennsylvania Museum," <i>Journal of the Society of Oriental Research</i> 11, 101–136
KTS 1	J. Lewy, <i>Keilschrifttexte in den Antiken-Museen zu Stambul: Die altassyrischen Texte vom Kültepe bei Kaisarije</i>
KTT	Siglum for inventory number of texts in: M. Krebernik, <i>Tall Bi'a/Tuttul–II: Die altorientalischen Schriftfunde</i> , WVD OG 100
KTU	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani und anderen Orten</i> , Dritte erweiterte Auflage, AOAT 360/1
KUG	K. Hecker and J. Lewy, <i>Die Keilschrifttexte der Universitätsbibliothek Giessen: unter Benutzung nachgelassener Vorarbeiten von Julius Lewy</i>
LAK	A. Deimel, <i>Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen</i> , WVD OG 40
LAOS	Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien
LAPO	Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient
LH	A. H. Podany, <i>The Land of Hana: Kings, Chronology, and Scribal Tradition</i>
MAD	I. J. Gelb, <i>Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary</i>
MARI	<i>MARI. Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires</i>
MARV	H. Freydank et al. (eds.), <i>Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte</i>
MCS	Manchester Cuneiform Studies
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
MEE	Materiali epigrafici di Ebla
MesCiv.	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MHEM	Mesopotamian History and Environment. Memoirs
MSL	B. Landsberger et al., <i>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon / Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon</i>
MTT	Matériaux pour l'étude de la toponymie et de la topographie
NABU	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>
NATN	D. I. Owen, <i>Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts Primarily from Nippur</i>
OBGT	R. Hallock and B. Landsberger, "Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts," <i>MSL</i> 4, 45–128
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBO SA	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica
OBTCB	Ph. Talon and H. Hammade, <i>Old Babylonian Texts from Chagar Bazar</i> , Akkadica Supplementum 10
OBTIV	S. Greengus, <i>Old Babylonian Tablets from Ishchali and Vicinity</i>
OBTR	S. Dalley, C. B. F. Walker, and J. D. Hawkins, <i>The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al Rimah</i>
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
Or.	<i>Orientalia</i> , Nova Series

OrAnt.	<i>Oriens Antiquus: Rivista del Centro per le antichità e la storia dell'arte del Vicino Oriente</i>
Orient	<i>Orient: Report/Journal of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan</i>
OrS	<i>Orientalia Suecana</i>
OSP	A. Westenholz, <i>Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia, Chiefly from Nippur</i>
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
PIPOAC	Publications de l'Institut du Proche-Orient ancien
Prag I	K. Hecker, G. Kryszat, and L. Matouš, <i>Kappadokische Keilschrifttafeln aus den Sammlungen der Karlsuniversität Prag</i>
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
PSD	Å. W. Sjöberg et al., <i>The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RE	Siglum for inventory number of texts in: G. Beckman, <i>Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen</i>
RGTC	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiforms, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B 7
RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
RIMB	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods
RIME	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie (und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie)</i>
RTC	F. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes</i>
SAAB	<i>State Archives of Assyria. Bulletin</i>
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
Santag	SANTAG: Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde
SBL WAW	Society of Biblical Literature, Writings from the Ancient World Series
SET	T. B. Jones and J. W. Snyder, <i>Sumerian Economic Texts from the Third Ur Dynasty</i>
SGKAO	Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients
SJAC	Supplement to Journal of Ancient Civilizations
SMEA	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i>
StCh.	Studia Chaburensia
STH	M. I. Hussey, <i>Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum</i>
STT	O. R. Gurney, J. J. Finkelstein, and P. Hulin, <i>The Sultantepe Tablets</i>
SVJAD	A. P. Riftin, <i>Staro-vavilonskie juridičeskie i administrativnye documenty v sobranijach SSSR</i>
Syria	<i>Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie</i>
TC	G. Contenau, F. Thureau-Dangin, and J. Lewy, <i>Tablettes cappadociennes</i> , TCL 4, 14, and 19–21
TCBI	F. Pomponio et al., <i>Tavolette cuneiformi di Adab delle collezioni della Banca d'Italia</i>
TCL	Textes Cunéiformes. Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités orientales
TFR	O. Rouault, <i>Terqa Final Reports</i> , BiMes. 16 and 29

TPAK	C. Michel and P. Garelli, <i>Tablettes paléo-assyriennes de Kültepe 1</i> (Kt 90/k)
TPR 7	O. Rouault, "Terqa Preliminary Reports No. 7: Les documents épigraphiques de la troisième saison," <i>Syro-Mesopotamian Studies</i> 2/7, 165–180
TSA	H. de Genouillac, <i>Tablettes sumériennes archaïques: matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la société sumérienne</i>
TSBR	D. Arnaud, <i>Textes syriens de l'âge du Bronze récent</i> , AulaOr. Supp. 1
TSŠ	R. Jestin, <i>Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak conservées au Musée de Stamboul</i>
UAVA	Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie
UET	Ur Excavations. Texts
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen: Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas</i>
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen/Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
YOS	Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZAW Beih.	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Beiheft</i>

Sigla for Inventory Numbers

A.	1. Inventory number of texts from Tell Hariri/Mari 2. Museum number of objects in the Assur Collection, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri (Istanbul)
AO	Museum number of objects in the Antiquités Orientales, Musée du Louvre (Paris)
Ass.	Inventory number of objects excavated at Qalat Sherqat/Aššur
IM	Museum number of objects in the Iraqi Museum (Baghdad)
Kt	Inventory number of objects excavated at Kültepe
L.	Inventory number of objects excavated at Tell Leilan
M.	Inventory number of texts from Tell Hariri/Mari
Msk	Inventory number of objects excavated at Meskene/Emar
NBC	Museum number of objects in the Nies Babylonian Collection, Yale University (New Haven)
Schaeffer	Inventory number of objects in the Cl. F.-A. Schaeffer Collection
Sem	Museum number of objects in the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien
T.	Inventory number of texts from Tell Hariri/Mari
TA	Inventory number of objects excavated at Tell Taya
Tab T	Inventory number of objects excavated at Tell Taban
TH	Inventory number of objects excavated at Tell Hariri/Mari

TM.	Inventory number of objects excavated at Tell Mardikh/Ebla
TMH	Museum number of objects in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities, Universität Jena (Leipzig)
TQ	Inventory number of objects excavated at Tell Ashera/Terqa
VAT	Museum number of objects in the Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin)
YBC	Museum number of objects in the Babylonian Collection, Yale University (New Haven)

Others

AKL	Assyrian King List
DN	Divine name
ED	Early Dynastic
KEL	Kültepe Eponym List
MEC	Mari Eponym Chronicle
MN	Month name
PN	Personal name
REL	Revised Eponym List
ZL	Zimri-Lim

The Upper-Mesopotamian, or So-called “Šamšī-Adad Calendar”^{*}

The famous Assyrian king lists, about whose editorial history Shigeo Yamada had some 25 years ago published an interesting article,¹ is one of the rare historical and historiographical sources that provides information about the regnal length and way of accession to power of king Šamšī-Adad. The text reads as follows:²

“[Šam]šī-Adad, son of Ila-kabkabu, went [to Karduni]aš [dur]ing the time of Narām-Sîn. In the eponym year of Ibni-Adad, [Šamšī]-Adad [came up] from Karduniaš and captured Ekallātu. For three years he resided in Ekallātu. In the eponymy year of Ātamar-Ištar, Šamšī-Adad came up from Ekallātu, removed Erišu (II), son of Narām-Sîn from the throne, and took the throne. He reigned for 33 years.”

The text poses more questions than answers to all those who want to reconstruct the *political* history of the Šamšī-Adad period. It cannot be taken for granted that the related events (flight to a region that was called anachronistically Karduniaš, conquest of Ekallātu and, some two years later, Aššur) really happened, but generally specialists agree to take the number of regnal years attributed to Šamšī-Adad seriously. Thus, we may cautiously suppose that he had 33 years to build up the extensive empire that, at his death, covered nearly all of Upper Mesopotamia and even regions east of the Tigris.

What happened in the first decades of Šamšī-Adad’s reign can roughly be traced thanks to another group of historiographical texts, the *Mari Eponym Chronicles*, which enumerate events, conquests, or defeats for some of the early years of Šamšī-Adad’s reign (Biro 1985).³ For the 33 years of Šamšī-Adad’s reign, only the second half following the conquest of Mari, especially the last decade, can be traced with some degree of certainty (Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 75–168).

* In our Mari team we took the habit to distinguish the calendar used by the scribes. For month names of the Šamšī-Adad calendar we put a star “*” after the numbering, not so for the local Mari calendar. The two month names shared by both are undistinguishable and marked by “^o”.

1 Yamada 1994. See also Pongratz-Leisten 1997 and Bloch 2014.

2 AKL §12, see Grayson 1980–83: 105–106.

3 It is not my point to discuss here the order of eponyms and the filling of the gaps. Chronological problems still exist even after Cahit Günbatti published the *Kültepe Eponym List G* (KEL G) in 2008. The preserved lines of the latter confirmed or clarified the reconstruction we proposed in our book (Charpin and Ziegler 2003, see also Charpin and Ziegler 2014). But the text KEL G is partly broken, and some questions remain for the eponyms of the later part of Šamšī-Adad’s reign and for the years following. See Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen 2012 for discussions of these eponyms. For sake of convenience, I use in this article the proposed dates, although some issues remain to be solved.

The present article focuses on the political aspects of the calendar adopted within Šamšī-Adad's Upper-Mesopotamian kingdom (see Table 1, below). The use and the changes of calendars after Šamšī-Adad's conquests as well as the survival of local month names inside his realm will be examined, and a glimpse will be given to what happened after the king's death and the immediate collapse of his empire.

1. The earliest attestations of the so-called Šamšī-Adad calendar

From the Mari archives prior to the conquest of this capital city by Šamšī-Adad, we do know that the armies of “Ekallātum”⁴ fought a battle against Yaḥdun-Līm's troops close to Nagar, modern Tell Brak.⁵ We conclude from this that some fifteen years before his death, Šamšī-Adad's kingdom had expanded towards this place and that it covered at least the eastern part of Upper Mesopotamia, including Tell Leilan and other cities.⁶ The question remains if Šamšī-Adad imposed his calendar on the regions he conquered, or if this calendar was already in use in Upper Mesopotamia before the arrival of his administrators. For the time being, there is no definite proof for either of these two options, but I think it more probable that the so-called “Šamšī-Adad calendar” was indeed imposed on the newly conquered regions by this king and his administrators.

Perhaps the oldest text known to us containing an eponym and a month name of this calendar comes from Aššur.⁷ The text mentions the month Dumuzi (x*), and D. Lacambre proposes to identify the eponymy with Aššur-taklāku mentioned in KEL G: 60, which would be ca. 1807 BC.⁸ If this identification is correct, two years after this earliest text we may find an unpublished document from Tell Leilan, L79-183,⁹ dated to the month *Niggallum* (viii*), written syllabically *nig-gal-lim*) of the eponymy Adad-bāni, son of Puššaya.¹⁰

One of the two documents¹¹ discovered in Tell Taya, southeast of the Sindjar,¹² mentions the month *Tamḫīrum* (iii*), of the eponymy Iddin-Aššur (ca. 1798 BC).¹³ It is secure that

4 Ekallātum was Šamšī-Adad's “official” capital city.

5 The sources are mainly year names of king Yaḥdun-Līm. See the references in Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 60–61 and the discussion of this event in 38–39.

6 See below for eponym datings from Aššur, Šubat-Enlil and Tell Taya from roughly this period.

7 See the new edition and commentary of Lacambre 2019: 514–517. The text A.1574 = Ass. 18799 was first edited by Donbaz 1974. The month name Dumuzi (x*) is mentioned ll. 3' and 5" and can be restored l. 8'.

8 The eponymy Aššur-taklāku, son of Ennam-Aššur, is mentioned in A.1574, l. 4', [9], 6"–7". The date is according to Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen 2012: 95, but see the discussion in Lacambre 2019: 518–520. Four different Old Assyrian eponyms are named Aššur-taklāku.

9 Lacambre (2019: 522–524) gives a full discussion of all known elements of this still unpublished text.

10 For the dating see Lacambre 2019: 524. He proposes to identify it with the eponym of KEL G: 62, REL 172, which would be ca. 1801 according to Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen 2012: 95. Bear in mind that numerous eponyms carry the name Adad-bāni, the chronological place of the “son of Puššaya” is not yet known.

11 The two texts, TA 2100 and TA 2101, were published by Postgate (1973: 175). See also for a new edition and discussion Lacambre 2019: 524–530.

12 Vollemaere (2016) discusses the identification of Tell Taya and suggests identifying it with ancient Šubatūm. For the toponyms of Upper Mesopotamia in the first half of the second millennium, see Ziegler and Langlois 2016: for Šubatūm especially 323.

13 This eponym's name is written *id-na-^aa-šur* in TA 2101: 7 (and also, slightly damaged, in TA 2100: 7) but the identification with Iddin-Aššur, which is numbered according to the book of Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen (2012: 95) as REL 175, and dated by them to the year 1798 BC, seems beyond doubt.

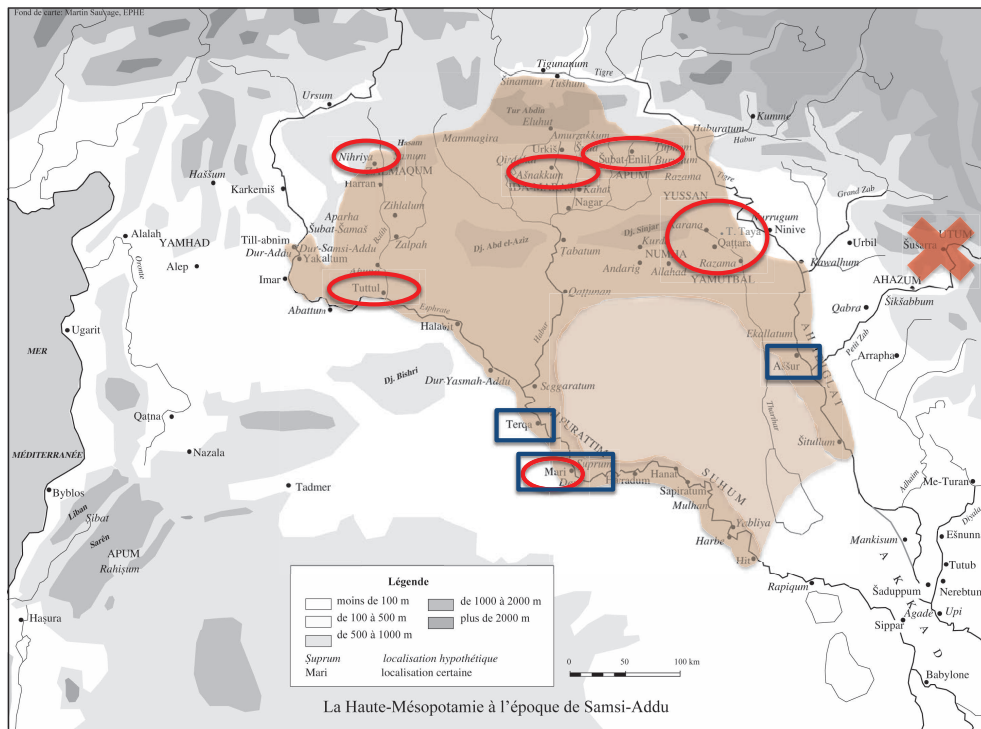


Fig. 1: Map shows the places with attestations of month names during Šamši-Adad’s lifetime, as well as the extension of the Upper Mesopotamian kingdom in ca. 1782 BC. Map is based on Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 77. Places with Šamši-Adad month datings are in the red circle. Survivals of local calendars are marked by blue squares. No datings in administrative texts from Šušarrā, which was conquered ca. 1779 BC.

the text was written by administrators of Šamši-Adad, since it mentions Hāšidānum, a high official, and, some years later, well-known governor of Karanā.¹⁴

The month name, found in a text dated by means of the eponym from the following year (Namiya, ca. 1797 BC¹⁵), is unfortunately broken, but the document is from Tell Leilan (Šubat-Enlil), and there is no doubt that it was dated according to the Šamši-Adad calendar. The text testifies to the ongoing expansionist policy of Šamši-Adad, mentioning booty from Tigonānum on the Upper Tigris, and from Hūršānum, a nearby kingdom in the Tur-Abdin mountains¹⁶.

14 See Durand and Ziegler 2014: 50–53.

15 For the eponym Namiya son of Ipiq-Adad see Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen 2012: 95 and 99. REL 176 is dated by them to ca. 1797 BC. Lacambre 2019: 530–534 discusses the possibility that Namiya, “son of Ipiq-Adad” could be a member of the royal dynasty of Ešnunna, perhaps a son-in-law of Šamši-Adad, who would have been chosen as eponymy.

16 See Ziegler and Langlois 2016: especially 367 for Tigonānum, and 154 for Hūršānum.

The military activities of Šamšī-Adad continued in the following years: Mari was conquered during the eponymy of Ḫaya-malik,¹⁷ and from this moment on, several hundreds of texts are known to be dated by the eponym system and by the Šamšī-Adad month-names (Charpin 1985). It starts with the inventories of the treasures of Yaḫdun-Lîm's palace.¹⁸ Five texts of these inventories are dated to the last day of the month Dumuzi (30/x*/Ḫaya-malik) of Šamšī-Adad's calendar and to the first days of the month *Abum*, a month name that is shared by Šamšī-Adad's calendar and the "native" calendar of Mari (2–8/xi°/Ḫaya-malik).

The oldest text from Tuttul (Tell Bī'a) to be dated by an eponym and a Šamšī-Adad month name is from the sixth month *Mana* of the year Ibnī-Adad¹⁹ (ca. 1787 BC); and the first one from Chagar Bazar, ancient Ašnakkum, is from the fifth month *Mammītum* of Ilī-illātī (ca. 1785 BC).²⁰

On the map, all the places or regions are highlighted where the Šamšī-Adad calendar is attested by texts written during the ruler's lifetime. Most of the dated texts²¹ stem from Mari,²² several hundred are from Ašnakkum²³ and Tuttul.²⁴ This aside, it must be remembered that none of the almost 200 administrative texts from the palace of Šušarrā are dated by Šamšī-Adad month names or another system.²⁵ Furthermore the survival of local dating systems in Mari, Aššur, and some other places can be observed.

2. The Šamšī-Adad calendar and the survival of local dating systems within Šamšī-Adad's realm

The correct order of the month names in the Šamšī-Adad calendar was established by D. Charpin in 1985 and has been confirmed since by the evidence found at Tell Leilan (Van De Mieroop 1994), and later at Tuttul (Krebernik 2001). The reading of the name of the eighth month, usually written ideographically ŠE.KIN.KU₅,²⁶ was later established by D. Lacambre (2002) thanks to recent Chagar Bazar discoveries — it must be read *Niggallum*.

Besides the Šamšī-Adad month names, date formulae following the local calendar continued to be used in Mari. The system of equivalency was established by D. Charpin (1985), based on the fact that two of the month names, *Kinūnum* and *Abum* are shared by the two

17 Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen (2012: 95) identify this eponymy as REL 182, dated ca. 1791 BC. The name of this eponymy is broken in KEL G, and the exact chronological setting remains subject of discussions.

18 See for these inventories and the historical analysis Charpin 1983.

19 KTT 72 (see below n. 24), see also Durand and Marti 2004: 130; the text is dated to 9/vi*/Ibnī-Adad. The eponymy numbered REL 185, ca. 1787 BC, according to Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen 2012: 95. The eponymy list KEL G is broken for these years.

20 OBTCB 10 (see below n. 23), dated 3/v*/Ilī-illātī. For the eponymy Ilī-illātī, REL 188, ca. 1785 BC see Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen 2012: 95.

21 Besides the sites mentioned above and below, one text from Šamšī-Adad's time is from Niḫriya (Kazane Höyük); see Michalowski and Mısıř 1998: Kazane no. 3, dated 16/x*/A[ššur-malik]. The identification of Niḫriya has been proposed by Jared Miller, see bibliography in Ziegler and Langlois 2016: 252–253.

22 Cf. Charpin 1985.

23 Cf. Talon and Hammade 1997 (texts with sigla OBTCB) and the texts published by D. Lacambre and A. Millet Albà in Tunca and Baghdo 2008 (texts with sigla CB III).

24 Cf. Krebernik 2001 (texts with sigla KTT).

25 Cf. Eidem 1992. No administrative text bears a date; texts date approximately from the time of Šamšī-Adad's conquest in 1779 BC.

26 See for an exception above and n. 10.

Table 1: The so-called Šamši-Adad Calendar (see Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 156)
 Years started in autumn, probably close to the fall equinox. Intercalation is introduced by inserting a supplementary month *Niggallum* (viii*-bis).

Approximate setting inside the year	Numbering	Šamši-Adad month name
ca. Sept./Oct.	i*	<i>Niqmum</i>
ca. Oct./Nov.	ii°	<i>Kinūnum</i>
ca. Nov./Dec.	iii*	<i>Tamḥīrum</i>
ca. Dec./Jan.	iv*	<i>Nabrūm</i>
ca. Jan./Feb.	v*	<i>Mammītum</i>
ca. Feb./March	vi*	<i>Mana</i>
ca. March/April	vii*	<i>Ayyarum</i>
ca. April/May	viii*	<i>Niggallum</i> (written ŠE.KIN.KU ₅)
ca. May/June	ix*	<i>Maqrānum</i>
ca. June/July	x*	<i>Dumuzi</i>
ca. July/Aug.	xi°	<i>Abum</i>
ca. Aug./Sept.	xii*	<i>Tīrum</i>

Table 2: Datings attested in Mari from Šamši-Adad’s and Yasmaḥ-Addu’s reign.
 In Mari, two dating systems were used simultaneously, the so-called Šamši-Adad calendar and the local calendar. See Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 156.

Approximate setting inside the year	Numbering	Šamši-Adad month names	Numbering	Local Mari month names
ca. Sept./Oct.	i*	<i>Niqmum</i>	i	<i>Ḥubur</i> (written IGL.KUR)
ca. Oct./Nov.	ii°	<i>Kinūnum</i>	ii°	<i>Kinūnum</i>
ca. Nov./Dec.	iii*	<i>Tamḥīrum</i>	iii	<i>Dagan</i>
ca. Dec./Jan.	iv*	<i>Nabrūm</i>	iv	<i>Lilliyātum</i>
ca. Jan./Feb.	v*	<i>Mammītum</i>	v	<i>Bēlet-bīri</i>
ca. Feb./March	vi*	<i>Mana</i>	vi	<i>Kiskissum</i>
ca. March/April	vii*	<i>Ayyarum</i>	vii	<i>Ebūrum</i>
ca. April/May	viii*	<i>Niggallum</i> (written ŠE.KIN.KU ₅)	viii	<i>Urāhum</i>
ca. May/June	ix*	<i>Maqrānum</i>	ix	<i>Malkānum</i>
ca. June/July	x*	<i>Dumuzi</i>	x	<i>Laḥḥum</i>
ca. July/Aug.	xi°	<i>Abum</i>	xi°	<i>Abum</i>
ca. Aug./Sept.	xii*	<i>Tīrum</i>	xii	<i>Ḥibirtum</i>

calendars. The reasons for preferring one or the other calendar are not clear, but it is probable the administrators were free to choose the system they preferred,²⁷ since the related administrative activity was locally limited to Mari, where both dating systems were well known by everybody.

Mari was not the only place where a local dating system survived. We have some few attestations of datings by local month names during Šamšī-Adad’s reign from Aššur,²⁸ Šuprum,²⁹ and Terqa.³⁰ But this seems rather exceptional.³¹ Tuttul and Ašnakkum, two major sites with hundreds of dated records from this king’s reign, do not deliver a single example for local dating traditions.

3. The beginning of the year in Šamšī-Adad’s calendar

We know for certain that the Šamšī-Adad calendar started with month *Niqmum*. The eponym always changes after the twelfth month Tirum (xii*). But sometimes the name of the new eponym was not yet known at the turn of the year. Several years do not attest the name of the new eponym from the very beginning but are dated by “*warki*” eponyms in Mari or Tuttul. Many of these years have datings by *Niqmum*, some by *Kinūnum*, and some others can even continue for the following months, but none of them is dated beyond the sixth month *Mana*.

Table 3: Years of the Šamšī-Adad calendar started in the month *Niqmum*. If the name of the new eponym was not yet known, texts are dated at the beginning of the following year with “*warki* (year X)” “(year) after (X).”

<i>warki</i> Awīliya month <i>Niqmum</i> //month <i>Hubur</i> (Mari)
<i>warki</i> Nimer-Sin months <i>Niqmum</i> , <i>Kinūnum</i> , <i>Tamḫīrum</i> (Tuttul)
<i>warki</i> Adad-bāni months <i>Niqmum</i> , <i>Kinūnum</i> , <i>Tamḫīrum</i> (Tuttul)
<i>warki</i> Tāb-šilli-Aššur months <i>Niqmum</i> , <i>Kinūnum</i> , <i>Tamḫīrum</i> , <i>Nabrūm</i> , <i>Mammūtum</i> , <i>Mana</i> (Mari)

27 I have not yet proceeded to the statistics about the distribution of dated texts from Mari and thus will give only one example: among the 57 texts from Mari dated to the eponym year Addu-bāni there are 27 texts dated by the local Mari calendar, while 13 texts have month names of the Šamšī-Adad calendar. The vast majority of texts bearing Mari month names record oil distributions. Texts concerning metals, wool, and animals are primarily dated by the Šamšī-Adad calendar, as well as the two inventories of the deceased Māšum’s household.

28 See C. Michel apud Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 79 n. 21.

29 See the editions of ARM 21 100 (dated 13/IM.BABBAR/Šalim-Aššur) and 306 (dated 21/APIN.DU₈.A/Šalim-Aššur), as well as of M.5942 (dated 20/APIN.DU₈.A/Šalim-Aššur) in Durand 2009: 201–202.

30 AO 9052 (Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme 1924: 276–277) is dated 10/Bēlet-bīrī (v)/Aššur-malik.

31 ARM 23 90 and MARI 3 27 (Charpin 1984: 88), both discovered in Mari, were also written outside this city. ARM 23 90 is a memorandum about a meteorological phenomenon, dated 22/KIN.⁴INANNA/Ibnī-Adad. MARI 3 27 is dated 27/Pirikkum/Aššur-malik.

4. Intercalary months

It has been well known for a long time that intercalary months were used in Šamšī-Adad’s empire. A letter that this king addressed to his son Yasmaḥ-Addu³² was dated by an intercalary month, which was simply written “supplementary month” (ITI DIRI.GA). In this text, the great king annulled orders given previously:

“I have ordered you to arrive quickly at the end of this month in the City (Aššur). I have written again and ordered you to come for day 20 of this month. (...)”

In Šamšī-Adad’s calendar, the moment of intercalation was the month *Niggallum* (viii*).³³ Unfortunately, we do not have many attestations of texts dated by intercalary months. It is possible that these were not always specifically mentioned by the scribes.³⁴ It is only recently thanks to the archives from ancient Ašnakkum that we get information for a supplementary eighth month during the eponymy Asqūdum.³⁵

5. The relation with the calendar of Ešnunna

The proximity of Šamšī-Adad’s calendar to the one from Ešnunna has been noted and commented on for many years (Whiting 1987: 32 n. 16): seven, almost eight³⁶ of the month names of these two calendars are shared, although Ešnunna years seem to have started in spring. The closeness between the two calendar systems could be linked to Šamšī-Adad’s family origins in the kingdom of Ešnunna and more specifically to his claimed origin in the prestigious city Akkade,³⁷ which belonged at that time to Ešnunna’s realm.

32 ARM 1 70 = LAPO 16 118. The quotation is from ll. 4–8. The date is at the end of the letter, ll. 18–19. The year in which this letter was written is unknown.

33 The eighth month was also later attested as intercalary month. See below n. 61.

34 Intercalary months are usually expressed by the sign “MIN” in Mari. It seems astonishing that among the several hundreds of dated Šamšī-Adad texts from Mari, we do not have any evidence for such intercalary months. It is possible that the sign “MIN” was not always written. We know, for instance, that intercalation took place during eponymy Asqūdum (see below n. 35). A purely statistical look at the Mari texts dated by Asqūdum shows that their number is the highest for month viii*; while almost all other months are attested by one to three texts, the eighth month has five attestations.

35 Lacambre 2002 CB III 9 is dated to 6/viii*-[bis]/Asqūdum. The month name is written phonetically ITI *nig-gal-[lim MIN]* but can be restored thanks to parallels. CB III 2 is dated 7/viii*-bis/Asqūdum, the month name is also written phonetically ITI *nig-gal-lim MIN*, as in CB III 10 which is dated 19/viii*-bis/Asqūdum. The phonetic writing, which was commented on by Lacambre 2002, is interestingly only attested in the published documentation from Chagar Bazar for the writing of the supplementary months — all other examples from this city give the usual logographic writing ITI ŠE.KIN.KU₅ for month viii* (see enumeration Lacambre 2002: 507).

36 The month name Maqrānum is the ninth month of Šamšī-Adad’s calendar and can be situated roughly in May/June. The Ešnunna month name Maqrattum is situated one month later in the solar year, but both words, *maqrānum* as well as *maqrattum*, are homonyms for the “granary” (AHw. 608a “Tenne”; CAD M/1 46 s.v. *maqrānu* “grain pile,” s.v. *magratu* “grain storage place.”).

37 Charpin 2004: 149 and n. 683.

Table 4: The so-called Šamši-Adad calendar and Ešnunna month names (Whiting 1990; Cohen 2015: 262–265)

Approximate setting inside the year	Numbering	Šamši-Adad month names	Numbering	Ešnunna month names
ca. Sept./Oct.	i*	<i>Niqmum</i>	vi	<i>Niqmum</i>
ca. Oct./Nov.	ii°	<i>Kinūnum</i>	vii	<i>Kinūnum</i>
ca. Nov./Dec.	iii*	<i>Tamḥīrum</i>	viii	<i>Tamḥīrum</i>
ca. Dec./Jan.	iv*	<i>Nabrūm</i>	ix	<i>Nabrūm</i>
ca. Jan./Feb.	v*	<i>Mammītum</i>	x	<i>Mammītum</i>
ca. Feb./March	vi*	<i>Mana</i>	xi	<i>Kiskissum</i>
ca. March/April	vii*	<i>Ayyarum</i>	xii	<i>Kinkum</i>
ca. April/May	viii*	<i>Niggallum</i> (written ŠE.KIN.KU ₅)	i	<i>Niggallum</i>
ca. May/June	ix*	<i>Maqrānum</i>	ii	<i>Elūnum</i>
ca. June/July	x*	<i>Dumuzi</i>	iii	<i>Maqrattum</i>
ca. July/Aug.	xi°	<i>Abum</i>	iv	<i>Abum</i>
ca. Aug./Sept.	xii*	<i>Tīrum</i>	v	<i>Zibnum</i>

6. Seasonality

Since D. Charpin’s 1985 article, it has been clear that the Šamši-Adad years started in autumn. Some month names of this calendar provide hints to the different seasons: *Kinūnum* (ii*) which also gave its name to a festival related to the goddess Bēlet-ekallim (Jacquet 2011: 43), refers to the “kilns” or “braziers”³⁸ and indicates perhaps the beginning of the cold season. *Ayyarum* (vii*) can be connected to the spring-flowering.³⁹ *Niggallum* (viii*), the “sickle,” gave its name to the harvest time,⁴⁰ just as *Maqrānum* (ix*) “granary” gave its name to the storing of the harvest in granaries.

There is good evidence for the harvest taking place in the month *Niggallum*.⁴¹ In a famous letter, Šamši-Adad explained to his son how to make a small military expedition to Tuttul while still respecting the harvest of his soldiers:⁴²

“We are day 15 of month *Ayyarum* (vii*). Five days for gathering the army, and five days travel. Arrive at the end of month *Ayyarum* in Tuttul. (...) Stay there 15 days and five days are for your return on day 20 of the month [*Niggallum* (viii*)]. Come back to Mari five days before the harvest. [Release] the soldiers for the harvest.”

38 CAD K 393–395 “kiln, stove, brazier”; AHw. 481b–482a “Kohlenbecken.”

39 CAD A/1 229–230 s.v. *ajaru* “rosette”; AHw. 24b–25a s.v. *ajjaru(m)* “Blüte, Rosette.”

40 CAD N/2 213–214; AHw. 787a.

41 Two unpublished texts also show that the harvest took place in the month *Niggallum* (viii*).

42 ARM 1 43: 27–31 and 38–41. The text can be dated to the eponymy year Awīliya (Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 121), the transliteration can be consulted online <http://www.archibab.fr/T4464>.

Written one year earlier, another letter can be quoted which is dated to day 16 of the month *Niggallum*:⁴³

“The harvest just started and there is much work to be done (...)”

Other seasonal events can be placed in this calendar: for instance, the plucking of sheep in month *vi**⁴⁴ or the first pistachios and pears at the end of month *i** (or perhaps the beginning of month *ii**) in *Awīliya*, mentioned at the end of a letter by *Išme-Dagan* to his brother.⁴⁵

Not only agriculture had its seasons; also warfare obeyed to seasonal opportunities. When we have a look at two of the military campaigns *Yasmaḥ-Addu* had to prepare in *Mari*, we see that soldiers are mentioned as being gathered for military campaigns in the months *vi** or *vii**. Thus, the military campaign providing assistance to *Qatna* was prepared in *Mari* between the end of month *vi* and day 11/*vii*, perhaps March/April.⁴⁶ Likewise in the following year, the gathering of troops took place in *Mari* from the fourth until the tenth day of the sixth month.⁴⁷ On 25/*vi*/*Aššur-malik* the king and his army were in *Dēr*, south of *Mari* (ARM 12 7), one month later *Yasmaḥ-Addu* and his army arrived at their destination in *Tuttul*.⁴⁸

Beyond agriculture and warfare, other administrative activities follow a seasonal calendar as well. We see this particularly for the census of the army that was organized during the eponymy *Adad-bāni*.⁴⁹ This activity had been prepared since the end of the winter, the participating administrators had to swear the fidelity-oath in month *v**,⁵⁰ but the census itself took place later. In *Ašnakkum* the census of the soldiers was accomplished in the first week of month *vii**.⁵¹

7. Tuttul and Mari after the collapse of Šamšī-Adad’s empire

We have seen that what we cautiously refer to as the so-called “Šamšī-Adad calendar” can indeed be linked to the activities of this king, since the first attestations of this calendar follow his conquests of Upper Mesopotamian cities. No such dating is attested before his reign. After the conquest, local calendars could survive and local month names could be used

43 For the letter by *Lā’ūm* to *Yasmaḥ-Addu* A.687, published by Villard 1990: 573–575, see <http://www.archibab.fr/T929>.

44 Text no. 103 published by Ismail 1991: 109–116 from Tell Leilan, ancient *Šubat-Enlil/Šeḫna*. The text is more recent than *Šamšī-Adad*’s reign, dating from eponymy *Ili-bāni* (REL 205, see Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen 2012: 96, dated ca. 1768 BC).

45 The date is not mentioned by the author but derived from the reconstruction of the military events, see Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 115–116.

46 23/*vi*/*Asqūdum*: king and troops in *Mari* (ARM 11 7); 25/*vi*/*Asqūdum*: king and troops in *Šuprum* (ARM 11 8); 27/*vi*/*Asqūdum*: wine for higher ranking military (FM 11 4); 11/*vii*/*Asqūdum*: king and troops in *Mari* (ARM 12 8).

47 4/*vi*/*Aššur-malik* (short: *Ašm*): king and troops in *Mari* (ARM 11 1); 5/*vi*/*Ašm*: king and troops in *Mari* (ARM 12 4); 7-*vi*-*Ašm*: king and troops in *Mari* (ARM 11 3); 8/*vi*/*Ašm*: king and troops in *Mari* (ARM 11 4); 10/*vi*/*Ašm*: king and troops in *Mari* (M.10156).

48 KTT 83, dated as 28/*vii*/*Ašm*.

49 Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 127–130.

50 Charpin 1984: 97 no. 97, dated as 2/*v**/*Adad-bāni*.

51 OBTCB 19, dated 6/*vii**/*Adad-bāni*. The census in *Ašnakkum* ended with a banquet for 2760 soldiers of the province of *Qirdaḫat*.

besides the ones of the Šamšī-Adad calendar. This is particularly well documented at Mari, where the two calendars were in use side by side in palace administration (see Table 2).

In Tuttul, the only calendar in use was the Šamšī-Adad calendar. When, at the end of Šamšī-Adad's reign, Tuttul was conquered by Zimrī-Līm, this dating system and eponymies were abandoned. Four texts give month names of the Mari calendar and two year names referring to Zimrī-Līm's conquest of Tuttul. Then the palace of Tuttul was destroyed.

Table 5: Conquest of Tuttul by Zimrī-Līm attested by dated texts (see Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 138)

Date (month names correspond to the Mari calendar)	Text reference (cf. Krebernik 2001)
9/ <i>Ebūrum</i> /–	KTT 182
21/ <i>Abum/šanat Zikrī-Līm</i> (sic.) <i>ana Tuttul ṛubu</i>	KTT 179
10/ <i>Ḫibirtum</i> /–	KTT 180
27/ <i>Ḫibirtum/šanat Zimrī-Līm ana Tuttul ṛubu</i>	KTT 181

Mari was conquered by the armies of Zimrī-Līm in ca. 1775 BC. The datings of the texts from Mari caused trouble for us modern historians: there is good evidence for the first months of Yasmaḥ-Addu's final year. Mari was besieged and the name of the new eponym was not used in Mari. Texts date to the “eponymy after Tāb-šilli-Aššur.”⁵² Yasmaḥ-Addu probably was killed somewhere after day 11/v* in the eponymy following Tāb-šilli-Aššur.⁵³ The Sim'alite general Bannum entered Mari some weeks before Zimrī-Līm could enter the capital city of his ancestors. The very latest text dated by eponymy from Mari mentions the general Bannum's estate.⁵⁴ After Zimrī-Līm's arrival, the Šamšī-Adad datings were completely abandoned — month names now followed the Mari calendar, years were no more dated by eponyms, but by Akkadian year names commemorating the activities of the king Zimrī-Līm.

8. Upper Mesopotamia after the collapse of Šamšī-Adad's empire

The Šamšī-Adad calendar survived in Upper Mesopotamia, where texts also continued to be dated by Aššur eponyms. Tell Rimah, ancient Qaṭṭara,⁵⁵ has delivered several hundreds of administrative texts dated by this system: the latest is from the eponymy Šabrum,⁵⁶ REL 218, about 1755 BC. Although this city was controlled by a general of the Babylonian king Hammurabi, no dated text followed Babylonian customs.

52 See above Table 3. The eponym following Tāb-šilli-Aššur is attested by KEL G. His name was Ennam-Aššur, numbered REL 198 by Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen 2012: 95. In Mari no texts dated by this Ennam-Aššur have been published, elsewhere, in Ašnakkum, texts dated by this eponymy are CB III 153–157.

53 See Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 143–144; some relevant dated texts are enumerated in 154–155. For the chronological issue, and a proposal of the reconstruction of events of the first months of Zimrī-Līm's reign, see 170–181.

54 M.6231 quoted by Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 139 and n. 520. The text has now been published in Durand 2019 as ARM 33 35.

55 The 335 Old Babylonian tablets have been published by Dalley, Walker and Hawkins 1976; texts are quoted as OBTR. The major part were the archives of a royal lady, Iltani, wife of the royal chief diviner of Karana, Aqba-Ḫammu. These archives have been reedited with collations and comments by Langlois (2017a and 2017b).

56 See Langlois 2017b: 243–245. Šabrum is numbered REL 218 and dated 1755 BC by Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen (2012: 96).

Andarig certainly also used Šamši-Adad month names.⁵⁷

In Tell Leilan, the ancient capital city of Šamši-Adad, Šubat-Enlil, which regained its former name Šeḫna, the survival of his calendar seems obvious. The Šamši-Adad dating system was used until Samsu-iluna’s conquest and the destruction of the city in his 22nd regnal year, ca. 1727 BC. The latest eponyms from Leilan are from the eponymy of Aššur-taklāku.⁵⁸

But we may suppose that this calendar survived in Upper Mesopotamia and beyond even afterwards. Eponyms and the Šamši-Adad month names are still attested in later Old Babylonian times in texts from the city of Tigunānum on the Upper Tigris.⁵⁹ The eponymies mentioned there are absent from KEL G and should thus be younger than ca. 1718 BC, the approximate dating of its latest eponym in this list, REL 255.⁶⁰ In 2013, D. Charpin dedicated a short note to this question and discussed the evidence: the eponyms are Qādiya and Kidannaššī, and seven different month names of the Šamši-Adad calendar are attested by the dated texts.

Conclusion

The Šamši-Adad calendar probably bears this modern appellation for good reasons. It seems to have been imposed on Upper Mesopotamia by this king after his successful conquests. The best evidence for this derives from Mari. The former dating system survived after the conquest, but in letters addressed to Yasmaḥ-Addu and his contemporaries only the Šamši-Adad month names are used. After Zimrī-Līm’s conquest, the Mari scribes got back to former habits, i.e. to the local calendar and to a year name system.

We do not know which calendars had been in use before Šamši-Adad’s conquest in the regions of the northeastern part of Upper Mesopotamia, but we see that this dating system was maintained even after the collapse of Šamši-Adad’s dynasty in all the different petty kingdoms of the Sinjar region, the Ḫabur triangle, and even in the Upper Tigris region. Without political pressure, the scribes and kings of these regions preferred to continue to date with Assyrian eponyms. For the month names, they used the Šamši-Adad calendar; no deviant local months are attested. It seems that this “international” system was convenient for them, which allowed communication of dates between the different Upper Mesopotamian kingdoms, and was a kind of politically “neutral” dating system (Charpin and Ziegler 2013;

57 See Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 216 n. 428 for M.9729+, a letter from Atamrum mentioning his arrival in the city of Andarig on the 16/*Ayyarum*.

58 The numbering of eponyms is not clear, KEL G: 113–122 is broken. Aššur-taklāku is numbered REL 241 and dated 1732 BC by Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen 2012: 96 — which would make it later than Samsu-iluna’s campaign. See the proposal of Charpin (2011: 57), written before their study and focusing for the datings on the Babylonian chronology.

59 See above n. 16. Dated texts are published by George 2013 and 2017. For the datings, see Charpin 2013.

60 According to Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen (2012: 97), the latest eponym attested by KEL G Anāku-ana-Aššur son of Aššur-ṭāb is REL 255, dated by them ca. 1718 BC. Notice that lines 113–122 of KEL G are broken and that there are problems for the reconstruction of eponyms, see Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen 2012: 96 and 101. Nevertheless, a much later setting of the Tigunānum texts seems plausible. The king of Tigunānum was Tunip-Teššub, alias Tuniya. Illicit excavations have provided the antiquities market with several hundreds of tablets from his reign. A synchronism with the Hittite king Ḫattušili I suggests a dating late in the Old Babylonian period, about 1630 BC (George 2013: 101).

Charpin and Ziegler 2016).⁶¹ Even though Babylonia or Aleppo are known to have exerted political and military influence in these regions, no other dating system is recorded by published texts.

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61 We do not know who decided about intercalation in this “neutral system.” Intercalation clearly took place. The text from Qatṭara, OBTR 213: 5–7, is dated by an intercalary eighth month (ITI ŠE.[KIN].KU₅ MIN). The text is from eponymy Aya (REL 215, ca. 1758 BC, according to Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen [2012: 96]). The same was the case for the intercalary months of eponymy Ḥabil-kēnum (REL 224, ca. 1749 BC, according to Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen [2012: 96]). 16 attestations are enumerated by Lacambre (2002: 509). If it was not the ruler of Aššur who decided intercalation and was followed by this in all Upper Mesopotamia, it could be proposed that all three years intercalation was introduced automatically: it can be observed that the two examples quoted above are separated by 9 years, i.e. a multiple of 3. Perhaps REL 212, 218, 221, 228 etc. also had intercalary months? Future text discoveries will show.

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