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Sngr/Samḫarû/Sanḫara/Šinʿār and the Implications for Early Kassite History

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Abstract This is a detailed review (date, context and usage) of the use of the Old Testament toponym *Šinʿār* = Babylonia and its cognate terms in Akkadian (Samḫarû/Samḫara) in Babylonian and Hittite sources, and *Sngr* in Egyptian documents. The study demonstrates that the earliest use of the term across the various sources should be linked to the arrival of the Kassite peoples in seventeenth-sixteenth centuries BCE on the middle-Euphrates from where they entered Babylonia – the evidence for which is reviewed including a possible link between the Kassite royal name 'Agum' and a late third-millennium BCE Eblaite deity.

Keywords Early-Kassite history. Middle Euphrates. Shinar. New Kingdom.

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Introduction

This paper seeks to address two questions – why the sixth/fifth century BCE authors of the Old Testament refer to Babylonia as *Šinʿār,* and whether the suggestion that a Kassite entity on the middle Euphrates eventually took control of Babylonia and founded the Kassite Dynasty is correct.

The method I use to test both issues is an examination of the source material in which the toponyms and ethnonyms *Samḫarû*, *Sanḫara*, *Sngr* and *Šinʿār* in Babylonian, Hittite, Egyptian and Old Testament sources are used. The wider objective being to establish whether there is a link between the use of the terms in the various countries across the 1600 years of its use, and its link to the Kassite Dynasty of Late Bronze Age Babylonia.

The review is organised in six sections. Section 1 summarises the identification of *Šinʿār* with *Samḫarû*. Section 2 reviews the occurrences of *Samḫarû* and its cognates in Hittite (Table 1, H.1-6), Babylonian (Table 2, B.1-7) and Egyptian texts (Table 3, E.1-31) from their earliest appearances in the seventeenth century BCE to the mid-fifteenth century BCE. The use of the toponym and related cognates in documents mainly from Egypt, a few Hittite texts and a letter from Mittani dated between the mid-fifteenth century BCE until the first century BCE, including the Old Testament references, is cov-

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ered in Section 3 (Tables 4 and 5, eM.1-2 and Bib. 1-8). Section 4 examines the implications of the use of *Šinʿār* and its cognates in pre-sixteenth century BCE Egyptian, Babylonian and Hittite sources. Section 5 is a review of the evidence for a Kassite presence on the middle Euphrates in the late Old Babylonian period. The conclusions are presented in Section 6.

There have been a number of discussions of the *Samḫarû*, primarily focused on their activities in Ammiṣaduqa year 15, 1632.[1] Key conclusions of these studies are that the *Samḫarû* were part of the greater Kassite community. It is for this reason that the *Samḫarû* are of particular interest to any study of early Kassite history in the Late Old Babylonian period.

1 The Identification of *Sngr*/*Samḫarû*/*Sanḫara*/*Šinʿār* as Cognate Terms

There are eight references in the Old Testament to the land of *Šinʿār*. The context in which the term is used clearly indicates that it referred to the 'land of Babylon'. In 1858 Brugsch suggested that *Šinʿār* should be identified as a late form of the toponym *Sngr* that appears in inscriptions of the New Kingdom pharaohs of Egypt and should be read as 'Babylonia'.[2]

The fact that of the various cognates of *Samḫarû*, *Šinʿār* was the first to be studied is a product of the progress of Egyptian and Assyriological studies. Whereas the languages of the Old Testament had never been lost, reliable decipherment of hieroglyphics and cuneiform was only achieved in the mid-nineteenth century. Brugsch's identification in 1858 of *Sngr* with *Šinʿār* in the newly deciphered hieroglyphic texts was a remarkable achievement in early hieroglyphic studies that has been accepted by subsequent scholarship.[3]

While the identification of *Sngr*/*Sangar* with Babylonia was accepted in hieroglyphic studies, the earliest detailed review was only published in 1928 with Gauthier's *Dictionnaire* of geographical terms in hieroglyphic texts. This was followed in 1937 by the publications of the gazetteers of ancient Egyptian toponyms prepared separately by Jirku and Simons. These works were followed in 1947 by Gardiner's review of Egyptian onomastica.[4]

In 1966 Astour identified *Šinʿār* as a cognate of *Sngr* in Egyptian texts, *Šanḫār* in the Amarna letters and *Šanḫara* in Hittite documents.[5] In 1984 Zadok developed the proposal further and additionally identified as cognates of *Sngr* the *Samḫarû* found in late Old Babylonian letters and *Sanḫara* in contemporary Hittite records of military activity in north Syria.[6] These identifications have been accepted in Hittite and Late Old Babylonian studies.[7]

The Egyptian and Biblical forms of the words *Sngr* and *Šinʿār* are standard throughout their usage. The Egyptian records always refer to a 'people', and the Biblical to a 'land'. However, in Babylonian and Hittite documents neither the spelling nor the grammatical form of the word is constant. In the Babylonian references the usage is as follows: -ÉRIN *Samḫaru* (B.1 and B3), ÉRIN *Samhari* (B.2, B.4 and

I am grateful to the comments on drafts of this paper by persons who attended my British Institute for the Study of Iraq lecture, 15 February 2023; and to colleagues at the RAI 68 in Leiden, July 2023 after my presentation. I owe an especial thanks to Professors John A. Brinkman, Amanda Podany and Michael Roaf for their helpful comments and suggested corrections and changes. All errors that undoubtably remain are my responsibility.

The regnal dates in this study follow Bryce 1998, xiii-xiv, for the Hittite kings; Shaw 2003, 484-5, for the Egyptian Pharaohs; and Brinkman 1977, for the kings of Babylonia. See, however, the study by Wasserman, Bloch 2023, 119-20 which concludes that the Lower Middle Chronology in which Samsu-ditana's final year was 1587/6 BCE was 'preferable' to other options.

1 See Nashef 1980, 165 and 167-8; van Lerberghe 1995, 384-5; de Graef 1999, 10-12; Sassmannshausen 2004b, 289-90; van Koppen 2004, 22 fn. 78; van Koppen 2017, 54-6.

2 Brugsch 1858, 31, 40 and Tafel XV. Brugsch 1858, 40 located *Sngr* at Beled Sinjar.

3 See for example Sayce 1895, 67-9; Meyer 1897, 63-4; Pinches 1902; Breasted 1906, 204 fn. b; Jirku 1923, 40-1, 10.10.d; Albright 1924; Gauthier 1928, 6; Gardiner 1947, 209-12, no. 286; Helck 1962, 286; Astour 1966, 76-7; Forlanini 1999, 13-14; Marín 2001, 264-5; Edel; Görg 2005, 3-4; Forlanini 2005, 114-16; Wilhelm 2009; Day 2015, 143-4; van Koppen 2017, 68; Beaulieu 2019, 34; Clancier 2021, 289-90. A strand of scholarship developed suggesting that 'Shinar' was derived from the Sumerian toponym, 'Sumer' (e.g. Lenormant 1873, 1: 27) is now discounted.

4 Gauthier 1928, 6; Jirku 1937, 27-8, fig. 4; Simons 1937, 213; Gardiner 1947, 209-12. no. 286.

5 Astour 1966, 76. Schaeffer 1954, 103 fn. 3 noted that Hans Güterbock believed 'that *Šanḫara* is Babylon, in spite of all discussions and arguments to the contrary'.

6 Zadok 1984, 242.

7 See del Monte, Tischler 1978, 344; Pientka 1998, 262; Forlanini 2005, 114-15; Marín 2001, 263-4; Wilhelm 2009; van Koppen 2017, 68. Sassmannshausen 2004b, 289-90 fn. 17 argues for caution in identifying the *Samḫarû* as a Kassite tribe, but does accept Zadok's thesis on the derivation of *Šinʿār* from *Samḫarû*.

B.6), and as a designation for a women (B.5 and B.7). The word is never qualified as a country (KUR) or city (URU). The usage would appear always to designate a defined ethnic identity.

In Hittite texts differences to how the term(s) is used in Babylonian documents may be seen. Of the six instances in which the word is used two refer to "KUR URU *Šanḫara*" (H.2 and H.4), one to "LU-GAL KUR *Šanḫara*" (H.6), one to "URU *Šanḫaraz*" (H.5) and one to "ÉRIN.MEŠ *Šamḫari/ru*" (H.1). This group of references suggest that the Hittites recognised a city, kingdom and king of 'Šamḫara'. Francia notes that it is unclear whether the use of *m* or *n* in the words designates two entities.[8] Forlanini observes that in H.2 *Šamḫara* is written with the sign *SA* instead of the usual *ŠA*. He suggests that the copiest did not understand the archaic 'accadogramme'.[9]

For the purposes of this study, while the different use of the words is noted in the tables, the general term 'Samḫaru' is used. In doing so the existence of an ethnic entity is recognised whose name is linked both to a city and a country. I recognise that this proposition is open to discussion as more evidence emerges, and hope that this paper goes some way towards demonstrating that it was the case.

2 *Samḫarû*/*Šanḫara*/*Sngr* in Hittite, Babylonian, Egyptian and East-Mediterranean Texts from their Earliest Appearance in the Mid-seventeenth Century BCE Until the Mid-fifteenth Century BCE

2.1 Hittite References (Table 1)

In this period there are two references in two Hittite texts – H.1 and 2. The earliest (H.1) dates to the mid-seventeenth century BCE and records key events of Hattusili I campaigns against Aleppo in north-western Syria. The text records that the ÉRIN.MEŠ *Ša-am-ḫa-ri/ru* – "the troops of Šamḫari/u" fought in the wars Ḫatti fought against northern Syrian kingdoms and the Hurrians. Records (including the reference to *Samḫarû* forces) only survive of Hattusili's first two campaigns in Syria which took place early in his reign – perhaps the 1640s BCE.

Hattusili's successor, Mursili I continued the military action against Aleppo and its kingdom in north-western Syria. The *Samḫarû*, in some association with troops from Emar were involved and feature in the account of the campaign (H.2). While "The record of Mursili's Syrian enterprises is frustratingly brief",[10] we do know that the key outcomes were the destruction of Aleppo and thus the end of the kingdom of Iamḫad,[11] and an attack on Babylon.[12] It is unclear when the attack on Babylon was made. Traditionally it has been assigned to 1595 BCE at the end of the reign of Samsuditana, but could, as Richardson has pointed out, have occurred at any point in his rule.[13]

2.2 Babylonian References (Table 2)

Samḫarû appear in five letters dated to Ammiṣaduqa year 15, 1632 BCE (B.1-5). Given the uncertainty about the absolute dates of the Hittite kings, these Babylonian references and the early Hittite texts discussed above may be regarded as near, if not absolute, contemporaneously dated. The Babylonian references appear to provide details around a single event (see discussion below). A sixth document (B.6) is a neo-Assyrian compendium of oracle questions to the gods Šamaš and Adad. It includes a section (ll. 26-94) detailing a rebellion, including by, among others, Kassite and *Samḫarû* troops (ll. 32 and 36 respectively) against Samsu-ditana. On the historical value of the document Lambert notes that there is "no adequate reason to suspect their genuineness and reliability save for scribal corruption

8 Francia 2020, 178.

9 Forlanini 2005, 115 fn. 18.

10 Bryce 1998, 102.

11 Wasserman, Bloch 2023, 396 and 478-83.

12 See Tavernier 2010, 174-83, section 2.2 for a review (including editions of the relevant Hittite and Akkadian texts) of the "conquest of Babylon".

13 Richardson 2016, 108-9.

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down the centuries, for which there is no real evidence save for orthography and minor scribal errors".[14]

In southern Babylonia a document of Ayadaragalama of the First Sealand Dynasty ca 1550 BCE[15] includes the appearance of a woman in a list of grain issues recorded as a "female of Samḫari[tum]" (B.7). There is no further detail, but it apparently there was recognition that the polity existed at that point and was regarded as being a separate and identifiable entity. There is also evidence for the presence of persons identified as, or bearing Kassite names in the Sealand texts.[16] There is even a reference to a *bīt kaššī*, and to a deity who lived there.[17] There are no references to the *Bimatû* charioteers or *Samḫarû* troops.

Boivin highlights the evidence for contacts between the Sealand kingdom and the northern Levant.[18] This contact may have been through intermediaries, but the presence of a *Samḫarû* person in the very south of Babylonia suggests that there was direct contact as well.

2.3 Egyptian References (Table 3)

In Egyptian inscriptions and documents, thirty references to *Sngr* have been identified (E.1-30). The earliest dates to the middle of the fifteenth century BCE in the annals of Thutmosis III (1479-1425 BCE), while the latest appears a temple inscription dated to Cleopatra VII (51-30 BCE) over 1400 years later.[19]

The earliest references to *Sngr* in Egyptian records present the entity as one whose diplomatic gifts are worthy of recording, and whose people worked in the palace as servants – positions of trust (E.1, E.2 and E.3).

In Thutmosis III's account of his eight campaign in 1446 BCE (E.1) he records that he advanced northwards as far as the Euphrates, which he crossed.[20] As one of the measures of the success of the campaign, Thutmosis recorded the presentation to him of gifts by the "chief of *Sngr*", along with those of the Hittites and Naharin. Traditionally these gifts have been translated as 'tribute'. However, it is clear that the word *jnw*, used in the annals to describe the nature and meaning of the items presented by the Hittites, Assyrians and representatives of *Sngr*, should be translated as diplomatic gift with no sense of subservience.[21] Thutmosis III did not conquer *Sngr*, but he clearly valued the act of the diplomatic gift.

3 Samḫarû/Šanḫara/Sngr in Hittite, Babylonian, Egyptian, East Mediterranean and Biblical Texts from Mid-Fifteenth Century BCE Until the First Century BCE

There is a distinct break between the sixteenth/fifteenth century BCE use of the terms *Sngr*, *Samḫarû* and *Šanḫara* and their use from the mid-fifteenth century BCE onwards. For a start the term is not used at all in Babylonian documents where at the period contemporary with Thutmosis III and Amenophis II, the political situation in Babylonia had changed. The Kassite Dynasty was gaining the ascendancy and at, or about, 1450 BCE had conquered the First Sealand Dynasty and was master of northern and southern Babylonia.[22] Kara-indaš commemorated the earliest known temple construction for the dynasty at the southern city of Uruk. In his inscriptions recording his work, Kara-indaš accords himself the title 'king of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, king of the Kassites, king of Karduniaš'.[23]

14 Lambert 2007, 20. Richardson 2019a, 226 fn. 74 accepts Lambert's reconstruction of *sà-am-(ḫa)-ri-i* as opposed to van Koppen 2017, 84 who noted his reservations.

15 Date given by Boivin 2022, 571, Table 18.1.

16 Dalley 2009, 13 and 305, index; Boivin 2018, 107-11.

17 Dalley 2009, 7.

18 Boivin 2018, 142; 2022, 642.

19 In an early study of Amherst Papyrus 63 (probably from Aswan and dated to the fourth century BCE), Nims 1950, 256 suggested that at Column VIII, l. 9 the Aramaic text, once transcribed out of the Demotic script used in the document, 'Babylon' might have been written as '*Šnk*^{3}*r* or *Snk*^{3}*r*' – an echo of the earlier Egyptian word *Sngr*. Subsequent study of the text has demonstrated that this is not the case (van der Toorn 2018, 56). It has also been suggested that the Kassites feature in the document (Column XI, l. 18), but van der Toorn 2018, 63 has shown that the word should be read 'Kush' as in the country to the south of Egypt.

20 Redford 2003, 75, I and 220-8.

21 See *inter alia* Hartwig 2004, 73-6; Redford 2006, 336-7; and Panagiotopoulos 2006, 372-3.

22 See Clayden 2020, 99; Boivin 2022, 643-4 for a summary of the process (with references).

23 Schott 1930, 53, no. 12, 6-9.

From this point on the country ruled by the Kassite dynasty was identified in documents of the dynasty – 'Karduniaš'.[24] We know from the Amarna correspondence (EA 10) that Kara-indaš and the Egyptian Pharaoh had established diplomatic relations – indeed the suggestion is that it was the point at which friendly diplomatic relations were established between the two countries.

Evidence from the sixteenth century BCE Babylonia as to how it termed itself is utterly lacking. But there is no later evidence to suggest that it had changed from being *Samḫarû* to Karduniaš. In the two references to *Sngr* from the reign of Thutmosis III's successor, Amenophis II (1427-1400 BCE), the status of *Sngr* as an independent entity continues. At the end of his campaign in Syria, chiefs of Ḫatti and *Sngr* present diplomatic gifts to Amenophis (E.2). In the second reference from the reign of Amenophis women from *Sngr* are present in the palace retinue of Amenophis II, but not as slaves (E.3). It was also to this period that Burna-buriaš II (1359-1333 BCE) traced the opening of correspondence between Egypt and Babylonia during the reign of Kara-indaš (last quarter of the fifteenth century BCE).[25]

However, the representation of *Sngr* as an unconquered country changed in the reign of Thutmosis IV (1400-1390 BCE). This is despite Kurigalzu (?-1375 BCE) having refused to join a Canaanite alliance against Egypt and declaring his allegiance to friendship with Egypt.[26] From this point on in the hieroglyphic record *Sngr* is predominantly represented as a conquered people. In topographical lists (E.4, 6-12, 14-20, 22-5 and 27-8 and 29) *Sngr* is placed among the supposed peoples conquered by the Pharaoh. This practice continued into the first millennium BCE Taharqa (690-664 BCE, E.28), Ptolemy III (246-222 BCE, E.29) and Cleopatra VII (51-30 BCE, E.30).

We should note Kitchen's cogent guidance to anyone using the evidence of the topographical lists of the New Kingdom who stresses that "topographical lists are NOT exclusively lists of physical conquests".[27] The lists were not intended to be a reflection of political reality, rather they are a depiction of one of the key aspects of the ideology surrounding the person of the pharaoh – the man who destroys 'universal disorder (e.g. *jsf.t*) represented by these defeated, humiliated or even slain foreigners, the king – once again restores order (e.g. *mȝʿt*) on earth'.[28] This means that although many of the lists post-Thutmosis IV are almost certainly simply copies of earlier inscriptions,[29] it did not matter to the contemporary Egyptians as the key purpose of the inscriptions was to depict a key aspect of the iconography of the ideology surrounding the function of the pharaoh.

From the reign of Thutmosis III (1479-1425 BCE) onwards, the lists of countries are almost invariably represented in a series as 'name rings', but in a small number of instances fuller representations of a stereotypical head or figure from each country is given.[30] A good example appears on the side panel of a chariot found in the tomb of Thutmosis IV (1400-1390 BCE, E.4). It shows the side view of the head of a male figure identified as a man from *Sngr*. A second example of the depiction of *Sngr* 'prisoners', is part of a painting in Tomb 120 at Thebes dated to Amenophis III (1390-1352 BCE). In a panel below the throne of the pharaoh a series of kneeling and bound captives including a man from *Sngr* are shown. The man wears a series of beautifully coloured robes. He is bearded with long hair and a fillet about his head holding the hair in place.

Few depictions of human figures survive from Kassite Babylonia. However, the Egyptian depictions of men from *Sngr* may be compared with the terracotta head excavated at Dūr-Kurigalzu, the city founded by Kurigalzu (?-1375 BCE) in Iraq.[31] The figure was found in the uppermost levels of the palace building which date to the twelfth century BCE. The head bears a number of similarities to the Egyptian images particularly the beard, hair and fillet.

24 Nashef 1982, 150-1.

25 EA 10, ll. 8-9, Rainey 2015a, 96-7.

26 EA 9, ll. 19-29, Rainey 2015a, 92-5. The change in status accorded to *Sngr* is seen in the lists dated to Thutmosis III onwards which tabulate 102 'conquered' countries (including *Sngr*) (Wilson 1969).

27 Kitchen 2009, 133 (the emphasis is Kitchen's).

28 Mynářová 2019, 9.

29 Kitchen 2009. See also Evian 2016, 165. Note, for example, the Medinet Habu lists of Rameses III (1184-1153 BCE), based on earlier lists (possibly composed during the wars of Thutmosis III, 1479-1425 BCE, or Amenophis II, 1427-1400 BCE, Astour 1968, 749. The list includes locations in northern Syria (736-7); the Upper Euphrates (737-9); the area between the Euphrates and the Ḫabur (739-40); the Ḫabur basin (740-3); the area between the Ḫabur basin and the Tigris (743-4); and the Arrapḫa region (744-7). A separate inscription of Rameses II includes the towns Uruk (*Irk*) and Babylon (*Bbr*), Kitchen 1996, 75, no. 56, 217:5, nos 88-9. Both suggest Egyptian awareness of Babylonian toponyms in the thirteenth century BCE.

30 Peirce 2019, 106, and 121-9 for the depiction of peoples of the northern localities. See Janzen 2013 for a study of the iconography of the humiliation of prisoners in name rings of the New Kingdom.

31 Baqir 1946, 90, DK4-72/ IM 50922, pl. XV, fig. 9.

3.1 East-Mediterranean References (Table 4)

Two texts (eM.1-2) written in two separate parts of the east-Mediterranean – Cyprus and Ugarit (?) – contain references to *Samḫarû*. The first (eM.1) is a letter from the Amarna archive (EA 35) dated to the reign of Akhnaten.[32] The letter is from the un-named king of Cyprus. At the end of the letter, the king of Cyprus states that "you (i.e. the pharaoh) have not been put with the king of Ḫatti or the king of Šanḫar" (ll. 49-53). Moran included the clarification "on the same level", and Rainey "ranked with".[33] Even with this modifying phrase the meaning of the section is unclear.

The second is a hieroglyphic inscription on a cylinder seal found at Metsamor in Armenia which accords the title 'great overseer of *Sngr*' on Kurigalzu (eM.2).[34] The seal is clearly not the product of a Babylonian workshop and was manufactured within the Egyptian sphere of influence. Given the use in the Amarna correspondence of Karanduniaš to designate the name of the country ruled by the kings in Babylon in the fourteenth century BCE, it is unlikely that a royal present from Egypt to Babylonia would use the term '*Sngr*'. It is possible, therefore, that the seal was made in one of the lesser kingdoms bordering the east coast of the Mediterranean, and under Egyptian control.[35] Defining which of the two Kurigalzus who ruled Babylonia is the subject of the inscription is difficult to define. Based on iconographic evidence, Collon has argued that the seal may have been made at Ugarit to celebrate the marriage of Kurigalzu II to a princess of Syria.[36] However, EA 9:19-31 records that during the reign of Kurigalzu I the 'Canaanites' offered an alliance against the Egyptians – an offer Kurigalzu I rejected the approach. [37] Undoubtedly the Canaanite approach would have been supported by a package of gifts in which the Metsamor seal may well have featured.[38]

3.2 Hittite (Table 1)

Internal documents from the Hittite kingdom of the fourteenth and early thirteenth centuries BCE still occasionally refer to *Šamḫara* in the reigns of Tudhaliya III (1360-1344 BCE) (H.3), Suppiluliuma I (1344-1322 BCE) (H.4) Mursili II (1322-1295 BCE) (H.4) and Muwatalli II (1295-1272 BCE) (H.6). In parallel, however, in a range of documents variants of the Kassite word Karduniaš is used when referring to the area ruled by the Kassite Dynasty.[39] The reasons behind this parallel use of a word that was at some point assimilated in meaning to refer to Babylonia, may be found in the contexts in which it was used in the Hittite texts.

The Tudhaliya II (H.3) reference appears in an as yet unpublished letter, but the summary suggests that it deals with matters in western Syria as other toponyms in the area appear in the document. H.4 dated to the reign of Suppiliuma I (1344-1322 BCE) is a ritual text in which a series of lands are listed. The list includes *Šanḫara* listed between the lands of Babylon and Egypt. *Šanḫara* appears in the 'Prayer of Mursili II' (1321-1295 BCE) in which the Hittite king alleges that his stepmother, a Babylonian, somehow benefited *Šanḫara* (possibly Babylonia itself in this text) with wealth that belonged to her husband the king (H.5).[40] The clearly negative linkage between a Babylonian princess turned Hittite Tawana ('queen') and *Šanḫara* is clearly deliberate and may indicate a further slur against the woman with an inference that we now do not understand.

32 Rainey 2015b, 1380.

33 Moran 1992, 188; Rainey 2015, 343.

34 See Clayden 2024a, for a discussion of Kassite objects found beyond Babylonia, including the Metsamor cylinder seal.

35 Seidle 2017, 316 suggests, without specific reasons, that the carver of the seal was Egyptian.

36 Khanzadlan, Piotrovskii 1992, 73; Collon 2011, 32-5. Collon 2011, 30, looks to Kassite seal iconography for the symbolic meaning of the locust/grasshopper in the seal scene as representation for wealth. She suggested (33) that use of the symbol in Ugarit may have indicated a 'contract attending an act of succession'. Cherpion 2012, 199-200 has examined the dual nature of the symbolism of the locust in Egyptian art – as uncounted multitudes of conquered enemy soldiers, or fecundity and the renewal of life. It is perhaps the latter aspect of the locust that best fits a wedding gift.

37 Rainey 2015, 92-5.

38 I am grateful to Professor Roaf for this suggestion.

39 See del Monte, Tischler 1978, 185-7; del Monte 1992, 68; Francia 2020, 178-87.

40 Tawanna was also accused of misappropriation of the silver of Aštata (from the cult based at Emar) to a rock-sanctuary of the god of nature, Archi 2014, 150.

The last reference to *Šanḫara* in Hittite documents (H.6) appears in a treaty with the western Anatolian king Alaksandu of Wilusa (Troy)[41] dated to the reign of Muwatalli II (1295-1272 BCE). The treaty lists the king of *Šanḫara* as being of equal rank as the kings of Egypt, Hanigalbat and Assyria (there is no mention of Babylon or Karduniaš). It would appear that the Hittite scribe used the term *Šanḫara* rather than Karduniaš because that was the term used in the east Mediterranean/Aegean. It is an example of diplomatic language skills. A similar example of diplomatic language is the use of *Šanḫar* in an Amarna letter from the Mitanni king Tušratta to Amenophis III.[42] In Nuzi texts the term used to indicate the lands south of Arraphe and thus possibly Babylonia, were ^{KUR}*Akkadî*[43] and ^{KUR}Kuššu.[44] However, the Mitanni scribe, aware of the Egyptian use of *Sngr* to refer to Babylonia, used the cognate *Šanḫar*. It is not evidence of the common use of the word in Mitanni texts.[45]

Francia concludes that the use of the term *Šanḫara* by the post-seventeenth century BCE Hittite scribes was partially the result of a loss of understanding of the precise relevance of the terms, and may also have reflected Egyptian influence.[46] Francia does not address the origin of the toponym, but by inference her suggestion that the Hittite use of the word reflected an Egyptian influence may provide a possible solution to the question.

3.3 Biblical References (Table V)

References to *Šinʿār* appear in five books of the Old Testament (Table V) – Genesis, Joshua, Daniel, Isaiah and Zechariah. The dates and authorship of composition vary for each of the books and each reflect a slightly different context for the use of *Šinʿār*.[47] In general, however, the references all date to the first millennium BCE and all infer a defined territory akin to a kingdom, though never named as such. It is invariably translated as 'Babylonia', but the term was not used by Babylonians themselves and comes to us from Greek writers who may have 'borrowed' the term from the Persians who created a province of Babylon "comprising most of the lands between the Tigris and the Euphrates".[48] During the first millennium BCE the neo-Babylonian kings referred to themselves as the "King of Babylon" – they identified their power and legitimacy with rule over the city.[49]

In the commercial documents of the exiled Judeans, written by "exclusively Babylonian" scribes,[50] Babylon was used to identify the city.[51] Isa. 2:48 and 49 refers to the "province of (the city) of Babylon" suggesting recognition of the administrative structure of neo-Babylonian Babylonia. In his study of the origins of Judaism, Adler concludes that the evidence argues that a "Judean way of life governed by the Torah never predates the second century BCE".[52] The emergence of the Torah as the governing document for Judean society became pre-eminent probably as a result of the Hasmonean revolt in 167-63 BCE.[53] Up to that point only the cultural elite would have been fully cognisant of the Torah – its rules and text. It is against this background that we must examine the references to *Šinʿār* in the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible.

Genesis is one of the books of the Pentateuch which "came into existence no earlier than the end of the fifth century BCE".[54] However, elements of the work, including Genesis, were composed as early

41 See Bryce 1998, 394-6 for a discussion of this ruler and kingdom.

42 Marín 2001, 263; Rainey 2015a; EA 24:95, 238-9.

43 Fincke 1993, 3-4.

44 Fincke 1993, 160-2. See also Clayden 2024b, for a discussion of references to Babylonia in Nuzi texts.

45 Nuzi and Khabur ware pottery found in the level of the palace at Dūr-Kurigalzu (Baqir 1945, pl. XXIV) is evidence not just for links between Kurigalzu I and the two regions, but given their discovery in the treasury store-rooms, the value placed upon them as objects (or containers of precious material from both areas).

46 Francia 2020, 188 and 189.

47 The Aramaic Bible (final redaction third century CE, Grossfeld 1988, 32) follows the Talmudic tradition and also uses the term '*Šinʿār*' – see for example Genesis 10:10 and 11:2, Grossfeld 1988, 60-1 and 61 fn. 2.

48 Beaulieu 2019, 34.

49 See the brief discussion by Zadok 1985, 57.

50 Wunsch 2022, 9.

51 Pearce, Wunsch 2014, 312.

52 Adler 2022, 234-5.

53 Adler 2022, 223.

54 Brettler 1999, 6; Clines 1993, 580.

as the ninth century BCE and up until the mid-seventh century BCE – in Judah. The final compilation in the sixth century BCE after the Exile preserved this older material. The Book of Isaiah is also an early composition dating to the late eight century BCE written during the time of Assyrian aggression against Judah and Israel.[55] The Books of Joshua and Zechariah were probably composed in the mid-late sixth century BCE during the Exilic period.[56] The Book of Daniel dates to 164 BCE.[57]

Jer. 52:30 recorded that in 587 BCE Nebuchadnezzar "carried away captives of the Jews [...] 4600 persons". This group, which include the royal family, "represented the cream of the country's (i.e. Judah) political, ecclesiastical and intellectual leadership".[58] The scholars who were responsible for the writing and compilation of the books of the Bible in which *Šinʿār* is used, would have been deeply steeped in the scholarly traditions of the eastern Mediterranean.

There are four references to *Šinʿār* in Genesis. They all relate to the early history of Assyria and Babylonia. Bib.1 refers to the achievements of Nimrod, grandson of Noah and the foundation of Babylonian and Assyrian cities after the flood.[59] The events in Bib.2 are undated, but would appear to refer to events at or about the same period as Bib.1. It records the movement of peoples from 'the east' who all spoke the same language and who settled in *Šinʿār* and where they built a city, Babel (i.e. Babylon), and a tower of baked brick and bitumen mortar in an effort to achieve fame. But their god took umbrage and "scattered them from there across the face of the whole earth, and they stopped building the city (and tower)" (Gen. 11:8).

The other two references to *Šinʿār* in Genesis relate to the same event in the lifetime of Abraham – a military campaign between a coalition of kings including 'Amraphael of *Šinʿār* (Bib.3 and 4) and an alliance of five kings of the area between Qadesh and the Dead Sea.

Isa. 11:1-12:12 "is a messianic and eschatological prophecy" outlining a time when a "perfect Davidic king will reign in Jerusalem and all the world will enjoy peace".[60] The "new world" will, the prophecy maintains, also herald the return of Jewish exiles from all the countries abroad where they were being held – including from *Šinʿār* (Bib.5). In the case of Assyria the lord of Israel will break the Euphrates into seven streams so that the exiles can cross the river dry-shod as they did when fleeing Egypt under Moses (Isa. 11:15).

The Book of Joshua recounts the events in the life of Joshua, an attendant of Moses, and his leadership of the people of Israel across the Jordan and of the campaigns they fought. The account includes an incident following the successful storming of Jericho. The compact the Israelites had with their god was that the booty from the city was to be dedicated to him. But one man broke the deal and kept a number of precious items including a good quality '*Šinʿār* mantle' (Bib.6). This suggests a link (unclear) between Judah and Babylonia, or to the region known as *Samḫarû* which was originally on the middle Euphrates.

Šinʿār features in the seventh of Zechariah's visions (Bib.7). The vision describes a 'tub' in which a woman designated 'wickedness' is seated is carried by two winged being to *Šinʿār* where 'a shrine for it' will be built. The negative implications for Babylonia are clear.

The final reference to *Šinʿār* is a description of events that occurred over 400 years earlier than the date of final redaction in 164 BCE. It records that when Nebuchadnezzar sacked Jerusalem in 586 BCE took precious vessels from the temple and deposited them in the temple of 'his god' in *Šinʿār* (Bib.8). This would almost certainly have been the temple of Marduk (the É.SAG.GÍL) in Babylon.

Šinʿār had a long 'afterlife' in a range of influential texts. Josephus (d. ca 100 CE) refers to *Šinʿār* in two instances. The first is in Josephus' retelling of Genesis in which he notes that "the plain in which they first settled is called Senaar" (direct transcription from the Greek Σεναάρ).[61] Josephus drew on the text of Genesis in Hebrew, so the use of *Šinʿār* in this instance is not terribly significant.[62] However, Josephus also cites the historian Hestiacus, whose works are now lost – "And as concerning the plain called Senaar in the region of Babylon, Hestiacus speaks as follows: 'Now the priests who escaped took

55 Sawyer 1993, 32; Sommer 1999, 781-2.

56 See Mason 1993, 826-7; Meyer 1999, 462; Tucker 1993, 386; Zvi 1999, 1249.

57 Towner 1993, 151; Wills 1999, 1640.

58 Bright 1966, 325. See also Dalley 1998, 63.

59 Burrell 2020, 171 and 174-5 argues that "Babylon and Shinar represent rebellion and idolatry", and that therefore Nimrod is associated with rebellion against the will of Yahweh.

60 Berlin, Brettler 1999, 807.

61 Josephus 1961, § 110.

62 Shutt 1971.

the sacred vessels of Zeus Enyalius and came to Senaar in Babylonia'".[63]

The Babylonian Talmud, composed ca 500 CE advances two suggested etymologies for *Šinʿār* – both based on a doctrinal view of Babylonia.[64] The Midrash Rabbah Deuteronomy, composed four centuries later poses six further etymological suggestions.[65] Neither text proffer solutions that relate to a people or toponym.

The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius was written ca 685-692 CE, had 'immense' influence throughout the Christian world – an influence that continued until the seventeenth century when extracts were printed in Vienna during the siege of the city in 1683.[66] The Syriac version of the document preserved the tradition that 'the sons of Noah' built a tower in the land of Shinar'.[67]

4 Implications for Early Kassite History

Van Koppen has proposed that the Kassites entered Babylonia in three waves – *Kaššû* (second and third quarter of the eighteenth century BCE), *Bimatû* (fourth quarter of the eighteenth century BCE) and *Samḫarû* (third quarter of the seventeenth century BCE).[68] The ultimate geographical origins of the Kassite peoples is not considered in this study.

The evidence demonstrates that individuals bearing identifiable Kassite names appeared in texts before the use of the designating term *Kaššû* is used. Eniš-Agum, who appears in documents dated to Puzriš-Dagan is a good example – see the discussion of 'Agum' below.[69] A man bearing the name 'Agum' features in a text from Sippar, almost certainly dated to Sin-muballiṭ (1812-1793 BCE), engaged in trade with Susa.[70] Subsequently persons bearing Kassite names appear more frequently.[71]

The first group identified in Old Babylonian texts as *Kaššû* appear as an enemy force in 1742 BCE in the year names for year 9 (recording an event in year 8) of Samsu-iluna and year 2 (b) of Rim-Sîn II, rebel king of Larsa.[72] In 1710 BCE Abi-ešuḫ defeated a body of Kassite troops – year name 3 (recording the main event in year 2).[73] It is possibly to the events of this period that the late Old Babylonian literary text describing repeated serious attacks by very hostile Kassite forces should be ascribed.[74] Following the appearance of the *Kaššû* as a hostile force, there are numerous references to fellow Kassites employed largely in military capacities within Babylonian society in late Old Babylonian texts.[75] At the same time people bearing Kassite names without being identified as *Kaššû* continue to appear in late Old Babylonian texts.[76]

63 Josephus 1961, §119. The meaning of the reference is unclear and its relationship to the Genesis narrative is not obvious. Curiously Enyalius may originally have been a deity that came to Greece from Anatolia and had an ancient near eastern genesis, Yakubovich 2021. There is no suggestion of there being any link to the Kassites. Eusebius and Jerome both cite Josephus in their Onomasticon, Freeman-Grenville et al. 2003, 83.

64 Epstein 1948, 560.

65 Rabbinowitz 1951, 36.

66 Garstad 2012, vii, ix and x.

67 Garstad 2012, 9, Section 3:3.

68 Van Koppen 2017.

69 The epithet 'galzu' would appear to be a Kassite word, Balkan 1954, 131-2. It might, therefore, be taken as an indicator of a Kassite person in the name of someone predating the Kassite period. In Sumerian GAL-ZU is translated as "wise, omniscient, intelligent, skilful", Cohen 2023, 424. Therefore although 'gal-zu' appears in a number of names with a theophoric element in documents from the Ur III to Old Babylonian period, see for example ^{d}Damu-galzu, Tanret 2010, 89-91, the element is almost certainly to be read as a Sumerian word and not Kassite and therefore not as evidence of early Kassites.

70 Al-Rawi, Dalley 2000, 121-3, no. 115, obv. 4.

71 See Harris 1975, 88-9, 248, 265 and 287; Clayden 1989, Catalogue C; de Smet 1990; Nashef 1980, 167-8; van Lerberghe 1995; de Graef 1999, 5-15; Sassmannshausen 2000, 410-13; Sassmannshausen 2004b, 296-301; Richardson 2005, 275-6; van Lerberghe, Voet 2009, 118, no. 57; van Lerberghe, Voet 2010; Paulus 2011, 2-4; Sassmannshausen 2014, 169; and Abraham, van Lerberghe 2017, 188 (references).

72 See Stol 1976, 44-5 and 53-5; Horsnell 1999.2, 192-3, no. 154; van Koppen 2017, 53; Zomer 2019, 3-4; Michalowski 2019, 673-6; and Wasserman, Bloch 2023, 459.

73 Horsnell 1999, 245, 186.

74 Michalowski 1981.

75 Harris 1976, 146; Stol 2004, 799 fn. 1086; Arnaud 2007, 43-4; van Lerberghe, Voet 2010; Földi 2014 and 2017, 17, nos 7, 9 and 12; Brinkman 2017, 3-4; and van Koppen 2017, 47-9. See fn. 29 for references to Kassites.

76 See for example the 'Kassite' names identified at Tell Muhammed (late-, or immediately post-, Old Babylonian period) by Sassmannshausen 2000, 423 (see also Clayden 1989, Catalogue C).

The second group of Kassites were referred to as the *Bimatû* and appeared in the last years of Samsu-iluna's reign/early years of Abi-ešuḫ's in the last two decades of the eighteenth century BCE.[77] This period coincides with the rather abrupt when the Babylonia kingdom appears to have lost contact with the wider middle east. It is of course also the period when southern Babylonia had apparently fully disengaged from the northern part of the kingdom.[78]

Van Koppen has suggested that the appearance of the *Bimatû* might be linked to the movement in Samsu-iluna year 30 (1720 BCE) of a body of Kassite troops under the command of two individuals termed 'king' together with the very rare term – DUMU.É.DUB.BA.A *ša mu-na-ab-ti* ('scribe of refugees).[79] A study of mercenaries at Dūr-Abi-ešuḫ shows that 'Bimati Kassites' made up the core of the local defence systems at the city.[80] However, this needs to be seen within the context of mercenaries in late Old Babylonian society being drawn from a wide range (at least 23) of foreign lands and when mercenaries were evidence of activity by the Babylonian kings and not of foreign interference.

It is the association with the *Bimatû*, explicitly identified as Kassite in a number of instances, that urges the conclusion that *Samḫarû* were a third Kassite element.[81] The *Samḫarû* appear in the record about 80 years after the *Bimatû* in the records of year 15 of Ammiṣaduqa in 1632 BCE (B.1-4), and a fifth document (B.5) should probably be similarly dated.[82] At that point the *Samḫarû* appear near the north-western Babylonian city of Sippar in an alliance of ca 1500 men consisting of *Bimatû* charioteers and *Samḫarû* troops.[83] The fact that the *Samḫarû* infantry appear in an alliance with the *Bimatû* charioteers clearly indicates that they had been present sufficiently long enough in the region prior to 1632 BCE to have formed the relationship – and to have refined military tactics using chariots with infantry in large numbers. We may conjecture that the point at which this relationship may have formed, and which may indicate when the *Samḫarû* entered Babylonia, was between one or two generations (ca 40-50 years) of 1632 BCE late in the reign of Abi-ešuḫ (d. 1684 BCE) or in the time of Ammiditana (1683-1647 BCE), but we do not know.

5 Evidence for a MBA Kassite Presence on the Middle Euphrates

The evidence suggesting that there was a Kassite presence in the middle Euphrates area in the Middle Bronze Age after the reign of Hammurabi (1792-1750 BCE) falls into twelve areas: i. the Hittite material; ii. Kaštiliašu of Ḫana; iii. Abbirattaš on the middle Euphrates; iv. Kassite features in Ḫana texts; v. *Sngr* in Egyptian material; vi. Agum on the middle Euphrates; vii. 'Houses of the Kassites'; viii. The toponym Ḫana associated with *kaššû*; ix. Kadašman-Ḫarbe I kudurru; x. A Neo-Assyrian omen; xi. Kassite personal names and toponyms; and xii. Cush and the Kassites.

77 Pientka 1998, 262; van Koppen 2017, 51, and 54-9. Bimatû references: -ÉRIN *ka-aš-ši-i bi-ma-ti-i* ('Kassite Bimatî soldiers'): CUSAS 29, 16, no. 4 obv. l. 6; 18, no. 6, obv. l. 4; 25, no. 10 obv. l. 5; 105, no. 76 obv. l. 2; 107, no. 82, obv. ll. 2-3; 108-16, nos 85-106, obv. ll. 2-3; BE 6/2, 136, obv. 18-19; BM 78309, obv. 19-20; Földi 2017, 17, no. 8 and ÉRIN ^{giš}GIGIR.ḪI.A *bi-ma-ti-i* ('Bimatî charioteers'): MS 3218/05, obv. ll. 1-3 (CDLI P342688).

78 Richardson 2019b, 317.

79 Van Koppen 2017, 53 fn. 33.

80 Van Lerberghe, Voet 2010, 182.

81 Note, however, the views expressed by de Graef 1999, 11 who argues for the existence of two separate groups; and of Sassmannshausen 2004b, 289 fn. 17 who argues for caution in identifying the *Bimatû* and *Samḫarû* as Kassite entities but does accept Zadok's thesis on the derivation of *Šinʿār* from *Samḫarû*.

82 Pientka 1998, 261-2; Charpin 2004, 380 fn. 1982; van Koppen 2017, 84-91. Harris 1975, 88-9 and 1976, 146-7 noted the preponderance of Kassites in the mercenary forces of Sippar in the late Old Babylonian period. Földi observed that at Dūr-Abi-ešuḫ 'Kassites appear to have made up the core of the garrison troops', 2014, 46. Charpin 2018, 192-3 and 194; Richardson 2019b, 324 and fn. 58 and Béranger 2019, 116 have identified troops from 24 cities or nationalities, including Kassites, serving in armies of the Late Old Babylonian kingdom. Note, however, the caution by van Lerberghe, Voet 2016, 560, that in addition to 'foreign' mercenaries, 'a great number came from Babylonian towns and villages'.

83 See van Koppen 2017, 54-9 and 84-92 for a reconstruction of events during this period. Van Koppen 2017, 47 notes that he is unaware of any reference to *Bimatû* infantry. A corpus of 29 texts records the issue of rations to '*Bimatû Kassite*' military personnel at Dūr-Abi-ešuḫ texts in the short period of the 20th of month IV until the 20th of month V (mid-June to mid-August) in Abi ešuḫ year 20 (Abraham, van Lerberghe 2017, 105, 76-108). At the same time 5 texts in the same collection also from Dūr-Abi-ešuḫ record the issue of rations to military personnel designated just as '*Kassites*' (Abraham, van Lerberghe 2017, texts 77-80, year 20, month IV, 13-19). See also Földi 2017, 14 for a text recording the issue of rations to Kassite soldiers. The text may be dated by the appearance of the commander Samsuiluna-kāšid who features in 5 documents dated in the reign of Abi-ešuḫ, years 13-21, see Abraham, van Lerberghe 2017, 181. Whether the omission of *Bimatû* in these texts was deliberate, or a clerical oversight is unknown. Equally Abraham, van Lerberghe 2017, 25, no. 10:5 records rations being issued to *Bimatû* only, also in Abi-ešuḫ year 20, month IV, 26. In any event the texts provide evidence for state supported *Kassite* and Kassite *Bimatû* troop movements in the area in mid-summer 1692 BCE.

5.1 The Hittite Material

Three references to *Šanḫara* and, in one instance, its soldiers appear in Hittite records. The first (H.1), dated to the 1640s records the actions of a force of *Samḫarite* soldiers, in one case in association with military personnel from the middle Euphrates kingdom of Emar, in a military campaign in north-western Syria.[84]

The reference to the "[lan]d of the city of *Šanḫara*" in a broken section of a document recording elements of Mursilis I's campaign (H.2), establishes a further link between both the *Samḫarû* and the middle Euphrates.

A letter (H.3, unpublished) excavated at Šapinuwa addressed to Tudhaliya III (1360-1344 BCE) would appear to cover diplomatic issues involving a number of locations including *Šanhara*, Ugarit and Niya. Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra) is located on the coast of the Mediterranean in modern western Syria. Niya was the capital of a small state in the area of the plains on the east bank of the middle Orontes and south of Aleppo.[85] Given the known locations of Ugarit and Niya, it is possible that *Šanhara* was if not contiguous with one of those entities, it was close to them.

Taken as a whole, Hittite references to the term clearly indicate a middle-Euphrates/ western Syria location for *Šanḫara*.

5.2 Kaštiliašu of Hana

The entity that later became known as the kingdom of Ḫana came into existence after Hammurabi's conquest of Mari in 1761 BCE. While the precise details are not known 'the kingdom ranged across approximately the same territory as Zimri-Lim's Mari', and while tablets dated to the kingdom have been found at Terqa, Harradum (90 km south of Mari) and Ṭabatum (on the middle Khabur) the capital of the kingdom may have been Mari itself.[86]

In year 28 of his reign (1712 BCE) Samu-iluna defeated Ḫana's ruler Yadiḫ-abu.[87] At this point Samsu-iluna's kingdom consisted of Babylon, Dilbat, Sippar and Kiš, north up the Euphrates to Ḫana and east to the Diyala and Ḫabur triangle.[88] Yadiḫ-abu's successor bore the Kassite name Kaštiliašu which is found in texts at Terqa and Tell Sakka.[89] The prosopographic evidence demonstrates that officials who served Kaštiliašu witnessed documents in the reigns of his predecessor and successor suggesting that Kaštiliašu was on the throne by the 1700s and was thus broadly a contemporary of Abi-ešuḫ of Babylon (1711-1684 BCE).[90] Kaštiliašu of Ḫana lived almost 50 years after the earliest appearance of Kassites in northern Babylonia, and at least a generation earlier than those seen in the Hittite and Hurrian sources noted below.

The discussion as to whether or not Kaštiliašu of the Ḫana and Sakka texts should be identified with Kaštiliaš (not Kaštiliašu) of Kassite dynasty remains unresolved.[91] As noted above, the Ḫana Kaštiliašu ruled at the end of the eighteenth/early seventeenth century BCE after Samsu-iluna's conquest of Ḫana in 1721 BCE. No other Kassite names appear in the Ḫana texts of this period. Three explanations might be offered to explain this. Firstly that Kaštiliašu the king was the only person bearing a Kassite name in the city. Secondly that the name was simply adopted by the Hanean ruler possibly to honour the Kassite king who was not actually based at Ḫana.[92] And finally that archives other than those recovered recorded the activities of persons bearing Kassite names. None of these possibilities may be definitively proved or disproved. However, the Kassite character of the name cannot be denied. Indeed we should note the prestige, the nature of which is not understood, attached to it with four kings of the Kassite dynasty using a very similar name.

84 Forlanini 2005, 115 fn. 18.

85 Grandet 2022, 371.

86 Arkhipov 2022, 382.

87 Charpin 2002, 70; Wasserman, Bloch 2023, 369.

88 Zomer 2019, 7. See Shibata 2019, 967-9 for a review of the continued influence of Babylon at Terqa, illustrated through the veneration of Marduk at the city, from the late Old Babylonian period and into the post Old Babylonian period. The Babylonian calendar was also adopted in the region in the late Old Babylonian period, Yamada 2019, 1201 fn. 38.

89 See Podany 2019, 132-4 for the most recent discussion of Kaštiliašu; and Abdallah, Durand 2014, 234-7 for the Tell Sakka text.

90 Podany 2002, 44. Podany 2019, 133 later suggested that Kaštiliašu ruled ca 1681-1600 BCE (following Brinkman 1976, 30). However, in his more recent study of early Kassite history, Brinkman 2017 has been less definitive on dates for the early Kassite kings.

91 For the discussion see van Koppen 2017, 54; Zomer 2019, 17; Podany 2019, 133-4 and Paulus 2022, 813.

92 Podany 2002, 46 and fn. 118; Grandet 2022, 371.

Documents from Haradum, in the land of Suḫû south of Terqa suggest that the town was sacked in year 17+b (1630+b BCE) of Ammiṣaduqa and no evidence of Babylonian control after that date is known from the site.[93] Given the evidence for a Kassite influence (and presence?) in the Ḫana kingdom during this period, it is curious that no individuals bearing Kassite names feature in the Haradum texts. By contrast the discovery at Terqa of texts (in a jar) dated to Ammiṣaduqa and Samsuditana suggests that while Haradum was lost to Babylonia, Babylonian control of Terqa was re-established.[94]

5.3 Abirattaš on the Middle Euphrates

Abirattaš features in the Babylonian kinglist as eighth in the sequence of Kassite kings following Kaštiliaš, and in the Agum-kakrime text is stated to have been an ancestor of his (i.e. Agum-kakrime).[95] Forlanini, suggests that the toponym *Á-bí-ra-t-š* found in the great list of Syrian toponyms in an inscription of Thutmosis III (1479-1425 BCE), should be associated with Abirattaš of the early Kassite dynasty.[96] The suggestion, which cannot be substantiated, being that the town was named after the early Kassite king of that name. If correct the toponym would have survived for ca 150 years after Abirattaš ruled.[97]

Balkan identified the name Abirattaš in a document from Alalakh.[98] The usage of the name in these texts suggests that it had a northern-Syrian link. In the Kassite period Abirattaš does not appear to have been used. However, in the two centuries after the end of the Kassite Dynasty at least 16 land owning individuals (they all feature in *kudurru* texts which are all about property) state that they are descendants of Abirattaš.[99] There is even reference to a 'Bīt-Abirattaš' in a *kudurru* dated to Marduk-šāpik-zēri (1081-1069 BCE).[100] This kudurru was found near Balad-Ruz east of the Tigris, and the land grant bordered on Bīt-Sîn-māgir somewhere near Dūr-Kurigalzu. Neither of these points necessarily have relevance to where Bīt-Abirattaš lay.

5.4 Kassite Features in Ḫana Texts

Podany has reviewed the limited corpus of documents from the Early Ḫana period – Samsu-iluna until the end of the dynasty in the early sixteenth century BCE.[101] Though restricted the texts do display features that might suggest a Kassite influence in the Kingdom of Ḫana:

a. Cylinder seal impressions on the Ḫana tablets (though not of any dated to Kaštiliašu) appear to "show similarities to Kassite glyptic traditions".[102]
b. The practice of the king making land grants is not a feature of Old Babylonian rulers, but appears in Ḫana texts and is richly demonstrated in Kassite period *kudurru*s in appear earlier in texts from Ḫana.[103]
c. The use of legally imposed penalties using hot bitumen poured on a convicted person's heads or in their mouth appears in texts from Ḫana and in Kassite records.[104]

93 Joannès 1992, 25.

94 Charpin 2004, 357-8; Rouault 2021, 153-4. Van Koppen's 2004, 23 fn. 83 review of the slave trade shows the extent of Babylonian control of the business on the middle Euphrates at this point. See also Clancier 2021, 286-9 for a summary of events at this period.

95 Brinkman 1976, 85-6 and Sassmannshausen 2014, 171-2.

96 Forlanini 2009, 56. See Helck 1962, 145, no. 206.

97 Abirattaš/Abiradda features in documents from Syria and Ḫatti dated to the mid-fourteenth century BCE (O'Callaghan 1948, 59, no. 40; Mayrhofer 1966, 140; 1968, 54-7 and 1974, 78; Laroche 1966, 36; Klengel 1992, 152, 154 and 155, Bryce 1998, 216-17. See Brinkman 1968, 249-50, and Sassmannshausen 2001, 145 for discussions of the 'House of Abirattaš' in Babylonian documents.

98 Balkan 1954, 45; Wiseman 1953, 126 and 129.

99 Brinkman 1968, 250. For a similar situation see the case of Tunamis-Saḫ below.

100 Nashef 1982, 53; Paulus 2014, 576, col. I.31.

101 Podany 2002, 19-55.

102 Podany 1997, 419.

103 Podany 1997, 419-23; Brinkman 2017, 5 fn. 22.

104 Podany 2002, 234-6; Brinkman 2017, 5 fn. 22.

d. Though a later feature, the name of a canal, *Ḫa-bur-i-ba-al-bu-ga-aš*, built in the reign of Ḫammurapiḫ (fourteenth/thirteenth century BCE), contains the Kassite element '*bugaš*'.[105] This suggests a continued relevance and respect for the term existed in the area three centuries after Agum of the time of Samsu-ditana.

5.5 *Sngr* in the Egyptian Material

It is apparent that the word *Samḫarû* fell out of use in Babylonia (north and south). When the Kassite Dynasty appears in the written record in the late fifteenth century BCE the kings claimed the title "king of Karduniaš"[106] and the term became widely used in the international correspondence of the Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian and the Hittite kingdoms. However, in internal documentation in Egypt the cognate form of *Samḫarû* – *Sngr* – appeared for the first time in the mid-fifteenth century BCE in the annals of Thutmosis III recording his campaign in northern Syria and east of the Euphrates in 1446 (E.1). This gives rise to three questions. Firstly how the term survived for over a century, secondly where did the Egyptians judge *Sngr* to be, and finally why the term became synonymous with Babylonia in the Levantine tradition.

The answer to the first of these questions may lie in the later Middle Kingdom (Dynasties 12, 13 and 14 Dynasties) and Second Intermediate Period 15 – 'Hyksos' – Dynasty. The Hyksos were an Amorite Dynasty whose origins can be traced to Amorite incursions into northern Egypt beginning in the second half of the third millennium BCE.[107] Material evidence from the Second Intermediate Period displays "traits typical of populations settling along the eastern Mediterranean coast and further east appear in the material culture of Tell el-Dab'a' in the eastern Delta".[108] In a period of a "continuous process of interaction and exchange between the delta and the neighbouring regions to the east" a degree of familiarity and contact grew between the two areas.[109]

Unfortunately, the dating of these dynasties and of one of the key pharaohs of the Hyksos Dynasty – Khyan – is uncertain and under discussion. Conventional dating placed the fifteenth Dynasty to ca 1650-1550 BCE. However, recent revaluation of the archaeological and radiocarbon data urges a date ca 100 years earlier for the start of the fifteenth Dynasty and Khyan in particular, while further confirming the middle chronology for Mesopotamia (destruction of Mari by Hammurabi 1762 BCE, and the sack of Babylon by the Hittites 1595).[110] The transition into the seventeenth Dynasty and the New Kingdom period remains in the early sixteenth century BCE.

Not with-standing the issues around precise dating, the general principal that the period saw close links between the Levant and the eastern Delta remains true. Ryholt notes that there was 'extensive trade' between the two areas,[111] while Forstner-Müller suggests there were "reduced contacts" by comparison with those of the Middle Kingdom.[112] Certainly, there was an "intense trade" between fifteenth Dynasty Egypt and Cyprus.[113] That being said Forstner-Müller notes that the "extent of fusion between Egyptian and foreign elements in the Hyksos culture is without precedent in Egypt's earlier history".[114] The inscribed objects of Khyan that were found abroad – a basalt lion bought in Baghdad; a jar lid at Knossos; and stone vessel fragment from Ḫattuša, may indicate the international connections northern Egypt had at that point.[115]

105 Podany 2002, 136, Text 13, l. 29; Brinkman 2017, 5 fn. 22. The dissenting views are summarised by Podany 1997, 419 with references. Also note the suggestion that a dedication to Duzugaš or Duzabi might not, as earlier suggested, be identified as a Kassite god, Podany 1997, 419 and fn.s. 14 and 15.

106 For the sense of what was meant by the term Karduniaš see Richardson 2009, 25 and 30 fn. 8. See also van Koppen 2017, 76.

107 Burke 2021, 144-9, 270 and 338-42.

108 Vilain 2019 and Forstner-Müller 2022, 4.

109 Forstner-Müller 2022, 5. See also Schneider 1998, 169-70 and 178-80; 1998a, 5-81 for the extent of the evidence of semitic words and names in the prosopography of the middle Kingdom and Hyksos periods.

110 Höflmayer 2022, 19 and 20, fig. 13. For the sense of what was meant by the term Karduniaš see Richardson 2009, 25 and 30 fn. 8. See also van Koppen 2017, 76.

111 Ryholt 1997, 139.

112 Forstner-Müller 2022, 33.

113 Ryholt 1997, 142.

114 Forstner-Müller 2022, 6. See also the review by Mourad 2021 (especially 95-112) of Egyptian/Levantine (and beyond) relations during the period of the sixteenth-eighteenth dynasties.

115 Bietak et al. 2012-13, 25-6.

Against the background of the Hyksos Dynasty with its established trade, cultural and even personal familial/tribal links between the eastern Delta and the Levant and eastern Mediterranean, the Hittite kings Hattusili I and Mursili 1 conducted military campaigns in the northern Levant. Both Hittite kings recorded contact with the *Samḫarû* (H.1 and H.2). It is, of course, conjecture, but it is possible that the Hyksos with their background in the Levant would have been aware of the *Samḫarû* as well. Further, that though written material for the Hyksos dynasty is sparse, that it was at this point that the term *Sngr* entered the Egyptian lexicon.

If this proposition is correct, the term had to have remained in use, if not archival memory, for a century when it appears for the first time in a surviving Egyptian document in the annals of Thutmosis III's eight campaign in 1447 BCE, in the northern Levant (E.1). The main enemy for the Egyptians in this campaign – and indeed for many subsequent conflicts, were the *Mitanni* and *Retenu*. The first contact with *Sngr* was in the context of that war but was not hostile. After Thutmosis crossed to the eastern side of the Euphrates representatives of the polities not involved in the war – *Sngr*, Hatti and Naharin – presented gifts to the pharaoh.[116] A similar presentation of gifts from *Sngr* occurred in the reign of Thutmosis' successor, Amenophis II in 1418 BCE (E.3). Amenophis also recorded that among his retinue of women there were women from *Sngr* (E.2). This is the last representation of *Sngr* as a land that was not hostile to Egypt. The location of *Sngr* is not defined in either attestation. However, a century later the association between *Sngr* and the kingdom of Babylonia is explicitly made in the cylinder seal, almost certainly made in the Levant, which accords Kurigalzu (I/ II) the title 'chief of *Sngr*' (E.13).

What is unclear is why the people who had been present on the middle Euphrates in the eighteenth to early sixteenth centuries should have become identified with Babylonia. Indeed, identified to such an extent that the term *Sngr* should have been used in Egyptian and east-Mediterranean documents (and *Sanḫara* occasionally in Hittite texts) to designate Babylonia, while using the Babylonian self-identifying term 'Karduniaš'. The answer is unclear, but it is possible that if *Sngr* was just to the north-west of Babylonian territory on the middle Euphrates the link between Babylonia and *Sngr* would have been more easily made. The strategic point is that the Egyptians did make the link between the peoples who once lived and were active on the middle Euphrates with Babylonia. As far as the Egyptians were concerned the link was clear. This suggests that the Egyptian understanding of events in the sixteenth and early fifteenth centuries BCE was that an ethnically identifiable element of the peoples that lived on or near the middle Euphrates went on to establish the Kassite kingdom in Babylonia.

5.6 Agum on the Middle Euphrates

There are three elements to the question of whether or not Agum may be shown to have a link to the middle Euphrates. The first is the very origin of the name 'Agum'; the second Agum-bukāšu; and lastly the Agum-kakrime text.

Before the detailed discussions on each of these areas, the evidence, such as it is, of the three kings of the Kassite Dynasty who bore the name Agum should be summarised as it provides a framework in which to place the three elements noted above.[117] In this discussion I have identified the three Agum kings in three separate groups of texts:

- Agum I. The second king of the dynasty is only known from the kinglist and in a reference in the Agum kakrime inscription (identified here as Agum II).[118] I also tentatively assign to Agum I the very broken text in which 'Agum' appears to feature as a contemporary of Damiq-ilišu of the Sealand Dynasty.[119] A fort built by Damiq-ilišu's forces appears in Ammiditana's year name 37 (1647 BCE).[120] Obviously, the fort was built before 1647 BCE, but when is unknown so all we can say is that Agum I reigned before that date but may have been alive when Ammiditana destroyed the fort.

116 Sassmannshausen 2004a, 62-3 suggested that Kara-indaš may have been the Kassite ruler who presented the gifts. In this Sassmannshausen based his dates on a shortened chronology (2004, 65). This does present difficulties as would appear to suggest a regnal span of over 40 years for Kara-indaš and leave little time for the Kassite dynasty conquest of the Sealand.

117 Balkan 1954, 45-6 provided a brief summary of the appearance of the name. See Brinkman 1976, 95-9 for a summary of the source material for the 'Agums' of the Kassite dynasty.

118 See Brinkman 1976, 95 fn. 3.

119 Stein 2000, 177-8, Kc1.

120 Horsnell 1999, 319-20, no. 248.

- Agum II. Probably the most important of the three kings bearing the name as according to the Agum-kakrime inscription he restored the statue of Marduk to Babylon after it had been removed to the Land of Ḫana in the wake of the Hittite attack in the latter years of the reign of Samsuditana (1625-1595 BCE) – see discussion below.[121]
- Agum III. I identify this ruler with the Agum in whose name at least one economic text, found at Bahrain, was dated.[122] The Kassite Dynasty rule in the Gulf probably began in the third quarter of the fifteenth century BCE.

With this 'division' in mind, we can now turn to the detail of the issues noted above and the possible linkage between 'Agum', the Kassites and the middle Euphrates.

5.7 The Name 'Agum'

Leaving aside the kings bearing the name, very few instances of the name 'Agum' appear as a personal name. Agum does not feature in the 'dictionary' of Kassite name lists, nor in the Kassite-Akkadian vocabulary.[123] The origin of the name is obscure. Early attestations of the name might provide evidence for its origin, but they are rare. A person named Eniš-Agum appears three Ur III texts from Puzriš-Dagan dated to Šu-Sîn (2037-1029 BCE).[124] A person bearing the same name is listed as the father of a person living in Kisurra in the early Old Babylonian period.[125]

In Old Babylonian texts the name Agum appears twice, neither have the DINGIR determinative. Firstly, in a document from Sippar and dated to Samu-la-El (1880-1845 BCE) the activities of a linen merchant named Agum involved in trade with Susa are recorded.[126] A partnership contract from Kish (lacking a precise date) includes details of a man called Agum.[127] In the Kassite period, the name does not appear as an element in personal names. It does, however feature in five texts as the name of a fortress probably located near Nippur.[128] Three of the texts date to the reigns of Kurigalzu II (1332-1308 BCE), the earliest of which is dated to Kurigalzu II year 9 indicating that the fort was built before 1324 BCE. This further suggests that the fort was probably founded by Agum III a century earlier.[129]

None of the instances noted above provide clues to the origin of the name Agum. It is, however, possible that material from Ebla might help. In the Ebla documents dated to the twenty fourth century BCE there are references to ^{d}Agum in various contexts.[130] ^{d}Agum featured as an important deity in the ritual and structures associated with the royal burial ground at Nenaš/Binaš 20 km northwest of Ebla, just south of Aleppo.[131] ^{d}Agum also had a temple/shrine inside the royal complex, Saza, at Ebla.[132] The characteristics of ^{d}Agum suggest that it was a deity closely associated with dynastic religion and royal ideology.[133]

The few Middle Bronze age documents excavated at Ebla have yet to be published,[134] but it is apparent that some elements of the third millennium BCE Eblaite religious culture did survive into the sec-

121 See Paulus 2022, 815-17 for the most recent discussion of Agum II.

122 For what information is available see André-Salvini, Lombard 1997, 167; André-Salvini 2000, 113, no. 168. See also Clayden 2020, 96 fn. 18.

123 Balkan 1954, 2-11.

124 CDLI P104279, AUAM 73.0803: obv. 2; CDLI P107439, HE006: obv. column II:6 and CDLI P124926, VAT 6946: obv. 8. These references may be identified with the person noted by Balkan, citing Gelb, without text references, Balkan 1954, 46.

125 CDLI P502971, BM 23783: rev. 4.

126 Al-Rawi, Dalley 2000, 121-3, no. 115: 4 and 8. See also al-Rawi, Dalley 2000, 17-19 for a discussion of the Sippar/Susa trade relationship.

127 Dalley, Yoffee 1991, 17, no. 179, 21.

128 Nashef 1982, 88, supplemented by Sassmannshausen 2001, 462.

129 Sassmannshausen 2001, 370-1, no. 301.

130 Pomponio, Xella 1997, 19-23; Archi 1999, 149 (Agum) and 150 (Agu); Feliu 2003, 14 and fn. 52; Lönnqvist 2014, 254; Archi 2020, 17.

131 Bonechi 1993, 78; Fronzaroli 1993, 12, Text 1, (55), l. 15; Ludovico et al. 2020, 437-8.

132 Pomponio, Xella 1997, 21-2.

133 Pomponio, Xella 1997, 23.

134 Charpin 2004, 376 fn. 1966.

ond millennium BCE in the middle Euphrates area.[135] It is possible that the cult, or a form of the cult, of ^{d}Agum also survived into the second millennium BCE on the middle Euphrates, an area where ca 78% of the "designated inhabitants of cities or region … bear an Amorite name".[136] The association of this Amorite deity from north-western Syria with royalty and/ or possibly also through colocation with the site of Nenaš/ Binaš might have made the name attractive to early Kassite leaders.[137]

5.8 *Agum bukāšu*

A text dated to Samsu-ditana year 19 (1607 BCE), just 11 years before the end of his reign (VAT 1429 +150),[138] is particularly interesting as it includes a reference to 'Agum' and to the 'house of Agum',[139] and to Agum's title – *bukāšū* (chief, leader or a similar position).[140] The letter reports that messengers from the ruler in Aleppo en route to Babylon have been detained by Agum in the 'Houses of Agum'. Agum also sent the escort of the Aleppine messengers back.[141] In his discussion of the letter, van Koppen suggests two things. Firstly, that Agum was on friendly terms with Babylon but as "an ally, albeit of inferior rank, than that of commander-in-chief of its northern army".[142] Secondly that Agum and his encampment were located between Aleppo and Sippar. The route the messengers would have travelled would have been along the course of the Euphrates which strongly suggests that Agum must have been somewhere on that route north-west of Babylonia. Whether the settlement continued into the fifteenth century when Thutmosis III campaigned in Syria 140 years later (see E.1) is unknown.

5.9 The Agum-kakrime Text

Crucial to any discussion of Agum-kakrime is, of course, the one text we have that may be attributed to him.[143] The discussion as to whether the text should be treated as a genuine copy of an earlier document, or a latter forgery has apparently been settled by Paulus in favour of it being genuine.[144] There are two aspects to Agum-kakrime that are of interest in the context of this discussion. The first are his origins and the second his return of the statue of Marduk to Babylon.

In the opening lines of his inscription, Agum-kakrime records his conquest of Padan and (Ḫ)alman and resettlement of Ešnunna.[145] The possibility that these statements refer obliquely to the conquest of the Kassite centric 'kingdom' at Tell Muhammad at this period is not discussed here. Rather the point of interest is that the Agum of the B.5 document is a chronologically feasible candidate to have been Agum-kakrime for whom movement into northern Babylonia would have been his logical route.[146]

135 Biga 1998, 84. For other examples note the cults of Dagan, Feliu 2003, 62-277; Kura, Younger 2009; Stieglitz 2002, 212 (note however the argument by Sallaberger 2018, 111-14 that the deity Kura did not survive into the second millennium BCE); Ishara, Archi 2020, 17-30. See also the Eblaite deity Wadaʿān(u) which may be the 'ancestor' of a Canaanite concept known in the Bible as *yidʿônî* (Stieglitz 2002, 213).

136 Streck 2021, 1031, 7.2.4.

137 A manifestation of ^{d}Agum, ^{d}Agum of Saza, is the recipient of a key indicator of Amorite identity, an 'Amorite dagger', Lönnquist 2014, 254, further underlying the Amorite background to the deity. It is difficult to establish conclusively, but it is possible that the name Agum had a homophonic association with the word *agû* – a crown of gods and kings (Chicago Assyrian Dictionary A, 153-7).

138 Van Koppen 2017, 66 and 69.

139 Frankena 1974, 18-19, no. 24, 4', 5' and [9'].

140 Frankena 1974,18-19, no. 24 [9']. See van Koppen 2017, 49, 67 and 69 for a discussion of the term.

141 Van Koppen 2017, 69.

142 Van Koppen 2017, 69.

143 Brinkman 1976, 97, D^{b}.3.1.

144 Paulus 2018, 122-42. Podany 2002, 58-9 and van Koppen 2017, 65 argue that the inscription is a copy of an authentic second millennium BCE document. Brinkman (e-mail 11 December 2023) suggests that the case remains to be demonstrated conclusively. He argues that the text may "reflect genuine earlier history" but notes similarities in terminology in the text with the Kadašman-Ḫarbe I *kudurru* discussed below – which he has argued is an eleventh century BCE copy of an earlier text.

145 Fuchs 2011, 236-8 for a discussion of Agum II's move into the east-Tigris region (note Fuchs uses the short chronology), Paulus 2018, 128 and 2022, 815-16. The publication of the full corpus of Tell Muhammad tablets – the 30 tablets covered in the thesis of al-Ubaid 1983 (al-Ubaid, Clayden, forthcoming); and the much wider corpus of excavated tablets planned by Professor N. Laneri and Professor A. Rositani (announced at the RAI 68 2023, Leiden) will considerably inform this discussion.

146 See van Koppen 2017, 66 and Paulus 2022, 816.

The Agum-kakrime text also states that the king returned the statue of Marduk from Ḫana to Babylon after it had been taken from Babylon.[147] This document is plausibly (traditionally) linked to the raid on Babylon in or about 1595 BCE by Mursilis I.[148] In his discussion of the text Oshima demonstrates that "the land of the Hittites did not mean the Anatolian mountain regions, the territories of the former Hittites, but modern eastern Syria".[149] Equally the land of Hana was a territory that covered "a large section of the Middle Euphrates and the banks of the lower and middle Khabur".[150] Yamada has defined the region of Hana before it became a kingdom as "a tribal-geographic term denoting a branch of the Amorite people living mainly in upper Mesopotamia".[151] The statement that the statue was returned from Ḫana and not Ḫatti is striking and should be taken as written and not as a scribal error. As such the return for the Marduk statue from Ḫana urges a further link between the early Kassite dynasty and the middle Euphrates. It also has a political subtext in that the statement that the statue was returned from Ḫana is a reference to the Amorite kingdom(s) of the middle Euphrates.

We should also note that the Hittite texts recording the actions and outcomes of Muršilis' raid post-date the events, and do not explicitly state that the statue of Marduk – the key deity of the city of Babylon – was removed to Ḫatti.[152] Given the importance of a state deity, it might be expected that the Hittite texts would have noted its removal to Ḫatti. The clue as to why this is not the case may rest in the reasons behind the Telepinus' (1525-1500 BCE) creation of the Hittite source document for the attack on Babylon – the Edict of Telepinus.[153] In his study of the document Mõttus, who accepts that the attack on Babylon did happen, has argued that Telepinus' key motivation for compiling the document was to emphasise the importance to Ḫatti of stable royal succession and was not a historical record.[154] It is the interpretation of the event by Telepinus that Mõttus argues is open to question.[155] In other words there is little doubt that an attack by the Hittites on Babylon took place, but the details of the outcome are unclear.

5.10 'Houses of the Kassites'

The 'House of the Kassites'[156] feature in seven texts (Table V, H.1-7) and have been the subject of considerable discussion.[157] Contrary to the views of Brinkman and Charpin that the 'houses of the Kassites' are evidence for Kassite societal structure in Babylonia, van Koppen argues that they are direct references to Kassite settlements on the middle Euphrates.[158] More specifically van Koppen suggests a location for the 'houses' at Baṣ near modern Fallujah and Ramadi.[159] The earliest references to the 'Kassite Houses', and the arrival of the *Bimatû* in the late eighteenth century BCE[160] urges the conclusion that the establishment of the 'Kassite Houses' was linked to the arrival of the *Bimatû* who lived in them. The settlements would have had as a key focus the provision of mercenary forces to the kings of Babylon. The requirement for an interpreter to act as in Babylonian meetings with persons from the 'Kassite Houses'[161] suggests that as late as year 15 of Ammiṣaduqa (1635 BCE) the Kassites retained their own language – a key indicator of a separate ethnic identity.[162]

147 Oshima 2012, 242; Paulus 2018.

148 The precise date in Samsu-ditana's reign is unclear, see Richardson 2016, 108-9. The Late Old Babylonian evidence for Babylonian-Hittite contact is sparse. However, a text excavated at Babylon and plausibly dated to Samsu-ditana includes a reference to *ina* KASKAL-*ša maḫriti* ERIM *Ḫatti*, Kraus, Klengel 1983, 54-5, no. 3, 11; Klengel 1990, 185 fn. 15.

149 Oshima 2012, 246-7.

150 Arkhipov 2022, 382.

151 Yamada 2019, 1195 fn. 20 for full bibliography of previous studies.

152 See Richardson 2016, 108-10, Source 2 and 111-12, Source 4.

153 Hoffmann 1984, 18-19, §9.

154 Mõttus 2018, 41-50 and 57-60.

155 Mõttus 2018, 41.

156 See van Koppen 2017, 49 and 50 for the translation of the term in singular and plural form.

157 For example, Landsberger 1954, 62-3; Postgate 1994, 87; Pientka 1998, 259; Podany 2002, 49; van Koppen 2017, 49-51 and 55-6.

158 Brinkman 1976; 1980, 465; Charpin 1977, 68 fn. 27; van Koppen 2017, 49 and fn. 16.

159 Fallujah, Ramadi 2017, 49 fn. 17; see also Podany 2002, 50 who suggests a location north of Terqa.

160 See above, van Koppen 2017, 51.

161 Kraus 1977, 34-5, no. 47, 13.

162 Van Koppen 2017, 56.

The appearance of a 'House of Kassites' in a text dated to the Sealand Dynasty over a century after the reign of Ammiṣaduqa suggests that the generic identification of the Kassites was still in currant usage.[163] The specific toponym is not found in Kassite period texts, but there are nearly a hundred toponyms with the form '*Bīt*-name' are known.[164] This is a five-fold increase in the form seen in the earlier Old Babylonian period.[165] It is interesting to note that half of the Old Babylonian toponyms using the format '*Bīt*-name' appear in texts from Mari pre-dating its conquest by Hammurabi in 1760 BCE.[166] There is no evidence of a Kassite presence in the Mari texts, but the appearance of this toponym format in such concentration suggests that the Kassites might have adopted the format from the middle Euphrates practice.[167] However, a cursory examination of the references to 'Bīt-name' place names in Mari texts listed by Groneberg and subsequent publications show some indications of a link to Hana.[168] But the evidence is slight and further study is required.

A further link between the format appears in a Hana kingdom middle period[169] document dated to king Isiḫ-Dagan in which a royal land grant is recorded in the district of *Bīt*-Bidda.[170] The appearance of royal land grants in the Hana documentation as possible indicator of a Kassite influence in the region is noted above. *Bīt*-Bidda was an important city as Isiḫ-Dagan commemorated the foundation of a palace there in one of his year names.[171]

5.11 The Toponym Ḫana Associated with Kaššû

Of possible relevance to the issue of the return of the Marduk statue, is the ḪAR.GUD E tablet III commentary on ḪAR-*ra ḫubullu* tablets XVI-XX.[172] This document provides quadrilateral entries 'not only on the Akkadian entry but also on the Sumerian one'.[173] At l. 9 the document unambiguously identifies KUR *ḫa-ni-ì* with *ka*[*š*]-*šú*:

ku-ur-ḫa-an kur.ḫé.a.˹na˺ ki KUR *ḫa-ní* *ka*[*š*]-*šú-u* LUGUD$_2$.DA.MEŠ[174]

The tablet was excavated at Aššur and does, of course, date to the Neo-Assyrian period. However, the ḪAR-*ra ḫubullu* was composed in the Old Babylonian period (with later recensions) and the commentary does, therefore relate directly to a second millennium understanding of the toponym. This indicates that there was an understanding that the territory of Ḫana was in some manner linked to the Kassites.

5.12 Kadašman-Ḫarbe I *kudurru*

The Kassite involvement in events (including an 'uprising of the Ḫaneans' and a Kassite force) at the end of Samsu-ditana's reign and of the Amorite kingdom was recorded in a *kudurru* inscription of Kadašman-Ḫarbe I.[175] The Haneans were a 'clan' within the Amorite Conglomerate.[176] The genealogy of the Hammurabi dynasty also refers to "Amorite groups and Hanean soldiers".[177] Placing the Kassites in

163 Dalley 2009, 25-6, no. 7: 17' and 20'.

164 Nashef 1982, 53-74 and van Soldt 2015, 575.

165 See Groneberg 1980, 42-5.

166 See Groneberg 1980, 42-5.

167 Less than ten toponyms using the '*Bīt*-name' format feature in Syrian documents dated to the second millennium BCE, Marín 2001, 57-9.

168 E.g. *Bīt*-kapān, Groneberg 1980, 43; Durand 1988, 186 fn. 24.

169 Ca sixteenth century BCE, Podany 2002, 58.

170 Podany 2002, 130-2, no. 12, obv. 1.

171 Podany 2002, 131, no. 12, rev. 6'-9'.

172 Schroeder 1920, 102, no. 183.

173 Vedeler 2002, 21.

174 Kupper 1957, 41-2; 1972-75, 76; Clayden 1989, 51; Vedeler 2002, 22, fig. 2.2 and 101; Oshima 2012, 246.

175 Paulus 2014, 296-7, KḪI 1, lines I.1-13. Brinkman 2015 disputes the dating and suggests a twelfth/eleventh century BCE dating for the writing of the text while leaving open the possibility that it was based on an earlier document.

176 Burke 2021, 265.

177 Burke 2021, 300.

conjunction with the Haneans may suggest a linkage in geographical terms – that is a north-western origin of the forces hostile to Samsu-ditana. A similar list of forces is found in a text dated to Ammiṣaduqa year 18 (1629 BCE).[178] The document is a list of Amorite men provided by Ḫanean, Elamite, Kassite and Iamutbal military – a group of nationalities drawn from the north and east of Babylonia.

Richardson has noted that there are at least thirteen versions of the 'Fall of Babylon'.[179] There is broad agreement between the accounts that a variety of hostile forces brought about the collapse of Samsu-ditana's rule in Babylon. The accounts vary according to the perspectives of the various writers as to who was specifically responsible. In the case of the Kadašman-Ḫarbe I *kudurru* inscription the Kassite king appears anxious to align the Kassite involvement with Samsu-ditana's fall with two powers based on the middle Euphrates and beyond. This again suggests an association between the Kassites and that region.

5.13 Neo-Assyrian Omen

A Neo-Assyrian oracular text (B.6) lists the forces ranged against Samsu-ditana in a rebellion against himself and Marduk (l. 42). The list of enemies is extensive – Elamites (l. 31); Kassite (l. 32); Idamaraṣ and "the foreign troops that are with them" (ll. 33-4); "Ḫanigalbat and the foreign troops that are with them" (ll. 35-6); "the *Samḫarû* army and the foreign troops that are with them" (ll. 36-7); the Edašuštu[180] army and a host of un-named other forces. Richardson argues that the text characterises the situation in Samsuditana's reign as one involving "rebellious foreign mercenaries, the potential for civil revolt, and Samsuditana as the hapless victim", none of which are positive.[181] This suggests a post Samsuditana date for the composition of the text, but just how late after the reign of Samsu-ditana cannot be defined.

The account of Gulkišar's defeat of the troops of Samsu-ditana is broken but would appear to confine the conflict to the forces of Babylon and the Sealand Dynasty with no mention of Kassites, *Samḫarû* or any other nationality.[182] This confirms the Sealand authorship of the document even if the copy is early Kassite.[183]

5.14 Kassite Personal Names and Toponyms

A number of individuals bearing identifiable Kassite names appear in documents from two cities in north-western Mesopotamia. One, possibly two, Kassite names may be identified in the texts from Alalakh VII.[184] Given the complete absence of any evidence for Kassites in the extensive Mari archive, it seems improbable that the Alalakh individuals predated Hammurabi's conquest of Mari in 1761 BCE.[185] Further to the north in the Hurrian city of Tikunani on the upper Ḫābūr,[186] two persons (and possibly 10 further) with Kassite names appear in a long document listing 438 workers and dated to the time of Hattusili I.[187]

Forlanini argued that there are toponyms that might be associated with an early Kassite presence in the area.[188] In the Thutmosis toponym list discussed above, the names *'U-ra-ma*, *Ší-na-ra-ka-ya* and *Ší-nù-ra-g-an-na*, which Forlanini notes, might contain the term Šina/ura, which could recall Šinᶜar (the later form of Samḫara> Šamḫara>Šanḫara). Further study is required to confirm this suggestion.

178 Richardson 2010, 29 and 31, no. 44.

179 Richardson 2016. See Paulus 2022, 813-15 and Wasserman, Bloch 2023, 477-81 for a summary of the salient points of the fall of the Old Babylonian Dynasty.

180 See Richardson 2015 for a discussion of the significance of this term which Richardson translates as "an unidentifiable mob or militia" (56).

181 Richardson 2016, 118.

182 Zomer 2019, 3-37.

183 Zomer 2019, 26-8.

184 See Brinkman 1976-80, 466; Zeeb 2001, 543, AI T 238: 20, 33; 585, AI T 248: 9; Oliva 2005, 21; Dietrich, Loretz 2006, 91, AI T 412: 6-7 and Zomer 2019, 3 fn. 2. Sassmannshausen 2004a, 287-8 fn. 5 argues that there is only one certain Kassite name (Luttukinda, AIT 248:9), and a possible second individual, Nunigiyāšu, who he notes was "interestingly [...] in charge of horses".

185 This feature of the texts may help support a dating range of 1760-1680 for Alalakh VII to 1760-1680 BCE.

186 See Miller 2001, 413-14 and figure 1 for the location of Tikunani.

187 Salvini 1996. See also Richter 1998, 127; Zadok 1999-2000, 354-5; Brinkman 2017, 5; van Koppen 2017, 65.

188 Forlanini 2009, 56.

Van Koppen has noted the possibility that the toponym '*Samḫara*' (URU *sa-ʳam?ʾ-ḫa-ra-a-a*) appears in a Neo-Assyrian land grant of properties in the Tille region, north-east of the Jebel Sinjar.[189] The identification of *Sngr* with (Jebel) Siṇjar is on the face of it relatively straight forward. However, the region was identified in texts from Mari as Saggar (^{d}SAGGAR$_2$).[190] This urges the conclusion that *Sngr* is not a cognate of Sinjar.[191]

In the middle of the eight century, Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur, governor of Suḫû on the middle Euphrates stated that he was a "distant descendant of Tunamis-Saḫ, son of Hammurapi, king of Babylon".[192] 'Tunamis-Saḫ' is a Kassite name which was used by individuals in Kassite period texts.[193] The Kassite period toponym Bīt-Tunamis-Saḫ may indicate a specific location for the family at that time – north of Apsû-Ištar and Bīt-Pere'-Amurru, and west of Bīt-Ḫabban.[194] Bīt-Pere'-Amurru was one of the northern provinces of Kassite Babylonia that 'marked the border with Assyria'.[195]

Clancier has reviewed the link between the eight century BCE ruling house of Suḫû on the lower middle Euphrates and Tunamis-Saḫ of the Kassite period.[196] He argues that the link, including to Hammurabi, was not meant literally, but as symbolic and added prestige to the Suḫû rulers.[197] It also established a resonance with Adad-šuma-uṣur (1216-1187 BCE) who was from Suḫû where he may have served as governor before becoming king and who ousted the Assyrian rule established a decade earlier by Tukulti-Ninurta I.[198] In summary, though Tunamis-Saḫ has a clear Kassite link, and lower middle Euphrates link, there is no evidence of an eighteenth century BCE link to the middle Euphrates region.[199]

5.15 Cush and the Kassites

In 1884 Delitzsch proposed that "Cush, father of Nimrod' found in the Old Testament should be identified with the Kassites and located in northern Mesopotamia".[200] This view was followed in early studies by Haupt, but swiftly refuted by others – e.g. Brown.[201] The debate has continued ever since and remains unresolved.[202]

In 2003 Goldenberg stated: "the Kush who is the father of Nimrod is to be associated with the Mesopotamian Kassites".[203] The evidence for this assertion is drawn from Bib.1 in which Nimrod is identified as the founder of Babylon, Uruk, Akkad and 'Calneh' in the land of *Šin'ār*, and Nineveh, Nimrud and 'Rehoboth-Ir'.

189 Kataja, Whiting 1995, 60, no. 60, obv. 12' and van Koppen 2017, 84, Appendix 1, g.1. Note that the other two toponyms highlighted by van Koppen 2017, 84, Appendix 1, g.2 and g.3 date to texts of Assurbanipal and Sennacherib and to places very much east of the Tigris.

190 Ziegler, Langlois 2016, SAGGAR.

191 The oral history of the inhabitants of the village of Sinjar at Babylon preserves two points of interest. Firstly, the tradition is that they are descendants of people who emigrated from an area on the middle Euphrates in the Ḫit/Ramadi area; and secondly that 'Sinjar' was the name of one of Hammurabi's wives (Haider Almamori, verbal communication 25 August 2023).

192 Frame 1995, 295, S.0.1002.2, col.i, ll. 3-4.

193 Kassite period – Clay 1912, 139; Balkan 1954, 84; Limet 1971, 81, 6.3 and 96-7, 7.11; Hölscher 1996, 222; Sassmannshausen 2001, 150; Stiehler-Alegria 2004 (Christies 2001); Devecchi 2020, 378; post-Kassite period – Brinkman 1968, 254, no. 54.

194 Nashef 1982, 73.

195 Paulus 2022, 844.

196 Clancier 2021, 267-70 and 302-6.

197 Clancier 2021, 269.

198 Clancier 2021, 300-2. See Clayden, Schneider 2015, 356 for an example of a similar case of a later ruler establishing a link with an earlier ruler see the example of Assurbanipal mimicking a building inscription of Adad-šuma-uṣur.

199 Edmonds 2024 argues that Clancier's reconstruction of the Iron Age history of Suḫû is seriously flawed to the point of being incorrect. However, the argument Clancier advances regarding the Tunamis-Saḫ/Hammurapi link stand, and no firm link between Tunamis-Šaḫ and the eighteenth century BCE middle Euphrates region can be demonstrated. Clancier 2024 has also refuted Edmonds' arguments.

200 Delitzsch 1884, 51-5, no. 27; 127-9, no. 22.

201 Haupt 1884, 88-9; Brown 1884, 9-11.

202 For a summary of references see Burrell 2020, 148 fn. 46. For further references see also Goldenberg above, and Vlaardingerbroek 2014, 218 fn. 79.

203 Goldenberg 2003, 25 and 221 fns. 31, 32.

Balogh notes that the Egyptians used the terms 'Meluḫḫa' and 'Magan' for all "southern countries whether on the east beside the Persian Gulf or on the west in Africa".[204] Burrell, who refutes the link between Cush and the Kassites, agrees.[205] However, Burrell concludes that it is "highly probable that these easterners (i.e. the Kassites) were part of the continuum of Cushite peoples […] and it could be plausibly argued that the Cushan-Rishathaim (Judg. 3:8),[206] king of Aram-naharaim, is to be identified as a Kassite king".[207] The "main redaction of the book of Judges" was made in the late eight or early seventh century BCE.[208] However, the events in Judges in which Cushan-Rishathaim feature are generally dated to some point in the latter half of the second millennium BCE. Biblical Aram-naharaim is clearly identified as the area on and around the great bend of the Euphrates in Syria.[209] In Genesis 24:10 it is referred to as the homeland of Abraham's family.[210] Of course Naharain is very well known from Egyptian texts.[211]

If Burrell's suggested link between Cushan(= Kassite)-Rishathaim and the Kassites is correct (though the link must be considered doubtful), then it suggests an association in the writers of the Old Testament between the middle Euphrates and the Kassites in the second half of the second millennium BCE.

6 Conclusions

The history of the term *Šinʿār* shows a link to the earliest appearance of the Kassites in Mesopotamia. The peoples who bore the name *Samḫarû* first appear in north-western Syria in the middle of the seventeenth century and were part of the third wave of Kassite peoples who had begun to arrive in Babylonia in the late nineteenth century. The co-ordination in 1632 BCE outside Sippar of *Samḫarû* and *Bimatû* (an earlier wave of Kassite intruders into Babylonia) military forces in an operationally complex manner – a joint cavalry and infantry operation – suggests that the two had co-existed for a considerable period prior to that.

The abrupt appearance of the *Sngr* (i.e. *Samḫarû*) in Egyptian sources in 1446 BCE as envoys of a foreign power bearing diplomatic gifts, and the continued use of the term suggests two points. First that there was a retained memory in Egypt of the *Samḫarû* transmitted through the close contacts between the Delta and Levant during the Second Intermediate and Hyksos periods. Secondly that by the middle of the fifteenth century the transformation of a newly arrived people on the middle Euphrates in the eighteenth century – *Kaššû* – into the ruling dynasty in Babylonia was complete. The international community in the Late Bronze Age were aware of the relationship between the *Samḫarû* and the Kassite kings and their kingdom and. In internal records they continued to use the old term (exonym), while in international correspondence they used the toponym defined by the Kassites as the name of the land they ruled – Karduniaš (endonym).

What also emerges from this study is that while the origin of the Kassite tribes was from east of Mesopotamia, the foundation for the Kassite dynasty – the longest in Babylonian history – was on the middle-Euphrates in modern Syria in the second half of the eighteenth century.[212] It was from the middle-Euphrates that the Kassite rulers moved south-east to northern Babylonia and eventually rulership of the entire region. This was a process of integration and not invasion. The transformation of the Kassite mercenaries, widely in use in the late Old Babylonian period, into a ruling group as the Babylonian kingdom collapsed was not a single event, but took several centuries to happen. The archaeological evidence confirms this interpretation and suggests that rather than Kassite settlement coming west down the line of the Diyala, the reverse was true from the first half of the sixteenth century BCE.[213]

204 Balogh 2011, 162 fn. 111; Burrell 2020, 151.

205 Paulus 2022, 844.

206 The name may be symbolic and translated as 'Dark double-wickedness', Berlin, Brettler 1999, 514. O'Callaghan 1948, 122-3 suggests that the element 'Kushan' should be linked to tribes in the east and southeast of Israel.

207 Burrell 2020, 320.

208 Amit 1999, 509-10.

209 Andrews 2000a.

210 Paddan-Aram, a variant name for Aram-Naharaim, is also identified as the homeland of Abraham's family, Andrews 2000b. For references to Aram-Naharaim in Egyptian sources see O'Callaghan 1948, 131-42.

211 Gardiner 1947, 1: 171-80, no. 260.

212 It is possible that some of the very earliest Kassite forces in the region were subsumed within the *habbātum* forces that served in the wars in the Ḫabur and Sinjar states in the time of Hammurabi and later. See Eidem 2011, 18-22 for a discussion of *ḫabbātum*.

213 See Clayden 2024b for a review of the archaeological evidence for Kassite settlement east of the Tigris.

A possible viable model for how the Kassites entered and became integrated into, and finally ruled over Babylonia may be provided by the Amorites whose early history and rise to power is far better documented than it is for the Kassites. Burke's review of the Amorites shows clear parallels with the fragments we have of early Kassite history in terms of their gradual appearance in Mesopotamia in the late third millennium BCE and early second millennium BCE indicated by personal names; their early role as a military resource; the tribal structure of the society; language known only through names and adoption of the local culture with some modifications (but not many).[214] Prilinger has summarised the mechanisms and drivers that lie behind the movement of peoples (plausibly including the Kassites) in western Asia in the late third and early second millennium BCE.[215]

I believe that the two questions identified at the outside of this paper have been answered. The sixth century BCE compilers of the Old Testament referred to Babylonia as *Šinʿār* because that was the term used in the original compositions three centuries earlier, as well as in contemporary eastern Mediterranean circles reflecting the Egyptian usage that began a millennium earlier. Secondly that the proposition that the *Samḫarû* were part of the Kassite entity on the middle Euphrates who eventually took control of Babylonia and founded the Kassite Dynasty, is correct.

7 Tables

Table 1 Samḫarû in Hittite Sources

No	Ruler	Date	Text	Context	Reference
H.1	Hattusili I	1650-1620	Account of deeds in the reign of Hattusili I.	An account of a war between Aleppo/ Hurri and the Hittite kingdom includes a references to ÉRIN.MEŠ *Ša-am-ḫa-ri*/ *ru*, and another in association with Emar.	CTH[216] 14-15, KUB 36.103 + KBo 22.3', obv. II l. 3' and rev. II l. 7'; de Martino 2003, 100 and 106-7; Francia 2020, 178.
H.2	Mursili I	1620-1590	An edict which includes acts in the reign of Mursili I.	A broken section includes a reference to '[KU]R ^{URU}*ša-an-ḫa-ra*', but the context is unclear.	CTH 10.1; CTH 148; KUB 26, 74 i 10; Guterbock 1956, 103 fn. 3; del Monte, Tischler 1978, 344; de Martino 2003, 206-7, rev. l. 10; Tavernier 2010, 178-9; Francia 2020, 176, no. 1; Gander 2022, 543-5, 13.1.12.
H.3	Tudḫaliya III	1360-1344	An unpublished letter excavated at Šapinuwa addressed to the Great King and Queen covering diplomatic issues in western Syria.	The context is unclear but the cities of Šanḫara, Ugarit and Niya (situated on the Orontes) appear.	Or. 90/1766. Süel, Süel 2017, 31; Süel 2017, 636.
H.4	Suppiluliuma I	1344-1322	Ritual for summoning the 'male gods of the cedar'.	In a list of toponyms, and appear in the sequence – KUR ^{URU}*A-aš-š*[*ur*], KUR ^{URU}*KÁ*.DINGIR.RA (Babylon), KUR ^{URU}*ša-an-ḫa-ra* and KUR ^{URU}*Mi-iṣ-ri* (Egypt)'.	CTH 483; KUB 15.34, I, 57; Del Monte, Tischler 1978, 344; Forlanini 1999, 10; Groddek 2012, 37; Francia 2020, 176-7, no. 2.
H.5	Mursili II	1321-1295	Prayer of Mursili.	Mursili II accuses his stepmother, a Babylonian, of spending the king's wealth and importing items (unspecified) from ^{URU}*ša-an-ḫa-ra-az*.	CTH 70, KUB 14.4, ii 6'; del Monte, Tischler 1978, 344; Francia 2020, 177, no. 3.
H.6	Muwatalli II	1295-1272	Treaty between Ḫatti and Wilusa.	Text notes that LUGAL.KUR ^{URU}*ša-an-ḫa-ra* – 'the king of the city Šanḫara' – was a king of equal rank in the sequence - Egypt, *Šanḫara*, Hanigalbat and Assyria.	CTH 76, KUB 21 1 + 3, 10-12; Friedrich 1930, 1: 68-9 § 14, l. 11; Beckman 1996, 85, §11; Francia 2020, 177, no. 4.

214 Burke 2021, see especially 261-8, 270-6, 300-2 and 334-5.

215 Priglinger 2019, 210-14.

216 CTH = Laroche, E. 1971, Catalogue des Texte Hittite.

Table 2 Samḫarû in Babylonian Documents

No	Ruler	Date	Text	Context	Reference
B.1	Ammiṣaduqa	1646-26	Letter from Ammiṣaduqa, the king, dated year 15, month 6, day 18 (1632 BCE)	Report of Samḫarû troops – ÉRIN *sa-am-ḫa-ru-ú* érin-*um ma-du-um-m[a],* 'the Samḫarû, a large army'.	Kraus 1977, 34-5, no. 47, l. 6 (= AbB 7: 47); Richardson 2005, 273 (trans) and 274, no. 1; van Koppen 2017, 82 a.1.
B.2			Letter from Ammiṣaduqa, the king, dated year 15, month 9, day 16 (1632 BCE)	Report of a large force (1500 men) of Samḫarû and Bimatû troops in the Sippar region apparently intent of stealing cattle and sheep – *kaʾ-šiʾ-ʿxʾ-[d]a-ga-al sa-am-ḫa-ru-ú ù k[a]-ʿašʾ-[t]i-il* DUMU *be-[e]l-šu-nu pa-ni* 1500 ÉRIN *sa-am-ḫa-ri-I [ù]* ʿÉRIN *biʾ-m[a-t]i-i*, '… Dagal, the Samḫarû, and Kaštil, the son of Bēlšunu, at the head of 1500 Samḫarû and Bimatû troops …'	Kraus 1964, 2-3, no. 2, ll. 6-8 (= AbB 1: 2); Richardson 2005, 274, no. 2; van Koppen 2017, 82 a.2.
B.3			List from Sippar dated year 15, month 9, day 24 (1632 BCE).	List of beer expenses including beer for Samḫarû troops – 2 *pīḫu* ʿÉRIN *sa-am-ḫa-ru-ú* – '2 *pīḫu*-jugs (issued to) Samḫarû troops'	BM 86452, l. 5; van Koppen 2017, 82 b.
B.4			Letter from Ammiṣaduqa, the king, dated year 15, month 12, day 21 (1632 BCE)	Report of a body of Samḫarû and Bimatû chariots and troops – ^{giš}GIGIR.ḪI.A *ù* ÉRIN GÌR *ma-dam-ma ša* ÉRIN *bi-ma-ti-I ù* ÉRIN *sa-am-ḫa-ri* – 'chariots and much infantry of the Bimatû and Samḫarû'.	Kraus 1985, 132-5, no. 150, l. 11 (+ AbB 10: 150); Richardson 2005, 274, no. 4; van Koppen 2017, 82 a.3.
B.5			Letter from Sippir-Amnānum, but possibly written by a scribe educated in eastern Mesopotamia (?) dated Ammiṣaduqa year 18, month 6 (1629 BCE).	A letter including reference to Samḫarû women – *ša-am-ḫa-ra-a-ti an-na-ti*.	van Lerberghe, Voet 1991, 32, no. 12, ll. 7-8;[217] van Koppen 2017, 82 c.
B.6	Samsu-ditana	1625-1595	A Neo-Assyrian oracle text concerning events at the time of Samsu-ditana.	In a list of at least seven enemies Samsu-ditana faced, Kassite and Samḫaru forces are mentioned - *kaš-ši-ʿtiʾ* and *sà-am-*(*ḫa*)*-ri-i.*[218]	Lambert 2007, 24-5, ll. 32 and 36.
B.7	Ayadaragalama, First Sealand Dynasty	ca 1500	List of grain issues, dated year 21.	List of women of the palace to whom grain was issued for grinding including to ᶠ*sa-am-ḫa-ri-*[…] – a Samḫari[tû] woman.	Dalley 2009, 197, no. 372, l. 13; Zadok 2014, 227; van Koppen 2017, 83 d.

217 van Lerberghe, Voet 1991, 33 did not read the word as an ethnonym, whereas van Koppen 2017, 82 c did.

218 van Koppen 2017, 84 f. has doubts as to the restoration.

Table 3 *Sngr* in Egyptian texts

No	Ruler	Date	Text	Context	Reference
E.1	Thutmosis III	1479-1425	Annals of Thutmosis' 8th Campaign, year 33 (= ca 1446)	Gifts brought by the 'chief' of S*ngr* (together with those of the Hittites and Naharin) after a successful campaign (including a crossing of the Euphrates) against forces of Retenu (western Syria) and Mitanni.	Breasted 1906, 173, 204, no. 484; Sethe 1907, 700-1, k; Redford 2003, 75.
E.2	Amenophis II	1427-1400	Stele of Usersatet, Qasr Ibrim.	In the praise section listing the female servants Amenophis II has in his retinue including women from *Sngr*, Byblos, Alalakh and Arrapha.	Darnell 2014, 250-1.
E.3			Stela from Memphis, 2nd campaign, year 9 (ca 1418).	Record of Amenophis II's campaign in Syria, and a note that the 'chiefs' of *Ḫatti* and *Sngr* delivered gifts to the pharaoh and sought peace.	Helck 1961, 32-41, no. 375; Cumming 1982, 32, § 1309; der Manuelian 1987, 227, para 33.
E.4	Thutmosis IV	1400-1390	Interior left panel of a chariot in Thutmosis' tomb.	A topographical list in the form of name rings surmounted by images of captive figures of different regions.	Carter, Newberry 1904, 32, fig. 10; Simons 1937, 46-47 and 131, VIII (l.) 2; Helck 1961, 150, no. 1560.
E.5	Amenophis III	1390-1352	Scarab	A short text according Amenophis the title 'capturer of *Sngr*'.	Fraser 1899, 155, no. 34; Petrie 1917, xxxii, no. 17, pl. XXXII, no. 17; Gardiner 1947, 211, no. 286; Edel, Görg 2005, 4.
E.6			Medinet Habu inscription.	Topographical list of captives including one from *Sngr*.	Edel 1966, 2, no. 1, Tafel I.
E.7				As above.	Edel, Görg 2005, 141-2, Tafel X, D_N, l. 1.
E.8			Temple of Amun at Soleb.	Topographical list of bound captives on the temple columns including *Sngr*.	Simons 1937, 47-9 and 132, no. IX, l. 6; Jirku 1937, 27, V. (l.) 5; Giveon 1964, 245, col. V, A.1.
E.9			Temple of Amun at Karnak (debris).	Topographical list of bound captives on temple columns including *Sngr*.	Simons 1937, 49 and 133, no. X, l. 3.
			Temple of Amun at Karnak, south side of the pylon on the base of the statue of Amenophis III.	Topographical list of which only 3 names survive.	Jirku 1937, 30, no. VI (l.) 1.
E.10			Kom el-Ḥeiṭan (nw. of the Colossus of Memnon).	Fragment of a topographical list with part of a name ring preserved reading '*Sngr*'.	Varille 1935, 175-6, II.A, fig. 3; Simons 1937, 191; Kitchen 1965, 4, B.
E.11			Tomb 120 at Thebes, brother of Queen Tiy (wife of Amenophis III).	Wall painting showing the pharaoh on his throne with a line of bound captives on the dais including one identified as *Sngr*.	de Garis Davies 1929, 38, fig. 2.
E.12	Horemheb	1323-1295	Karnak, Temple of Amun, colossi at pylon X.	List of foreign captives identified in name rings including one from [*Sn*]*gr*.	Simons 1937, 52 and 135-6, no. XII, Series a, (l.) 1.
E.13	Seti I	1294-1279	Anastasi IV, papyrus	A set of instructions on what to prepare in advance of the arrival of the pharaoh including a special oil and horse-teams and young steeds of *Sngr*.	Gardiner 1937, 51, ll. 15.3 and 54, ll. 17.9-10; Caminos 1954, 200, l. 15.3 and 201, l. 17.8-9.
E.14			Karnak, Temple of Amun, triumph scene and topographical list, west side.	Inscription celebrating the pharaoh's conquests and a list of the pharaoh had over 'southern and northern foreign countries' and list of captives, including one from *Sngr*, identified in name rings surmounted by heads.	Simons 1937, 53-9 and 141, XIV, (l. 24); Epigraphic Survey 1986, 54, (l.) 27, pl. 15c; Kitchen 1993, 25, 31:5, no. 26.

No	Ruler	Date	Text	Context	Reference
E.15			Karnak, Temple of Amun, triumph scene and topographical list, east side.	Inscription celebrating the conquests the pharaoh has had over 'southern and northern foreign countries' and list of captives, including one from Sngr, identified in name rings surmounted by heads.	Simons 1937, 53-9 and 137, XIII, (l.) 26; Jirku 1937, 37, no. X (l.) 26; Epigraphic Survey 1986, 63 (l.) 26, pl. XX; Kitchen 1993, 23, 28:5, no. 27.
E.16			Qurnah, South sphinx, temple of Seti.	A topographical list of 31 or more toponyms.	Simons 1937, 59-60 and 144-5, XV; Kitchen 1993, 28, no. 14, 34:10. No. 10.
E.17			Temple at Wadi Abbâd.	Set of reliefs depicting the pharaoh killing prisoners, with a list of captives, including one from *Sngr*, identified in name rings surmounted by heads.	Simons 1937, 61-3 and 147, XVII (l.) 1; Jirku 1937, 37, no. XI (l.) 1.
E.18	Rameses II	1279-1213	Temple at Abydos.	Relief depicting the pharaoh killing a prisoner, with a list of captives, including one from *Sngr*, identified in name rings surmounted by a head.	Simons 1937, 75-6 and 162, no. XXV, (l.) 3; Kitchen 1996, 57, no. 32, 192:5 (l.) 3.
E.19			Temple at Aksha.	Topographical list.	Kitchen 1996, 71, no. 50, 211.1, no.4; Edel 1980, 65.
E.20			Temple at Amarah West.	Topographical list in a campaign record in which [*Sn*]*gr* features.	Kitchen 1996, 74, no. 55, 215:10, no. 4. and 75, no. 56, 217:5, no. 89.
E.21			Stela at Aswan.	Record of events in Rameses II's year 2 (ca 1277) including the presentation of 'gifts' by the kings of Ḫatti and *Sngr* following the pharaoh's military successes in Syria.	Kitchen 1996, 182, no. 121, 345:1.
E.22			Bubastis.	Fragment of a monumental inscription bearing a list of captives, including one from *Sngr*, identified in name rings surmounted by a head.[219]	Simons 1937, 77 and 163, XXVI, (l.) b. 4; Kitchen 1996, 58, no. 35, 194:10, no.5.
E.23			Karnak, Temple of Amun.	Relief depicting the pharaoh killing prisoners before Amon, with a list of captives, including one from *Sngr*, identified in name rings.	Simons 1937, 73 and 160-1, no. XXIV, no. 15.
E.24			Karnak, Temple of Amun.	Topographical list.	Jirku 1937, 42, no. XIX, l. 6.
E.25			Temple at Luxor, statue bases in forecourt (at south doorway).	Topographical list showing the name rings with captive figures, including *Sngr*.	Simons 1937, 70-1 and 155-6, no. XXII, l. g.3; Jirku 1937, 40, no. XVI, l. 3; Kitchen 1996, 52, no. 26, 184:5, nos 10 and 54, no. 27, 186: 10, no. 3.
E.26			Luxor, Temple of Luxor.	An element in a procession of figures each representing a mineral producing region, one of which, no. 24, is identified as *Sngr* bringing silver and precious stones.	Kitchen 1996, 411, 620:10, no. 24; Kitchen 1999, 418.
E.27			Serreh, Nubia.	Topographical list.	Kitchen 1979, 210-1.
E.28	Taharqa	690-664	Karnak, Temple of Mut.	Statue base bearing a list of Asiatics, including one from *Sngr*, in name rings, but not surmounted by heads. It is a copy of the list Horemheb (see above).	Simons 1937, 103 and 187, XXXVI (l.) 1.
E.29	Ptolemy III	246-222	Hieroglyphic-Demotic.	Account of Ptolemy III's campaign against Se(n)ger (Babylon) in 246/24 BCE, including a record of tribute.	Altenmüller 2010, 34 and 37-8, l. 42.

219 The section of the fragment bearing the name *Sngr* would appear to have been lost before it arrived at the British Museum and cannot now be located (Bierbrier 1982, 12, no.3).

No	Ruler	Date	Text	Context	Reference
E.30	Cleopatra VII	51-30	Denderah, Temple of Hathor	East stairway, Chamber W. Words to be spoken by an attendant of Re in a ceremony including a list of items from various locations including *Sngr*.	Rickert, Dil 2022, D7 l. 183.5.

Table 4 *Sngr* in East-Mediterranean texts

No	Ruler	Date	Text	Context	Reference
EM.1	Akhnaten	1352-1336	Letter (EA 35) from Tell el-Amarna.[220]	Letter from the king of Cyprus to Akhnaten in which the relative status of regional kings, including 'LUGAL *šа-а-ḫа-ar*', is noted.	Rainey 2015, 342-3, ll. 49-50.
EM.2	Kurigalzu I/ II (?)	?-1375/1332-1308	An inscribed cylinder seal found at Metsamor, Armenia.	Scene and an inscription describing Kurigalzu (II) as the 'great overseer of *Sngr*'.	Khanzadlan, Piotrovskii 1992; Collon 2011; Brinkman 2017, 11.

Table 5 *Šinʿār* in the Bible

No	Reference	Text
Bib.1	Gen. 10:10	'And in the beginning of his (i.e Nimrod) kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of *Šinʿār.*'
Bib.2	Gen. 11:2	'And it came to pass, as they journeyed east, that they found a plain in the land of *Šinʿār*; and they dwelt there'.
Bib.3	Gen. 14:1	'And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of *Šinʿār*, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim'.
Bib.4	Gen. 14:9	'Against Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim, and Amraphel king of *Šinʿār*, and Arioch king of Ellasar; four kings against five'.
Bib.5	Josh. 7:21	'When I saw among the spoil a goodly *Šinʿār* mantle, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight, then I coveted them, and took them; and behold, they are hid in the earth in the midst of my tent, and the silver under it'.
Bib.6	Isa. 11:11	'And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from *Šinʿār*, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea'.
Bib.7	Dan. 1:2	'And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his (i.e. Nebuchadnezzar) hand, with part of the vessels of the house of God; and he carried them into the land of *Šinʿār*, to the house of his god; and he brought the vessels into the treasure house of his god'.
Bib.8	Zech. 5:11	'And he (i.e. and angel) said unto me, to build her a house in the land of *Šinʿār*, and when it is prepared, she shall be set there in her own place'.

220 On the basis of a reference to a plague in the letter, Rainey (2015a, 1380) argues that the letter was addressed to Akhnaten.

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