Abhandlung

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Šulgi in the Kuhdasht Plain

Bricks from a Battle Monument at the Crossroads of Western Pish-e Kuh and the Localisation of Kimaš and Ḫurti

Abstract: Several exemplars of a brick inscription of Šulgi were found in the Kuhdasht Plain in the province of Lorestan, Iran. The reference to the destruction of Kimaš and Ḫurti provides strong evidence for the localisation of these two Zagros polities. The Ur III campaigns testify to the key role of the western Pish-e Kuh in overland traffic from the Diyala region or from Khuzestan to the central Zagros. As the source of the "copper from Kimaš," we propose the ancient mines of Deh Hosein.

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1 The Geographical Setting

1.1 Study Area in the Kuhdasht Plain

The province of Lorestan in western Iran is conspicuously underrepresented in archaeological and historical maps and overviews of the Early Bronze Age.[1] This results mainly from the relatively low number of archaeological investigations in that region. After the excavations and surveys of Schmidt in 1938 (Schmidt et al. 1989) and Stein (1940), a Danish–Iranian expedition conducted surveys in the areas of Shah Bodagh, Hulailan, and Kuhdasht from 1962 to 1964 (Meldgaard et al. 1963; Mortensen 1975; Thrane 1965). Clare Goff surveyed the plains and valleys of the Lorestan part of the Pish-e Kuh region ("in front of the mountain," i. e. the large area between the Kabir Kuh and the Kuh-e Alvand mountain ranges) in 1963/64, and she excavated at Babajan, in the eastern Pish-e Kuh region (Mirbag valley), in 1967 and 1968 (Goff 1968; 1969; 1970; 1971; 1976; 1977; 1978; 1985). Iranian archaeologists performed several small-scale surveys (Dehghani Fard 2005; 2006) and rescue excavations along the Seymareh river, mostly pertaining to sites of the Sasanian period (Moghaddam 2008; Darabi 2008; Amiri 2009; Hasanpour 2009; 2011; Lashkari et al. 2010). On the other hand, the Belgian expedition to Luristan concentrated on the Pusht-e Kuh ("behind the mountain") region, the

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[1] As examples, one may cite the work of Potts (1999) (with the wider region of Luristan treated for the mid-third millennium only) or the maps provided by Steinkeller (1982; 2013); for Luristan in the Bronze Age see Potts (2013).
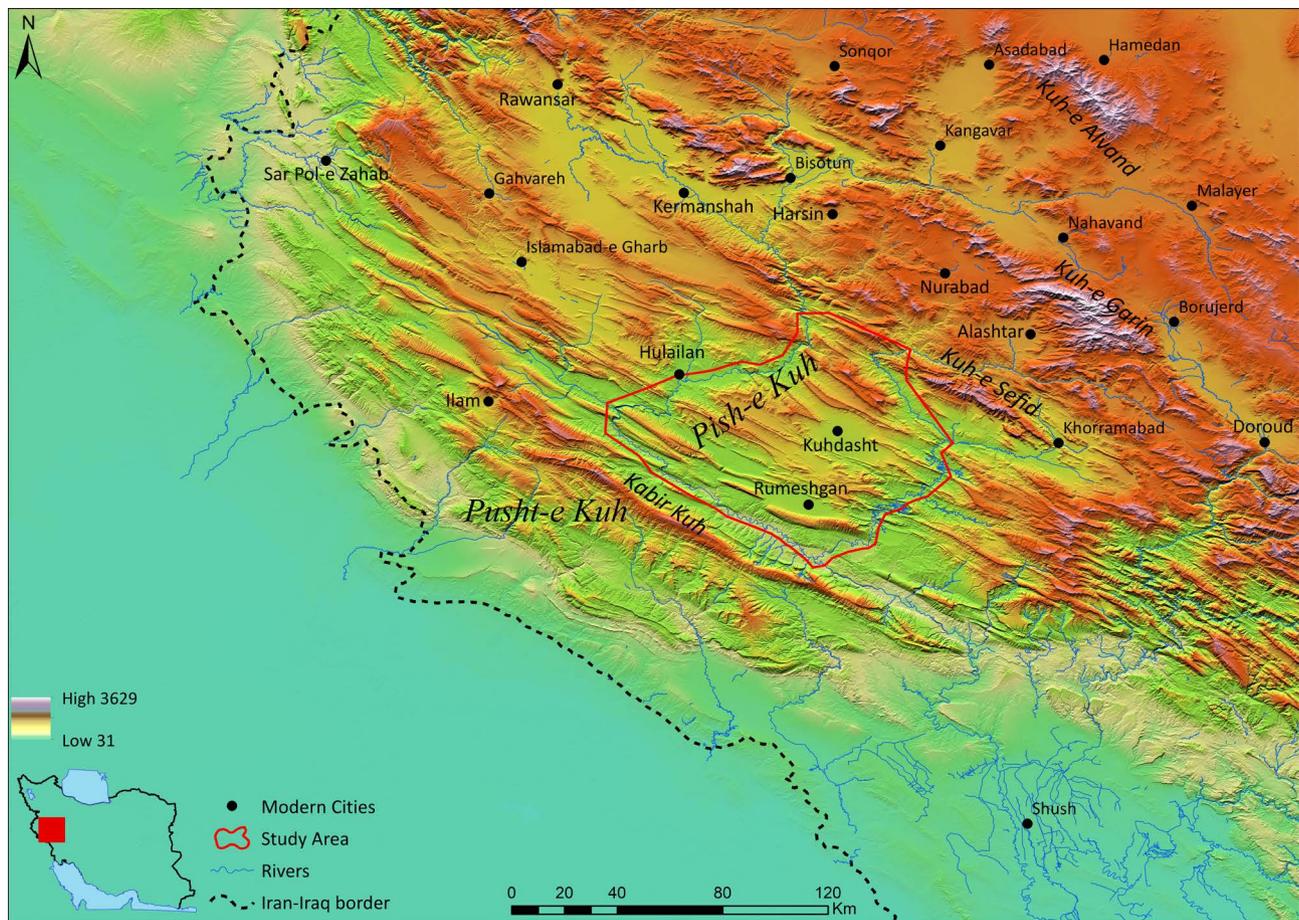
Fig. 1: The study area of the archaeological survey in western Lorestan (map by H. Ghobadizadeh)

western slope of the Kabir Kuh, nowadays in the province of Ilam; additionally, they investigated further Bronze Age sites on the eastern slope.

This dearth of archaeological investigations in western Lorestan motivated the first author (Hamzeh Ghobadizadeh) to conduct an intensive survey in the region around Kuhdasht (کوهدشت). The study area (see Fig. 1) was confined by the provinces of Ilam and Kermanshah in the west and in the north, whereas the eastern and southern limits were defined geographically, namely by the Kuh-e Sefid mountain (to the northeast) and the course of the Kashkan river (to the east and the south). The investigated area covers almost the entire western Pish-e Kuh region, i. e. the part of this region belonging to the Lorestan province. The area is situated between the two main rivers of the central Zagros: the Seymareh (or Saimarreh) River, which follows the area's northwestern, western, and southwestern borders with Ilam, and the Kashkan River, which curves around the northeastern, eastern, and southeastern borders of the area to join with the Seymareh in the south. The central city of the study area, Kuhdasht ("mountain plain"), is situated

within the largest plain of Lorestan, at 1,200 m a.s.l., a region well suited for agriculture, especially along the rivers.

The data from this survey combined with the available evidence from previous investigations has led to the identification of 371 sites located in the valleys of the study area, including the Kuhdasht plain, dating from the Bronze Age to the Sasanian period (Ghobadizadeh 2021). Of these, 104 sites (28 %) have evidence from the Bronze Age, the main period of occupation in this region, as is the case in the central Zagros in general; at 83 sites (80 %), the documented occupation begins with the Bronze Age. The most significant Bronze Age sites of the Kuhdasht plain are Chia Pahn of Kunani (25 ha), Surkh Dom-e Lori (21 ha), Sarenji (15 ha), Chia Pahn of Kuhdasht (14 ha), Lareh-e Lareh (14 ha), Murehkan (7.5 ha), and Jarali (6 ha). 40 sites (38 %) are larger than 1 hectare, with twelve sites from three to five hectares. The survey has revealed that, at Bronze Age sites, both a cemetery and a settlement can frequently be identified at the same place. In addition to seven cemeteries without settlements, there are 19 sites (18 %) with this pattern of cemetery and settlement in the same context. This pattern seems
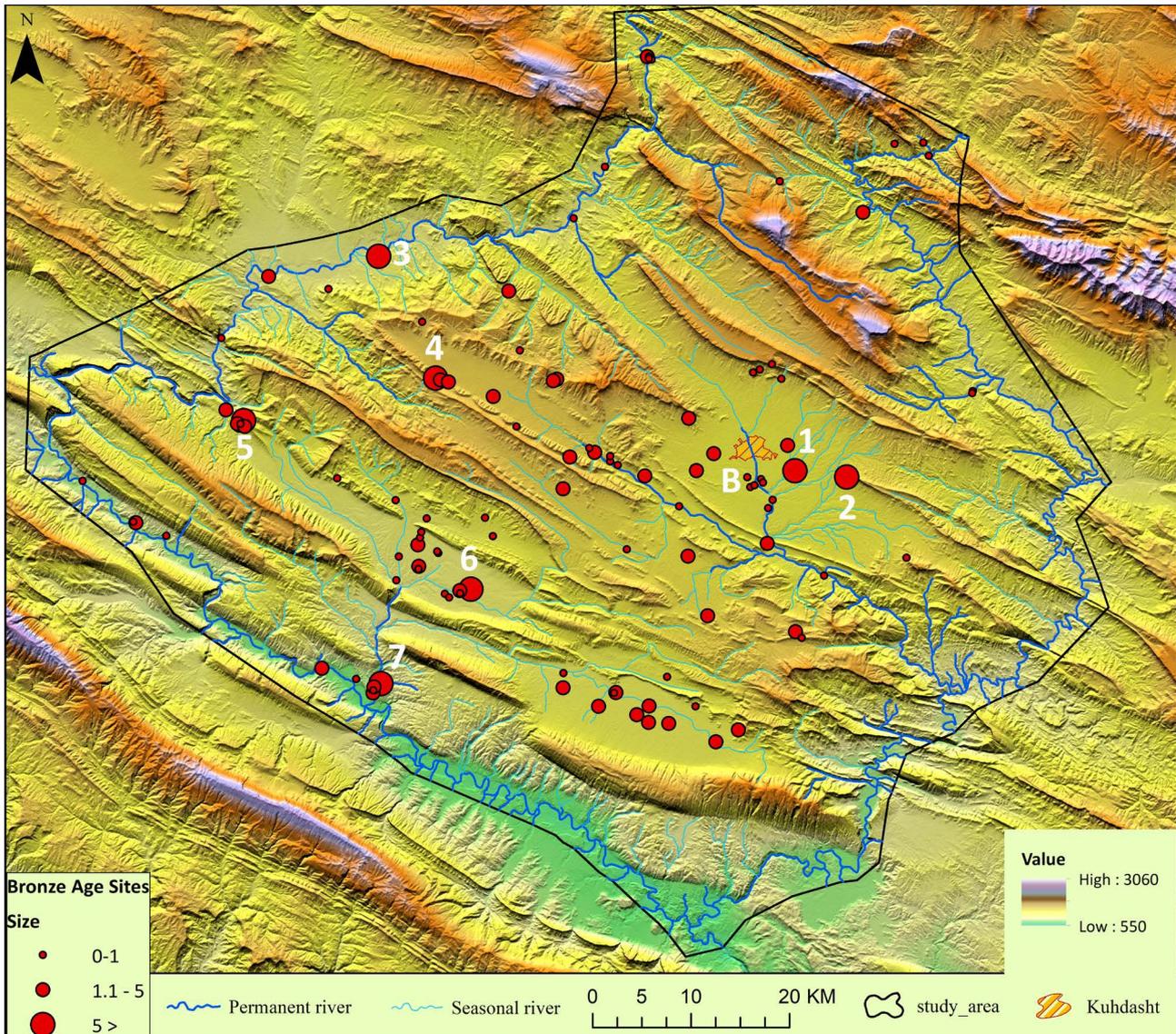
Fig. 2: Bronze Age sites in the study area (map by H. Ghobadizadeh)

1	Chiapahn Kuhdasht	5	Jarali
2	Surkh Dom-e Lori	6	Chia Pahn of Kunani
3	Murehkan	7	Lareh-e Lareh
4	Sarenji	B	sites with brick inscriptions

typical for the Bronze Age central Zagros, as evidenced by excavated sites such as Godin Tepe (Young 1969), Giyan (Contenau/Ghirshman 1935), Guran (Thrane 2001), Chesh-meh-e Mahi (Overlaet 2003, 55–58; Maleki 1964, 3–26), Jarali (Thrane 1965), and Kazabad (Stein 1940, 246). The pattern strongly suggests that a sedentary lifestyle was widespread in the third and second millennia BCE.

After the Bronze Age, 38 sites (37 %) were apparently abandoned, while other sites decreased in size; only in the Iron Age II in Lorestan did they increase again in terms of both number and size.

1.2 The Kushdasht Plain in the Road Networks of the Central Zagros

The orientation of the Zagros Mountains from northwest to southeast determines the courses of the rivers and major roads and thus channels human movement (Henrickson 1985, 5). The geographical situation, with only a limited number of suited gorges, passes, and valleys, confines the number of communication routes through the central Zagros region. The few viable routes are well attested by historical constructions like Sasanian bridges (see Fig. 3)
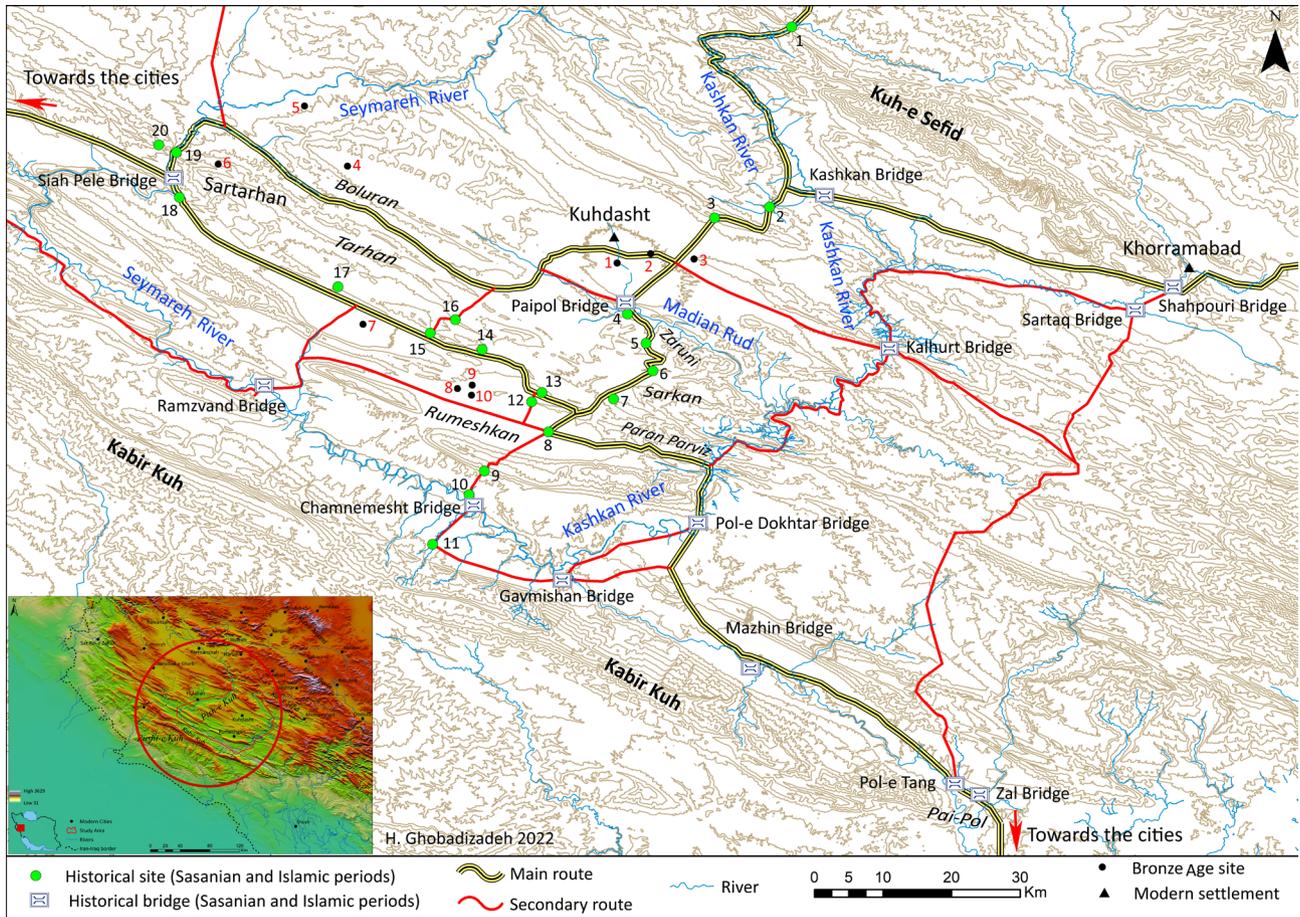
Fig. 3: Road networks in western Luristan

Historical sites

|							
1	Tang-e Gashomar	6	Qela Joq	11	city of Seymareh	16	Paiasen paved road
2	Tang-e Somaq	7	Baweh Heoui	12	Sedan castle	17	Shadab Kuh castle
3	Tang-e Goraz	8	Zaqeh	13	Gurbani	18	Zolalangiz fortress
4	Tubreh Rez	9	Merourah paved road	14	Neizeh castle	19	Revan wall
5	Kozhineh	10	Shakar castle	15	Khosroua	20	Sam castle

Bronze Age sites

1	Kani Joni	4	Sarenji	7	Chia Pahn Kunani	10	Mirvali
2	Chia Pahn Kuhdasht	5	Murehkan	8	Chia Sabz		
3	Surkh Dom-e Lori	6	Jarali	9	Kamtarlan		

or by Islamic inscriptions at critical points of the passage. The following short description of the road network in the central Zagros mountains is based on the more extensive documentation in the dissertation of Ghobadizadeh (2021), providing essential data to better understand the possible road networks in historical periods.

Kuhdasht occupies a strategic position between lowland Khuzestan (the province south of Lorestan, in which Susa is located) and the mountainous areas of the central Zagros, and some important routes have crossed the Kuhdasht plain. An important piece of evidence is the existence of historical bridges, especially dating to the Sasanian period.

According to Ahmed Parviz (2001, 4), "46 bridges were built on the rivers of Lorestan during the Sasanian and early Islamic eras". Close to some of the Sasanian and Islamic bridges, traces of older bridges can be observed, pointing to an even longer tradition of the roads. For example, the remains of two older bridges can be seen to the south of the Sasanian-Islamic-period Kashkan bridge (northeast of Kuhdasht). Two main routes can be identified: the south-north route that linked southern and southwestern Iran with the central and northern Zagros, and the west-east route from the Diyala region and Mesopotamia to central Iran, passing through Kuhdasht.

1.2.1 South-North Route from Susa to the Kuhdasht Plain and to Hamedan (Eastern Branch)

From Susa, the route turns north towards Pai-Pol, the southern region of Lorestan bordering on Khuzestan, crossing two bridges near the border: Zal Bridge and Pol-e Tang (see Fig. 3). The continuing route follows the ranges in the fold of the Zagros mountains in a north-westerly direction. Edmonds (1922, 336–338) identified four branches leading to the north, mainly to Khorramabad (Shahpourkhast) and further to Borujerd. Other branches lead in the northwest direction to the Pusht-e Kuh region, in the valleys parallel to the Kabir Kuh mountain range.

Coming from the south, the principal gateway to the highlands is the gorge of Pol-e Dokhtar (Jaider), where the famous Sasanian bridge and the city of the same name are situated. The route continues to the north along the Kashkan river, preferably along its orographically left bank. After the gorge, near the village of Paran Parviz, it turns to the northwest—essentially following the vale of Rumeshkan, through which the modern road from Khuzestan to Kermanshah passes.

Near the site of Zaqeh, with remains from the Parthian to the Islamic periods, two different routes can be taken. The one to the northwest follows the valley to the village of Sartarhan and the bridge of Siah Pele. In the narrow gorge of Siah Pele, it merges with the east-west route that connects the Diyala region to the Kuhdasht plain (section 1.2.2 below). The second route instead continues north and enters the Kuhdasht plain at its main southern access point, in the Baweh Heoui area, at a site of the same name. Passing through the zones of Baweh Heoui and Sarkan, it reaches the Madian Rud river in the area of Zaruni, a region with significant remains from the Parthian, Sasanian, and Islamic periods at the site of Qela Joq and the cemetery of Kozhineh (Parviz/Mahdar 2005). The river crossing at the Paipol bridge allows access to the Kuhdasht plain, and the route passes the large sites of Surkh Dom-e Lori and Chia Pahn (see 1.1 above), as well as Kani Joni, the site just south of Kuhdasht in focus in this article. In this area around Kuhdasht, the north-south route merges with the main east-west route. Continuing north, it passes the Somaq area and reaches the Kashkan river at the Kashkan Bridge, the largest ancient bridge in Iran. From there, one branch again splits off from the east-west route, following a valley in the northwest direction and passing the Kuh-e Sefid range at the gorge of Gashomar, the only possible passage through the mountains in this area. The other branch, now merged with the east-west route, runs through the eastern Pish-e Kuh, crossing the counties of Selseleh and Delfan and continuing towards the city of Hamedan, passing by the Achaemenid rock inscriptions known as Ganjnameh.

This route provides the main connection between the northern highlands of Iran and the central Zagros on the one side, and Khuzestan with its centre in Susa on the other side. An alternative route from Khuzestan towards the north, along the Dez river, crosses rough terrain and has never played the same role in the course of history as the routes described here.

1.2.2 West-East Route from Qasr-e Shirin to Khorramabad

The Kuhdasht plain also forms part of a main west-east connection through the central Zagros, leading from the Diyala region to Khorramabad. It thus provides the most important access to the Iranian highlands from Mesopotamia south of the Khorasan Road, as pointed out also by Henrickson (1985, 7).

This east-west route branches off from the Khorasan Road at Qasr-e Shirin, near the modern border between Iraq and Iran. It follows the main direction of the Zagros, towards the southeast through Gilan-e Gharb (situated southwest of Islamabad-e Gharb), thereby passing the region of Ivan with many Bronze Age sites investigated by the Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran. The route follows the vale of Tarhan and reaches the Seymareh river at the bridge of the Siah Pele gorge. It there continues upstream along the Seymareh river, to the north, and then leaves the river and turns southeast into the Boluran valley. After crossing the Kuhdasht plain, the route passes the Kashkan bridge on the Kashkan river. From the valley of Khorramabad, either Borujerd or the central and eastern regions of the Iranian highlands can then be reached.

The north-south routes described above in section 1.2.1 and the east-west route merge in some of their segments, as mentioned in their descriptions. In addition to the main routes described here, various secondary routes branched off in order to reach adjacent regions.

2 The Archaeological Evidence

2.1 Kani Joni

Most of the inscribed bricks that form the focus of this article stem from the site of Kani Joni (کنی جونی) I (742400.43 E, 3709682.95 N; 1190 meters a.s.l.), a site in an agricultural plain with a very slight elevation towards the middle of the

Fig. 4: Site of Kani Joni (photo by H. Ghobadizadeh)

site (see Fig. 4, 5). Kani Joni ("spring of Joni") lies five kilometres south of the city of Kuhdasht, and two kilometres south of the village of Chenar-e Pain. It is situated close to the large site of Surkh Dom-e Lori (21 ha, سُرخ دُم لری) with remains from the Bronze and Iron Ages, whereas Surkh Dom-e Leki, the other large site in the region, dates to the Seleucid period. The Godar Pahn river of the Kuhdasht plain flows by the site at a distance of 100 meters, a river full of water in the past but nowadays shallow due to recent droughts and polluted by the sewage from residential quarters of Kuhdasht. The river flows into the Madian Rud (Mania River) in the area of Zaruni. The spring known as Kani Joni was located 70 meters north of the site; it used to supply water for the residents, but is now completely dried up, due to the digging of deep wells for farming to the west of it.

Kani Joni I was visited for the first time on February 25, 2015, by the board for the registration and identification of cultural-historical sites of Kuhdasht, under the direction of Amir Mansouri, and it was recorded as no. 31472 in the list of national sites. Four fragments of inscribed bricks – further exemplars of the inscription published in this article – were discovered during this survey and are now

kept in the Falak-ol-Aflak Museum, Khorramabad (Mansouri 2015).

Annual deep ploughing in this agricultural area and illicit diggings have caused irreparable damage to the site. In order to protect the site, the Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization of the province of Lorestan decided to determine its geographical extent.[2] In this undertaking, 30 test trenches (three of 1.5×1.5 m, 27 of 1×1 m) were opened, of which five trenches at the centre of the site (SW4, W3, NE3, E3, and SE3) reached the surface of archaeological levels, whereas the other 25 trenches provided no archaeological evidence except pottery fragments collected on the surface. The area of the site of Kani Joni, or what was left of it, was determined to be 0.1497 ha. The material collected from the trenches and the surface included pottery (343 fragments), stone tools (11), fragments of uninscribed (11) and inscribed

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2 This program was carried out with permission number 97102056 dated 04/12/2017 by the Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research (ICAR) and under the supervision of Hamzeh Ghobadizadeh for 28 days from 17/04/2017 to 15/05/2017.
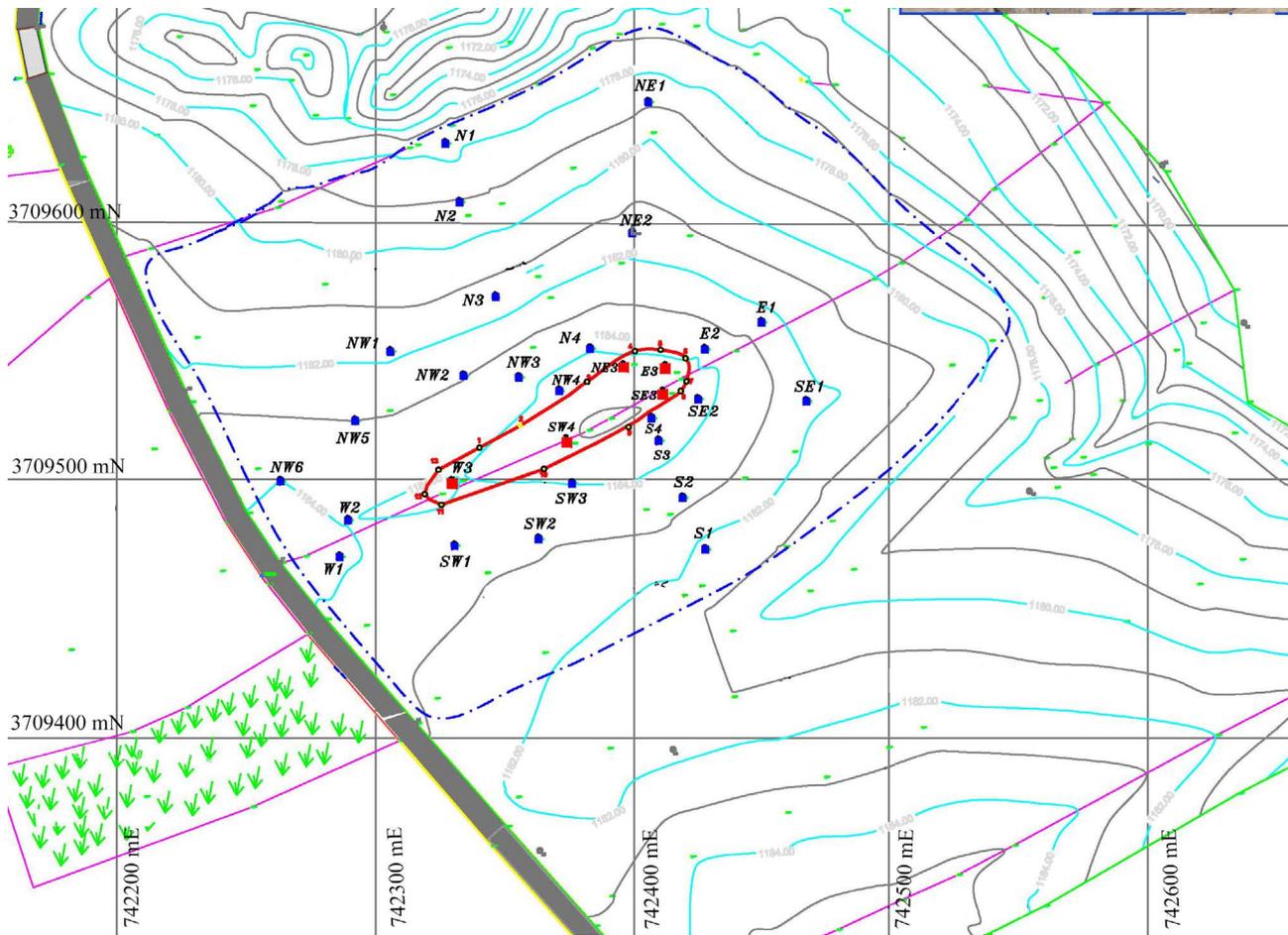
Fig. 5: Kani Joni I with the location of the test trenches (after Ghobadizadeh 2017)

(6) bricks, fragments of terracotta objects (3), bones (15), and metal (2).

The same assortment of materials has regularly surfaced through ploughing in this area. This includes bones, appearing especially in the west (near the road), and bricks, mainly in the central part, as well as fragments of pottery and scraps of metal. According to orally transmitted reports from locals, a packed layer of bricks, small stones, and pebbles protected the layer of (human) bones below.

2.2 The Pottery from Kani Joni

The pottery found in the test trenches at Kani Joni (see below Appendix 1) belongs to the traditions of the monochrome painted pottery from phase III of the site of Godin Tepe, situated in the Kangavar Valley. Godin III provides the basis for the typology and chronology of Bronze Age pottery in the whole central Zagros region.

Godin III (around 2600–1400 BCE) covers most of the central Zagros Bronze Age in terms of distribution and scope of time. Godin III begins after Godin IV, around 2700 BCE (Potts 2013, 207; Henrickson 2011). The chronology of the early periods, Godin III:6 to Godin III:4, is based on parallels with Mesopotamia and the cultural sequence of Susa in the Khuzestan plain; the pottery of this period confirms the cultural connections with these regions. The dates proposed by Henrickson (2011, 211) are commonly used and are therefore given here:

phase III:1	post 1400 BCE
phase Post-III:2	1600–1400 BCE
phase III:2	1900–1600 BCE
phase III:3	1900 BCE
	(not relevant; see Henrickson 1986, 29 fn. 13)
phase III:4	2100–1900 BCE
phase III:5	2400–2200 BCE
phase III:6	2600–2400 BCE

In Lorestan, the Bronze Age chronology is based on the excavations of the Holmes Archaeological Expedition directed by Erich Schmidt in the Pish-e Kuh and Kuhdasht. Based on the excavation of sites like Mirvali, Chia Sabz and Kamtarlan in Rumeshkan and Surkh Dom-e Luri in the Kuhdasht plain, Schmidt divided the Bronze Age into three phases: Early Bronze Age (2900–2000 BCE), Middle Bronze Age (2000–1600 BCE), and Late Bronze Age (1600–1200 BCE) (Schmidt et al. 1989, vol. 1, 131). According to Schmidt's classification, the Kani Joni pottery belongs to the Middle Bronze Age (2000–1600 BCE).

The pottery collected at the site of Kani Joni (Appendix 1) looks mostly similar to the types of Godin III:2, but three pieces belong to Godin Post-III:2 (see Appendix 2).[3] Godin III:2 represents the dominant phase in the central Zagros (Henrickson 1986, 26), while Godin III:4, the pottery associated with 2100–1900 BCE according to Henrickson's chronology, was not present in the pottery from the Rumeshkan valley that was available to Henrickson (1986, 23), and he had no data from the Kuhdasht region at his disposal. Therefore, the designation of the pottery as "Godin III:2" pertains provisionally more to typology than to chronology. If the correlation of the pottery with the burial mounds dated by the Šulgi inscription (see below section 5) can be proven archaeologically, this would represent an invaluable anchor point for the early phase of Godin III:2 and/or the problem of the 'missing' pottery of phases Godin III:3 and Godin III:4 in the Rumeshkan and Kuhdasht regions. Potts (2013, 210 f.) documents how little is known about Luristan in the late Early Bronze Age, corresponding to the Mesopotamian periods from Late Akkade to early Isin-Larsa.

It must be noted in this regard that there is no evidence from the survey and test trenches to suggest that the bricks were re-used in secondary contexts.

2.3 Other Sites with Inscribed Bricks

After the project for determining the extent of Kani Joni was carried out in 2017, the Directorate of Lorestan Cultural Heritage requested a wider survey from Hamzeh Ghobadizadeh in 2020.[4] During this survey, 117 sites from the Palaeolithic to the Islamic periods were identified in the Darb-e Gonbad District in Kuhdasht County. Aside from

Kani Joni, fragments of inscribed bricks were found on the surface at four further sites, and all these sites are situated in close vicinity to Kani Joni along the Godar Pahn river: Kani Joni II, Chenar-e Pain (چنار پایین), Hour Soleiman (حور سلیمان), and Chia Puikeh (چیاپویکه) (see Fig. 6). All four of them are flat sites, like Kani Joni I, and, since they did not suffer from illicit diggings, the amount of diagnostic pottery found on the surface was insufficient for dating.

3 Inscribed Bricks

3.1 Preservation and Features

The local inhabitants have long known Kani Joni as a source of baked bricks that they could use as building material or to cover their graves. This source was most welcome in the Kuhdasht plain, where stones had to be brought from the mountain ranges and were not readily available. As Khodamorad Azadbakht, a ninety-year-old farmer from Chenar-e Pain, told Hamzeh Ghobadizadeh, bricks collected at the site were purchased by a citizen from Kuhdasht for the building of his new house back in 1937 CE (1335 AH); this house, however, was destroyed in the Iraq–Iran war and no more traces could be found. Furthermore, as already mentioned, more fragments of bricks are turned up every year by ploughing. The site has therefore experienced substantial losses in archaeological material over time, especially in the past century.

Although all bricks discovered during the investigations are fragmentary, the large fragment found at Chenar-e Pain (ChPa 1 in the catalogue below) can be determined to have originally measured 38 × 38 × 8 cm, with the frame of the inscription measuring 14 × 25 cm (width × height). One brick from Kani Joni I (KJ1 5) fits in the same range. This was apparently the standard size of bricks, slightly larger than the most common size of Ur III baked bricks, 31 to 33 or 37.5 cm (Sauvage 1998, 128; but see 417 pl. 27 a). Exemplar X, a brick known only from a photograph, probably represents a half-brick format with the frame of the inscription starting in the upper left corner.[5] The bricks, with their thickness of 7 to 8 cm, are relatively thin.[6]

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[3] The Middle Elamite pottery (Godin Post-III:2) fragments indicate some later occupation in this area, but without a proper archaeological investigation no further conclusions are permitted.

[4] Permission number 4604/133/982 from the Cultural Heritage Research Institute of Iran.

[5] It is impossible to determine the size of the brick on the photograph published by Schuler (1967), since the lower and perhaps also the upper edge were cut off by the photo. If the left and right sides are original, the width was ca. 21–22 cm, assuming that the lines were 2 cm high, as on the other bricks.

[6] The tabulation of Sauvage (1998, 417 Pl. 27 b) indicates that bricks over 34 cm long are 8–10 cm thick.
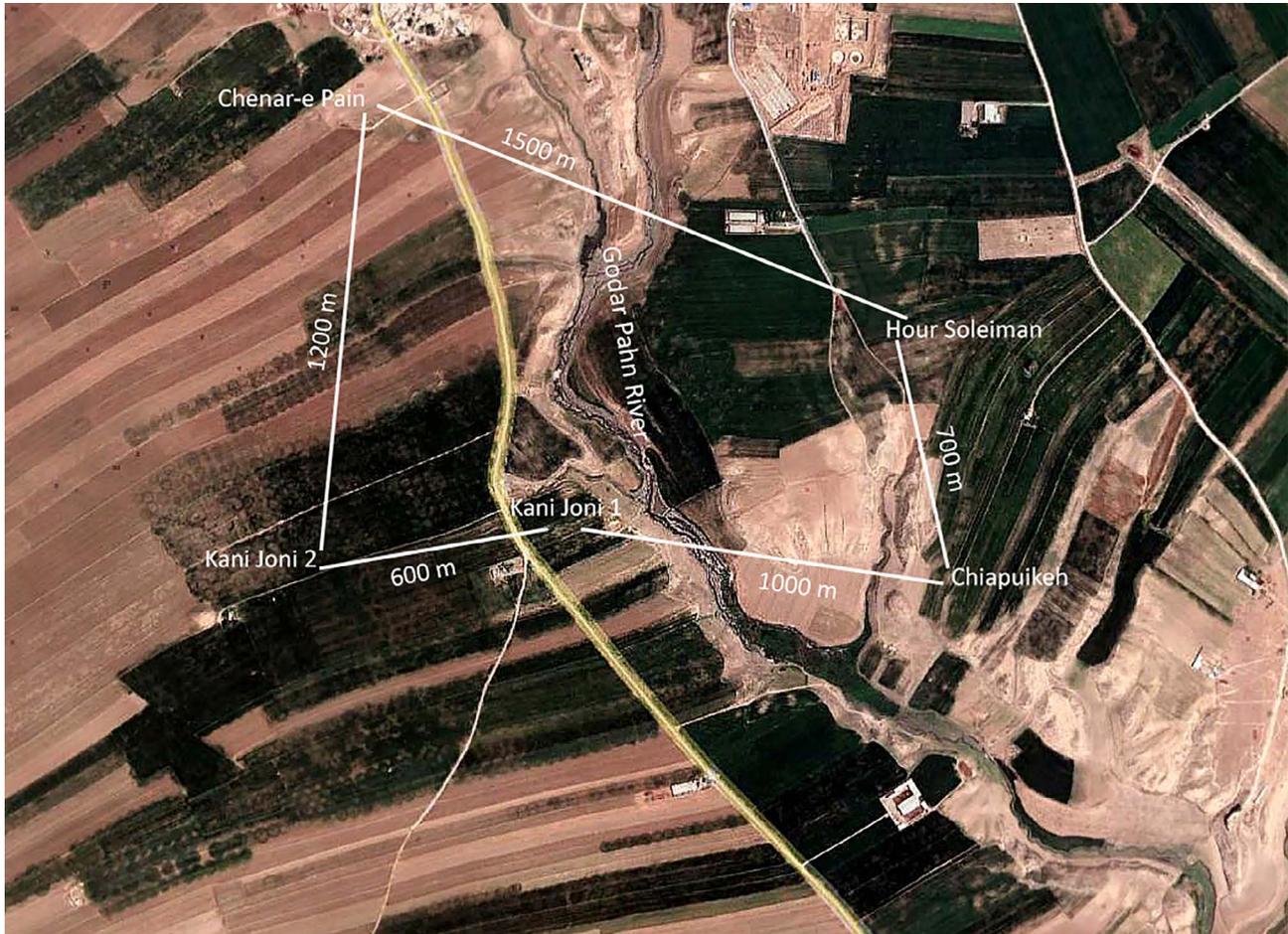
Fig. 6: Sites with finds of inscribed bricks in the region of Kani Joni

All bricks are baked and tempered with chaff and sand. It seems that the surfaces of inscribed bricks were more often smoothed, whereas this can rarely be detected on uninscribed fragments.

The surface of the Chenar-e Pain fragment (ChPa 1) was covered by a thin slip of a greenish fine clay, into which the cuneiform signs were impressed.

The flat surface of the brick from Chia Puikeh (Chpu 1) was coloured red, whereas the impressed cuneiform signs appear in the light colour of the baked clay. Red paint could have been obtained from deposits of red ochre in this iron-rich region, and red rock paintings are in fact known from the Kuhdasht region (e. g. Humyan, Mirmalas, Doushe cave), often showing horse-riders and thus dating from the Bronze Age onwards. The red colour was clearly applied after the baking of the inscribed brick, and the sharp differentiation of the cuneiform signs excludes a secondary deposit. This strongly suggests that the flat surface was coloured in red to make the white signs appear more clearly. The surfaces of other bricks do not display a similar treatment; this may also have been caused by weathering.

The brick from Kani Joni II (KJ2 1) was covered by a thin layer of bitumen. Bitumen from Kuhdasht, well-known in Iran, can be found in various places in the mountain ridges north of Kuhdasht, and, as shown by analysis, it was also used as fuel in Bronze Age metallurgy. The brick is coated evenly in a thin bitumen layer, and the inscription can be read under the black paint. In our view, this excludes the well-known usage of bitumen as a kind of mortar, especially found when constructions and installations were in contact with water.

The evidence of one red and one black fragment, and these from two different sites, is exceptional, but still far too meagre to propose a display of bricks in various colours on the facades of the monuments.

3.2 Catalogue of Inscribed Bricks from the Kuhdasht Plain

siglum	brick, provenance	width × height × thickness (in cm)	lines
ex. 1	von Schuler, BJVF 7 293–95 and pl. 3, present whereabouts unknown (CDLI P430083 = P273292)	–	1–14
KJ1 1	Kani Joni I, section E3	13.5 × 9.5 × 7*	4–9
KJ1 2	Kani Joni I, section E3	16 × 12 × 6	1–3
KJ1 3	Kani Joni I, section E3	14 × 15 × ?	13–14
KJ1 4	Kani Joni I, section SE3	11.5 × 8.5 × 7*	5–6
KJ1 5	Kani Joni I, section NE3	24.5 × 18.5 × 8*	10–14
KJ1 6	Kani Joni I, from surface	8.5 × 11.5 × 7*	10–14
KJ2 1	Kani Joni II, surface; brick covered by bitumen	16 × 10 × 8*	2–5
ChPa 1	Chenar-e Pain, surface; inscription written in slip	38* × 35 × 8* inscription 14 × 25	1–12
ChPa 2	Chenar-e Pain, surface	19 × 12 × 6	8–14
HS 1	Hour Soleiman, surface	16 × 26 × 8*	2–9
HS 2	Hour Soleiman, surface	14 × 19 × 7*	12–14
HS 3	Hour Soleiman, surface	10 × 18 × 8*	13–14
ChPu 1	Chia Puikeh, surface; traces of red colour on surface	6 × 12.5 × 5	4–6
X	exemplar known from photograph; half brick	–	1–4

* marks fully preserved sides

The bricks from Kani Joni, Chenar-e Pain, Hour Soleiman, and Chia Puikeh are all now kept in the Falak-ol-Aflak Castle Museum, Khorramabad, the archaeological museum of Lorestan. Four additional bricks from Kani Joni found during the survey of Amir Mansouri (2015) are kept in the same museum.

4 The Brick Inscription

4.1 The Brick Inscription Published by Schuler (1967)

The baked bricks found at various sites, namely Kani Joni, Chenar-e Pain, Hour Soleiman, and Chia Puikeh, all display the same cuneiform text. The inscriptions are encompassed by a frame and divided into large horizontal lines of 2 cm in height, with correspondingly very large cuneiform signs. Upon comparing the exact forms of signs, the spaces

between them, their heights, and the ways the wedges were impressed, one is inclined to identify some differences between scribal hands.

All bricks were inscribed with the same cuneiform text of 14 lines, with an identical distribution of the words across the lines. The text itself has been known for a long time since the inscription on a complete brick in the format of a half-brick (but without indication of the size) was published by Schuler (1967). It subsequently entered the compilations of royal inscriptions, from Sollberger/Kupper (1971) to Steible (1991) and Frayne (1997a). These authors (and, following them, CDLI) assumed that the brick is kept in the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte of the Staatliche Museen Berlin – Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SMB-PK/MVF). However, the museum confirmed that the brick is not in its possession, and it was also not transferred to the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin where Near Eastern antiquities are usually collected. In the course of the search at the two museums, Helen Gries (pers. comm.) turned our attention to the exact formulation of Schuler (1967, 293): "Die hier vorge-

a Kani Joni I no. 1

b Kani Joni I no. 2

c Kani Joni I no. 3

d Kani Joni I no. 4
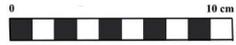
e Kani Joni I no. 6

f Kani Joni II no. 1

g Chenar-e Pain no.2

h Kani Joni I no. 5

i Hour Soleiman no. 1

j Hour Soleiman no. 2

k Hour Soleiman no. 3

l Chia Puikeh no. 1

m Exemplar X

n Chenar-e Pain no.1

Fig. 7: The inscribed bricks from the Kuhdasht plain

legte Inschrift ist dem Berliner Museum für Vor- und Früh-geschichte durch den Kunsthandel bekannt geworden." And in fn. 1, Schuler thanks "Kustos Dr. W. Nagel" "für die freundliche Mitteilung der ihm zugesandten Photographie". Thus, the object had never reached the museum, but an anonymous person had sent a photograph to Nagel, who at that time was also acquiring objects from the antiquities market for the museum. The photoprint published by

Schuler (1967, Tf.3) is still kept in the museum's archive of records with its number ON 293, and the hand-written remark concerning the place of publication.[7] The photo was

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taken in Geneva, Switzerland;[8] the present whereabouts of the brick are completely unknown.[9]

Concerning the provenance, von Schuler (1967, 293) notes: "Als Herkunftsort des beschriebenen Ziegels wird Susa genannt." Susa not only had a good name as a provenance for antiquities, but it also served as a collecting point for ancient objects; therefore, the brick may actually have been sold via Susa. With the parallel pieces found in the Kuhdasht plain, little doubt can remain that this exemplar, as well, originally came from the same region.

4.2 Transliteration and Translation

Previous editions of ex. 1: von Schuler 1967; Sollberger/Kupper 1970, 40 (IRSA IIIA2p); Kärki 1986, 68 f. (Šulgi 71); Gelb/Kienast 1990, 341 f. Ur 5 (Šulgi 71); Steible 1991, 206 f. (Šulgi 63); Frayne 1997a, 140 f. (RIME 3/2, E3/2.1.2.33)

No.	Siglum	Reading
1	ex.1	^{d}sul-ge
	KJ1 2:1	[^{d}s]ul-ge
	ChPa 1:1	^{d}sul-g[e]
	X:1	^{d}sul-ge
2	ex.1:2	DINGIR ma-ti-šu
	KJ1 2:2	[ ] ma-ti-šu
	KJ2 1:1′	[ ] ⸢ma⸣-[ ]
	ChPa 1:2	DINGIR ma-ti-⸢šu⸣
	HS 1:1′	[-t]i-šu
	X:2	DINGIR ma-ti-šu
3	ex.1	da-num$_2$
	KJ1 2:3	[ ]-⸢num$_2$⸣
	KJ2 1:2′	da-num$_2$
	ChPa 1:3	da-num$_2$
	HS 1:2′	[ ]-num$_2$
	X:3	da-num$_2$
4	ex.1	LUGAL urim$_5^{ki}$
	KJ1 1:1′	[ ] ⸢urim$_5^{ki}$⸣
	KJ2 1:3′	LUGAL urim$_5^{ki}$
	ChPa 1:4	LUGAL urim$_5$⸢^{ki}⸣
	HS 1:3′	[š]EŠ.UNUG^{ki}
	ChPu 1:1′	[ŠEŠ.UNU]G^{ki}
	X:4	LUGAL ⸢urim$_5^{ki}$⸣
5	ex.1	LUGAL ki-ib-ra-tim
	KJ1 1:2′	[-r]a-tim
	KJ1 4:1′	LUGAL ki-⸢ib⸣-[ ]
	KJ2 1:4′	LUGAL [ ]-⸢tim⸣
	ChPa 1:5	LUGAL ki-ib-ra-tim
	HS 1:4′	[ ]-ib-ra-tim
	ChPu 1:2′	[-i]b-ra-tim
6	ex.1	ar-ba-im
	KJ1 1:3′	[ ]-ba-im
	KJ1 4:2′	[a]r-ba-[ ]
	ChPa 1:6	ar-ba-im
	HS 1:5′	[ ]-im
	ChPu 1:3′	[ ]-im
7	ex.1	i$_3$-nu
	KJ1 1:4′	[ ]-nu
	ChPa 1:7	i$_3$-⸢nu⸣
	HS 1:6′	[ ]-nu
	ChPu 1:4′	[ ] [ ]
8	ex.1	ma-at ki-maš^{ki}
	KJ1 1:5′	[ ]-at ki-maš⸢^{ki}⸣
	ChPa 1:8	ma-at ki-m[aš]
	ChPa 2:1′	[m]a-⸢at⸣ ki-ma[š]
	HS 1:7′	[ ]-at ki-maš^{ki}
9	ex.1	u$_3$ ḫu-ur-tim^{ki}
	KJ1 1:6′	[ḫ]u-⸢ur⸣-t[im]
	ChPa 1:9	u$_3$ ḫu-ur-⸢tim⸣^{ki}
	ChPa 2:2′	[ ]-⸢ur-tim⸣[ ]
	HS 1:8′	[ḫ]u-ur-t[im]
10	ex.1	u$_3$-ḫa-li-qu$_2$-na
	KJ1 5:1′	⸢u$_3$⸣-[ ]
	KJ1 6:1′	[x]-[ ]
	ChPa 1:10	⸢u$_3$⸣-[ ]-li-qu$_2$
	ChPa 2:3′	[ ]-ḫa-l[i]
11	ex.1	ḫi-ri-tam$_2$
	KJ1 5:2′	ḫi-ri-[ ]
	KJ1 6:2′	ḫi-ri-t[am$_2$]
	ChPa 1:11	[ ]-ri-⸢tam$_2$⸣
	ChPa 2:4′	[ ]-ri-⸢tam$_2$⸣
12	ex.1	iš-ku-un
	KJ1 5:3′	iš-ku-[ ]

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8 According to the stamp of the photographer Boissonnas, Geneve on the reverse of the photo (information courtesy Zs. Földi; see preceding note).

9 The brick inscription is identified in CDLI (cdli.ucla.edu) as P430083; the photograph published by Schuler 1967 Tf. 3 is also shown as P273292, but it does not represent another exemplar of the inscription (called "ex. add02 ?" in CDLI).

KJ1 6:3′	*iš-ku-u*[*n*]	
ChPa 1:12	[*-k*]*u-u*[*n*]	
ChPa 2:5′	[ ]-ᶜku-unᵓ	
HS 2:1′	ᶜišᵓ-[ ]	

13	ex.1	u_3 bi_2-*ru-tam*$_2$	
	KJ1 3:2′	[ ]-ᶜ*tam*$_2$ᵓ	
	KJ1 5:4′	u_3 bi_2-ᶜ*ru*ᵓ-[ ]	
	KJ1 6:4′	u_3 bi_2-*r*[*u-*]	
	ChPa 2:6′	[*b*]i_2-*ru-tam*$_2$	
	HS 2:2′	u_3 [ ]	
	HS 3:1′	[ ]-ᶜ*tam*$_2$ᵓ	

14	ex.1	*ib-ni*	
	KJ1 3:2′	[*i*]*b*-ᶜ*ni*ᵓ	
	KJ1 5:5′	*ib*-[ ]	
	KJ1 6:5′	*ib-n*[*i*]	
	ChPa 2:7′	[*i*]*b-ni*	traces between *ib* and *ni*
	HS 2:3′	*ib-n*[*i*]	
	HS 3:2′	[ ]-*ni*	

Composite text

1	ᵈ*sul-ge*
2–4	DINGIR *ma-ti-šu* | *da-num*$_2$ | LUGAL *urim*$_5$ᵏⁱ
5–6	LUGAL *ki-ib-ra-tim* | *ar-ba-im*
7–10	i_3-*nu* | *ma-at ki-maš*ᵏⁱ | u_3 *ḫu-ur-tim*ᵏⁱ | u_3-*ḫa-li-qu*$_2$(-*na*)
11–12	*ḫi-ri-tam*$_2$ | *iš-ku-un*
13–14	u_3 bi_2-*ru-tam*$_2$ | *ib-ni*

Translation

(1–6)	Šulgi, god of his land, mighty one, the king of Ur, king of the four quarters,
(7–10)	when he had destroyed the land of Kimaš and of Ḫurtim,
(11–14)	he placed (there) an excavation and created a mound.

4.3 Philological Commentary

Line 11: The missing subordinative suffix *-na* in ChPa 1 is the only textual variant.

Previous translations of lines 11–14 (see below section 5) include:

Schuler (1967, 294) translated with buildings for irrigation in mind: "errichtete er einen Graben und erbaute eine Zisterne(?)", adding a personal note by von Soden that *ḫirītum* is otherwise not used with the verb *šakānum*. Von Soden also asks whether these expressions might not con-

stitute "sprachliche Elamismen" (although one would not expect any in a royal inscription of a king of Ur).

Sollberger (1969, 40 with fn. 1) does not indicate any interpretation with his neutral translation "he laid out the moat and built the embankment", which is basically repeated in his collection of royal inscriptions (in Sollberger/Kupper 1971, 143): "établit un fossé et en construisit la berge". But in his commentary, Sollberger (1969, 40 with fn. 1) pointed already to the parallels in Presargonic inscriptions and the illustration of the ceremony on the Stele of the Vultures.

Westenholz (1970, 27), in his study of the terminology of burial mounds, translated "he made a moat and built a *berūtum*". However, Westenholz's argumentation failed to convince subsequent editors of royal inscriptions that the text refers to a burial mound. Kärki (1986, 69): "hat … einen Graben gezogen und einen Wall gebaut" apparently understood a defensive construction. Gelb/Kienast (1990, 341 f.): "hat … einen Kanal angelegt und den Deich gebaut", provide an agricultural interpretation, and the same idea seems to underly Steible (1991, 207) "hat … einen Graben angelegt und den Deich gebaut", following Sollberger (1969, 40 fn. 1, without his reference to the Presargonic evidence). Westenholz was followed by Frayne (1997a,141): "set out a moat and heaped up a pile of corpses", more a description than an actual translation.

5 The Monument for Šulgi's Battle

The inscription starts with Šulgi's titles, including "god of his land" (Wilcke 1974, 179 f. 188–190), and a temporal phrase frames the building inscription itself, which states that he placed an excavation and created a mound. The text thus does not follow the well-known formula of building and votive inscriptions that name a deity first. The phrasing with the royal name first is known from Šulgi's inscription from his palace construction in Ur (RIME 3/2, E3/2.1.2.3), but also from some temple building inscriptions, especially in Akkadian texts.[10]

The inscription refers to the destruction caused by Šulgi's troops in Kimaš and Ḫurti in lines 7 to 10, and the Sumerian version of this phrase became the date formula for the 46th regnal year of Šulgi, which reads in its most elaborate form:

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10 RIME 3/2, E3/2.1.2.23–24 for Nergal in Kutha, 27 for Tišpak in Ešnunna, 31 for Insušnak in Susa.

mu ᵈsul-ge | ninta kala-ga | lugal urim₅ᵏⁱ-ma | lugal an-ub-da limmu₂-ba-ke₄ | ki-mašᵏⁱ | ḫu-ur₅-ti | u₃ ma-da-be₂ | [u₄] 1(Aš)-a mu-ḫulu (full form only attested in HLC 1, no. 80, pl. 34–35 r. xii 7–14 from Ĝirsu; see Such-Gutiérrez 2020, 25; cf. Molina 2023)

"Year: Šulgi, the mighty one, the king of Ur, king of the four quarters destroyed Kimaš, Ḫurti and their land at one time."

The name of the following year 47, the penultimate year of Šulgi's reign, also referred to the same royal accomplishment (indicated as "following year", mu us₂-sa-a-b e₂).

A reference to a deed in a royal inscription may refer to the date, as seems to be the case in Šu-Suen's inscription concerning the building of Šara's temple at Umma, "when he built the Amorite wall (named) Murīq-Tidnim" (RIME 3/2, E3/2.1.4.17). Otherwise, it refers to the historical background of another deed, as in the inscription of Šu-Suen concerning the fashioning of a goat statue "when he had destroyed Zabšali and the land of Šimaški" (RIME 3/2, E3/2.1.4.06). In archival texts of the period, however, such temporal phrases are the standard, widespread form for explaining causation and background, be it the justification for a transfer of goods or the reason for an official trip. Therefore, we are justified in understanding the phrase "when he had destroyed the land of Kimaš and of Ḫurtim" as directly relating to the building activities of Šulgi described in the inscription.

The second part of the building activities, "he created a mound," has been well understood since the seminal study of A. Westenholz (1970) on Akkadian *birūtum*,[11] the equivalent of Sumerian SAḪAR.DU₆.TAKA₄(.A) or s a ḫ a r - d u₆ - t a k a₄ (- a), literally perhaps "earth in the form of a mound (of those) left behind".[12] *birūtum* designates an artificial heap of earth, mostly attested when a mound was formed above the corpses of warriors fallen in battle. The verb usually employed with this noun is Akkadian *šapākum*, Sumerian d u b, "to heap up; to pour", an action performed with earth, grain, or liquids. What is unique in our passage,

but essential for understanding the monument, is the first part: "he placed there an excavation" or "digging", *ḫirītum* being the nomen actions (*pirist*) to *ḫerû* "to excavate". Although *ḫirītum* mostly refers to the excavation of channels for water, at least the equation with Sumerian t u l₂, "pit, depression" (A I/2:166) shows that these "excavations" need not be channels. Therefore, in the Šulgi inscription, *ḫirītum* clearly refers to the extended pits meant to contain the corpses of the dead warriors.[13] This interpretation seems further supported by the flat appearance of the archaeological sites.

The text of the inscription and the direct connection with Šulgi's campaign against Kimaš and Ḫurti, together with the description of a monument that combines an excavated pit and a mound—whereby the word *birūtum* mostly refers to burial mounds erected after battles— along with the findspot a long distance from Sumer in the Kuhdasht plain and the specific finding conditions, with bones and pottery but no walls of buildings, all suggest that the bricks stem from the monuments that Šulgi had erected after the battle with the armies of Kimaš and Ḫurti.

Such burial mounds are known from royal inscriptions ranging from Ur-Nanše of Lagaš (ca. 2450 BCE) to Samsuiluna of Babylon (1749–1712 BCE) and referring to rulers of Ebla, Girsu, Akkade, Ur, Mari, and Babylon. These include passages from the two most famous victory monuments from early Mesopotamia, the Stele of the Vultures (RIME 1, E1.9.3.1) and Naram-Suen's victory stele (RIME 2, E2.1.4.31). The burial mounds after battles were erected in Sumer and in distant regions: Urnanše buried men from Ur and Umma; Eanatum men from Umma, Elam, and Arawa (URU×A); Enmetena men from Umma; Rimuš Elamites near Paraḫšum; Narām-Suen in the north (Pir Hüseyn) and in Lullubum; and Šu-Suen in Šimaški[14] (Richardson 2007, 194). A field plan from Sargonic Girsu (RTC 156) indicates a circular burial mound as a geographical feature (Selz/Niedermayer 2015, 400 f.).

According to several inscriptions, the mound, *birūtum* etc., was heaped up over the corpses of the fallen warriors:

11 The reading follows Kogan/Krebernik (2020, 218) P0369 *birūtum*, "mound", with previous literature, without etymology. A derivation from **bri* "to see" is more difficult (nomen actionis would be **birītum*; an abstract noun *bīr-ūt-um* seems semantically less plausible), although one could refer to the Assyian rite of *taklimtu*, literally "presentation" (from *kullumu*) as a semantic parallel.

12 Selz/Niedermayer (2015, 401) deduce from the variant in the Sargonic field-plan RTC 156, which has a final - a marking a perfective participle, s a ḫ a r d u₆ t a k a₄ - a, that the expression cannot be a *diri* compound. However, an addition of - a can appear within *diri* compounds as well, e. g. SILA₃.ŠU.DU₈(.A) = s a g i. On the other hand, in *diri* compounds, the individual elements usually explain the semantics of a term.

13 Surprisingly, this solution had not been proposed in the literature cited here (see above); correspondingly Richardson (2007, 194) thought it refers to the location at the city's moat. The usage of the verb *šakānum* "to place" is also better understood in the context of our interpretation.

14 The reference to the burial mound is not to z a r "heap" in RIME 3/2, E3/2.1.4.3 iii 20–21 "he piled up the corpses of the people into a heap" (translation D.R. Frayne), as understood by Richardson (2007, 194), since this refers to the outcome of the fighting. Šu-Suen in fact erected a k i - g a l according to vi 2–7, a phrase hitherto not understood (see below).

Fig. 8: Libation at the erection of a burial mound, from the Stele of the Vultures (© 1995 RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre), Hervé Lewandowski, https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010121794)

"furthermore, he heaped up a mound over them at the place of their city" (*u birūtam in ašar ālim alšunu išpuk,* Rimuš RIME 2, E2.1.2.6: 43–47 = no. 7: 19–23 = no. 8: 19–21).

The corpses were collected on the battlefield, and especially instructive is the description of Enmetena of Lagaš:

iii 11 "Enmetena, beloved son of Enanatum, defeated him (i. e., Urluma of Umma). 15 Urluma escaped but was killed in Umma. 19 His sixty teams of asses he left on the bank of the Lumĝirnunta. 22 The bones of their (i. e. the asses') people he left all over the steppe. He (i. e. Enmetena) heaped up mounds for them in five places" (RIME 1, E1.9.5.1 iii 11–27 translation adapted after Frayne 2008, 197).[15]

According to this passage, the victorious leader was the one who remained on the battlefield and had not fled, and so it was his privilege and duty to collect the corpses and build their burial mounds. This text includes another important piece of information, namely that multiple mounds were set up, in this case, five. Eanatum heaped up (b i₂ - d u b) even as many as 20 mounds, according to a description in the Stele of the Vultures (RIME 1, E1.9.3.1 o. xi 14–15), and Enmetena, in another instance, spoke of erecting mounds as a pluralic action.[16] The mounds were thus placed on the battlefield,

and, in reference to his building of mounds, Eanatum listed Elam, Arawa (URU×A) and Umma (RIME 1, E1.9.3.6). Such a heap of earth was also intended to serve as a memorial for the victorious king's deeds. This is explicitly addressed in an inscription of Šulgi's grandson Šu-Suen:

"Regarding its population, men and women who had life and a name, he killed the men with weapons and let the women follow them thereby. A burial mound of earth – so that his mighty strength of kingship might not be lost – he placed on its side/spot (i. e. of the massacre)" (RIME 3/2, E3/2.1.4.3 v 32–vi 7).[17]

The relief on the Stele of the Vultures shows exactly how such a burial mound was erected: naked corpses of dead warriors were placed carefully one beside the other. With the evidence from Kuhdasht in mind, one assumes that the corpses depicted on the relief are deposited in a large pit, so that the series of corpses extends into the background, as do the animals sacrificed for the burial ceremony and placed to the right of the burial (see Fig. 8). The builders of the mound carry earth with their baskets to heap up the mound, which is encircled by a small wall. The presence of

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15 RIME 1, E1.9.5.1 iii 22–27: n a m - l u₂ - l u₇ - b a | ĝ i r i₃ - p a d - r a₂ - b e₂ | e d e n - d a e - d a - t a k a₄ - t a k a₄ | SAḪAR.DU₆.TAKA₄ - b e₂ | k i 5 - a | i₃ - m i - d u b
16 Enmetena RIME 1, E1.9.5.1 i i 30 f. SAḪAR.DU₆.TAKA₄ - b e₂ e d e n - n a | k i b a - n i - u s₂ - u s₂ (after having led a battle with Umma), "he placed their burial mounds in the steppe."

17 RIME 3/2, E3/2.1.4.3 v 32–vi 7: ⌈n a m⌉ - l u₂ - l u₇ m u n u s n i n t a | z i - ĝ a l₂ m u t u k u - b e₂ | [n i n t] a₂ ĝᵉˢ t u k u l m i - n i - i n - ⌈g a z⌉ | (vi 1) m u n u s - e i m - m i - i n - u₃ - s u (for u s₂ - e) | k i - g a l s a ḫ a r - r a | (vi 3) a₂ k a l a - g a | n a m - l u g a l - k a - n e₂ | u₄ u l - l i₂ - a - a š | (vi 5) n u - ⌈ḫ a⌉ - l a m - e - ⌈d e₃⌉ | z a₃ - b a ⌈i m⌉ - m i - i n - ⌈u s₂⌉. This passage has been read by Krebernik (2002); however, he could not yet make sense of k i - g a l, here translated as "burial mound", literally "large place", a euphemism for "grave" as well.

a libating priest indicates that this was a sacred ceremony.[18] Therefore, there is no doubt that the warriors from the victorious army were buried there as well.

The Stele of the Vultures may well serve as a model for the mounds in the Kuhdasht plain. They were erected by the army who had remained victorious on the battlefield, as the existence of the Šulgi inscription testifies. Furthermore, the local inhabitants told Hamzeh Ghobadizadeh that human bones were found at Kani Joni I, but there are no reports about treasures or metal weapons circulating. The naked bodies on the Stele of Vultures also correspond to what is known about the handling of weapons in the Ur III period: weapons belonged to the royal magazines; they were handed out to the warriors but collected afterwards as well.[19] The fragments of pottery may possibly stem from a ritual at the burial, hinted at in the libation scene on the Stele. The survey and the test soundings allow no further speculations, and more information can only be expected from an archaeological investigation.

6 Kimaš and Ḫurti

6.1 Localisation

The text of the inscription, combined with the various findspots, thus allows the conclusion that the bricks stem from the burial mounds erected by the army of Ur, which served to bury the warriors fallen in the decisive battle in the campaigns against Kimaš and Ḫurti that took place in the years Šulgi 45 to 47—most likely the campaign of year Šulgi 46, i. e. 2047 BCE (Middle Chronology; see below with Appendix 2). Therefore, the archaeological remains at Kani Joni and the other sites can most probably be identified as the oldest historical war monument in the Near East for which the parties and the date are known.

With the finding of the Šulgi inscription, an old problem of historical geography has been solved, namely the localisation of Kimaš and Ḫurti. In translating the verb b a - ḫ u l u of the date formula as "it was destroyed", we choose the standard meaning, and the reality of the campaigns of Šulgi in the regions east and northeast of Mesopotamia was

in fact close to what the date formulae say: the armies of Sumer caused destruction, at least by depredating food for the army, by driving away animal herds as booty (n a m - r a - a k a), and by burning villages, killing people, and taking prisoners (as known from Šu-Suen's campaigns against Šimānum and Zabšali). The phrase does not necessarily imply a battle between the armies of Ur and those of the local polities, nor a victory.[20] Destruction and ruin, without any doubt, were surely accomplished by these campaigns, which were often repeated in subsequent years in the same regions.[21]

The two neighbouring polities Kimaš and Ḫurti were situated in the Pish-e Kuh region,[22] and their main access route was from the south, from Khuzestan via Susa. After the review of the evidence concerning Kimaš by Potts (2010), Steinkeller (2013, 304–312) provided the latest, authoritative and often-cited discussion of the localisation of Kimaš and Ḫurti, in which he collected the relevant sources from monumental and archival texts and refuted the previous localisation in the Eastern Tigris region around Kirkuk (e. g. Edzard/Farber 1974, 81. 101). He concluded that "these two places can quite confidently be located along the Great Khurasan Road, in the general vicinity of the modern towns of Islamabad-e Gharb and Khermanshah [sic]" (Steinkeller 2013, 294). The new evidence places Kimaš and Ḫurti further south, and we are thus obliged to carefully review the sources to adjust Steinkeller's arguments to fit the new localisation.

Kimaš and Ḫurti were neighbouring regions since they were destroyed together according to the royal inscription and the corresponding year dates (Steinkeller 2013, 304). People from Kimaš and Ḫurti were called "Elamites" in Mesopotamian documents; en route to southern Mesopotamia, they either took a sea route and passed through the province of Girsu, or they travelled over land, via Dēr, and stopped at Irisaĝrig, a city under the control of the royal family and situated east of Nippur on the Tigris.[23] Texts documenting the meals served to the Elamite travellers are

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18 Selz/Niedermayer (2015, 390–396) discuss the scene in the second register (from the bottom) on the reverse of the Stele of Vultures (see Fig. 8), showing how the buried soldiers receive a solemn libation which thus refers to Girsu's own fallen people.
19 Paoletti (2010, 204–206) discusses the evidence from the royal treasure archive from Puzriš-Dagān, especially the sub-series about weapons.

20 The Sumerian verb for "to defeat" instead is a g a₃ - k a r a₂ s i₃ - g; in Ur III royal inscriptions e. g. RIME 3/2, E3/2.1.4.3 iii 11, Šu-Suen.
21 Discussions of the verb ḫ u l u /ḫulluqum "to destroy, to ruin, to cause destruction in" in date formulae are provided, e. g., by Sallaberger (1999, 156), Widell (2002, 103 f.), Marchesi (2013, 287), Such-Gutiérrez (2020, 16 f.).
22 Other reconstructions cannot, in our view, be reconciled with the cumulative evidence of text and findspot of the Šulgi inscription and the other arguments for the localisation of Kimaš and Ḫurti (geographical situation, place of Elamites, Zagros campaigns of Šulgi, copper of Kimaš etc.).
23 Following Steinkeller (2022) on the localisation of Irsaĝrig.

known from both cities, Girsu and Irisaĝrig, and in both text dossiers, Kimaš is named far more often than Ḫurti; therefore, Kimaš represented the more important polity.[24]

Is it possible to differentiate the two and to identify which polity should be sought in or close to the Kuhdasht plain? Both place names always appear together in the year dates, but as the number of attestations suggests, the sequence *Kimaš u Ḫurti* (or *Ḫurtum*)[25] was based on importance, and not on geography. We are aware of two arguments relevant to this problem, namely the probable sequence of the campaign and the relationship of Kimaš with copper mining. We deal with the latter aspect first.

6.2 Copper from Kimaš and the Deh Hosein Mine

Kimaš was known as a source of copper, both in inscriptions of Gudea of Lagaš and according to two Ur III documents from the royal treasure archive of Puzriš-Dagān (Reiter 1997, 159 f.; Steinkeller 2013, 308–310). With the new localisation of Kimaš and Ḫurti in the Pish-e Kuh, one important ancient mine comes into perspective, namely Deh Hosein, and we herewith propose that this mining region provided the "copper from Kimaš".[26]

(1) Situated geologically in the Sanandaj-Sirjan zone and geographically about 115 km east-northeast of modern Khorramabad (see Fig. 9), Deh Hosein is an ancient polymetallic mine that provided mainly copper (Nezafati 2006; Nezafati et al. 2006; 2009). It was exploited in antiquity, but not in medieval or modern times; a charcoal fragment from 2 m depth gave a radiocarbon date of 1755–1522 BCE (Nezafati 2006, 87). Nima Nezafati (2006, 87), the geologist

who first described the huge mining area, notes that "this date relates to an intermediate layer of the mine; the earliest mining activity can be even older." That Deh Hosein already provided copper earlier is actually confirmed by the analysis of metal artefacts from Luristan: a large group of the third-millennium bronze and copper objects stemming from the regions around Kabir Kuh (from the Belgian excavations) or without provenance (in the Louvre) show the same specific lead isotope signature as Deh Hosein.[27]

(2) The distribution of artefacts from copper and copper alloys is noteworthy, as underlined by Begemann et al. (2008, 38): "Recalling the assignment of this isotope signature to copper occurrences near present-day Arak, and to the copper/arsenic/tin ores from Deh Hosein in particular, we suggest that ores from these occurrences in the eastern part of the Central Zagros Mountains were quite important providers for Luristan but did not play any visible role in the Mesopotamian lowlands."[28] This distribution of metal objects agrees with the situation in late third-millennium Mesopotamia, with most of its copper stemming from Oman (recently Laursen/Steinkeller 2017; Salzmann 2019).

(3) Kimaš as the source of copper was specifically noted in two administrative documents from the treasure archive of Puzriš-Dagān, both dealing with "a bronze basket from Kimaš copper" (m a - s a₂ - a b z a b a r u r u d a ki-m a šⁱ).[29] This identification of bronze by its copper source is unique in the large Ur III corpus,[30] and the phrasing suggests that the copper was imported directly from the source, and not through various intermediaries. Furthermore, the ores from the Deh Hosein mine are indeed described by scientists as "exciting" because of "the occurrence of copper ores together with ores of arsenic and of tin" at a single site. Therefore, copper from this mine could include substantial traces of arsenic or tin and thus be of better fluidity (Bege-

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24 BDTNS (search 07/2022) provides the following numbers of references for the Girsu messenger texts: persons from k i - m a šⁱ 67×; from ḫ u - u r₅ - t i: 4× (and never with persons from Kimaš or Ḫarši in the same text); from ḫ a - a r - š iⁱ: 3×. The documentation from Irisaĝrig (Steinkeller 2013, 306 sub (6)) gives the following number of references in messenger texts (search in BDTNS in 07/2022): Dēr more than 200×; Kimaš 42×; Šimaški 20×, Diniktum 16×, Ḫurti 12×, Ḫarši 3×. The numbers of references are not directly related to the localisation of the place names, but both to proximity and to importance, since both factors contribute to a higher level of exchange. Michalowski (2008) studied Ur III sources concerning Elamites coming to Mesopotamia; for the distribution of the place names in the messenger texts, cf. also Steinkeller (2013, 306 sub (5)).

25 Whereas the spelling *ḫu-ur₅-ti* allows different interpretations (from *ḫu-mur-ti* to *ḫuḫur-ti*), spellings such as *ḫur-ti, ḫu-ur-ti/tum* or *ḫu-ur₄-ti/tum* suggest a normalization as *Ḫurti/Ḫurtum*.

26 Steinkeller (2013) following Moorey (1994) concerning the localisation of copper mines, and Potts (2010) both did not yet consider Deh Hosein, which was first described only in 2006.

27 A similar signature is only known from very distant ores in Anatolia or Afghanistan, both of which are unlikely to have been the main providers for Luristan bronzes (Begemann at al. 2008, 30 f.).

28 Nezafati (2006, 93): "The metal used in a number of the bronze artifacts is isotopically compatible with the Deh Hosein deposit. These include most of the 3rd millennium BCE Luristan artifacts, half of the 1st and 2nd millennium BCE Luristan objects, some southern Persian Gulf artifacts, two samples from Thermi, one artifact from Kish (Mesopotamia), Zeiraqun (Jordan) and Durankulak (Bulgaria)."

29 AUCT 1 78 (AS.04.12.00); AUCT 2 162 (AS.04.12.00); Paoletti 2012, 356 and 381, respectively, with further literature. The basins with animal figures from various sites in southern Iran adduced by Steinkeller (2013, 309. 317), however, are not directly related to the descriptions of the two basins in the Sumerian texts, which describe inlays of silver and gold on the bottom of the bronze "basket".

30 1,996 references for z a b a r "bronze" and 2,747 for u r u d a "copper" in BDTNS (search as of 07/2022).

mann et al. 2008, 30; Nezafati 2006). The exceptional qualities of copper from the Deh Hosein mine thus help us to appreciate the qualification of copper as being from Kimaš in archival documents.

(4) The findspot of the Šulgi inscription mentioning "Kimaš" and the highly probable identification of the Deh Hosein mine as the source for the "copper from Kimaš" may now be combined. The Kuhdasht plain offered the main access routes to the central Zagros mountains from the south (see section 1.2.1 above), and Kimaš and Ḫurti together fought there against the army of Šulgi. As a good candidate for Kimaš, the area between Kuhdasht and the modern city of Khorramabad comes to mind. The distance from Khorramabad to Deh Hosein is still more than 100 km, but a polity there may have easily controlled the mines in the mountains. Gudea of Lagaš (around 2140 BCE) "mined copper in Abullat in the mountain of Kimaš" (Statue B vi 21–22); a place-name Abullāt, meaning "city gates", could, however, apply to many places in the Zagros ranges. When preparing the building materials for the building of the new main temple Eninnu, Gudea has written of it: "From Kimaš, the copper mountain range made itself known to him, and he dug its copper into baskets" (Cylinder A xvi 15–17; translation Edzard 1997, 79). Gudea maintained good relations with Elam with a steady exchange of travellers, and an inscription of his was found close to Dezful or Susa in Tepe Surkhegan, ancient Adamsul.[31] From there the mines of Kimaš could easily be reached along the south-north route presented above in section 1.2.1.[32] In the world of Gudea, Kimaš thus controlled the copper mountain, as Ebla controlled the mountain of precious woods (Statue B v 53–58; Steinkeller 2021).

6.3 Kimaš and Ḫurti Campaigns in Detail

The burial mounds in the Kuhdasht plain were erected when Šulgi had "destroyed the land of Kimaš and Ḫurti", a reference to the year name for Šulgi's 46th regnal year, and thus *both* polities were involved. The year date refers to the first campaign in Šulgi 45.[33]

Direct and indirect references to campaigns against Kimaš and Ḫurti stem from the administration of the royal animal herds at Puzriš-Dagān (collected in Appendix 2). These sources suggest that, after the first campaign in Šulgi 45, providing the deed for naming the year Šulgi 46, an exceptionally successful second campaign was led one year later in Šulgi 46 with Kimaš as the first target: a "drinking party" (k a š - d e₂ - a) was performed for Enlil when "Kimaš was destroyed" in the second month (i. e. around May). Another festivity followed when "Ḫurti was destroyed" in the following month (i. e. around June).[34] Most probably the drinking party was held when the good news from the battlefield had arrived. The campaign of Šulgi 46 may have been the one on which the monuments named in our brick inscriptions were erected.[35] This ties in with the fact that the scribes could already refer to a date "when he had destroyed the land of Kimaš and Ḫurti," which refers back to the first campaign of year 45. If so, the second and last battle was fought against Ḫurti, and the findspot of the inscription naming both places, Kimaš and Ḫurti, thus indicates that Ḫurti may be sought in the region of or around Kuhdasht; Rumeshkan, with its important sites, may be another candidate. This distribution agrees largely with our arguments that Kimaš is to be sought further in the east because of the Deh Hosein copper mines.[36]

A third campaign followed in the next year Šulgi 47, and this time it included Ḫarši besides Kimaš and Ḫurti as attested by the name for Šulgi's 48th year. The "second" destruction of Ḫurti belongs to the same year (see Appendix 2). Of course, the battle monuments may also have been

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31 The inscription was published by Steve (2001); Potts (2010, 247) visited the site, and Steinkeller (2013, 299 with fn. 43) offers an important report by H. Gasche concerning the conditions of the find. The reading Adamsul (for Adamdun or Adamšaḫ) follows Schrakamp (2014).
32 Lafont (1996) on TCTI 2 3859.
33 Such-Gutiérrez (2020, 10) confirms that references to battles (including the late years of Šulgi) appear already in texts dated to the first month of a year, thus referring usually to the previous year's campaign.

34 The three relevant documents are all concerned with the expenditure of animals within the term of duty (b a l a) of certain provinces; 29 cattle (YOS 4, 74; Šu.46a.02.00) and 39 sheep (HSS 68, 209; Šu.46a.02.24) were provided for "drinking party" (k a š - d e₂ - a) of Enlil (thus only HSS 68 209) "when Kimaš was destroyed"; 51 cattle (Šu.46a.03.00) "when Ḫurti was destroyed" (on YOS 4 74 and AUCT 1 683, see also Steinkeller 2013, 304 f.). Three expenditures of sheep and cattle from Šulgi 46, month IV, days 23, 24, and [x], are similarly destined for a "banquet" (ĝ e š b u n₂), again in the temples of Nippur, when "Ḫurti was destroyed a second time".
35 As the discussion of the monument (Section 5) has shown, the general or ruler who had remained on the battlefield erected the mounds for the fallen warriors, evidently both for his own and for those of his adversary. Šulgi's army may perhaps have felt like the victor in this situation; but the Ḫurtians and Kimašites may well have retreated from the battlefield to their homes to avoid larger losses –the foreign army, in any case, would have left the country and did not stay. Ur's army and Šulgi's people, for their part, celebrated the destruction done in Kimaš and Ḫurti.
36 It is also conceivable that in the designation of copper, the provenance as Kimaš may have been preferred because it was the more important city of the two.

erected during this campaign, and again Ḫurti was the adversary. In any case, with the archival evidence attesting to annual military expeditions led by Šulgi against Kimaš and Ḫurti in his years 45 to 47, it has become most improbable that the temporal clause in the brick inscriptions, "when he had destroyed the land of Kimaš and Ḫurtim" would not have coincided with a campaign against these two polities.

In Šulgi's 48th and last year, booty from Kimaš and Ḫarši arrived at Ur. Additionally, the campaigns against Kimaš and Ḫurti are also reflected by the arrival of herds of animals earmarked as "booty of Šimaški" (referring to the region of the central Zagros) in lowland Mesopotamia and registered in Puzriš-Dagān (e. g. Steinkeller 2007, 217 f.; not listed in Appendix 2).

6.4 The Historical Context: Šulgi's Zagros Campaigns

The localisation of Kimaš and Ḫurti in Lorestan in the central Zagros provides a new perspective on the campaigns of Šulgi.[37] Here, we can give only a sketch of what we believe are the most relevant data.

Puzur-Inšušinak, the last king of the dynasty of Awan (Sallaberger/Schrakamp 2015, 122–125), fought against "Kimaš and the land of Ḫurtim" ($ki\text{-}maš^{ki}$ u_3 $ma\text{-}at^{ki}$ $ḫu\text{-}ur_2\text{-}tim^{ki}$)[38] to reach Mesopotamia in the Diyala region and Akkade; the geographical situation of Ḫurti and Kimaš controlling a main route to the Diyala (see section 1.2.2 above) offers a perfect understanding of Puzur-Inšušinak's campaign from the Zagros to Akkade.

When subsequently the kings of Ur had assumed power in southern Mesopotamia, Ur-Namma conquered Susa (Marchesi 2013), and Khuzestan became firmly integrated into the kingdom of Ur. Around the middle of his 18-year reign, Ur-Namma conquered Akkade and the Diyala region.[39]

Ur-Namma's son Šulgi struggled hard to keep the inherited polity together, but eventually, he succeeded even in extending its zone of influence.[40] According to his year dates, for more than twenty years Šulgi was concerned with

the city of Dēr, a settlement in a remarkable place with fountains of fresh water, marking the north-eastern border of the alluvial plain, and most probably located on the southernmost point to which one could easily walk on foot from Sumer towards the east.[41] A royal prince was appointed as governor of Dēr, and the entire route from Nippur and Puzriš-Dagān via Irisaĝrig to Dēr led from one royal seat to the next; it thus became the preferred route for royal messengers. From Dēr, the messengers could turn to the southeast, where, after passing Arawa/URU×A, they entered Khuzestan.[42]

After Šulgi was firmly settled in Ešnuna and the lower Diyala region and in Dēr, he campaigned for a decade in the lands of Karaḫar and Simurrum (year dates Šulgi 24 to Š 33). Simurrum lay in the region of the upper courses of the Diyala river or the Sirwan river (see Fig. 9), with local rulers (Tappandaraḫ and Ṣilluš-Dagān) who kept good relations with the state of Ur (Molina 2013). Karaḫar must have been close to Simurrum. Important evidence for its localisation comes from the Old Babylonian archival texts from Mê-Turān (Tell Haddad and Tell as-Sib), indicating that Karaḫar was administratively connected to the city (Mustafa 1983; Guichard 2016, 23).[43] The Ur III year dates do not refer to other important cities known from Mê-Turān and from the correspondence of Ilūni, king of Ešnunna; especially notable is the lack of reference to Alman, later Ḫulwan at Sar Pol-e Zahab (Fuchs 2011, 232; Alibaigi/MacGinnis 2023, 2).[44] Karaḫar thus was most likely the polity that controlled

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37 The reconstruction of the geography by Frayne (2008), who placed all of Šulgi's targets in the Diyala–Tanjero valley and the Shahrizor plain, is therefore refuted.

38 Gelb/Kienast 1990, 321, Elam 2; see Steinkeller 2013, 294 f.

39 Ur-Namma already bears the title "king of Sumer and Akkade" in the Old Babylonian copy of a text relating to Ur-Namma and Puzur-Inšušinak (RIME 3/2, E3/2.1.1.29), but the conquest of northern Babylonia and the Diyala region must have preceded the edict of his code and the cadaster text (see on Ur-Namma Sallaberger 2015).

40 A recent overview of Šulgi's reign is provided by Sallaberger (2012).

41 Šulgi struggled for a long time to keep Dēr, near Badra (year date Šulgi 4 unclear, Šulgi 10 Ištaran introduced, Šulgi 18 restored, Šulgi 21 destroyed).

42 Steinkeller (2013, 306 f.) proposed a second route running from Dēr northwards ascending to Ilam and Islamabad-e Gharb, based on his localisation of Kimaš and Ḫurti on the Khorasan road. However, with the southern localisation of Kimaš and Ḫurti this route must not have been of larger importance. The only place name mentioned as destination or departure point for messengers in the Irisaĝrig corpus that leads towards the Diyala may be Diniktum; but to reach this city one may not have climbed up the mountains. The road network in Luristan, reconstructed with the help of Sasanian bridges and sites (and congruent with the distribution of Bronze Age settlements) provides the best access to Kimaš and Ḫurti (see Fig. 9).

43 Perhaps the best example for the regional connections is text no. 111 edited by Mustafa (1983), with various deliveries of barley, sheep, sesame oil, and silver from Terqa, Batir, Karaḫar and Zabban (= Simurrum).

44 The place names appearing in the correspondence of Iluni (Guichard 2016, Abed 2018; and unpublished letters courtesy Jared Miller and Jacob Jawdat) have some relevant overlaps with the toponymy of the Old Babylonian documents found at Chogha Gavaneh, located in the city of Islamabad-e Gharb (Abdi/Beckman 2007); this data shows that the environment of Islamabad-e Gharb was mainly directed to-

Fig. 9: The crossroads of Luristan within the central Zagros region
The map indicates the routes discussed in this article and the proposed localisations of polities mentioned in Šulgi's year dates (with the exception of Šašrum).

the western stretches of the Great Khorasan Road in the late third millennium.

The year names of Šulgi are then concerned with internal matters for some years before they concentrate on military campaigns again. The first campaign to follow is against Šašrum (year date Šulgi 42), a place generally thought to be the same as the Old Babylonian/Hurrian city of Šušarrā (Hilgert 2011). However, both the chronology and geographical orientation of Šulgi's campaigns and the different name forms make this identification highly improbable.[45] Perhaps Šašrum was situated not too far away from

Karaḫar and Simurrum, for example in the Push-e Kuh region of Ilam?[46]

From Simurrum and Karaḫar, Šulgi directed some campaigns to the northern neighbouring regions of Lullubum, usually localised in and around the Shahrizor plain, and

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wards the Diyala. Zabban is considered to be the Old Babylonian name of Simurrum (see Frayne 1997b, Fuchs 2011 etc.).

45 Not only is the identification geographically more than doubtful, but note that an equation of Ur III *Šaš(u)rum* with Old Babylonian

Šušarrā (or *Šušarraya*) seems improbable not only because of the different vowels (*šaš(u)*- vs. *šuša*-), but also because of the stress on different syllables (Ur III *Šášš(u)rum* vs. OB *Šušárrā* or *Šušarrá*). A place name *ša-aš*-[...] appearing twice in the OB Texts from Chogha Gavaneh (Islamabad-e Gharb; Abdi/Beckman 2007, 34 f.) is suggestive, but unfortunately does not count as hard evidence.

46 Amar-Suena conducted two campaigns against Šašrum, one in his fourth and another one in the fifth year, after which he named his sixth year (see, e. g., Sallaberger 1999, 164). In this context, it is noteworthy that Amar-Suena was forced to conduct military operations relatively close to the Mesopotamian lowlands, as was the case in his action against Ḫuḫnuri (Mofidi Nasrabadi 2005).

finally, Urbilum, identified with Erbil. These campaigns provided the year names for the years Šulgi 44, explicitly calling it the ninth campaign there, and Šulgi 45, with the addition of the northernmost polity, Urbilum.

Šulgi's last campaigns are those that interest us here, namely in Kimaš and Ḫurti, after which he named his years 46 to 48. It seems reasonable that the first campaigns were directed there from the south, from Susa. For the year name of Šulgi 48, Ḫarši was added before Kimaš and Ḫurti, and all were "destroyed" at one time. Ḫarši had already been the target in a campaign naming Šulgi's year 27, thus in the decade when the king of Ur concentrated on Simurrum and Karaḫar, in the region of the Sirwan river. Therefore, Ḫarši has to be looked for between Simurrum and Ḫurti, that is, on the beginning of the western route through Ilam to the Kuhdasht plain (see 1.2.2 above), perhaps between Gilan-e Gharb and Ivan.

This is certainly not the place to discuss all campaigns of Šulgi and the localisation of these lands in detail. However, some general observations may be permitted:

(1) Kimaš, Ḫurti, and the Khorasan Road: Steinkeller (2013) stressed the importance of the Great Khorasan Road from the Diyala region, passing Sar Pol-e Zahab to Kermanshah. Although Kimaš and Ḫurti have now proven to be localised further south, this aspect remains central to understand Šulgi's military campaigns: securing the Great Khorasan Road was the goal of his *first* campaigns, those directed against Simurrum and Karaḫar for more than a decade, and involving their northern and southern neighbours (Lullubum and Šašrum, Ḫarši) as well. Only in the end of his reign did Šulgi turn his attention to the southern network of routes that crossed the region of Luristan.

(2) The northern border or Elam: Ḫarši, Kimaš and Ḫurti are the southernmost polities reached by Šulgi's campaigns towards the eastern mountain regions, and this agrees with the perception of their people as "Elamites" in the messenger texts from Girsu (Notizia 2009, 37–45, esp. 40 fn. 100).[47] Ḫarši, Kimaš and Ḫurti thus belong to the large region of "Elamites" stretching from Pašime (Abu Sheeja) and Arawa/

URU×A on the eastern coast to Susa, Adamsul (Adamdun), and Ḫuḫnuri (Tappeh Bormi)[48] in Ḫuzestan, and to Anšan (Tall-e Malyan in Fars) and Marḫaši (Jiroft, Halil Rud region)[49] along the Zagros, including, of course, Šimaški and many other unlocalized place names. The main routes connecting the Luristan region and thus Kimaš, Ḫurti, and Ḫarši to Susa (see Section 1.2.1 above) are a fundamental element for apprehending the northern extent of Elam in the late third millennium. In line with the localisation of Kimaš in a zone of contact between Susa and the Iranian highlands is the appearance of Kimašites as messengers for Yabrat, ruler of Šimaški.[50]

(3) Relations of Ur to Kimaš and Ḫurti after Šulgi: In the royal archive on animals from Puzriš-Dagān, people from Kimaš and Ḫurti appear from time to time receiving or delivering animals or other goods, traces of the exchange of gifts to maintain good relations.[51] These remained sporadic contributions; Kimaš and Ḫurti were not integrated into the system of "tributes" (g u n$_2$ m a - d a) known especially from Šu-Suen 3 onwards.[52] The last appearance of Kimašites in the Puzriš-Dagan archives is when they swore an oath in the temple of Ninurta, apparently an attempt by Ibbi-Suen to save his kingdom by securing allies against Šimaški (MVN 13, 128: 16–18; IS.02.10.25).

(4) Campaigns and battles: Year after year, Šulgi campaigned in the Zagros mountains, and in some cases, years were named after these events. Without any doubt, they not only helped to control the polities in the East and secured the trade routes, but the annual military expeditions also constantly improved the quality of the Ur III army and furthermore, their contribution to the social coherence of the state may not be underestimated. All available information from year dates and archival sources suggests that the military actions took place in the attacked region themselves, whereby sometimes neighbouring states may have formed coalitions against the invaders. Therefore, the general picture derived from Šulgi's campaigns allows hardly any doubt that the battle against Kimaš and Ḫurti – eternalized

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47 The southern localisation of Ḫarši, Kimaš and Ḫurti is proven by the complementary distribution of place names in the messenger texts, since the other targets of Šulgi's campaigns, namely Urbilum, Lullubum, Simurrum, Karaḫar and Šašrum, do not appear as destination or provenance in messenger texts (according to a search in BDTNS); the only entry found refers to 1 sheep for Lullubum/Lullubeans (Nisaba 13, 105, Girsu). The distribution of place names confirms the southern localisation of Kimaš and Ḫurti in Lorestan. Potts (2010, 253) had already pointed to this distribution, but it was hard to draw the conclusions concerning the localisation before the coherent archaeological study of this region (Ghobadizadeh 2021) and the identification of the network of overland routes there.

48 For this localisation, see Mofidi Nasrabadi (2005).

49 The localisation in the eastern Zagros had been proposed by Steinkeller (1982) long before the spectacular discovery of the Early Bronze Age sites in the Halil Rud region around Jiroft.

50 Princeton 2, 2 iii (ŠS.05.01.00); on Yabrat/Ebarat, see Steinkeller (2007, 218–220).

51 Besides the references from BDTNS and Steinkeller (2013), see also Englund (2004, 37) on Ḫurti, in a commentary to an expenditure of sheep to the kitchen for Gunda, the person from Ḫurti (Fs. Pettinato, p. 42 no. 1, Amar-Suena 4/10).

52 *Pace* Steinkeller (2013, 305 and fn. 73); the interpretation of deliveries from eastern neighbouring regions as tribute (or gifts), not tax, was more generally advocated by Garfinkle (2015, 159 f.).

in the monument containing the inscribed bricks found in the Kuhdasht plain – was fought in or close to their home regions.

7 Conclusions

Thirteen fragments of brick inscriptions were found at five different sites south of Kuhdasht in the province of Lorestan, Iran. The inscriptions all display the same Akkadian text, and they stem from a monument erected by divine king Šulgi, "god of his land", "when he had destroyed the land of Kimaš and Ḫurti", and probably dating to the campaign of his 46th year or possibly his 47th year (May/June 2047 or 2046 BCE following the Middle Chronology). The monument referred to in the text consisted of two parts, an excavation and a mound of earth, Akkadian *birūtum*, known as an impressive memorial and a sepulture for the fallen warriors on the battlefield, who were buried there

by the army that had remained and did not flee. This agrees with the outer appearance of the sites, with five different findspots of inscribed bricks known to date and containing pottery and mostly human bones, according to test trenches at Kani Joni and to local reports. The Kuhdasht plain forms the core of a network of important routes leading from Susa to the north into the central Zagros and from the Diyala to the Iranian highlands, and therefore a campaign by a Mesopotamian army may have been intended to impress the Elamites in the region and to secure their cooperation in the trade network. We propose that Ḫurti may have been a polity in the Kuhdasht–Rumeshkan regions, whereas Kimaš was situated further to the east, perhaps around Khorramabad, in a position to control access to the copper mountains of Kimaš for which the Deh Hosein mines are the best candidate. As far as it is known to date, Šulgi's campaigns did not substantially change the exchange between Mesopotamia and the region of Lorestan, but archaeological investigation is still in its infancy in that area.

Appendix 1: Diagnostic Pottery from Kani Joni

N.	Phase	Comparisons
1	Godin III:2	Henrickson 1986, fig. 17, 18; Henrickson 2011, fig. 6.39a, GD 69–55
2	Godin III:2?	
3	Godin III:2	Thrane 2001, pl. 10, 10
4	Godin III:2	Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 92, q
5	Godin III:2	Henrickson 1986, fig. 17, 14; Henrickson 2011, fig. 6.40, GD 69–665, Thrane 2001, pl. 4, 1
6	Godin III:2?	
7	Godin III:2	Henrickson 1986, fig. 14, 5. 17, Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 92, s
8	Godin III:2	Henrickson 1986, fig. 14, 5. 17, Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 92, s
9	Godin III:2?	
10	Godin III:2	Henrickson 1986, fig. 16, 13; Henrickson 2011, fig. 6.39b, GD 69–2238
11	Godin III:2	Henrickson 1986, fig. 14, 5. 17, Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 92, s
12	Godin III:2	Henrickson 1986, fig. 14, 5. 17, Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 92, s
13	Godin III:2	Henrickson 1986, fig. 14, 5. 17, Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 92, s
14	Godin III:2	Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 100, a
15	Godin III:2	Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 96, e
16	Godin Post-III:2	Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 109, I; Henrickson 2011, fig. 6.40, GD 67–400
17	Godin Post-III:2	Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 109, r
18	Godin III:2	Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 92, p
19	Godin Post-III:2	Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 112, e. f, Henrickson 1986, fig. 17, 18
20	Godin III:2	Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 98, e, Henrickson 1986, fig. 16, 17
21	Godin III:2	Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 98, g. s
22	Godin III:2	Thrane 2001, pl. 10, 10 T 11.4
23	Godin III:2	Henrickson 1986, fig. 16, 19
24	Godin III:2	Henrickson 1986, fig. 16, 28; Henrickson 2011, fig. 6.40, GD 69–2229
25	Godin III:2	Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 103, a
26	Godin III:2	Schmidt et al. 1989, pl. 103, a

N.1

N.2

N.3

N.4

N.5

N.6

N.7

N.8

N.9

N.10

N.11

N.12

N.13

N.14

N.15

N.16

N.17

N.18

N.19

N.20

N.21

N.22

N.23

N.24

N.25   N.26
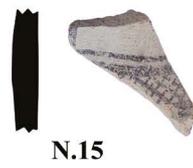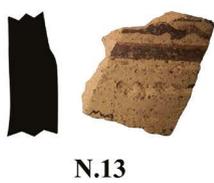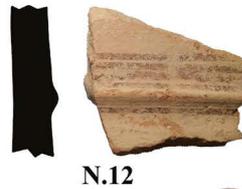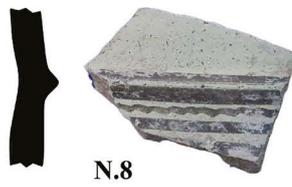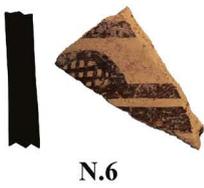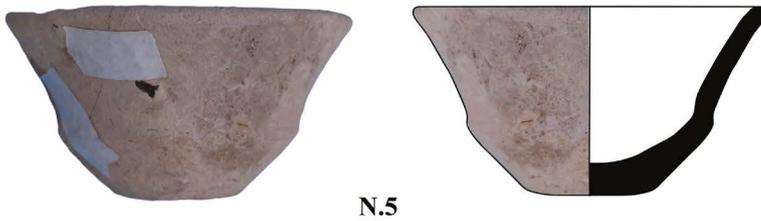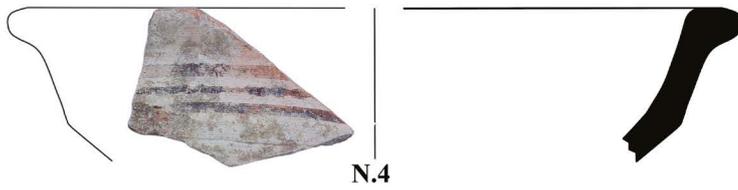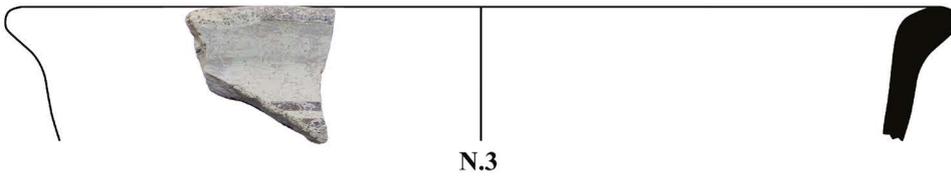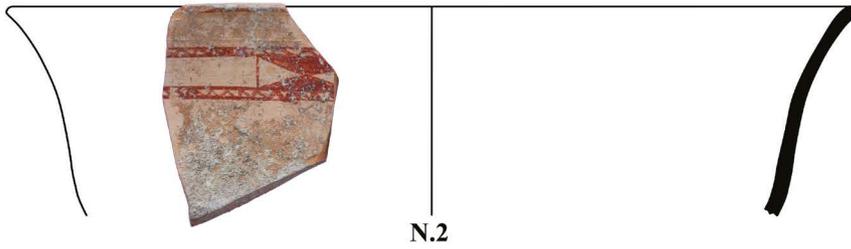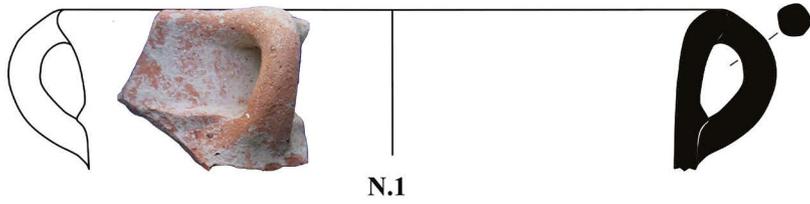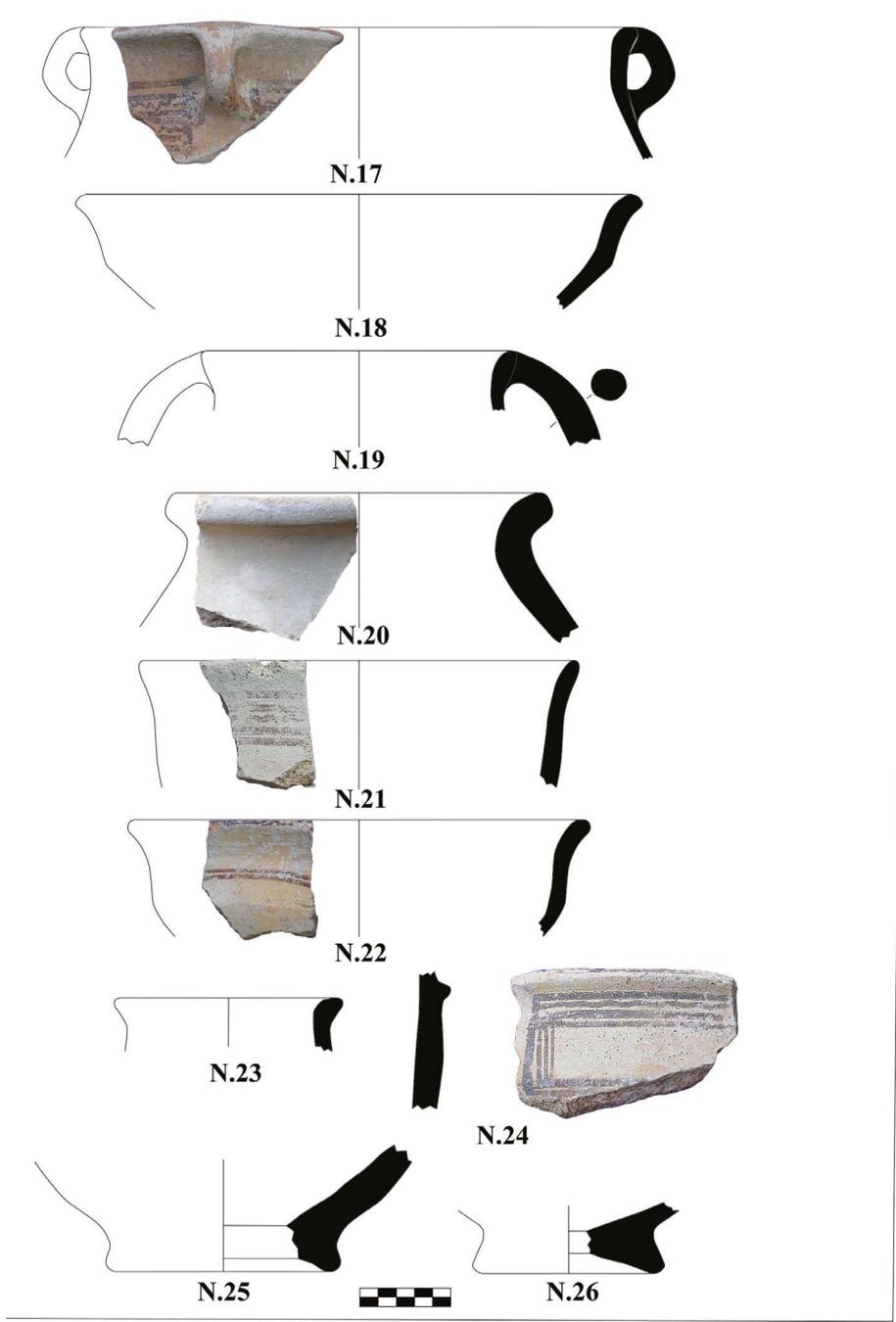
Appendix 2: Šulgi's Campaigns Against Kimaš, Ḫurti, and Ḫarši

This appendix provides an overview of the direct and indirect references to the campaigns against Kimaš and Ḫurti (and Ḫarši) in documents from the royal archives of Puzriš-Dagān during the years Šulgi 45 to 48 (for most of the references see also Steinkeller 2013, 303–308), but excluding those for "booty from Šimaški".

It is precisely during these years that the so-called Akiti year was used in the animal administration at Puzriš-Dagān, with years starting in month "6" and ending in month "5" (Cooper 1987; Sallaberger 1999, 237). Although the basic outline is known, the exact chronology, especially the correlation with calendars from other cities and the precise usage of year formulae still present many open questions. Cooper (1987, 182 f.) gives a piece of evidence that a normal month name dated to the year "following" (u s_2-s a) Šulgi 45 ("Urbilum destroyed"), i. e. Šulgi 45+1, corresponds chronologically to a *min*-month in the year Šulgi 45 (destruction of Urbilum). Similarly, the u s_2-s a year Šulgi 47 was used for months 1 to 5 of Šulgi 48 in the animal file of Puzriš-Dagān. A more in-depth study of the whole problem would be needed to arrive at a precise synchronistic chronology of the dates as used in the various archives.

Šulgi 45 "year: Urbilum destroyed" (= 2048 BCE, standard year)
Akiti year with the date "Šulgi 44" for months 1 m i n (= 1") to 6 m i n (= 6"), and "Šulgi 45" for months 6 to 12
First campaign against Kimaš and Ḫurti as attested by the year name for Šulgi 46

date	animals	transaction	reference to Kimaš and Ḫurti	reference
Šu.44.02".25	10 cattle	incoming delivery (m u - k u $_x$(DU)), taken over by Enlila	"(from) troops (e r e n$_2^!$(UD)) of **Kimaš**"	BPOA 7, 2875 r.1–2

Šulgi 46 "year: Kimaš and Ḫurti destroyed", referring to the campaign of Šulgi 45 (= 2047 BCE, standard year)
Akiti year with the date "Šulgi 45" ("Urbilum destroyed") for months 1 *min* to 5 *min* – or u s_2-s a year of "Šulgi 45" (= Šulgi 45+1 in table) for months 1 to 5 – and "Šulgi 46" ("Kimaš and Ḫurti destroyed") for months 6 to 12
The second and most successful campaign against Kimaš and Ḫurti; the first possible date for Kuhdasht battle monuments

date	animals	transaction	reference to Kimaš and Ḫurti	reference
Šu.45+1.02.00*	29 cattle	expenditure by Enlila for term of duty (b a l a) of governors	"(for) a drinking party (k a š - d e$_2$ - a) when **Kimaš** was destroyed"	YOS 4, 74
Šu.45+1.02.24	39 sheep	expenditure by Urkununa for term of duty (b a l a) of governors	"(for) a drinking party (k a š - d e$_2$ - a) of Enlil when **Kimaš** was destroyed"	HSS 68, 209
Šu.45+1.03.00	51 cattle	expenditure by Enlila for term of duty (b a l a) of governor of Marada	"(for) a drinking party (k a š - d e$_2$ - a) when **Ḫurti** was destroyed"	AUCT 1, 683
Šu.45+1.03.17	5 cattle	incoming delivery	"(from) troops (e r e n$_2$) of **Kimaš**"	Hirose 50 o. 1–2
Šu.45.04".13	16 cattle	incoming delivery, taken over by Enlila	"(from) troops (e r e n$_2^!$) of **Kimaš**"	TRU 144 o. 1–3
Šu.45+1.05.03	47+ cattle, 20 lambs over 3 days	from Aḫūni, taken over by [Nasa]	for the "banquet" (ĝ e š b u n$_2$) in the temple of Enlil and Ninlil, when the governor of **Kimaš** was seized"[53]	OIP 115, 428

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53 The photo of OIP 115, 428 r.5 suggests a reading: u$_4$ e n s i$_2$ k i - m a š^{ki} i n - d a b$_5$ - d a b$_5$ - b a - a "when he had seized the governors of Kimaš", but it is not evident to whom the agentive -*n*- refers; a reading i m$^!$(IN) - m a$^!$(KU) - d a b$_5$ - b a - a, however, necessitates a double emendation.

Šulgi 47 "year following: Kimaš and Ḫurti destroyed" (= 2046 BCE, standard year)

Akiti year with the date "Šulgi 46" ("Kimaš and Ḫurti destroyed") for months 1 to 5, and "Šulgi 47" for months 6 to 12

Second "destruction" in Ḫurti;[54] campaign against Ḫarši, Kimaš and Ḫurti (year date Šulgi 48); second possible date of Kuhdasht battle monuments

date	animals	transaction	reference to Kimaš and Ḫurti	reference
Šu.46.04.23	11+ sheep	expended from Ludiĝira	for Ninlil, Suen, Nintinuga, Dumuzi, Nisaba in Ninlil's temple, and for Duku: "(at) a banquet (ĝešbun$_2$) in the Enlil temple when Ḫurti was destroyed **a second time** (a-ra$_2$ 2-kam-aš)"	SAT 2, 517
Šu.46.04.24	2 sheep	expended from Ludiĝira	for Ninlil, "offering gift (niĝ$_2$ gaba-a), (at) a banquet in the Enlil temple when Ḫurti was destroyed **a second time**"	Ontario 1, 44
Šu.[46].04.[x]	3 cattle + 6 lambs	[...] from [...], taken over by Nasa	"(for) a banquet in Nibru when Ḫurti was destroyed **a second time**"	BPOA 7, 2852
Šu.46.04.14	3+2 donkeys 100 sheep + 100 goats	for Nablānum, the Amorite, via Namḫani, soldier;		MVN 15, 201 o.8–r.3
	6 cattle + 60 sheep	for Lumānum, the Amorite, via Abī-ṭāb, an envoy;		
	6 cattle	(for) Uuĝu, the gendarme; overseer Ea-ilī;		
		commissioner Urduĝu; expenditure	"from the booty of Ḫurti"	
Šu.47.12.00	8 pairs of shoes and 2 bags	in Nibru; expended from Ea-ilī	"(for) Bazamu, governor of Ḫurti"	TCS 363

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54 The clear distribution of references to a destruction of Ḫurti in tablets dated to "Šulgi 45+1" (i. e. "year following Urbilum destroyed" = Šulgi 45+1) and to the second destruction of Ḫurti in "Šulgi 46" (i. e. "Kimaš and Ḫurti destroyed") is in best agreement with the general reconstruction of the Akiti calendar.

Šulgi 48 "year: Ḫarši destroyed" (= 2045 BCE, standard year)
Akiti year with the date "Šulgi 47" for months 1 to 5 and "Šulgi 48" for months 6 to 12
Booty from Ḫarši

date	animals	transaction	reference to Ḫarši, Kimaš, Ḫurti	reference
Šu.47.02.15	1 bear cub	incoming delivery, taken over by Nasa	"(from) Išar-ališšu, man (l u₂) of **Kimaš**"	OIP 115, 273
Šu.47.04.14	3 he-goats for breeding	for Ea-ilī, commissioner Urduĝu, expended from Nasa	"from the incoming delivery of the troops of **Ḫarši** (š a₃ m u - k u ₓ(DU) e r i n₂ ḫ a - a r - š i ᵏⁱ)"	BPOA 7, 2603 r. 3–6
Šu.48.06.16	x cattle + 100 sheep	for the Amorite Nablānum,[55] via Ur-Utu, soldier; commissioner Urduĝu		BDTNS 158741
	10 cattle + 14 sheep, dead	for the storehouse (e₂ - k i š e b₃ - b a)	"from the incoming delivery of the booty (š a₃ m u - k u ₓ(DU) n a m - r a - a k a) of **Ḫarši**"	
		expenditure from Nasa		
Šu.48.07.00	1 cattle	via Urniĝar, overseer Eštar-alzu	"difference from the booty (l a₂ - i₃ š a₃ n a m - r a - a k a) of **Ḫarši**"	TCL 2, 5485
Šu.48.07.00	165 cows + 7736 small cattle (mostly she-goats)	via (general) Bubu		Princeton 1, 60
	66 cows + 3000 small cattle	via (general) Šu-Enlil		
		"seal (document) of . . . . is to be brought" (k i š e b₃ ZA x[-…] š u - AN […t]i - a ᵀDI? x¹* t u m₃ - d a m)	"booty of **Kimaš**, **Ḫarši**, … coming … (and?) from Susa" (n a m - r a - a k a k i - m a š ᵀᵏⁱ ḫ a¹ - a r - š i ᵏⁱ / […]- m a ᵏⁱ / š u š i n ᵀᵏⁱ¹ -[t a e]r - r a)	

Dates not preserved

[x].[x].[x].12+[x]	224 […] + 31 […]	incoming royal delivery (š a₃ m u - k u ₓ(DU) l u g a l), from Nasa, [taken over by NN] ([k i n a]-ᵀs a₆¹-t a […])	"booty of **Ḫarši** and **Kimaš**" (n a m - r a - a k a ḫ a - a r - š i[ᵏⁱ u₃] k i -[m a š ᵏⁱ])	AUCT 2, 364: 6–8
[x].[x].[x].[x]	1 bronze (z a b a r) […]	Āmur-Ea, the general has sent it hither, (received by) Dīnu-mīšar	"booty of **Ḫarši**" (n a m - r a - a k a ᵀḫ a¹-[a r - š i ᵏⁱ])	AUCT 1, 437

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55 For the recognition of the Amorite Nablānum by the gift of animals from the booty of Ḫarši, see the parallel case in Šu.46.04.14 above concerning booty from Ḫurti.

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