Building with cedars patently displayed the feat at home, and the burnt remnants of cedar beams in the Shamash temple show how Yahdun-Lim put the profit of his expedition to use.

Yahdun-Lim's motive for campaigning in the West was to assist to his ally, the king of Qatna, but his inscription does not elaborate this aspect. This engagement on behalf of Qatna provoked the anger of Sumu-epuh, the king of Yamhad (with Aleppo as his capital) who rivalled Qatna for power in the Syrian area. Sumu-epuh succeeded in turning three kings against Yahdun-Lim, each of them described as the ruler of a town and a particular tribe. They are collectively called the "kings of the Yaminites": the text employs here a short form (dumu-mi-im) of the better-known form "sons of Yamina" (dumu-meš-ia-mina and variants). The Yaminites were a prevalent ethnic group in the Middle Euphrates region, roughly of the area between Emar and Mari, and made up an important part of the population of the kingdom of Mari. Yahdun-Lim and Zimri-Lim, however, claimed leadership of the Sim'alites, another important and ramified ethnic group, especially in the area of the Habur headwaters, and their repeated conflicts with the Yaminites were no doubt stirred by rivalry for power between these two groups. The inscription of Yahdun-Lim carries on with a description of his subjugation of the Haneans. The notoriously elusive term Hana is the name of a land, more specifically that around the city of Terqa, but appears commonly in Mari texts to describe people. In this usage, the term "Haneans" can most of the time be taken to refer to a particular way of life ("nomads"), but sometimes to particular ethnic groups as well. Which nuance the term carries in the present text remains unclear.

Bibliography: RIME $4.6.8.2 = COS\ 2.111$.

B. Dadusha Stele

51. Inscription of Dadusha, king of Eshnunna (ca. 1800-1779 BC)

(A stone stele found in the vicinity of Tell Asmar [ancient Eshnunna] in Akkadian [220 lines divided over 17 columns].)

⁽¹⁾ Adad, the warrior, the son of Anum, whom the great gods in a lordly way have given the ultimate power, the massive roar that makes heaven and earth tremble, to lift the head up high, who lets terrifying bolts of lightning (and) destructive stones ⁽¹⁾ angrily rain down on the enemy land, the lord, whom by his own command is given wealth from east to west, made the massive flood superb in the land – for Adad, the perfect warrior, who renews the destinies of his reign for all time,

(III) Dadusha, the son of Ipiq-Adad, the strong king, whose name has been called magnificently from his creation in the womb to carry out the rule over the totality of the land, the beloved of Tishpak, the deliberate king, whom Adad, his god, majestically decreed to throw down his enemies with a strong weapon, the king of Eshnunna, eternal seed, whom lord Shamash (IV) led to his heart's desire (?) and (for whom) he majestically determined the destruction of the land of his opponents, Dadusha, supreme chief of kings, who binds

his enemies, who places the punishment of his strong weapon on the land of his opponents, who acquires fame for great victories on the battlefield, the son of Ipiq-Adad, am I.

When Anum and Enlil (1) with a magnificent order instructed me in a lordly way to execute kingship over the universe forever and govern the totality of the peoples, (when) at the declaration of warrior Tishpak and Adad, my god, the skill of battle, that of throwing down all evil and of lifting up the head of Eshnunna, was majestically given to me – at that time Qabarā, where none of the princes, my predecessors (VI) who have ruled in Eshnunna, nor of the kings who exist in the whole world, where no king at all had ventured to besiege it, to this land that hated me and failed to bow down respectfully upon the evocation of my honourable name I sent ten thousand first rate troops. With the strong weapon of warrior Tishpak and Adad, my god, (VII) I passed through its territory like the wild kašūšum (divine destruction). His allied forces and all his warriors, none of them offered me any resistance, his widespread cities Tutarra, Hatkum, Hurarā, Kirhum and his extensive settlements I swiftly seized with my strong weapon. I truly had their gods, their booty and their precious wealth brought to Eshnunna, my royal capital. (VIII) After I had laid waste to its surrounding territories and crushed his extensive land, I majestically approached Qabarā, his main city. In ten days I seized this city by means of a surrounding siege wall, by heaping up earth, with the help of a breach, an attack and my great strength. I swiftly bound its king Bunu-Ishtar by the blaze of my strong weapon and I truly had his head quickly brought to Eshnunna. (1X) The determination of the kings who supported him and his allies dissolved altogether and I truly set them in deadly silence. I brought in a lordly way his vast booty, the heavy treasure of this city, gold, silver, precious stones, fine luxuries and everything else that this land possessed, to Eshnunna, my royal capital, and (X) I truly exhibited it to all people, young and old, of the upper and lower land. All that remained in this land, this city, its vast territory and its settlements, I truly gave as a gift to Samsi-Addu, the king of Ekallatum. Up above in the land of Subartum, from the land of Burunda and the land of Eluhti (XI) to the mountain of Diluba and the mountain of Lullum, this land I truly crushed angrily with my strong weapon. I truly achieved that the kings who exist in the whole world will forever keep on praising me. In the course of the same year I built Dur-Dadusha, my frontier city, on the banks of the Tigris and I truly brought my good name into existence for all eternity.

Etemenursag, the temple of Adad, the god who raised me, (XIII) upon which is (1) the image of my heroism, a slayer majestically endowed with the splendour of battle to overwhelm the enemy land; (2) above him radiantly appear Sin and Shamash, who strengthen my weapon to prolong the years of my reign; (3) above the wall of Qabarā is (4) Bunu-Ishtar, the king of the land of Urbel (i.e. Arbil), whom I angrily bound with my strong weapon, (XIII) on whom he (the royal figure) treads from above, standing in a lordly way; (5) below him wild warriors carefully hold the bound – its lapidary quality has no rival, precisely executed in skilful labour of craftsmanship, surpassing words of praise, in order to stand day after day in front of Adad, my god who created me, to support my well-being and renew the destiny of my reign.

enemy, everlasting life, years of wealth and affluence as a gift! So that the land will always and forever keep on instructing my words of praise, that the old tells the young (XV) of my heroic [deeds], for this purpose I had a stele inscribed with an eternal name.

Who instructs with evil intentions and obliterates my figure, removes it from its position, hides it at a place where the eye will not behold it, will throw it in the water,

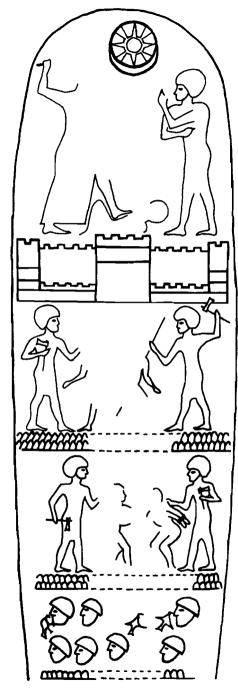


Figure 1 The Dadusha Stele (after Miglus 2003)

will bury it in the ground, destroy it with fire, (XVI) erase my inscribed name, write his name, or, on account of the curse, instructs somebody else, saying: "erase [...] his (?) written name and write my name!" – may Anum, Enlil, Sin, Shamash, Tishpak, Adad, my god, and the great gods bitterly and full-heartedly curse this king and may they never allow the mention of his name to exist in the land! (XVII) May the Annunaku (gods), those of heaven and earth, angrily swear to destroy his descendants – he himself and all of his family! May Ninurta, the caretaker of Ekur (temple) not allow him to acquire offspring that will mention his name! May his treasure constantly get out of reach!

The stone stele that carries this inscription was found by accident in 1983, when a well was drilled outside of Tell Asmar (Eshnunna). This elongated stone monument (180 cm high, 37 cm wide and 18,5 cm thick) is inscribed on the two narrow sides, while the front side is decorated with four registers of relief scenes, the centre of which has suffered damage during discovery. It was removed in antiquity from its original position to the find spot, for the text indicates that the stele once stood in the temple of Adad, king Dadusha's personal deity, in Eshnunna.

The building of the frontier stronghold Dur-Dadusha was, according to the text, the formal occasion for the creation of this monument, but the king's military exploits stand unmistakably in the centre of the narrative and the relief scenes. The text expresses that the stele was meant as an everlasting public testimony of the king's heroic deeds, and the account of the defeat of Bunu-Ishtar and the conquest of Qabarā was no doubt appreciated as a prime example of royal valour. This war is also described in other sources: The stele hints that Shamsi-Addu of Ekallatum played a part in the project, and the contemporary letters from Mari and Shemshara show that it was in fact a joint enterprise of the kings of Ekallatum and Eshnunna, who were at that time united by treaty. Moreover, a stele of Samsi-Addu immortalizing the same events has survived as well (RIMA I A.0.39.1001).

The campaign took place in 1980 BC, the penultimate year of Dadusha's reign, and it is likely that the king of Eshnunna did not participate in person; the letters report that Shamsi-Addu and his sons led the troops against several fortified cities throughout the summer of that year, until Qabarā was conquered in the fall. The kingdom of Bunu-Ishtar was located in the plains east of the Tigris, between the Upper and the Lower Zab. The text calls Bunu-Ishtar the "king of Arbil", a title that expresses the importance of this ancient cult centre in his kingdom, but the city of Qabarā, located near a strategic crossing over the Lower Zab, seems to have been the main citadel of his realm.

A unique feature of this monument is the correlation between the text and the images, for the inscription contains a description of some scenes of the relief (numbers between brackets refer to the translation). The upper of the four relief registers contains two figures facing each other. The text allows to identify the figure of the left as (1) an "image of heroism" of king Dadusha, in the position of a "slayer". The figure in adoration opposite of him is unidentified, but may represent the crown prince, or perhaps a general. Above these two figures appear the moon crescent and sun disk as the symbols of

the gods (2) Shamash and Sin. The king treads on the slain king (4) Bunu-Ishtar, while below them the (3) wall of Qabarā appears. Below the representation of the city are two registers (separated by depictions of mountain ranges) with scenes of (5) members of the army subduing and guarding the enemy soldiers. The bottom register depicts the decapitated heads of subjugated kings being attacked by vultures.

Bibliography: Ismaïl and Cavigneaux 2003.