Amorites in the early Old Babylonian Period

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Towards a new chronology for the early OB period

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to propose a new relative chronology for the early OB period. Its main focus is on the period of ca. 1900-1825 BC, when we see a sudden surge of textual material in the lower Diyala region and Northern Babylonia, as well as a multitude of small kingdoms, led almost exclusively by men with Amorite names. There have been no recent attempts at establishing a new relative chronology of these early OB kingdoms.[360] A reconstruction based on a larger text corpus would greatly help in better understanding this period's political climate.

This chapter is comprised of three parts: in the first two we will take a fresh look at the local dynasties of Sippar and Kiš and Damrum, in the final part a new relative chronology is presented for the period 2000-1825 BC.

5.2 Sippar's local kings in the early OB period

5.2.1 *Introduction*

For a general introduction on early OB Sippar and the sources at our disposal, see chapter 4. We will be mainly concerned here with the known local rulers of Sippar and its immediate vicinity: in which texts and files they occur, which year names they had, and in which oaths they feature.

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[360] The most recent overview of the matter is was published a decade ago in Charpin 2004a, most notably p. 78-100.

5.2.2 *Ilum-ma-Ila*

Ilum-ma-Ila[361] is traditionally considered as one of the earliest rulers of Sippar.[362] He features in a number of letters in the Ikūn-pîša archive and he seems to have been a member of the group of Amorite kings centered around Sumu-abum. In a number of letters there is talk about him swearing an oath in front of Ilum-ma,[363] a representative of Ikūn-pîša. This not only shows that several Sippar 'petty kings' were contemporary, but also that their relationships were formalized. There existed at least the will at coexistence: also with Sumu-la-El who is mentioned in the same letters.

A presumed seal inscription of Ilum-ma-Ila was found on a school tablet in Larsa in 1933. It was copied by Dossin in Baghdad and published in transcription by Arnaud: DINGIR-*ma*-DINGIR *ma-lik la š*[*a-na*]*,-an* LUGAL *k*[*iš-ša-tim?*], [ÌR] *da-gan*.[364] 'Ilum-ma-Ila, king with no equal, king of all *totality*, servant of Dagan'.[365] The fact that it was found in Larsa on a badly written school tablet and that it is known only from a copy, makes the credibility of this inscription dubious. The most interesting features are the usage of the West-Semitic word *mālikum* 'king' and Ilum-ma-Ila's connection to Dagan, one of the most important gods of the Middle Euphrates. As was noted in the chapter on Amorite personal names; there are no clear Amorite names with Dagan as its theophoric element, making this supposed connection of Ilum-ma-Ila to Dagan all the more interesting.

People swear by Ilum-ma-Ila's name in eleven texts.[366] There are two types of oaths: the 'standard oath', in which his name and the god Šamaš are in-

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[361] The name means something like 'Ilum is the god'. See Edzard 1976-1980c and Edzard 1976-1980d on the gods 'Il' and 'Ila'.

[362] Harris 1975:2 thought of the sequence Immerum→Buntahtun→Ila-Sumu-la-El (disregarding Ammi-ṣura), Charpin 2004a:92 (n. 336) is not as explicit but does confirm the sequence Immerum→Buntahtun-Ila. Wu Yuhong 1994:31 suggested that Ilum-ma-Ila and Immerum ruled at Tell-ed-Dēr (Sippar-Amnānum) and Tell Abu Habbah (Sippar-Yahrūrum) respectively. This was refuted by Charpin 2004a:92.

[363] The texts are: *IPLA* (Ikun-pîša Letter Archive, De Boer forthcoming) 4 : 24, 29, 50; *IPLA* 2 : 36; *IPLA* 5 : 9, 39; *IPLA* 3 : 12, 18(fragm.); *IPLA* 9 : 12'.

[364] Arnaud 2010:5-6. Arnaud correctly assumed that it is less likely that this man is in fact the later Sealand Dynasty king Ilum-ma-Ilum. Note the absence of the divine determinative for Dagan.

[365] Arnaud read LUGAL K[IŠ*KI*] 'king of Kiš', prof. Stol proposed that it would make more sense for Ilum-ma-Ila to call himself 'king of all totality' than king of Kiš.

[366] Tanret 2004b:256 mentions another two unpublished texts datable to Ilum-ma-Ila from the Ur-Utu archive.

voked, and the 'curse oath' in which the juror is threatened by Šamaš' wrath, should he break his oath. Šamaš as oath-god places Ilum-ma-Ila securely in Sippar-Yahrurum:[367] it is no coincidence that some of the Ilum-ma-Ila texts were excavated by Hormuzd Rassam in the 1880's at Abu Habbah.[368] We have no year names of Ilum-ma-Ila. The eleven texts containing Ilum-ma-Ila belong to the following archives:

- Nūr-Šamaš' file: 4[369]
- Dammāqtum's :   1[370]
- Nabi-Sîn son of Biru: 1[371]
- Nakulatum   1[372]
- Nabi-Enlil   1[373]
- Sîn-i[...], son of Bala: 1[374]
- x x-*sa-ku-ul*   1[375]
- Unknown: 1[376]
- Total   11

One sees immediately that Ilum-ma-Ila oaths occur more often in Nūr-Šamaš' file: the other occurrences appear isolated.

In some texts from Nūr-Šamaš' file we find Nanna-azida, the scribe, son of Sîn-muballiṭ.[377] He seems to have had a very interesting professional career,

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[367] Even though the place was probably not called like this in the early OB period.

[368] BM 57887 and BM 57234 (published in the Appendix) This is easily verified because of the British Museum collection numbers starting with 'AH', cf. Kalla 1999:203f. Friedrich *BA* 5 48 is also certainly from Abu Habbah, because it was excavated by Scheil in the 1890's. The other Ilum-ma-Ila texts are probably also from Abu-Habbah.

[369] *MHET* II/1 1, *MHET* II/1 2, *MHET* II/1 3, and *CT* 8 41d.

[370] *CT* 8 38b. Through the witness Sîn-mālik, son of Pahar-šen, we have a link with *MHET* II/1 2 from Nūr-Šamaš' file. Through the scribe Sîn-šeme, son of Būr-Nunu this text is also connected to *CT* 8 26b.

[371] *CT* 8 26b. Interestingly, a man called Immerum is a witness in *CT* 8 26b:21. This text is connected through the witness Eškit-El to the Nūr-Šamaš file.

[372] *BE* 6/1 1.

[373] *BE* 6/1 2.

[374] BM 57234.

[375] Friedrich *BA* 5 48.

[376] BM 57887.

[377] *MHET* II/1 3:23-24, Ilum-ma-Ila, *MHET* II/1 13:1'-3', Sumu-la-El, *MHET* II/5 588:22-23, undated, *MHET* II/5 589:21-22, undated, *MHET* II/1 30:16', Sabium, BM 67326:19', Altinû, BM 16747:19″-20″, Ammi-ṣura.

writing texts that we can date to *five* different kings, all 'ruling' Sippar. This is a phenomenon that we see more in the early OB period: scribes appear very mobile between different social groups or families.

Apart from Nūr-Šamaš' file, few prosopographical connections are possible outside of these eleven texts with an oath by Ilum-ma-Ila. Why so many texts in the Nūr-Šamaš file carry an oath by Ilum-ma-Ila is hard to determine. It would be interesting to know how the oath-king was chosen: if there were different social groups having different overlords, would the seller's ruler then be taken as oath-king? Or the buyer's? Could this explain the phenomenon of double oaths?[378] There is something to be said for the seller's king as oath-king: in first instance it was the seller who had to promise not to come back on a sale and to answer any claims. This is nicely demonstrated in the oath of *MHET* II/1 3: 'They swore by the name of Šamaš and Ilum-ma-Ila. One shall not make claims against the other. Samehum and Sîn-erībam (the sellers) will take liability for any (lit. its) claim."[379]

5.2.2.1 Oaths mentioning Ilum-ma-Ila

1) *CT* 8 26b:16-17, *ni-iš* ᵈUTU *ù* DINGIR-*ma-*ᵈ*i-la, it-mu-ú.* Standard oath.[380]
2) *MHET* II/1 1:12-13, MU ᵈ[UTU], *ù* DINGIR-*ma-*[*ì-la*]. Standard oath by.
3) *MHET* II/1 3:14-15, *ni-iš* ᵈUTU *ù* DINGIR-*ma-ì-lá, it-mu.* Standard oath.
4) *CT* 8 41d:13-15, MU ᵈUTU, *ù* DINGIR-*ma-ì-la,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.
5) *BE* 6/1 1:14-15, MU ᵈUTU *ù* DINGIR-*ma-ì-la*ˈ, IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.
6) *BE* 6/1 2:7-9, MU ᵈUTU *ù* DINGIR-*ma-ì-la, it-mu-ú ša a-na a-wa-ti-*[*šu*]*, i-tu-ru.* Curse oath.
7) *CT* 8 38b:9-10, *le-mu-un* ᵈUTU *ù* DINGIR-*ma-ì-la, ša a-na a-wa-ti-šu i-tu-ru.* Curse oath.
8) Friedrich *BA* 5 48:12-15, [*le-mu-un* ᵈUTU], *ù* DINGIR-*ma-i-la, ša a-na a-wa-ti-šu, i-tu-ru.* Curse-oath.
9) *MHET* II/1 2:13-16, *le-mu-<un>* ᵈUTU, *ù* DINGIR-*ma-ì-la, ša a-na a-wa-/ti-šu-ú, i-<tu>-ru* . Curse oath.
10) BM 57887[381]:6'-8', *ni-iš* ᵈUTU, [*ù*] DINGIR-*ma-ì-la, it-mu.* Standard oath.

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[378] See most recently Charpin 2004a:79 n. 264, p. 93 n. 342 and 343.

[379] *MHET* II/1 3:14-19, *ni-iš* ᵈUTU, *ù* DINGIR-ma-*ì-lá, it-mu a-wi-lum, a-na a-wi-li la i-ra-ga-mu, a-na ba-aq-ri-šu, sa-me-hu-um,* ˈ*ù* ᵈENˋ.ZU-*e-ri-ba-am i-za-zu.*

[380] Note that an extra /DINGIR/ sign is written in front of the divine name Ila.

[381] Published in the Appendix.

11) BM 57234[382]:6'-7', *ni-iš* «IGI» DINGIR-*ma-ì-la*, *it-ma*. Oath sworn in front of Ilum-ma-Ila.

5.2.3 *Ammi-ṣura*

Ammi-ṣura or Hammi-ṣura was a Sippar petty king who is mentioned in nine texts from early OB Sippar.[383] Special mention must be made of his appearance in the early OB texts found by the Belgians at Tell ed-Dēr.[384] Four of them carry year names attributable to Ammi-ṣura. It seems likely that the people who owned the *ED* II archive belonged to a social group adhering to Ammi-ṣura at Tell ed-Dēr (Sippar-Amnanum).

From *IPLA* 41 we know that there was an explicit connection between Ammi-ṣura and Mari. *IPLA* 41 is a letter addressed to Ammi-ṣura found in the Ikūn-pîša letter archive. It is written by the merchant's guild (*kārum*) of Sippar residing in Mari and Mišlan. They recount that Ammi-ṣura's messenger had arrived and had given a consignment to Halālum. The king (presumably of Mari and/or Mišlan) had told the guild that he will not release the trade caravan or messenger (bound for Sippar?) until Halālum and Kurûm have been captured. Accordingly, he detains the messenger (of Ammi-ṣura). The merchant's guild responded by asking the king of Mari/Mišlan to bring their case to Ammi-ṣura. The reverse of the letter is badly damaged, but it seems that the guild begs Ammi-ṣura not to let another caravan come to them.

The letter *IPLA* 25 is perhaps written by Ammi-ṣura to Ikūn-pîša.[385] The writer and Ikūn-pîša are clearly on equal terms, because the writer calls Ikūn-pîša his 'brother'.

5.2.3.1 Ammi-ṣura year names

a) *-ED* II 27:11-12, MU *ša e-ši ša* É, [d]IM *a-mi-ṣú-ra i-du*. 'Year: Ammi-ṣura laid the foundations of Adad's temple'. The same year name features slightly different in *ED* II 24.[386]

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[382] Published in the Appendix.

[383] Earlier bibliography: Harris 1975: 4 n. 14, De Meyer 1978:148 and Charpin 2004:92 and n. 334.

[384] De Meyer 1978.

[385] The name of *IPLA* 25's writer is badly preserved and a reading *am-mi*-ku-ˊxˋ is preferable.

-*ED* II 24:18-19, MU *ša* ˹*e*˺-*ši* É! ᵈIM, *i-na-du*. 'Year: the foundations of Adad's temple were laid'. This is basically the same year name as the one in *ED* II 27, which contains Ammi-ṣura's name.

b) *ED* II 25:14-15, MU *ša* ᵈIM, *a-na* É *i-ru-bu*. 'Year: Adad entered the temple'. This year name is attributed to Ammi-ṣura because of the previous year name mentioning the laying of Adad's temple's foundations. The year name of *ED* II 25 would logically be situated after the one in *ED* II 24 and 27.

c) *ED* II 26:9, MU *ša be-lum* BE.KU, a variant of the same year name is found on the envelope 6': MU *ša be-lum* DUMU ˹x˺ ᵈEN.[x] BE.KU. This year name poses problems. Year names commemorating the death of an important person are not uncommon in the early OB period and we might suspect that this year name commemorates the death of this mysterious Bēlum.[387] For this we would need to inverse the signs BE and KU, to obtain the reading BA!.UG₇. The more complete form of this year name on the envelope seems to add this Bēlum's patronym, for which we might make this suggestion: MU *ša be-lum* DUMU ˹*ib-ni*˺, ᵈEN.[ZU] BA!↔UG₇ 'Year: Bēlum, the son of Ibni-Sîn, died'. The reason that this year name is here included under Ammi-ṣura's year names is the fact that all other year names connected to him occur in the same archive as this one about Bēlum's death,[388] making it likely that they were all written during the rule of Ammi-ṣura.

From these year names we learn that Ammi-ṣura probably had a special connection to Adad. This is one of the very few instances in which Adad (the main Amorite god in the Mari texts) is connected to the early OB Amorites.[389] Ammi-ṣura had built a temple for Adad (Ammi-ṣura a) and a statue of the god

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[386] Goddeeris 2002: 216 and 217 has remarked this and other Akkadian year names, but has only provided broken transliterations.

[387] See also Edzard 1957:139 n. 736. Some examples: *TIM* 7 22:11'-12', MU *ha-an-ba-ti-ia* DUMU *su-mu-a-bi-im i-mu-tu* 'Year in which Hanbatīya, the son of Sumu-abum died', *Edubba* 7 122:13, mu *ša sa-mu*!-*um* ba.ug₇ 'Year in which Samum died', and *CT* 4 47b:30-31, mu *i-ṣí-su-mu-/a-bu-um*, BA.UG₇ 'Year in which Iṣi-Sumu-abum died' etc. The theory that these year names only mention rulers of neighboring cities is no longer valid: from Kisurra we know of year names stating the death of local rulers (Goddeeris 2009: 17-20).

[388] See also Goddeeris 2002:216-217 on this archive.

[389] Note also the parallel with Ilum-ma-Ila and his possible connection to Dagan (see above).

had entered the temple (Ammi-ṣura b). In her study about Sippar's religion, Myers suspects a close relationship between the cults of Šamaš and Adad.[390] The remaining year name that was attributed to Ammi-ṣura commemorates the death of a certain Bēlum. Ammi-ṣura is also mentioned in a broken letter, the context is unfortunately unclear.[391]

5.2.3.2 Oaths mentioning Ammi-ṣura

Only two other texts mention Ammi-ṣura: they both carry an oath in his name. In these oaths he is mentioned not with Adad, but with Sippar-Yahrūrum's main deity: Šamaš. One of the texts, *CT* 48 90, belongs to the file of Abum-halum's descendants.

The other text, BM 16474 (published in the Appendix), has one connection through a witness to the isolated text *CT* 8 26b, Dummuqum, son of Salim(um).[392]

1) CT 48 90:12-13, *le-mu-un* ᵈUTU, *ù am-mi-ṣú-ra* (*ša ana awātīšu iturru*). Curse oath.
2) BM 16474:4″, MU ᵈUTU *ù ha-mi-ṣú-ra*. Standard oath.

5.2.4 *Immerum*

Immerum is the most frequently attested local Sippar king.[393] Immerum's name is Akkadian, it has the meaning 'sheep' or 'ram'. He is mentioned in twenty-seven published texts.[394] The oaths that are sworn in his name always mention Šamaš and sometimes Aya and the town of Sippar. Like Buntahtun-

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[390] Myers 2002:87-93.

[391] *ED* II 57: 1'-7': ʾli še eʾ, *ù am-mi-ṣú-[ra...]*, *a-na a-wa-ti-[šu...]*, *i-ka-ra-tu* x [...], *ša-ma* ur-x [...], é *li-te-er* [...], x ur [...].

[392] *CT* 8 26b:3-4, Ilum-ma-Ila; BM 16474:8'-9', Ammi-ṣura.

[393] Bibliography: Edzard 1957:129, Harris 1975:2-4, Wu Yuhong 1994:31, and Charpin 2004a:92-93.

[394] Tanret 2004b:256 mentions an additional unpublished text datable to Immerum from the Ur-Utu archive. The Rosen collection at Yale university has also an additional unpublished text from Immerum's time: RBC 764.

Ila (see below), Immerum is also mentioned in an oath on an unpublished text (IM 63242) from Tell Harmal/Šaduppûm in the Diyala region.[395]

Immerum was contemporaneous with Sumu-la-El and Sumu-abum as we learn from the double oaths, but also because he receives a jar of wine from Ilum-ma in *IPLA* 7.[396] BM| 97141, published by Veenhof, attests to a legal measure taken by Immerum and 'the city' to redeem property that might have been sold out of dire economic needs. Veenhof 1999 n° 2 lines 9-11 read: *iš-tu* A.ŠÀ *ù* É, *im-me-ru-um pa-ṭà-ra-am, iq-bu-ú wa-ar-ki a-wa-at / a-li-im*. 'After Immerum had ordered the redemption of fields and houses, after the decree of the city'.[397]

Five year names are known for Immerum.[398] The first of which is an accession year name in which he took the throne. This type of year name is often interpreted as an usurpation, but the Mananâ-dynasty texts show that this does not always have to be the case. Four year names mention Immerum's building activities: a temple for Inanna,[399] the wall of the *nadītum* cloister, the digging of the 'Asuh'-canal,[400] and the construction of a temple tower for Šamaš. Immerum's building activities point mostly towards a connection with the cult of Šamaš and thus Sippar-Yahrūrum.

Documents dated to an Immerum year name or containing a (double) oath in his name (and a king of Babylon) are found in the following files or isolated texts:

- Abum-halum's descendants: 1[401]
- Nigga-Nanna s. Nanna-ašarēd:1[402]
- Nūr-Šamaš/Lu-Ninšubur: 3[403]

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[395] See now Hussein 2008:91. See Hussein 2008:80 for the Buntahtun-Ila reference, which is not an oath, but a year name. It is curious that the unpublished text from Tell Harmal with the Buntahtun-Ila oath has the number IM 63243.

[396] In the letter Sumu-abum receives a shekel of gold and Sumu-la-El and Immerum each a jar of wine.

[397] See the extensive commentary by Veenhof 1999:611-616.

[398] There is a possibility that the year name found in Van Lerberghe 1982 is also attributable to Immerum, see below 'unattributable year names from Sippar'.

[399] Perhaps Annunītum was meant with Inanna?

[400] The locality Asuh/Ašuh is rarely attested: *YOS* 13 89:2, *MHET* II/2 370:4-5, BM 22699:7 (unpublished, courtesy of F. van Koppen).

[401] *CT* 8 47b.

[402] *RA* 73 p. 20-21 (AO 7802).

[403] *MHET* II/1 4, 5 and 10.

- Sîn-emūqi s. Sîn-rabi: 1[404]
- Hālilum: 1[405]
- Ipqu-Ištar/Nūr-Šamaš: 1[406]
- Dada-waqar's children: 1[407]
- Puzur-Šamaš: 1[408]
- Imgur-Sîn's children: 1[409]
- Zablum: 1[410]
- Dammāqtum's descendants: 1[411]
- Inim-Nanna: 1[412]
- Sîn-iqīšam s. Ra'ibum: 1[413]
- Warad-Sîn s. Ibni-Sîn: 3[414]
- Bettatum d. Sikilum: 1[415]
- Nur-[...]:   1[416]
- Adad-rabi s. Etel-pi-Sîn: 1[417]
- Kumuzili: 1[418]

In many cases, the documents datable to Immerum represent the oldest text in a given archive after which the other texts are dated to Babylonian kings.

The seemingly isolated texts datable to Immerum are in fact related to each other through the witnesses. If we take *RA* 73 p. 20-21 (Nigga-Nanna s. Nanna-ašarēd): this document has a connection through witness Amur-Sîn, s. Išme-Sîn (husband of Lamassatum and father of Erīb-Ea and Tariš-Nunu) to the family of Ili-hamad.[419]

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[404] *BE* 6/1 5.

[405] *MHET* II/1 12.

[406] *BAP* 35/*CT* 45 76.

[407] *MHET* II/1 6.

[408] *Edubba* 7 121.

[409] *BE* 6/1 4.

[410] *PBS* 8/2 195.

[411] *CT* 4 50a.

[412] *BDHP* 37.

[413] *CT* 8 47a (=*MHET* II/1 9).

[414] *VAS* 8 6/7, *BE* 6/1 3 and *VAS* 8 4/5.

[415] *MHET* II/1 7.

[416] *Edubba* 7 132.

[417] Veenhof 1999 no. 2.

[418] *BDHP* 14.

[419] Cf. Goddeeris 2002:124, *RA* 73 p.70-71 (AO.7802):26, Immerum; *CT* 45 3:5, Sabium 5; *MHET* II/1 41:24-25, Sabium.

Through the witness Ilšu-tillassu, s. Sîn-iddinam, there is a connection to the creditor Puzur-Šamaš in *Edubba* 7 121.[420] Through the witness Merānum, s. Ili-tūram, there is a connection to the file of Dada-waqar's children.[421] The witness Ur-Lugalbanda, s. Sîn-muballiṭ, provides a connection to the file of Dammāqtum's descendants.[422] The scribe of *RA* 73 p. 70-71, Ubar-Ninurta is like other scribes (see above the case of Nanna-azida), a node within a network of different social groups.[423]

5.2.4.1 Immerum year names

a) *-MHET* II/1 10:47-48, MU *im-me-ru-um* GIŠGU.ZA, *iṣ-ba-tu*. 'Year: Immerum took the throne'.
   -MHET II/1 10 (case):29, [MU *im-me-ru-um* GIŠGU.ZA *iṣ*]-ˈ*ba-tu*ˈ. 'Year: Immerum took the throne'.
   -Edubba 7 132:10-12, MU *im-me-ru-um,* GIŠGU.ZA *iṣ-ba-/tu*. 'Year: Immerum took the throne'.

b) *PBS* 8/2 195:12, MU É dINANNA, *im-me-ru-um i-pu-šu*. 'Year: Immerum built Inanna's temple.

c) *BDHP* 37:23-24, MU *ša* BÀD *ga-gi-im, im-me-ru-um i-pu-šu*. 'Year: Immerum built the wall of the *gagûm*-cloister'.

d) *-Edubba* 7 121:19-20, MU.ÚS.<SA> BÀD *ga-gi*ⁱ*-im, im-me-ru-um i-pu-šu*. 'Year after (the year): Immerum built the wall of the *gagûm*-cloister'.
   -Edubba 7 121(envelope):13-14, ˈ1 MU.ÚS.SAˈ BÀD *ga-gi*ⁱ*-im* «im», *im-me-ru-um i-pu-šu*. 'Year after (the year): Immerum built the wall of the *gagûm*-cloister'.

e) *BAP* 10:9-10, MU *ša* I₇ *a-su-uh, im-me-ru-um, ih-ru-ú*. 'Year: Immerum dug the canal 'Asuh'.

f) 'Year: he made high the sand of the ziggurat of Šamaš' (not attested).

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[420] *RA* 73 p. 70-71 (AO.7802):29, Immerum; *Edubba* 7 121:18-19(case), Immerum d.

[421] *RA* 73 p. 70-71 (AO.7802):27, Immerum; *MHET* II/1 6:43-44, Immerum.

[422] *CT* 45 1:15 (case of *BDHP* 31), Sumu-la-El and Buntahtu-Ila; *RA* 73 p.70-71 (AO.7802):30, Immerum.

[423] *RA* 73 p.70-71 (AO.7802):35, Immerum, *CT* 4 48b:34-35, Sumu-la-El, *BE* 6/1 4:26, Immerum, *CT* 2 16 :30, Sabium, *MHET* II/1 38:34, Sabium, *CT* 6 42a:35 (case is *MHET* II/1 23), Sumu-la-El, *CT* 2 37:39, Sabium, *MHET* II/1 66:44, Apil-Sîn.

g) *BBVOT* 1 99:13-15, MU.ÚS.SA *ša** <SAHAR* *zi-qú*>, [SAH]AR *zi-qú-ra-at* ^dUTU, *ú-še-lu-ú*. 'Year after (the year): he made high the sand of the ziggurat of Šamaš'.[424]

5.2.4.2 Oaths mentioning Immerum and Sumu-la-El

1) *CT* 4 50a:16-18, MU ^dUTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* MU ^dAMAR.UTU *ù su-mu-la-*DINGIR, IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Double oath by Šamaš and Immerum and Marduk and Sumu-la-El.

2) *MHET* II/1 12:19-21, ˹MU˺ ^dUTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* ˹MU˺ ^dAMAR.UTU *ù su-mu-la-/*DINGIR, IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Double oath by Šamaš and Immerum and Marduk and Sumu-la-El.

3) -Van Lerberghe 1982 *Zikir Šumim* p. 246-249:19-23, (Sîn-bāni year name), *ni-iš* ^dUTU, *ù* ^dAMAR.UTU, *ni-iš im-me-ru-um, ù su-mu-le-el,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Double oath by Šamaš and Marduk and Immerum and Sumu-la-El.
-Van Lerberghe 1982 *Zikir Šumim* p. 246-249:13-15, (Sîn-bāni year name) (envelope), [*le-m*]*u-un* ^dUTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* [*le-m*]*u-un* ^dAMAR.UTU, [*ù su-m*]*u-le-el i*[*t-mu-ú*]. Double curse-oath by Šamaš and Immerum and Marduk and Sumu-la-El.

5.2.4.3 Oaths mentioning Immerum

1) -*VAS* 8 6:13-14, MU ^dUTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.
-*VAS* 8 7 (envelope *VAS* 8 6):11-12, [MU] ^dUTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* [IN].PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.

2) -*VAS* 8 4:26-30, *ni-iš* ^dUTU *ù* ^d*a-a, ni-iš* ZIMBIR^{KI}, *ù im-me-ru-um, ša a-na wa-ar-ki-it,* U₄-*mi -im i-ra-ga-mu*. Curse oath by Šamaš, Aya, Sippar and Immerum.
-*VAS* 8 5 (envelope *VAS* 8 4):14-20, *ni-iš* ^dUTU *ù* ^d*a-a, ni-iš* ZIMBIR^{KI} *ù im-me-ru-u*[*m*], *ša a-na wa-ar-ki-it* U₄-*mi-im, a-na iš₈-tár-um-mi ù ma-ri-ša i-r*[*a-ga-mu*]. Curse oath by Šamaš, Aya, Sippar and Immerum.

3) -*CT* 8 47b:14-15, MU ^dUTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.

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[424] The reading of this year name was taken from Charpin's 2005a:166. Goddeeris 2002:93 has signaled that this year name bears close resemblance to one of Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna, but this was refuted by Charpin 2005a:166, who connects it firmly to Immerum.

-*MHET* II/1 8 (=envelope *CT* 8 47b):11-12, [MU] ᵈUTU *ù im-me-ru-˹um˺*, IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.

4) -*CT* 8 47a:12, MU ᵈUTU *ù im-me-ru-um* IN.PÀD.DÈ. Standard oath.
   -*MHET* II/1 9:18-19, MU ᵈUTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* IN.PÀD.DÈ. Standard oath.

5) *RA* 73 p.70-71 (AO.7802):16-17, MU ᵈUTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.

6) *BE* 6/1 3:23, MU ᵈUTU *im-me-ru-um,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.

7) *BE* 6/1 4:14, MU ᵈUTU *ù im-me-ru-um it-ma-a.* Standard oath.

8) *BE* 6/1 5:19, MU ᵈUTU *ù im-me-ru-um* IN.PÀD.EŠ. Standard oath.

9) Veenhof 1999 no. 2:19-20, MU ᵈUTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.

10) *MHET* II/1 4:20-21, *ni-iš* ᵈUTU *ù im-[me-ru-um], it-mu-ú.* Standard oath.

11) *MHET* II/1 5:17-18, *ni-iš* ᵈUTU *ù im-me-/ri-im, it-ma.* Standard oath.

12) *MHET* II/1 6:29-30, MU ᵈUTU, *ù im-me-ru-um,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath.

13) -*MHET* II/1 7:17-20, MU ᵈUTU *ù* ᵈ*a-a,* MU *im-me-ru-um ù* ZIMBIRᴷᴵ, LUGAL LA DU₈ SIPA?, IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Oath by Šamaš, Aya, Immerum, Sippar and an extra puzzling line.
    -*MHET* II/1 7 (case):17'-18', MU ˹ᵈUTU˺ *ù* ᵈ*a-a,* [MU *im-me-ru-um*] *ù* ZIMBIRᴷᴵ. Oath by Šamaš, Aya, [Immerum] and Sippar.

14) -*MHET* II/1 10:28, *ni-iš* ᵈUTU *ù im-me-ru-um,* LÚ-ᵈEN.LÍL.LA *it-ma.* Standard oath by Šamaš and Immerum, specifically sworn by the owner, who had previously already given the field to somebody else.
    -*MHET* II/1 10 (case):17, MU ᵈUTU *ù im-˹me˺-ru-um* LUGAL *it-[ma].* Oath by Šamaš and Immerum, who is called 'king'.

15) *BBVOT* 1 99:10-12, MU ᵈUTU *ù im-me-r[u-um], ša a-na a-wa-ti-šu, i-tu-ru.* Curse-oath.

16) *BAP* 35:22-24, *ni-iš* ᵈUTU *ù im-me-ru-um, it-mu-ú ša a-na a-wa-ti-šu-nu, i-tu-ru.* Curse-oath.

17) *BDHP* 14:22-25, *le-mu-un* ᵈ[UTU], *ù im-me-ru-um, ša a-wa-at,* DUB *a-ni-im ú-na-/ka-ru.* Curse oath

18) IM 63242 (oath published by Al-Hashimi 1972:30): MU ᵈUTU *ù im-me-ru-um* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath, from Tell Harmal/Šaduppûm.

Two texts reveal a little bit more about the oath. *VAS* 8 4/5 mentions explicitly that the 'curse oath' is directed against the one who makes claims against the

marrying couple. Secondly, in *MHET* II/1 10 the oath is specifically sworn by the seller, who had previously already given the field in question to somebody else. The king used in the oaths was the one of the seller.

5.2.5 *Buntahtun-Ila*

Buntahtun-Ila[425] is often seen as one of the last local Sippar kings.[426] His name features in six different texts.[427] Until now we have three year names mentioning him: an accession year name, one in which he brings a kettledrum into the temple of Ninkarrak/Gula,[428] and one that is not entirely readable (see below).

In oaths he is mentioned with the god Šamaš and once with Aya, making his reign at Sippar-Yahrūrum likely. There are two double oaths: one with Sumu-la-El and another one in which the town of Sippar is mentioned.[429] Buntahtun-Ila is not mentioned in the Ikūn-pîša letter archive, making it plausible that he came to political prominence after the events from this archive.

In an unpublished text from Tell Harmal (Šaduppûm), IM 63243, we seem to have a year name of Buntahtun-Ila. According to DeJong Ellis, who published an abstract of this text,[430] it carries an oath by Buntahtun-Ila. The year name's transliteration was eventually given by Blocher,[431] who also mentions that DeJong Ellis had made a typo confusing this text with IM 63244.[432] Sommerfeld wrote that Buntahtun-Ila had extended his rule over Šaduppûm.[433] Charpin has the more likely hypothesis that this text was written at Sippar, but carried to nearby Šaduppûm.[434] At least it shows a connection

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[425] His name is sometimes written *bu-un-tah-un-i-la* and sometimes *bu-nu-tah-tu-un-i-la*. It is still unclear what his name means exactly.

[426] This is mostly based on a group of texts from Dammāqtum's descendants' file: Edzard 1957:129, Harris 1975:4-5, Kraus 1984:51-52 and Charpin 2004a:92.

[427] Actually eight, but we have the case and envelope of two contracts: *CT* 48 34, *CT* 48 42 and 42a, *BE* 6/1 6, *BDHP* 31(text) and *CT* 45 1(envelop), *Edubba* 7 118 and the unpublished IM 63243.

[428] For the cult of Ninkarrak/Gula at Sippar: Myers 2002:132-134.

[429] Oaths in which the town of Sippar is mentioned alongside a Babylonian monarch are very common.

[430] DeJong Ellis 1975:133.

[431] Blocher 1994:93 n° 4. See now also Hussein 2008:80.

[432] Which is found in Al-Hashimi 1964 as number 23 without an oath or date.

[433] Sommerfeld 1983:92.

[434] Charpin 2004a:92 n. 337.

between Buntahtun-Ila-controlled Sippar and Šaduppûm in the Diyala region. The five published Buntahtun-Ila texts belong to the following files:

- Dammāqtum's descendants: 2[435]
- Ipqu-Ištar and Nūr-Šamaš: 1[436]
- Bēlessunu d. Yašabi-El: 1[437]
- Sînīya and Ama-duga   1[438]
- Total   5

The file of Dammāqtum's descendants has most of the occurrences of Buntahtun-Ila. This file has an interesting and unique mix of local Sippar kings and kings from Babylon. In the above section devoted to Ilum-ma-Ila it is proposed that the seller in a contract determined the 'oath-king' and that different oath-kings for both seller and buyer might explain the phenomenon of double oaths.

Dammāqtum's descendants' file gives us the unique possibility to test this hypothesis: this file contains amongst its texts a number of documents concerning the sale of an orchard and the subsequent claims made by the seller against the buyer. When we assign the oath-king to the seller we get the following table:[439]

		Buyer (Dammāqtum's descendants)	Seller
CT 8 38b		Hunnubtum wife of Amurrum	Ahlula'um s. Iṣi-bannum
oath-king			Ilum-ma-Ila
CT 4 50a		Takūn-mātum d. Amurrum and Rabatum 'her mother'	Hāliqum s. Arwium
oath-kings		Sumu-la-El	Immerum
		Defendant (Dammāqtum's descendants)	Accuser
CT 45 1		Takūn-mātum d. Amurrum	Hiššatum d. Hāliqum
oath-kings		Sumu-la-El	Buntahtun-Ila
CT 6 42a		Takūn-mātum	Hāliqum s. Arwium and

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[435] *BDHP* 31 (text) and *CT* 45 1 (case) and *CT* 48 34.

[436] *CT* 48 42.

[437] *Edubba* 7 118.

[438] *BE* 6/1 6.

[439] Other texts from Dammaqtum's descendants file are excluded because they are dated to the later Babylonian kings Sabium and Apil-Sîn.

		Sumu-rame and sons
oath-king	Sumu-la-El (after the *mīšarum*)	
	'Stipulator' (Dammāqtum's descendants)	'Promissor'
CT 48 34	Takūn-mātum	Apil-maraṣ?
oath-king		Buntahtun-Ila

We can establish a pattern in which the family of Dammāqtum's descendants swore their oaths consistently by Sumu-la-El. The other families swore by the independent Sippar kings. Were this true, then it would mean that Arwium's family (represented by Hāliqum and his descendants) swore to the local kings Immerum and Buntahtun-Ila, something which seems to be corroborated by the text *VAS* 8 6/7 (with an oath by Immerum),[440] but contradicted by *MHET* II/1 13, with an oath by Sumu-la-El.[441]

Unfortunately, the above table is not enough evidence to definitely claim that the seller always determined the oath-king, but it remains an interesting explanation for the phenomenon of double oaths in early OB Sippar.

Can we see cross-links through the people in the Buntahtun-Ila texts to other text-groups or isolated texts? Especially the file of Ipqu-Ištar and his son Nūr-Šamaš provides some interesting extra information.[442] Below are listed the people from the three texts in this file who occur in more than one text: this shows links to other files and social groups:

- Nūr-ilīšu s. Eya[443]
- Nūr-Šamaš s. Ipiq-Ištar (b. Ili-iddinam)[444]

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[440] *VAS* 8 6/7 is a sale of a *burubalûm* plot from Gagalātum to Warad-Sîn: it is witnessed by Hāliqum and his brother Kanikrum. The idea is that they belonged as witnesses of *VAS* 8 6/7 to a social group recognizing Immerum as their overlord.

[441] In *MHET* II/1 13 Nūr-Šamaš and Arwium exchange fields, the oath is by Sumu-la-El, which they both must have sworn. The scribe of this text is the well known Nanna-azida, son of Sîn-muballiṭ (see above).

[442] It contains: *BAP* 35 (with *CT* 45 76 as its case), *CT* 48 42 and *MHET* II/5 665. The last text does not officially belong to the file, but was included by Goddeeris 2002:94 based on the fact that Puzur-Šamaš son of Išme-Sîn (the plaintiff in *CT* 48 42) is mentioned as a neighbor. *MHET* II/5 665 contains the witness Šamhum, son of Yantin-El, who gives us a link to the small village of Merigat through the text *MHET* II/1 43, that he witnesses.

[443] *CT* 45 1:14 (case of *BDHP* 31), Sumu-la-El and Buntahtun-Ila, *VAS* 8 6/7:25, Immerum.

[444] *MHET* II/1 41:37-38, Sabium 8, *CT* 48 42:12, Buntahtun-Ila year name 'É Ninkarak'.

- Puzur-Šamaš s. Išme-Sin[445]
- Sîn-ennam s. Iddin-Adad[446]
- Sîn-remēni s. Ibbi-Numušda[447]
- Šamhum s. Yantin-El[448]
- Utu-hegal s. Ir-Nanna[449]

Several witnesses show links with texts dated to Immerum, not only through *VAS* 8 6/7, but also to texts outside of the Ipqu-Ištar/Nūr-Šamaš file:

- Nūr-ilīšu son of Eya connects the file of Dammāqtum's descendents with Ipqu-Ištar/Nūr-Šamaš' file.
- Utu-hegal son of Ir-Nanna links with the isolated text *BDHP* 37 (dated Immerum c).
- Sîn-remēni, son of Ibni-Numušda provides a connection to *Edubba* 7 122 with the strange year name 'ᴍᴜ ˹ša˺ sa-muʾ-um ʙᴀ.ᴜɢ₇'. This text was found in the same jar as *Edubba* 7 121, dated to an Immerum year name.[450]

The document *Edubba* 7 118 is a purchase of a slave called Aya-tallik by the *nadītum* Bēlessunu, daughter of Yašabi-El. The text is witnessed by a list of cloister officials and the daughter of the Marad king Halun-pi-umu; Šāt-Aya.[451] Perhaps this text is the best evidence of some link between the cloister in Sippar-Yahrūrum and Buntahtun-Ila. Buntahtun-Ila was probably not recognized as king by the cloister officials, but he was rather the 'oath-king' because of either the seller; Rašub-ṣillāšu (a hapax in the Sippar corpus) or the buyer; Bēlessunu.

The scribe of *Edubba* 7 118 (and *CT* 45 1/*BDHP* 31) is the well known woman Inanna-ama.mu, daughter of Abum-ṭābum. Lion has devoted an article to this female scribe who catered mostly to the *nadītum* community.[452] Just like the scribe Nanna-azida (see above), she has an impressive track-record in

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[445] *CT* 48 42:4-5, Buntahtun-Ila year name 'É Ninkarak', *MHET* II/5 665:7-8, time of Sumu-la-El.

[446] *CT* 48 42:33, Buntahtun-Ila year name 'É Ninkarak'.

[447] *VAS* 8 6/7, Immerum, *Edubba* 7 122:17, ᴍᴜ ša Šamum ʙᴀ.ᴜɢ₇.

[448] *MHET* II/1 43:17, Sabium J, *MHET* II/5 665:5-6, undated.

[449] *BAP* 35:31, Immerum, *BDHP* 37:34-35, Immerum c.

[450] *Edubba* 7 p. 131.

[451] See Tanret and Suurmeyer 2011 and Suurmeyer 2012 on these cloister officials.

[452] Lion 2001b.

texts dated to different kings (Buntahtun-Ila, Sumu-la-El and Immerum). A good explanation for her writing the name of a number of different kings might be that the contracting parties called for different oath-kings.

5.2.5.1 Buntahtun-Ila year names

a) *CT* 45 1:26-27, MU NÍG *bu-un-tah-un-i-la,* LUGAL.E. 'Year: Buntahtun-Ila (became) king'. This text is actually the envelope of *BDHP* 31.
   -*BE* 6/1 6:27, [M]U NÍG ˥*bu-nu-tah-tu-un-i-la* LUGAL.E. 'Year: Buntahtun-Ila (became) king'

b) *CT* 48 42:38-40, MU *li-li-sa-am, a-na* É ᵈNIN.KAR.RA.AK, *ù-šeˈri-bu.* 'Year: he made a kettledrum enter the temple of Ninkarrak'.[453]

c) IM 63243, MU *bu-nu-tah-tu-un-*[DINGIR] [LU]GAL *iṣ-ba-tu.* 'Year: Buntahtun-Ila seized the king/ or: Year: king Buntahtun-Ila seized [NP/GN]'.[454]

5.2.5.2 Oaths mentioning Buntahtun-Ila and others

1) -*BDHP* 31:19-23, MU ᵈUTU, ᵈAMAR.UTU, *sa-mu-la-*DINGIR, *ù bu-un-tah-un-i-la,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Oath by Šamaš and Marduk and Sumu-la-El and Buntahtun-Ila.
   -*CT* 45 1:11-13, MU ᵈUTU *ù* ᵈAMAR.UTU, MU *sa-mu-la-*DINGIR, *ù bu-un-tah-un-i-la* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. This text is actually the envelope of *BDHP* 31, it contains this oath by Šamaš and Marduk and Sumu-la-El and Buntahtun-Ila.

2) *CT* 48 34:6'-8', MU ᵈUTU, *ù* ᵈ*a-a,* [M]U *bu-un-tah-un-i-la,* [*ù* Z]IMBIR[ᴷᴵ]. Oath by Šamaš, Aya, Buntahtun-Ila and Sippar

5.2.5.3 Oaths mentioning Buntahtun-Ila

1) *BE* 6/1 6:14-15, *ni-iš* ᵈUTU {x x}, *ù bu-nu-tah-tu-un-i-la,* IN.PÀD.DÈ.EŠ. Standard oath by Šamaš and Buntahtun-Ila.

2) -*CT* 48 42:21-22, MU ᵈUTU, *ù bu-nu-tah-tu-u*[*n-*DINGIR *it*]*-ma.* Standard oath by Šamaš and Buntahtun-Ila.

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[453] Harris 1975:4 n. 12.

[454] Hussein 2008:80 reads: MU *bu-nu-tah-tu-un-*˹DINGIR˺ [NAM?.LU]GAL *iṣ-ba-tu*: 'The year Buntahtun-Ila seized kingship'. Such a phrasing would be unique to the OB period.

-*CT* 48 42a:13, MU ^dUTU *ù bu-nu-tah-*[*tu-un-*DINGIR *it-ma*], Envelope.

3) *Edubba* 7 118:10-13, MU ^dUTU, *ù bu-un,-tah-un-*DINGIR, *it-ma*. Standard oath by Šamaš and Buntahtun-Ila.

5.2.6 *Altinû and Lipit-Ištar*

A handful of texts found among early OB Sippar texts mention two obscure kings called Altinû and Lipit-Ištar[455] and their oath-goddess Hašrā'itum.[456] It would appear that all but two[457] of the relevant texts belong to one family archive, that was studied by both Stol and Goddeeris:[458] the 'Sulubbana-family'. To this dossier belong the following texts:[459]

Text	Date/Oath	Contents
MHET II/1 19	Sumu-la-El 13	Abiya assigns fields, slaves and silver to his *nadītum* daughter Ahassunu, her brother Šamaš-īn-mātim is her heir.
CT 48 63	Oath by Marduk, Sumu-la-El, Altinû and Hašrā'itum. Year: Altinû took the throne.	A slave called Ahūni is bought by Ahassunu and Šamaš-īn-mātim from Nabi-Sîn, a Kazallu merchant.
MHET II/1 30	Oath by Marduk and Sabium	Ahassunu appoints her niece Amat-Šamaš as her heir.
CT 48 18	Oath by Marduk, Sîn-muballiṭ, Lipit-Ištar and Hašrā'itum	The children of Iddin-Amurrum and Šamaš-īn-mātim divide a house and a field.
MHET II/5 645	undated	Amat-Šamaš leases a field to Mati-ilim, son of Ili-tukulti. Mati-ilim will pay at the cloister gate and provide *piqittum* presents.

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[455] Not to be confused with the much earlier Isin king.

[456] Charpin 2004:94 and Veenhof 1973 with a note by Stol on p. 375-376.

[457] The first text is the text published by Veenhof 1973 (dated to Sumu-la-El and Altinû). It seems to be prosopographically unrelated to other Sippar texts. However, the buyer in Veenhof 1973: Lamassatum LUKUR ^dUTU, daughter of Ipiq-Adad is perhaps the same woman as Lamassi, LUKUR ^dUTU daughter of Ipiq-Adad in *MHET* II/1 93:6'-7'. The second document is *CT* 4 22c (dated to Lipit-Ištar and Sîn-muballiṭ), this text is also prosopographically unrelated to others.

[458] Stol 1998b:96 and Goddeeris 2002:156.

[459] After Goddeeris 2002:156. We have excluded *MHET* II/1 126 from this list that Goddeeris had assigned to this archive based on its excavation number (see note 150 on p. 157 in Goddeeris 2002).

To the above texts we can add additional unpublished documents from the British Museum: BM 67324b, BM 67326, and BM 71160 (published in the Appendix). Two of these are of little interest (but are nonetheless included in copy): BM 67324b seems to be part of the case belonging to *CT* 48 63.[460] BM 71160 is also part of a case containing only the verb of the oath and the beginning of Altinû's second year name: [ᴹ]ᴜ.ÚS.SA, ᴵ*al-ti-nu-ú*, ᴳᴵˇ⸢GUˇ.ZA [ɪɴ.ᴅᴀʙ]: 'Year after Altinû took the throne'. This year follows on the one from *CT* 48 63.

BM 67326 is however of interest because it clearly belongs to the above archive. It is a field sale: the children of Uqa-Ištar sell a seven ɪᴋᴜ field to Huššutum and her father Šamaš-īn-mātim. The oath is reconstructed, but is almost certainly sworn by Marduk, Sumu-la-El, Hašrāʾitum, and Altinû. Šamaš-īn-mātim already owned a neighboring field. The date seems to be Altinû's accession (or usurpation) year.

Most of the people outside of the Sulubbana family from this text are unknown elsewhere, with two exceptions: one of the witnesses, Bēlekum son of Warad-ilīšu is also found in *CT* 48 63:35-36 and again the scribe Nanna-azida, son of Sîn-muballiṭ (see above).

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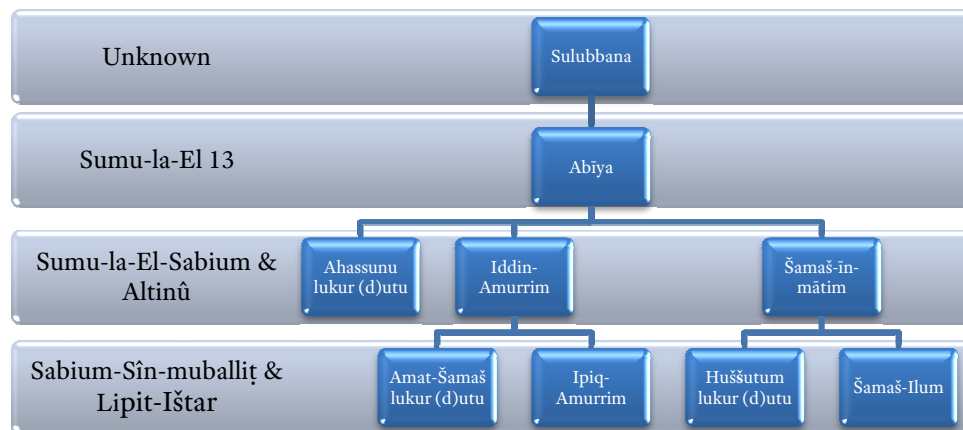
[460] Even though a slightly different price is mentioned in BM 67324b: ⅓ mina of silver and 2 shekels, as opposed to ⅓ mina and 2 ½ shekels of silver in *CT* 48 63.

Through the scribe Nanna-azida and the fact that Huššutum is a *nadītum* of Šamaš, it is clear that this family archive comes from (the vicinity of) Sippar.[461] The Sulubbana family probably had special ties with Altinû and Lipit-Ištar: they swore by their names in their contracts. A remarkable fact about this family archive is that it contains the earliest year name of Sumu-la-El found in Sippar: Sumu-la-El 13 on *MHET* II/1 19. Unlike other early OB localities, early Sippar texts are usually not dated with a year name. Most early OB Sippar texts are datable only through their oaths: from the time of Sîn-muballiṭ and Hammurabi onwards we can see that Sippar scribes started to consistently write down year names. For Sumu-la-El we only have a couple of non-canonical year names from Sippar (that is: year names not found in the only list of year names known for Sumu-la-El, see Horsnell 1999). Those year names that we do have are often from the second part of his reign.[462] It is therefore hard to accept *MHET* II/1 19 as proof of Sumu-la-El already firmly ruling Sippar in his 13th year, instead we should see Sumu-la-EL 28 as the -for now- earliest year attesting to Sumu-la-El's dominance at Sippar (Sumu-la-El 29: 'Year: he built the wall of Sippar').

It is remarkable that Altinû and Lipit-Ištar only occur in one family archive and two unrelated texts. We would expect many more texts and year names from this 'dynasty'. For Altinû we only have two year names and for Lipit-Ištar one. In any case: both had a special position because they are the only known petty kings that were apparently tolerated under Babylon's rule over Sippar: the other local Sippar kings disappear from view after Sumu-la-El's annexation. It is very unlikely that the Babylonian kings would have tolerated a powerful rival within the borders of their state.[463] We might however think of a similar situation as in Zimri-Lim's kingdom where a Bensimalite administration tolerated sovereign Benjamin centers within its borders. This would imply that Altinû and Lipit-Ištar belonged to a tribe different from that of the kings of Babylon, or perhaps they *were* of the same tribe justifying their position. In the case of Zimri-Lim, the arrangement was very short-lived: within a year war broke out between him and the Benjaminite rulers. Altinû and Lipit-

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[461] The oath goddess Hašra'itum implies a locality called Hašrâ (cf. Stol in Veenhof 1973:376), but such a town is unknown.

[462] *CT* 4 50a (Sumu-la-El 'd'), *BE* 6/1 7 (Sumu-la-El 29), *MHET* II/1 20 (=*CT* 6 49b, Sumu-la-El 29), *MHET* II/1 21 (=*CT* 8 44b, Sumu-la-El 'b'), *MHET* II/1 22 (Sumu-la-El 'c'; year he proclaimed a *mīšarum*, tentatively dated to Sumu-la-El 24 cf. De Boer 2012), *MHET* II/1 23 (*warki* Sumu-la-El 'c' = Sumu-la-El 25)

[463] Despite the warlike year name of Lipit-Ištar.

Ištar were clearly tolerated either because they were harmless or had special ties with the Babylonian kings, probably both.

5.2.6.1 Altinû year names

a) Veenhof 1973 Fs. De Liagre Böhl p. 360:3'', [MU *a*]*l-ti-nu-ú* LUG[AL.(E)]. ' Year: Altinû the king'.
b) -*CT* 48 63:37-38, MU.ÚS.SA *a*[*l*]ᵎ-*ti-nu-ú,* ᴳᴵˢGU.ZA IN.DABᵎ. 'Year after (the year) in which Altinû took the throne'.
   -BM 71160 (AH 82-9-18 11162):3'-5', [M]U.ÚS.SA.BI, ᴵ*al-ti-nu-ˊúˋ,* ᴳᴵˢˊGUˋ.ZA, [IN.DAB] 'Year after (the year): Altinû took the throne'.
   -BM 67326 (AH 82-9-18 7322):20', MU.ÚS.SA *al-ti-nu* ˊLUGALˀˋ 'Year after (the year): Altinû the king'.

5.2.6.2 Oaths mentioning Altinû and Sumu-la-El

1) *CT* 48 63:17-20, MU ᵈAMAR.UTU *ù sú-mu-la*-DINGIR, MU ᵈ*ha-áš-ra-i-tum, ù al-ti-nu-ú,* IN.PÀD.DA. Oath by Marduk and Sumu-la-El and Hašra'itum and Altinû.
2) BM 67324b (fragment of the case of *CT* 48 63):5'-7'MU ᵈAMAR.UTU [*ù su-mu-la*-DINGIR], MU ᵈ*ha-áš*-[*ra-i-tum*], *ù al-t*[*i-nu* IN.PÀD.DA]. Oath by Marduk and Sumu-la-El and Hašra'itum and Altinû.
3) Veenhof 1973 Fs. De Liagre Böhl p.360:30', ...*su-mu-la*-DI[NGIR] *ù* [*al-/t*]*i*-[*nu- ú*]. Oath by Sumu-la-El and Altinû.

5.2.6.3 Lipit-Ištar year name

a) *CT* 4 22c:11-12, MU *ša li-pí-it-iš₈-tár a-mu-ru-um iṭ-ru-du-uš* 'The year in which Lipit-Ištar expelled the Amorites'.[464]

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[464] This year name poses a problem: the subject seems to be *a-mu-ru-um*, not Lipit-Ištar. It does not make any sense that Lipit-Ištar would have a year name mentioning his own defeat. A possibility is that this year name was not issued by Lipit-Ištar. Another, more likely possibility is that Amurrum was the object and Lipit-Ištar the subject, this also accounts for the otherwise unusual syntax (OSV instead of SOV, cf. GAG §130f).

5.2.6.4 Oath mentioning Lipit-Ištar and Sîn-muballiṭ

1) *CT* 48 18:10-13, MU ᵈAMAR.UTU ᵈEN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ,* ᵈ*ha-<áš>-ra-i-tum,* *ù li-pí-it-iš₈-tár*. Oath by Sîn-muballiṭ and Marduk and Lipit-Ištar and Hašra'itum.

5.2.7 *Ikūn-pi-Ištar*

At least two texts mention an Ikun-pi-Ištar as an early OB king. One of them is from Sippar, which is the reason why it was included here. Even so, it is very uncertain that this Ikūn-pi-Ištar actually ruled (part of) early OB Sippar.

5.2.7.1 Ikūn-pi-Ištar year names

a) *Edubba* 7 115:31, [M]U *i*ˀ-*ku-pi₄-iš₈-tár* x[...], [...] tu be. 'Year in which Ikūn-pi-Ištar ...[...]'.
b) *BiMes* 11 (Sigrist 1984) p.43: MU ᵈ*i-ku-un-pi₄-iš₈-tár* LUGAL. 'Year: Ikūn-pi-Ištar (became) king'.

From the excavations in Nippur we have another attestation of Ikūn-pi-Ištar: he is found on a king list from Nippur.[465] Most scholars believe that this king list enumerates kings of Uruk,[466] but as Kraus already pointed out, there is no evidence for this.[467] On this fragmentary list he is mentioned after Sumu-abum, who purportedly ruled for eight months.[468]. It is a distinct possibility that this is the same Ikūn-pi-Ištar whose year name was found on *Edubba* 7 115.

5.2.8 *Non-attributable early OB year names from Sippar*

A number of year names found in early OB texts from Sippar are not clearly to attributable to a certain king.

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[465] Published by Poebel in *PBS* 4/1 p. 95, but republished by Jacobsen 1939 (*AS* 11) on p. 8 n.15 and most recently by Glassner 2004:126.
[466] Like Charpin 2004:77 and Sigrist 1977c:372.
[467] Kraus 1985:530 n.4.
[468] For more on Sumu-abum: chapter 8.

1) *Edubba* 7 119:18-20, MU A.AB.BA-x[.x], *a-na* ᵈ*da-gan,* [m]u.un.na.dímˀ 'Year: he fashioned an a.ab.ba.x (=*ayyabbû,* 'sea'=basin?) for Dagan'.

2) *Edubba* 7 122:13 , MU *ša sa-mu!-um* BA.UG₇. 'Year: Samum died'.

3) *Edubba* 7 130:16-17, MU NÍG BÀD *ku-lí-/zi, i-pu-šu.* 'Year: he built the wall of Kullizu'.

4) -Van Lerberghe 1982 *Zikir Šumim* p. 246-249:37 (tablet), MU KÁ.GAL ᵈEN.ZU-*ba-ni ú-di-/šu-ú.* 'Year: he renewed the gate Sîn-bāni'. There is a double oath by Immerum and Sumu-la-El in the text itself.[469]
-Van Lerberghe 1982 *Zikir Šumim* p. 246-249:35-37 (envelope), MU KÁ.GAL ᵈEN.ZU-*ba-ni,* PUZUR₄-ᵈSAG.KUD, *i-pu-šu-ú.* 'Year: (Immerum? (re)made) the gate Sîn-bāni (that) Puzur-Sakkut built'.

5) *CT* 4 47b:30-32, MU *i-ṣí-su-mu,-a-bu-um,* BA.UG₇. 'Year: Iṣi-Sumu-abum died'.

6) *MHET* II/5 811:16, ⸢MU ᴳᴵˢ⸣GU⸣.[ZA...] ⸢x⸣ iš x [...]. 'Year: ... the throne ...'.

7) *TIM* 7 22:11'-13', MU *ha-an-ba-ti-ia,* DUMU *su-mu-a-bi-im, i-mu-tu.* 'Year: Hanbatīya, the son of Sumu-abum died'.

8) *TIM* 7 9:14-15, MU x x [...], ᵈAMAR.UTU x x x. 'Year: ... Marduk ...'

9) *TIM* 7 117:16, MU [GIŠ].GU.ZA, [...] *i-pu-šu.* 'Year: [...] made a throne'.

10) *TIM* 7 117:22-23, [MU ÌR].RA-*qú-ra-ad* BA.[UG₇]. 'Year: Erra-qurād died'.

11) *TIM* 7 117:26, MU *na-ra-am-ì-lí-*[*šu* BA.UG₇]. 'Year: Narām-ilīšu died'.

12) *TIM* 7 117:35 & 42 MU *su-*[*mu*]*-a-tar* BA.UG₇. 'Year: Sumu-atar died'.

13) *TIM* 7 117:38, MU *ba-le-pu-úh* BA.UG₇. 'Year: Bal-Epuh died'.

14) *TIM* 7 117:45, [MU (x) x]-*ma*ˀ-an BA.UG₇. 'Year: .... died'.

5.3 Kiš and Damrum and its vicinity

5.3.1 *Introduction*

For a general introduction on early OB Kiš and Damrum and the sources at our disposal, see chapter 4. The approach in this section is different from the one adopted on early OB Sippar. The reason for this is that the chronological problems are different for the kings of the Mananâ-dynasty.

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[469] See Van Lerberghe 1982's own commentary (p. 256-257) on this singular year name.

5.3.2 *New texts from early OB Damrum and Kiš*

Since Charpin's groundbreaking work on the texts from 'the Mananâ-dynasty', several new documents have been published[470], but many texts also remained unpublished. In an effort to unite all texts pertinent to the Mananâ-dynasty and early OB Damrum and Kiš, this thesis contains the publication of several new texts (see the Appendix). Not published here are the following texts from the Oriental Institute in Chicago:[471]

A.32133   Mananâ g/XII, oath by the king
Sale of datepalms. Lalīya buys six datepalms from Aqqatānum for 2 1/6 shekels of silver. Oath by the king. This text belongs to the file of Kalāya's children.[472]

A.32113   Haliyum f /X, oath by Nanna and Haliyum
Sale of a field. Munanātum buys a field from Hunābum for 16 shekels of silver. If he comes up with silver, he may redeem his field. This contract belongs to *SCT* 38 and 39.

The British Museum houses an important collection of unpublished tablets from Kiš and Damrum, not only pertaining to already known files. In connection to the Mananâ-dynasty texts, we have eight belonging to Šumšunu-watar's file[473] and two to the file of Ṣīssu-nawrat.[474] In view of the size, shape, color and museum number, an administrative text can be added to the corpus. The total number then comes to eleven (see the Appendix).

5.3.3 *Archival matters: which dossiers are connected to each other*

The fact that we have so many texts from the files of Šumšunu-watar and Ṣīssu-nawrat in the British Museum is no coincidence: in other collections around the world these two files are also found mixed together: the

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[470] Most notably from Oxford in *OECT* 13 and 15, the re-edition of the texts in Edinburgh by Dalley first published by Langdon 1911 (*RSM*), and the texts in *YOS* 14, and *TIM* 5.

[471] These texts were provided in transcription courtesy of prof. Stol.

[472] Goddeeris 2002:262-263 Charpin 1979b:197 (archive H and I).

[473] BM 103175, BM 103183a, BM 103184, BM 103191, BM 103194, BM 103196, BM 103197, and BM 103199.

[474] BM 103192 and BM 103198.

Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, the Louvre,[475] the Yale Babylonian Collection,[476] and the Royal Scottish Museum. Prosopographically they seem to stand apart from other Damrum/Kiš files. The collection number under which the Šumšunu-watar and Ṣīssu-nawrat texts entered the British Museum is 1910-10-8 (meaning: October the 8th 1910). It is certainly no coincidence that Langdon's and Thureau-Dangin's initial publications of the Šumšunu-watar/Ṣīssu-nawrat texts from Edinburgh and Paris were both in 1911.[477] The texts in Oxford were donated by Sayce in 1916 to the Bodleian Library.[478] All this points to one logical conclusion: the archives of Šumšunu-watar and Ṣīssu-nawrat entered the market at the same time.

Thureau-Dangin writes about their provenance: '*Or, au dire du marchand, les sept tablettes proviendraient de Aḥimir* (…)';[479] this Aḥimir is most likely another name for the tell of Kiš, now written Uhaimir. Langdon also seems convinced that his texts come from Kiš. For the archive belonging to Ṣīssu-nawrat, this is quite credible, because many of his texts are dated to Yawium, known as a king of Kiš. It is less credible for Šumšunu-watar's archive, which has no year dates of Yawium. One can only find one weak connection between the two archives. The 'irrigation ditch of Šulgi' (E-dŠUL.GI) is encountered as a neighboring canal in BM 103192:4 (Ṣīssu-nawrat), *YOS* 14 88:2 (an isolated text) and *RSM* 34:5 (Šumšunu-watar). This does however provide a clue about the geographical nearness of Ṣīssu-nawrat's and Šumšunu-watar's activities. The only other archive to which Ṣīssu-nawrat's archive seems to be connected is the small file of Ea-dāpin,[480] which seems dated slightly later towards the end of Sumu-la-El's reign.

Šumšunu-watar's large archive cannot be linked with any certainty to other archives from OB Kiš or Damrum.[481] As to its provenance, little more can be added to the statement 'in the vicinity of Kiš', despite the fact that some doc-

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[475] The texts from the Louvre were published by Thureau-Dangin 1911, they must be seen apart from those later published by Rutten.

[476] Most pertinent texts have been published in *YOS* 14.

[477] There are no such indications for the texts in Yale.

[478] Dalley and Yoffee 1991:3.

[479] Thureau-Dangin 1911:68.

[480] It contains *BIN* 2 74, *YOS* 14 132, as well as the unpublished texts YBC 12224, YBC 12221, NBC 5033, and *LB* 3244+*LB* 2722.

[481] -It is perhaps linked to the archive of Kalāya's children through the scribe Nanna-bàd.gal, but the relevant text, A.32113 is only available to me in transcription, where the reading of the scribe's name is not certain (it could also be dŠEŠ.KI-KI.ÁG).

-Other possible connections are only through names without patronym.

uments provide tantalizing clues: once Šumšunu-watar's field is located next to the field of the palace[482] and twice we see a reference to 'the canal of the king' (I₇ LUGAL).[483]

The tablets in the Louvre published by Rutten and Charpin carry different museum numbers than those published by Thureau-Dangin in 1911,[484] suggesting that they entered the Louvre at different points in time.

Having separated two large files from the rest of the Mananâ-dynasty tablets, we can take a look at the other material. These are represented mostly by the texts and dossiers published by Rutten, Charpin, and Simmons. This is supplemented by several smaller files divided over various collections.

Even within these groups we can see some remarkable divisions: some files seem to be restricted to certain museum collections and prosopographically isolated.[485] See the Appendix to chapter 5 for an overview of all the text files from Damrum.

We can note that scribes often function as a bridge between otherwise unrelated groups of texts. In network analysis, the scribes would be seen as the connecting nodes between networks of people. We saw exactly the same phenomenon in early OB Sippar. It provides us with an important clue concerning the scribe's trade and mobility: it seems that scribes found their clients in a variety of social groups.

The information from the Appendix allows us to establish clusters of texts which are connected to each other:

1) The files of Sîn-iddinam, Dulluqum and Sîn-bāni are a clear cluster of interrelated texts. Almost all of them are in the Louvre.
2) Several files dated to the latter part of Sumu-la-El's reign are also prosopographically related: Ibbi-Ilabrat, Kubā'um, Ahūnum and Ahatī-waqrat. These texts are divided over several collections.

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[482] BM 103175:5.

[483] BM 103175:6 and *RSM* 35:9.

[484] The Šumšunu-watar and Ṣīssu-nawrat texts published by Thureau-Dangin carry the numbers AO 4664- AO 4670, those by Rutten and Charpin AO 19642-AO 19682 and respectively AO 8966-8987 and AO 20342-AO 20349.

[485] We are only counting files/dossiers containing more than one text and largely using Goddeeris' division of files and dossiers, supplementing them with new texts where necessary.

3) Kalāya's children and Yerhaqum's sons form a closely-knit group of documents. Most of them are found in American collections.

4) Several files have weak prosopographical connections to other files and others have no links to other files at all. These are: Šū-Ninhursag, Ilum-ma and Dadušme-El, Warad-Sîn, Ṭabāya, Sukkalum, Sîn-naši, Ennam-Adad and Munanātum.

The above information is unfortunately not enough to establish how many different archives were actually dug up. It could very well be that all early OB Kiš and Damrum texts were in fact found in one room. The impression is that all of the texts were found around the same time, ca. 1910 in the vicinity of Kiš. Šumšunu-watar and Ṣīssu-nawrat's texts entered the market together and were perhaps found apart from the rest of the documents. The bulk of the Mananâ-dynasty archives were probably found together and sold for the most part to the Louvre and the Yale collections. Some unconnected small archives, like those of Šū-Ninhursag and Ilum-ma and Dadušme-El could have been found separately or at a later date.

5.3.4 *Chronological matters pertaining to the kings of the 'Mananâ-dynasty' and early OB Kiš*

The relative chronology of the Mananâ-dynasty kings established by Charpin in 1978 was based on synchronisms and the internal coherence of several files. These same files present nevertheless some chronological problems:

1) The file of Dulluqum, son of Hadamu, has perhaps the longest history of all Mananâ-dynasty files:[486] texts range from Haliyum g (ca. 1890 BC?)[487] until Sumu-la-El 28, (ca. 1853 BC). Dulluqum's file must have spanned circa 35 to 40 years, which is a very long time for the archive of one individual, especially when it contains so few (surviving) texts. Also noteworthy in this respect is the complete absence of Abdi-Erah, Sumu-Yamutbal and 'Sumu-abum' year names. The other Mananâ-dynasty files typically seem to span only a couple of years.

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[486] Goddeeris 2002:263-264, Charpin 1979b:198 (archive K).

[487] This date is based on Haliyum a (the year Ur-Ninurta died), which was around ca. 1898 BC. By consequence, each of Haliyum's year names (12 or 13 attested) could theoretically be placed in the period from about 1910 to 1886 BC. A lower date seems however more likely.

2) The file of Sîn-iddinam, son of Sanīya is one of the biggest Mananâ dynasty files with twenty-four texts.[488] It covers the reigns of Haliyum, Abdi-Eraḥ, Mananâ, Aḥi-maraṣ, Nāqimum, 'Sumu-abum 13' and even Sumu-ditāna. It contains the only Sumu-ditāna year name to occur outside of the Marad corpus (text *R* 4):

> Sumu-ditāna h: MU <[17]> AB.GAL *su-mu-di-ta-na* BA.BA.AL.
> 'Year: Sumu-ditāna had dug the Abgal canal'

This year name does very much resemble 'Haliyum c' found on *RA* 8 7 and BM 103191:[489]

> Haliyum c: MU.ÚS.SA [17]ÁB.GAL *ù* [17]ME-^dEN.LÍL.LÁ *is-ki-ru*
> 'Year after (the year): he dammed the Abgal and Me-Enlil canals

Could these two year names refer to the same event? The digging and subsequent damming of the Abgal and Me-Enlil canals to the south of Kiš? This is not unlikely, because Haliyum c does not specify the name of the king who commissioned the work. In addition, the Me-Enlil canal was more likely a part of Marad's kingdom, as we know from the Marad texts. It seems highly unlikely that Haliyum had a canal dug there and it is therefore taken as a year name belonging to Sumu-ditāna of Marad.[490] It does however complicate the relative chronology of the Mananâ-dynasty and Marad kings. In the article on Marad, De Boer 2013a tentatively dated Sumu-ditāna's reign in the 1870's, but a synchronism with Haliyum's reign (based on Ur-Ninurta's death, around the 1890's) would then be impossible! The son of Sîn-iddinam, Rīš-ilum, is seen in the reign of Sumu-Yamutbal (*R* 13), acknowledging the fact that Sumu-Yamutbal came after all the other Mananâ-dynasty kings.[491]

3) The file belonging to Šumšunu-watar, son of Gubbani-idug is the largest in the corpus with thirty-four texts.[492] The first aspect that one no-

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[488] Goddeeris 2002:265-268 and Charpin 1979b:198 (archive L).

[489] These two texts were in fact written after each other in the same month and concerning the same property.

[490] Just as it seems unlikely to me that Haliyum had ruled Marad in order to dig the canals.

[491] Except for Manium.

[492] Goddeeris 2002:268-271 and Charpin 1979b:198 (archive M), with the extra texts published in this thesis.

tices about this file is that fifteen of the texts are dated to 'Sumu-abum 13',[493] another four to Mananâ d,[494] as well as nine to Mananâ e.[495] The remaining seven are dated to 'Sumu-abum 3',[496] Haliyum c,[497] Mananâ a,[498] Mananâ b,[499] and Mananâ unidentified.[500] Especially the 'Sumu-abum 13' year names are interesting, because these occur only in this archive.[501] In addition, eleven of the 'Sumu-abum 13' texts are dated to month V. This must signify something; it could mean that the archive came to an end not long after 'Sumu-abum 13' month V. Let us elaborate on this: Šumšunu-watar's file contains many loans and obligations, the type of document that is normally destroyed after the payment of a debt. There is however a recurrent case in which these texts are not destroyed: after the proclamation of a *mīšarum* (a royal annulment of certain debts and obligations). We often find clusters of cancelled loans or obligations in private archives because of a *mīšarum*.[502] The other loans or obligations in Šumšunu-watar's file are dated to month XI of the year Mananâ e (six texts) and one to 'Sumu-abum 3' month IV. It may very well be possible that the year names Mananâ e and 'Sumu-abum 13' are in fact chronologically very close to each other, because the texts dated by them were annulled by a *mīšarum*. Whiting already had the idea that the 'Sumu-abum 13' year name is in fact a Mananâ year name, because the text *RA* 8 1 combines it with an oath by Nanna and Mananâ.[503] The same might be said about the 'Sumu-abum 3' year name, which seems to have an oath by Nanna and

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[493] *RA* 8 1 and 2, *RSM* 34, 35 44, 48, 52, 53 and 54, *OECT* 13 280 and 282, *YOS* 14 108 and 114, as well as BM 103175 and BM 103196.

[494] *YOS* 14 113, *RA* 8 6 and *RSM* 57 and BM 103197.

[495] *OECT* 13 279, *YOS* 14 109, *RSM* 38, 40, 50, and 56, BM 103183a and BM 103194, BM 103199.

[496] *OECT* 15 376, a text that was published after Goddeeris 2002, and BM 103184.

[497] *RA* 8 7 and BM 103191.

[498] *RSM* 42.

[499] *YOS* 14 110.

[500] *OECT* 13 286.

[501] The year name found on *R* 11 (from Sîn-iddinam's archive), MU *ka-zal-lu*ki *i-ṣa-ab-tu,* refers to the event of Kazallu's fall in general and not to a specific king. Besides, it is in Akkadian, whilst the examples from Šumšunu-watar's file are all in Sumerian.

[502] See Charpin 2005a:156 for a similar analysis.

[503] Whiting 1987:32 n. 112, followed by Charpin 2004a:85 n. 301 and Charpin 2005a:168.

Ma[nanâ] as well in *TIM* 5 38.[504] A problem with this supposed *mīšarum* by Mananâ is that we only have this circumstantial evidence.[505] Another possibility is this: the 'Sumu-abum 13' year name commemorates the destruction of Kazallu, it could be that this year name -because of the impact of Kazallu's fall- was used only for a short period of time around month V within the year Mananâ e.[506] But why would these loans and obligations (from leases) from Šumšunu-watar's archive all be dated to months V and XI?[507] Month XI is easily explained: this was the time just before the harvest when people had run out of barley and needed to bridge the gap until the harvest in the months I-III.[508] Or -if people had leased a field-, month XI allowed for a fair estimate of the field's yield. Month V is more difficult to ascertain, perhaps some of the leases or loans were concluded because month V is one of the latest months to conclude a field lease.[509] The large Šumšunu-watar archive must have a small chronological horizon: based on the year names alone one would think about five to six years. The problem here is (again) the isolated Haliyum c year name (found on the almost 'twin' documents *RA* 8 7 and BM 103191; see above sub 2), which stands apart from the other thirty-two texts. However, the prosopography from *RA* 8 7 and BM 103191 show many links with other texts from Šumšunu-watar's archive: people like Bunubalum, Ili-amranni and his brother Idiš-Zababa. This is a clue that *RA* 8 7 and BM 103191 must be chronologically close to the other Šumšunu-watar documents. However, at least four years separate the reigns of Haliyum and Mananâ, based on Charpin's chronology: Abdi-Erah a and b, as well as Mananâ a and b.

4) The file of Ibbi-Ilabrat, son of Puzur-Ilaba, is relatively late:[510] we find predominantly year names of Sumu-la-El as well as some of 'unidenti-

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[504] *TIM* 5 38 is from the archive of Šū-Ninhursag (Goddeeris 2002:264-265 and Charpin 1979b:198 archive R) , which has furthermore 4 texts dated to Mananâ, one text to Abdi-Erah and one undated document

[505] We only know of a *mīšarum* or *ṣimdatum* proclaimed by Sumu-Yamutbal and Sumu-la-El, supposedly in the year Sumu-la-El 24, see De Boer 2012 and Goddeeris 2002:332.

[506] There is only one other archive that contains Mananâ e: Dulluqum, son of Hadamu.

[507] *OECT* 14 376 is however dated to month IV of 'Sumu-abum 3'.

[508] Stol 2004:830.

[509] Mauer 1980:153.

[510] Goddeeris 2002:273-274 and Charpin 1979b:198 (Archive J).

fied' ones on *R* 25, *R* 26 and *R* 32, and a 'Sîn-iddinam 5' year name on *R* 23:

Unidentified Year names		Oath by	Month	Texts
a[511]	MU BÀD GAL KA I₇.MAH^KI		V	*R* 32
	MU BÀD KA I₇.DA? A?KI BA.DÙ	the king		*YOS* 14 334
	MU BÀD GAL KA-X-X^KI			*YOS* 14 335
	MU BÀD.GAL X[...] BA.DÙ		XII	*RSM* 30
e	MU UM.GAR.RA^KI KI.BA.GI.A		XI	*R* 26
g	MU.ÚS.SA PA₅ PIRIG SAG.GÁ BA.[DÙ]		XI	*R* 25
h	MU.ÚS.SA.A.BI PA₅ PIRIG SAG.GÁ BA.DÙ		XI	*YBC* 8375
Sîn-iddinam of Larsa year 5(?)		Oath by	Month	Text
MU *ma-al-gi₄ iṣ-bat*			X	*R* 23
MU *ma-al-gi₄ iṣ-bat*			XI	*YBC* 8371

As the above table shows, at least two year names similar to the ones in Ibbi-Ilbrat's archive feature on unpublished texts from Yale: another 'Sîn-iddinam 5' year name and a MU.ÚS.SA.A.BI variant of the year name from *R* 25. The actually dated texts in this file range from Sumu-la-El 31 (*R* 20) to Sumu-la-El 33 (*YOS* 14 143 and 119). It seems likely to me that the unidentified year names (above) from Ibbi-Ilabrat's archive are in fact also attributable to the later years of Sumu-la-El. The 'Sîn-iddinam 5' year name is the same as Sumu-la-El 36. Coincidentally, Sîn-iddinam 4 commemorates a victory over Babylon, making it not wholly unlikely that the area from which Ibbi-Ilabrat's archive hails was actually conquered by Sîn-iddinam of Larsa.

5) The small file of Ennam-Adad,[512] consists of only two texts: *YOS* 14 100 ('Sumu-abum 3') and *YOS* 14 76 (Mananâ aa). It seems to suggest that these two year names are close to each other chronologically.

6) The archives of Ilum-ma son of Mallum and of the *rabiānum* Dadušme-El, son of Manmanum belong together.[513] The text *UCP* 10/3 is very important for the Mananâ-dynasty's chronology: its year

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[511] Charpin 2005a:172 equates the year name from *R* 32 with the ones found on *YOS* 14 334 and 335.

[512] Goddeeris 2002:274 and Charpin 1979b:198 (Archive F).

[513] Godeeris 2002:274-276 and Charpin 1979b:198 (Archives O and P respectively).

name is Haliyum a: 'MU UR-^dNIN.URTA BA.GAZ' (Year: Ur-Ninurta was killed). One begins to wonder, is this Ur-Ninurta truly Isin's king who purportedly died around 1898 BC? Why then are other texts dated to Abdi-Erah and Mananâ and one even to the last years of Sumu-la-El?[514] It is hard to accept a chronological gap of almost 50 years in Dadušme-El's archive when we compare *UCP* 10/3 (Haliyum a, ca. 1898 BC?!) and *YOS* 14 335 (end of Sumu-la-El's reign, ca. 1850).

7) The small file belonging to Ea-dāpin[515] consists of *BIN* 2 74 (Sumu-la-El 31) and *YOS* 14 132 with the additional unpublished Yale texts YBC 12221, YBC 12224, NBC 5033, and from the De Liagre Böhl collection in Leiden, LB 2722 (case) and LB 3244 (tablet), the year name on the latter tablet bears a close resemblance to the one on *YOS* 14 132: These two year names should also be located towards the end of Sumu-la-El's reign, because *BIN* 2 74 is securely dated to Sumu-la-El 31.

MU ALAN *sú-mu-la*-DINGIR	*LB* 2722&3244
MU.ÚS.SA ALAN GAL *su-mu-la*-DINGIR	*YOS* 14 132

8) Ṣīssu-nawrat's file is interesting for multiple reasons:[516] it is the only file that we can localize more or less safely in Kiš, because of the oaths sworn by its city god Zababa and the king of Kiš, Yawium. A few texts are dated to Mananâ or Abdi-Erah and we have many double oaths being sworn in some texts. Because Goddeeris 2002 mistook some of Yawium's year names for those of Mananâ, a table with the year names and oaths from Ṣīssu-nawrat's archive is merited:[517]

Year names of Yawium		Oath by	Month	Text
a	not attested in Ṣīssu-nawrat's file			
b	MU.ÚS.SA GIŠ.GIGIR *ia-wi-ú-um*	Zababa and Yawium	XI	*RSM* 29

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[514] *YOS* 14 335, which carries an 'unidentified' year name, it is argued above under Ibbi-Ilabrat's archive that it should be placed in the last years of Sumu-la-El.

[515] Goddeeris 2002:282.

[516] Goddeeris 2002:284-285, the texts are: *RA* 8 3, 4 and 5, *OECT* 13 281, 285 and 288, *RSM* 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, 39, 41, 43, 45 (Goddeeris did not include this text, but because of the Yawium date it is included here), 49, 55, 59 , *YOS* 14 86, 111 and 167 (Goddeeris did not include this text, but because of the Yawium date we have included it), *UCP* 10/3 5(?) *OECT* 15 377, BM 103192 and BM 103198.

[517] In fact, Yawium g and Mananâ d are deceptively similar, the only way to distinguish between them is when a royal name is written in the year name.

		Oath by	Month	Text
	MU.DÍM			
c 518	MU URUDU.ALAN.LUGAL		XI	*OECT* 13 281
	MU URUDU.ALAN.LUGAL	Zababa and Yawium	X	*OECT* 15 377
	[MU URU]DU.ALAN.LUGAL	Zababa and Yawium		BM 103192
d	MU *hi-ri-tum* KIŠ^{KI} BA.BA.AL	Sîn and Haliyum & Zababa and Yawium	VI	*YOS* 14 111
	MU *hi-ri-tum* KIŠ^{KI} BA.BA.AL		VII	*YOS* 14 167
e	not attested			
f? 519	MU.ÚS.SA BÀD KÁ.DINGIR.RA<^{KI}> BA.DÙ	Zababa and Yawium	X	*RA* 8 4
	MU.ÚS.SA BÀD KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI}	Zababa and [...]		*RSM* 45
g	MU KUŠ.Á.LÁ [...]	Zababa and [...]	VI	*RSM* 43
	MU KUŠ.Á.LÁ X	[...]	VI	*OECT* 13 288[520]
	MU KUŠ Á.LÁ	Zababa and Yawium	VI	*RSM* 59
	MU KUŠ Á.LÁ *i*[*a-wi-um*] É ^{D}*za-ba₄-ba₄*.RA MU.NA.AN.DÍM		XI[521]	*RSM* 55
h	MU *su-mu-di-ta-´na*`BA.UG₇	Zababa and Yawium	VI	*RA* 8 3
i	MU.ÚS.SA [...] ALAN?.A.X [...]	Zababa and Yawium		*RSM* 41
-	-	Zababa and Yawium & Nanna and Mananâ	VIII	*RSM* 36
Year names of Abdi-Erah		**Oath by**	**Month**	**Text**
a	MU *ab-di-a-ra-ah* ^{GIŠ}GU.[ZA] [I]N.DAB₅	Nanna and Abdi-erah[522]	III	*RSM* 39
Year names of Mananâ		**Oath by**	**Month**	**Text**
aa	MU *ma-na-na-a* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA I[N.DAB₅]		IX	*RA* 8 5
	MU *ma-na-na-a* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB₅			*YOS* 14 86

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[518] Designated as year name 'c' on the list of Damerow and Sigrist, Goddeeris 2002:285 qualifies it as unplaced. There is in fact no reason to state that this is a Yawium year name, it seems to ressemble the year name Sumu-la-El 'a'.

[519] The year name rather looks like Sumu-la-El 6, but because of the oath by Zababa and Yawium it has been categorized as Yawium f.

[520] Because this text does not contain a divine or royal name in its year name or oath, one could also state that it is dated to Mananâ d.

[521] Written: ITI EZEN ^{d}IŠKUR, as in BM 103192, published in the Appendix.

[522] Goddeeris 2002:284 reads Yawium in the oath, Charpin 1978:16 prefers to read Abdi-Erah.

ba	MU.ÚS.SA *ma-na-na-a* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA IN.DAB₅	Nanna and Mananâ		*UCP* 10/3 5
d	MU *ma-na-na-a* KUŠ.Á.LÁ BA.DÙ		IX	BM 103198
Unidentified Year names		**Oath by**	**Month**	**Text**
a 523	MU BÀD.GAL X[…] BA.DÙ		XII	*RSM* 30
j	MU *a-bi-a-lí-šu*⁵²⁴		XI	*RSM* 49

Almost all of the known Yawium year names belong to this file.[525] Yawium is associated with the kings Haliyum, Abdi-Erah and Mananâ. We see only the beginning of Mananâ's reign in Ṣīssu-nawrat's file. If we think purely in terms of conquest, we might conclude that Yawium was overcome by Mananâ around Mananâ's first regnal year and that Yawium had friendly relations before that with Haliyum (based on the oath from *YOS* 14 111) and Mananâ (double oath in *RSM* 36).

9) As we have seen above, the double oaths (oaths sworn by two different sets of gods and kings) that we encounter in some texts frustrate attempts at finding a chronology for the early OB period.[526] For the Kiš and Damrum texts we have the following examples:

Year names of Haliyum		**Oath by**	**Month**	**Text**
l	MU.ÚS.SA.ÚS.SA URUDU ŠEN.TAB.BA MU.UN.DÙ	Sin and Haliyum & Zababa and Yawium	IV	*YOS* 14 116
Year names of Yawium		**Oath by**	**Month**	**Text**
d	MU *hi-ri-tum* KIŠ^{KI} BA.BA.AL	Sin and Haliyum & Zababa and Yawium	VI	*YOS* 14 111
-	-	Zababa and Yawium & Nanna and Mananâ	VIII	*RSM* 36
Sumu-Yamutbal and Sumu-la-El		**Oath by**	**Month**	**Text**
-	*wa-ar-ka-at*, MU *su-mu-le-el, ù su-mu-*	the king		*R* 3

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[523] Charpin 2005a:172 equates the year name from *R* 32 with the ones found on *YOS* 14 334 and 335.

[524] See below on this year name.

[525] Except BM 108925 and the possible exceptions *YOS* 14 167 and *RSM* 45.

[526] See Wu Yuhong and Dalley 1990.

	ia-mu-u[*t*]*-ba-<al> ṣi-im-da-ta-tim i-iš-ku-nu*			
g	MU.ÚS.SA BÀD [SAG].DA.NI.PÀD^{KI} BA.DÙ *wa-ar-ka-at ṣí-im-da-ti ša sú-mu-le-el iš-ku-nu* (tablet) *wa-ar-ka-*[*at ṣí-im-da-ti*], *ša sú-mu-*[*le-el*], *ù su-mu-e-*[*mu-ut-ba-al*], *iš-ku-nu*	the king	IV	*OECT* 8 3
Sumu-la-El and Sumu-Yamutbal/Manium		**Oath by**	**Month**	**Text**
26	MU ^dINANNA	Marduk and Sumu-la-El & Nanna and Sumu-Yamutbal	I	*YBC* 4375
32	MU E IGI.HUR.SAG.GÁ	Marduk and Sumu-la-El & Nanna and Manium	V	*YOS* 14 119

10) Nāqimum's reign is still problematic to date: was it also around the same time as Mananâ's and Haliyum's or did he precede these kings? We have eleven attestations of Nāqimum year names and six different year names. One of these year names clearly connect Nāqimum with the cult of Inanna of Akuṣum (as the only Mananâ-dynasty king):[527] Nāqimum e. Another year name mentions the same goddess, but is as of yet unattributed; it probably also belongs to Nāqimum.[528] A man called Adidum sold parts of his property to Sîn-iddinam over several years dated to Sumu-ditāna h, Nāqimum b, Nāqimum d, Nāqimum e and 'unknown year name d'. If we assume that these years are more or less close to each other in time, we have an indirect synchronism between Sumu-ditāna and Nāqimum: they were either contemporary or one ruled directly before the other. It is interesting that we do not have any accession year names for neither Haliyum nor Nāqimum (of the type: 'year RN is king' or 'RN took the throne'). This could indicate that the documents at our disposal only mention Nāqimum and Haliyum year names from the middle or end of their reigns. Why should we assume that the surviving documents mention all of the

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[527] We also have the year name 'Haliyum h', which is supposed to have a year name with Inanna as well.

[528] Unknown year name 'd': MU.ÚS.SA GIŠ.BANŠUR KÙ.BABBAR ^dINANNA *a-ku-ṣum*^{ki} MU.DÙ (*R* 10).

kings' year names? Nāqimum is never mentioned together with anoth-
er king in a double oath.

From the above observations we can deduce that there are three fundamental
changes necessary for the chronology of the Mananâ-dynasty kings:

1) Haliyum's reign, which is until now dated around 1898 BC (because of
the year name mentioning Ur-Ninurta's death), should be placed later.
This is necessary to 'fix' the otherwise large chronological gaps in the
archives of Dulluqum, Sîn-iddinam, Šumšunu-watar, Dadušme-El and
Ṣīssu-nawrat. Another argument favors a later date for Haliyum: if the
argument holds true that the 'Haliyum c' year name found on *RA* 8 7
(MU.ÚS.SA ^{IŠ}ÁB.GAL *ù* ^{IŠ}ME-^DEN.LÍL.[LÁ] *is-ki-r*[*u*]) is in fact a Sumu-
ditāna year name (found on *R* 4: MU <^{IŠ}>AB.GAL *su-mu-di-ta-na*
BA.BA.AL), it must mean that the two kings are more or less contempo-
raneous. However, problematic in this proposal is the year name on *R*
56, from the archive of Ṭabāya: this is clearly Sumu-El 5 (1890 BC).[529]
2) Nāqimum's reign should precede those of Mananâ and Abdi-Erah, but
it should also be contemporaneous to the rule of Sumu-ditāna of
Marad.
3) Mananâ's reign should be placed somewhere around the middle of
Sumu-la-El's reign. There are several reasons for this:

• The conquest of Kazallu is interpreted here as one event (see chapter
7) that is commemorated in several kings' year names. Hence, the
'Sumu-abum 13' year name, which is in fact a Mananâ year name
should coincide with Sumu-la-El 18 or 20.
• Furthermore, we have 'unidentified year name a', found in Dadušme-
El's archive, that was attributed to the latter part of Sumu-la-El's reign,
based on Ibbi-Ilabrat's archive. Other texts from Dadušme-El's file are
dated to Mananâ and Haliyum. In order to mend this chronological
gap, we must situate Mananâ to the middle of Sumu-la-El's reign.
• We have a synchronism between Yawium and Mananâ (double oath in
RSM 36), which coincides neatly with a dating to the middle of Sumu-
la-El's reign: in his 12th year, Sumu-la-El destroyed Kiš and presumably
ended Yawium's reign.

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[529] Other texts from this archive have dates from Haliyum and Mananâ.

- The file of Sukkalum provides some evidence to place Nāqimum before Mananâ, which gives us the necessary room to put Mananâ directly before Sumu-Yamutbal. As we know, Sumu-Yamutbal has synchronisms with Sumu-la-El 24 and 26.[530]

- The archive of Warad-Sîn[531] has one document dated to Mananâ,[532] one to 'Sumu-abum 3',[533] and four to Sumu-Yamutbal.[534] In short: this archive also points towards a sequence Mananâ→Sumu-Yamutbal.

- What was the exact 'chronology' of the subsequent reigns of Abdi-Erah and Mananâ? Abdi-Erah 2 is attested only once in *R* 40, dated to month IV, so it could be that during the course of this year, Mananâ took over power from him and that Mananâ 1 is in fact the same year as Abdi-Erah 2. Coincidentally, Mananâ 1aa+1ab is only attested in combination with the months IX and XI. So, Mananâ must have taken power from Abdi-Erah between months IV and IX. We could go even further: the only Ahi-maraṣ year name we have (accession year name, twice attested) is dated to month VIII: it might even be that Ahi-maraṣ was briefly king between Abdi-Erah and Mananâ. These two Ahi-maraṣ attestations only occur in Sîn-iddinam's file.

It appears that the only way to reconcile all the data, is to assume a simultaneous rule shared between Mananâ and Haliyum. However, in this case we still have the problem of 'Haliyum a', commemorating the death of Ur-Ninurta; the only way out of this problem is to assume another person's death. A photo of *UCP* 10/3 3 can be found on CDLI.[535] While the copy by Lutz shows a clear UR-ᵈNIN.URTA, the photo on CDLI shows that the second sign is actually very damaged, making it no longer one hundred percent certain that we have UR-ᵈNIN.URTA on this tablet.[536] So we might have another man's death commemorated: UR-ᵈNIN.ˊxˋ,[537] or a homonym of Isin's king.

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[530] De Boer 2012, but also through *YBC* 4375 (*JCS* 4 3).

[531] Goddeeris 2002:261-262 and Charpin 1979b:197 (archive G).

[532] *YOS* 14 84: Mananâ h.

[533] *YOS* 14 101, for which we have argued, that it is also a Mananâ year name, see the discussion under Šumšunu-watar's archive.

[534] *YOS* 14 98, 102 and 103, as well as *UIOM* 2395 (*JCS* 4 2).

[535] The link is: http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P248165.jpg.

[536] It remains possible that the tablet deteriorated after Lutz made his copies.

[537] There are nonetheless only a few options: Ur-Ninurta, Ur-Ninšubur, and Ur-Ninsun.

5.3.5 *A new group of texts and a new king from early OB Kiš*

Thanks to the help of Dr. C.B.F. Walker in the British Museum, it was possible to study four texts from early OB Kiš unconnected to the Mananâ-dynasty documents. They are edited and published in the Appendix.

All four tablets belong to the same collection (1914-4-7) and were catalogued at about the same time. They do not seem to form one coherent archive, but they are prosopographically related: we find Sîn-pilah, son of Nada-šinat as a witness in both BM 108918 and BM 108928. The connection to the other tablets is less certain: BM 108925 must somehow be linked because it is clearly dated to Yawium 1. The buyer in BM 108928, Ahūni, is perhaps the same person in BM 108915 who owes the silver. According to Walker's personal catalogue all tablets are said to have come from Uhaimir (Kiš). The true interest of these tablets are the unique dates we find on them:

Year names of Yawium		Oath	Month	Text
1	MU *ia-wi-um* LUGAL.E		III	BM 108925
e	MU BÀD {KI} KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI} BA.DÙ		XI	BM 108918
Other Year names				
-	MU *a-bi* X X X LUGAL.E		X	BM 108915
-	MU.ˊÚS.SAˋ [...] BA.DÙ		I	BM 108928

The two Yawium year names are the only occurrences known of these year names.[538] The other two are unfortunately hard to read. In the case of BM 108928, this is due to an old catalogue sticker over the year name and in the case of BM 108915 it is hard to provide a definite reading. The royal name on BM 108915 could be read as *a-bi-a?-nu?-uh?*. There is no king by that name known. However, on a cylinder seal published by Ball (1899:20), we have a royal name that vaguely resembles this name. Frayne 1990 E4.0.6 p. 815 reads

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[538] We can never really discount the possibility that the year name on BM 108918 is in fact a Sumu-la-El year name (in this case Sumu-la-El 5). We have the same problem for the texts *RA* 8 4 and *RSM* 45 (MU.ÚS.SA BÀD KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{KI} = Yawium f or Sumu-la-El 6). The most probable solution is that the scribes in Kiš used a Sumu-la-El year name as a Yawium year name. The reason for this might be that the building of Babylon's wall was such a big event that scribes in nearby Kiš referred to it as well. It is hard to accept that Sumu-la-El had briefly conquered Kiš in order for this year name to be used. That is also why we retained the numbering of Yawium's year names.

the seal as: ᵈŠEŠ.KI-KI.ÁG, DUMU *ma-nu-um-ša-ni-in-š*[*u*], ÌR *a-bi-nu*-x. This *a-bi-nu*-x and our *a-bi-aˀ-nuˀ-uhˀ* have names which look very much alike. In addition we might say that the year name 'MU *a-bi-a-lí-šu*' found on *RSM* 49 is in fact the same one as on BM 108915. Langdon (in 1911) takes it as a variant of Sumu-abum 10. The year name looks like a personal name, but the name Abi-ališu does not make any sense.[539]

If BM 108915 is actually from early OB Kiš, we might have a hitherto unknown king of Kiš. Where should he belong chronologically? He probably predates Yawium, because Sumu-la-El conquered Yawium and Kiš in his 12th regnal year.[540] Before Yawium we know of at least one other king: Ašduni-yarim. This king is only known from three different versions of the same inscription.[541] Ašduni-yarim's inscription in the British Museum entered the collection in the same batch as the four tablets mentioned above and it carries the inventory number BM 108854 (1914-4-7 20).

5.3.6 *On the usage of year names in the early OB Kiš region*

A chronological problem we still face are the Mananâ and Abdi-Erah year names in Ṣīssu-nawrat's file.[542] These year names are not enough proof of Mananâ's and Abdi-Erah's rule over Kiš.[543] Rather, it seems that the usage of year names in this period allowed for local scribes to write down year names of neighboring monarchs. We have already seen a few examples of this practice:

1) Scribes in Kiš during the time of Yawium, used year names connected to the city wall of Babylon.

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[539] Langdon 1911:238 n. 50.

[540] This is based on the synchronisms between Yawium and two 'Mananâ-dynasty' kings and the Ṣīssu-nawrat dossier's internal chronology, as well as -of course- Sumu-la-El's 13th year name: Year he destroyed Kiš.

[541] Frayne 1990 E4.8.1 p. 654-656 and Marzahn 1999, see also Donbaz and Yoffee 1986:3-22, Goddeeris 2002:253and Charpin 2004a p.88-89.

[542] Ṣīssu-nawrat's dossier carries mostly Yawium year names, but also at least two Mananâ year names (*RA* 8 5: Mananâ 1 and BM 103198: Mananâ d), one Abdi-Erah year name (*RSM* 39: Abdi-Erah a) and a double oath by Mananâ and Yawium (*RSM* 36)

[543] There does exist a fragmentary royal inscription of this Abdi-Erah, which *seems* to mention him as 'king of Kiš' (Frayne 1990 E4.10.2 p. 662). Perhaps this is to be understand as *šar kiššatim* 'king of all totality' instead of the city of Kiš. See also the seal impression of Ilum-ma-Ila in section 5.2.2 above.

2) The 'Sumu-abum 13' year name, which is in fact a Mananâ year name commemorating the attack on Kazallu by Sumu-abum.

3) The year name found on *YOS* 14 116; 'MU.ÚS.SA.ÚS.SA URUDU ŠEN.TAB.BA MU.UN.DÙ' (Haliyum l: 'Year: after he made a copper double-axe'), is probably a year name situated two years after the year Mananâ f, which is: MU URUDU! ŠEN.TAB.BA *ma-na-na-a* MU.UN.DÍM (as found on *BIN* 2 86; 'Year: Mananâ made a double-axe'). The oath on *YOS* 13 116 is however by Haliyum and Yawium! Another double oath by Haliyum and Yawium is on *YOS* 14 110, which is dated to a supposed Yawium year name (Yawium d).

4) The whole discussion above about texts dated to a year name of Sumu-ditāna, but carrying an oath by Haliyum, also supports this view.

All this shows that scribes in the early OB period were not as precise as we might have hoped in dating their texts. Especially in the Kiš area we have many 'kings' simultaneously issuing year names. It seems naive to assume that every time a scribe dates a text with a certain year name, he is also providing us with exact political information about his region or town. We have already seen that scribes are highly mobile among the various social groups (both in early OB Sippar and the Mananâ-dynasty texts). These social groups had sometimes different kings with different year names. We cannot assume that all the scribes knew all current year names.

This practice could also partly explain the phenomenon of the double oaths in some Mananâ-dynasty texts: they indicate that the scribe knew that two kings were reigning simultaneously in roughly the same area and he would use a year name of one of them whom he knew.[544] The scribe was not consciously transmitting political information by using only the year name of the 'stronger' king or writing the 'stronger' king before the 'vassal' king: he simply wrote what he knew.

It would seem that scribes were just as 'easy-going' when they wrote down ad hoc year names such as the death of an important person, or when they referred to a royal measure not known from 'official year names':[545] they were

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[544] For the Sippar texts, another theory was proposed: double oaths represent the 'oath king' of the seller and the buyer. It is not possible to definitely prove either theory, but they provide two different explanations of a complicated phenomenon.

[545] In 2012 De Boer argued that a certain year name of Sumu-Yamutbal (*mīšar kunukkātim*) found on *R* 57 is in fact a special ad hoc year name occurring within the year

just using a current political event that they knew about to date a text. This explains why we almost never see these ad hoc year names twice: they were not official, but used on occasion by the scribes.

We can go even further: if we allow for this 'scribal initiative' we might explain why we are unable to fit certain ad hoc year names in canonical lists of year names. An overview of all the year names found on tablets from Kiš and Damrum and their occurrences can be found in the Appendix to chapter 5.

5.4 A new relative chronology for the early Old Babylonian period (table)

The above discussions about the relative chronology for the early OB period has been put into a table. This table aims to summarize all relevant information concerning the reigns of almost all known early OB rulers and their reigns vis-à-vis each other.

The table starts at the fall of the Ur III empire ca. 2000 BC, until ca. 1825 BC. This date coincides with roughly the end of the rule of Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna, Apil-Sîn of Babylon and Warad-Sîn of Larsa. At this time, almost all of the smaller kingdoms in Northern Babylonia and the Diyala region had been conquered by Babylon or Ešnunna. This signals a new era and balance of power, well documented in the Mari archives (from the time of Yahdun-Lim onwards) and in text groups from other sites in the Diyala valley (e.g. Nērebtum, Šaduppûm, Uzarlulu) and Northern Babylonia (eg. Sippar, Dilbat, and Kiš). The most recent literature was used to establish the relative chronology:

- For the kings of Babylon and their year names: Horsnell 1999.
- For the kings of Marad: De Boer 2013a.
- For the kings of Isin: Charpin 2004a.
- For the kings of Larsa: Charpin 2004a.
- For the first few rulers of Kisurra: Sommerfeld 1983b.
- For the kings of Uruk: Charpin 2004a.
- For the kings of Ešnunna: Whiting 1987a.

Sumu-Yamutbal f. All other references to the royal measure issued by Sumu-la-El and Sumu-Yamutbal also have the character of non-standardized ad hoc year names.

- For the limmu's and reigns of the Old Assyrian kings: Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen 2012.
- For the kings of Malgium: De Boer 2013b.
- For the rulers of the Šimaški and 'sukkalmah'-dynasty in Elam: Vallat 2007.

The relative chronology proposed here, is a provisional attempt at a better understanding of the highly complex political situation in southern Mesopotamia. Much of the information in the table is discussed in chapters 6 and 7.