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Amorites in the early Old Babylonian Period

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A history of Northern Babylonia and the Lower Diyala Region (ca. 1900-1815 BC)

7.1 Introduction

As we saw in the last chapter: there is little to no information about Northern Babylonia and the Lower Diyala region between ca. 1980 and 1900 BC. However, from 1900 BC onwards the sources at our disposal become more numerous. Also, the political situation with which we are presented becomes more and more complicated: almost every town had its own ruler and it is often difficult to establish who ruled when or where.⁷⁴³

7.2 The Lower Diyala region: from political fragmentation to Ešnunna's hegemony

7.2.1 *On the textual material from the Diyala region*

The Old Babylonian textual sources from the Diyala region have been published in an unsatisfying manner. Even so, many sites in this area were the object of archaeological surveys and research,⁷⁴⁴ and as a result many sites yielded OB material.⁷⁴⁵ Only six sites are of importance for the study of the

⁷⁴³ For the history of this period first mention must be made of Edzard's pioneering work: Edzard 1957:100f. But also Wu Yuhong 1994a:25-79, Saporetti 2002:98f, and finally Charpin 2004a:78-116.

⁷⁴⁴ The survey by Adams 1965 is still considered a standard in this respect. Adams registers 129 sites for the early OB period in the Diyala region, among which eight large sites (Adams 1965:47).

⁷⁴⁵ Sites that have yielded OB material, not relevant to this study: *In the Hamrin Basin* (see Saporetti 2002:144-165 for an overview of the rescue operations in this area before

early OB history: Ešnunna (which was already introduced in other chapters), the Nūr-Šamaš archive, Šaduppûm, Uzarlulu, Nērebtum, and Tutub. The location of important early OB towns in the Diyala region such as Diniktum, Šadlaš, Akšak or Išim-Šulgi remains unknown. One could say that the early OB material from the Diyala region presented here differs from the early OB Northern Babylonian material on one important aspect. The vast majority of the Diyala texts are loans, what is more, these loans are often issued by temples. These temples were represented by their agents, whose partial archives we have.⁷⁴⁶ The major difference from the Northern Babylonian material is that there we have mostly the archives of private individuals and families. We shall take a closer look at each of the relevant sites from the Diyala region to see which groups of texts are of importance for early OB history.

7.2.1.1 Uzarlulu in the early Old Babylonian period

7.2.1.1.1 Introduction

The modern site Tell al-Dhibā'i ('Hill of the Hyena') harbors the remains of the city Uzarlulu (alias Zaralulu)⁷⁴⁷ which is situated only two kilometers north

the Hamrin Bassin was flooded because of a dam build in the Diyala river): Tell Yelkhi (probably time of Ibal-pî-El II): Saporetti 1981, Saporetti and Rouault 1985, Saporetti 1995, Saporetti 2001, Viaggio 2004. Tell Suleimeh (ancient Batir or Awal): 30 unpublished OB texts, Al-Gailani Werr 1992:3-4, Isma'el 2007:2-3. A brick inscription of an otherwise unknown OB ruler was found here: Ayabum, see Frayne 1990 E4.17.1. Tell Halawa: 22 unpublished OB texts, Al-Gailani Werr 1992:53-54, Isma'el 2007:3. Tullul es-Sib and Hadad: a group of three tells, of which at least one was called Mê-Turān. Almost one thousand texts were found, but only a handful have been published by Muhammed 1992. See also the extensive bibliography in Charpin 2004a:445-446. *In the Lower Diyala Region*: Tell Mohammed: 30 texts from this site from the period between the OB and MB era were studied in the dissertation of Al-Ubaidi (reference: Fadhil 2001:309-11). Tell al-Aleimiyat: three tablets were found here, Isma'el 2007:4. Tell al-Muqdadiya: a few Isin-Larsa period tablets were found here, Isma'el 2007:4-5. Tullul Banaat at-Thiab: a few texts were published by Al-Zeebari 1999-2000, Isma'el 2007:5. Tullul Khattab: a total of 359 tablets (time of Ibal-pi-El II) were found here, but only 36 were published in Isma'el 2007: the archive of a *nadītum* priestess called Niši-inišu.

⁷⁴⁶ This was also remarked by Viaggio 2008b:1 n.4.

⁷⁴⁷ The identification was made by Ahmad 1967, based on a cylinder seal impression. The seal impression shows a god and the text: ⁴*la-si-mu*, LUGAL, *ša ú-za-a[r]-, za-lu-lu*: 'Lāsimu, the king of Uzarlulu'. For an overview of the site see also Saporetti 1999:108-114.

of Tell Harmal (ancient Šaduppûm). It is nowadays enclosed by Baghdad's suburbs. Its main deity was Lāsīmu ('the Runner').⁷⁴⁸ Tell al-Dhibā'i was first excavated in 1949 by an Iraqi team under the supervision of Mustafa.⁷⁴⁹ A second and third season of excavations took place in 1962 and 1965 under the aegis of Al-Najafī and Al-Gailani.⁷⁵⁰ Work resumed again from 1982 to 1984.⁷⁵¹ Unfortunately, no excavation reports (apart from Mustafa 1949) have been published.

7.2.1.1.2 The sources from early Old Babylonian Uzarlulu

The textual material from Uzarlulu was published in an unsatisfactory manner: from the more than 700 texts and fragments found, only four texts and a number of year names are officially at our disposal.⁷⁵² However, a number of texts from Uzarlulu were studied by Iraqi scholars in their M.A. and Ph.D. theses.

Baqir gave eight year names found on tablets from Uzarlulu during the first season of excavations (see the Appendix to chapter 7).⁷⁵³ Additional information on Dhibā'i was published by Al-Hashimi in 1972, for which she drew on her MA thesis from 1964. Suleiman published four harvest labor contracts from Uzarlulu in 1978.⁷⁵⁴ They are all dated to the same year and month.⁷⁵⁵ The main contractor in these documents is Igihluma. This man is well known from a Tell Harmal/Šaduppûm text: he was the *rabiānum*-mayor of Uzarlulu.⁷⁵⁶ In fact, it appears that the Iraqi's had found part of Igihluma's archives at Uzarlulu.⁷⁵⁷

Two other Iraqi scholars wrote their MA theses about texts from Tell al-Dhibā'i/Uzarlulu and their material is of the greatest interest to us. Al-Hashimi 1964 worked on seven economic texts from Uzarlulu (an overview of these texts can be found in the Appendix to chapter 7). These texts do not seem to

⁷⁴⁸ Lambert 1980-1983b.

⁷⁴⁹ Mustafa 1949:180.

⁷⁵⁰ Baqir 1962:12, Ahmad 1967:190 and Al-Gailani-Werr 1988:23.

⁷⁵¹ Killick 1983:209.

⁷⁵² See also the overview by Saporetti 2002:98-108.

⁷⁵³ Baqir 1949b:141-143.

⁷⁵⁴ Suleiman 1978:130.

⁷⁵⁵ 'Year: he brought a golden plow into the temple of Tišpak'.

⁷⁵⁶ YOS 14 40:8, *lⁱ-gi-ih-lu-ma ra-bi-a-nu ša za-ra-lu-lu^{ki}*.

⁷⁵⁷ Suleiman 1966:291-294 (D2, 112) and Al-Adhami 1971 no. 43-47.

form a coherent file or archive, but rather a number of unconnected texts. The main interest lies in the oaths sworn by Šîn and at least three different kings: Sumun-abi-yarim, Hammi-dušur and Yadkur-El.

The Uzarlulu material studied by Ahmad 1964 is quite different, most of the texts from his M.A. thesis concern temple loans issued by the god Lāsīmu, (see Appendix). The texts from this archive must span only a few years: four or five years at the most.

All in all: we can conclude that we have two main groups of texts from Tell al-Dhibā'i/Uzarlulu at our disposal:

- 1) The archive of Igihluma, the *rabiānum* of Uzarlulu in the time of Ešnunna's Ibal-pi-El II (ca. 1778-1765 BC). It contains letters, harvest contracts, loan contracts, and related texts.
- 2) The archive from Lāsīmu's temple, for which we only have loan contracts at our disposal. This archive is dated to the early OB period, but contains no year names that we can immediately attribute to any of the three rulers attested in oaths from Uzarlulu; Sumun-abi-yarim, Hammi-dušur or Yadkur-El. It is furthermore significant that we find no evidence for Šîn-abūšu ruling Uzarlulu.

To the above we must add an inscription of the king of Šadlaš, Sumu-Amnānum, also found at Tell al-Dhibā'i/Uzarlulu. It is an ex-voto dedicated to a goddess, who is called 'the lady of Šadlaš'.⁷⁵⁸

7.2.1.2 Šaduppûm in the early Old Babylonian period

7.2.1.2.1 Introduction

One of the most interesting sites in the Diyala is Tell Harmal, ancient Šaduppûm.⁷⁵⁹ There are two reasons for this: its small size (ca. 1,8 hectares and rising 4 meters above the plain), and the fact that almost 3000 texts of all genres have been found here. Šaduppûm seems to have been a fortified military stronghold and an administrative center. Tell Harmal/Šaduppûm is nowadays situated in the Baghdad suburb 'Baghdad al-Jedida'.

⁷⁵⁸ RIME E4.15.2, *editio princeps*: Rashid 1967.

⁷⁵⁹ Miglus 2006-2008. See also the overview by Saporetti 2002:98-108 and Van Koppen 2006-2008.

Excavations were started by the Iraqis in 1945 and lasted until 1963. The first excavations were led by Baqir and Mustafa under the guidance of Seton Lloyd.⁷⁶⁰ In just two seasons they unearthed already about half of the settlement and found about 1300 tablets.⁷⁶¹ Subsequent campaigns unearthed further texts.⁷⁶² Among the documents found at Tell Harmal are now famous texts such as the Laws of Ešnunna, several date lists and the Harmal Geographic List. During the later campaigns, parts of the site (temple, ‘Serai’ and city wall) were reconstructed for tourism.⁷⁶³ The university of Baghdad and the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin undertook a number of supplemental excavations at the end of the 1990’s.⁷⁶⁴

The excavators found seven layers, of which VII and VI are to be dated to the Third Millennium, V-II to the subsequent early OB period, and layer I to the Kassite period.⁷⁶⁵ The most important layers are III and II, they represent the city as it is best known: most of the important buildings, such as the temple of Bēl-gašer,⁷⁶⁶ the administrative ‘Serai’ building, and the city walls were newly built during the time of layer III. It is commonly held that Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna built the city anew somewhere during his 45-year long reign (ca. 1859-1815 BC).⁷⁶⁷ The city was probably destroyed during Hammurabi’s campaign against Ešnunna in 1762: layer II shows signs of a huge conflagration. In layer IV, the excavators found texts dated to Hammi-dušur and Šin-abūšu.

⁷⁶⁰ Baqir 1946.

⁷⁶¹ Baqir 1946:25, he already gives some year names found on some of the tablets, but they seem to be from later Ešnunna kings.

⁷⁶² Baqir 1948.

⁷⁶³ Baqir 1961:4.

⁷⁶⁴ Hussein and Miglus 1998, and Hussein and Miglus 1999.

⁷⁶⁵ The archaeological information is taken from Miglus 2006-2008.

⁷⁶⁶ The most important deity from Tell Harmal (for the identification of the main temple as Bēl-gašer’s: Charpin 1987c), his name means ‘The Lord is strong’ and is the Akkadian rendering of Sumerian Lugal-Irra. See Viaggio 2009 and Hussein 2008:11-15.

⁷⁶⁷ We follow here the chronology established by Barjamovic, Hertel and Larsen 2012. From the Mari Eponym Chronicle we know that Amīnum took Šaduppūm in 1862 and defeated Ipiq-Adad II around 1857, two years later Ipiq-Adad II in turn defeated Amīnum and we may assume that he took control of Šaduppūm around the same time. On the other hand, if Ipiq-Adad II already controlled Šaduppūm around 1858, we should have had more year names of Ipiq-Adad II at Šaduppūm.

7.2.1.2.2 The sources from early Old Babylonian Šaduppûm

As it was the case with Tell ad-Dhiba'i, lists of year names found on Tell Harmal tablets were published soon.⁷⁶⁸ However, the actual publication of texts from Tell Harmal was slow: less than ca. 400 texts have been published as of now. The most important texts publications are:⁷⁶⁹ fifty letters published by Goetze in 1958; illegally excavated texts at Yale were published by Alexander⁷⁷⁰ and later by Simmons;⁷⁷¹ DeJong Ellis has published a few Tell Harmal texts;⁷⁷² as did Suleiman;⁷⁷³ Van Dijk;⁷⁷⁴ and Al-Fouadi.⁷⁷⁵ Especially some of the texts published by Simmons are interesting for our investigations:

- 1) The file of Gidānum, son of Ipiq-Adad:⁷⁷⁶ loans issued by Šamaš and Gidānum. The texts are dated from Ipiq-Adad II to Iqīš-Tišpak.
- 2) The file of Nūratum and Anāku-Ilama, sons of Paratum.⁷⁷⁷ This private archive contains twelve texts with oaths by Hammi-dušur. In all sale documents Nūratum and Anāku-Ilama act together in buying property.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁶⁸ Baqir 1949a, Baqir 1949b, and Al-Hashimi 1972. See now the excellent enumeration of Harmal year names in Hussein 2008:57-86.

⁷⁶⁹ See also the enumeration in Van Koppen 2006-2008:488-489 and Charpin 2004a:442-444. Most important is the overview by Hussein 2008:92-114, which includes all Šaduppûm texts that were studied both published and unpublished.

⁷⁷⁰ Alexander 1943 (*BIN* 7).

⁷⁷¹ Simmons 1960, Simmons 1961 and in 1978 (*YOS* 14).

⁷⁷² DeJong Ellis 1971, 1974, 1975 and 1988.

⁷⁷³ Suleiman 1978 no. 63-78.

⁷⁷⁴ Van Dijk 1976 (*TIM* 9).

⁷⁷⁵ Al-Fouadi 1979 (*TIM* 10/1).

⁷⁷⁶ *YOS* 14 11-25 and *BIN* 7 58, 72-91. See Simmons 1959:108-119 and Charpin 1979b:197-198.

⁷⁷⁷ 'Archive C' in Charpin 1979b:197.

⁷⁷⁸ Loans: *YOS* 14 37 (MU *be-la-kum* BA.UG₇), *YOS* 14 33 (no oath or date), *YOS* 14 35 (with pledge, no oath or date). *YOS* 14 36 (no oath or date). Sale of a house: *YOS* 14 26 (oath Hammi-dušur and Sîn), *YOS* 14 27 (oath Hammi-dušur and Sîn), *YOS* 14 30 (oath Hammi-dušur and Sîn). Sale of a field: *YOS* 14 28 (oath Hammi-dušur and Sîn), *YOS* 14 29 (oath Hammi-dušur and Sîn). Sale of a threshing floor: *YOS* 14 31 (no oath or date). Receipt of a *nēbahum*: *YOS* 14 32 (oath by Hammi-dušur and Sîn). Legal decision: *YOS* 14 34 (contains a seal impression: ^d*be-el-ga-še*_{20-er}, LUGAL, *ša-du-pé-e*^{K1}).

Even so, of the ca. 3000 tablets found at Tell Harmal/Šaduppûm, the sheer majority of texts remains unpublished, or were studied in (unpublished) theses by Iraqi scholars.⁷⁷⁹ Of these theses, Hussein's is very useful, because it represents a first attempt at integrally studying the Tell Harmal material. His thesis focuses on the material found in the so-called 'Serai' which seems to have been the main administrative building in Šaduppûm. The fact that he had access to unpublished material and unpublished theses, make his work a valuable addition, despite the fact that he only had (partial) access to about 1000 of the 3000 texts from Šaduppûm.

7.2.1.3 Nērebtum in the early Old Babylonian period

7.2.1.3.1 Introduction

The modern day site Iščali is usually equated with the ancient town Nērebtum.⁷⁸⁰ Tablets from this site were first dug up illicitly at the end of the 1920's. Together with other finds from Diyala sites, they sparked the interest of Henri Frankfort who conducted several campaigns in the Diyala region on the account of the Oriental Institute in the 1930's. The idea was to put into perspective the finds from the antiquities market.⁷⁸¹ Nērebtum's excavations took place between 1934 and 1936 and were carried out under Frankfort's supervision by Jacobsen and Hill. A preliminary report was written in 1936 and a final report was published in 1990.⁷⁸²

The site of Iščali/Nērebtum measures 600 x 300 m, but only a small part of the mound's eastern side was excavated. The excavators found essentially four

⁷⁷⁹ Thanks to the publications by Fadhil (Fadhil 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004 and 2009) we are at least informed about the existence of these works, even though many of them remain inaccessible. The titles are in German and taken from Fadhil's publications, even though the original titles were -of course- in Arabic: Abd 1998, Ahmad 1964, Al-Hashimi 1964, Fahd 1996, Hamid 1990, Hussein 2008, Munshid 1997, and Suleiman 1966.

⁷⁸⁰ Greengus 1979:xi n.1 explains the pro's and con's against this identification, see also DeJong Ellis 1986a. For our purposes we will assume that Iščali is ancient Nērebtum. For a summary site description, see also Miglus 1998-2001.

⁷⁸¹ Frankfort 1936:3.

⁷⁸² Frankfort 1936, with additional information found in Frankfort 1955. The Oriental Institute undertook a project to publish the unpublished material from the excavations 'The Diyala Project': <http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/projects/diy/>. See most recently Hill and Jacobsen 1990.

buildings: the large temple of Ištar Kitītum, a smaller temple dubbed the ‘Gate Temple’,⁷⁸³ a large house (called the ‘Serai’),⁷⁸⁴ and a city gate.⁷⁸⁵

The large Kitītum temple was probably destroyed by the Babylonians after their war with Ešnunna in 1762 BC. After these events, the site seems to have been abandoned. According to Adams the site had been briefly reoccupied in the Middle Babylonian period.⁷⁸⁶

7.2.1.3.2 The sources from early OB Nērebtum

As it was stated above, an amount of tablets from Išchali/Nērebtum first surfaced on the antiquities market, so we will start with the contents of these tablets. Lutz was the first to publish a group of tablets from Nērebtum bought in 1929.⁷⁸⁷ This group of tablets shows many similarities to 291 texts bought for the Oriental Institute by Frankfort in 1930.⁷⁸⁸ Of these tablets, 191 were published by Greengus in 1979.⁷⁸⁹ A few years later, in 1986, he published a new study of the Nērebtum material, adding collations and new texts not published earlier by Lutz (these texts carry the siglum *UCLMA*).

Other collections around the world containing illegally excavated Nērebtum tablets are: the Iraq Museum in Baghdad, Musée d’art et histoire in Geneva, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and the John Frederick Lewis

⁷⁸³ It had first been called the ‘Šamaš temple’ (and sometimes still referred to under this name), but Hill 1990:3 thinks that it was more likely a temple dedicated to Šin, because of the texts found therein. Charpin 1999b:178 is a bit more specific and proposes that the temple was dedicated to Šin-ša-Kamānim. Viaggio 2008 wrote on this god, he doubts that the Gate Temple was dedicated to Šin and makes a case for Šamaš as its deity.

⁷⁸⁴ Jacobsen and Holland 1990:83-87.

⁷⁸⁵ See the map in Hill and Jacobsen 1990:4, the same map is reproduced by Miglus 1998-2001:213.

⁷⁸⁶ Adams 1965:153.

⁷⁸⁷ Greengus 1979:3 writes that they were probably bought from a New York dealer called Kohlberg, from whom the University of California Lowie Museum of Anthropology bought them. Kohlberg in turn must have bought them from a middleman or dealer in Baghdad. DeJong Ellis 1987:236 n. 9 observed that this collection does not contain any tablets from the Kitītum temple.

⁷⁸⁸ And not 390 as stated by Greengus, see DeJong Ellis 1986a:761.

⁷⁸⁹ See Greengus 1979:2 n. 7 and 8 for the reasons why the other 199 tablets bought by Frankfort in 1930 were omitted from his publication.

collection in Philadelphia.⁷⁹⁰ The texts (relevant to this study) stemming from Nērebtum are:⁷⁹¹

- 1) The Būr-Sîn/Ilšu-nāšir archive. This archive is the oldest one found among the Nērebtum texts.⁷⁹² The bulk of the archive was published by Lutz.⁷⁹³ The oldest texts in the archive belong to Būr-Sîn. He was an UGULA DAM.GÀR and the son of Ibbi-Tišpak⁷⁹⁴. Most of the documents are loans. Thirteen texts have Būr-Sîn as its main actor,⁷⁹⁵ and seventy-four have his son Ilšu-nāšir as creditor.⁷⁹⁶ Some other text genres occur: sale contracts,⁷⁹⁷ hire contracts,⁷⁹⁸ memos,⁷⁹⁹ and a court record.⁸⁰⁰ Texts are dated from Sîn-abūšu through the Ešnunna kings Ipiq-Adad II, Dādūša and finally Ibal-pi-El II.
- 2) A number of royal inscriptions were also found at Nērebtum.⁸⁰¹ In the Kititum temple there were bricks stamped with inscriptions of Ipiq-

⁷⁹⁰ DeJong Ellis 1986a:757 writes that she found 160 tablets (in 1987:235 she writes: 190 tablets) as belonging to the archive of the SANGA's of Kititum. Unfortunately, these texts remain largely unpublished: DeJong Ellis has only published two important oracle texts (FLP 1674 and FLP 2064) in 1987.

⁷⁹¹ See also the overview by Saporetti 2002:114-123 and Gentili 2004.

⁷⁹² DeJong Ellis 1988:124 has made the valid point that we only have statements from dealers as to this archive's provenance: it might just as well not be from Nērebtum.

⁷⁹³ UCP 10/1 1, 2, 4-9, 11, 13-25, 28-31, 34, 37-40, 42, 44-46, 50, 52, 55, 58-59, 61, 63, 68-69, 74, 78, 80-81, 85, 89-90, 93, 95, 103-104, 106-107, 110.

⁷⁹⁴ Greengus 1986:5 n. 15. This is known from the text *OBTIV* 29 and Būr-Sîn's seal found thereupon, as well as *UCLMA* 9/2827 (published by Greengus 1986:238) and *UCLMA* 9/2831 (published by Greengus 1986:239). See Charpin 1991c for the collation of the seal found on *OBTIV* 29 (the reconstruction of Būr-Sîn's father on the seal is mine): *bur*-^dEN.Z[U], [DUMU *i*]-*bi*-^dT[IŠPAK], ÌR *i**-[*p**í*]-*iq**-[^dTM].

⁷⁹⁵ *TIM* 3 124, 125, UCP 10/1 2, 61, 80, *UCLMA* 9/2827, 2831, 2864, 2906, 2942, *OBTIV* 29, 43, 44.

⁷⁹⁶ *TIM* 3 126, 127, MAH 16163, UCP 10/1 1, 4-9, 11, 13-25, 28-31, 34, 37-40, 42, 44-46, 50, 52, 55, 58-59, 63, 68-69, 74, 78, 81, 85, 89-90, 93, 95, 103-104, 106-107, 110, *UCLMA* 9/2826, 2858+2863, 2860, 2862, 2895, 3019, 2958, 3030, *OBTIV* 53, 68, 69, 70, 71, 82, 94, 145, 214, 217, and 218.

⁷⁹⁷ *TIM* 5 21 (Ilšu-nāšir buys a garden), UCP 10/1 11 (Ilšu-nāšir buys a house), UCP 10/1 22 (Ilšu-nāšir buys a slave), UCP 10/1 52 (Ilšu-nāšir buys a garden), UCP 10/1 90 (Ilšu-nāšir buys a slave), *UCLMA* 9/3019 (Ilšu-nāšir buys property).

⁷⁹⁸ UCP 10/1 58 (Ilšu-nāšir hires a shepherd).

⁷⁹⁹ Eg. *OBTIV* 94, 214, 217 and 218.

⁸⁰⁰ UCP 10/1 107 Taribum, son of Bēšunu had broken into Ilšu-nāšir's house, the authorities hand him over to Ilšu-nāšir.

⁸⁰¹ Jacobsen 1990b:89-94.

Adad II and Ibal-pi-El II. The inscription of Ipiq-Adad II has been much discussed. Fragments of a brick inscription of Sumu-Amnānum, king of Šadlaš, were found at Nērebtum; he mentions the construction of a temple for Ištar.⁸⁰²

7.2.1.4 Tutub in the early Old Babylonian period

7.2.1.4.1 Introduction

Tutub (modern Khafajah) is actually a group of four tells in the Diyala region.⁸⁰³ They were excavated by the Oriental Institute from 1930 to 1937 over the course of seven campaigns.⁸⁰⁴ The famous ‘Temple Oval’ is located at mound A.⁸⁰⁵ Mound B was the location of an OB fortress called Dūr-Samsuiluna.⁸⁰⁶ Mound C was hardly excavated.⁸⁰⁷ However, Mound D, which was essentially a fortified citadel, yielded the remains of a Sîn temple, in which the excavators found 111 tablets.⁸⁰⁸

7.2.1.4.2 The sources from early Old Babylonian Tutub

Mound D of Khafajah yielded one single archive belonging to a temple dedicated to Sîn.⁸⁰⁹ 57 of the texts are kept at the Oriental Institute in Chicago and 54 at the Iraq Museum. Most of the texts of the archive deal with loans issued by the temple. However, there are also many sale contracts,⁸¹⁰ a few administrative texts, and one letter. The main interest of these documents for the political history of the Lower Diyala region lies in the twenty-five year names found on them.

⁸⁰² Did this king of Šadlaš then rule Nērebtum for a while? The famous treaty found at Nērebtum has Hammi-dušur of Nērebtum and Sumu-numhim of Šadlaš as treaty partners.

⁸⁰³ See the map opposite:207 of Delougaz 1990a. See also the overview of Saporetti 2002:123-141.

⁸⁰⁴ See also Harris 1955:32-33.

⁸⁰⁵ Delougaz 1940, no OB textual material was found here.

⁸⁰⁶ Delougaz 1990a. the texts found there were published by Greengus 1979 no. 305-325.

⁸⁰⁷ Delougaz 1990b.

⁸⁰⁸ The hoard of tablets was found in a small room adjoining a courtyard, Delougaz 1990c.

⁸⁰⁹ Published in its entirety by Harris 1955. There is little to add to the introductory remarks of Harris 1955:35-45, except for the fact that the EN is a priestess, not a priest.

⁸¹⁰ Studied in detail by Skaist 2000.

7.2.1.5 The Nūr-Šamaš Archive

The exact provenance of this archive is unknown and it has no apparent ties to groups of texts from known sites.⁸¹¹ The vast majority of the texts from this archive are loans issued by a man called Nūr-Šamaš. Almost all 121 texts are dated with year names from a king ruling in the Lower Diyala region: Sîn-abūšu, making this archive an important source for Sîn-abūšu's reign. Nūr-Šamaš, son of Kubīya, perhaps acted on behalf of a temple: a seal with the divine names Šamaš and Aya is impressed on some tablets.⁸¹² A connection to the palace (Sîn-abūšu's?) is found in *TIM* 3 75.⁸¹³

7.2.2 *The earliest group of rulers in the Lower Diyala Region ca. 1900-1890 BC*

The best point of departure for our study of the Diyala region's political history from 1900 BC onwards is the letter *AS* 22 40, because it provides several synchronisms for Diyala region rulers. The letter was sent to Ipiq-Adad I, who was king of Ešnunna around 1900-1890 BC.⁸¹⁴

Say to Ipiq-Adad: Thus (says) Abdi-Erah and Šiqlānum: (As) for Duni-bala, we have sent Ašdu-marim and Itūr-adnum to the assembly. We will find out about all their affairs and write to you. And Mašparum wrote to us, and Šiqlānum and I...Write to Išmeh-bala and inform him that the river is blocked. And we will send out an alarm(?), but we will not [...] And thus (says) Abdi-Erah: If you are my father, [...] the river. [PN?] should inspect the water and return. I will capture the Amorites.

The letter mentions an affair about a certain Duni-bala; the writers have sent two men to an assembly to learn more. A different matter concerns Mašparum, but the letter is broken at this point. On the reverse the writers ask

⁸¹¹ The texts were published by Van Dijk in *TIM* 3 and studied by Rashid 1965. See also Saporetti 2002:179-182 (mostly on Sîn-abūšu's year names), and Saporetti 1998:253-300 also on Sîn-abūšu's year names. Charpin 2004a:99 n. 377 localizes the Nūr-Šamaš archive at Nērebtum.

⁸¹² Like *TIM* 3 26, 39, 95, 100. Even so, it is not usually the creditor who seals a loan. This seal is discussed in more detail by Matoušová-Rajmová 1972:307. The frequent stipulation that the debtor must add Šamaš' interest (MÁŠ.BI dUTU ú-ša-ab) is no proof: this was also common usage in non temple loans. Viaggio 2008b:1 n.4 states that Nūr-Šamaš acted on behalf of the Šamaš temple, but he gives no proof.

⁸¹³ See Rashid 1965:85-86. A loan of barley is dispensed from the palace granary.

⁸¹⁴ Translation taken from Whiting 1987a:97.

Ipiq-Adad I to write to Išmeh-bala about a blocked river or canal: probably one of the two Diyala branches, the Ṭābān and Turān.⁸¹⁵ The ending of the letter states that Abdi-Erah will capture the Amorites, it suggests that a group of Amorites might have been involved in blocking the river: a known battle tactic in Mesopotamia.

In any case, this letter establishes the contemporaneity of Ipiq-Adad I, Abdi-Erah, Šiqlānum, Mašparum, and Išmeh-bala. It is not known whether Duni-bala (perhaps even the name of a river or canal), Ašdu-marim or Itūr-adnum were also rulers or politically important figures.⁸¹⁶

7.2.2.1 Ipiq-Adad I of Ešnunna

From royal inscriptions found at Ešnunna,⁸¹⁷ we know that Ipiq-Adad I was the son of Ur-Ninmarki.⁸¹⁸ However, Ipiq-Adad's immediate predecessor on Ešnunna's throne was Ur-Ningišzida. Saporetti believes that Ur-Ningišzida was a brother of Ur-Ninmarki.⁸¹⁹ Whatever the case, some connection must have existed between Ipiq-Adad I and Ur-Ningišzida, even though Ur-Ningišzida also had sons of his own.⁸²⁰

Under the rule of Ipiq-Adad I, the palace of the rulers in Ešnunna was gradually rebuilt. This palace structure is the latest preserved phase of the building.⁸²¹

Apart from AS 22 40, some other letters found at Ešnunna were also sent to Ipiq-Adad I: AS 22 41 (in which he is called *rubûm*, 'the prince') sent by a certain Šîn-emūqī concerning an argument. AS 22 42 is also addressed to 'the prince' by one Ibiš-ilum, who sees himself as 'son' (vassal or at least subordinate). AS 22 43 is largely destroyed, it was sent by Mašparum.

Only three year names can be attributed to Ipiq-Adad I with certainty.⁸²² However, a few other year names could also be assigned with more or less

⁸¹⁵ Nashef 1982 and Charpin 2004a:64 n. 176.

⁸¹⁶ This man is again mentioned in AS 22 41:9.

⁸¹⁷ Frayne 1990 E4.5.9, see also the seal of Ipiq-Adad I when he must still have been a crown prince: Frayne 1990 E4.5.7.4.

⁸¹⁸ See also Saporetti 2002:190-196 on Ipiq-Adad I.

⁸¹⁹ Saporetti 2002:189.

⁸²⁰ An Erra-bāni is known from a cylinder seal, Frayne 1990 E4.5.8.3.

⁸²¹ It was not rebuilt in its entirety by Ipiq-Adad I, Reichel 2001a:138 refers to the palace as the 'Ipiqadad I - Ibalpiel I Palace'.

certainty to Ipiq-Adad I, because they were found in the latest building phase of the palace of the rulers.⁸²³

7.2.2.2 Išmeh-bala of Nērebtum

One of the first rulers of Nērebtum must have been Išmeh-bala/Išme-bali.⁸²⁴ We have only five attestations of his name and none of them are from Nērebtum itself. Two year names mentioning him are found on tablets from the Sîn temple at Tutub. One of them recalls the building of Nērebtum's walls: because of this it is assumed that he ruled Nērebtum.⁸²⁵

He is also featured three times in the early OB letters from Ešnunna,⁸²⁶ but they are too laconic to say anything useful about Išmeh-bala. He must have ruled somewhere around 1900-1880 BC.

7.2.2.3 Šiqlānum

This supposed ruler's town has not yet been identified: in fact only very little information of him is known.⁸²⁷ He is mentioned twice in the early OB Ešnunna letters,⁸²⁸ and his death is commemorated in an Ipiq-Adad I era year name.⁸²⁹

⁸²² Because his name is mentioned in them (without the divine determinative that Ipiq-Adad II did carry): see Saporetti 1998:144-148.

⁸²³ So, they could also belong in fact to the later reigns of Šarriya, Warassa, Bēlakum or Ibal-pî-El I. We do not know what criteria Wu Yuhong 1994a:26 used in attributing these year names to Ipiq-Adad I. Saporetti 1998:149-164 explains that it is the archaeological context in which the texts carrying these year names were found. Indeed, if we look at Jacobsen 1940 (who published the relevant material), we see that many supposed Ipiq-Adad I year names were found on texts found in a 'vertical drain'.

⁸²⁴ The name means: 'The Lord has heard', see also Wu Yuhong 1994a:43.

⁸²⁵ Wu Yuhong 1994:43 and Charpin 2004a:97. The year names of Išmeh-bala are: MU *iš-me-ba-li* LUGAL, BĀD GAL *ne-re-eb-tum*^[ki], BA.DĪM.MA (*JCS* 9 p. 116 no. 94:2'-4') and MU *ša iš-me-ba-li*, ^{GIS}GU.ZA ^dUTU *ú-še-ri-'bu'* (*JCS* 9 p. 110 no. 71:6'-7').

⁸²⁶ *AS* 22 40:3', 43:8 and 45:9. I presume that the same man is meant as in the Tutub year names.

⁸²⁷ Saporetti 1998:190. Harris 1955 had the idea that he was a ruler of Ešnunna, but this was refuted effectively by Whiting 1987a:31

⁸²⁸ *AS* 22 40:4 and *AS* 22 44:6.

⁸²⁹ *OIP* 43 no. 97.

7.2.2.4 Abdi-Erah

This man must not be confused with the later Abdi-Erah of the ‘Mananâ-dynasty’. Little is known about this Abdi-Erah.⁸³⁰ He is the main writer of the letter *AS 22 40* cited above. A year name of Abdi-Erah turned up at Ešnunna⁸³¹ and Tutub. His death is commemorated in a year name from Šaduppûm.⁸³²

Because of the year name found at Tutub it is often assumed that Abdi-Erah ruled Tutub, but the evidence is very meagre: the text from Tutub reads: MU *ab-di-e-r[a-ah]*.⁸³³ In the break or on the edge (not given) could have been written ‘BA.UG₇’ (he died), as in the year name from Šaduppûm, making it unsure whether he ruled Tutub. It is equally possible that this year name is in fact from the time of Hammi-dušur (ca. 1875 BC) and commemorates the death of the Abdi-Erah of the ‘Mananâ-dynasty’. A harvester tag dated to an Abdi-Erah is also known.⁸³⁴

7.2.2.5 Mašparum

Mašparum’s seat of power is unknown, it was probably somewhere in the Lower Diyala region.⁸³⁵ We only have four sources documenting him: *IPLA 5*, in which he is associated with Sumu-abum and Ilum-ma-Ila and *IPLA 14* in which he is seen as a member of the ‘Amorite assembly’. Mašparum is furthermore the writer of a badly preserved letter found in Ešnunna (*AS 22 43*) and is mentioned in another one addressed to Ipiq-Adad I (*AS 22 40*). The fact

⁸³⁰ Jacobsen 1940:120-121 thought that he was a ruler of Ešnunna, but this was disproved by Whiting 1987a:31. On this king also: Wu Yuhong 1994a:40-41 and Saporetti 2002:172-173.

⁸³¹ *OIP* 43 no. 96: MU *ab-di-a-ra-ah* ^dMAR.TU *ì-lí re-di-šu i-pu-šu*. It was translated by Jacobsen as ‘Year when Abdierah made Amurruili his successor’. It was rendered differently by Wu Yuhong 1994a:26: ‘Abdi-Erah made a statue of Amurru’, and by the same author on p. 41 as: ‘The year: Abdi-Erah fashioned (a statue) of Amurru, his own(?) god(?)’.

⁸³² On the case of IM 63161, published by Suleiman 1978:134-135 no. 69: MU *ab-di-ra-ah* BA.[UG₇]. This text is from the dossier of Mudādum, son of Mašum, also containing the unique royal(?) names Rīm-Tišpak (found on IM 63183, in Suleiman 1966:372) and Waqrum (IM 55460, Suleiman 1966:317), the same Waqrum year name is on IM 55388 (Al-Hashimi 1964 H5).

⁸³³ *JCS* 9 p. 110 no. 73:7’.

⁸³⁴ The text is YBC 12179.

⁸³⁵ Charpin 2004a:100 suspects that Mašparum ruled Šadlaš. Together with Diniktum this seems like Mašparum’s most plausible seat of power.

that Mašparum is mentioned in both the Ikūn-pīša letters and the early OB Ešnunna correspondence, provides us with a welcome link between the two archives as well as between the Diyala region and Northern Babylonia.

7.2.2.6 Itūr-šarrum of Diniktum

Even though he is not mentioned in the above letter, he must have been roughly contemporary with Ipiq-Adad I. His seal impression was found on an envelope in the Ešnunna palace of the rulers.⁸³⁶

7.2.2.7 Imgur-Sîn of Malgium

We can only give an approximate date for Imgur-Sîn, son of Ilī-abī, as king of Malgium.⁸³⁷ Perhaps he ruled Malgium after Gungunum had conquered the town in his 18th year.

⁸³⁶ Whiting 1987a:119, see also Frayne 1990 E4.13.1.

⁸³⁷ De Boer 2013c.



Map 4 The Political Situation in the Lower Diyala around 1900-1890 BC

The above map sums up the situation very well: we basically only know the names of rulers and often the town they ruled, but almost nothing about political or military events. There are numerous things unknown: who ruled Akšak, Išim-Šulgi, Agade, how were the Amorite tribes organized, which families were important, etc.

7.2.3 The Next Generation: *Abī-madar, Yادkur-El, Sumun-abi-yarim, and others ca. 1890-1880 BC*

From ca. 1890 BC onwards the situation changes, small kingdoms are starting to coalesce and the sources at our disposal become again more numerous.

7.2.3.1 Abī-madar

Abī-madar is the first petty ruler to occur in documents from two different sites as a ruler.⁸³⁸ Perhaps the most interesting one stems from Šaduppûm: IM 63130 is the division of an inheritance including an oath sworn by Sîn and Abī-madar *and* Bēl-gašer and Mammītum.⁸³⁹

A number of Abī-madar year names⁸⁴⁰ were found: two in Šaduppûm: commemorating the making of a *zarzarum*⁸⁴¹ and the building of a *ramum*.⁸⁴² The year name concerning the *zarzarum* is also found on an unprovenanced loan contract in the Yale Babylonian Collection.⁸⁴³ Two year names stem from Tutub: they refer to a *mīšarum* edict by Abī-madar: probably the earliest OB occurrence of such an edict.⁸⁴⁴ In addition, an Abī-madar year name was found at Ešnunna in which he brought a statue into Sîn's temple.⁸⁴⁵ A person called Abī-madar is also mentioned in a later dated letter sent by the king of Ešnunna to Sîn-abūšu.⁸⁴⁶

⁸³⁸ Wu Yuhong 1994a:41-42 and Saporetti 2002:172.

⁸³⁹ Studied in Suleiman 1966:376. Suleiman read in lines 10-12: *ni-<iš> dEN.ZU ù a-bi-šu-ma, ni-iš dbe-el-ga-še-er, ù ba-sa-mi-[x-x]*. He was followed in his reading by Hussein 2008:91. This would suppose two rulers and two gods: Sîn and Abī-madar, as well as Bēl-gašer and Basami-[x x]. However, Viaggio 2008b p.2 n. 13 proposes a different reading for the last name: *ma-am'-mi-[tum]*. Despite the fact that we lack a divine determinative, the goddess Mammītum seems a better option than to add another ephemeral ruler to an already long list. IM 63305 (DeJong Ellis 1974 text C p. 151) also contains an oath sworn by three gods: Bēl-gašer, Ahūya and Amurru.

⁸⁴⁰ Saporetti 1998:191-194.

⁸⁴¹ MU *za-ar-za-ra-am' 'a-bi-ma-dar i-pu-šu* (Suleiman 1978:137 no. 75, collated by Hussein 2008:59).

⁸⁴² MU *a-bi-ma-dar ra-ma-am i-pu-šu* (Hussein 2008:60). Perhaps a *rāmum* monument is meant, these are known from Syria in the time of the Mari archives, see Durand 2005a:143f.

⁸⁴³ Published in the Appendix.

⁸⁴⁴ MU *mi-ša-ra-am a-bi-ma-dar iš-ku-nu* (JCS 9 p. 113 no. 80:23) and MU EGIR NÍG.SI.SÁ (JCS 9 p. 79 no. 27:16).

⁸⁴⁵ MU ^{URUDU}ALAM *ša-i-dam a-bi-ma-dar É dEN.ZU ú-še-ri-bu* (OIP 43 p. 195 no. 125), see the discussion about the translation of this year name in Saporetti 1998:192 and Wu Yuhong 1994a:42.

⁸⁴⁶ Mustafá 1983 no. 141, see below for more on this letter.

7.2.3.2 Ikūn-pi-Sîn of Nērebtum

A second king associated with early OB Nērebtum is Ikun-pi-Sin. He is first known from (again) a Tutub year name, crediting him with the capture of Diniktum.⁸⁴⁷

He is furthermore encountered on a number of seal impressions. Two servant seals with Ikūn-pi-Sîn as the king were found on tablets from Nērebtum.⁸⁴⁸ One seal seems to have belonged to himself; it is found on *OBTIV* 26 and 300.⁸⁴⁹ It is unclear whether he pre- or postdated Išmeh-bala, but it is usually assumed that he came after Išmeh-bala.

7.2.3.3 Yادkur-El

This ruler was in any case at home in Uzarlulu,⁸⁵⁰ because the oath in a sale document from this town was sworn by Sîn and Yادkur-El.⁸⁵¹ The impression of a servant's seal mentioning Yادkur-El from Uzarlulu is also known.⁸⁵²

The most remarkable thing about Yادkur-El is that his death is commemorated in a year name found at three different sites: Uzarlulu,⁸⁵³ Tutub,⁸⁵⁴ and Šaduppûm⁸⁵⁵. There are no year names clearly attributable to Yادkur-El.

⁸⁴⁷ MU.ÚS.SA *di-ni-[ik-tum^{ki}]*, *¹i-ku-pi^{-d}EN.ZU iṣ-[ba-tu]* (*JCS* 9 p. 120 no. 110:2''-3'').

⁸⁴⁸ Frayne 1990 E4.14.3.2001: [...] x-šu, [...] GAL, [DUMU...] *-re-me-ni*, IR *¹i-ku^{-un}-pi^{-d}EN.ZU*. RIME E4.14.3.2002: *be-la-nu-um*, DUMU *e-te-el-lum*, IR *¹i-ku-un-pi^{-d}EN.ZU*.

⁸⁴⁹ Frayne 1990 E4.14.3.1: *^di-²šar^{-[ki-di-šu]}*, LUGAL.A.NI.[IR], *i-ku-un-pi^{-d}EN.ZU*. Frayne adds an extra line to the inscription: [IN.NA.AN.BA] 'he presented (this seal)'. On the god Išar-kidišu in the Diyala region, see Viaggio 2008b and Wu Yuhong 1994a:46-47.

⁸⁵⁰ Wu Yuhong 1994a:62-63. Wu Yuhong believed that Yادkur-El was the father of Ila-kabkabu and hence the grandfather of Samsi-Addu and Amīnum. From the Assyrian King List we know that this person was in fact named Yaskur-El. Wu Yuhong supposes that this is a variant spelling of Yادkur-El. Yادkur-El died around 1885 BC (see the chronology table of chapter 5), Samsi-Addu was born according to the MEC in 1847: a difference of more than thirty years. Such a thing is not impossible, but it is difficult to rhyme with the political situation *after* Yادkur-El's death: it was probably Sumu-nabi-yarim who ruled in Uzarlulu after Yادkur-El (and after him Hammi-dušur), not Ila-kabkabu or Amīnum. Apart from the mentioning of Amīnum in the MEC (1862: Amīnum took Šaduppûm) there is little evidence for this family being active in the Lower Diyala region. In fact, Ila-kabkabu probably roamed the Syrian steppe instead of the Diyala plains. This becomes hopefully more clear with the publication of more '*šakkanakku*' texts from Mari and Terqa, but see already the clear allusions to this in *ARM* 1 3. In short: Yادkur-El ≠ Yaskur-El.

⁸⁵¹ IM 67032 (Al-Hashimi 1972:32 = Al-Hashimi 1964 H 46).

⁸⁵² Frayne 1990 E4.14.5.

7.2.3.4 Sumun-abi-yarim

This man was a king in the lower Diyala region.⁸⁵⁶ Aside from the Ikūn-pīša letters he features in the oath of three documents from three different places: Tutub,⁸⁵⁷ Uzarlulu,⁸⁵⁸ and Nērebtum.⁸⁵⁹ In all of these oaths, the parties also swear by Sîn. Because a Sîn temple was found at Tutub, it is usually concluded that he must have been a ruler of Tutub. However, there are at least two problems with this hypothesis: first, the text from Nērebtum was found in what is seen by some as a Sîn temple as well, and secondly why do we not find more texts or year names referring to Sumun-abi-yarim at Tutub? The Sîn temple archive at Tutub has year names mentioning many rulers active in the lower Diyala region and almost all of them are mentioned multiple times in the archive.⁸⁶⁰ An additional problem poses the text from Uzarlulu: we know that Lāsīmu was the main deity of Uzarlulu,⁸⁶¹ why would we find an oath by Sîn in a document from this city? There is more to this: the other two attested rulers from Uzarlulu (Hammi-dušur and Yادkur-El) are also seen in oaths from Uzarlulu together with Sîn.⁸⁶² The conclusion of all this is: Sumun-abi-yarim could have been the ruler of Tutub, but also of Nērebtum, Uzarlulu, another town or the whole lower Diyala region. If he had ruled more than one city, he would have predated Hammi-dušur and Sîn-abūšu (see below on both kings). These two kings had ruled large parts of the lower Diyala region around ca. 1880-1825 BC, after the events known from the Ikūn-pīša letter archive. The Ikūn-pīša letters do not directly elucidate our problem.

Sumun-abi-yarim plays an indirect role in the Ikūn-pīša archive: he sits in the *puhur amurrim* ('the Amorite assembly') in *IPLA* 14 and he is seen in the Ilum-ma letters. As we learn from *IPLA* 2, a messenger (*mār šiprim*) called

⁸⁵³ IM 52783 (Ahmad 1964 A6 and Baqir 1949b:141-143).

⁸⁵⁴ *JCS* 9 p. 73 no. 10:19.

⁸⁵⁵ IM 63121 (Ahmed 1966 A 33).

⁸⁵⁶ See Van Koppen 2012. Van Koppen's translation of the name as 'Sumu-abum hat sich erhaben gezeigt' is dubious. The name must mean something else, because a later queen of Yamhad is called Sumunna-abi.

⁸⁵⁷ *JCS* 9 p. 106 no. 57.

⁸⁵⁸ IM 67097 (Al-Hashimi 1964 H44).

⁸⁵⁹ *OBTV* 27.

⁸⁶⁰ See the overview of the year names in Harris 1955:46-47.

⁸⁶¹ Ahmad 1967.

⁸⁶² Al-Hashimi 1964 no. 43 (IM 52859): Hammi-dušur and Sîn; no. 45 (IM 67040): Hammi-dušur and Sîn; no. 46 (IM 67032): Yادkur-El and Sîn.

Etel-pi-Sîn was in Sumun-abi-yarim's service. In *IPLA* 3, the writer Ilum-ma remarks that he should not owe any favors to Sumun-abi-yarim and Sîn-nada. This Sîn-nada could have been an important official of Sumun-abi-yarim.⁸⁶³

Sumun-abi-yarim is only mentioned in connection to Išim-Šulgi, a town that had a *šakkanakkum* as its ruler.⁸⁶⁴ But the fact that Sumun-abi-yarim and Mašparum are the only Diyala region rulers mentioned in the letter archive does lead us to suspect that he could have ruled most of the lower Diyala region. In order to guarantee safe trade routes through this region, Ikūn-pîša's organization would have had to deal with Sumun-abi-yarim. It could be that Sumun-abi-yarim was only an ephemeral ruler, this would explain the lack of more sources. Based on synchronisms with other rulers from the Ikūn-pîša texts he ruled around ca. 1885 BC.

7.2.3.4.1 A Lower Diyala dynasty?

The 'oath god' used by people together with Sumun-abi-yarim was Sîn (as we saw above). Sîn was however also seen with (preceding) Diyala region rulers such as Abī-madar⁸⁶⁵ and Yadkur-El. What is more, the two main lower Diyala rulers after Sumun-abi-yarim, Hammi-dušur⁸⁶⁶ and Sîn-abūšu⁸⁶⁷ are also paired together with Sîn in oaths! This could be an indication for one dynasty of rulers. When Ešnunna took over power, Tišpak was also automatically used as oath god with the Ešnunna king, all over the region: in Šaduppûm,⁸⁶⁸ Nērebtum,⁸⁶⁹ Mē-Turān,⁸⁷⁰ and Tullul Khattab,⁸⁷¹ regardless of any local city god. Why would the situation be any different before? Sîn was the main 'oath

⁸⁶³ In fact, a Sîn-nada with the title SUKKAL occurs in an administrative text from Tutub: ^dEN.ZU-AN.DÛL, DUMU ^dEN.ZU-na-da SUKKAL, *JCS* 9 p. 119 no. 105:14-15.

⁸⁶⁴ We cannot discount the possibility that the *šakkanakkum* of Išim-Šulgi could have ruled at the behest of another king. On the other hand, some city rulers carried the explicit title *šakkanakkum*, such as the kings of Dēr.

⁸⁶⁵ Abī-madar even offered a statue to a Sîn temple in one of his year names, see above.

⁸⁶⁶ For Hammi-dušur in oaths in Šaduppûm, see Hussein 2008:91, for Uzarlulu, see above section 2.1.1.2.

⁸⁶⁷ IM 55148 (Al-Hashimi 1964 H4), see also Hussein 2008:91. Sîn-abūšu, like Abī-madar offered a statue to a Sîn temple, see Saporetti 1998:258.

⁸⁶⁸ See Hussein 2008:91.

⁸⁶⁹ *OBTV* 25.

⁸⁷⁰ *Edubba* 1 1:15, *Edubba* 9, and *Edubba* 1 10.

⁸⁷¹ *Edubba* 9 1 and *Edubba* 9 3.

god' for the former lower Diyala rulers Sumun-abi-yarim, Hammi-dušur and Sîn-abūšu.⁸⁷² Unfortunately, we have no official inscriptions of any of these rulers, which could verify whether they were related to each other.⁸⁷³

Sîn, or the Moongod, was one of the most popular deities in OB times: in chapter 3 we saw that 36 of the 100 most popular early OB personal names carry Sîn as its theophoric element. Popular gods such as Sîn, Ištar, or Adad were worshipped all over the Ancient Near East and, as a consequence, there were many local manifestations of such gods: Adad of Aleppo, Adad of Arrapha, Ištar Annunītum (Sippar), or Ištar Urukītum (Uruk) etc. The same holds true for Sîn. In fact, we know of at least two specific manifestations of Sîn in the Diyala region: Sîn of Kamānum⁸⁷⁴ and Sîn of Ur-Iškura. They are both mentioned in the treaty concluded between Hammi-dušur 'of Nērebtum' and Sumu-numhim of Šadlaš: in case of a crime, a citizen of Nērebtum must swear by Sîn of Kamānum, and a citizen of Šadlaš by Sîn of Ur-Iškura.⁸⁷⁵ Was Sîn of Kamānum then the tutelary deity of Hammi-dušur? This cannot be verified with the current evidence. In any case, Sîn was an important deity in the Lower Diyala region, being the main god of not only Tutub, Kamānum, and Ur-Iškura, but also Akšak. Any of these towns could be the hometown of the proposed Sumun-abi-yarim dynasty.

7.2.3.4.2 Excursus: the importance of early OB Akšak

Akšak is found as the theophoric element in many personal names.⁸⁷⁶ City names used as a theophoric element are rare, but not unusual. What is unusual is the sheer number of names composed with Akšak found in Sippar alone: Akšak-abī, Akšak-gāmil, Akšak-iddinam, Akšak-māgir, Akšak-nāšir, Akšak-rabi, Akšak-šemi, Iddin-Akšak, Imgur-Akšak, Nabi-Akšak, Puzur-Akšak, Šilli-Akšak, and the hypocoristic Akšāya. An explanation for this phenomenon might be that these names refer to the main deity or temple of the city, possibly Sîn.⁸⁷⁷

⁸⁷² It is difficult to add Abī-madar and Yadkur-El to this hypothetical dynasty: we can only speculate about a unified Lower Diyala from the reign of Sumun-abi-yarim onwards.

⁸⁷³ Frayne 1990 E4.14.2 is not an inscription of Sîn-abūšu, but of an Ešnunna king.

⁸⁷⁴ Discussed by Viaggio 2008a.

⁸⁷⁵ See Wu Yuhong 1994a:60-61.

⁸⁷⁶ Gragg 1974 gives an overview of the attestations of Akšak from the Sumerian kinglist to the OB period.

⁸⁷⁷ This might also explain a name such as Tutub-māgir: Tutub's tutelary deity was also Sîn.

In addition to these Akkadian names, there is also one Amorite name composed with Akšak; Sumu-Akšak. Another Amorite connection is seen in the Mari archives. A certain Akšak-māgir seems to have been in charge at Qaṭṭunân at the beginning of Zimri-Lim's reign. This Akšak-māgir was a tribesman.⁸⁷⁸

Akšak was situated somewhere to the east of the Tigris. An informative letter, *TIM* 1 16, states that the king of Ešnunna pleads to the king of Larsa to return Akšak to him.⁸⁷⁹ In a text from Mari, *ARM* 9 288,⁸⁸⁰ several messengers are mentioned, amongst whom: six from Elam, five from Babylon, two from Yamhad, eight from Qaṭna, five from Qabrâ, one from Huršitum,⁸⁸¹ one from Susa, and one from Akšak. Marti 2003 adds that Akšak might have ceased to exist and was perhaps replaced by Upî, an idea that is not new.⁸⁸² In any case, the mentioning of Akšak in a Transtigradian context is not unique: the letter *TIM* 2 92 places Akšak about 60 km from Dêr.⁸⁸³ The so-called Khorsabad temple list puts Akšak firmly in the presence of cities like Ešnunna, Akkad, and Dêr. Temples of Ištar and the god IGI.DU were present in Akšak.⁸⁸⁴

Akšak is furthermore mentioned in *AbB* 1 82, which informs us that it had city walls. In *AbB* 7 175 somebody writes that he had arrived in Akšak for some kind of business. In *IPLA* 24, Ikûn-pîša is asked to go to Akšak to buy carnelian, a product imported from Iran and Central Asia, attesting again to Akšak's eastern localization. A special case is the text *CT* 48 2, which might very well be from Akšak.⁸⁸⁵ The text is dated to Hammurabi 30 and contains a legal dispute mediated by the elders of Akšak and Sarda'i. It furthermore mentions a *šurinnu* symbol of Sîn and the oath is by Sîn, Šamaš, Marduk and Hammurabi. Lastly, the text is first witnessed (l. 27) by a certain Inbūša who is the *šakkanakkum* of Akšak.

⁸⁷⁸ Durand 1994:84-91. See especially footnote 15 on p. 85.

⁸⁷⁹ The letter is edited by Wu Yuhong 1994:165-166 and Saporetti 2002:242-243.

⁸⁸⁰ With collation by Marti 2003.

⁸⁸¹ Huršitum is mostly known because of the inscription of Pūhīya: Frayne 1990 E4.20.1.

⁸⁸² Cf. Van Dijk 1970:72, the problem is that the logogram for Akšak, UH^{KI}, was read in the first millennium as Upî/Opis (cf. Streck 2003-2005c). McEwan 1980:163 proposes two Akšak's: one in the marsh lands of the Tigris and the other in the hills some 30 kilometers from Dêr. See also Frayne 1991:395-397 for some supplementary notes on Akšak's (and Akkad's) location.

⁸⁸³ Van Dijk 1970 edited and commented upon the text.

⁸⁸⁴ George 1993:41 37'-38'.

⁸⁸⁵ On this text (which belongs together with *VS* 8 69-70): Wilcke 1982:442-443, Seri 2005:130 and Kümmel 1973:466-467.

The eastern, Transtrigridian, location of Akšak towards the Diyala region puts it firmly into the sphere of the early OB Amorites. What link the population of Sippar had exactly with Akšak remains unclear.

7.2.3.5 Sumu-Amnānum of Šadlaš

This king is only known from two inscriptions,⁸⁸⁶ one found at Nērebtum⁸⁸⁷ and one at Uzarlulu.⁸⁸⁸ Both are dedications to Inanna, ‘the lady of Šadlaš’. Why these inscriptions were not found at Šadlaš⁸⁸⁹ (location unknown) is puzzling. When he ruled Šadlaš exactly is unknown, but he probably ruled before Sumu-numhim, known from the Nērebtum treaty, so approximately during the time of Sumun-abi-yarim/Mašparum?

A document concerning the adoption of a slave girl which is published in the Appendix,⁸⁹⁰ carries an oath by Sumu-Amnānum and the obscure god Lā-qīpum.⁸⁹¹ Unfortunately it is not known which city venerated Lā-qīpum as its city god, but it was apparently not Šadlaš. Sumu-Amnānum must have been recognized as a ruler in a another (Diyala region) town as well.

7.2.3.6 Šarrīya and Warassa of Ešnunna

Šarrīya and Warassa were apparently two ephemeral kings: little was left by them, in any case no official royal inscriptions.⁸⁹² There is no proof that Šarrīya was a son of Ipiq-Adad I: Saporetti even asks the question whether or not he was an official of Ipiq-Adad I who usurped the throne.⁸⁹³ Only two year names of Šarrīya remain: one in which he ‘took’ the throne⁸⁹⁴ and another commemorating a cultic event.⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁸⁶ With an Amorite tribal name in his personal name. See Stol 2012 and Saporetti 2002:174.

⁸⁸⁷ Jacobsen 1990b p. 93-94, see the remarks by George 1993:120 no. 726.

⁸⁸⁸ Frayne 1990 E4.15.1.2.

⁸⁸⁹ Stol 2006-2008a. The Puzur-Akšak family came from Šadlaš, see chapter 4 section 2.3.3.12.

⁸⁹⁰ YBC 10873.

⁸⁹¹ Lambert 1980-1983a, the name means ‘Untrustworthy’.

⁸⁹² Frayne 1990 E4.5.10 and E4.5.11 only contains servant seal inscriptions.

⁸⁹³ Saporetti 2002:196.

⁸⁹⁴ MU *šar-ri-ia* ENSI₂ ÁŠ.NUN.NA^{KI} GIS⁵GU.ZA IN.DAB₅, Saporetti 1998:166. This type of year name is often seen as an indication that the king was a usurper, because he ‘took’ the throne. However, this need not always be the case, I believe that a usurper would focus on

Tablet As. 30:T.575 states that Šarrīya was Bēlakum's father;⁸⁹⁶ that is why Jacobsen and Whiting put Bēlakum before Warassa as ruler of Ešnunna.⁸⁹⁷ However, Warassa might be a son of Šarrīya as well.⁸⁹⁸ A seal inscription is in favor of the sequence Šarrīya→Warassa→Bēlakum.⁸⁹⁹ Warassa's seven year names attest to a number of military events:⁹⁰⁰ the recapture of Išur (after Bilalama did the same one hundred years before),⁹⁰¹ and the supposed conquests of Tutub⁹⁰² and Nērebtum.⁹⁰³ If the chronology in this study is correct, Warassa (or at least Bēlakum) would have conquered these cities from Sumun-abi-yarim (or perhaps Hammi-dušur). There is however no conclusive evidence that these cities were durably incorporated into the Ešnunna kingdom at this time:⁹⁰⁴ the more likely scenario is that Sumun-abi-yarim's 'Lower Diyala State' became a vassal of Ešnunna.

7.2.3.7 Ephemeral rulers in the Diyala region texts

Through several year names, seal impressions, and inscriptions we are informed about a large number of people who may or may not have been rulers as well.

legitimizing himself instead of using a special 'usurpation year name'. See also the remarks by Harris 1955:53 on Warassa's accession.

⁸⁹⁵ MU *šar-ri-ia* ^{URUDU}ALAM uš-[...] ni, Saporetti 1998:167. Perhaps some of the unattributed year names in Saporetti 1998:149-163 are in fact Šarrīya's.

⁸⁹⁶ Jacobsen 1940:120.

⁸⁹⁷ Whiting 1987a:32 and Jacobsen 1940:122. See also Saporetti 2002:198-200 on Warassa.

⁸⁹⁸ Also thought by Charpin 2004a:389 and Wu Yuhong 1994a:36. Such a scheme is not unusual, in which a brother succeeded his older brother on the throne: Warad-Sîn and Rîm-Sîn of Larsa, both sons of Kudur-mabuk, or at Ešnunna: Narâm-Sîn and Dādūša are both sons of Ipiq-Adad II (even though they did not reign consecutively).

⁸⁹⁹ See Frayne 1990:532.

⁹⁰⁰ Saporetti 1998:315-326.

⁹⁰¹ MU *i-šur*^{ki} *îr-sà iš-ba-tu*, Saporetti 1998:321.

⁹⁰² MU *tu-tu-ub*^{ki} [x].ba.a.[...], Saporetti 1998:326. Assigned by Harris 1955:53-54 to Warassa.

⁹⁰³ MU *ne-re-eb-tum*^{ki} BA.AN.DĪB, this year name found at Ešnunna was attributed to Warassa by Harris 1955:54, she was followed by Saporetti 1998:325. Jacobsen 1940 had assigned it to Bēlakum.

⁹⁰⁴ Hammi-dušur year names are found at Tutub and Hammi-dušur is king of Nērebtum in the treaty *OBTIV* 326.

7.2.3.7.1 Diyala ‘rulers’ known from ‘MU PN BA.UG₇’ year names

A large group of these ‘rulers’ are known from year names of the type: ‘MU PN BA.UG₇’ : ‘Year: PN died’. By analogy of Ibal-pi-El II’s 5th year name ‘MU ^dUTU-šⁱ-^dIM BA.UG₇’ : ‘Year: Samsi-Addu died’, it was thought that this type of year names always commemorates the death of a ruler (and Samsi-Addu was an important king), what is more: it supposedly always commemorates the death of a neighboring ruler.

Both of these ideas have proven to be wrong. Let us start with the first: the year name ‘MU *a-bi* É BA.UG₇’ was found at Šaduppûm and Uzarlulu. Hussein in his 2008 thesis published a variant of this year name : ‘MU *na-bi-ì-lí-šu a-bu bi-tim* BA.UG₇’ : ‘The year: Nabi-ilīšu , the intendant (lit. father-of-the-house) died’. This year name shows that it must not necessarily have been a ruler or king whose death was commemorated in a year name: it could also be some official.

The second idea was disproven by the documents from Kisurra published by Goddeeris 2009: it contains year names commemorating the death of Kisurra kings.⁹⁰⁵ This proves that it is not always a neighboring ruler that was commemorated in these type of year names.

To conclude: year names of the type ‘MU PN BA.UG₇’ do not automatically reflect the death of a king or ruler. This is why the persons exclusively occurring in these type of year names are treated differently from ‘rulers’ known from other types of year names and other sources.

The knowledge that at least a number of the men below were no kings, greatly simplifies the complex situation in the Diyala region. Whether they were tribal rulers, officials, or generals, will probably never be known. For a similar list of year names from Northern Babylonia, see section 5.2.8.

Name	Transliteration	Towns where the year name was found	Reference
Adaki	MU <i>a-da-ki</i> BA.UG ₇	Tutub	JCS 9 p. 46 no. 5
Alulum	MU <i>a-lu-lum</i> BA.UG ₇	Uzarlulu	see section 2.1.1.2
Ašdum-labum	MU <i>aš-du-um-la-a-bu-um</i> BA.UG ₇	Uzarlulu	see section 2.1.1.2
Bali-apuh	MU <i>ba-li-a-pu-uh</i> BA.UG ₇	Tutub,	JCS 9 p. 46 no. 8

⁹⁰⁵ Found on Goddeeris 2009 no. 192 (MU *i-túr*-^dUTU BA.UG₇), nos. 162 and 166 (MU *ša-lum* BA.UG₇).

		Sippar	<i>TIM 7 117</i>
Binima	MU <i>bi-ni-ma</i> BA.[UG ₇]	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:80
Dadbanaya	MU <i>da-ad-ba-na-a/a</i> LUGAL.E BA.UG ₇	Unknown	NBC 6493 ⁹⁰⁶
Hadum	MU <i>ha-du-um</i> BA.UG ₇	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:80
Haliyatum	MU <i>ha-li-a-tum</i> BA.UG ₇	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:80
Ila-dihad	MU <i>i-la-a-di-ha-ad</i>	Šaduppûm Uzarlulu	Hussein 2008:81 see section 2.1.1.2
Illum-nāšir (Kutha)	MU <i>ša</i> DINGIR- <i>na-ši-ir</i> GÚ.DU _{8.A} ^{K1} BA.UG ₇	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:81
Ištašni-illum	MU <i>iš-ta-aš-ni-il</i> [BA.UG ₇]	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:81
Nabi-ilišu	many variations, see Hussein 2008:82	Šaduppûm Uzarlulu	Hussein 2008:82 see section 2.1.1.2
Rim-Dagan	MU <i>ri-im-^dda-gan</i> BA.UG ₇	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:83
Sakrurum	MU.I.KAM <i>sa-ak-ru-rum</i> BA.UG ₇	Uzarlulu	see section 2.1.1.2
Yahzir-El ⁹⁰⁷	MU <i>ia-ah-zi-ir-i-il</i> BA.UG ₇ LUGAL <i>si-pi-ir</i> ^{K1}	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:81
Yamini ⁹⁰⁸	MU <i>ia-mi-ni</i> BA.UG ₇	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:63
... s. Kutha	M[U . . .] DUMU GÚ.DU _{8.A} BA.UG ₇	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:85

7.2.3.7.2 Other ephemeral Diyala rulers

In addition there are a number of ‘rulers’ known from obscure and unique year names or ‘rulers’ found on servant’s seal impressions, etc.

Name	Transliteration	Towns	Reference
Hadati	‘MU’ <i>ha-da-ti maš-kán giš ‘x’</i>	Nērebtum	<i>OBTV 50</i>
Ibbi-Sin	MU <i>i-bi-^dEN.ZU a-na ‘É’ a-bi-‘šū’ i-‘ru’-bu-‘ú’</i>	Nērebtum	<i>OBTV 73</i>
Ibbišu-Mālik	servant seal: ^d UTU- <i>mu-‘uš-te-pi-iš’</i> , <i>ir i-bi-šū-^dma-lik</i>	Nērebtum	Frayne 1990 E4.14.4
Ir-Nanna	MU <i>ir-^dŠEŠ.KI i-na ma-ru-uk-tim i-ša-ak-nu-ú</i>	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:84

⁹⁰⁶ It is not certain whether this text originates in the Diyala region, but it is included here because of the year name, first published by Stephens 1936:25 no. 17.

⁹⁰⁷ On this man and this specific year name: De Boer 2013a:88 with footnote 72.

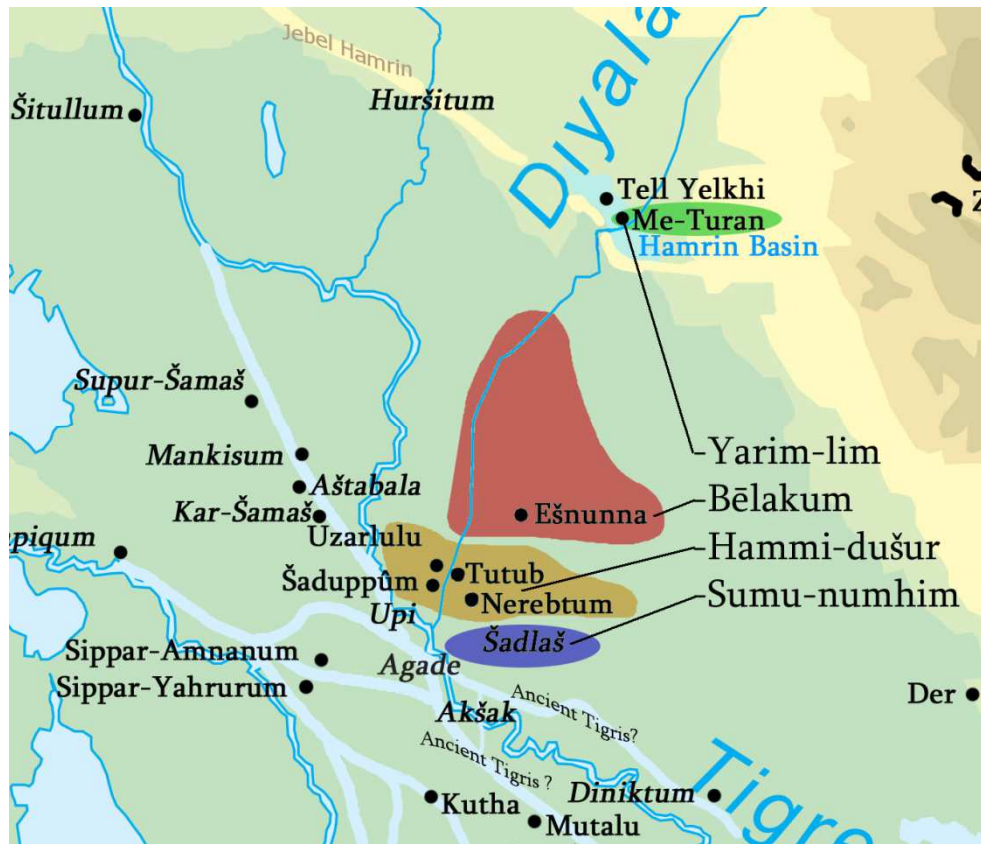
⁹⁰⁸ This man has often been taken for Aminum, son of Ila-kabkabu and elder brother of Samsi-Addu (Saporetti 2002:167, Wu Yuhong 1994a:63).

Rim-Tišpak	known from an oath	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:91
Sumu-[...]	M[Ū] <i>sa-mu</i> -[...]	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:83
Šumma-ahum	MU <i>šu-ma-hu-um É^dUTU i-pu-šu</i>	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:83
Tarām-Urim	MU <i>ta-ra-am-ŠEŠ.UNUG^{KI} 'É? ŠIR?' ú-še-lu-ú</i>	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:83
Tattanum	MU <i>ta-ta-nu-um i-ru-ba-am</i>	Tutub	<i>JCS</i> 9 p. 46 no. 2
Waqrum	MU ALAN ^{URUDU} ZABAR <i>wa-aq-ru-um ú-še-ri-b[u]</i>	Šaduppûm	Hussein 2008:83-84
	MU <i>wa-aq-ru-um ALAN ZABAR ú-še-ri-bu</i>	Unknown	NBC 8236
Yanqim-El	MU <i>a-an-qí-im-DINGIR^{GIS}GU.ZA iš-ba-tu</i>	Tutub	<i>JCS</i> 9 p. 46 no. 1

At least for Yanqim-El and Ibbi-Sîn it seems clear that they were kings, because their (only) year name mentions their accession. The same is not clear for Tattanum: the year name only states that he ‘entered here’. For an accession we would expect the emendation ‘he entered the house of his father’.⁹⁰⁹ The ventive suggests that he arrived in the city of the scribe.

⁹⁰⁹ A case in point are the year names found at Tuttul when Zimri-Lim conquered the town: MU *zi-ik-ri-li-im a-na tu-ut-tu-ul^{KI} i-ru-bu* (KTT 179, Krebernik 2001:109) and MU *zi-im-ri-li-im a-na tu-ut-tu-ul^{KI} i-ru-bu* (KTT 181, Krebernik 2001:110). These year names also state that Zimri-Lim entered Tuttul, but eventually he did not rule there, he merely conquered the town, something similar might have been the case with this Tattanum.

7.2.4 *Hammi-dušur and Sîn-abūšu versus Bēlakum, Ibal-pi-El I and Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna ca. 1880-1815BC*



Map 5 The Political Situation in the Diyala region around 1875 BC

7.2.4.1 Hammi-dušur's 'Lower Diyala State'

Hammi-dušur succeeded Sumun-abi-yarim in Uzarlulu, Nērebtum and Tutub, moreover whereas Sumun-abi-yarim's name is not attested at Šaduppûm, Hammi-dušur year names are found at Šaduppûm. In short: Hammi-dušur ruled a substantial part of the lower Diyala region around ca. 1880-1865 BC.

The accession of Hammi-dušur is commemorated in two types of year names found at Tutub and Šaduppûm: MU *ha-am-mi-du-šu-úr*^{GIS} GU.ZA *iš-ba-*

tu: ‘Year: Hammi-dušur took the throne’⁹¹⁰ and MU *ha-am-mi-du-šu-ur* LUGAL: ‘Year Hammi-dušur (became) king’.⁹¹¹ His father’s name is nowhere given, but he might have been related to Sumun-abi-yarim.

A few of Hammi-dušur’s year names mention military activities: he conquered the small Diyala town Šilli-Adad⁹¹² and fortified two other towns: Dūr-Rimuš (which lay in Nērebtum’s vicinity) and Biškila.⁹¹³ There is a slight possibility that another year name found at Nērebtum and Tutub could also be attributed to him: a year name commemorating the building of Huribšum.⁹¹⁴

Hammi-dušur is most famous from the peace treaty concluded between him as king of Nērebtum and Sumu-numhim, the king of Šadlaš.⁹¹⁵ The treaty contains a number of stipulations that regulate the end of a war: the return of refugees and captives, the loss of cattle and sheep, and the enlistment of enemy soldiers. The treaty was dated to a MU.ÚS.SA year name commemorating the death of Mē-Turān’s Yarim-Lim. The lower Diyala region seems to have been particularly volatile in the time of Hammi-dušur: another ‘treaty’ from this time is known, even though it is still unpublished; the treaty of Bēlakum, son of Šarriya,⁹¹⁶ the king of Ešnunna.

7.2.4.2 The treaty of Bēlakum

Only excerpts of this text have been published in the *CAD* and elsewhere:⁹¹⁷

⁹¹⁰ for Tutub: Harris 1955:46 no. 9 and Saporetti 1998:236, for Šaduppūm: Hussein 2008:60.

⁹¹¹ Harris 1955:46 no. 6 and Saporetti 1998:237-238.

⁹¹² Known from a Šaduppūm year name: Hussein 2008:60. In fact, the year name only partly preserves the town’s name: MU URU *šil-[/k-^dIM^{ki}]* IN.[DAB₅], see Saporetti 1998:246. The Harmal Geographic List mentions the town Šilli-Adad as being in the Diyala region (*MSL* XI:57 no. 87).

⁹¹³ Known from Tutub: Harris 1955:46 no. 3 and Uzarlulu: see section 2.1.1.2. Known from a Šaduppūm year name: Hussein 2008:60 and a Tutub year name: Harris 1955:47 no. 15.

⁹¹⁴ It could also have been a Sīn-abūšu year name. MU BĀD *’hu-ri-ib’-[/šum^{ki}]* *OBTIV* 234 and MU *hu-ri-ib-šum^{ki}* [MU.U]N.DÜ *OBTIV* 31. For Tutub: Harris 1955:46 no. 7.

⁹¹⁵ *OBTIV* 326, with the commentary by Wu Yuhong 1994a:53-61 and Wu Yuhong 1994b.

⁹¹⁶ This information is also given in the treaty (Tell Asmar 1930, 575), the reference is Frayne 1990:532.

⁹¹⁷ The text is Tell Asmar 1930, 575, it is quoted in the *CAD* Q:99a and *CAD* N/2:329-330, see also Stol 1976:64 and Jacobsen 1940:198. Translation and transliteration taken from *CAD* Q, but emended by supplying the name Bēlakum by the author: *adi Bēlakum u anāku balṭānu lemuttašu u nikurtašu [a] ahaššehu Akkadum, Jamutbalum, Numhium Idamaraš ana lemuttim u nikurtim [ana] Bēlakum li-qú-up [ka-a]k-ki eleqqēma.*

I (swear that I) will seek no evil or hostile acts against him as long as Bēlakum and I live, should Akkadum, Yamutbalum, Numhium or the Ida-maraṣ plot evil or hostile acts against Bēlakum, I will take up arms.

Even though the other treaty partner is not known, it is possible that it might have been Bēlakum's main 'colleague' to the immediate south of Ešnunna: Hammi-dušur. Here above it was already hypothesized that Ešnunna had made a vassal of Sumun-abi-yarim (see section 7.2.3.6). If Bēlakum had concluded the treaty with Hammi-dušur, this would only add to the picture of this Lower Diyala State being Ešnunna's vassal. It seems that the treaty is not styled like a treaty between equals, but between an overlord and a vassal: it more resembles the oaths of allegiance known from the Mari archives,⁹¹⁸ than the contemporary treaty between Hammi-dušur and Sumu-numhim.

Of course, the main interest of this text lies in the mentioning of Akkadum, Yamutbalum, Numhium, and Ida-maraṣ: not states but (tribal) territories.⁹¹⁹ The treaty partner promises Bēlakum to take up arms against these entities in case of hostilities. It is safe to say that Akkadum in the text denotes the Northern Babylonian cities west of the Tigris. From the Mari archives we learned that 'the land of Akkad' was the territory of both Babylon and Ešnunna.⁹²⁰ Numhium might be the territory under Šadlaš' jurisdiction:⁹²¹ one of its rulers was called Sumu-numhim. The Ida-maraṣ was, according to Charpin, situated between the Tigris and the Zagros and Gutium and Elam; Ešnunna's (north)eastern border.⁹²² Yamutbalum must then represent the region to the north west of Ešnunna: the lands to the south of the Jebel Sindjar (see map 6).

If the above reconstructions hold true, then the treaty stipulates that Bēlakum should be helped against all potential enemy territories surrounding the land of Ešnunna.

⁹¹⁸ See most recently Charpin 2010c, with bibliography.

⁹¹⁹ Already remarked by Charpin 2004a:99.

⁹²⁰ The relevant text is *ARM* 27 135.

⁹²¹ See also Charpin 2003b:27.

⁹²² Charpin 2003b:24-25.



Map 6 The potential enemies of Bēlakum, the red area is Ešnunna's territory and orange Hammi-dušur's Lower Diyala State

7.2.4.3 Bēlakum

In addition to the treaty we have a handful of year names from Bēlakum's reign,⁹²³ a brick inscription,⁹²⁴ as well as a number of servant seals.⁹²⁵ He ruled somewhere between ca. 1880 and 1870 BC.

Bēlakum's accession is seen in a year name from Ešnunna.⁹²⁶ He also has a few year names mentioning cultic activities: the building of two 'horns' for

⁹²³ Saporetti 1998:301-314.

⁹²⁴ Frayne 1990 E4.5.12.1.

⁹²⁵ Frayne 1990 E4.5.12.

⁹²⁶ Jacobsen 1940:187 no. 100.

Tišpak's ceremonial boat,⁹²⁷ the fashioning of a statue,⁹²⁸ and there are also a few fragmentary year names.⁹²⁹

The most interesting year name, however, is the one in which Bēlakum made a statue for 'Inanna of Kiti' (Ištar Kititum):⁹³⁰ the tutelary deity of Nērebtum. This year name has led to the discussion whether or not Bēlakum (or Warassa) had conquered Nērebtum, an event known from an unattributed year name.⁹³¹ It could be that Nērebtum was captured temporarily, but Ešnunna did not have a long lasting rule: no pre-Ipiq-Adad II (ca. 1858-1815 BC) year names were found at Nērebtum. Instead, we do find a number of Sîn-abūšu year names;⁹³² Hammi-dušur's successor. If anything, the aforementioned year name could belong to Ipiq-Adad II who actually took Nērebtum around 1823 BC.⁹³³

Bēlakum's death was important enough to be commemorated in a year name attributable to Hammi-dušur found at Tutub,⁹³⁴ Šaduppûm,⁹³⁵ and Uzarlulu.⁹³⁶

7.2.4.4 Ibal-pi-El I

Bēlakum was succeeded by Ibal-pi-El I.⁹³⁷ It is not certain whether he was Bēlakum's son: the standard brick inscriptions in his name only state that he

⁹²⁷ Jacobsen 1940:188 no. 101.

⁹²⁸ Jacobsen 1940:189 no. 104.

⁹²⁹ Jacobsen 1940:189 no. 105, no. 106

⁹³⁰ Jacobsen 1940:188-189 no. 102 and 103.

⁹³¹ The year name (from Ešnunna) was first mentioned by Harris 1955:54, Wu Yuhong 1994:76, Saporetta 2002:198.

⁹³² MU ^dEN.ZU-*a-bu-šu*, ^{GIS}GU.ZA IN.DIB, *TIM* 3 124:25-26, MU ^dšul-*gi-na-na*^{ki}, *i-qú-ru-u*₁₆, *TIM* 3 125:20-21, MU ^dšul-*gi*-[*na-na*^{ki}] ¹30-*a-bu-šu* ¹*iq-qí-ru* *UCLMA* 9/2942:2'-3', MU.ÚS.SA ^d[šul]-*gi-na-na-ru in-na-aq-ru-ú*, *UCLMA* 9/2864:20-21, MU ₁₇ 30-*a-bu-šu ih-ru-ú*, *UCP* 10/1 2:21, MU BĀD *bi-is-ki-la*^{ki} ¹30-*a-bu-šu i-pu-šu*, *UCLMA* 9/2831:15-16, MU DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL *a-na ra-pí-qí-im i-hu-zu*, *UCP* 10/1 61:10, MU ^dšul-*gi*-^dŠEŠ.KI *in-na-aq-ru*, Ish. 34-T. 28, Serai, MU.ÚS.SA ^dšul-*gi-na-na*^{ki}, Ish. 34-T. 41, Serai.

⁹³³ Another possibility is that Ešnunna's Bēlakum or Warassa only 'punished' Hammi-dušur by sacking Nērebtum.

⁹³⁴ Harris 1955:47 no. 17.

⁹³⁵ *YOS* 14 37.

⁹³⁶ See above section 2.1.1.2.

⁹³⁷ He is to be distinguished from Ibal-pî-El II, who took the title 'king' of Ešnunna instead of ENSI₂, see Frayne 1990:539.

was ENSI₂ of Ešnunna and beloved of Tišpak.⁹³⁸ He probably ruled between ca. 1870 and 1859 BC. Four servant seal inscriptions are known and at least three year names.⁹³⁹ None of the year names are of historical interest: an accession year name,⁹⁴⁰ a year name concerning the cult,⁹⁴¹ and the year name mentioning his death.⁹⁴² Another year name was attributed by Saporetti to Ibal-pi-El I,⁹⁴³ Wu Yuhong proposes to attribute five other year names to him.⁹⁴⁴ Something for which Ibal-pi-El I might be credited, is the reconstruction of the palace of the rulers at Ešnunna.⁹⁴⁵

7.2.4.5 Sîn-abūšu's reign in the Lower Diyala

Hammi-dušur's realm in the Lower Diyala was ruled after him by Sîn-abūšu, who must have been related to Hammi-dušur. No patronyms are given for Sîn-abūšu,⁹⁴⁶ but some proof comes from two year names:

- MU BÀD *bi-iš₆-ki-la' am-mi-du-šu-úr i-pu-šu* (from Šaduppûm: Hussein 2008:60, IM 63171)
- MU BÀD *bi-iš₆-ki-la' 130-a-bu-šu i-pu-šu* (from Nērebtum: Greengus 1986:180, UCLMA 9/2831)

Twice the same year name ('Year: RN built the wall of Biškila'), but the name of the builder in the first is Hammi-dušur and in the other Sîn-abūšu. There are a few possible explanations for this, but the most logical would be to assume that both kings belonged to the same dynasty.⁹⁴⁷ In addition, as was al-

⁹³⁸ Frayne 1990 E4.5.13.1.

⁹³⁹ Frayne 1990 E4.5.13.2001-2004. One seal seems to have been presented to Ibal-pî-El I's wife called Nir-[...] (Frayne 1990 E4.5.13.2).

⁹⁴⁰ Jacobsen 1940:190 no. 110.

⁹⁴¹ From Nērebtum: Greengus 1979:31 no. 37 and Ešnunna: Jacobsen 1940:190 no. 111.

⁹⁴² Known from Ešnunna: Jacobsen 1940:191 no. 112 and Nērebtum: Greengus 1979:31 no. 36 (= a Sîn-abūšu year name).

⁹⁴³ Saporetti 1998:332, the year name is Jacobsen 1940:193 no. 119.

⁹⁴⁴ Wu Yuhong 1994a:39.

⁹⁴⁵ Reichel 2001a:141-142.

⁹⁴⁶ See also Van Koppen 2009-2011, Saporetti 2002:179-182, and Wu Yuhong 1994a:47-51 on Sîn-abūšu. The royal inscription attributed to Sîn-abūšu in Frayne 1990 (E4.14.2) actually belongs to Ipiq-Adad II, see Charpin 2004a:130 n. 558.

⁹⁴⁷ It could have been Hammi-dušur's last year name and the work on Biškila was later finished by Sîn-abūšu. There also remains the option that both rulers were enemies and subsequently fortified Biškila, conquered it and fortified it again.

ready stated above, the ‘oath god’ for Sumun-abi-yarim, Hammi-dušur and Sîn-abūšu was Sîn, pointing towards one dynasty.

Sîn-abūšu’s many year names⁹⁴⁸ were found in Šaduppûm,⁹⁴⁹ Nērebtum,⁹⁵⁰ Tutub,⁹⁵¹ and in the unprovenanced Nūr-Šamaš archive.⁹⁵² Many of them relate to historical and political events. In addition to this, the Mari Eponym Chronicle (MEC) helps us by mentioning some major political events starting from ca. 1869 BC.⁹⁵³

7.2.4.5.1 Sîn-abūšu’s military and political feats

Sîn-abūšu must have acceded the throne around 1865 BC.⁹⁵⁴ The MEC states that Amīnum captured Šaduppûm in 1862,⁹⁵⁵ this must have been in the beginning of Sîn-abūšu’s reign. Apart from the MEC there are no indications for this event and Sîn-abūšu’s year names continue to be used in Šaduppûm. The second feat we might attribute to him is the taking of the land of ‘Šit’ a year later.⁹⁵⁶ This country is tentatively located around the towns Mankisum and Šitullum along the Tigris by Durand.⁹⁵⁷ Another event probably surrounding Sîn-abūšu is broken in the MEC around 1851 BC.⁹⁵⁸

Whereas Hammi-dušur had concluded a treaty with Šadlaš’ king Sumunnumhim, it appears that hostilities between the Lower Diyala State and Šadlaš had never really ended. One of Sîn-abūšu’s year names attests to a siege of Šadlaš.⁹⁵⁹ He was apparently not successful in conquering and incorporating Šadlaš durably into his kingdom because several decades later a ruler called

⁹⁴⁸ Saporetti 1998:253-300, according to Saporetti’s count Sîn-abūšu had ca. 24 year names.

⁹⁴⁹ Hussein 2008:60-62.

⁹⁵⁰ Greengus 1979:22-35, see Saporetti 1998:253-300 on Sîn-abūšu’s year names.

⁹⁵¹ Harris 1955:47 no.24.

⁹⁵² Almost all year names in this archive (see above 2.1.5) are Sîn-abūšu’s.

⁹⁵³ Following Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012.

⁹⁵⁴ His accession year name was found at Nērebtum and in the Nur-Šamaš archive: Saporetti 1998:255.

⁹⁵⁵ MEC Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Samanum/Samaya.

⁹⁵⁶ MEC Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Ili-ennam/Ili-ālum. Sîn-abūšu is called Sîn-abum in the MEC.

⁹⁵⁷ Durand 1985:236 n. 2.

⁹⁵⁸ Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Iddin-abum. The name of Sîn-abūšu is broken.

⁹⁵⁹ Saporetti 1998:275 (MU BĀD *ša-ad-la-aš^{kt} d30-a-bu-šu il-wu-ú*).

Sumu-Šamaš is known from Šadlaš.⁹⁶⁰ Interestingly, this Sumu-Šamaš is called *rabiān Amnān Šadlaš* on his seal impression: this Amnānum tribal affiliation is at odds with the Numhium affiliation of his predecessor Sumu-numhim, but not with the first known ruler of Šadlaš, Sumu-Amnānum.

Other military confrontations are the conquest of the town of Billum,⁹⁶¹ the ‘encroachment’ on the town of Dūrum(?)⁹⁶² and the destruction of Šulgi-Nanna.⁹⁶³ The construction of fortifications occur in four year names: the fortified towns are Biškila,⁹⁶⁴ Aškuzum,⁹⁶⁵ Nērebtum,⁹⁶⁶ and Dūr-Sîn-abūšu.⁹⁶⁷

Sîn-abūšu was apparently very much concerned with establishing good relations with rulers to the immediate west of his kingdom: he married off his daughters to the ruler of Mankisum⁹⁶⁸ and the *šakkanakkum* of Rapiqum.⁹⁶⁹ Sîn-abūšu had no shortage of daughters, because other year names announce that his daughters were ‘chosen through omens at Dūr-Rimuš’,⁹⁷⁰ a daughter was ‘raised up (to priesthood),’⁹⁷¹ and a daughter was chosen as priestess(?) of Adad.⁹⁷²

Strangely enough we are not at all informed about the relations between the kingdom of Babylon and Sîn-abūšu, even though Sumu-la-El, Sabium, and Apil-Sîn were his contemporaries. In this respect we might note that Apil-Sîn

⁹⁶⁰ This Sumu-Šamaš’ seal impression is found on the tablet *CT 48 83*, see Frayne 1990 E4.15.2, and Stol 1976:86-87. The year name on the tablet is barely readable: [...]bar?.ra, [...]bi`.ta. I am unable to attribute this year name to a ruler. But other texts from the same dossier are dated to Apil-Sîn, Sîn-muballiṭ and Hammurabi (see Goddeeris 2002:135-140).

⁹⁶¹ Location unknown, Saporetti 1998:278 (MU *bi-la-am 30-a-bu-šu iṣ-ba-tu*).

⁹⁶² Reading uncertain, Durum is the generic name for fortress, Saporetti 1998:274 (MU *du-ri-x-im* ^dsîn-*a-bu-šu iṭ-hu-ú*).

⁹⁶³ See below section 2.4.5.3.

⁹⁶⁴ See above section 2.4.5.

⁹⁶⁵ Saporetti:289 (MU BÀD *aš-ku-zi-im* [sîn-*a*]-*bu-šu i-pu-šu*).

⁹⁶⁶ Saporetti:290 (MU BÀD *ne-re-eb-tum*).

⁹⁶⁷ Either a newly founded town, or an existing town that was renamed, Saporetti:291 ([MU BÀ]D-30-*a-bu-šu, i-pu-šu*).

⁹⁶⁸ Saporetti 1998:271 (MU 30-*a-bu-šu* LUGAL DUMU.MUNUS *a-na ma-an-ki-si-în^{ki} i-di-nu-ú*).

⁹⁶⁹ Saporetti 1998:269 (MU DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL *a-na ra-pí-qí-im i-hu-zu/* MU 30-*a-bu-šu ma-ra-šu a-na ra-pí-qí i-di-nu*). The ruler of Rapiqum was called *šakkanakkum*, see Charpin 1999c.

⁹⁷⁰ Saporetti 1998:262-266 (MU 30-*a-bu-šu* LUGAL, DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ *i-na BÀD-URU-ri-muš^{ki}, ib-ru-u₁₆*). There is also a MU.ÚS.SA variation: Saporetti 1998:267 (MU.ÚS.SA` *ša* DUMU.MUNUS.ME[Š], LUGAL *ib-ru-ú*).

⁹⁷¹ Saporetti 1998 p.272-273 (MU DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL *in-na-ši*).

⁹⁷² Saporetti 1998:268 (MU DUMU.`munus NIN.DINGIR` *ša x x, ù ša^dIM, i-ba-ra-a*).

had conquered the towns Upi⁹⁷³ and Aštābala⁹⁷⁴ on the Tigris, which might have been part of Sîn-abūšu's realm: when Sîn-abūšu lost his kingdom to Ipiq-Adad II, the king of Babylon might have tried to take part in the spoils.⁹⁷⁵

The remaining year names of Sîn-abūšu deal with the organization of the Akītum festival,⁹⁷⁶ the dedication of statues to temples,⁹⁷⁷ and the digging of a canal.⁹⁷⁸ Puzzling is a Sîn-iqīšam (Larsa) year name found in the Nūr-Šamaš archive.⁹⁷⁹

7.2.4.5.2 A letter between the king of Ešnunna and Sîn-abūšu

Sîn-abūšu was a vassal of the more powerful king of Ešnunna; this is known from a very interesting letter that was published in Mustafa's 1983 thesis.⁹⁸⁰ His transliteration and translation can be modified on several points. Despite the fact that the tablet needs to be collated and republished, the importance of the texts deserves a new tentative transcription and translation based on Mustafa's copy (plate 58):⁹⁸¹

⁹⁷³ BM 22641: MU BÀD ú-pé-e^{ki} BA.DÙ and BM 22713: MU ú-pé-e^{ki} a-pil-30 BA.DÙ, these year names were first signalled by Stol 1997:720. The exact place of this year name amongst Apil-Sîn's year names is unknown.

⁹⁷⁴ Horsnell 1999 volume 2:90. The exact place of this year name amongst Apil-Sîn's year names is unknown.

⁹⁷⁵ See citation of the unpublished letter A.405 and the remarks by Charpin and Ziegler 2003:228 with n. 531-533.

⁹⁷⁶ Saporetti 1998:256 (MU a-ki-tam, ¹30-a-bu-šu, iš-ku-nu).

⁹⁷⁷ Saporetti 1998:257-259 and p. 260. There are a few variations concerning these year names.

⁹⁷⁸ Saporetti 1998:293-296 (MU I₇ 30-a-bu-šu ih-ru-ú, there are a number of variations), there is also a mu.ús.sa year name: Saporetti 1998:297-298 (MU.ÚS.SA sîn-a-bu-šu i₇ ih-ru-ú, there are a number of variations).

⁹⁷⁹ Sîn-iqīšam 2: MU ^dnu-muš-da ^dnam-ra-at (TIM 3 120).

⁹⁸⁰ Van Koppen 2009-2011 has some remarks on this letter on p. 513. The fact that the letter was found at ancient Mē-Turān is problematic: it is not likely that Sîn-abūšu controlled the Lower Diyala region and the Hamrin basin at the expense of Ešnunna. Van Koppen 2009-2011 thinks that the letter is a school exercise. In any case, the letter's historicity may be doubted.

⁹⁸¹ ¹ a-na ^dEN.ZU-a-bu-šu ² qí-bí-ma ³ um-ma ru-bu-um a-bu-ka-a-ma ⁴ a-na mi-nim É-tam ša iš-tu ⁵ ia-ar-du ^dMAR.TU ⁶ bi-gi-im ⁷ iš-me-a-ra²-ah² ⁸ su-mu² a-bi du² ⁹ a-bi-ma-da-ar ¹⁰ ù ia-ab-ba-am ú x ša li kam ¹¹ at-ta tu-ha-[li-iq] ¹² ù pa-ga-ar-k[a] t[u-h]a-la-aq ¹³ i-na at-ta ia-mu-ut-ba-la-am ¹⁴ ú-ul tu-ha-la-aq ¹⁵ am-na-an^{ki} ia-ah-ru-ur^{ki} ¹⁶ ù ia-ba-sa^{ki} [Rest of the Obverse lost] Reverse: ¹ šum-ma [...] ² iš-te-et iš-ta-nu-tu ³ 10 li-mi ša-ba-am nu-za-ki-

¹⁻³ Speak to Sîn-abūšu, thus (says) the Prince, your father. ⁴ Why ¹¹ did you personally destroy ⁴ the house that since ⁵ the descending of Amurru(?), ⁶ Bigum, ⁷ Išme-Arah(?), ⁸ Sumu-abi(?), ⁹ Abī-madar ¹⁰ and Yabbam(?)² ¹² Well, it is yourself you will destroy! ¹³⁻¹⁴ Will you not destroy Yamutbalum *by this?* ¹⁵ (The clans) Amnānum, ¹⁶ Yahrūrum ¹⁷ and Yabasa...[Rest of Obverse lost] Reverse ¹ If [...] ² *One by one?* ³ We have readied a group of 10.000 men and ⁴ we have brought together (the troops). ⁵⁻⁶ Who will *assemble/lead* before the army of the house of Tišpak (=Ešnunna)? ⁷⁻⁸ You, while you are a partner, did you give me your full (=honest) report? ⁹⁻¹⁰ Moreover, you swore a strong oath between us; ¹¹ it is an oath sworn by gods! not...[...] ¹²⁻¹³ You *opened?* (the road to) the Ida-maraş region. ¹⁴ From this day on, ¹⁵ may the god not put (*the blame?*) on me, ¹⁶ let him *put (the blame?)* on Sîn-abūšu! ¹⁷ The weapons of the Amorites and¹⁸ will kill you! ¹⁹ Release *your...* ²⁰

That Sîn-abūšu was Ešnunna's vassal is clear by the fact that Ešnunna's king (either Ibal-pi-El I or Ipiq-Adad II) calls himself Sîn-abūšu's 'father'. The Ešnunna king furthermore refers to 'a strong oath' between him and Sîn-abūšu in lines 9'-10'.

The tone of the letter is angry: the king of Ešnunna asks Sîn-abūšu why he 'destroyed' a number of persons and he accuses him of potentially destroying Yamutbalum; after this we have the mention of the Amnānum, Yahrūrum, and Yabasa tribes. The reverse alludes to a joint military campaign between Ešnunna and Sîn-abūšu. The king of Ešnunna asks Sîn-abūšu if he gave his honest report and he reminds him that he swore an oath. Apparently Sîn-abūšu had 'opened' the road into the Ida-maraş territory. The letter ends with the Ešnunna king putting all blame on Sîn-abūšu and the warning that 'the weapon of the Amorites' will kill him.

7.2.4.5.3 The end of Sîn-abūšu

The end of Sîn-abūšu's reign must have been the result of a confrontation with Ešnunna's Ipiq-Adad II around 1823 BC. The MEC states:⁹⁸²

ma ⁴ *nī-ik-ta-ša-ar* ⁵ *ma-an-nu-um a-na pa-ni ša-bi-im* ⁶ *ša É* ^dTIŠPAK *i-pa-hu-ur*⁷ *at-ta ta-pu-ta-ma te-em-ka* ⁸ *ga-am-ra-am ta-di-nam* ⁹ *ù ni-iš* DINGIR *da-an-nam* ¹⁰ *i-na bi-ri-ti-ni ta-aš-ku-un* ¹¹ *ni-iš i-lí-ma ú-ul* al² [x x] ¹² *ha-al-ša-am ša i-da-ma-ra-aš*² ¹³ *te-ep-te* ¹⁴ *iš-tu u-mi-im an-ni-im*¹ ¹⁵ DINGIR *e-li-ia a-i iš-ku-un* ¹⁶ *e-li* ^dEN.ZU-*a-bu-šu-ma li-iš*¹-[*ku*²-*un*²] ¹⁷ *ka-ak-ki a-mu-ri-im* *ù šu x im* ¹⁸ U.E. *i-da-ak-ka* ¹⁹ [x]x bi ak ka *pu-tú-úr* ²⁰ [x] ta ti il.

⁹⁸² Glassner 2004:163.

In (the eponymy of) Abu-šalim, the taking (*ša-ba-at*) of Sin-[abušu(?)] of Nērebt[um].

Unless new material surfaces we might never know the exact conditions surrounding Sîn-abūšu's defeat. However, we can speculate on a possible factor involved in his demise. The Sîn-abūšu year name that occurs most concerns Sîn-abūšu's conquest of Šulgi-Nanna.⁹⁸³ Šulgi-Nanna was, in view of its name, founded in the Ur III period. A text from the reign of Šū-Sîn indicates clearly that it was situated on the banks of the Diyala river, and more specifically its Ṭābān branch.⁹⁸⁴

The Nērebtum archive of Būr-Sîn/Išū-nāšir starts in the reign of Sîn-abūšu and continues into the reign of Ipiq-Adad II and the subsequent Ešnunna kings. The texts from Būr-Sîn are almost all dated under Sîn-abūšu (and once Ipiq-Adad II).⁹⁸⁵ The texts from Išū-nāšir have year names from Ešnunna kings Dadūša and Ibal-pi-El II. We might be tempted to suggest that the Sîn-abūšu year names found in the archive are actually from the end of Sîn-abūšu's reign (it contains three times a year name concerning the destruction of Šulgi-Nanna). This line of thinking is however contradicted by the accession year name ('Year Sîn-abūšu took the throne') also found in the archive. In any case, the end of Sîn-abūšu's reign is suggested by an Ipiq-Adad II year name in the Būr-Sîn/Išū-nāšir archive.

⁹⁸³ There are a number of variations on this year name see Saporetti 1998:279-283 and the MU.ÚS.SA variation: p. 284-288.

⁹⁸⁴ *UET* 3 75:6-7: ŠÀ ḏŠUL-GI-ḏŠEŠ.KI^{KI}, GÚ ÍD.DUR-ÚL. The town also occurs in the Harmal Geographic List: *MSL* 11:57 no. 85. See also Huber Vulliet 2012 on Šulgi-Nanna.

⁹⁸⁵ The year names are (the numbering of the year names is from Saporetti 1998):

MU ḏEN.ZU- <i>a-bu-šu</i> , ^{GIS} GU.ZA IN.DIB	<i>TIM</i> 3 124	Sîn-abūšu aa
MU ḏŠul-gi-na-na ^{KI} , <i>i-qú-ru-u</i> ₁₆ ,	<i>TIM</i> 3 125	Sîn-abūšu ph
MU Šul-g[<i>i-na-na</i> ^{KI}], ¹ 30- <i>a-bu-šu</i> ḏ <i>iq-qí-ru</i>	<i>UCLMA</i> 9/2942	Sîn-abūšu pe
MU.ÚS.SA ḏ[Šul]- <i>gi-na-na-ru</i> , <i>in-na-aq-ru-ú</i>	<i>UCLMA</i> 9/2864	Sîn-abūšu qc
MU <i>i</i> ₇ 30- <i>a-bu-šu ih-ru-ú</i>	<i>UCP</i> 10/1 2	Sîn-abūšu va
MU ÍD.DA <i>li-bi</i> URU.KI <i>ip-pé-t[u-ú]</i>	<i>UCLMA</i> 9/2827	Sîn-abūšu vf
MU DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL <i>a-na ra-pí-qí-im i-hu-zu</i>	<i>UCP</i> 10/1 61	Sîn-abūšu ib
MU BĀD <i>bi-is-ki-la</i> , ¹ 30- <i>a-bu-šu i-pu-šu</i>	<i>UCLMA</i> 9/2831	Sîn-abūšu u
MU ¹ URUDU ALAM.MEŠ <i>a-na É iš₈-tár i-ru-bu-ú</i>	<i>OBTIV</i> 43	Sîn-abūšu cd
MU ḏALAM.MEŠ <i>a-na É <ḏ>INANNA</i> ḏ ¹ 30- <i>a-bu-šu ú-še-ri-bu-ú</i>	<i>OBTIV</i> 44	Sîn-abūšu cb
[...] ḏx x' [...], [30- <i>a</i>]- <i>bu-šu</i> LUGAL' ? [...]	<i>UCLMA</i> 9/2906	Sîn-abūšu
ḏ <i>i-pí-iq</i> -ḏIM BA.DÍM.DÍM.ḏMA	<i>OBTIV</i> 29	Ipiq-Adad II III B
ḏMU x' ḏ <i>i-pí-iq</i> -ḏIM KALAM.ḏMA ḏI [...]		

Very interesting is the fact that in Šaduppûm we find the Ipiq-Adad II year name:⁹⁸⁶

MU ^rd[˘]šul-gi-^dšEŠ.KI i-pi-^diq-^dIM i-^rpu-š^u, ‘Year: Ipiq-Adad II built Šulgi-Nanna’

The fact that this Ipiq-Adad II year name was found in Šaduppûm, suggests that it was anterior to Sîn-abūšu’s end, so it must be one of the last Ipiq-Adad II year names. Was this a simple rebuilding of Šulgi-Nanna after Sîn-abūšu’s conquest, or was there some previous connection between Ešnunna and Šulgi-Nanna? In other words: did Sîn-abūšu attack his more powerful overlord by destroying Šulgi-Nanna? This could have been a direct reason for Ipiq-Adad II to neutralize his southern neighbor and vassal.

7.2.4.6 Ipiq-Adad II and the consolidation of the Diyala region

The reign of Ešnunna’s Ipiq-Adad II was one of the major turning points in Old Babylonian history,⁹⁸⁷ even though we know very little about his reign. This is mostly due to the fact that we only have some eight Ipiq-Adad II year names, despite a reign of approximately 45 years (ca. 1859-1815). The first reason for this is that Sîn-abūšu ruled the Lower Diyala region until very late in Ipiq-Adad II’s reign, the second is that the excavated palace in Ešnunna (our major source for Ešnunna chronology and dates) only yielded texts until ca. the reign of Ibal-pi-El I. Moreover, until now no archives have surfaced from the Diyala region spanning large parts of Ipiq-Adad II’s reign.

Ipiq-Adad II was the son of his immediate predecessor Ibal-pi-El I; this is established by many inscriptions.⁹⁸⁸ Ipiq-Adad II’s titles are markedly different from those of earlier Ešnunna kings.⁹⁸⁹ In his inscriptions he is no longer only the ENS₂ (city ruler) of Ešnunna, but also ‘the strong king, the king who enlarges Ešnunna, shepherd of the black-headed (people)’⁹⁹⁰ and ‘king of the world’.⁹⁹¹ Whereas before, Tišpak (the city god) was regarded as Ešnunna’s

⁹⁸⁶ Hussein 2008:63.

⁹⁸⁷ Earlier authors on Ipiq-Adad II: Wu Yuhong 1994a:71-79, Saporetti 2002:209-215, and Charpin 2004a:129-131.

⁹⁸⁸ See Frayne 1990:544-552.

⁹⁸⁹ Wu Yuhong 1994a:74 provides comments.

⁹⁹⁰ Frayne 1990 E4.5.14.2.

⁹⁹¹ Frayne 1990 E4.5.14.4 and Frayne 1990 E4.5.14.

king. What is more: Ipiq-Adad II's name carries the divine determinative in his inscriptions.⁹⁹²

7.2.4.6.1 Ipiq-Adad II's year names

Over the last ca. ten years three new year names of Ipiq-Adad II have become known, even though the order of these few year names still eludes us. The known Ipiq-Adad II year names are:⁹⁹³

- A. 'Year: Ipiq-Adad II dedicated a golden throne (for?) the exalted dais for Šin of Tutub (variant: was made)'.
 -Aa MU^{GIŠ}GU.ZA KÙ.GI BARA₂ MAH, ša^dEN.ZU ša du₆-dub^{ki}, in-né-ep-šu (tablet YOS 14 50:21-23)
 MU^{GIŠ}GU.ZA KÙ.GI BARA₂ MAH, ša^dEN.ZU ša du₆-dub^{ki} ^di-pí-ig-^dIM, ú-še-lu-ú' (case YOS 14 50:23-26)
 -Ab MU^{GIŠ}GU.ZA KÙ.GI [I] BARA₂ ^dŠEŠ.KI, ^di-pí-ig-^dIM, BA.DÍM (YOS 14 11:19-22)
 -Ac MU^{GIŠ}GU.ZA BARA₂ M[AH^dEN.ZU/^dŠEŠ.KI ^di-pí-ig-^dIM [...]] (Ish 34-T.90, Greengus 1979 p. 29 no.29)
 -Ad MU^{GIŠ}GU.ZA BARA₂ MAH [...] (YOS 14 10:13-14)
 -Ae MU GU.ZA ^dŠEŠ.[KI...] (UCLMA 9/1816=Viaggio 2009 no. 3 p. 381)
- B. 'Year: Ipiq-Adad II, a statue (called) Ipiq-Adad-judge-of-the-country was made'.
 -Ba MU ALAN? ^di-pí-ig-^dIM, KALAM. MA^d.DI [...], ^di-pí-ig-^dIM BA.DÍM.DÍM. MA^d (OBTIV 29:15-17)
- C. 'Year: the wall of Šimahattu was built, a golden statue (was made)'.⁹⁹⁴
 -Ca MU BÀD šī-ma-ha-at-tu i-na pa-šum BA.DÙ (TIM 4 39:41)⁹⁹⁵
 -Cb MU ALAN KÙ.GI, [š]i-ma-ha-tu (OBTIV 123:5-6)
 -Cc MU ALAN KÙ.GI, x^d šī-ma-ha-tu (OBTIV 134:7-8)
- D. 'Year: Ipiq-Adad II conquered the fortress of Mē-Turān'
 -Da MU i-pí-ig-^dIM, BÀD me-tu-ra-an^d, IN.DIB (OBTIV 63:17-19)
- E. 'Year: Ipiq-Adad II conquered Rapiqum (variant: was destroyed)'.⁹⁹⁶
 -Ea MU ra-pí-qum^{ki} i-pí-ig-^dIM BA.DIB (tablet BDHP 38:23-24)
 MU ra-pí-qum^{ki} i-pí-ig-^dIM BA.DIB (case BM 82499)

⁹⁹² A practice only followed by his sons Narām-Sîn and Dādūša.

⁹⁹³ Following and expanding on Saporetti's 1998:346f numbering.

⁹⁹⁴ For the attribution of this year name to Ipiq-Adad II: Greengus 1979:23 n. 6.

⁹⁹⁵ The exact connotation of *i-na pa-šum* ('by axe?') is unknown.

⁹⁹⁶ For a reedition of this text: Van Koppen and Lacambre 2009:156-162.

-Eb MU *ra-pí-qum*^{ki} IN.DIB (*TIM* 3 123:17-18)

-Ec MU *ra-pí-qum* BA.GUL^l (*YOS* 14 45:12)⁹⁹⁷

F. 'Year: after (the year) Ipiq-Adad II built the dike of Yabliya'⁹⁹⁸

-Fa MU.2.<KAM> *ša i-ka-am, ša ia-ab-li-ia*^{ki}, *i-pí-ig*-^dIM, *i-pu-šu-ú* (Mohammed 2002 text I p. 1-2)

G. 'Year: Ipiq-Adad II dedicated the golden throne of Adad'

-Ga [M]U GU.ZA KÙ.GI *ša* ^dIM *i-pí-ig*-^dIM *ú-še-lu-ú* (Hussein 2008 p. 63)

H. 'Year: Ipiq-Adad II built Šulgi-Nanna'

MU ^dŠUL-GI-^dŠEŠ.KI *i-pí-ig*-^dIM *i-pu-šu* (Hussein 2008 p. 63)

Perhaps: MU *ha-la*-[...] , *ru-bu-um, iṣ-ba-tu* (*TIM* 3 5:21-22)

'The year: the Prince took Hala-...'⁹⁹⁹

Perhaps: MU *ru-bu-um, DUMU.MUNUS ha-ab-di-x*, *i-hu-zu* (*OBTIV* 61:16-18)

'The year: the Prince married the daughter of Habdi-x'

7.2.4.6.2 Ipiq-Adad II in the Mari Eponym Chronicle

Ipiq-Adad II is actually one of the main 'stars' in the early part of the Mari Eponym Chronicle (MEC) and as such it provides us with a framework concerning the events of his rule. From the MEC we can establish that Ipiq-Adad II's reign started around 1861 BC.¹⁰⁰⁰ Four years later in 1857 he was defeated by Amīnum, Samsi-Addu's older brother,¹⁰⁰¹ he retaliated in 1854 when Amīnum was in turn defeated.¹⁰⁰² What Amīnum's role or status was exactly is unclear,¹⁰⁰³ because he and his father Ila-kabkabu are also mentioned in texts from Mari (pre-Yahdun-Lim).

⁹⁹⁷ For the attribution of this text to the time of Ipiq-Adad II instead of Ibal-pi-El II: Saporetti 1998:355.

⁹⁹⁸ See the comments by Van Koppen and Lacambre 2009:161-162 and Charpin and Millet-Albà 2009:266.

⁹⁹⁹ The term 'prince' (*rubūm*) denotes the king of Ešnunna. This year name was found in the Nūr-Šamaš archive, but must almost certainly refer to Ipiq-Adad II, although Ibal-pi-El I is also a possibility. The place name is probably not Halabit as Reshid 1965:40 and Wu Yuhong 1994a:76 suggests: Halabit is simply too far away (between the Habur and Tuttul).

¹⁰⁰⁰ 'Ipiq-Adad II entered the house of his father', MEC Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Ennam-Aššur.

¹⁰⁰¹ MEC Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Hanna-narum.

¹⁰⁰² MEC Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Kapatīya.

¹⁰⁰³ See Wu Yuhong 1994a:63-65 on Amīnum.

In 1853 Ipiq-Adad II took Ziqqurātum,¹⁰⁰⁴ another event concerning him is broken away in the following year.¹⁰⁰⁵ There is a large gap in the MEC and it picks up the events concerning Ipiq-Adad II twenty years later in 1832,¹⁰⁰⁶ when he is defeated by an Elamite king.¹⁰⁰⁷ In 1828 Ipiq-Adad II headed northwest of Ešnunna's territory and he took Arrapha,¹⁰⁰⁸ the MEC mentions for the next year that a town called Ga-[...] was taken.¹⁰⁰⁹ After these events the MEC finally mentions the defeat of Sîn-abūšu 'of Nērebtum' in the Lower Diyala in 1823.¹⁰¹⁰ The defeat of Sîn-abūšu must have signified also the definite annexation of Tutub, Šaduppūm and Uzarlulu.

The annexation of Nērebtum was a significant step in Ešnunna's history because Nērebtum housed the large temple of Ištar-Kitītum.¹⁰¹¹ Two royal inscriptions of Ipiq-Adad II were found at Nērebtum: one is a clay cylinder found in the foundation of Ištar Kitītum's temple.¹⁰¹² It is written in Sumerian and very fragmentary, Tutub and its surroundings are mentioned. A passage concerns the digging of a canal and he calls upon the gods Amurru(?) and Ištar Kitītum. The other is a brick inscription in which Ipiq-Adad II bestows Nērebtum onto Ištar-Kitītum.¹⁰¹³ This has led to the discussion whether Nērebtum had another principal city god before Ipiq-Adad II's conquest,¹⁰¹⁴ or that Nērebtum was perhaps called differently.¹⁰¹⁵ From a much later dated text

¹⁰⁰⁴ MEC Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Išme-Aššur.

¹⁰⁰⁵ MEC Glassner 2004:161, eponym: Aššur-mutabbil.

¹⁰⁰⁶ In the eponym of Daniya (1838 BC) the MEC mentions the capture of Hupšum, this might be Ipiq-Adad II's doing. A year name from the Larsa king Sîn-iddinam (year 6, 1844 BC) mentions a raid on Ešnunna: in a previous year he had already defeated Ibrat and Malgium and Sîn-iddinam must have pushed on into the Diyala region. One only wonders if he did not first have to face Sîn-abūšu in the Lower Diyala region.

¹⁰⁰⁷ MEC Glassner 2004:163, eponym: Šarrum-Adad.

¹⁰⁰⁸ MEC Glassner 2004:163, eponym: Dadāya II.

¹⁰⁰⁹ MEC Glassner 2004:163, eponym: Ah-šalim. Glassner suggests to read *ga-s[ú-ri-im^{ki}(?)]* (Gašur) in the break, the later town of Nuzi which was in Arrapha's vicinity.

¹⁰¹⁰ MEC Glassner 2004:163, eponym: Abu-šalim, even so, Ipiq-Adad II is not mentioned explicitly as Sîn-abūšu's conqueror.

¹⁰¹¹ See already above section 2.1.3.2.

¹⁰¹² Frayne 1990 E.4.14.2 and Jacobsen 1990:89-90, this inscription was erroneously attributed to Sîn-abūšu.

¹⁰¹³ Frayne 1990 E4.5.14.3 and Jacobsen 1990:91-92.

¹⁰¹⁴ Charpin 1999b:179 believes that Nērebtum had Sîn as its principal deity before Ipiq-Adad II's gift. This was in turn contested by Viaggio 2008 who sticks to Ištar Kitītum.

¹⁰¹⁵ DeJong Ellis 1986a:759 and Viaggio 2008 suppose that Nērebtum was called Kiti before Ipiq-Adad II's conquest. Charpin 1999b:179 keeps to Nērebtum, which is only

we know that Ištar-Kitūtum acted as an oracle for Ibal-pi-El II (Ipiq-Adad II's grandson); perhaps this close connection between her and the Ešnunna royal house already existed at the time of Ipiq-Adad II.¹⁰¹⁶

In 1818 Ipiq-Adad II defeated an unnamed enemy.¹⁰¹⁷ Finally, in 1815 it appears that the MEC mentions Ipiq-Adad II's death.¹⁰¹⁸

7.2.4.6.3 Ipiq-Adad II's conquest of the Suhum

The conquest of the Suhum, a specific part of the Middle Euphrates, by Ipiq-Adad II is not mentioned in the MEC and the (approximate) dating of the event is unknown. The first stage of the conquest must have been the capture of Rapiqum, an important city that served as the gateway between Northern Babylonia and the Suhum. The capture of Rapiqum is commemorated in one of Ipiq-Adad II's year names (see above year name E).

The actual control of the Suhum can be inferred from a year name found at Tell Šišin (ancient Āl-kapim)¹⁰¹⁹: year name F: 'Year: after (the year) Ipiq-Adad II built the dike of Yabliya'.

Another part of the puzzle is a text published by Charpin in 1991,¹⁰²⁰ showing the extent of Ešnunna's territory. According to the text, Yahdun-Lim, king of Mari, had to buy back a huge amount of land near Mari from an unnamed king of Ešnunna (probably Narām-Sîn, Ipiq-Adad II's successor) for three talents of silver. The territory is called Puzurrân and was previously apparently the seat of a (semi) independent ruler,¹⁰²¹ illustrating the political fragmentation in the Suhum prior to Ešnunna's conquests.

logical, because the name Nērebtum occurs already in earlier texts, see for example section 2.2.2 about Išmeh-bala of Nērebtum.

¹⁰¹⁶ DeJong Ellis 1987.

¹⁰¹⁷ MEC Glassner 2004:163, eponym: Atanah.

¹⁰¹⁸ MEC Glassner 2004:163, eponym: Inbi-Ištar. The relevant passage is broken and it reads: (line 13') *i-na i-ni-i[b-iš-t]ár i-pi-iq-d*IM[. . .]. However, Ipiq-Adad II no longer occurs in the MEC after this passage.

¹⁰¹⁹ Charpin and Millet Albà 2009.

¹⁰²⁰ Charpin 1991d.

¹⁰²¹ A cylinder seal of Ya'uš-Addu, king of Puzurrân is in the Rosen collection: Frayne 1990 E4.24.1.

7.2.4.6.4 An overview of Ipiq-Adad II's conquests

There is yet another source which seems to document another part of Ipiq-Adad II's victories. It is a text from Tell Harmal (IM 54005) originally published by Van Dijk in 1957. Van Dijk studied the document himself in an article published thirteen years later.¹⁰²² The tablet contains two letters both written by the king of Ešnunna ('the Prince') to a vassal. The name of the vassal is unfortunately broken,¹⁰²³ but the king of Ešnunna calls himself 'father'. The fact that two letters were written on one tablet suggests that we might be dealing with a copy. The first letter concerns Ešnunna's discontent with the vassal's continued loyalty to the city of Šinam. The king of Ešnunna gives examples of towns that Šinam was not able to help:¹⁰²⁴

Well, wherever Šinam went to aid militarily, it did not save Nērebtum, nor did it save the land of Uršitum,¹⁰²⁵ nor did it save Diniktum, nor Mankisum...

This list of towns and one country looks conspicuously like a number of towns that Ipiq-Adad II might have conquered: for Nērebtum this is sure, but we can also imagine that he took Diniktum in the Diyala region, Mankisum along the Tigris and the land of (H)uršitum along the Jebel Hamrin: this all fits the general picture in which Ipiq-Adad II consolidated all of Ešnunna's neighboring territories. However, it is hard to believe that the writer of these letters was Ipiq-Adad II, it was rather one of his successors: the other events in the letters suggests a later date.¹⁰²⁶

Šinam does not seem to appear in other sources currently at our disposal. There are a number of references to the town of Šinamum somewhere in the

¹⁰²² Van Dijk 1970a, see also the English translation and comments by Wu Yuhong 1994a:77-79.

¹⁰²³ From the second letter we can still see that the name ended with the theophoric element ^dIM.

¹⁰²⁴ The relevant parts are lines 7'-11': *ga-na a-ša-ar ši-nam^{ki} ti-lu-ta-am i-li-k[u...], lu-ú ne-re-eb-tum ú-ul [ú]-ša-al-li-im, lu-ú ma-at ur-ši-tim^{ki} ú-ul ú-ša-al-li-im, lu-ú di-ni-ik-tum^{ki} ú-ul ú-ša-al-li-im, lu-ú ma-an-ki-si^{ki}.*

¹⁰²⁵ A royal inscription of one Puhūya stems from here: Frayne 1990 E4.20.1. Another king of Huršitum is mentioned in the second letter found on IM 54005: (line 42') Iškun-x x.

¹⁰²⁶ The message that the writer turned back somebody to Hana and Qaṭna (line 24'-25'), the mentioning of a rebellion at Ekallatum (line 37') all suggest at least the time of Narām-Sîn (1815-?) and Samsi-Addu.

upper Tigris valley,¹⁰²⁷ but Šinam somewhere in or around the Diyala region still eludes us.

To illustrate the impact of Ipiq-Adad II's reign we present two maps of the kingdom of Ešnunna: one before Ipiq-Adad II and one after his reign. Independent cities and countries conquered under Ipiq-Adad II are indicated with orange.



Map 7 The extent of Ešnunna's realm around 1860 BC

¹⁰²⁷ See the references in Charpin 2003b:29.



Map 8 The presumed extent of Ešnunna's realm around 1815 BC

7.3 Northern Babylonia: from political fragmentation to Babylon's hegemony

This chapter proposes a new political history for Northern Babylonia from ca. 1900 to the end of Apil-Sîn's reign in 1813, because this coincides well with the end of Ipiq-Adad II's reign around 1815.

Just as in the Diyala region, the political landscape was extremely complex, with many independent and semi-independent kings. Almost all of these rulers carried an Amorite name, but aside from this, a huge Amorite presence or ruling elite has left no clear textual traces. The map hereunder illustrates this complexity: all towns which were independent at one time or another between 1900 and 1813 BC are indicated with red.



Map 9 Political fragmentation in Northern and Southern Babylonia: every town in red was at one time independent

7.3.1 *Ašduni-yarim, Abi-x-x-x and Yawium of Kiš ca. 1895-1869 BC*

The first ruler known to us by name in Northern Babylonia from the period of ca. 1900 BC onwards is Ašduni-yarim of Kiš.¹⁰²⁸ This man is only known through three royal inscriptions.¹⁰²⁹ These inscriptions are essentially the same, but we have a long and short version. It recounts how Ašduni-yarim did battle for eight years against ‘the four quarters’ (of the world), but that in the eighth year his enemy ‘turned to clay’. Ašduni-yarim’s own army counted only three hundred men. With the help of Ištar and Zababa, he went on a one-day expedition and he made the enemy land bow to him for forty days. The inscription continues with the statement that he (re)built Kiš’ city-wall called ‘Inūh-Kiš’ (Kiš has calmed down) and that he dug a canal called Imgur-Ištar. In that same period, ‘the four quarters’ became hostile again and he built Kiš’ outer wall and dammed up the Nundi canal as a reaction.

In section 5.3.5 we encountered a hitherto unknown king of Kiš: Abi-x-x-x, where should his reign be placed? Charpin already suggested that Ašduni-yarim was defeated by Sumu-El of Larsa in 1885 (commemorated in Sumu-El 11).¹⁰³⁰ Ašduni-yarim must have ruled at least eight years according to his own inscription. Considering this, it seems most logical to place our new king Abi-x-x-x after Ašduni-yarim and before Yawium.¹⁰³¹ It was argued recently that Sumu-ditāna of Marad did not rule Kiš,¹⁰³² so we then have a chronological window between 1885 (Sumu-El’s defeat of Kiš) and 1869 (Kiš’ destruction by Sumu-la-El) to fit in Yawium’s and Abi-x-x-x’s reigns.

Yawium’s reign is poorly known: we have two letters presumably written by him¹⁰³³ and a number of his year names.¹⁰³⁴ The letter archive to which the two letters belong is tentatively dated to the period of ca. 1885-1880 BC.¹⁰³⁵ If

¹⁰²⁸ A liver model from Mari mentions the defeat of Išme-Dagan (of Isin) at Kiš: Rutten 1938:44, with Edzard 1957:79.

¹⁰²⁹ Frayne 1990 E4.8.1 p. 654-656 and Marzahn 1999, see also Donbaz and Yoffee 1986:3-22, Goddeeris 2002:253 and Charpin 2004a p. 88-89.

¹⁰³⁰ Charpin 2004a:89. Edzard 1957:130 places Ašduni-yarim after Lipit-Ištar of Isin based on orthographic observations.

¹⁰³¹ Of course, this reconstruction still hinges on whether BM 108915 is actually from Kiš or not, which -I admit- is not a hundred percent certain.

¹⁰³² De Boer 2013a:87-88.

¹⁰³³ *IPLA* 12 and 13.

¹⁰³⁴ See the Appendix to chapter 5 for a complete overview of all his year names.

¹⁰³⁵ The Ikūn-pīša archive, De Boer forthcoming.

this is correct, Yawium already ruled around 1880 and Abī-x-x-x's reign must have been very short-lived.

None of Yawium's year names commemorates military or political activities, even though one year name attests to the death of Sumu-ditāna of Marad. He probably ruled some seven or eight years, considering the amount of Yawium year names. It is unlikely that Mananā and Abdi-Erah from nearby Damrum also ruled Kiš.¹⁰³⁶ What seems sure however, is that Sumu-la-El of Babylon conquered Kiš in 1869 BC.

7.3.2 *The Mananā Dynasty*

7.3.2.1 Damrum, Kazallu and Larsa's northern campaigns ca. 1885-1845 BC

In chapter 5 we established that Nāqimūm was perhaps the oldest of the known 'Mananā-dynasty' rulers, ruling from ca. 1885-1878. None of his year names mention political or military activities,¹⁰³⁷ but from one of them it is clear that he controlled the town of Akušum.¹⁰³⁸ In 1892 Akušum had been 'destroyed' and Kazallu was defeated by Larsa (Sumu-El 4).¹⁰³⁹ This could have happened already during the reign of Nāqimūm. Whether he controlled Akušum already at this time, or whether it belonged to Kazallu, remains unknown. Kazallu was again defeated by Sumu-El in 1880 (Sumu-El 15).

From several sources we learn that Kazallu was probably pronounced as 'Kasalluk' in OB times,¹⁰⁴⁰ even though other spellings are also attested.¹⁰⁴¹ In

¹⁰³⁶ See the considerations in section 5.3.6.

¹⁰³⁷ See the overview of his year names in the Appendix to chapter 5. Charpin 1999a wrote about the *dublamahum* sanctuary that he built at Damrum.

¹⁰³⁸ Year name e, see chapter 5 section 3.6. Akušum is not located, but it must have been somewhere between Kiš and Kazallu.

¹⁰³⁹ Usually it is assumed that Kazallu and Marad formed one kingdom, in De Boer 2013a it is shown that there is currently too little information for this. In this thesis it is assumed that Marad and Kazallu were two different political entities.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Most notably : *ARMT* 26/2 365 (*ka-sa-al-lu-uk^{ki}*), 366 and *OECT* 13 282 (*kà-za-lu-uk^{ki}*), with Charpin 1991:190, Heimpel 1996 (who translates Kasalluk from Sumerian as 'Mouth-of-the-Narrows'), Charpin 2001b, Charpin 2003c, and Charpin and Ziegler 2003:220 note 460. See also the new examples from Charpin and Durand 2004:101 (A.1215:50) and Abraham 2008:30.

¹⁰⁴¹ Kasalluh (*ka-zal-luh-hi*) in a first millenium *tamitu* text (see Charpin 1991:190), lexical HAR.RA=*hubullu*: *MSL* 11:45:51' (KA.ZAL.LUH^{KI} = *ka-za-al*) and p. 131 col iv:21 (KA.ZAL^{KI}) but also Kazallum (*ka-zal-lum^{ki}*): *MSL* 11:16:10.

Ur III times Kazallu was the seat of a governor and apparently pivotal in the last days of the Ur III empire.¹⁰⁴² Michalowski has drawn attention to the fact that Kazallu was a troublesome town throughout Mesopotamian history: it instigated rebellion already under the kings of Akkad Rimuš and Narām-Sîn.¹⁰⁴³ Kazallu or people from Kazallu only occur haphazardly in economic or administrative texts.¹⁰⁴⁴

Together with his defeat of Kiš in 1885, the picture emerges that Sumu-El was particularly active in the region of Kazallu-Kiš between 1892 and 1880.¹⁰⁴⁵ His armies had to bypass Larsa's archenemy Isin (ruled by Būr-Sîn) and possibly Malgium every time they went up to this area. One can imagine that Sumu-El was covered in his back by the semi-independent king of Kisurra, Ibni-šadûm who was married to Sumu-El's daughter.¹⁰⁴⁶ Perhaps Larsa paid the price in the latter part of Sumu-El's reign, because it appears that Būr-Sîn of Isin had taken control of Ur around Sumu-El's 17th to 21st year.¹⁰⁴⁷

The reasons for Sumu-El's northern expeditions are unclear, but according to his year names he did not go there again. We can speculate that it had something to do with the water supply towards the south: Kazallu was in a position to severely hinder the southern states. Extensive water works in the kingdom of Larsa are documented, probably at the detriment of Isin.¹⁰⁴⁸

7.3.2.2 Abdi-Erah, Ahi-maraš, Haliyum, and Mananâ: rivaling rulers over a small territory ca. 1877-1860

Why Nāqimûm's reign in Damrum came to a halt around 1878 BC is unknown. In chapter 5 a chronology was established in which Haliyum ruled contemporaneously with Abdi-Erah and Mananâ. Abdi-Erah's reign is an-

¹⁰⁴² Michalowski 2011:128 mentions the earliest governor as being Issariq, who was followed by Kallamu. In the CKU-corpus, there are two famous letters between Ibbi-Sîn and Kazallu's last governor: Puzur-Numušda (CKU 23 and 24, Michalowski 2011:439-482 and p. 138-140 on the person Puzur-Numušda/Puzur-Šulgi). See Michalowski 2011:170-215 for the historical events surrounding the end of the Ur III state.

¹⁰⁴³ Michalowski 2011:136-137.

¹⁰⁴⁴ See the references in *RGTC* 3:136, add: *OLA* 21 18 iii:30, iv:23, 30.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Also remarked by Charpin 2004a:77.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Charpin 2002.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Charpin 2004a:77.

¹⁰⁴⁸ See Walters 1970 (and the comments by Stol 1971), Frayne 1989, Fitzgerald 2002:55-77, and Charpin 2004a:77-78.

nounced by a year name stating that he took the throne: he might have been a usurper or Nāqimūm's son or relative.¹⁰⁴⁹ The following year of his short rule is a MU.ÚS.SA year name: 'year: after (the year) he took the throne'. This year name (Abdi-Erah 2) is attested only once, it could be that during the course of this year Mananâ took over power from him and that Ahi-maraš was briefly king between Abdi-Erah and Mananâ.¹⁰⁵⁰

Abdi-Erah and Mananâ year names were also found in the archive of Šissu-nawrat, which is supposedly from Kiš. So did they rule Kiš? Perhaps, but this is hard to believe, as we saw in chapter 5.3.6: it seems that the usage of year names in this period allow for local scribes to write down year names of neighboring monarchs.

Haliyūm's reign must have been contemporary with Sumu-ditāna and Sumu-atar of Marad, Yawium of Kiš and Mananâ.¹⁰⁵¹ Haliyūm's relationship to Nāqimūm, Abdi-Erah or Mananâ is unknown. However, there is one thing that links all of the 'Mananâ dynasty' kings together: the oath god Nanna/Sîn and their reverence to his cult as evidenced by the year names.¹⁰⁵² There is no accession year name for Haliyūm. We might ask the question: if Haliyūm and Mananâ ruled at the same time, where exactly did they rule? Both their year names do not give us a clue, but the area of Damrum contained at least a number of towns: SAG.DA.NI.PĀD, Akušum, Kibalmašda, and Dunnum.¹⁰⁵³ If we look solely at the number of preserved year names, Mananâ must have outlived Haliyūm. An estimation is that Haliyūm ruled from ca. 1878 to 1870; it seems that his territory was taken over by Mananâ, because there are no longer chronological problems to assume a double Mananâ and Haliyūm reign.

Generally speaking, all the Mananâ-dynasty year names inform us only sparingly about political or military events: the majority commemorate cultic donations to Nanna/Sîn. Mananâ's ca. fifteen year names mention the building

¹⁰⁴⁹ A very fragmentary inscription, Frayne 1990 E4.10.2 is attributed to an Abdi-Erah (the text reads: *ab-di*-[...], *DUMU hu-zu*-[...] etc. This is not necessarily the Mananâ-dynasty king.

¹⁰⁵⁰ For more on these events: section 5.3.4.

¹⁰⁵¹ Because of similar year names, double oaths, and MU PN BA.UG₇ year names, see section 5.3.4.

¹⁰⁵² Wu Yuhong and Dalley 1990 have hypothesized that in certain areas there was a sedentary king and a nomad king, who each had different oath gods. The Mananâ rulers would be the nomad kings, swearing by Nanna/Sîn. Charpin 2004a:83-84 has rejected this idea.

¹⁰⁵³ Charpin 1978a:18-20. Multiple rulers in the same area are also assumed for Sippar in the same period, so there is a parallel.

of two fortresses (or city walls): those of Dunnun and Akušum. Mananâ must also have had contacts or at least reverence for Sumu-abum, because a Mananâ year name explicitly mentions Sumu-abum's conquest of Kazallu.¹⁰⁵⁴

7.3.2.3 Sumu-Yamutbal, Manium, Sumu-la-El and the End of Damrum's Independence ca. 1860-1845 BC

Mananâ must have died around 1860, because we have a synchronism between his successor Sumu-Yamutbal¹⁰⁵⁵ and Sumu-la-El 24 (1857 BC).¹⁰⁵⁶ Sumu-Yamutbal's name is interesting, because Yamutbal is a tribe: the god Sîn had a special connection to the Yamutbal tribe.¹⁰⁵⁷ The whole Mananâ-dynasty could be of Yamutbalean origin. Sumu-Yamutbal is known for his *mīšarum* (an edict aimed at reversing certain social- and economical injustices) that he promulgated together with Sumu-la-El of Babylon.¹⁰⁵⁸ Whether or not Sumu-Yamutbal was a vassal of Babylon is hard to determine,¹⁰⁵⁹ but it seems certain that Sumu-la-El was the stronger man.

There is a curious text from Yale (NBC 7302 published in the Appendix), that is dated to Sumu-Yamutbal 1. The document registers the transfer of fifteen slaves to the account of one Sîn-abūšu. Almost all of these so-called slaves are however inhabitants of the kingdom of Babylon, hailing from Kiš, Babylon, and several other places. Each man is described by his patronym and under the responsibility of a man qualified as GİR. Slaves are usually not described in such a manner and the men do not carry names typical of slaves.¹⁰⁶⁰ One is tempted to interpret NBC 7302 as a list with prisoners-of-war brought

¹⁰⁵⁴ The pseudo 'Sumu-abum 13', see below section 7.3.5.4.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Frayne 2012. The king Sumu-Yamutbal is not to be confused with the official by the same name from the reign of Larsa's Sîn-iddinam.

¹⁰⁵⁶ See Charpin 1978:34 n. 67 and De Boer 2012.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Kudur-mabuk, the 'father of Emutbala', had named his three sons with a name containing Sîn: Warad-Sîn, Rīm-Sîn, and Sîn-muballit. But perhaps the most clear indication comes from Himdiya's recently published seal impression: Eidem 2011 (=PIHANS 117):281: 'Himdiya, prefect of Sîn, the lord of Yamutbalum, king of Andarig'. In the letter PIHANS 117 43:9' Sîn is also called 'lord of Yamutbalum'.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Much has already been written about this event: see De Boer 2012, Goddeeris 2002:330-334, and more general Kraus 1984.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Based on double oaths and the conjoint *mīšarum* proclamation alone.

¹⁰⁶⁰ For example: Nabium-gāmil (NBC 7302:4).

in by soldiers, but this would suppose a military clash between Sumu-Yamutbal and Sumu-la-El for which there is not other evidence.

Almost all of Sumu-Yamutbal's year names deal (again) with cultic donations: a notable exception is the building of the fortress or walls of SAG.DA.NI.PAD.¹⁰⁶¹ A Sumu-Yamutbal features in at least five letters, but none seem to refer clearly to the Mananâ-dynasty king. This Sumu-Yamutbal is rather an official at the time of the Larsa king Sîn-iddinam.¹⁰⁶² There is also a servant seal known mentioning Sumu-Yamutbal.¹⁰⁶³

Sumu-Yamutbal must have died before Sumu-la-El 32 (1849 BC), because in one single text (*YOS* 14 119) we find a double oath by Sumu-la-El and Marduk and Manium and Nanna. This Manium is obviously Sumu-Yamutbal's successor but we know nothing more than his name.¹⁰⁶⁴ The exact relation between the kingdom of Babylon and the Mananâ-dynasty is still not clear.

The end of Damrum's independence was probably at the hands of Larsa's Sîn-iddinam (ca. 1849-1843 BC). The latest dated text that we find in the Mananâ-dynasty archives is Sîn-iddinam year 5: MU *ma-al-gi₄ iṣ-ba-at*, 'Year: he took Malgium'.¹⁰⁶⁵ The two texts with this year name are from Ibbi-Ilabrat's archive which has many texts dated towards the end of Sumu-la-El's reign.¹⁰⁶⁶ Sîn-iddinam campaigned extensively towards Northern Babylonia: the area of Damrum could have been conquered during these expeditions.¹⁰⁶⁷ Sîn-iddinam's fourth year (1846 BC) recalls the defeat of the army of Babylon: it is easy to imagine that this happened in the area of Kiš and/or Damrum.

¹⁰⁶¹ The only other reference to this town is in the OB letter *AbB* 9 140: a letter sent by Awil-ilim to 'my lord'. Awil-ilim talks about an enemy that came and inflicted casualties. Because of a lack of soldiers in SAG.DA.NI.PAD nobody can hold the district. Awil-ilim proposes to have 500 men in SAG.DA.NI.PAD and 500 in Damrum to hold the district. Connected to this letter might be *AbB* 2 147.

¹⁰⁶² Stol 2009-2011:517.

¹⁰⁶³ Frayne 1990 E4.10.6.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Frayne 1990 E4.10.7 is a servant seal of Manium.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *R* 23 and the unpublished *YBC* 8371. Charpin 1978a:32-33 thinks that this year name belongs either to Sumu-la-El or Manium.

¹⁰⁶⁶ See section 5.3.4 apud 4.

¹⁰⁶⁷ There is another possibility: the scribes of Ibbi-Ilabrat were so impressed by the conquest of Malgium that they simply named a year after this event, regardless of any political dominance by Larsa.

We find texts from Damrum again some fifteen years later with the archive of Adad-nada and his *naditum* daughter Unnubtum, which are dated to Apil-Sîn and Sîn-muballit.¹⁰⁶⁸

7.3.3 Kings of Marad ca. 1890-1861 BC

At about the same time as Sumu-El's northern campaigns, Marad became independent from Isin. One early Marad text is still dated to an Isin year name,¹⁰⁶⁹ but not long after that we see that Halun-pi-umu had become king at Marad around ca. 1880. Just how he took power or what his relation was to Isin remains unclear, but Isin did at least keep some 'cultural' influence in the style of year names and the local writing traditions.¹⁰⁷⁰ The ca. 35 texts that we have from Marad do not show any large Amorite influence: apart from the royal names, almost no Amorite names could be distinguished (but this might be due to the fact that we have only one family archive and some related texts).

Halun-pi-umu belonged to the group of Amorite rulers surrounding Sumu-abum. At least one and perhaps two of his year names are known.¹⁰⁷¹ He is primarily known because of his conquest of Dilbat in the year 1879. An actual text from Dilbat carries one of his year names attesting to this fact. Leemans reconstructed the events surrounding this episode. He concluded that Halun-pi-umu ruled Dilbat between Sumu-la-El year 2 month V (1879) and the beginning of Sumu-la-El year 3 (1880).¹⁰⁷² The year name Sumu-la-El 3 also records the defeat of Halun-pi-umu. He was probably killed during these events and Sumu-ditāna succeeded him on the throne of Marad.

The struggle between Sumu-la-El and Halun-pi-umu has often been connected to the events in *IPLA* 14.¹⁰⁷³ In this letter, Ikūn-pīša writes how he went to the Amorite assembly and met with Sumu-abum, Mašparum and Sumun-

¹⁰⁶⁸ See section 4.2.2 apud 4.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *MAOG* 4 MD 5 is dated to Būr-Sîn f.

¹⁰⁷⁰ The Marad year names seem heavily influenced by Isin practices, see De Boer 2013a:83-84.

¹⁰⁷¹ See De Boer 2013a: MU *a-lu-pú-ú-mu, dil-bat*^{ki} IN-DIB (*TLB* I 233), MU *dil-bat*^{ki} IN-DIB' (*YOS* 14 120). Perhaps a Halun-pi-umu year name is: MU ⁱ[⁷ *ši-ma*]-*at-bur*^{i-d}[EN]/ZU (Būr-Sîn g/Halun-pi-umu c?) (*YOS* 14 124), MU ⁱ[⁷ *ši-ma-at-bur*^{i-d}EN-ZU (Būr-Sîn g/Halun-pi-umu c?) (*AUCT* 4 6).

¹⁰⁷² Leemans 1966.

¹⁰⁷³ Ikūn-pīša Letter Archive 14, De Boer forthcoming, see already Al-Adhami 1967:152-156 for this letter.

abi-yarim. He stresses that they are united and that Mašparum will go and talk to Halun-pi-umu about his intentions concerning war or peace. Ikūn-pīša motivates the addressees to also take action. Sumu-la-El is however not featured in this letter, nor is Dilbat: *IPLA* 14 concerns other events. From *IPLA* 10 we know now that Halun-pi-umu and Sumu-la-El actually worked together in supplying Sumu-abum with an amount of silver.

Finally, Halun-pi-umu had a daughter called Šāt-Aya, who was a *naditum* devoted to Šamaš in Sippar. Her name is found on a text (*Edubba* 7 113) and a seal impression (*Edubba* 7 118) from Sippar-Yahrūrum (Tell Abu Habbah).¹⁰⁷⁴

The above information on Halun-pi-umu makes it all the more puzzling why he turns up as king in relatively far away Marad. The king who succeeded Halun-pi-umu on Marad's throne was Sumu-ditāna. His relationship to Halun-pi-umu is unknown (nor the relationship between any of the Marad kings). Five of Sumu-ditāna's year names are known, but he must have ruled ca. eight years from 1878-1871. His rule did probably not extend over Kiš or Damrum as well.¹⁰⁷⁵ Around this time an ephemeral king called Sumu-atar was also king of Marad. After Sumu-ditāna, Sumu-numhim was ruler from ca. 1870-1864, at least five year names can be attributed to him. His successor was Yamsi-El, who probably only ruled one or two years, before we see that Sumu-la-El year names are used in Marad from 1861 onwards; there is even a text from the time of Sabium. It might be that Marad was conquered after Kazallu's conquest by Babylon, Isin, and Sumu-abum (see below).

The year names certainly attributable to the Marad kings all have cultic donations or activities as their main subject. A few year names that cannot be linked to one king talk about the construction of fortresses or city walls (BĀD) for Šilli-Ninurta^{ki}, MĀ^{ki}, and BĀD GAL x[...].¹⁰⁷⁶

7.3.4 Sippar's complex situation ca. 1885-1857 BC

The incredibly complex situation in early OB Sippar can probably never be clarified completely. This does not mean that we cannot gain some information from Sippar's plentiful sources.

A considerable handicap is the fact that early OB Sippar tradition had it that texts were only very seldom dated with a year name: the exceptions being

¹⁰⁷⁴ *Edubba* 7 113 and 118.

¹⁰⁷⁵ De Boer 2013a:87-88.

¹⁰⁷⁶ De Boer 2013a:85-86

mostly loan contracts.¹⁰⁷⁷ Other types of contracts such as sale-documents or texts concerning inheritances, adoptions, and assignments of property only sparingly carry oaths mentioning a king. Finally, there are text genres from early OB Sippar that never carry an oath or year name, like field leases.¹⁰⁷⁸ Not even every loan carries a year name and not every sale document carries an oath. The documents from early OB Sippar carry oaths and year names attributable to different rulers, as well as oaths sworn by two kings: always a local king and the Babylonian king Sumu-la-El. It could happen in OB Mesopotamia that people in one town had different overlords.¹⁰⁷⁹ It is a possibility that the Sippar 'kings' were vassals of the king of Babylon (or Sumu-abum), but not always. There must have been a moment when Sumu-la-El took complete control over Sippar, but under his great-grandson Sîn-muballiṭ there is still at least one local ruler: Lipit-Ištar, illustrating the complexity of the situation.

At least nine 'kings' that we know of were active in early OB Sippar or its immediate vicinity: Ilum-ma-Ila, Ammi-šura, Ikūn-pi-Ištar (perhaps), Immerum, Buntahtun-Ila, Altinû, Lipit-Ištar, Sumu-abum and the kings of Babylon: Sumu-la-El, Sabium, Apil-Sîn, and Sîn-muballiṭ.

The oldest attestations concern Ilum-ma-Ila and Ammi-šura, who were perhaps contemporaneous. The more recent attestations mention Immerum first and then Buntahtun-Ila. For the other kings it is harder to establish when they reigned approximately. The double oaths containing Sumu-la-El show that this king of Babylon was at least contemporary with Immerum and Buntahtun-Ila. The Ikūn-pîša letter archive teaches us that Immerum, Ilum-ma-Ila, Sumu-la-El, and Sumu-abum were contemporary. The same archive seems to suggest that several Amorite rulers were united in some kind of gathering led by Sumu-abum: the *puhur amurrim* ('Amorite assembly'). This leads us to believe that the 'kings' active in Sippar were not constantly engaged in battling each other. In fact, from the Ikūn-pîša archive we can read about diplomatic contacts between these kings.

Sumu-la-El's 28th regnal year is the *terminus ante quem* for his control of Sippar: the following year is named after his construction of Sippar's wall. One document (*MHET* II/1 19) carries Sumu-la-El's 13th year name, but, as it was explained in chapter 5, this is hardly evidence of his definitive rule over Sippar

¹⁰⁷⁷ As opposed to the texts from Dilbat, Marad or the Mananâ-dynasty.

¹⁰⁷⁸ The first dated Sippar field leases are from Apil-Sîn's reign: *CT* 6 48a (case=*MHET* II/1 73) and *TJB* pl. 36.

¹⁰⁷⁹ The Old Assyrians living in Kaneš, the Benjamins in the kingdom of Mari etc.

at this time. The current documentation provides no exact information about when and how Sumu-la-El ended the rule of the local Sippar kings. However: *CT* 6 42a (case= *MHET* II/1 23) is a litigation with an oath by Sumu-la-El and mentioning the proclamation of a *mīšarum*. From the Mananâ-dynasty texts we know that this *mīšarum* took place in Sumu-la-El 24 (1857 BC), making this year also a possible *terminus ante quem*. Around this same time, Sumu-la-El was struggling with an opponent called Yahzir-El.¹⁰⁸⁰ This Yahzir-El is still a somewhat shadowy figure.¹⁰⁸¹ A Diyala text in which he is dubbed as a king of Sippar is often cited but this only adds to the confusion.¹⁰⁸² The common name Yahzir-El occurs in other documents as well.¹⁰⁸³

Often quoted is the text *BE* 6/1 9 in which an oath by Sumu-la-El and Sabium is found. Edzard interpreted this as evidence of Sabium ruling Sippar as crown prince before he succeeded Sumu-la-El.¹⁰⁸⁴ An unpublished text in the British Museum also mentions Sumu-la-El and Sabium together. If the tentative interpretation of this partly broken document is correct, it gives crown prince Sabium a military role in the vicinity of Sippar.¹⁰⁸⁵

¹⁰⁸⁰ Charpin 2004a:93-94 and Horsnell 1999 II:56 n. 26.

¹⁰⁸¹ See De Boer 2013a.

¹⁰⁸² Baqir 1949:137: MU *ia-ah-zi-ir-i-il* BA.UG₇, edge: LUGAL *sí-pí-ir^{ki}*. The year name was found on a (hitherto unpublished) tablet (IM 54687) found in Harmal level III. Along with this year name, Baqir published a number of other year names. The remark that 'LUGAL *zi-bi-ir^{ki}*' (Baqir's reading) was found on the edge is suspicious. Only a copy of the year name is given and nothing is said about the general contents of the tablet, making it feasible that 'LUGAL *zi-bi-ir^{ki}*' might pertain to other matters on the tablet. Besides, the type of year names commemorating the death of rulers, never mention that the person in question ruled a certain town. A logographic writing of Sippar is not expected either. The strongest evidence for Yahzir-El's kingship is *VAS* 18 20, a field sale containing an oath by Šamaš and *a-ah-za-ar-i-DINGIR* (line 20). Unfortunately, the people occurring in this text cannot be linked prosopographically to other Sippar texts.

¹⁰⁸³ *ia-ah-zi-ir-i-DINGIR*, *CT* 45 8:6, Apil-Sîn. Name in broken context. *ia-ah-zi-ir-DINGIR*, DUMU *sà-bi-bu-um*, *ED* I 3 seal inscription, undated.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Edzard 1957:151, see also the comments of Charpin 2004 a:93-94.

¹⁰⁸⁵ BM 17154 is a text recording the obligation of a certain Edihum to Sumu-la-El and Sabium. In my interpretation, this Edihum will perform service as a soldier to the king (*sagbi* LUGAL) in Merriqat, a village in Sippar's vicinity. He shall answer to both Sumu-la-El and Sabium. Perhaps Sabium was involved with a garrison of (Amorite?) troops in Merriqat. Transliteration: 1. [...] *e-di-hu-um*, 2. [(x²)] DUMU *hu-na-bu-um*, 3. [...s] *a-ag-bi* 'LUGAL?', 4. [...i²-n] *a² me-ri-qá-at*, 5. [iz]-*za-az*, 6. [...]x at, 7. [*su-m*] *u-la-DINGIR*, L.E. 8. 'ù' *sà-bi-um*, R.9. *i-ta-na-pa-al*, 10. IGI *i-ší-da-pa-x²*, 11. DUMU *ba-li-lum*, 12. IGI *i-su-ka-ší/id*, 13. IGI *lu-ud-lu--30*, 14. DUMU *mu-ga-li-šum²*, U.E. 15. IGI *puzur⁴-UTU*, 16. [D]UMU *hu¹-na-a-a*. An additional attestation of Sabium at Sippar might perhaps be found in the letter

The several larger family archives that we have from early OB Sippar seem to suggest that there were different social groups living in and outside of Sippar. This is apparent from the fact that some files or dossiers regarding a certain family have no or little prosopographical connections to other text groups. An interesting point is that scribes often function as connecting nodes between these different groups ('networks') of people, connecting several otherwise unconnected files prosopographically to each other.

The hypothesis here is that early OB Sippar contained several groups of people who each had their own leader or 'king'. This might have tribal backgrounds: several Amorite rulers held sway over their own groups of people living closely together. The word 'tribes' is avoided, because we must bear in mind that we have mostly texts from the urban elite and these people display almost no Amorite influences in their personal names. The Amorites seem to have mostly lived in the countryside in towns like Halhalla or Merriqat. Whether this means that these rulers also lived in the countryside is not clear: no early OB Sippar text mentions a palace.¹⁰⁸⁶ This did not hinder the Amorite rulers to exercise some control over the urban areas. However: the 'town' (*ālum*) of Sippar seems to have had its own independence as well. Its limited sovereignty comes to the foreground in the many oaths taken in name of the kings of Babylon *and* the town of Sippar. Similarly in precious references to the 'town' acting out of its own initiative: the redemption of houses proclaimed conjointly by Immerum and 'the town', or the curious phrase in the text *ED II 27*.¹⁰⁸⁷ This special 'semi-autonomous' status of Sippar disappears under Hammurabi.

Only in the later OB period a tribal distinction is explicitly made between Tell ed-Dēr (Sippar-Amnānum) and Tell Abu Habbah (Sippar-Yahrūrum). There is no doubt that the early OB Sippar kings belonged to an Amorite tribe, but which one is never written down. It is still impossible to assign kings to either one of both Sippar's: this is mainly because Šamaš is always the oath god in texts carrying an oath by a local Sippar king.

To sum up: It would seem that the town of Sippar had some kind of independence with several Amorite rulers mingling in its affairs.

ED II 52 addressed to 'my lord' *sa-bu-um*. 'Sabûm' is known as a variant of the name Sabium.

¹⁰⁸⁶ We only know about a palace in Sippar under Hammurabi and his successors, see Van Koppen 2001:212.

¹⁰⁸⁷ See above section 6.4.6.

7.3.5 *Sumu-abum's life and times ca. 1890-1860 BC*

Sumu-abum is still one of the most elusive persons from the early OB period.¹⁰⁸⁸ His name is often spelled differently: we encounter *sa-mu-a-bi-im*,¹⁰⁸⁹ *sa-mu-a-bi*,¹⁰⁹⁰ *su-mu-a-bi-im*,¹⁰⁹¹ *su-mu-a-bum*,¹⁰⁹² and ^d*su-mu-a-bu-um*.¹⁰⁹³ The name must mean something like 'descendant of the father'. There are also composite personal names such as Haya-Sumu-abum or Iši-Sumu-abum that use 'Sumu-abum' as element. However, this had nothing to do with the historical figure: a name such as Haya-Sumu-abum already occurred for an adult during Sumu-abum's lifetime.¹⁰⁹⁴ Such *Beamtennamen* are never Amorite, but always Akkadian or Sumerian.¹⁰⁹⁵

Sumu-abum has always been considered as the founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon. This is mainly based on the fact that he is mentioned as Babylon's first king in king-lists and lists of year names from later periods.¹⁰⁹⁶ In addition to this, contracts containing his year names were found at several Mesopotamian sites.¹⁰⁹⁷ Recently, Charpin and Goddeeris have -independently from each other- established that Sumu-la-El was actually the first king of Babylon.¹⁰⁹⁸ The year names attributed to Sumu-abum in the lists of year names show many parallels with those of Sumu-la-El and many of them are of the type 'MU ÚS.SA', repeating events from previous years.¹⁰⁹⁹ It is very likely that

¹⁰⁸⁸ Goddeeris 2012a wrote most recently on Sumu-abum summing up what is known until now. See also Charpin 2004a:80-86 and Sommerfeld 1983b.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *IPLA* 18:5.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Gautier *Dilbat* 1:15.

¹⁰⁹¹ *TIM* 7 22:12'.

¹⁰⁹² *OIP* 42 Date Formula no. 113,:191.

¹⁰⁹³ Only in the texts from Kisurra.

¹⁰⁹⁴ *ha-a-su-mu-a-bu-um*, DUMU *e-eq-ni-DINGIR*, *OECT* 15 377:24-25, 'Yawium c'/X, *ha-su-mu-a-bu-um*, DUMU *e-ek-ni-DINGIR*, *RSM* 29:24-25, 'Yawium c'/XI.

¹⁰⁹⁵ See also the remarks by Durand 1984:132. Note that a canal in lexical texts was called Sumu-abum: *MSL* 11:30:14' (e *su-mu-a-bu*) and *MSL* 11:48 iv:1a (íd *su-mu-a-bi*).

¹⁰⁹⁶ Horsnell 1999 Vol. 1:175-286. Grayson 1980-1983:100: *su-mu-a-bi* LUGAL MU.15.KAM.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Sippar (*VAS* 8 1), Dilbat (*YOS* 14 128), the Mananâ dynasty (*RA* 8 p. 70-71, AO 4665), and Kisurra (see below).

¹⁰⁹⁸ See Charpin 2004a:80-86, Charpin 2012b:29-30, Goddeeris 2002:318-324, and Goddeeris 2005 for a more elaborate explanation.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Goddeeris 2005.

Sumu-abum's year names known from later Babylonian lists were in fact fabricated later.¹¹⁰⁰

Sumu-abum's descendance is unknown,¹¹⁰¹ but he did have a son, called Hanbatīya.¹¹⁰² Other family members or siblings are unknown. It would have been interesting to know what Sumu-abum's connection might have been to previous important Amorite rulers such as Abda-El or Usû, who lived almost a century earlier. Or, what his exact connection might have been to Sumu-la-El and others from his entourage.¹¹⁰³

7.3.5.1 Sumu-abum was sent to...Dēr?

What seems to be the earliest Sumu-abum reference is very puzzling: an Ešnunna year name mentions that Sumu-abum 'was sent to Der':¹¹⁰⁴

MU *su-mu-a-bu-um a-na dēr*(BÀD.AN?)^{ki} *i-ṭà-ar-du.*'The year: Sumu-abum was expelled to Dēr' *OIP* 43 no.113, p. 191

According to Jacobsen, it is from the time after Ur-Ninmarki, possibly around the reign of Šiqlānum.¹¹⁰⁵ Whatever the case is, it must date to around 1890 BC. Who sent him to Dēr? What was Sumu-abum's connection to Dēr?¹¹⁰⁶

7.3.5.2 Sumu-abum in the Ikūn-pîša letter archive

The second earliest occurrence of Sumu-abum is both in the Ikūn-pîša letter archive (*IPLA*) and in two texts from Dilbat,¹¹⁰⁷ both around 1880 BC. Thanks

¹¹⁰⁰ Sumu-abum year names did exist in the early OB period, the lists of year names compiled *later* contain fabricated year names attributed to Sumu-abum.

¹¹⁰¹ Disregarding the information from the 'Hammurabi genealogy'.

¹¹⁰² Known from the year name of *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.'

¹¹⁰³ There is also one servant seal known: a man called Daganīya: Frayne 1990 E4.3.1.

¹¹⁰⁴ Goddeeris 2012a:301 links this year name to one from Kisurra: mu *ša su-mu-a-bu-um a-na a-li-šu i-tu-ru.* 'The year: Sumu-abum returned to his city' *Santag* 9 21:15-16.

¹¹⁰⁵ He bases himself on prosopographical evidence, Jacobsen 1940:191. Šiqlānum was probably no king of Ešnunna.

¹¹⁰⁶ In any case, a year name mentioning a Šumu-abi found at Susa is unconnected to our Sumu-abum, MU *ša šu-mu-a-bi* (*MDP* 10, 2), see the arguments by Vallat 1996:311.

¹¹⁰⁷ Gautier *Dilbat* 1 (oath by Sumu-abum, dated to Sumu-la-El 6) and *YOS* 14 131 (oath by Sumu-abum).

to the Ikūn-pīša letters we gain a bit more understanding about the political importance of Sumu-abum.¹¹⁰⁸

The most interesting letter of the whole archive is without a doubt *IPLA* 14. It was sent by Ikūn-pīša himself to two (unknown) addressees. He tells how he went to the Amorite assembly and convened with Sumu-abum, Mašparum and Sumun-abi-yarim. He stresses that they are united and that Mašparum will go and talk to Halun-pi-umu about his intentions concerning war or peace. Ikūn-pīša motivates the addressees to also take action. *IPLA* 14 teaches us that Sumu-abum probably led the ‘Amorite assembly’ and that he had an important role amongst the Amorite rulers during his lifetime.¹¹⁰⁹ In the other letters from the archive he is portrayed as having a lot of power: he has an important, but mostly unspecified, role in the Ilum-ma letters (*IPLA* 3, 5, 7 and 9). *IPLA* 7 and 18 are both concerned with audience gifts (*tāmartum*) for Sumu-abum, attesting to his prominence. From *IPLA* 10 we learn that Sumu-la-El was subordinate to him and that Sumu-la-El feared him. In *IPLA* 44 he decides whether a cultic statue of Annunitum goes up to Babylon or not.

7.3.5.3 A letter sent to Sumu-abum

A highly interesting letter (YBC 9955) sent to Sumu-abum by one Sassanatum is in the Yale Babylonian Collection, for a complete edition, see the Appendix, a translation is given here:

¹⁻³ Speak to Sumu-abum, thus says Sassanatum.

⁴⁻⁶ Enlil has appointed you as lord of the armies. ⁷⁻⁸ If you are a father and a lord:

⁹⁻¹¹ Lalātum, she is for an Amorite, give (her)! ¹²⁻¹⁶ However, I, Lalātum, and Ayalala, to ... [...] Rest of reverse broken

^{1'-2'} Do whatever pleases you!

This letter tells us unequivocally that Sumu-abum was a military leader ‘appointed by Enlil’. Such an appointment suggests a link to Nippur but it does not seem that Sumu-abum had a fixed seat of power.¹¹¹⁰ We cannot date this letter but Sumu-abum is explicitly not addressed as king, but as ‘lord of the armies’ (*bēli ummanātīm*). The plural suggests that he commanded several

¹¹⁰⁸ Baqir and Mustafa 1945 mentions that the letter archive also contains a letter sent by Sumu-abum to Ikūn-pīša (IM 49271), unfortunately, the author had no access to this letter.

¹¹⁰⁹ See De Boer 2014 (forthcoming).

¹¹¹⁰ Not until later in his reign when he ruled Kisurra (and perhaps even Isin).

groups. If we combine this information with the fact that Sumu-abum led the *puhur amurrim* ‘Amorite assembly’, we can state that he led a coalition of Amorite tribal leaders and their armies. It is not sure if Sumu-abum and his armies were responsible for the conquest of large parts of Northern Babylonia and the Lower Diyala region. However, many of the rulers in his entourage ended up in towns somewhere in Northern Babylonia and the Lower Diyala: Halun-pi-umu in Marad, Sumu-la-El in Babylon, Sumun-abi-yarim perhaps reigned over a number of towns,¹¹¹¹ Mašparum somewhere in the lower Diyala, and Ilum-ma-Ila in Sippar. Sumu-abum’s name turns up in oaths from Sippar,¹¹¹² Dilbat,¹¹¹³ and Kisurra (see below on Kisurra).¹¹¹⁴

The second part of the letter is also interesting, a woman named Lalâtum is intended for an Amorite (*lalâtum and mār amurrim šī-ma*). ‘An Amorite’ is written as *mār amurrim*: ‘son of Amurrim’, designating either an ethnicity or a class. Unfortunately we do not know who the writer of the letter, Sassanatum, or the other two persons mentioned, Lalâtum and Ayalala, are.

7.3.5.4 A strange tablet concerning Sumu-abum

BM 23751 may or may not have to do with Sumu-abum. It is included here because if it does mention ‘our’ Sumu-abum, its importance would be great. The BM catalogue reads:¹¹¹⁵

Ration list in flour (DABIN ZÌ.GA); GÌR *su-mu-a-bu-um*; ITU ZÍZ.A MU *a-lum-bu-ú*/^{GÌS}TUKUL BA.SÌG.A

The text is published in the Appendix. The date is Sumu-la-El 3 (ca. 1878 BC), month XI. It mentions on its obverse amounts of flour and the names of men, often rare or unusual names. On the reverse we see that ‘responsible’ (GÌR) for the disbursements was Sumu-abum. Some other disbursement entries follow and a total, again with the mention ‘GÌR Sumu-abum’.

The total amount of flour is very large: more than 17 GUR. Was our Sumu-abum acting here as some kind of administrator? The recipients of the flour

¹¹¹¹ See above section 2.3.4.

¹¹¹² *VAS* 8 1 and 2, *MHET* II/1 11.

¹¹¹³ Gautier *Dilbat* 1 and *YOS* 14 131.

¹¹¹⁴ *YOS* 14 128, 351, and *TIM* 5 13.

¹¹¹⁵ Sigrist et al. 2006 (Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum Volume III):6.

look like men of importance: men from Zabalam and Dēr, a man carrying the royal name Abī-madar, a Babylonian called Marduk-nāšir, etc. Were they important dignitaries invited by Sumu-abum for a dinner? Unfortunately, we do not know any of the men in the text.¹¹¹⁶ The term SÁ.DUG₄ (Akkadian *s/šattukku*) for rations is often reserved for important ‘guests’ like citizens and gods.¹¹¹⁷ The name Sumu-abum was of course not exclusive to the Amorite ruler, so another scenario is that we are dealing with a homonym.¹¹¹⁸

7.3.5.5 The conquest of Elip/Kibalmašda

The first attestations of Sumu-abum date to ca. 1890 BC, the last attestations have to do with Sumu-abum’s rule of Kisurra (see below) around 1862 BC. What happened in between? There is a year name concerning Sumu-abum that provides some clues:

mu *e-li-ip iṣ-ša-ab* ^{tu}. ‘The year (in which) Elip was taken’ (VAS 8 1)¹¹¹⁹
mu *e-li-ip iṣ-ša-ab-t* ^u. ‘The year (in which) Elip was taken’ (VAS 8 2, case of VAS 8 1)

This is the only explicit Sumu-abum year name dealing with the conquest of the town of Elip. This event has often been equated with the conquest of Kibalmašda: in the list of Sumu-abum year names later composed, his third year name is called ‘MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} BA.DIB’ ‘The year: he captured Kibalmašda’. This exact year name is found among the Mananâ-dynasty texts.¹¹²⁰ However, these year names are most probably Mananâ year names¹¹²¹, but Mananâ year names could refer to events undertaken by Sumu-abum: a Mananâ year name

¹¹¹⁶ Except perhaps Abī-madar, who might be the same as the ruler from the Diyala region, see above 7.2.3.1.

¹¹¹⁷ Stol 2006-2008b:264-265.

¹¹¹⁸ Homonyms are found in Isin: *su-mu-a-bi-im*, IB 1829:6, (Krebernik 1992:116) and the Kiš and Damrum area: *su-mu-a-bu* DUB.SAR, YOS 14 103:22.

¹¹¹⁹ This text has an oath by Sumu-abum and Šamaš.

¹¹²⁰ MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} BA.DAB₅ (YOS 14 101), MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI}, (TIM 5 38, oath by Nanna and Ma[nana]), MU KI.BAL.[MAŠ.DÀ^{KI}] BA.[DAB₅] (YOS 14 100), MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} (YOS 14 99), MU <KI>.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} IN.DIB (BM 103184), MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} IN.DIB (Kutscher 1971 1) Kutscher 1971 only published a poor translation and one photo of the tablet’s obverse, making it necessary to make some guesses about the tablet’s contents.

¹¹²¹ Also indicated by Simmons 1961:75-77, who dated the text to Mananâ or Sumu-Yamutbal.

explicitly talks about Sumu-abum's conquest of Kazallu (see below). An interesting variant of the Kibalmašda conquest year name is this one:¹¹²²

MU BÀD KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} BA.DÙ 'Year: the fortress of Kibalmašda was built'
(OECT 15 376)

7.3.5.5.1 Excursus: Kibalmašda/Elip in early OB times

The equation Kibalmašda = Elip was first proposed by Reiner in 1961 and has been generally accepted.¹¹²³ Even so, Edzard has some reservations, mainly because we cannot unite the two different etymologies of Sumerian KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ and Akkadian *Ilip/Elip*.¹¹²⁴ Kibalmašda is glossed as [*n*]é-*bir ša-bi-i* (*MSL* 11:14:33),¹¹²⁵ which is a literal translation of the Sumerian, meaning: 'The place of crossing for the gazelle'. The Akkadian word *elip* seems to mean 'boat'. Both etymologies nonetheless suggest a river or canalside location. Charpin in addition has added the equation Elip = Urum, proposing that Urum was an older name of Elip.¹¹²⁶

From a year name of Hammurabi (Ha. 17) we might deduce that Inanna was one of the main deities of Elip. The temple to Inanna here was called É.KI.TUŠ.GIR₁₇.ZAL ('House, abode of Joy').¹¹²⁷ Another obscure year name, only found on *UET* 5 274 and *TIM* 5 58, seems to refer to the destruction of

¹¹²² The text belong to the Šumšunu-watar archive, see chapter 5 section 3.4 sub 3.

¹¹²³ Reiner 1961:123 n. 7 and p. 124. her argument is twofold: she equates the Sumerian version of the 'Sumu-abum 3' year name; MU KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI} BA.DIB with the Akkadian one found on *VAS* 8 1 and 2 MU *e-li-ip iṣ-ša-ab-t[u]*. Her second argument is of a lexical nature, she reads the town (formerly read as Ì.LUL) as Ì.LIP.

¹¹²⁴ Edzard 1976-1980:587.

¹¹²⁵ Kibalmašda is also found in *MSL* 11:60:52, *MSL* 11:13:21, *SLT* 213 viii:15, *RA* 32 p. 170 iii:49 ([KI.BAL].MAŠ.DÀ^{KI}).

¹¹²⁶ Charpin 1978:17.

¹¹²⁷ George 1993:111 and Charpin 1972:18 note 21. The temple was (re)built by Apil-Sîn according to his 9th year name (on this year name cf. Al-Rawi 1994:27). Another year name with apparently the town Kibalmašda is found on *BDHP* 28:32, MU¹ KI.BAL.MAŠ¹.DA^{1KI1} (see also Stol 2002:735-736).

Marad and Kibalmašda.¹¹²⁸ Charpin suspects that Elip was located at tell no. 248 between Kiš and Marad in the survey of the environs of Kiš by Gibson.¹¹²⁹

An inhabitant of Kibalmašda,¹¹³⁰ called Mār-Purattim, is mentioned in *AbB* 11 83:3. Another inhabitant is found in *TEBA* 32:2 (dated Aš 16) : Eppeš-ilum is qualified as GÌR.NITA₂ of KI.BAL.MAŠ.DÀ^{KI}, he receives an amount of grain. An unnamed female worker comes from Ilip in *YOS* 13 111:2-3. *YOS* 13 281:4-5 mentions Sîn-iddinam, a shepherd, as someone living in Ilip, the same man seems also to be present in *YOS* 13 317:3. The town Ilip/Kibalmašda is found in more (late) OB texts; in *YOS* 13 105:3-4, barley and silver is received for the harvest along the canal of Kibalmašda. In a land register, Kibalmašda appears after the name of a village.¹¹³¹ *AUCT* V 43, a receipt of silver for dates, seems to have been written in Kibalmašda.¹¹³²

7.3.5.6 The fall of Kazallu at the hands of Isin, Babylon and Sumu-abum around 1863-62 BC

The importance of Kazallu in OB politics has been underrated and we lack meaningful texts informing us about Kazallu's rulers. Around 1863-62 BC Kazallu had to endure an attack for the third (and not last) time in 40 years. As usual, we do not know what provoked this attack on Kazallu, but it seems to have been a coordinated attack by three rulers: Sumu-la-El of Babylon, Erra-imitti of Isin, and Sumu-abum. All these rulers have a year name commemorating the attack on Kazallu:

- Erra-imitti e: MU ^dèr.ra-i-mi-ti, BÀD ka-zal-lu^{ki}, BA.HUL (*YOS* 14 319:24-26)
- Sumu-abum '13': MU ka-zal-lu^{ki} i-ša-ab-tu (*R* 11)
 - MU ka-zal-lu^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*RA* 8 1)
 - MU ka-zal-lu^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*RSM* 34)
 - MU ka-zal-lu^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*YOS* 14 114)
 - MU ka-zal-lu^{ki} BA.AN.D[ÍB] (*RSM* 44)

¹¹²⁸ *UET* 5 274:37, MU ^rma^l-ra-ad^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB. *TIM* 5 58:22-23, MU ma^l-ra-ad^{ki}, ù ^rURU KI.BAL^r.

¹¹²⁹ Charpin 1978:22, Gibson 1972. The argument made by Reiner 1961:124 and Edzard 1976-1980:586 that Elip was most likely situated near Sippar is contestable: the geopolitical situation favours a localization in the Kiš-Marad region.

¹¹³⁰ The same information in this part was also provided by Pientka 1998:451.

¹¹³¹ *OECT* 15 2 ii:5': URU mi-^x-ur-DINGIR KI.BAL.MA[Š.DÀ^{KI}].

¹¹³² This text belongs to other similar texts from *AUCT* V: 44, 45 and 46.

- MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*OECT* 13 280)
- MU *ka-zal-[lu]*^{ki} BA.A[N.DÍB] (*YOS* 14 108)
- [m]u *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*RSM* 48)
- MU *kà-za-lu-uk*^{ki} IN.DÍB (*OECT* 13 282)
- MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} *sa-mu-a-bi-im* IN.DÍB (*RA* 8 2)
- MU [*k*]*a-zal-[l]u*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*RSM* 35)
- MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*RSM* 53)
- MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*RSM* 52)
- MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (*RSM* 54)
- [MU *k*]*a-zal-lu*^{ki} [*sa-mu-a*]-*bi-im* IN.DÍB (BM 103175)
- MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.AN.DÍB (BM 103196)
- Sumu-la-El: MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.HUL (*MAOG* 4 MD 6:17)
- MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki}, ^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.DIB (Testi Cuneiformi di Vario Contenuto Torino 748)
- MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.H[UL] (*Speleers* 232:25)

The Sumu-la-El year names give us the best chronological ‘hold’: the event can be dated to either ca. 1863, 1861 or 1856: there are three official Sumu-la-El year names connected to Kazallu (according to the list of year names):¹¹³³

- Sumu-la-El 18: MU *ia-ah-zi-ir*-DINGIR šà *ka-zal-lu*-TA BA.RA.È ‘Year: Yahzir-El was driven from Kazallu’.
- Sumu-la-El 20: MU BÀD *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.HUL ù ERIN₂.BI ^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.SÌG ‘Year: the wall of Kazallu was destroyed and its army was defeated’.
- Sumu-la-El 25: MU *ia-ah-zi-ir*-DINGIR ^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.SÌG ‘Year: Yahzir-El was defeated by weapons’.

These are year names found in a much later written list. Actual texts dated to Sumu-la-El show another picture: there are only two variants, ‘Year: Kazallu was destroyed’ (MU *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} BA.HUL) and ‘Year: Yahzir-El was defeated by weapons’ (MU *ia-ah-zi-ir*-DINGIR ^{GIŠ}TUKUL BA.SÌG).¹¹³⁴ We can safely equate Sumu-la-El 25 with this latter actually attested year name. But what about Sumu-la-El 18 and 20? Which of these represent the actually attested year name ‘The year: Kazallu was destroyed’? Perhaps both? The question is which of the Sumu-la-El Kazallu year names coincide with Erra-imitti’s and Sumu-

¹¹³³ Horsnell 1999:53-56.

¹¹³⁴ See the Appendix to chapter 5 for the year names.

abum's year names. Erra-imitti's rule lasted from ca. 1870 to 1863, making it likely that we have to go with Sumu-la-El 18. This hypothesis automatically makes Erra-imitti's Kazallu year name his last one.

The year name commemorating Sumu-abum's attack on Kazallu is actually a Mananâ year name: on two of the tablets with this year name we see an oath sworn by Mananâ.¹¹³⁵ It is therefore anachronistic to refer to this year name as 'Sumu-abum 13'. The same is true for another supposed Sumu-abum year name ('3'): 'The year: he took Kibalmašda'. Mananâ's rule was between ca. 1876 and 1860.¹¹³⁶

It seems likely that Yahzir-El was ruling Kazallu at the time of the three-pronged attack in 1863-62. Perhaps Marad was also captured in the wake of Kazallu's defeat, because Sumu-la-El's year names turn up at Marad starting with 'Year: Kazallu was destroyed'.¹¹³⁷ Marad stayed under Babylon's sway for at least a few more years.¹¹³⁸

7.3.5.7 The aftermath: Sumu-abum becomes king of Kisurra

Sumu-abum participated in the defeat of Kazallu, just as Sumu-la-El of Babylon and Erra-imitti of Isin did. The only attestation of Erra-imitti's year name alluding to Kazallu's defeat comes from a Kisurra text. This Kisurra text belongs to the archive of a man called UR-ZI.EDIN.NA. Five known texts belong to this archive with the following dates:

- YOS 14 344:33-34: MUBÀD É.HÚB.BA^{ki} *ib-ni-ša-du-um* BA.AN.DÍB (Ibni-šadûm e/X)
- YOS 14 319:24-26: MU ^d*èr.ra-i-mi-ti*, BÀD *ka-zal-lu^{ki}*, BA.HUL (Erra-imitti e)
- YOS 14 128:26: MU ^d*sú-mu-a-bu-um* LUGAL ('Year: Sumu-abum is king'/XI)
- TIM 5 13:28: [MU ^d*sú-m*]*u-^ra-bu^r*-[*um*] ^rLUGAL^r (Year: 'Sumu-abum is king')
- NBC 6318:13: MU ^d*sú-mu-a-bu-um* /LUGAL (Year: 'Sumu-abum is king/XI')¹¹³⁹

If the above reconstruction of events is correct, Kazallu's defeat happened around 1863-62. This coincides with the supposed penultimate year of Erra-imitti, year e. When we follow the accepted Kisurra chronology, Ibni-šadûm's

¹¹³⁵ RA 8 1 and TIM 5 38, see the Appendix to chapter 5.

¹¹³⁶ see chapter 5 on the chronology of the Mananâ kings.

¹¹³⁷ Speleers 232.

¹¹³⁸ At least until the reign of Sabium, De Boer 2013a:88-89.

¹¹³⁹ This text is published in the Appendix.

reign is to be situated much earlier in time, around 1880-1885 BC.¹¹⁴⁰ So, somewhere around the period 1885-1862 we would also have to place Sumu-abum's ephemeral reign over Kisurra.¹¹⁴¹ However, the current consensus is that Kisurra lost its independence to Larsa after Ibni-šadûm's reign around 1885.¹¹⁴² The basis for this conclusion consists of the 'foreign' year names found in the Kisurra texts. The principle is simple: a non-indigenous year name (eg. Larsa or Isin) equals foreign domination. Sommerfeld found a period of 22 years without foreign year names in Kisurra, from 1920/1915 BC to ca. 1885 BC and he placed the Kisurra kings in this period of independency. The new Kisurra texts published by Goddeeris 2009 have already invalidated this period as 'fully independent': we have at least two new year names from the beginning of Bûr-Sîn's reign (ca. 1897).¹¹⁴³

The principle 'foreign year name = foreign rule' is still much used in Assyriology,¹¹⁴⁴ but is not tenable in all cases: reality was much more complicated. Proof for this is provided by Van Koppen and Lacambre who showed that Ešnunna year names could easily turn up in Sippar as a result of trade or family relations: there is no need to state that Ešnunna ever ruled Sippar.¹¹⁴⁵ Another example is found at late OB Harradum (ruled by Babylon), here we find two texts dated with Assyrian eponyms.¹¹⁴⁶ So there are reasons enough to question both the accepted old and the newer Kisurra chronology proposed

¹¹⁴⁰ Sommerfeld 1983b:229. A completely different chronology for the rulers of Kisurra is proposed by Tyborowski 2012. He also places Ibni-šadûm's reign later, albeit even later than here: he proposes (p. 259): 1862?-1856? (the question marks are his). Tyborowski also places Sumu-abum's reign over Kisurra after Ibni-šadûm (p. 258).

¹¹⁴¹ Tyborowski 2012:248 proposes Sumu-abum as the ruler of Uruk, following Sommerfeld 1983:28.

¹¹⁴² Sommerfeld 1983b:229, Charpin 2004a:75 and implicitly Goddeeris 2009:71-72.

¹¹⁴³ *Santag* 9 101 (mu ^dbur-^dEN.ZU LUGAL), 202 (M[U ^{bur}]-^dEN.ZU LUGAL *iš-ba-tu* and 199 (MU ^dbur-^dEN.ZU LUGAL MU.2.KAM).

¹¹⁴⁴ Tyborowski 2012 uses this principle in his reconstruction of Kisurra chronology: every year name belonging to an Isin, Larsa, Babylon or Uruk king is interpreted as a change in Kisurra's leadership. The reigns of the indigenous Kisurra kings are fitted in between these episodes of 'foreign rule'. This results in a chronology in which Kisurra changes hands almost every five years over a period of more than sixty years (Tyborowski 2012:260-262).

¹¹⁴⁵ Van Koppen and Lacambre 2008-2009.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Haradum* II 29 (*li-mu a-bi-30*), 41 (*[li-m]u wa-ar-k[i...]*).

by Tyborowski 2012. In fact, the UR-ZI.EDIN.NA archive could point us towards a totally different chronology.¹¹⁴⁷

As argued in the chapter on the chronology of the archives from Damrum, we may expect small archives and files to be chronologically restricted in time, not stretched out over decades. The only certainty we have for UR-ZI.EDIN.NA's archive is the date of Erra-imitti e found on YOS 14 319. We might expect the other texts to be close in time to this date: this means that we should place Sumu-abum's and Ibni-šadûm's reigns in Kisurra also around 1865. How can we do this? Another year name of Erra-imitti's eight year reign, 'Erra-imitti d' states that Kisurra was destroyed.¹¹⁴⁸ This must have happened before YOS 14 319 (with date 'Erra-imitti e'), which was written in Kisurra. Erra-imitti of Isin must have defeated either Sumu-abum or Ibni-šadûm. According to the above hypothesis concerning Kazallu's defeat, Erra-imitti was in a coalition with Sumu-abum, so Ibni-šadûm is the most likely candidate to have been defeated by Erra-imitti somewhere between ca. 1870 and 1865 BC. This would place Sumu-abum in charge of Kisurra either after Kazallu's defeat or after Erra-imitti's death, somewhere between ca. 1865 and 1860.

We can only speculate on the exact details: Erra-imitti could have 'rewarded' Sumu-abum with Kisurra's kingship. Or, Sumu-abum could have turned against Erra-imitti after Kazallu's fall and have been instrumental in his death. Mesopotamian tradition recounts an unlikely story about Erra-imitti's death: he had put the 'gardener' Enlil-bāni on the throne as substitute king in order to thwart bad omens, but Erra-imitti died nonetheless ('whilst drinking small sips of a hot brew') and Enlil-bāni stayed on the throne.¹¹⁴⁹

This is not all: there is an obscure royal chronicle from OB Nippur,¹¹⁵⁰ mentioning Sumu-abum as having ruled 8 months after a man called (lines 2'-4'): d[ī[r...], u[r...], DUMU nu mu [...]. Unfortunately we do not know have the full name of the man who ruled 8 years before Sumu-abum's eight months rule, but it is tempting to reconstruct ^dè[r-ra-i-mi-ti]: Erra-imitti ruled for eight

¹¹⁴⁷ This hypothesis revolving around Kisurra's chronology only concern the rulers from Ibni-šadûm onwards (ca. 1885-1860 BC). For now, this study has followed the older chronology established by Sommerfeld 1983 for the Kisurra kings before Ibni-šadûm.

¹¹⁴⁸ MU ^dèr.ra-i-mi-ti KI.SUR.RA^{KI} BA.HUL, found on ARN 6, 4 NT 82, PBS 8/2 103 and a MU.ÚS.SA variant 'year after' is on Santag 9 216: MU.ÚS.SA KI.SUR.RA^{KI} ^dèr.ra-i-mi-ti BA.AN.DÍB. Previous literature: Sommerfeld 1983b:226-227 and Charpin 1979b:191.

¹¹⁴⁹ See the commentary by Glassner 1999:162-163.

¹¹⁵⁰ Glassner 2004:126-127, JCS 15 p. 79 (N.1610) and PBS IV/1 p. 81.

years according to the Sumerian King List.¹¹⁵¹ However, such a reconstruction would mean that Sumu-abum ruled Isin, for which there is no other evidence. Even so, we have to mention that a man called Sumu-abum occurs in the Isin text IB 1829,¹¹⁵² as being responsible to deliver sacrificial animals to Nippur. The text belongs to the so-called ‘Mehl-Archiv’.

The current consensus about Kisurra chronology states that Ibni-šadûm was ‘defeated’ around 1885. This is hard to link with the diplomatic ties he concluded by marrying the daughter of Sumu-El, the king of Larsa.¹¹⁵³ Why would Larsa conquer Kisurra (or let it be conquered), if the daughter of Larsa’s king was married to Kisurra’s king?¹¹⁵⁴ It is much more likely that Ibni-šadûm was a vassal of Larsa between ca. 1885-1865, and that he was eventually defeated by Erra-imitî of nearby Isin.¹¹⁵⁵ This would also explain the many Sumu-El year names found in the Kisurra texts: a vassal state should have little problems in occasionally using the year names of its overlord.

Back to Sumu-abum: his rule in Kisurra seems very short-lived:¹¹⁵⁶ the only Sumu-abum ‘year name’ found here looks like an accession-year name (‘year 1’).¹¹⁵⁷ Sumu-abum’s name carries a divine determinative, which is no surprise: it fits in the southern (Isin) traditions of deifying the king. The fact that we have no other ‘official’ Sumu-abum year names could mean that we have

¹¹⁵¹ Glassner 2004:124-125.

¹¹⁵² Date: Enlil-bāni L², published by Krebernik 1992:116.

¹¹⁵³ This information was not known to Sommerfeld in 1983, see Charpin 2002.

¹¹⁵⁴ These things nonetheless happened: Ibal-Addu, king of Ašlakkâ was married to a daughter of Zimri-Lim. He rebelled against his father-in-law after years of vassalship (cf. Charpin and Ziegler 2003:239-240).

¹¹⁵⁵ Who in turn must have seen his chance to retake Kisurra after Sumu-El’s problems in the latter part of his reign (cf. Charpin 2004a:78) and eventual death around 1866. Charpin 2004a:101, (following Van Dijk 1965:15) suspect that Sumu-El’s successor on Larsa’s throne (Nûr-Adad) might have been a usurpator.

¹¹⁵⁶ The letter *AbB* 2 122 contains perhaps another reference to Sumu-abum’s time in Kisurra, or at least the south of Mesopotamia. *AbB* 2 122 belongs to a group of letters (*AbB* 2 117-131 and *AbB* 13 54-59) addressed to (mostly) two men called Lu-Bau and Lipit-Ištar (occasionally also other men) by Ahum-ma. The contents and museum numbers of these letters point towards Southern Mesopotamia, even though Van Soldt 1994:ix thinks of Umma as the most likely point of origin. See also the remarks by Sommerfeld 1983b:220 n. 51.

¹¹⁵⁷ The Kisurra text *YOS* 14 351 and the one published by Goddeeris 2002a carry the same year name ‘Sumu-abum 1’, but they seem unconnected to Ur-zi.edin.na’s archive.

simply not found any other ones yet, or that Sumu-abum died or was chased away from Kisurra in his first regnal year.¹¹⁵⁸

The most likely further scenario for Kisurra seems to be that Isin was in control, even though we have no dated texts from the reigns of the Isin kings after Erra-imitti¹¹⁵⁹. Almost sixty years later we learn that Rīm-Sîn of Larsa conquered and annexed Kisurra (Rīm-Sîn year 20).

7.3.6 *Sumu-la-El's reign*

After having discussed Sumu-abum, it is time to focus on that other large political figure from Northern Babylonia: Sumu-la-El, the first king of Babylon.¹¹⁶⁰ He ruled from ca. 1880 to 1845 BC. The 'roots' of Sumu-la-El are unknown. He was considered by the other kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon as the founder of their dynasty.¹¹⁶¹ However, he still could have been a relative of Sumu-abum: we just do not know.

Puzzling is the reference to 'an emblem' (^{GIŠ}SU.NIR) of Sumu-la-El and an offering (SISKUR₂) by Sumu-la-El found in a text from Ur, dated to the year Gungunum 7 (= ca. 1926 BC).¹¹⁶² This Sumu-la-El must have been an earlier homonym of Babylon's king.

We know several *Beamtennamen* composed with 'Sumu-la-El':¹¹⁶³

- Sumu-la-El-nada: 'Praise Sumu-la-El!' (unprovenanced).¹¹⁶⁴
- Sumu-la-El-dūri: 'Sumu-la-El is my fortress' (Nērebtum, school exercise).¹¹⁶⁵

¹¹⁵⁸ For the latter possibility there is actually some proof: *Santag* 9 21 carries the year name: 'Year Sumu-abum that returned to his city' (15-16, mu ša su-mu-a-bu-um, a-na a-li-šu i-tu-ru). The same remark was made by Goddeeris 2009:16 n. 5. This year name is found in Sîn-bāni's archive, which has mostly undated texts, texts with unattributable year names, and one dated to Kisurra king Ubāya year c.

¹¹⁵⁹ Contra Tyborowski 2012:258.

¹¹⁶⁰ Goddeeris 2012b, Charpin 2004a:94-95, and earlier Edzard 1957:124-126.

¹¹⁶¹ See the evidence assembled by Charpin 2004a:81 n. 273.

¹¹⁶² U 2588, published by Loding 1976:240 as no. 7.

¹¹⁶³ These are names usually carried by royal officials, styled as a prayer for the king. An up-to-date study of this type of personal names is lacking, see the bibliography in Stol 1991:204 n. 131.

¹¹⁶⁴ *AbB* 13 151 (addressee, not: Sumu-la-^dnada, see Edzard's review of *AbB* 13 in *ZA* 85:143).

¹¹⁶⁵ *OBTIV* 281:3.

- Sumu-la-El-libluṭ: ‘May Sumu-la-El live!’ (unprovenanced, receipt).¹¹⁶⁶

7.3.6.1 Sumu-la-El in the Ikūn-pīša Letter Archive

In the Ikūn-pīša letters Sumu-la-El seems to be subordinate to Sumu-abum and even fearful of him.¹¹⁶⁷ Some special connection must have existed between Sumu-la-El and Sumu-abum because in *IPLA* 18 they are travelling together. Sumu-la-El wrote two letters to Ikūn-pīša (*IPLA* 10: to both Ikūn-pīša’s, and 11). From one of these (*IPLA* 10) we learn that king Halun-pi-umu and he actually worked together: the same person that he defeated in his second regnal year. *IPLA* 11 concerns the dispatch of a messenger called Erībam and Sumu-la-El’s problem about not having any silver at hand. In *IPLA* 33 there is talk about a *rābiṣum* in the service of Sumu-la-El. In *IPLA* 40 there is mention of a field belonging to Sumu-la-El that was reassigned to Ikūn-pīša, son of Arwium.¹¹⁶⁸

Curiously, nothing in the *IPLA* letters hints at Sumu-la-El’s royal position. This is perhaps due to the early date of the archive: it is either from the beginning of Sumu-la-El’s reign, or it predates his time as king of Babylon. Another explanation is that Sumu-la-El wrote the letters to Ikūn-pīša, not as a king, but as a private person. The exactly same phenomenon happens in the Old Assyrian corpus: the king of Assur (called the *waklum* in his letters) sometimes wrote to the *kārum* in Kaneš on official business, but on other occasions he would write as a private person about his own business enterprises to traders in Kaneš.¹¹⁶⁹

7.3.6.2 Babylon’s ally: Uruk

Sumu-la-El had an important ally in the kingdom of Uruk. The first known rulers of Uruk had Amorite names: Sumu-binasa¹¹⁷⁰ and Alila-hadum.¹¹⁷¹ Their

¹¹⁶⁶ *CUSAS* 14 79:3, dated to Rīm-Sîn I.

¹¹⁶⁷ In *IPLA* 7 Ilum-ma wants to give a shekel of gold to Sumu-abum and a jar of wine to both Sumu-la-El and Immerum. In *IPLA* 10, Sumu-la-El fears repercussions if the two Ikūn-pīša’s do not deliver 10 minas of gold.

¹¹⁶⁸ See also *AbB* 6 177:23-25, where the writer warns the addressee that an amount of barley belongs to Sumu-la-El.

¹¹⁶⁹ See Michel 2001:61-76 and Kryszat 2004.

¹¹⁷⁰ Goddeeris 2012c and Sommerfeld 1983b:221-225. For the year names: Goddeeris 2009:16.

year names are only known from Kisurra, they perhaps ruled Uruk around ca. 1920-1910 BC.¹¹⁷² The next ruler known to us is Narām-Sîn, who must have ruled shortly before Sîn-kāšid of Uruk (ca. 1865 BC).¹¹⁷³

Only with Sîn-kāšid we are sure about good relations with Babylon:¹¹⁷⁴ one of Sumu-la-El's daughters, Šallurtum, was married to Sîn-kāšid¹¹⁷⁵ (another daughter of his, Ayalatum, was a *nadītum* in Sippar's cloister).¹¹⁷⁶ Falkenstein dates the beginning of Sîn-kāšid's dynasty to about 1865-60.¹¹⁷⁷ He was an enterprising king and numerous clay cones carrying his inscriptions are found in collections around the world. One of the more salient features of these inscriptions is the claim that he was 'king of the Amnānum', from the Mari archives known to be a Benjaminite tribe. Falkenstein concludes that he must have reigned a long time, because his successor Sin-erībam left no inscriptions, although a synchronism between him and Warad-Sîn of Larsa's 6th year name exists (1829).¹¹⁷⁸

The German excavations of Uruk in the 1960's found hundreds of texts in a palace built by Sîn-kāšid.¹¹⁷⁹ However, none of these texts are dated by Sîn-kāšid year names; instead they stem from the reigns of his successors:¹¹⁸⁰ Sîn-erībam, Sîn-gāmil, Ilum-gāmil, Anam, Irdanene, and Nabi-ilīšu.

The administrative texts (even though most are dated after 1830 BC) from the palace provide more tantalizing clues about the close connections between the royal houses of Uruk and Babylon.¹¹⁸¹ Some examples: a man from Babylon receives a silver axe,¹¹⁸² Babylonian troops receive ceremonial weap-

¹¹⁷¹ Sommerfeld 1983b:221-225, for the year names: Goddeeris 2009:16.

¹¹⁷² In any case before Sumu-El 5 (Year: he defeated Uruk) in 1890 BC.

¹¹⁷³ Three inscriptions of Narām-Sîn are known: see Von Dassow 2009 and Sanati-Müller 2011.

¹¹⁷⁴ Charpin 2004a:108-109.

¹¹⁷⁵ The fact is known through a seal impression found at Uruk: Frayne 1990 E4.4.1.16.

¹¹⁷⁶ *a-ia-la-tum*, CT 47 11:24, Sîn-muballit, *a-ia-la-tum* DUMU.MUNUS [*su-m*]u-la-[DINGIR], Al 'Adhami 1997:73-75(envelope):33, Apil-Sîn 2, ^d*a-a-la-tum* DUMU.MUNUS *sumu-la-DINGIR*, CT 8 29b:22, Apil-Sîn.

¹¹⁷⁷ Falkenstein 1963:7.

¹¹⁷⁸ YOS 5 124.

¹¹⁷⁹ Falkenstein 1963, Mauer 1987.

¹¹⁸⁰ The place of Etēya in the sequence of Uruk rulers is unknown, see Frayne 1990 E4.4.5.

¹¹⁸¹ The texts were published over many years by Sanati-Müller 1988-2000, see the comments by Charpin and Durand 1993. For other OB text groups from Uruk: Mauer 1987, Cavigneaux 1996, and Reiter and Waetzoldt 1996.

¹¹⁸² Sanati-Müller 1990 no. 106.

ons,¹¹⁸³ a large amount of copper is received from Babylon,¹¹⁸⁴ there is perhaps even an allusion to direct relations between Sabium of Babylon and Uruk,¹¹⁸⁵ etc.

Perhaps the most famous evidence for the Uruk-Babylon connection is a letter written by Uruk's king Anam to Sîn-muballiṭ of Babylon.¹¹⁸⁶ The letter was found in the Sîn-kāšid palace, together with the remnants of other diplomatic letters and a treaty.¹¹⁸⁷ The Anam letter was either never sent or it was a copy kept by Uruk's chancellery for future reference. Anam addresses the grievances of Sîn-muballiṭ who complains that Babylonian troops were not allowed to enter Uruk or to parade in front of Uruk's noblemen. Babylon had manifestly sent troops to the south to help Uruk against either Isin or Larsa. The letter calls the troops of Babylon 'of Amnān-Yāhrūr'¹¹⁸⁸ and states that Uruk and Babylon 'are (like) one house'.¹¹⁸⁹ These are certainly references to a common tribal ancestry. The letter also mentions that Babylonian troops had helped Uruk two or three times before¹¹⁹⁰ and that Sabium came to Uruk with one thousand soldiers:¹¹⁹¹ perhaps to do battle with Larsa in Sabium's 4th year?¹¹⁹²

7.3.6.3 The unification of Northern Babylonia by Sumu-la-El

As the king of Babylon, Sumu-la-El managed to unite Northern Babylonia into one state to rival other kingdoms such as Ešnunna, Larsa, Isin, Malgium, and Uruk. He took power in seemingly all Northern Babylonian cities, replacing

¹¹⁸³ Sanati-Müller 1990 no. 108.

¹¹⁸⁴ Sanati-Müller 1990 no. 140.

¹¹⁸⁵ Sanati-Müller 1990 no. 100, with the proposed new reading by Charpin and Durand 1993:369-370.

¹¹⁸⁶ W 20473 *Editio princeps* by Falkenstein 1963:56-71, a recent English translation is by Van Koppen 2006:127-130. For the problems surrounding the date of the letter (Sîn-muballiṭ supposedly ruled Babylon after Anam ruled Uruk), see Charpin 2004a:111 n. 460.

¹¹⁸⁷ Mauer 1987 no. 6-17. Unfortunately, most of these letters are merely fragments, except for the Anam letter to Sîn-muballiṭ.

¹¹⁸⁸ W 20473i: 2, 29, ii:27, iii:30, 39. Several Uruk kings claim to have an Amnanum ancestry: Sîn-kāšid in numerous inscriptions (see Frayne 1990 E4.4.1f p. 440-464) and Sîn-gāmil (Frayne 1990 E4.4.3 p. 466).

¹¹⁸⁹ W 20473 ii:1-2 *an-na* UNUG^{KI} ù K[Á.DINGIR.R]A^{rKI}, *bi-tum iš-te-en-ma*.

¹¹⁹⁰ W 20473 iii:30-32.

¹¹⁹¹ W 20473 iii:36-37.

¹¹⁹² As is commemorated in his 5th year: 'The year: he defeated the troops of Larsa (...)', Horsnell 1999 volume 2:67.

local rulers. This process shows parallels with how Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna unified the Lower Diyala region several years later.

The main framework of events for Sumu-la-El's conquests comes from his list of year names.¹¹⁹³ In fact, Sumu-la-El's military exploits show a two-tiered approach: the annexation of cities coupled with the building of fortresses and fortifications.

The first military act of Sumu-la-El was during his second year (1879 BC) and this was an act of restoration: Halun-pi-umu of Marad had taken Dilbat from Babylon. Sumu-la-El acted swiftly and took it back, while in the process Halun-pi-umu lost his throne and probably his life.¹¹⁹⁴ These events were commemorated in his third and fourth year name.

The attack by Halun-pi-umu must have caught Sumu-la-El off guard and in his fourth year (1877 BC) he (re)built the walls of Babylon itself.

The next military encounter was with Yawium of Kiš in 1869 BC.¹¹⁹⁵ The defeat and annexation of nearby Kiš was apparently a huge event, because it was commemorated in five Babylonian year names in a row: Sumu-la-El 13 to 17.¹¹⁹⁶ Kiš' defensive walls were eventually destroyed seven years later.

In 1864 BC Sumu-la-El teamed up with Sumu-abum and Isin to teach Yahzir-El of Kazallu a lesson.¹¹⁹⁷ Two years later Kazallu's walls were torn down and apparently its army was again defeated. The main culprit Yahzir-El was eventually defeated in 1857 BC.

The year 1857 was a special year for Sumu-la-El now for another reason: he proclaimed a *mīšarum* edict conjointly with Sumu-Yamutbal of Damrum. We know of this *mīšarum* because it was mentioned specifically in texts from Sippar and Damrum.¹¹⁹⁸

¹¹⁹³ We will follow here the list of year names BM 92702, lastly reedited by Horsnell 1999 volume 1:234-246.

¹¹⁹⁴ See section 7.3.3 for the details.

¹¹⁹⁵ See already section 7.3.1 for Yawium.

¹¹⁹⁶ I had first thought that five year names commemorating Kiš' defeat was excessive, and that something must have happened in the transmission of Sumu-la-El's list of year names. In Horsnell's list of actually attested year names (Horsnell 1999 volume 2:52-53) we do not find any attestations of the third, fourth or fifth year name after Kiš was destroyed. However, on an unpublished text (BM 103190) we can read: MU.4.KAM.MA KIŠ^{KI} BA.[HUL].

¹¹⁹⁷ See section 7.3.5.4 and De Boer 2013a:88.

¹¹⁹⁸ Sometimes it is called a *šimdatum*, but *šimdatum* and *mīšarum* were used interchangeably in this period (Goddeeris 2002:326, De Boer 2012). This *mīšarum/šimdatum*

Sumu-la-El's 27th year name commemorates the building of the wall of Kutha and the (building) of the AN.ZA.GÀR (= *dintum*, tower or stronghold) of Ur.ku.¹¹⁹⁹ There are some indications that Kutha was an independent city before Sumu-la-El took over:¹²⁰⁰ a year name from Šaduppûm mentions that a certain Ilum-nāšir of Kutha died;¹²⁰¹ another year name from the same site states that '[PN]...a son of Kutha died.'¹²⁰² A similar situation might have been the case with Borsippa: there is some evidence for Borsippa's independence after the fall of the Ur III empire.¹²⁰³ The year after the building of Kutha's walls, Sumu-la-El brought a '*bursallu*' bowl into Borsippa (year 28).

The Northern Babylonian city Lagaba, mostly known because of its extensive archives from the reigns of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna,¹²⁰⁴ appeared to have had an independent ruler as well. In *TIM* 5 22:16-17 we see that an oath is sworn by the local deity Ištar of Lagaba and one Mutum-me-El.¹²⁰⁵ This otherwise undated sale contract has many archaic features and must be early Old Babylonian.

Sumu-la-El's 29th year name commemorates the building of Sippar's city walls (in 1853); this year marks the date when Sippar had definitely lost its independence to Babylon. Two years later, the city walls of Habus near Kiš were built.¹²⁰⁶ A year name of Sumu-la-El, not found in the canonical list of year names, states that he had also built Dilbat's walls.¹²⁰⁷ To summarize: in the latter part of his reign, Sumu-la-El sought to consolidate his kingdom by building many fortresses.

was studied in detail already by Kraus 1984:51-54, Goddeeris 2002:332-333, with a supplement by De Boer 2012.

¹¹⁹⁹ On this toponym 'Ur.ku', see Horsnell 1999 volume 2:57 n. 33.

¹²⁰⁰ Not indicated by Edzard and Gallery 1980-1983.

¹²⁰¹ Hussein 2008:81: MU *ša* DINGIR-*na-ši-ir* GÚ.DU₈.A^{KI} BA.UG₇.

¹²⁰² Ahmad 1964 A.43: M[U...], DUMU GÚ.DU₈.A^{KI} BA.UG₇.

¹²⁰³ See chapter 7 section 4.5.

¹²⁰⁴ See Barberon 2012:58-60 for a recent overview and bibliography.

¹²⁰⁵ I thank prof. M. Stol for pointing this out to me. Edzard 1970b:45 was the first to have read the deity's name correctly (mu *iš₃-tár¹-la-ga-b*[*a^{KI}*]), but he read the name of the ruler as *mu-tu-we-di*. Such a name makes no sense, after Stol (personal communication) it is better to read: *mu-tu-me¹-el*.

¹²⁰⁶ Pientka 1998 volume 2:367.

¹²⁰⁷ Horsnell 1999 volume 2:62-63.

In a much later royal inscription, Samsu-iluna writes that he had restored six fortresses originally built by Sumu-la-El.¹²⁰⁸ Each fortress was dedicated to a god:

- Dimat-Enlil to Ninmah
- Pada to Adad
- Lagaba to Šin
- Yabušum to Lugal-asal¹²⁰⁹
- Gulaba to Nergal¹²¹⁰
- Uši-ana-Erra to Nergal

This inscription seems to be paralleled by Samsu-iluna's 17th year name :

‘The year: Samsu-iluna, the king, (restored and rebuilt) the great fortresses of Emutbalum which had been destroyed.’¹²¹¹

For Lagaba it is certain that it was not located in Emutbalum.¹²¹² Likewise, Dimat-Enlil could either be in Sippar's vicinity,¹²¹³ or near Nippur.¹²¹⁴ Pada was somewhere in North or Central Babylonia.¹²¹⁵ Gulaba lay probably also somewhere to the north.¹²¹⁶ Yabašum's and Uši-ana-Erra's approximate location remains unknown. Perhaps some of these fortresses lay towards the south of the Northern Babylonian territory: they were intended by Samsu-iluna to protect the core of the kingdom against incursions from the Sealand Dynasty.¹²¹⁷ In the time of Sumu-la-El the fortresses must have been built as protection against mainly Larsa and to a lesser extent Isin. Whether or not Sumu-la-El controlled other ‘petty kings’ throughout Northern Babylonia prior to his conquests remains to be seen.

¹²⁰⁸ Frayne 1990 E4.3.7.5.

¹²⁰⁹ A netherworld god associated with Nergal: Krebern timer 1987-1990.

¹²¹⁰ Written as BĀD URU *gu-la-BĀD*^{KI}, see Steinkeller 1992:105 no. 68:3.

¹²¹¹ Translation by Horsnell 1999 volume 2:204.

¹²¹² It lay on a canal between the Euphrates and Kutha: Tammuz 1996b.

¹²¹³ Harris 1975:382.

¹²¹⁴ *RGTC* 2:31.

¹²¹⁵ Streck 2003-2005a.

¹²¹⁶ Steinkeller 1986:40 n. 64, with *RGTC* 3:11 (Al-Gula).

¹²¹⁷ Charpin 2004a p.347 n. 1801 interprets the region Emutbalum from the year name as the area around Maškan-šapir.

7.3.6.4 The end of Sumu-la-El's reign

The last year names of Sumu-la-El are unknown, mainly because the only extant date list is damaged towards the end.¹²¹⁸ However, from the files of Ibbitlabrat and Ea-dāpin¹²¹⁹ we can get an idea of some of the other later Sumu-la-El year names. Sumu-la-El 34 recounts how the king defeated somebody in 1848 BC.¹²²⁰ The date list BM 92702 does not preserve the name of the defeated city, but the unpublished text YBC 12224 (from Ea-dāpin's file) does: MU ERIN₂ GIŠ.AL^{KI} GIŠ.TUKUL BA.SIG 'Year: the troops of GIŠ.AL were defeated by weapons'.¹²²¹ It is possible to interpret the sign /al/ as /kušu₂/, to obtain the logogram for the city of Umma (GIŠ.KUŠU₂).¹²²² However, it seems unlikely that Sumu-la-El penetrated this deep into southern Mesopotamia.

Sumu-la-El was succeeded on the throne by Sabium in 1844 BC, seemingly without problems: Sabium and Sumu-la-El are mentioned together in at least two texts.¹²²³

7.3.6.5 An overview of Sumu-la-El's conquests

Just as we did for Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna, we will show on two maps the extent of Sumu-la-El's conquests in Northern Babylonia. Cities in yellow are cities that had (more or less) certainly an independent ruler, prior to being incorporated into the Babylonian kingdom. It is unknown whether Dilbat and Borsippa were under Sumu-la-El's rule from the start.

These maps show very clearly that Sumu-la-El's kingdom centered around the Euphrates river and the main canals branching off from it. Throughout OB history, the kings of Babylon would never lose control over this core, which enabled Babylon to impose its administrative structures over this area for hundreds of years, ensuring its longevity and coherence. This core remained part of the Babylonian kingdom for more than 1200 years.

¹²¹⁸ BM 92702, Horsnell 1999 volume 1:236-237.

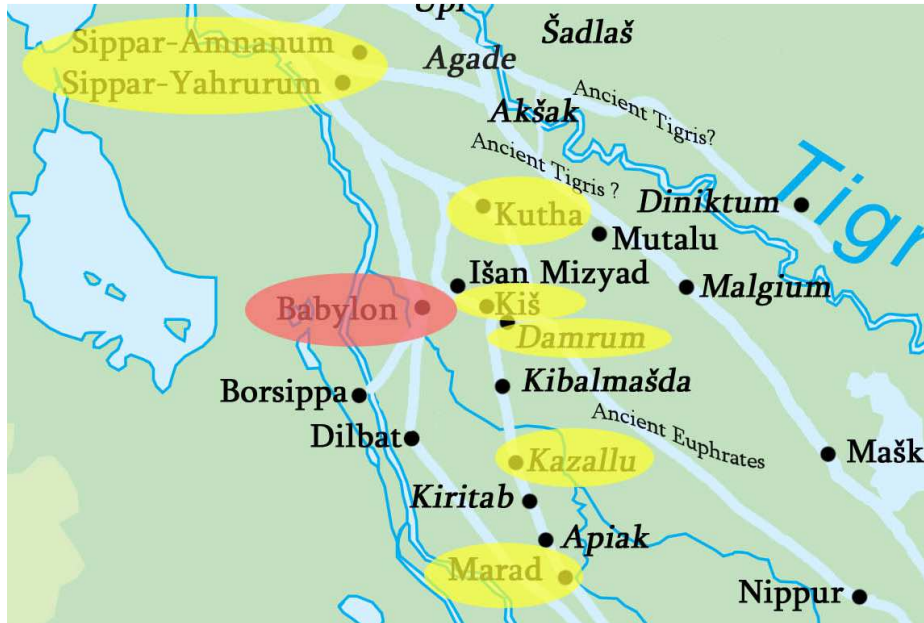
¹²¹⁹ see chapter 5 section 5.3.4 sub 7.

¹²²⁰ Horsnell 1999 volume 2:61 n.46 suspects that it is Malgium (following Simmons *JCS* 14 p. 81), based on the year name 'MU *ma-al-gi₄ i₃-ba-at*' found in the Mananâ-dynasty texts.

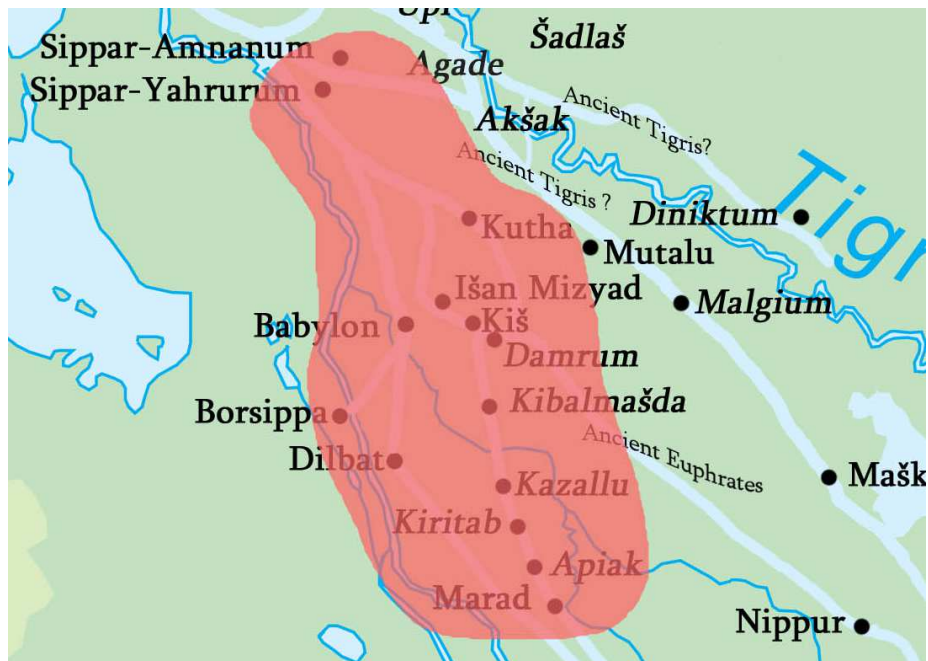
¹²²¹ See the catalogue of the Yale Babylonian Collection, Beckman 2000:240.

¹²²² I owe this idea to prof. Stol. During my stay at the Yale Babylonian Collection I was able to collate the tablet and the sign /al/ is clearly written. For the different renderings of the sign /kušu₂/ one can consult Mittermayer 2006:182 no. 457.

¹²²³ From Sippar: BM 17514 and *BE* 6/1 9.



Map 9 Northern Babylonia around 1880 BC



Map 10 The Kingdom of Babylon at Sumu-la-El's death around 1845 BC

7.3.7 *Larsa's Northern Incursions*

7.3.7.1 *Sîn-iddinam of Larsa attacks, 1847-1842 BC*

We have to look at Larsa and its enterprising king Sîn-iddinam to know what is going on around 1845 BC in Northern Babylonia. Sîn-iddinam succeeded his father Nūr-Adad on Larsa's throne in 1849 BC.¹²²⁴ Interestingly, Nūr-Adad seems to have abdicated in favor of his son, because he is still alive under Sîn-iddinam's rule.¹²²⁵

The first three year names of Sîn-iddinam recount his accession, the digging of the Tigris,¹²²⁶ and the (re)construction of the Ebabbar temple's foundations.¹²²⁷

Year names 4 to 6 all recount military expeditions towards the north. The fourth year name informs us that the army of Babylon was defeated in 1847 BC.¹²²⁸ One can imagine that this happened in the vicinity of Kiš or Damrum, because a variant of the 5th year name belonging to Sîn-iddinam is found in one of the archives from Damrum.¹²²⁹ In 1846, Sîn-iddinam had defeated Malgium¹²³⁰ and he had seized Ibrat as well as several other towns.¹²³¹ In 1845 Sîn-iddinam pushed even further north all the way up to Ešnunna whose land was 'destroyed': a sensitive blow to the expanding Ipiq-Adad II. Sîn-iddinam's 7th and last regnal year commemorates the building of the fortifications of Maškan-šāpir.¹²³²

¹²²⁴ Stol 2009-2011, Charpin 2004a:104-106, and Fitzgerald 2002:98-117.

¹²²⁵ On the conditions surrounding Sîn-iddinam's accession and a co-regency with Nūr-Adad: Fitzgerald 2002:99-100.

¹²²⁶ 'To provide water for Larsa', this event is also referred to in Sîn-iddinam's inscriptions: Fitzgerald 2002:105.

¹²²⁷ This is also remembered in Sîn-iddinam's royal inscriptions: Fitzgerald 2002:106.

¹²²⁸ MU UGNIM TIN.TIR^{KI} GIŠ.TUKUL BA.AN.SĪG.

¹²²⁹ See above section 7.3.2.3.

¹²³⁰ Malgium is probably to be equated with the town MURUB₄^{KI} 'The Middle City' found in year name variants of Sîn-iddinam 5 and the inscription published by Volk 2011 (see his comments on MURUB₄ and Ibrat on p. 80-82). From the point of view of Larsa, Malgium could very well be called 'middle city' because it lay between Larsa and the northern kingdoms of Babylon and Ešnunna.

¹²³¹ For all four variations of this year name: Fitzgerald 2002:104 and Sigrist 1990:24. On the attribution of this year name to Sîn-iddinam: Sigrist 1985.

¹²³² Also commemorated in a royal inscription found at Maškan-šāpir: Steinkeller 2004:135-152.

A royal inscription on a barrel published in 2011 by Volk adds new pieces to the puzzle. We learn that Sîn-iddinam had fortified Adab, Sabum and Zarbilum: all towns along the Tigris downstream from Maškan-šāpir. The ‘upper land’ had become hostile to Larsa and Sîn-iddinam did battle with this land, he won and destroyed its fortifications along the shores of the Euphrates and the Tigris. He deported the population and divided the booty among his troops. This ‘upper land’ might be the kingdom of Babylon whose army was defeated in Sîn-iddinam’s third year (commemorated in his fourth year). Next we read in the inscription that Sîn-iddinam battled on: an unclear passage tells us about ‘people from the mountains’ and that the king had taken Ibrat, ‘MURUB^{K17}’ (probably Malgium), and several other towns, in one day. He exacted tribute and restored the borders. The ruling king of Malgium at that time is unknown. After these events there was a confrontation with new enemy troops led by a king called Warassa. This king’s home town is not mentioned directly in the inscription, but a strong case can be made for Dēr.¹²³³ The inscription continues to state that Sîn-iddinam took Warassa as his prisoner and took him to Larsa. Sîn-iddinam’s name was proclaimed in Dēr and he answered to Ištārān (Dēr’s city god) about Warassa’s fate. Warassa was probably a dynastic name in Dēr, because another king¹²³⁴ of Dēr from the time of Hammurabi was also called Warassa.¹²³⁵

The picture seems to be that Sîn-iddinam campaigned heavily towards the north for whatever reason (one might suspect that he wanted to secure the flow of water from the Tigris to the south). In a group of texts dated to Sîn-iddinam 6 and 7,¹²³⁶ we see that groups of men are being given rations of grain. Interestingly, these men do not come from towns belonging to the Larsa kingdom (Uruk, Isin, Rapiqum, Diniktum, Kimaš, Terqa, and Šašillani). A few of them even come from towns that were defeated by Sîn-iddinam (Malgium, Dēr, Ešnunna, perhaps Mutalû). These men are probably messengers/ambassadors or people in the service of Larsa.

There are a number of letter prayers written by Sîn-iddinam recounting many problems at the end of his reign: disease, incessant battle, and a popula-

¹²³³ Volk 2011:63-64 tries to find a synchronism with Ešnunna’s Warassa, who ruled several decades earlier.

¹²³⁴ The title ‘king’ in Sîn-iddinam’s inscription is slightly problematic because the rulers of Dēr are traditionally called GĪR.NITA₂ (=šakkanakkum), see section 6.4.3.

¹²³⁵ ARM 26/2 372:44.

¹²³⁶ Goetze 1950b:94-95. See also Fitzgerald 2002:115 and Charpin 2004a:116.

tion in distress.¹²³⁷ Charpin has interpreted these as overdramatizations typical for the genre.¹²³⁸ A historical omen may or may not refer to his death.¹²³⁹ In any case, after *Sîn-iddinam*'s spectacular years of military exploits, his reign comes to an abrupt end.

It has only recently been established that *Sîn-iddinam* of Larsa was not succeeded on the throne by a son of his. *Sîn-irībam*, his successor, was the son of an otherwise unknown man called *Ga'eš-rabi*.¹²⁴⁰ One cannot help but think that he usurped the throne from *Sîn-iddinam*, but the exact conditions surrounding *Sîn-iddinam*'s death and succession are unclear. Little is known about *Sîn-irībam*'s short reign: we only have two year names, an accession year name and another one in which he donates a statue to *Nanna*. In his only known royal inscription he reconstructs or repairs the *Ebabbar* temple in Larsa.¹²⁴¹

7.3.7.2 *Sîn-iqīšam* of Larsa rehabilitates Kazallu ca. 1840 BC

The short-lived reign of *Sîn-irībam* was followed by the equally short reign of *Sîn-iqīšam* (1840-1836 BC). *Sîn-iqīšam* was the son of his predecessor.¹²⁴² *Sîn-iqīšam* is especially interesting for his efforts to rehabilitate Kazallu, more than twenty years after its destruction by *Isin*, *Babylon* and *Sumu-abum*.

Sîn-iqīšam commemorates in his second year name (ca. 1839 BC) that he had taken the cities *Pi-Nārātīm* and *Nazarum*, as well as the fact that he had statues made of *Numušda* (*Kazallu*'s city god), *Namrat* and *Lugal-Apiak* and brought them to *Kazallu*.¹²⁴³

¹²³⁷ An edition of the letters is online: ETCESL, see also Fitzgerald 2002:110-114.

¹²³⁸ Charpin 2004a:106.

¹²³⁹ *YOS* 10 1, some authors (eg. Charpin 2004a:106 and Stol 2009-2011:517) keep to a reading of the omen in which *Sîn-iddinam* had an accident in *Šamaš*' temple. Hallo 1967:96-97 proposes a different reading in which the omen is favorable to *Sîn-iddinam* (followed by Fitzgerald 2002:117).

¹²⁴⁰ George 2011:106-107.

¹²⁴¹ On *Sîn-irībam*: Fitzgerald 2002:117-119, De Graef 2009-2011, with new information by George 2011:106-107.

¹²⁴² Frayne 1990 E4.2.11.2.

¹²⁴³ See Sigrist 1990:27 for the variants. This year name is also found on *TIM* 3 120 (from the *Nūr-Šamaš* archive) for some reason.



Map 11 The Campaigns of Sin-iddinam of Larsa

There was a hymn composed to Numušda for the benefit of Sîn-iqīšam.¹²⁴⁴ In the composition he is the son of Sîn, appearing as a powerful war-like deity. Sîn-iqīšam is praised as the one who restored Kazallu and its territory. This interest for Numušda by Sîn-iqīšam was connected by Sigrist to the unique occurrence of Numušda in the *sattukku* texts from Nippur from this king's reign.¹²⁴⁵

It is very well possible that Sîn-iqīšam took it upon him to rebuild Kazallu after this city's destruction. If he had successfully integrated Kazallu into Larsa's kingdom, he would have encircled the territories of Isin and Uruk,

¹²⁴⁴ Sjöberg 1973, see also the ETCSL for a recent edition: http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=c.2.6.7*#.

¹²⁴⁵ Sigrist 1984:108.

which is probably why these states attacked Sîn-iqīšam in 1838. The inhabitants of Kazallu were also not very grateful for Larsa's troubles: Sîn-iqīšam year 5 (1837 BC) recounts that he defeated a coalition of troops from Uruk, Elam, Isin, and Kazallu. In the end it seems that Larsa gained little from its exploits.

7.3.8 *The rule of Sabium and Apil-Sîn over Northern Babylonia, 1844-1813 BC*

The reigns of Sumu-la-El's immediate successors are hardly known:¹²⁴⁶ we have almost no royal correspondence and the year names seldom mention political or military feats.¹²⁴⁷ The only known lists of year names for Sabium are broken for the first ca. seven years of his reign.¹²⁴⁸

Sabium built the walls of Kār-Šamaš in his first regnal year. This must have been the Kar-Šamaš in Sippar's vicinity, not the one that lay on the banks of the Tigris.¹²⁴⁹ Sabium's fifth year name commemorates his victory over an army of Larsa in 1841: this was when either Sîn-irībam or Sîn-iqīšam sat on Larsa's throne. The following year he defeated the army of ZI-MA- [...].¹²⁵⁰

A major event during Sabium's reign was (again) some kind of confrontation with Kazallu in 1835 (year name: Sabium 11). The year name concerning this event is slightly damaged, but Sabium most likely destroyed Kazallu's city walls.¹²⁵¹ This was only three years after Kazallu had joined in an ill-fated coalition against Larsa. This only makes us more curious about who had ruled Kazallu and what Kazallu did again and again to merit such misfortunes.

Sabium was interested in the south of Mesopotamia. For some reason a year name of his was found at Nippur: hardly any proof for him ruling Nippur, but nonetheless noteworthy.¹²⁵² Sabium led an expedition of apparently one

¹²⁴⁶ See already Charpin 2004a:113-116.

¹²⁴⁷ Attention must be drawn to the letter Tell ed-Der II no. 52 (De Meyer 1978). It seems to be addressed to Sabium and concerns a huge amount of (crown?) land (lines 1-4): *a-na be-lí-ia sâ-bu-um, [qí]-bí-ma, um-ma ha-a-ta-ru-um-ma, 72 IKU A.ŠÀ e-ri-iš-ma...*

¹²⁴⁸ One is the same list that contains Sumu-la-El's year names: BM 92702, the other was published by Al-Rawi 1994. Horsnell does provide reconstructions, which we follow here: Horsnell 1999 volume 1:12-19.

¹²⁴⁹ Röllig 1976-1980.

¹²⁵⁰ Horsnell 1999 volume 2:68.

¹²⁵¹ See the discussion in Horsnell 1999 volume 1:237 n. 41 and p. 283 n. 326.

¹²⁵² Stol 1976:28, with Charpin 2004a:114.

thousand soldiers southwards to help Uruk.¹²⁵³ Somewhere during his reign he also proclaimed a *mīšarum* edict.¹²⁵⁴

There are a four known *Beamtennamen* composed with Sabium:¹²⁵⁵

- Sabium-abī ‘Sabium is my father’ (Sippar).¹²⁵⁶
- Sabium-bāni ‘Sabium is my begetter’ (Sippar).¹²⁵⁷
- Sabium-ili ‘Sabium is my god’ (Sippar).¹²⁵⁸
- Sabium-šēme ‘Sabium listen!’ (Sippar).¹²⁵⁹

Apil-Sîn was Sabium’s successor in 1830,¹²⁶⁰ ruling eighteen years. Among his first acts were the strengthening of the defences of the kingdom. First its core: Borsippa and Babylon itself (year names 1 and 2) and secondly a fort called ‘Dūr-Apil-Sîn’ to the north east of Sippar to defend the kingdom against Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna and Sîn-abūšu in the Lower Diyala.¹²⁶¹ On the outer reaches of the kingdom, near Nippur he built the fortifications of Nukar in 1827.¹²⁶²

The main interest of Apil-Sîn’s reign lay however in the expansion of the kingdom along the banks of the Tigris to the north east. It is clear that Apil-Sîn was acting opportunistically, because this region had been under the control of Sîn-abūšu’s Lower Diyala State and other independent kings. These rulers were however coping with Ešnunna’s formidable Ipiq-Adad II. Apil-Sîn must have seen his chance (perhaps even conjointly with Ipiq-Adad II, who knows?) to annex several cities. His twelfth year name states that he restored the banks of the Tigris and (re)built Kār-Šamaš around 1819 BC:¹²⁶³ only a few years after Sîn-abūšu’s demise in 1823 BC. In addition, there is a non-

¹²⁵³ Known from the Anam letter, see above section 3.6.2.

¹²⁵⁴ Known from remarks (not year names) on a tablet: see Goddeeris 2006-2008 and the attestation in Horsnell 1999 volume 2:73.

¹²⁵⁵ Note also the servant seal (impressions) in Frayne 1990 E4.3.3.

¹²⁵⁶ *TJDB* 76 MAH 16.28, *MHET* II/2 158, *MHET* II/5 717:15, *VAS* 8 21, *CT* 8 39a, *TCL* 1 77:20, *CT* 45 92. BM 97003 (Veenhof).

¹²⁵⁷ *OLA* 21 26 (case).

¹²⁵⁸ *CT* 33 45, *CT* 45 92, *CT* 47 21, *CT* 47 42a.

¹²⁵⁹ *CT* 45 58:3, with seal impression.

¹²⁶⁰ It is nowhere explicitly said that Apil-Sîn was Sabium’s son, but the year name on *CT* 6 48a explicitly states that Apil-Sîn ‘entered the house of his father’.

¹²⁶¹ Cole and Gasche 1998:20, p. 22 n. 104 and the map on p. 46.

¹²⁶² For this localization: Charpin 2004a:114 with n. 476.

¹²⁶³ On this year name: Horsnell 1999 volume 1:27.

canonical year name stating that Apil-Sîn built the walls of Upî¹²⁶⁴ and another one in which he ‘entered’ Aštābala. Both towns are located along the Tigris.¹²⁶⁵ From an unpublished Mari letter we know that Apil-Sîn also had laid his hand on Mankisum and the small town Šahaduni.¹²⁶⁶ It is unclear how Apil-Sîn’s Tigris holdings related to Ipiq-Adad II conquests in the Suhum, because Ipiq-Adad II had to go through this area along the Tigris to reach it.

An extraordinary juridical document found at Sippar describes how a case was brought before Apil-Sîn in Babylon.¹²⁶⁷ The case is about a house that was given by king Sumu-la-El to Šamaš-šarrum and his entourage. The house is claimed by one Nūr-ilīšu. Apil-Sîn rejects the claim and Nūr-ilīšu may no longer litigate against Šamaš-šarrum. The text is witnessed by a number of important people from Sippar, among which Ayalatum (Sumu-la-El’s daughter) and several Ebabbar officials.

The only royal letter attributable to Apil-Sîn is YBC 7602 (published in the Appendix), it deals with the conduct of trade caravans:

¹⁻⁵ Speak [to PN₁ and PN₂], thus says Apil-Sîn, your lord. ⁶⁻⁷ Is it good to you, this way of doing? ⁸⁻⁹ That the caravans are constantly entering here, ¹⁰⁻¹² (that) they are continuously acquiring information without (paying) compensation and ¹³ (that) you are not objecting (to this)? ¹⁴⁻¹⁶ If you are truly my servants: ¹⁸⁻²⁰ tell Warad-Ilišu that [he...] with the workmen/troops of Taribuša

Only one *Beamtenname* is attested for Apil-Sîn:

- Apil-Sîn-ilī ‘Apil-Sîn is my god’ (provenience unknown)¹²⁶⁸

The map on the next page shows how Northern and Southern Babylonia looked around 1815 BC, the main powers were Ešnunna, Larsa, and Babylon, with Isin, Uruk, Malgium, and Dēr as minor polities.

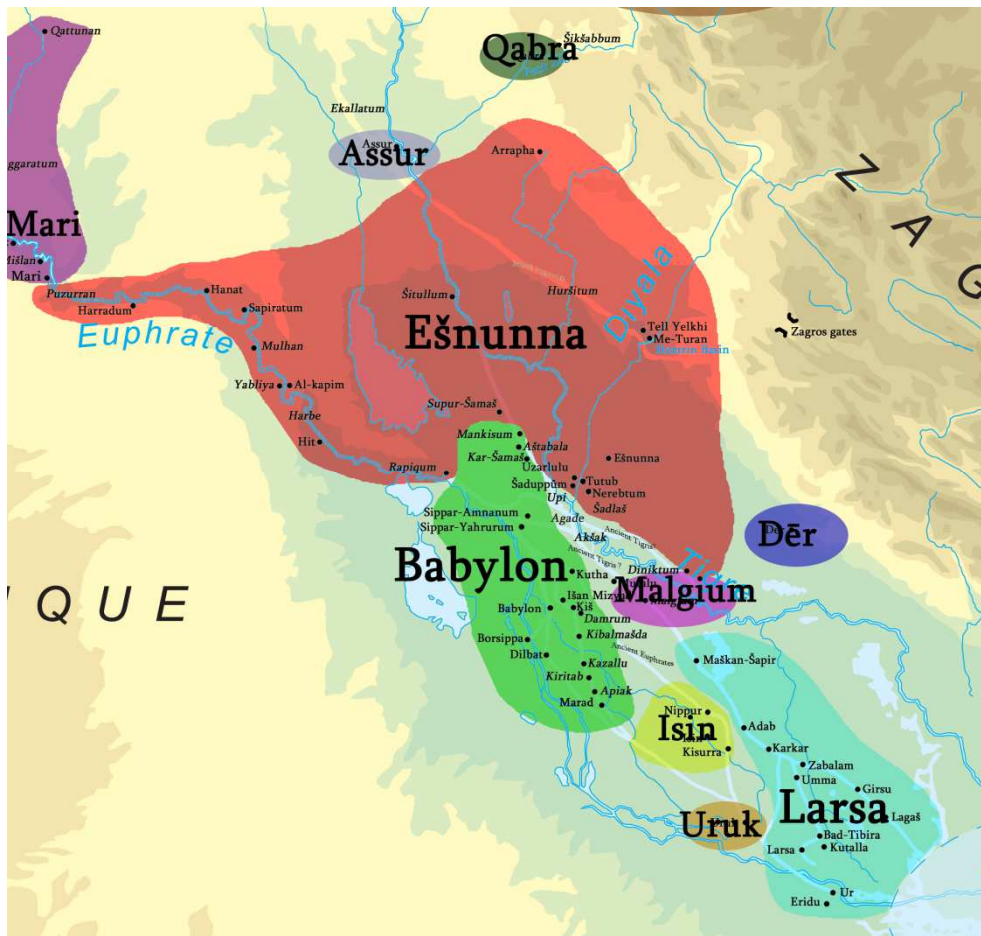
¹²⁶⁴ BM 22641: MU BĀD ú-pé-e^{ki} BA.DÛ and BM 22713: MU ú-pé-e^{ki} a-pil-30 BA.DÛ, these year names were first signalled by Stol 1997:720.

¹²⁶⁵ The year name (non canonical) is found in Horsnell 1999 volume 2:90. Aštābala’s location on the banks of the Tigris is inferred from a Narām-Sîn year name (see Hussein 2008:64), in which Aštābala and Šupur-Šamaš are mentioned together. This allows for a reconstruction of a Dadūša year name (Hussein 2008:66) in which it is written that Šupur-Šamaš and [Aštābala] lay along the banks of the Tigris.

¹²⁶⁶ A.405 cited by Charpin 2004a:115.

¹²⁶⁷ Al-‘Adami 1997.

¹²⁶⁸ Probably from Sippar, a letter: *AbB* 12 93.



Map 12 Northern and Southern Babylonia around 1815 BC