

THE RULERS OF LARSA

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the approximately 250-year period between the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the consolidation of much of Mesopotamia by Hammu-rāpi of Babylon, a few kingdoms or city-states rose to fill the void left by the collapsed Ur III Empire if they had not contributed in fact to its collapse. These states included Ešnunna, Marad, Kazallu, Ilip, Assur, Isin, Larsa, and Babylon among others. In southern Mesopotamia the kingdoms of Isin and Larsa were preeminent. The two kingdoms competed with each other for control of territory and resources, especially water, and for royal and divine legitimacy and authority. By the middle of this period known as the Early Old Babylonian or Isin-Larsa Period, the kingdom of Isin was much reduced, eclipsed by the expanding fortunes of the kingdom of Larsa in territory, trade, and political authority. It was a period of cultural flux with Akkadian replacing Sumerian as the language of administration and royal rhetoric and rulers with Amorite and Elamite names emerging. Scholarship flourished, with much of the extant literature in both Sumerian and Akkadian copied if not composed in the kingdom of Larsa.

The textual and archaeological record of Larsa offers a rough and broken picture of the kingdom. Much of the textual material and a great deal of what has been excavated tell us more about the preoccupations of the rulers than of the common people of Larsa. Though the available evidence is very limited, the importance of the social

history of Larsa should not be underestimated. However, this thesis focuses primarily on the political history of Larsa because the evidence is more abundant and is in need of renewed study and interpretation. The last major work on the period was *Die "zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens* (Edzard 1957). Since 1957, several significant studies and myriad pertinent cuneiform documents have been published. This thesis undertakes to gather the relevant new material and reinterpret the history of Larsa in the Early Old Babylonian Period. After a brief discussion of chronological issues and the history of Larsa before the Old Babylonian Period, the evidence for the political history of Old Babylonian Larsa is outlined and interpreted in chronological order in the following chapters, ending with a short discussion of Larsa after its conquest by Hammu-rāpi of Babylon.

Chronological Issues

The internal chronology of the reigns of Larsa kings is based on the Larsa King List and the Larsa Date Lists, while the relative chronology is based primarily on synchronisms between the kings of Larsa and rulers known from the Sumerian King List (Jacobsen 1939). I will as far as possible avoid using an absolute chronology as there is still uncertainty and disagreement among scholars as to which chronology is correct. Huber makes a strong argument for the high chronology (Huber 1999/2000), which would date the reign of Hammu-rāpi of Babylon from 1848 to 1806 B.C. Reade has recently argued on the basis of the work of scholars from diverse disciplines for a much lower chronology (Reade 2001). For the sake of convenience only, I will use where necessary the most widely employed chronology, the middle chronology, which dates the reign of Hammu-rāpi from 1792 to 1750 B.C.

The Larsa King List is a partially preserved list of kings and the lengths of their reigns. It is a school tablet with the same text on obverse and reverse which was published by Clay as YOS 1 no. 32 (Clay 1915). Collations of the text were later published by Goetze (Goetze 1950a: 99ff.). The most recent edition of the Larsa King List was published by Grayson (Grayson 1980-1983: 89). The Larsa King List was probably compiled from date lists. In southern Mesopotamia in the second millennium B.C., regnal years were named for an event in the previous full year of a king's reign. Documents were dated with these year names, and scribes kept sequential lists of the names. Seven partial and fragmentary date lists of the Larsa kings have been published. The largest and most complete is a prism in the Louvre (AO 7025) published by Thureau-Dangin (Thureau-Dangin 1918). The first systematic chronology of Larsa based on the Larsa King List and Larsa Date List as well as dates from cuneiform archival documents was published by Grice (Grice 1919b).

The Louvre prism is missing the year names from *Sîn-irībam* 26 to *Rīm-Sîn* 6. Three tablets with partial Larsa date lists from Ur were published by Gadd (Gadd and Legrain 1928). Of these, UET 1 265 has on the obverse year names from *Gungunum* 12 to *Gungunum* 25 and on the reverse fragmentary year names from the end of the reign of *Sîn-iqīšam* through the beginning of the reign of *Warad-Sîn*; UET 1 266 contains the year names from *Sîn-irībam* 1 to *Warad-Sîn* 5, and UET 1 298 is a portion of a date list containing the year names of *Gungunum*, *Abī-sarē*, and *Sūmû-El*. In 1938, Ungnad published a summary of these date lists (Ungnad 1938), numbering the list L_1 , L_3 , L_2 , and L_4 respectively. With these compiled lists and synchronisms between the Larsa kings and the kings of Isin recorded in the Sumerian King List, a nearly complete relative chronology of Larsa and Isin kings can be established. Brinkman's widely accepted

chronology (Brinkman 1977) agrees with this scheme. More recently published date lists have only slightly altered this established chronology.

Since Ungnad's publication of the "Datenlisten," three additional lists have been published. The first is a list from Ur of the year names of Sūmû-El published by Sollberger as UET 8 66 (Sollberger 1965). In 1976, Martin Stol published a tablet from Oxford's collection (A 7534) that included year names from Warad-Sîn 1 to Rīm-Sîn 22 (Stol 1976). The list enumerated thirteen year names for Warad-Sîn who was credited with a reign of only twelve years by the Larsa King List. Marcel Sigrist argued that the additional year name was a variation of the fifth year name of Sîn-iddinam and its ascription to Warad-Sîn a scribal error (Sigrist 1985). Since the year name listed as Warad-Sîn's fourth year name is not included in UET 1 266 (L₂), which appears to bear a fragmentary list of Warad-Sîn's year names, it is likely that Sigrist is correct in assigning a twelve-year reign to Warad-Sîn. However, UET 1, 266 seems not to be entirely error-free. Furthermore, Sigrist also provided evidence for a thirteen-year reign of Warad-Sîn by showing that the year names of both the Isin and Larsa kings would be found for the same month and year on administrative documents at Nippur if Warad-Sîn reigned only twelve years (see fig. 12, p. 126). Sallaberger favors this evidence in his recent study of the year names of Enlil-bani (Sallaberger 1996: 186). Because the period between the fifth year of Sîn-iddinam and the fourth year of Warad-Sîn is so short, a mere fourteen years, and because there seems to have been a high degree of administrative continuity from reign to reign in this period, it has not been possible to determine to which reign to assign texts with this date determined on prosopographical evidence. Until a document with this date and a reference to Warad-Sîn appears or a more conclusive date list is discovered, I will assume that Warad-Sîn reigned for twelve years rather than thirteen.

Finally, Jean-Marie Durand published the Louvre tablet (AO 8620) which, when it was complete, had contained the complete year names of Gungunum, Abī-sarē, and Sūmû-El (Durand 1977).

Following Ungnad's format, we now have the following date lists:

L ₁	Louvre prism	Naplānum to Hammu-rāpi 39 less Sîn-irībam 26 to Rīm-Sîn 6
L ₂	UET 1 266	Sîn-irībam 1 through Warad-Sîn and Rīm-Sîn 21-22
L ₃	UET 1 265	Gungunum 12-25 + fragments of end of Sîn-iqīšam to Warad-Sîn
L ₄	UET 1 298	Gungunum 5-12 + parts of reigns of Abī-sarē and Sūmû-El
L ₅	UET 8 66	Sūmû-El
L ₆	Durand	Gungunum 20 to Sūmû-El 10
L ₇	Stol	Warad-Sîn 1 to Rīm-Sîn 22

Year names from dated cuneiform documents frequently help to fill out the remaining lacunæ and aid in establishing the correct names or sequences where there are errors or inconsistencies in the lists. As Frayne showed in his dissertation (Frayne 1981), royal hymns and inscriptions can also provide information for reconstructing year names. Marcel Sigrist has compiled the most recent list of year names from date lists and cuneiform documents bearing Larsa year names (Sigrist 1990). The year names for each king will be examined in the discussion of the kings.

Appendix 1 is a table of the chronology kings of Larsa and some of their contemporaries. The greatest divergence between the table and Brinkman's chronology is the synchronism of the first year of Išbi-Erra of Isin's reign with the eighth year of Ibbi-Sîn, the last king of the Ur III dynasty. This synchronism was convincingly argued by Van De Mieroop in his study of the Isin craft archive (Van De Mieroop 1987b: 120-128) and further by Lafont's study of the end of the Ur III archives from Girsu, Umma, Ur, Nippur, and Drehem (Lafont 1995). The most obvious initial impact of this adjustment in the chronology is that it places the first year of Naplānum, the earliest

“king” of the Larsa King List, in the last year of Šū-Sîn of Ur. The significance of this will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Early History Of Larsa

The site of Tell Senkereh was first identified as ancient Larsa by Loftus and Rawlinson in 1853 on the basis of texts found there (Edzard and Farber 1974). Tell Senkereh is located 31° 14'N 45° 51'E (Roaf 1990), about twenty kilometers southeast of the site of Warka (Uruk) in southern Mesopotamia. Lying east of the Euphrates, south of the Iturungal canal, and west of the Tigris, Larsa relied on water for transportation and irrigation from all three sources (see map p. 15).

Tell Senkereh was extensively plundered for texts and artifacts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first scientific excavation of the site was conducted by Parrot in 1933 (Parrot 1934) and again in 1967. Margueron directed campaigns at Tell Senkereh in 1969 and 1970 (Margueron 1970, 1971). Later regular seasons of excavation were conducted by Huot from 1976 to 1991 (Huot et al. 1978; Huot 1983, 1985, 1987b, 1987a, 1989). Official excavations of Larsa have thus far concentrated primarily on Old Babylonian and later levels of occupation.

From pre-Sargonic times, the name of the city was written logographically UD.UNU^{ki}, often simplified to ud.ab^{ki}, and read in Sumerian as “Ararma” (MSL 11 p. 12, l. 6: [UD]UNU^{fâr-âr1-ma} ki and p. 54, l. 10: [a.ra].[ar1.ma ki = la-ar-sa]); by the Old Babylonian period it was read in Akkadian as Larsa(m) and frequently written syllabically (Arnaud 1980-1983: 496). The logographic writing indicates that the city was the seat of the sun god, Utu, while the Sumerian reading of the name may suggest that the city in earliest times was known as a place where grain was milled (ÀR.ÀR = *tênum*). In his survey of southern Mesopotamia, Robert Adams found no surface

evidence of occupation at Larsa before the Early Dynastic period (Adams 1981: 349 n. 7). More recently the excavators of Larsa have discovered what they believe to be sherds of Ubaid I (Eridu phase) pottery on or near the surface of the tell in the environs of the Ebabbar temple and the ziggurat (see site plan p. 16), indicating that the heart of the future city of Larsa was already occupied in the sixth millennium B.C. (Huot 1989: 18). In addition to the potsherds, a high frequency of fragments of terra-cotta sickles also suggests that the occupation of Larsa goes back as far as the Ubaid period (Margueron 1997: 332).

The first textual evidence for Larsa is found in toponym lists of the Uruk III/Jemdet Nasr period (c. 3000 B.C.) from the sites of Uruk and Jemdet Nasr. These lexical lists contain recognizable signs for known and as yet unknown cities in a consistent order, beginning with Ur, Nippur, Larsa, and Uruk. The same cities in the same order are found on sealings impressed on Jemdet Nasr tablets, on door and container sealings from Uruk, and on inscribed tablets also from Uruk, datable to the same period as the city lists (Matthews 1993). Though the logic of the order of the cities is unclear, it suggests that Larsa was an important member of a group of cities involved in some organized activity conducted over a considerable distance at the end of the fourth millennium. Englund has argued that a group of 27 Uruk period tablets, previously thought to come from Uruk or Kiš, may well have come from Tell Senkereh as claimed by the dealer in Baghdad (Englund 1998: 29-31). He suggests that these texts are from an archive of a temple household dealing almost exclusively with the administration of large quantities of grain. This grain archive adds weight to the argument that the Sumerian name for Larsa, Ararma, reflects the city's early history as a grain processing center.

Later sealings with city signs, datable to the Early Dynastic I period (c. 2900-2700 B.C.), were found at the site of Ur. The impressions of seals with city names come mostly from door sealings and, to a lesser extent, from container sealings. The cities on the Ur sealings include Ur, Eridu, Larsa, Uruk, Adab, Nippur, Keš, Ur₂ (unidentified), UB (possibly Umma), and Edinnu (unidentified) in various orders (Matthews 1993). On the sealings, Larsa is most often associated with Ur, Nippur, or Eridu. Because most of the sealings must have been applied in Ur, it appears that Ur was the administrative center for a far-reaching inter-city organization. City lists composed in the Early Dynastic IIIa period, in a format identical to that of the city lists from Uruk and Jemdet Nasr, were found at Fara (ancient Šuruppak) and Abu Salabikh. Archival texts excavated at the northern part of the site include muster lists of thousands of workers (guruš) from Uruk, Adab, Nippur, Lagaš, Šuruppak, and Umma. These cities of what Pomponio and Visicato describe as the “Hexapolis of Šuruppak” (Pomponio and Visicato 1994: 10ff.), what Jacobsen referred to as the Kengir league (Jacobsen 1957: 121f.), were always written in the same order. Underground silos excavated near the tablet area in the north of the site could have held grain to feed the men. Šuruppak, approximately midway between Nippur and Uruk, was probably a military and administrative center for a large intra-Sumerian alliance. Notably absent from the names of cities found on the Fara texts are Ur, Larsa, and Eridu. At the end of the Early Dynastic IIIa period, Šuruppak was destroyed by fire and thereafter only sparsely inhabited until it was completely abandoned in the late Ur III or early Old Babylonian period (Martin 1988). Ur might have been the enemy that destroyed Šuruppak. Visicato observes “that Ur has no traces of destruction as a consequence of a conflict which seems to have involved the whole of Babylonia and that both during and after the fall of Šuruppak it continued to develop, it does not seem difficult to point to Ur

as one of the cities which was advantaged by the disappearance of Šuruppak from the Babylonian political scene.” (Visicato 1995: 147) It is possible that Larsa is absent from the Fara texts because it was allied with Ur, or it may be that Larsa came under the administrative aegis of Uruk, which had grown to 400 hectares in the Early Dynastic period, and which was located only twenty kilometers (twelve miles) northwest of Larsa. It is also possible that Larsa was under the aegis of Lagaš in this period as it was to be, along with Uruk, in the succeeding period.

With the end of the “Hexapolis” and its military/administrative center at Šuruppak, a period of inter-city-state warfare ensued. Larsa appears in the royal inscriptions of rulers of pre-Sargonic Lagaš and Umma (c. 2430-2340 B.C.), including Eanatum’s stele of the vultures, which mentions Larsa among other cities in connection with an oath the Lagaš king made the king of Umma swear to Larsa’s titular god, Utu, as well as sacrifices performed in Utu’s sanctuary at Larsa, the Ebabbar:

Eanatum gave the great battle net of Utu, master of vegetation[?], to the leader of Umma, and made him swear to him by it. The leader of Umma swore to Eanatum ... Eanatum was very clever indeed! He made up the eyes of two doves with kohl, and adorned their heads with cedar (resin). For Utu, master of vegetation[?], in the Ebabbar at Larsa, he had them offered as sacrificial bulls[?] ... (Cooper 1986: 36f.)

Inscriptions of the Lagaš king Enmetena report the return of citizens of Uruk, Larsa, and Bad-tibira to their cities after their having been conscripted, according to Cooper, for a major building project: “... He cancelled obligations for the citizens of Uruk, Larsa and Patibira; he restored (the first) to Inana’s control at Uruk, he restored (the second) to Utu’s control at Larsa, he restored (the third) to Lugalemush’s control at the Emush.” (Cooper 1986: 58f.)

Finally, inscriptions on bowls report that Lugalzagesi controlled Uruk, Ur, Umma, Zabala, Kidingir, and Larsa, saying “Larsa, the beloved city of Utu, made merry” (Cooper 1986: 94). It is clear from these inscriptions that Larsa was not an independent city in this period but was under the control of the Lagaš rulers before it came under the hegemony of Lugalzagesi along with the rest of southern Mesopotamia.

The pre-Sargonic political centers, such as Lagaš and Uruk, served as local provincial capitals under the kings of Akkad, but there are very few references to Larsa from the Sargonic period. The *Répertoire Géographique I* (Edzard et al. 1977: 109-110) lists only one published text mentioning Larsa that may be datable to the end of the Sargonic period. It is an undated list of goats for various individuals including the *ugula*’s of Ur, Nippur, and Larsa (Nikolskij 1915: no. 84) probably from Umma or Lagaš (Foster personal communication).

No Sargonic royal inscriptions are known from Larsa, and no known Sargonic inscriptions refer to Larsa. Royal inscriptions of Sargon commemorate the conquest of Ur, Uruk, Eninmar, Lagaš, and Umma, but do not mention Larsa (Frayne 1993: 2.1.1.1-7). Likewise, inscriptions of Rīmuš record the defeat of Ur, Umma, and Lagaš, but not Larsa (Frayne 1993: 2.1.2.2-5), and royal inscriptions referring to the “great revolt” against Narām-Sîn mention the cities of Uruk, Ur, Lagaš, Umma, Adab, Šuruppak, Isin, and Nippur, but not Larsa (Frayne 1993: E2.1.4.6). From this we can assume that Larsa was either not a significant city during the Sargonic period or that it was loyal to Akkad at the time of the revolt. In contrast, the city of Isin was clearly occupied in the Sargonic period. Two Sargonic royal inscriptions, one on a macehead dedicated by Man-ištūšu to Ninisina (Frayne 1990: E2.1.3.5) and the other an unattributed fragment of a statue or stele (Frayne 1990: E2.0.0.1013), were excavated at Isin. Sargonic archival texts from Isin are also known (Foster 1982: 6-7).

The collection of temple hymns attributed to Sargon's daughter, Enheduanna, and known from Ur III and Old Babylonian copies does contain hymns to Utu's temple in Larsa (no. 13), and to Utu's temple at Sippar (no. 38) (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969). However, references in Sargonic royal inscriptions to the sanctuary of the god Šamaš/Utu appear to be limited to the sun god's temple in Sippar. It may be that Larsa even as a cult center of Utu was eclipsed in the Akkadian period.

In general, texts from Larsa from before the Ur III period are rare. A human-headed bull with a dedication to Ba'u by Nin-nigine-si, the wife of the ensi Ur-Ningirsu, was discovered at Larsa (Arnaud 1978: 225). Arnaud argued that this provides proof, along with two dedicatory inscriptions of Gudea (Arnaud 1971: 293), that Larsa was controlled by the dynasty of Gudea (Arnaud 1978: 225f. n. 4).

There are also very few texts from or concerning Larsa known from the Ur III period. Some of the texts from this period indicate, however, that Larsa remained a significant cult center for the sun god, Utu. An inscribed brick of Ur-Nammu which records the rebuilding of the temple of Utu was discovered at Larsa (Birot 1968: 242), and two archival texts include Utu of Larsa in lists of offerings (YOS 4, 56 and BIN 3, 607). The dearth of administrative texts from Larsa in this period, otherwise known for its masses of archival material, is a strong indication that Larsa was of very little economic importance in the Ur III period, though the dearth may be due entirely to the accidents of discovery and the fact that, because of severe looting of the site of Larsa, many texts from there may not be provenanced as coming from Larsa.

Sharlach has pointed out that Larsa was not a provincial capital, did not have an ensi (governor), and did not participate in the provincial tax system (bala), but instead was ruled by the royal family as were Ur and Uruk (Sharlach 2001b: 65). The following text from Umma, a list of tax/offering (máš-da-ri-a) from governors and chief

temple officials (šabra) of various cities, illustrates that some cities, such as Umma, Adab, and Šuruppak, had governors, while others, such as Ur and Larsa, were administered by their chief temple officials in the Ur III period.

YOS 4, 56

obv	1. 141.20 kaš ninda gur	260 liters of beer bread (?)
	2. énsi umma ^{ki}	governor of Umma
	3. 3.28 énsi adab ^{ki}	208 the governor of Adab
	4. 29.28 énsi uru-sag-rig ^{ki}	1768 governor of Uru-sag-rig ⁷ /Al-šarrākī
	5. 33;4. šabra ^d al-la-tum	33.8 the chief temple official of Allatum
	6. 52 i-mi-id-DINGIR	52 Imid-ili
	7. 39 šabra ^d utu larsa ^{ki}	39 the chief temple official of Utu of Larsa
	8. 2.49 énsi šuruppak ^{ki}	169 the governor of Šuruppak
	9. 1.18 šabra ^d na-na-a	78 the chief temple official of Nanāia
	10. 31.6;4 šabra urim ^{ki} -ma	1866.8 the chief temple official of Ur
	11. 52 šabra ri-ba-a (re-šú-a?)	52 the chief temple official of GN
	12. 2.36 šabra ^d inanna	156 the chief temple official of Inanna
	13. 13 ur-ğba-ú	13 Ur-Ba ^u
	14. 23;2 ^d šul-gi-ì-lí	23.4 Šulgi-ili
rev	=====	=====
	15. šu+nigin 1 guru ⁷ 18.47 kaš ninda gur	total 4727 liters of beer bread (?)
	16. máš-da-ri-a kù-sig ¹⁷ kù-babbar gu ⁴ udu	tax/offerings of gold, silver, oxen, sheep
	17. u ⁴ alam ^d šul-gi-e	when the statue of Šulgi
	18. in-gub-ba-gin ⁷ -àm tùm-dam	like he is standing is to be brought
	19. ezem-mah-šè tùm-dam	to the great festival is to be brought (month 10?)
	20. gú íd idigna gú íd buranun-šè	to the banks of the Tigris (and) the Euphrates

Given its history as a secondary city without its own governor in the Ur III period, it is difficult to see why Larsa was to become the capital of an important kingdom

of the succeeding Old Babylonian period. In the paper cited above, Sharlach argues that Larsa was administered by its chief temple administrator, in one case Puzur-Erra of Mari, the cousin of king Amar-Sîn of Ur (Sharlach 2001b: 66). She goes on to suggest that Išbi-Erra, who rebelled against Ur and founded the kingdom of Isin, may have, like Puzur-Erra, been a member of the royal families of Ur and Mari appointed to a high office of the Ur III state (Sharlach 2001b: 68). Following this line of reasoning, it may be that Larsa broke away from Ur in a manner similar to Isin.

This begs the question of when it was, following the Ur III kings' loss of the territory, that Larsa became the capital of the Larsa rulers. No royal inscriptions of kings of Isin or texts dated with Isin year names have been found at Larsa. The earliest known inscription from Larsa of a presumed ruler of Old Babylonian Larsa is that of Zabāia, the fourth person on the Larsa King List (Frayne 1990: 112). Zabāia is connected with Isin in a very fragmentary letter from Girsu (see p. 37) apparently concerning a shortfall of deliveries to Isin from Zabāia after Zabāia took the throne (Arnaud 1977: 3-4).

The only known written evidence we have for a relationship between Isin and Larsa before the time of Zabāia is a document (BIN 9, 338) from the Isin craft archive that records a shipment to Larsa of 20 copper implements (*zamiṛītum*, possibly weapons) and 20 leather shields (see p. 29). This document is dated to year 16 of Išbi-Erra, which would be year 3 of Iemšium, the second ruler of Larsa according to the Larsa King List (Van De Mieroop 1987b: 114). The text does not tell us the recipient or the purpose of the shipment.

Altogether, the current evidence does not indicate whether Isin was in control of Larsa after the fall of the Ur III kingdom though the record of a shipment of goods, possibly weapons, and the letter to Isin concerning Zabāia suggest that Larsa may have

been a vassal or client of Isin at that time. We can only say with any certainty that Girsu, the source of the letter, and possibly Larsa were occupied by a person named in the Larsa King List by the time of its fourth purported ruler, Zabāia.

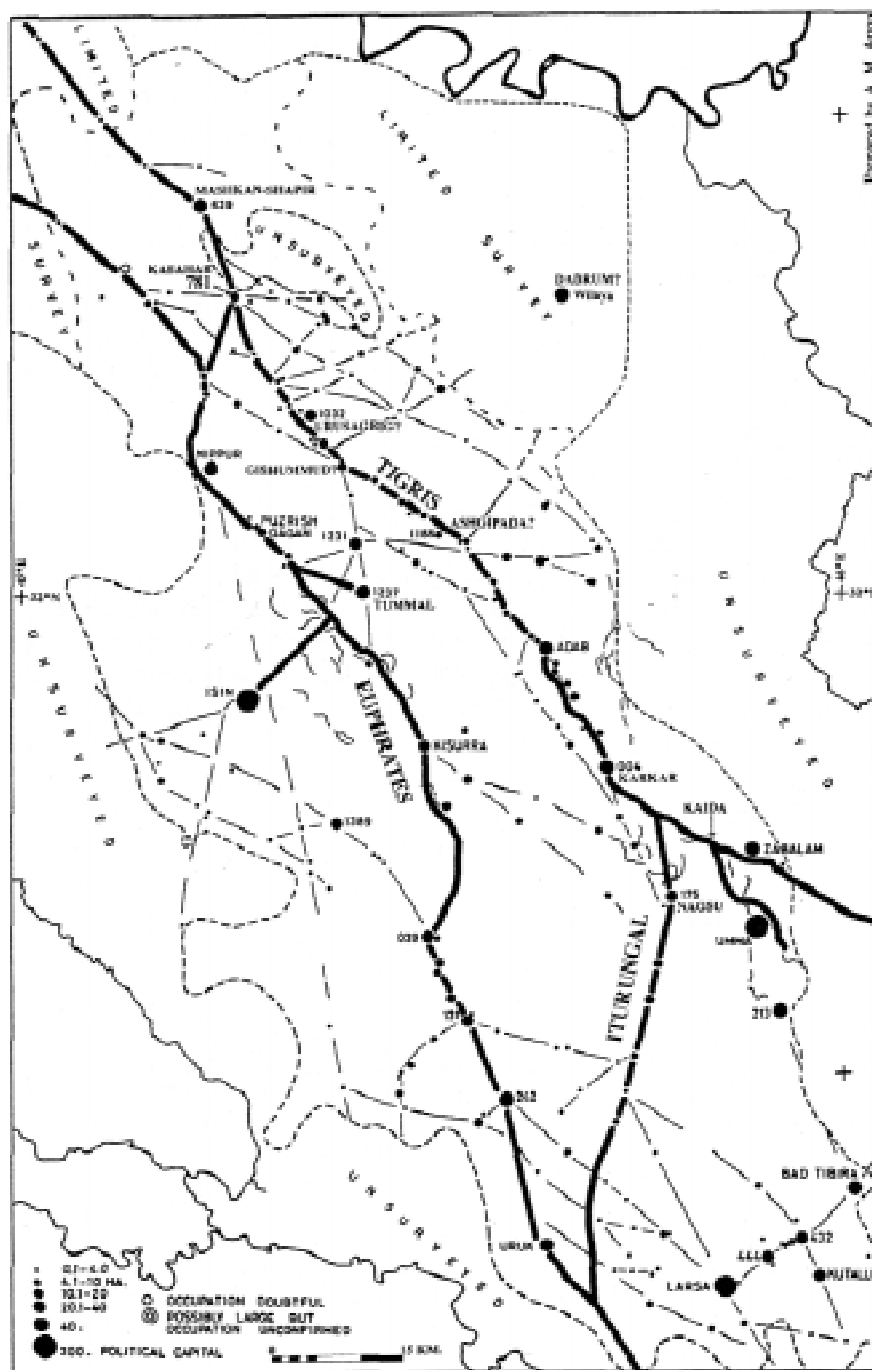


Fig. 1: Map of watercourses (Steinkeller 2001)

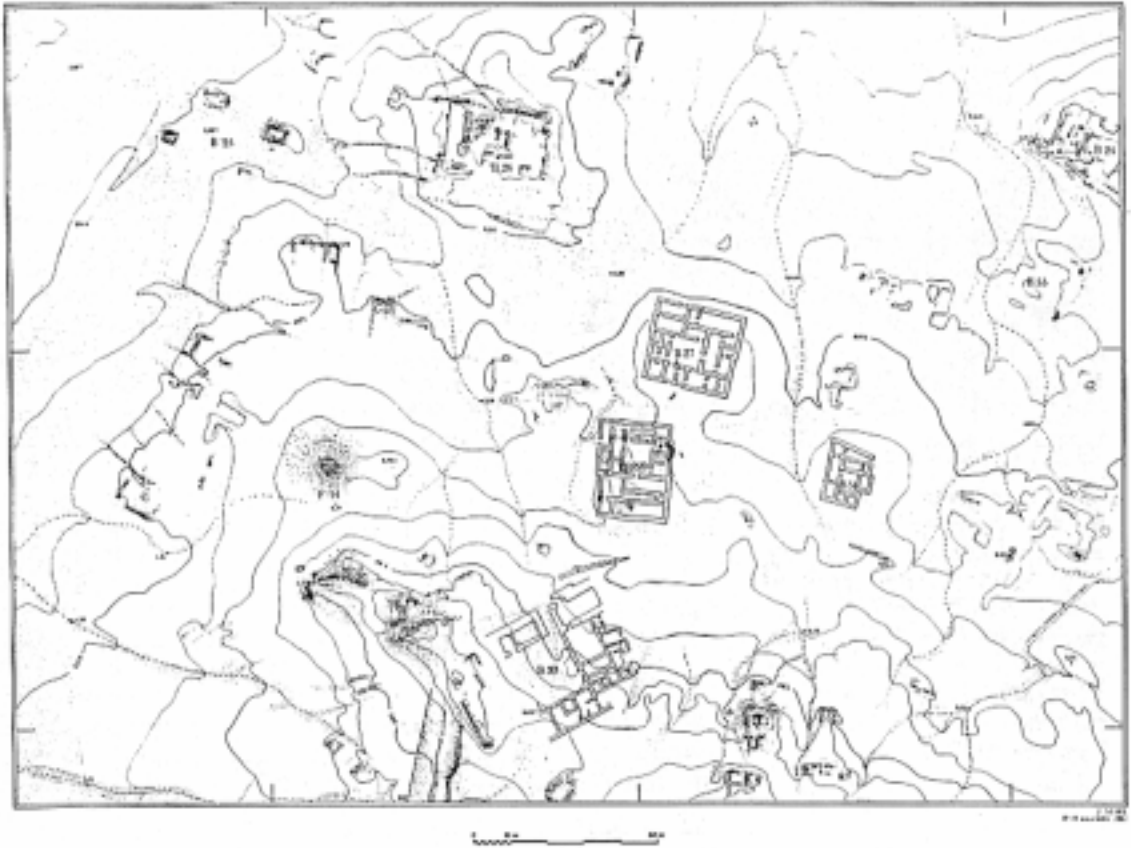


Fig. 2: Site plan of Tell Senkereh/Larsa (Calvet et al. 1991-92)

CHAPTER 2

UR III AMORITES OF THE LARSA KING LIST

The Larsa kingdom was the preeminent state in southern Mesopotamia for most of the period between the end of the Ur III Empire around 2003 B.C. and the consolidation of Babylonia by Hammu-rāpi in 1762 B.C. The origins of the kingdom of Larsa, however, remain unclear.

The Larsa Date List gives a list of rulers of Larsa from Naplānum through Rīm-Sîn along with the year names of those kings from Gungunum on and the Larsa King List (LKL) gives a list of the names and lengths of reigns of rulers of Larsa from Naplānum to Samsu-iluna of Babylon. The lists were probably compiled from earlier date lists and cover a span of time of about three centuries. The sources for the earliest rulers given by these lists are unknown, which leaves in doubt the meaning of the beginning of the lists.

Because the first four kings on the Larsa King List are not known to have had official year names, and the first three are not known to have left royal inscriptions, the consensus among many scholars is that Naplānum and his three successors, Iemšium, Sāmium, and Zabāia, were not independent rulers of Larsa, but officials in the Larsa or Lagaš-Girsu region under the Ur III kings and then perhaps under the kings of Isin after the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur (Matouš 1952: 302; Edzard 1957: 64; Hallo and Simpson 1998: 85).

Archives in Lagaš-Girsu end completely in the sixth year of Ibbi-Sîn of Ur and do not resume until the reign of Gungunum, the fifth on the Larsa King List (1932-1906 B.C.) (Lafont 1995: 89). No texts dated by Isin year names in the intervening period have been found there, nor do any year names of Isin kings refer to events in the Lagaš-Girsu region. This suggests that the Lagaš-Girsu area was probably never under the control of Isin (Frayne 1989).

The first sign of independence from Ur in the Lagaš-Girsu region comes from Ur-Ningirsu, a priest of Nanše at Girsu, who is known from inscriptions dedicated to the life of Šulgi and from a building inscription of his own that neglects to mention an Ur III king, suggesting that he was claiming a royal prerogative for himself (Frayne 1997: 427). However, there is no known link between Ur-Ningirsu and any of the first four people listed on the Larsa King List.

Naplānum

The Larsa King List credits Naplānum with being the first ruler of Larsa, giving him a reign of 21 years. This, counting backwards from the synchronism of later Larsa kings and kings of Isin and Babylon proposed by Martin Stol (Stol 1976), would place the beginning of his reign in the first year of Ibbi-Sîn, the last king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, and seven years before the independent reign of Išbi-Erra of Isin. However, a record of disbursements of livestock for various gods, including Utu of Larsa, dated Ibbi-Sîn year 2 (BIN 3, 607), suggests that Larsa was not independent of Ur under Naplānum in the second year of Naplānum's supposed reign because the kings of Ur were still sustaining the main sanctuary of Larsa at that time.

NBC 4236 (BIN 3, 607)		IS.2.3.--
obv	1. [n] udu-ú	n grass-fed sheep
	2. 1 máš-gal-ú	1 grass-fed mature goat
	3. ^d Nin-sún KI.KAL ^{ki}	(for) Ninsun (of) KI.KAL
	4. [n] udu-ú	n grass-fed sheep
	5. [n] máš-gal-ú [?]	n grass-fed mature goat
	6. ^d Utu šà Larsa ^{ki}	(for) Utu in Larsa
	7. u ₄ -13-kám	day 13
	8. 2 udu-níga-gu ₄ -e-ús-sa	2 fattened sheep of high quality
	9. ká gi ₆ -par ₄	(for) the gate of the gipar
	10. 2 udu-ú ^d bìl.mes.ga	grass-fed sheep (for) Gilgamesh
	11. u ₄ -14-[kám]	day 14
	12. 1 ^r udu [?] l-niga-gu ₄ -e-[ús-sa]	1 fattened sheep of high quality
	13. n] máš- ^r gal ^l [n mature goats [grass-fed?]
	14. ^r x ^l -[] an[(for) ...
	15. [n] ^r udu [?] l-niga-gu ₄ - ^r e ^l [-ús-sa]	n fattened sheep of high quality
	16. [] ^r x ^l [(for) ...
rev.	17. u ₄ -[15 [?] -kám]	day [15 [?]]
	18. 3 udu []	3 sheep []
	19. abzu []	(for) the abzu []
	20. u ₄ -[16 [?]]-kám	day [16 [?]]
	21. šà Unug ^{ki} -ga	in Uruk
	22. gùr [?] ri-mi-AN	via Ri-mi-AN
	23. ki ^d Šul-gi-ì-lí-ta	from Šulgi-ili
	24. ba-zi	were withdrawn
	25. gùr Ip-qú-ša / šár-ra-ab-du	conveyed by Ipquša the <i>šarrabdu</i>
	26. iti zah _x -da-gu ₇	month 3
	27. mu en ^d Inanna	year the high priest of Inanna
	28. [Unug ^{ki}]-ga máš-e ì-pàd	of Uruk was chosen (Ibbi-Suen year 2)
	l.e. 19 udu	(total:) 19 sheep (and goats)
seal	ip-qú-ša	Ipquša
	dumu i-šar-pá-dan	son of Išarpadan
	àga-ús lugal	the royal constable

It is possible that the 21 years of his reign (if that is an accurate figure) began with Naplānum's assumption of the leadership of a local tribe or people or, as Edzard has suggested, with the beginning of his appointment as a local official under Ibbi-Sîn (Edzard 1957: 64) rather than as the ruler of an independent Larsa. Only one known text dated to the reign of Ibbi-Sîn mentions a Naplānum (Buccellati 1966: unpublished B). It is a record of the expenditure of sheep and goats as regular allotments (sá-du₁₁) for the runners and Ilī-bābum, the son of Naplānum the Amorite. The document is similar to many earlier texts that record the expenditure of livestock as regular allotments for an Amorite named Naplānum.

Another suggestion, that Naplānum might have been an ancestor of later kings of Larsa to whom they traced their descent (Hallo and Simpson 1998: 82-83), is unsupported because in none of the known royal inscriptions do later Larsa kings claim to be descendants of Naplānum (Frayne 1990).

The role of Naplānum in the period before the fall of the Ur III Dynasty may be illuminated by administrative records from that period. The Amorite name Naplānum (Gelb 1980: 4887, 4888) appears in Ur III administrative records from Drehem, Lagaš, Uruk and Ur. There are 80 published Ur III documents mentioning Naplānum and at least four more unpublished texts. For a list of the Ur III documents mentioning Naplānum, please refer to appendix 2.

Whether or not Naplānum of the Ur III documents is the same person as the Naplānum of the Larsa King List has long been debated. Since, according to the above-mentioned chronology, only three years separate the last known Ur III document referring to Naplānum and the beginning of Naplānum's supposed reign, the Larsa King List and the Ur III administrative documents could refer to the same Naplānum.

In the document TCL 2 5508, dated to Amar-Sîn year 4, Naplānum's son, Abi-iškin, is recorded as having been assigned livestock. It has been argued by Buccellati that the son must have been at least 18 to have been assigned livestock in his own name, and Naplānum, therefore, was probably at least 38 years old in that year, making Naplānum at least 78 years-old (73 according to the revised chronology) at the end of the reign given him by the Larsa King List (Edzard 1957: 24 n. 102; Buccellati 1966: 319). Though it is likely that most of the population of his time did not reach so great an age, 73 years is not such an improbable life span as to preclude the Naplānum of the Larsa King List from being the same as that of the Ur III documents. Another long-lived king of Larsa was Rīm-Sîn I, who reigned for 60 years.

Buccellati further argues that the Naplānum of the Larsa King List and the Naplānum of the Ur III documents could not be the same person because another son of a Naplānum, Ilī-bābum (see above, p. 20), is known from an unpublished text, the original of which cannot be located, thought to have been dated to the second year of Ibbi-Sîn in Drehem (Buccellati 1966: 263, 320), the last year of the Drehem archives, and it is unlikely that a son of Naplānum would have been doing business in Drehem at the same time that his father had broken with the Ur III empire. If, however, Naplānum never rebelled against Ur, but was included in the Larsa King List because he was an important Amorite chief associated with Larsa at the end of the Ur III empire, there is no reason to assume that the Naplānum of the Larsa King List and of the Ur III documents were different people.

Little specific is known of the Naplānum of the Ur III texts. He is most often listed as Naplānum mar-dú in records of livestock deliveries. None of the Ur III texts clearly connects Naplānum with Larsa, but five texts from Lagaš suggest that he may have been associated with that region at the end of the Ur III period. These texts, ASJ

18, 224, TCTI 2, 2785, MVN 2, 287, MVN 11, 97, and TCTI 1, 922, are records of assignments of boats and workers. The earliest of these is dated Šulgi year 46 (MVN 2, 287) and the latest to the end of Amar-Sîn year 8 (TCTI 1, 922). Two of these documents (MVN 11, 97 and ASJ 18, 224) have written “la-ap-la-núm” instead of “na-ap-la-núm,” but because these record transactions almost identical to those of the other Lagaš-Girsu boat texts, the difference is probably due to scribal variation or error.

A possible link between Naplānum and Larsa suggested by Buccellati concerns the title A-bí-a-mu-ti. He writes, “...if A-bí-a-mu-ti is indeed a title meaning ‘sheikh of Yamūtum’ and if it refers to Nablānum ... one could see here a link between Nablānum and Larsa, since the title “sheikh of Yamūt-bal” was linked, as is well known, with the history of Larsa in the Old Babylonian period” (Buccellati 1966: 320 n. 163). A Drehem text, TRU 267, records livestock received by an Amorite called A-bí-a-mu-ti and his wife, Šāt-Šulgi. Buccellati has suggested that Šāt-Šulgi might be the Ur III princess by that name whose seal impressions were published by Schneider (Schneider 1943: 188) (Buccellati 1966: 339). The name of the wife of Naplānum is broken in text CCTE Bab. 17, and is not given in the only other text we have that mentions the wife of Naplānum, the unpublished text NCBT 1600.

There is no evidence that Naplānum ever used the title “sheikh of Yamūtum” or that there was a link between Larsa and Yamutbal as early as the end of the Ur III Dynasty, but one of the Ur III texts, TCL 2 5508, records livestock received by Naplānum, his brother, his son, his sister-in-law, and one Napšānum, the lú-kin-gi₄-a ià-a-mu-tim, the envoy of Yamūtum, in that order, followed by two more recipients of livestock, all of the above described as mar-dú. A text dated four months later, AnOr 7: 99, appears, according to the copy, to read “lú-kin-gi₄-a l̄a-mu²-ut²-tim¹ but with a

different, though broken, personal name, not designated specifically as mar-dú and not clearly associated with Naplānum in the text.

Regardless of his relationship to the royal family, Naplānum appears to be a figure of great importance in the Ur III texts. His name appears with much greater frequency than that of any other person designated as mar-dú in Ur III administrative records (see list of texts, appendix 3, p. 165). He regularly received large numbers of livestock. The largest amount of livestock recorded for Naplānum, 672 sheep, appears in a balance statement (nì-ka,-ak) dated to the tenth month of Amar-Sîn year 8, SET 104. A summary of expenditures in days 1-28 of the eleventh month of Šulgi year 48, the document, BCT 1, 74, records that he received 430 sheep and goats over two days of that month. In one text, TCL 2 55, he seems to have Amorite retainers (Buccellati 1966: 301). Naplānum is frequently mentioned in the same texts as people from the Northwest, including in one unpublished text, Ashm. 1971.363, a man of Mari, a man of Uršu, and a man of Ebla. He is also frequently listed with important officials, including the ensi of Kiš, AUCT I, 453, the ensi of Girsu, AUCT I, 940, and the ensi of Marhaši and the son of the king, TCL 2, 5508.

Sharlach pointed out that there are many texts from Puzriš-Dagan that record livestock expenditures for central shrines followed by expenditures of livestock for princes, courtiers, and foreign emissaries, evidence for her contention that high ranking foreign officials were present at major state-sponsored religious festivals (Sharlach 2001a). Naplānum appears as a recipient on some fifteen such texts from Šulgi year 46 (MVN 15, 201) to Šu-Sîn year 5 (NCBT 1600). In addition, Naplānum received 5 fattened sheep, which were to be transported by boat to the land of the Amorites, kur mar-dú, in Šulgi year 43 (Buccellati Amorites 2). All of this makes clear that Naplānum was an important dignitary in the Ur III period and very likely an official representative

of the Amorites during the period that the Larsa King List and Larsa Date List imply that he was the ruler of Larsa.

That Naplānum is included in lists of kings composed about three hundred years after the start of his supposed reign is strong evidence for his lasting historical importance and his association by the compilers of the Larsa King List with the kingdom of Larsa. It is probably Naplānum's association with the Amorites that warrants him his position on the Larsa King List and the Larsa Date List.

Many of the kings of Larsa had Amorite names or claimed to be Amorites in their titles and inscriptions. Zabāia (1941-1933 B.C.), who appears fourth on the Larsa King List, bears the title "Amorite chief," on one of his inscription found on five bricks discovered at Larsa (Frayne 1990: 112), "Zabāia, Amorite chief, son of Sāmium, built the Ebabbar." Abī-sarē (1905-1895 B.C.), who succeeded Gungunum as king of Larsa, calls himself "heedful [shepherd, belo]ved of the god Sîn, mighty [ma]n, [ki]ng of Ur, Amorite chief..." (*ra-bí-a-nu-um mar-dú-me-en*) in one of the two royal inscriptions known for him, (Frayne 1990: 122).

In contrast, rulers of the later Larsa dynasties of Nūr-Adad and Kudur-mabuk appear not to have considered themselves Amorites. None of the kings of the dynasty of Nūr-Adad claim to be Amorites in any of their royal inscriptions. In six inscriptions from the first half of his reign, Warad-Sîn, who reigned at Larsa from 1834-1823 B.C., does refer to his father, Kudur-mabuk, as "ad-da kur mar-dú," "father of the Amorite land," but in the second half of his reign, Warad-Sîn refers to his father in his inscriptions as "ad-da e-mu-ut-ba-la," "father of Emutbala." In Kudur-mabuk's own inscriptions he is only called "father of Emutbala," never "father of the Amorite land." Warad-Sîn was succeeded by his brother, Rīm-Sîn, who likewise never referred to himself or his father as Amorite in any of his inscriptions.

The reign of the Kudur-mabuk dynasty was brought to an end by kings of Babylon who clearly identified themselves as Amorites. Hammu-rāpi of Babylon, who conquered the kingdom of Larsa in 1762 B.C., is called “mighty king, king of Babylon, king of all the Amorite land (lugal da-ga-an kur-mar-dú)...” in two of his inscriptions (Frayne 1990: 8 and 9). A fragment of a statue is inscribed with a dedication “for the life of Hammu-rāpi, king of the Amo[r]ites...” (lugal-mar-[dú]) (Frayne 1990: 2001). Michalowski pointed out that this identification was most clearly demonstrated by the “Genealogy of the Hammu-rāpi Dynasty” and the related list of Šamšī-Adad’s ancestors found in the Assyrian King List (Michalowski 1983: 240).

The inclusion of Naplānum by compilers of the Larsa Date List in Hammu-rāpi year 39 and the compilers of the Larsa King List around the twelfth year of Samsu-iluna may have been part of an attempt to legitimize Babylon’s conquest of Larsa. Naplānum, whose activity at Drehem spans 21 years, the same length of time as the Larsa King List gives for his reign, was clearly an important representative of the Amorites at the end of the Ur III empire. By identifying the first king of Larsa with the most prominent Amorite of the Ur III period, they may have been promoting the claim that Larsa was from earliest times an Amorite kingdom that should by rights be ruled by Amorite kings, namely kings of Hammu-rāpi’s dynasty, rather than by kings that could not legitimately claim to be Amorites. In other words, Naplānum’s “kingship” may have been a useful fiction constructed by Babylonian scribes to assert the right of Amorite kings of Babylon to rule Larsa.

Iemšium

According to the Larsa King List and Larsa Date List, Naplānum was succeeded as king of Larsa by Iemšium, who reigned for 28 years. As with his

predecessor, we have no known royal inscriptions or year names for Iemšium, so we have no other evidence that he was a king of Larsa.

The period of his supposed reign would have begun in the final year of Ibbi-Sîn of Ur and corresponded to the period from Išbi-Erra of Isin's year 15 to Šu-ilīšu of Isin's year 9. Išbi-Erra years 14, 15, 17, and 19 refer to the building of fortifications and year 16 to the smiting of the Šimaškians (SU people) and Elam (Sigrist 1988: 15-17). These year names of Išbi-Erra along with the possible literary evidence of the Lament over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur (Michalowski 1989), indicate that a period of instability and upheaval obtained in southern Mesopotamia at the time Iemšium, according to the Larsa King List, became king.

We have no evidence for the succession of Iemšium and no way to tell if he was Naplānum's heir or a usurper or even if the position he held was normally a hereditary one at all. The names of sons of a Naplānum known from the Ur III documents are Abi-iškin, Ilī-bābum, Mudanum, and Šulgi-abi. The only known names of brothers of Naplānum are Ea-bela, written é-a-bi-la (Ashm. 1971.363 unpublished, transliteration courtesy of W.W. Hallo) and Yanbul-lī, written ía-an-bu-li (TCL 2, 5508). In the known texts that mention Naplānum, the name Iemšium is not found.

Like Naplānum, Iemšium, written e-mi-zum and e-me-zum, is an Amorite name (Streck 2000: 181). Two texts (BIN 9, 316 and 217) mention an Amorite named Iemšium as the recipient of a container of fine oil (^{du}gšáman ì-du₁₀-ga) in a list of a gifts (níg-šu-tag₄-a = šūzūbtum) for about forty Amorites, dated Išbi-Erra year 15 and of a leather bag in Išbi-Erra year 32. Išbi-Erra years 15 and 32 would correspond to the first and nineteenth years of Iemšium's supposed reign.

As can be seen in the transliteration and translation of the first text below, a list of official gifts to Amorites, this Iemšium does not stand out from the other Amorites.

However, he appears in this text to have been in very august company. Abda-El and his son Ušašum, listed in lines 13 and 14 of the first column, are known from texts from Tell Asmar to have been closely allied by marriage to the rulers of Ešnunna. Ušašum was married to the daughter of Nūr-ahum of Ešnunna, and a daughter of Abda-El was married to Bilalama of Ešnunna (Whiting 1987: 26ff.). There is no reason to doubt that the Iemšium of this document was of equally high status in the eyes of Išbi-Erra of Isin since he received an official gift along with Abda-El and Ušašum.

BIN 9, 316	IE15.07
obv I 1. 1 ^{dug} šáman [i-]du ₁₀ -ga	1 container of fine oil
2. i-dur-[...]-an	(for) ʾItūr-[...]
3. 1 ^{kuš} du ₁₀ -[gan ...] bi	1 leather bag ...
[...]-ta	...
4. mi [...]-il	(for) PN (?)
5. 1 mu-[...]	1 (for) PN (?)
6. g̃ir nu-hi-DINGIR	conveyor: Nuhi-ili
7. 1 i-la-nu-um	1 (for) Ilānum
8. 1 la-mu-ma-nu-um	1 (for) Lamumānum
9. 1 me-pi-um	1 (for) Mēpi‘um
10. g̃ir en-um- ^d suen	conveyor: Enum-Sîn
11. 1 la-ú-šum	1 (for) Lā’ûšum
12. 1 nu-úr- ^d suen	1 (for) Nūr-Sîn
13. 1 ab-de ₄ -al	1 (for) Abda-El
14. 1 ú-ša-šum dumu-ni	1 (for) Ušašum his son
15. 1 iq-ba-nu-um	1 (for) Iqbānum
16. 1 ma-si-it-a-nu-um	1 (for) Masitānum
17. g̃ir ur- ^d f x l	conveyor: Ur-DN
II 1. 1 ša-ma-mu-um	1 (for) Šamāmum
2. 1 ^{dug} šáman ì-du ₁₀ -ga	1 container of fine oil
3. dam ša-ma-mu-um	(for) the wife of Šamāmum

4.	gìr bu-la-la-tum	conveyor: Bulalātum
5.	1 ma-na-nu-um	1 (for) Manānum
6.	gìr gu-za-ni	conveyor: Guzani
7.	1 i-da-pí-ìl	1 (for) Ida-pī-El
8.	1 du-si-mu-um	1 (for) Dusimum
9.	1 ša-ap-ra-nu-um	1 (for) Šaprānum
10.	1 ib-la-nu-um	1 (for) Iblānum
11.	1 hu-ni-na-nu-um	1 (for) Hunīnānum
12.	1 da-tum-pí-ìl	1 (for) Dātum-pī-El (or Dādum-pī-El)
13.	1 a-hi-da-nu-um	1 (for) Ahi-dannum
14.	1 ^{du} gšáman ì-[du ₁₀ -]ga	1 container of fine oil
15.	lú- ^d mar-dú	(for) Lu-Martu
16.	gìr šu-eš ₄ -tár	conveyor: Šu-Eštar
17.	1 e-me-zum	1 (for) Iemšium
rev III	1.	1 da-i- ^l x ^l -[x] 1 (for) PN
	2.	1 da-ni-iš-me- ^l me ^l
	3.	1 i-na-nu-um
	4.	gìr šà-gul-lum
	5.	1 i-la-bí-ni
	6.	1 a-za-zum
	7.	1 ma-ra-zum
	8.	1 bu-ga-nu-um
	9.	1 na-ap-ša-nu-um
	10.	gìr i-din- ^d suen
	11.	1 ^l x ^l -ma-nu-um
	12.	[1 x]-ku-bu-um
	13.	[1] ^l x ^l -ú-lu-um
	14.	[1] e-ti-um
	15.	[1] lu-bu-e-el
	16.	1 a-bi-ad-e-el
	17.	1 a-da-dum
	=====	=====
	18.	gìr uš
		conveyor: Uš

IV	=====	=====
	1. [x+] 25 kuš ₁₀ -gan-túg	n leather bags
	20 [x] dugšáman	n containers
	kuš [x x x] [...]	leather ...
	8 ka-tab-šè	for 8 lids
	2. níg-šu-tag ₄ -a	official gifts
	3. ki mar-dú-e-ne	to the Amorites
	4. iti du ₆ -kù	month 7
	5. mu ús-sa bàd	year after the wall
	li-bur- ^d iš-bi-	“Libur-Išbi-
	èr-ra ba-dù]	Erra” was built (year 15)
l.e.	1. gaba-[ri]	copy
	BIN 9, 217	IE32.04.02
obv	1. 1 kuš ₁₀ -gan-túg	1 leather bag
	2. kuš udu-bi 2	its sheep skins are 2
	3. e-mi-zum	(for) Iemšium
	4. 2 kuš udu ka-tab dugšáman 10-kam	2 sheep skins (for) the lids of 10 containers
rev	=====	=====
	5. iti šu-numun-a u ₄ 2-kam	month 4, day 2
	6. mu ús-sa nin-dingir lugal-[gìr]-[ra] ⁷¹	year after the high-priestess of Lugal-girra

Neither of the texts indicates a connection between this Iemšium and the region of Larsa. The only written evidence we have for a relationship between Isin and Larsa at this time is a text dated to year 16 of Išbi-Erra (BIN 9, 338), the second year of Iemšium’s supposed reign. The document records a shipment of twenty copper implements (*zamirītum*), possibly weapons, and twenty leather shields sent to Larsa from the Isin craft workshop (Van De Mieroop 1987b: 114). The copper implements may not be weapons, but their juxtaposition with leather shields suggests that they are.

Why a singer would be the recipient of such a shipment is unclear. Neither the purpose of the shipment nor the nature of the relationship between Isin and Larsa are illuminated by this document.

	BIN 9, 338	IE16.04
obv	1. 20 ^{urudu} zà-mi-rí-tum	20 copper bladed objects
	2. 20 ^{kuš} ga-ba-bu-um	20 leather shields
	3. larsa ^{ki} -šè	to Larsa
	4. LU ₂ -ša-lim nar	(for) LU ₂ -šalim the singer
rev	5. g̃ir li-bur-be-lí	conveyor: Libur-beli
	=====	=====
	6. iti šu-numun-a	month 4
	7. mu ^d iš-bi-èr-ra	year Išbi-Erra
	lugal ugnim _x (SU.LU.AŠ)	the king smote the armies
	lú-SU ^{KI} .A	of Šimaški
	ù elam e-ne in-ra	and Elam (year 16)

It is impossible to explain from the very limited evidence above why Iemšium would have been included by the scribes of Larsa King List and the Larsa Date List. We know only that an important Amorite named Iemšium received official gifts from Isin during the period in which the Larsa Date Lists and Larsa King List purport Iemšium to have reigned.

CHAPTER 3

THE DYNASTY OF SAMIUM

There is no evidence that Naplānum or Iemšium were independent of Ur and then Isin, but for the next person named on the Larsa King List, Sāmium, we have contemporary evidence for the beginning of independent rule in the region of Larsa. Royal inscriptions indicate that the next three persons on the Larsa Kings List were related by blood, so I have taken the liberty of naming this group the Dynasty of Sāmium..

Sāmium

Sāmium is the third name on the Larsa King List and the first person on the Larsa King List to be known from royal inscriptions, albeit the inscriptions of his sons, Zabāia and Gungunum, who appear fourth and fifth on the Larsa King List (Frayne 1990: E4.2.4.1, E4.2.5.3). The only link between Sāmium and his purported predecessors is that the name of Sāmium, like the two preceding names on the Larsa King List, is Amorite. It is written “sa-mi-um,” “sa-mu-um,” and “sa-mu-ú-um,” and is from either the root śm^c “to hear” “to listen to” or the root śmh “to rejoice” (Gelb 1980).

The Larsa King List and Larsa Date List give no year names for Sāmium, nor are any known from other sources. He is accorded a reign of 35 years, making his

purported reign contemporary with the reigns of the Isin kings Šu-ilīšu, Iddin-Dagān, and Išme-Dagān from about Šu-ilīšu year 8 to Išme-Dagān year 13.

Šu-ilīšu	10	1	Sāmium
Iddin-Dagān	1	2	
Išme-Dagān	1	23	
	13	35	

The year names and inscriptions of these three Isin kings refer almost entirely to the maintenance of the cults of Ur, Nippur, Isin, Uruk, and Eridu, indicating the area under the control of Isin. The Isin kings' year names and royal inscriptions appear to reflect peaceful reigns concerned only with providing for the cults. None of the known year names or inscriptions of these kings allude to conflict with Larsa or any one else. However, in two hymns, Iddin-Dagān C and Iddin-Dagān D (Black et al. 1998-), the Isin king requests divine assistance in defeating his enemies. Iddin-Dagān C, an *adab* to Nin-gublaga, ends with an entreaty that the god “be the crusher of Iddin-Dagān’s enemies” (ll. 28-30) A pair of literary letters purports to be an exchange between Iddin-Dagān and his general, Sîn-illat, concerning a conflict with Amorites near Kakkulatūm (Ali 1964: 63-66; Black et al. 1998-). If these hymns and letters are based on authentic originals contemporary with Iddin-Dagān’s reign, they belie the peaceful tone of Iddin-Dagān’s royal inscriptions and year names.

Two inscriptions of Išme-Dagān (Frayne 1990: E4.1.4.5-6) record that he canceled the tribute of Nippur and the military corvée obligations of its citizens, and restored Nippur to its rightful place, which strongly suggests that Nippur was for an interval out of Isin’s control. Nippur may have been lost to Isin during the reign of Iddin-Dagān, as suggested by an inscription of the later Isin king, Enlil-bāni, in which Enlil-bāni claims to have installed in Nippur two statues of Ninlil fashioned by Iddin-Dagān that Iddin-Dagān had not been able to bring to Nippur: “Iddin-Dagān, the

king, fashioned two great copper statues (but) did not bring them into Nippur. From Iddin-Dagān until Enlil-bāni, the king, for 117 years they stood in Isin.” (Frayne 1990: E4.1.10.11, ll. 3-9) A self-praise hymn of Išme-Dagān (Išme-Dagān A) may describe the Isin king’s retaking of Nippur. It records that both rebel cities and nomadic Amorites brought tribute to him at Enlil’s command (Black et al. 1998-: Išme-Dagān A, ll. 257-273). The Nippur Lament recounts Išme-Dagān’s restoration of Nippur, though Tinney believes that this is an ideological document rather than a historical account of an actual attack on Nippur (Tinney 1996: 6ff.). If Nippur was indeed lost to Isin in the reign of Iddin-Dagān, it may have been Sāmium who wrested control of the important cult center from him, but there is not yet evidence for this suggestion. Frayne has proposed that Sāmium’s successor, Zabāia, may have been Iddin-Dagān’s antagonist because inscriptions of Zabāia were found at Maškan-šapir, a site less than thirteen kilometers northeast of Nippur (Frayne 1998: 26). This proposal would require ignoring the regnal length of Zabāia recorded in the Larsa King List in order to make Zabāia’s reign contemporary with that of Iddin-Dagān.

A document excavated at Girsu (Tello) (TG 3913) records an oath in the name of Sāmium, *mu sa-mi-um in-pàd* (Genouillac 1936: pl. LIII, ll. 8-9). Oaths only invoked the names of Mesopotamian gods and rulers; therefore Sāmium was considered a ruler in the territory where the oath was taken. The contract from Girsu with an oath in the name of Sāmium, rather than a king of Isin, indicates that the Lagaš-Girsu region recognized Sāmium as its ruler and is further evidence for a certain level of independence of the region from Isin. Whether Sāmium was entirely independent of Isin’s control is uncertain. A letter from Girsu concerning Sāmium’s son and successor, Zabāia (see p. 37) suggests that goods had previously been sent to Isin from Girsu, perhaps as tribute or tax. Furthermore, lines 214-238 of the Nippur Lament list cities that

it states the gods commanded Išme-Dagān to restore, which includes Larsa (ll. 222-223) and Lagaš (ll. 228-229), suggesting that Išme-Dagān considered these cities to be under Isin's control.

Another possible reference to Sāmium as an independent ruler was suggested by Al-Rawi and Dalley, who claimed that a year name from a tablet excavated at Sippar (Al-Rawi and Dalley 2000: no. 122) is evidence for Sāmium having been the king of Larsa during the reign of Immerum of Sippar. They interpret the date, *mu ša sa-mu¹-um ba-ug₇*, as “the year Sāmium died,” although the sign they read “mu¹” according to the copy better resembles the sign BE. The date appears on a tablet found in the same jar as one dated with year name C+1 of Immerum of Sippar, according to the copy, “*mu ús-<sa> bād ga-gi¹-im im-me-ru-um i-pu-šu,*” “the year after Immerum built the wall of the ‘cloister’” (Al-Rawi and Dalley 2000: no. 121). Al-Rawi and Dalley point out that “Since the death of important rulers is recorded only in the year names of adjacent kings, this reading, for a king of Larsa, is preferred to *sa-be^{1?}-um*. It indicates a synchronism between Immerum of Sippir and Samum of Larsa, if a possible link between this and the previous text is correct.” (Al-Rawi and Dalley 2000: 131). However, they also claim that Immerum of Sippar was a contemporary of Sūmû-la-II of Babylon who reigned, according to the middle chronology, from 1880-1845, and was thus a contemporary of the Larsa kings Sūmû-El, Nūr-Adad, and Sîn-iddinam. It is clear, therefore, that the ruler whose death is recorded in the year name on tablet 122 cannot be Sāmium of Larsa if the tablet is to be dated, along with the tablet with which it was found, to the time of Immerum of Sippar. It is much more likely that the year name refers to the death of Sābium who succeeded Sūmû-la-II to the throne of Babylon.

Though we have evidence from the oath in the contract from Girsu for Sāmium being a ruler in the Lagaš-Girsu region, we have nothing that links Sāmium to Larsa itself. The first unassailable connection between a name on the Larsa King List and the city of Larsa is from the reign of Sāmium’s son and successor, Zabāia.

Zabāia

Fourth on the Larsa King List, Zabāia is given a reign of nine years. There are no year names for Zabāia in the Larsa Date List and none are known from documents. Year names were a royal prerogative that Zabāia seems not to have assumed. However, there are other indications that Zabāia was an independent ruler. The most notable of these is that he had royal inscriptions.

There are several inscriptions known for him. One inscription found on five inscribed bricks discovered at Larsa concerns the rebuilding of the Ebabbar temple (Frayne 1990: 112),

<i>za-ba-a-a</i>	Zabāia,
<i>ra-bí-an mar.dú</i>	Amorite chief,
<i>dumu sa-mi-um</i>	son of Sāmium,
<i>é.babbar.ra</i>	built the Ebabbar.
<i>i-pu-uš</i>	

Though his name is of uncertain ethnic origin, it clear from one of his royal inscriptions that Zabāia considered himself an Amorite and was the son of Sāmium. In the inscription Zabāia is called “Amorite chief” rather than “king”; however, he is clearly exercising a royal prerogative by rebuilding the temple of the city god, Šamaš, and leaving inscriptions in his own name. This is the earliest known confirmation of the

evidence from the Larsa King List, showing that Zabāia was indeed at Larsa and was the son of the third “king” in the list.

A fragment of an inscribed cone excavated at Maškan-šapir (Frayne 1990: 112), to be published by Piotr Steinkeller, is noteworthy for showing an early connection between Maškan-šapir and Larsa. Maškan-šapir was to be increasingly important to Larsa, reaching its acme during the reign of the Kudur-mabuk Dynasty. This inscription is written in a mixture of Sumerian and Akkadian, using a typical Ur III royal epithet, “nita-kala-ga” as well as the title “*rabiān mar-dú*.”

A Neo-Babylonian copy of a dedicatory inscription was excavated at Sippar but has not yet been published (Frayne 1990: 112). However, the existence of a late copy of an inscription probably does not indicate the contemporary influence of Zabāia in Sippar.

An inscribed seal of a servant of Zabāia, Ikū-mīšar, has been published by David Weisberg (Weisberg 1989). Weisberg contends that Zabāia was a king because servant seals, like building inscriptions, were a royal prerogative, a point argued by Hallo in his review of ZZB (Hallo 1959b: 235).

According to the best available evidence, the reign of Zabāia recorded in the Larsa King List would have been contemporary with the end of the reign of Išme-Dagān of Isin and the beginning of the reign of Išme-Dagān’s successor Lipit-Eštar.

Išme-Dagān	14	1	Zabāia
Lipit-Eštar	1	8	
	2	9	

Zabāia is mentioned in a fragmentary letter found at Girsu, regarding deliveries to Isin (Arnaud 1977: 3f.), which says,

rev.	...	
4.	<i>a-na i-si-in^{ki} uš-ta-^lx^l[...]</i>	to Isin
5.	<i>uš-tu ...</i>	
6.	120 ? ...	
7.	120 sîla lâl 120 sîla ì-nun 60 sîla ^l x ^l	120 liters of honey, 120 liters of ghee, 60 liters of ?
8.	ša ? ...	
9.	<i>a-na i-si-in^{ki} ì-lí-?</i> ...	to Isin ...
10.	<i>uš-tu za-ba-a-a be-lí</i>	since Zabāia, my lord,
11.	<i>i-na ġiš^{gu}-za^{im} uš-bu-ma</i>	assumed the throne
12.	<i>a-ni-a-am kà-la-ma i-^ldin^l</i>	this is everything he has given
	...	

This letter is given as evidence that Larsa was under the control of Isin before the reign of Gungunum and of an early connection between Girsu and Larsa. Arnaud suggests that this text shows Zabāia's dependence on Isin.

Administrative archives from Girsu fall silent in the sixth year of the reign of Ibbī-Sîn of Ur and only resume there about a century later in the reign of Zabāia's successor, Gungunum (Lafont 1995: 6). There are no archival texts from Girsu with Isin year names to indicate that the area was under the control of Isin in the intervening period and as yet no way to know what went on in the province of Lagaš at that time. Our only clues are the fragmentary letter from Lagaš that refers to Zabāia having taken the throne and the document from Lagaš with an oath in the name of Sāmium.

Gungunum

According to a royal inscription (Frayne 1990: 118), Gungunum claimed to have been the son of Sāmium and was, therefore, the brother of Zabāia:

gu-un-gu-nu-um	Gunguum,
lugal-larsa.ki-ma	king of Larsa,

lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri	king of the land of Sumer and Akkad,
ibila-kala-ga-	mighty heir
sa-mi-um	of Sāmium,
bàd-gal-larsa.ki-ma	in the course of one year
ᵈutu ki-bal-e sá-di	made the bricks and
mu-bi-im	built the great wall of Larsa named
šà-mu-aš-ka sig₄-bi	“Utu overtakes the rebellious land.”
ù bād-bi mu-dù	

Like the names preceding Zabāia on the Larsa King List, the name Gungunum is Amorite. It is from the word “gungun,” meaning protection, defense, or shelter (Streck 2000: 334).

According to the Larsa King List, Gungunum was the fifth ruler of Larsa and reigned 27 years. This corresponds to the Larsa Date List (Thureau-Dangin 1918), which, in addition to the names and lengths of reign of each ruler, contains the year names of the Larsa kings from Gungunum on. The synchronism of the Isin and Larsa kings gives us the following correspondences for the reign of Gungunum:

Lipit-Eštar	3	1	Gungunum
Ur-Ninurta	1	10	
	18	27	

We are fortunate to have the complete series of Gungunum’s year names (Sigrist 1990) as well as four of Gungunum’s royal inscriptions (Frayne 1990: 114-118) and literary texts (see below, p. 44). Together these offer the best evidence available for the history of his reign.

According to Gungunum’s year names, he began his reign with a focus on military events in Elam. His third through fifth year names commemorate the destruction

of Bašimi and Anšan: mu ba-ši-mi^{ki} ba-hul, mu ús-sa ba-ši-mi^{ki} ba-hul, and mu an-ša-an^{ki} ba-hul. Anšan had been an ally of Iddin-Dagān of Isin forty-five years earlier, according to Iddin-Dagān’s second year name, which states that he married his daughter to the ruler of Anšan. It is unknown whether Isin and Anšan were still allies at the time Gungunum claims to have destroyed Anšan. Year name 2 of Iddin-Dagān records the marriage of his daughter to the king of Anšan, and two of his inscriptions (Frayne 1990: E4.1.2.1-2) also mention Anšan. Anšan was a capital of highland Elam. Šulgi had married one of his daughters to the ruler of Anšan in his thirtieth year, but four years later destroyed Anšan according to his year names 34-36 (Potts 1994: 128f.) Šu-Sîn may also have married one of his daughters to a ruler of Anšan (Potts 1994: 129). It appears that Iddin-Dagān was following an Ur III tradition of diplomatic alliances with Anšan. How such an alliance might have affected Larsa is unknown.

Gungunum’s second year name may also contain an oblique martial reference. It commemorates the introduction of two copper palm trees into the temple of Utu, mu 2 ^{giš}gišimmar urudu é-^dutu-šè i-ni-in-k[u₄-re], and may be compared to the name of Hammu-rāpi’s year 27b: mu šu-nir mah kù-sig₁₇ huš-a igi-du ^{giš}gišimmar éren-na-ke₄ dingir gal-gal-e-ne-šè á-dah-a-ni-šè mu-un-ne-dím-ma “the year in which (Hammu-rāpi) made a great emblem of reddish gold, a palm-tree vanguard of the army, for the great gods his helpers” (Sigrist n.d.: 36). The copper palm trees mentioned in Gungunum’s second year name may also have served as military standards.

Following the year names concerning his military feats in Elam are four year names that focus on Larsa and its patron deity, Utu. Gungunum’s sixth and seventh year names commemorate the selection of the high-priestess of Utu, mu en ^dutu máš-e in-pàd and mu ús-sa en ^dutu máš-e in-pàd, his eighth year name the introduction of a large copper statue in the temple of Utu, mu alam urudu gu-la é-^dutu-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-re, and his

ninth year name the installation of the aforementioned priestess, mu en ^dutu ba-hun-gá. Gungunum's sixth and seventh year names are the same as the tenth and eleventh year names of his successor, Abī-sarē. This led Figulla to date texts excavated at Ur to Gungunum's years 6 and 7 (Figulla and Martin 1953: nos. 527, 528, 617). Figulla also believed that Abī-sarē's years 8 and 9, mu ^{urudu}alam na₄ nì-gul-da-ta ak é-^dutu-ra i-ni-ku₄-ra, were alternative names for Gungunum's ninth year (Figulla and Martin 1953: nos. 525, 732, 787). These Ur texts should be dated to Abī-sāre's reign.

It is in the name of Gungunum's tenth year that we see another shift in focus, the first reference to Ur and that city's patron deity, Nanna. Year 10 refers to the introduction of two standards into the temple of Nanna, mu ^{giš}su-nir gal min-a-bi é-a-bi é-^dnanna-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-re; years 11, 12, and 14 to a statue, perhaps of the king, fashioned for Nanna, mu alam urudu gìr-tab-ba <^dnanna-ra> mu-un-na-dím, mu ús-sa alam urudu gìr-tab-ba <^dnanna-ra> mu-un-na-dím, and mu alam urudu gìr-tab-ba é-^dnanna-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-re.

Also with reference to Ur, Gungunum's year 13 records the installation of Enninsunzi as high priestess of Nin-gublaga in Ur, mu en-nin-sún-zi en ^dnin-gublaga ba-hun-gá. This is particularly noteworthy because Enninsunzi was the daughter of the Isin king Lipit-Eštar and was selected as high priestess of Nin-gublaga in that king's year G, mu en-^dnin-sún-zi en ^dnin-gublaga úri^{ki}-ma máš-e ì-pàd (the order of Lipit-Eštar's year names has not been established). Nin-gublaga, an otherwise rarely attested god, seems to have had special importance for the kings of Isin. A hymn of Iddin-Dagan, an *adab* to Nin-gublaga, was found at Nippur (Jacobsen 1946; Kramer 1944). It is therefore significant that Gungunum would honor another king's selection of a priestess and further that his year name would reflect the event. Another princess of Isin held the office of high priestess of Nanna in Ur after Gungunum took control of that

city. Enanatum, daughter of Išme-Dagan, dedicated to Gungunum the building of a storehouse for Dagan in one royal inscription (Frayne 1990: E4.2.5.1) and the building of a storehouse for Utu in another (Frayne 1990: E4.2.5.2).

In addition to the shift in focus to Ur and Nanna seen in Gungunum's tenth through fourteenth year names, it can be shown that the earliest tablets excavated at Ur with Gungunum year names are dated to Gungunum year 10. A tablet from the Yale Babylonian Collection (YBC 5447), published by Hallo (Hallo 1965), is a mercantile agreement impressed with a Persian Gulf seal, possibly from Ur, which was an important center for trade with the Persian Gulf. It is dated Gungunum year 10. From the evidence of the tablets found at Ur with Gungunum year names beginning with Gungunum year 10, and the references to Ur and Nanna beginning in Gungunum's tenth year name, it was probably in that year that Gungunum took control of Ur.

Gungunum's takeover of Ur coincided with the end of Išbi-Erra's dynasty in Isin and the rise of a usurper, Ur-Ninurta. Only one year name of Lipit-Eštar suggests that there was any conflict during his reign. Lipit-Eštar year I, "the year in which Lipit-Eštar repulsed the Amorite," (Sigrist n.d.) may be a reference to Gungunum or to outside invaders. Gordon argued that Gungunum peacefully took over Ur because it was in danger of being lost to Amorites, perhaps Sîn-kāšid of Uruk (Gordon 1956: 21). A more likely candidate than Sîn-kāšid, who probably ruled much later, is one of the Amorite kings of Kisurra, either Alilahadum or Sumukanasa, who, based on their year names, may have held the city of Uruk at the time of Gungunum (Kienast 1978: 20-21). It may also be argued that Gungunum's take-over of Ur must have been nonviolent because Gungunum installed the daughter of Lipit-Eštar as high-priestess of Nin-gublaga in Ur according to his thirteenth year name, and because another daughter of Lipit-Eštar, the high-priestess of Nanna at Ur, dedicated building projects for the life

of Gungunum. However, it is possible that Gungunum was constrained to appoint the already chosen priestess of Nin-gublaga and that it was politically expedient for the priestess of Nanna to support Gungunum. Two literary letters, translated below, refer to a military conflict between the armies of Lipit-Eštar and Gungunum. These letters allude to events recorded in Gungunum's year names, which suggests that they bear some relation to historical events. Whether or not the transfer of control of Ur from Isin to Larsa was peaceful, kings of Larsa continued to control the city of Ur, with the possible exception of Sūmû-El's years 19 through 22, until Larsa was conquered by Hammu-rāpi of Babylon.

Year names 15 through 18 of Gungunum refer to monumental building and irrigation projects probably in or around the city of Larsa itself. Gungunum years 15, *mu e^{íd}an-né-pàd-da in-si-ga*, and 17, *mu e im-gur-^dEN.ZU in-si-ga*, are named for the digging of the Annapadda and Imgur-Sîn canals respectively, the sites of which are not yet known. Year 16, *mu é^dinanna šà larsa^{ki}-ma ba-dù*, is named for the building of the temple of Inanna in Larsa, and year 18, *mu é^dlugal-ki-du₉-na ba-dù*, for the building of the temple of Lugalkiduna in Kutalla, modern Tell Sifr (Charpin 1980: 1f.; Renger 1967: 165), fourteen kilometers east of Larsa.

The names of Gungunum's years 19 through 23 suggest a period of expansion for the kingdom of Larsa. In year 19 Gungunum claims to have destroyed the army of Malgium, secured the road-house, and opened the source of the mountain canal at the command of the gods An, Enlil, and Nanna, the gods of Uruk, Nippur, and Ur, *mu inim an^den-líl^dnanna-ta ugnim mà-al-gi₄-a^{ḡiš}tukul ba-an-sìg é-danna bí-in-gi-na ù^{íd} kur-ra ka-bi ba-an-úš*. That Enlil, the god of Nippur is mentioned in this year name may indicate that Gungunum held sway at Nippur in that year. The short form of this year

name, mu ugnim mà-al-gi₄-a ^{giš}tukul ba-an-sìg, is very similar to a variant of the fifth year name of the later Larsa king, Sîn-iddinam.

Literary letters to and from Lipit-Eštar of Isin, which concern the encroachment of the army of Gungunum on Isin's territory, may anachronistically refer to the events recorded in this year name as Ur-Ninurta had already succeeded Lipit-Eštar as king of Isin before Gungunum's nineteenth year. The following translations are from the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (Black et al. 1998-):

Letter of Nanna-kiaḡ to Lipit-Eštar

- 1-3 Speak to my lord: this is what Nanna-kiaḡ the general, your servant, says:
4-6 the road-house has turned against my lord. Atta-mannum has made six hundred troops of Gungunum enter the road-house.
7-11 I would not allow these troops to enter old Iri-saḡ-ana. They camped instead in Iri-gibil. The troops of Gungunum have come from the banks of the Id-Amar-Suena watercourse, in order to build ..., to make Dunnun ready (?) and to ...
12-17 If my lord does not crews of highlanders, bows, arrows, small boats, fishermen ..., their tied-up leather sacks, weapons, ... and implements, the armaments of battle, then the troops will construct brick structures by the bank of the Id-Amar-Suena watercourse, ... and dig a ... canal.
18-19 They should not be neglectful, my lord! It is urgent!

Letter of Lipit-Eštar to his general Nanna-kiaḡ

- 1-3 Say to Nanna-kiaḡ, the general: this is what Lipit-Eštar, your lord, says:
4-7 Because of enemy troops, I, the king, have sent you a letter. Atta-mannum, who pleases his lord, is (?) a better servant to his lord than you! Why is it that you have not been avenging your lord, and not keeping me informed?
8-10 Now, I have sent to you in haste 2000 soldiers who are spear-throwers, 2000 soldiers who are archers, and 2000 soldiers who are double-axe wielders.

11-17 The enemy has camped down in Iri-gibil. Chase them away from those settlements; do not ... Guard (?) each city ... Do not let these cities out of your grasp. Station your people -- it is urgent!

In the following year, year 20, Gungungum claims to have built the great gate of Ur, mu abul mah úri^{ki}-ma ba-dù; in year 21 the great wall of Larsa, mu bàd gal larsa^{ki}-ma ba-dù; and in year twenty-three the great wall of Ka-Geštinanna, mu bàd gal ká^dgeštin-an-na ba-dù. These three projects might indicate a need to fortify Larsa's holdings against an enemy or enemies. In a royal inscription commemorating Gungunum's building of the great wall of Larsa (Frayne 1990: E4.2.5.3), Gungunum is called king of Sumer and Akkad, probably indicating his recognition by Nippur at this time (Sigrist 1977b). Though no documents dated to Gungunum's reign have been found at Nippur, two royal hymns of Gungunum to Nanna were found at Nippur, further indicating that Gungunum may have been recognized by Nippur for a time (Sjöberg 1973: no. 4). In addition, an Akkadian hymn to Gungunum from Tell Harmal, published by van Dijk (van Dijk 1976: no. 41, pl. xxix), is the earliest known royal hymn in Akkadian.

Evidence for the encroachment of Larsa on Nippur may possibly be found in Gungunum's twenty-second year name which records his building of Dunnum and the digging of the Išartum canal, mu du-un-nu-um^{ki} ù ^{íd}i-šar-tum ba-dù. Frayne has argued that Dunnum may have been a town near Nippur, an important stronghold of Isin, and Išartum canal a canal near Nippur (Frayne 1992: 29ff.; Hallo 2000). Note that the above literary letter of Nanna-kiaḡ to Lipit-Eštar appears to be a warning to the king of Isin that Dunnum was in danger and that Gungunum was preparing to dig a canal.

Gungunum made other serious inroads into the territory of Isin as well. Dūrum, a city probably located midway between Uruk and Larsa, was important as the seat of the military governorships of crown princes of the Ur III dynasty (Michalowski 1977: 91; Hallo 1991: 378ff.). Inscribed bricks of Gungunum, referring to events that are commemorated in his twenty-first year formula, were found at modern Umm al-Wawīya (Frayne 1990: 117), the site Michalowski has suggested for the location of Dūrum (Michalowski 1977: 88). Year names 32 and 33 of Išbī-Irra of Isin record the selection or installation of a high priestess of Lugalgirra, the titular deity of Dūrum, mu (ús-sa) nin-diġir ^dLugal-gìr-ra ba-íl (var. maš-e ì-pàd), making it likely that Isin had been in control of Dūrum after the fall of the Ur III kingdom. A cone inscription of Išme-Dagān of Isin, a contemporary of Sāmium and Zabāia of Larsa, says, “Išme-Dagan ... built the great wall of Dūrum (BÀD^{ki}), the city of his military governorship (and) princeship.” (Frayne 1990: 42), which indicates that Isin continued to control Dūrum before the accession of Gungunum to the throne of Larsa (Michalowski 1977: 90 n. 38). Therefore, it is likely that control of Dūrum fell to Larsa only with Gungunum’s conquest of Ur.

Gungunum’s last four year names indicate a return to a focus on Larsa and Ur and to mostly monumental building and irrigation projects. Year 24, mu é ^dnin-ì-si-in^{ki}-na šà larsa^{ki}-ma ba-dù, recounts the building of a temple of Ninisina in Larsa, year 25, mu é-šutum kù ^dnanna šà úri^{ki}-ma ba-dù, the building of the “pure storehouse of Nanna” in Ur. Year twenty-six, mu alam kù-babbar ^dnanna-ra mu-na-an-dím, commemorates the fashioning of a silver statue for Nanna, the introduction of which into the temple may be commemorated in the third year name of Gungunum’s successor Abī-sarē, mu alam kù-babbar é-^dnanna-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-ra. It may be that there was a pattern of fashioning statues and installing them two or three years later, as there seems to have been for choosing and installing high priests and priestesses.

Gungunum's final years, 27 and 28, mu íd ^dba-ú-hé-gál ba-ba-al and mu ús-sa íd ^dba-ú-hé-gál ba-ba-al, commemorate the digging of the Ba-ú-hé-gál canal in Girsu.

I have found no positive evidence that Gungunum or any of his predecessors functioned as governors of the province of Lagash under the Isin kings as suggested by Hallo and Khurt (Hallo and Simpson 1998: 85; Kuhrt 1995: 78). However, without known year names of his own, Zabāia was probably not a completely independent king. The shift towards an independent Larsa perhaps began with Sāmium, grew with his son Zabāia, and culminated in the reign of Gungunum.

CHAPTER 4

EXPANSION AND CONFLICT

Larsa firmly established itself as a threat to the hegemony of Isin in the reign of Gungunum. In the reigns of the succeeding kings, the kingdom of Larsa appears to have grown in importance, asserting itself as major player on an increasingly complex inter-state stage.

Abī-sarē

According to the Larsa King List and the Larsa Dynastic List, Abī-sarē succeeded Gungunum as king of Larsa and reigned for eleven years. Though there is no evidence that Abī-sarē was related to the dynasty of Samīum, we have no reason to believe that he was not the legitimate successor to the throne of Larsa. Servant sealings of administrators who call themselves “îr Gungunum,” “servant of Gungunum,” are found on numerous economic documents dated by year names of Abī-sarē and his successor, Sūmû-El, suggesting a smooth administrative transition between Gungunum’s and Abī-sarē’s reigns (Frayne 1990: 119). No cuneiform record or year name from the end of Gungunum’s reign or the beginning of Abī-sarē’s reign would suggest that there was any turmoil at the time of Abī-sarē’s succession.

Abī-sarē, like most if not all of the preceding rulers of the Larsa King List, bore an Amorite name. His name, usually written a-bi-sa-ri-e, to be understood as

ʾAbī-ḏāriyī. It contains the Amorite root *ḏry/w*, a cognate of the Akkadian verb *zarû*, and means “my father is my begetter” (Streck 2000: 164).

Continuity as well as discontinuity between Abī-sarē and his predecessors are also indicated by the titles and epithets of his royal inscriptions and servant seals and sealings. The following transliterations and translations of royal inscriptions are based on those of Douglas Frayne (Frayne 1990) and use his numbering system.

A school copy from Ur of an inscription for a statue for the temple of Nanna calls Abī-sarē “beloved of the god Sîn,” “king of Ur,” and “Amorite chief” (Frayne 1990: E4.2.6.1). It makes no reference to Larsa, which may suggest that Ur, either because of its more exalted past or its continuing importance for the Dilmun trade, was presumed to be the capital of Abī-sarē’s kingdom.

Inscription 1 (excerpt)

i 22’)	ʾa l-bí-sa-ri-e	Abī-sarē,
i 23’)	[sipa] ḡiš-tuk	heedful shepherd,
i 24’)	[ki-á]g- ^d EN.ZU-na	beloved of Sîn,
i 25’)	[nit]a kala-ga	mighty man,
i 26’)	[lu]gal-uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma	king of Ur,
i 27’)	<i>ra-bí-a-nu-um</i> mar-dú-me-en	Amorite chief am I

The temple of Nergal at Larsa was identified by the excavators based on an inscribed cylinder seal dedicated to Nergal for the life of Abī-sarē (Arnaud 1980-1983: §3.1.5). A mace-head also inscribed with a dedication to Nergal for the life of Abī-sarē may have come from Larsa as well. On the mace-head Abī-sarē is called “king of Ur” and king of Larsa” (Frayne 1990: E4.2.6.2001) Perhaps this is an acknowledgement by Larsa of the importance of Ur and its former status as the capital of the Ur III empire.

Inscription 2001

1. ^d nergal	To the god Nergal
2. lugal-a-ni-ir	his king

3. nam-ti-	for the life
4. a-bí-sa-ri-e	of Abī-sarē,
5. nita-kala-ga	mighty man,
6. lugal-úri ^{ki} -ma	king of Ur,
7. lugal-larsa ^{ki} -ma	king of Larsa
8. ìr- ^d utu	Ir-Utu
9. bur-gal	the engraver
10. dumu-lú- ^d en-ki-ka	son of Lu-Enki
11. nam-ti-la-ni-šè	for his own life
12. a mu-na-ru	dedicated this (mace head)

An inscription recording the building of a palace and the strengthening of walls was found on two bricks from the surface at Larsa (Frayne 1990: E4.2.6.2). Strangely, this building activity is not recorded in Abī-sarē’s year names unless the digging of the moat or canal of the wall of Larsa recorded in Abī-sarē’s sixth year name was part of the project. The only known inscription of Abī-sarē is in Akkadian. Previously, only an inscription of Zabāia was in Akkadian rather than Sumerian. All of Gungunum’s known inscriptions as well as those of Abī-sarē’s successor Sūmû-El are in Sumerian. In this inscription, Abī-sarē is called “king of Larsa.”

Inscription 2

1. a-bí-sa-ri-e	Abī-sarē
2. <i>da-an-nu-u</i> [<i>m</i>]	the mighty
3. LUGAL l[ars]a ^{ki}	king of Larsa
4. <i>e-li</i> [š]a [...]	more than ...
5. <i>e-li</i> [š]a [...]	more than ...
6. <i>i-n</i> [<i>a</i> MU]-1-[KAM.M[A]	in one year
7. BÀD ^d [utu-ki-ba]l-e sá-[di]	the wall “Utu conquers the rebellious land,”
8. BÀD GAL [lar]sa ^{ki}	the great wall of Larsa
9. <i>ú-d</i> [<i>a-a</i>]n-ni-in	he strengthened
10. É.GAL < <i>da</i> >- <i>ad-me-e-š</i> u	(and) the palace of his land
11. <i>i-pu-uš</i>	he built

Inscribed bricks found at Larsa and Umm al-Wawīya, a small site between Uruk and Larsa, record the building of this wall by Gungunum (Frayne 1990: E4.2.5.3). The building of the wall is also recorded in Gungunum's twenty-first year name, "mu bad-gal Larsa^{ki}(-ma) ba-dù." The palace may also have been in Larsa, but the reference to his settlement, <da>-ad-me-e-šù, makes the location uncertain. The place name Abī-sarē city is found on YOS V 175, dated Rīm-Sîn year 7, and YOS V 184, dated Rīm-Sîn year 8 (Edzard 1957: 109). The location of Abī-sarē City has not yet been determined, but one wonders if it might be the site of the palace of his settlement.

The title "Amorite chief," found in Abī-sarē's inscriptions 1 and 2004, was used in inscriptions of Zabāia but is not found in the royal inscriptions of Gungunum. The title "king of Larsa", in Abī-sarē's inscriptions 2 and 2001, appears to have first been applied to Gungunum. The title "king of Ur" appears previously only in the royal inscriptions of Gungunum that were dedicated by the high priestess of Nanna, Enannatuma, daughter of Išme-Dagan of Isin, after Gungunum had gained control of Ur from Isin. Abī-sarē's use of the title, "king of Ur," and the epithet, "beloved of Sîn," in his own inscriptions, 1 and 2001, indicates that he maintained control of Ur and presumably the lucrative Persian Gulf trade that came through Ur, and that he, himself, considered Ur a capital of his kingdom. He may also have considered himself to be the inheritor of the Ur III empire.

All of Abī-sarē's year names appear on cuneiform records excavated at Ur, but there is some indication that Isin attempted to regain control of Ur at the end of Abī-sarē's reign. A tablet found at Ur (UET 5 447) is dated to the sixth month of Būr-Sîn's first year, corresponding to Abī-sarē's year 11 for which months 1,4, 8, and 9 are accounted for at Ur (Edzard 1957: 104).

One important title used by Gungunum but not found in Abī-sarē’s royal inscriptions is “king of Sumer and Akkad.” The absence of this title suggests that Abī-sarē did not maintain the control of Nippur that his predecessor, Gungunum, had achieved. The year names found on records from Nippur suggest that Nippur returned to the kings of Isin in Abī-sarē’s reign and did not return to Larsa until the twenty-third year of Abī-sarē’s successor, Sūmû-El (Sigrist 1977a). Likewise, none of Abī-sarē’s year names refers to Nippur.

The Larsa King List, which records the names and reign lengths of the rulers of Larsa, gives a reign of eleven years for Abī-sarē. There are three known year name lists for his reign as well. The Larsa King List (Thureau-Dangin 1918) (L₁) gives all eleven year names, UET 1 298 (Gadd and Legrain 1928) (L₄) gives year names six to eleven, and AO 8620 (Durand 1977) (L₆) gives the eleven year names plus an extra mu-ús-sa year for a total of twelve years. This last list gives Gungunum one fewer year than all other lists and so perhaps the scribe made up the difference by adding a year to Abī-sarē’s reign (Durand 1977: 23). The extra mu-ús-sa year name is not known from cuneiform administrative records.

One inconsistency in the year name lists concerns year name eight. L₁ records the introduction of a statue into the temple of the moon god Nanna, while L₆ records the introduction of a statue into the temple of the sun god Utu. The god’s name is broken in the corresponding year name in L₄. Both L₁ and L₆ record the introduction of a statue into the temple of Nanna in the third year name.

YN 8 L₁: mu alam ^{na₄}gug na₄.za-gìn šu-du₇-a é-^dnanna-šè i-[ni-in-ku₄-re]

L₄: mu alam na₄ nì-gul-da z[a-gìn (?) ...] i-ni-in-ku₄-[ra]

L₆: mu ^{unudu}alam é-^dutu-[š]è i-ni-[in-ku]₄

YN 3 L₁ mu alam kù-babbar é-^dnanna-šè [i-ni-i]n-ku₄-r[e]

L₆ m[u a]lam kù-babbar é-^dnan[na ... i]n²-kur²

To add to the confusion, the royal inscription of Abī-sarē, known from an Ur school copy, describes the introduction into the temple of Nanna of a statue fashioned in silver as in year name three, and na₄ nì-gul-da as in the L₄ version of year name 8. The term na₄ nì-gul-da is perhaps equivalent to the standard writing of na₄-gug for carnelian (Sollberger 1965: 12), or it is probably a more general term for cut stone (Durand 1977: 23 n. 2).

i 29', ii 4') alam kù-babbar

i 30', ii 5') na₄ nì-gul-da-ta ak-a

Year names found on actual cuneiform records show L₁ to be in error:

UET 5 525; UET I 226b: mu^{urudu}alam na₄ nì-gul-da-ta ak é-^dutu-^lšè^l i-ni-ku₄-ra

UET 1 226a; UET 5 732: mu^{urudu}alam na₄ nì-gu-lu-da-ta ak é-^dutu-ra i-ni-in-ku₄-ra

NBC 9072: mu^{urudu}alam nì-gul-ta é-^dutu-šè.

Year name eight is correct in L₆ and should read “Utu” rather than “Nanna” on L₁. The royal inscription recounting the introduction of a statue into the temple of Nanna is likely a more elaborate version of year name three.

Another inconsistency in the year name list is found in the order of year names six and seven. The digging of the *hirītum* canal or moat precedes the digging of the great canal in L₁ and L₆, but the order is reversed in L₄. Without further evidence, I will assume for convenience that the majority rules, giving the following complete set of Abī-sarē's year names:

- 1 mu a-bi-sa-re-e (lugal)
- 2 mu íd *im-gur-* (or še-ga-) ^dinanna-zabalam^{ki} ba-ba-al
- 3 mu alam kù-babbar é-^dnanna-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-re
- 4 mu íd an-né-pàd-da ba-ba-al

- 5 mu-ús-sa íd an-né-pàd-da ba-ba-al
 6 mu ^{íd}hi-ri-tum (bàd) Larsa^{ki}-ma ba-ba-al
 7 mu íd maḥ (a-bi-sa-re-e) ba-ba-al
 8 mu ^{urudu}alam na₄ nì-gul-da-ta ak é-^dutu-šè i-ni-ku₄-ra
 9 mu ugnim ì-si-in^{ki}-na ḡištukul (or TUN.KÁR) ba-an-sìg
 10 mu (a-bi-sa-re-e) en ^dutu máš-e in-pàd
 11 mu-ús-sa (a-bi-sa-re-e) en ^dutu máš-e in-pàd

All of the above year names are attested on cuneiform administrative documents, as are mu-ús-sa years following years 2, 3, 8, and 9. For a convenient reference to Larsa year names see Sigrist's *Larsa Year Names* (Sigrist 1990).

Five of Abī-sarē's year names record the digging of canals. In year two the "Favorite of Inanna of Zabalam" canal was dug. The year name is written variously in both Akkadian, *im-gur-*, literally "she favors," and Sumerian, še-ga-^dinanna-zabalam^{ki}. Presumably this canal was in the region of the city of Zabalam, approximately fifty kilometers north-northeast of Larsa. Years 4 and 5 are named for the digging of the An-né-pàd-da canal, a canal dug previously by Gungunum according to Gungunum's fifteenth year name (see above, p. 42). The An-né-pàd-da canal is not discussed in RGTC 3. Its location is unknown. Year name 6 records the digging of the ^{íd}hirītum of Larsa or of the wall of Larsa. *Hirītum* is the Akkadian word for canal or moat and is frequently written with the determinative "íd." However, *hirītum* is also occasionally written with the determinative "ki," indicating that it should be read as a place name (Groneberg 1980: 98). In this case, because *hirītum* is written with the determinative "íd" and is juxtaposed to the wall of Larsa in a version of the year name that appears on several documents (e.g. YOS 14 192, 199-204), it very likely is the moat of the wall of Larsa rather than the name of a canal or place. Year 7 records the digging of the great canal of Abī-sarē written "íd mah a-bi-sa-ri-e." This may be the canal "íd a-bi-sa-ri-e" in

Adab known from the unpublished tablet Ad(ab) 558 (Edzard 1957: 109, n. 541). According to Edzard, the canal was named for Abī-sarē during his reign (Edzard 1957: 109). If so, it cannot be doubted that Abī-sarē controlled Adab, a city approximately sixty kilometers north-northwest of Larsa and within forty kilometers of Isin and Nippur.

The prevalence of year names commemorating irrigation works by Abī-sarē and his successor Sūmû-El was noted and discussed by Edzard (Edzard 1957: 110), Rowton (Rowton 1967), who first demonstrated that royal correspondence proved the validity of the royal involvement in irrigation that the kings of Isin and Larsa claimed in their year names, and Walters (Walters 1970: 159ff.), who contends that a great expansion of irrigation work took place in the reigns of Abī-sarē and Sūmû-El in order to obtain unlimited supplies of water from the north for Larsa (Walters 1970: 163). More recently Frayne has discussed the year names as evidence of Larsa's efforts to control cities and waterways situated along the Iturungal canal, a watercourse that ran between the Tigris and the Euphrates, roughly parallel to them, to the north-northeast of Larsa (Frayne 1989). Steinkeller, in an unpublished manuscript (Steinkeller forth.), argues that Larsa was deprived by Isin of access to northern Mesopotamia via the Euphrates and was forced to develop an alternative route to the north. He hypothesizes that the route bypassed the northern Babylonian heartland via the system of canals that linked the southern Euphrates to the middle course of the Tigris (Steinkeller forth.: 3). The canals mentioned in Abī-sarē's and Sūmû-El's year names may have been part of such a system.

Abī-sarē's irrigation activity may have been politically and militarily motivated; however, the only explicit reference to military activity during his reign is found in Abī-sarē's ninth year name, mu ugnim ì-si-in^{ki}-na ^{g̃iš}tukul ba-an-sìg, "the year the army of Isin was defeated by weapons." This is also the first overt reference to conflict since

Gungunum's nineteenth year, seventeen years earlier. It appears to usher in a period of hostilities between city-states and the emergence of at least one new kingdom, Babylon, in the first year of Abī-sarē's successor's reign. Perhaps Abī-sarē's defeat of Isin's army upset the balance of power and allowed smaller or new powers to compete in the arena previously dominated by Isin and Larsa. The death of Ur-Ninurta, perhaps in battle against the army of Larsa, was so significant an event that it is recorded in year A of Halium of the kingdom of Mananâ , mu ur-^dninurta ba-gaz, "the year Ur-Ninurta was slain" (Charpin 1978a: 25), and in Manabalte'el of Kisurra's year G, mu ur-^dninurta ba-ug,, "the year Ur-Ninurta was killed" (Kienast 1978: 26). Sūmû-El's tumultuous reign probably has its roots in these events.

The last two year names of Abī-sarē's reign are named for the selection of the high priestess of the god Utu in Larsa. According to Abī-sarē's year names 10 and 11, the last two years of his reign, a high priestess of Utu was chosen. According to one date list (Durand 1977: 20) and one administrative document (BIN 7 95), she was the daughter of the king. She may have been the direct successor of the high priestess of Utu whose installation was recorded twenty-nine years earlier in Gungunum year 9. Abī-sarē's successor, Sūmû-El, records the installation of a high priestess of Utu, named Enmeteanke, in his year 6, seven years after Abī-sarē's daughter was chosen. It is as yet unclear whether the priestess installed in Sūmû-El year 6 is the same priestess who was chosen by omens in Abī-sarē's year 10.

Sūmû-El

The Larsa Dynastic List (Clay 1915: #32) records a reign of 29 years for Sūmû-El. There is no evidence to indicate that he was related to the preceding kings. In spite of the lack of evidence for dynastic continuity between Abī-sarē and Sūmû-El,

there is clear administrative continuity between the two kings. For example, a group of archival documents studied by Walters (Walters 1970), concerning building and irrigation work associated with a person named Lu-igisa (or Lugisa), contains texts dated from the seventh year of Abī-sare to the eighteenth or nineteenth year of Sūmû-El. In addition, many administrative texts dated with Sūmû-El year names bear Abī-sarē servant seal impressions (YOS 14 219, 220, 230, 232-234, etc.).

Additional continuity between Sūmû-El's and Abī-sarē's reigns may possibly be seen in the sixth year name of Sūmû-El which records the installation of Enmeteanke, as high priestess of Utu: *mu en dUtu ba-hun-gá*, "the year the high priestess of Utu was installed," if this is the same priestess whose selection was recorded in Abī-sarē's tenth year name. Occasionally we find a two- or three-year span between a year named for the selection of a high priest or priestess and a year named for the installation of that priest or priestess. Examples of this can be found in year names 15 and 17 of Šulgi of Ur, year names 5 and 9 of Iddin-Dagan of Isin, and year names 6 and 9 of Gungunum of Larsa. Abī-sarē's tenth year name records the selection of a high priestess of Utu, his own daughter according to the Larsa King List and one economic text (BIN 7 95), but her installation is not recorded in the next and last year of his reign. The priestess selected by Abī-sarē may thus be the one installed by Sūmû-El seven years later (Edzard 1957: 111), although seven years would seem to be an exceptionally long time between the selection and installation of a priestess.

Like the previous kings of Larsa, with the possible exception of Zabāia, Sūmû-El bore an Amorite name. This name is generally written *su-mu-AN*. It should be read as *šumu-ʿel* or *šumu-ʿila*, a name meaning "descendant (literally "name") of the god(s)" (Streck 2000: 266; Gelb 1980).

Because year names are an important though admittedly limited source of information concerning events of Sūmû-El's reign, and because the sources for his year names are somewhat contradictory, a discussion of the problems of Sūmû-El's year names and year name order is warranted. Sources for Sūmû-El's year names are the LKL (L₁) (Thureau-Dangin 1918), which gives year names 1 through 25; UET 1 298 (L₄), which contains his first four year names; UET 8 66 (L₅), which gives 28 of his 29 year names; and AO 8620 (L₆), which contains Sūmû-El's year names 1 through 10 (Durand 1977). The table in figure 4 outlines the Sūmû-El year names and year name order found in each of the lists.

There is considerable variation between the date lists themselves, as can be seen in figure 4. In addition, there are notable differences among the date lists and year names found on actual administrative documents. For example, a year name commemorating the defeat of Sabum does not appear on the year name lists, but is found on administrative documents. An attempt to solve these problems was published by Walters (Walters 1973), but the publication of another year name list, AO 8620 (L₆), and a study by Kingsbury of a Sūmû-El year name known only from administrative texts (Kingsbury 1977), have rendered Walters's scheme obsolete.

All four year name lists agree, except on grammatical details, on the first four year names of Sūmû-El's reign:

- 1 mu su-mu-èl lugal
the year Sūmû-El became king
- 2 mu alam kù-babbar é-^dutu-šè ì-ni-in-ku₄-re
the year a silver statue was introduced into the temple of Utu
- 3 mu ^{ur}du^{ur}-mah min-a-bi ká bar-ra ^dinanna-ra mu-dù-dù
the year two copper lions were erected for Inanna at the outer gate
- 4 mu a-ku-súm^{ki} ba-sìg ù ugnim ka-zal-lu^{ki} ḡiš^{ti}tukul ba-an-hul

the year Akusum was destroyed and the army of Kazallu was defeated by arms.

Year list L_4 is broken after year name 4. L_1 continues with a fifth year name that is the approximate year name given by both L_5 and L_6 as year 7 rather than year 5: mu íd lugal-^dEN.ZU-na ba-ba-al, “the year the Lugal-Sîn canal was dug” (L_1 and L_6), and mu uru^{ki} lugal-^dEN.ZU ba-an-dí**b**, “the year the city of Lugal-Sîn was taken” (L_5). Years 5 and 6 in L_6 are reversed in L_5 : mu unug^{ki} ^giš tukul ba-an-sìg, “the year Uruk was defeated by arms,” and mu en ^dutu ba-hun-gá, “the year the high priestess of Utu was installed.” The former year name concerning the defeat of Uruk is not found in L_1 though it is found to have been used on administrative documents. The year name concerning the high priestess of the sun god Utu appears in L_1 and L_6 as year 6, but as year 5 in L_5 . The most plausible reconstruction of the year names and their relative order based on the three remaining lists and the dates found on administrative documents for years 5 to 7 is

- 5 mu unug^{ki} ^giš tukul ba-an-sìg
the year Uruk was defeated by arms
- 6 mu en ^dutu ba-hun-gá
the year the priestess of Utu was installed
- 7 mu íd lugal-^dEN.ZU ba-ba-al / mu uru^{ki} lugal-^dEN.ZU ba-an-dib
the year the canal of Lugal-Sîn was dug / the year the city of Lugal-Sîn was taken.

All three lists are in agreement on years 8 through 10. In addition, Kingsbury has argued convincingly that a year name found only on economic documents, mu sa-bu-um^{ki} ù uru^{ki} didli gú íd.buranun-na ba-an-dí**b**-dí**b**, “the year Sabum and the cities on the banks of the Euphrates were taken,” is an alternative name for year 10 (Kingsbury 1977). Previously, this year name was considered a variation of another of Sūmû-El’ year name that mentions the Euphrates, mu íd buranun-na ba-si-i-gi-a, “the year the Euphrates was filled in” (Walters 1973). Frequently a year name would

continue to be used in the following year or years. This would be indicated by writing mu-ús-sa, “the year after,” mu-ús-a-bi, which is short for mu-ús-sa mu-ús-sa-bi “the year after the year after,” then mu-ús-sa-4-bi, “the fourth year (named for),” and so on. Often a new year name would not be available at the beginning of the year, so a mu-ús-sa year name would be used for the first month or months of the year until a new year name was established for the remainder of the year. Kingsbury found that the year name recording the defeat of Sabum appears on texts at Yale that are dated after the fifth month, suggesting that it replaced a mu-ús-sa year name. Based on the prosopography of the texts and the availability of a suitable mu-ús-sa year name to be replaced, he determined that it fit best as year name 10. Therefore, for years 8 to 10 we have

- 8 mu uru^{ki} ka-íd-da ba-hul
the year the city of Ka-ida was destroyed
- 9 mu-ús-sa uru^{ki} ka-íd-da ba-hul
the year after the year the city of Ka-ida was destroyed
- 10a mu-ús-sa-bi uru^{ki} ka-íd-da ba-hul
the second year after the city of Ka-ida was destroyed
- 10b mu sa-bu-um^{ki} ù uru^{ki} didli gú íd.buranun-na ba-an-dífb-dífb
the year Sabum and the cities on the banks of the Euphrates were taken.

Year list L₆ is broken after this point.

The two remaining lists, L₁ and L₅, agree on year names 11 through 13:

- 11 mu ugnim kiš^{ki} ġiš^{tukul} ba-an-sìg
the year the army of Kiš was defeated by arms
- 12 mu-ús-sa ugnim kiš^{ki} ġiš^{tukul} ba-an-sìg
the year after the year the army of Kiš was defeated by arms
- 13 mu-ús-sa-bi ugnim kiš^{ki} ġiš^{tukul} ba-an-sìg
the second year after the army of Kiš was defeated by arms.

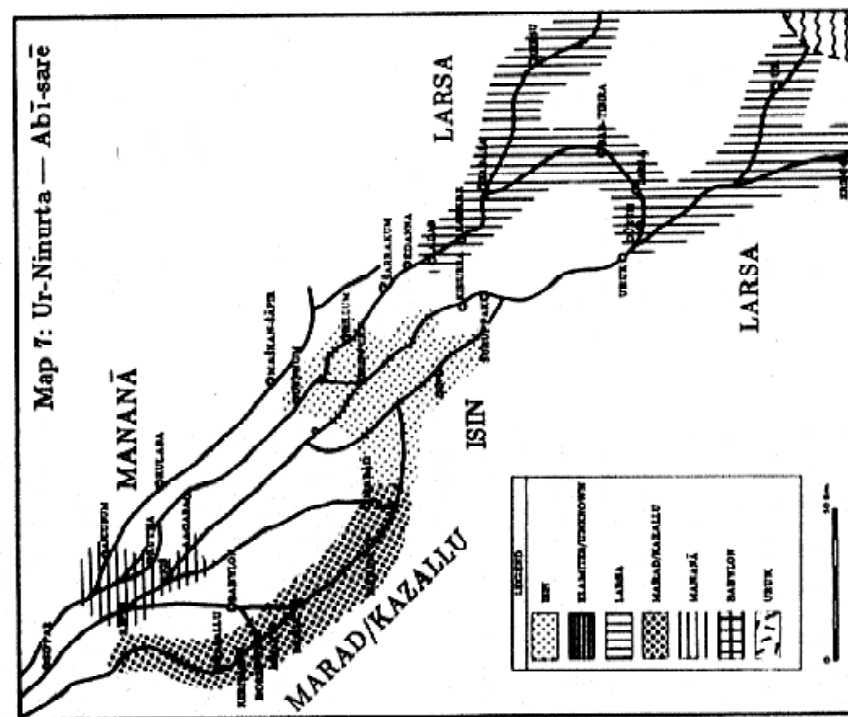
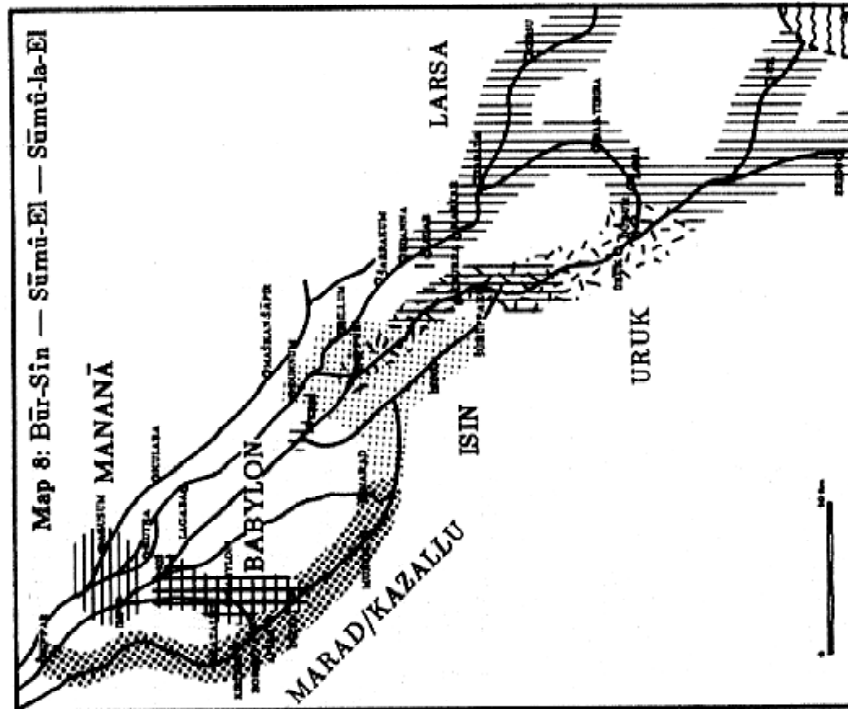


Fig. 3: Maps of Mesopotamian kingdoms during reigns of Sūmû-El and Abī-sarē (Frayne 1989: 22)

Year 14 is problematic not only because the two lists do not agree with each other, but also because the year lists disagree with the dates found on administrative documents. The year name mu-ús-sa-4-bi ugnim kiš^{ki} ġiš^štukul ba-an-sìg, “the fourth year after the army of Kiš was defeated by arms,” is found on administrative documents dated to every month of the year, which means that it was a mu-ús-sa year name that was not replaced by another year name after the beginning of the year. However, neither L₁ nor L₅ contains this year name. For year 14, L₅ has mu ugnim ka-zal-lu^{ki} ġiš^štukul ba-an-sìg, “the year the troops of Kazallu were defeated by arms,” followed by the year name mu é-duru₅ ^dnanna-ì-sa₆ ba-an-dí**b**, “the year the village of Nanna-isa was taken,” and three mu-ús-sa year names for that event as years 15 through 18. In L₁ the year name concerning the defeat of Kazallu is year 22. L₁ also lists five years instead of four concerning the defeat of the settlement of Nanna-isa in years 14 through 18. A fifth year named for the defeat of the settlement of Nanna-isa is not otherwise attested in the cuneiform record.

The two lists agree on years 19 through 21: mu íd buranun-na ba-si-i-gi-a, “the year the Euphrates or the canal of the Euphrates was filled,” plus two mu-ús-sa years. This suggests that the erroneous year 5 of the defeat of Nanna-isa found in L₁ might have been added to make up for the misplacement of the Kazallu year name or for the missing fourth year named for the defeat of Kiš. Alternatively, the year name concerning the defeat of Kazallu might be year 22 as indicated in L₁, with the above year names 16 to 22 shifting to years 15 to 21. Since L₁ appears to contain more errors than L₅, including the omission of the year name commemorating the defeat of Uruk and the inclusion of an extra mu-ús-sa year name for the defeat of village of Nanna-isa, attributing to year 15 the second defeat of Kazallu seems more likely. Therefore, the most probable arrangement of years 14-22 is

- 14 mu-ús-sa-4-bi ugnim kiš^{ki}
the fourth year after the year the army of Kiš...
- 15 mu ugnim ka-zal-lu^{ki} (ù lugal-bi) ġištukul ba-an-sìg
the year the army of Kazallu (and its king) were defeated by arms
- 16 mu é-duru₅ ^dnanna-ì-sa₆ ba-an-díb
the year the village of Nanna-isa was taken
- 17 mu-ús-sa é-duru₅ ^dnanna-ì-sa₆ ba-an-díb
the year after the year the village of Nanna-isa was taken
- 18 mu-ús-sa-bi é-duru₅ ^dnanna-ì-sa₆ ba-an-díb
the year after the year the year after the village of Nanna-isa was taken
- 19 mu-ús-sa-4-bi é-duru₅ ^dnanna-ì-sa₆ ba-an-díb
the fourth year after the year the village of Nanna-isa was taken
- 20 mu íd buranun-na ba-si-i-gi-a
the year the Euphrates (or the Euphrates canal) was filled in
- 21 mu-ús-sa íd buranun-na ba-si-i-gi-a
the year after the year the Euphrates was filled in
- 22 mu-ús-sa-bi íd buranun-na ba-si-i-gi-a
the year after the year after the Euphrates was filled in.

The year name lists (L₁ and L₅) and administrative documents agree that the remaining year names of Sūmû-El record the installation of a high-priestess of Nanna, mu en ^dnanna ba-hun-gá. Year list L₁ breaks off after the second mu-ús-sa year name, while L₅ lists all six mu-ús-sa year names.

There is one last problem to be found in the one unbroken list. L₅ adds a summary line: 28 mu su-mu-èl lugal, “28 years Sūmû-El was king.” According to the Larsa Dynastic List (Clay 1915, #32), Sūmû-El reigned for 29 years. The lost year may possibly be accounted for in the fourth year named for the defeat of Kiš that is missing from both L₁ and L₅. In support of the 29 year figure, the addition in L₁ of the erroneous fifth year named for the taking of the village of Nanna-isa would have give the list a

total of 29 years if all seven years named for the installation of the priestess of Nanna were included in the now broken list.

While the above discussion indicates how flawed and fragmentary the year name lists are, the reasonably high level of correspondence among the lists and between the lists and dated administrative documents makes it possible to evaluate their historical content with a measure of confidence. It is important to bear in mind that year names reflect the interests of the king and are thus presumably biased and selective accounts of events. The year name lists do, however, provide a time-line to which additional data can be pinned in order to establish a fuller account of Sūmû-El's reign.

Three of Sūmû-El's year names indicate that Sūmû-El was active in Larsa and in the cult of its patron deity, Utu, in the early part of his reign. These are year name 2, concerning the introduction of a silver statue into the temple of Utu, year name 3, concerning the fashioning of copper lions for the gate of Inanna (in Larsa according to UET 1 240), and year name 6, concerning the installation of the high-priestess of Utu. There is evidence to indicate that his interest in Larsa waned later in his reign, as discussed below.

The year names of Sūmû-El record more military events than do the year names of any other Old Babylonian king before the reign of Rīm-Sîn. Approximately half of Sūmû-El's twenty-nine year names, including mu-ús-sa year names, or seven of the twelve non-mu-ús-sa year names, record military activity. In contrast, just one of Abī-sarē's 11 year names (year 9) mentions a military action. Only four of Gungunum's 28 regnal years (years 3, 4, 5, and 19) are concerned with military victories. Among the known year names of all of the kings of Isin, only three martial year names can be found: Lipit-Eštar year I, and Erra-imitī years D and E.

The end of Abī-sarē's reign and the beginning of Sūmû-El's appear to coincide with the beginning of an era of increasing contact and conflict among several independent kingdoms, mostly to the north of Isin and Larsa, what Hallo calls "a century of maximum political turmoil" (Hallo and Simpson 1998: 86). Indeed, the first year of the first known king of Babylon, Sūmû-abum, corresponds to the first year of Sūmû-El's reign. The emergence of the kingdom of Babylon and several other lesser kingdoms would cause a shift in the focus of Larsa and its main rival, Isin. The table in figure 5 (see p. 77) outlines some points of reference for the histories of these kingdoms.

One explanation for Sūmû-El's large number of military year names is that Abī-sarē's victory over Ur-Ninurta of Isin, recorded in Abī-sarē's ninth year name, upset the balance of power and allowed the contemporary rulers of smaller independent states to take advantage of Isin's defeat to increase their power or territory and pose a threat to Larsa's interests (see above p. 55). Another possible explanation is that Sūmû-El was inspired by Abī-sarē's triumph over Isin to attempt to expand further the territory of Larsa and perhaps to entertain imperial aspirations. The kings of Isin, heretofore, had clearly seen themselves as the heirs to the kingdom of the Ur III dynasty (Hallo 1959a: 57). It would be logical for Sūmû-El to assume that Larsa would become the next successor after Isin to the Ur III state with the defeat of Isin.

Sūmû-El's year names indicate that most of his military activity was carried out far to the north of Larsa. Year name 4 commemorates the destruction of Akusum and the defeat of Kazallu. These two cities were important centers of two separate kingdoms in northern Babylonia. Akusum, which was probably located to the north of Kutha (see fig. 3), was a major city of the kingdom called Mananâ by modern scholars after the name of one of its more prominent rulers. Year names of two of its rulers, who were contemporaries of Sūmû-El, record major building projects in Akusum. Year M of

Mananâ himself is named for the fashioning of the wall of Akusum, mu bād a-ku-súm Mananâ mu-na-an-dím (Charpin 1978b: 23), and year E of Mananâ's successor, Nâqimum, is named for the building of the gate of Inanna of Akusum, mu ká ^dinanna Akusum^{ki} Nâqimum mu-dù (Charpin 1978b: 30). The other major city of the Mananâ kingdom was Ilip, which was probably located west of Akusum between Kutha and Sippar (Charpin 1978b: 16). The year preceding Sūmû-El's year 4 corresponds to Sūmû-abum of Babylon's third year, which is named for the destruction of the wall of Ilip. The attacks on the kingdom of Mananâ reported in the year names of the kings of Babylon and Larsa did not lead to the conquest of the kingdom. Independent kings of the so-called Mananâ dynasty continued to use their own year names and to have royal inscriptions until late in the reign of Sūmû-la-II of Babylon (Charpin 1978b: 39). In Sūmû-El's fourth year name, the army of Kazallu refers to the army of the kingdom whose two capitals were Marad and Kazallu. The city of Kazallu has not yet been identified. Adams has suggested that it was located northwest of Babylon on the Euphrates (Adams 1959: 103) as shown on the above map (fig. 3), but Kraus and more recently Charpin argued that it was probably to be found not far from Babylon in the region of Dilbat on the Euphrates (Kraus 1955: 61; Charpin 1978b: 22). Edzard says that it was located south of Kiš and north of Marad. The more southern second capital of this kingdom was Marad, which has been identified with the modern site of Wanna wa Sadun, about forty kilometers west of Nippur. Two sealed documents, probably from Marad, give evidence for a dynastic marriage between Sūmû-El's daughter, Šāt-Sîn and king Ibni-šadû of Marad-Kazallu. Stol has pointed out that "A seal impression speaks of "Šāt-Sîn, daughter of Sūmû-El, bride,... spouse of Ibni-Šadû" (OECT 13 7 and 12)" (Stol 1994a: 113) and that "In one of the two texts she is named 'princess' (dumu.SAL lugal), so Sumu-El must be the king of Larsa" (Stol 1994b: 114). In this king's year

names zà-U is read zà-š₄ and translated “branding-iron” following Foxvog (Foxvog 1995: 3).

OECT 13, 7

1	1/2 ì-ḡiš A.AB.BA-a-ṽbu ^l -um 1/2 <i>i-di-eš₁₈-tár</i> 1/2 <i>nu-ri-ia</i> š _u -ti-a	1/2 (sìla) sesame oil Tiāmat-abum 1/2 (sìla) Idi-Ištar 1/2 (sìla) Nuriya receipt of
5	dumu.mí lugal	the daughter of the king
rev	níg-š _u ugula dam-ṽgàr ^l iti gu ₄ -si-sá mu ús-sa zag-š _u ₄ ^d nanna úri ^{ki} -šè! (ma?)	goods of the supervisor of merchants month 2 year after the branding-iron of Nanna in Ur
10	ṽib ^l -ni-ša-du-ú mu-un-dím	Ibni-šadû had fashioned (year E)
seal	[ša-at- ^d EN],ṽZU ^l dumu-[mí <i>su-mu-èl</i>] é-[gi ₄ -a] ṽx ^l -na-ba-al-ta x dam <i>ib-ni-ša-du</i>	Šāt-Sîn daughter of Sūmû-El, daughter-in-law of PN, wife of Ibni-šadû

OECT 13, 12

1	x ì-ḡiš š _u -ti-a ša-at- ^d EN.ZU ki <i>puzur₄-nu-nu</i>	n sesame oil receipt of Šāt-Sîn from Puzur-nunu
5	níg-š _u ugula dam-gàr	goods of the supervisor of merchants
rev	iti ne-ne-ḡar mu ús-sa zag-š _u ₄ ^d nanna <i>ib-ni-ša-du-ú</i>	month 5 year after the branding-iron of Nanna Ibni-šadû
10	mu-un-dím	had fashioned (year E)
seal	ša-at-ṽ ^d EN ^l .ZU dumu-mí <i>su-mu-èl</i>	Šāt-Sîn daughter of Sūmû-El,

é-gi ₄ -a	daughter-in-law
ᵛna-ba-al-ta dam	of PN, wife of
[ib]-ᵛni-ša ¹ -du	Ibni-šadû

There is as yet no way to determine at what point in Sūmû-El's reign the marriage took place. A variation of the thirteenth year name of Sūmû-abum of Babylon juxtaposes the destruction of Kazallu with the defeat of the army of Larsa, indicating an alliance between Larsa and Kazallu in that year. Sūmû-abum's thirteenth year corresponds to Sūmû-El's thirteenth year. If an alliance existed between Sūmû-El and the king of Kazallu in Sūmû-El's thirteenth year, it came to an end only two years later. Sūmû-El's fifteenth year name records the defeat of Kazallu and its king.

Sūmû-El's year name 5 records a victory over the army of Uruk. Uruk had been under the control of Isin into the reign of Lipit-Ištar as indicated by his use of the epithet, "high priest fit for Uruk" and perhaps the epithet, "favorite of the goddess Inanna," both found on an inscribed brick fragment found at Uruk (Frayne 1990: 48). The first indication of Uruk's independence from Isin is found in Sūmû-El's year name (Frayne 1990: 439, 825). Uruk may have come under the control of the rulers of a small kingdom known as Kisurra, whose capital was located east of Isin at the modern site of Abū-Ḥaṭab (Kienast 1978: 20f.). If Uruk was in fact under the control of Kisurra in Sūmû-El's fifth year, it is further evidence of a shift of political power away from Isin and a concomitant increase in the power of other independent kingdoms in the early part of Sūmû-El's reign.

The name of Sūmû-El's seventh year records the digging of the Lugal-Sîn canal. A variation of the year name records the taking of Lugal-Sîn city instead of the digging of the Lugal-Sîn canal. The variant is found in one year name list (L₅) and on one text (Meek 1917: #39). It is likely that both events took place. It may be that the city

of Lugal-Sîn had to be taken before the canal could be dug. Hostilities in the northern territories where irrigation works were undertaken by Sûmû-El were probably common, as evidenced by the need for soldiers and by references to harassment found in records concerning irrigation projects (Walters 1970: 162). The location of the Lugal-Sîn canal is not known. The variants suggesting that the city had to be taken before irrigation work could be accomplished make it likely that the city and canal were to be found along with much of Sûmû-El's recorded irrigation activity some distance north of Larsa.

Year names 8 and 9 record the taking of the city of Ka-ida, *Pî-nārātîm* in Akkadian. Its name, meaning "mouth [=source] of the rivers," may indicate that it was of strategic importance to irrigation. The city must have been in the region of Kazallu because a year name of Sûmû-El's son-in-law, Ibni-šadû of Kazallu, records the fashioning of the wall of Ka-ida, *mu bād ka-íd-da ib-ni-KUR-i mu-na-dím* (BM 26328 according to Sigrist's on-line database). Additional evidence that Ka-ida was located in the territory of Kazallu is found in the second year name of Sîn-iqīšam of Larsa almost 50 years later. Sîn-iqīšam's second year name commemorates the taking of the city of Ka-ida or *Pî-nārātîm* and *Nazārum* as well as the fashioning and installation of the gods, *Numušda*, *Namrat* and *Lugal-awak* in Kazallu. It is likely that both the military event and the installation of the gods took place in the same area, and that the two cities taken by Sîn-iqīšam were not far from Kazallu.

Year name 10 records the taking of Sabum and cities on the Euphrates. The thirteenth year name of Samsu-iluna of Babylon, *mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e ki-sur-ra^{ki} sa-bu-um mu-un-gul-la*, "the year Samsu-iluna the king destroyed Kisurra and Sabum," juxtaposes Sabum and Kisurra, modern Abū-Ḥaṭab, less than twenty kilometers east and slightly south of Isin, so again it seems reasonable to assume that Sabum is to be found in the region north of Larsa and near the Euphrates.

Year names 11 through 14 memorialize Sūmû-El's defeat of the army of Kiš. Sūmû-abum of Babylon's tenth year name, corresponding to Sūmû-El's tenth year, records the building of the wall of Kiš just one year before Sūmû-El's defeat of the army of Kiš. Therefore, the army of Kiš was presumably the army of Sūmû-abum. Although there are three mu-ús-sa years for the event, Larsa's victory over Babylon at Kiš appears to have been short-lived. A text from Kiš (Edzard 1957: 110) bears a variation of Sūmû-abum's thirteenth year name, mu ka-zal-lu^{ki} ba-hul ù ugnim larsa^{ki} ġiš^{ki} tukul ba-sìg, "the year Kazallu was destroyed and the army of Larsa was defeated by arms" (Johns 1910). In this year name we not only find further evidence of the alliance between Larsa and Kazallu mentioned above, but evidence that Larsa did not continue to control Kiš through the entire period covered by the year names that commemorated the event.

Fifteen, or just over half of Sūmû-El's year names, are mu ús-sa year names: years 9, 12-14, 17-19, 21-22, 24-29. Van De Mieroop suggested in his study of the reign of Rīm-Sîn of Larsa that Rīm-Sîn's 30-year run of mu ús-sa year names following his defeat of Isin in his thirtieth year was used because after his defeat of Isin he accomplished nothing worth recording in a year name rather than that the event was of such significance as to warrant a mini-era (Van De Mieroop 1993: 57). We find evidence to support his argument in the series of mu-ús-sa year names that records the defeat of Kiš if Sūmû-El year name 14 is still touting his military victory over Kiš, while the year name of a rival king recording the defeat of Kazallu and Larsa is found in Sūmû-El's year 13 in Kiš itself. In sum, mu-ús-sa year names cannot be interpreted as indicating the continuation of the state achieved according to the original year name, i.e. three mu-ús-sa years following the defeat of the army of Kiš do not indicate that Larsa maintained its military superiority to Kiš in those years.

Year names 16 through 19 record Sūmû-El's taking of the village (é-duru₅) of Nanna-isa. Nanna-ì-sà or Nanna-ì-sa₆, was probably the name of the village's founding ancestor (Kozyreva 1975). The location of this village is not known, but it appears in a text in the archive studied by Walters. This text is a balanced account dated Sūmû-El year 14 of livestock including cattle destined for the kitchen of the palace or royal bivouac (Hallo 1979: 162) of Eduru-isa, "11 gu₄ é-muhaldim-šè é-gal é-duru₅-ì-sà^{ki}," as well as cattle destined for Larsa (Walters 1970: no. 25). That there was a palace or royal bivouac at Eduru-isa implies that it was a place of some importance. Several texts from the same archive, bearing Sūmû-El's sixteenth year name, give evidence for an immense construction project at the source of the Isin canal. Walters argues that the year name celebrates a victory that occurred in the year preceding the year Sūmû-El undertook the building of the wall or fortress at the source of the Isin canal, and therefore the two locations may be near one another (Walters 1970: 165). According to these records, the wall or fortress above the reservoir at the source of the Isin Canal, "bàd ugu-kun-zi-da ka íd ì-si-in^{ki}," required at least 1,300,000 bricks and at least 70 supervisors (Walters 1970: 137). Walters' suggestion that this Isin Canal could be the one later known as the Isinitum, which flowed south from a point on the Euphrates north of Nippur (Walters 1970: 162), is now generally accepted (Frayne 1989: 23).

Again, we find a run of mu-ús-sa year names following the year name concerning the taking of Eduru-isa. It may have been an event of such moment that a mini-era was warranted, but the administrative documents or the lack thereof suggest otherwise. The large archive studied by Walters appears to end with texts dated by Sūmû-El's eighteenth or nineteenth year name. Also in this period of mu-ús-sa year names, there is a gap in Sūmû-El's year names on texts found at Ur. No texts from Ur bear Sūmû-El's year names 19 through 22. Edzard's opinion was that this gap could be a

coincidence (Edzard 1957: 111). Sūmû-El's years 19 to 22 correspond to the last two years of Būr-Sîn of Isin and the first two years of his successor, Lipit-Enlil. A cylinder seal and a seal impression on a clay bulla of servants of Būr-Sîn were found at Ur (Stol 1976: 30) (Frayne 1990: 72-74), which may suggest that the gap in Sūmû-El's year names was due a loss of control of Ur to Isin in those years.

Year names 20-22 record the filling of the Euphrates or the Euphrates Canal. The Sumerian verb is *si(g)*, meaning "to fill," except for one example in which the verb is *kešda* (Kienast 1978: 31 no. 31), meaning "to bind." The damming or barraging of the river or canal was certainly a military maneuver. Van Dijk has cited other examples of this tactic (van Dijk 1965: 13f.). It is possible that the filling of the Euphrates was the culmination of the years of military and irrigation activity recorded in archival documents and in Sūmû-El's year names. Frayne claims that the intent was to cut off Isin's water supply and that the strategy was unsuccessful since it did not lead to the downfall of Isin (Frayne 1989: 23). An alternative possibility is that the barraging of the Euphrates was a reaction to the loss of Ur, and that it was in fact successful as Ur returned to Sūmû-El's control but, as will be shown, at a terrible cost to Larsa in the remaining years of Sūmû-El's reign.

It is difficult to say at what point Sūmû-El's ambitions changed from being king of Larsa to being a successor of the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur. As mentioned previously, it may have been inspired by Abī-sarē's victory over Isin. It might have been inflamed by the threat of losing control of Ur itself.

It is clear that Sūmû-El did regain Ur because his year names 23 through 29, the last seven years of his reign, are named after the installation of his daughter as high-priestess of Nanna at Ur.

There is much that points to the outstanding importance of Ur to Sūmû-El. The two known building inscriptions of Sūmû-El are for buildings at Ur, one concerning the construction of Inanna's storehouse at Ur (Frayne 1990: E4.2.7.1), and the other concerning the building of a temple for the goddess Nanāia at Ur (Frayne 1990: E4.2.7.2). Sūmû-El's construction activity at Ur was noteworthy enough to be mentioned in an inscription of Warad-Sîn, which concerns the installation of Warad-Sîn's sister, Enanedu, as high-priestess of Nanna at Ur (Frayne 1990: 224ff.). In Sūmû-El's building inscriptions and others, including a dedication for the life of Sūmû-El found on a dog figurine excavated at Girsu (Frayne 1990: E.4.2.7.2001), another found on a vase fragment excavated at Ur (Frayne 1990: #.4.2.7.2002) and, finally, on a seal impression of a servant of Sūmû-El, which gives his titulary (Frayne 1990: E4.2.7.2004), Sūmû-El uses the titles and epithets of the Ur III kings.

Like Gungunum and Abī-sarē before him, Sūmû-El's titles and epithets include "mighty man" and "king of Ur." However, unlike Gungunum and Abī-sarē, his known titles do not include "king of Larsa." This is perhaps understandable on inscriptions found at Ur, but on the inscription found at Girsu he is also called "king of Ur" and not "king of Larsa." Because of a copy of a letter found at Girsu from a servant of Zabāia stationed in Girsu (Arnaud 1977: 3f.), Girsu and the Lagaš region are generally considered to have been within the realm of Larsa in the early Old Babylonian period. It appears that Sūmû-El used exclusively the titles and epithets of the Ur III kings. Also notable is the fact that, according to his inscriptions, Sūmû-El is the first Larsa king to use the divine determinative before his name as had the last four rulers of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Also, as with Gungunum, Sūmû-El is called "king of the land of Sumer and Akkad," indicating that at least for part of his reign he had control of Nippur (Hallo 1957: 84f.). This is borne out by the evidence of texts found at Nippur dated with his

twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, twenty-seventh, and twenty-eighth year names, all of which refer to the installation of his daughter as high-priestess of Nanna (Sigrist 1977a: 122).

Sūmû-El's success was short-lived. No texts dated with his twenty-ninth and final year name have yet been discovered at Nippur. The next date known from Nippur is year 5 of Erra-imittī of Isin, which corresponds to the first year of Sūmû-El's successor, Nūr-Adad. A year name of the Isin king Erra-imittī records the restoration of Nippur to its (rightful) place, presumably under the control of Isin, where it remained until it was regained by Larsa in the seventh year of Sîn-iddinam (Sigrist 1977b: 363f.).

Again, the long run of mu-ús-sa years following Sūmû-El's installation of his daughter as priestess of Nanna covers a period of Sūmû-El's reign that would be hard to put in a positive light. A literary letter purported to be written by Nūr-Adad's son, Sîn-iddinam, gives a description of the state of affairs in Larsa at the end of Sūmû-El's reign (van Dijk 1965) (see English translation, p. 83ff.).

According to this composition, someone had barraged the river with wood at its source (lines 55-57), and had built fortifications and set guards (lines 58-60). Van Dijk suggested that it was a foreign enemy that brought about the catastrophe, but pointed out that the letter of Sîn-iddinam does not make much of identifying the perpetrator (van Dijk 1965: 12). The text is damaged at lines 48 and 125 where one might possibly expect to find the name of Larsa's enemy. However, the barraging of the river recalls Sūmû-El's year names 20-23 in which he boasts of barraging the Euphrates, while the building of fortifications recalls the construction of the fortification at the source of the Isin Canal recorded in the archives studied by Walters. Sîn-iddinam's letter goes on to describe the effects of these actions, which included famine, slaughter, and anarchy. According to the composition, Nūr-Adad, at the request of Utu, removed the barrage that

had diverted the river, seized the fortifications, killed the troops, razed the walls, and punished those who were hostile to Larsa (lines 124-157).

From all appearances, Sūmû-El had achieved recognition by Nippur and the identity of a king of Ur at a great cost to Larsa. His exclusive use of Ur III titulary, and his year names, which give no indication of royal interest in Larsa after his sixth year, suggest that his ambition was to be the successor to the empire of the Third Dynasty of Ur. The outcome of his major building, military, and irrigation activities, according to the above literary letter and further evidenced by the apparent ending of the important archive studied by Walters and the paucity of texts dated after Sūmû-El's nineteenth year, seems to be that he achieved his aims at the expense of Larsa itself. As a result, one can see a backlash against his ambitions in the reigns of his successors.

As will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter, the next five rulers of Larsa after Sūmû-El: Nūr-Adad, Sîn-iddinam, Sîn-irībam Sîn-iqīšam, and Šillī-Adad, appear to have distanced themselves from Sūmû-El and his Ur ambitions. They dropped the use of the Ur III titulary although they continued to control Ur. For example, though there are very few Nūr-Adad years names found on Ur texts (Durand 1977: 19+ n. 2), three royal inscriptions concerning the construction of buildings in Ur by Nūr-Adad have been found on many clay cones from Ur (Frayne 1990: 139-144). Second, instead of stressing his links to the Ur III Dynasty, Nūr-Adad asserted his legitimacy as the king of Larsa by claiming Larsa as the city of his birth (Sollberger 1982: 342). He may have been drawing a link between himself and the rulers of Lagaš by assuming an epithet, kur-gú-gar-gar DN, “subduer of the foreign lands for the god --” (Frayne 1990: E4.2.8.1, 3, 4, 6), that had been used previously at Lagaš by Eannatum and Enannatum I (Hallo 1957: 137). Likewise, Sîn-iddinam uses the epithet me-šu-du₇-du₇ lagaš^{ki} gír-su^{ki}-ke₄, “perfector of the me’s of Lagaš and Girsu” (Frayne

1990: E4.2.9.1) Finally, according to Nūr-Adad's year names H and I, Nūr-Adad honored the memory of Sūmû-El's predecessor, Abī-sarē, by installing a statue of Abī-sarē in the temple of the gods. No record of such an honor is known to have been bestowed on Sūmû-El after his death. This suggests that Nūr-Adad portrayed himself as the legitimate successor to Abī-sarē rather than Sūmû-El. In sum, the enemy of Larsa described in Sîn-iddinam's literary letter, was probably Sūmû-El himself.

	L ₁ (Laesa King List)	L ₂ (U8810A)	L ₃ (UET 8, 66)	L ₄ (AO 8620)
1	mu [s]u-ma-šl	me sa-ma-šl [...]	[mu sa-ma-šl legal]	m[u sa-m]u-šl legal
2	mu alam kù-bèbbar é 'utu-šè...	me alam kù-bèbbar é 'utu-šè [...]	[mu] alam kù-bèbbar é 'utu-šè...	mu a[lam k]ù-bèbbar é 'utu-šè...
3	mu [u]r-mah uraš 2-a-bi...	me uraš-mah 2-a-bi k[š...] i-ši-in-ku-š[...]	me uraš-mah 2-a-bi k[š...] i-ši-in-ku-š[...]	mu ur-[mah 2-a] bi k[š-mah] 'anna...
4	mu a-ku-uš ^{ki} ba-hul ù ugrim ka-zal-š ^{ki} ...	[mu a-ku-uš ^{ki}] [...]	me a-ku-uš ^{ki} ba-hul ù ugrim ka-zal-š ^{ki} ...	mu a-ku-uš ^{ki} ba-hul ugrim ka-zal-š ^{ki} ...
5	mu šl legal-š ^{ki} zu-na ba-be-šl	...rest lost	me en 'utu be-hun-gš	mu uraš ^{ki} šl ^{ki} legal-š ^{ki} zu-na ba-be-šl
6	mu en 'utu ba-hun-gš		me ugrim uraš ^{ki} ga šl ^{ki} legal be-a-dib	mu e[n 'utu b]a-hun-gš
7	mu-šs-sa en 'utu be-hun-gš		me uraš ^{ki} legal-š ^{ki} zu-na be-en-dib	mu š[š] legal-š^{ki} zu-na be-be-šl
8	mu uraš ^{ki} ka-šd-da ba-an-šul		me uraš ^{ki} ka-šd-da ba-an-šul	mu uraš ^{ki} ka-šd-da b[a-šul]
9	mu-šs-sa uraš ^{ki} [ka-šd-da] ba-an-šul		me-šs-sa uraš ^{ki} ka-šd-da be-an-šul	
10	mu-šs-sa-bi uraš ^{ki} [ka-šd-da] be-an-šul		mu-šs-sa-bi uraš ^{ki} ka-šd-da be-an-šul	
11	mu ugrim kiš ^{ki} šl ^{ki} legal be-an-šig		mu ugrim kiš ^{ki} šl ^{ki} legal be-an-šig	
12	mu-šs-sa ugrim kiš ^{ki} šl ^{ki} legal be-an-šig		mu-šs-sa ugrim kiš ^{ki} šl ^{ki} legal be-an-šig	
13	mu-šs-sa-bi ugrim kiš ^{ki} šl ^{ki} legal ...		mu-šs-sa-bi ugrim kiš ^{ki} šl ^{ki} legal ...	
14				
15	mu é-duru, 'anna-š ^{ki} be-ab-dib		mu ugrim ka-zal-š ^{ki} ù legal-š ^{ki} šl ^{ki} legal...	
16	mu-šs-sa é-duru, 'anna-š ^{ki} ...		mu é-duru, 'anna-š ^{ki} be-ab-dib	
17	mu-šs-sa-bi é-duru, 'anna-š ^{ki} ...		mu-šs-sa é-duru, 'anna-š ^{ki} ...	
18	mu 4-kam-na é-duru, 'anna-š ^{ki} ...		mu-šs-sa-bi é-duru, 'anna-š ^{ki} ...	
19	mu 5-kam-na é-duru, 'anna...		mu 4-kam-na é-duru, 'anna-š ^{ki} ...	
20	[mu š]d buranun-na [be-š-š-š]		mu šd buranun ^{ki} be-š-š-š	
21	[mu-šs-sa] šd buranun-na [...]		me-šs-sa šd buranun ^{ki} ...	
22	[mu-šs-sa] bi šd buranun-na [...]		me-šs-sa-bi šd buranun ^{ki} ...	
23	[mu ugrim ka-zal-š ^{ki} ù [...]]		mu en 'anna be-hu-gš	
24	[mu] en 'anna be-hu-gš		mu-šs-sa en 'anna ...	
25	[mu-šs-sa] en 'anna ...		mu-šs-sa-bi en 'anna ...	
26	[mu-šs-sa] bi en 'anna ...		mu-šs-sa-š ^{ki} en 'anna ...	
27	...rest broken		[mu-šs-sa-š ^{ki}] en 'anna ...	
28			[mu-šs-sa-š ^{ki}] en 'anna ...	
29			[mu-šs-sa-š ^{ki}] en 'anna ...	
			28 mu sa-ma-šl legal	

Figure 4: The Year Names Lists of Šimš-šl. Year names not found on administrative documents are indicated by boldface type.

	ISIN	LARSA	KISURRA	KAZALLU-MARAD	MANANA (ILIP)	MCh
	Ur-Ninurta	27 Abi-sarē	9			1897
		28	10 Manabalte'el	8		1896
	Būr-Sin	1	11		Hatiem	1895
		2 Sūmū-EI	1		Abdi-Erah?	1894
		3	2		Masna	1893
destroyed wall of Uruk		4 defeated Akkade and Kazalla	3		defeated by Babylon	1892
		5	4		defeated by Larsa	1891
	5 lost control of Uruk	6 defeats Uruk	5 control of Uruk?			1890
		7	6			1889
		8	7			1888
		9 destroyed Phoenician	8		marriage of Šueh-EI's daughter to king of Kazalla	1887
		10	9			1886
built wall of KI		11 took Sabum	10			1885
		12 defeated KI (Babylon)	11			1884
		13	12			1883
took Kazalla and defeated Larsa		14	13		defeat by Babylon	1882
		15	14			1881
Sūmū-Ia-II		16 defeated Kazalla	15		defeat by Larsa	1880
		17 took Ešera-Jar	16			1879
		18	17			1878
		19	18			1877
		20 lost Ur?	19			1876
	controlled Ur?	21	20			1875
		21	21			1874
	Lipit-Enlil	1	21			1874
		2	22			1873
		3	23			1872
	lost Nippur	4	24			1871
		5	25			1870
	Erra-imitti	1	26			1869
		2	27			1868
defeated KI	seized Kusura	3	28			1867
		4	29			1866
		5 Nūr-Adad	1			1865

Fig. 5: Synchronism of kings who reigned at time of Sūmū-EI

CHAPTER 5

THE DYNASTY OF NUR-ADAD

Nūr-Adad

The reign of Nūr-Adad marks the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the kingdom of Larsa. Nūr-Adad and the four kings following him in the Larsa King List appear to constitute a new dynasty. The kings of the Nūr-Adad dynasty exhibit several significant differences from the preceding kings of Larsa. This is most apparent in their royal titles and epithets.

Zabāia and Abī-sarē had called themselves “Amorite chief” in their inscriptions. Reference to Amorites is entirely missing from the titles of Nūr-Adad and his successors until the reign of Warad-Sîn, whose inscriptions refer to his father, Kudur-mabuk, as “father of the Amorite land.” It may be that Nūr-Adad and the following four kings of Larsa were not Amorites. Their names are clearly Akkadian rather than Amorite. Another possibility is that they did not identify themselves or perhaps wish to be identified as Amorites. Additional evidence for this suggestion is that Nūr-Adad made the singular claim of being a native son of Larsa (Sollberger 1982) (Frayne 1990: E4.2.8.7, l. 24). Furthermore, there are several indications that Nūr-Adad and his successors consciously emulated the traditions of the Old Sumerian rulers of Lagaš-Girsu and perhaps considered themselves to be the heirs to those traditions (Hallo 1957: 137; 1973:171). Van Dijk pointed out in his study of inscription and literary

letters mentioned in the preceding chapter (van Dijk 1965: 15) that the emphasis which falls on the city of Lagaš in the text and in the inscriptions of the dynasty suggests that Nūr-Adad must have been of Lagašite extraction. It is possible that the kings of the Nūr-Adad dynasty chose to legitimate their reigns and promote the central importance of Larsa by claiming to be native sons of Larsa and drawing a connection between themselves and the Old Sumerian rulers of Lagaš-Girsu.

Another deviation from the titles of previous Larsa rulers supports this proposition. Sūmû-El had used the title “king of Ur” and appears to have eschewed the title “king of Larsa.” Gungunum and Abī-sarē before him had borne both of the titles, “king of Larsa” and “king of Ur.” In contrast, Nūr-Adad and his successors used the title “king of Larsa” but never the title “king of Ur.” Instead, they used the epithet “provider of Ur.” Edzard thought that rather than indicating a loss of power by Larsa, the secular title, “king of Ur,” gave way to cultic titles, “provider of Ur,” and “true farmer of Ur” (Edzard 1957: 143). This could have been a way of distancing themselves from Sūmû-El, who, as discussed in the preceding chapter, may have been *persona non grata* in Larsa by the end of his reign. Whereas Sūmû-El had striven to identify himself and his kingdom with the dynasty of of Ur and its empire, Nūr-Adad and to a lesser extent his successors, appear to have made Larsa the central focus and true capital of the kingdom. It should be noted that in the known royal inscriptions of the contemporary kings of Isin, Ur is only mentioned in an epithet of Enlil-bāni, who is called “farmer (who grows) tall grain for Ur” (Frayne 1990: 77ff.).

It cannot be said that Nūr-Adad could not lay claim to the title “king of Ur” because of a loss of control of Ur or of territory. There is ample evidence that Nūr-Adad controlled the same territory as Sūmû-El had. According to Frayne, “Nūr-Adad successfully consolidated his power in the same area held by Sūmû-El, for in the text

dealing with the revolt Nūr-Adad acts at the behest of the gods Utu, Ningirsu, Inanna of Zabala, and Iškur, tutelary deities of the cities Larsa, Girsu, Zabala and Karkar, which formed the core of the Larsa state.” (Frayne 1989: 25)

It also appears from the royal inscriptions of Nūr-Adad that he was no less active in support of Ur than his predecessors had been. One of his inscriptions claims that he “made Ur content, removed evil and complaint from it, regathered its scattered people and gave Nanna his boundary” (Frayne 1990: E4.2.8.3 ll. 26-36). This suggests that Ur, in spite of Sūmû-El’s apparent solicitude towards that city, suffered along with Larsa at the end of Sūmû-El’s reign. According to his inscriptions, Nūr-Adad also undertook construction projects in Ur. Three of his royal inscriptions, found on a large number of clay cones excavated at Ur, attest to the building of the Ganunmah in Ur (Frayne 1990: E4.2.8.2), the construction of a great oven for the god Nanna at Ur (Frayne 1990: E4.2.8.3), and the restoration of the bedroom of Ningal in Ur (Frayne 1990: E4.2.8.4).

Though the importance to Nūr-Adad of Ur and its patron deity, Nanna-Suen, is evidenced by his building activities at Ur and is recorded in his royal inscriptions, these deeds are not mentioned in any of his known year names. Likewise, the building activities in Ur recorded in the inscriptions of his son, Sîn-iddinam, are not found in Sîn-iddinam’s year names. However, several of the inscriptions that record Sîn-iddinam’s building activities in Ur also mention military activities that are recorded in his year names. Because the building inscriptions would have been for local and divine consumption, whereas year names were to be promulgated throughout the kingdom, it is conceivable that the kings’ support of Ur was intentionally advertised only in Ur in order to enhance the status of Larsa and downplay the importance of Ur

throughout the realm. This could even have been a reaction against the evident Ur-centrism of Sūmû-El.

One possible argument against this proposition is that Sîn-iddinam's royal inscription (Frayne 1990: E.4.2.9.8) which mentions the building of the wall of Ur was excavated at Larsa, as was the inscription (Frayne 1990: E.4.2.9.7), in which he claims to have been born in Ga'eš, the site of the Akiti festival house located just outside of the city of Ur (Edzard and Farber 1974: 51). Also, in spite of the dearth of references to Ur in the year names of Nūr-Adad and Sîn-iddinam, a highly visible indication of the continuing importance of Ur's patron deity to Nūr-Adad is the preponderance of names with the theophoric element "Sîn," borne by Nūr-Adad's successors.

One further reference to Nanna that one might have expected to find among the year names of the kings of the Nūr-Adad dynasty is a reference to the selection or installation of a high priestess of the moon god in the 44 year span between Sūmû-El year 23 and Warad-Sîn year 7. It may well be, though, that Sūmû-El's daughter held the office of high-priestess of Nanna for the entire 44 year period because, as Hallo and van Dijk pointed out, "long terms of office were the rule rather than the exception for the high-priestess of Nanna." (Hallo and van Dijk 1968: 2)

In one important way, Nūr-Adad followed, to a very limited degree, the practice first established in Larsa by Sūmû-El of using the divine determinative before his name. The divine determinative is used before Nūr-Adad's name in the inscription dealing with the construction of the Enunmah in Ur (Frayne 1990: E4.2.8.2) and in one seal of a servant of Nūr-Adad (Frayne 1990: E4.2.8.2007). It is difficult to tell whether the three succeeding rulers of the Nūr-Adad dynasty were considered divine as their names all begin with the divine name, Sîn, and therefore are always written with the divine determine. Nevertheless, Sîn-iddinam is called the first-born son of the god Iškur

in one of his inscriptions (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.2, l. 27), suggesting that he, too, was to be considered divine. It is interesting to note that “son of Iškur (Adad)” is also an epithet of Ur-Ninurta of Isin, who was a contemporary of Abī-sarē (van Dijk 1965: l. 27). One might wonder whether this suggests an ideological or even a familial link between the lately deposed royal line of Ur-Ninurta of Isin and the newly emergent dynasty of Nūr-Adad in Larsa.

In all likelihood, however, Nūr-Adad was the first of a new dynasty, who rejected the aspirations of his presumably unpopular predecessor and extolled the preeminence of Larsa. In a letter of Sîn-iddinam to the statue of his father, the succession of Nūr-Adad to the throne of Larsa is legitimized by claiming that he was chosen to be king from among many by Larsa’s patron deity, Utu. Van Dijk pointed out that variations of the expression šà-ùku-šár-ra-na ḫé-éb-ta-an-dib, “he was taken from the midst of the many (lit. 3600) people,” are attested for Enmetena, Uruinimgina, Gudea, and Ur-Nammu, and that, with the possible exception of Enmetena, who was the son, though not necessarily the heir apparent of the preceding king, these kings are all believed to have been usurpers (van Dijk 1965: 15). Another possible exception is Šū-ilīšu, the son of Išbi-Erra of Isin, who also claimed to have been “chosen among the numerous people” in an *adab* to Nergal (Black et al. 1998-: Šū-ilīšu A). In all probability, however, Nūr-Adad’s use of this term indicates that he was not the legitimate successor of Sūmû-El.

Beyond the changes in royal titles and epithets, the new centrality of Larsa in the reign of Nūr-Adad is illustrated by the fact that the earliest Old Babylonian palace excavated at Larsa was built by Nūr-Adad on the foundations of a building of Ur-Nammu of Ur (Edzard 1957: 144f.).

According to the Larsa King List, Nūr-Adad reigned for 16 years. His rise to power and some events of his reign are described on a large tablet (VAT 8515) that bears copies of an inscription and two letters of Nūr-Adad's son, Sîn-iddinam. The inscription (lines 1-40) concerns the fashioning of a statue of Nūr-Adad by Sîn-iddinam, while one letter (lines 41-178) is addressed to the statue and the other (lines 179-240) is addressed to Utu. The tablet was published first in French by van Dijk (van Dijk 1965) and later in German by Kärki (Kärki 1967) and again translated into German by Römer (Römer 1984) without significant improvements. The royal inscription of Sîn-iddinam is now available in English (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.1). The text of the two letters of Sîn-iddinam is offered here in English.

Letter from Sîn-iddinam to the statue of Nūr-Adad

41	šul-zi-dè nun ^d EN.ZU-i-din-nam alam-ra [in]im mu-na-ab-bé [k]a mu-na-ab-sì-ge II [ala]m luga[l-m]u [ù-na-du ₁₁] []-x-ka [šà-ḥul-dím]-dím-ma	The true hero, prince Sîn-iddinam, speaks a message to the statue, places it in the mouth for him: statue, (to?) my king [speak] [] of [] who fashioned []
50	[-í]b-dab ₅ -dab ₅ nam-sukkal-b[é] sá bí-in-[du ₁₁] ká-gal-la[rsa ^{ki} -ma?] ḡišsa[g-kul] ḥ[a-ba-] íd-didl[i-b]é ḡiš ḥa-b[a-ni-g]i ₄ -[g]i ₄	seized [GN?]. Their sukkal-ships he overwhelmed. The great gate of Larsa– the bolt was indeed []. Its many canals were indeed diverted.

	ki ka ba-a[n-bad-r]á	Where the mouth (= source of the canal) was remote
	bàd-didli ḥa-ba-ni-d[ù]	many fortifications were built.
	érin-en-nu-gá	Guard troops
60	en-nu-gá ḥa-ba-gar-gar	were set to guard.
	e[din]-bi-a	In its steppe
	ú-šim ba-ra-mú-mú	no plants grew.
	ᵈezinu	Wheat
	ab-sín-na gú nu-um-ri	did not lean in the furrow.
	uru šà-bi-ta	In the city
	še-gar al-gar	all the stored grain was depleted.
	e-sír e-sír-ra	In all the streets
	ḍim im-ma-gar-gar	there was disease.
	é é-da	House was turned
70	ki-bala ḥa-ba-an-da-gar	against house.
	sila-dagal-la-ba mē ba-an-gar	Battle was waged in its public square.
	ḡištukul-e sag-gaz ḥa-ba-aka-ne	Murder was committed by means of
		weapons.
	e-sír e-sír-ra	In all the streets
	nì-gilim-ma ḥa-ba-gar	ruin set in.
	šēš šēš-ra	Brother consumed brother.
	ḥé-en-kú	
	érin íb-[t]ag ₄ šà-gar-ra ḡištukul im-til	The troops who deserted perished
		by hunger or weapons.
	lú lú-ra ba-an-kar-kar	One fled to another.
	an-edin-na	In the high plain
80	pirig šu ba-an-zi-ga	the lion rose up (and)
	gìr-gin-na ba-an-rá	went on the footpath.
	íb-tag ₄ šen-šen-[na]	Battle deserters (survivors?)
	kaskal [ḥ]é-e[m-m]a-a[n-gaz [?]]	it killed [?] on the road.
III	(six lines missing)
90	[g]ìri m[u-]	[] foot, he []
	[ᵈutu l]ugal-l[arsa ^{ki} -ma [?]]	Utu,) the king [of Larsa]

	[] m[u-]	[] he []
	[]	[]
	arḥu[š-sù]	the merciful [],
	sipa-[]	who loves
	ki-ág[a-àm]	the [true] shepherd [],
	ḡiš-šub-b[a-galam-ma-n]a	determined in his heart
	uru-nam-en-na-ni	by his well-crafted destiny
	ki-bé gi ₄ -gi ₄ -dè	to restore
100	šà-ga-ni nam-túm	the city of his lordship.
	sipa-zi mu-un-pà	He called the true shepherd.
	nu-úr- ^d IŠKUR	Nūr-Adad,
	a-a tu-da-m[u [?]]	the father who begot me,
	šà-ùku-šár-ra-na	from the midst of his numerous people
	ḥé-éb-ta-an-[d]ib [?]	he indeed took him.
	nam-lugal-kalam-ma-n[i-š]è	To the kingship of the land
	mu-un-íl	he elevated him.
	é-babbar é-zi-ka[lam-ma-ka]	In the Ebabbar, the true temple of the
		land,
	gidri kur mu-un-ga[m-ma mu-na-an]-sì	he entrusted to him the scepter that
		subjects the foreign land.
110	kalam-ma ú-sal-la [nú]-ù-dè	In order for the land to lie down in
		pasture,
	ú-du ₁₀ -ga kú-ù-dè	to eat sweet grass, (and)
	a-nir-gál nag-nag(a)-dè	to drink reliable water
	á-bi mu-un-da-an-ág	he commissioned him.
	di-nì-gi-na-	By the right judgement
	^d utu-ta	of Utu,
	en ^d nin-gír-su	with lord Ningirsu
	á-daḥ-a-ta	assisting,
	sún-gal	with the great wild cow
	^d inanna-zabala ^{ki}	Inanna of Zabala
120	igi-gen-né-ta	leading, (and)
	^d iškur	with Iškur

	dingir-tu ₆ -ga-ke ₄	the god of incantation
	zi-da gen-né-ta	going on the right,
	á-daḥ tab-ba-da kúr-meš	with redoubled help he removed
	[x]-eš ₁₈ -tár im-ta-[an-è [?]]	the enemies (of [?] /and [?]) [x]-Ištar.
	(break?)	(break?)
IV r ev	ká-gal-larsa ^{ki} -ma	He opened
	gál ḥé-bí-in-tag ₄	the great gate of Larsa.
	íd-didli	He seized by means of arms
	ḡiš bí-in-g[i ₄ -gi ₄]-a	the many canals
130	ka ba-a[n-bad-rá]-a [?]	which were diverted,
	bàd-didli ba-[dù]-a	(and) the many fortifications which were
		built
	ḡištukul-ta ḥé-in-dab ₅ -dab ₅	where the mouth (= source of the canal)
		was remote.
	[u]gnim-bi	He killed
	ḥé-b[í-i]b-gaz-gaz	those armies.
	bàd-bi ḥé-b[í-i]b-gul-gul	He destroyed those fortifications.
	íd-didli	He opened
	ḡiš ka in-gi ₄ -a-ta	the many canals
	[gál] ḥé-em-mi-in-t[a]g ₄ -tag ₄	which were diverted from the source.
	[uru [?]] á-[d]am [?]	The city (and) pasture land
140	ur-sag ^d utu	that hated
	gú ba-an-da-ab-dù-a	hero Utu
	larsa ^{ki} -ma-da	(and) rebelled
	ki-bal ba-an-da-gar-ra	against Larsa
	igi-ne-ne	(and) set their eyes
	ki-kúr-šè	toward the hostile place
	in-gar-re-eš-a	
	ní-bi-a	(and) hired
	mu-un-ḥun-gá-a	themselves out
	ḡištukul-kala-ga-ni	he overwhelmed
150	[s]á bí-in-du ₁₁ -ga	(by) his mighty weapon.
	[x] lú-éš ḥu-mu-u[n-l]á ^{??} -eš [?]	They [?] hanged(?) the captive

	ed[in-b]i-a	He brought rejoicing
	asila ḥu-mu-un-ni-in-gar	in its steppe.
	dingir-gal-gal	The great gods who
	ka mē-šen-šen-na	had been brought
	ša-larsa ^{ki} -ma-[šè]	into the center of Larsa
	i-in-ku ₄ -re-eš-a	(in) the mouth (throes?) of battle–
	nu-úr- ^d IŠKUR	Nūr-Adad,
	a-a ugu-mu	the father who begot me,
160	ki-bi-šè ḥé-bí-in-gi ₄	restored them to their places.
	sizkur ezen	He increased
	nidba-ga[l-ga]l-bi-d[aʔ]	offering festivals
	ḥé-en-dè-g[u-u]l-[gu-ul]	along with their great ritual meals.
	min(a)-kam-ma-[šè]	For a second time
	nun ^d EN.[ZU-i-din-nam-e]	prince Sîn-iddinam
V	alam-a-a-ugu-[na]	called (and)
	gù mu-un-na-d[é]-e	prayed
	ù-gul mu-u[n-n]a-gá-gá	to the statue of the father who begot him:
	alam a-a-ugu-mu	Statue of the father who begot me,
170	a-a-mu ù-tu-da-ni-ta	my father who from his birth
	nam-tar-bi g[ù]-dé-a	its (the statue's ?) fate has been
		proclaimed,
	mu-zu ḥé-sa ₄ -a	your name has truly been designated,
	alam sipa-nì-gi-na	statue of a just shepherd
	za-e-me-en	are you–
	u ₄ -nam-ti-la-mu sù ¹ -rá-dè	in order to extend the days of my life
	èš-é-babbar-ra	stand daily
	u ₄ -šú-uš-e gub-[b]a	in the sanctuary Ebabbar,
	lugal-mu	my king!

Letter of Sîn-iddinam to Utu via Šerida

ur-sag-šul ^dutu-ra

To hero youth Utu

180	igi- ^d šè-ri ₅ -<da> mí-ša ₆ -ga nitadam-ki-ága-a-ni lú ka-ša ₆ -ga mu-šè ù-na-a-du ₁₁ ù-ne-dè-daḥ u ₄ a-a-ugu-mu [nu]n? nu-úr- ^d IŠKUR sipa-zi-ki-ág-a-ni gidri-nì-si-sá nam-sipa-kalam-ma-ni-šè	before Šerida, the good woman, his beloved spouse, the one praying for me, say to him (and) say further: When the father who begot me, the prince? Nūr-Adad, his beloved true shepherd, placed in his hand the scepter of righteousness
190	šu-ni-šè mu-un-gar-ra-a nu-še-bi-da gú-ni nu-mu-un-da-šub ù ki-šà-du ₁₀ ba-ra-an-dib u ₄ -bi-a ^d utu lugal-a-ni-ir ḡišgúza-maḥ-kù-sig ₁₇ - dúr-gar-ra-ka-ni mu-na-dím en šu-luḥ-kù	for his shepherdship of the country, he was not negligent, he was not careless, and he was never complacent. At that time, (YEAR B) he fashioned for Utu his king his magnificent throne of gold to sit on. He installed (YEAR C)
200 VI	me-bé šu bí-du ₇ -<a> g[i ₆ -pà]r-kù-ga-na mu-na-ḥun ^{un} kin-sig kin-nima-šè únu ^l (KIN)-gal-e bí-in-daḥ ḥé-gál mu-un-du ₈ -du ₈ š[u-n]ir-gal-kù-sig ₁₇ nesag-gá ^d nanna lugal-a-ni-ir ḥu-mu-na-dím	in her holy gipar the high-priestess (who) perfects the holy lustration rites. Evening to morning he added sacred feasts there. He heaped up abundance. He fashioned (YEAR D) a great gold emblem of the first fruit offerings for Nanna his king.

	ídburanun-na saḥar d[ib-b]a	He dug	(YEAR E)
210	gi[bi]l ² -bi-šè	anew	
	ḥu-mu-un-ba-al	the sand-filled Euphrates canal.	
	ᵈnanna lugal-úri ^{ki} -ma	(Thereby) Nanna, the king of Ur,	
	nibru ^{ki} uru-a-a-ugu-na-šè	jubilantly bore the first fruit offerings	
	[ne]sag-gá šà-ba asila	into Nippur,	
	ḥu-mu-ni-in-túm	the city of the father who begot him.	
	sún-gal	For the great wild cow,	(YEAR F)
	ᵈinanna-zabala ^{ki} -ra	Inanna of Zabala,	
	ḡišgúza-maḥ-	her magnificent throne	
	nam-nin-a-ka-na	of queenship	
220	guškin kù-babbar	he truly fashioned there	
	na ₄ .gug na ₄ .za-gìn	of gold, silver,	
	ḥé-bí-in-dím	carnelian, (and) lapis lazuli.	
	maḥ-bi ḥé-em-<mi>-in-tuš	He seated (her) there magnificently.	
	ur-maḥ-gal-gal	He erected great lions there	
	[gìr]i-d[i]b gèri-d[i]b	at all the entranceways(?)	
	kisal-maḥ-ba ḥé-bí-in-su ₈	of the main courtyard.	
	ᵈinanna nin-an-ki-a	Inanna, queen of heaven and earth	
	ḡišdúr-gar-zà-bi-ús-kù-sig ₁₇ -	he seated her there	
	nam-nin-a-ka-ni	on her gold-sided seat	
230	ḥé-bí-in-tuš	of queenship	
	(four lines missing)	
	[x x]-an-dù [?]	[] built	
	[x x]-x-ri	[]?	
	[z]i [?] -da me al-gù[ru [?]]	who bears the me's on the right (?),	
	gaba-gál nir-s[um]-m[a]	the powerful [?] , the one endowed with nobility.	
	a-šà-[ga] dúr-gar-ra-kù-ba	(Therefore) may the days be extended	
240	u ₄ hé-da-s[ù]	in the field [?] (and) on their pure throne.	

As discussed in the preceding chapter on the reign of Sūmû-El, the letter of Sîn-iddinam to the statue of his father describes the dire state of the kingdom of Larsa at the end of the reign of Sūmû-El and Nūr-Adad's restoration of Larsa and ascent to the throne at the behest of Utu, the patron deity of Larsa.

The second letter of Sîn-iddinam from the Berlin tablet relates events of Nūr-Adad's reign. It is particularly useful for the identification and reconstruction of the year names of Nūr-Adad, none of which is preserved on any of the known year name lists. Twenty year names have been ascribed to Nūr-Adad (see fig. 6, p. 95). The events recorded in Nūr-Adad's year names B through F are described in lines 195 through 229 as noted above. The ordering of events in this literary text suggests a possible, though far from certain, ordering of his year names. One would expect from lines 55-56 and 136-138 of the letter of Sîn-iddinam to the statue of his father, which concern the diverted canals and their restoration, that the dredging of the Euphrates recorded in year name E would have taken place at the very beginning of Nūr-Adad's reign. It is possible, however, that the dredging of the Euphrates was normal maintenance and does not refer to the redirecting of diverted canal flow.

Year name 1, "the year Nūr-Adad (became) king," is followed by a mu-ús-sa year that is known from one document (UET 5, 769) dated to the first month. It is likely that the year name was replaced early in the year. Year name B, "the year (Nūr-Adad) brought a throne adorned with gold into the temple of Utu," is also followed by a mu-ús-sa year attested on one document (Grice 1919a: YOS 5, 151) dated to the first month.

Year name C, "the year Nūr-Adad installed the high-priestess of Utu," is similar to year names of three of his predecessors, Gungunum (year 6), Abī-sarē (year 10), and Sūmû-El (year 6). This year, too, was followed by a mu-ús-sa year, mu-ús-sa

en ^dutu, “the year after the priestess of Utu ...,” that is also attested for Gungunum (year 7), Abī-sarē (year 11) and Sūmû-El (7a). There are three unpublished texts at Yale with this date formula (NBC 9195, 9196 and 10358). All three documents, which concern fine *billatum* beer for a feast (*naptanum*), mention a person named Pazum or the overseer (ugula) Azum and are sealed by Bali²-arah, son of Išhīia, servant of Amurrum. Both Pazum and Bali²-arah appear on three more documents concerning *billatum* beer with an unassigned year name, mu íd amar-^dEN.ZU ba-ba-al (NBC 9400 and 10356) and its variant mu íd amar-^dEN.ZU sahar ᵀx^l-ia ba-ba-al-la (NBC 10171), “the year the Amar-Sîn canal was dug (from its sand?).” (All six of these texts were copied by Beckman.) Because the year names of Gungunum, Abī-sarē, and Sūmû-El are well known and all accounted for, it would seem reasonable to assign this year name as well as the two texts dated to the ninth month of the year mu-ús-sa en ^dutu to Nūr-Adad. The unassigned year name bears some resemblance to Nūr-Adad’s year name e, mu íd-buranun-na sahar-dib-ba gibil-bi-šè hu-mu-um-ba-al, “the year(Nūr-Adad) dug anew the sand-gripped Euphrates,” and may be a more specific variant of year name E rather than a separate year name. Because year name C+1 is used in two texts from the ninth month, it can be assumed to have been used throughout the entire year and not to have been replaced by another year name.

Lines 206-208 of the above letter of Sîn-iddinam to Utu state that Nūr-Adad fashioned a great gold emblem for the god Nanna. These lines are reflected in two year names, Da, “the year (Nūr-Adad) fashioned a large gold emblem as an offering for Nanna his king,” and Db, “the year (Nūr-Adad) brought a large emblem as an offering into the temple of Nanna.” The latter is only attested in one text and is probably a variant of the former rather than a separate year name (Durand 1977: 25 n. 2 and 29 n. 2).

As mentioned above, year E, “the year (Nūr-Adad) dug anew the sand-filled Euphrates,” may refer to the restoration of diverted canals to their original courses as described in the letter of Sîn-iddinam to the statue of Nūr-Adad, or it may refer to royal maintenance of the waterways. The above letter of Sîn-iddinam to Utu goes on to explain that, with the Euphrates re-dug, “Nanna, the king of Ur, jubilantly bore the first fruit offerings into Nippur, the city of the father who begot him.” The dredging of the Euphrates to allow Nanna to get to Nippur to deliver the first fruit offerings, can be compared to Rīm-Sîn year name 23, mu du₄-ga an ^den-líl ^den-ki-ga-ta íd-bu-ra-nun-na ti-lim-da kù-ga ^dnanna-ta nesag tùm é-kur-šè èš nam-ti-la-ni-šè sipa zi ^dri-im-^dEN.ZU ki unug^{ki} -ga/ larsa^{ki}-ta zag a-ab-ba-šè mu-un-ba-al-lá gú-bé a-gàr dagal-la im-ta-è-a a du₁₀ šà úri^{ki}-šè im-mi-in-gar-ra, “the year the true shepherd Rīm-Sîn at the command of An, Enlil, and Enki for the sake of his life dug the Euphrates from Uruk / Larsa to the edge of the sea, the holy vessel of Nanna, who bears the first fruit offerings to the Ekur sanctuary, bringing forth broad fields on its banks (and) providing sweet water to Ur” (Sigrist 1990: 51f.). A prayer with praise for Sîn-iddinam (Black et al. 1998-: Sîn-iddinam A), reports that Sîn-iddinam also brought the first fruit offerings of the new year to Ur for Nanna to transport to the temple of Enlil in Nippur.

The last of the activities of Nūr-Adad described by both the above letter of Sîn-iddinam to Utu and a known year name of Nūr-Adad is year F, “the year the throne dais with gold sides and two copper lions was fashioned for Inanna (and Nūr-Adad) brought it into the temple of Inanna.” Because it is the last event listed in the letter and is described in so much greater detail than the other events, one wonders if the letter was composed in that year. The events recorded in known year names of Nūr-Adad that do not appear in the letter were excluded from the composition either because they had not yet occurred or because they were not thought worth mentioning. The latter hypothesis is

unlikely to be true because the deed recorded in at least one of the year names missing from Sîn-iddinam's letter, year name I, "the year the great wall of Larsa was built," was important enough to be recorded in one of Nūr-Adad's royal inscriptions (Frayne 1990: E4.2.87). Furthermore, in the inscription of Sîn-iddinam referring to the fashioning of the statue of Nūr-Adad, Sîn-iddinam calls himself "mighty man, provider of Ur, true shepherd of Larsa... mighty heir who pleases his father very much," and calls his father "king of Larsa." This clearly suggests that the statue was fashioned by Sîn-iddinam while his father was still alive. In lines 42 and 165 of the letter addressed to the statue, he is called prince Sîn-iddinam. The letter to Utu on the Berlin tablet with the statue inscription and the letter of Sîn-iddinam to the statue may also have been composed during Nūr-Adad's life, which would explain why not all of Nūr-Adad's known year names are mentioned therein. Simply, those years had not yet passed. A mu-ús-sa year name following year name F is known from only two documents (MLC 642 and YBC 12268) both dated to the first month of the year and therefore possibly replaced by another year name.

From year name G, "the year Maškan-šapir was seized," we can gather that Maškan-šapir, modern Tell Abū Duwari, fell out of Larsa's control sometime between the reign of Zabāia, whose inscription (Frayne 1990: E4.2.4.2) was excavated there, and the reign of Nūr-Adad. This is the only year name of Nūr-Adad that indicates that there was any military conflict during his reign. It presages the the conflict with the more northerly kingdoms of Babylon, Malgium, and Ešnunna recorded in the year names of his son, Sîn-iddinam.

An inscription of Nūr-Adad found on several bricks from Eridu and Ur (Frayne 1990: E4.2.8.5) and a cone inscription from Eridu (Frayne 1990: E4.2.8.6) record his restoration of the temple and rites of Enki at Eridu. This deed is also recorded in his year

name H, “the year the temple of Enki in Eridu was (re)built.” The mu-ús-sa year name following this year name has been shown by Arnaud to have been replaced in the first month of the year by year name I, “the year the great wall of Larsa was built” (Arnaud 1985). This year name, too, is reflected in an inscription on a number of clay cones found at Larsa (Frayne 1990: E.4..2.8.7; Talon 1996). A possible mu-ús-sa year name following this year name is attested on one document (UET 5 264), but it cannot be definitively assigned to Nūr-Adad. It is as likely to be Sîn-iqīšam’s year name 4a as it is to be Nūr-Adad’s year name I+1. The document is dated to the second month.

Two of the twenty year names previously ascribed to Nūr-Adad, year names J and K, can now be omitted with relative certainty. The year names, mu alam a-bí-sa-re-e é-diğir-re-ne-ne i-ni-in-ku₄ and mu-ús-sa mu alam a-bí-sa-re-e é-diğir-re-ne-ne i-ni-in-ku₄, “the year he brought a statue of Abī-sarē into the temple of his gods,” and the year after that, were originally ascribed to Nūr-Adad because it was felt it more likely that a successor of Abī-sarē rather than Abī-sarē himself would have had such a statue installed and all of the year names of the successors of Abī-sarē were known except for those of Nūr-Adad (Edzard 1957: 142 and note 753). One text (YOS 14, 211) dated with the year name, mu-ús-sa mu alam a-bí-sa-re e é-diğir-re-ne-ne i-ni-in-ku₄, bears seal impressions of servants of Gungunum and Abī-sarē. It is therefore likely that these year names are variations of Abī-sarē’s year names 8 and 9a rather than year names of Nūr-Adad.

Finally, the year name L, “the year four copper statues were fashioned for the temple of Utu,” is attested for Nūr-Adad on one document (NFT 188) and a mu-ús-sa year name following it is attested for the fourth month on a single document (TCL 1 58).

l	mu nu-ur- ^d iškur lugal	Year Nūr-Adad (became) king	UET 5 136, 533; YOS 14 283, MLC 1629
a	mu ús-sa mu-nu-ur- ^d iškur lugal	Year after the year Nūr-Adad (became) king	UET 5 769 (1)
b	mu giš.gu-za zag-bé-ús kù-sig ₁₇ šu-du, é- ^d utu-ra i-ni-in-ku ₄ -re	Year (Nūr-Adad) brought a throne adorned with gold into the temple of Utu	BIN 7 162; YOS 14 285; Tell Sifr 1,1a; Strassmaier 1; NBC 9826
c*	mu ús-sa giš.gu-za zag-bé-ús kù-sig ₁₇ šu-du,-a é- ^d utu-šè i-ni-in-ku ₄ -ra	Year after the year (Nūr-Adad) brought a throne adorned with gold into the temple of Utu	YOS 5 151
c	mu nu-ur- ^d iškur en- ^d utu ba-hun-gá	Year Nūr-Adad installed the high-priestess of Utu	YOS 5 152-154; UET 5 173, 570, 160; YOS 14 222; Friedman, St-Louis 215
d*	mu ús-sa en- ^d utu ba-hun-gá	Year after the year the high-priestess of Utu was installed	AOAT 25.43 W2/1; YOS 14 223, 226, 229; NBC 9195, 9196, 6727, 10358 ?
da	mu šu-nir gal kù-sig ₁₇ nesag-gá ^d nanna lugal-a-ni-ir mu-na-dím	Year (Nūr-Adad) fashioned a large gold emblem as an offering for Nanna his king	UET 5 167; UET 1 258; UET 5 443; AJSL 33: 240 RPH 32; Bi.Mes. 3.36; YBC 10306
db	mu šu-nir gal nesag-gá é- ^d nanna in-ni-ku ₄ -ra	Year (Nūr-Adad) brought a large emblem as an offering into the temple of Nanna	Bi.Mes. 3.39B
e	mu íd-buranun-na sahar dib-ba gibil-bi-šè hu-mu-un-ba-al	Year (Nūr-Adad) dug anew the sand-filled Euphrates	NBC 11483
f	mu giš.gu-za bára zag-bé-ús kù-sig ₁₇ ù urudu.ur-mah 2-a-bi ^d inanna-ra ba-dím é- ^d inanna-šè i-ni-in-ku ₄ -re	Year the throne dais with gold sides and two copper lions was fashioned for Inanna (and Nūr-Adad) brought it into the temple of Inanna	UET 5 105, 184
g*	mu ús-sa zag-bé-ús ur-mah 2-a-bi é- ^d inanna-ra i-ni-in-ku ₄ -ra	Year after the year (Nūr-Adad) brought (the throne dais) with gold sides (and) two lions into the temple of Inanna	MLC 642, YBC 12268
g (l)	mu maš-gán-šabra ba-an-dab ₅	Year Maškan-šapir was seized	Arnaud, Larsa 232 5
h (g)	mu é- ^d en-ki eridu ^{ki} ba-dù	Year the temple of Enki in Eridu was built	UET 1 254; YBC 10302, 10832, 5314, 6792
i*	mu ús-sa é- ^d en-ki	Year after the year the temple of Enki ...	Birot FS 35 l.10
i (m)	mu bàd gal larsa ^{ki} ba-dù	Year the great wall of Larsa was built	Birot FS 35-38; Nabu 1988, NBC 6495, 6494, 9265
j (h)	mu alam a-bí-sa-re-e é-diğir-re-ne-ne i-ni-in-ku ₄	Year (Nūr-Adad) brought a statue of Abī-sarē into the temple of his gods	RT 39 109=UET 5 879 (AS8?)
k (i)	mu ús-sa alam a-bí-sa-re-e é-diğir-re-ne-ne i-ni-in-ku ₄	Year after the year (Nūr-Adad) brought a statue of Abī-sarē into the temple of his gods	YOS 14 211 (bears Abī-sarē and Gungunum servant sealings) (AS9)
l (j)	mu urudu.alam 4-bi é- ^d utu-šè ba-dím	Year 4 copper stations were fashioned for the temple of Utu	NFT 188
m(k)	mu ús-sa urudu.alam 4-bi é- ^d utu-šè ba-dím	Year after the year 4 copper stations were fashioned for the temple of Utu	TCL 1 58

Fig. 6: Year names of Nūr-Adad

It can thus be shown that for the sixteen-year reign of Nūr-Adad, we have 19 year names, two of which, Db and Eb are possible variants of the year names Da and Ea. Seven of the year names are mu-ús-sa year names, two of which (C+1 and L+1) are attested late enough in the year for it to be assumed that they were used for the entire year, and one of which (H+1) has been shown to have been replaced by another year name (I) at the beginning of the year. It is not unlikely that we are missing or misattributing some of Nūr-Adad's year names.

Overall, his inscriptions and year names suggest that the activities of Nūr-Adad were concentrated in the south, particularly in Ur, Larsa, and Eridu. In spite of Nūr-Adad's claim to have dredged the Euphrates in order that Nanna might bear the first fruit offerings to Nippur, dated texts from Nippur show that after the reign of Sūmû-El Nippur was under the control of Isin until the last year of the reign of Nūr-Adad's successor, Sîn-iddinam (Sigrist 1977b: 364).

The reign of Nūr-Adad is contemporary with years 16 through 31 of Sūmû-la-II of Babylon, years 5 through 7 of Erra-imitī of Isin and years 1 through 13 of Erra-imitī's successor Enlil-bāni. It is still unclear which rulers of other Mesopotamian kingdoms were contemporaries of Nūr-Adad.

The suggestion was made by van Dijk that Ilu-šumma of Assur might have been the aggressor who caused the catastrophe described in Sîn-iddinam's letter to the statue of his father (van Dijk 1965: 24f.). Ilu-šumma claimed in one of his brick inscriptions that he "established the freedom of the Akkadians and their children ... established their freedom from the border of the marshes(?) and Ur and Nippur, Awal, and Kismar, Dēr of the god Ištaran, as far as the city (Aššur)" (Grayson 1987: A.0.32.2, ll. 49-65). The Chronicle of Early Kings ends with a catch-line stating that Ilu-šumma was king of Assyria at the time of Suabu (Grayson 1975: 48). Grayson points out that

“It is possible but by no means certain that Suabu is to be identified with the Babylonian king Sūmû-abum” (Grayson 1975: 247). Fifteen years separate the end of the reign of Sūmû-abum and the beginning of the reign of Nūr-Adad, so, if the identification of Suabu with Sūmû-abum is correct, it is not impossible for the reigns of Ilu-šumma and Nūr-Adad to have overlapped in time. Nevertheless, Ilu-šumma’s enigmatic reference to cities of southern Mesopotamia may not have anything to do with Larsa’s crisis at the end of the reign of Sūmû-El. Larsen has argued convincingly that Sūmû-abum reigned fifty years after the death of Ilu-šumma, making him a contemporary of Iddin-Dagān and Išme-Dagān of Isin and Sāmium and Zabāia of Larsa and that the inscription does not refer to a military event but rather a change in economic or commercial policy to attract traders from southern Mesopotamia to the Assyrian market (Larsen 1976: 65-80).

It is likely that Sîn-kāšid of Uruk was a contemporary of Nūr-Adad because the inscription on a seal impression of Šallurtum, the wife of Sîn-kāšid (Frayne 1990: E4.4.1.16), indicates that she was the daughter of Sūmû-la-II of Babylon, who is known to have been a contemporary of Nūr-Adad. Because Sîn-kāšid never mentions his father in any of his inscriptions, it is generally believed that he may have started a new dynasty in Uruk. Van Dijk made the suggestion that Nūr-adad and Sîn-kāšid might have seized power at the same time after the disaster described in the letter of Sîn-iddinam to the statue of his father (van Dijk 1965: 18). The dynastic marriage between Sîn-kāšid and the daughter of the king of Babylon indicates that Babylon had an interest in southern Mesopotamia at the time of Nūr-Adad’s reign although the year names and royal inscriptions of Sūmû-la-II refer only to activities to the north.

From the year names of the contemporary kings of Isin and Babylon, it appears that both Isin and Babylon were in conflict with Kazallu in the early part of Nūr-Adad’s

reign: Erra-imitti year E, “the year the wall of Kazallu was destroyed,” and Sūmû-la-II year 18, “the year Iahzir-El was driven out of Kazallu.” Both kings of Isin claimed control of Nippur in their year names: Erra-imitti years B and C, “the year (after) Erra-imitti restored Nippur to its (rightful) place,” and Enlil-bāni year C, “the year Enlil-bāni, king of Sumer and Akkad, restored Nippur to its (rightful) place.” The year names of Sūmû-la-II of Babylon imply that Babylon was preoccupied with the north. His year names record activity in Kiš (year 13, “the year Kiš was destroyed,” and year 19, “the year the wall (reaching) toward heaven of Kiš was destroyed,” Kazallu (year 18, see above), Kutha and AN.ZA.GÀR-UR.GI₇ (year 27, “the year the walls of Kutha and Dimat-kalbim(?) were built”), Borsippa (year 28, “the year Borsippa was entered”) and Sippar (year 29, “the year Sūmû-la-II the king built the city wall of Sippar”) (Sigrist n.d.). Aside from Nūr-Adad’s year name G, “the year Maškan-šapir was seized,” there is little evidence of friction between Larsa and the neighboring kingdoms after Nūr-Adad’s restoration of Larsa.

Sîn-iddinam

Nūr-Adad was succeeded as king of Larsa by his son, Sîn-iddinam. In one text (YOS 5, 152), dated Nūr-Adad year C, we have a possible reference to Sîn-iddinam as šagina of Ašdub, a city not far from Larsa (Groneberg 1980: 23). Princes served as šaginas of Uruk and Dūrum during the Ur III period, including Šū-Sîn, who served as the military governor of Uruk and later Dūrum (Michalowski 1977: 83f.; Edzard 1957: 145 n. 766). The tradition of the crown prince holding the office of šagina may have continued into the Old Babylonian period. However, in spite of what appears to have been a relatively peaceful reign for Nūr-Adad, there is some evidence that there were unusual circumstances concerning the succession of Sîn-iddinam to the throne of Larsa.

One of Sîn-iddinam's inscriptions declares that he was "the one whom his numerous people truly chose" (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.15 ll. 51-53). This reference to popular support for his reign might imply that there were other claimants to the throne at the end of Nūr-Adad's reign or that there was something unusual about Sîn-iddinam's ascent to kingship. Two other inscriptions of Sîn-iddinam add to the impression that the transfer of kingship from Nūr-Adad to his son was peculiar. Though the inscription for the statue of Nūr-Adad refers to Nūr-Adad as the king of Larsa and Sîn-iddinam as the "mighty heir who pleases his father very much," Sîn-iddinam also bears in the inscription the standard royal epithets "mighty man, provider of Ur, true shepherd of Larsa" (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.1 ll. 19-21). In the same inscription, he claimed to have restored the rites of Eridu (l. 22-23) though inscribed bricks from Eridu give Nūr-Adad credit for rebuilding Eridu and restoring its rites (Frayne 1990: E4.2.8.5 ll. 7-15). Finally, in another inscription (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.10) Sîn-iddinam, bearing the title "king of Larsa," claimed to have restored the Ganunmah in Ur "for the life of my father and my own life," indicating that Nūr-Adad was still alive when Sîn-iddinam was calling himself the king. Furthermore Sîn-iddinam asserted in the same inscription that no royal ancestor of his had restored the Ganunmah, though in his own inscription (Frayne 1990: E4.2.8.2), Nūr-Adad claimed to have built the Ganunmah.

Two texts from Lagash published by R.D. Biggs (Biggs 1976: 38 and 39b) contribute evidence of a co-regency of Nūr-Adad and Sîn-iddinam. These texts bear oaths in the names of both Nūr-Adad and Sîn-iddinam. The oath in number 38, dated Sîn-iddinam year 1, names both Sîn-iddinam and his father as kings, "mu nu-úr-^dAdad/ ù ^dEN.ZU-i-din-na-am/ [x x x] [x x] ^dEN.ZU/ [lugal²]-kù-meš (ll. 9-12). While the oath in number 36b is sworn in the names of both but calls only Nūr-Adad king, mu [nu]-úr-^dAdad lugal/ u ^dEN.ZU-i-din-nam in-[pàd] (ll. 7-8). Biggs points out that "The precise

significance of this double oath is not obvious, though one can assume that it was used at the very end of Nūr-Adad's reign or perhaps during a co-regency" (Biggs 1976: 9). The date of the latter text is mu šu-nir nisag-gá / é^dNanna in-ni-^lku₄l/-ra. We now know this year name as Nūr-Adad year Db. The combination of dates and oaths suggest that Sîn-iddinam was in power but not called king in Nūr-Adad year Db and that Nūr-Adad may have been alive in Sîn-iddinam year 1.

That Sîn-iddinam is called the king of Larsa in a dedication for the life of his father, that he is credited with deeds also ascribed to Nūr-Adad, and that oaths are sworn in the names of both Nūr-Adad and Sîn-iddinam on two documents, strongly suggests that Sîn-iddinam acted as co-regent with his father. It may be that the last lines of the letter to Utu translated above, dūr-gar-ra-kù-ba u₄ hé-da-s[ù], "may the day be extended on their pure throne," the plural pronominal suffix refers to Nūr-Adad and Sîn-iddinam as co-rulers rather than to the whole dynasty of Nūr-Adad as suggested by van Dijk (van Dijk 1965: 24). It should be noted that co-regencies were extremely rare in Mesopotamia. I know of no other instance of a co-regency in this period.

There is a surprising number of documents dated to Sîn-iddinam years 6 and 7 that bear seal impressions of servants of Nūr-Adad. Some of these documents also bear seal impressions of servants of Sîn-iddinam, while others bear seal impressions of servants of deities.

Nanna-mansum, máš-šu-gíd-gíd, ìr Nanna ù Nūr-Adad

YBC 10650 Sîn-iddinam 6

YBC 04970 Sîn-iddinam 6.2.24 with sealing of PN ìr Sîn-iddinam

YBC 03268 Sîn-iddinam 6.4.22 with sealing of PN ìr Sîn-iddinam

YBC 05205 Sîn-iddinam 6.8.4 with sealing of PN ìr Nanna

Damu-galzu, dumu Ilani, ìr Nūr-Adad

YBC 04971 Sîn-iddinam 6.11.7 with sealing of PN ìr Sîn-iddinam

Lú-Dumuzida, dub-sar, dumu Ikun-pi-Sîn, ìr Nūr-Adad

YBC 10249 Sîn-iddinam 6.6.16 with sealing of PN ìr Sîn-iddinam

Zikir-ilīšu, dumu Ipqu-Aba, ìr Nūr-Adad

NBC 07646 Sîn-iddinam 7.9.23

A co-regency might account for the large number of documents with Sîn-iddinam dates and Nūr-Adad servant sealing impressions. An alternative possibility is that these were seals of officials of a cult of the deceased Nūr-Adad well underway in the last years of the reign of Sîn-iddinam. This possibility might explain the preponderance of documents impressed with seals of both servants of Nūr-Adad and servants of other deities. Of particular note in this regard is the seal of Nanna-mansum, the divination priest, who bears the title “servant of Nanna and Nūr-Adad.”

Seals of servants of Nūr-Adad were also used to seal tablets in the reign of Rīm-Sîn, who rose to power 28 years after the end of the reign of Nūr-Adad. As with the seal impressions noted above, several of these seal impressions are found on documents that bear seal impressions of servants of other deities.

Sîn-bēl-ilī, ugula uru, dumu Halīlum, ir₁₁ Nūr-Adad

YOS 8, 7 Rīm-Sîn 3.2 also listed as a witness on text

YOS 8, 4 Rīm-Sîn 4.12

YOS 5, 143 Rīm-Sîn 6.12.18

YOS 8, 26 Rīm-Sîn 24.9 with sealing of PN ir₁₁ Amurru

YOS 8, 39 Rīm-Sîn 24.10 with sealing of PN ir₁₁ Ištar

Nawīrum, má-lah_s, dumu Kalūa, ìr Nūr-Adad

YOS 8, 44 Rīm-Sîn 25.8.15 with sealing of PN ìr Ea ù Damgalnunna

YOS 8, 56 Rīm-Sîn 25.8.15 with sealing of PN ìr Ea ù Damgalnunna

Van De Mieroop suggests that “Several of these seals may be of forefathers of the witnesses, cf. the seals of *Sîn-bēl-ilī* (YOS 8:39) and *Nawirum* (YOS *: 44 and 56), both servants of *Nūr-Adad*...” (Van De Mieroop 1987a: 9 n. 35) because frequently the seal impressions are of persons not named in the texts. However, a sealing of *Sîn-bēl-ilī*, city supervisor, son of *Halīlum*, appears on a document (Faust 1941: YOS 8, 7) dated *Rīm-Sîn* year 3, in which his name also appears in the text. Therefore, it is certain that *Sîn-bēl-ilī*, the servant of *Nūr-Adad*, was using his own seal 30 years after *Nūr-Adad*’s reign had ended. It is possible that he held his office for more than thirty years, but it is more likely that he was an official of the cult of the deceased king.

It would not be surprising to find a cult of *Nūr-Adad* during the reign of *Rīm-Sîn*. It is clear that *Nūr-Adad*’s son, *Sîn-iddinam*, and another of his successors, *Sîn-iqīšam*, were venerated by *Rīm-Sîn*, as indicated by *Rīm-Sîn*’s sixth year name recording the fashioning of a statue of *Sîn-iddinam*, “the year the temple of *Baraulegarra* in *Adab* was built and (*Rīm-Sîn*) made a statue in gold representing *Sîn-iddinam*, king of *Larsa*,” and two documents (UET 5, 404 and 407) with *Rīm-Sîn* year names mention a silver statue and a golden statue of *Sîn-iqīšam* respectively. Two unpublished documents in the Yale Babylonian Collection provide evidence of an active cult of *Sîn-iddinam* in the reign of *Rīm-Sîn*. YBC 5014 records disbursements of vessels to temples including the *é Sîn-iddinam*, the temple of *Sîn-iddinam*. YBC 5569 is a record of livestock for offerings to king *Sîn-iddinam* in *Rīm-Sîn*’s year 21. (Both of these documents were copied by Tina Breckwoldt.)

The year names of *Sîn-iddinam* and their order was for the most part firmly established by Goetze (Goetze 1950a) with the exception of the last two years names

which may be transposed (see fig. 7, p. 104). It is generally agreed that the Larsa King List ascribes a reign of seven years to Sîn-iddinam. Goetze, however, pointed out that “It seems not entirely impossible that some day an eighth formula of Sîn-iddinam may turn up. Although ‘7’ seems assured on the king list (‘obv.’ 9), one might argue in favor of ‘8’. If that should prove true against expectation, one would have to deduct 1 year from Nūr-Adad’s 16 years. The evidence for ‘16’ is not entirely unequivocal.” (Goetze 1950a: 100 n. 67). In fact, Hallo noted that two texts (FLP 1331 and 1333) are dated to the sixth month of the year following “the year the great wall of Maškan-šapir was built,” which is either a variant formula for the sixth year name concerning Ešnunna if years 6 and 7 are transposed, or evidence that Sîn-iddinam had a reign of eight years rather than seven. (Hallo 1976: n. 29a). Because year name six concerning Ešnunna is attested from the second month, it is unlikely that the mu-ús-sa year name is a variant of it. It is also possible that the mu-ús-sa year name was replaced halfway through the year by the first year name of Sîn-irībam. The date is found on two unpublished texts at Yale (NBC 6767 and NBC 9919) listed as Sîn-irībam year 1 in the YBC database.

There was some confusion as to whether year name 5a, “the year the army of Malgium was defeated by arms,” should be attributed to Sîn-iddinam. One date list assigned year formula 5a to Warad-Sîn as year name 4, giving Warad-Sîn a reign of 13 rather than the 12 years assigned by other lists (Stol 1976: 1-9). However Sigrist showed that in a livestock account for the years Sîn-iddinam 5 to at least Sîn-iqīšam 1, year formula 5a is used instead of 5b, “the year Ibrat, the central city (and) several towns, was seized,” indicating that the two year formulas were interchangeable. He assumed that the apparent difference in the two year formulas led the scribe to think that they were separate date formulas and to erroneously assign year formula 5a to Warad-Sîn (Sigrist 1985). Kutscher points out that “Since Ibrat and Malgium were

located close to each other, the latter was probably one of the ‘several towns’ and the use of this new, alternative formula is understandable.” (Kutscher 1987-1990: 303).

1	mu ^d EN.ZU-i-din-nam lugal year Sin-iddinam (became) king
2	mu ^{id} idigna ba-ba-al year the Tigris was dug
3	mu suhuš é-babbar-ra ba-dù year the foundations of Ebabbar were built
4	mu ugnim tin-tir ^{ki} ḡištukul ba-an-sìg year the army of Babylon was defeated by arms
5a	mu ugnim ma-al-gu ₃ -um ^{ki} ḡištukul ba-an-sìg year the army of Malgium was defeated by arms (or Gung. 19 or Warad-Sîn 4)
5b	mu ib-ra-at ^{ki} uru múru uru didli ba-an-dab ₅ year Ibrat, the central city, (and) several towns were seized
5c	mu ma-al-gi ₄ iṣ-ba-at (Akkadian) year (Sin-iddinam) seized Malgium (or Mananā unattributed year name x ₇ ?)
5d	mu érin ma-al-gi ₅ ḡištukul ba-sìg year the army of Malgium was defeated by arms
6(7)	mu á-dam / ma-da èš-nun-na ^{ki} ba-an-hul year the country-side / the land of Ešnunna was destroyed
7(6)	mu bàd gal maš-gán-šabra ^{ki} ba-dù year the great wall of Maškan-šapir was built
(7, 8)	mu-ús-sa bàd gal maš-gán-šabra ^{ki} ba-dù year after the great wall of Maškan-šapir was built (or Sîn-irībam 1?)

Fig. 7: Year names of Sîn-iddinam

Charpin believes that the year name 5c, mu malgium *iṣbat*, “the year (so-and-so) seized Malgium,” is an unattributed year name of a king of the Mananā dynasty, most likely Manium (Charpin 1978b: 32f.) rather than an Akkadian variation of a Sîn-iddinam date formula. The date appears on a tablet from the region of Kish

(Rutten 1958: no. 23) in the archive of Ibbi-Ilabrat, son of Puzur-A(m)ba, which also contains texts bearing late year names of Sūmû-la-II of Babylon (Charpin 1978b: 33). As the latter years of Sūmû-la-II are contemporary with much of the reign of Sîn-iddinam, we are faced with the rather unlikely possibility that two kings had almost identical date formulas at roughly the same time. However, the problem remains unsolved for the time being.

In spite of having a reign of only seven years, Sîn-iddinam left sixteen known royal inscriptions. As suggested above, it is possible that some of the inscriptions were composed during the reign of Nur-Adad if Sîn-iddinam served as co-regent. Some of Sîn-iddinam's inscriptions describe the events recorded in his date formulas, while others record deeds not mentioned in the year names. The digging of the Tigris (year name 2) is mentioned in three inscriptions (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.2, 11, and 14). The digging of the Tigris does not appear to have been a military maneuver. All three inscriptions describe the purpose of digging the Tigris as being to provide water for Larsa. The most detailed of these, inscription 2, records the gods' commission to Sîn-iddinam to dig the Tigris and even records the wages paid for the work. On bricks recording the building of the Enunmah of Nanna at Ur and on a cone recording his building of the great wall of Bad-tibira, Sîn-iddinam is described as the one who dug the Tigris and supplied sweet (a-du₁₀)/perpetual (a-da-rí) water and abundance without end for his city and land. The digging of the Tigris may not have been achieved without conflict, however. Lines 33-38 of inscription 2 state "at that time, by the decree of the gods An and Inanna, by the favor of the gods Enlil and Ninlil, by the god Iškur, my personal god, ... my helper, (and) by the supreme might of the gods Nanna and [Utu] by means of my triumph I grandly dug there the Tigris ..." In inscriptions 15, line 29, Iškur is also described as the helper of Sîn-iddinam in the field of battle. Inscriptions 11

states that *Sîn-iddinam* built the *Enamnuna* for *Nanna* after he had defeated all enemies and had dug the *Tigris* (lines 8-19), suggesting that he may have had to defeat his enemies in order to dig the *Tigris*. I am unaware of any administrative documents concerning *Sîn-iddinam* irrigation projects.

The building of the *Ebabbar* recorded in date formula 3 is the deed most frequently mentioned in the extant royal inscriptions of *Sîn-iddinam* (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, and 14). Like inscription 2 above, which records the wages paid to the workers who dug the *Tigris*, inscription 6 records the wages paid to the workers who built the temple. Work on the *Ebabbar* may have continued through *Sîn-iddinam*'s entire reign. Inscription 5 is a foundation inscription that mentions the building of the *Ebabbar* and the expanding of *Utu*'s residence. It is datable to the very last year of *Sîn-iddinam*'s reign because it bears the epithet, *sipa nî-nam-du₈-du₈ nibru^{ki}*, "shepherd who makes everything abundant for *Nippur*," which *Sigrist* suggested *Sîn-iddinam* assumed along with control of *Nippur* only in the last year of his reign (*Sigrist* 1977b: 364). The only other inscription of *Sîn-iddinam* that contains this epithet is inscription 12, which records the fashioning of a copper statue for the moon god. This deed is not mentioned in the date formulas of *Sîn-iddinam*, which is as one might expect if it occurred at the very end of his reign. A prayer for *Sîn-iddinam* (*Black et al.* 1998-: *Sîn-iddinam A*) commends the king for providing the moon god in *Ur* with the first fruit offerings (*nesag*) of the new year to be transported to the temple of *Enlil* in *Nippur*. It is reminiscent of the lines from *Sîn-iddinam*'s letter to *Utu* via *Šerida*, which report that *Nūr-Adad* dredged the *Euphrates* in order that *Nanna* be able to deliver the first fruit offerings to *Nippur* (see p. 89, ll. 209-215). It is probable that the ritual transport of offerings from *Ur* to *Nippur* occurred each new year whether *Isin* or *Larsa* held sway in *Nippur*.

The next three year names record military events north of Larsa, the defeat of the army of Babylon (year name 4), the seizing of Malgium/Ibrat (year name 5a-d), and the destruction of Ešnunna (year name 6/7?). If these events are recorded in the royal inscriptions, it is only in the most general terms. Inscription 11, as mentioned above, refers to Sîn-iddinam's having defeated all his enemies though it may be referring to events that occurred before he dug the Tigris. One inscription (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.13) records Sîn-iddinam's building the wall of Ur after he smote the rebellious lands and smashed the weapons of his enemy. The building of the wall of Ur is not mentioned among his date formulas, so we cannot place it in chronological context. This inscription is one of only three of his inscriptions that do not contain the epithet "king of Sumer and Akkad" (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.1, 10, and 13). As mentioned above in reference to a possible coregency of Sîn-iddinam and Nūr-Adad, inscriptions 1 and 10 are likely to have been composed while Nūr-Adad was still alive. If the epithet "king of Sumer and Akkad" is thus one Sîn-iddinam did not bear while his father was alive, the deeds reported in inscription 13, the building of the wall of Ur and the preceding military activities must have taken place at the beginning of his reign. In the same inscription, he is called the one "who looks after the shrine Ebabbar" rather than the one who built the Ebabbar as in all the other inscriptions of Sîn-iddinam that refer to the temple of Utu. It is thus likely that inscription 13 predates the building of the Ebabbar recorded in year name 3.

Sîn-iddinam's martial year names bespeak an increase in contact and conflict between the states of northern and southern Mesopotamia. There is no direct reference to any conflict with Isin or Uruk in the year names or inscriptions of Sîn-iddinam. Instead, the military activities of Sîn-iddinam seem to have been focused exclusively on the north against Babylon, Malgium, and Ešnunna.

Mananā	Babylon		Isin		Larsa		Uruk	Ešnunna
Manium	Sūmû-la-II	32	Enlil-bāni	*14	Sîn-iddinam	1	<i>Sîn-kāšid</i>	<i>Šarrīa ?</i>
		33		*15		2		<i>Warassa ?</i>
		34		*16		3		<i>Bēlakum ?</i>
		35		*17		4		
		36		*18		5		<i>Ibāl-pî-El I ?</i>
	Sābium	1		*19		6		
		2		20		*7		
		3		21	Sîn-irībam	*1		
		4		22		2		
		5		23	Sîn-iqīšam	*1		
		6		24		*2		
		7	Zambīia	*1		*3		
		8		2		*4		
		9		*3		*5		
		*10	Iter-pīša	*1	Šillī-Adad	1		<i>Ipiq-Adad II ?</i>

Fig. 8: Contemporary rulers of Mesopotamia from Sîn-iddinam to Šillī-Adad. Italics indicate that no exact synchronism has been established for these kings. *Date formula used at Nippur.

The last five years of the reign of Sūmû-la-II of Babylon and the first two years of the reign of Sūmû-la-II's successor Sābium correspond to the years of Sîn-iddinam's reign in Larsa. The date formulas of Sūmû-la-II's last five years concern irrigation work on the igi-hur-sag irrigation ditch and the Sūmû-la-II-hegal canal (32-33), the defeat of an enemy (34), [mu ...] ^{giš}tukul ba-sìg (Ungnad 1938: 166), and the introduction of two daises for Enki in the house of his father. If the reconstructed chronology of the kings is correct (see fig. 8, p. 108), Sîn-iddinam's digging of the Tigris followed one year after Sūmû-la-II's irrigation activities, while Sîn-iddinam's purported defeat of Babylon followed one year after Sūmû-la-II's defeat of an unknown enemy. It would be interesting to know if the irrigation work of Sîn-iddinam was in reaction to that of

Sūmû-la-II and if Larsa is the name of the enemy in the broken date formula of Sūmû-la-II. The inscription of Sîn-iddinam that concerns the digging of the Tigris (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.2) states that it was restored to its place but gives no indication that it had been purposely diverted previously.

A royal inscription of Sîn-iddinam records the building of the wall of Bad-tibira (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.14) which mentions the building of the Ebabbar and the digging of the Tigris and thus must postdate those events. Edzard suggested that the wall of Bad-tibira was a fortification directed against nearby Uruk (Edzard 1957: 148). Sîn-kāšid of Uruk was probably an ally of Babylon at this time because his daughter was married to Sūmû-la-II of Babylon (see p. 97).

Another possible ally of Babylon was the dynasty of Mananā. Two documents record double oaths – to the kings of both Babylon and the Mananā dynasty. Goetze proved a synchronism between Sūmû-iamutbala of the Mananā dynasty and Sūmû-la-II of Babylon (Goetze 1950a: 69) with YBC 4375, which is dated Sūmû-la-II year 26 and contains an oath in the names of Sūmû-la-II and Marduk and Nanna and Sūmû-iamutbala. Charpin likewise pointed out a synchronism between Manium of the Mananā dynasty and Sūmû-la-II (Charpin 1978b: 31f. n. 64) with YBC 6218, which is dated Sūmû-la-II year 32 and contains an oath taken in the names of Marduk and Sūmû-la-II and Nanna and Manium (Simmons 1961: no. 122 ll. 13-14). Manium succeeded Sūmû-iamutbala as king of the Mananā dynasty and was king in Sūmû-la-II year 32, the first year of Sîn-iddinam's reign.

Year name 2b of Sābium refers to the building of the wall of Kār-Šamaš. There were probably two places named Kār-Šamaš, one on the Tigris between Mankisum and Kār Kakkulātīm according to the Old Babylonian itinerary published by Hallo (Hallo 1964), the other in the region of Sippar (Groneberg 1980: 134). Röllig

assumes that it is the latter that is mentioned in Sābium's year name and later in an inscription of Kudur-mabuk (Röllig 1983). The inscription of Kudur-mabuk (Frayne 1990: E4.2.13.10), reports that the moon-god returned Maškan-šapir and Kār-Šamaš to Larsa. The juxtaposition of Maškan-šapir and Kār-Šamaš in the inscription suggests that they were located near one another, in which case, we may have in Sābium's year name an indication that Larsa's control of territory near Maškan-šapir was threatened in the last year of Sîn-iddinam's reign. This is supported by the evidence of the last of Sîn-iddinam's year names reporting his fortification of Maškan-šapir.

In addition to the two letter-prayers of Sîn-iddinam on behalf of his father, Nūr-Adad, translated above, there are two other letter-prayers ascribed to Sîn-iddinam. These were published by Hallo as "A Sumerian Prototype for the Prayer of Hezekiah?" (Hallo 1976) and "The Appeal to Utu" (Hallo 1982) in a series of articles on the royal correspondence of Larsa. A neo-Assyrian bilingual version of the latter was augmented with joins published by Borger (Borger 1991). The latest full transliteration, translation and bibliography of this composition is available on-line (Black et al. 1998-). Finally, a letter prayer of Nanna-mansum, son of Išū-muballit, to the goddess Nin-Isina is an appeal for healing of Nanna-mansum's head ailment that ends with a three-line prayer for Sîn-iddinam (Gurney and Kramer 1976: no. 25 ll. 112-181).

The first of these three letter prayers is an appeal to the goddess Nin-Isina concerning the personal illness of the king and possibly trouble with the kingdom of Babylon. Hallo translates:

16. Asalluhi the king of Babylon, son of Illurugu (the divine Ordeal-river), persisting [in wrath?],
17. Their city against my city daily overruns the land,
18. Their king seeks out the king of Larsa as an evildoer .

19. (Though) I, not being the shepherd over their nation, have not coveted(?) their sacrifices.

It is interesting that this letter prayer refers to the patron deity of Babylon as the king of Babylon, Asalluhi, the son of the god Enki, being syncretized with the god Marduk. The cause of Sîn-iddinam's illness was apparently the visitation of the river ordeal god in the king's dream, while the cure was in the hands of the tutelary Babylonian god, for in one version of the compositions the final line is translated, "Asalluhi, son of Ilurugu, has verily spoken: "Let him live!"" (Hallo 1976: l. 52).

It seems clear from Sîn-iddinam's own year name in which he boasts of defeating Babylon that there was indeed conflict between the two kingdoms. What is less clear is why Sîn-iddinam would appear to suggest that he was being persecuted by Babylon and appeal to Babylon's gods for relief.

The second letter prayer contains a plea to Larsa's patron deity, Utu, for the deliverance of his city from its distress. It describes some trouble in Larsa with the devastation of its troops, perhaps by plague or in battle, that is not being visited upon Elam, Subir, or the Šimaškians even though they are less pious than Larsa and its king. We have in these lines further intimation that Larsa was in military conflict with lands to the north, as indicated by his year names.

After the year name of Sîn-iddinam recording the defeat of Babylon, year 4, we have his year name recording the army of Malgium with the variant year name that reports that he seized the city of Ibrat and several towns, year 5. The precise locations of Malgium and Ibrat have not yet been ascertained, but it is likely that the city-state of Malgium was on the Tigris between Maškan-šapir and the Diyala delta (Groneberg 1980: 156f.) and that Ibrat lay near Kūt al-ʿAmāra on the Tigris (Groneberg 1980: 104).

Kutscher described Malgium in this period as a small kingdom serving as a buffer between Larsa and Elam (Kutscher 1987-1990: 302).

The sixth year name of Sîn-iddinam reports that Ešnunna was destroyed. Whiting established the synchronism between Ipiq-Adad I of Ešnunna and Alum-biumu of Marad with the later part of the reign of Sūmû-abum and the beginning of the reign of Sūmû-la-El (Whiting 1987: 32f.), though Reichel has recently suggested that this synchronism may be faulty (Reichel 2001: 24f.). Ipiq-Adad I was succeeded at Ešnunna by Šarrīia, Warassa, and Bēlakum. The order of the apparently short reigns of these rulers is uncertain. Bēlakum was succeeded by Ibāl-pî-El I. These four rulers of Ešnunna may have been contemporaries of the kings of Nūr-Adad's dynasty. Three year names concerning the capture of Tutub (Khafaje), Išur, and Neribtum suggest that Ešnunna was stretching beyond its previous territory (Reichel 2001: 25). Ipiq-Adad II, who succeeded Ibāl-pî-El I, may also have been a contemporary of the kings of Nūr-Adad's dynasty. Whiting dates the beginning of Ipiq-Adad II's reign to about 1850 B.C. (Whiting 1987: 24), about the date of Sîn-iddinam's succession to the throne of Larsa. Birot has published evidence in the form of annual eponym lists from Mari that indicates that Ipiq-Adad II held power for at least 36 years (Birot 1985: 221) and was also a contemporary of Šamši-Adad of Assyria (Birot 1985: 233f.), who reigned from 1813 to 1781 B.C. Ipiq-Adad II was the first ruler of Ešnunna to have called himself king since Šū-iliia. The preceding rulers had called themselves ensi. He was also deified and called "enlarger of Ešnunna" and "king of the world" in his royal inscriptions (Frayne 1990: 544ff.). These epithets suggest that Ipiq-Adad II was particularly interested in expanding the territory of his state, but as with the preceding kings of Ešnunna, the known year names and inscriptions of Ipiq-Adad II do not give

any indication of conflict with Larsa. Our only evidence for a clash between Ešnunna and Larsa comes from the year name of Sîn-iddinam.

The event memorialized in the last of Sîn-iddinam's year names, namely the erecting of the great wall of Maškan-šapir, is recorded in detail in an inscription from Maškan-šapir to be published shortly by Steinkeller (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.16). It is notable that Larsa controlled this city on the Tigris so far to the north in this period when kingdoms to the north, particularly Babylon and Ešnunna, seemed to have been gaining strength. It may be that Maškan-šapir was a strategic base in the nascent conflict between Larsa and its northern neighbors. As suggested above, the year in which Sîn-iddinam fortified Maškan-šapir appears to correspond to the year in which Sābium of Babylon fortified the nearby site of Kār-Šamaš. They may have been fortifying cities against each other or against a common threat.

Larsa's traditional rival, Isin, seems not to have been a focus of enmity for Sîn-iddinam. The reign of Sîn-iddinam is contemporary with years 14-20 of Enlil-bāni of Isin. The year names of Enlil-bāni do not record any military activities but rather activities related to the support of various deities. His royal inscriptions likewise are most concerned with the maintenance of cults, particularly in Nippur, which Isin had regained from Larsa three years before the start of Enlil-bāni's reign only to lose it again to Larsa in Enlil-bāni's nineteenth year (Sîn-iddinam 7) (Sigrist 1977b: 363f.). It is interesting to note that Enlil-bāni's epithets include "farmer (who grows) tall grain for Ur, who purifies the me's of Eridu, en priest beloved of Uruk" (Frayne 1990: E4.1.10.4 ll. 6-10) since it is clear that at the time of Enlil-bāni's reign Ur and Eridu were under the control of the kings of Larsa, who have left evidence of major building projects in both cities, and that Uruk was independent of both Isin and Larsa. Hallo points out that

In the time of Enlil-bani, the Isin titulary underwent a second major change. Beginning with the inscription which records his restoration of the wall of Isin, Enlil-bani dropped all those epithets which seemed to lay claim to the cities of the South, that is, Ur, Eridu, and Uruk, and retained only that which referred to Nippur ... This new trend in the titulary was followed and elaborated on by the remaining kings of Isin ... Thus from the latter part of Enlil-bani's reign on, the Isin kings finally acknowledged the permanent loss of their South Babylonian dependencies, a loss which had occurred perhaps as much as ninety years before. (Hallo 1959a: 57)

Other deeds that are recorded in the inscriptions of Sîn-iddinam but not in his year names include the building of the Enamnuna for Nanna (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.11) and the fashioning of a throne and cult statue of Sîn-iddinam's personal god, Iškur (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.15). Found in a late copy, at more than 88 lines, the latter inscription is the longest and most elaborate of Sîn-iddinam's inscriptions. In fact it is so full of divine epithets that Michalowski noted, "had only the first part of the text, up to the middle of the second column, been preserved, it would have been classified as a divine hymn" (Michalowski 1988: 267). Edzard also pointed out that in this period in Larsa's history "the inscriptions approach in many respects the style of the hymns, including long-winded invocations of the deity, the increase of titulary, the insertion of pleas and the use of the first person. This elaborate style reached its peak with the building inscriptions of Rīm-Sîn, Hammu-rāpi, and Samsu-iluna" (Edzard 1957: 148, my translation). In particular this inscription contains the royal epithet, "king of Sumer and Akkad" but not "shepherd who makes everything abundant for Nippur," so it can only be supposed that the throne and statue of Iškur were not fashioned at the very beginning or very end of Sîn-iddinam's reign. Perhaps they were fashioned to gain the favor of

this storm-god with his war-like aspect during the period of military activity recorded in Sîn-iddinam's fourth, fifth, and sixth year names.

Some evidence that Sîn-iddinam relied on diplomacy as well as military might may be found in administrative documents dated to Sîn-iddinam's reign. Goetze discussed a small group of tablets listing expenditures of barley from the time of Sîn-iddinam, the recipients of which were identified by their specific place of origin, namely Uruk, Isin, Malgium, Rapiqum, Mutalû, as well as cities in the East Tigris-Diyala region, Dēr, Ešnunna, Diniktum, and cities in the territory between the lower Zab and the Jebel Hamrin, Kimaš, Šašillani, and Terqa (Goetze 1950a: 94f.). Goetze assumed that the cities mentioned were within Larsa's sphere of influence, but many of these cities appear to have been independent of Larsa. It is more likely that the recipients were official representatives of their kingdoms at the Larsa court or individuals in the service of Larsa abroad.

Goetze also discussed a group of several clay tags recording offerings for temples of Larsa followed by food allotments (*sá.dug₄*, *satukkum*) for a group of men, presumably high dignitaries including Sūmû-iamutbala, Tutu-nīšu, Warad-Sîn, Sîn-rēmenī, Imgur-É-dimanna and Enlil-x-x-ri. Two of these texts record deliveries of rams for the *é-muhaldim*, kitchen, which Goetze interprets to mean that they were to be consumed at a religious ceremony (Goetze 1950a: 91). One text includes deliveries of rams "for the boat of Nanna" and "for Inanna for the procession," while another includes "two lambs for the ceremonial (?) boat of Ellil," and another includes ram(s) for a throne. Sharlach has investigated the intersection of diplomacy and ritual in the Ur III period, showing many occurrences of documents that record expenditures of foodstuffs to both temples and diplomats, and has argued that in the Ur III period

diplomats were in attendance at various state-sponsored festivals (Sharlach 2001a). We may be seeing in the texts discussed by Goetze a similar practice.

Goetze assumed that the Sūmû-iamutbala of these texts was a local ruler (Goetze 1950b), whose year names are now known to be those of Sūmû-iamutbala of the Mananā dynasty. As discussed above, Sūmû-iamutbala of the Mananā dynasty preceeded Manium of the Mananā dynasty, who is shown to have been king in the first year of Sîn-iddinam's reign, therefore, the Sūmû-iamutbala of the Sîn-iddinam dated tags could not have been the ruler of the kingdom of the Mananā dynasty. Nevertheless, one wonders if the Warad-Sîn listed as a recipient of diplomatic gifts was the son of Kudur-mabuk who was to reign as king of Larsa only a few years later.

In addition to Sūmû-iamutbala, the king of the Mananā dynasty, and Sūmû-iamutbala, the dignitary who received *sá.dug*₄ food allotments, there was possibly a third Sūmû-iamutbala who appears to have served as an official during the reign of Sîn-iddinam. One record (NBC 6801) published by Goetze (Goetze 1950b: 70ff.), along with documents listed by Hallo (Hallo 1967: 95f.) and published by Simmons in YOS 14 (Simmons 1978: 286, 290), in which Sūmû-iamutbala appears as a conveyor (*gîr*) suggest that this Sūmû-iamutbala served as an important administrator of crown property.

Sîn-iddinam is portrayed in all the monumental and canonical literature about him as a particularly pious king. Besides the royal inscriptions, letter-prayers, and hymn discussed above, there are an as yet unpublished tablet that records four prayers to Sîn-iddinam (NBC 5452) that may have been recited by a priestess as the king performed his cultic offices (Hallo 1967: 96), and a hymn to Sîn-iddinam known from only one source (Michalowski 1988), which invokes the king's personal god, Iškur, and ends with "Sîn-iddinam, prince, hero, he indeed is reverent (lifts the head) for ages."

An Old Babylonian liver omen concerning Sîn-iddinam was thought to have been evidence of a terrible death suffered by Sîn-iddinam, but Hallo has corrected the record, translating the omen, “this is the liver which fell to the lot of King S. when he sacrificed (a sheep) in the temple of Šamaš at the elulu-festival ... the owner of the (sacrificial) lamb will throw back the enemy and stand (in triumph) over what does not belong to him,” and concludes “Thus the liver model provides no reason to suppose that Sîn-iddinam met so sudden and dramatic a death as , e.g., Irra-imitti of Isin some eighteen years earlier.” (Hallo 1967: 96f.) Indeed, in spite of the letter prayers of Sîn-iddinam that describe his illness and the distress of his city, we can see in the veneration of Sîn-iddinam during the reign of Rīm-Sîn further evidence that Sîn-iddinam was viewed in antiquity as a successful king rather than a hapless ruler.

Sîn-irībam

Sîn-iddinam was succeeded by Sîn-irībam, who reigned for only two years. The relationship between Sîn-iddinam and Sîn-irībam is unclear, but one text (YOS 5, 155) which bears the seal impressions of servants of both Sîn-iddinam and Sîn-irībam, is evidence of a uninterrupted administration between the reigns of the two kings.

A man named Sîn-irībam wrote the following:

“240 enemy ships are gathered in Maškan-šapir; (the enemy) is after the quay of Kiš and you.” (PRAK II 39 D 29 4-10) (Edzard 1957: 146, n. 772). This is the same Sîn-irībam who wrote to Tutu-nišu, the recipient of food allotments (*sá.dug₄, satukkum*) along with Warad-Sîn and Sūmû-iamutbala, according to the documents from the reign of Sîn-iddinam discussed by Goetze (Goetze 1950a). Edzard suggested that this Sîn-irībam may have been a Babylonian governor of Kiš warning his king about an attack by Sîn-iddinam or Warad-Sîn (Edzard 1957: 146 n. 773). Kiš seems to have been

in the hands of Babylon in the early year of Sūmû-la-II as evidenced by documents from Kiš dated to the fifth and sixth years of that king (Frayne 1989: 25), though Sūmû-la-II's year names 13 through 17 and 19 were named for the destruction of Kiš and the destruction of the wall of Kiš. Kiš may no longer have been under the control of Babylon when the letter from Sîn-irībam was written. An alternative possibility to that suggested by Edzard is that the warning was addressed to Sîn-iddinam from one of his officials, perhaps even his son or brother, stationed at Kiš.

Not much is known about the short reign of Sîn-irībam. We have no royal inscriptions for this king, and his year names are not particularly informative. The two year names of Sîn-irībam of Larsa are

- 1 mu ^dEN.ZU-e-ri-ba-am lugal
year Sîn-irībam (became) king
- 2 mu ^dEN.ZU-e-ri-ba-am ^{urudu}alam gu-la é-^dnanna-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-re
year (Sîn-irībam) brought a large statue in copper into the temple of Nanna.

Both year names were used at Nippur, indicating that under Sîn-irībam, Larsa continued to hold sway in Nippur. Larsa year names were used at Nippur from the last year of Sîn-iddinam to the fourth year of Sîn-irībam's successor Sîn-iqīšam when the year name of Zambāa of Isin is used for the eighth and ninth months.

Some difficulty in determining whether a document bearing the name Sîn-irībam refers to the king of Larsa arises from the fact that Sîn-irībam appears to have been a common name. One Sin-iribam, the son of Iškun-abu appears in a document concerning a payment of silver dated to Hammu-rāpi year 41 (YBC 6434). A herdsman named Sîn-irībam appears frequently as a purveyor of sheep and goats in records dating to the reign of Rīm-Sîn (YOS 5, 233, YBC 6209, YBC 7074, YBC 7250, YBC 7957, YBC 8001). Another one or two men named Sîn-irībam are known from

texts dated to the reigns of Ammi-ditana (1683-1648 B.C.) and Ammi-saduqa (1647-1626 B.C.) of Babylon (YOS 13, 238, 279, 369, 520).

At about the time that Sîn-irībam ruled at Larsa, another Sîn-irībam was king of Uruk. A synchronism between Warad-Sîn of Larsa and Sîn-irībam of Uruk is confirmed by a document dated to Warad-Sîn year 4 which contains oaths by the names of both kings (Edzard 1957: 58 n. 268). It seems very unlikely that Sîn-irībam of Larsa would be king of Uruk after having been succeeded by his son and then Warad-Sîn at Larsa. Furthermore, it is known that Sābium of Babylon, who was an enemy of Larsa according to both his year names and the year names of the contemporary kings at Larsa, was, like his father Sūmû-la-II, an ally of Uruk. A letter states that Sābium “once (could have) assisted Uruk with one thousand men (Anam letter III: 36-37)” (Stol 1976: 28). Though none of the known year names of Sîn-irībam of Uruk and his three successors record any activity by these king outside Uruk, it is by all accounts likely that Uruk and Larsa were not on friendly terms.

Sābium	3	1	Sîn-irībam
	4	2	
	5	1	Sîn-iqīšam
	6	2	(installed statues in Kazallu)
(defeated army of Larsa)	7	3	(built wall of Larsa)
(built Ebabbar in Sippar)	8	4	(brought 14 statues into Nippur)
(restored temple at Dilbat)	9	5	(defeated Kazallu, Elam, Isin and Babylon)
(built Esagil)	10	1	Šillī-Adad

Fig. 9: Table of Sābium of Babylon’s year names corresponding tentatively to those of the Larsa kings Sîn-irībam, Sîn-iqīšam, and Šillī-Adad.

The short reign of Sîn-irībam probably ended peacefully as he was succeeded by his son, Sîn-iqīšam.

Sîn-iqīšam

That Sîn-iqīšam was the son of the preceding king of Larsa is shown in a royal inscription found on a cone fragment from Ur, in which Sîn-iqīšam is called “mighty man, son of Sîn-irībam, provider of Ur, king of Larsa” (Frayne 1990: E4.2.11.2).

Two letters between Sîn-iddinam and a man named Sîn-iqīšam may give an indication that Sîn-iqīšam served the earlier king of Larsa as an officer or agent in or near Maškan-šāpir. One letter from Sîn-iddinam says, “Speak to Sîn-iqīšam: thus says Sîn-iddinam. On seeing my tablet, assemble Hāzirim and the agents who are with you, and from the border/region of Maškan-šāpir up to the city of ...” (Stol 1981: no. 74). If this Sîn-iqīšam was in fact the later king of Larsa, we are still left without evidence for whether or not Sîn-iddinam was related by blood to the two succeeding kings.

Sîn-iqīšam reigned for just five years. All of the year names, with several variants, are known for this king as are at least two and possibly three royal inscriptions and a hymn to Numušda, the god of Kazallu, for Sîn-iqīšam (Black et al. 1998-: Sîn-iqīšam A).

The second year name of Sîn-iqīšam in its most complete form (2a) records that the king of Larsa had statues of the three patron deities of Kazallu fashioned and installed in their city. A variant of the year name refers to the taking of the cities of Pī-narātīm and Nazārum (2b). It has been established that Pī-narātīm and Nazārum were in the region of Kazallu (see p. 68). The only known hymn of Sîn-iqīšam refers to the events recorded in his second year name.

Father Enlil, the good shepherd who loves your plans, has desired to make its [Kazallu’s] forgotten lay-out visible again, and to restore its abandoned cities; he has ordered prince Sîn-iqīšam to accomplish it, and

he has made (?) your cities and settlements peaceful dwelling places. He has dredged your canals, and cleared up the levees and irrigation ditches, so that abundant water will never be lacking there. He has put in your and made manifest all that is proper. Regard with favour his commendable prayers! Regard Prince Sîn-iqīšam with favour! May the king's joyous days be prolonged, o Numušda! (Black et al. 1998-: Sîn-iqīšam A, ll 50-60)

- 1 mu ^dSîn-i-qí-ša-am lugal
year Sîn-iqīšam (became) king
- 2a mu ^dSîn-i-qí-ša-am lugal-e ^dnu-muš-da ^dnam-ra-at ^dlugal-a-pi-ak^{ki}
ba-an-dím-me-eš šà ka-zal-lu^{ki}-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-re
year Sîn-iqīšam the king had (statues) of / for Numušda, Namrat and Lugal-apiak
fashioned and introduced into Kazallu
- 2b mu uru KA.ÍD.DA na-za-rum^{ki} ba-an-dab₅
year the cities of Pî-nārātīm (and) Nazārum were seized
- 3 mu ^dSîn-i-qí-ša-am bàd gal larsa^{ki}-ma ba-dù 11 alam ku3-babbar 1 alam ku3-sig₁₇
é-^dutu-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-re
year Sîn-iqīšam built the great wall of Larsa and had eleven silver statues and one
gold statue introduced into the temple of Šamaš
- 4 mu 14 ^{urudu}alam nibru^{ki}-šè ù 3 ^{gīš}gu-za bára mah alam ^dutu ^dšè-ri₅-da kù-sig₁₇
šu-du₇-a é-^dutu-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-re
year (Sîn-iqīšam) had fourteen copper statues introduced into Nippur and three
magnificent thrones daises (and) one statue of Šamaš and Šerida, perfected in
gold, into the temple of Šamaš
- 5a mu ^dSîn-i-qí-ša-am lugal-e [.....] ka-zal-lu^{ki} érin elam^{ki} ^{gīš}tukul ì-dab₅
year Sîn-iqīšam the king smote by weapons Kazallu (and) the troops of Elam
- 5b mu ugnim (kur) elam^{ki}-ma (ù za-am-bi-ia(lugal ì-si-na^{ki}) ^{gīš}tukul ba-an-sìg
year the army of (the land of) Elam (and Zambia, (the king of Isin,)) was/were
defeated by arms

Fig. 10: Year names of Sîn-iqīšam.

It is unknown from whom Sîn-iqīšam had to seize the cities of Pî-nārātīm and Nazārum or why Kazallu was in need of restoration. From year name 18 of Sūmû-la-II and year E of Erra-imitī, it would appear that Kazallu was in conflict with both Babylon and Isin in the early years of Nūr-Adad's reign (see p. 97). Prior to the Nūr-Adad dynasty, Sūmû-El's fourth year name records that he smote the army of Kazallu, while his eighth year name reports that he destroyed the city of Pî-nārātīm, and, following what appears to have been an alliance between Babylon and Kazallu, his fifteenth year name reports that he defeated Kazallu and its king. Ironically, we are given to understand that at some point in his reign Sūmû-El had, himself, been an ally of Kazallu, as indicated by the marriage of his daughter to Ibni-šadû of Marad-Kazallu (see p. 68).

Sîn-iqīšam may also have also been a victim of the perennially fickle allegiance of Kazallu, for a variant of his fifth and final year name (5a) reports that he defeated Kazallu along with the army of Elam (Sigrist 1990: 29). Most attestations of this year name simply state that Sîn-iqīšam defeated the land toward Elam and Zambā, the king of Isin. A third variant found in YOS 5, 38, states that he defeated Babylon.

In the first of the two intervening years between Sîn-iqīšam's reported restoration of Kazallu and his supposed defeat of the land toward Elam and the king of Isin, Sîn-iqīšam's year names record that he built the wall of Larsa. The corresponding year name of Sābium of Babylon records the defeat of the army of Larsa. The impression is given of the Larsa king in retreat, fortifying his capital in the wake of a military conflict with Babylon.

The sequence of the known year names of the kings of Isin has not been established for this period. It is possible that the king of Isin, Zambā, was killed in battle against Larsa since the last year of his reign corresponds to the year Sîn-iqīšam claimed to have defeated the Elamite army and the king of Isin, naming Zambā specifically.

Sîn-iqīšam may have felt particular animosity towards his counterpart in Isin because, according to the year formula used on documents from Nippur, control of Nippur was hotly contested between the two kings, even appearing at times to have been held by both kings at the same time (see table p. 126).

Though the reign of Sîn-iqīšam seems to have ended on a less positive note than it began, he must have been considered a successful king because, like Sîn-iddinam, he was venerated by later kings of Larsa. Two documents record that Rīm-Sîn had statues of Sîn-iqīšam fashioned in silver (UET 5, 404) and gold (UET 5, 406)(Edzard 1957: 150).

Šillī-Adad

It is not certain whether Šillī-Adad was a member of the dynasty of Nūr-Adad. An unpublished document (YBC 8737), though damaged and without its date, could possibly imply that Šillī-Adad was a son of Nūr-Adad. This document records the rental of a field and mentions a Sîn-iddinam, a Šillī-Adad, and another son of Nūr-Adad, Ahū-ṭab(um), who is referred to in a receipt for sesame (YOS 5, 153), dated Nūr-Adad year c, as “Ahū-ṭab, dumu lugal” along with his brother “Sîn-iddinam, dumu lugal.”

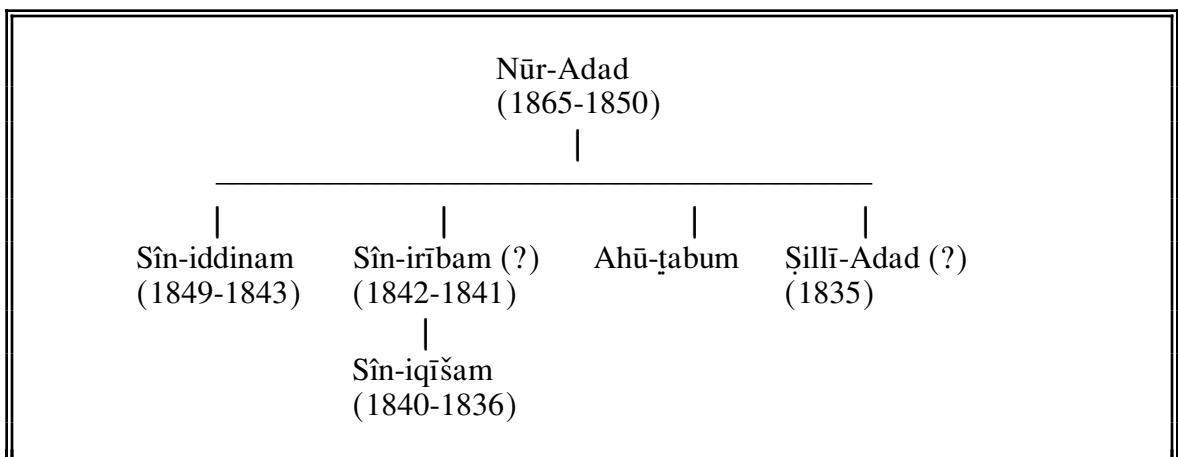


Fig. 11: Possible family tree of the Nūr-Adad dynasty.

It should be noted that a man named Šillī-Adad received three times as much beer as Kudur-mabuk in a document recording expenditures of beer or beer bread for a royal feast (see translation p. 129). This suggests that Šillī-Adad was a person of higher standing than Kudur-mabuk and possibly a member of the royal family. Three unpublished documents in the Yale Babylonian Collection (YBC 3283, 4964, and NBC 9218) refer to both royal feasts or perhaps cultic meals (*naptanum*) and royal children (*dumu-lugal*). YBC 3283 is dated to the last year of Šîn-iddinam and also mentions a Sūmû-iamutbala, NBC 9218 is dated to the first year of Šîn-irībam, and on YBC 4964 the date is lost. (These documents will be published in a forthcoming paper.)

Šillī-Adad reigned for less than one year as indicated by his year names. The year name, mu ši-lí-^dadad lugal, “the year Šillī-Adad became king,” was replaced by the ninth month of that year with the year name, mu ši-lí-^dadad nam-lugal-ta íb-ta-sír-ra, “the year Šillī-Adad was removed from kingship,” or, in one instance, mu ši-lí-^dadad nu lugal, “the year Šillī-Adad was not king” (Sigrist 1990: 30).

Though Šillī-Adad may have been the legitimate successor of Šîn-irībam, he may not have been an independent ruler. The titles he bears in the two known royal inscriptions do not include “king of Larsa.” Instead he is called “governor of Ur, Larsa, Lagaš, and the land of Kutalla.” Kutalla, modern Tell Sifr, located fourteen kilometers east of Larsa, is known from the eighteenth year name of Gungunum, which records that Gungunum built the temple of Kutalla’s patron deity Lugalkiduna. His year names, presumably promulgated in Larsa, continue to use the title “king,” so it may be that the lesser titles were only used at Ur whence come all of the inscriptions with this unusual titulary. Strangely, Šillī-Adad’s epithets also include “provider of Nippur” (Frayne 1990: 200f.), and Šillī-Adad’s year name is found at Nippur, which may imply that if there

was a power behind Šillī-Adad's throne, it was not able or perhaps interested in being recognized as such by Nippur.

As indicated above, both of the inscriptions of Šillī-Adad come from Ur. They record that Šillī-Adad was concerned with the restoration of the foundation of the ziggurat and of the terrace of Ningal's temple (Frayne 1990: 199ff.). That the work on Ningal's temple, the E-ilurugu-kalama, seems to have been continued without obvious interruption by Šillī-Adad's successor is suggested by an inscription of Warad-Sîn (Frayne 1990:E.4.2.13.1) in which Warad-Sîn claims to have done the same work and bears the same unusual titulary as is found in Šillī-Adad's inscriptions.

It is likely that Kazallu and the army of the land toward Elam mentioned in the final year name of Sîn-iqīšam were responsible for Larsa's temporary loss of independence. The second year name of Šillī-Adad's successor reports that the wall of Kazallu was destroyed and the army of Mutiabal was smitten in Larsa. The corresponding year name of Sabium, the king of the sometime ally of Kazallu, Babylon, also records the destruction of the wall of Kazallu (see fig. 13, p. 137). Note also that in the contest between Isin and Larsa for recognition by Nippur, it appears to be the king of Babylon who gains the upper hand at Nippur during the year that preceded the year Šillī-Adad gained and lost the kingship of Larsa. The only known tablet from Nippur dated with a year name of a king of Babylon (2 NT 132) is dated with the ninth month of Sābium year 9 (Sigrist 1984: 9).

The following table shows the attestations of dates of Early Old Babylonian kings on documents from Nippur between Sîn-iddinam year 6 and Rīm-Sîn year 9. It is based on the table published by Sigrist (Sigrist 1984: 9ff.) with the modification of a twelve-year rather than thirteen-year reign for Warad-Sîn.

Babylon		Isin		Larsa	
Sābium	1	Enlil-bāni	19	Sîn-iddinam	6
	2		20	v	7
	3		21	Sîn-irībam	iv 1
	4		22		2
	5		23	Sîn-iqīšam	v 1
	6		24	iv	2
	7	Zambīa	viii, ix 1	viii, ix, xii	3
	8		2	x	4
ix	9		3	ii	5
	10	Iter-pīša	iii, x 1	Šillī-Adad	1
	11		viii 2	Warad-Sîn	v 1
	12		? iv, viii, xi 3		2
	13		v 4		3
	14	Ur-dukuga	* 1	ii	4
Apil-Sîn	1		viii 2		5
	2		3	xi	6
	3		4	*	7
	4	Sîn-māgir	1		8
	5		2	*	9
	6		3	*	10
	7		4	x	11
	8		5		12
	9		6	Rīm-Sîn I	1
	10		7	vi	2
	11		8	i	3
	12		9		4
	13		10	iv	5
	14		11		6
	15	Damiq-ilīšu	1	xii	7
	16		2	vii, ix	8
	17		3	vii	9

Fig. 12: Year names attested on documents from Nippur between Sîn-iddinam year 6 and Rīm-Sîn year 9. Asterisks indicate that the year name is found without a month name.

CHAPTER 6

THE DYNASTY OF KUDUR-MABUK

It has generally been assumed, based on the name of the founder, that the kings of the Kudur-mabuk dynasty were foreign usurpers who overthrew the native dynasty of Nūr-Adad. If it were true that Kudur-mabuk ousted Šilli-Adad and installed his son Warad-Sîn as king of Larsa, why then would Warad-Sîn have had to bear in his early inscriptions from Ur the same reduced titles as Šilli-Adad (Frayne 1990: E4.2.13.1-2), and why would he have had to expel a foreign army from Larsa? Another possible interpretation of events is that the kings of the Kudur-mabuk dynasty were close associates of the preceding kings who restored a kingdom that was in crisis. That is certainly the image that Kudur-mabuk and his sons Warad-Sîn and Rīm-Sîn promoted.

Kudur-mabuk and Warad-Sîn declared in their inscriptions (Frayne 1990: E4.2.13.3-4) and in the second year name of Warad-Sîn that they “smote the army of Kazallu and Muti-abal in Larsa (and) Emutbala.” Kudur-mabuk asserted that he “did no wrong to Larsa and Emutbala” (Frayne 1990: E4.2.13a.1, ll.4-5), “settled Ur and Larsa in peaceful abodes” (Frayne 1990 E.4.2.13.6, ll. 14-15), and was the one “who gathered the scattered people (and) put in order their disorganized troops, who made his land peaceful, who smote the head of its foes, snare of his land, who smashed all the enemies, who made the youth, god Utu, supreme judge of heaven and earth, reside contentedly (in) his princely residence, in Larsa” (Frayne 1990: E4.2.13.13, ll. 21-34).

The last year name of Sîn-iqīšam shows that Kazallu and the army of the land of Elam, presumably Muti-abal, had indeed posed a threat to Larsa, so it should not be assumed out of hand that the claims of Kudur-mabuk and his sons were merely false propaganda to disguise their nefarious annexation of Larsa.

Kings of the Kudur-mabuk dynasty publicly revered their predecessors Sîn-iddinam and Sîn-iqīšam. Rīm-Sîn's sixth year name recorded the fashioning of a statue of Sîn-iddinam, "the year the temple of Baraulegarra in Adab was built and (Rīm-Sîn) made a statue in gold representing Sîn-iddinam, king of Larsa," while two documents record that Rīm-Sîn had statues of Sîn-iqīšam fashioned in silver (UET 5, 404) and gold (UET 5, 406)(Edzard 1957: 150). Furthermore, the existence of a cult of Sîn-iddinam during the reign of Rīm-Sîn is indicated by records of offerings made to the temple of Sîn-iddinam and for king Sîn-iddinam (see p. 102).

The Kudur-mabuk dynasty also appears to have emulated the deeds of the preceding dynasty. According to Warad-Sîn's sixth year name, he had 14 statues installed in Nippur, as had Sîn-iqīšam according to that king's fourth year name. Like Sîn-iddinam, Warad-Sîn had a statue of his father installed in the temple of Utu (Warad-Sîn year 9) and Rīm-Sîn had two statues of his father made (Rīm-Sîn year 5). According to his tenth year name, Warad-Sîn rebuilt the wall of Ur just as Sîn-iddinam claimed to have done in his inscription (Frayne 1990: E4.2.9.8). Two inscriptions of Kudur-mabuk (Frayne 1990: E4.2.14.9-10) record that he restored the Ganunmah, the storehouse of the god Nanna in Ur, as had Nūr-Adad and Sîn-iddinam previously (Frayne 1990: E4.2.8.2, E4.2.9.10). Rīm-Sîn, according to his fifteenth year name, seized the cities of Pî-nārātīm and Nazārum as had Sîn-iqīšam, according to Sîn-iqīšam's second year name.

The reverence of Kudur-mabuk's dynasty for the kings of the dynasty of Nūr-Adad and their claims to have rescued Larsa from Kazallu and the invading army of Muti-abal must have appeared at least somewhat plausible to their subjects.

Furthermore, there is evidence for an undisrupted administration between the reigns of Sîn-iqīšam and Warad-Sîn. Three archival texts concerning sheep and goats of Sîn-išme'anni, son of Šū-Nanāia are dated with year names of both Sîn-iqīšam, year 5 (YOS 5, 18), and Warad-Sîn, year 4 (YOS 5, 42 and 43). Additionally, the sealing of a servant of Sîn-iqīšam, Ibniya, son of Nanna-medu, is found on another text (YOS 5,123) dated Warad-Sîn year 10.

There are several documents dated to the reigns of Nūr-Adad and his successors that mention a Kudur-mabuk and a Warad-Sîn. The name Kudur-mabuk seems to be rare if not unique in the cuneiform record, so it is likely that the Kudur-mabuk of these texts is the father of Warad-Sîn and Rīm-Sîn. The earliest known document to mention a person named Kudur-mabuk is YOS 5, 216, dated Sîn-iddinam year 7,

obv.	1.	1-1/2 𒌶nar𒌶.meš	1-1/2 (carp for) the singers
	2.	1/2 𒌶mí.nar𒌶.meš	1/2 (for) the female singers
	3.	1/4 ma-ak-ki-tum	1/4 (for) PN
	4.	1/4 ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk	1/4 (for) Kudur-mabuk
	5.	2-1/2 eštub (gu ₄ ^{ku₆})	(total:) 2-1/2 carp
	6.	gi.na	the regular allotment
rev.	7.	iti gan-gan-è	month 9
	8.	mu bàd-gal maš-gán-šabra ^{ki} ba-dù	year the great wall of Maškan-šapir was built

The name Kudur-mabuk is also found on a record of a type of beer (see Levine and Hallo 1967: 54) disbursements dated Sîn-iqīšam year 4 (YOS 5, 167),

obv.	1.	1 gur kaš-2-ta	1 gur (300 liters) of 2-to-1 beer
	2.	<i>na-ap-ta-nu-um</i>	(for) the feast
	3.	200 (sìla) é-munus-šè	200 (liters for) the woman's house
	4.	60 (sìla) <i>ši-lí-^dIM</i>	60 (liters for) Šillī-Adad
	5.	20 (sìla) ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk	20 (liters for) Kudur-mabuk
	6.	10 (sìla) <i>u-bar-ri-ia</i>	10 (liters for) Ubarriya
	7.	10 (bán) ka-ab-hu-ma	10 (liters for) Kabhuma
	8.	2 gur kaš-2-ta	(total:) 2 gur (600 liters) of 2-to-1 beer
rev.	9.	ki ši-lí-eš ₄ -tár ba-zi	from Šillī-Eštar was disbursed
	10.	iti gu ₄ -si-su 9-kam	month 2, day 29
	11.	mu 14 ^{urudu} alam nibru ^{ki} -šè	year he had installed 14 copper statues
	12.	ù 3 ^{giš} gu-za bára mah	in Nippur and 3 magnificent throne daises
	13.	alam ^{utu} ^d še-ri ₅ -da kù-sig ₁₇	(and) a golden statue of Utu and Šerida in
	14.	é- ^{utu} -šè in-ku ₄ -e	the temple of Utu

As remarked upon previously, the Šillī-Adad mentioned in this text may have been a son of Nūr-Adad and the king of Larsa (see p. 124). That Kudur-mabuk appears on a text as the recipient of a large quantity of beer along with beer for a royal feast suggests that Kudur-mabuk was an important dignitary who received gifts or payment from the Larsa court.

One reason that the Kudur-mabuk dynasty may be perceived by many scholars as a foreign dynasty in Larsa is that Kudur-mabuk's name and the name of his father, Simti-šilhak, are Elamite. The names of his sons, Warad-Sîn, Rīm-Sîn, and Sîn-muballit are good Akkadian names, but the name of one of his daughters, Manzi-wartaš, is also Elamite (Steinkeller forth.: 4). The ethnic identity of the Kudur-mabuk dynasty is still debated. It has been argued that Kudur-mabuk was an Elamite, most recently by Steinkeller (Steinkeller forth.: 4). Others have suggested that he was not an Elamite, but rather an Amorite with close ties to Elam (Edzard 1983), or half-Elamite and half

Amorite (Diakonoff 1990). What is really most important, however, is how his ethnic identity was perceived by himself and others. In this regard, it is notable that no one of the Kudur-mabuk family is known to have been referred to as Elamite after they assumed power in Larsa. Kudur-mabuk is listed among or with those who entered Elam (?) as a recipient of sesame oil in a document (YOS 14, 333) that probably dates on prosopographical evidence to the end of Sîn-iddinam's reign (Steinkeller forth.: n 38).

obv .	1	10 (sìla) ì-giš	10 (liters) of sesame oil
		li-la-PI-ú	for PN
		10 (sìla) ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk	10 (liters) for Kudur-mabuk
		10 (sìla) nar níg ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk	10 (liters) for the singer, property? of Kudur-mabuk
	5	10 (sìla) sa-pi-ra-tum	10 (liters) for Sapiratum
		15 sìla <i>zi-ki-ir-ì-lí-šu</i>	15 sìla (liters) for Zikir-ilīšu
rev.		10 (sìla) ì-giš šu-ti-a	10 (liters) of sesame oil received
		lú elam-ma ¹ ku ₄ -ra	(for) those who entered Elam
		[.....]
	10	<i>zi-ki-ir-ì-lí-šu</i>	Zikir-ilīšu

The reason Kudur-mabuk is thought to have been an Amorite in close association with Elamites rather than an Elamite himself is that he is referred to in his own and his son Warad-Sîn's inscriptions as "father of the Amorite lands" and "father of Emutbala." His sons appear never to have borne these titles but appear to have continued the tradition established by the preceding dynasty of Nūr-Adad to eschew Amorite titles and perhaps link themselves instead to a Lagashite heritage. The suggestion was made above in the discussion of Naplānum's inclusion in the lists of Larsa kings that Hammu-rāpi and Samsu-iluna had inserted Naplānum at the beginning of the Larsa king and date lists to promote the notion that Larsa was by rights an

Amorite kingdom, ruled most recently by the non-Amorite dynasties of Nūr-Adad and Kudur-mabuk (see p. 25).

So what is the nature of the Amorite and Emutbala titles borne by Kudur-mabuk? The two epithets, “father of Emutbala” and “father of the Amorite land” are never used together. The epithet “father of Emutbala” is found in ten inscriptions (Frayne 1990: E4.2.13a.2, E4.2.13.15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, and 29), while the epithet “father of the Amorite land” is applied in eight inscriptions (Frayne 1990: E4.2.3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, and 30). The title “father of the Amorite land” is the earlier title used by Kudur-mabuk until Warad-Sîn’s seventh year when it was replaced in their inscriptions with the title “father of Emutbala” (Hallo 1957: 108-110; Frayne 1990: 202). It may be that Emutbala is a more specific designation of the Amorite tribal territory in the area around Maškan-šāpir than “Amorite land,” but why one title replaced the other is unclear.

Stol had argued that, in the time of the Kudur-mabuk Dynasty kings, Emutbala was synonymous with the kingdom of Larsa (Stol 1976: 63ff.; 1982: 131). More recently, Charpin has adduced that in the period of the Kudur-mabuk kings, Emutbala was the area around Maškan-šāpir that had been annexed to the kingdom of Larsa (Charpin 1988: 148). Maškan-šāpir was an important city of Larsa even as early as the time of Zabāia, as indicated by an inscription of Zabāia being found there (see above p. 37), but only with the kings of the Kudur-mabuk dynasty do we begin to see a juxtaposition of Larsa and Emutbala. This may have most to do with whence came Kudur-mabuk.

Although the titles borne by Kudur-mabuk imply that he and his sons hailed from the region of Maškan-šāpir, there is no other direct evidence that this was the case. It should be recalled, however, that a person named Warad-Sîn received food allotments

(*sá.dug*, *satukkum*) along with a Tutu-nišu and a Sūmû-iamutbala, according to the documents from the reign of Sîn-iddinam discussed by Goetze (Goetze 1950a), and that this Tutu-nišu was addressed in letters from a Sîn-irībam who is known to have written a letter concerning a threat to Maškan-šāpir and Kiš (see above p. 117). Given the obvious link with Emutbala of the personal name “Sūmû-iamutbala” and the association between Tutu-nišu and the Sîn-irībam who was concerned with events in Maškan-šāpir, it may be supposed that the Warad-Sîn, Sūmû-iamutbala, and Tutu-nišu who are listed together as recipients of food allotments were all dignitaries from or officials in the region of Maškan-šāpir during the reign of Sîn-iddinam. It is tempting then to propose that this Warad-Sîn was the son of Kudur-mabuk and therewith to infer an early link between the Kudur-mabuk dynasty and the territory of Emutbala.

Warad-Sîn

The Larsa King List ascribes a reign of twelve years to Warad-Sîn. One year name list indicates that he reigned thirteen years (Stol 1976: 2f.), but Sigrist has argued that the addition of a thirteenth year as Warad-Sîn’s fourth year was a scribal error (Sigrist 1985) (see above p. 4).

Warad-Sîn appears not to have been completely independent of his father as king of Larsa. The influence of Kudur-mabuk can be seen most clearly in his many royal inscriptions. Most of Kudur-mabuk’s inscriptions commemorate deeds he performed on behalf of Warad-Sîn and himself. In several of these inscriptions, Kudur-mabuk claims credit for events that appear in the year names of Warad-Sîn. For example, the destruction of the wall of Kazallu and the smiting of the army of Mutiabal in Larsa, known from Warad-Sîn’s second year name, is featured in a royal inscription of Kudur-mabuk (Frayne 1990: E4.2.13.3) as well as in a royal inscription of Warad-Sîn

(Frayne 1990: E4.2.13.4). The building of the Ganunmah, known from the first part of Warad-Sîn's fifth year name, is commemorated in two of Kudur-mabuk's inscriptions (Frayne 1990: E4.2.13.9 and 10), while the building of the temple of Inanna, known from the second part of Warad-Sîn's fifth year name is commemorated in two inscriptions of Warad-Sîn (Frayne 1990: E4.2.13.11 and 12). Finally, Warad-Sîn's sixth year name records the introduction of thrones, including one for the god Nanna, a deed which is also alluded to in an inscription of Kudur-mabuk (Frayne 1990: E4.2.13.13).

In the inscription concerning the fashioning of a throne for Nanna, Kudur-mabuk made the claim that he was given "the true scepter suitable for leading the people" and "a reign (bala, literally 'turn') of eternal me's" (ll. 39-46). These statements imply that he considered himself a ruler even if he did not claim the title "king of Larsa." In only one instance is Kudur-mabuk called "king." A tablet from Nippur purports to be a copy of a caption from a now-lost stele that portrayed Šillī-Eštar, called "the man of Maškan-šāpir," under the foot of Kudur-mabuk, called "the king who returns magnificence to the one who does good for him." One wonders if this Šillī-Eštar was the official under Sîn-iqīšam who was responsible for the allotment of beer to Šillī-Adad and Kudur-mabuk (see above p. 130).

There are no Kudur-mabuk inscriptions that commemorate deeds recorded in Warad-Sîn's year names after Warad-Sîn's sixth year. This might suggest that Warad-Sîn had gained a certain measure of autonomy at that point in his reign. However, Warad-Sîn's seventh year name records the installation of his sister as high-priestess of the moongod in Ur. The office of high-priestess of the moongod at Ur, a very important position since at least the time of Enheduana, the daughter of Sargon of Akkad (c. 2300 B.C.), appears before the reign of Warad-Sîn always to have been filled by the daughter of the king. Therefore, it is notable that, in the case of En-ane-du,

the position was filled by the sister of the king. In an inscription of En-an-e-du, the high-priestess describes herself as “the child of Kudur-mabuk, the father of Emutbala,” and “the brother of Warad-Sîn, the king of Larsa” (Il. ix 4’-5’). Warad-Sîn may have had no daughters to put forward, or it may be that Kudur-mabuk was the real power behind his son’s throne and thus entitled to install his own daughter as high-priestess of Nanna. A letter of Kudur-mabuk to an Ur-Nanna (UET 5, 75), regarding the fashioning of a statue of the priestess, demonstrates that Kudur-mabuk was personally concerned with his daughter’s office.

Further evidence that Warad-Sîn did not rule independently of his father is found in two real estate documents that bear oaths in the names of both Warad-Sîn and Kudur-mabuk: YOS 5, 127, dated Warad-Sîn year 12, and the unpublished text NBC 10448, dated Warad-Sîn year 10 (assigned to G. Beckman).

Warad-Sîn’s year names are primarily concerned with cultic activities, namely temple building and the introduction of statues. The exceptions are his second year name pertaining to the liberation of Larsa from Mutiabal and Kazallu, and his tenth and eleventh year names which record the rebuilding of the wall of Ur, also chronicled in his inscriptions (Frayne 1990: E4.2.13.18-21), and the wall of Al-šarrākī.

There are more royal inscriptions of Warad-Sîn than of any other Larsa king in spite of his relatively short reign. Two of his and one of Kudur-mabuk’s inscriptions are remarkable for the inclusion at the end of a curse formula (Frayne 1990: E4.2.13.13, 14, and 17). This innovation was not employed in any of the known inscriptions of Warad-Sîn’s brother and successor, Rīm-Sîn. The inscriptions of Warad-Sîn, as well as those of Kudur-mabuk dedicated for the life of Warad-Sîn and himself, bespeak a great deal of construction activity and solicitude for the cults that may have been required after a period of weak kings and an enemy occupation.

1	mu ir ₁₁ - ^d EN.ZU lugal Year Warad-Sin [became] king
2	mu bàd ka-zal-lu ^{ki} ba-an-gul (ù ugnim-bi (mu-ti-ba-al) šà larsa ^{ki} ġiš ^š tukul ba-a-húb / ba-sìg) Year the city wall of Kazallu was destroyed and the army (of Mutibal) in Larsa was smitten by weapons
3	mu 1 urudu ^{alam} kù-sig ₁₇ (ir ₁₁ - ^d EN.ZU) é- ^d utu-šè i-ni-in-ku ₄ -re Year [Warad-Sin] had a gold statue (of himself) brought into the temple of Utu
4	mu kisal-mah é- ^d utu (šà larsa ^{ki}) ba-dù (ù ġiš ^š gu-za bára mah (zag-bé-ús kù-sig ₁₇ šu-du ₅ -a) é- ^d inanna zabal ^{am} ^{ki} i-ni-in-ku ₄ -re) Year a great courtyard for the temple of Utu (in Larsa) was built (and [Warad-Sin] had a magnificent throne dais (with arms adorned with gold) brought into the temple of Inanna of Zabal ^{am})
5	mu gá-nun-mah ^d nanna-šè/ra (ù é-kalam-ta-ní-gùr-ru é- ^d inanna zabal ^{am} ^{ki}) ba-dù Year a magnificent storeroom for Nanna (and the temple of Inanna in Zabal ^{am} “the splendor of the temple (overwhelms) the country” were) / was built
6	mu (14 urudu ^{alam} nibru ^{ki} -šè) 3 ġiš ^š gu-za kù-sig ₁₇ šu-du ₇ -a é- ^d nanna é- ^d nin-gal ù é- ^d utu-šè i-ni-in-ku ₄ -re Year [Warad-Sin] had (14 copper statues brought into Nippur and) 3 thrones adorned with gold brought into the temples of Nanna, Ningal and Utu
7	mu en-an-e-du ₅ en- ^d nanna (úri ^{ki}) ba-hun-gá Year Enanedu was installed as high priestess of Nanna (in Ur)
8	mu kisal-mah é- ^d nanna ba-dù ù 2 ġiš ^š gu-za bára mah (kù-sig ₁₇ šu-du ₇ -a) é-bára-šè i-ni-in-ku ₄ -re Year the great courtyard of the temple of Nanna was built (and [Warad-Sîn] had 2 great throne daises (adorned with gold) brought into the Ebara [temple])
9	mu alam (kù-sig ₁₇) ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk (kù-sig ₁₇ šu-du ₅ -a) é- ^d utu-šè i-ni-in-ku ₄ -re Year [Warad-Sin] had a (gold) statue (alt. a statue adorned with gold) of Kudur-mabuk brought into the temple of Utu
10	mu bàd gal úri ^{ki} -ma ba-dù Year the great wall of Ur was built {same as Sîn-iqīšam 3}
11	mu (bàd) uru ^(ki) sag-rig ^(ki) ki-bi-éš bí-in-gi ₄ -a Year the city (wall) of Al-šarrākī (sag.rig ₇) was restored
12	mu é- ^d nin-gá-ug ₅ -ga šà maš-gán-šabra ^{ki} ba-dù Year the temple of Nin-ga’uga in Maškan-šapir was built

Fig. 13: Year names of Warad-Sîn.

The reign of Warad-Sîn is contemporary with those of three kings of Isin, Iter-pīša, Ur-dukuga, and Sîn-māgir. Although the complete sequence of year names has not been established for these kings, there is nothing in their known year names to suggest any conflict with the kingdom of Larsa. Likewise, judging only by the year names of the contemporary kings of Babylon, Sābium and Apil-Sîn, the kingdom of Babylon seems to have been singularly tranquil after what would appear from the year names to have been a coordinated effort between Larsa and Babylon against Kazallu. It would appear that the new dynasty in Larsa experienced a period of relative calm following the liberation of the kingdom from Kazallu and Mutiabal.

Sābium	11	1	Warad-Sîn
wall of Kazallu destroyed	12	2	destroyed wall of Kazallu and Mutiabal army in Larsa
deepened irrigation ditch	13	3	installed statue of himself
year after ...	14	4	built gipar courtyard in Larsa
Apil-Sîn	1	5	built storeroom and temple
built wall of Babylon	2	6	installed 14 statues and 3 thrones
made throne for Šamaš	3	7	installed high-priestess of Nanna
dug canal for Šamaš	4	8	built courtyard for Nanna / installed daises
built wall of Nurum	5	9	installed statue of Kudur-mabuk
restored Emeslam temple	6	10	built wall of Ur
dug Apil-Sîn-hegal canal	7	11	restored wall of Al-šarrākī
made crown for Šamaš	8	12	built temple in Maškan-šapir

Fig. 14: Table of year names of kings of Babylon corresponding tentatively to those of Warad-Sîn.

Rīm-Sîn I

Warad-Sîn was succeeded by his brother, Rīm-Sîn, who reigned for sixty years. It should not be assumed that this fraternal succession was a sign that Kudur-mabuk was controlling the throne of Larsa because fraternal succession was not uncommon. For example, Gungunum succeeded his brother, Zabāia, who had succeeded their father Sāmium. There are, however, other indications that Kudur-mabuk continued to take a hand in the running of the kingdom of Larsa in the first years of Rīm-Sîn's reign. Two of Rīm-Sîn's inscriptions are actually joint inscriptions of Kudur-mabuk and Rīm-Sîn (Frayne 1990: E4.2.14.2 and 3) in which Kudur-mabuk and Rīm-Sîn take credit together for the building of temples for Inanna and Nanāia in Larsa. The building of the temple of Inanna is a deed that was commemorated in Rīm-Sîn's fourth year name. Three other inscriptions contain dedications by Rīm-Sîn for his own life and the life of Kudur-mabuk (Frayne 1990: E4.2.14.1, 4, and 5). It is likely that Kudur-mabuk had died by Rīm-Sîn's fifth year as Rīm-Sîn's fifth year name records that he had two copper statues of Kudur-mabuk brought into the Egalbarra (temple? / the outer palace?). The Egalbarra may have been a funerary chapel (George 1993, 87 n. 311), in which case we might assume that statues of Kudur-mabuk were installed there because he had died. Rīm-Sîn had also had a statue of Warad-Sîn installed in the Egalbarra shortly after his accession according to the longest variant of his second year name, *mu é-diškur šà larsa^{ki}-ma é-dbára-ul-e-gar-ra šà zar-bi-lum^{ki} ba-dù/mu-un-dù-a ù alam ir₁₁-^dEN.ZU lugal šà é-gal-bar-ra-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-re*, “the year (Rīm-Sîn) had the temple of Adad built in Larsa (and) the temple of Baraulegarra in Zambilum and had a statue of Warad-Sîn the king brought into the Egalbarra.”

We have a complete sequence of Rīm-Sîn's date formulas, many of which have very long and elaborate versions as well as abbreviated variants. The year names

from the first quarter of his reign reflect mostly cultic activity, namely the building of temples and the introduction of statues into temples. According to these year names, Rīm-Sîn built temples in Larsa (years 2 and 4), in Ašdub (year 3), in Adab (year 6), and in Ur (year 8). He introduced a statue of Warad-Sîn into the Egalbarra (year 2) and statues of his father into the temple of Nanna (year 3) and the Egalbarra (year 4). His sixth year name records that he had a golden statue of Sîn-iddinam fashioned. His eleventh year name reports that he had statues of himself praying introduced into the temple of Utu. Finally, Rīm-Sîn's twelfth year is named for the installation of the high-priestess of Adad in Karkar. The location of Karkar is not certain, but Powell has argued that the most likely candidate is modern Tall Jidr (Powell 1980) between Adab and Umma (see Fig. 1 p. 15).

Of the year names from the first quarter of Rīm-Sîn's reign that do not record deeds associated with cults, two year names record the building of walls at Iškun-Šamaš (year 10) and Iškun-Nergal (year 13), the locations of which are unknown. Another year name records the building of great gates at Maškan-šāpir and the digging of a canal (year 7) and another the digging of the Lagaš canal (year 9).

Rīm-Sîn's year names 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, and 9 were used to date documents found at Nippur, but the king of Larsa appears to have lost Nippur to Damiq-ilišu of Isin at end of his ninth year, not to regain it again until his twenty-first year.

- 1 Year Rīm-Sîn (became) king
- 2 Year (Rīm-Sîn) had the temple of Adad built in Larsa
- 3 Year (Rīm-Sîn) had 4 copper statues of Kudur-mabuk brought into the temple of Nanna
- 4 Year the temples of Inanna, Nanna, and Enki were built in Larsa
- 5 Year (Rīm-Sîn) had 2 copper statues of Kudur-mabuk and a (copper) stele brought into the Egalbarra (temple?) / the outer palace?
- 6 Year (Rīm-Sîn) had the temple of Baraulegarra built in Adab
- 7 Year (Rīm-Sîn) built 2 large gates in Maškan-šapir
- 8 Year (Rim-Sin the king) built the temple of Enki in Ur
- 9 Year (Rīm-Sîn) (had) dug the Lagaš canal to the edge of the sea
- 10 Year (Rīm-Sîn) had the great city wall of Iškun-Šamaš built
- 11 Year (Rīm-Sîn) had 2 copper praying statues brought into the temple of Utu
- 12 Year the high-priestess of Adad was installed in Karkar
- 13 Year (Rim-Sin) had the great wall of Iškun-Nergal built
- 14 Year the troops of Uruk, (Isin, Babylon, Sutium, Rapiqum, and of Irnene the king of Uruk) were smitten with weapons
- 15 Year (Rim-Sin) seized Pî-nārātîm and the city of Nazārum
- 16 Year (Rim-Sin) had the canal of the steppe dug
- 17 Year (Rīm-Sîn the king) seized Imgur-Gibil and Zibnatum
- 18 Year (Rīm-Sîn) seized Bīt-Šū-Sîn and Uzarbara
- 19 Year (Rim-Sin) dug the Tigris
- 20 Year (Rīm-Sîn) seized Kisurra
- 21 Year (Rīm-Sîn) destroyed Uruk
- 22 Year (Rīm-Sîn) dug the pure canal
- 23 Year (Rīm-Sîn) dug the Euphrates
- 24 Year (Rīm-Sîn) dug a double canal
- 25 Year (Rīm-Sîn) seized the city of Damîq-ilišu
- 26 Year (Rīm-Sîn) dug the canal of righteousness
- 27 Year (Rīm-Sîn) dredged the noisy canal
- 28 Year (Rīm-Sîn) had the wall of Zarbilum built
- 29 Year (Rīm-Sîni) seized Dunnum
- 30 Year (Rīm-Sîn) seized Isin
- 31 Year after the year he seized Isin
- 32 Year 3 after Isin was seized
-
- 60 Year 31 after he seized Isin

Fig. 15: Abbreviated year names of Rīm-Sîn I

The year names from the second quarter of Rīm-Sîn’s reign appear to signal a major shift in the king’s priorities. Rīm-Sîn’s year names 14 through 30 record no cultic activity although inscriptions associated with events commemorated in years names 14 through 30 indicate that Rīm-Sîn continued to build for the gods. The event recorded in Rīm-Sîn’s fourteenth year name is alluded to in three of his inscriptions which commemorate the building of temples in Ur (Frayne 1990: E4.2.14.8, 9, and 10), while the event reported by his twenty-first year name is mentioned in two of his inscriptions which chronicle the building of temples for Ninšubur in Ur (Frayne 1990: E4.2.14.12) and in Girsu (Frayne 1990: E4.2.14.13).

Instead of year names that primarily record cultic activities of the king, the majority of year names from the second quarter of Rīm-Sîn’s reign record military events (year names 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 25, 29, and 30). Hostilities from a coalition of kingdoms may have triggered this change.

Rīm-Sîn’s fourteenth year name records the defeat of the army of Uruk and its king Irdanene (for this reading of the king’s name see Edzard 1957: n. 823). According to some versions of the year name and royal inscriptions {Frayne, 1990 #18: E4.2.14.8, 9, and 10) Uruk was joined in a coalition against Larsa by Babylon, Isin, Rapiqum, and Suteans. Within a few years Babylon would have attacked both Isin (Sîn-muballiṭ year 16) and Rapiqum (Hammu-rāpi year 11), but Babylon’s alliance with Uruk may have been longer-lived. Irdanene’s known year names do not record any military events. His year name B records that he released the citizens of Nippur in Uruk, mu dumu-níta dumu-munus nibru^{ki} šà unug^{ki}-ga ù á-dam-bi / ma-da-bi a-na-me-a-bi ^den-líl šà nibru^{ki}-šè (u₄-da-rí-šè) šu in-na-an-bar-re / in-na-bar-re-en, “the year [Irdanene] / I released all of the sons and daughters of Nippur in Uruk and its environs to Enlil in Nippur (forever),” but the significance of this action is unclear.

Rīm-Sîn's fifteenth year name commemorates the taking of Pî-nārātīm and Nazārum, which recalls the taking of Ka-ida by Sūmû-El (see p. 68). As with Sūmû-El, the taking of *Pî-nārātīm* was probably a necessary precursor to extensive royal irrigation work. In fact, the bulk of the non-military year names in the second quarter of Rīm-Sîn's reign, in all seven of the fifteen year names that follow the taking of Pî-nārātīm and Nazārum (year names 16, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26, and 27), chronicle irrigation projects. And as with Sūmû-El, it cannot be assumed that irrigation work was a peaceful undertaking. Of particular note in this regard is that in the midst of these years named for royal canal work, Sîn-muballiṭ of Babylon claimed to have defeated the army of Larsa (year 14 = RS 24). This irrigation activity may have been provoked by a period of drought and insufficient harvests. A letter from the region of Ešnunna indicates that at some point during the reign of Rīm-Sîn, Larsa attempted to procure grain from Ešnunna (Charpin 1983/1984).

In Rīm-Sîn's year 20 he claims to have taken Kisurra and Dūrum. Both of these cities were associated with Uruk. A year name of Irdanene of Uruk is found on a document from Kisurra, indicating a continuing connection between Kisurra and Uruk that has been documented from as early as the reign of Gungunum (see above p. 41). Dūrum, located midway between Uruk and Larsa, was the seat of Nin-šata-pada, the daughter of Sîn-kašid and high-priestess of the god Meslamtaea. The taking of Kisurra and Dūrum was followed in the very next year by an attack on Uruk itself. Rīm-Sîn's twenty-first year name reports that Rīm-Sîn destroyed Uruk, but spared its citizens. A letter prayer to Rīm-Sîn from the above-mentioned priestess at Dūrum, published by Hallo (Hallo 1991), gives supporting evidence for the deeds claimed by Rīm-Sîn in his twentieth and twenty-first year names. In the letter, Nin-šata-pada claims to have been in exile for five (variant: four) years and asks Rīm-Sîn to take pity on her in her old age.

She addresses Rīm-Sîn as “faithful shepherd,” the epithet he used only in his year names 23 to 26 (Hallo 1991: 381), which indicates that, although the letter is known only from later copies, it was actually composed four or five years after Rīm-Sîn’s conquest of Dūrum as indicated in the letter.

In addition to this letter-prayer, there is another less well-preserved letter-prayer to Rīm-Sîn from a Nanna-mansum (Gurney and Kramer 1976). Other literature from the reign of Rīm-Sîn includes prayers for Rīm-Sîn from Nippur (TCL 15, 35), and Ur (UET 6 102-106), most recently edited by Charpin (Charpin 1986), a hymn to the god Haia for Rīm-Sîn from Ur (Charpin 1986: 344-357), and a fragmentary *adab* for Inanna (UET 6, 100), also from Ur. Dyckhoff has suggested that a large number of literary texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection come from the same illegal excavations as do many of the Larsa archival documents from the reign of Rīm-Sîn in the Yale collections (Dyckhoff 1996; Tinney 1999: 163 n. 26). Perhaps also to be counted with the literature of Rīm-Sîn’s reign are his royal inscriptions which are hymnic in the tradition of the kings of the Nūr-Adad dynasty and his year names which surpass those of all other kings in grandiosity. A notable difference between the royal inscriptions of Rīm-Sîn and those of his father and brother is that none of Rīm-Sîn’s own inscriptions ends with a curse.

Year name 21 is the first Rīm-Sîn year name found on documents from Nippur after Rīm-Sîn 10. In spite of his apparent victories over Uruk, indicated by his year names 20 and 21, and Isin, indicated by his year names again appearing at Nippur, it would appear that the borders of Larsa were severely compromised. Sîn-muballiṭ of Babylon claimed in his corresponding year name, year 11, to have built the wall of Karkar which, as noted above, was where Rīm-Sîn installed a priestess according to his

twelfth year name and which was probably located between Adab and Umma, deep in the territory of the Larsa kingdom.

In his twenty-ninth year name, Rīm-Sîn claimed to have defeated Dunnum, a city not far from Nippur and probably under the control of Isin. Sîn-māgir of Isin had fortified Dunnum with a wall called “Sîn-māgir makes the foundations of his land firm” according to his inscription (Frayne 1990: E4.1.14.1). The defeat of Dunnum recalls Gungunum’s twenty-second year name, “the year Dunnum and the Iṣartum canal were built,” and literary letters between Lipit-Iṣtar of Isin and his general Nanna-kiaḡ (see p. 43) which refer to the threat to Dunnum from Gungunum. Rīm-Sîn’s conquest of this important city of Isin led up to the final defeat of Isin itself (Hallo 2000).

At the mid-point of his reign, Rīm-Sîn conquered, once and for all, Larsa’s long-time rival Isin. The already much reduced kingdom of Isin was probably further weakened by the assault from Babylon only three years earlier reported by Sîn-muballit in his seventeenth year name. One wonders whether Rīm-Sîn conquered Isin merely because he could and because it added to his glory or whether doing so served some strategic purpose. It is hard to imagine that Isin posed a threat to Larsa, and it may even have served as something of a buffer between Larsa and the much greater threat from Babylon.

After Rīm-Sîn’s defeat of Isin, significant changes occurred in the kingdom of Larsa. Following its bout of military expansion, Rīm-Sîn’s kingdom seems to have become more centered on its capital at Larsa. Of the nineteen known royal inscriptions of Rīm-Sîn, only two post-date the conquest of Isin. This implies that there was a halt in the heretofore almost constant building and maintenance of the cult centers in Ur. The last known mention of the high-priestess of Nanna at Ur comes from a text (UET 5,

343) dated Rīm-Sîn 21. The number of Rīm-Sîn dated texts from Ur in general decline significantly after Rīm-Sîn 29 (Van De Mieroop 1993: 56).

This may be indicative of the administrative reforms instituted by Rīm-Sîn in the second half of his reign (Leemans 1950: 113-121). Leemans noted that non-private administrative documents increased in Larsa as they decreased at Ur (Leemans 1950: 115). Long-running archives of entrepreneurs from Ur and other provincial centers appear to have come to an end. With the disappearance of entrepreneurs at Ur and other provincial centers around Rīm-Sîn 36, a number of powerful entrepreneurs and officials in Larsa, like Šēp-Sîn and Balamunamhe, seem to have expanded their power and influence throughout the kingdom. Van De Mieroop argues that these reforms were instituted not from a position of strength as Leemans had thought, but from a position of weakness, a need to exercise more direct control of the administration of land and resources, in the face of pressure from Babylon expansion (Van De Mieroop 1993: 67).

After the conquest of Isin, the year names of Rīm-Sîn, which had formerly been the most elaborate of any known year names of a Mesopotamian king, except perhaps the first ten of Hammu-rāpi's year names after his conquest of Larsa, became the most austere. All epithets and details were dropped. The years were named for the consecutive years following the conquest of Isin, "year after the year after the conquest of Isin," "third year after the conquest of Isin," and so on up to "the thirty-first year after the conquest of Isin." Van De Mieroop argues that the repetitive year names did not indicate so much the importance of the conquest of Isin as that nothing thereafter worth commemorating was accomplished by the beleaguered king (Van De Mieroop 1993: 67: 57). Hallo, on the other hand, contends that the long string of year names commemorating the conquest of Isin may be evidence of a failed attempt to introduce a new system of dating by era (Hallo 1988: 177).

Another change in the dating system appeared at the same time. A baffling system of repeating a month name, as many as ten times in succession, has been discussed by Kraus (Kraus 1959) and Robertson (Robertson 1983). This calendrical system, which appears only to have been used by the palace administration and not by the private sector, began in Rīm-Sîn 31 and lasted until year 37. It may have been used in an attempt to coordinate the calendars of all the newly conquered territories under Larsa's control or to correlate the lunar and solar calendars which may have become very divergent after a long span of years without intercalary months or some combination of both. No clear pattern has yet emerged that would explain what the royal scribes were attempting to do.

Signs of a threat from Babylon can be seen in the year names of Hammu-rāpi, who assumed the throne of Babylon in Rīm-Sîn 31. Already in his seventh year name (= RS 37), Hammu-rāpi claimed to have conquered Uruk and Isin, cities that were clearly within Larsa's territory. Hammu-rāpi's tenth and eleventh year names (= RS 40-41) assert that he smote Malgium, a city just north of Larsa's important northern stronghold, Maškan-šāpir, as well as Rapīqum and Šalibi, also in northern Babylonia. Aside from these three year names, none of Hammu-rāpi's year names record military activity before his thirtieth year. With Malgium and Isin defeated, Larsa may have lost two vital buffers between itself and Babylon (see map, p. 60).

North of Babylon, Ešnunna appears to have been allied with Larsa as early as Rīm-Sîn 22 in which year a letter (TCL 10, 54) reports that Emutbala troops were massed in Maškan-šāpir for a campaign to Ešnunna. This was very likely in support of Ešnunna rather than an act of aggression as documents from the region of Ešnunna bearing year names of Rīm-Sîn and kings of Ešnunna show that there was an active trade relationship between the two kingdoms in Rīm-Sîn years 39 to 42 (Leemans 1960;

Charpin and Durand 1985: 306ff.). A series of letters from the archives of Šamaš-māgir concern relations between Larsa and Ešnunna (Charpin 1983/1984: 104ff.). Of particular interest is the letter AbB 8 15, which indicates that Larsa was also allied with Assyria. The letter reports that Šamši-Adad of Assyria was a twenty-day march away from joining the army of Larsa against an unnamed enemy (Charpin 1983/1984: 105). An itinerary describing a trip from Larsa to Emar and back, known from several duplicates, offers an example of the kind of march an Old Babylonian army might have taken. According to Hallo, it is a canonical record of a historical campaign most likely undertaken by Rīm-Sîn or one of his officials (Hallo 1964). Unfortunately for Rīm-Sîn, Ešnunna was conquered by Elam in Rīm-Sîn year 58 according to the correspondence of Mari (Charpin et al. 1988: 146) and the new king of Ešnunna, Šillī-Sîn, was allied with Hammu-rāpi rather than Rīm-Sîn (Charpin et al. 1988: no. 385).

The Mari correspondence is our best source of evidence for the sequence of events that led to Hammu-rāpi's conquest of Larsa. Several letters (Charpin et al. 1988: no. 362-364, 366-368) report on negotiations between Rīm-Sîn and Hammu-rāpi for an alliance against Elam. Shortly after their failure to ally, reported in another Mari letter (Charpin et al. 1988: no. 372), the correspondence recounts that Hammu-rāpi requested and received the support of Mari in attacking Larsa (Jean 1950: 74-79 no. 33-34).

Another series of letters from Mari describes the Babylonian war against Larsa (Charpin et al. 1988: no. 378, 379, 381, 383-386). Hammu-rāpi first laid siege to Maškan-šāpir where Rīm-Sîn's brother, Sîn-muballiṭ, held forth. When the city fell, Sîn-muballiṭ and others were captured and local troops of Emutbala were conscripted by Hammu-rāpi to join his army in attacking the capital city of Larsa. Though Rīm-Sîn's father may have been called "father of Emutbala," it appears in the face of this letter that Emutbala was not dependably loyal to the king of Larsa. According to the Mari

correspondence, the siege of Larsa lasted six months. The correspondence reports that when Larsa was finally taken Rīm-Sîn escaped alive but was later captured (Charpin et al. 1988: no. 156, 158).

CHAPTER 7

LARSA UNDER BABYLON

The conquest of Larsa by Hammu-rāpi did not bring about an immediate decline in its fortunes. Hammu-rāpi appears to have held the former kingdom in some esteem, and emulated throughout his expanded realm many of the economic and administrative policies introduced by Rīm-Sîn. He also appears to have begun to imitate some of the cultural flourishes of the defeated king of Larsa, particularly in his year names and royal inscriptions.

Hammu-rāpi

After Hammu-rāpi conquered Larsa, the Mari correspondence indicates that he took up residence in the palace (Charpin et al. 1988: 164). With the annexation of Larsa, Hammu-rāpi also acquired authority over Nippur. The earliest known document from Nippur with a year name of Hammu-rāpi is dated Hammu-rāpi year 30.iv.26 (PBS 8/2:12) (Van De Mieroop 1993: 59). From Larsa, the oldest known Hammu-rāpi-dated document is eight months later, Hammu-rāpi 30.xii.28 (Charpin 1991).

Following his annexation of Rīm-Sîn's kingdom, Hammu-rāpi employed year names at Larsa in the form *mu ki-n Hammu-rāpi lugal (ur-sag)*, “year n of king (hero) Hammu-rāpi.” “Year one of king Hammu-rāpi” in the former kingdom of Larsa

was equivalent to Hammu-rāpi's thirty-second year name elsewhere in his realm (Anbar 1978: 117ff.). This may have been an attempt to adopt the incipient era system begun by Rīm-Sîn (Hallo 1988: 177). A notable change occurred in the style of Hammu-rāpi's standard year names after his defeat of Rīm-Sîn. Some variants of Hammu-rāpi's year names 30 to 39 imitate the elaborate form of the year names of Rīm-Sîn that pre-date conquest of Isin by Larsa. For instance, the most ornate example of Hammu-rāpi's thirtieth year name, mu ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal-e á-gál ki-ág ^dmarduk-ke₄ usu mah dingir gal-gal-e-ne ugnim elam^{ki}-ma zag mar-ha-šⁱ-ta su-bir₄^{ki} gu-ti-um^{ki} eš-nun-na^{ki} ù mà-al-gi^{ki} nam-dugud-bi im-zi-zi-eš-àm gàr-dar-a-bi i-ni-in-gar-ra-a suhuš ki-en-gi ki-uri i-ni-in-gi-bi, "the year Hammu-rāpi the king, the mighty, beloved of Marduk, with the magnificent power of all the great gods drove off the army of Elam which had amassed at the border of Marhaši, Subartu, Gutium, Ešnunna, and Malgium, (and) having affected their defeat, he secured the foundations of Sumer and Akkad," includes epithets of the king, credit to the gods, and more than the usual amount of detail concern the feats of the king.

In more significant ways Hammu-rāpi emulated the king he overthrew. The administrative reforms instituted in Larsa by Rīm-Sîn were adopted by Hammu-rāpi after his conquest of Larsa. As Rīm-Sîn had done in Larsa, Hammu-rāpi centralized the collection of taxes and dues in the palace where previously they had been collected by the local temples (Van De Mieroop 1992: 241-250). The *ilku* system, a system of granting the use of crown lands in exchange for military or other service, introduced by Rīm-Sîn in the middle of his reign was continued in Larsa after the Babylonian conquest and expanded by Hammu-rāpi throughout the greater kingdom of Babylon. Even Rīm-Sîn's practice of issuing occasional *mīšarum* edicts was employed by Hammu-rāpi. There is clear evidence that almost immediately after Hammu-rāpi conquered Larsa, he

proclaimed a *mīšarum* edict in Larsa (Kraus 1984: 58-62) as if he were the legitimate successor to the throne of Larsa (Charpin 1991).

Bonechi published a large tablet with a multi-column list of workers from Larsa who were conscripted by Hammu-rāpi shortly after his conquest of Larsa (Bonechi 1993). He suggests that the men may have been conscripted for an army to march against his former ally, Mari. With the conquest of Mari, the kingdom of Babylon reached its greatest extent, encompassing all of Mesopotamia from Mari to the Persian Gulf. He ruled over this empire for a decade until his death.

That Larsa was an important center for Hammu-rāpi is also seen in the archaeological record. Margueron claims that after conquering Larsa, Hammu-rāpi constructed a grandiose monumental complex with chapels and workshops in the area of the ziggurat (Margueron 1997: 332).

Samsuiluna

Hammu-rāpi was succeeded by his son Samsu-iluna. Four prisms from Larsa dated Samsu-iluna 10 are hymns used in the scribal curriculum (Tinney 1999: 162f.) and, along with the Larsa King List, dated to the twelfth year of Samsu-iluna, show that Larsa continued to be under the control of Babylon in the first dozen years of his reign. However, there are several indications that by his tenth year the Babylonian king was faced with rebellions on several fronts, most notably from Rīm-Sîn II of Larsa, Rīm-Anum of Uruk, and Iluni of Ešnunna. Samsu-iluna commemorated the defeat of Rīm-Sîn in a royal inscription (Frayne 1990: E4.3.7.4): “[The year was not] half over [when *he killed* Rīm-Sîn, [*king*] of [E]mu[tb]ala ...” Most of the rest of Samsu-iluna’s

inscriptions record the building of walls and fortifications, which probably also reflects that Samsu-iluna was beset from all sides.

Many of Samsu-iluna's date formulas (Sigrist n.d.) also reflect the unrest he faced throughout his reign:

- 10 mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e usu mah ^dmarduk-ka-ta ugnim / érin e-da-ma-ra-az^{ki} / i-da-ma-ra-az^{ki} ia-mu-ut-ba-lum^{ki} unug^{ki} ì-si-in-na^{ki} ^{g̃i}štukul ba-an-sìg / ^{g̃i}šgaz bí-in-ak-a
Year in which Samsu-iluna the king with the great strength of Marduk smote with weapons the army / troops of Idamaras, Emutbal, Uruk and Isin
- 11a mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e du₁₁-ga an ^den-líl-lá-bi-ta / ^den-líl-lá-bi-da bàd úri^{ki} ù unug^{ki}-ga mu-un-gul-la ugnim ki-uri a-rá [x]-kam ^{g̃i}štukul-ta in-sìg-ge
Year Samsu-iluna the king by the order of An and Enlil destroyed the city walls of Ur and Uruk and for the x-th time smote by weapons the army of Akkad
- 11b mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal bàd gal úri^{ki} ba-dù ù larsa^{ki} mu-un-gul
Year Samsu-iluna the king built the large city wall of Ur and destroyed Larsa
- 12 mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e kur gú-si-a an-ga-àm mu-un-da-bal-eš-àm usu mah ^dmarduk-ke₄ mu-un-na-an-sum-ma-ta ugnim ki-en-gi ki-uri ^{g̃i}štukul-ta bí-in-sìg-ga
Year in which Samsu-iluna the king by the mighty strength given by Marduk, after having conquered all the enemy lands which had again become hostile, defeated the troops of Sumer and Akkad
- 13a mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e inim ^den-líl-lá-ta ki-sur-ra^{ki} sa-bu-um^{ki}-bi-da-ke₄ ka-si-il-lá-aš bí-in-ku₄-ra
Year in which Samsu-iluna the king by the command of Enlil brought Kisurra and Sabum to praise
- 13b mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal ki-sur-ra^{ki} sa-bu-um mu-un-gul-la
Year in which Samsu-iluna the king destroyed Kisurra and Sabum
- 14 mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e nam-á-gál gal-la-ne-ta lugal ní-gi / ní-gi₄ / ní-gi₅ / ní-gi₁₆ gú-bar-ra lú ki-uri-ke₄ íb-ta-bal-bal-e-eš-a ^{g̃i}štukul-bi-ne sag giš bí-in-ra-a
Year in which Samsu-iluna the king with great power smote with his weapons the hateful king(s) who had brought the people of Akkad to revolt

- 15a mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e bàd ì-si-in-na^{ki} ba-gul-la ki-bi-šè bí-in-gi₄-a gi?-a ...
bí-in-tuš-a
Year in which Samsu-iluna the king restored the destroyed wall of Isin and settled (its people) there
- 15b mu bàd ì-si-in-na^{ki} ba-gul-la šu gibil bí-in-ge-eš-a ki-bi-šè bí-in-gi-a bí-in-dù-a
Year in which (Samsu-iluna) restored the destroyed wall of Isin and built it anew
- 20 mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e lugal sag-kal kur nu še-ga-ni bí-in-sì-sì-ga ù ugnim
ma-da áš-nun-na^{ki} sag ġiš bí-in-ra-a
Year in which Samsu-iluna the king, the responsible king, subdued the country not obedient to him and smote with weapons the army of the land of Ešnunna
- 23 mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e usu ġir-ra ^den-líl-le mu-un-na-an-sum-ma-ta /
mu-un-na-an-gar bàd ša-ah-na-a^{ki} uru^{ki} sag ma-da a-pu-um-ma za-ar-ha-nu-um^{ki}
pu-ut-ra^{ki} šu-ša-a^{ki} ma ...-la?-si mi-ne-éb-gul-gul-la
Year in which Samsu-iluna the king by the terrible strength given to him by Enlil destroyed the wall of Šahna, the capital of the land of Apum, Zarhanum, Putra, Susa [...]
- 24 mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e lugal nam-kù-zu mu-un-gur / mu-un-gur₁₀ /
mu-un-gu-ur / mu-un-gu-ur₄-ra bàd kiš^{ki}-a bàd me-lám-bi kur-kur-ra dul-la gú
íd-buranun-na mu-un-dù-a ù bàd sa-am-su-i-lu-na^{ki} ma-da wa-ru-um-ma-ke₄ gú
íd-dur-ùl-ka-ta bí-in-dím-ma bàd < har^{ki} > zag-ge éren-bi sìg-ge kur-kur-ra umun
šu ak
Year Samsu-iluna the king, the king who rules in wisdom, built on the banks of the Euphrates the city wall of Kiš whose splendour covers the enemy countries and he erected Dur-Samsu-iluna in the land of Warum on the banks of the canal (called) ‘Turran (Diyala) ’ and the wall of Har destroyed by their army he reinforced it against the foreign lands
- 28 mu sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e á-ág-gá ^den-líl-lá-ka / ^den-líl-lá-ta nam-kù-zu
nam-á-gál-bi-ta-a ^dmarduk-ke₄ mu-un-na-sum-ma-ta ja-di-a-bu-um /
ja-di-ha-bu-um ù mu-ti-hu-ur-ša-na hur-sag-gim lugal-lugal-la an-da-kúr-uš-a
šíta huš-a-na ġišhaš-a šu-ni in-ne-en-ak-a

Year in which Samsu-iluna the king by the command of Enlil, by the wisdom and strength given by Marduk, crushed like a mountain with his terrifying šita-weapon and his mace the hostile kings Iadihabum and Mutihuršan
 36 mu éren kur mar-tu-a / kur hur-sag-gá-ka ì-ba!-súb-be-eš-a
 Year in which he subdued the army of the land of the Amorites, the lands of the mountains
 (Sigrist n.d.)

The archaeological record shows that there was a population shift from southern to northern Mesopotamia, possibly because of reduced grain yields caused by extended drought or over-cultivation of the land. Finally, the very large and well-built houses, perhaps those of Balamunamhe and his associates at Larsa appear to have been abandoned “shortly before some dramatic event, probably the southern uprising against Samsu-iluna” (*Iraq* 51: 258).

Rīm-Sîn II

As discussed above, Samsu-iluna faced rebellion in the southern part of his kingdom, most notably from Rīm-Sîn II of Larsa. It is not known whether this Rīm-Sîn was a member of the family of the early Larsa king of that name. A Rīm-Sîn who was the son of Warad-Sîn is known from a cylinder seal impression (Edzard 1957: 167), but there is no way to ascertain whether this son of Warad-Sîn is the second Larsa king named Rīm-Sîn.

Rīm-Sîn II led a revolt against Samsu-iluna in Samsu-iluna’s eighth year and was not finally defeated by the king of Babylon until Samsu-iluna 14. No royal inscriptions are known for Rīm-Sîn II, but there exist a few impressions of seals of his servants (Frayne 1990: 317ff.). The following year names are attested for his reign:

1 mu ^dri-im-30/^dEN.ZU lugal

The year Rīm-Sîn [became] king

A mu ^dri-im-^dEN.ZU lugal úri^{ki}-ma é-mud-kur-ra-ke₄ ki-edin-šè bí-in-gar-ra

The year Rīm-Sîn, the king of Ur, established the Emudkurra at ?

B mu ^dri-im-^dEN.ZU luga(-e) (^dnin-mah-e é kèš^{ki} temen-an-ki-bi-da-ta (nam-lugal kalam kiš gál-la-šè gal-bi-ta ba-an-íl-la)) lú kúr lú hul-gál (kur-kur-šè gaba-bi nu-gi₄-a)

The year Rīm-Sîn the king (whom Ninmah (elevated to kingship of all the land) in the temple of Keš, the foundation of heaven and earth) (did not allow to return) the enemy and the evil-doer

What is most striking about these year names is that the second Rīm-Sîn bore the title “king of Ur,” a title that had not been used by a king of Larsa since the reign of Sūmû-El. This suggests that the second Rīm-Sîn had a very different royal identity from the preceding kings of the Kudur-mabuk and Nūr-Adad dynasties.

Conclusion

It is clear that the rulers of Larsa were not all of a piece. The list of Larsa kings comprises at least four separate dynasties, those of Sāmium, Nūr-Adad, Kudur-mabuk, and Hammu-rāpi, and perhaps more as some of the kings cannot be firmly placed within these dynasties. Another perhaps more significant division of the kings of Larsa may be made between those who identified themselves as Amorites and those who did not, namely the kings of the Nūr-Adad and Kudur-mabuk dynasties. It is hoped that this study helps to elucidate this important historical period and clarifies the nature of the relationships and transitions between the Larsa dynasties.

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Chronological Table

SYNCHRONISM						
UR		ISIN		LARSA		MCh
Šulgi	1					2091
	–					---
	43					2049
	44					2048
	45					2047
	46					2046
	47					2045
	48					2044
Amar-Sîn	1					2043
	2					2042
	3					2041
	4					2040
	5					2039
	6					2038
	7					2037
	8					2036
	9					2035
Šū-Sîn	1					2034
	2					2033
	3					2032
	4					2031
	5					2030
	6					2029
	7					2028
	8					2027
	9					2026
Ibbi-Sîn	1			Naplānum	1	2025
	2				2	2024

	3				3	2023
	4				4	2022
	5				5	2021
	6				6	2020
	7				7	2019
	8	Išbi-Erra	1		8	2018
	9		2		9	2017
	10		3		10	2016
	11		4		11	2015
	12		5		12	2014
	13		6		13	2013
	14		7		14	2012
	15		8		15	2011
	16		9		16	2010
	17		10		17	2009
	18		11		18	2008
	19		12		19	2007
	20		13		20	2006
	21		14		21	2005
	22		15	Iemšium	1	2004
	23		16		2	2003
			17		3	2002
			18		4	2001
			19		5	2000
			20		6	1999
			21		7	1998
			22		8	1997
			23		9	1996
			24		10	1995
			25		11	1994
			26		12	1993
			27		13	1992
			28		14	1991
			29		15	1990
			30		16	1989

			31		17	1988
			32		18	1987
			33		19	1986
		Šū-ilīšu	1		20	1985
			2		21	1984
			3		22	1983
			4		23	1982
			5		24	1981
			6		25	1980
			7		26	1979
			8		27	1978
			9		28	1977
			10	Sāmium	1	1976
		Iddin-Dagān	1		2	1975
			2		3	1974
			3		4	1973
			4		5	1972
			5		6	1971
			6		7	1970
			7		8	1969
			8		9	1968
			9		10	1967
			10		11	1966
			11		12	1965
			12		13	1964
			13		14	1963
			14		15	1962
			15		16	1961
			16		17	1960
			17		18	1959
			18		19	1958
			19		20	1957
			20		21	1956
			21		22	1955
		Išme-Dagān	1		23	1954

			2		24	1953
			3		25	1952
			4		26	1951
			5		27	1950
			6		28	1949
			7		29	1948
			8		30	1947
			9		31	1946
			10		32	1945
			11		33	1944
			12		34	1943
			13		35	1942
			14	Zabāia	1	1941
			15		2	1940
			16		3	1939
			17		4	1938
			18		5	1937
			19		6	1936
			20		7	1935
		Lipit-Eštar	1		8	1934
			2		9	1933
			3	Gungunum	1	1932
			4		2	1931
			5		3	1930
			6		4	1929
			7		5	1928
			8		6	1927
			9		7	1926
			10		8	1925
			11		9	1924
		Ur-Ninurta	1		10	1923
			2		11	1922
			3		12	1921
			4		13	1920
			5		14	1919

			6		15	1918
			7		16	1917
			8		17	1916
			9		18	1915
			10		19	1914
			11		20	1913
			12		21	1912
			13		22	1911
			14		23	1910
			15		24	1909
			16		25	1908
			17		26	1907
			18		27	1906
			19	Abī-sarē	1	1905
			20		2	1904
			21		3	1903
			22		4	1902
			23		5	1901
			24		6	1900
			25		7	1899
			26		8	1898
			27		9	1897
			28		10	1896
BABYLON		Būr-Sîn	1		11	1895
Sūmû-abum	1		2	Sūmû-El	1	1894
	2		3		2	1893
	3		4		3	1892
	4		5		4	1891
	5		6		5	1890
	6		7		6	1889
	7		8		7	1888
	8		9		8	1887
	9		10		9	1886
	10		11		10	1885
	11		12		11	1884

	12		13		12	1883
	13		14		13	1882
	14		15		14	1881
Sūmû-la-II	1		16		15	1880
	2		17		16	1879
	3		18		17	1878
	4		19		18	1877
	5		20		19	1876
	6		21		20	1875
	7	Lipit-Enlil	1		21	1874
	8		2		22	1873
	9		3		23	1872
	10		4		24	1871
	11		5		25	1870
	12	Erra-imittī	1		26	1869
	13		2		27	1868
	14		3		28	1867
	15		4		29	1866
	16		5	Nūr-Adad	1	1865
	17		6	(yrs unordered)	2	1864
	18		7		3	1863
	19	Enlil-bāni	1		4	1862
	20		2		5	1861
	21		3		6	1860
	22		4		7	1859
	23		5		8	1858
	24		6		9	1857
	25		7		10	1856
	26		8		11	1855
	27		9		12	1854
	28		10		13	1853
	29		11		14	1852
	30		12		15	1851
	31		13		16	1850
	32		14	Sîn-iddinam	1	1849

	33		15		2	1848
	34		16		3	1847
	35		17		4	1846
	36		18		5	1845
Sābium	1		19		6	1844
	2		20		7	1843
	3		21	Sîn-irībam	1	1842
	4		22		2	1841
	5		23	Sîn-iqīšam	1	1840
	6		24		2	1839
	7	Zambīa	1		3	1838
	8		2		4	1837
	9		3		5	1836
	10	Īter-pīša	1	Şillī-Adad	1	1835
	11		2	Warad-Sîn	1	1834
	12		3		2	1833
	13		4		3	1832
	14	Ur-dukuga	1		4	1831
Apil-Sîn	1		2		5	1830
	2		3		6	1829
	3		4		7	1828
	4	Sîn-māgir	1		8	1827
	5		2		9	1826
	6		3		10	1825
	7		4		11	1824
	8		5		12	1823
	9		6	Rīm-Sîn I	1	1822
	10		7		2	1821
	11		8		3	1820
	12		9		4	1819
	13		10		5	1818
	14		11		6	1817
	15	Damiq-ilišu	1		7	1816
	16		2		8	1815
	17		3		9	1814

	18		4		10	1813
Sîn-muballiṭ	1		5		11	1812
	2		6		12	1811
	3		7		13	1810
	4		8		14	1809
	5		9		15	1808
	6		10		16	1807
	7		11		17	1806
	8		12		18	1805
	9		13		19	1804
	10		14		20	1803
	11		15		21	1802
	12		16		22	1801
	13		17		23	1800
	14		18		24	1799
	15		19		25	1798
	16		20		26	1797
	17		21		27	1796
	18		22		28	1795
	19		23		29	1794
	20				30	1793
Ḥammu-rāpi	1				31	1792
	2				32	1791
	3				33	1790
	4				34	1789
	5				35	1788
	6				36	1787
	7				37	1786
	8				38	1785
	9				39	1784
	10				40	1783
	11				41	1782
	12				42	1781
	13				43	1780
	14				44	1779

	15				45	1778
	16				46	1777
	17				47	1776
	18				48	1775
	19				49	1774
	20				50	1773
	21				51	1772
	22				52	1771
	23				53	1770
	24				54	1769
	25				55	1768
	26				56	1767
	27				57	1766
	28				58	1765
	29				59	1764
	30				60	1763

Appendix 2: List of Naplānum Texts

TRU 370	--.--	deliveries of livestock at the Akiti festival
MVN 13, 563	00.00.00	oxen for the moongod and Naplānum
RA 9, 56, SA 241	00.00.00	offering list (short summary only)
NBC 631	00.00.00	record from Umma concerning flower and beer for envoys and offerings
ASJ 18, 224	--.02.30	record from Lagaš concerning boats (Naplānum written la-ab-la-núm)
ARRIM 1, 23	--.--.05	record concerning livestock for gods and others
PDTI 2, 915	--.--.07	delivery of livestock to énsi of Nippur and Amorites
AUCT 2, 358	--.07.08	expenditure of livestock
TPTS 1, 57	--.08.00	delivery of cows and donkeys
TCTI 2, 2785	--.11.12	record concerning boats
MVN 13, 704	S44.03.21	deliveries of livestock to Nanaya, the high-priest of Inanna, the énsi of Girsu, the kitchen, and Naplānum
MVN 12, 97	S45.08.01	delivery of livestock to Naplānum, the kitchen, and the storehouse
MVN 13, 423	S45.11.15+	delivery of sheep to the énsi of Kazallu and to 22 Amorites
OIP 115, 182	S45.12.06	delivery of livestock to troupes of Adamdun, Amorites, and énsi of Girsu
NBC 6668*	s45.12.26	transfer of 10 oxen to Naplānum
MVN 2, 287	S46.--.--	record concerning boats
MVN 15, 201	S46.04.14	deliveries of livestock to gods, Amorites, soldiers, and kitchen
ASJ 18, 74:2	S46.05.19	record of livestock for gods and others
Hirose 56	S46.07.01	delivery of one cow to Naplānum
MVN 13, 661	S46.07.15	expenditure of one ox to Naplānum at the Tummal festival
TRU 266	S46.07.16	deliveries of livestock to gods, Naplānum, a singer, and the kitchen
MVN 13, 515	S46.09.00	delivery of lambs and oxen
JCS 31, 35	S46.09.04	expenditure of livestock to diplomats
Oxford 1971.363*	S46.3.7	expenditure of livestock to the kitchens and to Ea-bila the Amorite, brother of Naplānum the Amorite
Kang 6	S46.6.26	delivery of livestock of Naplanun, the énsi of Kiš, the high-priest of Inanna, and others
MVN 11, 207	S47.05.00	expenditure of cattle to Lu-Nanna šagina, Naplānum, and the énsi of A.HA ^{ki}
JEOL 33, 114 5	S47.11.15	deliveries of sheep for gods and others
OIP 115, 475	S47.12.00	expenditure of 6 equids (dúsu) to Naplānum

AUCT 2, 175	S48.01.05	deliveries of livestock for gods and Naplānum
BCT 1, 74	S48.11.01-28	record of expenditures of sheep and goats over the course of a month
PIOL 19, 349	S48.11.12	expenditure of sheep for offerings, Naplānum and his wife
DC 255	S48.11.20	deliveries of livestock for gods and Naplānum
MLC 100*	S48.11.21	expenditure of sheep and goats to gods, two Amorites, the fattening house, and as máš šu-gíd to the kitchen
AUCT 1, 453	S48.12.12	deliveries of livestock for gods and two Amorites
MVN 11, 144	AS--.--.23?	record concerning livestock for a festival in Nippur
ARRIM 04, 13	AS1.01.07-30	record of cattle for Naplānum, the kitchen in Ur, gods, and a singer over several days
BibMes 25,176	AS1.02.26	record of ox and sheep for Naplānum loaded on a boat for the land of the Amorites and sheep and goats for men of Ebla, Uršu, and Mari
PDTI 2, 1255	AS1.11.26	expenditure of sheep for Naplānum
MVN 18, 98	AS2.08.00	expenditure of equids to Mudanum, son of Naplānum, and others
TAD 47	AS3.01.01-13	deliveries of oxen in Ur over several days
STA 31	AS3.02.15	expenditure of sheep for gods in Uruk, for Naplānum, and for a man of Zidanu
MVN 11, 160	AS3.02.16	expenditure of sheep for Naplānum and a man of Zidanu
TRU 320	AS3.10.05	expenditure of sheep from the surplus of Naplānum
PDTI 2, 812	AS3.10.17	deliveries of ox and sheep for Naplanun and of a sheep to another
SET 61	AS4.01.05	expenditure of ox for Naplānum
TCL 2, 5508	AS4.01.06	expenditure of livestock to Naplānum, his brother, his son, his siter-in-law and others
MVN 3, 228	AS4.01.14	expenditure of sheep for gods and others
MVN 18, 99	AS4.05.04	expenditure of sheep for Nintu, Naplānum and other dignitaries
AUCT 1, 940	AS4.06.26	delivery of livestock to Naplānum and other Amorites
CTMMA I 17	AS4.07.01	expenditure of livestock to many people, including a daughter of the king and Amorites
UDT 97	AS4.09.19	expenditure of livestock for offering, a gala-priest, soldiers, a singer and Naplamum
TD 27	AS5.01.--	expenditure of livestock for Abi-simti and other important persons
BIN 3, 538	AS5.01.08	delivery of livestock to Amorites and others
MVN 5, 113	AS5.07.05	expenditure of sheep for offerings, the lukur of the king, and dignitaries
SET 63	AS6.10.10	expenditure of livestock for offering and important persons
Amorites 2	AS7.01.04	expenditure of 5 sheep for Naplānum loaded on a boat for the land of the Amorites

Astour FS 372	AS7.10.--	expenditure of livestock for offerings and dignitaries
MVN 11, 97	AS7.12.05	record from Lagaš concerning boats (Naplānum written la-ab-la-núm)
MVN 13, 636	AS8.01.--	expenditures of livestock for Abi-simti and dignitaries in Nippur
PDTI 1, 344	AS8.04.04	royal expenditure of livestock to Naplānum and other dignitaries
PDTI 1, 548	AS8.07.02	expenditures of livestock to diplomats (several lú-kin-gi ₄ -a and others)
SAT 2, 1075	AS8.07.07	expenditures of livestock for offerings and dignitaries in Ur
Amorites 19	AS8.08.29	expenditure of ox to the kitchen on behalf of Nāplanum at the Tummal festival
SET 104	AS8.10.00	account of sheep and goats of Inanna and others
PDTI 2, 1147	AS8.10.13	expenditure of sheep to dignitaries in Ur
TCL 2, 5500	AS8.10.17	expenditure of livestock to singers and dignitaries and for offerings
BCT 1, 85	AS8.10.22	expenditure in Ur of ox to Šulgi-abi when he libated for his father Naplānum and one ox on behalf of the runners
TCTI 1, 922	AS8.11.29	record from Lagaš concerning boats
UDT 92	AS8.12.29	expenditure in Ur of livestock for gods and dignitaries
AUCT 2, 108	AS9.02.25	expenditure of lambs for Naplānum and a kid to the é-uz-ga
PDTI 1, 579	AS9.02.26	expenditure of sheep Naplānum and sheep and goats for offering of Abi-simti
SET 66	AS9.02.26	expenditure of livestock in Ur for dignitaries
BIN 3, 382	AS9.11.17	expenditure of livestock for gods and dignitaries
AAICAB 1, 1	SS1.05.00	expenditure of sheep to Naplānum
BibMes 25, 151	SS1.06.24	delivery of sheep to Amorites and others
SAT 3, 1186	SS1.12.04-29	expenditure of cattle to various people over several days
PDTI 1, 299	SS2.02.00	receipt of livestock from Ahuwerta on behalf of Naplānum
Hirose 301	SS2.08.09	expenditure of sheep to Naplānum
BIN 3, 235	SS3.09.00	receipt of livestock from Ur-Nanna and Ibni-Sîn on behalf of Naplānum
MVN 8, 135	SS4.01-12.--	record of expenditures of cattle and equids over the course of a year
NCBT 1600*	SS5.12.9	expenditure of livestock to gods and the wife of Naplānum the Amorite
DTCR 88	SS6.01.27	expenditure of sheep in Nippur
PDTI 2, 1172	SS6.07.04	expenditure of oxen to Ninhursag the nu-bànda and Naplānum
Amorites unpub. B	IS2.9.1-20	expenditure of sheep and goats as sá-du11 for the runners and Ili-babum, son of Naplānum the Amorite

*unpublished

Appendix 3: Full Year Names of Rīm-Sîn I

- 1 **mu** (^d)ri-im-^den.zu lugal
Year Rīm-Sîn [became] king
- 2 **mu** é-^diškur šà larsa^{ki}-ma (é-^dbára-ul-e-gar-ra šà zar-bi-lum^{ki}) ba-dù/**mu-un-dù-a**
(ù alam ir₁₁-^den.zu lugal šà é-gal-bar-ra-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-re)
Year [Rīm-Sîn] had the temple of Adad built in Larsa ([and] the temple of Baraulegarra in Zarbilum) (and had a copper statue of Warad-Sîn the king brought into the Egalbarra [temple] / the outer palace ?)
- 3 **mu 4** urudu^{alam} ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk é-^dnanna-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-re (ù é-^dnin-mar-ki šà aš-dub-ba mu-un-dù-a)
Year [Rīm-Sîn] had 4 copper statues of Kudur-mabuk brought into the temple of Nanna (and built the temple of Ninmarki in Ašdubba)
- 4 **mu** é-^dinanna é-^dnanna ù é-^den-ki šà larsa^{ki}-ma ba-dù
Year the temples of Inanna, Nanna, and Enki were built in Larsa
- 5 **mu 2** urudu^{alam} ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk ù 1 (urudu)na-rú-a é-gal-bar-ra-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-re
Year [Rīm-Sîn] had 2 copper statues of Kudur-mabuk and a (copper) stele brought into the Egalbarra [temple] / the outer palace?
- 6 **mu** é-^dbára-ul-e-gar(-ra) šà adab^{ki} ba-dù / **mu(-un)-dù-a** (ù alam kù-sig₁₇ ^den.zu-i-din-nam lugal larsa^{ki}-ma ba-dím-ma)
Year [Rīm-Sîn] had the temple of Baraulegarra built in Adab (and a gold statue of Sin-iddinam, king of Larsa, was fashioned)
- 7 **mu** abul(-a) 2-a-bi (ša) maš-gán-šabra^{ki} **mu(-un)-dù-a** (ù e a-šà šà-túm-ma 4 danna mu(-un)-si-ga)
Year [Rīm-Sîn] built 2 large doors in Maškan-šapir (and deepened an irrigation canal for fields and pasture 4 miles long)
- 8 **mu** (^d)ri-im-^den.zu lugal-e) é-^den-ki šà úri^{ki}-ma (ù é-^dnin-é-nim-ma šà é-^dnin-mar-ki) mu-un-dù-a / ba-dù
Year (Rim-Sin the king) built the temple of Enki in Ur (and the temple of Nin-enimma in E-Ninmarki)
- 9 **mu** íd lagaš^{ki} zag a-ab-ba-šè **mu(-un)-ba-al-lá**

- Year [Rīm-Sîn] (had) dug the Lagaš canal to the edge of the sea**
- 10 **mu bàd** (gal) **^dutu-gar-ra** [iškun-^dšamaš] (gú íd-buranun-na) **mu(-un)-dù-a** / ba-dù
- Year [Rīm-Sîn] had the great city wall of Iškun-Šamaš built** (on the bank of the Euphrates)
- 11 **mu 2** ^{uru}alam šùd-(šùd)-dè ((^d)ri-im-^den.zu (lugal)) **é-^dutu-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-re**
- Year [Rīm-Sîn] had 2 copper praying statues** (of himeself) **brought into the temple of Utu**
- 13 **mu bàd gal iš-ku-un-^dnè-iri₁₁-gal** (var. ^dnè-iri₁₁-gal-gar-ra) **mu-un-dù-a** (var. ba-dù)
- Year [Rim-Sin] had the great wall of Iškun-Nergal built**
- 14 **mu ugnim unug^{ki}(-ga)** (î-si-in^{ki} tin-tir^{ki} su-ti-um^{ki} ra-pi-qum^{ki} ù ìr-ne-ne lugal unug^{ki}-ga) **ġištukul ba-an-sìg**
- Year the troops of Uruk, (Isin, Babylon, Sutium, Rapiqum, and of Irnene the king of Uruk) were smitten with weapons**
- 15 **mu** (uru^{ki}) **KA.ÍD.DA^{ki}(-me-eš)** ù **uru^{ki} na-za-ru-um^{ki}** (ġištukul kalag-ga(-ni-ta)) **in-dab₅-ba**
- Year [Rim-Sin] seized Pī-nārātīm and the city of Nazarum** (with his mighty weapon)
- 16 **mu íd edin-na** (íd hé-gál-la (zag a-ab-ba-šè)) **mu-un-ba-al(-lá)**
- Year [Rim-Sin] had the canal of the steppe,**(the canal of abundance,) **dug** (to the edge of the sea)
- 17 **mu** (^dri-im-^den.zu lugal) (bàd (gal)) **im-gur-^dgibil₆^{ki}** ù (uru^{ki}) **zi-ib-na-tum^{ki}** (ġištukul (kalag-ga) (^den-líl mu-un-na-sum-ma-ta)) **in-dab₅-ba** / ba-an-dab₅
- Year (Rīm-Sîn the king) seized** (the great wall of) **Imgur-Gibil and** (the city of) **Zibnatum** (with the (mighty) weapon (entrusted to him by Enlil))
- 18 **mu** (uru^{ki}) **é-šū^den.zu-na^(ki)** ù (uru^{ki}) **ú-šar-pa-ra^{ki}** (var. ú-ša-ar-pa-ra) (ġištukul kalag-ga (var. á-mah) ^den-líl mu-un-na-sum-ma-ta) (u₄ 1-kam) **in-dab₅-ba**
- Year [Rīm-Sîn] seized** (in 1 day) (the cities of) **Bit-Šū-Sîn and Uzarbara** (with the mighty weapon entrusted to him by (var. aid of) Enlil)
- 19 **mu íd-idigna** (íd-dingir-re-e-ne) (nam-hé-tùm) (zag a-ab-ba-šè) **mu(-un)-ba-al(-lá)** (ġiššū-nir gal kù-sig₁₇ é-^dutu-šè i-ni-in-ku₄-re)

- Year** [Rim-Sin] **dug the Tigris**, (the canal of the gods) (which brings abundance,) (towards the edge of the sea) ([and] had a great gold emblem brought into the temple of Šamaš)
- 20 **mu ki-sur-ra**^{ki} (larsa^{ki}) mu-un-ku₄-ra **ba-an-dab**₅ (ù ġištukul kalag-ga ^den-líl mu-un-na-sum-ma-ta BÀD^{ki} (var. BÀD.AN^{ki} / BÀD.A^{ki}) mu-un-na-hul-a / ba-an-hul-a)
- Year** [Rīm-Sîn] **seized Kisurra** for Larsa (and destroyed Durum with the mighty weapon entrusted to him by Enlil)
- 21 **mu** (ġištukul kalag-ga ^den-líl mu-un-na-sum-ma-ta) **unug**^{ki}(-ga) **mu-un-hul(-a)** (éren á-dah-bi šu-ni sá bí-in-du₁₁-ga ugu nam-lú-ùlu-bi šu-gar mu-un-gar-ra)
- Year** [Rīm-Sîn] **destroyed Uruk** (with the mighty weapon entrusted to him by Enlil) ([and] made its allied troops submit [but] spared its inhabitants)
- 22 mu du₁₁-ga zi-da (an) ^den-líl ^den-ki-ga-ta íd ul-lí-a-ta mu-bi nu sa₄-a sipa zi ^dri-im-^den.zu mu(-un)-ba-al-lá (íd sikil-la mu-bi bí-in-sa₄-a uru^{ki} didli(-bé-ěš) gán dagal-la bí-in-dah-e)
- Year the righteous shepherd Rīm-Sîn at the righteous command of (An,) Enlil, and Enki dug a canal whose name was forgotten ([and] called it the pure canal adding broad areas to the cities)
- 23 **mu** (du₁₁-ga ((an) ^den-líl ^den-ki-ga-ta)) **íd bu-ra-nun-na** (ti-ki-da kù-ga (^dnanna(-ke₄) nesag túm é-kur-ra-šè èš nam-ti-la-ni-šè sipa zi ^dri-im-^den.zu ki unug^{ki}-ga / larsa^{ki}-ta zag a-ab-ba-šè) **mu-un-ba-al-lá** (gú-bé-ta gán dagal-la (im-ta-è-a (gán zi)) bi-in-dagal-a a du₁₀ (var. da-rí(-a)) šà úri^{ki}-šè im-mi-in-gar-ra)
- Year** (the righteous shepherd Rīm-Sîn at the command of (An,) Enlil, and Enki) **dug** (for his life) **the Euphrates** (from Uruk / Larsa to the edge of the sea,) (the libation vessel (of Nanna,) that brings the first fruit offerings to the Ekur, (making available large areas of land on its banks), opening broad areas of irrigated land, and providing sweet water for Ur) {short version = Nūr-Adad E?}
- 24 **mu** (du₁₁-ga an ^den-líl ^den-ki-ga-ta) **íd-maš-tab-ba** (a nag un dagal-šè gál-la gú diri-a-bi hé-gál ^dašnan gar-gar-ra-àm sipa zi ^dri-im-^den.zu) (lú igi-gál tuk bàn-da-bi diri-ga) (zag a-ab-ba-šè) **mu-un-ba-al-lá** (a-gàr didli-bi gán zi-dè-ěš bí-in-ku₄-re))
- Year** (the righteous shepherd Rīm-Sîn, (the wise whose youth is exuberant,) **dug** (at the command of An, Enlil, and Enki) **a double canal** (to the edge of the sea, providing a large population with drinking water, producing a surfeit of grain on its banks,) ([and] turned its many irrigated areas into good fields)

- 25 **mu** (á mah an ^den-líl ^den-ki-ga-ta) **uru**^{ki} (bàd) **da-mi-iq-ì-lí-šu** (á-dam sag šu-dab₅-be ì-si-in^{ki}-ka) (sipa zi ^dri-im-^den.zu) **in-dab₅-ba** (šìr-šìr-ra lúškár-a šà larsa^{ki}-šè bí-in-ku₄-re u₄ ul-a-ta ù-ma-a-ni mu-un-gub-ba)
Year (the righteous shepherd Rīm-Sîn) (with the powerful help of An, Enlil, and Enki) **seized the city** (wall) **of Damiq-ilišu**, (seized the allies of Isin, (brought them as prisoners to Larsa, [and] established his triumph greater than before))
- 26 **mu** (inim zi an ^den-líl ^den-ki-ga-ta) (íd ul-ta ba-ra-gál-la hé-gál tùm larsa^{ki}-šè) (sipa gi(-na) ^dri-im-^den.zu) (mu(-un)-ba-al-lá) **íd-nì-si-sá mu-ba-al** (mu-bi bí-in-sa₄-a pa bí-in-è-a)
Year (the true shepherd Rīm-Sîn) (at the righteous command of An, Enlil, and Enki) **dug** (a canal which was no longer in use, the one that brings abundance to Larsa) **the canal of righteousness** (and made great its name)
- 27 **mu** (du₁₁-ga an ^den-líl ^den-ki-ga-ta) **íd gù-nun-di** (ul-ta ba-ra-si-ga gán gi dagal-la gán zi nu gál-la ^dri-im-^den.zu sipa giš tuk kur gal-la igi a-ab-ba-šè e da-rí) **in-si-ga** (gú-bi-ta a-gàr dagal-la im-ta-è-a)
Year (Rīm-Sîn the shepherd who listens to the broad country at the command of An, Enlil, and Enki) **dredged the noisy canal** (a canal which had not been dredged for years, whose land was covered with reeds, leaving no good land; he dug it permanently to the edge of the sea and opened up broad areas of irrigated land on its banks)
- 28 **mu** (du₁₁-ga an ^den-líl ^den-ki-ga-ta) (**bàd**) **zar-bí-lum** (uru gú-sag / giš gú-ama / giš gú-sag) (u₄-na-me bàd-bi nu mu-un-dù-a) (sipa gi-na ^dri-im-^den.zu bàd-bi) **mu-un-dù-a** (un dagal-la-bi ki-bi-šè bí-in-gi₄-a ki-dúr ne-ha im-mi-in-dúr)
Year (Rīm-Sîn the true shepherd) (at the command of An, Enlil, and Enki) **had the wall of Zarbilum built** (a major city for which a wall had not been built for a long time) (he restored its wide population and settled them in a safe place)
- 29 **mu** (á kalag-ga / inim-ta an ^den-líl ^den-ki-ga-ta) (bàd / uru^{ki}) **du-un-nu-um**^{ki} (uru^{ki} sag-mah ì-si-in-na^{ki}-ka) (sipa gi-na ^dri-im-^den.zu (u₄-1-kam)) **in-dab₅-ba** (éren nam-gub-bé šu-ni-šè bí-in-gar-ra nam-lú-ùlu-bi ki-dúr-bi nu mu-un-kúr-ra)
Year (Rīm-Sîn the righteous shepherd) (at the command / with the mighty help of An, Enlil, and Enki) **seized** (in one day) **Dunnum** (the magnificent capitol of Isin) (he conscripted its standing troops [but] he did not displace its population)

30 **mu** (^gištukul mah an ^den-líl ^den-ki-ga-ta) **ì-si-in(-na)**^(ki) (uru nam-lugal-la(-ka) ù á-dam(-bi) didli(-bi) a-na(-me)-a-bi (sipa zi ^dri-im-^den.zu) **in-dab₅-ba** (ugu un dagal(-la)-bé šu nam-ti-la in-gar-ra mu nam-lugal-bi du-ré-šè bí-in-è)

Year (Rīm-Sîn the true shepherd) (with the magnificent weapon of An, Enlil, and Enki) **seized Isin** (the royal city and the various villages, [but] spared the life of its wide populace [and] made the fame of his/its kingship go out forever)

31 **mu ús-sa / ki 2** ^gištukul **ì-si-in**^{ki} **in-dab₅-ba**

Year after the year (var. year 2 [with] the weapon) **he seized Isin**

32 **mu ki 3 ì-si-in-na**^{ki} **ba-an-dab₅** **Year 3 Isin was seized**

.....

60 **mu ki 31 ì-si-in**^{ki}**in-dab₅-ba** **Year 31 he seized Isin**

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