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## SIPPAR AND THE FRONTIER BETWEEN EŠNUNNA AND BABYLON New sources for the History of Ešnunna in the Old Babylonian Period

FRANS VAN KOPPEN\* and DENIS LACAMBRE\*\*

Three cuneiform tablets bearing year names of kings of Ešnunna but discovered at Sippar on Babylonian territory are examined as a source for the political history and the social and economic interactions in the frontier zone between the Kingdoms of Ešnunna and Babylon in the late 19th and early 18th century BC.<sup>1</sup>

### *Introduction*

The flatlands along the lower Diyala, east of the Tigris, and the northern part of the Mesopotamian flood plain, hemmed between the almost parallel courses of Tigris and Euphrates, shared a common culture in the early centuries of the second millennium BC. Cultural cohesion over this area is manifest in the local calendars, with Ešnunna and Sippar sharing no less than six month names,<sup>2</sup> and in the many shared conventions of the early texts from Sippar and the Diyala sites, indicating an important common tradition of legal forms and scribal practices.<sup>3</sup> The cultural identity of the region also had deep historical roots that found expression in the habit of referring to the whole region by the name of Akkad,<sup>4</sup> and the legacy of the legendary dynasty of Sargon was indeed felt with particular vibrancy on both sides of the Tigris river.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The authors would like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to study cuneiform texts in the collection of the museum, M. Krebernik for collations of VAT 735, and Julie Patrier for assistance in processing the digital images. Both authors have commented on the whole article but would like to point out that van Koppen is primarily responsible for the Introduction and for part 3, and Lacambre for parts 1 and 2. Absolute dates are given according to the Middle Chronology (with Hammurabi 1792-1750 BC).

<sup>2</sup> *Elūnum, Abum, Kinūnum, Tamhīrum, Nabrū* and *Mammītum* (Greengus 2001: 267). Of common stock is also the calendar of Samsi-Addu that shares seven month names with the one from Ešnunna, see Charpin 2004b: 374. The calendar(s) to which these month names belong can be traced back to the end of the third millennium BC (Cohen 1993: 248-249 and Widell 2003: 5-6).

<sup>3</sup> This was pointed out by several scholars (e.g. M. Birot, *BiOr* 30 [1973] 64) but has not yet been analysed in full except for the genre of loan contracts (Skaist 1994: 240-241).

<sup>4</sup> See Charpin 2004a: 31 for Akkad denoting the kingdom of Ešnunna as well as Babylon in a Mari source; Derksen 2004: 164 argued that northern Babylonia and Ešnunna are similarly subsumed under the term Akkad in the Old Assyrian manner of speaking. The location of Akkad was recently discussed by Westenholz 1999: 31-34 and Reade 2002: 269 and, with different results, by Frayne 2004: 112-114.

<sup>5</sup> Illustrated, for example, by the veneration of Anunītum of Akkad in Tell ed-Der (Westenholz 1999: 31), or the 'sons of Akkad' as a military class in the kingdom of Ešnunna (F. van Koppen, *RIA* 11/5-6 [2007] 491). The reception of Sargonic royal names by kings of Assur (Sargon and Naram-Sin; Veenhof 2003: 44 and 46) and Ešnunna (Naram-Sin) is by itself no indication for the survival of local memories because the Sargonic kings were a universal model for kingship in the second millennium BC.

Following the end of the Ur III empire, political power in the land of Akkad had to a large degree become decentralized, as is clear from the names of numerous local potentates that appear in the sources, even if it is not always possible to ascertain their seats of power or even their sequence. Letters from the early 19th century BC indicate that political alliances involving a number of rulers did occasionally come about, but these typically failed to have lasting effects on a fragmented political landscape.<sup>6</sup> What is important is that these episodes illustrate that political leagues sometimes encompassed both banks of the Tigris, clearly showing that the river did not impede social and cultural exchanges in any significant way.<sup>7</sup>

The political manoeuvres illustrated by these letters must be understood against the background of the rising power of the kingdom of Babylon under Sumulael (1880-1845 BC). The consolidation of Babylonian influence in the northern flood plain, coupled with a renaissance of the kingdom of Ešnunna under Ipiq-Adad II, resulted in a permanent division of the land of Akkad between Ešnunna and Babylon by the second half of the 19th century BC. Few concrete facts survive that could illustrate how this process took place, but its outcome is unambiguous, with local dynasties coming to an end and the dating and oath customs of the capital cities, as well as their administrative institutions, implemented in cities that had been politically independent before.<sup>8</sup>

The line of demarcation between the Babylonian and Ešnunnean zones of influence ran somewhere north and east of Tell ed-Der but cannot always be located with accuracy. It was certainly not a fixed boundary, as is clear from the fact that control over several towns at, or near, the Tigris changed hands more than once: Apil-Sin of Babylon (1830-1813 BC) claimed to have conquered Aštabala<sup>9</sup> and to have fortified Opis on the east bank<sup>10</sup> as well as other towns along the river,<sup>11</sup> but the Babylonian hold of the Tigris banks was not destined to last. Naram-Sin of Ešnunna, in the first year of his reign<sup>12</sup> – probably around the beginning of the

<sup>6</sup> Letters from Tell ed-Der and Ešnunna, see Whiting 1987: 29-33, Wu 1994: 26-36 and Charpin 2004a: 91-100.

<sup>7</sup> In addition to the aforementioned letters, contemporary economic records from Tell ed-Der indicate the presence of emissaries from *Né-re-eb-ta-ni* (probably Nerebtum, TIM 7 160: 11') and Šatlaš (TIM 7 154: 8, see Harris 1976: 148 note 5) in town.

<sup>8</sup> Sippar was integrated into the Babylonian state under Sumulael (Charpin 2004a: 93), the towns along the lower Diyala under Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna (Charpin 2004a: 130).

<sup>9</sup> Date formula of CT 48 117 discussed by Al-Rawi 1993: 28 and Horsnell 1999: II 90.

<sup>10</sup> Date formulas of BM 22641 and BM 22713 discussed by Charpin 2004a: 115 note 484. For a discussion of the location of Opis (midway between Sippar and Tutub) see M. P. Streck, *Opis*, *RIA* 10 (2003-05) 113-116 and Frayne 2004: 114-116.

<sup>11</sup> 'Kār-Šamaš on the bank of the Tigris' in the date of CT 45 11, discussed by Al-Rawi 1993: 28 and Horsnell 1999: I 27-29 and II 84. The building of Dūr-Muti mentioned in another year name of Apil-Sin (attestations Al-Rawi 1993: 28 and add MHET 2/1 76) seems to fit this context as well; Frayne 2004: 107-108 argued for a location of this town east of the Tigris, which is not contradicted – but neither is it confirmed – by its mention in MHET 2/1 459 (E. Woestenburg, *AfO* 44-45 [1997-98] 355).

<sup>12</sup> The full form of the name of Naram-Sin's first year appears in the preamble date of source A of the Laws of Ešnunna. This date was discussed in detail by Landsberger (1968: 65-67), whose attribution to Daduša has found general acceptance (but note that Wu 1994: 76 attributed it to Ipiq-Adad II). A different identification rests on an alternative reading of the parallel adduced by Landsberger: *mu umbin-utu / ù aš-ta-ba-la / na-ra-'am'-am*<sup>1-4</sup>[N.ZU] (IM 54574, Baqir 1949b: 139 and 143 no. 5; reading also considered by Saporetti 1999: 598 IIIIVb), suggesting that this royal name should be restored at the beginning of line 3 (see Landsberger 1968: 67 note 1 for the available space). A shorter variant refers to the conquest of Aštabala but does not mention the name of the king: *mu aš-ta-ba-la / ba-dib* (IM 52975, Baqir 1949a: 55-56 and 77 no. 8 = Saporetti 1999: 598 IIIIVc; see Edzard 1957: 166). It is not possible to decide whether the date *mu umbin-utu*<sup>ki</sup> / *ba-dib* (Baqir 1949a: 74-75 and 82 no. 35 = Saporetti

reign of Sin-muballiṭ (1812-1793 BC) – reversed the Babylonian territorial gains by capturing the towns of Šupur-Šamaš and Aštabala ‘across the Tigris’, meaning on its western bank.<sup>13</sup> Control of the Tigris artery thus was an important territorial objective for both states, but the competition was permanently decided in favour of Ešnunna once Naram-Sin launched his offensive. The northern line of defence of the kingdom of Babylon came to rest at the Irnina river with its strongholds like the town of Hirītum,<sup>14</sup> and Babylon gave up its ambitions to control the Tigris bank north of that line. For the next fifty years, until the fall of Ešnunna, it was not to return north to revive its claims on the region.<sup>15</sup>

Leaving aside such occasional episodes of territorial rivalry, there is nothing to suggest that levels of social and economic interaction in the land of Akkad declined once the region had been carved up between Babylon and Ešnunna. The rich evidence for contacts with the Diyala region in archival sources from Sippar, coupled with references to Sippar and its institutions in texts from various sites in the kingdom of Ešnunna, show that intensive contacts were maintained across political borders. As major trading centres at strategic nodes of the interregional routes, Ešnunna and Sippar were tied into the network of long-distance commerce: Ešnunna was the main gateway to the highlands of the east and a stop at one of the routes from Babylonia to Assur, and Sippar (in reality two homonymous towns straddling a mayor ancient branch of the Euphrates river, known by the modern names of Abu Habbah and Tell ed-Der) was the main mercantile centre on Babylonian territory.<sup>16</sup> But it was more than a mutual interest in the flow of foreign merchandise that linked the towns across the border, because Sippar and the densely settled land at the mouth of the Diyala river were close enough (with Sippar no more than 60 km removed from Ešnunna further upstream) for their inhabitants to interact in a variety of ways.

The onomastics from Sippar shows this quite clearly because names with distinctive divine elements from the Diyala region (Tišpak<sup>17</sup> and Tutub<sup>18</sup>) appear here far more frequently than elsewhere in Babylonia.<sup>19</sup> It is important to realize that non-citizens were normally not

1999: 597 III1Va, first example; see Edzard 1957: 166) refers to this year as well, or whether it belongs to an obscure year name of Ibal-pi-El II (Baḡir and Saporetta *ibid.*, second example; this year name received further comments in Baḡir 1949b: 139, bottom of right hand column, erroneously referring to ‘formula no. 33’).

<sup>13</sup> This side of the Tigris rules out equating Šupur-Šamaš with Tulul Khattab (as proposed by Isma‘el 2007: 10).

<sup>14</sup> Vividly illustrated by ARMT 28 6; for a discussion of the strategic role of the Irnina and Hirītum see Lacambre 1997. For the location of the Irnina see Cole and Gasche 1998 and for Hirītum see Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 220 note 463.

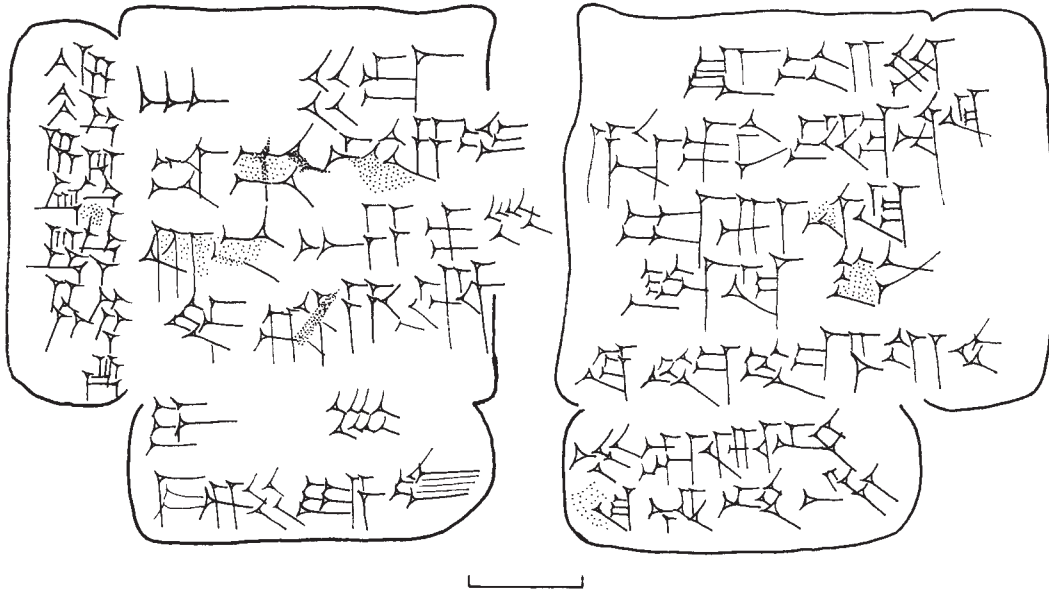
<sup>15</sup> See the passage quoted by Charpin 2004a: 115 and, with more context, by Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 228. Contrary to these authors I do not see that the passage allows to conclude that Apil-Sin had once controlled Mankisum: Hammurabi distinguishes Mankisum from Opis and the territories at the Tigris stretching for three ‘double hours’ (corresponding to one day’s march, or ca. 30 km) south of that town, and is willing to cede the former but averse to part with the latter, clearly because of historical claims based on his grandfather’s conquests.

<sup>16</sup> For commerce between Sippar and Ešnunna and regions further to the east see Leemans 1960: 85-98 and 182-183, Leemans 1968: 179-180 and Al-Rawi and Dalley 2000: 19.

<sup>17</sup> The distinction between Tišpak (MUŠ<sub>2</sub>) and Inanna (MUŠ<sub>3</sub>) in personal names is sometimes difficult. Clear Tišpak-names in Sippar texts are: *Ibni-Tišpak* (AbB 2 107: 2; 5 223: 3; CT 8 37b: 5); *Lipit-Tišpak* (F. van Koppen, *AfO* 50 [2003-04] 390 and AbB 14 26: 1); *Tišpak-gāmīl* (AbB 14 26: 14); *Tišpak-iddīnam* (VS 29 24: 13 + C 5’); *Tišpak-nāšir* (AbB 2 145: 2; BM 97681: 15) and *Warad-Tišpak* (CT 48 104: 12 + seal).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibbi-Tutub* (MHET 2/2 171: 27); *Riš-Tutub* (CT 48 104: 4); *Tutub-māgīr* (AbB 7 130: 3) and *Warad-Tutub* (VS 8 55: 1).

<sup>19</sup> Such names all but disappear from the Sippar corpus after the first decade of Samsuiluna, when urban life in the Diyala region had gone into full decline. Around the same time Tišpak-names start to appear in the vicinity of the city of Babylon, brought there by deportees and other settlers.



BM 81163 (copy van Koppen); index measures 1 cm.

identified as such<sup>20</sup> so that those Diyala people without distinctive names do not stand out, meaning that a far larger proportion of contacts with the region has to be assumed. While permanent settlers in Sippar from the Diyala region have previously been identified and discussed,<sup>21</sup> routine communications across the Tigris are revealed by the presence of letters from the Diyala region at Sippar, so far as can be deduced from their contents, personal names, or the local greeting formula – invoking Šamaš and Tišpak instead of Šamaš and Marduk, which would be typical for the kingdom of Babylon.<sup>22</sup>

The institution of the *nadītum*-devotees of Šamaš at Sippar was certainly an important factor in the dynamics of contact between Sippar and the Diyala region. In the early Old Babylonian

<sup>20</sup> Exceptions are few: Al-Rawi and Dalley *Eduḫba* 7 26: 3, and two individuals from the time of Samsuiluna: *be-el-šu-nu* (lú) èš-nun-na in undated ration lists from his early years (BM 96986: 37; BM 97021: 23), and Ana-pāni-Sîn-nadi in BM 81163 (Samsuiluna 2). In *CBTBM* 8 (1988) 253 it was observed that this text makes reference to Ešnunna, which is why it is given here in full (Bu 91-5-9, 1299; 3.5 × 3.3 × 1.8 cm; copy p. 154): (Obv) 3.0.0 še-gur<sup>2</sup> ša x (x) gi za tum<sup>3</sup> šà-bi 2.4.2 še-<gur><sup>4</sup> im-ta-ha-ar (LoE) 0.0.4 še<sup>6</sup> ší-ia-tum (Rev) ra-bi-a-num<sup>8</sup> a-na <a-na>-pa-ni-<sup>d</sup>suen-na-di<sup>9</sup> èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup> 10 id-di-in<sup>11</sup> iti bára-zag-gar u<sub>4</sub>-1-kam (UE) mu ama-ar-gi<sup>13</sup> ki-en-gi uri<sub>3</sub> (ŠEŠ) (LeE) i-na ša ta-aš-pu-ra<sup>15</sup> 30-i-qi-ša-am, '(Concerning) three kor of barley (= 900 litres) of..., from which he has received in several instalments a total of 2.4.2 kor of barley (= 860 litres); four seah of barley (= 40 litres) Siyyatum the mayor has now given to Ana-pāni-Sîn-nadi of Ešnunna. Month one, day one, the year "Restoration of Sumer and Akkad". From that about which you have instructed Sîn-iqīšam.' This receipt tablet, for the balance of a sum of barley described in the first two lines (the meaning of the second line remains unclear), was impressed with what seems a figurative seal (only traces are visible) which may have belonged to the recipient Ana-pāni-Sîn-nadi, or to the sender, if the postscript on the left edge is taken as an indication that the tablet was actually an unaddressed letter informing the addressee that his instructions have been executed.

<sup>21</sup> Harris 1976: 148-151.

<sup>22</sup> AbB 6 189 and Al-Rawi and Dalley *Eduḫba* 7 82 (with commentary Al-Rawi and Dalley 2000: 90). One writer invokes Šamaš and Tišpak (so!) when writing from the kingdom of Ešnunna (AbB 2 105) but Šamaš and Assur when in Assur (AbB 1 130), see Leemans 1968: 200.

period most *nadītum* – unmarried women who entered the household of Šamaš and his consort Aya for life – were still accommodated in a residential complex (*gagûm*) belonging to the Šamaš temple at Abu Habbah. Many well-to-do families from Babylonia and abroad<sup>23</sup> sent their daughters to this prestigious institution for religious and cultural reasons, but also with more practical considerations in mind: Šamaš devotees could act as real estate proprietors and moneylenders on behalf of their families, with their status – and that of their divine master – enhancing the legal validity of the transaction. Moreover, non-resident families would have profited from their *nadītum* relatives because their presence made communications with Sippar more reliable, plus they were well-connected to advocate the interests of their families in town.

There is a long tradition of *nadītum* of Šamaš in Sippar originating from the Diyala region. Legal texts involving Šamaš devotees with oaths by kings of Sippar but found at Tell Harmal show that the custom predates the ascendancy of Babylon and Ešnunna in the region.<sup>24</sup> The habit of dedicating young women to Šamaš continued thereafter and may have been fairly common, because references to Šamaš devotees are found at several sites within the kingdom of Ešnunna and appear as late as the reign of Šilli-Sin (1764-1762 BC).<sup>25</sup> It stands to reason that *nadītum* from the Diyala region should also feature in texts from Sippar, even if they can only be recognized when associated with attributes revealing their origin. Letters of Šamaš devotees with relatives back home often contain pertinent remarks,<sup>26</sup> with one interesting case in point of a letter from a royal servant of king Šilli-Sin of Ešnunna, asking two women, the second presumably his sister and both almost certainly *nadītum*, for assistance in the matter of an escaped slave.<sup>27</sup>

The prevalence of the phenomenon of the Šamaš *nadītum* in the realm of Ešnunna is another telling sign for the more than regional importance of the cult of Šamaš of Sippar for northern Mesopotamia.<sup>28</sup> It is also the background for the attendance at Sippar of three year names that celebrate deeds of the kings of Ešnunna. While in the past they have occasionally been seen as indications for momentary pre-eminence of the kings of Ešnunna over Sippar, it is clear that they can be read more fruitfully as evidence for religious and economic interactions across political boundaries, and present evidence for communities in the frontier zone for which little other textual evidence has come to light. In what follows two previously published documents and one new record with an Ešnunna year name will be discussed, with

<sup>23</sup> For the origin of *nadītum* devotees beyond Sippar see for example Harris 1962: 4, Charpin 1999: 107, Stol 2000: 461 and note 27, F. van Koppen, *AfO* 50 (2003-04) 384-385 and Charpin 2004a: 258.

<sup>24</sup> F. van Koppen, *RIA* 11/5-6 (2007) 489-490.

<sup>25</sup> For Tell Harmal see D. Charpin, *AfO* 44-45 (1997-98) 345-346 and F. van Koppen, *RIA* 11/5-6 (2007) 489; for Ishchali see Greengus 1979: 95, Greengus 1986: 212 and Al-Rawi and Dalley 2000: 20; for Tell Haddad see Charpin *ibid.*; for Tulul Khattab see Isma'el 2007: 8-9. The logogram *lukur* written 'UD-NI' seems typical for Diyala scribes (e.g. UCLMA 9/2826: case 5 [Greengus 1986: 237; image [http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P248329\\_e.jpg](http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P248329_e.jpg)], UCP 10/1 110: iii 12 [Greengus 1986: 236; image *idem*, P248133] and Muhamed *Edubba* 1 1: 7); elsewhere the sign resembles 'AH-ME' (e.g. OBTIV 45: 4 and Isma'el *Edubba* 9 8: 10).

<sup>26</sup> AbB 2 145, 5 223 and 14 26, where the names of the correspondents show their domicile in the Diyala region.

<sup>27</sup> AbB 7 29. The name of the sender, Ur-me-kal-lal (so seal legend; tablet: Ur-me-nu-um), contains the name of a waterway (*RGTC* 5 pp. 304-305) and is also attested in Tell Harmal (creditor in Ahmad 1964 nos. 29, 42-43, 46, 50 and 55-58, all from the time of Sin-abušu). The sender may have resided in Atašum (see line 6), a town in northern Babylonia (see DeJong Ellis *JCS* 26 [1974] 152 D: 23) where also another *nadītum* from the time of Hammurabi owned real estate (CT 45 29: 1, 11). This Atašum is most likely another place than the one of the same name mentioned in Kiš and Larsa texts (*RGTC* 3 p. 27).

<sup>28</sup> Third millennium evidence in support of this view was discussed by Myers 2007, especially 194-197.



Seal A  
Teissier 1998: 158



BM 82498 (tablet)  
(Photos F. van Koppen)

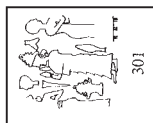
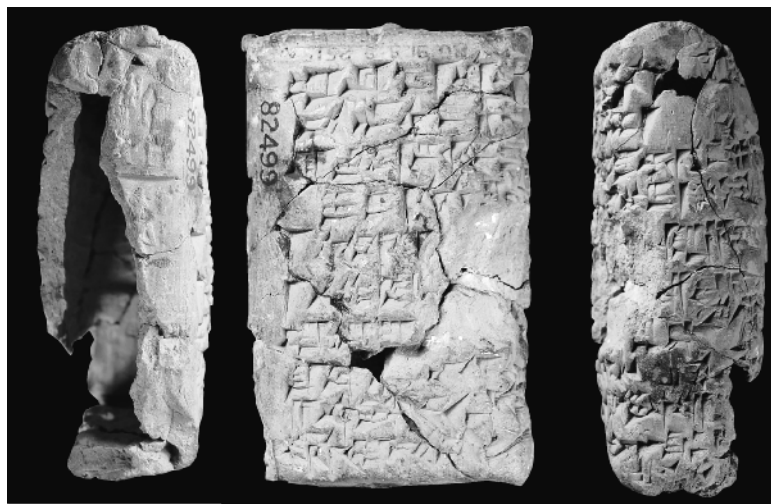


Seal A



Seal B

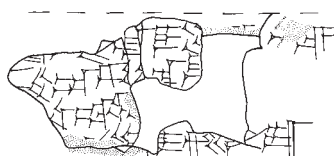
(Seal C)



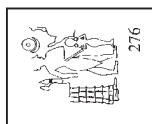
Seal B



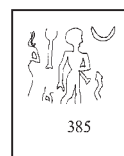
Seal B



L. 11-14 (Copy F. van Koppen)



Seal A



Seal D

BM 82499 (case)

(Photos F. van Koppen)

For seals, see Teissier 1998: 156, 158, 160, 169



connected materials. Note that a fourth specimen of what looked like an Ešnunna year name is recorded in the British Museum catalogue, but this date turned out to involve an Old Assyrian king and will be presented elsewhere.<sup>29</sup>

### 1. *Ipiq-Adad II and Suhûm*

The town of Rapiqum is situated between Suhûm and Babylonia. Its location was originally thought to be in the vicinity of modern Ramādī but an identification with Tell Anbar, near Fallūga, seems now more likely.<sup>30</sup> The town was conquered repeatedly in the course of the Old Babylonian period, events that are particularly well documented in the sources from Mari: control of the town was an important objective for kings of Babylon (Hammurabi), the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia (Samsi-Addu) as well as Ešnunna (Daduša and Ibal-pi-El II).<sup>31</sup> Its conquest by yet another king of Ešnunna, Ipiq-Adad II, should be considered on the basis of the date formula of BDHP 38, 'The year: Ipiq-Adad conquered Rapiqum' (mu *ra-pí-qum*<sup>ki</sup> li-*pí-iq*-<sup>d</sup>iškur ba-dib),<sup>32</sup> but the attribution of this date to Ipiq-Adad has been called into question. Several scholars have interpreted it as a form of the name of Hammurabi's 11th year, a formula also celebrating the conquest of Rapiqum. Wu has argued that the name Ipiq-Adad in the date was defective for the toponym Dūr-Ipiq-Adad (the scribe having omitted the sign BÀD by mistake), a town for which he detected an alternative name (Šalibi) in an example of the 11th year name of Hammurabi<sup>33</sup>. Whereas the town of Dūr-Ipiq-Adad is well attested, for example in a Mari text,<sup>34</sup> this alternative name can no longer be upheld, because the sequence 'ša-li-bi' in its sole attestation must be read á-dam-bi, 'its surroundings': mu *ra-pí-qum* ù á\*-dam\*-bi (coll. Lacambre).<sup>35</sup> The 11th year name of Hammurabi thus reads: 'The year: (he captured) Rapiqum and its surroundings.' This removes all doubts against taking the date of BDHP 38 as a year name of Ipiq-Adad II, a shorter form of which appears on a tablet from the Gidanum archive from Tell Harmal, which incidentally indicates that it should be situated in the last part of the king's reign.<sup>36</sup>

L. W. King (1900: 239 note 72) was the first to make reference to the year name that appears on BDHP 38 (referring to the text under the siglum Bu 91-5-9, 2515). In 1916 a composite copy of tablet and case was published by L. Waterman (1916: 87 no. 38), a publication from which the text is known in the literature as BDHP 38 or W 38. Working on the assumption that the document was dated to the 11th year of Hammurabi, B. Teissier (1998) included the seal impressions appearing on the case and tablet in her catalogue of seal impressions

<sup>29</sup> *CBTBM* 8 (1988) 250, BM 81085 (mu *na-ra-am*-30). Another Naram-Sin date was recorded in *CBTBM* 3 (2006) 211, BM 29232 (mu muš-huš), but will not be considered here because the tablet almost certainly does not stem from Sippar.

<sup>30</sup> See Lacambre 2006: 132 and 137 and F. Joannès, Rapiqu(m), *RIA* 11 (2007) 243.

<sup>31</sup> See Lacambre 2006 and F. Joannès, Rapiqu(m), *RIA* 11 (2007) 243-246.

<sup>32</sup> See Saporetti 1999: 362-364 II1Ea and most recently Charpin 2004a: 130 note 560.

<sup>33</sup> Wu 1994: 76, followed by Horsnell 1999: II 116 and note 32. It was A. Ungnad in his article *Datenlisten* (*RIA* 2 [1938] 179 no. 112) who first suggested to connect these date formulas.

<sup>34</sup> ARM IV 26 (= LAPO 17 534): 27: bād-i-*pí-iq*-<sup>d</sup>iškur<sup>ki</sup>, see Wu 1994: 76.

<sup>35</sup> BM 80037: I 11. For this document, Date-List F, see Horsnell 1999: I 188-192 and 258-263 and Lacambre in preparation.

<sup>36</sup> TIM 3 123: mu *ra-pí-qum*<sup>ki</sup> in-dib (Saporetti 1999: 363 II1Eb). The Gidanum archive covers the period from the end of the reign of Ipiq-Adad II until the reign of Dammu-tahaz.

from the reign of Hammurabi in the British Museum. The text concerns a loan of silver by Šîn-rîm-Urim to three individuals.<sup>37</sup> Given that its 1916 publication is not a reliable basis for the discussion, a new, collated edition of the text follows (for photographs see pp. 156-157).<sup>38</sup>

Tablet (BM 82498 = Bu 91-5-9, 2515) (6.5 × 4.1 × 2.4 cm)	Case (BM 82499 = Bu 91-5-9, 2515A) (7.9 × 4.9 × 3.3 cm)
2/3 ma-na kù-babbar	dub 2/3 ma-na kù-babbar
2 máš <sup>d</sup> utu ú-ša-a[b]	2 máš <sup>d</sup> utu ú-ša-ab
ki <sup>d</sup> suen-ri-im-ú-ri-im	ki <sup>d</sup> suen-ri-im-ú-ri-im
4 dumu é-bábbar-lu-mur	4 dumu é-bábbar-lu-mu-ur
úh <sup>ki</sup> -še-[mi]	úh <sup>ki</sup> -[še-mi dumu è]r-ra-ha-bi-it
6 dumu èr-ra-ha-[bi-it]	6 <sup>1</sup> be-le-sú-n[u dumu-munus bu-si]-ia dam <sup>1</sup> (NIN)-a-ni
<sup>1</sup> <<ú>>(partly erased) be-le-sú-nu	ú el-lu-[ra-tum m]a-ra-sú-nu
8 dumu-munus bu-si-[ia dam]- <sup>1</sup> a-ni <sup>1</sup>	8 šu-ba-an-ti-meš
ú el-lu-ra-tum / ma-ra-s[ú-nu]	a-na it-ti-šu-nu i-na kar <sup>1</sup> ia <sup>1</sup> -[...]
10 šu-ba-an-ti-meš	10 kù-babbar ú máš-bi ì-lá-e-me[š]
LoE a-na it-ti-šu-nu	LoE (uninscribed, seal impressions)
12 kù-babbar ú máš-bi	Rev [igi s]u- <sup>1</sup> pa-pu <sup>1</sup> -um dumu l[i-o]-x-ia
ì-lá-e-m[e]š	12 [igi]i ù-ab-š[í-la-š]u
Rev igi su-pa-pu-um dumu li-x-[o-i]a	[dumu <sup>d</sup> ]utu-tab-ba-we-d[i]
igi ù-ab-š[í-la-š]u dumu <sup>d</sup> utu-ta[b-b]a-[we-di]	14 [igi ia]- <sup>1</sup> ha-tu <sup>1</sup> dumu sí- <sup>1</sup> m <sup>1</sup> -ia
16 igi ia-ha-tu dumu sí-ni-ì[a]	[igi ìr-ku]-bi dumu šu-pí-ša <sup>o</sup>
igi e-la-li dumu 30-še-mi	16 [igi e-l]a-li dumu <sup>d</sup> suen-še-mi
18 igi i-in-a-bi-šu dumu 30-ga-mil	[igi i-i]n-a-bi-šu
igi ìr-ku-bi dumu šu-pí-ša-a	18 [dumu] <sup>d</sup> suen-ga-mil
20 igi ri-iš-èr-ra dumu bu-bu-um	[igi] dingir-šu-illat-sú dumu <sup>d</sup> suen-i-din-nam
igi dingir-šu-illat-sú dumu 30-i-din-nam	20 [igi]i ri-iš-èr-ra dumu bu-bu-[um]
UE igi <sup>d</sup> utu-tab-ba-šu in-sar	mu ra-pí- <sup>1</sup> qum <sup>ki</sup>
mu ra-pí-qum <sup>ki</sup>	22 <sup>1</sup> i-pí-ìq- <sup>d</sup> ìškur ba-dib
24 <sup>1</sup> i-pí-ìq- <sup>d</sup> ìškur ba-dib	UE <sup>d</sup> utu-tab-ba-šu in-sar (seal impressions)
LeE iti e-lu-nim (seal impression)	LeE (uninscribed, seal impressions)

‘2/3 mana of silver (= 40 shekels) – the interest of Šamaš he will add – Akšak-šēmi son of Erra-habit, Belessunu his wife and Elluratum their daughter have received from Šîn-rîm-Urim son of Ebabbar-lūmur. They will pay silver with its interest at the appointed term (case only adds: at the quay of Ya[bliya]).

Before Supapum son of Li...ya; before Ṭāb-šillašu son of Šîn-tappi-wēdim; before Yahatu son of Sinniya; before Elali son of Šîn-šēmi; before In-abišu son of Šîn-gāmil; before Warad-Kubi son of Šu-piša; before Rīš-Erra son of Bubum; before Išū-tillassu son of Šîn-iddinam; (tablet only: before Šamaš-tappašu *the scribe*). The year: ‘Ipiq-Adad conquered Rapiqum’. (case only: Šamaš-tappašu *wrote*.) (tablet only adds: month of *Elūnum*.)’

Sealings: the tablet carries the impression of one seal and the case of at least three. None of the seals contains a legend and their impressions are not annotated with captions. Seal A (the sole sealing of the tablet and the first sealing on the case) almost certainly belongs to the

<sup>37</sup> But note that the text was not included in the study of Old Babylonian loan contracts by Skaist 1994.

<sup>38</sup> Two detached fragments of the case are presented in copy. The transliteration has been established through independent collation of the originals by both authors.

principal debtor, Akšak-šēmi; ownership of the other seals cannot be established. Note that in the scribal conventions of Sippar the inner tablet of a case tablet is not sealed, so that the presence of a sealing on BM 82498 is another indication for its production outside of Sippar.

All sealings have been described by Teissier (1998), to which the following observations can be added:

Seal A: one impression on BM 82498: LeE; two impressions on BM 82499: LeE top, UE left; = Teissier 1998 no. 253 (left side part of the scene) + Teissier 1998 no. 276 (right side part of the scene).

Seal B: three impressions on BM 82499: LeE middle, LoE (2x); = Teissier 1998 no. 301.

(Seal C: there is space for one more sealing at the bottom of the LeE of BM 82499 but no traces are visible.)

Seal D: one impression on BM 82499: UE right; = Teissier 1998 no. 385.

T11 C9: for *ana ittišunu* see Stol 1996: 420.

T22 C23: The name of the scribe is cited by Harris 1975: 301 and a scribe named Šamaš-tappašu is also attested in MHET 2/1 43: C21 (Sabium oath) and ARN 162: 9' (Sin-muballit 19). This is almost certainly not the same person as the scribe who wrote BDHP 38 because of the atypical use of in-sar. The term appears as a title in T22 but may be interpreted as a verbal form in C23, because PN in-sar, 'PN wrote', appears elsewhere in colophons of literary texts, e.g. BIN 2 36 VI bottom and Baqir *Sumer* 2 (1947) plate after p. 30 VII bottom (from Tell Harmal).

T25: *Elēnum* is a month name common to the calendars of Ešnunna (month II) and Sippar (month IV according to Greengus 2001: 261).

Wu (1994: 76) noted that the creditor Sîn-rīm-Urim appears in another Sippar text, CT 8 42b dating to the 8th year of Sin-muballit (1805 BC). The link between the two tablets (to be explored in more detail below), confirms what is also suggested by their acquisition history (the vast majority of tablets in the Bu 91-5-9 collection come from Abu Habbah and Tell ed-Der): the tablets belonged to one and the same archive at Sippar. The link discovered by Wu allows to resolve the apparent disagreement between the year name and the provenance of the text: BDHP 38 is a tablet written in the territory of the king of Ešnunna (perhaps in Yabliya) and was brought to Sippar in antiquity.

CT 8 42b records a loan of four minas of silver by Erišti-Šamaš, a *nadītum*-devotee of Šamaš,<sup>39</sup> to her father Sîn-rīm-Urim. In exchange she receives two slaves whose salaries are worth eight shekels of silver per year. The publication in CT 8 only gives the tablet but its case has not been published. Given that its text is almost identical to that of the tablet, only its variants are noted below:

CT 8 42b (BM 92655, Bu 91-5-9, 2455)

4 ma-na kù-babbar<sup>2</sup> máš<sup>d</sup>utu ú-ša-ab<sup>3</sup> 1 sag-ir ì-lí-ma-ta-ar<sup>4</sup> 1 sag-ir<sup>d</sup>utu-na-ap-še-ra-am<sup>5</sup> 8 gín kù-babbar *i-na* mu-1-kam<sup>6</sup> ki-iš-ru-šu-nu<sup>7</sup> ki e-ri-iš-ti-<sup>d</sup>utu lukur<sup>d</sup>utu<sup>8</sup> dumu-munus<sup>d</sup>suen-ri-im-úrim<sup>ki</sup> 9 1<sup>d</sup>suen-ri-im-úrim<sup>ki</sup> 10 dumu é-bábbar-lu-<sup>o</sup>mu<sup>o</sup> 11 iti<sup>od</sup>dumu-zi šu-ba-an-ti<sup>o</sup> 12 iti<sup>od</sup>dumu-zi<sup>o</sup> 13 kù-babbar ù máš-bi ì-lá-e (LoE uninscribed) (Rev) 14 igi èr-ra-ga-mil dumu ri-ib-nu-nu 15 igi ì-lí-ma-a-hi dumu<sup>o</sup>30<sup>o</sup>-re-me-ni 16 igi ib-ni-èr-ra 17 dumu e-tel-ka-èr-ra 18 igi<sup>d</sup>utu-ti-la-sú 19 dumu in-bu-um 20 igi e-ri-ib-<sup>d</sup>suen dub-sar (blank space) 21 mu<sup>id</sup> a-a-hé-gál (UE and LeE uninscribed) Variants from case (BM 92655a, Bu 91-5-9, 2455a): 10<sup>o</sup>mu-ur<sup>o</sup>; 11<sup>o</sup>dumu-zi / kù-babbar šu-ba-an-ti<sup>o</sup>; 12<sup>o</sup>dumu-zi<sup>o</sup>; 15<sup>od</sup>suen<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Note that Harris (1964: 125) suggested that a sister of this *nadītum*, by the name of Arnabatum, appears in CT 8 43c. This reference is wrong (Arnabatum is a daughter of Siyyatum, CT 8 43c: 22-23) and no further references to Erišti-Šamaš daughter of Sîn-rīm-Urim have been published.

‘4 minas of silver (= 240 shekels) – the interest of Šamaš he will add; one slave Ili-matar, one slave Šamaš-naššeram, their wage per year is 8 shekels of silver – Sîn-rîm-Urim son of Ebabbar-lûmur has received (case adds: the silver) in the month of Dumuzi from Erišti-Šamaš, the *nadîtum* of Šamaš, daughter of Sîn-rîm-Urim. In the month of Dumuzi he will pay the silver with its interest.

Before Erra-gāmil son of Rîb-Nunu; before Ilî-ma-ahi son of Sîn-rēmēnî; before Ibni-Erra son of Etel-pi-Erra; before Šamaš-tillassu son of Inbum; before Erib-Sîn the scribe. The year: “The Aya-hegal canal” (= Sin-muballîṭ 8).’

The case carries several impressions of two seals. The first seal contains a legend box with the following text: <sup>d</sup>suen-ri-im-úrim<sup>ki</sup> / dumu é-bábbar-lu-mu-ur / ir <sup>d</sup>i-šum, ‘Sîn-rîm-Urim, son of Ebabbar-lûmur, servant of Išum’; the second seal has no legend and is not annotated.

T11-12/C11&13: *Dumuzi* is a month name common to the calendars of Samsi-Addu (month X) and Sippar (where it is, according to Greengus 2001: 263, an alternative name for month IV).

The interpretation of this text is difficult, as was noted by Skaist (1994: 224):

‘According to this text, a father borrowed four minas of silver (= 240 shekels) at interest (<sup>máš</sup> <sup>d</sup>utu), and hired out to his daughter two slaves at 8 shekels *per annum* for both of them. If we assume that <sup>máš</sup> <sup>d</sup>utu equals 20%, then the wages of the slaves, 8 shekels, come nowhere near balancing the interest on the loan, which is 48 shekels.’

Now we should look again at BDHP 38, a tablet recording an obligation in silver due to Sîn-rîm-Urim, the father of Erišti-Šamaš. Its value, 40 shekels of silver, is the exact amount missing in the hypothesis of Skaist, which suggests that the tablet may have been handed over by the father to his daughter to cover the balance of the interest due for his loan; this hypothesis explains nicely why and how the tablet ended in her archive at Sippar. Whether the tablet served as a security for future payment of the balance by Sîn-rîm-Urim, or whether he had given it to her to pay the outstanding sum (with Erišti-Šamaš obtaining the right to collect from Akšak-šēmi and his family) cannot be decided; the fact that both tablets survive in any case suggests that neither loan was ever repaid. This allows to entertain the proposition that the family of Akšak-šēmi had ended up in debt servitude to Sîn-rîm-Urim and continued to serve his daughter in Sippar after their debt note had been handed over to her. The arrangement of antichretic interest supplied by slaves in CT 8 42b can be cited in support of this idea, because it shows that Erišti-Šamaš was accustomed to employ unfree laborers supplied by her father. Finally, the age of the loan of BDHP 38 by the time when CT 8 42b was written is obviously of chronological interest, but the documents themselves do not contain any evidence pertinent to that question. We will come back to the chronology of the texts in the conclusion.

Now that we have established that BDHP 38 is indeed dated by a year name of a king of Ešnunna but has been found at Sippar, and have formulated a hypothesis why the document may have come to that town, we turn to the historical significance of the new date for the reign of Ipiq-Adad II. The reign of this king brought a phase of great expansion to the kingdom of Ešnunna, and his conquest of Rapiqum does not come as a surprise: this town was the key to Suhûm for any power coming from the east and south. Confirmation that Rapiqum has been conquered by Ipiq-Adad II can be found in a silver loan contract excavated at Šišîn and dated with the following year name of Ipiq-Adad: ‘The second year in

which Ipiq-Adad built the ditch of Yabliya.<sup>40</sup> If the king of Ešnunna was able to control Suhûm as far as Yabliya (as indicated by the event commemorated in this year name), by implication he must also have controlled Rapiqum, the critical point of passage between Ešnunna and Suhûm.

Šišîn is on the opposite river bank from the ancient town of Yabliya,<sup>41</sup> which is perhaps also the place where repayment of the loan in BDHP 38 is stipulated (see case line 9), and as such possibly the home town of Sîn-rîm-Urim.<sup>42</sup> The date of the text – in the year after the conquest of Rapiqum – may explain the unusual character of the loan, in which a man is the debtor together with his wife and daughter. Collective loans by families normally involve widows with their children, but the presence of the *pater familias* suggests that atypical circumstances lie behind this case. One wonders whether we may recognize here the effects of warfare, more specifically the capture of the conquered population for ransom; in this scenario Sîn-rîm-Urim advanced the redemption price for a family, and, once they had been released, formalized their obligation to repay him in the document that has survived.

## 2. A *nadītum* of Šamaš from Suhûm

The tablet VS 8 3 was acquired by the Berlin Museum in the late 1880s as part of a collection of tablets from Sippar (Abu Habbah).<sup>43</sup> Its date however has posed a problem for this provenance:<sup>44</sup> the year name mentions a king by the name of Naram-Sin, who has been recognized as the ruler of Ešnunna by that name. The text records the donation of a field by a father to his daughter, a *nadītum*-devotee of Šamaš, who was presumably sent to the *gagûm* at Sippar from an area under the dominion of Ešnunna.

VS 8 3 (VAT 735)

0.1.3 iku a-ša<sup>1</sup> i-na pa-ni<sup>2</sup> da ha-la a-ša<sup>3</sup> d<sup>4</sup>suen-dingir<sup>3</sup> ù da ha-la<sup>4</sup> a-ša<sup>5</sup> e-te-el-ka-d<sup>6</sup>nu-muš-<da><sup>5</sup> ša a-na be-le-sú-nu lukur<sup>6</sup> utu<sup>6</sup> ku-uk-ku-ú<sup>7</sup> ad-a-ni ú-we-du-ši-im (blank space)<sup>8</sup> igi dingir-šu-ba-ni<sup>9</sup> dumu d<sup>10</sup>suen-i-din'-nam (LoE uninscribed) (Rev)<sup>10</sup> igi a-hu-la-ap-d<sup>11</sup>suen<sup>11</sup> dumu ha-ba-ti-ia<sup>12</sup> igi lú-d<sup>13</sup>iškur-ra<sup>2</sup> lú-kuš<sup>7</sup>?<sup>13</sup> dumu d<sup>14</sup>nu-muš-da-illat-ti<sup>14</sup> igi a-hi-ša-gi-iš<sup>15</sup> dumu um-mi-d<sup>16</sup>ha-na-at<sup>16</sup> igi d<sup>17</sup>suen-ga-me-il<sup>17</sup> ù ir-ì-lí-šu<sup>18</sup> dumu-meš kù-d<sup>19</sup>nanna<sup>19</sup> igi d<sup>20</sup>suen-be-el-ì-lí dub-sar<sup>20</sup> dumu nu-úr-é-a (UE)<sup>21</sup> mu bára ša<sup>22</sup> x x (x)<sup>22</sup> na-ra-am-d<sup>23</sup>suen ba-dù

‘A field of 9 iku (= ca. 3.42 ha) at the front, adjoining the field share of Sîn-ilī and adjoining the field share of Etel-pi-Numušda, which her father Kukku has assigned to Bēlessunu, the *nadītum* of Šamaš.

Before Ilšu-bāni son of Sîn-iddinam; before Ahulap-Sîn son of Habatiya; before the *animal fatterer* Lu-Iškura son of Numušda-tillatī; before Ahī-šagiš son of Ummī-Hanat; before Sîn-gāmil and Warad-ilīšu sons of Ku-Nanna; before the scribe Sîn-bēl-ilī son of Nūr-Ea. The year: “Naram-Sin fashioned the dais of...”’

<sup>40</sup> A.K. Mohammad, *Akkadica* 123 (2002) 6 no. 1 (IM 132427): <sup>13</sup> mu 2-<kam> [š]a i-ka-am<sup>14</sup> ša ia-ab-li-ia<sup>ki</sup> (LoE) i-pi-iq-d<sup>15</sup>iškur<sup>16</sup> i-pu-šu-’i’.

<sup>41</sup> Lacambre 2006: 135.

<sup>42</sup> For another resident of Rapiqum who dedicated his daughter as Šamaš *nadītum* see Charpin 1999.

<sup>43</sup> Edited by Schorr, *UAZP* (1913) 295, no. 213. For the provenance of the Homsy tablets see F. van Koppen, *AfO* 50 (2003-04) 380-383.

<sup>44</sup> See Edzard 1957: 163-164 with the literature cited in note 878 on p. 164.

- 1: The translation of *ina pāni* follows Kohler and Ungnad, *HG IV* (1910) 50, no. 987 ('auf der Vorderseite') and Schorr, *UAZP* (1913) 295, no. 213 ('auf der Frontseite'). *zitti eqlim* (lines 2-4) indicates that Kukkū is signing over (part of) his inheritance share which he had divided with his relatives; *ina pāni* suggests that his share was at the front of the entire estate with respect to an unspecified topographical point of reference.
- 21: The year name is difficult, even though it is cast in a conventional form: the royal manufacture (ba-dù) of a dais (bára) for a deity. It is the reading of the divine name in line 21 that forms the crux. The sign sequence at the end of that line was at first read 'dNER...KI' by Ungnad (*OLZ* 12 [1909] 478-479); a reading Nergal for these signs was suggested by Schorr, *UAZP* (1913) 296, who read 'dingir<sup>1</sup>Huš.Gaz.Ki.' Subsequently Ungnad proposed 'dkiš(?)<sup>2</sup>-x-ki' (*Datenlisten, RIA* 2 [1938] 194, no. 15 [28]). Wu 1994: 86 also thought of the name of the god Nergal, and was followed in this by Saporetti in his study of the year names from the Diyala region, albeit with some reservations (Saporetti 1999: 396 II2K). A recent collation by M. Krebernik has confirmed the accuracy of the published copy, but no familiar divine name suggests itself for this sequence of three – or perhaps just two – unidentified signs.

The year name in this text is not attested in the kingdom of Ešnunna, which means that one can *a priori* not exclude that it belongs to a different ruler than Naram-Sin of Ešnunna. This is however quite unlikely if the place of origin of the record is taken into account. Some indications for where it may come from are offered by the name material of the text. The name Ummī-Hanat (line 15) invokes the goddess Hanat whose main cult centre was the town with the same name in northern Suhûm (located on the island of 'Ana').<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, the names in lines 4 and 13 refer to Numušda, a god whose best-known cult centre was the town of Kazallu (south of Babylon) but who was also worshipped in the Middle Euphrates region. M. Krebernik has called attention to the relative prominence of Numušda in texts from Mari and Tuttul,<sup>46</sup> and the god appears with some frequency in the personal names from Sippar.<sup>47</sup> These indications taken together suggest that another focal point for the cult of Numušda must be sought somewhere in the Middle Euphrates region. Suhûm is for that reason the likeliest place of origin of VS 8 3, a tablet that must have travelled to Sippar together with the beneficiary of the inheritance share it records. The king in the year name can now with confidence be identified as Naram-Sin of Ešnunna, a ruler who extended his power over Suhûm beyond the level of control that his father Ipiq-Adad II had established, and made his influence felt as far as the city of Mari.<sup>48</sup>

The people mentioned in VS 8 3 are not known from other texts but a link may exist with BDHP 49, an undated sale contract for a garden plot in which the god Numušda features prominently.<sup>49</sup> The real estate borders on property of the god (line 2), and the text contains

<sup>45</sup> Lacambre 2006: 134.

<sup>46</sup> M. Krebernik, *RIA* 9 (1998-2001) 613.

<sup>47</sup> *Etel-pi-Numušda*: BDHP 49: 4; VS 8 3: 4; *Ibbi-Numušda*: BDHP 49: 14'; *Eduḫba* 7 122: 17; CT 47 11: T30, C35; MHET 2/1 109: T27, C30; MHET 2/5 817: T17; TCL 1 196: 16' (same individual in all but first two attestations); *Iddin-Numušda*: CT 45 20(C)/BAP 48(T): 5; AbB 12 39: 6; *Numušda-tillatī*: VS 8 3: 13; *Puzur-Numušda*: CT 47 11: C35; MHET 2/1 109: C30 (puzur<sub>4</sub>-[nu-m]uš-da, coll. van Koppen) (same individual).

<sup>48</sup> Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 39-40.

<sup>49</sup> BDHP 49 (BM 80476, Bu 91-5-9, 614) (coll. van Koppen): 2 sar <sup>6</sup>g<sup>18</sup>kiri<sub>6</sub> <sup>2</sup>i-ta <sup>d</sup>nu-muš-da <sup>3</sup>ù dingir-na-ši-ir <sup>4</sup>ki e-tel-pi<sup>d</sup>nu-muš-da <sup>5</sup>pa-ak-ni ù im-dī-ištar <sup>6</sup>dumu-me <sup>d</sup>suen-re-me-ni dingir-na-ši-ir <sup>7</sup>i-ša-am a-na ši-mi-šu <sup>8</sup>ga-am-ri-im kù-babbar iš-qú-ul <sup>9</sup>li-ba-'šu tū'-ub <sup>10</sup>g<sup>18</sup>[an-na i]b-ta-bal <sup>11</sup>inim-b[i a]l-til <sup>12</sup>[a-na wa-ar-o]-at u<sub>4</sub>-mi <sup>13</sup>[o o o o] x [...] (Perhaps one line at end of Obv, x line(s) on LoE, and perhaps one line at beginning of Rev broken) <sup>1</sup>dumu x [...] <sup>2</sup>igi im-lik-<sup>d</sup>EN.Z[U o o o] x <sup>3</sup>igi nu-úr-ia dumu za-ri-qum <sup>4</sup>igi nu-úr-i-lí-šu dumu za-al-za-lum <sup>5</sup>igi im-gur-<sup>d</sup>suen dumu-a-ni <sup>6</sup>igi <sup>d</sup>suen-še-mi dumu iš-me-èr-ra <sup>7</sup>igi bur-nu-nu igi šu-<sup>d</sup>mar-tu <sup>8</sup>dumu-meš dingir-mu-tab-bil <sup>9</sup>igi sū-ka-lum igi e-te-lum <sup>10</sup>igi lú-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá <sup>11</sup>dumu-<meš> an-pí-<sup>d</sup>suen <sup>12</sup>igi ú-šur-pí-<sup>d</sup>suen <sup>13</sup>dumu ma-nu-um-ki-<sup>d</sup>suen <sup>14</sup>igi i-bi-<sup>d</sup>nu-muš-da (UE and LeE uninscribed).

two personal names with Numušda as the divine element (lines 4 and 14'). These features led F. R. Kraus to propose that BDHP 49 might come from Kazallu, but he conceded that the absence of a price statement in the text is typical for early Sippar texts.<sup>50</sup> To this we add that its acquisition history points to Sippar as well, and that it is written entirely in Akkadian, which is more common in Sippar, and elsewhere in the north, than in central Babylonia. The oldest brother of the three sellers in BDHP 49 is called Etel-pi-Numušda, which is also the name of one of the adjacent field owners in VS 8 3. If this is the same man, then both texts are likely to deal with real estate in the same locality and were presumably part of the same archive in Sippar. With no patronymic mentioned in VS 8 3, it is not possible at the moment to confirm this suggestion, but the prominence of Numušda is by itself an argument to consider BDHP 49 another Suhûm document among the tablets from Sippar.

### 3. Political refugees from Ešnunna

BM 80683 dates to the reign of Daduša of Ešnunna.<sup>51</sup> Its date formula, 'The year: the golden statue of Daduša', has the following parallels:<sup>52</sup>

- 1 mu alan kù-GI / ša da-du-ša (BM 80683)
- 2 mu 1 alan kù-GI / da-du-ša / a-na é ʿtišpak (?) / ú-še-ri-bu (IM 51332, see Baqir 1949a: 57 and 78 no. 12 = Saporetti 1999: 439 II6Ba)
- 3 [mu alan] kù-GI ù alan zabar ʿda-du-ša (IM 10676, see Baqir 1949a: 59 = Saporetti 1999: 441 II6Bd, transliteration only)
- 4 Unpublished, mentioning alan kù-GI and Daduša (FLP 2466, see DeJong Ellis 1985: 74f)
- 5 mu alan KU LÁ MA / ša da-du-ša (TIM 3 127 = Saporetti 1999: 441 II6Be)
- 6 mu alan ŠU 'ME' UD.K[A]. 'BAR' (oath by Daduša) (UCP 10/1 109 [collated Greengus 1986: 235] = Saporetti 1999: 442 IIBf; image <http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P248154.jpg>)
- 7 mu alan KU ME A (IM 51201, Baqir 1949a: 59 and 78 no. 14 = Saporetti 1999: 443 IIB6h)

The above formulas stand for the same year name but draw on different elements from one long formula which is not attested in full. The clauses on hand show that this formula commemorated Daduša bringing two statues of himself<sup>53</sup> into the temple of (probably) Tišpak, the first made of gold and the second made of bronze. No attributes appear in connection with the golden statue<sup>54</sup> but the bronze statue receives an unclear qualification.<sup>55</sup> More tablets from the

<sup>50</sup> Kraus 1952-53: 322-323 with note 18 on p. 323.

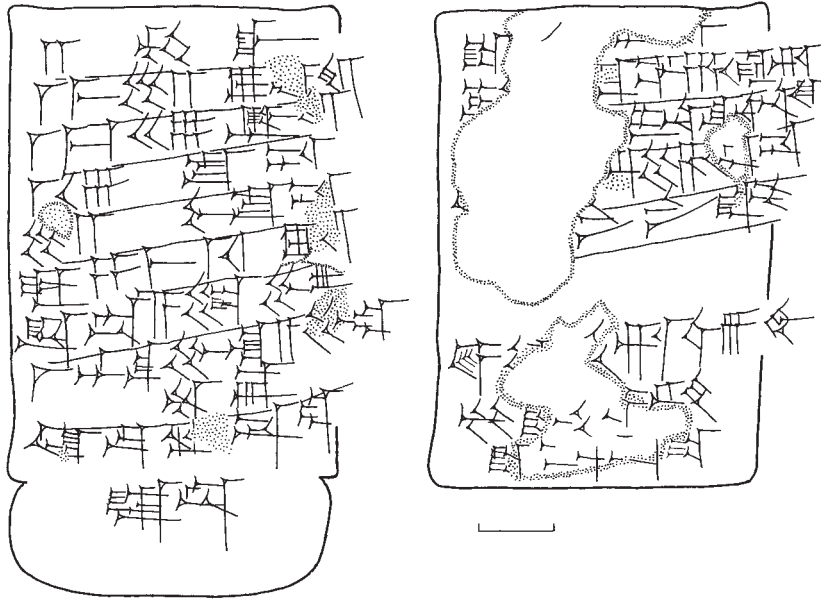
<sup>51</sup> In *CBTBM* 8 (1988) 237 the date of BM 80683 was cautiously identified as a year name of Apil-Sin (the one appearing in ninth position in the date list LIH 101, and in eighth place in the list Al-Rawi 1993: 24; discussed by Al-Rawi 1993: 27 and Horsnell 1999: II 80-81).

<sup>52</sup> This year name was discussed by Saporetti 1999: 439-444 II6B. Note that his dates II6Bb-c (p. 440) cannot belong to Daduša because the tablets bear sealings of servants of Ibal-pi-EI II (IM 52276 and IM 52416, see DeJong Ellis 1985: 74 note 58): they refer to the 8th year name of Ibal-pi-EI II. For date II6Bg (p. 442: mu alan šùd kù-GI = OBTIV 93) see note 57; for date II6Bi (p. 443: mu alan kù-GI = IM 52561) see note 56.

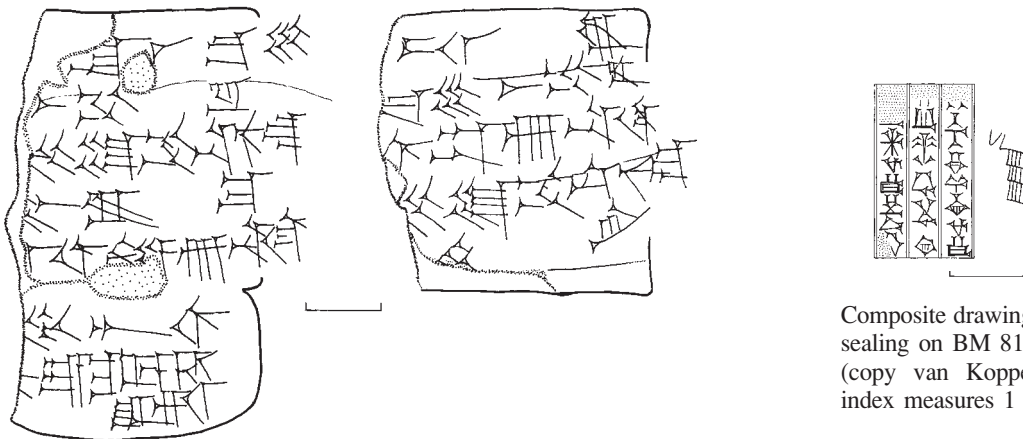
<sup>53</sup> That both statues represented the king is shown by ša in (1) and (5).

<sup>54</sup> The choice of metal material is significant: other royal statues of gold in Ešnunna year names are described as representing the king in a praying posture: alan *kāribu* in a year name of Dānum-tahaz (YOS 14 70 see De Jong Ellis 1985: 75 no. 4) and alan šùd(-dè) in the seventh year name of Ibal-pi-EI II (see note 57).

<sup>55</sup> The transliteration of three unintelligible signs in (5)-(7) follows the published copies. (5) and (6) have been interpreted as 'praying statues' (alan šùd) by Greengus 1979: 24 nos 7-8 (followed by Saporetti 1999: 441-442), but this is not supported by the copies, nor is this type of statue likely in the light of the material from which it was made (DeJong Ellis 1985: 73-74 and 1986: 774). Other royal statues of bronze in Ešnunna year names are said to depict the king as a warrior: in a smiting posture (*māhišum* see DeJong Ellis 1985: 76-77 note 68) or marching in



BM 80683 (copy van Koppen); index measures 1 cm.



BM 81641 (copy van Koppen); index measures 1 cm.

Composite drawing of sealing on BM 81641 (copy van Koppen); index measures 1 cm.



time of Daduša or thereabouts are dated with date formulas involving a 'statue of gold' (mu alan kù-GI) with no mention of a royal name or other distinguishing attributes;<sup>56</sup> others invoke a 'praying statue of gold' (mu alan šùd(-dè) kù-GI / alan kù-GI šùd-dè) without a king's name.<sup>57</sup> Since Daduša's predecessors and his successor also celebrated golden statues in their year names, it is not possible to assign any of these documents to the reign of Daduša unless archival or prosopographical indications allow a more specific date.

The tablet from Sippar with the year name of Daduša reads as follows:

BM 80683 (Bu 91-5-9, 821) (5.6 × 4.2 × 2.2 cm) (copy p. 165)

2 máš-gal  
 2 1 me 52 udu-níta-hi-a  
 1 me 89 u<sub>8</sub>-hi-a  
 4 76 sila<sub>4</sub>-gub  
 52 kir<sub>11</sub>-gub  
 6 šu-nígin 4 me 71 udu-hi-a  
 gáb-ús a-li-pu-ú  
 8 <sup>1</sup> dšū-bu-la-a-bu-um / ʾir é  
 ʾu gur-ru-du-um / aga-uš  
 Rev ša [géme]-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>t</sup>  
 dumu-[munus ia]-ku-un-ha-ra-ri  
 12 [si-lá] i-na šu-na-na<sup>ki</sup>  
 [gìr o] zi ha x du  
 14 [ù] i-lí-ra-bi  
 (blank space)  
 iti t[ám-h]i-ri u<sub>4</sub>-6-kam  
 16 mu <sup>r</sup>alan kù<sup>1</sup>-GI  
 ša <sup>r</sup>da-du<sup>1</sup>-ša  
 UE (blank)

'2 billy goats, 152 rams, 189 ewes, 76 male lambs, 52 female lambs – in total 471 heads of small cattle, the responsible herdsmen being Ali-pû, Šubula-abum the servant of the house and Gurrudum the soldier, (all of which) belonging to Amat-Šamaš daughter of Yakun-harari, assets inspected in Šunana under the responsibility of PN and Ilī-rabi. Month of *Tamhīrum*, day 6, the year: "The golden statue of Daduša".'

front of his army (alan igi-DU ka-kešda, DeJong Ellis 1985: 75-76 nos 7-10; for this interpretation see Wu 1994: 89-90). The meaning of the three signs was discussed by Baqir 1949a: 59 and DeJong Ellis 1986: 774, and should perhaps be compared with the KU-ME for Šamaš and Aya in dates of Sin-muballit (M. Stol, *BiOr* 54 [1997] 720 sub BM 17529; add VS 8 15 and BM 82311-82312), which is once said to be made of gold (*Catalogue YBC* 4 [2000] 186, YBC 8752) but does not appear with alan.

<sup>56</sup> For references see Greengus 1979: 23 note 1 and DeJong Ellis 1985: 74-75 nos 2-3. It is not clear whether this form was used for the year name of Daduša, but is was certainly a common abbreviation for the seventh year of Ibal-pi-El II, for example in Harmal date list 2: 8 (Baqir 1949a: 84). The date of UCP 10/1 59: 15 (collation Greengus 1986: 224; image <http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P248095.jpg>) was included by Greengus under mu alan kù-GI (1979: 23 no. 1) but reads in fact mu 2 alan kù-GI (with DeJong Ellis 1986: 774 and Saporetti 1999: 522 III1Ne) and thus belongs to the eighth year name of Ibal-pi-El II (compare Greengus 1979: 23 no. 3 and 26 no. 19).

<sup>57</sup> For references see Greengus 1979: 24 no. 7 and DeJong Ellis 1985: 73 no. 1. Most, if not all, attestations refer to the seventh year of Ibal-pi-El II. Examples that include the king's name are IM 53980 (Baqir 1949a: 66 and 80 no. 27 = Saporetti 1999: 512 III1Mb, but read mu alan kù-GI šùd-dè / *i-ba-al-pi-el*) and DeJong Ellis 1988: 135 no. 8 = Saporetti 1999: 513 III1Md (but read mu alan kù-GI šùd-[(dè)] / *i-ba-al-pi-el*). Contrary to the suggestions of W. Sommerfeld, *AfO* 29-30 (1983-84) 93-94 (alan šùd<sup>1</sup>) and Saporetti 1999: 515 III1Mh (alan ki-gub) a phonetic writing mu alan šu-du kù-GI can be seen in the published photograph of Harmal date list 1: 7 (Baqir 1949a: 85).

- 7: This seems to be the first attestation of gáb-ús for *kaparrum*, ‘junior shepherd’ (H. Waetzoldt, *RIA* 4 [1972-75] 421) in second millennium texts. The Sumerian term belongs to the category of frozen verbal forms for professions discussed by Selz 1993 (gáb-ús on p. 38). In the Ur III period gáb-ús is common but ka-bar is the norm in Old Babylonian texts; note that gáb-bar (variant ga-ab-ra) appears in Old Babylonian proto Lu 481 (*MSL* 12 p. 50). The title at the beginning of the line mirrors na-gada preceding personal names in other herd records (for the Diyala region see UCP 10/1 10: 14 [Greengus 1986: 102] and OECT 13 235: 4’).
- 7: The name *Ali-pú*, ‘Where is the command (of god)?’, belongs to a name type expressing complaints in the form of a question (Stamm 1939: 165). Longer forms of the same question seem to occur in the names *a-lí-pa-AN* and *a-lí-pa-<sup>d</sup>utu* (with *pa* reflecting a dialectal variant *pá’um*, see GAG § 54b and 65i). These names have been discussed repeatedly, and Stamm’s reading *a-lí-haṭ-AN* / *a-lí-haṭ-<sup>d</sup>utu* was most recently upheld by Stol (1991: 194 with literature in note 31) but is difficult to harmonize with the fact that *a-lí-pa-<sup>d</sup>utu* (CT 47 31; C50; MHET 2/2 183: T29’; same man in BE 6/1 15: 25?) varies with a writing *a-li-ip-<sup>d</sup>utu* (CT 8 13c: 17; 35b: 24; 43a: 27) for the name of the same individual.
- 12: Restored after OECT 13 235: 2’: si-lá *i-na* an-za-gâr (restoring [*pí-qí-tum*] is also possible in the available space); for *piqittum ina* GN see van Koppen 2002: 291-292. The toponym Šunana seems unattested elsewhere.
- 13: The traces suggest [*i*]-ší-ha-<sup>r</sup>ab<sup>1</sup>-du but this name seems unattested elsewhere.

This unsealed tablet gives the inventory of a herd of small cattle comprising two male goats and 469 sheep classified by gender and age, in the care of three individuals (two bearing a title), followed by the name of its owner and a damaged passage that most likely indicates where the inspection of the herd took place and who were responsible. The tablet is dated to the month of *Tamh̄irum* (the eighth month of the Ešnunna calendar), which is significant because the eighth month of the Mesopotamian calendar (October-November) was the usual time for the annual counting of large and small cattle. With ploughing completed and oxen and cows returning from the fields, this was the optimal moment in the agricultural cycle to do so,<sup>58</sup> while herds of sheep and goats may have been included to achieve a comprehensive overview of the livestock of the herd owner.<sup>59</sup> This annual count of large and small cattle in the kingdom of Babylon was known as *ZA-la-tum* / *ZA-la-at*, a designation of uncertain etymology,<sup>60</sup> which took place in the eighth or ninth month of the year.<sup>61</sup> The noun is not attested in texts from the kingdom of Ešnunna but practice in this area was similar, as is indicated by evidence for a cattle inspection during the eighth month, and the obligation of a shepherd to return the herd in his care in the same month.<sup>62</sup>

The identity of the herd owner explains why this tablet has turned up in Sippar. Amat-Šamaš, the daughter of Yakun-harari, is attested as a *nadītum*-devotee of Šamaš in the first half of the reign of Hammurabi. Her name again appears in connection with Ešnunna in the following tablet:<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Potts 1997: 73-74; for counts of large cattle during the eighth and early ninth month see Postgate 1975: 17.

<sup>59</sup> An alternative time of inspection of herds of small cattle was the spring when the animals came in for shearing and the herds were (re)assigned to shepherds, see Postgate 1975: 4.

<sup>60</sup> *CAD* S p. 94 s.v. *salātu* B and AbB 13 33 note c to translation. The orthography of AbB 2 15 may be significant for the quality of the sibilant.

<sup>61</sup> AbB 2 15 (large and small cattle, month 8); Arnaud BBVOT 1 159 (small cattle, month 9); Goetze *JCS* 2 (1948) 105-106 no. 9 (large cattle, month 8). See also AbB 10 23, AbB 13 33 and BM 80528, the last text a herding contract dated in the twelfth month of Ammiditana’s second year, with the shepherd promising to bring the sheep in his care to their owner ‘at the count and for shearing’: <sup>10</sup> u<sub>8</sub>-udu-hi-a *ša-al-ma-tim* <sup>11</sup> a-na *ZA-la-tim* ù *ba-qá-mi* <sup>12</sup> shepherd <sup>14</sup> a-na owner <sup>16</sup> *ub-[ba]-lam*.

<sup>62</sup> OECT 13 235; DeJong Ellis 1988: 136 no. 9 (with *CAD* Š/2 p. 314).

<sup>63</sup> *CBTBM* 8 (1988) 268. The text was mentioned in Harris 1975: 382 and *RGTC* 3 p. 74.

BM 81641 (Bu 91-5-9, 1773) (3.7 × 3.4 × 2.6 cm) (copy p. 165)

[*pu-ha*]-*at* 0.1.0 <<gur>> še

2 [*ù*] 1 gú sík

[*ša*] *mu-tu-am-na-nu-um*

4 [*iš*]-*pu-ru-ma*

[*i-n*]*a* UD.KIB.NUN.NA<sup>ki</sup>

LoE [<sup>1</sup>] géme-<sup>d</sup>utu

[*dumu-mu*]nus *ia-ku-un-ha-/ra-ri*

Rev [*im*]-*hu-ru*

[*ši-i*]*m* 0.1.0 še 1 gú sík

10 [*i-n*]*a* èš-nun-na<sup>ki</sup>

[<sup>1</sup>] *mu-tu-am-na-nu-um*

12 [*ma*]-*hi-ir*

(ruling)

UE (blank)

‘In exchange for one *parsiktum* (= 60 litres) of barley and one talent (= 30 kg) of wool which Mutu-Amnānum had sent and which Amat-Šamaš the daughter of Yakun-harari had received in Sippar, Mutu-Amnānum in Ešnunna is in receipt of the value of one *parsiktum* of barley (and) one talent of wool.’

A single seal was impressed on all sides of the tablet before it was inscribed. The seal shows a framed legend of three lines with an adorant deity above the legend box containing the following text: [*m*]u-*ti-am*<sup>wa</sup>-*na-nu-um* / [*du*]mu *su-mu-úh*<sup>ki</sup> / [*ir d*]a-*an-nu-um-ta-ha-az*, ‘Muti-Amnānum, son of Sumu-Akšak, servant of Dannum-tahaz.’

- 1: A restoration [*dub-pa*]-*at* would suit the verb of line 4 but is rejected in favor of *pūhat* to create a logical connection between the two transactions described in the text.
- 5: Zimbir<sup>ki</sup> is commonly written with an extra NA in early Old Babylonian texts from outside of Sippar: Babylon (BE 2/1 26: 4), Mari (ARMT 16/1 p. 30), the Diyala region (OBTIV 3: 15; UCLMA 9/2827: 7 [Greengus 1986: 238; image <http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P248330.jpg>]) and Larsa and Ur (e.g. Goetze JCS 7 [1953] 52-53 i 11-12, iv 6’; TCL 10 98A: 15; UET 5 685 *passim*; as well as a number of date formulas citing the 43th year name of Hammurabi), with a minority of examples without NA (for the Diyala region see UD.NUN.KIB<sup>ki</sup>, AbB 9 184: 11). An extra NA is unusual in texts written by Sippar scribes and seems to disappear altogether during the reign of Samsuiluna.  
seal: The orthography of /aw/ with *am*<sup>wa</sup> is singular (compare Streck 2000: 174-175 2.3).

This sealed tablet is an acknowledgment that remittance has been received in Ešnunna for commodities previously sent from that city to Sippar, completing a transaction which had begun with a dispatch of goods on credit. The tablet was written and sealed in Ešnunna and brought back to Amat-Šamaš in Sippar by an agent who had paid Mutu-Amnānum on her behalf.

The terminology used to describe the transaction is surprising: *šapārum* is rare for conveying goods in Old Babylonian, and the choice for this verb may suggest that the transaction was part of an established relationship between Mutu-Amnānum and Amat-Šamaš (a relationship contingent on a steady exchange of messages and courtesies – *šapārum* – as well as appropriate gifts). The counteract, in contrast, is defined by the concept of *šimūm*, ‘counter value, price’, which normally indicates exchanges at a low ceremonial level, but in this context might reveal a deliberate intent of the parties to balance the values of their reciprocal gifts.<sup>64</sup> Neither

<sup>64</sup> Zaccagnini 1983: 220-225.

the substance nor the amount of the counter payment is specified, but *šimūm* suggests that an amount of silver, the basic money in ancient Mesopotamia, was handed over in exchange for barley and wool.

These two tablets join CT 8 43c, a purchase contract for a slave from the 18th year of Hammurabi (1775 BC), as the only three documents in the Sippar corpus that are identifiable as having been owned by Amat-Šamaš, *nadītum* of Šamaš and daughter of Yakun-harari.<sup>65</sup> They were purchased in Baghdad in 1890 as part of a large collection of predominantly Sippar tablets and their archival context is unclear: conceivably they are stray finds from the residence of Amat-Šamaš, which was presumably located in Abu Habbah, or perhaps they have survived as part of another archive, at Abu Habbah or Tell ed-Der, if the tablets were moved in antiquity.

This Ešnunnean connection sheds some welcome light on an individual whose high status is evident in spite of the few available references. Amat-Šamaš is first mentioned in the sixth year of Hammurabi (1787 BC) when she appears as a neighbour of a disputed field plot in the vicinity of Abu Habbah. She is not included among its neighbours when the contested sale was first concluded 13 years before, in the 13th year of Sin-muballiṭ (1800 BC),<sup>66</sup> which implies that she increased her arable holdings over the years and might suggest that her arrival in Sippar should be dated between these two transactions, although this remains speculation. Amat-Šamaš does not occur any more after the 18th year of Hammurabi (the date of CT 8 43c) but the fact that field plots were identified by her name, and by that of her father, as late as the time of Ammiditana (1683-1647 BC) shows that the Sippar community still remembered them more than a century after their death.<sup>67</sup> The answer to the question why they were held in such esteem may emerge from the examination of the new texts.

It is therefore worthwhile to take a closer look at the contact of Amat-Šamaš in Ešnunna, Mutu-Amnānum the son of Sumu-Akšak. His name is unusual and appears only a few times elsewhere but none of these passages can be shown to allude to the same individual.<sup>68</sup> His

<sup>65</sup> This name, always referring to the same individual, appears in the following forms:

Period of Hammurabi:

*ia-ku-un-ha-ra-ri* CT 8 43c: 6 (coll. van Koppen); BM 80683: 11; BM 81641: 7

*ia-kum-ha-ra-ri* CT 48 3: 3

*ia-ku-un-ha-ra-ar* VS 9 172: 4

Period of Ammiditana:

*ia-ku-um-ha-ra-ar* YOS 13 12: 20

*i-ku-un-ha-ra-ri* TCL 1 151: 4

Transcribing *ia-kūn-ha-ra-ri* in CT 48 3: 3 (Streck 2000: 200 s.v. KUM) is not necessary in view of YOS 13 12: 20.

<sup>66</sup> Compare CT 48 3: 1-7 (Hammurabi 6, month 8) with Ballerini RSO 2 (1908-09) 539-541 and plate II no. 4 (Sin-muballiṭ 13). The field is said to be located *i-na ba-ma-tim i-ta* <sup>id</sup> a-a-hé-gál, which suggests a location near Abu Habbah (see Frayne and Donbaz 1984: 29-30).

<sup>67</sup> TCL 1 151 (Ammiditana year 5) is a lease of a field plot in the Nine-Iku-Field bordering on the plot of the 'daughter of Ikun-harari'. 'Amat-Šamaš *nadītum* of Šamaš daughter of Yakun-harari' furthermore appears in YOS 13 12: 20 (Ammiditana year 15) but the interpretation of this text is more complicated (see R. Harris, *JNES* 34 [1975] 294). Its heading states that the text (surviving in two duplicates) is a 'copy of a ... list of fields [...] in the Field Šūt-ša-Aya which was deposited in the house of the daughter of Šulgi' (<sup>1</sup> gaba-ri mu-da-sá ša x NI a-šā ša [...] <sup>2</sup> ša a-gār šu-ut-ša-<sup>da</sup>-a <sup>3</sup> ša i-na é dumu-munus <sup>4</sup>šul-gi in-na-d[u-ū]), this location being the tomb of a princess who was dedicated as the high priestess of Šamaš by king Šulgi of Ur (compare AbB 2 65). The list consists of two parts, first a list of fields (with summary in rev 3-7) obtained through exchange (*pūh*) by Šallurum, who bears the title *ša é* <sup>du</sup>tu (YOS 13 12: 4, rev 7; CT 8 8b: 4), followed by an enumeration of fields exchanged by Damiq-Marduk (without summary). Amat-Šamaš features among the historical owners of fields obtained by Šallurum.

<sup>68</sup> For the name see *RGTC* 3 p. 14 and Durand 1991: 91.

father Sumu-Akšak has an equally uncommon name but in this case attestations cluster in space and time, encouraging the idea that one and the same person might be under consideration. The following references need to be taken into account:

- 1 *su-mu-úh<sup>ki</sup>* *dumu mu-na-wi-rum* is the second witness to a sale of a field by king Sin-muballiṭ to a resident of Kiš: VS 13 9: 13 (tablet), Szlechter TJA plate 44 UMM H 56: 13 (case) (Sin-muballiṭ 12/07/16).
- 2 *su-mu-úh<sup>ki</sup>* *ra-bi-a-an zimbir<sup>ki</sup>* (title in CT 45 18 = MHET 2/1 100 only) acts as a judicial authority in three court cases from the archive of the family of Puzur-Akšak from Sippar (Abu Habbah): CT 2 46: 11 (Sin-muballiṭ 14); CT 2 47: 16 (not dated); CT 45 18 = MHET 2/1 100: 16 (oath by Sin-muballiṭ).
- 3 *su-mu-úh<sup>ki</sup>* is the father of Mutu-Amnānum: BM 81641 seal (undated); cf. *supra* p. 165 and 168.
- 4 *su-mu-úh<sup>ki</sup>* is the father of Zimru-hammu: Goetze *JCS* 11 (1957) 23 no. 10: 14 (date broken).
- 5 *su-mu-úh<sup>ki</sup>* is the sender of a letter found at Sippar addressed to an anonymous 'gentleman whom Marduk has kept in good health', containing an appeal on behalf of one Ibbi-Adad, a merchant from Idamaras: AbB 12 69: 3.

For our interpretation we assume that at least the first four entries refer to one and the same individual who was active in the second decade of the reign of Sin-muballiṭ and whose son Zimru-hammu pursued a career under Hammurabi. An important new piece of evidence for their biography is provided by the seal legend of his son Mutu-Amnānum, who proclaims himself to be a servant of Dānum-tahaz, the king of Ešnunna and a predecessor of Daduša; this connection allows us to consider the possibility that their family may originate in the kingdom of Ešnunna.

Sumu-Akšak is attested during a period of two to three years as a high-ranking servant of Sin-muballiṭ, first appearing in the 12th regnal year (1801 BC) at the head of a list of witnesses drawn from dignitaries of the Babylonian court who were present when a tract of arable land was sold by the king,<sup>69</sup> and subsequently in the position of chief royal administrator of Sippar, a post which he conceivably held for a brief period of time (including at least part of the 14th year of that king).<sup>70</sup> The available sources hold no evidence for his career before or after these years, but the Ešnunnean connection allows us to speculate that he may have been a disgraced political grandee from the kingdom of Ešnunna who took refuge in Babylon. Such a course of events would hardly be unique and is paralleled by the fortune of a better-known *rabiānum* of Sippar, Išar-Lim, a servant of Išme-Dagan of Ekallātum who was appointed to the post after he and his master had found asylum at the court of Hammurabi.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Stol 2002: 735 identified VS 13 9 + Szlechter TJA plate 44 UMM H 56 as a purchase of land by a private individual from the king of Babylon. The text was found at Kiš but may have been written at the royal palace in Babylon or elsewhere in the presence of the king. Its list of witnesses begins with the *šakkannakkum* as the representative of the community where the property was located, followed by high officials, identified by patronymic or title, who attended the transaction as members of the royal entourage. The order of enumeration of witnesses usually reflects their relative rank, which makes Sumu-Akšak son of Munawwirum in the position of second witness the most important court dignitary to be mentioned in the document.

<sup>70</sup> Two other *rabiānum* of Sippar are known from the second decade of Sin-muballiṭ, Awil-Ištar in year 12 (CT 48 1: 10) and Abdi-erah in year 14 (VS 9 40: 14 without title, for which see CT 8 1a: 10 and CT 8 4a: rev 14). The question whether Abu Habbah and Tell ed-Der were under the authority of a single *rabiānum* during the reign of Sin-muballiṭ, or whether each city had a separate officer, will be elaborated elsewhere; if the data is accepted to reflect a single sequence of officials (which seems the most likely explanation of the evidence), then the maximum period of office of Sumu-Akšak as *rabiānum* of Sippar was two years (taking the place of Awil-Ištar in year 12 or thereafter and giving way to Abdi-erah in the course of year 14).

<sup>71</sup> Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 198.

Išar-Lim's tenure as royal commissioner at Sippar may have been brief,<sup>72</sup> but his children settled permanently in Sippar and were to play an important part in its administration.<sup>73</sup> This family may serve as a model case for the family of Sumu-Akšak.

The date of the attestations for Sumu-Akšak may also be significant for an explanation of his career along these lines, and is of interest for the chronology of the rulers of Ešnunna. The exact dates of most kings of this royal house are still unknown, with the exception of Ipiq-Adad II whose rule of 45 years (according to the Mari Eponym Chronicle) can be linked to the Babylonian king list via the list of Assyrian eponyms: conceivably he died in the second or third year of Sin-muballiṭ (1811-1810 BC, see conclusion). The length of the reign of his son and successor Naram-Sin is unknown but no more than 10 year names can with confidence be attributed to this monarch. If this were the full length of his reign, then his death would have occurred in the 12th or 13th year of Sin-muballiṭ (1801-1800 BC), which is the time of Sumu-Akšak's sojourn in Babylonia. The question should therefore be asked whether his departure may have had something to do with the death of his royal master.

The sequence of rulers between Naram-Sin and Daduša has not yet been established with certainty. While most scholars assume that Dannum-tahaz was succeeded by Iqiš-Tišpak, there is in actual fact no evidence that can be marshalled in support of this order, or for that matter of the alternative sequence Iqiš-Tišpak – Dannum-tahaz.<sup>74</sup> The new data however invites us to consider the second option. Wu presented prosopographical evidence that requires to assign yet another ruler to the period between Naram-Sin and Daduša: Ibbi-Sin, known from two tablets bearing his accession formula that are thought to come from Ishchali.<sup>75</sup> He also called attention to the fact that Iqiš-Tišpak betrays his non-royal origin in his brick inscription and considered him a military commander who took hold of the throne at a time of political confusion.<sup>76</sup> Both facts together suggest that we have to allow for a single period (rather than two) of profound crisis at the Ešnunnean court, involving at least two successful claimants to the throne and conceivably lasting for two years, if not longer.<sup>77</sup> If this episode is assigned to the immediate aftermath of Naram-Sin's reign, then this would allow to explain why Sumu-Akšak had to take flight to Babylon – by association with the 'wrong' faction – and account for the fact that his son Mutu-Amnānum could again serve the next king: the reign of Dannum-tahaz would have brought a restoration to grace for their family.

There is no explicit evidence for a relationship between Amat-Šamaš and her father Yakunharari and the family of Sumu-Akšak, other than the fact that she and a son of the latter were engaged in a ceremonial exchange of goods (notwithstanding the 'commercial' overtones of the transaction), which is by itself significant enough given what is known about the duty of families to care for their *nadītum* relatives. She was obviously also closely connected to the

<sup>72</sup> He may or may not have held on to the post when he was appointed to a military command by Hammurabi (see Stol 2002: 737 and F. van Koppen *NABU* 2002/21).

<sup>73</sup> A study of his family will be presented elsewhere.

<sup>74</sup> A sequence Dannum-tahaz – Iqiš-Tišpak was followed by Wu 1994: 87 and Charpin 2004a: 132. Dating Iqiš-Tišpak before Ibal-pi-El I (so Saporetti 2000: 918-919) is incompatible with the Gidanum archive; for the stratigraphy of the Iqiš-Tišpak date from Ishchali see note 78.

<sup>75</sup> Wu 1994: 91 citing OBTIV 73 and UCLMA 9/2859 (Greengus 1986: 182 and 241; image <http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P248358.jpg>). The available evidence for 'Hadati' and Ibbišu-malik (Wu 1994: 92) seems insufficient to consider two more rulers in this period of time.

<sup>76</sup> Wu 1994: 92; D. Lacambre (*NABU* 1993/29) also argued for the common background of Iqiš-Tišpak.

<sup>77</sup> If two year names can indeed be assigned to Iqiš-Tišpak (so Wu 1994: 92 and Saporetti 1999: 345-348 I28); see the next note.

Ešnunnean court under Daduša, as is revealed by the fact that government officials looked after her herds, and the moment of her appearance in Sippar is consistent with the idea that she might have been dedicated to Šamaš once Sumu-Akšak and his following had arrived in Babylon. Yakun-harari was therefore quite likely one of them, and – in view of the fact that his name was remembered for at least one hundred years – certainly an important figure. More evidence is however required before anything concrete can be said about this individual.<sup>78</sup>

Sumu-Akšak stopped acting as mayor of Sippar in the 14th year of Sin-muballiṭ (1799 BC). It is impossible to tell whether he died or perhaps returned to Ešnunna along with his son Mutu-Amnānum, but another son, Zimru-hammu, is known as the buyer of a large plot of arable land near Sippar<sup>79</sup> and may have joined the service of Hammurabi of Babylon at a later date. The following attestations for this name must be considered:

- 1 *zi-im-ru-ha-am-mu* son of Sumu-Akšak buys a very large plot of land (more than 8 bur, nearly 51 ha) from the children of Eriḅam: Goetze *JCS* 11 (1957) 23 no. 10: 13 (date broken, ca. third decade of Hammurabi).<sup>80</sup>
- 2 A servant of the son of *zi-im-ra-ha-mu* acts as messenger between the Lu-Dingirmah and the *nadītum* Amat-Šamaš daughter of Mašum:<sup>81</sup> AbB 1 130: 20.
- 3 *zi-im-ra-ha-am-mu* receives Elamite messengers in Babylon: ARMT 26 368 (= LAPO 17 584): 30.
- 4 Fragmentary passage mentioning [...] *mi dumu zi-im-ra-ha-am-mu* in the context of a diplomatic mission on behalf of the king of Babylon: ARMT 26 370: 30'.
- 5 *zi-im-ri-am-mu* is the author of a fragmentary letter of unknown provenance: AbB 8 94: 4.
- 6 Passage of a 'lady' (*awiltum*) of *z[i-i]m-r[a]-h[a]-mu* should not be denied, according to a letter of Nūr-Šamaš to Ataya found at Sippar: AbB 12 162: 5.

With several important public figures in this period sharing this name,<sup>82</sup> it is not certain that all this refers to the same individual. Charpin suggested that attestations (2)-(4) could refer to one and the same member of Hammurabi's entourage in the years after the fall of Ibal-pi-El II of Ešnunna,<sup>83</sup> and the date that can be suggested for attestation (1) on the basis

<sup>78</sup> It is tempting to identify him with *ia-ku-un* [...] mentioned, probably as an enemy, in a fragmentary date formula of *[i]-qi-iš-<sup>d</sup>išpak* (Greengus 1979: 32 no. 45 and Jacobsen in Hill, Jacobsen and Delougaz 1990: 95). The archaeological context of the tablet containing the date (Ish. 34-T.87 = IM 31336, see Gentili 2004: 272) was discussed by Hill and Jacobsen (in Hill, Jacobsen and Delougaz 1990: 42), from which follows that its find spot (on the period I-II floor of courtyard 2-Q.31) does not demand that it be assigned to the early occupation of the building. It is therefore certainly possible that this year name belongs to a successor of Dannum-tahaz but it is sensible to refrain from further speculation until the tablet has been fully deciphered and published.

<sup>79</sup> Attestation (1) below. It was Harris (1975: 215) who identified the father of the buyer as the mayor of Sippar.

<sup>80</sup> The field belongs collectively to seven children of Eriḅam but is sold by five of them, four of which appear in dated sources. The temporal range of the attestations of the elder and younger siblings overlap in the third decade of Hammurabi: Sin-māgir s. Eriḅam (seller 1) in years 12-33 (or 38?): MHET 2/2 167: 10 (Ha12); CT 47 33: 8 (Ha12); MHET 2/2 181: C 8.28 (Ha15); Finkelstein AOAT 25 189 C14 (Ha33); MHET 2/2 317: 24 (Ha38? see E. Woestenburg, *AfO* 44-45 [1997-98] 353). Šamaš-iddinam s. Eriḅam (seller 2) in years 3-29: CT 47 25: 21 (Ha3); MHET 2/2 167: 10 (Ha12); MHET 2/2 181: C28 (Ha15); BE 6/1 28: 26 (Ha29). Lamassī d. Eriḅam (seller 4) in years 3-18: CT 47 25: 21 (Ha3); CT 8 43c: 21 (Ha18). Puzur-Sin s. Eriḅam (seller 5) in years 29-42: BE 6/1 28: 26 (Ha29); CT 45 25: 31 (Ha 31); VS 9 116: rev 8' (Ha35); CT 48 11: 19 (Ha42); BM 16469: 60 (Ha42).

<sup>81</sup> She is attested from Hammurabi 18 (BM 81142) until Samsuiluna 7 (BM 82210).

<sup>82</sup> Zimru-hammu the son of Sumu-Amim and servant of Samsi-Addu (OBTR 250 seal 4) = lú *Hazakannim*<sup>ki</sup> (Talon *Akkadica Supplementum* 10 77: 12' and 87: 62, see Lacambre forthcoming), or the king of Buzullūm (ARM 14 41: 15, see Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 267 § 4.1.5).

<sup>83</sup> D. Charpin, *ARMT* 26/2 (1988) 173 note d to ARMT 26 368.

of its prosopography places it in roughly the same period. This chronological proximity encourages the idea that (1)-(4) indeed relate to one and the same individual, Zimru-hammu the son of Sumu-Akšak, but no chronological frame is available for attestations (5)-(6), which might still refer to another man. The sources do not help to elucidate how a son of Sumu-Akšak came to serve the Babylonians for a second time, but it is tempting to believe that it was the next crisis in the history of Ešnunna – this time the assault by Elam and its allies in Hammurabi's 27th year (1766 BC)<sup>84</sup> – that drove the family once again to the court of the Babylonian king.

This is as far as the available evidence allows us to trace this interesting and clearly influential family. New material, or a better understanding of old texts, will no doubt allow to review some propositions, and hopefully shed light on a potential link still left unexplored: what was commemorated by the year name of Iqiš-Tišpak (note 78)?

### Conclusion

This contribution has shown the importance of the *gagûm* of Šamaš for interactions between Sippar and the realm of Ešnunna: each of three texts with year names of kings of Ešnunna arrived in Sippar thanks to the presence of *nadītum* from the region. A closer look has revealed that Šamaš devotees owned real estate (text 2) and movable property (text 3) in their places of origin, and were engaged in credit transactions with their relatives outside of Babylonia, from whom they obtained indentured labor (text 1). Young women were normally dedicated to Šamaš for the social and practical reasons considered in the introduction, but the wider context of text 3 has shown that exceptional political circumstances – in this case exile in Babylonia – can lie beneath the dedication of certain *nadītum*. Lastly it has been established that texts 1 and 2 come from the Middle Euphrates region, which makes them valuable witnesses for the scribal customs of an area that is otherwise poorly documented.

The relative chronology is the last aspect to consider. The recent publication of a new eponym list from Kültepe (KEL G, Günbattı 2008) puts the chronology of the kings of Ešnunna on a slightly firmer footing, for it seems to reveal that 33 or 32 years lie between the supposed death of Ipiq-Adad II and the accession of Ibal-pi-El II. This period is taken up by the reigns of Naram-Sin, Dammu-tahaz and Daduša, and by a period of political instability connected with the names of the rulers Iqiš-Tišpak and Ibbi-Sin, and possibly others. As long as the duration of these reigns is unknown, the chronological division of the dynasty and its synchronism with the kings of Babylon will remain moot but it may be useful to sketch the options.

KEL G presents us with the following facts:

- [a] The last mention of Ipiq-Adad II in the Mari Eponym Chronicle is associated with *limum* Inib-Ištar (B 25) and may record his death (but note that the text is broken).<sup>85</sup> This eponym appears as no. 48 in KEL G, and can be tied to the king list of Babylonia via the eponym Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur (KEL G 83), when Samsi-Addu died at the end of the eponymal year (corresponding to the first half of Hammurabi's 18th year). KEL G 83 = Hammurabi years 17-18 means KEL G 48 = Sin-muballit years 2-3.

<sup>84</sup> Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 212-214 § 3.3.6.

<sup>85</sup> For the data about Ipiq-Adad II in the Mari Eponym Chronicle see Veenhof 2003: 45 and 62.



- [b] The distance between KEL G 48 and KEL G 80-81 (*limum* Awiliya or Nimer-Sin, corresponding to Hammurabi year 15 // Ibal-pi-El II year 1)<sup>86</sup> is 33, respectively 32, years.
- [c] It should however be noted that the list of names between KEL G 69 and KEL G 79 is broken and the consecutive numbering of the eponyms over the break is still provisional; this means that more, or less, years may have to be situated in the periods defined in [a] and [b].

None of the texts discussed in this article has yielded any 'hard' chronological facts, but they allow to consider the following propositions:

- [d] A loan dated to the year 'Ipiq-Adad (II) conquered Rapiqum' was still legally binding in Sin-muballiṭ year 8;
- [e] Sin-muballiṭ year 12 coincides with, or follows, the last year of Naram-Sin;
- [f] The sequence of Ešnunna kings is: Naram-Sin – Iqiš-Tišpak (& Ibbi-Sin) – Dannum-tahaz – Daduša.

In the absence of a king list or date list, the length of the reigns of kings of Ešnunna has to be reconstructed on the basis of the number of distinct year names that can be attributed to each of them. Any result of such exercise is inexorably subjective as long as it remains unclear how many distinct year names are represented by the dating formulas that have survived, and more dates without mention of the royal name may still belong to any one of these kings. We propose the following estimate of the minimal and maximal duration of their reigns on the basis of the available facts, deliberately refraining from a detailed review of the evidence:

Naram-Sin:	9 years (possibly 10 years); <sup>87</sup>
Iqiš-Tišpak:	2 years (see notes 77-78);
Ibbi-Sin:	1 year (see note 75);
Dannum-tahaz:	4 years (possibly 5 years); <sup>88</sup>
Daduša:	8 years (possibly up to 10 years); <sup>89</sup>

It should be noted that in case of irregular successions (which may apply to any of the three kings positioned in the middle), it cannot be excluded that alternative year names were used within the same calendar year.

If we accept the death of Ipiq-Adad II in KEL G 48 and the eponym numbering of Günbatt (2008), and work with propositions [e] and [f], we get the following chronological table (with two columns to reflect the uncertainty whether Ipiq-Adad died in the first or in the second half of the eponymal year).

<sup>86</sup> Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 262.

<sup>87</sup> Charpin 1985: 58-59 distinguished eight or nine year names for Naram-Sin, whereas Wu 1994: 85-86 recognized ten year names on the basis of more evidence (but Saporetti 2002: 219-222 and 423-434 assigned 19 years to Naram-Sin). We follow Wu, but note that it cannot be excluded that his formula 'g' ('Year after Kakkulatūm'; attestations OBTIV 129 and *Edubba* 9 13) and any other year name might relate to the same year. For Naram-Sin's first year name see note 12 above.

<sup>88</sup> We follow Wu 1994: 89-90 who assigned five year names to this ruler (Saporetti 2002: 229 and 424 has six years for Dannum-tahaz), but note that his formula 'b' ('bronze statue marching before the army') and 'c' ('bronze statue in smiting posture') might be extracts from the same longer formula because both statues are destined for the temple of Tišpak, and because several Ešnunna kings commemorated the dedication of pairs of statues.

<sup>89</sup> We follow Wu (1994: 159-160) who assigned nine years to Daduša (Saporetti 2002: 233-234 and 424 has 11 years for this ruler), but note that his formula 'h' ('The year: he built the temple of Adad', only known from a Larsa tablet) might in the end not belong to Daduša, and even if it does, could be a variant for Wu's formula 'g' ('Chariot and Etemenursag of Adad'). On the contrary, the still inadequately understood year name of UCLMA 9/2828 (Greengus 1986: 180 and 239; Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 89 note 101; image <http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P248331.jpg>) could reflect a different year name than the other date formulas discussed by Wu as his formula 'e' ('Defeat of Ekallātum').

MEC	KEL G	Ešnunna	Babylon	BC	Ešnunna	Babylon	BC
B 25	48	Ipiq-Adad II 45	Sm02	1811	Ipiq-Adad II 45	Sm03	1810
B 26	49	Naram-Sin 1	Sm03	1810	Naram-Sin 1	Sm04	1809
	(...)	(7 years)		(7 years)			
	57	Naram-Sin 9	Sm11	1802	Naram-Sin 9	Sm12	1801
	58	Naram-Sin 10	Sm12	1801		Sm13	1800
	59		Sm13	1800	Iqiš-Tišpak, Ibbi-Sin, etc.	Sm14	1799
	60	Iqiš-Tišpak, Ibbi-Sin, etc.	Sm14	1799		Sm15	1798
	61		Sm15	1798	Dannum-tahaz 1	Sm16	1797
	62	Dannum-tahaz 1	Sm16	1797	Dannum-tahaz 2	Sm17	1796
	(...)	(9 years)		(9 years)			
	72	(Daduša or Dannum-tahaz)	Ha06	1787	Daduša x+1	Ha07	1786
	73	Daduša x+1	Ha07	1786	Daduša x+2	Ha08	1785
	(...)	(5 years)		(5 years)			
	79	Daduša x+7	Ha13	1780	Daduša x+8	Ha14	1779
	80	Daduša x+8	Ha14	1779	Ibal-pi-El II 1	Ha15	1778
	81	Ibal-pi-El II 1	Ha15	1778	Ibal-pi-El II 2	Ha16	1777

This reconstruction does not allow for more than 9 or 10 years for Naram-Sin (the minimal length of his reign), and shows that the current length of the reigns of Dannum-tahaz (4 or 5 years) and Daduša (8 to 10 years) is insufficient to fill the gap of 19 years following the three-year period of Naram-Sin's immediate successors until the accession of Ibal-pi-El II; either the full set of year names of these rulers has not yet been recovered, and/or more years must be assigned to the immediate successors of Naram-Sin. The period of the reign of Naram-Sin will gain an extra year for every additional name that may have to be inserted in the break of KEL G ([c]).

As to [d], in this reconstruction no less than 9 years fall between the dates of BDHP 38 and CT 8 42b (because at least two 'Ditch of Yabliya' years should follow 'Conquest of Rapiqum' before the end of the reign of Ipiq-Adad II); one wonders whether this would be too long in view of the connection detected between the texts. Fewer names in the break of KEL G ([c]) would reduce this period but this is difficult to reconcile with the Mari evidence that covers the break. Alternatively, Ipiq-Adad II may *not* have died in *limum* Inib-Ištar ([a]), which would also shorten the interval (and lengthen his already impressive reign beyond 45 years). Because it is impossible to reduce the length of the reign of Naram-Sin to under nine years (in view of the year names attributed to this king), propositions [e] and [f] will in either case have to be reconsidered.

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