

THE GENEALOGY OF THE HAMMURAPI DYNASTY

J. J. FINKELSTEIN

Yale University
New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.

I

Introduction and Text

The purpose of the present publication is to make available without undue delay a text of extraordinary significance for the history and historiography of ancient Mesopotamia. It is not the aim of this article to pursue all the lines of inquiry opened or re-opened by the information supplied in this text, as that would have entailed a greater delay and a recapitulation of material and arguments — especially concerning the "Amorite-East Canaanite Question" — that have already been well covered by others. The bearing of the new text upon such matters will therefore be left to those who have previously concerned themselves more closely with them. The remarks in the present article will be limited to points that are directly relevant to the understanding of the text itself, and to such lines of inquiry as arise out of the text in a direct way.


The text in question is BM 80328, of the "Budge Collections" of the British Museum,¹ its provenance most likely being Sippar. It is not a text of the "school" tradition, but gives every appearance of belonging to some administrative archive; as will become evident, it served a practical purpose at a specific occasion or on a number of similar occasions. It looks like a roster of personal names — those on the obverse being all unfamiliar as such — which probably accounts for

1. I am indebted to Drs. R. D. Barnett and E. Sollberger of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities and to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish this text here.

Soon after its discovery, I very happily obliged Professor Landsberger's expressed interest in its contents — his long-standing concern with the "Amorite-East Canaanite" question for the past forty or more years is well-known — by communicating the text to him privately. In the course of the ensuing correspondence, Prof. Landsberger made a number of cogent suggestions, which, with due acknowledgement, have been incorporated below. Where Landsberger's views are cited without any further reference, the source is his private communications to me.

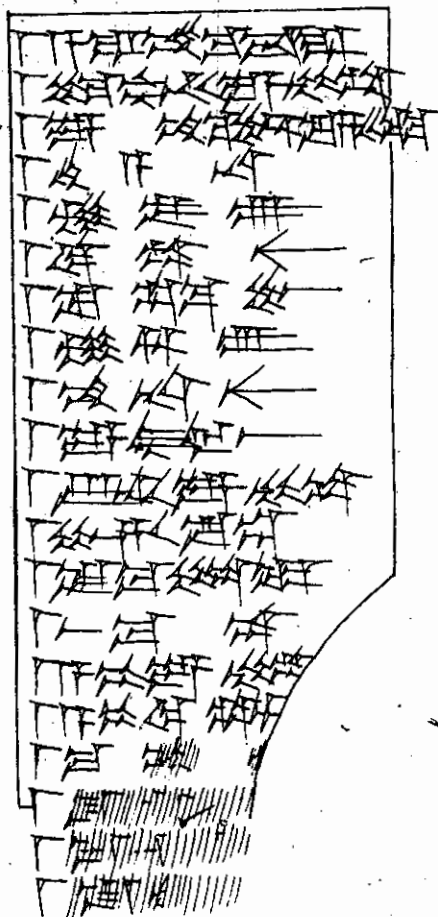
the tablet's neglect until the present. The obverse is well preserved except for the missing lower right corner of the tablet, but the surface of the lower edge and reverse is in large part worn away. Also, the script of the reverse below the ruled line is noticeably smaller than the rest, and becomes progressively cramped, a feature which, combined with the poorly preserved surface, renders the reading in some instances doubtful. A notable feature is the presence of a tick mark on the left edge opposite each of the names recorded on the obverse. The mark does not appear against those names appearing on the lower edge — this might have been prevented by considerations of space — nor against those names appearing on the reverse, where there is no apparent reason for its omission. One may wonder — in the light of what is to follow — whether the tick marking on the obverse testifies to the relative unfamiliarity of names appearing there — the mark being therefore the way in which the scribe checked off these names, perhaps from some other written source he had before him — by comparison with the names appearing on the reverse, which, as will be apparent, consist of the names of the rulers of the First Dynasty of Babylon, and were therefore a matter of the most common knowledge of the day, which the scribe could have written down from memory without any difficulty.

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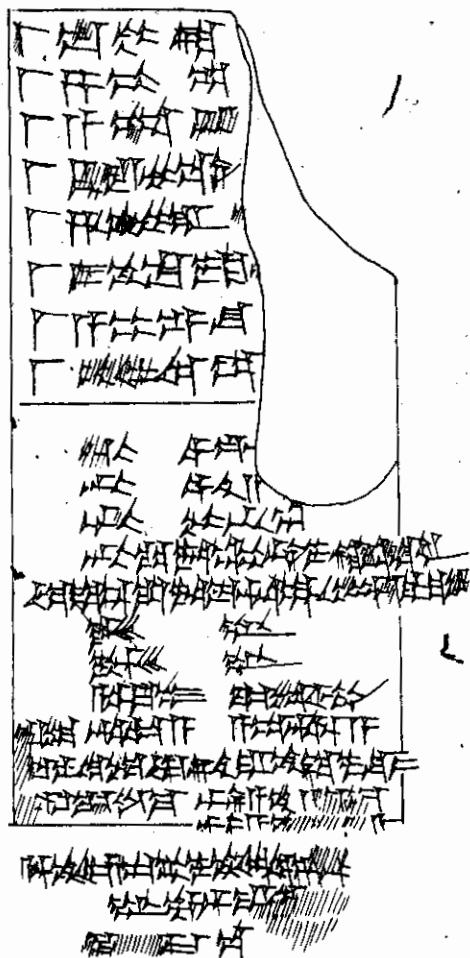
- Obv. 1. ¹A-ra-am-ma-da-ra
²Tu-ub-ti-ga-mu-ta
³Ya-am-qa-uz-zu-ha-lam-ma
⁴Uc-a-na
 5. ¹Nam-zu-ú
²Di-ta-nu
³Zu-am-ma-bu
⁴Nam-hu-ú
⁵Am-ua-nu
 10. ¹Ya-ah-ru-rum
²Ip-ti-ga-mu-ta
³Bu-ha-zu-um
⁴Su-ma-ti-
⁵Aš-ma-du

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obv.



rev.

15 ¹A-bi-ya-mu-la¹A-bi-di-ta-an¹Ma-am(?) -x[-x-x(?)]²Šu-x-ni(?) -x[-x(?)]¹Da-a^d(?)¹-x[-x-x(?)]20 ¹Su-m[u-a-bu-um]Rev: ¹Su-mu-la-[il]¹Za-bi-um¹A-pil-^dSin^{1d}Sin-mu-ba-l[il]25 ¹Ha-am-mu-ra-p[il]¹Sa-am-su-i-lu-n[a]¹A-bi-ē-su-[uh]¹Am-mi-di-ta-[na]

30 BAL ERÍN MAR.[TU]

BAL ERÍN He-a-[na]

^tBAL Gu-ti-umBAL ša i-na tup-pi an-ni-i la ša-at-ru
ù AGA.ÚŠ ša i-na da-an-na-at be-li-šu im-
qá-tu

DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL

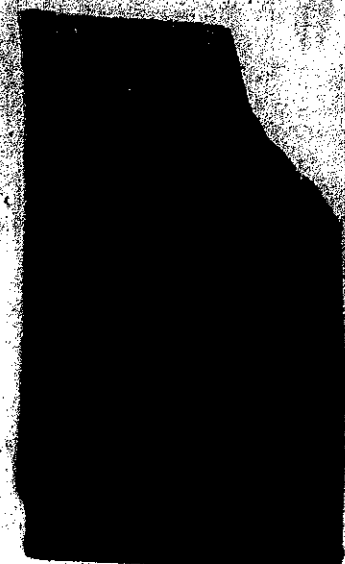
35 DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ LUGAL

a-uy-lu-tum ka-li-ši-in

iš-tu ^dUTU.È.A a-du(!) ^dUTU.ŠÚ.A
[ša¹] pa-qi-dam ù sa-hi-ra-am la i-šu-ù
al-ka-nim-ma an-ni-a-am a-[ak¹] la

40

an-ni-a-am [ši-ti¹] -a
a-na Am-mi-ša-du-qá DUMU Am-mi-di-ta-na
LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR-RA^{k1}



ku-ur-ba

Translation (lines 29 ff.): "The *palū* of the Amorites, the *p.* of the Haneans, the *p.* of Gutium, (32) the *palū* not recorded on this tablet, (33) and the soldier(s) who fell while on *perilous campaigns* for their (lit: 'his') lord, (34) princes, (35) princesses, (36-38) all "persons" from East to West who have neither *p.* nor *s.*, (39) come ye, eat this, (40) drink this, (41-43) (and) bless Ammišaduqa the son of Ammiditana, the king of Babylon."

II

The Genealogical List

While normal procedure would suggest a line-by-line commentary on the individual names, certain features in the present list which will soon become apparent make it necessary in this instance to modify our approach.

Since the list concludes with the entire series of kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon from Sumuabum to Ammiditana, the father and prede-

cessor of Ammišaduqa on whose behalf the text was composed, there is every reason to assume that the nineteen names preceding Sumuabum were at the time of writing conceived as a consecutive series of earlier kings and/or ancestors. It is less certain that they were consciously thought to have been "kings" ruling over some known and defined city or territory; it is equally possible that they were conceived of as no more than tribal sheikhs or patriarchs. As the ensuing discussion will make clear, however, the entire series must have been believed at the time of its composition to constitute a single sequence of "generations" spanning a period of many centuries, a fact which is crucial to the historiographic significance of the text as a whole.

One of the most obvious features of the first part of the list (hereinafter referred to as GHD), especially of lines 4-10, is the presence as names of individual personages of what are known from many other sources to have been names of West

Semitic or "Amorite" tribes. This in itself is not surprising. It is a phenomenon paralleled in biblical tradition about the origins of the Hebrew and Israelite tribes, and similar beliefs about their own origins are entertained by the modern bedouin tribes of the Arabian peninsula. What is perhaps most striking is the correspondence of some of these names with certain of the names in the first section of the Assyrian King List² (hereinafter AKL), which presents a sequence of seventeen "kings who dwelt in tents" (i.e. desert sheikhs). The following correspondences will be self-evident.³

| GHD line | AKL no. |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 4) <i>Heana</i> | 10) <i>Hanū</i> |
| 6) <i>Dilānu</i> | 9) <i>Didānu</i> |
| 7) <i>Zummabu</i> | 11) <i>Zu'abu</i> |

That the first two of these names are those of tribes needs no extended documentation here. A presumption might on this basis be justified, despite the absence thus far of any positive evidence for it, that Zummabu/Zu'abu very likely represents a tribal name as well. But the more interesting question that suggests itself at this point is the possibility of discovering other correspondences among the names in the two lists. Towards this end, it might be noted at the outset that the names in the first three lines of GHD are very noticeably longer than those on the lines immediately following. It will also be apparent that the interpretation of these lines as individual names in terms of some Semitic linguistic structure or vocabulary would present some unusual difficulties. The clue to the understanding of these three lines suggested itself to the present writer by a comparison of line three of GHD with line two of AKL as arranged in the SDAS text only,⁴ where we find the following pair of names:

2. References to the Assyrian King List (hereinafter AKL) are to the basic publication by Gelb of the Khorsabad (Khors.) and the Seventh Day Adventist Seminary (SDAS) texts in *JNES* XII (1954) 209 ff. with Plates XIV-XVII.

3. The systematic commentary to the individual names follows later, after the analysis of the special relation of the first three lines of GHD to the first six names of AKL.

4. The Khors. text begins with Tudiya standing alone on the first line, with the two-names-per-line arrangement commencing only with Adamu in line 2. SDAS follows the two-per-line arrangement from the start, thus presenting, in its first three lines, paired names that parallel the first three lines of GHD, though not in the same

¹*Ya-an-gi* ¹*KIT-la-mu*. If, however, in the second SAH/sfh/su_h, is read in place of KIT, one is immediately struck by the close similarity of line 3 of GHD to the two names in AKL line 2. If placed side by side they may appear thus:

GHD 3) ¹*Ya-am-qū-us-sū-ha-lam-ma*
AKL 2) ¹*Ya-an-gi* ¹*Sah(sth/su_h)-la-mu*

Such close resemblance could hardly be coincidental, and there would be every presumption in favor of viewing the two lines as containing the same name or names albeit in somewhat varying forms. That this must indeed be the case is suggested by Kraus' recent discovery⁵ that line 3 of SDAS ¹*Har-ha-ru* ¹*Man-da-ru* is echoed in a fragmentary copy of an inscription of Samsuiluna, VAS XVI 156, in which the end of line 3' reads *ha-ar-ha-ar ma-da-ra*, with the end of the previous line concluding with *a-bi a-bi-su* "his ancestor."⁶ Kraus concluded, correctly, that line 3' of this text contains nothing else but the very names in line 3 of the SDAS text of AKL in practically identical form. This, in turn, makes it almost certain that the first line of GHD ¹*A-ra-am-ma-da-ra* is itself nothing but a variant rendering of the two names of line 3 of SDAS, *Harharu* and *Mandaru*, and by the same token, of the ancestor(s) mentioned in the Samsuiluna text, *Harhar Madara*.⁷ Thus two of the first three lines of GHD seem to consist of fused forms of the names of two persons in each line, corresponding to similarly coupled names in AKL, where, in contrast, the distinctiveness of each name in either pair is still retained.

order. SDAS departs from this scheme only in the fourth line, where Em_hsu and HAR_hsu are placed together as a half-line; see the commentary to the individual lines below.

5. F. R. Kraus, "Könige, die in Zelten wohnten", *Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 28, no. 2 (1965) 123 ff., (hereinafter abbrev. Kraus, "Könige").

6. The text was first correctly identified and discussed by Meissner, *OLZ* 1921 18 f.

7. I recall that when I first showed my copy of GHD to Kraus about two years ago, he thought he detected a resemblance of its first line to line 3' of the Samsuiluna text, and he wrote me to this effect. At that time he had not yet seen the relationship of the latter to line three of AKL, and so both of us dismissed the apparent similarities as not significant. With Kraus' subsequent discovery about the Samsuiluna text and AKL relationship, his initial suspicion is finally proved to have been well founded.

Finally, to complete the circle, Landsberger offers the suggestion that line 2 of GHD, ¹Tu-ub-ti-ya-mu-ta is nothing else than a garbled and in part metathesized form of the first pair of names in AKL: ¹Tu-di-ya ¹A-da-mu. This suggestion is so immediately convincing that no further argumentation need be made in support of it. Thus it is shown that the first three lines of GHD really consist of two names each, corresponding to identical pairs of names as recorded in the first three lines of AKL (SDAS text).

Warily, but encouraged by the discoveries made thus far, one is tempted to press for comparisons beyond those already considered, and it is with somewhat less assurance that the following additional correspondences between GHD and AKL are suggested

| GHD line | AKL (SDAS) line |
|---------------|---|
| 5) Nam-zu-ú : | 4) ¹ Em-šu ¹ ĤAR-šu |
| 8) Nam-ĥu-ú : | 6) ¹ Nu-a-bu |

The grounds for suggesting these correspondences — admittedly tenuous — are as follows: Line 4 of the SDAS text is the only one in the entire first section of AKL in which three names rather than two are placed on a single line, with both ¹Em-šu and ¹ĤAR-šu cramped together inside the left half-column. The similarity of the two names and the similarity of the signs IM and ĤAR lead to the suspicion that the two names are really doublets, and that originally only one name was intended for the space. It is possible, then, that some ambiguity developed at an early stage about the name intended at this point — perhaps as a result of damage to a prototype text — which resolved itself into the two alternatives IM-šu and ĤAR-šu, both of which came to be included in the manuscript tradition in which AKL has come down to us. The SDAS text preserves the arrangement in which the scribe originally copied it, and includes both names in his total of seventeen for the entire section. If ¹Em-šu and ¹ĤAR-šu are then to be considered as variant correspondences to Namzū, or Namšū of GHD, it is the form as given in GHD that must be considered to be authentic if the name is to be equated with a well-known similarly spelled topographic name in Babylonia (see commentary to the individual lines below).

For the equation *Namhū: Nuabu* we start with the assumption that *Namhū* can represent nothing else but the well-known tribal and geographic

name of the Old Babylonian period *Namhū/Numhū(m)*. Whatever the cause for the name being written as *Namhū* in GHD rather than its more usual spelling, it is likely that the "Vorlage" of the prototype AKL text preserved the name in its more normal form. Having then begun to enter the name as ^{*}Nu-um-ĥu-ú (or the like), the scribe's eye may have wandered back to the name just previously entered, *Zu-a-bu*, and as a result dittographed *-a-bu* in error after the *nu-*, rather than the intended *-um-ĥu-ú*, the result being thereafter perpetuated in the ms. family of AKL that has come down.

If these two last equations are ultimately proved valid, then we shall have accounted for the first eleven names in GHD (counting two names in each of the first three lines) with the first eleven names in AKL. But even if these two equations are to be rejected, nine out of the eleven names in AKL are accounted for in GHD beyond any reasonable doubt. There can therefore be no question but that the genealogical traditions of the *Hammurapi* dynasty and those of the *Assyrian King List* — the first two sections of which must almost certainly be identified as the "Ahmentafel" of *Šamsi-Adad I* — are one and the same insofar as they represent a consciousness of tribal origins.

Comments to the individual names, by line number.

1. The only plausible way in which *Ĥarĥar(u)* could have turned into the *A-ra-a(m)-* of our text is to assume that the source used by the scribe for the name was a written one, in which the name began with the signs ĤAR.ĤAR, with the Sumerian phonetic value of *ar ar* or *ar aš* = Akk. *ararru(m)* "miller." The word is known from the Old Babylonian period, being found in personal names, and may have thus been understood by the writer of the present text, or, alternatively, he might have similarly etymologized the name and combined it with the second name on the line — which he apparently no longer recognized as a separate name — construing the whole perhaps as "The Miller of Madarā." The form of the name given in AKL and in the *Samsuiluna* text, *Ĥarĥar* or *Ĥarĥaru*, is almost certainly the original and correct one. Like *Madarā*, it was a tribal-geographical name to begin with.⁹

8. Cf. ŠL no. 401, 152.

9. Kraus, "Könige", 7 ff.

2. It is difficult to decide which of the two versions of the first name is a closer approximation to the "original" name, *Tudiya* of AKL, or *Tubti(ya)* of GHD. The likelihood is that both forms are garbled versions of a name that originally came down in an oral tradition. At some point in the background of the GHD tradition there must have arisen the notion that the name or element is to be construed as a West Semitic nominal form of *tānu*, as, e.g., in the names *Tōbiyah*, *Tōbit*, possibly also *Tu-bu-su* (*Pubul-šu?*).¹⁰ If *Tudiya* is to be considered closer to the original, one might think of *atūdu/dūdu* "wild ram" as lying behind the name, which would conform well with the known utilization of animal names as Semitic tribal progenitors,¹¹ and would parallel in this respect the name *Did/tānu*, (AKL no. 9 = GHD line 6) "aurochs."¹²

It is even more difficult to choose between *Yamūta* (GHD) and *Adamu* (AKL). In favor of the GHD tradition is the fact that it represents the element *yamūt-*, so distinctive in West Semitic onomastics, and recalling the *Yamūtbal* tribe or tribes, which are otherwise conspicuously absent in the GHD list, and who account otherwise for the best known of the West Semitic or "Amorite" tribal names of the Old Babylonian period. Yet in this context it is precisely the familiar ring of the name which makes its authenticity suspect; for it may represent only the attempt on the part of the scribe, either deliberately or innocently, to interpret in a form familiar and meaningful to him of a name that had come down to him in a garbled or misunderstood form. For *Tubtiyanūta*, while on the surface having the form of a possible compound Semitic personal name, in actual fact makes little sense as compared with *Abiyamūta* (line 15 of GHD), a theophorous element or substitute (*abi* "father" in place of name of a deity) + *yamūta* a WS preterite verb "to die" (?).¹³ On the other

hand, there are better grounds for viewing AKL's *Adamu* as being closer to the original name. Thus, there is the name of a deity ^d*Admum* known in the Mari records,¹⁴ and from the same sources the better known place name *Admum*, occurring as well in the Old Babylonian Itinerary from Larsa.¹⁵ Finally, *Adamu* occurs as a personal name (of a woman) in the Old Babylonian texts from Chagar Bazar.¹⁶ The weight of the present evidence would therefore seem to favor the version of the two names as given in AKL, yet a hard and fast preference is not yet warranted.

3. Assuming that the line conceals two names rather than one, on the basis of AKL, the first issue to be settled is the division between the two names, since the forms given in both sources arouse the suspicion that whatever the original names might have been, they were totally misunderstood and garbled in both sources. On the ground that AKL seems on the whole to preserve a more reliable tradition about these early ancestral names — if only by virtue of its retention of six separate names in the first three lines where GHD had already misconstrued them as three names — I would prefer to divide the GHD line on the basis of the parallel pair of AKL thus: *Yam/nqu* and *Sah/Sih/Suh(a)lama*. Landsberger suggests, however, the division of the line as *Yang/qis* and *Ahlamu*, which, on first blush, appears to ring true in that it would give us the name *Ahlamu* in the guise of a tribal ancestor in the Old Babylonian period in addition to its known occurrences in this period as a personal and place name.¹⁷ But here once again, it is precisely because of its obviousness that I should discount this solution. Among all the tribal names preserved in both AKL and GHD, none increased in influence and familiarity in Babylonia and Assyria from the second millennium B.C. onward as much as the *Ahlamu*, which,

e.g. *Lim*, are linked in such compound personal names, and not just *Ba'al*, whose own mythology justified the interpretation of the verb as "to die." Whatever the merits in this argument; the orthography of the names containing the same verbal element, e.g., lines 3, 11, 15 of our text, *Abi(y)amūti* and *Yā-a-mu-tim* (Edzard, ZSB 41), will not support the explanation of the verb as a form of *mdl* (*yamud(d)*).

14. For references, see Huffmon, op. cit. 158 f.

15. Cf. Goetze, *JCS* VII 61 f., 67 f.; Hallo, *JCS* XVIII 86 f.

16. Gadd, *Iraq* IV 35.

17. Cf. Huffmon, op. cit. 147 f.

10. Tallqvist, *APN* 237.

11. Cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* 190 ff., 218 ff. Note also the number of animal names among the rulers of the first Kish dynasty "after the Flood" in the Sumerian King List, Jacobsen *AS* XI 17 ff., 78 ff.

12. Kraus, op. cit. 4, suggests another explanation of *Tudiya*, as "meines Weges."

13. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, 229, has called into question the heretofore generally accepted view that the verbal element in these names is *mdt* "to die" on the ground that other deities,

towards the end of that millennium, became the most active of the West Semitic tribes, the information about their activities deriving chiefly from Assyrian sources. It would be most curious, therefore, that of all the tribal names so carefully and accurately preserved as ancestral "kings" in AKL, the name of the Ahlamu would have been misunderstood and garbled. Thus I feel constrained to operate with two names, *Yamk/qu* or *Yang/qi* and *Sah(a)lma/u; Sihlama/u; Sublama/u*. They are admittedly difficult and obscure, and are probably corruptions of original names that remain elusive. For the first, however, there seems to be an analogue as a place-name, *Ya-en-k/qi-û^{ki}*, occurring in an Old Babylonian text together with other topographic names having a West Semitic ring such as **Ya-st-lum^{ki}* and **Ya-k/qi-du-um^{ki}*.¹⁸ For the second name no reasonable analogue has thus far suggested itself.

4. On the Hanean tribes, see in general, Kupper, *Nomades* etc. Ch. I; Edzard, *ZZB* 37 f. For the contrasting forms of the name here and in AKL, cf. KAV 183 obv. ii-iii 9 *kurHé-a-na^{ki}; kurHa-ni-i*.

5. Known as a geographic name already in the Old Akkadian period, (*šūt*) *Nam-zé-em^{ki}* "those (skins) from N." Better known from the Old Babylonian period, *Nam-zu-um^{ki}* (vicinity of Sippar?) in VAB V 18 I; also in the form *NIM.ZÉ-um^{ki}*, NBC 382 (*JCS* X 20 No. 7):5 = *Ne-em-ze-em* (gen.), NBC 184 (ibid. 21 No. 8):9. It occurs also in the Cadastre text of Ur-riammu, as Professor Hallo kindly reminds me, cf. Kraus, *ZA* 51 47 rev. iii 20 ff. as *Nam-zi-um*, note also ibid. p. 59 and Hallo, *JCS* XVIII 67 no. 4.

6. It is generally agreed that the name, a familiar component of the personal names within the family of the First Dynasty of Babylon as well as of other princely West Semitic families of the "Second Intermediate" period, is identical with *Didānu* of AKL no. 9. Despite the explanation of the name as the WS word for "aurochs" it is nevertheless equated with the earlier form *Tidānum*, ultimately going back to *Tidnum* or *Tednum* of pre-Sargonic inscriptions of Lagash, and thus probably the earliest WS tribal name known to Mesopotamia, which, as MSL III 114 I. 209 indicates, was synonymous with the name Amurru itself.¹⁹

7. It was suggested by Poebel²⁰ that the name, as it appears in AKL, is really the same as that of the first king of First Dynasty of Babylon, Sumuabum. Kraus²¹ has already expressed some doubt of this equation on the basis of the writing of *zu* in this name as against *su*, which is the sign invariably used in writing the name of Sumuabum. The present writing would on the one hand tend to reinforce that doubt, but the spelling with *-mm-* could be interpreted to the opposite effect. Despite the *-mm-*, one might consider the possibility that the first syllable represents the relative pronoun *zū* (Sem. *ḏū*) "he of, the one of . . .", as in *Zu-i-la*.²²

8. Undoubtedly to be identified with the well known tribal geographical name spelled variously as *Numhā*, *Numhim*, *Numhaya*, etc. in the Mari archives²³ and elsewhere in the Old Babylonian period, and as a component of royal personal names during the same age.²⁴ As a tribe, its concentration was in southeastern Mesopotamia, in close association with the tribe of Yamūtbal, and significant sections must have retained their tribal character down to the time of Amnišaduqa, as they figure by name in the king's edict.²⁵

9-10. The basic tribal group or confederation of the Sippar region, and almost certainly the tribal group to which the Hammurapi dynasty belonged in a direct and conscious way. The two tribes must have become politically leagued together at a very early period, and one should imagine that large-scale intermarriage among their members was the factor that gave rise to the filiation expressed in the two present lines, and that it was not the other way around.²⁶ In the latter half of the Old Babylonian period, their individual identities were still maintained, reflected in the two districts of Sippar named after each of them, *Sippar-Amnānim* and *Sippar-Yahrurum*. Significant elements of the tribes were nevertheless far-ranging. In the Mari records they appear in the

assembled by Römer, *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit* 87 f.

20. *JNES* I 252 ff.

21. "Könige" 5.

22. Bauer, *Ostkanaanäer* 58; Huffmon, op. cit. 121 f.

23. *ARMT* XV 131.

24. Edzard, *ZZB* 106; Kupper, *Nomades*, etc. 216 f.

25. Kraus, *SD* V 41 §§18'-19'.

26. For approximately analogous situations among Arab tribes to the Amnān-Yahrur, cf. Smith, op. cit. 2 f., 9 f.

18. *BRM* IV 53 23, 38; 47.

19. Previous literature and citations now conveniently

Upper Euphrates region, loosely allied with the *Ubrabū* and the *Yarihū*, the four together being identified by the Mari administration as the *Yamīna* ("Southern") tribes.²⁷ The *Amnānu* — or *Awnānu*, as the name was probably first pronounced and occasionally still written — probably constituted one of the strongest of the Amorite tribes who contributed to the downfall of the Ur III Dynasty in the south of Sumer, for by the middle of the Isin Dynasty period, elements of this tribe assumed the dominant political role in Uruk, where Šinkāšid founded an independent dynasty, styling himself "King of Amnānum" in addition to taking some of the more traditional elements of Mesopotamian royal titulature. This royal family of Uruk was allied to the Hammurapi dynasty at least by marriage, and the recently discovered correspondence of the dynasty in Uruk proves that the Amnān-Yahrur tribal confederation of Northern Babylonia was periodically called upon by the Uruk rulers for military support.²⁸

11. I know of no analogue to the first element of this name. Were the preterite of *petū* intended, one might have expected the writing *ip-te* rather than *ip-ti*. It is possibly to be connected with *iptu(m)* "yield, tribute" (*CAD* 7 171a; *AHW* 385r).

12. The interpretation of this name is rendered especially difficult by virtue of the orthographic ambiguity that affects each of its three component radicals. If a West Semitic derivation is to be looked for, one might be reminded of the Biblical *Bō'az*, but the etymology of that name is itself obscure.²⁹

13. Perhaps to be explained as *sū(m)* + *malika* "the 'Name' of the king", and thus similar in construction to the name *Sūmuabum*. Note the writing with *su* in this instance and in line 20, in contrast to *zu* in line 7.

14. May be understood as "The Guilt (*ašm*) of *A(d)du*." For the first component as a WS deity, cf. Noth, *IPN* 122 ff. For parallels to the orthography note *Ni-iq-mā-du* (*Niqm[e]-Addu*) in the seal legend *RA* XIII (1916) 8. Similarly

27. *Nomades*, 49 ff.; *ZBB* 106 f.

28. On this dynasty and its relations with the earlier kings of the Hammurapi Dynasty, see now Falkenstein, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 2 (1963) 22 ff., 56 ff. with Pls. 10-11.

29. Cf. Noth, *IPN* 228; *Encyclopedia Biblica of Jerusalem* II 282 f.

¹*Ya-ap-ti-ḫa-da*, *EA* 335: 9 vs. the parallel ¹*Ya-ap-ti-iḫ-IM*, *ibid.* 228 (*VAS* XI 164): 45.

15. Probably identical with the name *Aḫi-amu-ti*, Legrain, *Le Temps des Rois d'Ur*, no. 267: 10, 12.³⁰

16-19. It is especially unfortunate that the text is damaged at this point, for it is virtually certain that the names contained in these lines were authentic personages, and were probably the more immediate ancestors of *Sumuabum*. No. 16 recalls the name [x - x]-*di-ta-an*, *VAS* II 26 vii 13, which Edzard (*ZBB* 128) restores as [Su-m]a-*di-ta-an*; on grounds which I fail to see, other than the existence of the name *Sūmudīana*³¹ of the Old Babylonian dynasty of Kish. What does seem to be clear is that in the "Litany" text just cited, a number of names are interpolated among the names of the Isin kings, who do not belong to that dynasty, but these names, which follow upon that of *Būr-Sin* (line 11), are only fragmentarily preserved. Line 15 thus offers a name, [x - x]-*ši-AN*, which Edzard (*loc. cit.*) tentatively equates with *Yamsī-ēl*, a local ruler of *Maraq*, of the Old Babylonian period.³² Line 17 of the same text

30. On the components of this name see note 13 above.

31. See lastly *JCS* XIV 83 ff. Whether [A-b]i-*di-ta-an* can be restored in the litany text will depend on a collation of the traces of the sign read by Edzard as MA.

32. It would of course be tempting to restore that line with one of the names in line 17 or 18 of our text, but the traces seem to be against it. As Zimmerli already noted in his preface to *VAS* II p. V, the text is not of southern origin, despite its concern in this section with Isin kings, but of northern provenance, either from Sippar or Babylon. Indeed, careful scrutiny of all the lines in the 'Litany' text following the mention of *Būr-Sin* (line 11) suggests that C. Frank's assumption (*Kullieder* 64 f.) that the names of the later Isin kings are to be restored in subsequent lines, e.g., *Sinmagir* in line 25 and *Damiqilišu* in line 27, is very shaky. It is already established that the names in lines 13, 15, and 17 cannot be those of Isin kings. Of the names in lines 19, 21, and 23 not a single trace is preserved so that Frank also leaves these spaces blank in his transliteration. But in line 25 there seems to be a vertical wedge at the end of the broken sign, and this would not support any form of writing of the name of *Sin-māgir*, i.e., either *-gi-ir*, or *-gir* (PES). It would on the other hand fit perfectly with the restoration of the name *Apil-Sin* (vertical at end being that of *zu*, if the name was written with ^{EN}*zu*)! Similarly, in line 27 the sign-trace after the break does not easily support a reading of *-i* for the restoration [*Du-mi-iq-i*]-*li-šu*, but would equally well, if not better, support the restoration of the name as [*Sin-mu-b*]-*li-i*! In short, whatever one might consider the names in lines 13 and 15 to

contained a name, the last two signs of which are all that remain, which can be read as *-di-a*, *-ki-a*, or *-na-a*. There is the documented, but still unplaced date-formula of a tablet presumed to come from Isin, NBC 6493, which reads: *m u Da-ad-ba-na-a l u g a l - e b a - u g a*.³³ There is no gap among the kings of Isin where a king thus named could be accommodated, and in any event, the notice in a date-formula of the death of a king almost always denotes a ruler of a dynasty other than the one which has utilized the event as a year-date. Dadbanaya, then, could not have been a king of Isin, even if, as is indeed possible, the formula mentioning him proves to be an Isin date. Thus it becomes possible to restore this personage's name in line 17 of the 'Litany' text just cited: *{Da-ad-ba-n}a-a*. If we turn now to line 19 of our own text, it will be observed that the first sign is almost certainly *Da-*, and the traces of the second sign would at least not preclude the reading *ad*.^{33a} With all due reserve, therefore, it might be suggested that line 19 of GHD be restored as: *'Da-ad-ba'-[na-a]*. Chronologically, this would accord well with the evidence of the 'Litany'-text, since Būr-Sin was almost the exact contemporary of Sumuabum, having ascended the throne just one year earlier than the latter. If

be, there is better ground, both in terms of allotted lines and the few remaining traces of the names in them, for restoring in this text all the early kings of the Babylonian dynasty, than those of the Isin Dynasty, as demonstrated by this arrangement:

(a) Between Būr-Sin (line 11) and Damiq-ilišu, seven additional royal Isin names must be accounted for, if we accept the restoration of the name of Damiq-ilišu in line 27. But it is already proven that in lines 13, 15, and 17 the names are definitely *not* those of Isin kings, which leaves just lines 19, 21, and 23 open for royal names. Even granting that line 25 contains the name of Sin-māgir, three of the six remaining Isin kings, from Lipit-Enlil through Urduguga, would have remained unaccounted for even if the text were complete.

(b) If we now attempt to restore the missing names with those of Babylonian Dynasty kings we find the following result: line 19, Sumuabum; line 21, Sumula'el; line 23, Zabium; line 25, ApilSin; line 27, Sin-muballit. This fits the lacunae perfectly and harmonizes well with the suggested restoration for line 17: Dadbanaya, to be made immediately below. The preference of the series of Babylonian kings to those of the Isin Dynasty (after Būr-Sin) for filling out the lacunae in VAS II 26 vii 17 ff. is unavoidable.

33. Only the date of the tablet was published, Stephens, RA 33 25 no. 17.

33a. See the Postscript at the end of this article. ↙

the Dadbanaya year-date is to be assigned to the Isin dynasty, it might represent either the last year of Ur-Ninurta or the first year of Būr-Sin. Should the restoration of line 19 of our text prove justified, it will have shed the first light on the antecedents of Sumuabum, who have thus far remained a mystery. It remains to be determined whether in fact Dadbanaya was Sumuabum's father as well as his predecessor, just as the seat of his kingship remains unknown. Very likely related to these questions also is the cause for the omission of Sumuabum in the inscriptions of the Hammurapi Dynasty where filiations are given tracing the direct lineage of the dynasty only to Sumula'el.³⁴ Was the latter himself a younger son of Dadbanaya?

III

The Four *palū*'s (lines 29-32)

The section of the text from lines 29-32 contains the key to a correct understanding of the sequence of names that precede it, and to some of the basic historiographical notions prevailing in Babylonia at the time the text was written. To begin with, it seems fairly clear that the series of four *palū*'s must in some way be brought into relationship with the preceding genealogy. In order to determine the exact form of this relationship, a number of vital and interrelated questions must now be posed:

1) Did the writer and his contemporaries conceive of the genealogy as a single chronological sequence, or could there have been some elements of simultaneity in it? In other words, regardless of the fairly obvious fact that a significant proportion of the names in the sequence are those of eponymous tribal ancestors, whose worth as historical figures is thus to be largely discounted or otherwise explained,³⁵ is it safe to assume that Ammisaduqa himself believed the list to represent a true record of his lineage with respect possibly to some real or theoretical "throne"? The indications are that this question must be answered in the affirmative, since (a) there is no obvious reason to deny a sequential character to the series

34. On this fact see ZBB 122.

35. For the parallel situation among the bedouin tribes of Arabia, see W. R. Smith, op. cit. Ch. I, and E. Bräunlich, *Islamica* 6 (1934) 94. See also Dostal in *L'Antica Società Beduina* (Univ. di Roma, Studi Semitici 2, 1959) p. 13 and Henninger, *ibid.* 80 f.

of names preceding Sumuabum inasmuch as the series continues past Sumuabum in the known chronological sequence down to Ammiditana without any indication on the tablet that the nature of the earlier portion is different from the latter; and (b) there is the parallel of AKL, whose author unmistakably construed *his* series of early "kings" as a chronological sequence, with the sole qualification that the second section of his list must be read in ascending rather than the expected descending order since, as Landsberger has shown,³⁶ this section constituted originally an "Ahnentafel" of Šamši-Adad I. For the time being, however, it would be prudent to avoid a further inference, based on the AKL analogy, that GHD was conceived by Ammisaduqa as a single family lineage; at most, it might be suggested that he thought of the series of names as representing a series of vague "incumbencies", leaving aside the further question as to what these predecessors were incumbents of, or where, prior to Sumuabum.

2) Turning now more directly to the nature of the relationship of the *palū*'s to the list of names, it may be asked:

a) Are the *palū*'s parallel to the list or are they independent of it?

b) If they are parallel, do they constitute in themselves a single chronological sequence?

c) If they do constitute such a sequence, in what order is it to be construed?

3) What does *bala* denote in the context of this series?

As previously stated, these questions are interrelated, so that the solution offered for one of them will inevitably affect the answers given for the others. It must also be acknowledged here that, in approaching these questions, certain assumptions will be made for which the present writer can offer no proof. The latter have to do primarily with parallels that provide the closest analogues to the particular form in which the term *bala* is used in this text. Thus, the notion of a *BAL MAR.TU* is known from the second tablet of the series ^{mul}APIN, lines 18 ff.:

BAL^e Šul-gi

BAL^e MAR.TUⁱ

BAL^e Kaš-ši-i³⁷

36. *JCS* 8 (1954) 33 f., where he notes that Jacobsen had earlier reached the same conclusion independently.

37. Cited in *MVAEG* 26 (1921) 40. Miss F. Reimer kindly called my attention to the duplicate published in *STT* II 352 obv. 18' ff.

It is of course hazardous to attempt to explain what is meant precisely by the *palū*'s in that text, but the one that might most readily come to mind would be something like "age, era, etc." Thus, the *palē* Šulgi might denote not just the reign of that king, but of the entire Third Dynasty of Ur, identified by the longest lived and most successful monarch of that dynasty. What is denoted by the last, *palē* Kašši, is self-evident. It is the second of these, the *palē* Amurri, which is of greatest interest to us, however, and it seems to the present writer inevitable that line 29 of our text, *BAL ERIN MAR.[TU]* should be brought into some form of relation to it. In view of its position between the *BAL Šulgi* and the *BAL Kašši* it can hardly be doubted that it represents the middle part of a chronological sequence. As such it might well denote the entire period between the downfall of the Ur III Dynasty and the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon, an age characterized by a series of larger or smaller kingdoms for the most part organized or dominated by families of "Amorite" or West-Semitic origin. Using the *BAL Šulgi* as a more exact analogy, however, it might well be supposed that the *palē* Amurri denoted more specifically the First Dynasty of Babylon, which, alone among all the "Amorite" dynasties established in Mesopotamia during the "Second Intermediate" period, was able under Hammurapi to achieve the unification of all of Sumer, Akkad, the Upper Euphrates, and Assyria, thereby establishing its renown in the later historiographical and literary tradition. In other words, even if the *palē* Amurri may be thought to embrace the entire "period" between the Ur III period and that of the Kassites, the *name* for this "age" might have denoted more strictly just the Amorite dynasty *par excellence*, that of Babylon.³⁸ Assuming that there is at least some overlapping of definition between this *palē* Amurri and the *BAL ERIN MAR.TU* of our text, it must be supposed that line 29 denotes that portion of the genealogy beginning *at least* with Sumuabum and extending to the end, i.e., to Ammiditana. Having already decided in our answer to question (1) that GHD is to be construed as a single chronological sequence, it now follows that the remaining question must be answered thus:

2a) The sequence of *bala*'s parallels the genealogical list. Furthermore, the fourth of these

38. So also Gelb, *JCS* 15 (1961) 32.

b a l a 's is described as the one "whose names are not recorded on this tablet", which plainly implies that the previous three b a l a 's are thus recorded, and these can only be the names included in the genealogical list.

b) These b a l a 's do constitute a chronological sequence.

c) Since the BAL ERIN MAR.TU is the first of the sequence, it is clear that the series must be read in ascending order of age, for which the analogous phenomenon is provided by the "Ahnentafel" of Samsi-Adad I. Thus an initial group of the names in GHD must in some manner correspond to or be co-ordinated with the BAL Gutium, a central group with the BAL ERIN Heana, and a final group, starting at least as early as Sumuabum, with the BAL ERIN MAR.TU. How more precisely the genealogical list is to be divided so as to correspond with the three *palū*'s will be the subject of analysis later on in the present section.

3) It has already been suggested above that b a l a : *palū* in the present context must mean something like "age, era, etc." It should be acknowledged that such a generalized sense for the term — apart from the possible usage in the MULAPIN text — has thus far not been adequately established. Since the term as used here is so crucial to the interpretation of the text as a whole, it seems necessary to analyze the point more closely. The term itself is one of the most pregnant in the Sumero-Akkadian lexicon in its semantic and connotative reach, and consequently in its varied denotational applications. It is not proposed to enter here into any exhaustive study of the term, which merits an independent investigation. We may trace, however, a single line of its development from the basic concrete meaning of the word BALA, which is a "spindle" and therefore an object whose primary characteristic is that it "turns" or "rotates". From this characteristic action the word came early to denote a turn of office, a limited period of time (e.g., a year), and the incumbency of certain specific offices, religious as well as political.³⁹ The line of semantic development directly pertinent to the present discussion is that which extends the denotational realm of the term to cover the notion of "reign", i.e., the "turn" of a monarch upon his throne, which will inexorably be terminated

by his death or overthrow, to be succeeded by the *palū* of his successor, just as he had, upon his own accession, inaugurated a *palū* that took over from that of his predecessor. The natural extension of this notion is to that of "dynasty", which is but a series of consecutive incumbencies of a throne, as discrete from any other such series. But the notion of "dynasty" as used in the cuneiform sources is peculiar to certain Mesopotamian notions about past political history, and does not include the idea of a "dynastic line", i.e., a "royal line" based on some real or imagined degree of consanguinity such as is familiar to us from the monarchic traditions of Europe. These connotations of "dynasty" were in fact alien to Mesopotamian thought.

The Mesopotamian conception of a "dynasty" as denoted by b a l a : *palū* is best exemplified by the Sumerian King List (abbrev. SKL), and more particularly in a series of mss. of SKL which Jacobsen identified as a single "family", two of which, S and P₃, he ascribed to the middle period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, the third, the K ms., being Late Assyrian.⁴⁰ This group of mss. is distinguished by its use of the formulas b a l a - k ú r to indicate dynastic change, i.e., the "transfer of the Kingship" from one city to the city which succeeded it as, so to speak, "host" to the Kingship, and b a l a (city) A^{ki} "the dynasty of (city) A." The controlling element in the concept is the enjoyment of the b a l a of the Kingship by a specific city for a longer or shorter period of time; it is of no consequence whether or not the sequence of the kings of one such single b a l a constituted members of a single family who followed each other in some acceptable form of succession (e.g., father-son or brother-brother). This is proved by (a) the numerous instances in which SKL omits any filiation indication between a sequence of two or more kings of a "dynasty" where, in other sequences, such indications are provided, and (b) the applicability of the term b a l a in those instances, such as the "Dynasty" of Hamazi, or the "Third Dynasty" of Uruk, where the "Dynasty" consisted of but a single king.⁴¹ Most telling of all, however, is the

40. Jacobsen, *AS* 11 (1939) 7 ff.; on the family relationship of these mss. see *ibid.* p. 48. Note also Kraus, *ZA* N.F. 16 (1952) 55.

41. As it happens, the exemplars of this ms family, being all fragmentary texts, no longer preserve the sections exemplifying this phenomenon, but it cannot be

39. On the b a l a in such usages, see Hallo, *JCS* 14 (1960) 89 ff. where the earlier literature is cited in detail.

peculiar feature of SKL, as demonstrated by Jacobsen, that even in certain instances where a sequence of rulers in a particular city constituted a dynasty in the modern, or consanguinal sense, as known from other sources, the author of SKL arbitrarily wrenched that sequence apart, artificially creating thereby two discontinuous *bala*'s out of a single line of successive rulers.⁴² This the author of SKL did, not out of ignorance of the historical record in such instances — the opposite must be presumed to have been the case — but because his own peculiar understanding of the *bala*, with which the whole idea of "The Kingship" is inextricably bound up, was of paramount importance, and the fact that in a single city an orderly succession of kings of one family occupied the throne was at best subservient to the controlling notion.

Thus the *bala*, even in the sense approximating that of "dynasty", retains the fundamental notion of a "turn", i.e., the *segment of time* during which a particular city theoretically held sway by virtue of the fact that for that stretch of time, the "Kingship" was believed to have "resided" there. In the view of the author of SKL, some cities, e.g., Ur and Uruk, enjoyed a number of such turns, others but a single turn, and still others — cities, such as Lagash, which were known to have enjoyed wide political influence — were omitted from the scheme altogether. Even in this larger sense, therefore, the *bala* is a segment of time, a period of incumbency. The way to render *bala: palū* in any given context will depend wholly on the frame of reference of that context.

What then is the frame of reference of lines 29–32 — more exactly, lines 29–31 — of the present text? This would appear to be the "history" of the West Semitic tribes, the extension of their political influence through time and space, es-

doubted that the formulas characterizing this group of mss. were used throughout SKL. Note too Jacobsen's view that the author of the prototype "Y" ms. of this text family "subjected his text of the King List to a thorough grammatical revision" (ibid. 66 f. This revision was by no means limited to the introduction of the formulas discussed here.). May one conclude from this evidence that the extension of the old notion of the *bala* to include such ideas as "dynasty, reign" and then "age, era" was original with the newly settled "Amorite" peoples after the Ur III period?

42. Jacobsen, *ibid.* 158 ff.

pecially in the settled lands of the riverine plain, all of which is coordinated with the historical traditions of Sumer and Akkad that had already been assimilated by dynasties of West Semitic origin long since acculturated in Mesopotamia, and articulated by means of a concept, the *bala: palū*, which was adapted from this older tradition in order to "historicize", as it were, their native genealogical traditions. The time span involved appears to begin with the Gutian domination, ca. 2200 B.C., continuing to Amisaduqa's own time, i.e., about 550 years.^{42a}

The three successive *palū*'s of *Gutium*, (ERIN) *Heana*, and (ERIN) *Amurrū* are thus to be understood as three successive "ages" or "eras" or "dynasties" (in the sense used in SKL) into which West Semitic tribal history can be divided from the vantage point of Amisaduqa, or that of the Hammurapi dynasty in general. The first of these is almost certainly to be synchronized in some way with the Gutian domination in Mesopotamia after the heyday of the Akkad Dynasty, and it might therefore be supposed that the *palū* "which is not recorded on this tablet" (line 32) embraces the Akkad period and all preceding ages. Such a catch-all *palū* was felt necessary by virtue of the fact that the existence of these periods in Mesopotamian history was known to the scholars and scribes of the Old Babylonian period, but no individual names were known to the "genealogists" of the court of the Hammurapi Dynasty preceding that of Arammadara: Harbaru; Mandaru, although such ancestors were believed to have lived. It is not to be imagined that Arammadara, and a number of his successors, were thought by the Hammurapi family to have been Gutians. Rather the first group of names in GH12 were conceived as having lived or "ruled" at a time when the Gutians were thought to have been the overlords in the area where these early West Semitic ancestors were believed to have flourished. Evidence in support of this interpretation can be marshalled from other sources.

1. It has long been recognized that in Southern Mesopotamia the impact of the Gutian "Dynasty", as given in SKL, is barely to be detected.⁴³

42a. The absolute dates used here follow the "median" chronology for convenience only.

43. For the most recent statement see Gadd, *CAH I* (1963) ch. xix p. 43: "The Gutian kings have left . . . very little mark on Babylonian history, and very few monu-

It is in fact recognized that this "dynasty", credited by SKL with a rule of 91 years,⁴⁴ in actual fact overlapped with the Akkad Dynasty to a great extent, leaving a gap between the last known ruler of the Akkad Dynasty, Šu-Turul (ca. 2168-2154), and Utubegal, the vanquisher of the last Gutian ruler (Tiriqan), c. 2120, of little more than thirty years. Nevertheless, the impact of the "interregnum" was so strongly felt in Mesopotamian historiographic and related literary traditions that it cannot be dismissed; the Gutians must have established themselves strongly *some-where* in the Mesopotamian plain if not in Sumer and Akkad proper. There is sufficient evidence that this region was the Upper Euphrates. In other words, there is reason to believe that the Gutian "horde", like the Kassites about 500 years after them, established their main stronghold in the Upper Euphrates region, intermingling with Western Semitic tribes, who constituted at the time the dominant ethnic strain in the area, but who at that time were incapable of achieving or retaining political control of their own territory.

a) The inscriptions of Šu-turul. Though few in number, these derive from the regions of Kish and Eshnunna,⁴⁵ and indicate that this last king of the Akkad Dynasty, whom SKL credits with a reign of fifteen years, retained within his control the immediate precincts of Akkad and at least part of the Diyala region. Had the Gutian invasion of the Mesopotamian plain come directly from their homeland in the Zagros mountains in the East against the heartland of the Akkad empire one might have expected the Eshnunna region to be among the first to have fallen under their control, and this appears to have *not* been the case.⁴⁶ The evidence from Ashur, where there was a violent destruction of the Ishtar temple of the Akkad period,⁴⁷ suggests that the descent of the

Gutians into the plain took a westerly direction well to the north of Akkad proper, with Ashur lying in their direct path westwards.

b) During the Ur III period a high official in Mari bore the patently Gutian name of Lasgan (*Lâ-âs-ga-an*), the son of *Âs-ma-ri-en*.⁴⁸

c) A striking number of apparently Gutian names are found in the Old Babylonian tablets from Chagar Bazar,⁴⁹ including the name *Tê-ri-ka-an*, which — as already recognized by Gadd⁵⁰ — is identical with the name of the ill-fated last ruler of the Gutian dynasty. Other names in these texts with the ending *-kan* are *A-ak-ka-an* and *Me-ek-ka-an*. That these ought to be equally understood as Gutian is suggested by the name *Bi-ga-an*, found in an unpublished Old Babylonian tablet from the vicinity of Sippar or Kish, who is identified in the text as ŠA ERIN *Gu-tu-û*.⁵¹ This suggests the additional possibility that a group of names in the same texts with the ending *-AN* ought not to be read as Semitic (i.e., AN = il), but also as Gutian. This group would then include the names *Bi-ma-an*, *I-gi-ma-an*, *Ki-im-ma-an*, *Hu-ḥa-an*, *Ri-ḥa-an*, *U-ḥa-an*, *Zi-il-ḥa-an*, *Ik-ki-za-an*, *Ka-an-za-an*, *Ka-zî-iz-za-an*, and *Tu-uk-ki-za-an*.⁵²

d) It is significant, in this respect, that the names of the Gutian dynasts after the first ten, as given in SKL, suddenly turn Semitic, some even West Semitic. Of the seven Gutian kings beginning with Kurum (11th in the series) who bear Semitic names, Ibrānum is definitely West Semitic, and this is possibly true of his two predecessors, La'arābum⁵³ and Irārum. Noteworthy too is

48. Syria 19 (1938) pp. 16-17 with pl. VII, and Parrot, *Mission Arch. de Mari II*, Part 3, pp. 14-16. On the text of the inscrip. on cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 34 (1937) 175 f.; 35 (1938) 106, quoting Landsberger's view that the name is Gutian, on which see also *TTKB III* (1939) 217.

49. Published by Gadd, *Iraq* 4 (1937) 178 ff.; 7 (1940) 22 ff.

50. apud Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 35 106.

51. MLC 1518, unpublished, of the late Old Babylonian period (date lost). In this text, Bigan is the owner of a field that is being let, located *libbi irsîl pî nârim*^{ki} (confluence on the Diyala and the Tigris?) bordering on the field of the god Zababa. This Gutian, still recognized as a member of an "ethnic minority", was nevertheless not a "stranger."

52. Gadd, *Iraq* 7 34 f.

53. For this reading of the name see Gelb, *MAD* 2, 24; other individuals with the same name, *MAD* 3 156; cf. Jacobsen, op.cit. 119 n. 305.

ments of their feeble and sporadic rule." Note also Speiser, *JAOs* 72 (1952) 98: "The stay of the Gutians in Southern Mesopotamia left no discernible trace." Cf. too, Jacobsen, op. cit. 204 ff.

44. A variant text tradition makes the total 124 years, but Jacobsen, *ibid.* 120 f. n. 309, considers this to be erroneous.

45. Bibliography in Gelb, *MAD* 2, 205.

46. Gadd, op. cit., senses the difficulty in squaring the prevailing views about the Gutian "supremacy" with the known facts about Šu-turul's area of control.

47. Andrae, *Die archaischen Ishtar-Tempel in Assur* (*WVDOG* 39) 95 f., and Gadd, op. cit.

the application of the ethnicon *Gu-tu-ú* (or the like) to certain individuals in Old Babylonian texts whose names are either Akkadian or "Amorite." This is true of one Warad-Sîn, who is associated with a Marduk-nāšir, a PA.MAR.TU, in one of the Rīm-anum texts dealing with war prisoners (⁴*asīru*),⁵⁴ and in the Mari records, one Yašim-Addu is described as a *Qū-tu-ú*.⁵⁵ This suggests that in the post-Gutian periods, especially after the West Semitic tribes had come into their own politically, the Gutians still dwelling among them gradually merged with the ethnic majority culturally, and even in onomastics, but remaining identifiably distinct from that majority.

On the basis of the foregoing, one might even be tempted to construct the bare outline of the Gutian "interregnum" in Mesopotamian history along the following lines: Possibly as early as Narām-Sîn, the Gutians began to drift into the Mesopotamian plain, the main force of their concentration being in the North and Northwest rather than in Sumer and Akkad. There they constituted, from the first isolated ethnic islands in a Semitic sea, but gradually became "Akkadianized" or even "Amoritized" culturally and linguistically, yet retaining for a long time some consciousness of their ethnic distinctiveness, very much like the Amorite First Dynasty of Babylon more than a century later. At the time of the Gutian incursions, however, the West Semitic tribes were not politically united or otherwise effectively organized, enabling the Gutian minority to seize political control of the region. An analogue is available also for this situation in the history of the second millennium when, around 1500 B.C., a small Indo-Aryan element was able to seize and maintain political control over much the same territory at a time when it was largely populated by Hurrians. In seizing this control, however, the Gutians came into conflict with the kings of the Akkad dynasty

whose power in the region was first established by Sargon, and whose later dynasts claimed at least nominal authority in the Upper Euphrates territories. Thus the battle of Šarkališarri in the Jebel Bišri (*Ba-sa-ar* KUR)⁵⁶ might represent the first military encounters between the Akkad Dynasty and the Gutian "invaders" whose relatively small numbers might have been augmented by contingents of Western Semites from the surrounding population. Within a short period of time — probably still during the reign of Šarkališarri — the Upper Euphrates territories fell under Gutian control. It is from that moment on that the Gutian kings — whether their nominal seat remained in the Eastern mountains or was situated somewhere in the Upper Euphrates region — probably began to style themselves with the traditional titulature of Mesopotamian monarchs, which was ultimately to win for them the attention and recognition of the scholarly tradition of the South as exemplified in the Sumerian King List. In time, Gutian ambitions extended to the cultural heartland, to Sumer and Akkad proper, for which, however, their limited numbers and extended lines of communication could not long sustain them. Their authority in the South, if it was established at all, was limited in extent and could not have exceeded a duration of thirty years, after which they were decisively defeated and driven out of Sumer by the armies assembled under Utuḫegal of Uruk. How far the fall of Akkad is to be *historically* credited to Gutian activity, as later legend and literary tradition have pictured it, remains doubtful. It is more likely that in the latter part of the Gutian "interregnum", at the time the Gutians were extending their reach down the Euphrates towards Sumer and Akkad, the West Semitic tribes in the Upper Euphrates — the erstwhile subjects of their Gutian overlords — took advantage, so to speak, of their masters' embroilment in the South and asserted their own political independence. This may have been accomplished under the leadership of Hanean tribes or clans, if any credence is to be placed in the traditions of the Hanean family of Šamsi-Adad as handed down in AKL, and of the Amorite family of Hammurapi, as handed down in GHD. This event might have been the direct consequence of the defeat of the Gutians in Sumer, or might have

54. Published by Scheil, *RT* 20 (1898), and called to my attention by Prof. Landsberger, who notes, together with it, "a strange 'distribution' between PA.MAR.TU and Gutium" ZI.GA in CT 28 45 obv. 2' fl.: . . . ZI.GA *Gu-(ti-um)*, . . . ZI.GA PA.MAR.TU, . . . ZI' ERIN-man-da. For the Scheil text, cf. Feigin, *AJSL* 50 (1934) 223 f. See also Falkenstein, *Baghdader Mitt.* 2 38 f., who suggests a North Babylonian base for Rīm-Anum's authority.

55. *ARM* V 2 rev. 11'. In the light of the information being reviewed here, there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the gentilic as Kupper suggests, *Nomades* 95.

56. *ibid.* 149 f.; Gelb, *JCS* 15 29 f.

occurred even earlier; on either assumption there could not have been any appreciable difference in time, and the effect would have been the same. The Amorites, or West Semites, thereby took firm control of the Western and Upper Euphrates, an area in which the later Third Dynasty of Ur exerted only nominal authority.⁵⁷ In the traditions of the leading clans of these peoples, a *BAL Šulgi*, or similar *palū* denoting the Ur III period, was not recognized; for from that moment on the *palū*'s they established were their own. Indeed, within three generations of the founding of the Ur III dynasty, under Šu-Sin, a "Chinese Wall"⁵⁸ had to be constructed somewhere to the Northwest (of Ur?) in a vain effort to keep the Amorites from further investing the Sumerian heartland, as the downfall of the Ur Dynasty only a generation later was to prove.

2. The evidence from chronology. (a) In the Nineveh inscription of Šamši-Adad I,⁵⁹ the king states that seven "generations" (*da-a-ru*, i 18) elapsed between the *šulum* of Akkad and his own rule, which presumably means his accession as king of Assyria (ca. 1813) reckoned from the year in which he seized the town of Nurrugu. (d. i 14 ff.). There are, to be sure, serious difficulties that impair the utilization of this datum for precise chronological purposes. It cannot yet be determined whether *šulum* ought to be understood in this context approximately as *par* Agade, i.e., the zenith of Akkadian power, or in some sense approximating "decline", or "end", which might better fit the context. Nor can a precise definition be given for *dāru* in terms of years; it almost certainly denotes a normal or ideal human life-span, and has been variously interpreted as denoting sixty or seventy years.⁶⁰ The datum is nevertheless important for us in that it proves that there

already existed for Šamši-Adad — as there existed for later Assyrian kings down to Esarhaddon⁶¹ — perfectly reliable documents as well as traditions that afforded him a substantially accurate conception of elapsed time extending back some four to five hundred years.

b) Bearing in mind that the genealogies of AKL (the first two sections) and GHD must, at least in part, cover the period of time subsumed under Šamši-Adad's seven *dāru*, it might be profitable to scrutinize the numbers of these ancestors in the two documents. In AKL this number is twenty-six, omitting Ušpia and Apiašal in the second section, as they are already accounted for in the first section. In GHD, counting six names in the first three lines rather than three, the number of predecessors of Hammurapi is twenty-seven. Since we know that the latter survived Šamši-Adad by some thirty years, the agreement of the two genealogies in this respect is almost uncanny. Since so many of the names in either list are patently artificial or eponymous, this apparent agreement might be dismissed as chance coincidence. Before doing so, however, it would be wise to consider the time-span covered respectively by the two genealogies to the same point. The first task will be to assign a mean average for the incumbencies, regarding which neither of the two sources offers any testimony. For the period in question there exists, however, parallel information from other sources, as follows:

Fifteen kings of Isin (2017-1794); average: fifteen years

Fourteen kings of Larsa (2025-1763); average: nineteen years

Five kings of Babylon (pre-Hammurapi) (1894-1793); average: twenty years.

These, it should be remembered, are mean averages for relatively stable "dynasties" in settled areas, even though the age covered has been called a 'Zwischenzeit.' But the first section of AKL and the earlier part of GHD — and in AKL explicitly — refer not to normal, stable, and territorially defined kingdoms, but to a congeries of bedouin tribes, clans, and their sheikhs. With almost perpetual wars, raids, and a more hazardous

57. On the *sakkanakku*'s of Mari and their relationships to the later kings of the Ur III Dynasty, see Goetze, *JCS* 17 (1963) 27, with previous literature cited there in fn. 163. See also Doassin, *Syria* 25 (1946) 322 f.

58. Commemorated in the formula for this king's fourth year-name, in which the construction is called the *BAD MAR.TU murūq Tidnim* "The MAR.TU wall, which keeps the Tidnu (= Amorites) distant." Cf. *ZSR* 33 with fn. 136.

59. First published by Thompson, *AIA* 19 105 ff., re-edited, with citations of duplicates, by Borger, *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften* (*Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Ergänzungsband 5/1) 9 ff.

60. Von Soden, *AHW* 164, 60 years; *CAD* 3 115, 70 years.

61. For the demonstration of the reliability of the "Distanzangabe" in the building inscriptions of Šalmaneser I, Tiglathpileser I and Esarhaddon, see Landsberger, *JCS* 8 40 f.

way of life generally, the period of incumbency of their leaders — even when they styled themselves as “kings”⁶² — must have been, on the average, considerably shorter than those of the kings of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon. For this early period, a better analogy is provided by the Gutian “dynasty” which, according to SKL, consisted of no less than twenty-one kings, who ruled, however, for a total of only ninety-one years (and forty days), i.e., with an average incumbency of less than five years each! Yet even if this information is assumed to be reliable, it might well reflect a highly atypical situation even for non-settled times and places, making it imprudent to draw upon the Gutian information for a parallel to the earliest patriarchs of the GHD and AKL genealogies. The analogy is cited only in support of the choice of fifteen years — the lowest average incumbency for the three historical dynasties cited above — as a hypothetical and liberal average for the entire series of ancestors given in both the AKL and GHD genealogies, taking note of the fact that these documents run from a period of bedouin ‘sheikhs’ at the earlier end towards a period of historical and stable kings at the other, thus tending towards ever-increasing stability and longer average incumbencies. Multiplying now the figure of twenty-six (the predecessors of Šamši-Adad) by fifteen, we arrive at a total of 390 years for the time-span beginning with Tudiya and ending with Aminu. If this figure is now related to the seven *dāru* of Šamši-Adad, it yields about 55 years per *dāru* which is reasonably close to von Soden’s estimate of sixty. Moreover, a *dāru* was probably not meant to be understood in any precise way, and if anything, the figure of sixty — not to mention that of seventy — was probably an ideal rather than a realistic one, with the actual life expectancy of those reaching adulthood at that time most likely having fallen far short of that figure.⁶³ But whether we operate with a total

62. A situation that was probably analogous to that prevailing in Mari at the time of Yaḥdun-Lim who, in his disc inscription (RA 33 (1936) 49 ff.), speaks of his defeat of “seven kings, sheikhs of Ḫana” (7 LUGAL^{ma} ab-bu-ú Ḫa-na) at a time when in his own titular, he styled himself “King of the land of Ḫana” (*māt Ḫ.*) as well as (the cities) of Mari and Tuttul. Cf. further Kupper, *Nomades* 32.

63. It need hardly be pointed out that even today, and even in the most advanced areas from the medical point of view, the life expectancy of adult males has

figure of 390 or 420, or even with the round figure of 400, the precise elapsed time between Tudiya and Šamši-Adad is not as significant for us as the fact that on any of these figures, by backward dead reckoning from the accession year of Šamši-Adad in 1813 — or from Sinmuballiṣ’s accession perhaps one year later — we shall have reached back into the period of the later Akkad rulers, with whom the earlier Gutian dynasts were contemporaneous. We come, therefore, to the conclusion that the genealogies of Šamši-Adad and Hammurapi, represented respectively by the first two sections of AKL and GHD, span a period of about four hundred years (reckoning in GHD only to Hammurapi), going back to the time during which the Gutians had attained a foothold in Mesopotamia, approximately during the reign of Šarkališarri or soon thereafter, i.e., ca. 2250 B.C. or slightly later. This leads to the further conclusion that the BAL *Gutium* of line 31 refers in fact to the period of the Gutian “dynasty” or “interregnum” of SKL, which historically overlapped largely with the later kings of the Akkad Dynasty. Thus, the earliest group of ancestors in GHD who are identical with their counterparts in AKL, whether they are conceived as real, historical personages, or — as is more likely — as “dummy names”⁶⁴ artificially contrived (by utilization of tribal-geographical names) in order to fill out known gaps of time, or “incumbencies”, were contemporary with these Gutian dynasts of SKL.

We may now turn to the question: At what point in GHD does the BAL *Gutium* end and the BAL *Heana* begin? The answer will be obvious: With the eponymous Heana himself, line 4 = no. 7 of the genealogy. The six names of the first three lines of GHD represent therefore the earliest West Semitic ‘sheikhs’ known to tradition, and were conceived as being coeval with the Gutian period of the Sumerian tradition. It is noteworthy that if these six names may be said to account for the

barely passed the figure of seventy. Šamši-Adad was therefore using a term that, as indicative of a figure, probably had no real basis whatever in experience, except in the rare instance where some particularly “blessed” individual attained the “ripe old age” of sixty or seventy or more.

64. The term was coined by W. R. Smith, op. cit. 10, 16 to describe the coinage of artificial names of ancestors “to fill blanks in a genealogy” (loc. cit.), and is utilized by Bräunlich (op. cit. 73) in the same way, in connection with the Arab genealogical traditions.

entire period of ninety-one years assigned by SKL to the Gutian "interregnum" the average incumbency for each turns out to be almost precisely fifteen years, the average figure suggested earlier.

BAL ERÍN *Heana*. It was already suggested above that the genealogists of the West Semitic tribes took no account of the Ur III Dynasty, despite the retention in the learned cuneiform tradition of later times of a BAL *Šulgi* that might have denoted this dynasty as a whole, and that this omission is probably to be ascribed to the relative independence of the West Semitic tribes at this time from real control by the kings of Ur. Their position vis-à-vis the Ur III kings might be contrasted with the position of Assyria at the same time, which was firmly in the grip of the Sumerian monarchs of the South.⁶⁵ From the standpoint of Šamši-Adad, a monarch conscious of his Hanean affiliations — or for that matter, from the standpoint of the family of Zimrišim of Mari, the age-old rival of the Šamši-Adad family in its pretensions and aspirations for predominance among the Hanean tribes and clans — the Hanean *palū*, if they conceived of this notion at all, would have continued in uninterrupted fashion at least from the end of the BAL *Gutium* onward to his own day. But it is even more likely that no division at all was recognized by Šamši-Adad among his presumed forbears from Tudiya onward, other than that the first seventeen of them still "lived in tents." As far as he was concerned they were all Haneans. In short, it appears that the genealogists of Šamši-Adad were really not concerned, as their contemporaries in Babylon were, to divide the genealogical history of their royal family in terms of *palū*'s, and this might account for the placement of the eponymous *Hanū* in the tenth position in the AKL sequence as contrasted with the seventh position of *Heana* in GHD. It will already have been noted, moreover, that AKL and GHD, while agreeing as to the pairing of the first six names in their respective lists, are in disagreement as to the sequence of these pairs. GHD

65. As proved by its *šakkanakku* Zariqum, who was appointed to his post under Šulgi, continued in it in the reign of Amar-Sin, during which time he dedicated an inscription to his overlord whose servant he acknowledged himself to be, and was later transferred to Susa. Cf. *IAR* p. 3; Hallo, *JNES* 15 (1956) 220 ff.; Goetze, *JCS* 17 29. If the *šakkanakku*'s of Mari during the same period owed any real allegiance to the Ur III kings, it is not indicated in any of their surviving inscriptions.

would seem to be focused, quite naturally, on the Amorite *palū*, and concedes to the Haneans only their priority in time, and a total of only five incumbencies: *Heana* (= *Hanū*), *Namzū* (= *Emsu/ĪARsu(?)*), *Ditānu* (= *Didānu*), *Zummabu* (= *Zu'abu*), *Namhū* (*Nunhū* = *Nuabu?*), since it is only up to this point in GHD that the names can in any way be seen to parallel those of AKL. It might be supposed, then, that the inauguration of the BAL *Heana*, according to the tradition of GHD, and in accordance with the reconstruction of Gutian history suggested above, coincided with the defeat of Tirikan by Utuḫegal, ca. 2120 B.C., or even somewhat earlier.

BAL ERÍN MAR.TU. It is not difficult to identify the point in GHD where the Amorite *palū* was believed to have been commenced by the family of Hammurapi. Beginning with Amnānu, line 9, no. 12, GHD and AKL go their separate ways. Amnānum, together with Yaḥrurum, line 10, no. 13, are the two tribes or clans with which the Hammurapi Dynasty is most closely identified. Also these two names in GHD are the last in the series that can be positively identified as tribal names; it is probably safe to say that all the names in GHD beginning with Iptiyamūta, no. 14, line 11, constitute a tradition about real personages, even if some of these names might have come down to the time of Ammisaduqa in corrupt form. Nor can the possibility be excluded that from this point onward, the series of names also constitutes the authentic pedigree of Sumuabum, even if we remain in ignorance of the locale in which these figures exercised their "kingship" or "sheikhhood." This view gains support from the Mari archives from which we know that the Am/wnānum and Yaḥrurum tribes were constituents of the bedouin confederation known to the local authorities as the DUMU.MEŠ Yamīna "sons of the South" and thus carefully distinguished from the Haneans, who included sedentary as well as nomadic elements. The Yaminites were apparently more nomadic than the Haneans, less amenable to governmental control, more given to raiding and terrorizing the settled areas, until they were decisively defeated and pacified by Zimrilim, if the latter's claims to this effect are to be taken at face value. These nomadic Yaminite tribes, spread through all of Upper Mesopotamia and Syria in heavy concentrations, were in turn related

to other sections or clans of the same tribes who at the same time or even earlier had infiltrated Sumer and Akkad, where they became for the most part sedentary and "Akkadianized" although retaining at the same time the consciousness of their Amorite tribal origins, as is proved by the Hamūnūrapī family and in the titulary of the Uruk dynasty of Sīn-kāšid.

In the strict sense, therefore, the genealogy of the Hammurapi dynasty proper may be said to begin with the name of Amnānu only. But in the strictest sense of all, this genealogy may be thought to begin only with the name of Iptiyamūta, and for two reasons: (1) Amnānu and Yaḥrurum, patently eponymous names of tribes probably fill "dummy" incumbencies, the genealogical tradition apparently having no knowledge of names prior to Iptiyamūta; (2) territorially and chronologically, these two names fill incumbencies for locales that in time and place (the South of Sumer and Akkad and even Babylonia) would have been under the strict control of the Ur III kings. For by dead reckoning backwards from the accession year of Sumuabum in 1894, and operating with our mean incumbency figure of fifteen years, we arrive at year 2059 for a hypothetical "accession of Amnānu." But this turns out to be the 35th year of Šulgi, a time in which it is hardly conceivable that an Amorite tribal chieftain would have been able to carve out any autonomous territory in Babylonia proper. It is therefore safest to view the two "incumbencies" of Amnānu and Yaḥrurum as representative of a period of relatively unobtrusive infiltration of Babylonia of the tribes so named, under the watchful eyes of the Ur III dynasts. The beginnings of the political autonomy of these tribes may then be said to have occurred under the leadership of a tribal chieftain by the name of Iptiyamūta, (or something like it), and this event may be tentatively placed at ca. 2029 B.C., i.e., the beginning of the reign of Ibbi-Sin, the last of the Ur III kings. Considering, however, that we have been utilizing the fifteen-year average incumbency figure in a somewhat rigid manner until this point, it would be safest to allow some flexibility in assigning a specific year for this event. It is, nevertheless, clear from the foregoing that the royal beginnings of the Hammurapi family — in a locale, to be sure, that was probably *not* Babylon — coincided almost exactly with the beginning of the Isin dynasty

under Išbi-Erra (2017) and that of the Larsa dynasty under Naplānum (2025).

We may here summarize our estimate of the historical worth of the genealogies of GHD and AKL, as distinct from their historiographical interest. For GHD this is a relatively easy matter. Beginning with the name of Iptiyamūta in line 11, it appears that the text offers an authentic record of the genealogy — or of the predecessors — of Sumuabum. It is not at all certain that these names are in every instance preserved in their original and authentic form, nor that the actual sequence was historically exactly as given in this text. But it is safe to say that the names have an authentic ring, and none of them, at any rate, is otherwise known as a tribal or geographic name. The same cannot be said for the first ten lines of the text. Almost all the names in these lines can be securely identified with names of tribes known to us from other sources, or as topographic names. Moreover, the first three lines of the text contain paired names that match similar pairs in AKL. This seems therefore to confirm the suggestion that these lines consisted of "rhymed pairs" of names,⁶⁶ suggesting the possibility that this segment of the tradition was originally preserved as some kind of desert chant — perhaps as part of some oral epic of early tribal heroes — that seems to have been common to all the bedouin tribes in early Mesopotamian history, and which might have included some of the other sections of the tribal genealogy as well. Upon becoming settled and "civilized" in Babylonia, it was felt necessary to harmonize and co-ordinate this genealogical tradition in the accepted style of Mesopotamian historiography, by means of the concept of the *palū*. Upon establishing their own, independent kingdoms, written documents afforded them a reliable record of the true dynastic pedigree, and this was then linked up with the older tribal tradition to form the genealogical list preserved in GHD. This linkage may still be detected between Yaḥrurum, the last of the tribal names, and Iptiyamūta, the first of the authentic names, and this determination is reinforced by the independent calculation that the transition from "legend" to "history" coincided with the end of the Ur III Dynasty.

AKL, as we now know, utilizes the same tradition found in GHD but, in contrast to the latter,

66. Cf. Kraus, "Könige" 4.

employs the tradition for a tendentious purpose. For although it appears that by the turn of the First Millennium B.C. Assyrian learned circles accepted the tradition at face value as an authentic part of the Assyrian King List, it is equally apparent that at an earlier stage — perhaps during the lifetime of Šamši-Adad himself — it was utilized by parties concerned with legitimizing and justifying the claims of the Šamši-Adad line on the Assyrian throne. The original form of the document thus employed might well have been one that served a purpose similar to that of GHD. Such a prototype document must have begun with the same “rhymed pairs” and continued with a series of names which are little more than tribal eponyms. This tradition — reflected more or less intact in the first section of AKL, the “seventeen kings who lived in tents” — was then coupled to the authentic pedigree of Šamši-Adad, beginning at least with Halē, as demonstrated by Landsberger.⁶⁷ This linkage thus corresponds to that detected in GHD between the last tribal name, Yaḥrurum, and the first name of the true pedigree, Iptiyamūta. At this stage, it must be concluded, *the prototype document imbedded in the first two sections of AKL had nothing whatever to do with a list of Assyrian kings.* The line of authentic “native” Assyrian kings, that of Puzur-Aššur I and his successors, had very likely compiled some form of king list of its own, traced back to Ušpiya, whose historicity is beyond question despite the absence of his inscriptions, since his building activities were known to such later Assyrian kings as Shalmaneser I and Esarhaddon⁶⁸ and almost certainly to Šamši-Adad himself.⁶⁹ The names of Ušpiya and his son Apiašal (if authentic) were only *secondarily interpolated* into the enlarged Šamši-Adad “Ahnentafel” (the first two sections of AKL), either by Šamši-Adad himself or by the later

67. See note 36 above.

68. For Shalmaneser, *IAK* 120, in which it might be of interest to note that Ušpiya (33 f.) and Erišum (36) are acknowledged by Š. as ancestors (*abi*), but Šamši-Adad is not, although in the parallel *IAK* 126 he is thus acknowledged. For Esarhaddon, see Borger, *AJO* Beiheft 9 p. 3 16 ff.

69. The Enlil temple of Erišum in Ashur rebuilt by Šamši-Adad, and named by him Eamkurkurra (*IAK* 22 6), would seem to be related to, if not identical with, the Ehursagkurkurra rebuilt by Shalmaneser I (*ibid.* 126 f.), who credits Ušpiya with being its first builder, so that Šamši-Adad must have known that fact too. Cf. *IAK* 22 note 5, with *ibid.* 128 f. note 4.

partisans of his line. It cannot yet be decided whether this was accomplished by “wrenching apart” a real continuity in the original pedigree between Azarah and Halē and inserting the two names of the earliest Assyrian kings between them, or whether it entailed a replacement of two earlier names, or “incumbencies” (*x* and *y*), that were, so to speak, “forced out” in order to accommodate the names of the two Assyrian rulers.⁷⁰ At any event, it was from this time onward that the Šamši-Adad genealogy, thus altered, entered the stream of Assyrian tradition, ultimately gaining acceptance as an integral part of the Assyrian King List.

The genealogical traditions of the Hammurapi Dynasty and of the Šamši-Adad family may now be presented in the scheme on the following page.

IV

The Purpose of the Text (lines 33-43)

The final section of the text provides the necessary clues to the “Sitz im Leben” of the document as a whole, i.e., the reason it was written and the manner in which it was used. Lines 33-35, however, constitute a continuation of the collective categories of persons already begun in line 32 “the *palū* of those whose names are not recorded on this tablet.”

Line 33. “The soldier(s) who fell in the *d.* of their lord.” The only established meaning for *dannatu* which might fit the present context is that of “peril, hard times”; the meaning “fortress” seems to me unsuited to the context, giving little point to the line. The idea seems to be that the nameless foot-soldiers who gave their lives while in the service of their royal lords deserve to be memorialized by the king at least as a collectivity, on the occasion when the ancestors of the king are individually recalled by name. On this interpretation, the idea would appear to be analogous to the occasions especially set in our own times for

70. Having observed above (section 2b) that the count of twenty-six “ancestors” of Šamši-Adad in AKL is in perfect harmony with the count of twenty-seven from the beginning of GHD to Hammurapi, the choice here would be in favor of positing ancestors “X” and “Y” who were replaced by Ušpiya and Apiašal. This would also agree with the view expressed as to the accurate sense of these rulers of time past, making it less likely that Šamši-Adad would have disturbed this span in order to accommodate the names of the two Assyrian kings.

GHD

AKL

ca. 2250

GUTHAN PALŪ

Ara(m)/Harḫar
Madara
Tu(b)ti(ya)
(Y)amuta/Atamu
Yamqu
Suḫ(ha)la(m)ma

Tudiya
Adamu
Yangi
Sa/l/uḫlamu
Harḫaru
Mandaru

ca. 2120

HANEAN PALŪ

Heana
Namz/šū
Ditānu
Zummabu
Namḫū

Emsu
ḪARsu
Didānu
Ḫanū
Zu'abu

ca. 2059

AMORITE PALŪ

Amnānu
Yaḫrurum
Ipti-yamūta
Buḫazum
Su-malika
Ašmadu
Abi-yamūta
Abi-ditan
Ma-am(?) - x - x - x
Šu-x-ni(?) - x
Dad[banaya(?)]

Nuabu
Abazu
Bēlū
Azarah
x(?) Ušpiya } Assyrian Dynasty
y(?) Apiašal }
Ḫalē
Samanu
Ḫayanu
Ilu-mer
Yakmesi
Yakmeni
Yazkur-ēl
Iakabkabu
Aminu
Šamši-Adad

1894

Sumuabum
Sumula'el
Zābium
Apil-Sin

1813

Sinmuballit
Ḫammurapi
etc.

commemorating the dead, particularly of the "Unknown Dead" of national wars. A conceptual framework that would support such a service might at first sight appear anachronistic in the context of ancient Mesopotamian society, but if we substitute the Babylonian king for the modern "state" or "nation" the notion appears not so far-fetched. *Dannatu* here, and in the Hammurapi Laws §§27 ff., must therefore mean something like "perilous (campaign)."⁷¹

Lines 34-5. With these two entries the author means to include in the memorial the dead royal princes and princesses, whose names are lost or forgotten, yet who — by virtue of royal birth — deserve to be recalled as a distinctive group.

71. Note the parallel use of *harrān šarrim* in these laws §§26, 32.

Lines 36-38. In these lines we have at once the last and most inclusive category of the dead who are to be remembered on the occasion when this text was used, and the most important clues as to what kind of occasion it was.

The key terms are *pāqidum* and *sāhirum*. These are activities having to do with the "care and feeding of" the dead. For the *pāqidum* in identical contexts there are the following: *ša etem-ma-šu pāqida la išū tāmur* "Have you seen the one whose ghost has no one to serve as its p.?" (Gilg. XII 152); *lu etemmu ša pāqida la išū lu etemmu ša kasāp kispi la išū lu etemmu ša nāy mē la išū lu etemmu ša zakār šume la išū* "Whether (you are) the ghost who has none to be its p., or the ghost who has none to make the funerary offering, or the ghost who has none to make the water-libation, or

the ghost who has none to recite the memorial service" (CT XVI 10 v 8 ff.).

The term *sāhirum* in this context presents some difficulty. A participle of *sāharu* in the sense of "one who is solicitous" about something or someone, or "one who busies himself" with some activity, would not be inappropriate to the context, as, e.g., in the phrase *sāhiru damqāti* "one who seeks, or is solicitous for, the good", or as in *sāhiru patānu* "one who is preoccupied with dining" (KAR 193 obv. 12 [W. G. Lambert *BWL* 144]), and thus here as "one who is solicitous, concerns himself with" the needs of the dead. Yet in the standard literature devoted to such mortuary activities, the term *sāhiru*, in contrast to *pāqidu*, is not encountered. We find in its stead only the verb *zakāru*, as in *zaki/ar šumi* of the excerpt quoted above, and without specification of the noun *šumu* "name" but nevertheless to be so understood in the following quotation: *atta ešemmu la mammana-ma ša qēbira u sa-qi-ra la tešū* "You, O ghost without any relation, who have none to bury you, nor to invoke you(r name)" (TuL 132 53 f.). Considering the close similarity of this line with its counterpart in our text, a suspicion is raised of some confusion or interference in the literary tradition between *sāhiru* and *zakiru/sāqiru*, both of which activities might have been originally appropriate in the mortuary ceremonies. However one chooses to interpret *sāhārum* in this context,⁷² it would be difficult to dissociate altogether the *sāhiram la išū* of our text and *sāqira la tešū* of the ritual text just quoted. The *pāqidum* is probably to be understood as "caretaker", i.e., the one (normally a son or close relative) who sees to it that the dead ancestor or relative is provided with regular offerings of food and drink; the *sāhirum* would then be either a near-synonym of *pāqidum* (or a phonetic variant of *zakirum*) the one who invokes the ancestral spirit by name. In lines 36-38, Ammišaduqa is therefore seen to be invoking those unfortunate "orphaned" spirits-at-large — who, in the absence of relatives of their own to look after their "needs", must subsist on the standard netherworld diet of dust and filthy water,⁷³ or haunt the human habitations to feed on

72. It is questionable whether this variation is to be interpreted as another example of the *k/h* interchange (von Soden *GAG* §25d) as in *k/biššatum* "debt slavery" or *k/bušaḫḫu* "famine", or as an example of near doublet verbs such as *sakāpu/sahāpu* "overthrow."

73. KAR 1 ("Descent of Ishtar") obv. 34 f., cf. CT 15 45 obv. 8, 33, and Castellino, *ZA N.F.* 18 (1957) p. 40.

their refuse⁷⁴ — inviting them to come for once and share a "decent meal" with his own ancestors, in gratefulness for which they will heap blessings on their royal benefactor, together with the blessings expected from the spirits of his royal ancestors, predecessors, relatives, and their retainers who died on the field of battle.

Lines 39-40. The restorations of the imperatives *aklā* and *šitiā* in these lines respectively, are suggested in part by the traces of the poorly preserved signs, and in part by the unmistakable context of the whole as a *kispu*-offering to the dead (to be elaborated immediately below), which consisted of food and drink.⁷⁵

The nature and function of the text as a whole is hardly open to doubt: it is the invocation to an actual memorial service to the dead, the central action of which was the offering to the *ešemmu* — the ghosts or spirits of the dead — of the *kispu*, which consisted of food and drink. The greatest amount of — but hardly varied — information about these *kispu* offerings is to be found in the administrative archives of Mari, where a fairly standard offering of food and drink was made at the beginning and on the 16th day of every month as the *kispu* *ša LUGAL*^{meš} "the mortuary offering to the (dead) kings."⁷⁶ These occasions were not all of equally inclusive scope, for in a letter from Kibri-Dagan of Terqa to Zinfi-Lim, the latter is directed by divine oracle through a "prophet" (*muḫḫum*) to offer a *kispu* to the ghost (*išemmu*) of Yahdun-Lim,⁷⁷ but that may have been a special offering occasioned by some extraordinary circumstance. Of possibly greater relevance to the context of the present article is the letter of Šamši-Adad to his son Yasmaḫ-Adad in Mari, in which the king informs the latter of his scheduled arrival

74. Gilg. XII 153: *šukulāt diqāri kisipāt akli ša ina sāqi nadā ikkal* "(the ghost who has no *pāqidu*) eats food-scrap from the bowl and bread crumbs that have been thrown into the street."

75. Professor Landsberger, whose early insight into the nature of the text led the present writer to identify it as a form of *kispu* ceremony, suggests restoring the two verbs as *a-'am-ra* and [*ši-mi*]-*a*. While it would appear that my own suggestions are more appropriate to the central act of the *kispu* — the offering of food and drink — only a more careful collation of the tablet might prove decisive. See the Postscript at the end of this paper.

76. For this class of documents cf. *ARMT* VII 199; IX 283 f.; XI 139; XII 23, 25.

77. *ARM* III 40. *

in Terqa on the day of the *kispum*.⁷⁸ This notice must be linked with the long-known inscription of Šamši-Adad found at the site of Terqa (Tell 'Ašrah) which commemorates the king's construction at Terqa of the É-ki-si-ga (= *bīt kispī*) dedicated to the god Dagan.⁷⁹ A clue to the kind of ceremonies that took place in this building, in addition to the actual setting out of the *kispu*-offering, is provided in line 7 of the inscription, in which the building is further described by the king as É KU-*ul-ti-šu*, the meaning of which has so far remained elusive. It is here proposed that it be read as *bīt qāltišu* "the house of his 'intonation'", i.e., the building where the living king (or his representative) intones the names of his dead ancestors in an atmosphere of hushed reverent attention.⁸⁰ Upon being thus invoked — conjured up in an atmosphere approaching that of a seance — the ancestral spirits, and any additional spectral guests invited to participate in the occasion, were then tendered the *kispu*-offering. One might well imagine, therefore, that the oral part of the ceremonies performed by Šamši-Adad in the Ekisiga included a text corresponding to the one of Ammišaduqa now before us, even to an identity of the names of the earliest ancestors thereby invoked.

The evidence from the Mari, and even earlier cuneiform sources,⁸¹ makes it certain that the "day of the *kispum*" was a fixed and regular institution.⁸² Apart from this, however, are the special occasions involving commoners as well as kings, when the *kispu* was offered to the dead in rituals directed specifically towards exorcizing their malevolent effects; on these occasions the ghosts were likely to be, however, not of departed relatives, but of strangers, especially those who suf-

fered unnatural deaths, or whose corpses remained unburied.⁸³ This type of *kispu* ceremony seems not to be involved here. It is most likely, however, that the occasion on which the text of BM 80328 was recited was not an ordinary or regular day of *kispum* of either the first or sixteenth day of the month. The inclusion of the spirits of other than the dead ancestors, including even the ghosts of anyone and everyone "from East to West" who otherwise has no one to offer them the *kispum*, suggests that the occasion was an extraordinary one, but the text itself offers no clue as to what it might have been. The performance might still have been scheduled for the first or sixteenth day of the month, but this would have been coincidental with some other momentous occasion which called for a more inclusive mortuary "feast." One might think of the coronation of the new king as an occasion suitable for such an expression of royal "largesse" — when perhaps even the living population received something above their normally miserable fare. What could be more appropriate for Ammišaduqa, as the newly crowned *šar mišarim*, than to demonstrate his concern for his people's welfare by a special food distribution to all — to the dead as well as the living?

V

Summary

The information disclosed by BM 80328 throws much unexpected light in a number of directions.

1. The text shows conclusively that the Semitic tribes west of the Euphrates and of the Upper Euphrates region had evolved and elaborated genealogical traditions at an early age — probably not later than the turn of the Third Millennium B.C. — which were linked together by a belief in a series of early ancestors common to all of them. This phenomenon seems to be at least a rough prototype of the genealogical tradition that arose in the Arabian peninsula soon after the victory of Islam. Beginning at about that time, the Arab genealogists constructed an all-embracing,⁸⁴ but in large part artificial, pedigree for some

83. An extensive "catalogue" of such *qenmā* is enumerated in the ritual treated by Ebeling, *Tal.* 144 f.

84. The major work on the subject is the all-encompassing *Genealogische Tabellen der arabischen Stämme und Familien* (1852/3) in two parts, including one set out completely in the form of genealogical trees, by F. Wüstenfeld.

78. *ARM* I 65.

79. *IAK* I 26 f. no. 5.

80. On *qālu/qāltu* see lastly E. Reiner *AS* 16 247 ff. Probably to be connected with this sense as well is the aspect of Ninurta, *CT* 24 41 line 65 where ^dSUH (or MÜŠ). ŠEŠ is explained as (Ninurta) *ša qu-ul-ti* "(N.) of hushed supplication, intonation (or the like)." (The emendation of ŠUR to SUH or MÜŠ is in accordance with the suggestion of Meissner, *OLZ* 12 (1909) 203, based on numerous parallels.) The relation to the present context is suggested by the basic meaning of ŠEŠ, which is *bakā* "to cry."

81. Cf. Landsberger, *Kull. Kal.* 5 f. Occurrences from different periods cited *AHW* 487.

82. For allusions to the ceremony by other First Dynasty kings, note *VAS* 16 51 5 (Samsuditāna), *VAB* 6 80 6 ff. (Ammiditāna).

6000 tribes and clans, divided into two large groups: the Southern, 'Yemenite' group, all descended from the presumed common ancestor Qahtān, and the Northern group, all descended from an ancestor 'Adnān, otherwise known also as the 'Ishmaelite' group — by conscious linkage with biblical genealogy.⁸⁵ This division is curiously comparable to the one given in the Mari archives, the Southern 'Yaminites' and the Northern 'Sim'alites.' Whether or not it is possible to harmonize the Arab notion of 'Ishmaelite' with the ancient 'Sim'alite,'⁸⁶ the idea of deep-seated distinction between the tribes of the North and those of the South of the Arabian peninsula appears to have a very ancient history.

2. The text practically confirms the identification of the first section of the Assyrian King List, the "seventeen kings who lived in tents", as forming the first part of the "Ahnentafel" of Šamši-Adad I, the second section of which was already thus identified by Landsberger. It demonstrates further that this "Ahnentafel" in its original form had nothing whatever to do with the kings of Assyria; whatever royal status any of these personages may have enjoyed — insofar as they may be viewed as historical at all — must have had for its territorial background the region of Mari and Terqa on the Upper Euphrates. The later incorporation of this "Ahnentafel" in the Assyrian King list should now be evaluated as a piece of successful propaganda.

3. By the discovery of BM 80328 we have, as it were, stumbled upon a heretofore unsuspected genre of document, which may now take its place along with royal inscriptions, compiled year-name lists, and the like, upon which the Mesopotamian

85. Bräunlich, op. cit. 72.

86. The concept of a 'Northern' group of bedouin tribes seems to have been a secondary one already in the Mari age, that arose as need was felt for a term to complement the 'Southern' group, the Yemenite. In the Mari records, at least, the designation DUMU.MEŠ *Sim'al* is of rare occurrence, and thus possibly an artificial coinage to designate tribes more commonly known under their specific names. (Cf. Kupper, *Nomades* 54 f.) In Arab tradition, the concept of the Isma'elite branch is patently secondary and artificial, in contrast to the notion of the Yemenite branch. Is it possible that the idea of the Sim'alite tribes maintained itself in Northern Arabia in a vague and precarious way, only to be reinterpreted and etymologized by early Muslim genealogists in the light of the biblical genealogies?

scholarly tradition could have drawn in the compilation of king lists and chronicles and similar historiographic literature. The *kispu* ceremony for the dead royal ancestors was not peculiar to the Western Semites, but was part of the regular series of rituals attending the new moon (*ām bi/ubbulim*)⁸⁷ going back to pre-Sargonic Sumer and continuing through the Neo-Babylonian period. While it need not be assumed that the same and complete series of ancestral names was invoked at each such ceremony — as noted above, the Mari evidence indicates otherwise — the recitation of the complete pedigree of the reigning monarch must have occurred regularly enough to warrant the preparation of a text such as BM 80328, to be re-used, recopied, or modified to suit the needs of the particular occasion. The "Ahnentafel" of Šamši-Adad I, preserved now only as the first two sections of the Assyrian King List, might originally have been a text which in form and purpose was similar to that of BM 80328, that had its setting in the *kispu* ceremonies in Terqa.

4. Depending on the validity of the restoration offered above for line 19, the text may provide the first clues to the antecedents of Sumuabum and the First Dynasty of Babylon. That family will have been of major political consequence already at the time of the earlier kings of Isin and Larsa; the death of Dadbanaya — presumably a contemporary of Ur-Ninurta of Isin and of Abisarē of Larsa — would not otherwise have been noted in a date-formula of the time (of the Isin Dynasty?). The seat of this family's political authority at that time — presumably other than Babylon — remains to be discovered.

5. Lines 29–32, if correctly understood, represent a broadened use of the concept of the *palū*, in the approximate meaning "age, era", and reflect a concern, at least on the part of the later kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon, to "periodicize" the genealogical history of the West Semitic tribes, as they conceived that history, according to the historiographical canons they had assimilated from the Sumer-Akkadian tradition, a tradition which they proceeded to elaborate and develop further.

87. In addition to earlier occurrences add now Kraus, *Briefe aus dem British Museum* (CT 43–44) No. 106 17 f. [k] i . s . e . g a [b] i b b u l i m š a b i l a b i - k a .

POSTSCRIPT

The writer has had the opportunity of collating the text after the tablet had been baked and cleaned, but too late to alter the autograph copy, as the article was by then already in galley proof. The collation resulted in the following determination:

Line 19: DA is clear; AD, considerably more certain than suggested by the copy; BA, a good possibility, the final vertical now being clear.

Line 39: AL at the beginning, now clear; *a-am-ra* at end positively excluded, AK, not excluded, LA virtually certain, cf. the form of the sign in lines 21, 32, and 38.

Line 40: reading *ši-me/i-a* excluded by traces. More of ŠI is now visible than appears in the copy; TI for the next sign not excluded by traces.

[Added in page proofs: Page 102, comment to line 14 of the text, cf. also the name *As-ma-TI-en*, p. 107 below, under b).]