

# XI

## Sumero-Babylonian King Lists and Date Lists

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### *The Antediluvian King List*

The antediluvian king list is an Old Babylonian text, composed in Sumerian, that purports to document the reigns of successive kings of remote antiquity, from the time when the gods first transmitted to mankind the institution of kingship until the interruption of human history by the great Flood. The list exists in several versions. Sometimes it appears as the opening section of the Sumerian King List, as in text No. 98 below. More often it occurs as an independent list, of which one example is held by the Schøyen collection, published here as text No. 96. Other examples of the Old Babylonian list of antediluvian kings copied independently of the Sumerian King List are:

(a) the tablet W-B 62, of uncertain provenance and now in the Ashmolean Museum (Langdon 1923 pl. 6)

- (b) a tablet from Nippur, now in Istanbul (Kraus 1952: 31)
- (c) another reportedly from Khafaje (Tutub), now in Berkeley, California (Finkelstein 1963: 40)
- (d) a further tablet now in the Karpeles Manuscript Library, Santa Barbara, California, given below in a preliminary transliteration (No. 97)
- (e) a small fragment from Nippur now in Philadelphia that bears lines from the list followed by other text (Peterson 2008).

A more extensive treatment of the lists of antediluvian kings, including No. 96 and the tablet in the Karpeles Manuscript Library, is promised by Gianni Marchesi as part of his forthcoming larger study of the Sumerian king lists.

No. 96

MS 2855

Pls. LXXVIII–LXXIX

MS 2855 is a small oblong tablet inscribed on both faces and the top, bottom and left edges with twenty-nine lines of early Old Babylonian cuneiform script. The main content is a version of the antediluvian king list, but this is followed by a damaged passage, written in Akkadian and in a smaller script, which remains partly undeciphered. As understood here, it ends with a statement enjoining the addressee not to stop reciting the text, which suggests that the preceding list had some function in scribal ritual or academic oratory.

A notable feature of the text is the rendering of the standard formula *nam-lugal-bi GN-*

*šè ba-de<sub>6</sub>* “its kingship was taken to GN” as *nam-lugal-šè GN ba-de<sub>6</sub>*, literally “GN was brought to kingship,” which is less satisfactory. The exemplar of the list now in the Karpeles Manuscript Library (No. 97) also uses this version of the formula, and shows that it is not an idiosyncrasy of a single scribe but a corrupt variant passed down in tradition.

MS 2855 has already been published in Jöran Friberg’s volume of mathematical texts in the Schøyen Collection (2007: 237–38, 491). Friberg relied on a copy made by Farouk Al-Rawi from photographs, without first-hand collation of the original.

obv.

- 1 eridu<sup>ki</sup> nam-lugal a-lu-li[m]  
 2 mu šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár ì-  
 a[k]  
 3 e-lâl-gar mu šár×u šár+šár 'î'-[ak]  
 4 eridu<sup>ki</sup> ba-šub nam-lugal-šè  
 5 bàd-tibir<sup>ki</sup>-ra ba-de<sub>6</sub>  
 6 am-mi-lú-an-na lugal  
 7 mu šár×u ì-ak  
 8 en-me-gal-an-na mu  
 šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár ì-ak  
 9 <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi mu  
 šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár ì-ak  
 10 bàd-tibir<sup>ki</sup>-ra 'ba-šub'  
 11 nam-lugal-šè l[a-ra-ak ba-de<sub>6</sub>]  
 12 en-sipa-zi-[an-na (lugal)]  
 lower edge  
 13 mu šár+šár+šár géš-u+géš-u+géš-u+géš-  
 u+géš-u ì-[ak]  
 rev.  
 14 la-ra-ak ba-š[ub]  
 15 nam-lugal-šè zimbir<sup>ki</sup>[<sup>i</sup> ba-de<sub>6</sub>]  
 16 me-dur-an-ki mu šár-šár ì-a[k]  
 17 zimbir<sup>ki</sup> ba-šub  
 18 nam-lugal-šè šuruppak<sup>ki</sup>-šè ba-d[e<sub>6</sub>]  
 19 ubur-du-du 'mu' šár×u ì-ak  
 20 'šu+nigin 8' lugal  
 21 'mu'-bi-me-eš šár{×MIN}-gal šár géš-  
 u+géš-u+géš-u+géš-u+géš-u  
 22 giš-x ì-ak

23 x mi id 'ri' mi ir mi r[i] / x x gi zi za ni  
 30 u[š]<sup>?</sup>

24 ki-'ma' bi-ni-im ši-ṭi-ir-[šú]

25 ša a-na me-[x x (x) x x]

26a ù [x x x (x) x x x]

upper edge

26b i-za-x[ (x) x]

left edge

27 ši-ta-sà-am ù-la ta-ka-la'(tablet: lí)

<sup>1</sup> (In) Eridu (was) kingship: Alulim <sup>2</sup> reigned for 28,800 years, <sup>3</sup> Elalgar [reigned] for 43,200 years, <sup>4</sup> Eridu was overthrown. Kingship <sup>5</sup> was taken to Bad-tibira: <sup>6</sup> Ammiluanna (was) king, <sup>7</sup> reigned for 36,000 years, <sup>8</sup> Enmegalanna reigned for 28,800 years, <sup>9</sup> Dumuzi reigned for 28,800 years, <sup>10</sup> Bad-tibira was overthrown. <sup>11</sup> Kingship [was taken to Larak:] <sup>12</sup> Ensipazi[anna (was king,)] <sup>13</sup> reigned] for 13,800 years, <sup>14</sup> Larak was [overthrown.] <sup>15</sup> Kingship [was taken] to Sippar: <sup>16</sup> Meduranki reigned for 7,200 years, <sup>17</sup> Sippar was overthrown. <sup>18</sup> Kingship was taken to Šuruppak: <sup>19</sup> Uburtutu reigned for 36,000 years. <sup>20</sup> Total: eight kings, <sup>22</sup> . . . they reigned <sup>21</sup> their 222,600 years.

<sup>23</sup> . . . <sup>24</sup> like tamarisk(?). [Its] inscription, <sup>25</sup> which <sup>26b</sup> . . . <sup>25</sup> for [. . . ] <sup>26a</sup> and [. . . ], <sup>27</sup> you must not refrain(!) from reading aloud.

No. 97

Karpeles Manuscript Library

Pl. LXXX

This is a small oblong tablet now in the collection of the Karpeles Manuscript Library, Santa Barbara, California. It holds twenty-seven lines of Old Babylonian cuneiform, inscribed on both faces and three edges. The text is a version of the list of antediluvian kings very similar to the preceding exemplar, but with an interesting line of summary (l. 27). A noteworthy idiosyncrasy is the erroneous spelling of Eridu and Sippar with the sign combination NUN.ME (i.e.

abgal “sage”) instead of simple NUN (ll. 1, 4, 16, 17). This mistake probably arose from an intrusion in the writer’s mind of the mythological tradition that placed the sages in the antediluvian era.

The transliteration given here is informed by photographs kindly supplied by Renee Kovacs, checked against the transliteration of a scholar who was able to study the tablet firsthand but wished to remain anonymous.

obv.

- 1 eridu. {me} <sup>ki</sup> nam-lugal  
 2 a-lu-lim šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár  
 mu ì-ak  
 3 e-lal-gar šár×u šár+šár mu ì-ak  
 4 eridu. {me} <sup>ki</sup> ba-šub nam-lugal  
 5 ʾbàd-tibir<sup>1</sup>-ra<sup>ki</sup> ba-de<sub>6</sub>  
 6 [b]àd-tibir-ra<sup>ki</sup> lugal-e  
 7 [am/en]-ʾmen<sup>1</sup>-lu-an-na šár×u mu ì-ak  
 8 en-me-gal-an-na  
 šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár mu ì-ak  
 9 <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi  
 šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár mu ì-ak  
 10 bàd-tibir-ra<sup>ki</sup> ba-šub  
 11 nam-lugal-šè la-ra-ak<sup>ki</sup>-šè ba-de<sub>6</sub>  
 12 la-ra-ak<sup>ki</sup> lugal-e

lower edge

13 en-sipa-zi-an-na

rev.

- 14 šár+šár+šár géš-u+géš-u+géš-u+géš-  
 u+géš-u mu ì-ak  
 15 la-ra-ak<sup>ki</sup> ba-šub  
 16 nam-lugal-šè zimbir. {me} <sup>ki</sup> / ba-de<sub>6</sub>  
 17 zimbir. {me} <sup>ki</sup> lugal-ʾe<sup>1</sup>  
 18 [m]e-dur-an-ki šár+šár mu ì-a[k]  
 19 [zi]mbir. {me} <sup>ki</sup> ba-šub  
 20 nam-lugal-šè šuruppak<sup>ki</sup> / ba-de<sub>6</sub>  
 21 šuruppak<sup>ki</sup> lugal-e  
 22 ubur-tu-tu  
 23 šár×u mu ì-ak

24 šuruppak<sup>ki</sup> ba-šub

upper edge

- 25 šu-nigin 8 lugal 5 ur[u<sup>k</sup>]<sup>i</sup>-didli  
 26 šu-nigin šár-gal šár géš-u+géš-u+géš-  
 u+géš-u+géš-u mu-bi/-e-ne

left edge

- 27 a-ma-ru b[a-(x)-è]d([DU]<sub>6</sub>.DU)<sup>2</sup>-àm  
 ʾlugal-e<sup>1</sup> ba-záh-am<sub>6</sub>

<sup>1</sup> (In) Eridu (was) kingship: <sup>2</sup> Alulim reigned for 28,800 years, <sup>3</sup> Elalgar reigned for 43,200 years, <sup>4</sup> Eridu was overthrown. Kingship <sup>5</sup> was taken to Bad-tibira, <sup>6</sup> in Bad-tibira (ruled) the king: <sup>7</sup> [Am/En]menluanna reigned for 36,000 years, <sup>8</sup> Enmegalanna reigned for 28,800 years, <sup>9</sup> Dumuzi reigned for 28,800 years, <sup>10</sup> Bad-tibira was overthrown. <sup>11</sup> Kingship was taken to Larak, <sup>12</sup> (in) Larak (ruled) the king: <sup>13</sup> Ensipazianna <sup>14</sup> reigned for 13,800 years, <sup>15</sup> Larak was overthrown. <sup>16</sup> Kingship was taken to Sippar, <sup>17</sup> (in) Sippar (ruled) the king: <sup>18</sup> Meduranki reigned for 7,200 years, <sup>19</sup> Sippar was overthrown. <sup>20</sup> Kingship was taken to Šuruppak, <sup>21</sup> (in) Šuruppak (ruled) the king: <sup>22</sup> Uburtutu <sup>23</sup> reigned for 36,000 years, <sup>24</sup> Šuruppak was overthrown. <sup>25</sup> Total: eight kings, five cities; <sup>26</sup> total: 222,600 years. <sup>27</sup> The flood [came] down(?), the (office of) king was lost.

## The Sumerian King List

The principal chronological text handed down in Old Babylonian schools is that known as the Sumerian King List. Since the time of its last print edition (Jacobsen 1939), many new sources have been published, conveniently listed by Claudine-Adrienne Vincente (1995: 236–68, add Steinkeller 2003b, Klein 2008), and the text has been much studied (e.g. Hallo 1963, Edzard 1980, Michalowski 1984, Wilcke 1988, 1989, Klein 1991, Steiner 1992, Glassner 2004: 117–27 no. 1, id. 2005, Marchesi 2010).

An electronic edition, based on sources available in 1999, is available at the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature ([www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk](http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk)).

Two further sources exist in the Schøyen Collection and are presented here as texts Nos. 98 and 99. They will be treated to a more extensive study in Gianni Marchesi's new edition of the Sumerian king lists, currently in preparation.

No. 98

MS 3175

Pls. LXXXI–LXXXIII

This is a large square tablet, inscribed on its two faces with three columns of archaizing cuneiform text, rather crudely achieved. Two columns occupy the convex face and one the flat face. A fourth column is vacant. This is a very clear example of a tablet begun on the wrong side, for the text begins at the top left of the convex face. The content is the opening section of the Sumerian King List, from the antediluvian institution of kingship to the fourth king of the first post-diluvian dynasty of Kiš.

The tablet is very probably Old Babylonian but employs an elaborately archaizing script.

The size of the script indicates that the tablet is the work of a relative newcomer to writing. The origin of the list in promoting the political legitimacy of Akkade, Ur, or Isin is often asserted, but its function in pedagogy was no doubt also to inculcate in students the traditions of Babylonian history, from the earliest times to the modern era (cf. Westenholz 1999: 27). It would seem that some apprentice scribes learned about old-fashioned sign forms at the same time as they engaged with traditions about their most distant history, a nice merger of textual content and calligraphy.

col. i

- 1 nam-lugal an-ta e<sub>11</sub><sup>!</sup>(DU<sub>6</sub>)-da / -a-<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>
- 2 eridu<sup>ki</sup> nam-lugal-la
- 3 eridu<sup>ki</sup> a-lu-lim lugal-<sup>1</sup>àm<sup>1</sup>
- 4 mu šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár ì-<sup>1</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>
- 5 a-làl-gar lugal-àm
- 6 mu šár×u ì-ak
- 7 2 lugal mu-bi šár×u šár+šár+šár+šár+[š]ár+šár+šár+šár ì-ak
- 8 eridu<sup>ki</sup> ba-šub
- 9 nam-[lug]al-bi bàd-[t]ibira<sup>ki</sup>-<sup>1</sup>šè<sup>1</sup> / ba-<sup>1</sup>de<sup>1</sup>
- 10 <sup>1</sup>bàd-tibira<sup>ki</sup> am-me-sipa-an<sup>1</sup>-[na]
- 11 [mu] šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár ì-ak
- 12 <sup>1</sup>am-me-gal-an-na lugal<sup>1</sup>-àm

13 <sup>1</sup>mu šár+šár+šár+šár+šár<sup>1</sup> ì-ak14 [<sup>1</sup>d]umu-zi sipa(PA.{ras.}.LU)15 <sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup> šár×[u] ì-ak

16 3 lugal

17 mu šár×u+šár×u <sup>1</sup>šár<sup>1</sup> ì-ak

col. ii

18 bàd-tibira<sup>ki</sup> b[a]-šub19 nam-<sup>1</sup>lugal-bi<sup>1</sup> la-ra-ak<sup>ki</sup> / -šè ba-de<sub>6</sub>20 la-ra-ak<sup>ki</sup> en-sipa-zi / -a[n-n]a lugal-àm21 <sup>1</sup>mu šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár<sup>1</sup> ì-ak

22 1 lugal

23 mu-bi šár+šár+šár+šár+šár+šár ì-ak

24 la-ra-<sup>1</sup>ak<sup>ki</sup> ba-šub25 nam-lugal-bi zimbir<sup>ki</sup> / -šè ba-de<sub>6</sub>26 <sup>1</sup>zimbir<sup>ki</sup> am-me-dur-an-na / lugal-àm27 mu <sup>1</sup>šár+šár+šár+šár+šár<sup>1</sup> ì-ak

- 28 1 lugal  
 29 'mu<sup>1</sup>-bi šár+šár+šár+šár+šár 'i<sup>1</sup>-ak  
 30 'zimbir<sup>ki</sup> ba-[šub]  
 31 nam-lugal-bi šuruppa[k<sup>ki</sup>] / -šè ba-d[e<sub>6</sub>]  
 32 šuruppak<sup>ki</sup> ubur-'tu<sup>1</sup>-t[u] / lu[gal-àm]  
 33 mu šár+šár+šár+šár+šár {DIS} 'gés-  
 u+gés-u<sup>1</sup>+gés-u+gés-u<sup>2</sup> ì-ak]  
 34 'zi<sup>1</sup>-[u<sub>4</sub>-sud-rá lugal-àm]  
 35 [mu šár×u<sup>2</sup> ì-ak]  
 col. iii  
 36 [2 lugal]  
 37 m[u-bi šár×u šár+šár+šár+šár+šár gés-  
 u+gés-u+gés-u+gés-u ì-ak]  
 38 'š<sup>1</sup> uru<sup>ki</sup>-[me-eš]  
 39 10 lugal-e-n[e]  
 40 mu-bi šár-gal šár+šár+šár+šár+šár gés-  
 u+gés-[u]+gés-u+gés-u [ì-ak]  
 41 a-ma-ru bí-íb-'ùr<sup>1</sup>  
 42 egir a-ma-ru ba-an / -ùr-ra-ta  
 43 nam-lugal an-'ta<sup>1</sup> e<sub>11</sub> / -da-a-ba  
 44 kiš<sup>ki</sup>-a nam-lugal-la  
 45 'kiš<sup>ki</sup>-a lú-giš<sup>giš</sup>gušur(ÙR)-ra / lugal-àm  
 46 mu gés-u+gés-u ì-ak  
 47 kul-la-sí-na-bé-el  
 48 mu gés-u 4,0 ì-ak  
 49 na-an-[z]i-iz-li-tár-ku  
 50 mu gés-u+gés-u ì-ak  
 51 en-dàra-an-na 'mu<sup>1</sup> 7 'a-rá<sup>1</sup> / 7 iti-3 ud-  
 '3<sup>1</sup> ud-maš-a / íb-ak

<sup>1</sup> When kingship was sent down from heaven, <sup>2</sup> (in) Eridu there was kingship. <sup>3</sup> (In) Eridu Alulim was king, <sup>4</sup> he reigned 28,800 years; <sup>5</sup> Alalgar was king, <sup>6</sup> he reigned 36,000 years; <sup>7</sup> two kings reigned its 64,800 years. <sup>8</sup> Eridu was overthrown, <sup>9</sup> its kingship was taken to Bad-tibira. <sup>10</sup> (In) Bad-tibira Amme-sipa-anna <sup>11</sup> reigned 21,600 years; <sup>12</sup> Amme-gal-anna was king, <sup>13</sup> he reigned 18,000 years; <sup>14</sup> the shepherd Dumuzi <sup>15</sup> reigned 36,000 years; <sup>16</sup> three kings <sup>17</sup> reigned its 75,600 years. <sup>18</sup> Bad-tibira was overthrown, <sup>19</sup> its kingship was taken to Larak. <sup>20</sup> (In) Larak En-sipa-ziana was king, <sup>21</sup> he reigned 21,600 years; <sup>22</sup> one king <sup>23</sup> reigned its 21,600 years. <sup>24</sup> Larak was overthrown, <sup>25</sup> its kingship was taken to Sippar. <sup>26</sup> (In) Sippar Amme-duranna was king, <sup>27</sup> he reigned 18,000 years; <sup>28</sup> one king <sup>29</sup> reigned its 18,000 years. <sup>30</sup> Sippar was overthrown, <sup>31</sup> its kingship was taken to Šuruppak. <sup>32</sup> (In) Šuruppak Ubur-tutu [was] king, <sup>33</sup> [he reigned] 20,400(?) years; <sup>34</sup> Ziusudra [was king, <sup>35</sup> he reigned 36,000(?) years; <sup>36</sup> two kings <sup>37</sup> reigned its 56,400] years. <sup>38</sup> Five cities [there were,] <sup>39</sup> ten kings <sup>40</sup> [reigned] their 236,400 years. <sup>41</sup> The flood swept (everything) flat. <sup>42</sup> After the flood swept (everything) flat, <sup>43</sup> when kingship was sent down from heaven, <sup>44</sup> in Kiš there was kingship. <sup>45</sup> In Kiš Lu-gušurra was king, <sup>46</sup> he reigned 1,200 years; <sup>47</sup> Kullassina-bēl <sup>48</sup> reigned 840 years, <sup>49</sup> Nanzizlittarku <sup>50</sup> reigned 1,200 years, <sup>51</sup> En-daranna reigned for seven times seven years, three months, three days and a half.

No. 99

MS 3429

Pl. LXXXIV

MS 3429 is a rectangular fragment with one face inscribed in two columns with Old Babylonian cuneiform. The other face is obscured by a modern addition of clay crudely moulded by hand to form a convex surface. This clay remains firmly attached, even after baking, and it has been thought prudent not to detach it. The left edge is ragged and bears the impressions of a blunt tool, so it would seem that the fragment was separated from a larger piece by piercing through and prising apart. Both interventions were motivated by a desire to pass the fragment off as complete.

The text surviving on the two remaining columns is two passages from the Sumerian King List. The text of the left-hand column contains the end of the first dynasty of Uruk (the dynasty of Gilgamesh) and the whole of the first dynasty of Ur. The text of the right-hand column holds the end of the second dynasty of Kiš and the solitary king of Hamazi. In the Weld-Blundell prism and other similarly complete manuscripts the former passage precedes the latter, so if the present tablet was conventionally arranged, the surviving inscribed face is from the obverse. It was no doubt a multi-column tablet that perhaps once bore the entire list.

col. i'

- 1' [me-lám]-'an<sup>1</sup>-[na]  
 2' [mu] '6<sup>7</sup> ì-ak  
 3' lugal-'ki-GÍN<sup>1</sup>  
 4' mu 6 'ì-ak<sup>1</sup>  
 5' 12 lugal  
 6' [mu-b]i géš-u+géš-u+géš-u 8,31 / ì-ak  
 7' [unu]g<sup>ki</sup>-ga<sup>giš</sup>tukul ba-sig<sup>1</sup>  
 8' [na]m-lugal-bi  
 9' [úr]im<sup>ki</sup>-šè ba-de<sub>6</sub>  
 10' [úr]im<sup>ki</sup>-ma  
 11' [mes-an]-né-pàd-'da<sup>1</sup>  
 12' [luga]l-àm  
 13' [mu] 2,20 ì-ak  
 14' [mes]-'ki-ág<sup>1</sup>-nun-na  
 15' [dumu] mes-an-né-pàd-da  
 16' [m]u 30 ì-ak  
 17' [e]-'lu-lu<sup>1</sup>  
 18' [mu] 25 ì-ak  
 19' [ba]-'lu-lu<sup>1</sup>  
 20' [m]u 36 'ì<sup>1</sup>-[ak]  
 21' 4 lug[al]

gap

col. ii'

- 1' 'mu 6,0 ì<sup>1</sup>-[ak]  
 2' 'men<sup>1</sup>-nun-[na] / dumu TÚG-e-[ke<sub>4</sub>]  
 3' mu 3,0 ì-a[k]

- 4' lugal-m[u]  
 5' mu 7,0 ì-ak  
 6' i-bí-<sup>d</sup>sue[n]  
 7' mu 4,40 ì-a[k]  
 8' 8 lugal  
 9' mu-bi géš-u+géš-u+géš-u+géš-u+géš-u  
 3,15 / 'ì-ak<sup>1</sup>  
 10' kiš<sup>ki</sup> giš<sup>giš</sup>tukul ba-si[g]  
 11' 'nam-lugal-bi<sup>1</sup>  
 12' ḥ[a]-ma-zi<sup>ki</sup>-šè ba-d[e<sub>6</sub>]  
 13' ḥ[a-m]a-zi<sup>ki</sup>  
 14' 'ḥa-tá-ni-iš<sup>n</sup>  
 15' lugal-àm  
 16' mu 7 (or 7,0) ì-ak  
 17' 1 lugal  
 18' mu-'bi<sup>1</sup> 7 (or 7,0) ì-a[k]  
 19' 'ḥa-ma-zi<sup>kin</sup> giš<sup>giš</sup>tukul b[a-sig]  
 20' [nam-luga]l-b[i]  
 21' [unug<sup>ki</sup>-šè] ba-[de<sub>6</sub>]  
 remainder lost

. . . i' 1' [Melam]-anna 2' reigned six(?) [years;] 3' Lugalki-GÍN 4' reigned six years: 5' twelve kings 6' reigned its 2,311 [years.] 7' Uruk was [defeated] in battle, 8' its kingship 9' was taken to Ur. 10' In Ur 11' [Mes]-anne-padda 12' was king, 13' he reigned 140 [years;] 14' [Mes]-kiang-nunna, 15' Mes-anne-pad-

da's [son], <sup>16'</sup> reigned thirty years; <sup>17'</sup> Elulu <sup>18'</sup> reigned twenty-five [years;] <sup>19'</sup> Balulu <sup>20'</sup> [reigned] thirty-six years: <sup>21'</sup> four kings <sup>22'</sup> [reigned its 237 years . . .

. . . <sup>ii'1'</sup> [TÚG-e reigned] 360 years; <sup>2'</sup> Men-  
nunna, TÚG-e's son, <sup>3'</sup> reigned 180 years; <sup>4'</sup>  
Lugalmu <sup>5'</sup> reigned 420 years; <sup>6'</sup> Ibbi-Suen <sup>7'</sup>  
reigned 280 years: <sup>8'</sup> eight kings <sup>9'</sup> reigned its

3,195 years. <sup>10'</sup> Kiš was defeated in battle, <sup>11'</sup>  
its kingship <sup>12'</sup> was taken to Hamazi. <sup>13'</sup> (In)  
Hamazi <sup>14'</sup> Hataniš <sup>15'</sup> was king, <sup>16'</sup> he  
reigned seven (or 420) years: <sup>17'</sup> one king <sup>18'</sup>  
reigned its seven (or 420) years. <sup>19'</sup> Hamazi  
was [defeated] in battle, <sup>20'</sup> its [kingship] <sup>21'</sup>  
was [taken to Uruk. . . .

## A List of Reigns of Kings of Ur and Isin

No. 100

MS 1686

Pl. LXXXV

MS 1686 is a clay tablet inscribed on both faces and two edges with twenty-one lines of Old Babylonian cuneiform. The content is a list of the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the First Dynasty of Isin and the years of their reigns, from Ur-Namma to Damiq-ilišu (conventionally 2112–1794 BC). The text has elicited much previous attention. It was first published by Edmond Sollberger in 1954 in transliteration only, when the tablet was in the Erlenmeyer Collection in Basle (Sollberger 1954 Text A). Sollberger noted the existence of a near duplicate in the same collection (Text B), but he did not give a full transliteration, only notes on variants and other differences. Sollberger's transliteration of Text A and notes on Text B were repeated by Kirk Grayson in his study of the Babylonian king lists, where the text was catalogued as "King List 2. Ur-Isin King List" (Grayson 1980: 90).

After the sale of the Erlenmeyer Collection, the tablet bearing Text A was acquired by the Schøyen Collection, and its photograph

subsequently published on the collection's website (<http://www.schoyencollection.com/babylonianhist.htm>) and in an exhibition catalogue (Lippincott 1999: 255 no. 265). In 2007, in ignorance of the collection's public online statement that MS 1686 is the very tablet presented to scholarship by Sollberger fifty years previously, it was republished, ostensibly for the first time and in a cuneiform copy made without first-hand inspection of the tablet, as a "new version of the Ur-Isin King List" (Friberg 2007: 233–34, 491). The preparation of a second copy for this volume largely vindicates Sollberger's decipherment.

The tablet bearing Text B found a new home in Italy and was subsequently published in photograph (rev. only), transliteration, and Italian translation by Mario Fales (Fales 1989: 144–45). The subscript of Text A lacks the expected addition of regnal years and makes better sense when emended to agree with Text B: šu+nigin u[r]-<sup>d</sup>namma-t[a] en-na da-mi-[iq-  
i-lí-šu m]u-{x}-bi 3I[3] (cf. *ibid.*).

obv.

1 18 mu <sup>d</sup>ur-<sup>d</sup>namma lugal  
 2 48 mu <sup>d</sup>šul-gi lugal  
 3 9 mu <sup>d</sup>amar-<sup>d</sup>suen-na  
 4 9 mu <sup>d</sup>šu-<sup>d</sup>suen-{na}  
 5 24 mu <sup>d</sup>i-bi-<sup>d</sup>suen  
 6 33 mu <sup>d</sup>iš-bi-èr-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>  
 7 10 mu šu-i-lí-šu  
 8 21 mu <sup>d</sup>i-din-<sup>d</sup>da-gan

18 years Ur-Namma (was) king  
 48 years Šulgi (was) king  
 9 years Amar-Suen  
 9 years Šu-Suen  
 24 years Ibbi-Suen  
 33 years Išbi-Erra  
 10 years Šu-ilišu  
 21 years Iddin-Dagan

lower edge

9 19 mu <sup>d</sup>iš-me-<sup>d</sup>d[a] / -gan  
 10 11 mu <sup>d</sup>li-pí-it / -iš<sub>8</sub>-tá[r]

19 years Išme-Dagan  
 11 years Lipit-Ištar

rev.

11 28 mu <sup>d</sup>ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-urta  
 12 22 mu <sup>d</sup>bur-<sup>d</sup>sín(suen)  
 13 5 mu <sup>d</sup>li-pí-<it>-<sup>d</sup>en-líl  
 14 8 mu <sup>d</sup>èr-ra-i-mi / -ti  
 15 24 mu <sup>d</sup>en-líl-ba-ni  
 16 3 mu <sup>d</sup>za-bi-ia

28 years Ur-Ninurta  
 22 years Būr-Sîn  
 5 years Lipit-Enlil  
 8 years Erra-imittī  
 24 years Enlil-bāni  
 3 years Zabbiya



17	3 mu <sup>d</sup> <i>i-te-er-pī</i> (ka)-š <sup>a</sup>	3 years Īter-pīša
18	3 mu <sup>d</sup> <i>ur-du</i> <sub>6</sub> -kù-ga	3 years Ur-dukuga
19	11 mu <sup>d</sup> <i>sîn</i> (suen)-<ma>-gir	11 years Sîn-magir
upper edge		
20	4 mu <i>da-mi-iq-ì-lí-šū</i>	4 years Damiq-ilišu
21	šū-<nigin> ur- <sup>d</sup> <i>namma</i> <sup>1</sup> en-na / <i>da-mi-i</i> [q-ì]- <i>lí-šū</i> <mu-bi 313>	Total, Ur-Namma to Damiq-ilišu: <313 years>

### A List of Year Names of Kings of Ur

No. 101

MS 1915

Pl. LXXXVI

MS 1915 is an oblong tablet inscribed with twenty-two ruled lines of Ur III-period script. It was formerly perfectly preserved but much of the surface of the obverse disintegrated through the action of mineral salts when the tablet was baked. Fortunately a photograph exists of it before it suffered this damage. The content is a list of the names of the years of kings of Ur, from year 1 of Amar-Suen (AS) to year 3 of Ibbi-Suen (IS), twenty-one years in all (conventionally 2046–2026 BC). Year names were the standard method of dating at this time, and survive in lists and on documents as important sources for the reconstruction of third and second-millennium history (Horsnell 1999: I 123–42, Charpin 2004: 45–49). The year names listed on MS 1915 are all well known from the multitude of extant archival documents dated in the reigns of Amar-Suen and his successors. No doubt MS 1915 was written during the third year of Ibbi-Suen, either as a memorandum of useful dates for someone in a bureaucratic post that required familiarity with recent dates or as a training exercise for scribes destined for such a position.

Other lists of Ur III year names are extant, on both contemporaneous and later tablets. Those known by the 1930s were edited by

Ungnad (1938: 136–38). Two of them begin with Amar-Suen year 1: a tablet from Nippur now in Philadelphia (*BE* I 127) and a tablet of uncertain provenance, now in New Haven (*YOS* I 26). The former ends with Šu-Suen 7 (our l. 17); the latter closes with Amar-Suen 8 (our l. 9). Both are documents of the Ur III period, like the present tablet.

There are two later copies of lists of Ur III year names: a fragment that contains years of Ibbi-Suen, Išbi-Erra, Iddin-Dagān, and Išme-Dagān, which is the surviving corner of a much longer list of dates of Ur III and Isin I (*UET* I 292, see Sollberger 1954–56: 40–42), and a tablet that records dates of Šulgi of Ur (Wilcke 1985: 299–303). The former was excavated at Ur in No. 7 Quiet Street among tablets dated to Rīm-Sîn of Larsa (Charpin 1986: 37 U 7755), the latter found at Isin in a context dated stratigraphically to Samsuiluna of Babylon. These demonstrate the survival of the genre into the eighteenth century, when the function of date lists of reigns long past was surely academic. Their study, beside other chronological texts such as king lists, speaks for a desire among Old Babylonian scholars to connect past with present (cf. Wilcke 1988: 114).

obv.

1	mu <sup>d</sup> amar- <sup>d</sup> suen lugal	Year Amar-Suen (became) king	AS 1
2	mu <sup>d</sup> amar- <sup>d</sup> suen lugal-e	Year king Amar-Suen	
3	ur-bil-lum mu-ḥul	sacked Urbillum	AS 2
4	mu <sup>giš</sup> gu-za <sup>d</sup> en-líl-lá ba-dím	Year Enlil's throne was made	AS 3
5	mu en- <sup>r</sup> maḥ-gal <sup>r</sup> an-na ba-ḥug	Year An's Grand Sublime <i>en</i> was appointed	AS 4
6	mu en unu <sub>6</sub> -gal <sup>d</sup> ianna ba-ḥug	Year the <i>en</i> of Inanna's great shrine was appointed	AS 5
7	mu ša-aš-šú-ru <sup>rkin</sup> ba-ḥul	Year Šaššuru was sacked	AS 6
8	mu ḥu-ḥu-nu-ri <sup>ki</sup> ba-ḥu[l]	Year Ḥuḥnuri was sacked	AS 7
9	mu en eridu <sup>ki</sup> ba-ḥug	Year the <i>en</i> -priest of Eridu was appointed	AS 8
10	mu en ga-eš <sup>ki</sup> ba-ḥug	Year the <i>en</i> -priest of Gaeš was appointed	AS 9
<hr/>			
11	mu <sup>d</sup> šú- <sup>d</sup> suen lugal	Year Šu-Suen (became) king	ŠS 1
12	mu má-dàra-abzu ba-ab-duḥ	Year the boat Ibex of the Deep was caulked	ŠS 2
13	[m]u si-ma-núm <sup>ki</sup> ba-ḥul	Year Simanum was sacked	ŠS 3
14	mu bàd mar-dú ba-dù	Year the west wall was built	ŠS 4
15	mu ús-sa bàd mar-dú ba-dù	Year following the west wall was built	ŠS 5
16	mu na-rú-a-maḥ ba-rú	Year the Sublime Stele was set up	ŠS 6
17	mu ma-da za-ab-ša-lí <sup>ki</sup> ba-ḥul	Year the land of Zabšali was ravaged	ŠS 7
18	mu má-gur <sub>8</sub> -maḥ ba-dím	Year the Sublime Barge was made	ŠS 8
rev.			
19	mu é <sup>d</sup> šara ba-dù	Year the temple of Šara was built	ŠS 9
<hr/>			
20	mu <sup>d</sup> i-bí- <sup>d</sup> suen lugal	Year Ibbi-Suen (became) king	IS 1
21	mu en <sup>d</sup> ianna unug <sup>ki</sup> máš-e / ì-pàd	Year the <i>en</i> of Inanna of Uruk was chosen by extispicy	IS 2
22	mu ší-mu-ru-um <sup>ki</sup> ba-ḥul	Year Šimurrum was sacked	IS 3

## A List of Year Names of Rīm-Sîn of Larsa

No. 102

MS 3287

Pl. LXXXVII

This is a tablet in landscape format inscribed on both faces in an elegant and practised Old Babylonian hand with fifteen lines of text, divided into eight by rulings. The content is a list of the names of the first eight years of Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa (1822–1763 BC), of which the last is partly erased. Traces of further erasures suggest that the tablet originally held still more text. Probably it was written in or near Larsa during Rīm-Sîn's reign as a scribal exercise.

The year names of Rīm-Sîn have been studied by the late D. O. Edzard (1957: 176–78) and Marten Stol (1976: 18–23), and listed anew by Marcel Sigrist (1990: 37–60); they are well known from legal, commercial, and administrative documents dated to his reign. The available lists of Larsa year names, edited by Ungnad (1938: 149–55) and Stol (1976: 2–5), are lacunose, and the present tablet is a useful addition to their number. It is noteworthy for the variant name of Rīm-Sîn's father, usually Kudurmabug, in l. 3: *Kudunnabug*.

obv.

- 1 [m]u <sup>d</sup>ri-im-<sup>rd</sup>sîn(suen)<sup>1</sup> lugal  
 2 <sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup> é <sup>d</sup>iškur šà larsam<sup>ki</sup>-ma / <sup>r</sup>ù<sup>1</sup> é  
<sup>rd</sup>bára<sup>1</sup>-ul-e-gar-ra šà<sup>1</sup> *zar-bí-lum*<sup>ki</sup> mu-  
 un-na-dù  
 3 mu 4 alam-u[rudu k]u-du-un-na-bu-ug /  
 é <sup>d</sup>utu-šè i-[n]i-in-ku<sub>4</sub>-re-eš / <sup>ù</sup> é <sup>d</sup>nin-  
 mar<sup>[k]</sup><sup>i</sup> šà aš-<sup>r</sup>dub<sup>1</sup>-ba<sup>ki</sup> mu-un-na-dù  
 4 mu é <sup>d</sup>inanna é <sup>d</sup>n[ann]a <sup>ù</sup> é <sup>d</sup>en-ki šà  
 larsam<sup>ki</sup>-ma / <sup>r</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-un-dù-a  
 5 mu 2 alam-urudu ku-du-ur-ma-bu-ug <sup>ù</sup> 1  
 na-rú-a / é-gal-bar-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-šè <sup>r</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-ni-ku<sub>4</sub>-  
 re-eš  
 6 mu é <sup>rd</sup>[bára]-ul-e-gar-ra / [šà adab  
 (UD).N[UN]<sup>ki</sup>] mu-un-dù-a

rev.

- [<sup>ù</sup>] <sup>r</sup>alam kù<sup>1</sup>-sig<sub>17</sub><sup>mr<sup>d</sup></sup>sîn(suen)-i-din<sup>1</sup>-  
 nam lugal larsam<sup>ki</sup>-[ma / m]u-un-dù-[a]  
 7 mu <sup>r</sup>ká<sup>1</sup>-gal-a min-a-bi šà *maš-kán-šabra*  
<sup>r</sup>mu-un<sup>1</sup>-[dù]  
 8 <sup>r</sup>mu é <sup>d</sup>en-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>1</sup> (line partly erased)

<sup>1</sup> Year Rīm-Sîn (became) king.<sup>2</sup> Year he built the temple of Adad in Larsa and the temple of Baraulegarra in Zarbilum.<sup>3</sup> Year he sent four copper statues of Kudurmabug into the temple of Šamaš and built the temple of Ninmar in Ašdubba.<sup>4</sup> Year he built the temple of Ištar, the temple of Sîn and the temple of Ea in Larsa.<sup>5</sup> Year he sent in two copper statues of Kudurmabug and a stele to the Outer Palace.<sup>6</sup> Year he built the temple of Baraulegarra [in Adab, <sup>rev.</sup> and] made a golden statue of Sîn-iddinam, king of Larsa.<sup>7</sup> Year he [built] the two city gates of Maškan-šāpir.<sup>8</sup> Year [he built] the temple of Ea . . .

