

Dating the Chedorlaomer's death

Abstract. Historians consider the biblical account about Chedorlaomer's campaign against Sodom as a pious fiction (Genesis 14:1-20). However, the Gospels refer to it as a real story which is even described as essential to faith (Hebrews 6:20-7:2). According to the chronology drawn from the Masoretic text, Abraham's departure from Ur and his arrival in Canaan are dated in 1963 BCE when Abraham is 75 years old (Genesis 12:4-5). The revolt of Transjordan kings against Chedorlaomer occurs in the 13th year of his reign and the following year (1954 BCE) Chedorlaomer was shot by Abraham (Genesis 14:4-17).

A chronological reconstruction based on synchronisms shows that among dynasties from Sumerian lists the 3rd and last Elamite king of the Awan I dynasty was Kudur-Lagamar (1990-1954). Ashurbanipal, after his conquest of Elam and Susa ransacking, exposed (in 646 BCE) the capture of the goddess Nanaya (in Uruk) by Kudur-Lagamar which occurred around 1300 years earlier (in 1968 BCE). The Spartoli tablets (c. 650 BCE) describe this famous attack of Babylonia by a coalition of evil kings named Kudur-KUKUmal, king of Elam, Tudhula, king of Gutium, and Eri-Aku [king of Larsa]. This coalition of kings (Sumer, Larsa, Gutium) united under Kutur-Lagamar is quite likely, because all these kings were vassals or allies of the king of Elam (and Akkad) at that time, moreover, they came from neighboring regions. One can notice that Puzur-Inšušinak, a powerful king of Elam, founded a new dynasty which has been classified as belonging to the kings of Akkad, which explains the gap of about 30 years between the end of the Elamite dynasty of Awan II and the beginning of the dynasty of Šimaški. After the destruction of Ur by Kindadu, which marked the end of Ur III, the dynasty of Awan I has been postponed just after the dynasty of Ur I instead of Ur III.

The Chedorlaomer's route and the description of his actions show that this king came to this region near Egypt in order to maintain control over this new land trade route. This ambitious project had to make worry Amenemhat I (1975-1946) because southern Canaan was a big source of supply. In order to protect Egypt, Amenemhat I built the "Wall of the Ruler". In addition, first Execration Texts against Canaan and western Syria appear at this time. One can notice that the area of Sodom is called Šutu[m] in execration texts (then Moab after 1800 BCE).

According to the Bible (Gn 14:1-20), in the days of Lot, before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the Elamite empire managed most surrounding tribes and cities of the Jordan River Plain. The occupation was under the rule of King Chedorlaomer for 12 years. In the 13th year, 5 kings of the cities of the Jordan plain revolted against Elamite rule and the revolt started with refusing to pay tribute to the Elamite empire. This triggered Chedorlaomer to assemble forces thanks to 4 kings of Mesopotamia. His campaign to the Jordan plains began with sacking and looting cities along the way. The cities of Sodom and Gomorrah were then spoiled of their goods and provisions as well as the taking of captives. Among the captives was Abram's nephew, Lot. When word reached Abram, he immediately mounted a rescue operation, arming 318 of his trained servants who went in pursuit of the Mesopotamian armies that were returning to their homelands. They caught up with them in the city of Dan, flanking the enemy on multiple sides, during a night raid. The attack ran its course as far as Hobah, north of Damascus where he defeated Chedorlaomer and his forces. Abram recovered all the goods, even the captives who included Lot. After the battle, Melchizedek, the Canaanite king of Uru-Salem, brought out bread and wine and blessed Abraham, who gave him a tenth of the plunder.

This famous story is considered a fairytale by archaeologists especially as biblical scholars themselves do not believe it anymore. For example we can read in the Jerusalem Bible¹, Official Bible of the Catholic Church: *This chapter does not belong to any of the three major*

¹ R. DE VAUX – La Bible de Jérusalem
Paris 1986 Éd. Cerf, École biblique de Jérusalem, p. 43 note e.

sources of Genesis. Its value is diversely appreciated. It seems to be a composition imitating late antiquity: the names are not identifiable to any known character, and it is historically impossible that Elam has ever dominated the southern cities of the Dead Sea, and took the head of a coalition that would have brought an Amorite king (Amraphel), a Hurrian king (Arioch) and a Hittite king (Tidal). The narrative wanted to tie Abraham to great history and add to his reputation with a halo of military glory. However, this peremptory statement contradicts the Bible itself: Jehovah has sworn (and he will feel no regret): "You are a priest to time indefinite. According to the manner of Melchizedek!" (Ps 100:4); Jesus, who has become a high priest according to the manner of Melchizedek forever. For this Melchizedek, king of Salem, priest of the Most High God, who met Abraham returning from the slaughter of the kings and blessed him and to whom Abraham apportioned a tenth from all things, is first of all, by translation, "King of Righteousness," and is then also king of Salem, that is, "King of Peace" (Hb 6:20-7:2).

In addition, do not be daunted by the current propaganda from archaeologists who, because of the lack of data, claim frequently that historical evidence are wrong. For example, most archaeologists believed that major trade trips between Mesopotamia and Canaan were mythical despite the fact that around 2500 BCE a trip of 1620 km between Uruk and Lebanon is already mentioned in the Epic of Gilgamesh (III:9-12), however several archaeological surveys since 1990 have shown that these trips were quite frequent². Many academics refer again and again to Albright's statements of 1940, for who camels in the Bible were anachronistic, persisting to ignore archaeological evidence of a domestication around 2000 BCE³. Professor E. Lipinski, in contrast, states⁴: *Camel seems to have been domesticated in Arabia since the 3rd millennium BCE*. Archaeologists claim that at that time most people were illiterate and only professional scribes knew writing, however an analysis of the correspondence from the Assyrian merchants, circa 1850 BCE, in Kanesh⁵ (Hittite capital in Anatolia) shown that many of them were sending letters to their family, including their wives, and they got written responses through letters. Many archaeologists believe that the imperial armies for war were made up of thousands of soldiers, which is true, but the expeditionary corp for remote police operations (in Syria for example) was much smaller and consisted of a regiment (among a total of 9) of only 600 soldiers⁶.

The only way to assess the veracity (historical truth) of this event is the determining its exact chronology ("the backbone of history"). Foremost one should know that until now Babylonian chronology, which is the best known, is not yet fixed since Oppert (1863) made started the reign of Hammurabi in 2394 BCE, Thureau-Dangin (1927) lowered this date to 2003 BCE and Gasche proposed (1998) lowering it again in 1696 BCE. Hammurabi has rejuvenated about 700 years during the 20th century! Greek chronology is not in a much better position since the difference is this time almost 1000 years: the fight raged between proponents of a high chronology (2100 BCE), medium (1900 to 1600 BCE) or low (up to 1100 BCE for some extremists)⁷. Regarding biblical chronology Vatican's biblical scholars made Abraham enter into Canaan in 2138 BCE (1899)⁸, then in 1850 BCE today (1986)⁹. First, one must get an accurate biblical chronology from the Masoretic text:

² P. BUTTERLIN – Les temps proto-urbain de Mésopotamie
Paris 2003 Éd. CNRS Editions pp. 15-18, 196-198.

³ S.A. ROSEN, B.A. SAIDEL – The Camel and the Tent: An Exploration of Technological Change among Early Pastoralists
in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 69:1 (2010) pp. 74-76.

⁴ E. LIPINSKI – Itineraria Phoenicia
in: *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 127 (2004) Éd. Peeters pp. 205-212.

⁵ C. MICHEL – La correspondance des marchands assyriens du XIX^e siècle av. J.-C.: de l'archivage des lettres commerciales et privées
in: *TOPOI* Supplément 9 (2008, IFAO) pp. 117-140.

⁶ P. ABRAHAMI, L. BATTINI – Les armées du Proche-Orient ancien: III^e-I^{er} mill. av. J.-C.
in: *BAR International Series* 1855 (2008) pp. 1-22.

⁷ C. MOSSÉ, A. SCHNAPP-GOURBEILLON - Précis d'histoire grecque
Paris 1999 Éd. Armand Colin p. 33.

⁸ F. VIGOUROUX – Dictionnaire de la Bible N°2 C-F
Paris 1899 Éd. Letouzey et Ané, p. 737.

⁹ R. DE VAUX – La Bible de Jérusalem (1986, Cerf), p. 1805.

| N° | HEBREW | | | reference | ISRAELITE | Reign | | reference |
|----|------------------------------|-------------------|------------|--------------------|--------------|----------------------|----------|------------------|
| | Abraham (<i>Ur</i>) | 2038-1963 | 75 | Gn 12:4-5 | | | | |
| | <i>Canaan-Egypt</i> | 1963-1533 | 430 | Ex 12:40-41 | | | | |
| | Moses (<i>Exodus</i>) | 1533-1493 | 40 | Ex 16:35 | | | | |
| 1 | Joshua | 1493-1463 | 30 | Jo 14:10;24:29 | | | | |
| 2 | Without judge | 1463-1452 | [11] | Jo 24:31 | | | | |
| | <i>total N° 1-2</i> | <i>1493-1452</i> | <i>41</i> | Nb 32:13 | | | | |
| 3 | Cushan-rishat. | 1452-1444 | 8 | Jg 3:8 | | | | |
| 4 | Othniel | 1444-1404 | 40 | Jg 3:11 | | | | |
| 5 | Eglon | 1404-1386 | 18 | Jg 3:14 | | | | |
| 6 | Ehud | 1386-1306 | 80 | Jg 3:30 | | | | |
| 7 | Madian | 1306-1299 | 7 | Jg 6:1 | | | | |
| 8 | Gedeon | 1299-1259 | 40 | Jg 8:28 | | | | |
| 9 | Abimelek | 1259-1256 | 3 | Jg 9:22 | | | | |
| 10 | Tola | 1256-1233 | 23 | Jg 10:2 | | | | |
| 11 | Jair | 1233-1211 | 22 | Jg 10:3 | | | | |
| 12 | Anarchy | 1211-1193 | 18 | Jg 10:8 | | | | |
| | <i>total N° 1-12</i> | <i>1493-1193</i> | <i>300</i> | Jg 11:26,30 | | | | |
| 13 | Jephthe | 1193-1187 | 6 | Jg 12:7 | | | | |
| 14 | Ibzan | 1187-1180 | 7 | Jg 12:9 | | | | |
| 15 | Elon | 1180-1170 | 10 | Jg 12:11 | | | | |
| 16 | Abdon | 1170-1162 | 8 | Jg 12:14 | | | | |
| 17 | [Eli] Philistines | 1162-1122 | 40 | 1S 4:18 | | | | |
| 18 | Samson | 1122-1102 | 20 | Jg 16:31 | | | | |
| 19 | Samuel's sons | 1102-1097 | [5] | 1S 8:1-3 | | | | |
| 20 | Saul | 1097-1057 | 40 | Ac 13:21 | | | | |
| 21 | David | 1057-1017 | 40 | 1K 2:11 | | | | |
| 22 | Solomon (y. 4) | 1017 -1013 | 4 | 1K 6:1 | | | | |
| | <i>total N° 1-22</i> | <i>1493-1013</i> | <i>480</i> | 1K 6:1 | | | | |
| 23 | Solomon | 1017 - 977 | 40 | 1K 11:42 | | | | |
| 24 | Rehoboam | 977-960 | 17 | 1K 14:21 | Jeroboam I | 10/977 - -05/955 | 22 | 1K 14:20,21 |
| 25 | Abiyam | 960-957 | 3 | 1K 15:2 | | | | |
| 26 | Asa | 957 - -916 | 41 | 1K 15:10 | Nadab | 06/955-05/954 | 2 | 1K 15:10,25 |
| | | | | | Baasha | 06/954-04/931 | 24 | 1K 15:28,33 |
| | | | | | Elah | 05/931-04/930 | 2 | 1K 16:8 |
| | | | | | Zimri | 05/930 | 7 d. | 1K 16:10-16 |
| | | | | | Omri/ | 06/930-05/919/ | 12 | 1K 16:21-23 |
| | | | | | [Tibni] | [06/930-01/925] | 6 | |
| 27 | Jehoshaphat | 916 - -891 | 25 | 1K 22:42 | Ahab | 06/919-01/898 | 22 | 1K 16:29 |
| | | | | | Ahaziah | 02/898-01/897 | 2 | 1K 22:51 |
| 28 | Jehoram (J.) | [893-891] | [2] | 2K 8:17 | Jehoram (A.) | 02/897-09/886 | 12 | 2K 3:1 |
| | | 893 - -885 | 8 | | [Ahaziah] | [07/887-09/886] | 1 | 2K 9:29 |
| | | | | | Ahaziah | 10/886-09/885 | 1 | 2K 9:24,27 |
| 29 | [Athaliah] | 885-879 | 6 | 2K 11:4 | Jehu | 10/885-03/856 | 28 | 2K 10:36 |
| 30 | Joash | 879 - -839 | 40 | 2K 12:1-2 | Jehoahaz | 04/856-09/839 | 17 | 2K 10:35; 13:1 |
| | | | | | Jehoash | [01/841-09/839] | 2 | 2K 13:10 |
| 31 | Amasiah | 839 - -810 | 29 | 2K 14:2 | | 09/839-01/823 | 16 | 2K 13:10 |
| | | | | | Jeroboam II | 01/823-05/782 | 41 | 2K 14:23 |
| 32 | Uzziah [Azariah] | 810 - [796 - | 52 | 2K 15:2 | [Zechariah] | [06/782-02/771] | [11] | 2K 14:29 |
| | | | | | Zechariah | 03/771-08/771 | 6 m. | 2K 15:8 |
| | | | | | Shallum | 09/771 | 1 m. | 2K 15:13 |
| | | | | | Menahem | 10/771-03/760 | 10 | 2K 15:17 |
| | | | | | Peqayah | 04/760-03/758 | 2 | 2K 15:23 |
| | | -758 | | | | | | |
| 33 | Jotham | 758-742 | 16 | 2K 15:33 | Peqah | 04/758-05/738 | 20 | 2K 15:27 |
| 34 | Ahaz | 742-726 | 16 | 2K 16:2 | [Hoshea] | [06/738-01/729] | 9 | 2K 15:27-30 |
| 35 | Hezekiah | 726-697 | 29 | 2K. 18:2 | Hosea | 02/729-09/720 | 9 | 2K 17:1,3 |
| 36 | Manasseh | 697-642 | 55 | 2K 21:1 | | | | |
| 37 | Amon | 642-640 | 2 | 2K 21:19 | | | | |
| 38 | Josias | 640-609 | 31 | 2K 22:1 | | | | |
| 39 | Jehoiaqim | 609-598 | 11 | 2Ch 36:5 | | | | |
| 40 | Zedekiah | 598- 587 | 11 | 2Ch 36:11 | | | | |
| | Jehoiachin | 587-561 | 26 | 2K 25:27-28 | | | | |
| | <i>total N° 24-40</i> | <i>977-587</i> | <i>390</i> | Ezk 4:5-6 | | | | |
| | <i>Babylon empire</i> | 609-539 | 70 | Jr 25:11-12 | | | | |

According to the chronology drawn from the Masoretic text, Abraham's departure from his hometown of **Ur (which collapsed in 1912 BCE due to Amorite and Elamite invasions¹⁰)** and his arrival in Canaan are dated in 1963 BCE when Abraham is 75 years old (Gn 12:4-5). The revolt of Transjordan kings against Chedorlaomer occurs in the 13th year of his reign (Genesis 14:4). The following year Chedorlaomer was shot by Abraham (Gn 14:5-17) and the following year, 10 years after their arrival in Canaan, Hagar is pregnant with Ishmael (Gn 16:3-4) who was born when Abraham was 86 years old (Gn 16:16). Ishmael was 13 when Abraham was 99 years old (Gn 17:1,24). Isaac was born when Abraham was 100 years old (Gn 21:5).

| BCE | [A] | [B] | [C] | [D] | |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|
| 1967 | 1 | 35 | 71 | | [A] Chedorlaomer King of Élam |
| 1966 | 2 | 36 | 72 | | [B] Šulgi King of Ur |
| 1965 | 3 | 37 | 73 | | |
| 1964 | 4 | 38 | 74 | | |
| 1963 | 5 | 39 | 75 | 0 | [C] Abram <i>age 75 arrived into Canaan (Genesis 12:4-5)</i> |
| 1962 | 6 | 40 | 76 | 1 | |
| 1961 | 7 | 41 | 77 | 2 | |
| 1960 | 8 | 42 | 78 | 3 | |
| 1959 | 9 | 43 | 79 | 4 | |
| 1958 | 10 | 44 | 80 | 5 | |
| 1957 | 11 | 45 | 81 | 6 | |
| 1956 | 12 | 46 | 82 | 7 | |
| 1955 | 13 | 47 | 83 | 8 | [A] <i>Revolt of Transjordan kings against Chedorlaomer (Genesis 14:4)</i> |
| 1954 | 14 | 48 | 84 | 9 | [A] Chedorlaomer is shot by Abram (Genesis 14:5-17) |
| 1953 | | 1 | 85 | 10 | [D] Hagar pregnant with Ishmael (Genesis 16:3-4) |
| 1952 | | 2 | 86 | 0 | [D] Birth of Ishmael (Genesis 16:16) |
| 1951 | | 3 | 87 | 1 | [B] Amar-Sîn King of Ur |
| 1950 | | 4 | 88 | 2 | |
| 1949 | | 5 | 89 | 3 | |
| 1948 | | 6 | 90 | 4 | |
| 1947 | | 7 | 91 | 5 | |
| 1946 | | 8 | 92 | 6 | |
| 1945 | | 9 | 93 | 7 | |
| 1944 | | 1 | 94 | 8 | [B] Šu-Sîn King of Ur |
| 1943 | | 2 | 95 | 9 | |
| 1942 | | 3 | 96 | 10 | |
| 1941 | | 4 | 97 | 11 | |
| 1940 | | 5 | 98 | 12 | |
| 1939 | | 6 | 99 | 13 | [C] Sara pregnant with Isaac (Genesis 17:1,24) |
| 1938 | | 7 | 100 | 14 | [C] Birth of Isaac (Genesis 21:5) |
| 1937 | | 8 | 101 | | |

According to this reconstruction, Chedorlaomer would have intervened in Transjordan in the last years of Šulgi's reign. Elamite chronology of this period can be determined through several synchronisms¹¹ (see: *Dating the fall of Babylon and Ur*) highlighted in grey. Elamite chronology has no regnal year, or duration, and no dated astronomical phenomenon, it can not be reconstituted only from synchronisms with the Mesopotamian chronology, in addition, two Elamite periods are very obscure, because without testimony, the first one ranging from 1100 to 770 BCE (late Šutrukids and early Humbanids) and the second from 2050 to 1950 BCE (end of the Awan dynasty and beginning of the Simaški dynasty), moreover, certain periods include parallel dynasties.

¹⁰ P. GARELLI, J.M. DURAND, H. GONNET, C. BRENIQUET - *Le Proche-Orient Asiatique* Paris 1997 Éd. P.U.F. pp. 73-95.

G. ROUX - La Mésopotamie
Paris 1995 Éd. Seuil pp. 207-220.

¹¹ F. VALLAT, H. GASCHE – Suse in: *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*. Fascicule 73 (2002) pp. 374-391.

The average duration of Elamite reigns over the period 1700-1500 is consistent with that calculated from the Mesopotamian chronology¹². These reigns can be set through the following synchronisms¹³: Puzur-Inšušinak and Ur-nammu (2020-2002) king of Ur III; Tazitta I and Amar-Sin (1954-1945) king of Ur III; Ebarat I and Šu-Sin (1945-1936) king of Ur III; Kindadu and the collapse of Ur in 1912 BCE; Idadu-lapir and Gungunum (1838-1811) king of Larsa; Siruk-tuh and Šamši-Adad I (1712-1680) king of Assyrian; Siwe-palar-huppak and Zimri-Lîm (1680-1667) king of Mari; Kudu-zuluš I and Hammurabi (1697-1654) king of Babylon; Kuk-Našur II with the first year of Ammišaduqa (1551-1530) king of Babylon. The reign of Tepti-ahar (1425-1405) can be estimated using the reign of Kadašman-Harbe I (1423-1403) prior that to Kara-indaš (1407-1391) a contemporary of the Assyrian king Assur-bel-nišešu (1411-1403). Hutelutuš-Inšušinak and Nebuchadnezzar I (1126-1104) king of Babylon. The average duration of the 16 Elamite reigns over the period 1425-1105 can be evaluated through Cassite synchronisms¹⁴, from Tepti-ahar (1425-1405) to Hutelutuš-Inšušinak (1125-1105), which gives a value of 20 years (= [1425 - 1105]/ 16). Using this duration, the calculated reign of Kuk-Našur II (1565-1545) actually coincides with that of Ammišaduqa (1551-1530). The establishment of the Elamite chronology before the reign of Šamši-Adad I is more approximate (the existence of certain Elamite kings is disputed)¹⁵ because synchronisms are fewer, moreover, the presence of parallel dynasties complicates the exact rank of some Elamite kings. Period 1280-1080:

| ASSYRIA | Reign | BABYLON | Reign | ELAM | Reign |
|-----------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|
| Shalmaneser I | 1271 - | Kadašman-Turgu | 1282-1264 | Napiriša-untāš | 1275 - |
| | | Kadašman-Enlil II | 1264-1255 | | |
| | -1242 | Kudur-Enlil | 1255-1246 | | -1245 |
| Tukultî-Ninurta I | 1242 - | Šagarakti-šuriaš | 1246-1233 | Kidin-Ħutran III | 1245 - |
| | | Kaštiliašu IV | 1233-1225 | | |
| | | Enlil-nâdin-šumi | 1225-1224 | | |
| | | Kadašman-Harbe II | 1224-1223 | | |
| | | Adad-šuma-iddina | 1223-1217 | | -1215 |
| | -1206 | Adad-šuma-ušur | 1217 - | Ħallutaš-Inšušinak | 1215 - |
| Aššur-nâdin-apli | 1206-1202 | | | | |
| Aššur-nêrârî III | 1202-1196 | | | | |
| Enlil-kudurri-ušur | 1196-1191 | | -1187 | | -1190 |
| Ninurta-apil-Ekur | 1191-1179 | Meli-Šipak | 1187-1172 | Šutruk-Naĥḥunte | 1190 - |
| Aššur-dân I | 1179 - | Marduk-apla-iddina | 1172-1159 | | |
| | | Zababa-šuma-iddina | 1159-1158 | | -1160 |
| | | Enlil-nâdin-ahi | 1158-1155 | Kutir-Naĥḥunte II | 1160-1155 |
| | | Marduk-kabit-aḥḥešu | 1155-1141 | Šilhak-Inšušinak | 1155 - |
| | -1133 | Itti-Marduk-balaṭu | 1141 - | | |
| Ninurta-tukultî-Aššur | 1133 | | | | |
| Mutakkil-Nusku | 1133 | | -1133 | | |
| Aššur-rêš-iši I | 1133-1115 | Ninurta-nâdin-šumi | 1133-1127 | | -1125 |
| Tiglath-pileser I | 1115 - | Nebuchadnezzar I | 1127-1105 | Hutelutuš-Inšušinak | 1125-1105 |
| | | Enlil-nâdin-apli | 1105-1101 | Šilhina-hamru-Lagamar | 1105 - |
| | -1076 | Marduk-nâdin-ahhê | 1101-1083 | | -1080? |

Period 1820-1280:

¹² F. VALLAT – L'Elam du II^e millénaire et la chronologie courte

in: *Akkadica* 119-120 (2000) pp. 7-17.

¹³ F. VALLAT – L'hommage de l'élamite Untash-Napirisha au Cassite Burnaburiash

in: *Akkadica* 114-115 (1999) pp. 109-117.

F. VALLAT – La chronologie méso-élamite et la lettre de Berlin

in: *Akkadica* 127 (2006) pp. 123-135.

¹⁴ F. VALLAT – Elam

in: Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne (Robert Laffont 2001) pp. 272-276.

¹⁵ F. VALLAT – Temti-Agun I. Un nouveau sukkalmak

in: *Akkadica* 128 (2007) pp. 73-83.

SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO AN ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY
THROUGH SYNCHRONISMS DATED BY ASTRONOMY

| ASSYRIA | Reign | BABYLON | Reign | ELAM | Reign |
|---------------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|
| Sargon I | 1821-1782 | Sûmû-abum | 1799-1785 | Pala-iššan | 1815-1795 |
| Puzur-Aššur II | 1782-1774 | Sûmû-la-II | 1785 - | Kuk-Kirmaš | 1795-1775 |
| Naram-Sîn | 1774 - | | -1749 | Kuk-Nahudi | 1775-1755 |
| | -1722 | Sâbium | 1749-1735 | Kuk-Našur I | 1755-1735 |
| Ērišu II | 1722-1712 | Apil-Sîn | 1735-1717 | Atta-ḥušu | 1735-1715 |
| Šamši-Adad I | 1712 - | Sîn-muballiṭ | 1717-1697 | Širuk-tuḥ | 1715-1695 |
| | -1680 | Hammurabi | 1697 - | Siwe-palar-ḥuppak | 1695 - |
| Išme-Dagan I | 1680-1670 | | | | -1670 |
| Aššur-dugul | 1670-1664 | | | Kudu-zuluš I | 1670 - |
| Aššur-apla-idi | 1664 | | | | |
| Nâšir-Sîn | 1664 | | | | |
| Sîn-namir | 1664 | | | | |
| Ipqi-Ištar | 1664 | | | | |
| Adad-šalûlu | 1664 | | | | |
| Adasi | 1664 | | | | |
| Bêlu-bâni | 1664-1654 | | -1654 | | |
| Libbaya | 1654 - | Samsu-iluna | 1654 - | | -1645 |
| | -1638 | | | Kutir-Naḥḥunte I | 1645 - |
| Šarma-Adad I | 1638-1626 | | | | -1620 |
| Puzur-Sîn | 1626-1615 | | -1616 | | |
| Bazaya | 1615-1588 | Abi-ešuḥ | 1616-1588 | Temti-Agun II | 1620-1595 |
| Lullaya | 1588-1582 | Ammiditana | 1588 - | Kutir-Silḥaḥa | 1595-1570 |
| Šû-Ninûa | 1582-1568 | | | | |
| Šarma-Adad II | 1568-1565 | | | | |
| Ērišu III | 1565-1553 | | -1551 | Kuk-Našur II | 1570 - |
| Šamši-Adad II | 1553-1547 | Ammišaduqa | 1551 - | | -1545 |
| Išme-Dagan II | 1547-1531 | | -1530 | Kudu-zuluš II | 1545-1525 |
| Šamši-Adad III | 1531-1516 | Samsuditana | 1530 - | Tan-Uli | 1525-1505 |
| Aššur-nêrârî I | 1516-1491 | <i>Fall of Babylon</i> | -1499 | Temti-ḥalki | 1505 - |
| Puzur-Aššur III | 1491 - | Agum II | 1503-1487 | | -1485 |
| | -1467 | Burna-Buriaš I | 1487-1471 | Kuk-Našur III | 1485-1465 |
| Enlil-nâšir I | 1467-1455 | Kaštiliaš III | 1471-1455 | Kidinu | 1465-1450 |
| Nûr-ili | 1455-1443 | Ulam-Buriaš | 1455 - | Inšušinak-sunkir- | 1450 - |
| Aššur-šadûni | 1443-1443 | | -1439 | nappipir | -1440 |
| Aššur-rabi I | 1443-1433 | Agum III | 1439 - | Tan-Ruḥuratir II | 1440-1435 |
| Aššur-nâdin-aḥḥe I | 1433-1424 | | -1423 | Šalla | 1435-1425 |
| Enlil-našir II | 1424-1418 | Kadašman-Harbe I | 1423 - | Tepti-aḥar | 1425 - |
| Aššur-nêrârî II | 1418-1411 | | -1407 | | |
| Aššur-bêl-nišešu | 1411-1403 | Kara-indaš | 1407 - | | -1405 |
| Aššur-rê'im-nišešu | 1403-1395 | | -1391 | Igi-halki | 1405 - |
| Aššur-nâdin-aḥḥe II | 1395-1385 | Kurigalzu I | 1391 - | | -1385 |
| Erîba-Adad I | 1385 - | | -1375 | Pahir-iššan | 1385-1375 |
| | -1358 | Kadašman-Enlil I | 1375 - | Attar-Kittaḥ | 1375-1365 |
| | | | -1360 | Unpaḥaš-Napiriša | 1365-1360 |
| Aššur-uballiṭ I | 1358 - | Burna-Buriaš II | 1360 - | Kidin-Ḥutran I | 1360-1355 |
| | | | | Ḥumban-numena | 1355-1345 |
| | | | -1333 | Untaš-Napiriša | 1345 - |
| | | Kara-ḥardaš | 1333 | | |
| | | Nazi-Bugaš | 1333 | | |
| | -1323 | Kurigalzu II | 1333 - | | |
| Enlil-nêrârî | 1323-1313 | | -1308 | | |
| Arik-dên-ili | 1313-1302 | Nazi-Maruttaš | 1308 - | | -1305 |
| Adad-nêrârî I | 1302 - | | -1282 | Kidin-Ḥutran II | 1305 - |
| | -1271 | Kadašman-Turgu | 1282 - | | -1275 |
| Shalmaneser I | 1271 - | | -1264 | Napiriša-untaš | 1275 - |
| | | Kadašman-Enlil II | 1264-1255 | | |
| | -1242 | Kudur-Enlil | 1255-1246 | | -1245 |

Main synchronisms (highlighted in grey) over the period 2400-1700:

| ELAM | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|
| AWAN I/II | | | | | |
| Pieli | 2390-2365 | | | | |
| Tari | 2365-2340 | | | | |
| Ukku-taḫiš | 2340-2315 | | | | |
| Ḫišur | 2315-2290 | (SUSA) | | SUMER | |
| Šušun-tarana | 2290-2265 | [unnamed] | | En-anatum I | 2290-2280 |
| Napil-ḫuš | 2265-2240 | | | AKKAD | |
| Kikku-sime-temti | 2240-2215 | | | Sargon of Akkad | 2243 - |
| Luhḫi-iššan | 2215-2190 | | | | -2187 |
| Hišep-ratep | 2190-2175 | | | Rimuš | 2187-2178 |
| Ešpum (governor) | 2175-2165 | | | Maništusu | 2178-2163 |
| Ili-išmani (vassal) | 2165-2140 | | | Narâm-Sîn | 2163 - |
| Epîr-mupî (vassal) | 2140-2115 | | | | -2126 |
| ? | 2115-2090 | | | | |
| Ḫielu | 2090-2065 | | | SUMER | |
| Ḫita | 2065-2040 | | | URUK IV | |
| Puzur-Inšušinak | 2040 - | | | Utu-hegal | 2032-2021 |
| (Kutik-Inšušinak) | | SIMAŠKI | | Ur III | |
| | -2015 | [unnamed] | 2020 - | Ur-Nammu | 2020-2002 |
| ? | 2015-1990 | | -1990 | Šulgi | 2002 - |
| ? | 1990-1954 | Girnamme | 1990-1955 | | -1954 |
| | | Tazitta I / Ebarat I | 1955-1940 | Amar-Sîn | 1954-1945 |
| | | Ebarat I | 1940-1935 | Šu-Sîn | 1945-1936 |
| | | Tazitta II | 1935-1925 | Ibbi-Sîn | 1936 - |
| | | Lurrak-luhḫan | 1925-1915 | | |
| | | Kindadu | 1915-1905 | (Collapse of Ur) | -1912 |
| | | Idadu I | 1905-1890 | ISIN | |
| EPARTIDS | | Tan-Ruḫurati I | 1890-1875 | | |
| Ebarti II | 1875-1855 | Ebarat II | 1875-1855 | | |
| Šilhāḫa | 1855-1835 | Idadu II | 1855-1825 | LARSA | |
| Temti-Agun I | 1835-1815 | Idadu-napir | 1825 - | Gungunum | 1838-1811 |
| Pala-iššan | 1815-1795 | | -1795 | | |
| Kuk-Kirmaš | 1795-1775 | Idadu-temti | 1795 - | | |
| Kuk-Nahudi | 1775-1755 | | -1765 | | |
| Kuk-Našur I | 1755-1735 | | | | |
| Atta-ḫušu | 1735-1715 | | | ASSYRIA | |
| Širuk-tuḫ | 1715-1695 | | | Šamši-Adad I | 1712-1697 |

Several anomalies appear in this reconstitution: 1) it lacks two or three kings at the end of the Awan dynasty (where Chedorlaomer should appear) because Akkad kingdoms conquered by Puzur-Inšušinak were recovered by Šulgi associated with kings of Simaški and thus opposing a king of Awan, 2) the first kings of Simaški also lack the appeal because Puzur-Inšušinak mentions at least one in his inscriptions without naming him, moreover he declares himself governor of Susa and viceroy of Elam country or king of Awan¹⁶. The first kings of the Simaški dynasty probably ruled simultaneously different capitals of Elam (Susa Anšan, Simaški) rather than co-regencies. Information about Elam comes almost exclusively from Sumerian King lists which are incomplete, biased and difficult to interpret, because the reversals of alliances among changing coalitions of kings, even from very remote areas, were frequent¹⁷ during the period 2000-1700 BCE. According to a letter from

¹⁶ M. RAHIM SHAYEGAN – Arsacids and Sasanians: Political Ideology in Post-Hellenistic and Late Antique Persia Cambridge 2011 Ed. Cambridge University Press pp. 262-264.

¹⁷ K.A. KITCHEN - On the Reliability of the Old Testament Cambridge 2003 Ed. W.B. Eerdmans pp. 319-324.

Mari: *There is no king who alone is powerful — 10 or 15 kings follow Hammurabi, the lord of Babylon, as many for Rim-Sin, the lord of Larsa, as many for Ibal-pi-El of Eshnunna, and as many for Amut-pi-El of Qatna, [but] 20 kings follow Yarim-lim, the Lord of Yambad [Aleppo]*¹⁸. Since Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, was the head of a coalition of Mesopotamian kings around 1950 BCE, according to Genesis chapter 14, it is important to accurately determine the Elamite chronology during this period (2000-1950) to verify the reliability of the biblical text.

ELAMITE CHRONOLOGY PRIOR THE COLLAPSE OF UR (1912 BCE)

Elamite chronology prior to Sargon of Akkad (2243-2187) is reconstructed thanks to synchronisms with the Mesopotamian dynasties obtained from the Sumerian King lists. These lists are unfortunately biased because only kings have been important in the eyes of the Sumerians are mentioned (many kings attested in inscriptions are not named), and ideological because the repeatedly alternating of kingship is presented as a perpetual cycle¹⁹ when in fact many dynasties ruled in parallel. For example late Uruk I overlapped the beginning of Lagash I about 80 years because Lugal-kigine-dudu, a king of Uruk, was a contemporary of En-metena, a king of Lagash. King Agga having been defeated by Gilgamesh²⁰ the end of Kish I overlapped the beginning of Uruk I about 40 years.

Examples of synchronisms²¹ among the dynasties of Kish I, Kish II, Uruk I and Lagash I (spelling of proper names varies according to scholars):

- Me-salim (Kish) // Lugal-ša-engur (Lagash) // Nin-kisal-si (Adab).
- Lugal-kigine-dudu (Uruk I) became also king of Ur (Ur II).
- Enšakušanna first king of Uruk II (end of Ur I).
- E-ana-tum and En-ana-tum I (Lagash I) // Uš and En-a-kale (Umma).
- En-metena (Lagash) // Ur-Lumma and Ila (Umma) // Lugal-kiniše-dudu or Lugal-kinige-dudu (Uruk). Lugal-kisal-si (Uruk) succeeded Lugal-kiniše-dudu.
- En-ana-tum II and En-entar-zi (Lagash) // Gišša-ki-du (Umma).
- Lugal-anda (Lagash) // U'u (Umma).
- Uru-ka-gina (Lagash) // Lugal-zage-si (Sumer) first king of Umma then Uruk.

Some kings who were also vassal (governors) of another king were not officially listed. According to Sumerian inscriptions the first king of Ur II was Lugal-kigine-dudu but according to Sumerian King lists it was Nanne. The dynasty of Lagash I (2338-2222) can be reconstructed with greater accuracy because many events dated by year names allow the calculation of duration of most of the reigns of this dynasty. This chronological rebuilding (estimated regnal years are in brackets) is based on the synchronisms obtained by a prosopographical study of the kings of Lagash, Mari and Ebla²². Since there are 15 intervals between the first king of Lagash (Ur-Nanše) and the last one (Ikun-Išar), each interval should have an average duration of 6 years (= [2320-2234]/15), except the last one: Iš'ar-Damu, king of Ebla, who reigned 35 years and his two viziers: Ibrium who ruled 15 years and Ibbi-zikir 17 years, we obtain (synchronisms have been highlighted):

¹⁸ G. ROUX - La Mésopotamie
Paris 1995 Éd. Seuil p. 234.

¹⁹ J.J. GLASSNER – Chroniques mésopotamiennes
Paris 2004 Éd. Belles Lettres pp. 82-86.

²⁰ R.J. TOURNAY, A. SHAFFER – L'épopée de Gilgamesh
in: *Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient* n°15 (1994, Cerf) pp. 7-10, 282-291.

²¹ F. JOANNÈS – Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne
Paris 2001 Éd. Robert Laffont 2001 pp. XVI-XVII, 801-803.

E. SOLLBERGER, J.-R. KUPPER – Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes
in: *Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient* n°3 (1971, Cerf) pp. 39-133.

D.R. FRAYNE – Presargonic Period (2700-2350 BC)

Toronto 2008 Ed. University Press pp. 13-14, 39, 42-43, 121, 125, 193, 237-241, 248, 295-297, 335-337, 359, 410.

²² A. ARCHI – Chronologie relative des archives d'Ebla
in: *Amurru* 1 (1996) pp. 11-28.

| LAGASH I | MARI | EBLA | (<i>Vizier</i>) | UR I | N° | period | |
|----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------|-------------------|-----------|
| Ur-Nanše (18) | Ikun-Šamaš | Abur-Lim | | Mesannepada (20) | | 2340-2320 | |
| Akurgal (5<) | | | | Aannepada | 1 | 2320-2318 | |
| E-anatum (30) | Ikun-Šamagan | Agur-Lim | | Meski'agnuna (36?) | 2 | 2318-2312 | |
| | | Ibbi-Damu | | | 3 | 2312-2306 | |
| | Iški-Mari | Baga-Damu | | | 4 | 2306-2300 | |
| | | | | | | | |
| En-anatum I | Anubu | Enar-Damu | | Elulu (25) | 5 | 2300-2294 | |
| | | | | | 6 | 2294-2288 | |
| | | | | | 7 | 2288-2282 | |
| En-metena (30) | Sa'umu | Iš'ar-Malik | | | 8 | 2282-2276 | |
| | Itup-Išar | Kun-Damu | | Balulu (36) | 9 | 2276-2270 | |
| | | Adub-Damu | | | 10 | 2270-2264 | |
| | Iblul-II | Igriš-Halab | Darmia | | | 11 | 2264-2258 |
| | | | | | | 12 | 2258-2252 |
| En-anatum II | Nizi | Irkab-Damu | Tir | UR II | 13 | 2252-2246 | |
| En-entarzi (5) | Enna-Dagan | | Arrukum | | 14 | 2246-2240 | |
| Lugal-Anda (7) | Ikun-Išar | Iš'ar-Damu | | ASSYRIA | AKKAD | 2240-2234 | |
| Urukagina (11) | Hida'ar | | Ibrium | Tudiya | Sargon I | 2234-2217 | |
| | Išqi-Mari | | Ibbi-Zikir | Adamu | | 2217- 2200 | |

The synchronism among Iš'ar-Damu (2235-2200) king of Mari, Ibrum (2237-2220) vizier of Ebla, Tudiya (2240?-2220?) king of Assyria and Sargon I (2243-2187) king of Akkad, is confirmed. This chronology can be improved by the following synchronisms²³:

- Year 1 of Irkab-damu king of Ebla corresponds to year 1 of Nizi king of Mari.
- Year 7 of Irkab-damu king of Ebla corresponds to year 1 of Iš'ar-Damu king of Ebla.
- Hida'ar king of Mari was defeated by Ibbi-Zikir in year 32 of Iš'ar-Damu king of Ebla.
- The destruction of Ebla by Sargon is dated to year 35 of Iš'ar-Damu king of Mari.
- The destruction of Mari in year ? Sargon²⁴ is dated to year 9 of Išqi-Mari king of Mari.
- Year 1 of Puzur-Estar king of Mari corresponds to year 44 of Šulgi king of Ur.
- The reign of Ur-Nammu king of Ur is included in Apil-Kîn's reign, king of Mari.

| LAGAŠH I | Reign | MARI | Reign | | EBLA | Reign | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----|----------------|-----------|-----|
| Ur-Nanše | 2338-2320 | Ikun-Šamaš | 2340-2318 | | Abur-Lîm | 2340-2318 | |
| Akurgal | 2320-2318 | Ikun-Šamagan | 2318 - | | Agur-Lîm | 2318-2312 | |
| E-anatum | 2318 - -2288 | Iški-Mari | -2306 2306-2294 | | Ibbi-Damu | 2312-2306 | |
| | | | | | Baga-Damu | 2306-2294 | |
| En-anatum I | 2288-2282 | Anubu | 2294-2282 | | Enar-Damu | 2294-2282 | |
| En-metena | 2282 - -2252 | Sa'umu | 2282-2276 | | Iš'ar-Malik | 2282-2276 | |
| | | Itup-Išar | 2276 - -2264 | | Kun-Damu | 2276-2270 | |
| | | Iblul-II | 2272-2252 | 20? | Adub-Damu | 2270-2264 | |
| | | | | | Igrîš-Halab | 2264-2252 | 12? |
| En-anatum II | 2252 - -2246 | Nizi | 2252-2249 | 3 | Irkab-Damu | 2252 - | 7 |
| | | Enna-Dagan | 2249-2245 | 4? | | | |
| AKKAD | | Ikun-Išar | 2245-2245 | - | | -2245 | |
| Sargon | 2243 - -2187 | Hida'ar | 2245-2210 | 35 | Iš'ar-Damu | 2245-2210 | 35 |
| | | Išqi-Mari | 2210-2200 | 9 | Pepi I (EGYPT) | 2237-2195 | 42 |
| | | <i>Fall of Mari</i> | 2200 - | | | | |
| Rimuš | 2187-2178 | | | | | | |
| Maništusu | 2178- 2163 | <i>military governor</i> | -2164 | | | | |
| Narâm-Sîn | 2163-2126 | Ididiš | 2164 - | 60 | | | |
| Šar-kali-šarri | 2126-2101 | | -2104 | | | | |
| LAGAŠH II | | | | | | | |

²³ D. CHARPIN – Mari au III^e millénaire d'après les sources écrites
in: *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*. Fascicule 77-78 (2008) pp. 222-233.

²⁴ C.H. GORDON, G.A. RENDSBURG – Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language
Indiana 2002 Ed. Eisenbrauns pp. 62-72.

The following reconstitution (below) is confirmed by the similar average of the reigns of Uruk I (16 years) and Assyria (14 years). With an average of 14 years for the 9 reigns of Lagash I dynasty its end is fixed in 2200 (= 2340 - 9x14). The chronology prior to King Ur-Nanše (Lagash I) is only indicative because it is based solely on the durations of reign from Sumerian lists divided by 60:

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|------|-----|-----------|-------------------|-----------|------|---------------|-----------|
| KISH I | | /60 | Reign | | | | | |
| Ilku'u | 900 | 15 | 2535-2520 | | | | | |
| Ilta-šadum | 1200 | 20 | 2520-2500 | URUK I | | | | |
| En-me-baragesi | 900 | 15 | 2500 - | Mes-ki'aggašer | 2496-2490 | 6* | | |
| | | | -2485 | En-merkar | 2490-2483 | 7 | | |
| Agga | 625 | 30* | 2485 - | Lugal-banda | 2483-2463 | 20 | | |
| | | | | Dumuzi | 2463-2461 | 20* | | |
| | | | -2455 | Gilgamesh | 2461 - | 60* | | |
| | | | | | -2401 | | | |
| Uhūb | | | | Ur-Nungal | 2401 - | 30 | En-hegal | |
| Mesalim | | | | | -2371 | | Lugalšagengur | |
| | | | | Udul-kalama | 2371-2356 | 15 | | |
| | | | | Labašum | 2356-2347 | 9 | | |
| KISH II | | | | En-nun-dara-anna | 2347-2339 | 8 | LAGASH I | |
| Susuda | 201 | 15* | 2325-2310 | Meshe | 2339 - | 36 | Ur-Nanše | 2338-2320 |
| Dadasig | 81 | 15* | 2310-2295 | | -2303 | | Akurgal | 2320-2318 |
| Mamagal | 360 | 6 | 2295-2289 | Melam-ana | 2303-2297 | 6 | E-anatum | 2318-2288 |
| Kalbum | 195 | 15* | 2289-2274 | Lugal-kigine-dudu | 2297 - | 36 | En-anatum I | 2288-2282 |
| Tub-e | 360 | 6 | 2274-2268 | | -2261 | | En-metena | 2282 - |
| Men-numa | 180 | 3 | 2268-2265 | URUK II | | (16) | | -2252 |
| Enbi-Ištar | 290 | 15* | 2265-2250 | Enšakušanna | | | En-anatum II | 2252-2246 |
| Lugalmu | 360 | 6 | 2250-2244 | Lugalkinišedudu | | | En-entarzi | 2246-2240 |
| KISH IV | | | | Lugalgitarsi | | | Lugal-anda | 2240-2233 |
| Puzur-Sin | | | | URUK III | | | Urukagina | 2233 - |
| Ur-Zababa | | | | Lugalzagesi | | | | -2222 |
| | | | | AKKAD | -2220 | | Sargon | 2243-2187 |

This chronological reconstruction based on synchronisms shows that royal dynasties from Sumerian lists all took place in parallel and some successions seem artificial (Kish I, II, III and IV). However, all these dynasties appear fairly consistent and can be used to date Sumerian reigns. Awan dynasty is a special case because it appears after the dynasty of Ur I (2340-2252) and before the dynasty of Kish II (2325-2244) which is impossible since these two dynasties were parallel²⁵: (Dynasty of Ur I) *Meš-ane-pada was king 80 yrs; Meš-ki-ag-nuna, son of Meš-ane-pada, was king 36 yrs; Elulu reigned 25 yrs; Balulu reigned 36 yrs; 4 kings reigned 177 yrs. Ur was defeated, its kingship passed to Awan (Dynasty of Awan I) [-] was king [- yrs]; [-]-lu, he reigned [- yrs]; Ku-ul-[-] was king, he reigned 36 yrs. 3 kings ruled 356 yrs. Awan was defeated, its kingship passed to Kish (Dynasty of Kish II) Susuda, the Fuller, was king 201+ yrs; Dadasig, he reigned 81 yrs; Mamagal, the Boatman, he reigned 360 yrs; Kalbum, son of Mamagal, he reigned 195 yrs; Tuge, he reigned 360 yrs; Men-nuna, he reigned 180 yrs; Enbi-Ištar, he reigned 290 yrs; Lugalmu, he reigned 360 yrs. 8 kings reigned 3,195 yrs. Kish was defeated, its kingship passed to Hamazi. The transcription²⁶ of the 3rd and last name of the Awan dynasty is read *ku-ul-[-]* but as no Elamite name²⁷ begins in *ku-* the reading should be *ku-du-[-]* because Elamite names starting in *ku-* are always in *ku-du-[-]* and *ul* sign may also be read *du*.*

²⁵ J.J. GLASSNER – Chroniques mésopotamiennes
Paris 2004 Éd. Belles Lettres pp. 138-141.

²⁶ T. JACOBSEN – The Sumerian King List

Chicago 1939 Ed. The University of Chicago Press pp. 94-96, 156-157.

²⁷ There are only two Elamite words that start with *ku-* (not *ku-ul-*) which are *kula* "request" and *kullak* "sacrifice" (F. GRILLOT-SUSINI – L'élamite éléments de grammaire. Paris 2008 Éd. Geuthner p. 104), but they are never used in proper names.

The name Ku-du₇²⁸ [-] in line 13 has between 5 and 7 signs²⁹ (max per line) because when the name has 4 signs or less, years of reign (36 in line 14) are written in the same line. The last king mentioned on this prism is Šin-mâgir (1732-1721), a king of Isin. Kudu[ur-Lagamar] name is located in a part of the prism which is unfortunately very damaged.

10 [mu xx i-as]
 []
 mu [xx i-as]
 (13) ku-du₇[-ur -la -ga -mar] >>
 mu 36[i-as]
 15 3 [lugal]
 mu-bi 356 [ib -as]
 a-wa-an^{ki} giš[tukul ba-a]n-sig
 nam lugal bi



Scholars generally assume that the ancient Sumerian dynasty of Awan I had to be placed during the Ur I dynasty (2340-2252) but it is impossible for three reasons: 1) the first Elamite kings: Ukku-tašš (2340-2315), Ħišur (2315-2290), Šušun-tarana (2290-2265) and Napil-ĥuš (2265-2240) were not powerful enough to conquer the land of Akkad, on the contrary En-me-baragesi (2500-2485), a king of Kish I, was able to attack Elam, 2) none of these Elamite names matches those on the Sumerian list and above all 3) the only Elamite king who succeeded in founding a (brief) Akkadian empire is Puzur-Inšušinak, currently regarded as the last king of Awan II. As Šulgi had to reconquer the land of Akkad he had to oppose the successors of Puzur-Inšušinak because Elamite kings of Šimaški agreed to cooperate (he even married some of his daughters with Elamites princes). The brief Awan dynasty in the Sumerian list has therefore started with Elamite king Puzur-Inšušinak.

Puzur-Inšušinak conquered Susa, then Anšan, and he seems to have managed to impose an initial unity on the Elamite federation by subduing also the king of Šimaški. His successors, however, were unable to hold Susa within the Elamite sphere. Puzur-Inšušinak left several documents in his name at Susa. Unfortunately, although Puzur-Inšušinak had trade with the Sumerian kings of Lagash (Gudea), Umma (?), Ur (Ur-Nammu), Uruk (Utu-hegal) and those of Gutium (Tirigan), there is no text that mention them³⁰. Texts closest to this time³¹ are likely those of Šar-kalli-šarri (2126-2101) mentioning the governor of Lagash, Lugal-ušumgal (2130-2120), and the king of Gutium, Zarlagab (2121-2115).



²⁸ L.-J. BORD, R. MUGNAIONI – L'écriture cunéiforme. Syllabaire sumérien, babylonien, assyrien
 Paris 2002 Éd. Librairie orientale Paul Geuthner S.A. p. 205.

²⁹ S. LANGDON – Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
 London 1923 Ed. Oxford University Press pp. 11-14, Pl. II.

³⁰ F. JOANNÈS – Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne
 Paris 2001 Éd. Robert Laffont 2001 pp. 352-354.

³¹ M.V. DE MIEROOP – A History of the Ancient Near East: ca. 3000-323 BC.
 Malden 2004 Ed. Blackwell Publishing, p. 67.

C. WILCKE -Early Ancient Near Eastern Law: A History of Its Beginnings: The Early Dynastic and Sargonic Periods
 Indiana 2003 Ed. Eisenbrauns, p. 91.

K DE GRIEF, J. TAVERNIER – Susa and Elam. Archeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives
 Leiden 2012 Ed. Brill p. 121.

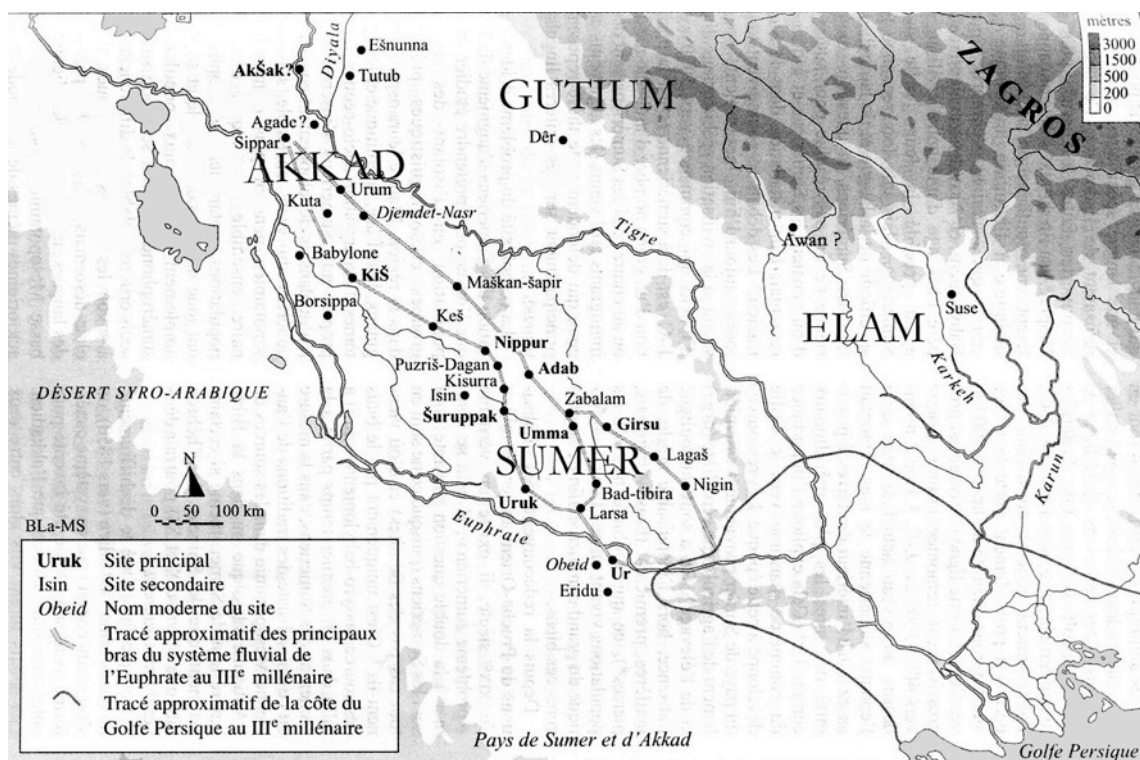
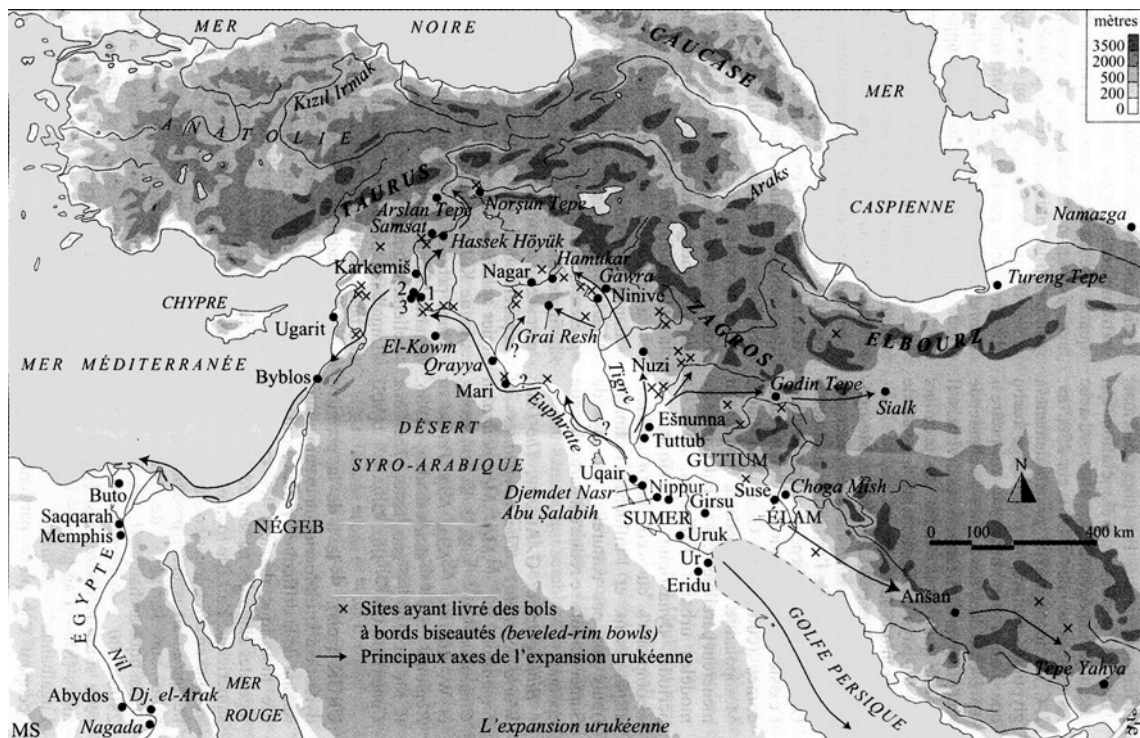
SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO AN ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY
THROUGH SYNCHRONISMS DATED BY ASTRONOMY

| AKKAD | | LAGASH II | | GUTIUM | | ELAM | AWAN I |
|-----------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|
| Šar-kalli-šarri | 2126 - | <i>Lugal-ušumgal</i> | 2130-2120 | Zarlagab | 2121-2115 | <i>Epir-mupi</i> | 2140-2015 |
| | | <i>Puzur-Mama</i> | 2120-2110 | Šulme | 2115-2109 | ? | 2115 - |
| | -2101 | Ur-Ningirsu I | 2110-2100 | Silulumeš | 2109-2103 | | |
| Irgigi, Imi | 2101 - | Pirig-me | 2100 - | Inimabakeš | 2103-2098 | | |
| Nuhum Ilulu | -2098 | | -2090 | Igeša'uš | 2098-2092 | | -2090 |
| Dudu | 2098-2077 | Lu-Ba'u | 2090-2080 | Īarlaqaba | 2092-2077 | Īielu | 2090 - |
| Šu-Turul | 2077 - | Lu-Gula | 2080 - | Ibate | 2077-2074 | | |
| | | | -2070 | Yarlangab | 2074-2071 | | |
| | | | | Kurum | 2071-2070 | | |
| | | Inim-kug | 2070 - | Apil-kin | 2070-2067 | | -2065 |
| | -2062 | | | La'arabum | 2067-2065 | Īita | 2065 - |
| | | | | Irarum | 2065-2063 | | |
| URUK IV | | | -2060 | Ibranum | 2063-2062 | | |
| Ur-Nigin | 2062 - | Ur-Ba'u | 2060 - | Īablum | 2062-2060 | | |
| | -2055 | | | Puzur-Su'en | 2060-2053 | | |
| Ur-Gigir | 2055-2049 | | -2048 | Īablum | 2053-2046 | | |
| Kuda | 2049-2043 | Gudea | 2048 - | Yarlaganda | 2046 - | | |
| Puzur-ili | 2043-2038 | | | | -2039 | | -2040 |
| Ur-Utu | 2038-2032 | | | Si'um | 2039-2032 | Puzur-Inšu. | 2040 - |
| Utu-hegal | 2032 - | | -2028 | Tirigan | 2032 - | | |
| | | Ur-Ningirsu II | 2028-2023 | | -2024 | | |
| | | Ur-gar | 2023-2022 | ? | 2024 - | | |
| | -2021 | Ur-abba | 2022-2021 | | | | |
| UR III | | Ur-Mama | 2021-2020 | | | | |
| Ur-Nammu | 2020 - | Nam-mahazi | 2020-2017 | | -2016 | | -2015 |
| | -2002 | (<i>Ur's vassal</i>) | | (<i>Awan's vassal</i>) | 2016 - | [-]-lu | 2015 - |
| Šulgi | 2002 - | <i>Ur-Ninsuna</i> | 1996-1986 | | | | -1990 |
| | | <i>Ur-Ninkimara</i> | 1986-1976 | ? | | Ku-du-[-] | 1990 - |
| | -1954 | <i>Lu-kirilaža</i> | 1976-1954 | ? | -1954 | | -1954 |
| Amar-Sin | 1954-1945 | <i>Ir-Nanna</i> | 1954 - | (<i>Elam's vassal</i>) | | Tazitta I | 1955-1940 |
| Šu-Sin | 1945-1936 | | -1933 | ? | | Ebarat I | 1955-1935 |
| Ibbi-Sin | 1936 - | <i>Ur-Ningirsu</i> | 1933-1928 | ? | | Tazitta II | 1935-1925 |
| | | <i>Ur-Nanše</i> | 1928-1923 | ? | | Lurrakluḫḫan | 1925 - |
| | | ISIN | | ? | | | -1915 |
| | -1912 | Išbi-Erra | 1923 - | ? | | Kindadu | 1915-1905 |
| | | | -1890 | | | Idadu I | 1905-1890 |

An overlap of all available documents leads to the following conclusion³²: Puzur-Inšušinak was the first Elamite ruler (Awan I) who was able to dominate a major chunk of Babylonia by means of alliances to control main trade routes to Syria. That chunk was not insignificant, since included in it were northern Babylonia and the adjoining Diyala region, therefore more than half of the traditional Babylonian territories. Puzur-Inšušinak's dominion in the east were equally (if not even more) impressive, since, apart from the Susiana and the state of Awan, he put under his (military) rule the Zagros territories as far as the Hamadan plain (Kimash and Hurti). If he also controlled Anshan, Puzur-Inšušinak probably was the first Elamite ever both to establish commercial hegemony over the entire western section of the Iranian plateau and to integrate the Susiana with Elam in a vast conglomerate or "commercial empire". This control of trade routes in Akkadian cities in the north sparked rivalries and opposition from Sumerian cities in the south. Puzur-Inšušinak's occupation of northern Babylonian had been terminated, it would not have been possible for Gudea to obtain for the Eninnu project all the foreign materials he claims to have brought from Syria and the Zagros mountains (Kimash) by a route to the land of cedar (Lebanon). For the same reasons, it also follow that those foreign acquisitions must

³² K DE GRIEF, J. TAVERNIER – Susa and Elam. Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives Leiden 2012 Ed. Brill pp. 293-303.

have been later than the removal of Tirigan by Utu-hegal. It is highly significant that both Ur-Nammu and Gudea claimed, using virtually the same language, to have opened up trade routes from the south to the north. Archaeology has shown that the trade route³³ taken by the Elamites (from Susa to Ugarit) overlapped exactly that used by the ancient Urukian cities, because these ones imported copper from Iranian Plateau, wood and stone from Zagros and Syria, pearls from the Persian Gulf, etc.



³³ F. JOANNÈS - Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne
 Paris 2001 Éd. Robert Laffont pp. 887-890.

Mesopotamian kings had indeed used to intervene westward to the Mediterranean. Sargon of Akkad and Naram-Sin had walked to the Taurus Mountains and Elam sent its armies in Syria (in Qatna). In fact, the famous King Gilgamesh (2460-2400) had already reached Mount Hermon (Saria) in Lebanon from the city of Uruk, flying in just 3 days (*sic*), a journey of 1620 km usually travelled in a month and a half (the Epic of Gilgamesh IV:12). At the beginning of the 2nd millennium Assyrian merchants were going regularly into Anatolia (Kanish) to trade with the Hittites. Samsi-Adad I boasted of having erected a stele in Lebanon and have mobilized 20,000 soldiers to help his friend, the king of Qatna. War of Abraham is located at a time when Mesopotamian kingdoms competed with each other and the Elamite kings to trade in the west. The east-west axis was an important trade route for the Elamites at this time because it was the "tin road" (necessary for the manufacture of bronze) connecting Susa to Ugarit, or Kanish (and major cities of central Anatolia) via Assur³⁴ (the capital of Assyria). Economic reasons explain some alliances between cities and the emergence of conflicts (which is rarely written).

King of Elam Puzur-Inšušinak has founded his very brief empire (Awan I) by allying with the military aristocracy of kings of Gutium and joining the kings of Akkad to control the trade route towards Syria. Taxation (and plunder) of this important trade route had severely disadvantage Sumerian cities causing their resentment. On the other hand, the growing prosperity of this region has attracted massively Amorites nomadic living in Syria. The relationship between the Emperor of Elam, the Mesopotamian kings and the Amorites was complex³⁵ because it often hovered vassalage to the rebellion, which makes reading documents already deficient. To illustrate the complexity of relations between Mesopotamian kings³⁶ and their multiple alliances, the case of Šulgi is exemplary because he took to wife a daughter of a Šakkanakku of Mari, a ENSI of Eshnunna (country of Akkad) and at least 6 of his daughters married to princes of the Iranian plateau (country of Elam). When they are mentioned in the texts of Lagas, the rulers of Umma are called ENSI (governor), such as those of Lagaš, while in their own inscriptions they use the title of LUGAL (king). At the beginning of his reign, Ur-Nammu controlled neither Uruk, since not adopt immediately the title EN (lord), nor Girsu where there was the "Dynasty Gudea" or Umma held by vassals ENSI of the last Gutian kings. Between the political set formed by Uruk, Ur and Lagaš and another involving Gutian principalities (Adab) and Umma, there was a fairly marked border. The chronological pattern of these changes is difficult to establish even by prosopography³⁷.

Although the kings of Elam had dominated Babylonia for more than a century, from the capture of Tiragan (in -2024), king of Gutium, to the destruction of Ur (in -1912), their names rarely appear³⁸ in Babylonian inscriptions³⁹ but only the cities they ruled (Anšan, Šimaški, Susa and Awan). The only way to know the role and the name of these Elamite kings is to reconstruct the chronological frame of the events mentioned in the Babylonian inscriptions and put them in parallel with the account in commemorative texts and some contracts referring to one of these events⁴⁰:

³⁴ F. JOANNÈS – L'étain, de l'Élam à Mari

in: *Mésopotamie et Elam*. R.A.I. 36 Ed. University of Ghent (1991) pp. 67-76.

³⁵ D. CHARPIN, J.-M. DURAND – La suzeraineté de l'empereur (sukkalmaḥ) d'Elam sur la mésopotamie et le nationalisme amorite
in: *Mésopotamie et Elam*. R.A.I. 36 Ed. University of Ghent (1991) pp. 59-66.

³⁶ F. JOANNÈS – Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne
Paris 2001 Éd. Robert Laffont pp. 40-42, 822-824, 870-872, 885-887.

³⁷ P. STEINKELLER – The date of Gudea and his Dynasty
in: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 40:2 (1988) pp. 47-53.

³⁸ In an inscription, found at Isin, Ur-Nammu names Puzur-Inšušinak as one of his adversaries.

³⁹ D.R. FRAYNE – Ur III Period (2112-2004 BC)
Toronto 1997 Ed. University Press pp. 5-368.

⁴⁰ K DE GRIEF, J. TAVERNIER – Susa and Elam. Archeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives
Leiden 2012 Ed. Brill pp. 85-146.

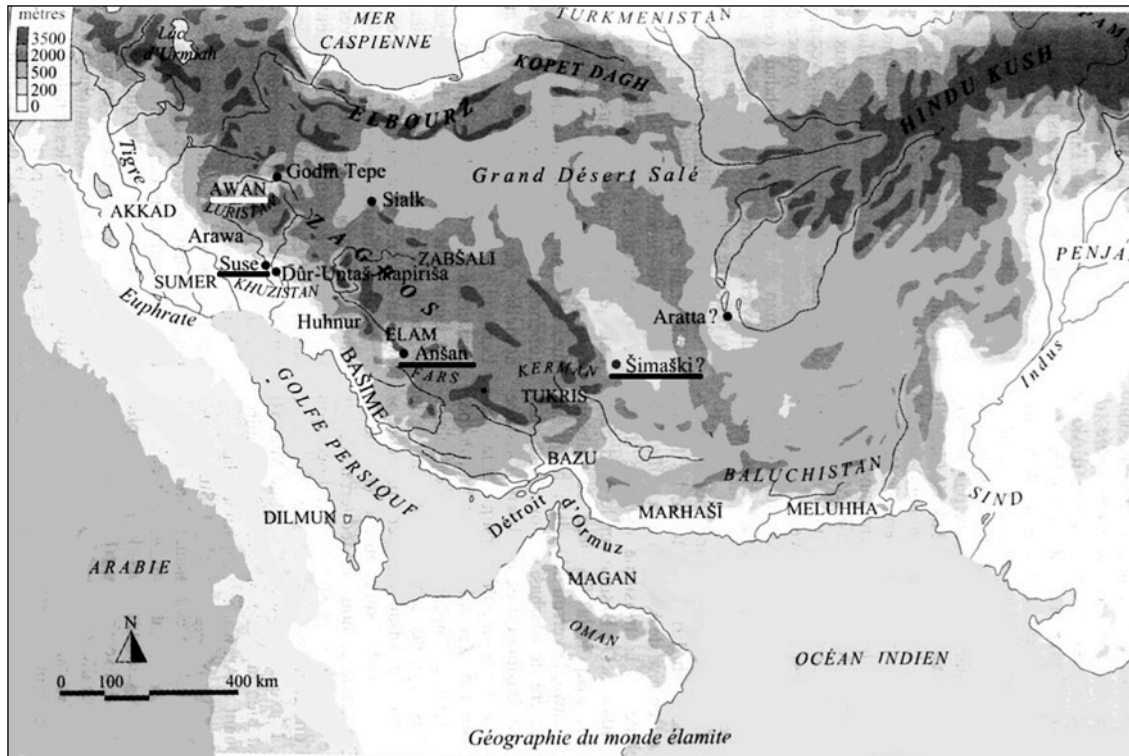
| Sumerian King | | | Important events recorded in Sumerian inscriptions |
|------------------|----|-------|---|
| Utu-hegal | 8? | -2024 | <i>Utu-hegal vowed to the goddess Inana of Uruk to destroy Gutium. Tirigan, king of Gutium, is attacked and captured in Dubrum (near Umma).</i> |
| Ur-Nammu | 4 | -2016 | <i>Expulsed Gutians [smote Susa and turned it into booty]</i> |
| | 9 | -2011 | <i>Goddess Inana of Uruk chosen by omens.</i> |
| | 16 | -2004 | <i>The wall of Ur built to stop the Tidnumites (Amorite invaders).</i> |
| Šulgi | 21 | -1981 | <i>Der (Zagros) was sacked (Šulgi's name is written with a divine determinative from year 20).</i> |
| | 24 | -1978 | <i>Karabar was sacked.</i> |
| | 25 | -1977 | <i>Simurru was sacked.</i> |
| | 26 | -1976 | <i>Simurru was sacked for a 2nd time.</i> |
| | 27 | -1975 | <i>Harši was sacked.</i> |
| | 30 | -1972 | <i>King's daughter married to the governor of Anšan.</i> |
| | 31 | -1971 | <i>Karabar was sacked for a 2nd time.</i> |
| | 32 | -1970 | <i>Simurru was sacked for the 3rd time.</i> |
| | 34 | -1968 | <i>Anšan was sacked (exceptionally, Šulgi's name is written without divine determinative!).</i> |
| | 37 | -1965 | <i>The wall of the land built to stop the Tidnumites (Amorite invaders).</i> |
| | 42 | -1960 | <i>Šasru was sacked.</i> |
| | 44 | -1958 | <i>Simurru and Lullubu were sacked for the 9th time.</i> |
| | 45 | -1957 | <i>The king overtook Urbillum (Arbela), Simurru, Lullubu and Karabar as a single group.</i> |
| | 46 | -1956 | <i>Kimaš, Hurti and their lands were sacked in a single day.</i> |
| | 47 | -1955 | <i>Booty of Šimaški when Šu-Enlil, the prince, smote? Šimaški.</i> |
| | 48 | -1954 | <i>Harši, Kimaš, Hurti and their territories were sacked in a single day.</i> |
| Amar-Sîn | 1 | -1953 | <i>Raši, ambassador of Zidanum in Elam, arrives at Puḡriš, remaining until year 4, ambassadors from Šimaški also present.</i> |
| | 2 | -1952 | <i>Urbillum was sacked.</i> |
| | 6 | -1948 | <i>Šaššurum was sacked for a 2nd time.</i> |
| | 5 | -1949 | <i>Royal dedication of a bronze basket for the goddess Inana of Uruk.</i> |
| | 7 | -1947 | <i>Hubnuri was sacked.</i> |
| Šu-Sîn | 7 | -1938 | <i>The king sacked the land of Zabšali, dedicated a statue of himself made of gold taken as booty in the lands of Šimaškians, Šulgi captured.</i> |
| Ibbi-Sîn | 3 | -1933 | <i>Simurru was sacked.</i> |
| | 4 | -1932 | <i>En-amgal-ana, priestess of the goddess Inana of Uruk installed.</i> |
| | 6 | -1930 | <i>The great walls of Nippur and Ur built to stop the Tidnumites (Amorite invaders).</i> |
| | 9 | -1927 | <i>The king marched with heavy forces against Hubnuri, the 'open mouth' of the land of Anšan.</i> |
| | 13 | -1923 | <i>Accession of Išbi-Erra as governor of Isin, vassal king of Ibbi-Sîn.</i> |
| | 14 | -1922 | <i>The king roared like a storm against Susa, Adamdum and the land of Anvan, made them submit in a single day and took their lord as bound captive.</i> |
| | 17 | -1919 | <i>The Amorites of the southern border submitted to the king.</i> |
| | 22 | -1914 | <i>The king held firm the cities of Ur and Larsa? which had been which had been devastated by the flood [of Gutians] which had been commanded by the gods and which shook the world.</i> |
| | 23 | -1913 | <i>The people (of its country) brought a stupid monkey [Išbi-Erra] to Ibbi-Sîn.</i> |
| | 24 | -1912 | <i>Ur attacked by the Elamites and Šimaškians, Ibbi-Sîn taken to Anšan as a prisoner.</i> |
| Išbi-Erra | 16 | -1907 | <i>The king smote the armies of the Šimaškians and of Elam.</i> |
| | 19 | -1904 | <i>Idadu I, son Kindadu, king of Anšan.</i> |
| | 26 | -1903 | <i>Expulsion of Kidadu, king of Šimaški commemorated.</i> |

This reconstruction highlights 4 distinct periods⁴¹. During the 1st period (2024-1970) the oppressors are only the kings of Gutium who robbed caravans according to the monumental inscription of King Utu-hegal⁴². Afterwards Ur-Nammu expelled them from Sumer, then Šulgi attacked some of their cities (from his 21st year of reign). Relationships with kings of Elam remained cordial since Šulgi married one of his daughters with the governor of Anšan and in Susa was found four bricks commemorating Šulgi's restoration of the temple of Inšušinak (in Susa). For an unknown reason in the year 34 of his reign Šulgi sacked the city of Anšan which starts the 2nd period (1968-1954). The hostility against

⁴¹ The dates and locations of some campaigns are controversial (B. LAFFONT – The Army of the Kings of Ur: The Textual Evidence in: Cuneiform Digital Library Journal 2009:5 pp. 1-25).

⁴² E. SOLLBERGER, J.-R. KUPPER – Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes in: *Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient* n°3 (1971, Cerf) pp. 130-132.

Elam during this period was mainly directed against the king of Awan through attacks against the cities of his vassals (the kings of Gutium) because other Elamite kings (Anšan or Šimaški) seem cooperative (Ebarrat I is one of the 12 kings of Šimaški)⁴³. Indeed, the large booty paid in year 47 is offered in compensation (Šimaški was not attacked or threatened) and the presence during year 1 of Amar-Sîn of ambassadors from Šimaški are due to the death of Ku-du-[ur-la-ga-mar], king of Awan. Among the capitals of Elam, Susa was the most westerly and Šimaški the most easterly⁴⁴.



Cooperation of the kings of Sumer with the kings of Šimaški was good during the third period (1953-1930) since Ir-Nanna was both grand vizier (*sukkalmaḥ*), governor (*ensi*) of Lagash, Sabum, Hamazi and Kardahar, prefect (*šagina*) of Šimaški, Usar-Garshana, Pasime, Urbilum (Arbela) and countries of Karda. The term ENSI "Lord" was used in Ur III documents to refer appointed governors as well as to independant foreign rulers (mayor or king). The 4th period (1927-1912) begins with the attack against the country of Anšan in the year 9 of Ibbi-Sîn and ends with the final and utter destruction of Ur by Kindadu the king of Elam (Šimaški). Thus the kings of Sumer (Ur III) have been oppressed on two occasions: once by Kudu[Lagamar] (1968-1954), king of Awan, and once by Kindadu (1915-1905), king of Šimaški. These two kings of Elam left a bad unforgettable memory in Sumerian annals. The lament over the destruction of Sumer and Ur⁴⁵ ends with a curse against those who had caused misfortune in the land of Sumer: the land of Tīdnum (Amorites), the land of Gutium and the land of Anšan (Elam). To defeat Ibbi-Sîn (1936-1912), the last king of Ur, Kindadu therefore allied with a king of Gutium (unnamed) and was supported by some Amorite tribes (from Syria). Išbi-Erra (1923-1890) a former governor of Isin seems to have had a very opportunistic behaviour with the kings of Elam.

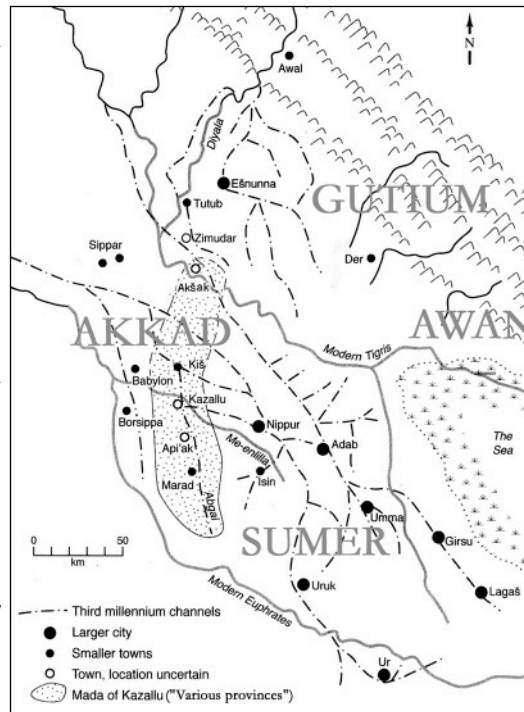
⁴³ M. RAHIM SHAYEGAN – Arsacids and Sasanians: Political Ideology in Post-Hellenistic and Late Antique Persia Cambridge 2011 Ed. Cambridge University Press pp. 262-264.

⁴⁴ F. JOANNÈS - Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne Paris 2001 Éd. Robert Laffont pp. 272-276, 700.

⁴⁵ J.B. PRITCHARD - Ancient Near Eastern Texts Princeton 1969 Ed. Princeton University Press pp. 611-619.

Some idea of the size of the empire of Ur can be discerned by the seal inscriptions of Ur-appointed city governors⁴⁶. Eventually the rulers of Ur are known to have had dependent governors in at least 15 Mesopotamian cities⁴⁷. There were undoubtedly other governors as well, for whom we lack records, along with additional vassal states. There were other cities with known Sumerian governors outside of Sumer itself, including Ashur, Babylon, Eshnunna, Simur-rum, and Susa in Elam; Ashur was governed by a viceroy (GIR.NITA) named Zarikum during Amar-Sin's reign (1954-1945). At the height of its power the empire of Ur III was divided into three zones, each with a different relationship to the city of Ur. In the central heartland of Sumer and Akkad (southern and central Mesopotamia), the cities were ruled by governors directly appointed by the king of Ur, directly paying taxes (*bala*) of goods and services. The second zone, along the central Tigris valley and parts of Elam, were conquered lands which had garrisons of soldiers (*erin*) with prefects or military commanders (*šagina*) appointed from Ur. These provinces paid the "tribute of the provinces" (*gun mada*) in livestock and other products. The third zone consisted of allied and vassal states, who had their own independent rulers but who were dependent in some way on Ur. This region is rather amorphous and informal, with changeable relations with specific cities, but included at different times parts of western Iran, the upper Tigris, the middle Euphrates and parts of Syria. These regions sent ambassadors to Ur, intermarried with the royal family, and sent various forms of tribute or diplomatic gifts. The middle Euphrates, including Mari and Ebla, seemed to have some type of tributary status to Ur, while ambassadors were received from as far away as Byblos on the Mediterranean coast. In 1955 BCE Šulgi received tribute (*gun*) from Ebla consisting of "500 *tilpanu*-weapons of *sudianum*-wood and 500 bows and quivers". This substantial tribute in weapons points to some type of vassalage on the part of Ebla to Ur, and further emphasizes the importance of archery in Neo-Sumerian armies.

During the period of Ur III, Sumerian kings were in competition with the kings of Elam to rule the country of Akkad. Each provincial governor was paying a fee to a king in order his merchants may benefit a police protection⁴⁸. Those of an area in Akkad called: *ma-da-ke-ne* "various provinces" (including at least: Akšak, Kiš, Kazallu and Marad) depended on Elamite kings⁴⁹. Given that Utu-hegal, a king of Sumer, attacked Tirigan, a king of Gutium (in 2024 BCE), this proves that the country of Akkad had been annexed by Puzur-Inšušinak, a king of Elam (Awan), by the intermediate of his allied the king of Gutium. Then as Ur-Nammu claims (in 2016 BCE) that he expelled the Gutians and smote Susa (Elam): *At that time, by the power of my king Nanna [Moon god], I liberated Akšak, Marad, Girkal, Kazallu, their (surrounding) settlement and Ušarum, which were all in servitude to*



⁴⁶ W.J. HAMBLIN – Warfare in the Ancient Near East to 1600 BC London 2006 Ed. Routledge pp. 102-123, 154-163.

⁴⁷ Umma, Push, Kish, Lagash, Kazallu, Nippur, Sharrakum, Adab, Ishkun-Sin, Shuruppak, Marad, Simudar, Kutha, Uruk and Eresh.

⁴⁸ B. LION – Ur III

in: Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne (Robert Laffont, 2001) pp. 878-882.

⁴⁹ P. MICHALOWSKI – The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur Idiana 2011 Ed. Eisenbrauns pp. 128-137.

Anšan (Elam), the country of Akkad (actually the area called "various provinces") came back under control of Sumerian kings. As Šulgi's daughter got married to the governor of Anšan in 1972 BCE one can deduce that the country of Akkad had been ruled peacefully by both kings (of Sumer and Elam), but given that afterwards Šulgi sacked the city of Anšan (in 1968 BCE), and accused of conspiracy several cities of Akkad belonging to the "various provinces", the country of Akkad had had to come back again under control of the king of Elam (capitals are into brackets):

| SUMER | | AKKAD | | ELAM | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| URUK IV | | (Uruk) | | AWAN II | (Susa) | |
| Ur-Nigin | | 2062-2055 | | Hita | 2065 - | 11 th |
| Ur-Gigir | | 2055-2049 | | | | |
| Kuda | | 2049-2043 | | | | |
| Puzur-ili | | 2043-2038 | | | -2040 | |
| Ur-Utu | | 2038-2032 | | Puzur-Inšušinak | 2040 - | 12 th |
| Utu-hegal | 2032-2021 | GUTTIUM | (Der?) | | | |
| UR III | (Ur) | AWAN I | (Susa) | | -2020 | SIMASKI (Anšan?) |
| Ur-Nammu | 2020 - | 2020-2015 | | | 1 st | [unammed] 2020 - |
| | -2002 | | 2015 - | [-]-lu | 2 nd | |
| Šulgi | 2002 - | | -1990 | | | -1990 |
| | | | 1990-1968 | Kudur-Lagamar | 3 rd | Girnamme 1990 - |
| | -1954 | | 1968-1954 | | | -1955 |
| Amar-Sîn | | 1954-1945 | | | | Tazitta I 1955-1940 |
| Šu-Sîn | | 1945-1936 | | | | Ebarat I -1935 |
| Ibbi-Sîn | | 1936 - | | | | Tazitta II 1935-1925 |
| | | -1912 | | | | Lurrakluḫḫan 1925-1915 |
| ISIN | | (Isin) | | | | Kindadu 1915-1905 |
| Išbi-Erra | | 1923-1890 | | | | Idadu I 1905-1890 |
| Šû-ilišu | | 1890-1880 | | | | TanRuḫuratir 1890-1875 |

Šulgi did not mention Kudur-Lagamar but only his capture of the famous goddess Nanaya. The lament for Sumer and Ur⁵⁰ was written after the destruction of Ur, although it is an epic poem recounting the inevitability of fate, it contains a brief summary of some dramatic events that preceded the final destruction of Ur. Capture in Elam of Uruk's goddess Nanaya (the most powerful goddess, mistress of the world, had a special link with the king)⁵¹ during the first Elamite domination was seen as a bad omen announcing the fatal outcome during the second Elamite domination (underlined): *25-28 after Enki had altered the course of the Tigris and Euphrates, after Utu had cast his curse on the roads and highways; so as to obliterate the divine powers of Sumer, to change its preordained plans, to alienate the divine powers of the reign of kingship of Ur (...) 33-37 that Šimaški and Elam, the enemy, dwell in their place; that its shepherd be captured by the enemy, all alone. That Ibbi-Sîn be taken to the land of Elam in fetters, that from Mount Zabû, hich is on the edge of the sealand, to the borders of Anšan, like a bird that has flown from its nest, he not return to his city (...) 56-59 Its fate, which cannot be changed, who can overturn it — who can oppose the command of An and Enlil? An frightened the (very) dwelling of Sumer, the people were afraid. Enlil blew an evil storm, silence lay upon the city (...) 63 Inana handed over (victory in) strife and battle to a rebellious land (...) 75-78 Enlil then sent down Gutium from the mountains. Their advance was as the flood of Enlil that cannot be withstood. The great storm of the plain filled the countryside, it advanced before them. The extensive countryside was destroyed, no one moved about there (...) 98-105 The rich left his possessions and took an unfamiliar path. In those days the kingship of the land was defiled. The crown that had been on the head (of the king) [-] by itself. The lands that had taken the same road,*

⁵⁰ P. MICHALOWSKI – The Lamentation over the destruction of Sumer and Ur
Winona Lake 1989 Ed. Eisenbrauns pp. pp. 36-69.

⁵¹ M.P. STRECK, N. WASSERMAN – More Light on Nanāya
in: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 102 (2012) pp. 183-201.

were split into factions. The food offerings of Ur, the shrine (that received) magnificent food offerings, were changed for the worse. Nanna traded away his people numerous as ewes. Its king sat immobilised in the palace, all alone. Ibī-Sīn was sitting in anguish in the palace, all alone (...) [143-146](#) Keš, built all alone on the high steppe, was haunted. Adab, which stretches out along the river, was deprived of water. The snake of the mountains made his lair there, it became a rebellious land. The Gutians bred there, issued their seed (...) [150-153](#) Inana abandoned Uruk, went off to enemy territory [Elam]. In the E-ana the enemy laid his eyes upon the sacred Gīpar shrine. The sacred Gīpar of en priesthood was defiled. Its En priest was snatched from the Gīpar (and) carried off to enemy territory (...) [166](#) Enlil brought down the Elamites, the enemy, from the highlands (...) [172-173](#) The province of Lagaš was handed over to Elam. And then the Queen also reached the end of her time (...) [197](#) At the place of Nanna where evil had never walked, the enemy walked (...) [205](#) Its En priest was snatched from the Gīpar (and) carried off to enemy territory (...) [230](#) We are being wiped out by the Gutians, the vandals (...) [254-257](#) To the south, the Elamites stepped in, slaughtering ... To the north, the vandals, the enemy, ... The Tidnumites daily strapped the mace to their loins. To the south, the Elamites, like an onrushing wave, were (...) [260-261](#) This is what Enlil, the one who decides the fates, then did: For the second time he sent down the Elamites, the enemy, from the mountains (...) [373-374](#) Nanna who love his city, left his city. Su'en took an unfamiliar path away from his beloved Ur (...) [387-388](#) Ur, which had been confident in its own strength, stood ready for slaughter. Its people, oppressed by the enemy, could not withstand (their) weapons (...) [405-406](#) Elam, like a swelling flood wave, left only the spirits of the dead. In Ur weapons smashed heads like clay pots. Its refugees were (unable) to flee, they were trapped inside the walls (...) [419](#) were defiled. The great tribute that they had collected was hauled off to the mountains (...) [441-448](#) (Musicians) no longer played the balag instrument in the sacred bed-chamber of Nanna. The sacred box that no one had set eyes upon was seen by the enemy (...) The statues that were in the shrine were cut down (...) Forsake the sacred rites and decrees, they go off to a foreign city (...) [486-492](#) Indeed, the storm that blew on Sumer, blew on the foreign lands. Indeed, the storm that blew on the land, blew on the foreign lands. It has blown on Tidnum, it has blown on the foreign lands. It has blown on Gutium, it has blown on the foreign lands. It has blown on Anšan, it has blown on the foreign lands, (and) it leveled Anšan like a blowing evil storm. Famine has overwhelmed the evildoer — may (that) people submit (...) [514-519](#) O Nanna, your kingship is sweet, return to your place. May a good abundant reign be long lasting in Ur. Let its people lie down in safe pastures, let them reproduce. O mankind [-] O Nanna — oh your city! Oh your temple! A question arises: who captured the goddess Nanaya and why it was so important?

The importance of Nanaya, goddess of war and seduction, in the pantheon of Uruk⁵² derived from her position as daughter of An, and also as daughter of Inana, with whom she syncretized at a very early date. The connection between Nanaya and Uruk is already fully apparent in archival texts from the time of Ur III. The close relation between Nanaya and kingship is portrayed in some literary compositions of the Old Babylonian period. After the abandonment of Uruk and other southern sites under Samsu-iluna (1654-1616) the cults of An, Inana, and Nanaya migrated to Kish. The syncretism between Inana/Ištar and Nanaya was a basic tenet of Babylonian theology from very early times. Nanaya was the Queen of Uruk (*šarrat Unuĝ*) and Ištar was the Lady of Uruk (*bêltu ša Unuĝ*). The cult of Nanaya was transferred onto Ištar as reflected in the annals of Sennacherib⁵³.

Nanaya's role clearly appears when Utu-hegal, king of Uruk, decided to get rid of the domination of Gutium: [1-12](#) Enlil, the king of all the lands, entrusted Utu-hegal, the mighty man, the king of Uruk, the king of the four quarters, the king whose orders cannot be countermanded, with wiping out the name of Gutium, the snake, scorpion of mountains, who acted with violence against the gods, who carried off the kingship of Sumer to foreign lands, who filled Sumer with wickedness, who took away

⁵² P.A. BEAULIEU – The Pantheon of Uruk During the Neo-Babylonian Period
Leiden 2003 Ed. Brill pp. 182-189.

⁵³ D.D. LUCKENBILL – The Annals of Sennacherib
Chicago 1924 Ed. University of Chicago Press pp. 54, 87, 125.

spouses from the married and took away children from parents, who made wickedness and violence normal in the Land (...) **16-23** He (Utu-hegal) went to his lady, Inana, and prayed to her: "My lady, lioness in the battle, who butts the foreign lands, Enlil has entrusted me with bringing back the kingship to Sumer. May you be my help. May the hordes of Gutium be eradicated!" Tirigan, the king of Gutium opened his mouth. Nobody came out of his city to face him; he already occupied both banks of the Tigris. In the south, in Sumer, he blocked the water from the fields, in the uplands he closed off the roads. Because of him the grass grew high on the highways of the land. **24-34** But the king, endowed with power by Enlil, chosen by Inana with her heart, Utu-hegal, the mighty man, came out from Uruk to face him. In the temple of Iškur he offered a sacrifice. He addressed a speech to the citizens of his city: "Enlil has given Gutium to me and my lady Inana will be my help! Dumuzi (who is) Ama-ušumgal-ana has declared my fate and assigned Gilgameš, the son of Ninsumun, to me as a constable!" The citizens of Uruk and Kullab rejoiced and followed him with one accord. He lined up his élite troops (...) **51-59** After departing from the shrine at Iltappé (...) and prayed to him: "O Utu, Enlil has given Gutium to me, may you be my help!" To hostile territory of Gutium he set fire, he led his troops against him. Utu-hegal, the mighty man, defeated his generals. **60-65** Then Tirigan the king of Gutium ran away alone on foot. He thought himself safe in Dabrum, where he fled to save his life; but since the people of Dabrum knew that Utu-hegal was a king endowed with power by Enlil, they did not let Tirigan go, and an envoy of Utu-hegal arrested Tirigan together with his wife and children in Dabrum. He put handcuffs and a blindfold on him. Before Utu, Utu-hegal made him lie at his feet and placed his foot on his neck. He made Gutium, the snake, scorpion of mountains (...) He brought back the kingship of Sumer⁵⁴. After the defeat of Tirigan (c. 2024 BCE) the kings of Gutium are no longer considered a legitimate dynasty of Akkad.

When Išbi-Erra of Isin became the only king of Sumer and Akkad after the demise of the kingdom of Ur (in 1912 BCE), he wrote a hymn to Nanaya with invocation of blessing⁵⁵: **1-15** Lady of the princely attributes, emerging brightly like the daylight, eternally summoned in appropriate beauty, Nanaya, ornament of E-ana, created for the goddess (Inana). Omniscient one, appropriately summoned as queen of all the lands by the Hierodule (Inana), Nanaya, you teach the nation science in E-ana. As good as An, woman of the pure head (?), fitting for the "flying lady" (Inana). Nanaya, properly educated by the holy Inana, heavenly shining woman that you verily are, wise lady who is available for everything, righteous long-suffering woman, because you pass (the day) in being available at the command of Inana(?), counselled by the holy Inana, beloved by the Hierodule (Inana). Nanaya, great judge, deity who occupies the high throne of the sanctuary of Uruk. Righteous woman who is the favorable verdict of the nation, who knows all the lawsuits, Nanaya, who understands justice for city and scattered people, lofty woman honored by holy command, lady created in beauty, Nanaya, pride of E-ana, ... of the nation. By An, the benevolent eye of the nation, the king of all countries (...) **20-35** Išbi-Erra, ceaseless provider of E-ana summoned in song (?), your Nanaya, who is beloved by the nation and the Hierodule (Inana), Išbi-Erra, eternally may you be the one who "makes her words good". Great queen, created in the "place of sustenance", counseled (?) by the Hierodule (Inana). Luxurious attributes have been generously given to you by the Hierodule. Nanaya, great queen, created in the "place of sustenance", counseled (?) by the Hierodule. Of the people, oh Išbi-Erra, you are their king (and) shepherd. Nanaya, you are the queen of all the countries [by An's] spoken command. In the chapel, in Kullab, ... he verily declares it, the people turn their hearts towards you, you verily address them. Nanaya, righteous woman, you are the ... of the blackheaded ones [Sumerians]! Your wise word is brightly made good for the goddess (Inana). The hero summoned in beauty by the Hierodule, the son of Enlil (Išbi-Erra). Nanaya, the goddess has verily caused your holy attributes to grow ... for you. You have verily opened the righteous eye of life upon (his) bedstead, Išbi-Erra (is) the hero summoned in beauty for his beauty. As for Utu-hegal goddess Nanaya played a key role in the legitimacy and success of the kingship of Išbi-Erra as king of Sumer and

⁵⁴ E. SOLLBERGER, J.-R. KUPPER – Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes in: *Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient* n°3 (1971, Cerf) pp. 130-132.

⁵⁵ W.W. HALLO – The World's Oldest Literature: Studies in Sumerian Belles-Lettres Leiden 2010 Ed. Brill pp. 212-215.

Akkad. This explains why the capture of this goddess by the king of Awan, Kudu[-Lagamar], caused (later) such a scandal in the lament for Sumer and Ur.

Statues of gods or goddesses were viewed as talismans and it is for this reason they were frequently moving in procession. As Šulgi sacked the city of Anšan (in 1968 BCE), whereas he was entered into an alliance with Elam just 4 years earlier (Awan dynasty was considered as powerful as that of Ur III), this turnaround could be explained by the seizing of Nanaya by Ku-du[-], the third and last king of Awan I. This capture was in fact a claim to supremacy over the land of Sumer and Akkad. In the same way Šu-ilišu (1890-1880) "god of his country (Sumer and Akkad) and king of Ur" brought back the (statue of) god Nanna from Anšan to Ur in order to show his supremacy over the land of Elam when Tan-Ruḫuratir I (1890-1875) was governor of Susa. The kings of Awan I (as Puzur-Inšušinak) have had a special status during Ur III dynasty since they were both governor (ENSI) of Susa, viceroy (GIR.NITA) of Elam and king (LUGAL) of Awan. During this period⁵⁶ Girnamme (1990-1960) is supposed to be governor of Šimaški, Tazitta I (1960-1940) is only called "man (LU) of Anšan" and Ebarat I (1960-1935) is called "the man of Šimaški (SU)" then "(one of) the 12 kings (LUGAL.MEŠ) of Šimaški". After the fall of the Ur (in 1912 BCE) the legitimacy of Isin dynasty founded by Išbi-Erra was challenged by the kings of Larsa⁵⁷. It is interesting to note that to confirm the legitimacy of his kingship over Sumer and Akkad, Bur-Sin (1800-1779), king of Isin, made a statuette of the goddess Nanaya⁵⁸ that Sumu-El (1800-1771), king of Larsa, also invoked for his own account as "king of Ur" and also "king of Sumer and Akkad". The manufacture of this statuette shows that its role in the legitimacy of the kingship over the land of Sumer and Akkad was still recognized and that the original did not come back at home (Uruk). Paradoxically, the sack of the city of Susa by Ashurbanipal (in 646 BCE) will allow Nanaya returning to its place of origin.

The capture the goddess Inana of Uruk, during Šulgi's reign, was a key event that was reported ambiguously in the Šulgi hymns⁵⁹ (which are a literary propaganda of a god-king who must have reigned in a period replete with correlating historical sources). For example Enlil, while naming the king with a 'throne-name', calls him: *the one providing the foreign land (or highland) generously* (Šulgi G ll. 21-3), which one would not expect in a text that supposedly originated in the beginning of Šulgi's reign when the very existence of his kingdom was insecure. Likewise, the couplet: *At the irresistible foreign land he roars for him (namely for Enlil), he stabilizes the countryside, the people lie (in peace) at his feet*, seems to fit better in a time when Šulgi really 'roared' at the lands and the countryside was already 'stabilized'. Finally, the similarly warlike (l. 33): *the king defeated the rebellious land with Inana's axe*, can point to a campaign against a rebellious region (Elam in year 34?). Another hymn reads: *Inana, daughter of Suen, decrees (the following) destiny for Šulgi, son of Ninsun: 'I am the one who walks in front of you in battle, I am the one who like a squire carries (your) weapon in combat'* (Šulgi X, ll. 46-50). The myth "Inana and Šukaletuda" reads: *15-19 Inana left heaven, left the earth and climbed up into the mountains. She left E-ana in Uruk and climbed up into the mountains (...) As she had gone up from E-ana, ... shrine (...) 101-119 He raised his eyes to the lower land and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun rises. He raised his eyes to the highlands and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun*

⁵⁶ K.J. ROACH – The Elamite Cylinder Seal Corpus, c.3500 - 1000 BC Vol I Part I Sydney 2008 Ed. The University of Sydney (thesis) pp. 66-71.

M. RAHIMSHAYEGAN – Arsacids and Sasanians: Political Ideology in Post-Hellenistic and Late Antique Persia Cambridge 2011 Ed. Cambridge University Press pp. 262-264.

⁵⁷ Gungunum (1838-1811), king of Larsa, took the city of Ur to Lipit-Ištar (1839-1828), king of Isin, then the cities of Uruk and Kisurra to Ur-Ninurta (1828-1800). Finally Abi-sarê (1811-1800) killed Ur-Ninurta, however Bur-Sin (1800-1779) managed to temporarily take control of the city of Ur to Sumu-El (1800-1771).

⁵⁸ E. SOLLBERGER, J.-R. KUPPER – Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes in: *Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient* n°3 (1971, Cerf) pp. 178-179, 186-187.

⁵⁹ L. VACIN – Šulgi of Ur: Life, Deeds, Ideology and Legacy of a Mesopotamian Ruler as Reflected Primarily in Literary Texts London 2011. Ed. School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London, thesis) pp. 22, 76-77, 90-96., 145

sets. He saw a solitary ghost. He recognized a solitary god by her appearance. He saw someone who possesses fully the divine powers. He was looking at someone whose destiny was decided by the gods (...) after Inana had gone around the heavens, after she had gone around the earth, after she had gone around Elam and Subir, after she had gone around the intertwined horizon of heaven, the mistress became so tired that when she arrived there she lay down by its roots. Šukaletuda noticed her from beside his plot. Over her genitals, as a loincloth (?), Inana tied the 7 divine powers (...) 123-138 Šukaletuda undid the loincloth (?) of 7 divine powers and got her to lie down in her resting place. He had sex with her and kissed her there. After he had sex with her and kissed her, he went back to beside his plot. When day had broken and Utu had risen, the woman inspected herself closely, holy Inana inspected herself closely (...) Inana was considering what should be done because of her genitals. She filled the wells of the Land with blood (...) it was blood that the black-headed people drank. No one knew when this would end. She said: I will search everywhere for the man who had sex with me. But nowhere in all the lands could she find the man who had sex with her (...) 179-184 His father replied to the boy; his father replied to Šukaletuda: My son, you should join the city-dwellers, your brothers (...) He went at once to the black-headed people (the Sumerians), his brothers, and the woman did not find him among the mountains (...) 233-244 holy Inana inspected herself closely. Ah, who will compensate me? Ah, who will pay (?) for what happened to me? Should it not be the concern of my own father, Enki. Holy Inana directed her steps to the Abzu of Eridug and, because of this, prostrated herself on the ground before him and stretched out her hands to him: Father Enki, I should be compensated! What's more, some one should pay (?) for what happened to me! I shall only reenter my shrine E-ana satisfied after you have handed over that man to me from the Abzu 288-290 holy Inana spoke to Šukaletuda: So! You shall die! What is that to me? Your name, however, shall not be forgotten. Your name shall exist in songs and make the songs sweet. A young singer shall perform them most pleasingly in the king's palace (...) destiny was determined, praise be to ... Inana⁶⁰. If Šukaletuda name meaning "spotty" has been forgotten (a pseudonym for Kudur-Lagamar according to the context), however the rape of the goddess Inana of Uruk was a memorable event (the responsibility of king Šulgi is unclear but he was later made responsible for these misfortunes).

Ashurbanipal, after his conquest of Elam and Susa ransacking, describes⁶¹: *I opened their treasures, where were crammed silver, gold, property and possessions which had been assembled and tightened by ancient kings of Elam until kings quite our contemporaries, and in which no enemy other than me, had put hands. I carried in loot. I carried the booty in the land of Assyria silver, gold, and many possessions of [Babylon] whole than the previous kings of Elam had looted up to 7 times and taken into Elam (...) I storey tower destroyed them Susa, built in bricks with blue glazes. I broke its melted horns in polished copper. I carried as booty in the land of Assyria, Šušinak, the god of their oracles, who lived in secret, who nobody could see behaving, Sumudu, Lagamaru, Partikira, Ammankasibar, Uduhan, Sapak, whose kings worshiped the deities of Elam, Rabiga, Sungursarā, Karsa, Kirsamas, Sudanu, Aipaksina, Bilala, Panintimri, Napirtu, Kindakarbu, Silagara, Napsā, these gods and goddesses with their outfit, their possessions, their equipment, as well as their priests. I took to the land of Assyria 32 royal statues of gold, silver, bronze, marble, in Suse, Madaktu and Huradi, in addition to the statue of Ummanigaš son of Ubadara, the statue of Ištar-Nahunde, the statue of Hallusu, the statue of the young Tammartu who had been my servant, by order of Assur and Ištar. I despatched the (statues of) genies, male and female, which were guarding the temples, all as there were (...) I devastated the provinces of Elam for 1 month and 25 days (...) Elam was no longer a threat. Ummanaldasi could once again descend "move in mourning in a city [...] destroyed ravaged and looted" and reign as puppet king. This report (Prism F) also describes an exceptional event: (As for) Nanaya — who had become angry 1,635 years ago, had gone away (and) settled down in Elam in a place not befitting her, and who, in those days, (in agreement) with the gods her fathers, had (already) called me to the lordship of the lands — she entrusted me with the return*

⁶⁰ J. BLACK, G. CUNNINGHAM, E. ROBSON, G. ZÓLYOMI – The Literature of Ancient Sumer London 2004 Ed. Oxford University Press pp. 197-205.

⁶¹ D. ARNAUD – Assurbanipal roi d'Assyrie Paris 2007 Éd. Fayard pp. 203-213.

other godhead (saying): "Assurbanipal will bring me out of the evil land of Elam and cause me to enter E-ana." (This) utterance of their divine command, which they had spoken in distant days, they now revealed to the latter generations. I led her great godhead in procession, and in joy she took the straight road to E-ana. In the month Kislimu, on the first day, I made her enter Uruk and caused her to establish residence in Ebilianna, which she loves, the eternal sanctuary⁶². The number of years assigned to Nanaya's captivity seems exaggerated but it comes from Sumerian lists that put the Elamite dynasty (Awan I) just after dynasty of Ur I (instead of Ur III) which ends with King Balulu. The duration of 1,635 years would place indeed the capture around 2282 BCE (= 1635 + 647) which corresponds to the reign of Balulu (2276-2252). The estimate given by the Assyrian scribes is excellent because the eponyms were recorded only from Erišu I (1873-1834), moreover, before Aššur-dan I (1179-1133) Assyrian years were lunar not solar (thus the date 2282 BCE could be likely around 2250 BCE). The capture of the statue Nanaya is attributed to the last king of Awan I who is indeed Ku-du-[ur-la-ga-mar] (1990-1954).

François Vallat⁶³ realized a chronological study to the statue of Nanaya/Inana also called "the [Babylonian] Lady made captive" which confirms the surprising statements of Ashurbanipal. Reconstitution of the course of this famous statue:

| Event | Place | Date |
|---|-------|--------------|
| Utu-hegal vowed to the goddess Inana of Uruk [Nanaya] to destroy Gutium. | Uruk | -2024 |
| Kudu[-], king of Awan, captured the goddess Inana of Uruk. | Uruk | -1968 |
| According to the lament over the destruction of Sumer and Ur: <i>Inana abandoned Uruk and went off to enemy territory [Elam]</i> . | Susa | -1912 |
| Idadu(-Inšušinak) I mentioned on the basin he dedicated to Inšušinak the gods Inšušinak, Šamaš, dMUŠ (<i>Inana</i>) and Sin. | Susa | 1905-1890 |
| When Susian prince Tan-Ruhuratir marries Mekubi, the daughter of Bilalama from Eshnunna, the latter sends a dedication to <i>Inana</i> (dMUŠ). | Susa | 1890-1875 |
| Under Atta-hušu, installed on the throne of Susa by Gungunum, king of Larsa, several sacrifices are performed in honor of <i>Inana</i> (dMUŠ). | Susa | 1735-1715 |
| Igi-Halki, installed by Kurigalzu I, said that it is Manzat as Ištar (<i>Inana</i>) who gave him the kingship. | Susa | 1405-1385 |
| An agate of Humban-umena ends: <i>For his life, to his Lady Inana, he dedicated (this)</i> . | Susa | 1355-1345 |
| Untaš-Napiriša dedicated a temple to <i>Inana the Lady of yore</i> . | Susa | 1345-1305 |
| Šilhak-Inšušinak built a temple for Dilbat, <i>the Lady of Susa [who was] made captive in Babylon</i> . | Susa | 1155-1125 |
| Ashurbanipal took to king Humban-haltas III the ancient statue of <i>Nanaya</i> which was in Susa since 1635 years (actually 1321 years) to give it back to Uruk. | Uruk | -647 |
| Offerings to the Lady of Uruk (Ištar) and <i>Nanaya</i> are recorded in the years 39 and 40 of Nebuchadnezzar II ⁶⁴ . | Uruk | -566 |
| Gubaru, governor of Babylon and Beyond-the-River, ordered an offering to Ištar of Uruk and <i>Nanaya</i> in year 2 of Cambyses ⁶⁵ . | Uruk | -528 |

Some Assyriologists concluded that the Elamite king responsible for the capture of Nanaya should be Kutir-Nahhunte II (1160-1155) because Ashurbanipal's inscription explains: *Kudur-Nahundi, the Elamite, who did not respect the oath by the great gods, who in his madness [trusted] in his own strength, brought his hand against the sanctuaries of the land of Akkad and ruined the land*. However, the inscription does not say that this king was the same as the previous one. In fact, it is unlikely for the following reasons:

⁶² P.A. BEAULIEU – The Pantheon of Uruk During the Neo-Babylonian Period
Leiden 2003 Ed. Brill pp. 188-189.

⁶³ F. VALLAT – La Dame faite prisonnière à Babylone
in: *Akkadica* (2002) n°123 pp. 137-144.

⁶⁴ F. JOANNÈS – Trois textes de Surru à l'époque néo-babylonienne
in: *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 81 (1987) pp. 147-158.

⁶⁵ A. KUERT – The Persian Empire
London 2010 Ed. Routledge pp. 711-712.

- 1) Ashurbanipal exposed the main misdeeds of Elamite kings and those caused in 1155 BCE by Kutir-Nahhunte II who ravaged Babylon had remained famous because he put an end to the Kassite dynasty⁶⁶ crushing its last king Enlil-nadin-ahi (1158-1155).
- 2) Kutir-Nahhunte II brought back in Elam the statue of Marduk which came from Babylon⁶⁷ and not the one of Nanaya which came from Uruk.
- 3) For chronological reasons (war booty of Elamite kings in Babylonia spreading during the 2nd millennium BCE) some have replaced Kutir-Nahhunte II by Kutir-Nahhunte I (1645-1620) but this Elamite king never attacked Babylon⁶⁸.
- 4) The duration of 1635 years refers exactly to Ku-du[-], king of Awan I, in Sumerian royal lists (this king took the statue of Nanaya around 1968 BCE). In addition, this king is never described as having destroyed Babylon.

The "Spartoli tablets" describe the attack of Babylonia by the king of Elam named Kudur-KUKUmal (read initially Kudur-laḫgumal⁶⁹). Although late (ie 140 BCE) these three tablets were copied from an inscription dating from the time of Ashurbanipal around 650 BCE⁷⁰. Although damaged and often unintelligible they clearly refer to very old events in Babylonia and Elam. In the part preserved, the Elamite king presses his claim to the vacant throne of Babylon. The Babylonians answer that this claim is unfounded; they hope for the coming of a legitimate king. They predict a defeat of Elam to occur in the hot season. His claim spurned, the Elamite king invades Sumer and Babylonia, destroying holy places and incurring the wrath of the gods. The narrative explains the events for some theological purpose from a Babylonian viewpoint. Several points (underlined) in this narrative correspond to the Elamite king Kudu[-] of Awan: *With their firm counsel, they established Kudur-KUKUmal, king of Elam. Now, one who is pleasing to them [-] will exercise kingship in Babylon, the city of Babylonia (...) What king of Elam is there who provided for Esagila and ... ? The Babylonians ... and [-] their message: "(As for) [the wo]rds that you wrote: 'I am a king, son of king, of [royal seed e]ternal, [indeed] the son of a king's daughter who sat upon the royal throne. [As for] Dur-ṣil-ilani son of Eri-e[A]ku, who [carried off] plunder of [-], he sat on the royal throne ... [-] [As for] us, let a king come whose [lineage is] firmly founded' from ancient days, he should be called lord of Babylon (...) When the guardian of well-being cries [-] The protective spirit of Esharra [-] was frightened away. The Elamite hastened to evil deeds, for the Lord devised evil for Babylon. When the protective genius of justice stood aside, the protective spirit of Esharra, temple of all the gods, was frightened away. The Elamite enemy took away his possessions, Enlil, who dwelt therein, became furious. When the heavens (?) changed their appearance, the fiery glare and ill wind obliterated their faces. Their gods were frightened off, they went down to the depths. Whirlwinds, ill wind engulfed the heavens. Anu (the gods') creator had become furious. He diminished their (celestial) appearances, he laid waste (?) his (own celestial) position, with the burning of the shrine E-ana he obliterated its designs. [-] Esharra, the netherworld trembled. [Enlil?] commanded total destruction. [The god had] become furious: he commanded for Sumer the smashing of En[lil]'s land. Which one is Kudur-KUKU[ma], the evil doer? He called therefore the Umman-man(da he level)led the land of Enlil, he laid waste (?) [-] at their side. When the [-] of Ê-ṣida, and Nabu, trustee of all [-] hastened to [-] He set [out] downstream, toward the ocean, Ibbi-Tutu, who was on the sea, hastened to the East, He (Nabu) crossed the sea and occupied a dwelling not his own. The rites of E-ṣida, the sure house, were deathly still. The Elamite [enemy] sent forth his chariotry, he headed downstream toward Borsippa. He came*

⁶⁶ F. VALLAT, H. GASCHÉ - Suse

in: *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*. Fascicule 73 (2002) pp. 465-466.

⁶⁷ J.A. BRINKMAN - A political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia
Roma 1968 Ed. Pontificium Institutum Biblicum pp. 19, 33, 78-91.

⁶⁸ F. VALLAT - Le Kutir-Nahhunte d'Assurbanipal
in: *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* (1993) n°31 pp. 25-26.

⁶⁹ T. G. PINCHES - The Old Testament in the Light of Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia
London, 2004 (1902) Ed. Adamant Media Corporation, pp. 223-233.

⁷⁰ M. ASTOUR - Political and Cosmic Symbolism in Genesis 14 and in its Babylonian Sources
in: *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformation* (Cambridge, 1966) pp. 65-112.

down the dark way, he entered Borsippa. *The vile Elamite toppled its sanctuary, he slew the nobles of ... with weapons, he plundered all the temples. He took their possessions and carried them off to Elam. He destroyed its wall, he filled the land [with weeping ...] (...) an improvident sovereign [-] he felled with weapons Dur-šil-ilani son of Eri-[e]Aku, he plundered [-] water over Babylon and Esagila, he slaughtered its [-] with his own weapon like sheep, [-] he burned with fire, old and young, [-] with weapons, [-] he cut down young and old. Tudhula son of Gazza[-], plundered the [-] water over Babylon and Esagila, [-] his son smote his pate with his own weapon. [-] his lordship to the [rites] of Annunit[um] [king of] Elam [-] plundered the great ..., [-] he sent like the deluge, all the cult centers of Akkad and their sanctuaries he burned [with fire] Kudur-KU[KU]mal his son c[ut?] his middle and his heart with an iron dagger, [-] his enemy he took and sought out (?). *The wicked kings, criminals, [-] captured. The king of the gods, Marduk, became angry at them (...) [The doer] of evil to him [-] his heart [-] the doer of sin must not [-]*⁷¹.*

Several features attributed to Kudur-KUKUmal in the narrative correspond exclusively to Kudu[-] king of Awan⁷²: 1) he legitimately dominated Babylonia for a time 2) he then did evil in particular by addressing the shrine of E-ana (Uruk), 3) he associated with the Umman-manda or hordes of Gutium⁷³, 4) he took goods and carried them off to Elam and 5) he subdued some nobles. The wicked and criminal kings who are associated with Kudur-KUKUmal: Eri-e-Aku, Dur-šil-ilani son of Eri-e-Aku and Tudhula son of Gazza[-] are unknown. However Eri-e-Aku could have been king of Larsa according to the inscriptions of Kudur-Mabuk who was king of Larsa for a year (1740). He was also father of two kings of Larsa: Warad-Sîn (1740-1727) and Rim-Sîn I (1727-1667). These kings attribute their kingship to the goddess Nanaya (as kings of Ur III did): *To Nanaya, queen full of charm, whose grace is superabundant, princely daughter of the great An, their mistress. Kudur-Mabuk, father of Yamutbal, son of Simti-šilhak, and Rim-Sîn, his son, the prince who reveres Nippur, who provides for the needs of Ur, the king of Larsa, king of Sumer and Akkad, have for their live, built E-ša-hula, its beloved house, have raised its pediment and made it standing like a mountain. From this, Nanaya, queen of protective goddesses, having been delighted, may the protective goddess, as a reward, ask for them to Anu and Inana a joyful kingship, a reign of goodness*⁷⁴. The Akkadian name Warad-Sîn, king (LUGAL) of Larsa, is written Eri-Aku⁷⁵ (*e-ri-a-ku*) which is a transcription of the Sumerian name IR-AGA "servant of the lunar disc" translated into Akkadian as (*u*)-*ar-du-a-gû* Warad-Agu, an equivalent of Warad-Sîn "servant of the Moon (god)". Thus Eri-Aku could be the name of a former king (ENSI) of Larsa and by deduction Tudhula son of Gazza[-] would have been a king of Gutium. Unfortunately, these kings are located in a period (1990-1954) that has not been registered since the last known king (LUGAL) of Gutium is Tirigan (2032-2024) and the first king (ENSI) of Larsa is Naplanum (1931-1910).

The reading of the name written KU-KU-KU-KU-MAL in cuneiform is controversial⁷⁶ because the sign KU is very polyphonic⁷⁷. Some Assyriologists⁷⁸ proposed to read Ku-dur-naḥ-hun-ga in order to match it with Kudur-Nahhunte but as we have seen it is unlikely. Cuneiform writing of the name Ku-dur-KU-KU-mal (KU sign is polyphonic):

⁷¹ B.R. FOSTER – Before the Muses. An Anthology of Akkadian Literature Maryland 2005 Ed. CDL Press pp. 369-375.

⁷² However some features could have been borrowed from Ur's destruction by Kidadu and Babylon's sack by Kudur-Nahhunte II.

⁷³ SELIM F. ADALI – Ummân-manda and its Significance in the First Millenium B. C. Sydney 2009 Ed. Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Sydney, pp. 279-282.


⁷⁴ E. SOLLBERGER, J.-R. KUPPER – Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes in: *Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient* n°3 (1971, Cerf) pp. 202-203.


⁷⁵ T. G. PINCHES – The Old Testament in the Light of Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia London, 2004 (1902) Ed. Adaman Media Corporation, pp. 218-221.


⁷⁶ L.W. KING – The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi King of Babylon, about B.C. 2200 London, 1898 Ed. Luzac and Co. pp. IX-LVI.


⁷⁷ L.-J. BORD, R. MUGNAIONI – L'écriture cunéiforme Paris 2002 Éd. Geuthner pp. 180,185.


⁷⁸ W.G. LAMBERT – The Fall of the Cassite Dynasty to the Elamites an Historical Epic in: *Cinquante-deux réflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien* (Peeters, 1994) pp. 67-73.

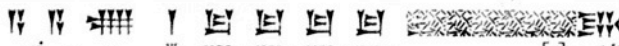

ina mil - ki-šu-nu ki - nīm ana^m KU - KU - KU - KU - MAL
 through their sure counsel to KU - KU - KU - KU - MAL



šar^{matu} E - la-
 king of E - la-

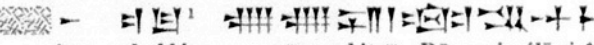
19. 
 *Dūr - šir - ilāni^p māru ša*
 Dūr-šir-ilāni son of



^m *ERI - E - KU - A ša šal - lat*
 ERI - E - KU - A who the spoil

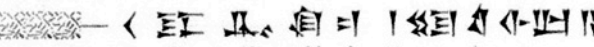
20. 
 *kussi šarru-tu u - ši - ib - ma . .*
 . . [on] the throne of the kingdom šat and . .



ai - u^m KU - KU - KU - KU - [e] - piš
 who (is) KU - KU - KU - KU - , the doer



lim - ni - e - tum
 of evil ?

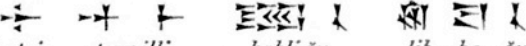
9. 
 . . . *ina kukki u - šam - kit^m Dūr - šir - ilāni^p*
 . . . by force of arms he overthrew. Dūr-sir-ilāni



aplu ša^m ERI - ^{tu} . . . - A - KU
 son of ERI - . . . - A - KU

13. 
 *u šiḫra ik - ki - is^m TU - UD - HUL - A*
 and small he cut off. TU - UD - HUL - A


mār^m Gaz -
 son of Gaz -

3. 
 *- ik - lu^m KU - KU - KU - MAL māru-šu ina*
 KU - KU - KU - MAL his son with


paṭri parzilli kabli-šu lib - ba - šu
 the iron dagger of his waist his heart


it - ta -
 he

Ku-dur-naḥ-ḥun-ga reading is unlikely because no scribe would have written this well known name in such a fanciful way because the last syllable (ga) has no connection with that of Nakhun-te. This former king was known to Babylonians and Assyrians and his name was written Kudur-Naḥundi in Akkadian or Kutir-Naḥunte "bearer of Nakhunte[']s statue]" in Elamite. The reading Ku-dur- of KU-KU- is usual but the second part (-KU-KU-mal or -KU-mal) has obviously been simplified. As the first part of the name means "[statue's] bearer" in Elamite the second part has to be an Elamite god or goddess. The only name of a deity that ends in "-mal" is precisely the antique Elamite goddess Lagamal, written Lagamar in Akkadian⁷⁹. The name of this goddess, which means "no mercy (*Lā-gamāl*)" in Akkadian⁸⁰, appears in the name of another king of Elam Šilhina-hamru-Lagamar (1105-1080). The name Kutir-Lagamal, transcribed Kudur-Lagamar (1990-1954) into Akkadian, calls to mind the famous king of Elam named Kedor-La'omer in Hebrew (Genesis 14:1) especially as the chronological coincidence requires such an identification:

| URUK IV | | | | GUTIUM | | ELAM | AWAN I |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|
| Utu-hegal | 2032-2021 | | | Tirigan | 2032-2024 | Puzur-Inšušinak | 2040 - |
| UR III | | LARSA | | ? | 2024 - | | |
| Ur-Nammu | 2020 - | ? | | ? | -2016 | | -2015 |
| | -2002 | ? | | (Awan's vassal) | 2016 - | [-]-lu | 2015 - |
| Šulgi | 2002 - | ? | | ? | | | -1990 |
| | -1954 | Eri-Aku | 1970-1954 | Tudḫula | 1970-1954 | Kudur-Lagamar | 1990-1954 |
| Amar-Sîn | 1954-1945 | ? | | ? | | Tazitta I | 1955-1940 |
| Šu-Sîn | 1945-1936 | ? | | ? | | Ebarat I | 1955-1935 |
| Ibbi-Sîn | 1936 - | Naplânium | 1931 - | ? | | Tazitta II | 1935-1925 |
| | -1912 | | -1910 | ? | | Lurrakluḥḥan | 1925-1915 |
| | | | | | | Kindattu | 1915-1905 |
| | | Iemsium | 1910-1882 | | | Idadu I | 1905-1890 |

Documents concerning Elam over the period 2020-1954 are few and difficult to interpret. It appears that the kings of Ur III considered the powerful kings of Elam (Awan I) as both partners and rivals since there was no war between them, except in 2016 and 1972 BCE, and Šulgi even married one of his daughters with a governor of Anšan in 1968 BCE. Both wars were sporadic because other war campaigns of these kings all took place against cities of Gutium (presumably in retaliation against looting Sumerian merchants on Route of the tin). The war against Susa⁸¹ (in 2016 BCE) could be linked with the expulsion of Gutians and the war against Anšan (in 1968 BCE) could be linked with the capture of Nanaya. The only victories of the kings of Ur commemorated by inscriptions are those of Šu-Sîn (against the Šimaškians in 1938 CE) and Ibbi-Sîn (against Susa and the land of Awan in 1922 BCE). The two main threats that Šulgi tried to neutralize during his reign were looting by the Gutians (from 1981 BCE) and invasion of Amorite migrants (from 1965 BCE). These facts are actually related in the Babylonian chronicles but if the attack against Elam is not mentioned in contrast this king is held responsible for subsequent misfortunes. After the destruction of Ur the kings of Elam were blackened because they were charged with all misfortunes that occurred in the land of Sumer.

⁷⁹ F. GRILLOT-SUSINI – L'élamite éléments de grammaire Paris 2008 Éd. Geuthner p. 12.

⁸⁰ Inšušinak as lord of the netherworld (for the Susians) executed his judgements thanks two assistants who assumed the role of lawyer-defender: Išnikarab "He hears the prayer", and accuser: Lāgamāl "[She who has] no mercy".

⁸¹ K DE GRIEF, J. TAVERNIER – Susa and Elam. Archeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives Leiden 2012 Ed. Brill pp285-290.

Paradoxically, the famous king Šulgi was also made responsible for these misfortunes⁸² according to a Babylonian Chronicle (c. 251 BCE): *Ur-Namma reigned 18 years / The divine Šulgi, king of Ur, son of Ur-Namma, reigned over all lands, commanded [...] -bangar and Rabsisi, kings of Subartu (Zagros), (and) sacked [the citie]s (?) of the enemy's country. He look out as booty [the treasures] of the Esagila and Babylon. He laid out and comp[leted] the [E]gišnugal, Sin's temple, in the middle of Ur. He built the [wal]l of Ur and strength[ened] the foundations of the city. The divine Šulgi, son of a daughter of King Utu-ḫegal of Uruk, with the blind Lu-Nanna, the scholar [...] — there was [spiteful]ness in their hearts' — improperly tampered with the rites of the cult of Anu, Uruk's regulations, [the] secret [know]ledge of the wise, [and] put down in writing the forced labor exacted by Sîn, lord of Ur. [During] his [rei]gn, he composed untruthful stelae, insolent writings, [(concerning) the rites of pur]ification for the gods, and left them to posterity. [(But) An]u, the king, whose decisions are venerable, regarded him with anger and [...] his grave faults [...] he covered his body [with ... The divine Šulgi] rei[g]ned 48] years/. This brief account seems chronological since he began sacking the cities of the enemy's country (from 1981 BCE) then he strengthened the wall of Ur in 1965 BCE (built in 2004 BCE by Ur-Nammu). The booty of the treasures of the Esagila and Babylon (prior 1965 BCE) could refer to the spoiling of Nanaya. Two other texts support this hypothesis. According to an older Babylonian Chronicle (c. 1100 BCE): *Naram-Sîn destroyed the living creatures of Babylon and twice (Marduk) raised the army of Gutî against him; (the latter) goaded on his people. He entrusted his kingship to the army of the Gutians. The Gutians, (being people given to arouse) cries of woe, did not know how to honor the gods nor how to perform divine rites and ceremonies correctly. Utu-ḫegal, the fisherman, caught a fish at the seashore (in order to make) an offering. This fish, to be offered to the great lord Marduk, was not presented as an offering to any other god. But the Gutians pulled the cooked fish out of his hands before it was offered. By his exalted command, (Marduk) removed the Gutian army from the kingship of his country and entrusted it to Utu-ḫegal. (Later), Utu-ḫegal, the fisherman, raised the hand of evil against his city, and the river carr[ied away] his corpse. (Then Marduk) entrusted the kingship over all their lands to Šulgi, son of Ur-Namma, but he did not perform his rites in their totality, contaminated his cleansing ceremonies, and his mind [was deranged (?)]. Amar-Sîn, his son, changed the sacrifices of the large ox[en] and sheep and goats at the New Year's festival in the Esagila; it is said (that he died) from being gored by an ox, (but) he died from a "bite" of his shoe. Šu-Sîn, for his well-being (and) his life, [restored] the Esagih [similar] to the celestial writing. [-] that Šulgi had committed. His fault, his son Ibši-Sîn [-]. The link with Elam appears in the enigmatic text called "Šulgi prophecy"⁸³ (c. 1100 BCE): *I (am) Šulgi, beloved of Enlil and Ninlil: the noble one, Šamaš, has told me, Ištar my lady has revealed (this) to [me]. Father and mother, (personal) god [and (personal) goddess], whatever my fathers heard from the mouth of the [great] gods [...], may Ur always s[ing], may Larsa (...) I was lord of the four world regions, from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun. I founded Nippur, Bond of Heaven and Earth. When I spoke, the gods would listen to me. At my own expense, I built that wall and made it firm. Enlil ordered me, "Build ..." Enlil gave me the order, and I annihilated Baldaba. Enlil ordered me, "Make war!" and I annihilated Baldaba. I ... from his family over the four world regions. Ninlil ordered me, "Put Humba(n) [Elamite deity of Awan Dynasty] in order (?)" The [-] of the king of Susa (?) (...) Babylon ... the citizens of Nippur [and?] Babylon. [The god/ dess] will not stand ..., nor will (s)he give him [scepter], nor will (s)he give him reign. [A king of the] four world regions [..., who?] has neglected the citizenry of Nippur [and Babylon] and rendered no righteous judgment, [-] that prince will proceed with "Woe!" and "Alas!" All lands are given as one to the king of Babylon and Nippur. Whichever king shall arise after me, on account of(?) Balda[ha] (and) the land of Elam to the east, he will be [thrown into] complete [disorder]. The Hittites will [conquer] Babylon⁸⁴ [...].***

⁸² J.J. GLASSNER, B. READ FOSTER – Mesopotamian Chronicles
Leiden 2005 Ed. Brill pp. 267-271, 289.

⁸³ B.R. FOSTER – Before the Muses. An Anthology of Akkadian Literature
Maryland 2005 Ed. CDL Press pp. 357-358.

⁸⁴ Muršili, king of the Hittites, destroyed Babylon in 1499 BCE.

The meaning of the name "Baldaha" is unknown but as this city (?) is related to the war of Šulgi in Elam it is to be the one against Anšan dated 1968 BCE. Moreover, Humban was the main Elamite deity of Awan Dynasty. The rest of text is not clear but it could refer to the goddess [Nanaya] that will not stand ..., nor will she give him [Kudur-Lagamar] scepter, nor will she give him reign. A king of the four world regions [..., who] has neglected the citizenry of Nippur [and Babylon] and rendered no righteous judgment. According to this chronological interpretation, the departure of Nanaya (in procession) would have initially been accepted by Šulgi (to enter into an alliance with Awan), but he was deceived by Kudur-Lagamar who kept the goddess. Thereafter Šulgi tried unsuccessfully to recover his statue (in 1968 BCE).

Despite the importance of the Awan dynasty, no king's name appears in the Ur III documents. Two reasons can explain that: 1) the absence of major conflicts during this period (2020-1912), hence a lack of synchronisms, and 2) commercial contracts almost never mention the name of kings. For example, none of the kings of Assyria, Hatti, Egypt and Gutium appear during this period. Only two kings of Ebla⁸⁵ (Igrīš-Heba, Ibbiṭ-Lim) are known but it is unclear if they have had dealings with the last kings of Ur III and there are only a few documents mentioning kings of Elam⁸⁶. In fact, if commercial contracts rarely mention kings name of their own country of origin they almost never do with foreign kings⁸⁷. In addition, it seems that for geographical and strategic reasons (alliance) the kings of Awan traded with kings of Akkad and the kings of Sumer with kings of Šimaški.

| MARI | | ASSYRIA | | URUK IV | | ELAM | AWAN I |
|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|--------|
| Apil-Kin | 2030 - | Ilu-Mer | 2040-2026 | Utu-ḫegal | 2032-2021 | Puzur-Inšuši. | 2040 - |
| | | Yakmesi | 2026-2012 | UR III | | | -2015 |
| | | Yakmeni | 2012 - | Ur-Nammu | 2020-2002 | [-]-lu | 2015 - |
| | -1995 | | -1998 | Šulgi | 2002 - | | -1990 |
| Iddin-Ilum | 1995-1990 | Yazkur-El | 1998-1984 | | | | |
| Ilum-Iš'ar | 1990-1978 | Ila-kabkabū | 1984-1970 | | | Kudur-[-]. | 1990 - |
| Turām-Dagan | 1978-1958 | Amīnum | 1970-1956 | | | | |
| Puzur-Eštar | 1958 - | Zariqum | 1956 - | | -1954 | | -1954 |
| (Lilla) | | (Sulili) | -1942 | Amar-Sin | 1954-1945 | | |
| | -1933 | Kikkia | 1942 - | Šu-Sin | 1945-1936 | | |
| Hitlal-Erra | 1933-1926 | | -1928 | Ibbi-Sin | 1936 - | | |
| Hanun-Dagan | 1926-1918 | Akia | 1928 - | | | | |
| Iši-Dagan | 1918-1912 | | -1914 | | -1912 | | |

| EGYPT | | EBLA | | URUK IV | | | |
|----------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| Mentuhotep II | 2045 - | ? (<i>Aleppo's</i> | <i>vassal</i>) | Utu-ḫegal | 2032-2021 | | |
| | | ? | | UR III | | ELAM | SIMASKI |
| | | ? | | Ur-Nammu | 2020-2002 | [unnamed] | 2020 - |
| | -1994 | ? | | Šulgi | 2002 - | | -1990 |
| Mentuhotep III | 1994-1982 | ? | | | | Girnamme | 1990 - |
| Mentuhotep IV | 1982-1975 | ? | | | | | -1955 |
| Amenemhat I | 1975 - | ? | | | -1954 | | |
| | -1946 | ? (<i>Guraia</i>) | 1955-1945 | Amar-Sin | 1954-1945 | Tazitta I | 1955-1940 |
| Senusret I | 1946 - | Igrīš-Heba | 1945-1935 | Šu-Sin | 1945-1936 | Ebarat I | 1955-1935 |
| | | Ibbiṭ-Lim | 1935 - | Ibbi-Sin | 1936 - | Tazitta II | 1935-1925 |
| | | | -1910 | | -1912 | Lurrakluḫḫan | 1925-1915 |
| | -1901 | | | | | Kindattu | 1915-1905 |

⁸⁵ M. BONECHI – II Millenium Ebla Kings

in: *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 91 (1997) pp. 33-38.

⁸⁶ Only a few kings of Šimaški as Girnamme in year 44 of Šulgi (1958 BCE), Tazitta I in year 8 of Amar-Sin (1946 BCE) and in year 2 of Šu-Sin (1943 BCE), Ebarat I in year 7 of Amar-Sin (1947 BCE) and in year 6 of Šu-Sin (1939 BCE).

⁸⁷ Exceptionally, in a contract dated year 4 of Amar-Sin (1951 BCE) are mentioned: Libanukšabaš Lord (*ens*) of Marhaši (region south of Šimaški), Guraia a man (*lu*) of Ebla, Lilla a man of Mari, Iašilim Lord of Tuttul and Ebdadi Lord of Byblos (E. SOLLBERGER – Byblos sous les rois d'Ur in: *Archiv für Orientforschung* 19, 1959-1960, pp. 120-122).

CHEDORLAOMER AND KUDUR-LAGAMAR ARE THEY THE SAME PERSON?

When T.G. Pinches (1856-1934), lecturer in Assyriology at University College, London and in the University of Liverpool, published the Spartoli tablets⁸⁸ he made a link between the biblical names: Amraphel, Arioch, Chedorlaomer and Tidal (Genesis 14:1) and Hammurabi, Eri-e-Aku, Kudur-laḫgamal and Tudḫula. Unfortunately this deduction has three major errors: 1) Hammurabi (1697-1654) reigned three centuries after the events, 2) his name is very different from that of Amraphel and 3) the reading "laḫ" of the sign KU is not documented. As the sole criterion of truth in history is the chronology, identifying Chedorlaomer, king of Elam who dominated for 14 years Transjordanian cities (1968-1954), with the king of Elam Kutur-Lagamar (1990-1954) is therefore required.

Many scholars have sought to identify the kings mentioned in Genesis 14 with the names of known kings supposing a more or less exact transcription but this assumption is rarely checked. For example comparison of well-known names transcripts shows that very often deformations are important:

| Name | Sumerian | Akkadian transcription | Akkadian translation | Elamite | Hebrew (MT) | Greek (LXX) | ref. |
|---------------|--------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|----------|
| Shinar | KI.EN.GI(R) | Šanḫar | <i>Šumeru</i> (?) | | Šin'ar | Sennaar | Gn 10:10 |
| Chaldeans | ŠÚ | Kiššatum | <i>Entirety/ Kishite</i> | | Kašdim | Kaldaiôn ⁸⁹ | Gn 11:28 |
| Ur | URI | Ur | ? | | 'Ur | - | Gn 11:28 |
| Babylon | KA.DINGIR.RA | Babilla | <i>Gate of god</i> | | Babel | Babulôn | Gn 10:10 |
| Akkad | UR.RA | Akkad | ? | | Akad | Arkad | Gn 10:10 |
| Uruk | UNUG | Uruk | ? | | Erek | Orek | Gn 10:10 |
| Nergal | NĒ.IRI.GAL | Nerigal | <i>Lord of netherworld</i> | | Nergal | Ergel | 2K 17:30 |
| Marduk | AMAR.UTU(K) | Marduk | <i>Sun's bull calf</i> | | Merodak | Mordek(a) | Jr 50:2 |
| Euphrates | BURANUN | Purattu | ? | | Perat | Euphrates | Gn 2:14 |
| Tigris | HAL.HAL | Idiglat | ? | | Hiddeqel | Tigris | Gn 2:14 |
| Ashtoreth | INANA | Ištar | <i>Lady Star</i> | | Aštarôt | Astarte | Jg 2:13 |
| Sîn | NANNA | Suen | <i>Moon (nannar)</i> | | San- | Sen- | 2K 18:13 |
| Baal | EN | Bêl | <i>Lord (baal)</i> | | Ba'al | Baal | Jg 2:13 |
| Chedor-Laomer | KU.KU - | Kudur-Lagamar | <i>Prince (rubu) no mercy</i> | Kutir-Lagamal | Kedor-La'omer | Chodol-Logomor | Gn 14:1 |
| Elam | ELAM | Elamtu | | Haltamti | 'Ēlam | Ailam | |
| Nahhunte | | Nahundi | | Nahhunte | | | |
| Kindattu | | Kindattu | | Kindadu | | | |

Hebrew transcriptions of names in the biblical text are in good agreement with their Akkadian transcriptions. This implies that the biblical author should likely be Babylonian (Abraham was indeed a former Babylonian). Kedor-Lagomer corresponds to Kudur-Lagarma which is an Akkadian transcription of Kutir-Lagamal "bearer (servant) of Lagamal⁹⁰". According to the biblical text (Genesis 10:10), Shinar was a region south of Mesopotamia composed of at least three major cities⁹¹: Babylon (Babel), Uruk (Erech) and Aggad (Akkad). In time the name Babylon has come to mean the whole Babylonia (Daniel 1:2). The etymology of the name of this region is complex⁹². During the 3rd millennium BCE the Sumerians designated their country as KI.EN.GI, which was pronounced *kenger* in a Babylonian dialect, then in the 2nd millennium BCE this name evolved into *šanḫar* and was

⁸⁸ T. G. PINCHES - The Old Testament in the Light of Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia London, 2004 (1902) Ed. Adaman Media Corporation, pp. 215-238.

⁸⁹ The Greek word *kaldaiôn* comes from the Assyrian *kaldû* which comes from the Babylonian *kašdu* (prior -1400) homonym of *kišatu*.

⁹⁰ R. ZADOK - The Elamite Onomasticon

in: *Annali Supplementi* 44:1 (1984) Ed. Istituto orientale di Napoli pp. 24-26.

⁹¹ Some translations add a fourth unknown city "and Kalneh", but the Hebrew word should rather be vocalized *nekullanah* and therefore be translated as "all of which are [in the land of Shinar]".

⁹² E. LIPINSKI - Shinéar

in: Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la Bible, Brepols, 1987, p. 1201.

translated *šumeru* into Akkadian (meaning unknown) whose derives the name Sumer. Egyptians (of the time of Thutmose IV) pronounced this name *šanger* (*s3-n(w)-g-r*) which confirms Canaanite pronunciation *šan'ar* or Akkadian *šanhar*. Hebrew transcription of Sumer (Shinar) is quite close to its pronunciation in the early 2nd millennium BCE. The letter *ayn* does not exist in Sumerian and Akkadian it was vocalized either by "g" or "h". For an unknown reason, the letters "t" and "d" are interchanged regularly in Akkadian transcriptions. Transcription and translation of Sumerian names of the 3rd millennium BC are not yet fully assured. For example, the sign HUL-a is generally transliterated hul-a but it should be noted that the usual translation of hul(a) as "to destroy" is questionable⁹³. The verb hul(a) is frequently found in year names consisting of clauses/sentences such as: *Year: Simurru and Lullubum were hul(a) for the 9th time*. It is hardly likely that Simurru could have been "destroyed" 9 times in the period from Šulgi year 25 to year 44, and twice in two consecutive years (25-26). The usual translation "to destroy" is based on Akkadian renderings in 1st millennium bilingual texts, in which Sumerian hul(u) is translated into Akkadian as either *ubbutu* or *šulputu*. However, the rendering of hul(u) as *ubbutu* is a "hapax" translation that may stem erroneously from a confusion between hul(u) and gul—the latter being the usual equivalent of Akkadian *abātu/ubbutu*, "to destroy". As regards *šulputu*, in the dictionaries, in addition to "to destroy", one also finds the meanings "to ruin, to overthrow, to defeat" and "to desecrate, defile (a temple, a palace, etc.)". Be that as it may, neither *abātu/ubbutu* nor *šulputu* was employed in 3rd-millennium texts for translating hul(a). In their place, *na'raum*, "to smite, strike (mortally)", *hulluqum*, "to annihilate", was used. Thus hul(a) should rather be translated "to raid, to carry out a punitive expedition, to sack, to raid".

Names appearing in Spartoli tablets were probably changed because they can be read (in Babylonian) as: *Dur-šil-ilani* "The rampart protection of the gods" son of Eri-e-Aku and *Tud-hula* "destroy" son of *Gazzu[-]* "shorn[-]". As these names are likely of Sumerian origin they should be vocalized: Eri-Aku "servant of Aku" (Warad-Sîn is a translation of Eri-Aku) and Tud-Gula "engendered by Gula" (a king of Lagash around 2080 BCE is called Lu-Gula "man of Gula"). Tid'al name must probably be from a former "Tidgal" since the Hebrew letter *ayn* corresponds to an Akkadian "g". The fourth name Amraphel (king of Shinar) could come (?)⁹⁴ from the Akkadian Amru-âpilu(m) "saw [by] the diviner". The matching between names in Genesis 14 and those from Spartoli tablets is relatively good, except Ellasar and Goiim. Ellasar could be a distorted name from Larsa and Goiim, *gwyim* in Hebrew, is probably a deformation of "Gutium" written *qu-ti-im* in the inscription of King Erridupizir (2136-2130), which corresponds to *gwyim* in Hebrew. Some replaced "Goiim" by "Hittites", instead of "nations" (LXX), but this is unlikely because the Hittites were already known at the time of Abraham (Genesis 15:18-20):

| Name | Hebrew (MT) | Greek (LXX) | Spartoli tablets transcription | Akkadian transcription | Sumerian |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| Chedorlaomer | Kedorla'omer | Khodollogomor | KudurKUKUmal | Kudur-Lagamar | - |
| Elam | Elam | Ailam | Elam | Elamtu | ELAM |
| Tidal | Tid'al | Thargal | Tudhula | Tud-Gula | TUD.ME.ME |
| Goiim | Goyim | nations | Umman-manda | Gutium | GU.TI.UM |
| Amraphel | Amraphel | Amarphal | - | Amru-âpilu(m)? | IGI.A.BIL[?] |
| Shinar | Šin'ar | Sennaar | Šumeru | Šanhar | KI.EN.GI(R) |
| Arioch | Aryok | Ariök | Eri-e-Aku | Eri-Aku | IR.AGA |
| Ellasar | Ellasar | Ellasar | (Larsa) | Larsa | LARSA |

⁹³ K DE GRIEF, J. TAVERNIER – Susa and Elam. Archeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives Leiden 2012 Ed. Brill p. 287.

⁹⁴ The Hebrew form Amra-pi-El "word from the mouth of God" is less likely because the *aleph* from El has dropped, in addition, the name Amraphel was probably of Akkadian origin (rather than Hebrew), the language of that time. This king of Shinar (who had to be unimportant) has been mentioned because he came from the same region as Abraham.

Coalition of kings (Sumer, Larsa, Gutium) united under Kutur-Lagamar is quite likely to be, because all these kings were vassals or allies of the king of Elam, moreover, they came from neighbouring regions. However, their identification is much more difficult⁹⁵. Firstly, vocalization and interpretation of certain Sumerian-Akkadian names⁹⁶ is far from easy because the transcription depended on the target language, for example the Elamite king Šutruk-Nahhunte is called Šutur-Nahundi by the Assyrians and Ištar-ḥundi by the Babylonians. Secondly some names are sometimes abbreviated (hypocoristic). For example, IR-nanna (1954-1933) governor (ENŠI) of Lagaš and vassal of the king of Ur was contemporary of a governor named IR-gu who looks like Eri-aku, king of Larsa. Syllabic pronunciation of this name is *ur-du-um-gu* "servant of [A]gu", a hypocoristic of Eri-Aku. As IR-nanna is never said to be governor (ENŠI) of Girsu and as IR-[A]gu is never said to be governor of Lagaš, they rather were to be homonyms⁹⁷. Thus IR-[A]gu was supervisor (*ugula*) for the tribute of NI-ḪI (?) in the year 48 of Šulgi (1954 BCE) and IR-nanna was supervisor for the tribute of Urbilum (Arbela) in the year 7 of Šu-Sîn (1938 BCE). IR-[A]gu appears in Šulgi's letters but his title is not specified, we only know that he was "escort of governor commissioner (*aga-us₂ ensi₂ maškim*)" in the year 45 of Šulgi (1957 BCE). This character should be powerful⁹⁸ since he was general of NI-ḪI, he had to collect the tribute of Subir (north-western Syria) and pacify it, as the territories of Dilmun (Bahrain), control the hand work of Mari, Rapiqum and Gutium, and patrol up to Simurru (Zagros), etc. As Lagaš came under the control of Larsa, the last governors of Lagaš can also be classified as the first kings of Larsa. As Tud-Gula is located in a period where the kings of Gutium, vassals of Elam, are not known because they were in conflict with the kings of Ur. However, these kings ruled until the fall of Ur since Kindattu, king of Elam, has partnered with them to destroy the city of Ur. As king Amar-pi-El is not attached to a particular city of Sumer (perhaps Girsu or Umma vassal cities of Gutium) its identification is impossible.

According to the biblical text, a powerful king of Elam (Kudurlagamar) have led a coalition of three other kings (vassals or allies), two of Sumer (Eriaku and Amarapil) and one of Gutium (Tudgula), to make reprisals against cities of Transjordan, the latter having refused to pay their tributes⁹⁹. The operation is described as a simple police operation and not a war of conquest. Similarly, Abraham retaliation against the Mesopotamian kings are not presented as a war but as an ambush at night to kill enemies (Gn 14:15-17). The biblical text speaks of a slaughter (LXX, Hb 7:1) and not a defeat¹⁰⁰, which involves the death of most of these kings. This event is described through many details, chronological and geographical, which allows an "audit": *Now it came about in the days of Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Gutium, that these made war with Bera king of Sodom, and with Birsha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, and Shemeber king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela (that is to say, Zoar). All these marched as allies to the Low Plain of Siddim, that is, the Salt Sea. 12 years they had served Chedorlaomer, but the 13th year they rebelled. And in the 14th year Chedorlaomer came, and also the kings who were with him, and they inflicted defeats on the Rephaim in Ashteroth-karnaim, and the Zuzim in Ham, and the Emim in Shaveh-kiriathaim, and the Horites in their mountain of Seir, down to El-paran, which is at the wilderness. Then they turned*

⁹⁵ G. GRANERØD – Abraham and Melchizedek: Scribal Activity of Second Temple Times in Genesis 14 and Psalm 110 Berlin 2010 Ed. W. de Gruyter pp. 112-115.

⁹⁶ R.A. DI VITO – Studies in the Third Millennium Sumerian and Akkadian Personal Names Roma 1993 Ed. Pontificio Istituto Biblico pp. 16-17.

⁹⁷ F. HUBER – Au sujet du nom du chancelier d'Ur III, Ir-Nanna ou Ir-mu in: *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* (2000) n°6 p. 10.

⁹⁸ F. HUBER – La Correspondance Royale d'Ur, un corpus apocryphe in: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (2001) n°91 pp. 169-206.

⁹⁹ L. PIROT, A. CLAMER – La Sainte Bible Tome 1, 1^{ère} partie Paris 1953 Éd. Letouzey et Ané pp. 247-256.

¹⁰⁰ The Hebrew verbal form *hakat* means "striking" (1Samuel 17:57,18:6; 2Chronicles 25:14), "strike a mortal blow" (Genesis 4:15, 8:21).

about and came to En-mishpat, that is, Kadesh, and defeated the whole field of the Amalekites and also the Amorites who were dwelling in Hazazon-tamar. At this point the king of Sodom went on the march, and also the king of Gomorrah and the king of Admah and the king of Zeboiim and the king of Bela (that is to say, Zoar), and they drew up in battle order against them in the Low Plain of Siddim (salt valley), against Chedorlaomer king of Elam and Tidal king of Gutium and Amraphel king of Shinar and Arioch king of Ellasar; four kings against the five. Now the Low Plain of Siddim was pits upon pits of bitumen; and the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah took to flight and went falling into them, and those who remained fled to the mountainous region. Then the victors took all the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah and all their food and went on their way. They also took Lot the son of Abram's brother and his goods and continued on their way. He was then dwelling in Sodom. After that a man who had escaped came and told Abram the emigrant¹⁰¹. He was then tabernacling among the big trees of Mamre the Amorite, the brother of Eshcol and brother of Aner; and they were confederates of Abram. Thus Abram got to hear that his brother had been taken captive. With that he mustered his trained men, 318 slaves born in his household, and went in pursuit up to Dan. And by night he resorted to dividing his forces, he and his slaves, against them, and thus he slaughtered them and kept in pursuit of them up to Hobab, which is north of Damascus. And he proceeded to recover all the goods, and he recovered also Lot his brother and his goods and also the women and the people. Then the king of Sodom went out to meet him after he returned from slaughtering Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him, to the Low Plain of Shaveh, that is, the king's Low Plain. And Melchizedek king of [the city of] Salem¹⁰² brought out bread and wine, and he was priest of the Most High God (Gn 14:1-18). The paralleling of all these events in chronological order allows us to understand their sequence.

| BCE | [A] | [B] | [C] | [D] | |
|------|-------|------|-------|-----|--|
| 1970 | 7 | 32 | 20 | | [A] Amenemhat I King of Egypt. |
| 1969 | 8 | 33 | 21 | | [B] Šulgi King of Ur, King of Sumer and Akkad. |
| 1968 | 9 | 34 | 22/0 | | [C] Kudur-Lagamar King of Awan, Viceroy of Elam, Governor of Susa, confiscated the goddess Nanaya. |
| 1967 | 10 | 35 | 23/1 | | [B] Šulgi King of Ur, King of the 4 corners. |
| 1966 | 11 | 36 | 24/2 | | [D] Girsamme Governor of Šimaški |
| 1965 | 12 | 37 | 25/3 | | |
| 1964 | 13 | 38 | 26/4 | | |
| 1963 | 14/1 | 39 | 27/5 | | [A] Abraham age 75 arrived into Canaan, Hebron is founded, shortly after Abraham went into Egypt (Gn 12:4-13:1,18). |
| 1962 | 15/2 | 40 | 28/6 | | |
| 1961 | 16/3 | 41 | 29/7 | | |
| 1960 | 17/4 | 42 | 30/8 | | |
| 1959 | 18/5 | 43 | 31/9 | | |
| 1958 | 19/6 | 44 | 32/10 | | |
| 1957 | 20/7 | 45 | 33/11 | | [A] Tanis is founded 7 years after Hebron ¹⁰³ (Nb 13:22). |
| 1956 | 21/1 | 46 | 34/12 | | [D] Tazitta I Man of Anšan, Ebarat I Man of Šimaški. |
| 1955 | 22/2 | 47 | 35/13 | | [C] Revolt of Transjordan kings against Kudur-Lagamar (Gn 14:4) |
| 1954 | 23/3 | 48/0 | 36/14 | | [C] Kudur-Lagamar shot by Abraham (Gn 14:5-17). |
| 1953 | 24/4 | 1 | | ** | [A] Nesu-Montu, Army General of Amenemhat I, commemorated his military activities along the eastern border of the Delta. |
| 1952 | 25/5 | 2 | | ** | |
| 1951 | 26/6 | 3 | | ** | [A] Amenemhat I King of Egypt/ Senusret I coregent. |
| 1950 | 27/7 | 4 | | ** | [B] Amar-Šin King of Ur, King of the 4 corners. After a stay of 4 years in Ur ambassadors of Šimaški return home. |
| 1949 | 28/8 | 5 | | | |
| 1948 | 29/9 | 6 | | | |
| 1947 | 30/10 | 7 | | | |
| 1946 | 1 | 8 | | | [A] Senusret I King of Egypt. |
| 1945 | 2 | 9/0 | | | |
| 1944 | 3 | 1 | | | [B] Šu-Šin King of Ur, King of the 4 corners. |
| 1943 | 4 | 2 | | | [D] Ebarat I King of Šimaški. |

¹⁰¹ The Hebrew word *ha'ibri* may be transcribed "the Hebrew" or translated "the emigrant (the one from beyond)".

¹⁰² The name Salem (Psalms 76:1) refers to the city written in Akkadian: *uru-šalim* "city of Salem" or "Jeru-salem".

¹⁰³ According to Genesis 23:2, the city called Kiryat-arba "City of four" was renamed Hebron "confederation" by Abraham. The name of Tanis, *šo'an* in Hebrew (Tsoân), means "moving tents", whereas in Egyptian *da'an* (Djaân) means nothing.

During the period 2000-1950 the two main actors in the Mesopotamian world were the kings of Ur III and the kings of Awan I. The power of these two empires depended on trade and therefore control of trade routes¹⁰⁴. They earned money by vassal kings who had levying customs duties on traders passing through their territories and had to pay to their "emperors" for ensuring their security (by means of military force). Šulgi (2002-1954) controlled main part of the "route of tin" which ranged from Susa to Ugarit through his vassal kings in Syria (Mari, Ebla, Aleppo, Qatna) and Kudur-Lagamar (1990-1954) controlled the highway which ranged from Eshnunna to Dilmun (via Susa and Ur) through his vassal kings of Gutium, Akkad and Šimaški. Shipping routes from Byblos and Ugarit were controlled by the Phoenicians who rented their services primarily to the Egyptians. In this context, the capture of the goddess Nanaya served to justify the westward expansionist projects of Kudur-Lagamar. Indeed, change in titulatures confirm his new role of "king of Akkad". Complete titlature of the kings of Awan I, as the one of Puzur-Inšušinak, was as follows: governor (ENSI) of Susa, viceroy (GIR.NITA) of Elam and king (LUGAL) of Awan. Ur-Nammu was briefly "king of Ur" then "king of Sumer and Akkad". Šulgi was first "king of Sumer and Akkad" then "King of the 4 corners", as the former kings of Akkad, this ancient title was taken again by Amar-Sîn, Šu-Sîn and Ibbi-Sîn. This case has already happened in the past at the end of Narâm-Sîn's reign (2163-2126), who was King of the 4 corners (Akkad), when he was challenged (due to numerous insurrections) by Erridupizir (2136-2130), king of Gutium, who took the same title "King of the 4 corners".

In the same way that Sargon of Akkad (2243-2187) began a new era by opening a major commercial thoroughfare from Ur to Ugarit and Gebal (Byblos) which traded (by ship) with Egypt, Kudur-Lagamar has probably wanted to create a new major trade route from Susa to Egypt. The route taken by Abraham and that one followed by Chedorlaomer are in agreement with the major communication routes of the time¹⁰⁵ (below):



¹⁰⁴ N. BANCROFT HUNT – Historical Atlas of Ancient Mesopotamia
New York 2004 Ed. Checkmark Books pp. 18-19.

¹⁰⁵ H.G. MAY, J. DAY – Oxford Bible Atlas
New York 1993 Ed. Oxford University Press pp. 66-67.

The route for the return trip taken by Chedorlaomer specifically described in the biblical text. The places travelled are: 1) Kadesh-[barnea], 2) the mountain of Seir, down to Elparan, which is at the wilderness, 3) the Low Plain of Siddim (salt valley according to the Septuagint) and 4) Hôbah, which is north to Damascus (Gn 14:6-8, 15). This road was known as "King's Road". The name Hôbah is mentioned as an area north of Damascus in the Execration Texts (2000-1800), but its spelling is fluctuating: *Apu* ('*i-p-w-m*) or *Aupa'* ('*i-w-p3-3*) in hieroglyph¹⁰⁶, *Api* or *Ubi* in syllabic cuneiform (El-Amarna letter 189) and *Ḫbt* in alphabetic cuneiform¹⁰⁷. The Canaanite cities of Sharuhén (Tell el-Far'ah) which appeared later (c. 1750 BCE) and Kadesh-barnea ('Ain Qadeis) marked the southern boundaries with Egypt (Jos 15:1-4; 19:6). Damascus, *dimašqa/i* or *dumašqa* in Akkadian, was often called *URU/KUR ša-imêrišu* "place of donkey driver", which alludes to its role as caravaneer relay.



The Chedorlaomer's route and the description of his actions show that this king came to this region near Egypt in order to maintain control over this new land trade route. The same way that main cities on the path from Ur to Ugarit or Byblos were vassal of Šulgi and paid him taxes, Chedorlaomer had made vassals some major cities on the King's Road. The revolt which occurred in the 13th year of his rule (Gn 14:4) was likely caused by an excessive withdrawal. During this year (1955 BCE) Šulgi's archives report an exceptional booty that the king got from Šimaški¹⁰⁸ (Elam). Chedorlaomer's trip was therefore a police operation to force rebel kings to pay, but as they refused their cities were looted. Those

¹⁰⁶ S. AHITUV – Canaanite toponyms in ancient Egyptian documents
Jerusalem 1984 Ed. Magnes Press, Hebrew University p. 193.

¹⁰⁷ R. DUSSAUD – Nouvelles archéologiques
in: *Syria* 16:2 (1935) p. 228.

¹⁰⁸ It is related later (in 1938 BCE): *Šu-Sîn dedicated a statue of himself made of gold taken as booty in the lands of Šimaškians, Šulgi captured.*

cities drew their wealth from exports to Egypt of precious materials¹⁰⁹ such as silver¹¹⁰ (the ratio silver/gold was 2/1 in Egypt), resins, spices, malachite and galena.



¹⁰⁹ Maybe also the copper from copper mines mentioned in Job 28:2, which must be those of Punon (Faynan), near Bozrah, the only ones known at that period in this area (B. Manley – Historical Atlas of Ancient Egypt pp. 18-19).

¹¹⁰ B. MANLEY – Atlas historique de l'Égypte ancienne Paris 1998 Éd. Autrement pp. 48-49.

The ambitious project of Chedorlaomer, powerful king of Elam, had to make worry Amenemhat I (1975-1946) because southern Canaan was a big source of supply (from the Fifth Dynasty)¹¹¹ including labour¹¹². For example, Sinuhe as high-ranking administrator of Amenemhat I bore the title: *Nobleman and overlord, governor and canal-cutter, sovereign among the Syrians (ity m styw)*. If kings of Ur III regarded the kings of Syria as vassals, the Egyptian royal administration regarded the kings of Canaan mainly as providers under the aegis of the crown and was only charging a toll for foreigners¹¹³ (absence of taxes on goods favoured trade)¹¹⁴. The arrival of Chedorlaomer in northern Egypt and his military interventions have caused great concern as can be seen on the stela of Nesu-Montu¹¹⁵ dated year 24 of Amenemhat I (1953 BCE): *Year 24, month 4 of Shemu, under the majesty of (...) Amenemhat (...) I [Nesu-Montu] trained the troops in ambush, and at daybreak the landing stage surrendered. When I grasped the tip of the bow, I led the battle for the two lands. I was victorious, my arms taking [so much spoil] that I had to leave [some] on the ground. I destroyed the foes, I overthrew the enemies of my lord, there being none other who will the like. As for the words of this tablet, it the revelation of that which happened by my arm, it is that which I did in reality. There is no boast, there is no lie therein. I destroyed the Asiatic nomads, the Bedouin, I overthrew their strongholds, I creeping like the desert fox on the desert margin. I came and went through their streets without an equal therein by command of Montu.*

There are a number of sources attesting to the difficulties Amenemhat faced in the region of the Nile delta. A literary source, *The Prophecy of Neferty*, says in its description of the chaos before the coming of the new king: « Foes have risen in the East, Asiatics have come down to Egypt ». Later, in describing the results of Amenemhat's takeover, the text refers at length to his consolidation of the eastern and western Delta frontiers. The building of an eastern "Wall of the Ruler" is mentioned specifically. This east Delta fortification wall reappears in the "Story of Sinuhe" and must therefore have actually existed. Archaeologically, a fortress built by Amenemhat I at the western frontier, in the Wadi Natrun, has been located and thus corroborates the claim of newly established frontier fortifications, while substantial building activities in the eastern Delta, including the erection of a palace, show the importance that the king assigned to this area. Finally, the above-quoted stela of Nesu-Montu and an important biographical text in the tomb of the nomarch Khnumhotep I at Beni Hasan describe actual military activities the eastern border of the Delta. This situation necessitated prolonged operations in the area. The course of action that finally led to success was, apparently, a combination of punitive campaigns and the establishment of Egyptian border forts. During the operations in Lower Egypt the Upper Egyptian Amenemhat learned to appreciate the importance of the northern part of the country. His first step in reorganizing the country after the Delta and its neighbors were subjugated was therefore the transfer of his residence from Thebes to the north. He founded Itj-tawy as the new capital of Egypt, instead of Memphis, probably about year 20 of his reign (in 1957 BCE) when his son Senusret was established as co-regent. However, the period of military activity seems to have stopped after the year 24 since the story of Sinuhe describes peaceful relations between Egypt and Syria¹¹⁶. The only

¹¹¹ G. HUSSON, D. VALBELLE – L'État et les institutions en Égypte des premiers pharaons aux empereurs romains Paris 1992 Éd. Armand Colin pp. 66-67.

¹¹² B. MENU – Quelques aspects du recrutement des travailleurs dans l'Égypte du deuxième millénaire av. J.-C. in: *L'organisation du travail en Égypte ancienne et en Mésopotamie* (IFAO 2010) pp. 171-183.

¹¹³ B. MENU – Égypte pharaonique. Nouvelles recherches sur l'histoire juridique, économique et sociale de l'ancienne Égypte Paris 2004 Éd. L. L'Harmattan pp. 196-202, 224.

¹¹⁴ International trade is often placed under the control of the palace or temple. These organisms flow of surplus produce and acquire revenue by levying taxes. After the fall of the empire of Ur III, merchants become more independent. To promote trade towards the Hittite kingdom, Assyrian king Erishu I (1873-1834) canceled taxes on copper, silver, gold, tin, seed and wool. Result of these measures the trade route between Ashur and Kanesh become one of the major trade routes of the time (V. GRANDPIERRE – *Histoire de la Mésopotamie*. Éd. Gallimard Paris 2010 pp. 248-251).

¹¹⁵ D. ARNOLD – Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes in: *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (JSTOR, The Metropolitan Museum of Art) pp. 5-48.

¹¹⁶ S.L. COHEN – Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections Winona Lake 2002 Ed. Eisenbrauns pp. 36-41.

Egyptian military actions at this time are the conquest of Nubia which began in the year 29 of Amenemhat I and ended in the year 18 of Senusret I¹¹⁷ (1929 BCE).

The Tale of Sinuhe, a fictional account composed during the reign of Senusret I, indicates an increased interest in the southern Levant and its inhabitants. There is a clear shift of focus in Egyptian perspective between the literature of Amenemhet I and that dating to the reign of Senusret I. Instead of focusing on an Asiatic presence and threat within the borders of Egypt, Sinuhe presents a picture of Asiatics in the southern Levant itself. However, it must be remembered that, like the rest of the Twelfth Dynasty literature, *The Tale of Sinuhe* has a propagandistic slant in which the glorification of Senusret I and his reign is juxtaposed with the traditional theme of the pharaoh's subjugation of all foreign peoples. The Egypto-Canaanite relationship portrayed in the story continues to be one of détente and reasonably cordial relations. Several elements in the story relate peaceful encounters between Egyptians and Canaanites. When Sinuhe leaves Egypt and travels out into the desert, he is saved by a group of Bedouins, the chief of whom is described as: *a man who had been in Egypt*. Furthermore, the Bedouin chief is said to *recognize Sinuhe*; thus, not only had the chief been in Egypt, but he may also have been at the capital, which is where Sinuhe, as a courtier, would have resided prior to his flight. This incident may indicate that, despite the bellicose rhetoric about smiting and crushing sand-dwellers and the like, there were comparatively peaceful relations between the Egyptians and their Asiatic neighbors.

Further evidence for this can even be found in some of the propagandistic elements of the story. In his hymns of praise for Senusret I, Sinuhe again juxtaposes the traditional view of the pharaoh as conqueror with a glimpse into the "Realpolitik" of the times. The praise for the pharaoh is effusive: *He will conquer southern lands, while ignoring [being able to ignore the] northern lands, though made to smite Asiatics and tread on Sand-farers*. However, Sinuhe then admonishes Amusinenshi, the local chieftain (somewhere in Syria) with whom he resides while in exile, to: *Write to him [Senusret I] and let him know your name. Do not cast a spell against his Majesty, for he will not fail to do good to a foreign land which is loyal to him*. The implications of this advice are clear. Although Senusret I would have no compunctions about waging war against Canaan, Egypt would be just as happy to deal with these territories in a diplomatic way, albeit as lesser and subordinate powers. Although this statement, as part of an encomium, must be read as a propagandistic element within the text, the very fact that Sinuhe urges Amusinenshi "my relative [is] son [of] Ensi (king)" to establish diplomatic ties speaks more for semi-peaceful relations than for bellicose Egyptian expansion. Other events in the tale attest to the conduct of diplomatic activity between Egypt and the Levant. Sinuhe says that the: *envoy who came north or went south to the residence stayed with me. I let everybody stay with me*. However, the destination of the messengers is unknown; it seems more probable that the diplomatic relations alluded to were between Egypt and other regions further north in Syria, since Sinuhe implies that the messengers only pass through his territory. In any event, a relatively peaceful situation in Canaan may be implied by the fact that the messengers were able to pass unhindered through the Levant on their ways north. Finally, on his return to Egypt, Sinuhe's advice to the king includes a recommendation for diplomatic overtures to individuals presumably located somewhere in the southern Levant, or at least in regions with which Sinuhe had contact while residing in Yaa. He says: *May now Your Majesty command that there be brought to you Me[*U*]ki chief from Qedem (Lebanon?), the mountain chiefs from out of Kesbu, and the Mennu (harbours?) chief from the lands of the Fenkhu (Phoenicia?). They are rulers with renowned names who grew up in love of you. I need not even mention Retenu (Palestine), for it belongs to you like your hunting bounds*. Egypt is clearly the dominant power in any relationship that might develop, and Sinuhe's statement does, in fact, indicate that Retenu is subordinate, or at least not hostile to Egypt.

¹¹⁷ C. VANDERSLEYEN – L'Egypte et la vallée du Nil
Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France pp. 52-67.

The Egyptian relationship to Canaan as characterized by Sinuhe appears neither militaristic nor imperialistic; the overall tone is one of detente. Nowhere in the story is there any mention of military activity in Canaan, whereas diplomatic activity or other informal relations of some type are alluded to more than once. In fact, the reference to letter writing between the pharaoh and the petty rulers of the Levant strongly evokes the flavor of the later Amarna Age, characterized by a relatively peaceable relationship between a stronger power and its weaker neighbors. While Egypt had the power to control much of the Levant, and certainly believed it had the right to do so, in reality the impression is of reasonably pacific and detached relations, in which Egypt mostly ignored the politics in the southern Levant. Although hostile actions occurred, as illustrated by the Nesu-Montu stela, they may have been no more than peacekeeping forays, or campaigns for the purpose of "showing the flag," and need not necessarily represent normative Egyptian policy. Thus, despite the fictional nature of the story, and the clear propagandistic elements within it, *The Tale of Sinuhe* supports the impression that the relationship between Egypt and the southern Levant in the early Twelfth Dynasty was primarily a peaceful, although watchful, one.

Despite this rather peaceful approach to their Semitic neighbors dwelling outside Egyptian territory, the Egyptians appear to have controlled rather stringently who and what crossed their borders. Movement between Egypt and Canaan was almost certainly monitored by the: *Walls of the Ruler which were made to repel the Asiatics and crush the Sand-farers*. In Sinuhe's own account of his flight from Egypt, he: *crouched in a bush for fear of being seen by the guard on duty upon the wall*, who would have, presumably, prevented him from leaving, or at least detained him. This same border control is in evidence during Sinuhe's return, despite his changed status from fugitive to prodigal expatriate. When he obeys the summons to return to Egypt, Sinuhe proceeds south, where he: *halted at the Horus-ways. The commander in charge of the garrison sent a message to the residence to let it be known. Then his majesty sent a trusted overseer of the royal domains with whom were loaded ships, bearing royal gifts for the Asiatics who had come with me to escort me to Horus-ways*. In other words, Sinuhe is detained at the official border crossing, where he must wait for proper clearance to arrive from the capital before he is allowed into Egypt. The only period of real conflict with the northern Delta is restricted to a brief period from year 20 to year 24 of Amenemhat I.

Although this was not a war, but rather a police raid at the borders of Egypt, intervention of Nesu-Montu was the first serious incident between Egypt and Canaan. It is not a coincidence that the oldest execration texts are dated from this period (20th century BCE). Execration rituals were stylized magical actions aimed at thwarting or eradicating foes and were similar in nature to other protective measures, such as apotropaic animal sacrifice or walking on depictions of enemies. Execration rites took place from at least early in the Old Kingdom through the Roman Period. Execration rites "bewitching" could be aimed at political, preternatural, or personal enemies. The political and preternatural were often tied together. The Book of Felling Apophis, for example, instructs that the rite will fell the enemies of Ra, Horus, and Pharaoh. Political rituals likely began as attempts to deal with rebellious Egyptians, but soon included rebellious vassals and foreign enemies, and were almost always directed toward potential problems as a type of proactive apotropaic measure. The victims of these rites were those who, whether dead or alive, would in the future rebel, conspire rebellion, or think of speaking, sleeping, or dreaming rebelliously, or with ill-intent. *These vague enemies, as well as specific individuals, groups, or geographic locations, were named for things they might do in the future*¹¹⁸, though some individuals presumably were included because of things they had already done. The standardization of the texts, the concern with foreign entities, and the desire to protect the state, ruler, and divine, combined with the knowledge of foreign politics, geography, and leaders that the texts

¹¹⁸ K. MUHLESTEIN – Execration Ritual
in: UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology (2008) pp. 1-4.

demonstrate, all indicate that these were state-sponsored rites. Thus various magical measures were taken to prevent chaotic forces from acting before they could even begin.

At least three indices can be used for dating the oldest execration texts around the time of Amenemhat I: 1) transcription of Palestinian city names, 2) transcription of Byblos name and 3) link to historical period of conflict.

1. Most Palestinian cities¹¹⁹ are transcribed with early Old Babylonian features, especially the mimation (spelling of cities name, founded on shards and figurines, is variable¹²⁰). As the final *m* that appears on all singular, feminine plural nouns and on the dative pronouns, was lost quite early in the Old Babylonian period¹²¹, probably after the collapse of Ur¹²², execration texts had to be written prior 1912 BCE (and thanks to a Canaanite informer of Old Babylonian language!).

| N° | Name | written | pronounced | N° | Name | writing | pronounced |
|------|---------------|-----------------------|------------|------|---------------|----------------------|--------------|
| E 2 | Ashkalon | <i>I-s-q-3-i</i> | Asqalu[na] | E 36 | ‘Anaq | <i>I-‘-n-q-i</i> | A‘anaqe |
| E 5 | Migdol | <i>M-‘-k-t-r-y</i> | M‘aktoley | E 37 | Megiddo | <i>M-k-ti</i> | Meketa |
| E 6 | Shechem | <i>S-k-m-i-m</i> | Sekemim | E 43 | Yibleam | <i>Y-b-3-i-[mw]</i> | Yebleamu |
| E 8 | Pella | <i>P-i-h-3-w-m</i> | Pahilûm | E 45 | Jerusalem | <i>3w-w-33-3-m-m</i> | [U]rûshalmum |
| E 9 | Aphek | <i>I-p-q-w-m</i> | Apeqûm | E 47 | Abel | <i>I-b-w-3-m</i> | Abûlum |
| E 13 | Mishal | <i>M-‘-s-i-3</i> | Ma‘shal | E 49 | Acco | <i>‘-k-y</i> | ‘Akey |
| E 14 | Rehob | <i>i-3-h-b-w-m</i> | aRehobûm | E 52 | Sodom (upper) | <i>Š-w-t-w</i> | Shûtû[m] |
| E 15 | Hazor | <i>H-d-w-i-3-i</i> | Hadjure | E 53 | Sodom (lower) | <i>Š-w-t-w</i> | Shûtû[m] |
| E 17 | Ta‘ap ? | <i>T-‘-p-w-m</i> | Tj‘apûm | E 54 | Arqat | <i>‘-3-q-t-m</i> | ‘Arqatum |
| E 20 | Bega | <i>B-q-‘-t-m</i> | Beq‘atum | E 56 | Qarqar | <i>Q-3-q-3-m</i> | Qarqarum |
| E 25 | ‘Ashtaroth | <i>‘-s-[ti]-3-t-m</i> | As[t]artum | E 58 | Ekron | <i>‘-q-3-i</i> | Aqere[n] |
| E 32 | Kanah | <i>Q-n-i</i> | Qena | E 61 | Arqat | <i>‘-3-q-t-i</i> | ‘Arqate |
| E 33 | Hobah (upper) | <i>I-p-w-m</i> | Apûm | E 62 | Megiddo | <i>M-k-ti</i> | Meketa |
| E 34 | Hobah (lower) | <i>I-p-w-m</i> | Apûm | E 63 | Byblos | <i>K-b-n-i</i> | Kubene |
| E 35 | Tyr | <i>D-w-3-w-y</i> | Djûrûy | F 1 | Arameans | <i>‘-3-m-w</i> | Aram-u |

2. The name of Byblos (E 63) was well known since it already appeared at Ebla (c. -2300), but it is transcribed into Egyptian *Keben*, not Akkadian *Ku-ub-lâ^{ki}* (c. -2000). This choice shows that the Egyptians knew this area better than the rest of Canaan, with the exception of Phoenician and Philistine coasts which cities names generally are written without mimation¹²³. However, the spelling *Keben* is typical of the Old Kingdom because it became *kpnj* only from the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty as in the Tale of Sinuhe¹²⁴ (line 52). Therefore the change in spelling took place prior to Senusret I¹²⁵ (1946-1901).
3. As execration texts were state-sponsored they had to be linked with an Egyptian conflict situation. During the Twelfth Dynasty only two conflicts with the land of Canaan are mentioned: 1) first one in northern Delta dated year 24 of Amenemhat I with army general Nesu-Montu and 2) a second one to Shechem during Senusret III's reign (1855-1836) with army general Khu-Sobek. It is likely that for this second police operation, the same methods had been used and same "bewitching" texts had been copied again¹²⁶.

¹¹⁹ R. DUSSEAUD – Nouveaux textes égyptiens d'exécration contre les peuples syriens

in: *Syria* 21:2 (Persee, 1940) pp. 170-182.

¹²⁰ The Egyptian letter "3" was frequently used, at that time, for rendering the Canaanite letters "l" or "r" (J. BRIEND, M.-J. SEUX – Textes du Proche-Orient ancien et histoire d'Israël. Paris 1977 Éd. Cerf pp. 30-36).

¹²¹ J. HUEHNERGARD – A Grammar of Akkadian

in: *Harvard Semitic Museum Studies* 45 (Eisenbrauns, 2000) pp. 258-259.

¹²² L. VACIN – On Šulgi and the Death of Sumerian

in: *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* n°3 (2009) pp. 59-60.

¹²³ Y. AHARONI – Land of the Bible. A Historical Geography

Pennsylvania 1979 Ed. The Westminster Press pp. 144-147.

¹²⁴ It is interesting to note that in the story of Sinuhe no Canaanite city is mentioned, there are only Egyptian names as "Retenu" and "Qodem" instead of "Canaan" and "East (Lebanon)".

¹²⁵ S.H. HORN – Byblos in ancient records

in: *Andrews University Seminary Studies*, vol. 1 (1963) pp. 52-61.

¹²⁶ C. VANDERSLEYEN – L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil

Paris 1995 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France p. 91.

The short period 1970-1950 BCE has been eventful since it has been marked by the end of reign of several great kings: Amenemhat I in Egypt, Šulgi in Sumer (Shinar) and Kudur-Lagamar in Elam, all related to the life of Abram. Some of these events are precisely dated allowing verification of these chronological synchronisms:

| BCE | [A] | [B] | [C] | [D] | [A] = Egypt, [B] = Canaan, [C] = Sumer, [D] = Elam |
|------|-----|------|-----|-------|---|
| 1970 | 7 | 68 | 32 | 20 | [A] Amenemhat I King of Egypt. |
| 1969 | 8 | 69 | 33 | 21 | [C] Šulgi King of Ur, King of Sumer and Akkad. |
| 1968 | 9 | 70 | 34 | 22/0 | [D] Kudur-Lagamar King of Elam, became "King of Akkad". |
| 1967 | 10 | 71 | 35 | 23/1 | [C] Šulgi King of Ur, King of the 4 corners. |
| 1966 | 11 | 72 | 36 | 24/2 | [C] Abram was born and lived in Ur with his relatives (Gn 11:28). |
| 1965 | 12 | 73 | 37 | 25/3 | |
| 1964 | 13 | 74 | 38 | 26/4 | |
| 1963 | 14 | 75/1 | 39 | 27/5 | [B] Abram came to Canaan via Haran, Hebron is founded (Gn 12:4-9), shortly after [A] Abram went into Egypt due to a famine in Canaan (Gn 12:10-15). |
| 1962 | 15 | 76/2 | 40 | 28/6 | |
| 1961 | 16 | 77/3 | 41 | 29/7 | |
| 1960 | 17 | 78/4 | 42 | 30/8 | [A] Amenemhat I gave menservants and camels to Abram (Gn 12:16). |
| 1959 | 18 | 79/5 | 43 | 31/9 | |
| 1958 | 19 | 80/6 | 44 | 32/10 | |
| 1957 | 20 | 81/7 | 45 | 33/11 | [A] Tanis is founded 7 years after Hebron (Nb 13:22), Abram went up out of Egypt to the Negeb. |
| 1956 | 21 | 82 | 46 | 34/12 | |
| 1955 | 22 | 83 | 47 | 35/13 | [B] Revolt of Transjordan kings against Kudur-Lagamar (Gn 14:4). |
| 1954 | 23 | 84 | 48 | 36/14 | [D] Kudur-Lagamar is shot by Abram and his 318 picked men (Gn 14:5-17). Hagar, an Egyptian maidservant, is pregnant with Ishmael (Gn 16:3-5). |
| 1953 | 24 | 85 | 1 | | [A] Hagar ran away to Egypt (Gn 16:6-7,16, 21:17-21). |
| 1952 | 25 | 86 | 2 | | [C] Amar-Sîn King of Ur, King of the 4 corners. |
| 1951 | 26 | 87 | 3 | | |
| 1950 | 27 | 88 | 4 | | [B] Sodom (Shutum) and Gomorrah are destroyed. At the age of 99 Abraham returned to settle near Egypt (Gn 20:1). |
| 1949 | 28 | 89 | 5 | | |

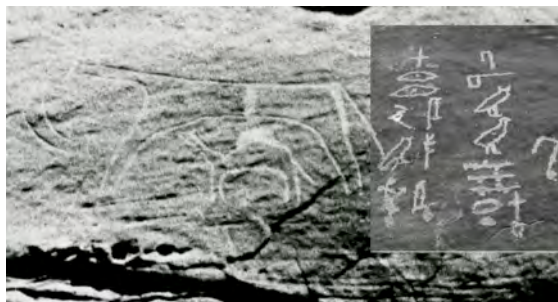
Several precisely dated synchronisms with Abram's life allow to verify the authenticity of biblical accounts:

- **1968 BCE.** At that time Abram was 70 years old and he had to learn that Chedorlaomer had confiscated the statue of the goddess Nanaya. The duration of 1635 years gave by Ashurbanipal refers exactly to Ku-du-[-], king of Awan I, in Sumerian royal lists and as the Spartoli tablets describe the attack of Babylonia by the king of Elam named Kudur-KUKUmal (Kudur-Lagamal), the latter has to be Chedorlaomer. Prior to 1968 BCE relationships with kings of Elam remained cordial since Šulgi married one of his daughters with the governor of Anšan in year 30 of his reign. One can suppose that Šulgi sacked the city of Anšan in the year 34 of his reign presumably because Kudur-Lagamar refused to give back the statue of Nanaya. From this date Kutur-Lagamar behaves as "King of Akkad" and like Sargon of Akkad he chooses to open a new trade route to the west as far as Egypt. Titulary of Ur III's kings¹²⁷ changes between years 23 and 36 of Šulgi (King of Sumer and Akkad is replaced by King of the 4 corners):

| King | | | Event in Sumer |
|-------|----|-------|--|
| Šulgi | 12 | -1990 | The year the god Ningirsu was brought into his Bagara temple. Šulgi King of Sumer and Akkad. |
| | 14 | -1978 | The year the god Nanna of Nippur was brought into his temple. Šulgi King of Sumer and Akkad. |
| | 23 | -1979 | The year the king [was given] supreme power. |
| | 30 | -1972 | The year King's daughter married to the governor of Anšan. |
| | 34 | -1968 | The year Anšan was sacked. |
| | 37 | -1965 | The year the temple of god Nergal was built. Šulgi, mighty man, king of Ur, king of the 4 corners |
| | 45 | -1957 | The year Šulgi, mighty man, king of Ur, king of the 4 corners, having overtaken Urbillum. |
| | 46 | -1956 | The year Šulgi, mighty man, king of Ur, king of the 4 corners, sacked Kimaš. |
| | 47 | -1955 | The year after Šulgi, mighty man, king of Ur, king of the 4 corners, sacked Kimaš. Booty of Šimaški when Šu-Enlil, the prince, smote? Šimaški. |

¹²⁷ D.R. FRAYNE – Ur III Period (2112-2004 BC). E. SOLLBERGER, J.-R. KUPPER – Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes.

- **1963 BCE.** At that time Abram was 75 years old and he came into Canaan via Haran, then Hebron is founded (Gn 12:4-9) but shortly after Abram went into Egypt due to a famine in Canaan (Gn 12:10-15). In fact the city called Kiryat-arba "City of four" was renamed Hebron¹²⁸ "confederation" by Abraham (Gn 23:2). The famous episode in Egypt between Pharaoh and Abram's wife is considered completely fanciful by most scholars (even those who are believers): *Now a famine arose in the land and Abram made his way down toward Egypt to reside there as an alien, because the famine was severe in the land. And it came about that as soon as he got near to entering Egypt, then he said to Sarai his wife: "Please, now! I well know you are a woman beautiful in appearance. So it is bound to happen that the Egyptians will see you and will say, 'This is his wife.' And they will certainly kill me, but you they will preserve alive. Please say you are my sister, in order that it may go well with me on your account, and my soul will be certain to live due to you."* So it happened that, as soon as Abram entered Egypt, the Egyptians got to see the woman, that she was very beautiful. And the princes of Pharaoh also got to see her and they began praising her to Pharaoh, so that the woman was taken to the house of Pharaoh. And he treated Abram well on her account, and he came to have sheep and cattle and asses and menservants and maidservants and she-asses and camels. Although aged 65, Sarai (2028-1901) was only half of his life (Gn 23:1) and Abram was not a liar because his wife was truly his sister (Gn 20:12). Contrary to what is generally accepted (see *Dating the five books of Moses*), the first mention of camels in Abram's life is not anachronistic because, paradoxically, the oldest witnesses of camel come from Egypt¹²⁹. Thus, a braided cord of camel hair, dated around 2500 BCE, was exhumed at Pi-Ramesses in the Fayum. Dated 2800-2500 BCE, a camel carrying a man on his back is shown in a terracotta tablet found at Gurna¹³⁰ (near Luxor) and a vase-shaped kneeling camel was exhumed at Abusir el-Meleq¹³¹ (10 kilometers south of Cairo). A representation of camel was discovered in the desert east of Edfu¹³²:



Eastern Edfu (2150-2100 BCE)



Assuan (2200-2100 BCE)

A cursory reading might suggest that the enormous gift to Abraham by the Pharaoh could be a compensation for clearing his name, but this is not the case. The biblical text states that among the many Egyptian menservants that Abraham received there were *318 picked men generated*¹³³ in his household (Gn 14:14). The term *hanik* "picked man" is unique in the whole Bible, but it appears frequently in the execration texts to designate elite warriors¹³⁴.

¹²⁸ According to archaeology, the city of Hebron (el-Khalil) was inhabited from OB III period then above all from MB IIB (A. NEGEV, S. GIBSON – *Dictionnaire archéologique de la Bible*, Ed. Hazan, 2006, pp. 255-258).

¹²⁹ K.A. KITCHEN – *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* Cambridge 2003 Ed. W.B. Eerdmans pp. 338, 339, 640.

¹³⁰ V.L. KEIMER – *Bemerkungen und lesefrüchte zur altägyptischen naturgeschichte* in: *Kémi* Vol. II (1929) pp. 84-106, pl. IV.

¹³¹ M.W. MIKESELL – *Notes on the Dispersal of the Dromedary* in: *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* Vol. 11:3 (1955) pp. 231-245.

¹³² This inscription reads: *The guide of good ways, pilot Imai*. The name Imai (*Im3i*) is uncommon and appears only during the reign of Pepi II (2179-2121), which situated the inscription to 2150-2100 (ZBYNEK ZABA – *The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia*. Prague 1974 Ed. Czechoslovak Institute of Egyptology pp. 237, 238, Fig. 409 CCXXIX. R.D. ROTHE, W.K. MILLER, G.R. RAPP – *Pharaonic Inscriptions from the Southern Eastern Desert of Egypt*. USA 2008 Ed. Eisenbrauns, p. 132).

¹³³ Literally "borne of/ brought forth" (Genesis 21:9) or "produced" (Job 38:28). These elite men were given to Abraham and not purchased, they were Egyptian servants not Hebrew children, thus Abraham was not a slave merchant (Genesis 37:27-28).

¹³⁴ J.B. PRITCHARD – *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* Princeton 1969 Ed. Princeton University Press pp. 328-329.

Amenemhat I therefore had considered Abraham as a potential ally against Chedorlaomer, who could secure the south of Palestine on his return to Shechem (Gn 12:6). This strange strategic choice is explained by the fact that Egypt never yet intervened into Canaan and until then Egypt had no standing army but only some warriors or mercenaries recruited as needed. For example, when Pepi I (2237-2195) led a military expedition to southern Palestine during his 18th census (year 30) he recruited few hundred of fighters¹³⁵ as can be inferred from a relief at Dashasheh showing an (unidentifiable) city in Asia¹³⁶, but in the same time an army of 20,000 men to quell a revolt in Nubia¹³⁷ (*nawat*). The first Egyptian military campaign in Canaan (as far as Shechem) was led by General Khu-Sobek¹³⁸ under Senusret III (1855-1836). This police operation, rather than military, did not have the same scale as that led by Abraham since there were only 60 soldiers involved: *His majesty went down the river to overthrow the Bedouins of Asia (mntw stt). His majesty arrived at a region whose name is Sechem (written Skmm as in Execration Texts). His majesty made a prosperous return to the Residence of Life, Prosperity, and Health (his palace). Then Sechem fell together with the vile land of Retenu (Palestine), while I was acting as rearguard. Then the army soldiers came to close quarters to fight with the Asiatics ('3mw). I struck one down, and caused his arms to be taken away by 2 soldiers, without pausing from the combat. My face pressed on, and I did not turn my back on the Asiatic. As Senusret lives, I have spoken truly. Then the king placed a staff of electrum in my hand, and a bow and dagger worked with electrum and (...) He (Khu-Sobek) says: I was born in year 27 under the majesty of the dual-king Nubkaura (Amenemhat II), justified. When the majesty of the dual-king Khakaura (Senusret III) arose in the double crown on the Horus throne of the living, his majesty caused me to adopt the profession of warrior of the guard, by the side of his majesty among the 6 men of the Residence. Behold, I was skilled at his side, and his majesty caused me to be made a Follower of the Ruler, and 60 men were given to me. When his majesty went upstream to overthrow the desert Nubians, I captured a Nubian [at Kenekef?] in the presence of my townsmen. Then I proceeded downstream in attendance with 6 men of the Residence. He appointed me to Inspector of the Followers, 100 men have been given to me as a reward.*

- **1957 BCE.** In order to better control this area under tension (southern Canaan and northern Egypt), Amenemhat I moved, during his 20th year of reign, his capital (Thebes) to Itjtawy and appointed his son (Senusret I) as co-regent, he also claims to have built Bubastis, Khatana (Qantir) and Tanis¹³⁹. According to the Bible, Tanis (San el-Hagar), former capital of the Hyksos (Ps 78:12,43), was founded in 1957 BCE 7 years after Hebron (Nb 13:22). This town had to be founded by Abram (obviously in cooperation with Amenemhat I) because the name "Tanis", *Šo'an* (Tsoân) in Hebrew, means "moving tents" (Is 33:20), whereas in Egyptian *Da'an* (Djaân) means nothing. Qantir is believed to mark what was probably the ancient site of Ramses II's great capital, Pi-Ramses or Per-Ramses. The ancient site of Avaris is about 2 km south of Qantir, later on, Avaris was absorbed by Pi-Ramses. Tanis' history is very poorly known. In the *Report of Wenamon* (dated 1085 BCE) Tanis is written *Da'an*, however in *The Pleasures of Fishing and Fowling* (dated c. 1400 BCE) we read (line 14)¹⁴⁰: *Sehet-Da'aw* "Field of Tanis", the same

¹³⁵ J. VERCOUTTER – L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil
Paris 1992 Éd. Presses Universitaires de France pp. 324-326.

¹³⁶ A. MAZAR – Archaeology of the Land of the Bible
New York 1990 Ed. Doubleday 141-144.

¹³⁷ Pharaohs of this time could also put military escorts hundreds of soldiers to protect the 1600 workers in the turquoise mines.
A. ROCCATI – La littérature historique sous l'ancien empire égyptien
Paris 1982 Éd. Cerf pp. 248-270.

¹³⁸ T.E. PEET – The Stela of Sebek-Khu
New York 1914 Ed. The Manchester Museum pp. 3-22.

¹³⁹ N. GRIMAL – Histoire de l'Égypte ancienne
Paris 1988 Éd. Fayard p. 212.

¹⁴⁰ R.A. CAMINOS – Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script
Oxford 1956 Ed. Oxford University Press pp. 19-20.

expression as in Psalm 78, which appears in the sequence *[Šht]-D'w* (*Fields of Tanis*), *Hwt-w'rt* (*Avaris*), *Rḥty* (?). It is precisely the same sequence: *Šht-D'(n)*, *Hwt-w'rt*, *Rḥtt* that we find in the geographical procession in Ramses II's temple. The 400 Year Stela, found at Tanis, is a large slab of stone erected (c. 1280 BCE) by Ramses II to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the establishment of the reign of the god "Seth, Great of Power, the Ombite (the Baal or "Lord" of the Hyksos)". A paleographical study of the name *D'(n)* shows that this toponym must go back to the end of the Old Kingdom¹⁴¹. The city of Tanis was founded at the beginning of the 12th dynasty because the statues of almost all the sovereigns of this dynasty, including Amenemhat I, remained there in that city. However, apart from the doorways erected in Bubastis, Khatana and Wadi Natrûn, Amenemhat did not leave any other buildings in the Delta¹⁴². From an inscription unearthed in Khatana, alongside a statue depicting Amenemhat sitting, it is clear that the king was responsible for erecting a building here to which the door gave entrance. In addition one of the officials who lived under the reign of Amenemhat made a stela in which the 3rd line reads: *year 20[? under] the majesty of...* that enables us to date the building in 1957 BCE. Seeing that the doorway is still in its original place and that during the reign of Amenemhat I and Senuwret III who were concerned with the doorway, the district was flourishing. Given that the doorway is still lying near its original place, we can suppose it was the same for Tanis where there was also a statue depicting Amenemhat I sitting. The few buildings built by Amenemhat I in the Delta were made to win the sympathy of the people in this region because of the prophecy of Neferty¹⁴³ which reads: *He (Neferty) was concerned for what would happen in the land. He thinks about the condition of the east. Asiatics ('3mw) travel with their swords, terrorizing those who are harvesting, seizing the oxen from the plow (...) All happiness has gone away, the land is cast down in trouble because of those feeders, Asiatics (Styw) who are throughout the land. Enemies have arisen in the east, Asiatics ('3mw) have come down to Egypt. A fortress is deprived of another beside it, the guards do not pay attention of it (...) Asiatics ('3mw) will fall to his sword, Libyans will fall to this flame, rebels to his wrath, traitors to his might, as the serpent on his brow subdues the rebels to him. One will build the "Wall of the Ruler", life prosperity and health, to prevent Asiatics ('3mw) from going down into Egypt*¹⁴⁴. The famous prophecy of Neferty could be related to the 400-year prophecy from Genesis 15:13 given to Abraham.

- **1955-1954 BCE.** This period is the culmination of Chedorlaomer's expansionism. When Abram returned to Canaan, Transjordan kings revolt was at its peak (Gn 14:4), presumably because taxes (or looting) became unbearable. This confiscation should be important because an exceptional booty from Šimaški (Elam) was reported during the year 47 of Šulgi (1955 BCE). It was not a looting of Šimaški because its ambassadors arrived at Ur just after the death of Šulgi (1954 BCE), which demonstrates good relations between the two cities. When Chedorlaomer conducted once again a razzia in the region, which Lot was the victim (Gn 14:11-12), Abraham was not caught off guard and was able to mobilize immediately the expeditionary corps Amenemhat I had placed at his disposal. Having lived in Mesopotamia, Abraham knew well the imperialist aims of Chedorlaomer (especially from 1968 BCE) and was therefore able to inform Amenemhat of operation of the Elamite Empire (It is worth noting that the name of the Canaanite cities in the Egyptian execration texts are close to a pronunciation in Old Babylonian with mimation).

¹⁴¹ J. YOYOTTE – Conférence de M. Jean Yoyotte
in: *Annuaire École Pratique des Hautes Études* Tome 91 (1982-1983), p. 220.

¹⁴² L. HABACHI – Khatâ'na-Qantir importance
in: *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* Tome LII (1954), pp. 443-458.

¹⁴³ G. POSENER – Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XII^e dynastie
Paris 1956 Éd. Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion pp. 38-40.

¹⁴⁴ J.K. HOFFMEIER – Israel in Egypt. The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition
New York 1996 Ed. Oxford University Press pp. 58-59.

Abraham was also supported by three local Amorite allies (Gn 14:13). The biblical text does not say, but it seems logical to assume that most of the Egyptian mercenaries made available to Abraham returned with Army General Nesu Montu during his expedition along the eastern border of the Delta in the year 24 of Amenemhat I. The fact that Hagar ran away to Egypt when Abram was 86 years old (Gn 16:6-7, 16, 21:17-21) proves that the region was once again peaceful.

- **1940 BCE.** Sodom¹⁴⁵ and Gomorrah were destroyed (Gn 19:28-29) a few years before Abraham was 100 years old (Gn 21:5). The exact meaning of the names is uncertain but presumably they are of Semitic origin¹⁴⁶. The region of Sodom is called Shutu[m] in execration texts. This megalopolis should be important at that time because there were several princes (whom all names are Semitic: Ayyabum, Kushar, Zabulanu, Shumuabu)¹⁴⁷. The name of this region appears for the last time in the form "Shu[tum]" in Tomb No. 3 at Beni Hasan¹⁴⁸. One of the inscriptions that accompanies the painting describes the arrival of the "Asiatics", led by Absha[r] (*Ibš3*), a "ruler of a foreign land (*ḥq3 ḥ3st*)", who are bringing black eye-paint to the nomarch Khnumhotep, here designated as the "Administrator of the Eastern Desert" in the 6th year of Senusret II's reign (1863-1855). Absha[r]'s name is Semitic and means maybe "Father [of] prince". As galena, the material from which the black eye-paint is ground, is commonly found along the Red Sea coast and near Aswan, these Asiatics had to be Bedouins from Shutu[m], a region which will then be called Moab (*Mw-i-b-n*) by Egyptians from Ramses II¹⁴⁹. This name change is consistent with the biblical text since the former region of Sodom (Gn 10:19) became the "field of Moab" (Gn 36:35). Moab was Lot's firstborn who dwelt near Sodom (Gn 19:23-38). The historical existence of Sodom and Gomorrah is still in dispute by archaeologists, as little archaeological evidence has ever been found in the regions where they were supposedly situated. Among scholars who locate the cities of the Plain in the southern area of the Dead Sea, there are some who posit that Sodom, Gomorrah, and other cities have been submerged by rising waters. According to the famous geographer Strabo (-64 24): *Many other evidences are produced to show that the country is fiery; for near Masada are to be seen rugged rocks that have been scorched, as also, in many places, fissures and ashy soil, and drops of pitch that emit foul odours to a great distance, and ruined settlements here and there; and therefore people believe the oft-repeated assertions of the local inhabitants, that there were once 13 inhabited cities in that region of which Sodom was the metropolis, but that a circuit of about 60 stadia of that city escaped unharmed; and that by reason of earthquakes and of eruptions of fire and of hot waters containing asphalt and sulphur, the lake burst its bounds, and rocks were enveloped with fire; and, as for the cities, some were swallowed up and others were abandoned by such as were able to escape* (Geography XVI:2:44). Among the 650 place names appearing in the (partial) geographical atlas found at Ebla (c. 2300-2200), there is a trade route from Ebla to Seir, which was important at that time as archaeology confirmed¹⁵⁰. For example, the names of a few cities are recognizable¹⁵¹ on this ancient path (from north to south): n°199 LÚ-a-bi-

¹⁴⁵ A site in the south of the Dead Sea has been called Jebel Usdum "Sodom" because of the presence of pillars of salt (Lot's wife!).

¹⁴⁶ B. MACDONALD – "East of the Jordan" Territories and Sites of the Hebrew Scriptures Boston 2000 Ed. American Schools of Oriental Research p.52.

¹⁴⁷ R. DUSSAUD – Nouveaux renseignements sur la Palestine et la Syrie vers 2000 avant notre ère in: *Syria* 8:3 (1927) pp. 213-233.

¹⁴⁸ The Tomb belongs to the nomarch Khnumhotep III, who is also an "Overseer of the Eastern Hill Countries". Besides illustrating the presentation of various types of "cattle" to the nomarch, the painting depicts the arrival of a group of 37 Asiatics who are being led by an Egyptian with the title "Overseer of hunters". The Asiatics are bearded, and wear the traditional dress of Semites as depicted in Egyptian artwork; they carry weapons typical of Middle Bronze Age Canaan, including what appear to be composite bows and a "duckbilled" axe.

¹⁴⁹ S. AHITUV – Canaanite toponyms in ancient Egyptian documents Jerusalem 1984 Ed. Magnes Press, Hebrew University pp. 143, 184.

¹⁵⁰ M.M. IBRAHIM – The Jordan Valley during the Early Bronze Age in: *A Timeless Vale (Archaeological Studies Leiden University* 19, 2009) pp. 81-95.

¹⁵¹ W.H. SHEA – Two Palestinian Segments from the Eblaite Geographical Atlas in: *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth* (Eisenbrauns, 1983) pp. 589-608.

ra-um^{ki} (Ibleam), n°202 *BABBAR*^{ki} (Lebona), n°210 *ad-mu-ut*^{ki} (Admah), n°211 *sa-dam*^{ki} (Sodom), n°214 *i-ti-ru*^{ki} (Ataroth), n°215 *'à-wu-ru*^{ki} (Aroer), n°217 *sa-rí-at*^{ki} (Seir) and n°219 *aq-qá-bu*^{ki} (Aqabah). The names Sodom, Admah and Zeboiim (Gn 14:2) also appear on some tablets¹⁵², however the transcriptions of Canaanite names in Ebla geographical atlas are approximate. As the word *sadam/sudum* means nothing in Akkadian, Egyptian transcripts *šutu[m]* in the Execration Texts could match¹⁵³ to the Old Babylonian word *sûtum*¹⁵⁴ which means "tenant farming" (to make wine ? Gn 13:10-12; Dt 32:32).

Conclusion: King Kudur-Lagamar (1990-1954), alias Chedorlaomer, has actually existed since he was the third and last king of Awan I, the only Elamite dynasty mentioned in Sumerian lists. His two main actions that have passed to posterity were the capture of Uruk's goddess (Nanaya) and looting of the city of Sodom. Puzur-Inšušinak founded this new dynasty which has been classified as belonging to the kings of Akkad, that explains the gap (of about 30 years) between the end of the dynasty of Awan II and the beginning of the dynasty of Šimaški. After the destruction of Ur by Kindadu (in 1912 BCE), which marked the end of Ur III, the dynasty of Awan I has been postponed just after the dynasty of Ur I¹⁵⁵ instead of Ur III. Information concerning Kudur-Lagamar, even if they are few are far superior to those on Cheops whom we know only his pyramid.

| SUMER | | AKKAD | | ELAM | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|-------|-----------------|------------------------|
| URUK IV | | | | AWAN II | | | |
| Ur-Nigin | | | 2062-2055 | Hita | 2065 | - | 11 th |
| Ur-Gigir | | | 2055-2049 | | | | |
| Kuda | | | 2049-2043 | | | | |
| Puzur-ili | | | 2043-2038 | | | | |
| Ur-Utu | | | 2038-2032 | Puzur-Inšuši. | 2040 | - | 12 th |
| Utu-hegal | | | 2032-2021 | | | | |
| UR III | | AWAN I | | | -2020 | | SIMASKI |
| Ur-Nammu | 2020 - -2002 | Puzur-Inšuši. [-]-lu | 2020-2015 2015 - | 1 st | | | [unammed] |
| Šulgi | 2002 - -1954 | | -1990 KudurLagamar 1990-1954 | 2 nd | | | -1990 |
| Amar-Sîn | 1954-1945 | | | 3 rd | | 1 st | Girnamme 1990-1955 |
| Šu-Sîn | 1945-1936 | | | | | 2 nd | Tazitta I 1955-1940 |
| Ibbi-Sîn | 1936 - -1912 | ISIN | | | | 3 rd | Ebarat I -1935 |
| | | Išbi-Erra | 1923 - | | | 4 th | Tazitta II 1935-1925 |
| | | | | | | 5 th | Lurrakluḫḫan 1925-1915 |
| | | | | | | 6 th | Kindadu 1915-1905 |
| | | | -1890 | | | 7 th | Idadu I 1905-1890 |
| | | Šû-ilīšu | 1890-1880 | | | 8 th | TanRuḫuratir 1890-1875 |

The chronological position of the Elamite dynasty (Awan I) could solve a riddle concerning the identification of a Mesopotamian ruler deduced from a magnificent head made of arsenical copper portraying a king of the late 3rd millennium BCE. Its heavy-lidded eyes, prominent but unexaggerated nose, full lips, and enlarged ears all suggest a portrait of an actual person. While the date and place of manufacture of this piece have been much debated, its apparent similarity to the magnificent bronze head found at Nineveh makes a late 3rd millennium date most likely. The headdress, however, is similar to that of later Middle Elamite small figurines found at Susa, one of gold and the other of silver. The eyes,

¹⁵² Tablets TM.76.G.524 *si-da-mu*^{ki}, TM.75.G.2231, obv. X 4 *sa-dam*^{ki}, TM.75.G.2231, obv. I 7 *ad-mu-ut*^{ki}, *sa-bi-im*^{ki} (G. PETTINATO, M. DAHOOD -The Archives of Ebla: An Empire Inscribed in Clay. New York, 1981 Ed. Doubleday & Company, Inc. p 287).

¹⁵³ For example, the Akkadian names "Šekem / Megido" are transcribed "Sekemim / Meketi" in Egyptian Execration texts.

¹⁵⁴ In Numbers 24:17 (LXX) the chiefs of Moab are compared to Seth's sons but it is likely a wordplay (buttock's sons) because Moab's father was Lot and the word *seth* (שֵׁט) means "buttock" in Hebrew (Isaiah 20:4) or "setting" (Genesis 4:25).

¹⁵⁵ S. LANGDON – Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
London 1923 Ed. Oxford University Press pp. 7, 11-13.

eyebrows and nose also seem to render a related ethnic type. In the case of the copper head, the statue may have been made for an Iranian ruler. The head (left below) is cast almost solid (making it extremely heavy); a dowel hole at the base would have served to join it to a body or other support, most likely for display in a temple setting¹⁵⁶. Some investigators identify this anonymous king to Ur-Nammu (head in stone right below), others suppose (because there is no crown on his head) that it could be Abraham¹⁵⁷.



Several clues rather focus towards identification with a powerful Elamite king ally to the Ur III empire. Indeed, at that time in Mesopotamia only kings and gods were honored of having their own statue because their manufacture required artists and highly skilled craftsmen (sculptors, engravers, designers, smelters, etc.). In addition, as these items were very expensive to make, they were generally small (around 50 cm high) and made of steatite (stone quite soft) like the one of Iddin-ilum (1995-1990) a king of Mari, or dorite (black stone very hard) like the ones of Gudea (2048-2028) or Ur-Ningirsu II (2028-2023), kings of Lagash, or Puzur-Eshtar (1958-1933), king of Mari. Statues from life are rare, moreover, only those for the gods were made of metal (copper, silver or gold). There were only two exceptions: the head in copper of Sargon (2243-2187), who was an Amorite, and the statue in copper of Pepi I (2237-2192), an Egyptian pharaoh. Consequently the large head in copper involves that the anonymous Mesopotamian ruler had to be very powerful.



¹⁵⁶ P.O. HARPER, J. ARUZ, F. TALLON- The Royal City of Susa
New York 1992, Ed. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, pp. 94,176.

¹⁵⁷ J.-P. ISBOUITS - L'Atlas illustré du monde biblique
Espagne 2008 Éd. National Geographic Society pp. 57,77.

The stone statue of a king? (17.5 cm height) from Mohenjo-daro¹⁵⁸ belonging to Indus civilization, to southeast of the ancient Elamite empire called Meluhha, is dated 2000-1900 BCE. It is noteworthy that this anonymous dignitary looks like some Elamite kings because he wears a fillet or ribbon headband with circular inlay ornament on the forehead and his upper lip is shaved and a short combed beard frames the face.

Given the high value of the copper head and its artistic finish, this exceptional object has been achieved during the heyday of neo-Sumerian empire, which occurred with the reigns of Ur-Nammu (2020-2002) and Shulgi (2002-1954). This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that since there was no copper mine in Mesopotamia, it had to be imported from Aratta in Iran. Note that the tools were made with an alloy of copper and lead in Susa whereas they were made with an alloy of copper and arsenic in Ur¹⁵⁹. Taking into account this last point one might conclude that the arsenical copper head was made for Ur-Nammu (or Shulgi), but it is unlikely because all the statues of neo-Sumerian kings, without exception, have been featured with a cylindrical crown on the head and all statues of king Ur-Nammu represent him beardless¹⁶⁰, again without exception. It is therefore more logical, because of origin of the copper as well as artistic style, to attribute this copper head to a powerful Elamite king who was an ally of Ur-Nammu or Shulgi. Two points support this conclusion: the Elamites have fabricated (in Susa) some metal statues for their gods and kings¹⁶¹ with a headdress (below), which is a kind of cap but not a crown. The ancient gods like Inshushinak (2100-2000 BCE) possess in addition a tiara made of horns.



god Inshushinak? (copper)



*Copper statue of the God Nergal riding in a Chariot
Susa acropolis 1600 B.C.
god Nergal (copper)*



Elamite king in gold (1500-1200 BCE)

Three points are crucial: 1) the only metal statue at the Neo-Sumerian period is that of an Elamite god (Inshushinak?), 2) the statues of Elamite kings are generally made of metal and 3) the Elamite kings do not wear crowns on their head but rather a sort of cap. The copper head of the anonymous king fulfills these three essential points, consequently, it had to belong to a powerful Elamite king around 2000 BCE. In conclusion, the third and last king of the Awan I dynasty named Kud[ur-Lagamar] (1990-1954), best known as Chedorlaomer, appears to be a very likely candidate.

¹⁵⁸ <http://www.harappa.com/indus/41.html>

¹⁵⁹ F. JOANNÈS – Dictionnaire de la civilisation mésopotamienne
Paris 2001 Éd. Robert Laffont pp. 212-213.

¹⁶⁰ J.B. PRITCHARD - Ancient Near East in Pictures
Princeton 1969 Ed. Princeton University Press pp. 150-151.

¹⁶¹ <http://www.historyandcivilization.com/Picture-Gallery---Elam---Artifacts---Objects.html>
http://www.louvre.fr/oeuvre-notices/statuette-de-porteur-de-chevreau?sous_dept=1
http://realhistoryww.com/world_history/ancient/Elam_Iran_1.htm