

Dual power in Susa: Chronicle of a transitional period from Ur III via Šīmaški to the Sukkalmahš¹

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Abstract

This article brings together evidence from both documentary texts and royal inscriptions from Susa in order to develop a chronological and historical perspective on the transitional period between the loss of control of the Ur III empire and the institutionalization of the Sukkalmahš regime. A study of the archaeological and archival context of the administrative texts resulted in a new chronology for the beginning of the Sukkalmahš, the basic argument for which is the early dating of the rule of Atta-ḥušu. Newly discovered inscriptions and new interpretations of existing inscriptions serve not only to adjust this chronology, but also to pave the way for an innovative and coherent socio-economic history of the early Sukkalmahš.

Keywords: Susa, Chronology, Sukkalmahš, Šīmaški, Second millennium BCE

The dynasty of the Sukkalmahš in Susa rests on a disputed chronological basis and the way in which it took over from the Šīmaškian rulers is still a matter for debate.

New evidence, based on the study of Chantier B from Susa's *Royal City* published in *MDP 55*, has recently led to a new chronology for the beginning of the Sukkalmahš. The basic argument for this is the early dating of the rule of Atta-ḥušu which, based on my study of Chantier B, can be dated at least eighty years earlier than the generally accepted chronology as stated most recently in Steve et al. 2002.

- 1 This article presents research results of the “Interuniversity Pole of Attraction Programme VI/34, Belgian State, Federal Office for Scientific, Technical and Cultural Affairs”. The text published here is an expanded version of a paper I read at the 53rd *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* “Language in the Ancient Near East/City administration in the Ancient Near East”, held in Moscow/St-Petersburg, Russia (23–28 July 2007). All dates referred to in this article follow the short chronology as stated in Gasche et al. 1998. I would like to thank D. Akbarzadeh, Director and Curator of the cuneiform department, and S. Piran of the National Iranian Museum for their most hospitable welcome during my stays in Tehran to study the tablets from Susa, as well as for their permission to publish the photograph of BK 712 (*MDP 55*, 20). I also thank P. Steinkeller for the stimulating discussions we had during my stay at Harvard and J.A. Armstrong for improving the English text. My cordial thanks go as always to M. Tanret who read the manuscript and offered comments and suggestions.

Since then, responses in defence of the generally accepted chronology have been offered by Vallat (2007, 2009), a new inscription of the Šimaškian ruler Idattu has been published (Steinkeller 2007), and new insights on the chronology and history of this period have been formulated by Glassner and Steinkeller and presented at the International Congress on Susa and Elam, Ghent University, December 2009. At the same time I have been working on additional material from the same early period in Susa,² putting things in a wider perspective in order to develop a chronological and historical perspective on the transitional period between the loss of control by the Ur III empire and the institutionalization of the Sukkalmahū regime, in order to come to a chronologically solidly grounded and coherent socio-economic history of the early Sukkalmahūat.

In light of all the new material and insights, the time has come to reconsider the chronology I proposed and to investigate whether and to what extent it can be adjusted, corrected and specified.

How it all started

The idea for the new chronology originated in the study of the tablets found in Chantier B of Susa's Royal City by Ghirshman in the 1960s, and more particularly in the study of the archaeological and archival context of these tablets (*MDP* 54: 1–16 and *MDP* 55: 1–12 and 21–3). It must be remembered that Ghirshman was the first to undertake stratigraphical excavations in the Royal City of Susa. Over the course of twenty archaeological campaigns (1946–66) he uncovered fifteen stratigraphical levels in his large Chantier A situated at the northern edge of the Royal City. He then decided to open a new stratigraphic Chantier to bridge the gap of more than 250 years in the occupation of Susa between the most recent levels found earlier on the Acropolis, some wells from the Ur III period, and the earliest level of his Chantier A, which could be dated to within the Sukkalmahū period, about 1700 BCE.

This new Chantier (Chantier B)³ was located in a small area (c. 700 square metres) on the southern edge of the Royal City, on one of the terraces of the ancient second sounding of de Mecquenem, which was excavated in the 1920s (*MDP* 25: 218–21). Within this Chantier B, five different levels were uncovered: VII, dating from the late Ur III period,⁴ VI ancien, dating from the Šimaškian dynasty, V ancien, dating from the beginning of the Sukkalmahūat,⁵ and VI and V récent, both dating from the late Sukkalmahūat.⁶

The two levels of interest here are VI ancien and especially V ancien. From an archaeological point of view, there is no interruption in the occupation of this part of Susa between these two levels (*MDP* 47: 13). In VI ancien, seventeen administrative tablets and fragments were found (*MDP* 55: 2–3). In V ancien, sixty-eight administrative tablets and fragments were unearthed, of which

2 Cf. De Graef, forthcoming, *A Socio-Economic History of the Early Sukkalmahūat*.

3 For the archaeological context of Chantier B in general, cf. Ghirshman 1968; *MDP* 47: 10–15; Steve et al. 1980; 2002: 397 and 442–3; and *MDP* 54: 1–7.

4 The texts found in Level VII are published in *MDP* 54.

5 The texts found in Levels VI ancien and V ancien are published in *MDP* 55.

6 The texts found in Level V récent are published in De Graef 2007.

some could be joined, which left me with sixty-two administrative tablets and fragments (*MDP* 55: 5–7). Unfortunately, none of these tablets have a date. In consequence, only relative dates could be assigned to these two levels, based on indications from the texts, palaeography (Steve et al. 1980: 87–8) and the occurrence of known and datable historical figures. In VI ancien, the impression of the seal of Me-Kūbi, daughter of Bilalama the king of Ešnunna and wife of Tan-Ruhurater,⁷ one of the Šimaškian rulers, was found, which led Steve et al. to date VI ancien to within the so-called Šimaškian dynasty. The occurrence of Šilhaha (*MDP* 55, 26) and Atta-ḥušu (*MDP* 55, 20 and 23) within the texts of V ancien made it possible to date this level to the beginning of the Sukkalmahat. This relative dating is supported by the results of Gasche’s study on the tombs of Susa (unpublished PhD). On this basis Gasche dates Level VI ancien to *c.* 1910–1850 BCE and Level V ancien *c.* 1850–1775 BCE.

However, as I will argue later, we need to ask whether the Šimaškian dynasty really existed as a period in the history of Susa between the Ur III occupation and the institutionalization of the Sukkalmahat, and consequently whether Levels VI and V ancien of Chantier B are really to be interpreted as belonging to two different chronological periods (the Šimaškian dynasty and the Sukkalmahat), especially in view of the fact that there is no interruption in the occupation between both levels. I will return to this subject later.

The Ašiši dossier (B V ancien)

Among the tablets found in V ancien, there is one coherent group of twelve, found in locus 33. It consists of economic and accounting documents, mostly receipts and lists of expenditures or deliveries. Some of these texts show that this group of texts belonged to the (remnant) archive of a certain Ašiši (*MDP* 55: 7–8). Three of these Ašiši texts were not only very important in dating Level V ancien, but they turned out to be crucial in the development of a new chronology of the transitional period: *MDP* 55, 20, an atypically written receipt of silver in Akkadian containing an oath by Atta-ḥušu, to which I will return in greater detail below; *MDP* 55, 23, a *zi-ga* record mentioning Atta-ḥušu as the official responsible; and *MDP* 55, 26, a list mentioning a servant of Šilhaha.

Although Šilhaha’s title is not given in this last text, there is no doubt that we are dealing with the ruler⁸ of that name, since he is mentioned among other very important persons such as the *teppir*⁹ and the vice *sukkal* (*egir sukka*). The mention of Šilhaha and Atta-ḥušu in texts of one and the same archive can only lead to the conclusion that both Atta-ḥušu and Šilhaha ruled in Susa during

7 The impression of this seal is published in Ghirshman 1968 (fig. 8), *MDP* 43: nr 1676 and Amiet *apud* Steve et al. 1980: 135 (n° 3).

8 Šilhaha is attested both as Sukkalmah (*MDP* 28, 4) and as king (*MDP* 28, 455). The implications of both titles for the career and position of Šilhaha within the structure of the early Sukkalmahat will be discussed below.

9 The exact meaning of the Elamite title and function *teppir* is unknown. The following translations have been proposed in the dictionaries: *CAD T sub teppir*: “scribe, chancellor (title of a juridical or administrative official in Elam)”, *AhW III sub tepper*: “etwa Oberrichter” and *EW I sub te-ib-bi-ir* “Schreiber, Sekretär, Kanzler”.

Ašiši's life, or in other words, that Šilhaha and Atta-ḥušu were (at least partly) contemporaries.

Moreover, we know from a Susa text published by De Meyer (1973) that the so-called founder of the Sukkalmahat, Ebarat II and Šilhaha ruled at least in part at the same time. We can thus conclude that Ebarat II, Šilhaha and Atta-ḥušu were at least partly contemporaries.

However, Vallat (1996a; 2007; and 2009, cf. also Steve et al. 2002) dates Atta-ḥušu to the time of Gungunum of Larsa's reign (1837–1811 BCE) and that of Sumu-abum "of Babylon"¹⁰ (1798–1785 BCE). Between the reigns of Ebarat II and Šilhaha on the one hand, and Atta-ḥušu on the other, Vallat (2007: 84) situates five Sukkalmahs: Temti-Agun I, Pala-iššan, Kuk-Kirmaš, Kuk-Nahhunte and Kuk-Našur I. In other words, there was almost a century between the reigns of Ebarat II and Šilhaha, which he dates to c. 1880 BCE, and that of Atta-ḥušu, who, he argues, still ruled in 1798 BCE, the first year of the reign of Sumu-abum "of Babylon".

Evidently the information gained from the Ašiši texts does not fit with this chronology. It is impossible that Atta-ḥušu, who was a contemporary of Ebarat II and Šilhaha and reigned c. 1880 BCE, would still have been in power eighty-two years later in 1798 BCE.

Let us therefore reconsider the main arguments for the chronology proposed by Vallat.

Reconsidering Vallat's chronology

Sumu-abum "of Babylon" (1798–1785 BCE) and Atta-ḥušu

The first and probably most important argument is the contemporaneity between Sumu-abum "of Babylon" and Atta-ḥušu (Vallat 1996a: 310–11; Steve et al. 2002: 383–4 and 446–7). This contemporaneity is argued on the basis of *MDP* 10, 2. In *MDP* 10 Scheil published a group of twenty-eight texts which mention a person named Kûyâ.¹¹ In these texts, all but one of which are *zi-ga* records, sheep are being expended for several purposes (for *gūšum* and *ḥatāpi* offerings, for banquets, to temples . . .) by several people. In almost all cases, the sheep are being expended at Kûyâ's place (ki Kûyâ):¹² in other words, this is a coherent group of texts that can be dated to within the time span of the life of Kûyâ. The seal of Adad-rabi, son of Rīm-Adad, servant of Atta-ḥušu is impressed on six of these Kûyâ texts (*MDP* 10: 2, 11, 17, 21, 22 and 32), leading to the conclusion that Atta-ḥušu ruled in Susa during Kûyâ's life. On one of these Kûyâ texts (*MDP* 10, 2) we read on the left edge: *mu ša šu-mu-a-bi*. Vallat (1996a: 310–11, cf. also Steve et al. 2002: 383–4 and

10 Cf. Charpin 2004: 80–87.

11 *MDP* 10, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 40 and 44. The tablets of the Kûyâ dossier as well as the other tablets published in *MDP* 10 are discussed in depth in my forthcoming *A Socio-Economic History of the Early Sukkalmahat*.

12 For the interpretation of ki Kûyâ as "at Kûyâ's place" and the *zi-ga* (*šà*) PN₁ ki PN₂ formula, cf. my forthcoming *A Socio-Economic History of the Early Sukkalmahat*.

446–7) considers this line to be a variant of Sumu-abum “of Babylon”’s first year formula, hence the contemporaneity between Atta-ḥušu and Sumu-abum.

Grillot and Glassner (1993) have argued that the Šumu-abi from *MDP* 10, 2 could not have been the first king of Babylon, and I concur with these authors.

First, the lack of the word LUGAL on *MDP* 10, 2 – a word that is incontestably part of the typical expression used in year formulae of the type mu RN lugal “Year RN became king” – rules out that the expression on *MDP* 10, 2’s left edge could be a proper year formula.

Moreover, Charpin (2004: 85–6) has convincingly proposed that Sumu-abum never reigned in Babylon and consequently never had any year names – the ones extant in date lists being an artificial construct of later scribes. This is not to say that Sumu-abum was not an important person in his time: he would have been a kind of Amorite “overlord” whose authority was recognized in several cities under the rule of local Amorite kings, mainly in northern Babylonia. This was expressed in oaths taken by him and the local king.

Furthermore, there are no historical sources suggesting that Susa was ever under any form of control of Sumu-abum.

But how should we then interpret mu šà šu-mu-a-bi? First, as I mentioned earlier, there is no LUGAL at the end, which is odd if this should be a year name. Further, the Sumerian MU is used to express both “year” (Akk. *šattu*) and “name” (Akk. *šumu*) and ŠÀ is commonly used in Susa to express the Akkadian determinative and relative pronouns *ša* (De Meyer 1962: 43–6 and Salonen 1962: 11). Furthermore, the same Šumu-abum appears in another Kûyâ text, *MDP* 10, 21, where he is the official responsible (GIR) for the transaction. As Grillot and Glassner (1993) noted, the signs GIR and MU seem to be interchangeable in the Kûyâ texts, as can be seen from *MDP* 10, 16, 25 and 35 where MU lú kin.gi₄.a is used, vs. *MDP* 10, 19, 33 and 36 where GIR lú kin.gi₄.a is used in the same context. We can therefore conclude that mu šà šu-mu-a-bi (*MDP* 10, 2: 16) is simply a variant of gir šu-mu-a-bu-um (*MDP* 10, 21: 7) meaning “In the name of / under the responsibility of Šumu-abum”.¹³ Hence, there is no synchronism between Atta-ḥušu and Sumu-abum “of Babylon”.

Gungunum of Larsa (1837–1811 BCE) and Atta-ḥušu

The second argument is the contemporaneity between Gungunum of Larsa and Atta-ḥušu. Indeed, Vallat states that Gungunum installed Atta-ḥušu on the throne in Susa during his second campaign against Elam in the fifth year of his reign,¹⁴ viz. 1834 BCE (Vallat 1996a: 310–11; Steve et al. 2002: 446–7). He deduces this from the year name mentioned on *MDP* 10, 124: mu é^dinana larsa^{ki} ba.du¹⁵

13 The fact that the scribe added the Akkadian relative pronoun *ša* between the MU and the personal name seems to indicate that even if he was trained in Sumerian, it was certainly not his mother tongue (this might have been Akkadian or even Elamite). The same is seen in other Kûyâ texts where zi.ga PN and zi.ga šà PN are interchangeable (cf. De Graef, forthcoming). For other examples of the use of ŠÀ for the Akkadian relative pronoun *ša* in Sumerian texts, cf. Heimpel 2009: 23–4.

14 G 5: mu an-ša-an^{ki} ba.ḥul “Year Anšan was destroyed” (cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yearnames).

15 The last sign is not clear: it is possible that the scribe made a mistake in twice writing the sign BA, and then correcting the second BA into a DÙ.

“Year the temple of Inana in Larsa was built”, which is Gungunum’s sixteenth year name. The fact that a tablet from Susa¹⁶ should bear a year name of a king of Larsa is remarkable and, moreover, unique. Stolper (1982: 56, cf. also Carter and Stolper 1984: 23), interprets this as evidence of a short period of Larsa domination in the Susiana region and rules out the possibility of longer Mesopotamian control of the region at this time.

However, as Gungunum only campaigned against the East (Bašime and Anšan) in the second and fourth years of his reign,¹⁷ it is impossible that a short Larsa interlude in Susa would have lasted until his sixteenth year – all the more since *MDP* 10, 124 is the only Susa tablet bearing a Larsa year name. In other words, this tablet cannot be adduced as proof of longstanding Larsa rule in Susa, since it requires that Gungunum would never have had the power to put Atta-ḫušu on the throne there.

A more fundamental problem is that whereas the link with Gungunum is clear, however we interpret it, nothing in this tablet refers to Atta-ḫušu. Why was such a reference ever supposed to exist? Most probably, the 126 administrative tablets published in 1908 by Father Vincent Scheil in *MDP* 10 were found during the 1898–99 excavation season headed by J. de Morgan on the Acropolis of Susa.¹⁸ Scheil (*MDP* 10: 14) presumed that they all dated from the same period, i.e. the period of Atta-ḫušu. However, he noted two exceptions, texts bearing Ur III year names,¹⁹ and collation revealed a third one from the same period. My study of the *MDP* 10 texts showed that certain groups, such as the Kûyâ dossier, indeed date from Atta-ḫušu’s time, for others this cannot be determined. This same Kûyâ dossier allows us to conclude, as I will demonstrate in this article, that Atta-ḫušu was contemporaneous with Šilḫaḫa and Ebarat II, who are dated to c. 1880 BCE by Vallat and others. The Susa tablet with the Gungunum year name is to be dated to 1822 BCE, some fifty-eight years later. Since he was in power fifty-eight years before, Atta-ḫušu cannot have been promoted by Gungunum and they could hardly even have been contemporaries. In all probability, the *MDP* 10 volume contains some coherent groups but also some loose tablets, such as the much earlier Ur III texts and the later Gungunum document.²⁰

The argument for a synchrony between Gungunum and Atta-ḫušu cannot really be upheld on this basis.

16 As this tablet mentions a month name that is typical for the Susa calendar (*MDP* 10, 124: 7: itu a.šà-dingir.ra-še.kin.kud), its origin seems to be certain (or a Susean scribe would have been writing this tablet in Larsa after which the tablet was transferred to Susa where it was found by de Morgan at the end of the nineteenth century).

17 G 3: mu *ba-ši-mi*^{ki} ba.ḫul “Year Bašimi was destroyed”; G 4: mu ús.sa *ba-ši-mi*^{ki} ba.ḫul “Year after the year Bašimi was destroyed”; G 5 cf. above. As is customary, these year names refer to events in the previous year.

18 Cf. *MDP* 1: 133 and 129 and de Graef, *A Socio-Economic History of the Early Sukkalmaha*, forthcoming.

19 *MDP* 10, 121 (I-S 2), 125 (A-S 5) and 126 (A-S 4), cf. *MDP* 54: ch. 4. Note that cdli.ucla.edu considers *MDP* 10, 3 and 4 also to be Ur III texts. *MDP* 10, 4 belongs to the Kûyâ dossier and is to be dated Ebarat II/Atta-ḫušu.

20 In my forthcoming *A Socio-Economic History of the Early Sukkalmaha* all *MDP* 10 tablets are discussed.

The Pala-iššan group and Atta-ḥušu

The third argument is the fact that Atta-ḥušu is to be dated after the Pala-iššan group, consisting of the Sukkalmahḥ Pala-iššan and his immediate successors Kuk-kirmaš, Kuk-Nahundi and Kuk-Našur (Vallat 1989a; 1996a: 304 and 309–311; 2007: 84 and Steve et al. 2002: 445–6). In his most recent reconstruction of the genealogy and chronology of the early Sukkalmahḥs, Vallat (2007) places Temti-Agun I between Šilhaha and Pala-iššan, thus creating a group of five Sukkalmahḥs (Temti-Agun I, Pala-iššan, Kuk-kirmaš, Kuk-Nahundi and Kuk-Našur) who reigned after Ebarat II and Šilhaha.

He situates Atta-ḥušu after this Pala-iššan group on the basis of his reconstruction of the family tree of Adad-rabi, a servant of Atta-ḥušu (Vallat 1989a). As mentioned above, the seal of Adad-rabi, son of Rīm-Adad, servant of Atta-ḥušu, is rolled on six tablets belonging to the Kûyâ dossier (*MDP* 10, 2, 11, 17, 21, 22 and 32). The seal of Adad-rabi's father is also known (*MDP* 43: n 1682 and 1683). Its legend reads: Rīm-Adad, scribe (dub.sar), son of Ibni-Adad, servant of Atta-ḥušu. Note that both father and son were servants of Atta-ḥušu, which not only means that Atta-ḥušu's rule must have been rather long, but that the Kûyâ texts date from the later part of Atta-ḥušu's reign as the son was already in service. The crucial point of this argument is that, according to Vallat (1989a), the seal of Ibni-Adad, father of Rīm-Adad and thus grandfather of Adad-rabi is to be found in an early publication of Scheil (1926) where he reads [Ib]ni-[Adad], dub.sar, son of Hašduk, servant of Pala-iššan. Although, in reality, the first line of this seal legend only has the signs NI and DINGIR, Vallat completes it to [ib]-ni-^d[iškur] and identifies this dub.sar with the assistant or vice *teppir* (egir *teppir*) Ibni-Adad, who served under Atta-ḥušu according to the inscription on a bronze *gunaggu* vessel, published by Sollberger (1968). On the basis of this seal legend and inscription, Vallat (1989a) reconstructs the family tree shown in Figure 1, from which it is clear that Ibni-Adad served first under Pala-iššan and later under Atta-ḥušu.

As the five successors of Pala-iššan are known, Atta-ḥušu must have reigned after this group of six rulers according to Vallat.

However, in my opinion, it is impossible to complete the first line of the seal legend as [ib]-ni-^d[iškur]. It is obvious that the first part of the name was *Ibni-*, but there is not enough space left after the DINGIR to write an IŠKUR, as can be seen on the drawing in Scheil 1926 (Figure 2). Most probably, there was either a small sign such as UTU (Ibni-Šamaš), or no sign at all after the DINGIR (Ibni-ilum). Unfortunately, this seal legend cannot be collated, as nobody knows where the seal impression in question is to be found.²¹

Furthermore, even if the seal belonged to an Ibni-Adad, the grounds for identifying him with the grandfather of Adad-rabi are inadequate: the similarity in name would not be enough and neither would the difference in title add anything to the argument.

21 Scheil (1926) does not mention where the seal impression was found nor where it was kept (Susa, Tehran or Paris?). Apparently, it has been "lost" since the early 1970s, cf. Amiet in 1972: "Nous n'avons pas retrouvé l'empreinte du cylindre d'*Ibni* . . . , *filis de Hashduk, serviteur de Pala-ishshan*, . . . : V. SCHEIL, *RA XXIII* (1926), p. 36 —. . . ." (*MDP* 43: 258, n.3).

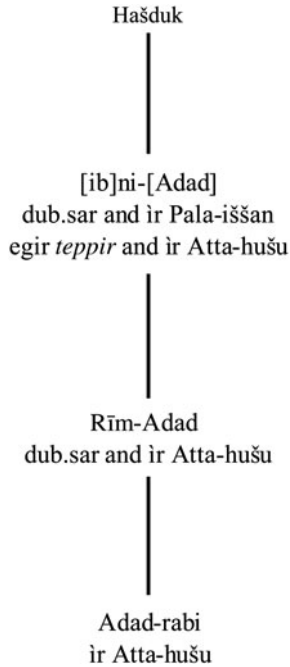


Figure 1. Vallat's reconstruction of the family tree

In conclusion, the supposed family relations between Adad-rabi and Ibni-Adad cannot be upheld and so the assumption that Pala-iššan (and his five successors)²² reigned before Atta-ḥušu loses all ground.

Arguments to date Atta-ḥušu at the beginning of the Sukkalmaḥat

Now that the arguments for a later date have been examined and proved unconvincing, I will present my arguments for dating Atta-ḥušu earlier, viz. to the time of Ebarat II and Šilhaha.

As we saw above, the texts of the Ašiši dossier (*MDP* 55, 20 and 26) mention Atta-ḥušu and Šilhaha, the Susa document published by De Meyer (1973) mentions Ebarat II and Šilhaha. These three rulers must thus have been (at least partially) contemporaneous, which means that Atta-ḥušu must be situated at the beginning of the Sukkalmaḥat. We will now see that texts belonging to the Kûyâ dossier confirm this.

The Kûyâ dossier (*MDP* 10)

All 27 *zi-ga* records in the Kûyâ dossier are sealed. As we have seen, six of these tablets are sealed by Adad-rabi, son of Rīm-Adad, servant of Atta-ḥušu (*MDP*

22 The fact that, according to Vallat, Ibni-Adad would have been the servant of seven successive rulers might seem impossible in terms of longevity. This cannot, at present, be used as an argument to invalidate his hypothesis however, since in Susa and Elam several people could rule at the same time, on different levels of power, as we shall see.



Figure 2. Drawing from Scheil 1926. Reproduced with permission.

10, 2, 11, 17, 21, 22 and 32). Eight others are sealed by Šū-Baba, son of Rīb-Narte, servant of Ebarat²³ (*MDP* 10, 4, 6, 7, 9, 13, 30, 40 and 44). Apart from Kûyâ, who is mentioned in all of the texts, two suppliers of small cattle, Duldulum and Durpipi, are mentioned on tablets sealed by Adad-rabi or Šū-Baba, as seen in Table 1.

This means that at least three people, Kûyâ, Duldulum and Durpipi, were active during the reigns of both Ebarat and Atta-ḥušu, or in other words, that both Ebarat and Atta-ḥušu reigned during the professionally active part of the lives of Kûyâ, Duldulum and Durpipi, and were therefore no doubt at least partly contemporary.

Other sources

There is a Šimašgian king list and a so-called genealogy of Šilhak-Inšušinak which have been variously interpreted in the past. We are now better placed to establish whether their comparison with information culled from administrative, legal and economic documents allows us to understand them better.

The Šimašgian king list

Only one of our three leading figures, Ebarat, is mentioned in the Šimašgian king list (Scheil 1931 and *MDP* 23: IV): he is the ninth ruler, preceded by Tan-Ruhurater (8) and followed by three more rulers: Idattu II (10), Idattu-napir (11) and Idattu-temti (12).

Table 1. Duldulum and Durpipi as mentioned on tablets sealed by Adad-rabi or Šū-Baba

	Duldulum	Durpipi
Sealed by Adad-rabi, servant of Atta-ḥušu	<i>MDP</i> 10, 2	<i>MDP</i> 10, 11
Sealed by Šū-Baba servant of Ebarat	<i>MDP</i> 10, 7, 13 and 30	<i>MDP</i> 10, 6, 7 and 9

23 *šu*-^dba-ba₆ *dumu ri-ib-^rna-ar-te^r ir e-ba-ra-at*.

It is known that three Šimašĳian kings, Kirname, Tazitta and Ebarat, were contemporaries²⁴ so here again, rulers listed as sequential were in fact simultaneous and doubt was cast on the chronological reliability of this document. However, Steinkeller (2007: 221–2) has published a new inscription of Idattu I, who described himself as the grandson of Ebarat I and the son of Kindattu. Hence, Steinkeller concluded that at least for the line of Ebarat I, the Šimašĳian king list is to be considered a genuine chronological source. However, since this is not true for other early Šimašĳian rulers, the question arises as to whether this is true for the later Šimašĳian rulers – the list is, after all, a copy from Hammurabi’s time (Scheil 1931: 2).

An important question is why Ebarat II is included in this list, while his contemporaries Šilhaha and Atta-ĥušu are not. Does this imply that Šilhaha or Atta-ĥušu were not of Šimašĳian descent? I do not think so²⁵ and will propose another reason for their “exclusion” below.

The king list and the Kûyâ archive

The Kûyâ archive sheds further light on the chronology of the names mentioned in the list:

- *The Kûyâ archive: Idattu-napir ~ Atta-ĥušu.* Tablets from this archive indicate that at least one of Ebarat II’s successors in the Šimašĳian kinglist, Idattu-napir, was a contemporary of Atta-ĥušu (and thus also of Šilhaha and Ebarat II). *MDP* 10, 21, a tablet sealed by Adad-rabi, servant of Atta-ĥušu, records the expenditure of seven fattened male sheep by Idattu-napir at Kûyâ’s place, indicating that Idattu-napir ruled (a part of) the Šimašĳian land(s) while Atta-ĥušu ruled in Susa.
- *The Kûyâ archive: Idattu I ~ end Šimašĳi, beginning Sukkalmahĳ ~ Atta-ĥušu.* Two other Kûyâ texts, *MDP* 10, 16 and 27, record the expenditure of sheep at Kûyâ’s place by Šû-Rimku, who is also mentioned in the tablets from B VI ancien (*MDP* 55, 4) and B V ancien (*MDP* 55, 48, 49 and 58) – as well as in other Susa texts²⁶ – and whose seal legend reads Šû-Rimku, physician, son of

24 Cf. most recently Steinkeller 2007: 221. Until then, it was assumed that these contemporaries were to be identified with the first three kings in the ŠKL, viz. Kirname, Tazitta I and Ebarat I. However, in his reconstruction of the family tree of the Šimašĳian dynasty in his article for the Stolper Festschrift (forthcoming a), Steinkeller believes this to be Ebarat I (3rd king ŠKL), Tazitta II (4th king ŠKL) and a second Kirname, brother of Ebarat I, who is not mentioned in the Šimašĳian king list, all of them dated during the reigns of Amar-Sîn and Šu-Sîn of Ur.

25 There are a number of other Šimašĳians known to us from both Mesopotamian and Elamite sources who are not included in the Šimašĳian king list either: Badadu, explicitly called Šimašĳian (LÜ.SU), who was involved in the conflict between the Ur III state and the Šimašĳian lands in Šulgi 46 (Steinkeller 2007: 217 n. 12), Hundah(i)-šer who ruled Anšan (the south-eastern border of the Šimašĳian lands according to the Šû-Sîn inscription *RIME* 3/2 E3/2.1.4.3–6) in Šulgi 44 contemporary with Ebarat I (Steinkeller 2007: 219 fn. 16) and Imazu, son of Kindattu (sixth ruler in the Šimašĳian king list), who was king of Anšan (*MDP* 43, nr 1679).

26 *MDP* 18, 119 and 130 and *MDP* 28, 427, 479 and 551. For Šû-Rimku, cf. *MDP* 55, ch. 4 sub 2.2.1. and 2.2.2. as well as de Graef (forthcoming) *A Socio-Economic History of the Early Sukkalmahĳat*.

Puzur-Ištar, servant of Idattu who in all probability is Idattu I²⁷ (*MDP* 43, nr 2325).²⁸ In other words, Šū-Rimku, who served under Idattu I, is attested in administrative Susa texts that can be dated with certainty to the end of the so-called Šimaškan dynasty (B VI ancien) and the beginning of the Sukkalmahāt (B V ancien and Kûyâ dossier). The three seals of the scribe Sir-ahu-pitir, who calls himself a servant of Idattu (I or II)²⁹ in two of them and a servant of Atta-ḥušu in the third³⁰, point in the same direction.

The Cylindroid of Atta-ḥušu: the exclusion of Šilhaha and Atta-ḥušu explained?

Recently, Glassner³¹ proposed, after collation, a new interpretation of the so-called Cylindroid of Atta-ḥušu (*MDP* 28, 4), an inscription ordered by Atta-ḥušu to commemorate his (re)building of a temple for Nanna, in which he mentions both Ebarat II and Šilhaha.³² Based on his new reading of the inscription, Glassner puts forward the theory that Ebarat II ruled as king over Anšan and Susa while Šilhaha, being his Sukkalmah, exercised authority in his name over Elam and/or Šimaški. He refers to an inscription published by Steinkeller (2007) in which Kiten-rakittapi, Sukkalmah of Elam and *teppir*, calls himself a servant of Idadu, king of Anšan, Šimaški and Elam.³³ Steinkeller (2007: 222 n. 29) concluded from this inscription that the

27 It goes without saying that it is impossible to prove whether this is Idattu I or Idattu II. It is, however, very likely that Šū-Rimku served under Idattu I, cf. Seidl 1990, *MDP* 55: 47–9, Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2009: 6–9, 11–15, 17–9 and 44 and my forthcoming *A Socio-Economic History of the Early Sukkalmahāt*.

28 *MDP* 43: 2325: (1) *šū-ri-im-ku* a.zu (2) [dumu] *pū-zur₈-iš₈-tār* (3) [ir] *i-da-du*.

29 Again, it is impossible to prove whether this is Idattu I or Idattu II. Mofidi-Nasrabadi (2009: 9–10, 13–14, 17–9, 21, 46, 48 and 66) believes Sir-ahu-pitir served under Idattu II. I will return to this in *A Socio-Economic History of the Early Sukkalmahāt* (forthcoming).

30 *MDP* 28: 44: (1) *i-da-du* (2) *énsi* (3) *mùš.erin^{KI}* (4) *si-ir-a-hu-pi-ti-ir* (5) *dub.sar ir.zu* “Oh, Idadu, ensi of Susa, Sir-ahu-pitir, scribe, is your servant”, *MDP* 43, 2326: (1) *^di-da-du* (2) *sipa ^dutu* (3) [ki].*’ág’* *mùš.erin^{KI}* (4) [nita?] *’kala’.ga* (5) *si-ir-[a-hu]-pi-ti-[ir]* (6) *dub.[sar]* (7) *ir.[zu]* “Oh, Idadu, shepherd of Šamaš, beloved one of Susa, strong [man?], Sir-ahu-pitir, scribe, (is) your servant” and *MDP* 43, 2327: (1) *si-ir-a-hu-pi-ti-ir* (2) *dub.sar* (3) *dumu in-zu-zu* (4) *ir at-tá-hu-šu* “Sir-ahu-pitir, scribe, son of Inzuzu, servant of Atta-ḥušu”.

31 “Les premiers Sukkalmah et les derniers rois de Šimaški”, paper read by Glassner at the International Congress “Susa and Elam. Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives” held at Ghent University, December 14–17, 2009 and to be published in the Proceedings (Ed. K. De Graef and J. Tavernier). I thank the author for permission to cite his paper before publication.

32 (1) *e-ba-ra-at* (2) *lugal an-ša-an* *ù mùš.erin^{KI}* (3) *ší-il-ha-ha* (4) *sukkal. ’mah’* (5) *ad.da ’kalam’* (6) *an-ša-an* *ù ’mùš.erin-àm* (7) *at-tá-hu-šu* (8) *sukkal* *ù <te> -ep-pi-ir* *ud.mùš.erin^{KI}* (9) *dumu.nin₉* *ší-il-ha-ha* (10) *é ^dnanna* (11) *ba.dù* (collated by Glassner) “For Ebarat, king of Anšan and Susa, Šilhaha, being Sukkalmah and father of the land of Anšan and Susa, Atta-ḥušu, son of the sister of Šilhaha, built the temple of Nanna” (translation after Glassner).

33 (1) *^di-da-du* (2) *dumu-dumu ^de-ba-ra-at* (3) *dumu ^dki-in-da-du* (4) *sipad ^dutu* (5) *ki-ág ^dinana* (6) *lugal an-ša-an^{KI}* (7) *lugal ší-ma-aš-ki* *ù elam-ma* (8) *ki-te-en-ra-ki-it-tá-pi* (9) *sukkal-mah elam-ma* *ù te-ep-pi-ir* (10) *árad-da-a-ni* (11) *mu-na-dím* “For Idattu, grandson of Ebarat, son of Kindattu, the shepherd of Utu, the beloved one of Inana,

Table 2. Šimaškian kinglist (Scheil 1931 and *MDP* 23: IV)

(1)	Kirname
(2)	Tazitta I
(3)	Ebarat I
(4)	Tazitta II
(5)	Lu- ^r x-x-ak [?] -luhhan
(6)	Kindattu
(7)	Idattu I
(8)	Tan-Ruhurater
(9)	Ebarat II
(10)	Idattu II
(11)	Idattu-napir
(12)	Idattu-temti

Sukkalmah of Elam was a deputy of the king of Anšan and that the later (Old-Babylonian) Sukkalmahs of Susa were also dependent on the rulers of Anšan. This is certainly true for the Šimaškian and transitional periods and the early Sukkalmahat.³⁴ Adding Atta-ḥušu to the equation we can conclude that Ebarat II, Šilhaha and Atta-ḥušu exercised their power each on a different level and/or in a different area but, as we saw above, at the same time. While Ebarat II ruled as king over Anšan and Susa, Šilhaha was his Sukkalmah in Elam (or Šimaški and Elam) and Atta-ḥušu was his sukkal and *teppir* in Susa. This could explain why only Ebarat II was mentioned in the Šimaškian king list: the other two were not kings in their own right.

The so-called genealogy of Šilhak-Inšušinak

This is a Middle Elamite royal inscription (König 1965: nos 48/a/b), not giving the ancestors of Šilhak-Inšušinak as its (erroneous) modern name might suggest, but listing the earlier kings who built and/or restored temples in Susa. The text mentions our three key figures: Ebarat, Šilhaha and Atta-ḥušu. It goes without saying that this list is incomplete as it only mentions the rulers who built and/or restored temples, but it can be demonstrated that a number of the rulers are not given in chronological order. Of interest to us is that between Ebarat II and Šilhaha on the one hand, and Atta-ḥušu on the other, three rulers are mentioned: Širuktuh, Šiwe-palar-huppak and Kuk-kirwaš.³⁵ With certainty all of

king of Anšan, king of Šimaški and Elam, Kiten-rakittapi, the chancellor of Elam and the high judge, his servant, fashioned (this object) for him” (Steinkeller 2007: 221–2).

34 Cf. my forthcoming *A Socio-Economic History of the Early Sukkalmahat*.

35 König 1965: 48 §2 and 48a + b §3: “Ebarat, Šilhaha šak hatik Ebarat, Širuktuh ruhu šak Šilhaha, Šiwe-palar-huppak ruhu šak Širuktuh, Kuk-kirwaš šak Lankuku, Atta-ḥušu ruhu šak Šilhaha . . .” “... Ebarat, Šilhaha beloved son of Ebarat, Širuktuh legitimate descendant of Šilhaha, Šiwe-palar-huppak legitimate descendant of Širuktuh, Kuk-kirwaš son of Lankuku, Atta-ḥušu legitimate descendant of Šilhaha . . .”. For the translation of *ruhu šak* as “legitimate descendant”, cf. Steve et al. 2002: 444–5.

them can be dated later than the reigns of Ebarat II, Šilhaha and Atta-ḥušu: Širuktuḥ is mentioned in a letter of Shemshara, dated during the reign of Samsî-Addu (1710–1679 BCE),³⁶ Šiwe-palar-huppak is mentioned on several occasions in the Mari archive, showing that he ruled at the same time as Zimri-Lim of Mari (c. 1671–1659 BCE) and Hammurabi of Babylon (1696–1654 BCE),³⁷ and Kuk-kirwaš ruled (at least partly) at the same time as Pala-iššan, as they are mentioned together in the oaths of *MDP* 24: 348 and 349.

The chronological mix-up has everything to do with the fact that this list was compiled some 300 years after the Sukkalmah period. This must have been done on the basis of earlier inscriptions that the scribe of the “genealogy” tried to integrate into his document. The sequence Šilhaha – Širuktuḥ and Šiwe-palar-huppak could stem from a single inscription because the names are linked: Širuktuḥ is called the ruḥu šak of Šilhaha and Šiwe-palar-huppak is the ruḥu šak of Širuktuḥ. It could well be that the scribe did not want to interrupt this sequence and placed Kuk-Kirwaš and Atta-ḥušu, who should have come between them, after them.

Other factors may have played a role, such as the wrong ordering of the rulers to be included, as Steinkeller (2007) showed for the very beginning of the list, where the Šimaškian kings are placed in the wrong order.

In other words, the “genealogy” cannot be used as such for chronological purposes.

A new element in the debate: a very odd receipt of silver

I recently published a receipt of silver (*MDP* 55, 20) and examined its orthographical peculiarities and its important chronological implications. Since there has been some debate about it³⁸ I will summarize my arguments and the debate about them. My original interpretation of this text³⁹ will be supplemented with some new ideas, as well as a discussion of recent proposals by Vallat (2009) and Glassner (forthcoming). Finally I will interpret it within its archaeological and archival context as well as within the knowledge and understanding we have so far of the so-called Šimaškian and Sukkalmah periods.

For the present chronological discussion, the interesting part of this text is the oath formula.

36 Cf. Læssøe 1965: 194.

37 Cf. Durand 1986: 111–15 and Charpin 1990: 112.

38 In a recent note Vallat (2009) suggests that my chronological proposals are based on four lines of one single text (*MDP* 55, 20, lines 6–9) which, according to him, I misread and misunderstood. This is not so, as can be read in my *MDP* 55, ch. 4. In the present article too, the text and lines in question have hardly been mentioned up to now and yet I have been able to prove, entirely on the basis of other sources, that Ebarat II, Šilhaha and Atta-ḥušu were contemporaries, which is my main point of divergence from the “traditional” chronology.

39 An initial analysis of the text is given in *MDP* 55: 102–05.

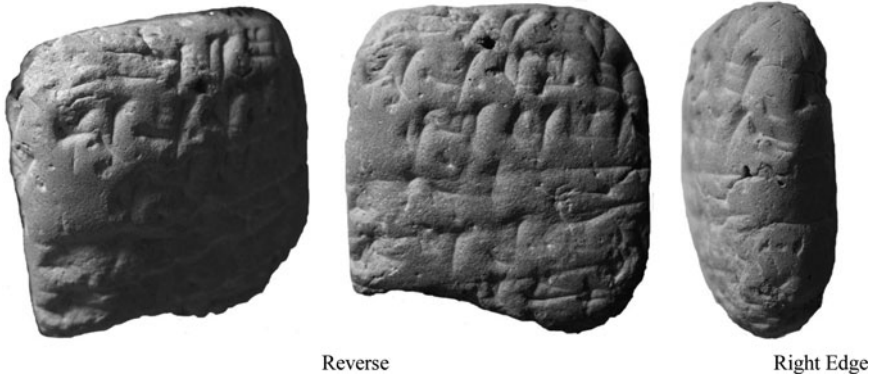


Figure 3. The oath formula of *MDP 55, 20* (Rev. 6–9). Courtesy of the National Museum of Iran.

The oath formula of *MDP 55, 20* (Rev. 6–9)

- Rev. 6. ^ˆ*ni-iš* *a-ta-*
 7. *hu-šu ù ma/pá-*
 8. *ar ki-da/iš/ša-^ˆtum*
 9. ^ˆ*it*-*mu-[ú/ù]*⁴⁰

This oath formula is phrased in an unusual way. The scribe chose to use the Akkadian *nīš* instead of the commonly used Sumerian *MU* to start with, which is only rarely seen in Old-Babylonian Susa texts. The part between the *nīš* “by the life of” on line 6 and the *itmû* “they swore” on line 9, or in other words, by whose life or lives the oath was taken, is even more enigmatic. The only clear and indubitable thing is the first name after the *nīš*: although the scribe used an atypical spelling and, moreover split up the name, writing the first part on the second half of the sixth line and the second part on the beginning of the seventh line – a practice inconceivable in the Mesopotamian scribal tradition – this clearly is *Atta-ḫušū* (*a-ta-* / *-hu-šu*). The key question, however, is who or what is mentioned after *Atta-ḫušū*. Due to the severe wear of the reverse of the tablet as well as the clumsiness with which this clearly inexperienced scribe wrote the cuneiform signs, this particular passage can be read and interpreted in different ways.

Depending (a) on how one interprets the *ù* after *Atta-ḫušū*’s name – is it the conjunction “and” or is it the lengthening of the final vowel of the preceding personal name? – and (b) on how one reads the last sign on line 7 – *MA* or *BA* – three interpretations are possible:

- (1) *nīš Atta-ḫušū ù PN itmû* “By the life of *Atta-ḫušū* and *PN* they swore”
- (2) *nīš Atta-ḫušū ù mar PN itmû* “By the life of *Atta-ḫušū* and the son of *PN* they swore”
- (3) *nīš Atta-ḫušū mar PN itmû* “By the life of *Atta-ḫušū*, son of *PN*, they swore”

40 It is possible that the scribe wrote a lengthening vowel after ^ˆ*it*-*mu* (cf. also *MDP 28, 416: 29*). If he did, it might have been *ù* or *ú*, as both are attested in Susa (e.g. *MDP 22, 62: 26* and *MDP 22, 9: 8*’).

In se, option (1) seems to be most likely: it is perfectly logical that an oath would be taken by the lives of Atta-ḥušu and a co-ruler or subordinate, or by Atta-ḥušu and a divinity. However, the lack of a /dingir/ determinative preceding the second personal name rules out the latter. The following readings are possible for the co-ruler or subordinate: (1) Marq/kištum: *ma-* / *-ar-ki-iš-^rtum* (MDP 55: 23–4 and 104–5), (2) Marq/kidatum: *ma-* / *-ar-ki-da-^rtum* (MDP 55: 23–4 and 104–5), (3) Par-Kištum: *pá-* / *ar-ki-iš-^rtum* (Vallat 2009) and (4) Par-Kišatum: *pá-* / *ar-ki-ša-^rtum* (Glassner, forthcoming).

None of these personal names is ever attested elsewhere, either in Elam or in Mesopotamia. It is strange, but of course possible, that a co-ruler or subordinate of Atta-ḥušu was not yet mentioned in one of the hundreds of administrative texts or royal inscriptions from Susa that came to us. However, we would expect Atta-ḥušu's colleague to have a proper Elamite name, as all rulers, Šimaškian or Epartid, had, and this seems, apart from the possible first part being *Par-*, not to be the case here.

Options (2) and (3) are less likely at first sight: taking an oath before somebody and the son of somebody else, without actually naming this son, or adding the patronym in an oath formula is quite remarkable and to my knowledge unseen. Combining the last sign on line 7, MA, with the first one on line 8, AR, yields the Akkadian construct state *mār* “son of”, which produces the following possible readings: (1) *ma-ar qí-iš-^rtum* “son of Qīštum” and (2) *ma-ar ki-da-^rtum* “son of Kidatum”. In other words, the oath was taken before Atta-ḥušu and a son of either Qīštum or Kidatum, or, if the *ù* is part of his name, Atta-ḥušu was the son of either Qīštum or Kidatum. No Qīštum or son of Qīštum can be linked to Atta-ḥušu or Susa. Moreover, we would expect Atta-ḥušu's or his co-ruler's father to have an Elamite name and certainly not an Akkadian one like Qīštum. This leaves us with Kidatum, which makes indeed much more sense, as it can be interpreted as a variant or atypical spelling of the name of the Šimaškian king Kindattu – as this text contains several atypical spellings (cf. my discussion of these in MDP 55) this is not at all improbable. So, this means that Atta-ḥušu either ruled together with a son of Kindattu or was a son of Kindattu himself. Chronologically speaking, the implications are the same.

Two sons of Kindattu are known to us by name: Imazu, king of Anšan⁴¹ and Idattu I, king of Anšan, Šimaški and Elam.⁴² We saw earlier that a servant of Idattu I, Šū-Rimku, is attested in administrative Susa texts that can be dated with certainty to the period in which Atta-ḥušu ruled (B V ancien and Kûyâ dossier). Did Atta-ḥušu's rule begin under (or shortly after?) the reign of king Idattu I, and did he continue under his successor king Ebarat II? This seems indeed very plausible. However, the fact that a scribe would write “son of Kindattu” instead of giving his name Idattu (who was after all king) and, moreover, mention Atta-ḥušu, who was no doubt lower in rank, before him, does not make sense.

Was the oath taken before just one person, Atta-ḥušu, son of Kindattu? Why then would the author or scribe of a contract want or consider it necessary to mention the descent of the ruler by whose life the oath was taken? The only

41 MDP 43, 1679: (1) *i-ma-zu* (2) DUMU *ki-in-da-du* (3) LUGAL *an-ša-an-na^{KI}*.

42 Steinkeller 2007: 221–2.

reason I can see is that it was to legitimize the authority of a newly installed (but perhaps relatively unknown) ruler. Was this contract written shortly after Atta-ḥušu took power in Susa? Did the author or scribe want to legitimate Atta-ḥušu's rights to the throne by mentioning that he was a son of the famous Šimaškian ruler Kindattu?

I think it is fair to say that none of the proposed readings of the part of the oath after the name of Atta-ḥušu is completely compelling. One thing is certain though: either the oath was taken by the life of Atta-ḥušu and another person, which implies Atta-ḥušu ruled (at least partly) together with another person; or the oath was taken by Atta-ḥušu who was the son of the second person – be it Qīštum, Kidatum or Kišatum.

Since only two personal names are attested elsewhere: Atta-ḥušu and Ki(n)datum, it seems most likely (for now) that this enigmatic passage should be interpreted as an oath taken by either the lives of Atta-ḥušu and the son of Kindattu, or the life of Atta-ḥušu, son of Kindattu.

Chronologically both options have the same implication: that Atta-ḥušu belonged to the generation of Kindattu's children or was himself a son of this king. The key question therefore is: is it chronologically possible, in the light of what is known with certainty about Atta-ḥušu (that he reigned contemporaneously with Ebarat II and Šilhaha), that he was a son of Kindattu or a contemporary of Kindattu's sons?

Atta-ḥušu (contemporary of a) son of Kindattu?

Kindattu played a part in the final collapse of the Ur III empire in Mesopotamia in 1911 BCE. Since he is mentioned in *BIN* 9, 382 (*ki-in-da-du lú elam^{KI}*), dating from the nineteenth year of reign of Išbi-Erra, we know he was still alive in 1903 BCE. It is even possible that he was still alive eight or nine years later, since the formulae of the 27th and 28th year of reign of Išbi-Erra⁴³ mention that he rolled back “the Elamite who was dwelling in Ur”, who might have been Kindattu. Steve et al. (2002: 383–4) date the reigns of Ebarat II and Šilhaha to around 1880 BCE. As he ruled at the same time, Atta-ḥušu's reign is also to be situated around this date. In other words, it is, purely chronologically, possible that Atta-ḥušu was a son of Kindattu or a contemporary of his sons.

This is also shown by the fact that Šū-Rimku, a physician and servant of Idattu I, who claims to be a son of Kindattu (Steinkeller 2007: 221–2), is attested in texts that can be dated with certainty to the period during which Atta-ḥušu ruled in Susa (B V ancien and Kûyâ dossier). It seems therefore quite plausible that Atta-ḥušu began his rule under or shortly after the reign of king Idattu I. He continued to rule under Idattu I's successor Ebarat II and most probably even later under the latter's successor Šilhaha when he rose from Sukkalmaḥ under Ebarat II to be king. If Atta-ḥušu served under two or three kings, it would seem that he ruled, albeit on a local Susean level, for a long time.

43 I-E 27: mu elam ša urī^{KI}-ma durum-a^{giš}tukul kalag-ga-ni im-ta-e₁₁ “Year (Išbi-Erra the king) brought out of Ur, with his strong weapon, the Elamite who was dwelling in its midst” and I-E 28: mu ús-sa elam ša urī^{KI}-ma durum-a^{giš}tukul kalag-ga-ni im-ta-e₁₁ “Year after the year (Išbi-Erra the king) brought out of Ur, with his strong weapon, the Elamite who was dwelling in its midst” (source: <http://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yearnames>).

However, in his inscriptions, Atta-ḥušu calls himself “legitimate descendant” (*dumu nin₉*) of Šilhaha,⁴⁴ and never son of Kindattu. The expression “*DUMU NIN₉ / ruhu šak Šilhaha*”, which means literally “son of the sister of Šilhaha”, does not necessarily imply a biological relationship, as it is used by various Sukkalmahs, some of them ruling several centuries after the reign of Šilhaha. It was an honorary title used to legitimate their authority and power, hence the translation “legitimate descendant of Šilhaha” (Steve et al. 2002, 444–5). As far as we know, Atta-ḥušu is the first one to call himself “legitimate descendant of Šilhaha”. It is therefore possible that he really was the son of the sister of Šilhaha – who must have been the wife of Kindattu if we assume Atta-ḥušu was his son – and that the expression became an honorary title after Atta-ḥušu’s reign, but this is far from certain.

Why would Atta-ḥušu be called “son of Kindattu” in one text but “legitimate descendant of Šilhaha” in all other inscriptions? Two points of difference are to be considered here: (1) he is called “son of Kindattu” in an administrative text, in a local, viz. Susean, context, while he is called “descendant of Šilhaha” in his royal inscriptions, in a broader, i.e. “Elamite empire” context; and (2) Kindattu was a Šimaškian ruler, whereas we have no idea to what lineage Šilhaha belonged.⁴⁵ Was being the son of the Šimaškian ruler Kindattu not considered enough to legitimize one’s authority at a certain point in time? Does this possible change in filiation hint at a regime switch in Susa at that particular time? After all, it was Šilhaha, who is not mentioned in the Šimaškian king list, who succeeded to Ebarat II as a king, and not one of Ebarat II’s three successors in this king list. The fact that “legitimate descendant of Šilhaha” was used as an honorary title by various Sukkalmahs later on clearly shows that Šilhaha was, or at least became at a certain point in time, a very important person in the early stage of the Sukkalmahat.

Dating Ebarat II, Šilhaha, Atta-ḥušu and the beginning of the Sukkalmahat

As we saw above, since the reigns of king Ebarat II and the Sukkalmah Šilhaha can be dated to around 1880 BCE, so too can the reign of Atta-ḥušu.

An additional chronological element is Gasche’s dating of Level V ancien of Chantier B in Susa’s Ville Royale to c. 1850–1775 BCE. As tablets mentioning both Atta-ḥušu and Šilhaha were found on this level, this would suggest that both Atta-ḥušu and Šilhaha reigned for more than thirty years assuming that

44 Malbran-Labat 1995: nos 10–13 and the Cylindroid of Atta-ḥušu (cf. *supra*). For the translation of *DUMU-NIN₉*, the Sumerian equivalent of the Elamite *ruhu šak*, as “legitimate descendant”, cf. Steve et al. 2002: 444–5.

45 Šilhaha is not mentioned in the Šimaškian king list, although three other rulers succeed Ebarat II: Idadu II, Idadu-napir (a contemporary of Atta-ḥušu) and Idadu-temti, yet he is called “beloved son” (*šak hatik*) of Ebarat in the Middle-Elamite Genealogy of Šilhak-Inšušinak (cf. *supra*). The fact that Šilhaha is not mentioned in the Šimaškian king list does not exclude him from being a son of Ebarat: a son of Kindattu called Imazu (cf. *supra*) is not mentioned in this king list either. However, it is also possible that Šilhaha did not belong to the lineage of the Šimaškian kings, but that later a fictitious descent from Ebarat II was attributed to him.

the tablets mentioning them date from the very beginning of this archaeological level.

The contemporaneity of Ebarat II, Šilhaha and Atta-ḥušu can be explained by the fact that they all ruled on different levels: king, Sukkalmaḥ, sukkal and teppir, as is shown by the Cylindroid of Atta-ḥušu (MDP 28, 4, see above). The same division of power, on different levels, is found in other royal inscriptions. During the Susa and Elam Congress in Ghent in December 2009, Glassner revealed a new inscription from which we learn that Šilhaha was not the only Sukkalmaḥ under Ebarat II's kingship. Whereas we know from the Cylindroid of Atta-ḥušu that Šilhaha was Sukkalmaḥ (and "adda kalam"⁴⁶) of Anšan and Susa under Ebarat II, this new inscription reveals that Temti-Agun was Sukkalmaḥ of Elam and Šimaški under Ebarat II (cf. Glassner, forthcoming). Yet another inscription (Mahboubian 2004: 7ab and Vallat 2007) shows that Temti-agun had been sukkal and teppir of Susa during the rule of his brother Pala-iššan – which would suggest that Temti-agun started out as a sukkal and *teppir* of Susa when his brother Pala-iššan was Sukkalmaḥ, but later on became Sukkalmaḥ himself. The fact that several of these rulers, whose reigns were thought up to now to have been sequential, actually reigned contemporaneously in this state structure with a king as highest authority, at least two Sukkalmaḥs supervising rather large territories and probably many sukkals and *teppirs* supervising smaller territories and/or cities, also solves the problem of the abundance of rulers at the beginning of the Sukkalmaḥat.

The inscription published by Steinkeller (2007: 221–2) shows that this state structure, with rulers on different levels, was already in use during the reign of king Idattu I, son of Kindattu and a contemporary of Atta-ḥušu. This implies that the Sukkalmaḥat was implemented not too long after the end of the Sumerian occupation, to be situated in the first half of Ibbi-Sîn's reign, somewhere between I-S 3 – the last Ur III year name found on a Susa tablet⁴⁷ – and I-S 14, Ibbi-Sîn's last fruitless attempt to reconquer Susa and Adamdun in the land of Awan,⁴⁸ after which the eastern lands are definitively lost to the Mesopotamians.

46 Following the Cylindroid of Atta-ḥušu, Šilhaha was Sukkalmaḥ and adda kalam (father of the land) of Anšan and Susa (ll. 3–6: *ši-il-ha-ha* sukkal. 'mah' ad.da 'kalam' *an-ša-an* ù 'mùš'.eren-àm). Glassner (forthcoming) believes Šilhaha to be Sukkalmaḥ of Elam or Elam and Šimaški – by analogy with Kitten-rakittapi who was Sukkalmaḥ of Elam under Idattu I (Steinkeller 2007) and Temti-agun who was Sukkalmaḥ of Elam and Šimaški under Ebarat II (Glassner forthcoming) – and "father of the land" of Anšan and Susa. In my opinion, the geographical designations "Anšan and Susa" refer to both titles, viz. Sukkalmaḥ and adda kalam – after all, Elam and/or Šimaški are not mentioned in the Cylindroid (for the title adda kalam, cf. de Graef (forthcoming), *A Socio-Economic History of the Early Sukkalmaḥat*). This means that Šilhaha was Sukkalmaḥ of Anšan and Susa while Temti-agun was Sukkalmaḥ of Elam and Šimaški under king Ebarat II.

47 MDP 18: 79.

48 I-S 14: mu ^di-bi-^dEN.ZU lugal uri^{KI}-ma-ke₄ mùš-eren^{KI} a-dam-dun^{KI} a-wa-an^{KI}-ka u₄-gin₇ šid bí-in-gi₄ u₄ 1-a mu-un-gurum ù en-bi héš-a mi-ni-in-dab₅-ba-a "The year in which Ibbi-Sîn, king of Ur, howled (over) Susa and Adamdun of the land of Awan like a storm, subdued (them) in one day, and took their rulers prisoner". Transcription and translation from Michalowski 2008: 115.

During the Ur III period, the Sumerians controlled Susa and, albeit with varying success, large parts of the Šimaškian territories. From the beginning of Ibbi-Sîn's reign, they gradually lost their control in the east and eventually in Susa. This breaking point must have occurred during the lives and careers of Idattu I and his son Tan-Ruhurater.⁴⁹ Tan-Ruhurater's house is mentioned in a Susa tablet sealed by a servant of Ibbi-Sîn (*MDP* 28, 505⁵⁰), but as this tablet bears a year name that is certainly not Ur III – probably one of a Šimaškian king⁵¹ – it is certain that Ibbi-Sîn was no longer in power in Susa, which means this tablet dates from the latter part of Ibbi-Sîn's reign or even from after Ibbi-Sîn's reign, as it could be the son of Ibbi-Sîn's servant who used his father's seal.

It seems that Ebarat I conquered Susa quite early during Ibbi-Sîn's reign (between I-S 3 and I-S 14), thus initiating a conflict that was soon settled in favour of the Šimaškian forces. After the Šimaškians expelled the Sumerians definitively, regained control in their territories and annexed Susa, the state structure with a king, Sukkalmahš and Sukkals came into being.

Exit the Šimaškian period

We can conclude that the end of the Ur III occupation and the institutionalization of what we have called up to now the Sukkalmahš regime, must have been chronologically close. This can be explained by the fact that soon after the Šimaškians expelled the Sumerians and took control, Susa became part of their vast and well organized empire. This empire – as far as the early Sukkalmahš period is concerned – was led by a king as the central and highest authority, by at least two Sukkalmahš who supervised a part of the territory under his authority, and by sukkaš who supervised smaller territories or cities under the authority of their Sukkalmahš and the king.

I therefore suggest removing what has up to now been called the Šimaškian dynasty as a period between the Ur III occupation and the Sukkalmahš period in Susa, for the simple reason that it never existed as a separate period. The Šimaškian kings ruled both during and after the Ur III occupation. During the Ur III period they reigned over their territories under the authority or in alliance with the Sumerian kings. After they expelled the Sumerians, they expanded their territory and installed the Sukkalmahš system.

Consequently, it seems logical to interpret Levels VI and V ancien of Chantier B of Susa's Ville Royale as belonging to one and the same period, which is supported by the fact that there is no interruption in the occupation between both levels.

49 Malbran-Labat 1995, n. 9: (1) *i-da-du*' (2) ki-ág (3) ^dmùš-eren (4) lugal *ší-ma-aš-ki ù elam-ma* (5) *tan-dru-hu-ra-te*'-[er] (6) dumu ki-[ág-a-ni] – broken "Idattu, the beloved one of Inšušinak, king of Šimaški and Elam, Tan-Ruhurater, [his belo]ved son ...".

50 *MDP* 28, 505: (1) 2.0.0. še-giš-ì sur-ra¹ (2) iti *hur-šu-bi-um* (3) 2.0.0. iti a-šà-dingir-ra- / -še-kin-kud (4) šu-ti-a ^dEN.ZU-na-pi- / -iš-ti (5) é *tan-dru-hu-ra- / -te-er* (6) BAL gu-la (7) mu ú-sa alan kù-babbar (8) 4-bi ba-dim "600 litres of pressed sesame oil (for) the month of Huršubium, 600 litres (for) the month Aša-dingira-šekinkud, received by Sîn-napišti, (in) the house of Tan-Ruhurater, date".

51 Cf. De Graef 2008: 80–81 and *MDP* 55: 45–6.

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