

A SUMERIAN ROYAL INSCRIPTION DESCRIBING THE (RE)BUILDING OF A CHAPEL FOR ANNUNĪTUM BY KING ENLIL-BĀNI OF ISIN

Daniel Sánchez Muñoz¹

Abstract

This article presents a new Sumerian royal inscription in which King Enlil-bāni of Isin claims to have built a residence for the goddess Annunītum. It is argued here that this construction work could have simply involved the maintenance of a chapel for Annunītum within the temple of Inana at Isin. Whatever the case, the work might have been very significant to Enlil-bāni, since he could have carried it out when Isin had lost control of Nippur due to its conquest by the rival kingdom of Larsa. In this way, Enlil-bāni's maintenance of the chapel of Annunītum, a goddess associated with kingship, could have been intended to gain her favor and thus reaffirm his royal status after this great loss, even though he later reintegrated Nippur into the kingdom of Isin. The Sumerian inscription in question appears with a presentation of the two foundation nails currently preserving this text, a score edition, and a philological commentary, as well as a hand copy and photographs of the duplicate preserved in the Sephardic Museum (Toledo, Spain). Photos and further details of another object from this museum, a votive cone containing a duplicate of *Gude'a* 37 (= RIME 3/1, 1.7.37), also appear in the present paper.

Keywords

Early Old Babylonian Period, Isin, Enlil-bāni, Annunītum, Sumerian Royal Inscriptions

1 INTRODUCTION

According to the Old Babylonian evidence² recently compiled by Boer,³ Enlil-bāni did not sit as peacefully on the throne of Isin (*ca.* 1870–1863 BCE) as the Late Babylonian *Chronicles of Ancient Kings* A: 31–36 and B: 1–8 claim.⁴ These texts portray Enlil-bāni as a mere gardener, originally appointed as a substitute ruler when King Erra-imittī (*ca.* 1870–1863 BCE) sought to avoid a bad omen, and later as the true ruler of Isin after Erra-imittī died of a gastronomic mishap. Far from the content of this late and problematic story,⁵ Old Babylonian evidence suggests that

¹ Sánchez Muñoz, Daniel (danielsanmu1992@gmail.com) is serving as a “Margarita Salas” Postdoctoral Fellow at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (HUJI) and the University of Granada (UGR) from January 2022 to December 2023. The Sephardic Museum of Toledo allowed the publication, collation, and illustration of 1023.1 and 1223.1, and assisted in the preparation of this study. Beatrice Baragli, Aviya Fraenkel, Uri Gabbay, and Anne-Caroline Rendu Loisel have read earlier drafts of the present article. Pascal Attinger, Rients de Boer, Jerome S. Colburn, Jorge Hernández Álvarez, Theo J.H. Krispijn, Yuval Levavi, David Ravelo Rodríguez, Marcos Such Gutiérrez, and Cáo Xún (曹珣) offered further assistance, and Jeff Charest polished the English of the final draft before submission. Sergio Alivernini then shared with the author the invaluable, objective, and very informative remarks from two anonymous reviewers and assisted in the final editorial process, and James Raymond proofread the last version of the article. A “Margarita Salas” Postdoctoral Fellowship has covered part of the research of this paper. Thanks to all for their help! Needless to say, the author bears sole responsibility for the remaining inaccuracies in this paper and apologizes deeply in advance.

² Abbreviations not found in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* are explained after their first appearance in this article. Sumerian is transliterated according to Pascal Attinger, *Glossaire sumérien-français principalement des textes littéraires paléobabyloniens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz; 2021), 57–104. Date formulas in cuneiform texts follow the year-month-day sequence. Two zeros (00) mean that a given year/month/day is not explicitly written down in the quoted text, and “...” means that the said year/month/day is unfortunately lost.

³ Rients de Boer, “Studies on the Old Babylonian Kings of Isin and Their Dynasties with an Updated List of Isin Year Names,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 111, no. 1 (2021), 6–10. The present author follows the chronology of the kings of Isin adopted in Boer’s article.

⁴ Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*. Writings of the Ancient World 19 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 270–73.

⁵ This story may say more about the Babylonian criticism of the Assyrian “substitute king” rite in the first millennium BCE than it does about Early Old Babylonian royal succession systems, as originally stated by Jean-Jacques Glassner in “Histoire Babylonienne et sa Réflexion dans les Chroniques de l’Époque Babylonienne Récente.” In *Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne*, edited by Johannes Renger. (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1999), *passim*. Certainly, Hermann Hunger and David Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia*. Handbook of Oriental Studies 1.44 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 25–26 have gathered only indirect evidence (Old Babylonian omens about a ruler’s death and Hittite allusions to substitute kings) to prove the

Enlil-bāni took the throne only after a difficult time in Isin, which saw two rulers, Sumu-abum and Ikūn-pī-Ištar, in less than two years (*ca.* 1863–1862 BCE) after the death of Erra-imitti. Moreover, even if the reign of Enlil-bāni is considered a prosperous one,⁶ the name of the penultimate year of his reign, the 23rd,⁷ reveals that hardships continued until the very end of his rule. Certainly, he had to face the temporary loss of the major city of Nippur, which Larsa, the rival kingdom of Isin, had temporally conquered.⁸

In this context, what follows is the edition of a new Sumerian royal inscription showing Enlil-bāni (re)building a chapel for Annunītum. This goddess had an established cult in Early Old Babylonian cities that hosted royal dynasties. Thus, she was the tutelary deity in one of Sippar's twin cities, Sippar-Annunītum⁹ at Tell ed-Dēr on the west bank of the Euphrates, which had some independent “kings” before being conquered by Babylon. Itūr-Šamaš also made a kettledrum (li-li-is₃) and built a temple for Annunītum as the founder of a new royal dynasty in Kisurra.¹⁰ Finally, Takil-ilissu, ruler of Malkūm,¹¹ presents Annunītum in his royal inscriptions¹² as the lover and protector of his kingship. Moreover, Išmē-Dagān, the fourth ruler of Isin (*ca.* 1955–1937 BCE), invoked Annunītum to appoint Tarām-pala-migrīša as an *amalūtum*-priestess (*Išmē-Dagān 9* = RIME 4, 1.4.9): rev. iii' 14').¹³ Therefore, the maintenance of a chapel to gain the favor of Annunītum may have been one of the measures Enlil-bāni took to maintain stability during his reign, just as he also issued a *mīšarum* edict for the inhabitants of Isin and Nippur,¹⁴ built new walls in Isin,¹⁵ and placed his reign under the patronage of Iddin-Dagān (*ca.* 1976–1956 BCE) and Išmē-Dagān, the distinguished kings of Isin.¹⁶

The reader will find here a conventional edition of this new Sumerian royal inscription with a presentation of its two currently known duplicates, a score edition with translation, and some philological notes in addition to a hand copy and photographs of the exemplar collated by the present author (see below for further details).

existence of the substitute king rite in Old Babylonian times. In any case, note that the image of Enlil-bāni in the *Chronicles of Ancient Kings* A: 31–36 and B: 1–8 builds on the trope of a “humble” ruler presented as a gardener. This *topos* is also known, for example, in Sargon of Akkade, “whose father was a gardener” (ab-ba-ni nu-kiri₆) in the words of the Old Babylonian *Sumerian King List* (= ETC SL 2.1.1), 266–68. Sargon serves to illustrate a second point: he is the son of a gardener in an Old Babylonian text, but he was trained as a gardener by the water-drawer Aqqi in the words of the Neo-Assyrian *Birth Legend of Sargon*, 11–12 (= Joan Goodnick Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade. The Texts*. Mesopotamian Civilizations 7 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 36–49). As a result, the image of Enlil-bāni may also have evolved over time. Thanks to Yuval Levavi for the fruitful discussion.

⁶ Dominique Charpin. “Histoire Politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002–1595).” In *Mesopotamien. Die altbabylonische Zeit*, OBO 160/4, edited by D. Charpin, Dietz Otto Edzard, and Marten Stol (Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 103–4; Klaus Wagensonner. “The Middle East after the Fall of Ur.” In *The Oxford History of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Karen Radner, Nadine Moeller, and Daniel T. Potts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 270–2.

⁷ mu ^dEn-lil₂-ba-ni lugal Ki-en-ge Ki-uri-ke₄ Nibrū^{ki} ki-be₂ mu-na-ge₄ “Year ‘Enlil-bāni, king of Sumer and Akkad, returned Nippur to its proper place (together with Isin)’” See Boer “Studies on the Old Babylonian Kings of Isin and Their Dynasties with an Updated List of Isin Year Names,” 21 for variants and texts.

⁸ R. Marcel Sigrist, “Nippur entre Isin et Larsa de Sin-iddinam à Rim-Sin,” *Orientalia* 46, no. 3 (1977), 363–64.

⁹ Charpin. “Histoire Politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002–1595),” 91–92; Jennie Myers, *The Sippar Pantheon: A Diachronic Study*, PhD Dissertation (Cambridge MA: Harvard University, 2002), 93–105.

¹⁰ Anne Goddeeris, *Tablets from Kisurra in the collections of the British Museum*. SANTAG 9 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 18 besides *Itūr-Šamaš 1* (= RIME 4, 7.1.1), 8.

¹¹ Tohru Ozaki, Marcel Sigrist, and Piotr Steinkeller, “New Light on the History of Irisaḡrig in Post-Ur III Times,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 111, no. 1 (2021), 28 n. 1 shows the need to write Malkum instead of Malgium. The slightly modified spelling Malkūm used here comes from a suggestion of an anonymous reviewer, which fits with the evidence commented on by Ozaki/Sigrist/Steinkeller.

¹² *Takil-ilissu 2* (= RIME 4, 11.2.1), 76, 93. See Claus Wilcke, “Ein dritter Backstein mit der großen Inschrift des Königs Takil-ilissu von Malgūm und der Tonnagel des Ipiq-Ištar.” In *At the Dawn of History. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of J.N. Postgate*, edited by Yağmur Heffron *et al.* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2017), 739–40.

¹³ *Išmē-Dagān 9* (= RIME 4, 1.4.9), rev. iii' 14'. On the *amalu/amalūtum* priestess, see recently Huber Vulliet, Fabienne. *Le Personnel Cultuel à l’Époque Néo-Sumérienne (ca 2160–2003 av. J.-C.)*. Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 14 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2019), 159.

¹⁴ *Enlil-bāni 9* (= RIME 4, 1.10.9), 10–12 and *1001* (= RIME 4, 1.10.1001), col. v 11–vi 23.

¹⁵ *Enlil-bāni 2* (= RIME 4, 1.10.2), 11–17 and *Enlil-bāni 3* (= RIME 4, 1.10.3), 11–14. See Wagensonner “The Middle East after the Fall of Ur,” 270–71 for further details.

¹⁶ See respectively *Enlil-bāni 11* (= RIME 4, 1.10.11) and the texts studied by R. Marcel Sigrist, *Les sattukku dans l’Ešumeša durant la période d’Isin et Larsa* (Malibu: Undena, 1984), 70–72, with the comments by Charpin. “Histoire Politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002–1595),” 104 and Wagensonner “The Middle East after the Fall of Ur,” 272.

2 PRESENTATION OF THE DUPLICATES

2.1 Manuscript A

It is currently kept in the Sephardic Museum (*Museo Sefardí* in Castilian) of Toledo (Spain). This institution allowed the present author to collate it on June 16, 2021, and to publish here a hand copy (see Figure 1) with new photographs¹⁷ (see Figures 2–3). Catalogued by this museum under the number 1223.1, it is a foundation nail whose base measures 13.2 cm (diameter) x 4.3 cm (thickness). The text, arranged in two columns, is well-preserved. Its shaft (diameter: 6.1 cm), is mostly lost but it probably contained the text arranged in a single column as in Manuscript B (see below).

The Sephardic Museum aims to explain the history of the Jewish people in Spain from their arrival in the Iberian Peninsula in antiquity until their expulsion by Kings Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon in 1492 CE, and their later experiences in the Diaspora as the Sephardic Jews. As a result, this museum owns two particular objects with cuneiform inscriptions¹⁸ used to explain the original context of the Jews in ancient Southwest Asia. In addition to the foundation nail with a text about Enlil-bāni studied here, the museum holds a votive cone¹⁹ with a duplicate of *Gude'a* 37 (= RIME 3/1, 1.7.37). This second object, with catalog number 1023.1 and dimensions of 11.5 cm (height) x 5.0 cm (width) x 6.1 cm (diameter), appears here with new photographs (see Figure 4),²⁰ taken with the permission of the Sephardic Museum. The staff of this institution informed the present author that neither object had undergone restoration since its arrival at the museum. Moreover, no scholar of Ancient Near Eastern Studies had yet contacted the museum to study and/or visit the objects.

The Spanish government, exercising its right of first refusal, purchased these objects for the Sephardic Museum in 2000 (votive cone of *Gude'a*) and 2004 (foundation nail of Enlil-bāni) from the auction house Jesús Vico LLC.²¹ According to personal communication, this auction house purchased these objects in 1997 from a private Swiss individual, who owned part of the Kabāzi collection from Lebanon. Because of the difficulties in obtaining further information about this Lebanese collection, the present author cannot say anything else about how they left Southern Iraq. In any case, they were probably recovered in an uncontrolled excavation.

¹⁷ For the photographs of the object available in CER.es (*Colecciones (de Museos) en Red* “(Museum) Collections Online” in Castilian), see here:

<http://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main?idt=3405&inventory=1223%2F001&table=FMUS&museum=MSTO#.X37tUKhSyjM> (accessed July 24, 2022).

¹⁸ There is a probably faked tablet (1066.1) and there is a faked cylinder-seal (1067.1) imitating the Isin-Larsa style (see Dominique Collon, *First Impressions. Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), 44).

¹⁹ In a votive cone, a typical object of the third millennium BCE, the domed head barely protrudes from the body and lacks text. This is different from a foundation nail, a shape that appears in the early second millennium BCE. This object has a larger head, which allows the same text to be written on it as on the body, but distributed in two columns and within a square cartouche. On all this, an anonymous reviewer suggested that the present author read Dominique Charpin, *Lire et Écrire à Babylone* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France; 2008), 239.

²⁰ Check the photos on CERES (accessed on July 25, 2022) here:

<http://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main?idt=3228&inventory=1023/001&table=FMUS&museum=MSTO>.

²¹ See Santiago Palomero Plaza. *Historia de la Sinagoga de Samuel Ha-Leví y del Museo Sefardí de Toledo* (Toledo: Ministerio de Cultura. Gobierno de España, 2007) for a history of this institution. Pedro del Castillo Vera, “Orden de 17 de julio de 2000 por la que se ejercita el derecho de tanteo, con destino al Museo Sefardí, de tres monedas y tres objetos arqueológicos.” *Boletín Oficial del Estado* 194, n. 15445 (2000), 28999, presents the votive cone of *Gude'a* under the lot number 963. Luis Alberto de Cuenca Prado, “Orden ECD/1915/2004, de 15 de abril, por la que se ejercita el derecho de tanteo sobre los lotes números 1041, 1047, 1048, 1063 y 1065, subastados por la Sala Jesús Vico, en Madrid.” *Boletín Oficial del Estado* 149, n. 11520 (2004), 22555, presents the foundation nail of Enlil-bāni under the lot number 1041, but the nail is mistakenly described as coming from the third millennium BCE.

2.2 Manuscript B

The present author could study this object, another foundation nail, only through some photographs available on the website of Bron Lipkin.²² In conversations on January 6, 2021, this antique dealer told the present author that he no longer remembers the whereabouts of the object. It seems that the existence of this nail had been communicated to him about ten years earlier. In any case, the object probably came from an uncontrolled excavation.

According to the photos on Lipkin's website, the nail is complete but heavily restored. As in the Sephardic Museum specimen, the text on the base is arranged in two columns. The shaft has the same text arranged in a single column, as is typical for nails with inscriptions about King Enlil-bāni.²³ The photos on the website of Lipkin do not have sufficient resolution to publish anything more than a tentative transliteration. However, it is important to use this duplicate here because it resolves some issues with the text in Manuscript A. Hopefully, in the future, another scholar will find the original nail, make a proper transliteration, and take high-quality photographs.

3 SCORE TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

This score transliteration considers the text written on the heads of the foundation nails only:

1	A col. i 1 B col. i 2	<i>An-nu-ni-tum</i> <i>An-nu-ni-tum</i>	For Annunītum
2	A col. i 2 B col. i 2	<i>A-ga-^rde₃^{ki}</i> <i>A-ga-de₃^{ki}</i>	of Akkade,
3	A col. i 3 B col. i 3	<i>nin-a-ni-ir</i> <i>^rnin-a[?]-ni-ir</i>	his mistress,
4	A col. i 4 B col. i 4	^d <i>En-lil₂-ba-ni</i> ^d <i>En-lil₂-ba-ni</i>	Enlil-bāni,
5	A col. i 5 B col. i 5	<i>sipa niḡ₂-^rnam</i> <i>šar₂-ra</i> <i>^rsipa niḡ₂-nam</i> <i>šar₂-ra</i>	the shepherd of all the existing things
6	A col. i 6 B col. i 6	<i>Nibru^{ki}</i> <i>Nibru^{ki}</i>	of Nippur,
7	A col. i 7 B col. i 7	<i>lugal kala-ga</i> <i>lugal kala-ga</i>	the strong king,
8	A col. i 8 B col. i 8	<i>lugal I₃-si-in^{ki}-na</i> <i>lugal I₃-si-in^{ki}-na</i>	the king of Isin,
9	A col. ii 1 B col. ii 1	<i>lugal Ki-en-ge</i> / <i>Ki-uri</i> <i>lugal K[i-en-ge]</i> / <i>Ki-u[ri]</i>	the king of Sumer and Akkad,
10	A col. ii 2 B col. ii 2	<i>dam ša₃-ge pa₃-da</i> <i>dam ša₃-ge pa₃-da</i>	the husband, chosen by the heart,
11	A col. ii 3 B col. ii 3	^d <i>Inana-ke₄</i> ^{r d} <i>Inana-ke₄</i>	of Inana,

²² <http://www.collector-antiquities.com/general-information/cuneiform-foundation-cones-section-2.html> (accessed on July 23, 2022).

²³ See *Enlil-bāni* 2 (= RIME 4, 1.10.2); *Enlil-bāni* 3 (= RIME 4, 1.10.3), and *Enlil-bāni* 4 (= RIME 4, 1.10.4).

12	A col. ii 4	<i>Ul-maš</i>	Ulmaš,
	B col. ii 4	<i>Ul-maš</i>	
13	A col. ii 5	‘e ₂ ’ ki-aĝ ₂ -ĝa ₂ -ni	her beloved residence,
	B col. ii 5	‘e ₂ ’ ki-aĝ ₂ -ĝa ₂ -ni	
14	A col. ii 6	ša ₃ I ₃ -si-in ^{ki} /-na-ka	amidst Isin
	B col. ii 5	ša ₃ I ₃ -si-in ^{ki} /-na-ka	
15	A col. ii 7	mu-na-du ₃	he built it here for her.
	B col. ii 7	mu-na-du ₃	

4 PHILOLOGICAL NOTES

Lines 1–2. The allusion to Akkade in both manuscripts might suggest that there is no confusion between the Akkadian *Annunitum* and the Sumerogram ^dINANA A.GA.DE₃^{ki} (lit. “the Ištar of Akkade”), which is sometimes used to record the name of this goddess.²⁴ On the contrary, the text seems to refer to an *Annunitum* specifically coming from Akkade. This was the first place to host a cult of this goddess, who gained a supra-regional character in Mesopotamia thanks to the dynasty of Sargon during the third millennium BCE.²⁵

References to deities alongside the cities where they patronized were available in some (Early) Old Babylonian texts: Enlil of Nippur (^dEn-lil₂ ša₃ Nibru^{ki}),²⁶ Inana of Uruk (^dInana Unu^{ki}),²⁷ Utu of Larsa (^dUtu Larsa^{ki}),²⁸ and Marduk of Babylon (^dAMAR.UTU KA₂.DIĜIR.RA^{ki} = *Marūtuk Bābili*).²⁹ Nevertheless, only two hypostases of *Annunitum*, neither of which relates to Akkade or dates to the Early Old Babylonian period, were previously known: *Annunitum* of Uruk (*An-nu-ni-tum* Unu^{ki}-ga)³⁰ and *Annunitum* of the Hursaĝ-galam (*An-nu-ni-tum* Hursaĝ-ga-lam-ma).³¹

Line 3. In Manuscript A, the lower broken vertical of sign A is slightly slanted. Manuscript B seems to devote a proper space to sign A, although the state of preservation of this line and the quality of the available photographs do not help to confirm this reading.

²⁴ See CUSAS 29, 162 (Ammī-dītāna 05-02-09), obv. 6 and 163 (Ammī-dītāna 14-02-09²), obv. 6; *JCS* Suppl. 2, 28 (Ammī-ṣaduqa 07-11-11), obv. 6; *AuOr* 20, 78 n. 1 (Ammī-ṣaduqa 09-06-04), rev. 5, and CTMMA 1, 54 (no date preserved), obv. 5 for the Old Babylonian instances.

²⁵ An overview of this deity can be found in Karin B. Gödecken, “Bemerkungen zur Göttin *Annunitum*.” *Ugarit Forschungen* 5 (1973), 142–43 and Gebhard J. Selz, “Five Divine Ladies: Thoughts on Inana(k), Ištar, In(n)in(a), *Annunitum*, and Anat, and the Origin of the Title ‘Queen of Heaven’” *NiN* 1 (2000), 34–35. On the supra-regionalization of *Annunitum*, see Walther Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie 7/1+2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993), 198.

²⁶ *BagM* 26, 67–75, 208, obv. col. 2'. For further comments, see Thomas Richter, *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabyloniers in altbabylonischer Zeit*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 257 (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2004), 324. Richter cited it as *BagM* 24, but the present author could only find the text by looking at *BagM* 26.

²⁷ BIN 9, 228 (Išbi-Erra 33-11-21, us₂ year), obv. 4; *OB Nippur God list*, 59 (only in MSL 10, 54 V20, rev. i 9).

²⁸ AbB 2, 29 (Hammu-rāpi 31+-...-...), rev. 5.

²⁹ Fs. Kraus, 459–460 (Ammī-dītāna 33-06-05), rev. 8.

³⁰ See BCT 1, 108 (Šū-Su'en 05-09-00, us₂ year), obv. 3; Fs. E. V. Leichty 282, 10 (Šū-Su'en 07-08-00), obv. 2; HSS 68, 350 (Ibbī-Su'en 01-08-00), obv. 2; Nisaba 30, 64 (Šū-Su'en 04-00-00), obv. 2.

³¹ TPTS 2, 8 (Šū-Su'en 01-01-29), rev. 14'. The Hursaĝ-galam was the temple of Enlil in Nippur. See Marcos Such Gutiérrez, *Beiträge zum Pantheon von Nippur im 3. Jahrtausend. Materiali per il Vocabolario Sumerico 9/1+2* (Roma: Sapienza Università di Roma, 2003), vol. 1, 76.

Line 5–6. Nibrū^{ki} is connected to sipa niḡ₂-nam šar₂-ra by a genitive {ak}.³² A locative {a}³³ would require Nibrū^{ki}-a.³⁴ A directive {e}³⁵ would break the parallel with the sipa niḡ₂-nam šar₂-ra Unu^{ki}-ga (and not *Unu^{ki}-ge) present in the Uruk royal inscriptions *Sīn-kāšid 15* (= RIME 4, 4.1.15), 5 and *Narām-Sīn 1*, 2.³⁶ Non-finite relative clauses in Sumerian are also normally followed by a noun phrase in the genitive, but not in directive {e} or locative {a}.³⁷ The translation of sipa niḡ₂-nam šar₂-ra as a transitive sentence (“shepherd who made everything abundant”)³⁸ makes sense given the chains sipa niḡ₂-nam il₂ (“shepherd who raises everything”),³⁹ sipa niḡ₂-nam tum₃ (“shepherd who brings everything”),⁴⁰ and sipa niḡ₂-nam du₈-du₈ (“shepherd who spreads everything”).⁴¹ In any case, a translation as a nominal chain (“shepherd of all the existing things”) is valid based on *Ur-Ninurta A* (= ETC SL 2.5.6.1), 30 (aia niḡ₂-nam šar₂-ra-ke₄ “father of the totality of existence”). The Neo-Assyrian text *ArOr 21*, 358, obv. i 25–26⁴² also translates niḡ₂-nam šar₂-šar₂-ra into Akkadian as a genitive chain, *kiššat* (construct state of *kiššatu*; the equivalent of šar₂-šar₂-ra) *mimma šumšu* (= niḡ₂-nam).⁴³ In this case, an appropriate translation of sipa niḡ₂-nam šar₂-ra Nibrū^{ki} in the present inscription would be “shepherd of all the existing things of Nippur,” as suggested in the present edition.⁴⁴

The royal title sipa niḡ₂-nam šar₂-ra Nibrū^{ki} does not necessarily imply that Enlil-bāni maintained the residence of Annunītum before Larsa took control of Nippur. As previous research has shown,⁴⁵ the rulers of Isin could be quite conservative with their royal titles. The edited royal inscription also lacks the title *ki-aḡ₂ ḫEn-lil₂ u₃ ḫNin-in-si-na* (“the beloved one of Enlil and Ninisina”),⁴⁶ which may indicate that Enlil-bāni had lost the favor of the tutelary deities of Nippur and Isin because of such a loss. Therefore, Enlil-bāni may have still presented himself as the provider for Nippur even when Larsa was in control of the city. In doing so, he would have shown that he did not acknowledge the loss of Nippur and wanted to reintegrate it into the domain of Isin. Enlil-bāni seems to have kept his promise, for he reconquered Nippur at the very end of his reign (see the Introduction for more details).

³² Charpin, “Histoire Politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002–1595),” 63 (“pourvoyeur de Nippur”).

³³ The “shepherd who makes things abundant in Nippur” in Alasdair Livingstone, “The Isin ‘Dog House’ Revisited.” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 40 (1988), 57.

³⁴ As in *Enlil-bāni 1001* (= RIME 4.1.10.1001), 112–4, Nibrū^{ki}-a / niḡ₂-ge-na / mi-ni-in-ḡar-ra “Who has established stability in Nippur.”

³⁵ “Shepherd who makes everything abundant for Nippur” in Jacob Klein, “Four Early Mesopotamian ‘Building’ Inscriptions from the Moussaieff Tablet Collection.” In *Historical and Literary Studies from the Ancient Near East Presented to Israel Eph’al*, edited by M. Cogan and D. Khan (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2008), 174.

³⁶ Edited by Eva von Dassow, “*Narām-Sīn* of Uruk: A New King in an Old Shoebox.” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 61 (2009), 69–75.

³⁷ Abraham H. Jagersma, *A descriptive grammar of Sumerian*. PhD Dissertation (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 2010), 644.

³⁸ Among others, Livingstone, “The Isin ‘Dog House’ Revisited,” 57 and Klein, “Four Early Mesopotamian ‘Building’ Inscriptions from the Moussaieff Tablet Collection,” 174 translate šar₂ into English as a present form. However, Jagersma, *A descriptive grammar of Sumerian*, 630 and 655 shows that nominalized non-finite verbs usually function as participles. According to these pages from Jagersma’s Sumerian grammar, present participles lack nominalization (e.g., sipa niḡ₂-nam il₂ Nibrū^{ki}, “shepherd of Nippur, who raises everything” in *Ur-Ninurta 1* = RIME 4.1.6.1, 2), or have an imperfective {ed}, as in the sentences *ki-šar₂-ra ma-dam ḫe₂-ḡa₁ šar₂-re* “who multiplies abundance and plenty everywhere” from *Rīm-Sīn 1* (= RIME 4, 2.14.1), 7.

³⁹ *Ur-Ninurta 1* (= RIME 4, 1.6.1), 2.

⁴⁰ *Ur-Dukuga 1* (= RIME 4, 1.13.1), 5; *Ur-Dukuga 2* (= RIME 4, 1.13.2), 2; *Ur-Dukuga 3* (= RIME 4, 1.13.3), 5. *Išmē-Dagān 8* (= RIME 4, 1.4.8), 14 and *Išmē-Dagān S* (= ETC SL 2.5.4.19), 12 have niḡ₂-nam tum₃ without sipa.

⁴¹ *Sīn-iddinam 5* (= RIME 4, 2.9.5), 8; *Sīn-iddinam 12* (= RIME 4, 2.9.12), 5.

⁴² Erich Ebeling, “Sammlungen von Beschwörungsformeln teils in sumerisch-akkadischer, teils in sumerischer oder akkadischer Sprache.” *Archiv Orientální* 21 (1953), 382.

⁴³ [zi ḫNin-ḥur-saḡ]-ḡa₂ niḡ₂-nam šar₂-šar₂-ra dim₂-dim₂-ma ḫe₂ / [niš ḫMIN ba-na]-at kiš-ṣat mim₂-ma šum-ṣu₂ lu-u “[By the life of Nin-ḥur-saḡ]a, who created the totality of existence.”

⁴⁴ Thanks to Aviya Fraenkel and Pascal Attinger for their orientations in this aspect.

⁴⁵ Charpin, “Histoire Politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002–1595),” 72.

⁴⁶ *Enlil-bāni 2* (= RIME 4, 1.10.2), 9–10; *Enlil-bāni 3* (= RIME 4, 1.10.3), 9–10; *Enlil-bāni 6* (= RIME 4, 1.10.3), 8–9; *Enlil-bāni 8* (= RIME 4, 1.10.8), 6–7; *Enlil-bāni 11* (= RIME 4, 1.10.11), 14.

Lines 10–11. The rulers of Isin used to present themselves as husbands of Inana.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Enlil-bāni is the only one who used *dam ša₃-ge pa₃-da* “the husband of Inana chosen by the heart” as a royal title. At most, *Lipit-Eštar B* (= ETCSL 2.5.5.2), 16 has *ša₃-ge de₆-a* *dam* “the desired one, the husband of Inana”⁴⁸. In any case, the royal title *ša₃-ga/e* (*ku₃*) *pa₃(-da)* was common among kings in the third millennium BCE. The rulers of Larsa would also use this title in Early Old Babylonian times.⁴⁹ Since the edited royal inscription deals with the goddess Annunītum, one might recall here the phrase *lugal [d]En-lil₂-le ki aĝ₂ ša₃-ga-’na* “the king whom Enlil lovingly chose into his heart”⁵⁰ from *Šū-Su’ēn* 20 (= RIME 3/2, 1.4.20), 5–7, the only known Sumerian royal inscription dealing with Annunītum before the publication of the present one.

Lines 12–13. E’Ulmaš (*E₂-Ul-maš*, “the house-Ulmaš”) was the common name of any building dedicated to Annunītum. This name presented the goddess as coming from Ulmaš, the Akkade district⁵¹ where Annunītum was originally worshiped in the third millennium BCE. This temple name had several variants, the spelling *E₂-maš* being a common one.⁵² The spelling *Ul-maš* seems to be a scribal error in *Inana F* (= ETCSL 4.7.6), 32⁵³ and *Hammu-rāpi’s Code*, manuscript aB 1, rev. ii 6.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, this interpretation is hardly applicable to the present royal inscription, because one would have to admit that the two duplicates existing so far contain a mistake. It is better to assume that, in the edited text, *Ul-maš* is just a variant of *E₂-Ul-maš*, and the scribe was within his rights to use it. This might fit with the occasional spelling of the personal names *Nidin-E’Ulmaš* and *Ina-E’Ulmaš-zērum* as *Nidin-Ulmaš*⁵⁵ and *Ina-Ulmaš-zērum* respectively.⁵⁶ The omission of the Sumerian *e₂* in the spelling of temple names is also fairly common.⁵⁷ In any case, the confirmation of this proposal (*Ul-maš* as a variant for *E₂-Ul-maš*) should await the discovery of new duplicates of the edited royal inscription.

The definition of *E’Ulmaš* as *e₂* in the present text (line 13) does not necessarily suggest an independent temple. The Sumerian *e₂* describes “any religious structure from the smallest chapel to the grandest temple.”⁵⁸ Moreover, before the publication of the present inscription, only *Išmē-Dagān* 9 (= RIME 4, 1.4.9), rev. iii’ 14’ reported a cult of Annunītum in Isin. In that way, this *E’Ulmaš* might be a small chapel within the temple of Inana in Isin. This temple underwent

⁴⁷ Burkhart Kienast, “*Narāmsin mut [d]INANNA*.” *Orientalia* 59 (1990), 198; Yitschak Sefati, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature. Critical Edition of the Dumuzi-Inanna Songs* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1998), 38; Eckart Frahm, “Ein krypto-sumerischer Text König Adad-apla-iddinas aus Uruk.” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 32 (2001), 191.

⁴⁸ *Lipit-Eštar B*, 16 might have influenced *Enlil-bāni A* (= ETCSL 2.5.8.1), 33–34: [*d*En-lil₂-ba-ni] *dam* *ki-aĝ₂* *ša₃-na* “[Enlil-bāni], beloved husband of Inana.” After all, both texts belonged to the “Tetrad” (see Stephen Tinney, “On the Curricular Setting of Sumerian Literature.” *Iraq* 61 (1999), 164–66 for further comments).

⁴⁹ Esther Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition*, OBO 166 (Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 47–48.

⁵⁰ Aware that the grammar in this case is not particularly straightforward, an anonymous reviewer suggested to the present author the adverbial sense given here to *ki aĝ₂ ša₃-ga-’na*.

⁵¹ Piotr Steinkeller, “An archaic ‘prisoner plaque’ from Kiš.” *Revue d’Assyriologie et d’Archéologie orientale* 107 (2013), 146 n. 51.

⁵² Andrew R. George, *House Most High. The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*. Mesopotamian Civilizations 5, (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 121, 155. For the later periods in Mesopotamian history, see Alexa Bartelmus and Jonathan Taylor, “Collecting and Connecting History: Nabonidus and the Kassite Rebuilding of E(u)lmaš of (Ištar)-Annunītu in Sippar-Annunītu,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 66 (2014), 115, 124–25; Julia Krul. *The Revival of the Anu Cult and the Nocturnal Fire Ceremony at Late Babylonian Uruk*, CHANE 95 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 34 n. 127, and Eleanor Robson, *Ancient Knowledge Networks: A Social Geography of Cuneiform Scholarship in First-Millennium Assyria and Babylonia* (London: UCL Press, 2019), 25, 172, 191, 210, 213–15, 237, 258–59, 264.

⁵³ Only one manuscript currently preserves this line, and with a scribal mistake: VS 10, 199, rev. col. i 39: *A-ga-de₃-ki-a <E₂>-U1'-maš ma-a-kam*, “In Agade, the Ulmaš is mine!”

⁵⁴ Joachim Oelsner, *Der Kodex Hammu-rāpi. Textkritische Ausgabe und Übersetzung*, Dubsar 4. (Münster: Zaphon, 2022), 46 (about the siglum aB 1) and 142 n. 7 (about aB 1, rev. ii 6).

⁵⁵ Laurent Colonna d’Istria, “Wool Economy in the Royal Archive of Mari during the Šakkanaku Period.” In *Wool Economy in the Ancient Near East*, Ancient Textile Series 17, edited by Catherine Breniquet and Cécile Michel (Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow, 2014), p. 225 (Ammī-dītāna 26-08-01), obv. 9.

⁵⁶ CT 8, pl. 2, Bu 1888-5-12, 10 (Ammī-dītāna 34-12-26), rev. 15.

⁵⁷ George, *House Most High. The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*, 63–171, numbers 504–5, 538–39, 549, 570, 636, 649, 675, 1022, 1085, and 1116. Thanks to the anonymous reviewers for the remarks in this direction.

⁵⁸ George, *House Most High. The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*, 62.

enlargement throughout the history of the First Dynasty of Isin. By the time of King Išbī-Erra (*ca.* 2017–1985 BCE), Inana had to share cultic space with the king himself as a deity and the god Lugal-am(-ur₂-ra).⁵⁹ However, by the reign of Šū-ilīšu (*ca.* 1920–1911 BCE), Inana already had her temple.⁶⁰ As a result, her cultic space could already accommodate chapels for deities belonging to her divine circle, such as Annunītum herself.⁶¹

Lines 14–15. The formula ša₃ I₃-si-in^{ki}-na-ka “amidst Isin” (line 14) and its variants⁶² have previously been used, albeit cautiously, to locate objects in Isin (modern Išān-Bahrīyāt, southern Iraq).⁶³ Even though the two foundation nails studied here might come from irregular excavations and their exact provenance is unknown, Isin has been one of the sites favored by looters in recent times, so it may make sense to locate them there.⁶⁴

The Sumerian du₃ refers not only to building from scratch, but also to rebuilding, restoring, and repairing spaces.⁶⁵ In choosing a more concrete meaning for this verb, one should remember that Annunītum had close ties to kingship. Her cult in Isin also predates the reign of Enlil-bāni (see comments on Lines 12–13). In this sense, King Enlil-bāni may simply have been doing repair work in her chapel. Unfortunately, the present author cannot determine at this time whether this king hoped to take advantage of the broad meaning of du₃ to suggest to later generations that he had rendered a much more important service to Annunītum and her chapel.

REFERENCES

Attinger, Pascal. *Glossaire sumérien-français principalement des textes littéraires paléobabyloniens*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2021.

Bartelmus, Alexa, and Taylor, Jonathan. “Collecting and Connecting History: Nabonidus and the Kassite Rebuilding of E(ul)maš of (Ištar)-Annunītu in Sippar-Annunītu.” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 66 (2014): 113–28.

Charpin, Dominique. “Histoire Politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002–1595).” In *Mesopotamien. Die altbabylonische Zeit*, OBO 160/4, edited by D. Charpin, Dietz Otto Edzard, and Marten Stol, 25–484. Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004.

Charpin, Dominique. *Lire et Écrire à Babylone*. Paris: Press Universitaires de France, 2009.

Collon, Dominique. *First Impressions. Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987.

⁵⁹ BIN 10, 155 (Išbī-Erra 25-03-07), obv. 5 (ka₂ e₂ gibil ^dLugal-AM, ^dInana ^dIš-bi-Er₃-ra, “gate of the new temple for Lugal-AM, Inana, and Išbī-Erra”). In response to Marc Van De Mieroop, *Crafts in the Early Isin Period: A Study of the Isin Craft Archive from the Reigns of Išbī-Erra and Šū-ilīšu*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 24 (Leuven: Department Oriëntalistiek, 1987), 107 n. 20, Lugal-AM may be the ^d“Lugal-am”-ur₂-ra of TCL 15, 10, rev. iii 28.

⁶⁰ BIN 9, 203 (Šū-ilīšu 01-08-03), obv. 4 (e₂ ^dInana “Inana’s temple”), and BIN 10, 169 (Šū-ilīšu 01-07-16), obv. 4 (e₂ ^dInana “door of Inana’s temple”).

⁶¹ Richter, *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabylonien in altbabylonischer Zeit*, 130, 282, 297, 470; Rients de Boer, *Amorites in the Early Old Babylonian Period*. PhD Dissertation (Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 2014), 122; Jarosław Maniaczyk, “Le culte d’Ištar/Eštar dans les textes paléo-babyloniens de Mari. Bilan des dernières recherches.” *Miscellanea Anthropologica et Sociologica* 15, no. 3 (2014), 42, 47; Réka Esztári, and Ádám Vér, “The Voices of Ištar. Prophetesses and Female Ecstatics in the Neo-Assyrian Empire.” In *Religion and the Female Body in Ancient Judaism and Its Environments*, Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 28, edited by Géza G. Xeravits (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 5–6, mainly notes 6–7.

⁶² The ša₃ I₃-si-in-na of TLB 5, 16 (Išbī-Erra 32-11-02), obv. 6.

⁶³ For the provenance of the manuscripts for *Enlil-bāni* 7 (= RIME 4, 1.5.7), see Douglas Frayne, *The Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods 4. (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 59.

⁶⁴ Elizabeth C. Stone, “Patterns of Looting in Iraq.” *Antiquity* 82 (2008), 135–36 and “An Update on the Looting of Archaeological Sites in Iraq.” *Near Eastern Archaeology* 78, no. 3 (2015), 184–86; Walter Sommerfeld, “Statt eines Vorwurtes der Grabungsleitung: Die jüngere Geschichte Isins.” In *Keilschrifttexte aus ISIN - IŠĀN BAHRĪYĀT. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unter der Schirmherrschaft der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Abhandlungen. München. Neue Folge 143, edited by Claus Wilcke (München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2018), 11.

⁶⁵ George, *House Most High. The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*, 62.

Colonna d'Istria, Laurent. "Wool Economy in the Royal Archive of Mari during the Šakkanaku Period." In *Wool Economy in the Ancient Near East*, Ancient Textile Series 17, edited by Catherine Breniquet and Cécile Michel, 169–201. Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow, 2014.

Boer, Rients de. *Amorites in the Early Old Babylonian Period*. PhD Dissertation. Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 2014.

———. "Studies on the Old Babylonian Kings of Isin and Their Dynasties with and Updated List of Isin Year Names." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 111, no. 1 (2021): 5–27.

de Cuenca Prado, Luis Alberto. "Orden ECD/1915/2004, de 15 de abril, por la que se ejercita el derecho de tanteo sobre los lotes números 1041, 1047, 1048, 1063 y 1065, subastados por la Sala Jesús Vico, en Madrid." *Boletín Oficial del Estado* 149, n. 11520 (2004): 22555.

del Castillo Vera, Pedro. "Orden de 17 de julio de 2000 por la que se ejercita el derecho de tanteo, con destino al Museo Sefardí, de tres monedas y tres objetos arqueológicos." *Boletín Oficial del Estado* 194, n. 15445 (2000): 28999.

Ebeling, Erich. "Sammlungen von Beschwörungsformeln teils in sumerisch-akkadischer, teils in sumerischer oder akkadischer Sprache." *Archiv Orientální* 21 (1953): 357–423.

Esztári, Réka and Vér, Ádám. "The Voices of Ištar. Prophetesses and Female Ecstatics in the Neo-Assyrian Empire." In *Religion and the Female Body in Ancient Judaism and Its Environments*, Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 28, edited by Géza G. Xeravits, 3–39. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2015.

Flückiger-Hawker, Esther. *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition*, OBO 166. Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999.

Frahm, Eckart. "Ein krypto-sumerischer Text König Adad-apla-iddinas aus Uruk." *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 32 (2001): 175–99.

Frayne, Douglas. *The Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods 4. Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

George, Andrew R. *House Most High. The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*. Mesopotamian Civilizations 5. Winona Lake (IN): Eisenbrauns, 1993.

Glassner, Jean-Jacques. "Histoire Babylonienne et sa Réflexion dans les Chroniques de l'Époque Babylonienne Récente." In *Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne*, edited by Johannes Renger, 157–66. Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1999.

———. *Mesopotamian Chronicles*. Writings of the Ancient World 19. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004.

Goddeeris, Anne. *Tablets from Kisurra in the collections of the British Museum*. SANTAG 9. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.

Gödecken, Karin B. "Bemerkungen zur Göttin Annunītum." *Ugarit Forschungen* 5 (1973): 141–65.

Hermann Hunger and David Pingree. *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia*. Handbook of Oriental Studies 1.44. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Huber Vulliet, Fabienne. *Le Personnel Cultuel à l'Époque Néo-Sumérienne (ca 2160–2003 av. J.-C.)*. Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 14. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2019.

Jagersma, Abraham H. *A descriptive grammar of Sumerian*. PhD Dissertation. Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 2010.

Kienast, Burkhardt. "Narāmsīn mut ⁴INANNA." *Orientalia. Nova Series* 59 (1990): 196–203.

Klein, Jacob. "Four Early Mesopotamian 'Building' Inscriptions from the Moussaieff Tablet Collection." In *Historical and Literary Studies from the Ancient Near East Presented to Israel Eph 'al*, edited by Mordechai Cogan and Dan'el Khan, 153–82. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2008.

Krul, Julia. *The Revival of the Anu Cult and the Nocturnal Fire Ceremony at Late Babylonian Uruk*, CHANE 95. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Livingstone, Alasdair. “The Isin “Dog House” Revisited.” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 40 (1988): 54–60.

Maniaczyk, Jarosław. “Le culte d’Ištar/Eštar dans les textes paléo-babyloniens de Mari. Bilan des dernières recherches.” *Miscellanea Anthropologica et Sociologica* 15, no. 3 (2014): 39–75.

Myers, Jennie. *The Sippar Pantheon: A Diachronic Study*, PhD Dissertation. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University, 2002.

Oelsner, Joachim. *Der Kodex Hammu-rāpi. Textkritische Ausgabe und Übersetzung*, Dubsar 4. Münster: Zaphon, 2022.

Ozaki, Tohru, Sigrist, Marcel, and Steinkeller, Piotr. “New Light on the History of Irisaĝrig in Post-Ur III Times,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 111, no. 1 (2021), 28–37.

Palomero Plaza, Santiago. *Historia de la Sinagoga de Samuel Ha-Leví y del Museo Sefardi de Toledo*. Toledo: Ministerio de Cultura. Gobierno de España, 2007.

Richter, Thomas. *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabylonien in altbabylonischer Zeit* (2., verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage), Alter Orient und Altes Testament 257. Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2004.

Robson, Eleanor. *Ancient Knowledge Networks: A Social Geography of Cuneiform Scholarship in First-Millennium Assyria and Babylonia*. London: UCL Press, 2019.

Sallaberger, Walther. *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie 7/1+2. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993.

Sefati, Yitschak. *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature. Critical Edition of the Dumuzi-Inanna Songs*. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1998.

Selz, Gebhard J. “Five Divine Ladies: Thoughts on Inana(k), Ištar, In(n)in(a), Annunītum, and Anat, and the Origin of the Title “Queen of Heaven”” *NiN. Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity* 1 (2000): 29–60.

Sigrist, R. Marcel. “Nippur entre Isin et Larsa de Sin-iddinam à Rim-Sin,” *Orientalia* 46, no. 3 (1977): 363–74.

Sigrist, R. Marcel. *Les sattukku dans l’Ešumeša durant la période d’Isin et Larsa*. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 11. Malibu: Undena, 1984.

Sommerfeld, Walter. “Statt eines Vorwortes der Grabungsleitung: Die jüngere Geschichte Isins.” In *Keilschrifttexte aus ISIN – IŠĀN BAHRĪYĀT. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unter der Schirmherrschaft der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Abhandlungen München. Neue Folge 143, edited by Claus Wilcke, 10–15. München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2018.

Steinkeller, Piotr. “An archaic “prisoner plaque” from Kiš.” *Revue d’Assyriologie et d’Archéologie orientale* 107 (2013): 131–57.

Stone, Elizabeth C. “Patterns of Looting in Iraq.” *Antiquity* 82 (2008): 125–38.

—. “An Update on the Looting of Archaeological Sites in Iraq.” *Near Eastern Archaeology* 78, no. 3 (2015): 178–86.

Such Gutiérrez, Marcos. *Beiträge zum Pantheon von Nippur im 3. Jahrtausend. Materiali per il Vocabolario Sumerico* 9/1+2. Roma: Sapienza Università di Roma, 2003.

Tinney, Stephen. “On the Curricular Setting of Sumerian Literature.” *Iraq* 61 (1999): 159–72.

Van De Mieroop, Marc. *Crafts in the Early Isin Period: A Study of the Isin Craft Archive from the Reigns of Išbī-Erra and Šū-ilīšu*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 24. Leuven: Department Oriëntalistiek, 1987.

—. “The Mesopotamians and their Past.” In *Periodisierung und Epochenbewusstsein im Alten Testament und in seinem Umfeld*, Oriens et Occidens 20, edited by Josef Wiesehöfer and Thomas Krüger, 37–56. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2012.

von Dassow, Eva. “Narām-Sin of Uruk: A New King in an Old Shoebox.” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 61 (2009): 63–91.

Wagensonner, Klaus. “The Middle East after the Fall of Ur.” In *The Oxford History of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Karen Radner, Nadine Moeller, and Daniel T. Potts (eds.), 190–309. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021.

Westenholz, Aage. "The Old Akkadian Period: History and Culture." In *Mesopotamien. Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*, OBO 160/3, edited by Walther Sallaberger and Aage Westenholz, 17–121. Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999.

Westenholz, Joan Goodnick. *Legends of the Kings of Akkade. The Texts*. Mesopotamian Civilizations 7. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997.

Westenholz, Joan Goodnick. "Plethora of Female Deities." In *Goddesses in Context: On Divine Powers, Roles, Relationships and Gender in Mesopotamian Textual and Visual Sources*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 259, edited by Julia Asher-Greve and Joan Goodnick Westenholz, 29–136. Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.

Wilcke, C. "Ein dritter Backstein mit der großen Inschrift des Königs Takil-ilissu von Malgüm und der Tonnagel des Ipiq-Ištar." In *At the Dawn of History. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of J.N. Postgate*, edited by Yağmur Heffron, Adam Stone, and Martin Worthington, 737–51. Winona Lake (Indiana): Eisenbrauns, 2017.



Figure 1. Hand copy of the inscription on the head of Manuscript A by Daniel Sánchez Muñoz ©

Accepted version only! The published version (officially under embargo) can be found here: <https://aror.orient.cas.cz/index.php/ArOr/article/view/542>



Figure 2. Head of Manuscript A (photo: Daniel Sánchez Muñoz ©)



Figure 3. Manuscript A (photo: Daniel Sánchez Muñoz ©)



Figure 4. Photographic composition of 1023.1, the new duplicate of *Gude'a* 37 by Daniel Sánchez Muñoz ©