

نصان اقتصاديان غير منشوران من عهد ملك لارسا غونغونوم

د. شيماء ناصر حسين

قسم الآثار - كلية الآداب - جامعة بغداد

البريد الإلكتروني Email : Shaimaanassir@coart.uobaghdad.edu.iq

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كيفية اقتباس البحث

حسين ، شيماء ناصر ، نصان اقتصاديان غير منشوران من عهد ملك لارسا غونغونوم ، مجلة مركز بابل للدراسات الانسانية، أيلول 2025، المجلد: 15 ، العدد: 5.

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Two Unpublished Economic Texts from The Reign of The King of Larsa Gun-gun-um

Dr. Shaimaa Nassir Husain

Department of Archaeology- Collage of Arts- University of Baghdad

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المخلص

كانت سلالة لارسا احدى السلالات الامورية المتعاصرة والمتنازعة على السيادة في العصر البابلي القديم الى جانب سلالات اخرى مثل ايسن - بابل الاولى - اشنونا - اشور - ماري - الوركاء - كيش - كيسورا - كزالو و مانانا . وبالامكان عدّها اول هذه السلالات ، والتي تأسست في نهاية عصر سلالة اور الثالثة في زمن اخر حكامها ابي سين ، وقد اسسها احد شيوخ القبائل الامورية ودام حكم سلالة لارسا حوالي 262 عام من عام 2025 ق.م الى العام 1763 ق.م حكم خلالها 16 حاكم وملك منهم من حقق شهرة واسعة ومنهم لم يحققها باختلاف قوتهم وانجازاتهم وذلك حسب ماوصل اليها من خلال صيغهم التاريخية التي زودتنا بمعلومات وافية عن تاريخ حكمهم وماقدموه .

ومن الجدير بالذكر ان الحكام الاربعة الاوائل في سلالة لارسا لم يكونوا بالقوة الكافية التي تؤهلهم الى توسيع حدود مدنهم والسيطرة على المدن المجاورة لها او ربما لم تكشف لنا التوقييات بعد عن نصوص ملكية او صيغ تاريخية ذات معلومات كافية تشير الى انجازاتهم ، وبمجيء

الملك الخامس في السلالة الا وهو الملك كونكونوم ابتدأت حقبة جديدة مزدهرة في تاريخ سلالة لارسا.

وقمنا في هذا البحث بدراسة اثنان من النصوص الاقتصادية المؤرخة للملك كونكونوم ، الاول يعود للسنة الثالثة والثاني يعود للسنة السادسة والعشرون .

Abstract :

The Larsa dynasty was one of the contemporary Amorite dynasties that disputed sovereignty in the Old Babylonian era, along with other dynasties such as Isin - First Babylon - Eshnunna - Ashur - Mari - Uruk - Kish - Kisura - Kazalu and Manana. It can be considered the first of these dynasties, which were founded at the end of the era of the Third Ur Dynasty during the time of its last ruler, Ibi-Sin. It was founded by one of the sheikhs of the Amorite tribes. The rule of the Larsa dynasty lasted about 262 years, from 2025 BC to 1763 BC, during which 16 rulers and kings ruled, some of whom achieved wide fame and some of whom did not, depending on their strength and achievements, according to what has reached us through their date formulas that provided us with sufficient information about the history of their rule and what they provided

It is worth noting that the first four rulers of the Larsa dynasty were not strong enough to qualify them to expand the borders of their cities and control the neighbouring cities, or perhaps excavations did not reveal to us royal texts or data formulas with sufficient information indicating their achievements. With the arrival of the fifth king in the dynasty, King Gungunum, a new prosperous era began in the history of the Larsa dynasty.

We studied tow economic texts that dated to king Gungunum , the first one dates back to the third year and the second dates back to the twenty-sixty year

The King Gun-gun-um

He is the fifth king of the Larsa dynasty according to the list of kings, and he is the first king in the dynasty to be nicknamed (king), as all those who preceded him, four of them, were nicknamed (leader or sheikh of the Amoris), starting from Nablanum¹, the founder of the dynasty (5025-2005 B.C), followed by Emišum²(2005-1977 B.C) It was followed by Samium³ (1977-1942 B.C) gungunum's father and followed by his son Zabaia⁴ (1942-1932 B.C) gungunum's brother and the last ruler of the dynasty who were nicknamed the sheikh of the Amorites..

After that a new period of the dynasty era began, a thriving period that began when gungunum took over the throne of Larsa, the balance of a



Two Unpublished Economic Texts from The Reign of The King of Larsa Gun-gun-um



power turned to his side⁵ . while Larsa was less important during the reign of the four rulers who preceded him, she became more powerful and expanding in his reign⁶ .

gungunum ruled 26 years from the year (1932-1906 B.C) , but some sources mention that he ruled 27 years⁷ , while other sources⁸ put him 28 years based on the number of data formulas belonging to him, which provided us with enough information about his military, political, religious and urban achievements during his reign and it is almost the main source that was relied on in writing this research, as well as the sequence of achievements and events was came based on data formulas, in addition to his data formula, he also has four royal texts⁹ , and several literary texts¹⁰ as well as economic texts, as well as providing us with information about the history of his reign.

The name Gun-gun-um is an Amorian origin derived from the source gun-gun, which means protection, Defence or shelter¹¹ .

The king gungunum was contemporary the tow kings of the dynasty of Isin, Lipit- shtar and Urnanurta, they were the fifth and sixth kings in the sequence of the kings of the dynasty¹² . As mentioned, the kingdom of Larsa, before gungunum, did not enjoy the strength and the capacity of borders, but after he recived the throne of Larsa, its strength increased and its borders expanded in various directions, as this king worked to strengthen his kingdom from within before expanding the borders of his kingdom, after he dated his first year by taking over the rule (the year in which he became king)

MU GUN-GUN-UM LUGAL¹³ -

He made bricks and built a wall for the city of Larsa called utu wins on the rebellious land, this was stated in one of his royal texts¹⁴ ."

bàd.gal larsa^{ki}-ma
d^d.utu ki.bal.e sà.di
mu.bi.im
ša.mu.aš.ka sig₄.bi
ù bàd.bi mu.dù

He dated his second year by presenting two copper palms to the temple of the god UTU



mu^{giš} gišimmar urudu é^dutu-šè i-ni-in-ku4-re¹⁵

Then, in his third year, gungunum began military campaigns and started his military campaigns in the Elamic cities, starting from his third year¹⁶, which he dated the destruction of the city of Bashimi¹⁷

The year of the destruction of the city of Bashimi
- mu ba-ši-mi^{ki} ba.ḫul¹⁸

This year can be considered one of the most important years, not only in the history of the reign of King gungunum, but also for the Larsa dynasty, because it is the beginning of the launch of military campaigns to neighbouring countries to expand the borders of the Kingdom and subject countries to the authority of the dynasty and consolidate its rule, and the importance of this work is considered as it is the first military campaign of gungunum towards the country of Elam, it has dated its next year, which is the fourth year of this incident, so he also mentioned (the year following the year of the destruction of bashimi)

Mu us-sa ba-ši-miki ba-ḫul¹⁹

Then he resumed his military campaigns on the country of Elam in the fifth year of his rule, as he dated it with the most important event in it, which was the destruction of the Elamic city of Anshan²⁰

mu an-ša-an^{ki} ba-ḫul²¹

King gungunum was also able to subjugation the Elamian capital Sosa to his authority in the sixteenth year of his reign, as a tablet was found in Sosa in which his name was mentioned²², which confirms his control over it after the defeat of its king Indattu II²³

It seems that King gungunum wanted those campaigns against the Elamic cities to regain sovereignty to Mesopotamia and expand towards the east, or perhaps to secure the eastern borders, which was a danger to the Mesopotamian kingdoms²⁴. These campaigns came in anticipation of an expected attack that the country of Elam was seeking to carry out against Sumer, and Akkad, that prompted him to start attacking them and destroy their military power before they came to attack²⁵

In addition to the Elamic cities, gungunum was able to impose its control over some important cities such as Ur, Nipur and Al-Warkaa. Al-Warkaa was under the control of Isin until the time of its king Lipit-Ishtar (1934-



Two Unpublished Economic Texts from The Reign of The King of Larsa Gun-gun-um

19924 B.C) It was then controlled by gungunum and remained under the control of the kings of Larsa who came after gungunum²⁶

Then a period of calm passed, during it gungunum was busy installing a high priestess for the temple of UTU, the official god of the city of Larsa, and introducing a copper statue, and dated these works in the sixth and seventh years of his reign (the year in which he chose the priestess of Shamsh by omen) and (the year following this year)

6 - mu en.^dutu maš.e in.pàd

7- mu ús.sa en.^dutu maš.e in.pàd²⁷

The first step of direct confrontation with Isin was his attack on the city of Ur and his capture of it after it belonged to Isin after the fall of the third empire of Ur, and there is nothing in the data formulas of gungunum, indicating the incident of his controlling on Ur, but the data formulas in Ur clearly mention the transfer of rule in the city from Isin to Larsa, but what is mentioned in the data formulas of gungunum indicate that it occurred either in his ninth or tenth year, as we note that since the tenth year, data formulas began to refer to religious activities taking place in the city of Ur, including the introduction of gifts to the temple of Nannar, the official god of UR, and the eleventh year, which was dated by making a copper statue of the god Nannar representing the King walking , and he repeated this in his twelfth year, and the thirteenth year refers to the employment of Ennin Sunzi, daughter of Ishtar, as a high priest in the temple of the god Nin gublaga, and this refers to his relationship with the Kingdom of Isin, and in addition to the employment of Ishtar's daughter, as a priest in the temple, Einna Natuma, the daughter of Ashmi Dagan, the fourth king in the Isin dynasty, was also employ a high priestess in the temple of Nannar in Ur ²⁸

10-Mu giš šu.nir gal nesag.gá 2 a-bi giš gu.za kaskal é ^dnanna.šè
i.ni.in.ku₄.re

11-mu alan urudu gír.tab.ba ^dnanna.ra mu.un.na.an.dìim

13- mu en.nun.sun.zi en.^dnin.gublaga ba—un.gá 29

As we mentioned , gungunum took control of the city of Al-Wrakaa as well as captured on the city of Kisurra³⁰, as mentioned in historical documents discovered in Kisura, which refer to the tenth year of gungunum's rule, and his control over it did not last long because it was

mentioned the following year a formula belonging to King Ur-Nurta, which means that he carried out a counterattack on it.

After his loss of the city of Kisura, a quiet stage of the gungunum era began from the years of his thirteenth to eighteenth rule related to the interest in religious affairs and the construction of temples and irrigation canals³¹. In his nineteenth year, he returned to military action and destroyed the army of Malkium³² and secured the road and opened the source of the mountain canal by order of the Enlil and Nana.

Mu inim an ^d.En.lil ^d.nanna-ta ma-al-gi₄-a ^{giš} tukul ba-ab-sìg ù É-danna bí-in-gi-na ù íd-kur-ra ka-bi ba-an-dib³³

It is a clear reference to the controlling in the Warkaa as well as in the holy city of Nipur, which was characterised by its religious status, where it was the seat of the worship of the god Enlil, and gungunum's control was in his nineteenth year, but sources indicate the recovery of Nipur from Larsa through its king Ur-Nanurta, but it is not known if this was in the life of gungunum or after his death, as well as gungunum was able to control over Isin and added to this nicknames a new nickname that was the monopoly of the kings of Isin , since the fall of third Ur, which is the (King of Sumer and Akkad)) and the title of (King of Ur)³⁴

Then there was a period of calm, during which gungunum focussed on strengthening the defensive fortifications of his kingdom. He built a new large gate in the city of Ur, where he dated his twentieth year.

Mu abul maḥ urí^{ki}-ma ba-dù³⁵

Then he dated the twenty-first year with the construction of a large defensive wall for the city of Larsa and dated his twenty-second and twenty-third year for the construction of the city of Dunim and the Ishartm channel and the construction of the great wall of the gate of Geshtin an-na³⁶

22-mu du-un-nu-um^{ki} ù □d-i-šar-tum ba-dù

23- mu bàd gal ká-^dgeštin-an-na gu-un-gu-nu-um ba-dù

The last five years of King gungunum's rule were mentioned in his activities, religious and irrigation works, as shown in the data formulas³⁷
24) mu É-^dnin-ì-si-in^{ki}-na larsa^{ki}-ma ba-dù

The year of the construction of a temple of the goddess Nin-isin in the city of Larsa.



Two Unpublished Economic Texts from The Reign of The King of Larsa Gun-gun-um



- 25) mu è-šutum è-gi-na-ab-tum kù^d nanna šà urí^{ki}-ma ba-dù
The year of building two temples for the god nannar in the city of Ur
26) mu alan kù-babbar^d nanna-ra mu-na-an-dím
the year in which he made a statue of silver for the god Nanar,
this year dates back to the second text studied in this research
27) mu íd-^dba-ba₆—e-gál / íd-^dba-ba₆-ri-ša-at íd gír-su^{ki} ba-ba-al
the Year of excavation of irrigation channels
28) mu ús-sa íd-^dba-ba₆—e-gál □d gír-su^{ki} ba-ba-al

Year after year that he dug irrigation canals, which is the last data formula that reached us from the reign of King gungunu

Concerning the death of gungunum, it seems that after he had succeeded in controlling several cities belonging to the Isin dynasty, as we mentioned previously, he clashed with the Elamites in a war. At the same time, King Ur-Ninurta ascended the throne of Isin, who took advantage of King gungunum's preoccupation with the war against the city of Elam. After gungunum had completed his control over Elam, he prepared to confront him, so he restored the wall of the city of Larsa. This was the first confrontation between them, which ended in Ur-Ninurta's favor, and gungunum was killed. and his son, Abi-Sara³⁸, follow him in rule.

From the above, we conclude that King gungunum was one of the most important and distinguished kings of the Larsa dynasty, who played a significant role in the dynasty's history. It can be said that the dynasty's history was divided into two political periods. The first period, led by four rulers, including King gungunum's father and brother, did not witness any major achievements, military conquests, or expansion of the kingdom's borders. The second period began with King gungunum's came to throne, and he achieved significant accomplishments in all fields, including politics, the military, religion, and urban development.

In this research, we studied two economic texts dating back to the third and twenty-sixth years of King gungunum's reign. We were able to determine the dates of the two texts through the data formula at the end of the tablets.

Information on the first text

The confiscated economic text, numbered I.M. 227350, dates back to the third year of the reign of King Larsa gungunum, based on the data formula on the left edge of the tablet. The text is rectangular (14 cm x 6 cm). It has been broken, and some of its middle lines are missing. It also



suffered damage to the front and back due to the use of adhesive during the restoration process

The text includes a list of the distribution of various materials, including barley, silver, bulls, and sheep. It lists the quantities and numbers, and appends them to the names of individuals. At the end of the text, the total, and the materials are written, and the text is followed by the historical formula dating back to the third year of King gungunum.

Information on the second text

The confiscated economic text, numbered I.M.96201, dates back to the twenty-sixth year of King gungunum's reign, based on the data formula on the reverse side of the text. The text is rectangular, measuring 6 cm by 9 cm. The text is in good condition, complete, , and no have broken. The text includes loan for a quantity of copper. The text is accompanied by the data formula dating back to the twenty-sixth year of King gungunum's reign.

(I.M. 227350) TEXT 1

Obv.

1. 70 ŠE.GUR 1/3 MA.NA 6 GÍN [.....]
- 1 GU₄.NÍGA 5 UDU ħi-ir-ša-tum-ma X
- ù A.ŠÁ^{giš}MA.NU í-li-illat-ti
- 3 GUR 1/3 MA.NA 5 GÍN kúr-ir-ra-ib-ba
5. i-ku-pí-^dsin (EN.ZU)
- 71 GUR 1 2/3 MA.NA 5 GÍN
- 1 GU₄ 3 UDU^dsin(EN.ZU)-mu-ba-li-iṭ
- [x] GUR 1 MA.NA 5[GÍN]
- [x] UDU.KÚR ili-i-zi
10. [.....]-pu-um
- [.....MA].NA 9 GÍN
- [.....]-il-lá
- [...]GUR[...MA].NA 8 GÍN
- [...]GU₄.NÍGA 2 [.....]
15. [.....]
- [.....]
- [.....]
- 5 (GUR) 2 SILA₄ [.....]
- ì-lí-iš-ti-šu
20. 5 GUR 1/3 MA.NA 3GÍN 5[x]
- ur-^dra-bu-um ù šu-šamaš
- 3 GUR 1/3 MA.NA 3GÍN
- [x] gu₄^mqí-iš-^den-zu



Two Unpublished Economic Texts from The Reign of The King of Larsa Gun-gun-um



6 gur [x] ^dnin-na-su

25. ur-^dlštar-ta

4 GUR [x] MA.NA 4 GÍN 4 UDU

Rev.

Many broken lines

[.....]-ir

[.....] ì-lí-[.....]-ni

[.....] MA.NA 7 GÍN

[.....]-bu-um

[.....] 1/3 MA.NA 6 GÍN 1 GU₄ 5 UDU

[.....]-ka-ni-an-na-su ir-[.....]

[.....] 6 GÍN 11 GU₄

[.....] la-áb-da-tum

[.....]-na-ir-i-[x]

Many broken lines

14 ½ MA.NA 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR

Up.edg

7 GU₄-NÍGA 70 UDU

ša Lagaš^{ki} ù Unug^{ki}

Left.edg

iti ^{giš}APIN-DU8-A

mu ba-ši-mi ba-hul

translation

Obv.

1) 70 kore of barley, a third of a mana, and 6 shekels(.....)

2) 1 large bull and 5 sheep (person's name)

3) And a field of willow trees (belonging to) (person's name)

4) 1 kore (barley), and third of a mana, and 5 shekels (person's name)

5) person name

6) 71 kore (barley) 1 and a third mana and 5 shekels

7) 1 bull, 3 sheep (person's name)

8) kore (barley) 1 mana 5 shekels

9) mount goat (person's name)

10).....

11)mana , 9 shekels

12)

13)kore ...mana 8 shekels

14) ... large bull

15)

16).....

17).....

- 18) 5kore 2 Sila
- 19) Person's name
- 20) 5.....cor one-third mana 3 shekels
- 21) Person's name and person's name
- 22) 3kore one-third mana 3 shekels
- 23)Bull, person's name....
- 24) 6kore.....Person's name
- 25) Person's name
- 26) 4kore...mana 4 shekels 4 sheep

Rev.

Many broken lines

.....

.....

.....mana 7 shekels

.....

One-third mana 6 shekels 1 bull 5 sheep

Person's name

..... 6 shekels 11 bulls

Person's name

Person's name

Many broken lines

14 and half mana 6 shekels silver

Upper edge

large bulls 70 sheep⁷

Belonging to the cities of Lagash and Uruk

Left edge

Month of Arakshamo

Year of the destruction of the city of bashmi

General translation:-

Text of the distribution of various materials, including silver, barley, bulls, sheep, and mountain goats, to the cities of Lagash and Uruk, dating back to the third year of King Concunoum's reign.

Notes

giš MA.NU means willow tree, ēru in Akkadian ³⁹-

GU4.NÍGA: A Sumerian term meaning a large or fat bull, alpu muru in Akkadian⁴⁰

UDU: A Sumerian word meaning sheep, immerum in Akkadian

UDU.KÙR: A Sumerian term meaning highland sheep, or mountain sheep, Immeri šadi in Akkadian⁴¹

KÙ,BABBAP: A Sumerian word meaning silver, kaspum in Akkadian



Two Unpublished Economic Texts from The Reign of The King of Larsa Gun-gun-um

APIIN.ΔY₈.A: A formula Sumerian name for a month, in Akkadian:
αραησαμινυ

TEXT 2 (I.M.96201)

Obv.

1 GÚ 1/3 MA.NA URUDU

KÙ.BI 8 MA.NA

KI i-ku-un-pi₄-ša

Wa-tu-ur-du-ni

5. ŠU.BA.AN.TI

i-na ma-ša-ar -at

Low.Edge.

Ì.LÁ.E

Rev.

IGI ^dnanna(ŠEŠ.KI)-zi-ba

IGI e-lú-me-e

KIŠIB wa-tu-ur-du-ni 10.

ITI KIN.^dINANNA

MU ALAN KÙ-BABBAR È ^dNANNA.RA

Up.Edge.

Ì.NI.IN.DÍM

Translation

Obve.

weight and a third mana of copper1 1

Its value is 8 mana

From the name of a person

Name of a person

5. received

In the storehouse

Lower edge

Weighs

Rev.

Name of witness

Name of witness

10. Name of witness



Month of September

Year of the silver statue of the temple of the god Nanna

Upper edge

Made

Upper edge

Made

General translation:-

A loan of one talent and a third of a mina of copper, the price of which was eight minas, which he received from Econpesha and will return to the storehouse in the presence of witnesses in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of King gungunum.

Notes

URUDU: The Sumerian term for copper, eru in Akkadian⁴².

KÙ.BI: The Sumerian term meaning its price, and is an abbreviation of the term KÙ.BABBAR, which means silver or price⁴³.

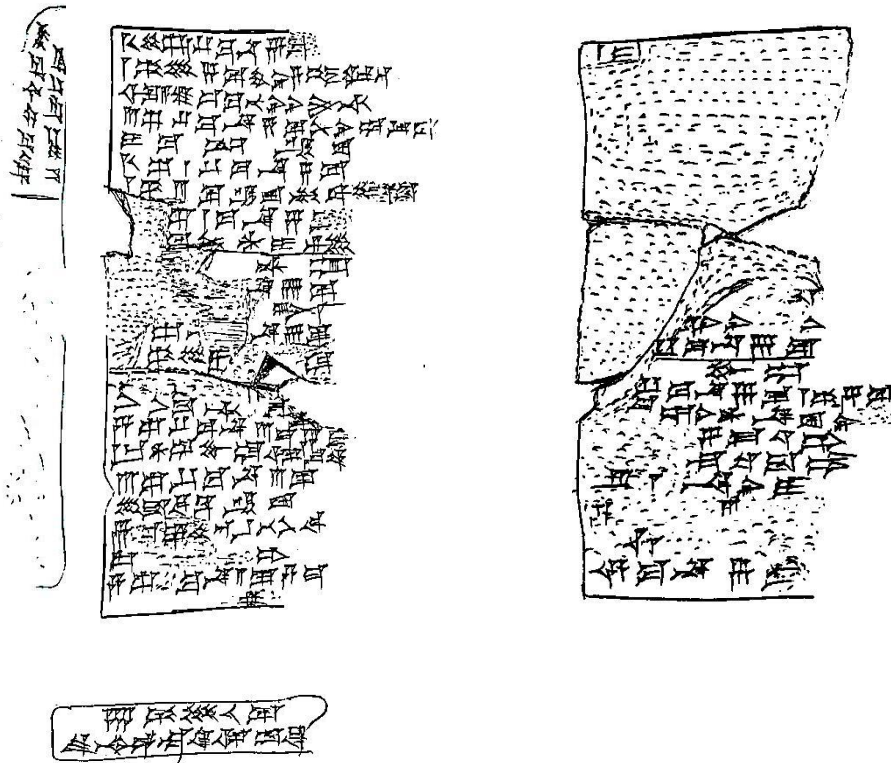
ŠU.BA.AN.TI: The Sumerian verb form meaning "received. in Akkadian the verb (ilqe), a past tense verb in the simple form (G) of the third person singular from the root (leqû), meaning "to take" or "to receive"⁴⁴.

ma-ša-ar-at: The Akkadian term meaning "storehouse"⁴⁵.

Í.LÁ.E: The Sumerian verb form meaning "to weigh." It is in the present tense. in Akkadian išaqqal, a present tense verb in the simple form (G) of the third person singular from the root šaqlu.

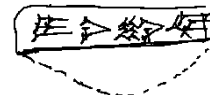
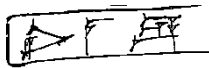
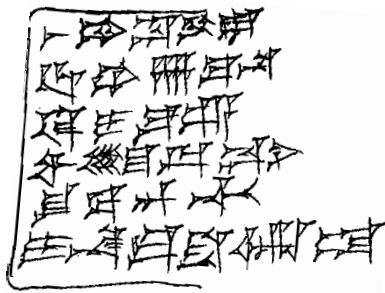
Texts 1(I.M. 227350)





(I.M.96201) TEXT 2





Footnotes

¹⁾ Nablanum: He is the first ruler in the king lists of Larsa. To date, excavations have not revealed a royal text for this ruler or any other information about him, except that he appears as a ruler who took the throne of Larsa at the beginning of the reign of Ibbi-Sin, King of Ur. He is later mentioned in the administrative texts of Ur III as an Amorite leader (chief of the Amorites)..("

. Charpin, D., et alii., Mesopotamien Die altbabylonische Zeit, OBO 160/4, 2004, p:69 -
- Fitzgerald, M.A., The Rulers Of Larsa, Doctora Dissertation, Yale University, 2002, p:37.

²⁾ Emişum He ruled for 28 years and is the second ruler. There is no detailed information about him Ibid, p:58.

³⁾ Sameum: He is the father of gungunum. He ruled for 35 years according to the Larsa King List. We have no information about him other than that he conquered the city of Lagash..

Frayne, D., Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC), The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, RIMA, V, 4, London, 1990, p. 110

⁴⁾ Zabaya: He was the fourth ruler of the Larsa dynasty. He ruled for 9 years. A five-line Akkadian inscription was found indicating his construction of the E-Nannar Temple in Larsa. He called himself "chief" or "chief" of the Amorites.
RIMA, 4, pp. 111-112..

⁵⁾ Al-Hussainy, A., The Urbanism of Some Old Babylonian Capital Cities, ISIN, V, 2021, p. 14.

⁶⁾ Taha Baqir, Introduction to the History of Ancient Civilizations, Vol. 1, Baghdad, 2009, p. 452

⁷⁾ Khashnaw, A., Unpublished Old Babylonian Letters in The Slemani Museum (selected letters), Doctoral Dissertation, v. 1, Budapest, 2018, p. 59..

Fitzgerald, M.A., Op. cit., p. 38.

⁸⁾ Sigrist, M. and Damerow, P., Mesopotamian Year Names, 2001, pp. 44-46.

⁹⁾ RIMA, 4, pp. 114-118.

¹⁰⁾ Fitzgerald, M.A., Op. cit., p. 43-44.





Two Unpublished Economic Texts from The Reign of The King of Larsa Gun-gun-um



¹¹⁾ Murad, A., Une nouvelle inscription royale de Gungunum, Revue D'Assyriologie Et D'Archeologie Orientale, Vol:117 ,France,2023,p:51.

Streck, M., Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit, AOAT271/1 Munster, 2000, p:334.

¹²⁾ RIMA, 4, p. 47 & 64.

¹³⁾ Sigrist, M. and Damerow, P., Op. cit., p. 44.

¹⁴⁾ RIMA, 4, p. 118.

¹⁵⁾ Sigrist, M. and Damerow, P., Op. cit., p. 45.

¹⁶⁾ to This year belonged the first text studied in this research.

¹⁷⁾ Bashimi:- An Elamite city located approximately 80 km east of Susa, the Elamite capital, and approximately 66 km northeast of Amarah. The site is known today as Tell Abu Shijah

Al-Zubaidi, Ahmad Kazim., The City of Bashimi, Baghdad, 2021, p. 51

¹⁸⁾ Sigrist, M. and Damerow, P., Op. cit., p. 45.

¹⁹⁾ Ibid, p. 45.

²⁰⁾ Anshan: An Elamite city located in the mountainous region east of Susa, known today as Telmian. It was allied with Isin, and this alliance had lasted for 45 years. When Idin-Dagan, king of Isin, married his daughter to the ruler of Anshan. It is likely that gungunum's campaign against it was a successful attempt to liberate his eastern flank before directly threatening Isin's sovereignty.

Fitzgerald, M.A., Op. cit., p. 39.

Kazem Abdullah and Fawzia Zakir, "Implications of the Military Actions of the Kings in the Historical Forms of the Old Babylonian Period (2004-1595 BC) for the Kingdoms of Isin and Larsa," Journal of Arab Scientific Heritage, Issue 2, 2015, p. 96.

²¹⁾ Sigrist, M. and Damerow, P., Op. cit., p. 45.

²²⁾ Al-Ahmad, Sami Saeed, and Hashemi, Reza Jawad, "History of the Ancient Lower (Iran and Anatolia)," Baghdad, 1980, p. 57.

²³⁾ Andatu II (1900-1925 B.C): King of Elam, a contemporary of gungunum, who was killed in the battle that took place between them.

Cameron, G.G., "History of Early Iran," New York, 1969, p. 64

²⁴⁾ Kazem Abdullah and Fawzia Zakir, op. cit., p. 96.

²⁵⁾ Al-Ahmad, Sami Saeed, The Army and Weapons in the Old Babylonian Era, Baghdad, 19, p. 171.

²⁶⁾ Uruk remained under the control of the kings of Larsa, Abi-Sara and Sumu-il

²⁷⁾ Sigrist, M. and Damerow, P., Op. cit., p. 45.

²⁸⁾ Ennanatuma: She was a princess known for her decisive personality, evident in her architectural activities in Ur. She was the only princess to seal bricks with her name. She kept on her religious status even after gungunum's conquest of Ur. She built a temple to the god Dagan, dedicated to gungunum's life and her own.

Murad, A., Op. cit., p. 52..

Al-Adhami, Muhammad Taha., Hammurabi, Baghdad, 1990, p. 30.

²⁹⁾ Sigrist, M. and Damerow, P., Op. cit., P. p. 45.

³⁰⁾ Kisura: A small city located southeast of Isin and part of the city of Isin.

Charpin, Op. 160/4, p. 74..



- ³¹⁾ Ibid, p. 45.
- ³²⁾ **Malkeum**: A city located on the banks of the Tigris River, at its confluence with the Diyala River in the north, and northeast of Isin.
- ³³⁾ Ibid, p. 46.
- ³⁴⁾ Al-Adhami, op. cit., p. 30.
- ³⁵⁾ Sigrist, M. and Damerow, P., Op. cit., p. p. 46
- ³⁶⁾ Ibid, p. 46
- ³⁷⁾ Ibid, p. 46
- ³⁸⁾ Abi-Sare (a-bi-sa-ri-a): He was the son of gungunum. He ruled for eleven years (1906-1895 BC). His lineage to gungunum was proven in a royal text numbered (I.M. 212944). For more information, see:
Abed, B. and Alwash, H., The King Abi-sare, his rule and descent, Studies in History and Archeology, No. 73, 2020, p. 672.
- ³⁹⁾ Leipzig.M., Sumerian Dictionary, vol. 269, 2006, p. 235.
MDA, p. 157: 342.
- 40) MDA, p. 1692: 367.
- 41) Al-Jubouri, Ali Yassin, A Dictionary of the Sumerian-Akkadian-Arabic Language, United Arab Emirates, 2016, p. 1085.
- ⁴²⁾ MDA, p. 97: 132..
- ⁴³⁾ CDA, p. 150
- ⁴⁴⁾ Shaima Nasser Hussein, Unpublished Economic Texts from the Old Babylonian Period, Journal of Studies in History and Archaeology, 2024, Supplement to Issue 92, p. 227.
- ⁴⁵⁾ Al-Jubouri, Ali Yassin, A Dictionary of the Akkadian-Arabic Language, Abu Dhabi, 2009, p. 333.

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