

A Kurigalzu II Reading of VS 24.91 and Early Middle Elamite History

Jeremy Goldberg

Abstract: This article integrates a Kurigalzu II reading of the Berlin letter (VS 24.91) with other evidence for early Middle Elamite (ME I) history. In addition to Elamite evidence, key data comes from the Babylonian Chronicle P, which deals with two wars of Kurigalzu with Elam. It is argued here that Kurigalzu I defeated Tepti-ahar (Chronicle P ii), who agreed to a settlement that recognized Kurigalzu's superior position. This agreement served both rulers very well, allowing Tepti-ahar to continue building Haft Tappeh Level II and eventually gain a strong position vis-à-vis Kurigalzu's weaker successor Kadašman-Enlil I (HT 38). But the subsequent alliance of Burna-Buriaš II with Aššur-uballit I led to a late ME I Elamite decline, reflected by Inšušinak-šar-ili not building at Haft Tappeh and Burna-Buriaš II eventually destroying Level II. As this alliance weakened, Šalla started to rebuild Haft Tappeh (Level III) late in Burna-Buriaš's reign or shortly after, but weakened himself by a failed attack on the pro-alliance faction in Babylonia early in the reign of Kurigalzu II (CUSAS 17.61). This allowed a Hurrian-Elamite from the north, Ǫurbatila, to obtain the throne, with Šalla becoming his vassal and ceasing work at Haft Tappeh. Ǫurbatila was eventually defeated by Kurigalzu II (Chronicle P iii 10-19), who proceeded to thoroughly conquer Elam, destroying Haft Tappeh IV and exploiting his victory to install Pahir-iššan as a junior partner allied by marriage (start of ME II).

Keywords: Middle Elamite I Period, Haft Tappeh, Kurigalzu, Ǫurbatila, Tepti-ahar, Chronicle P, VS 24.91

§1 Survey of ME I Kings and Kurigalzu II's Victory over Ҳurbatila

The first part of this section provides an overview of Elamite evidence on the early Middle Elamite (ME I) royal sequence, based principally on archival texts from Haft Tappeh and the Ram-Hormuz region.¹ The second part deals with a Babylonian chronicle passage (Chronicle P iii 10-19) concerning a “king of Elam” Ҳurbatila and a Babylonian king Kurigalzu (see ABC 170-177 (here 174-175) for Chronicle P). The widely accepted identifications of this Kurigalzu as Kurigalzu II and of Ҳurbatila as having a Hurrian background are accepted and further developed here to serve as a basis for the remainder of this study.

On the limited evidence of Elamite sources, the best sequence for the earliest Middle Elamite rulers is Igi-hatet, Kidinu, Tan-Ruhuratir II, Tepti-ahar, Inšušinak-šar-īli, Šalla (see briefly Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 872-877; in more detail on the last three kings Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2018a):

- Igi-hatet is only known from bricks from Dehno, which have “grammatical features” that “seem to be closer to the sukkalmah period” (Daneshmand and Abdoli 2015; cf. Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2018b, 233; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 872-873).
- Kidinu is only known from a sealing found at Susa in Ville Royale A XII.
- Like Kidinu, “his probable successor” Tan-Ruhuratir II (also only known from one sealing) is placed “in the early stages” of ME I by “general opinion” (see respectively Vallat 2000, 13; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2018b, 233).
- The sequence Tepti-ahar, Inšušinak-šar-īli, Šalla can be worked out as follows (see Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2018a, 123 for the quotes below; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 886 on attestations of Šalla):
 - Since a sealing of Tepti-ahar from Haft Tappeh “seems to belong to an earlier archaeological context” than those of Inšušinak-šar-īli, his reign should be earlier.
 - Since Šalla does not appear at Haft Tappeh, his reign should not come between Tepti-ahar and Inšušinak-šar-īli.
 - In texts from the Ram Hormuz region, a woman attested under Inšušinak-šar-īli and Šalla was the mother of a woman attested under Šalla.² This “leads to the hypothesis that Inšušinak-šar-īli reigned shortly before Šalla”.

Little is known about the first three Middle Elamite rulers, although Ville Royal A XII at Susa provides important chronological information: “no time lag of any

¹ See Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 885-886 for a list of all available contemporary evidence for ME I kings.

² The cited women appear at Tepe Bormi and in “Malamir texts” from this site or perhaps (see n88 below) nearby.

consequence intervened between the last *sukkalmah* and the first Middle Elamite ruler” (Potts 2016, 178; similarly Gasche et al. 1998, 20-26).³ For the period of the next three rulers, the following evidence provides glimpses of the historical situation:

- Tepti-ahar built a major monumental complex at Haft Tappeh (Level II), with massive walls, and was apparently buried there. He also built at Susa and maintained an impressive chariot corps.⁴ Subordinate rulers of other cities were titled “king of GN”. Together with no evidence for a hereditary early Middle Elamite throne, this points to a decentralized political culture, despite Tepti-ahar’s apparent great power.⁵
- Inšušinak-šar-īli (last attested RN at Haft Tappeh) apparently did not build here, but the monumental complex was still used. He also built at Susa and is attested at Tappeh Bormi (Ram Hormuz region).⁶ “At the end” of his reign “or shortly after”, Haft Tappeh Level II was destroyed (ashes in several places); “Probably the devastation of the building took place during a Babylonian invasion”, since a Babylonian type arrowhead was found near a skeleton.⁷
- The next attested ruler is Šalla, who never appears with the royal title but appears in the position of a king in oaths. He is attested in a good number of “Malamir texts”.⁸ At Haft Tappeh, he seems responsible (see further below with n14) for an apparently post-Inšušinak-šar-īli attempt to rebuild the monumental complex (Level III), which does not seem to have gotten too far (no floor) and was seemingly short-

³ In addition to a sealing of Kidinu, Ville Royale A XII contained a sealing of Kuk-našur (presumably Kuk-našur IV, the last *sukkalmah*).

⁴ The architectural finds at Haft Tappeh are discussed in detail by Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2013, but cf. Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2018b, 238-240 for an updated analysis; also Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 874-877; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2023, 179 for key points of the stratigraphy. See Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 885-886 for Tepti-ahar’s attestations; Álvarez-Mon and Wicks 2021 on his chariot force.

⁵ See Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2010, 115-117 for early Middle Elamite decentralization with multiple “kings”; see also Potts 2016, 196-197, but cf. below following n69 for a more positive treatment of Tepti-ahar’s power despite this decentralization.

⁶ “It can be assumed that after Tepti-ahar’s death there was no further construction in Haft Tappeh [Level II]. Inšušinak-šar-īli does not seem to have built any special buildings there.” (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2023, 179) See Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 886 for Inšušinak-šar-īli’s attestations.

⁷ See Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2013, 167 (also 161, 163, 170) on this destruction; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 874-875 summarizes: “at least one of the buildings was destroyed by fire”. See Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2023, 179 for dating.

⁸ See Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2018b, 886 on Šalla’s appearance in “Malamir texts”, but not at Haft Tappeh; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2018a, 113 for these texts’ provenance (Tepe Bormi, based on its identification with Huhnur, but see n88 below with references for Huhnur located near Tell Bormi also possible). See Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 873 for Šalla’s titular weakness, despite which the oath formula naming him is “so similar to a formula used for Tepti-ahar” that “one can assume Šalla also ruled over Elam”.

lived. A domestic resettlement with “poor houses” followed (Level IV), ending with a cluster of hundreds of skeletons, very likely the result of a massacre.⁹

A Babylonian chronicle seems to provide important information on the end of the ME I period: Chronicle P iii 10-19 tells of a challenge by Ḫurbatila “king of Elam” to a Kurigalzu over Dūr-Šulgi, which led to his defeat and capture:

10 Ḫurbatila, king of Elam, [*wrote*] to Kurigalzu (II):
 11 this: “Come! I and you, at Dur-Šulgi
 12 let us do battle together!” Kurigalzu (II) heard and ... [...]
 13 He went to conquer Elam and H[urbatila],
 14 king of Elam, [did] battle against him at Dur-Š[ulgi].
 15 He (Ḫurbatila) retreated before him and Kurigalzu broug[ht about] their defeat.
 16 He captured the king of Elam. All of Elam ... [...]
 17 Bowing down, Ḫurbatila, king of Elam, [said:]
 18 “I know, king Kurigalzu, that this ... [...]
 19 with the kings of all lands [*I have brought*] the tribute of *El[am]*”. (Chronicle P iii 10-19)

Who is this Ḫurbatila? Three clues are: (1) his unusual, very plausibly Hurrian RN, (2) his challenge to Kurigalzu regarding Dūr-Šulgi, apparently located near Alman in the north (upper Diyala region), and (3) his total lack of attestation in Elamite sources despite seemingly considerable power, as evidenced by this “king of Elam” challenging Babylonia in the upper Diyala region.¹⁰ These clues all fit very well together, as follows: since the

⁹ See Mofidi-Nasrabadi (2022, 875) on the attempted rebuilding: “this work was never completed. Only the lower parts of the buildings” walls were reconstructed (Building Level III)”. Cf. Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2018b, 240: “It is not certain whether the building activity of level III in complex C was completed, because no paved floor could be determined. Later, in level IV, people reused the remains of these thick walls and built their houses within them”. See Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2023, 179 on Level IV’s “poor houses”; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 875 on the end of Level IV: “This occupation was likely terminated by some devastation, an inference based on the discovery of a mass grave with several hundred skeletons, lying in haphazard position on top of each other” (cf. Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 877, which assumes a “massacre”). See below at n14 for Šalla’s career probably continuing during the time of Haft Tappeh Level IV.

¹⁰ As Roaf (2017, 179) notes: “Hurbatila (^m*ḫu-ur-ba-ti-la*) is otherwise unknown”. See e.g. Steve and Vallat 1989, 232; Glassner 1991, 125; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2011, 9 for Ḫurbatila at least likely a Hurrian name. Roaf (2017, 179) comments: “The name is not obviously Elamite and it could be Hurrian, as many personal names ending in *-tila* or *-tilla* are considered to be of Hurrian origin”. Cf. Roaf 2017, 180n48 for a Hurrian background plausibly connected with Ḫurbatila’s role in the north: “If Ḫurbatila was not an Elamite but a Hurrian, there might not have been the same logistical problems in reaching Dūr-Šulgi for a ruler of a Hurrian principality perhaps located not far to the north as there would have been for a king of Elam”; however there appears to be no justification for rejecting his kingship over Elam (Roaf 2017, 179). Khramov (2019a, 6) argues for a purely Elamite background, but the evidence cited can alternatively represent Hurrian influence in Elam; cf. text below for a Hurrian-Elamite

ME I monarchy was decentralized and seemingly non-hereditary (above with n5; cf. Chronicle P¹¹), the throne was very plausibly elective. On this basis, the above clues suggest that Ḫurbatila was a northerner, with a Hurrian or more likely (in view of his rule of Elam) a Hurrian-Elamite background, who somehow exploited Elamite weakness (cf. §1 on Šalla's titular weakness) to get himself elected king of Elam (see further §3.4), while retaining his northern base.¹²

What happened next? Ḫurbatila's conqueror is very widely identified as Kurigalzu II, which as Mofidi-Nasrabadi notes, could fit with the "massacre of the city's inhabitants" at the end of Haft Tappeh Level IV: "according to this scenario ... Ḫurbatila ... could have been the last king of the ME I phase" (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 877).¹³

solution.

See e.g. Roaf 2017, 179-180; Glatz et al. 2019, 442-443; Paulus 2022, 832 ("likely") for Dūr-Šulgi located near Alman (upper Diyala region). Cf. very recently Fincke and Eidem 2023 for Šulgi very active in this region; Ghobadizadeh and Sallaberger 2023 for a Kurigalzu apparently active here. Contra Glassner 1991, 126, Chronicle P referring to a Dūr-Šulgi attested in Susiana seems less likely since Ḫurbatila is unknown on the ground in Elam. See further on Ḫurbatila §3.4-§3.5.

¹¹ After a sea battle with a Kurigalzu, the defeated foe (presumably Elamite) is represented collectively: "We thought we had no rival" (Chronicle P ii 10-11; see §3.1). Following his defeat, Ḫurbatila stated: "with the kings of all lands [*I have brought*] the tribute of *El[am]*" (iii 19).

¹² Ḫurbatila's challenge to Kurigalzu over the upper Diyala region has an intriguing analogy to a similarly named king Ḫurbaḥ attested in the lower Diyala region (see e.g. van Koppen 2017, 59-60). This analogy is strengthened by his son's war in Tupliaš (Gasche et al. 1998, 86), which Roaf (2017, 173-176) argues convincingly was located in the Namri region to the east of Dūr-Šulgi (cf. Roaf 2017, 174n28 on a possible alternative location). If this analogy is significant, it supports locating Ḫurbatila's base in or near the upper Diyala region.

The understanding of Ḫurbatila given in the text can be compared with the Edomite King List (Gen. 36:31-39): this list is immediately followed by a list (36:40-43) of "chiefs" focused on "localities" (cf. the many attestations of Tepti-ahar's sub-rulers as "king of GN" at Haft Tappeh (above with n5), and the generally non-hereditary kings each had their own special city (like Tepti-ahar at Haft Tappeh) or city of origin, in one case on the Euphrates (36:37). Cf. also e.g. early modern Poland for decentralization accompanied by foreigners on the throne. This could serve to limit the power of the overlord (cf. ME I decentralization), gain protection, and/or serve foreign interests.

¹³ Roaf (2017, 179) comments: "It is normally thought that Kurigalzu II (1332-1308) was the Kassite king who defeated Hurbatila, because of the mention [in Chronicle P iii 20-22] of Adad-nārārī (1305-1274), who certainly ruled later than Kurigalzu I". A Kurigalzu II setting is assumed e.g. by MSKH 207; ABC 174-175. See text just below; further §3.4-§3.5 for a Kurigalzu II identification strengthened by producing a politically very coherent scenario. See the last part of §3.1 for Roaf's logic involving Adad-nirari I complicated but not weakened by the campaign of a Kurigalzu in Chronicle P ii 3-iii 9.

As Mofidi-Nasrabadi (2022, 877) notes, radiocarbon evidence may require an earlier dating of Haft Tappeh strata, which would allow the destruction of Level II to align with a Kurigalzu I/Ḫurbatila conflict. This issue is beyond the scope of this paper, which tries to follow the historical evidence where it seems to lead.

This chronology is accepted here, with the caveat that Šalla (who is mostly attested in the Ram Hormuz region, well to the south of Haft Tappeh and Susa) could very well have continued to rule locally under Ĥurbatila (see further §3.4), since this fits very well with his lack of the royal title. Since Ĥurbatila as an outsider would plausibly have very different ideas on how to rule Elam, his takeover can also provide a very good explanation for the abandonment of the short-lived (anonymous) attempt to rebuild the monumental complex at Haft Tappeh (Level III) as well as the poverty of Level IV. By a process of elimination, this short-lived attempt would then presumably have been carried out by Šalla.¹⁴ A very reasonable scenario is to date both his work here and his attestation at nearby Susa to a relatively short period early in his reign, and his extensive attestation further south mostly to a later period, when he was overshadowed by Ĥurbatila.

A victory of Kurigalzu II over a part-Hurrian “king of Elam” could tie in very well with his victory over Hurrian “Subartu” (kudurru Ka IV 2)¹⁵, i.e. through an Elamite-Subartu alliance. This makes great sense (see further §3.3) as a response to the alliance (known from chronicles; see Excursis 1 for details) between Kurigalzu II’s father Burna-Buriaš II, whose predecessor Kadašman-Enlil I appears to have broken with Elam (HT 38; see §3.2), and Aššur-uballit I, who warred with the “Šubarrians” (i.e. Subartu). A capstone for this good fit is that a Hurrian-Elamite alliance would help greatly to set the stage for a Hurrian-Elamite Ĥurbatila to obtain the throne of Elam.

Support for an Elam-Subartu alliance now can be worked out from the apparent role of Ĥurabtil/Laḥuratil as an Hurrian-Elamite deity: on the one hand, this figure is well known to be a form of the Elamite deity Ruhuratiṛ; on the other hand, Laḥuratil appears to be assigned to Subartu in *An = Anum* (short version) §F 33-35 (cf. Lambert and Winters 2023, 273, 279, 295, 689 on §F 33-35).¹⁶ On this basis:

¹⁴ As noted by Mofidi-Nasrabadi (2023, 177-178), no inscribed bricks have been found from any ruler who built at Haft Tappeh, so inference is necessary.

¹⁵ See Paulus 2014, 360-363 for the text of kudurru KA IV 2 = MDP 2.93. Since “Subartu” was used for Assyria in the 1st millennium, this usage is sometimes applied here (cf. PKB 152n922: “possible”). But see Excursis 3 for Subartu never meaning Assyria in the 2nd millennium, and usually meaning Hurrian Subartu. Note: Paulus (2014, 343 iii 25-26) provides one clear MB example for this term meaning “north”, but this non-political meaning cannot be applied to this kudurru’s war.

¹⁶ Lambert and Winters (2023, 295) comment on §F 35: “According to his copy, King thought he saw ‘SU’ in this line (the damaged lower right corner of the obverse of N₃₅), but according to collation from photo, nothing much remains of this damaged sign at all. One expects Elam rather than Subartu because Laḥuratil is an Elamite deity, with a good etymology (see Krebernik 2006, 78). Furthermore, the name is explained in the Anzu epic (in the variant form ḥu-rab-til, see Saggs 1986, 25, line 131) as being Ninurta’s name in Elam. If the tablet indeed had ‘SU’, it is to be corrected to ‘elam’.” See Lambert and Winters 2023, 672 for Subartu spelled *su* or *su*^{ki} seven times in *An = Anum* (cf. Lambert and Winters 2023, 295 on §F 27) and *su-bir₄*^{ki} once. A possible meaning of Šubartu as “north” (n15) does not accord

Since 𒄩urabtil/Laḥuratil is equivalent to Ruhuratir, who had a major cult center at Huhner in the Ram Hormuz region (Henkelman 2007, 449), the seeming rise in importance of this region under Inšušinak-šar-īli and Šalla (Tell Bormi, “Malamir texts”; see above at nn10, 12) could well reflect its apparently Hurrian-Elamite deity becoming more important because Subartu was becoming more important to Elam.¹⁷ As indicated above, this importance fits extremely well during the decades leading up to Kurigalzu II’s defeat of 𒄩urbatila and Subartu. On this entire basis, it seems very tempting to view 𒄩urbatila as a hypocoristicon for a name honoring the similarly-sounding 𒄩urabtil (or a Babylonian rendering of such a hypocoristicon), used as a programmatic reference to an alliance of Subartu with Elam.¹⁸

Turning to the sequel: 𒄩urbatila being defeated by Kurigalzu II at the end of the ME I phase can tie in extremely neatly with evidence on the start of the ME II phase, when Pahir-iššan founded a new dynasty, descended (according to the later text VS 24.91) from his marriage to the eldest daughter of a Kurigalzu: adding this all up points squarely to Kurigalzu II installing Pahir-iššan as a junior partner after defeating 𒄩urbatila. This installation also ties in very well with 𒄩urbatila being an outsider who had previously exploited Elamite political weakness to obtain the throne: on this basis, Kurigalzu II proceeded to take things a step further, following up his defeat of 𒄩urbatila by exploiting this weakness to thoroughly re-order Elam politically.

The evidence that Pahir-iššan married the eldest daughter of a Kurigalzu comes from a controversial source, the “Berlin letter” (VS 24.91). However a Kurigalzu II reading of this text is supported by strong arguments and objections can be strongly refuted (§2).

The scheme worked out above can be summarized as follows:

TABLE 1. ME I Period: Rulers, Chronological Setting, Haft Tappeh Strata

Elamite Rulers	Haft Tappeh Strata
last sukkalmah	
Igi-hatet	

with the usage in this text; note also *An* = *Anum* (short NA version) §M 12, which attributes a Hurrian word (*ene*) to “Subartu” (Lambert and Winters 2023, 322).

¹⁷ A potential test for this approach comes from Tepti-ahar’s predecessor Tan-Ruhuhahir II and the sukkalmah Tan-Ruhuhahir I, whose RNs should on this basis also reflect good relations with Hurrians.

¹⁸ 𒄩urabtil is spelled *ḥu-rab-til* in *Anzu* I 131 (Lambert and Winters 2023, 295), which can reflect this term being peripheral and obscure in Babylonia. Sine *Anzu* I 132 equates Ninurta with “Inšušinak in Susa”, 𒄩urabtil appears to be peripheral in Elam too, which would work well for a symbol of a foreign alliance. Dalley 2021, 97-98 sees *Anzu* I 131-132 as a reflection of a victory over Elam, which has some affinity with 𒄩urbatila’s outsider rule.

Kidinu	
Tan-Ruhuratir	
Tepti-ahar	Level II monumental complex built by Tepti-ahar as major powerbase.
Inšušinak-šar-īli	Level II complex still used until destruction, probably by Babylonia at the end of Inšušinak-šar-īli's reign.
early Šalla	Level III worked on by Šalla as short-lived attempt to rebuild powerbase.
Ḫurbatila (Hurrian-Elamite overlord based in the north) / Šalla (vassal, based in the south)	Level III is abandoned when Šalla is overshadowed by the outsider Ḫurbatila. Level IV reoccupation is poor.
Pahir-iššan	Level IV massacred between Kurigalzu II's defeat of Ḫurbatila and his installation of Pahir-iššan.

§2 Kurigalzu II Exploits Victory over Elam by Installing Pahir-iššan (VS 24.91)

The much-debated “Berlin letter” (VS 24.91) potentially provides crucial help in defining the historical setting of the ME I period. This ostensible copy of an Elamite royal letter¹⁹, written by a son-in-law of Meli-Šihu (ca. 1186-1172), traces the author's descent from a marriage alliance founded by a Babylonian king Kurigalzu and an Elamite king Pahir-iššan. As argued below, this Kurigalzu seems clearly identified by this text with Kurigalzu II. Contra doubts raised about this text, it will be argued that it has many very strong points historically and that its only real weak point can be very well explained.

6' Pahir-iššan married ^t1rX1-rat1-GAL [the eldest daughter]

7' of the mighty king Kurigalzu.

8' Humban-numena married his daughter;

¹⁹ This text will be referred to as a letter below for convenience, and because its self-consistency and external support (below) support viewing this text as essentially a copy of a 12th century letter. The translation given here follows Roaf 2017, 182-183, with the following changes to avoid unnecessarily complicating the discussion: (1) Traces of Pahir-iššan's wife's name follow the recent collation by Paulus 2013, 431, and her genealogical role as [eldest daughter] of Kurigalzu is restored without query (with Roaf 2017, 182n59, and as now generally accepted). (2) The translation given for obv.12' prescind from the reading of the sign AN just before *duniaš* (see further below with n37). (3) Elamite royal names are normalized following Potts 2013, 198. (4) Damage is ignored when the restoration is not in question. Note: Following Paulus and Roaf, line numbers used below for this text are based on van Dijk 1987 (cf. Paulus 2013, 431n25). These numbers correspond to van Dijk 1986, 161-162 as follows: lines 4-27 = obv.1'-24', lines 28-50 = rev.1-23.

- 9' she gave birth to Untaš-Napiriša. Untaš-Napiriša
 10' married the daughter of Burna-Buriaš;
 11' she gave birth to Kidin-Hutran. Kidin-Hutran
 12' married the daughter of [...]AN.duniaš;
 13' she gave birth to Napiriša-Untaš. I, the son [of ...],
 14' have married the eldest daughter of Meli-Šihu. (VAT 17020 obv.6'-14')

The most recent discussions of this letter have agreed that identifying this founder as Kurigalzu I (ca. 1400-1375) causes too many problems, while differing on the balance of evidence for a Kurigalzu II (ca. 1329-1306) reading.²⁰ The following comments mostly focus on a Kurigalzu II reading, first developing positive support for this reading, then refuting objections, and finishing with further positive support.

As a preliminary, the purpose of this letter's genealogy needs to be considered: Since the letter presents the author's claim to the Babylonian throne, this purpose is obviously to legitimize this claim. In view of this genealogy's length, this purpose strongly suggests that it has no gaps. Specifically: since the author emphasizes his descent from the "eldest daughter of the great king Kurigalzu" (rev.12), this detailed genealogy should completely trace this descent. This is impossible for Kurigalzu I, but not for Kurigalzu II, for whom a genealogy without a gap can be justified as follows:

Despite the break in obv.6', it seems clear from rev.12 that Pahir-iššan's wife ʾXʾ-ʾatʾ-GAL was the eldest daughter of Kurigalzu. While obv.8': "Humban-numena married his daughter" is ambiguous, the only solution that does not make Pahir-iššan and/or Kurigalzu irrelevant to the author's descent is to make Huban-numena (a nephew of Pahir-iššan) marry his first cousin, a daughter of Pahir-iššan and Kurigalzu's eldest daughter. This solution is now widely favored²¹ and makes great political sense since it would unite the Elamite royal family's two branches and allow Humban-numena to coopt his uncle's powerful Kassite connection.

Another potential lapse in continuity appears in the broken obv.13'. Immediately after recounting the birth of Napiriša-Untaš, an otherwise unknown son of Kidin-Hutran, lines 13'-14' state: "I, the son [...], have married (etc.)", with space in the break for at most one more generation. So the author appears to be calling himself the "son" of Napiriša-

²⁰ See recently Roaf 2017, 182-189; Khramov 2019b, 27-31 (both deprecating the letter due to seeming inconsistencies); Goldberg 2023a (supporting Kurigalzu II); also earlier for Kurigalzu II Goldberg 2004; Quintana 2010, 54-61. Kurigalzu I was recently argued by Paulus 2013. §3 here reconstructs Elamite history during the period from Kurigalzu I to II based on a Kurigalzu II reading of the letter, with results that seem to provide further support for this reading. Note: the Middle Assyrian/Babylonian chronology used in this paper is based on Miller 2017, 105.

²¹ This solution was suggested by Goldberg (2004, 38) and has been well-received by e.g. Quintana 2010, 61n66; Roaf 2017, 182n60; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2018b, 235.

Untaš, or a “son [of a son]” or a “son [of a daughter]”.²² Since this appears to trace the last step(s) in the author’s lengthy, much-vaunted, and up to this point apparently continuous descent, it should be literal, making the author a son or paternal or maternal grandson of Napiriša-Untaš.

But the first two options make the author an Ighalkid, whereas he seems rather clearly Šutrukid on chronological grounds.²³ While a dynastic transition at this time has been questioned recently (Quintana 2010, 56; Roaf 2017, 192), it seems very likely since no Šutrukid reference to Ighalkid descent is known, and the DNs in Ighalkid RNs give way to Inšušinak and Nahhunte in Šutrukid RNs.

So maternal grandson seems preferable, and is further encouraged by this letter being focused on female descent. Indeed this solution, i.e. restoring “the son [of the daughter]” in obv.13', allows the author’s account of his descent to end by evoking his legitimacy (in Elamite eyes), as clearly indicated by a negative formulation elsewhere in the letter: “He seized Babylonia, and to this day his reign is [no]t (recognized) like (that of) a son of the daughter” (rev.1-2) and an expanded formulation occurring in the culmination of the letter’s section on legitimacy: “Why should I ... the son [as clear from the letter’s genealogy: descendant] of the eldest daughter of the great king Kurigalzu ... not sit on the throne of Babylonia?” (rev.10-13)²⁴

²² A “son [of a short PN]” is theoretically possible but very weak without a reasonable candidate.

²³ Meli-Šihu’s reign can be dated to 1186-1172 (see n20), but nothing is heard of Ighalkids after Kidin-Hutran’s attack on Adad-šuma-iddina (ca.1216) except that Napiriša-Untaš was his son and evidently his heir. Contrast Paulus (2013, 436-437), based on limiting the expression “son of the daughter” to the author, which seems clearly (cf. below including n24) too limited a view of this terminology.

²⁴ This expression having a generic legitimizing sense in the Berlin letter appears certain from a consideration of obv.20' in the context of obv.18'-rev.13: It is clear that “son of the daughter” is used in obv.20' for the offspring (as shown by obv.6'-14': e.g. the author) of Babylonian princesses sent abroad, which Elamites but not Babylonians considered to confer a claim to the Babylonian throne: “In relation to what has been written to me: ‘daughters of kings of the country of Babylon, from the country... to all countries have been distributed, but a son of (such) a daughter, whom one has put on the throne of Babylonia, does not exist!’” (obv.18'-21'). After this quote from the collective Babylonian addressee (see further next paragraph), the author responds by first trashing their judgment on the subject of legitimacy with three examples (obv.22'-rev.9). He then proceeds to claim the Babylonian throne based on what he considers the epitome of legitimate descent, his status as a “son of the eldest daughter of Kurigalzu” (rev.10-13), evidently an expanded version of his summary ancestry (obv.13') as “son (= descendant) of the daughter”. See also Goldberg 2023a, 10-12 with additional details.

An alternative view of this crucial passage is given by Frazer (2024, 180, 187, 199-200), who restricts the quote from a Babylonian letter to obv.18'-19' and sees obv.20'-21' as the Elamite response. Based on her (very reasonable) understanding of the Elamite royal claim to be “son of the daughter” to stand for descent from the eldest daughter of Kurigalzu, she understands obv.20'-21' as a statement that no Babylonian king was descended from her. However this does not seem to produce a good flow, because the Babylonian argument is not really addressed: According to Frazer (2024, 199-200), the statement in

But does making the author a literal “son of the daughter” of the last (documented) Igihalkid, an otherwise unknown Napiriša-Untaš son of Kidin-Hutran, work historically? The usual candidates for this author are Šutruk-Nahhunte I and Kutir-Nahhunte II²⁵, who are the sons of the Šutrukid founder Hallutuš-Inšušinak and Šutruk-Nahhunte I, respectively. So making the author also the son of a daughter of the last Igihalkid entails the marriage of a dynasty-founder or his heir to the daughter of a weak dynasty-ender, which is banal.

In addition to evoking his legitimacy and giving him an extremely plausible ancestry, the author calling himself simply the “son of the daughter” of Kidin-Hutran’s son Napiriša-Untaš also serves to very neatly paper over the Elamite-Babylonian breakup associated with Kidin-Hutran – which presumably led to an unedifying ancestry (in Babylonian eyes) for his daughter-in-law and Napiriša-Untaš’s son-in-law.

In short, VS 24.91’s genealogy does appear to completely trace its author’s genealogy, as summarized by Table 2.

20'-21' was made “apparently in order to undermine the Babylonians’ claim [in 18'-19'] that daughters of Babylonian kings who have married foreign kings are nothing extraordinary”. But presumably the point of their bringing “all lands” into the discussion was more precisely that descent from a Babylonian princess *never* confers a right to the Babylonian throne; since this is a very straightforward reading of 20'-21', there seems no justification for an alternative understanding. While Frazer 2024, 199 claims that the quote from 20'-21' by BM 35404 (Frazer’s letter A8) “indicates that these lines are ... the words of the king of Elam”, she cites here Frazer 2024, 186-188 (“see above, *sub* Sequence in Correspondence Chain”), which explains this view but does not demonstrate its validity. Note in this context that Frazer translates the quote (of VS 24.91 rev.10 + obv.20'-21') in BM 35404: “[As for] the wo[r]ds that you wrote: ‘I am a king, the son of a king, the se[*ed of a king, the scion of a king (...)*’ Actually, there has never been] a descendant of the daughter, a (real) king,²⁹ who has sa[t] on the royal throne (of Babylon)” against the “more obvious” reading of *mār mārti* LUGAL as “son of a king’s daughter”—where n29 argues that “descendant of the daughter” stands for “descendant of the eldest daughter of Kurigalzu”. But this expression (literally “son of the daughter”) also appears to have a generic meaning (cf. text above), which should be the meaning in obv.20'-21' since this ties in perfectly with the generic scenario in obv.18'-19'.

²⁵ See for Šutruk-Nahhunte I e.g. Vallat 2000, 10; Goldberg 2004, 39-40; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2018b, 236. See for Kutir-Nahhunte e.g. van Dijk 1986, 165-166; Khramov 2019b, 27-28; Frazer 2024, 183-184. Roaf (2017, 184-185) favors Kutir-Nahhunte or “less probably” Šutruk-Nahhunte I. See Frazer 2024, 182 nn11-12 for additional views. Suggestions of Hallutuš-Inšušinak (Quintana 2010, 55-56) and a Kidin-Hutran (Paulus 2013, 436-437) seem much less likely (see Goldberg 2023a, 10n34; also Frazer 2024, 202 against Paulus’s identification). As Frazer 2024, 183 notes, a restoration of Kutir-Nahhunte in BM 35404 (her A8), the “probable reply” to VS 24.91, provides support (not confirmation) for Kutir-Nahhunte in VS 24.91 as well. However a second argument given by Frazer depends on VS 24.91 being a 1st millennium invention. Note also: Diagram 1 below shows a genealogical-chronological scheme for VS 24.91’s intermarriages based on identifying its author as Šutruk-Nahhunte I; this scheme can easily be modified to accommodate his alternative identification as Kutir-Nahhunte.

Table 2. Proposed Marriage Partners in VAT 17020 obv. 6'-14'

Elamite	Babylonian (Ideally)
Pahir-iššan	^{f1} rX ¹ -r ¹ at ¹ -GAL eldest daughter of Kurigalzu (II)
Humban-numena	daughter of above couple
their son, Untaš-Napiriša	daughter of (prince) Burna-Buriaš
their son, Kidin-Hutran	daughter of (prince) XX-Duniaš
their son, Napiriša-Untaš	[unedifying]
his daughter	[unedifying] (Šutruk-Nahhunte I or Kutir-Nahhunte)
her son, the author	eldest daughter of Meli-Šipak

On the entire above basis, an impressive triple match can be worked out between VS 24.91's genealogy and external evidence for dating Kidin-Hutran in Babylonian terms. First of all, a Kurigalzu appears in the letter as a father-in-law three marriages before a Kidin-Hutran appears as a son-in-law. Since these three marriages all-but-certainly represent three generations²⁶, this dates the letter's Kurigalzu a total of four generations before its Kidin-Hutran. This fits very well with Kurigalzu II (ca. 1329-1306) and the well-dated Kidin-Hutran who ravaged Babylonia in Chronicle P (ca.1225, 1217).²⁷

A second chronological match is that both the letter and Šilhak-Inšušinak's crucial list (clearly based on original sources) of builders of the temple of Inšušinak at Susa (EKI 48 §2 // 48b §3) date a Kidin-Hutran shortly after Untaš-Napiriša: the letter makes him his son, and the list separates them by one otherwise unknown king who (since Elamite power was peaking now) was probably ephemeral.²⁸ This match is especially compelling in light of a common and very plausible reading of Untaš-Napiriša's broken text MDP 10.85 (see further below) as referring to a war with Kaštiliaš IV (ca. 1233-1226), since just as for Untaš-Napiriša, a Kidin-Hutran appears shortly after him too (Chronicle P).

A third match for the letter arises from its dating of Kidin-Hutran relative to Meli-Šipak. As discussed above, the broken obv.13' can be very nicely understood (cf. obv.11'-

²⁶ Cf. above on obv.6', 8' (likewise e.g. Roaf 2017, 182nn59-60) for these three marriages (obv.8'-12') clearly spanning three generations by making Untaš-Napiriša the son of a maternal granddaughter of Kurigalzu. Since his father was Humban-numena, the son of a brother of Pahir-iššan, a son-in-law of Kurigalzu, the interval back to Kurigalzu is three generations via Elamite kings also.

²⁷ See Chronicle P iv 14-22 (ABC 175-177) on its Kidin-Hutran. The dates given for him here are based on combining this passage with the Babylonian chronology used in this paper (n20 above).

²⁸ Omitted rulers in this list (i.e. non-builder kings) could disrupt this chronological match, but seem very unlikely at this time of great Elamite power, unless ephemeral which would not disrupt this match. See for this list e.g. Potts 2016, 197; further Khramov 2019b, 8-10.

14') as identifying the author, a son-in-law of Meli-Šihu, as the “son [of the daughter]” of a son of Kidin-Hutran. This sets the author 3 generations after this Kidin-Hutran. On this basis, plus a single Kidin-Hutran, as obviously desirable if possible²⁹, VS 24.91 dates the author to 3 generations after Chronicle P’s Kidin-Hutran (ca.1225-1217), neatly matching his role as a son-in-law of Meli-Šipak (ca.1186-1172).

In short: the dating of Kidin-Hutran indicated by Chronicle P (ca. 1225-1217) has a triple match with the dating indicated by a Kurigalzu II reading of the Berlin letter: 4 generations after Kurigalzu II (1329-1306), 1 generation after a contemporary of Kaštiliaš IV (1233-1226), and 3 generations before a son-in-law of Meli-Šipak (1186-1172). In contrast, a Kurigalzu I reading requires “huge gaps in the king sequences”, which seems to defeat the purpose of this legitimizing genealogy.³⁰ This is especially (indeed exceedingly) suspicious because the resulting gaps in the letter and in external sources for the Elamite royal sequence correspond closely in time.³¹

However, the above very neat match for the letter (based on a Kurigalzu II reading) does not dispel the objections to the letter noted by Roaf and Khramov. One objection is that the letter gives Kidin-Hutran’s filiation from Untaš-Napiriša, rather than from Pahir-iššan as in Šilhak-Inšušinak’s list (above). This argument is very weak because no literal view of the list’s filiation commends itself³² and the list’s sequence fits perfectly with the *letter*’s filiation³³: applying the letter’s filiation to the list makes Untaš-Napiriša followed there first by one son, then by another. This is especially banal because the first son was apparently ephemeral (above).

This strong support for Kidin-Hutran a son of Untaš-Napiriša seems to point to the list, following (above) Kidin-Hutran, using “son” for later descendant (see below with nn38-41 for why he would do this). This seems very reasonable since (again following the letter) Kidin-Hutran did descend from Pahir-iššan, through a daughter (cf. obv.6'-11' with

²⁹ This is especially plausible since there is no evidence for Ighalkid royal homonymy, as noted in this context by Quintana 2009, 9 (albeit with a seemingly unjustified distinct Kidin-Ḫudrudaš in Chronicle P, whose name is usually treated as a form of Kidin-Hutran).

³⁰ See Khramov 2019b, 30 for this quote. Quintana (2010, 59-60) likewise objects to this situation. See further Goldberg 2023a, 8 with additional arguments against these gaps.

³¹ See Goldberg 2023a, 8n26 for details on these equivalent internal and external gaps.

³² A literal filiation from Pahir-iššan requires him to be either the known king Pahir-iššan – separated from the reign of two sons by three generations of a collateral line – or else an otherwise unknown homonym (cf. Goldberg 2023a, 5n15). As a result, two later descendants are mooted or favored by e.g. Paulus 2013, 436-437; Henkelman 2014, 337; Khramov 2019b, 31, cf. 21-22.

³³ Cf. Khramov 2019b, 30: “in the same place in the sequence”; similarly Paulus 2013, 433. However, both writers reject this match (Khramov 2019b, 32; Paulus 2013, 433) due to the different filiations in the letter and list.

above at n21³⁴), and his grandfather (obv.8'-11') Humban-numena did employ this usage, calling himself “son” (*šak*) of the Old Elamite king Šilhaha.³⁵ This hard-to-avoid emphasis in the list on descent through Pahir-iššan’s daughter harmonizes especially nicely with the letter insofar as the latter emphasizes descent from his wife.

This leaves only one possibly compelling objection to a Kurigalzu II reading of the letter: a Burna-Buriaš whose place in the sequence does not fit chronologically with the only royal possibility, Burna-Buriaš II. However, this objection has a glaring weak point of its own: a theoretical solution, that this Burna-Buriaš was a prince (which would be consistent with the legitimizing purpose of this letter³⁶) takes on flesh from this being the most legitimate role available for the next Babylonian father-in-law in the letter, who is apparently named XX-Duniaš (obv.12').³⁷ It will be argued below (at nn45-47) that both

³⁴ Cf. Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 879-880 for a sympathetic treatment of this justification for Kidin-Hutran being named as “son of Pahir-iššan”.

³⁵ This filiation (“Humban-numena *šak* of Šilhaha”) occurs in texts of Šilhak-Inšušinak similar to his list (Khramov 2019b, 9), and presumably likewise based on this great builder’s finds of original texts. While Kidin-Hutran’s descent (*šak*) from Pahir-iššan was through a daughter, which is sometimes thought properly described by *ruhušak*, this view appears unsubstantiated, and very dubious based on the history of this term: This terminology apparently started (using the Akkadian *mār aḫatim*) with at least one literal “sister’s son of Šilhaha”, followed for centuries by non-literal sister’s sons of his interspersed with literal sister’s sons of other rulers, followed by scattered Middle Elamite occurrences, including two (by Humban-numena and Hutelutuš-Inšušinak) as “sister’s son of Šilhaha” (Potts 2018, 541; Peyronel 2018, 218-220). The central role of Šilhaha in all of this, combined with this terminology’s apparent origin in the succession of at least one real “sister’s son of Šilhaha”, strongly suggests that the non-literal use of this term first arose among descendants of his real sister(s)’ son(s). This seems to leave no reason to drag maternal grandsons into the picture. See further Goldberg 2023a, 17-18n59; contra e.g. Quintana 2010, 50.

³⁶ Paulus (2013, 432) argues that a prince would have “fatal consequences for the legitimation of the author of the letter, as he emphasizes that he is descended from ‘kings’”. But a descent from a prince implies descent from a king, so while this descent is not ideal it is *not delegitimizing* (cf. Frazer 2024, 196n38: “this objection seems less strong”). NB also text just below on obv.12'.

As Frazer (2024, 196n38) notes: “More dangerous to Goldberg’s argument” are the references to Kurigalzu as “a mighty king” (obv.1', 7', rev.12; cf. 2024, 194), which is attested to Kurigalzu I but not Kurigalzu II. However this could reflect a late minor editorial change (cf. n61 below on a late text, which has very plausibly been thought partly fictitious, that provides the only reference to Kurigalzu I as “king of the universe”). In any case: since the argument for Kurigalzu II is so strong (see above at nn26-29; below at nn50-60), and the Burna-Buriaš objection appears undermined by the case of XX-Duniaš (below with n37) and can be surprisingly well addressed (below at nn42-49), whereas Kurigalzu I does not work at all well (n20 above, citing Roaf, Khramov, Goldberg and Quintana), this argument for Kurigalzu I seems too isolated to have a convincing effect on the balance of evidence.

³⁷ In great contrast to this understanding (reading ^m[...]AN-Duniaš as a PN XX-^dDuniaš), the best alternative reading, “[a Baby]lonian” (reading ^m[Kar]-an-duniaš), is very *delegitimizing*. Contrast e.g. Frazer 2024, 198 (used by Frazer 2024, 195-196n37 to reject any implication of obv.12' for the Burna-

princes were especially legitimate in Elamite eyes, indeed much more legitimate than the contemporary Babylonian kings, which further justifies this solution.

But if the legitimizing genealogy in the letter names two princes, why doesn't it specify their royal fathers? Also: since the letter seems (on the chronological and other grounds presented above) to correctly name Kidin-Hutran's father as Untaš-Napiriša, why does the list name both him and his predecessor "son of Pahir-iššan"? In each case, this amounts to a refusal to name the real father. Can this reflect anathema?

In each case, an anathema-based solution can be worked out from the apparent war between Untaš-Napiriša and Kaštiliaš IV in MDP10.85, a broken statue inscription written for Untaš-Napiriša (see e.g. Paulus 2013, 438-441; Roaf 2017, 171-176; Khramov 2019b, 4-7, combined in the following translation):

- 1 [I am Un]taš-Napiriša, son of Humban-numena,
- 2 [king of Susa and] Anzan, Immeria well-being.
- 3 XXX-^lli¹-ia-šu indeed I plundered (and) in
- 4 [the *si*]ankuk indeed I placed (MDP 10.85:1-4).

The crux here is the elliptic end of line 2: "Immeria well-being", followed by the broken start of line 3: XXX-^lli¹-ia-šu. The two apparent alternatives in line 3 are Kaštiliaš and Tupliaš. While these both require an unattested orthography, Paulus has noted a key point in this context: since *-til* (usually used in Kaštiliaš's RN) is uncommon in the Middle Babylonian syllabary, a different rendering in a peripheral region is hardly surprising (Paulus 2013, 440n112).³⁸

Two additional points seem to tip the balance for Kaštiliaš IV in MDP 10.85: (1) A probable near-match (ending with *li-ia-a-šu*) for this text's orthography is attested for him in MDP 2.95-96 (Roaf 2017, 172-173; Paulus 2014, 357-359 Ka IV 1), which is likewise (as emphasized by Roaf) written on a peripheral monument (taken to Susa, which could make it still more pertinent for MDP 10.85).³⁹ (2) As already noted, since Kidin-Hutran

Buriaš problem): "the use of an ethnic designation rather than a name can be attributed ... if one assumes the letter is real ... to the delicacy of the Elamite king regarding a sensitive period in Babylonian politics"; similarly "with great caution" Paulus 2013, 433; see also Roaf 2017, 183. However, this treatment would not be "delicate" enough, because the untoward event lying behind such usage would have been better avoided, as apparently done (without creating a gap in the genealogy) for the unmentioned husband of Napiriša-Untaš's daughter (above following n25). NB also text just below for further justification of the princely reading. See also n45 below on the archaizing name XX-Duniaš.

³⁸ Kaštiliaš IV's name is almost always spelled with *-til*, usually followed by *-ia* (MSKH 186-188 O.4). See Roaf 2017, 194 for an Elamite (peripheral) original of VS 24.91: "The writing of Napiriša as ^dGAL suggests that the original of the list of Elamite kings was written by an Elamite since the equivalence of ^dGAL with Napiriša would probably not have been obvious to a Babylonian scribe".

³⁹ See below at n42 for an apparent third case (VS 24.91 obv.22) of *-til* being avoided for Kaštiliaš IV's name in the east.

appears (in Chronicle P) very shortly after the time of Kaštiliaš IV, a war between Untaš-Napiriša and Kaštiliaš IV fits perfectly chronologically with Šilhak-Inšušinak's list and VS 24.91, both of which date Kidin-Hutran shortly after Untaš-Napiriša.

As far as “Immeria well-being”, this has often been treated in recent decades as an elliptic or partial statue-name and one such proposal, “Immeria (is my) well-being”, seems to provide a good solution: on this basis, the end of line 2 already states what was “plundered”, which allows the start of line 3 to simply state from whom it was taken⁴⁰:

... “Immeria (is my) well-being” (from) [Kašti]liaš indeed I have plundered ... (MDP 10.85:2-3)

This very probable war between Untaš-Napiriša and Kaštiliaš IV very quickly leads to an anathema-based solution for Šilhak-Inšušinak's list, by making Kidin-Hutran –second in the list after Untaš-Napiriša, just after another “son of Pahir-iššan”—not even heir during this war. Since the letter clearly associates Babylonian marriages with the Elamite royal succession, this should date his Babylonian marriage after the war.

This dating is crucial, since Kidin-Hutran's marriage then repudiates his father's Babylonian policy and reverts to the policy of Pahir-iššan, who co-founded the original alliance (VS 24.91 obv.6'). This very well explains why he (copied by Šilhak-Inšušinak) ignored his father in favor of his maternal ancestor Pahir-iššan—especially in view of a compelling parallel involving Meli-Šihu, who reversed his father Adad-šuma-ušur's anti-Elamite policy (rev.5) by sending a daughter to Elam (obv.13'-14'), and ignores his real father to call himself “son of Kurigalzu”, presumably referring to an ancestor who was the other co-founder (see below at n52 for details).

Such a thorough-going repudiation of Untaš-Napiriša's reign also fits extremely well with the total cessation of work at Choga Zanbil after his reign.⁴¹

This explanation of the list's filiation completes a refutation of its use as an argument against the letter's historicity. An explanation by anathema is also very promising in the letter, because the sons-in-law of its (putative) two princes with unnamed fathers are precisely the two Igehalkid kings who (apparently) warred with Babylonia: Untaš-Napiriša with Kaštiliaš IV (MDP 10.85; see above) and Kidin-Hutran with his successors. This situation is especially encouraging for an explanation by anathema because the letter actually appears to anathematize (rev.2) Kaštiliaš IV (obv.22')

22' ^mK[aš-t]i-[i]l-áš (who) ... [... w]ent over, whom you too[k]
23' [to Babylon] ... [and] p[la]ced

⁴⁰ Since *lu-ù* (“indeed”), occurring in both line 3 and line 4, is not in Untaš-Napiriša's usual vocabulary (e.g. not present in EKI 5-16), it seems plausible that MDP 10.85 is also expressing a hope to have taken over his foe's former well-being.

⁴¹ After his great work at Choga Zanbil, there is (Hinz 1972, 116: “strangely enough”) a “complete absence of inscriptions ... attributable to Untaš-Napiriša's successors” (Potts 2016, 224).

24' [on the throne] of Karanduniaš (Babylonia) –
 1 he seized [K]aran[dun]iaš, and to this day
 2 his reign is [n]ot (recognized) like (that of) the son of the daughter, not like ... (VS 24.91 obv.22'-rev.2)

While this reading requires an unusual orthography in obv.22', there seems to be no alternative in rev.3's "Adad-šuma-ušur" timeframe. And as noted above, since *-til* (as Kaštiliaš IV's name is usually written) is not common in the Middle Babylonian syllabary, a different rendering in a peripheral region – applicable to the Berlin letter if it derives from an Elamite original – would not be surprising.⁴² Indeed this appears to occur in two geographically very relevant cases, clearly in MDP 2.95-96 and highly likely in MDP 10.85 (above at n39). While the orthography in VS 24.91 is different from these texts too, the just-indicated logic allows for this.

Confirmation of the relevance of VS 24.91 rev.2's anathema against a Babylonian king, apparently (just above) Kaštiliaš IV, to an anathema-based explanation of the two (proposed) princes' lack of filiations can be worked out from the explicit connection of this anathema (rev.1-2) to this king's accession, which is described as a takeover by rev.1: "he seized Babylonia".⁴³ This situation strongly suggests conflict at this time with a pro-Elamite faction held as legitimate by Elam. This can very plausibly be connected to Kaštiliaš's Elamite war (MDP 10.85), and the chronology supports this as follows:

Since Elam does not appear to have aided Kaštiliaš IV in his great and extended war with Assyria, which was quickly followed by a period of attacks by Kidin-Hutran on Babylonia, the latter's Babylonian marriage should date no later than the middle of Kaštiliaš IV's reign. Since this marriage is separated from Untaš-Napiriša's preceding war (based on Šilhak-Inšušinak's list) by the apparently (above at n28) ephemeral reign of Kidin-Hutran's older brother, this logic should date this war early in Kaštiliaš IV's reign, which very strongly supports connecting it to the apparent Elamite opposition (above) to his accession.

But what does Kaštiliaš IV becoming anathema to Elam have to do with the fathers of two princes, Burna-Buriaš and XX-Duniaš, meeting the same fate? Most immediately, how does this relate to XX-Duniaš, whose daughter married Kidin-Hutran? Was he the leader of the pro-Elamite faction active ca. Kaštiliaš IV's accession? His opposition when Kaštiliaš "seized Babylonia" could seem to conflict with a later Elamite marriage (which

⁴² Cf. above including n38, citing Paulus on this peripheral usage and Roaf for evidence of an Elamite original; also below following n49, based on the entire argument of §2. Frazer 2024, 200 only mentions political objections to Kaštiliaš IV, which are vitiated by Brinkman's "curious" evidence (below following n47).

⁴³ Frazer (2024, 201) strongly questions the common connection of VS 24.91 rev.2 to non-recognition, but regardless of the precise reading, a combination of the very negative context (rev.1) with the very positive connotation of "son of the daughter" very strongly suggests such an understanding.

would require royal approval), but the apparent Elamite policy reversal after this war (above preceding n41) can help greatly to explain this by leading to a compromise settlement both internationally and inside Babylonia (clearly with Kaštiliaš in a weak position, presumably due in large part to Assyrian pressure, since the ensuing marriage dangerously strengthened his rival⁴⁴).

Identifying XX-Duniaš as a pro-Elamite opponent of Kaštiliaš IV's accession is an intriguing proposal, because such an opponent has an extremely natural identification as a half-brother of Kaštiliaš.⁴⁵ Since Kaštiliaš calling himself “son” of his predecessor probably indicates he was his chosen heir⁴⁶, the omitted filiation of a half-brother XX-Duniaš can be very well explained by anathema of their father over his wretched and (VS 24.91 rev.2) illegitimate choice for heir. If so, a similar dispute can reasonably be supposed for prince Burna-Buriaš (see further text just below). This works especially well insofar as prince Burna-Buriaš and XX-Duniaš having special legitimacy in Elamite eyes also helps explain why mere princes were named in VS 24.91.⁴⁷

A capstone for this defense of a prince Burna-Buriaš reading is that two such disputes a generation apart, the second centered on Kaštiliaš IV's accession, finds excellent support on the ground from the “curious” start of his and his predecessor's reign within a few days of the New Year, “raising a suspicion” (Brinkman) of disputed successions (Brinkman 2017, 26n232; see Goldberg 2023a, 35n112 for additional references).

Indeed, something abortive can be inferred, since this timing seems neither deliberate nor coincidental. This all points to failed opposition, led by more “legitimate” princes XX-

⁴⁴ This scenario fits very well with the otherwise surprising statement attributed to Kaštiliaš IV by Tukulti-Ninurta Epic IIIA obv.44': “The security of my house's foundation [...] was never firm”. See Foster 1996, 211-230 (here 221) for a translation of this epic. If this relates to the threat from XX-Duniaš, it seems likely that Kaštiliaš's fears were temporarily fulfilled by the Elamite vassal Kadašman-Ḥarbe II, who is here probably closely related to XX-Duniaš, very likely as his heir (making him the brother-in-law of his overlord Kidin-Hutran).

⁴⁵ This works very well for the archaizing name XX-Duniaš (no other new coinage with Duniaš is known after the first attestation of Karduniaš in the late 15th century; see Goldberg 2023a, 34 with nn106-107 for references and discussion): since Kaštiliaš III is also 15th century, both brothers' names would be archaizing. Moreover their father Šagarakti-Šuriaš is the only later Kassite ruler attested with (by now archaizing) year-names.

⁴⁶ Contrast Bloch 2012, 263-264, who accepts a Kaštiliaš IV reading in VS 24.91 obv.22' but considers this (extremely reasonably in isolation) as evidence for his usurpation. A second argument against this is that if the demonized Kaštiliaš were illegitimate, the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic's propaganda should have exploited this (so Banyai 2015, 18; cf. Devecchi 2017, 120). See in detail Goldberg 2023a, 38n120 against Bloch's full scenario and further text just below (especially at n48) for the view favored here.

⁴⁷ Cf. the only other non-king named in VS 24.91, 'X¹-'at¹-GAL (obv.6'), who is clearly identical (cf. above preceding n21) with the “eldest daughter of Kurigalzu”, who is the epitome of legitimacy in the letter (rev.10-13).

Duniaš and Burna-Buriaš, that backfired to trigger both accessions.⁴⁸ Such conflict further enhances the explanation of why the letter names these princes while their fathers who disfavored them go unnamed. A complication for this solution (but not a problem) is that it requires Burna-Buriaš to have lost or at least been losing favor⁴⁹ (hence his involvement in a conflict that led to an Elamite anathema of his father) after sending a daughter to Elam (presumably implying he had been the chosen heir at that time).

This completes a brief account of an anathema-based refutation (based on a Kurigalzu II reading) of the Burna-Buriaš objection to the historical value of the Berlin letter. As argued above, this is the only major objection to the letter, since its disagreement with Šilhak-Inšušinak's list on the filiation of Kidin-Hutran clearly constitutes a problem for the *list* (above at nn32-33) and seems to have a very good explanation (above at nn34-35, 38-41).

This solution to the only major objection to a Kurigalzu II reading of the letter appears to tip the balance of evidence extremely strongly in favor of this reading, which otherwise fits extremely well with historical evidence, notably by a triple match with external evidence on the dating of Kidin-Hutran (above at nn26-29). This verdict is reinforced by the requirement of a Kurigalzu I reading (the only alternative) for a gap that both defeats the purpose of the letter and entails an exceedingly suspicious gap in external evidence for the Middle Elamite royal sequence covering the *same period* (see above with nn30-31). Other problems stemming from a Kurigalzu I reading, involving Ḫurbatila and HT 38 (see e.g. Khramov 2019b, 4-5 for these problems), have good solutions on a Kurigalzu II reading (see §3.1, §3.5 on Ḫurbatila; §3.2 on HT 38), which further reinforces this verdict.

A further effect of this seemingly excellent fit for a Kurigalzu II reading is confirmation of the historical value of the "Berlin letter". The simplest explanation for this is that this text indeed derives closely from a real 12th century diplomatic letter.

Further support for this text comes from its ability to greatly illuminate the course of Mesopotamian history (especially Elamite-Babylonian relations) for the period starting with Adad-šuma-ušur. To begin with, the letter's picture is obscure, since it refers to an otherwise unknown Babylonian king Nabû-apla-iddina. However as will now be shown, this figure fits perfectly into the historical context provided for him by the letter.

A seemingly decisive point comes from the letter's excellent accord with the stated filiations of Meli-Šihu and his son Marduk-apla-iddina I, which go back to a presumably

⁴⁸ Cf. the accession of Solomon in 1 Kings 1.

⁴⁹ Based on the details of Brinkman's "curious" evidence (following n47), it cannot be assumed that Burna-Buriaš had actually been displaced as heir by the time of this opposition; a self-coup is also possible. On this basis, the Elamite anathema of his father was based on his opposition to Burna-Buriaš at this crucial moment, not necessarily on his choice of heir; cf. Table 3 on the complicated situation now.

ancestral Kurigalzu instead of to Meli-Šihu's real father, Adad-šuma-ušur (Brinkman 1969, 322 (cf. 324-327)).⁵⁰ How can this very surprising evidence be explained?

A good start comes from Meli-Šihu reversing Adad-šuma-ušur's Elamite policy: since "son of the daughter" signifies legitimate rule in Elamite eyes (above with n24), "how [did he] bring to naught the son of the daughter" (rev.5) clearly represents Adad-šuma-ušur (not surprisingly!) as a very strong foe of Elam (see further below on Nabû-apla-iddina). In very strong contrast, the letter makes Meli-Šihu the father-in-law of its Elamite author (obv.13'-14'). Since Babylonian-Elamite relations during this period were so fraught (cf. Kidin-Hutran's attacks on Babylonia; below on Nabû-apla-iddina), this policy reversal very plausibly led to Meli-Šihu being strongly alienated from his father.

Meli-Šihu not mentioning his father Adad-šuma-ušur because of his Elamite policy ties in perfectly with him being replaced in Meli-Šihu's filiation by a Kurigalzu, who can then be extremely well identified with Kurigalzu II, a co-founder of the marriage alliance revived by Meli-Šihu (and a known ancestor of Adad-šuma-ušur).⁵¹ Moreover, this explanation has an exact parallel involving Kidin-Hutran, who reversed his father's Babylonian policy by a Babylonian marriage alliance following his father's Babylonian war (above preceding n41) and replaced him in his filiation with a distant ancestor Pahir-iššan, the other co-founder of this alliance: in each case, the reversed father was canceled in the reverser's filiation in favor of the original founder of the marriage alliance that the reverser was reviving.⁵²

The above approach is further enhanced by the conclusion of the miscreant section of the letter (above following n41: starting with Kaštiliaš IV), which continues after Adad-šuma-ušur with a noncanonical Nabû-apla-iddina (rev.6), who was the worst of all from an Elamite perspective: "his sin, his transgression, his outrageous deed" (rev.9). Since this characterization would serve no purpose in the letter if it did not resonate in Babylon, and he is also described as "the son of a Hittite woman, an abomination to Babylon", the simplest scenario is that the unpopular accession of this half-foreign ruler was engineered by his father, i.e. that he was the chosen heir.

In view of Meli-Šihu's Elamite marriage and the apparent political continuity (above) between him and Marduk-apla-iddina I, plus the letter naming Adad-šuma-ušur just before Nabû-apla-iddina, the obvious scenario is that the anti-Elamite Adad-šuma-ušur appointed the unpopular anti-Elamite Nabû-apla-iddina as heir. Since the latter was especially abhorred by Elam, this greatly accentuates Meli-Šihu's policy reversal.

⁵⁰ His real filiation from Adad-šuma-ušur is only known from a private text, kudurru MŠ 4 = BBSt 3 (Paulus 2014, 402-415).

⁵¹ See the start of the relevant sections in MSKH for the independent kings from Nazi-Maruttash (Kurigalzu II's successor) to Adad-šuma-ušur, each son of his predecessor.

⁵² A reference by Meli-Šihu and Marduk-apla-iddina I to a different Kurigalzu is theoretically possible, but seems highly unlikely in view of the parallel just worked out in the text.

This position of Nabû-apla-iddina also has the following extremely illuminating fit with Chronicle 25:11-18 (which is otherwise extremely hard-to-place): Nabû-apla-iddina's non-canonicity and characterization as a criminal – useless unless it had some resonance with VS 24.91's audience – both point to his downfall. Highly likely he was overthrown and killed in a coup. This fits extremely well with Chronicle 25:11, an almost lost one-line section placed – exactly like Nabû-apla-iddina in VS 24.91 – immediately after Adad-šuma-ušur (in Chronicle 25:1-10): “[...] they killed him”.⁵³

This extremely neat fit (contrasting sharply with other treatments, which at most moot an alternative solution) has a crucial corollary: interposing a *non-canonical* king in Chronicle 25:11 allows lines 14-18, the *third* section after Adad-šuma-ušur, to refer to Marduk-apla-iddina I, his *second canonical* successor. Since the next two (canonical) kings were both quickly swept away by Elam (cf. B.2.4.6; BKL-A⁵⁴), this provides an exceedingly timely setting for lines 14-15's explicitly *pre-emptive* Kassite withdrawal to the northwest due to *fear of Elam*:

fejar of Elam fell on him and ... on the bank of the Euphrates he built a city and ... of Sumer and Akkad he brought within it (Chronicle 25 obv.14-16).

This also explains the subsequent Babylonian debacle as enabled by this abandonment and the ensuing economic decline and civil strife: “the people became poor ... they killed him in a rebellion” (Chronicle 25:17-18). Moreover, this whole disastrous situation for Babylonia helps greatly to explain the enormous audacity of the Berlin letter.⁵⁵

⁵³ Chronicle 25 was published by Walker 1982. See further on obv.14-18 Goldberg 2023a, §5.

⁵⁴ See bibliography under RIMB 2 for texts designated B.n.n.n.

⁵⁵ A western-oriented Babylonian policy at the end of the Kassite dynasty in Babylonia (cf. Adad-šuma-ušur's Hittite marriage) is possibly supported by the unusual choice of DN in the next RN after Marduk-apla-iddina I, Zababa-šuma-iddina: connecting this war-god of Kish (Dalley 2023, 30-32) somehow to the similarly-named Zubaba, a war-god of Carchemish adopted by the Hittites (Cox 2023, 238n20), seems to find support from the occurrence of the similar name Kubaba (on which see Mora 2020) for both a queen of Kish (SKL) and a goddess of Carchemish recognized by the Hittites; cf. also queen Kubaba's grandson (SKL) Ur-Zababa.

Based on the Elamite abhorrence of Hittite influence in Babylonia and the likely association of a renewed Hittite alliance with anti-Elamite extremism (cf. on both points above following n52 on the essentially [§2] contemporary VS 24.91 rev.6-9), such an alliance (with or without a Zababa/Zubaba connection) would very well explain the extremely violent Elamite reaction. Such an alliance could tie in extremely well with the just-indicated treatment of Chronicle 25 obv.14-18, as follows: Marduk-apla-iddina I was evidently originally Elamite-aligned (“son of Meli-Šihu son of Kurigalzu”; cf. above at nn50-52) and responded to evidently increasing Elamite power by a *withdrawal* (obv.14-15), avoiding conflict by shifting the Kassite dynasty's treasure (focus) to the Middle Euphrates. But impoverished Babylonia “killed him in a revolt” (obv.18), so the presumable major policy shift by the first post-revolt

The above treatment of Adad-šuma-ušur and Nabû-apla-iddina ties in extremely well with Babylonian epic fragment BM 35322, which deals with a great Babylonian victory over Elam at a time of great Babylonian anger at Elam⁵⁶:

the Elamite retreated ... he headed towards the mountains ... the Elamite woman ... I smote her. (BM 35322 obv. ii 17, 18; rev. iii 9, 10)

This combination fits very well under Adad-šuma-ušur, when the Igiḫalkid dynasty ended in obscurity after Kidin-Hutran's attacks on Babylonia.⁵⁷ In great contrast, the best alternative for this anger, after the mid-12th century Kutir-Nahhunte, fits very poorly with this victory, since the upshot then pitted early Isin II dynasty weakness against great Elamite strength under Šilhak-Inšušinak. An Adad-šuma-ušur setting is also supported by parallels (e.g. gritty detail; a weak royal position) with the fragmentary Adad-šuma-ušur Epic.⁵⁸

More specifically: the clearly white-hot hatred of Elam in BM 35322 suggests a dating early in Adad-šuma-ušur's reign. This reign appears to have begun as follows: Adad-šuma-iddina's "terrible defeat" (presumably ending his reign) was apparently focused on *central* Babylonia (Chronicle P iv 18-19) and Adad-šuma-ušur was put "on his *father's throne*" by a "rebellion" (iv 8-9) against (based on context) Assyria, at least ostensibly in the *same* year (BKL-A). Combined, this points to him piggy-backing in the north on this Elamite blow to Assyrian power further south, an alliance of convenience that very well explains his success now.⁵⁹

The *immediate* aftermath of this "alliance" between presumably bitter foes (as hardly avoidable in the wake of Kidin-Hutran's depredations, and confirmed if BM 35322 indeed belongs here) would highly likely entail mismatched views regarding who should be in

king, Zababa-šuma-iddina, was highly likely towards a strongly anti-Elamite policy, which as just indicated fits very well with a Hittite alliance.

⁵⁶ BM 35322 has been published by Grayson BHLT 47-55.

⁵⁷ Cf. Singer 2011, 391: BM 35322 "could well" be set under Adad-šuma-ušur.

⁵⁸ The Adad-šuma-ušur Epic (BM 34104+) has been published by Grayson BHLT 56-77. See Goldberg 2023b, 13 with n40 for royal weakness (e.g. an apology tour of northern temples) in this epic; cf. below preceding n60 for anti-Elamite extremists led by Adad-šuma-ušur's sons sabotaging his policy in BM 35322.

⁵⁹ This piggy-backing leaves no room for an (often-supposed) pre-Adad-šuma-ušur AKL lacuna. See Goldberg 2024a, 55-66 for a detailed discussion of the sequel to the "terrible defeat" of Babylonia now, including a weakened Assyria recouping in the north only ("Sippar and Babylon" texts; Chronicle 25:1), enabled by BM 35322's vicious Babylonian-Elamite break, later followed by a Gulf trade deal between Tukulti-Ninurta and Adad-šuma-ušur (very well explaining his title as "king of Tilmun" in "Sippar and Babylon" texts, and fitting very well with the softened account of the humiliation of Adad-šuma-ušur's father Kaštiliaš in these texts), enabled by post-BM 35322 Elamite weakness. Cf. Šamšī-Adad I, who made contact with Tilmun while allied with Hammurabi (Charpin and Ziegler 2003, 140-143).

charge. And this is exactly what is found at the (extant) start of BM 35322:

he established ... without our permission twice (obv. ii 4, 8)

This situation seems inherently very unstable, especially in view of the white-hot Babylonian anger, and the start of their war with an Elamite army a few lines later (obv. ii 12) seems to confirm that this is still the very beginning of Adad-šuma-ušur's reign.

Setting BM 35322 under Adad-šuma-ušur fits perfectly with VS 24.91, as follows: Since even “the Elamite woman” was not spared, it seems very unlikely (even without Grayson's reading of traces) that an Elamite-sponsored counter-king clearly active in BM 35322 obv. ii 11: “another on my throne you must not set”—survived the apparent cutting off of his retreat by princes:

the Elamite ... headed for the mountains [... ...] They *overtook/captured* him, the sons of the king were *angry* (BM 35322 obv. ii 17, 18-19)

Setting this killing of a pro-Elamite counter-king under Adad-šuma-ušur matches perfectly the Berlin letter, in which he appears to neutralize just such a ruler (rev.5). Equally importantly: Since “the king commanded that he be seized” a few lines earlier (BM 35322 obv. ii 12), surely referring to the enemy leader, the above princes—presumably led by Nabû-apla-iddina, if he was indeed Adad-šuma-ušur's original heir—were apparently leaders of the extreme anti-Elamite party, which was clearly also responsible for the execution of the “Elamite woman”. This is perfectly in character, and aligns perfectly as policy, with “his sin, his transgression, his outrageous deed” as king, as described by the Elamite letter VS 24.91 (rev.9).⁶⁰

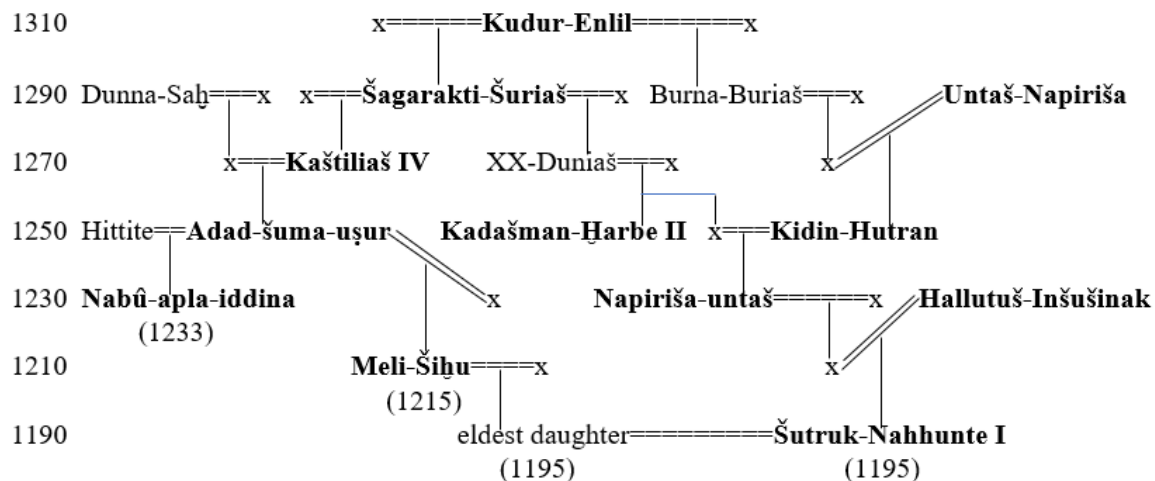
So the case of the previously unknown Nabû-apla-iddina appears to greatly strengthen the Berlin letter's claim—based on a Kurigalzu II reading—to historical veracity and great value (fruitfulness).

For the subject of this paper, the key result from VS 24.91 is that the start of the ME II period is marked by Pahir-iššan, who founded a dynasty, becoming a junior partner of Kurigalzu II. This ability of Kurigalzu II to re-order Elam politically in his interests fits perfectly in the wake of his generally-accepted victory over Ḫurbatila and Elam, especially since this would have exacerbated the late ME I weakness that had apparently allowed the Elamite throne to be occupied by the outsider Ḫurbatila (§1). This scenario requires a thorough Babylonian conquest of Elam now, which is substantiated for a Kurigalzu who is probably identifiable as Kurigalzu II, e.g. by his being titled “king of the universe”.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Cf. Singer 2011, 398-399, which suggests connecting VS 24.91 rev.5 to the fate of the “Elamite woman” in BM 35322.

⁶¹ Texts of a Kurigalzu name him “conqueror of Susa and Elam to the border of Marḫaši” and claim he “conquered the palace of the city of *ša-a-ša* in Elam” (see respectively MSKH Q.2.2 on MDP 28.9; Q.2.63 on CBS 8598). It seems likely (contra Glassner 1991, 126, who argues from Q.2.2's spelling of

DIAGRAM 1. Later Kassite-Igihalkid/Šutrukid Genealogical Chronology



Kudur-Enlil	1255-1247	Chart is calibrated by trial dates of <i>birth</i> . These dates are schematic, but workable when modified slightly as shown in parentheses.	Untaš-Napiriša	1260-1233
Šagarakti-Šuriaš	1246-1234		Unpahaš-Napiriša	1233-1231
Kaštiliaš IV	1233-1226		Kidin-Hutran	1230-1210
Vassal rulers	1225-1217		Napiriša-Untaš	1210-1190
Adad-šuma-ušur	1216-1187		Hallutuš-Inšušinak	1190-1175
Meli-Šipak	1186-1172		Šutruk-Nahhunte I	1175-1155

Susa as *Šušim*^{ki}) that Q.2.63 refers to Susa rather than to an otherwise unknown royal site whose capture conferred major bragging rights; cf. MSKH 223: “Susa(?)”. Khramov 2019a, 2-4 gives reasonable arguments for connecting both texts to Kurigalzu II; e.g. Q.2.2 titles Kurigalzu “king of the universe”, which become common during his reign (another indication of his power) and is not certainly attested before Burna-Buriaš II. While an ostensible late copy of a Kurigalzu I text includes this title and likely includes valid historical details, it also seems to include a falsified land grant (Clayden 1996, 109-110), which leaves the authenticity of its titulary uncertain (see further with additional references e.g. Roaf 2017, 169; Goldberg 2024b, 48n138). In contrast to the good agreement of a Kurigalzu II reading of VS 24.91 with the above two texts dealing with a Kurigalzu’s conquest of Elam, Kurigalzu I may be questionable: while Chronicle P ii seems to describe a victory by Kurigalzu I over Elam, this was apparently followed by an agreement (§3.1); so a claim involving Marhasi seems to go beyond his victory (but not necessarily). This logic can also be applied to Kurigalzu II, since “the kings of all lands”

TABLE 3. Later Kassite-Igihalkid/Šutrukid Diplomatic-Military Relations⁶²

<p>Kudur-Enlil – Sends a daughter of the heir Burna-Buriaš to Elam. Burna-Buriaš later tries to forestall or recoup from a growing anti-Elamite trend by a coup, but is quickly suppressed by Šagarakti-Šuriaš, who gains power in an anti-Elamite counter-reaction. Kudur-Enlil opposes Burna-Buriaš’s coup, and perhaps Šagarakti-Šuriaš’s takeover, but soon falls or dies.</p>
<p>Šagarakti-Šuriaš – Eventually turns back to Elam, likely sending a daughter to Unpahaš-Napiriša (as crown prince) and making the Elam-approved XX-Duniaš his heir. This enables him to occupy Lubdi. But after his capture and release by Tukulti-Ninurta I, relations with Elam go bad again, with the future Kaštiliaš IV becoming the new heir.</p>
<p>Kaštiliaš IV (early) – A pro-Elamite coup in favor of his half-brother XX-Duniaš seeks to forestall his accession, but is quickly put down. He is enthroned to help crush the revolt and pre-empt any further challenge to his accession. The heir Adad-šuma-ušur is married to a Hittite princess. Untaš-Napiriša rejects Kaštiliaš’s accession, and attacks with initial success, but is deposed after the war stalls.</p>
<p>Kaštiliaš IV (middle) – Elam turns back to Babylonia under Unpahaš-Napiriša and Kidin-Hutran to counter an over-powerful Assyria, leading to a renewed marriage alliance. Kidin-Hutran marries a daughter of XX-Duniaš rather than Kaštiliaš IV, reflecting Elam’s strong position.</p>
<p>Kaštiliaš IV (late) – For many reasons, including opportunism and XX-Duniaš, Elam doesn’t help Kaštiliaš (much) against Assyria. The relationship falls apart again.</p>
<p>Three vassal rulers – Elam defeats an Assyrian vassal and installs the heir of XX-Duniaš (Kadašman-Ḫarbe II) as vassal. He is ousted by Assyria, which installs a new vassal, who is eventually eliminated in turn by a devastating attack by Kidin-Hutran on central Babylonia.</p>
<p>Adad-šuma-ušur (early) – Piggy-backs in the north on Kidin-Hutran’s attack. Quickly defeats an Elamite vassal to take over the center and south. Young hothead half-Hittite princes burn bridges with Elam, allowing Tukulti-Ninurta to temporarily recoup in the north and (with Elam weakened) access trade routes in the Persian Gulf via an alliance with Adad-šuma-ušur, who retains power in the center and south.</p>
<p>Adad-šuma-ušur (later) – Regains Babylon. By the reign of Aššur-nirari III, is hostile and</p>

brought tribute with Ḫurbatila after his defeat (Chronicle P iii 17-19), but this proves too much in view of the likely dating of the massacre at Haft Tappeh IV to this time. This disjunction can be explained by the likely association of Šalla but not Ḫurbatila with both Haft Tappeh (§1) and something unforgivable by Babylonia (see §3.4 on CUSAS 17.61).

⁶² To avoid over-simplification, the first three entries below include details from a longer treatment of Brinkman’s “suspicious” evidence (see above following n47).

apparently superior to Assyria. Later loses Babylon to Assyria again, but recovers it by a great victory over Enlil-kudurrī-ušur. Elamite relations remain very poor, at least typically. The anti-Elamite Nabû-apla-iddina retains or regains a position as heir.
Nabû-apla-iddina – Accedes as a Hittite ally and continues his princely anti-Elamite policy. Earns hatred by acts later considered criminal. Killed in a revolt.
Meli-Šipak – Sends a daughter to Elam in an anti-Hittite counter-reaction, also reflected in his harking back to Kurigalzu (II) in his filiation.
Marduk-apla-iddina I – Also harks back to Kurigalzu (II). Later sees the Elamite writing on the wall and conducts a strategic withdrawal to the northwest: “fear of Elam ... on the banks of the Euphrates ... built a city... of Sumer and Akkad he brought within”.
End of the dynasty – The death of Marduk-apla-iddina I in a rebellion is followed (quickly or a bit later) by the Berlin letter and its rejection. This is followed (and perhaps partly preceded) by a series of Elamite attacks that result in the end of the Kassite dynasty.

§3 Elamite-Babylonian Relations from Kurigalzu I to Kurigalzu II

§3.1 *Tepti-ahar Defeated by Kurigalzu I, Comes to Terms, Continues Building Haft Tappeh II*

§3 will largely follow a straight-line chronological approach to the early Middle Elamite period, but this depends on first straightening out a confusing depiction of kings named Kurigalzu in Chronicle P. This Babylonian text provides crucial data for early Middle Elamite relations with Babylonia (cols. ii-iii), but suffers from major confusion in col. i. However this very confusion provides a very helpful clue for handling col. ii-iii’s Elamite-related material:

Chronicle P i 5-14 clearly appears (as widely accepted) to falsely conflate a pre-Kurigalzu I Kadašman-Ḫarbe (I), who fought and built settlements in northeast Syria (i 6-9) – and “caused the widespread Suteans to be driven out from the land of the sunrise to the land of the sunset”—with a like-named half-Assyrian grandson of Burna-Buriaš II, who ruled almost immediately before Kurigalzu II (cf. i 5-6, 10-14 with the Assyrian Synchronistic History i 8'-17').⁶³

Confusion here is certain because this grandson is clearly ephemeral (no attested year-dates after year 1 at the most, in enormous contrast to Burna-Buriaš II and Kurigalzu II).⁶⁴ The recent publication of YBC 2242 further confirms this confusion, since it names a

⁶³ See ABC 157-170 (here 159) for the Synchronistic History. See Excursus 1 for full discussion of this part of Chronicle P and the Synchronistic History.

⁶⁴ Contrast Mladjov 2016, 20-21 on this confusion. For the relevant regnal dates, see MSKH 111-115

Kadašman-Ḥarbe who has obvious connections to the homonym in Chronicle P i 6-9 – since he “ordered the overthrow of the Suteans from east to west”—but is placed in closer relation to the disastrous time around the fall of Babylon I (“Samsu-ditāna”) than seems reasonable for a post-Burna-Buriaš II ruler, when the subsequent revival was already very well advanced.⁶⁵

In both Chronicle P i and the Synchronistic History (SH), Burna-Buriaš II’s half-Assyrian grandson seated on the Babylonian throne was killed by a usurper who was overthrown by Assyria, which then installed a Kurigalzu clearly identifiable as Kurigalzu II son of Burna-Buriaš II.⁶⁶ This is followed in Chronicle P ii by two battles which are presented as events during the reign of the same Kurigalzu, i.e. Kurigalzu II.

Chronicle P’s attribution to Kurigalzu II has been widely accepted or favored for its battle of “Kurigalzu” with “Ḥurbatila king of Elam” (iii 10-19).⁶⁷ Moreover (as already noted): Ḥurbatila being defeated by Kurigalzu II ties in extremely neatly with the marriage alliance with Elam founded by a Kurigalzu (VS 24.91), clearly Kurigalzu II (§2): since Kurigalzu’s son-in-law (Pahir-iššan) founded a new dynasty and his daughter’s

E.2.25 on Burna-Buriaš II; MSKH 148 K^b.2.2 on Kadašman-Ḥarbe (plausibly assigned to Kadašman-Ḥarbe II); MSKH 232-239 Q.2.115 on Kurigalzu II. Note that Kadašman-Ḥarbe’s father Karaindaš probably never ruled or only ruled ephemerally, since he has no attested year-dates.

⁶⁵ See Paulus 2014, 296-304 KH I 1 = YBC 2242 for this text, a land grant that starts: “When the borders of Sumer and Akkad under Samsu-ditāna were changed by the fighting of Amurru, the attack of the Hanaeans and the army of the Kassites and the groundplans were made unrecognizable and no borders were created for the enclosure, then Kadašman-Ḥarbe the king of Babylon (list of officials), the enduring name, who brought the command of Adad and the great gods and caused the widespread Suteans to be driven out from the land of the sunrise to the land of the sunset and struck down each one of them until there was none left with his face, like a god, looking joyfully and 3600 iku in the district of Ḥamru” (i 1 – ii 3). The parallel with Chronicle P is noted by Paulus 2014, 301.

⁶⁶ The chronicle passages in question discuss events clearly (as generally accepted) set between Burna-Buriaš II and Kurigalzu II, Babylonian kings who are very well attested in economic texts from Nippur (MSKH 111-115 E.2.25; 232-239 Q.2.115 except for Q.2.115.168) that are clearly dated to the 14th century, based on comparing the chronological distribution of dated economic texts from MB Nippur (MSKH 41) with the broken BKL-A and genealogies (cf. MSKH 21-23, 153n2, 205n2), and designated II in each case due to strong arguments for an earlier homonym (MSKH 11-16). This dating appears confirmed by the above chronicle passages, which connect these two kings to the 14th century Assyrian king Aššur-uballiṭ I. On grounds of economy, the Babylonian evidence should identify these rulers (as generally accepted) with an attested Kurigalzu son of Burna-Buriaš (MSKH 116 E.3.2), and the chronicles confirm this too, since this filiation is given by the Synchronistic History (i 16’) and effectively (to-all-appearances) by the broken Chronicle P i 14 (Excursus 1).

⁶⁷ See e.g. MSKH 207 Q.1.2; ABC 223 for a Kurigalzu II dating of Ḥurbatila; similarly Roaf 2017, 179: “normally thought” to be Kurigalzu II (and not criticized); cf. Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 877, who suggests Kurigalzu II on historical grounds, with a caveat that radiocarbon dates from Haft Tappeh may require an earlier dating. See further §3.5 on the political context of this battle.

descendants inherited the Elamite throne, adding this all up points squarely to Kurigalzu II installing Pahir-iššan as a junior partner after defeating Ḫurbatila.

Ḫurbatila's battle with Kurigalzu is preceded by a bloody sea battle won by a Kurigalzu, apparently at the start of a naval invasion of Anšan (ii 3-14):

- 3 upon them [...] ... and a shout/complaint ... [...]
 4 The enemy s[eize]d him. Together ... [to the sword]
 5 he pu[t] all of them, [a]nd did not leave a soul. *The fallen* [ones ...],
 6 [They] put in d[istr]ess. *They* filled/colored the [mid]st of the *rolling* sea with their blood.
 7 ... They sent out their troops, fought zealously, (and) [*achieved*] their victory.
 8 They subdued the (enemy) troops. He gathered the possessions of the vast enemy (and)
 9 made piles (of them). Again the *warriors* said:]
 10 "We did not know, Kurigalzu, that you [had *conquered*] all peoples.
 11 We had no rival *among* people. Now you ... [...]
 12 We have set out, sought the place where you are and [*brought*] gifts.
 13 We have helped you conquer ... [...]" Again he ... [...]
 14 [...] them and ... [...] (Chronicle P ii 3-14)

A key point here is that in view of the confusion in the immediately preceding extant passage (i 5-14) involving kings named Kadašman-Ḫarbe (see above), it cannot be assumed that the Kurigalzu who defeated Ḫurbatila is the same as the Kurigalzu who won this sea battle. As argued at the end of §1, Ḫurbatila appears to be a northern-based Hurrian, probably a Hurrian-Elamite, who exploited the weakness of Šalla to gain the non-hereditary throne of a decentralized Elam, with Šalla seemingly continuing under him as a sub-ruler. This apparent northern base of Ḫurbatila seems to conflict with making him contemporary with the sea battle, as follows:

A remarkable feature of this battle (presumably in the Persian Gulf) is that the defeated leaders say: "We had no rival *among* people" (ii 11). It seems impossible to avoid connecting such a strong Babylonian foe in this region to Elam, since the only alternative (on geographic grounds) is the Sealand, which seems unworkable: Evidence for early Kassite chronology dates the fall of Sealand I well before any king Kurigalzu, and this was apparently followed by the rule there of a cadet branch of the Kassite royal family and eventually by direct Kassite rule, still before any king Kurigalzu.⁶⁸ This seems to leave no possibility of connecting the great power indicated for Kurigalzu's foe in Chronicle P ii 10-11 with the Sealand.

But since Ḫurbatila is not attested in Elam and is only mentioned in a northern context (§1), it seems dubious that he held such a strong position in the southeast either.

⁶⁸ See e.g. Paulus 2022, 818-822; cf. van Koppen 2017, 74-75 on the Sealand in the post-Sealand I period.

And since native Elamite rulers (e.g. Šalla) could not even hold onto the Elamite throne now (§1), it is even harder to see them imagining “We had no rival *among* people”.

Separating Chronicle P ii 3-iii 9 from iii 10-19 also avoids a second obstacle to connecting the first episode to Elam: if both episodes refer to the same Kurigalzu (i.e. Kurigalzu II), he would have already badly defeated (and heavily looted⁶⁹) Elam before Īrbatila challenged him from a strong position (as a “king of Elam” active in [n10] the upper Diyala region).

On this entire basis (including confusion in Chronicle P over Kadašman-Īrbe homonyms), it seems very likely that this sea battle pertains rather to Kurigalzu I (i.e. as another example of such confusion). This seems to work very well, since Kurigalzu’s very powerful foe here (ii 10-11) can then be Tepti-ahar, who built very impressively at Haft Tappeh and maintained a large chariot force (§1). The decentralization of Elam now (§1) greatly enhances this solution by probably indicating that a large share of Elamite resources was not in his hands, but in those of vassals (each cited at Haft Tappeh as “king” of his city). This considerably increases the total Elamite power implied by his impressive building activity and military force.

In addition to allowing Kurigalzu’s powerful foe on sea to be well identified as the powerful Tepti-ahar, identifying Chronicle P ii’s Kurigalzu as Kurigalzu I also works very well for Babylonia, based on the very good fit of this Kurigalzu’s victory in the Gulf (ii 3-14) and great power (ii 10-11) with Kurigalzu I’s great building activity especially in the south, likely innovative direct rule of Dilmun, and divinization.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ See Chronicle P iii 7-8: “silver, gold, precious sto[nes]” for this looting. Connecting iii 1-9 to Kurigalzu’s “return, your path” (iii 7) from col. ii’s sea battle (by land), as seems generally assumed, hardly seems avoidable and is supported by the “gift” in iii 2-4 (cf. ii 12 “gifts”; also the start of §3.2) and the great loot in iii 7-8 (cf. ii 8-9: “possessions ... piles”).

⁷⁰ See e.g. Clayden 1996 on this construction activity; Karlsson 2020 on this divinization. Concerning Dilmun: A seal (BM 122696) places an “administrator of Kurigalzu, king of the universe” 3 generations after a “regent of Dilmun” (Wiggermann 2008, 224-225). A dating of this seal to Kurigalzu II, who ruled ca. 3 generations after Kurigalzu I, is very widely accepted or preferred (Wiggermann 2008, 223); one argument for this being that the title “king of the universe” became more widely used under Kurigalzu II and is not clearly attested for Kurigalzu I (see n61 with references). On this basis, a “regent of Dilmun” 3 generations before this text is very plausibly dated to Kurigalzu I, especially since this fits with his power (great building activity; divinization) and great activity in the south. So Kassite rule of Dilmun appears to have employed direct rule through an official serving Kurigalzu I after a period of rule by a cadet Kassite branch attested in administrative texts (see n68). This shift fits very well after a great victory by him in the Gulf, especially if this was followed by a trade agreement with Elam, as suggested below. This direct rule seems to be attested on the ground by a royal inscription of a Burna-Buriaš found at Qal’at Bahrain (Lombard 2016, 49), which very plausibly represents Burna-Buriaš II enjoying the fruits of Kurigalzu I’s still-recent victory in the Gulf. The lack of any later Kassite texts from Bahrain seems to reflect a strong position of Elam in the Persian Gulf starting with Humban-

§3.2 *Tepti-ahar Recoups from Kadašman-Enlil I, Burna-Buriaš II Recoups by Assyrian Alliance*

So far it has been argued that Kurigalzu I defeated Tepti-ahar in the Persian Gulf, and that Kurigalzu II's defeated foe "Ḫurbatila king of Elam" was a Hurrian-Elamite from the north who gained the throne of a seemingly weakened Elam in or around the time of Šalla, and whose downfall led to Kurigalzu II installing a new dynasty under Pahir-iššan as a junior partner allied by marriage. What course did early Middle Elamite relations with Babylonia take between these two battles with kings Kurigalzu?

Written evidence provides good clues for the first part of this interval: Chronicle P ii 13 appear to indicate that the sea battle was followed by an agreement between the foes.

8 They subdued the (enemy) troops. He gathered the possessions of the vast enemy (and) 9 made piles (of them). Again the *wa[rriors said:]* 10 "We did not know, Kurigalzu, that you [had *conquered*] all peoples. 11 We had no rival among people. Now you ... [...] 12 We have set out, sought the place where you are and [*brought*] gifts. 13 We have helped you conquer ... [...]" Again he ... [...] (Chronicle P ii 8-13)

So the defeated foe "helped" Kurigalzu "conquer". When did this happen? Grayson translates ii 12-13 in the past tense but notes: "Since this is late Babylonian, the verbs in these lines could be interpreted as precatives. In this case the conquered peoples would be speaking of a tribute which they will bring to Kurigalzu in Karduniaš and the future aid they will render to him" (Grayson 1975a, 173 note on ii 12-13).

Indeed a past tense seems very dubious: Since ii 10-11 is separated from the immediate aftermath of the battle only by "Again the *wa[rriors said:]*", it seems clearly set shortly after the battle, which is also the natural time for them to acknowledge prior ignorance of Kurigalzu's great power. Since this dating appears to carry ii 12-13 with it⁷¹, the foe could only "have set out, sought the place where you are" prior to the battle. But especially in the aftermath of ii 5's massacre ("did not leave a soul"), such a recollection of past obedience does not seem too apropos.⁷² In contrast, a precative (imploring) pledge of future tribute and service by the foe makes great sense shortly after a major defeat and massacre.

Based on the above dating to Tepti-ahar and his vassals ("We had no rival among people"), an Elamite agreement with Babylonia following this defeat at sea seems to integrate well with evidence from Haft Tappeh: Tepti-ahar's extensive construction activity at this site, followed by its occupation without disruption for some time by his

numena's building at Liyan (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 889).

⁷¹ Otherwise the lost end of ii 11 would have to both conclude the foes' speech in ii 10-11 and introduce a new speech in ii 12-13, which seems unrealistic.

⁷² If the foe carried out the massacre, invoking past service seems irrelevant. If the Babylonian did this, it probably indicates that invoking past service would have been futile at this point.

successor Inšušinak-šar-īli, suggests that he enjoyed continued success after this defeat, which would be very well explained by such an agreement. Likewise for Babylonia, a mutually beneficial agreement fits very well with Kurigalzu I's great power.

An attractive possibility is that an agreement between the former foes led to a trade agreement that enhanced the lucrative Gulf trade for mutual benefit, i.e. with Tepti-ahar as Kurigalzu I's junior partner (cf. n59 above for an Assyro-Babylonian parallel). On this basis, this trade plausibly financed major building activity by Tepti-ahar at Haft Tappeh both before and after his conflict with Kurigalzu I.

The above seems reasonable. But how does it fit with the explicit evidence on Tepti-ahar's relations with Babylonia provided by the year-name of a Haft Tappeh text (HT 38) dated to his reign?⁷³

The year when the king repulsed/expelled/rejected (*ú-sà-aḥ-ḫi-ru*) Kadashman-KUR.GAL (HT 38, sealed by a "confidant of Tepti-ahar, the king of Susa")

First of all, the negative significance (for its object) of the verb used here (*saḫāru*) and the Kassite significance of *kadašman* guarantee that this year-name of Tepti-ahar was intended to emphasize his standing up to Babylonia. So his post-defeat accepted junior role in Chronicle P (if ii 3-14 indeed pertains to him) was now clearly in the past. This can probably be taken much further, but this depends on two interrelated questions: who is Kadašman-KUR.GAL and what did Tepti-ahar do to him? He is generally identified as Kadašman-Enlil I, Kadašman-Ḫarbe I or a Babylonian messenger, but the latter two suggestions have major weak points:

Kadašman-Ḫarbe I seems very weak because the linguistic basis for reading KUR.GAL as Ḫarbe is indirect, flimsy and unrelated to Elam, and requires a very dubious reading of other at least partly Semitic PNs naming KUR.GAL at Haft Tappeh as likewise honoring the Kassite god Ḫarbe.⁷⁴ A Babylonian messenger has a stronger basis since four year-names at Haft Tappeh refer to messengers by name (Paulus 2013, 446, endorsed by Roaf 2017, 168-169; Frazer 2024, 196 continuation of n37). But none have Kassite name-elements whereas Kadašman is a common name-element in Kassite RNs. Moreover:

⁷³ This text is sealed by "Athibu, the great governor of Kabnak, representative (and) confidant of Tepti-ahar, the king of Susa, [the ser]vant of the god Adad" (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2011, 73). See e.g. Cole and de Meyer 1999, 44; Paulus 2013, 444; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2016, 8 for various translations of this text.

⁷⁴ So Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2016, 80: on a Ḫarbe reading "it remains unclear why this in Elam insignificant Kassite god was so popular at Haft Tappeh and his name so often used in the personal names". Similarly e.g. Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2010, 116; Khramov 2019b, 5. Cole and de Meyer 1999, 45 on a Ḫarbe reading is explicitly weak: "the possibility cannot be excluded", but Vallat (2000) relies on this weak argument for philology, while focusing on chronological objections to Kadašman-Enlil I. Since these *all* stem from a Kurigalzu I reading of VS 24.91, the strong case for Kurigalzu II in this text (§2) seems to leave no grounds whatsoever for a Kadašman-Ḫarbe reading of HT 38.

reading *ú-sà-ah-ḫi-ru* as “repulsed” or “expelled”, which seems more likely in a year-name than “rejected”, fits very well with a royal object (cf. Khramov 2019b, 5).⁷⁵

A Kadašman-Enlil reading finds positive support from evidence very reasonably characterized by Glassner as “capital”: a bilingual letter from Šulgi found at Susa names KUR.GAL as the Sumerian equivalent of Enlil (Glassner 1991, 119).⁷⁶ Paulus emphasizes that in Middle Babylonian Akkadian KUR.GAL is used rather for Amurru. But five PNs with KUR.GAL are attested at Haft Tappeh, and referring these to Amurru seems questionable since this god appears in two PNs there as MAR.TU and one of these five PNs, ^dKUR.GAL.EN.DINGIR.[MEŠ], proclaims ^dKUR.GAL as “lord of the gods”.⁷⁷ Since Elamite evidence deserves priority, Glassner’s conclusion seems justified and even understated: a Kadašman-Enlil reading is “reasonable to accept” (Glassner 1991, 120).⁷⁸

If Kadašman-Enlil is the correct reading, it seems futile to reject a Kadašman-Enlil I identification (Kadašman-Enlil II would be too late), certainly for purposes of discussion. For the discussion here, a key point is that Kurigalzu I defeating Tepti-ahar and coming to an agreement with him (above) fits very well both chronologically and politically with his weaker successor Kadašman-Enlil I being repulsed or expelled by him. So it seems well justified to proceed on the basis of this identification in HT 38.

The next Elamite evidence to integrate is the destruction of Haft Tappeh Level II. Since a Babylonian type arrowhead was found next to a skeleton in the destruction level, Babylonia is the likely suspect. But on the above chronology, there is no written evidence for relations with Elam now. So inference seems needed.

A surprising situation could well provide a good starting point⁷⁹: Why did Burna-Buriaš II (apparently Kadašman-Enlil I’s immediate successor) agree to a marriage alliance with Aššur-uballit I, of which a seemingly integral part was his eventual succession by a half-Assyrian grandson? Nothing supports Aššur-uballit being strong enough to impose this surprisingly Assyria-friendly scheme by himself.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ The occurrence in HT 38 has been used as an example of this verb’s military sense (CAD S 48 *saḫāru* 8b).

⁷⁶ Glassner (1991, 120) notes as a parallel to the use of KUR.GAL for Enlil at Haft Tappeh the learned use there of ESSANA for king.

⁷⁷ See Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2016, 34, 38 for these two PNs with MAR.TU; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2016, 78, 80n86 for these five PNs with KUR.GAL; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2016, 14 for ^dKUR.GAL.EN.DINGIR.[MEŠ] (in H.T. 07-31-144), translated as Enlil-bēl-ilī; also Khramov 2019b, 5 for a jar at Haft Tappeh “belonging to the great god KUR.GAL”.

⁷⁸ See further for an Enlil reading of KUR.GAL Goldberg 2004, 33-34; Khramov 2019b, 4-5. The likely occurrence of E.KUR (“mountain house”) in a Haft Tappeh year-date (Potts 2016, 190) also tends to support connecting KUR.GAL to Enlil by way of the great E.KUR at Nippur.

⁷⁹ See in more detail on the following Goldberg 2024b, 38n111, 44-46.

⁸⁰ Maidman 2011, 111n194 follows Brinkman for “no necessary inferiority ... implied” by this marriage, but this seems implied by the succession in Babylonia of Aššur-uballit I’s grandson, which

Since Aššur-uballiṭ I was able to aggrandize himself against Babylonia by expansion in Arrapha in the northeast (see Maidman 2011 for this expansion), and Tepti-ahar and Kadašman-Enlil I seem to have parted on bad terms with the balance of power shifting to Elam (above), a reasonable scenario is that Burna-Buriaš II agreed to this Assyria-friendly scheme under pressure from both Assyria and Elam. Explaining Aššur-uballiṭ I's strong position relative to Babylonia by it being distracted by Elam works especially well due to the limited role played by Babylonia during his conquest of Arrapha, despite the natural affinity between Babylonia and Arrapha.⁸¹

On this basis, Burna-Buriaš's Assyrian alliance was a diplomatic revolution targeted at Elam. This diplomatic revolution can be taken further, based on Aššur-uballiṭ I's expansion in Arrapha being against both Babylonian and Subartian interests (cf. likely Aššur-uballiṭ's defeat of "Šubarrians" in A.0.76.1).⁸² So when Babylonia responded to Assyrian and Elamite pressure at this time by allying closely with Assyria, this was not only targeted at Elam, but also at Subartu. On this basis, it would be natural for Subartu to complete the diplomatic revolution by allying closely with Babylonia's foe Elam.

This alignment of Assyria with Babylonia against Elam with Hurrian Subartu coheres extremely well, not only with the takeover of Elam by the seemingly part-Hurrian Ḫurbatila (§1) and Kurigalzu II's war against "Subartu" (above with n15), but also with the glyptic from Haft Tappeh, a "large part" of which was in Mitannian (i.e. Subartu) style (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2011, 37).

§3.3 *Inšušinak-šar-īli Outcompeted by Burna-Buriaš II, Who Destroys Haft Tappeh Level II*

So it seems very likely that Burna-Buriaš's alliance with Aššur-uballiṭ was designed to strengthen him against Elam. This can explain the lack of building at Haft Tappeh by Inšušinak-šar-īli (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2023, 179; cf. §1: apparent successor of Tepti-ahar), as follows: Since a city wall started by Tepti-ahar was never completed⁸³ and the destruction of Level II "At the end" of or "soon after" Inšušinak-šar-īli's reign was followed by an attempt to rebuild the monumental complex in Level III (§1), this lack of activity most likely reflects a lack of resources. Contesting with a strengthened Babylonia can well

seems highly likely part of the original plan. Burna-Buriaš II a junior partner in this arrangement appears to have a good parallel in a similar arrangement of Kurigalzu II [§2] with Pahir-iššan after his victory over Ḫurbatila. See Goldberg 2024b, 36-39 for Aššur-uballiṭ I's seemingly limited power.

⁸¹ See Maidman 2011, 93-98 for this affinity and limited role (Maidman 2011, 98: "not doing much of anything").

⁸² See bibliography under RIMA 1 for texts designated A.0.n.n.

⁸³ See Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2023, 179 for no city wall found at Haft Tappeh (implying that a year-name referring to its construction applies to the year this was "ordered").

explain this and finds support from the sequel, when Level II was probably destroyed by Babylonia (§1).

This major Elamite defeat could very well have ended the reign of Inšušinak-šar-īli. Another possibility is that Burna-Buriaš II exploited Elamite weakness after him, since Inšušinak-šar-īli's only known successors before Pahir-iššan are the seemingly lesser figure Šalla and the seeming outsider Ḫurbatila, who seems to have exploited something of a power vacuum (§1).

A victory by Burna-Buriaš that exploited post-Inšušinak-šar-īli Elamite weakness could help explain the lack of Babylonian evidence for Burna-Buriaš's victory. However Chronicle P, the place where such evidence would be expected, does not mention Burna-Buriaš II *at all* (below with n99: likely due to his miserably failed Assyrian policy). Indeed in order to avoid this, it apparently goes as far as naming his known son Kurigalzu II as the uncle of his grandson, Kadašman-Ḫarbe (Excursis 1). This seems to leave no argument against the most likely view, that the bad Elamite defeat when Level II at Haft Tappeh was destroyed, apparently dated “At the end” of or “soon after” Inšušinak-šar-īli's reign, directly put an end to his reign.

§3.4 *Elam Targets Alliance and Fails (CUSAS 17.61), Part-Hurrian Ḫurbatila Exploits Vacuum*

It has been argued above (§3.3) that the strengthening of Burna-Buriaš by his alliance with Aššur-uballiṭ allowed him to weaken Inšušinak-šar-īli and eventually destroy Haft Tappeh Level II, probably ending the latter's reign. However the foundation of this Babylonian hegemony was not secure, because the alliance on which it depended was based on the idea of Babylonia accepting a half-Assyrian king.

The next direct evidence for Babylonian relations with Elam probably comes from CUSAS 17.61 (George 2011, 117-118; George 2012), which is explicitly dated under Kurigalzu II. This evidence appears to be entangled in the downfall of the Assyro-Babylonian alliance, which emboldened an eventual Elamite response to the destruction of Haft Tappeh Level II:

A certain somebody mobilized a wicked foe of the land from its mountain home, who had no name and held no gods precious, and took troops from Der to be his allies, and sent (them), and had (them) draw blades in the courtyard of E-sang-dingirene, and spilled like water the blood of Nippur's citizens. In order to avenge the citizens of Nippur, the great lord Ninurta immediately allowed him no pardon but spilled his life-(blood) like water. Because of this, Kurigalzu, son of Burnaburiaš (etc.). (CUSAS 17.61:5-22)

Why was “the blood of Nippur's citizens spilled like water”? A surprising Assyrian royal letter found at Nippur (Ni.669⁸⁴) seems to offer a very important clue:

⁸⁴ See <https://build-oracc.museum.upenn.edu/tcma/nippur/P282419?list=withlem> for transliteration and

Speak to Illilīya my servant, thus says Enlil-nīrārī your king. (Ni.669 obv.1-3)

The addressee in Ni.669 (“Illilīya, my servant”) is presumably a very high-ranking official at Nippur. So Nippur seems to have been a stronghold of the Assyrian alliance at some point under Aššur-uballit I’s successor (“Enlil-nirari, your king”), i.e. after Aššur-uballit I’s no doubt vicious suppression of the revolt that killed his grandson. On this basis, CUSAS 17.61’s massacre of citizens of Nippur by a force that included Babylonian rebels (“troops from Der”) can be very well explained as part of an anti-Assyrian coup that took revenge for this vicious suppression (and spoke back to the overbearing Assyrians). This can fit very well with the apparent location of the massacre at Dūr-Kurigalzu⁸⁵, since this was a chokepoint for Assyro-Babylonian communications and probably a stronghold for supporters of the alliance between them.

In view of the geography (Der, mountains), the best candidate for the enemy mastermind in CUSAS 17.61 is an Elamite ruler (cf. Paulus: “likely”⁸⁶). On the entire above basis, Elamite support for a coup targeting the Assyro-Babylonian alliance makes great sense, since this alliance seems to have been designed to strengthen Burna-Buriaš II against Elam and appears to have led to the destruction of Haft Tappeh Level II (§3.3).

Šalla is the only known plausible candidate for an Elamite ruler in CUSAS 17.61⁸⁷, and works very well geographically: His role at or near Tepe Bormi in the Huhnur region, the “gate of Anšan” located “at the entrance pass” of the “highlands”, would provide access to troops from a “mountain home”.⁸⁸ And his attestation at Susa (§1), plus his role as the best candidate for the short-lived attempt to rebuild the monumental complex at Haft Tappeh (Level III)⁸⁹, would allow him to cooperate with Babylonian rebels from “Der”. A

translation by de Ridder and references on Ni.669; Llop 2011, 601n83 for additional references.

⁸⁵ George 2011, 117, based on the known temple E-sang-dingirene at Dūr-Kurigalzu (with the caveat that CUSAS 17.61 referring to an unknown homonymous temple at Nippur is possible).

⁸⁶ Paulus 2022, 833, connecting this directly to Kurigalzu’s Elamite war in Chronicle P (iii 10-19).

⁸⁷ In contrast to native Elamite anger at Nippur being well explained by the destruction of Haft Tappeh Level II by an alliance-strengthened Burna-Buriaš II, connecting this coup to Ḫurbatila does not cohere at all with the *casus belli* given by Chronicle P for the later war between Kurigalzu (II) and Ḫurbatila.

⁸⁸ Šalla is principally attested in “Malamir texts”, which are closely connected to texts found at Tell Bormi written under Inšušinak-šar-īli (see e.g. Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2018a, 113). Cf. Gorris 2018, 319n8; Wicks 2019, 3n5 for the description of Huhnur given in the text and its very widely accepted location at or near Tell Bormi. Cf. a reference to an Elamite “mountain home” in CUSAS 17.61 with BM 35322 (Grayson 1975b, 47-55; cf. above at nn56-60), in which a Babylonian counter-king connected to an “Elamite woman” tries to flee “to the mountains”.

⁸⁹ Since Inšušinak-šar-īli apparently precedes Level III (§1), the only known alternative is Ḫurbatila, but in view of his presumable power when he challenged Kurigalzu II in the north, this fits badly with the abortive character of the Level III rebuilding. In contrast his takeover could very well explain the *end* of the attempted rebuilding since this interloper would very plausibly have had his own ideas on how to dominate Elam.

failed coup by him in CUSAS 17.61 and short-lived failed rebuilding by him at Haft Tappeh also cohere very well with each other as quickly failed overreaching. Very plausibly his major foreign policy fail led to major distractions from rebuilding this monumental complex, which was designed largely to show off.

What happened next? Elam would be weakened by its failed intervention (as probably reflected at Haft Tappeh) as well as isolated by having badly alienated both Assyria and Babylonia. This difficult Elamite position could very well have provided an opening for the enigmatic “Ḫurbatila king of Elam” (Chronicle P iii 10-19) to gain the decentralized ME I throne (§1).

So who was this otherwise totally unknown king? As already argued (above at nn10-12): Three clues come from his unusual, very plausibly Hurrian name, his challenge to Kurigalzu regarding Dūr-Šulgi, apparently located near Alman in the north (upper Diyala region), and his total lack of attestation in Elamite sources despite seemingly considerable power. These clues all fit very well together, especially against the background of the decentralized and seemingly non-hereditary nature of the early Middle Elamite monarchy, which seems to indicate that the throne was elective:

Combining all this strongly suggests that Ḫurbatila was a Hurrian (probably Hurrian-Elamite) northerner who exploited Elamite weakness (cf. Šalla’s titular weakness and attestation mostly in the south) to get himself elected king of Elam, likely by combining carrots and sticks, while retaining his northern base.

Specifically: on the above view of CUSAS 17.61’s coup, its out-of-control execution together with its failure very plausibly weakened Šalla’s position and endangered Elam to such an extent that a northern interloper was able to gain the Elamite throne. Especially since this probable Hurrian-Elamite ruler would be a natural ally of Hurrian Subartu, an attested foe of Kurigalzu II (see further above with n15), his takeover would here have been eased by his ability to shield a relatively weak Elam from the consequences of its CUSAS 17.61 alienation of both Assyria and Babylonia.

On this entire basis, Ḫurbatila’s takeover would presumably be associated with the end of Šalla’s apparently short-lived attempt to rebuild the monumental complex at Haft Tappeh (Level III), after which the site was converted to domestic use. This makes very good sense since as an outsider, Ḫurbatila would probably have had his own ideas about how to rule Elam.

Judging by Šalla’s seeming reign for a considerable time (as the only attested ruler in the “Malamir” archives, except for one outlier text dated under Tepti-ahar (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2022, 886)) and Ḫurbatila’s seemingly strong position (as indicated by his later challenge to Kurigalzu II), Šalla seems on the above basis to have adapted in a mutually

beneficial manner by becoming a vassal of Ḫurbatila, with a base in the south.⁹⁰ (See §3.5 end for a detailed treatment of chronology on this basis.) This accords with Mofidi-Nasrabadi citing the “Malamir texts” as grounds to “probably” include references to Šalla among attested references to city-kings (typically attested only as “king of GN”).⁹¹

§3.5 *Ḫurbatila Falls, Kurigalzu II Revenges CUSAS 17.61 on Haft Tappeh IV, Installs Pahir-iššan*

To recap: the only evidence for Ḫurbatila’s reign is Chronicle P’s account of his challenge to Kurigalzu (II) at Dūr-Šulgi in the north, followed by Kurigalzu’s triumph over him (iii 10-19). On this basis, it has been argued above (§1) that Ḫurbatila was a Hurrian-Elamite from the north, seemingly allied with Hurrian Subartu, who was able to exploit Elamite weakness to gain the decentralized ME I throne. Specifically, this occurred after Šalla weakened himself by organizing CUSAS 17.61’s bloody but failed anti-Assyrian coup in Babylonia (§3.4). This would have exposed Elam to retaliation by Assyria and/or Babylonia, allowing Ḫurbatila to offer himself as a protector.

On this basis, Ḫurbatila’s defeat by Kurigalzu II would end this protection, and open Elam up to Babylonian retaliation. This scenario fits very well with already-discussed evidence pointing to a thorough Babylonian conquest of Elam at this time, as follows: VS 24.91 appears to provide good evidence for a marriage alliance between Kurigalzu II and the dynasty-founder Pahir-iššan (§2). Combining this with the above Ḫurbatila scenario very strongly suggests that Kurigalzu II installed this dynasty as a junior partner after his defeat of Ḫurbatila, which on this basis was evidently followed by a thorough conquest of Elam (n61 above: as substantiated elsewhere for a Kurigalzu, probably Kurigalzu II).

What about the apparent massacre at Haft Tappeh that ended Level IV’s “poor” (§1) domestic occupation? On the above basis, this presumably represents both the aftermath of Kurigalzu II’s conquest of Elam and retribution for CUSAS 17.61. However this poses a question: Why such savage violence against such poor folk?

⁹⁰ Cf. this accommodation with that proposed (§3.1) between Tepti-ahar and Kurigalzu I, with the latter in a superior position after his victory (Chronicle P ii 3-14). ME I decentralization (§1) could fit very well with a political culture tending to avoid all-or-nothing outcomes (cf. also the multiple power centers in the preceding sukkalmah era and contrast all-or-nothing royal power games). While Assyria and Babylonia would highly likely be very displeased by Ḫurbatila’s consolidation of Hurrian/Elamite power in the east, their (see §3.5 end) rapidly ensuing breakup would probably render their opposition ineffectual. While this would eliminate one reason for Elamites to support the newly installed interloper, ongoing native Elamite weakness now (§1), and fear of an Assyrian or Babylonian upswing, could well render any opposition from this quarter ineffectual as well.

⁹¹ Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2010, 116-117 with n65: “vermutlich”. Cf. n88 above for Šalla likely “king of Huhnur”.

This can here be explained by Šalla's failed work on the monumental complex at Haft Tappeh (Level III), before the failed bloody coup (CUSAS 17.61) that he seemingly masterminded in Babylonia (see above at nn87-89). While this failure (here) led to Ḫurbatila's takeover and Šalla's reduction to his vassal, it could still have triggered a scapegoating of the inhabitants of Haft Tappeh (a kind of symbolic revenge) when the aftermath of the Elamite defeat at Dūr-Šulgi reached Susiana. This would be especially plausible if Šalla was still ruling (locally) and had aided Ḫurbatila at Dūr-Šulgi.

This seems to be a plausible reconstruction from a historical point of view. Can it pass the test of chronology? So far it has been argued that Haft Tappeh Level II was built by Tepti-ahar – in view of his extensive work on this site (§1), probably starting early in his reign—and remained a powerbase under Inšušinak-šar-īli, who was too pressured by Burna-Buriaš II (strengthened by his Assyrian alliance) to build there. Eventually Burna-Buriaš destroyed Level II, probably ending Inšušinak-šar-īli's reign.

The next step at Haft Tappeh was a short-lived attempt to rebuild the monumental complex (Level III), seemingly by Šalla (§1). On the above basis, the natural dating of this attempt is after a Babylonian revolt against the Assyrian alliance (known from chronicles; see Excursis 1) weakened the allies' hegemony. However, Šalla's attempt to press this weakness by sponsoring a Babylonian coup against the alliance backfired badly when this bloody coup failed, weakening him and paving the way for a takeover by Ḫurbatila, who was evidently not interested in Haft Tappeh. On this basis, dating CUSAS 17.61's failed coup is an important issue for refining ME I chronology.

A starting point for dating this coup comes from Kurigalzu II's commemoration of its failure. If this coup was indeed anti-Assyrian (§3.4), this celebration indicates that it precedes his break with Enlil-nirari, which precedes the latter's victory over him (SH 18'-23' confirmed by Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 1 (ACF 1) and A.0.74.1001, neither of which should exist without such an Assyrian victory).⁹² Combining the contrast between Enlil-nirari's arrogant ambitions (Ni.669; see above at n84) and his obscurity (A.0.74.nn) with his inherited power from Aššur-uballit I probably dates this victory early in his reign, with CUSAS 17.61 (as just indicated) earlier still.⁹³

⁹² See ABC 184-185 for this chronicle fragment. The evaluation of the SH given here is contra that given by Grayson 1975a, 58 (but without reference to the other two texts cited here). Grayson 1991, 119 suggests attributing A.0.74.1001, which only mentions Kurigalzu, to Adad-nirari I. But this text's existence must reflect an Assyrian victory and the only evidence for military conflict between these two is a *Babylonian* victory in Chronicle P (iii 20-22), which does not appear to fabricate such victories (Grayson 1975a, 56-59, noting that it “mentions four Babylonian setbacks”; cf. Excursis 2). Note: the chronology argued in the text assumes that Kurigalzu II only broke with Assyria once, as deserves heuristic priority and seems justified by the coherence of the ensuing scheme (text below).

⁹³ This combination of obscurity with inherited power also strongly suggests an early dating for Enlil-nirari's claim to lordship over Nippur in Ni.669. Indeed this arrogance highly likely contributed to

For Elam, the key point is what this Assyrian dating of CUSAS 17.61 amounts to in Babylonian terms. A royal road to a relative chronology seems available from a combination of Kurigalzu II's defeat by Enlil-nirari (Synchronistic History I 18'-23') with his victory over Adad-nirari I (Chronicle P iii 20-22). This victory is sometimes considered a reflex of this defeat, but there is no reason to invoke erroneous RNs in Chronicle P, either here or in general (Excursus 2), and Babylonian historiography (as well known) was not prone to turning defeats into victories (n92 above).

Combining Chronicle P iii 20-22's synchronism with the SH does produce a very tight chronology: Kurigalzu II was appointed by Aššur-uballiṭ I and ruled for 24 years, but the two Assyrian kings who ruled between him and Adad-nirari I already cover 22 of these years. However without support for error from a general case against Chronicle P, the role of this combination as a potentially extremely valuable pointer to a very closely-defined chronology strongly justifies giving it heuristic priority over invoking source error.⁹⁴

On this basis, the accession of Kurigalzu II must date ca.1 year before the death of Aššur-uballiṭ I/accession of Enlil-nirari. Since CUSAS 17.61 should not be later than early Enlil-nirari (above), its coup is then dated to early in Kurigalzu II's reign as well. Moreover, Ḫurbatila probably *quickly* exploited Šalla's weakness after he sponsored this failed bloody coup targeted at the Assyro-Babylonian alliance, especially since Elam could very well have needed quick protection against the (cf. above at n92) ongoing Assyro-Babylonian alliance. So on this scheme Ḫurbatila's accession probably dates to early Kurigalzu II also. And since Šalla's royal pretensions at Haft Tappeh (Level III) would presumably have come to an end when he was overshadowed by Ḫurbatila, this failed coup should also mark the end of this level.

On this entire basis, Šalla's Level III probably took advantage of a weakening of Assyro-Babylonian hegemony, perhaps starting around when Kadašman-Ḫarbe was eliminated (likely no more than months after Burna-Buriaš II's death since he was probably killed essentially for being half-Assyrian). This is likely no more than ca.1 year before Aššur-uballiṭ I avenged this grandson and installed Kurigalzu II, and so here ca.2 years (cf. text above) before Aššur-uballiṭ I's death.

If Level III indeed ended at the time of CUSAS 17.61 (above: early in the reign of Kurigalzu II), this leaves very little time for this stratum. This may fit very well with the limited rebuilding achieved (no floor laid). Šalla never being attested as "king of Elam"

Kurigalzu II's breakup with him. In any case, Ni.669 should precede this breakup (again indicating an early dating), since Kurigalzu II was able to survive in power after the breakup.

⁹⁴ Since both accounts refer to a battle at Sugagi/u and the Assyrian RNs are similar, a double error is sometimes supposed to have converted the Babylonian defeat in SH into their victory in Chronicle P (see Pruzsinszly 2009, 118-119 with references). However as noted by n92, Chronicle P does not tententiously distort history.

provides another indication that this openly ambitious phase of his reign did not last too long (which has a natural fit with it ending in overreaching).

If more time is necessary for Level III (as here probably required if CUSAS 17.61 predates the death of Aššur-uballit), it can have started a little earlier if the reins of power in Assyria and/or Babylonia had slackened towards the end of Burna-Buriaš II's reign (as may be suggested by the revolt shortly after Burna-Buriaš died/shortly before Aššur-uballit died)—thereby relieving the pressure on Elamite resources.

To further integrate Haft Tappeh stratigraphy with the above political history, two more dates must be estimated, for the start of the Assyro-Babylonian alliance and for Kurigalzu's conquest of Elam:

The start of the alliance can here be estimated as follows: If Burna-Buriaš's attested reign into a year 27 indeed ended ca. 2 years before Aššur-uballit's death in his year 36 (i.e. in his year 34), his accession dates to ca. year 7 of Aššur-uballit. Since the offspring of the marriage alliance was of age to rule by this year 34, he was presumably born by roughly ca. year 16 of Aššur-uballit. Since it presumably took some time to arrange this alliance, its start can then be dated to ca. year 10-15 of Aššur-uballit I, on the above basis = ca. year 3-8 of Burna-Buriaš II.

For Kurigalzu II's conquest of Elam: The very weak beginning of his reign, when he faced an anti-Assyrian coup as well as an overbearing Enlil-nirari, followed by a military conflict won by Enlil-nirari, suggest a long period of strengthening himself before he could overthrow Ḫurbatila in the north and follow this up with a (above with n61, based on VS 24.91, MDP 28.9 etc.) thorough conquest of Elam. But if Kurigalzu II also defeated Adad-nirari I (Chronicle P), as argued above, this perhaps lengthy phase of conflict (probably including Kurigalzu II's known conflict with Ḫurbatila's probable ally, Hurrian Subartu⁹⁵) cannot be too late in his attested 24 year reign, because on chronological grounds (above) the last phase of his reign would be taken up by another major undertaking, the renewed war with Assyria. On this basis, the defeat of Ḫurbatila and conquest of Elam is probably dated ca. year 15-20 of Kurigalzu II.

To sum up the above results: (1) The start of the Assyro-Babylonian alliance here dates to ca. year 3-8 of Burna-Buriaš II. (2) CUSAS 17.61 and Ḫurbatila's takeover (overshadowing Šalla) here date to early Kurigalzu II. (3) The fall of Ḫurbatila and installation of Pahir-iššan here date to ca. year 15-20 of Kurigalzu II. For Haft Tappeh, this leads to the following scenario:

⁹⁵ See above with n15 for Kurigalzu II's apparent victory over Hurrian Subartu. No evidence for this Subartu connection in Chronicle P can be well explained by Kurigalzu attacking Elam while Subartu was distracted elsewhere. Or since Kurigalzu II's war with "Subartu" seems successful (it led to a land grant), perhaps it induced Subartu to stay out of his Elamite war.

- No building by Inšušinak-šar-īli (late Level II) reflects pressure from an Assyrian alliance-strengthened Babylonia starting ca. year 3-8 of Burna-Buriaš II.
- The destruction of Level II by an alliance-strengthened Babylonia dates some time after ca. year 3-8 of Burna-Buriaš II, but before his death; so ca. his year 15-25.
- Šalla's failed rebuilding (Level III) starts late in the reign of Burna-Buriaš II or immediately after, and reflects weakened Assyro-Babylonian hegemony (cf. the revolt shortly after Burna-Buriaš's death and the possibility of slackened reins late in the reigns of Burna-Buriaš and Aššur-uballit).
- The end of Level III (i.e. of rebuilding) reflects the failure of Šalla's bloody coup against the alliance (early Kurigalzu II) and Ḫurbatila's quickly ensuing takeover.
- The massacre of a poor domestic occupation (Level IV) represents revenge for Šalla's coup on a site linked to him, as part of Kurigalzu II's thorough conquest of Elam after defeating Ḫurbatila in the north ca. his year 15-20.

TABLE 4. Course of Events from Tepti-ahar to Pahir-iššan

Elamite King	Haft Tappeh Stratum	Babylonian King	Text(s)	Course of Events
Tepti-ahar	Level II	Kurigalzu I	Chronicle P ii 3-iii 9	Kurigalzu wins sea battle against forces of a very powerful Tepti-ahar, whose vassals thought “we” have “no rival”. He takes direct control of Dilmun and makes Tepti-ahar his junior partner. Continued major construction at Haft Tappeh.
same	same	Kadašman-Enlil I	HT 38; A.0.76.1	Tepti-ahar moves successfully against Kadašman-Enlil I after balance of power shifts towards Elam. Probably by now: Elam is strengthened by an understanding with Assyria, which also helps enable Aššur-uballiṭ’s early expansion in Arrapha.
Inšušinak-šar-īli	late Level II	early Burna-Buriaš II	Chronicle P i 5-6; SH i 8'-10'	In a diplomatic revolution, Aššur-uballiṭ leverages Babylonia’s Elamite problem to align as senior partner with Burna-Buriaš II against Elam. Elam compensates by allying with Hurrian Subartu, but cannot afford to build at Haft Tappeh.
downfall of Inšušinak-šar-īli	Level II destroyed	Burna-Buriaš II		Strengthened by his Assyrian alliance, Burna-Buriaš II burns Haft Tappeh.
early Šalla	Level III attempt to rebuild starts	late Burna-Buriaš II or immediately after		Weakening of the allies and/or of their alliance eases strain on Elamite resources, enabling attempt to rebuild at Haft Tappeh.
same	Level III	(late Burna-Buriaš II to) early Kurigalzu II	Chronicle P i 10-14; SH i 8'-17'; CUSAS 17.61 (cf. Ni.669)	Grandson of Aššur-uballiṭ enthroned, killed in Babylonian coup. Vicious Assyrian response installs Kurigalzu II. Aššur-uballiṭ dies (possibly after CUSAS 17.61). Elamite-supported coup kills Assyrian collaborators from Nippur; Kurigalzu II celebrates its failure; Šalla weakened.

Ḫurbatila/ Šalla	Level III end of rebuilding	early Kurigalzu II	Chronicle P iii 10-19 (implications); SH i 18'-23'; ACF 1	Ḫurbatila, a Hurrian-Elamite from the north, leverages Elamite-Subartu alliance to seize the decentralized ME I throne, with Šalla as vassal. He ignores Haft Tappeh. Kurigalzu II soon breaks with Enlil-nirari, but is quickly defeated.
same	Level IV poor	Kurigalzu II	“Malamir texts”	Šalla’s non-royal titulary reflects inferior status. Native Elamite power reduced and shifts south (Ram Hormuz region), away from Ḫurbatila.
downfall of Ḫurbatila	Level IV ends in massacre	late Kurigalzu II	Chronicle P iii 10-19; MDP 28.9; VS 24.91	Ḫurbatila challenges Kurigalzu in north and loses throne. Kurigalzu thoroughly conquers weak native Elam, as far as Marḫasi to the east, and installs Pahir-iššan as junior partner. CUSAS 17.61 revenged on poor folk at Šalla’s former powerbase in Haft Tappeh.

Excurses

Excursus 1. Burna-Buriaš II's Assyrian Alliance

§3.3-§3.4 have argued that the strengthening of Burna-Buriaš II by his Assyrian alliance played a central role in the decline of Elamite power after Tepti-ahar. While differences between the Babylonian Chronicle P and the Assyrian Synchronistic History cloud the picture of this alliance, it appears possible to completely resolve all discrepancies. Chronicle P's genealogy is justified in this excursus and its RNs in Excursus 2:

[Kadašman-Har]be, son of Karaindaš, son of Muballitat-serua – [daughter] of Aššur-uballit, king of – ordered the overthrow of the Suteans from east to west, and *annihilated* their *extensive* forces. He reinforced the fortresses in Mount 𒄩.𒄩. He dug a well and comfortably settled people in them (the fortresses) to strengthen the guard. Afterwards the Kassite people rebelled against him (and) killed him. They appointed Šuzigaš, a Kassite, son of a nobody, as sovereign over them. Aššur-uballit (I), [king] of Assyria, marched to Karduniaš to avenge Kadašman-Harbe, his daughter's son. He [killed] Šuzigaš, the Kassite, [(and) put Kurigalzu (II) ... of Ka]dašman-harbe, on [his father's] throne. (Chronicle P i 5-14)

At the time of Aššur-uballit (I), king of Assyria, Kassite troops rebelled against Karahardaš, king of Karduniaš, son of Muballit-sherua – daughter of Aššur-uballit (I) – and killed him. They appointed Nazibugaš, a Kassite, son of a nobody, as sovereign over them. [Aššur-uballit (I) marched to Karduniaš [to av]enge [Kar]aindaš, [*his grands*]on. He killed Nazibugaš, king of Karduniaš. He appointed [Kur]igalzu (II) the Younger, son of Burnaburiaš (II), as sovereign (and) [put] (him) on his father's throne. (Synchronistic History i 8'-17')

A strong point of the Synchronistic History is that it gives its Kurigalzu, who is clearly Kurigalzu II, the latter's known filiation (n66 above) from Burna-Buriaš II.

Brinkman has further justified the Assyrian account against Chronicle P by arguing that the latter's Kurigalzu [son] of Kadašman-Ḫarbe son of Karaindaš and an Assyrian princess (i 5-6, 14) is an erroneous reflex of three earlier kings.⁹⁶ However neither claimed parallel filiation is secure: (1) Kadašman-Ḫarbe I a son of Karaindaš is only inferred from

⁹⁶ See MSKH 418-423 for Brinkman's analysis supporting the Synchronistic History, followed e.g. by Maidman 2011, 111 with n198. Note on SH i 5-6, which can be read as making the daughter of Aššur-uballit the *mother* of Karaindaš: MSKH 422 leaves this question open. But this alternative entails his Assyrian mother being named in a Babylonian source that omits his Babylonian father. Moreover i 12, which names Kadašman-Ḫarbe as the "son" of Aššur-uballit's daughter, should be taken literally, as elsewhere in Chronicle P. So Karaindaš's wife should be assumed. In contrast, Brinkman ignores this omission and uses his proposed erroneous reflex (contra text just below) to reject any argument from i 12.

him perhaps reigning just after him.⁹⁷ (2) More importantly, rather than making Kurigalzu the slain Kadašman-Ḫarbe's "[son]", i 14 should rather clearly be restored (with Mladjov) as making him Kadašman-Ḫarbe's "[father's brother]"⁹⁸, as follows:

Kadašman-Ḫarbe was the "son of Karaindaš" (i 5), who is naturally identified as the son of his predecessor, evidently Burna-Buriaš II. Since he is unattested on the ground, this filiation seems confirmed by his Assyrian marriage, which was presumably arranged by a father-king. Kurigalzu being the brother of Kadašman-Ḫarbe's father Karaindaš then fits perfectly with the (n66 above) clear filiation of Kurigalzu II from Burna-Buriaš II *and* agrees with the Assyrian account. In great contrast, "[son]" contradicts this account *and* produces a chronologically strained very quick succession to a third generation after Burna-Buriaš II. Moreover: an uncle replacing Aššur-uballiṭ I's slain grandson can be very well explained by no full (i.e. half-Assyrian) adult brother remaining and/or a lesson having been learned.

While Kurigalzu II being designated as the "father's brother" of Kadašman-Ḫarbe rather than son of his evident father Burna-Buriaš is admittedly exceedingly unusual, this is part of a bigger problem: Chronicle P does not name Burna-Buriaš *at all* in connection with the aftermath that he engineered. Since his Assyrian alliance worked out so badly (and centuries of conflict followed), it seems more than reasonable to connect this non-mention in a Babylonian source to this horrible failure. Close parallels for this scenario have been argued above (§2): Adad-šuma-ušur not mentioned by his son Meli-Šipak and grandson Marduk-apla-iddina I (due to his failed Hittite alliance), and Untaš-Napiriša not mentioned by his sons Unpahaš-Napiriša and Kidin-Hutran (due to his failed Babylonian war).⁹⁹

This bigger problem from Burna-Buriaš II's complete absence from Chronicle P negates any objection to restoring "father's brother" in i 14 on the grounds that it should have named Kurigalzu II simply as Burna-Buriaš's son. This leaves no reason to question Chronicle P's account (cf. Excursis 2 on royal names), with the following key caveat (cf.

⁹⁷ See MSKH 15-16, 421n11 for Kadašman-Ḫarbe I's filiation an inference.

⁹⁸ See Mladjov 2016, 20-21 for Kurigalzu II's identification as the "[father's brother]" of the post-Burna-Buriaš II Kadašman-Ḫarbe.

⁹⁹ In the case of Untaš-Napiriša, his rejected war was apparently more a great folly than an immediate disaster. Note also that the fiasco stemming from the marriage alliance engineered by Burna-Buriaš II and Aššur-uballiṭ I seems to have left its mark on the Assyrian side too, in the quite odd filiation given for Ninurta-apal-Ekur in the AKL: "son of Ili-pada descendant of Eriba-Adad (I)", skipping over the more powerful Aššur-uballiṭ I (son of Eriba-Adad I) and Adad-nirari I, who were also among his ancestors (see Cancik-Kirschbaum 1999 on his dynastic branch). A similar situation in KAJ 156 (see e.g. Bloch 2017, 183), in which Aššur-uballiṭ I's son Enlil-nērārī is mentioned only as a "son" (i.e. descendant) of his grandfather Eriba-Adad, seems to confirm some kind of problem with Aššur-uballiṭ I's memory early on. See also Goldberg 2024b, 42-43.

§3.1): Chronicle P clearly confuses Burna-Buriaš II's half-Assyrian grandson Kadašman-Ḫarbe, who was ephemeral, with a Kadašman-Ḫarbe who was very active in northeast Syria (evidently Kadašman-Ḫarbe I, as appears confirmed by YBC 2242), and appears to confuse Kurigalzu I with Kurigalzu II.

Excursis 2. In Defense of Chronicle P's Royal Names

To sum up so far on Chronicle P: Two accounts of conflict between Babylonia and Elam (ii 2-iii 19) provide crucial evidence for reconstructing early Middle Elamite history. Chronicle P clearly connects both conflicts to Kurigalzu II. However this text appears to confuse Kurigalzu I, who apparently fought Tepti-ahar in ii 3-iii 9 (§3.1), with Kurigalzu II, who apparently fought Ḫurbatila in iii 10-19 (as widely accepted; see also §1 end). This confusion fits very well with col.i, which in spite of its generally good account of the runup to Kurigalzu II's accession (Excursis 1), clearly confuses a half-Assyrian grandson of Burna-Buriaš II with the like-named but earlier Kadašman-Ḫarbe I (§3.1).

This excursis continues the defense of this text (apart from confusing homonyms with each other) by refuting claims that it provides accidentally erroneous royal names. For the period discussed in Excursis 1:

- Chronicle P's Karaindaš for Aššur-uballiṭ I's son-in-law and Kadašman-Ḫarbe for his grandson who took the Babylonian throne (i 5-12) are both good Kassite Dynasty RNs, making them preferable to the SH's peculiar Karahardaš in the latter role (i 8'; contrast i 14': Karaindaš).¹⁰⁰
- Chronicle P's Šuzigaš appears (on onomastic grounds) to be a clear mangling of the SH's Nazi-bugaš, But since he was a regicide and quickly overthrown by Aššur-uballiṭ I in favor of the great Kurigalzu II, ancestor [above with nn50-51] of all later independent Kassite dynasty kings except perhaps at the very end of the dynasty, this seems more likely deliberate polemic than accidental error.

Accidental error in Chronicle P is sometimes proposed for a slightly later episode, Kurigalzu II's victory over Adad-nirari I (iii: 20-22). Since Kurigalzu II was appointed by Aššur-uballiṭ I, and the two intervening Assyrian kings together ruled for 22 years, while Kurigalzu II ruled for 24 years, the chronology for this battle is extremely tight. Moreover the Assyrian Synchronistic History relates the *defeat* of Kurigalzu II by the similarly-named Enlil-nirari (i 18'-21'), likewise at "Sugagi/a which (is) on the Tigris", which could point to conflicting accounts of a single episode.

¹⁰⁰ See de Ridder 2022, 1-6 against referring the only possible occurrence of *hardaš*, a very dubious reading of "[...]-hardaš" in KAV 97, to the Synchronistic History's Karahardaš or to any king; contrast earlier MSKH 166-167 M.2.1.

Since the Synchronistic History's account is supported by the broken Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 1 and A.0.74.1, neither of which should exist without Kurigalzu II's defeat by Enlil-nirari, the shared references to Sugagi/a and similar RNs can and have been used to treat Chronicle P's victory by Kurigalzu II as a fabrication and the name of his foe Adad-nirari as an error (see Pruzsinszly 2009, 118-119 with references). However Chronicle P does not re-invent defeats as victories (n92 above), and the reference to Sugagi/a in both texts can reasonably be understood as Kurigalzu II recouping from his early defeat by a later victory. Such recouping is extremely plausible (*per se*) in view of his eventually great power.¹⁰¹

A potentially key point is that a combination of these accounts is extremely valuable heuristically (for chronology) if valid, and deserves serious consideration on this basis alone. Indeed as argued above (§3.5), this combination (which dates Kurigalzu II's accession extremely late in Aššur-uballit I's 36 year reign, as commonly suggested or allowed¹⁰²) appears to point to a very consistent and politically plausible reconstruction of the early reigns of Šalla, Kurigalzu II, Enlil-nirari and Ḫurbatila, as well as to reasonable timespans for Haft Tappeh Levels III-IV. Moreover, Kurigalzu II's victory over a newly-acceded Adad-nirari I agrees very well with the latter saying nothing about the beginning of his reign (A.0.76.nn), in strong contrast to Middle Assyrian kings with comparable military records (Shalmaneser I, Tukulti-Ninurta I, Tiglath-Pileser I).

Another charge of an erroneous RN in Chronicle P involves the Tukulti-Aššur who returned the statue of Marduk stolen by Tukulti-Ninurta I (iv 12-13). But his identification with the later 12th century Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur is dubious due to the "passion" of Nebuchadnezzar to return the Marduk statue stolen in the mid-12th century.¹⁰³ An earlier

¹⁰¹ The argument for Kurigalzu II's great power begins with his conquest of Elam, based on the defeat of Ḫurbatila by a Kurigalzu (Chronicle P) very widely and plausibly identified (n13 above) as Kurigalzu II. Kurigalzu II's apparent identification with VS 24.91's Kurigalzu, who apparently installed the Igiḫalkid dynasty as a junior partner, further supports Kurigalzu II as this conqueror and indicates that this victory was followed by a thorough conquest of Elam, since this would presumably be required for this political re-ordering of Elam; see also n61 above for contemporary evidence of such a thorough conquest by a Kurigalzu, probably II. Kurigalzu II's victory over Assyria (see text for no reason to doubt Chronicle P iii 20-22) confirms his strong position near the end of his reign. A "Subartu" defeated by Kurigalzu II in kudurru Ka IV 2 can be very well understood as a Hurrian ally of the probably part-Hurrian Ḫurbatila (cf. above at nn10-18). See also n61 on use of the title 'king of the universe' for Kurigalzu II.

¹⁰² Cf. a recent estimate of 2 years before Aššur-uballit I's death (Miller 2017, 105); also MSKH 29-30n85, 31 for an earlier estimate that allows such a date.

¹⁰³ The "passion of Nebuchadnezzar to return the statue from Elam" shows that this statue was "highly prized, as the main cultic statue would have been" (Johnson 2013, 115). This comment was directed at the possibility of a minor statue, but also applies to a replacement statue. So presumably the looted main statue had been returned before it was looted again, this time by Elam.

return carried out by a noncanonical Tukulti-Aššur can also explain the unique Assyrian RN (with two DNs) of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur, who was likewise close to Babylonia¹⁰⁴, as a programmatic allusion to the reign of Tukulti-Aššur.

An early return seems very hard to avoid since the Assyrian king Enlil-kudurri-ušur was handed over by his army to the Babylonian king Adad-šuma-ušur (Chronicle 25:5). Texts of the latter further support a return at this time: “Marduk ... named his name as ruler of (all) land[s]. The great gods ... returned to their temples” (BM 36042); “dirty ... garments” (presumably Marduk’s) will “illuminate the land” after “the launderer” washes them (BM 34104+, generally set in the immediate wake of Enlil-kudurri-ušur’s downfall).¹⁰⁵

Moreover there appears to be a gap between the downfall of Enlil-kudurri-ušur and the accession of his canonical successor Ninurta-apal-Ekur, because the account of the latter’s takeover (SH ii.B 3-8’) deliberately breaks off after he broke off a march on Aššur, during a war between Enlil-kudurri-ušur and Adad-šuma-ušur, due to something that “arrived unexpectedly”. News arriving of the Assyrian disaster (Chronicle 25:3-7) and Tukulti-Aššur’s noncanonical accession very well explains both breaks. This explanation also closely parallels Chronicle 25:9, in which this “news” is decisive at Babylon.

Another claimed error occurs in Chronicle P iv 10-11, which states that Tukulti-Ninurta I was killed (and seems to imply that he was succeeded) by Aššur-našir-apli. In contrast, the Assyrian kinglist is confused regarding the name of Tukulti-Ninurta’s successor, naming both Aššur-našir-apli and Aššur-nādin-apli (the only one attested by royal inscriptions). It seems hard to avoid relating this to Pedersén’s demonstration that PAB (a normal writing of *našir*, used by the AKL for Aššur-našir-apli) was used in Middle Assyrian (only) as a rough writing of *nādin* (Pedersén 1999, 371-372).

This could seem to easily explain as error Assyrian historiographic references to Aššur-našir-apli following Tukulti-Ninurta I, but not Babylonian evidence.¹⁰⁶ Another problem for dismissing this early Aššur-našir-apli is an eponym stela (No. 10) for which a reading “Aššur-našir-apli son of [Tukulti-]Ninurta (I)” is hard to avoid because

¹⁰⁴ A copy of a diplomatic letter (latest publication by Llop and George 2002) deals with the insistence of the Babylonian king on Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur receiving his due in Assyria.

¹⁰⁵ See BHLT 56-77 for BM 34104+ (also referred to as the Adad-šuma-ušur Epic). See Walker 1982, 407; cf. MSKH 91 C.2.4 on BM 36042.

¹⁰⁶ This explanation is accepted for Assyrian historiographic evidence (“probably”) by Pedersén (1999, 373) and Chen (2020, 58). Pedersén is noncommittal on Babylonian evidence, while Chen 2020, 57 with n198 sees good evidence for a real Aššur-našir-apli based on Chronicle P and Assyrian eponym stela evidence (cf. text just below), although his entire discussion (Chen 2020, 57-59) is inconclusive.

Ashurnasirpal I was clearly a son of Šamši-Adad IV¹⁰⁷ and Aššurnaširpal II has a known stela (Chen 2020, 57n198 citing Grayson). The above argument for the AKL's confusion is also questionable because deliberate use in the official kinglist of such a rough writing ("locally invented pseudo-logograms or short writings for use ... due to lack of space" (Pedersén 1999, 372)) seems dubious.

An alternative explanation of the confusion (including the role of PAB) can be approached by supposing a historiographic rehabilitation of a previously anathematized Aššur-našir-apli at some point. Two strong hints in favor of this are that it would avoid making "Aššurnaširpal" I an exception to the unoriginal RNs after Aššur-bēl-kala and allow "Aššurnaširpal" II son of "Tukulti-Ninurta" II to be a two-generation reflex—implying recognition—of the parricide and his victim (cf. the immediately following two-generation reflex involving Ashurnasirpal I/II and Shalmaneser II/III).

This rehabilitation can be explained by the parricide looking good compared to his opposition, whose faction's success led to the seemingly pathetic reign of Aššur-nādin-apli's heir Aššur-nirari III (ABL 924) and a third brother Enlil-kudurri-ušur bringing down the whole dynastic branch by getting himself handed over to Adad-šuma-ušur by his own army.¹⁰⁸

Any such rehabilitation presumably occurred (cf. above) no later than the reign of Ashurnasirpal I, with this reign itself being a particularly attractive setting.¹⁰⁹ Since Aššur-našir-apli's parricide had eliminated a tyrant over Babylonia, this setting for his rehabilitation is further enhanced by repeated Assyro-Babylonian alliances in this timeframe (involving on the Babylonian side Marduk-šāpik-zēri, Adad-apla-iddina and Simbar-Šipak¹¹⁰).

The presumable connection between the known later confusion and the rough writing PAB can then be that a learned scribe saw PAB (intended for *našir*), knew of both Aššur-nādin-apli and the above rough MB writing, thought he was seeing PAB for *nādin*, and "clarified" his text accordingly.

¹⁰⁷ In the place for Ashurnasirpal (I), the Nassouhi recension gives "Ashurnasirpal son of [...]" and the Khorsabad recension gives "[...] Šamši-Adad". The preceding king is Šamši-Adad (IV) and the first and third following kings are both sons of an Ashurnasirpal. See Grayson 1983, 112-113 for this data.

¹⁰⁸ See ARI 1:137-138 §891 for ABL 924; Chronicle 25:5 for this handover of Enlil-kudurri-ušur.

¹⁰⁹ This is before the Nassouhi (earliest extant) version of the AKL, which only speaks of Aššur-nādin-apli (Pruzinszky 2009, 46, 59-60). However this can be well explained by confusion over PAB (see text below) at a time when there was less interest in Aššur-našir-apli.

¹¹⁰ See Synchronistic History ii 25'-37'; PKB 152-153 for these alliances, which represent an impressive collocation of evidence for good relations. In contrast, Aššurnaširpal II (another potential sponsor of this rehabilitation) was territorially aggressive to Babylonia, albeit more verbally than militarily (PKB 184-189).

This leaves no at all convincing argument for accidentally erroneous RNs in Chronicle P, or for any error except for confusing two kings named Kadašman-Ḥarbe and apparently (§3.1) confusing two kings named Kurigalzu.¹¹¹

Excursis 3. Hurrian “Subartu” in Middle Babylonian sources

Since “Subartu” was used for Assyria in first millennium Babylonia, this usage is sometimes supposed for Kurigalzu II’s war against “Subartu” in kudurru KA IV 2.¹¹² But the whole idea of second millennium Babylonian use of “Subartu” for Assyria seems dubious, first of all because IM 50992 and *Erra and Išum* IV 131-136 clearly distinguish between them (see respectively Gurney 1949, 139-140 No. 10; Cagni 1977, 56).

This is also at least ostensibly the case in a Simbar-Šihu text (B.3.1.1) that refers to “Subartu” and “the Assyrian”.¹¹³ While their identity has been argued due to no mention of Assyria obtaining the sacred Babylonian loot from Subartu (which had recovered it from the Suteans who looted it)¹¹⁴, this seems very dubious because Subartu “had appropriated” it already in obv.14 while the war-gods’ command (“on the order of”) appears in obv.15-17 as grounds for how “the Assyrian” treated the already-recovered loot (“brought judiciously to Aššur”). No reference to Assyria acquiring this precious loot is well explained by the involvement of this (sometimes humiliatingly successful) foe of Babylonia being humiliating (cf. mention only of “the Assyrian”, since mention of the king would have brought to mind military activity). So the ostensible distinction between Assyria and Subartu in this text appears to stand, pointing to “Šubartu” being used for Hurrian Subartu here too.

Since Hurrians but not Assyrians were famous for augury, reference to a Hurrian Subartu also seems almost certain in a early 12th century Babylonian augury text (BM 108740) with a vorlage “of Subartu”.¹¹⁵

Another text cited by Sassmannshausen for this term being used for Assyria in the 2nd millennium is kudurru KuE 1, but this clearly uses “Subartu” in a geographic sense for north (Paulus 2014, 343 iii 25-26). The only other text cited by Sassmannshausen is KA IV 2, with its victory of Kurigalzu II over “Subartu”. As already discussed, a Hurrian Šubartu in this text fits very well with Kurigalzu II’s victory over an apparently part-Hurrian “king of Elam” (see above at nn10-18; cf. §3.4-§3.5).

¹¹¹ See Goldberg 2024a, 47-51 for a reconciliation of Chronicle P and BKL-A on Tukulti-Ninurta I’s domination of Babylonia without recourse to error.

¹¹² See e.g., Sassmannshausen 2001, 132; cf. PKB 152n922: “possible”.

¹¹³ This text was originally published by Goetze 1965.

¹¹⁴ See e.g. PKB 152n922; Sassmannshausen 2001, 132.

¹¹⁵ See e.g. de Zorzi 2009, 95 for BM 108740’s colophon; Radner 2012, 261-262 for Hurrian augury.

Abbreviations

ABC: Grayson 1975a.

ARI 1: Grayson 1972.

BHLT: Grayson 1975b.

CAD: Chicago Assyrian Dictionary

CUSAS 17: George 2011.

EKI: König 1965.

MSKH: Brinkman 1976.

PKB: Brinkman 1968.

RIMA 1: Grayson 1987. Texts cited as A.0.nn (for kings) or A.0.nn.nn (for individual inscriptions).

RIMB 2: Frame 1995. Texts cited as B.n.n.n

RIA: Ebeling et al. (eds.) 1928-2018.

References

- Álvarez-Mon, Javier, and Yasmina Wicks. 2021. "Elamite War Chariot and Military Equipment at Ancient Kabnak (ca. 1400 BCE)." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 73:121-34.
- Bányai, Michael. 2015. "Die Chronologie der Zeit von Adad-šuma-ušur." *Journal Asiatique* 303:9-23.
- Bartelmus, Alexa, and Katja Sternitzke, eds. 2017. *Karduniaš. Babylonia under the Kassites I: The Proceedings of the Symposium held in Munich, 30 June to 2 July 2011. Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, 11*. De Gruyter.
- Bloch, Yigal. 2012. *Studies in Middle Assyrian Chronology and its Implications for the History of the Ancient Near East in the 13th Century B.C.E.* Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Bloch, Yigal. 2017. Review of *Middle Assyrian Texts from Assur at the Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul*, by Veysel Donbaz. *Aula Orientalis* 35:181-4.
- Brinkman, John A. 1968. *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B.C.* Analecta Orientalia, vol. 43. Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
- Brinkman, John A. 1969. Review of *Ur: The Kassite Period and the Period of the Assyrian Kings*, by Leonard Woolley. *Orientalia* 38:310-48.

- Brinkman, John A. 1976. *A Catalogue of Cuneiform Sources Pertaining to Specific Monarchs of the Kassite Dynasty*, vol. 1 of *Materials and Studies for Kassite History*. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Brinkman, John A. 2017. "Babylonia under the Kassites - Some Aspects for Consideration." In *Karduniaš. Babylonia under the Kassites 1: The Proceedings of the Symposium held in Munich, 30 June to 2 July 2011. Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, 11*, edited by Alexa Bartelmus, and Katja Sternitzke, 1-44. De Gruyter.
- Cagni, Luigi. 1977. *The Poem of Erra*. Sources and Monographs, Sources from the Ancient Near East, vol. 1/3. Udena.
- Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva. 1999. "Nebenlinien des assyrischen Königshauses in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jts. v. Chr." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 26:210-22.
- Charpin, Dominique, and Nele Ziegler. 2003. *Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorrite. Essai d'histoire politique*. Florilegium marianum, vol. 5. Supplément à NABU. Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien.
- Clayden, Tim. 1996. "Kurigalzu I and the Restoration of Babylonia" *Iraq* 58:109-21.
- Cole, Steven W., and Léon de Meyer. 1999. "Tepti-ahar, King of Susa, and Kadašman-^dKUR.GAL" *Akkadica* 112:44-45.
- Cox, Rory. 2023. *Origins of the Just War: Military Ethics and Culture in the Ancient Near East*. Princeton University Press.
- Dalley, Stephanie. 2021. *The City of Babylon. A History, c. 2000 BC–AD 116*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dalley, Stephanie. 2023. "Kish and Hursagkalama: an Assessment of the Cities' History and Cults in the Light of Information from Cuneiform Texts." In *Where Kingship Descended from Heaven: Studies on Ancient Kish*, edited by Karen L. Wilson, and Deborah Bekken, 23-48. Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures.
- Daneshmand, Parsa, and Meysam Abdoli. 2015. "A New King of Susa and Anshan." *Cuneiform Digital Library Bulletin* 1.
- Devecchi, Elena. 2017. "Of Kings, Princesses, and Messengers: Babylonia's International Relations during the 13th Century BC." In *Karduniaš. Babylonia under the Kassites 1: The Proceedings of the Symposium held in Munich, 30 June to 2 July 2011. Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, 11*, edited by Alexa Bartelmus, and Katja Sternitzke, 112-22. De Gruyter.
- van Dijk, Jan. 1986. "Die dynastischen Heiraten zwischen Kassiten und Elamern: eine

verhängnisvolle Politik.” *Orientalia* 55:159-70.

Ebeling, Erich, et al., eds. 1928-2018. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*. De Gruyter.

Fincke, Jeanette C., and Jesper Eidem. 2023. “A Middle Babylonian Tablet with *Alamdimmû Aḫû*-Omens from the Rania Plain Dating to Kurigalzu (I/II) and its Implications for the Tradition of *Alamdimmû* and Other Omen Series.” *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 46:181-212.

Foster, Benjamin R. 1996. *Before the Muses: an Anthology of Akkadian Literature*. CDL.

Frame, Grant. 1995. *Rulers of Babylonia from the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157-612 BC)*, vol. 2 of *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods*. University of Toronto Press.

Frazer, Mary. 2024. *Akkadian Royal Letters in Later Mesopotamian Tradition*. Cuneiform Monographs, vol. 55. Brill.

Gasche, H., J.A. Armstrong, S.W. Cole, and V.G. Gurzadyan. 1998. *Dating the Fall of Babylon: A Reappraisal of Second-Millennium Chronology*. Mesopotamian History and Environment, vol. 2/4. The University of Ghent and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

George, Andrew R., ed. 2011. *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*. CUSAS 17. With contributions by M. Civil, G Frame, P. Steinkeller, F. Vallat, K. Volk, M. Weeden, and C. Wilcke. CDL.

George, Andrew R. 2012. “CUSAS 17 no.61.” *NABU* 4, no. 72.

Ghobadizadeh, Hamzeh, and Walther Sallaberger. 2023. “Šulgi in the Kuhdasht Plain: Bricks from a Battle Monument at the Crossroads of Western Pish-e Kuh and the Localisation of Kimaš and Ḫurti.” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 113:3-33.

Glassner, Jean-Jacques. 1991. “Les textes de Haft-Tepe, la Susiane et l’Elam au 2ème millenaire.” In *Mesopotamie et Elam. Actes de la XXXVIème Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, edited by Leon De Meyer, and Hermann Gasche, 109-26. University of Ghent.

Glatz, Claudia, et al. 2019. “Babylonian Encounters in the Upper Diyala River Valley: Contextualizing the Results of Regional Survey and the 2016-2017 Excavations at Khani Masi.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 123:439-71.

Goetze, Albrecht. 1965. “An Inscription of Simbar-šīḫu.” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 19:121-35.

- Goldberg, Jeremy. 2004. "The Berlin Letter, Middle Elamite Chronology and Šutruk-Nahhunte I's Genealogy." *Iranica Antiqua* 39:33-42.
- Goldberg, Jeremy. 2023a. "Is There Hope for the Berlin Letter? Anathema and the Breaking of an Alliance." Unpublished manuscript, accessed February 14, 2023. https://www.academia.edu/103142196/Is_There_Hope_for_the_Berlin_Letter_Anathema_and_the_Breaking_of_an_Alliance
- Goldberg, Jeremy. 2023b. "The Tukulti-Aššur Question and Other Noncanonical 12th Century Mesopotamian Kings." Unpublished manuscript, accessed April 10, 2023. https://www.academia.edu/106425651/The_Tukulti_Aššur_Question_and_Other_Noncanonical_12th_Century_Mesopotamian_Kings
- Goldberg, Jeremy. 2024a. "Dating the Downfall of Kaštiliaš IV and the Domination of Babylonia by Tukulti-Ninurta." Unpublished manuscript, accessed August 5, 2024. https://www.academia.edu/122275659/Dating_the_Downfall_of_Kaštiliaš_IV_and_the_Domination_of_Babylonia_by_Tukulti_Ninurta_I
- Goldberg, Jeremy. 2024b. "A Noncanonical Early 11th Century Assur-uballit." Unpublished manuscript, accessed October 8, 2024. https://www.academia.edu/126230156/A_Noncanonical_Early_11th_Century_Assur_uballit
- Gorris, Elynn. 2018. "Crossing the Elamite Borderlands: A study of Interregional Contacts between Elam and 'Kingdom' of Hara(n)." In *Topography and Toponymy in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Jan Tavernier, Elynn Gorris, Kathleen Abraham, and Vanessa Boschloos, 313-44. Peeters.
- Grayson, Albert Kirk. 1972. *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions. Vol. 1: from the Beginning to Ashur-resha-ishi I*. Otto Harrassowitz.
- Grayson, Albert Kirk. 1975a. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*. Texts from Cuneiform Sources, vol. 5. J.J. Augustin.
- Grayson, Albert Kirk. 1975b. *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*. University of Toronto Press.
- Grayson, Albert Kirk. 1983. "Königslisten und Chroniken B. Akkadisch." in *RIA* 6:86-135.
- Grayson, Albert Kirk. 1987. *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods, vol. 1. University of Toronto Press.
- Gurney, O. R. 1949. "Texts from Dur-Kurigalzu." *Iraq* 11:131-49.
- Henkelman, Wouter F.M. 2007. "Ruhurater." In *RIA* 11:449.
- Henkelman, Wouter F.M. 2014. "Unpahaš-Napiriša." In *RIA* 14:337.

- Hinz, Walther. 1972. *The Lost World of Elam: Re-creation of A Vanished Civilization*. Translated by Jennifer Barnes. Sidgwich & Jackson.
- Johnson, Erika D. 2013. "Time and Again: Marduk's Travels." In *Time and History in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 56th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Barcelona 26-30 July 2010*, edited by L. Feliu, J. Llop, A. Millet Albà, and J. Sanmartín, 113-6. Eisenbrauns.
- Karlsson, Mattias. 2020. "The Divine Determinative and the Names of Babylonian Rulers." *NABU* 2, no. 64.
- Khramov, Yuri. 2019a. "Kurigalzu's Campaign in Elam and Babylonian-Elamite Synchronisms, Part 1." Unpublished manuscript, accessed March 11, 2024. https://www.academia.edu/34800081/Kurigalzus_Campaign_in_Elam_and_Elamite_Babylonian_synchronisms_Part_I
- Khramov, Yuri. 2019b. "Kurigalzu's Campaign in Elam and Babylonian-Elamite Synchronisms, Part II." Unpublished manuscript, accessed November 10, 2024. https://www.academia.edu/40255105/Kurigalzus_Campaign_in_Elam_and_Elamite_Babylonian_synchronisms_Part_II
- König, Friedrich Wilhelm. 1965. *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*. Ernst Weidner.
- Lambert, Wilfred G., and Ryan D. Winters. 2023. *An = Anum and Related Lists*. God Lists of Ancient Mesopotamia, vol. 1. Mohr Siebeck.
- Llop, Jaume. 2011. "The Creation of the Middle Assyrian Provinces." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 131:591-603.
- Llop, Jaume, and Andrew R. George. 2002. "Die babylonisch-assyrischen Beziehungen und die innere Lage Assyriens in der Zeit der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur und Mutakkil-Nusku nach neuen keilschriftlichen Quellen." *Archiv für Orientforschung* 48-49:1-23.
- Lombard, Pierre. 2016. *Qal'at al-Bahrain, Ancient Capital and Harbour of Dilmun. The Site Museum*. Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities.
- Maidman, Maynard P. 2011. "Nuzi, the Club of the Great Powers, and the Chronology of the Fourteenth Century." *KASKAL* 8:77-139.
- Miller, Jared L. 2017. "Political Interactions between Kassite Babylonia and Assyria, Egypt and Ḫatti during the Amarna Age." In *Karduniaš. Babylonia under the Kassites 1: The Proceedings of the Symposium held in Munich, 30 June to 2 July 2011. Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, 11*, edited by Alexa Bartelmus, and Katja Sternitzke, 93-111. De Gruyter.

- Mladjov, Ivan. 2016. "The Immediate Successors of Burna-Buriaš II Revisited." *NABU* 1, no. 13.
- Mofidi-Nasrabadi, Behzad. 2008. "Two Cylinder Seals of Kuk-našur III and His Title 'DUMU.NIN₉-šu šà Ší-il-ha-ha.'" *NABU* 2, no. 31.
- Mofidi-Nasrabadi, Behzad. 2009. *Aspekte der Herrschaft und der Herrscherdarstellungen in Elam im 2. Jt. v. Chr.* Ugarit.
- Mofidi-Nasrabadi, Behzad. 2010. "Herrschaftstitulatur der Könige von Susa und Anšan." *Akkadica* 131:109-19.
- Mofidi-Nasrabadi, Behzad. 2011. *Die Glyptik aus Haft Tappeh: Interkulturelle Aspekte zur Herstellung und Benutzung von Siegeln in der Anfangsphase der Mittelelamischen Zeit.* *Elamica*, vol. 1. Franzbecker.
- Mofidi-Nasrabadi, Behzad. 2013. "Some Chronological Aspects of the Building Structures at Haft Tappeh." In *Susa and Elam. Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives*, edited by Katrien De Graef, and Jan Tavernier, 161-72. Brill.
- Mofidi-Nasrabadi, Behzad. 2015. "Ergebnisse der C14-Datierung der Proben aus Haft Tappeh." *Elamica* 5:7-36.
- Mofidi-Nasrabadi, Behzad. 2016. *Archaeological and Historical Evidence from Haft Tappeh: Contributions on History and Culture of Elam and its Neighbouring Regions.* *Elamica*, vol. 6. Franzbecker.
- Mofidi-Nasrabadi, Behzad. 2018a. "Who was 'dMÙŠ.EREN.EŠŠANA.DINGIR.MEŠ'?" *Elamica* 8:113-26.
- Mofidi-Nasrabadi, Behzad. 2018b. "Elam in the Middle Elamite Period." In *The Elamite World*, edited by Javier Álvarez-Mon, Gian Pietro Basello, and Yasmina Wicks, 232-48. Routledge.
- Mofidi-Nasrabadi, Behzad. 2022. "Elam in the Late Bronze Age." In *From the Hyksos to the Late Second Millennium BC*, vol. 3 of *The Oxford History of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Karen Radner, Nadine Moeller, and Daniel T. Potts, 869-942. Oxford University Press.
- Mofidi-Nasrabadi, Behzad. 2023. "War Haft Tappeh während der Regierungszeit des Tepti-ahar Hauptstadt Elams?" *Elamica* 13:171-83.
- Mora, Clelia. 2020. "Kubaba." In *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, edited by Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, Craige B. Champion, Andrew Erskine, Sabine R. Huebner,

- <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah24121.pub2> (accessed online on December 12, 2021).
- Paulus, Susanne. 2013. "Beziehungen zweier Großmächte – Elam und Babylonien in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jt. v. Chr." In *Susa and Elam. Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives*, edited by Katrien De Graef, and Jan Tavernier, 429-49. Brill.
- Paulus, Susanne. 2014. *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Inschriften von der kassitischen bis zur frühneubabylonischen Zeit*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament, vol. 51. Ugarit.
- Paulus, Susanne. 2022. "Kassite Babylonia." In *From the Hyksos to the Late Second Millennium BC*, vol. 3 of *The Oxford History of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Karen Radner, Nadine Moeller, and Daniel T. Potts, 801-868. Oxford University Press.
- Pedersén, Olof. 1999. "A Problematic King in the Assyrian King List." In *Munuscula Mesopotamica: Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, edited by Barbara Böck, Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, and Thomas Richter, 369-73. Alter Orient und Altes Testament, vol. 267. Ugarit.
- Peyronel, Luca. 2018. "The Old Elamite Period." In *The Elamite World*, edited by Javier Álvarez-Mon, Gian Pietro Basello, and Yasmina Wicks, 203-31. Routledge.
- Potts, Daniel T. 2016. *The Archaeology of Elam: The Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State*. 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press.
- Potts, Daniel T. 2018. "The Epithet 'Sister's Son' in Ancient Elam: Aspects of the Avunculate in Cross-Cultural Perspective." In *Grenzüberschreitungen Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients. Festschrift für Hans Neumann zum 65. Geburtstag am 9. Mai 2018*, edited by Kristin Kleber, Georg Neumann, and Susanne Paulus, 523-55. *Altorientalistische Publikationen*, vol. 5, Zaphon.
- Pruzsinzky, Regine. 2009. *Mesopotamian Chronology of the 2nd Millennium B.C.: An Introduction to the Textual Evidence and Related Chronological Issues*.
- Quintana, Enrique. 2009. "Filiation et Accès au Pouvoir en Elam (2e moitié II^{ème} millénaire a.C.)." *Mundo Elamita* 2:1-9.
- Quintana, Enrique. 2010. "Filiación y Acceso al Trono en Elam (2nd Mitad II Milenio A.C.)." *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* 104:45-63.
- Radner, Karen. 2012. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Mušasir, Kumme, Ukku and Subria - the Buffer States between Assyria and Urartu." In *Biainili-Urartu: The Proceedings of the Symposium Held in Munich 12-14 October 2007*, edited by Stephen Kroll, Claudia Gruber, Ursula Hellwag, Michael Roaf, and Paul E. Zimansky, 243-64. *Acta Iranica*, vol. 51. Peeters.

- de Ridder, Jacob Jan. 2022. "A New Assessment of KAV 97." *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 28:1-6.
- Roaf, Mciahel. 2017. "Kassite and Elamite Kings." In *Karduniaš. Babylonia under the Kassites 1: The Proceedings of the Symposium held in Munich, 30 June to 2 July 2011. Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, 11*, edited by Alexa Bartelmus, and Katja Sternitzke, 166-95. De Gruyter.
- Sassmannshausen, Leonhard. 2001. *Beiträge zur Verwaltung und Gesellschaft Babyloniens in der Kassitenzeit*. Orient-Abteilung, Baghdader Forschungen, vol. 21. Philipp von Zabern.
- Singer, Itamar. 2011. *Calm before the Storm - Selected Writings of Itamar Singer on the End of the Late Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Levant*. SBL - Writings from the Ancient World Supplements, vol. 1. Brill.
- Steve Marie-Joseph, and François Vallat. 1989. "La Dynastie des Ighalkides: Nouvelles Interprétations." In *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis: Miscellanea in Honorem Louis Vanden Berghe*, edited by Léon De Meyer, and E. Haerinck, 223-38. Peeters.
- Vallat, François. 2000. "L'Elam du II^e Millénaire et la Chronologie Courte." *Akkadica* 119-120:7-17.
- Walker, C.B.F., 1982. "Babylonian Chronicle 25: A Chronicle of the Kassite and Isin II Dynasties." In *Zikir šumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Govert van Driel, Theo J.H. Krispijn, Marten Stol, and Klaas R. Veenhof, 398-417. Studia Francisci Scholten Memoriae Dicata, vol. 5. Brill.
- Wicks, Yasmina. 2019. "Between Highlands and Lowlands. The Ram Hormuz Plain in the Neo-Elamite and Early Achaemenid Periods, and Comments on Five Burials from the Fort Mound at Tal-i Ghazir." *ARTA* 002.
- Wiggermann, Frans A.M. 2008. "A Babylonian Scholar In Aššur." In *Studies in Ancient Near Eastern World View and Society Presented to Marten Stol on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by R.J. van der Spek, 203-34. Eisenbrauns.
- de Zorzi, Nicla. 2009. "Bird Divination in Mesopotamia New Evidence from BM 108874." *KASKAL* 6:85-135.

