

**DOCTORAL DISSERTATION**

**Unpublished Old Babylonian Letters in the Slemani  
Museum**

(Selected Letters)

**Volume I**

**Ardalan Khwshnaw**

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Eötvös Loránd University  
Faculty of Humanities

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#### **Volume I**

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# **Unpublished Old Babylonian Letters**

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(Selected Letters)

## **Knowledge**

I can't express how grateful and happy I am. It is with great pleasure and gratitude that I would take these few lines to pay tribute to the people who have helped me, each in their own way, in the realization of this dissertation.

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Aside from those already mentioned, I would like to offer my thanks to all my family members (my mother, sisters, brothers and my cousins) who have supported me and encouraged

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## **Introduction**

The purpose of this dissertation is to publish and highlight 61 unpublished Old Babylonian letters preserved at the Slemani Museum in Iraqi Kurdistan. The vast writing of the Old Babylonian letters currently known and dating of that period numbers around 3321 Old Babylonian letters. Most of these letters collated into the collection of "AbB", with the exception of the letters of Ur, Kiš and the recent volume of "*CUSAS*" which has 200 unpublished letters in the British Museum. All of these letters give important information on the historical, economic, social, political situation of the Old Babylonian period of the southern part of Mesopotamia.

This dissertation aimed to discover and understand selected letters from the Old Babylonian period, which are now preserved in the Slemani Museum, whose collection numbers around 1000 Old Babylonian tablets and 6000 tablets from other periods. It attempts to identify their provenance, date and the subject of the letters.

The content of this dissertation includes five chapters as follows:

The first chapter includes an introduction on the subject of Old Babylonian letters with reference to relevant publications, and information on the provenance, form and types that have been discovered. In the second chapter, we present an introduction to the historical background of the Old Babylonian period from the end of the Ur III era till the end of the Old Babylonian period. The third chapter contains the historical background and provenance of the letters, in this chapter we present each letter separately according to the writers or recipients of the letters and explaining their date and provenance. The fourth chapter covers the subject of the letters, in this chapter all of the letters featured within this research are presented according to their subject. The fifth chapter includes the transliteration, translation and commentary of all the letters of this dissertation. Besides that, it should be also mentioned that the indexes of deity names, personal names and geographical names with copies and images of all the letters will be featured at the end of this dissertation.

Why was it necessary to choose the Old Babylonian letters as the subject of this dissertation? In February of 2014, when I was an assistant teacher at Salahaddin University in Erbil, I meet Dr. Balázs Major who was in Erbil at that time. We talked regarding archaeology and Assyriology in Hungary as I did not have any information about Hungarian universities nor did I

think that there was anybody working in the field of Assyriology. After I asked him he explained that his university, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, had an academic who was working in this field and he gave me his email; after a few days, I contacted Dr. Bácskay András and he was incredibly helpful and friendly with me. We discussed the necessary requirements to start a PhD programme in Hungary and was very happy with my interest so he requested a proposal for a PhD project. I sent him my older project for my PhD in France (Erbil Region in the Cuneiform Sources) and after discussing this project, finally he accepted my project and helped me to complete the related administrative works at Pázmány University. Finally, he sent me an email to inform me that his University has accepted me to start my PhD there. I was so happy at this news. When I arrived, Dr. Major and Dr. Bácskay helped me a lot. After passing a number of months in Hungary, and in the spring of 2015 Dr. Bácskay told me that there was a new publication by John MacGinnis (Erbil in the Cuneiform Sources) on the same subject of my dissertation; he advised me to change the subject of my PhD as it would be better. Naturally, under such advise, I decided to change the topic of my dissertation. It must be mentioned that before I came to Hungary, I had worked on the Old Babylonian letters collection in the Slemani Museum with Dr. Al-Rawi. It was with this experience that the present topic for my dissertation was chosen. Dr. Bácskay agreed on it but advised that I should make contact with Dr.Kalla because of his specialisation in the Old Babylonian period. I the proceeded to contact him and he kindly accepted to be my supervisor for this new dissertation topic.

There were a number of problems that I encountered during this dissertation. Before I started working on my new topic (Unpublished Old Babylonian Letters in the Slemani Museum - "selected letters") I did not have enough information on unpublished tablets. After commencing work on these letters with Dr.Kalla in 2015-2016, we saw that these letters were incredibly damaged. In the broken places, some of these letters were replaced with a modern restoration which included a lot of fake signs thus causing a huge hindrance in understanding the letters. Besides this problem, sometimes using images is not enough to understand some of the tablets and the letters and as they were in the Slemani Museum, we could not work on the original tablets directly. My third problem was my lack of german language skills because most of the sources are from Germany. Not knowing German proved to be a major challenge for me. Finally, with the help of my supervisor Dr.Kalla, I can finally finish my dissertation and for that, I want to present him with my gratitude again.

# Chapter I

## An Introduction to Old Babylonian Letters

### I.1. A Survey of Old Babylonian Letters Publications

Up until this moment in time, none of the Assyriologists had recorded when and where the first Old Babylonian letters were discovered<sup>1</sup>. Since the orientalist simply collected the clay documents in the Neareast, they did not have enough information about them, nor were they able to distinguish which one was an Old Babylonian letter and which one was not; therefore, they just gathered all the clay documents together.

It is highly likely that the orientalist may have collected the first Old Babylonian letter in the south of Mesopotamia alongside other unrelated clay documents, thus mixing all of the letters and other clay documents and then distributed them across many different museums, universities, institutes, and private collections all over the world. During that time, there was not any regulated organization to study cuneiform documents in general and specifically with regards to Old Babylonian letters, a suitable archive, corpus or collection for these specific cuneiform documents and Old Babylonian letters did not exist; only some general publications existed from various sources about different collections<sup>2</sup>.

It is incredibly complicated to pinpoint the exact beginning of the study of Old Babylonian letters. One of the most important things when considering this issue is that the assyriologists did not find these letters from ruin mounds in the south of Mesopotamia, instead they received them from various museums, institutes, universities and private collections where the owner of the clay documents with some Old Babylonian letters in the whole world and then they published.

The first five most prominent scholars who started the study of cuneiform documents are George Friedrich Grotefend, Edward Hincks, Major H. C. Rawlinson, Jules Oppert and W. H. Fox

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<sup>1</sup> JAFFE 1982: 31.

<sup>2</sup> JAFFE 1982: 31.

Talbot<sup>3</sup>. These scholars had a close connection with the early study of Old Babylonian letters, it should also be mention that some other scholars had also written about various individual letters and small groups of letters back in 1890. Jaffe divided these scholars who had studied the Old Babylonian letters at the early time for three groups as follows<sup>4</sup>:

The first work on Old Babylonian letters is that of Bruno Meissner's "*Babylonien und Assyrien*" in 1928. It was an individual work in a classic style compared to the earlier works from 1894 which also focused on Old Babylonian letters. Although; as a co-author of the "*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*" his attention moved to other genres of texts, he was still actively interested in the education of letters, to wit his reviews of Thomas Fish, François Thureau-Dangin and Arthur Ungnad.

The second of these individual scholars was Jean-Vincent Scheil who published three Old Babylonian letters in 1897; these letters were addressed to Sîn-iddinam from Hammurapi<sup>5</sup>. Aside from this work, Scheil also had other earlier works without a date; perhaps it is the case that his works were published at the same time of his first publication<sup>6</sup>. When discussing Scheil, his essential work about the excavation of Sippar which was released in 1894<sup>7</sup>, should also be mentioned. He published this book by himself, in which the content discusses many Old Babylonian letters and published two of them<sup>8</sup> with a small number of other cuneiform texts.

When discussing some of the earliest works on this subject, it must not be forgotten the that publications of Theophilus Goldridge Pinches also add significant value to the academic discussion, because of the high quality of his writings on the Old Babylonian tablets in general at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century<sup>9</sup>. In 1896, Pinches published eight Old Babylonian letters with a significant number of Old Babylonian tablets in the second volume

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<sup>3</sup> PALLIS 1956: 132-166.

<sup>4</sup> JAFFE 1982: 31-32.

<sup>5</sup> SCHEIL 1897b: 40-44.

<sup>6</sup> JAFFE 1982: 32.

<sup>7</sup> SCHEIL 1894.

<sup>8</sup> SCHEIL 1894, n<sup>o</sup>. 35 and n<sup>o</sup>. 274.

<sup>9</sup> JAFFE 1982: 32.

of “CT”<sup>10</sup>. He published another letter by Hammurapi to Šîn-iddinam in his publication of 1897<sup>11</sup>. In 1898, Pinches published two volumes of the collection of “*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*”, in the fourth volume which included seven Old Babylonian letters<sup>12</sup>. In his second edition, he published six letters<sup>13</sup>, and just one year later he published six more letters in the next volume of “CT”<sup>14</sup> with an article on some early Old Babylonian contract or legal texts<sup>15</sup>. In 1915, Pinches published a new edition of the Old Babylonian tablets in the Berens Collection<sup>16</sup> and two years later, he published a letter of Šamaš-mušallim with some other Old Babylonian tablets<sup>17</sup>. It is worth mentioning that Pinches edited many important publications between 1896 and 1899 on cuneiform tablets and was the supervisor of the collection of “*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*” as mentioned above. In 1963, Pinches published seventeen other Old Babylonian letters amongst other Babylonian tablets<sup>18</sup>.

Despite the value of Pinches' publications, it is also necessary to refer to the work of François Thureau-Dangin as another pioneer in the study of Old Babylonian letters. In 1898, Thureau-Dangin made the philological examination of a small group of early Old Babylonian letters<sup>19</sup>, and then a year later Thureau-Dangin began working on cuneiform texts at the Louvre Museum. He published another edition on Old Babylonian letters for Hilprecht's birthday<sup>20</sup>. In 1910, Thureau-Dangin started to publish cuneiform texts from the Louvre Museum: in the first group of texts, he published fifty-four Old Babylonian letters in the first volume of the collection of “*Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre*”<sup>21</sup>. In the same year, he also started publishing a

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<sup>10</sup> CT 2.

<sup>11</sup> PINCHES 1897: 69-71.

<sup>12</sup> CT 4.

<sup>13</sup> CT 6.

<sup>14</sup> CT 8.

<sup>15</sup> PINCHES 1899: 103-120.

<sup>16</sup> PINCHES 1915.

<sup>17</sup> PINCHES 1917: 723-734.

<sup>18</sup> CT 44.

<sup>19</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1897: 273.

<sup>20</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1909.

<sup>21</sup> TCL 1.

collection on Old Babylonian materials from his excavation at Girsu<sup>22</sup>. After the First World War, in 1924, Thureau-Dangin collected and published these letters that Hammurapi had addressed to Šamaš-hāzir, governor of Larsa, at the Louvre Museum<sup>23</sup>, and in the same year he published another new letter of Awīl-Ninurta<sup>24</sup>.

One of the most important publications on Old Babylonian letters in this early period was probably the edition of Leonard William King, who published two volumes of this publication on Old Babylonian letters in 1898<sup>25</sup>. Some years later, he released three new volumes in the collection of “*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*” No Old Babylonian letters appeared in volume 24<sup>26</sup>, but in volume 29, he published fifty-seven Old Babylonian letters with other texts<sup>27</sup> and following up on this, King also published nine Old Babylonian letters in volume 33<sup>28</sup>.

In addition to King's publications, the books of Friedrich Delitzsch must also be considered. In 1909, Delitzsch published 16 Old Babylonian letters in the seventh volume of the collection of “*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der (Königlichen) Museen zu Berlin*”<sup>29</sup>. In the same year, he published another letter in the ninth volume of the same collection<sup>30</sup>.

Jaffe collectively called Stephen H. Langdon, Daniel D. Luckenbill and Anastius Franz Schollmeyer as the second group of scholars who began to study the Old Babylonian letters<sup>31</sup>, their studies must also be considered when discussing the origins of Assyriology. In 1911, Langdon published a letter of Rīm-Sîn<sup>32</sup>, and some years later, in 1923, he also published another

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<sup>22</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1910.

<sup>23</sup> TCL 7.

<sup>24</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1924 : 46-28.

<sup>25</sup> KING 1898.

<sup>26</sup> CT 24.

<sup>27</sup> CT 29.

<sup>28</sup> CT 33.

<sup>29</sup> VS 7, n°. 91 and 188-203.

<sup>30</sup> VS 9, n°. 141.

<sup>31</sup> JAFFE 1982: 32.

<sup>32</sup> PSBA 33: 221-222.

letter of Hammurapi<sup>33</sup>. In 1915/16, Luckenbill published another letter of Rīm-Sîn<sup>34</sup>. It was also in 1916 that he published sixteen Old Babylonian letters from Bismaya (Adab)<sup>35</sup>. The third academic in Jaffe's second group of scholars was Schollmeyer. Schollmeyer, in 1912, published some Old Babylonian letters<sup>36</sup>, and just one year later, he published another few examples of Old Babylonian letters<sup>37</sup>. He continued his work and in 1914 he also published three Old Babylonian letters from Sippar with another letter<sup>38</sup>.

It is also essential to indicate the early work of Henri de Genouillac. In 1911, during the first archeological research sessions focusing on Kiš, he published some Old Babylonian letters in his work<sup>39</sup>. A decade later, in 1921, he edited a new publication on the letters of Tello, but in this publication, he did not publish any Old Babylonian letters<sup>40</sup>.

1914 saw the further publication of other works on Old Babylonian letters. One of those was the work of Harri Holma, who published some Old Babylonian letters in his paper<sup>41</sup>. The same year, another work appeared dealing with Old Babylonian letters by Šilejko<sup>42</sup>. Besides these publications, we should also mention the studies made by Arthur Ungnad in 1914 and in subsequent years, Ungnad collected and organized his works by topic, he also made transliterations, translations, and a glossary for the letters at that time<sup>43</sup>. Ungnad published a document in 1914 on the letters during the Hammurapi dynasty<sup>44</sup>, and in the next year, he published two other articles on the letters; one of his works was on the letters during the reign of

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<sup>33</sup> LANGDON 1922: 140-141.

<sup>34</sup> LUCKENBILL 1916a: 98-101.

<sup>35</sup> LUCKENBILL 1916b: 270-292.

<sup>36</sup> SCHOLLMAYER 1913: 57-64.

<sup>37</sup> SCHOLLMAYER 1914: 32-38.

<sup>38</sup> SCHOLLMAYER 1914: 75-80.

<sup>39</sup> DE GENOUILLAC 1911-12.

<sup>40</sup> ITT 5.

<sup>41</sup> HOLMA 1914, n°. 6-9.

<sup>42</sup> SCHILEICO 1914: 112

<sup>43</sup> JAFFE 1982: 33.

<sup>44</sup> UNGNAD 1914.

Hammurapi with an additional article on the letters published simultaneously to his first work<sup>45</sup>. Some years later, in 1919, Ungnad published another piece of the letters of Hammurapi<sup>46</sup> and continued to edit his work on the letters in the following year<sup>47</sup>.

It is necessary to mention the contributions made by Leroy Waterman in 1916 due to his studies on business documents dating from the reign of Hammurapi in the British Museum<sup>48</sup>.

In 1917, Otto Schroeder edited two works on Old Babylonian letters. In the first study, he published 202 letters with a small group of fragments<sup>49</sup>, whereas, in the second piece, Schroeder only published a single Old Babylonian letter<sup>50</sup>. In his article from 1918/19, Schroeder published eleven more Old Babylonian letters<sup>51</sup>. Schroeder's article in "*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*" in 1938 should also be discussed, in which he attempts to explain the style of letters in Mesopotamia across all periods: he explains the style of Old Babylonian letters but also gives additional details on the characteristic style of letters from periods such as Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Old Assyrian and Sumerian letters<sup>52</sup>. Henry Frederick Lutz published 152 early Old Babylonian letters from Larsa, collated into the second volume of the collection "*Yale Oriental Series*"<sup>53</sup>. Two years later, Lutz published some other Old Babylonian letters with the Sumerian and Babylonian texts<sup>54</sup>, and several years later, in 1929, Lutz edited another new article on the Old Babylonian letters<sup>55</sup>.

There are also two critical publications in 1920 that should be referred to when discussing the development of this field. The first one is the publication by Schroeder as previously mentioned, and Clarence E. Keiser published the second one on the historical, religious and economic texts.

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<sup>45</sup> UNGNAD 1915.

<sup>46</sup> UNGNAD 1919.

<sup>47</sup> UNGNAD 1920.

<sup>48</sup> WATERMAN 1916.

<sup>49</sup> VS 16.

<sup>50</sup> SCHROEDER 1917-18: 91-110.

<sup>51</sup> SCHROEDER 1918-19: 1-14.

<sup>52</sup> SCHROEDER 1938: 62-68.

<sup>53</sup> YOS 2.

<sup>54</sup> PBS 1/2.

<sup>55</sup> UCP 9/2: 279-365.

Within this document, 3 Old Babylonian letters were included alongside the religious and economic texts<sup>56</sup>.

In 1922, Loan Legrain edited a book on various texts and published an Old Babylonian letter within it<sup>57</sup>. One year later, Charles-F Jean in his paper published 6 Old Babylonian letters with a large number of various texts<sup>58</sup> Jean had previously worked on the letters of Hammurapi to Šin-iddinam in 1913, which have also benefitted those who study Old Babylonian letters<sup>59</sup>.

Alongside the works of Thureau-Dangin and Ungnad on Old Babylonian letters, the period between the First World War and the outbreak of the Second World War saw a blossoming of collecting, transliteration, translation and analysis of Old Babylonian across museums, universities, institutes and private collections in all corners of the world. Directly as a result of this new found wealth of materials, we see more archaeologists and Assyriologists dedicate their time to Old Babylonian letters.

In 1924, Godfrey Rolles Driver edited a publication on the letters of the first Babylonian dynasty; Driver published a large number of Old Babylonian letters in this work<sup>60</sup>. A year later, in 1925, Louis Speleers edited a publication on cuneiform texts at the Musées Royaux de Cinquantenaire in Bruxelles. He published ten Old Babylonian letters in this study<sup>61</sup>. In the following year, Gadd also published an article on some cuneiform texts based on these texts. He also published a letter from Hammurapi to Šamaš-hāzir<sup>62</sup>. Two years later, ten Old Babylonian letters were also published by George Boyer in his own study on the history of the judiciary during the Old Babylonian period<sup>63</sup>. During the same year, six Old Babylonian letters were published by Carl Frank in his publications<sup>64</sup>.

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<sup>56</sup> BIN 2, n°. 69-71.

<sup>57</sup> PBS 13, n°. 55.

<sup>58</sup> JEAN 1923, n°. 177, 195, 197, 198, 199 and 200.

<sup>59</sup> JEAN 1913.

<sup>60</sup> OECT 3.

<sup>61</sup> RIAA.

<sup>62</sup> GADD 1926: 161.

<sup>63</sup> BOYER 1928.

<sup>64</sup> FRANK 1928, n°. 12-17.

In 1931<sup>65</sup> and 1932<sup>66</sup>, Frank Paul Kraus published two considerable publications on Old Babylonian letters in the State Museum of Berlin. Both of these publications were considered as successful analyses on Old Babylonian letters at that time. 1932 also saw Thorkild Jacobsen publish his reports on the first excavation season at Ešnunna<sup>67</sup>. Another study held in high regard on the collection of Old Babylonian letters in museums or other institutes were those of George Dossin in 1933<sup>68</sup> and 1934<sup>69</sup>; Dossin collected and published a significant number of Old Babylonian letters from the Louvre Museum.

In 1935, Carl Sumner Knopf published an article and presented some letters on this article. Just one year later, Thomas Fish published a large number of Old Babylonian letters in his publication with their copy, transliteration, and translation<sup>70</sup>. After the Second World War, Fish also published an article on a letter from the Manchester Museum in 1951<sup>71</sup> and in the following year he also did a further study of another Old Babylonian letter from Manchester Museum<sup>72</sup>.

During the Second World War, there were two studies conducted by Erich Ebeling on the Old Babylonian letters. His first publication was printed in 1942 and focused on the Old Babylonian letters found in the Louvre Museum originating from Larsa<sup>73</sup>. A second work was published a year later, also focusing on the Larsa letters<sup>74</sup>. In 1943, John Bruce Alexander also released a large number of Old Babylonian letters alongside economic texts<sup>75</sup>. It must be noted that the publications of Erich and Alexander were the only studies in Old Babylonian letters during the Second World War.

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<sup>65</sup> MVAG 35.

<sup>66</sup> MVAG 36.

<sup>67</sup> FRANKFORT and PREUSSER 1932.

<sup>68</sup> TCL 17/1.

<sup>69</sup> TCL 18/2.

<sup>70</sup> FISH 1936.

<sup>71</sup> FISH 1951: 1-2.

<sup>72</sup> FISH 1952: 62.

<sup>73</sup> MAOG 15 1/2.

<sup>74</sup> MAOG 16 1/2.

<sup>75</sup> BIN 7.

Between the end of the Second World War and until the first volume of the collection of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*” was published in 1964<sup>76</sup>. Assyriologists continued to collect, transliterate, translate and analyze Old Babylonian letters all over the world. Alongside this study, various articles that must also be considered; the following materials date from the period between 1946 and 1964.

The first publication after the Second World War on Old Babylonian letters was that of Fish in 1951 as previously mentioned. Only one year later, Cyrus Herzl Gordon published 110 cuneiform texts from the Smith College which also included 7 Old Babylonian letters<sup>77</sup>. It is important to mention that Hugo Heinrich Figulla made numerous attempts at collecting cuneiform documents with a particular focus on Old Babylonian letters. In 1953, with the publication of the fifth volume of the “*Ur Excavations Texts*” he published 83 Old Babylonian letters<sup>78</sup> with 800 various Old Babylonian cuneiform texts from Ur<sup>79</sup>. Some years later, Figulla edited a special volume of “*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*” for the Old Babylonian letters, and he published 125 letters in this volume<sup>80</sup>.

In the same year, another Old Babylonian letter was published by Alfred Haldar alongside four other cuneiform texts of the Stockholm Museum<sup>81</sup>. In the following year, Vaughn E. Crawford published a document on the Sumerian economic texts from the first dynasty of Isin; in this publication, he published a single Old Babylonian letter<sup>82</sup>. In the following year, only a broken Old Babylonian letter was published by Rivkah Harris in his article on the archives of the Sin temple in Khafajah<sup>83</sup>. Two years later, Albrecht Goetze published 4 Old Babylonian letters in his article on the Old Babylonian letters that were found within the American Collections at the Catholic University of America<sup>84</sup>, We should also mention Goetze's articles on the fifty Old

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<sup>76</sup> AbB 1.

<sup>77</sup> GORDON 1952, n°. 71-76 and 77.

<sup>78</sup> UET 5, n°. 1-83.

<sup>79</sup> UET 5, n°. 84-883

<sup>80</sup> CT 43.

<sup>81</sup> HARLDAR 1953, n°. 2090.

<sup>82</sup> BIN 9, n°. 475.

<sup>83</sup> HARRIS 1955, n°. 111.

<sup>84</sup> GOETZE 1957b: 106-109.

Babylonian letters of Harmal in 1958<sup>85</sup>; in 1963, Goetze also published nine more Old Babylonian letters of the American collections<sup>86</sup>. In 1958, Karl Oberhuber edited a book on the Sumerian and Akkadian cuneiform texts located in the Florence Museum and published a broken Old Babylonian letter with these texts<sup>87</sup> and a letter was published by Emile Szlechter at the same time<sup>88</sup>.

It must also briefly be mentioned that Jean-Robert Kupper published 22 letters from Kiš in his article in 1959<sup>89</sup>.

In 1960, some other Old Babylonian letters were discussed in the publications of Wilhelmus Francois Leemans, who published a book on foreign trade during Old Babylonian period. In this edition, Leemans published a previously uncited letter with some other Old Babylonian letters<sup>90</sup>. In the same year, another letter was published by Henry W. F. Saggs from a private collection<sup>91</sup> as well as another letter from Harmal which was also published by Stephen D. Simmons<sup>92</sup>.

1963 saw a significant number of letters published by some Assyriologists such Figulla, Goetze, and Pinches, as mentioned above. Besides those publications, two other letters were also published by Adam Falkenstein in his article on the inscriptions of Uruk<sup>93</sup>.

We know that in 1964, the first volume of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*” was published by Fritz Rudolf Kraus. But before discussing the “*Altbabylonische Briefe*”, a little clarification on those involved with the project as well as its methods should be mentioned. In the summer of 1959, at the eighth “*Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*” in Heidelberg, alongside Mari tablets, they decided to collate, transliterate, translate, and publish as many Old Babylonian letters as

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<sup>85</sup> GOETZE 1958: 3-78.

<sup>86</sup> GOETZE 1963: 77-86.

<sup>87</sup> OBERHUBER 1958, n<sup>o</sup>.132.

<sup>88</sup> SZLECHTER 1958.

<sup>89</sup> KUPPER 1959a: 19-38 and 1959b: 177-182.

<sup>90</sup> LEEMANS 1960: 102-107.

<sup>91</sup> SAGGS 1960: 56-58.

<sup>92</sup> SIMMONS 1960, n<sup>o</sup>. 91.

<sup>93</sup> FALKENSTEIN 1963: 54-71.

possible, both previously published and unpublished<sup>94</sup>. However the collection and publication of Old Babylonian letters proved challenging because the Old Babylonian letters came from various archaeological sites in the southern part of Mesopotamia and were divided all over the world between museums, universities, institutes and private collections across Europe, USA, Iraq, and Turkey or elsewhere in the world<sup>95</sup>.

The first effort to gather all of Old Babylonian letters in the Institute of Assyriology at the Leiden University was met with a plethora of problems that held up the work. The first issue revolved around the lack of preparatory time for collecting the materials while the problem was exacerbated by the unfortunate death of assistant P. C. Couprie in 1960. Despite these initial problems, they finally managed to publish this collection, and they gave it a title that would clearly indicate its content. It is recommended to quote the edited letters with the name of the editor and the series in the abbreviation “*Altbabylonische Briefe*” with the name of the publisher, the volume of the book, the year of publication and the number of the letters.

Consequently, in 1964, the first volume of this collection was published by Fritz Rudolph Kraus<sup>96</sup>, Kraus published 142 Old Babylonian letters in the first volume, all of these letters had already been published in “*CT 43 and 44*” in 1963 and all of them were from the British Museum collections<sup>97</sup>, Alongside this edition, Kraus published another document on the letters at the same time of his first volume of “*AbB*”<sup>98</sup>. Besides the publications of Kraus, other publications were published at the same time expanding the academic discussion surrounding Old Babylonian letters. 33 Old Babylonian letters from the Iraqi Museum were published by Akram Al-Zebari in the first volume of “*TIM*”<sup>99</sup>, the same year, the second volume of “*TIM*” was published by J. van Dijk, which included 158 Old Babylonian letters<sup>100</sup>; van Dijk also published a number of other letters in an article at the same time<sup>101</sup>. In the following year, Rinttje Frankena published 111

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<sup>94</sup> AbB 1: VII-VIII.

<sup>95</sup> JAFFE 1982: 37.

<sup>96</sup> AbB 1: VII-VIII.

<sup>97</sup> AbB 1: XIII.

<sup>98</sup> KRAUS 1964: 16.

<sup>99</sup> TIM 1.

<sup>100</sup> TIM 2.

<sup>101</sup> UVB 18: 61-ff.

letters of the collection of De Liagre Böhl<sup>102</sup> and a letter was published by Jacob J. Finkelstein in his article on Misharum material<sup>103</sup>.

In the second volume of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*” 182 Old Babylonian letters were published by Rinttje Frankena. All of these letters were from the British Museum, and they had already been published in the book King's book “*The Letter and Inscription of Hammurabi*”, in “CT 2, 4, 6, 29 and 33”. All these letters were published by Ungnad in his book “*Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie*”<sup>104</sup> It is worth mentioning that no unpublished Old Babylonian letters were written about in 1966; the following year, Khalid Ahmad Al-Adami edited an article on Old Babylonian letters from Tell ed-Der (Sippar-Amnānum), a few kilometers to the north of Abu Habba (Sippar-Jahrurum), in which he published 12 Old Babylonian letters in this article<sup>105</sup>.

Two years after the second volume of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*”, Rinttje Frankena also published the third volume. In this edition, they published 116 letters from the collection of De Liagre Böhl in Leiden. The copies of the letters 1-111 had already appeared as the fourth volume of “*Tabulae Cuneiformes a F. M. Th. De Liagre Böhl Collectae “TLB IV”*”. All of these letters, housed at the Dutch Institute for the Neareast in Leiden, were acquired from trade in Baghdad between 1932 and 1939. Letters 1-66, and probably the numbers 69 and 110, belong to the archive of Leemans, with their copies having been published in “*TLB I*” and the translations, transcriptions, and commentaries in “*SLB 1/3*”<sup>106</sup>.

In the same year as the publication of the third volume of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*”, another new volume of the collection was released by Fritz Rudolph Kraus. Kraus presented 166 Old Babylonian letters in this volume, all these letters belong to the archive of Šamaš-hāzir; only those letters which were addressed to Šamaš-hāzir and his wife Zinu, are directly and surely recognizable as belonging to Šamaš-hāzir. 77 letters of this volume had already been published by Thureau-Dangin in “*TCL 7*” in “*AbB 4, Nos.1-77*”, letter 78 was published in “*RA 21, S 147*”,

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<sup>102</sup> TLB 4.

<sup>103</sup> FINKELSTEIN 1965: 233-236.

<sup>104</sup> AbB 2: V.

<sup>105</sup> AL-A'DAMI 1967: 151-166.

<sup>106</sup> AbB 3: V.

66 other letters were also published in “*OECT* 3, Nos.1-64” in “*AbB* 4, Nos.79-142”, and “*OECT* 3, Nos.76 and 78” in “*AbB* 4, Nos.154 and 156” and letter 166 was an unpublished letter from Oxford. Besides these letters mentioned above, 21 fragmentary letters without any addresses were also published in this volume, all of which had already been published in “*OECT* 3, Nos.65-75, 77 and 79-87”, but according to their contents, it can be said that these letters also belonged to the archive of Šamaš-hāzir Šamaš-hāzir, in “*OECT* 3, Nos.68-70, 72, 77, 79-82, 84, 85 and 87” in “*AbB* 4, Nos. 146-148, 150, 155, 157-160, 162, 163 and 165”<sup>107</sup>.

Commercial content, on the other hand, and consequently appear differently from the correspondent of Šamaš-hāzir, appear to be “*OECT* 3, Nos. 65, 71, 66, 67, 74, 83, 73, 75 and 86” in “*AbB* 4, Nos. 143, 149, 144, 145, 152, 161, 151, 153 and 164” show no points of contact with it. Eleven of twelve letters, which correspond to the archive are from the H. Weld-Blundell collection, which all the Oxford letters are belong to Šamaš-hāzir, and therefore from this archive. On the other hand, letters in the catalog which do not correspond to the correspondent of Šamaš-hāzir are from Larsa “*OECT* 3, Nos.66, 74 and 75” and numbers 67, 71 and 73 in “*AbB* 4” were noted as letters no Babylonian province, thus apparently not belong to the H.Weld-Blundell collection. It must apply to the tablet “*OECT* 3, No.72” in “*AbB* 4, No.150” is also provided with the note no Babylonian province<sup>108</sup>.

In 1970, an unpublished letter from Tell ed-Dēr in Iraqi Museum was published by Dietz Otto Edzard in his book on Old Babylonian legal and economic texts from Tell ed-Dēr<sup>109</sup>. And in the same year, Stanley D. Walters edited an article in this article he published 5 Old Babylonian letters<sup>110</sup>.

The fifth volume of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*” was also published by Fritz Rudolph Kraus. In this edition, Kraus published 278 Old Babylonian letters with all these letters coming from the collection at the Istanbul Museum, most of them were unpublished<sup>111</sup>. At the same time as the publication of the fifth volume, Jacob J. Finkelstein in the thirteenth volume of “*Yale Oriental*

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<sup>107</sup> AbB 4: VII-VIII.

<sup>108</sup> AbB 4: VII-VIII.

<sup>109</sup> EDZARD 1970, n<sup>o</sup>. 54.

<sup>110</sup> WALTERS 1970: 27-38.

<sup>111</sup> AbB 5: X-XIII.

*Series*” published 7 Old Babylonian letters with other kinds of texts<sup>112</sup>. One year later, Walker published 3 Old Babylonian letters in the collection of Mr. E. M. Dring<sup>113</sup>.

Rinttje Frankena issued the sixth volume of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*”, in 1974. The volume contained 221 Old Babylonian letters; the copies of these letters had previously been published in the collection of “*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der (Königlichen) Museen zu Berlin*” as follows: “*AbB* 6, Nos.1-24, 26-155, and 157-205 in *VS* 16, Nos.1-24, 26-155, and 157-205”, “*AbB* 6, Nos.25, 156, and 206-220 in *VS* 7, Nos.91, 188, and 189-203”, and “*AbB* 6, No.221 in *VS* 9, No.141”. All these letters are from the Vorderasiatischen Museum in Berlin<sup>114</sup>.

Alongside the collection of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*” it is necessary to mention the Old Babylonian letters originating from Tell Al-Rimah. In 1976, a publication by Stephanie Dalley, Christopher B. F. Walker and John D. Hawkins, focused on a considerable number of letters which meant that it added a very important addition to the available materials, making Tell Al-Rimah one of the most important archives that we have<sup>115</sup>. In the same year, Lambert edited an article in which he published an Old Babylonian letter<sup>116</sup>.

In 1977, Fritz Rudolph Kraus edited another new volume of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*”, In this volume, Kraus published 189 Old Babylonian letters, the copies of the majority of these letters had already appeared in “*CT* 52” in 1976, excluding letters 153, 187, 188 and 189 in “*AbB* 7” which had already been published in “*AS* 6, S. 235, *CT* 45, No.122 and *CT* 48, Nos.79 and 80”. All the letters of this volume are from the British Museum<sup>117</sup>.

It is also necessary to take note on an influential publication on Old Babylonian letters from 1978, which was published by Burkhard Kienast in two volumes of “*Die Altbabylonischen Briefe und Urkunden aus Kissura*”<sup>118</sup>. During the same year, another letter was published by Walker in

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<sup>112</sup> YOS 13.

<sup>113</sup> WALKER 1973: 120-125.

<sup>114</sup> *AbB* 6: V-VI.

<sup>115</sup> DALLEY and etc 1976.

<sup>116</sup> LAMBERT 1976: 58-64.

<sup>117</sup> *AbB* 7: VII-VIII.

<sup>118</sup> KIENAST 1978.

an article <sup>119</sup>. The following year, another letter was published by George in his commentary on the cuneiform texts housed in the Birmingham Museum<sup>120</sup>.

The eighth volume of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*” was published by L. Cagni, in 1980. Cagni published 158 Old Babylonian letters in this volume, all these letters came from the Iraqi Museum, and their copies had already been published in “*TIM II*”<sup>121</sup>.

The ninth volume of the collection of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*” was edited by M. Stol, in 1981. In this volume most of the 279 Old Babylonian letters were from Yale University; for this reason, Stol has chosen the title of “*Letters from Yale*” for the volume. It should be pointed out though that the last seven letters of this compilation belong to the collection of Smith College Library in the USA, and letter number 130 belongs to Mr. A. L. Schrijver in New York. The first 152 letters of this volume had already been published in “*YOS 2*”, but in 1977, Stol decided to republish these letters with other letters from the Yale University collection<sup>122</sup>. At the same time, Dominique Charpin and Jean-Marie Durand edited a book on the document cuneiforms of Strasbourg, and they published 7 Old Babylonian letters in this publication<sup>123</sup>.

Fritz Rudolph Kraus continued to publish new volumes of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*”, In 1985, Kraus issued volume ten of the collection, which contained 211 Old Babylonian letters; Kraus collated all these letters from six western European countries, most of which were unpublished letters, only 67 letters had previously been published<sup>124</sup>.

Volume 11 of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*” was published by M. Stol in 1986. 194 Old Babylonian letters were published in this volume, all of them having already been published by “Ungnad, *PBS 7*, Lutz, *PBS 1/2* and *UCP 9/4*, Luckenbill, *AJSL 32* and Legrain, *PBS 13*”. And most of them have already been transliterated and translated by “Ungnad, *ABPH*” in 1920, Ungnad texts in volume eleven of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*” are consisting numbers 1-150. But

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<sup>119</sup> WALKER 1978: 249.

<sup>120</sup> GEORGE 1979, n°. 48.

<sup>121</sup> AbB 8: V-VII.

<sup>122</sup> AbB 9.

<sup>123</sup> CHARPIN and DURAND 1981a, n°. 87-93.

<sup>124</sup> AbB 10.

the letter numbers 29, 87 and 128 of Ungnad letters are not Old Babylonian letters, that is why; these letters were replaced by other unpublished Old Babylonian letters of the University Museum/Philadelphia in this volume and letter number 115 of Ungnad replaced by unpublished letter of the University Museum/Philadelphia and letter numbers 132-134 were also replaced by unpublished letters of University Museum/Philadelphia and the last one is from Oriental Institute<sup>125</sup>.

Volumes twelve and thirteen of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*”, were published in 1990 and 1994 respectively by W. H. van Soldt. In the twelfth volume, van Soldt published 200 unpublished Old Babylonian letters<sup>126</sup> and in the thirteenth volume, he also published 200 other unpublished Old Babylonian letters, all these letters of both volumes are from the British Museum and for this reason Van Soldt has been chosen the title of “Letters in the British Museum” for both editions. He may also publish 200 other unpublished Old Babylonian letters from the British Museum in a new volume of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*”, with the same title as volumes twelve and thirteen<sup>127</sup>.

In 2005, Klaas R. Veenhof edited the last volume of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*” in the present. Veenhof published 226 Old Babylonian letters in this volume, after earlier publication of the letters of Šamaš-hāzir in “*TCL 7*” and then in “*AbB 4*”, all other Old Babylonian letters in the Louvre Museum have been included recently in this edition. Excepting the letters of Kiš, numbers between AO 10763 and 10811, which some of them were published by Kupper in “*RA 53*” as mentioned above. These letters are not included in this volume, because they have already been saved by official excavation of Kiš, they should publish together with the records belonging to the same archive. Most copies of the letters in this volume were already published in “*TCL 1 and 17-18*”, and ten letters were published by Daniel Arnaud in “*BBVOT 1*” in 1990, other seven letters were also published by D. Arnaud in “*J.L.Hout (ed), Larsa et Oueilli travaux de 1978-82*” in 1983<sup>128</sup>.

It is also worth mentioning other important articles published after volume fourteen of “*AbB*”. In 2008, Niek Veldhuis published 17 Old Babylonian letters; all these letters belong to the Hearst

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<sup>125</sup> AbB 11.

<sup>126</sup> AbB 12.

<sup>127</sup> AbB 13.

<sup>128</sup> AbB 14: IX-X.

Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley<sup>129</sup>. A year later, Andrew R. George published another unpublished Old Babylonian letter<sup>130</sup>, and in 2018, he also published 221 Old Babylonian letters belonging to the Schoyen Museum<sup>131</sup>. And in 2014, Anmar Abdulillah Fadhil published 3 other Old Babylonian letters<sup>132</sup>.

## I.2. The Provenance of Old Babylonian Letters

The collection of “*Altbabylonische Briefe*” has already published 2762 Old Babylonian letters up until now, but in all probability, the corpus of the Old Babylonian letters is over 3000 items, out of an unknown total number of written letters in antiquity. All of these letters were found in museums, universities, institutes and private collections throughout Europe, the Neareast, and the USA, that all of them came from the southern part of Mesopotamia, because the dialect of this part of Mesopotamia was different with the dialect of the northern part of Mesopotamia<sup>133</sup> at that time, and Babylonia at that time was included from the southern part of Mesopotamia until the region of Sippar. For this reason we are quite sure that all of Old Babylonian letters came from the southern part of Mesopotamia; but we do not know precisely where they came from, which cities from antiquity or archaeological sites, because the majority of these letters did not come from an official excavation. Most of them came from the antique trade, which is why, when we study the problem of the provenance of Old Babylonian letters of the southern part of Mesopotamia, we are faced with a significant issue.

Despite the fact that the provenances of many of the Old Babylonian letters are unknown, we can identify their origin based on the fact that they came from an official excavation. There are also other letters which Assyriologists have chosen their provenances. Furthermore, there are a small number of Old Babylonian letters which have been published in different publications, but as we know, most of Old Babylonian letters were already collected in the “*Altbabylonische Briefe*” collection, that is why, for the provenance of Old Babylonian letters, we focus more on this collection, and sometimes we refer to other publications as follows:

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<sup>129</sup> VELDHUIS 2008: 49-70.

<sup>130</sup> GEORGE 2009: 50-52.

<sup>131</sup> CUSAS 36.

<sup>132</sup> FADHIL 2014: 45-60.

<sup>133</sup> DEUTSCHER 2000: XV, COHEN 2012: 25-26 and KOUWENBERG 2010: 13-14.

In the fifth volume of the collection of "*Ur Excavation Texts*" 83 early Old Babylonian letters were published. Their provenances are known to us because they came from an official excavation at Ur and all are in the British Museum<sup>134</sup>. Only the provenance of letters 1 and 120 were published in "*AbB 1*" are known as to have come from Sippar<sup>135</sup>, and the provenances of other letters in this volume are unknown. Jaffe made a typology for all of the letters in this volume. He described letter numbers 3-142 as the Babylonia General letters and letter numbers 1-2 as the Royal letters of Babylon<sup>136</sup>, but he did not mention their provenances; all of these letters are in the British Museum. Kalla, however, identified the provenances of the letters of this volume<sup>137</sup>, as follows:

Provenance	Number of the letters
Sippar	2-3, 5-9, 11-12, 14-16, 18, 21-24, 26-31, 33-34, 36, 38-39, 45, 48, 51, 53-55, 65, 68, 72, 74, 78, 80-81, 84, 85, 87-88, 92-93, 95, 97-98, 101-108, 116-1117, 119-123 and 126-142 = 84 Letters
Larsa	1, 46-47, 58-59, 64, 76, 79, 82, 89-90 and 110 = 12 Letters
Kiš	37, 40, 49-50, 52, 67 and 99 = 7 Letters
Unknown	4, 10, 13, 17, 19, 25, 32, 35, 41-44, 56-57, 60-63, 66, 69-71, 73, 75, 77, 83, 86, 91, 94, 96, 100, 109, 112-115, 118 and 124-125 = 39 Letters

Along with the typology that Jaffe created for the letters of the second volume of "*AbB*", he also tried to ascertain their provenances. He suggested that numbers 1-44 and 47-89 as part of the 'Royal letters of Babylon,' while numbers 45 and 46 were letters from the southern part of

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<sup>134</sup> UET 5.

<sup>135</sup> CT 43: 1.

<sup>136</sup> JAFFE 1982: 340-346 and 370.

<sup>137</sup> KALLA, his Lecture.

Babylonia. Letter numbers 80-116, 131-135, 137-146, 148-159, 161-169, 1173-175 and 177-182 were from Sippar, and numbers 117-129 from Kiš<sup>138</sup>. Barnett thinks that the majority of letter numbers 117-173 are from northern part of Babylonia were written in the cities of Sippar and Babylon<sup>139</sup>. Kalla tried to identify the provenance of the letters of this volume, as below:

Provenance	Number of the letters
Larsa	1-47, 55-60, 76, 147 and 149 = 56 Letters
Sippar	48-54, 61-75, 77-115, 135-145, 148, 150-159, 162-166 and 170-180 = 99 Letters
Kisurra	116-130 = 15 Letters
Isin	160 = 1 Letter
Unknown	131-134, 146, 161, 167-169 and 181-182 = 11 Letters

Around 68 letters had already been published in “*AbB* 3”. Numbers 1-66 and probably numbers 69 and 110 came from the city of Lagaba in the northern part of Babylonia. Perhaps letter numbers 71-72, 74, 88-90 and 109 are from the southern part of Babylonia, while numbers 67, 68, 70, 73, 75-87, 91-108 and 111-116 either from the northern part of Babylonia or of an unknown origin. All these letters are in the Dutch Institute for the Middle-east in Leiden<sup>140</sup>. For the letters of the volume third of “*AbB*”, Kalla identifies their provenances, as follows:

Provenance	Number of the letters
Lagaba	1-73, 75-77, 93, 95, 98, 103 and 110 = 81 Letters

<sup>138</sup> JAFFE 1982: 347-351 and 370-373.

<sup>139</sup> CT 29: 6.

<sup>140</sup> *AbB* 3: V.

Sippar	78 and 114 = 2 Letters
Larsa	74 and 88-90 = 4 Letters
Kiš	79, 82, 91-92, 94, 101-102 and 104-107 = 11 Letters
Dilbat	83 = 1 Letter
Unknown	80-81, 84-87, 96-97, 99-100, 108-109, 111-113 and 115-116 = 17 Letters

Jaffe made another typology for the letters of volume four of “AbB” as follows: he indicated letter numbers 1-43, 79-109, 158 and 166 as Royal letters of Babylon, numbers 44-69, 78, 110-131 and 154 as from the Royal Chancery of Babylon, numbers 132-133 are from southern Babylonia, numbers 143-145, 149- 151-153, 161 and 164 are Babylonian general letters, numbers 74, 137, 140 and 156 are from Larsa, and the other letters have an unknown origin<sup>141</sup>, According to Thureau-Dangin, all of these letters that were already published in “TCL 7” came from Larsa<sup>142</sup>, it means number 1-77 in “AbB 4”. Despite Driver did not indicate the provenance of these letters which were already published in “OECT 3”<sup>143</sup>, it means letter numbers 79-165 in “AbB 4”, but it is clear that all of these letters and others which were published in “AbB 4” are from Larsa because the archive of Šamaš-hāzir is well known in Larsa, and all of the letters in this volume are in the Louvre and Ashmolean Museums<sup>144</sup>.

The letters of “AbB 5” are from the cities of Adab, Girsu, Kiš, Lagaš, Nippur, and Sippar such as follows: numbers 1-57 are from Adab, numbers 58-134 are from Kiš, numbers 135-155 are from Lagaš, numbers 156-206 are from Nippur, numbers 207-278 are from Sippar, and all of

<sup>141</sup> JAFFE 1982: 340-341, 356-358 and 373-376.

<sup>142</sup> TCL 7, I.

<sup>143</sup> OECT 3.

<sup>144</sup> AbB 4: XIV.

them are in Istanbul Museum<sup>145</sup>. Letters of the volume six of “*AbB*” are unknown origins, and all of them are in Vorderasiatischen Museum in Berlin<sup>146</sup>. However, Kalla identifies the letters of this volume, as follows:

Provenance	Number of the letters
Sippar	1-14, 16-24, 26-33, 38, 46-48, 51, 56-68, 97, 102, 117, 136, 148, 155, 157-160, 164, 176, 186-191, 193, 197-205 and 221 = 78 Letters
Larsa	15, 71, 89, 123, 126, 137, 140-143, 145, 153 and 174 = 13 Letters
Kiš	43, 69, 84, 95, 108, 112, 114-116, 118-119, 121-122, 127, 129, 131, 133, 144, 147, 150-151, 154, 161-163, 177, 180, 182-184 and 194-196 = 33 Letters
Dilbat	25, 74-76, 124-125, 134-135, 156, 167, 171, 178 and 206-220 = 26 Letters
Unknown	34-37, 39-42, 44-45, 49-50, 52-55, 70, 72-73, 77-83, 85-88, 90-94, 96, 98-101, 103-107, 109-111, 113, 120, 128, 130, 132, 138-139, 146, 149, 152, 165-166, 168-170, 172-173, 175, 179, 181, 185 and 192 = 70 Letters

The majority of the letters of “*AbB* 7” were already published in “*CT* 52;” these letters most likely came from Sippar and its vicinity. Numbers 1-152 and 154-186 came from Sippar<sup>147</sup>, number 187 in “*CT* 45” and number 122 is likely to be from Sippar<sup>148</sup>, numbers 188 and 189 in “*CT* 48” numbers 79 and 80 are from Sippar<sup>149</sup>, number 153 was already published in “*AS* 16” is

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<sup>145</sup> AbB 5.

<sup>146</sup> AbB 6.

<sup>147</sup> CT 52.

<sup>148</sup> CT 45: III.

<sup>149</sup> CT 48.

probably also coming from Sippar<sup>150</sup>. That all of these letters are from the British Museum collection<sup>151</sup>.

We can mention the provenance of the letters from volume eight of “AbB” as follows: numbers 1-3, 82 and 87-88 come from Uruk, number 9 is from Beersheva, number 22 is from Sippar, number 24 is from Kutalla, number 86 is from Namanya, numbers 131-139 are from Tell el-Muşbah, numbers 141-158 perhaps come from Lagaba. The other letters have unknown provenances, but all of these letters are from the Iraqi Museum<sup>152</sup>. But, Kalla tries to identify the provenance of these letters, as follows:

Provenance	Number of the Letters
Uruk	1-2 = 2 Letters
Lagaš	3 = 1 Letter
Neribtum	4-8, 31, 42-43 and 58 = 9 Letters
Tell as-Sabi	9 = 1 Letter
Diniktum	12, 14-16, 19 and 44-45 = 7 Letters
Sippar	22, 46-47, 50, 53, 55, 59-60, 66 and 99 = 10 Letters
Larsa	23, 32, 36, 73 and 122 = 5 Letters
Kiš	24 and 112 = 2 Letters
Adab	27 and 83 = 2 Letters

<sup>150</sup> FINKELSTEIN 1965: 233-236.

<sup>151</sup> AbB 7: IX-X.

<sup>152</sup> AbB 8: VII.

Maškan-šāpir	38 = 1 Letter
Ur	79 = 1 Letter
Namanya	86 = 1 Letter
Diyala	102 = 1 Letter
Tell el-Mušbah	131-139 = 9 Letters
Lagaba	141-158 = 18 Letters
Unknown	10-11, 13, 17-18, 20-21, 25-26, 28-30, 33-35, 37, 39-41, 48, 51-52, 54, 56-57, 61, 64-65, 67-71, 74-78, 80-82, 84-85, 87-90, 92-96, 98, 103-111, 113-120, 123-128 and 140 = 76 Letters

The letters of “*AbB 9*” can select their provinces as follows: numbers 1-29, 131-153, 185, 201-222, 226-227, 232-236, 238, 241, 246 and 250-267 are from Larsa, numbers 154, 168, 172 and 178 are from Sippar, numbers 160-161 and 174 are from Dilbat, number 163 is from Kiš, number 169 is from Uruk, number 175 is from Babylon, numbers 247-249 are from Lagaba, but the provinces of other letters of this edition are unknown, and all of these letters are in Morgan Library Collection, Siglum of the Yale Babylonian Collection, Nies Babylonian Collection, siglum of the Yale Babylonian Collection, Siglum of the Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets now Yale University, Smith Collection, Tablet siglum, Yale Babylonian Collection and one letter from Schrijver<sup>153</sup>. The identification which made by Kalla of the letters of this volume appear in the following schedule:

Provenance	Number of the letters
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<sup>153</sup> *AbB 9*: V-IX.

Larsa	1, 7, 9-10, 13, 18-24, 28-29, 39, 47-49, 51, 54-56, 58, 63, 74, 77, 85, 89, 92, 94, 96, 99, 103, 105, 110, 112, 126, 128-129, 132, 134, 137, 142-143, 145, 150, 185, 188-222, 232-236, 238, 241, 246, 250-267 and 274-275 = 113 Letters
Sippar	25, 61, 64, 117, 151, 154, 184 and 187 = 8 Letters
Damrum	11, 14, 34, 52, 57, 125, 127, 140 and 144 = 9 Letters
Kiš	2-4, 32, 43, 86, 118, 163 and 172 = 9 Letters
Jahrurum Šaplum	68 = 1 Letter
Dilbat	160-161 and 174 = 3 Letters
Lagaba	247-249 = 3 Letters
Maškan-šāpir	268-273 = 6 Letters
Unknown	5-6, 8, 12, 15-17, 26-27, 30-31, 33, 35-38, 40-42, 44-46, 50, 53, 59-60, 62, 65-67, 69-73, 75-76, 78-82, 84, 87-88, 90-91, 93, 95, 97-98, 100-102, 104, 106-108, 111, 113-116, 119-124, 130-131, 133, 135-136, 138-139, 141, 146-149, 152-153, 155-159, 162, 164-171, 173, 175-183, 186, 223-231, 237, 239-240, 242-245 and 276-279 = 127 Letters

The province of the letters of “*AbB 10*” is unknown, Their current locations are spread across the Ashmolean Museum and Bodleian Library in Oxford; Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge; County Museum and Art Gallery in Truro; Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh; The Chester Beatty Library and Gallery of Oriental Art in Dublin; Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten in Leiden; John Rylands Library and University Museum in Manchester; City of

Liverpool Museum and Sammlung Millard Collection in Liverpool; Birmingham City Museum in Birmingham; Musees royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels; Bibliotheque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg, and also the Musee d'art et d'histoire in Genève<sup>154</sup>. In the table below we can present the provenance of the letters of this volume corresponding to Kalla's opinion.

Provenance	Number of the letters
Kiš	1-19, 26, 31-32, 37, 41-44, 46, 75-76, 79-91, 102, 107-109, 151 and 158 = 49 Letters
Sippar	25, 40, 55, 69, 150, 179 and 192 = 7 Letters
Larsa	66-67, 161, 167, 177, 185, 187 and 193 = 8 Letters
Isin	57 = 1 Letter
Dilbat	51 and 54 = 2 Letters
Lagaba	74, 121, 123-124, 128 and 152 = 6 Letters
Hursag kalama	111-115 = 5 Letters
Nēribtum	131-136 = 6 Letters
Nippur	148 = 1 Letter
Unknown	20-24, 27-30, 33-36, 38-39, 45, 47-50, 52-53, 56, 58-65, 68, 70-73, 77-78, 92-101, 103-106, 110, 116-120, 122, 125-127, 129-130, 137-147, 149, 153-157, 159-160,

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<sup>154</sup> AbB 10: VII-XIV.

	162-166, 168-176, 178, 180-184, 186, 188-191 and 194-209 = 124 Letters
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The letters of “AbB 11” from the number 1-29, 151-155, 157, 159-163 and 164 are from Nippur, numbers 165-166, 168, 170, 174, 177, 182-185, 188-194 are from Larsa. Numbers 135-150 are from Adab while the others probably come from Sippar. All of which are currently in the University Museum in Philadelphia, Lowie Museum in Berkeley or the Oriental Institute in Chicago<sup>155</sup>. In the below schedule we can present the provenance of the letters of this volume up to Kalla's opinion:

Provenance	Number of the letters
Sippar	30-131, 134 and 181 = 103 Letters
Larsa	133, 165-166, 168-169, 171-176, 178, 182, 185-187, 189 and 193-194 = 19 Letters
Nippur	1-29, 151-164, 170, 179, 188 and 190-191 = 48 Letters
Adab	135-150 = 16 Letters
Unknown	132, 167, 177, 180, 183-184 and 192 = 8 Letters

Moreover, we cannot be sure the exact location, or the particular archaeological site, of the letters that feature in volume twelve of “AbB” but Van Soldt attempted a classification for some of these letters. Letters 1-9 of the archive of Ilšu-ib are from Sippar but it is suggested that the place of origin for these letters is maybe Babylon. This is because these letters were sent by Iluni

<sup>155</sup> AbB 11: V-VIII; PBS 1/2, n°. 1-14; UCP 9/4, n°. 1-30; PBS 7, n°. 1-28, 30-86, 88-127 and 129-131; PBS 13, n°. 58; LUCKENBILL 1915-16, n°. 98-101 and LUCKENBILL 1926: 270-292.

and Nabium-nāšir both people were well known in Babylon. Letters 10-30 belongs to the archive of Nabium-atpalam who is well known in Sippar, it means these letters are also coming from Sippar, letters 32-50 are also from Sippar which are belong to the archive Nanna-intuh, and Van Soldt also mentioned letters 51-58 as the letters from Sippar<sup>156</sup>, it means letters 1-58 in this volume are from Sippar, and the other have unknown provenance. For the provenance of the letters of this volume Kalla mentions that the numbers 1-77, 79-150, 154-161, 166, 171-172 and 182-200 are from Sippar, numbers 78, 164 and 177 from Larsa, numbers 180-181 from Girsu and numbers 151-153, 162-163, 165, 167-170, 173-176 and 178-179 are unknown their provenances.

After four years from the publication of the twelve volume of “*AbB*” Van Soldt published another volume and in this work he made a new classification for the letters, Van Soldt arranged the letters in this volume according to their place of origin and destination as follows: according to their place origin and destination of the letters 5, 7-33, 35-36, 38-43, 46-52, 72-73, 77-78, 82, 123, 139 and 176-177 from Babylon, number 79 is from Bāšum, 74 is from Halab, letters 107, 110-111 and 115 are from Hirītum, number 4 and 138 are from Isin, 84 is from Kār-Nabium, numbers 149, 173, 179, 183 and 191 are from Kiš, 37 is from Kubatum, numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, 34, 53, 109 and 145 are from Larsa, 147 and 164 are from Nippur, numbers 89, 95, 104, 114 and 122 are from Sippar, 54-59 are from Umma and 120 is from Ur<sup>157</sup>. According to their place of destination: Babylon: 4, 6, 60, 95 and 140, Kiš: 156 and 176, Larsa: 5, 7-33, 35-43, 46-48, 44, 116 and 138, Marad: 87, Sippar 49, 50-52, 66, 71-73, 79, 82, 85, 97, 105, 110-111, 115, 123 and 139 and Sippar-Amnānum: 122<sup>158</sup>. All of the letters of both volumes were published by Van Soldt are in British Museum<sup>159</sup>. Kalla proposes the provenance of these letters, as follows:

Provenance	Number of the letters
Sippar	50-52, 61-115, 121-124, 136 and 139-140 = 65 Letters

<sup>156</sup> AbB 12: IX-X.

<sup>157</sup> AbB 13: IX.

<sup>158</sup> AbB 13: X.

<sup>159</sup> AbB 12 and 13.

Larsa	1-48, 53, 59, 116-120, 126-128, 138, 143 and 145 = 61 Letters
Kisurra	54-58 = 5 Letters
Kiš	149-200 = 52 Letters
Unknown	49, 60, 125, 129-135, 137, 141-142, 144 and 146-148 = 17 Letters

The provenances of the last volume letters of “*AbB*” in present could be indicated as follows: numbers 9-13 come from Girsu, numbers 14-15 are from Sippar, numbers 5-6 and 30-46 are from Dilbat, numbers 55-209 probably come from Larsa, number 88 is from Isin, number 107 is from Ur, number 160 is from Nippur, and probably other letters of this edition also came from the southern part of Babylonia, find all of these letters are at the Louvre Museum<sup>160</sup>. According to Kalla the provenance of these letters, as follows:

Provenance	Number of the letters
Sippar	4, 7-8, 15-18, 20-28, 48-54, 150, 155-156, 179, 187 and 198 = 29 Letters
Larsa	1-3, 55-64, 76, 83, 97-125, 131, 137-139, 141, 146-148, 161-167, 173, 175-177, 207-209, 217, 219-222 and 225-226 = 73 Letters
Jahrurum šaplum	6, 29-46, 65-71, 78-80, 94, 140 and 218 = 32 Letters
Girsu	9-13, 77 and 84 = 7 Letters
Dilbat	5 = 1 Letter

<sup>160</sup> AbB 14: IX-XXVI and TCL 1: VII-VIII.

Kiš	19, 81-82, 90, 130, 134 and 190 = 7 Letters
Damrum	87, 126-127 and 136 = 4 Letters
Kisurra	73-75 and 211-212 = 5 Letters
Isin	88 and 204-206 = 4 Letters
Nippur	160 and 223 = 2 Letters
Unknown	14, 47, 72, 85-86, 89, 91-93, 95, 128-129, 132-133, 135, 142-145, 149, 151-154, 157-159, 168-172, 174, 178, 180-186, 188-189, 191-197, 199-203, 210, 213-216 and 224 = 61 Letters

It must also be mentioned 48 Old Babylonian letters from Kiš at the Louvre Museum are not published in “*AbB*” as mentioned above, 55 other Old Babylonian letters from Ešnunna which were published by Robert M. Whiting, Jr.<sup>161</sup> and 221 other Old Babylonian letters which were published in the recent volume of “*CUSAS*” are without provenance<sup>162</sup>.

Consequently, the provenance of all the Old Babylonian letters have already been published in “*AbB*” such as follows: Sippar: 549, Larsa: 529, Nippur: 92, Kiš: 93, Adab: 73, Lagaba: 89, Lagaš: 18, Dilbat: 22, Tell Musbah: 9, Uruk: 7, Girsu: 5, Babylon: 6, Isin: 1, Beershiva: 1, Kutallu: 1, Namanya: 1 and Sippar-Amnānum 1. But according the identification of Kalla we can select the provenance of these letters, as follows: Sippar: 924, Larsa: 533, Kiš: 247, Kisurra: 25, Isin: 6, Lagaba: 108, Dilbat: 33, Adab: 75, Lagaš: 22, Nippur: 102, Uruk: 2, Neribtum: 15, Tell as-šabi: 1, Diniktum: 7, Maškan-šāpir: 7, Ur: 1, Namanya: 1, Diyala: 1, Tell Mušbah: 9, Damrum: 13, Jahrum šaplum 33, Hursag kalama: 5, Girsu: 9 and Unknown provenance: 566.

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<sup>161</sup> WHITING 1987.

<sup>162</sup> CUSAS 36.

### I.3. The General Form of Old Babylonian Letters

As in different cultures, the letter is also categorized in Mesopotamia by a static form, letter partners, senders and recipients, and in many regions, a greeting formula was obligatory. The subject of the letterhead is changed in Mesopotamia. Hence, in the third millennium, a formal formula of the letter was not existed, but since the Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian periods, it was necessary. In the Old Babylonian period, the recipients and the writers are listed at the beginning of the letter. However, at the beginning of Old Babylonian period until around 1800 B.C.. the greeting formula was not existed and the letters from this period do not contain salutations<sup>163</sup>.

However, during that time, the letters have a general structure element, but sometimes there are different structures. For this reason, when someone thinks about studying Old Babylonian letters, he/she has to know that Old Babylonian letters are always starting with some specific phrases. According to the structure of Old Babylonian letters we can divide the initial part of the letters for three main types, as bellow:

#### I.3.1. Simple Formula

The simple formula was called by Erkki Salonen as **Address formula**<sup>164</sup>, the formula is a simple formula and there are not various different sentences, for this reason, we prefer call this formula as simple formula, and this formula is usually starting with a few sentences as follows:

##### I.3.1.1. *ana* PN (Recipient/Addresser)

Old Babylonian letters are always starting with the preposition of *a-na* “to”<sup>165</sup>, but sometimes this preposition with the name of addresser are appearing on the envelope of the letter as letter number 30, after the preposition of *a-na* “to” directly the name of Addresser appears, but sometimes the letter has been sent to more than one person, in this case, the addressers write one after the other as letters 38 and 32.

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<sup>163</sup> SALLABERGER 1999: 22.

<sup>164</sup> JAFFE 1982: 87.

<sup>165</sup> CAD A<sub>2</sub>: 100.

### **I.3.1.2. *qibī-ma***

This imperative verbal formula *qibī* “speak” is addressed to messenger who delivers the letter to the addresser every time comes after the addresser of the letter. This verbal form can be historically derived from the formulation of Sumerian letters, which are formulated in total as a messenger order to the addressee designated in the third person<sup>166</sup>.

“The Sumerian formulation of the not obligatory address is: A-RA Û-NA-(A)-DU<sub>11</sub> “say to A”. The verbal form Û-NA-(A)-DU<sub>11</sub> derived from it becomes the term for "letter" already in the Ur III era; the Akkadian loanword *unnedukkum* is customary for "letter" in Old Babylonian times in the south of the country. The address names the addressee by name, title or appellative address. Only in the address is referred to the addressee in the 3rd person, while the Old Babylonian letter addresses him otherwise in the 2nd person”<sup>167</sup>.

### **I.3.1.3. *umma* PN (Sender/Writer)**

In the simple formula of Old Babylonian letters before the name of the writer and after the imperative verbal formula *qibī* “speak” the expression of *umma* “thus says” is always appeared, then, directly after this expression the name of the writer comes. The writer may call to him/herself by his/her name, exceptionally by title, with the adding of appellate nouns characterizing the connection with the recipient: *ahūka* “your brother”, *waradka* “your servant” and etc. The possessive suffixes indicate that the discourse with the recipient addressed to the second person begins at this point, the issuer calls here by his/her name. It is clear that the different reference in comparison with the text of the letter, because if the recipient is addressed indirectly in the third person *bēlī* “my lord”, is in the proper name of the letterhead, the suffix of the second person *waradka* “your servant”, not *warassu* “his servant” or *warad bēlīja* “the servant of my Lord”.

### **I.3.1.4. Letter Content**

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<sup>166</sup> SALLABERGER 1996: 394.

<sup>167</sup> SALLABERGER 1999: 23.

In the simple formula of the Old Babylonian letters, following the name of the writer directly the subject of the letter comes, but in a few examples before the subject a certain phrases and expressions which may be found directly after the name of the writer as “*tuppī annīam ina amārim* “when you read this letter of mine””<sup>168</sup>.

It should be mentioned that from 61 letters in this search, 37 of them have a simple formula, which means 61% of the search letters as it appears in the following Chart:

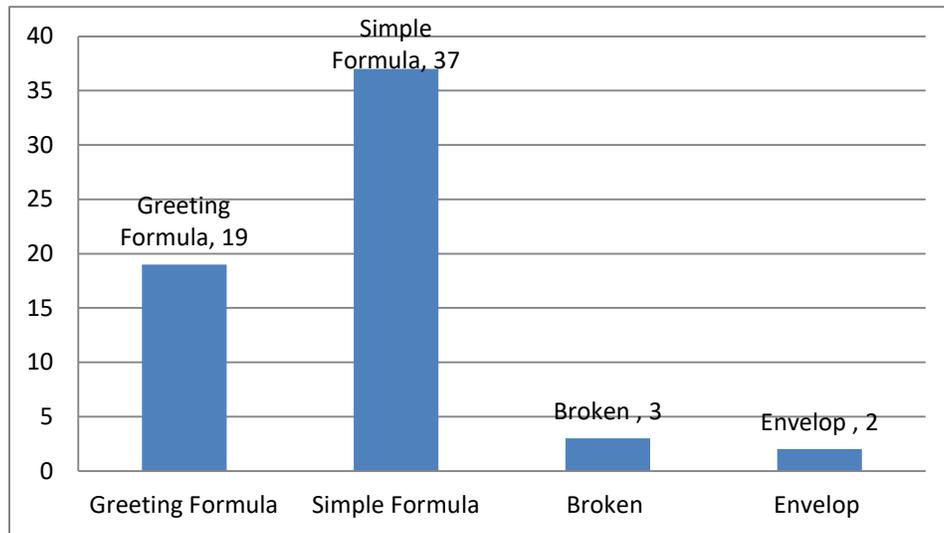


Chart.1.

### I.3.2. Greeting Formula

Since the early Old Babylonian period, only the simple formula of the letters was existed until around 1800 B.C., since the reign of Rīm-Sîn/Hammurapi, older letters than this date do not yet know greeting formula, but the stander greeting formula occurs under the reign of Samsu-ilūna, may be the first time was appeared in Lagaba<sup>169</sup>. The relationship between the writer and recipient, as appeared in address, salutation, and greeting, play an important role in the structure element of the letters, also creates the wording of the address and the select salutation<sup>170</sup>.

<sup>168</sup> JAFFE 1982: 85.

<sup>169</sup> SALLABERGER 1999: 24-25.

<sup>170</sup> AbB 1-14.

The wording of the greeting changes according to sex and number of gods, the select of the gods in the greeting is based on the situational context of the letter, in northern part of Babylonia, Šamaš and Marduk are always used, but in the southern part of Babylonia Šamaš and the city gods are called<sup>171</sup> and sometimes just the city god is called in the northern and southern parts of Babylonia.

It must be stated that the letter from King is always addressed to the addressees chosen by name or official title; there is never a greeting, regardless of whether it is one of the numerous instructions or information. It should be also mentioned that the greeting formula is always composed of the simple formula plus the greeting formula, which means that the two formulas together constitute the greeting formula as follows:

### **I.3.2.1. Simple Formula**

Always the simple formula is come at the beginning of the letter as mentioned above.

### **I.3.2.2. GNN Greeting/Salutation**

After the simple formula which is always came at the beginning of the letter, directly after the name of the writer the gods name come and then greeting/salutation, but it is important to know that in a few letters the god's name and greeting come directly after the name of recipient as follows: “*ana A, ša GN uballaṭušu, qibīma* (Say to A that GN (mostly Marduk) keeps alive)”<sup>172</sup>.

### **I.3.2.3. Letter Content**

After simple and greeting formulas the subject of the letter is came.

Walther Sallaberger wrote a perfect search on Old Babylonian letters in general and explains very well the greeting formula of the letters, here we do not need to repeat all his explanation on the greeting formula, we can only present his summary on the greeting formula in Old Babylonian stander letters that he did, as follows:

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<sup>171</sup> SALLABERGER 1999: 24-25.

<sup>172</sup> SALLABERGER 1999: 23.

“A. *Šamaš u Mardul/GNN (aššumīja) (ana dāriātīm/dāriš ūmī/...) libballiṭūka!* (Šamaš and Marduk/GN(N) may keep you alive (for my sake) (forever))

B. *lū balṭāta, lū šalmāta, (lū dāriāta)!* (You may (live) forever)

C<sub>1</sub>. *ilum nāširka šibūtam aj irši* (may the god who protect you have no demand (unfulfilled))

C<sub>2</sub>. *Ilum nāširka rēš damiqtīka/rēška ana damiqtīm likīl!* (May the god who protect you provide you with good things)

D<sub>1</sub>. *Ana šulmīka ašpuram. Šulumka šupram!* (I write to your wellbeing. Write your greeting!)

D<sub>2</sub>. *(ana šulmīka ašpuram.) šulumka mahar Šamaš u Marduk/GNN lū dari!* (I write you for salvation.) Your salvation is permanent before Šamaš and Marduk”<sup>173</sup>.

Another good work on the greeting formula of Old Babylonian letters is the work of Erkki Salonen with many examples, she builds a very good old Babylonian letter with the greeting and wishes for health as below:

“*ana PN*

*ša GN uballa/itūšu*

*qibīma*

*umma PN<sub>2</sub>-ma*

*GN and GN<sub>2</sub>*

*aššumīya*

*ana dāriātīm or dāriš ūmī/ūmim* or far more rarely *MU-ŠĀR/KAM-KAM*

*libballiṭūka*

*lū šalmāta*

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<sup>173</sup> SALLABERGER 1999: 75.

*lū balṭata*

*ilu nāširka reška ana damiqtim likīl* or rarely *ilum nāširka rēš damiqṭka likīl*

*ana šulmīka ašpuram*

*šulumka šupram* or more commonly *šulumka mahar GN u GN lū dāri*<sup>174</sup>.

Salonen has divided the form of Old Babylonian letters for three types, as follows:

1. **Address Formula:** this formula is a simple formula and there are not many different phrases<sup>175</sup>, as mentioned above.

2. **Main Formula:** this formula is having some different choices, which are summarized as follows:

“A. GN u GN<sub>2</sub> *liballiṭka* (May GN and GN<sub>2</sub> keep you in good health)

1. *aššumīya* (for my sake)

2. *ana dāriātīm* (forever)

3. *dāriš ūmī/ūmim* (forever)

4. MU-ŠÁR/KAM-KAM (3600 years)

B. *lū šalmāta* (May you be well)

C. *lū baltāta* or *lū dāriāta* (May you live or may you endure forever)<sup>176</sup>.

3. **Additional Formulae:** this formula is more complicated than other formulas, but this formula was not used more than others, and probably the formula was less frequently with various element of the main formula, this may be summarized as follows:

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<sup>174</sup> JAFFE 1982: 86.

<sup>175</sup> SALONEN 1967: 16-21.

<sup>176</sup> JAFFE 1982: 87.

“A. *ilu nāširka rēška ana damiqtim likīl* (The god how protect you, may he preserve your head)

B. *ilu nāširka rēš damiqtika likīl* (The god who protect you, may he preserve your head for good)

C. *ana šulmīka ašpuram* (I wrote to you on account of your well-being)

D. *šulumka šupram* (Send me a report on your well-being)

E. *šulumka mahar GN u GN<sub>2</sub> lū dāri* (May your well-being be eternal before GN and GN<sub>2</sub>)”<sup>177</sup>.

Alongside the works of Sallaberger and Dalley on the greeting formula, it should be also indicated the work of Randall D. Pauling on the greeting formula, which Jaffe summarized this work as below:

“The first element in his plan is the greeting formulae, which probably have several types:

Type I. *ana PN qibīma umma PN* “To PN thus says PN”

Several variants, mostly using the verb *balaṭū* “to be/become well” are mentioned

Type II. No Greeting

A. No Greeting and no Blessing

B. The blessing opens the letter

Type III. The opening broken

The second element mentioned is the blessing with the following types enumerated:

Type A. *šamaš u marduk dāriš ūmi līballitūka* “May Šamaš and Mardu keep you well forever”

*lū šalmāta* “May you indeed be/become well”

*lū baltāta* “May you indeed be/become healthy”

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<sup>177</sup> JAFFE 1982: 87-88.

*ilum nāsirka reška ana damiqtim likīl* “May the god your protector preserve your head i.e., preserve you”

*ana šulūmka mahar šamaš u marduk lū dāri kiam iqbiam umma šū-ma* “For your well-being before Šamaš and Marduk indeed forever thus he said”

Type B. *šamaš u marduk aššumīya dāriš ūmi līballiṭūka* “May Šamaš and Marduk keep you healthy forever”

Type C. *šamaš u marduk līballiṭūka* “May Šamas and Marduk keep you healthy”

Type D. *šamaš līballiṭka* “May Šamaš keep you healthy”

Type E. No blessing

Type F. Opening broken and thus no interpretation is possible

Type G. Additional types not classifiable above”<sup>178</sup>.

The third formulae of elements which Pauling calls the secondary formulae. The certain phrases and expressions which may be found in the letters following the greeting and blessing as below:

“Type A. *ṭuppī annīam ina amārim* “When you read this letter mine”

Type B. *aššum* “Because, on account of”

Type C. *anumma* “Now then”

Type D. *kīam ulammidanni umma šū-ma* “Thus he informed me”

Type E. *kīam iqbīam umma šū-ma* “Thus he said to me”

Type F. *ša ittīya innamrū kīam ulammidūni umma šunū-ma* “...who met with/appeared before me, thus they said to me”

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<sup>178</sup> JAFFE 1982: 91-92.

Type G. *kīam išpurūnim umma šunū-ma* “Thus they said to me’

Type H. *kīam tuppī annīam tammara* “When you see/will see my letter”

Type I. *aššum ša tašpuranim umma attune-ma* “On account of what you said to me, thus you said”

Type J. *kīam tīdū* “As you know”

Type K. *ina tuppī belīya aššum* “In my lord’s letter on account of ...”

Type L. Mixed.

Type M. No formula

Type N. Opening broken

Type O. Other”<sup>179</sup>.

The last formula of Pauling is the closing formula which there is not a standard type. There are just five examples which all of them are different from each other<sup>180</sup>.

If we discuss about the greeting formula of Old Babylonian letters, it should mention the work of Stephanie Dalley on the greeting formula of the Rimah letters. However, Rimah letters are not a part of Old Babylonian letters but Dalley mentioned some important notices about the gods and the greeting formula during that time. Dalley discuss different deities in the letters and discuss why the different deities are invoked in the different letters? She thinks that Salonen did not try to explain why different deities are invoked in the different letters. Which we know well that in Mesopotamia every city had the local god who was the head of the pantheon of the city, for example: Marduk at Babylon, Šamaš at Sippar, Ištar at Uruk etc. Dalley thinks it is possible that the governing factor was an option deity that is listed as below<sup>181</sup>:

“1. A man might include his own city god.

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<sup>179</sup> JAFFE 1982: 92-93.

<sup>180</sup> JAFFE 1982: 93.

<sup>181</sup> DALLEY 1973: 79-88.

2. He might recognize the city god of the addressee too.
3. If his home town owed allegiance to a different city, he might include both his local god and the god of the dominating city.
4. He might have a personal deity, perhaps reflected in his personal name, who was different from his local god, which would influence his choice.
5. There might be a traditional reason for invoking a particular deity, arising from an earlier political situation. This factor suggested itself because the double invocation of Shamash and Marduk, always order, is so very common in letters from Hammurabi's reign and the first four factors seemed inadequate to explain this. In particular, the occurrence of this double invocation in of letters from the Iltani archive attracted attention”<sup>182</sup>.

Dalley thinks that the names of the gods are changed with the cities and provenances of the letters, and it is very difficult to connect the gods name with the cities name. The Old Babylonian letters excavated at Ur is a group of with known provenances. In most cases, Nanna the city god must be connected to Ur and Šamaš was leading for Larsa and Sippar and sometimes gather with Marduk especially for Babylon<sup>183</sup>.

It should be mentioned that from 61 letters of this research, 19 of them have greeting formula; it means 31% of the letters of this research as visible in the Chart 1.

### **I.3.3. Other Formula**

Alongside two formulas of Old Babylonian letters as mentioned above, there are some letters outside of the two preceding formulas, that is why we prefer to call them as another formula, it means that these letters do not have a limited formula. In a few rare examples of the early Old Babylonian letters of Nippur, the recipient is missing or the writer comes before the recipient and at the beginning of the Isin period, the form was not yet mandatory. In addition to the previous examples, at the end of Old Babylonian period and exactly since the reign of Ammīditāna, a different form of the letter develops that this form calls as Ze'pum formula most of these letters

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<sup>182</sup> DALLEY 1973: 79-80.

<sup>183</sup> DALLEY 1973: 81.

lack the letterhead which is generally a characteristic marker of the Old Babylonian letters. While these letters are usually characterized by the absence of the address, in this case, the greeting comes at the beginning of the letter, if it exists<sup>184</sup>. In addition to these letters, other Old Babylonian letters exist outside Old Babylonian characteristic letters.

#### **I.4. The Type of Old Babylonian Letters**

There are many letters from the Old Babylonian period, and these report about different topics. According to their subjects these letters can be divided as follows:

##### **I.4.1. Royal Letters**

These letters are collected together based on the fact that they are from the king, the royal court or a high official acting in the name of the king such as an ambassador, a provincial governor or a general. These letters are significant for our understanding of the political history of the era. We get vital information regarding the political situation during this period, and the general formula of these letters are not any different with the general letters during that time. That said, there are a few particular expressions of sentences that exist such as: *ana* Recipient *qibīma umma* writer, but sometimes some special expressions as *abuka*, *waradka*, *šarrum*, *belīa* etc, are replaced by the places of the recipient and writer.

##### **I.4.2. Official Letters**

The category of official letters consists of those which are from or to administrative officials such as governors, generals, and chiefs with the addresses of my lord or my lady<sup>185</sup>. In general, these letters were exchanged to complete any administrative duties.

##### **I.4.3. Business Letters**

These letters are from or to traders, or on occasions, representatives to exchange something or do business. These kinds of letters have always been transferred between two cities or countries to confirm transactions amongst businesses or exchange information about a company.

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<sup>184</sup> SALLABERGER 1999: 24, 26 and 76.

<sup>185</sup> SALLABERGER 1999: 129.

Proportionally speaking, this type of letter does not contribute a large number of Old Babylonian letters to our collection.

#### **I.4.4. Private Letters**

These letters include all those which were exchanged between two or more people regarding private affairs or an exchange of individual information, for example, the details of a social relationship.

#### **I.4.5. School Letters**

These letters were used at school to practice scribal methods and letter writing techniques, but these are mainly letters of a sporadic nature and rare to come by.

#### **I.4.6. Other Subject**

These letters include all other topics, as a salutation between two or more people.

### **I.5. Old Babylonian Letters give a lot of Important Information About**

We got many Old Babylonian letters which these letters give us a lot of important information on all aspects of life during that period, can present here the most important aspects, as below:

#### **I.5.1. Economy**

Studying the economic situation of the Old Babylonian period, the scholar has to take in account with agriculture, trade, legal practice and everything that has effect on business at that time. Therefore, we can say that the majority of Old Babylonian letters discuss the economic situation and some of them give us essential knowledge on the financial situation during that time. We have some Old Babylonian letters which give us very useful information on some critical economic projects carried out during that period; for example an important project which was built in the Larsa kingdom. The plan was to conduct a branch of the Euphrates to Larsa so that Larsa could benefit from the water. A lot of relevant information on this project comes from the contemporary letters and the administrative texts of that time. According to this information,

the project needed approximately 20 years for completion between 1898-1877 B.C., and also required around 1300000 bricks<sup>186</sup>.

### **I.5.2. Political History**

Many of Old Babylonian royal letters are rich in information regarding legislative history; they give us valuable information about politics, the relationship between the kings and their military campaigns which they carried out against their neighbors. The letters give information about the enemy, which is sometimes very unclear for today's historian<sup>187</sup>. For example, we have a letter from Girsu; the letter informs us that the city of Girsu recognized Zabāja as a lord and indicates that he settled on the royal throne<sup>188</sup>. The alliance of Sîn-muballiṭ with ANam is essentially documented by this letter, which the king of Uruk sent to Sîn-muballit. The letter also gives us the information on this alliance that he made with a king who was little known, a certain Lipit-Ištar, until the present day we cannot confirm the whereabouts of his capital<sup>189</sup>.

### **I.5.3. Administration**

During the Old Babylonian period, there were many administrative texts which we have now recovered which give us key information on the administration of the country. However, it is important to remember that sometimes the letters also present vital information on the administration of the Old Babylonian period. According to the first campaign of Gungunum, when he forced Lipit-Ištar to recreate the Ninki canal and restore the town of Ur, a correspondence between Lipit-Ištar and his general Nanna-kiaga shows us that the confrontation between Isin and Larsa was due in particular to the control of the network of channels. Finally, Gungunam succeeded in seizing Ur, probably in the seventh year of his reign; therefore the title of the king of Ur is conferred on him; at least according to the inscriptions belonging to the high priestess of Nanna rediscovered in Ur<sup>190</sup>. Other letters were written from Babylon by emissaries of the king of Mari, Zimri-Lim. We know of at least two examples; in the case of Babylon Irra-

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<sup>186</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 77-78.

<sup>187</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 54.

<sup>188</sup> ARNAUD 1977: 3-4.

<sup>189</sup> FALKENSTEIN 1963: 56-71.

<sup>190</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 71.

nādā and Sîn-ēl-aplim. We know that the first was a *šukkallum*, the second is attested as *šukkal ubârî* "minister of foreigners". It was up to him to take care of all foreigners, in particular those who were permanently in the kingdom. We also note the importance of a certain Tâb-eli-mâtim, who is one of the great servants of Hammurapi in Babylon, but until now his title is unknown to us. The same is true of Awîl-Ninurta, author of letters to Šamaš-hāzir, whose contents are very similar to those sent by the king in person<sup>191</sup>.

#### **I.5.4. Law**

During the Old Babylonian period, we encounter some unique legal codes; the code of Hammurapi is perhaps better-known than some of the other codes because it is more complete than other laws. But we must mention that there are three other older texts of the same kind; two of them written in Sumerian, the oldest one being the code of Ur-nammu, the king of Ur, while the second one is the code of Lipit-Ištar, the king of Isin. However, the first code which was written in Akkadian, before the code of Hammurapi, is the code of Daduša, the king of Ešnunna. In spite of all these legal codes, sometimes the letters give us the critical information on the legal problems. A prime example of this would be if someone had a problem, the king would write a letter to a governor to solve this problem. For example, in the Babylonian kingdom, each locality had a head or mayor or elders, who all played an important role in police and justice systems, as shown to us in some letter<sup>192</sup>.

#### **I.5.5. Society**

Sometimes, the Old Babylonian letters present valuable information on their society. For example, we have some letters which were exchanged between certain people and families in which they discuss each other, and they give us relevant information on them. Besides that, some of the royal letters give us significant details on the royal family and the relationships between the members of the ruling class. In a letter that the brothers of the king as well as the threat to the

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<sup>191</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 258-260.

<sup>192</sup> WALTERS 1970: 27-38.

son keeping on the throne, we see the sovereigns kill their brothers, and a letter informs us of the conduct of Asqur-Adad shortly after his arrival in Karana<sup>193</sup>.

### **I.5.6. Historical Geography**

Some of the royal letters present essential information regarding the historical geography in the south and north of Mesopotamia. Sometimes, perhaps because of a letter, we can find the location of a country or a city. For example, in the northeastern part of Mesopotamia, the Shemshara letters give us essential information about the historical geography of the eastern side of the Tigris, in the region of the Little Zab during the Old Assyrian period<sup>194</sup>.

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<sup>193</sup> ARMT 26/2, n°. 401.

<sup>194</sup> EIDEM and LÆSSØE 2001.

## Chapter II

### Historical Background of Old Babylonian Period

Following the end of the Ur III Empire in 2002 B.C., a new era dominated the southern part of Mesopotamia: commonly known as the Old Babylonian period (2003-1595 B.C.). The Old Babylonian period began with the reign of Išbi-Erra, the first king of the first dynasty of Isin, until the death of Samsu-ditāna, the last king of the first dynasty of Babylon<sup>195</sup>. During this period, many kingdoms reigned in the southern part of Mesopotamia as follows:

#### II.1. Isin

Following the end of the Ur III Empire in the last century of third millennium and in the first century of the second millennium, the kingdom of Isin played a very important role as the inheritor of the Ur III Empire. In spite of these important changes which were happening at that time, and based on the cuneiform texts on that time, our knowledge is relatively limited. The most significant pieces of Isin literature, written in the Sumerian language, are the Royal Hymns<sup>196</sup>, Code of Lipit-Ištar<sup>197</sup> and Royal Correspondence<sup>198</sup>. These texts follow the literary traditions that were established in the Ur III period. This is the same case for the administrative and other texts<sup>199</sup> of that time that were found at Isin. The Craft Workshop documents of Isin, documenting the 33 years between the 4th regnal year of Išbi-Erra 2017-1985 B.C. until the 3rd regnal year of Šū-ilišu 1984-1975 B.C., also followed the Ur III style<sup>200</sup>.

In reality, in the Sumerian and Akkadian regions, the only major difference was the transfer of authority from Ur to Isin. According to the royal king lists of Isin kings, the rulers took on the same titulature as the Ur III kings<sup>201</sup>. The oldest inscriptions of the kings of Isin give the title of

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<sup>195</sup> RIME 4.

<sup>196</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 60-61.

<sup>197</sup> STEELE 1948.

<sup>198</sup> MICHALOWSKI 1980-3: 55-56.

<sup>199</sup> BIN 10.

<sup>200</sup> MIEROOP 1987.

<sup>201</sup> SOLLBERGER 1954: 135-136.

the king of Ur and, interestingly, not the king of Isin; this title appears in some of the inscriptions of Išme-Dagan and Lipit-Ištar, who continued to use the title of the king of Ur in their inscriptions. It is with the ascension of Gungunum, who became the king of Larsa at the end of the reign of Lipit-Ištar, the title of the king of Ur was definitely passed from Isin kings to Larsa kings<sup>202</sup>. Similarly, the influence of divine determination also appeared before the name of the kings as well as the tradition of appointing the royal daughter as the high priestess of Nanna at Ur as it was done by the kings of Ur III<sup>203</sup>.

### **II.1.1. The First Kings of the Isin Kingdom**

Eight years following the fall of the Empire of Ur III, Išbi-Erra controlled the city of Ur, as a result of his expulsion of the Elamites from the city<sup>204</sup>. Išbi-Erra began rebuilding a new policy for his new kingdom; however, he wanted to be seen as the heir of the third dynasty of Ur. Despite this claim that he promoted, it must be mentioned that he kept the city of Isin as the capital of his new kingdom. In addition, we can note that Išbi-Erra recorded his annual activities between regnal years 10 and 25; because of this, we have specific information about the Isin kingdom at the end of his reign as follows: In the northern part of the kingdom, Išbi-Erra had taken control of the cities of Marada, Apiak, Borsippa and Kazallu and in the southern part of the kingdom he had also conquered the cities of Uruk, Ur, Eridu and Larsa<sup>205</sup>.

The second king of the Isin kingdom is Šû-ilišu 1988-1977 B.C. who succeeds his father Išbi-Erra. Šû-ilišu claimed to bring back the statue of Nanna from Anšan to Ur, renew the Dublamah and the gateway thus giving access to the Ziggurat of Nanna<sup>206</sup>. In his third year, Šû-ilišu commemorated the construction of a standard for the god of Nanna, and evoked those colors which were used in this standard as follows: the colors gold, silver and shining lapis lazuli. In the

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<sup>202</sup> HALLO 1959: 57.

<sup>203</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 62.

<sup>204</sup> DIJK 1978 : 202.

<sup>205</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 62.

<sup>206</sup> RIME 4: 15-16, n°. 1.

same inscription, Šû-ilišu mentioned the preparation of the god's fashion and he prides himself for having resettled the scattered population of Ur<sup>207</sup>.

In his seventh year, Šû-ilišu invoked the construction of the Isin wall, and for the first time during the Old Babylonian period, he presented himself as the king of Ur. This is a direct attempt to emulate the Sumerian kings of the Ur III dynasty, following him, he set a precedent and it was followed by his successors. In addition, it is important to mention that Šû-ilišu commemorated the building of a throne for the god of Ningal in his ninth year<sup>208</sup>.

So far, there is not much information about Iddin-Dagan 1976-1956 B.C., the third king of Isin<sup>209</sup>, who ruled the Kingdom of Isin for twenty-one years. We are only aware of his actions from one of his regnal years based on economic texts<sup>210</sup>. In this year, Iddin-Dagan mentioned the construction of a throne for the god of Adad<sup>211</sup>, and he also introduced the objects to Nanna and made her a throne in Dublamah<sup>212</sup>. During Iddin-Dagan's reign the kingdom of Isin experienced a weaker moment in its power, Iddin-Dagan occasionally lost control over some of his cities in the southern part of his kingdom; it seems that he lost the cities of Nippur and Uruk<sup>213</sup>. In addition to all that, it is necessary to mention a letter by the general Sîn-illat to Iddin-Dagan, in which he informs the king that he approached the city of Kakkulatam, which was under attack from an Amorite group<sup>214</sup>. Iddin-Dagan may have followed the path of Šulgi to present his daughter to king of Anšan. Finally, he left the throne of Isin in favor of his son Išme-Dagan who replaced him as ruler of the Isin kingdom, as shown by an inscription of his son Išme-Dagan that his father Iddi-Dagan was living in Dûrum near Uruk<sup>215</sup>.

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<sup>207</sup> RIME 4: 16-17, n°. 2.

<sup>208</sup> BBVO 12: 52.

<sup>209</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 62.

<sup>210</sup> BBVO 12: 52.

<sup>211</sup> UET 1/1: 61, n°. 215.

<sup>212</sup> BBVO 12: 52.

<sup>213</sup> FRAYNE 1998: 21.

<sup>214</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 62-63.

<sup>215</sup> MICHALOWSKI 1977: 83-96.

During the reign of Išme-Dagan 1955-1937 B.C., we see the formalization and the use of King of Isin. The royal titles of Isin were standardized by some specific titles reflecting the importance of major centers of worship like Nippur, Ur, Eridu and Uruk. Išme-Dagan also used the title of the king of the lands Sumer and Akkad, but the title of the king of Ur was not absolutely abandoned<sup>216</sup>. Moreover, Išme-Dagan was also the purveyor of the city of Nippur and he was the person in charge of the supply of the temples of this city<sup>217</sup>.

In spite of all this, as mentioned above, Išme-Dagan called himself as the one who always presides over the care of Ur, and his successors were represented as the shepherds or farmers of the city<sup>218</sup>. For this reason, he chose his daughter Enanatum as the high priestess of the goddess Nanna<sup>219</sup>. Over time, the former capital lost its political significance but always remained as an important center for the economy, religion and culture<sup>220</sup>. There is no record that Išme-Dagan embarked on major building projects in Ur, however bricks were found that indicate that his daughter Enanatum may have done so in her father's name. But at the same time, Išme-Dagan was very interested in the development of the city of Nippur and during his reign there were a lot of construction activities for the gods Enlil and Ninlil<sup>221</sup>.

### **II.1.2 Isin-Larsa Combat**

Lipit-Ištar 1936-1926 B.C. was the fifth king of the first dynasty of Isin succeeding his father Išme-Dagan<sup>222</sup>, to the throne. Lipit-Ištar claimed to establish a firm system of justice in the lands of Sumer and Akkad, which in all likelihood refers to his law code<sup>223</sup>, besides that, he also built

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<sup>216</sup> BBVO 12: 53.

<sup>217</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 63.

<sup>218</sup> BBVO 12: 53.

<sup>219</sup> RIME 4: 29-30.

<sup>220</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 63.

<sup>221</sup> BBVO 12 : 53.

<sup>222</sup> SIGRIST 1987-90: 28.

<sup>223</sup> BBVO 12: 54.

the house of justice *é nì-si-sá*<sup>224</sup>. Like other kings of Isin, Lipit-Ištar also chose his daughter as the high priestess of the god Ningublaga at Ur and built her a residence there<sup>225</sup>.

The first campaign of Gungunum, the king of Larsa, forced<sup>226</sup> Lipit-Ištar to re-dig the canal of Niki and restore the city of Ur<sup>227</sup>, We are aware of an exchange of letters between King Lipit-Ištar and his general Nanna-kiaga<sup>228</sup> that show us that the conflict between Isin and Lasra was routed in the need to control the sources of channels. Finally, Larsa succeeded in controlling the network of channels<sup>229</sup>. However, it should be mentioned that the kingdom of Isin lost control of the city of Ur in the last year of Lipit-Ištar. That indicates to use that Ur was conquered by the forces of Larsa<sup>230</sup>, which was a devastating blow for the Kingdom of Isin who had lost a very important religious and economic center.

Following this disaster, Ur-Ninurta 1925-1898 B.C. came to the throne of Isin, he succeeded in regaining the territories that were lost by his predecessor. It is necessary to mention that Ur-Ninurta was not the son of Lipit-Ištar<sup>231</sup>. A contract has been found at Kisurra that can be dated to the reign of Ur-Ninurta which shows us that Ur-Ninurta again controlled this city<sup>232</sup>, shortly after that he regained control of the city of Nippur which had been conquered by the king of Larsa, Gungunum, during the reign of Lipit-Ištar<sup>233</sup>. At the same time, Gungunum allows Ur-Ninurta to send his presents to the temple of the god Ninga at Ur<sup>234</sup>, whilst Ur-Ninurta continued the Isin tradition of claiming himself as the herdsman of Ur<sup>235</sup>. In spite of all this, it can be said that probably Ur-Ninurta was killed by Abī-sarē, the king of Larsa, due to the recording of his

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<sup>224</sup> RIME 4: 52-54.

<sup>225</sup> BBVO 12: 54.

<sup>226</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 71.

<sup>227</sup> SIGRIST 1988: 28.

<sup>228</sup> MICHALOWSKI 1980-3: 55.

<sup>229</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 71.

<sup>230</sup> BBVO 12, 55.

<sup>231</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 73, Not. 231.

<sup>232</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 73.

<sup>233</sup> FRAYNE 1998: 28.

<sup>234</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 73.

<sup>235</sup> RIME 4: 65-66, n<sup>o</sup>. 1.

victory over the kingdom of Isin in 1898 B.C.. As this was the last year of Ur-Ninurta's reign, we think that it is highly possible that Ur-Ninurta was killed in this fight<sup>236</sup>.

The war between the kingdoms of Isin and Larsa continued during the reign of Būr-Sîn 1897-1876 B.C., the sixth king of Isin. It was under his reign that power was returned to the Isin kingdom with the notable retreat of Sūmû-El the king of Larsa, allowing Isin sovereignty to return to Ur, and in response took the title of the powerful farmer of Ur. Apparently, the years 17-21 of Sūmû-El have not been attested in Ur<sup>237</sup>, whose years correspond to those of the last three years of Būr-Sîn and the first two years of Lipit-Enlil. Another discovery was found, three cylinder seals with the owners inscriptions in which they described themselves as the servants of Būr-Sîn. An additional two other tablets were dated to this period through the presence of the name of Būr-Sîn. In the 21st year of Sūmû-El's reign, he regained control of the city of Ur<sup>238</sup>.

But unfortunately, so far, no inscriptions of Lipit-Enlil the king of Isin<sup>239</sup>, have yet been found, but some year names have been registered<sup>240</sup>.

The reign of Erra-imitti 1870-1863 B.C. does not supply us with a great deal of textual information. As a result, the situation of Isin is not well known at that time, but according to the Sumerian king list, Erra-imitti ruled for eight years<sup>241</sup>. In spite of this knowledge mentioned above, there is a text from Nippur dated from the fifth year of Erra-imitti mentioning that Erra-imitti renewed the city of Nippur, which means that Erra-imitti regained control of the cities of Nippur<sup>242</sup>, Kisurra<sup>243</sup> and he claimed to establish justice in the land<sup>244</sup>. The history of the kingdom of Isin reminds us that Erra-imitti, whilst threatened by adverse omens had a gardener

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<sup>236</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 74.

<sup>237</sup> STOL 1976: 31.

<sup>238</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 77.

<sup>239</sup> RIME 4: 75.

<sup>240</sup> SIGRIST 1988: 31.

<sup>241</sup> RIME 4: 76.

<sup>242</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 103.

<sup>243</sup> RIME 4: 76.

<sup>244</sup> SIGRIST 1988: 32.

called Enlil-bani installed as a substitute king. Erra-imitti died and Enlil-bani remained on the throne of Isin as an official king 1862-1839 B.C.. He occupied the throne of Isin for 24 years<sup>245</sup>.

The reign of Enlil-bani was a prosperous reign for the kingdom of Isin. Enlil-bani claimed to do everything for the city of Nippur: he built a new big wall for the city, named the wall of *Enlil-bani-išdam-kin* “Enil-bani is firm as to foundation”, he constructed a É UR-GI7-RA “Dog house” and built other temples for other goods during his reign<sup>246</sup>. In addition to this, a German excavation found a wing of a building in Isin near Enlil-bani's archives which could allow the building to be possibly identified as the palace Enlil-bani<sup>247</sup>, It was identified through an inscription which commemorated the construction of this palace<sup>248</sup> and some bricks of the palace were found on the survey of the site of Isin. It was this latter part of the dynasty that composed certain hymns, but after the reign of Enlil-bani, Isin was unable to maintain its power in the southern part of Mesopotamia<sup>249</sup>.

Following the reign of Enlil-bani, Zambija 1838-1836 B.C. became king of Isin for three years. Like other kings he claimed to rebuild the great wall of Isin and called it the wall of Zambija<sup>250</sup>, Zambija continued to use the title of king of Isin, king of the land Sumer and the land of Akkad<sup>251</sup>. In addition, it should be mentioned that in the year 1837 B.C., the Elamite army and Zambija defeated the cities of Uruk and Kazallu together<sup>252</sup>.

### II.1.3 The End of the Isin Kingdom

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<sup>245</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 103.

<sup>246</sup> RIME 4: 79-81.

<sup>247</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 103-104.

<sup>248</sup> RIME 4: 84-85.

<sup>249</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 104.

<sup>250</sup> RIME 4: 91-92.

<sup>251</sup> HALLO 1959: 55.

<sup>252</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 29.

After Zambija, Iter-piša 1835-1832 B.C. came to the throne of Isin for four years, but he left no royal inscriptions<sup>253</sup>, so we don't have any useful information about the king, only four years were attested by his name<sup>254</sup> that is all, we known about this king.

Ur-dukuga 1831-1828 B.C. became king of Isin following the reign of Iter-piša, but only ruled Isin for a short time. Regardless of this, Ur-dukuga left some royal inscriptions, but until now there is not enough information on his reign. We are limited to the information that Ur-dukuga built the temple É *tušigara* "House the well-founded residence" in Isin for Dagan and also constructed another temple for the god Lulal in the city of Dul-edena<sup>255</sup>.

Sîn-māgir 1827-1817 B.C. reigned for 11 years over following the death of Ur-dukuga. Sîn-māgir felt that his kingdom was in danger, because of the movements of King Warad-Sîn of Larsa. Because of military advances by the Kingdom of Larsa, Sîn-māgir began to fortify the city of Dunnum<sup>256</sup> and named the city wall after himself<sup>257</sup>. Next to that, an impression cylinder seal of Ikub-pî son of Sîn-māgir was found on an envelope in which he called himself the priest of Zababa and the servant of Hammurapi<sup>258</sup>.

The last king of the first dynasty of Isin was the son of Sîn-māgir<sup>259</sup>, Damiq-ilišu 1816-1794 B.C., who ruled for 23. During his reign, Damiq-ilišu did a number of building projects: he built a great wall for his capital Isin and also named it after himself, as was the tradition, and also completed the construction of a number of temples for the gods<sup>260</sup>. For the first time, the kingdom of Isin was conquered by Sîn-muballiṭ, the king of Babylon in the year 1898 B.C.. Sîn-muballiṭ allowed Damiq-ilišu to remain the nominative the king of Isin, but perhaps a more integrated part of the kingdom of Babylon. Directly after the first conquest of Isin by Babylon, Rīm-Sîn I, king of Larsa, began to extend his kingdom on the northern frontier. In his first

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<sup>253</sup> RIME 4: 93.

<sup>254</sup> SIGRIST 1988: 36.

<sup>255</sup> RIME 4: 94-96.

<sup>256</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 119.

<sup>257</sup> RIME 4: 97-98.

<sup>258</sup> RIME 4: 371.

<sup>259</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 120.

<sup>260</sup> RIME 4: 102-106.

expeditions, he conquered the kingdom of Uruk, and then in 1795 B.C. he proceeded to conquer Dunnum, the neighbor of Isin. Finally, in the year 1794 BC, Rīm-Sîn I conquered the city of Isin itself and the first dynasty of Isin fell into the hands of Larsa. In the ancient land of Sumer, Larsa was the dominant power, and Isin assimilated into its kingdom.

## II.2. Larsa

The history of Larsa during the early period is unclear, but according to the Sumerian king list, an Amorite dynasty appeared in Larsa at the beginning of the reign of Ibbi-Sîn, a king of the Ur III dynasty.<sup>261</sup> The main source of information for historians come from Larsa's King list which gives us information on the fourteen kings of this kingdom. It details the duration of their reigns until that of Rīm-Sîn I<sup>262</sup>, the last king of the Larsa kingdom and but also mentions by Hammurapi and Samsu-ilūna, kings of the Babylon kingdom<sup>263</sup>. Through this king list we are able to find certain details based on the regnal years of these kings, although it is important to note that those for the first four kings do not exist<sup>264</sup>.

### II.2.1. The First Four Kings of Larsa Kingdom

The first king of Larsa, Naplanum, according to the Larsa king's list, ruled 21<sup>265</sup> years between 2025-2005 B.C.<sup>266</sup>. Until now, no royal inscription or other information from this king has been discovered or excavated; therefore he only appears as a named king who occupied the throne of Larsa at the beginning of the reign of Ibbi-Sîn, the King of Ur. But when someone speaks of Naplānum, there should be an automatic connection to the Naplānum who appears in the administrative texts of the Ur III period. He is identified in these texts as an Amorite chief; probably sometime later, the same Naplānum occupied the throne of Larsa and then called himself the king<sup>267</sup>.

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<sup>261</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 68.

<sup>262</sup> YOS 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 32.

<sup>263</sup> RIME 4: 107.

<sup>264</sup> SIGRIST 1990.

<sup>265</sup> YOS 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 32.

<sup>266</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 69.

<sup>267</sup> CHARPIN 2004, Not. 205.

According to the Larsa king list, the second king of Larsa was Emšium 2004-1977 B.C.<sup>268</sup>, who reigned for 28 years<sup>269</sup>. As with the previous king, we are not aware of any royal inscriptions or detailed information about this king. A tablet has been found recording a request by the king of Isin to send shields to Emšium, which perhaps indicates the authority of Isin over Larsa. The third king of Larsa was Samiun 1976-1942 B.C.<sup>270</sup>, and according to the Larsa king's list, he ruled 35 years<sup>271</sup>. Like the previous kings of Larsa, our current knowledge of Samiun is limited except for the fact that it seems that he conquered the city of Lagaš<sup>272</sup> and that he is the father of Zabāja, the fourth king of Larsa<sup>273</sup>.

The first king of Larsa who left the commemorative inscriptions is Zabāja 1941-1933 B.C., the fourth king of Larsa. According to the Larsa king list, Zabāja reigned Larsa for 9 years<sup>274</sup>. A brick inscription with five lines in Akkadian belonging to Zabāja was found on the surface of the Larsa site; the inscription refers to the construction of the temple of Enannar in Larsa by Zabāja who called himself as the head of Amorite and the son of Samium<sup>275</sup>. A cone fragment was found at Maškan-šāpir<sup>276</sup> tells us that this site was a part of the Larsa kingdom during this period. It is the first example where we find an inscription belonging to the Larsa kings found far from their capital Larsa<sup>277</sup>. It should be mentioned that Nippur was perhaps also part of the Larsa kingdom because Iddi-Dagan, king of Isin, mentions that he attacked and conquered the city of Nippur at that time. This clearly indicates that Nippur was not part of the kingdom of Isin. As Maškan-šāpir is located only 12.8 km northeast of Nippur, and we can reasonably see that the Larsa Kings were operating in Maškan-šāpir, it would be natural to suggest that Nippur was

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<sup>268</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 69.

<sup>269</sup> YOS 1, n°. 32

<sup>270</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 69.

<sup>271</sup> YOS 1, n°. 32.

<sup>272</sup> BBVO 12: 55.

<sup>273</sup> RIME 4: 110.

<sup>274</sup> YOS 1, n°. 32.

<sup>275</sup> RIME 4: 111-112. T. 1.

<sup>276</sup> RIME 4: 112, n°. 2.

<sup>277</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 70.

under the control of Larsa<sup>278</sup>. In addition to that, a fragment of a letter from Tello shows Zabāja as a lord: “since my lord Zabāja has sat on the throne, this all he has delivered”<sup>279</sup>.

A late Babylonian text refers to Zabāja as an Amorite leader<sup>280</sup>, though Zabāja took no other titles except the titular of the Amorite chief<sup>281</sup>, another seal of a certain Ikun-Mišar identifies himself as the servant of Zabāja<sup>282</sup>. But no year name was recorded by Zabāja's year name<sup>283</sup>.

## **II.2.2. Gungunum as the First Strong King of Larsa 1932-1906 B.C.**

Zabāja was succeeded by his brother Gungunum as king of Larsa, who reigned for 27 years<sup>284</sup>. During the reign of Gungunum, the conflict between Larsa and Isin kingdoms went through a renewed period of violence. Gungunum's reign is contemporary with the Isin kings Lipit-Ištar and Ur-Ninurta<sup>285</sup>. Gungunum is the first king of Larsa who recorded all his year names, in an annual tradition<sup>286</sup>. Due to this development of recording key events, we can obtain important information on the affairs of that time. Beside his year names, he also left some royal inscriptions and cylinder seals which give us important information on his reign and his activities<sup>287</sup>.

During his reign, Gungunum extended the boundaries of his country to the east and north. In his first campaign, he forced Lipit-Ištar to recreate the Ninki canal and restore the city of Ur. This is known to us through a letter between Lipit-Ištar and his general Nanna-kiaga, where they discuss the primary motive for the conflict is for control over the canals. As a result, Gungunum succeeded in controlling the city of Ur in the seventh year of his reign in 1926 B.C.<sup>288</sup>. It is at

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<sup>278</sup> FRAYNE 1998: 26-27.

<sup>279</sup> ARNAUD 1977 : 3-4.

<sup>280</sup> AL-RAWI 2002: 247-248.

<sup>281</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 70.

<sup>282</sup> WEISBERG 1989: 194-198.

<sup>283</sup> SIGRIST 1990.

<sup>284</sup> YOS 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 32.

<sup>285</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 70.

<sup>286</sup> SIGRIST 1990.

<sup>287</sup> RIME 4: 114-120.

<sup>288</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 71.

this point that he adopted the titular of the king of Ur for the first time among the Larsa kings, which previously had been under the domination of the Isin kings. Despite the change in authority in Ur, there were not many changes to the administration of this city. For example Enanatum, daughter of Išme-Dagan, the king of Isin, who had been installed by her father as High Priestess of Nanna, continued her work as the High Priestess in Ur<sup>289</sup>. In his third year, Gungunum mentioned the destruction of the city of Bašimi. Two years later, he indicated the control of the city of Anšan<sup>290</sup> which we can find the both cities in and a text of Susa was carried the year sixteen of Gungunum<sup>291</sup>.

The confrontation between the kingdoms of Larsa and Isin continued, on the control of Umma (al-Wawīya) which can probably be identified with the city of Dûrum, found a Gungunum brick inscription in Umma which indicates that Isin has lost control of the city of Dûrum which is situated between Larsa and Uruk<sup>292</sup>. Despite, we are not sure but probably during the reign of Gungunum, Larsa was also controlled the city of Uruk<sup>293</sup>. In his fifteen year, Gungunum commemorated for digging the Anne-pada canal<sup>294</sup> which passed near the city of Adab. In the sixteenth year of his reign, Gungunum built a temple for Inanna at Zabalum where the city appears in a year name of Ur-Ninura that is why it seems to have temporarily passed from the domination of Isin to Larsa<sup>295</sup>.

In spite of all that, Gungunum probably controlled the city of Nippur for a short time, because in his 19th year of ruling we see the use of the god Enlil in textual sources. Enlil is included in lists of gods alongside and Nanna, as Enlil was the god of Nippur it suggests to us that the city had fallen under the control of Larsa. A year later, Gungunum for the first time among Larsa kings, adopted the title of the king of lands of Sumer and Akkad next to the title of king of Larsa<sup>296</sup>. In his next year, Gungunum commemorated the Dunnun construction and digging the

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<sup>289</sup> RIME 4: 114-115. T. 1.

<sup>290</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 7.

<sup>291</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 73.

<sup>292</sup> RIME 4: 117-118.

<sup>293</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 72.

<sup>294</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 9.

<sup>295</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 72.

<sup>296</sup> RIME 4: 117-118.

Išartum canal in the vicinity of Nippur<sup>297</sup>. Gungunum commemorated the construction of the Kageštin-ana wall, in his 23rd year, which was possible to connect the town of Geštin-ana, near to Nippur. As a result, it appears that Nippur was under the domination of Larsa between the 19th and 23rd years of the reign of Gungunum<sup>298</sup>. At the same year, he appears in a tablet from Kisurra, a city about 20 km in the south east of Isin<sup>299</sup>.

In the same year, he also won a victory over Malgium<sup>300</sup>. He began multiple projects during his reign. In the 21st year, he built a great wall for his capital Larsa<sup>301</sup>, and for the first time he mentioned the small town of Kutalla which was located at 14 km from Larsa<sup>302</sup>.

### **II.2.3. The Reign of Abī-sarē 1905-1895 B.C.**

Gungunum was replaced by his son Abī-sarē as the king of Larsa<sup>303</sup> who occupied the throne of Larsa for 11 years. During his reign, the confrontation between Larsa and Isin was continued. In his third year, Abī-sarē claimed to place a silver statue in the Nanna Temple and commemorated this action in an inscription known from a later school copy discovered at Ur. Abī-sarē adopted the titles of the king of Ur and the Amorite leader, but he also did not forget the title of the king of Larsa and continued to use this title. Clearly Larsa was always considered the dynastic capital and he constructed a new palace at Larsa and strengthened the great wall of Larsa<sup>304</sup> which was built by his father Gungunum. But Abī-sarē could not save all those cities which were annexed by his father Gungunum, the border between Larsa and Isin seems to have been fixed to the north of Adab<sup>305</sup>.

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<sup>297</sup> FRAYNE 1998: 27.

<sup>298</sup> FRAYNE 1998: 27-28.

<sup>299</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 72-73.

<sup>300</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 9.

<sup>301</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 9-10.

<sup>302</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 73.

<sup>303</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 74.

<sup>304</sup> RIME 4: 121-126.

<sup>305</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 74.

In 1898 B.C., Abī-sarē won a victory over Isin<sup>306</sup>, which is parallel to the last year of the reign of Ur-Ninurta the king of Isin. For this reason we suggest that perhaps Ur-Ninurta was killed in this fight, that this disappearance was celebrated by year names in different places and Kisurra took the opportunity to be free itself from the domination of Isin<sup>307</sup>.

#### II.2.4. Another Strong King of Larsa

Abī-sarē was succeeded by Sūmû-El 1894-1866 B.C., and ruled for 29 years over the Larsa kingdom<sup>308</sup>. Even so, the details of the events are still poorly understood because of the difference between the lists of year names<sup>309</sup> which exists. The reign of Sūmû-El does, however, reveal important information about the kingdom of Larsa at this time, because it is characterized by a mixture of setbacks and advances<sup>310</sup>.

In Year 4 of his reign, Sūmû-El commemorated a victory over the cities of Aksum and Kazallu; in the following year, in 1891 B.C., he won another victory over Uruk<sup>311</sup>, at that time, Uruk was an independent city<sup>312</sup> and was led by the Amorite leaders Alila-hadum, Hadī-El and Sūmû-binasa, who identified themselves as the kings of Uruk<sup>313</sup>. In the following years, Sūmû-El continued to expand his kingdom and conquer cities three years after the conquest of Uruk; in 1888 B.C., Sūmû-El conquered the city of Pîn-nārātim, and in the next year, he also commemorated the conquest of Sabum's town and villages on the banks of the Euphrates. In 1886 B.C., Sūmû-El fought with the army Kiš and he was able to destroy their army in this fight. His military activities were continued, in the fifteenth year of his reign, he mentioned the defeat of the king of Kazallum and conquered Nanna-isa a year later<sup>314</sup>.

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<sup>306</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 13.

<sup>307</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 74.

<sup>308</sup> YOS 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 32.

<sup>309</sup> DURAND 1977: 17-34.

<sup>310</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 76.

<sup>311</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 16.

<sup>312</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 76.

<sup>313</sup> WESTENHOLZ 1983: 222.

<sup>314</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 17-19.

It seems that Sūmû-El had a big setback against Isin, Būr-Sîn the king of Isin managed to take the city of Ur for a short time, as seen by the archaeological record which indicates that Sūmû-El had no any activity in Ur between the 17th and 21st years of his reign<sup>315</sup>, these years correspond to the last three years of Būr-Sîn and the first two years of Lipit-Enlil in Isin. Next to that, two texts dated from Būr-Sîn year names with the seals of three servants of Būr-Sîn were found in Ur which refers to those years, that means, Ur was under the domination of Isin for those 5 year in 1879-1875 B.C.. But later, in his year twenty-one, Sūmû-El again returned the city of Ur under his reign<sup>316</sup> and the next year, he commemorated the installation of his daughter Enšakiag-Nanna as high-priestess of the god Nanna in Ur<sup>317</sup>.

The most remarkable event during the reign of Sūmû-El is the territorial expansion to the north of his kingdom as mentioned above. Sūmû-El won the victory over the cities of Kazallu and Kiš and according to an inscription on the seal of Šat-Sîn, the daughter of Sūmû-El, who was the wife of Ibni-šadû, the king of Kisurra, he dominated over Kisurra for a short time<sup>318</sup>. His domination over Nippur was also short lived, marking just 4 years of his reign, the importance of Nippur proving ever significant due to its religious role at that time<sup>319</sup>.

But the most important project of Sūmû-El was a major engineering achievement, building a canal to connect a branch of the Euphrates to Larsa. This was a very significant project as it intended to aid the economy in the same way that it had done for Isin. This mega project lasted twenty years, from year 13 of Abī-sarē's reign to the 17th year of of Sūmû-El's, roughly between 1898-1877 B.C.. The project was indicated in years 4 and 11 of Abī-sarē and 2 and 12 of Sūmû-El and documented by numerous letters and administrative texts<sup>320</sup>. In addition to the canal construction, Sūmû-El built a temple for the goddess of Nanaia and a storehouse for the goddess

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<sup>315</sup> BBVO 12 : 57.

<sup>316</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 76.

<sup>317</sup> BBVO 12: 57.

<sup>318</sup> DALLEY 1994, col. 114.

<sup>319</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 77.

<sup>320</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 77-78.

Inanna<sup>321</sup>. In addition, he was the last king of that era to adopt the title of King of Ur and his successors used their affiliation to the city in different terms<sup>322</sup>.

### II.2.5. Nūr-Adad 1865-1850 B.C.

According to the Larsa king list, Nūr-Adad ruled Larsa for 16 years<sup>323</sup>. But the reign of Nūr-Adad remains unclear so far because there is not a complete list of his year names<sup>324</sup>. During his reign, Nūr-Adad built many projects and he continued to develop the success of his kingdom. He adopted the titles of ‘the provider of Ur and farmer of Ur,’ replacing the title of the king of Ur<sup>325</sup>. Nūr-Adad claimed to have constructed a great wall for Larsa among the ruins of the city wall as a mountain in a pure place that he named *utu-umani-sa-bindu* “The god Utu has achieved his triumph”<sup>326</sup>. In addition, he also constructed a palace that probably remained unfinished because during the excavations, materials associated with a palatial structure were not found<sup>327</sup>. Throughout his reign, he completed a number of other projects during his reign, such as building temples for the gods<sup>328</sup>.

Edzard thinks that a natural disaster happened during the reign of Nūr-Adad. And indeed, some facts refer to the natural disaster as follows: The dredging of the Tigris that has filled with sand, the restoration of the temples and the wall of Larsa which had lay in ruins for some time, the restoration of the social order and certain actions taken to improve the agriculture. This however could equally have been the consequence of another event, rather than a natural catastrophe<sup>329</sup>.

The main sources which provide information on these events which occurred during the reign of Nūr-Adad are from inscription belonging to his son Sîn-iddinam, with two letters which were

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<sup>321</sup> RIME 4: 130-133.

<sup>322</sup> BBVO 12: 58.

<sup>323</sup> YOS 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 32.

<sup>324</sup> BBVO 12: 58.

<sup>325</sup> RIME 4: 138-149.

<sup>326</sup> RIME 4: 149, n<sup>o</sup>. 7.

<sup>327</sup> MARGUERON 1982: 382-385.

<sup>328</sup> RIME 4: 138-149.

<sup>329</sup> DIJK 1965: 1.

addressed to the statue. The letters tell how the enemy attacked the cities and cut off Larsa's water supply, which caused a famine in Larsa and led the people to revolt against each other. It was at that point, that Šamaš chose Nūr-Adad to lead the people. He went to be resolve the water supply crisis and restore the situation amongst the countryside agricultural communities. After Nūr-Adad's victory over the enemy, he erected a golden throne for Šamaš, built a gold stand for Nanna and introduced precious materials to Inanna of Zabalum and Inanna of Uruk. Eventually, he destroyed all the barrages which the enemies had erected on the Euphrates<sup>330</sup>. The documents indirectly show us these disturbances that occurred during the reign of Nūr-Adad. Thus, only six year names of Nūr-Adad were attested in Ur<sup>331</sup> and the restoration works were continued under the reign of his son, Sîn-iddinam<sup>332</sup>.

Only one year name of Nūr-Adad refers to the taking of the city of Maškan-šāpir<sup>333</sup>. But according to an inscription of Sîn-iddinam found in Ur, shows us that Sîn-iddinam has built Gununmah in Ur and called himself as the king of Larsa. However he dedicates the building to “the life of my father and for my own life”<sup>334</sup>, which can only suggest to us that his father Nūr-Adad was then still alive at that point<sup>335</sup>.

## II.2.6. The Reign of Sîn-iddinam 1849-1843 B.C.

The son of Nūr-Adad, Sîn-iddinam ruled for 7 years. Despite, the relatively short time that he reigned on the throne of Larsa, he left a large number of inscriptions. Following his governorship in Ašdubba<sup>336</sup>, he was chosen by his father Nūr-Adad to be the king of Larsa. An inscription of Lagaš dated from the reign of Nūr-Adad contains an oath by him and by Sîn-iddinam<sup>337</sup>, a Sîn-iddinam inscription refers to his father Nūr-Adad who was then still alive during his reign as

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<sup>330</sup> BBVO 12, 58.

<sup>331</sup> DIJK 1965: 1-25.

<sup>332</sup> BBVO 12: 58.

<sup>333</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 23.

<sup>334</sup> RIME 4: 170-171.

<sup>335</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 105.

<sup>336</sup> EDZARD 1957: 145, n<sup>o</sup>. 766.

<sup>337</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 104.

mentioned above. Another Sîn-iddinam inscription mentioned that he had dedicated his father's statue to the Ebabbar Temple in Larsa<sup>338</sup>.

In the second year of his reign, he refers to the dredging of the Tigris. He continued the work of his father to repair the Ganunmah to Ur and also built a great wall around the city of Ur after crushing the revolt and restoring civil order<sup>339</sup>. He also engaged in a number of military activities. Sîn-iddinam won a victory over Babylon and defeated the Babylonian army in the fourth year of his reign, whilst in the following year; he won another victory over the city of Ibrat. Following the conquest of Ibrat, he also defeated the city of Ešnunna<sup>340</sup>. He returned to building projects in the seventh of his reign when he constructed a great wall for the city of Maškan-šāpir<sup>341</sup>, the construction of the Bad-Tibira wall could be the direct result of souring relations between Uruk and Babylon. However, we are aware of elements that represent an improvement in relations because the king of Sîn-kāšid married the girl of the king of Babylon Sūmû-la-El at that time<sup>342</sup>.

According to texts found in Nippur and dated from the year 7 of the reign of Sîn-iddinam, Nippur was part of the kingdom of Larsa at that time. A few years later, the city fell into the hands of Isin<sup>343</sup>. Moreover, an administrative text informs us that the wives of Sîn-iddinam were at Ur<sup>344</sup>. Eventually, according to a historical omen of the Old Babylonian period, Sîn-iddinam would have died after being crushed by a block of stone while he entered the temple of Šamaš<sup>345</sup>.

## II.2.7. Larsa from 1842-1835 B.C.

During this period, the kingdom of Larsa was a weak kingdom and had lost some of its important cities, because of its three weak kings who reigned. The first king of this period was Sîn-irībam 1842-1841 B.C., he reigned only two years and he left no inscriptions behind him.

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<sup>338</sup> RIME 4: 157-158.

<sup>339</sup> BBVO 12: 60.

<sup>340</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 24.

<sup>341</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 25.

<sup>342</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 105, Not. 418.

<sup>343</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 106.

<sup>344</sup> GOETZE 1950: 92.

<sup>345</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 106.

Because of this, there is no information about his reign and his connection to his predecessors<sup>346</sup>. But it must be mentioned that Sîn-irībam left a weight stone and two seals of his servants<sup>347</sup>, In an inscription of a seal, a certain Iši-qatar, the son of Kamizum, presented himself as the servant of Sîn-Irībam, and in another, a certain Sîn-imitti also called himself as servant of Sîn-Irībam<sup>348</sup>. Sîn-irībam also claimed to have placed a huge copper statue in the Nanna temple<sup>349</sup>. But during the reign of Sîn-irībam, Larsa was the victim of an attack of Babylon, which Sābium, the king of Babylon, named this year after his victory over Larsa's soldiers<sup>350</sup>.

The second king of Larsa during that time was Sîn-iqīšam 1840-1836 B.C., the son of Sîn-irībam, who ruled for five years<sup>351</sup>. Sîn-iqīšam left some inscriptions after his fourth year name<sup>352</sup>. He commissioned fourteen statues for the temple of Ekur in Nippur in the fourth year of his reign. This fact is corroborated by an inscription found at Nippur<sup>353</sup>, which is probably the longest commemorative inscription by any of the kings of Larsa<sup>354</sup>. In his second year, he mentioned the conquest of the cities of Pî-nāratim and Nazartum. He commemorated the construction of the great wall of Larsa a year later. And in his fifth year, he obtained a victory over Uruk, Kazallu, the land of Elam, Zambija and the king of Isin<sup>355</sup>. Beside the military conquests during his reign, he continued to build temples for the gods<sup>356</sup>.

Sîn-iqīšam was succeeded by Šillī-Adad, who only reigned for a few months in 1835 B.C.<sup>357</sup>. He left only two inscriptions, in these inscriptions called himself the provider of Nippur and the

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<sup>346</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 106.

<sup>347</sup> RIME 4: 188.

<sup>348</sup> RIME 4: 188-189, Seals. 2001 and 2002.

<sup>349</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 26.

<sup>350</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 107.

<sup>351</sup> STOL 1976: 23.

<sup>352</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 107.

<sup>353</sup> RIME 4: 190.

<sup>354</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 107.

<sup>355</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 27-30.

<sup>356</sup> RIME 4: 196-197.

<sup>357</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 107.

governor of Ur, Larsa, Lagaš and the land of Kutalla<sup>358</sup>. In all probability, the king of Babylon Sābium used the weakness of Larsa to his own advantage and endeavored to control the city of Nippur at that time, as he inscribed this in the ninth year of his reign<sup>359</sup>.

## II.2.8: A New Amorite Dynasty in Larsa

Following the conquest of Larsa by Kudur-mabuk, the Sheikh of the Emutbala tribe, during the reign of Šilli-Adad<sup>360</sup> in 1834 B.C., we are aware of the installation of a new Amorite dynasty in Larsa<sup>361</sup>. Kudur-mabuk chose his son Warad-Sîn 1834-1823 B.C. to be the king of Larsa and his daughter Enanedu as the high-priestess of the Nanna temple at Ur. Since the reign of his son Warad-Sîn, Kudur-mabuk called himself as the *ad-da<sup>kur</sup>mār-tu* “father of Amorite land”<sup>362</sup>, but during the reign of his second son Rīm-Sîn I, he called himself as the *ad-da e-mu-ut-ba-la* “father of Emutbala”<sup>363</sup>. Warad-Sîn exercised his kingship of Larsa yet it is unclear if he ruled alone or in a coregency with his father. Wu and Dalley indicated that Warad-Sîn and Kudur-mabuk are both recognized as the kings of Larsa at that time<sup>364</sup>. It remains unclear why Kudur-mabuk did not become one of the official kings of Larsa; there are many indications that Kudur-mabuk played a very important role in the kingdom of Larsa during the reign of his sons<sup>365</sup>.

Warad-Sîn has left the greatest number of inscriptions of any of the Larsa kings, despite his short reign; most of his inscriptions have been found at Ur. During his reign, he conducted two military campaigns against his enemy. In his second year, he destroyed the wall of Kazallu and defeated the army of Yamutbal. In his fourth year, he earned a victory over the army of Malgium<sup>366</sup>. He built the largest number temples for the gods: in his first year, at Ur he built the

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<sup>358</sup> RIME 4: 199-201.

<sup>359</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 108.

<sup>360</sup> STEINKELLER 2004: 33.

<sup>361</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 116.

<sup>362</sup> RIME 4: 209-216.

<sup>363</sup> RIME 4: 272-275.

<sup>364</sup> WU and DALLEY 1990: 161.

<sup>365</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 116-117.

<sup>366</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 31-32.

temple of Egalmah for the god of Ninisina<sup>367</sup> and restored a temple for Ningal<sup>368</sup>. In his second year, he built the Egabura temple for Ningubalag in Ur and constructed the Emetegira temple for Nergal in Uruk. He continued this religious building project into his fourth year, and claimed that he had completed the Ebabbar temple in Larsa. In his fifth year, he commemorated two major events, the first one was the construction of the Gununmah temple at Ur for the god Nanna and the second one was the construction a temple for the goddess Inanna in Zabalum. In his sixth year, he recorded the establishment of three golden thrones in the temples of Nanna, Ningal and Šamaš<sup>369</sup>. During his eighth year, he commemorated the construction of the courtyard of the temple of Nanna in Ur and he built a new wall for the city of Ur in his tenth year<sup>370</sup>. In his final years he organized the restoration of the city of Šarrakum, which was attached to the kingdom of Larsa, near Gungunum. And in his twelfth year, he constructed the Ningaug temple for the god Nergal<sup>371</sup>.

### II.2.9: Larsa During the Second King of the New Amorite Dynasty

The second son of Kudur-mabuk, Rīm-Sîn, became the king of Larsa after his brother Warad-Sîn, probably at a very young age<sup>372</sup>. This is why his reign is the longest reign in all Mesopotamian history<sup>373</sup>, around 60 years.

During the early part of the reign of Rīm-Sîn I, we know that his father Kudur-mabuk was still alive because before his eighth year of his reign all inscriptions of Rīm-Sîn I refer to Kurdur-mabuk. In these inscriptions, Rīm-Sîn I adopted the title of the NUN NÍ-TUK-NIBRU<sup>ki</sup> “prince who reverence Nippur”, but we noted that the name of Rīm-Sîn I was written without the prefix determinative of *dingir* “god” at that time, but in his 20th year, he began to adopt the prefix *dingir* “god” before his name. It must also be mentioned that in the eighth year of his reign, in an inscription which was written for the construction of the temple of Enki, he did not mention his

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<sup>367</sup> RIME 4: 204-205, n<sup>o</sup>. 2.

<sup>368</sup> BBVO 12: 62.

<sup>369</sup> RIME 4: 207-222.

<sup>370</sup> RIME 4: 231-243.

<sup>371</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 119 and 117.

<sup>372</sup> MIEROOP 1993: 49.

<sup>373</sup> RIME 4: 119.

father Kudur-mabuk, so it can be inferred that his father has perhaps died at the end of his seventh year, or at the beginning of the eighth year of his reign<sup>374</sup>.

In the first thirty years of his reign, the kingdom of Larsa was at a point of unprecedented expansion, both politically and economically. During the reign of Rīm-Sîn I, the kingdom of Larsa formed a huge territory that encompassed the following areas: in the south, it arrived at the sea with Eridu and Ur; the central areas were dominated by the cities of Larsa, Kutalla and Badtibira. The east of the kingdom incorporated Girsu, Zabalam and Adab, whilst to the north we find Nippur and Maškan-šāpir<sup>375</sup>. In this period, we see that the Kingdom was surrounded by a number of independent states: in the north was the kingdom of Uruk, which was a close ally of Babylon. To the north west of the central part of the kingdom lay the kingdom of Isin, and beyond the border with Babylon, to the west, lay Maškan-šāpir. To the north beyond the Tigris, was the kingdom of Malgium. To the east across the Tigris lay the land of Elam. Rīm-Sîn's kingdom covered a territory that was in parts rather narrow<sup>376</sup>.

During the first thirteen years of his reign, Rīm-Sîn built many temples and shrines for various deities in different cities across his kingdom: Adad, Enki, Inanna and Nanna in Larsa, Baraulegarra in Zarbilum, a town to the northeast or north of Larsa, Ninkimar in Ašdubba, Baraulegarra in Adab, Enki in Ur, Ninenimma in Enimma and Adad in Karkar<sup>377</sup>. All of these cities were located in the southern part of his kingdom<sup>378</sup>. Moreover, he commissioned some other important projects during this time: he dug a canal from Girsu to the sea<sup>379</sup> and also a canal 4 miles long for the fields and pastures of Maškan-šāpir. He completed fortifications for the city of Maškan-šāpir in his 7th year<sup>380</sup>, fortified the cities of Iškun-Šamaš on the bank of the Euphrates in his year 10 and Iškun-Nergal in year 13 of his reign<sup>381</sup>. But there is no military

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<sup>374</sup> RIME 4: 270.

<sup>375</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 119.

<sup>376</sup> MIEROOP 1993: 50.

<sup>377</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 37-42.

<sup>378</sup> MIEROOP 1993: 51.

<sup>379</sup> MIEROOP 1993: 51.

<sup>380</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 40.

<sup>381</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 42-43.

reporting activity during this time, but the battle between Isin and Larsa was continued and Larsa was lost Nippur to Isin late in the ninth year of Rīm-Sîn's reign<sup>382</sup>.

In his fourteenth year name, Rīm-Sîn won a big victory over a large coalition of enemy forces between Uruk, Isin, Babylon, Sutûm and Rapiqum<sup>383</sup>, probably the king of Uruk, Irdanene was the leader of this coalition against Larsa kingdom<sup>384</sup>. Only a year following his victory over his enemies, Rīm-Sîn conquered Pî-nāratim and Nazarum. In his year 17, Rīm-Sîn destroyed the cities of Imgur-Gibil and Zibnatum. In 1809 B.C. he mentioned the conquest of the cities of Bīt-šû-Sîn and Uzarpana in one day. Two years later, he captured the cities of Kisurra and Dūrum<sup>385</sup>, the same year he could again control the city of Nippur, where the texts dated with his year names reappear. In addition, Rīm-Sîn could control the whole course of the Euphrates. Finally, he seized the city of Uruk in 1803 B.C. (year 21) and ends the dynasty of Sîn-kašid, king of Uruk<sup>386</sup>.

After taking the city of Uruk in the year 21 to the year 28 of his reign, Rīm-Sîn made many important irrigation canals, only in the year 25, mentioned the conquest of the city of Al-Damiqilišu and brought its inhabitants to Larsa as prisoners because they helped the kingdom of Isin against Larsa, at that time<sup>387</sup>. In the next step of Rīm-Sîn, the occupation of the city of Dunnum in 1798 B.C., neighbor of Isin<sup>388</sup>, probably the same year, he also took Isin (year 29)<sup>389</sup>. In the following year of the conquest of Isin, Rīm-Sîn adopted the title of the king of Larsa, Uruk, Isin, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad<sup>390</sup>.

The second half of the reign of Rīm-Sîn I is less clear than the first half of his reign, but due to the archive royal of Mari we get the important information on this time. At that time, Rīm-Sîn

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<sup>382</sup> MIEROOP 1993: 51.

<sup>383</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 120.

<sup>384</sup> MIEROOP 1993: 51-53.

<sup>385</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 45-49.

<sup>386</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 120-121.

<sup>387</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 50-59.

<sup>388</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 123.

<sup>389</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 58-59.

<sup>390</sup> RIME 4: 298-299.

left no royal inscription, in a city like Ur which was a very important city in the history of Mesopotamia there was no royal activity during the second half of the reign of Rīm-Sîn<sup>391</sup>. In the second half of his reign, in many year names, Rīm-Sîn indicated as the fall of Isin<sup>392</sup>. But it must be mentioned that in the seventh year of Hammurapi, king of Babylon, Hammurapi mentioned the conquest of the cities of Isin and Uruk which were part of the kingdom of Larsa at that time. But according to a private group of Isin tablets dating from the year 45-47 of Rīm-Sîn shows that the conquest of Isin by Babylon was only for a short time. Three years after Babylon's occupation of Isin, Hammurapi claimed the destruction of Maglium to the north of Maškan-šāpir<sup>393</sup>.

Because of the missing year names and royal inscriptions of Rīm-Sîn following the middle of his reign, the Rīm-Sîn activities and the border of his kingdom are not clear at that time. But according to these tablets which have been found in some cities, it seems that most cities remained under the control of Rīm-Sîn at this time. A letter from Mari shows that Rīm-Sîn had no loss his power at that time and was perhaps the second strongest power in Mesopotamia following the power of Hammurapi according to the sequence of the letter as follows: “there is not a king who is powerful by himself, ten or fifteen kings follow: Hammurapi the sire of Babylon, follow Rīm-Sîn the sire of Larsa, follow Ibal-pî-El the sire of Ešnunna, follow Amud-pî-El the sire of Qatna, and twenty follow Yarīm-Lim the sire of Yamhad”<sup>394</sup>.

A small group of tablets shows us that the relationship between the kingdoms of Larsa and Ešnunna between the years 39-41 of Rīm-Sîn's reign was a very good relationship. This archive was perhaps written somewhere in the vicinity of Ešnunna far to the north of Maškan-šāpir and the archive shows Rīm-Sîn's demand to important grain of Ešnunna. Perhaps in Larsa there was a famine at the time for this reason Rīm-Sîn requested the grain of Ešnunna. And a group of letters shows the coalition between Rīm-Sîn and Šamši-Adad the Assyrian king at that time<sup>395</sup>.

## **II.2.10. The End of the Larsa Kingdom**

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<sup>391</sup> MIEROOP 1993: 57.

<sup>392</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 124.

<sup>393</sup> MIEROOP 1993: 57.

<sup>394</sup> DOSSIN 1938: 117-118.

<sup>395</sup> MIEROOP 1993: 57-58.

Several letters from Mari shows important information about the fall of Larsa by Hammurapi, these letters addressed to Zimri-Lim, king of Mari, by his generals settled in Babylon and the most important letters are the letters of Jarīm-Adad, Šarrum-andūlli, Jasim-Adad, Ješkit-El, Ibal-El and Zimri-Adad. It is possible to follow this event of the year 1765 B.C., directly following the fall of Ešnunna. Hammurapi and Rīm-Sîn had a plan to enter a defensive alliance after being invited by the king of Elam to attack each other<sup>396</sup>. Hammurapi had a difficult situation, because the city of Upi on the border of his kingdom was under the attack of an unknown enemy who was probably Elamite. Due to this, Hammurapi sought the help of Rīm-Sîn, but Rīm-Sîn refused to help him against Elamite and the enemy was free to attack his Babylonia<sup>397</sup>.

Then Hammurapi made a new relationship with the new king of Ešnunna Šilli-Sîn. At the same time, Larsa's troops attacked Babylonian territory and they stole Babylonians. In revenge, Hammurapi ceased his relations with Larsa, and the envoys of Rīm-Sîn in Babylon were arrested<sup>398</sup>. Finally, Hammurapi decided to attack the kingdom of Larsa, demanded and obtained the help of Mari for that<sup>399</sup>. In his first step, Hammurapi besieged the city of Maškan-šāpir, a letter of Mari refers information on this attack as follows: the brother of Rīm-Sîn, Sîn-muballit with three generals besieged in the city and after 3-4 days from the siege of the city, the city fell into the hands of Babylon<sup>400</sup>. And in his second step, Hummurapi decided to attack the city of Larsa, on his way to Larsa, he took the city of Nippur on the 26th day of the 4th month and occupied Isin on the 14th day of the 5th (Hammurapi 30), in 1763 B.C., the duration of Larsa's siege was nearly six months<sup>401</sup>.

For this campaign, Zimri-Lim, king of Mari, sent the troops to help Hammurapi but when they arrived to Larsa, the Babylonian armies had already built the assault ramp<sup>402</sup>. Hammurapi installed his basic military camp in the village of Dildaba, near of Larsa<sup>403</sup>. The number of troops

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<sup>396</sup> MIEROOP 1993: 57-58.

<sup>397</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 214-215.

<sup>398</sup> MIEROOP 1993: 58.

<sup>399</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 179-180.

<sup>400</sup> ARMT 26/2: 147-148.

<sup>401</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 319-320.

<sup>402</sup> ARMT 26/2: 190-191.

<sup>403</sup> ARMT 26/2, n° 384.

involved in this conflict was: Rīm-Sîn had 40000 troops, but Hummurapi's total troops are unknown so far, but he received 1000 troops from Malgium, 2000 troops from Mari and requested the help of Elam. Finally, in 1763 B.C., Larsa was fell into Hammurapi's hand as mentioned above<sup>404</sup>, following this time; Larsa was a part of the kingdom of Babylon. But according to a letter of Mari, Rīm-Sîn escaped alive<sup>405</sup>, but after that, he may have captured with his sons and then sent to Babylon according to another letter of Mari<sup>406</sup> and Hammurapi himself settled in the palace from Rīm-Sîn in Larsa<sup>407</sup>.

### II.2.11. A New King at Larsa

Following the Larsa conquest by Hammurapi, Larsa was part of the Babylonian kingdom. But in the year ninth of Samsu-ilūna, king of Babylon<sup>408</sup>, another Rīm-Sîn appeared on the throne of Larsa as a new king of Larsa, who perhaps did a revolution against the Babylonian kingdom and occupied the Larsa throne for a short time. At that time, on Larsa's texts appear the year names of a certain Rīm-Sîn, that the historians call this Rīm-Sîn as Rīm-Sîn II who was probably the son of Warad-Sîn<sup>409</sup>, king of Larsa, nephew of the first Rīm-Sîn I, the last king of the Larsa kingdom. In addition, in a seal of impression, a certain Rīm-Sîn presented himself as the son of Warad-Sîn, king of Larsa as follows: “Rīm-Sîn, son of Warad-Sîn, king of Larsa”<sup>410</sup>, that this Rīm-Sîn was probably the same Rīm-Sîn II. Unfortunately, Rīm-Sîn II did not leave any inscription that is why there is not enough information on him until present. But in his year names, Rīm-Sîn II called himself as the king of Ur “Rīm-Sîn the king of Ur, founded the temple of Emudkurrak”<sup>411</sup>.

In another way, the dominion of Rīm-Sîn II was not only over the city of Larsa, but according to a letter that he addressed to certain Amurru-tillatī, mentions that the great gods established the

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<sup>404</sup> MIEROOP 1993: 60.

<sup>405</sup> ARM 27: 262-263.

<sup>406</sup> ARM 27: 264-265.

<sup>407</sup> ARM 27: 263, n°. 157

<sup>408</sup> STOL 1976: 48-49.

<sup>409</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 338.

<sup>410</sup> RIME 4: 257-258.

<sup>411</sup> STOL 1976: 54.

foundation of his throne at Keš “the great gods established the foundation of my throne in Keš the city of my creator”<sup>412</sup>, whose location of this city is unknown until now<sup>413</sup>.

Rīm-Sîn II wanted to be the king of the land of Sumer and renew the kingdom of Larsa as it appears in his first year “Year Nin-mah raised Rīm-Sîn to kingship over all countries in the Keš temple, the temenos of heaven and earth, and the enemy, the evil Kassites from the barbarous country, who could not be driven back to the mountains”<sup>414</sup>. For this reason, the year names of Rīm-Sîn II were not only found at Larsa but his year names were also attested at Kutalla, Ašdubba, Bad-Tibira, Lagaš, Ur and Nippur, which means in all the old land of Sumer and he had a good relationship with the king of Uruk, Rīm-Anum at that time<sup>415</sup>. Another hand, his year names refers that his dominance was not only on Larsa.

Finally, Samsu-ilūna, king of Babylon, attacked Rīm-Sîn II and obtained a victory over him that a text of Kiš refers to this victory as follows: “The year was not half over when he (Samsu-ilūna) killed Rīm-Sîn (II), who had caused Emutbala to rebel, (and) who had been elevated to the kingship of Larsa”<sup>416</sup>, and Larsa fell again into the hands of the Babylonian kingdom.

## **II.3. Babylon**

The city of Babylon has been attested in the cuneiform tablets since the Old Akkadian period and during the Ur III period, Babylon had an important role, but its role during the first dynasty of Amorites is unknown so far<sup>417</sup>. Following this, a certain Amorite leader, Sūmū-abum, who called himself as the king of Babylon and founded the Babylonian kingdom in that city<sup>418</sup>.

### **II.3.1. The First King of the First Babylonian Dynasty**

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<sup>412</sup> AbB 13: 46-47, n<sup>o</sup>. 53.

<sup>413</sup> CHARPIN 2004, Not. 1763.

<sup>414</sup> STOL 1976: 54.

<sup>415</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 339.

<sup>416</sup> RIME 4: 387, n<sup>o</sup>. 7.

<sup>417</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 80.

<sup>418</sup> RIME 4: 323.

The first king and founder of the first dynasty of Babylon was Sūmû-abum, who ruled 14 years on the throne of Babylon. There is no information on the origin of the first Babylonian king, because he left no royal inscription. But in an inscription from a cylinder seal of Daganija, he called himself as the servant of Sūmû-abum<sup>419</sup>. In spite of all these limitations, his year names give us the information regarding the history of the Babylonian kingdom during his reign as follows:

In his first year, Sūmû-abum claimed to have constructed a great wall for Babylon, following this, he mentioned the conquest of the fortress of Elip, A year later, he built the Ninsinna Temple and in his fifth year building the Nanna Supreme Temple. Three years later, he commemorated the construction of the wall of Dilbat and in his ninth year made the sublime crown of Kiš, Sūmû-abum would also go on to conquer the cities of Kazallu and Kiš in his thirteenth year<sup>420</sup>.

It should be mentioned that the Sūmû-abum year names appeared in the cities of Sippar, Dilbat and Kisurra, which means that Sūmû-abum may have dominated these cities during his reign. And according to a Sumerian King List, Sūmû-abum also conquered the city of Nippur in his ninth year. Finally, Sūmû-abum may have died without descending<sup>421</sup>, but a document of Tell ed-Der indicated the death of his son Hanbatija<sup>422</sup>.

### **II.3.2. The Second Babylonian King**

Sūmû-la-El is the second king of the first dynasty of Babylon, but some publishers have suggested that he was the first ruler of the first Babylonian dynasty<sup>423</sup> because until now it remains unclear whether Sūmû-abum or Sūmû-la-El is the first true king of this dynasty. However, it is known that Sūmû-la-El ruled for 36 years<sup>424</sup>, but up until this point, no royal

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<sup>419</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 80 and 324.

<sup>420</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 43-47.

<sup>421</sup> EDZARD 1957: 122.

<sup>422</sup> TIM 7, n° 22.

<sup>423</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 81.

<sup>424</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 49-63.

inscription dating from his reign has been found. Furthermore, there are some cylinder seals in which the owners identified themselves as the servant of Sūmû-la-El<sup>425</sup>.

During his reign, Sūmû-la-El embarked on many important projects recording these projects in his year names as follows: the digging of the canal of Utu-hegal in his first year, in his fifth year he constructed a great wall for Babylon, built the Iškur temple (year 7), constructed Enamhe (year 11), dug the canal of Sūmû-la-El (year 12), made a throne for Marduk (year 22), made statues for Zarpanitum (year 24), Inanna and Nannay (year 26) and built the walls for the cities of Kutha and UR.KU (year 27), Sippar (year 29) and Habus (year 31)<sup>426</sup>.

Besides these projects that Sūmû-la-El made during his reign, he also recorded his conquest of many cities during his reign as follows: in his third year a victory over Halambu, destroying the city of Kiš (year 13), destroying the high wall of Kiš (year 19), a victory over Yahzir-El of Kazallum (year 18), the conquest and destruction of the city of Kazallu and its troops (year 20), and finally, he conquered the city of Malgium in his 34th year<sup>427</sup>.

Sūmû-la-El fought with the king of Larsa, Sîn-iddinam. Sîn-iddinam won a victory over Babylon in 1847 B.C, as attested to in year four of Sîn-iddinam's reign. Sūmû-la-El made an alliance with the kingdom of Uruk and gave his daughter Šallurtum to the king of Uruk, Sîn-kāšid. The kingdom of Babylon by the end of the reign of Sūmû-la-El extended from Sippar in the north to Marad in the south and included the cities of Kutha, Kiš, Lagaba, Damrum, Borsippa, Dilbat and Kazallu<sup>428</sup>.

### **II.3.3. Babylon from 1844-1813 B.C.**

During this time, the history of the Babylonian kingdom is not entirely clear because of the lack of texts during this period. It must be mentioned that two Babylonian kings reigned over the throne of Babylon during this time.

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<sup>425</sup> RIME 4: 325-326.

<sup>426</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 49-63.

<sup>427</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 49-63.

<sup>428</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 95.

Following the reign of Sūmû-la-El, his son Sābium, who reigned between 1844 and 1831 B.C., became king of Babylon in 1844 B.C. During his 14 year reign, Sābium left no royal inscriptions. Despite this, there are some cylinder seals where their owners called themselves the servants of Sābium. This is supported by a seal of his son, Ibbi-Sîn :“Ibbi-Sîn, son of Sābium, the king”<sup>429</sup>. Nevertheless, Sābium became king over a vast kingdom; from Sippar in the north to Marad fin the south which included the cities of Kiš, Damrum and Dilbat, thanks to his father.

Despite the lack of texts during Sābium's reign, his year names refer to important information from his reign as follows: during the reign of Sābium, the battle between Larsa and Babylon continued; Sābium, in his fifth year, commemorated a victory over Larsa's troops<sup>430</sup>, due to this victory, and because of the low ebb of the kingdom of Larsa at that time, Sābium could conquer the city of Nippur in his ninth year, in 1836 B.C.<sup>431</sup>. Only three years later he also took control of Kazallu from Larsa's kingdom to himself, in 1834 B.C.<sup>432</sup>. It should be mentioned that the city was situated between the kingdoms of Babylon and Larsa<sup>433</sup>. As mentioned above, the king of Uruk, Sîn-kāšid, married the sister of Sābium<sup>434</sup> and according to this alliance between Babylon and Uruk, Sābium sent 1000 men to the king of Uruk against Larsa<sup>435</sup>.

Beside his campaigns against his enemies, Sābium made some important projects during his reign to develop his kingdom as he commemorated in his year names<sup>436</sup>.

After the reign of Sābium, his son Apil-Sîn 1830-1813 B.C. reigned over the kingdom of Babylon for 18 years<sup>437</sup>. Like his father Apil-Sîn did not leave any royal inscription but based on

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<sup>429</sup> RIME 4: 327-329.

<sup>430</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 67.

<sup>431</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 107-108.

<sup>432</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 71.

<sup>433</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 113.

<sup>434</sup> STOL 1976: 28.

<sup>435</sup> STOL 1976: 114.

<sup>436</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 65-73.

<sup>437</sup> RIME 4: 330.

his year names, it appears that Apil-Sîn tried to expand his kingdom and mentioned that in his twelfth year, the borders of his kingdom reached the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates<sup>438</sup>.

Apil-Sîn, in his first year, mentioned the construction of a wall for the city of Borsippa and the fortification of other cities of his kingdom. In his next year, he began the construction of a new high wall for his capital. Three years later, he commemorated the construction of a wall for the city of Nukar<sup>439</sup>, which was situated in the province of Nippur<sup>440</sup>. In his twelfth year, the restoration of the city of Kār-Šamaš on the bank of the Tigris was completed, and he conquered the city of Dūr-Muti on the bank of the Euphrates and built the eastern gate of his capital<sup>441</sup>.

In addition, Apil-Sîn managed to incorporate the region on the right bank of the Tigris as a part of his kingdom, from Upi to Mankisum<sup>442</sup>. Besides that, Apil-Sîn built some temples for the gods of Šamaš, Inanna and Ištar, made the thrones for the gods of Šamaš and Inanna and restored the temples of Ezida and Emeslam and dug many canals during his reign<sup>443</sup>.

#### **II.3.4. Babylon during the Reign of Sîn-muballiṭ 1812-1793 B.C.**

The son of Apil-Sîn, Sîn-muballiṭ became the king of Babylon in 1812 B.C. He reigned in Babylon for 20 years before being succeeded by his son Hammurapi, the great king of Babylon. Like the other previous kings, no inscriptions belonging to this king have been found so far<sup>444</sup>.

Sîn-muballiṭ constantly fortified the cities of his kingdom during his reign; perhaps he had done so because of the power of the king of Larsa, Rīm-Sîn I. This was probably in response to the actions of Rīm-Sîn I, the king of Larsa tried to expand his kingdom and conquered the majority of the cities in the south and north of his kingdom such as Isin and Uruk during the reign of Sîn-muballiṭ<sup>445</sup>.

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<sup>438</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 65-73.

<sup>439</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 75-90.

<sup>440</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 114.

<sup>441</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 75-90.

<sup>442</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 115.

<sup>443</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 75-90.

<sup>444</sup> RIME 4: 331.

<sup>445</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 37-60.

Sîn-muballiṭ fortified the cities of Sarbatum (year 1), Murum in 1801 B.C. (year 11) and Marad (year 12)<sup>446</sup>. He may have fortified his cities because of the Rīm-Sîn I campaign, which was launched against the southern territories and the Kingdom of Uruk. ANam, king of Uruk, had an alliance with Babylon, but Sîn-muballiṭ probably did not adhere to this agreement: because of this reason, in 1803 B.C. Uruk fell into Larsa's hands<sup>447</sup>.

Sîn-muballiṭ, in his fourteenth year, recorded a victory over Larsa's army, however we should question as to what extent it was comprehensive victory: why did he continue to fortify his cities a year after his victory over Larsa's army? He notably fortified the city of Ereš. In his seventeenth year, Sîn-muballiṭ conquered Isin<sup>448</sup> and defeated Rīm-Sîn, the king of Larsa. In his twenty-fifth year he also mentioned another conquest of Isin<sup>449</sup>, but he probably did not stay long in the city. It should be mentioned that when Sîn-muballiṭ conquered Isin in his seventeenth year, he allowed Damiq-iliš to remain on his throne as the king<sup>450</sup>.

The following year after the conquest of Isin, Sîn-muballiṭ continued the fortification of the cities of Akusum and Bazum and in his twentieth-year he also fortified the city of Šīramah. Besides the fortification of his cities and his military activities, Sîn-muballiṭ completed a number of civil engineering projects to develop his kingdom: he dug the canals of Sîn-muballiṭ, Aya and Tutu, built the city of Dūr-Dimat-Dadā and built a fort, consequently named after himself, and completed some religious activities<sup>451</sup>.

### **II.3.5. Babylon during the Reign of its Great King**

Sîn-muballiṭ was succeeded by his son Hammurapi 1792-1750 B.C. He reigned Babylon for 42 years, founding an empire that saw large scale building projects across the various cities. Due to the vast number of completed works, it would suffice to present only a number of key points related to the political history during his reign.

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<sup>446</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 91-97.

<sup>447</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 120-123.

<sup>448</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 98-100.

<sup>449</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 53-54.

<sup>450</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 122.

<sup>451</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 91-104.

In the early part of his reign, Hammurapi concentrated on building the temples for the gods of Nanna, Sîn and Nin-Pirig. But from the seventh year of his reign, he began military campaigns against his enemies and tried to expand his kingdom as follows: in his seventh year, he advanced southwards and captured the cities of Uruk and Isin<sup>452</sup>. Uruk had remained under the control of Rîm-Sîn I for 15 years, whilst Isin was also brought under his control 6 years earlier. Both cities had played an important role during the Old Babylonian period, but Rîm-Sîn I soon controlled both cities again<sup>453</sup>.

In his tenth year, Hammurapi advanced eastwards to Malgium and occupied the villages and towns of Malgium<sup>454</sup>, upstream of Maškan-šāpir on the Tigris<sup>455</sup>. In his next year, he advanced northwards to Rapiqum. It also mentioned that in his eleventh year, he successfully occupied the towns in the lands of Rapiqum and Šalibi<sup>456</sup> on the Euphrates. This victory proved to be short-lived because Daduša took back the control of Rapiqum after his victory over Mankisum. At this point, an alliance between Babylon and Ekallatum was agreed between Hammurapi and Šamši-Adad. Hammurapi controlled Hit on the bank of the Euphrates, with two other Euphrates cities on the border between Mari and Babylon, which were located between Harbe and Hit. Following the death of Daduša, the king of Ešnunna in 1779 BC, Hammurapi and Šamši-Adad decided to make alliance with the new king of Ešnunna, Ibal-pî-El II<sup>457</sup>.

Following the fall of Ešnunna to Elam in the spring of 1765 B.C., Hammurapi profited by controlling the cities of Mankisum and Upî on the bank of the Tigris: both cities were a part of his kingdom under the reign of his grandfather, Apil-Sîn. Following the conquest of Maškan-šāpir by the Elamites, they moved southwards and besieged the city of Mankisum, which was part of the Babylonian kingdom, and then they conquered the city. The Elamites continued their campaign downstream along the Tigris and lay siege to the city of Upî in Hammurapi's kingdom. Because of the conquest by the Elamites, Hammurapi sought the help of Larsa in defending and

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<sup>452</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 105-112.

<sup>453</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 27-28.

<sup>454</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 115.

<sup>455</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 28.

<sup>456</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 116-117.

<sup>457</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 29-31.

protecting his kingdom, and sent letters to Rīm-Sîn I to send his troops to assist him. Rīm-Sîn I did not send him any troops, therefore Upî fell into the hands of the Elamites<sup>458</sup>.

After the fall of Upî, the Elamites advanced to Babylon, the capital of Hammurapi's kingdom. Fortunately for the Babylonians, it was at that moment the king of Mari, Zimri-Lim, sent 600 troops to aid Hammurapi; a pre-existing alliance between them had seen Babylonian troops dispatched to Zimri-Lim, and in 1764 B.C., Zimri-Lim sent more troops to Hammurapi. Besides that, Hammurapi hoped that the king of Qatna would also send him the troops to fight against Elam, but we do not have any information regarding the final decision of Qatna<sup>459</sup>. Finally, Hammurapi, alongside his allies, won a great victory over the Elamites and controlled the Diyala region as mentioned in his thirtieth year<sup>460</sup>.

### **II.3.6. The Conquest of Larsa by Hammurapi in 1763 B.C.**

After Hammurapi's victory over Elam, a new chapter began in the history of Babylon. Hammurapi had built the foundations of an empire, and went on to conquer Larsa, Mari and Malgium.

The only Mesopotamian ruler, who did not participate in the great alliance against the Elamites, was Rīm-Sîn I, king of Larsa. Hammurapi repeatedly asked him to send his troops against the Elamites, but he never sent his troops to participate in this alliance. Perhaps his refusal to send his troops to Hammurapi and his lack of participation in this alliance against Elam gave Hammurapi a reason to consider the conquest of Larsa's kingdom.

But the direct reason for the conflict between the two kingdoms, according to a letter from JaRīm-Adad, was that Larsa's troops had attacked the Babylonian territories; destroying and enslaving the inhabitants. Hammurapi sent a letter to Rīm-Sîn I, and mentioned that Larsa's men were a constant threat to the Babylonian kingdom, but he indicated that Larsa's man did not

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<sup>458</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 45-46.

<sup>459</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 46-53.

<sup>460</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 139.

answer him and helped him to resolve this problem. It was the direct reason to start the conflict between the both kingdoms<sup>461</sup>.

Initially, Hammurapi cut off all diplomatic contact with the kingdom of Larsa, and he decided to attack Larsa's kingdom with his allies. In this first step, he decided to attack the town of Maškan-šāpir, where Rīm-Sîn I's brother, Sîn-muballiṭ, was garrisoned with three generals and numerous troops. However, the date of the fall of Maškan-šāpir is not precisely known but according to a letter from Mari that Yasim-Hammu sent to Zimri-Lim, he informed his lord that within two or three days the city of Maškan-šāpir would fall<sup>462</sup>. Following the conquest of Maškan-šāpir, Hammurapi continued to attack the other cities of the Larsa kingdom. According to the date of the tablets of Nippur, Hammurapi occupied this city in the fourth month of his thirtieth year, as it is at this point that Hammurapi's name first appears on the tablets of this city. And the texts from Isin used Hammurapi's year names from the fifth month of the same year<sup>463</sup>. Thus, in his first step, Hammurapi was able to conquer a large part of the Larsa kingdom.

In the second stage of his plan, Hammurapi rallied his troops to attack Larsa, the capital of Rīm-Sîn I; in all probability, the duration of Larsa's siege was nearly six months<sup>464</sup>. A letter from Mari mentions that Zimri-Lim sent troops to Hammurapi and when they arrived in Larsa, Hammurapi had already built the assault ramp, and had set up his basic military camp in the village of Dildaba near Larsa<sup>465</sup>. The number of troops involved in this conflict was: Rīm-Sîn I had 40,000 troops. The total number of Babylonian troops is unknown as mentioned above.

Finally, in 1763 B.C., Larsa fell into the hands of Hammurapi<sup>466</sup>, who commemorated this victory in year thirty-one of his reign<sup>467</sup>. Then following this date, Larsa was incorporated as part of the kingdom of Babylon. But according to a letter of Mari, Rīm-Sîn I escaped alive as mentioned above. Hammurapi himself installed himself as king in the palace of Rīm-Sîn I in

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<sup>461</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 55-56.

<sup>462</sup> ARMT 26/2, n°. 383.

<sup>463</sup> CHARPIN 2012: 56.

<sup>464</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 320.

<sup>465</sup> ARMT 26/2: 198-201, n°. 384.

<sup>466</sup> MIEROOP 1993: 60.

<sup>467</sup> CHARPIN 2012: 59.

Larsa<sup>468</sup>, and called himself as “king of all Amorite land, king of the land Sumer and Akkad. King who makes the four quarters be at peace”<sup>469</sup>.

### **II.3.7. Hammurapi Campaigns to the North**

Only a year following the fall of Larsa to Babylon, Hammurapi moved to the north, winning a great victory over Ešnunna's army and its allies (Šubartu and Gutium), and gaining control of Mankisum's land and the lands on the bank of the Tigris to the border of Šubartu. Hammurapi continued his campaigns on the northern frontier. In year thirty-three, he advanced to the north west and Ekallatum, won a great victory over the army of Mari and Malgium then conquered Mari and its villages, and then went on to wrest control of many cities of Šubartu, Ekallatum, Burunda and the land of Zalmaqum on the bank of the Tigris. Once again, in his thirty-fifth year, destroyed the cities of Mari and Malgium.<sup>470</sup> In his thirty-seventh year, he defeated the armies of Gutians, Turukkum, Kakmum and Šubartu. Once again, in his thirty-eighth regnal year, he destroyed Ešnunna<sup>471</sup> and in the following year slaughtered all his enemies in Šubartu<sup>472</sup>.

One of the largest legacies of Hammurapi was the transformation of Babylon from a city state into an empire, controlling all the lands that comprised of Mesopotamia.

Beside his political activities, Hammurapi made many important projects during his reign as he mentioned in his year names: many temples for gods and goddesses and many reforms during his reign. His most important work is his famous law collection which knowns as the Code of Hammurapi. He was succeeded by his son, Samsu-ilūna.

### **II.3.8. Babylon under the Reign of Samsu-ilūna 1749-1712 B.C.**

The son of Hammurapi, Samsu-ilūna ruled on the throne of Babylon for 38 years. But there is no information about Samsu-ilūna during his father's reign, because Hammurapi only mentioned

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<sup>468</sup> CHARPIN 2012: 263.

<sup>469</sup> RIME 4: 340-343, n<sup>o</sup>. 7 and 8.

<sup>470</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 151.

<sup>471</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 157.

<sup>472</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 143-159.

Sūmû-ditāna and Mūtu-numaha as his sons<sup>473</sup>. Samsu-ilūna probably became the king of Babylon before the death of his father. We can assume this as it appears in his first year he did not use the year Samsu-ilūna became king<sup>474</sup>, it is not clear what was happening during his first year as king<sup>475</sup>.

According to his year names, at the beginning of his reign he built many temples for the gods and dug some canals until his ninth year<sup>476</sup>. It must be also mentioned that a revolt had broken out in his seventh year in the southern part of his kingdom, where an individual identified as Rīm-Anum called himself the king of Uruk. In the second half of the eighth month in the eighth year of Samsu-ilūna, he occupied the throne of Uruk as an independent kingdom for 2 years. In addition to that, Rīm-Sîn II also revolted in Larsa along with other cities of the south as mentioned above.

### **II.3.9. Samsu-ilūna Victories over his Enemies**

After the revolutions in the southern part of his kingdom, Samsu-ilūna could not quickly regain control of these cities and defeated these rebels. In his ninth year, a new people identified as the Kassites appeared in the city of Kikka. They went on to attack these cities in the Kiš region. This was the first time that the appearance of the Kassites was recorded in the history of Mesopotamia<sup>477</sup>, but in the same year, Samsu-ilūna expelled the army of the Kassites of Kikka<sup>478</sup>.

Following his victory over the Kassites in his ninth year, Samsu-ilūna campaigned against the rebels in the southern part of his kingdom between the tenth and fourteenth year of his reign: in his tenth year, he defeated the armies of Uruk, Isin, Idamaraz, Ešnunna and Yamutbal. In his eleventh year, he destroyed the great wall of Ur, Larsa and Uruk and defeated the army of Akkad

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<sup>473</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 336.

<sup>474</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 175.

<sup>475</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 336.

<sup>476</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 175-192.

<sup>477</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 339-340.

<sup>478</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 192.

for the second time<sup>479</sup>. These victories are confirmed by a number of documents from Larsa, Ur, Nippur and Kutalla as the Babylonian year names re-appeared on them. It is interesting to note however that the victory over Uruk has not been confirmed by these documents so far<sup>480</sup>. In his twelfth year, Samsu-ilūna defeated the armies of Sumer and Akkad. In his next year, he conquered the lands of Kisurra and Sabum and in his fourteenth year, slaughtered the rebellious enemy kings who had provoked Akkad to revolt<sup>481</sup>.

In his following years, Samsu-ilūna continued his campaigns against his enemies, in his twentieth year, he proved victorious over the army of Ešnunna. He destroyed the cities of Šehnā (capital of Apum; Tell Leilān), Zahanum, Putrā, Šušā and Lazja, in year 23. The conquest of Yadjabum and Mūti-huršana, in his year 28 and removed the Amorite troops from the mountains, in his thirty-sixth year. Beside his military campaigns, Samsu-ilūna made many temples, canals, palaces and restored cities and fortresses during his reign<sup>482</sup>.

### **II.3.10. Babylon under the Reign of Abī-ešuh 1711-1684 B.C.**

After the death of Samsu-ilūna, his son Abī-ešuh became king of Babylon in 1711 B.C., he reigned on the throne of Babylon for 28 years. So far, there is not enough information to truly understand the situation in Babylon during the reign of Abī-ešuh because he left very few royal inscriptions, but his year names present the most important events of his reign.

According to his year names, during his reign, Abī-ešuh did not embark on many military campaigns; it does appear that despite the relative lack of military action by the king, the Kassites attacked the Babylonian kingdom again in 1710 B.C.<sup>483</sup>. Only a year after their attack, Abī-ešuh managed to defeat the Kassite troops in 1709 B.C. In his seventeenth year, he won a victory over Ešnunna and seized Ahušina, king of Ešnunna<sup>484</sup>.

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<sup>479</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 193-195.

<sup>480</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 342.

<sup>481</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 197-199.

<sup>482</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 175-239.

<sup>483</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 373.

<sup>484</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 258-259.

According to a late Babylonian chronicle, Abī-ešuh attacked Ili-ma-AN, king of the lands of the sea, who had probably conquered the southern regions of the Babylonian kingdom<sup>485</sup>.

On top of these military engagements, Abī-ešuh built and made temples and statues for the gods and the goddesses and he claimed to find justice in the land as king<sup>486</sup>.

### **II.3.11. Babylon from 1683-1626 B.C.**

The son of Abī-ešuh, Ammi-ditāna 1683-1647 B.C., became the king of Babylon in 1683 B.C., and he reigned on the throne of Babylon for 37 years. Until now, there have only been two inscriptions that attest to Ammi-ditāna's building works are known<sup>487</sup>.

According to Ammi-ditāna's year names, during his 37 years, he only campaigned in his last year, in which he destroyed the wall of Udimim which was built by Damqi-ilišu<sup>488</sup>, king of the land of the sea. But it should be mentioned that Ammi-ditāna retook the city of Nippur, in year 37, following the loss of it by Samsu-ilūna, his grandfather, in his thirtieth year<sup>489</sup>. In addition to that, Ammi-ditāna completed a lot of religious works, built fortresses and dug canals, as mentioned in his year names<sup>490</sup>.

Following Ammi-ditāna, his son Ammi-šaduq 1646-1626 B.C., became king of Babylon for 21 years. According to Ammi-šaduq's year names, he did not conduct any military campaign during his reign; only his religious works and built some fortresses are mentioned amongst other works during his reign<sup>491</sup>. But Charpin mentions that Ammi-šaduq, between the fifteenth and eighteenth years of his reign, had difficulty controlling the valley of the Euphrates between Harradum and Sippar, but Samsu-ditāna was successful to regaining control of the city of Terqa<sup>492</sup>.

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<sup>485</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 368.

<sup>486</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 242-271.

<sup>487</sup> RIME 4: 411-413.

<sup>488</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 319-320.

<sup>489</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 368.

<sup>490</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 273-320

<sup>491</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 325-358.

<sup>492</sup> CHARPIN 2004:381.

### II.3.12. The Last King of the First Dynasty of Babylon

The last king of the first dynasty of Babylon was Samsu-ditāna 1625-1595 B.C., he ruled Babylon for 31 years. Until present, there is no royal inscription of him<sup>493</sup>. According to his year names, he did not embark on any major campaign during his reign, but as mentioned above, he again managed to control the city of Terqa<sup>494</sup>. He did more religious activities as commemorated in his year names<sup>495</sup>. Charpin suggests that Samsu-ditāna lost the southern regions of his kingdom, in his twelfth year, and in his thirty year, also lost the central region of his kingdom (Isin and Sippar)<sup>496</sup>.

### II.3.13. The End of the First Babylonian Dynasty

Until present, the events surrounding the end of the first Babylonian dynasty are unclear: to summarize, we do not exactly know what happened at the end of this dynasty. What is clear however, the Babylonian kingdom fell at the end of the reign of Ammi-šaduq. For a long time, we thought that the first Babylonian dynasty had fallen because of the raid conducted by Muršili, the king of the Hittites, but this theory has been contested due to a new discovery from within the Terqa texts. Kuwari, the King of Terqa, and a contemporary of Abī-ešuh, succeeded in defeating the Hittite troops. The victory of Muršili over Samsu-ditāna would not have been the end of a long history of the Babylonian period; therefore we cannot conclude the causes with any great degree of certainty<sup>497</sup>.

According to the copy of a new Assyrian tablet, the raid against Babylon was not made by the Hittites, and Samsu-ditāna appears as the last king of the first dynasty of Babylon. This tablet also gave details regarding the enemies of Samsu-ditana, whose names in the tablet are not readable, but it appears that the soldiers are from Elamites *ERÍN-an e-la-mi-i*, Kassites [*ERÍN k*] *aš-*

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<sup>493</sup> RIME 4: 436.

<sup>494</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 381.

<sup>495</sup> HORSNELL 1999: 359-383.

<sup>496</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 367.

<sup>497</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 379-382.

*ši-[t]i* and Hanigalbatians *ha-ni-gal-ba-ti-i*, whom are surely Hurrians, there is nothing mentioned about the Hittites<sup>498</sup>.

Looking at the Babylonian archaeological levels, there appears to be clear traces of destruction by fire that corresponds to the same date as the texts dating from the reign of Samsu-ditāna. However, we must not think that Babylon was deserted after the Hittite raid, as the tablets found at Tell Muhammad near Bagdad immediately show the power of Kassites in Babylon<sup>499</sup>. Finally, the Old Babylonian period had ended and a new period had begun in the south of Mesopotamia, identified today by the historians as The Middle Babylonian or Kassite period.

## II.4. Uruk

The city of Uruk, as a southern city of Mesopotamia, played an important role during the Old Babylonian period. Sometimes, Uruk was controlled by the Isin kingdom, sometimes, by the that of Larsa; after that, by the Babylonian kingdom as mentioned above. But it must not be forgotten that it had also been controlled by the king of the country of the sea. Despite all this, Uruk did remain briefly as an independent kingdom during the Old Babylonian period.

The first evidence attesting to the independence of Uruk appears in the ninth year of Sūmû-El, King of Larsa; in this year, he commemorated the defeat of the army of Uruk<sup>500</sup>. At first, Alilahadum and Sūmû-kanasa probably reigned on the throne of Uruk, but they have not been identified in Uruk's texts itself, rather, their year names have been attested in the tablets of the Kissuru city. They perhaps controlled this city at that time whilst a certain Ikun-pî-Ištar probably also ruled in Uruk at that time<sup>501</sup>, because his year name found on a tablet of Nippur<sup>502</sup>.

### II.4.1. The Sîn-kāšid Dynasty in Uruk

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<sup>498</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 382-383.

<sup>499</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 383.

<sup>500</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 16.

<sup>501</sup> RIME 4: 439.

<sup>502</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 77.

A certain Sîn-kāšid, in 1860 B.C.<sup>503</sup>, founded a new dynasty in Uruk. He is the first king of Uruk who left many inscriptions, yet failed to mention his father or grandfather. It is unknown for how long that he ruled over Uruk because the list of dates did not appear for him<sup>504</sup> and he called himself as the king of Amānnum<sup>505</sup>.

Despite the lack of knowledge on the Uruk kingdom during the Old Babylonian period, but thanks to the Sîn-kāšid inscriptions, it seems that he built a number of temples for the gods and goddesses in Uruk and also built a royal palace for himself there during his reign<sup>506</sup>.

However, the Uruk kingdom was not a strong kingdom in the southern part of Mesopotamia, when compared to the other dominant powers during the Old Babylonian period. Despite this, Sîn-kāšid could control the city of Dūrum and named himself as the military governor of Dūrum, built the temples for the god lords of the city Lugal-Irra and Meslamtaea<sup>507</sup> and chose his daughter Nin-šata-pada to be high priestess of the god Meslamtaea in Dūrum. Besides the city of Dūrum, it appears that he also conquered the cities of Bīt-Šu-Sîn, Ušarpara and Našarum, during this time<sup>508</sup>.

It should also be mentioned that an alliance existed between the kingdoms of Uruk and Babylon at that time. This alliance was confirmed by a seal impression on three clay bubbles from the palace of Sîn-kāšid in Uruk with an inscription of Šallūrtum, daughter of Sūmû-la-El, king of Babylon, and the wife of Sîn-kāšid, king of Uruk: “Šallūrtum, daughter of Sūmû-la-El, the king, wife of Sîn-kāšid, the king, his beloved”<sup>509</sup>.

Sîn-kāšid was succeeded by his son, Sîn-irībam. There is not much information about Sîn-irībam because he left us no inscriptions. Only his year names have been attested to on three

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<sup>503</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 108.

<sup>504</sup> RIME 4: 440.

<sup>505</sup> RIME 4: 444-462.

<sup>506</sup> RIME 4: 440-463.

<sup>507</sup> RIME 4: 459-462, n<sup>o</sup>. 13 and 14.

<sup>508</sup> CHARPIN 2004:109.

<sup>509</sup> RIME 4: 463-464.

tablets which were found in the Royal Palace of Uruk<sup>510</sup>. Due to a contract, it appears that the city of Dūrum during the reign of Sîn-irībam was part of the Uruk's sphere of influence; the contract dated from the sixth year of Warad-Sîn, king of Larsa, in 1829 B.C., and included an oath by Warad-Sîn, and Sîn-irībam<sup>511</sup>.

Following Sîn-irībam, his son Sîn-gamil became the king of Uruk. He only left a single inscription about the construction of the Emeurur temple, dedicated to the goddess Nanaia in Uruk. Like his predecessors, he identified himself as the king of Amānnum<sup>512</sup>. Besides this inscription, two tablets were found in the palace of Uruk dated by his year name<sup>513</sup>.

Illum-gamil, following his brother Sîn-gamil, became king of Uruk. He is relatively unknown with only a single inscription which was written by a certain Ubar-Adad for the construction of the temple of Adad and for the life of Illum-gamil<sup>514</sup>. A tablet from the palace of Uruk which is dated with his year name has also been found<sup>515</sup>. Falkenstein suggests that probably following Illum-gamil, Etēja became the king of Uruk as he was mentioned in an economic tablet from Uruk<sup>516</sup>, but Charpin disagrees, he thinks that Etēja was a strike in the list of the Uruk kings<sup>517</sup>.

The reign of ANam is better known than other kings of Uruk, due to the archive which was found in the palace of Uruk. Many texts of this archive are dated depending on his year names, which help to provide us with great detail and information about the reign of ANam, king of Uruk and his relationship with the Babylonian kingdom.

There are two short royal inscriptions from the reign of Anam. In the first, we see recorded the construction of a temple for Nergal at Uşarpara, and also dedicated to the life of Sîn-gamil. He also identifies himself as an archivist here which is an interesting note<sup>518</sup>, The second text was

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<sup>510</sup> MAUER 1987, n°. 25, 28 and 36.

<sup>511</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 110, Not. 450.

<sup>512</sup> RIME 4: 466-467.

<sup>513</sup> SANATI-MULLER 1991, n°. 160.

<sup>514</sup> RIME 4: 469.

<sup>515</sup> SANATI-MULLER 1991, n°. 164.

<sup>516</sup> RIME 4: 470.

<sup>517</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 110, Not. 456.

<sup>518</sup> RIME 4: 467.

inscribed to commemorate the restoration of the wall of Uruk. In this inscription he called himself the chief of the army of Uruk “ANam chief of the army of Uruk, son of Ilan-šemea”, but this inscription presents us with a problem when trying to rebuild the chronology of Uruk in this period as ANam declares himself as the son of a certain Ilan-šemea<sup>519</sup>, Ilan-šemea was not attested as a king of Uruk. And his letter confirms that ANam is the son of a certain Ilan-šemea. The most famous document from the reign of ANam is his letter, which was addressed to the king of Babylon Sîn-mubaliṭ. In this letter ANam mentions his father and his grandfathers until Sîn-kāšid; he describes himself as the son of Ilan-šemea. Charpin proposes that probably Ilan-šemea was the same as Sîn-gamil and Ilum-gamil, a son of Sîn-iribam. This letter confirms the alliance between the kingdoms of Uruk and Babylon<sup>520</sup>.

The son of ANam, IRnene became the next king of Uruk, following his father. IRnene did not leave any royal inscription but four year names of IRnene are currently known to us<sup>521</sup>. During his reign, IRnene tried to expand his kingdom and the city of Kisurru was annexed into his kingdom<sup>522</sup>, and he made an alliance against Rīm-Sîn I, king of Larsa. He combined the armies of Isin, Babylon, Rapiqum and Sutium and rallied them against Rīm-Sîn I, but eventually this coalition was defeated by Rīm-Sîn I who commemorated the defeat of this coalition in his fourteenth year<sup>523</sup>: “When he smote with weapons the army of Uruk, Isin, Babylon, Rapiqum, and Sutium, captured IRnene, king of Uruk, in that battle, (and) laid his foot on his head as if he were a snake”<sup>524</sup>.

The last king of Uruk was Nabi-ilišu who did not leave any royal inscriptions during his reign. Rīm-Sîn I defeated the kingdom of Uruk in his fifteenth year and seized the cities of Pinaratim and Nazarum. He continued his campaign against Uruk and their allies, took the cities of Imgur-Gibil and Zibnatum (year 17), and in his next year, he also took the cities Bit-šu-Sîn and Uzarpana (year 18). He annexed the city of Kisurra, transferring it into Larsa’s domain and

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<sup>519</sup> RIME 4: 474-475.

<sup>520</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 111.

<sup>521</sup> RIME 4: 478.

<sup>522</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 112.

<sup>523</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 43-44.

<sup>524</sup> RIME 4: 281, n<sup>o</sup>. 8.

destroyed the city of Dūrum (year 20). Eventually, in his twenty-first year, he destroyed the city of Uruk<sup>525</sup>. It was previously thought the royal palace of Uruk after the conquest of Rīm-Sîn I remained unoccupied but after that, this palace was again used by Rīm-Anum, in the eighth year of Samsu-ilūna, king of Babylon, during the southern revolution against the Babylonian kingdom. Uruk was occupied by the Larsa kingdom for forty years from 1802-1763 B.C., and then Babylon for twenty years from 1763-1742 B.C.<sup>526</sup>.

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<sup>525</sup> SIGRIST 1990: 44-50.

<sup>526</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 113.

## Chapter III

### Provenance and Historical Background of Letters

#### III.1. Introduction

So far, there are not many letters that have come from an official excavation therefore it is not possible to identify the provenance of the majority of Old Babylonian letters. Despite this, there is a small group of letters from the Old Babylonian period that come from an official excavation and their provenances are known to us. These letters were published in “*UET 5*”. All of these letters came from a formal excavation of Ur in the southern part of Mesopotamia<sup>527</sup>. Fortunately we also have another group of Old Babylonian letters that also came from an official excavation of Kiš thus we are able to clearly identify their provenances<sup>528</sup>. In addition to these two groups of letters from the official excavations, there are other letters which came from official excavations showing us a variety of different kinds of tablets dating from the Old Babylonian period.

But it is worth mentioning that whilst most of these Old Babylonian letters have already been published in “*AbB*”, is not clear where they came from exactly or which ancient cities or archaeological sites in the southern part of Mesopotamia because most of them came from an antiques trade, not from an official excavation. However it is clear that all these letters come from the southern part of the region<sup>529</sup>. In “*AbB*” around 2762 Old Babylonian letters had already been published, but probably the number of all Old Babylonian letters is more than 3000 letters all of them are recently placed in the collections of Museums, Universities, Institutes and private collections all over Europe, Near East and USA, that all these letters are came from the southern part of Mesopotamia.

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<sup>527</sup> UET 5.

<sup>528</sup> Kupper 1959a and b: 19-38 and 177-82.

<sup>529</sup> AbB 1-14.

As a result of these problems as mentioned above, it has proven very difficult to accurately pin point the exact provenance and archaeologists are still struggling to add the context to these letters.

Despite the lack of detailed provenances some attempts at identification have been made. Gábor Kalla has spent time examining those letters which were recovered in the Old Babylonian period: the chart below explains the provenances of these letters.

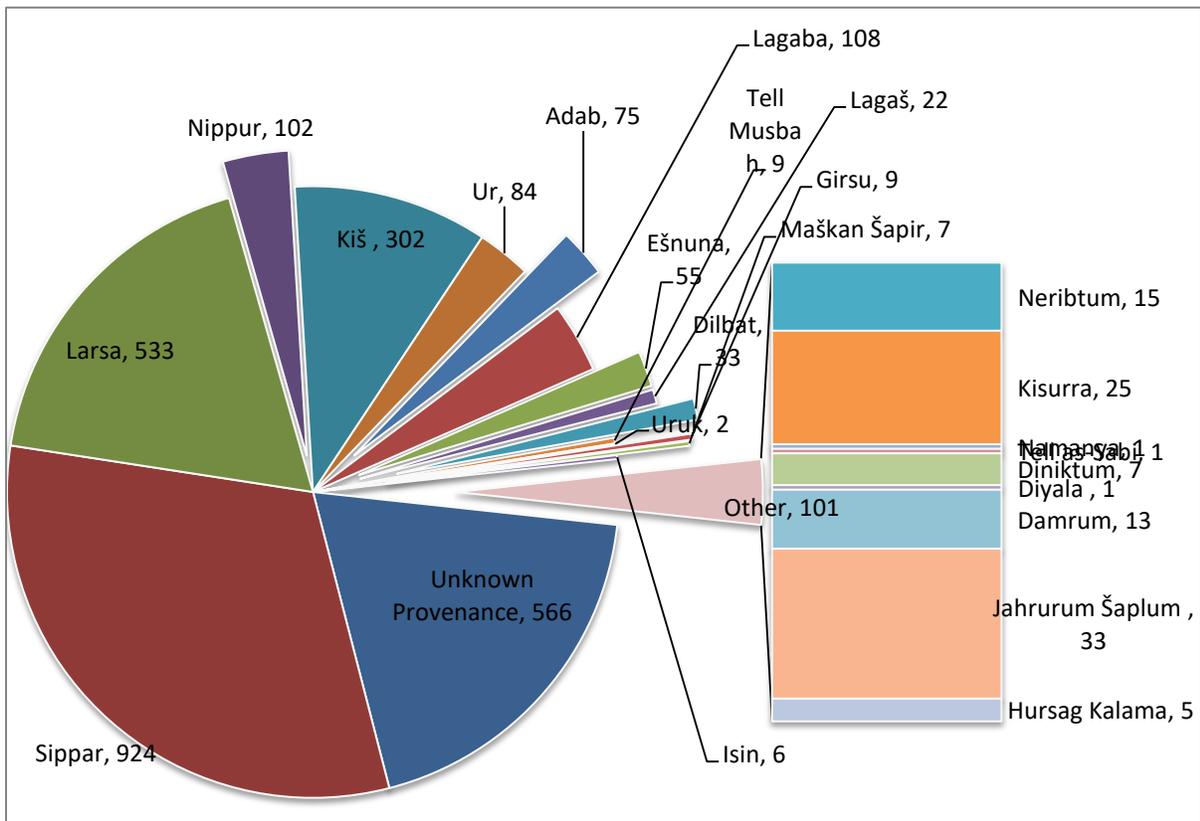


Chart.3.

The general provenance of these letters had already been published in "AbB" as follows: 345 letters from Sippar, 262 from Larsa, 107 from Nippur, 90 from Kiš, 84 from Ur, 73 from Adab, 71 from Lagaba, 55 from Ešnunna, 24 from Lagaš, 21 from Dilbat, 9 from Tell Musbah, 7 from Uruk, 4 from Girsu, 3 from Babylon, 1 from Isin, 1 from Beershiva, 1 from Kutallu, 1 from Namanya and 1603 from unknown provenance<sup>530</sup>. But according to the studies of their

<sup>530</sup> AbB 1-14.

identification by Kalla. we can select the provenance of these letters, as follows: Sippar: 924, Larsa: 533, Kiš: 247, Kisurra: 25, Isin: 6, Lagaba: 108, Dilbat: 33, Adab: 75, Lagaš: 22, Nippur: 102, Uruk: 2, Neribtum: 15, Tell as-šabi: 1, Diniktum: 7, Maškan-šāpir: 7, Ur: 1, Namanya: 1, Diyala: 1, Tell Mušbah: 9, Damrum: 13, Jahrurum Šaplum 33, Hursag Kalama: 5, Girsu: 9 and those of an unknown provenance: 566<sup>531</sup>.

As mentioned above, the provenances of the majority of the Old Babylonian letters are uncertain; however Assyriologists are able to identify the origins of some of them based on the content. When attempting to identify some of the places of origin and destination of the Old Babylonian letters, it is necessary to identify some essential elements in each letter as below:

### **III.1.1. Personal Names**

It could be possible to identify the places of origin and destination of specific letters, according to their names that appear in the letters. Precisely, according to the names of the writer and recipient of the letters, because most of the time the location of the writers of the letters are parallel with the location of the original place of the letters, this means that the location of the writer and the place of origin of a letter are the same, so if we can identify the author of a letter, it also helps to identify the place of origin and history of the letter. One relevant example can be shown by most of the Hammurapi letters that sent to Šamaš-hāzir the governor of Larsa. Therefore we can infer that may have been written in Babylon because Babylon was the origin and capital city of Hammurapi, so it can be said that most of these letters are origin from Babylon, during the reign of Hammurapi<sup>532</sup>.

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<sup>531</sup> KALLA, his lecture.

<sup>532</sup> AbB 4.

Therefore we can infer that may have been written in Babylon because Babylon was the origin and capital city of Hammurapi, so it can be said that most of these letters are origin from Babylon, during the reign of Hammurapi<sup>533</sup>. In spite of all this, it should be known that this is not a general rule because sometimes when the recipient has changed their city or region, they have also brought their documents to the new place or city.

Next to the names of the author and the recipient of the letters, sometimes other personal names appear in the letters help us to identify the places of the origin and the destination of the letters. During the Old Babylonian period, each region in Mesopotamia had a distinctive character for personal names that were unique to each region and that differed with other regions. This in turn can help us to identify the locations of the Old Babylonian letters. A key study into prosopography made by Kalla has been done where he has attempted to identify locations based on names, and even tried to recreate relationships based on his findings.

For this reason, perhaps these personal names that appear in the letters used in this research could help us to identify the places of origin and destination. Therefore we can use the name of the sender, the recipient or the individuals mentioned in the text to extract a hypothesis of their provenance. Therefore the studies of Kalla have proved invaluable to this study.

### **III.1.2. Greeting Formula**

Many of the letters have greetings based on a common formula and often include certain deities. As most cities had their own gods which came to represent the local society, this also could help us to identify either the origin or the destination of the letter. When wishing somebody a long life or a good health, often a deity was invoked to bring them this blessing. Therefore some examples include: Marduk at Babylon, Šamaš at Sippar and Ištar at Uruk. The question posed here is why the different deities have been attested in the different letters. Dalley elaborates on this and comes up with the following ideas:

- “1. A man might include his own city god.
2. He might recognize the city god of the addressee too.

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<sup>533</sup> AbB 4.

3. If his home town owed allegiance to a different city, he might include both his local god and the god of the dominating city.
4. He might have a personal deity, perhaps reflected in his personal name, who was different from his local god, which would influence his choice.
5. There might be a traditional reason for invoking a particular deity, arising from an earlier political situation. This factor suggested itself because the double invocation of Shamash and Marduk, always in order, is so very common in letters from Hammurabi's reign and the first four factors seemed inadequate to explain this. In particular, the occurrence of this double invocation in letters from the Iltani archive attracted attention<sup>534</sup>.

Dalley thinks that the deity of the writer's own city comes first, followed by the second which is the deity of the destination city. The third deity is based on a more traditional reason for mentioning a particular deity<sup>535</sup>. Thus, according to Dalley, the greeting formula of the letters in this research can help us to identify the places of origin and destination of some letters; studying and identifying the divinities could prove to be very useful in identifying the places of origin and the destination of the letters.

But of the 61 letters studied in this research, only 19 letters contain a greeting formula, 37 letters are without the, three letters are broken and we have two in their envelopes. So perhaps the greeting formula could help us to identify the places of origin and destination of 19 letters. The breakdown of this is presented in the following chart:

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<sup>534</sup> DALLEY 1973: 79-80.

<sup>535</sup> DALLEY 1973: 83.

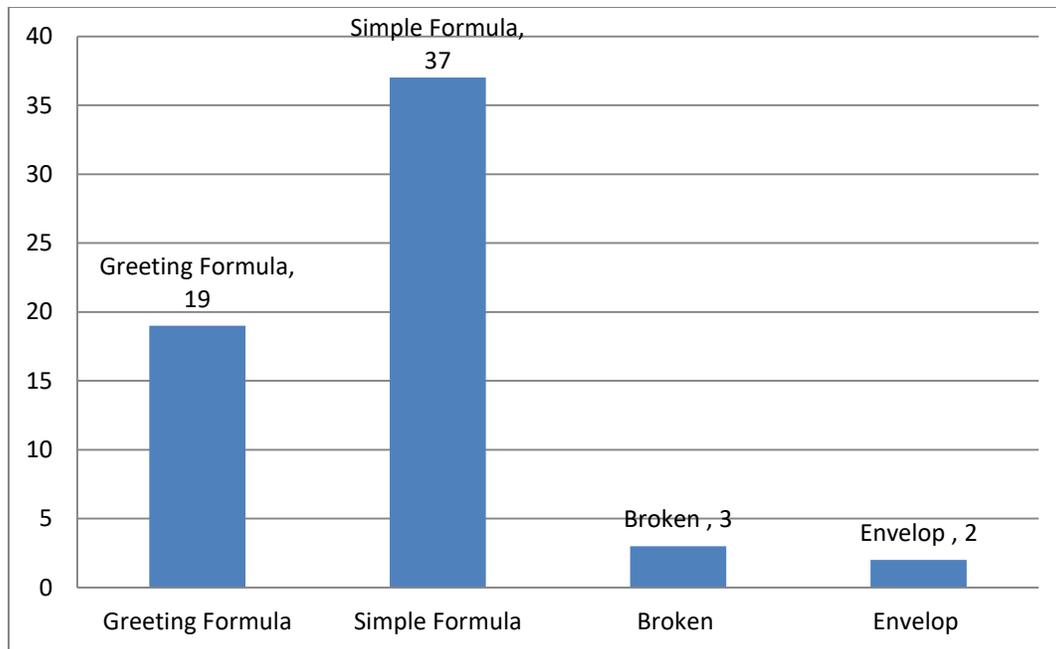


Chart.4.

### III.1.3. Form of Letters

Sometimes the form of the letters helps us to identify and clarify the place of origin of the letters; each city or region may have used a particular form to write the letter. For example, the size of the letters of a region or city may be different from others which help us to distinguish between them. The space between the lines of text can vary from region to region or city to city, another identifiable style. The style of writing also helps us to know where the letters originated from because each city or region had an individual style for writing letters. Therefore, perhaps if we can distinguish the form of the letters from a city or region to other cities or regions, it could help us to identify the places of origin.

### III.1.4. Geographical Names

On many occasions, the geographical names appear in the letters that help to identify the places of origin and the destination of the letters. This clearly informs us where the letters were written and where they were sent to. For this reason, it is possible to say that geographical names help to identify the location of letters when they are mentioned directly within the text.

## III.2. Early Old Babylonian Letters

This section includes all the letters that have been dated to the beginning of the Old Babylonian period until the reign of Rīm-Sîn I, the king of Larsa and Hammurapi, the king of Babylon. We try to give them the serial number based on the oldest to the most recent of this period, as follows:

### III.2.1. Letters of Sāsija

Letters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, are addressed from Sāsija to a certain Abī-iddinam. Despite the name of the recipient, it did not appear to be a popular personal name in the southern part of Mesopotamia during the Old Babylon period. It must be mentioned that this personal name appears in some tablets of this period. In a tablet from Ur, in year 31 of the reign of Rīm-Sîn I, king of Larsa, a certain Abī-iddinam appears as the father of an individual named Zikir-ilīšu<sup>536</sup>. The identification of Zikir-ilīšu is difficult because this was a popular name in the southern part of Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian period.

Another Abī-iddinam appears in an administrative tablet, in the 12th year of Samsu-ilūna's reign in Babylon. He is attested as the father of Apil-Amurru<sup>537</sup> although it does not appear to be possible to identify the son because at the time, this name is common throughout southern Mesopotamia. In another administrative text, from the archive of Šamaš-hāzir, in the year 38 of Hammurapi, another Abī-iddinam appears as the father of Mannu-kīma-Šamaš<sup>538</sup> and on a seal impression of a Larsa text. In the 32nd year of Hammurapi's rule, another Abī-iddinam appears as the father of Awīl-ili as follows: 1. *a-wi-il-ì-lí*, 2. DUMU *a-bi-i-din-nam*, 3. ÌR<sup>d</sup>EN-KI ÌR<sup>539</sup>. But the identification of the two people Mannu-kīma-Šamaš and Awīl-ili is not easy because their names were common in the Larsa province at that time.

Beside Larsa's texts discussed above, it should be mentioned that an Abī-iddinam appears in a single contract from Sippar, in the 10th year of Samsu-ilūna, as the father of Ammatum<sup>540</sup>.

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<sup>536</sup> UET 5, n°. 365: 4.

<sup>537</sup> YOS 12, n°. 364.

<sup>538</sup> OECT 15, n°. 19: V. 4.

<sup>539</sup> OECT 15, n°. 106 Sealing.

<sup>540</sup> TCL 10, n°. 132.

In spite of all these texts mentioned above, it is worth mentioning that an Abī-iddinam also appears in two letters from the Old Babylonian period. The first letter sent by Hammurapi to Sîn-iddinam asks to send a certain Abī-iddinam from the city of Kutalla to Babylon<sup>541</sup>. This letter confirms that Abid-iddinam was from the city of Kutallla in the region of Larsa. The second letter, on its seal impression, Nergal-hāzir calls himself the son of Abī-iddinam<sup>542</sup>. Perhaps this letter refers to the history of the reign of Hammurapi and perhaps represents the first letter from the Larsa region in that era.

Also, according to these texts, register the name of Abī-iddinam, there are some possibilities to identify the destination of these letters addressed to Abī-iddinam, as follows:

The first possibility to consider is that if Abī-iddinam is the recipient of this group of letters, perhaps it is the same Abi-idinam who was the father of Zikir-ilīšu who was recorded in a text from Ur. If we accept this, it is possible to say that the destination of these letters is Ur, but this choice is a weak choice, because we only have one text to support this theory and his son Zikir-ilīšu is an unknown person. The second option is potentially as equally weak, and that would be to accept that the recipient of the letters is parallel to the Abī-iddinam who was recorded in a text from Sippar, the father of certain Ammatum. The final consideration is stronger than the other two choices because in some of the Larsa texts which mention Abī-iddinam next to two letters at the time of Hammurapi, it is possible that the recipient of this group of letters is parallel to this Abī-iddinam that records in Larsa's texts and Hammurapi's letter that sent to Sîn-iddinam and as mentioned above Abī-iddinam was a common personal name in the province of Larsa during the reign of Hammurapi, for this reason, perhaps it is acceptable to say that the destinations of these letters addressed to Abī-iddinam are also Larsa or his province.

As already mentioned, the author of these letters is a certain Sāsija; this personal name is probably not native to the southern part of Mesopotamia but probably comes from the north and north east of Mesopotamia because this personal name was a popular name in the north during the Old Assyrian period. It should also be mentioned that this name was not a familiar name in the southern part of Mesopotamia, despite this; this name is attested in some texts of the southern part of Mesopotamia as follows:

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<sup>541</sup> AbB 13, n°. 40.

<sup>542</sup> AbB 9, n°. 170.

In an administrative tablet from the Ashmolean Museum, we can identify a Sāsija. This text is recorded in the museum as a tablet from the Diyala Valley<sup>543</sup>, and the text confirms that maybe this name originates from the north or north east of Mesopotamia. By connecting the names, and identifying them as alien to the southern areas, we can perhaps see that the other examples listed above may also have come from Diyala, or that the individual had migrated to the south.

Another tablet from the Ashmolean Museum, which details a slave contract and is dated by a year name of Yawium, indicates that a certain Sāsija acted as a witness and was son of Ili-tappē and brother of Sîn-bani. It can be read as follows: Rev.5. IGI <sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-*ba-ni*, 6. DUMU *ì-lí-tap-pá-e*, 7. IGI *za-zi-ja*, 8. DUMU *ì-lí-tap-pá-e*<sup>544</sup>. This contract confirms that probably the name Sāsija is a name from north or north east of Babylon.

Aside from the Ur texts, Sāsija is recorded in two other texts from the early Old Babylonian period. In one of them, he appears as the father of Attā<sup>545</sup>. Besides this, it is also worth mentioning that Sāsija is attested in the Sippar texts<sup>546</sup>. But it must be pointed out that during the Old Assyrian period, the name Sāsija was a common personal name in the north and north east of Mesopotamia.

According to these tablets, Sāsija is mentioned many times and living in southern Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian period. There are some ways in which we can identify the provenance regardless of having the original author: firstly, these letters are probably from northern or northeastern of Mesopotamia, and we can locate them precisely within the Diyala Valley because the name of Sāsija was a common name during that time in this region. Second of all, according to the contract from Kiš, maybe these letters come from Kiš. Thirdly, as mentioned above this name was also attested in the Ur texts and as mentioned above, may be the recipient of the letters in the Larsa region which was in the vicinity of Ur, which may indicate its location. The fourth option is that Sippar was the original place of letters because Sāsija's name is also attested in the Sippar region.

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<sup>543</sup> OECT 13, n°. 238.

<sup>544</sup> OECT 15, n°. 377.

<sup>545</sup> UET 5, n°. 539 and 730.

<sup>546</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

Fourth; the last possibility is Sippar as the original place of letters because Sāsija's name is also attested in the Sippar region.

Despite the various interpretations that we could make, probably the first and third possibilities are stronger theories than the others because, in the case of the first possibility, the name of the writer is a popular name in the north and north-eastern areas of Mesopotamia and in the case of the third possibility; Ur is the closest point of Larsa when compared to other centres.

### **III.2.2. Letter of Sāsija to Lipit-Ištar**

Letter 6, is likely to be from the Diyala Valley as discussed above. But to identify the place of destination of the letter, it is necessary to consider the recipient of the letter, Lipit-Ištar, as this could help to identify the destination of the letter. Due to the fact that Lipit-Ištar was a common name during the Old Babylonian period in the southern part of Mesopotamia, it may prove a little difficulty in placing the location based solely on his name. Because of the damage on the letter we cannot be sure in which direction the letter was sent but it is reasonable to assume that the destination of this letter is the same as the other letters of Sāsija as mentioned above, most likely in the vicinity of Larsa.

### **III.2.3. Letters addressed to Sāsija**

Letters 7 and 8, provide us with a little more confusion as the initial signs could be read as an (*a*), not a (*za*) but equally so, it may indeed be a (*za*) not an (*a*) because perhaps these letters also belong to the same archive of Sāsija as previously mentioned in III.2.1. Aside from that, the writers have left us very little information that could help us identify the provenance.

### **III.2.4. Letter addressed to NIG-Sîn**

The writer and recipient of letter nine do not help us to identify the provenance of the letter, because both personal names are not clear to us. But the form of the letter seems to resemble the format of a letter from the beginning of the early Old Babylonian period or perhaps from the end of Ur III period.

### **III.2.5. Letter of Ur-Ištar**

Letter 10 also causes difficulty for Assyriologists as it is damaged and the identity of the recipient is lost and cannot be restored. Fortunately, the name of the writer of the letter is a certain Ur-Ištar a name from the Old Babylonian period that is only attested to in Sippar<sup>547</sup>. For this reason; probably the letter's origin from Sippar. It is worth thinking about whether this letter is actually Old Babylonian though as it does resemble the Ur III form.

### **III.2.6. Letter addressed to Namzitarra**

Letter 11 is an exchange addressed from a certain Lum-išu to Namzitarra. The name of the writer of this letter is a unique personal name during the Old Babylonian period if our transliteration is a correct transliteration. For this reason, the identification of the original place is difficult but does allow us to date it to the correct period.

But the recipient of the letter, Namzitarra, was a very common personal name during the Ur III period, and it also appears as a Sumerian name. It should also be considered that it continued to exist into the Old Babylonian period as it appears as a personal name in a literary text from Nippur<sup>548</sup>. It is because of this that we think that perhaps the destination of this letter is also Nippur. Once again, it is debatable as to whether this is an Ur III period text or Old Babylonian.

### **III.2.7. Letter of Marduk-mukīn-šimtim**

Letter 12 was addressed by Marduk-mukīn-šimtim to his lord. Marduk-mukīn-šimtim was a rare personal name in the Old Babylonian period, which is why the writer's name does not help us to identify this letter. The form, we can say with a degree of certainty, is that used in the Old Babylonian period though.

### **III.2.8. Letter of Šin-rabi**

Letter 13 was written by Šin-rabi to a certain Ilī-andūlli (Ilī-šulūllī). The name of this writer was a popular personal name across the whole of Babylonia during the Old Babylonian period, and particularly in Sippar during the Hammurapi dynasty<sup>549</sup>. Due to the popularity of this name, the identification of this person is difficult. However the name of the recipient perhaps may help

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<sup>547</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

<sup>548</sup> <https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P478972>

<sup>549</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

us in identifying the provenance because it was not a popular personal name during that time but is attested in two early Old Babylonian texts: The first text refers to a history of the reign of Nūr-Adad and the second text dates to year 11 of Sîn-muballit<sup>550</sup>. There is another text from Sippar but the dating is unknown<sup>551</sup>. Beside these texts from Sippar, this name also appears in other texts from the same city during the 18th year of Hammurapi's reign<sup>552</sup>. Consequently, all of these texts were mentioned Sîn-andūlli gives us two choices: This letter is probably from the early Old Babylonian period or perhaps from the reign of Hammurapi. According to the form of the letter is seen more likely to be a letter from the early Old Babylonian period than a letter from the Hammurapi period. It should also be known that this personal name during the Ur III period was a popular personal name.

### **III.2.9. Letter of Naram-Sîn to Emši'um**

Letter 14 was sent by Naram-Sîn to Emši'um; the popularity of the name Naram-Sîn was well documented across all periods of Mesopotamian history and for this reason, the identification through this personal name is challenging. On the contrary, the recipient's name Emši'um is rare during the Old Babylonian period. Identification, deciding the places of origin and destination of this letter is complicated because both personal names do not provide enough information to certify that. In addition to these complications, the context of the letter is also unhelpful in identifying the places in this letter. The letter perhaps reflects a date before the reign of Rīm-Sîn I.

### **III.2.10. Letter of Ahum to Warad-Marduk**

Letter 15 was written by Ahum, which was a popular personal name during the Old Babylonian period in Babylonia, but these letters which were written by Ahum<sup>553</sup> are collectively known as the letters of Umma<sup>554</sup>. It perhaps means that this letter is also a letter from the collection known as the letters of Ahum that originated from Umma. The recipient of the letter,

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<sup>550</sup> SIMMONS 1978, n°. 121 and 161.

<sup>551</sup> HMET 2/1, n°.10.

<sup>552</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

<sup>553</sup> AbB 2, n°. 117-129.

<sup>554</sup> AbB 13: IX and AbB 14: XII-XIII.

Warad-Marduk, was a common personal name in the southern part of Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian period. As is the case with letter 18, the frequency of the name fails to provide us with a great deal of information. But it should be mentioned that Warad-Marduk appears in many letters in different circumstances. In two letters from Sippar, he appears as the writer of the letters who was communicating with a gentlemen<sup>555</sup>. In another letter that Ammi-šaduqa sent to Sîn-aham-iddinam, who was the mayor of Sippar, Warad-Marduk appears as a barber. In the letter, he is requested to send Warad-Marduk the barber to Sippar-jahrurum<sup>556</sup>, which means probably Warad-Marduk was a resident of Sippar city. He also appears in other letters dating from that time. According to the conversation of these letters, perhaps it is possible to say that Warad-Marduk of this letter, as in the case of Warad-Marduk of the other letters, was in residence in Sippar or at least within its province. Besides that, a certain Warad-Marduk makes an appearance in an official text from Sippar<sup>557</sup>, and according to the list of the personal names of Sippar, this name was a familiar name in the across the region. All of this information leads us to say that probably the recipient of this letter was also a resident of Sippar or its province.

### III.2.11. Letter of Ikūn-pî-Iškur to Rabī-šilašu

Letter 16 was written by Ikūn-pî-Iškur during the Old Babylonian period. The name of Ikūn-pî-Iškur appears in some texts as follows: in a text from Larsa, dated to the 25th year of Rīm-Sîn I<sup>558</sup>, and in three texts of Ur dating from his 33rd regnal year<sup>559</sup>. For this reason, it is possible to assume that perhaps this letter also originates from Ur or Larsa.

The name of the recipient of this letter is not a conventional personal name during the Old Babylonian period, but it should be mentioned that this name is apparently on a seal impression on a legal text from Marada dating from the first year of Būr-Sîn's rule. A certain Nūr-Ištar called himself the son of Rabī-šilašu<sup>560</sup>, this name is attested in Sippar amongst some texts

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<sup>555</sup> AbB 1, n°. 13 and AbB 6, n°. 115.

<sup>556</sup> AbB 12, n°. 63.

<sup>557</sup> OECT 13, n°. 286.

<sup>558</sup> OECT 15, n°. 42.

<sup>559</sup> UET 5, n°. 600, 825 and 826.

<sup>560</sup> AUCT 4, n°. 6.

during the reign of Ami-saduq<sup>561</sup>. But perhaps Rabī-šilašu in our letter is the same as that Rabī-šilašu who appears during the reign of Būr-Sîn because as mentioned above, the name of the writer appeared during the reign of Rīm-Sîn I and as we know, the reign of Būr-Sîn and Rīm-Sîn are very close to each other but the reign of Ammi-saduq is later than the others. It means that the destination of our letter is probably Marada, and not Sippar.

### III.2.12. Letter of Simmūgra

Letter 17 was written by Simmūgra, a not too familiar personal name during the Old Babylonian period, yet appears repeatedly in the archive of Šillī-Šamaš, the son of a certain Simmūgra, is well known during the reign of Rīm-Sîn I<sup>562</sup>. In a letter belonging to his son, and sent to his lord, Simmūgra's name also appears again<sup>563</sup>. We also have a letter of a legal text from Larsa which mentioned a Rimatī as the wife of Simmūgra (Rev.7. *ri-ma-ti-i ša DAM si-im-mu-ug-ra*) which is dated to year 2 of Rīm-Sîn I's king in Larsa<sup>564</sup>. In all probability, she was the mother of Šillī-Šamaš. In another administrative text from Larsa dating to year 6 of Rīm-Sîn I, we find details that indicate that Šillī-Šamaš is the son of Simmūgra (Obv.9. 20 ʾGURʾ *ší-lí-<sup>d</sup>UTU DUMU si-im-mu-ug-ra*)<sup>565</sup>. Besides the texts from Larsa, Simmūgra appears in an unpublished contract from Maškan-šāpir which corresponds to year 7 of Rīm-Sîn I's reign<sup>566</sup>. Consequently, these texts confirm that perhaps Simmūgra, the writer of this letter, is the same Simmūgra who is the father of Šillī-Šamaš. In this case, it could be said that the original place of this letter is perhaps Larsa.

The name of the recipient of the letter, Šamaš-u-a, is a rare name during that time, but it must be mentioned that a Šamaš-u-a appears in a text from Sippar, during the reign of Sîn-muballit. He appears as the son of Ibbi-Sîn<sup>567</sup>, but we do not know that the recipient of our letter is the

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<sup>561</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

<sup>562</sup> AbB 14: XVIII.

<sup>563</sup> AbB 14, n°. 55.

<sup>564</sup> JEAN 1923, n°. 17.

<sup>565</sup> GRICE 1919, n°. 174.

<sup>566</sup> <https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P382189>

<sup>567</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

same as the one in Sippar or not. Despite this, both of them are living at the same time, and as a result, if we accept both of them are the same, it should be agreed that the destination of this letter is likely to be Sippar.

### **III.3. Rīm-Sîn I - Hammurapi period Letters**

Here, we present all of those letters which refer to the time of Rīm-Sîn I, the king of Larsa and Hammurapi, the king of Babylon until the reign of Samsu-ilūna, who was the son of Hammurapi:

#### **III.3.1. Letter of Warad-Marduk to Etel-pî-Ištar**

A certain Warad-Marduk wrote letter 18, and once again we are presented with a similar problem that makes it difficult to prove identity; the popularity of the name. But according to the greeting formula, the letter is perhaps written in Babylon before the fall of Larsa into the hands of Hammurapi. We can assume this because, as we know, Marduk is the local god of Babylon, and in this case, Babylon could be considered as the original place of this letter. However, the name of the recipient of the letter was not a common personal name during that time. This personal name during the Old Babylonian period was attested to in Sippar<sup>568</sup> and in three letters from the reign of Hammurapi<sup>569</sup>. In a letter certain Etel-pî-Ištar appears as the son of Sîn-itūram the governor of Zaginum<sup>570</sup>. However; we do not know the exact location of the city of Zaginum/Marquni<sup>571</sup> but we may be able to find it in the vicinity of Sippar. Finally, it could be that the destination of the letter is Sippar because this name was very familiar in the Sippar region during that time.

#### **III.3.2. Letter sent to Awīl-ilim**

Awīl-ilim, the recipient of letter 19, was a popular personal name during the whole of the Old Babylonian period. As a result, it is difficult to identify the destination of the letter and also the date of the letter based solely on the name of the recipient. In addition to this information, it

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<sup>568</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

<sup>569</sup> AbB 2, n°. 42; AbB 4, n°. 77 and AbB 14, n°. 14.

<sup>570</sup> AbB 2, n°. 42.

<sup>571</sup> NASHEF 1991: 163.

must be mentioned that Awīl-Ilim was a business partner of Sīn-erībam<sup>572</sup> during the Hammurapi era. If we examine the letters of Šamaš-hāzir<sup>573</sup>, the governor of Larsa during the reign of Hammurapi, we find the same name appear again. That is why it is possible that this letter refers us to a history of the Hammurapi period even though this name was a common personal name during whole of the Old Babylonian period. The writer of this letter appears to be a lord of some kind, but cannot be accurately identified. For this reason, the identification of where this letter was written, as where it was sent to remains ambiguous. But perhaps the letter refers us to a history of the Hammurapi dynasty as mentioned above. In addition to the recipient and writer of the letter, a certain Mār-Nūr-Ištar appears in the letter. Compared to the other name listed, this personal name was not typical during the Old Babylonian period. However we are also aware that the second part of the name was popular in the Sippar region but it does not appear with (DUMU/*mar*)<sup>574</sup>. Finally, perhaps it is possible to say that the letter is from the Hammurapi dynasty, even directly from from Hammurapi or Samsu-ilūna time but a definite identification of the writer and recipient of the letter are not possible, and as a result it cannot identify the places of origin and destination of the letter.

### III.3.3. Letter of Ilī-amtaḥḥar to Ilī-ummati

Letter 20 has suffered some damage and as a result the two signs at the end of the name writer of this letter is broken, however it is possible to restore this personal name as Ilī-amtaḥḥar because this name is well known during the reigns of Hammurapi and his son Samsu-ilūna . According to the greeting formula of this letter, and considering the writer of this letter, perhaps this Ilī-amtaḥḥar is the same man as another Ilī-amtaḥḥar who is the recipient of two other letters written by Lipit-Amurru. These letters were written during the reigns of Rīm-Sīn I and Hammurapi before the fall of the Larsa Kingdom to Babylon<sup>575</sup>; according to the greeting formula used here in these two letters, this letter perhaps originates from Sippar or its province. Following the fall of Larsa, Ilī-amtaḥḥar appears in another letter written by Taribatum to Šamaš-hāzir about his

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<sup>572</sup> AbB 12: IX-X and n°. 52-58.

<sup>573</sup> AbB 4, n°. 39, 53, 90 and 91.

<sup>574</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

<sup>575</sup> AbB 13, n°. 125 and 126.

field<sup>576</sup>. We can find another example of a letter exchanged between Hammurapi and Sîn-iddinam in which we find certain Sîn-ereš referred to as the son of Ilī-amtaḥḥar<sup>577</sup>. In this context, it could be possible to say that perhaps all four letters, together with the original letter that has been discussed, all refer to the same Ilī-amtaḥḥar. Next to all this, since the reign of Samsu-ilūna, this personal name was also attested in three administrative texts<sup>578</sup>, a legal text<sup>579</sup> and in another legal text of Larsa which dated to year 51 of the reign of Rīm-Sîn I, king of Larsa<sup>580</sup>. Perhaps all these texts refer to the same Ilī-amtaḥḥar because all can be dated from the same time, and the context of all these texts are near each other.

During the Old Babylonian period, the name of this recipient, Ilī-ummati, is attested in three other letters: in a letter from Sippar, Apil-Amurru appears as the son of certain Ilī-ummati<sup>581</sup>. This letter confirms to us that these two letters, which Apil-Amurru addressed to Ilī-amtaḥḥar, belong to the letter of this research that Ilī-amtaḥḥar sent to Ilī-ummati, it means Ilī-ummati the recipient of this letter was the father of Apil-amurru the writers of the letters 125-126 in “*AbB* 12”, in this case, the provenance of these three letters are perhaps Sippar or its province.

In another letter, Ilī-ummati appears as the writer of the letter which was addressed to a certain Šu-Marduk. However, the original place of the letter is unknown but according to the greeting formula is perhaps possible to suggest that it came from Sippar or Babylon<sup>582</sup> and in the third letter, Ilī-ummati appears as the recipient of a letter which has an unknown provenance<sup>583</sup>.

Beside these letters, as mentioned above, this personal name is attested in a contract dating from year 27 of Hammurapi<sup>584</sup>.

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<sup>576</sup> AbB 4, n°. 71.

<sup>577</sup> AbB 2, n°. 29.

<sup>578</sup> YOS 12, n°. 36, 121 and 386.

<sup>579</sup> <https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P393095.jpg>

<sup>580</sup> [https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/lineart/P427589\\_1.jpg](https://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/lineart/P427589_1.jpg)

<sup>581</sup> AbB 12, n°. 165.

<sup>582</sup> AbB 4, n°. 28.

<sup>583</sup> AbB 6, n°. 156.

<sup>584</sup> FRIEDRICH 1909, n°. 10 and 11.

According to the context of this letter, the destination of this letter is perhaps Babylon because in line 24 *Ilī-amtahar* requested that *Ilī-ummati* could buy something in Babylon. As a result, maybe *Ilī-ummati* was residing in Babylon.

#### **III.3.4. Letter of *Ninurta-balāṭīm* to *Sîn-imgurranni***

Letter 21 was written by *Ninurta-balāṭīm*, this personal name does not appear in other texts during the Old Babylonian period in this form and therefore has a uniqueness to it. But the form of this name is not far from the form of *Ninurta-muballiṭ* which was a popular personal name during that time. It could be possible to identify *Ninurta-balāṭīm*, the writer of this letter, as the same as *Ninurta-muballit*. *Ninurta-balāṭīm* offers no comparable material for us to draw comparisons on in an attempt to identify where the letter was written, indeed we have to check that our transliteration is correct. Whereas in many cases the greeting formula helps to identify the city in which the letter originated in, in this case we find that the name of the god is damaged.

*Sîn-imgurranni*, the recipient, is a common name throughout the Old Babylonian period in the south of Mesopotamia, which clearly hinders our attempts to identify key information using names only. Fortunately a certain *Sîn-imgurranni* appears in several Old Babylonian letters and other kinds of tablets, however the name appears in various roles and positions across a number of cities in southern Mesopotamia and does not aid any clarification.

#### **III.3.5. Letter of *Sîn-šemi***

Letter 22 was written by *Sîn-šemi* to a certain unidentified gentlemen. Despite having seen another of *Sîn-šemi*'s letters we cannot confirm the provenance due to the popularity of the name. Fortunately it is clear that the destination of this letter is *Maškan-šāpir* as it clearly says so in the content. It perhaps means that the gentlemen to whom this letter was written for may have resided in *Maškan-šāpir*; this is based on the comment by *Sîn-šemi* offering to drive the report or news to *Maškan-šāpir*. The letter mentions another personal name, *Padam-qarrād* as the influential son within the palace of *Isin*, however despite his position, we are still unsure about his identity. If indeed he was a prince as would be the most likely line of thought it raises questions that have been unanswered until this time: whose son is he and and what period did he

hold influence. Based on the style of the letter, we may be able to identify it as belonging to the period ruled over by Rīm-Sîn I.

### III.3.6. Letter sent to Bēlum

Letter 23 was sent to Bēlum by his lord; this name does not appear to be one of the more popular names in the period which can prove difficult in identifying the location with limited comparative materials. Fortunately for us, he appears as the writer of two additional letters: in the first, the name of the recipient of the letter is broken as is the provenance<sup>585</sup> Letter 23 was sent to Bēlum by his lord, this name does not appear to be one of the more popular names in the period which can prove difficult in identifying the location with limited comparative materials. Fortunately for us, he appears as the writer of two additional letters: in the first, the name of the recipient of the letter is broken as is the provenance<sup>586</sup>. In another letter, Bēlum appears as the recipient of a letter from a certain Liwiraššum which also has an unknown provenance<sup>587</sup>. It is possible to suggest that its greeting formula perhaps indicates a date of competition during the reign of Hammurapi following the fall of Larsa<sup>588</sup>. It should be mentioned that the name of Bēlum was well known in the Sippar region which may help to locate the origin of the letter.

### III.3.7. Letter of Irra-nāšir

Letter 24 was written by Irra-nāšir, a name which was not a common personal name during the Old Babylonian period in the southern part of Mesopotamia. This personal name appears in a letter from Larsa during the reign of Rīm-Sîn I<sup>589</sup>, and is also attested in another text from Sippar<sup>590</sup>. According to the context of the letter, and the name of Imgur-Sîn, the letter could perhaps have originated in Larsa rather than Sippar because during the reign of Rīm-Sîn I, this name was known to be popular in Larsa. Despite the fact that the name of recipient of the letter is broken, another name is mentioned, Šumum-libiši. This helps us to identify the destination of the

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<sup>585</sup> AbB 12, n<sup>o</sup>. 176.

<sup>586</sup> AbB 14, n<sup>o</sup>. 28.

<sup>587</sup> AbB 14, n<sup>o</sup>. 24.

<sup>588</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

<sup>589</sup> OECT 13, n<sup>o</sup>. 3.

<sup>590</sup> HMET 2/1, n<sup>o</sup>. 58.

letter because this person is well known in Ur as a well-known individual who delivered baskets in Ur<sup>591</sup> during the reign of Rīm-Sîn. This letter also talks about the same topic; that is why perhaps Šumum-libiši, in the administrative texts of Ur and in this letter, is the same person as all of the examples discuss the same talking points and were written at the same time.

### III.3.8. Letter of Sîn-šemi to Bulālum

Letter 25 was written by Sîn-šemi, a name during the Old Babylonian period which was very common. For this reason, the identification of this individual is difficult. It should be mentioned that all letters sent and received by Sîn-šemi, probably Sîn-šemi, the writer and recipient of these letters, is the same with the writer of the present letter, as follows: Sîn-šemi wrote three letters to Ahātum, Nīši-inīšu and Adajatum. All of these letters discuss Sîn-šemi and explain that he is good with his caravan and he had left Qatna. It perhaps indicates to us that he was a businessman and was trading with his caravan in Qatna. The greeting formulas of these letters confirm to us that he likely originated from Sippar or Larsa before the fall of Larsa to Hammurapi<sup>592</sup>. In addition to that, Sîn-šemi also appeared as the writer of other letters which he sent to his lord. Based on the greeting formula of this letter, it is highly possible that this letter was written later than the three other letters because in its greeting formula we can see that Marduk and Šamaš are included<sup>593</sup>. We must also consider the possibility that this Sîn-šemi is not the same as the writer of the other three letters. Beside these letters, he is also appears as the recipient of some other letters;<sup>594</sup> two other letters that Hammurapi sent to Sîn-iddinam are discuss a certain Sîn-šemi<sup>595</sup>. In addition to this, we can turn our attention to the archive of Šilli-Ištar, the son of Ilišukkallu, and the grandson of Sîn-šemi, from Kutalla during the reign of Rīm-Sîn I<sup>596</sup>. It means perhaps the grandfather of Šilli-Ištar, Sîn-šemi, is the same as the owner of the letter selected for this research as well as the other letters from that time because all of them can be dated to the same period and the greeting formula also confirms to us that these letters originated from the

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<sup>591</sup> UET 5, n°. 644, 651-653, 655 and 657

<sup>592</sup> AbB 12, n°. 110, 117 and 119.

<sup>593</sup> AbB 7, n°. 117.

<sup>594</sup> AbB 12, n°. 180 and AbB 9, n°. 242.

<sup>595</sup> AbB 13, n°. 22 and 47.

<sup>596</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 726-727.

Larsa region before the conquest of Larsa by Hammurapi. As a result, if we accept that the owner of the letter of this research is the same as the grandfather of Šilli-Ištar, it means that the place of origin of this letter is Kutalla. We should remember though that it is not easy to conclusively place letter because Sîn-šemi was a popular personal name during the Old Babylonian period in the southern part of Mesopotamia.

The recipient of this letter did not have a common name, unlike the writer. This name is attested in two letters from Larsa: in the first letter, a certain Šamaš-lamassašu wrote to Sijatun to request him if Bulālum needs barley deliver him in the second letter, Belalum writes to Lu-igisa about an ox and silver<sup>597</sup>. This personal name was also attested in Sippar and in Ur during the reign of Rīm-Sîn I<sup>598</sup>. It means that the destination of this letter was, in all likelihood, Ur or Sippar.

### **III.3.9. Letter of Šamašini**

Letter 26 was written by a certain Šamašini, a rare name during the Old Babylonian period. For this reason, the identification of the original place of this letter is difficult: we can speculatively presume that it was perhaps from Larsa the region.

Despite the fact that the second part of the name of the recipient is broken, it can be restored as Lipit-ištar. Since the Old Babylonian period, this was a common personal name in Babylonia and it is why the identification of this person is difficult as mentioned above look the letter 6.

### **III.3.10. Letter of Iškur-hegal**

Letter 27 was addressed by Iškur-hegal to Huššutum, however the name of the writer of this letter is not well known in the southern part of Mesopotamia. According to the first part of the name, and also the greeting formula of the letter, it is possible to say that perhaps the letter is originally from Isin. As Iškur, a local god in the southern part of Mesopotamia, is mentioned it leads us to think that Isin was the original place of this letter.

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<sup>597</sup> AbB 9, n<sup>o</sup>. 84 and 259.

<sup>598</sup> UET 5, 34 and FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

In addition to that, the recipient of this letter, Huššutum, is well known as a nadītum of Sippar and the daughter of Sîn-putram. Her name appears in many texts chronicling her activities for 39 years from the thirteenth year of the reign of Sîn-muballiṭ to year thirty two of Hammurapi's<sup>599</sup>. She appears in many administrative texts from Sippar at that time; not only does she appear as the owner of a number of fields but she also owned a number of slaves. She is also recorded as acting as a witness because her name appears in a number of contracts at that time<sup>600</sup>. Besides these texts, her name also seems in two letters: in a letter from Kiš, that Nabi-Enlil addressed to Sîn-māgir,<sup>601</sup> and in another letter from Sippar that Jamši-ilim addressed to Mannatum which discusses the spending of barley and that a certain Huššutum wrote to Yamsi-Ilim about the issue of the barley<sup>602</sup>. Both letters clearly focus on the local agriculture affairs. Consequently, Huššutum is well known as a nadītum of Sippar, but the question remains if this letter was sent to a destination in or around Sippar. According to the content of the letter, in lines 15-16, Iškur-hegal wrote to Huššutum to pay back the barley in Uruk. This clearly allows us to presume that if the letter was not intended for a resident in Sippar, Uruk could well be another potential candidate.

According to lines 5-6 of the letter, perhaps Dunum was the city in which it was written. We can presume this as he wrote to Huššutum that when he arrived to Dunum, she do not send him anything. It is possible to infer that he wrote this letter to Huššutum whilst he was at Dunum. In spite of the greeting formula perhaps Iškur-hegal was originally from Isin.

### **III.3.11. Letters addressed to Dadā**

Letters 28, 29 and 30, are addressed to a certain Dadā. This personal name is well-known in the southern part of Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian period, more precisely under the reign of Samsu-ilūna, king of Babylon<sup>603</sup>, and it probably helps to identify the destination of

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<sup>599</sup> HARRIS 1962: 5.

<sup>600</sup> CHARPIN and DURAND 1981: 21-22; Harris 1962: 5.

<sup>601</sup> AbB 13, n<sup>o</sup>. 19.

<sup>602</sup> AbB 5, n<sup>o</sup>. 208.

<sup>603</sup> AbB 5: 31.

these letters. There are many letters from Old Babylonian period addressed to a Dadā<sup>604</sup> and he also appears in many letters as the author of those he sent to other people. In addition to that, this personal name has been attested in many tablets during that time, which is why the identification of this person's name is not easy. Perhaps this Dadā, who is attested to in the letters of this research, is the same as Dadā, son of Kubbulum, who is mentioned in letters published in "AbB 14"<sup>605</sup>. Moreover, Kraus attempted to reconstruct the Dadā family tree<sup>606</sup>. Therefore, if we accept this idea that the Dadā in these letters is the same as Dadā who attested in the letters of "AbB 14", it should be suggested that the place of destination of these letters is Isin<sup>607</sup>.

If we are to attempt to identify the place of origin for these letters, the writers must be individually identified first:

Letter 28 was addressed to Dadā by Ibnatum and Idijātum. The first author of the letter is a common personal name during the Old Babylonian period in southern Mesopotamia. This personal name has been attested in many letters during this time, which is why the identification of this person is difficult. The second author is a rare personal name during the Old Babylonian period, therefore the two authors do not contribute to the identification of the place of origin of this letter. But perhaps Zînu, who has been mentioned in the letter, helps us to identify the place of origin of the letter. If she can be identified as the same Zînu as the wife of Šamaš-hāzir<sup>608</sup> who is well known under the reign of Hammurapi, that may mean that the place of origin of this letter is probably from the city of Larsa or its province.

Letter 29 was written by Paka-iškurma, an unknown personal name during the Old Babylonian period. Because of this, the origin of this letter is difficult to determine. Besides that, the letter is broken which does not aid us in identifying the origin of the letter.

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<sup>604</sup> AbB 1, n°. 94; AbB 5, n°. 84; AbB 6, n°. 101; AbB 8, n°. 112 and 121; AbB 9, n°. 17, 112 and 134; AbB 12, n°. 78 and AbB 14, n°. 76 and 205.

<sup>605</sup> AbB 14: XXI-XXII.

<sup>606</sup> KRAUS 1951: 49-50.

<sup>607</sup> KRAUS 1951: 49-50.

<sup>608</sup> AbB 4: VII-IX.

Envelope 30 was also sent to Dadā, without indicating the name of the writer on the envelope. Therefore it is very difficult to identify the origin as only the term "to Dadā" was present, and the envelope has been unopened.

### III.3.12. Letters of Šamaš-hāzir

This section examines letters 31, 32 and 33. Šamaš-hāzir is easily identified as the writer of letters 31 and 32 is well known as the governor of Larsa during the reign of Hammurapi, king of Babylon; his letters and archive is also well known from that time<sup>609</sup>. Therefore we can confidently say that these letters came from Larsa. That said, the identification of the destination of letter 31 is a little more difficult because the second part of the recipient is broken. We have tentatively restored it as the name Lipit-Ištar, but this is not guaranteed. This personal name was popular in Babylonia and the context of the letter does not give us enough useful information to identify the destination of the letter.

The recipient of letter 32, Sîn-gamil, does not help us identify the destination of this letter based solely on the name as it was incredibly popular in Babylonia. The second recipient is also an unknown name, once again we cannot rely on the names to identify the destination. Examining the greeting formula of this letter could help to identify the destination of the letter. As the first god of the greeting formula is Šamaš, who is well known to be the local god of Larsa, which also corresponds to the presumed place of origin, the second god of the letter is Ninurta, which may suggest that Kiš was the destination of the letter therefore it is for this reason it is possible to say that Kiš is the destination of this letter.

The writer of letter 33 is a certain Ninurta-nīšu. Since the Old Babylonian period, this name has appeared in a number of other letters<sup>610</sup>: in a letter from Sippar and two other letters that mention Ninurta-nīšu. If these three letters are indeed from the same writer, it means that all these three letters are from Sippar. According to the context of these three letters and our subject letter, perhaps a single man named Ninurta-nīšu is referenced multiple times<sup>611</sup>, we can suggest

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<sup>609</sup> AbB 4.

<sup>610</sup> AbB 5, n<sup>o</sup>. 198.

<sup>611</sup> AbB 12, n<sup>o</sup>. 2, 114 and 123.

this based on the fact that in these letters, he is referred to as a tax collector. If this is the case, it is possible to say that the original place of all four letters is Sippar. Another Ninurta-nīšu is mentioned in an administrative text from year 9 of Samsu-ditāna's reign<sup>612</sup>. Based on the letter, Ninurta-nīšu was probably an official tax collector working on behalf of the king in Isin. He discusses a report about his activities in Isin, which could be interpreted that he was probably employed as an officer for the king. In this case, perhaps the origin of the letter is Isin and is being sent to its destination in Larsa because the recipient is well known, as mentioned above.

### **III.3.13. Letters Broken Addresses**

Perhaps the form of the letter 34 seems as a letter of the Larsa kingdom. During the reign of Rīm-Sîn I and the information of the line 17 give us some important information on the place of this letter as Zabalam region. According to its form, the letter probably belongs to the same archive as the letters 32 and 33, because the form of the three letters is similar?

According to Gula mentions as the second god of the greeting formula of the letter 35, it seems a letter belongs to the Isin region and dates to late Old Babylonian period? The letter mentions a certain Hammurapi which proposes the possibility that this name is identical to the famous Babylonian king; which cans letter was written during the reign of Hammurapi or his son Samsu-ilūna?

### **III.3.14. Letter addressed to Agūa**

The the name of the author of letter 36 does not help to identify the original place of the letter because it is rare during the Old Babylonian period. If we examine the content of this letter, the author claims that he is in front of the waif of Apil-ilišu, by using the name of this warrior it can help to identify the origin. The name Apil-ilišu is a common personal name during that period in Larsa, and also across other cities of the southern part of Mesopotamia. Looking at the content of the present letter, Apil-ilišu is a warrior that was well known in Sippar, during the reign of Rīm-Sîn I<sup>613</sup>. It is for this reason that we can probably assume that the warrior Apil-ilišu in this letter

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<sup>612</sup> YOS 13, n°. 250.

<sup>613</sup> STOL 2004, Not. 1181.

is the same as the famed Apil-ilišu of Sippar. In this case, it is possible to say that the writer of the letter, Rēū-Amrūm, was probably in Sippar thus indicating its origin.

But the recipient of the letter is a certain Agūa, whose personal name is also widely used in Ur during the reign of Rīm-Sîn I<sup>614</sup>. This could allow us to place the recipient in Ur, thus indicating the place of destination. Besides these tablets from Ur, the same name also appears in a letter from the Vorderasiatisches Museum<sup>615</sup> and it should be also mentioned, this name is also attested in two administrative texts dated to the reign of Samsu-ilūna without provenances<sup>616</sup>.

### **III.3.15. Letter addressed to Šamaš-lamasi**

We find that in letter 37, the second part of the name of writer of this letter is broken and the restoration of the name is difficult because many of the personal names during the Old Babylonian period start with the first part of this name as: Gimil-Marduk, Gimillum, and Gimil-ilim. It means that the identification of the place of origin of this letter, based on the writer of the letter's name, is not possible.

The recipient of the letter, Šamaš-lamasi, is known from a tablet of Hammurapi time<sup>617</sup>. This letter is perhaps from the Sippar region based on the first part of this name?

### **III.3.16. Letter addressed to Apil-Urin, Zunnum and Ilī-rabi**

Understanding letter 38 has proven a little difficult because the letter was addressed to three individuals and written by two other people. However, the content of the letter helps to identify the date and location of the letter. According to line 15, it is clearly evident that the writers of the letter request that the recipients bring things to the city of Rahabum, a well-known border city between Larsa and Isin, located in the northwestern region of Larsa<sup>618</sup>. This confirms that this

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<sup>614</sup> EUT 5: 28.

<sup>615</sup> AbB 6, n°. 16: 13.

<sup>616</sup> YOS 12, n°. 130 and 330.

<sup>617</sup> CT 8, n°. 5a

<sup>618</sup> CHAMBON and GUICHARD 2015: 37.

letter is from Larsa region. For the date of this letter we cannot indicate a precise date, but the form of the letter resembles the style of letters from the reign of Rīm-Sîn I.

### III.4. Late Old Babylonian Letters

This section contains all of the letters in this research which date to the Late Old Babylonian period: from the end of the reign of Hammurapi until the end of the Old Babylonian period.

#### III.4.1. Letter of Samsu-ilūna

Letter 39 was written by Samsu-ilūna, the king of Babylonia, sent this letter to a certain Ipqu-Gula. Although this personal name was not a popular choice during the Old Babylonian period, it should be mentioned that a certain Ipqu-Gula is known from the beginning of the reign of Abī-ešuh, the king of Babylon, son of Samsu-ilūna . He appears in two contracts from Sippar as the son of a certain Ubār-Lulu (*Ubār-<sup>d</sup>Lú-làl*) and the brother of Abum-waraq, Nidnuša, Ibni-Marduk and Nūr-ilišu<sup>619</sup>, and belongs to the family of Nūr-ilišu (I)<sup>620</sup>. The context of the letter provides evidence that the recipient of the letter is residing in Isin, because Samsu-ilūna demands Ipqu-Gula, give to Mār-Amurram, the general of Amurram, a good field in the district of Isin. This clearly indicates that Ipqu-Gula was in residence in Isin, and can therefore presume that the destination of the letter is Isin.

#### III.4.2. Letters Broken Addresses

The context and greeting formula of letter 40 helps to identify the date of this letter, which is a letter from the later part of the Old Babylonian period. As we know, following the fall of the Kingdom of Larsa into the hands of Hammurapi, the greeting formulas usually included the local god alongside Marduk and on some occasions they used three gods: Šamaš, Marduk and the local god. According to the greeting formula, perhaps this letter originates from Sippar. It is clear that the recipient of the letter is the son of certain Sîn-rēmēnī, but it is not clear if the recipient of the letter was the real son of Sîn-rēmēnī or perhaps Sîn-rēmēnī was his lord. This confusion is caused by the expression (*abika* “your father”) which was also used for lord, officer and king.

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<sup>619</sup> MHET 2/6, n°. 887 and 888.

<sup>620</sup> KALLA 2002: 161

The lack of clear contextual information therefore cannot confirm if the recipient was a real son of Sîn-rēmēnī or otherwise. Attempting to identify this Sîn-rēmēnī is very difficult because of the fact that this personal name was popular at that time.

The greeting formula of letter 41 is broken but fortunately the name Gimil-Marduk is preserved allowing us to potentially identify its date. However, once again, the name Gimil-Marduk was also a common personal name during the whole duration of the Old Babylonian period. The context of the letter may point to a date somewhere around the later years of Hammurapi's reign or the early years of Samsu-ilūna's, because Gimil-Marduk at that time was too popular name appears as the writer of a letter during that time as a captain<sup>621</sup>. The form of this letter is incredibly similar to letter 40; therefore it could be easily assumed that both letters perhaps belong to the same archive from the final years of Hammurapi's rule or the early years of Samsu-ilūna .

Unfortunately, the second god of the greeting formula of letter 43 is broken, but thanks to line 13 we may be able to restore Marduk as the god in question. It is clear that this letter can be dated to the late Old Babylonian period, and perhaps originated from the Sippar region according to the use of the god Šamaš. The name of Ahušunu confirms that perhaps the letter is from the reign of Samsu-ilūna because this personal name was well known during that time<sup>622</sup>. Moreover, Charpin identified that a certain Ahušunu, son of Sīyyatum, was superior to a group of date palm growers<sup>623</sup>. Another letter also confirms that Ahušunu was well known as a leading date grower in Girsu<sup>624</sup>. Before we make any definite conclusions, it must be remembered that this name maintained popularity in the Old Babylonian period.

According to the greeting formula, letter 51 can be dated to the late Old Babylonian period and based on the second part of the writer's name [...]Gula and the name of Gula-balassu, the letter probably came from the Isin region. It is also possible to suggest that perhaps this letter and

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<sup>621</sup> AbB 14, n°. 124.

<sup>622</sup> YOS 12: 25.

<sup>623</sup> CHARPIN 1981: 522, B 2.

<sup>624</sup> AbB 14, n°. 97.

letter 50 were part of the same archive because both the form and context are similar in each example.

The address of letter 52 is broken, as is its greeting formula, which could have been used to identify the places and date of the letter, forcing us to search for alternative information. But according to the verb (*liballiṭuka*) it is clear that two or perhaps three gods were written for the greeting formula. In this case, it confirms that the letter is from the late Old Babylonian period. Finally, it must be mentioned that the form of letter 52 closely resembles that of letters 50 and 51 and therefore perhaps belongs to the same archive from the Isin region.

### **III.4.3. Letter of Atta**

Letter 42 was written by a certain individual named Atta. However, this name was incredibly common in Babylonia during this period, specifically in Ur<sup>625</sup> and Sippar<sup>626</sup>, which makes it difficult to conclusively identify this person. We can look towards to the archive of Atta from Nippur, who lived during the reign of Samsu-ilūna<sup>627</sup>, which could help to identify the original place of this letter. It could be suggested that this letter probably belongs to this archive. It could equally be said that perhaps the writer of this letter is not the same Atta of the archive from Nippur. In this case, the present letter is perhaps connected to other cities in the south of Mesopotamia because Atta was such a common name in the south of Mesopotamia, since that time.

### **III.4.4. Letter of Utulu-sila to Namram-šarūr**

Letter 44, was written by Utulu-sila. However, the writer's name still remains unknown throughout the Old Babylonian period but due to the context of the letter, we can identify its origin. In line 10 of the letter, the writer mentioned Nippur as his city, it means the letter was perhaps written in Nippur. If we accept this, a question arises: if Nippur is the city of the writer, why doesn't Enlil appear as a local god of Nippur in the greeting formula of the letter?

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<sup>625</sup> UET 5: 32.

<sup>626</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

<sup>627</sup> GOETZE 1964a: 102-113.

Nevertheless, according to the context it should be accepted that Nippur is the original place of the letter.

The recipient of the letter, Namram-šarūr, appears in five letters as follows: in a letter from Larsa, he appears as the writer with the elders of a town when they sent their letter to their superior<sup>628</sup>. In two other letters from Larsa, Namram-šarūr appears as the recipient of the letters alongside Sîn-imguranni sent by Šumum-libaši and Gimil-Gula<sup>629</sup>, in the fourth letter certain Namram-šarūr is appearance as the recipient of the letter<sup>630</sup> and in fifth letter certain Namram-šarūr appears in a letter that Iltani sent to Adi-annitim<sup>631</sup>. It must mention that this name was also attested in many texts of Sippar<sup>632</sup>. According to the context of these letters mentioned above and other texts of Sippar, Namram-šarūr was probably residence at Sippar, in this case it must be accepted that Sippar or its province was the destination of this letter.

#### **III.4.5. Letter of Warad-Sîn**

The greeting formula and the name of the writer of letter 45 are broken but if our restoration of the greeting formula and the writer as Šamaš, Marduk and Warad-Sîn is correct, it means that the letter can be dated to the late Old Babylonian period according to its greeting formula.

#### **III.4.6. Letter of Ali-bāšti to Lahiatim**

Letter 46 is addressed to Lahiatim by Ali-bāšti, The names of the writer and the recipient of this letter are unique personal names during the Old Babylonian period, because of that, it is not possible to identify the places of origin and destination of this letter simply on the grounds of these names. But perhaps the other personal names which appear in the letter helps to identify the places and date of the letter, because three other personal names Ubārrum, Zizija and Warad-Sîn are attested in the letter, but all of these personal names are too common personal name during the Old Babylonian period in the south of Mesopotamia, that is why, they do not help to

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<sup>628</sup> AbB 14, n°. 189.

<sup>629</sup> AbB 14, n°. 203 and AbB 9, n°. 237.

<sup>630</sup> AbB 9, n°. 278.

<sup>631</sup> AbB 14, n°. 23.

<sup>632</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

identify the places and date of the letter. In spite of all these things, it should be mentioned that the archive of a soldier called Ubārrum during the late Old Babylonian period is well known in the Sippar region. Because of that I think the original place of the letter is not far from the Sippar region.

### III.4.7. Letter of Eṭirum to Šēlebum

Letter 47 was written by Eṭirum to Šēlebum; the name of this writer was a popular personal name in Babylonia, and more precisely in the Sippar region, during that time. It should be mentioned that this personal name appears in some contemporary letters as follows: in a letter from Sippar, a certain Eṭirum appears as the writer of another letter with the same greeting formula<sup>633</sup>, because of that, I think the writer of the letter 47 should be considered as the same writer as the letter from Sippar. It could also be suggested that the place of origin of the present letter is perhaps Sippar. Beside the precedent letter of Sippar, a certain Eṭirum in another letter from Sippar appears as the writer of the letter who addressed the letter<sup>634</sup>. We can suppose that perhaps the writers of both letters and our letter are the same person. In this case, it could be possible to say that the original place of the present letter is the Sippar region. It should be mentioned another letter wherein a certain Eṭirum appears as the recipient of the letter<sup>635</sup>. In spite all of these mentioned things above, this name was common in the Sippar region<sup>636</sup> which confirms us that perhaps the original place of the present letter is also Sippar region. It must be mentioned a further tablet from the reign of Abi-ešihu<sup>637</sup> which also refers a certain Eṭirum as a member of the military, but it is not clear that Eṭirum in the present letter is the same to this Eṭirum or not. And the both Eṭirum are the member of the military! So, according to these texts as mentioned above it seems to me that the name of Eṭirum was a popular name in the Sippar region during the late Old Babylonian period and it raises the possibility that perhaps the present letter is originated from the Sippar region, during the late Old Babylonian period. Moreover, its greeting formula confirms this idea.

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<sup>633</sup> AbB 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 38.

<sup>634</sup> AbB 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 39.

<sup>635</sup> AbB 13, n<sup>o</sup>. 165

<sup>636</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

<sup>637</sup> BE 6/1, n<sup>o</sup>. 78

The name of the recipient of the present letter Šēlebum is more complicated to identify than the name of the writer because this personal name was more popular in whole of the southern part of Mesopotamia at Old Babylonian period. But it must not be forget that this name in Sippar region was well known at the time of Hammurapi dynasty<sup>638</sup> that it is not far to say that perhaps he was also residence in the same region of the writer of the present letter. But according the greeting formula of the present letter it could also be said that the destination of this letter is perhaps Babylon not Sippar.

As a result, it could be said the present letter originated from the Sippar region and its destination was probably Babylon or Sippar during the late Old Babylonian period.

#### **III.4.8. Letters of Marduk-mušallim**

Letter 48 was addressed by Marduk-mušallim to Igmil-Sîn. Marduk-mušallim was a common personal name during the Old Babylonian period in the southern part of Mesopotamia; because of that, this person's identification is incredibly difficult. Fortunately, the archive of a certain Nabium-atpalam, which is well known in Sippar, had many letters which were addressed to Nabium-atpalam by Marduk-mušallim who was residing in Babylon at that time<sup>639</sup>. Perhaps the writer of this letter is the same Marduk-mušallim who had sent his letters to Nabium-atpalam of Sippar. If the two individuals are the same person, it means that the place of origin of this letter is Babylon. But as mentioned above, this personal name during the dynasty of Hammurapi was a popular in Babylonia, therefore the identification of this person is difficult. In spite all this, there are three texts from Kiš written in the years 2, 3 and 4 of Samsuditana's rule, that record the conversation between Marduk-mušallim and Igmil-Sîn<sup>640</sup>. Perhaps these two people are the same as the writer and recipient of letter 48. If these two people are the same, it means that the provenance of the letter is Kiš. What does remain unclear though is whether the origin or destination of the letter is Kiš or perhaps another settlement within the vicinity of Kiš.

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<sup>638</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

<sup>639</sup> AbB 2, n°.139 and AbB 12: IX.

<sup>640</sup> YOS 13, n°. 41, 330 and 333.

When trying to identify the destination of the letter we are faced with the same problem as identifying the origin of the letter. Igmil-Sîn was a popular name in Babylonian especially in the northern part of Babylonia during the late Old Babylonia period. This name could be found in many northern cities of Babylonia and it is attested in many letters and texts from that time; once again the identification of the individual is difficult. By examining the context of the letter, we can look for alternative means of identification. The brother of Igmil-Sîn, Igmil-Marduk, was residing in Sudahi, it can therefore be suggested that there was a possibility that Igmil-Sîn was also resident in the same city as his brother. This argument is strengthened as it mentions that Igmil-Marduk has harassed the servants of Gimil-ilim, in the city of Sudahi; in this case, it is highly plausible that Igmil-Sîn was also residing in Sudahi. If Igmil-Sîn was really living in Sudahum, it does not mean that the destination of the letter is known because this city is unknown in the Old Babylonian texts. This letter is the first text that mentions this city. Another fact to be taken into consideration is that a similarly named city, Šuduhum, is recorded in two letters from Mari, which Birot has tentatively identified as being in the vicinity of the triangle of Habur<sup>641</sup>. According to the personal names and greeting formula of this letter, it must be assumed that the place of origin is Sippar or its immediate surroundings and the destination of the letter is likely to be Kiš or its region. Furthermore, perhaps we can suggest that the city of Sudahi is situated in the provenance of Kiš.

#### **III.4.9. Letter Warad-ilišu to Etēja**

Letter 49 was sent by Warad-ilišu to Etēja. Once again, the identification of the author of this letter is difficult because he had a popular personal name in Babylonia. Therefore, the identification of the place of origin of the letter based on the name alone is not easy. Looking at the context of the letter, perhaps we could identify this Warad-ilišu as the same as judge Warad-ilišuma in Sippar during the reign of Samsu-ilūna, king of Babylon<sup>642</sup>. Warad-ilišuma has been attested in many texts and letters but if we accept that this Warad-ilišuma could be the same as judge Warad-ilišuma, then we have to presume that they came from Sippar. Another possibility

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<sup>641</sup> BIROT 1973: 7, Not. 2.

<sup>642</sup> HARRIS 1975: 138-139.

is that if Warad-ilišuma in this letter is the same as Warad-ilišuma of Lagaba<sup>643</sup> in this case, it should be accepted that the original place of the letter is Lagaba not Sippar. The first option is stronger than the second because of the greeting formula. Šamaš comes first in the order of dedications and as the local god of Sippar, may indicate that the letter originated from there. That said, during the Hammurapi dynasty we have seen several times where Šamaš and Marduk have been written as a traditional reason, but usually if the god Šamaš stands in the first position, it is may indicate that the letter is originally from Sippar<sup>644</sup>.

Besides the names of the writer and the recipient of the letter, other personal names appear in the letters that can also help us to identify the place of origin and destinations. A certain Sîn-qarrād is attested in this letter from Sippar, but this personal name was not so common during the Old Babylonian period.<sup>645</sup> This name appears in a text from the reign of Amisaduq<sup>646</sup> and appear in another text without any indication of the date and provenance but perhaps it could be suggested that it may have come from Sippar or its province<sup>647</sup>.

Another personal name that can be taken from this letter is Ilišu-ibbišu, which was a popular personal name during the Old Babylonian period in the southern part of Mesopotamia, which is why the identification of this person is very difficult. But there are two significant differences between these men named Ilišu-ibbišu who lived in Sippar, the first was a supervisor of the merchants in Sippar<sup>648</sup> and the second was a captain<sup>649</sup>. It is possible that one of them was the same as Ilišu-ibbišu who is mentioned in this letter. Aside from these candidates in Sippar, many other men named Ilišu-ibbišu lived in different cities of Babylonia, for example; Ilišu-ibbišu son

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<sup>643</sup> AbB 12, n°. 11.

<sup>644</sup> DALLEY 1973: 83.

<sup>645</sup> AbB 8, n°. 143.

<sup>646</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

<sup>647</sup> OECT 15, n°. 90.

<sup>648</sup> HARRIS 1975: 75.

<sup>649</sup> STOL 1976: 98.

of Sîn-iqīšam who was called servant of Samsu-ilūna<sup>650</sup> and in other letters we find further references to people named Išū-ibbišu<sup>651</sup>.

But the recipient of the letter Etēja may help identify the destination of the letter. In a letter from Sippar a certain Sîn-iddinam attested as the son of some Etēja that this person is an unknown person<sup>652</sup>, but the Sippar texts confirm that this letter is perhaps surrounded in the Sippar area<sup>653</sup>, because the names of writer and recipient had been attested in this region.

#### **III.4.10. Letter of Ahī-lūmur**

Letter 50 was addressed to a certain gentleman and written by Ahī-lūmur. The writer's name is attested in some texts from the Old Babylonian period: A text from the 22nd year of Samsu-ilūna's reign<sup>654</sup>, 5 administrative texts, of which two of them are dated to the reign of Ammi-saduq, whilst the remaining three are unknown but likely to be around a similar time<sup>655</sup>. Besides these texts, this name also appears in two other texts: one is from Larsa and dating to the 31st regnal year of Hammurapi<sup>656</sup> and the other is maybe from the reign of Rīm-Sîn I<sup>657</sup>. The date of this letter is not precisely known but according to its greeting formula, and these texts mentioned above, the letter perhaps reflects a date during the reigns of either Hammurapi, Samsu-ilūna or Ammi-saduq. This name is most documents in Sippar which may indicate its origin also<sup>658</sup>. Whilst the names alone cannot give a definite location for the origin and destination the greetings may provide some use. The use of Marduk perhaps suggests that the letter's origin is Babylon, and the inclusion of the goddess Gula shows that the destination of the letter is perhaps Isin.

#### **III.4.11. Letter of Šunūma-ila**

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<sup>650</sup> CHARPIN 1986: 122.

<sup>651</sup> AbB 9, n°.27, 38 and 83; AbB 11, n°.144 and AbB 14, n°.75.

<sup>652</sup> AbB 7, n°. 129.

<sup>653</sup> LUC 1994, n°. 62 and 119.

<sup>654</sup> YOS 12, n°. 408.

<sup>655</sup> YOS 13, n°. 182,183, 185, 188 and 472.

<sup>656</sup> OECT 15, n°. 131.

<sup>657</sup> OECT 13, n°. 287.

<sup>658</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

Letter 53 was sent by Šunūma-Ila to his father. Šunūma-Ila appears on multiple letters during the late Old Babylonian period: In a letter from Sippar, we find that Šunūma-Ila's name appears amongst a list of other people. This letter is likely to be from the Hammurapi period<sup>659</sup>. Šunūma-Ila also appears in another letter<sup>660</sup>. Besides these letters, this personal name was common in Sippar during the late Old Babylonian period allowing us to have a sense of certainty when identifying the provenance<sup>661</sup>. The letters and the Sippar texts use a greeting formula which indicates that the origin is Sippar and they were dispatched in the direction of the Babylonia. All of these texts belong to the late Old Babylonian period.

#### **III.4.12. Envelop sent to Awīl-Iškur**

Envelope 54 was sent to Awīl-Iškur. However, this name during the Old Babylonian period was another of the more common personal names, but during the reign of Samsu-ilūna a certain Awīl-Iškur is well known as a tax collector, and many letters are addressed to him alone or together with Nūr-Šamaš<sup>662</sup>. Because of that, it is possible that the idea that the recipient Awīl-Iškur could be the same as the well-known tax worker at the time of Samsu-ilūna could be appropriate. Unfortunately nothing of this envelope helps us to identify the places of origin and destination of the envelope.

#### **III.4.13. Letter of Apil-Sîn**

Apil-Sîn addressed letter 55 to his father. Apil-Sîn's name was a very common personal name in the southern part of Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian period. As a result of this, the identification of the place of origin of this letter is difficult, but the greeting formula of the letter probably helps to identify the place of origin as well as the destination and the date of the letter. According to its greeting formula perhaps the letter was written in Ur region during the late Old Babylonian period.

### **III.5. Letters Unknown their Dates**

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<sup>659</sup> AbB 1, n°. 101.

<sup>660</sup> AbB 1, n°. 101.

<sup>661</sup> FERWERDA and WOESTENBURG 1998.

<sup>662</sup> AbB 14: XX-XXI.

This section includes all of the letters which have unknown dates yet have been chosen to be included in this research:

### **III.5.1. Letter of Uraš-nilam**

Letter 56 was written by Uraš-nilam whose name is unique during the Old Babylonian period. However, the first part of this name appears together with many other names in the tablets<sup>663</sup> and letters during that period as follows: Uraš-mušailim, Uraš-muballiṭ, Uraš-qarrād, Uraš-iddinam and Uraš-nāšir. According to the prefix of the writer of this letter, it is possible to identify this letter as having come from Dilbat because Uraš as a first or second part of personal names is attested on the tablets from this city<sup>664</sup>. Uraš-nilam sent his letter to his lord, but this raises questions such as: who was this lord and where was his lord residing. So without the identification of his lord, it is difficult to identify the destination of the letter.

### **III.5.2. Letter of Zugal-malik**

The name of the recipient of letter 57 is too common during the Old Babylonian period as mentioned in the letters of Sāsija look, but the name of the writer Zugal-malik, is not a common personal name at that time, this is the reason why the identification this person is too complicated. Consequently, the names of recipient and the writer do not help us to identify the provenance and history of this letter. Based on the form of the letter though, we could infer that it is a letter not from the early Old Babylonian period.

### **III.5.3. Letter sent to Sîn-muballiṭ**

Letter 58 was sent to Sîn-muballiṭ by Sîn-iddinam. Both personal names were very common and appear in many texts, because of that, the identification of both people is difficult to ascertain and equally so, we cannot determine the date with any certainty.

### **III.5.4. Letters Broken Adresse**

The addressee of letter 59 is too damaged and therefore we cannot identify the date and provenance of this letter.

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<sup>663</sup> KOSHURNIKOV 1986: 117-130.

<sup>664</sup> STOLPER 1992: 119-139.

Letters 60 and 61 are also damaged beyond restoration; it is not possible to understand those letters because of their broken form, leaving us with no information on the writer, recipient or the location in which it was written.

Consequently, it seems that we can identify the provenance of the letters used in this research as follows: 16 from Sippar, 6 from Larsa, 5 from Isin, 3 from Isin/Larsam, 2 from Babylon, 1 from Zabalum/Larsa, 1 from Sudahi, 1 from Dilbat, 1 from Uruk, 1 from Kutalla, 1 from Ur, 1 from Maškan-šāpir, 1 from Marada, 1 from Nippur and 19 letters have unknown provenances. The chart below summaries this data:

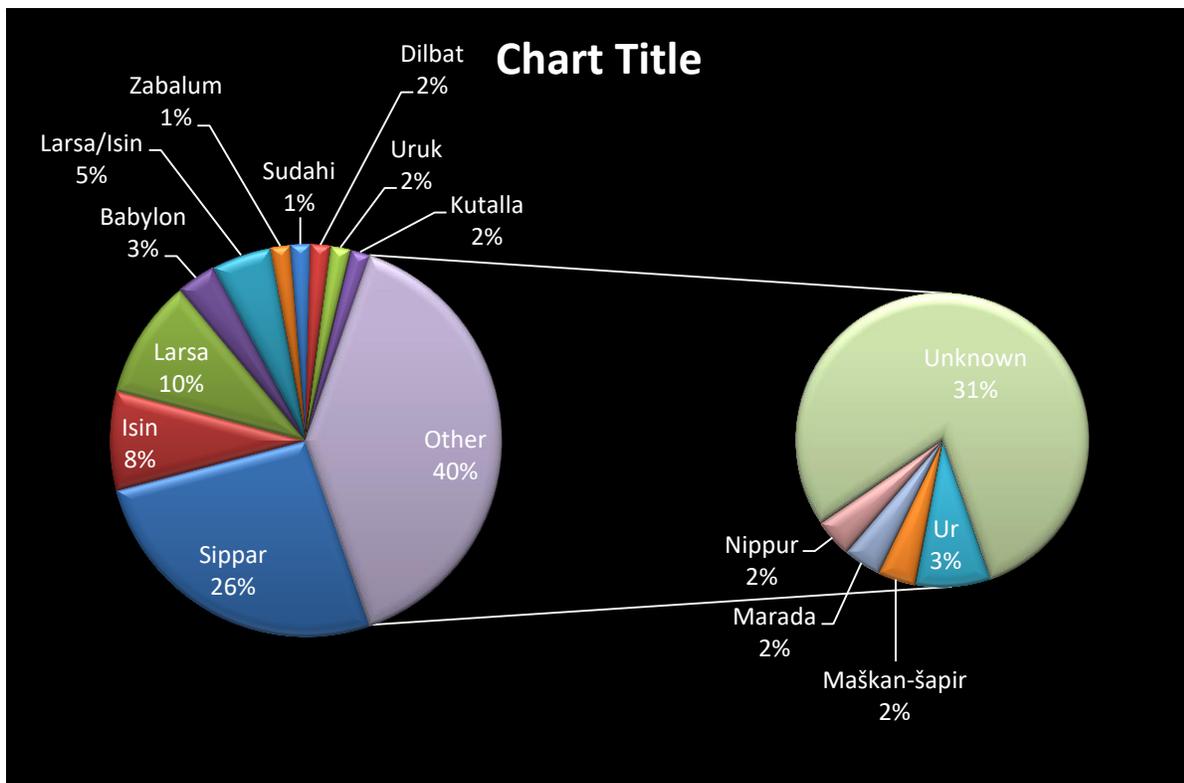


Chart.5.

Next to the provenance of the letters, following this research, the date of the letters is as follows: 17 letters from the early Old Babylonian period, number 1-17, 21 letters are from the time of Rīm-Sîn I/ Hammurapi time, from the number 18-38, 17 letters are from the late Old Babylonian period, from the number 39-55 and 6 letters are unknown their dates, from the number 56-61, as seen in the following chart:

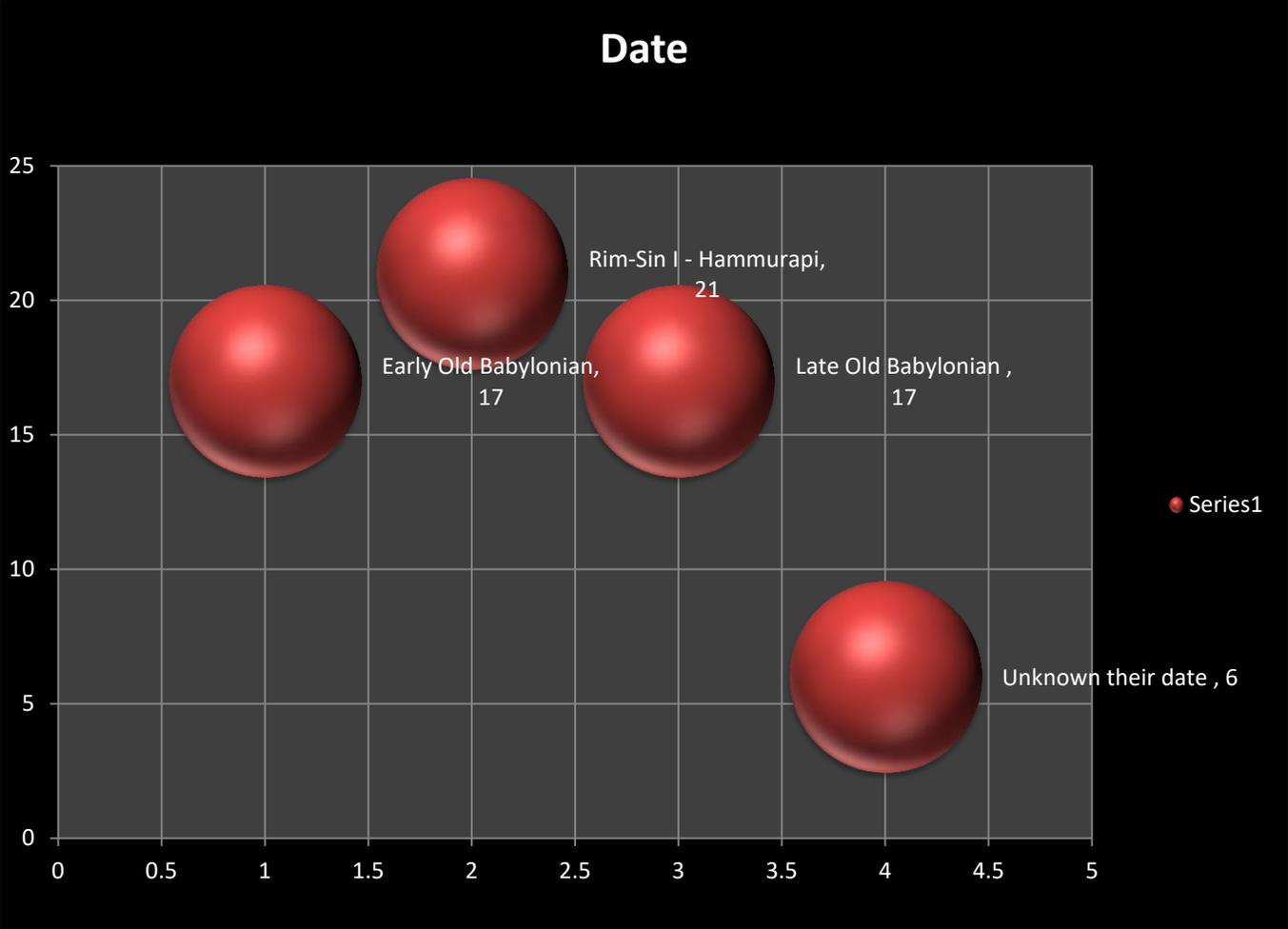


Chart.6.

## Chapter IV

### The Content of the Letters

#### IV.1. Introduction

A few scholars have made various categorization attempts for the Old Babylonian letters, based on the content of the letters. We try to present here some of these categorizations, then if it is possible to use some of these categorizations for the typology of the letters that have been used in this study.

The categorization made by Oppenheim is one of the oldest that tries to classify the Old Babylonian letters according to their subjects. Despite Oppenheim's decision to make only eight economic categories, these categories are all obvious and make sense. His classification is as follows:

- “1. Fighting the Bureaucracy
2. Trade
3. Daily Life
4. Law
5. Agricultural Management
6. The Administration of the Realm
7. War and Peace
8. The Court”<sup>665</sup>

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<sup>665</sup> OPPENHEIM 1967: 78-110.

Many of these categories are logical and reliable with the subject of the letters used in this research, and a few of them do not apply at all. I use here some of these classifications which appear in the subject of the letters of this research.

I have been influenced by a practical classification of the Old Babylonian letters by M. Lee Jaffe in his dissertation "The Old Babylonian Letters: An Examination of Communication in Babylon, Larsa, Mari and Assyria". Jaffe classified the subjects of the Old Babylonian letters into 24 categories, after each classification he gave a description of what it covers and what it, reciprocally, does not cover. The categories of Jaffe are as follows:

- “1. Census and Record Keeping
2. Dispatches
3. Documentation
4. Domestic Relationships
5. Farming
6. Fields
7. Foreign Relations
8. Jurisdictional Matters
9. Local and Provincial Administration
10. Local Customs and Anomalies
11. Money and Economy
12. Navigation
13. Practical Justice
14. Private Occupations

15. Quarrels
16. Religion and the Gods
17. Resources
18. Royal Administration
19. Servitude
20. Taxation
21. Time
22. War and Peace
23. Water Management
24. Work Details and Corves<sup>666</sup>.

Applying this system to the sample of letters used in this study, it was found that some letters did not yield to a single subject. Many letters existed with various subjects; in this case, the letter has been indicated in various classifications.

Some of these appellations, seeming logical and reliable with the topics indicated in the letters used in this dissertation have been used to analyze the content typology. Below, according to the subjects of the letters of this dissertation, I use these classifications as follows:

## **IV.2. Cultivation**

Agriculture was perhaps the single most important subject of the Old Babylonian period and is well documented in the source material; as we know, the early Mesopotamian society was an agricultural society and agriculture had a significant role in developing this society. The topic of cultivation includes many topics that incorporated into a wider agricultural topic such as the

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<sup>666</sup> JAFFE 1982: 170-177.

planting, growing, harvesting, storage, and transportation of all types of cereal and fruits<sup>667</sup>. According to this explanation mentioned above, we can present the sample of letters as follows:

#### **IV.2.1. Letter addressed to Šamaš-hāzir**

Letter 33 is a letter which was sent to Šamaš-hāzir by Ninurta-nīšu, the subject of this letter in this case is clear. It appears that Ninurta-nīšu, acting upon the orders of his lord, requests from Šamaš-hāzir that he could send him some barley which was located in Isin and in his possession. and then the barley will be much by him but before the broken he demand him to send him these barley in a limit time but this space is broken because of that we do not know which time he limited to send him these barley, and for this he calls Šamaš-hāzir as his brother if he will send him these barley at this time. It must be mentioned that the present letter and letters 32 and 34 have the same form which probably the three letters from the same archive.

#### **IV.3. Request and Order**

Most of the Old Babylonian letters include a request or a demand; the letters from this sample mainly deal with the request of barley, beer, animals, soldier or other similar resources. They have been grouped together based on the grounds that the request or order is the initial purpose of the communication:

##### **IV.3.1. Letter addressed to NIG-Sîn**

Even though letter nine is too broken, the beginning of the letter is clear. It shows us that the king had ordered the distribution of cereal to other people and can be dated by its conclusion; a Sumerian month name and a year after digging the canal of Kittim.

##### **IV.3.2. Letter of Sîn-iddinam**

In letter 58, Sîn-iddinma says to Sîn-muballiṭ that he can not drink wine or be drunk until he has written a response to his former letter, and arranged for its delivery. The two last lines are broken.

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<sup>667</sup> JAFFE 1982: 171-172.

## **IV.4. Field**

The discussion of fields is another popular topic amongst the letters and include a variety of sub categories such as the change in ownership of a field, giving the field to someone, measuring of the land, quality of the field amongst others. Here we present all of these letters that speak on these subjects as follows:

### **IV.4.1. Letter of Ilī-amtahhar to Ilī-ummati**

The letter 20 includes more than a subject but the most important subject is on the field problem for this reason we account as a letter field subject: The first part of the letter presents the information on the giving money, the letter talking of regarding a certain Etel-pî-Ninurta, according to this part of the letter until the line 10, the writer claims that it is should be the recipient of the letter, Ilī-ummati, receive 5 Shekels of Silver from his tax collector since the month of IX and the writer of the letter, Ilī-amtahar, tells to Ilī-ummati, he will bring him these money since a month, but we do not know what is this money but according the second part of the letter perhaps it is the rent of the field.

The second part of the letter gives information on a field, according to these information this filed is not cultivated because of that they did not touch any Sila of barley, beside that Etel-pî-Ninurta claims a field and Ilī-ummati did not accept this request, this is why, Ilī-amtahhar demands Ilī-ummati to send the request of the field to assemble and then they will decied on his request, and this field was located in Babylon. Finally, up to the line 18, Etel-pî-Ninurta obtained this field. Besides that, Ilī-amtahhar informs Ilī-ummati that a field will be free to him and Ilī-amtahhar took a field to himself and gives to princesses. Finally, Ilī-amtahhar mentioned 2/3 Shekles of barely as the original amount that Etel-pî-Ninurta has to pay.

### **IV.4.2. Letter Broken Address**

The understanding of letter 35 is somewhat complicated because some parts of it are broken, but according to the lines 8-9, the writer informs the recipient of the letter to return a field to a gentleman to a former owner of the field. He said that he must do it before Hammurapi goes to this region. Perhaps the Hammurapi who is mentioned is his famous namesake from Babylon,

and the writer again said to the recipient of the letter I am fatherly writing to you and he demands the recipient that he also writes to him the same.

#### **IV.4.3. Letter of Rē'ū-Amrūm to Agūa**

Letter 36 is one of the letters of this research which talks on the given back the owner of a field between two persons, during the Rīm-Sîn I – Hammurapi period in the south of Mesopotamia. In this letter the sender of the letter Palu-amraum requests Agūa the recipient of the letter to give back a field to certain Eršija. According to the context of this letter the sender of the letter perhaps sent another letter to Eršija about the field owner but he mentioned that Eršija did not reply him and did not inform him about this problem? For this reason the sender requests Agūa to transport 10 Iku of his own subsistence field to Eršija. In addition the transportation of the owner field the letter speaks on another problem of the house certain Išar-kidišu, the sender of this letter claims that he is in front the wife of Apil-ilišu on this problem which this warrior is well known in Sippar as mentioned above. Palu-amraum requested that Apil-ilišu warrior transport the propriety of the house of Išar-kīdišu to him in payment, beside these, he claimed that tomorrow a certain lady will be available since the transport the owner of this house, it means that perhaps all of these persons will be go in front of Apil-ilišu warrior to find a choice for that problem that existed between them? The problem perhaps on the transport the owner of the field and house?

#### **IV.4.4. Letter of Samsu-ilūna**

According to the context of the letter 39, Samsu-ilūna the king of Babylonia requests from Ipqu-Gula to give 10 acres of an excellent field in the Isin region to Mār-Amurrim, the general of Amurru.

#### **IV.4.5. Three Letters of Isin**

In this dissertation, we find three letters of the same form, which include similar subjects; all these three letters are presumed to be from the Isin region during the Late Old Babylonian period. Here, we would like to present each letter separate from the others, as follows: Letter 50 is one of these three letters which a certain Ahi-lūmur sent to a gentleman. The letter between lines 8-13 is too broken therefore our understanding is somewhat limited, but according to the

following lines we thoroughly understand the context of the letter that Erib-IIī, the military commander, requested to be permanently given a field on the West bank but Ahi-lūmur informs the gentleman that it is not available, but as a compromise Ahi-lūmur proposes to give another area to the military commander to cultivate.

Understanding letter 51 is more complicated than the previous letter because the writer and the recipient of the letter are damaged, and we do not know that the letter was written by whom and sent to whom. But the subject of the letter according to line 6 is clear. It concerns a field of a certain Gula-balasu. The writer request to the announcement the letter to the god of Gula and at the end of the letter the writer requests of the recipient to send the cereal of the filed. As mentioned before, the general understanding of the letter is difficult because of its damage.

Letter 52, as in the case of the two other letters from Isin, discusses transferring ownership of a field. Like the previous example, because of the damage to the letter, we cannot identify the writer and recipient. In addition to this, the greeting formula is also broken. In lines, 10-11 we are introduced to a certain Ipqu-sarpinit who received 1 acre of a field from 3 acres of a soldier's field; up to these two lines perhaps this person was a soldier. Line 15 mentions 4 acres of a field belonging to a certain Šamaš-dajān but the end of the line is unclear to us, and we cannot understand what has happened to these 4 acres of the field. But according to the lines 15-18 probably Iddin-Marduk and Manu-balum-Šamaš get a field from 4 acres filed of Šamaš-dajān? In the following lines, the writer talks on 1.2.2. Acres of a field for his father and he said that I signed to give my father this filed but other persons replied the writer that this field is not available, the writer again says that it should be available the field of my father, and it should be given him this field. Anyway, the completely understand of this letter is difficult because of its damage, but it is known that it talks on the giving field to some persons as mentioned in the letter.

#### **IV.5. Jurisdiction**

This selection of letters can be classified based on the fact they all refer to judicial matters usually overseen by the mayor of the city, a lord or another member of the judiciary who were able to dispense the best decisions:

#### **IV.5.1. Letter sent to Awīl-ili**

Understanding the context of the letter 19 is difficult because the letter is too broken. Because of that, the context of the letter is not clear, but it must be mentioned the line 15 and 16, which according to of these lines probably some persons had a problem for this reason they want to go in front of the king and decide their things in front of the king to solve their problem. For this reason, we think this letter is a juridical letter.

#### **IV.5.2. Letters addressed to Dadā**

Letter 28 belongs to the same group of letters as 29 and 30 which were addressed to Dadā, but unfortunately we cannot identify the context of letter 29 because it is too badly broken, with only some lines remaining. Letter 30 is an envelope which has not yet been opened. The subject of letter 28 it is most likely to be a juridical letter based on the content of lines 10-13. In the letter we are given details regarding a problem with certain slaves. It appears that a soldier of Idijatūm was not providing enough care to the servants of Ibnātūm. It is possible that this problem was sent to Zinū, who in turn referred it to the judge of the city to decide on the outcome of this complaint. Unfortunately, the end remains damaged and we are unable to reconstruct the outcome.

### **IV.6. Economy**

As we know during the Old Babylonian period, money in its current form did not exist, but this topic includes all of the letters encompassed in this research which discuss loans, credit, and debt, silver and such:

#### **IV.6.1. Letter of Marduk-mukīn-šimtim**

In letter 12, Marduk-mukīn-šimtim informs his lord that on the 21st day of the month he delivered sheep to a certain Iškur-īpušu. He is unsure if his lord is aware of it so writes to offer further clarification.

#### **IV.6.2. Letter of Sīn-rabi**

The context of letter 13 is not too clear because at the beginning of the last line, some signs are not clear to us; as it is a short letter that, the understanding of this letter is a little difficult.

The general context talks on a kind of mixture/liquid which uses to make beer, Sîn-rabi demades Ili-andūlli that he gives this mixture to his brother?

#### **IV.6.3. Letter of Naram-Sîn to Emši'um**

The writer of letter 14, Naram-Sîn, asks Emši'um, the recipient of the letter, on his file a behavior of complaints on your house, he said that it is the speech of my lord? We do not know who was his lord? He informs Emši'um if he will gives confident to the family and his wife, they will bring you 2 Kor of barley for this confident. In other part of the letter Naram-Sîn informs Emši'um that he lost barley and he requests to reimburse the barley which he lost.

#### **IV.6.4. Letter from Ahum to Warad-Marduk**

The context of the letter 15 is talking on the different kind of packs with various colors. Ahum, the writer of the letter, talks to Warad-Marduk about these packs, Ahum mentions to producing these different packs by three persons and he requests Warad-Marduk who lets them to bring him these packs.

#### **IV.6.5. Letter of Ikūn-pî-Iškurma to Rabī-šilašu**

Letter 16 discusses an inventory of a significant number of cattle, Ikūn-pî-Iškur says to Rabī-šilašu, the the king sent him 120 Bulls and 4560 sheep, clearly a large herd. It is not mentioned who was the king who had gifted the livestock to him. Alongside, Ikūn-pî-Iškur demades Rabī-šillašu give him ten bulls, 120 sheep and one gur of oil that he has available.

#### **IV.6.6. Letter of Warad-Marduk to Etel-pî-Ištar**

Letter 18, is a simple letter from the reign of Hammurapi that includes the return of 2 kors of barley because the servants have eaten the barley. Warad-Marduk demanded that Etel-pî-Ištar return these 2 kors of barley to him. Based on this request, it is highly likely that these servants belonged to Etel-pî-Ištar. If not, why would Warad-Marduk request that Etel-pî-Ištar replaces the barley.

#### **IV.6.7. Letter of Ninurta-balāṭim to Sîn-imgurranni**

The majority of letter 21 is unreadable, but according to lines 5-8, it is clear that the letter gives information regarding the payment of money to a certain Muhaddûm. The other parts of the letter are broken so we are unsure as to the cause.

#### **IV.6.8. Letter of Šamšīni**

The letter 26, is one letter of this research that talks on given back the barley and field, Šamšīni, the writer of the letter, wrote to Lipit-Ištar that the gentlemen said to Lipit-Ištar that the gentlemen paid back the barley, Šamšīni said to Lipit-Ištar, you did not pay back the barley and the field of the writer mistress that it is not clear who was his mistress? Šamšīni wrote to Lipit-Ištar that you took away field and barley, because of that, Šamšīni requests to Lipit-Ištar, when you see this letter of mine, it should be paid back the barley and field to his mistress and be not careless to the mistress and children. Finally, Šamšīni informs Lipit-Ištar that he will go to request this loan and Šamšīni requests Lipit-Ištar when you pay back the loan to me because I will be happy because of it.

#### **IV.6.9. Letter of Iškur-hegal**

The context of letter 27, as was the case with the previous letter, discusses loans. Iškur-hegal says that Huššutum, from the day that he arrived at the city of Durnum, did not give anything back to Iškur-hegal. Iškur-hegal said that he received 40.4.3 Kor of barley, four seahs of oil of 1.2.3 x for the payment of his slave girl. Iškur-hegal complains that for a 2-3 year period he had repeatedly written to him about the payment of this loan, but did not pay him back so Iškur-hegal requests to pay back the barley in Uruk. Iškur-hegal demands Huššutum give 40.4.3 Kor of barley, four seahs of oil with a sealed document. Besides that, Iškur-hegal requests that Huššutum that should allow his slave girl to become free. Iškur-hegal gives good news to Huššutum because he says that if during that day he goes out from the gate of Babylon, he will give him back everything and he will return two seahs of oil. Iškur-hegal tells Huššutum that if he cannot return the barley, give the house and garden in payment. Finally, perhaps Huššutum paid it back to Iškur-hegal as it is mentioned that 'it is not all silver that you paid back to me in front of my in-law and the placement of the silver for the barley.

#### **IV.6.10. Letters Broken Address**

The address of letter 34 is broken, and we can not identify to whom this letter belongs to but as mentioned in letters 32 and 33, according to their style and the forms of the letter 32, 33 and 34, they probably belong to the same archive. The context of the present letter is about sheep; the writer of the letter requests to the recipient to send him and Sîn-išmeanni the sheep in question. He also indicated that his father had lost his own sheep and he wants to replace the herd. He says to the recipient of the letter that the road is safe and that he can send the sheep, preferably one by one, to upper Zabalum.

Letters 40 and 41 probably belong to the same archive because the forms of both letters are incredibly similar and they discuss similar subjects. The beginning and the left-hand side of the letter until line 10 is broken and in its place a modern restoration has been attempted. Despite these difficulties, understanding the context of the letter is not difficult; the writer of the letter claims that the recipient of the letter should give back the silver. Although we don't have the name of the recipient, the writer mentions a certain Sîn-remēni, and describes him as the father of the recipient. In line 9, the writer mentions that someone brought him 1/3 Minas of silver which may well be his father. But it is not clear because this part of the letter is broken. Besides that, the writer informs the recipient that he did not give the report to Ilī-dika and anyone else, and only sent it to himself. The writer briefly mentions that the recipient is feeling sad, but again the context of this comment is lost. He also said that he did not say that to his lord. The writer demands the recipient to give ½ Manas of the silver in front of his servant Ilī-habil.

Letters 41 and 40 perhaps belong to the same archive as mentioned in the previous letter. The understanding is complicated by the fact that it has suffered too much damage all over. But it is clear that the letter talks about two main subjects: line 11 mentions 2 shekels of silver but because it's broken we cannot understand what the silver was for and for whom exactly, but in the following line, the writer of the letter mentions his lord and therefore we can assume that perhaps this silver was for his lord. The second subject of this letter is discussing the sewing of female garments on the style of *Hupputum*, which was probably preparation for marriage or a particular festival or ceremony.

Letter 59 is clear in that the writer talks about the buying of sheep from the recipient of the letter. According to the context of line 5, we see a transaction history being discussed in which references are made to previous communication as indicated by "you wrote to my father." Whilst we do not have the evidence, it is logical to suggest that previous letters had also revolved

around the business of buying and selling sheep. He also mentions how the palace will accept the sheep. The other point of discussion is the purchase of barley as well as the need to buy one hundred sheep. He says that he will send the silver for the payment of the sheep, but the writer said to the recipient that he expects a reply as soon as possible.

#### **IV.6.11. Letter addressed to Apil-Urin, Zunnum and Ilī-rabi**

Letter 38, is an important letter of the Larsa region, which talks about payments. This letter was written by two persons Nannātum and Huri and addressed to three other persons Apil-Urin, Zunnum and Ilī-rabi. According to the context of the letter the writers of the letter said to the recipients of the letter that ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A-nada and Šimumu sent to them 3 bulls and 37 Minas. The said that from these goods, 2 bulls and 6 2/3 Minas are from Warad-Sîn and 1 bull and 30 1/3 Minas are of Nannātum. So the writers of the letter you must bring these .moneybags .to Sîn-remēni in the city of Rahabum near of Larsa. But we do not know that the recipients of the letter were residence in which city? This conversation is continued between them: the writers of the letter continue to say the recipients of the letter to give all these money together to Sîn-remēni but they said to the recipients that you do not open the .moneybags for Sîn-remēni! According to these words perhaps the writers do not believe Sîn-remēni, for this they said to the recipient do not open the moneybags to him? They continue this conversation and they wrote to the recipient is Šimumu write and send you something bad you will be not afraid and the writers request the recipient come to Šimumu and bring with you the money and they said to the writers that you must not send to Šimumu anymore money and you must come and bring the moneybags. The writers continue to say the recipient to bring gold from your house and Sîn-remēni house as much as possible and then give me these gold by Šimumu. Besides that, they wrote urgent to the recipients about the gold of the palace. In the end of the letter they talk on a new person Šamaš-rabi but this part is not clear for this we cannot understand of this part.

Anyway, the context of this letter appears clear: the repayment of a previous loan with an added element of mistrust between those involved.

#### **IV.6.12. Letter of Warad-ilišu to Etēja**

Some lines on letter 49 at the end of the face side and in the beginning of the rev. side are broken only some signs are visible of these lines which do not help to understand the

signification of these lines that these lines make problem to understand the general meaning of the present letter. In spite of these we can understand the letter which Warād-ilišu sent to Etēja. At the beginning of the line 9 is broken which probably the name of an object was existed there because Warād-ilišu said to Etēja I send to you by Sîn-qarrād but we can not known that Warād-ilišu send what to Etēja. Following Warar-ilišu said to Etēja you do not send me broken object by messenger? In the line 13 Warad-Ilišu indicated that he do not loss anything next to that Warad-ilišu send to Etēja Ilišu-ibbišu and he requests flour and 1 sheke of the silver because he should give this silver to the lord . Finally Warad-ilišu demandes Etēja write to me these things in a tablet

#### **IV.6.13. Letter of Uraš-nilam**

Letter 56 was written by Uraš-nilam and sent to his lord in which he discusses a citizen named Halilum. It would appear that the lord of Uraš-nilam had asked him to request that Halilum buy lapis lazuli in order to make a seal for the god Uraš. Regarding that, Uraš-nilam informs his lord that Halilum brought him only 1 Mina of silver to make this seal and Halilum said to Uraš-nilam it is the full price to do this seal. Disagreement over the price is then the main point of discussion. The disagreement over the price is then reported directly to the lord where Uraš-nilam demands that his lord sends to him the silver needed for the lapis lazuli seal to ensure the happiness of the god Uraš. Following this line, the damage to the final lines, 25-27, means that the conclusion of the letter is unknown.

#### **IV.6.14. Letter of Zugal-malik**

Zugal-malik sent letter 57 to Abī-iddina, in which he discusses Ilī-mahi who perhaps requested a large amount of silver from Abī-iddina. It is for this reason that Zugal-malik wrote this letter to Abī-iddina. What is discussed is a repayment plan in which the first installment would be 10 shekels and the second would be 15 shekels. It shows us that Zugal-malik demanded Abī-iddina does not give all the silver to Ilī-mahi in a single transaction. Aside from this matter, Zugal-malik talks about somebody named Šāt-Sîn, but the letter is too badly broken to truly understand what the discussion point was.

### **IV.7. Slavery**

This category covers the purchase and selling as well as the welfare and conditions of the slaves:

#### **IV.7.1. Letter of Šamaš-hāzir**

Letter 32 probably also belongs to Šamaš-hāzir as were letters 33, 33 and probably 34. The subject of this letter is well known in which Šamaš-hāzir receives two slave girls. However once again due to damage inflicted on the text, their purpose is or situation is not clear.

#### **IV.7.2. Letter of Marduk-mušallim**

Letter 48 is one of the most beautiful letters surveyed in this research and remains one of the clearest. The letter was sent by Marduk-mušalim to Igmil-Sîn. The writer of the letter Marduk-mušalim informs Igmil-Sîn, that a certain Gimil-Ilīm asked him to tell Igmil-Sîn, to question why Gimil-Marduk ( the brother of Igmil-Sîn ) has been harassing his servants in the city of Sudahi. As a result, Marduk-mušalim requests that Igmil-Sîn tells his brother, Gimil-Marduk, not to harass servants of Gimil-Ilīm in the city of Sudahi anymore.

### **IV.8. Time/Meeting**

Perhaps the only letter included in this topic is letter 60. This letter is also badly damaged and therefore the meaning remains duly hidden, however we can make out that there is a request from the writer to the recipient, both of whom are unknown, to bring him something or possibly someone without any delay. For this reason, we classify this letter under the category of time.

### **IV.9. Social Relationship**

This heading title includes all of these letters whose contexts mention any social relationships that include, but not limited to, marriage, divorce, adoption, births, deaths, inheritance and wills<sup>668</sup>. The following letters have been categorized on their social contexts:

#### **IV.9.1. Letter of Ur-Ištar**

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<sup>668</sup> JAFFE 1982: 171.

Letter 10 is badly damaged and we are still unsure if it can be classified as Old Babylonian text, however this text talks about the marriage between the son of Ur-Ištar and the daughter of Ilī-imti. According to the letter, it appears that the daughter of Ilī-imti after her marriage, went to live with the family of her husband. It mentions Awili-dan, Šarrāti, Išar-padān, and Ušak-lil all live together in the same house, only Awili-dan traveled away from the family home. It is probable that all these people mentioned in the letter belong to the same family. The reverse side of the letter is broken and we can not extract the specific information regarding the marriage or the family.

#### **IV.9.2. Letter of Simmūgra**

Letter 17 is a short letter but it is quite clear that the letters talk about a family house. The writer of the letter, Simmūgra, requests from Šamšūja, the recipient of the letter, that a certain Ilī-atar has to go to help him and that he will go to help Irid-Iqam and Imneki-x-im. The purpose or the type of help is not mentioned but it remains clear that the letter is talking about a social relationship that existed at that time.

#### **IV.10. Formal aspect**

This category includes those letters which remain in their formal aspects; it means they remain in their envelopes, as below:

Among the letters of this research, two formal aspect letters were found: the first envelope is letter 30 that was addressed to Dadā. In all likelihood, this Dadā is the same Dadā as the recipient of letters 27 and 29. The seal impression exists on them, but the complete name of the seal owner is not explicit, if it were, it would help to identify those engaging in communication.

The second envelope in this dissertation is letter 54. Besides the name of recipient Awīl-Iškur, the subject of the letter is also written which includes 20 garments of Nanalum; clearly the contents of the letter relate to these garments.

#### **IV.11. Salutation**

This category includes all of those letters which were exchanged between two or more people who were asking about the situation of other people. Contents only include the salutation and asking about his/their situation, as below:

Letter 43 was exchanged between two people who were perhaps friends with each other. The writer of the letter said to the recipient, write me a reliable report of Marduk about the well-being of my lord. Clearly this shows that the letter was solely for the purpose of enquiring about somebody's health and well being.

## **IV.12. Information**

This section includes all the letters from this dissertation which send information from someone to another person in general on varying informative subjects:

### **IV.12.1. Letter of Sîn-šemi**

Letter 22 was sent by Sîn-šemi to his lord or a gentleman. Sîn-šemi informs his lord that he received his report, and he will drive the report to Maškan-šāpir. He mentions that the herald who makes the proclamations for Padam-qarrād, the strong son of the palace who lives in Isin, but we do not exactly know the identity of Padam-qarrād. We can also read the signs for 500 soldiers in a fortress, however the first sign of the name of the fortress is lost and consequently we cannot identify the name of this fortress which was located in the Babylon region. The final 5 lines of the letter are broken and therefore our information regarding these soldiers is lost.

### **IV.12.2. Letter of Ali-bāšti**

Letter 46, which Ali-bāšti sent to Lahiatum, gives us two pieces of crucial information: at the beginning of the letter, the writer of the letter informs Lahiatum that he did not hold her letter and he said to her that he repaired it in front of Ubārrum who appears to have provided an essential role in the context of the letter. We can probably speculate that Ubārrum was a businessman or held an administrative role. The first thing Ali-bāšti demands of Lahiatum is to tell Ubārrum to give Ali-bāšti the driver or guider of the caravan. To achieve this Ali-bāšti suggests to Lahiatum that a certain Zizija could say this to Ubarrum. Within this context and the lines 28-30, Lahiatum was quite possible the mother of Zizija. Again and again, Ali-bāšti demands that Lahiatum tells Ubarrum to give him the driver of the caravan. The second subject of the letter is regarding a certain Warād-Sîn; Ali-bāšti informs Lahiatum that Warād-Sîn does

not come to measure the house of the daughter of this woman the letter does not give any information about this subject?

#### **IV.12.3. Letter of Eṭirum**

Letter 47 is one of the longer letters used in this study, but some lines and words of the letter are not clean which make it difficult to decipher. Consequently, it does not help us understand the significance of the letter. From what we can understand, the letter starts with a long salutation that Eṭirum, the writer of the letter, has sent to Šelebūm. Most of the face of the letter includes only salutations, which is why we can categorize this subject as one of salutation. Following that, Eṭirum speaks to Šelebūm concerning a case which existed against him; he promises Šelebūm that he did not show this case to the vizier, and he will demand that the vizier transfer this case to him. The end of the letter is not too clear and we cannot transliterate many words in this part of the letter but in line 28, Eṭirum speaks to Šelebūm as a head of the caravan. In line 32, silver is mentioned, but we cannot precisely understand the context of the letter here because the signs are not visible to us.

#### **IV.13. Ritual and Ceremony**

The only letter to focus on ritual or ceremonies is letter 24, this letter presents the information regarding a washing ceremony. The writer of the letter, Irra-nāšir, requests a significant number of people to collect many baskets which should be available for him by the first day of the month, ready for the washing ceremony. We are unsure about the exact nature of the festival that existed at that time.

#### **IV.14. Trade**

Letter 42 is the only example covered by this dissertation that focuses on trade. The full context of the letter is unclear due to damage, but in the two last lines it appears that the writer of the letter, Attā, talks about commerce with the recipient of the letter. We cannot understand the subject of this trade because of the damage. Lines 4-5 help to indicate that in all likelihood this commerce was probably in the Larsa region because these lines discuss a certain Šumi-ahija, as a man from the city of Dūr-Etellum.

## **IV.15. Adoption**

The only letter to discuss the procedure of adoption in this research is letter 44 which refers to the adoption of three children by Utulu-sīla. The recipient of the letter, Namram-šarūr, is one of them and happens to be the middle child; the oldest brother is named Attā, but the youngest child remains unnamed. The writer of the letter confirms its receipt, and says that Utulu-sīla gave everything to them in Nippur. Utulu-sīla indicated that all of things that you have, I gave you ten times more than that. He wrote this letter in front of Sīn-kīma-ilija, Ilīma-ili and Sīn-tamkārī as his witnesses and he also keeps the letter as his witness for the deeds that he has done for his adopted sons.

## **IV.16. Herb Life**

The only letter that has been studied in the scope of this research that discusses the life herb is letter 55. Written by Apil-Sīn, he addressed the letter to his father without indicating his name. Aside from this omission, the letter has suffered major damage; that said, the subject of the letter is clear. Apil-Sīn requests the life herb for his father, but as can be seen in line 10, he did not yet receive it; for this reason, he demands again. In line 15 he mentions some copper object which probably was used in the preparation of the medicine for his father. According to the context of the letter, the father of Apil-Sīn was perhaps ill. In lines 28-31, Apil-Sīn presents his dialog with the god Šamaš regarding the life herb that is needed for his father; Šamaš said to Apil-Sīn ‘let your father come to me and I will send the life herb to your father.

## **IV.17. Broken and Unknown Subjects**

The following section outlines those letters which have suffered major damage that prevent the content from being fully understood:

### **IV.17.1. Sāsija Letters**

This group consists of 8 letters from the early Old Babylonian period; most probably from the beginning of the early Old Babylonian period and the end of Ur III period, as mentioned in the chapter III.2.1. These letters are too broken and as a result we cannot understand the subject of these letters entirely. Despite this major damage, letter 4 discusses a prison, but the entire context

remains lost due to the damage. It must also be mentioned that the seventh letter discusses soldiers; yet again the context is lost due to the unreadable text. The other letters of Sāsija, which are actually in the Schoyen Museum, probably belong to the same archive. Currently, the Sāsija letters from Schoyen Museum are not yet published which means that a future understanding and commentary may be provided to us by George<sup>669</sup>.

#### **IV.17.2. Letter addressed to Namzitarra**

The beginning and the end of the letter 11 is in a good state, but the central part of the letter is too broken, therefore we cannot understand the general meaning of this letter. At the end of the letter, someone swore on the life of the king, and he promises to bind the herdsman. This could be considered as a juridical letter but we cannot confirm this because the other parts of the letter are broken.

#### **IV.17.3. Letter sent to Bēlum**

The content of letter 23 is a letter of concern to Bēlum. It would seem that Igmil-x asked Bēlum about a report that may have been undelivered, raising concerns from Igmil-x. Although we know that the existence of the report is not in question, its subject still eludes us.

#### **IV.17.4. Letter of Sîn-šemi to Bulālum**

The context of letter 25, which was written by Sîn-šemi to Bulalum is unclear, because the review of the letter is invisible and some of the words in the face part of the letter are not clear to us as in the word of *duḡli ik-ka*. We can make an interpretation however we can not say with any certainty what the specific subject was.

#### **IV.17.5. Letters addressed to Dadā**

Letter 29 probably belongs to the same Dadā of letters 28 and 30. Unfortunately, this is another letter that has suffered considerable damage so we cannot understand its particular subject.

#### **IV.17.6. Letter of šamaš-hāzir**

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<sup>669</sup> GEORGE 2018: Personal Information by email and <https://cdli.ucla.edu/search/search.php>.

Letter 31, similar to letters 32 and 33, belongs to Šamaš-hāzir. It is not possible to understand its subject because of the damage.

#### **IV.17.7. Letter from Gimil-[...] to Šamaš-lamasi**

Letter 37 was sent to Šamaš-lamasi to a certain Gimil-Marduk, but is too damaged. As a result of this we cannot understand the particular subject being discussed.

#### **IV.17.8. Letter of Warad-Sîn**

Letter 45, probably written by Warad-Sîn, is too broken and only part of the name of the recipient and the writer remains, alongside the second part of the second god of the greeting formula. Most of the other parts are broken, and we cannot determine its subject because of its damage.

#### **IV.17.9. Letter of Šunuma-Ili**

Letter 53 is too broken to provide us with a great deal of information, only the address of the letter, greeting formula and two last lines of the letter are clear. These lines do not give us a clear understanding of the content. That said, line 7 mentions a report about a particular flock of sheep.

#### **IV.17.10. A Letter Broken Address**

Letter 61, as mentioned in Chapter 5, includes two different pieces. The first part of the letter indicates that the recipient was someone's father. However due to the poor condition of the letter it is not possible to identify the specific subject.

As a result, it seems that we can divide the letters that have been featured in this research based on their individual topics as follows: Economy; 17 letters, Field; 7 Letters, Information; 3 Letters, Request and Order; 2 Letters, Jurisdiction; 2 Letters, Slavery; 2 Letters, Social Relationship 2 Letters, Formal Aspect 2 Letters, Cultivation 1 Letter, Time/Meeting 1 Letter, Salutation 1 Letter, Ritual and Ceremony 1 Letter, Trade 1 Letter, Adoption 1 Letter, Herb Life 1 Letter and Unknown Subjects 17 Letters. The following chart will visualize the letters that have made up the focus of this dissertation.

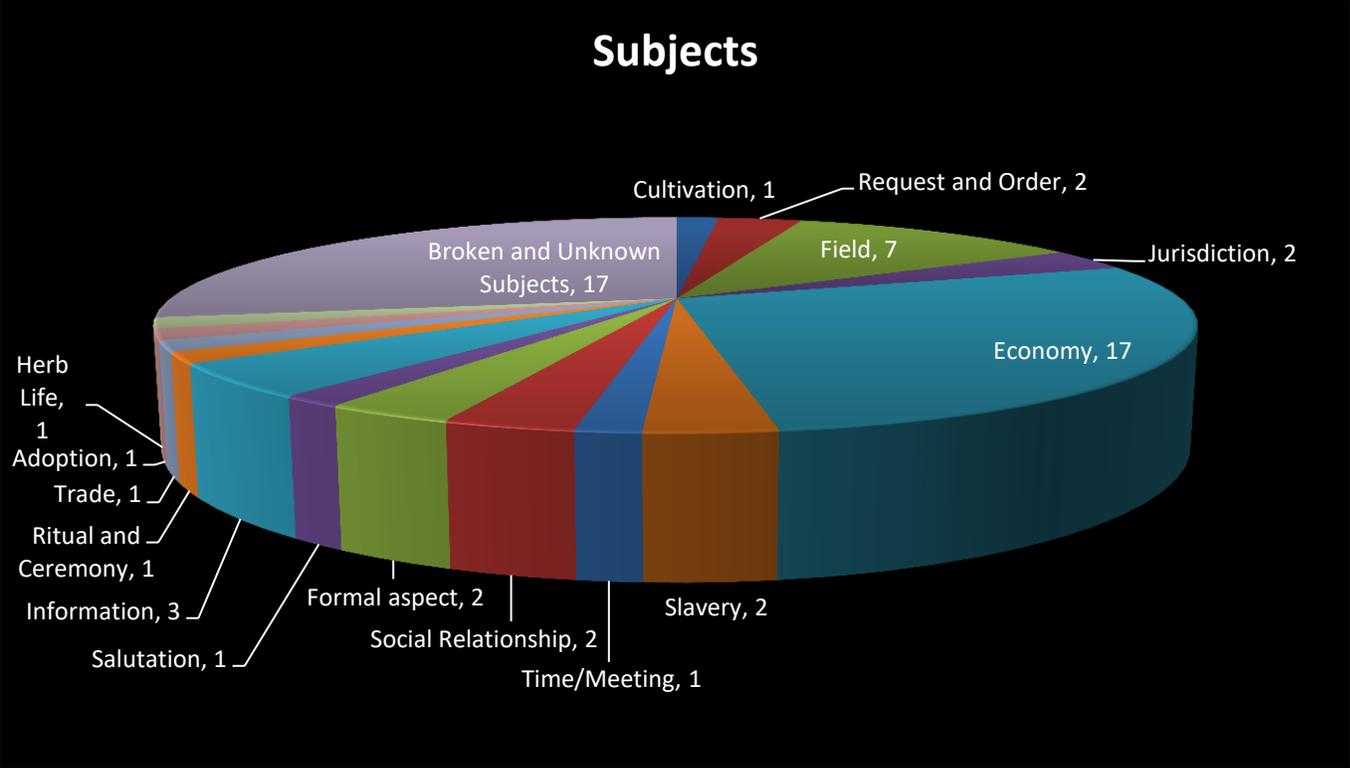


Chart.6

**DOCTORAL DISSERTATION**

**Unpublished Old Babylonian Letters in the Slemani  
Museum**

(Selected Letters)

**Volume II**

**Ardalan Khwshnaw**

**2018**

Eötvös Loránd University  
Faculty of Humanities

## **DOCTORAL DISSERTATION**

**Ardalan Khwshnaw**

### **Unpublished Old Babylonian Letters in the Slemani Museum**

(Selected Letters)

### **Volume II**

Doctoral School of History,

Dr. Gábor Erdödy, head of Doctoral School

Assyriology Program,

Dr. Tamás Dezső, head of Doctoral program

Members of the Committee and their academic degree:

president: Dr. Tamás Dezső head of Doctoral program

reviewer : Dr. Csabai Zoltan PhD.

reviewer: Dr. Adám Vér PhD.

member: Dr. Buhály Attila PhD.

secretary: Dr. Zoltán Niederreiter PhD.

Supervisors: Dr. Gábor Kalla PhD., habilitated university docens and Dr. András Bácskay PhD.

Budapest, 201

## Chapter V

### Transliterations and Translations of Letters

#### Introduction:

In this chapter we present the transliteration, translation and commentary of all the letters of this dissertation, according to their dates from the earliest to the most recent of the Old Babylon period, as mentioned in chapter III, as follows:

#### TEXT 1

Text Number: SM. 311 (3,3 x 3 x 1,7)

Date: Early Old Babylonian

Provenance: Unknown

Content: Unknown

#### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na a-bi-i-din-na-am*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma sà-sí-ja*

4. ʽtaʽ x x

5. <sup>l</sup>be-ʽlaʽ-tum

6. ù ba-ʽx-x-gaʽ<sup>2</sup>-mil

7. *ù iš<sup>2</sup>-tár<sup>2</sup>-h[a]-x-ti*

8. *šu-ur-k[i]-ba*

Rev.

9. *šu-x-x*

10. *a-te-ba-lam ut/tam-ru*

11. *qar-x-ru-x x*

12. *x-x-[...]*

13. *x-[...]*

14. *ᵀᵀ<na> pa-ni-ka*

15. *be-la-tum šu-ú*

16. *ù iš-ni-mu-um*

17. *[be]-la-tum*

Lo.Ed.

18. *li-ir-ka<sup>2</sup>-ba-am*

Ri.Ed.

19. *[l]i-mu-ud-zi/ri-ši-na-ti*

20. *a-bu-tum*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Abī-iddinam, <sup>3</sup>thus says Sasija: <sup>4</sup>..... <sup>8</sup>load <sup>5</sup>a lady <sup>6</sup>and ..... <sup>7</sup>and ..... <sup>Rev.9</sup>..... <sup>10</sup>I bring ..... <sup>11-13</sup>....., <sup>14</sup>in front you, <sup>15</sup>this lady <sup>16</sup>and stalk, <sup>17</sup>(of) lady <sup>Lo.Ed.18</sup>would ride, <sup>Ri.Ed.19</sup>....., <sup>20</sup>urgent.

### **Commentary:**

Description: This letter is belonging to the group letters of Sāsija which are too broken, because of that we can not understand them.

### **TEXT 2**

Text Number: SM. 432 (4,8 x 3,3 x 1,7)

Date: Early Old Babylonian

Provenance: Unknown

Content: Unknown

### **Transliteration**

Obv.

1. *a-na a-bi-i-din-[nam]*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma sà-sí-ja-ma*

4. *qá-ta-a-am*

5. *ša<sup>d</sup>i-šum-mu-[x]-x-[x]*

6. *a-na na-ar-[tim]*

7. *i-di-i[n-ma]*

8. *ša ba-ab [ekallim]*

Rev.

9. [...]

10. [...] -aš<sup>?</sup>-x  
 11. [...] -aš-ma  
 12. a-na [...]  
 13. [i]-di-i[n-ma]  
 14. [a]-bu-tum  
 15. [...] -x šu-bi-<sup>ṽ</sup>lam<sup>ṽ</sup>  
 16. <sup>ṽ</sup>i-bi- [...]

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>.Speak <sup>1</sup>to Abī-iddi[nam], <sup>3</sup>.thus says Sasija: <sup>7</sup>.give <sup>4-5</sup>.a hand list from Išummu-.....<sup>6</sup>.In/to *Nārtim*/canal/ditch <sup>8</sup>.of the [palace] gate ....., <sup>Rev.9-11</sup>. ....., <sup>12</sup>. to ....., <sup>13</sup>.give <sup>14</sup>.urgent, <sup>15</sup>. ..... bring to me, <sup>16</sup>.and .....

### Commentary:

Description: This letter is belonging to the group letters of Sāsija which are too broken, because of its broken we can not understand it.

### TEXT 3

Text Number: SM. 703 (3,1 x 3,7 x 1,8)

Date: Early Old Babylonian

Provenance: Unknown

Content: Unknown

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na a-bi-i-[din-nam]*

2. *[qī]-bī-[ma]*

3. *um-ma sà-sí-[ja-ma]*

4. GÉME *na-wa-ar-x [...]*

5. *ša-at-<sup>d</sup>UTU*

6. *a-na nu-ra-a-ti-im*

7. *ak-ti-x*

Rev.

The review side is too broken.

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>[Speak] <sup>2</sup>to Abi-i[ddinam], <sup>3</sup>thus says Sāsija: <sup>4</sup>..... a slave girl, <sup>5</sup>Šāt-Šamaš, <sup>6</sup>to *Nuratīm*, <sup>7</sup>.....  
... Broken ...

### Commentary:

Description: This letter is also as the other letters of Sāsija is too broken, exactly its review is not visible.

4. *na-wa-ar-x [...]*: The end of this word is broken and we can not identify that it is really which word and from which state. But perhaps it belongs to the word (*nawāru/namāru* “to make a person (salve)”) <sup>670</sup>. Or it is probably toponym of Nawar <sup>671</sup>.

7. *ak-ti-x*: The last sign of this word is not visible and we can not to identify it.

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<sup>670</sup> CAD N<sub>1</sub>: 214, 3.

<sup>671</sup> RGTC 2: 138-39.

## TEXT 4

Text Number: SM. 5099 (7,7 x 3,9 x 2,2)

Date: Early Old-Babylonian period.

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Drive the soldiers

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na a-[bi-i-din-nam ...]*

2. *qí-bí-[ma]*

3. *um-ma sà-sí-j[a-ma]*

4. *i-ši-ir-ku<sup>2</sup>-nu-ti*

5. [...]

6. [...]-x [...]

7. *ša ta-na-[di-nu-ma]*

8. *i-na ku-[...]*

9. *lu-ub-x-[...]*

10. *šu-bi-la-[am]*

11. *a-bu-<sup>7</sup>tum<sup>7</sup>*

12. *ù ib-x-[...]*

Rev.

13. *bé-eh-ra-<sup>1</sup>am<sup>1</sup>*

14. *ù re-di-i*

15. *li-ig-mu-ra*

16. *la ú-ha-ru-ni*

17. *a-bu-tum*

18. *da-an-na-tum*

19. *ša-ak-na-at*

20. [...]

21. *a<sup>2</sup>-nu<sup>2</sup>-um<sup>2</sup>-[ma ...]*

22. *a-na re-<sup>1</sup>di-i<sup>1</sup>*

23. *ši-ni-ša-am*

24. *pi-iq-da-ma*

25. *li-ir-du-ni*

Lo.Ed.

26. *ú-ši-ša<sup>2</sup>-na-su*

27. *ù [...] x*

Le.Ed.

28. *ú-hu-ur-x-[x]*

29. *i-x-x-x*

30. *i<sup>2</sup>-te-ri-du-ú*

31. *a-na ší-bi-tim*

32. *šú-ri-ib-šú-nu-ti*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>.Speak <sup>1</sup>.to A[bi-iddinam], <sup>3</sup>.thus says Sās[ija]: <sup>4</sup>.he raise/move/go straight toward you, <sup>5-6</sup>....., <sup>7</sup>.That you will g[ive], <sup>8</sup>.in ....., <sup>9</sup>....., <sup>10</sup>.send [me], <sup>11</sup>.urgent, <sup>12</sup>....., <sup>Rev.13-14</sup>.choose and drive me. <sup>15</sup>.They should complete <sup>17</sup>.urgent (and) <sup>16</sup>.should not be late me. <sup>19</sup>. They has been settled <sup>18</sup>.(in) the fortress. <sup>20</sup>....., <sup>21</sup>.Now <sup>24</sup>.entrust <sup>23</sup>.twice <sup>22</sup>.of the soldiers <sup>24</sup>.and <sup>25</sup>.let's lead/drive me. Lo.Ed.26. ...., <sup>27</sup>.and ....., Le.Ed.28. ...., <sup>29</sup>....., <sup>30</sup>.they drive <sup>31-32</sup>.and bring them to the prison.

### Commentary:

1. *a-[bi-i-din-nam]*: Despite the most part of the recipient of the letter is broken but according to other letters of Sāsija we restored this personal name.

21. *a<sup>2</sup>-nu<sup>2</sup>-um<sup>2</sup>-[ma]*: The signs of this word is not too visible but we prefer to resort as word (anumma “now”)<sup>672</sup>.

29. *i-x-x-x*: The most signs of this line are invisible?

### TEXT 5

Text Number: SM. 5719 (6,4 x 3,8 x 1,8)

Date: Early Old-Babylonian

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Unknown

### Transliteration

Obv.

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<sup>672</sup> CDA.

1. *a-na a-bi-<sup>ṛ</sup>i<sup>ṽ</sup>-din-na-[am]*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma sà-sí-ja-ma*

4. *a-na li<sup>?</sup>-[...] -na-[...]*

5. *x te-[...]*

6. *ù a-bi [...] -gi*

7. *eš-ri-ta aš-ku-na*

8. *[a]-na na-bi-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU*

9. *[...] NUMUN NU X X*

10. *ú [...]*

11. *[...]*

Lo.Ed.

12. *[...] x x x be [..]*

13. *[...] x x am-ri*

Rev.

14. *[...] ta di x [...]*

15. *[...] x x [...]*

16. *[...]*

17. *<sup>d</sup>i-šum-ma-an<sup>?</sup>-šúm/ba<sup>?</sup>*

18. *šar-ra-am*

19. *ú-la im-hu-ru-ma*

20. *ša ka-šu lu x*

21. *iš-tu ma-mi-ti*

22. *li-ID-mu-šu*

23. *a-na bi-it-ku-ma*

24. *la i-ṭe<sub>4</sub>-hi*

25. x x x x x x

Up.Ed.

26. x x x x x

27. x x x-te-ra

Le.Ed.

28. *a-di<sup>2</sup> BU-ha-am*

29. x x x x x x

30. *la x [...]*

31. *x [...]*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>2</sup>to Abī-iddinam, <sup>3</sup>thus says Sāsija: <sup>4</sup>to ....., <sup>5</sup>....., <sup>6</sup>my father ....., <sup>7</sup>I delivered one-tenth, <sup>8</sup>«to» Nabī-Sîn, <sup>9-16</sup>...These lines are much damaged just some signs are visible ..., <sup>17</sup>Išum-manšum/ba <sup>19</sup>they did not come in front of <sup>18</sup>the king <sup>19</sup>and, <sup>20</sup>....., <sup>21</sup>on oath <sup>22</sup>....., <sup>24</sup>he do not approach <sup>23</sup>of your house, <sup>25-31</sup>... Broken, just some signs are visible... .

### **Commentary:**

Description: This letter as other letters of Sāsija is also to damaged, because of that we can not understand the letter?

### **TEXT 6**

Text Number: SM. 42 (6 x 3,7 x 1,6)

Date: Early Old Babylonian

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Unknown

### **Transliteration**

1. *a-na li-pí-it-eš<sub>8</sub>-tár*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma sà-sí-ja-ma*

4. [...] *-gi-mi-la-a*

5. [...] *-um*

6. [...] *-it<sup>?</sup>-mu-sú<sup>?</sup>*

7. [...] *x*

8. [...] *x x*

9. [...] *x-a*

10. [...] *-al<sup>?</sup>*

Lo.Ed.

11. x x x x x

Rev.

12. [...] x

13. [...] x-la<sup>2</sup>

14. *ze-er-šu-ú-ma*

15. *i-na su-qí-im li-la-ak*

16. 5 GI-SA

17. *ši<sup>2</sup>-iq-qá*

18. *ri-ig-mu-um*

19. *ka-ab-ta-at-ma*

20. *šum-ma a-hi at-ta*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>.Speak <sup>1</sup>to Lipit-Ištar, <sup>3</sup>thus says Sasija: <sup>4</sup>[...]-Gimila <sup>5-10</sup>....., <sup>Lo.Ed.11</sup>....., <sup>Rev.12-13</sup>....., <sup>14</sup>reject him and <sup>15</sup>he should go to street. <sup>16</sup>5 bundles of reeds <sup>17</sup>(for) irrigation. <sup>12</sup>Complaints <sup>13</sup>if you are my brother.

### Commentary:

Description: This letter is in the same state of other letters which belong of this archive?

### TEXT 7

Text Number: SM. 5365 (4,6 x 4 x 1,7)

Date: Early Old Babylonian

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Unknown

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. [a]-na sà<sup>2</sup>-sí-a

2. ʾù<sup>1</sup> en-um-ì-lí

3. [q]í-bí-ma

4. a-ʾmu<sup>1</sup>-ru-um

5. a-na ša-la-li-ku-nu

6. i-ṭa-ʾbu<sup>1</sup>

7. a-bu-ʾka<sup>1</sup> [...]

8. ʾra<sup>1</sup>-ma-k[u ...]

Rev.

9. [...] nu x x [...]

10. [...] -GA-dam

11. [be-l]í-šū ù

12. ʾša-bu<sup>1</sup>-um lu 10 lu 20

13. li-bu-šū<sup>2</sup>

14. te-ʾer<sup>1</sup>-ti be-lí-a

### Translation

<sup>3</sup>.「Speak」<sup>1</sup> to Sāsija <sup>2</sup>.「and」 Enum-ili, <sup>4</sup>.(thus says) Amurrūm: <sup>5-6</sup>.your carry is submerged. <sup>7</sup>.your father ....., <sup>8</sup>.bathe ....., <sup>Rev.9-10</sup>. ....., <sup>11</sup>.his lord and <sup>12</sup>.the soldiers should be 10, should be 20, <sup>13</sup>.According his wish (and) <sup>14</sup>.the order of my lord.

### Commentary:

1. Sasija: The first sign of this name is looks like a (*a*) than a (*za*) but, we think that perhaps this letter also belong to the archive of Sasija, because the form of this letter of other letters of Sāsija are too similar, for this reason we prefer read this name as Sāsija not Asija?

## TEXT 8

Text Number: SM. 5950 (6,4 x 3,7 x 1,8)

Date: Early Old Babylonian

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Unknown

### Transliteration

#### I.

Obv.

1. *a-na sa<sup>?</sup>-sí-a*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *iš-du-tu-um*

4. <sup>iti</sup>EZIN *má-an-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi*

Broken

Rev.

5. [...] te ʿxʿ

6. ʿxʿ-bu-ʿxʿ

7. *te-er-ti be-[lí-a]*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Sasija, <sup>3</sup>Išdutūm, <sup>4</sup>in the day the month of Ezen-Manna, ... Broken ... <sup>Rev.5-6.</sup> .....,  
<sup>7</sup>the order of my lord.

The second piece of another letter of Sasija, which glued of the first piece.

### Transliteration

## II.

Obv.

1. [a]-na sà-sí-[ja]

2. [q]í-bí-ma

3. [...] -ša-[...]

4. [...] x ra x

Broken

5. ʿxʿ-al-bu

6. x-gar-x

7. ša-KI-lu

8. *te<sup>1</sup>-er-ti be-lí-a*

## Translation

<sup>2</sup>.Speak <sup>1</sup>to Sasija, <sup>3</sup>....., <sup>4</sup>... Broken ..., <sup>Rev.5-7</sup>....., <sup>8</sup>the order of my lord.

### Commentary:

Description: This letter includes of two different pieces of two different letters which both letters are belonging to the same archive of Sāsija.

I.1 and II.1. Sasija: In both pieces of this letter the first sign of the recipient name looks like the sign (*a*) than (*za*), as previous letter? Here, we prefer read as the sign (*za*) than the sign (*a*), because the letters 7 and 8 are probably belonging to the letters 1-6 of the archive of Sasija?

## TEXT 9

Text Number: SM. 547 (4,6 x 3,7 x 1,4)

Date: Early Old Babylonian or Ur III

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Unknown

## Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na* NÍG-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma* ŠÁ-TAM-ME

4. *te-er-ti*

5. ʾšar<sup>1</sup>-ri-im

6. 180+x<sup>?</sup>.4.2 GUR

Rev.

7. *a-na* [...] -il

8. i- [...] -ù? ni

9. <sup>iti</sup>EZIN-<sup>d</sup>šul-gi

10. MU US-SA

11. <sup>id</sup>ki-it<sup>?</sup>-tum

R.E.d

12. MU US-SA-BI

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Say <sup>1</sup>to NIG-Sîn, <sup>3</sup>thus says: the years, <sup>4</sup>in the order <sup>5</sup>of the king, <sup>6</sup>180+x<sup>?</sup>.4.2 Kors, <sup>Rev.7</sup>to .....,  
<sup>8</sup>....., <sup>9</sup>The month of Ezen-Šulgi, <sup>10</sup>The year following, <sup>11</sup>(made) the channel of Kītum,  
Lo.Edg.<sup>12</sup>a year later it.

### Commentary:

1. NIG-Sîn: For this personal name looks Chapter III.2.4

9. Ezen-Šulgi: It is a Sumerian month name which was also attested during the Old Babylonian period as a lot of month names.

11. Kītum: This toponym appears as the city name with Bīt Kittim (É <sup>d</sup>ki-it-tim “House of the (goddess) Truth”)<sup>673</sup>, near of Rahabum<sup>674</sup>, but it is not appearance as a canal name. Perhaps this canal was also belonged to the city Bīt Kittim on the Tigris bank.

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<sup>673</sup> BJORKMAN 1993: 9, Not. 43.

<sup>674</sup> Földi: On Old Babylonian Palastgeschäft in Larsa. The meaning of sūtum and the ‘circulation’ of silver in state/private business. In: Fs Vargyas.

## TEXT 10

Text Number: SM 373 (9,3 x 4,4 x 1,6)

Date: Early Old Babylonian or Ur III

Provenance: Sippar

Object: Social relation

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. [a]-na šu-ú<sup>2</sup>-[...]

2. ṽqī<sup>1</sup>-bi-ma

3. DUMU ur-<sup>d</sup>INANNA DAM

4. a-na DUMU-MÍ ì-lí-im-ti

5. a-na e-mu-ti-im

6. i-te-re-eb

7. <sup>1</sup>a-wi-lí-ṽdan<sup>2</sup>

8. <sup>1</sup>LUGAL-at-te

9. <sup>1</sup>i-šar-pa-dan

10. <sup>1</sup>ù-ša-ak-li-il

11. i-na ta-ar-ki-sí

12. uš-bu

13. <sup>1</sup>a-wi-lí-dan

14. *ib-ba-al-ki-it-ma*

Rev.

15. DUMU-MÍ *ì-lí-im-ti*

16. i-ta<sup>?</sup>-[...] -ni

17. 1 [...] ni

Broken

Le.ed.

18. <sup>rii</sup>EZEN *me-ki-gál*

### Translation

<sup>Obv.2.</sup>Speak <sup>1.</sup>to Šū-..., <sup>3.</sup>son of Ur-Ištar is husband (marries) <sup>4.</sup>daughter of Ilīmti <sup>6.</sup>(and) she goes to live <sup>5.</sup>with family of the husband, <sup>7.</sup>Awili-dan, <sup>8.</sup>Šarrātti, <sup>9.</sup>Išar-padan, <sup>10.</sup>Ušāk-līl <sup>12.</sup>stay <sup>11.</sup>to band together, (only) <sup>13.</sup>Awili-dan <sup>14.</sup>traverse and <sup>Rev.15.</sup>the daughter of Ili-imti, <sup>16.</sup>....., <sup>17.</sup>... Broken ... <sup>18.</sup>month festival of Mekigal.

### Commentary:

Description: It is not sure, this tablet is really an Old Babylonian letter or not? Because the form of Old Babylonian letters are clear as mentioned above and this tablet looks not like a really Old Babylonian letter? For this reason, we are not sure that this tablet is really an Old Babylon letter or not? If it is really an Old Babylonian letter? It is sure that it refers the end of Ur III and the beginning of Old Babylonian periods. It should be also mentioned that the review side of the tablet is broken only 2 lines are staying.

2. *qíbi*: In general Old Babylonian letters are always using the sign (*bî*)<sup>675</sup> with the verb (*qabû*), but as appears in this tablet uses the sign (*bī*) not (*bî*)? That is why, perhaps it is not really an Old Babylonian letter?

## TEXT 11

Text Number: SM. 2722 (4,7 x 4 x 1,4)

Date: Early Old Babylonian

Provenience: Nippur Region

Content: Legal

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na nam-zi-tar-ra*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. <sup>1</sup>lum<sup>1</sup>-i-šu ša x-ma

4. [a]-na nu-hi-DINGIR a-bi-ja

5. *la-a a-wi-ta*<sup>?</sup>

6. *ša qá-qí-<sup>1</sup>dī<sup>1</sup>*

7. [ù]-la e-si-[...]

8. [...] x x 0.0.1 <sup>1</sup>IKU<sup>1</sup> [...]

Lo.Ed

9. [...] ku ša [...]

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<sup>675</sup> AbB 1-14.

Rev.

10. [...] l[i-...]

11. [...] x x [...] /x [...]

12. tu-[...]-x

13. *ni-iš šar-[ri-im] at-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>*

14. *ma-ha-ar šar-ri-im*

15. U-TUL *ku-sà-am še-ga-ta* I<sup>giš</sup>

16. ú ZI-KAM *li-di-/ši*

Le.E.

17.) a-x-x

18.) *la tu-x-ra-am*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Namzi-tārra, <sup>3</sup>Lum-išu ša x-ma, <sup>5</sup>no speaking <sup>4</sup>to my father Nuhi-Ili, <sup>6</sup>of the head, <sup>7</sup>....., <sup>8</sup>..... 0.0.1 <sup>1</sup>acre<sup>1</sup> ....., <sup>Lo.Ed.9-12</sup>....., <sup>13</sup>I swore by the life of the <sup>1</sup>king<sup>1</sup>, <sup>14</sup>in front of the king, <sup>15</sup>I bind the chef of herdsman Šegata oil, <sup>16</sup>....., <sup>Le.E.17-18</sup>.....

### Commentary:

3. According to the Old Babylonian letter form in third line before the name of Lum-išu, the writer of the letter. It should be written (*um-ma* “thus says”), but this line is missing it probably it is a letters from the beginning of the early Old Babylonian period and end of the Ur III period.

15. *šegata*: This word is perhaps belong the word (*šiggatu* > *sikkatu* peg, « nail, foundation cone ... »)<sup>676</sup>, but in the line context we can not translate with this signification, because there is not meaning with this, this is why, we translate as a kind of oil?

## TEXT 12

Text Number: SM. 3893 (3,4 x 2,7 x 2)

Date: Early Old Babylonian

Provenience: Sippar Region

Content: Delivery Cattle

### Transliteration

Obv.

1 *a-na be-lí-ja*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma* <sup>d</sup>MARDUK-*mu-kin-ši-ᵀim<sup>1?</sup>-tim<sup>1?</sup>-ma<sup>1?</sup>*<sup>ᵀ</sup>

4. *um-ma* U<sub>4</sub>-21-KAM

5. 1 UDU-NÍTA 1 SILA<sub>4</sub>

6. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>ᵀIŠKUR<sup>ᵀ</sup>-*i-pu-šu*

7. *us-qa-am-ma*

8. *il-ᵀka<sub>4</sub><sup>ᵀ</sup> la ᵀe-ᵀme<sup>ᵀ</sup>-[eš]*

### Translation

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<sup>676</sup> CAD S: 247.

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to my lord, <sup>3</sup>thus says Marduk-mukīn-šimtim: <sup>4</sup>in the day 21 <sup>6-7</sup>I raised <sup>5</sup>1 sheep to Iškur-īpušu and <sup>8</sup>you ignore of (this) course.

### **Commentary:**

3. Marduk-mukīn-šimtim: The signs (im-tim-ma) at the end of this personal name are not too visible, which is why, we are not too sure about the correct these signs and this personal name is a rare personal name during Old Babylonian period?

## **TEXT 13**

Text Number: SM. 4711 (3,1 x 2,7 x 1,6)

Date: Early Old Babylonian

Provenience: Sippar Region

Content: Given Mixture of beer

### **Transliteration**

Obv.

1. [a]-na ì-lí-AN-DÙL-lí

2. [q]í-bí-ma

3. um-ma <sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-ra-bi-ma

4. bi-la-at ša-am-mi

5. gi x ni a-hi ta-ad-di-iš-šum

### **Translation**

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>2</sup>to Ilī-andūlli, <sup>3</sup>thus says Sîn-Rabi: <sup>4-5</sup>....., you give him (my brother) the fresh mixture/liquid (of beer).

### **Commentary:**

1. [a]-na ì-lí-AN-DÙL-lí: This name in Akkadian is (Ilī-šulūllī), because (AN-DÙL) in Sumerian and in Akkadian becomes (*šulūlu*)<sup>677</sup>.

4. *bi-la-at* > *billatu*: It is a (mixture, a dry substance and liquid) uses in preparation beer<sup>678</sup>. But perhaps it was a liquid or mixture from some kind of plant that is why the both words use together which means (mixture or liquid) or maybe it is from *biltu* (back, baggage) more a bundle of herbs or like this<sup>679</sup>.

5. gi x ni: These signs are visible but we do not understand them.

## **TEXT 14**

Text Number: SM. 5884 (6.8 x 3,9 x 1,8)

Date: Early Old Babylonian

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Barley

### **Transliteration**

Obv.

1. *a-na e-em-ši-im*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma na-ra-am-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-ma*

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<sup>677</sup> BORGER 2004: 250.

<sup>678</sup> CAD B: 225.

<sup>679</sup> CAD B: 229.

4. *ša an-nu-um ša ri-ig-ma-am*

5. *e-li bi-ti-ka ta-aš-ta-ak-nu*

6. *ù um-ma be-lí-i-ma*

7. *bi-sú ù a-ša-ti-šu*

8. *hu-mu-um-ma*

9. 0.2 GUR *še-a-am*

10. *ᵀub-baᵀ-la-ku-um*

11. [x x]-ᵀxᵀ-ti-ka

Rev.

12. *x-mu-tu-ú [(x)]*

13. [x] ŠE GUR *ah-ta-ba-ᵀlaᵀ*

14. *ma-ka<sup>?</sup>-an<sup>?</sup>*

15. *ša šu-lu-mi-im*

16. *ᵀú-ur-da-am-ma*

17. *li-ša-li-im*

18. *x ri-ig-mu-um*

19. *ra-bu-um*

20. *ta-di-in*

## Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Emši'um, <sup>3</sup>thus says Naram-Sîn: <sup>4-5</sup>do you file a behavior of complaints on your house? <sup>6</sup>and thus says my lord: <sup>7-10</sup>give confident to the family and his wife and then they will bring you 2 Kors of barley. <sup>11</sup>....., <sup>Rev.12</sup>..... <sup>13</sup>I lost x Kor of barley, <sup>14</sup>In (its) place <sup>15-16</sup>send me in safely and <sup>17</sup>let reimburse me (this barely), <sup>18-20</sup>you have to give a big complaints.

### Commentary:

11. [x x]-[x<sup>1</sup>-ti-ka: This line is too broken that we can not restore it.

14. *ma-ka<sup>2</sup>-an<sup>2</sup>*: The second and third signes of this word are not too visible but probably it is (*makānu* “place, emplacement”)<sup>680</sup>.

18. The first sign of this line is unclear sign.

18-19. *ri-ig-mu-um ra-bu-um* “a big complaints”: For this expression look “AbB 6, n<sup>o</sup>.193: 12”.

## TEXT 15

Text Number: SM. 673 (5.9 x 3,9 x 1,9)

Date: Early Old Babylonian

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Delivery packs

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na* íR-<sup>d</sup>ΓMARDUK<sup>1</sup>

2. *qí*-Γbî<sup>1</sup>-*ma*

3. *um-ma a-hu-um-ma*

4. 5 KUS SU-A

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<sup>680</sup> CAD M<sub>1</sub>: 125.

5. 5 KUŠ *wa-šú-tim*

6. *ša al-pí-im*

7. *sa-am-ta-am*

8. *mu-ta-ta-am*

9. 1 KUŠ MÁŠ SU-[A]

10. *a-na ib-<sup>1</sup>šī<sup>1</sup>-[...]*

Rev.

11. *a-hi-um-m[i-šú<sup>2</sup>]*

12. *it-ti<sup>1</sup> iš-[me]-ir-ra*

13. *li-ib-la-am*

14. 1 KUŠ *ša-al-ma*

15. 1 du<sup>2</sup> ud<sup>2</sup> x x [...]

16. KI *šam-tam*

17. *šu-bi-lam*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Say <sup>1</sup>to Warad-Marduk, <sup>3</sup>thus says Ahum: <sup>4</sup>5 braided packs, <sup>5</sup>producing 5 packs, <sup>6-7-8</sup>red bulls. <sup>8</sup>half-packs <sup>9</sup>one goat pack <sup>10</sup>for ....., <sup>Rev.11</sup> Ahi-umm[išu] <sup>12</sup>with Iš[me]-Erra, <sup>13</sup>let's bring to me, <sup>14</sup>one black pack, <sup>15</sup>....., <sup>16</sup>for *Šamtum*/marking, <sup>17</sup>send to me.

### Commentary:

4. <sup>kuš</sup>SU-A : is understood as a name for boots or packs<sup>681</sup>, which are made from the skin of animals.

8. *mutatām*: For this word look (*muttātum* “husbands or half-packs”)<sup>682</sup>

12. <sup>l</sup>iš-[*me*]-*ir-ra*> Išme-Erra: We restored this personal name according to a letter of the early Old Babylonian letter<sup>683</sup>.

15. 1 du<sup>?</sup> ud<sup>?</sup> x x [...] : Probably this word is another thing that should be sent but it can not offer any good reading for this word.

16. *šamtam*: For this word look (*šamātu* “mark”), which is attested in many examples of Mari as (*ana šamāt* “to/for marking”)<sup>684</sup>.

## TEXT 16

Text Number: SM. 2140 (4.3 x 5,3 x 2,1)

Date: Early Old Babylonian

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Delivery cattle

## Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na ra-bi-ši-la-<sup>l</sup>šū<sup>l</sup>*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma i-ku-un-pi<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d?</sup>İŠKUR-ma*

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<sup>681</sup> PAOLETTI 2012: 172.

<sup>682</sup> CAD M<sub>2</sub>: 310-12.

<sup>683</sup> CUSAS 36, n<sup>o</sup>. 57: 3.

<sup>684</sup> CAD Š<sub>1</sub>: 307-8.

4. *šar-ru-um a-na 2 šu-ši* GU<sub>4</sub>-HI-A
5. *ù 76 šu-ši* UDU-HI-A
6. *iš-ta-ap-ra-am*
7. 10 GU<sub>4</sub>-HI-A 2 šu-ši (2×60=120) UDU-HI-A
8. 1.0.0 GUR ĩ<sup>giš</sup> *ša qá-ti-i-ka*
9. [*id*]-*ṛdi<sup>1</sup>-a-am-ma*
10. [...]-*hu-nim*
11. [...] x

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>2</sup>to Rabī-šilašu, <sup>3</sup>thus says Ikūn-pî-Iškur: <sup>4-6</sup>120 Bulls and 4560 sheep are sent to me by the king. <sup>7-9</sup>(So) 10 bulls, 120 sheep, 1 gur of oil give to me which are in your hands and. <sup>10</sup>....., <sup>11</sup>.....

### Commentary:

10. [...]-hu-nim: Probably a sign or two signs of this line are broken but we are incapable to restore this signs? Because we cannot find a similar example.

11. [...] x: The most part of this line is broken only a sign is not broken which this sign is also unclear.

### TEXT 17

Text Number: SM. 2856 (6.5 x 4,4 x 2,1)

Date: Early Old Babylonian

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Helping/Social Relationship

### Transliteration

1. *a-na*<sup>d</sup>UTU-ú-*a*
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. *um-ma si-im-mu-ug-ra-ma*
4. <sup>1</sup>*aš-šum*<sup>1</sup> *bi-it ki-im-[ti]*
5. *ša ta-aš-pu-ra-[am]*
6. <sup>1</sup>*i-lí-a-tar*
7. *it-ta-al-kam*
8. *ta-ap-pu-tam*
9. *al-ka-ma*
10. <sup>1</sup>*ir-id-iq-am*
11. <sup>1</sup>*im-ne-ki-x-im*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Šamšûya, <sup>3</sup>thus says Simmūgra: <sup>5</sup>you wrote to me <sup>4</sup>about the family house <sup>5</sup>that <sup>6</sup>Ilī-atar <sup>7</sup>has come to me (and) <sup>8-11</sup>I come to assistance Irid-Iqam, (and) Imneki-x-im.

### Commentary:

4. *kīmti*: We restored this word according to “CAD”<sup>685</sup>.

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<sup>685</sup> CAD K: 375-6.

11. *<sup>l</sup>im-ne-ki-x-im*: A sign before the last sign of this word is broken and we can not restoration this word because we did not find a similar example of this word, the word is probably a personal name according the determinative which existed at the beginning of this word.

## TEXT 18

Text Number: SM. 413 (5.9 x 4 x 1,8)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I-Hammurapi

Provenience: North Babylonia

Object: Deliver barley

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na e-te-el-pi<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>INANNA*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma ìR-<sup>d</sup>MARDUK-ma*

4. *<sup>d</sup>MARDUK li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka*

5. *0.2.0 ŠE a-na šú-ha-ri-i*

6. *ṛ<sup>u</sup><sup>ṛ</sup>-ur<sup>ṛ</sup>-di-im-ma*

7. *[i<sup>ṛ</sup>]-ku-lu*

8. *ṛ<sup>a</sup>-na<sup>ṛ</sup> li-bi*

9. *[il<sup>ṛ</sup>]-qú-ú*

10. *[i-na]-an-na 0.2.0 ŠE i-di-im*

## Translation

<sup>2</sup>.Speak <sup>1</sup>to EteI-pî-Ištar, <sup>3</sup>.Thus says Warad-Marduk: <sup>4</sup>.May Marduk keep you in good health, <sup>5</sup>-  
<sup>7</sup>.send me 2 (Kors) of barely for servants, they have eaten and <sup>8-9</sup>[they have] taken in the  
center.<sup>10</sup>.[N]ow give to me 2 (Kors) of barely.

### Commentary:

6. <sup>1</sup>ur<sup>2</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ur<sup>2</sup>-<sup>2</sup>di-im-ma: For the restoration of this word in “AbB” is existed a lot of similar examples<sup>686</sup>.

7. [<sup>2</sup>i]-<sup>2</sup>ku-lu: We restored this word according to these examples which exists in  
“AbB”.

9. [<sup>2</sup>il]-<sup>2</sup>qú-ú: The word restored according to many similar examples which exists in “AbB”.

10. [<sup>2</sup>i-na]-<sup>2</sup>an-na: For the restoration this word is the same with other previous words.

## TEXT 19

Text Number: SM. 425 (4.4 x 3 x 1,2)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I - Hammurapi

Provenance: Sippar Region

Object: May be a juridical letter?

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. [a]-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> LÚ-DINGIR-RA

2. qí-bí-ma

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<sup>686</sup> AbB 11, n°. 171: 17.

3. *um-ma be-lí-ku*

4. <sup>1</sup>DUMU-nu-úr-iš<sub>4</sub>-tár

5. *ki-ma li im-ni-ti ... ki*

6. x x *sú-ur-ri-im*

7. [...]

8. x [...]

Rev.

10. <sup>d</sup>UTU [...]

11. [...]

12. *a-hi mi<sup>?</sup> ši<sup>?</sup> [...]*

13. *iš-ta-ah-hi-am*

14. *im-hi-i-ma*

15. *ma-ha-ar šar-ri-im*

16. <sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-zu-zu

17. [*um-ma*] *at-ta-ma*

Up.Ed

18. [...] <sup>r</sup>šar<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-ri

19. [...] a

Le.Ed

20. [...] *šu-nu-šu?-ma*

21. [...] *aš-šu*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Awīl-ili, <sup>3</sup>Thus says your lord, <sup>4</sup>Mār-Nūr-Ištar, <sup>5</sup>as ....., <sup>6</sup>x x as soon as, <sup>7-8</sup> ....., <sup>Rev.10-</sup>  
<sup>11</sup> ....., <sup>12</sup>brother ....., <sup>13</sup>they extended, <sup>14</sup>become frenzied and <sup>16</sup>I divided <sup>15</sup>in front of my king.  
<sup>17</sup>Thus, you say: <sup>Up.Edg.18</sup>..... the king, <sup>19</sup>....., <sup>Le.Edg.20-21</sup>.....

### Commentary:

Description: This letter is too broken and we can not understand exactly its subject, but according to the lines 15 and 16 is perhaps a juridical text?

### TEXT 20

Text Number: SM. 497 (8.4 x 4,6 x 2,2)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I - Hammurapi

Provenance: North Babylonia

Object: Field

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na ì-lí-um-ma-t*[i ú PN]

2. *qí-bí-*[ma]

3. *um-ma ì-lí-am-tah-*[ha-ar]

4. <sup>d</sup>UTU *li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ku-*[nu-ti]

5. *aš-šum e-tel-pi*<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>NIN-U[RTA]

6. *iš-tu* <sup>iü</sup>GAN-GAN-È

7. 5 GÍN KÙ-BABBAR *a-na* <sup>lu</sup>*mu-ša-ad-di-ni-šu*

8. *na-ad-na-ku*

9. ù ITI-1-KAM *it-ti-ja lu*<sup>2</sup>*-ša-bil-ku*

10. A-ŠÀ-*el-šu ma-la in-ne-er-šu*

11. 1 SILÀ *še-um la il-la-ap-pa-at*

12. A-ŠÀ-*lam lu ba-qí-ir*

13. *ba-qí-ra-an-šu li-il-li-kam-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>*

14. *di-in-šu <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-na pu-úh-ri-im*

15. *li-ig-ga-me-er*

16. *šum-ma ir-ri-{{še<sup>2</sup>}}-šu-[ma]*

Lo.Ed.

17. *ša i-na-an-na A-ŠÀ-*el-šu**

18. *i-<sup>1</sup>ri-šu<sup>1</sup>*

Rev.

19. [... A-ŠÀ]-*lum in-x-[...]*

20. [...] *bu [...]*

21. [...] *-du la id-x-bu [...]*

22. [...] *-ah i-ni-ka na-x-[...]*

23. [...] *x x x x zi*

24. A-ŠÀ ŠÁM *i-na KÁ-DINGIR-RA*<sup>ki</sup>

25. *iš-tu pa-na A-ŠÀ Ú-SAL*
26. *x x u-la i-il-lu-ši*
27. *A-ŠÀ-lum ú-še-eš-še-ku-ma*
28. *ᵀi-naᵀ x IKU A-ŠÀ-lim aš-lu-le-am*
29. *[a-na] NIN A-ŠÀ Ú-SAL i-na-an-di-in*
30. *[...]x x a-na x x x i-ir-ri-šu*
31. *še-a-am 2/3 MA-NA ši-im-ti-šu*
32. *li-id-di-in*
33. *i-nu-ú-[ma ...] uz-ú-ša/ta-nu-ú- [...]*
34. *la tu- [...]*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Ilī-ummāt[i and PN], <sup>3</sup>thus says Ilī-amtah[har], <sup>4</sup>May Šamaš keep you in good health. <sup>5</sup> Regarding Etel-pî-Ninu[rta] <sup>6</sup>Since the month of IX <sup>8</sup>it has been given to you <sup>7.5</sup> Shekels of Silver from his tax collector <sup>9</sup>and I can bring to you with me in one month/ let me have (it) bring to you with me in one month. <sup>10</sup>His field is not cultivated (and) <sup>11</sup>a single Sila of barley is not touched. <sup>12</sup>Let (him) claim a field (and), <sup>13</sup>let him come to me with his claimant and <sup>14-16</sup>final if he requests it, verdict may is rendered to his case in assembly. <sup>Lo.Edg.17-18.</sup>that now he obtained his/this field, <sup>Rev.19-21.</sup> ....., <sup>22.</sup> ..... in your eyes ....., <sup>23.</sup> ....., <sup>24.</sup>he bought a field in Babylon, <sup>25.</sup>after the field in front of the download/water-meadows , <sup>26.</sup>..... he does not go/leave (upper) it? <sup>27.</sup>A field will make be free/delivery to you and, <sup>28</sup>I took to myself ..... acres of the field, <sup>29.</sup> A download/water-meadows has been given [to] princesses, <sup>30.</sup> They request ..... for ....., <sup>32</sup>he/it should give, <sup>31.</sup>2/3 Shekles of barely of his original/principal amount, <sup>33</sup>when ....., <sup>34.</sup>you .....

### Commentary:

4. *li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ku-[nu-ti]*: For the restoration of this verb look “*AbB*” with a lot of examples<sup>687</sup>.

16. *ir-ri-{{še<sup>2</sup>}}-šu-[ma]*: the sign of (ŠE) is appearance that the writer did a mistake and he want to correct this sign that is why is not appearance too visible.

19-23. The most part of these lines are broken.

24. ŠÁM: is a Sumerian logogram which can be transliterated as verb (*šâmu* “buy”) in past state for the third person singular.

25. A-ŠÀ Ú-SAL: These words are a Sumerian logogram in Akkadian are (eqlu *ušalli* “lowland/water-meadows field”)<sup>688</sup>

## TEXT 21

Text Number: SM. 860 (7.9 x 4,5 x 2)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I - Hammurapi

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Delivery Silver

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-[na] d<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-im-gur-ra-an-ni*

2. *[qí]-bí-ma*

3. *ᵀum-ma<sup>1</sup> d<sup>d</sup>NIN-URTA-ba-la-ṭi-[im]*

4. *[<sup>d</sup>ša]-la-a li-ba-ᵀa<sup>1</sup> -[li-iṭ-ka]*

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<sup>687</sup> AbB 10, n°. 183: 5.

<sup>688</sup> CAD U/W: 296.

5. *a-na mu-ha-du-[um]*
6. *a-na 1/2 MA-NA KÙ-BABBAR [...]*
7. *aš-pu-ra-am-ma [...]*
8. *ù KÙ-BABBAR ta-aš-p[u-ra-am]*
9. *um-ma-mi a-na-k[u-ma]*
10. *pi-qá-at <sup>1</sup>ú/pa-x- [...]*
11. *[x] x x ha ši [...]*
12. *[...]*

Rev.

This side is too broken only some signs are visible at the beginning of the lines.

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Say <sup>1</sup>to Sîn-imgurranni, <sup>3</sup>「thus says」 Ninurta-balāṭīm: <sup>4</sup> May [Ša]lā keep [you in good health], <sup>7</sup>I sent [...] <sup>6</sup>1/2 Minas of silver [...] <sup>5</sup>to Muhadū[m] <sup>8</sup>and you sent the silver ..... <sup>9</sup>Thus, I say as following terms: <sup>10</sup>pehaps ....., <sup>11</sup> ....., ... Broken ...

### Commentary:

Description: The left side of this letter is broken and in its broken place there is a modern restoration with a lot of fake signs. The same situation is also correct for the review side beside that the review side is too damaged which we can not read it , only some little signs are visible.

### TEXT 22

Next Number: SM. 2809 (9 x 4,6 x 2,4)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I - Hammurapi

Provenience: Maškan-šāpir Region

Content: Military Information

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na a-wi-li-im*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma*<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-še-mi-ma

4. *ṭe<sup>?</sup>-mu<sup>l?</sup>-um im-qú-ta-am-ma*

5. *i-na maš-gán-šabra<sup>?ki</sup>*

6. *li ú-še-ri-du-um*

7. *na-gi-ru-um iš-ta<sup>?</sup>-ta<sup>?</sup>-ás-si*

8. *<sup>l.d</sup>pa<sub>4</sub>-dam/zum-qar-ra-ad<sup>?</sup>*

9. DUMU É-GAL ša *i-na du-un-ni-im*

10. *ša i-ši-in<sup>ki</sup>*

11. *wa-aš-bu*

12. *x-tu<sup>?</sup>-um bi-ir-ti-im*

13. *ša-bi-im ha-mi-iš*

14. *me-ti-im*

Rev.

15. *i-is-su-uh-um-<sup>Γ</sup>ma<sup>Γ</sup>*

16. *i-na* KÁ-DINGIR-RA<sup>ki</sup>

5 lines are broken

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>.Speak <sup>2</sup>to the gentlemen, <sup>3</sup>thus says Sîn-šemi: <sup>4-6</sup>the report was arrived to me and I could drive (it) to Maškanšāpir. <sup>7-11</sup>The herald make a proclamation for Padam-qarrād the strong son of the palace who lives in Isin. <sup>12-15</sup>Five hundred troops are assigned ..... fortress. <sup>16</sup>In Babylon ... 5 lines are broken ...

### Commentary:

4. *ṭe-mu<sup>l?</sup>-um*: The second sign of this word is invisible but up to “CAD” we can restoration as (*tēmu* “report, news, information, ...”<sup>689</sup>).

8. *pa<sup>d</sup>-dam-qar-ra-ad*: For this personal name we did not find a similar personal name if our transliteration is a correct transliteration, he is a rare personal name.

### TEXT 23

Text Number: SM. 2884 (8,3 x 4,3 x 2,3)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I - Hammurapi

Provenience: Sippar Region

Content: Information

### Transliteration

1. [*a-na*] *be-lum*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma ig-mil<sup>d</sup>x*

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<sup>689</sup> CAD T: 85-6.

4. <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR-MARDUK *da-ri-iš u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im*

5. *li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka*

6. *a-na a-wa-tim*

7. *ša pa-ni-i-ka ta-aš-ku-nu*

8. *i-na mi-nu-um ka-aš-du-ka-ma*

9. *la' da-am-qá li-i-di-<ka>*

10. *an-ni-ki-a-am ta-aš<sup>2</sup>-[...]*

11. *ù at-ta ki-a-[am ...]*

12. *a-hu-ka ša ma-ah-<sup>Γ</sup>ri-im<sup>Γ</sup>*

13. *um-ma šu-ú-ma*

14. *ma-an-nu-um is-si-a-[ka]*

15. *a-<sup>Γ</sup>hu<sup>Γ</sup>-ka ša an-[ni-ki-a-am]*

16. *[x x]-ši-a-am*

17. *iš-ba-at x-x-[...]*

18. *x-i-du-[...]*

19. *at-ta<sup>2</sup> ul ta<sup>2</sup>-di-a-am*

20. *a-na mi-ni-im tu-uš-ta<sup>2</sup>-ba-lam*

Rev.

Broken and not visible

## Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>[to] Bēlum, <sup>3</sup>thus says Igmil-.....: <sup>4-5</sup>. May Išatar-Marduk keep you in good health forever, <sup>6-7</sup>.the report/news delivers towards to you, <sup>8</sup>.What arrives/gives to you? <sup>9</sup>.May he do not give you a good (news/report), <sup>10</sup>.here ....., <sup>11</sup>. and you, like ....., <sup>12</sup>.in front of your brother, <sup>13</sup>.he said as follows: <sup>14</sup>. Who calls you, <sup>15</sup>.your brother is here, <sup>16</sup>....., <sup>17</sup>.he took ....., <sup>18</sup>....., <sup>19</sup>.you do not give me, <sup>20</sup>.why you did not sent me (it), <sup>Rev.21</sup>... Broken and not visible ...

## TEXT 24

Text Number: SM. 2921 (8,1 x 4,7 x 2,4)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I - Hammurapi

Provenience: Larsa to Ur

Content: Delivery Baskets.

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-[...]

2. *qí-bí-<sup>1</sup>ma*

3. *um-ma* ì[r-r]a-na-ši-i[r-ma]

4. 5 GI-GUR-PISAN 1 BÁN SÌLA-[TA-ÀM]

5. 5 GI-GUR-PISÁN 3 BÁN SÌILA-[TA-ÀM]

6. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>INANNA<sup>?</sup>-ma-[an-šúm]

7. *qí-bí-[ma]*

8. 5 GI-GUR-PISÁN 1 BÁN 5 SÌLA-TA-ÀM

9. 5 GI-GUR-PISÁN 3 BÁN-TA-ÀM

10. A-NA ŠU-MU-UM-LI-IB-ŠI

11. *qí-bí-ma*

12. 5 GI-GUR-PISÁN 1 BÁN 5 SÌLA-ÀM

13. 5 GI-GUR-PISÁN 3 BÁN-TA-ÀM

Rev.

14. *a-na im-gur<sup>?</sup>-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-ma*

15. *qí-bí-ma*

16. *um-ma ìr-ra-na-ši-ir-ma*

17. 10 GI-GUR-PISÁN 3 BÁN-TA-ÀM

18. *a-na DINGIR-da-mi-iq*

19. *qí-bí-ma*

20. 5 GI-GUR-PISAN 1 BÁN 5 SÌLA-TA-ÀM

21. 5 GI-GUR-PISÁN 3 SÌLA-TA-ÀM

22. *a-na ma-ši-am-ì-lí*

23. *ᵏqí<sup>1</sup>-bí-ma*

24. 10 GI-GUR-PISAN 1 BAN 5 SIILA-TA-AM

25. *lu ib-šu-ma*

26. *re-e-ši li-ki-il-lu*

27. *a-na ri-im-ki-im*

28. *ša ᵏu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> ar-hi-[im]*

29. [...] a-lu<sup>7</sup> x [...]

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Sîn-....., <sup>3</sup>thus says I[r]ra-naši[r]: <sup>4</sup>5 baskets, 1 Seach, 5 Quarts, <sup>5</sup>5 basket (and) 3 Seachs, <sup>7</sup> speak <sup>6</sup> to Ištar-mā[nšum], <sup>8</sup> 5 baskets, 1 Seach, 5 Quarts, <sup>9</sup>5 baskets (and) 3 Seachs, <sup>11</sup> speak <sup>10</sup> to Šumum-libiši, <sup>12</sup>5 baskets, 1 Seach, 5 Quarts, <sup>13</sup>5 basket (and) 3 Seachs, <sup>Rev.15</sup> speak <sup>14</sup>to Imgur-Sîn, <sup>16</sup>thus says Irra-našir: <sup>17</sup>10 baskets (and) 3 Seachs, <sup>19</sup> speak <sup>18</sup>to Ilī-damīq, <sup>20</sup> 5 baskets, 1 Seach, 5 Quarts, <sup>21</sup>5 baskets (and) 3 Quarts, <sup>22-23</sup> speak to Mašjam-ilī, <sup>24</sup>10 baskets, 1 Seach, 5 Quarts, <sup>25-26</sup> should be available and ready for me, <sup>27</sup> for the washing ceremony, <sup>28</sup> on the first day of the month, <sup>29</sup> .....

### Commentary:

5. SÌLA-[TA-ÀM]: According to other similar lines of this word we restored the end of this line.

27. *rīm-kīm* «washing ceremony»: For the translation of this word look «CAD»<sup>690</sup>.

## TEXT 25

Text Number: SM. 2944 (6,8 x 4,7 x 2,3)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I - Hammurapi

Provenience: Kutalla to Sippar or Ur

Content: Unknown

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. a-na ʾbu-la<sup>1</sup>-li-im

2. qí-bí-ma

---

<sup>690</sup> CAD R: 355-7.

3. *um-ma* <sup>D</sup>EN-ZU-*še-mi-ma*

4. <sup>dug</sup>*li-ik-ka*

5. *uš-ba-kum*

6. *ku-nu-ki i-na a-ma-ri-ka*

7. *ur-ra-am*

8. *šu-mu-ur-ka*

9. *a-šu-ra-am*

10. [*šu*]-*mu-ur-ka*

Rev.

This side is too dirty and damaged, only some little signs are visible.

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>.Speak <sup>1</sup>to Bulālum, <sup>3</sup>thus says Sîn-šemi: <sup>4</sup>.<sup>dug</sup>*li-ik-ka*, <sup>5</sup>they stayed to you, <sup>6</sup>when you see my seal document <sup>7</sup>tomorrow, <sup>8</sup>you are furious (and) <sup>9</sup>I do down <sup>10</sup>(with) your furious.

### Commentary:

4. <sup>dug</sup>*li-ik-ka*: This word is unclear for us and we can not to make it an interpretation to known that it is an object of pot or not, but perhaps it is a kind of pot.

### TEXT 26

Text Number: SM. 3002 (8,7 x 5,8 x 2,7)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I - Hammurapi

Provenience: Larsa Region

Content: Loan

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. [a-n]a li-pí-it-<sup>d</sup>[INANNA]
2. qí-bí-ma
3. um-ma <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši-ni-ma
4. aš-šum A-ŠÀ-lim ù še-e-em
5. ša bé-el-ti-ja
6. ša aš-pu-ra-ak-kum
7. ki-a-am ta-aš-pu-ra-am
8. um-ma at-ta-a-ma
9. ša a-wi-lum iš-ta-aṭ-ra-am
10. še-a-am ú-ta-a-ar
11. i<sup>2</sup>-na<sup>2</sup>-an-na<sup>2</sup> še-a-am ú-ul tu-te-er
12. A-ŠÀ-lam ù še-a-am ta-at-ba-al
13. un-ne-du-uk-ki i-na a-ma-ri-ka
14. [še]-a-am ù A-ŠÀ-lam ṽli<sup>1</sup>-te-er-ši-im
15. [ù a-na h]i-bi-il-ti-ša ú še-he-ru-ti-ša la te-gi
16. [ù me-el-q]é-et e-re-ši-im a-la-kam
17. [...i]-ṽnu<sup>1</sup>-mi-šu du-mu-uq-ta-ka

18. [š<sup>u</sup>-up-ra-am]-ma lu-úh-du

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Lipit-[Ištar], <sup>3</sup>thus say Šamšīni: <sup>6</sup>I wrote to you <sup>4</sup>regarding field and barley <sup>5</sup>of my Mistress, <sup>7-8</sup>(and) you wrote to me in the following terms: <sup>9</sup>Gentlemen writes to me that <sup>10</sup>he pay back barley (but) <sup>11</sup>till now you do not pay back barley (and) <sup>12</sup>you took away field and barley! <sup>13</sup>When you see letter of mien, <sup>14</sup>it should pay back her field and [ba]rley, <sup>15</sup>[and (do not)] wrongdoing to her and be not carless of her children, <sup>16</sup>[and] I come to demand (this) loan, <sup>17</sup>when your goodness/friendly ....., <sup>18</sup>[write/send to me] and I want to be happy.

### Commentary:

11. INANNA: The signs of this word are not too visible it looks like more personal name of (DUMU <sup>1.d</sup>UTU-gá<sup>2</sup>-mil) not (inanna), but according to the letter context it is also possible to read as (INANNA).

16. [me-el-q]é-et (*melqētu*): For the restoration and translation of this word look «CAD»<sup>691</sup>.

### TEXT 27

Text Number: SM. 3877 (8,5 x 4,3 x 2,3)

Date: Hammurapi

Provenience: Dunning to Uruk

Content: Loan

### Transliteration

Obv.

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<sup>691</sup> CAD M<sub>2</sub>: 13.

1. *a-na hu-šu-tum qí-bí-ma*
  2. *um-ma* <sup>d</sup>ISKUR-hé-<sup>Γ</sup>gá<sup>Γ</sup>-*ma*
  3. <sup>d</sup>ISKUR ù <sup>d</sup>ΓMARDUK<sup>Γ</sup>
  4. *aš-šu-mi-ja li-ba-al-li-tú-ki*<sup>?</sup>
  5. *iš-tu u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im ša a-na du-nu-um*<sup>ki</sup>
  6. *al-li-kam*
  7. *mi-im-ma ú-ul ta-ad-di-in-ni*
  8. *a-na še-e ša el-qù-ú*
  9. *am-ti šu-ru-ba-ti*
  10. 40.4.3 SE GUR 4 SILA I<sup>giš</sup>
  11. *ša 1.2.3 X ša el-qù-ú*
  12. *iš-tu MU-3-2-KAM*
  13. *aš-ta-na-pa-ra-ki-im-ma*
  14. *ú-ul ta-na-di-ni*
- Rev.
15. <sup>Γ</sup>a<sup>Γ</sup>-*na* UD.UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *a-na a-pa-a*[*l*]
  16. *še-a-am id-ni-i*[*m-ma*]
  17. *ka-ni-ik* 40.4.3 SE GUR 4 [SILA I<sup>giš</sup>]
  18. *šu-bi-li-im-ma*
  19. *am-ti li-še-šú-ni*

20. I<sup>giš</sup> 2 SÌLA<sup>?</sup> i-ra-ab-ki

21. *ib-ta-ša-ši*

22. *šum-ma iš-tu u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im*

23. *ša a-bu-ul KÁ-DINGIR-RA<sup>ki</sup>*

24. *ú-še-šú-ni-in-ni*

25. *mi-im-ma tu-ša-bi-li-<im>*

26. *ša-ab-ti-ma šu-di-ni*

27. *um-ma at-ti-ma A. ŠÀ-lam ú-ul x-x-iš*

28. *la ta-pa-li*

29. *bi-ti id-ni<sup>giš</sup> KIRI<sub>6</sub> id-ni-ma*

Lo.Ed

30. IGI<sup>?</sup> *ha-ta-an-ni ta-ap-li*

31. KÙ-BABBAR *mi-im-ma ú-ul i-ba-aš-ši*

32. *še-a-am-ma id-ni*

Le.Ed

33. *na-wa-ru qí-ru-ṭe<sub>4</sub> ša ar-tu i-na SIG<sub>4</sub>/UNUG<sup>ki</sup> la tu-gál-la-l[i]*

34. *ki-ma la it-pa-li-ki*

### Translation

<sup>1</sup>Speak to Huššutum, <sup>2</sup>thus says Iškur-hegal: <sup>3-4</sup>May Iškur and Marduk keep you in good health for my sake. <sup>5-6</sup>Since the day, I arrived to Dunnum, <sup>7</sup> you did not give me anything. <sup>8</sup>That I obtained only some of barely. <sup>10-11</sup> I got 40.4.3 Kors of barley, 4 Seahs of oil of 1.2.3 ....., <sup>9</sup>of

the paying in my slave girl. <sup>12</sup>Since 3.2 years <sup>13</sup>I am writing to you again and again and <sup>14</sup>you do not pay (me). <sup>Rev.15-16</sup>give and to pay back m[e] the barley in Uruk [and] <sup>17-18</sup>send me 40.4.3 Kors of barley, 4 [seahs of oil] with a sealed document and <sup>19</sup>my slave girl should send/come/be free me. <sup>22-24</sup>If since the day, I move out of the city gate of Babylon, <sup>25</sup>you sent me everything, <sup>20</sup>2 seahs of oil restore back to you, <sup>21</sup>(if) it available in her hand. <sup>26</sup>Take and collect (oil and barely). <sup>27</sup>Thus says: you do not give her the field (and) <sup>28</sup>(if) you do not pay back (me?). <sup>29</sup>Give the house (and) give the garden and <sup>Lo.Ed.30</sup>(that) you paid back in front of my in-law, <sup>31</sup>it is not at all silver, <sup>32</sup>(so) give the barely, <sup>Le.Ed.33</sup> call Nawar and I am coming and you commit no a sin in/against Uruk, <sup>34</sup>as it did not pay back you.

### Commentary:

5. Dunūm (Dunnum): This city during the Old Babylonian period is well known in the text of that time<sup>692</sup> in the southern part of Mesopotamia between Larsa and Isin kingdoms<sup>693</sup> on the bank of the Tigris. Beside Dunūm of the southern part of Mesopotamia it should be mentioned the second Dunūm was existed near Mari on the left bank of the Euphrates<sup>694</sup>.

29. <sup>giš</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>: It is a Sumerian logogram in Akkadian is (*kirû* «garden... »)<sup>695</sup>.

## TEXT 28

Text Number: SM.390 (6,6 x 3,7 x 1,9)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I - Hammurapi

Provenience: Larsa/Isin Region

Content: legal

### Transliteration

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<sup>692</sup> RGTC 3: 57.

<sup>693</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 123.

<sup>694</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 358, Not. 1868.

<sup>695</sup> CAD K: 411.

Obv.

1. *a-na da-<sup>7</sup>da-a<sup>7</sup>*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma ib-na-tum*

4. *<sup>1</sup>i-di-ja-tum*

5. *ša-ba šu ú-ul ip-qí-[id]*

6. *ù wa-ar-di-ja*

7. *ú-la uš-ši-ja*

8. *<sup>1</sup>da-am-qum*

9. *aš-šum it-ti-ja*

10. *zi-nu-ú*

11. *da-i-ni a-na a-li*

12. *uš-ta-bi-il*

13. *da-i-ni ki-ma [...]*

14. *ri-a-at a-x [...]*

Rev.

Broken

Le.Ed.

15. *i-na 4 PLRI ša-bi-im ú-la i-ku-ul<sup>2</sup>*

Broken and damaged

## Translation

<sup>1</sup>.Speak <sup>2</sup>to Da[da] <sup>3</sup>thus says Ibnātum: <sup>5</sup>.this soldier (of) <sup>4</sup>.Idijātum <sup>5</sup>.does not take care <sup>6</sup>. of my servants and <sup>7</sup>he does not leave me, <sup>9</sup>. Regarding (of) <sup>8</sup>.Dāmqu<sup>m</sup> <sup>9</sup>.is with me. <sup>10</sup>.(and) Zinū <sup>12</sup>.had brought/sent <sup>11</sup>.the judgment to the city. <sup>13</sup>.According to [the decision of] judgment, <sup>14</sup>. Take care ... Broken ... <sup>Le.Ed.15</sup>.to 4 P.I.R.I the Soldier does not hold/consume.

## Commentary:

Description: The reverse side of this letter is broken only some little signs are saying at the beginning lines, it must be indicated that the broken place was replaced by a fake piece with a lot of fake modern signs.

1. *da-[da-a]*: The restoration of this personal name was made according the letters 29 and 30 of this research.

15. 4 P.I.R.I: These two signs are visible but we can not make an interpretation for them, because we do not understand them?

## TEXT 29

Text Number: SM. 2396 (5 x 3,6 x 1,5)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I – Hammurapi

Provenience: Larsa/Isin Region

Content: Unknown

## Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na da-da-a*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma pa-ka-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-ma*

4. *ud-du-am?-ma*

5. *aš-ba at-ta*

6. *i-na a-wi-li-im*

7. *ta-la-ka-am*

Le.Ed.

8. [...] *ù<sup>2</sup> ta-la-ka<sup>2</sup>-am<sup>2</sup>*

Rev.

Broken

### Trabslation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Dada, <sup>3</sup>thus say Paka-Iškur: <sup>4</sup>Today <sup>5</sup>I am staying, (and) you <sup>7</sup>come to me <sup>6</sup>with the gentlemen,<sup>Lo.Ed.8.</sup>..... and you come to me ... Broken ... .

### Commentary:

4. *ud-du-am?-ma*: We do not understand this word and we can not interpretation according another similar word?

## TEXT 30

Text Number: SM.6375 (9,4 x 6,1 x 3,5)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I – Hammurapi

Provenience: Larsa/Isin Region

Content: envelope

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na da-da-a*

Seal Impression

1. <sup>d</sup>EN-ZU- [...]

2. DUMU <sup>d</sup>EN-ZU- [...]

3. ìR <sup>d</sup>[...]

### Translation

To Dada.

### Commentary:

Description: A seal impression appears on this envelop but it is not clear, because of that, we can not to identify the owner of the seal.

### TEXT 31

Text Number: SM. 5845 (3,6 x 3,1 x 1,6)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I - Hammurapi

Provenience: Larsa Region

Content: unknown

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na li-<sup>r</sup>pī<sup>l</sup> -[it-<sup>d</sup>IŠTAR]*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma<sup>d</sup>UTU-ha-zi-ir*

4. *iš-tu am-ta-li-ik-ma*

5. E-X-HI-A-am-ma

6. *wa-aš-ba-ku*

7. *ù ma-x-x [...]-i*

8. [...]

Broken

Rev.

This side is much crashed only a little signs are visible.

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>.Speak <sup>1</sup>to Lipi[it-Ištar], <sup>3</sup>thus says Šamaš-hāzir: <sup>4</sup>after I give the advice, <sup>5</sup> ....., <sup>6</sup>. I am staying  
... Broken ...

### Commentary:

Description: This letter is too broken because of that we can not understand it.

### TEXT 32

Text Number: SM. 6416 (9,5 x 4,5 x 2,2)

Date: Hammurapi-Samsu-ilūna

Provenience: Larsa Region

Content: Slave girls

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-*ga-mil*
2. *ù ša-mi-ja-tum*
3. *qí-bí-ma*
4. *um-ma* <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ha-zi-ir-ma*
5. <sup>d</sup>UTU *ù* <sup>d</sup>NINURTA U<sub>4</sub> *aš-šum-ja*
6. MU-ŠAR/3600-KAM *li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka*
7. *aš-šum* GÉME *ša an-ni-tam*
8. [ú] *ki-a-am* GÉME *ki-a-am*
9. [...] -a 2 *i-ma-at*<sup>2</sup> *ki-a-am*
10. <sup>1</sup>*an-ní* -*ki-a-am* *ì-na-di-na-am*
11. x x ERÍN tu an x x x
12. *a-nu-um-ma ta-ad-di*-[*na-am*]
13. *šum-ma i-na-di-ma*
14. *a-bi* *ù be-lí* [...]
15. *a-nu-um-ma* GÉME ERÍN *te-gi*-[*i*]
16. [...] x *i-na ta-ap-pi-j*[*a*]
17. [*ta-aš*]-*ba-ma*

18. [...] x ma *si-tu-ú*

19. [...] x *še-lu-tum*

20. [...] *su-šu-te-e*

21. [...] x KÛ-BABBAR-*im it-ta-šu*

### Translation

<sup>3</sup>.Speak <sup>1</sup>to Šîn-Gamil <sup>2</sup>and Šamijatum, <sup>4</sup>thus says Šamaš-hazīr: <sup>5-6</sup>May Šamaš and Ninurta keep you in good health forever for my sake,<sup>7</sup>regarding this slave girl, <sup>8</sup>[and] like the slave girl as <sup>9</sup>..... as 2 slave girls, <sup>10</sup>. Here, he give to me,<sup>11</sup>..... soldier ....., <sup>12</sup>it is good (if) you will give [me] <sup>13</sup>if he give, <sup>14</sup>. The father and lord [...], <sup>15</sup>. You forget the slave girl (and) the soldier, <sup>16</sup>..... of my college, <sup>17</sup>[you sta]y, <sup>18-20</sup>. ... Broken ..., <sup>21</sup>he has sent ..... of sliver.

### Commentary:

9. *i-ma-at*<sup>2</sup>: The last sign of this word is not too visible but according to the context of the letter it is a (at) for this we restored as a (at).

Rev: The beginning of this side it completely broken and we do not know there were any line inscription at this place or not?

### TEXT 33

Text Number: SM. 6419 (9,5 x 4,4 x 2,5)

Date: Hammurapi – Samsu-ilūna

Provenience: Larsa Region

Content: Delivery Barley

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ha-zi-[ir]*
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. *um-ma* <sup>d</sup>NIN-URTA-*ni-šu-[ma]*
4. *aš-šum* *ṭe<sub>4</sub>-em* *še-em-ma*
5. *ša i-na i-si-in na-di*
6. *i-na qa-ti-ka i-ba-aš-šu-ú*
7. *be-lí iq-bi-a-am-ma*
8. *i-na qá-bé-e šar-ri-im*
9. *aš-pu-ra-ak-kum*
10. *še-a-am ma-la i-na qá-ti-ka*
11. *tu-še-šú-ú-ma*
12. *i-ma-lu-ú ša iš-tu en-na-nu-um*
13. *il-li-ku-ni-ik-kum-ma*
14. *a-na be-el i-ma-ri-ku-šu*
15. *še-um [a]-na at-ti-im*
16. *ki-ti-<sup>Γ</sup>im<sup>Γ</sup> ša a-hi<sup>2</sup>*
17. *[at-ta ...]-i-ma*
18. *[...] a-na-ku-ma*
19. *[...] -im ša i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi*
20. *[...] -im bi-ta/ša-a-am*

21. [...] *ra?-bi-ma*

22. [...] *im te il ? ša ra-x*

23. [...] *še-dam*

23. [...] *úr/kum-ma*

24. [...] *ṭe-em*

Rev.

This side is too broken and damaged only some little signs are visible

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>.Speak <sup>1</sup>to Šamš-haz[īr], <sup>3</sup>.thus says Ninurta-nīšu :<sup>4</sup>concerning the report on the barley,<sup>5</sup>. Which was deposited in Isin,<sup>6</sup>. (and) available in your hand,<sup>7</sup>.my lord commanded me (it),<sup>9</sup>. I write to you <sup>8</sup>.on the orders of my king,<sup>11</sup>. You have removed/took away,<sup>10</sup>.all of the barley in your hand <sup>11</sup>.and <sup>12</sup>.after (the barley) will become a lot of here,<sup>13</sup>.(the barley) will send to you and,<sup>14</sup>.to my lord (and) he will see it,<sup>15</sup>. the barley of you,<sup>16-19</sup>. (if) you are really my brother send to me this barley at this time. ... Broken ... .

### Commentary:

Description: The Rev side of this letter is too broken and damaged only a little signs are visible.

### TEXT 34

Text Number: SM. 2864 (11 x 4,5 x 2,5)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I - Hammurapi

Provenience: Zabalum/Larsa Region

Content: Delivery sheep

### Transliteration

1. [*a-na* PN<sub>1</sub>]
2. [*qí-bí*]-*ma*
3. [*um-ma* PN<sub>2</sub>]
4. [...]
5. [*li-ba-al-li-tú-ka*]
6. [*aš-šum i-me-ri*]-*im*
7. *i-me-ra-am* ʽšú-bíʼ -*i-lam*
8. ù *a-na še-er i-me-ri-im*
9. <sup>1.d</sup>EN-ZU-iš<sup>?</sup>-me<sup>?</sup>-*an-ni*
10. *a-bi ha-il-<qú>-ma uru<sup>ki</sup> zu-ur* x x x x x
11. *ha-am-ši-na lu-uš-ku-un*
12. *ha-ar-<ra>-na-tum is-sà-ak-ta-ni-in-ni*
13. *i-me-ra-am šu-bi-lam*
14. *i-me-ra-am ša-ti-šu ša tù-uš-bi-lim-ma*
15. *ta-ka-ta-aš-šu*
16. *mi-in<sup>?</sup>-de i-me-ra-am* ma-x x *šú-ha-ir<sup>?</sup>*
17. *i-me-ra-am iš-te-en-am šu-bi-lam*
18. ù *i-na re-eš za-ba-lim ša-pa-ra-am*
19. ù *i-me-ra-am le<sup>?</sup>-qú-ú*
20. *ú-ul gu-ul-lu-ul*

## Translation

[<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to PN<sub>1</sub>, <sup>3</sup>thus says PN<sub>2</sub>: <sup>4-5</sup>May ..... keep you in good health. <sup>6</sup>Regarding sheep], <sup>7-</sup>  
<sup>9</sup>send sheep to me, <sup>8-9</sup>and sheep to Sîn-išmeanni, <sup>10</sup>my father lost (sheep) in the city of .....,  
<sup>11</sup>(and) Let me offer/send fifty (sheep to my father), <sup>12</sup>roads are silent/save to me <sup>13</sup>(so) send to  
me sheep, <sup>15</sup>you delayed it <sup>14</sup>these sheep that you sent to me, <sup>16</sup>perhaps sheep ....., <sup>17</sup>send sheep  
to me on by one, <sup>18</sup>and send to me upper of Zabalum, <sup>20</sup>do not commit a sin <sup>19</sup>and it must take  
delivery sheep.

## Commentary:

Description: The beginning of the letter is broken and we can not identify the recipient and writer with greeting formula of this letter, but the letter looks like the same litters of 32 and 33 and probable this letter is also belonging to the same archive of Šamaš-hāzir.

18. Zabalum: This city is well known in the southern part of Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian period and it is mentioned in big number of different texts of that time.

## TEXT 35

Text Number: SM. 6898 (7 x 4,3 x 2)

Date: Hammurapi-Samsu-ilūna

Provenience: Isin Region

Content: Field

## Transliteration

Obv.

1. [*a-na* PN<sub>1</sub>]

2. [*qí-bí-ma*]

3. [*um-ma* PN<sub>2</sub>]

4. [ᵀUTU] ᵀùᵀ ᵀᵀgu-laᵀ [aš-šum-ja] [...]

5. *li-ba-al-li-tù-[ka]*

6. *a-wi-lum ú-ul na-[ki]-ra-am*

7. x-e-et DAH-šu [...]-ši/pi-i-šu

8. *ù la-bi-ir-ta-šu*

9. *A-šÀ-el te-er-šum*

10. *i-na du-mu-qá-tim*

11. x-x-ur<sup>2</sup>-ru-šu-ú-ma

Rev.

12. ᵀitᵀ-ba-a-lu

13. *iš-tu ha-am-mu-ra-pí be-lí-ja*

14. *bi-ri-ta-am i-la-ak*

15. *ab-bu-tum*

16. *aš-tap-ra-ak-kum*

17. *iš-ti-a-at ep-ša-am*

18. *šu-up-ra-am-ma*

19. *iš-ti-a-at*

20. *lu-pu-ša-ak-kum*

Broken

## Translation

[<sup>2</sup>Sapeak <sup>1</sup>to PN<sub>1</sub>, <sup>3</sup>thus says PN<sub>2</sub>: <sup>4-5</sup>May [Šamaš] ʾand Gulaʾ keep [you] in good health for my sake, <sup>6</sup>the gentlemen is no a stranger for me, <sup>7</sup>..... help him ....., <sup>8-9</sup>and return to him field from his old owner, <sup>10</sup>of the good<sup>11</sup> ....., <sup>12</sup>they have taken away. <sup>13-14</sup>Since Hammurapi, my lord, will go to the citadel/area, <sup>15-16</sup>I have now fatherly write to you, <sup>17</sup>For one time do (it) to me and, <sup>18</sup>(always) write to me, <sup>19-20</sup>then I want to do (the same) to you ...Broken ... .

### Commentary:

7. *x-e-et*: The first sign of this word is invisible because of that we can not know what is this word?

7. DAH: This is a Sumerian logogram it could be possible to translate as verb (*râšu* “help”)<sup>696</sup> in Akkadian.

7. [...] *-ši/pi-i-šu*: The beginning of this word is broken and we are incapable to restoration this word.

11. *x-x-ur<sup>2</sup>-ru-šu-ú-ma*: The two first signs of this word are invisible and we can not to restoration with a similar word.

17. *iš-ti-a-at* > *ištēn* “first, for the first time, one ...”<sup>697</sup>. Beside that it should be mentioned there are a lot of examples with this expression *iš-ti-a-at ep-ša-am* “work/cooperate with me”<sup>698</sup>.

18-20. There is the same similar expression of these lines and translated as “always write to me, then I want to do something mean with you”<sup>699</sup>.

## TEXT 36

Text Number: SM. 2993 (9 x 5,1 x 2,5)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I - Hammurapi

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<sup>696</sup> CDA: 299.

<sup>697</sup> CAD I-J: 275.

<sup>698</sup> AbB 4, n°.146: 9 and AbB 14, n°.146: 17.

<sup>699</sup> AbB 10, n°. 149: 14-15.

Provenience: Sippar to Ur

Content: Field

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na a-gu-ú-a*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma SIPA-am-ra-um-ma*

4. *ku-nu-uk-ki an-ni-a-am*

5. *i-na a-ma-ri-ka*

6. *A-ŠÀ-lam ša er-ši<sup>2</sup>-ja te-e-er*

7. *la i-tu-ur-ra-am-ma*

8. *la ú-la-am-ma-da-an-ni*

9. *i-na šu-ku-uš<sub>4</sub> ra-ma-ni-ka*

10. *10<sup>2</sup> IKU A-ŠÀ-lam i-di-šum*

11. *ù aš-šum é<sup>d</sup>i-šar-ki-di-šu*

12. *a-na pa-ni-ja DAM a-píl-ì-lí-šu*

13. *li-ri<sup>2</sup>-šú-ni-im a-wi-il-tum*

14. *re-ša-am li-ki-il*

15. *ù ip-ri-ša mu-<sup>Γ</sup>hu<sup>Γ</sup>-ur-ši*

Rev.

16. *a-wi-il-tum i-pa-ra-ak-ku-ma*

17. *INIM-ti ú-da-ab-ba-bu-ka*

18. *É-GAL ni-ka-as-sà-am*

19. *i-ri-iš*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>.Speak <sup>1</sup>to Agūa, <sup>3</sup>thus says Rēū-Amrūm: <sup>5</sup>.when you see <sup>4</sup>.this letter of mine <sup>6</sup>.give back the field to Eršija. <sup>7</sup>.He does not return back to me the answer and <sup>8</sup>. does not inform me <sup>10</sup>.(so) give him 10 acres of field <sup>9</sup>. from your own subsistence field. <sup>11</sup>.And regarding the temple of Išar-kīdišu <sup>12</sup>.I am in front the wife of Apil-ilīšu, <sup>13</sup>.she should give me the house in payment, (and) the lady <sup>14</sup>.should be ready/available (there), <sup>15</sup>. and <sup>17</sup>.I say you the speech/matter, <sup>15</sup>. and Receive here his barley ration, <sup>Rev.16</sup>.the lady will be at your side, <sup>19</sup>.he cultivated <sup>18</sup>. (after) accounting of the palace.

### Commentary:

6. *er-ši<sup>2</sup>-ja*: This word during the Old Babylonian period is always appearance as (*ersû* “ready”)<sup>700</sup> not as (*eršû*), but here according the context of the letter it appears as a personal name.

6. *A-ŠÀ<sup>17</sup>-lam*: Signe of (šà) of this word is not too visible and looks more as a (*šû*) not a (*šà*) but according to the context of the letter it is a (*šà*).

13. *a-wi-il-im<sup>2</sup>*: The last sign of this word is not clear but looks like as a (im or lim) but in both cases it is not changed anything.

17. *INIM*: It is a Sumerian logogram with complement of (*ti*) in Akkadian is (*awātu* “word, matter, speech ...”)<sup>701</sup>.

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<sup>700</sup> CAD E: 307-8.

<sup>701</sup> CDA: 31.

## TEXT 37

Text Number: SM. 832 (6,3 x 3,9 x 2)

Date: Rīm-Sîn I - Hammurapi

Provenience: Sippar Region.

Content: Unknown

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>UTU-*la-ma-si* [...] -*lí-ja*

2. *qí-bí-*[*má*]

3. *um-ma gi-mil-*<sup>d</sup>[MARDUK]-*ma*

4. *ki-ma tup-pí ta-*[*am-ma*]-*ru*

5. <sup>I</sup>DINGIR-*šu-ib?-ni?*-[*šu?* x (x)]-*x-i*

6. *qá-at* <sup>Γ</sup>*šú-ha-ar-tim*<sup>Γ</sup> [*š*]*a ma-ah-ri-šu wa-aš-ba-at*

7. *a-na* x x *šar*<sup>?</sup> [...] x *at*

8. *šu-ri-a*-[x x x]

9. [...]

### Translation

<sup>1</sup>Speak <sup>2</sup>to Šamaš-lamassī ....., <sup>3</sup>thus says Gimil-[Marduk]: <sup>4</sup>as soon as/when you see my letter, <sup>5</sup>Ilī-Šu-ibni[šu ....., <sup>6</sup>In front of him you are staying with girl, <sup>7</sup>to ....., <sup>8-9</sup>.....

**Commentary:**

Description: This letter is too broken because of this we can not get a general understand translation.

## TEXT 38

Text Number: SM. 5981 (8,3 x 5 x 2,4)

Date: Hammurapi - Samsu-ilūna

Provenience: Larsa Region

Content: Loan

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. [a]-na a-pil-úrim<sup>ki</sup> I<sub>zu-un-</sub>Γ<sup>nu<sup>l?</sup>-um<sup>2</sup></sup>Γ

2. ù DINGIR-ra-bi qí-bí-ma

3. um-ma<sup>d</sup>NANNA-tum ú hu-ri-ma

4. 3 GÚ 37 MA-NA an-na

5. I<sup>2.d</sup>ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A-na<sup>l</sup>-da ù ši-mu<sup>l</sup>-mu<sup>2</sup>

6. ú-ša-bi-la-ku-nu-ši-im

7. i-na li-bi x ma.na ša I<sup>d</sup>ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A-na-da

8. ù ši-mu-mu Γ<sup>ub-ba<sup>1</sup>-lí-ku-um</sup>

9. i-na li-bi 2 GÚ 6 2/3 MA-NA an-na

10. ša I<sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU

11. 1 GÚ 30 1/3 MA-NA an-na

12. ša <sup>d</sup>NANNA-tum

13. i-na u<sub>4</sub>-mi ša ki-sa-am ᵀta<sup>ᵀ</sup>-ma-ru

14. a-na še-er <sup>I.d</sup>EN-ZU-re-me-ni

15. a-na ša ra-ha-bi-im<sup>rkiᵀ</sup>

16. li-qi<sub>4</sub> si-ma-at la [...]

Lo.Ed

17. ki-su-um iš-ti-ni-iš ša x [...]

18. iš-ti-ni-iš id-na-ši-[im]

Rev.

19. šu-lu-um <sup>I.d</sup>EN-ZU-re-me-ni

20. ki-sa-am la te-pe-te

21. a-nu-um-ma ši-mu-mu iš-tu a-sa

22. i-ša-pa-ra-ku-um

23. la [t]a-pa-la-ah

24. a-na še-er ši-mu-mu al-kam-ma

25. ki-sa-am li-qè

26. ma-am-ma-an la ta-ša-pa-ra-šum

27. at-ta-ma al-kam-ma ki-sa-am li-qè

28. KÙ-GI ma-la i-na bi-ti-ka

29. ù ma-la i-na bi-ti <sup>I.d</sup>EN-ZU-re-me-ni

30. *i-ba-aš-šu-u<sub>2</sub> li-qè-a-am-ma*

31. *i-na pa-ni-ka a-na ši-mu-mu id-na-am*

32. *a-bu-tum tu-ša-pa-ra-kam KÙ-GI É-GAL e-li-ni x x x*

33. *i-na li-bi ki-si-i ša ú-ub-ba-la-ku-um*

34. [ù i]-na-an-na ša eṭ-li-[ma]

35. [i-na] ma-aš-ki-im ra-ki-is-ma<sup>?</sup>

Up.Ed

36. [...]-um ša eṭ-li-<sup>Γ</sup>ma<sup>Γ</sup> [...]

37. [an]-<sup>Γ</sup>ni<sup>Γ</sup>-tum ù an-ni-tum li-ik-<sup>Γ</sup>šu<sup>Γ</sup>-[dam]

Le.Ed

38. ù<sup>Ld</sup> UTU-ra-bi i<sup>?</sup>-ti-qí É-ja

39. *ša a-na ši-mu-mu ta-na-di-na-am*

40. *li ta-al-kam<sup>?</sup>*

41. 5 MA-NA *an-na ša 1 eṭ-li-ja*

42. *ú-la li bi zi ni ik x*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>.Speak to <sup>1</sup>.Apil-Urin, Zūn<sup>Γ</sup>nūm<sup>?</sup><sup>Γ2</sup>.and Ilī-rabi, <sup>3</sup>.thus says Nannātum and Huri: <sup>4-6</sup>.ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A-nada and Šimumu certainly sent to you 3 bulls (and) 37 Minas. <sup>7-8</sup>. ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A-nādā and Šimumu bring to you ..... Minas therefrom? <sup>13</sup>.On the day, you see: <sup>9</sup>.certainly 2 bulls, 6 2/3 Minas therefrom, <sup>10</sup>. Of Warad-Sîn, <sup>11</sup>.certainly 1 bull, 30 1/3 Minas <sup>12</sup>.of Nannātum, <sup>16</sup>.bring <sup>13</sup>.moneybags. <sup>14</sup>.to Sîn-remēni, <sup>15</sup>.in the city of Rahabum. <sup>16</sup>.suitable la ....., <sup>Lo.Ed.17</sup>.at the same time [collect/take and] <sup>18</sup>.give him all <sup>17</sup>.moneybags <sup>18</sup>.together. <sup>Rev.19-20</sup>.cover and you do not open

moneybags (for) Šîn-rēmēnī. <sup>21-22</sup>.As soon as/ now Šimumu herewith a bear send to you. <sup>23</sup>.you are not afraid. <sup>24</sup>.Come to Šimumu and <sup>25</sup>.bring moneybags. <sup>26</sup>.you do not send him anyone, <sup>27</sup>.you must come and bring moneybags. <sup>28-30</sup>.Bring to me as much as gold is available in your house and as much as in the house of Šîn-rēmēni and <sup>31</sup>.give to me with your attend by Šimumu. <sup>32</sup>.Urgent I write you about the gold of the palace ....., <sup>33</sup>.That I bring to you moneybags therefrom <sup>34</sup>.[and[ now, that become manly<sup>35</sup>.[and] bind in bad/overlay, <sup>Up.Ed.36</sup>. .... that become manly and ....., <sup>37</sup>.and then this matter may reach to [me]. <sup>Le.Ed.38</sup>.and Šamaš-rabi arrive (to) my house, <sup>39</sup>.that you give me by Šimumu and <sup>40</sup>.hope you come to me. <sup>41</sup>.Certainly, 1 Mina of 5 Minas of my manly. <sup>42</sup>. .....

### Commentary:

1. <sup>1</sup>zu-un-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-um<sup>2</sup>: The two last signs of the second name of the recipients is not too clear but, we think they are (nu-um).

5. <sup>1</sup>ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A-na<sup>1</sup>-da: I can not make a interpretation for this personal name?

15. Rahabum: This city was located between Isin and Larsa kingdoms which located near Larsa<sup>702</sup> and It was a part of the Larsa Kingdom<sup>703</sup>.

21. asa: For the signification of the word look (asu «bear»)<sup>704</sup>.

42. li bi zi ni ik x: We can not understand these signs because they are not too visible.

## TEXT 39

Text Number: SM. 1377 (7,5 x 5 x 2,2)

Date: Samsu-ilūna

Provenience: Babylon to Isin

<sup>702</sup> HOROWITZ 1998: 48.

<sup>703</sup> CHAMBON and GUICHARD 215: 37.

<sup>704</sup> CAD A<sub>2</sub>: 344.

Content: Field

### Transliteration

1. *a-na ip-qú-<sup>d</sup>g[u<sup>2</sup>-la<sup>2</sup>]*
2. *qí-bí-ma*
3. *um-ma sa-am-su-i-lu-na-ma*
4. *tup-pí an-ni-a-am i-na a-ma-ri-im*
5. *i-na er-še-et ì-si-in<sup>ki</sup>*
6. *i-na A-ŠÀ-im ša re-ša-am*
7. *ú-ka-al-lu*
8. 10.0.0 IKU A-ŠÀ
9. *a-na DUMU-<sup>d</sup>MAR-TU UGULA MAR-TU*
10. [*idnām*]

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Ipqu-G[ula], <sup>3</sup>Thus say Samsu-ilūna : <sup>4</sup>as soon as (when you) see my this letter, <sup>10</sup>[give] <sup>5-8</sup>10 Acres of a very good field which is available in the Isin district <sup>9-10</sup>to Mār-Amurru, the general of Amurru.

### Commentary:

1. ipqú-G[ula]: The second part of the name of the recipient of the letter is broken only the sign (DINGIR) and the beginning of the sign following of (DINGIR) is staying which this sign looks like as a (GU), for this reason and the context of the letter which shows the direction of the letter as Isin, we prefer restore the second part of the recipient name as Gula. It also should be mentioned the modern restoration in the broken place.

9. DUMU-<sup>d</sup>MAR-TU UGULA MAR-TU (*Mār-Amurrim šâpir Amurrim*):

UGULA: is a Sumerian logogram in akkadian reads as *šâpir* “general”. “But this Sumerian logogram that we translate as “general”, literally means the “head of the Amonites”<sup>705</sup>. But as Charpin mentions the military titles are changed, during the Old Babylonian period, according to places, for example in Babylon (*šâpir Amurrim* (UGULA MAR-TU) “general”) uses for general, but at the same time in Ešnunna and Mari, using (*rab Amurrim* (GAL MAR-TU) “general”) for the same title. It is still hard to describe exactly the status of the general at that time, but it seems although he was at the top of the Babylonian army ladder<sup>706</sup>.

10. Despite the last line of the present letter is broken but according to the context of the letter it could be not difficult to restore with the verb of (*nadanu*) in imperative state as we made. But it must be not forget to mention the modern restoration in the place last broken line.

## TEXT 40

Text Number: SM. 359 (8 x 4,6 x 2,2)

Date: Late Old Babylonian

Provenance: Sippar Region

Object: Payment

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. [*a-na* PN<sub>1</sub> *qí-bí-ma um-ma* PN<sub>2</sub>]

2. <sup>d</sup>UTU ù <sup>d</sup>MARDUK [*li-ba-al-li-tú-ka*]

3. *ša-ad-da-aq-di-im i-nu-[ma ...]*

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<sup>705</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 58.

<sup>706</sup> CHARPIN 2004: 282-3 and LANDSBERGER 1955: 122.

4. *te-eš-mu-ú li-ib-ba-<sup>Γ</sup>ka<sup>Γ</sup> [...]*
5. *tup-pa-ka a-ša-ar-ša-na [ul innaddin]*
6. <sup>Id</sup>EN-ZU-re-me-ni a-<sup>Γ</sup>bi<sup>Γ</sup> -[ka ...]
7. *a-wa-a-tim ma-da-tim-ma [...]*
8. *a-na a-wa-a-tim an<sup>?</sup>-na-ti e-[...]*
9. 1/3 MA-NA KÙ-BABBAR *ub-lam iš-tu [...]*
10. *te<sub>4</sub>-em-ka a-na ja-ši-im tu-te-[er-ra-am-ma]*
11. DINGIR-i-di-ka-ma a-na ma-am-ma-an
12. *te<sub>4</sub>-em šu ú-ul ú-te-er a-na ja-ši-im*
13. *te<sub>4</sub>-em šu ú-te-er-ra-am-ma*
14. *aš-šum la ha-de-e-ka*
15. *a-na be-lí-ja ú-ul aq-bi-ma*
- Rev.
16. *a-wa-as-sú ú-ul uš-zi-iz*
17. *ma-ha-ar <sup>I</sup>DINGIR-ha-bíl šú-ha-ri-ka*
18. 1/3 MA-NA KÙ-BABBAR *šu-ut-te-er-šu*
19. *i-na li-ib-bi-ka-ma lu ti-de*
20. *ki-ma is-sà-an-qá-ak-kum NI [...]*
21. *ki-ma u<sub>4</sub>-um šum-ma iz-za-az-[za]*

### Translation

<sup>1</sup>[speak to PN<sub>1</sub> thus says PN<sub>2</sub>], <sup>2</sup>[May] Šamaš and Marduk [keep you in good health], <sup>3</sup>last year when ....., <sup>4</sup>you heard (and) you are worried ....., <sup>5</sup>your tablet must not give anybody else. <sup>6</sup>your father Sîn-remēni ..... <sup>7</sup>Furthermore all things/matters ....., <sup>8</sup>about these matters ..... <sup>9</sup>he brought to me 1/3 Minas of silver, since ..... <sup>10</sup>you ha[ve to deliver/send] your report to myself [and] <sup>12</sup>this report does not send (to) <sup>11</sup>Ilī-dika (and) to anyone else, <sup>13</sup>this report (only) send <sup>12</sup>to myself <sup>13</sup>and <sup>14</sup>. It is sad for you about subject (but) <sup>15</sup>I did not say (it) to my lord and <sup>Rev.16</sup>he does not make share his matter/thing. <sup>18</sup>Paid/give him 1/2 Minas of silver <sup>17</sup>in front of your servant Ilī-habil, <sup>19</sup>you should be aware (it) in your heart <sup>20</sup>as soon as it will reaches to you ....., <sup>21</sup>if it share/divide at the same day.

### Commentary:

Description: The beginning and the end of the lines 2-10 are broken and there is a modern restoration in this place with a lot of fake sings.

1. The first line is completely broken in its place appears a modern restoration with many fake signs as mentioned above, but it could be possible to restore this line according a letter of “AbB”<sup>707</sup>.

2. *li-ba-al-li-tú-ka*: The restoration of this verb is not difficult according the greeting formula of a lot of Old Babylonian letters during the Late Old Babylonian period<sup>708</sup>.

5. *ul innaddin*: Like other previously lines, end of this line is also broken, but perhaps it is not a mistake if it restores with the verb of (*nadānu*), according to many examples<sup>709</sup>.

8. *annati*: The first sign of this word is not too visible, but it perhaps a (DINGIR/AN), because since the Old Babylonian period, is existed a lot of examples as this word<sup>710</sup>.

21. *IZ-ZA-AZ-[ZA]*: The last sign of the last verb of this letter is broken and it could be possible to restore this sign according some examples of the same time<sup>711</sup>.

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<sup>707</sup> AbB 12, n<sup>o</sup>. 149.

<sup>708</sup> AbB 1-14.

<sup>709</sup> CAD A<sub>2</sub>: 419.

<sup>710</sup> CAD A<sub>2</sub>: 41.

## TEXT 41

Text Number: SM. 389 (8,2 x 4,6 x 2,2)

Date: Samsu-ilūna

Provenance: Sippar Region

Object: Payment

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. [...]

2. *um-ma be-lí-<sup>Γ</sup>x<sup>Γ</sup>-[... <sup>d</sup>UTU ù <sup>d</sup>MARDUK li-ba-al-li-<sup>tú</sup>ka]*

3. *šum-ma i-na URU<sup>ki?</sup> [...]*

4. *šum-ma a-li i<sup>š?</sup>x-x-[...]*

5. *be-lí at-ta šu-bi-[lam-ma]*

6. *ù <sup>I</sup>gi-mil-<sup>d</sup>MARDUK x-a-x [...]*

7. *ki-a-am iq-bi-a-am um-ma šu-[ma]*

8. *iš-tu i-na-an-na a-di i<sup>š</sup>-x-[...]*

9. *šu-bu-li<sup>?</sup> la te-[gi<sub>4</sub>-ma]*

10. *ù a-na tup-pí at-ta-[ra-du...]*

11. 2 GÍN KÙ-BABBAR *iš-tu ba-[...]*

12. *a-na be-lí-ja lu [ub-lam-ma]*

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<sup>711</sup> AbB 6, n°. 193: 10 and AbB 8, n°. 59: 10.

13. DUMU LUGAL-*ma-an-šúm* a-[...]

14. *iš-tu iti-šu-nu-x* [...]

15. *i-na hu?-x-x nu* [...]

16. [...]

Lo.Ed.

17. [...] x *e-ni-na<sup>2</sup>* x ...

18. [...] ša š/ra-bi/am a ...

19. [...] *ri-im* [...]

Rev.

20. [...] x [...]

21. [...] x.MEŠ [...]

22. [...]

23. <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>MARDUK ù <sup>d</sup>NÈ-[ERI<sub>11</sub>-GAL]

24. INIM ta-la-ma-da-x [...]

25. *a-na É-GAL e-te-[ru-ub-ma]*

26. *be-lí at-ta še-me<sup>2</sup>*-[...]

27. TÚG-HI-A <sup>túg</sup>bar-si/dul<sub>5</sub> da id ku [...]

28. *iš-šu hu-up-pa-ti x-x*-[...]

29. *i-ba-aš-ši-a be-lí at-ta* [...]

30. *ar-hi-iš šu-bi-lam* [...]

31. *ku-ub-bi-im-ma a-x-[...]*

32. *a-na be-lí-i ka-ta [ú-ša-bi-lam]*

33. *mu-tum li-bi-ti a-na [...]*

34. *a-na ka-ni-ki [...]*

35. *<sup>l</sup>gi-mil-[<sup>d</sup>MARDUK ...]*

Ri.Ed

36. *um-ma be-lí-ja iš-šu ú la a-na x-ma-hi-su x a-mu-ur-ma*

37. *i-te-ru-ma ù ta ra x ra li-er an an da-a-nu-da-nam [...]*

38. [...] *KÙ-BABBAR ša-nu x x x x x a-am x x be-lí x x x x ...*

### Translation

<sup>1</sup>[Speak to PN<sub>1</sub>], <sup>2</sup>thus says Bēli-..... : [May Šamaš and Marduk keep you in good health] <sup>3</sup>if in the city of ....., <sup>4</sup>if in the city ....., <sup>5</sup>you are my lord, bring to [me] <sup>6</sup>and Gimil-Marduk ....., <sup>7</sup>he said to me in the following terms: <sup>8</sup>from now until ....., <sup>9</sup>hurry up do not careless <sup>10</sup>and in the tablet, you ....., <sup>11-12</sup>since the day he want [to bring] 2 shekels silver to my lord [and] <sup>13</sup>son of Šarr-manšum ....., <sup>14</sup>after ....., <sup>15</sup>in ....., <sup>16</sup>....., <sup>Lo.E.17-19</sup>....., <sup>Rev.20-22</sup>....., <sup>23</sup>Šamaš, Marduk and Ne[rgal] <sup>24</sup>you learn/know the word ..... <sup>25</sup>I have interred to the palace <sup>26</sup>my lord, you ....., <sup>27</sup>cloths/textiles (and) head cloth ....., <sup>28</sup>woman garment of Hupputu ..... <sup>29</sup>It is available. you are my lord ....., <sup>30</sup>send to me quickly ..... <sup>31</sup>sew ....., <sup>32</sup>[I sent] to you, my lord ..... <sup>33</sup>limits/packaging of husband ....., <sup>34</sup>to/in sealed document ..... <sup>35</sup>Gimil-Marduk ..... <sup>Ri.E.36</sup>thus says my lord, woman and ..... look and <sup>37</sup>he return and ....., <sup>38</sup>..... silver .....

### Commentary:

Description: The beginning of the letter and the end of all lines from both sides are broken. In its places, there is a modern restoration with a lot of fake sings.

2. Greeting formula: We restored the greeting formula of the current letter according to the previous letter because it could be both letters are from the same archive as mentioned in the letter 40.

5. *šu-bi-[lam-ma]*: The restoration of the third and fourth signs of this verb made according a too similar examples from the same time<sup>712</sup>.

23. <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>MARDUK ù <sup>d</sup>NĒ-[ERI<sub>11</sub>-GAL]: We are really not understand, this is why, these three goods indicated in this line? Perhaps this side is the face side of the letter? For this these gods indicate in this side? Or perhaps they have another task here? We are really can not give a detail on this?

28. *iššu hūppati* “woman garment of *Hupputu*”:

*huppati (hupputu/hubbutu)*: It is a kind of the garment<sup>713</sup>, up to this line perhaps *Hupputum* was a special garment for the woman.

33. *libiti (libitu)* > *limītu/liwītu* « limit time, perimeter, borderline, packaging... »<sup>714</sup>.

## TEXT 42

Text Number: SM. 1023 (4,6 x 4,3 x 1,9)

Date: Hammurapi - Samsu-ilūna

Provenience: Laras Region

Content: Trade

### Transliteration

Obv.

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<sup>712</sup> AbB 1-14.

<sup>713</sup> CAD H: 215.

<sup>714</sup> CAD L: 191.

1. ʾa-naʾ x-x-a-wa-ti

2. qí-bí-ma

3. um-ma at-ta-ma-ma

4. LÚ ʾšū-mi-a-hi-j[a]

5. BÀD<sup>!?</sup>-e-te-lum

6. a-na x x [...]

Rev.

7. a-na x [...]

8. bé-lí ʾibʾ-x- [...]

9. i-na har-ra-ni-[im]

10. šu-li-im

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>.Say <sup>2</sup>.to .....-Awati, <sup>3</sup>.thus says Attama: <sup>4-5</sup>.Šumi-ahija, the man of Dūr-Etellum, <sup>6</sup>.to ....., <sup>Rev.7</sup>.to ....., <sup>8</sup>.my lord ....., <sup>10</sup>.drive way <sup>9</sup>. in my caravan.

### Commentary:

5. Dūr-Etellum (BÀD<sup>!?</sup>-e-te-lum): This geographical name is well known in the archive of Šamaš-hāzir<sup>715</sup>.

### TEXT 43

Text Number: SM. 1244 (6,3 x 4,2 x 2)

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<sup>715</sup> Abb 4.

Date: Samsu-ilūna

Provenience: Sippar Region

Content: Salutation?

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na* [...]

2. *qí-[bí-ma]*

3. *um-ma* ì-[...]

4. *a-hu-ka* [...]

5. <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>?</sup> [ù<sup>d</sup>x-x]

6. *aš-šum-mi-[ja]*

7. *da-ri-iš* u<sub>4</sub>-[mi]

8. *li-ba-al-[li-ṭú-ka]*

9. *a-nu-um-ma*

10. <sup>l</sup>*a-hu-šu-nu*

11. *aṭ-ṭar-da-ak-[kum]*

Rev.

12. *šu-lum bé-[lí-ja]*

13. <sup>ṛ</sup>ṭe<sub>4</sub><sup>?</sup>-em<sup>?</sup>-ka SIG<sup>d</sup>MARDUK<sup>ṛ</sup>

14. *šu-up-ra-am*

15. *ap-pu-tum*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>S[ay] <sup>2</sup>to [PN<sub>1</sub>], <sup>3</sup>Thus says I-....., <sup>4</sup>your brother ....., <sup>8</sup>may <sup>5</sup>Šamaš [and] ....., <sup>8</sup> Keep [you in good] health, <sup>7</sup>forever for, <sup>6</sup>My sake, <sup>9</sup>now, <sup>11</sup>I send you, <sup>10</sup>Ahušunu. <sup>Rev. 15</sup>please <sup>14</sup>Write <sup>13</sup>your reliable report (to) Marduk <sup>12</sup>about the well-being of [my] lord.

### Commentary:

13. SIG: this word is a Sumerian logogram, we translate in Akkadian as (*enšu* “reliable”)<sup>716</sup>.

### TEXT 44

Text Number: SM. 1717 (7 x 4,6 x 2,4)

Date: Late Old Babylonian

Provenience: Nippur to Sippar

Content: Adoption

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na nam-ra-am-ša-ru-ur*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma ú-tu-lu-si-il-la-ma*

4. <sup>d</sup>UTU ù <sup>d</sup>MARDUK *li-ba-li-iṭ<sup>(1)</sup>-ku<sup>?</sup>-nu<sup>?</sup>-ma<sup>?</sup>*

5. *aš-šum<sup>1</sup>a-at-ta-a ù ka-ti*

6. *ša a-na ma-ru-ti-ja*

---

<sup>716</sup> LABAT 1976, n°. 592.

7. *el-qú-ku<sup>1?</sup>-nu-ma*

8. *i-na mi-im-ma ša i-šu-ma*

9. *ad-di-nu-ku-nu-ši-im*

Lo.Ed.

10. *ki-ma NIBRU<sup>ki</sup> a-li-ja*

Rev.

11. <sup>[l]</sup>*a-at-ta-a a-hu-ka ra-bu-um*

12. *at-ta a-hu-k[a še-e]h-rum*

13. *eš-re-et mi-i[m-ma] i-šu-ú*

14. <sup>l</sup>*a-at-ta-a i-[le-e]q-qé*

15. *i-na ma-ha-ar<sup>l</sup>30-[ki]-[ma<sup>l</sup>]-i-lí-ja*

16. <sup>l</sup>*i-lí-i-ma-DINGIR ù 30-DAM-GÁR-RI*

17. *aš-pu-ra-ak-kum*

18. *tup-pi a-na ši-bu-ti-ja uš-ra-am*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Namram-šarūr, <sup>3</sup>thus say Utulu-sīla: <sup>4</sup>May Šamaš and Marduk keep you in good health. <sup>5</sup>Regarding Attâ and you, <sup>6-7</sup>That I have adopted you as my adopted children and <sup>8</sup>everything that you have <sup>9</sup>I gave you, <sup>Lo.e.10</sup>Nippur as my city, <sup>Rev.11</sup>Attâ, your big brother, <sup>12</sup>you (and) your younger brother, <sup>13</sup>[All of] that you have is ten times more. <sup>14</sup>(So) Attâ receives (it) <sup>15-17</sup>I wrote to you in front of Sîn-[kī]ma-ilija, Ilīma-ili and Sîn-tamkarī <sup>18</sup>(and) I keep my letter as my witness.

### Commentary:

4. *li-ba-li-iṭ<sup>(1)</sup>-ku<sup>2</sup>-nu<sup>2</sup>-ma<sup>2</sup>*: This verb grammatical is incorrect, and there are some error in this verb, because here the verb must be attested as plural for the third person masculine (*li-ba-al-li-tú*)<sup>717</sup> because Šamaš and Marduk are subjects of this verb but it is attested as for the third person singular? Another mistake is the using pronominal suffix of verb; because here was used (*ku-nu*) which it is a pronominal suffix for the second person plural masculine for the preposition and noun<sup>718</sup> not for verb. It must be used (*ku-nu-ti*) as the pronominal suffix of verb for the second person plural masculine<sup>719</sup>.

7. *el-quí-ku-nu-ma*: For this verb is also existed a mistake of using pronominal suffix (*ku-nu*) as the same previous example look commentary 4.

12. *[še-e]h-rum*: We restored this word according these examples which exist in “*AbB*”<sup>720</sup>.

14. *i-[le-e]q-qé*: For this restoration look “*CASUS*”<sup>721</sup>.

15. <sup>1</sup>30-[*ki*]-ṛ<sup>ma</sup>-ì-*lì-ja*: For the restoration the broken sign (*ki*) of this name look “*YOS*”<sup>722</sup>.

## TEXT 45

Text Number: SM. 1798 (3,3 x 2,6 x 1,2)

Date: Late Old Babylonian

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Unknown

## Transliteration

Obv.

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<sup>717</sup> AbB 1-14.

<sup>718</sup> HUEHHNERGARD 1997: 79 and 84.

<sup>719</sup> HUEHHNERGARD 1997: 169.

<sup>720</sup> AbB 3, n°. 2: 11.

<sup>721</sup> CUSAS 36, n°. 212: 7.

<sup>722</sup> YOS 12, n°.73: case 29.

1. [a-na a]-bi-ja
2. [qí]-bí-ma
3. [um-ma ìR]-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU -ma
4. [x x ù <sup>d</sup>MAR]DUK da-ri-iš u<sub>4</sub>-[mi]
5. [a-bi] li-ba-al-[i-tú]
6. [...] x-li- [...]

Broken

### Translation

<sup>2</sup> speak <sup>1</sup> [to my f]ather, [<sup>3</sup> thus says Warād]-Sîn: <sup>4-5</sup> May ..... [and Mar]duk keep [my father] in good health forever, <sup>6</sup> ....., ... Broken ...

### Commentary:

Description: This letter is too broken and we can not understand that it talks on which subject?

3. [ìR]-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU (Warād-Sîn): This personal name since the Old Babylonian period was a popular personal name for this we restored this name as Warād-Marduk, but we are not sure about our restoration that it is a right restoration or not because during that time a lot of personal names exist which Sîn as the second part of the personal names as (Rīm-Sîn, ibni-Sîn, Nabī-Sîn ...).

### TEXT 46

Text Number: SM. 1975 (6,9 x 3,4 x 1,8)

Date: Late Old Babylonian

Provenience: Sippar Region

Content: Information

## Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na la-hi-a-tim*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma a-lí-ba-aš-<sup>⌈</sup>ti<sup>⌋</sup>-[ma]*

4. *ki-ma ša-aṭ-ra-[ku]*

5. *la ú-ša-ak-li-[ma]*

6. *a-na pa-ni <sup>l</sup>u-bar-ri-[im]*

7. *uš-ki-ba-an-ni*

8. *at-ti ú-ul ti-de-e*

9. *šum-ma i-na ki-tim*

10. *ki-ma <sup>l</sup>zi-zi-ja*

11. *ta-ba-aš-ši-i-im*

12. *šum-ma a-na <sup>l</sup>u-bar-ri-im*

13. *ta-aq-<ta-aq>-ta-bi-ma<sup>1?</sup>*

Lo.Ed.

14. *aš-[šum]-<sup>⌈</sup>j<sup>⌋</sup>a*

15. *a-wa-<sup>⌈</sup>at s<sup>⌋</sup>ni-iš-tim*

Rev.

16. *a-na zi-ka-ri-im*

17. *ka-ab-ta-at*

18. *e-li-ma šu-ú*

19. *i-qá-bu-ú ù at-ti*

20. *ra-di-i-ma*

21. *ša ta-na-di-ni-im*

22. *a-na É bi-ti-ku-nu*

23. *ú-ul ta-na-di-ni-i*

24. *ù a-na-ku gi-mi-<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>?-am<sup>1</sup>?<sup>1</sup>*

25. *šu-a-ti*

26. *tu-úr-ra-am*

27. *ú-ul e-li-i [...]-im*

28. *šum-ma i-na ki-t[im]*

29. *um-mi at-ti*

30. *ki-ma zi-zi-ja*

Up.Ed.

31. *id-dá<sup>1</sup>?-da-ni-ma*

32. *a-na u-bar-ri-im*

Ri.Ed.

33. *qí-bí-i-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>*

34. <sup>1</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU

35. *ša<sup>1?</sup> a-wa-ta*

36. *la i-la-ka-kam*

37. *gi-mi-il-lam*

38. *iš-šu ma<sup>1?</sup>-ru-(x)-tim*

39. *é<sup>1?</sup> la aš-li-in-ni*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Lahjatim, <sup>3</sup>thus says Ali-bāšti: <sup>4-5</sup>I did not hold [your] inscription [and] <sup>6</sup>in front of Ubārri[m] <sup>7</sup>it repair. <sup>8</sup>Do you not know (it)? <sup>12-13</sup>If you speak to Ubārri[m] <sup>9-11</sup>If you are really like Zizija to me. <sup>Lo-Ed.14-15</sup>the woman word <sup>Rev.17</sup>is honored/important <sup>16</sup>to man <sup>Lo-Ed.14</sup>about me. <sup>18</sup>More than that, <sup>19-21</sup>he said that you give to me the driver of the caravan. <sup>22-23</sup>you do not give me (him) in your house. <sup>24-26</sup>And friendly lead away him/her to me. <sup>27</sup>I can not ....., <sup>28-30</sup>if you are really like mother of Zizija, <sup>Up.Ed.33</sup>say <sup>32</sup>to Ubarrim, <sup>31</sup>he will give to me <sup>34-36</sup>Warad-Sîn does not come (with) this command <sup>37</sup>friendly <sup>38-39</sup>to measuring the house of the woman daughter.

### Commentary:

11. *tabāššîm*: Despite there are two possibilities for this verb: the first, it is possible translate as the verb of *bašûm* “available, exist, there is ...)<sup>723</sup> and the second it is possible translate as the verb of *ba’ āšum* “to smell bad, to be of a bad quality, to be angry, to look bad ...”, but Kraus translated the same sentences of the line 9-11 of this letter as “if you are really like PN to me”, that is why, we prefer translate our 3 sentences as the Kraus translation<sup>724</sup>.

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<sup>723</sup> CAD B: 144.

<sup>724</sup> KRAUS 1964, n<sup>o</sup>. 86: 16-18 and CAD B: 472.

13. *tāqtāqtabima*: This verb is well known as the verb of *qabûm* “say, tell ...”<sup>725</sup> in perfect stem form of system Gt/I<sup>726</sup>. But perhaps the writer of this letter did an error during the writing of the letter because he/she doubled the first and second signs two times.

17. *kābtāt*: *kabtattum* “happiness”<sup>727</sup>

22. É *biti*: It appears another error of the writer of this letter. Because it must be wrote just one of these word because both words have the same signification.

39. *aš-li*: For the translation of this word look (*ašlu* “rop, tow rope, measuring rope, surface measure ...”<sup>728</sup>).

## TEXT 47

Text Number: SM. 2831 (9 x 4,5 x 2,5)

Date: Late Old Babylonian period

Provenience: Sippar Region

Content: legal case

## Transliteration

1. *a-na še-le-bu-um [a-hi]-ja*

2. *ša*<sup>d</sup>MARDUK *ʾú-ba-al-li-ṭú-šú*<sup>27</sup>

3. *qí-bí-ma*

4. *um-ma e-ṭi-rum-ma*

5. *u*<sup>d</sup>UTU *ù*<sup>d</sup>MARDUK *aš-ʾšú-mi-ja da-ri*<sup>1</sup> - [*iš u<sub>4</sub>-mi*]

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<sup>725</sup> CAD Q: 22.

<sup>726</sup> HEUHNBERGARD 1997: 626.

<sup>727</sup> CAD K. p. 13. 2.

<sup>728</sup> CAD A<sub>2</sub>: 447-9.

6. *li-ba-al-li-tú-ka-ma*

7. *i-nu-ma a-wi-lum at-ta a-na É-BABBAR<sup>?</sup>-「ri」*

8. *tu-še-ri-ba-an-ni*

9. *ki-a-am ta-aq-bi-a-am um-ma at-[ta-a-ma]*

10. *iš-tu u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im an-ni-「im」*

11. *qà-aq-qá-ad ri-di-ja ša ta-[ta-ap-il-ma]*

12. *a-na-ku ša <a>-hu-「ka」*

13. *iš-tu u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im šu-a-ti*

14. *a-na ge-er-ri tu-ša-ra-a-an-ni-ma*

15. *ša-ni-tum ša-at-tum an-ni-tum*

Lo.Ed

16. *ar<sup>?</sup>-ri-ka-an ú-ul ta-aṭ-[ru-dam]*

17. *ša li-ba-al-x-ú-su/la<sup>!?</sup>*

Rev.

18. 「x x x」-ni-šu šu-ul-mi-[ka aš-pu-ra-ma]

19. *šu-lum-ka 「šu-up-ra-am」*

20. *a-「wa-tam<sup>?</sup>」 e-li-ka ú-[ra-aš-ši]*

21. *šum-[ma] 「a」-wa-tum i-「in-ka」*

22. *ta-「am」-ru-um*

23. *a-na SUKKAL lu-uq-bi*

24. *ṭup-pí SUKKAL li-il-li-kam*

25. *li-ga-am-me-ru-ni-šu*

26. *a-na-ku i-na KÁ-DINGIR-RA<sup>ki</sup> il-li-kam*

27. *ù ʿka<sup>ʔ</sup>-ad-ka-ma x x am?*

28. *at-ta i-na re-eš gi-ir-ri-im*

29. *[x]-ta/ša-am-ma É-GAL a-hu-ka*

30. *x-li-x-ja-ma a-x-x-x*

31. *x ša ri-di li-ka-al-li-im<sup>ʔ</sup>-ma<sup>ʔ</sup>*

Up.Ed

32. *x<sup>ʔ</sup>-ba-ta a-na 3 GÍN KÙ-BABBAR x-x-[...] ]*

33. *x x ki/di-am<sup>ʔ</sup>-ma a-na DUMU-MUNUS be-e[l-x]*

34. *ú-ul id-di-nu<sup>ʔ</sup>-(x)*

Ri.Ed

35. *x ni-na lu-bi-iš-x-ma hi-a-am ú-ul ad-di-in<sup>ʔ</sup>*

36. *x x ni-šu x x x x x x x x*

37. *x x x x U<sub>4</sub>-20-KAM a-na SUKKAL lu-uq-bi-ma li-iš-x-x*

### Translation

<sup>3</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Šelebūm my brother <sup>2</sup>whom Marduk keep him in good health. <sup>4</sup>Thus says Eṭirum: <sup>5</sup>  
<sup>6</sup>May Šamaš and Marduk <sup>6</sup>keep you in good health <sup>5</sup>fore[ver] ʿfor my sake<sup>7</sup>. <sup>7-8</sup>When you set in  
the temple of Ebabbar with us (and) gentlemen. <sup>9</sup>You spoke to me as the following terms: <sup>10</sup>  
<sup>11</sup>Since this day, you [became] leader of my soldiers, <sup>12-14</sup>I am your brother and since this day of

campaign you became my friend. <sup>15</sup>.Second, this year, <sup>Lo.Ed.16.</sup>(there are) long time that you did not send to me, <sup>17.</sup>....., <sup>Rev.18.</sup>[I write your ] well-being ..... and <sup>19.</sup>«write» me your well-being. <sup>20.</sup>I [acquired] a case on/against you, <sup>21-22.</sup>if you see the case in your eye. <sup>23.</sup>I will speak/propose to vizier, <sup>24.</sup>may vizier tablet/letter move to me (and) <sup>25.</sup>should bring/finish completely (it) to us. <sup>26.</sup>He come to Babylon with me, <sup>27.</sup>....., <sup>28.</sup>you are the head of caravan, <sup>29.</sup>..... the palace, your brother, <sup>30.</sup>....., <sup>31.</sup>x May he assign the soldier ....., <sup>Up.Ed.32.</sup>..... for 3 Shekels of silver ....., <sup>33.</sup>..... for the daughter of ..... lord, <sup>34.</sup> They do not give, <sup>Ri.Ed.35.</sup>..... not gaven, <sup>36.</sup>....., <sup>37.</sup>..... in the day 20 I will speak to the vizier .....

### Commentary:

9. *um-ma at-[ta-a-ma]*: For the restoration of this expression, there are a lot of examples in «AbB»<sup>729</sup>.

12. *<a>-hu-«ka»*: According to the context of the letter we restored this word which probably the word is missing the sign of (a).

16. *ar<sup>2</sup>-ri-ka-an*: Perhaps this word is belonging to the word (*arku* “long, tall”)<sup>730</sup> which here maybe it means “long time”.

16. *ta-aṭ-[ru-dam]*: There are many similar example of this verb and according these examples we made this restoration<sup>731</sup>.

20. *ú-[ra-aš-ši]*: This word was restored according an example of “AbB”<sup>732</sup>.

23, 24 and 37. SUKKAL : This Sumerian logogram 3 times is atted in the present letter which in Akkadian is (*šukkallu* « minister, ruler, cheif... »)<sup>733</sup>.

<sup>729</sup> AbB 12, n°. 16:5 and CASUS 36, n°. 147:8.

<sup>730</sup> CAD A<sub>2</sub>: 283.

<sup>731</sup> AbB 12, n°. 92:6 and AbB 5, n°. 230:7.

<sup>732</sup> AbB 4, n°. 54: 20.

<sup>733</sup> CDA: 381.

## TEXT 48

Text Number: SM. 2849 (7,9 x 4,5 x 2,5)

Date: Late Old Babylonian period

Provenience: Sudahi

Content: slaves

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na ig-mil*-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma* <sup>d</sup>MARDUK-*mu-ša-lim-ma*

4. <sup>d</sup>UTU ù <sup>d</sup>MARDUK *li-ba-al-li-tú-ka*

5. <sup>l</sup>*gi-mil*-DINGIR

6. *ki-a-am iq-bi-a-am um-ma šu-ma*

7. 3 *šú-ha-ru-ú-ja i-na su*<sup>?</sup>-*da-hi*<sup>ki</sup>

8. *i-sa-ab-bu-ma*

9. <sup>l</sup>*gi-mil*-<sup>d</sup>MARDUK ŠEŠ *ig-mil*-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU

10. *ú-da-ab-ba-ab-šu-nu-ti*

11. *ki-a-am iq-bi-a-am*

Lo.Ed.

12. *a-na mi-nim gi-mil*-<sup>d</sup>MARDUK

13. *šú-ha-re-e ša gi-mil-DINGIR*

Rev.

14. *ú-da-ab-bi-ib*

15. *a-na gi-mil-<sup>d</sup>MARDUK qí-bi-ma*

16. *šú-ha-re-e ša gi-mil-DINGIR*

17. *la ú-da-ab-ba-ab*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Igmil-Sîn, <sup>3</sup>thus says Marduk-mušallim: <sup>4</sup>May Šamaš and Marduk keep you in good health, <sup>5</sup>Gimil-ili <sup>6</sup>spoke to me in the following terms: <sup>7-8</sup>My three servants brewed of beer are in Sudahi and <sup>9</sup>Gimil-Marduk ,the brother (of) Igmil-Sîn, <sup>10</sup>harass them, <sup>11</sup>as he told me. Low.Ed.12-Rev.14. (So) why Gimil-Marduk harassed the servants of Gimil-ili? <sup>15-17</sup>Speak to Gimil-Marduk that do not harass the servants of Gimil-ili.

### Commentary:

7. Sudahi: This geographical name is a new toponym in the Babylonian texts, but it should be mentioned the name of the city Šuduhum which appears in two letters of Mari<sup>734</sup>, its location is selected by Birot as a city of the triangle of Habur, the same city was mentioned by Adad-Nirari I after the conquest of Nahur<sup>735</sup>, but it is not clear that the city in the letters of Mari has any connection with the city of Sudahi in the present letter or not? Or they are just two similar geographical names?

9. ŠEŠ: This is a Sumerian logogram in Akkadian is (*ahu* « brother »)<sup>736</sup>.

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<sup>734</sup> ARM 14, n°. 112:13 and 113:10.

<sup>735</sup> BIROT 1973: 7, Not. 2.

<sup>736</sup> CDA: 8.

## TEXT 49

Text Number: SM. 2975 (7 x 4,5 x 2)

Date: Late Old Babylonian

Provenience: Sippar Region

Content: Silver

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na e-te<sup>2</sup>-ja<sup>2</sup>*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma IR-ì-lì-šu-ma*

4. <sup>d</sup>UTU ù <sup>d</sup>MARDUK *aš-šu-mi-ja*

5. *da-ri-iš u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im*

6. *li-ba-al-li-tú-ka*

7. *i-na <sup>d</sup>EN-<ZU>-qá-ra-ad-ma*

8. *aš-ta-na-<sup>1</sup>pa-ra<sup>1</sup>-ku-um-ma*

9. *x-x-[...] ú-ul ta-ša-pa-ra-am*

10. *a-[n]a ši-ip-ri-im*

Rev.

11. *x-[...] x-ni-in-ni*

12. *1 [...] x x KUR KÙ-BABBAR*

13. *ú-ul na-di-a-ku*

14. *a-nu-um-ma DINGIR-šu-ib-bi-šu*

15. *aš-ta-ap-ra-ku-um*

16. 0.1.0 ZÍ-DA ù 1 GÍN KU-BABBAR

17. *šu-bi-la-am-ma*

18. *a-na be-el x in(-)li-ja*

19. 1 GÍN KÙ-BABBAR *lu-di-in*

20. *ša tu-ša-ba-la-am*

Lo.Ed

21. *i-na tu-pí-im*

22. *šu-uṭ-ra-am*

### Traslation

<sup>2</sup>.Speak <sup>1</sup>to Etēja, <sup>3</sup>thus says Warad-ilīšu: <sup>4-6</sup>.May Šamaš and Marduk keep you in good health forever for my sake. <sup>7-8</sup>.I send to you by Sîn-qarrād and <sup>9</sup>. you do not send to me ..... <sup>10</sup>.by messenger, <sup>Rev.11.</sup> ....., <sup>12</sup>. 1 ..... mountain silver, <sup>13</sup>.I am not abandoned. <sup>14-15</sup>.Now I send to you Ilīšu-ibbišu (and) <sup>17</sup>.send to me <sup>16</sup>. 1 flour and 1 shekel of silver. <sup>18-19</sup>.I should give 1 shekel of the silver to the lord ....., <sup>20</sup>.that you send to me, <sup>Lo.Ed.21-22</sup>.write to me in a tablet.

### Commentary:

7. <sup>d</sup>EN-<ZU>-*qá-ra-ad*: This personal name is well known during the Old Babylonian period but here the first part of the name (<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU) is missing the second sign for this we added this sign.

16. ZÍ-DA: This word is a Sumerian logogram in Akkadian is (*qēmu* « flour »)<sup>737</sup>.

## TEXT 50

Text Number: SM. 5827 (6,6 x 4,4 x 2,3)

Date: Late Old Babylonian

Provenience: Isin Region

Content: Field

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na a-wi-lim ša* <sup>d</sup>MARDUK *ù* <sup>d</sup>*gu-la*

2. *re-eš da-mi-iq-ti-šu ú-ka-a-al-lu*

3. *ba-la-a-aṭ u<sub>4</sub>-mi ma-a-du-ú-tim*

4. *i-na-ad-di-nu-šum qí-bí-ma*

5. [*um-ma a*]-*hi-lu-mur-ma*

6. [<sup>d</sup>MARDUK] *ù* <sup>d</sup>*gu-la aš-šu-mi-ja*

7. [*da-ri-iš u<sub>4</sub>*]-*mi li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka*

8. [...]*(-)ša-ad gu-lu-lu*

9. [*ša ta*]-*aš-pu-ra-am*

10. [*i-na*] <sup>1</sup>*ma*-*at ša mu-lu šu*

Broken

---

<sup>737</sup> CDA: 287.

Rev.

Broken

11. [...] -x-ni-a-ši-im

12. [...] -x-ni iš-ku-nu

13. [...] 1.2.0 IKU A-ŠÀ

14. [ú-u]l i-ba-aš-ši

15. A-ŠÀ e-bi-ir-tim e-re-eb<sup>d</sup>UTU-ši

16. ʾša<sup>ʔ</sup> ʾe-ri-ib-DINGIR

17. ʾša<sup>1</sup> ma-ti-ma ša-pir re-di-i

18. i-ri-šu 4.0.0 IKU A-ŠÀ i-ba-aš-ši

Lo.Ed.

19. ša du-ur-šu 8.0.0 IKU A-ŠÀ

20. qá-at-ni i nu-um-mi-id-ma

21. ša e-re-ši i ni-ri-iš

Ri.Ed.

22. ša-at-tum x [...]

### Translation

<sup>4</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup> to the gentlemen, whom Marduk and Gula, <sup>2</sup>are available for his protective, <sup>4</sup>who give him <sup>3</sup>the life for a long time, <sup>5</sup>[thus says] Ahī-lūmur, <sup>6-7</sup>May Marduk and Gula keep you in good health forever for my sake, <sup>8</sup>.... commit/sin, <sup>9</sup>you wrote to me, <sup>10</sup> It is full measure [in] the country ... Broken ..., <sup>Rev.</sup>... Broken and invisible ..., <sup>11</sup>[...] them, <sup>12</sup>[...] they charged, <sup>13</sup>.....

1.2.0 acres of a field, <sup>14</sup>is not available, <sup>16</sup>that Erib-Ilī, <sup>17</sup>the commander of the soldiers, <sup>18</sup>requested for always <sup>15</sup>on the west bank of the field, <sup>18</sup>4 acres of a field is available. <sup>Lo.Ed.19-20.</sup>

We wish impose 8 acres of a filed on his permanent for a long time (which is existed in) our hand, <sup>21</sup>. We order of cultivate/seeding <sup>Ri.Ed.22.</sup> for a season [...].

### **Commentary:**

Description: The end of the face present letter is broken and in its place there is a modern restoration with a lot of fake signs and the beginning of the rev. side of the letter is in the same situation.

15. *e-re-eb* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši (*ereb šamši*): This expression mens (west), the first word mens (setting), together with the sun means (west)<sup>738</sup>.

16. 𒀭𒊿<sup>21</sup> : This signe is not too clear but perhpas it is a (ša)?

17. *ša-pir re-di-i* (*šapir rēdī* « commander of the soliders »)<sup>739</sup>.

## **TEXT 51**

Text Number: SM. 5834 (7,4 x 4,3 x 2)

Date: Late Old Babylonian

Provenience: Isin Region

Content: Field

### **Transliteration**

Obv.

1. [*a-na* ...]-x-ú-ba-ṭe<sub>4</sub>-[...]

2. [*qí*]-𒀭𒊿<sup>21</sup>-*ma*

---

<sup>738</sup> CAD E: 258-259.

<sup>739</sup> CAD Š<sub>1</sub>: 453-454.

3. [um-ma ...]-<sup>Γ</sup>bi<sup>Γ</sup>-<sup>d</sup>gu-la-ma
  4. [x x x ù<sup>d</sup>]MARDUK aš-šu-mi-ja da-ri-iš
  5. [u<sub>4</sub>-mi li]-ba-al-li-tú-ka
  6. [aš-šum] A-ŠÀ<sup>d</sup>gu-la-ba-la-sú-ma
  7. <sup>Γ</sup>ša<sup>Γ</sup> ki-a-am ta-aš-pur-am um-ma at-ta-ma
  8. a-na ši-bu-ut a-lim tup-pí uš-ta-bi-lam
  9. tup-pa-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam
  10. i-na UR-GI<sub>7</sub> ša<sup>d</sup>gu-la li-bi-ir
  11. ú-ul ta-aš-pur-am-ma
- Rev.
12. a-wa-ti-ja pa-nam ú-ul tu-ša-ar-ši
  13. i-na-an-na tup-pa-ka
  14. ša UR-GI<sub>7</sub> i-na qá-aq-qá-di-šu
  15. [a-n]a te-e-em sa-ha-ri-im
  16. [x A<sup>?</sup>-š]À<sup>?</sup>-šu bu-úr-ri-im
  17. [šu]-<sup>Γ</sup>bi<sup>Γ</sup>-lam-ma
  18. [x i]-ba-ši-ma sa-an-ni
  19. [ki-m]a la A-ŠÀ-šu-ma
  20. [i]-tu-úr
  21. [...] a-na ba-ši-im

Ri.Ed.

22. [...] ši še na x x x

23. [...] *bi-lam*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>[to PN<sub>1</sub>], <sup>3</sup>[thus says .....-Gula: <sup>4-5</sup>[May] ..... Marduk keep you in good health [forever], <sup>6</sup>[regarding] of the field of Gula-bālasu, <sup>7</sup>“that” you wrote to me as the following terms: <sup>8</sup>I have to send a letter to the city elder, <sup>9</sup>your letter that you sent to me, <sup>10</sup>it should be announced for the god of Gula, <sup>11</sup>(that) you did not write to me and <sup>Rev.12</sup>you do not demand my matter, <sup>13</sup>now your tablet, <sup>14</sup>that Gula in his head, <sup>15</sup>require report, <sup>16-17</sup>..... send the cereal of the field <sup>18</sup>which is available, second, <sup>19</sup>not [like] his field, <sup>20</sup>return, <sup>21</sup>[...] to be available, <sup>Ri.Ed.22-23</sup>.....

### Commentary:

Description: The beginning and the upper right side of the face letter are broken and replaced by a modern restoration with many fake signs till the line 6. This situation is the same for the rev. side from the line 15 until the end of the letter.

7. and 14. UR-GI<sub>7</sub>: It is a Sumerian logogram for the divinity of dog (Gula), in Akkadian is (kalbu “dog”)<sup>740</sup>. For this divinity there is a similar example in a letter of “AbB” (<sup>d</sup>UR-GI<sub>7</sub> ša <sup>d</sup>gu-la)<sup>741</sup>.

10. *li-bi-ir*: According to the context of this letter it should be translated this verb as verb (*burrû* “announce and usher”)<sup>742</sup>. But grammatically the verb looks like more (*bâru* “appear, be established ...”)<sup>743</sup> than (*burrûm*).

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<sup>740</sup> CAD K: 68.

<sup>741</sup> AbB 6: n<sup>o</sup>. 181:17.

<sup>742</sup> CAD B: 331.

<sup>743</sup> CDA.

## TEXT 52

Text Number: SM. 5835 (6,4 x 4,2 x 2,1)

Date: Late Old Babylonian

Provenience: Isin Region

Content: Field

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. [*a-na a-bi-ja*]
2. [*qí-bí-mā*]
3. [*um-ma ...*]-<sup>Γ</sup>*di?* <sup>š</sup>*u*<sup>2</sup><sup>Γ</sup>-[*x x*]-<sup>Γ</sup>*x-ki-ma*<sup>Γ</sup>
4. [<sup>d</sup>*gu-la* <sup>ù</sup> <sup>d</sup>MARDUK *li-ba-al*]-*li-ṭú-ka*
5. [...]<sup>Γ</sup>*a*<sup>Γ</sup>-*bi la ki-a-am*
6. *x x x* [... *gu*]-*um-ra tap-pí-ja*
7. [... *ki-a-am*] *iq-bu ú ub-lam*
8. [<sup>ÍB-TAK</sup><sub>4</sub> *lu*]-<sup>ú</sup> *šu-ut A-ŠÀ-lum bu-ur-ru-ki-ma*<sup>2</sup>-*am*<sup>2</sup>
9. [...]-*x-mu še-a-am i-si-pu-ma da-ja-x*
10. *i-na 3.0.0 IKU A-ŠÀ ERÍN DILÍM-GAL 1.0.0 IKU A-ŠÀ-lam*

Lo.Ed.

11. *ša ip-qú*<sup>d</sup>*sar-pí-<ni>-it i-ri-šu*
12. *šu-mu-ka še-er-ma*

13. *ša ak-šu-du še-a-am ša i-ba-aš-šu-ú*

14. *iš-tu ma-aš-hu il-qí*

Rev.

15. *ù 0.0.4 IKU A-ŠÀ<sup>d</sup>UTU-DI-KU<sub>5</sub> ša ša ud ša iš me?*

16. *ša im-ta-ha-ru-ka it-ti*

17. *<sup>l</sup>i-din-<sup>d</sup>MARDUK ù ma-nu-ba-lum-<sup>d</sup>UTU*

18. *il-qí IB-TAK<sub>4</sub> 1.2.2 IKU A-ŠÀ-lum*

19. *i-na qá-ti-šu-nu pí-qá-at a<sup>l</sup>-na a-bi-ja*

20. *ù ši-na-a-ti i-qá-ab-bu-ú-ma*

21. *a-bi A-ŠÀ-lam i-na qá-tim ú-ul ú-ka-al-la*

22. *a-na a-bi-ja aš-tap-ra-am a-bi A-ŠÀ-lam*

23. *ki-ma A-ŠÀ-lim i-na qá-[tim ú<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>l</sup>ki-i<sup>l</sup>-la*

24. *<ÍB>-TAK<sub>4</sub> lu-ú šu-ut 1.2.2 <sup>l</sup>IKU<sup>l</sup> A-ŠÀ-lam an-ni-a-am*

25. [x] <sup>l</sup>x<sup>l</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> da<sup>2</sup> ba<sup>2</sup> a <sup>l</sup>ma<sup>2</sup><sup>l</sup>

26. [x x x] <sup>l</sup>x ša/ta li<sup>2</sup><sup>l</sup> [...]

### Translation

[<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to my father, <sup>3</sup>thus says PN<sub>2</sub>]: <sup>4</sup>[May Gula and Marduk keep] you in good health, <sup>5</sup>[...] my father not as, <sup>6</sup>..... completely of my tablet, <sup>7</sup>..... as] he said and brought to me, <sup>8</sup>[remainder] should be remaining the field which is available to you and, <sup>9</sup>..... he pull the barley ..... <sup>10</sup>- Lo.Ed.11. that Ipqu-sarpinit acquired 1 acre of the field from 3 Acres of soldier field, a wooden dish and <sup>13</sup>when<sup>2</sup> I arrived <sup>12</sup>(transfer) to your name, <sup>13</sup> the barley are available and <sup>14</sup>after measuring, he got (it), <sup>Rev.15</sup>and 4 acres of the field of Šamaš-dajān ša ša ud ša iš me?,

<sup>16</sup>that he presented you, with <sup>17</sup> Iddin-Marduk and Manu-balum-Šamaš. <sup>18</sup>he got, remainder 1.2.2 acres of the field <sup>19</sup>in their hands (and) assign (it) to my father. <sup>20</sup>and they say: <sup>21</sup>the father field is not available in the hand, <sup>22</sup>I wrote to my father, that the father field <sup>23</sup>as a field is available in the hand. <sup>24</sup>remainder, should be remaining 1.2.2 acres of this field, <sup>25-26</sup> .....

### **Commentary:**

1-3. The beginning of this letter are completely broken because of that we can not identify the writer and receipt of the letter. The broken place is replaced by a modern restoration with a lot of fake sings like two other letters of this archive.

10. DILÍM-GAL: The Sumerian logogram (ERÍN DILÍM-GAL) in Akkadian is (*Mākaltu* « wooden dish, bowl »)<sup>744</sup>. Besides that, it must be mentioned this signification in this context has not good meaning? And it is possible with the word of (ERÍN “soldier”) together are a military title?

18. ÍB.TAK<sub>4</sub>: It is a Sumerian logograme, in the line 18 this Sumerian logograme is clear, this Sumerian logogram in the lines 8 and 24 restored according to the line 18, in Akkadian is (*rēhtu* “remainder“)<sup>745</sup>.

## **TEXT 53**

Text Number: SM. 6250 (3,7 x 4,7 x 2,3)

Date: Late Old Babylonian

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Unknown

### **Transliteration**

Obv.

1. *a-na a-bi-j[a]*

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<sup>744</sup> CAD M<sub>1</sub>: 122.

<sup>745</sup> CDA: 301.

2. *qí-[b]í-ma*

3. *um-ma šu-nu-ma-DINGIR-ma*

4. <sup>d</sup>UTU ù <sup>d</sup>AN-MARDUK

5. *aš-šum-ja a-na da-ri-a-tim*

6. *li-ba-al-li-tù-ú-ka*

7. <sup>Γ</sup>aš<sup>Γ</sup>-šum *te<sub>4</sub>-me-em* U<sub>8</sub>-UDU-HI-A

8. [(x)] x [...] -x-an-ni

Broken

Rev.

9. [...] *at?-la-a-am*

10. [...] x *ú-da la ha-na-ti*

11. x-[...] -x *šu-up-ra-am-ma*

12. *wa-ar-ka-at-ni*

13. *li-ip-pa-as*

### Translation

<sup>1</sup>.Speak <sup>2</sup>.to my father, <sup>3</sup>.Thus says Šunūma-ila : <sup>6</sup>.May <sup>4</sup>.Šamaš and An-Marduk <sup>6</sup>.keep you in good health<sup>5</sup> forever for my sake. <sup>7</sup>. The report about of sheep flocks, <sup>8</sup>. ....., ... Broken ...  
Rev.<sup>9</sup>. ....., <sup>10</sup>. ....., <sup>11</sup>. ....., write/send to me, <sup>12</sup>. my rear side , <sup>13</sup>. May it break up.

**Commentary:**

7. U<sub>8</sub>: is it a Sumerian logogram in Akkadian is (*lahru* “sheep, flocks”)<sup>746</sup>.

9-10. Only some signs of these lines are visible but we can not understand of these signs because the half of both lines are broken.

## TEXT 54

Text Number: SM. 5380 (4 x 3,6 x 2,3)

Date: Late Old Babylonian

Provenience: Babylon Region?

Content: Garment

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na a-wi-il*-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR

2. 20 TÚG <sup>I</sup>DINGIR-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>20 garments of Ilī-alum <sup>1</sup>to Awīl-Iškur.

### Commentary:

Description: This letter includes a formal aspect of the letter we find only two lines inscription on the face of the envelop without seal impression?

## TEXT 55

Text Number: SM.3790 (8,6 x 3,8 x 2,5)

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<sup>746</sup> CAD L: 42-3.

Date: Samsu-ilūna

Provenience: Unknown

Content: life herb

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. [a-na] a-bi-ja

2. [qí]-bí-ma

3. [um-ma] a-[p]íl-<sup>D</sup>EN-ZU-ma

4. [<sup>d</sup>E]N-ZU ù <sup>d</sup>[UTU] ᵀaš<sup>1</sup>-šum-ja

5. [a-na] da-ri-[a-tim li]-ba-[al-li-tú-k]a

6-7. Two lines are completely broken.

8. [...] x x [...]

9. [a-bi š]a-am ba-ᵀla-ti<sup>1</sup>-im x [...]

10. [e-re]-ši-im la ú-ša-ᵀbi<sup>1</sup>-[lam]

11. [...] -at a-bi ù da-x-[...]

12. [...] ᵀku<sup>1</sup>-nu-uk-ka ki-ma x [...]

13. [...-na]-a-a ba-ši-a-am [...]

14. [...] -tu i-na mah-ri-k[a ...]

15. [...] x ah/kam nu-na-am i-mu-[...]

16. [...] ki-ma nu-hi-ša a-x [...]

17. [...] *li-ku-ul* [...]

Rev.

Broken

18. [...] -ni [...]

19. [...] <sup>d</sup>EN-[ZU ...]

20. [...] x ša ʾbi<sup>1</sup> - [...]

21. [...] *a-bi* ma-ki- [...]

22. [...] -nu-um *a-bi* ma-x- [...]

23. [*a-na*] *ma-tim im-ta-aq*-[*tam*]

24. [...] ša/ta/na-pa-ri *uz-na<sup>2</sup> -ni<sup>2</sup>* [...]

2 lines are broken

27. *ù li-ib-bi* te-eh-hi/te- [...]

28. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>UTU *ki-a-am a-qá-bi*

29. *um-ma a-na-ku-ma*

30. *ša-am ba-la-ṭi li-im-qú-ta-am-ma*

31. *a-na a-bi-ja lu-ša-bi-il*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>.Spe[ak <sup>1</sup>to] my father, <sup>3</sup>[thus says] Apil-Sîn: <sup>4-5</sup>[May S]in and Šamaš [k]eep you [in good health forever]. ... 2 lines are broken ..., <sup>8</sup>....., <sup>9</sup>. life vitality/herb to [my father] ....., <sup>10</sup>.demanding and it did not send/bring to me, <sup>11</sup>.....-at my father and ....., <sup>12</sup>.as a seal document ....., <sup>13</sup>..... be existed ....., <sup>14</sup>..... in front of [you] ....., <sup>15</sup>. .... Copper object ....., <sup>16</sup>. .... like

prosperity/provide ....., <sup>17.</sup> ..... Let him eat ....., <sup>Rev..</sup> ... Broken ....., <sup>Rev.18-20.</sup> ... <sup>21.</sup> ..... my father ....., <sup>22.</sup> ..... my father ....., <sup>23.</sup> He comes to the land, <sup>24.</sup> ..... ear/hear/understand ....., ... 2 lines are broken ....., <sup>27.</sup> and my heart ....., <sup>28.</sup> I speak to Šamaš as following: <sup>29.</sup> Thus says to me: <sup>30.</sup> let him to me afflict life vitality/herb and <sup>31.</sup> I wish send (it) to my father.

### Commentary:

9. [š]a-am ba-<sup>1</sup>la-ti<sup>1</sup>-im: The restoration of these words made according to Selz<sup>747</sup>.

## TEXT 56

Text Number: SM. 2208 (6,8 x 4,5 x 2,2)

Date: Unknown

Provenience: Dilbat

Content: Money

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. a-na be-lí-ja

2. qí-bí-ma

3. um-ma <sup>d</sup>[U]RAŠ-ni-la-ma

4. <sup>l</sup>ha-li-lum

5. a-na KIŠIB <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub><ZA>-GÌN

6. ša <sup>d</sup>URAS ša-mi-im

---

<sup>747</sup> SELZ 1998: 136, Not. 5.

7. *ta-aš-pu-ra-aš-šu*

8. 1 MA.NA KÙ-BABBAR *ub-lam*

9. *um-ma šu-ma*

10. *be-lí ú-ša-bi-la-ni*

Rev.

11. *a-na* 「x x x x」 [...]

12. *a-na ga-me-er-ti-*「im」

13. *a-di-in*

14. *um-ma a-na-ku-ma*

15. *a-na ha-li-lum*

16. 5 MA-NA KÙ-BABBAR

17. *le-qé-ma a-na tú-ub*

18. *li-bi* 「LUGAL」

19. *ki-[a-am]-*「ma」

20. *mi-it-ga-ar*

21. *ú-la im-hu-ra-[am-ma]*

Lo.Ed

22. 「a」<sup>1?</sup>-*na* KIŠIB <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>ZA-GIN

23. 「šu」<sup>1</sup>-*bi*<sup>2</sup>-*li-im*

Ri.Ed.

24. *li-bi*<sup>d</sup>URASŠ

25. *li-ʾx-xʾ*-am-ma

26. *an-ni-am* GA-[X]

27. *li-bi-ka la*<sup>l?</sup> [...]

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to my lord, <sup>3</sup>thus says Uraš-nilam: <sup>4-7</sup>You wrote to him, Halilum to buy lapis lazuli for a seal of Uraš (and) <sup>8</sup>he brought to me 1 Mina of silver. <sup>9</sup>Thus, he said: <sup>10</sup>My lord sent to me. <sup>Rev.12-13</sup>Give in full (price) <sup>11</sup>to ..... <sup>14</sup>Thus, I said: <sup>15</sup>to Halilum, <sup>17</sup>take <sup>16</sup>5 mans of Silver <sup>17-</sup><sup>18</sup>for the happiness of the king, <sup>19-21</sup>and he did not accept as a favorable. <sup>Lo.Ed.22-23</sup> (So) send me (the silver) for the lapis lazuli seal, <sup>Le.Ed.24</sup> for the happiness (of) Uraš, <sup>25</sup>....., <sup>26</sup>this ....., <sup>27</sup> your heart .....

### Commentary:

5. KIŠIB<sup>na</sup> <sub>4</sub>ZA-GĪN (*kunūk uqnîm* «Lapis lazuli seal»)<sup>748</sup>.

23. ʾšū<sup>l</sup>-bi<sup>?</sup>-li-im: For the translate of this verbe look «AbB»<sup>749</sup>.

### TEXT 57

Text Number: SM. 486 (5,4 x 3,4 x 2)

Date: Unknown

Provenience: unknown

Content: Delivery Silver

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<sup>748</sup> AbB 7, n°. 119: 5.

<sup>749</sup> AbB 9, n°. 15: 28.

## Transliteration

Obv.

1. [a]-na a-bi-i-din-na-ma

2. qí-bí-ma

3. um-ma <sup>d</sup>zu-gal-ma<sup>2</sup>-lik-ma

4. <sup>l</sup>i-lí-ma-a-hi<sup>2</sup> <sup>lú</sup>x-x-a

5. KÙ-BABBAR ma-la i-ri-šu-ka

6. 10 GÍN KÙ-BABBAR li-ri-iš-ka

7. 15 GÍN KÙ-BABBAR li-ri-iš-ka

8. ša <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-at-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU

Rev.

9. [mi]-im-ma

10. [la t]a-ha-li-iq-ma

11. [...]-kam

12. [...] x x x

13. [...]-ka-am

14. [...]-a-ha-ra

15. [...] iti

16. [...- a]m-ma

17. [...] x

## Translation

<sup>2</sup>Say <sup>1</sup>to Abī-iddina, <sup>3</sup>thus says Zugal-malik, <sup>4</sup>..... Ilī-mahī, <sup>5</sup> requested you for all the silver?  
<sup>6</sup>lets him request you for 10 Shekels of silver (and) <sup>7</sup>lets him (also) request you for 15 Shekels of silver. <sup>8-Rev.9-10</sup>that you should not lose anything of Šāt-Sîn, <sup>11-17</sup>.....

## Commentary:

4. <sup>l</sup>*lī-ma-a-hi*? <sup>lú</sup><sub>x-x-a</sub>: Despite the second line of this line is broken but it is perhaps a profession work, up to the (LÚ) determinative exists before the broken and after the name of Ilī-mahī?

## TEXT 58

Text Number: SM.1942 (5,5 x 4,5 x 2)

Date: Unknown

Provenience: Unknown

Content: delivery beer

## Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

3. *um-ma* <sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-*i-din-nam'*-*ma*

4. *šum-ma ku<sup>2</sup>-nu-[uk<sup>2</sup>]-kam*

5. *ta-[aš]-ta-ap-ra-am-ma*

6. *tu-ša-ab-ba-lam*

7. *ši-ka-ra-am*

8. *ta-aš-ki<sup>2</sup>-ir-ma*

9. [*aš<sup>2</sup>*]-*šum<sup>2</sup>* x x wa [...]

10. [...]

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>1</sup>to Sîn-muballit, <sup>3</sup>thus says Sîn-iddinam: <sup>4-6</sup>if you write and deliver to me a letter, <sup>7</sup>  
<sup>8</sup>you can drink beer and become drunk. <sup>9</sup>if ....., ... Broken ...

### Commentary:

Description: The last line of this letter is broken and its place is restored with a modern restoration with some fake signs.

3. <sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-*i-din-nam*<sup>1</sup>: The sign (nam) of this personal name is not visible but this personal name during that time is well known.

5. *ta-[aš]-ta-ap-ra-am*: This verb grammatically is incorrect, the correct form is (*tašapparam*)

### TEXT 59

Text Number: SM. 5008 (6,5 x 4,1 x 1,6)

Date: Unknown

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Buying Sheep

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-na* [x x]-x-iš-[...]

2. *qí-[bî]-ma*

3. *um-[ma<sup>d</sup>x-(x)]-「din」-na-am-ma*

4. *a-na [a-b]i-ja*

5. *ta-aš-[pu-ra]-ma*

6. *al-l[i-kam]-ma*

7. *še-nam [x x-]-ša-na-a-am*

8. *mu-de-a-[am] iš-te-en*

9. *ú-「ur」-dam-ma*

10. *ša ki-m[a] a-na É-GAL*

11. *im-ma-[ah]-ha-ra*

Rev.

12. 「ša」 NUMUN 「x x x」

13. *it-ti-ja e-em*

14. *ša iš-ta-na-a-mu*

15. *li-ta-la-ak-ma*

16. *še-nam li-ša-mu-ni-im*

17. *ù l me-at UDU-HI-A*

18. *KÙ-BABBAR-am lu-ša-bi-la-am-ma*

19. *ma-ah-ri-ka*

20. *li-ša-mu-ni-im*

21. *me-he-er ku-nu-ki-im*

22. *lī<sup>1</sup>-ih-mu-ṭ[ú-ni-im]*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Speak <sup>2</sup>to [PN<sub>1</sub>], <sup>3</sup>thus [says] .....:-Dinām <sup>5</sup>you [wrote] <sup>4</sup>to my fa[ther] <sup>5</sup>and, <sup>6</sup>I went and. <sup>9</sup>Send <sup>7</sup>flock ....., <sup>8</sup>to a known person/ to one of my friend, <sup>10-11</sup>that as soon as it will accept/receive in the palace. <sup>Rev.12</sup>that the seed ....., <sup>13-15</sup>that (seed/barley) should be bought anywhere and taken away with me and, <sup>16</sup>let flock buys to me, <sup>17-18</sup>and I may send the silver to (buying) one hundred sheep, <sup>19-20</sup>let it buys to me in front of you, <sup>21-22</sup>let bring to me quickly an answer of my letter.

### Commentary:

7. [x x-]-*ša-na-a-am*: perhaps 2 signs belong of this word is broken and we can not to find a similar word to restoration this word.

13. *ēm*: “wherever, whatever ...”<sup>750</sup>.

22. *līhmuṭunīm*: Generally, at the end Old Babylonian letters write (*me-he-er dup-pí-ja šu-bi-lam* “send me an answer of my tablet”)<sup>751</sup>, but in the present letter writes the verbe of (*hamātu* “be quickly, be soon, delivery in good time, send promptly ... ”)<sup>752</sup> in the end of the letter. It is a rare expression at the end of Old Babylonian letters.

### TEXT 60

Text Number: SM. 475 (5,2 x 3,7 x 1,7)

Date: Unknown

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<sup>750</sup> CDA.

<sup>751</sup> AbB 1-14.

<sup>752</sup> CAD H: 62.

Provenience: Unknown

Object: Unknown

### Transliteration

Obv.

1. *a-[na] ì-lí-[...]*

2. *qí-b[í]-ma*

3. *[um]-ma [...]*

4. *[...] ni*

5. *[...]*

6. *[...]ma-at<sup>2</sup>*

L.Ed

7. *[...]*

8. *x-x-šu*

Rev.

9. *ᵀa<sup>1</sup>-bu-tum*

10. *i-it-ti-šu*

11. *la tu-ha-ra-am*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>say, <sup>1</sup>to Ilī-....., <sup>3</sup>thus says [PN<sub>2</sub>]: ... Broken ... <sup>Rev.9-11</sup>Urgent, without delay (take) with him.

**Commentary:**

Description: This letter is too broken for this understanding of the letter is too difficult but the three last lines give us information that the recipient of the letter should bring to the writer of the letter urgent. It means the letter perhaps talks on the time.

## TEXT 61

Text Number: SM. 1251 (3,8 x 3,7 x 1,5)

Date: Unknown

Provenience: Unknown

Content: Unknown

### Transliteration

#### I.

Obv.

1. *a-na a-bi-ja*

2. *qí-bí-ma*

Broken

10. *ub<sup>2</sup>-lam<sup>2</sup>*

11. *ù a-na qá-a-ti-im*

Lo.Ed.

12. *la ta-la-ak ni<sup>2</sup>*

### Translation

<sup>2</sup>Say <sup>1</sup>To my father, <sup>3</sup>[thus says PN<sub>2</sub>] ... Broken ... <sup>Rev.10</sup>I/It bring, <sup>11.Lo.Ed.12</sup>you do not send to me.

## Transliteration

### II.

Rev (from present tablet)= Obv (from the original tablet).

7. 1 ÁB MU 2

8. KI <sup>d</sup>UTU-ták<sup>2</sup>-l[a<sup>2</sup>-ku<sup>2</sup>]

Broken

Obv (from present tablet) = Rev (from the original tablet)..

4. iti.ġiš<sub>APIN</sub>

5. MU EN <sup>d</sup>INANA

6. UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ŠA<sup>?</sup> máš-e /î-pàd

### Commentary:

Description: The present tablet is including to different pieces. The first piece (I) includes a piece of an Old Babylonian letter. The second piece (II) includes a piece of an Ur III administrative tablet. For the second piece I do not made the translation because it is not a part of my research.

## Conclusion

First of all, I have to mention that the Slemani Museum hosts an extensive collection of unpublished cuneiform tablets from various periods of Mesopotamian history which are helping assyriologists of this region profit from the use of this collection for their research projects and MA or PhD dissertations. As mentioned before, this unpublished collection includes around 7000 tablets from various periods of Mesopotamian history, but it must also be mentioned that the majority of these tablets date to the Ur III period and also the Old Babylonian period. Besides the tablets from these two periods, we can find examples from other periods such as the Pre-Sargonic, Sargonic, Middle Assyrian/Babylonian and Hellenistic periods.

For my PhD dissertation, I chose unpublished Old Babylonian letters from this collection and we found that around 80 letters among the tablets of this collection could be identified as Old Babylonian. The number was reduced for this dissertation, to only 61 letters, because the other letters were too damaged. Unfortunately Slemani does not have resident restoration or conservation experts who would have been able to perhaps resolve some of the damage to lines and individual signs. Despite all of the problems I have faced, I have now finished my dissertation and I can present some of the important results:

- During our work on the provenance of Old Babylonian letters in the first chapter, we understand that the most of Old Babylonian letters came from illegal excavations, this is why it is difficult to know their true provenance which is ascertainable when they come from organized archaeological excavations rather than smuggled out from specific sites. Despite this major issue, some Assyriologists have tried to identify the provenance of some of the letters however their scope is limited and incomplete. In this context, my supervisor, Mr. Kalla Gábor, aimed to address this issue by helping to identify the provenance of most of those letters which had already been published in “*AbB*.” Consequently, we can identify the provenance of those letters which were already published in “*AbB*” as follows: Sippar: 924, Larsa: 533, Kiš: 247, Kiszurra: 25, Isin: 6, Lagaba: 108, Dilbat: 33, Adab: 75, Lagaš: 22, Nippur: 102, Uruk: 2, Neribtum: 15, Tell as-šabi: 1, Diniktum: 7, Maškan-šāpir: 7, Ur: 1, Namanya: 1, Diyala: 1, Tell Mušbah: 9, Damrum: 13, Jahrurum šaplum 33, Hursag kalama: 5, Girsu: 9 and those with an

unknown provenance: 566. For more information, chapter I.2. pp. 21-34 and chart.3. p. 96, of this dissertation will offer a more thorough explanation. Besides the provenance of Old Babylonian letters, in the first Chapter we try to write an introduction on the general form of Old Babylonian letters and identify the various forms that they take and an explanation: please see pp. 34-44. Other important sections of the first Chapter include the typology of Old Babylonian letters according to their contents, available on pp. 45-46. In the last section of the first chapter, we explain the most important information which we can get from Old Babylonian letters, look pp. 46-49.

➤ The letters of the present research came to the Slemani Museum as a result of illegal excavation; this is why we do not exactly know from which archaeological sites from in the southern part of Mesopotamia as well as the dates in which they were composed? In this chapter, we try to identify and determine the provenance and date of these letters according to their personal names, greeting formula, form of the letters and geographical names. Hence, I divided the letters to four sections according to their date as follows: 1. Early Old Babylonian letters, this section includes 17 letters from 61 letters, as seen on pp. 101-109. 2. The Rīm-Sîn I – Hammurapi letters: in this section we present all of those letters included in this research which date from the time of Rīm-Sîn I, the king of Larsa and Hammurapi, the king of Babylon. 21 letters featured in this dissertation refer to the dates during the reigns of Rīm-Sîn I and Hammurapi, please refer to pp.109-121. 3. Late Old Babylonian period: the section consists of the letters which can be identified as Late Old Babylonian letters. The total letters from this period include 17 letters from amongst the 61 letters involved in the total research, this is shown on pp. 121-130. **The** last section of this dissertation of Third Chapter includes these letters which we cannot identify their date that include 6 letters from 61 letters looks chart 6. p. 131.

➤ Besides the selection the date of the letters in the third Chapter, we identified the provenance of most letters included in this dissertation based on their personal names, greeting formula, form of the letters and any mention of geographical names. Following this methodology, it appears that 16 letters are from Sippar, 6 letters from Larsa, 5 letters from Isin, 3 letters from Isin/Larsam, 2 letters from Babylon, 1 letter from Zabalum/Larsa, 1 letter from Sudahi, 1 letter from Dilbat, 1 letter from Uruk, 1 letter

from Kutalla, 1 letter from Ur, 1 letter from Maškan-šāpir, 1 letter from Marada, 1 letter from Nippur and 19 letters have an unknown provenance, as seen in chart. 5. p. 132.

- In the Chapter IV, we classified the letters of this research according to their contents. Based on this classification strategy the research gave us the following results: Cultivation; as it currently stands, only one letter in this research can be classified under this topic, pp. 136-137. chart.6., Request; Despite most letters including a demand of some kind but according to the content 2 letters match his topic, p. 137, chart.6., Field; 7 letters of the 61 letters surveyed can be identified under this title, pp. 137-140, chart.6., Jurisdiction; this topic includes 2 letters, p. 140-141, chart.6., Economy; this title includes 17 letters of the total 61 letters studied in this research, p. 141-147, chart.6., Slavery; 2 letters, p. 147, chart.6., Time/Meeting; 1 letter, p. 147, chart.6., Social Relationship; 2 letters, p. 147-148, chart.6., Formal Aspect; 2 letters, p. 148, chart.6., Salutation; 1 letter, p. 149, chart.6., Information; 3 letters, p. 149-150, chart.6., Ritual and Ceremony; 1 letter, p. 150, chart.6., Trade; 1 letter, p. 151, chart.6., Adoption; 1 letter, p. 151, chart.6., Herb Life; 1 letter, p. 151, chart.6. and 17 letters have unknown contents because of the damage and misunderstanding.
  
- Besides that, it should also be mentioned that the letters featured in this dissertation present some rare personal and geographical names from the Old Babylonian period. For example, the name of the city *Sudahi* and the personal names of Marduk-mukīn-šimtim, Emši'um etc. providing us with some new and important information on that period in the southern part of Mesopotamia.

# Indexes and Bibliography

## Divine Names

### A

#### **An-Marduk** (<sup>d</sup>AN-MARDUK)

n<sup>o</sup>. 53: 4 (Greeting)

### G

#### **Gula** (<sup>d</sup>*gu-la*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 50: 1 and 6 (Greeting)

n<sup>o</sup>. 35: 4 (Greeting)

### I

#### **Išar-kīdišu** (<sup>d</sup>*i-šar-ki-di-šu*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 36: 11

#### **Ištar-Marduk** (<sup>d</sup>IŠTAR-MARDUK)

n<sup>o</sup>. 23: 4 (Greeting)

### M

#### **Marduk** (<sup>d</sup>MARDUK)

n<sup>o</sup>. 40: 2 (Greeting)

n<sup>o</sup>. 40: 22

n<sup>o</sup>. 18: 4 (Greeting)

n° 43: 13

n° 44: 4 (Greeting)

n° 45: 4 (Greeting)

n° 47:2 and 5 (Greeting)

n° 48: 4 (Greeting)

n° 49: 4 (Greeting)

n° 27: 4 (Greeting)

n° 50: 1 and 6 (Greeting)

n° 51: 4 (Greeting)

## N

**Ninurta** (<sup>d</sup>*ninurta*)

n° 32: 5 (Greeting)

**Nergal** (<sup>d</sup>*nè-[eri<sub>II</sub>.gal]*)

n° 40: 22

## S

**Sîn** (<sup>d</sup>*EN-ZU*)

n° 55: 4 (Greeting)

## Š

**Šalā** (<sup>d</sup>*[ša]-la-a*)

n° 21: 4 (Greeting)

## **Šamaš (<sup>d</sup>UTU)**

n°. 40: 2 (Greeting)

n°. 40: 22

n°. 19: 10

n°. 20: 4 (Greeting)

n°. 43: 4 (Greeting)

n°. 44: 4 (Greeting)

n°. 47: 5 (Greeting)

n°. 48: 4 (Greeting)

n°. 49: 4 (Greeting)

n°. 55: 4 (Greeting)

n°. 27: 4 (Greeting)

n°. 53: 4 (Greeting)

n°. 32: 5 (Greeting)

## **U**

## **Uraš (<sup>d</sup>uraš)**

n°. 56: 6

## Personal Names

### A

**Abi-iddinam** (*a-bi-i-din-nam*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 57: 1 (Recipient)

n<sup>o</sup>. 6: 1 (Recipient)

n<sup>o</sup>. 1: 1 (Recipient)

n<sup>o</sup>. 2: 1 (Recipient)

n<sup>o</sup>. 3: 1 (Recipient)

n<sup>o</sup>. 4: 1 (Recipient)

n<sup>o</sup>. 5: 1 (Recipient)

**Agūa** (*a-gu-ú-a*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 36: 1 (Recipient)

**Ahī-lūmur** (*[a]-hi-lu-mur*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 50: 5

**Ahi-ummišu** (*a-hi-um-m[i-šú<sup>2</sup>]*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 15: 11

**Ahum** (*a-hu-um*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 15: 3 (Writer)

**Ahušunu** (*<sup>1</sup>a-hu-šu-nu*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 43: 10

**Ali-bāšti** (*a-lí-ba-aš-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 46: 3 (Writer)

**Apil-ilīšu** (*a-píl-ì-lí-šu*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 36: 12

**Apil-Sîn** (*a-píl-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 55: 3 (Writer)

**Apil-Urim** (*a-pil-úrim<sup>ki</sup>*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 38: 1 (Recipient)

**Attā** (*<sup>1</sup>a-at-ta-a*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 44: 5, 11 and 14

n<sup>o</sup>. 6: 3 (Writer)

**Awīl-Dan** (*a-wi-lí-dan*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 10: 7 and 13

**Awīl-ili** (*LÚ-DINGIR-RA*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 19: 1 (Recipient)

**Awīl-Iškur** (*a-wi-il-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 54: 1 (Recipient)

n<sup>o</sup>. 19: 1 (Recipient)

### B

**Baṭe ... (ba-ṭe<sub>4</sub>-[...])**

n<sup>o</sup>. 51: 1 (Recipient)

**Ba-x-x-gamil (ba-x-x-ga-mil)**

n<sup>o</sup>. 1: 6

**Bēli-x-[...] (be-lí-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-[...])**

n<sup>o</sup>. 41: 2 (Writer)

**Bēlum (be-lum)**

n<sup>o</sup>. 23: 1 (Recipient)

**Bulālum (bu-la-li-im)**

n<sup>o</sup>. 25: 1 (Recipient)

**D**

**Dadā (da-[da-a])**

n<sup>o</sup>. 28: 1 (Recipient)

n<sup>o</sup>. 29: 1 (Recipient)

n<sup>o</sup>. 30: 1 (Recipient)

**Dāmqu<sup>1</sup>m (da-am-qum)**

n<sup>o</sup>. 28: 8

**E**

**Emšī'um (e-em-si-im)**

n<sup>o</sup>. 14: 1 (Recipient)

**Enum-ili (en-um-i-lí)**

n<sup>o</sup>. 5362: 2 (Recipient)

**Erib-ilī (<sup>1</sup>e-ri-ib-DINGIR)**

n<sup>o</sup>. 50: 16

**Eršija (er-ši<sup>2</sup>-ja)**

n<sup>o</sup>. 36: 6

**Etēja (e-te<sup>2</sup>-ja<sup>2</sup>)**

n<sup>o</sup>. 49: 1 (Recipient)

**Etel-pî-Ištar (e-te-el-pi<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>INANNA)**

n<sup>o</sup>. 18: 1 (Recipient)

**Etel-pî-Ninurta (e-tel-pi<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>NIN-U[RTA])**

n<sup>o</sup>. 20: 5

**Eṭīrum (e-ṭi-rum)**

n<sup>o</sup>. 47: 4 (Writer)

**G**

**Gimil-ili (<sup>1</sup>gi-mil-DINGIR)**

n<sup>o</sup>. 48: 5, 13 and 16

**Gimil-Marduk (<sup>1</sup>gi-mil-<sup>d</sup>MARDUK)**

n<sup>o</sup>. 41: 6 and 34

n<sup>o</sup>. 15: 3<sup>2</sup> (Writer)

n°. 48: 9, 12 and 15

**Gula-bālasu** (<sup>d</sup>*gu-la-ba-la-sú*)

n°. 51: 6

**Gula-bu** (<sup>d</sup>*gu-la-bu*)

n°. 51: 10

## H

**Halilum** (<sup>l</sup>*ha-li-lum*)

n°. 56: 4 and 15

**Hamurrapi** (*ha-am-mu-ra-pí*)

n°. 35: 13

**Huri** (*hu-ri*)

n°. 38: 3 (writer)

**Huššutum** (*hu-šu-tum*)

n°. 27: 1 (Recipient)

## I

**Ibnatum** (*ib-na-tum*)

n°. 28: 3

**Ibši-[...] (ib-ši- [...])**

n°. 15: 10

**Iddin-Marduk** (<sup>l</sup>*i-din-*<sup>d</sup>MARDUK)

n°. 52: 17

**Idijātum** (<sup>l</sup>*i-di-ja-tum*)

n°. 28: 4

**Igmil-Sîn** (*Ig-mil-*<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU)

n°. 48: 1 and 9 (Recipient)

**Igmil-**<sup>d</sup>x

n°. 23: 3 (Writer)

**Ikūn-pî-Iškur** (*i-ku-un-pi-*<sup>d</sup>ISKUR)

n°. 16: 3 (Writer)

**Ilī-amtaḥhar** (*ilī-am-tah-*[*ha-ar*])

n°. 20: 3 (Writer)

**Ilī-atar** (<sup>l</sup>*ilī-a-tar*)

n°. 17: 6

**Ilī-damiq** (DINGIR-*da-mi-iq*)

n°. 24: 18

**Ilī-dika** (DINGIR-*i-di-ka*)

n°. 40: 11

**Ilī-habil** (<sup>l</sup>DINGIR-*ha-bil*)

n°. 40: 17

**Ilī-mahī** (<sup>l</sup>*ilī-ma-a-hi*?)

n<sup>o</sup>. 57: 4

**Ilīmti** (*ì-lí-im-ti*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 10: 4 and 15

**Ilīma-ili** (*ì-lí-i-ma-DINGIR*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 44: 16

**Ilī-rabi** (DINGIR-*ra-bi*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 38: 2 (Recipient)

**Ilī-šulūllī** (*ì-lí-an-dùl-lí*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 13: 1 (Recipient)

**Ilīšu-ibbišu** (DINGIR-*šu-ib-bi-šu*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 49: 14

**Ilīšu-ibnišu** (<sup>1</sup>DINGIR-*šu-ib?-ni?-[šu?]*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 37: 5

**Ilī-ummati** (*ì-lí-um-ma-t[i]*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 20: 1 (Recipient)

**Ilī-[...]** (*ì-lí-[...]*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 60: 1 (Recipient)

**Imgur-Sîn** (*im-gur-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 24: 14

**Imneki-x-im** (<sup>1</sup>*im-ne-ki-x-im*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 17: 10

**Ipqu-Gula** (*íp-qú-<sup>d</sup>g[u-la]*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 39: 1 (Recipient)

**Ipqu-Sarpinit** (*ip-qú-<sup>d</sup>sar-pí-<ni>-it*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 52: 11

**Irid-Iqam** (<sup>1</sup>*ir-id-iq-am*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 17: 10

**Irra-nāšir** (*[r-r]a-na-ši-i[r]*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 24: 3 and 16 (Writer)

**Išar-padān** (<sup>1</sup>*i-šar-pa-dan*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 10: 9

**Išdutūm** (*iš-du-tu-um*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 8: 3 (Writer?)

**Išme-Erra** (<sup>1</sup>*iš-[me]-ir-ra*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 15: 12

**Iškur-hegal** (<sup>d</sup>*ISKUR-hé-<sup>Γ</sup>gál<sup>Γ</sup>*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 27: 2 (Writer)

**Iškur-īpušu** (<sup>d</sup>*ISKUR<sup>Γ</sup>-i-pu-šu*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 12: 6

**Ištar-ha-x-ti** (iš<sub>8</sub><sup>?</sup>-tár<sup>?</sup>-h[a]-x-ti)

n<sup>o</sup>. 1: 7

**Ištar-manšum** (<sup>d</sup>INANNA<sup>?</sup>-ma-[an-šúm])

n<sup>o</sup>. 24: 6

**Išummu-[x]-x-[x]** (<sup>d</sup>i-šum-mu-[x]-x-[x])

n<sup>o</sup>. 2: 5

**Išum-manšum** (<sup>d</sup>i-šum-ma-an<sup>?</sup>-šúm/ba)

n<sup>o</sup>. 5: 17

## L

**Lahjatim**(*la-hi-a-tim*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 46: 1 (Ricepient)

**Lim-UD-ZI-RI-šinati** ([*l*]i-mu-ud-zi/ri-ši-na-ti)

n<sup>o</sup>. 1: 19

**Lipit-Ištar** (*li-pí-it*-<sup>d</sup>[IŠTAR])

n<sup>o</sup>. 26: 1 (Ricepient)

n<sup>o</sup>. 6: 1 (Ricepient)

n<sup>o</sup>. 31: 1 (Ricepient)

**Lumīšu** (<sup>l</sup>um<sup>l</sup>-i-šu)

n<sup>o</sup>. 11: 3

## M

**Manu-balum-Šamaš** (*ma-nu-ba-lum*-<sup>d</sup>utu)

n<sup>o</sup>. 52: 17

**Marduk-mukīn-šimtim** (<sup>d</sup>MARDUK-*mu-kin-ši*-<sup>l</sup>im<sup>l?</sup>-<sup>l</sup>tim<sup>l?</sup>-ma<sup>l?</sup><sup>l</sup>)

n<sup>o</sup>. 12: 3 (Writer)

**Marduk-mušallim** (<sup>d</sup>MARDUK-*mu-ša-lim*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 48: 3 (Writer)

**Mār-Marduk** (DUMU-<sup>d</sup>MAR-TU)

n<sup>o</sup>. 39: 9

**Mār-Nūr-Ištar** (<sup>l</sup>DUMU-*nu-úr-iš-tár*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 19: 1 (Writer?)

**Mašjam-ili** (*ma-ši-am-ì-lí*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 24: 22

**Muhadûm** (*mu-ha-du*-[um])

n<sup>o</sup>. 21: 5

## N

**Nabi-Sîn** (*na-bi*-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU)

n<sup>o</sup>. 5: 8

**Namram-šarûr** (*nam-ra-am-ša-ru-ur*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 44: 1 (Recipient)

**Namzi-tarra** (*nam-zi-tar-ra*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 11: 1 (Recipient)

**Nānalum** (*na<sup>2</sup>-an-a-lum*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 54: 2

**Nannatum**(*nanna-tum*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 38: 3 and 12 (writer)

**Naram-Sîn** (*na-ra-am<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 14: 3 (writer)

**NIG-Sîn** (*NÍG<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 9: 1 (Recipient)

**Ninurta-balāṭim** (*<sup>d</sup>NIN-URTA-ba-la-ti-[im]*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 21: 3 (writer)

**Ninurta-nišu** (*<sup>d</sup>NIN-URTA-ni-šu*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 33: 3 (Writer)

**Nuhi-ili** (*nu-hi-DINGIR*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 11: 4

**Nuratim** (*nu-ra-a-ti-im*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 3: 6

**P**

**Padam-qarrād** (*<sup>1d</sup>PA4-DAM-qar-ra-ad<sup>2</sup>*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 22: 8

**Paka-Iškur** (*pa-ka<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 29: 3 (Writing)

**R**

**Rabi-šillašu** (*ra-bi-ši-la-<sup>1</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 16: 1 (Recipient)

**Rē ū -Amrūm** (*SIPA-am-ra-um*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 36: 3 (writer)

**S**

**Sāsija** (*sá-si-ja*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 1: 3 (Writer)

n<sup>o</sup>. 2: 3 (Writer)

n<sup>o</sup>. 3: 3 (Writer)

n<sup>o</sup>. 4: 3 (Writer)

n<sup>o</sup>. 5: 3 (Writer)

n<sup>o</sup>. 6: 3 (Writer)

n<sup>o</sup>. 7: 1 (Recipient)

n<sup>o</sup>. 8: 1 (Recipient)

**Samsu-ilūna** (*sa-am-su-i-lu-na*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 39: 3 (Writer)

**Simmugra** (*si-im-mu-ug-ra*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 17: 3 (Writer)

**Sîn-gamil** (<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-*ga-mil*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 32: 1 (Recipient)

**Sîn-iddinam** (<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-*i-din-nam'*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 58: 3 (Writer)

**Sîn-imgurranni** (<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-*im-gur-ra-an-ni*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 21: 1 (Recipient)

**Sîn-išmeanni** (<sup>Ld</sup>EN-ZU-*iš'-me'-an-ni*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 34: 9

**Sîn-kīma-ilija** (<sup>L</sup>30-[*ki*]-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>l</sup>-<sup>l</sup>i-lí-*ja*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 44: 15

**Sîn-muballiṭ** (<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 58: 1 (Recipient)

**Sîn-qarrād** (<sup>d</sup>en.zu-*qá-ra-ad*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 49: 7

**Sîn-rabi** (<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-*ra-bi*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 13: 3 (writer)

**Sîn-rēmēni** (<sup>Ld</sup>EN-ZU-*re-me-ni*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 40: 6

n<sup>o</sup>. 38: 14 and 29

**Sîn-šemi** (<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-*še-mi*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 22: 3 (Writer)

n<sup>o</sup>. 23: 3 (Writer)

**Sîn-tamkarī** (*30-dam-gàr-ri*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 44: 16

**Sîn-[...]** (<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU-[...])

n<sup>o</sup>. 24: 1 (Recipient)

Š

**Šamaš-dayyān** (<sup>d</sup>UTU-DI-KU<sub>5</sub>)

n<sup>o</sup>. 52: 15

**Šamaš-hāzir** (<sup>d</sup>UTU-*ha-zi-ir*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 31: 3 (Writer)

n<sup>o</sup>. 32: 3 (Writer)

n<sup>o</sup>. 33: 1 (Recipient)

**Šamaš-lamassi** (<sup>d</sup>UTU-*la-ma-si*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 37: 1 (Recipient)

**Šamaš-gamil** (<sup>Ld</sup>UTU-<sup>r</sup>gá<sup>l</sup>-*mil*)

n<sup>o</sup>. 26: 11

**Šamaš-rabi** (<sup>1</sup>dUTU-*ra-bi*)

n°. 38: 38

**Šamšīni** (<sup>d</sup>UTU-*ši-ni*)

n°. 26: 3 (Writer)

**Šamijatum** (*ša-mi-ja-tum*)

n°. 32: 2 (Recipient)

**Šamšûya** (<sup>d</sup>UTU-*û-a*)

n°. 17: 1 (Recipient)

**Šarr-manšum** (lugal.ma-an-šúm)

n°. 40: 13

**Šarrātti** (<sup>1</sup>LUGAL-*at-te*)

n°. 10: 8

**Šāt-Sîn** (<sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-*at*-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU)

n°. 57: 8

**Šāt-Šamaš** (*ša-at*-<sup>d</sup>UTU)

n°. 3: 5

**Šēlebum** (*še-le-bu-um*)

n°. 47: 1 (Recipient)

**Šimumu** (*ši-mu'-mu'*)

n°. 38: 5, 21, 24, 31 and 39

**Šu-x-x** (*šu-x-x*)

n°. 10: 2 (Recipient)

**ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A-nada**

n°. 38: 5

**Šumi-ahija** (<sup>1</sup>*šu-mi-a-hi-j[a]*)

n°. 6: 4

**Šumum-libši** (*šu-mu-um-li-ib-ši*)

n°. 24: 10

**Šunūma-ila** (*šu-nu-ma-DINGIR*)

n°. 53: 3 (Writer)

U

**Ubārrum** (<sup>1</sup>*u-bar-ri-im*)

n°. 46: 6, 12 and 32

**Ur-Ištar** (*ur*-<sup>d</sup>INANA)

n°. 10: 3

**Uraš-ila** (<sup>d</sup>[U]RAŠ -*ì-la*)

n°. 56: 3 (Writer)

**Ušāk-līl** (<sup>1</sup>*ù-ša-ak-li-il*)

n°. 10: 10

**Utulu-sīlama** (*ú-tu-lu-si-il-la-ma*)

n°. 44: 3 (Writer)

n°. 34: 10

**W**

**Zînū** (*zi-nu-ú*)

**Warad-ilišu** (*ÌR-ì-lì-šú*)

n°. 28: 10

n°. 49: 3 (Writer)

**Zizija** (*zi-zi-ja*)

**Warad-Marduk** (*ÌR-<sup>d</sup>MARDUK*)

n°. 46: 17 and 30

n°. 18: 3 (Writer)

**Zugal-malik** (*<sup>d</sup>zu-gal-ma<sup>?</sup>-lik*)

n°. 37: 1 (Recipient)

n°. 57: 3 (Writer)

**Warad-Sîn** (*ÌR-<sup>d</sup>EN-ZU*)

**Zunnum** (*<sup>d</sup>zu-un-<sup>?</sup>nu<sup>?</sup>-um<sup>?</sup>*)

n°. 45: 3 (Writer)

n°. 38: 1 (Recipient)

n°. 46: 34

n°. 38: 10

**Z**

**Zar-šuhar<sup>?</sup>** (*za-ar-šú-har*)

## Geographical Names

**Amurrum** (MAR-TU)

n<sup>o</sup>. 39: 9

n<sup>o</sup>. 7: 3 (a-「mu」-ru-um)

**Babylon** (KÁ-DINGIR-RA<sup>ki</sup>)

n<sup>o</sup>. 20: 24

n<sup>o</sup>. 22: 16

n<sup>o</sup>. 47: 26

n<sup>o</sup>. 27: 23

**Dunnum** (*du-nu-um*<sup>ki</sup>)

n<sup>o</sup>. 27: 5

**Ebabbar** (*é-babbar*-「ri」)

n<sup>o</sup>. 47: 7

**Isin** (*i-si-in*<sup>ki</sup>)

n<sup>o</sup>. 22: 10

n<sup>o</sup>. 33: 5

**Kittum** (<sup>id</sup>*ki-it*<sup>2</sup>-tum)

n<sup>o</sup>. 9: 11

**Maškan-šāpir** (*maš-gán-šabra*<sup>ki</sup>)

n°. 22: 5

**Nippur (NIBRU<sup>k</sup>)**

n°. 44: 10

**Rahabum (*ra-ha-bi-im* <sup>r<sup>ki</sup></sup>)**

n°. 38: 15

**Sudahi (su-da-hi<sup>ki</sup>)**

n°. 48: 7

**Uruk (UD-UNUG<sup>KI</sup>)**

n°. 27: 15 and 33

**Zabalam (*za-ba-lim*)**

N°. 34: 18

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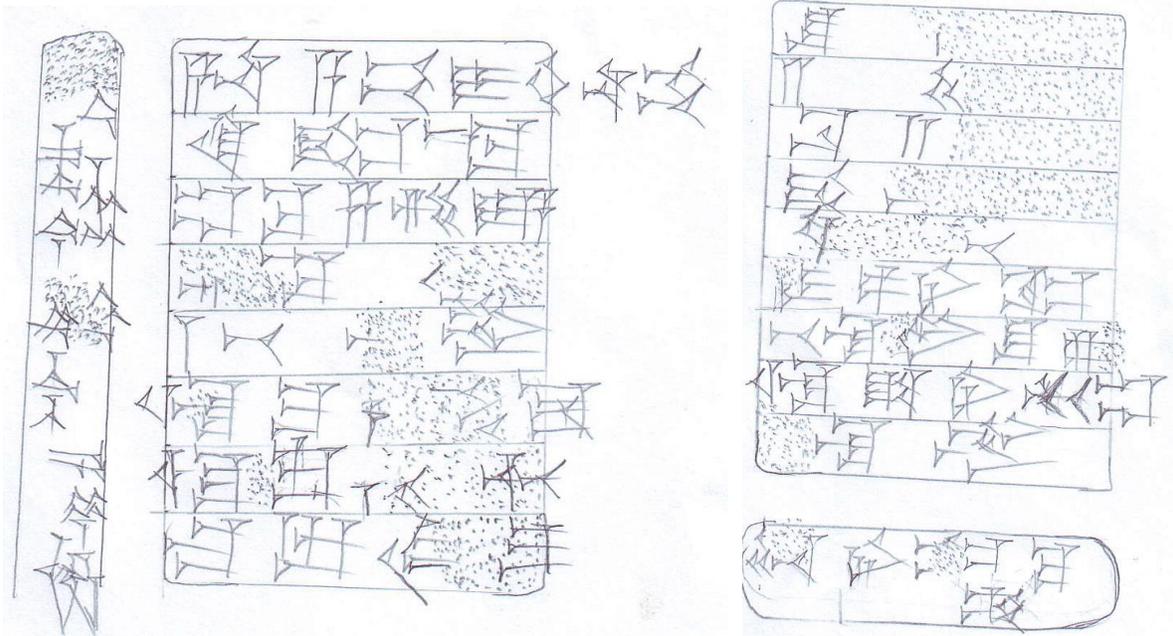
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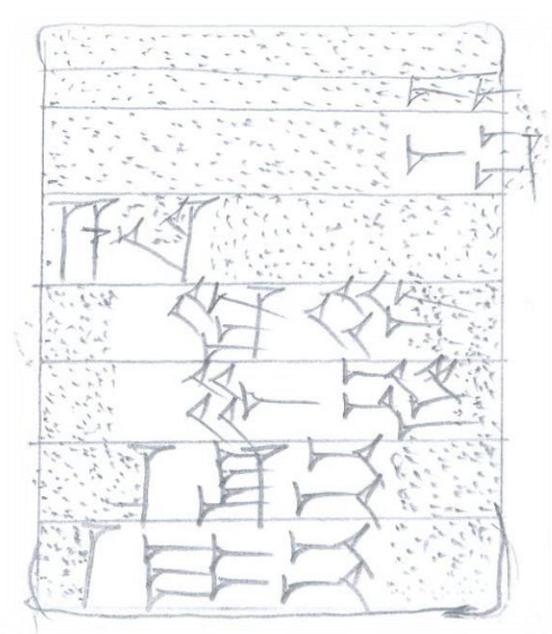
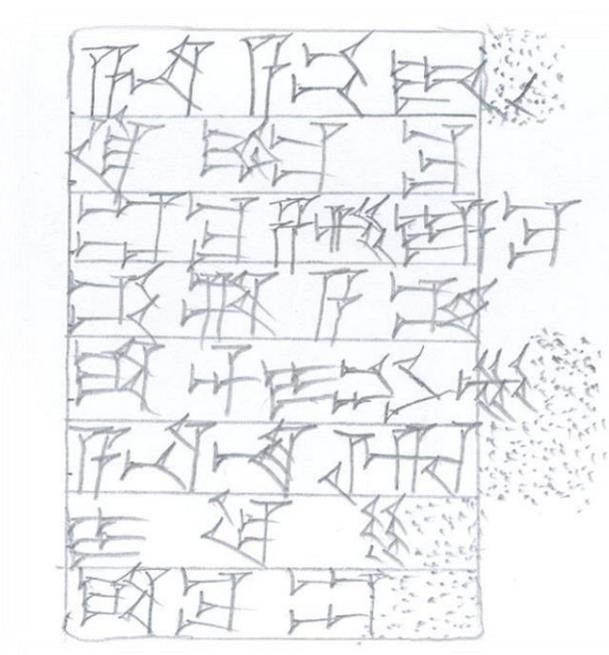
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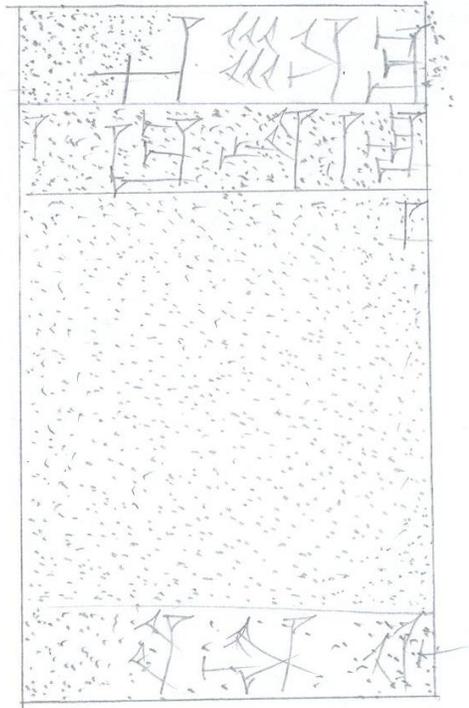
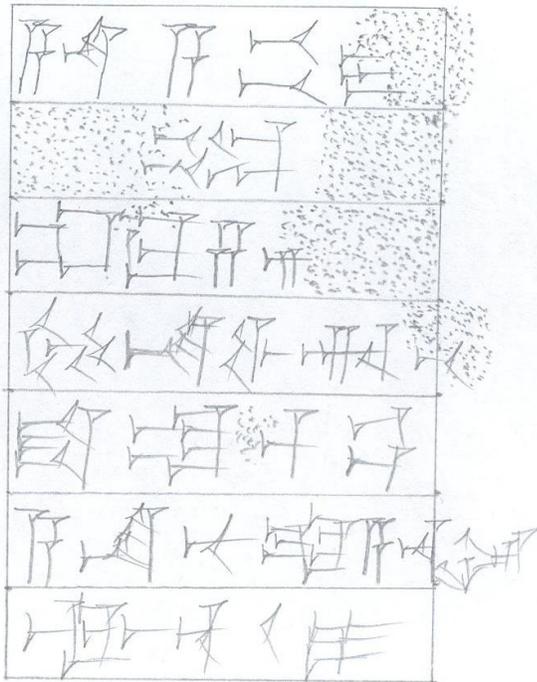
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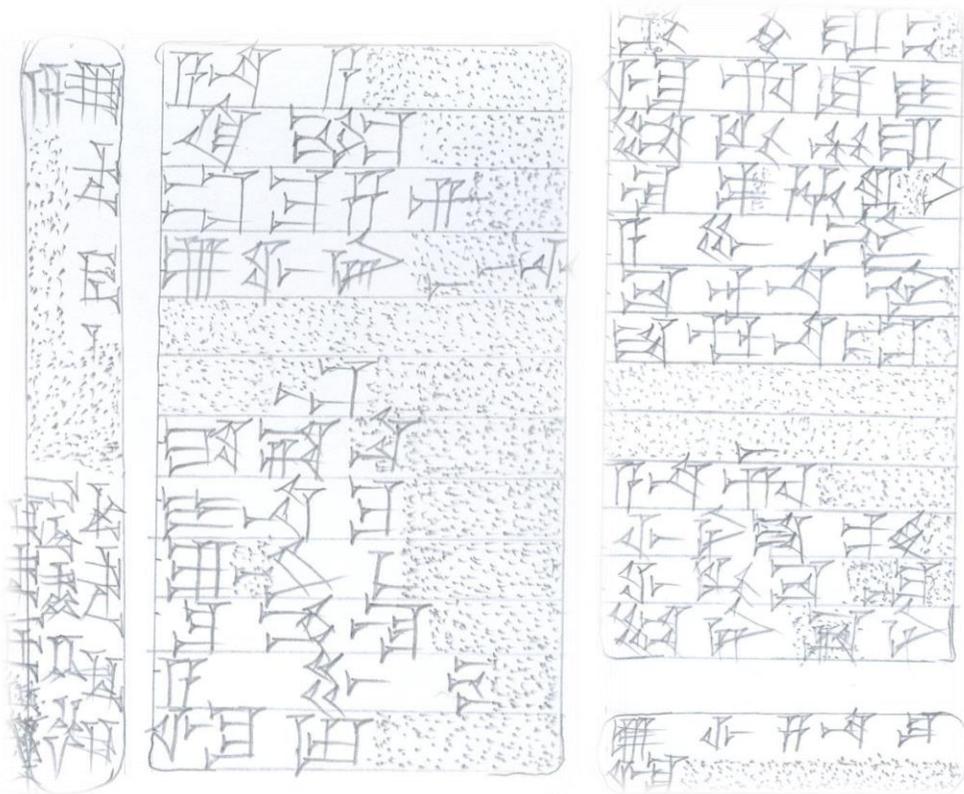
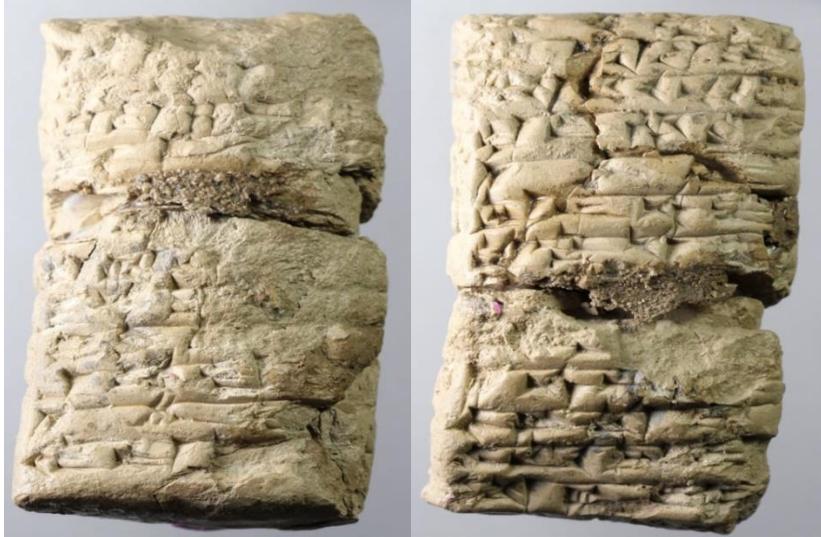
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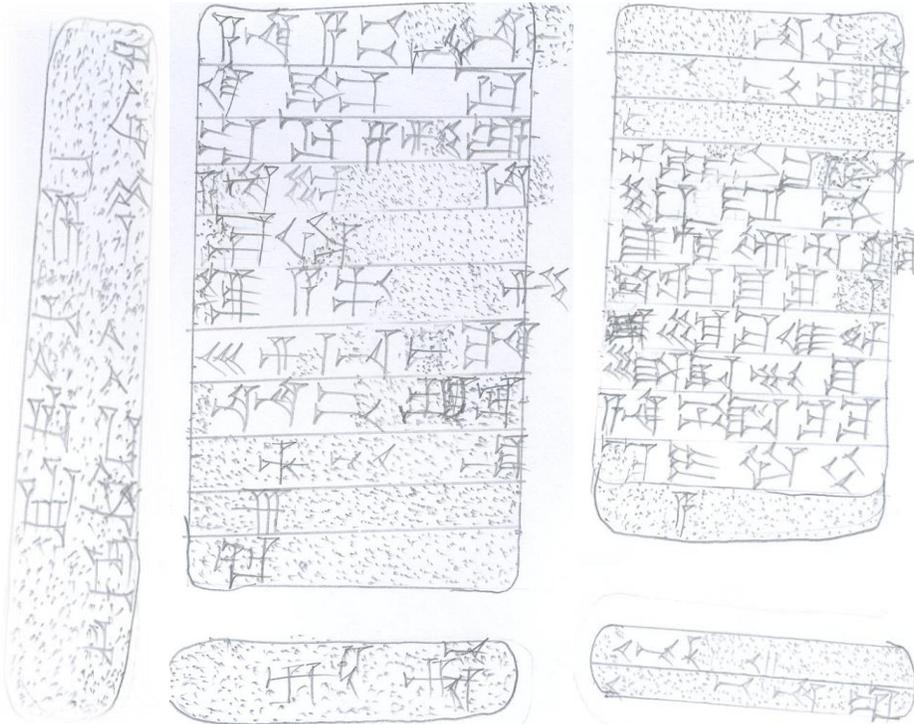
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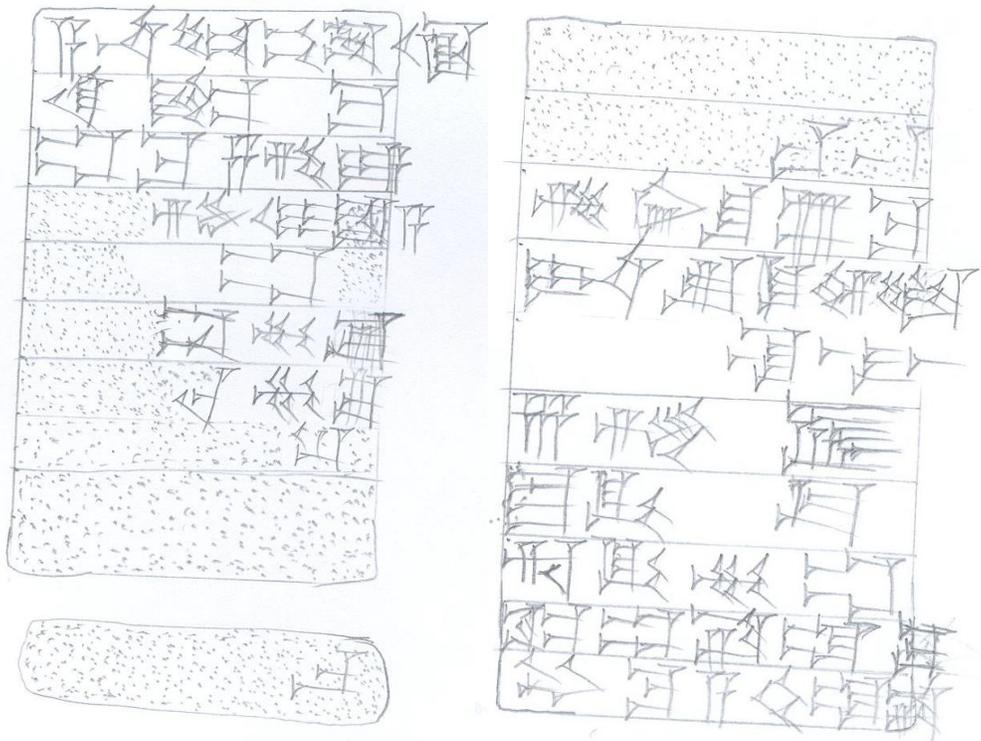
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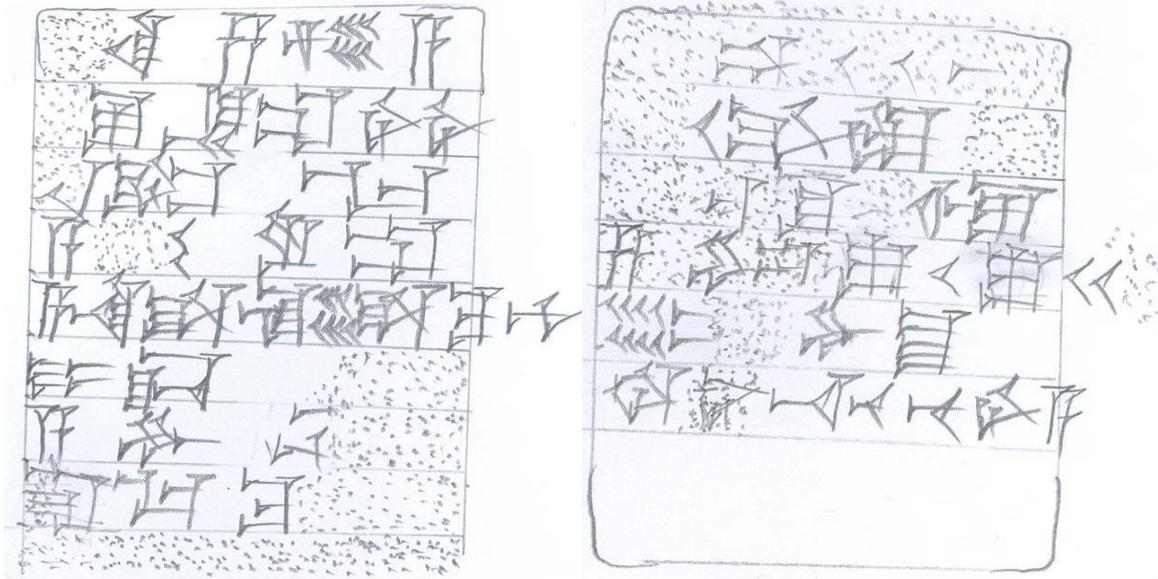
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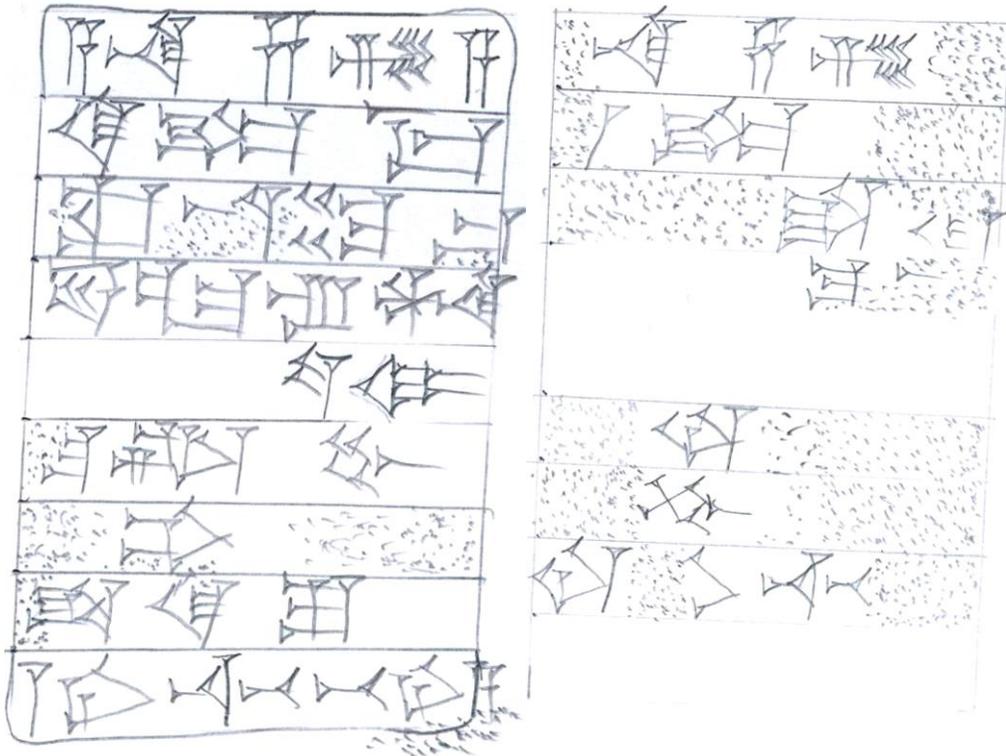
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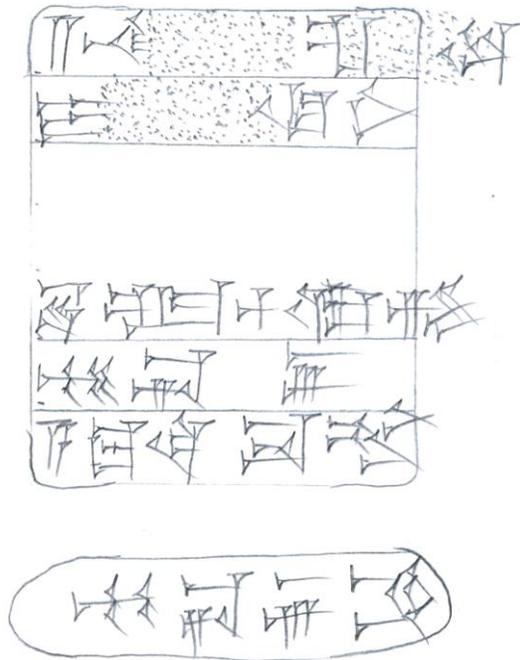
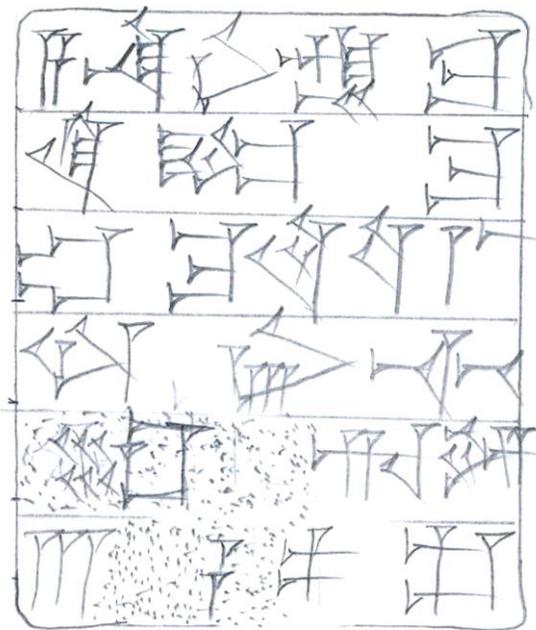
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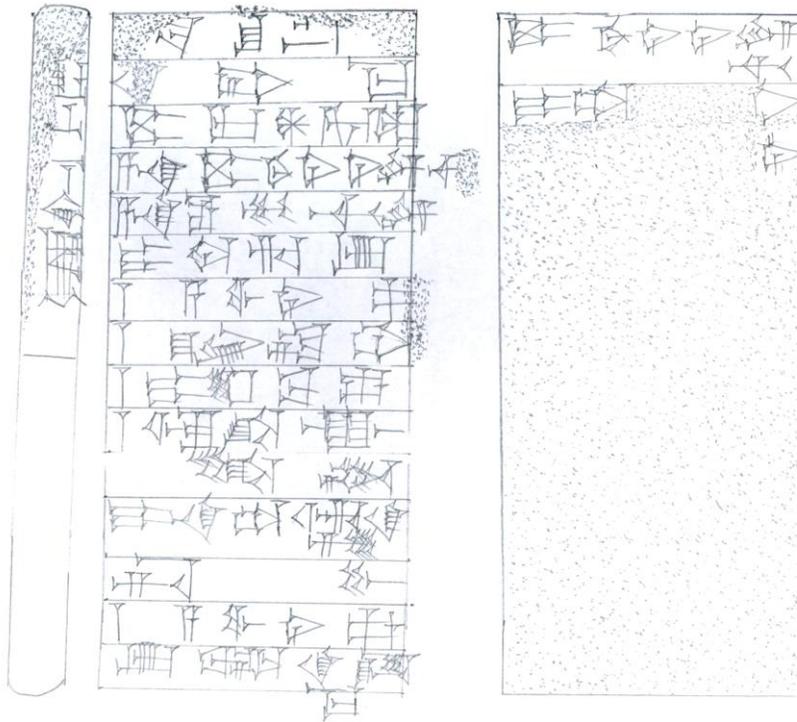
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TEXT 9 (SM. 547)



TEXT 10 (SM. 373)



TEXT 11 (SM. 2722)



Handwritten transcription of a vertical column of hieroglyphs, likely representing the left edge of the fragment.

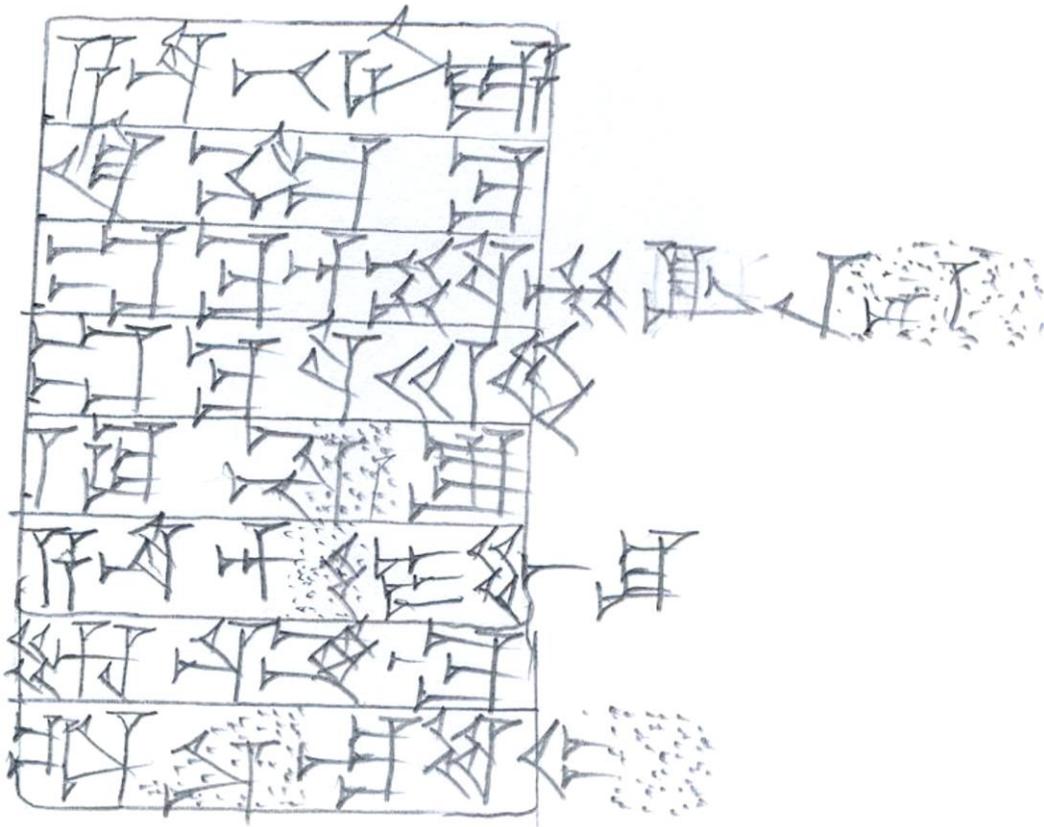
Handwritten transcription of the main body of hieroglyphs, organized into several horizontal lines. Some characters are annotated with small vertical lines and additional symbols.

Handwritten transcription of a small, rounded fragment of hieroglyphs.

Handwritten transcription of a large, rectangular fragment of hieroglyphs, showing multiple lines of text with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect.

Handwritten transcription of a small, rounded fragment of hieroglyphs, similar in shape to the one on the left.

TEXT 12 (SM. 3893)



TEXT 13. (SM. 4711)



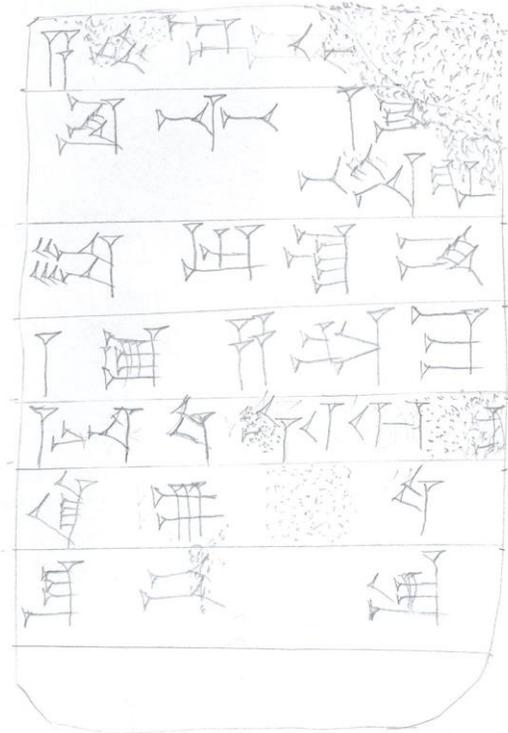
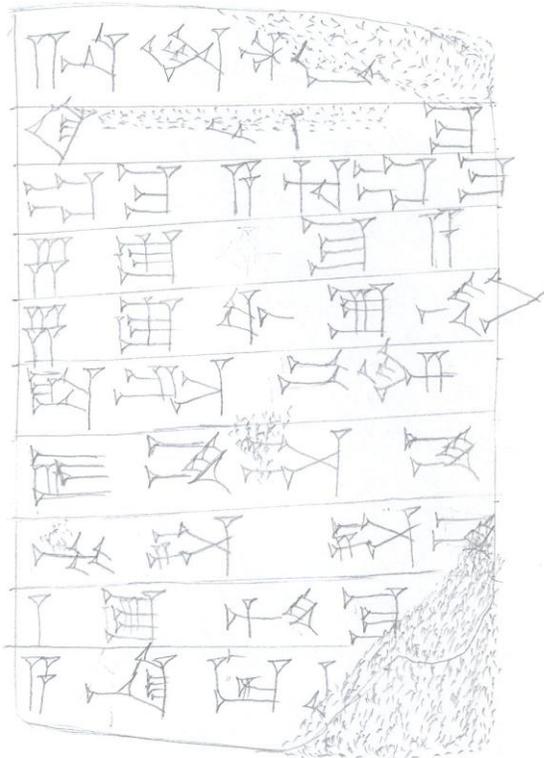
TEXT 14 (SM. 5884)



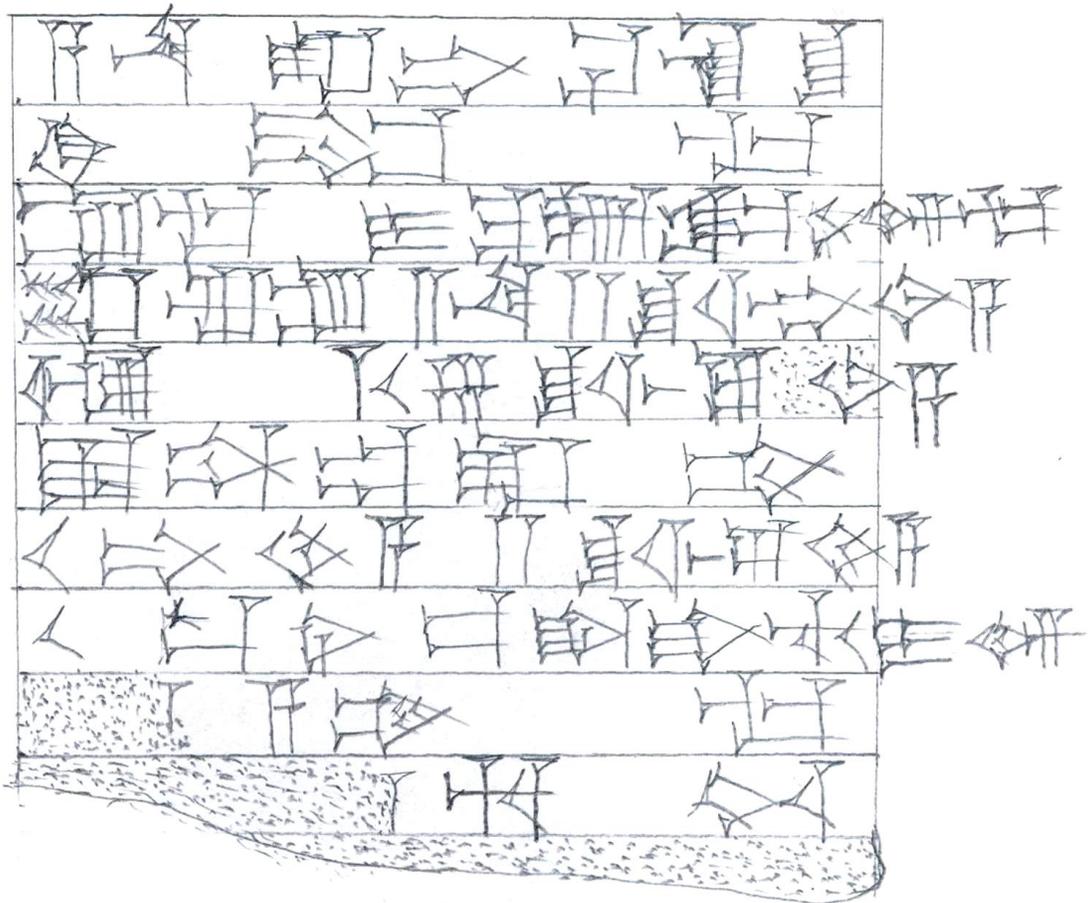
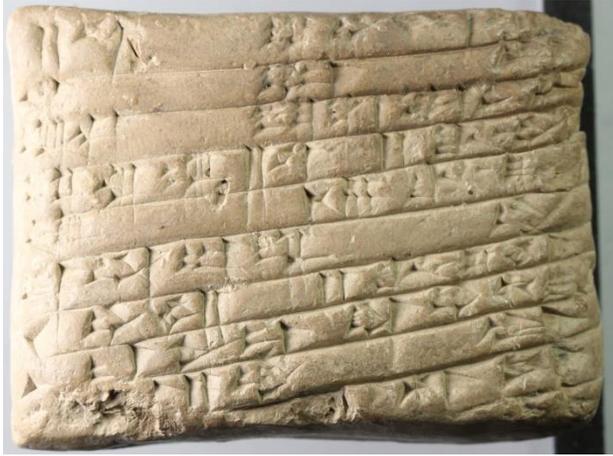
𐎶𐎠𐎧𐎶𐎠𐎧

𐎶𐎠𐎧𐎶𐎠𐎧

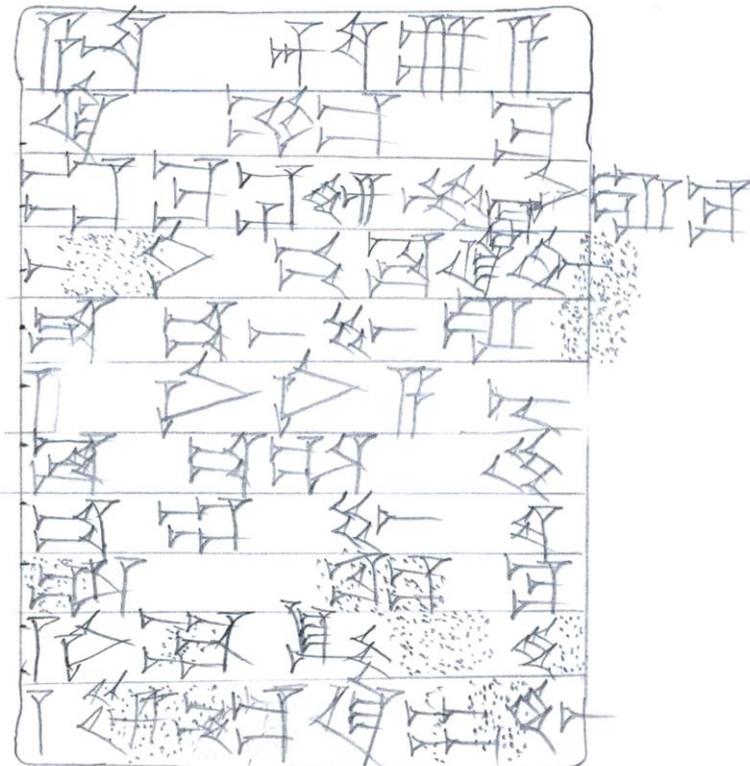
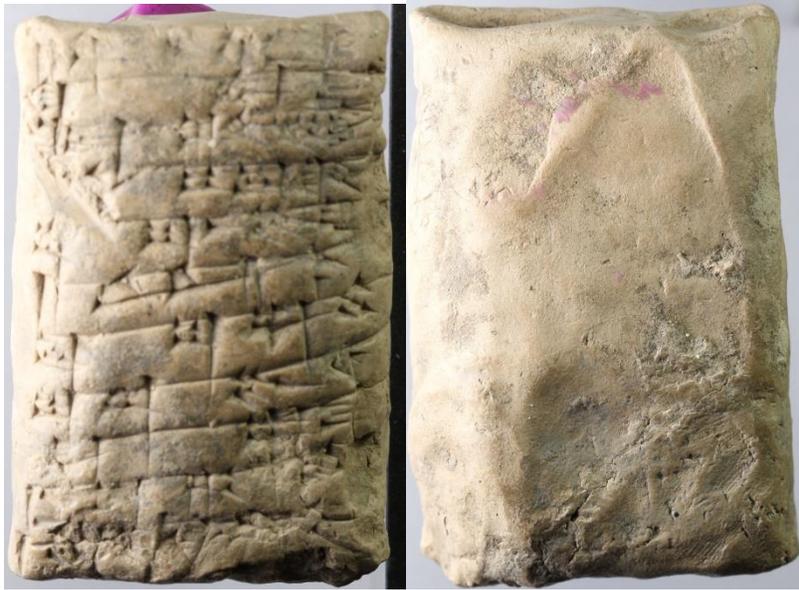
TEXT 15 (SM. 673)



TEXT 16 (SM. 2140)



TEXT 17 (SM. 2856)



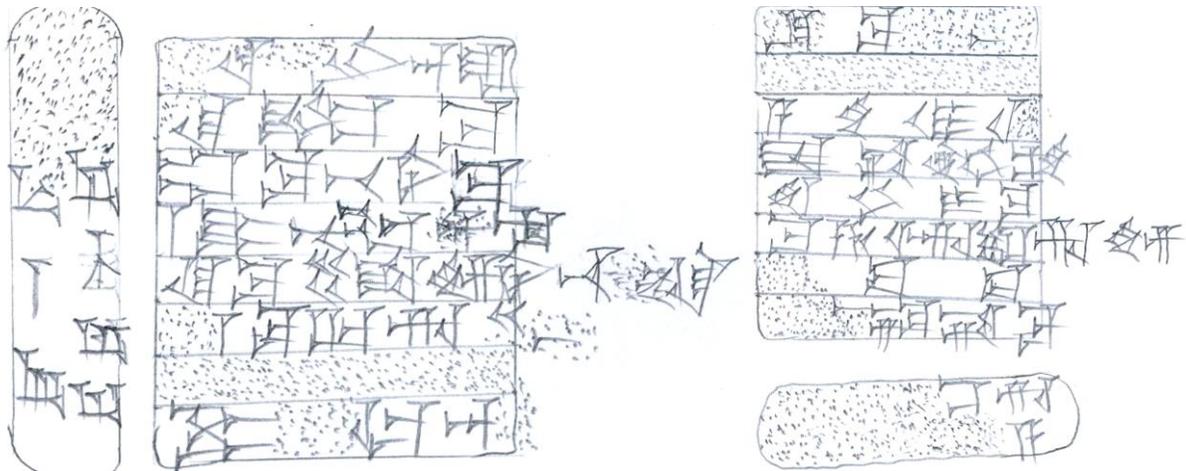
TEXT 18 (SM. 413)



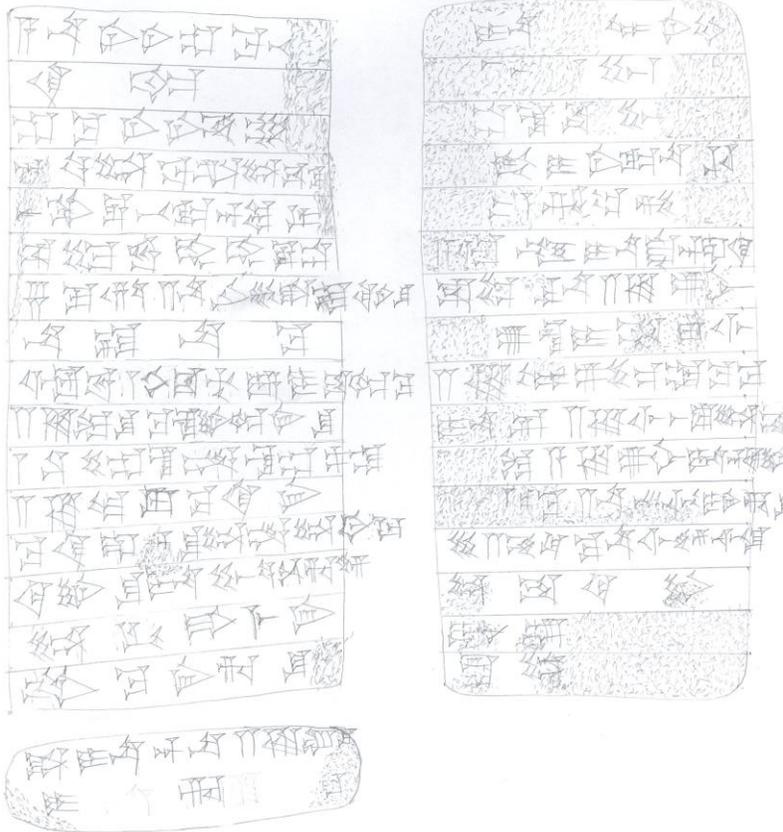
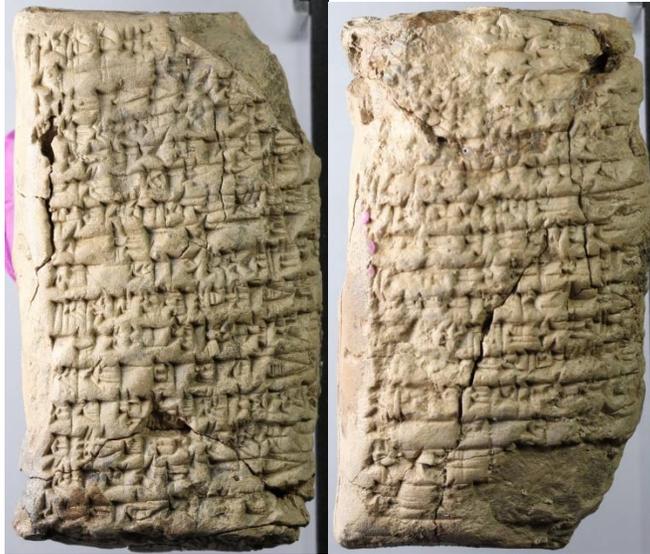
Handwritten transcription of the cuneiform text from the tablets, organized into a grid. The transcription is as follows:

𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶

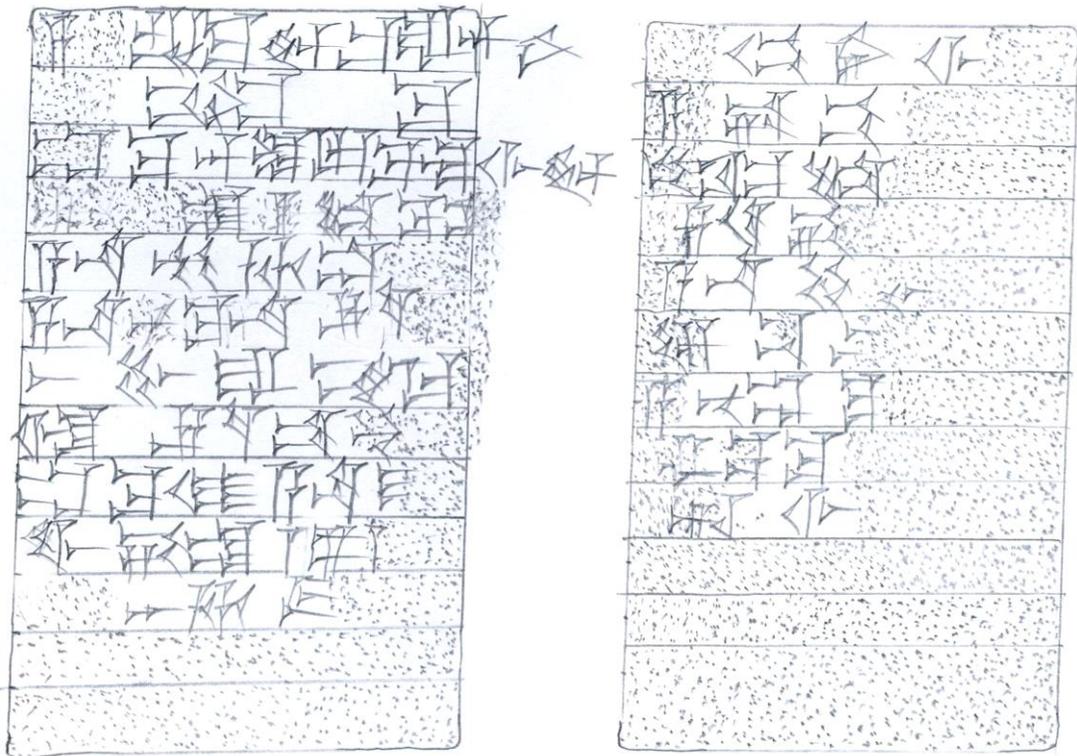
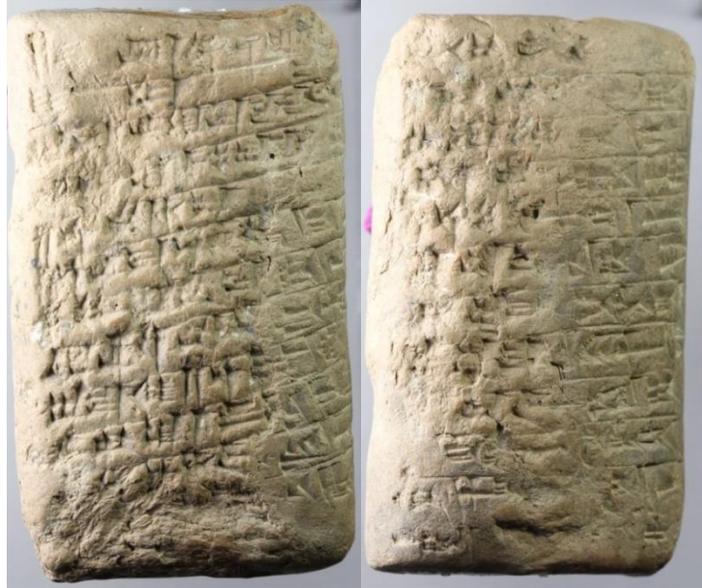
TEXT 19 (SM. 425)



TEXT 20 (SM. 497)



TEXT 21 (SM. 860)



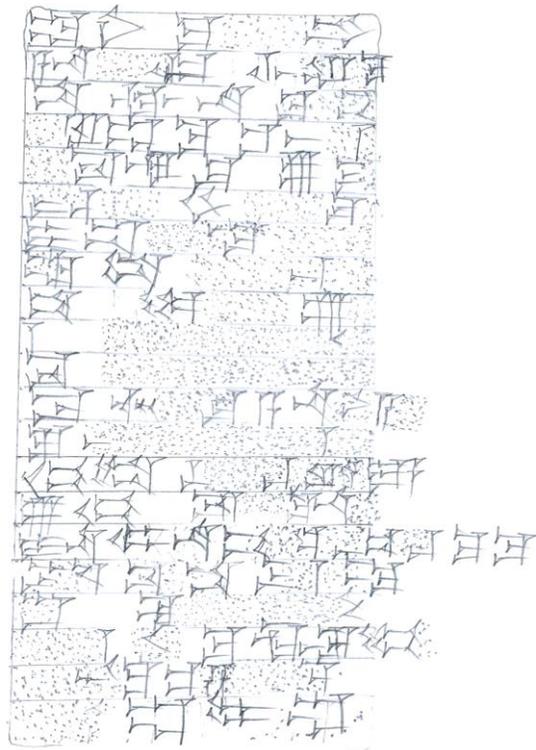
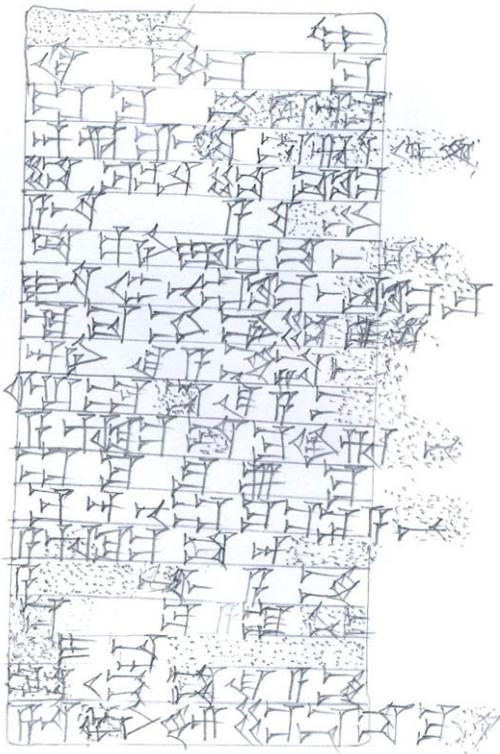
TEXT 22 (SM. 2809)



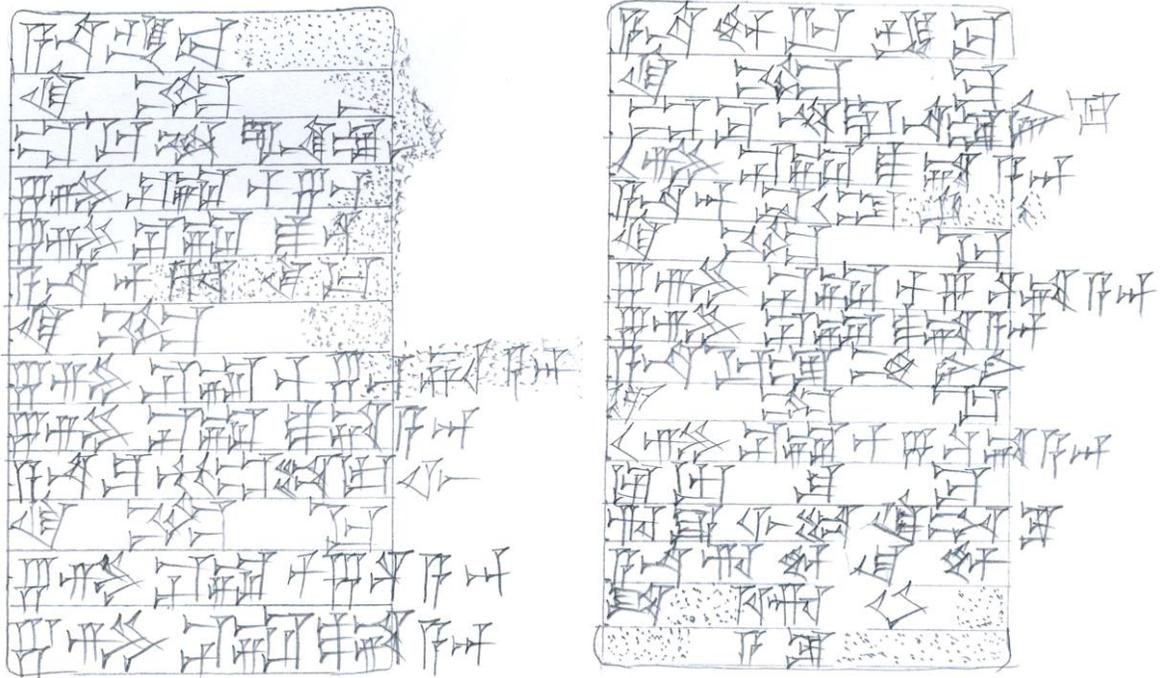
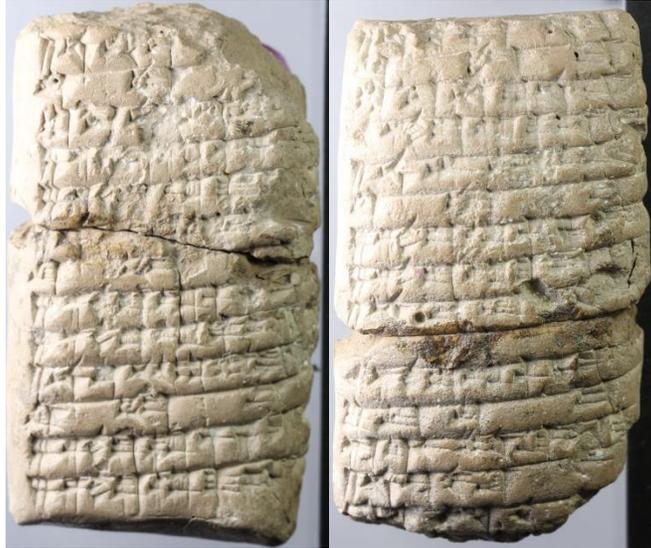
Handwritten transcription of the cuneiform text from the left side of the tablet. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines, with some characters extending into the right margin. The transcription includes various cuneiform signs, some of which are partially obscured or difficult to read due to the fragmentary nature of the original tablet.

Handwritten transcription of the cuneiform text from the right side of the tablet. The top portion shows a few lines of legible characters, while the rest of the tablet is filled with a dense pattern of small, illegible marks, likely representing the reverse side of the tablet or a heavily damaged area.

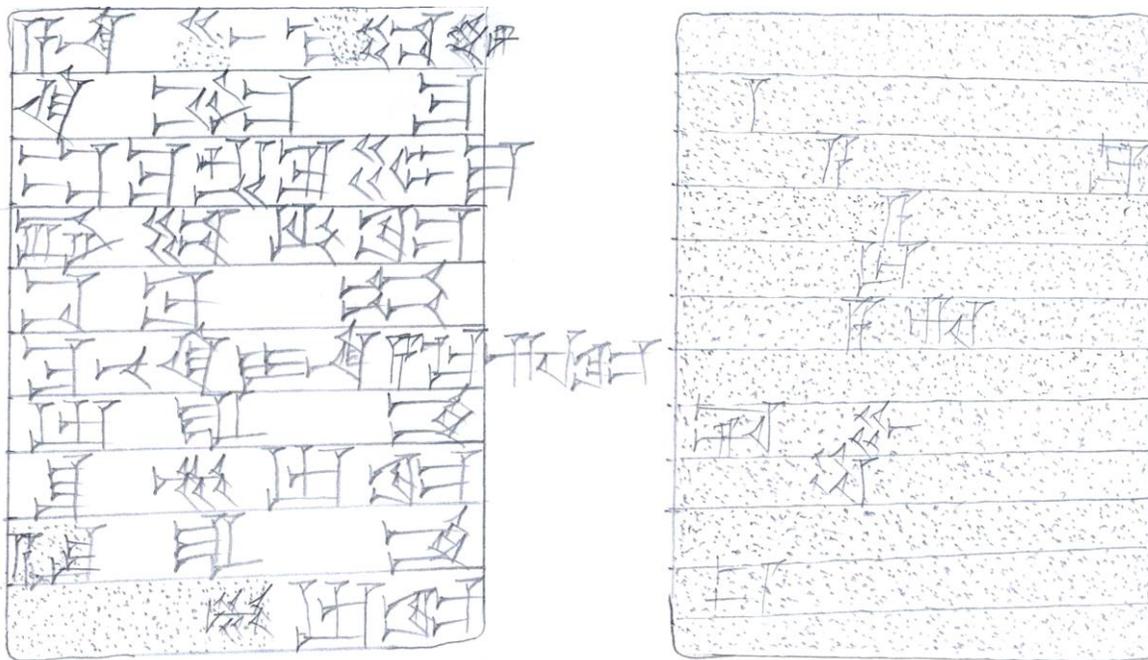
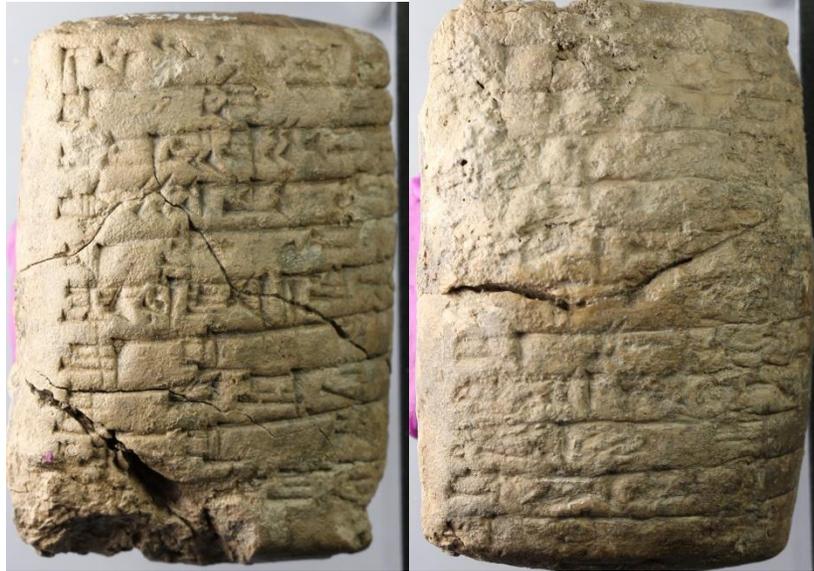
TEXT 23 (SM. 2884)



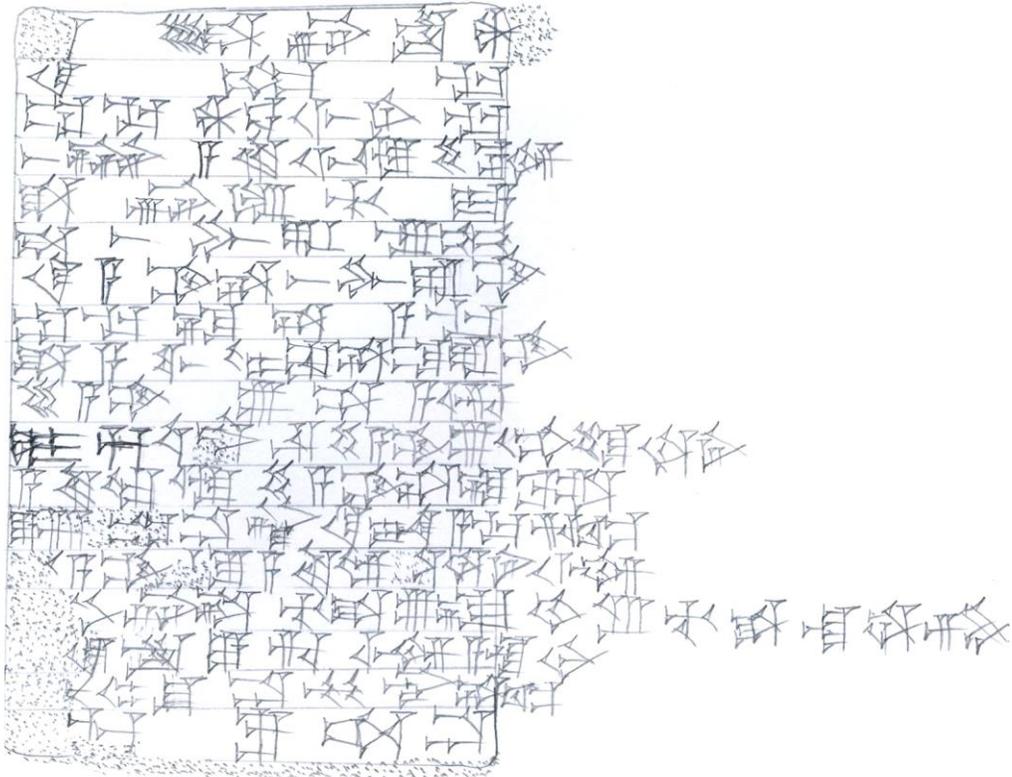
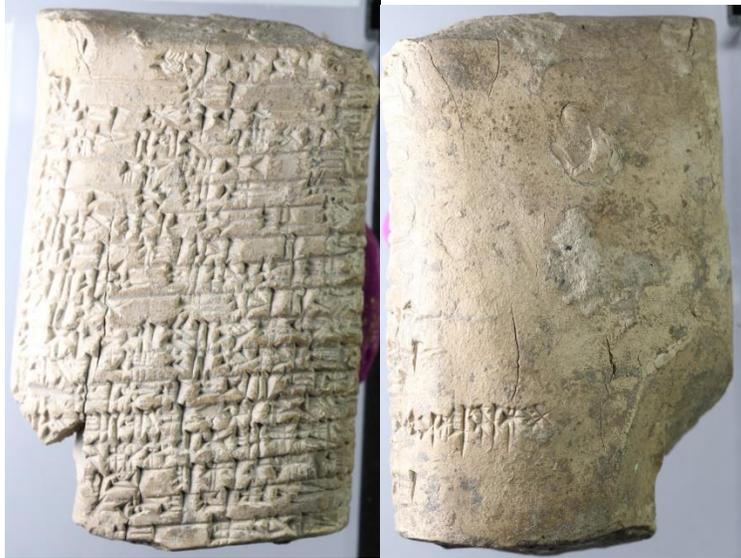
TEXT 24 (SM. 2921)



TEXT 25 (SM. 2944)



TEXT 26 (SM. 3002)

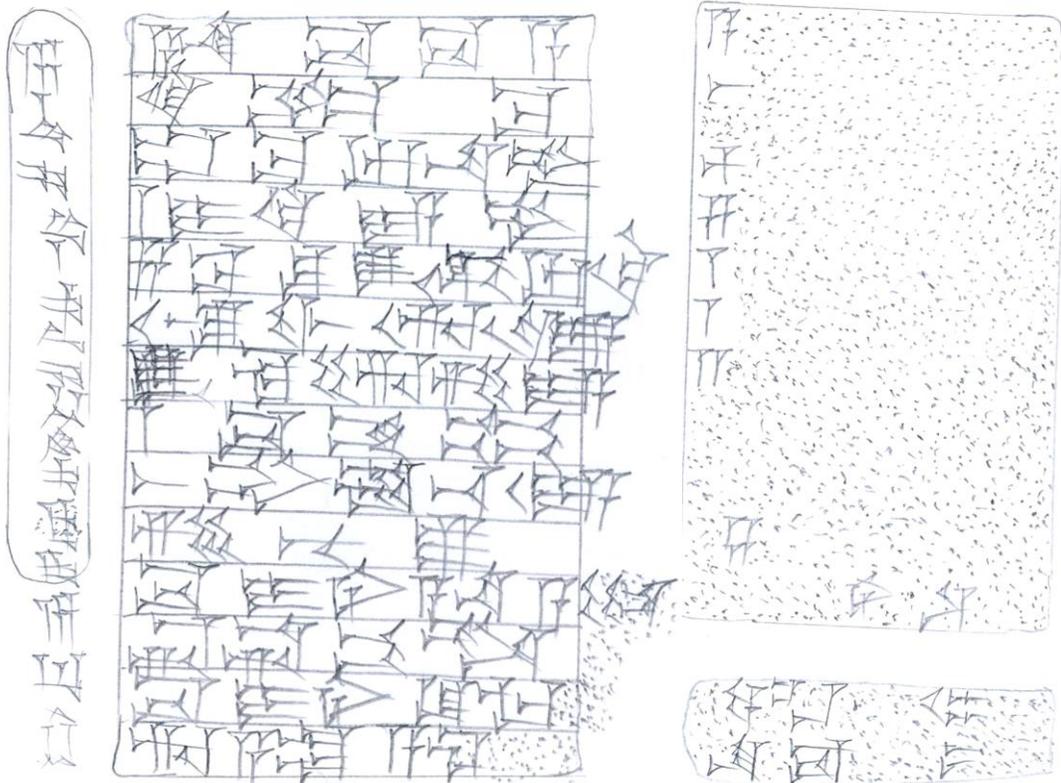
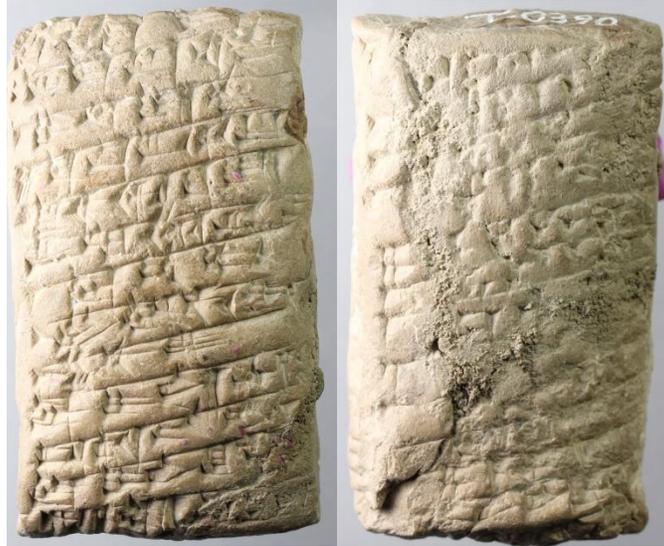


TEXT 27 (SM. 3877)



Handwritten transcription of the cuneiform text from the tablet, organized into two columns. The left column contains approximately 14 lines of text, and the right column contains approximately 14 lines. The transcription is written in a clear, legible hand, with some characters enclosed in boxes to indicate specific readings or groupings. The text is arranged in a grid-like format, with lines of text corresponding to the rows on the tablet.

TEXT 28 (SM. 390)



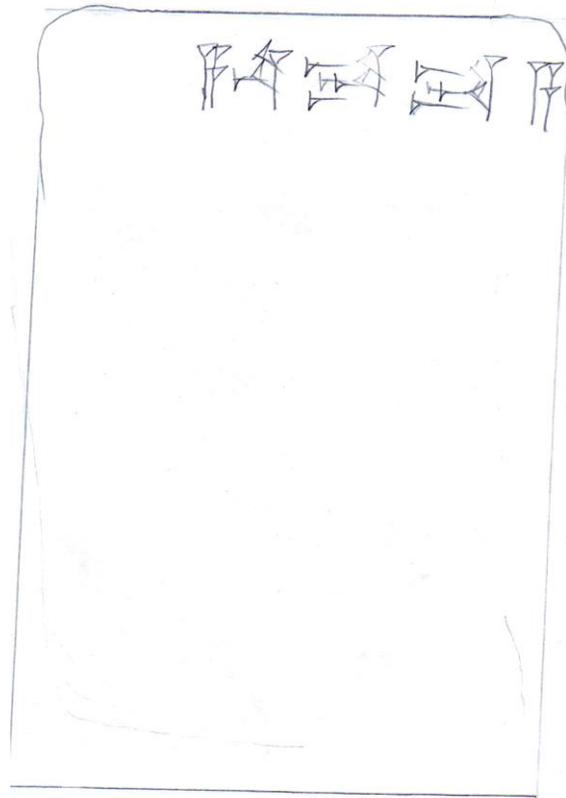
TEXT 29 (SM. 2396)



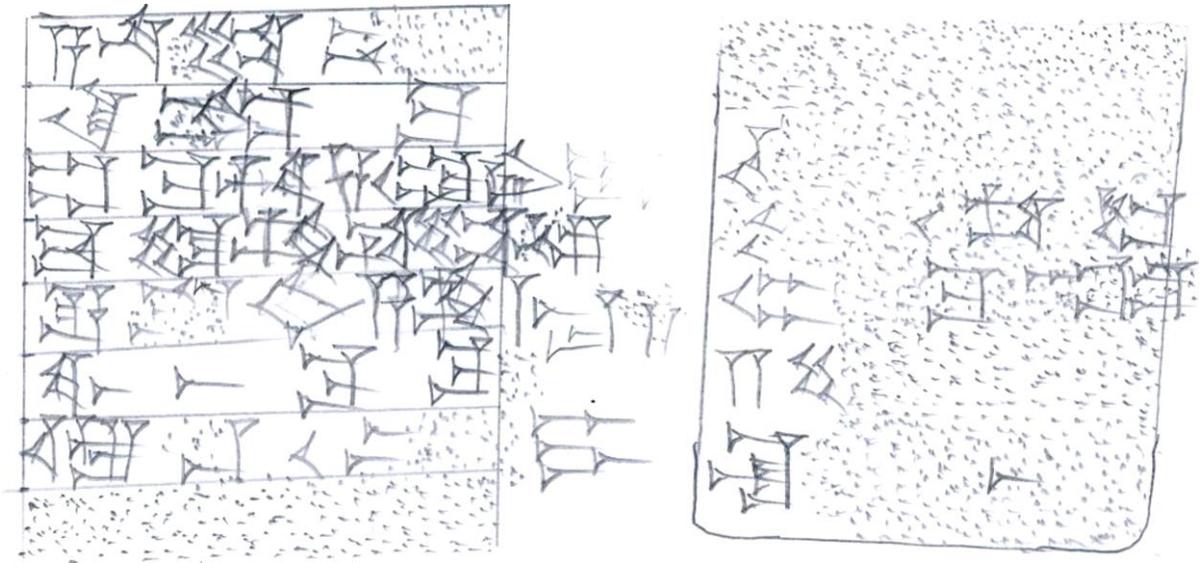
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶
𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	𐎶	

𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶

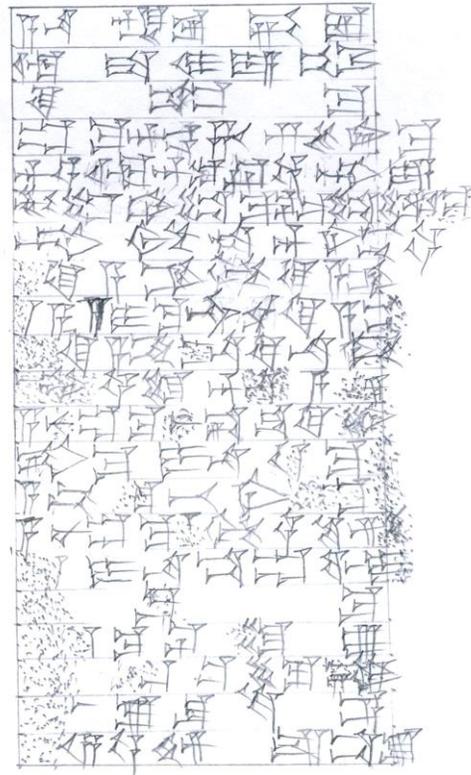
**TEXT 30 (SM. 6375)**



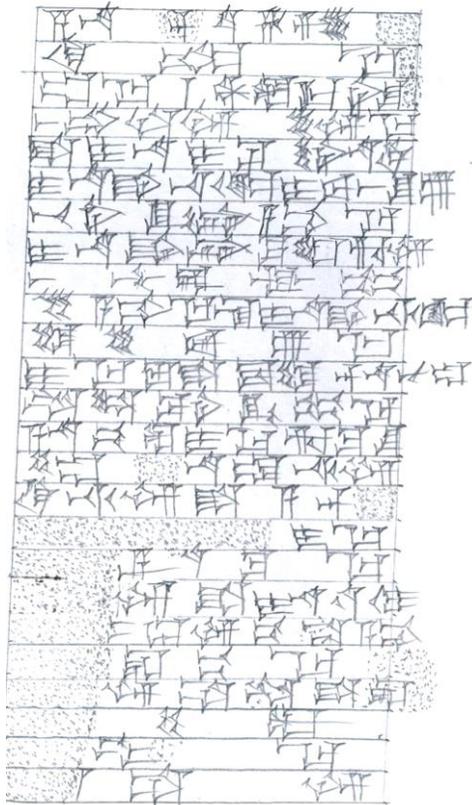
TEXT 31 (SM. 5845)



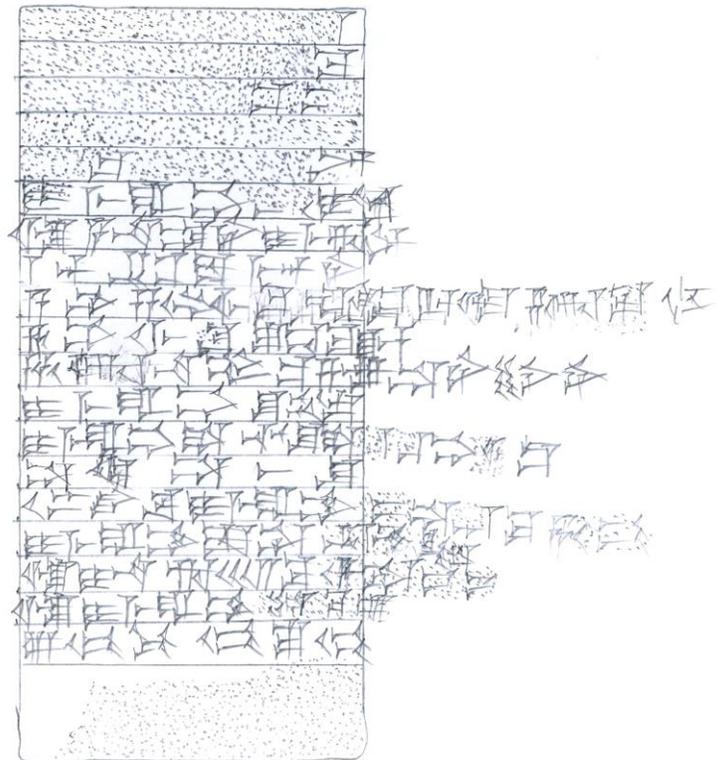
**TEXT 32 (SM. 6416)**



TEXT 33 (SM. 6419)

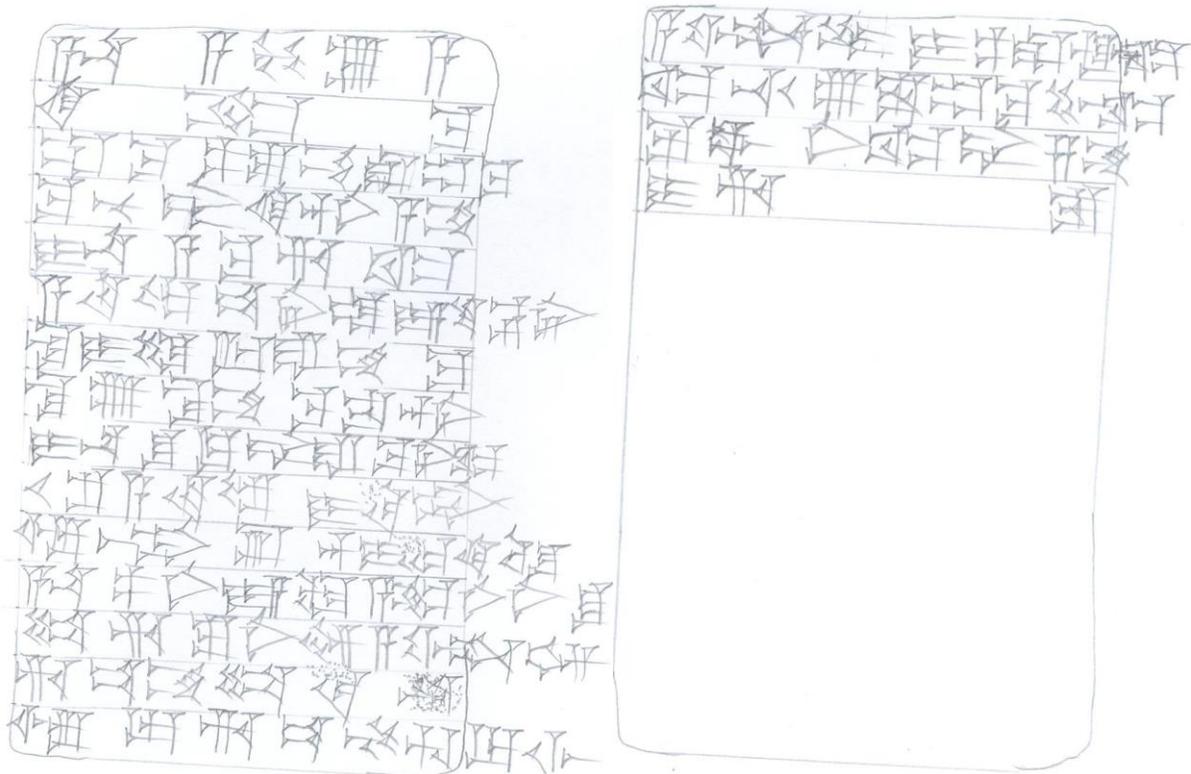


TEXT 34 (SM. 2864)





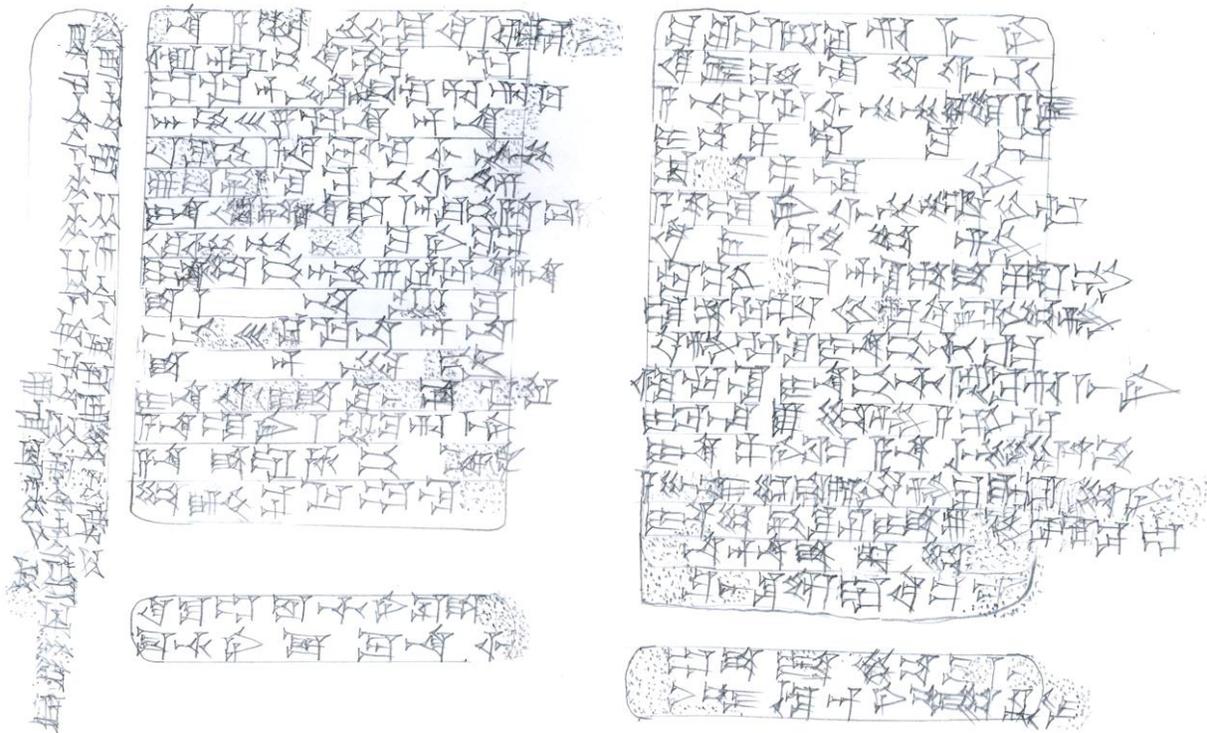
TEXT 36 (SM. 2993)



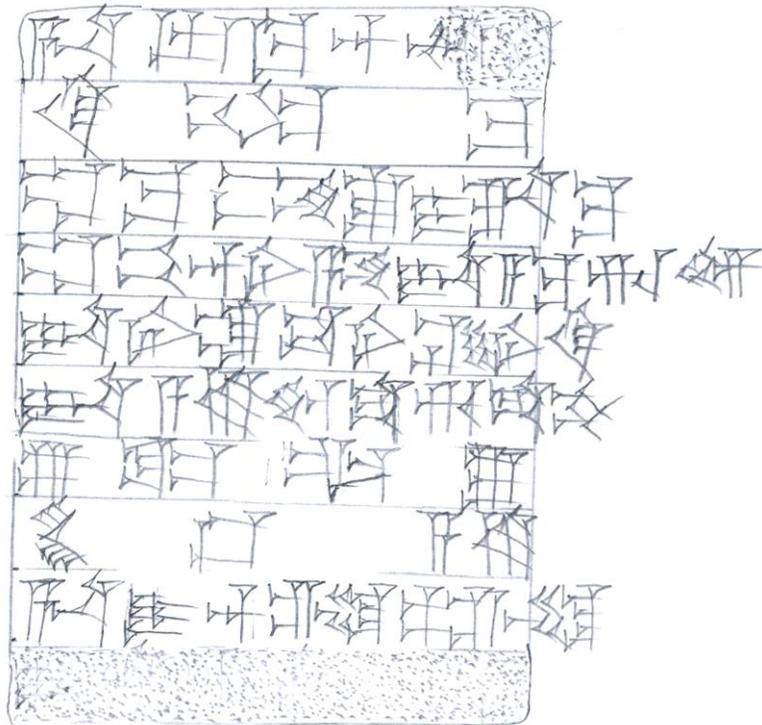
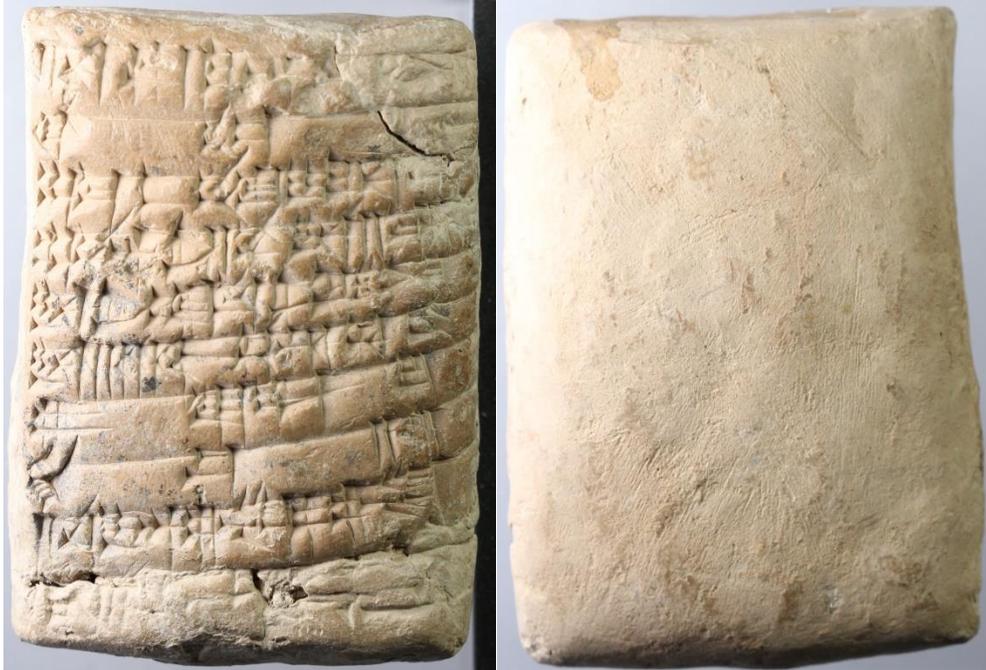
TEXT 37 (SM. 832)



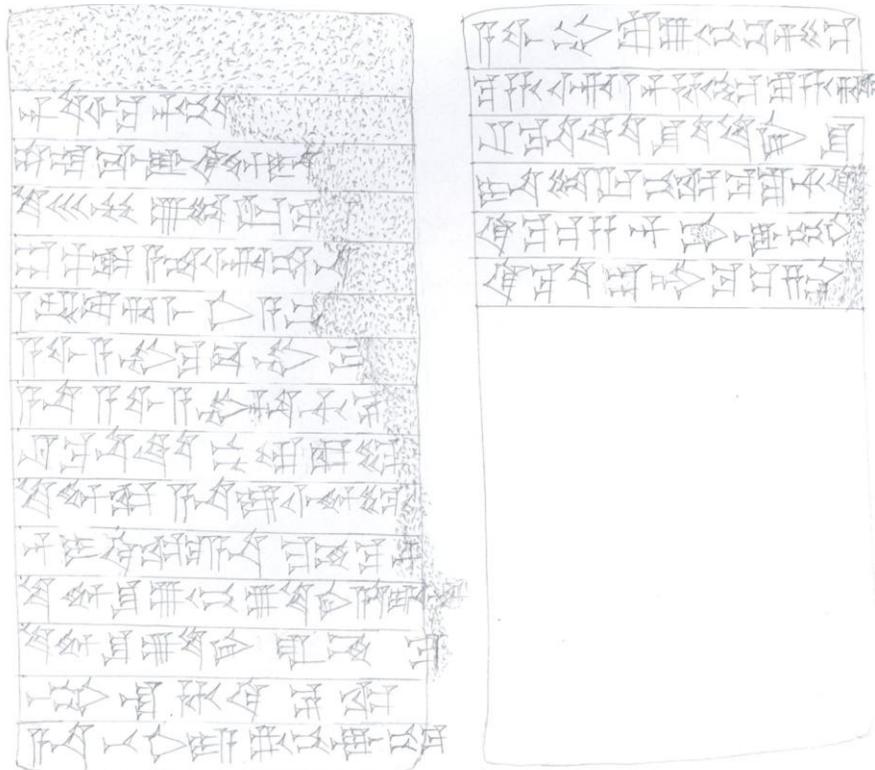
TEXT 38 (SM. 5981)



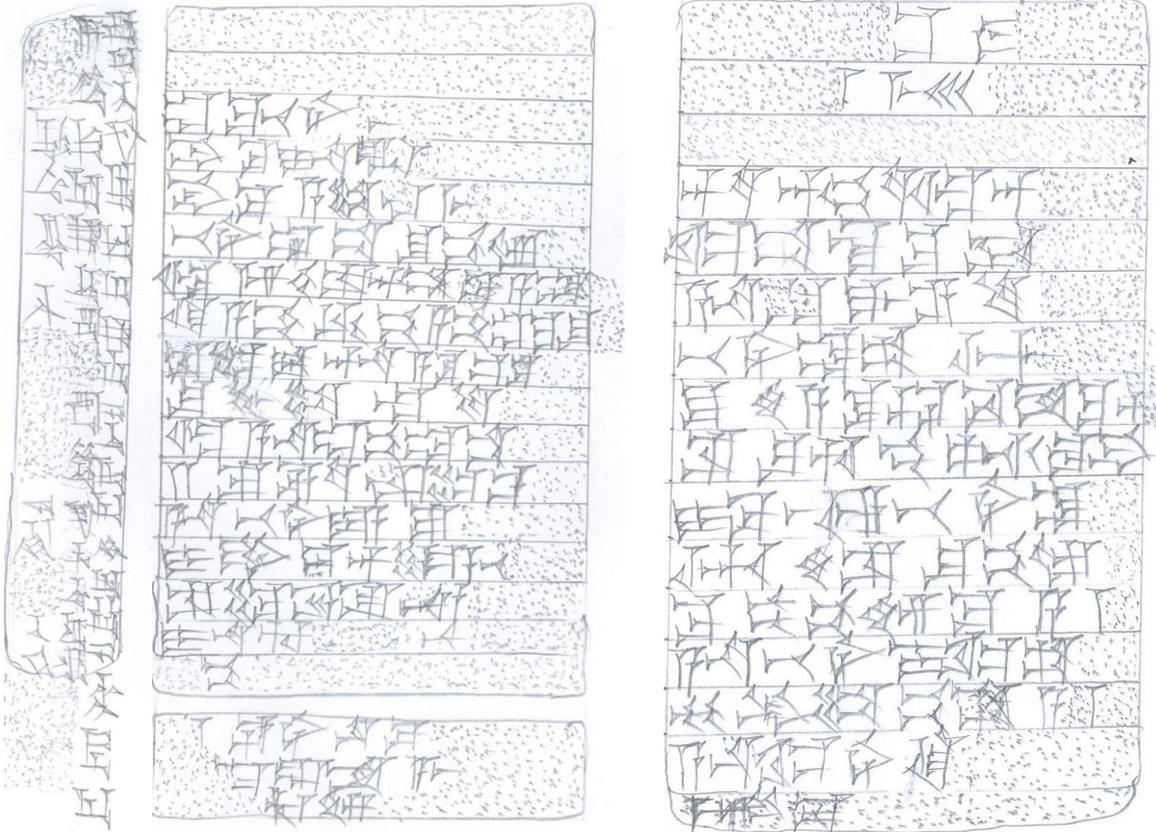
TEXT 39 (SM. 1377)



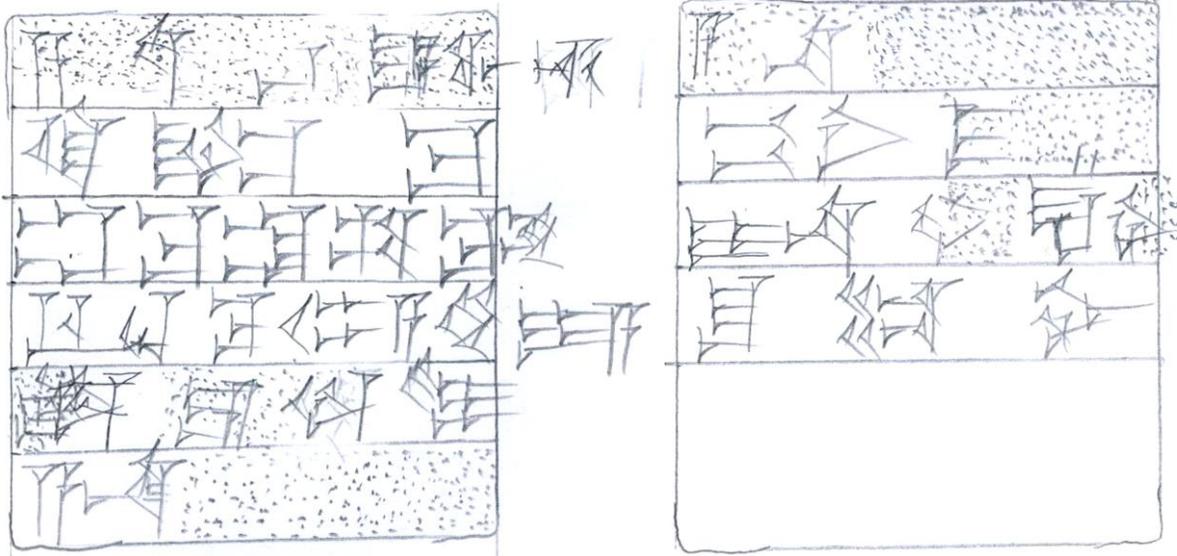
TEXT 40 (SM. 359)



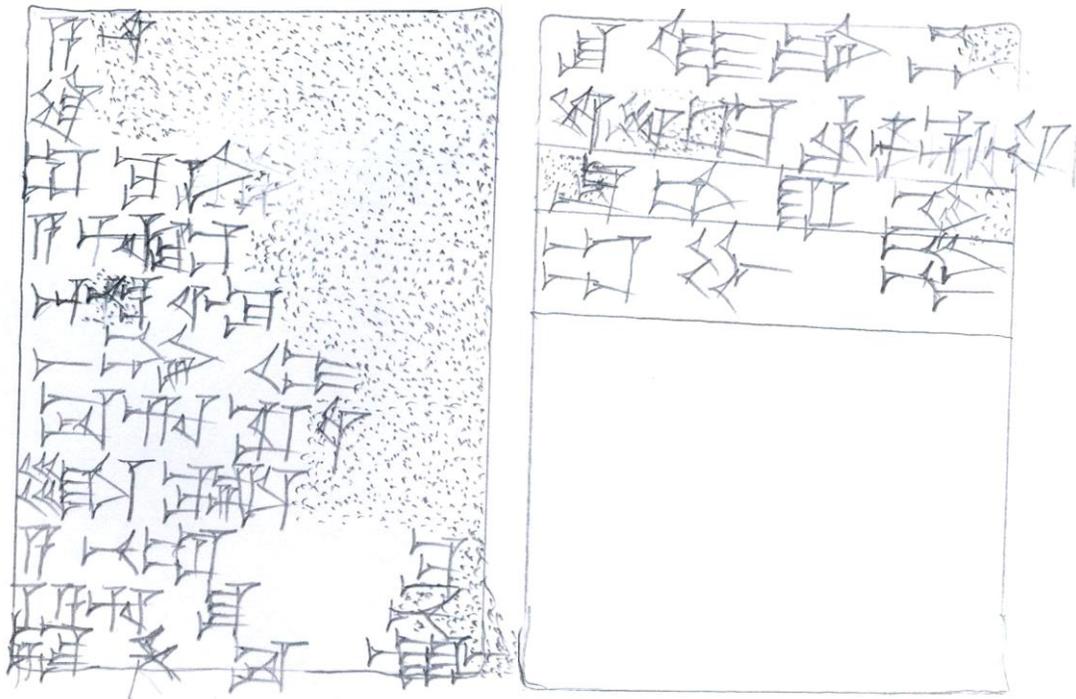
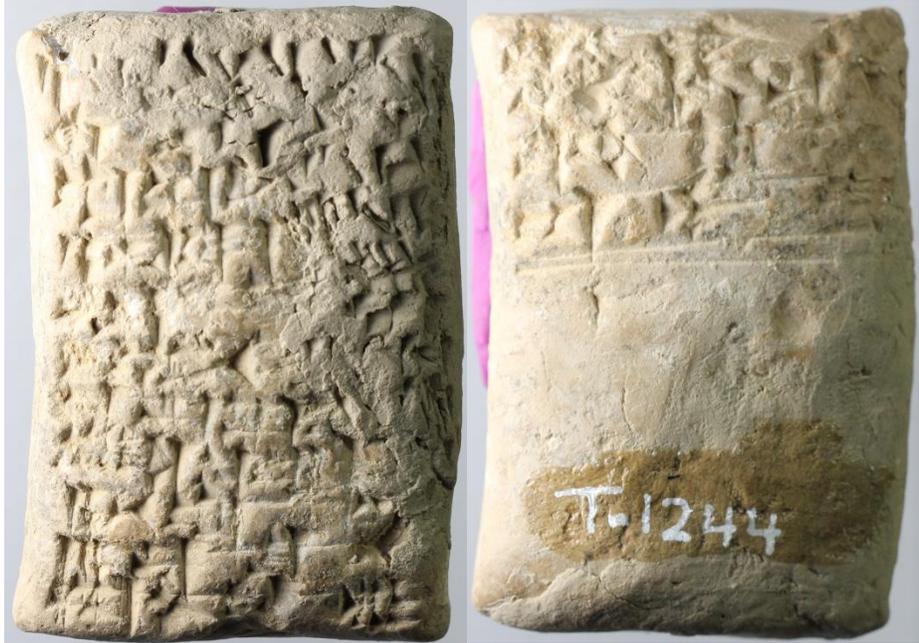
TEXT 41 (SM. 389)



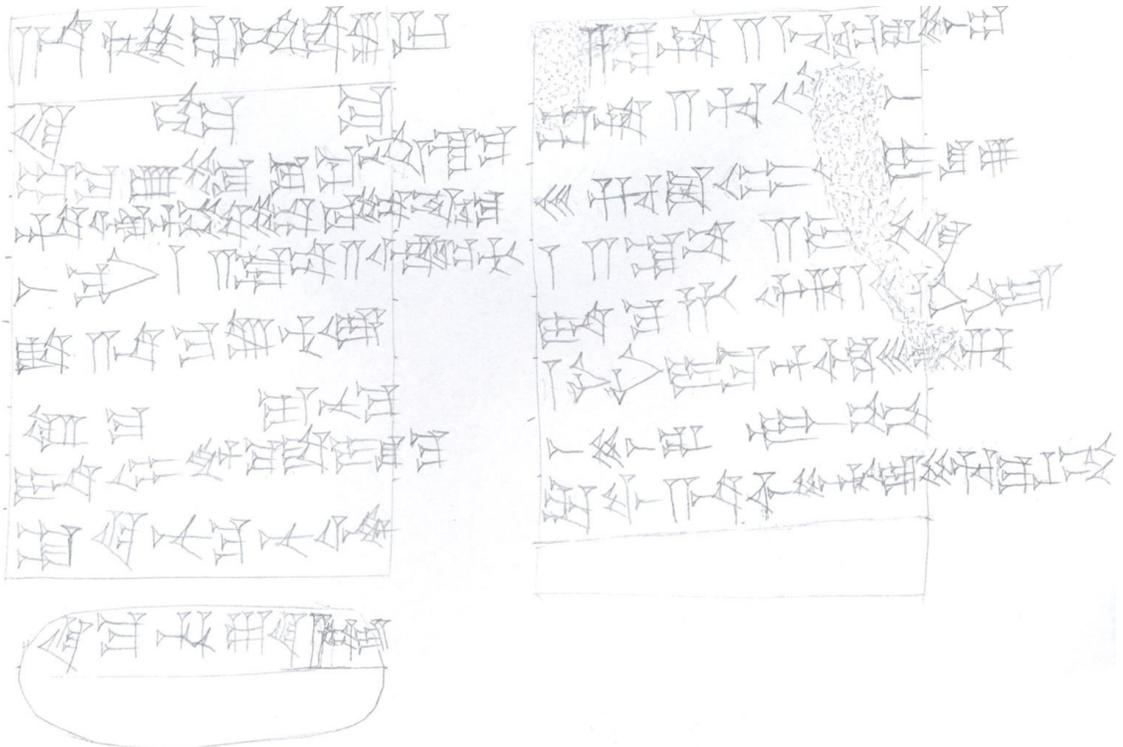
TEXT 42 (SM. 1023)



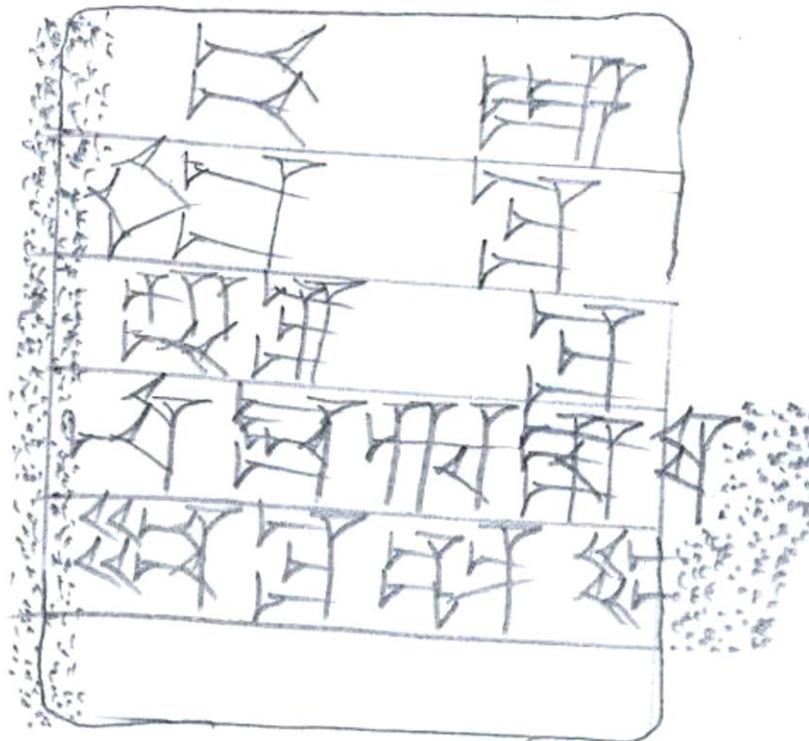
TEXT 43 (SM. 1244)



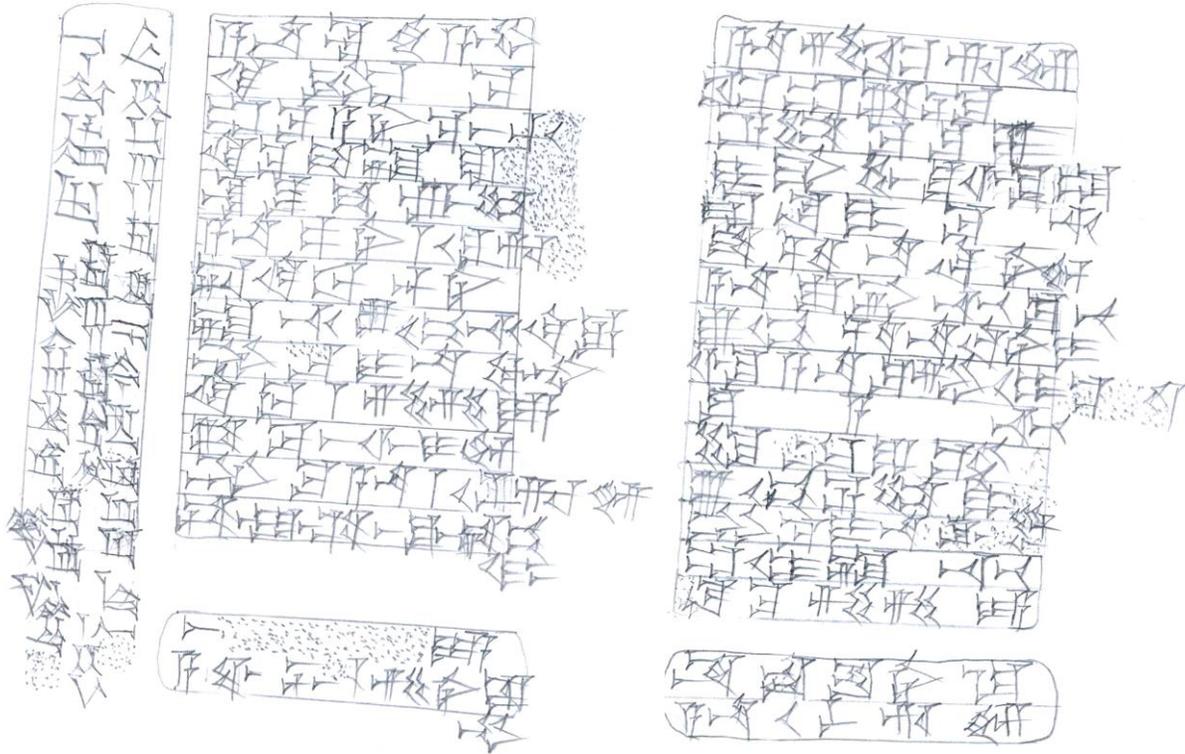
TEXT 44 (SM. 1717)



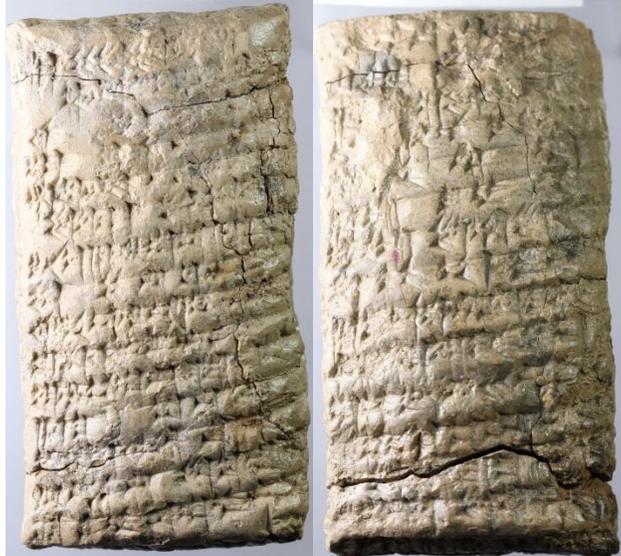
TEXT 45 (SM. 1798)



TEXT 46 (SM. 1975)



TEXT 47 (SM. 2831)



Handwritten transcription of the narrow tablet on the left, showing cuneiform characters arranged in a single vertical column.

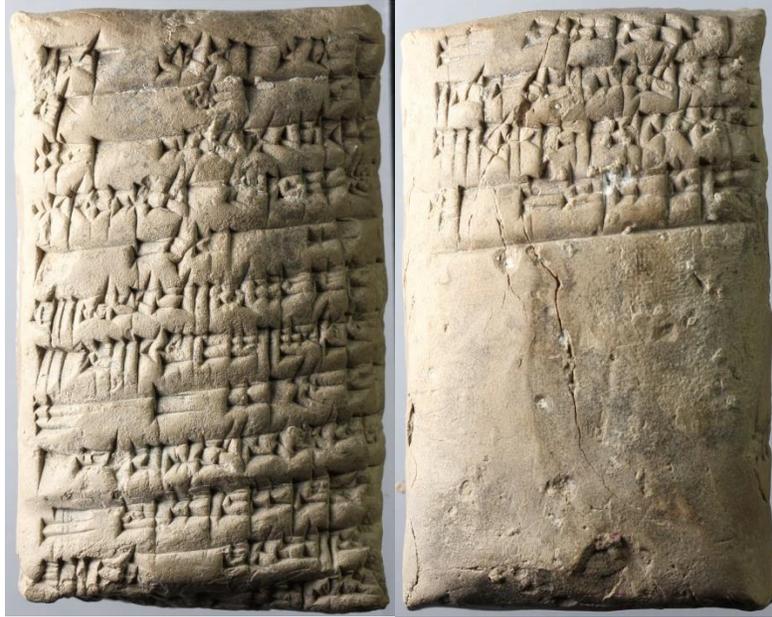
Handwritten transcription of the upper portion of the wider tablet, showing multiple lines of cuneiform text.

Handwritten transcription of a single line of cuneiform text from the wider tablet.

Handwritten transcription of the middle portion of the wider tablet, showing multiple lines of cuneiform text.

Handwritten transcription of a single line of cuneiform text from the wider tablet.

TEXT 48 (SM. 2849)



Handwritten transcription of the cuneiform text from the tablet, organized into two columns and a separate section at the bottom.

Column 1 (Left):

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵

Column 2 (Right):

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵

Bottom Section:

𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵  
𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵

TEXT 49 (SM. 2975)

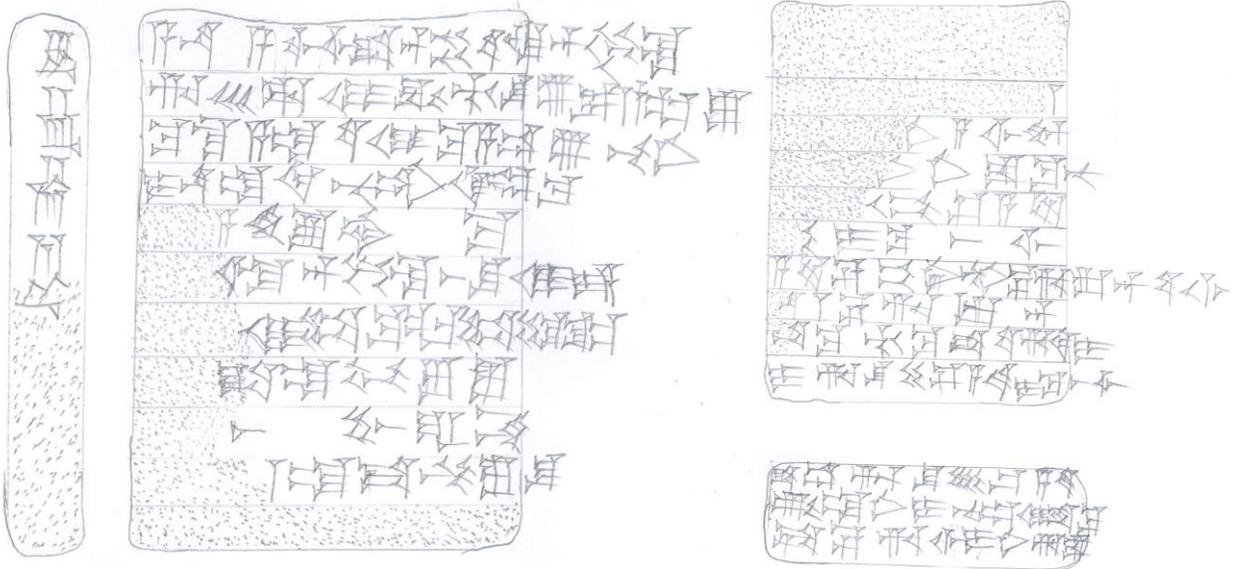


Handwritten transcription of the left tablet, showing cuneiform characters arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. The characters are rendered in a stylized, linear font.

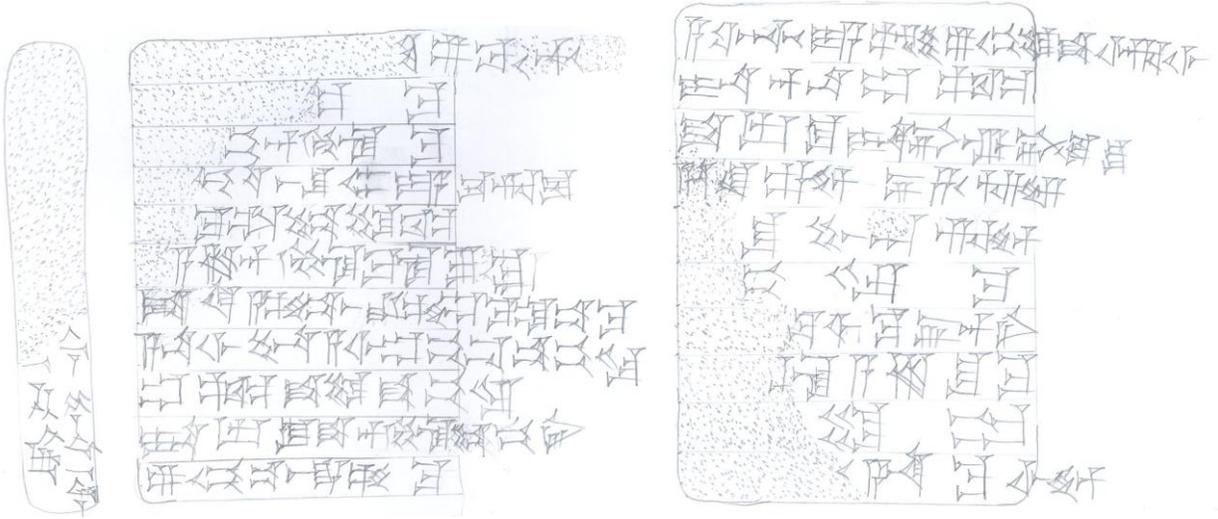
Handwritten transcription of the right tablet, showing cuneiform characters arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. The characters are rendered in a stylized, linear font.

Handwritten transcription of a small fragment or seal impression, showing cuneiform characters in a curved arrangement.

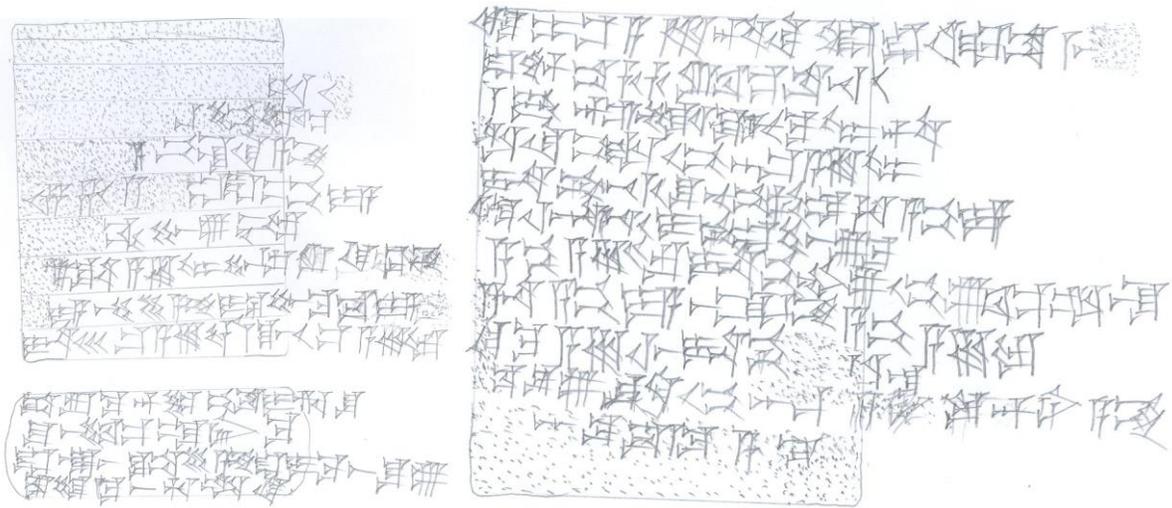
TEXT 50 (SM. 5827)



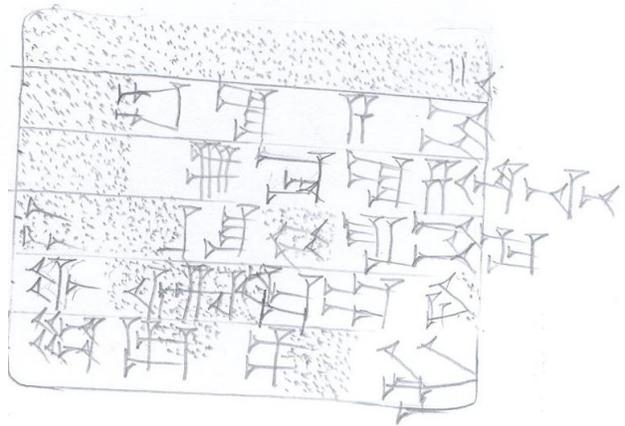
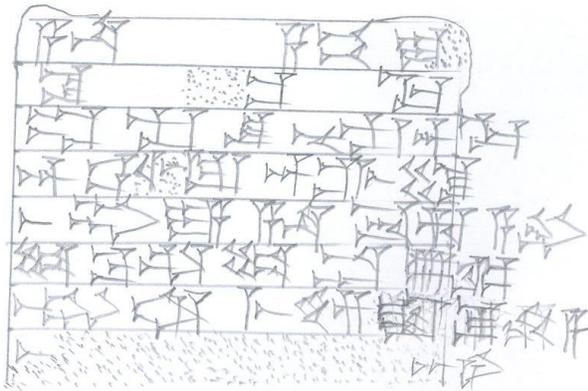
TEXT 51 (SM. 5834)



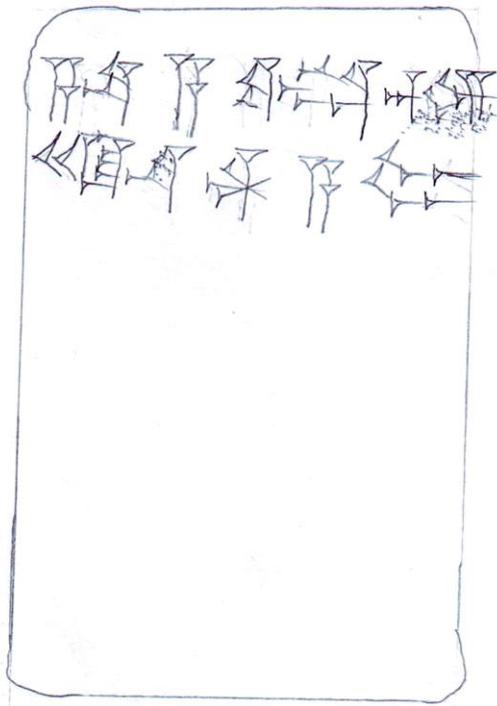
TEXT 52 (SM. 5835)



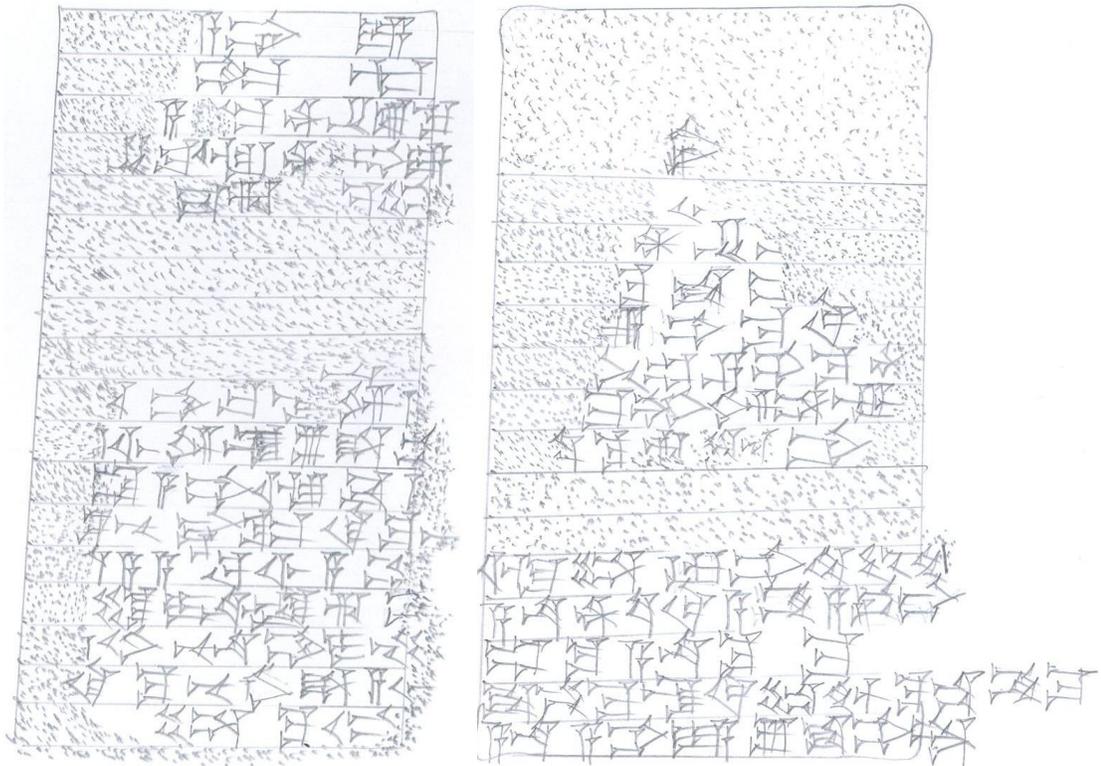
TEXT 53 (SM. 6250)



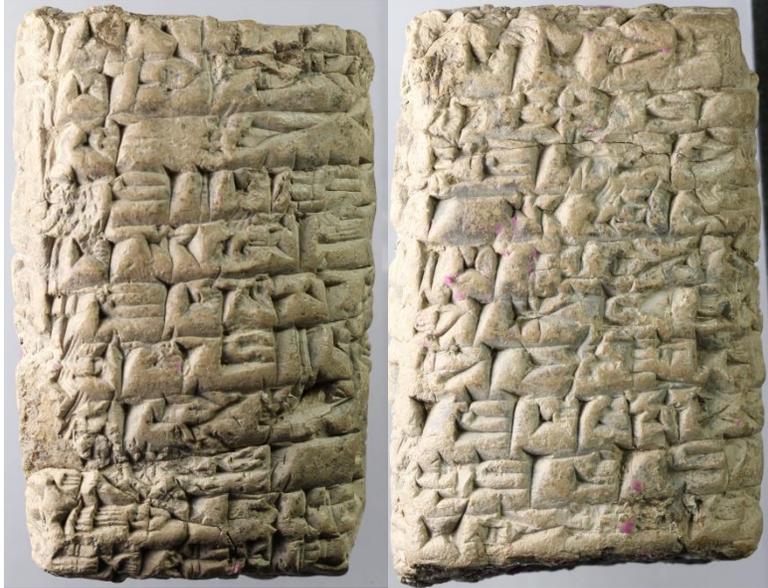
TEXT 54 (SM. 5380)



TEXT 55 (SM. 3790)



TEXT 56 (SM. 2208)



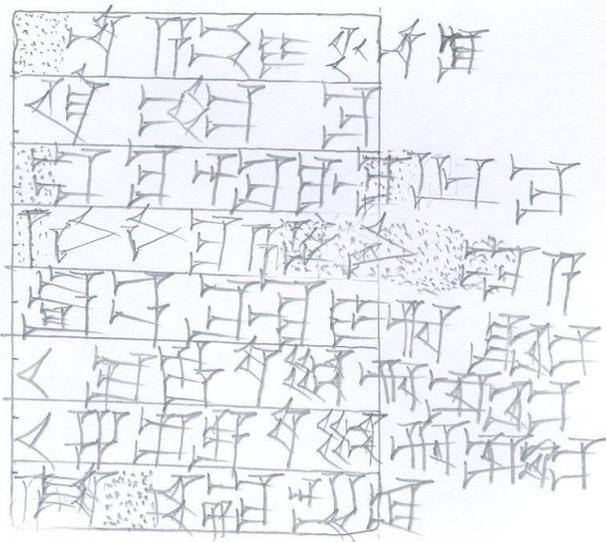
Handwritten transcription of a vertical column of cuneiform text, showing individual characters and their arrangement in a single column.

Handwritten transcription of a horizontal row of cuneiform text, showing multiple columns of characters arranged in a single line.

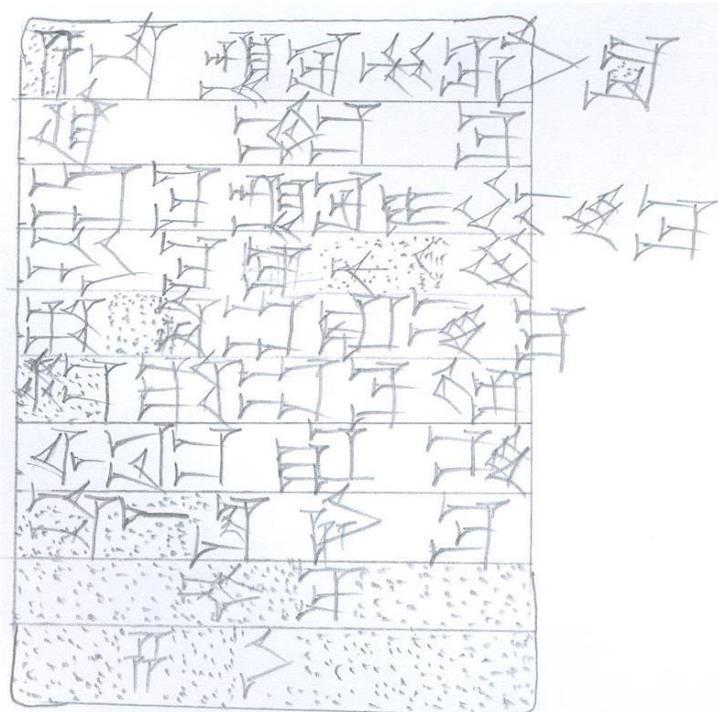
Handwritten transcription of a horizontal row of cuneiform text, showing multiple columns of characters arranged in a single line.

Handwritten transcription of a horizontal row of cuneiform text, showing multiple columns of characters arranged in a single line.

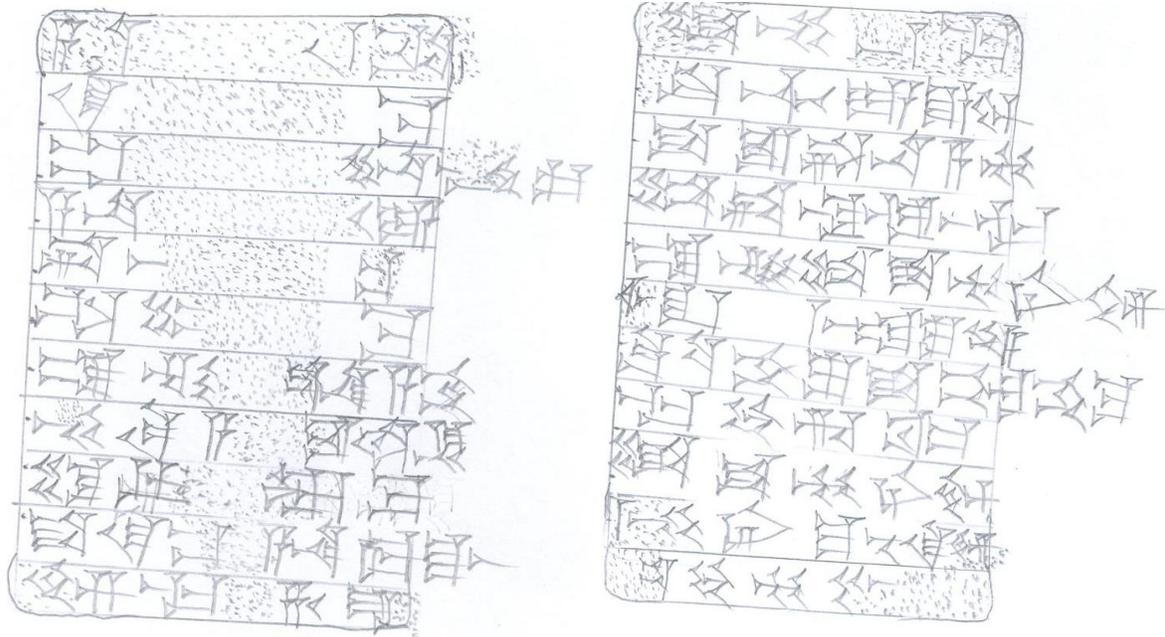
TEXT 57 (SM. 486)



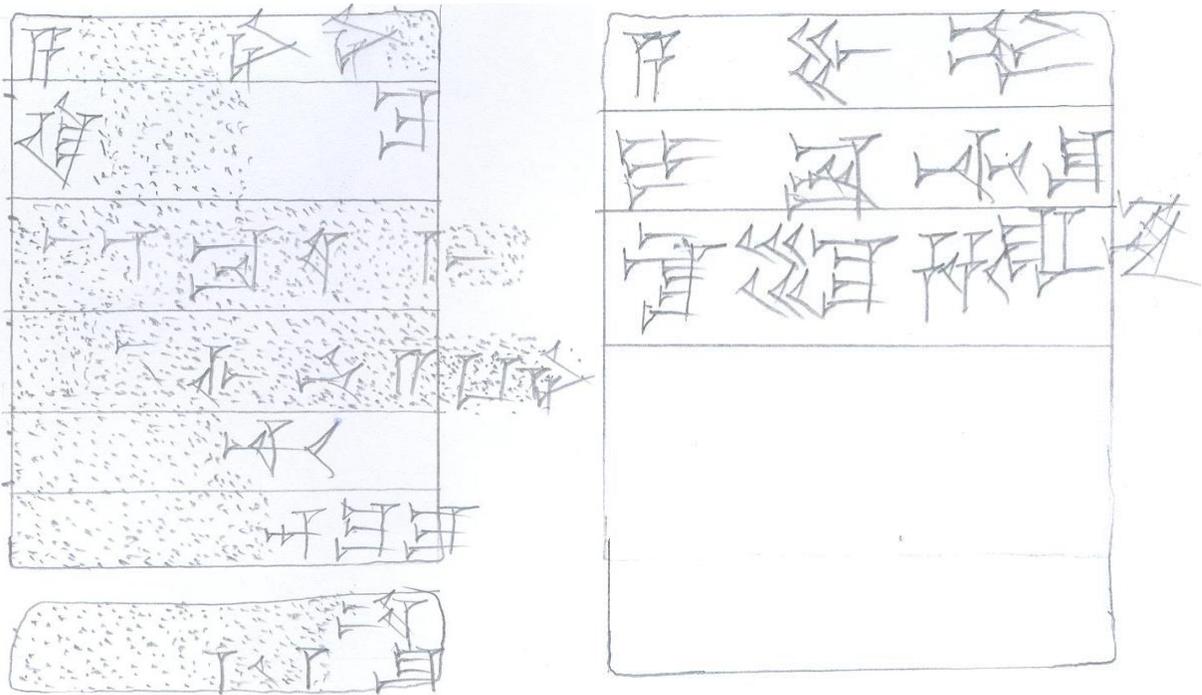
TEXT 58 (SM. 1942)



TEXT 59 (SM. 5008)



TEXT 60 (SM. 475)



TEXT 61 (SM. 1251)

