

**OLD BABYLONIAN DOCUMENTS
IN THE HEARST MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY, BERKELEY**

BY
Niek VELDHUIS

This contribution presents 19 Old Babylonian documents, mostly from Larsa, now stored in the Hearst Museum of Anthropology at UC Berkeley.¹ The texts discussed below were studied in the dissertation by Anne Marchant 1990. Marten Stol read most of these texts in 1982 when collating previously published Old Babylonian letters for his *Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung* Vol. 11. In recent years Marten Stol read the letters with Nico Kouwenberg and Theo Krispijn, resulting in a much-improved understanding of the documents. My reading of the original tablets has profited enormously from previous work, which was available to me in the form of transliteration notes (now kept in the Hearst Museum) and email messages by Prof. Stol, reacting to an earlier version of this article. It is a pleasure to thank Professor Stol as well as Nico Kouwenberg and Theo Krispijn for their contributions and their generosity.²

The most interesting group of texts refers to two important officials, named Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu and Rīm-Sîn-atpalam, who were stationed at Maškan-šapir (§1 ; text 1-7). This file, which contributes precious bits and pieces to the history of the city, includes three royal letters by Rīm-Sîn I as well as several references to a man called Sîn-muballiṭ, probably the brother of Rīm-Sîn who was governor of Maškan-šapir at the time when the city was conquered by Hammurabi, almost thirty years later. To this group is added text 8, which does not mention any of the main characters of this file, but may perhaps be connected through other personal names.

The second section deals with two memoranda from Larsa (dated Rīm-Sîn 31) that refer to cultic offerings and installations in the temples of Ištar and Nanaja (texts 9 and 10).

In §3, finally, miscellaneous Old Babylonian letters are added, some of which can be related to previously published texts. Several of these letters are clearly from Larsa, one derives from the Lower Yahrurum province (text 19) but in other cases the provenance remains unknown.

Photographs of all Hearst Museum cuneiform texts are found on CDLI (<http://cdli.ucla.edu>) ; hand copies of the texts discussed below were published by Marchant 1990.

With this contribution several groups of Old Babylonian texts in the Hearst Museum still remain unpublished. Among those are a group of Isin texts including one letter and four

1. Formerly known as the Lowie Museum. The siglum UCLM (University of California Lowie Museum) has been replaced by HMA (Hearst Museum of Anthropology). I wish to thank Leslie Freund, collections manager at the Hearst, for facilitating my work at the museum. Research for this article was supported by a curator release time grant from the Vice Chancellor of Research at UC Berkeley.

2. In addition, I wish to thank Dominique Charpin for a number of important suggestions and corrections.

contracts ; a group of Larsa administrative texts (included in Marchant's dissertation) and several groups of Diyala texts (in addition to the ones published by Lutz in UCP 10/1 and by Greengus in BiMes 19).³

1. THE RĪM-SÎN-NERGAL-LAMASSAŠU AND RĪM-SÎN-ATPALAM FILE

Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu and Rīm-Sîn-atpalam were two important officers in charge of large numbers of men (eren₂) in Maškan-šapir. Both names are Beamtennamen, indicating that they were officials of high rank.⁴ Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu was important enough to receive letters from the king himself. Rīm-Sîn-atpalam functions as the representative of the king, responsible for the king's own men at Maškan-šapir.

The relative positions of Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu and Rīm-Sîn-atpalam are perhaps best illustrated by Riftin 115, a roster of hired men (lu₂ huĝ-ĝa₂), with the names of the responsible officials (mu-bi-im) :

? (damaged)	lu ₂ huĝ-ĝa ₂	mu-bi-im
20	238	^d ri-im- ^d SUEN-ra-pa-šu-nu
8	268	^d ri-im- ^d SUEN- ^d ne ₃ -iri ₁₁ -gal-la-ma-sa ₃ -šu
25	234	HA.LA LUGAL ša ŠU ^d ri-im- ^d SUEN-at [?] -pa [?] -lam [?]
53	740	(totals)

Unfortunately, the name Rīm-Sîn-atpalam in line 4 is damaged and in need of collation. The present reconstruction (share of the king, by hand of Rīm-Sîn-atpalam[?]) is supported, however, by several texts edited below, where Rīm-Sîn-atpalam is supervising men who stand under the direct command of the king. He inspects troops (texts 6 and 7) and in a letter to (Rīm-Sîn)-Nergal-lamassašu (text 5) the author, Sîn-muballiṭ, complains that the addressee tried to get something done from Rīm-Sîn-atpalam without express consent of the king.

All dated texts that mention Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu date to Rīm-Sîn 31, shortly after the conquest of Isin.⁵ Among the undated texts one letter (text 2) refers to the unusual KI-dates, restricted to Rīm-Sîn 31-37.⁶

Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu (also Nergal-lamassašu) is attested in several previously published texts. He is listed as responsible officer in rosters of men in table format (Riftin 114 - 116) ; he appears in a long list of Elamite men for which he was responsible as ugula (TIM 5, 71 ; see Stol 2004, 745) and, together with Rīm-Sîn-rappašunu (see Riftin 114-116) he receives large amounts of grain in the administrative text TCL 10, 79.⁷ Finally, he appears as an overseer (ugula) of bowmen and spearmen in HMA 9-1859 (Rīm-Sîn 31).⁸ Several of the letters edited below complement the picture. Most of these letters (with the exception of text 1 which deals with field assignments) relate Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu and Rīm-Sîn-atpalam to

3. Some of these are now published by Salvo Viaggio 2009 ; others are being studied by Serena Ticca (University of Pisa) for her dissertation.

4. Stol 1991a, 209-210 with earlier literature.

5. Riftin 114 and 116 ; HMA 9-1859 (see below, note 8) ; TIM 5, 71 ; Riftin 115 is dated R-S 31 or 32. According to Leemans 1973 TCL 10, 79 is also dated R-S 31, but in the copy the number is broken and Leemans gives no collation for that part of the text. Since the tablet uses the KI system in the date it certainly belongs to the early part of the second half of Rīm-Sîn's reign.

6. See Van de Mierop 1993, 65 and Charpin 2004, 125 with earlier literature.

7. See Leemans 1973, 292 for collations.

8. Marchant 1990, 169-171 ; HMA 9-1859 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P247951>.

men stationed at Maškan-šapir. They confirm the strategic importance of Maškan-šapir as a Northern outpost in relative vicinity to Babylon.⁹

Text 1. HMA 9-01856 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P247948>

1. [a]-ṛna ¹ ^d ne ₃ -iri ₁₁ -gal-la-ṛma ¹ -sa ₃ -ṛšu ¹	Say to Nergal-Lamassašu
2. qi ₂ -bi ₂ -ma	
3. um-ṛma ¹ kur-gal-a ₂ -mah-a-a-ni-ma	thus Kurgal-amahani :
4. ^d UTU u ₃ ^d NIN-ŠUBUR	May Šamaš and Ilabrat
5. li-ba-al-li-ṭu ₂ -ka	keep you in good health!
6. aš-šum A.ŠA ₃ -lim ša ^d SUEN-A.ZU	Concerning the field of Sîn-asû
7. ša na-ad-nu-u ₂ -kum	that was given to you :
8. i-na ri-si-ib-tim	by mistake
9. A.ŠA ₃ -lam ša ¹ bi-ta-tum	they have erroneously assigned to you the
10. ir-ta-as ₃ -bu-ni-kum	field of Betatum.
11. wa-ar-ka-tam pu-ru-us-ma	Investigate the matter
12. A.ŠA ₃ li-i-te-er-ru-ni-kum	so that they may return the field to you.

This is the only text in the (Rīm-Sîn)-Nergal-lamassašu file that does not deal with *eren*₂. The spelling li-ba-al-li-ṭu₂(TU)-ka may suggest that the letter was written at a Northern site (see Veenhof 2005, XIII). The personal name Kur-gal-a₂-mah-a-ni is known from TCL 10, 63 and 80 and bi-ta-tum appears in TCL 10, 43 (Marchant 1990, p. 76) ; the name is written *be-ta-tum* in YOS 5 171 ; 172 ; 178 ; and 205 (Rīm-Sîn 7 to 35). Only half of the obverse of this tablet has been inscribed, the reverse is entirely empty. The text is written in a beautiful and clear hand.

Textual note :

10. CAD *rasābu* B : to err. This is the first instance of this verb with a dative, which I interpret as “to assign erroneously to somebody.” The context passages in CAD show that in all cases, as here, the mistake has to do with claiming possession. For *risibtu* (line 8) see CAD *rasibtu* (thus far known only from a single Mari letter).

Text 2. HMA 9-01841 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P247933>

1. [a]-na ^d ri-im- ^d SUEN- ^{dr} ne ₃ ¹ -[iri ₁₁ -gal-la-ma- sa ₃ -šu]	Say to Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu,
2. qi ₂ -bi ₂ -ma	
3. um-ma šar-ru-um-ma	thus the king :
4. aš-šum te-e-em EREN ₂ .HI.A-ka	regarding the matter of your men :
5. i-na ITI 10-KAM KI 16 UD 30-KAM	In month ten, the sixteenth KI on the thirtieth day
6. EREN ₂ ELAM ^{ki} a-pa-aq-qi ₂ -id	I will inspect the Elamite troops
7. ¹ el [?] -si-a	and Elsia
8. i-na-a-a i-im-ma-ra	will see me personally.
9. i-na ITI 10-KAM KI 16 UD 30-KAM	(If) in month ten, the sixteenth KI on the thirtieth day
10. EREN ₂ .HI.A-ka a-na pi-qi ₂ -it-tim	your men have not gathered for inspection,
11. u ₂ -ul ip-ṛhu ¹ -ra-am-ma	
12. a-ša-al-ka	I will hold you responsible.

9. See Steinkeller 2004 ; see also Charpin 1994 for the suggestion that some Larsa texts may, in fact, come from Maškan-šapir.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 9. i-ša-ap-pa-ra- ^r ak ¹ -[kum] | will write to you, |
| 10. pu- ^{tu} ₃ -ur-šu-nu-[ti-ma] | release them |
| 11. ar-hi-iš li-p[u-ul-šu-nu-ti] | so that he may quickly give [them] their due. |

The three letters written by the king to Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassasašu (texts 2-4 above) are very similar or identical in dimensions. All three fill only part of the obverse and leave the entire reverse empty.

text	dim. (mm)	remarks
HMA 9-01841 (text 2)	129x50x30	
HMA 9-01846 (text 3)	88x50x24	lower half broken
HMA 9-01852 (text 4)	126x50x26	

Veenhof 2005, p. XVIII has suggested that tablets for letter writing may have been produced in a mould. He observed that letters sent by Šilli-Šamaš to Balmunamhe are identical or almost identical in size and that many of these tablets are only partly filled (see also Sallaberger 1999, 28). The group of royal letters discussed here confirms his theory. Additional letters by Rīm-Sîn I were listed by Van Soldt 1994, 2 note a (with additions in the review by Charpin 1997-1998, 341b).¹⁰

Sallaberger 1999, 29-30 has discussed various conventions in the opening of royal letters. Letters by Rīm-Sîn I tend to refer to the king by name, often followed by *bēlka* (your lord). The letters to Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassasašu consistently use *umma šarrumma* “thus the king,” but the significance of this variant is unclear. The absence of a greeting formula is consistent with other Old Babylonian royal letters.

Textual notes :

4. The text clearly has *umma* (GIŠ.UH₃)^{ki}, not E₂ NIM^{ki}.

5. Rīm-Sîn-šamšini appears in MS 2776/14 (<http://cdli.ucla.edu/P251809>) lines 9 and 20, a letter by Rīm-Sîn that belongs to the Sîn-imguranni file (see note 10). He may be identical with Šamšini in Westenholz and Westenholz 2006 text 9.

6. The present translation assumes that the verb *apālu* is used here (lines 6 and 11) in the sense of providing someone with a field or some other kind of compensation. In this sense the verb is particularly frequent in the correspondence between Hammurabi and Šamaš-hāzir (see CAD *apālu* A 1e).

Text 5 HMA 9-01851 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P247943>

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. a-na ^d ne ₃ -iri ₁₁ -gal-la- ^r ma-sa ₃ -šū ¹ | Say to Nergal-lamassasašu, |
| 2. qī ₂ - ^r bi ₂ ¹ -ma | |
| 3. um-ma ^d SUEN-mu-ba-li ₂ -i ^t -ma | thus Sîn-muballit. |
| 4. ^d UTU li-ba-al-li-i ^t -ka | May Šamaš keep you in good health! |
| 5. aš-šum ¹ a-pil- ^d SUEN | Concerning Apil-Sîn, |
| 6. ¹ ša-ma-a-a-tum | Šamajatum |
| 7. u ₃ ¹ SUEN-DINGIR | and Sîn-ilu |
| 8. ša ta-aš-pu-ra-am | about whom you wrote to me— |
| 9. a-we-le-e ša iš-tu pa-na | my lord has ordered not to give men who |

10. Further Rīm-Sîn I letters : Wilson 2008 nos. 73, 170, and 172 ; sender ^dri-im-^dsu'en be-el-ka ; addressee ^dsu'en-im-gur-an-ni. Several other Rīm-Sîn I letters that belong to this same file are now in the Schøyen collection : MS 2776/9 ; MS 2776/10 ; MS 2776/12 ; MS 2776/13 ; MS 2776/14 (published in photograph in CDLI ; <http://cdli.ucla.edu>).

10. i-^rna¹ ma-ah-ri-ia iz-za-az-zu have been serving me for a long time to
 11. ^rbe₂-e¹-li₂ a-na ma-am-ma-an anyone.
 12. la na-da-an-šu-nu iq-bi
 13. a-di be₂-e-li₂ ^rla¹ iš-pu-ra-am As long as my lord does not write to me
 14. iš-te-en a-wi-lam ^ra¹-na ^rma¹-am-ma-an I will not give a single man to anyone.
 15. u₂-ul a-na-^rad-di¹-in
 16. un-ne-du-uk be₂-^re¹-[li₂]-^ria¹ May the letter of my lord arrive!
 17. li-il-li-[kam]
 18. u₃ a-na ^dri¹-im-^d[SUEN-at]-pa-lam Now why did you write to Rīm-Sîn-
 19. am-mi-ni ^rta¹-aš-[pu-ra]-^ram¹ atpalam?
 20. ki-^rma¹ ba-lum be₂-^re¹-li₂-[ia] Do you not know that without the consent
 of my lord
 21. ^dri-im-^dSUEN-[at-pa-lam] Rīm-Sîn-atpalam
 22. iš-te-en a-wi-lam la-^rpa²-a-tam¹ is not able to take hold of a single man?
 23. ^rla¹ i-^rle¹-hu-^ru¹
 24. [at]-^rta¹ u₂-[ul] ti-[de]-^re¹

A fragment of the envelope is still sticking to the un-inscribed back of the tablet. It preserves parts of two (presumably identical) seal impressions with a three-line inscription and the outline of a standing figure visible. Unfortunately, the traces of the inscription remain illegible. It appears that the preservation of part of the seal may not be accidental ; five other examples are found among the recently published letters by Rīm-Sîn to Sîn-imguranni (listed in note 10).

With this letter Sîn-muballiṭ refuses to give the three named men to (Rīm-Sîn)-Nergal-lamassašu because, he argues, the king (“my lord”) expressly ordered him not to do so. (Rīm-Sîn)-Nergal-lamassašu apparently also went to Rīm-Sîn-atpalam, the representative of the king at Maškan-šapir, with the same request. This letter may well have been made in the same mould as HMA 9-2303 (AbB 11, 193) and HMA 9-2304 (AbB 11, 194), which are also authored by Sîn-muballiṭ :

text	dim. (mm)
HMA 9-01851 (text 5)	115x49x25
HMA 9-2303 (AbB 11, 193)	116x48x22
HMA 9-2304 (AbB 11, 194)	119x50x24

On average these tablets are about a centimeter shorter than those sent by king Rīm-Sîn (see above) and of the same width. The extraordinary letter by Sîn-muballiṭ published by George 2009 no.15 measures 123 x 49 x 28 mm. and thus does not seem to belong to the same group.

Sîn-muballiṭ, the author of these three letters and referred to in text 7 below, may be identified with the brother of Rīm-Sîn I who was in charge of Maškan-šapir when the city was conquered by Hammurabi of Babylon¹¹ (see Charpin 2004, 127 with further literature). He discusses international politics (the king of Tuttul, AbB 11, 193), he orders to have one or two people from a caravan killed — just to instill some fear — and seems to control the remuneration for supplementary troops (AbB 11, 194). This same Sîn-muballiṭ presumably is the author of

11. See already Stol 1991b, 627 and Charpin 2004, 253.

CUSAS 10, 15 (George 2009) in which he scolds Malgium for not being loyal to Larsa and Rīm-Sîn. Text 7, below, makes it likely that Sîn-muballiṭ resided at Maškan-šapir. The Rīm-Sîn-lamassašu file, to which texts 5 and 7 belong, is dated some three decades before the fall of Maškan-šapir. It is possible that Sîn-muballiṭ was already governor of the city by that time — but his official capacity is never mentioned and his power may simply derive from his familial relation to the king.

One may further venture the possibility of identifying this Sîn-muballiṭ with a man of this name who appears a few times in the group of letters addressed to Šamaš-māgir at Diniktum, in the Diyala region (Charpin 1983-1984).¹² Šamaš-māgir was a subject of Rīm-Sîn of Larsa and played a role in the trade and diplomatic relationships between Larsa and Ešnunna. The Sîn-muballiṭ who appears in these letters was asked to interfere with Ešnunna officials on behalf of Larsa merchants at Diniktum.¹³ It is not unlikely that a man in power at the Northern city of Maškan-šapir would be involved in such matters and that we thus encounter again the same Sîn-muballiṭ.

Text 6 HMA 9-01847 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P247939>

1. a-na a-bi-ia	Say to my father,
2. qi ₂ -bi ₂ -ma	
3. um-ma ^d SUEN-ma-gir-ma	thus Sîn-māgir.
4. ^d UTU u ₃ ^d ne ₃ -iri ₁₁ -gal aš-šum-ia	May Šamaš and Nergal keep you alive for
5. MU ŠAR ₂ .KAM li-ba-al-li-tu ₃ -u ₂ -ka	3600 years for my sake!
6. a-lum u ₃ ha-al-šum ša-al-mu	The city and district are fine.
7. iš- ^r tu u ₄ ¹ -mi-im ša un-ne-du-ka-ka	As soon as I saw your letter
8. ^r a-mu ¹ -ru-u ₂	
9. ^r i ¹ -na maš-gan ₂ -šabra ^{ki} ap-[tu ₃ -r]a-am-ma	I left Maškan-šapir
10. a-na IRI ^{ki} sa-bu-um	and went to Sabum.
11. e-te-ru-ub	
12. ^{ld} ri-im- ^d SUEN-at-pa-lam	Rīm-Sîn-atpalam
13. EREN ₂ .HI.A ip-qi ₂ -id-ma um-ma šu-u ₂ -ma	inspected the men and he said as follows :
14. DIŠ IRI ^{ki} sa-bu-um IRI tu-ub-qum	The city of Sabum, the city of Tubqum and
15. u ₃ IRI ^{ki} na-pi-gu-um	the city of Napigum
16. šu-pa-at-ku-nu-u ₂ -ma	is your encampment.
17. aš-ta-ap-ra-ak-kum	I have written to you
18. ^r EREN ₂ .HI.A ¹ -ka ^r x ¹ [...]	your men [...]
rest of obverse broken	
reverse	
1'. [...] ^r x ¹ [...]	
2'. mi-im-ma ša ta-[...]	

This letter is very closely related to the next, which it partly duplicates. Sîn-māgir has left Maškan-šapir for a mission at Sabum and Rīm-Sîn-atpalam, the representative of the king at Maškan-šapir has inspected the troops. It is likely that the towns mentioned here (Sabum,

12. See also Charpin 2004, 126. Marten Stol, in his commentary to AbB 11, 193 suggests that the Hearst letters belong to this same group. Since all other letters in the Šamaš-māgir group are actually addressed to him, this does not seem to be the case.

13. See Charpin 1983-1984, 105-106 and Charpin 2004, 133 n. 581. Charpin now accepts the identity of the Sîn-muballiṭ in the Hearst texts and the one who appears in the Šamaš-māgir file (personal communication).

Tubqum and Napigum) are all located on the border with the area controlled by Hammurabi of Babylon.

Sabum is mentioned in one of the Kisurra texts (FAOS 2/1, 129) and is to be found in the area around that city on the banks of the Euphrates (see RGTC 3, 198). This is confirmed by the year name Samsuiluna 13 (Horsnell 1999, 198) :

“Year when Samsuiluna at the command of Enlil turned Kisurra and Sabum into objects of derision.”

One of the year names of Sumu’el of Larsa refers to the capture of “Sabum and the settlements on the bank of the Euphrates.”¹⁴ The reference to Sabum in year names of kings of Babylon as well as Larsa makes it likely that the town was considered to be in the border area between their traditional territories. This letter and the next indicate that the city belonged to Larsa after the conquest of Isin, but was in disputed territory.

Napigum is referred to in three texts, all dated to Sîn-iddinam of Larsa.¹⁵ Two of these mention Sûmû-Yamutbal, one of the kings of the so-called Mananâ dynasty, which was located in Northern Babylonia in the Kiš area, perhaps at Damrum.¹⁶ Goddeeris 2002, 283 and 324 has interpreted one of these texts as perhaps a tribute to be paid by Sûmû-Yamutbal to the king of Larsa. The text mentions that the account was made up in the city of Napigum, which may suggest that that city was located on the border of the area controlled by Damrum and the Larsa kingdom. This would indicate a location to the West of Maškan-šapir. By the time of our letter the Mananâ dynasty had ceased to exist and Napigum may well have been part of the border territory between Babylon and Larsa.

Both Sabum and Napigum, therefore, most likely were border towns, defining the Western border with Babylon, with Napigum considerably more to the North than Sabum. The enemy, mentioned in the next letter, was Hammurabi.

The location of Tubqum remains unknown (see Westenholz and Westenholz 2006, 114 with previous literature).

Textual notes :

4. The invocation of Nergal, city god of Maškan-šapir, in the greeting formula is remarkable. It is missing from the partial duplicate (text 7 = HMA 9-01848).

14. The function of DIŠ is unclear.

Text 7 HMA 9-01848 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P247940>

1. a-na ^d SUEN-x-x-ia	Say to Sîn-...,
2. qi ₂ -bi ₂ -ma	
3. um-ma ^d SUEN-ma-gir-ma	thus Sîn-māgir :
4. ^d UTU MU ŠAR ₂ .KAM li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka	May Šamaš keep you alive for 3600 years.
5. ki-i-ma un-ne-du-ka-ka a-mu-ru	When I received your letter
6. i-na maš-gan ₂ -šabra ^{ki} ap-ṭu ₃ -ra-am-ma	I left Maškan-šapir
7. a-na sa-bu-um ^{ki} e-te-ru-ub	and entered Sabum.
8. ^{ld} ri-im- ^d SUEN-at-pa-lam	Rīm-Sîn-atpalam
9. a-na EREN ₂ .HI.A pa-qa ₂ -di-im il-li-kam-ma	came to inspect the troops
10. EREN ₂ .HI.A ša-al-ma-am ip-qi ₂ -id	and he inspected all of them.

14. See Walters 1970, 30 ; in the mean time the text in question, YBC 10337, has been published as YOS 14, 274. For Sabum see further Van Lerberghe 1998, Van Lerberghe 2004, Stol 2007, and George 2009, 46-47.

15. JCS 4, 70 (NBC 6801) and YOS 14, 286. A third text (NBC 5644) remains unpublished (see Hallo 1967, 95).

16. For the identification of the dynastic seat at Damrum, see Charpin 2004, 89-91. See also Goddeeris 2002, 258-304 and Charpin 2005, 168.

11. um-ma šu-u ₂ -ma u ₃ IRI ^{ki} tu-ub-qum	Thus he said : the city of Tubqum
12. šu-pa-at-ku-nu-u ₂ -ma	is your encampment.
13. aš-šum pi-i-ka la še-e-me-a-ku	Since I did not hear from you,
14. 10 EREN ₂ HI.A u ₂ -la aṭ-ru-ud	I have not sent the 10 men
15. ¹ DINGIR-šu-UD-DA-na-ši-ir	and Ilšu-UDDA-nāšir
16. a-di-i-ni u ₂ -la i-la-kam-ma	is not coming yet.
17. aš-šum IRI ^{ki} na-pi-gu-um	Regarding the city of Napigum
18. ha-am-ši-i-šu	they dragged me for five times to Sîn-muballiṭ
19. a-na še-er ¹ SUEN-mu-ba-li ₂ -iṭ	
reverse	
1. iš-da-ad-du-ni-[in-ni-ma]	
2. um-ma šu-nu-ma i-na pa-ni ṛx ¹ -e	saying :
3. a-an-ni-im u ₃ a-an-ni-i-im	you have been sent in front of this and that ...
4. at-ta-ma ṭa-ar-da-a-ṛta ¹	
5. ¹ DINGIR-šu-UD-DA-na-šir ṭu ₃ -ur-ṛdam ¹	- send Ilšu-UDDA-našir to me.
6. u ₃ a-lum ša e-ru-ba-aš-ṛšu ¹	The town that I entered
7. ŠE-a-šu na-ak-ru-um im-t[a-h]a-aš	the enemy destroyed its harvest
8. u ₃ be-e-ri	and the men are hungry.
9. EREN ₂ HI.A ib-ṛte ¹ -e-ṛri ¹	
10. KUG.BABBAR ša qa ₂ -ti-ṛka šu ¹ -bi-lam-	Send me the silver that you have on hand,
ma	
11. šu-bi-lam-ma	send it to me,
12. la-ma ŠE-u ₄ -um i-na GU ₂ ID ₂ .DA	before the grain at the quay
13. im-qu ₂ -u ₂ -tu	falls short,
14. ŠE-a-am lu-ša-am-ma la ni-bi-ri	so that I can buy barley and we will not be
	hungry.
15. ma-ha-ar ^d UTU a-an-ni-im	In front of this Sun :
16. at-ta ia-at-tam ti-i-di	you know my case.
17. a-na a-wil-lim qi ₂ -bi ₂ -ma	Speak to the gentleman
18. lu-ul-li-kam-ma	so that I may come
19. it-ti a-wi-lim lu-un-na-wi-ir-ma	and may meet the gentleman
20. wa-ar-ka-ta li-ip-ru-um	and he may investigate the matter.
bottom edge	
21. a-nu-um-ma ṛ ^d SUEN ¹ -[...]	Now I have sent to you Sîn-[...] and Šilli-[...].
22. u ₃ ši-li ₂ -[...]	
left edge	
1. a-aṭ-ṭar-da-ak-kum	
2. KUG.BABBAR la ta-ka-[la]-šu-nu-ši-im	Do not withhold the silver from them.
3. i-na ku-nu-uk-ki-ka ku-ṛun ¹ -kam-ma	Seal it with your seal
4. id-na-aš-šu-nu-ši-ma	and give it to them
5. li-ib-lu-nim	so that they can bring it here.

This letter partly duplicates the preceding one. “My father” in HMA 9-1847 (text 6) is likely the same person as the addressee of the present letter whose name, unfortunately, cannot be restored. The sender, Sîn-māgir, may not be identified and much in this interesting and dramatic letter must remain unclear. For Sîn-muballiṭ (line 19) see the discussion above at text 5.

Textual Notes :

Obv. 14. The number 10 (U) is written over two verticals (A³), but does not seem to be 600 (DIŠxU).

Obv. 17 - rev. 5. What is happening here remains somewhat obscure. The verbal form *išdaddū* is a perfect or Gt of *šadādu* (regular *ištaddū*). In the Gt the verb may have the meaning “to pull back and forth,” and is used metaphorically for quarrelling (see CAD Š/1, 31). If that is the intended meaning here, the line should probably be reconstructed *iš-da-ad-du-ni-[im-ma]*, “they were pulling back and forth.”

Rev. 15. The expression *mahar šamšim annim* (“in front of this sun”) introduces a very emphatic attempt by the sender to evoke and reinforce a close relationship with the addressee in the past, in order to support his plea for help : “In front of this sun, you know my case!” The expression is found in a very similar context in HMA 9-1834 (below, text 11) : “In front of this sun, as long as you and I have been partners I have never asked you for anything!” Although *mahar Šamaš* is used in letters (see Sallaberger 1999, 197), *mahar šamšim annim* is otherwise unknown to me. It is possible that the phrase implies a long time, a meaning that would suit both contexts :

“You have known my case for ever.”

“Although we have been partners for ever, I have never asked you for anything.”

Rev. 20. A small fragment that contained the signs IP-RU and that is included in the CDLI photograph has now crumbled to dust.

Text 8 HMA 9-01836 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P247928>

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. a-na a-bi-ia | Say to my father |
| 2. qī ₂ -bi ₂ -ma | |
| 3. um-ma ^d SUEN-ha-zi-ir ma-ru-ka | thus Sîn-hāzir, your son : |
| 4. ^d IM aš-šum-ia da-ri-iš u ₄ -mi | May Adad keep you alive forever for my sake. |
| 5. li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka | |
| 6. u ₄ -um-ša-am i-na a-li-im iš-te-en EREN ₂ | Every day I am sending you a man from the |
| 7. a-ṭa-ra-da-ak-kum | city ; |
| 8. i-na-an-na u ₂ -šu-ur-ta-am i-na u ₂ -šu-ur-ti-
[im] | now I am even sending you ten-men unit after
ten-men unit. |
| 9. a-ṭa-ra-da-ak-kum | |
| 10. a-nu-um ^l ₃ -li ₂ -pu-uz-ri | Now I have sent you Ili-puzri, with twenty |
| 11. qa ₂ -du-um 20 EREN ₂ .HI.A | men. |
| 12. aṭ-ṭar-da-ak-ku-uš | |
| 13. šu ₂ -ha-re-e ša ^l ₃ -li ₂ -i-din-nam DUMU ra-
ma-tum | Send me the servants of Ili-idinnam the son of
Ramatum and Niḡgiatum and the men of the |
| 14. u ₃ ^l nig ₂ -gi-ia-tum u ₃ EREN ₂ .HI.A IRI ^{ki} za-
pi-za-nu | town of Zapizanu. |
| 15. ṭu ₃ -ur-da-am | |

This letter does not mention either Rīm-Sîn-Nergal-lamassašu or Rīm-Sîn-atpalam. It may belong to this same group of letters if Sîn-hāzir, the author of the present letter, is the same as Sîn-hāzir the son of Ir-Nanna who appears in AbB 11, 193 (= Lutz UCP 9/4, 318f) in a context that involves *eren₂*. The sender of AbB 11, 193 is the same Sîn-muballiṭ, who wrote text 5 (see the discussion there) and may be the same as the Sîn-muballiṭ mentioned in text 7 above.

Textual note :

14. The town of Zapizanu is otherwise unknown.

2. TWO MEMORANDA ON THE CULT OF IŠTAR AND NANAYA

Text 9 HMA 9-01845 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P247937>

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. aš-šum ʔe-e-em E ₂ ^d INANA u ₃ ^d na-na-a-a | Regarding the issue of the temple of Ištar and Nanaya |
| 2. IŠIB u ₃ GUDU ₄ .MEŠ il-li-ku-nim-ma | the <i>išippu</i> and <i>pāšišu</i> -priests came here |
| 3. ki-a-am iq-bu-nim | and spoke to me as follows |
| 4. um-ma šu-nu-u ₂ -ma | thus they said : |
| 5. iš-tu u ₄ -mi-im ša il-tum | From the day that the goddess |
| 6. ki-a-am il-li-ku | thus came |
| 7. u ₃ i-tu-ra-am | and returned |
| 8. E ₂ ^d na-na-a-a | the temple of Nanaya |
| 9. u ₃ BUR ZI.ŠA ₃ .GAL ₂ | and the ZI.ŠA ₃ .GAL ₂ bowl |
| 10. ša bi-ti-ni | of our house |
| 11. ka-an-ku šu-pu-ur-ma | were sealed. Send an order |
| 12. E ₂ ^d na-na-a-a | that they open the temple of Nanaya |
| 13. li-ip-tu-u ₂ | |
| 14. u ₃ BUR ZI.ŠA ₃ .GAL ₂ ša bi-ti-i-ni | and that they give us the ZI.ŠA ₃ .GAL ₂ |
| 15. li-id-di-nu-ni-[a-ti]-ma [?] | bowl of our house |
| 16. ZI.ŠA ₃ .GAL ₂ a-na bi-[ti-ni?] | so that we may bring the ZI.ŠA ₃ .GAL ₂ to |
| 17. i nu-bi-[il] | our house. |
| 18. aš-šum ŠE-e-em ša in-ni- [...] | Concerning the grain that ... |
| 19. 120 GUR ŠE UD. [†] A ¹ | 120 <i>gur</i> dried barley |
| 20. 300 GUR ŠE SUD.A | 300 <i>gur</i> fresh barley |
| 21. 420 GUR ŠE | (total) 420 <i>gur</i> barley |
| 22. a-na SA ₂ .DUG ₄ E ₂ ^d INANA | for the allotment of the Ištar temple |
| 23. i-na ku-nu-uk ul-lu-u ₂ -tim | it is sealed with the seal of those people. |
| 24. ka-[n]i-ik | |
| 25. 600 GUR [ŠE] SUD.A | 600 <i>gur</i> fresh barley |
| 26. i-na ku-nu-uk IŠIB.MEŠ | is sealed with the seal of the <i>išippu</i> - |
| 27. ka-ni-ik | priests. |
| 28. um-ma šu-nu-u ₂ -ma | Thus they (said) : |
| 29. an-ni-a-am a-na mi-im-ma-ku-nu | This was given to whoever of you came. |
| 30. ša il-li-ku-u ₂ na-di-ik-ku-nu-ši-im | |
| Reverse | |
| 1. 1020 GUR ŠE | (total) 1020 <i>gur</i> barley |
| 2. KA-ta qa ₃ -bi-šu-nu-ma | Thus(?) their promise/speech |
| 3. ša i-na-an la i-mu-ra | Those whose eyes did not see |
| 4. a-di aš-pu-ru-u ₂ -ma wa-ar-ka-tam | until I wrote and they investigated for me |
| 5. ip-ru-su ₂ -nim | |
| 6. u ₂ -ul iq-bu-nim | they did not speak to me. |
| 7. iš-tu ŠE-um a-na še-ri-šu-nu | Not many days (have passed) since the |
| 8. i-ru-bu | barley came in for them |
| 9. u ₄ -mu u ₂ -ul ma-a-du | |
| 10. U ₄ .2.KAM NAM-tum la it-ta-al-la-ak | The NAMtum should not take off on the |
| | second day. |
| 11. ŠE-um a-na še-ri-šu-nu | The barley arrived for them. |

12. i-ru-ub
 13. aš-šum u₄-mu la ma-du u₂-ul a-qi₂-ip-šu-nu-ti Because the time is short I did not entrust to them
 14. mi-im-ma ša pe₂-e-ni-i ap-pu-^rtum¹ anything of our oral message. It is urgent!
 (empty space)
 15. GIR₃ AN-na-ši-ir Via Ilum-nāšir
 (empty space)
 16. ITI 11.KAM KI 15 UD 3.KAM Eleventh month fifteenth *ki* third day
 17. MU KI-2 i₃-si-in^{ki} ba-an-dab₅ the second year when Isin was captured.

The cult of Nanaya and Ištar at Larsa was recently discussed in Richter 1999, 320 (where this text is quoted) and Westenholz and Westenholz 2006, 12-15. The second half of the text, though almost perfectly preserved, remains unclear to me. Texts 9 and 10 are closely related in content.

Textual notes

9. The expression BUR ZI.ŠA₃.GAL₂ indicates a shallow bowl (BUR = *pūru*) which, most likely, was filled with precious oil to be used in a ceremony or ritual (ZI.ŠA₃.GAL). It is tempting to parse the sign sequence as BUR.ZI (*purs^rtum*), but the presence of the term ZI.ŠA₃.GAL₂ (without BUR) in line 16 as well in text 10 line 13' precludes such a reading (see also UET 5, 607, below).

In Sumerian literary texts the term *zi-šag₄-ĝal₂* is translated “divine encouragement” (see the extensive discussion by Falkenstein 1967, 10-15). In bilingual texts the logogram ZI.ŠA₃.GAL₂ is rendered *zišagallu*, (translated “divine encouragement” in CAD), or *šiknat napištim*, “living being.” CAD Z, 138 suggests that the rendering *šiknat napištim* is due to confusion with Sumerian *niĝ₂-zi-ĝal₂*. Akkadian *zišagallu* is rare and relatively late. The reading of the Akkadian word in the present context may be indicated by text 10, line 13' ZI.ŠA₃.GAL₂.*la-tim* (*zišagallatum?*).

In administrative contexts the term (BUR) ZI.ŠA₃.GAL₂ is rare. The *zi-šag₄-ĝal₂* bowl is mentioned in two texts from Ur III Girsu (HLC 384 Pl. 145 and HSS 4, 52). HSS 4, 52 is an account of hides, including no less than six sheep's hides for the cover(s) of the bur *zi-šag₄-ĝal₂*. The number of hides does not necessarily imply that the bowl was of a huge size ; it is likely that it accounts for covering more than one such bowl. HLC 384 is a record of boats of various sizes and for various purposes and the number of men necessary for towing them. This list includes a boat with capacity of 10 gur (or 3,000 liter) for the bur *zi-šag₄-ĝal₂*. The text does not indicate the contents or purpose of the bowls.

The issue may be illuminated by the Old Babylonian document UET 5, 607, edited and discussed by Charpin 1986, 62-66. This is a long list of expenditures in clothing, animals, beer, grain, fish, oil and butter, which includes the following note :

59. 6 2/3 I₃ GU.LA ZI.ŠA₃.GAL₂ LIBIR *wa-ar-di šar-ri-im*

60. *ša u₂-ta-pi₂-lu-šu-um-ma la id-di-nu*

6 2/3 (liter?) of precious oil, old ZI.ŠA₃.GAL₂ of a servant of the king

that should have been paid to him but was not given.

Charpin translates ZI.ŠA₃.GAL₂ as “provende” or sustenance, but his discussion of *i₃ gu-la* shows that this is a precious kind of oil. The most common use of *igulū* as cited in CAD is in rituals (magical or religious) and in ceremonies of hospitality.

Sumerian bur and Akkadian *pūru* denote a shallow bowl that is often used for cosmetic oil. It is likely, therefore, that the BUR ZI.ŠA₃.GAL₂ in our texts contained oil, presumably precious oil for ceremonial use.

19-20. The interpretation of *še UD-a* (dried grain) and *še sud-a* (fresh grain) follows a suggestion by Marten Stol (personal communication), referring to the discussion of the terms in Sanati-Müller 1988, 479-482 (with Sanati-Müller 1990, 202). In the Uruk texts edited by Sanati-Müller the second term is written *še su-a*. Several Larsa texts, published in OECT 15, use *še BU-a* (or *še sud¹-a?* ; OECT 15, 191 ; 199 ; 202 ; 216 ; and 280 ; references courtesy Marten Stol).

Reverse 2. The initial word (written KA-*ta*) may be emended to read KA *ša* : “the word(?) of their promise,” but even so the syntax remains unclear.

10. NAM-tum remains unexplained and the function of this sentence in context is unclear. According to Kouwenberg 2005 the verb *atluku* means “to set out on a journey” and only takes human beings as subject.

13-14. The meaning of this sentence is quite unclear and the reading is uncertain. The sign read E in 44 (*pe₂-e-ni-i*) may as well be an UD.

Text 10 HMA 9-01849 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P247941>

1'. traces	[420 <i>gur</i> of dried barley]
2'. id-di-nu-ni-[...]	they gave to ...
3'. i-na ku-nu-uk-ka-a-[ti]	is sealed with seals.
4'. ka-ni-ik	
5'. 600 GUR ŠE SUD.A i-na ku-nu-uk	600 <i>gur</i> of fresh barley is sealed with the
6'. IŠIB.MEŠ ka-ni-ik	seal of the išib priests.
7'. 600 + 7 ŠU.ŠI ŠE-a-am ša-a-ti	No one can access this 1020 (<i>gur</i>) of
8'. ma-am-ma-an la i-pe-et-te	barley.
9'. GA ₂ .DUB.BA.MEŠ aṭ-ṭa-ar-da-ak-ku-um	I have sent the <i>šandabakkum</i> officials to
	you ;
10'. i-pe-et-tu-u ₂ -ma	they will access (the barley)
11'. i-na-šu-nu i-im-ma-ra	and their eyes will see
12. u ₃ bi-ta-am i-pe-et-tu-u ₂ -ma	and they will open the house
13'. ZI.ŠA ₃ .GAL-la-tim i-na-ad-di-nu-šu-nu-ši-im	and they will give them the ZI.ŠA ₃ .GAL ₂ .
14'. a-de-e es-si ₂ -ha-am-ma	I will assign work
15'. ŠE-a-am a-na SA ₂ .DUG ₄ E ₂ ^d INANA	and I will send barley for the allotment of
16'. u ₂ -ša-ab-ba-lam	the temple of Ištar.
17'. i-na ŠE-e-em ša a-ša-ri-iš	Provide (barley) from the barley that is
18'. i-ba-aš-šu-u ₂	available there
19'. šu-ta-aš-bi-it-ma	
Reverse	
1'. SA ₂ .DUG ₄ E ₂ ^d INANA la ip-pa-ar-ra-as	so that the allotment of the temple of Ištar
	is not interrupted
2'. u ₃ a-na E ₂ ^d en-lil ₂ u ₃ ^d EN.KI	And for the temple of Enlil and Ea
3'. SA ₂ .DUG ₄ a-na ki-ma ba-šu-u ₂	set out the allotments for as much as is
4'. šu-ku-un-ma	available.
5'. GUR.ŠU ₂ .MEŠ la i-be ₂ -er-ru-u ₂	The men [?] should not be hungry.

The 600 GUR of fresh barley is the same quantity as mentioned in text 9, line 25 ; the grand total of 1020 GUR of barley is the total in text 9, line 31.

Textual note :

Rev. 5'. For lack of a more convincing solution, GUR.ŠU₂.MEŠ is taken here as an odd writing for GURUŠ.MEŠ.

3. MISCELLANEOUS OLD BABYLONIAN LETTERS**Text 11 HMA 9-01834 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P247926>**

1. [a-na] ^d SUEN-ma-g[i-ir]	Say to Sîn-māgir
2. [qi ₂]-bi ₂ -ma	
3. um-ma a-pil ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ -šu-ma	thus Apil-ilišu :
4. ^d UTU aš-šum-ia MU ŠAR ₂ .KAM	May Šamaš keep you alive for 3600 years for
5. li-ba-al-li-it-ka	my sake!
6. ki-i-ma du-ub-bu-ba-ak	Do you not know how I am pestered?
7. at-ta u ₂ -ul ti-di-i	
8. [iš-t]u a-li-im ša wa-aš-ba-ak	I came here from the town where I live
9. ^r al [?] -li-ka-am-ma	
10. [ki-i-m]a al-li-kam	When I arrived here

11. [...]ma ¹a-bi-i₃-li₂ aš-ba-at-ma ... I grabbed Abi-ili
 12. um-ma a-na-ku-u₂-ma Thus I said :
 13. ta-ta-am 5 GIN₂¹ KUG-BABBAR šu-bil-
 ma “send a fee of five shekels of silver
 14. [a-n]a qi₂-in-na-zi-im te-er-ra-an-ni and reinstate me at the work unit.”
 15. ¹ra¹-bi-i₃-li₂ ki-a-¹am iq¹-bi-a-am Abi-Ili told me the following
 16. ¹um¹-ma šu-u₂-ma ¹ra¹-an-na-šu thus he said : “Mannašu
 17. LU₂ a-bi na-ri-im 10 GIN₂ KUG-BABBAR the one in charge of the canal district, asked
 i-ri-ša-an-ni me for 10 shekels.
 18. HI.ME[?] u₂-ul i-²ta₂-ra-ad-ma He will not send ...
 19. KUG-BABBAR a-ma-ra-am u₂-ul e-li-i I will not be able to find the silver.”
 20. DUB ša a-ša-ap-pa-ru-šu In the tablet that I will send to him
 21. um-ma a-na-ku-u₂-ma thus me :
 22. 5 GIN₂ KUG.BABBAR-i id-na-am-ma “Give me my 5 shekels of silver.
 23. pa-nu-u₂-a i-na na-wa-<<X>>-ri-im As soon as my countenance shines
 24. ¹KUG.BABBAR¹-ka lu-te-er-ra-ak-ku I will return your silver to you” - is what I will
 <ša> a-ša-pa-ru-šu write to him.
 25. [i]-ni-ia u₂-ul i-ma-ar-ma u₂-ul u₂-ša-ba-
 lam But he will not meet me personally nor will he
 26. [ma]-ha-ar ^dUTU an-ni-im send it to me.
 27. [iš]-tu a-na-ku u₃ at-[ta] Before this Šamaš,
 reverse Ever since you and I
 1. [ni]-iq-te-er-¹bu¹ have been partners,
 2. ma-ti-i-ma a-na mi-im-¹ma¹ I have never written you
 3. u₂-ul aš-pu-ra-ak-ku for anything!
 4. ¹un-ne-du¹-uk-¹ki¹ i-na a-ma-ri-i-ka As soon as you receive my letter
 5. 10 GIN₂ KUG.BABBAR u₃ 3 GIN₂ find me ten shekels of silver as well as sesame
 KUG.BABBAR ŠE.GIŠ.I₃ worth three shekels of silver
 6. it-ti ib-ri-i-ka a-i-ma with any of your companions.
 7. am-ra-am-ma
 8. ta-ki-il-ka iš-te-en
 9. it-ti <ša> un-ne-du-uk-ki
 10. ub-la-ak-ku li-il-qi₂-a-am-ma
 11. li-il-li-ka
 12. u₃ a-nu-um-ma IR₃ ^dNANNA-IGI.DU
 13. ša a-ša-mu-šu iš-tu a-li-im
 14. ša wa-aš-ba-ku in-na-bi-ta-am-ma
 15. i-na larsa^{ki} iš-ba-tu-šu-u₂-ma and they seized him in Larsa.
 16. ju-um a-nu-um-ma ¹i₃-li₂-ma He is mine! Now Ilima
 17. 1 GIN₂ KUG.BABBAR a-na im-ba-hi-im carries 1 shekel of silver as compensation.
 na-ši
 18. IR₃ a-na še-¹ri¹-i-ka li-ir-du-ni-ku-um-ma
 19. ta-ki-il-ka ša ¹it-ti¹ Let them bring the slave to you.
 20. ma-ri ¹ši-ip¹-ri-ia [...] Your trusted man who [came] with
 21. KUG.BABBAR ša aš-pu-ra-kum [ub]-lam my messenger
 22. IR₃ li-ir-di-a-[am] he brought the silver that I sent to you.
 23. ap-pu-tum ki-i-ma un-n[e-du]-uk-ki Let him bring the slave to me.
 It is urgent! When you see my letter,

- | | |
|---|---|
| 24. ʿta ¹ -am-ma-ru ta-ki-il-ka | your trusted man |
| 25. [it-t]i ma-ri ši-ip-ri-ia | together with my messenger |
| 26. [IR ₃] an-ni-a-am i-ha-mu-uṭ ub-ba-lam-ma | should quickly bring that [slave] here. |
| 27. [...] x-ti ta-pa-ṭa-ar | ... you will release. |
| 28. [...]ia a-na a-li-ia | ... to my city |
| Left edge | |
| 1. [...]ʿx ¹ -ar-ra | ... |
| 2. [...]ʿx ¹ ki-i-ma ul-lu-ʿti-im ¹ | ... like those |
| 3. [...]ʿx ¹ la-a te-le-qi ₂ | ... do not take! |

Sîn-māgir (recipient) and Apil-ilišu (sender) were merchants who at one time divided an estate (YOS 8, 98) including houses, empty plots, furniture, precious metals and slaves. Another letter from Apil-ilišu to Sîn-māgir was found at Nippur (AbB 11, 163) ; it deals with a slave owned by Apil-ilišu who is in Sîn-māgir's hands. This could be the same slave as the one discussed in the present letter, but since the two men apparently buy and sell slaves regularly, the two letters may as well be unrelated.

The approximate date of this letter is indicated by YOS 8, 98 (division of property between Apil-ilišu and Sîn-māgir) and YOS 8, 85 (in which Sîn-māgir dam-gar₃ appears as a witness), both dated Rīm-Sîn 28 (see Leemans 1950, 50).

Texts 6 and 7 above are letters sent by Sîn-māgir, but there is little reason to assume that he is identical with the merchant in our present text.

Textual notes :

Obv. 17. For *abi nārim*, see most recently Seri 2005, 68.

Obv. 20. It is unclear who the recipient of this message would have been.

Obv. 23. The line presumably means "as soon as I am back in good financial health." The sign X in *na-wa-<<X>>-ri-im* is clearly preserved and looks as follows :



Obv. 26. For the expression *mahar šamšim annim* see above, text 7 (HMA 9-1848) rev. 15.

Rev. 17. The word *imbahum* is a rare (as far as I know otherwise unattested) form of *nēbehu* B (*nēbahu*), compensation.¹⁷ The attestations of this word were collected by Ziegler 1994, 15-16, where she demonstrated that in some contexts the word refers to a payment in return for a favor by a superior, as may well be the case here. See also Veenhof 2005, 212-213 (with further literature) and Charpin NABU 2004/81.

Text 12 HMA 9-01840 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P247932>

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. [a-na a]-bi-ia | Say to my father, |
| 2. [qi ₂]-bi ₂ -[ma] | |
| 3. um-ma i-din-ia-tu[m [?]] | thus Idinjatum : |
| 4. ^d UTU aš-šum-ia M[U ŠAR ₂ .KAM] | May Šamaš keep you alive for 3600 years for |
| 5. li-ba-al-li-iṭ-[ka] | my sake! |
| 6. a-lum BAD ₃ ha-a[l-šum] | City, wall, and district |
| 7. ša-li-im har-ri-i | are well. The ditches |
| 8. me-e ma-li-i-[ma] | are full of water. |
| 9. i-na u ₂ -ga-ri ša im-[...-k]a-ki [?] | In the field of ... |

17. Dominique Charpin suggested to me to read *ni₂-ba-hi-im* (personal communication). I hesitate to accept this, as it introduces a rare value for no apparent reason in a letter that is otherwise unremarkable in its orthography.

Text 15 HMA 9-02319 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P248046>

obverse

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. a-na šu-mu-um-li-ib-ši | Say to Šumum-libši |
| 2. qi ₂ -bi ₂ -ma | |
| 3. um-ma na-bi- ^d UTU-ma | thus Nabi-Šamaš. |
| 4. 1 (bur'u) 3 (bur ₃) 2 (eše ₃) GANA ₂ A.ŠA ₃
EŠ ₂ .GAR ₃ ¹ pi ₂ -la-NE-a-ia | Thirteen <i>bur</i> and 2 <i>iku</i> , the corvee field of Bila-NE-a-ia |
| 5. u ₃ 1 (bur'u) GANA ₂ A.ŠA ₃ ša ṭup-pi ₂ be-li ₂ -ia | and 10 <i>bur</i> about which the tablet of my lord arrived and |
| 6. il-li-ka-am-ma | |
| 7. i-na IRI ba-al-mu!(GIR ₂) ^{ki} in-na-ad-nam | which was given to me in the city of Balmu - |
| 8. 2 (bur'u) 3 (bur ₃) 2 (eše ₃) GANA ₂ A.ŠA ₃ tu-
uš-ta-ta-am-li-a-ni-ma-a | you have assigned to me the entire 23 <i>bur</i> and 2 <i>iku</i> of land and (now) |
| 9. šu ₂ -ha-ri tu-da-ab-ba-ab | you are pestering my servant. |
| 10. ša šu ₂ -ha-ri tu-da-ab-ba-bu | You who are pestering my servant, |
| 11. i-da-at hi-ṭi-a-ti-ka | will you be able to carry the sign of your sins? |
| 12. na-ša-a-am | |

reverse

1. te-le-[i]

The names Šumum-libši and Nabi-Šamaš are relatively common. The grain account OECT 15, 10, dated Rim-Sîn II year 1 (see Charpin 2007, 160) includes an amount allocated to šu-mu-li-ib-ši for 16 workers (eren₂) and another amount given to na-bi-^dUTU UGULA MAR.TU as donkey fodder. The co-occurrence of the names, however, still does not prove that these are the same people as in our letter.

More likely, perhaps, is the identity of our Šumum-libši with the sender of AbB 9, 53, who writes in a similarly emotional voice.

Textual notes :

8. The Št of *malû* was discussed by Streck 1994, 177 as the intensive to *mullû* (“voll und ganz liefern”).

Rev. 1. The restoration of a form of *le'û* is suggested by the infinitive object (*našâm*). This, however, works only if the sentence is a (rhetorical) question.

Text 16 HMA 9-02320 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P248047>

obverse

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. a-na si-NE-e | Say to Si-NE-e |
| 2. qi ₂ -bi ₂ -ma | |
| 3. um-ma šu-mi-i ₃ -li ₂ -š[u [?] -m]a | thus Šumi-ilišu : |
| 4. ^d UTU u ₃ ^d NIN-ŠUB[UR] | may Šamaš and Ilabrat |
| 5. li-ba- ^r al-li ¹ -ṭu ₃ -u ₂ -ka | keep you alive! |
| 6. a-nu-um-ma ¹ u ₂ - ^r se ₂ -el ¹ -li | Now I have sent to you Uselli. |
| 7. aṭ-ṭar-da-ak-ku-um | |
| 8. ša-ma-aš-ki-li | Buy one shekel of silver worth of onions |
| 9. ša 1 GIN ₂ KUG.BABBAR ša-ma-am-ma | |
| 10. šu-bi-lam | and send them to me. |

Text 17 HMA 9-02322 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P248049>

obverse

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. [a]-na i-kun-na-di | Say to Ikun-nadi |
| 2. q _{i2} -bi ₂ -ma | |
| 3. um-ma ši-li ₂ -a-ga-de ₃ ^{ki} -ma | thus Šilli-Akkad : |
| 4. ki-i šu ₂ -ha-ra-am a-hi-[...] | How could you kill the servant Ahi-[...] who |
| 5. ša a-na GUD.HI.A-ia | came to lead my oxen? |
| 6. ta-ri-im il-li-kam | |
| 7. ta-du-uk | |
| 8. aš-šum ^d UTU a-na GUD.HI.A [š]u-nu-ti | For Šamaš sake, because of those oxen |
| 9. ša ta-ak-lu-u ₂ | that you withheld |
| 10. si ₂ -ik-ka-at-ka i-na ^r i-ga ^l -ri-im | I will pull your nail from the wall! |
| 11. a-na-as-sa ₃ -ah | |
| 12. ki-i-ma un-ne-du- ^r uk-ki ^l | As soon as you see my letter, |
| 13. ta-am-ma-a-ru | |
| 14. a-na šu-ha-ri ša a-na GUD.HI.A | do not hinder anymore the servants who came |
| 15. ta-ri-im <<i-la>> il-li-ku-nim | to lead the oxen. |
| 16. la ta-pa-ar-ri-ik | |
| 17. a-na GUD.HI.A ta-pa-ar-ri-ik-ma | If you stop the oxen then I will sell your house |
| 18. a-na pi-ha-at A.ŠA ₃ -lim <<ša i-ku-lu>> | for silver to compensate for the land that they |

reverse

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. ša i-ku-lu | |
| 2. bi-it-ka a-na KUG.BABBAR | |
| 3. a-na-ad-di-in | |
| 4. a-na bi-ti-i-ni ka-ti | Who tore out your eyes that you would release |
| 5. a-na pa ^l -ša-ri-im | yourself (from obligations) towards our |
| 6. ma-an-nu-um i-ni-i-ka | house? |
| 7. is-su ₂ -uh | |

The author of the letter is clearly outraged, accusing the addressee of killing a servant and blocking the movement of his oxen.

Textual notes :

4. The sign I (in *ki-i*) is partly written over an erasure.
10. This line was quoted in CAD S, 250. Pulling the nail from the wall is the opposite of driving a nail into the wall as a symbolic indication of ownership. The expression is found in Ekalte II 39 (line 17) ; see Malul 2002, 368 and Durand 2003, 177.
- Rev. 4-7. This passage was clarified by Durand 2003, 177. Marchant read rev. 5 *a-na wa-ša-ri-im* ; Durand suggested *a-na pi-ša-ri-im*, but the fourth sign is clearly ŠA, not TA. The third sign is not PI, but rather a slightly failed PA, with the lower horizontal sloping downward. The sign is clearly different from the PI in Obv. 18 (although it also differs from the better written PA signs earlier in the text). For *pašārum* “to release from legal obligations” see CAD P 239 meaning 5.

Text 18 HMA 9-01864 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P247956>

obverse

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. a-na ^d SUEN-ri-im-ŠE[Š.AB-KI] | Say to Sîn-rîm-Urim |
| 2. ^l ir ₃ -ra-mu-b[a-al-li-it] | Irra-muballiṭ |
| 3. ^{ld} NANNA-ma-a[n-sum] | Nanna-mansum |
| 4. ^{ld} SUEN- ^r ma-gir ^l | Sîn-māgir |

5. u ₃ ŠA ₃ .TAM.MEŠ qi ₂ - ^r bi ₂ -ma ¹	and the administrators,
6. um-ma ke-eš-i-din-nam	thus Keš-idinnam
7. ¹ ha-ri-ia u ₃ ¹ nam-r[u [?] -...]	Haria and Namru-[...] :
8. a-nu-um-ma	Now
9. ku-nu-uk šar-ri-im	the sealed tablet of the king
10. it-ta-al-ka-ku-nu-ši-i[m]	has come to you.
11. 120 gur Š[E ...]	120 gur of barley
12. a-ša-ar qe ₂ -er- ^r bu ¹ -[...]	...
reverse	
1. ^r a-na ¹ ¹ nu-u[r-...]	to Nūr-kabta ...

The rest of the reverse is broken. Several of the personal names may be linked to the activities of the well-known household of Balmunamhe of Larsa. Keš-idinnam (line 6) is the recipient of a letter by Balmunamhe (TCL 18, 119 = AbB 14, 173) and Harija (line 7) is the author of a letter to Balmunamhe (TCL 17, 67 = AbB 14, 121).

Text 19 HMA 9-02321 = <http://cdli.ucla.edu/P248048>

obverse

1. a-na ^d AMAR.UTU-da-ia-an	Say to Marduk-dajjān
2. qi ₂ -bi ₂ -ma	
3. um-ma e-tel-pi ₂ - ^d AMAR.UTU-ma	thus Etel-pī-Marduk :
4. a-nu-um-ma šu ₂ -ha-ru-u ₂	Now the servants
5. ša ¹ e ₂ -a-AN.DUL ₃ -šu	of Ea-šulūšu
6. ^{giš} MA ₂ na-šu-ma a-na e-pi ₂ -ri še-e-ni-im	are bringing a boat and they have come to load
7. it-ta-al-ku-nim	earth.
8. i-na ti-la-ni ša e-pi ₂ -ru-šu-nu dam-qu ₂	They will be taking it from mounds where the
	earth is good,
9. a-šar aš-ta-na-ap-pa-ra-am-ma	the location of which I keep writing about.
10. il-te-ni-iq-qu ₂ -nim	
11. ku-ul-li-im-ma ^r x-ŠI [?] ¹	Point it out

Bottom edge

1. šu ₂ -ha-ru-u ₂	so that the servants
2. ša a-we-lim	of the gentleman
Reverse	
1. e-pi ₂ -ri li-il-qu ₂ -u ₂	may take the earth.
(blank)	
2. pi ₂ ma-nu-um	By mouth of Mānum(?)

This text is directly related to AbB 6, 100 and AbB 14, 199-200 (same sender and recipient and closely related subject matters). Other letters of this same group were collected by Veenhof in AbB 14, p. XXIII. The letters derive from the Lower Yahrurum province (Kiš, Marad and Dilbat).¹⁸

Textual note :

Rev. 2. This line is preceded by blank space and may well have been added later.

18. The extant archive(s) from Lower Yahrurum deal primarily with date groves and the production of dates (Charpin 1981 ; Stol 1982). Whether the earth in this and related letters has anything to do with date cultivation is unknown.

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ABSTRACT

This contribution offers 19 Old Babylonian documents, mostly from Larsa, in the Hearst Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley. Section 1 presents eight letters that throw new light on the history of Maškan-šapir and its governor Sîn-muballiṭ, brother of the king. Section 2 includes two memoranda concerning the temples of Ištar and Nanaja at Larsa. Section 3, finally, presents nine miscellaneous Old Babylonian letters from Larsa and other places.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette contribution présente 19 documents paléo-babyloniens du Hearst Museum of Anthropology de Berkeley provenant pour la plupart de Larsa. La première section présente huit lettres qui jettent une lumière nouvelle sur l'histoire de Maškan-šapir et de son gouverneur Sîn-muballiṭ, frère du roi. La section 2 inclut deux *memoranda* concernant les temples d'Ištar et de Nanaya de Larsa. La section 3, enfin, présente neuf lettres paléo-babyloniennes diverses provenant de Larsa et d'ailleurs.

UC Berkeley, Department of Near Eastern Studies, 280 Barrows Hall #1940
Berkeley, CA 94720-1940, USA
veldhuis@berkeley.edu