

## Two Ilšu-ibni's, two ugula gidru's<sup>1</sup>

Šarrum-Laba<sup>ki</sup>, a military settlement at the Irnina

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[This publication and analysis of sixteen new late Old-Babylonian economic texts enables us to distinguish conclusively between two individuals who bore identical names and were both ugula gidru: Ilšu-ibni, son of Ina-palēšu, the ugula gidru of the erin of Elam, and Ilšu, son of Qaqqādum, the ugula gidru of the erin of Šarrum-Laba. A location for the town of Šarrum-Laba is proposed.]

In some texts from the sixth volume of *MHET* II, we are faced with an identification problem regarding three ugula gidru's<sup>2</sup> called Ilšu-ibni.

(1) *MHET* II, 6, 904, 908 and 915 mention a certain Ilšu-ibni, son of Ina-palēšu, ugula gidru erin elam.ma<sup>ki</sup>. This person is also attested in *MHET* II, 4, 538 and *OLA* 21, 71.

(2) *MHET* II, 6, 915 mentions a certain Ilšu-ibni, son of Qaqqādum, ugula gidru. He also appears in a text from Sippar-Amnānum Di 1646.

(3) *MHET* II, 6, 902, 906 and 914 mention Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru erin ša / šar ru<sup>?/uru?</sup> la<sup>?/ad?</sup> - ma<sup>?/ba?</sup><sup>23</sup>.

Are they three different individuals or can we identify two of them? If indeed so, are (1) and (3) the same person, and is the specification ša / šar ru<sup>?/uru?</sup> la<sup>?/ad?</sup> - ma<sup>?/ba?</sup> simply a different expression or spelling for elam.ma? Or, are (2) and (3) the same individual, and is Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru. erin ša / šar ru<sup>?/uru?</sup> la<sup>?/ad?</sup> - ma<sup>?/ba?</sup> thus the son of Qaqqādum? This last possibility implies that the specification ša /

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2. For the reading of this title, cf. most recently Charpin:2000.

3. The spelling of his function varies in the three texts: *MHET* II, 6, 902: 3-4: Ilšu-ibni, PA.PA erin ša \* la<sup>?/ad?</sup> - ma<sup>?/ba?</sup> \* / *MHET* II, 6, 906: 6: Ilšu-ibni, PA.PA erin ša \* uru<sup>?</sup> la<sup>?/ad?</sup> - ma<sup>?/ba?</sup> \* / *MHET* II, 6, 914: 5: Ilšu-ibni, PA.PA erin šar ru<sup>?</sup> / uru<sup>?</sup> la<sup>?/ad?</sup> - ma<sup>?/ba?</sup> (The signs between \*\* were copied by L. Dekiere at the end of the sixth volume of *MHET* II.)

*šar ru<sup>ru</sup> la<sup>ad</sup> - ma<sup>ba</sup>* is not a different expression or spelling for *elam.ma*. With it the question arises what the specification does in fact stand for.

Fifteen unpublished texts from the series 1902-10-11 in the British Museum<sup>4</sup> put this identification problem in a different light<sup>5</sup>. BM 97250 (Aš 13) enables us to identify persons (2) and (3) as identical. The text refers explicitly to someone called *Ilšu-Ibni*, son of *Qaqqadum*, *ugula gidru erin Šarrum-Laba<sup>ki</sup>* ((5) *a-na [dingir-šu-ib<sup>1</sup>]-ni ugula gidru dumu qà-aq-qà-du* (6) *ša erin šar-rum la-ba<sup>ki</sup>*)<sup>6</sup>. This equation enables us to correct the reading of *Ilšu-ibni*'s title in *MHET* II, 6, 902, 906 and 914. After collation we read as follows:

*MHET* II, 6, 902: 3-4: *Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru erin ša-<ru> la-ba*

*MHET* II, 6, 906: 6: *Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru erin ša-ru la-ba*

*MHET* II, 6, 914: 5: *Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru erin ša-ru la-ba*

We can now differentiate between these two individuals by their patronym as well as by their function.

First we will give a short chronological survey of the attestations of the two persons and their activities. In most texts our *Ilšu-ibni*'s occur with a long title of the type "ugula gidru ša erin GN" (ugula gidru in charge of the erin of GN). However, in some texts they are only marked with the shorter title "ugula gidru" (*MHET* II, 4, 538, 6, 908, Di 1646 and BM 97821). Is there a difference between the long and short title or is the short "ugula gidru" merely an abbreviation of the long one? If "ugula gidru" is an abbreviation of a long title, may we then consider all Old-Babylonian "ugula gidru"'s at Sippar as "ugula gidru"'s in charge of a specific erin?

Further on we shall try to pinpoint the *Šarrum-Laba<sup>ki</sup>* location. This toponym occurs nowhere else in Old-Babylonian texts; our knowledge of it is purely based on *Ilšu-ibni*'s title. Do the texts in which *Ilšu-ibni* is the son of *Qaqqadum* shed further light on this toponym?

Are these "ugula gidru"'s geographically connected in one way or another with the erin-collective they are in charge of? Is there a relation between the son of *Qaqqadum* and *Šarrum-Laba<sup>ki</sup>*? Has the son of *Ina-palēšu* any relation to the Elamites?

4. BM 97468 (Aš 9), BM 97601 (Aš 9), BM 97574 (Aš 9), BM 97569 (Aš 9), BM 97547 (Aš 117/167), BM 97623 (Aš 11), BM 97231 (Aš 12), BM 97250 (Aš 13), BM 97821 (Aš 13), BM 97245 (Aš 13), BM 97385 (Aš 13), BM 97207 (Aš 13), BM 97849 (Aš 13), BM 97475 (Aš 14?) and BM 97543 (Aš 18). A transliteration (based on E. Woestenburg's transliterations, collated by us in december 1999) and translation of these texts is published at the end of this article. Two of them, BM 97468 (Aš 9) and BM 97543 (Aš 18), are copied. We wish to thank E. Woestenburg for kindly providing us with her transliterations of these texts. We are also very grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum for allowing us to publish these texts.

5. Only texts mentioning an *Ilšu-ibni*, specified by one of the above mentioned patronyms or titles, are considered in this article.

6. Note that the scribe has split the long title (cf. *infra*) in two parts, spread them over two lines (5 and 6), and put the patronym between those two parts (on line 5). This is rather unusual, since it does not help the clarity – one might interpret *Ilšu-ibni*'s father as being part of the erin-collective of *Šarrum-Laba*. However, BM 97205 is written by *Šumum-liši*, a scribe who has written several other documents belonging to *Ilšu-ibni*'s archive. On those tablets *Šumum-liši* always indicates *Ilšu-ibni* by his name and his long title (without patronym) – this is also the case in most of the other documents belonging to *Ilšu-ibni*'s archive ((1) PN + long title). Only two texts (BM 97475 and BM 97821), of which the scribes are not known to us, give *Ilšu-ibni*'s patronym; in these texts he is indicated only by his short title (cf. *infra*) ((2) PN + short title + patronym). So it seems to us that *Šumum-liši* wanted to indicate *Ilšu-ibni* by his name, his short title and his patronym (cf. (2)), but then, being absent-minded, added the rest of his title on the following line, as if his patronym had never been written (cf. (1)). Cf. also *MHET* II, 6, 904, ll. 19-22, where the other *Ilšu-ibni*, as well as another person, are both indicated by their name, their long title and their patronym.

## I. TWO ILŠU-IBNI'S, TWO UGULA GIDRU'S

A. Ilšu-ibni son of Ina-palêšu ugula gidru erin elam.ma<sup>ki</sup>

A general survey of this Ilšu-Ibni's activities reveals that in the majority of the texts he functions as a witness:

	date	Text	PN	son of	title	function
1	Aš 13/01/15	<i>MHET</i> II, 6, 904: 19 + seal	Ilšu-ibni	Ina-palêšu	long	first witness (out of 2)
2	Aš 13/07/20	<i>OLA</i> 21, 71: 1 + seal	Ilšu- ibnišu <sup>7</sup> idem	/ Ina-palêšu	/ /	heir
3	Aš 14/03/10	<i>MHET</i> II, 4, 538: 17	Ilšu-ibni	Ina-palêšu	short	second witness (out of 3)
4	Aš 15/01/05	<i>MHET</i> II, 6, 908: 26	Ilšu-ibni	Ina-palêšu	short	second witness (out of 3)
5	Aš 17/03/25	<i>MHET</i> II, 6, 915: 17	Ilšu-ibni	/	long	first witness (out of 3)

## A.1. First or second witness

It is interesting to note that Ilšu-ibni only bears his full title, i.e. "ugula gidru erin elam.ma<sup>ki</sup>", when he functions as first witness. As second witness he is only mentioned with the short title "ugula gidru".

In all four texts there is a clear military context: in *MHET* II, 6, 904, a field is leased by Mar-ešrê PA MAR.TU, this same person is first witness in *MHET* II, 4, 538 and 6, 908<sup>8</sup>. The other Ilšu-ibni ugula gidru, son of Qaqqadum, rents fields in *MHET* II, 6, 908 (without title) and is owner of a field in *MHET* II, 6, 915. Furthermore, the second witness in *MHET* II, 6, 904 is an "ugula gidru ša erin ud.kib.nun<sup>ki</sup>", in *MHET* II, 6, 908 the second witness is an "ugula gidru elam.ma é.gal<sup>ki,9</sup>".

## A.2. Ilšu-ibni, owner of real estate, fields and a slave

*OLA* 21, 71 (Aš 13) informs us about the family activities and the property of Ilšu-ibni(šu). It concerns the division of the patrimonial estate between Ilšu-ibni and his brothers Išme-Adad and Ibni-Marduk<sup>10</sup>. The family possessions indicate the relative wealth of the household. The property divided includes a 5 sar house in Sippar-Amnānum close to the temples/chapels of Sîn and Ea, and next to the

7. This is the longer form of the same name. This kind of alternation with and without -šu is well known. His seal legend (*OLA* 21, 71, seal 1) of course has the longer version (although the 'šu' is broken away the disposition of the signs clearly points to its' presence).

8. L. Dekiere did not read two signs after PA in *MHET* II, 4, 538 (16: igi dumu-ud.20.kam PA x x dumu [x x x]). Obviously, the same person appears in *MHET* II, 6, 908: 25: igi dumu-ud.20.kam PA MAR.TU.

9. Collation by E. Woestenburg.

10. No other texts mentioning Ilšu-ibni's brothers are known to us.

house of a gala of Ištar. Further, two slave women<sup>11</sup>, two oxen and two cows, three grinding stones, 6 minas of copper in the shape of kettles, and 6 sheqels of silver<sup>12</sup>.

### A.3. *Išū-ibni, seal owner*

Two of our five texts are sealed by Išū-ibni: in *MHET* II, 6, 904 (Aš 13/01/15), he seals as first witness, in *OLA* 21, 71 (Aš 13/07/20) as heir.

His seal has the following legend<sup>13</sup>:

dingir-šū-ib-ni-[šū]  
 [dumu] i-na-pa-le-[šū]  
 ir<sup>d</sup>da- [...]  
 ú<sup>d</sup> [...]

### B. Išū-ibni son of Qaqqadum ugula gidru erin Šarrum-Laba<sup>ki</sup>

Whereas we only have five attestations of the first Išū-Ibni, we have many more of the second:

	date	text	PN	son of	title	function
1	Aš 09/06/04	BM 97468: 3-4	Išū-ibni	/	long	he loses his seal
2	Aš 09/11/21	BM 97601: 3-4	Išū-ibni	/	long	barley-lender
3	Aš 09/11/27	BM 97574: 3-4	Išū-ibnišū	/	long	barley-lender
4	Aš 09/12/28	BM 97569: 2-3	Išū-ibni	/	long	money-lender
5	Aš 11 <sup>14</sup> /08/xx	BM 97547: 3-4	Išū-ibni	/	long	barley-lender
6	Aš 11/09/30	BM 97623: 3-4	Išū-ibni	/	long	barley-lender
7	Aš 12/10/07	<i>MHET</i> II, 6, 902: 3-4	Išū-ibni	/	long	lessor

11. The ugula gidru inherits one of these, his two brothers the other one *ina bīrit*, i.e. in common ownership. In *BAP* 107 (Aš 16), an inheritance text, three brothers, one of whom is a ugula gidru, also each inherit a slave girl.

12. The silver is in fact given as a compensation to the two brothers of the ugula gidru. This can be tabulated as follows:

Išū-ibnišū	Išme-Adad	Ibni-Marduk
1 gu <sub>4</sub> .ūr.ra	2 gín kù. babbar	1 gu <sub>4</sub> .al
1 áb mu.3	1 áb mu.3	4 gín kù. babbar

The equivalence between the gu<sub>4</sub>.ūr.ra (rear ox) and the gu<sub>4</sub>.al (full-grown ox), able to work and reproduce, seems correct. However, the price of 2 gín, which Išme-Adad receives as a compensation, is very low. M. Tanret (21e Colloque International sur l'Histoire et la Civilisation du Proche-Orient Ancien (4-5/XII/1998) à Lille, France – forthcoming) came up with prices much higher than those here: for a gu<sub>4</sub>.ūr.ra he noted prices between 10 and 15 gín of silver. For a three year old cow, the difference is not that big: Tanret noted a price of 5 gín, Stol (1995, 177) a price between 5 and 18 gín. Are the prices lower here, because it all happens within the family?

13. The legend of this seal is published in *OLA* 21, Pl. 79. Further on, we will come back on its content.

14. The few legible signs do not allow us to identify them with certainty with a specific yearname of Ammišaduqa. However, the second line of the yearformula (l. 15: [bād? / id?] <sup>1</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-mi-<sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-[du-qá]) points at the 11<sup>th</sup> yearname, which has “bād am-mi-ša-du-qá”, or at the 16<sup>th</sup> yearname, which has “id am-mi-ša-du-qá” (cf. Horsnell, M.J.A., 1999, Vol. II, 338-240 and 245-346). Taking into account the content of this “ana našpakūtīm loan” (cf. infra), we cautiously opt for the 11<sup>th</sup> year of Ammišaduqa.

8	Aš 12/04/10	Di 1646: 24 + seal	Ilšu-ibni	Qaqqadum	short	first witness
9	Aš 12/12/03	BM 97231: 2-3	Ilšu-ibni	/	long	money-lender
10	Aš 13/01/30	BM 97250: 5-6	Ilšu-ibni	Qaqqadum	long	borrower of money
11	Aš 13/02/18	BM 97821: 3-4	Ilšu-ibni	Qaqqadum	short	barley-lender
12	Aš 13/08/10	BM 97245: 4	Ilšu-ibni	/	long	barley etc.-lender
13	Aš 13/10/01	BM 97385: 3	Ilšu-ibni	/	long	money-lender
14	Aš 13/11/19	BM 97849: 3	Ilšu-ibni	/	long	rents a harvester
15	Aš 13/12/10	BM 97207: 7	Ilšu-ibni	/	long	supplier of sheep
16	Aš 14/01/17	<i>MHET</i> II, 6, 906: 9	Ilšu-ibni	/	long	tenant of a field
17	Aš 14?/10/15	BM 97475: 3-4	Ilšu-ibni	/	long	oil-lender
18	Aš 16/05/02	<i>MHET</i> II, 6, 914: 5	Ilšu-ibni	/	long	tenant of a house
19	Aš 15/01/05	<i>MHET</i> II, 6, 908: 7 + seal	Ilšu-ibni idem	Qaqqadum idem	/ /	tenant of a field
20	Aš 17/03/25	<i>MHET</i> II, 6, 915: 5- 6	Ilšu-ibni	Qaqqadum	/	lessor of a field
21	Aš 18/03/05	BM 97543: 3	Ilšu-ibni	Qaqqadum	/	is rented as a farmer

### B.1. Witness

The chronological survey of the activities of Ilšu-ibni, son of Qaqqadum, shows that he only once appears as a witness. In the lease-contract Di 1646 (Aš 12/04/10) he is first witness, followed by two others. This situation does not run parallel with the one in which the first Ilšu-ibni figures as a witness. In his role of first witness, the son of Qaqqadum is only ugula gidru, and does not have his long title. The context might be military because one of the two leasing parties is Utul-Ištar, abi erin. Furthermore the second witness is possibly also a military<sup>15</sup>.

### B.2. Ilšu-ibni, seal-owner

15. The same Šumum-libši, son of Marduk-mušallim figures in the list *MHET* I, 50: 11, preceded by an ugula gidru. Moreover, a certain Šumum-libši, ugula gidru, occurs in the list *MHET* I, 47:19. Thus it is possible that we are dealing with an ugula gidru in our text.

B.2.1. *The loss and recovery of his seal ?*

Very remarkable is BM 97468 (Aš 9): The sole subject of this tablet is the loss of Išū-ibni's seal. This happened in the house of Taribum, son of Muti-<sup>1</sup>Nergal<sup>1</sup>, during the festival of the god Šubula. The text is dated on the day of the loss, which is the day of the festival, viz. the fourth day of the sixth month.

The seal is described in the text as follows: (3-4) <sup>na</sup>kišib šumi ša Išū-ibni ugula gidru ša erin Šarrum-Laba<sup>ki</sup> (the seal in the name of Išū-ibni, ugula gidru of the erin-collective of Šarrum-Laba). Do we have to take this literally, as a citation of the seals' legend? Probably not, because no seal-legends mentioning the occupation ugula gidru are known, although a few seals of ugula gidru's are extant. The text simply states that there was an inscription on the seal with a.o. the name of its owner.

Although Išū-ibni lost his seal in Aš 9/06/04, we know from the published material that he again owns a personal seal in Aš 15/01/05 (MHET II, 6, 908), approximately five and a half years later. He sealed three times on the left edge of this tablet. The impression as well as the legend<sup>16</sup> are partly preserved.

dingir-šū-ib<sup>1</sup>-[ni-šū]  
dumu qā-aq<sup>1</sup>-[qā-du]  
ir am-<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-[ša-du-qa]

Our new corpus and the unpublished Di-texts allow to narrow the gap between the loss of his seal and his (re)use of a seal. Unfortunately, the new textual material does not allow us to know if he found his seal or used a new one.

Except for two tablets, BM 97821 and BM 97245 (both Aš 13), all of our texts dated between Aš 9/06/04 and Aš 15/01/05 bear seal impressions. However, the greater part of them are sealed by the other party and one or more witnesses, which shows they belong to Išū-ibni's archive.

Only two tablets are sealed by Išū-ibni: Di 1646 (Aš 12/04/10) and BM 97250 (Aš 13/01/30). Both of them bear the same seal as MHET II, 6, 908.

Finding Išū-ibni's seal on Di 1646 was no surprise, this tablet does not belong Išū-ibni's archive, but that of another person, viz. Ur-Utu. Išū-ibni, as first witness in this text, sealed at the bottom of the reverse. Only a small piece of the seal impression is visible, since it is partly overwritten by the text and partly overrolled by another seal. However, the few legible signs of its legend allow us to identify this seal as Išū-ibni's:

[dingir-šū-ib-ni-šū]  
dumu qā-aq-[qā-du]  
ir <sup>1</sup>am-<sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-[ša-du-qa]

In the sale-contract BM 97250, Išū-ibni is given silver to buy a male slave. He sealed this tablet seven times: on the lower edge, at the bottom of the reverse, on the left edge and four times on the right edge. All seven times, only the legend of the seal is preserved.

dingir-šū-ib-[ni-šū]  
dumu qā-aq-qā-<sup>1</sup>du<sup>1</sup>  
ir am-mi-ša-du-[qa]

Did this tablet belong to the archive of Išū-ibni or to that of Sîn-imaguranni, son of Bēlšunu, who gave Išū-ibni silver in order to buy a slave? The text includes promises to be redeemed by two parties: 1) Išū-ibni has to buy a slave, 2) the expenses (<sup>1</sup>gim<sup>1</sup>-ru) will be paid. The tablet is sealed only by Išū-ibni and the first witness, which probably indicates that it belonged to Sîn-imaguranni's archive, since we would expect to find Sîn-imaguranni's seal on Išū-ibni's copy.

16. Further on, we will come back on its content.

We are unable to answer the question whether he recovered his lost seal or bought a new one, since the text mentioning the loss of the seal is to date the oldest extant text from Ilšu-ibni.

The act of registering this loss as an official document with witnesses is meant as a security for Ilšu-ibni. He lost his seal in the house of another person, so whoever finds it might subsequently use it. By means of this document, Ilšu-ibni protects himself, stating that as from Aš 9/06/04 he does not possess his seal any longer and as a result later use of the seal is invalid. The presence of this tablet in his archive and the fact that it has not been broken, might mean that the seal was never found<sup>17</sup>.

Technically, since the document about the loss does not describe the seal, it could be applied to the new seal too. So, potentially, it is a dangerous document for Ilšu-ibni: it could be used to invalidate his later contracts. There were only two ways in which he could safeguard himself against its misuse: to keep it safely tucked away in his archive or to destroy it. The second option was less interesting since, if ever a document appeared, dated after Aš 9/6/4 in which his lost seal was «illegally» used, he needed to be able to prove that he was not involved.

### B.3. *Ilšu-ibni, as landowner and leaser*

Several texts imply that Ilšu-ibni owned and leased fields during the whole length of his career:

In *MHET* II, 6, 902 (Aš 12), he leases out 0.1.0 iku of ab.sín-field, situated along the Irmina (ú.sal<sup>id</sup>irmina), to Bēlšunu, son of Ina-palēšu, so that the gardeners can work on it.

In *MHET* II, 6, 906 (Aš 14) Ilšu-ibni takes on lease 0.0.3 iku of ab.sín-field from Sîn-rēš, son of Ilīja, situated in the *ugārum* Nagû, on the other bank of the Irmina.

In *MHET* II, 6, 908 (Aš 15) Ilšu-ibni takes on lease a field with a surface of 1.0.0 iku, being part of a field of 2.0.0 iku, situated in the *ugārum* Še.gi<sub>6</sub>, belonging to Warad-Marduk, son of Šelēbum. The *ugārum* Še.gi<sub>6</sub> is also located on the other bank of the Irmina<sup>18</sup>. The field taken on lease is the sum of an ab.sín-field with a surface of 0.1.3 iku and a kankal-field with a surface of 0.1.3 iku.

In *MHET* II, 6, 915 (Aš 17), he leases out 0.0.1 iku of ab.sín-field, situated on the other side of the height of Abi-ešuh (*i-na me-eḫ-ri an.ta a-bi-e-šu-uh*), next to the field of Qišti-Marduk, son of Sîn-iddinam and the field of the children of Pirḫum, to Ibni-Marduk, son of Elmēšum, the builder's apprentice.

In BM 97543, the youngest extant text of Ilšu-ibni (Aš 18), he rents a person called Warad-kūbi, son of Sîn-nadīn-šumī, as farm laborer for one year, which means he still possessed land at that time.

As a result of his landowning and -leasing, Ilšu-ibni has a barley-income.

- *Dividing the profits*

BM 97245 (Aš 13) is the receipt of Ilšu-ibni and his partner Sîn-rēš concerning the field they have in partnership (a.šā *tappūtīm*). Ll. 1-6 state the investment of Ilšu-ibni: 0.2.5 gur of *šiprum* earth (saḫar<sup>l</sup>*šipram*), the (rate of the) services of 6 ox teams for seed plowing (6 *iniāt erēšim*), and 0.3.5 6 sila of

17. Two parallel texts are known to us, Klengel, H., 1968, 216-7 (Ad, Dilbat), and Hallo, W.W., 1977, 55 (mid-Ur III, Umma). Just like Klengel, H., 1968, 217, our text is "double-dated", the date of the loss of the seal is indicated in the text, and the tablet is dated on the same day. As pointed out before by both authors, this reflects the importance of the seal, and the consequent need to report its loss without a day's delay. The document was dated on the day of the loss and meant to take legal effect from then on. Both parallel texts describe the material of the lost seal: <sup>na4</sup>kišib-šu ge<sub>6</sub> "his black seal" (Klengel, H., 1968, 216-7: 3) and kišib<sup>na4</sup>TUR-lál "the seal of elallu-stone" (Hallo, W.W., 1977, 55: 1). Another text pointing at the importance of a seal is BM 78356 (Aš 35), a lawsuit concerning the ownership of two seals of Ili-dāmiq, which he gave to his son Ilšu-ibni (cf. Harris, R., 1976, 67). However, none of these three texts gives any information on the legend, nor the impression of the lost seal, which makes it quite difficult to find out whether later seal impressions are those of the original or of a new seal.

18. Cf. Tanret, M., 1998, 76.

barley-seed. As a part of the profit, Sîn-rēš receives 2.2.0 gur of barley from Ilšu-ibni, apart from the expenses he<sup>19</sup> made for the field.

- *Hiring labour*

In BM 97849 (Aš 13), a harvest contract, Ilšu-ibni pays Ili-iqīšam, son of Ibnātum, half a shekel of silver. In return the latter will provide him with harvesters on the day of the harvest.

Moreover, eight loan-contracts tell us that Ilšu-ibni owns barley, which he lends out, no doubt to make some profit.

B.4. *The loan-contracts*

a) *barley*

In four of these contracts, the final destination of this barley (plus profit) is the *natbakum* or the *é i.dub*. Both are translated by the *CAD* as “granary, storehouse, storage place for barley”<sup>20</sup>.

The general structure of these loans is similar. Ilšu-ibni lends an amount of barley to a person. At harvest time, this person has to deliver barley to the “granary” (*natbakum* or *é i.dub*).

Barley to be delivered to the *natbakum* is indicated as “belonging to the pile of barley (prepared for storage)” (*ša šê karê*) or “belonging to the storehouse” (*ša é šê karê*).

Barley to be delivered to the *é i.dub* (*našpakum*) is described as “for storage” (*ana našpakūtīm*)<sup>21</sup>. Two of the borrowers are merchants, the third one is a soldier.

This can be represented schematically as follows:

text	date	barley		borrower	destination
		amount	description		
BM 97601	Aš 9/11/21	0.1.4 gur	<i>ša šê karê</i>	Baš(i)-ilum <sup>22</sup>	<i>natbakum</i>
BM 97574	Aš 9/11/27	0.1.2 gur	<i>ša é šê karê</i>	Ipqu-Marduk, dam.gār	<i>natbakum</i>
BM 97547	Aš 1/08/xx	2.0.0 gur	<i>ana našpakūtīm</i>	Marduk-xx, dam.gār	<i>é i.dub</i>
BM 97623	Aš 11/09/30	0.1.0 gur	<i>ana našpakūtīm</i>	Baš(i)-ilum, aga.uš	<i>é i.dub</i>

- *Similarities and differences*

19. This might be Ilšu-ibni: after the deduction of the expenses Ilšu-ibni made, his partner Sîn-rēš received an amount of 2.2.0 gur of barley.

20. Cf. *CAD* N2 sub *našpaku* A and *natbaku*.

21. A. Skaist understands this type of loans as texts recording “transfers of grain to secondary granaries which were ultimately required to return the grain to a central granary” (1994, 80-81). This interpretation contradicts our texts, telling us that the borrowers have to return the barley to the “*é i.dub*” from which they took it, which means that this barley was already stored in this “*é i.dub*” at the beginning (cf. *infra*). Moreover, he does not see “why a deposit for storage should contain an interest clause” (*op. cit.*, 81, for “*našpakūtīm* loans” bearing an interest clause, cf. *op. cit.*, 79, fn. 165). In other words, he does not see why or how the lender of this type of loans could make some profit. In our opinion, this is precisely the reason why the barley, already stored in the “*é i.dub*” and to be returned to it, is lent out by its owner.

22. For the alternation of Baš-ilum and Baši-ilum, cf. De Graef, K., 1999a.



These loans can be grouped. Two in Aš 9, only six days apart, two in Aš 11, one month apart. In the first two instances the barley is described as belonging to the pile (ša (é) ša karê). It was given by Ilšu-ibni respectively to a merchant and a soldier<sup>23</sup>. Each of them has to deliver the barley at harvest time to the *natbakum*.

In the two other texts the barley is described as for storage (*ana našpakūtīm*). The same soldier and (another) merchant receive it and will return / pay it, at harvest time, to the granary (é ì.dub) from which they took it. The first three texts are all written by Šumum-līši, dumu é.dub.ba.a, the last one by Sīn-erība with the same title.

Whereas the two last texts are written with the standard formulas for loans (ki PN<sub>1</sub> PN<sub>2</sub> šu.ba.an.ti, ... *a-na é ì.dub il-qú-ú ú-ta-ar* or *ì.ág.e*<sup>24</sup>), the first two have a.o. a relative clause (še ... ša PN<sub>1</sub> *a-na* PN<sub>2</sub> *id-di-nu* ... *še-am ì.ág.e*). Written by the same scribe over a period of only two years, these differences must be meaningful.

– About piles, storehouses and granaries

1. The karû and the é karê

In our first two texts, barley to be delivered to the *natbakum* (cf. infra, sub 3) comes from “(the house of) the pile of barley, prepared for storage” (ša (é) šê karê). The CAD K translates *karû* as “the pile of barley (prepared for storage)”, and *bīt karê* as “storehouse” (cf. CAD K, sub *karû*)<sup>25</sup>. The indications “ša šê karê” (part of the pile of barley, prepared for storage) and “ša é karê” (belonging to the storehouse) were mixed here. Obviously, the *bīt karê* was a specific building wherein the *karû* were stored. The responsible for the barley could lend it out of the *bīt karê*, at harvest time it had to be delivered to the *natbakum*. This means that barley went from the *bīt karê* to the *natbakum*. We also note that a *bīt karê* could be guarded by soldiers<sup>26</sup>.

2. The é ì.dub or našpakum<sup>27</sup>

In our last two texts, barley for storage (*ana našpakūtīm*) was to be delivered to the “é ì.dub”. Obviously, this also was barley already stored, in this case in the “é ì.dub”, since the borrowers had to return the barley to the “é ì.dub” from which they took it (*še-am a-na é ì.dub il-qú-ú ú-ta-ar* (var.: *ì.ág.e*)<sup>28</sup>). The difference with the barley “ša šê karê” is that the one from the “é ì.dub” returns to the “é ì.dub”.

Another term is introduced by the Codex Hammurabi, in combination with “é ì.dub”: §§ 120 and 121 “if a man places his barley in another man’s house for storage (*ana našpakūtīm*) and a loss occurs in the storage bin (*qarītum*), or the owner of the house opens the “é ì.dub” and takes the barley, the owner of the barley establishes by oath before the god (the amount of) his barley (that was stored) and the owner of the house will restitute to the owner of the barley twofold the amount of barley that he took.”

23. It concerns the same soldier as in BM 97623, viz. Baš(i)-ilum.

24. Exceptionally the Akkadian “*utâr*” is replaced by the Sumerian “*ì.ág.e*”, notwithstanding the fact that both terms do not express exactly the same action (cf. for example CT 4, 36b (Ad 8): 9-11: 3.0.0 še gur <sup>biš</sup>bán <sup>d</sup>utu *a-na é ì.dub! il-qú-ú ì.ág.e*).

25. According to the CAD, the expression *bīt karê* is typical for Mari-texts. Our texts prove that it was also known in Sippar, although only in this mixed form.

26. CT 29, 17: 26 and TIM 2, 7: 18, cf. CAD K sub *karû*.

27. The Sumerian logographic writing “é ì.dub” is equalled in CH § 113 to the Akkadian syllabic writing *našpakum*. Note that *našpakum* is equalled to “é.uš.gíd.da” in the lexical lists (cf. lexical section CAD N2, 66).

28. The greater part of the loan contracts in the Ur-Utu archive where the borrowed barley is to be delivered to the “é ì.dub”, include this clause. In two thirds of the texts, the barley is indicated as “for storage” (*našpakūtum*, *ana našpakūtīm*, *ana ì.dub-tīm*), in the other texts, the barley is not specified at all.

and “if someone stores barley in someone else’s house, he pays five silas per gur as yearly rent for the granary (*idī našpakim*)”<sup>29</sup>

The exact difference between *qarītum* and “é ì.dub” is difficult to pinpoint. The *CAD* translates the first one as “storeroom”<sup>30</sup>. The difference would then be that *qarītum* is part of a house, like the *ašlukkatum* (é uš.gid.da), the storage chamber<sup>31</sup>, whereas “é ì.dub” is an autonomous structure. The crucial point is that § 120 starts with “in a man’s house”, so both the *qarītum* and the “é ì.dub” are considered to be part of an *awīlum*’s house (*lato sensu*).

This implies that in this context the *našpakum* / é ì.dub is to be situated in a “private” atmosphere.

Indeed, besides some texts which refer explicitly to the “*našpakum* / é ì.dub” of PN, such as *TeD* 140: 13 (sd), *UCP* 10/1, 56: 12-13 (sd) and *BM* 97216<sup>32</sup>: 14 (Hj 23)<sup>33</sup>, other texts also point clearly at a “private” context:

– the “*našpakum* / é ì.dub” of PN’s house:

– *STOL*, M., 1976, 55 (Hj 40), 11-14: ud-um<sup>gis</sup> má.ì.dub é [i-la]-kam na-aš-pa-ak é PN<sub>1</sub> i-pé-et-te-e-ma PN<sub>2</sub> še i.ág.e (on the day when the cargo boat of the house arrives, the “*našpakum*” of PN<sub>1</sub>’s house will be opened and PN<sub>2</sub> will disburse the barley)

– *YOS* 13, 152 (Sd 8), 13: šà é ì.dub é PN (belonging to the “é ì.dub” of PN’s house)

– the “é ì.dub” at the entrance of PN’s gate:

– *AbB* 6, 219 (sd), 14-15: é ì.dub i-na né-re-eb ká PN pa-te-eḫ-ma še-um le-qi (the “é ì.dub” at the entrance of PN’s gate was opened and the barley was taken)

– the “é ì.dub” of the *gagûm* could be interpreted in the same way, it could be something like a common granary for the *nadītū*, their houses being too small to include such a structure.

– *CT* 4, 29b (Aš 5), 12-14: ... še.gur ... ša i-na é ì.<dub> ša é gá.gi.a ša-ap-ku (... barley ... which was heaped up in the “é ì.dub” of the *gagûm*)

Another one is related to a specific – though unidentified – locality: *UCP* 10/1, 57 (sd), ll. 12b-13: na-aš-pa-ak [tab<sup>7</sup>]-mu-la-ŠI<sup>ki</sup><sup>34</sup> (the *našpak* of [tab<sup>7</sup>]-mu-la-ŠI<sup>ki</sup>). Finally there is a reference to an “ì.dub” of the palace, in a broken context: *YOS* 13, 137 (Ad?), l. 13: šà <é>? ì.dub [ša] [é]. [gal]-lim (belonging to the “(é?) ì.dub” of the palace).

In our texts Išū-ibni owned barley which he stored in an “é ì.dub”. This could be lent out, no doubt at a profit. At harvest time it had to be returned to the same “é ì.dub”.

### 3. The *natbakum*

In our first two texts, barley from the pile (šà (é) šê karê, cf. supra sub 1) was to be delivered to the *natbakum*.

*CT* 8, 10c and 21b (both Aš 5/12/12) indicate that a practice similar to that of the “é ì.dub” existed for the *natbakum*. A part of the barley of the palace, received at the *natbakum* of Sippar-Amnānum by an overseer of the merchants (PA dam.gàr), could be lent out by him to a person, who had to return it to the *natbakum* from which he took it. In these two texts, the “*ana nāši kanikīšu*” formula is added: the

29. Translation *CAD* N2, 70. The translation of A. Finet differs from that of the *CAD*, cf. Finet, A., 1973, 81.

30. cf. *CAD* Q sub *qarītu*.

31. cf. *CAD* A2 sub *ašlukkatu*.

32. We wish to thank E. Woestenburg for providing us kindly with her transliteration of this text.

33. In *Di* 1156 (sd) we read ll. 2’-3’: [a]-[na] é ì.dub [ša]<sup>d</sup> inanna<sup>1</sup>-ma.an.sum [gala.maḫ]<sup>1</sup>. If our interpretation of these lines is correct, this would make Inanna-mansum, chief dirge singer of Annunītum, the owner of an “é ì.dub”. This is not unlikely at all since he owned many fields and had consequently a lot of barley. However, this tablet is badly damaged and needs collation.

34. The name of this city is not included in the “Name Indices” of *UCP* 10/1, nor mentioned in *RGTC* III. The *CAD* N2 (sub *našpaku* A 1 a 3’) mentions also *UCP* 10/1, 79: 6 under “na-aš-pa-ak GN”. This line reads: 3.0.0 gur ša na-aš-pa-ak é [x]<sup>1</sup>-[...]; é [x]<sup>1</sup>-[...] could be the beginning of a name of a city – although again not included in *UCP* 10/1’s “Name Indices”, nor mentioned in *RGTC* III – but could also be the indication of [P]<sup>1</sup>[N]’s house, cf. supra.

borrower has to return the barley to the bearer of his (loan)-document in the *natbakum* where he received the barley<sup>35</sup>. The operation is the same, but the context is different: the texts state that it was “barley of the palace”.

This implies that the *natbakum* is to be situated in the administrative sphere. Indeed, other texts point also in this direction. Several texts mention the “*natbakum*” of a specific city (and of a village, as was the case for the “*é i.dub*”), e.g.: *CT* 45, 55 (Ae “h”-Ad 26), l. 3’-10’: še gú.un PN gal.ukkin.na erin ká é.gal ... *a-na* ud.kib.nun<sup>ki</sup>-*ia-aḫ-ru-rum* *ib-ba-ab-lam-ma i-na na-at-ba-ki-im ša i-ta ká.gal* <sup>d(a)</sup>-*a iš-ša-ap-ku* – barley from the rent of PN ... which was brought to Sippar-Jahrūrum and delivered at the *natbakum* that is next to the Aja-gate, *CT* 8, 10c and 21b (Aš 5), l. 6: *i-na na-at-ba-ak* ud.kib.nun<sup>ki</sup>-*am-na-nim*, *BE* 6/I, 99 (Aš 12), l. 11: *a-na na-at-ba-ak* ud.kib.nun<sup>ki</sup>-*am-na-nu*). Other texts, among which *YOS* 12, 409 (Si 23), indicate “*ša.tam*”-officials (clerks) being associated with the *natbakum* (*YOS* 12, 409: 6: *a-na ša.tam.meš na-at-ba-ki*).

Note however the indication “*natbak* PN” in *YOS* 12, 152: 9 (Si 5). The context does not allow to give any explanation concerning this *natbakum* of an individual.

In conclusion we see that officials like Ilšū-ibni could make profits on two levels: by lending out their private property and by lending out that of the state. Whether this last practice was considered to be part of the income to be derived from an official function or a bonus, should be examined in a larger context.

#### b) Silver

The other four contracts are silver loans, stating first of all the commodity and its value, secondly the contracting parties and thirdly the repayment clause *ana naši kanikīšu i.lá.e* (he will pay to the bearer of his tablet).

In *BM* 97569 (Aš 9) Ilšū-ibni lends 1/2 sheqel 15 še of silver to Qīšti-Ea, son of Sīn-išmeanni. The latter will pay silver to the bearer of his tablet within 10 days. In *BM* 97231 (Aš 12) Ilšū-ibni lends 1 1/4 sheqel of silver to Ili-iqīša, Tamlātum and Šumum-libši, children of Awīl-Šamaš. They will pay silver to the keeper of their tablet within one month. In *BM* 97385 (Aš 13) Ilšū-ibni lends 2/3 sheqel 15 še of silver, the remaining money for the acquisition of an ox, to Marussum, son of Zikrānu. He will pay silver to the bearer of his tablet within one month.

#### c) Oil – barley

In *BM* 97475 (Aš 14) Ilšū-ibni lends 2 sila of oil to the soldier Baš(ī)-ilum, son of Adad-bāni, in order to buy barley. The latter will deliver barley to the bearer of his tablet on the day of the harvest.

#### B.5. Ilšū-ibni as a cattle-owner

In the herding contract *BM* 97207 (Aš 13) Ilšū-ibni entrusts twenty-five sheep to Mašum, son of Šuari, the Sutean, who will herd them. Mašum will have to deliver two mina of wool per sheep and he will be paid 0.0.2 gur of barley per sheep, which means that Ilšū-ibni pays 20 litres of barley for each two mina of wool.

#### B.6. Ilšū-ibni, engaged in (foreign) trade

One particular text indicates that Ilšū-ibni was engaged in trade. In the trade-agreement *BM* 97250 (Aš 13), Sīn-imaguranni, son of Bēlšunu, gives ten sheqels of silver to Ilšū-ibni, in order to buy a male

35. x še.gur ... ša x še.gur ša é.gal ša PN<sub>1</sub> PA dam.gār ina natbak GN ... imḫuru ki PN<sub>1</sub> PA dam.gār <sup>1</sup>PN<sub>2</sub> šu.ba.an.ti ud.buru<sub>14</sub> šè ana naši kanikīšu ana natbak ilqū še'am utāt (*CT* 8, 10c, 21b: 1-16).

slave. Within a month, when his transaction will be concluded (*dam.gār-ru-sú innepuš*), he is obliged to deliver this slave. The expenses of his trade mission will be paid plentifully.

Taking the late date of this document into account, the slave to be bought is probably of foreign origin, viz. from the north<sup>36</sup>. If so, this implies that Ilšu-ibni was engaged in foreign trade.

#### B.7. *Ilšu-ibni temporarily in financial problems ?*

Some texts seem to indicate that at a given moment things went wrong with our Ilšu-ibni. The first is BM 97821 (Aš 13), a *šalmu-balṭu* loan from the god Šamaš. If these loans are indeed given by the temple to persons in a difficult economic situation as concluded by A. Skaist (1994, 180), then Ilšu-ibni must have been in very great difficulties since he lent no less than 30 gur from the temple. This is by far the largest loan of this kind. Another, though less clear, indication is the fact that he leases a house in Aš 16 (*MHET* II, 6, 914). Why did he do this? Did he move, or did he sell his own house because of economic problems? Anyway, his financial problems do not seem to have lasted a long time, since we know that Ilšu-ibni (again ?) owned land in Aš 17 and 18 (cf. B.3.).

### C. Conclusions

#### C.1. *Long, short or no title?*

As we have already pointed out in the survey of occurrences of both Ilšu-ibni's, they are mentioned in the texts in three different ways:

1. with a long title: *ugula gidru erin elam.ma<sup>ki</sup>* (the son of Ina-palêšu), or  
*ugula gidru erin Šarrum-Laba<sup>ki</sup>* (the son of Qaqqadum)
2. with a short title: *ugula gidru*
3. without title

What could be the reason for this variation?

- Chronology

There seems to be no chronological factor involved. Both occur without title, after they have been attested with long and/or short title. Only Ilšu-ibni, son of Ina-palêšu, occurs again with title, short and long, after he has been attested without.

Ilšu-ibni son of Ina-palêšu appears without title in the inheritance *OLA* 21, 71. Before and after this attestation he appears with short and long title, as a witness.

Ilšu-ibni, son of Qaqqadum only appears without title in the last three texts (*MHET* II, 908, 915 and BM 97543). In all probability this refers to the loss of his title and social status (cf. *supra*). Before this occurrence he is attested with long and short title.

- A (shortened) long title

The son of Ina-palêšu is a witness in four texts. These texts are important to us, for they provide us with two indications of his title, occurring in the same function. As we mentioned before, he bears his full title functioning as first witness, but "ugula gidru" functioning as second witness. Since he is *ugula gidru erin elam.ma<sup>ki</sup>* in Aš 13 and 17, it seems logical that he was just that in Aš 14 and 15, be it that he is only defined as *ugula gidru*. Note that his title is shortened if he is preceded in the list of witnesses by a PA MAR.TU, a military person of higher rank<sup>37</sup>.

The son of Qaqqadum only appears twice with his short title (*Di* 1646 (Aš 12) and BM 97821 (Aš 13). In the other texts from Aš 9 till Aš 16 he always appears as *ugula gidru erin Šarrum-Laba<sup>ki</sup>*. It seems

36. Cf. De Graef, K., 1999b, 90-92.

37 Cf. Landsberger, B., 1955.

logical to us that in Aš 12 and 13 he should also be the supervisor of the erin-collective of Šarrum-Laba. Moreover they show us that within the same function (i.e., lender of barley), he is attested with the short title (BM 97821: 3-4) and with the long title (BM 97245: 4). Note that as a first witness he occurs with his short title.

So we can assume that ugula gidru in all these examples is short for the full title, respectively ugula gidru erin elam.ma<sup>ki</sup> and ugula gidru erin Šarrum-Laba<sup>ki</sup>.

When did one use the full title and when the shortened form? Since no distinction is made vis-à-vis the function the person performs in the text (cf. supra), it might be possible that the shortened version was used in a so-called "reductive situation", i.e. where there was no space or insufficient space on the tablet to write it in full.<sup>38</sup>

### C.2. The seals of the ugula gidru

Note that their title does not occur on their seals<sup>39</sup>:

(A) Ilšu-ibnišū	(B) Ilšu-ibni[šū]
Dumu Ina-palêšu	dumu Qaqqadum
ir <sup>d</sup> da- [...]	ir Ammišaduqa
ù [...]	

An interesting point of difference between the legends of both ugula gidru's seals is given in the ir line(s). Ilšu-ibni, son of Ina-palêšu, proclaims to be "servant" of two gods, while Ilšu-ibni, son of Qaqqadum, is "servant" of the king Ammišaduqa. Since both seals are used during the same period, viz. the second part of Ammišaduqa's reign (cf. also fn. 22), the trend of secularization under Hammurabi (cf. Harris, R., 1961) seems to have had a selective influence on the seals of ugula gidru's. The very small number of seals belonging to ugula gidru's, does not allow, for the moment, to define a general trend in one way or another.

### C.3. Other ugula gidru's in charge of particular groups ?

We are already well acquainted with four ugula gidru's who are in charge of particular groups, via the texts cited above, viz. our two Ilšu-ibni's, Warad-Marduk, ugula gidru elam.ma é.gal (the overseer of the Elamites of the palace) and Mār-Ammâ, son of Taribâtum, ugula gidru ša erin ud.kib.nun<sup>ki</sup> (the overseer of the erin-collective of Sippar). Of this last person we have only one attestation.

Since we do not know the patronymic of Warad-Marduk, ugula gidru elam.ma é.gal, we cannot but presume that he is identical with the contemporary Warad-Marduk, specified as ugula gidru. This person appears four times as a witness and once as an heir. As a first witness we find him in *CT* 8, 10b (Aš 10) and *MHET* II, 4, 526 (Aš 11). The list of witnesses in the two texts partly comprises the same persons<sup>40</sup>, but unfortunately they are not specified by a profession or title. He functions twice as a witness in *CT* 8, 19a (Aš 5) and *OLA* 21, 41 (Aš 13). In the first text, he is preceded by another ugula gidru, Ibni-Adad. In the will *BAP*, 107 (Aš 16), the ugula gidru Warad-Marduk, son of Warad-Ulmaššitum, inherits a slave-woman with her children, whereas his two brothers inherit one slave-woman together.

38 For the system of "reduction", cf. Tanret, M., 1996.

39 This seems to have been usual, since no seals mentioning the title ugula gidru are known to us. We do know another sealing ugula gidru, viz. Gimil-Marduk, son of Šin-mušallim (*CT* 48, 76 (Aš 17)). His seal does not mention his title either; according to its legend, Gimil-Marduk is "servant" of a god (Šin or Enki): (1) *gi-mil-d*AMAR.[UTU] (2) *dumu d*EN.ZU.<sup>d</sup>*mu*<sup>l</sup>-[ša-lim] (3) *ir d*EN.[...].

40 Warad-é.tel-an.na, son of Ipqâtum as second and third witness, Šumum-libši, son of Ina-palêšu as third and fourth witness in respectively *CT* 8, 10b and *MHET* II, 526. These two individuals also show up in the will *BAP* 107 (Aš 16) as eighth and ninth witness.

The prosopographic data base of Sippar provides us with another thirty-nine ugula gidru's marked by a personal name, in the Old-Babylonian texts. Moreover, we have thirteen attestations of ugula gidru's without name, broken names or simply illegible. At least five of these persons can be linked to a specific group. We do not have any texts at hand in which they carry a title, establishing this link; we can but assume that we are dealing with ugula gidru's who are in charge of such a group.

In *CT* 48, 78 (Aš 18) three Elamites, the first two under the ugula gidru Šumum-libši, and the third one under the ugula gidru Warad-Amurru, accompany a group of Suteans to do dredging on the banks of the Tigris. *CT* 48, 77 (s.d), a badly damaged administrative text, concerning rations (?) received by, among others, two ugula gidru's, named Awīl-Adad and Šablum, mentions an erin *kaššī* (the erin of the Kassites). It is possible that these two individuals were at the head of the erin of the Kassites. The author of the letter *AbB* VI, 190 (s.d.) informs his master that he is taking care of the erin of Numḥum and its overseers (PA.PA.meš<sup>1</sup>-[*šu-nu*]), who are positioned at the gates of Sippar-Jahrūrūm. Moreover, *PBS* 8/II, 216 (Aš 16) gives us the title PA MAR.TU *ša* erin *kaššū*.

From what precedes we can deduce that the full title of the two Ilišu-ibni's can be shortened to ugula gidru. A shortage of material of the different ugula gidru from Old-Babylonian Sippar, does not allow us to answer the question whether the notation ugula gidru is always a shortened form of the full title to specify the group of which they are supervisors. What we can say is that some individuals with a title of the type ugula gidru (*ša*) erin GN sometimes are referred to as ugula gidru in short. So in some cases at least the notation ugula gidru is an abbreviation. We notice that all of these attestations are late Old-Babylonian, more specifically from the reign of Ammišaduqa.

## II. ŠARRUM-LABA<sup>ki</sup>: AN UNKNOWN PLACE?

### *The geographical location of Šarrum-Laba<sup>ki</sup>*

Although the geographical name Šarrum-Laba<sup>ki</sup> is only mentioned twice in the Old-Babylonian administrative texts of Sippar (*MHET* II, 6, 831 (sd) and *BBVOT* I, 104 (Aš 5)<sup>41</sup>), we shall come back on these texts further on), this is not a blank spot on the map. Šarrum-Laba appears in the Old-Babylonian copy of the Sumerian text describing the districts of the kingdom of Ur under the government of Ur-Nammu<sup>42</sup>. According to this text, Šarrum-Laba is situated on the bank of the Irnina-river, between the towns of Huršitum and Namzium, in the district of Urum<sup>43</sup>.

Recently S.W. Cole and H. Gasche (in Gasche and Tanret, 1998) have come to new and very important conclusions on the geographical situation of Northern Babylonia. They have succeeded in determining the course of the river Irnina, on the basis of archaeological, geomorphological and textual material. The reconstruction of the district of Urum, according to the land registry office of Ur-Nammu, has been projected on the map of Northern Babylonia, based on their findings (1998, 45). It shows the most important toponyms and their approximate location of this district. When we consult the text from the land registry office (Kraus, F.R., 1955), the former reconstruction by Steinkeller, P., 1980, and the recent conclusions of S.W. Cole and H. Gasche, we can now localise Šarrum-Laba approximately (cf. map).

### *Šarrum-Laba: the epicentre of Ilišu-ibni's activities*

Ilišu-ibni's fields are situated near Šarrum-Laba

41 We would like to thank E. Woestenburg for putting our attention to these texts.

42 Kraus, F.R., 1955 and *RGTC* II, 178.

43 For the reading of this toponym, cf. Steinkeller, P., 1980

Various texts tell us directly that Ilšu-ibni, son of Qaqqadum owned fields. In *MHET* II, 6, 902 and 915 he leases out his field, in *MHET* II, 6, 908 he leases a field himself. The location of these fields is important regarding the situation of Šarrum-Laba. Šarrum-Laba is situated on the bank of the Irnina (cf. supra). Two of the three fields are situated in the neighbourhood of the Irnina. Ilšu-ibni owns 0.1.0 iku ab.sín-field along the Irnina (ú.sal <sup>id</sup>ir-ni-na) (*MHET* II, 902: 1-2) and he leases 1.0.0 iku field sited in the *ugārum* Še.gi<sub>6</sub>, which belongs to the territory (*eršetum*) of Sippar-Amnānum, located on the other side of the Irnina (bal.ri <sup>id</sup>ir-ni-na)<sup>44</sup>.

M. Tanret (1998, 72) proposed recently to understand the territory of Sippar-Jahrūrūm as the area south of the Euphrates, and the territory of Sippar-Amnānum as the area between the Euphrates and the Irnina plus some *ugārū* on the other side i.e. to the north of the Irnina. The northern border of this area could also be a “natural” border of northern Babylonia. So we can situate Šarrum-Laba more specifically in the north of the territory of Sippar-Amnānum, the “natural” border area of northern Babylonia.

Presumably both fields are near Šarrum-Laba: one field, like the town itself, lies on the bank of the Irnina, the second field on the other side of the river. Since the course of the Irnina in itself forms to a great extent the natural border, it seems to us that the area with *ugārū* at the other side would be rather limited. It is not yet known where the “an.ta ša Abi-ešuh” is situated, possibly we should try and locate it in the surroundings of Šarrum-Laba.

#### Šarrum-Laba: a military bastion?

The texts in which Ilšu-ibni lends barley not only reinforce the notion of field-ownership indirectly, but, in addition, they provide us with information about the administrative organisation of Šarrum-Laba. We know from BM 97623 that Ilšu-ibni's barley, intended for delivery to the “é i.dub”, is borrowed by Baš(ī)-ilum, son of Adad-bāni, a soldier (aga.uš).

The fact that Ilšu-ibni's barley, intended for delivery to the “é i.dub” and *natbakum*, is borrowed by a soldier, points at the presence of the military in Šarrum-Laba.

Moreover, in *BBVOT* I, 104 (Aš 5), an ugula gidru called Ilšu-ibnišu is responsible for the workmen / soldiers (erín) of Šarrum-Laba during earthworks in the *ugārum* Nagûm, situated on the other side of the Irnina<sup>45</sup>. It goes without saying that this person is to be identified with our Ilšu-ibni, son of Qaqqadum, because of the connection with Šarrum-Laba. The total volume of earth to be dealt with in this text is 36 sar. The erín of Šarrum-Laba is responsible for 6 sar, i.e. 1/6 of the total work (*BBVOT* I, 104, 4: 6 sar *sar-rum-la-ba*<sup>ki</sup> níg-šu dingir-šu-ib-ni-šu ugula gidru). Since the daily work assignment of one man is to be considered 10 gín – i.e. 1/6 sar – (K. R. Nemet-Nejat, 1993, 46), we can calculate the maximum population of the erín of Šarrum-Laba. If the work is done on one day –which is rather improbable–, the erín of Šarrum-Laba would consist of 36 persons; if it is spread over several days, the number of persons is to be halved per extra day.

As mentioned, Šarrum-Laba is situated north of the area of Sippar-Amnānum, i.e. in the border area of northern Babylonia. It is not surprising that troops are stationed on this particular border to protect the area against danger from the north and to execute public works during periods of peace.

44 Cf. *MHET* II, 870

45 *BBVOT* I, 104, 21 reads: a.gār *na-gu-um* bal<sup>i</sup>.ri id<sup>i</sup>.da? (the *ugārum* Nagûm (situated) on the other side of the river). Other texts (cf. a.o. *MHET* II, 906/ 2-3 and *YOS* XIII, 425: 7-8) show that this *ugārum* is situated on the other side of the Irnina-river, cf. Tanret, M., 1998, 71.

## An Ištar-cult in Šarrum-Laba?

The presence of a temple field belonging to the Ištar of Šarrum-Laba in *MHET* II, 831: 3 (sd) points to the existence of an Ištar-cult in Šarrum-Laba.

Other towns in this area:

A. *Ḫiṛitum in the north*

As illustrated by D. Lacambre (1997, 431 sq.) and recently taken up again by S.W. Cole and H. Gasche (1998, 21-23), Ḫiṛitum was on various occasions in the history of Mesopotamia a place of confrontation between Babylon and a threatening power from the north. A first confrontation took place during the Old-Babylonian period. During the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Ḫammurabi, allied troops from Babylon and Mari succeeded in totally breaking the threatening Elamite power from the north. A millennium later, the town was once again the scene of a decisive battle, a battle between Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, and his rebelling brother, Šamaš-šumu-ūkin, king of Babylon (early 652 BC). And later Nebuchadnezzar II built the famous Wall of Media on this site. All these facts confirm that the line of defence of Babylonia was near Ḫiṛitum on the Irnina.

B. *Ḫalḫalla in the east*<sup>46</sup>

The exact location of Ḫalḫalla is unknown<sup>47</sup>. However, clues within the texts point in the direction of the eastern border of the area of Sippar-Amnānum:

One text positively draws us to the proximity of the Euphrates: *CT* 47, 56 (Si 4) mentions a field bordering the Euphrates (sag.bi<sup>id</sup>ud.kib.nun<sup>ki</sup>). This field is located in an *ugārum* whose name is broken, situated in Ḫalḫalla. Other texts, ascribed by M. Stol (1998, 415 sq.) to the Ḫalḫalla-file on the basis of prosopographical evidence, mention the Euphrates as well as the Tigris: *CT* 47, 58 (Si 7) mentions a field subject to erosion by the Tigris (<sup>id</sup>idigna *i-ka-al ù i-na-ad-di-ma*). This field is located in Bāb alim. *CT* 47, 60 (Si 8) mentions a field situated along the Euphrates (ú.sal<sup>id</sup>ud.kib.nun<sup>ki</sup>). *MHET* II, 4, 426 (Si 14) also mentions a field situated along the Euphrates (ú.sal<sup>id</sup>ud.kib.nun<sup>ki</sup>). This field lies within the *ugārum* Šuplānum.

A letter from Mari (J.-M. Durand, 1988, 100-bis: 5) describes Ḫalḫalla as being below (*šaplānum*) Sippar. S.W. Cole and H. Gasche (1998, 22, n. 104) demonstrate that the term should not be interpreted geographically as below, i.e. south of Sippar, but rather topographically as below, i.e. topographically lower than, or downstream of, Sippar. In other words Ḫalḫalla could be reached by ship from Sippar. From the texts we know that a *namkarum* went through the town of Ḫalḫalla. *CT* 47, 62/a (Si 9) mentions a field bordering on the *namkar ālim* (*ita namkar uru<sup>ki</sup>*). This field is within the *ugārum* Ḫalḫalla. In two other texts the name of the *namkarum* is broken, but could probably be restored as *namkar* [*uru<sup>ki</sup>*] (M. Tanret, 1998, 85-6). *MHET* II, 4, 430 (Si 15) mentions a field which borders on the *namkar* [*ālim*] (*ita namkar* [*uru<sup>ki</sup>*]). This field is situated in the *ugārum* Ḫalḫalla. *MHET* II, 5, 627 (Sm-Ḫa) mentions 8 sar é.ki.gál, beside the *namka<sup>r</sup> ālim<sup>l</sup>* (*i-ta na-am-ka-<sup>l</sup>ar uru<sup>ki</sup>*), situated in Ḫalḫalla itself. Since we do not know from where this *namkarum* departs, various options remain open. Did it branch off from the Euphrates, or from the waterway on which Dūr-Apil-Sîn is located and the Irnina (cf. S.W. Cole and H. Gasche, 1998, 22, n. 104 and our map)?

Just as for Šarrum-Laba, the texts point to a strong military presence in Ḫalḫalla. One text clearly testifies to the presence of soldiers in Ḫalḫalla. *CT* 6, 20a (Si 29) describes a field bordered on both

46 Cf. Stol, M., 1998.

47 On a possible location of Ḫalḫalla, we will come back later.



sides by a field belonging to soldiers. This field is situated within the *ugārum* Taptiātum, in Ḫalḫalla<sup>48</sup>. Other texts, ascribed by M. Stol (1998, 415 sq.) to the Ḫalḫalla-file point equally to the presence of soldiers. *VS* 8, 84/85 (Ḫa 2) describes a field next to the field of soldier Aḫum-waqar. In *CT* 47, 58/A (Si 7) Mār-eršetim, ...-soldier (aga.uš.sag) functions as penultimate witness. Moreover, from the case published in M. Stol (1998, 444-5) we know that soldiers owned real-estate. Despite the fact that the mayor and elders of the town had ordered Ikūn-pî-Sîn, son of Sîn-tajjar, to return the house of the sons of Tarībum and the soldiers ... (aga.uš *na-si-ḫu-um*) - a house he had appropriated - to the sons of Tarībum, the soldiers will indict Ikūn-pî-Sîn on their return on account of his house<sup>49</sup>. We can add the following texts: In *MHET* II, 4, 418 (Si 10) Nakkaram, son of Ikūn-pî-Sîn<sup>50</sup> buys an é.ki.gál. Ilšu-rinu, the royal soldier (aga.uš lugal) is the ninth witness (out of thirteen). *MHET* II, 6, 843 (Za) describes a field located next to the field of Erra-nada and the soldiers (aga.uš<sup>l?</sup>.meš); Šamaš-ili, mayor of Ḫalḫalla is the first witness. In *CT* 8, 32b (Si 29), a junior shepherd, Anātum, son of Kaništum, is given, on the order of the king, to Ikūn-pî-Sîn and Sîn-tajjar for the replacement of the soldiers (*a-na taḫ-ḫi* aga.uš.meš).

#### The Ilšu-ibni's and their erin

The foregoing clearly establishes the relation between Ilšu-ibni, son of Qaqqadum, and the erin which he is in charge of. This ugula gidru leads the erin of Šarrum-Laba, a town situated on the northern border of the territory of Sippar-Amnānum; the organisation is military in character. He also owns fields, as other military do in similar and adjacent settlements (cf. aga.uš at Ḫalḫalla).

The question arises where the relation is between Ilšu-ibni, son of Ina-palêšu, and the Elamite erin. He is of course not active in Elam itself. Various texts point at the presence of Elamites in Sippar (cf. supra *CT* 48, 78, *AbB* 2, 85 and K. de Graef, 1999c, 15 sq.), and specifically in Sippar-Amnānum (cf. Van Lerberghe, K., 1986, 151-5). It seems logical that he leads an Elamite erin stationed in the territory of Sippar. Since he owned a house at Sippar-Amnnum, he probably was also active in this area.

48 *CT* 6, 20a, 1-4: 0.1.0 iku a.šà a.gàr *taptiātum ina Ḫalḫalla*<sup>ki</sup> ita a.šà aga.uš.meš ù ita a.šà aga.uš.meš-ma.

49 Stol, M., 1998, 444, 11-14: *u<sub>4</sub><sup>l</sup>mi* aga<sup>l</sup>.uš *na-si-ḫu-um it-<ta><sup>l</sup>al<sup>l</sup>-kam-ma a-na é-šu a-na i-ku-un-pi<sub>4</sub>-sin dumu sin-ta-ja-ar i-<sup>l</sup>ra<sup>l</sup>-gu-mu.*

50 Cf. Stol, M., 1998, 442

## TEXTS

1) BM 97468 Aš 9/06/04  
COPY/TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1. *iš-tu* itu kin.<sup>d</sup>inanna  
2. ud.4.kam  
3. <sup>na4</sup>kišib *šu-mi ša dingir-šu-ib-ni* ugula [gidru]  
4. *ša erin šar-rum la-ba*<sup>ki</sup>  
5. *i-na é ta-ri-bu dumu mu-ti*<sup>d</sup>[gír?]  
6. *i-na qé-re-et*<sup>d</sup>šu-bu-la  
7. *ha-li-iq*

seal impr. D seal impr. D

Lo.E. seal inscription A

- Rev. 8. *igi pir-tu-um dumu i-na-pa-le*<sup>[e-šu]</sup>  
9. *igi i-na-pa-le-šu* ugula gidru  
10. dumu dingir-šu-na-ši-ir  
11. *igi lugal.bi.dùg.ga gala.maḥ*  
12. <sup>d</sup>inanna-a-ga-dé<sup>ki</sup>  
13. *igi*<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU-mu-ba-li-iḥ  
14. dumu *iz-za*<sup>[...]</sup><sup>[x]</sup>  
15. *igi u-bar*<sup>d</sup>na-bi-um dumu [é].dub.ba.a  
16. *igi šu-mu-um-li-ši* dumu é.dub.ba.a

seal inscr. A seal inscr. A

- U.E. 17. itu kin.<sup>d</sup>inanna ud.4.kam  
18. mu *am-mi-ša-du-qá* lugal.e  
19. alan.nam.nir.gál.la.[a.ni]  
20. zubi guškin.ga.[a.ke<sub>4</sub>]

Le.E. / Obv.: seal impression B + <sup>[kišib]</sup> [*pir-tu-um*]  
seal impression C + kišib *i-na-pa-le-e-šu*  
seal impression D + kišib lugal.bi.dùg.ga

Re.E.: seal impression D

seal inscription A: *šu-mu-um-li*<sup>[ši]</sup>  
dumu *be-el-šu*<sup>[nu]</sup>  
ir<sup>d</sup>nin.si.an.[na]  
ù d[...]

## TRANSLATION

(1) From the sixth month, (2) the fourth day onwards, (3) the seal, in the name of Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru (4) of the erin-collective of Šarrum-Laba, (7) is lost (5) in the house of Taribum, son of Muti-<sup>[Nergal]</sup>, (6) during the festival of Šubula.

## COMMENTS

*The festival of Šubula*

So far, there is no indication that a festival of Šubula, the son of Nergal, took place in the region of one of both Sippars. Possibly, we have to situate the festival in the region of Šupur-Šubula, where Šubula was of great importance in the local pantheon. R. Pientka, 1998, 404 presumes the presence of a sanga-priest of Šubula in Šupur-Šubula, viz. Šubula-gāmil (YOS XIII, 368 (Ad 5) and 494 (Ae "s")). If so, this would support the location of the festival in Šupur-Šubula.

2) BM 97601 Aš 9/11/21

## TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1. 0.1.4 še  
 2. šà še-e ka-re-e  
 3. [ša]<sup>[dingir]</sup>-šu-ib-ni ugula gidru  
 4. ša erin šar-rum la-ba<sup>ki</sup>  
 5. a-na ba-ši-dingir aga.uš<sup>[x]</sup>  
 6. id-di-nu  
 7. ud.buru<sub>14</sub>.še

seal inscr. C seal inscr. C

Lo.E. 8. a-na na-at-ba-ki-im

seal inscr. A seal inscr. A

- Rev. 9. aga.uš<sup>[še-am]</sup> i.ág.e  
 10. igi i-na-é.sag.íl-numun dumu ri?<sup>-[im?]</sup>-[<sup>d</sup>iškur?]  
 11. igi šu-mu-um-li-ši<sup>[dumu]</sup> [é].<sup>[dub]</sup>.ba.a

seal inscr. A seal inscr. A

12. itu ziz.a ud.21.kam  
 13. mu am-mi-a-du-qá lugal  
 U.E. 14. alan nam.nir.gá.la.an.[ni]  
 15. zubi guškin.ga.a.ke<sub>4</sub>

Le.E.: seal inscription B  
 seal inscription C

seal inscription A: [šu]-<sup>[mu-um]</sup>-li-[ši]

[dumu] *be-el<sup>1</sup>-šū-[nu]*  
 [ir] <sup>d</sup>[nin.si].[an. na]  
 [ú<sup>d</sup> ...]  
 seal inscription B: [...]
   
 dumu dingir <sup>ri?</sup>[...]
   
 ir <sup>x</sup>[...]
   
 seal inscription C: [...]
   
 [dumu] <sup>x</sup>[...]
   
 ir *am-mi<sup>1</sup>-[ša-du-qá (?)]*

## TRANSLATION

(1) 14 litres of barley, (2) part of the barley of the pile, (3) that Išū-ibni, ugula gidru (4) of the erin-collective of Šarrum-Laba, (6) gave (5) to Bāš-ilum, the soldier <sup>x</sup>. (7) On the day of the harvest, (9) the soldier will measure barley (8) for the storehouse.

3) BM 97574 Aš 9/11/27

## TRANSLITERATION

Obv. 1. 0.1.2 še  
 2. šà é še-e ka-re-e  
 3. ša dingir-<sup>1</sup>šū<sup>1</sup>-ib-ni-šū ugula <sup>1</sup>gidru<sup>1</sup>  
 4. ša erin šar-rum la-ba<sup>ki</sup>  
 5. a-na ip-qú-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>1</sup> dam.gàr dumu <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU<sup>1</sup>-i-qí-ša-am  
 6. <sup>1</sup>id<sup>1</sup>-di-nu  
 Lo.E. 7. ud.buru<sub>14</sub>.šè  
 8. a-na na-at-ba-<sup>1</sup>ki-im<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 Rev. 9. še-am i. <sup>1</sup>ág<sup>1</sup>.[e]  
 10. igi šil-li-<sup>d</sup>utu dumu <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-[x x]  
 11. igi šu-mu-um-li-šī dumu é.dub.[ba.a]

seal inscr. A seal inscr. A

12. itu zíz.a ud.27.kam  
 13. mu *am-mi-ša-du-qá* lugal.e  
 U.E. 14. alan.[a.ni] nam.nir.gál.la.ni  
 15. zubi guškin.ga.a.ke<sub>4</sub>

Le.E.: seal impression B + kišib *ip-qú-<sup>d</sup>AMAR<sup>1</sup>*.[UTU]  
 seal impression C + kišib *šil-li-<sup>d</sup>utu*

Re.E.: seal impression D + kišib *i-<sup>1</sup>din?-nam?<sup>1</sup>*-[...]

seal inscription A: *šū-[mu-um-li-šī]*  
 dumu *be-el-<sup>1</sup>šū<sup>1</sup>-[nu]*

[ir dnin.si.an. na]  
[ù<sup>d</sup> ...]

## TRANSLATION

(1) 12 litres of barley, (2) belonging to the (store)house of the barley of the pile, (3) that Ilšu-ibnišu, ugula gidru (4) of the erin-collective of Šarrum-Laba, (6) gave (5) to Ipqu-Marduk, the merchant, son of Sîn-iqīšam. (7) On the day of the harvest, (9) he will measure barley (8) for the storehouse.

4) BM 97569 Aš 9/12/28

## TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1. 1/2 gín 15 še kù.babbar  
 2. ki dingir-šu-ib-ni ugula gidru  
 3. ša <erín> šar-rum la-ba<sup>ki</sup>  
 4. <sup>1</sup>qi-iš-ti-<sup>d</sup>é.a  
 5. dumu <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-iš-me-a-ni  
 6. šu.ba.an.ti  
 Lo.E. 7. a-na 10 ud-mi  
 traces of seal inscription
- Rev. 8. a-na na-ši ka-ni-ki-šu  
 9. kù.babbar i.lá.e  
 10. igi <sup>d</sup>EN.[ZU]-<sup>1</sup>i-<sup>1</sup>qi-ša-am dumu <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-i-din-nam  
 11. igi šu-<sup>1</sup>mu-um<sup>1</sup>-li-ši dumu é.dub.ba.a
- 
- traces of seal inscription
12. itu [še.kin].<sup>1</sup>tar<sup>1</sup> ud.<sup>1</sup>28<sup>1</sup>.kam  
 13. <sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-mi-<sup>1</sup>ša-du-qá lugal.e<sup>1</sup>  
 U.E. 14. <sup>1</sup>alan<sup>1</sup> nam.nir.gál.la.a.ni  
 15. <sup>1</sup>zubi<sup>1</sup> guškin.ga.a.ke<sub>4</sub>  
 seal inscription A

Le.E.: seal inscription A (partly on Obv.)  
 seal impression (without kišib)

Re.E.: traces of seal inscription

seal inscription A: [šu-mu-um-li-ši (?)]  
 [dumu] be-el-<sup>1</sup>šu?-nu?<sup>1</sup>  
 [ir<sup>d</sup>]nin.[si.an.na]  
 [ù<sup>d</sup> ...]

## TRANSLATION

(4) Qīšti-Ea, (5) son of Sîn-išmeanni, (6) has received (1) 1/2 shekel 15 še of silver (2) from Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru (3) of <the erin-collective> of Šarrum-Laba. (7) Within 10 days, (9) he will pay the silver (8) to the keeper of his tablet.

5) BM 97547 Aš 16?/08/xx

## TRANSLITERATION

- Obv.1. 2.0.0 še<sup>1</sup>gur<sup>1</sup>  
 2. a-na na-aš-pa-[ku-tim]  
 3. ki dingir-šū-ib-ni ugula gidru  
 4. erin<sup>1</sup> [šar<sup>1</sup>-rum<sup>1</sup> la<sup>1</sup>-ba<sup>1</sup>ki]  
 5. <sup>1</sup>[<sup>d</sup>AMAR?].<sup>1</sup>UTU?<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>x x x dam.gàr?<sup>1</sup>  
 6. dumu e-<sup>1</sup>x-lum<sup>1</sup>  
 7. šu.ba.[an.ti]  
 Lo.E. 8. ud.<sup>1</sup>buru<sub>14</sub><sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>[šè]  
 9. a-na é i.dub<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[qú-ú]  
 traces of seal impression

Rev.10. <sup>1</sup>še<sup>1</sup>-am i.ág.e

11. igi i-lu-ni dumu si-iz-za-tum  
 12. igi šu-mu-um-li-<sup>1</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>  
 dumu é.dub.ba.a

13. [itu] apin.<sup>1</sup>du<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup>.a<sup>1</sup>ud<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>[x.kam]  
 14. [mu] <sup>1</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-mi-ša-<sup>1</sup>du-qá<sup>1</sup>  
 U.E. 15. [bàd?/id?] <sup>1</sup>am<sup>1</sup>-mi-<sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>[du-qá]  
 16. [...] x [...] x [...]  
 17. x x [...]

Le.E.: seal impression + <sup>1</sup>kišib<sup>1</sup> [<sup>d</sup>AMAR?].<sup>1</sup>UTU?<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-[...]  
 traces of seal impression

Re.E.: traces of seal impression

## TRANSLATION

(5) Marduk?-[...], the merchant, (6) son of E-x-lum, (7) has received (1) 600 litres of barley, (2) for storage, (3) from Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru (4) of the erin-collective of Šarrum-Laba. (8) On the day of the harvest, (10) he will measure out the barley (9) to the storehouse [...].

6) BM 97623 Aš 11/09/30

## TRANSLITERATION

- Obv.1. 0.1.0 še<sup>giš</sup>bán dutu  
 2. a-na na-aš-pa-ku-tim  
 3. ki dingir-šū-ib-ni ugula gidru

4. *ša erin šar-ru-[um] la-ba*  
 5. <sup>1</sup>*ba-aš-dingir dumu* <sup>d</sup>*iškur-ba-ni*  
 6. *šu.ba.an.ti*  
 Lo.E. 7. *ud.buru<sub>14</sub>.šê*  
 8. [*še*]-*am* <sup>giš</sup>*bán* <sup>d</sup>*utu*  
 traces of seal impression
- Rev. 9. *a-na é i.dub il-qú-ú*  
 10. *ú-ta-ar*  
 traces of seal impression
- 
11. *igi pu-uz-zu-lum dumu* <sup>d</sup>*EN.ZU-re-me-ni*  
 12. *igi* <sup>d</sup>*EN.ZU-e-ri-ba dumu é.* [*dub*]. [*ba*]. a
- 
- traces of seal impression
13. *itu gan.gan.è ud.30.kam*  
 14. *mu am-mi-ša-du-qá lugal.e*  
 U.E. 15. *bád am-mi-ša-du-qá* <sup>(ki)</sup>  
 16. *ka* <sup>id</sup>*ud.* [*kib.nun* <sup>ki</sup>.*ra*]  
 traces of seal impression
- Le.E.: traces of seal impression  
 Re.E.: traces of seal impression

## TRANSLATION

(5) Bāš-ilum, son of Adad-bāni, (6) has received (1) 10 litres of barley, according to the bān-measure of Šamaš, (2) for storage, (3) from Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru (4) of the erin-collective of Šarrum-Laba. (7) On the day of the harvest, (10) he will return (8) the barley, according to the bān-measure of Šamaš, to the storehouse from which he took it.

7) BM 97231 Aš 12/12/03

## TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1. *1 gín igi.4.gál kù.babbar*  
 2. *ki dingir-šu-ib-ni ugula gidru*  
 3. *ša erin šar-rum la-ba* <sup>ki</sup>  
 4. <sup>1</sup>*i-li-i-qi-ša*  
 5. <sup>1</sup>*tam-la-tum ù šu-mu-um-li-ib-ši*  
 6. *dumu.meš a-wi-il* <sup>d</sup>*utu*  
 7. *šu.ba.an.ti.e.me.eš*  
 8. *a-na itu.1.kam*
- Lo.E. 9. *a-na na-ši-ka-ni-* <sup>(ki)</sup> [*šu-nu*]  
 traces of seal impression
- Rev. 10. *kù.babbar i.lá.[e]*

11. igi *ip-qú-d<sup>d</sup>ša-la* dumu <sup>[x]</sup> [...]
   
12. igi *a-pi-il-d<sup>d</sup>MAR.* <sup>[TU]</sup>
  
13. igi *šu-mu-um-li-š<sup>i</sup>* dumu<sup>1</sup> [é.dub].ba.a

seal inscr. A      seal inscr. A

14.      itu še.kin.tar ud.3.kam
   
15. mu *am-mi-ša-du-qá* lugal
   
U.E. 16.      alan.a.ni máš.gab.tab.ba
   
17.      ù alan.a.ni šu.silim.ma
   
18.      ab.bi.e.a

Le.E.:      seal impression B + kišib *ì-li-i-qi-ša-am*
  
             seal impression C + kišib *tam-la<sup>1</sup>-tum*
  
             seal impression D + kišib *šu-mu-um-li-ib-š<sup>i</sup>*
  
             seal impression E + kišib *ip-qú-d<sup>d</sup>ša-la*

Re.E.:      traces of seal impression

seal inscription A: *šu-mu-[um-li-š<sup>i</sup>]*
  
                      dumu *be-el<sup>1</sup>-[šu]-nu*
  
                      ir <sup>d</sup>nin.si.an.na
  
                      <sup>[u]</sup> [<sup>d</sup> ...]

## TRANSLATION

(4) Ili-*iqīšam*, (5) *Tamlātum* and *Šumum-libši*, (6) sons of *Awīl-Šamaš*, (7) have received (1) 1 1/4 shekel silver (2) from *Išū-ibni*, *ugula gidru* (3) of the *erīn*-collective of *Šarrum-Laba*. (8) Within one month, (10) they will pay the silver (9) to the keeper of their tablet.

8) BM 97250    Aš 13/01/30

## TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1.      10 gín kù.babbar
   
2.      *a-na šám 1 sag.ír*
  
3.      *ša<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-im-gur-an-ni*
  
4.      dumu *be-el-šu-nu*
  
5.      *a-na [dingir-šu-ib<sup>1</sup>-ni] ugula gidru dumu qà-aq-qá-du*
  
6.      *ša erin šar-rum la-ba<sup>ki</sup>*
  
7.      *id-di-nu*
  
8.      *a-na itu.1.kam*
  
9.      1 sag.ír *ub-ba-la-am*
  
10.      *dam.gàr-ru-sú*
  
11.      *[in<sup>1</sup>-ne-pu-uš*

Lo.E.      seal inscr. A



- Rev. 12. <sup>l</sup>gim<sup>?</sup>-ru a-na ma-di-i  
 13. i-na-ap-pa-al
- 
14. igi <sup>d</sup>šeš.ki-ma.an.sum <sup>l</sup>di<sup>l</sup>.kud  
 15. igi i-li-<sup>l</sup>i-din<sup>l</sup>-nam dumu <sup>d</sup>EN.[ZU]-be-el-ap-lim  
 16. igi a-si-rum dumu be-el-šū-nu  
 17. igi šū-mu-um-li-ši dumu é.dub.ba.a

seal inscr. A    seal inscr. B

18. itu <sup>l</sup>bár<sup>l</sup>.zag.gar ud.30.kam  
 19. mu am-<sup>l</sup>mi<sup>l</sup>-ša-du-qá lugal.e  
 U.E. 20. urudu ki.lugal.gub i.maḥ  
 21. ḥur.sag id.didli i.me.[...]  
 22. é.maḥ é.nam.ḥé.a. <sup>l</sup>ta<sup>l</sup>  
 23. in.ne.en.gar.ra

Le.E.: traces of seal impression  
 seal inscription A  
 seal inscription B

Re.E.: 4 x seal inscription A

seal inscription A: dingir-šū-ib-[ni]  
 dumu qà-aq-qá-<sup>l</sup>du<sup>l</sup>  
 ir am-mi-ša-du-[qá]

seal inscription B: <sup>d</sup>šeš.ki-[ma.an.sum]  
 dumu i-pi-<sup>l</sup>iq<sup>l</sup>-[an-nu-ni-tum]  
 ir am-mi-<sup>l</sup>di<sup>l</sup>-[ta-na]

## TRANSLATION

(1) 10 shekel of silver, (2) to buy one male slave, (3) that Sîn-imaguranni, (4) son of Bēlšunu, (7) gave (5) to Ilšū-ibni, ugula gidru, son of Qaqqadum, (6) of the erin-collective of Šarrum-Laba. (8) Within one month, (9) he shall deliver one male slave, (10) (when) his trade mission (litt. when his trade, transaction) (11) will be done, (13) he will compensate (12) the expenses plentifully.

9) BM 97821 Aš 13/02/18

## TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1. 30.0.0.0 še gur  
 2. ša <sup>d</sup>utu  
 3. ugu <sup>l</sup>dingir-šū-ib-ni ugula gidru  
 4. dumu qà-aq-qá-du  
 5. i-šū-ú  
 6. i-na ba-al-tu  
 7. ú ša-al-mu

- Rev. 8. <sup>d</sup>utu *be-el-šu*  
 9. *i-ip-pa-al*
- 
10. itu gu<sub>4</sub>.si.sá ud.18.kam  
 U.E. 11. mu *am-mi-ša-du-qá* lugal  
 12. urudu ki.lugal.gub i.maḥ  
 13. ḥur.sag didli  
 14. id i.me.eš.a.bi

## TRANSLATION

(1) 9000 litres of barley, (3) that Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru, (4) son of Qaqqadum (5) owes (2) to Šamaš. (6) In well-being (7) and good health (9) he will redeem (8) Šamaš, his lord.

10) BM 97245 Aš 13/08/10

## TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1. 0.2.5 saḥar <sup>š</sup>i-ip-ra<sup>1</sup>-[am]  
 2. 6 i-ni-a-at e-re-š<sup>i</sup>-im  
 3. 0.3.5 6 sila še.numun
- 
4. *ša dingir-šu-ib-ni* ugula gidru *ša erin šar-rum* [la-ba]<sup>ki</sup>  
 5. *a-na a.šà tap-pu-tim* <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-ri-iš  
 6. *iš-ku-nu*
- 
7. 2.2.0 še gur <sup>giš</sup>bán <sup>d</sup>utu  
 Rev. 8. *šu.ti.a* <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-ri-iš  
 9. *ki dingir-šu-ib-ni* <sup>1</sup>ugula [gidru]  
 10. *e-zu-ub ma-na-ḥi-a* <sup>1</sup>tim  
 11. *ša a-na a.šà-im* <sup>1</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>-[ku]-<sup>1</sup>nu
- 
12. itu apin.du<sub>8</sub>.a ud.10.kam  
 13. mu *am-mi-ša-du-qá* <sup>1</sup>lugal<sup>1</sup>. [e]  
 14. urudu ki.lugal.gub i. <sup>1</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(1) 32400 m<sup>3</sup> of earthworks, (2) the (rate of the) services of 6 ox-teams for seed plowing, (3) 236 litres of barley-seed, (4) that Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru of the erin-collective of Šarrum-Laba, (5) for the common field (with) Sîn-rēš (6) has spent. (7) 720 litres of barley, according to the bán-measure of Šamaš, (8) (is) received by Sîn-rēš, (9) from Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru, (10) excepting the costs (11) that he made for the field.

11) BM 97385 Aš 13/10/01

## TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1. 2/3 gín 15 še kù.babbar  
 2. ib.tag<sub>4</sub> šám gu<sub>4</sub>

3. ki dingir-*šu-ib-ni* ugula gidru *ša šar-rum la-ba*<sup>ki</sup>  
 4. <sup>1</sup>*ma-ru-súm* dumu *zi-ik-ra-nu*  
 5. *šu.ba.an.ti*  
 Lo.E. 6. *a-na* itu.1.kam  
 traces of seal impression

- Rev. 7. *a-na na-ši ka-ni-ki-šu*  
 8. *kù.babbar i.lá.e*  
 9. *igi be-el-šu-nu nu.*<sup>giš</sup>*kiri*<sub>6</sub>  
 10. *igi ku-un-nu dumu ia-am-ti / -il-ì-li*  
 traces of two seal impressions

11. <sup>1</sup>*itu* ab.è ud.1.kam  
 12. mu *am-mi-ša-du-qá* lugal.e  
 13. urudu ki.lugal.gub i.maḥ.a

Le.E.: seal impression A + kišib *be-el-šu-nu*

Re.E.: traces of seal impression

## TRANSLATION

(4) Marusum, son of Zikrānum (5) has received (1) 2/3 shekel 15 še of silver (2) the rest of the purchase of an ox (3) from Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru of the erin-collective of Šarrum-Laba. (6) Within one month (8) he will pay the silver (7) to the keeper of his tablet.

12) BM 97849 Aš 13/11/19

## TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1. 1/2 gin *kù.babbar*  
 2. *a-na e-se-di-im*  
 3. ki dingir-*šu-ib-ni* ugula <sup>1</sup>*gidru* [erin *šar-rum*] <sup>1</sup>*la*-[*ba*<sup>ki</sup>]  
 4. <sup>1</sup>*ì-li-i-[qi-ša-am]*  
 5. dumu *ib-na-tum*  
 6. *šu.ba.an.ti*  
 7. ud.buru<sub>14</sub>.šè  
 Lo.E. 8. *lú še.kin.tar i-<sup>1</sup>il-la<sup>1</sup>-ak*  
 9. *ú-ul i-il-la-<sup>1</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-ma*  
 Rev. 10. <sup>1</sup>*ki*-*ma ši-im-da-at* lugal

11. *igi a-tu-ni* dumu <sup>1</sup>*x* [...] <sup>1</sup>*x*  
 12. *igi be-el-šu-nu* <sup>1</sup>*dumu* [é].dub. <sup>1</sup>*ba*.a

13. *itu ziz.a* ud.19.kam  
 14. mu *am-mi-ša-du-qá* <sup>1</sup>*lugal*.<sup>1</sup>[e]

15. <sup>1</sup>urudu<sup>1</sup> ki.lugal.gub i.<sup>1</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>. [a]  
 U.E. 16. ḥur.sag id.id x x x ib x  
 17. é<sup>1</sup>nam.ḥé<sup>1</sup>.a x in.[...]

Le.E.: seal impression A + <sup>1</sup>kišib<sup>1</sup> [<sup>1</sup>i]-li-qi-ša-am  
 seal inscription B

seal inscription B: a-ḥu-ni  
 na?. <sup>1</sup>GAD?<sup>1</sup>  
 dumu [...]  
 ir<sup>d</sup>[...]

## TRANSLATION

4) Ili-iqīšam, (5) son of Ibnatum, (6) has received (1) 1/2 shekel of silver (2) for harvesting (3) from Ilšu-  
 ibni ugula gidru of the erin-collective of Šarrum-Laba. (7) On the day of the harvest, (8) he will send  
 harvesters. (9) If he does not send (them), (10) according to the royal decree (he will be responsible).

13) BM 97207 Aš 13/12/10

## RANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1. 14 u<sub>8</sub>.ḥi.a  
 2. 3 udu.níta  
 3. 2 kir<sub>11</sub>.gub  
 4. 4 sila<sub>4</sub>.gub  
 5. 2 <sup>sal</sup>áš.gār  
 6. 25 u<sub>8</sub>.udu.ḥi.a  
 7. ša dingir-šu-ib-ni ugula gidru erin šar-<ru(m)> la / -ba<sup>ki</sup>  
 8. a-na ma-šum su-ti-i  
 9. dumu šu-a-ri  
 10. a-na re-ú-tim  
 Lo.E. 11. pa<sup>1</sup>-aq-du  
 Rev. 12. <sup>1</sup>ḥal<sup>1</sup>-li-iq-tam i-ri-a-ab  
 13. a-na pi-is-sà-tim iz-za-az  
 14. udu.1.e 2 ma.na síg<sup>1</sup> x x<sup>1</sup>  
 15. ú-ša-ab-qá-am  
 16. udu.1.e 0.0.2 še.ta.àm  
 17. i-di-šu i-le-eq-qé  
 18. u<sub>8</sub>.udu.ḥi.a ša-al-ma-tim  
 19. a-na ká bu-qú-mi ub-ba-lum  
 20. igi dingir-šu-ib-ni i.du ká.ga dumu ib-ni-<sup>d</sup>iškur?<sup>1</sup>  
 21. igi<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-e-ri-ba-am dumu é.dub.[ba.a]  
 22. itu še.kin.tar ud.10.kam  
 U.E. 23. mu am-mi-<sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-[du-qá lugal.e]

24. [urudu] ki.lugal.gub.<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup> [i.maḥ.a]  
 25. ḥur.sag id.<sup>1</sup>didli<sup>1</sup>

Le.E.: seal impression A + kišib *ma-šum*  
 seal impression B + kišib *dingir-šu-ib-ni*

## TRANSLATION

(1) 14 mother sheep, (2) 3 male sheep, (3) 2 female sexually mature sheep, (4) 4 male sexually mature sheep, (5) 2 female baby goats, (6) (in total:) 25 heads of small cattle, (7) that by Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru of the erin-collective of Šarrum-Laba, (8) to Mašum, the sutean, (9) son of Šu'ari (10) for herding (11) they are entrusted. (12) He shall replace the loss. (13) He is responsible for (damages caused by) mange. (14) He shall pluck, (14) per sheep, 2 mine of wool. (17) As his wages, he shall take, (16) per sheep, 20 litres of barley. (19) To the gate of the wool plucking, he shall bring (18) healthy small cattle.

14) BM 97475 Aš 14?/10/15

## TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1. 2 sila i. [giš]<sup>[giš]</sup>bán dutu  
 2. a-na šám še-e  
 3. ki dingir-šu-ib-[ni]<sup>[ni]</sup> [ugula]<sup>1</sup> gidru  
 4. erin šar-ru<sup>1</sup> [la-ba]<sup>1</sup>  
 5. <sup>1</sup>ba-ši-dingir dumu diškur-ba-ni  
 6. šu.ba.an.ti  
 Lo.E. 7. [ud].buru<sup>14</sup>. [še]<sup>1</sup>  
 8. [še]-[am]<sup>[am]</sup> [giš]<sup>[giš]</sup> [bán]<sup>[bán]</sup> [utu]<sup>[utu]</sup>  
 Rev. 9. [a-na na]-ši ka-[ni]-[ki]<sup>1</sup>-šu  
 10. [i.ág.e]<sup>1</sup>
- 
11. igi *qi-iš-tum* dumu *ša-di-i*  
 12. [igi]<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-e-ri-ba-am dumu é.dub.ba.a
- 
13. [itu]<sup>1</sup> ab.è ud.15.[kam]  
 U.E. 14. [mu]<sup>1</sup> [am]<sup>1</sup>-mi-ša-qu-qa lugal.[e]  
 15. [urudu]<sup>1</sup> [du]<sup>8</sup>. [maḥ gal.gal.la (?)]  
 16. urudu [ki.lugal.gub (?)]

Le.E.: seal impression A + [kišib]<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-ši-dingir  
 seal impression B + [kišib]<sup>1</sup>qi-iš-tum

## TRANSLATION

(5) Bāši-ilum, son of Adad-bāni (6) has received (1) 2 litres of sesame oil, according to the bán-measure of Šamaš, (2) to buy barley, (3) from Ilšu-ibni, ugula gidru (4) of the erin-collective of Šarrum-Laba. (7) On the day of the harvest, (10) he shall measure out (8) the barley, according to the bán-measure of Šamaš, (9) to the keeper of his tablet.

15) BM 97543 Aš 18/03/05

COPY/TRANSLITERATION

- Obv. 1. <sup>h</sup>ir-ku-bi dumu <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-na-di-<sup>l</sup>in<sup>l</sup>-[š<sup>u</sup>-mi]  
 2. ki ra-ma-ni-š<sup>u</sup>  
 3. <sup>l</sup>dingir-š<sup>u</sup>-ib-ni ugula gidru dumu <sup>l</sup>qà-qá<sup>l</sup>-di  
 4. a-na lú ik-ka-ru-ti  
 5. a-na mu. 1.kam  
 6. in-gur-š<sup>u</sup>-ma  
 7. á.bi mu. 1.kam  
 8. 8 gín kù.babbar in.lá. <sup>e</sup>  
 9. 2 sila ninda 2 sila kaš  
 10. ma-aš-ti-sú  
 11. a-na i-ni qá-an-ni
- Lo.E. 12. ù šu-up-ri  
 13. iz-za-az
- Rev. 14. gu<sub>4</sub>. <sup>h</sup>i<sup>l</sup>. [a ú-ra]-<sup>l</sup>aq-ma<sup>l</sup>  
 15. kù.babbar i-ni-<sup>l</sup>ti<sup>l</sup> [i-š<sup>a</sup>]-qa-al  
 16. i-na itu. 1.kam ud. 3.kam  
 17. qá-tam i-ša-ab-<sup>l</sup>ba-at<sup>l</sup>  
 18. igi be-el-š<sup>u</sup>-nu dumu dingir-<sup>l</sup>ab?-bu?<sup>l</sup> x x  
 19. igi ták-la-ku-a-<sup>l</sup>na<sup>l</sup>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR?.UTU?<sup>l</sup>  
 20. dumu <sup>d</sup>inanna-<sup>l</sup>ma<sup>l</sup>. [an].sum

seal inscr. A traces of seal impr.

21. itu sig<sub>4</sub>.a ud.5.kam  
 U.E. 22. mu am-mi-ša-du-qá lugal  
 23. alan.a.ni du<sub>10</sub>.bi i.mùš

Rev.: traces of seal impr. + kišib ták-la-<sup>l</sup>ku-a-na-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU (?)<sup>l</sup>

Le.E.: 2 x seal inscription A

Re.E.: 2 x seal inscription A

seal inscription A: <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-na-di-[in-š<sup>u</sup>-mi]  
 dumu <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-iš-[me-an-ni]  
 ir am-mi-[...]

## TRANSLATION

(3) Iš<sup>u</sup>-ibni, ugula gidru, son of Qaqqadu, (6) rented (him) (1) Warad-kūbi, son of Sīn-nadīn-š<sup>u</sup>mi (4) as farm laborer (5) for one year (2) from himself. (8) 8 shekel of silver shall he pay (7) (as) his wages for one year, (9) 2 litres of bread (and) 2 litres of beer (10) (is) his ration. (13) He is responsible (11) for the eyes, the horns (12) and the hooves (of the ox). (14) Should he allow the oxen to be idle, (15) he is to pay the amount paid for the hire of the plow oxen. (16) In each month for three days, (17) he will do additional work.

## COMMENTS

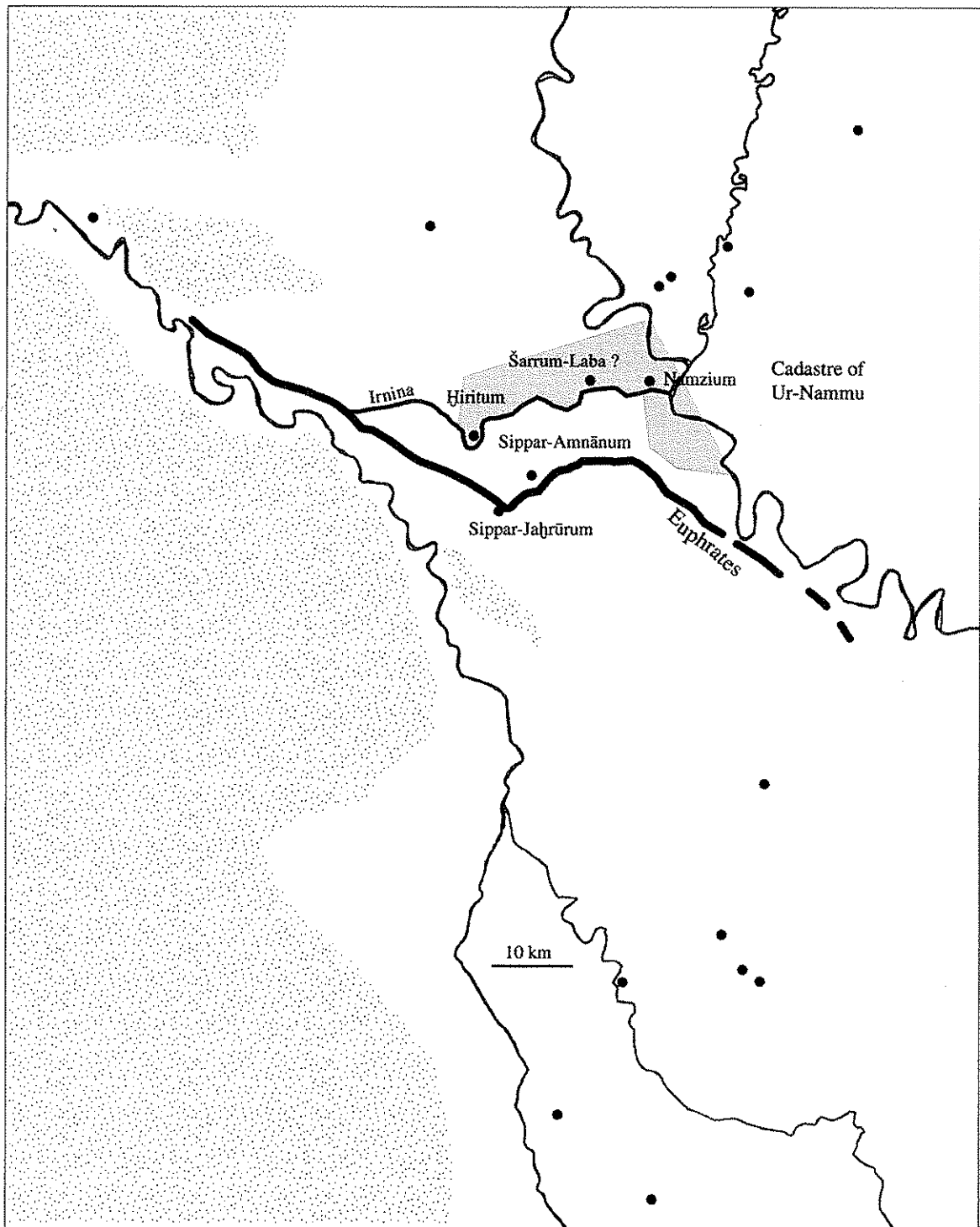
A remarkable feature in this text is the formulation of the verb, indicating the location : in-*gur-šu-ma*. The scribe has mixed the logographic spelling in.ḡun.(gá) with the Akkadian variant *īgur* (*i-gur*, preteritum, 3rd person singular of the verb *agārum*). He started writing the Sumerian prefix in- (= i-n-), but then completed the verb in Akkadian with -*guršu*.

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*AbB 6* = Frankena, R., 1974, *Briefe aus dem Berliner Museum*, Leiden.  
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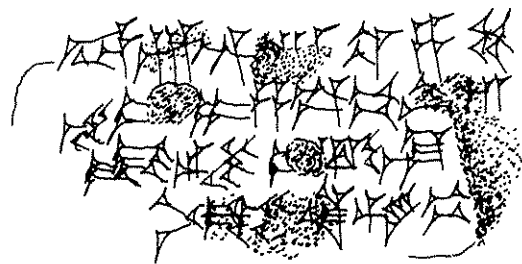
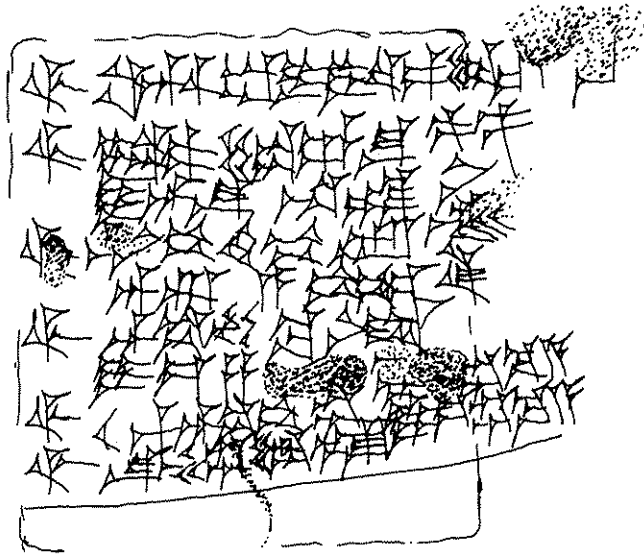
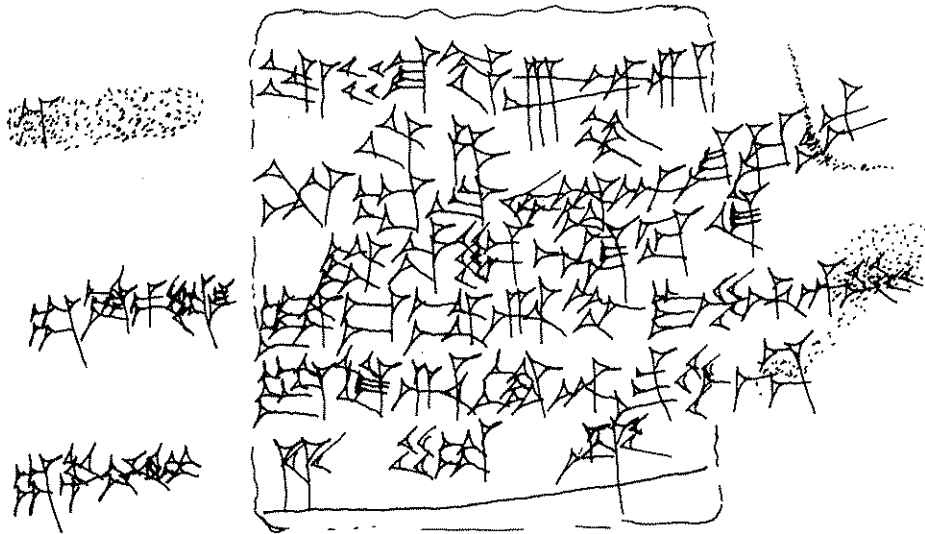
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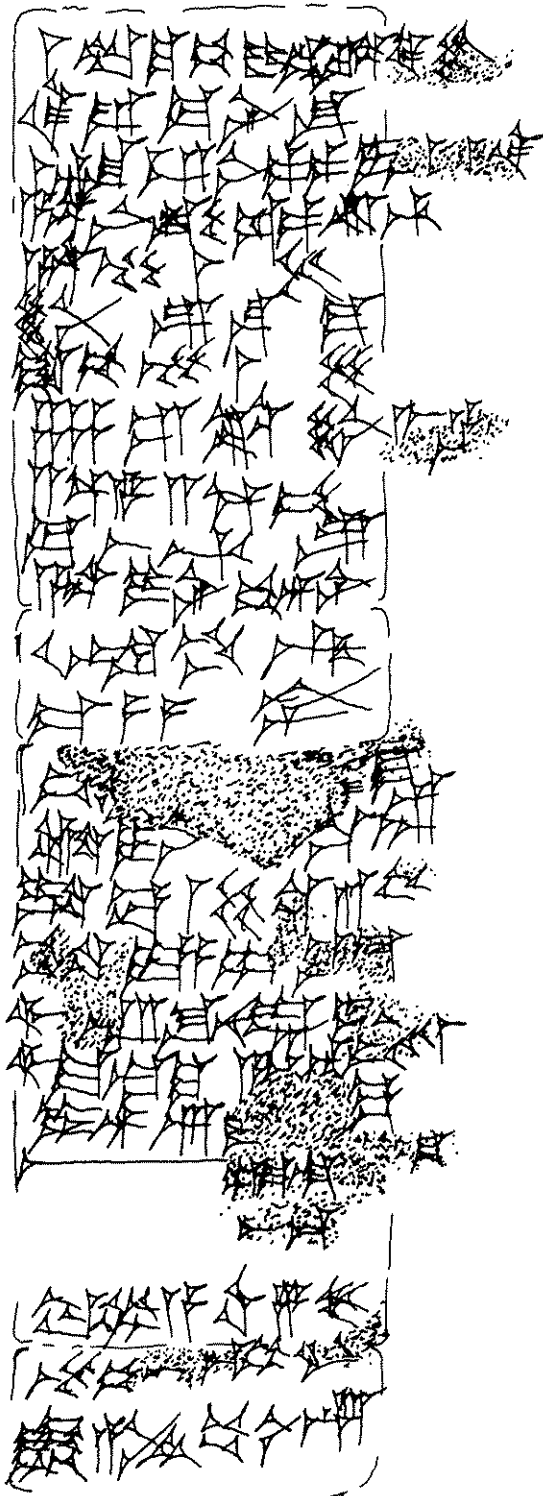


Map by Kris Verhoeven (after *MHEM* V/1, p. 45, Map 5)

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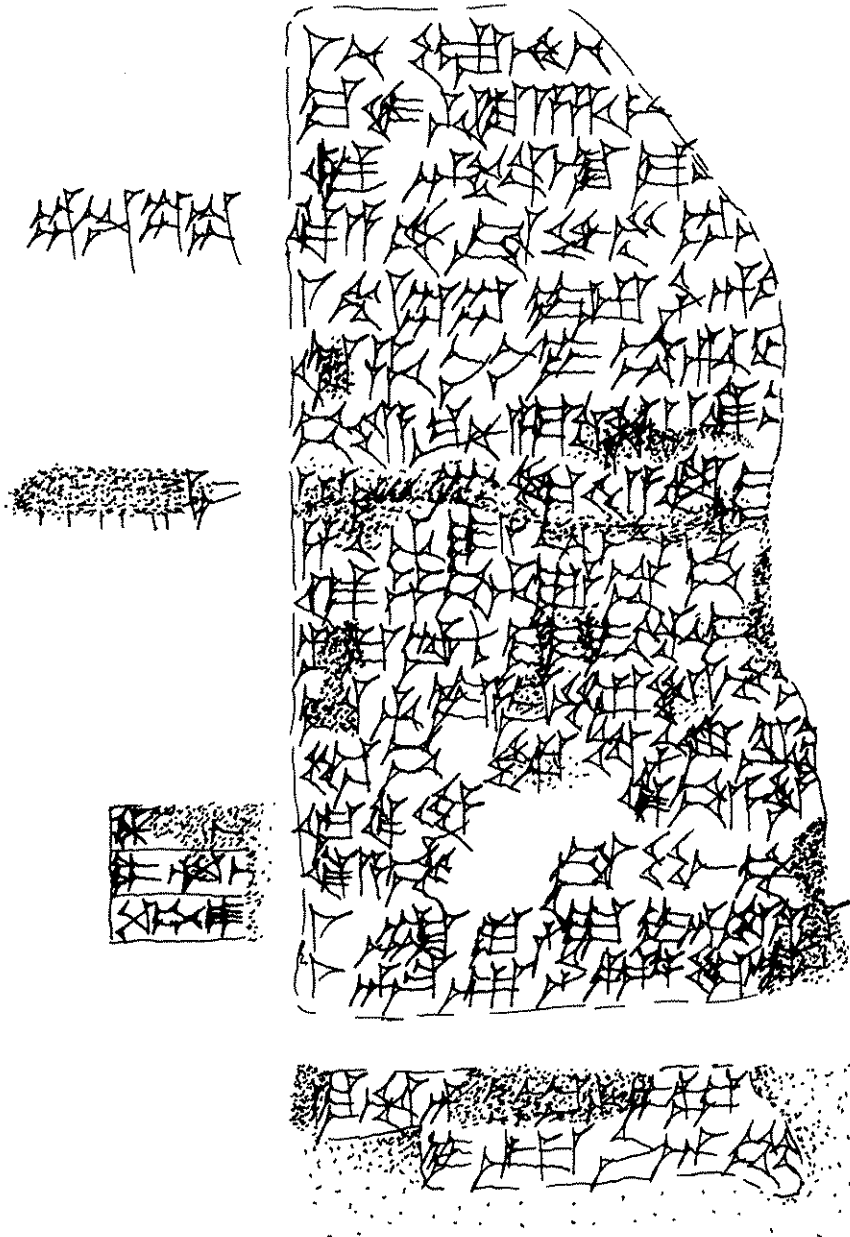


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