

# A MINOR OLD BABYLONIAN ARCHIVE ABOUT THE TRANSFER OF PERSONNEL

*Pietro Mander and Francesco Pomponio*

*I. U. O., Naples  
University of Messina*

“Yet they escaped. For I stayed”  
*R. Kipling*

The texts published in this article share the following common features:<sup>1</sup>

- a) They are all of the same date, namely, the ninth month of the 39th year of Hammurabi of Babylon;
- b) they deal with the same matter, namely, the substitution of personnel transferred from one administrative center to another;
- c) they are all written in the ductus of the Larsa (or, better, southern) region.<sup>2</sup>

The texts are part of the holdings of the British Museum. Nine of the twelve tablets (nos. 12814–12874) are described in Figulla’s Catalogue, *CBT I*<sup>3</sup>; the remaining three (nos. 23134, 23138 and

23166) were discovered in the manuscript of the unpublished second volume of the catalogue, H. H. Figulla, M. Sigrist, and C.F.B. Walker, *CBT II*, that Sigrist and Walker kindly put at our disposal. The tablets are published here with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. P. Mander, who subsequently collated the tablets, drew the hand copies; the Photographic Service of the British Museum prepared the photographs.<sup>4</sup>

Texts 1 to 6 were prepared and translated by F. Pomponio, while P. Mander prepared and translated texts 7 through 12. The joint commentary is the final product of long discussions between both authors. P. Mander prepared the calligraphic analysis during the copying and collating of the originals in the British Museum.

We are preparing similar unpublished Old Babylonian documents in the British Museum for publication. Aside from these texts, we know of no similar Old Babylonian tablets. The nature of these records is very different from those in the archive of Ubarrum, which also deals with substi-

1. The authors wish to express their gratitude to the Trustees of the British Museum for the permission to study and to publish the present epigraphic material. They would also like to thank the Trustees as well as the staff of the Museum for their kind and helpful hospitality. The authors are deeply indebted to Prof. M. Stol for his numerous suggestions and improvements.

2. We are deeply indebted to C. F. B. Walker, who examined for the ductus of the texts and confirmed their southern origin to be possible.

3. In *CBT I* no. 12814 is described as: “Contract between PN<sub>1</sub> and PN<sub>2</sub> concerning allocation of work to substitutes of

younger brothers;” the following numbers refer to this one, with the note: “Contract similar to 12814.”

4. We offer a special thanks to the photographers of the British Museum for their kind collaborative spirit.

tute workers.<sup>5</sup> By the same token, this kind of personnel transfer is quite different from the one studied by C. Zaccagnini in 1983.<sup>6</sup> Because of the unique nature of the documentation, we provide both copies and photographs of the tablets, whose surface is often eroded: only 12850 (= text 12) has not been copied here since a photograph will suffice.

The texts are arranged in chronological order.

a) Museum number = edition number

12814 = 10  
 12822 = 11  
 12831 = 2  
 12842 = 6  
 12850 = 12  
 12854 = 5  
 12858 = 7  
 12860 = 9  
 12874 = 4  
 23134 = 8  
 23138 = 1  
 23166 = 3

b) Edition number = Museum number:

1 = 23138  
 2 = 12831  
 3 = 23166  
 4 = 12874  
 5 = 12854

6 = 12842  
 7 = 12858  
 8 = 23134  
 9 = 12860  
 10 = 12814  
 11 = 12822  
 12 = 12850

For the sake of convenience, the seals have been indicated by letters; a correspondence is given in the commentary, see §3, with the proper explanations.

### 1. Description of the Texts

The texts published here constitute part of a minor archive that spans almost a month, from the 30th of the VIII month to the 28th of the IX month of H 39:

1	30/VIII
2	3/IX
3	4/IX
4	17/IX
5	18/IX
6	18/IX
7	20/IX
8	20/IX
9	21/IX
10	26/IX
11	[x]/IX
12	[x]/IX

Each text is divided into two sections. The first section registers the transfer of a worker, usually indicated by his personal name and patronymic; only in one only text the person is defined as éren “soldier,” transferred from (šà) a group of officials/workers to (*a-na*) another one. The transferred person is usually followed by an “added worker” (*dah*),<sup>7</sup> who is usually his brother, and,

5. The archive of the soldier Ubarrum consists of twelve texts published by E. Sollberger, “Thirty-two Dated Tablets from the Reign of Abī-ešuh,” *JCS* 5 (1951) 77–97; it has been studied also by É. Szlechter, “Les tablettes juridiques datées du règne d’Abī-ešuh conservées au Musée d’Art et d’Histoire de Genève,” *JCS* 7 (1953) 81–99 and “Nouvelle tablette concernant les service de fief,” *JCS* 9 (1955) 89–90, B. Landsberger, “Remarks on the Archive of the Soldier Ubarrum,” *JCS* 9 (1955) 121–31, and G. Evans, “An Old Babylonian Soldier: Notes on the Archive of Ubarrum,” *JCS* 14 (1960) 34–42. This archive is unrelated to the present one.

6. C. Zaccagnini, “Patterns of Mobility among Ancient Near Eastern Craftsmen,” *JNES* 42 (1983) 245–64.

7. The term *dah* (Akkadian *tahhum*), in reference to a person, is usually translated either “added” or “substitute” (see

less regularly (texts 5 obv. 9; 9 obv. 3 and 10 obv. 9), by a “senior” (šū), who is his father, or by a “junior” (tur: texts 3 obv. 3; 4 obv. 10), who may also be his brother.<sup>8</sup> The next section registers the transfer in the opposite direction of his “substitute” (*pūhšu*),<sup>9</sup> similarly accompanied by his dah, šū or tur. In text 4 obv. 3, a “reservist” (*diri*) instead of the “senior” is transferred in both directions. Texts 11 and 12 are exceptions since they deal with the transfer of one person only.

The verb that renders this transfer in all the texts is the stative *nadin* “has been given.” This term is omitted for the first transfer, being quoted only after the second transfer in text 3.<sup>10</sup>

Generally the exchange of the two teams is quantitatively equal,<sup>11</sup> but a “junior” is added to the two persons involved in the transfer against the two workers by whom they are replaced in text 3 and the opposite occurs in texts 5, 6, 7 and 10 with the addition of a “senior” or a “junior.”

e.g., *TÉBA*, 103). Since in our tablets the term *pūhum* is already employed with the latter meaning and furthermore the dah results to support the activity of the main worker, together with the “senior” and the “junior,” the translation as “added (worker)” seems to be by far the preferable.

8. For the Akkadian rendering of the logograms šū and tur, denoting a function in OB texts, see *VS* 13, 23 obv. 1–4: 10 éren 10 dah 20 lú-túg-du<sub>8</sub>-a-siki-ùz ša ši-bu ù še-eh-ru la ib-ba-aš-šū-ú, “10 workers (and) 10 assistants, (in total) 20 weavers of goat wool, among whom there are neither seniors nor juniors.”

9. The subjunction *kīma* occurs instead of *pūhšu* in text 4 obv. 9. For this use of *kīma* see *GAG*, ¶114g and *AHW*, pp. 476b–77a, sub 3c “gleichwertig mit,” 7 “(an)statt.” This use is documented in Hammurabi’s Code ¶¶219 and 245 (quoted in the above mentioned paragraphs of *AHW*), where a substitution of equal value is meant, and in other OB administrative texts (see §4).

10. The form *nadin* is employed to express the first transfer in the following cases: 1 obv. 6; 2 obv. 5; 4 obv. 8; 5 obv. 6; 6 obv. 6; 7 obv. 6; 8 obv. 6; 9 obv. 7; 10 obv. 6; 11 obv. 5; 12 [obv. 6]. It expresses the compensatory transfer: 1 rev. 3; 2 rev. 1; 3 obv. 13; 4 rev. 3; [5 ?]; 6 rev. 3; 7 rev. 3; 8 rev. 1; 9 [rev. 2]; 10 rev. 1; 11 obv. 10; 12 rev. 2.

11. A blank space is left in text 4 obv. 2 after the term dah, since the identity of the “assistant” was unknown to the scribe or had not yet been decided.

A place name is mentioned in several tablets in order to specify the site of the group involved in the replacement of personnel. This piece of information may as well concern either transfer of personnel (texts 2, 3, 9 and 12) or else of only one worker (texts 6–8, 10 and 11 for the former and text 4 for the latter). The toponyms are:

𒄠gar-ra-d <sup>n</sup> nin-PAP-lu <sup>2</sup> ki	(text 3 obv. 9)
𒄠é-den-ki <sup>ki</sup>	(text 10 obv. 3)
𒄠ha-an-zí-pa-ta-(nu) <sup>ki</sup>	(texts 6 obv. 3, 7 obv. 3)
𒄠i-din-d <sup>n</sup> en-zu	(text 4 rev. 1)
𒄠i-gi-bu-NE	(text 2 rev. 2)
𒄠ka <sup>2</sup> -áš-pa-a-nu-um <sup>ki</sup>	(text 8 obv. 9)
𒄠ki-bur-d <sup>n</sup> ma-ma <sup>ki</sup>	(texts 11 obv. 2, 12 obv. 2)
𒄠na-ap-sa <sup>2</sup> -nu-um <sup>ki</sup>	(texts 8 obv. 3, 9 obv. 4)
𒄠nam-rum <sup>ki</sup>	(texts 5 obv. 4)
𒄠pa-al-lu <sup>2</sup> -ma-hi-lum <sup>ki</sup>	(text 4 obv. 6)
𒄠ra-ha-šum <sup>ki</sup>	(text 12 obv. 9)
𒄠ri-ib-bi-bi-i	(text 2 obv. 6)
𒄠za-ah-da <sup>ki</sup>	(text 3 obv. 4)

All these names must refer to small centers rarely mentioned in the texts of other archives. Hanzipatanu is cited in *YOS* 8, 164 obv. 11 (uru-ki *ha-an-zí-pa-ta<nu>-um*) from the 32nd year of Rīm-Sîn I and in *TCL* 11, 174 obv. 11<sup>12</sup> (𒄠ha-an-zí-pa-ta-nu) dated to the 40th year of Hammurabi. The editors proposed that both texts come from Larsa. Rahašum occurs in the above cited *TCL* 11, 174 (obv. 10. 31. 40. rev. 16) and Namrum in an undated list of small centers (*BRM* 4, 53, rev. II 17), coming—in the opinion of the editor—from Lagaš. The quotations of Kašpanum, if this is the name at hand, mentioned in our archive (text 8 obv. 9), are more numerous. Of the approximately one dozen texts in which it is given, the provenance of the majority from the province of Larsa is certain (cf. *RépGéo* 3, 135). The exceptions are the letter *AbB* 2, 42, sent by

12. See. L. Matouš, “Les contrats de partage de Larsa provenant des archives d’Iddin-Amurru,” *ArOr* 17 (1949) 164–68.

Hammurabi to *Sîn-iddinam*, thus regarding the province of Sippar, and the fragment edited by S. Dalley, C. B. F. Walker, and J. D. Hawkins, *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al Rimah* (Hertford: British School of Archaeology, 1976), 248 rev. 7', though both texts feature just the mention of "men" of Kašpanum.

The structure of our texts is the following (the data inserted in the brackets may be omitted):

- a) (1 éren) PN<sub>1</sub> dumu PN<sub>2</sub>
- b) dah PN<sub>3</sub> šeš-ni
- c) (PlaceN)
- d) šà ProfN<sub>1</sub> nì-šu PN<sub>4</sub>
- e) *a-na* ProfN<sub>2</sub> nì-šu PN<sub>5</sub>
- f) *nadin*
- g) *pūhšu* PN<sub>6</sub>
- h) dah PN<sub>7</sub> šeš-ni
- i) (PlaceN)
- j) šà ProfN<sub>2</sub> nì-šu PN<sub>5</sub>
- l) *a-na* ProfN<sub>1</sub> nì-šu PN<sub>4</sub>
- m) (PlaceN)
- n) *nadin*
- o) (kišib PN)
- p) date

## 2. Groups of Workers and Their Superiors

The most frequently mentioned groups of workers involved by this replacement of personnel are the soldiers (àga-uš, 11 texts) and the crew of "cargo-ships" (má-ì-dub,<sup>13</sup> 6 texts). In addition, there are ox drivers (šà-gu<sub>4</sub> texts 5–6), shepherds

13. For this type of ship, attested only in OB texts, and which may carry a burden of 60–120 gur of various goods, see A. Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien*, *StOr* 8/4 (Helsinki, 1939), 35–36, sub <sup>es</sup>má-ni-dub. The letter *AbB* 2, 36, must be mentioned in connection with our texts, which register employees among the cargo of such ships: Hammurabi informs *Sîn-iddinam* about the energetic protest of a certain *Tarībatum* concerning the non-arrival of personnel, and regrets the delay in the construction of the má-ì-dubs. Consequently, the king orders *Sîn-iddinam* to send the érens to *Tarībatum* at once, and, in addition, exacts a list of the per-

(ka-bar) of sheep (text 3) and donkeys (text 11), conscripts of the royal army (éren ka-kešda lugal, text 2), charioteers (kir<sub>4</sub>-dib, text 1), and fullers (<sup>lu</sup>azlag<sub>4</sub>, text 4). More precisely, almost all the teams mentioned in the first section of our texts join contingents of soldiers (àga-uš). The only exception is text 11: Here a person leaves the àga-uš and becomes, or returns to, his former occupation (see §4) as a shepherd of donkeys. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that text 11 is the only text of the archive that ends with a list of witnesses, among whom there are military officers such as an ugula-mar-tu and a nu-bànda.

For each of these groups of workers the name of the person in charge is mentioned: As a rule his name is preceded by the term nì-šu, though somewhere the formula *a-na* PN replaces nì-šu PN. From the use of both expressions in the same text (11) and in reference to the same person, the ugula-mar-tu Bēlšunu, it may be inferred that they had the same meaning. On the other hand, the expression ugula PN replaces nì-šu PN in text 2 and precedes it in 4. The persons under whose responsibility the various contingents of àga-uš are reported to act are Arwium (texts 8–9), Inbūša (text 3),<sup>14</sup> Marduk-našir (texts 5–7), Uraš-muballiṭ (text 10),<sup>15</sup> Uši-nūrum (text 1 and 4) and Bēlšunu, the last with the title of ugula-mar-tu (texts 11, 12). Also, the groups of employees in the má-ì-dub, and consequently their officials, are mentioned

sonnel in question with the indication of their names and relative fees. A má-ì-dub' àga-uš<sup>mes</sup>, likely "a cargo-ship (under guard) of soldiers," is mentioned in L. Speleers, *RIAAM*, 228 obv. 10 (H 41) (see J. R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* [Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1957], 187, n. 3). The mention of this ship is preceded by the name of five PA.PA with their nu-bàndas, and of one ugula-mar-tu.

14. Inbūša is most likely to be identified with his namesake who is mentioned in text 2 as the person in charge of a contingent of the royal army.

15. An Uraš-muballiṭ with the title of ugula-mar-tu occurs in a letter of Hammurabi (*AbB* 4, 36 obv. 6) but, in all probability, he has no relationship with the namesake of our text, even though the latter also served in the army.

often: Šamaš-magir is mentioned in 3 texts (texts 2, 8 and 9) and Iddin-Amurru, Imgur-Ninurta and Nanna-eṭir in one (texts 10, 12 and 7, respectively).

The data of our texts regarding the transfer of personnel is summarized in Table 1.

### 3. The Seal Impressions

All the tablets of the archive appear to bear seal impressions, although only three texts (1 rev. 4; 3 rev. 1; 6 rev. 4) include the expression *kišib PN*. The names occurring in those expressions are *Sîn-irībam* (text 1), and *Irībam-Sîn* (text 2), while in text 6 two names actually occur, namely *Sîn-irībam* and *Tarību*. Since the seal impressions of texts 1 and 3 are illegible, it is impossible to make sure whether the names mentioned in the expression *kišib PN* actually occur in the seal legends as well. In text 6 the name of the owner of the seal, *Ur-Ninsiana*, in its legend, is different from both the names mentioned in the phrase *kišib PN<sub>1</sub> PN<sub>2</sub>*.

Considering the relationship among seal legends and content of the tablets they are impressed upon, it is remarkable that the legend of seal B (for these denominations, see below), occurring in texts 2, 8 and 9, perfectly matches texts 8 and 9 (both documents record transfers on consecutive days, 20th and 21st) with the names of the same officials (*nī-šu*) of either the *āga-uš* (*Arwium*) and the *má-ī-dub* (*Šamaš-magir*). The same similarities occur in the tablets 5 and 6 whereon the legend E is impressed: the same persons are in charge of the soldiers and of the ox drivers and the two texts are dated to the 18th and to 20th days respectively.

In conclusion, it should be noted that of the four individuals whose names are readable in the seal legends, *Šamaš-magir* (seal B), is the person in charge of the *má-ī-dub* on the three texts in which the seal is impressed, *Marī-Amurru* (seal H, text 11) is the *nu-bānda* mentioned in that same text at the bottom of the list of the witnesses, and *Habil-kīnum* (seal I, text 12) is one of the two *nu-bānda* cited at the end of that text. In contrast, *Ur-Ninsiana*

(seal E) seems not to be mentioned in the two documents impressed by his seal (5 and 6).

For the sake of facilitating the references, a list of the seal legends is provided here:

- A) Text 1: totally illegible
- B) Texts 2, 8, 9: *šamaš-ma-gir, dumu ḏsîn-ma-gir, ir ḏamurrim*
- C) Text 3: ... -ī-lí, ... A-MAŠ ..., ir ..., [ù] AN ...
- D) Text 4: *ḏsîn-..., dumu ḏsîn-..., ir ḏkab-[ta]*
- E) Texts 5, 6: *ur<sup>2</sup>-ḏnin-si<sub>4</sub>-an-na, ir ḏnin-šubur-palil, é-MI<sup>2</sup> ...*
- F) Text 7: *ḏsîn-..., dumu ..., ir ḏamurrim*
- G) Text 10: *ḏsîn-..., dumu x ..., ir ḏx ...*
- H) Text 11: *ma-ri-ḏamurrim, dumu a-b[ī]-ī-lí, [ir] ḏamurrim*
- I) Text 12: *ha-bíl-ki-nu-um, dumu nu-ra-tum, ir ḏx*

There are clear fingernail impressions on the clay of tablet 4 and one on tablet 12. For the meaning and function of this kind of sign, see I. J. Gelb, “Typology of Mesopotamian Seal Inscriptions,” in McGuire Gibson and R. D. Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*. BM 6 (Malibu: Undena, 1977), 111–12 and M. Yoshikawa, “What ‘*kišib íb-ra*’ Means,” *ASJ* 9 (1987) 301–2.

#### *Scribal Hands*

The copying of the twelve tablets in the British Museum has provided an opportunity for a direct comparison of different scribal hands. For this purpose, I have picked signs and expressions used in every text: *pūhum*, *nī-šu*, *šà*, *dah*, *dumu*, in addition to the general format and layout of the text on the tablet. As a result, one can clearly distinguish two separate hands.

**Hand a:** texts 1, 2, and 5. This scribe uses the grapheme *úh* instead of *uh* in the word *pūhšu*.

**Hand b:** texts 9, and 12.

TABLE 1. Chart of the Text Patterns

Text	Workers	Provenance	Destination	Verb
1 →	PN dumu PN dah PN šeš-ni	ša kir <sub>4</sub> -dib <sup>mes</sup> ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> àga-uš ni-šu PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
1 ←	<i>pu-uh-šu</i> PN dumu PN dah PN šeš-ni	ša àga-uš ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> kir <sub>4</sub> -dib <sup>mes</sup> <i>a-na</i> PN ù PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
2 →	[PN] dumu PN [dah] PN šeš-ni	[ša má]-i-dub ugula PN	[ <i>a-na</i> éren] ka-kešda lugal ni-šu PN	<i>n[a]</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>-di-in</i> <sup>1</sup> PlaceN
2 ←	<i>pu-uh-šu</i> PN dumu PN dah PN šeš-ni PlaceN <sub>2</sub>	ša éren ka-kešda lugal ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> má-i-dub	[ <i>na</i> ] <sup>1</sup> <i>-[di-in]</i>
3 →	PN dah PN šeš-ni tur PN šeš-ni PlaceN	ša ka-bar u <sub>8</sub> -udu-há ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> àga-uš ni-šu PN	0
3 ←	<i>pu-uh-šu</i> PN dah PN šeš-ni PlaceN	ša àga-uš ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> ka-bar u <sub>8</sub> -udu-há ni-šu PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
4 →	PN dumu PN dah « » diri PN ad-ni	ša <sup>lu</sup> azlag <sub>4</sub> ugula PN ni-šu PN PlaceN	<i>a-na</i> àga-uš <sup>mes</sup> ni-šu PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
4 ←	<i>ki-ma</i> PN dumu PN dah tur-ra PN šeš-ni diri PN šeš-ni PlaceN	ša àga-uš <sup>mes</sup>	<i>a-na</i> <sup>lu</sup> azlag <sub>4</sub>	<i>na-di-in</i>
5 →	PN dumu PN dah PN šeš-ni	ša ša-gu <sub>4</sub> ni-šu PN PlaceN	<i>a-na</i> àga-uš ni-šu PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
5 ←	<i>pu-uh-šu</i> PN dah PN šeš-ni šu PN [ad-aš]	ša à[ga-uš ni-šu PN]	[ <i>a-na</i> ša-gu <sub>4</sub> ni-šu PN (?)] ugula PN	0
6 →	PN dumu PN dah PN šeš-ni PlaceN	ša ša-gu <sub>4</sub> ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> àga-uš <sup>mes</sup> ni-šu PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
6 ←	<i>pu-uh-šu</i> PN dah PN, PN šeš-ni šu PN ad-ni	ša àga-uš <sup>mes</sup> ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> ša-gu <sub>4</sub> ni-šu PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
7 →	1 éren PN dah PN šeš-ni PlaceN	ša má-i-dub ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> àga-uš ni-šu PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
7 ←	<i>pu-uh-šu</i> PN dah PN dumu PN	ša àga-uš ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> má-i-dub ni-šu PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
8 →	PN ... dah PN šeš-ni PlaceN	ša má-i-dub ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> àga-uš ni-šu PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
8 ←	<i>pu-uh-šu</i> PN dumu PN dah PN šeš-ni PlaceN	ša àga-uš ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> má-i-dub ni-šu PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
9 →	PN dumu PN dah PN šeš-ni šu PN PlaceN	ša má-i-dub ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> àga-ušmeš ni-šu PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
9 ←	<i>pu-uh-šu</i> PN dah PN dumu PN ù PN ... PlaceN	ša àga-uš [ni-šu PN]	<i>a-na</i> má-i-dub ni-šu PN	[ <i>na-di-in</i> ]
10 →	PN dumu PN dah PN šeš-ni PlaceN	ša má-i-dub ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> àga-uš ni-šu PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
10 ←	<i>pu-uh-šu</i> PN dumu PN dah PN šeš-ni šu PN ad-aš	ša àga-uš ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> má-i-dub ni-šu PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
11 →	PN dumu PN PlaceN	ša àga-uš <sup>mes</sup> ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> ka-bar anše-há <i>a-na</i> PN	<i>na-di-in</i>
11 ←	<i>pu-uh-šu</i> PN lú PN dah PN šeš-ni	ša ka-bar anše-há	<i>a-na</i> àga-uš <sup>mes</sup> <i>a-na</i> PN ugula-mar-tu	<i>na-di-in</i>
12 →	PN PlaceN nu-bànda PN ugula PN	ša má-i-dub ni-šu PN	<i>a-na</i> PN ugula-mar-tu	[ <i>na-di-in</i> ]
12 ←	<i>pu-uh-šu</i> PN dumu PN PlaceN	ša àga-uš <sup>mes</sup> ni-šu PN ugula-mar-tu	<i>a-na</i> má-i-dub ni-šu PN	<i>na-di-in</i>

Note that the sealings do not match the scribal hands: text 5, written by Hand a, is sealed by Seal E, while text 2, from the same hand, is sealed by Seal B. This latter is also impressed on text 9, which was been written by Hand b. One must conclude that the seals impressed on the tablets did not belong to the scribes who actually wrote them.

(P.M.)

#### 4. Relationships with Other Old Babylonian Documents

Most similar to texts of the archive presented here is the OB text *CT* 8, 32, Bu. 91-8-9, 845 (= HG III, 760), coming from Sippar and dated to Si 19 V 23. This tablet registers the restitution of a shepherd ka-bar to two officials *a-na* ka-bar, that is, his return to the previous employment and most probably to his original center of activity. This worker had been transferred (*in-na-ad-nu*) as “added soldier” (*a-na dah àga-uš<sup>meš</sup>*) and now another individual replaces him for the same task: *pūhšu ana dah àga-uš<sup>meš</sup> ana ipiq-ilīšu u tarībatum dumu<sup>meš</sup> du-ub-ba nadin* “his substitute has been given, as added soldier, to Ipiq-ilīšu and Tarībatum, the (military) secretaries(?)” Compared to the texts so far, this tablet provides further evidence that this replacement of personnel has been established “by order of the king” (*ana qabê šarrim*). However, such an order is most likely self evident in the present texts.

Some interesting parallels with our archive are supplied by a few long registers of personnel: here too, we find that many workers are mentioned together with their dah, who turns out to be their brother; in other cases, less often, the names of the workers are followed by their SI, abbreviation for diri (a term we translate as “reservist”), as well as by the term *kīma* (occurring in text 4 of our archive, as a substitute term for *pūhum*).<sup>16</sup>

16. See note 7. The term *kīma*, synonymous with *pūhšu*, occurs also in an unpublished tablet, BM 12862, which refers to the same transfer of personnel and is dated to the same

These lists (*TÉBA*, 69–70; *CT* 6, 15–18 [= *HG* VI, 1398], and R. D. Freedman, *The Cuneiform Tablets in St. Louis* [St. Louis, 1975], 165–68, N.204) show more elements in common with our texts, including the mention of the term *éren*, which in some lines precedes the name of the principal person of the team, and the insertion of toponyms, in some cases also of considerable importance (cf. *TÉBA*, 107). Two of these texts (*TÉBA*, 69; Freedman, *Cuneiform Tablets in St. Louis*) come from the region of Larsa, while the others (*CT* 6, 15–18; *TÉBA*, 70) come from the province of Sippar.<sup>17</sup> No year name is provided on these tablets, although the Larsa documents are certainly to be dated to the period following the subjugation of southern Mesopotamia by Hammurabi (cf. *TÉBA*, 108) whereas the others belong to the late reign of Hammurabi or to the reign of Samsu-iluna. Hence, chronological data also bring these texts closer to our archive.

A similar terminology concerning the military and civil personnel occurs in some tallies from Tutub-Khafaje (S. Greengus, *Old Babylonian Tablets from Ishchali and Vicinity* [Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-archaeologisch Instituut, 1979], NN.314–316; see also NN.317–318). The surface of these tablets is divided into five or more columns. The headings contain the names of the categories of the workers, whose number is inserted in the various columns. Left to right, these

year and month as the texts of our archive (the day is the 30th). However, its structure is simpler, since it records that an *éren* together with his dah has left the *má-ì-dub*, without specifying his new destination, and adds the name of his *kīma* with the respective dah: <sup>m</sup>*i-din-ì-[lì-šù]* / dah *a-hi-a-ia-am-šì šeš-ni* / *šà má-ì-dub nì-[šù ]* / *ki-ma 30 (sîn)-[ ]* / [dah] *i-bí-<sup>a</sup>nin-šù[bur šeš-ni]*. The expression, 1 *éren* 1 dah / *šà ri-ba-ti[-im]*, “1 worker (and) 1 assistant of the substitution,” must refer to the pair of workers mentioned in the latter section of the text.

17. Marten Stol has kindly informed us of two similar unpublished personnel lists of from Larsa (A. 32093) and Sippar (A. 5257) that mention *érens* with their dah and si. See also M. Stol, *BiOr* 33 (1976) 148b.

columns are characterized by the terms *sag*, *dah*, *diri*, *tur* and *šu*, all recurring in our texts as well, apart from the first indicating the principal worker of the team. Tablet N.314, the only almost complete text, retains the name of the official *nì-šu* and the date (Si 27). Tablet N.315, dated to Si 15, is chronologically closer to the present archive. A few muster rolls (Greengus, *OB Tablets from Ishchali*, 305–13), coming from the same site, record the names of *érens*, in some cases with the addition of the respective *dah*, *diri* and *tur*. The first of these texts, dated to an undeterminable year of Samsu-iluna, gives the total of 13 *éren-sag tur šeš-ni*, “13 soldiers (and) the juniors, their brothers.”

Some letters addressed by Hammurabi to *Sîn-iddinam* refer to the same replacement of personnel registered in our texts. Generally in these letters, Hammurabi relates the complaint of several authorities against the fact that workers under their responsibility have been shifted to some other activities and angrily demands an explanation of such a breach of the orders written on sealed tablets. The tablets of this archive most likely belong to the category of the documents mentioned by Hammurabi. The protest of the *kizûm* *Sîn-magir* is reported in A. Ungnad, *BB*, 38 since his millers have been transferred to a contingent of soldiers.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, in *AbB* 2, 1 Hammurabi orders the baker *Gimillum* and his *dah*, established as *àga-uš* by *Sîn-iddinam*, be returned to their previous jobs while a substitute will be employed as soldier,<sup>19</sup> and in *AbB* 2, 43 Hammurabi reproaches *Sîn-iddinam* for the enlistment among the *àga-uš* of the *énsi Sîn-ilī*, whom the king had placed under the responsibility of another official. In the meantime, Hammurabi orders the finding of substitutes

18. *ka-zì-da<sup>mes</sup> ša qá-ti-ia ša i-na ka-ni-ik be-li-ia ka-an-ku-nim i-nu-úh-sa-mar a-na àga-uš<sup>mes</sup> ù il-ki-im a-hi-i-im um-ta-al-li-šú-nu-ti* (obv. 6–11).

19. *i-na-an-na gi-mil-lum šu-ú i-na muhaldim<sup>mes</sup>-ma i-il-la-ak pu-uh-šu ša-ni-a-am-ma a-na àga-uš<sup>mes</sup> mu-ul-li* (rev. 6–8).

for the sons/assistants of *Sîn-ilī* who have also been enrolled as soldiers, so that they can return, probably together with their father, to their previous activities.<sup>20</sup>

A complaint is also the topic of the letter A. Ungnad, *BB*, 37. Three chief-shepherds complain about the shift of some *ka-bars* to a contingent of *àga-uš* without being replaced.<sup>21</sup> A list of these individuals follows, indicated by their personal names and patronymics or place of origin, plus the mention of their brothers-*dah* as well as of the *na-gadas* under whose responsibility they previously worked. The letter ends with the statement that, “it is written in the muster roll of the palace: ‘they are shepherds’” and with the order to return them to their rightful persons in charge.<sup>22</sup> The same order regarding some *ka-bars*, employed, without the regular authorization, as *àga-uš*<sup>23</sup> is notified in *AbB* 2, 3. As to the last two letters, note that texts 3 and 11 and the above-discussed *CT* 8, 32, Bu. 91-5-9, 545 also deal with these two groups of workers, the *ka-bar* and the *àga-uš*.

The personnel being transferred in almost all the texts, whether administrative documents or letters, and whether or not legitimated by a royal order, is a contingent of soldiers, or, in one case, conscripts of the royal army (text 2). These transfers must have been caused by implant needs of military or police nature; the hardships and the dangers of the new duties, together with the troubles caused by the reduction of the personnel, may explain the vibrant and nearly hysterical complaints of the authorities in charge of the workers enrolled as soldiers, probably spurred by the interested persons.

20. *mden-zu-dingir šu-a-ti a-na énsi-ma a-na qá-ti ta-ri-ba-tum at-ta-din [p]u-úh dumu<sup>mes</sup>-šu ša a-na àga-uš<sup>mes</sup> ta-aš-tú-ru ša-nu-tim-ma a-na àga-uš<sup>mes</sup> mu-ul-li* (rev. 10–15).

21. *ka-bar<sup>mes</sup> ša qá-ti-ni a-na àga-uš<sup>mes</sup> il-ku-n[im-ma] pu-ha-am ul id-di-nu-ni-a-š[im]* (obv. 6–8).

22. *i-na dub é-gal ki-a-am ša-te-er ka-bar<sup>mes</sup> šú-n[im-ma] ki-ma i-na dub é-gal ša-aṭ-ru a-pu-ul-šú-nu-ti* (rev. 17–20).

23. *ka-bar<sup>mes</sup> nì-šu a-pil<sup>d</sup>utu ù na-ra-am<sup>d</sup>en-zu [a]na àga-uš<sup>mes</sup> la ú-ma-al-lu-ú* (obv. 9–11).

### 5. The Origins of the Archive

On the basis of the place names mentioned in the texts, this archive must come from the province of Larsa, which during the reigns of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna, included numerous centers, among them, Ur, Lagaš, and Badtibira.<sup>24</sup> More precisely, since Namrum, one of the geographical names cited in the archive, occurs also in the list *BRM* 4, 53, where *gu-ub-rum*<sup>ki</sup> (obv. III 13–rev. I 14), which seems to have been in the neighborhood of Lagaš (see *RépGéo* 3, 81), is mentioned, the origin of the tablets may be this district. But in *TCL* 11, 141, where, as seen above, two toponyms of our archive, Hanzipatanu and Rahašum, recur, a “thicket of tamarisks of Larsa” (obv. 6. 21. 35. rev. 12), and a “fishing port of Larsa” (obv. 29) are mentioned. This makes the territory of Larsa a convincing location of the centers between which the workers mentioned in the texts shuttle.

As to the prosopographical data, to the best of the writers’ knowledge the only official mentioned here certainly to be found in other documents is

the *ugula-mar-tu Bēlšunu* (texts 11 and 12).<sup>25</sup> This text belongs to an archive that has been identified as coming from Lagaš, since the fields mentioned there are located on the Lagaš canal (*RépGéo* 3, 127). It may be added that this absence of data supports Lagaš as the origin of our archive, since this city has not yielded a great deal of OB data, rather than Larsa, which has provided a large number of tablets. Thus, although the exact place of origin cannot be established, the origin of the archive in southern Mesopotamia seems certain. The close relationships between this archive and *TÉBA*, 69, on one hand, and the above-mentioned administrative texts and letters from Sippar and the tallies from Tutub on the other, prove that the orders enacted by the central government concerning the transfer of personnel were exactly the same in every province of the state under Hammurabi, and that the complete unification of rules and habits was accomplished very soon after the Babylonian conquest of the south.

24. See M. Stol, “State and Private Business in the Land of Larsa,” *JCS* 34 (1982) 131, §4.

25. See M. deJong Ellis, “An Agricultural Administrative Archive in the Free Library of Philadelphia,” *JCS* 29 (1977) 150, N.9 r 12.

A certain Šamaš-magir, son of Šîn-magir, is mentioned in a letter of Hammurabi to Šîn-iddinam who is ordered to take him, together with two of his brothers as well as other individuals, under good guard to the king (*AbB* 2, 13 obv. 11). Since the names of father and son are very common, this Šamaš-magir is probably only a namesake of the owner of the seal B and of the *ugula má-ì-dub* of our archive.

## Transcriptions and Translations

T.01 BM 23138; 30/VIII/Ha 39

- obv. 1) <sup>m</sup>l<sup>a</sup>l-píl.<sup>d</sup>mar-tu dumu a-pil-eš<sub>4</sub>-tár  
 2) dah in-bi-i-lí-šu šeš-ni  
 3) ša kir<sub>4</sub>-dib<sup>meš</sup>  
 4) ni-šu <sup>d</sup>en-zu-ma-gir  
 5) a-na àga-uš ni-šu ú-ši-nu-[rum]  
 6) na-di-in  
 7) pu-uh-šu a-wi-il-<sup>d</sup>iškur  
 8) dumu <sup>d</sup>iškur-šar-rum  
 9) dah <sup>d</sup>utu-mu-še-zib šeš-ni  
 10) ša àga-uš ni-šu ú-ši-nu-rum

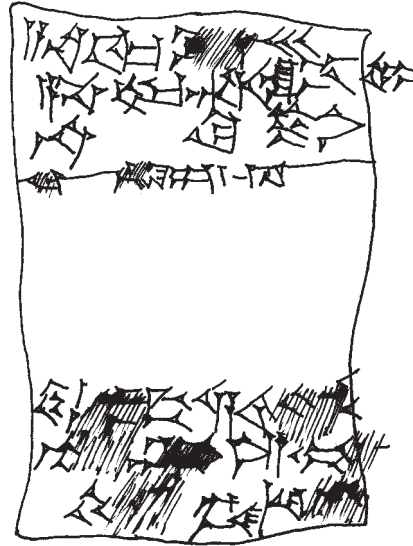
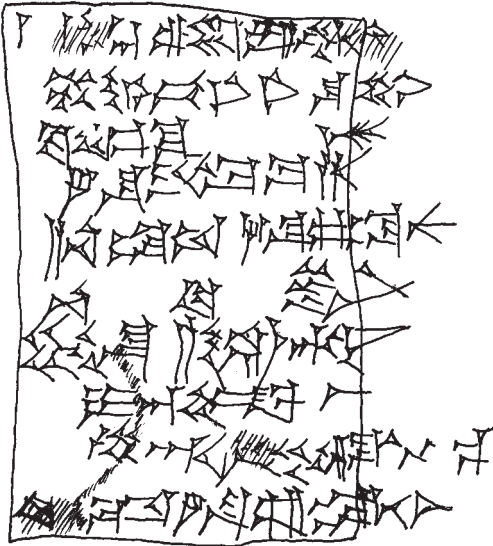
- rev. 1) a-na kir<sub>4</sub>-[dib]<sup>lmeš</sup>  
 2) a-na nu-úr-<sup>d</sup>utu ù ap-lum  
 3) na-di-in  
 4) kišib <sup>d</sup>en-zu-i-ri-ba  
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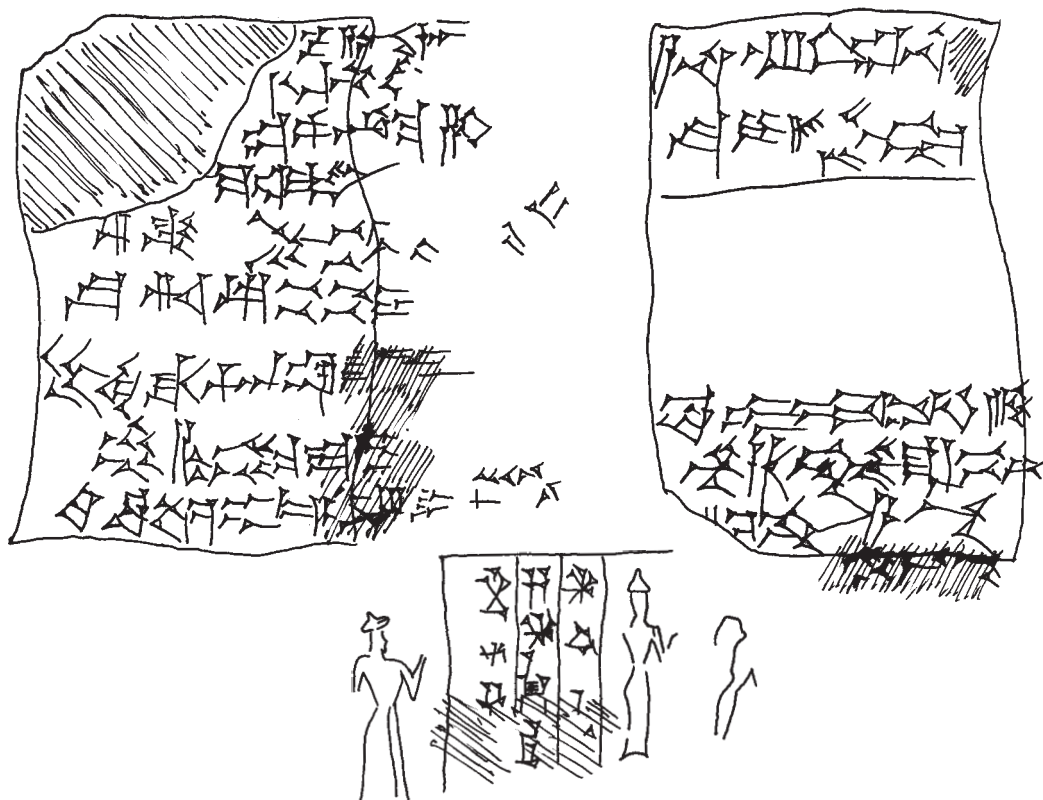
5) itu apin-du<sub>8</sub>-a u<sub>4</sub> 10×3-kam6) mu [k]ilib gú-dù-a-bi /<sup>kuw</sup>l<sup>su</sup>l-bir<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>-[ta]

Seal. A

illegible

<sup>o</sup>1 Apil-Amurrim, son of Apil-Eštar, <sup>2</sup>(his) added worker being Inbi-ilīšu, his brother, <sup>6</sup>has been given <sup>3</sup>from the charioteers <sup>4</sup>under the responsibility of Sîn-magir, <sup>5</sup>to the soldiers under the responsibility of Ūši-nūrum; <sup>7</sup>his substitute (is) Awīl-Adad, <sup>8</sup>son of Adad-šarrum, <sup>9</sup>(his) added worker being Šamaš-mušēzib, his brother: <sup>r</sup>3 (he) has been given <sup>o</sup>10 from the soldiers under the responsibility of Ūši-nūrum, <sup>r</sup>1 to the charioteers, <sup>2</sup>to Nūr-Šamaš and Aplum. <sup>4</sup>Seal of Sîn-irība. <sup>5-6</sup>VIII month, 30th day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.





T.02 BM 12831; 3/IX/Ha 39

- obv. 1) [ ] dumu *a-wi-[i]l-ilim*  
 2) [dah *qúr<sup>2</sup>-d*]<sup>1</sup>-*eš<sub>4</sub>-tár* šeš-ni  
 3) [šà má]-<sup>1</sup>l-dub ugula <sup>4</sup>*utu-ma-gir*  
 4) [*a-na éren*] ka-kešda lugal  
 5) *nì-šu in-bu-ša n[a]-<sup>1</sup>di-in*  
 6) <sup>6</sup>*ri-ib-bi-bi-i*  
 7) *pu-uh-šu u-bar-<sup>d</sup>marduk* dumu x-x  
 8) dah *a-wi-il-ia-t[um]* šeš-ni  
 9) šà éren ka-kešda lugal *nì-šu in-bu-ša*

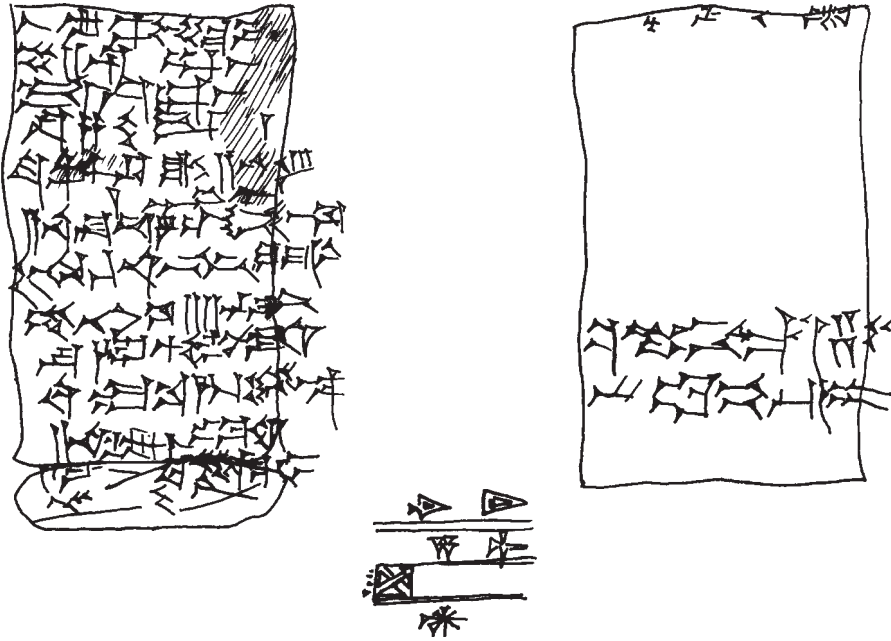
- rev. 1) *a-na má-ì-dub <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-[di-in]*  
 2) <sup>6</sup>*i-gi-bu-NE*  
 blank  
 3) *itu gan-gan-è u<sub>4</sub> 3-kam<sub>4</sub>* mu *ha-am-mu-  
 ra-bi* lugal / [kì]lib gú-dù-a-bi / [<sup>kur</sup>]su-bir<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>-  
 bi<sup>1</sup>

Seal B

<sup>d</sup>*utu-ma-gir*  
 dumu <sup>d</sup>*en-zu-ma-gir*  
 ir <sup>d</sup>*mar-tu*

<sup>o</sup>1[...], son of Awīl-ilim, <sup>2</sup>(his) added worker being Qurdi(?)-Eštar, his brother, <sup>5</sup>has been given <sup>3</sup>from the cargo-ships, (being) superintendent Šamaš-magir, <sup>4</sup>to the soldiers of the army of the king <sup>o</sup>5under the responsibility of Inbūša <sup>6</sup>of the town of Ribibbi; <sup>7</sup>his substitute (is) Ubar-Marduk, son of ..., <sup>8</sup>(his) added worker being Awīljam: <sup>r</sup>1(he) has been given <sup>o</sup>9from the soldiers of the army of the king under the responsibility of Inbūša, <sup>r</sup>1to the cargo-ships of Šamaš-magir, <sup>2</sup>of the town of IgibuNE. <sup>3-4</sup>IX month, 3rd day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Šamaš-magir, son of Sîn-magir, servant of (the god) Amurrum.



## T.03 BM 23166; 4/IX/Ha 39

- obv. 1) <sup>m</sup>*i-ṭib-li-b[a-šu]*  
 2) *dah a-hu-um* š[eš-ni]  
 3) *tur pir-hu-um* š[eš-ni]  
 4) <sup>ur</sup>*za-ah-da*<sup>ki</sup>  
 5) ša ka-bar u<sub>g</sub>-udu-há nì'-šu / *hal-bi-[ba-li-du-ka]*  
 6) *a-na àga-uš nì-šu in-bu-ša*  
 7) *pu-uh-šu na-bi-*<sup>d</sup>*en-zu x*  
 8) *dah be-lí-da-aja-an* šeš-ni  
 9) <sup>ur</sup>*gar-ra-*<sup>d</sup>*nin-PAP-lu*<sup>ki</sup>  
 10) ša àga-uš nì-šu *in-bu-ša*  
 11) *a-na ka-bar u<sub>g</sub>-udu-há*  
 12) nì-šu *hal-bi-ba-li-du-ka*

## Lower Edge

- 13) *na-di-in*

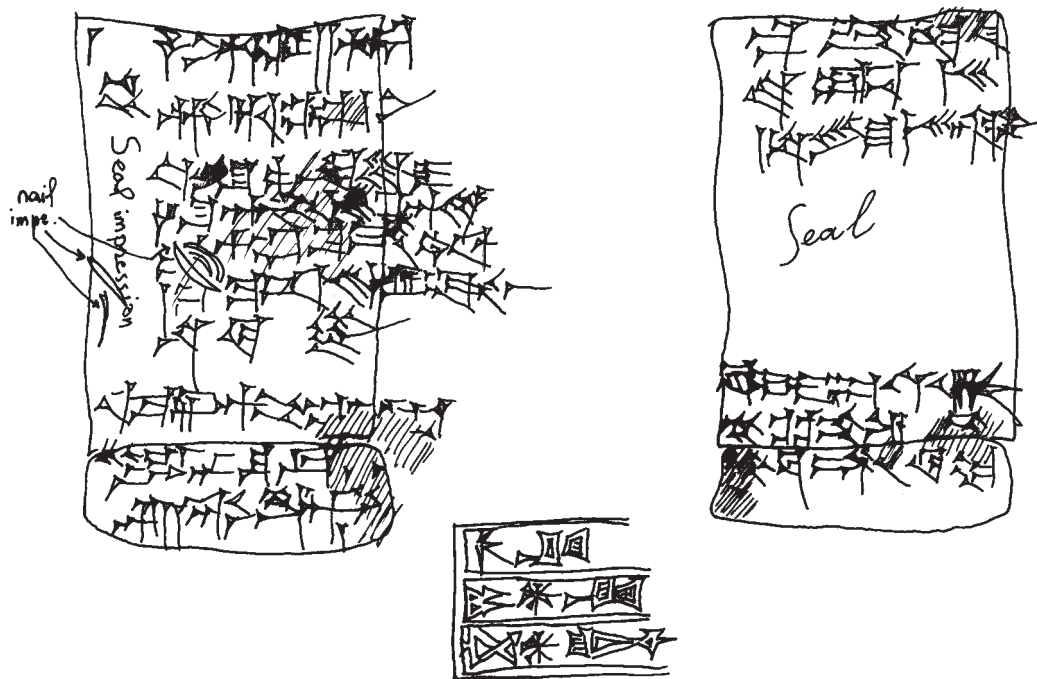
- rev. 1) <sup>r</sup>*kišib* <sup>l</sup>*i-[ri-ba-am]-den-zu*  
 blank  
 2) *itu gan-gan-è u<sub>4</sub> 4-kam*  
 3) *mu kilib gú-dù-a-bi*

## Seal C

- [ ]-*i-lí*  
 [ ]-A-MAŠ  
 ir [ ]  
 [ù] AN-[ ]

<sup>o</sup>1<sup>r</sup>*ṭib-libbāšu*, <sup>2</sup>(his) added worker being Ahum, his brother, <sup>3</sup>(and his) junior being Pirhum, his brother, <sup>4</sup>(all of them are) of the town of Zahda, <sup>5</sup>(has been given) from the shepherds of ewes and sheep, under the responsibility of Halbi-baliduka, <sup>6</sup>to the soldiers under the responsibility of Inbūša; <sup>7</sup>his substitute (is) Nabi-Sîn ..., <sup>8</sup>(his) added worker being Bēli-dajjān, his brother, <sup>9</sup>of the town of Garra-NinPAPlu (?): <sup>1</sup>c. <sup>13</sup>(he) has been given <sup>10</sup>from the soldiers under the responsibility of Inbūša, <sup>11</sup>to the shepherds of ewes and sheep, <sup>12</sup>under the responsibility of Halbi-baliduka. <sup>r</sup>1<sup>r</sup>Seal of Irībam-Sîn. <sup>3-4</sup>IX month, 4th day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: ...



T.04 BM 12874; 17/IX/Ha 39

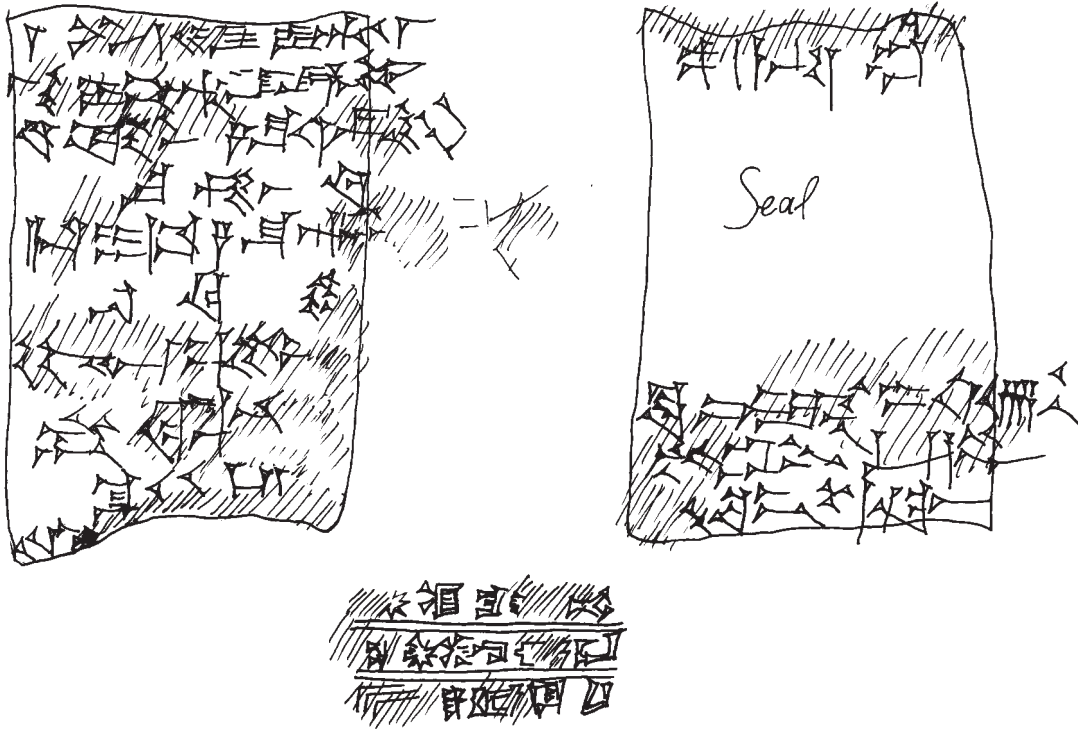
- obv. 1) <sup>m</sup>pi-ir-hu-um dumu a-hu-um  
 2) dah << >>  
 3) diri<sup>1</sup> a-hu-um ad-ni  
 4) šà<sup>10</sup> ázlag ugula <sup>d</sup>en-zu-še-me-i  
 5) nì-šu <sup>d</sup>nanna-zi-ma-an-sum  
 6) <sup>ur</sup>pa-al-lu<sup>2</sup>-ma-hi-lum<sup>ki</sup>  
 7) a-na àga-uš<sup>meš</sup> nì-šu ú-ši-nu-rum  
 8) na-di-in  
 9) ki-ma sa-an-bi-um <sup>1</sup>dumu<sup>1</sup> a-ša<sup>2</sup>  
 Lower Edge  
 10) dah<sup>1</sup> tur-ra il-šu-ib-<sup>1</sup>ni-šu<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>šeš-ni<sup>1</sup>  
 11) diri AN<sup>2</sup>.NI.IT.AN še[š-ni]
- rev. 1) <sup>ur</sup>i-din-<sup>d</sup>en-zu<sup>ki</sup>  
 2) šà àga-uš<sup>meš</sup>  
 3) a-na <sup>10</sup>ázlag<sup>meš</sup> na-di-in  
 blank  
 4) itu gan-gan-è u<sub>4</sub> 10+7-kam  
 5) mu kilib-bi gú-dù-a-bi / <sup>kur</sup>su-bir<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ta<sup>2</sup>

Seal D

<sup>d</sup>en-zu-[ ]  
 dumu <sup>d</sup>en-zu-[ ]  
 ir <sup>d</sup>kab-[ta]

° <sup>1</sup>Pirhum, son of Ahum, <sup>2</sup>(his) added worker being ..., <sup>3</sup>(his) reservist being Ahum, his father, <sup>8</sup>has been given <sup>4</sup>from the fullers, (whose superintendent is) Sîn-šemi, <sup>5</sup>under the responsibility of Nanna-zi-mansum, <sup>6</sup>(of the town of) Pallumahilum <sup>7</sup>to the soldiers under the responsibility of Ūši-nūrum; <sup>9</sup>instead (of him,) Sanbium, son of Aša (?), <sup>1.e.10</sup>(his) added worker being the junior Iišu-ibnišu, his brother, <sup>11</sup>(his) reservist being AN.NI.IT.AN, his brother <sup>r1</sup>—(all of them of the town of) Iddin-Sîn: <sup>3</sup>(he) has been given, <sup>2</sup>from the soldiers, <sup>3</sup>to the fullers. <sup>4-5</sup>IX month, 17th day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Sîn-..., son of Sîn-..., servant of (the deity) Kabta.



## T.05 BM 12854; 18/IX/Ha 39

obv. 1) m<sub>i</sub>-l<sub>i</sub>-ha-lum dumu d<sup>u</sup>tu-[ ]  
 2) dah i-bi-d<sup>nin</sup>-šubur šeš-ni  
 3) ša ša'-gu<sub>4</sub>' n<sub>i</sub>-šu ud-bal<sup>1</sup>-<a>nam-hé  
 4) <sup>ur</sup>nam-rum<sup>ki</sup>  
 5) a-na àga-uš n<sub>i</sub>-šu d<sup>m</sup>arduk<sup>1</sup>-[na-š<sub>i</sub>]r<sup>2</sup>  
 6) na-di-in  
 7) pu-úh-šu e-zi-<sup>1</sup>iz<sup>1</sup>-eš<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>-<sup>1</sup>tár<sup>1</sup>?  
 8) dah ki-ma-ilim šeš-ni  
 9) šu d<sup>i</sup><sup>2</sup>-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [ad-aš]  
 10) ša à[ga-uš ]  
 broken

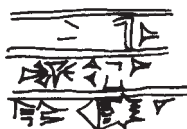
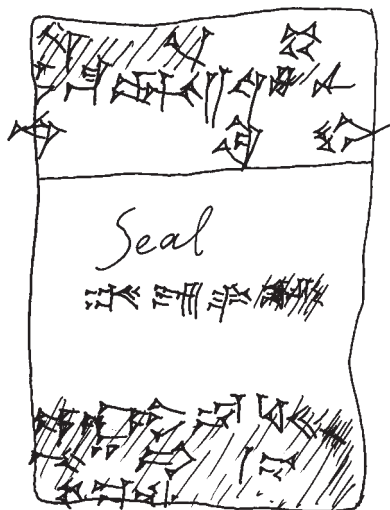
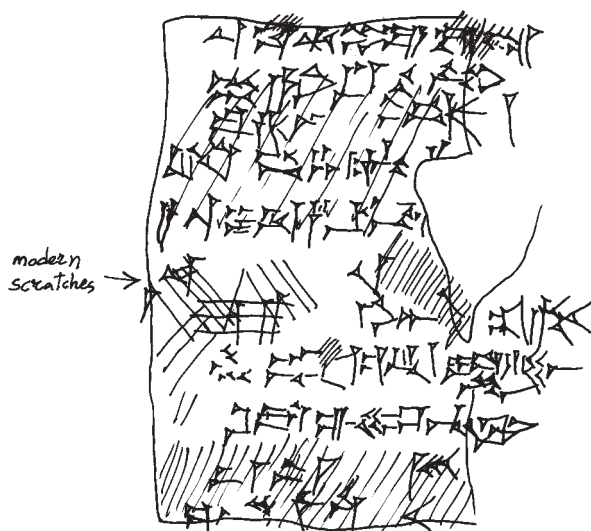
rev. 1) [ ] x  
 2) ugula a-hu-um  
 blank  
 3) itu gan-gan-è u<sub>4</sub> 10+8-kam  
 4) mu k<sub>i</sub>lib g<sub>u</sub>-d<sub>u</sub>-a-bi / <sup>kur</sup>su-bir<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>

## Seal E

ur<sup>2</sup>-<sup>d</sup>nin-si<sub>4</sub>-an-na  
 ir <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-palil  
 é-MI<sup>2</sup>-x-x-x

° <sup>1</sup>I<sub>l</sub>i-halum, son of Šamaš-..., <sup>2</sup>(his) added worker being Ibbi-Ninšubur, his brother, <sup>6</sup>has been given <sup>3</sup>from the ox-drivers under the responsibility of Udbala-namhe<sup>4</sup> (from the town of) Namrum, <sup>5</sup>to the soldiers under the responsibility of Marduk-našir (?); <sup>7</sup>his substitute (is) Eziz-Eštar (?), <sup>8</sup>(his) added worker being Kīma-ilim, his brother, <sup>9</sup>(his) senior being Di..., his father, ... <sup>1</sup>... <sup>2</sup>superintendent Ahum; <sup>3-4</sup>IX month, 18th day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Ur(?) - Ninsiana..., servant of Ninšubur-palil, (of the house of) ...



**T.06** BM 12842; 20/IX/Ha 39

- obv. 1) <sup>m</sup>qí-iš-ti-ì-lí dumu a-<sup>f</sup>ia<sup>l</sup>-x-a  
 2) dah a-lí-lu-mur šeš-ni  
 3) <sup>ur</sup>ha-an-zí-<sup>f</sup>pa<sup>l</sup>-ta-nu<sup>ki</sup>  
 4) šà šà-gu<sub>4</sub> nì-šu ud-bal-a-[na-am-hé]  
 5) a-na <sup>f</sup>àga-uš<sup>mes</sup> <sup>d</sup>marduk-na-šir  
 6) na-di-[in]  
 7) <sup>f</sup>pu-uh-šu<sup>l</sup> x-x-ra-za-bu  
 8) dah <sup>d</sup>en-zu-i-ri-ba-am ta-ri-bu / šeš-ni  
 9) <sup>f</sup>šu<sup>l</sup> dumu-x-x ad-ni  
 10) šà àga-uš<sup>mes</sup>  
 11) nì-šu <sup>d</sup>marduk-na-šir

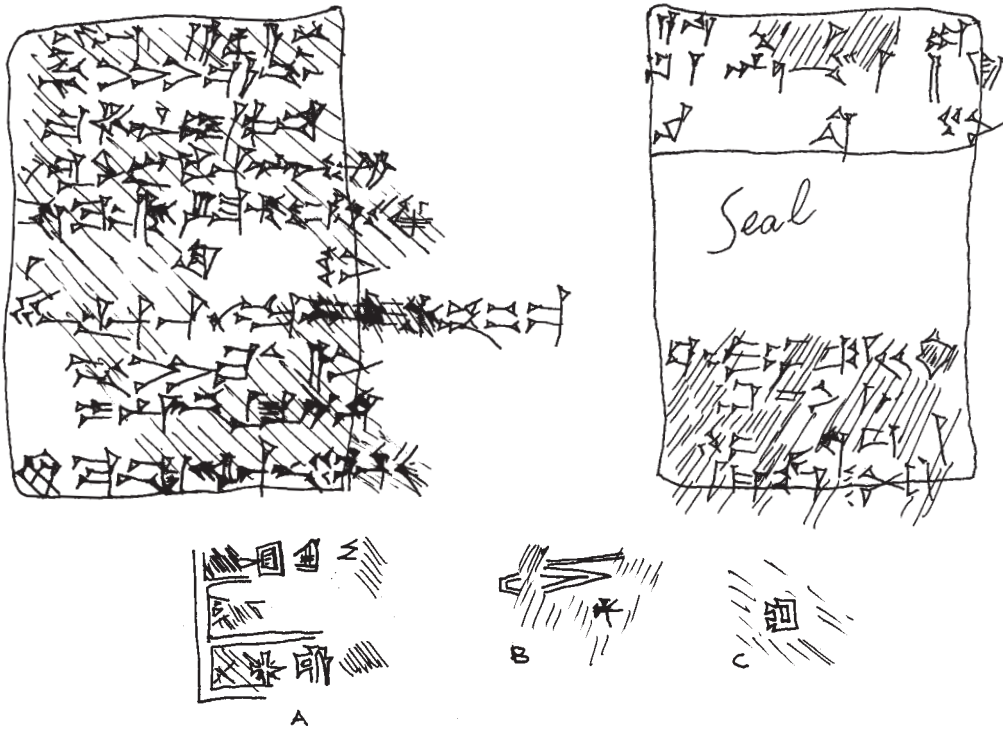
- rev. 1) [a]-na <sup>f</sup>šà-gu<sub>4</sub><sup>l</sup>  
 2) nì-šu ud-bal-a-na-am-hé  
 3) na-di-in  
 4) kišib 30-i-ri-ba-am ta-ri-bu  
 5) itu gan-gan-è u<sub>4</sub> 10×2-<sup>f</sup>kam<sup>l</sup>  
 6) mu kīlib gú-[dù-]a

Seal E

ur<sup>2</sup>-<sup>d</sup>nin-si<sub>4</sub>-an-na  
 ir <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-palil  
 é-MI<sup>2</sup>-x-x-x

<sup>o</sup>1Qīšti-ili, son of Aja...a, <sup>2</sup>(his) added worker being Alī-lūmur, his brother, <sup>3</sup>(of the town of) Hanzipatanu <sup>6</sup>has been given <sup>4</sup>from the ox-drivers under the responsibility of Udbala-namhe, <sup>5</sup>to the soldiers under the responsibility of Marduk-našir; <sup>7</sup>his substitute (is) ... -razabu, <sup>8</sup>(his) added worker being Sîn-irībam (and) Tarību, his brothers, <sup>9</sup>(his) senior being Mār... his father: <sup>r</sup>3(he) has been given <sup>o</sup>10from the soldiers <sup>11</sup>under the responsibility of Marduk-našir, <sup>r</sup>1to the ox-drivers <sup>r</sup>2under the responsibility of Udbala-namhe; seal of Sîn-irībam (and) Tarību <sup>5-6</sup>IX month, 20th day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Ur(?) -Ninsiana..., servant of Ninšubur-palil, (of the house of)? ...



## T.07 BM 12858; 20/IX/Ha 39

- obv. 1) 1 éren at-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>2</sup>l-a x a-bi-[ ]  
 2) dah ì-lí-ma-a-bi šeš-ni  
 3) <sup>uru</sup>ha-an-zí-<sup>1</sup>pa<sup>1</sup>l-ta<sup>ki</sup>  
 4) <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup> má-ì-dub nì-šu <sup>d</sup>nanna-kar  
 5) <sup>1</sup>a-na<sup>1</sup> àga-uš<sup>mes</sup> nì-šu <sup>d</sup>marduk-na-šir  
 6) <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>di-in  
 7) <sup>1</sup>pu-úh-šu<sup>1</sup> nu-úr-<sup>d</sup>kab-ta x-x  
 8) dah ì-lí-ib-ni-a-ni  
 9) dumu ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-si<sub>4</sub>-an-na  
 10) šà àga-uš nì-šu <sup>d</sup>marduk-na-šir

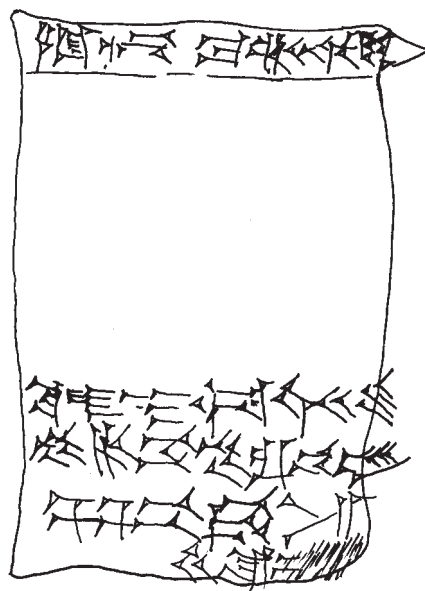
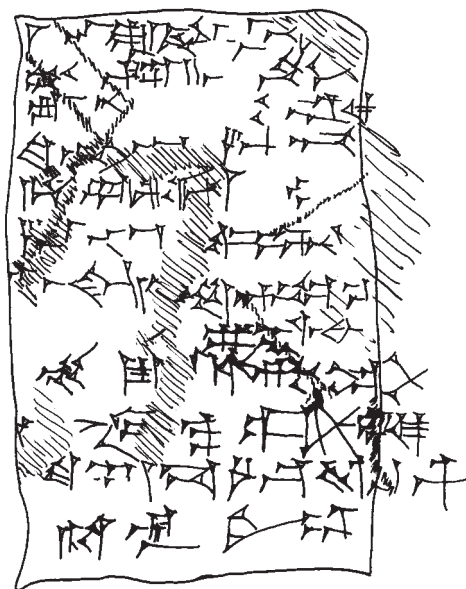
- rev. 1) a-na má-ì-dub  
 2) nì-šu <sup>d</sup>nanna-kar-a  
 3) na-di-in  
 blank  
 4) itu gan-gan-è u<sub>4</sub> 10x2-kam  
 5) [mu] kîlib gú-dù-<sup>1</sup>a-bi<sup>1</sup> / <sup>kur</sup>su-bir<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup> / [sa]g  
 giš bí-in-<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>

## Seal F

<sup>d</sup>en-zu-x-[ ]  
 dumu x-[ ]  
 ir <sup>d</sup>mar-tu

<sup>o</sup>1 conscript, Atta ..., <sup>2</sup>(his) added worker being Ilīma-abī, his brother, <sup>3</sup>(from the town of) Hanzipata <sup>6</sup>has been given <sup>4</sup>from the cargo-ships under the responsibility of Nanna-eṭir; <sup>5</sup>to the soldiers under the responsibility of Marduk-našir; <sup>7</sup>his substitute (is) Nūr-Kabta ..., <sup>8</sup>(his) added worker being Ili-ibnianni, <sup>9</sup>son of Ur-Ninsiana: <sup>r</sup>3(he) has been given <sup>o</sup>10from the soldiers under the responsibility of Marduk-našir, <sup>r</sup>1to the cargo-ships <sup>2</sup>under the responsibility of Nanna-eṭir; <sup>4-5</sup>IX month, 20th day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Sîn-..., son of X..., servant of the god Amurru.



T.08 BM 23134; 20/IX/Ha 39

- obv. 1) <sup>m</sup>ilum<sup>1</sup>-ra-b[i] x x [ ]  
 2) dah x-x-a-l<sup>1</sup> šeš-ni  
 3) <sup>uru</sup>na-[ap-sa<sup>2</sup>-nu-u]<sup>mki</sup>  
 4) šà má-ì-dub nì-šu <sup>d</sup>utu-ma-gir  
 5) a-na àga-uš x x  
 6) nì-šu ar-wi-um na-[di-in]  
 7) pu-uh-šu ìr-<sup>d</sup>li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> [dumu<sup>2</sup>] / ú-ši-nu-rum  
 8) dah x-x-gi šeš-ni  
 9) <sup>uru</sup>ka<sup>2</sup>-áš-pa-a-nu-um<sup>ki</sup>  
 10) šà àga-uš nì-šu ar-wi-um  
 11) a-na má-ì-dub

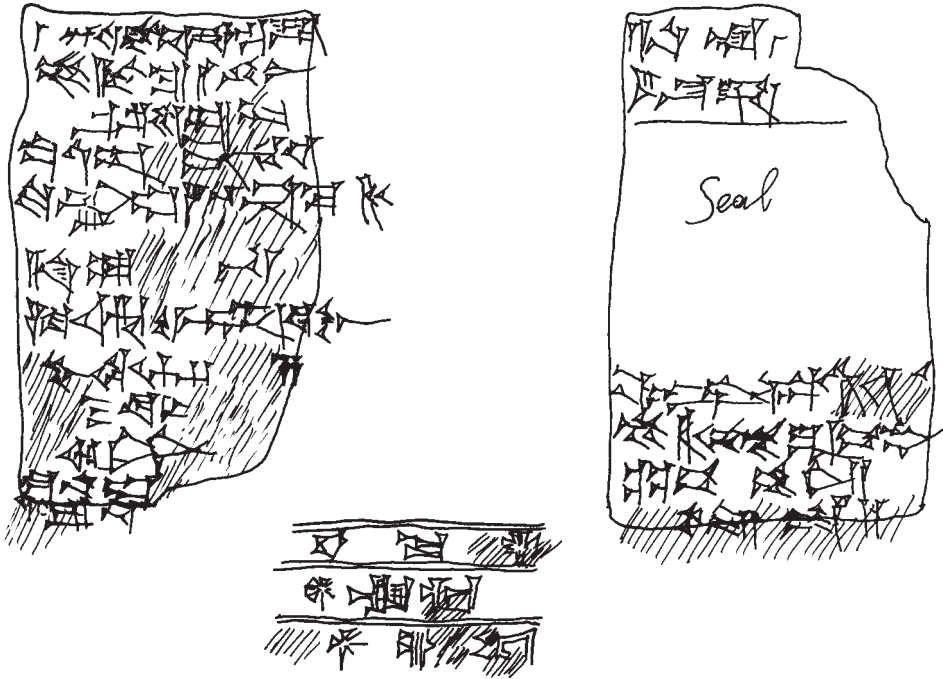
- rev. 1) nì-šu <sup>d</sup>utu-ma-gir na-di-in  
 blank  
 2) itu gan-gan-è u<sub>4</sub> 10x2-kam  
 3) mu ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal / kilib-bi gú-dù-  
 a / <sup>kur</sup>su-bir<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup>

Seal B

<sup>d</sup>utu-ma-gir  
 dumu <sup>d</sup>en-zu-ma-gir  
 ìr <sup>d</sup>mar-tu

° <sup>1</sup>Ilum-rabi ..., <sup>2</sup>(his) added worker being ...  
 -alī, his brother, <sup>3</sup>(of the town of) Napsanum <sup>6</sup>has  
 been given <sup>4</sup>from the cargo-ships under the respon-  
 sibility of Šamaš-magir, <sup>5</sup>to the soldiers ... <sup>6</sup>under  
 the responsibility of Arwium; <sup>7</sup>his substitute (is)  
 Warad-Lisi, [son<sup>7</sup> of] Ūši-nūrum, <sup>8</sup>(his) added  
 worker being ...gi, his brother, <sup>9</sup>(of the town of)  
 Kašpānum: <sup>r1</sup>(he) has been given<sup>o10</sup>from the sol-  
 diers under the responsibility of Arwium, <sup>11</sup>to the  
 cargo-ships <sup>r1</sup>under the responsibility of Šamaš-  
 magir; <sup>2-3</sup>IX month, 20th day (of the) year 39 of  
 Hammurabi.

Seal: Šamaš-magir, son of Sîn-magir, servant  
 of the god Amurru.

**T.09** BM 12860; 21/IX/Ha 39

obv. 1) <sup>m</sup>utu-mu-uš-ta-al dumu e-te-ia-tum

2) dah a-hi-ia-a šeš-ni

3) šu e-te-ia-tum

4) <sup>uru</sup>na-ap-sa<sup>2</sup>-nu-um<sup>ki</sup>

5) ša má-ì-dub nì-šu <sup>d</sup>utu-ma-gir

6) a-na ṛāga-uš<sup>meš</sup>1

7) nì-šu ar-wi-um na-di-in

8) pu-uh-šu u-bar-r[i-i]a<sup>2</sup>

9) [dah] [dumu<sup>l</sup>-ki dumu NI-[ ]

10) ù ì-lí-x-[ ]

11) <sup>uru</sup>na-ap-s[a-nu-um<sup>ki</sup>]

12) ša āga-uš [nì-šu ar-wi-um]

rev. 1) a-na má-[ì-dub]

2) nì-šu <sup>d</sup>utu-[ma-gir na-di-in]

blank

3) itu gan-gan-è u<sub>4</sub> 10×2+1-kam

4) mu ha-am-mu-ra-bi lugal /kìlib-bi gú-dù-a-bi /<sup>kur</sup>su-bir<sup>ki</sup>

## Seal B

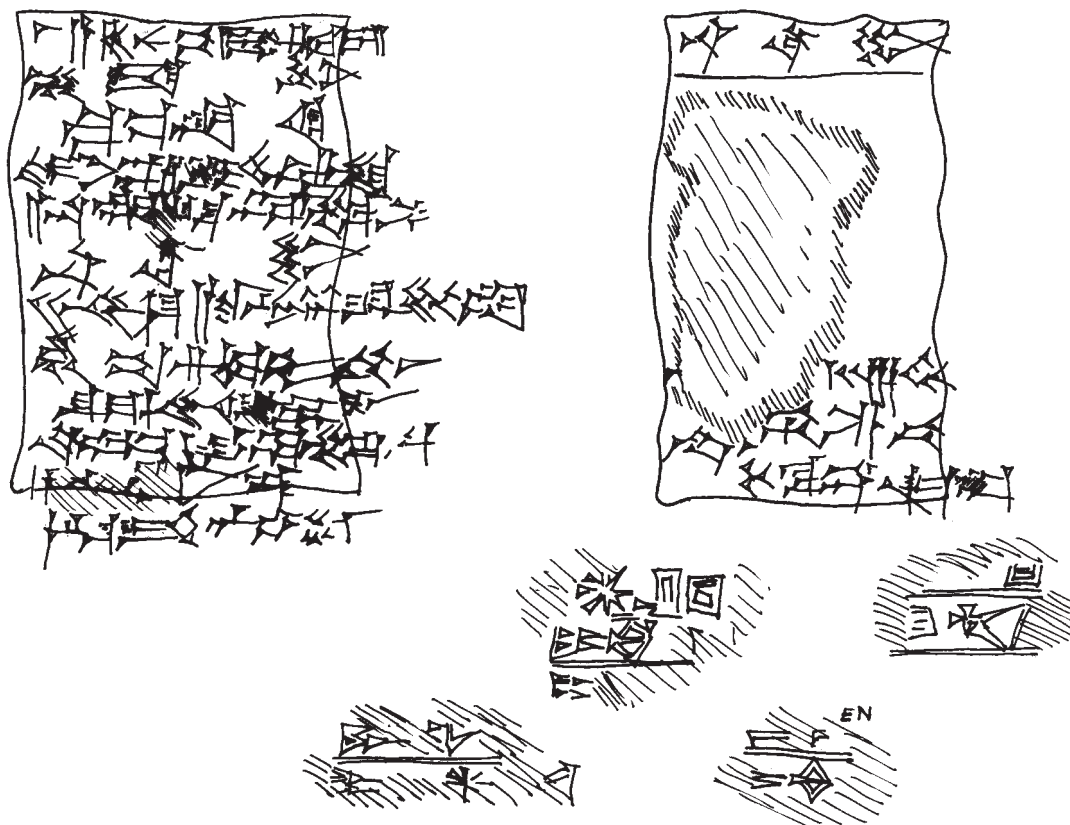
<sup>d</sup>utu-ma-gir

dumu <sup>d</sup>en-zu-ma-gir

ir <sup>d</sup>mar-tu

<sup>o</sup>1 Šamaš-muštāl, son of Etejatum, <sup>2</sup>(his) added worker being Ahija, his brother, <sup>3</sup>(his) senior being Etejatum <sup>4</sup>(of the town of) Napsanum <sup>7</sup>has been given <sup>5</sup>from the cargo-ships under the responsibility of Šamaš-magir, <sup>6</sup>to the soldiers <sup>7</sup>under the responsibility of Arwium; <sup>8</sup>his substitute (is) Ubarrija, <sup>9</sup>(his) added worker being Mār-eršetim, son of NI..., <sup>10</sup> and Ilī... <sup>11</sup> (all of them are of the town of) Napsanum: <sup>r</sup>2(he) has been given <sup>o</sup>12 from the soldiers, [under the responsibility of Arwium,] <sup>r</sup>1 to the cargo-ships <sup>2</sup>under the responsibility of Šamaš-magir; <sup>3-4</sup>IX month, 21st day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Šamaš-magir, son of Šin-magir, servant of the god Amurru.



**T.10** BM 12814; 26/IX/Ha 39

- obv. 1) <sup>m</sup>a-ha-nu-ta dumu i-ri-ba-ia  
 2) dah dumu-ki šeš-ni  
 3) <sup>ur</sup>é-<sup>d</sup>en-ki  
 4) ša má-ì-dub nì-šu i-din-<sup>d</sup>mar-tu  
 5) a-na àga-uš nì-šu <sup>d</sup>uraš-mu-ba-lí-ì  
 6) na-dì-in  
 7) pu-úh-šu a-wi-il-dingir dumu ra-bu-ut-  
<sup>d</sup>en-zu  
 8) dah ta-ri-ba-tum šeš-ni  
 9) šu ra-bu-ut-<sup>d</sup>en-zu ad-aš  
 10) ša àga-uš nì-šu <sup>d</sup>uraš-mu-ba-lí-ì  
 11) a-na má-ì-dub  
 12) nì-šu i-din-<sup>d</sup>mar-[tu]

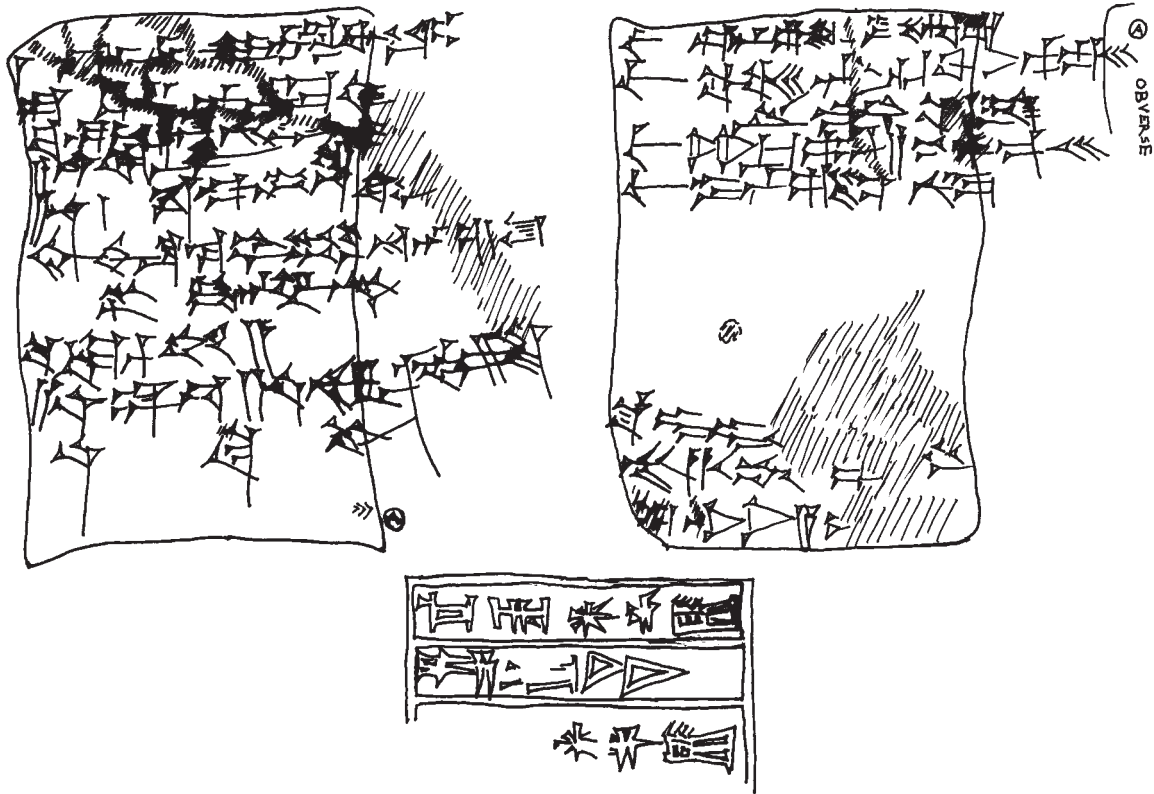
- rev. 1) na-dì-in  
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 2) [itu gan-gan-è] u<sub>4</sub> 10×2 + 6-kam  
 3) mu [kilib] gú-dù-a-bi /<sup>kur</sup>su-bir<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup> giš bí-ra

Seal G

- <sup>d</sup>en-zu-[ ]  
 dumu gír<sup>2</sup>-[ ]  
 [ì]r <sup>d</sup>x-[ ]

<sup>o</sup>1 Ahanuta, son of Irībaja, <sup>2</sup>(his) added worker being Mār-eršetim, his brother, <sup>3</sup> (of the town of) Bīt-Sîn <sup>6</sup>has been given <sup>4</sup>from the cargo-ships under the responsibility of Iddin-Amurrum, <sup>5</sup>to the soldiers under the responsibility of Uraš-muballit; <sup>7</sup>his substitute (is) Awīl-ili, son of Rabūt-Sîn, <sup>8</sup>(his) added worker being Tarībatum, his brother, <sup>9</sup>(his) senior being Rabūt-Sîn, his father: <sup>r</sup>1 (he) has been given <sup>o</sup>10 from the soldiers under the responsibility of Uraš-muballit, <sup>11</sup>to the cargo-ships <sup>12</sup>under the responsibility of Iddin-Amurrum; <sup>2-3</sup>IX month, 26th day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Sîn-..., son of ..., servant of the god ...



## T.11 BM 12822; -IX/Ha 39

obv. 1) <sup>m</sup>x-x(-x)-ga dumu *la-ra-ba-aš-du-um*

2) <sup>ur</sup>ki'-bur-<sup>d</sup>ma-ma<sup>ki</sup>

3) ša āga-uš<sup>mes</sup> ni-šu *be-el-šu-nu* ugula-mar-tu

4) *a-na* ka-bar anše-há

5) *a-na* <sup>m</sup>da-aq-qum *na-di-in*

6) *pu-uh-šu* *ma-as-qum* lú ir-<sup>d</sup>mar-tu

7) dah *bur*-<sup>d</sup>iškur šeš-ni

8) ša ka-bar anše-há

9) *a-na* āga-uš<sup>mes</sup> <sup>m</sup>*a-na* *be-el-šu-nu* ugula-mar-tu

10) *na-di-in*

rev. 1) igi šu-<sup>d</sup>mar-tu dumu *nu-ri-ia*

2) igi *e-pe-eš*-dingir lú *il-šu-ba-ni* ugula-uru<sup>mes</sup> / lú *zi-wa-a-i*<sup>ki</sup>

3) igi *ì-lì-ip-pa-al-sà-am* ugula-mar-tu

4) igi dumu-<sup>d</sup>mar-tu nu-bànda

blank

5) itu gan-gan-<sup>r</sup>è<sup>1</sup> [u<sub>4</sub> x-kam]

6) mu *ha-am-mu-ra*-[*bi*] lugal / kilib gú-dù-a-b[i]

Seal H

*ma-ri*-<sup>d</sup>mar-tu

dumu *a-b*[*ì*]-*ì-lì*

[*ir*] <sup>d</sup>mar-tu

<sup>o</sup>1 ...ga, son of Larabašdum, <sup>2</sup>(of the town) of Kibur-Mama, <sup>3</sup>from the soldiers under the responsibility of Bēlšunu, the superintendent of the Amorreans, <sup>5</sup>has been given <sup>4</sup>to the herdsmen of the donkeys <sup>5</sup>to Daqqum; <sup>6</sup>his substitute (is) Masqum, man of Warad-Amurrim, <sup>7</sup>(his) added worker being Būr-Adad, his brother: <sup>10</sup>(he) has been given <sup>8</sup>from the herdsmen of the donkeys <sup>9</sup>to

the soldiers under the responsibility of Bēlšunu, the superintendent of the Amorreans; <sup>1</sup>witness: Šū-Amurrim, son of Nūrija; <sup>2</sup>witness: Epeš-ilum, the man of Ilšu-bani, superintendent of the villages of (the town of) Ziwai; <sup>3</sup>witness: Ilī-ippalšam, superintendent of the Amorreans; <sup>4</sup>witness: Mār-Amurrim, the overseer; <sup>5-6</sup>IX month, ... day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Māri-Amurrim, son of Abī-ilī, servant of the god Amurrim.

### T.12 BM 12850; -/IX/Ha 39

- obv. 1) <sup>md</sup>šul-pa-è-a-n[a<sup>2</sup>-din<sup>2</sup>]  
 2) <sup>uru</sup>ki-bur-<sup>d</sup>ma-m[a]<sup>ki</sup>  
 3) nu-bànda a-hu-[ú]-a-tum  
 4) ugula i-lí-ip-pa-al-sà-am  
 5) šà má-ì-dub nì-šu im-gur-[<sup>d</sup>nin-urta]  
 6) a-na be-el-šu-nu ugula-mar-tu [na-di-in]  
 7) pu-uh-šu  
 8) <sup>md</sup>utu-ga-mil dumu ìr-zi-[ib-nu-um//ni-im]  
 9) <sup>uru</sup>ra-ha-šum<sup>ki</sup>  
 10) šà àga-uš<sup>meš</sup>  
 11) nì-šu be-el-šu-nu ugula-mar-tu  
 12) a-na má-ì-dub

- rev. 1) [n]ì-šu im-gur-<sup>d</sup>nin-urta  
 2) na-di-in

3) aš-šum im-gur-<sup>d</sup>nin-urta má<sup>2</sup>-gíd<sup>2</sup>

4) <sup>m</sup>ha-bil-ki-nu-um nu-bànda

5) i-na-ki-[x<sup>2</sup>]-tim-ma-[tí<sup>2</sup>] nu-bànda  
 blank

6) itu gan-gan-è u<sub>4</sub> [x-kam]

7) mu ha-am-mu-r[a-bi lugal ]

Seal I

ha-bíl-ki-nu-um

dumu nu-ra-tum

ìr <sup>d</sup>x

<sup>o1</sup>Šulpaea-n[adin<sup>2</sup> ...], <sup>2</sup>(of the town of) Kibur-Mama, <sup>3</sup>being overseer Ahujatum <sup>4</sup>(and) being superintendent Ilī-ippalsam, <sup>5</sup>[has been given] from the cargo-ships under the responsibility of Imgur-Ninurta, <sup>6</sup>to Bēlšunu, the superintendent of the Amorreans; <sup>7</sup>his substitute <sup>8</sup>(is) Šamaš-gamil, son of Warad-zibnu/im, <sup>9</sup>(of the town of) Raḥašum: <sup>r</sup><sup>2</sup>(he) has been given <sup>o10</sup>from the soldiers <sup>11</sup>under the responsibility of Bēlšunu, the superintendent of the Amorreans, <sup>12</sup>to the cargo-ships <sup>r1</sup>under the responsibility of Imgur-Ninurta; <sup>3</sup>in place of Imgur-Ninurta, the (man who) tows boat: <sup>4</sup>Habil-kīnum, the overseer, <sup>5</sup>(and) Ina-kittim-matī ..., the overseer; <sup>6-7</sup>IX month, ... day (of the) year 39 of Hammurabi.

Seal: Habil-kīnum, son of Nūratum, servant of the god ....

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- e-te-ia-tum*  
šu, father of *dutu-mu-uš-ta-al*: 9 obv. 1, 3
- e-zi-ṭiz<sup>1</sup>-eš<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>-ṭár<sup>1</sup>*  
*pu-úh-šu*: 5 obv. 7
- d*en-zu-*i-ri-ba-(am\*)*  
dah (with *ta-ri-bu*), brother of *ṭx-x<sup>1</sup>-ra-za-*  
*bu*: 6 obv. 8\*  
kišib: 1 rev. 4
- d*en-zu-*ma-gir*  
nì-šu kir<sub>4</sub>-dib<sup>meš</sup>: 1 obv. 4  
father of *dutu-ma-gir*: 2 Seal; 8 Seal; 9 Seal
- d*en-zu-*še-me-i*  
ugula <sup>lú</sup>ázlag: 4 obv. 4
- d*en-zu-x-[ ]  
dumu x-[ ]: 7 Seal
- d*en-zu-[ ]  
dumu *d*en-zu-[ ]: 4 Seal  
dumu gir<sup>2</sup>-[ ]: 10 Seal

- gîr<sup>2</sup>-[ ]  
 father of <sup>d</sup>en-zu-[ ]: 10 Seal  
*ha-bil(bíl)-ki-nu-um*  
 nu-bànda, dumu *nu-ra-tum*: 12 rev. 4, Seal  
*hal-bi-ba-li-du-ka*  
 nì-šu ka-bar ur-gi<sub>7</sub>-há 3 obv. 5, 12  
*i-bi-d<sup>n</sup>nin-šubur*  
 dah, brother of *ì-lí-ha-lum*: 5 obv. 2  
*i-din-d<sup>m</sup>mar-tu*  
 nì-šu má-ì-dub: 10 obv. 4, 12  
*i-na-ki-[x<sup>2</sup>]-tim-ma-<sup>r</sup>tí<sup>1</sup>*  
 nu-bànda: 12 rev. 5  
*i-ri-ba-ia*  
 father of *a-ha-nu-ta*: 10 obv. 1  
*i-[ri-ba-am]-<sup>d</sup>en-zu*  
 kišib: 3 rev. 1  
*i-ṭib-li-b[a-šu]*  
 3 obv. 1  
*ì-lí-ha-lum*  
 dumu <sup>d</sup>utu-[ ]: 5 obv. 1  
*ì-lí-ib-ni-a-ni*  
 dah, dumu ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-si<sub>4</sub>-an-na: 7 obv. 8  
*ì-lí-ip-pa-al-sà-am*  
 igi, ugula-mar-tu: 11 rev. 3  
 ugula: 12 obv. 4  
*ì-lí-ma-a-bi*  
 dah, brother of *at-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>2</sup>l-a*: 7 obv. 2  
*ì-lí-x-[ ]*  
 dah: 9 obv. 10  
<sup>r</sup>ilum<sup>1</sup>-*ra-b[i]*  
 8 obv. 1  
*il-šu-ba-ni*  
 ugula uru<sup>meš</sup> / lú *zi-wa-a-i<sup>ki</sup>*: 11 rev. 2  
*il-šu-ib-<sup>r</sup>ni-šu<sup>1</sup>*  
 dah, brother of *sa-an-bi-um*: 4 obv. 10  
*im-gur-d<sup>n</sup>nin-líl*  
 má<sup>2</sup>-gíd<sup>2</sup>: 12 rev. 3  
*im-gur-d<sup>n</sup>nin-urta*  
 nì-šu má-ì-dub: 12 obv. 5, rev. 1  
*in-bi-ì-lí-šu*  
 dah, brother of *a-píl-d<sup>m</sup>mar-tu*: 1 obv. 2  
*in-bu-ša*  
 nì-šu àga-uš: 3 obv. 6, 10  
 nì-šu éren éren ka-kešda lugal: 2 obv. 5, 9
- ìr-d<sup>li</sup>9-si<sub>4</sub>  
*pu-uh-šu*, [dumu<sup>2</sup>] *ú-ši-nu-rum*: 8 obv. 7  
 ìr-d<sup>m</sup>mar-tu  
 superior of *ma-as-qum*: 11 obv. 6  
 ìr-zi-[*ib-nu-um//ni-im*]  
 father of <sup>d</sup>utu-*ga-mil*: 12 obv. 8  
<sup>d</sup>iškur-*šar-rum*  
 father of *a-wi-il-d<sup>i</sup>škur*: 1 obv. 8  
*ki-ma-ilim*  
 dah, brother of *e-zi-<sup>r</sup>iz<sup>1</sup>-eš<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>-<sup>r</sup>tar<sup>1</sup>*: 5 obv. 8  
*la-ra-ba-aš-du-um*  
 father of x-x(-x)-ga: 11 obv. 1  
*ma-as-qum*  
*pu-uh-šu*, lú ìr-d<sup>m</sup>mar-tu : 11 obv. 6  
*ma-ri-d<sup>m</sup>mar-tu*  
 dumu a-bí-ì-lí: 11 Seal  
<sup>d</sup>marduk-*na-šir*  
 nì-šu àga-uš: 5 obv. 5 (?); 6 obv. 5, 11; 7  
 obv. 5, 10  
*na-bi-d<sup>n</sup>en-zu*  
*pu-uh-šu*: 3 obv. 7  
<sup>d</sup>nanna-kar  
 nì-šu má-ì-dub: 7 obv. 4, rev. 2  
<sup>d</sup>nanna-zi-ma-an-sum  
 nì-šu <sup>10</sup>ázlag: 4 obv. 5  
<sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-palil  
 5 Seal; 6 Seal  
*nu-ra-tum*  
 father of *ha-bil-ki-nu-um*: 12 Seal  
*nu-ri-ia*  
 father of *šu-d<sup>m</sup>mar-tu*: 11 rev. 1  
*nu-úr-d<sup>k</sup>ab-ta*  
*pu-úh-šu*: 7 obv. 7  
*nu-úr-d<sup>u</sup>tu*  
 1 rev. 2  
*pi-ir-hu-um*  
 dumu *a-hu-um*: 4 obv. 1  
*pir-hu-um*  
 tur, brother of *i-ṭib-li-b[a-šu]*: 3 obv. 3  
*qí-iš-ti-ì-lí*  
 dumu a-bu-a: 6 obv. 1  
*ra-bu-ut-d<sup>n</sup>en-zu*  
 father of *a-wi-il-dingir*: 10 obv. 7

*sa-an-bi-um*

*ki-ma*, dumu *a-ša<sup>2</sup>*: 4 obv. 9

*šu-d<sup>d</sup>mar-tu*

*igi*, dumu *nu-ri-ia*: 11 rev. 1

*dšul-pa-è-a-n[a<sup>2</sup>-din<sup>2</sup>]*

12 obv. 1

*ta-ri-ba-tum*

*dah*, brother of *a-wi-il-dingir*: 10 obv. 8

*ta-ri-bu*

*dah*, brother of <sup>Γ</sup>*x-x<sup>1</sup>-ra-a-bu* (with <sup>d</sup>*en-zu-i-ri-ba-am*): 6 obv. 8

*kišib* (with *30-i-ri-ba-am*): 6 rev. 4

*tī<sup>2</sup>-[ ]*

father of *ì-lum-ra-bi*: 8 obv. 1

*u-bar-d<sup>d</sup>marduk*

*pu-uh-šu*: 2 obv. 7

*u-bar-r[i-i]a<sup>2</sup>*

*pu-uh-šu*: 9 obv. 8

*ú-ši-nu-rum*

*nì-šu àga-uš*: 1 obv. 5. 10; 4 obv. 7

father of (?) *ìr-d<sup>d</sup>li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>*: 8 obv. 7

*ud-bal-a-na-am-hé*

*nì-šu šà-gu<sub>4</sub>*: 6 obv. 4, rev. 2

*ud-bal'<sup><a>-nam-hé</sup>*

*nì-šu šà-gu<sub>4</sub>*: 5 obv. 3

*ur<sup>(?\*)-d<sup>d</sup>nin-si<sub>4</sub>-an-na</sup>*

5 Seal\*; 6 Seal\*

father of *ì-lí-ib-ni-a-ni*: 7 obv. 9

*duraš-mu-ba-lí-iť*

*nì-šu àga-uš*: 10 obv. 5. 10

*dutu-ga-mil*

dumu *ìr-zi-[ib-nu-um//ni-im]*: 12 obv. 8

*dutu-ma-gir*

*nì-šu/ugula má-ì-dub*: 2 obv. 3, rev. 1

dumu <sup>d</sup>*en-zu-ma-gir*: 2 Seal; 8 Seal, 9 Seal

*nì-šu má-ì-dub*: 8 obv. 4, rev. 1; 9 obv. 5,

rev. 2

*dutu-mu-še-zib*

*dah*, brother of *a-wi-il-d<sup>d</sup>iškur*: 1 obv. 9

*dutu-mu-uš-ta-al*

*éren*, dumu *e-te-ia-tum*: 9 obv. 1

*dutu-[ ]*

father of *ì-lí-ha-lum*: 5 obv. 1

*30-i-ri-ba-am*

*kišib* (with *ta-ri-bu*): 6 rev. 4

<sup>Γ</sup>*x-x<sup>1</sup>-ra-za-bu*

*pu-uh-šu*: 6 obv. 7

<sup>Γ</sup>*x-x<sup>1</sup>-a-lí<sup>2</sup>*

*dah*, father of *ì-lum-ra-bi*: 8 obv. 2

*x-x(-x)-ga*

dumu *la-ra-ba-aš-du-um*: 11 obv. 1

*x-x-gi*

*dah*, brother of *ìr-d<sup>d</sup>li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>*: 8 obv. 8

[ ]-*ì-lí*

3 seal 1

T.01 BM 23138; 30/VIII/Ha 39



obverse



reverse



right edge

T.02 BM 12831; 3/IX/Ha 39



reverse

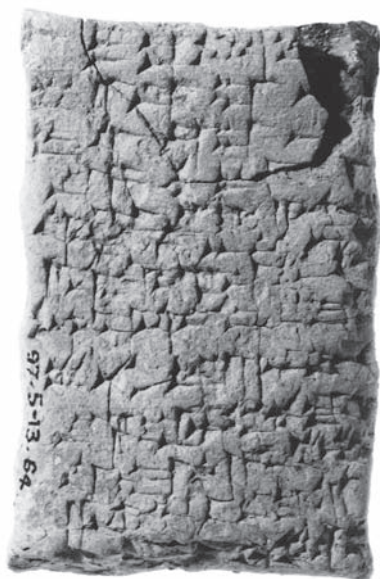


right edge



obverse

**T.03** BM 23166; 4/IX/Ha 39



obverse



right edge



reverse

**T.04** BM 12874; 17/IX/Ha 39



obverse



right edge



reverse

**T.05** BM 12854; 18/IX/Ha 39



**T.06** BM 12842; 20/IX/Ha 39



**T.07** BM 12858; 20/IX/Ha 39



obverse



right edge



reverse

**T.09** BM 12860; 21/IX/Ha 39



obverse



right edge



reverse

T.08 BM 23134; 20/IX/Ha 39



reverse

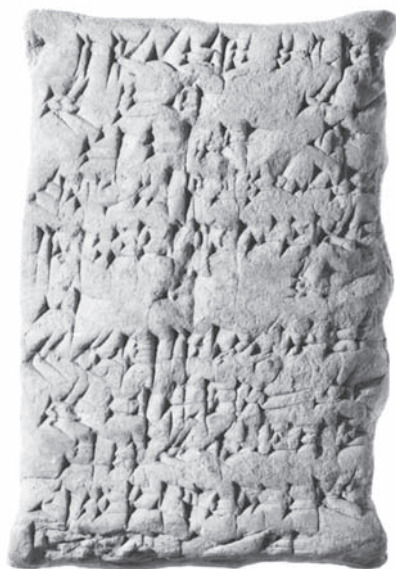


right edge



obverse

T.10 BM 12814; 26/IX/Ha 39



obverse



reverse

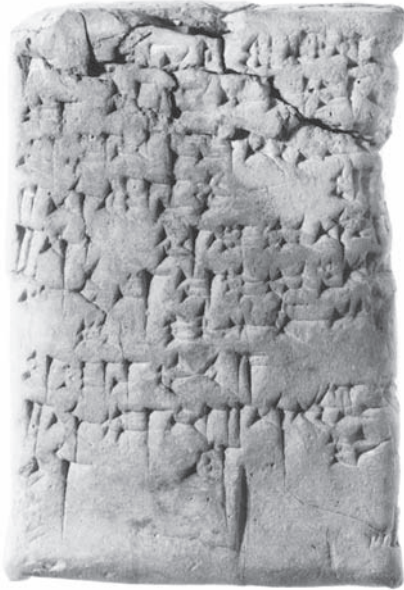


bottom edge

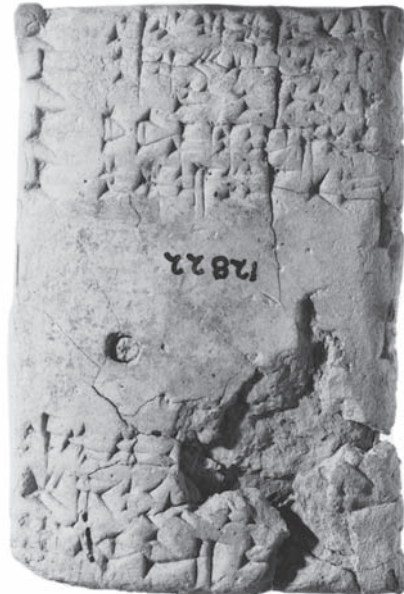


right edge

T.11 BM 12822; -/IX/Ha 39



obverse



reverse



right edge

T.12 BM 12850; -/IX/Ha 39



obverse



reverse



bottom edge



right edge